

TABVLA  
IMPERII  
ROMANI

J 34 - A. ALIENS

AKAΔHMIA

ΒΕΝΕΤΩΝ

ΑΘΗΝΩΝ



ACADEMY OF ATHENS

2019

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



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by

MARIA MIKEDAKI

ACADEMY OF ATHENS

2019

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## INTRODUCTION

### The Region

The present fascicule is devoted to the region of Boeotia and forms part of Map J 34 – Athens. Modern Boeotia covers an area of 3,211 km<sup>2</sup> within the administrative region of Central Greece. It is bounded on the north by Phthiotis (ancient East Lokris), on the south by Attica, on the west by Phokis, and on two sides by the sea: the Corinthian Gulf to the southwest and the Euboean Gulf to the northeast. This region is flanked by mountains on all sides: the Kithairon - Parnes mountain chain to the south, Mt. Helicon to the southwest, Mt. Parnassos to the west, Mt. Ptoon (modern Pelagia) and Mt. Messapion (also known as Chtypas or Ktypas) to the east and Mt. Chlomon to the north. Its longest river is the Boeotian Kephisos, the waters of which formed Kopais Lake until 1887, when the lake was drained. This river, as well as the Melas River, also feeds Lake Yliki, which is linked to the neighboring Lake Paralimni through a canal 2.5 km long.

Ancient Boeotia did not occupy the same territory as the present regional unit: in Pausanias' time, Chaironeia was the last Boeotian city before ancient Phokis, whereas now the westernmost boundary of Boeotia is Arachova, situated 37 km to the west of Chaironeia. Moreover, Roman Boeotia included the towns of Larymna and Halai (modern Theologos), as well as the sites of Martino, Malesina and Pavlos / Palaioastron which presently belong to Phthiotis. The easternmost Boeotian settlement was Delion. Ancient Anthedon, Aulis and Mykalessos, as well as the modern sites of Loukisia, Paralimni Pyrgos, Vathy - Kouloureza, the Drosia area, Glyfa, Skroponeria, Karampampa Hill and Megalo Vouno Hill were within the Boeotian territory, but now belong to the Euboea prefecture. The polis of Oropos, which sat on the regional border between Attica and Boeotia and was a frequent subject of dispute between the two states for years, is presented in *TIR 34 – Athens: Attica* (P. Karvounis). Thus, we follow the statements by Livy (45.27), Pliny (*HN* 4.7), and Pausanias (1.34.1) placing Oropos in Attica, in contrast to Strabo (9.1.3) who says that Oropos was a Boeotian town. Finally, Erythrai and Bathiza belonged to Roman Boeotia, while in present times both are part of the region of Attica. It should be noted that for the purposes of this volume, Boeotia is geographically confined within the borders that it had at the time of Pausanias (cf. the plan in Papachatzis, *Pausanias*, 14-15).

The index of individual sites is in alphabetical order. On the contrary, the maps that accompany this sheet follow the geographical order found in E. Farinetti (2011), who divides Boeotia into *chorai* (ancient polis territories) (e.g. Koroneiake, Chaironeiake, Haliartia, Thespike, Tanagrike etc.).

### The evidence

Data for this book have been mainly obtained from epigraphic and literary sources, the ancient (Strabo, Pausanias) and modern (Leake, Ulrichs, Gell, Ross) travellers, and the rescue excavations conducted by the 9th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (now renamed the Ephorate of Antiquities of Boeotia). Valuable sources of information are also the data collected through survey archaeology, and more specifically by the Cambridge/Bradford/Durham Boeotian Expedition (A.M. Snodgrass and J.L. Bintliff), the Leiden - Ljubljana Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project (J.L. Bintliff and B. Slapšak), the Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project (a collaboration between the Canadian Institute in Greece and the Ephorate of Antiquities of Boeotia), the Plataiai Research Project (A. Konecny in collaboration with the 9th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities [V. Aravantinos]), the Chostia Project (J.M. Fossey), the Cornell Halai and East Lokris Project (J.E. Coleman), the Stanford Skourta Plain Project (M. Munn and M. Zimmerman-Munn), the Tanagra Survey Project (D.W. Roller), the Ohio Boiotia Expedition (T.E. Gregory) and, finally, the Kopais Basin Research Project by J. Knauss and his team of hydrologists. In addition, the detailed topographical gazetteers of Boeotian sites written by S. Lauffer (1986), J. Fossey (1988) and E. Farinetti (2011), the useful translations of and commentaries on Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, written by J.G. Frazer (1898), N. Papachatzis (1981) and M. Moggi – M. Osanna (2010), and

P.W. Wallace's work (1979) on Strabo's description of Boeotia, are significant contributions to the study of this region.

All these sources are in accordance with the historical context and point to one and the same conclusion, namely, that Boeotia was in a state of decline in Late Hellenistic and Early Roman imperial times (ca. 200 BC-200 AD): its cities and villages shrank dramatically – some of them were abandoned and in ruins – and suffered depopulation. The reasons behind the demographic shift and the reduction in size and/or number of settlements are diverse: exhausting wars, severe reprisals, heavy tributes, indebtedments, the “redistribution” of land to the benefit of the wealthy, the unhealthy climate of Kopais Lake that possibly fostered malarial conditions, as well as the flooding of land by the lake's waters.

## Index - Maps -Abbreviations

The form of the index, as well as of the maps, is identical to that in *TIR J34–Athens: Epirus* (V. Antoniadis).

Toponyms mentioned in ancient literature are indicated in bold capitals. Place-names in current use, as well as place-names formerly in use, are indicated in brackets in bold lower-case.

Apart from the ancient names, the transliteration of Greek place- and personal names uses the standard UN / ELOT spelling system except in cases where there are well-established anglicised versions (e.g. Boeotia not Voiotia, Demetrius Poliorcetes not Dimitrios Poliorkitis).

Ancient sources are cited according to H.G. Lidell – R. Scott – H.S. Jones, *A Greek English Lexikon* (1925-1930) xvi-xlvi and A. Souter – J.M. Wyllie *et al.*, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1968). The abbreviations of the modern series and reviews follow the *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1997, 611-628 and the *Archäologische Bibliographie* 1993, IX-XLIII.

It should be mentioned that the bibliography includes works published up till 2016, with three notable exceptions. These recently published works deal with important topics related to the scope of this volume: the monument dedicated by the Thespians to the Muses at the sanctuary in the Valley of the Muses (G. Biard – Y. Kalliontzis – A. Charami [2017]); the results of the survey at Thespiai (J. Bintliff – E. Farinetti – B. Slapšak – A. Snodgrass [2017]); and the trophy of Sulla in Orchomenos (E. Kountouri – N. Petrochilos – S. Zoumbaki [2018]).

## Date

For the sake of definition, we take the ‘Roman period’ to be that of the mid-2nd century BC down to the 4th century AD, that is, from the conventional *terminus* of 146 BC (the battle of Corinth) to that of 330 AD (the foundation of Constantinople). However, Titus Quinctus Flamininus’ interference in Boeotian internal politics after the Second Macedonian War (200-197 BC) indicates that Roman authority made its presence felt in this region from the early 2nd century BC.

Early Christian monuments are not included in this study in order to avoid overlap with the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*.

## Acknowledgements

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## ABBREVIATIONS

The following is a list of frequently cited monographs and articles.

- Accame, *Il dominio*  
AETHSE I.2 S. Accame, *Il dominio romano in grecia dalla guerra acaica ad Augusto* (1946).
- AETHSE II.2 A. Mazarakis-Ainian (ed.), *Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης Βόλος 27.2–2.3.2003* (2006).
- AETHSE III.2 A. Mazarakis-Ainian (ed.), *Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης, Βόλος 16.3–19.3.2006* (2009).
- AETHSE IV.2 A. Mazarakis-Ainian (ed.), *Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης, Βόλος 12.3–15.3.2009* (2012).
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- Berman, *Thebes* D. W. Berman, *Myth, Literature, and the Creation of the Topography of Thebes* (2015).
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- Bintliff *et al.*, *Testing* J. L. Bintliff – Ph. Howard – A. M. Snodgrass, *Testing the Hinterland: the Work of the Boeotia Survey (1989-1991) in the Southern Approaches to the City of Thespieae* (2007).
- Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespiiai* J. Bintliff – E. Farinetti – B. Slapšak – A. Snodgrass, *Boeotia Project II: The City of Thespiiai. Survey at a Complex Urban Site* (2017).
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- Feyel, *Contribution*  
Fittschen, *Lolling*
- Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*  
Fossey, *Topography and Population*  
Frazer, *Pausanias*  
Freitag, *Golf von Korinth*
- Fresh light
- Gazetteer*
- Germani, Boeotian Theatres
- Goldman, Acropolis  
Gregory, Thisbe Basin  
Haas, *Hellenistic Halai*
- Hansen–Nielsen, *Inventory*
- Head, *BMC Central Greece*  
Head, *Boeotian Coinage*
- Head, *Historia numorum*  
Higgins, *Figurines*  
Hoover, *Coins*
- Imhoof-Blumer, Münzkunde
- Kahrstedt, *Wirtschaftl. Gesicht*
- Kalliontzis, Casualty List
- Kantiréa, *Dieux*
- M. Feyel, *Contribution à l'épigraphie béotienne* (1942).  
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Karouzos, *Μουσείο Θήβας*  
Keramopoulos, *Θηβαϊκά*  
Konecny et al., *Plataiai*

*Kopais 1*

*Kopais 2*

Körte, *Sculpturen*  
Kountouri, *Νεκροταφεία*

Kountouri, *Chaironeia*  
Lauffer, *Kopais I*

Leake, *Travels*  
Liddell – Scott – Jones  
Machaira, *Autels funéraires*

Machaira, *Ἡρώας ἱππέας*

Manieri, *Agoni*

Moggi – Osanna, *Beozia*

*Montagne des Muses*

Moretti, *ISE*  
Oliver, *Constitutions*

Papachatzis, *Πανσανίας*

Payne, *Aretas eneken*

Pharaklas, *Θηβαϊκά*  
Philippson, *Landschaften*

*Philologos Dionysios*

Piteros, *Αρχαιότητες*

Piteros, *Οικόπεδο Τόλια*

Chr. Karouzos, *Το μουσείο της Θήβας* (1934).

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ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

## ΒΟΕΟΤΙΑ – ΒΟΙΩΤΙΑ

Hdt. 5.67.14; Th. 1.12.3; Ar. *Ach.* 160; Scyl. 59.6; Aeschin. *Ep.* 12.13.2; Hyp. *Epit.* 5.20; X. *HG* 3.5.24; Demad. 104.2; Antig. *Mirabilia* 6.1.2; Thphr. *HP* 2.3.3; Plb. 4.67.7; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.12; Plu. *Per.* 17.2.6; Paus. 1.3.4; Poll. 1.30.3; Ath. 4.68.16; D.C. 278.15; Ael. *NA* 4.15.19; Gal. *Protr.* 7.45; D.Chr. 1.58.3; Luc. *Harm.* 1.22; Arr. *An.* 1.7.5; App. *Mith.* 112.4; Himerius, *Declam et orat.* 40.36; Hermog. *Inv.* 4.1.20; Plin. *HN* 4.25-26; Parth. 32.4.3; Str. 1.9.2; D.H. *Antiquit. Romanae* 1.18.1; D.L. 6.98.15; D.S. 1.23.2; Ant.Lib. 18.1.2; Libanius *Argum. orat. Demosth.* 15.1.2; Philostr. *VA* 8.19.8; Theon. *Prog.* 87.26; Eus. *PE* 2.2.1; Agathemerus *Geograph. informat.* 25.5; Anaximenes *Ars rhetorica* 8.7.3; Tatianus *Orat. ad Graec.* 39.1.9; Sopater *Διαίρ. ζητημ.* 8.207.10; Hephaestion *Apotelesm.* 140.10; Athanasius *De incarn. verbi*, 47.1.3; Steph. in *Rb.* 296.24; St.Byz. 173.4.

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Coins: Imhoof-Blumer, *Münzkunde*; Head, *Boeotian Coinage*; Head, *Historia numorum*; Head, *BMC Central Greece*; I. Tsourti, in *EpetBoiotiMel* III.1, 902-920; O.D. Hoover, *Handbook of Coins of Northern and Central Greece* (The Handbook of Greek Coinage Series, vol. 4) (2014) 342-406 (*non vidi*).

The name of the region is *Βοιωτία* and the ethnicon *Βοιωτός* or *Βοιωτίος*, cf. Hansen – Nielsen, *Inventory*, 431. According to Byzantine lexicography and scholia, the name refers to the raising of cattle (*boes*) or derives from an eponymous ancestor, Boeotus (*Comm. in Dionys. Thrac. art. Grammat. Schol. Londin.* 463.19; Eust. 1.362.25; 1.414.8;

*Et.Gen.* s.v. *Βοιωτός*; cf. Liddell – Scott – Jones s.v. *Βοιωτός*). Thucydides (1.12) informs us that the Boeotians originally occupied Arne in Thessaly, from which they were expelled by the Thessalians in the sixtieth year after the taking of Troy, and migrated into the country thereafter called Boeotia.

Two other names for the region are attested in the poetic sources: *Ὠγγυία*, from Ogygus, King of the Ectenes, who were the first autochthonous people, and *Ἄωνία*, from Aon, a son of Poseidon, who gave his name to the Aones, an ancient tribe in Boeotia (Herodianus et Pseudo-Herodianus, *De pros.cath.* s.v. *Ὠγγυία*; Str. 9.2.18; St.Byz. 102.10; Eust. 1.400.6; *EM* s.v. *Βοιωτία*; *Etymol. Synonymis* 1.94.17).

A proverb in literary tradition associated Boeotians with pigs (*Βοιωτία ὄς*). We find its first appearance in Pindar's sixth Olympian (l. 90) and its greatest use in Attic Comedy (Diogenianus s.v. *Βοιωτίων ὄς*; ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνασθητῶν; Alexis, *Προσώνιος* fr. 239 *PCG* and Antiphanes, *Βοιωτία* fr. 59; see also St.Byz. 174.4). It has been suggested that this proverbial statement, probably Athenian in origin, was a comment on the dullness and sensuality of the Boeotians, as well as on their pathological addiction to eating and drinking. Moreover, the Boeotians were perceived as illiterate, rustic and stupid people (Plu. *Moral.* XII. 995e). But in fact the reverse is true; personalities such as Hesiod, Pindar, Korinna and Plutarch, among the most brilliant representatives of ancient Greek poetry and biography/history, were natives of Boeotia. W.R. Roberts, *Ancient Boeotians: Their Character and Culture, and their Reputation* (1895); D.W. Roller, in A. Schachter (ed.), *Essays in the Topography, History and Culture of Boiotia, Teiresias Suppl.* 3 (1990) 139-144.

Smith (*Dictionary*, vol. I, 415) thinks that the character of the Boeotians was affected by the moist environment of the Kopais (cf. Cic. *Fat.* 4; Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.244) and the large quantities of food that they consumed, "which the fertility of their country furnished in abundance". Indeed, Boeotia possessed fine expanses of highly fertile land for cultivation, such as the Teneric Plain, the The-

ban or Aonian Plain, the Asopos valley and the Kopaic basin when it was drained. Kopais Lake, once the largest in Greece, was drained by both natural *katavothres* (sink-holes) and artificial subterranean channels which discharged the lakewater into the sea. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence attest Mycenaean, late Classical/Hellenistic and Roman drainage projects aimed on the one hand at controlling excessive amounts of water, which often inundated the surrounding plain, and on the other, at reclaiming marginal land for cultivation. The lake was an important source of income for the region, being renowned for its eels, considered a great delicacy in the Greek and Roman world (*Ar. Ach.* 880-892; *Ath.* 7.297d), as well as for its reeds which were suitable for making the famous Boeotian flutes (*Thphr. HP* 4.11.8-9).

#### *Historical framework*

The Boeotian cities took part in the Wars of the Diadochi, aligning with whoever advanced their interests. In general, they were loyal to Macedon and supported its later kings (Philip V and Perseus) against Rome. More specifically, in the Second Macedonian War between Philip V and Rome (200-197 BC), they remained on the side of the former, although they were forced by Titus Quinctus Flaminius to enter into alliance with the latter in 197 BC.

After the defeat of Philip V in the battle of Cynoscephalae (197 BC), Flaminius allowed the return of those Boeotians who had fought for the Macedonian king in the war, in order to gain support for the Roman faction. Among them was Brachyllas, the leader of the anti-Roman faction, who was elected to the post of *Boetarch* (one of the chief magistrates of the Boeotian League). When Brachyllas was assassinated by the leaders of the pro-Roman party with the connivance of Flaminius in the winter of 197/196 BC, it provoked a wave of anti-Roman feeling in Boeotia. Many Roman soldiers were massacred in various parts of Boeotia and in particular in the regions of Akraiphia and Koroneia, and Flaminius imposed severe punishments on the Boeotians for this outbreak (*Liv.* 33.29.7-9; 36.6; *Plb.* 20.7).

After the declaration of Greek independence made by Flaminius at the Isthmian Games of 196 BC, Greece was in theory 'free and autonomous', but in reality was placed under the rule of Rome. The Aitolians, who had helped the Romans defeat Philip V at the battle of Cynoscephalae, were embittered when they did not receive in return the territorial gains they had expected, and a few years later they turned against Rome, sum-

moning Antiochus III the Great to Greece as a champion against the Romans (192 BC). The Seleucid king also enjoyed the support of the Boeotians, who were disgruntled at Flaminius' interference in Boeotian internal politics. But the consul Manius Acilius Glabrio defeated the Seleucid forces at the battle of Thermopylae (191 BC) and compelled Antiochus to leave Greece (*Liv.* 36.1-5, 36.15-19; *Plb.* 20.7.3-5).

Boeotia again aligned with the Macedonians and their last king Perseus, and fought against the Romans in the Third Macedonian War (171-168 BC) (*Liv.* 42.12.5, 42.38.5, 42.40.6, 42.42.4, 42.43.5; *Plb.* 27.1.8). The three openly pro-Macedonian cities Haliartos, Thisbe and Koroneia were punished: Haliartos was totally destroyed by the Roman army under the praetor C. Lucretius Gallus (*Liv.* 42.56.3-5), while Thisbe and Koroneia also suffered severe destruction (171 BC).

Moreover, at that time (171 BC), the Hellenistic Boeotian League, which was a politico-military confederacy with close religious and economic ties, was dissolved by the Roman Senate, not only because it was friendly to Macedon, but also because Rome aimed at breaking up the federations and alliances among Greek cities. The Boeotian League was re-established at the time of Sulla (around 85-80 BC) or Lucullus (75-70 BC) (Knoepfler) or towards the end of the 1st century BC (Müller), acquiring mainly religious character: It organized the Boeotian festivals which are recorded in imperial times (e.g. the Thespian *Mousoeia* and *Erotideia*, the *Ptoia* at Akraiphia, the *Trophonia* and *Basileia* at Levadeia and the *Pamboeotia* at Koroneia) and participated in the requisite rites of the imperial cult. This Boeotian League survived until the first half of the 3rd century AD (Schachter). Boeotia also became involved in the Achaean War against the Roman Republic (146 BC). The Boeotians and the Achaeans marched on Herakleia in the Oita region and were defeated at Lokrian Skarpheia by Mettelus (*Paus.* 7.15.5). The Achaean War ended with the destruction of Corinth by Mummius (146 BC) which symbolized the end of Greek independence. Mummius placed many cities of Achaia and Boeotia *sub imperium populi Romani dicionemque* (*Cic. Ver.* 2.1.55). He put an end to democracies, established governments based on a property qualification and placed Greece under tribute-paying status. For instance, he ordered the Boeotians to pay 100 talents to the people of Herakleia and Euboea, but this fine was later remitted (*Paus.* 7.16.9-10).

From 146 BC until 87 BC no significant political incident (war or revolt) occurred in Greece and Boeotia saw

peace. Meanwhile, war between Rome and King Mithridates VI of Pontus broke out in 88 BC. Appian (*Mith.* 29) says that the whole of Boeotia sided with Mithridates' chief general Archelaos, except Thespiiai which remained loyal to Rome. For this attitude Thespiiai enjoyed special treatment. It became the only city in Boeotia in which an organized community of wealthy foreign residents and Italian *negotiatores* existed; they perhaps settled there as an alternative to the then-abandoned city of Corinth (Hornblower – Spawforth).

In 87 BC, Sulla arrived in Greece to fight Mithridates. The Roman general defeated Archelaos in two battles in Greece, at Chaironeia and Orchomenos (86 BC); he set up two trophies to commemorate his victory (Plu. *Sull.* 19.5-6; Paus. 9.40.7) and held his *epinikia* at Thebes, half of whose land was seized and donated to various panhellenic sanctuaries (Plu. *Sull.* 19.12; Paus. 9.7.5-6). He also devastated the land and destroyed Larymna, Antheion and Halai, as well as Alalkomenai and Orchomenos (Plu. *Sull.* 26.4; App. *Mith.* 51; Paus. 9.33.6). The disaster suffered by the Boeotians in the First Mithridatic War ended when Sulla opened negotiations with Archelaos at Delium. By 73 BC, all of Boeotia was tributary, with the exception of the cities of Tanagra, Thespiiai, Plataiai, and perhaps later Levadeia, which were *civitates liberae et immunes*.

During the Roman civil wars that followed, Boeotia always took the side of the defeated but was lucky enough not to be punished by the winners (e.g. it supported Pompey at the battle of Pharsalos [48 BC], Brutus and Gaius Cassius at the battle of Philippi [42 BC] and Antony in the Final War of the Roman Republic [32-30 BC]). At the time of the battle of Actium (31 BC), grain was being transported from Boeotia to the Corinthian Gulf to supply Antony's forces (Plu. *Ant.* 68); this brought the population near starvation. But after his victory at Actium, Octavian, the later Augustus, distributed the army's remaining stores of grain to many Greek cities, including Boeotia.

After the establishment of the *Pax Romana* in 27 BC, Boeotia was no more—in the phrase of Epameinondas—“[the] orchestra (dancing floor) of Ares” (Plu. *Marc.* 21.2), but enjoyed peace and political stability under Rome. In the same year (27 BC), it was absorbed into the Roman province of Achaia which was created to govern southern Greece. The *Pax Romana* was disturbed by the invasion of the Kostobokoi who raided throughout the Balkans all the way to Greece, getting as far south as Eleusis (ca. 170 AD). A corps of volunteers

was recruited in Thespiiai to join one of Marcus Aurelius' military expeditions (against the Kostobokoi or, more probably, the Germans) (*SEG* XXXIX 456 = *IThesp* 37). In 267 AD, the Gothic tribe of the Herulians plundered Boeotia and destroyed the widely known *Trophonion* at Levadeia. Boeotia emerged from the administrative reforms of Diocletian (284-305) and Constantine (306-337) as a district of the province of Achaia.

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## INDEX

**Agioi Apostoloi / Karampousa, Karamousa** – Άγιοι Απόστολοι / Καράμπουσα, Καράμουσα 4:2C/5:1B Livadeia Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

An extended scatter of sherds was noted in the area around the abandoned village of Agioi Apostoloi (formerly Karampousa or Karamousa), especially around and to the W of the church of Agios Georgios; it may suggest the existence of an extended habitation of Roman and earlier (Classical to Hellenistic) periods.

P. Dasios, in *EpetBoiotMel* II, 245-255 esp. 251-253 with note 28; cf. Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 287-288 no. 21.

**Agios Charalampos** – Άγιος Χαράλαμπος 4:1C/5:1B  
Livadeia Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Hellenistic and Late Roman surface sherds were noted in a small nameless valley between the Karvouni ridge to the S and an outlier of the same ridge to the N, facing westwards towards the Phokian site of Agios Vlassios (ancient Panopeus) and running eastward from the chapel of Agios Charalampos.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 383-384; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 288 no. 22.

**Agios Dimitrios** – Άγιος Δημήτριος 4:2D/5:2B  
Orchomenos Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

The following inscriptions were incorporated into the church of Agios Georgios, located in the center of the village of Agios Dimitrios, to the N of Koroneia:

A Roman inscription (IG VII 2870), consisting of three texts and dating to the reign of Antoninus Pius. The first and the third texts (155 AD) concern a territorial conflict between Koroneia and Thisbe; the second text (140 AD) is a letter of Antoninus Pius acknowledging and approving the content of some communication from the city of Koroneia.

SEG XXXV 405; J. Fossey, *Euphrosyne* 11, 1981-1982, 49-51 nos 9-11 = *Epigraphica Boeotica* I, 10-14 (texts 9-11); M.T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (2000) 87; Y. Kalliontzis, *Grammateion* 3, 2014, 15-30, esp. 20 with figs. 20-22.

An inscribed tombstone, bearing two inscriptions: a Hellenistic (3rd century BC) and a Roman one (IG VII 2922, 2nd-3rd century AD).

J.M. Fossey, *BSA* 69, 1974, 124 no. 10; *Epigraphica Boeotica* I, 263-264.

An inscription, dating to the late 2nd/3rd century AD. *Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 314.

An inscribed Roman tombstone (IG VII 3015) was built into the church of Agios Dimitrios.

B. Latschew, *AM* 7, 1882, 361 no. 21.

A necropolis of imperial date was found 3 km E of the village of **Mavrogeia** (formerly Degle) and the village of Agios Dimitrios.

U. Kahrstedt, *AA* 52, 1937, 18 fig. 1, 19; E. Farinetti, *ASAtene* 86, 2008, 131 table 1 no. 4.

**Agios Konstantinos** – Άγιος Κωνσταντίνος 2:3C/5:4C  
Tanagra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Abundant surface sherds of Hellenistic-Roman date were noted in the locality of Agios Konstantinos, situated to the S of the ancient town of Tanagra.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 24, 1969, B1, 186.

The ancient site lies on a low peak –accessible only from the NW side– and an adjacent lower terrace with the church of Agios Konstantinos. The systematic survey, conducted by the Leiden-Ljubljana Tanagra Project in 2003, found extraordinary quantities of Late Roman ceramics over the entire surface of the upper hill, an extramural settlement at its NW foot, and a substantial enclosure wall at several points of the hilltop, behind which great piles of Late Antique tiles and amphorae had built up.

J.L. Bintliff *et al.*, *Pharos* 11, 2003, 35-43, esp. 40.

According to Farinetti (*Boeotian Landscapes*, 215 and 382 no. 15), there was a Late Roman settlement site at Agios Konstantinos, probably with a defensive hilltop character.

**Agios Spyridon / Vranezi** – Άγιος Σπυρίδων / Βρανέζι 4:2D/5:2B

Orchomenos Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Roman potsherds associated with burials were noted at the village of Agios Spyridon (formerly Vranezi), situated about 5-6 km SW of Skripou.

G. Sotiriadis, *Prakt* 1904, 39; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 299-300 no. 19.

**Agios Thomas / Liatani** – Άγιος Θωμάς / Λιατάνη 2:3C/5:4C

Tanagra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Part of an inscribed grave stele of Roman date was found at the village of Agios Thomas (formerly Liatani), situated to the S of ancient Tanagra.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 24, 1969, B1, 186.

Roman tombs were noted.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 53.

A medium-sized Greco-Roman farm (TS29) and a large Roman villa (TS42) were discovered in the valley running SE from Agios Thomas; a large Roman villa site (TS39) and a double site combining a small Classical and small Roman farmstead lying side by side (TS37) were found in the valley running NW between Agios Thomas and **Kleidi**.

J.L. Bintliff, *Pharos* 13, 2005, 31.

**Agia Triada cave** – Σπήλαιο Αγίας Τριάδας 1:2A/5:1C  
Livadeia Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

A large number of figurines, dating from the Archaic to the Late Hellenistic period, were found in the “Cave of

the Nymph of Koroneia”, located in the rocky slopes above the village of Agia Triada. This imposing cave has been identified as the cult place dedicated to the Leibethrid Nymphs mentioned by Pausanias (9.34.4) and Strabo (9.2.25).

V. Vasilopoulou, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B2, 832-834; *ead.*, in *EpetBoiōiMel* III.1, 404-431; Schachter, *Cults* II, 187-188; *ARepLond* 2000-01, 56; V. Vasilopoulou – A. Matthaïou, *Grammateion* 2, 2013, 85-90; V. Vasilopoulou, in F. Mavridis – J.T. Jensen (eds), *Stable Places and Changing Perceptions: Cave Archaeology in Greece (BAR-IS 2558)* (2013) 319-328; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 273 no. 35.

**Agios Vasileios** – Άγιος Βασίλειος 1:4D/5:2D  
Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

The modern village of Agios Vasileios, situated about 3 km SE of ancient **Kreusis** (modern Livadostra), was probably the ancient harbor of Plataiai. Classical and Roman architectural remains were noted there, including a temenos of Poseidon and probably Roman villas. The name of the ancient settlement is unknown.

D. Philios, *AEphem* 1899, 57-61; A.W. Gomme, *BS* 418, 1911-12, 204 note 3; *RE* XX 2 (1950) 2259-2260 s.v. Plataiai (E. Kirsten); Kahrstedt, *Wirtschaftl. Gesichts*, 96; Buck, *History*, 12.

**AKRAIPHIA(I)/AKRAIFION/AKRAIFNION/ AKRAIFNIA (Akraifnion / Karditsa)** – ΑΚΡΑΙΦΙΑ(Ι) / ΑΚΡΑΙΦΙΟΝ / ΑΚΡΑΙΦΝΙΟΝ / ΑΚΡΑΙΦΝΙΑ (Ακραιφνιον / Καρδίτσα) 3:1D/4:4D/5:2B  
Orchomenos Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Hdt. 8.135.1; Plin. *HN* 4.26; Paus. 9.23.5, 9.24.1, 9.40.2; Liv. 33.29.6-12; Str. 9.2.27, 9.2.34; Hell. *Oxy.* 19.3; Theopomp. fr. 362; St.Byz. 63.1.

Inscriptions: *IG* VII 2707-2779, 2871.1, 4135.6; P. Girard, *BCH* 2, 1878, 492-507; M. Holleaux, *BCH* 12, 1888, 305-315; P. Perdrizet, *BCH* 22, 1898, 241-260; N.G. Pappadakis, *ADelt* 8, 1923, 189-203; M. Feyel, *BCH* 60, 1936, 11-36; *id.*, *BCH* 79, 1955, 419-423; S.N. Koumanoudis, *ADelt* 25, 1970, A, 126-127 no. I; Vottéro, *Dialecte béotien*, 117-127.

Coins: Hoover, *Coins*, 350-351.

Ancient Akraiphia is situated to the S and SW of the modern village of Akraifnio (formerly Karditsa), to the E of the former Kopais Lake and to the NW of the Yliki Lake (also called Likeri).

P. Guillon, *Les Trépieds du Ptoion* II (1943) pl. V.

Akraiphia was a small Boeotian city which does not seem to have included any other settlements in its *chora* (rural territory) in Roman times.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 226.

#### *Akraiphia and Rome*

In 196 BC, many Roman soldiers were murdered at Akraiphia, as reprisal for the assassination of the *boetarch* Brachyllas. According to Livy (33.29), the Roman commander Titus Quinctius Flamininus then ordered the Boeotians to hand over those responsible and to pay a fine of 500 talents. When this was refused, he ordered Appius Claudius to proceed against Akraiphia. After this destructive attack, Akraiphia was placed under the protection of P. Cornelius Lentulus.

M. Feyel, *BCH* 79, 1955, 419-422 (= Moretti, *ISE*, 175-176 no. 70).

Under Roman rule, the city enjoyed special privileges because of its pro-Roman stance; for example, it must have enjoyed some favours from Sulla, as indicated by a dedication in honor of him as *σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην* of the city.

N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 23, 1968, A, 293-294, pl. 130; *AE* 1971, 150 no. 448.

It has been suggested that the Akraiphians made this dedication because Sulla reinstated the celebration of two old festivals in the area, the *Ptoia* and the *Soteria* (on which see below); perhaps Sulla was called ‘soter’ to correspond with the very festival he helped re-establish.

Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 230; Payne, *Aretas eneken*, 259 (List 197); B. Le Guen, *REG* 123, 2011, 495-520 esp. 513-514 with note 96; Manieri, *Agoni*, 78-79.

According to Accame (*Il dominio*, 193 note 4), Akraiphia was probably declared *civitas libera*.

An inscribed honorary pedestal of a statue dedicated to Emperor Trajan Decius (249-251 AD) attests the existence of the city in the 3rd century AD.

P. Perdrizet, *BCH* 22, 1898, 250-251 no. 5.

#### *The ancient polis*

The ancient acropolis rises on top of Vigliza Hill (officially Skopia); its fortification wall dates after 335 BC.

G. Daux, *BCH* 90, 1966, 936, fig. 1; Y. Garlan, *BCH* 98, 1974, 95-112; Andreiomenou, *Ακραιφία*, 57 note 37.

For the lower town there is little archaeological evidence. The agora and the altar of Zeus Soter have been uncovered.

*IG* VII 2713, 48. 56-57; P. Lemerle, *BCH* 60, 1936, 461; *AA* 1937, 125.



Surface foundations of buildings can be seen on the hill's N slope in the direction of the modern village, which may itself have covered other parts of the ancient habitation.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 268.

A Roman wall was revealed in the Spathaki plot, located near the square of the modern village.

C. Koilakou, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B1, 84.

Remains of a house dating to the Julio-Claudian period were brought to light near the Middle Byzantine church of Agios Georgios (Mavrodemos plot), situated at the southern fringes of the modern village.

E. Vlachogianni, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B1, 377; F. Burkhalter – A. Philippa-Touchais, *BCH* 127, 2003, 874.

A sanctuary dating to the Hellenistic and Early Roman period came to light in the Chatzis plot, situated about 20 m to the N of the church of Agios Georgios. Among the finds were two inscribed columns: the first dated to the last quarter of the 3rd century BC and the second one century later (last quarter of the 2nd century BC). Andreiomenou, *Ακραϊφία*, 120 note 323, figs. 19-24.

#### *Movable finds*

The following movable finds were discovered at Akraiphia:

a) The fragment of an honorific pedestal of Septimius Severus (MC 2311) dating to 198-211 AD;

Y. Kalliontzis, *Horos* 22-25, 2010-2013, 314-315 no. 3.

b) An inscribed pedestal of a statue dedicated to Ptoikles (*SEG* XV 333) dating to the mid-2nd century BC; M. Feyel, *BCH* 79, 1955, 422 no. 2, fig. 2; Schörner, *Votive*, 460 no. 900.

c) An inscribed pedestal of a statue (*IG* VII 4161) dating to the 1st century BC;

Schörner, *Votive*, 461 no. 902.

d) The fragment of an honorary decree for a benefactor (*SEG* XXX 438), dating to the early Roman imperial period;

e) An honorary inscription for Paramonos (*SEG* LII 501 ter), dating to the Roman imperial period;

f) Proxeny decrees (*SEG* XLIII 202) dating to ca. 140-120 BC and

g) A decree honoring the metics of Akraiphia who had participated in a war against Demetrius Poliorketes.

Y. Kalliontzis – N. Papazarkadas, in W. Eck – P. Funke (eds), *Öffentlichkeit – Monument – Text* (*CIL AUCTARIUM*, Series Nova, 4) (2014) 550-552.

#### *The church of Agios Georgios*

The church of Agios Georgios may occupy the site of

the temple of Dionysos mentioned by Pausanias (9.23.5) as the most significant city monument.

Leake, *Travels*, 303-304; *RE* 23,2 (1959) 1525 s.v. Ptoion (Lauffer).

Many architectural *membra*, funerary stelai and inscriptions of the ancient city have been incorporated into this church.

P. Lazaridis, *ADelt* 21, 1966, B1, 213 (inscription of the 1st century BC) = J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 94, 1970, 1034 = *AE* 1971, 150 no. 449; *SEG* XXV 549; Schörner, *Votive*, 461 no. 901.

Of particular interest are three large inscriptions (*IG* VII 2711 [Caligula's letter to the Panhellenes, 37 AD, cf. *SEG* XLVII 473], 2712 and 2713 [Oration of Nero at the Isthmia and honorary decree for Nero, ca. 66/67 AD]), concerning a distinguished citizen and benefactor of Akraiphia, Epameinondas son of Epameinondas of Akraiphia.

#### *Epameinondas of Akraiphia*

Epameinondas had supported the reorganization of the *Prata* (ca. 37-50 AD), served as gymnasiarchos twice before 37 AD, was ambassador to the emperor Caligula on behalf of the Boeotian League (37 AD), agonothetes several times (37-67 AD) and high priest of the Sebastoi and Nero (67 AD).

When Emperor Nero proclaimed freedom and immunity for Greece at the Isthmian Games in 67 AD, Epameinondas erected statues in honor of Nero Zeus Eleutherios and Messalina (?) in the temple of Apollo Ptoios.

*IG* VII 2713, 49-52; Camia, *Theoi Sebastoi*, 222.

The speech made by Emperor Nero in 67 AD is inscribed on a stele dedicated by Epameinondas at the sanctuary of Apollo at Ptoon (now in the Thebes Museum).

Karouzos, *Μουσείο Θήβας*, 36 no. 86; Aravantinos, *Museum of Thebes*, 338; see also *SEG* XL 407.

Among the testimonials to Epameinondas is an honorific decree (*IG* VII 2712), dating to around 50 AD, which mentions that he had contributed over 6,000 *denarii* for work to repair the Mycenaean dike across the mouth of Karditsa Bay that protected Akraiphia's arable land from the yearly wintertime flooding of Kopais Lake.

*IG* VII 4134; *SEG* XXII 425; XXXVIII 378; XLV 437 and 438; XLVII 473; Leake, *Travels*, 295-301; U. Kahrstedt, *AA* 1937, 16; L. Robert, *AEphem* 1969, 1-58, esp. 34-39; S.N. Koumanoudis, *ADelt* 25, 1970, A, 126-127; J.H. Oliver, *GrRomByzSt* 12, 1971, 221-237; P.W. Wallace,



*Teiresias Suppl.* 2, 1979, 7-8; *Kopais* 1, 51-52; G. Argoud, in *Boeotia Antiqua* III, 48-49 no. 7; C. Müller, in *EpetBoiot-Mel* II.1, 455-467, esp. 460; Kantiréa, *Dieux*, 178-180; A. Chaniotis, in J. Rüpke (ed.), *Festrituale in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (2008), 67-87, esp. 70-72; E. Farinetti, *ASAtene* 86, 2008, 115-138, esp. 130.

This major repair work has been identified with a stretch of mortared ashlar masonry in the dike side.

E.J.A. Kenny, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 22, 1935, 189-206, esp. 193-194, pl. 63 a; S. Lauffer, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B1, 244, pl. 214; Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 229.

Epameinondas' repairs were probably insufficient: an honorific decree by the city for benefactor citizens (*SEG* XV 330 = L. Robert, *BCH* 59, 1935, 438-452) mentions that in the time of Claudius (ca. 42 AD), land was lost at Akraiphia and this could be blamed on the destruction of the dike and the subsequent flooding of the city's fields.

Kahrstedt, *Wirtschaftl. Gesicht*, 84-85; Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 229-230; *Epigraphica Boeotica* I, 251-252; E. Farinetti, *ASAtene* 86, 2008, 125.

According to Fossey (*Boiotian Topography*, 231), if the decline of the city by the 2nd century AD is to be blamed on the flooding of her fields, then much of the city's economy depended upon agriculture.

On the other hand, Kopais Lake was an important source of income for the city, being famous for its eels, which were considered a great delicacy in the Greek and Roman world (*Ar. Ach.* 880-892; *Ath.* 7.297d).

Of note is a Hellenistic tariff for the price of fish from Akraiphia.

*SEG* LIV 503; Fr. Salviat – Cl. Vatin, *Inscriptions de Grèce Centrale* (1971) 95-109; E. Lytle, *Hesperia* 79, 2010, 253-303; D. Knoepfler, *Bulletin épigraphique* 2011, no. 305.

#### *Zeus Soter / Soteria*

Various epigraphic sources provide evidence for the worship of Zeus Soter at Akraiphia from about the mid-2nd century BC until the second half of the 1st century AD.

*IG* VII 2727, 2728; *SEG* XV 332; L. Robert, *BCH* 59, 1935, 438-452; cf. M. Feyel, *BCH* 79, 1955, 422-423 no. 3; R. Sherck, *ZPE* 83, 1990, 281; Schörner, *Votive*, 460 no. 899.

They also attest the existence of a trieteric agonistic festival, called *Soteria*, with thymelic/dramatic and athletic competitions, which were probably re-established around 80 BC, after Sulla's war against Mithridates in Greece.

A.G. Gossage, *BSA* 70, 1975, 118; Schachter, *Cults* III,

93-95; J. Fossey, in Fittschen, *Lolling*, 123-139, esp. 142; cf. *Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 107.

*A Roman settlement on the western fringes of the lowland cemetery*  
Archaeological evidence (pottery kilns, residential complexes, a *villa rustica* and many building remains) suggests that there was a flourishing Roman settlement on the western fringes of the ancient city's lowland cemetery, which developed there from the 1st to the late 4th or early 5th centuries AD, when the cemetery was not in use: A pottery kiln installation of the Roman period was found on the western fringes of the ancient city's lowland cemetery. Part of a Late Roman residential complex that was destroyed at the end of the 4th century AD, a Late Roman structure with loomweights and other finds indicating workshop activity, as well as a family funerary monument (*heroon*) of Roman date were also discovered in the area (N side of the Athens-Lamia National Highway).

The *heroon* contained three loculi, holding multiple burials. A marble ossuary with relief representation of a horseman hero was discovered in one loculus (T.324); there is an inscription for the 'heroized' youth Panphilos on its cover. It dates to the 1st century AD (*SEG* LIV 504). Coins found in the *heroon* date from the 4th century BC to the 2nd century AD. Roman graves were also revealed to the SW of the *heroon*.

E. Vlachogianni, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B1, 380-386; *BCH* 127, 2003, 874; E. Vlachogianni, in *Αρχαιολογικές έρευνες και Μεγάλα Δημόσια Έργα. Αρχαιολογική Συνάντηση Εργασίας. Επταπύργιο Θεσσαλονίκης, 18-20 Σεπτεμβρίου 2003* (2004) 150-151; Aravantinos, *Museum of Thebes*, 353.

Remnants of a residential complex built in the 4th century BC and destroyed in the mid-4th century AD were revealed on the S side of the Athens-Lamia National Highway – Komvos Akraifniou. Finds included 200 coins ranging in date from the 4th century BC to the 4th century AD, along with an intact Late Roman lamp in the destruction level. Two Hellenistic pottery kilns, which were reused in Roman times, were discovered to the W of the residential complex.

C. Koilakou, *ADelt* 51, 1996, B1, 84-85; *ead.*, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B1, 123-125; Vlachogianni, *Αγροικία*, 511-512.

Remains of a Late Roman villa, as well as a pottery kiln of Roman date (?) were exposed on the S side of the Athens-Lamia National Highway.

C. Koilakou, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B1, 108.

A *villa rustica* came to light on the western fringes of Akraiphia's lowland cemetery, in an area known as

'Grava' because of the presence of cemeteries. It had a grape-pressing basin (ληνός) with sloping brick floor, a tank for collecting the must, as well as a pithos store-room in which the wine was kept in clay vats. It seems that some kind of trade related to wine production and sale took place in this complex, as deduced from the great number of coins that were dispersed in the building. A gold ring with a carnelian, found wedged in a wall, had probably been put there hastily for safekeeping. The farmstead was founded in the Early Roman period (between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD) and was abandoned by the end of the 4th century AD. V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 49, 1994, B1, 279; V. Sabetai, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B1, 302-304; V. Aravantinos, in *Αρχαιολογικές έρευνες και Μεγάλα Δημόσια Έργα. Αρχαιολογική Συνάντηση Εργασίας. Επταπύργιο Θεσσαλονίκης, 18-20 Σεπτεμβρίου 2003* (2004) 41; E. Farinetti, *ASAtene* 86, 2008, 131 table 1 no. 17; Vlachogianni, *Αγροικία*, 486-521; *ARepLond* 2013-14, 67.

A Roman *villa rustica* with four rooms was found to the SE of the lowland cemetery of ancient Akraiphia. One of the rooms had a floor paved with square clay tiles and was near an underground waterproof structure (cistern).

A. Andreiomenou, in *Nécropoles et sociétés antiques (Grèce, Italie, Languedoc); actes du Colloque international du Centre de Recherches Archéologiques de l'Université de Lille III, Lille, 2-3 Décembre 1991* (1994) 99-126, esp. 101-102, note 9, with fig. 2; Andreiomenou, *Αγροικία*, 57 note 37, 138-139 figs. 25-27.

#### Cemeteries / Burials

A number of Roman cemeteries were found around the ancient *polis* of Akraiphia:

1. A very large cemetery site was uncovered on either side of the Athens-Lamia National Highway, in the area of Karditsa Bay; it extended from the hill of the ancient acropolis to the riverbed of Boeotian Kephisos. This lowland cemetery was used continuously from the Middle Geometric until the Late Roman period, reaching a peak in the Archaic and Classical periods. Late Hellenistic and Roman burials are sparse in comparison with those from the Archaic and Classical periods.

A. Andreiomenou, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B2, 425; *ead.*, *AAA* 7, 1974, 325-338; *ead.*, *AAA* 10, 1977, 273-286; V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 48, 1993, B 1, 176-180; V. Sabetai, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B1, 301-302; *ead.*, *ADelt* 51, 1996, B1, 272-275; E. Vlachogianni, *ADelt* 51, 1996, B1, 275-278; *ead.*, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B1, 378-392; *ead.*, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B1, 345, 347; A. Andreiomenou, *ADelt* 56, 2001, A, 191-

220; *ead.*, in R. Frei-Stolba – K. Gex (eds), *Recherches récentes sur le monde hellénistique. Actes du colloque international organisé à l'occasion du 60<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de Pierre Ducrey* (Lausanne, 20-21 novembre 1998) (2001) 155-190; E. Vlachogianni – A. Lagia – V. Sabetai, in *EpetBoiotMel* IV.1, 711-744; Andreiomenou, *Αγροικία*, 56-62.

2. A cemetery, in use from the 3rd century BC to the 2nd century AD, was revealed on the western and northern feet of the ancient acropolis, E of the church of Agios Georgios. It seems that in Hellenistic and Roman times the main cemetery of the town was removed from the S side of the hill of the ancient acropolis to the N, where the modern village lies. The cause of its transfer was possibly the rise of the waters of the lake in the early imperial period.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 275; A. Andreiomenou, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B1, 164; V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 49, 1994, B1, 279-280; M. Kylaifi, in *EpetBoiotMel* III.1, 816-847.

Two burials with grave goods including Late Roman coins were revealed around the church of Agios Georgios.

C. Koulakou, *ADelt* 43, 1988, B1, 102.

Late Hellenistic graves were investigated in the area of the modern village.

E. Touloupa – S. Symeonoglou, *ADelt* 20, 1965, B2, 242.

3. Roman graves were discovered at the S and SE feet of the Vigliza Hill.

E. Guillon, *Les Trépieds du Ptoion* II (1943) 192, note 1; *RE* 23.2 (1959) 1526 s.v. Ptoion (Lauffer); Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 268, nos 5 and 6 in fig. 35; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 316.

4. Roman graves were also noticed 2 km N of the modern village, at the western foot of the Megalovouno ridge, along the road leading to Kokkino. They could be connected to the ancient town of Akraiphia.

*RE* 23.2 (1959) 1526 s.v. Ptoion (Lauffer); Lauffer, *Kopais I*, 222-223, with sketch 229; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 268 and no. 7 in fig. 35.

On the contrary, Farinetti (*Boeotian Landscapes*, 318 no. 19) relates them rather to villa sites or hamlets.

5. A Hellenistic-Roman cemetery was revealed in the locality of Roukouimza, on the SW slope of the Vigliza Hill.

I. Threpsiadis, *AEphem* 1973, *Parart* 83-85; A. Andreiomenou, *AAA* 7, 1974, 334.

Three late Hellenistic tile-roofed graves were discovered on the W slope of the Vigliza Hill.

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 175.

6. A Roman cemetery was found near the aforementioned dike.

*BCH* 79, 1955, 257.

Kahrstedt (*Wirtschaftl. Gesicht*, 77) mentions 13 burials of imperial date.

The fragment of an inscribed grave stele, dating to the Roman imperial period, was found (*SEG* LII 502).

E. Vlachogianni, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B1, 349.

#### *The sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios (Ptoion)*

During the Roman period, Akraiphia ran the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios (*Ptoion*), a famous oracle, second only to Delphi in importance in central Greece. The consort of Apollo at the *Ptoion* was Athena Pronaia. The sanctuary was situated E of the town, on the western slopes of Mt. Ptoon (modern Pelagia). It replaced the cult of the local hero Ptoios, whose shrine lies W of the sanctuary of Apollo. At the *Ptoion*, which was arranged on three terraces, are remains of water cisterns (lower terrace) probably used in cathartic rituals, an oracular cave and a temple of the late 4th century BC built on top of an older one of the 6th century BC. A cavernous chasm behind the temple was probably considered a sacred source of divinatory powers. The history of this oracular shrine begins in the late Geometric period (late 8th century BC) and runs into the Roman period. In the time of Plutarch (around 100 AD) the oracle was no longer functioning (Plu. *de defectu oraculorum* 411 F, 414 A). In the 3rd century AD the sanctuary probably only received visitors while the *Ptoia* were being held.

M. Holleaux, *BCH* 14, 1890, 1-64; A. Orlandos, *ADelt* 1, 1915, 94-110; *RE* 23.2 (1959) 1528-40 s.v. Ptoion (Lauffer); Van Effenterre, *Les Béotiens*, 139-144; A. Ganter, in P. Funke – M. Haake (eds), *Greek Federal States and Their Sanctuaries. Identity and Integration* (2013) 85-105, esp. 87-90; Rigsby, *Aylyia*, 59-67; E. Mackil, *Creating a Common Polity. Religion, Economy, and Politics in the Making of the Greek Koinon* (2013) 171-173.

The Akraiphians erected a statue of Elpinike Regilla in the sanctuary in order to honor her father, Herodes Atticus.

M. Holleaux, *BCH* 16, 1892, 464-465 no. 7.

The head of a female Roman statue was found at the sanctuary.

P. Jamot, *BCH* 15, 1891, 661.

An honorary decree for Xenokles Arkesilaou (*IG* VII 4132) dating to ca. 170-100 BC was discovered at the Ptoion.

*SEG* XLI 435; M. Holleaux, *BCH* 14, 1890, 181-203, esp. 194-196 no. 26; *Epigraphica Boeotica* I, 251-253.

A sign of Akraiphia's decline in the early 4th century AD can be considered the fact that a copy of Diocletian's Price Edict *De Pretiis Rerum Venalium* was set up in the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios, and not in the city's agora.

#### *The Ptoia*

The city of Akraiphia may have also instituted the *Ptoia*, a penteteric contest in honor of Apollo.

*IG* VII 2710.4, 4147.2, 4148.4.16, 4152, cf. A. Schachter, *AJPh* 105, 1984, 266, who says that the Boeotian Koinon joined Akraiphia in operating this festival.

The city had been instructed by the oracle of Trophonios at Levadeia (on which see below, **Levadeia**) to proclaim this competition as sacred.

*IG* VII 4136, cf. *SEG* XXXII 440 and XXXIV 352; A. Schachter, *AJPh* 105, 1984, 258-270; R. Parker, in R. Schlesier – U. Zellmann (eds), *Mobility and Travel in the Mediterranean from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (2004) 9-22, esp. 19.

According to C. Müller (in *Epigraphy and History*, 130), the contest went through at least three stages of organization or reorganization:

1) 230-225 BC: first reorganization of the *Ptoia*, contra M. Nafissi, *Klio* 77, 1995, 149-169, esp. 156-157 and 163, who dates the (re)organization of the *Ptoia* to 221-220 BC, cf. *IG* VII 4135-4136; *SEG* XLV 434 and 436.

2) End of the 2nd century BC: the contest was reorganized as a penteteric ἀγὼν στεφανίτης θυμηλικός (*IG* VII 2712.75, 4138.15, 4139.9, 4142.10; cf. a Hellenistic inscription from Haliartos [*SEG* XXXII 456], attesting that the *Ptoia* were not exclusively musical contests but also included equestrian agons).

3) At the beginning of the Empire between 37 and 50 AD: the *Ptoia* had been omitted in the Augustan period, as no citizen of Akraiphia could afford the expense of the ἀγωνοθεσία (*IG* VII 2712.55-57).

In the 1st century AD the sacred games were revived by private benefaction after a lapse of thirty years: Epameinondas of Akraiphia was appointed agonothete, restored the festival of the *Ptoia* at his own expense and became the founder of the (now renamed) 'Great *Ptoia* and Kaisareia' (*IG* VII 2712.56 and 58. *SEG* LVIII 433; Kantiréa, *Dieux*, 179, 183, 196; Camia, *Theoi Sebastoi*, 125). In the imperial period, rhapsodic contests took place at the *Ptoia* (*IG* VII 2726, 4145) and the *Ptoia Kaisareia* (L. Bizard, *BCH* 27, 1903, 296-299, A 12).

The festival was still celebrated in the 2nd and 3rd



centuries AD with the same program; it became ἀγὼν θεματικός, i.e. the winners were rewarded with a money prize (θέμα) instead of a leaf-crown (*IG* VII 4151.15).  
 M. Holleaux, *BCH* 16, 1892, 463-464 no. 6 (list of victors of the *Ptoia*, 2nd-3rd centuries AD [?], cf. *SEG* XXXI 388); Feyel, *Contribution*, 133-147; *RE* 23,2 (1959) 1547-1553 s.v. Ptoion (Lauffer); A.G. Gossage, *BSA* 70, 1975, 115-134; Roesch, *EB*, 225-255; Schachter, *Cults* I, 54-73; Kahrstedt, *Wirtschaftl. Gesicht*, 82; Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 231; J.M. Fossey, in Fittschen, *Lolling*, 141-150, esp. 143-144, cf. L. Migeotte, *AncW* 37, 2006, 14-25; G. Argoud, in *EpetBoiotMel* IV.1, 529-546, esp. 544-545; Manieri, *Agoni*, 67-77, 80-133; C. Müller, in *Epigraphy and History*, 119-146, esp. 130-132; *Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 108-109; F. Graf, *Roman Festivals in the Greek East* (2015) 19-24.

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Y. Kalliontzis – N. Papazarkadas, in W. Eck – P. Funke (eds), *Öffentlichkeit – Monument – Text (CIL AUCTARIUM, Series Nova, 4)* (2014) 550-552.

**ALALKOMENAI** – ΑΛΑΛΚΟΜΕΝΑΙ 1:3A/5:2C  
 Aliartos–Thespies Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Str. 7.7.9, 9.2.27, 9.2.35; Paus. 9.3.3, 9.33.5-7; Ael. Fr. 53.1; St.Byz. 68.12.

Inscriptions: *IG* IX2.1, 170; L. Bizard, *BCH* 29, 1905, 99 no. I.

Ancient Alalkomenai was situated near the southern bank of Kopais Lake, on a small ridge (known as Vouno) at the very foot of the hills below Solinari. Its territory, the Ἀλαλκομενία (D.S. 19.53.7), was rather small and included Mount **Tilphousion**. This small *polis* (*polichni*) was famous for the worship of Athena, who was said to have been born there, and who was hence called ἀλαλκομενής Ἀθήνη in Homer (*Il.* 4.8). Her sanctuary (τὸ Ἀλαλκομένειον: Istros, *FGrH* 334F58b) stood a short distance from the town, at a small stream called Triton. The location of this shrine is disputed.

S. Deacy, in *Boeotia Antiqua* V, 91-104; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 267 nos 9/10.

Both the town and the temple of Athena were plundered by Sulla, who carried off the ivory cult image of the goddess (Paus. 9.33.6-7); after that, the temple of Athena was neglected. According to Pausanias (9.33.7), a large growth of ivy was loosening the stones of the temple, thus contributing to its destruction in his time. Contrary to Pausanias, epigraphic evidence suggests that the *Alalkomeision* continued to be important throughout the imperial period.

Y. Kalliontzis, *Horos* 22-25, 2010-2013, 309-326, esp. 313.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 332, noted Roman pottery at the site.

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**Alalkomenes, Alkomenes / Mamoura** – Αλαλκομενές,  
Αλκομενές / Μαμούρα **1:3A/5:2B**  
Livadeia Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

The following inscriptions were found in second use at the modern village of Alalkomenes (formerly Mamoura), situated to the NE of ancient Koroneia:

Fragments of an imperial statue base (*IG VII 2878*).  
A Roman victors' list (*IG VII 2871*; cf. *SEG XXVIII 454*).  
Federal proxenia decrees (*IG VII 2859-2869*).  
A Roman tombstone (*IG VII 3051*; cf. P. Foucart, *BCH* 9, 1885, 427-433; Feyel, *Contribution*, 17-18; Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 242). The tombstone –though very movable– may suggest the existence of a burial place related either to the Itonion or to **Alalkomenai** or to **Koroneia** (more likely), so Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 267 no. 11.

**Ano Siphai, Pyrgos** – Άνω Σίφαι, Πύργος  
Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un. **1:3D/5:2D**

An ancient fort was discovered on the hill called Mavrovouni or Goula, at the modern site of Ano (Upper) Siphai (known also as Pyrgos), situated 4 km SW of Xironomi; it was in use in the Classical and late Classical periods, and probably again in Late Roman times, and formed part of the outlying defences of **Siphai**.

A small Geometric rural sanctuary, probably dedicated to the cult of Artemis Agrotera (*IThesp 233-234*), was also discovered at the site; it remained in use until the end of the 1st century BC or the beginning of the 1st century AD. After its abandonment, a small fortress was constructed in Late Roman times.

*SEG XVIII 166-167*; J.R. Mc Credie – A. Steinberg, *Hesperia* 29, 1960, 123-125 nos 1 and 2, pls 29 and 39; R.A. Tomlinson – J.M. Fossey, *BSA* 65, 1970, 243-263; E.L. Schwandner, *AA* 1977, 516-519; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 173-174; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 348 no. 5.

**ANTHEDON (Mandraki-Kastri)** – ΑΝΘΗΔΩΝ  
(Μανδράκι-Καστρί) **3:2C/5:3B**  
Chalkideon Mun. / Euboea R.Un.

Scyl. 59.4; Lycophron, *Alex.* 754; Heraclides Criticus, *Descr. Graec.* 1.23-1.25; Str. 9.2.13; Plu. *Sull.* 26.3; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.8; Ath. 1.56, 7.47, 7.99, 15.24; Ov. *Met.* 7.232-3; 13.904-5; Paus. 9.22.5-6; D.S. 15.78; St.Byz. 96.11; Eust. 1.415.14.

Inscriptions: *IG VII 4172-4235*; *SEG XXXVI 413*; XLII 404; C.D. Buck – F.B. Tarbell, *AJA* 5, 1889, 443-460; A. Jardé – M. Laurent, *BCH* 1902, 323-326 nos 10-15; M.H. Jameson, *AA* 1968, 98-102; J.M. Fossey, *BSA* 1974, 127 no. 22; Roesch, *EB*, 91-104; D. Knoepfler, *Chiron* 22, 1992, 478 no. 125; S.D. Lambert, *BSA* 95, 2000, 508 E16; Vottéro, *Dialecte béotien*, 178-181; D. Knoepfler, *REG* 124, 2011, 386 no. 306.

Coins: Imhoof-Blumer, *Münzkunde*, 325.

According to Strabo (9.2.2), who provides information from the historian Ephorus, Boeotia was unique in Greece in having three seas and many good harbors, one of which was Anthedon. The maritime importance of Anthedon is confirmed by the fact that it is the only harbor in Boeotia which is included in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.508), apart from **Aulis** itself. *Catalogue of Ships*, 33.

Anthedon was a member of the Boeotian League. Together with Larymna and Halai, it was destroyed by Sulla after his victory over the Mithridatic forces at Orchomenos in 86 BC (Plu. *Sull.* 26.4), so that its harbor, which was situated at a crucial passage towards Euboea, could not be used by the Mithridatic forces operating from that island (Euboea). The ancient city was probably soon rebuilt, but it might have known a decline during the Roman period followed by another flourishing phase in Late Roman times.

D. Knoepfler, *Chiron* 22, 1992, 478 no. 125; E. Lytle, *Hesperia* 79, 2010, 279 note 99.

Anthedon was mainly a maritime city with little agricultural land. Its economy was based on fishing and viticulture; its fish and wine were well-known in antiquity (Ath. 7.316a). Perhaps wine production had declined there by the time of Plutarch (Plu. *Quaest.Gr.* 19 [*Moralia* 295e-f]) and the activities of its inhabitants focused more on the harbor.

E. Lytle, *Hesperia* 79, 2010, 279 note 96. According to

Heraclides Criticus (*Descr. Graec.* 1.24), most of Anthedon's inhabitants lived from trading in fish, murex shells and sponges; he says they were ferrymen and shipbuilders who owned no land, following in the example of their mythical ancestor, the sea-god Glaucos, who is said to have been originally a native fisherman.

The ancient city lay on the shore of the Euboean Gulf at the foot of Mt. Messapion (also known as Mt. Chtypas or Ktypas), about 2 km N of the modern village of **Loukisia**. The main part of the settlement was at the harbor (modern Mandraki locality) and at Kastri Hill to the SE, which was used for the fortified acropolis of the ancient town.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 253 fig. 32, 254.

A short description of the town and its monuments is given in the literary sources: Heraclides Criticus (*Descr. Graec.* 1.23) says that Anthedon was a small town with an agora surrounded by a double stoa and planted with trees. Pausanias (9.22.5-6) mentions that at just about the center of the town was a sanctuary of the Kabiroi with a grove around it, and, close by, a temple of Demeter and Kore, with statues of white marble. Moreover, there was a sanctuary and a statue of Dionysos in front of the city on the landward side, and near the sea the so-called 'Leap of Glaucos'.

Surface sherding and building remains suggest habitation throughout the Bronze Age, as well as from Geometric to Late Roman or Early Byzantine times. There is some pottery evidence that the harbor was still in use—at least occasionally—until about 1200.

H. Schläger – D.J. Blackman – J. Schäfer, *AA* 1968, 25 note 25, 86, 89, 98; Wallace, *Strabo*, 57-59.

#### *Harbor installations*

Notable remains of the harbor installations (two moles to the N and E of the port and 370-metre-long quays surrounding it to the N, W and S, see *AA* 1968, plan 2 and 4) are visible on the sea surface and underwater. The date of the harbor works is disputed. Some scholars date the visible remains to the 4th century BC, while others to the Late Roman or Early Byzantine period (probably to the time of Justinian). There is no doubt that there must have been harbor works of some kind before this period (for example in Epameinondas' time, around 366/5 BC), but they have left no archaeological evidence.

H. Schläger – D.J. Blackman – J. Schäfer, *Archeologia* 17, 1967, 12-17; *id.*, *AA* 1968, 21-98; S. Papageorgiou – S. Steiros, in *EpetBoiotMel* II.1, 509-510.

S. Hood, *BSA* 65, 1970, 37 note 3, questions the Justinianic date of the harbor structures and suggests a medieval one. The south quay of the harbor was porticoed. The remnants of an Early Christian basilica with mosaic floor were brought to light in the level area adjacent to the south quay.

A.K. Orlandos, *Αρχαίον των Βυζαντινών Μνημείων της Ελλάδος*, vol. III (1937) 172-174; H. Schläger – D.J. Blackman – J. Schäfer, *AA* 1968, 91; *contra* J.C. Rolfe, *AJA* 6, 1890, 98-99 and 103, who thought that the Early Christian basilica was a Roman building.

#### *Movable finds*

The following movable finds were discovered at the site:

a) A dedicatory inscription to Artemis Eileithuia (*IG* VII 4174) dating to the Roman period.

C.D. Buck – F.B. Tarbell, *AJA* 5, 1889, 447-448 no. 3;

b) A list of the eponymous archons of Anthedon (*IG* VII 4173 = *SEG* XXVII 52), beginning about 170 AD and continuing to 224 AD.

C.D. Buck – F.B. Tarbell, *AJA* 5, 1889, 448-451 no. 5; R. Sherk, *ZPE* 83, 1990, 282;

c) A list of worshippers of Zeus Karaios and Anthas (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2360 = *SEG* L 484), dating to ca. 150 BC, was found in Athens but its provenance is Anthedon.

*SEG* XXV 565; J.G.C. Anderson, *BSA* 3, 1896-1897, 106-111 no. I; Feyel, *Contribution*, 51-52; M.H. Jameson, *AA* 83, 1968, 101.

#### *Burials*

Roman tombstones were found—not *in situ*—in Matsuka's field, situated in the Anthedon – Paliambela locality; they could suggest the existence of a cemetery in the area.

E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki, *ADelt* 43, 1988, B1, 202-203; *AE* 1993, 421 no. 1423; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 376 no. 4.

An undated tomb was found in the Liopyri plot, situated in the Kastri locality.

E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki, *ADelt* 48, 1993, B1, 197.

Farinetti (*Boeotian Landscapes*, 205 and 375-376 no. 1) suggests a Roman date and interpretes it as an indication of a shrinking of the town site in the Roman period.

Two marble life-size lions of imperial date were recorded; they were probably used as grave markers.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 387 nos 153-154.



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E. Lytle, *Hesperia* 79, 2010, 253-303.  
Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 201-206, 375-376 no. 1.

**ASKRA (Askri Episkopi) – ΑΣΚΡΑ (Ἀσκριῆ Ἐπισκοπή)**  
1:3B/5:2C

Aliartos – Thespies Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Hes. *Op.* 639-640; Ephor. fr.1; Mosch. *Epitaphius Bionis*, 87; Verg. *G.* 2.176; Str. 9.2.35, 3.13, 9.2.25; Paus. 9.29.1-2; Plu. *Moralia* fr. 82.

Inscriptions: *IG* VII 1883.1884.

Ancient Askra, the birthplace of the poet Hesiod, was situated at the eastern end of the Valley of the Muses. It was a substantial *kômê*, some 10.5 *ha* in size, within the territory of ancient Thespiei. It was rich in grapes (Aristonicus, *De sign. Iliad.* 7.9.2; Str. 9.2.35) and renowned for beetroot in antiquity (Poll. 6.63).

Systematic surface surveys, jointly directed by J.L. Bintliff and A.M. Snodgrass, turned up traces of pre-historic occupation (EH II to MH) and of an extensive settlement which was inhabited intermittently from the

Protogeometric to the Late Roman periods. Surface pottery showed that it may have been abandoned for some 300 years between the later Hellenistic and Late Roman phases. The same evidence derives from the literary sources which mention that Askra was uninhabited in Plutarch's and Pausanias' time (Plu. *Moral.* fr. 82; Paus. 9.29.2). In Late Roman times (*ca.* 400 to 650 AD), Askra became a large urban focus, with intensive occupation concentrated in the central and south-central sectors of the site, recovering its settlement size almost to Classical Greek levels.

J.L. Bintliff – A.M. Snodgrass, *JFieldA* 12, 1985, 147; *id.*, in *BOIOTIKA*, 285-299, esp. 288-289; J.L. Bintliff, in *EpetBoiotMel* II.1, 605-614, esp. 606; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 338.

An extra-mural sanctuary with its temenos was noted just outside the occupation area to the W; its ruins were later converted (perhaps during the Late Roman occupation?) into a 'crude fortified emplacement'. Moreover, kiln-wasters, mainly of Late Roman date, were noted, proving the existence of a potter's kiln.

A. Snodgrass, *Teiresias* 15, Archaeological Reports 1985, 85.1.02.

Pausanias (9.29.2) states that in his day nothing memorable was left except the 4th century BC watchtower that still stands on top of Pyrgaki Hill; the latter has been identified with the acropolis of the settlement.

P.W. Wallace, *GrRomByzSt* 15, 1974, 9; 15, 1974, 9; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 142; J.L. Bintliff – A. Snodgrass, *Antiquity* 62, 1988, 57-71, esp. 61; G. Gauvin – J. Morin, in *Boeotia Antiqua* II, 7.

A Roman funerary epigram (*IG* VII 1883.1884) with the only epigraphic evidence for the localisation of Askra (mentioning the "Askraian plain") was discovered at the now vanished chapel of Agios Loukas, located at the foot of Pyrgaki Hill.

A. Conze, *Philologus* 19, 1863, 181; J.L. Bintliff – A.M. Snodgrass, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B1, 196; *AREpLond* 1982-83, 32.

There has been some attempt to consider the Pyrgaki Hill as ancient Keressos, mentioned by Plutarch (*Cam.* 19) and Pausanias (9.14.2-3) as the refuge-site of the city of Thespiei. Papachatzis, *Pausanias*, 187 note 1; *Princeton Encyclopedia*, 448-449 s.v. Keressos (Roesch); A. Snodgrass, in G. Argoud – P. Roesch (eds), *La Béotie antique: Lyon – Saint Étienne 16-20 Mai 1983* (1985) 93; Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespiei*, 22, 94.

Keressos has been placed at various localities; R.J. Buck, *Teiresias Suppl.* 1, 1972, 31-40, sums up all proposed

candidates for this 'defensible spot'; see also J.L. Bintliff - A.M. Snodgrass, *ARepLond* 1982-83, 32.

A Roman inscribed grave altar with representation of a horseman hero was found at the site.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 362 no. 96; cf. Machaira, *Ἡρώας υπέας*, 860-861 no. 6b.

Four Roman grave altars with the representation of a horseman hero were found in second use.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 364 nos 101-103, 365 no. 106.

Potsherds dating from the Hellenistic-Roman and Late Roman periods were recorded at the site of a medieval and post-medieval settlement on the slopes of the Palaiovoron Hill. Crowning the hill, which is near the Pyrgaki Hill, is a ruined medieval tower.

A. Snodgrass, in G. Argoud - P. Roesch (eds), *La Béotie antique: Lyon - Saint Étienne 16-20 Mai 1983* (1985) 93; Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespiiai*, 93; J. Vroom, *BSA* 93, 1998, 514.

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P.W. Wallace, *GrRomByzSt* 15, 1974, 1-24.

*Princeton Encyclopedia*, 101 s.v. Askra (P. Roesch).

A. Snodgrass, in G. Argoud - P. Roesch (eds), *La Béotie antique: Lyon - Saint Étienne 16-20 mai 1983* (1985) 87-95.

J.L. Bintliff - A.M. Snodgrass, *JFieldA* 12, 1985, 123-161.

J.L. Bintliff - A.M. Snodgrass, *Antiquity* 62, 1988, 57-71, esp. 60-61.

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J.L. Bintliff, in *Montagne des Muses*, 193-210.

J.L. Bintliff, in M. Brunet (ed.), *Territoires des cités grecques. Actes de la table ronde internationale organisée par l'École française d'Athènes, 31 octobre-3 novembre 1991*, *BCH Suppl.* 34 (1999) 15-33.

*Barr-Atlas*, 55 E4; 57 B3; 58 E1.

A.T. Edwards, *Hesiod's Ascras* (2004).

J.L. Bintliff, *Teiresias* 42.2, 2012, 122.0.01.

**Askris Potamos** – Ἀσκρις Ποταμός 1:3B/5:2C  
Aliartos – Thespias Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Surface investigations on the southern bank of the Askris Potamos (the ancient Permesos or Termesos, cf. Paus. 9.29.5), at the foot of Palaiokarantas Hill, turned up traces of a settlement which existed from early historical to Late Roman times. This *kómē* or village may

well have suffered abandonment in later Hellenistic times, but returned to its full size by the mature Early Roman period, probably with an associated cemetery. Bintliff *et al.*, *Testing*, 84-93, 154, 174.

**AULIS (Mikro Vathy – Agios Nikolaos)** – ΑΥΛΙΣ (Μικρό Βαθύ – Άγιος Νικόλαος) 3:3D/5:4B  
Chalkideon Mun. / Euboea R.Un.

Hom. *Il.* 2.303 and 496; Hes. *Op.* 651; A. *A.* 191; E. *LA* 88; X. *HG* 3.4.3; Paus. 9.19.6-8; Ps-Scylax 59; Plu. *Ages.* 6.4.2; D.H. *Comp.* 16.115; Dion.Calliphon. 88; Str. 9.2.8, 10.1.2; Nonn. *D.* 13.105; Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia Romana* 3.43.10.

Inscriptions: *SEG* XXV 542.

Aulis was situated on the rocky peninsula between the two harbors of Megalo Vathy and Mikro Vathy, facing Euboea. Strabo (9.2.8) describes it as a *κώμη* and *πετρῶδες χωρίον* in the territory of Tanagra.

Aulis is best known as the point of embarkation for the Achaean expedition against Troy and as the scene of the related sacrifice of Iphigeneia at the temple of Artemis.

*The temple of Artemis Aulideia*

The temple of Artemis Aulideia was depicted on Roman imperial coins of Tanagra.

Frazer, *Pausanias*, 74, fig. 3; Head, *BMC Central Greece*, 66, pl.10.15, 16; F.W. Imhoof-Blumer - P. Gardner, *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* (1887) = *Ancient Coins Illustrating Lost Masterpieces of Greek Art* (1964) 113, pl. 10.3-5; Bakhuizen, *Salganeus*, 23 fig. 8.

It was discovered near the Mikro Vathy harbor by I. Threpsiadis. According to the excavator, the temple dates from the 5th century BC to the end of the 4th century AD and had three building phases: a Classical, a Hellenistic and a Roman one (I. Threpsiadis *Prakt* 1959, 27-29; *id.*, *ADelt* 17, 1961-62, B1, 141) (a late Geometric structure found under the eastern end of the temple was interpreted with some reservations as a precursor to the Classical temple. In contrast, Schachter, *Cults* I, 96-97, does not connect this structure with cult activity).

The temple was divided into a porch (distyle in antis), a cella and an opisthodomos.

I. Threpsiadis, *ADelt* 17, 1961-1962, B1, 139 with fig. 3. In the Hellenistic period a tetrastyle prostoion was added in front of the original porch. A bathron with the name of consul L. Mummius on it (*SEG* XXV 541) was discovered within this porch.

Schörner, *Votive*, 461-462 no. 904.



The cella contained:

a) Two rows of four columns, which were replaced with new Ionic ones in the Hadrianic period;

b) A circular base that may have supported the trunk of the thousand-year-old plane tree mentioned by Homer (*Il.* 2.307) and Pausanias (9.19.7);

c) An over-life-size headless marble female statue, dating to the first half of the 1st century AD; it is a variation of the statue type representing Artemis or Persephone. The head was inset and perhaps portrayed a Roman empress, either Livia or Agrippina the Younger.

I. Threpsiadis, *Prakt* 1956, 99, pl. 31; A.K. Orlandos, *Ergon* 1956, 36; I. Threpsiadis, *ADelt* 17, 1961-62, B1, 141; Aravantinos, *Museum of Thebes*, 344;

d) An inscribed pedestal (*SEG* XXV 542) that supported a statue of Zopyreina, priestess of Artemis Aulideia; it dates to the end of the 2nd / beginning of the 3rd century AD.

I. Threpsiadis, *Prakt* 1956, 102 and pl. 33; Schörner, *Votive*, 462 no. 905 (cf. *IG* VII 565, which is another Roman honorary inscription for a priestess of the goddess).

Within the opisthodomos of the temple of Artemis Aulideia various furnishings were found, dating to the Hellenistic or Roman building phase, such as: a triangular base (for a tripod or a triple Hekate), a small square base, two round altars and a pair of marble plaques decorated in relief, from a table of offerings.

I. Threpsiadis, *Prakt* 1956, pl. 30, 32, 34b.

The temple was out of use by the end of the 4th century AD. After that, the prostoon was incorporated into a bath building covering part of the cella.

I. Threpsiadis, *Prakt* 1958, 47 fig. 2; Vlachogianni, *Αγροεισία*, 521 no. 40.

Other finds from the temple included (I. Threpsiadis, *Prakt* 1958, pl. 41):

a) An archaistic statue of Hekate, dating to the late Hellenistic period.

I. Threpsiadis, *Prakt* 1958, 45, pls. 39b and 40; Aravantinos, *Museum of Thebes*, 345 (left);

b) The fragment of a Roman Kore, a pictorial statue of a woman represented as a muse of the Athens/Thebes type (first half of the 2nd century AD).

Aravantinos, *Museum of Thebes*, 345 (right);

c) Two headless portrait statues of priestesses, in the type of the Small Herculaneum Woman, dating to the late 2nd-early 3rd centuries AD.

Aravantinos, *Museum of Thebes*, 346;

d) A headless marble male statue of the 1st century AD which probably depicted a priest or a diviner of the shrine; and

e) The inscription of Balakros which bore a dedication of L. Mummius (*SEG* XXV 540).

I. Threpsiadis, *Prakt* 1956, pl. 33a.

An altar and a sacred fountain mentioned by Homer (*Il.* 2.303-307) were revealed just E of the temple.

I. Threpsiadis, *Prakt* 1958, 48-50, figs 3 and 4; *id.*, *ADelt* 17, 1961-62, B1, 140 fig. 2, 142; F. Glaser, *ÖJb* 51, 1976-1977, Beibl. 1-10.

A complex of workshops for pottery and coroplasty (buildings Λ, Ν, Π on plan) and a hospice for the visitors (*katagogion*, building Μ on plan) were brought to light to the SW of the temple.

I. Threpsiadis, *Prakt* 1958, 52-53 fig. 5; *id.*, *Prakt* 1959, 29; A.K. Orlandos, *Ergon*, 1960, figs. 61-63; I. Threpsiadis, *ADelt* 17, 1961-62, B1, 138 with fig. 1, 143, pl. 163a. Building Λ was of Hellenistic date, while the other three (buildings Ν, Π and Μ) were apparently Roman.

A.K. Orlandos, *Ergon* 1959, 29; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 72.

Schachter (*Cults* I, 97) thinks that the potter's workshops were built near the temple because they provided pilgrims with souvenirs or votive offerings. In 167 BC L. Aemilius Paullus visited the site (Liv. 43.27) that seems to have become "a kind of tourist attraction", as Schachter, *op.cit.*, suggests.

Large quantities of Late Roman pottery –but no structural remains– were noticed in the valley of Agios Nikolaos, by the convent of Agios Nikolaos near Megalo Vathy; they could be related to a villa site. It remains an open question whether this *villa rustica* can be related to the aforementioned Late Roman bathhouse which covered part of the temple of Artemis Aulideia and was situated at a distance of approximately 1 km NE.

Frazer, *Pausanias*, 73; Kahrstedt, *Wirtschaftl. Gesicht*, 99; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 72-73; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 391 no. 68/69/70; Vlachogianni, *Αγροεισία*, 520-521 no. 39.

According to Fossey (*Topography and Population*, 74): "In comparison to the spread-out nature of pre-Roman Aulis, during the imperial period the village seems to have shrunk to the sanctuary and the small pottery works." Cf. J.M. Fossey, *Euphrosyne* 4, 1970, 3-22, esp. 20-21. This observation is confirmed by Pausanias' statement (9.19.8) that in his time Aulis had only a few inhabitants, who were potters.

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M.B. Hollinshead, *AJA* 89, 1985, 419-440.  
Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 68-74.  
*BarrAtlas*, 59B1; 55F4; 57B3  
Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 391 nos 67-70.

**Bathiza** – Μπάθιζα

2:4B/5:4C

Oropos Mun. / Attica R.Un.

Hellenistic or Roman tiles were noticed at the site of Bathiza, situated to the SE of **Oinofyta**; they could be associated with rural activity.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 62; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 384 no. 34.

**CHAIRONEIA (Chaironeia / Kapraina, Kopraina**

– ΧΑΙΡΩΝΕΙΑ (Χαιρώνεια / Κάπραινα, Κόπραινα)

4:1C/5:1B

Livadeia Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Th. 1.113.1, 4.89.2; Plu. *Sull.* 16.8.3, 17.4.2; Paus. 9.40.5; Lucianus, *Macr.* 23.10; Str. 9.2.35.14; D.L. 6.43.8; Ath. 10.46.8; D.S. 12.6.2.1.

Inscriptions: *IG* VII 3287-3465; *SEG* III 367-369; XXXII 529; XXXVI 415 and 416; B. Latschew, *AM* 7, 1882, 353-356; Vottéro, *Dialecte béotien*, 91-97; *Epigraphica Boeotica* I, 121-151; Y. Kalliontzis, *Teiresias* 41.2b, 2011,

112.0.2; *Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 140-201; D. Knoepfler, *Bulletin épigraphique* 2014, nos 193-194.

The ancient town of Chaironeia lies under the SE section of the modern homonymous village (formerly Kapraina or Kopraina). It was situated in the Kephisos valley, to the N of **Levadeia**, and was the last Boeotian city before Phokis (Th. 4.76.3; Paus. 10.4.1).

According to Pausanias (9.40.5), the city was originally called Arne, while later its name derived from Chairon, son of Apollo.

The territory was called *Χαιρώνεια* (Lycurg. 1.116); its boundaries cannot be fixed with certainty.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 384-385; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 99.

### *Chaironeia and Rome*

Chaironeia took a pro-Roman stance in the Third Macedonian War (171-168 BC) (Plb. 27.1.4-5; Liv. 42.43.6). The city owes its fame to two important battles fought there: the first was the battle between the Macedonians led by Philip II of Macedon and an alliance of some of the Greek city-states including Athens and Thebes (338 BC). The second battle was the one in which Sulla defeated the generals of Mithridates VI of Pontus, Taxiles and Archelaos, in 86 BC (cf. **Isoma Hill**).

Plutarch (*Cim.* 1-2) refers to an incident that took place in Chaironeia in 87 BC: the Roman commander of a cohort that was wintering there attacked an orphan youth by the name of Damon Peripoltas. This led to a series of murders, and brought the Roman general Lucius Lucullus to Chaironeia to investigate the matter. When later the Orchomenians, who were neighbors and rivals of the Chaironeians, prosecuted the city for the murder of the Roman soldiers by Damon, Lucullus testified on behalf of the Chaironeians, earning himself a marble statue in the agora beside that of Dionysos (Plu. *Cim.* 2.2), cf. Payne, *Aretas eneken*, 257-258.

E.A. Meyer (*Tekmeria* 9, 2008, 77) thinks that “at this point, or possibly a little thereafter, Chaironeia was probably given the status of a *civitas libera* by Sulla and the Romans and freed from any compulsion to pay tribute, as a reward for her support for Rome”.

### *Plutarch of Chaironeia*

Chaironeia was the hometown of Plutarch (ca. 45-120 AD) who lived most of his life there. He was born to a wealthy family of Chaironeia, served as an archon in the city and a priest at Delphi, being responsible for inter-

preting the auguries of the Pythia. He played a notable part in the revival of the sanctuary in Trajanic and Hadrianic times and was honored with an inscribed Herm (126 AD) (SIG 843A). At a date unknown to us, he became a Roman citizen.

C.P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (1971) 3ff.; W.J. Tatum, *The Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens Bulletin* 6, 2008/2009, 12-21.

A marble Roman seat, known as Plutarch's Chair, can be seen in the church of the Panagia.

*Princeton Encyclopedia*, 215 s.v. Chaironeia (P. Roesch).

#### *The polis of Chaironeia*

Chaironeia is called in an honorary inscription *λαμπροτάτη πόλις* (IG VII 3426.10). Epigraphic and archaeological evidence attests that the city flourished in the Roman period and its population was less drastically affected than that elsewhere in the Kopaic basin. In the time of Pausanias (9.41.6-7), the city was noted for the manufacture of perfumed oils, extracted from flowers (namely the lily, rose, narcissus and iris), which were used as a remedy against pain; moreover, the rose unguent, if smeared on wooden images, prevented their decaying.

The fortified acropolis of the ancient *polis* rises on top of Mt. Petrachos. Its circuit wall has various building phases (beginning of the 6th century BC, mid-5th century BC, mid-4th century BC and a Roman repair phase).

R.L. Scranton, *Greek Walls* (1941) 159, 172, 176; Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 100-124; Kountouri, Chaironeia, 257. At the foot of the mountain lies the lower city of Chaironeia which was probably also walled. The Roman agora could be located in the center of the modern village.

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 187.

The only known public building of Chaironeia is the urban theater which had three building phases: a Classical (end of 5th – first half of the 4th century BC, rectilinear theater), a Hellenistic (curvilinear cavea; there is no trace from the stage building, although a *proskenion* is mentioned in a late Hellenistic inscription [IG VII 3409; see also IG VII 3403, 3408]) and a Roman one (late 1st century BC, beginning of 1st century AD; the entire theater seems to have been remodeled).

P.E. Arias, *Il teatro Greco fuori di Atene* (1934) 64-66; C. Anti – L. Polacco, *Nuove ricerche sui teatri greci arcaici* (1969) 19-44; R. Ginouvès, *Le théâtre à gradins droits d'Argos* (1972) 61-63; H.P. Isler, *TGR* II, 146; Sear, *Roman Theatres*, 392; O. Kyriazi, in R. Kolonia (ed.),

*Αρχαία θέατρα της Στερεάς Ελλάδας* (2013) 75-76; Germani, *Boeotian Theatres*, 82-87, fig. 2.

Leake (*Travels*, 114-115) supposes that the church of Panagia, located in the center of the modern village near the ancient theater, would stand on the site of an ancient temple, either that of Artemis Eileithyia or that of Sarapis, where many slaves were freed from the 3rd to 1st centuries BC (IG VII 3301-3406).

Schachter, *Cults* I, 200-201; *Epigraphica Boeotica* I, 152-155; A. Schachter, in L. Bricault *et al.* (eds), *Nile into Tiber. Egypt in the Roman World. Proceedings of the IIIrd International Conference of Isis Studies, Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, May 11-14 2005* (2007) 368-370 (= Schachter, *Antiquity*, 289-314); *Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 140-192; Cl. Grenet, in *Epigraphy and History*, 395-442, esp. 397 with note 17.

Building remains of the Roman city were revealed in a series of rescue excavations conducted by the 9th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at the site:

Remains of an opulent *villa* with mosaic floor depicting four winged nude male figures (personifications of the four seasons) were revealed in the Papanikolaou plot (junction of Archaïou Theatrou and Megalou Alexandrou streets). The mosaic floor dates to the first half of the 3rd century AD. The main phase of the building dates to the Late Roman period. Finds included Roman potsherds and two coins of the 3rd century AD.

A. Charami, *ADelt* 48, 1993, B1, 181-182; *AREpLond* 1998-1999, 55; G. Touchais *et al.*, *BCH* 123, 1999, 732-733 with fig. 90.

Remains of Roman buildings as well as inscribed statue bases of the Roman period were found near the ancient theater.

G. Sotiriadis, *Prakt* 1907, 108.

Part of a Late Roman wall was found in the Ploumi plot, situated a short distance to the E of the ancient theater. A. Gadolou, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B1, 325.

Part of a wall associated with Roman sherds was revealed in the Gerokonstanti plot, located 200 m to the N of the ancient theater.

A. Gadolou, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B1, 392-393.

Sections of the conduit which transported water from a spring into the town were revealed 100 m NW of the ancient theater. The construction probably dates to the Roman period.

E. Vlachogianni, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B1, 400.

Residential remains of the Roman period were uncovered in the Miliarou plot.



A. Gadolou, *ADelt* 51, 1996, B1, 278-279.  
The crepis of a Roman building was found in the Psychia plot.

A. Gadolou, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B1, 393.

Ancient built remains were found in the Katsiki plot.

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B1, 335-336.

A floor in *opus spicatum* was found in front of the Koulopoulou plot; a mosaic floor of the Roman period came to light in front of the Kravaritis house.

E. Kountouri, in *AETbSE* I.2, 786 note 50, fig. 1 nos 22 and 23.

Parts of a large public bath complex were found in two adjacent plots (Kaili and Tsirka plots).

E. Kountouri, in *AETbSE* I.2, 785, fig. 1 nos 12 and 13.

Parts of hypocausts were revealed in various places of the town, they may belong to smaller private baths.

N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B1, 243; E. Kountouri, in *AETbSE* I.2, 785-786, fig. 1 no. 11.

The remains of a Roman bathhouse were noted in the western part of the village.

G. Touchais, *BCH* 105, 1981, Chron. 812.

A hypocaust and sherds of the Roman period were discovered after the bridge at the entrance to the town.

N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B1, 243; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 285-286 no. 13/14.

A Roman colonnaded building was discovered. *BCH* 49, 1925, 456.

Walling probably of the Roman period was revealed in the Koutoulouki field, situated in the Trochalo locality.

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 184.

#### Movable finds

A marble female head of the late 4th century BC was incorporated into a Late Antique wall found at Theatrou Street.

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B1, 355.

An inscribed pedestal of a statue dedicated to Emperor Vespasian was found in the church of Panagia; it dates to 73 AD.

B. Latschew, *AM* 7, 1882, 355-356 no. 7.

The Roman statue of a Silenus, as well as two male portrait heads were found in the church of Agios Spyridon. Körte, *Sculpturen*, 405 no. 185, 419 no. 203 and 420 no. 204.

A base bearing seven inscriptions (*SEG* XLIX 506-11) was found in the foundations of a basilica underneath the church of Agia Paraskevi. The first inscription is the dedication of the base itself to Asklepios by a certain Aristion son of Kraton, while the next six are manumis-

sions by consecration to Asklepios, added subsequently. The first inscription dates from the early 2nd century BC (Grenet), while the six slave-dedications date either to the years around 140 or 135 BC (Meyer) or to the first half of the 2nd century BC (Grenet).

G. Sotiriadis, *AM* 30, 1905, 113-140, esp. 117; L. Darmezis, *Les affranchissements par consécration en Béotie et dans le monde grec hellénistique* (1999) 73-76, nos 103-108; E.A. Meyer, *Tekmeria* 9, 2008, 53-89; *SEG* LVIII 436 II-VII; Cl. Grenet, in *Epigraphy and History*, 395-442, esp. 398-399 and 412.

Other movable finds from Chaironeia are:

a) A Roman statuette of Aphrodite with Eros.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 405-406 no. 186;

b) A Roman inscription.

S.A. Koumanoudis, *Athenaion* 4, 1876, 369-378, esp. 377;

c) An inscribed pedestal of a statue (*IG* VII 3414) dating to the 1st century AD.

L. Vidman, *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae* (1969) 31 no. 61; Schörner, *Votive*, 462-463 no. 908;

d) Imperial statue bases: *IG* VII 3418-3420; *SEG* XXXVI 415; L. Bizard, *BCH* 29, 1905, 101 no. 2;

e) A Herm of the 1st century AD; the head is missing, but it must have depicted the historian Plutarch, as is clear from the inscription (*IG* VII 3422) that it bears. Schörner, *Votive*, 463 no. 909;

f) An account of the Naopoioi, dating to the 1st century BC – 1st century AD (beginning of the imperial period). *SEG* XXXVIII 380; Feyel, *Contribution*, 79-87; D. Knoepfler (ed.), *Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grecque: actes du colloque international d'épigraphie tenu à Neuchâtel du 23 au 26 septembre 1986 en l'honneur de Jacques Trébeux* (1988) 263-294; and finally

g) An honorific statue base of the 2nd century AD which stood in the garden of the Chaironeia Museum. Y. Kalliontzis, *BCH* 131, 2007, 475-514; *id.*, *Horos* 22-25, 2010-2013, 309-326, esp. 315 no. 4, fig. 9; *Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 196-201, pl. 11.

#### Roman villas and farmsteads

Many late Hellenistic / Roman villas and farmsteads were brought to light during the excavations conducted by the 9th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at the site; this confirms the concentration of big tracts of land in the hands of a few prominent families during these periods:

Part of a *villa suburbana* came to light at the NW verge of modern Chaironeia (Dioikitiriou plot). It was probably

erected in the second half of the 1st century AD, as denoted by a *quadrans* of the emperor Domitian, as well as by the ceramic finds. The building continued in use probably until the 3rd century AD.

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 185-187; *ead.*, in *AETHSE* I.2, 783-784; *Αγροτικές εγκαταστάσεις*, 543-545.

Structures probably of Roman date were investigated near the bridge of Akontio; they were interpreted as retaining walls for the streams of water, and seen as part of the infrastructure for better use of space by means of farmhouses.

E. Kountouri, in *AETHSE* I.2, 786.

Two Roman brick buildings were noticed; they were interpreted as villa sites.

Dodwell, *Tour*, vol. I, 224; Kahrstedt, *Wirtschaftl. Gesicht*, 109.

Three walls of the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman period were revealed in the plot of the Primary School. They probably belonged to the outbuildings of an adjoining farmstead.

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B1, 335.

A *villa rustica* of the Roman period was discovered in the Gerokonstanti field, situated in the Kovras-Agkortses locality. Movable finds included a hoard of 10 silver *antoniniani*, issued either during the joint reign of Valerianus I – Gallienus (253-260 AD) or the sole reign of Gallienus (260-268 AD), as well as Roman pottery.

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 183-184; *Αγροτικές εγκαταστάσεις*, 545-546; E. Vlachogianni, *Ευλίμνη* 8-9, 2007-2008, 107-164.

Remains of a Roman farmhouse with two building phases and an installation for the manufacture of perfume (?) came to light at Agkortses.

E. Kountouri, in *AETHSE* I.2, 786, fig. 2, no. 33; Vlachogianni, *Αγροτικά*, 510 no. 1; Vlachogianni, *Αγροτικές & εργαστήρια*, 533.

Remains of a farmhouse dating to the 1st century BC were discovered in the Karamousa locality, approximately 2 km NE of the ancient settlement of Chaironeia. The ceramic finds attest the restricted use of at least one part of the house in the 4th century AD.

E. Kountouri, in *AETHSE* I.2, 783; *ead.*, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 175-179.

#### *Cemeteries/ Burials*

The official cemetery was located in the northwestern part of Chaironeia, outside the limits of the city; its use extended from the 5th to the 2nd centuries BC. After

the 2nd century BC and during the Early Roman period, the ‘Northwestern Cemetery’ seems to have been abandoned. During this period tombs were found in areas inhabited during the Hellenistic era, which indicates the shrinking of the city:

A burial of the 1st century AD was found in the Katsikis plot.

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B1, 335-336; *ead.*, in *AETHSE* I.2, fig. 1 no. 8.

An Early Roman cist-grave was found in the plot of the Cultural Center.

E. Kountouri, in *AETHSE* I.2, 784 note 38, fig. 1 no. 18.

A tile-roofed grave, dating probably to the Late Antique period, was found in the Galanou plot.

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 184; *ead.*, in *AETHSE* I.2, 784 note 38, fig. 1 no. 24.

A Late Antique (?) cist-grave carved into the rock was found behind the Chaironeia Museum. Moreover, an above-ground oikos tomb with larnakes and a mosaic floor was revealed in the courtyard of the Chaironeia Museum.

E. Kountouri, in *AETHSE* I.2, 784, fig. 1 nos 9 and 10; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 285 no. 10/11.

Ancient tombs were revealed in the yard of the church of Panagia; one of them dates to the Roman period.

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 187.

A Roman tomb was found in the Dourzou locality.

E. Kountouri, in *AETHSE* I.2, 786 note 50, fig. 1 no. 29.

A cemetery in use from the Archaic period up to the mid-2nd century AD was found in the locality of Platia Skala and Vourlies.

Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 285 no. 6.

Five cist-graves, dating probably to the Roman period, were discovered in the Karamousa locality.

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 179.

Five Roman graves were discovered in the Agkortses locality; they may belong to small private cemeteries associated with isolated farms. One of them (T. 30) was a rich family cist-grave, probably related to the aforementioned *villa rustica* in Agkortses, found at a distance of approximately 600 m. W of the tomb. The main phases of the tomb span the 1st to 3rd centuries AD. A funerary statue of a male figure draped in a himation (*palliatos*) with his right hand resting on his breast came to light near to the findspot of the cist-grave. This is a 4th century BC type revived in the Roman period.

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 179-182; *ead.*, in *AETHSE* I.2, 784-785, fig. 2 no. 34; Vlachogianni, *Αγροτικά*, 510 no. 2.

An isolated cist-grave was found at the NW fringes of the Dioikitirion plot; it could have belonged to the small private cemetery of the aforementioned *villa suburbana* revealed in the same plot. Two other tombs, dating probably to the 2nd century AD, were revealed to the N of 'room 12'.

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 187; *Αγροτικές εγκαταστάσεις*, 543-545.

A funerary inscription of uncertain origin (probably Chaironeia<sup>2</sup>), dating to the 3rd century AD or even later, was found.

Y. Kalliontzis, *Horos* 22-25, 2010-2013, 309-326, esp. 318 no. 9.

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M. Bonanno Aravantinos, in B.P. Venetucci (ed.), *Culti orientali tra scavo e collezionismo* (2008) 235-248, esp. 242-243.

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Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 99-107, 283-284 no.1.

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**CHORSIAI / KORSIAI (Prodromos / Elikon, Chostia) – ΧΟΡΣΙΑΙ / ΚΟΡΣΙΑΙ (Πρόδρομος / Ελικών, Χόστια, Χώστια)** **1:2C/5:1D**

Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Ps.-Scylax, *Per.* 38; Dem. 19.141 codd. AY; Plin. *HN* 4.8; Harp. 183.8; D.S. 16.58.1; St.Byz. 695.23.

Inscriptions: *IG* VII, 2383-2404; N.G. Pappadakis, *ADelt* 8, 1923, 182-189 = *SEG* III 342; Moretti, *ISE*, 163-170 nos 65-66; *SEG* XXXVI 417-419. 420; Vottéro, *Dialecte béotien*, 261-262.

The site of Kastron near the modern village of Prodromos (formerly Elikon and Chostia) in southern Boeotia has been securely identified with the ancient city of Chorsiai or Korsiai on the basis of epigraphic evidence: three Hellenistic proxenia decrees (*IG* VII 2383, 2385, 2388) from Kastron and nearby Chostia (monastery of Taxiarchis) mention πόλις Χορσαίων. From the city-ethnic Χορσαίους we can infer that in the Boeotian dialect the toponym must have been Χορσαί and not Κορσαί as it occurs in the literary sources.

Hansen – Nielsen, *Inventory*, 440 no. 202.

It is noteworthy that *IG* VII 2383 is an important decree of the city honoring Kapon, son of Brochas, who rescued Chorsiai when there was a shortage of grain throughout the country.

*SEG* XXII 410; *SEG* LV 551; P. Roesch, *RPhil* 39, 1965, 256-261; Moretti, *ISE*, 66; Étienne – Knoepfler, *Hyetos*, 209 note 705, 243-244; L. Migeotte, *L'emprunt public dans les cités grecques* (1984) no. 10; D. Knoepfler, in *XI Congresso internazionale di epigrafia greca e latina: atti: Roma 18-24 settembre 1997*, vol. I (1999) 229-255, esp. 242; C. Müller, in P. Fröhlich – C. Müller (eds), *Citoyenneté et participation à la basse époque hellénistique. Actes de la table ronde des 22 et 23 mai 2004, Paris* (2005) 95-119 esp. 100-104; E. Mackil, in *Epigraphy and History*, 45-67, esp. 61.

During the Mithridatic wars in the 1st century BC, Chorsiai was destroyed and abandoned. It was reoccupied sometime late in the 2nd century AD or during the 3rd cen-



tury AD and destroyed again in Late Roman times; afterwards it was never inhabited again except by shepherds. *Boeotia Antiqua* I, 166, 169.

#### *The ancient polis*

The coastal city and fort of Chorsiai played an important role in trade with the opposite coast of the Peloponnese. The fortification walls enclosed both the citadel and the lower town of Chorsiai. Walling found both inside and outside the main circuit can be interpreted as terrace walls.

H.A. Büsing – A. Büsing-Kolbe, *AA* 89, 1972, 74-82; J.M. Fossey – G. Gauvin, in D.R. Keller – W. Rupp (eds), *Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Area* (BAR-IS 155) (1983) 237; J.M. Fossey – J. Morin (eds), *Khóstia 1983: Preliminary Report on the Second Season of Canadian Excavations at Khóstia Boiotia, Central Greece* (1986) 71-141; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 188-191.

Excavations conducted by the Khóstia Project, headed by J.M. Fossey, revealed a series of buildings of imperial date on the interior of the acropolis, which were backed onto the eastern and western circuit walls. Extensive Late Roman building activity was also noted on the acropolis.

J.M. Fossey – H. Giroux, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B1, 220-221. Further excavations brought to light several buildings of imperial date which were constructed against the fortifications in the eastern and southern quarters of the Lower Town. In the Southern Quarter were also found the remains of an olive press, used in the Roman period. It seems that the lower slopes of the ancient city were ideal for planting olive trees, while the hillocks and the plain were suitable for cultivation and animal husbandry. Van Effenterre, *Les Béotiens*, 21; J.M. Fossey – H. Giroux, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B1, 221; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 191-192.

An industrial area was located outside the southern part of the Lower City's circuit wall and to the W of an ancient road descending from the city's South Gate. Three rooms and a courtyard discovered in this area were used in Hellenistic times as weaving and dyeing workshops. The abandonment of the area dates to the 1st century BC on the basis of the ceramic finds.

J.M. Fossey (ed.), *Khostia 1980 A. Preliminary Report of the First Season of Canadian Excavations at Khóstia, Boiotia, Central Greece* (1981) 113-121; J.M. Fossey – J. Morin (eds), *Khóstia 1983: Preliminary Report on the Second Season of Canadian Excavations at Khóstia Boiotia, Central Greece* (1986) 169-170 figs. 39-40.

As Fossey (*ibid*, 126) points out, besides olive cultivation, sheep rearing for wool was an important function within the local economy during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

At least three rock-cut undated sarcophagi were noted near the aforementioned ancient road.

J.M. Fossey (ed.), *Khóstia. Results of Canadian Explorations and Excavations at Khóstia, Boiotia, Central Greece I. Etudes Diverses dédiées à la mémoire de S. Lauffer* (1986) 37-49; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 192.

Farinetti (*Boeotian Landscapes*, 353 no. 15) dates these sarcophagi after the 2nd century AD.

#### *Surface survey*

A small Roman site was discovered during survey work by the Canadian Archaeological Mission in the northern part of the so-called 'Eastern ridge'.

J.M. Fossey – G. Gauvin, in D.R. Keller – W. Rupp (eds), *Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Area* (BAR-IS 155) (1983) 237.

The countryside survey conducted by the Canadian team turned up traces of Roman occupation (small herding establishment?) on the lower slope of Mt. Helikon above the Kastron to the North East. This single locus of occupation may be contemporary with the reoccupation of the site of Chorsiai.

*Boeotia Antiqua* I, 169.

#### *Movable finds*

A statuette of Aphrodite, dating probably to the 2nd century AD, was found (the exact location is not specified). Karouzos, *Μουσείο Θήβας*, 46 no. 158.

Three Roman funerary stelai from Chorsiai (*IG VII* 2395, 2398, 2400, 2402-3) were reused for the construction of the monastery of Taxiarchis at Prodromos/ Chostia.

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**Dafni / Darimari** – Δάφνη / Δαριμάρι 2:2C/5:3D  
 Tanagra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

An ancient site was located on the plateau at the N foot of Kastron Hill, situated to the SW of the modern village of Dafni (formerly Darimari).

Leake, *Travels*, 330 and 369; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 359 no. 24.

Its acropolis probably occupied the Kastron hilltop, as Fossey (*Topography and Population*, 116) assumes.

Remains of a circuit wall were noticed on the Kastron and Roman pottery was found within the fortress walls.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 118; Wallace, *Strabo*, 89.

Moreover, two fragments of Diocletian's Price Edict *De Pretiis Rerum Venalium* (301 AD) were discovered at the site (now in the Thebes Museum).

A.D. Keramopoulos, *AEphem* 1931, 163-164 no. 5.

The drum of a Late Roman column was built into a ruined church near Dafni.

Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας*, 20-21 fig. 5-6.

The site near Dafni has been identified as Skolos by some scholars and as Erythrai or Eteonos/Skarfe by others.

Skolos: Leake, *Travels*, 330-331; Ulrichs, *Reisen* II, 74; Frazer, *Pausanias*, 21-22; *RE* IIIA.1 (1927) 567 s.v. Skolos (Geyer); W.K. Pritchett, *AJA* 61, 1957, 9-28, esp. 23; *Catalogue of Ships*, 21; Wallace, *Strabo*, 87-89; Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας*, 47 note 4.

Erythrai: Pritchett, *Topography* I, 107-109; *Topography* II, 178-180; *Studies* III, 292-293 with fig. 12; J.M. Fossey, *BICS* 18, 1971, 106-109 = Fossey, *Boeotian Topography*, 125-129; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 116-119.

Eteonos/Skarfe: E. Kirsten, in Philippson, *Landschaften*, 506.

**Davlosi** – Δαύλωση 1:4A/5:2C  
 Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

A grave altar with representation of a hero on horseback was found in a plot at Davlosi, located in the

foothills of Mt. Phagas (ancient Sphingion); it dates to the Roman imperial period.

E. Vlachogianni, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B1, 393; Machaira, *Ηρώας ιππέας*, 862-863 no. 12, 879 fig. 12; Machaira, *Autels funéraires*, 288 with fig. 1.

**DELION/DELIUM (Dilesi)** – ΔΗΛΙΟΝ (Δήλιεσι) 2:4B/5:4C

Tanagra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Hdt. 6.118.2-3; Th. 4.76.4-5, 4.90, 97; Paus. 9.20.1, 10.28.6; D.S. 12.69.2; D.L. 2.23.1, 6.20.8; Plu. *Lys.* 29.7.7, *Sull.* 22.3.2; Liv. 35.51.1; Str. 8.6.1, 9.2.7; St.Byz. 226.13.

Inscriptions: C. Brélaz – A. Andreiomenou – P. Ducrey, *BCH* 131, 2007, 235-308, esp. 246, 300, 305: this late Hellenistic inscription identifies ancient Delion with modern Dilesi.

Coins: Imhoof-Blumer, *Münzkunde*, 326-334.

Delion (or Delium) was a small coastal town (*polichnion*) in southeastern Boeotia, at the site of modern Dilesi.

It belonged to the Tanagran territory and was the seaport of the city of Tanagra.

Part of a quay of the ancient harbor, dating to the end of the imperial period, was discovered.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 63.

It seems that at least in Hellenistic, Roman and Late Roman times a settlement developed around the harbor.

Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 215.

Delion was founded in the Classical period and flourished as a commercial center in the Hellenistic, Roman and Late Roman periods. It was here that the Athenians suffered a defeat by the Boeotians in 424 BC during the Peloponnesian War (Th. 4.90; 4.96.3), a detachment of the Roman army was defeated by the troops of Antiochus III in 192 BC (Paus. 9.20.1; Ptol. 3.15.20; Liv. 31.45; 35.51; 36.6), and Mithridates' general Archelaos negotiated with Sulla for peace on honorable terms in 85 BC.

*The sanctuary of Apollo Delios*

Delion was renowned for its important temple dedicated to Apollo Delios—thence its name—, which was founded as a branch of the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos in the mid 5th century BC and remained in use until at least the 6th century AD (Th. 4.76.4; Paus. 9.20.1; Liv. 35.51.1; Str. 9.2.7).

The remains of a large stoic building, dating to the second half of the 3rd century BC / beginning of the 2nd century BC, were found on the shore (some 80 m N of the



OTE plot); they belonged to one of the large stoas of the Apollo sanctuary, and more specifically to the stoa defining its north side. Movable finds included fragments of Roman amphoras. Part of a Late Roman workshop was revealed within the abovementioned stoa. Remains of a square room of Late Roman date were also discovered to the SE of the stoa. Finds included Roman and Late Roman potsherds, as well as two Roman vessels. A Late Roman capital was incorporated into the north side of the square room.

C. Piteros, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B1, 172; *id.*, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B1, 135-136; *id.*, in *EpetBoiotMel* III.1, 592-623; *id.*, in P. Valavanis (ed.), *Ταξιδεύοντας στην κλασική Ελλάδα: τόμος προς τιμήν του καθηγητή Πέτρου Θέμελη* (2011) 233-253, esp. 242-248, 251-253 figs 5-9.

#### *The Delia*

A pambocotian contest called *Delia* was celebrated in honor of Apollo Delios in his sanctuary. It was instituted by the Thebans after the battle of Delion in 424 BC (D.S. 12.70.5) and was modelled on the *Delia* on Delos, which included gymnastic and musical contests (Th. 3.104). The *agon* is commemorated in a Tanagran decree honoring the people of Megara (2nd century BC) (IG VII 20, cf. *SEG* XXXII 424), as well as in an important inscription found in 1992 on the OTE plot at Dilesi (junction of Odysseos and Ekavis streets). The latter contains accounts of the local agonistic festival, providing information concerning the coinage in circulation in Boeotia at this period; it probably dates to the last decades of the 2nd century BC.

Andreiomenu, *Tανάγρα*, 4 note 2; C. Brélaz – A. Andreiomenu – P. Ducrey, *BCH* 131, 2007, 235-308; *SEG* LVII 452; A. Chaniotis, *Kernos* 24, 2011, no. 21.

The last reference of the festival occurs in a pedimental stele which contains a list of ephebes and agonothetai, and dates to the early 3rd century AD (ca. 222-235 AD); it was found in the Marini plot, located on Agrileza Hill. A. Charami, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 165-167; F. Marchand, *ARepLond* 2013-2014, 72-80, esp. 73; A. Charami, in *Αρχαιολογικές Συμβολές*, 77-83; *SEG* LIX 492. The celebrations in the sanctuary of Apollo Delios had great religious and political importance for the Boeotians and especially for the Tanagraians, who ran the sanctuary and operated the *Delia* (*SEG* XLIII 162).

#### *Commercial and craft activities*

Excavations conducted by the 9th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities attest that Delion was the com-

mercial center in eastern Boeotia, a thriving port from the 1st to the 6th century AD, as well as a great production center of commercial amphoras during the Hellenistic and Roman periods:

Remnants of a large rectangular pottery kiln of the Roman period were discovered on Odysseos Street. The kiln was probably part of an important brick-making workshop that covered the needs not only of Delion, but of other areas as well. Its location, in the vicinity of the harbor, suggests that the trade of bricks was also conducted by sea. Walls associated with Roman pottery were found before the junction of Odysseos Street and Priamou Street.

A. Charami, *ADelt* 51, 1996, B1, 279-282, fig. 11; Vlachogianni, *Αγροικία*, 519-520 no. 36.

A potter's workshop, which was in use from the Hellenistic until the Late Roman periods, as well as in the 6th century AD, came to light in the Kava plot (Odysseos and Artemidos streets). The close proximity to the aforementioned rectangular pottery kiln suggests important craft production at Delion.

A. Charami, *ADelt* 61, 2006, B1, 500-501; *ead.*, *ADelt* 62, 2007, B2, 575-576.

A Late Roman potter's workshop came to light in the Papaevangeliiou plot (junction of Odysseos Street with the coastal road leading to Oropos). Movable finds included a large quantity of Late Roman pottery, a lot of fragments of glass vases and 40 coins.

A. Charami, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 167; Vlachogianni, *Αγροικία*, 520 no. 38; E. Gerousi, in N. Poulou-Papadimitriou – E. Nodarou – V. Kilikoglou (eds), *LRCW 4. Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean: A Market Without Frontiers* (2014) 737-748.

Further excavations in the Papaevaggeliou plot revealed a building which had commercial and storage use; it was in use from the 2nd to the 4th centuries AD.

A. Charami, *ADelt* 61, 2006, B1, 501-502.

Late Roman amphora kilns were discovered.

Chamilaki, *Αγριλέζα*, 1167, note 6.

A Late Roman complex of buildings for commercial and manufacturing activities was revealed in the OTE plot (intersection of Odysseos and Ekavis streets). A public building, built of large brick-shaped stones in second use, was also found in the same plot; the stones probably belonged to a Classical temple (of Apollo Delios?). Notable among individual finds were bone fibulae dating to the early imperial period (A. Andreiomenu, pers. comm.), as well as the aforementioned

Hellenistic inscription with the accounts of the local agonistic festival. Other movable finds which came to light during additional excavation in the OTE plot included a large quantity of Roman pottery, large storage vases and seven bronze coins.

A. Charami, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B1, 305; *ead.*, *ADelt* 51, 1996, B1, 281-282 (8); Vlachogianni, *Αγροικία*, 520 no. 37; Andreiomenou, *Ταράγχα*, 4 note 2.

Built remains of Roman date were found on Nireos Street. The destruction fill of the building produced Roman pottery.

E. Vlachogianni, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B1, 169.

Foundations of Roman houses were observed at the shore of Dilesi.

C. Piteros, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B1, 172.

Remains of Roman baths were investigated to the W of Dilesi.

C. Piteros, in *ΕπετΒοιωτ/Μελ* III.1, 592-623, esp. 599 note 32.

A fragment of a Roman architrave was seen in Dimitriou's garden at Dilesi.

A.C.B. Brown, *BSA* 12, 1905-1906, 96.

An inscription in second use, dating to the second quarter of the 3rd century AD, was found in an Early Christian tomb.

A. Charami, *CRAI* 2011, 853-873; *AE* 2011, 496-498 no. 1246.

#### *Cemetery/Burials*

A large cemetery used from Archaic to Late Roman times was discovered on Agrileza Hill, situated to the SW of Dilesi. Most of the graves date from the 4th to the early 7th century AD, suggesting a possible increase of population in Late Roman Delion.

Chamilaki, *Αγριλέζα*; A. Ioannidou-Karetsou, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B2, 324 fig. 277 b; A. Charami, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B1, 398; *ead.*, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 165-167.

A Roman tomb was found in the Palaiochori(on) locality, situated about half a kilometre S of Dilesi.

A.C.B. Brown, *BSA* 12, 1905-06, 99.

Roman and Late Roman burials were found at the church Metamorfofi tou Sotiros in the Plaka locality.

Chamilaki, *Αγριλέζα*, 1168 with note 9.

Parts of the Roman and Late Roman cemeteries have been located on the coast of the settlement.

A. Charami, in Vlachopoulos, *Archaeology*, 229.

A grave relief of the 3rd century AD was seized.

V.D. Theophanidis, *AEphem* 1939-1941, Parart. 11 no. 40.

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*RE* 4<sup>2</sup> (1901) 2443 s.v. Delion (Philippon).

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Rigsby, *Asyria*, 83.

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A. Schachter, in Fittschen, *Lolling*, 123-139, esp. 126-130 (Battle of Delion).

Chamilaki, *Αγριλέζα*.

Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 392-394 nos 77-86.

A. Charami, in *Αρχαιολογικές Συμβολές*, 67-83.

**Domvraina / Koryni** – Δομβραΐνα / Κορόνη

1:3C/5:2D

Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

A Roman edifice (probably a house) with a mosaic floor was discovered at Domvraina (formerly Koryni), situated to the SE of Thisbe. Among the finds were two inscribed bases, containing ten Hellenistic proxenia decrees of Thisbe, as well as a military catalogue.

*BCH* 44, 1920, 387-388; Kahrstedt, *Wirtsch. Gesicht*, 103.

A Roman inscription (*IG* VII 2363) elevating the dead man to the status of hero was found at the church of Agios Nikolaos.

**Drosia area / Chalia** – Δροσιά / Χαλία 3:3C/5:4B

Chalkideon Mun. / Euboea R.Un.

Hellenistic and Roman tombstones are reported from the area of modern Drosia (formerly Chalia).

A. Jardé – M. Laurent, *BCH* 26, 1902, 322-323 nos 1-9;

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 77-78; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 389 no. 58.

**ELEON (Arma / Dritsa, Dritsia)** – ΕΛΕΩΝ (Άρμα / Δρίτσα, Δρίτσια) 2:2A/5:3C

Tanagra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Str. 9.2.14, 9.2.17, 9.5.18 (Ελεών); Plu. *Aetia Rom. et Gr.*

301. A.9 (Ελέων); Paus. 1.29.6; D.H. *Comp.* 16.119.

Coins: Imhoof-Blumer, *Münzkunde*, 334.

Ancient Eleon was an extensive elevated settlement situated on the NE side of the modern village of Arma (formerly Dritsa or Dritsia). According to Strabo (9.2.14), Eleon was a member of the so-called 'tetrakomia' (or "four villages") with Arma (modern Lykovouni Kastri), **Mykalessos** (modern Ritsona) and Pharai (modern Agios Panteleimon) in the vicinity of **Tanagra**. Both Arma and Mykalessos are known to have been deserted by Roman times.

The acropolis of ancient Eleon occupied a hill called 'Pyrgos' after the early Ottoman tower at its highest western point.

Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας*, 126 fig. 144; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 91 fig. 10.

Surface surveys conducted by the Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project (EBAP) (a collaboration between the Canadian Institute in Greece and the Ephorate of Antiquities of Boeotia) at the site, have shown that there were three main phases of human activity on the acropolis and the wider area of ancient Eleon: Late Helladic, Archaic-Classical, and Medieval.

V. Aravantinos *et al.*, *Mouseion* 13, 2016, 293-358.

The 2009 season of the EBAP survey at the site collected Roman potsherds and five fragments of Roman lamps which can be dated to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD.

D.W. Rupp *et al.*, *Mouseion* 11, 2011, 10.

In addition to this, when J.M. Fossey visited the site some decades earlier, he noticed Roman pottery at the site of the ancient settlement on Pyrgos Hill, as well as on the Profitis Ilias Hill; the latter hill is situated to the south of the former and its slopes, especially the W and NW, are the site of a large ancient cemetery that contained Roman tombs. It has been proposed that this cemetery was related to ancient Eleon.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 89-95; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 386 nos 45-49.

This archaeological evidence, in combination with Plutarch's testimony that the worship of the Three Maidens of Eleon (*τρῆς παρθέναι*) continued in his time (*Aetia Rom. et Gr.* 301.C.1-2, cf. Schachter, *Cults* II, 199), may attest to the continued occupation of the region through Roman times.

On the other hand, recent surveys and the ongoing excavations at the site have uncovered nothing of late Hellenistic or Roman date, suggesting a probable hiatus in occupation during these periods.

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*Gazetteer*, (G25) 246-247.

Buck, *History*, 15.

Wallace, *Strabo*, 56-57.

Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας*, 125 fig. 142.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 89-95.

B. Burke – B. Burns – S. Lupack, *Teiresias* 37.2, 2007, 072.0.04.

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D.W. Rupp *et al.*, *Mouseion* 9, 2009, 109-124, esp. 118-121 (Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project).

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D.W. Rupp *et al.*, *Mouseion* 11, 2011, 1-24, esp. 9-11 (Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project).

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V. Aravantinos -B. Burke – B. Burns – J. Fappas – S. Lupack, in *AETIASE III.2*, 945-953.

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**Ellopia / Karantas, Karakantas** – Ελλοπία / Καραντάς, Καρακαντάς  
1:4C/5:2D

Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

A pedimental funerary stele with a representation of two "hero-riders" was found in the court of the church of Agia Paraskevi at the village of Ellopia (formerly Karantas or Karakantas). It bears three inscriptions (*IG* VII 2145-2147), one of which (*IG* VII 2147) dates to the imperial period.

*SEG* LVI 512-514; Körte, *Sculpturen*, 370 no. 122;

E. Vlachogianni, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B1, 406.

For the cult of the horseman hero in Boeotia, see *Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 117-131.

**Erythrai / Kriekouki** – Ερυθραί / Κριεκούκι

2:1D/5:3D

Mandra-Eidyllia Mun. / Attica R.Un.

Hdt. 9.15 and 25; Eur. *Ba.* 751-2; Str. 9.2.12; Paus. 9.1.6; 9.2.1-3; St.Byz. 651.15.



A few Roman sherds were found on the so-called 'Pantanassa ridge', situated to the E of modern Erythrai village (formerly Kriekouki).

W.K. Pritchett, *AJA* 61, 1957, 9-28, esp. 22.

Archaeological findings (architectural members, built remains, pottery) indicate that this ridge, together with the area below around the church of Pantanassa, seems to have been the location of an ancient settlement.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 112.

An inscription dating not earlier than 150 BC was incorporated into the small church of the Pantanassa.

A.D. Keramopoulos, *AEPphem* 1936, Parart. 45; W.K. Pritchett, *AJA* 61, 1957, 9-28, esp. 15.

Remains of a Roman or Medieval tower, as well as a few Roman surface sherds were noticed on Pyrgos Hill, located about 1km NE of the Pantanassa church.

W.K. Pritchett, *AJA* 61, 1957, 9-28, esp. 11; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 113; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 360 no. 29.

A fragmentary inscription of the Roman period was built into the north wall of the church of Agia Anna; the fields around this church were thick with sherds which seemed to be Roman and Byzantine.

W.K. Pritchett, *AJA* 61, 1957, 9-28, esp. 12 with note 25, 14.

Identification with ancient Ysiai has been suggested.

Leake, *Travels*, 327; W.K. Pritchett, *AJA* 61, 1957, 9-28, esp. 22; Buck, *History*, 18; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 114-115; cf. Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 360 no. 26.

Artefact concentration dating from the Classical to the Roman period, as well as remains of walling with mortar of Roman or later date were noted between the localities Erythrai-Pantanassa and Erythrai-Pyrgos. Farinetti (*Boeotian Landscapes*, 360 no. 30) interprets it as a rural site, while Fossey (*Topography and Population*, 113) thinks that it was part of the Pantanassa (Ysiai?) site.

**EUTRESIS (Arkopodi)** – ΕΥΤΡΗΣΙΣ (Αρκοπόδι)  
2:1C/5:2D

Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Str. 9.2.27; Eust. 1.409.20; D.H. *Comp.* 16.108; St.Byz. 287.7.

Inscriptions: H. Goldman, *Excavations at Eutresis in Boeotian* (1931) 283-284 no. 5.

Coins: H. Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain: communément appelées médailles impériales*, vol. VII (1880-1892)<sup>2</sup> 455 no. 103 (Roman coin of Constantine II, 335-361).

Ancient Eutresis was situated to the SE of Thespiai, on the ridge of Arkopodi, which was named after the homonymous spring that supplied the ancient settlement with water. According to the lexicographers (St.Byz. 288.1; Eust.1.409.21) there was both a sanctuary and a very famous oracle of Ἀπόλλων Εὐτρησίτης here. An inscription commemorating Apollo of Eutresis as Εὐτρετιδιεῖς Ἀπόλλωνι does not use the form of the name given by Stephanus of Byzantium. The inscription, dating to the first half of the 2nd century BC, was found in the church of Agia Triada at the village of Melisochori (formerly Baltsa), situated 2.5 km E of Eutresis.

L. Bizard, *BCH* 1904, 430-431 no. 1; C. Piteros, in *EpetBoiotMel* IV.1, 584.

A cemetery of the 5th and 4th century BC was located to the NW of the hill, lying along the road connecting the town of Eutresis with Thespiai in ancient times. Near the cemetery, a Late Hellenistic or Roman villa was revealed, which may lead to the assumption either of a large wealthy Hellenistic-Roman rural site here or a settlement.

H. Goldman, *Excavations at Eutresis in Boeotia* (1931) 264-270; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 149-154; Hansen – Nielsen, *Inventory*, 441 no. 205 (M.H. Hansen); C. Piteros, in *EpetBoiotMel* IV.1, 583; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 161, 342.

An inscribed stone hydria of Hellenistic / Roman date was found on the hill opposite the city of Eutresis.

E. Vlachogianni, *ADelt* 49, 1994, B1, 291; N.G. Nokas, *Η Εύτρησης της Βοιωτίας* (1998) 68 fig. 29.

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N. Nokas, *Η Εύτρησης της Βοιωτίας* (1998).

*BarrAtlas*, 55 E4; 57 B3; 58 E1.

Hansen – Nielsen, *Inventory*, 441 no. 205 (M.H. Hansen).

C. Piteros, in *EpetBoiotMel* IV.1, 581-646.

Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 341-342, nos 31/32/33.

**Evangelistria / Zagara, Tovarā** – Ευαγγελίστρια / Ζαγαρά, Τοβαρά  
1:3B/5:2C

Aliartos – Thespies Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

A Roman honorary inscription for Emperor Hadrian



(IG VII 2851) (137/8 AD?) was noted in the convent of Evangelistria (formerly Zagara or Tovara), situated in the territory of Haliartos.

Lauffer, *Kopais* I, 57 fig. 62; Camia, *Theoi Sebastoi*, 71.

Fossey (*Topography and Population*, 314-318) suggests an identification of the site at Evangelistria with ancient Okalea.

**GLA(S) – ΓΛΑ(Σ) 3:1C/5:2B**

Orchomenos Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

An inscribed grave stele of Roman date was found in the region of Gla, situated in the northeastern corner of the Kopaic basin.

E. Touloupa, *ADelt* 21, 1966, B1, 204.

**Glyfa, Vlycha, Tseloneri – Γλύφα, Βλύχα, Τσελονέρι**

**3:3D/5:4B**

Chalkideon Mun. / Euboea R.Un.

An ancient settlement was discovered on Glyfa Hill (also known as Tseloneri or Vlycha), situated on the Boeotian side opposite Chalkis.

Bakhuizen, *Salganeus*, figs. 2,6 and 7.

Prehistoric and historical evidence of occupation were noted. Finds included Roman pottery. Fossey (*Topography and Population*, 75-76) identifies the settlement with the ancient site of Hyria, mentioned in literary sources (Hom. *Il.* 2.496; Str. 1.1.16, 8.6.17). Farinetti (*Boeotian Landscapes*, 389-390 no. 63) thinks it is a rural site (probably a Late Roman villa?).

**Graviotis – Γραβιώτης 4:2D/5:2B**

Orchomenos Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Remains of a *villa rustica* (?) of Roman date were noticed at the site of Graviotis, situated 3 km S of Orchomenos and 2 km E of Agios Spyridon.

*RE* S XIV (1974) 323 s.v. Orchomenos (S. Lauffer).

**HALAI (Theologos) – ΑΛΑΙ (Θεολόγος) 4:4A/5:2A**

Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Plu. *Sull.* 26.3-4; Paus. 9.24.5; Str. 9.2.13, 94.2.

Inscriptions: *IG* IX 1<sup>2</sup>, 5, 1864-1905; H. Goldman, *AJA* 19, 1915, 439-453.

The ancient city of Halai, located upon the Opuntian Gulf (modern Bay of Atalanti), falls within the boundaries of the modern town of Theologos in the district of Phthiotis. It must originally have formed part of East

or Opuntian Lokris, but in the time of Strabo and Pausanias it belonged to Boeotia and was the last town of the region. Just when the regional affiliation changed is unknown, but it may have been either in the mid-4th century BC or in 238 BC.

A.L. Walker – H. Goldman, *AJA* 19, 1915, 420-421; G. Argoud, in Bintliff, *Developments*, 255-256; Haas, *Hellenistic Halai*, 28.

*The acropolis of Halai*

The citadel of Halai, forming elongated parallelogram, “hardly deserves the name of acropolis, for at no point does it rise more than four metres above the level of the bay”, as per Goldman, *Acropolis*, 382.

It was fortified at least twice (1st phase: ca. 600 BC or possibly earlier, 2nd phase: ca. 350-330 BC or in the late 4th century BC) with evidence of several rebuildings and strengthenings in different parts.

At the NE corner of the Hellenistic circuit was a heavily fortified gate to the town, set between two towers, one round and one square; this was the only entrance by which wheeled vehicles could gain access via a road (3.38 m in width) to the acropolis.

In Late Roman times a building (bathhouse [Goldman] or olive press [Quinn]) was built over the road and the square tower, showing that by then the defences of the site were no longer effective.

Goldman, *Acropolis*, 394, 490; Quinn, *Late Antique Halai*, 83-97.

Roman shops were revealed at the Northeast Gate, dating on coin evidence to the 2nd century AD. In one of them (Shop I, the shop of a statue-seller), a marble statuette of Aphrodite of the Knidian type was found, dating to the Late Hellenistic period.

Goldman, *Acropolis*, 486-487 with fig. 210; A.L. Walker – H. Goldman, *AJA* 19, 1915, 437.

The circuit had another gate to the N, which was blocked probably at the end of the Hellenistic or the beginning of the Early Roman period, making the Northeast Gate the only means of entrance to the acropolis.

Goldman, *Acropolis*, 382-384 with fig. 7; Haas, *Hellenistic Halai*, 53.

The road from the Northeast Gate led to the precinct of Athena, the chief deity worshiped at Halai. The sanctuary had three building phases (early 6th century BC / late 6th – early 5th BC / 4th century BC). The temple of Athena, like that of Athena Nike at Athens, was built on a bastion engaging the western part of the circuit.

Goldman, *Acropolis*, 397-401; Schachter, *Cults* I, 114-115.

The fortified acropolis was bisected by a major street running from NW to SE, along its central axis. A sequence of buildings –some of them of Roman date– was aligned with this road.

J.E. Coleman, *ADelt* 45, 1990, B1, 184-185.

Pottery and lamps associated with the houses may be dated to all three Roman periods, although remains of the Middle Roman period (150 BC-350 AD) are scanty. During the middle phases of Roman occupation a cross-street bisected the main axial NW-SE road (Areas C and H). In Late Roman times the stretch of cross-street in Area H was blocked by a building (the so-called 'Room 5'). This suggests that the cross-street was no longer in use during the Late Roman period.

Trial trenches dug on the interior of the acropolis have shown that the Hellenistic town was essentially similar to the Roman one. The general alignment in both periods continued that of the Archaic period.

The lower city spread below the citadel, probably fortified with an additional wall.

Haas, *Hellenistic Halai*, 44-45 with fig. 7.

The city of Halai was occupied intermittently from the Neolithic through the Byzantine periods, reaching a peak of prosperity in the Hellenistic period as indicated by archaeological findings (graves, pottery, coins, and inscriptions).

Quinn, *Late Antique Halai*, 17; Haas, *Hellenistic Halai*, 60-71.

#### *Halai and Sulla*

In 85 BC, the Hellenistic town was destroyed by Sulla after his victory over the Mithridatic forces at Orchomenos, but the survivors resettled their town relatively soon after they had abandoned it.

Plutarch (*Sull.* 26) quotes an anecdote concerning the resettlement of Halai in Sulla's time: When Sulla was in Greece in 84-83 BC, he went for a cure to Aidipsos on Euboea opposite Halai. As he was walking along the shore there, some fishermen brought him very fine fish. But when he asked them where they came from and they replied that they came from Halai, he got furious, for after the victory of Orchomenos in 86 BC he had ordered the destruction of the towns of Anthedon, Larymna and Halai. However, Sulla forgave them, and the people of Halai gained the courage to return.

The available archaeological evidence is in accord with the literary testimony. Remains within the ancient acropolis attest collapses of walls and tiles that may be connected to the destruction of the town by Sulla in 85 BC.

Coleman, *Excavations*, 276; J.E. Coleman, *ADelt* 46, 1991, B, 198-199; cf. Quinn, *Late Antique Halai*, 20.

On the contrary, Haas (*Hellenistic Halai*, 63-65) relates this evidence to the gradual abandonment of the site and associates Sulla's campaigns with the end of the so-called 'Layer I' in Area H within the acropolis, excavated by the Cornell Halai and East Lokris Project (CHELP) team under the direction of J.E. Coleman.

According to the archaeological evidence, the acropolis seems to have been only partially resettled in the Early Roman period.

Quinn, *Late Antique Halai*, 17.

In general, the settlement on the acropolis of Halai was very extensive and prosperous during the Hellenistic period. Areas excavated by CHELP showed no habitation levels between the Late Hellenistic/Early Roman layer and Late Roman layers. It seems that at the end of the 1st century AD, the city declined in importance, as indicated by the reduction in the quantity of pottery and the lack of new constructions. Halai appears to have been gradually abandoned in the 2nd century AD, and remained desolate for most of the 3rd and perhaps some of the 4th centuries AD. In the Late Roman period (350-650 AD), the city was home to a flourishing Early Christian community.

Coleman, *Excavations*, 284; J.E. Coleman, *ADelt* 47, 1992, B1, 213; *id.*, *ADelt* 48, 1993, B1, 221; *id.*, *ADelt* 51, 1996, B1, 326; Quinn, *Late Antique Halai*, 16-35; Haas, *Hellenistic Halai*, 43-53.

#### *Cemetery/Burials*

The cemetery of Halai was situated outside the bounds of the acropolis to the north and east, and, with the exception of some isolated groups of graves, possibly representing family burial plots, which were found in the foothills or scattered far afield, most of the tombs were in a line possibly along the main route to the site. More than 280 graves were excavated here, near the outer boundaries of the town, dated from the mid 6th century BC to Roman times.

H. Goldman, *Hesperia* 11, 1942, 365; A.L. Walker – H. Goldman, *AJA* 19, 1915, 424.

A group of 27 tombs, dating from the 6th century BC to Roman times, came to light in the Tranoulis plot, situated 300 m E of the archaeological site of Halai. They probably belonged to the necropolis of the ancient town.

F. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 42, 1987, B1, 228-231.

Six disturbed chamber tombs of Hellenistic date were found in the Zartaloudi plot, situated 350 m E of the archaeological site of Halai. Some of the tombs were in use until Late Roman times.

F. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 42, 1987, B1, 231.

Several dozen additional tombs were found to the E of the acropolis.

Coleman, *Excavations*, 268 (at G in fig. 2).

200 graves varying in date from the Geometric period down to Roman times were discovered.

F.W. Hausluck, *JHS* 32, 1912, 386.

A Roman grave relief was found.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 346 no. 59.

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**HALIARTOS** – ΑΛΙΑΡΤΟΣ 1:3A/5:2C

Aliartos - Thespies Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Hom. *Il.* 2.503; X. *HG* 3.5.17; Plb. 27.1.7-8; Str. 9.2.30; Plin. *HN* 4.26; Paus. 9.32.5, 9.33.1-4

Inscriptions: *IG* VII 2848-2857; Vottéro, *Dialecte béotien*, 69-73; J.M. Fossey, in *Boeotia Antiqua* IV, 35-59, esp. 49-56.

Coins: Imhoof-Blumer, *Münzkunde*, 334-351; Hoover, *Coins*, 352-356.

Ancient Haliartos was situated to the S and SW of the modern village of Haliartos (formerly Moulki), on the southern side of Kopais Lake. Its territory was a very fertile plain called Ἀλιάργος (X. *HG* 3.5.17) or Ἀλιαργία (Str. 9.2.33; Paus. 9.33.4) which contained the ancient settlements of Medeon, Peteon, Okalea, **Onchestos** with the sanctuary of Poseidon, **Tilphousion**, the modern village of **Davlosi**, as well as the Vigla Hill, all of which have produced Hellenistic and Roman material.

Haliartos was one of the most prosperous cities of Boeotia down to and including the Hellenistic period, its economy based on the production of reeds suitable for making the famous Boeotian flutes (Thphr. *HP* 4.11.8-9) and on cultivation.

Quite a large zone was available for cultivation by the ancient town “on its E and W side, along the edge of the lake; between the lake itself and the slopes of the hills; as well as beyond the acropolis, on the foothills”, so E. Farinetti, *ASAtene* 86, 2008, 129-130.

### *The acropolis of Haliartos*

Haliartos' acropolis was located on a summit near the western end of modern Haliartos. It seems that the Classical-Hellenistic city had a gridplan with well-marked streets and house-blocks.

J.L. Bintliff *et al.*, *Pharos* 17.2, 2009-2010, 10.

A long stretch of the circuit wall, dating after 171 BC or even much later was found.

R.P. Austin, *BSA* 27, 1925-1926, 86.

According to Fossey (*Boiotian Topography*, 236), the acropolis was refortified perhaps in the late imperial period. To its N and NW sides, the acropolis was defended by the water of the Kopais Lake, as E. Farinetti (*ASAtene* 86, 2008, 129-130) remarks.

### *The city's decline*

After the second quarter of the 2nd century BC, the city fell into a general decline. The reason for this is related to a precise historical event: the destruction and devastation of the city by the praetorian C. Lucretius Gallus in 171 BC for siding against the Romans in the war with King Perseus of Macedon. The city was subjected to *andrapodismos* and all the works of art were carried off by the victors (Plb. 27.1.7-8; Liv. 42.46.9, 42.56.3-5 42.58.3, 42.63.3-12).



J. Deininger, *Der politische Widerstand gegen Rom in Griechenland 217-86 v. Chr.* (1971) 165; H. Volkmann, *Die Massenversklavungen der Einwohner erobelter Städte in der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit* (Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei 22) (1990)<sup>2</sup> 25-26; J.M. Bintliff, in B. Frenzel (ed.), *Evaluation of Land Surfaces Cleared from Forests in the Mediterranean Region during the Time of the Roman Empire* (Palaeoclimate Research 10) (1993) 133-143, esp. 139.

Later, the Romans gave the territory of Haliartos to the Athenians at the latter's request (Plb. 30.20.1-7; Str. 9.2.30; Liv. 42.46.7, 56.3, 63.3). Several of the boundary stones set up by the Athenians at Haliartos to mark the territory handed over to them have been found.

R.P. Austin, *BSA* 27, 1926-27, 137-138 nos 10 and 11; Hoover, *Coins*, 352.

Strabo (9.2.30) says that Haliartos did not exist in his time. Pausanias (9.33.3) states that in his day there were temples in ruinous condition, whose ownership he could not establish. It appears, though, that a community of some kind still existed at Haliartos after the Roman sack of 171 BC and that an Athenian epimelete administered it in Roman times (*IG VII* 2850, 2, cf. R. Sherck, *ZPE* 83, 1990, 283-284). The community consisted of settlers who tilled the soil for the benefit of the Athenians. Kahrstedt, *Wirtschaftl. Gesicht*, 105; S. Lauffer, *Chiron* 6, 1976, 14.

The following archaeological data confirm that Haliartos was reoccupied – but only partially – after its destruction in 171 BC:

Building remains associated with Roman sherds were revealed in the Choliassenou plot, situated close to the eastern borders of the ancient town.

A. Andreiomenou, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B1, 213; cf. Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 325 nos 8/9.

Roman building remains (Room V with a kiln and hypocausts and Room VIII), as well as Roman sherds were found in the Kokkorakis plot, situated to the SE of the Choliassenou plot.

A. Andreiomenou, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B1, 213-215; cf. Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 325 nos 8/9.

Remains of an ancient building were revealed in the E. Kribas plot, situated to the S of the Haliartian acropolis and the Thebes-Levadeia National Highway. A coin, dating to the time of the Emperor Alexander Severus (222-235 AD), was found in room 3.

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 174.

Remains of a building with two building phases (the first dated before the Roman destruction of the city and the second after it), as well as three graves (XVI, XVIII, XIX) of the mid-2nd century BC were revealed in the Th. Kribas plot, located to the SE of the ancient site.

N. Pharaklas, *AEphem* 1967, Chron 20-29; *id.*, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B1, 242.

According to Farinetti (*Boeotian Landscapes*, 325 no. 7), these remains could belong to a Roman farm existing after the destruction of Haliartos.

A Roman cistern and surface Roman sherds were found at the site.

*BCH* 76, 1952, 224; Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 233.

Two Roman coins were found on the acropolis.

R.P. Austin, *BSA* 27, 1925-1926, 90; *id.*, *BSA* 28, 1926/27, 139 nos 6 and 7.

Surface sherding on the site has shown that the reoccupation of the site was not significant for the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods (ca. 200 BC to 300 AD). J.L. Bintliff – A. Snodgrass, in *BOIOTIKA*, 285-299, esp. 288.

Some (mainly late) Roman material was noted on the southeastern quarter of the site.

J.L. Bintliff – A.M. Snodgrass, *Antiquity* 62, 1988, 62, 65 fig. 5c.

*Burials / Tombstones*

Two graves of the mid-2nd century BC were discovered in the Ioannou plot, located to the S of the ancient acropolis.

A. Andreiomenou, *AEphem* 1976, Chron. 17-21.

Three Late Hellenistic graves and a Roman funerary cube (*cippus*) were discovered.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 25, 1970, B1, 229.

A grave tombstone (epitaph of Agath-), dating to the Roman imperial period, was found in a field S of ancient Haliartos.

*SEG XXXIV* 353; J. Buckler, *AJPPhil* 105, 1984, 48-53, esp. 52-53.

A grave altar with relief representation of a “hero-rider” and a Heroine was found at Haliartos.

Machaira, *Autels funéraires*, 288 with fig. 2, 291, 292.

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 Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 145-154, 323-333.  
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*Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 21-31.

**HYETTOS (Dendri)** – ΥΗΤΤΟΣ (Δενδρί) 4:3B/5:2A  
 Orchomenos Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Paus. 9.24.3-4, 36.6; Plin. *HN* 36.128 (the Elder Pliny cites Hyettos as one of the major sources of magnetite in antiquity); St.Byz. 646.14.  
 Inscriptions: *IG VII* 2808-2847; *SEG XXIV* 300; *XXVI* 498. 549; *Hell.Oxy.* 19.3; P. Girard, *BCH* 2, 1878, 492-507; Roesch, *EB*, 153-161 no. 21; Vottéro, *Dialecte béotien*, 110-113.

The ancient city of Hyettos was situated in the hills at the northern border of Boeotia, about 2 km NE of the modern village of **Pavlos-Palaiokastron**. The surrounding area is known as Dendri.

The territory controlled by the ancient *polis* comprised the mountains and uplands to the N of the Kopais basin, on the eastern shoulder of Mt. Chlomon.  
 Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 119.

The name of Hyettos's *chora* is unknown.

Hansen – Nielsen, *Inventory*, 442 no. 207.

The acropolis of the ancient town occupied a steep hill surmounted by the chapel of Agios Athanasios.

Étienne – Knoepfler, *Hyettos*, 7-9 with figs. 1-2.

In this chapel, a Roman honorary base for Septimius Severus (*IG VII* 2833) was found, mentioning the toponym (ἡ πόλις Ὑηττίων); thus, the identification of the site with ancient Hyettos is secure.

S. Koumanoudis, *Athenaion* 4, 1876, 101-103.

Another honorary pedestal (*IG VII* 2834 = *SEG XXXI* 398), this time for Caracalla, Septimius Severus' son, also mentions the city of Hyettos; it was found at the neighboring village of **Loutsi**.

Étienne and Knoepfler (*Hyettos*, 168-175) suggest that both inscriptions belong to a large monument which was erected by the citizens of Hyettos for various members of the Severan family.

The majority of the inscriptions found at the site are Hellenistic military catalogues.

*SEG XXVI* 498-500; *IG VII* 2809-2832 = *SEG XXVI* 501-523; P. Girard, *BCH* 2, 1878, 492-502, nos 1-10; Étienne – Knoepfler, *Hyettos*, 67-112; J.M. Fossey, in Étienne – Knoepfler, *Hyettos*, 401-403 (= *Epigraphica Boeotica* I, 45-47).

Of particular interest is a decree of the sacred gerousia of the Saviour Asklepios (*IG VII* 2808), dating after 213 AD, which has been reused in a church located at the foot of the acropolis of Hyettos.

*SEG XXXII* 459; P. Girard, *BCH* 2, 1878, 502-506 no. 11; J.H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerousia, Hesperia Suppl.* VI (1941) 143-146 no. 33; Roesch, *EB*, 153-161 no. 21; R. Sherk, *ZPE* 83, 1990, 284; D. Knoepfler, *Bulletin épigraphique* 2011, no. 308.

An inscribed *cippus* from Hyettos (*SEG XXVI* 524; *XXXVI* 421; *XLIV* 411) dating to the later Hellenistic period mentions an oracle which has been attributed to the cult of Herakles.

Étienne – Knoepfler, *Hyettos*, 176-188; J. Bousquet, *BCH* 101, 1977, 451-454, esp. 453-454.

Pausanias (9.24.3) refers to a temple of Herakles at Hyettos, in which the deity was worshiped in the form of a rude stone (λίθος ἀργός) with healing powers, but Schachter (*Cults* II, 3) thinks it would be safer to keep this inscription separate from the cult of Herakles, because of the lack of solid evidence.

A dedication to Zeus Agoraios dating to the late 2nd century BC was noted at the site.

Étienne – Knoepfler, *Hyettos*, 152-155 no. 19 with figs. 84-85.

Two inscribed pedestals of portrait statues (*IG VII* 2835 and 2837) dating to the 2nd / 1st centuries BC were found at the site.

Schörner, *Votive*, 463-464, nos 911-912.

#### *The polis of Hyettos*

The fortified acropolis of the ancient town enclosed an area of *ca. 6 ha*, while the entire city covered *26 ha*. There are no traces of a fortification wall around the Lower Town, which seems to have lain S and E of the acropolis. Habitation is attested from prehistoric times, and from the Geometric-Archaic to the Late Roman periods.

Intensive surface survey, conducted by the Boeotia Project under the direction of J.L. Bintliff (University of Leiden), has shown that the city of Hyettos reduced in size in Late Hellenistic and Early Roman to Late Roman times in comparison to its Classical extent, as did Askra, Haliartos and Thespiai (Tanagra also suffered shrinkage in Late Roman times). A geophysical survey by the Leiden team recognized traces of a gridplan with parallel streets for the Lower Town. It also located insulae full of house traces, as well as possible public spaces and main urban monuments (a large outline in the northwest may be the gymnasium).

J.L. Bintliff, *Teiresias* 43.2, 2013, 432.0.01, fig. 3.

On a Roman villa site some distance from the town, remains of an olive press in second use were noted. It seems that the giant stone press weight was hauled from the ancient city, where a series of similar blocks, some *in situ*, were noticed.

Étienne – Knoepfler, *Hyettos*, 147-151.

According to Bintliff, the western and eastern suburbs of the Lower Town of Hyettos, which appear to have been abandoned after the Classical period, were probably available for pillage.

J.L. Bintliff, in M. Brunet (ed.), *Territoires des cités grecques. Actes de la table ronde internationale organisée par l'École française d'Athènes, 31 octobre-3 novembre 1991*, *BCH Suppl.* 34 (1999) 15-33, esp. 27.

#### *Cemetery/Burials*

Burial places have been noticed to the W, S and E of the ancient acropolis, cf. Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 302 nos 2, 3 and 4.

A rock-cut tomb of Roman date was discovered on a hill 200 m W of the acropolis; it probably belonged to the cemetery of ancient Hyettos.

A. Arvanitopoulos, *ADelt* 1, 1915, Parart 42.

Étienne – Knoepfler, *Hyettos*, 113-142 and *SEG XXVI* 532-547 publish the funerary stelai from Hyettos. The majority date to the Classical and Hellenistic periods and only two are Roman (*SEG XXVI* 545 = Étienne – Knoepfler, *Hyettos*, 134 no. 17 = E. Vlachogianni, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B1, 330 with note 60; *SEG XXVI* 546 = Étienne – Knoepfler, *Hyettos*, 134-135 no. 18).

A fragment of a late Hellenistic funerary stele from the village of **Loutsi** probably derives from the cemetery of ancient Hyettos.

E. Vlachogianni, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B1, 330.

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**Isoma Hill** – Ἴσωμα

4:2C/5:1B

Livadeia Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Sulla set up two trophies after his victory over Mithridates VI Eupator near Chaironeia in 86 BC: the first was

erected in the Kephisos valley, where the battle was joined, and the second on Mt. Thourion near Chaironeia (Plu. *Sull.* 19.5-6; Paus. 9.40.7; cf. N.G.L. Hammond, *Klio* 31, 1938, 195). Remains of the second trophy are thought to be found on Isoma Hill, identified with Plutarch's Mt. Thourion. The inscription (*SEG* XLI 448) carved on the monument base mentions Omoloi-chos and Anaxidamos, two citizens of Chaironeia who volunteered to dislodge a contingent of Archelaos' army, which was stationed in a strategic position on Mt. Thourion (Plu. *Sull.* 17.5-7 and 19.5-6).

J. Camp *et al.*, *AJA* 96, 1992, 443-455; Y. Schmuhl, *Römische Siegesmonumente republikanischer Zeit. Untersuchungen zu Ursprüngen, Erscheinungsformen und Denkmalpolitik* (2008) 119-122; Rabe, *Tropaia*, 143-144, 178 no. 33, pl. 50, 2-3; Vlachopoulos, *Archaeology*, 222 fig. 351; Bonanno Aravantinos, *Scultura*, 234; P. Assenmaker, *Latomus* 72, 2013, 946-955.

C.S. Mackay (*Historia* 49, 2000, 168-177, esp. 171) interprets the monument not as an official Roman trophy but as a private Chaironeian commemoration of the victory of Sulla. Kalliontzis (Casualty list, 350-359 no. 5) also thinks that this monument is "almost certainly a private enterprise". It could thus be assumed that this monument was erected by Omoloi-chos and Anaxidamos in order to commemorate their bravery.

Remains of a rubble fort on top of Isoma Hill were noticed. There is no firm construction date; it could have been built by the men stationed by Archelaos on the hill. J. Camp *et al.*, *AJA* 96, 1992, 451, 453 with fig. 12 (plan of the fort).

It has been suggested that the remains of a large terraced area, located *ca.* 500 m S-SW of Isoma Hill on the west bank of a stream (Morios?) running close to the foot of the hill, could be what remains of a platform for the temple of Apollo Thourios, mentioned by Plutarch (*Sull.* 17.4). J. Camp *et al.*, *AJA* 96, 1992, 443-455, 454-455 with fig. 13; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 288 no. 23/24.

## ITONION (The sanctuary of Athena Itonia) → KORONEIA

**Kalampaki** – Καλαμπάκι 1:4A/5:2C  
Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Late Roman pottery was noted at the site. Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 312-313; cf. Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 329 no. 25 (Kokkoretsa South).

**Karampampa Hill** – Καράμπαμπα 3:3C/5:4B  
Chalkideon Mun. / Euboea R.Un.

Roman potsherds were found scattered over the Karampampa Hill, situated immediately next to the channel of Euripos, on the Boeotian side.

S.C. Bakhuizen, *AAA* 5, 1972, 142 fig. 8; P.W. Wallace, *AJA* 73, 1969, 246; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 389 nos 61/62.

An ancient fortress was built on Karampampa Hill, enclosing the hills on either side of the strait of Euripos and the bridge over the channel. The bridge was built in 410 BC and modified in 334 BC, and again after 146 BC. According to Livy (35.51.7,8), when the Romans were at war with Antiochus (192 BC), some Roman soldiers built a fort in the Euripos, probably on the small island in the strait. Aemilius Paulus crossed the bridge over the channel of Euripos in 167 BC (Liv. 45.27); the bridge still existed in the time of Livy (28.7); Pliny (*HN* 4.12.63) also mentions it. By the time of Justinian the bridge had been destroyed.

S.C. Bakhuizen, *AAA* 5, 1972, 134-146; Wallace, *Strabo*, 32; P. Karvoni, in P. Karvoni – M. Mikedaki, *Tabula Imperii Romani, J 35 – Smyrna, I: Aegean Islands* (2012) 202 map 29:1C.

Karampampa Hill, nowadays crowned by a Venetian castle, has been identified by some scholars with ancient Salganeus, mentioned in literary sources (D.S. 19.77.4; Str. 1.1.17, 9.2.2, 9.2.9, 9.2.13; Liv. 35.37,6, 35.38.7, 35.38.13, 35.50.9; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.8; St.Byz. 551.5).

Dodwell, *Tour*, vol. II, 149-150; Ulrichs, *Reisen* II, 33, 219; P.W. Wallace, *AJA* 73, 1969, 246; S.C. Bakhuizen, *AAA* 5, 1972, 142 fig. 8, 143 fig. 9; Wallace, *Strabo*, 38-41; Buck, *History*, 21.

Other scholars locate the historical settlement of Salganeus at a prehistoric mound called Lithosoros or "tomb of Salganeus", situated at the NW corner of the coastal plain of **Drosia** (formerly Chalcia).

Leake, *Travels*, 267-268; L. Ross, *Wanderungen in Griechenland im Gefolge des Königs Otto und der Königin Amalie: mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Topographie und Geschichte*, vol. II (1851) 127-131; Frazer, *Pausanias*, 91-92; Bakhuizen, *Salganeus*, 6 fig. 5 and 10 fig. 6; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 388-389 no. 57.

The question of the precise location of ancient Salganeus should remain open due to the lack of satisfactory archaeological evidence.

Bakhuizen, *Salganeus*, 11-12; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 78-80.



**Kastraki area** – Καστρούκι 1:4A/5:2C  
Aliartos - Thespies Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Traces of a building foundation were noticed in a lower area between Megalo and Mikro Kastraki, situated to the NW of Mt. Sphingion (modern Phagas); associated material might be of Roman date.

Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 329 no. 21.

**Kleidi / Kleideti** – Κλειδί / Κλειδέτι 2:3C/5:4C  
Tanagra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Hellenistic and Roman tombs were found around the village of Kleidi (formerly Kleideti), situated to the N of ancient Tanagra. Hellenistic and Roman pottery is also reported from the site.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 53; cf. Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 383 nos 15-26.

Building remains of the Roman period were found to the W of the Kastri Hill, situated in the vicinity of Kleidi. Moreover, the central part of a Roman bath complex was revealed to the SW of the modern cemetery of the village of Kleidi.

A. Charami, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 164-165, fig. 66, site VIII and X respectively; Vlachogianni, *Αρχαία*, 518 no. 26.

**Klimataria** – Κληματαριά 3:1D/2:1A/5:3C  
Orchomenos Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Klimataria is an L-shape peninsula in the middle of the N side of Yliki Lake. An extensive Roman imperial settlement associated with a cemetery, which was previously thought to be Medieval, was found at the site.

*AREpLond* 1990-91, 34 and Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 369 nos 35/36/37; cf. Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 238-243.

**KOPAI (Kastron / Topolia)** – ΚΩΠΑΙ (Κάστρον / Τοπόλια) 4:4C/5:2B  
Orchomenos Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Hom. *Il.* 2.502; Str. 9.2.27; Plin. *HN* 4.26; Paus. 9.24.1; St.Byz. 401.12.

Inscriptions: *IG VII*, 2780-2807; Vottéro, *Dialecte béotien*, 114-116; *Epigraphica Boeotica I*, 91-96.

Coins: Hoover, *Coins*, 357.

The modern village of Kastron (formerly Topolia) occupies the site of ancient Kopai which was a member

of the Boeotian League. Located on the northern bank of the Kopais Lake and commanding most, if not all, of the large northeast bay area, this small town gave its name to the lake itself. The place under its control was one of the richest fishing areas of the Kopais, especially for the eels considered a delicacy in antiquity.

Archaeological remains of the ancient town are not many because they still lie underneath the modern village. They are concentrated on the fortified acropolis, located on a low hill that projected into the Kopaic basin, as well as at the foot of the hill; the latter was linked to the shore of the lake by a narrow isthmus 100 m long. In the dry season, hill and isthmus formed a peninsula, while in times of flood the place looked like an island. Pottery evidence attests a very long history of activity at the site, extending from the Neolithic down to the Byzantine period.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 279.

Roman sherds –but no structural remains of Roman date– were noticed on the northern slopes of the hill.

Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 232.

The town still existed in the time of Pausanias (9.24.1), who saw the temples of Demeter, Dionysos and Sarapis. Schachter, *Cults I*, 154-155.

A cult of Demeter Tauropolos is attested in an undated dedicatory inscription from Kopai, now lost (*IG VII* 2793).

A necropolis was located “at the foot of the Kopais cliffs, facing the site from the NW, which seems to have contained Roman tombs”. Two Roman tombstones (*IG VII* 2796 and 2799), found in the church of Agios Vlasios, come from this area.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 280; Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 232.

Four imperial graves were found.

Kahrstedt, *Wirtschaftl. Gesicht*, 81, 113.

An inscribed grave stele of Roman date was revealed.

E. Touloupa, *ADelt* 19, 1964, B2, 203 no. 24.

A Late Roman tomb (3rd-4th century AD) was found. It was covered with three grave stelai of Roman date.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 25, 1970, B1, 227-228; *AE* 1974, 159 no. 600; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 306 nos 2, 3 and 4.

A Roman tombstone (*IG VII* 2803), as well as an inscribed Roman grave altar (*IG VII* 2807) decorated with a relief representation of the “hero-rider”, were found in the ruined church of Koimisis Theotokou.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 369 no. 120; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 280.



A dedicatory inscription (*IG VII 2794*) to a benefactor, whose name is missing, was found; it probably dates to the 2nd century AD.

H. Schliemann, *JHS* 2, 1881, 122-163, esp. 161; Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 232.

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Hansen – Nielsen, *Inventory*, 443-444 no. 209 (M.H. Hansen).

Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 127-135, 305 no. 1.

**KORONEIA / KORONEA (Palaea Koroneia) –**  
**ΚΟΡΩΝΕΙΑ / ΚΟΡΩΝΕΑ (Παλαιά Κορώνεια)**

1:2A/5:2C

Livadeia Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Hom. *Il.* 2.503; Hdt. 5.79; Plin. *HN* 4.26; Str. 9.2.29, 9.2.38; Paus. 9.34.3, 9.39; Liv. 33.29.9; Lib. *Arg.D.* 5.2.2;

Koroneia's name also occurs in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, see E. Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana: Codex Vindobonnensis 324, Kommentar* (1976) 50 (s.v. Coroneia TP Cronias).

Inscriptions: *IG VII* 2858-3052; *SEG XIX* 363 and 374; R.K. Sherk, *Rome and the Greek East to the death of Augustus* (1984) 21 no. 20; Oliver, *Constitutions*, 253-273; Vottéro, *Dialecte béotien*, 74-84.

Coins: Hoover, *Coins*, 358-361.

The ancient city of Koroneia lies on the SW side of the Kopaic basin, commanding the narrow neck between the foothills of Mt. Helikon and the former Kopais Lake. Located on the final spur of the low ridge Mikro and Megalo Boutsourati, it extended on two hills, one lower to the N, which has some remains of a Frankish tower, and one higher to the S, which is the acropolis of the ancient town.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 327 fig. 45.

On either side of Mikro and Megalo Boutsourati flow two streams, one on the east or right hand called Kakaris (ancient Kouarios [Str. 9.2.29, 5.14] or Kouralios?) and the other on the west or left, named Pontza (ancient Phalaros?) (Call. *Law.Pall.* 5.64; Eust. 1.410.11), cf. Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 68 fig. 1.

The name of the territory controlled by the ancient *polis* was also *Κορώνεια* (Th. 1.113.2) or *ἡ Κορωνειακή* (Str. 9.2.19, 28); it occupied the broad fertile valley of the village of Agios Georgios and the area of the Kopais plain at its entrance.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 323.

In antiquity, the territory comprised the *Itonion* (on which see below), Alalkomenai and the sanctuary of Athena Alalkomen(e)ia, as well as the following areas of modern villages or sites, which have produced late Hellenistic and/or Roman material: **Agia Triada cave**, modern **Alalkomenes** (formerly Mamoura), **Milia**, **Pontza**, **Solinari** and **Xinos**.

According to a legend mentioned by Pausanias (9.34.7), Koroneia and Haliartos were founded by Athamas and his descendants, who came from Thessaly. Its Thessalian origin is also attested by Strabo (9.2.29), who says that the city was founded by the Boeotians from Arne in Thessaly after they had been driven out of their original homes by the Thessalians; they founded a sanctuary of Athena Itonia in the plain in front of the city, named after the homonymous temple of their old home in Thessaly, and likewise gave to the river which flowed by the temple the name Kouarios, after the Thessalian river.

### *Koroneia and Rome*

Koroneia allied with Macedonia against Rome in the Battle of Cynoscephalai in 197 BC. The Boeotian contingent serving under the Macedonians was led by a certain Brachyllas, who was elected *boeotarchos*. After Brachyllas' assassination by the leaders of the pro-Roman party, Zeuxippos and Peisistratos, in 196 BC, the pro-Macedonians ambushed and murdered Roman soldiers (Liv. 33.28-29). Many of the murders had been committed at Akraiphia and Koroneia. The Roman commander Titus Quinctius Flamininus ordered the Boeotians to hand over those responsible and to pay a fine of 500 talents. When this was refused, he besieged Koroneia and plundered the countryside (196 BC) (Plb. 20.7). The siege was ultimately lifted after the intercession of Athenian and Achaean envoys, who secured the

handing over of criminals and got the fine reduced to thirty talents (Plb. 20.7.3; Liv. 33.29).

E.S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, vol. II (1984) 499-450; A.M. Eckstein, *Senate and General. Individual Decision Making and Roman Foreign Relations, 264-194 BC* (1987) 298; C. Habicht, *Athen: die Geschichte der Stadt in hellenistischer Zeit* (1995) 208-209; J.D. Grainger, *The League of the Aitolians* (1999) 409.

In spite of being punished by Roman forces, Koroneia sided with Antiochus III in 191 BC. A statue of King Antiochus, set up by the Boeotians in the temple of Athena Itonia, enraged M. Acilius Glabrio, who gave his troops permission to devastate the land around the temple (Liv. 36.20). Koroneia also supported the Macedonian King Perseus against the Romans in 172-171 BC (Liv. 42.46.7). One year later the Roman consul P. Licinius Crassus conquered Koroneia and sold her inhabitants as slaves (Liv. 42.67.12, 43.4.11). The destruction of the town was so great that it caused the indignation even of the pro-Roman Greeks and the Roman Senate, who punished those responsible for defaming the Romans with their actions. In 170 BC, a senatorial decree (*SEG XIX 374*) restored all who were enslaved to freedom, probably returned their possessions to them and gave them the permission to fortify the city's acropolis for their own protection (this precaution appears to have been followed also in **Thisbe**). L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* (1938) 287-292; F.G. Maier, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften I* (1959) 130-131 no. 29; R.K. Sherck, *Roman Documents from the Greek East* (1969) 32-33 no. 3; H. Volkmann, *Die Massenversklavungen der Einwohner erobelter Städte in der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit* (Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei 22) (1990) 26.

Koroneia fades from the scene until the imperial period. Rome intervened then in the internal affairs of the city in order to arrange Koroneia's agrarian issues with Thisbe and to settle a dispute between Koroneia and Orchomenos.

*IG VII 2870* (cf. also **Agios Dimitrios**); *SEG XXXII 466-468*; Oliver, *Constitutions*, 267-272.

Epigraphic and archaeological evidence attest that Koroneia had been favoured several times by the Roman emperors: three Roman inscriptions of the 'Koroneia archive' refer to the problem of agricultural land flooding, and Hadrian's flood-prevention works to control this. We are informed that in 125 AD the emperor ordered the construction of dikes to channel the rivers (Kephisos, Herkyna and others [probably the Kouarios

and the Phalaros, mentioned by Pausanias 9.34.5]) flowing into the southwest part of the lake, assigning 65,000 *denarii* for the task. Comparing this to the sum (over 6,000 *denarii*) spent by Epameinondas of Akraiphia for repairs to the Akraiphia dike a century earlier (*IG VII 2712*), we conclude that Hadrian expended eleven times as much on his dikes as Epameinondas did, obviously because much more work was carried out in the territory of Koroneia, as J. Oliver points out.

Oliver, *Constitutions*, 253-273 (nos 108. 109 and 110); see also *SEG XXXII 460. 462 and 463*; *Epigraphica Boeotica I*, 8-9 nos 4. 6 and 7, 12-16; M.T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (2000) 112-116; (see also **Akraiphia** and **Pontza**).

Fossey (*Boiotian Topography*, 15) relates the remains of dikes noted along the Pontza/Phalaros River –as along the Vrastamites River to the E– with the hydraulic works in the Kopais during Hadrian's reign.

In addition to the aforementioned inscriptions commemorating Hadrian's work on the dikes, there are several sections of the Hadrianic Roman aqueduct that carried water from Mt. Helikon to Koroneia (O. Walter, *AA 1940*, 187; Lauffer, *Kopais I*, 79-80; Bintliff *et al.*, *Pharos* 16, 2008, 43, 45 fig. 12; J.L. Bintliff, *Teiresias* 43.2, 2013, 432.0.001, fig. 5) on the one hand, and on the other, a series of Roman statue dedications to the emperors by the city, which bear witness to imperial patronage. The statue dedications are the following:

one to Caligula (*IG VII 2878*), one to Nerva (Pritchett, *Topography II*, 87), two to Hadrian (*IG VII 2879* and 2880, cf. *SEG XXXVI 425-426*), one to Antoninus Pius (*Epigraphica Boeotica I*, 99-100 no. 3), one to Paramonos (*IG VII 2881*), one to Lollianus (*Epigraphica Boeotica I*, 101-103 no. 5), one to Valerian (*Epigraphica Boeotica I*, 100-101 no. 4), one to Carus, one to Valentinian and one to Arcadius (*BCH 47*, 1923, 521-522; A.M. Woodward, *JHS 44*, 1924, 275), cf. J.M. Fossey, in H. Kalcyk – B. Gullath – A. Graeber (eds), *Studien zur alten Geschichte: Siegfried Lauffer zum 70. Geburtstag am 4. August 1981 dargestellt von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, vol. I (1986) 245-259 = *Epigraphica Boeotica I*, 97-111, esp. 104; J.M. Fossey, in A. Kalogeropoulou (ed.), *Πρακτικά του Η' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ελληνικής και Λατινικής Επιγραφικής, Αθήνα 3 - 9 Οκτωβρίου 1982*, vol. II (1987) 199-205 (= *Epigraphica Boeotica I*, 113-118, esp. 114); Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 241.

#### *The polis of Koroneia*

Early travellers (W. Gell, *The Itinerary of Greece* [1819] 150; Leake, *Travels*, 133-134; L. Ross, *Wanderungen in Grie-*

chenland im Gefolge des Königs Otto und der Königin Amalie mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Topographie und Geschichte, vol. I [1851] 32; Frazer, *Pausanias*, 170) noticed various ancient structures on the steep terraced hill of ancient Koroneia, some of which have since disappeared due to continuous agricultural activity. They noted, for instance, the site of a theater on the northeastern slopes of the hill, which has been recently confirmed by the Leiden-Ljubljana Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project directed by J.L. Bintliff and B. Slapšak.

J.L. Bintliff *et al.*, *Pharos* 15, 2007, 25 with fig. 6; *id.*, *Pharos* 16, 2008, 51; *id.*, *Pharos* 17.2, 2009-2010, 6, 14 fig. 7; B. Slapšak, *Teiresias* 37.2, 2007, 072.0.01.

Further archaeological data based mostly on the systematic surface survey conducted by the Leiden-Ljubljana team and on small-scale excavations conducted by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Boeotia can be summarized as follows:

The Classical and especially Early Hellenistic periods witnessed the maximum expansion of the town. Surface finds from early imperial times suggest a smaller occupied area, which contracts even further in Late Roman times. The Late Roman town was largely focused on the acropolis and an extramural suburb in and around the agora; the latter was lying to the E of the acropolis, on a lower plateau on the eastern middle slopes of the hill. Remnants of perhaps two urban villas of Roman date were noted to the S of the agora.

J.L. Bintliff *et al.*, *Pharos* 15, 2007, 25.

Excavations conducted by M.N. Pappadakis on the acropolis' east slopes brought to light the remains of a Roman stoa, as well as an over-life-size headless portrait statue of the 2nd century AD which probably represented the Emperor Hadrian in the type of the Ares Borghese.

*BCH* 47, 1923, 521-522; A.M. Woodward, *JHS* 44, 1924, 275; Aravantinos, *Museum of Thebes*, 340.

Pappadakis thought that he had uncovered the Roman agora. The Leiden-Ljubljana team hypothesizes the existence of "several agoras or fora" at the site.

Bintliff *et al.*, *Pharos* 12, 2007, 25.

An impressive multi-storeyed central public building of the 6th century AD, found at the south end of the acropolis, could be either a bishop's palace or the residence of the governor of the Late Antique town; the earlier suggestion that it was a Roman or Late Roman bathhouse (hence the local name for the acropolis 'Loutro' [= bath]) should be rejected.

F.G. Maier, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften I. Texte und Kom-*

*mentare* (Vestigia I) (1959) (the complex is marked H on the plan in p. 129); Kahrstedt, *Wirtschaftl. Gesicht*, 85 with note 3; Papachatzis, *Παροαίλας*, 215 note 1; Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 237; J.L. Bintliff *et al.*, *Pharos* 19.2, 2013, 17.

A large square enclosure was noticed to the N of the aforementioned vaulted building. Between these two edifices, extensive remains of Roman buildings with at least one tessellated floor were revealed. Fossey (*Boiotian Topography*, 238) wonders "if the large square enclosure may not be Pappadakis' Roman agora".

The two most remarkable things that Pausanias (9.34.3) saw in the agora of Koroneia, i.e. the altar of Hermes Epimelius and the altar of the winds, have yet to be found.

Remains of a defensive or boundary wall of Late Archaic-Early Classical and Late Antique date were recognized on the acropolis. A Late Antique domestic area was noted at the S side of the acropolis. Remains of Late Antique buildings were located on top and at the slopes of the Koroneia hill.

T. Spyropoulos, *Prakt* 1975 B, 394.

Roman potsherds were noted on the surface of the city site.

Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 237.

The geophysical research conducted by the Eastern Atlas team from Berlin in collaboration with the Leiden-Ljubljana team has shown that there was a degree of urban planning within each quarter of the ancient town. Stretches of the Classical Lower Town wall were noted in various parts of the city site (of particular interest are the stamped tiles with the city of Koroneia's monogram probably belonging to the Classical Greek city wall). The Greek walls ran outside a Roman cemetery and a Roman industrial dump, which indicates the contraction of the town area between the two eras, as has been noted above; this trend can be observed in other Boeotian towns during this period, such as Thespiai, Hyettos and Tanagra.

J.L. Bintliff, *Teiresias* 45.2, 2015, 452.0.02.

A series of cemeteries, dating from Late Archaic to Late Hellenistic times, and a small sanctuary have been recognized ringing the line of the lower city wall to its S and E. The pre-Roman cemeteries continued into Roman times on the north lower slopes of the city hill. All in all, eight cemeteries have been noted so far; three are Roman and lie on the NE, SE and SW lower hill perimeter, and another one is Classical and Roman and



lies on the eastern lower hill; of note is a Roman sarcophagus from the extramural cemetery zone on the northern slopes of the city hill.

Kahrstedt, *Wirtschaftl. Gesicht*, 79-80; Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 238; J.L. Bintliff *et al.*, *Pharos* 19.2, 2013, 9-10 with fig. 10 and 13 with fig. 11.

#### *Movable finds*

Several movable finds of the Roman period are recorded from the site. In most cases, the exact findspot is not indicated:

Fragments of an inscribed honorary pedestal of a statue dedicated to the son of Quintus.

S. Lauffer, *Chiron* 6, 1976, 17 no. 9.

Fragments of a Roman honorary inscription.

S. Lauffer, *Chiron* 6, 1976, 18 no. 10 = *SEG* XXVI 554.

The head and part of the leg of a statue dating around the mid-2nd century BC.

Karouzos, *Μουσείο Θήβας*, 48 no. 123.

The marble head of a man dating to the middle of the 1st century AD.

Aravantinos, *Museum of Thebes*, 350.

An epitaph of Olympiades, dating to the 1st / 2nd centuries AD (*SEG* XLI 463), was found in the area of Agios Dimitrios.

A Roman relief with a dedication to Sabazios (*SEG* XL 410) was found in Sandalis' field, in the Pyrgos locality, situated on the eastern slope of the ancient city hill of Koroneia (now in the Chaironeia Museum).

C. Piteros, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B1, 195.

Dedication of a statue of Trajan (?) (*SEG* XXXI 404).

Camia, *Theoi Sebastoi*, 35.

#### *The sanctuary of Athena Itonia (Itonion)*

Architectural remains of three religious buildings were discovered to the N of the acropolis of Koroneia:

a) Temple A, which covered a Geometric cremation cemetery, had two building phases (Archaic and Early Roman) and remained in use until the 4th-5th centuries AD. Finds included a silver Roman coin, a large amount of stamped rooftiles bearing Roman inscriptions, Roman pottery, and, most important, the fragment of a Roman skyphos depicting Athena Itonia.

b) Temple B, with two building phases as well (end of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd century BC and Early Roman period), produced a low pedestal for two Hermai, bearing an inscription of their dedicator (2nd / 1st centuries BC: Schörner, *Votive*, 464 no. 914).

c) Temple C dates to the Classical period.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B2, 317; *id.*, *ADelt* 28, 1973, B1, 271-272, pl. 226a; *id.*, *AAA* 6, 1973, 385-392; *id.*, *Teiresias* 3.1, 1973, 5-6; *id.*, *Prakt* 1975B, 392-414; A.K. Orlandos, *Ergon* 1975, 12-17; P. Amandry, *BCH* 102, 1978, 565-569.

According to Spyropoulos (*op.cit.*), these three buildings belonged to the sanctuary of Athena Itonia (*Itonion*), patroness of warriors at Koroneia. A festival of the United Boeotians, called *Pamboeotia*, was held at the *Itonion* (see below). From the middle of the 6th century BC, Athena Itonia shared her sanctuary with a male god, who was first depicted as a snake and later was identified as Zeus Karaios/Keraios. Both Athena Itonia and Zeus Karaios/Keraios were adopted by the Hellenistic Boeotian League as its official gods.

Schachter, *Cults* I, 119-121.

Some scholars give credit to Spyropoulos' identification: Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας*, 216; Roesch, *EB*, 220-221; P. Krentz, in *BOIOTIKA*, 313-317.

Some others are more cautious (Schachter, *Cults* I, 119 and C. Lagos, *NumChron* 161, 2001, 1-10, esp. 6), while others do not accept it: for instance, it has been suggested that the *Itonion* was located near the modern village of **Agios Dimitrios** and that the temple-like edifices excavated by Spyropoulos possibly belonged to a sanctuary of Hera.

M. Bonanno Aravantinos, in Vlachopoulos, *Archaeology*, 265.

On the contrary, Adler (in *RE* 9<sup>2</sup> [1916] 2375 s.v. Itonia; Pritchett (*Topography* II, 85-89) and Fossey (*Topography and Population*, 330-331) think that the church of Metamorphosis at the modern village of **Alalkomenes** (formerly Mamoura), situated some 3 km NE of ancient **Koroneia**, is a better claimant for the location of the sanctuary on the basis of the federal documents which have been found there.

Finally, Lauffer (*Kopais* I, 91-97) locates the *Itonion* at the Thymari locality, from where architectural fragments and surface walling are reported.

Although the *Itonion* cannot be located with certainty, inscriptional evidence suggests that it continued to be important throughout the imperial period; it is noteworthy that the confederations of the Achaeans, Boeotians, Euboeans, Locrians, Phocaeans and Dorians chose this sanctuary to set up a base in honor of Trajan.

D. Knoepfler, in A. Heller – A.-V. Pont (eds), *Patrie d'origine et patries électives: les citoyennetés multiples dans le monde grec d'époque romaine: actes du colloque international de Tours*,



6-7 novembre 2009 (Scripta antiqua, 40) (2012) 223-247, esp. 240-247; Y. Kalliontzis, *Horos* 22-25, 2010-2013, 313 with note 14.

### *The Pamboeotia*

The extramural sanctuary of Athena Itonia was a federal center in the Hellenistic and Roman times. It was also the site of an annual *agon* (athletic and hippic) called *Pamboeotia*, for the duration of which a truce was declared (Paus. 9.34.1; Str. 9.2.29; Plu. *Ages.* 19.2.2; IG VII 3087, 3172; SEG XXVIII 454 and 456). This federal *panegyris* was founded in the course of the 3rd century BC and was under the supervision of a religious amphictyony; it was reorganized some decades after the dissolution of the Hellenistic Koinon in 171 BC, and persisted intermittently from the 1st century BC until Plutarch's day at least, and possibly even later, so Schachter, *Antiquity*, 189-190. The competitors of the *Pamboeotia* were exclusively Boeotians, as indicated by the inscriptional evidence (SEG XXVIII 456: agonistic catalogue, 1st century BC; IG VII 2871: victors' lists in the *Pamboeotia*, so Schachter, *Cults* I, 125; *contra* Feyel, *Contribution*, 59-66, who assigns the inscription to the *Basileia* at Levadeia, cf. SEG XXVIII 454). Schachter (*Antiquity*, 190) points out that after the revival of the *agon*, there was almost complete disappearance of 'τέλος –group– competitions', with an exception of a τέλος race. For the *Pamboeotia* see further: N.G. Pappadakis, *ADelt* 8, 1923, 228-238; S. Lauffer, *Chiron* 6, 1976, 15-16; Schachter, *Cults* I, 122-126; S. Deacy, in *Boeotia Antiqua* V, 91-104; Kantiréa, *Dieux*, 71; G. Argoud, in *EpetBoioiMel* IV.1, 529-546, esp. 533-535; O. Olivieri, in D. Castaldo – F.G. Giannachi – A. Manieri (eds), *Poesia, musica e agoni nella Grecia antica: Atti del iv convegno internazionale di MOISIA = Rudiae* 22-23, 2010-2011, 79-95.

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*Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 279-315.  
J.L. Bintliff, *Teiresias* 45.2, 2015, 452.0.02.

## KORSIAI → CHORSIAI

**Kouveli Islet** – Κουβέλι

1:3D/5:2D

Thiva Mun. / Boeotia

The islet of Kouveli lies in the Gulf of Domvraina, about 2 km S of the Boeotian coast. Archaeological findings –including built remains, large quantities of pottery and a coin– date from the 2nd to the 12th century AD, with the main floruit from the 3rd to the 7th century AD.

T.E. Gregory, *Teiresias* Archaeologica 1980, 31-41, esp. 39; *id.*, *DeltChrA* 12, 1984, 289; *id.*, *Archaeology* (May/June) 1986, 19-20; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 183-184; Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 22-23; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 351.

**Kroniza** – Κρονίζα

1:4C/5:2C

Aliartos - Thespias Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

The Roman epitaph of Parthena (*SEG* XXXIX 458 [A]) was found in the Kroniza locality, situated 3 km SE of Thespias.

C. Piteros, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B1, 170-171 no. 1.

**KREUSIS / KREOUSA / KREOUSIA / KREISYIS**  
(Livadostra, Kastro) – ΚΡΕΥΣΙΣ / ΚΡΕΟΥΣΑ /  
ΚΡΕΟΥΣΙΑ / ΚΡΕΙΣΥΙΣ (Λιβαδόστρα, Κάστρο)

1:4D/5:2D

Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

X. *HG* 4.5.10, 5.4.16, 6.4.3; Str. 9.2.25; Paus. 9.32.1; Liv. 36.21.5, 42.56.5, 44.1.4; St.Byz. 383.6.

Inscriptions: *SEG* XXIV 361 = *IThesp* 38 (Kreisyis).

Ancient Kreusis –or Kreousa in Strabo's and Livius' time– was situated at Livadostra Bay on Boeotia's southern coast. Although Stephanus of Byzantium (383.6), based on Herodianus, calls Kreusis a city of Boeotia, it was rather a small fortified settlement which operated as the main harbor of Thespias on the Corinthian Gulf. It also served as a central port of call for the Roman *negotiatores*, who had tight trade and economic connections with Thespias.

J. Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient Hellénique* (*BEFAR* 115) (1919) 67-73.

It seems that Kreusis had a key role in the communication between Central Greece and Italy and was used by the Romans as a base for immediate intervention in the

Ionian Islands, such as Lefkada and Kefalonia (Liv. 36.21, 44.1). On one occasion, a Roman army of 12,000 under the command of M. Lucretius disembarked at Kreusis in order to take over the siege of Haliartos from the local Boeotian forces under P. Lentulus (Liv. 42.56) (171 BC).

Ancient activity is located at the two ends of the harbor. At the east (left) end of the shore, a site, which shows occupation from Early Helladic to Roman times, is marked by the location of a Frankish tower.

At the western end is a large ancient fortress of the 4th century BC which was probably in use also in the Late Roman period, see the plan in Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 159 fig. 19, cf. J. Morin – G. Gauvin, in *Boeotia Antiqua* VI, 19-29, esp. 20 fig. 3.1.

The remains of two large medieval buildings were excavated in the Michas plot, located at the W part of the valley, near the ancient fortifications. The deeper levels included pottery, tiles and small finds of the Roman period.

V. Sabetai, *ADelt* 49, 1994, B1, 287-288.

An inscribed grave altar (*IG* VII 2152) of the 2nd century AD, depicting the Heroine, patroness of cavalrymen, was built into the south door of the chapel of Agios Nikolaos.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 371 no. 124; Piteros, *Αρχαιότητες* 613-614.

*Dioskouroi*

A Roman statue base bearing a dedication to the Dioskouroi and the city (*IG* VII 1826 = *IThesp* 266 = *SEG* XXXIX 433) was found close to the chapel of Agios Nikolaos, situated in the wider area of Livadostra (the stone was rediscovered E of the acropolis of Kreusis in the ruins of a house).

Roesch, *Confédération*, 217; C. Piteros, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B1, 172, pl. 106a; Piteros, *Αρχαιότητες*, 612-613; *Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 316-317 pl. 63.

It has been suggested that the shrine of the Dioskouroi was probably located near the chapel of Agios Nikolaos. The presence of the Dioskouroi cult in an ancient port is not surprising, since the pair were regarded as the patrons of sailors.

This inscription is also interesting for the information it gives about Kreusis' administration which was placed in the hands of an official from Thespias who held the title of *λιμενάρχης*. The *limenarchos* Dekmos Sertinius

Eision mentioned in *IG VII 1826* is also attested as *polemarch* and priest in another inscription from Thespiai (*SEG XXXI 521 = ITesp 426*, cf. A. Plassart, *BCH* 50, 1926, 394 no. 14). It seems that he was one of the few Romanized Greeks around the beginning of the 1st century AD.

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 Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 340-341 nos 25/26.  
*Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 316-320.

**LARYMNA (Larymna / Kastri)** – ΛΑΡΥΜΝΑ (Λα-  
 ουννα, Καστρί) 3:1B/5:3A  
 Lokroi Mun. / Rhtthiotis R.Un.

Paus. 9.23.7; Plb. 20.5.7; Str. 9.2.18; Plu. *Sull.* 26; Plin. *HN* 4.7.12.

Inscriptions: *IG IX* 1<sup>2</sup>, 5, 1780-1842; *IG IX.1* 234-235 B, 4; *Samml. gr. Dialekt-Inschr.* II (*SGDI*) 2593.2; A. Jardé – M. Laurent, *BCH* 26, 1902, 326-331; W.A. Oldfather, *AJA* 19, 1915, 320-322.

Coins: Hoover, *Coins*, 362-363.

The ancient town of Larymna was situated on the Bay of Larmes, approximately 25 km SE of Halai (modern Theologos). Strabo (9.2.18) distinguishes the Lower Larymna on the sea, which was Boeotian, from the Upper Larymna situated to the south towards Boeotia, which was Lokrian. Lower Larymna had also originally belonged to Lokris (Paus. 9.23.7; Lycophron, *Alex.* 1146), but in 230 BC it was Boeotian and remained Boeotian throughout the rest of antiquity (Plu. *Sull.* 26; Plb. 20.5.7; cf. an agonal inscription of Levadeia [*IG VII 3078*], dating between 226 and 216 BC, attesting that Larymna was Boeotian).

Lower Larymna was the seaport of Orchomenos and other Boeotian cities, such as Levadeia and Chaironeia.

Together with Anthedon and Halai, it was destroyed by Sulla after his victory over the Mithridatic forces at Orchomenos in 86 BC (Plu. *Sull.* 26.3).

Strabo (9.2.18) states that the Romans annexed the Upper to Lower Larymna, while Pausanias (9.23.7) mentions only Lower Larymna, because in his time, apparently only the Boeotian Larymna existed, while the Lokrian one was a decadent agrarian community.

It is also possible that when the Romans united Upper and Lower Larymna, the inhabitants of the former were transferred to the latter and so Upper Larymna was abandoned.

Frazer, *Pausanias*, 109.

W.A. Oldfather (*AJA* 20, 1916, 32-61), who thinks that Strabo's distinction between Boeotian Lower Larymna and Lokrian Upper Larymna is a "gross error", suggests that Sulla may have founded Upper Larymna—after the destruction of Lower Larymna—and may have given it to the Lokrians as a measure against the Boeotians. See also Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας*, 157-158 note 1; Wallace, *Strabo*, 73-74; Smith, *Dictionary*, vol. II, 129 s.v. Larymna.

*Kastraki locality*

Remains of supporting structures of the city wall, associated with Late Roman sherds, were uncovered in the Kastraki locality. Two other structures, the fill of which contained *terra sigillata*, were also uncovered in the same area. According to the excavator, one of these structures (room 1) could have been used as a unit for the production of fishing nets.

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 197-198.

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*BarrAtlas*, 55 E3; 57 B3.  
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## LEVADEIA / LEVADEIAN (Livadeia, Leivadia)

– ΛΕΒΑΔΕΙΑ / ΛΕΒΑΔΕΙΑΝ (Λιβαδεΐα, Λειβαδιά)

4:2D/5:1B

Livadeia Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Hdt. 8.134; Thphr. *HP* 4.11.8; Str. 9.414; Plb. 27.1.4; Paus. 9.39.1-2; Liv. 45.27.8; Plu. *Sull.* 17.1, *Lys.* 28.2.6; Plu. *de def. orac.* 5; Plin. *HN* 4.25; Schol. Ar. *Nub.* 508.

Inscriptions: *IG VII* 49, 1675, 3039, 3054-3165, 3426; *SEG II* 246-250; *SEG III* 367-368; *SEG XXIII* 296, 297; *SEG XXXVI* 258, 263; N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, 244; Vottéro, *Dialecte béotien*, 85-90; G. Argoud, in *Boeotia Antiqua III*, 47-48 no. 6; D. Knoepfler, *Bulletin épigraphique* 2014, 448 no. 196.

Coins: Livadeia issued its own bronze coinage between 146 and 27 BC, see Head, *Historia Numorum*, 346; Head, *Boeotian Coinage*, 8, 93; Imhoof-Blumer, *Münzkunde*, 358; M.O.B. Caspari, *JHS* 37, 1917, 168-183, esp. 173; Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 245; Hoover, *Coins*, 364-365.

The ancient city of Livadeia was situated near the western frontier of Boeotia. Its territory was called *Λεβάδεια* (X. *Mem.* 3.5.4; Thphr. *HP* 4.11.8) or *ἡ Λεβαδιακή* (Arist. *HA* 606a1) and comprised the modern village of **Tsoukalades**, where Roman tombs were discovered, as well as the site of **Neraidogorna**, which gave evidence of Greco-Roman activity.

The ancient *polis* seems to have flourished throughout the 2nd century BC and down into the 1st century BC. It experienced a renewed prosperity from the end of the 1st century AD to the early 4th century AD, as judged by a large number of imperial cult statues dedicated during this period (all are collected by Turner, *Livadeia*, 537-538). Livadeia was considered to be the most prosperous place in Boeotia in Pausanias' time (9.39.2). Its prosperity during most periods can be attributed to its famous oracle of Trophonios (on which see below).

### *Livadeia and Rome*

Livadeia was on the side of the Romans in the war against the Macedonian King Perseus (178-168 BC) (Plb. 27.1.4). After the victorious Roman battle of Pydna (168 BC), the victor, Lucius Aemilius Paullus visited the town (167 BC). In 86 BC, both the town and the *Trophonion* were despoiled by the troops of Mithridates. After his victory over Mithridates, Sulla visited further destruction upon the city (Plu. *Lys.* 28; *Sull.* 16.4).

Livadeia was probably declared free and exempt from taxes (*civitas libera et immunitis*).

Accame, *Il dominio*, 193 note 4, 199; Turner, *Livadeia*, 535-536.

A copy of Diocletian's Price Edict (301 AD) found at Livadeia may be proof of the city's economic importance to the region during the imperial period.

J. Schmidt, *AM* 5, 1880, 69-82; Turner, *Livadeia*, 538.

### *Antiquities in the polis of Livadeia*

Livadeia was continuously inhabited since ca. 800 BC. Pausanias (9.39.1) mentions that originally the city stood on a high ground and was called *Míδεια* (from Aspledon's mother), but later it was given the name *Λεβάδεια* after the Athenian Levadus, who moved the city from high to low ground. (On the other hand, Strabo [9.2.35] says that the Homeric city Mideia was swallowed up by the Kopais Lake together with ancient Arne).

Pausanias' statement agrees with archaeological findings and monument findspots. The ancient civic center, located in the NE section of the modern town, was indeed on lower ground than modern Livadeia.

The ancient agora should be located on the east (right) bank of the Herkyna River (called Krya at present), in the part defined mainly by Karagiannopoulou, Boufidou, Antreadaki and Christodoulou streets.

The following antiquities were revealed there:

Walls of a Roman building, as well as parts of a Roman bath complex, dating to the 3rd-4th centuries AD, were found in the Vergos plot (Christodoulou Street).

Threpsiadis, *Αγορά Λεβαδείας*, 225-236; Piteros, *Οικόπεδο Τόλια*, 485-486 no.1, with note 7.

The so-called 'Building A' (3rd century BC) was revealed in the Vergos plot (Christodoulou Street), as well as in the Mellios plot (Christodoulou Street / parodos Karagiannopoulou). I. Threpsiadis identified it with the sanctuary of Meter Megale (*Metreon*), but this identification seems to be wrong for several reasons. Exceptional among the finds is a reused spherical stone of Roman date with diametrically opposed reliefs showing personifications of the Sun and the Moon.

I. Threpsiadis, *AEphem* 1953-54 vol. B, 225-230 with fig. in p. 235; E. Touloupa – S. Symeonoglou, *ADelt* 20, 1965, B2, 241-242; Turner, *Livadeia*, 464-465; Piteros, *Οικόπεδο Τόλια*, 486 no. 2, 487-488; M. Bonanno Aravantinos, in *EpetBoiotMel* IV.1, 407-408, figs. 9-10.

Remains of a building (the so-called 'Building Z'), dating to the end of the Hellenistic period, were revealed in the Nikaina plot; remnants of a dedicatory pedestal were also found there.

Threpsiadis, *Αγορά Λεβαδείας*, 234-236; Piteros, *Οικόπεδο Τόλια*, 486 no. 3.



The three buildings found in Vergos, Mellios and Nikaina plots –except from the Roman bathhouse– aligned with one another and their east façade faced an ancient road running N-S (Piteros, *Οικόπεδο Τόλια*, fig. 5). All three could be part of the south side of the ancient agora.

Another Roman bath complex, dating to the 2nd-4th century AD, was revealed in the Tolia plot (junction of Boufidou and Themidos streets). Also on the property were found various Roman architectural *membra* that probably belonged to public stoic buildings or temples of the ancient city of Levadeia.

C. Piteros, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B1, 135; Piteros, *Οικόπεδο Τόλια*, 481-484.

The section of a large water pipe running N-S, as well as part of an unfluted column of grey marble, similar to the one found in the Tolia plot and probably belonging to a stoa, came to light in the Gingelos plot (Karagiannopoulou Street).

A. Gadolou, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B1, 325; *ead.*, in *EpetBoiotMel* IV.1, 555.

Remains of a two-phase (Hellenistic and Late Roman) building with an impressive mosaic floor, dating on coin evidence to the second half of the 4th century AD, was found in the plot of the company “Sklapani Bros ATBEE” and in the Deli plot (junction of Pessonton Machiton and Daidalou streets).

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 194-196.

A Late Roman or Early Christian bath complex with a mosaic floor, dating to the 5th century AD, was revealed on the Benetos plot (junction of Daidalou and Kadmou streets).

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 61, 2006, B1, 498-500.

#### *Movable finds*

Beside the ancient building remains, movable finds (mainly pieces of sculpture) dating to the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods were discovered in several areas during rescue excavations:

a) A Roman marble female head.

E. Touloupa, *ADelt* 21, 1966, B1, 205.

b) A Roman relief.

*BCH* 77, 1953, 219.

c) Pieces of Roman sculpture (a male head, a female statue and a grave relief).

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 349 no. 70; E. Touloupa, *ADelt* 19, 1964, 201; N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, 244.

d) A dedication of a statue of Drusus Junior (*IG* VII 3103) dating to 14-23 AD.

*SEG* XXXI 408; Schachter, *Cults* I, 208 with note 1.

e) An inscription of the 3rd century AD on a Herm (*IG* VII 3106), mentioning the dedication of a statue by the eponymous archon and agonothet τῶν Σεβαστῶν.

Schachter, *Cults* I, 208.

f) An inscribed pedestal of a statue dedicated to a priestess involved in the imperial cult (?) (*IG* VII 3107).

*SEG* XXXI 409; Schachter, *Cults* I, 208 with note 2.

g) A local decree of Levadeia dating to the Roman Republic period (*IG* VII 3059).

h) Two inscribed altars were revealed: the first dates to the 3rd century AD and the second to the 2nd century AD. Keramopoulos *Θηβαϊκά*, 421 note 3 no. 5 and 422 no. 3; Roesch, *EB*, 182-183 no. 29, pl. 13.2; Schörner, *Votive*, 466 nos 920 and 923.

i) A small ithyphallic Herm of the 1st century BC (*IG* VII 3093).

Schörner, *Votive*, 467 no. 924.

j) A dedicatory inscription (*IG* VII 3097) dating to the 1st century BC / 1st century AD.

Schörner, *Votive*, 467 no. 926.

k) A dedicatory inscription (*IG* VII 3096) dating to the 1st century AD.

Schörner, *Votive*, 467 no. 927.

l) An inscribed pedestal of a statue dedicated to Tyche was discovered at Kolitsanorachi; it dates to the 1st century AD.

C. Brélaz, *Tyche* 21, 2006, 11-28; *SEG* LVI 516.

m) A headless marble female statue of the Roman period was discovered in the suburb of Krya.

N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B1, 244.

n) A Roman female marble head was found in the Lagaros house.

I. Threpsiadis, *AEphem* 1971, 37.

#### *Cult of Trophonios / Trophonion*

It seems that the civic and religious centers of ancient Levadeia were on opposite sides of the Herkyna River; this agrees with Pausanias' statement (9.39.2) that the river separated the city from the sacred grove (ἄλλος) of Trophonios.

Threpsiadis, *Αγορά Λεβαδείας*, 236; Piteros, *Οικόπεδο Τόλια*, 488.

Trophonios, a figure variously described as the son of Apollo, or the stepson or brother of Agamedes, was a local chthonic deity who had the ability to foretell the future. His cult was very popular during the Hellenistic and Roman period. The most prominent features of his sacred grove were the temple of Trophonios and his

cult image, made by Praxiteles. According to Turner (*Livadeia*, 490), “the modern Metropolitan church would be an ideal location for the temple of Trophonios”.

Livadeia was primarily known for its *manteion* of Trophonios –Boeotia’s most famous oracle– which functioned from the 6th century BC until the 3rd century AD. The exact location of the oracular hole of Trophonios is unknown. It should have been outside the boundaries of the grove, because Pausanias (9.39.9) states that it was situated on the mountain above the grove; Philostratos (*VA* 8.19) agrees with him.

According to Turner (*Livadeia*, 473), the site of the oracle should be located between the Profitis Ilias Hill and the mouth of the Herkyna gorge. On the contrary, Schachter (*Antiquity*, 391) believes that the original oracle must have been the pit (βόθρος) called Agamedes in the grove of Trophonios.

Apparently, Pausanias and Philostratos did not visit this oracle; the site to which they refer seems to have been found near the remains of the temple of Zeus Basileus on Profitis Ilias Hill (on which see below): a small underground structure of tholos shape, dating to the Late Roman period, was thought to be a poor reconstruction of the *Trophonion* after the original had been destroyed at the time of the Herulian invasion.

E. Vallas – N. Pharaklas, *AAA* 2, 1969, 228-233; N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 24, 1969, B1, 175; *contra*, Turner, *Livadeia*, 474-475.

Trophonios gave oracular responses to those who underwent a specific set of rituals, which are described in detail by Pausanias (9.2-14). In fact, this oracle is the only one for which we have a detailed description of its mysteries.

P. Bonnechère, *Trophonios de Lébadée. Cultes et mythes d'une cité béotienne au miroir de la mentalité antique* (2003); *id.*, in M.B. Cosmopoulos (ed.), *Greek Mysteries: the Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults* (2003) 169-192; *id.*, *ZPE* 158, 2006, 83-87; *id.*, in M. Conan (ed.), *Sacred Gardens and Landscapes: Ritual and Agency* (2007) 17-41; *id.*, *Hermes* 136, 2008, 153-166; *id.*, *AntCl* 78, 2009, 197-214; L.O. Juul, *Oracular Tales in Pausanias* (2010) 59-61; M. Papadopoulos, *Journal of Hellenic Religion* 4, 2011, 35-47; P. Bonnechère, *Mnemosyne* 68, 2015, 28-39.

#### *The Trophonion and the Romans*

According to Plutarch (*Sull.* 17.1), the oracle gave prophecies of victory to the Romans. It was the only

Greek oracle to have foretold Sulla’s success. In the tenth book of his *Autobiography*, the Roman general writes that after his victory at Chaironeia, a respectable Roman businessman named Quintus Titius delivered an oracular message to him from the oracle of Trophonios predicting a second battle and a second victory in the area within a short time (*Plu. Sull.* 17.1).

E. Badian, *AncHistB* 1, 1987, 13.

A base with a relief depicting Nikai crowning a trophy, beneath which kneel two bound Eastern barbarians, was found in second use at the NE side of the town (now in the Chaironeia Museum). It dates to the 1st century BC (Bonanno Aravantinos) or to the time of Flavians/Trajan (Rabe).

Rabe, *Tropaia*, note 394; M. Bonanno Aravantinos, in T. Nogales – I. Rodà (ed.), *Roma y las provincias: modelo y diffusion* (2011) 419-427.

M. Bonanno Aravantinos links the trophy to the glorious victories of Sulla in Chaironeia and Orchomenos (86 BC) and suggests that the verification of Trophonios’ oracle motivated Sulla to dedicate this monument at the city of Livadeia.

Besides Sulla, Aemilius Paulus (168 BC), perhaps Hadrian, as well as the periegete Pausanias consulted the oracle of Trophonios (*Plu. Sull.* 17.1-2; *Liv.* 45.27.8).

M. M. Guarducci, *BCom* 69, 1941, 149-158; V. Pirenne-Delforge, *Retour à la source. Pausanias et la religion grecque, Kernos Suppl.* 20 (2008) 325-331.

The *Trophonion* continued to be consulted in the time of Plutarch, while other oracles by then had become dumb (*Plu. de def. orac.* 411F).

Fr. Salviat – Cl. Vatin, *Inscriptions de Grèce Centrale* (1971) 81-94.

Of note are three Roman inscriptions (*IG VII* 3104; 3105; *SEG XXIII* 296 = C. Vatin, *BCH* 90, 1966, 246-247; *AE* 1966, 111 no. 383) which are dedications of statues of members of the imperial household by ἡ ἱερὰ Λεβαδέων πόλις. According to Schachter (*Cults* III, 29), the epithet ἱερὰ was attached to the city because of the sanctuary of Trophonios.

#### *The Trophonia*

The sources mention games held in honor of Trophonios (*IG VII* 49.10; Schol. Pindar, *Olympian* 7.154c). Evidence for the *Trophonia* comes as early as the mid-2nd century BC and as late as the 3rd century AD.

Schachter, *Cults* III, 85; J.M. Fossey, in Fittschen, *Lolling*, 141-150, esp. 142; Manieri, *Agoni*, 137-143, 165-171; *Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 107.

According to D. Knoepfler (*CRAI* 2008, 1421-1462), the *Trophonia* were celebrated until ca. 80 BC, whereupon they were replaced by the festival of the *Basileia* (on which see below). The *Trophonia* were re-established by the city of Levadeia probably after the abolishment of the Boeotian Koinon and continued to take place until sometime after 260 AD.

#### *The cult of Zeus Basileus*

Apart from Trophonios, Zeus Basileus was also venerated in ancient Levadeia; his cult was already widespread there by the 4th century BC. This Zeus was the original patron deity of Orchomenos, on which Levadeia had formerly been dependent.

Schachter, *Antiquity*, 186.

The location of his temple is secure: the foundations of a monumental structure W of the modern city of Levadeia on Profitis Ilias Hill, dating to the second half of the 3rd century BC, have been interpreted as belonging to that temple.

*SEG* XLIV 413; S.A. Koumanoudis, *Athenaion* 4, 1876, 369-378; J. Bundgaard, *ClMediaev* 8, 1946, 1-43; N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B1, 244-245; L.A. Turner, *JJA* 96, 1992, 365; L.A. Turner, in *Boeotia Antiqua* IV, 17-30; Turner, *Livadeia*, 3-5, 151-161, 362-422; M. Nafissi, *Klio* 77, 1995, 149-169; A. Gadolou, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B1, 392; *ead.*, in *EpeitBoeotMel* IV.1, 547-565; see also R. Pitt, in *Epigraphy and History*, 373-394.

The temple of Zeus Basileus was never finished due to its size, the high cost of completion and constant warfare (Paus. 9.39.4).

According to A. Schachter, the project for its construction also involved the relocation of the central part of the oracle of Trophonios from the grove to the area of the temple of Zeus Basileus in the second half of the 3rd century BC. This resulted not only in the closer physical proximity of the two gods, but also a further interweaving of their cults, which in two periods were inseparable: the first during the 2nd century BC and into the 1st century BC; the second began late in the 1st century AD, perhaps in conjunction with the resumption of the *Trophonia*.

Schachter, *Cults* III, 74-75, 78.

#### *The Basileia*

Epameinondas established an agonistic festival called *Basileia* in honor of Zeus Basileus in 371 BC, in order to celebrate the Theban victory at Leuktra that same

year. It was a federal institution (in the Hellenistic period, cf. *SEG* XLV 434) and an “agon stephanites” (i.e. wreaths were given as prizes). Sacrifices were held. Competitive events, at least by the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, were probably a mixture of musical, gymnastic and equestrian competitions.

There are hints that the *Basileia* were held not every year but every four years. The festival is not attested in the period 171-146 BC. Levadeia replaced the *Basileia* by establishing the aforementioned *Trophonia* (sometime before 140 BC), which were celebrated until ca. 80 BC. After ca. 80 BC, the *Basileia* were re-inaugurated and this new version continued to take place, probably under the name *Basileia* or *Kaisareia* and *Basileia* during the 1st and 2nd centuries AD.

*SEG* XXVI 569; XLVII 485 (list of victors, ca. 80-51 BC); D. Knoepfler, *REG* 124, 2011, 378-380; *id.*, *CRAI* 2008, 1421-1462; Feyel, *Contribution*, 67-87; A.G. Gossage, *BSA* 70, 1975, 117 with note 5; L.A. Turner, in *Boeotia Antiqua* VI, 105-126; N.G. Papadakis, *ADelt* 8, 1923, 239-256; S.N. Koumanoudis, *ADelt* 26, 1971, A, 34-40; R. Parker, in R. Schlesier – U. Zellmann (eds), *Mobility and Travel in the Mediterranean from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (2004) 9-22; L. Migeotte, *AncW* 37, 2006, 14-25; *id.*, in B. Le Guen (ed.), *L'argent dans les concours du monde grec* (2010) 127-143, esp. 137-138; G. Argoud, in *EpeitBoeotMel* IV.1, 529-540, esp. 531-532; J.M. Fossey, in Fittschen, *Lolling*, 141-150, esp. 144; A. Ganter, in P. Funke – M. Haake (eds), *Greek Federal States and Their Sanctuaries. Identity and Integration* (2013) 85-105, esp. 94-96; Schachter, *Antiquity*, 189 with note 35, 190; Camia, *Theoi Sebastoi*, 127; Manieri, *Agoni*, 144-165.

#### *Other deities of Levadeia*

Other major or minor deities worshiped at Levadeia in the Hellenistic and Roman periods –known only from epigraphic and literary evidence– were Apollo, Artemis, Hera, Hermes, Dionysos, Herkyn(n)a and Homonoia. Moreover, several inscribed statue bases indicate that the imperial cult had a strong presence at Levadeia.

Schachter, *Cults* I, 50 (Apollo), 101 (Artemis), 178 (Dionysos), 208 (Emperor cult), 240-241 (Hera); *Cults* II, 38 (Herkyn[n]na), 41 (Hermes), 59 (Homonoia); Turner, *Livadeia*, 448-449, 454, 456-458.

A cave sanctuary probably dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs was located by the Herkyna springs. Carved on a rock at the entrance to the cave is an inscription (*JG* VII 3094) dating to the 2nd / 1st centuries BC.

Schachter, *Cults* II, 187; Turner, *Livadeia*, 453; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes* 278 no. 2.



### *The cult of Meter Megale*

To these should be added the cult of Meter Megale (*Mother of the Gods*) which is attested by the epigraphic and archaeological evidence, collected by M.J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque*, II. *Graecia atque Insulae* (1982) 130-133, nos 428-435; see also Turner, *Livadeia*, 459-460; Schörner, *Votive*, 465 no. 919; M. Bonanno Aravantinos, in *EpetBoiotMel* IV.1, 404-407; *ead.*, in B.P. Venetucci (ed.), *Culti orientali tra scavo e collezionismo* (2008) 235-248, esp. 236-238.

It may be noted that inscribed dedications to Meter Megale, ranging in date from the second half of the 4th century BC to the imperial period, as well as a monolithic marble statue of the enthroned Meter Megale with its inscribed base, dating to the 2nd century AD, were found in a Late Roman defense wall (4th or 5th century AD) in the Chrysikos plot (junction of Boufidou and Antreadakis streets).

J. Jannoray, *BCH* 64-65, 1940-41, 37 note 2.

The statue of Meter Megale (now in the Chaironeia Museum) was a copy of Agorakritos' statue of the Enthroned Mother of the Gods for the Metroon in the Athenian Agora (Paus. 1.3.5). This find certainly indicates that there was a Metroon in Levadeia, on which see above.

Connected with the Meter Megale cult in Levadeia, there must have been the associated cult of Attis, consort of Cybele. This cult was popular among the Romans in the imperial period but appeared rarely in Greece. An inscription of the 3rd century AD from Levadeia is the only attested dedication to Attis in Boeotia.

Keramopoulos, *Θηβαϊκά*, 421-422 note 2 no. 3; Schachter, *Cults* I, 135; Turner, *Livadeia*, 450.

### *Funerary area*

A cemetery, which was in use from the 5th century BC into the Roman period, was found to the NE of the town, on Trypiolithari Hill.

K.S. Pittakis, *AEphem* 1854, 1200; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 346; Turner, *Livadeia*, 483.

A Roman (?) pit grave was found in the Kantas house in the Agios Vlassios quarter.

N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B2, 243-244; Turner, *Livadeia*, 483; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 279 no. 4.

Approximately twenty graves were excavated on Trypiolithari Hill, ranging in date from the 3rd to 1st centuries BC.

*BCH* 77, 1953, 219; Turner, *Livadeia*, 483.

A rock-cut chamber was investigated near the Herkyna

spring; it had stone benches, a decorative band around the top of the walls, a slightly vaulted ceiling, and possibly a cutting for a door. In Roman times the name Εὐβούλου (*IG* VII 3108) was carved over the chamber, suggesting a *terminus ante quem* for its construction. It could be either a dedication to the Eleusinian Eubouleus or a funerary monument. Another Roman inscription ([Νε]μοβούλου: *IG* VII 3109), presumably funerary, was carved nearby on the rock face.

Papachatzis, *Pausanias*, 249-250 with fig. 300 and 301; Schachter, *Cult* I, 221; Turner, *Livadeia*, 64, 438-439, 454-455.

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Turner, *Livadeia*.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 343-349.

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Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 89-98, 277-281.

**Leontari(on) / Kaskaveli** – Λεοντ ρι(ον) / Κασκαβ ελι  
1:4B/5:2C

Aliartos - Thespias Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Part of an inscribed Roman base (?) and a Roman decree were handed in from the village of Leontari (formerly Kaskaveli), situated to the E of modern Thespias.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 24, 1969, B1, 184.

Intensive and systematic surface surveys of the Leontari southeast sector turned up traces of an Early Roman farm or villa that exploded in Middle and Late Roman times into a very large rural site (more than 7,35 ha in size).

Bintliff, *et al.*, *Testing*, (LSE 7): 45, 50, 58-60, 233-241, 155-156, 157; Vlachogianni, *Αρχαιολογία*, 515 no. 16.

**LEUKTRA / Parapoungia** – ΛΕΥΚΤΡΑ / Παρρα-  
πούγγια 1:4C/5:2D

Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Plu. *Cam.* 19.4.6; D.S. 11.82.3; Arr. *An.* 1.9.4; Str. 8.4.4; 9.2.39.

Inscriptions: *IG* VII 1742.

Leuktra is primarily known as the site of the celebrated “Battle of Leuktra” in which the Boeotians, led by the Thebans, defeated the Spartans along with their allies in 371 BC. Nowadays, the site of the battlefield is marked by the remains of the trophy of the battle, dating from the Hellenistic or the Augustan period; the trophy was discovered and rebuilt on the original site by A. Orlandos. *BCH* 46, 1922, 512; H.N. Ulrichs, *Prakt* 1922-23, 7-8; A.K. Orlandos, *Prakt* 1922-23, 38-40; 1958, 43-44; *id.*, *Ergon*, 1958, 48-52; 1959, 173; 1960, 222-224; 1961, 229-231; T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 25, 1970, B1, 231; Rabe, *Tropaia*, 129-131, 183 no. 48 with previous bibliography. Scholars question whether Leuktra was a real settlement in the territory of Thespias or was simply the name of a battlefield or a plain. It has been suggested that if an

ancient settlement ever existed, it could have been located in the vicinity of the modern village of Leuktra (formerly Parapoungia).

A dedication to Herakles Leuktriadis (*SEG* XXXIX 436; LVI 517) dating to the 1st / 2nd centuries AD was discovered in the Megali Goritsia or Antonakia locality, in a field near the trophy of the battle of Leuktra.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B2, 323-324; C. Piteros, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B1, 173; *id.*, in *EpetBoiotMel* IV.1, 581-646, esp. 594-595; E. Vlachogianni, *ADelt* 55, 2009, B1, 406-406.

An inscribed altar with a dedication to Herakles (*IG* VII 1829 = *SEG* XXXVI 484) dating to the 1st century AD was found between the trophy and the Kastro of Thespias.

P. Roesch, in H. Kalcyk – B. Gullath – A. Graeber (eds), *Studien zur alten Geschichte: Siegfried Lauffer zum 70. Geburtstag am 4. August 1981 dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Sch ulern*, vol. III (1986) 771-773; Schachter, *Cults* II, 36; Sch orner, *Votive*, 468-469 no. 931; C. Piteros, in *EpetBoiotMel* IV.1, 596.

According to C. Piteros (*EpetBoiotMel* IV.1, 596-598), both inscriptions attest not only the cult but also the existence of a (rural?) shrine dedicated to Herakles Leuktriadis, located ca. 650-700 m NW of the trophy of the battle of Leuktra. It must have been established right after the battle of Leuktra and remained in use until the Roman period. On the basis of the aforementioned epigraphic evidence, it is further assumed that the shrine was renovated in Roman times (2nd century AD), because at that time the Boeotians regarded the battle of Leuktra as one of their greatest victories.

Three Roman grave altars decorated with relief representation of the “hero-rider”, an inscribed grave altar with the representation of a key to an ancient temple, dating to the 2nd – 1st centuries BC, part of an Ionic entablature of Roman (?) date, as well as a sacred water basin (*perirrhaterion*), dating probably to the Roman period, were incorporated into the church of Agioi Petros and Pavlos, situated to the W of the modern village of Leuktra (formerly Parapoungia).

K orte, *Sculpturen*, 361 no. 95; C. Piteros, in *EpetBoiotMel* IV.1, 603-610, cf. *Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 244-275. For the cult of the horseman hero in Boeotia, see *Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 117-131.

A Roman clay lamp was found in Katsimichas’ field in the Grammatikes locality.

A. Ioannidou-Karetsou, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B2, 323.

An agonistic inscription of Roman date was found at the abandoned church of Agios Andreas at Leuktra.

A.D. Keramopoulos, *AEphem* 1936, Chron. 44 no. 221.  
A list of victors, dating to around 65-60 BC, was found in the Baltsa locality at Leuktra.  
A. Skias, *AEphem* 1917, 166-167; Schachter, *Cults* II, 172-173; *SEG* XXXVI 432.

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Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 341, nos 27-30.

**Loukisia – Λουκίσια** 3:2C/5:3B  
Chalkideon Mun. / Euboea R.Un.

An inscribed pedimental stele (epitaph of Manius Salarius) datable to the early imperial period (*SEG* XXXVI 414) was incorporated into the church of Panagitsa at the village of Loukisia, situated about 2 km S of ancient Anthedon.

J.M. Fossey, *BSA* 69, 1974, 12-128, esp. 127 no. 20 (= *Epigraphica Boeotica* I, 197-229).

Two bilingual Roman inscriptions (*IG* VII 4186 and 4187) in second use were noticed at a church.

C.D. Buck – F.B. Tarbell, *AJA* 5, 1889, 460 no. 63.

An epitaph of Marcia Onesime, dating to the Roman imperial period, was discovered at the site.

*Epigraphica Boeotica* I, 225-226 no. 22 = *SEG* XLI 446.

According to Farinetti (*Boeotian Landscapes*, 376), if these and other reused material in Loukisia village do not come from the Anthedon site, they could represent a satellite settlement at Loukisia.

**Loutsi – Λούτσι** 4:3B/5:2A  
Orchomenos Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

An inscription, dating to the 1st century BC or to the 1st century AD, was built into the wall of the ruined chapel of Agios Dimitrios located at the northern outskirts of the village of Loutsi; the village is situated to the NW of Orchomenos.

A. Schachter, *BSA* 56, 1961, 176-177 no. 1.

An inscribed block, part of a gravestone (?) dating to the 2nd or 3rd century AD, as well as a boundary-stone (?) of the same date were incorporated into the wall of a farm.

A. Schachter, *BSA* 56, 1961, 177 no. 5.

An honorary base for Caracalla (*IG* VII 2834) mentioning ἡ πόλις Ὑγητίων was found in a church at the village of Loutsi.

P. Girard, *BCH* 2, 1878, 506 no. 13; cf. **Hyettos**.

**Magoula Balomenou – Μαγούλα Μπαλωμένου** 4:2C/5:1B

Livadeia Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Remains of a Roman building and two cisterns related to it—one of which was probably a bathhouse—, Roman graves and Roman pottery were found at Magoula or Toumba Balomenou, located about 2 km E of Chaironeia, by the Boeotian Kephisos River. From these findings, we may deduce that there was a small habitation (a farmstead or rural site) in Roman times on the Toumba.

G. Sotiriadis, *Prakt* 1902, 55; *id.*, *AM* 28, 1903, 302; *id.*, *Prakt* 1904, 41; J.M. Paton, *AJA* 8, 1904, 357; G. Sotiriadis, *AM* 30, 1905, 120-121; Kahrstedt, *Wirtschaftl. Gesicht*, 109; J.M. Fossey, *Euphrosyne* 6, 1974, 11, 17-18; Buck, *History*, 6; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 382-383; Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 58; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 286-287 no. 16/17; Vlachogianni, *Αρχαιολογία*, 510-511 no. 3.

**Makronisos Islet – Μακρόνησος** 1:3D/5:2D  
Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

The islet of Makronisos, situated at the entrance to the Gulf of Domvraina, provided evidence of Roman occupation that probably began in the 2nd or 3rd century AD. Large amounts of ancient material—walls, dock facilities, pottery, glass and coins— dating from the mid-4th to the mid-7th centuries AD were noted at Diporto, located on the western end of Makronisos. This maritime settlement could be equated with the ancient “Antheon” of the *Ravenna Cosmography*. Ten other sites were discovered on the islet; most of them were agricultural or pastoral in function and date from Late Antiquity and the Early Byzantine period. The largest of these, situated almost in the middle of the islet, was contemporary with the city site at Diporto. Both **Kouveli** and Makronisos islets seem to have had a significant role in long-distance trade. The archaeological evidence also suggests traffic between the Corinthian Gulf and the Boeotian interior in the 4th through 7th centuries AD.

T.E. Gregory, *DeltChrA* 12, 1984, 287-304; *id.*, *Archaeology* (May/June) 1986, 19-21; F.R. Trombley, in *BOIOTIKA*, 215-228, esp. 219-220; Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 22-24; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 351-352.

**Malesina** – Μαλεσίνα 4:4A/5:2A  
Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A list of ephebes dating to the 2nd century AD was noted in a private house at Malesina, situated to the SE of the modern town of Theologos in the district of Phthiotis.

W.A. Oldfather, *AJA* 19, 1915, 322-332 no. 10.  
S. Xanthoudidis (*ADelt* 6, 1920-1921, 139-140) attributed the stele to Halai. Étienne and Knoepfler (*Hyetos*, 255-256) reject this view and suggest that the stone originates from Hyettos, cf. *SEG* XXVI 525.

A group of seven Late Roman chamber tombs was found in the Papanikolaou field. Their primary use probably goes back to the Hellenistic period.

F. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B1, 172-173.

A Late Roman chamber tomb was found in the Anestis field.

F. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B1, 172-173.

A chamber tomb was found in the Vrysi tou Kalogerou or Kots locality. The only burial gift was a small jug, dating to the 1st century AD.

F. Dakoronia – E. Zachou, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B1, 370.

A Roman votive relief in honor of a dead man elevated to the status of hero was built into the church of the monastery of Agios Georgios.  
Körte, *Sculpturen*, 381-382 no. 146.

**Martino** – Μαρτίνο 4:4B/5:2A  
Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Hellenistic and Roman stelai in second use were noticed near Martino, situated in the northeast Kopais area.

J.M. Fossey, *The Ancient Topography of Opuntian Lokris* (1990) 36-43; *IG* IX 1<sup>2</sup>, 5, 1843-1862.

Built remains were uncovered in the Dimakis field, situated in the Palaiochori locality to the SE of Martino. Among the finds were six bronze coins ranging from the 3rd century BC to 569/570 AD.

F. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 40, 1985, B, 174-175.

**Mavrogeia / Degle(s)** – Μαυρόγεια / Δεγλέ(ς) 4:2D/5:2B  
Orchomenos Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

A *miliarium* dating to 115 AD was found at the site; an honorary inscription for the Emperor Jovian attests that it was reused in the 4th century AD.

Y. Kalliontzis, *Horos* 22-25, 2010-2013, 309-326, esp.

309-311 no.1, fig 1-2; A. Kolb, in K. Geus – M. Rathmann (eds), *Vermessung der Oikumene – Mapping the Oikumene* (2013) 107-119, esp. 116 note 50; D. Knoepfler, *Bulletin épigraphique* 2014, no. 197.

An inscribed Roman tombstone (*IG* VII 3247) was found at the site.

**Mavrommati** – Μαυρομάτι 1:4B/5:2C  
Aliartos - Thespias Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Two Roman grave altars in second use with relief representation of a hero on horseback (Körte, *Sculpturen*, 364-365 no. 104 and 365 no. 105 = *IG* VII 2128 = *SEG* LVI 549), as well as two Roman inscriptions (*IG* VII 2155 and 2184) were found at the village of Mavrommati, situated 3 km NW of **Thespias**.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 145-146.

According to Farinetti (*Boeotian Landscapes*, 338 no. 10), this material comes either from ancient Thespias or from a cemetery in this area, probably along a road from Thespias city.

The Boeotia Survey Project found a site at the outskirts immediately north of Mavrommati. Surface finds included material dating from the Classical to Medieval periods, with peaks in the Classical and Late Roman periods, as well as quite a strong occupation in Early Roman times, cf. Farinetti, *op. cit.*

**Megalo Kastron** – Μεγάλο Κάστρον 2:3B/5:3C  
Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Pottery and small finds, dating to the Roman and Byzantine periods, were noticed in the fields to the south of Megalo Kastron Hill, situated halfway between the modern villages of Arma (ancient Eleon) and modern **Eleon**.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 96.

Moreover, ploughing has brought up many stones and bones there, indicating the presence of tombs. Farinetti (*Boeotian Landscapes*, 387 no. 50/51) does not exclude the existence of a rural site /villa to which the burial area could be associated.

**Megalo Vouno** – Μεγάλο Βουνό 3:3D/5:4B  
Chalkideon Mun. / Euboea R.Un.

The Megalo Vouno Hill is situated about 2 km NW of Aulis, on the S side of the Thebes-Chalkis road. The remains of a large fortress encircling the top of the hill were noted.



Frazer, *Pausanias*, 66-70; Bakhuizen, *Salganeus*, 42-65; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 69 fig. 7.

Hellenistic and Roman potsherds were observed within this military fort, attesting its use during those periods. C.W. Blegen, *Hesperia Suppl.* 8, 1949, 39-42, esp. 40; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 390 no. 64.

Frazer (*op.cit.*) places the ancient site of Hyria on Megalo Vouno; *contra* Blegen, *op.cit.*; Buck, *History*, 20 and Wallace, *Strabo*, 52-54; cf. also **Glyfa**.

**Megalovouno** – Μεγαλόβουνο 3:1C/5:2B  
Orchomenos Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Two Roman tile-roofed graves were noticed at the right side of the road leading from Akraifnio to Kokkino, at the foot of the Megalovouno ridge; a third tile-roofed grave was noted 200 m to the north. This burial area could be either connected to the ancient town of **Akraiphia** or to a village settlement in the *chora* of **Kopai**.

Lauffer, *Kopais* I, 222-223, with sketch 229; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 312 nos 33/34.

**Mesampelia** – Μεσαμπέλια 4:2C/5:2B  
Orchomenos Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Two funerary inscriptions were found at Mesampelia, situated 200 m SE of the Mycenaean tumulus of Orchomenos (the latter is located *ca.* 1.5 km S of the church of the Dormition of the Virgin of Skripou).

RE S XIV (1974) 323 s.v. Orchomenos (S. Lauffer); Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 300 no. 20.

**Mesovouni** – Μεσοβούνη 2:2A/5:3C  
Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

A few Late Roman sherds were found on the Mesovouni Hill, situated 7 km NE of Thebes.

Wallace, *Strabo*, 97.

The site is often identified with ancient Teumessos mentioned in the literary sources, and associated with the cult of Athena Telchinia (*b.Hom.h.Ap.* 228; Paus. 9.19.1; Str. 9.2.24, 9.19.1; Scholia in Euripidem *Pb.* 1105; Theognostus, *Can.* 402.2; Antoninus Liberalis, *Metamorph. Synag.* 41.8.3; Phot. s.v. Τευμησία; Hsch. s.v. Τευμησός).

Leake, *Travels*, 245-246; Frazer, *Pausanias*, 59-60; RE 5 A (1934) 1134-1135 s.v. Teumessos (Fiehn); F. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 31, 1976, B1, 128; Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας*, 122

note 1; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 212-216; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 372-373 no. 58.

A low hill “at the S end of the valley formed by the Vlachorrema stream between Soros range and Mesovouni”, called ‘Stroma’ by Farinetti (*Boeotian Landscapes*, 373 no. 59) and ‘Soules’ by Fossey (*Topography and Population*, 216-217), could either be part of ancient Teumessos, as Fossey points out, or Teumessos itself, as Wallace (*Strabo*, 97) suggests; cf. *BCH* 45, 1921, 523.

The surface survey of both sites, conducted by the Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project (EBAP) lent support to Wallace’s argument that the more convincing site for the location of ancient Teumessos is the hill of Soules (called ‘Soula’ by the Greek-Canadian team).

*BarrAtlas*, 55 E4 (TEUMESSOS); J.L. Bintliff *et al.*, *Teiresias* 39.2, 2009, 092.0.01; D.W. Rupp *et al.*, *Museion* 11, 2011, 11.

**Metochi** – Μετόχι 2:2B/5:3C  
Tanagra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Remains of buildings, dating to the Hellenistic-Roman period, were found in the locality Metochi, situated to the NW of the village of Kallithea (formerly Moustaphades).

A. Sampson, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B1, 194; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 357 no. 11.

**Milia** – Μηλιά 1:2B/5:1C  
Livadeia Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Roman pottery was noted at the site.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 340; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 273 no. 32/33.

**MYKALESSOS (Ritsona)** – ΜΥΚΑΛΗΣΣΟΣ (Ριτσώνα) 3:3D/5:3B  
Chalkideon Mun. / Euboea R.Un.

Th. 7.29.2-4; Paus. 1.23.3; Str. 9.2.11; D.H. 16.59, 16.106; St.Byz. 460.3; Eust. 1.407.1.

Inscriptions: Vottéro, *Dialecte béotien*, 174-177.

Coins: Hoover, *Coins*, 366-367.

Ancient Mykalessos has been identified with the modern hamlet of Ritsona, situated on the main road between Thebes and Chalkis. According to Strabo (9.2.14), Mykalessos was a member of the so-called *tetrakomia* (or “four villages”) with **Eleon** (modern Arma), Arma (modern Lykovouni Kastri) and Pharai (modern Agios Panteleimon), which belonged to the region of Tanagra.



Within the *Tanagrike* territory, however, the city had its own territory, called *Μυκαλησσός*, which seems to have extended as far as the Euboean Gulf.

Hansen – Nielsen, *Inventory*, 446 no. 212 (M.H. Hansen).

Surface material has shown that the ancient town was probably occupied from the Geometric to Late Roman periods, with a gap in the Roman period. In Pausanias' time, Mykalessos was in ruins. The periegete mentions a temple of Demeter Mykalissia standing in the territory of the city upon the sea-coast, in the close vicinity of Aulis (Paus. 9.19.5). The exact location of the temple is unknown.

Bakhuizen, *Salganeus*, 148-149; for Demeter Mykalissia see Schachter, *Cults* I, 157-158.

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E. Sakellaraki-Sapouna, *ADelt* 47, 1992, B1, 172-174.

*BarrAtlas*, 55 F4; 57 B3.

Hansen – Nielsen, *Inventory*, 446 no. 212 (M.H. Hansen).

Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 214, 388 no. 55.

V. Sabetai, in Aravantinos - Kountouri, *100 Χρόνια*, 65-84.

**Neochoraki / Neochori** – Νεοχωράκι / Νεοχώρι

2:2B/5:3C

Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Systematic intensive surface survey turned up traces of prehistoric, Greco-Roman and medieval settlement and

occupation in the area of modern Neochoraki village (formerly Neochori), situated at the SE end of the Valley of the Muses.

J.L. Bintliff – A.M. Snodgrass, *JFieldA* 12, 1985, 123-161; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 339 no. 16/17.

**Neraidogorna** – Νεραϊδόγορνα

4:2D/5:1B

Livadia Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Abundant sherds and tile fragments were noted on the slope of Moulki Hill and on the Kazakines slope at Neraidogorna, located at the entrance to the Livadeia valley. In addition, the base of a column in second use was noticed at the church of Agioi Taxiarchai, situated 200 m to the S of Neraidogorna.

Lauffer, *Kopais* I, 140-141, fig. 149.

Lauffer (*op.cit.*, 141) relates the archaeological evidence to the existence of a large settlement of the Greco-Roman period. Similarly, Farinetti (*Boeotian Landscapes*, 280 no. 11) thinks that if the archaeological findings date back to the Roman period, they could attest the existence of a large rural (villa) site.

**Ntzoumpizes** – Ντζούμπιζες

1:4A/5:2C

Aliartos – Thespies Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Intensive systematic survey jointly directed by A.M. Snodgrass and J.L. Bintliff in the area of the chapel of Agia Panagia on Ntzoumpizes Hill turned up traces of a rural site, dating from Classical to Late Roman times. The site belonged to the territory of ancient Haliartos. Lauffer, *Kopais* I, 16-17 with fig. 4; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 328 nos 18/19, 333 table 1 - *Survey sites*: MP B3.

**Oinofyta / Staniates** – Οινόφυτα / Στανιάτες

2:3B/5:4C

Tanagra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Th. 1.108.3, 4.95.3; Pl. *Mx.* 242B; Arist. *Pol.* 1302b 29; D.S. 11.83.1.

A Roman relief was built into the church of Agia Paraskevi at the cemetery of the modern village of Oinofyta (formerly Staniates), which lies at the NW foot of the Dichalotos Pyrgos Hill.

C. Piteros, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B1, 195.

For the identification of the modern village of Oinofyta with the homonymous ancient site, where the Athenians under Myronides gained a signal victory over the Boeotians in 457 BC, see Fossey, *Topography and Population*,

58-60. According to Farinetti (*Boeotian Landscapes*, 215 and 384 no. 31), there is not enough evidence for a settlement at Oinofyta, presumably only the site of the aforementioned battle.

**OLD ORCHOMENOS (?)** – ΟΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ Ο ΑΡΧΑΙΟΣ (?)

4:3C/5:2B

Orchomenos Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Roman potsherds were noted on a site that lies in a polder, located 5 km SE of Orchomenos and 5 km N of Xinós; they could be traces of rural activity (a Roman villa?), as Farinetti (*Boeotian Landscapes*, 299 no. 18) suggests. The site has been identified with “Old Orchomenos” (Ὀρχομενός ὁ ἀρχαῖος), mentioned by Strabo (9.2.18, 9.2.42), which was situated on a plain and was abandoned when the waters of Kopais Lake overflowed; its inhabitants then moved to a higher position up on Mt. Akontion (formerly Ntourntouvana).

*Kopais* 1, 30, 59-60, 225; *Kopais* 2, 32-42; E. Farinetti, *ASAtene* 86, 2008, 131 table 1 no. 6; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 299 no. 18.

**ONCHESTOS (Steni Mavromatiou)** – ΟΝΧΗΣΤΟΣ (Στενή Μαυροματίου)

1:4A/5:2C

Haliartos, Thespias Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Hom. *Il.* 2.506; D.H. *Comp.* 16.108; Str. 9.2.27, 9.2.33; D.Chr. 37.12.4; Paus. 9.26.5; Arr. *An.* 1.7.7.1; St.Byz. 483.7; Suid. v 423.

Inscriptions: *IG IX* 2.1 170.5 (292).

The ancient city of Onchestos was situated in the territory of Haliartos, on a barehill near the Teneric plain and Kopais Lake. It was known as the amphictyonic center of Boeotia and as the site of the sanctuary of Poseidon (*Poseidonion*) which was the meeting place for the Boeotian League during the Macedonian period (Str. 9.2.33). Schachter, *Antiquity*, 187.

*Poseidonion*

The sanctuary of Poseidon (*Poseidonion*) was brought to light at the 91st km on the highway between Thebes and Levadeia, at the ‘Steni’ pass. There is evidence for its existence from the end of the 6th century BC until the Roman period (cf. *SEG XXVII* 60-62). In Pausanias’ time there still remained the temple, the statue of Onchestios Poseidon and the sacred grove, though the city itself was in ruins (Paus. 9.26.5).

J.L. Bintliff – A.M. Snodgrass, *JFieldA* 12, 1985, 147; S.E. Alcock, in Bintliff, *Developments*, 287-303, esp. 298

note 19; A. Ganter, in P. Funke – M. Haake (eds), *Greek Federal States and Their Sanctuaries. Identity and Integration* (2013) 85-105, esp. 99-100.

The bouleuterion of the Amphictyony and the Boeotian League was discovered to the S of the *Poseidonion*. Most of its portable finds date back to the Roman period.

E. Touloupa, *ADelt* 19, 1964, B1, 200-201; *ead.*, *ADelt* 21, 1966, B1, 203; T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 28, 1973, B1, 269-270; *id.*, *AAA* 6, 1973, 379-381 and 394; *id.*, *Teiresias* 3.1, 1973, 4.

The site of *Poseidonion* is also attested further west at the 92nd km on the highway between Athens and Levadeia. N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B1, 242.

In Late Roman times the sanctuary site was turned into a farmstead.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 28, 1973, B1, 270, pl. 223a; C.K. Kosso, *Public Policy and Agricultural Practice. An Archaeological and Literary Study of Late Roman Greece* (PhD, University of Illinois at Chicago, 1993) 44; Vlachogianni, *Αγροτικά*, 516 no. 22.

A large complex of public buildings dating to the mid-4th century BC was partially excavated in the Peloni field, situated about 3 km to the E of Haliartos, in the Steni Mavromatiou locality. Among the finds were pottery sherds ranging from the 4th century BC to the Roman period. According to the excavator, this complex possibly included stoas with shops and formed part of the agora of ancient Onchestos.

E. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B2, 442; A. Christopoulou, in *EpetBoiotMel* II.1, 429-445.

A Roman tombstone (*IG VII* 2854) was found at the site. Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 310.

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Lauffer, *Kopais* I, 18-21.

Schachter, *Cults* II, 208-221.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 308-312.

Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 373-377.

*BarrAtlas*, 55 E4; 57 B3.

Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 326-327 no. 13 (*Poseidonion*), 327 no. 15 (ancient town).

**ORCHOMENOS / ERCHOMENOS (Orchomenos)** – ΟΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ / ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ (Ορχομενός)  
4:2C/5:2B

Orchomenos Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Th. 3.87.4; Thphr. *HP* 4.10.1; Str. 8.6.14; Plu. *Sull.* 20.3-5; Paus. 9.34.6; Poll. 4.95.3; Ὁρχομενὸς Μινύετος: Hom. *Il.* 2.511; Th. 4.76.3; Str. 8.6.14; Aristonicus, *De sign. Iliad.* 2.511; Eust. 1.417.26, 1.458.24; *EM* s.v. Ὁρχομενός. Inscriptions: *IG VII*, 3166-3286; *SEG III* 371, 372, 374; XXX 443; N.G. Pappadakis, *ADelt* 8, 1923, 211-216; J.M. Fossey, *AAA* 7, 1974, 119-127; *id.*, *AAA* 14, 1981, 58-62; M.J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque, II. Graecia atque Insulae* (1982) 135 no. 438; *Epigraphica Boeotica I*, 49-87; Vottéro, *Dialecte béotien*, 98-109; *Epigraphica Boeotica II*, 212-231.

Coins: Orchomenos issued its own bronze coinage between 146 and 27 BC, see Head, *Boeotian Coinage*, 8, 94; Head, *Historia Numorum*, 347; Imhoof-Blumer, *Münzkunde*, 359-370; M.O.B. Caspari, *JHS* 37, 1917, 168-183, esp. 173; Hoover, *Coins*, 368-373. According to Fossey (*Boeotian Topography*, 248), there are no indications of minting in the imperial period.

The ancient city of Orchomenos (or Ἐρχομενός in the Boeotian dialect: *IG VII* 3171.25; *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 60.1; *SEG III* 374; J.M. Fossey, *AAA* 7, 1974, 120 no. 1) was situated at the eastern end of Mt. Akontion (formerly Ntourntouvana). Modern Orchomenos – formed by two smaller neighboring villages originally called Skripou and Petro-magoula – lies to the SE of the ancient town.

The name of the Orchomenian territory was γῆ ἢ Ὁρχομενίων (Hdt. 8.34) or ἡ Ὁρχομενία (Thphr. *HP* 9.13.1; Str. 9.2.19) or ἡ Ὁρχομενός (Thuc. 1.113.2).

Hansen – Nielsen, *Inventory*, 447 (M.H. Hansen); for its boundaries see Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 109-110.

In antiquity, the territory comprised the following areas of modern villages or sites, which produced late Hellenistic and/or Roman material: **Agios Spyridon, Graviotis, Mesampelia, Old Orchomenos, Polygyra** and **Pyrgos**.

According to a legend mentioned by Pausanias (9.36.6), the town was named after Orchomenos, son of Minyas; it was originally called Ὁρχομενὸς Μινύετος (Minyean Orchomenos) and its inhabitants Orchomenians and Minyans to distinguish from the Orchomenians in Arcadia.

The city's economy was based on pasturage (*IG VII* 3171) and the production of reeds for flutes (Thphr.

*HP* 4.11.8-9); these reeds were probably growing in the marshy area of Tsamali Bay, to the NW of the Kopais. Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 109.

*Trophies*

In the first century BC, Orchomenos became the theater of the conflict between Mithridates' general Archelaos and Sulla, and suffered serious destruction by the troops of the latter. The trophy of Sulla commemorating his victory at Orchomenos over Archelaos in 86 BC was discovered in 2004 in the Gizimis field at the "Kydonia" locality in the northwestern part of Kopais plain, between the modern towns Pyrgos and Orchomenos. According to the literary and epigraphic evidence (Plu. *Sull.* 19.5-6 and *SEG LIX* 483), the *tropaion* was dedicated to Ares, Tyche and Aphrodite.

A. Keaveney, *Sulla. The Last Republican* (1986) 80; E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 193-194; Rabe, *Tropaia*, 143 and 185 no. 55; Y. Schmuhl, *Römische Siegesmonumente republikanischer Zeit. Untersuchungen zu Ursprüngen, Erscheinungsformen und Denkmalpolitik* (2008) 122-123; E. Kountouri, in Vlachopoulos, *Archaeology*, 250; Bonanno Aravantinos, *Scultura*, 234; E. Kountouri – N. Petrochilos – S. Zoumbaki, in V. Di Napoli *et al.* (eds), *What's New in Roman Greece? Recent Work on the Greek Mainland and the Islands in the Roman Period* (ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 80) (2018) 359-368.

A marble male torso in military dress, dating from the 2nd century BC to the 1st century AD, was found at the 9th-century Byzantine monastery church of the Dormition of the Virgin (more simply known as the Skripou church). Since the findspot of the torso is unknown, no secure attribution to any battle is allowed. Kalliontzis (Casualty List, 349) assumes that it could belong to the trophy of Sulla in Chaironeia. On the contrary, Rabe thought that it belonged to Sulla's *tropaion* at Orchomenos, but this interpretation is unlikely after the recent discovery at the Kydonia locality: Rabe, *Tropaia*, 140-143, 185 no. 54, pl. 49, 50.1. See also Körte, *Sculpturen*, 418 no. 200; J. Camp *et al.*, *AJA* 96, 1992, 449, fig. 6.

After his successful battle at Orchomenos, Sulla took the statue of Dionysos by Myron from the local sanctuary of Dionysos and re-dedicated it to the Thespian sanctuary of the Muses on Mt. Helikon (Paus.9.30.1).

Payne, *Aretas eneken*, 258-259 (List I.96).

After Sulla's plundering in 86 BC, Orchomenos was nothing more than a village of no importance. In the 2nd century AD, Rome intervened in the internal affairs of the city in order to settle a dispute between Koroneia and Orchomenos (cf. **Pontza**).



### *The "Treasury of Minyas"*

In the Mycenaean beehive tomb, which Pausanias (9.38.2) calls the "Treasury of Minyas", we find evidence for the imperial cult at Orchomenos: in the center of the tholos tomb is a Π-shaped pedestal dated to the second half of the 4th century BC, which initially stood elsewhere. In Roman times, it was brought into the "Treasury" and reused for placing portrait statues of Roman emperors.

H. Schliemann, *JHS* 2, 1881, 135-151; *AA* 6, 1891, 187-188; A.K. Orlandos, *ADelt* 1, 1915, Parart 52; *AA* 30, 1915, 204-205; Kahrstedt, *Wirtschaftl. Gesicht*, 110; J. Knauss, *Wasserbau und Geschichte Minysche Epoche – Bayerische Zeit (vier Jahrhunderte – ein Jahrzehnt)* (1990), 76-84; K. Fittschen, in *International Congress Alexander the Great: from Macedonia to the Oikoumene, Veria 27-31/5/1998* (1999) 58-60; *id.*, *ARepLond* 2000-2001, 57; E. Kountouri, in Vlachopoulos, *Archaeology*, 252.

A marble female statue, probably of Roman date, was revealed at the entrance to the "Treasury of Minyas".

A. Rousopoulos, *AEphem* 1862, 219.

### *The polis of Orchomenos*

The acropolis of the ancient town occupied the easternmost peak of Mt. Akontion. It was protected by precipices on the E and N, and by immense walls of massive masonry on the W and S.

Frazer, *Pausanias*, 180.

A narrow rock-cut staircase led to the lower city, which extended on the eastern slope of the hill from the foot of the acropolis to the plain. Its shape was that of "a long narrow triangle with the acropolis at its apex and its base on the plain", so Frazer, *Pausanias*, 182; see also Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 355 fig. 47.

The city walls, of which considerable remains exist, had three main building phases: the first two date to the 4th century BC and the third to the time of the Mithridatic Wars (1st century BC); to the latter phase probably belonged a wall running across the whole Mt. Akontion from S to N. The south and north branches of the walls were strengthened with square projecting towers. It has been suggested that the settlement was defended since the Archaic period and that the fortification might have still been in use during the Late Roman period.

Frazer, *Pausanias*, 180-182; R.L. Scranton, *Greek Walls* (1941), 90-91; A.W. Lawrence, *Greek Aims in Fortifications* (1979) 135-136, 142; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 353; Kl. Fittschen, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B1, 395; *id.*, *ARepLond* 1997-1998, 59; 2000-2001, 57; E. Kountouri, in Vlachopoulos, *Archaeology*, 253; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 293.

The site was also naturally defended by the steep sides of Mt. Akontion ridge on the S and N, by the great Kopaic swamp on the E, by the Kephisos River on the S, and by the Melas River (modern Mavropotamos) on the N.

The supposed center of the ancient city was by the Skripou church, which was built almost entirely of reused ancient blocks.

*RE* S XIV (1974) 318 s.v. Orchomenos (D. Henning); K. Fittschen, *ARepLond* 1998-1999, 56, with fig. 64 (city plan).

Of note is a Roman male torso in military dress, which stands at the monastery church.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 357; Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 247.

Excavations conducted at the site brought to light the following Roman antiquities:

Remains of a *villa suburbana* were revealed in the Paplomata plot (junction of Byzantiou and 10th Septemvriou streets), situated at a distance of 200 m from the Skripou church; its use extended from the 3rd to the 1st centuries BC.

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 190-193.

Two Roman buildings were revealed on Nikitara Street. A drain – partly of stone and partly of clay – ran between these two buildings. Finds included Roman potsherds and two Roman bronze coins.

E. Andrikou, *ADelt* 48, 1993, B1, 183; D. Blackman, *ARepLond* 2000-2001, 55.

A Late Antique wall was found underneath Minyou Street.

A. Gadolou, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B1, 393.

Traces of a Roman bath building were found at the lower city.

H. Hitzig – H. Blümner, *Das Pausanias Beschreibung von Griechenland*, vol. III (1907) 505; Kahrstedt, *Wirtschaftl. Gesicht*, 110.

The crepis of a Hellenistic or Roman stoa, as well as a hypocaust of a Roman bathhouse were uncovered at the S slope of the acropolis.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B 2, 313.

Fossey found Roman potsherds and coins scattered on the site.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 356; Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 246.

The following Roman inscriptions were also found at the site:



IG VII 3189 (a list), 3194 (financial record?); S. Lauffer, *Chiron* 10, 1980, 174-175 no. 19 (honorific inscription); IG VII 3224 (dedication; cf. Schörner, *Votive*, 469 no. 935); a dedication, inscribed in a fine monumental hand, cf. Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 248 and Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 357-358.

Remains of Roman buildings of an unspecified function were found S of the Skripou church and SE of the ancient theater.

Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 293 note 12.

The urban theater was revealed at the eastern slope of the fortified acropolis, between the “Treasury of Minyas” and the Skripou church. It was built between the end of the 4th century BC and the beginning of the 3rd century BC and remained in use into Late Roman times. During the 1st century AD, a *pulpitum* was built and the stage building acquired a *scaenae frons*.

SEG XXVI 489; XLII 417; G. Blum – A. Plassart, *BCH* 38, 1914, 73-74, 79-81; G. Karo, *AA* 1914, 161; H. Bulle, *Untersuchungen an griechischen Theatern* (1928) 248-249; T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 28, 1973, B1, 258; *id.*, *AAA* 6, 1973, 392; *id.*, *Teiresias* 3.1, 1973, 6; *id.*, *AAA* 7, 1974, 324; P. Amandry – T. Spyropoulos, *BCH* 98, 1974, 171-242; G. Touchais, *BCH* 102, 1978, 696; H.P. Isler, *TGR* II, 268; Sear, *Roman Theatres*, 402; O. Kyriazi – G. Kitsou – Th. Bilis, in R. Kolonia (ed.), *Αρχαία θέατρα της Σααρτιάς Ελλάδας* (2013) 79-91; D. Knoepfler, *Bulletin épigraphique* 2011, no. 294; Germani, *Boeotian Theatres*, 354, 356-357, 360-361 fig. 3.

#### *The Charitesia and the Homoloia*

The theater was the venue for the *Charitesia*, as well as for a musical *agon*, which was commemorated by a series of choregic monuments and was probably celebrated in honor of Dionysos (IG VII 3210-3212; cf. Schachter, *Cults* I, 179-181). The *Charitesia* was an agonistic festival in honor of the Graces, celebrated with athletic games, and dramatic and musical competitions (IG VII 3195-3197. 3207).

Of note are the contests for actors in satyr plays, not attested anywhere else (with a possible exception of Teos).

B. Le Guen, *JHS* 130-131, 2010-2011, 227.

The festival of the *Charitesia* was revived after the Mithridatic Wars.

Schachter, *Antiquity*, 189.

Lists of victors, dating to 90-70 BC (IG VII 3196 and 3197, cf. SEG XXXI 412), attest that immediately after the *Charitesia* a dramatic *agon* called *Homoloia* took place.

Schachter (*Cults* I, 143) posits that the name *Homoloia* does not refer to an epithet or deity, but to the Boeotian month *Homoloios* (May/June) in which the *agon* was held.

J. Robert – L. Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique* 1974, no. 283; E. Schwarzenberg, *Die Grazien* (PhD, München – Bonn, 1966); Schachter, *Cults* I, 140-144; M. Bergamans, *Contribution à l'étude des mousikoi agōnes de Béotie* (1982), 9-10 and 20-21; J. Buckler, *AJPhil* 105, 1984, 48-53; E.B. Harrison, *LIMC* III, 1-2 s.v. Charis/Charites, 1986, 191-203; J.-Y. Strasser, *Historia* 55, 2006, 298-327, esp. 299; J.M. Fossey, in K. Fittschen (ed.), *Historische Landeskunde und Epigraphik in Griechenland. Akten des Symposiums veranstaltet aus Anlass des 100. Todestag von H.G. Lolling (1848-1894) in Athen vom 28. bis 30.9.1994* (2007) 141-150, esp. 143; Manieri, *Agoni*, 180-183, 199-208; B. Le Guen, *REG* 123, 2010, 495-520, esp. 514 note 97; W. Slater, in B. Le Guen (ed.), *L'argent dans les concours du monde grec. Actes du colloque international, Saint-Denis et Paris, 5-6 décembre 2008* (2010) 249-281, esp. 281.

When Pausanias (9.38.2-6) visited the town, he noticed the temples of Dionysos and the Charites (Graces), a fountain, to which there was a descent, the “Treasury of Minyas”, the tombs of Minyas and Hesiod, and a bronze figure fastened to a rock with iron which was said to be the ghost of Aktaion. Seven stadia (1.5 km) distant from Orchomenos, at the sources of the Melas River, was a temple of Herakles. The worship of Sarapis, Isis and Anubis became likewise established at Orchomenos in the Roman period.

Papachatzis, *Πανσαβίας*, 240 note 1; A. Schachter, in L. Bricault et al. (eds), *Nile into Tiber. Egypt in the Roman World. Proceedings of the IIIrd International Conference of Isis Studies, Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, May 11-14 2005* (2007) 364-391, esp. 370-371.

The terrace sanctuary of Petakas, above the westernmost sources of the Melas River, was identified with the sanctuary of Herakles.

A. De Ridder, *BCH* 19, 1895, 150-155; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 291 no. 7; *contra* Frazer, *Pausanias*, 192-194.

The sanctuary of the Charites was located on the western side of the Skripou church, but today there is nothing preserved of it.

T. Spyropoulos, *AAA* 6, 1973, 393, 395.

One can see the Akidalia spring in which the Graces were said to bathe.

Suid. α 875; *EM* s.v. Ἀκιδάλιη; cf. *RE* S XIV (1974) 293-294 fig. 1, 316-317 s.v. Orchomenos (S. Lauffer –

D. Hennig). Pausanias (9.38.1) mentions that this cult was the oldest in the city and that in his time new cult images of the Charites were dedicated; we can therefore conclude that there was a revival of interest in the cult in the second half of the 2nd century AD.

Schachter, *Cults* I, 141.

#### *Cemetery / Tombstones*

A Late Hellenistic/Early Roman cemetery was discovered within the area of a rural sanctuary situated W of Orchomenos, in the foothills of Mt. Akontion. The sanctuary was dedicated to female deities of nature, fertility and fecundity, such as Demeter and Kore, the Graces (Charites) and perhaps the Oceanids and Nymphs. It was in use from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period (7th-3rd century BC); afterwards, it was abandoned or transferred to another place in the city, perhaps near the theater.

V. Aravantinos – M. Bonanno Aravantinos – K. Kalliga – M. Pisani, in A. Giannikouri (ed.), *Κοροπλαστική και μικροτεχνία στον αιγαιακό χώρο από τους γεωμετρικούς χρόνους έως και τη ρωμαϊκή περίοδο. Διεθνές Συνέδριο στη μνήμη της Ηούς Ζερβουδάκη, Ρόδος, 26-29 Νοεμβρίου 2009*, vol. II (2014) 45-68; V. Aravantinos – M. Bonanno Aravantinos – K. Kalliga – M. Pisani, in A.R. Tagliente – F. Guarneri (eds), *Sanctuari mediterranei tra Oriente e Occidente. Interazioni e contatti culturali. Atti del convegno internazionale* (2014) 459-470; K. Kalliga, in *Αρχαιολογικές Συμβολές*, 107-123, esp. 115-122.

Roman graves were found to the S and very close to the Skripou church, as well as to the W of Orchomenos, in the foothills of Mt. Akontion.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 28, 1973, B1, 259; E. Kountouri, in Vlachopoulos, *Archaeology*, 252-253.

A grave relief (?) of Roman date was built into the church of Agios Georgios.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 387 no. 155.

An inscribed tombstone, reused as a threshold, was noticed on the ground near the Skripou church; it dates to the later imperial period.

*Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 214-216 pls. 14 and 15.

Roman funerary inscriptions were found at the site: *IG* VII 3222, 3227 = B. Latschew, *AM* 7, 1882, 358-359 nos 10-11 (metric); S. Lauffer, *Chiron* 6, 1976, 38-39 no. 42; *id.*, *Chiron* 10, 1980, 175-176 no. 22, 178 no. 28 = *SEG* XXX 465.

An inscribed grave relief (*IG* VII 3242) of Roman date and a Roman relief (Tropaion?) were seen in a monastery building.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 340 no. 50, 418 no. 200.

Several later tombs (Roman?) were revealed in and about the so-called temple of Asklepios, which was discovered 400 m W of the urban theater.

A. De Ridder, *BCH* 19, 1895, 137-150; Frazer, *Pausanias*, 184-185; K. Fittschen, *ARepLond* 1998-1999, 55; G. Touchais *et al.*, *BCH* 123, 1999, 730 with fig. 87.

An epitaph of Epicharis dating to the Roman imperial period was found N of Orchomenos (*SEG* XXX 463).

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Smith, *Dictionary*, vol. II, 487-489 s.v. Orchomenus.

H. Schliemann, *Orchomenos. Bericht über meine Ausgrabungen im böotischen Orchomenos* (1881).

H. Schliemann, *JHS* 2, 1881, 122-163.

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A. Schachter, *QuadUrbin* 106, 2014, 65-88.

**Paralimni Pyrgos / Palaioimetochei** – Παράλιμνη Πύργος / Παλαιομετόχη 3:2C/5:3B  
Chalkideon Mun. / Euboea R.Un.

Pottery and small finds of Hellenistic and Roman date were noticed on a hill of the Ptoion range, at the NE end of Paralimni Lake. The hill, which is known as Palaioimetochei, is crowned by a Frankish tower (Pyrgos); it was probably the acropolis of an ancient settlement, extending around its feet. The first signs of occupation date back to prehistoric times (Final Neolithic on the acropolis, Mycenaean at the lower town) and continue until Medieval times. There seems to be a gap after the Hellenistic period, until Late Roman/Early Christian times; this led to the identification of the site with ancient Isos which was situated near Anthedon and was mainly abandoned in Strabo's time (Str. 9.2.14).

F. Noack, *AM* 19, 1894, 405-485, esp. 457-458; *RE* 23,2 (1959) 1575 s.v. Ptoion (Lauffer); N. Pharaklas, *AAA* 1, 1968, 139-140; A. Sampson, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B2, 448; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 257-261; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 377 no. 8; *BarrAtlas*, 55 E4 (ISOS). A.M. Snodgrass (in Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 377 no. 8), is skeptical of this identification. In contrast, Wallace (*Strabo*, 107-108) identifies the site with ancient Peteon.

**Paralimni Yliki** – Παράλιμνη Υλίκη 4:4D/5:3B  
Chalkideon Mun. / Euboea R.Un.

A Roman tomb was discovered near the modern hamlet of Yliki (formerly Oungra) which is located in the center of the small plain at the SW extremity of Lake Paralimni. T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 25, 1970, B1, 233; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 235-238; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 371 no. 50.

**Pavlos / Palaiokastros** – Πάβλος / Παλαιόκαστρο 3:1B/5:2A

Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A fortified site was noted on the Kastron or Palaiokastros Hill to the N of the village of Pavlos, located in the territory of ancient Hyettos. The small amount of datable archaeological data shows that the site was in use essentially in Classical/Hellenistic and Roman times.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 296-299 with fig. 39; Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 207-208.

A Late Hellenistic funerary stele was found in the vicinity of Pavlos.

Étienne – Knoepfler, *Hyettos*, 135 no. II, fig. 73; E. Vlachogianni, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B1, 331.

The site has been identified with ancient Olmones mentioned in written sources (*IG* VII 2808a15; Paus. 9.24.3, 34.10; St.Byz. 490.7).

Lauffer, *Kopais* I, 177; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 297.

On the contrary, Étienne and Knoepfler (*Hyettos*, 22-27) do not accept this identification and prefer to consider it as a refuge site; they locate ancient Olmones near **Stroviki**. Papachatzis (*Παυσανίας*, 164) agrees with them; cf. *Kopais* 1, 45; *BarrAtlas*, 55 E3 (OLMONES).

**Petra / Siachos, Siachon** – Πέτρα / Σιάχος, Σιάχων 1:3A/5:2C

Aliartos - Thespies Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

A Roman gravestone was found in front of the chapel of Agia Panagia, situated to the SW of the village of Petra (formerly Siachos or Siachon). It probably derived either from Haliartos or from the old road leading from Haliartos to the west.

*SEG* XXVI 497 = S. Lauffer, *Chiron* 6, 1976, 14 no. 7.

A Roman *miliarium* was discovered in the cemetery that enclosed the chapel of Agioi Taxiarchai, marking a mile distance from the town of **Alalkomenai**; a village site could be hypothesized for this area.

L. Bizard, *BCH* 29, 1905, 99-101 no. 1; Lauffer, *Kopais* I, 56; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 330-331 no. 3; Y. Kalliontzis, *Horos* 22-25, 2010-2013, 313.

**PLATAIAI / PLATAIA / PLATEAI (Plataies / Kokla)** – ΠΛΑΤΑΙΑΙ / ΠΛΑΤΑΙΑ / ΠΛΑΤΕΑΙ (Πλαταιείς / Κόκλα) 2:1D/5:3D  
Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Hom. *Il.* 2.504; Hdt. 6.108, 7.132; Th. 2.2-6, 71-78;



3.20–24, 52–68; 5.32; Dem. 5.10, 6.30, 16.25, 19.20–21, 21.112; X. *HG* 5.4.10, 14, 48; 6.3.1; D.H. *Antiquit. Roman.* 5.17.4; D.S. 5.52.3, 11.14.5, 11.23.1, 11.29.1–33.3; 12.36.1–6, 12.41.1–42.2, 12.47.1–2, 12.76.3; 15.46.4–6; 15.51.3; 17.13.5; 18.11.3–5; Paus. 1.15.3, 1.32.3; 4.27.10; 9.1–4; Arr. *An.* 1.9.9–10; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.15.20; Plu. *Cam.* 19.5.2, *Pel.* 15.6.1, *Arist.* 1.8.3; Plin. *HN* 4.2.6.

Plataiai's name also occurs in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, see E. Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana: Codex Vindobonnensis 324, Kommentar* (1976) 58 (s.v. Plateas).

Inscriptions: *IG VII*, 1664-1718; *IG VII* 1675; Vottéro, *Dialecte béotien*, 221-224.

Coins: Imhoof-Blumer, *Münzkunde*, 375-376; Hoover, *Coins*, 376-378.

The ancient city of Plataiai, situated at the foot of Mt. Kithairon in southwestern Boeotia, held a strategic position, commanding the best route between Thebes, Athens, Megara and Corinth. According to Pausanias (9.1.1-2), its name derived from Plataia, a daughter of Asopos. The name of its territory, which was declared inviolate after the celebrated battle in 479 BC, was  $\gamma\eta$  Πλαταιίς (Hdt. 9.15.14; Thuc. 2.71.4; Plu. *Arist.* 18.1),  $\chi\acute{o}\rho\alpha$  Πλαταιίς (Th. 3.58.5), Πλαταιῶσιν (Th. 4.72.1) and  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  ταῖς Πλαταιαῖς (X. *HG* 5.4.48), cf. Hansen – Nielsen, *Inventory*, 450.

The ancient cities of Erythrai, Skolos and Eteonos/ Skarphe are said to have formerly made up one state with Plataiai (Str. 9.2.24; *POxy* 5.842, Frag. D. 17.3.11). The areas of **Soros range**, **Metochi** and **Erythrai**, which have shown some kind of activity in the Roman period (artefact concentration and built remains), also belonged to the Plataian territory.

Habitation traces at Plataiai date from the Middle Neolithic age to early modern times. In medieval times the ancient town was abandoned, replaced by two smaller villages nearby with the name Kokla (the name is referred to in the Ottoman tax registers of Boeotia). One of them probably developed into the modern village of Plataias that is still sometimes named Kokkla – spelled with two 'k' – in local parlance.

V. Aravantinos *et al.*, *Hesperia* 72, 2003, 287.

#### *Hellenistic and Roman Plataiai*

In Hellenistic and Roman times, Plataiai was a small, relatively insignificant rural polis. Close to nothing is known about its history during that period. It can be assumed that it took the Roman side in the Third Macedonian War (171-168 BC), as did all the other Boeotian cities except Haliartos and Koroneia, which were anti-

Roman and pro-Macedonian. It must also have taken a pro-Roman stance in the Mithridatic Wars of the 1st century BC.

Konecny *et al.*, *Plataiai*, 41-45.

In the 2nd century AD the Emperor Hadrian elevated the town to the status of *civitas libera*.

Accame, *Il dominio*, 193 note 4; *RE XX.2* (1950) 2315 s.v. Plataiai (Kiersten); Konecny *et al.*, *Plataiai*, 44-45.

In the 3rd century AD, the town served local economic needs as a place of trade. This is attested by the discovery of reused fragments of a bilingual Latin and Greek copy of Diocletian's Edict of Prices at the site which may originally have been set up in the local agora.

C. Waldstein, *AJA* 5, 1889, 441; J.C. Rolfe – F.B. Tarbell, *AJA* 5, 1889, 428-439; C. Waldstein, *AJA* 6, 1889, 447; *CIL III Suppl.* 3, 1913. 1914; H. Brandt, in A. Demandt – A. Golz – H. Schlange-Schöningen (eds), *Diokletian und die Tetrarchie. Aspekte einer Zeitenwende* (2004) 47-55; Konecny *et al.*, *Plataiai*, 44.

#### *Zeus Eleutherios / The Eleutheria*

The participation of the Plataians in the Persian Wars is a significant event in the history of the city (Battle of Marathon [490 BC], naval Battle of Artemision [480 BC], Battle of Plataiai [479 BC]). Following the victory which took place near their city, the Plataians and the other Greeks erected an altar in honor of Zeus Eleutherios (Paus. 9.2.5). Both this altar as well as the tombs of the fallen are thought to be found in the Makris field, located E of the ancient town.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B2, 318-319; *id.*, *ADelt* 28, 1973, B1, 268; *id.*, *AAA* 6, 1973, 376-379; *id.*, *Teiresias* 3.1, 1973, 2-3.

The Plataians carried out annual rituals at the tombs of the fallen in the 5th and possibly early in the 4th centuries BC (Th. 3.58.4; Isoc. 14.60-61). At the time of Plutarch, a similar rite was performed by the Plataians at the beginning of winter (on the 16th Alalkomenios); this could be a revival and not a survival of the old tradition, as Schachter (*Cults* III, 129 and 134) suggests.

According to Plutarch's detailed description (Plu. *Arist.* 21; *de Herod. Malign.* 42 [872E]), the key features of this ceremony was a procession, in which the participants carried choes and wreaths for the tombs, and the sacrifice of a black bull by the archon. The ceremony took place near the sanctuary and altar of Zeus Eleutherios, where the so-called *Eleutheria* were also celebrated for the commemoration of the battle (Str. 9.2.31; Diod. 11.9.29.1; Paus. 9.2.6; *IG VII* 1711. 1856, cf. Papachatzis, *Πλασινίας*, 34).



The *Eleutheria* was a panhellenic, penteteric, athletic and stephanites *agon* in honor of Zeus Eleutherios, instituted by a body called τὸ κοινὸν συνέδριον τῶν Ἑλλήνων (the Common Council of the Greeks) in memory of the Greeks who had perished in the battle.

A. Plassart – C. Picard, *BCH* 37, 1913, 240.47; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7, 1949, 117-125; J.M. Fossey, in Fittschen, *Lolling*, 141-150, esp. 142-143; Kantiréa, *Dieux*, 120; G. Argoud, in *EpetBoiotMel* IV.1, 529-546, esp. 529-531; S. Wallace, in A. Erskine – L. Llewellyn-Jones (eds), *Creating a Hellenistic World* (2011) 147-176.

The *agon* is attested from the 3rd century BC (honorific decree for Glaukon of Athens, dating around 262-245 BC: T. Spyropoulos, *AAA* 6, 1973, 376, fig. 1; C.P. Jones, *ZPE* 15, 1974, 179; R. Étienne – M. Piérart, *BCH* 99, 1975, 51-75; W.C. West, *GrRomByzSt* 18, 1977, 307-319; K. Buraselis, *AEPphem* 121, 1982, 136-159) until the 3rd century AD (*IG* VII 49) (for the assumption that these games substituted the annual ritual conducted in the 5th and perhaps the first part of the 4th century BC by the Plataians, see Schachter, *Cults* III, 129, 131 and 138-141; for the ceremonial dispute [known as *διάλογος*] between Athens and Sparta over who should lead the procession at the festival see N. Robertson, *Hesperia* 55, 1986, 88-102 and Schachter, *Cults* III, 137 section 5b; testimonia for this event cover the period between the late 2nd century BC and the end of the 2nd century AD).

It is worth mentioning that on the occasion of the annual meeting of the *συνέδριον* at Plataiai, the Plataians sacrificed to Zeus Eleutherios to commemorate the victory in 479 BC (Plu. *Arist.* 19 and 21). This sacrifice was different from the one performed by the Plataians at the tombs of the Greeks who had perished in the battle, as Schachter (*Cults* III, 134-135) points out.

According to Posseidipos, cited by Herakleides Kritikos (*FHG* II, 257 c 11), Plataiai could be regarded as a polis only at the time of the *Eleutheria*.

The widespread appeal of this celebration is also reflected by the fact that some Boeotian *poleis* chose Plataiai for setting up statues or honorific decrees in order to give them more publicity; the city of Levadeia dedicated, for instance, a statue of Hadrian at Plataiai (*IG* VII 1675) in 125 AD.

In the same year (125 AD), the Common Council of the Greeks dedicated an altar at Delphi to Hadrian (*SEG* XXII 467; A.S. Benjamin, *Hesperia* 32, 1967, 77 no. 128; cf. A.N. Skias, *Prakt* 1899, 55). Both this and another inscription (*IG* VII 2713), in which Nero is identified with Zeus Eleutherios, attest the worship of the Roman emperors at Plataiai.

Camia, *Theoi Sebastoi*, 222-224.

The *agon* of the *Eleutheria*, as well as the cults of Zeus Eleutherios and Homonoia, was under the direction of the aforementioned *συνέδριον*. The earliest known evidence relating Zeus Eleutherios to Homonoia is the above mentioned honorific decree for Glaukon of Athens, and the latest is an inscription (*IG* VII 2510) from the beginning of the 3rd century AD. A number of Roman inscriptions (*IG* II/III<sup>2</sup> 2 1990; *IG* II/III<sup>2</sup> 3, 1 3623; *SEG* XXI 507; D. Geagan, *TransactAmPhilAss* 103, 1972, 158e) mention priests of the dual cult of Zeus Eleutherios and Homonoia; see further G. Thériault, *Le culte d'Homonoia dans les cités grecques* (1996); *id.*, *EtCl* 64, 1996, 127-150.

#### Hera / The Daidala

Hera was considered the patron goddess of Plataiai and bore the epithets Nympheuomene, Teleia and Kithaironia (Paus. 9.2.7; Plu. *Arist.* 18.1.4; Plu. *FGrH* 388 F 1 [Περὶ τῶν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς Διαιδάλων]).

The Plataians organized a spring festival called *Daidala* in honor of her reconciliation with Zeus after a quarrel, which symbolized the reconciliation of the Boeotian cities. This festival celebrated the *τέλη*, the territorial units or districts of the Boeotian state, and descended from the ritual called "Teleia" – the rite of the *τέλη* – which is mentioned on a Linear B tablet from Thebes.

A. Schachter, in P. Flensted-Jensen (ed.), *Further Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis: Historia Einzelschriften* 138 (2000) 9-17, esp. 13-14; V. Aravantinos – L. Godart – A. Sacconi, *Thèbes. Fouilles de la Cadmée I. Les tablettes en Linéaire B de la Odos Pelopidou. Édition et commentaire* (2001) 173-176; A. Schachter, in Aravantinos-Kountouri, *100 Χρόνια*, 328. Pausanias (9.3.3-5) distinguishes between two festivals under this name: the *Small Daidala* (*Δαίδαλα μικρά*) which were allegedly held every six years (or possibly every year) from an early time (Mycenaean period?) onwards by the Plataians alone, and the *Great Daidala* (*Δαίδαλα μεγάλη*) which had a pamboeotian character and were purportedly celebrated only once every fifty-nine years (recently a ninety-year interval has been suggested, see P.A. Iversen, *Historia* 56, 2007, 381-418).

It is assumed that the first *Great Daidala* were celebrated in 335 BC after the return of the Plataians from their second exile, and continued under Roman rule, at least in the period of the Republic soon after the conquest of Greece, see Iversen, *op.cit.* 406, 409, 412-413.

It has also been suggested that since the Thebans took

part in the *Great Daidala* after the restoration of their city by Kassandros (Paus. 9.3.6), this festival was celebrated soon after 316/315 BC.

D. Knoepfler, in D. Knoepfler – M. Piérart (eds), *Éditer, traduire, commenter Pausanias* (2001) 343-374, esp. 347.

In Pausanias' time (9.3), the central element of the *Great Daidala* was the burning of 14 wooden images (*daidala*), roughly female in shape, which were produced each year at the *Small Daidala*. (The number 14 represents the number of *Daidala* missed when the Plataians remained twice in exile at Athens, in 427-386 BC and 373-338 BC respectively; during these periods the *polis* of Plataiai did not exist and its territory belonged to Thebes).

Almost all scholars agree that during the Roman imperial period, the festival's components are the result of "amalgamations and artificial transformations" of different early celebrations such as a sacred wedding of Hera and Zeus, a fire ritual of fertility and a propitiatory sacrifice, that over the course of a long development consolidated into one single festival, the *Daidala*.

RE IV (1896) 1991-1993 s.v. Daidala (Schoeffer); H. Soule, *The Cults of Plataea and the Daedala* (PhD, University of Berkeley, 1941); V. Sümegey, in *Atti del settimo congresso internazionale di archeologia classica*, vol. 3 (1961) 123-133; E. Simon, *RA* 1972, 205-220; Schachter, *Cults* I, 245-250; L. Prandi, in M. Scordi (ed.), *Sanctuari e politica nel mondo antico* (1983) 82-94; M. Rocchi, *DialHist.Anc* 15.2, 1989, 309-324; I. Clark, in S. Blundell – M. Williamson (eds), *The Sacred and the Feminine in Ancient Greece* (1998) 13-26, esp. 22-25; A. Chaniotis, in H.F.J. Horstmannshoff – H.W. Singor – F.T. van Straten – J.H.M. Strubbe (eds), *Kykeon. Studies in Honour of H.S. Versnel* (2002) 23-48; J.-Y. Strasser, *Hermes* 132, 2004, 338-351; V. Pirenne-Delforge, *Retour à la source. Pausanias et la religion grecque* (2008) 223-226; M. Rigoglioso, *The Cult of Divine Birth in Ancient Greece* (2009) 133-134; R. Parker, *On Greek Religion* (2011) 221-222; A. Chaniotis, *ThesCRA* VII, 2011, 167-169; E. Mackil, *Creating a Common Polity. Religion, Economy and Politics in the Making of the Great Koinon* (2013) 226-232; A. Ganter, in P. Funke – M. Haake (eds), *Greek Federal States and Their Sanctuaries. Identity and Integration* (2013) 85-105, esp. 96-97; F. La Guardia, *Kernos* 27, 2014, 177-205; H. Beck – A. Ganter, in H. Beck – P. Funke (eds), *Federalism in Greek Antiquity* (2015) 132-157.

#### *The circuit wall of Plataiai*

The only visible surface feature at the site are the circuit walls of the ancient town, which had four building phases (see V. Aravantinos *et al.*, *Hesperia* 72, 2003, 291-

309 and Konecny *et al.*, *Plataiai*, 58-118, 213-219):

a) The first building phase dates to the first decades of the 5th century BC. This early circuit wall surrounded the acropolis plateau in the northwestern quarter of the town which occupied *ca.* 20 *ha* and would have made up the area of the settlement of Plataiai prior to its re-foundation by Philip II in 338 BC (Paus. 4.27.10, 9.1.8). A short preserved sector of this wall can be detected directly above a major source of water, the Megali Vrysi (Μεγάλη Βρύση), which was a decisive factor in establishing the settlement.

Konecny *et al.*, *Plataiai*, 377 figs 5-6, 378 figs 7-9, 396 fig. 56.

b) Plataiai's walls were restored around or shortly after 330 BC with the help of a donation made by Alexander the Great. The total area within the new city walls, which were 4 km long and were strengthened at intervals with towers, was *ca.* 85 *ha*. The extended perimeter was too large to be occupied completely by the citizens of the town, who preferred the traditional center of the town and the area nearby to establish public buildings and residential quarters, see Konecny *et al.*, *Plataiai*, 379 fig. 10.

c) The third building phase of the circuit dates to the end of the 4th century BC; the circuit of 330 BC was shortened by the insertion of a cross wall or *diataichisma*, which excluded the southernmost part of the town from the protected zone. The total area within the walls of the Hellenistic town was reduced to 73 *ha*; *ca.* 33 *ha* of these were occupied by public and private structures, while another 7 *ha* to the south of street VIII/IX were also built up.

A. Konecny *et al.*, *Hesperia* 81, 2012, 113-114 with fig. 9 and Konecny *et al.*, *Plataiai*, 397 fig. 57, 398 fig. 59.

d) The city fortifications seem to have been no longer needed in Roman times and had probably fallen into disrepair. Nevertheless, an emerging threat of barbarian attack in the later 3rd century AD (very probably around 267 AD) appears to have led to the re-fortification of the acropolis area with a circuit built from reused blocks. Many Hellenistic and Roman structures were dismantled to provide building material. The new fortification wall constricted the perimeter to about one third of the Hellenistic/Roman community. It provided security for the nucleus of Plataiai but excluded large areas that were still inhabited, especially to the east of the acropolis. The areas to the S, SE and NE fell out of use and eventually lay barren; all existing buildings in front of the new wall were dismantled in order to provide a free field of fire for the defenders of the wall.

A.N. Skias, *Prakt* 1899, 51; *AEphem* 1917, 157-167; A. Konecny *et al.*, *Hesperia* 77, 2008, 69; Konecny *et al.*, *Plataiai* 112-118, 218-219, 405 fig. 81, 406 fig. 82.

#### *The polis of Plataiai*

Within the perimeter wall of the second building phase, the town was laid out as an orthogonally planned site with an east-west axis and a series of parallel streets, avenues, and insulae. Street III/IV which started on the acropolis plateau and continued eastward, along the northern side of the agora, appears to have been the town's main east-west thoroughfare. Recent geophysical surveys have defined 147 complete and 24 truncated standardized blocks of domestic buildings, each measuring approximately 40x95 m.

V. Aravantinos – A. Konecny – R.T. Marchese, *Hesperia* 72, 2003, 302; A. Konecny *et al.*, *Hesperia* 77, 2008, 66, fig. 14; 81, 2012, 109-117, 134; Konecny *et al.*, *Plataiai*, 409 fig. 89.

Geophysical survey also located the main urban monuments, such as the large agora (23,000m<sup>2</sup>) with a small temple *in antis* in its center and colonnaded halls flanking two of its sides.

A.N. Skias, *Prakt* 1899, 42-56; Konecny *et al.*, *Plataiai*, 148-151, 188, 203-204, 222.

The agora was situated immediately SE of the acropolis and to the N of the temple of Hera, which stood in the center of the town; the temple housed two important statues, one of Hera Teleia and one of Rea, both by Praxiteles (Paus. 9.2.7).

H.S. Washington, *AJA* 7, 1891, 390-405; A. Konecny *et al.*, *Hesperia* 81, 2012, 118; Konecny *et al.*, *Plataiai*, 141-144, 422 fig. 105.

Adjacent and to the east lay the precinct of Dionysos which incorporated the urban theater.

A. Konecny *et al.*, *ÖJb* 75, 2006, 138, 141; *id.*, *Hesperia* 77, 2008, 69; 81, 2012, 121-122 with figs 13-15; Konecny *et al.*, *Plataiai*, 144-148, 204.

A large complex of public character in the NW part of the town may be identified with the gymnasium.

A. Konecny *et al.*, *Hesperia* 81, 2012, 124-125 with figs. 20-21; Konecny *et al.*, *Plataiai*, 153-154.

A water conduit, a bath and a nymphaeum probably existed in the northern part of the town.

A. Konecny *et al.*, *Hesperia* 81, 2012, 122-124 with figs. 17-19; Konecny *et al.*, *Plataiai*, 152-153.

The remains of a Roman bridge were located to the E of the town.

V. Aravantinos – A. Konecny – R.T. Marchese, *Hesperia* 72, 2003, 288 fig. 2, 302.

Late Roman-Early Christian walls were revealed to the E of the Megali Vrysi spring directly underneath the slope of acropolis; they belonged to a subterranean water conduit which still takes the water from the spring to the present well.

E. Vlachogianni, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B1, 349-352; A. Konecny, pers. comm.

A number of cult sites are documented in the literary sources but have not yet been located, such as the sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter, the cave of the Sphragitid Nymphs, the cult place of the nymph Plataia, the heroon of Leitos and the sanctuary of Athena Areia, renowned for the works of the painter Polygnotos decorating its walls (cf. Th. 3.24.1; Paus. 9.2.7, 3.9, 4.1, 4.3; Plu. *Arist.* 11 and 20).

Along the main E-W road of the town –near the center of the town and on the former acropolis plateau– some buildings of truly impressive size confirm that several very wealthy families lived at Hellenistic and Roman Plataiai.

Konecny *et al.*, *Plataiai*, 44, 157-160, 223.

Judging from the distribution of pottery, Plataiai's population inhabited the acropolis plateau and the zone north of the theater to the fortification walls, between ca. 330 BC and the Roman imperial period. In general, the northern and northwestern part of the town were more densely built up and remained under more intensive use than the southern and southeastern portions. The existence of largely unoccupied areas within the settlement may be explained by the fact that, after Thebes' destruction by Alexander the Great in 335 BC, the Plataian magistrates envisioned Plataiai as the new metropolis of southern Boeotia which would attract new settlers. But after Thebes was re-established by Kassandros in 316 BC, the Plataians gave up their aspirations, as they saw that the potential number of inhabitants at Plataiai could never be achieved.

A. Konecny – M.J. Boyd – I.K. Whitbread, *ÖJb* 68, 1999, Beibl. 45; V. Aravantinos – A. Konecny – R.T. Marchese, *Hesperia* 72, 2003, 303-304; A. Konecny *et al.*, *Hesperia* 77, 2008, 49, 50 with fig. 4a; 81, 2012, 135.

#### *Cemeteries / Tombstones*

Richly ornamented marble sarcophagi provide additional testimony to the existence of wealthy families at Plataiai during the 2nd or early 3rd centuries AD. Fragments of a Roman marble sarcophagus with relief decoration depicting scenes of the Phaidra myth were



discovered in a field immediately to the north of the town.

A.N. Skias, *Prakt* 1899, 55; Bonanno Aravantinos, *Σαροκοφάγιοι*, 315-316, figs. 4-5.

Necropolis areas were situated all around the town. Fossey (*Topography and Population*, 109) reports ancient cemeteries to the N, E and W of Plataiai's city walls.

Tombs of Roman date were found to the W of the circuit wall.

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 49, 1994, B1, 290.

An inscribed funerary stele (a casualty list), probably dating to the 1st century BC, was found to the E of the ancient city of Plataiai (now in the Thebes Museum). It presumably belonged to a cenotaph of the Plataians who had fallen at the battle of Olynthus in 348 BC.

*BCH* 49, 1925, 456; W.K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War*, vol. IV (1985) 216 no. 77; Kalliontzis, *Casualty List*, 333-342.

An inscribed funerary stele of the Late Hellenistic period was found in the Katsara field, situated in the area of the Megali Vrysi. Further investigations in the same field revealed two rectangular structures of Late Antiquity, which overlay an earlier burial and a deposit (*apothetai*) containing late Hellenistic pottery.

E. Vlachogianni, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B1, 356; *ead.*, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B1, 327-329.

Remains of Roman buildings and the aforementioned decree honoring the Athenian Glaukon were discovered in the Dekkas field. Late Roman graves were found in other trial trenches. A number of burials, some of which date to the Roman and Late Roman period, were found in the Makris field, situated some 200 m to the N of the Dekkas field.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B2, 318-319; *id.*, *ADelt* 28, 1973, B1, 268; *id.*, *AAA* 6, 1973, 376-379; *id.*, *Teiresias* 3, June 1973, 2-3; R. Étienne – M. Piérart, *BCH* 99, 1975, 51-75.

An inscribed funerary stele dating to the 1st century BC was found (now in the Thebes Museum).

Kalliontzis, *Casualty List*, 368, fig. 21.

A Greco-Roman sepulchral relief was found.

J.C. Rolfe, *AJA* 5, 1989, 440.

A grave stele with the epitaph of Europe (*IG VII 1714*) dating to the 1st / 2nd centuries AD was found. Under this inscription are traces of an older text (*ca.* 2nd century BC).

D. Knoepfler, in *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne et d'archéologie offerts à Paul Collart* (1976) 269-276, esp. 274-276 with fig. 3; *SEG XXVI* 611.

A grave stele with the epitaph of Dionysios was found. The stele itself dates to the 4th century BC, and the inscription that it bears after 150 BC.

D. Knoepfler, *op.cit.*, 275-276 with fig. 4; *SEG XXVI* 612.

A grave stele with the epitaph of Paramonos dating to the beginning of the Roman period was found. The stele itself is older and has been reused.

H. Möbius, *Die Ornamente der griechischen Grabstelen klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit* (1929) 47 and pl. 34 b; D. Knoepfler, *op.cit.*, 269-274; *SEG XXVI* 613.

A Roman grave relief was incorporated into the church of Agios Nikolaos.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 341 no. 52.

#### Movable finds

The following movable finds were discovered at the site:

a) The fragment of a statue of Asklepios, most probably a Roman copy.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 24, 1969, B1, 185.

b) A male portrait (Tiberius?), dating to the beginning of the 1st century AD.

Karouzos, *Μουσείο Θήβας*, 35 no. 97.

c) Architectural members of Roman date.

H.S. Washington, *AJA* 6, 1890, 462.

d) A Roman inscription.

*BCH* 76, 1952, 224.

e) A fragmentary inscription of the Roman period (*SEG XXXI* 495).

A. Schachter, *Cults* I, 52 note 1.

f) An inscribed stele of Roman date was found in the Rachoutis plot.

I. Threpsiadis, *AEphem* 1973, 82.

g) A small marble female head and a fragment of a marble relief were discovered in the northeastern part of the town. The head probably dates to the mid-4th century BC, though a date in the late 1st/early 2nd century AD cannot be excluded. Likewise, the relief fragment probably dates to the Late Classical or Early Hellenistic periods, although a date in the Early Roman period is also possible.

A.N. Skias, *Prakt* 1899, 48-49; Konecny *et al.*, Plataiai, 225-226, figs. 170-173, 227-228, fig. 177.

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 A. Konecny – M.J. Boyd – R. Marchese – V. Aravantinos, *Hesperia* 81, 2012, 93-140.  
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**Platanakia** – Πλατανάκια 3:2D/5:3B  
 Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Pottery sherds of the Roman period were found on a hill situated to the NE of the modern village of Platanakia, see Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 371 no. 52. According to Fossey (*Topography and Population*, 233-234), this hill is part of an ancient settlement which can be identified with ancient Peteon (Str. 9.2.26), cf. *BarrAtlas*, 55 E4 (PETEON).

**Polygyra** – Πολυγύρα 4:2B/5:2B  
 Orchomenos Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

About 5 km N of Orchomenos is the source of the Polygyra River. Traces of Roman occupation (construction in brick and mortar, surface sherds including Roman *terra sigillata*) were noticed at the site. Fossey identifies the site above Polygyra source as the earlier settlement site of ancient Aspledon (Hom. *Il.* 2.511; Str. 9.2.41; Paus. 9.38.9; St. Byz. 135.8) that moved to the Avrokastro site (ca. 2km E of Polygyra) in the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 361 and 363, fig. 46; Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 249; cf. Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 298-299, with a summary of the questions concerning the identification of ancient Aspledon.

Architectural members of a Classical Doric temple found close to the Polygyra source were interpreted as remnants of the prophetic shrine of Apollo Tegyraios mentioned by Strabo (Plu. *Pel.* 16.5.1). This interpretation led many scholars to the identification of the site as ancient Tegyra (Plu. *Pel.* 16.1.1; *De def. orac.* 5 [412B-D]; 8 [414A]).

*AA* 55, 1940, 187; S. Lauffer, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B1, 239-241; *BCH* 98, 1974, 643; *RE Suppl.* XIV (1974) 325-328 s.v. Orchomenos (D. Henning); *Kopais* 1, 46, 49; Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας*, 244 note 1; J. Buckler, in *Boeotia Antiqua* V, 43-58, esp. 48; *BarrAtlas*, 55 E3; 57 B3 (TEGYRA); Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 294-295 no. 9 with note 21.

On the contrary, Schachter (*Cults* I, 75) thinks that a possible candidate for the location of ancient Tegyra is Stroviki, where the foundations of a Classical building

used for cult purposes have been found; *contra* J. Buckler, *op.cit.*, 46; see also S. Lauffer, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B1, 241; *id.*, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B2, 451 fig. 2, 454; Schachter, *Cults* IV, 176-177 (cf. **Pyrgos**).

### **Pontza** – Πόντζα

1:2A/5:1C

Livadeia Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Fragments of Roman inscriptions have been reused in the construction of the monastery of Agioi Taxiarchai in the Pontza locality, situated on the W side of the valley of Agios Georgios. Of note are two dedicatory inscriptions to Hadrian (*IG* VII 2879 [pre 117 AD?] and 2880 [post 138 AD]), a dedicatory inscription to Antoninus Pius (143 AD), a dedicatory inscription to Valerian (253-260 AD) and an honorary inscription for the consul L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus (200-250 AD).

*SEG* XXVII 55; XLI 456; T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B2, pl. 270a; J.M. Fossey, in H. Kalcyk – B. Gullath – A. Graeber (eds), *Studien zur alten Geschichte: Siegfried Lauffer zum 70. Geburtstag am 4. August 1981 dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, vol. I (1986), 245-259 = *Epigraphica Boeotica* I, 97-111, esp. 97-104 nos 1-5.

To these we should add a series of important documents from ancient Koroneia, which contain transcripts of imperial epistles (from Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus) addressed to the citizens of Koroneia; they date between 125 and 162 AD. Their subject matter is the arbitration by the Roman emperors in territorial disputes between Koroneia and her neighbors (Thisbe and Orchomenos), the problem of the flooding of agricultural land and the attempts to control this. These epistles were probably part of the city's archive, which was inscribed on the wall of some major building sometime after 162 AD (the same archive also contained *IG* VII 2870 [cf. **Agios Dimitrios**] and *IG* VII 2882).

*SEG* XXXII 460-471; *SEG* XXXV 405; XLII 411; N.G. Papadakis, *ADelt* 5, 1919, Parart. 34; *BCH* 44, 1920, 388; *ARepLond* 1954, 40; J.M. Fossey, in *Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik, München 1972* (*Vestigia* 17, 1974) (1973) 451-455 = Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 215-219, esp. 216; *BCH* 101, 1977, 586; J.M. Fossey, in H. Temporini – W. Haase (eds), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, vol. II.2 (1979) 549-591 = Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 220-266, esp. 239-240; J.M. Fossey, *Euphrosyne* 11, 1981-1982, 44-59 nos 9-11 (= *Epigraphica Boeotica* I, 6-10, texts 1-8); P. Roesch, *Teiresias* 15, 1985, *Epigraphica* 1982-1985, E.85.01-

E.85.12; *Kopais* 2, 141-143; Oliver, *Constitutions*, 253-273; G. Argoud, in Bintliff, *Developments*, 49-54 no. 8; E. Farinetti, *ASAtene* 86, 2008, 125; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 270 no. 22; *Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 279-309; Y. Kalliontzis – N. Papazarkadas, in W. Eck – P. Funke (eds), *Öffentlichkeit – Monument – Text* (*CIL AUCTARIUM*, Series Nova, 4) (2014) 550-552.

At the same site were found epitaphs, undoubtedly coming from the necropolis of Koroneia, as well as an inscription dealing with the sale of certain lands to the sanctuary of the Egyptian gods.

*BCH* 45, 1921, 522; G. Touchais, *BCH* 101, 1977, 586.

The following Hellenistic and Roman epitaphs were built into the walls of the chapel near the monastery of the Agioi Taxiarchai and the spring of the river Pontza: *IG* VII 2937 = *SEG* XXXIII 354 a = P. Roesch – L. Darmezis, *ZPE* 51, 1983, 137 no. 3 (1st century BC). *SEG* XXXIII 382 = *ZPE* 51, 1983, 145 no. 31 (2nd – 1st centuries BC).

*SEG* XXXIII 383 = *ZPE* 51, 1983, 145 no. 32 (2nd – 1st centuries BC).

*SEG* XXXIII 384 = *ZPE* 51, 1983, 145-146 no. 32 (ca. 100 BC [a] and 3rd – 4th centuries AD [b]).

*SEG* XXXIII 385 = *ZPE* 51, 1983, 146 no. 34 (1st century BC).

*SEG* XXXIII 386 = *ZPE* 51, 1983, 147 no. 35 (1st century BC).

*SEG* XXXIII 387 = *ZPE* 51, 1983, 147 no. 36 (2nd-1st centuries BC [a] and 4th century AD? [b]).

*IG* VII 3017-3018 = *SEG* XXXIII 400 = *ZPE* 51, 1983, 152 no. 49 (ca. 200 BC [a] and 3rd- 4th centuries AD [b]).

*IG* VII 3045 = *SEG* XXXIII 402 = *ZPE* 51, 1983, 152 no. 51 (2nd-1st centuries BC).

*IG* VII 3046 = *SEG* XXXIII 403 = *ZPE* 51, 1983, 153 no. 52 (2nd century AD).

A Roman stoa came to light at the site of the monastery of Agioi Taxiarchai. Among the finds were imperial rescripts giving details of technical works in the Kopaic basin.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B2, 316-317; G. Touchais, *BCH* 101, 1977, 586; Papachatzis, *Πανοσάβιας*, 217 fig. 265; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 270 no. 22.

According to Papachatzis, the aforementioned Roman stoa belonged to the sanctuary of Herakles Charops (*Charopeion*) mentioned by Pausanias (9.34.5), which was presumably renovated by Hadrian.

Papachatzis, *Πανοσάβιας*, 219 note 5; N.D. Papachatzis, *AEphem* 1981, 38-51, esp. 42.

The fact is that the *Charopeion* has never been localized

with certainty. Schachter (*Cults* II, 4) assumes, for example, that it was situated NW of ancient Koroneia, in the vicinity of the hot springs at Granitsa, while N.G. Papadakis (*ADelt* 2, 1916, 217-272, esp. 258) locates it near the prehistoric mound of Kalami – Lioma, cf. Pritchett, *Topography* V, 147-148 note 12.

**PTOION (Sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios) → AKRAIPHIA**

**Pyrgos – Πύργος** 4:3C/5:2B  
Orchomenos Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Roman potsherds and architectural members of Hellenistic or Roman date were noticed at the Pyrgos hilltop site, located immediately SE of the modern Pyrgos village; Roman pottery was also found by the Melas River.

H. Kalcyk, in *BOIOTIKA*, 277-283, esp. 280-281; E. Farinetti, *ASAtene* 86, 2008, 131 table 1 no. 8; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 297-298 no. 16.

The Pyrgos hilltop site has been identified either with the acropolis of ancient Aspledon (Lauffer, *Kopais* I, 156; *Kopais* 2, 68-79; *BarrAtlas*, 55 D3 [ASPLEDON]; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 296 no. 12 with note 27 [on pp. 298-299, the question concerning the identification of ancient Aspledon is briefly summarized]; cf. also **Polygyra**) or with ancient Tegyra mentioned by Plutarch (*Pel.* 16.1.1, 16.5.1; *De def. orac.* 8 [414A]): Leake, *Travels*, 159-160; Ulrichs, *Reisen* I, 196; H. Schliemann, *Orchomenos. Bericht über meine Ausgrabungen im böotischen Orchomenos* (1881) 51; Frazer, *Pausanias*, 195; H. Bulle, *Orchomenos I. Die älteren Ansiedlungsschichten* (1907) 121; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 367-368 and 369-372.

**Pyrgos – Πύργος** 2:1C/5:3D  
Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

A pedimental grave relief of Roman date was found in the deserted church of Agios Andreas at the village of Pyrgos, situated N of Plataiai. Körte, *Sculpturen*, 346 no. 61.

**Schimatari – Σχηματάρι** 2:3B/5:4C  
Tanagra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Three inscribed gravestelai of Roman date (*IG* VII 685, 687, 688) were found at Schimatari, situated to the N of ancient Tanagra.

J. Fossey, *AAA* 4, 1971, 243; *Epigraphica Boeotica* I, 191-195, esp. 192.

**SIPHAI / TIPHA (Alyki) – ΣΙΦΑΙ / ΤΙΦΑ (Αλυκή)**  
1:3D/5:2D

Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Th. 4.76.3, 4.89.2 (Siphai); Scyl. 38.2; A.R. 1.105; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.5; Paus. 9.32.4 (Tipha).

Inscriptions: *IG* VII 207 (Siphai); Vottéro, *Dialecte béotien*, 259-260.

The fort and the ancient harbor of Siphai or Tipha, situated to the SE of Thisbe in the Bay of Alyki, were the outport of Thespiiai (Th. 4.76; St.Byz. 573.1; *SEG* XXIV 361; *IThesp* 38). According to a legend mentioned by Pausanias (9.32.4), it was the birthplace of Tiphys who was chosen to steer the Argo; in the time of Pausanias the inhabitants of Siphai pointed out the spot where the Argo anchored upon its return from Colchis. Apollonius Rhodius (3rd century BC) describes Siphai as a dependency of Thespiiai, when he refers to Tiphys in his *Argonautica* (1.105). But on the basis of an inscription from Aigosthena of Megaris (*IG* VII 207), dating to the late 3rd century BC, it is presumed that Siphai was for an unknown time independent during the Hellenistic period.

The well-fortified acropolis of the ancient town occupies a rocky hill that reaches to the very sea. The Upper City lay on the SW flank of the hill, and to its S and W, in the plain, lay the Lower City, reaching to the shore. Traces of the ancient quays and moles are visible underwater.

E.L. Schwandner, *AA* 1977, figs. 2 and 7, 521 with fig. 8; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 170.

Many constructions of Roman date were noticed, indicating that the site flourished in the imperial period:

Roman building remains with tessellated floors were noted in the plain N of the acropolis (this information was given to J.M. Fossey by the local inhabitants); a large accumulation of soil and débris was found at the SW foot of the acropolis, near the harbor. The pottery in this was almost entirely of Roman date and mostly of the 5th century AD or later.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 171.

The archaeological evidence attests a substantial occupation in Late Roman Siphai: the lower part of the site was covered with Late Roman ripple ware sherds and related pottery; there are abundant traces of buildings with mortared walls; the Classical walls of the acropolis were repaired at one point with mortared rubble.



J.M. Fossey – R.A. Tomlinson, *BSA* 65, 1970, 263. The foundations of a small temple in the Corinthian order, dating probably to the imperial period, were discovered at the S end of the Alyki beach. According to Fossey, this could be the temple of Herakles noticed by Pausanias (9.32.4), in whose honor an annual festival was celebrated.

J.M. Fossey – H. Giroux, *Teiresias* 9.1, *Archaeologica* 1979, 8; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 170 with note 9, 172-173; *Epigraphica Boeotica* I, 245; Schachter, *Cults* III, 176; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 348 no. 3.

Roman inscriptions (*IG VII* 2372, 2375, 2381) were found at the site.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 171.

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Frazer, *Pausanias*, 164.

W.A. Heurtley, *BSA* 26, 1923-1925, 38-45.

*RE* IIIA.1 (1927) 262-263 s.v. Siphai (Geyer).

Roesch, *Confédération*, 54-56.

J.M. Fossey – R.A. Tomlinson, *BSA* 65, 1970, 243-263 = Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 130-156.

E.L. Schwandner, *AA* 1977, 513-551.

Buck, *History*, 11.

J.M. Fossey – H. Giroux, *Teiresias* 9.1, *Archaeologica* 1979, 7-8.

Papachatzis, *Pausanias*, 202 note 2.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 168-175.

Freitag, *Golf von Korinth*, 159-164.

*BarrAtlas*, 55 E4; 57 B3; 58 E1.

Hansen – Nielsen, *Inventory*, 452 no. 218 (M.H. Hansen).

Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 168 and 347-348 no. 1.

### SKOLOS – ΣΚΩΛΟΣ

Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Hdt. 9.15; X. *HG* 5.4.48-9; D.H. *Comp.* 16.107; Diogenianus, 4.93.2; Ath. 3.109; Str. 9.2.23; Paus. 9.4.4; Eust. 1.404.26.

Coins: Imhoof-Blumer, *Münzkunde*, 377-378.

Strabo (9.2.23) says that Skolos was a town in the Parasopia at the foot of Mt. Kithairon which was so hardly habitable (*δυσοίητος*) and rugged (*τραχύς*) that it gave rise to the proverb, “never let us go to Skolos, nor follow anyone there”.

According to a legend mentioned by the same writer, this is where Pentheus was caught by Agave and the Bacchic women and was torn to pieces.

Skolos was in ruins by the time of Pausanias (9.4.4).

Among the ruins was an incomplete temple of Demeter and Kore with their half-finished statues. P. Guillon suggests that what the periegete actually saw was an open-air temple with no roof and cult images that were not *ἡμίεργα* (half-finished) but *ἡμισέα*, meaning that only the upper parts of the goddesses were depicted, emerging from the earth.

P. Guillon, *RPhil* 27, 1953, 135-140; Schachter, *Cults* I, 160 agrees with him; see also *RE Suppl.* 14 (1974) 741 s.v. Skolos (Meyer).

Demeter earned the epithets *μεγάλαρτος* (large wheaten loaf) and *μεγαλόμαζος* (large barley cake) at Skolos (Ath. 3.109a, 10.416b; Eust. 1.405.5; Polemon, *FHG* 3 p. 126F 39) which indicate that the district was famous in antiquity for its grain-crops.

Frazer, *Pausanias*, 22; M.P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (1906) 333; L.R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, vol. III (1907) 37; Kahrstedt, *Wirtschaftl. Gesicht*, 102; Schachter, *Cults* I, 160.

The precise location of the ancient site is uncertain. It is usually located near **Dafni**.

Leake, *Travels*, 330-331; Ulrichs, *Reisen* II, 74; Frazer, *Pausanias*, 21-22; *RE* IIIA.1 (1927) 567 s.v. Skolos (Geyer); W.K. Pritchett, *AJA* 61, 1957, 9-28, esp. 23; *Catalogue of Ships*, 21; Wallace, *Strabo*, 89, 96; Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας*, 47 note 4; *BarrAtlas*, 55 E4; 58 E1.

Other scholars place Skolos near the **Neochoraki** village. N.G. Papadakis, *BCH* 45, 1921, 523; *RE* XX<sub>2</sub> (1950) 2263 s.v. Plataiai (E. Kirsten); E. Kirsten in Philippson, *Landchaften*, 506 note 2, 717 note 79, 742 no. 201; Kahrstedt, *Wirtschaftl. Gesicht*, 101 note 5; Pritchett, *Topography* I, 107-109; II, 178-180; III, 289-294 with fig. 12; J.M. Fossey, *BICS* 18, 1971, 106-109 = Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 125-129; Schachter, *Cults* I, 161; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 119-126.

Buck (*History*, 17-18) locates Skolos on the ridge 4 km SE of **Neochoraki**, just to the N of the Mitropolitni bridge.

**Skourta plain** – Σκούρτα

2:3D/5:3D

Tanagra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

The Skourta plain is the highest plateau of significant size within the Kithairon-Parnes mountain massif. Today it belongs administratively to Boeotia, but its status remained unclear throughout antiquity. According to A. Schachter (*Pharos* 11, 2003, 56), “the Skourta plain—which was common pasture land shared by Boiotians, Athenians, and even Corinthians— can be regarded as



μεθόγια, no-man's land between the territories proper of Attica and Boiotia", cf. Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 394. Intensive survey work, undertaken by the Stanford Skourta Plain Project in the late 1980s under the direction of M. Munn and M. Zimmerman-Munn, turned up traces of habitation in the plain and its surroundings, varying in date from the Neolithic to the Late Roman periods. It seems that from the 2nd century BC to the Roman imperial period, a number of small villages were inhabited along the northern edge of the plain (B19, B20, B25, B30, B38, B49 in Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 396 fig. 4). During the Late Roman Period (4th-6th centuries AD), interest in inhabiting the valley was renewed. Late Hellenistic sites continued to be dwelt, while new sites (isolated farm sites or small villages) spread over the rest of the area.

M.H. Munn, in *BOIOTIKA*, 231-244, esp. 232-233; M.H. Munn – M.L. Zimmermann-Munn, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B1, 155; M.H. Munn – M.L. Zimmerman-Munn, in A. Schachter (ed.), *Essays in the Topography, History and Culture of Boiotia, Teiresias Suppl.* 3 (1990) 33-40.

An Early Roman gemstone, a bronze coin of Flaccilla (379-386 AD), a bronze coin of Theodosius I (379-395 AD), as well as coarse wares of the 4th century AD were found at a hillock (C1) near the center of the southern edge of the Skourta plain. Late Roman material in small amounts was also located at a late Medieval site (A4) near the village of Panakton and at a site (A14) on the way from Panakton to the Mazi plain.

M.H. Munn – M.L. Zimmermann-Munn, in *Boeotia Antiqua* I, 81 fig. 5.2, 110, 114 nos 118-119, 115-116.

Domestic remains associated with pottery of the Late Roman period were noticed at Agios Dimitrios (B18), situated at the SE edge of the Skourta plain.

M.H. Munn – M.L. Zimmermann-Munn, *ADelt* 42, 1987, B1, 198; *Boeotia Antiqua* I, 81 fig. 5.2.

Remains of a settlement (C3) that existed from the pre-historic to Roman periods were noticed in the Kokkini locality to the S of the Skourta plain.

M.H. Munn – M.L. Zimmermann-Munn, *ADelt* 42, 1987, B1, 198; *Boeotia Antiqua* I, 81 fig. 5.2.

Two Late Roman amphora sherds and a fragment of a beehive probably of Late Roman date were found at the site of Korynokastro.

M.H. Munn – M.L. Zimmermann-Munn, in *Boeotia Antiqua* I, 81 fig. 5.2, 95.

A small number of Late Roman cooking ware and amphora sherds were found at Lemthi, located beyond the NW corner of the Skourta plain.

M.H. Munn – M.L. Zimmermann-Munn, in *Boeotia Antiqua* I, 1989, 81 fig. 5.2, 87.

**Skroponeria** – Σκροπονέρια 3:2C/5:3B  
Chalkideon Mun. / Euboea R.Un.

Roman potsherds were noticed:

a) On the shore of Skroponeria Bay.

A. Sampson, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B2, 447-448,

b) At the small peninsula on the S side of Skroponeria Bay.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 250 fig. 31, 262; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 377 no. 6,

c) At the Kastron Hill, situated on the NW side of Paralimni Lake, in the middle of the shore of Skroponeria; the pottery was related to surface walls found on the SW slopes of the hill.

Buck, *History*, 13 with note 126; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 250 fig. 31, 262; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 377 no. 7.

**Solinari(on)** – Σωληνάρι(ον) 1:3A/5:2C  
Aliartos = Thespies Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

A grave stele of the Roman imperial period bearing a funerary epigram (*SEG* XXVI 556) was built into the church of Agios Georgios at Solinari.

S. Lauffer, *Chiron* 6, 1976, 19-21 no. 12; W. Peek, *ZPE* 31, 1978, 247-264, esp. 255-256; *SEG* XXVIII 459.

A dedicatory inscription (*IG* VII 2873) to the local hero Koronios, probably of Augustan date, was built into the church of Agios Nikolaos, located E of Solinari.

P. Foucart, *BCH* 9, 1885, 426 no. 39; S. Lauffer, *Chiron* 6, 1976, 41 no. 49; *Kopais* 2, 1987, 57 fig. 2.19; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 332 note 36; Schörner, *Votive*, 465 no. 918.

Lauffer (*Kopais* I, 117-118) links this epigraphic testimony to the archaeological data (surface walls, sherds and tiles) found at Kaminia, situated 700 m W of Solinari; this might correspond to a local sanctuary of Koroneia city, dedicated to Koronos or Koronios, cf. Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 271 no. 24.

**Soros range** – Σωρός 2:2B/5:3C  
Tanagra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

P. Stamatakis revealed in 1874 the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods (Meter) at the SE foot of the Soros

range (ancient Kerykeion), located to the N of the village of Kallithea (formerly Moustaphades). The sanctuary consisted of two buildings, one about twice the size of the other. Evidence for worship dates from late in the 5th century BC, and the Late Hellenistic and Imperial periods. Among the finds were Hellenistic statuettes, votive reliefs, as well as three inscriptions of imperial date (*IG VII* 560-562; cf. *SEG XXXVI* 444). Surface material included some Hellenistic and Late Roman sherds.

*Prakt* 1876, 32; Körte, *Sculpturen*, 388-397; Schachter, *Cults II*, 132-137; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 122-123; A. Schachter, *Pbaros* 11, 2003, 58-59; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 358 no. 14;

Schachter (*Cults I*, 161) suggests that one of the two aforementioned buildings was devoted to Demeter and Kore, or to Demeter *μεγάλατος* (large wheaten loaf) / *μεγαλόμαζος* (large barley cake) who was worshiped at **Skolos** (Ath. 3.109a, 10.416b; Eust. 1.405.5).

A continuous sequence of occupation levels from the Classical to the Byzantine period were discovered around the church of Agia Triada, situated on the spot where P. Stamatakis presumably conducted excavations.

Surface investigations to the N and S of the church produced Classical, Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine sherds. Recent excavations conducted in the area brought to light Roman sherds (trenches A, C, E, B and D, F), a Late Antique room with slabbed floor (trench C), the remains of a cook-shop/restaurant or storehouse associated with pottery ranging from the 4th century BC to the 3rd century AD (trench E) and a circular pyre containing Roman sherds (trenches B and D).

M. Xagorari Gleissner, *Prakt* 2002, 65-77, esp. 70-73; V. Petrakos, *Ergon* 2002, 40-42.

**Stroviki** – Στροβίκι 4:3C/5:2B  
Orchomenos Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Surface sherds of Roman and Late Roman date were noted at the site of Stroviki, situated SW of ancient **Kopai**.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 282-283; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 306-307 nos 5/6.

Attempts have been made to identify the place with ancient Olmones (Étienne – Knoepfler, *Hyetos*, 22-27; Papachatzis, *Πανσωνίας*, 164) or with ancient Tegyra (Schachter, *Cults I*, 75 and *Cults III*, 176-177).

**TANAGRA / POIMANDRIA / GEPHYRA (Grimada)** – ΤΑΝΑΓΡΑ / ΠΟΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΑ / ΓΕΦΥΡΑ (Γριμάδα) 2:3B/5:3C  
Tanagra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Th. 1.108.1, 3.91.3, 4.91.1; D.L. 3.8.5, 6.1.4; Plu. *Pel.* 15.6.4, *Cim.* 17.4.2; Paus. 3.11.8, 9.20.2, 9.22.1; D.S. 11.81.3, 11.82.5; Str. 8.6.24, 9.2.10; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.19; Ael. *VH* 7.14.5; Procl. *in Alc.* 269.13; *EM* 228.58; St.Byz. 600.12.

Inscriptions: *IG VII* 504-1663; *SEG LIV* 509; Vottéro, *Dialecte béotien*, 182-220.

Coins: Tanagra was the seat of an imperial mint (from Emperor Augustus until Emperor Commodus), see Imhoof-Blumer, *Münzkunde*, 379-382; Head, *Boeotian Coinage*, 8 and 97-99; Frazer, *Pausanias*, 83-84; B.H. Fowler, *Phoenix* 11, 1957, 164-171; A. Schachter, *Pbaros* 11, 2003, 54; A. Burnett – M. Amandry – P.P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage. Vol. I. From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC-AD 69). Part I: Introduction and Catalogue* (1998) 266-268; Hoover, *Coins*, 379-384; M. Amandry – A. Burnett, *Roman Provincial Coinage. Vol. III. Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian (AD 96-138). Part I: Catalogue* (2015) 57.

The ancient city of Tanagra lies in southeastern Boeotia, about 4 km SE of modern Tanagra (formerly Bratsi) and approximately 15 km from the Euboean Gulf. Its ruins occupy the Grimada hill situated in the angle formed by the Asopos River and the Lari stream (ancient Thermodontas).

Philipson, *Landschaften*, 514-515; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 44; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 380-381.

The city was renowned in antiquity for its mass-produced figurines –the famous ‘Tanagras’– (production slowed at the beginning of the 2nd century BC and ceased in imperial times), as well as for its breed of fighting-cocks, cf. Frazer, *Pausanias*, 90-91 and *Tanagran Studies I*, 129-133 nos 102-111 (with all literary sources). It also produced the best wine in Boeotia (Heraclides, *Descriptio Graeciae*, 1.8.5).

Tanagra was the birthplace of the famous lyric poetess Korinna, who is said to have defeated Pindar several times in contests (Paus. 9.20.1; Suid. κ 2087).

Schachter, *Antiquity*, 236-244; D.W. Berman, *GrRomByzSt* 50, 2010, 41-62; A. Vergados, *CIPhil* 107, 2012, 101-118; M. Heath, *Hermes* 141, 2013, 155-170.

*Tanagraike*

In Strabo’s time, the area controlled by the *polis* of Tanagra

was called *Tanagraiikē* (Str. 9.2.11). Tanagra was also called *Ποιμανδρία* and its territory *Ποιμανδρίς*, due to the fertile meadows which surrounded the city (Str. 9.2.10; St.Byz. 600.12; IG VII 580.581). In the *Etymologicum Magnum* (s.v. Γέφυρα) Tanagra/Poimandria is equated with *Gephyra*.

The territory of Tanagra included a number of small towns and villages such as **Aulis**, **Delion** (Tanagra's sea-port), the so-called *tetrakomia* (region of four villages: **Eleon** [modern Arma], Arma [modern Lykovouni Kastri], **Mykalessos** [modern Ritsona] and Pharai [Agios Panteleimon]), Yria and Vathy.

*Tanagraiikē* also contained the following areas of modern villages or sites which have produced Late Hellenistic and/or Roman material: **Agios Konstantinos**, **Agios Thomas**, **Bathiza**, **Drosia area**, **Glyfa**, **Kleidi**, **Megalo Kastron**, **Megalo Vouno**, **Oinofyta** and **Schimatari**. For the boundaries of the Tanagran territory see A. Schachter, *Pharos* 11, 2003, 45-60 and Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 207-209.

Ancient Tanagra did not always control the Tanagran territory as a whole. From 500 BC, the so-called *tetrakomia* and the shores of the Euboean Gulf came into possession of Thebes. Shortly before 424 BC Tanagra once again took control of Delion, and from 338 BC into Roman times, of Aulis and the *tetrakomia*.

A. Charami, in Vlachopoulos, *Archaeology*, 229.

By Roman times at least, the entire *Tanagraike* was dependent on Tanagra. Worthy of special mention is the fact that Tanagra and eastern Boeotia were seen as separate from Boeotia proper perhaps as early as the 4th century BC, and this distinction lasted through Roman times (Paus. 1.34.1).

D.W. Roller, in *Boeotia Antiqua* I, 133 and 139.

#### *Tanagra and Rome*

Tanagra and Thespiai were the two most prosperous and wealthy cities in Boeotia during the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Str. 9.2.5); they were declared *civitates liberae et immunes* (Plin. HN 4.7.26).

Accame, *Il dominio*, 193 note 4, 196; *Princeton Encyclopedia*, 877 s.v. Tanagra (P. Roesch).

The Roman general L. Mummius used the city as a military base to control Boeotia in the mid 2nd century BC. Tanagra—as well as the whole of Boeotia—was incorporated in the Empire as part of the Province of Achaia in 27 BC. An inscribed cylindrical base from Tanagra (now in the Schimatari Museum) carries a dedication to

the Emperor Augustus, under whom the incorporation took place.

Higgins, *Figurines*, 25 with fig. 8.

No systematic excavation has been conducted at the site. The archaeological data presented below are based on the following sources: firstly on small-scale excavations and salvage work conducted by the Archaeological Service and the Archaeological Society at Athens; and secondly on various systematic and intensive surveys.

These surveys are: the topographic survey undertaken by D.W. Roller of Wilfrid Laurier University (the Tanagra Survey Project); the intensive surface investigations and geophysical, architectural and magnetometry surveys undertaken by the Leiden-Ljubljana Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project, directed by J.L. Bintliff (University of Leiden) and B. Slapšak (University of Ljubljana); and the intensive surface survey undertaken by a collaboration between the Canadian Institute in Greece and the Ephorate of Antiquities of Boeotia (the Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project).

#### *Tanagra's circuit wall*

One of the few surviving features of the ancient *polis* is its unexcavated fortification wall which forms a circuit of approximately 3 km. There were 56 towers at regular intervals and four possible gateways opening onto the roadways leading to Thebes and to various Boeotian cities (Thebes gate on the NW; Asopos gate on the SE; Delion gate (?) on the NE; there was definitely a fourth gate to the S of the town).

A. Charami, in *Αρχαιολογικές Συμβολές*, 68 with fig. 2.

This impressive city circuit dates to Late Roman times and not to the late Classical period (4th century BC) as was previously thought.

J.L. Bintliff *et al.*, *Pharos* 19.2, 2013, 26.

Only some short stretches of the original Classical city wall were found.

J.L. Bintliff – B. Slapšak, *Pharos* 14, 2006, 17 fig. 2.

The Late Classical wall, built shortly after 386 BC, probably replaced the earlier walls of Tanagra, which had been destroyed by the Athenians in 457 BC after the famous battles of Tanagra and Oinofyta and are not preserved today (Th. 1.108.2; D.S. 11.82.5).

*Tanagran Studies* I, 57-69 nos 44-60.

It seems that the Greek city was once larger and an area was abandoned by Late Antiquity when the town was rewalled. The Late Roman circuit wall cuts off parts of the much larger gridplan of the Classical town.



J.L. Bintliff *et al.*, *Pharos* 19.2, 2013, 26, 27 fig. 24.

The extent of the Classical city was over 60 *ha* compared to under 30 *ha* of the Late Roman walled city. The smaller Late Roman circuit wall was built to accommodate the reduced city population and institutions, as protection against increasing barbarian attacks on Mainland Greece from the 3rd and especially 4th century AD onwards.

D.W. Roller, *Hesperia* 43, 1974, 260-263; *id.*, *AJA* 78, 1974, 152-154; *id.*, *BSA* 82, 1987, 218-221; Higgins, *Figurines*, 36-38.

Roman potsherds were noted on a low hill outside the city wall to the N.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 46.

Within the circuit, the majority of the ceramic material collected belongs to the Late Roman period (4th-6th centuries AD), “as a result of the pick of Tanagra as the local center of a flourishing rural region within the Eastern Roman Empire”, so Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 402. The large quantity of amphora sherds found on the sides and in the city reflects the existence of specialized and intensive cultivation, most probably of grapes, as Farinetti (*op.cit.*) suggests.

The torso of an over-life-size male portrait statue of the Roman period was found on the acropolis of the ancient town.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 418-419 no. 201.

#### *The polis of Tanagra*

Ancient Tanagra was noted for its distinctive urban plan. It was built according to the Hippodamian system, which was laid out in the 4th century BC.

D.W. Roller, *BSA* 82, 1987, 228-229.

The basic module of the urban design within the circuit wall was the city block of roughly 50 × 100 m, with internal street grid. The whole city was built on a succession of three terraces that dropped some 80 m in altitude towards the north. According to Pausanias (9.22.2), all the sacred edifices of Tanagra were placed by themselves on the upper, southernmost terrace of the city, apart from the houses of the town which were on the lower terrace of the city (residential section). A low ridge, running E-W across the center of the city, divided the Lower from the Upper City. It is on this ridge that the site of the ancient agora is to be found.

D.W. Roller, *AJA* 78, 1974, 153-154; *id.*, *BSA* 82, 1987, 223 fig. 6.

According to B. Slapšak, the ancient agora lies significantly further W than where Roller has suggested.

J.L. Bintliff *et al.*, *BCH* 128-129, 2004-2005, 581 and 603 fig. 47.

In fact, a large open area, partly cut in two by the late rewalling, could be a lower agora, to complement the aforementioned upper agora in the SW part of the Upper City.

J.L. Bintliff, *Pharos* 13, 2005, 36-38.

The pottery-making quarters of the Classical and Roman period are to be expected outside the walled area of the city.

J.L. Bintliff *et al.*, *BCH* 128-129, 2004-2005, 582.

#### *Public buildings*

Pausanias (9.20.4, 9.22) describes at some length Tanagra's public buildings (temples of Dionysos, Themis, Aphrodite, Apollo together with Artemis and Leto, Hermes Krioforos, Hermes Promachos, as well as a theater, stoa, gymnasium). A Hellenistic inscription published by Th. Reinach (*REG* 12, 1899, 53-115) adds to these the temple of Demeter and Kore, cf. *Tanagran Studies* I, 100-108 and A. Schachter, in Bintliff, *Developments*, 277-286 (= Schachter, *Antiquity*, 279-288).

The only ancient building readily identifiable today is the gymnasium (in the residential N sector of the town) and the urban theater (SW sector of the town); from the latter there is now nothing to see but a depression in the ground.

D.W. Roller, *AJA* 78, 1974, 155; *id.*, *BSA* 82, 1987, 223 fig. 6; Higgins, *Figurines*, 37 pl. 17; A. Charami, in R. Kolonia (ed.), *Αρχαία θέατρα της Στερεάς Ελλάδας* (2013) 43-50; Germani, *Boeotian Theatres*, 352 with note 5, 355.

The remains of a large platform, as well as a Corinthian capital of Roman date were noticed to the E of the theater; they could belong to the temple of Hermes Promachos, whose cult statue was reproduced on Tanagran coins of the Emperor Trajan.

Higgins, *Figurines*, 34-35 fig. 15.

A “deep peculiar hollow” to the NE of the theater may be the location of the Roman odeion of the city.

D.W. Roller, *BSA* 82, 1987, 226; A. Charami, in R. Kolonia (ed.), *Αρχαία θέατρα της Στερεάς Ελλάδας* (2013) 49.

The remains of the temple of Hermes Krioforos are thought to be found at the agora ridge.

D.W. Roller, *AJA* 78, 1974, 154.

Surface investigations at the urban area of ancient Tanagra turned up a substantial number of potsherds, dating from late Hellenistic to Late Roman times (*ca.* 150 BC-



650/700 AD). The amount of sherds of the well-known Late Hellenistic and Early to Mid-Roman table-ware categories was substantial but still relatively small compared to the numbers of Late Roman Red Wares.

P. Bes – J. Poblome – D. Malfitana – J.L. Bintliff, in R. Attoui (ed.), *When did Antiquity End?* (BAR-IS 2268) (2011) 129-136, esp. 129.

Intensive surface survey on the site has shown that in Late Hellenistic and Early Roman times Tanagra probably shrank in population and size. In the Late Roman period (ca. 400-600 AD), it blossomed again and became a large and busy city. This also goes for the countryside of Tanagra, where in the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman period there is an absence of farms, while in Late Roman times there were numerous villas in the landscape. Afterwards, Tanagra was no longer extensively inhabited.

H.W. Catling, *ARepLond* 1985-1986, 40; D.W. Roller, *BSA* 82, 1987, 218-219; D. Blackman, *ARepLond* 2001-2002, 52; J. Whitley, *ARepLond* 2002-2003, 4.

#### *The Sarapieia*

A festival called *Sarapieia* was founded in the 1st century BC in honor of the Greco-Egyptian god Sarapis (IG VII 541-543, 1621, 1623; SEG XIX, 335; XXII 373; XXIII 270; XXV 501 (IG VII 540); XXXI 496; XLI 481; XLIII 213; LIV 510); it was held every fifth year at the urban theater and comprised musical and dramatic contests, as well as a certain amount of religious and festive activity. The games saw participants from Greek Italy, Rome and Asia Minor.

C. Christou, *AEphem* 1956, 34-72; Roesch, *Confédération*, 192-193; M. Calvet – P. Roesch, *RA* 1966, 297-332; A.G. Gossage, *BSA* 70, 1975, 115-134; Schachter, *Cults* I, 203-204; *Tanagran Studies* I, 114-115; L. Migeotte, *AncW* 37, 2006, 14-25; J.M. Fossey, in Fittschen, *Lolling*, 141-150, esp. 143; Manieri, *Agoni*, 261-279; L. Migeotte, in B. Le Guen (ed.), *L'argent dans les concours du monde grec* (2010) 127-143, esp. 135-137; W. Slater, in B. Le Guen (ed.), *L'argent dans les concours du monde grec. Actes du colloque international, Saint-Denis et Paris, 5-6 décembre 2008* (2010) 249-281, esp. 276-281; B. Le Guen, *REG* 123, 2010, 495-520 esp. 514 note 98; D. Knoepfler, *REG* 124, 2011, 386-387, no. 307; L. Bricault, *Les cultes isiaques dans le monde gréco-romain* (2013) 373, 375.

#### *Roman villas and farmsteads*

Surface investigations provided traces of the following farmsteads or villas:

a) One very large villa site (TS9) which occupied the area of the Asopos River floodplain, and replaced many smaller Greek farms.

J.L. Bintliff *et al.*, *Pharos* 11, 2003, 40; J.L. Bintliff *et al.*, *BCH* 128-129, 2004-2005, 546-547; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 400 fig. 8.

b) A small Late Roman villa (TS2) 900 m W of the ancient town.

c) A small Roman villa/farm (TS4) 700 m N of the ancient town; both farming settlements could possibly go back to earlier Roman times.

d) A small Late Roman villa/farm (TS3) 600 m N of the ancient town.

e) A Roman villa site (TS28).

f) A medium-sized Greco-Roman farm (TS29) and a large Roman villa (TS42) were discovered in the valley running SE from **Agios Thomas**.

g) A large Roman villa site (TS39) and a double site combining a small Classical and small Roman farmstead lying side by side (TS37) were found in the valley running NW between the villages **Agios Thomas** and **Kleidi**.

J.L. Bintliff *et al.*, *Pharos* 9, 2001, 46-47; J.L. Bintliff *et al.*, *BCH* 128-129, 2004-2005, 563; J.L. Bintliff, *Pharos* 13, 2005, 31; *id.*, *Teiresias* 35.2, 2005, 042.0.02; Vlachogianni, *Αγροτικά*, 518-519, nos 28-30.

h) A Late Roman waterproof structure with brick floor (Sector Y) came to light in the area of the Hellenic Aerospace Factory. Moreover, a waterproof underground structure was revealed in "Sector Ξ", located to the S of "Sector Y". E. Vlachogianni identifies the underground structure with a tank for collecting the must, and relates it to a farmstead.

Andreiomenou, *Τανάγρα*, 262-263, fig. 64, pl. 164.1-2; Vlachogianni, *Αγροτικά*, 518 no. 25.

Remains of a Late Roman farmhouse, as well as late Hellenistic grave stelai in second use were found in the (Dendron tou) Bali locality, situated 2.5 km NW of the ancient town of Tanagra.

A. Charami, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B1, 373-374; Vlachogianni, *Αγροτικά*, 516-517, no. 23 and Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 382 no. 14.

Moreover, surface investigations at the same locality produced Classical, Hellenistic and Roman sherds.

V. Aravantinos *et al.*, in *AETbSE* III.2, 945-951.

A Late Roman workshop producing ceramic goods was found in the Mandri Danou locality, situated 2 km N of modern Tanagra (formerly Bratsi).

A. Charami, *ADelt* 60, 2005, B1, 404-409; E. Tsota –

N. Zacharias – H. Mommsen, in D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi – D. Kousoulakou (eds), *Κεραμική της Ύστερης Αρχαιότητας από τον Ελλαδικό Χώρο (3ος - 7ος αι. μ.Χ.)*, Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης, Θεσσαλονίκη, 12-16 Νοεμβρίου 2006 (2010) 97-107; Vlachogianni, *Αγροικία*, 517, no. 24. The location of the discovered sites (farms or villas) of Roman/Late Roman date attests to the preference for areas in the S, N and W transects of the city and reveals that the countryside flourished. The sites also testify to a change in land ownership by country residents, from modest family farms in Classical times to wealthier villa landlords in Roman times; this phenomenon also occurs in Thespieae.

J.L. Bintliff *et al.*, *Pharos* 9, 2001, 33-73, esp. 46-47; J.L. Bintliff, in L. de Ligt – E.A. Hemelrijk – H.W. Singor (eds), *Roman Rule and Civic Life: Local and Regional Perspectives. Proceedings of the Fourth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, c. 200 B.C.-A.D. 476)*, Leiden, June 25-28, 2003 (Impact of Empire 4) (2004) 199-229, esp. 213; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 401 with note 49.

Habitation structures of the Roman period were found at the site of the Mycenaean settlement at Dendro/Grava, situated to the E of modern Tanagra (formerly Bratsi). A.K. Orlandos, *Ergon* 1974, 14; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 215, 385-386 nos 43/44.

Roman potsherds were found at the site of the Mycenaean settlement at Gephyra, situated to the E of modern Tanagra.

A.K. Orlandos, *Ergon* 1974, 14.

Part of a retaining wall of Roman date was revealed on the northern bank of the Asopos River.

A. Charami, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B1, 398.

#### *Movable finds*

A glass beaker bearing a relief inscription of the 1st century AD (*SEG* XLII 424) was found.

G. Davidson Weinberg, *Glass Vessels in Ancient Greece* (1992) 38 and 127-128 no. 101.

The dedication of a statue of Fl. Domitilla Tyche was found (*IG* VII 572); it dates probably not before 95 AD. D. Kienast, *ZPE* 76, 1989, 141-147, esp. 142; *SEG* XXXIX 447.

#### *Cemeteries/ Tombstones*

1. Late Hellenistic and Roman graves were revealed in the northern necropolis of ancient Tanagra, known as Bali. This cemetery included 680 graves and was in use

from the Archaic to the Roman period; it is now covered by the Hellenic Aerospace Factory.

A. Andreiomenou, *ADelt* 31, 1976, B1, 120; *ead.*, in *La Béotie Antique* (1985) 109-130; *ead.*, in *EpetBoiotMel* IV.1, 293-371.

2. A major necropolis, yielding many of the famous terracotta “Tanagra figurines”, was discovered at Kokkali, situated on a low hill to the SE of the site of ancient Tanagra; its use extended from the Archaic to the Late Roman period.

N.G. Papadakis, *Prakt* 1911, 132-139; Higgins, *Figurines*, 42 fig. 22; D.W. Roller, *BSA* 82, 1987, 214 fig. 1; A. Charami, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B1, 305; J. Stroszeck, in Fittschen, *Lolling*, 157-206.

3. Remains of funerary periboloi, including a large number of graves, were revealed at the foot of the acropolis hill, ca. 500 m from the ancient fortifications. Pottery dates from the Classical to the Late Hellenistic periods. V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 49, 1994, B1, 286.

4. 152 graves, dating to the first six centuries BC were found at five different places (Mavrovouni, Agios Polykarpos, Bali, Kokkali and Ghelezi) in the vicinity of Tanagra.

N.G. Papadakis, *Prakt* 1911, 132-139.

These burial areas may be related to the ancient town, see the sketch plan in Higgins, *Figurines*, 40 fig. 21.

Other burial areas correspond to the rural occupation of the landscape and may be linked to people living in the countryside in family plots and farms, as Farinetti (*Boeotian Landscapes*, 216) points out.

Six inscribed funerary stelai of Roman date bearing relief representations of individuals associated with the religious sphere were found at Tanagra (*IG* VII 1518, 1581, 1603/1604, 1621, 1636); they date from the 1st century BC to the 2nd century AD.

M. Bonanno Aravantinos, in *AET&SE* II.2, 1151-1165. A grave stele with representation of the deceased woman as a priestess of Isis (late 1st-early 2nd centuries AD) was found at the site (now in the Schimatari Archaeological Museum).

A. Charami, in Vlachopoulos, *Archaeology*, 233 fig. no 371. A stele with relief representation of a priestess of Isis was discovered at Tanagra (now in the Thebes Museum); it dates to the 1st-2nd century AD.

A number of Roman grave reliefs were found at Tanagra, see Körte, *Sculpturen*, 331-332 no. 33, 332-337 nos 35, 37, 39-42, 338-340 nos 45-48, 341 no. 51, 342-345 nos 54-57, 346 no. 60, 348-349 nos 67-68, 350-351 nos 72-74, 353 no. 78, 353-354 no. 80, 356-357 no. 84, 358-359 no. 87, 359-360 no. 89; votive reliefs in honor of dead men elevated to the status of hero: 380 no. 143 and 381 no. 145.

The following Late Hellenistic and Roman funerary stelai are recorded from the site:

an epitaph of Sosikles (second half of the 2nd century BC: *SEG XXXII* 487),

an epitaph of Eytychos (ca. 100 BC: *SEG XXXII* 488, cf. J.S. Kloppenborg – R.S. Ascough, *Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations, and Commentary* 1. *Attica, Central Greece, Macedonia, Thrace* [2011] 287-288),

three epitaphs dating to around 225-125 BC (*SEG LIV* 512-514),

the epitaph of Sosibios, dating to the Roman imperial period (*SEG XLI* 492 = *Epigraphica Boeotica* I, 217-218 no. 11) and

the epitaph of Lykaon (late 2nd century BC: *IG VII* 685; *SEG XLIX* 528; Roesch, *EB*, 130 no. 11).

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#### Tatiza – Τάτιζα

1:3C/5:2C

Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Traces of a Roman cemetery and a large Late Roman rural establishment or a hamlet were found at the deserted village of Tatiza, situated within the area of Thespiai.

Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 161 and 339-340 nos 20-24.

An inscribed grave altar (*IG* VII 2143) of Roman date, with the representation of a hero-rider, was incorporated into a spring at the village of Tatiza.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 367 no. 114; T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 25, 1970, B1, 232 no. 7; *id.*, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B1, pl. 192 b; *Teiresias* 1976, Epigraphica, 33 no. 99; Machaira, *Ἡρώας ιπέας*, 867 no. 28, 887 fig. 28.

An inscribed grave altar with representation of a horseman hero was found in the church of Agia Triada, located to the S of Tatiza. It bears two inscriptions (*IG* VII 2173 and 2174), one of which (2174) dates to the Roman period.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 367 no. 113; Machaira, *Ἡρώας ιπέας*, 866 no. 23, 884 fig. 23; Machaira, *Autels funéraires*, 289 with note 14.

A grave altar with representation of a horseman hero was found in the same church at the same site as the above mentioned.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 368 no. 117.

Roman potsherds and Roman (?) glass was found.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 148.

Tatiza has been identified either with ancient Donakon (Paus. 9.31.7) or with ancient Leontarne (Scholia in Hom. *Il.* 2.507b).

S. Symeonoglou, *ADelt* 21, 1966, B1, 202; P.W. Wallace, *GrRomByzSt* 15, 1974, 11-12; Papachatzis, *Πανσνάξ*, 199; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 149, cf. J. Knauss, in Bintliff, *Developments*, 25-38; *BarrAtlas*, 55 E4; 58 E1 (DONAKON)

#### THEBAI / KADMEIA (Thebes, Thiva) – ΘΗΒΑΙ / ΚΑΔΜΕΙΑ (Θήβα)

2:1B/5:3C/6

Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Hom. *Il.* 4.378, 2.505 (in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships the polis is called “Hypothebai” [below Thebes], cf. *Catalogue of Ships*, 30); Hdt. 1.92.1; E. *Ph.* 821; S. *OT* 1203; X. *HG* 5.2.25, 5.4.8; Plb. 20.5.13, 27.1.7; Str. 9.2.32 (s.v. Hypothebai); Paus. 9.4.5; S.E. 3.18.4, 9.36.4; D.H. 6.15, 7.24; D.L. 1.83.1, 6.90.8; Lucianus *Alex.* 19.6; Aen. *Tact.* 31.34.1; Ael. *VH* 12.3.7, 13.25.1; Artem. 4.47.49, 4.63.10; Arr. *An.* 5.26.5, 36.2.5; Plu. *Pel.* 25.10.1; Ath. 1.34.9; D.S. 1.23.2; Polyae. 2.3.12; Clem. *Al. Strom.* 1.21.134; D.Chr. 4.23.1; Suid. θ 322.; The name “Ogygia” is also attested for the town in literary sources, see Herodianus et Pseudo-Herodianus, *De pros. cath.* s.v. Ὠγγυία. Inscriptions: *IG* VII, 2405-2706; Vottéro, *Dialecte béotien*, 131-173; Y. Kalliontzis, *Teiresias* 41, 2011, (Part 2B) 112.0.2.

Coins: Thebes issued its own bronze coinage between 146 and 27 BC, as well as during the imperial period, see Imhoof-Blumer, *Münzkunde*, 383-387; Head, *Boeotian Coinage*, 8, 94; Head, *BMC Central Greece*, 42-43; Head, *Historia numorum*, 353-354; M.O.B. Caspari, *JHS* 37, 1917, 168-183, esp. 173; A. Burnett – M. Amandry – P.P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage. Volume I. From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC-AD 69). Part I: Introduction and Catalogue* (1998) 268; Hoover, *Coins*, 385-401.

The ancient city of Thebes (*Thebai*) was centrally located in eastern Boeotia and occupied the site of the present homonymous city. Its territory, the so-called *Thebais*, was mainly comprised of the plain of Thebe (τὸ Θήβης πεδῖον), together with the eastern part (if not all) of the Teneric plain (Τηνερικὸν πεδῖον) and various small plains in the area of the lakes Yliki and Paralimni to the N. Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 191-192; Berman, *Thebes*, 14 with note 28, 160-161.



Thebais contained some second-rank small nucleated settlements; the ones that produced Late Hellenistic and/or Roman material occupied the areas of the modern villages of **Ypaton** and **Platanakia**, as well as the sites of **Klimataria**, **Mesovouni** and **Yliki**.

The systematic intensive surface survey carried out in the 1980s by J.L. Bintliff and A.M. Snodgrass turned up traces of Late Hellenistic/Early Roman and Late Roman rural sites at the SW edge of the region.

J.L. Bintliff, in S. Macready – F.H. Thompson (eds), *Archaeological Field Survey in Britain and Aboard* (1985) 196-216; cf. Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 363 fig. 1: MP A1, MP A3, MP B3, MEL7, 373 Table 1.

#### *Hellenistic and Roman Thebai*

Thebes was a dominant power in Boeotia throughout most of its long and turbulent history. Focusing on the significant events of Hellenistic and Roman Thebes, one should mention that in 335 BC Alexander the Great razed the city to the ground –with the exception of the temples and the house of the poet Pindar– and sold the Thebans into slavery (*Arr. An.* 1.9.10; cf. Berman, *Thebes*, 176-177). After this event, Thebes never returned to its former prominence, even though Kassandros tried to rebuild it twenty years later (316 BC). For the restoration of Thebes by the King of Macedonia, several Greek cities contributed money, among them Messene, Megalopolis and Athens; even the rulers and citizens of Cyprus offered donations (*IG VII 2419 = Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 337; *SEG XXXI 502*).

K. Buraselis, *ZPE* 188, 2014, 159-170; *id.*, in Aravantinos – Kountouri, *100 Χρόνια*, 315-324; Y. Kalliontzis, *Grammateion* 3, 2014, 5; A. Matthaïou, *Grammateion* 3, 2014, 31-33; D. Knoepfler, *Bulletin épigraphique* 2014, no. 204. Thebes revolted against Macedonian rule twice, in 292 and 291 BC, and was captured by Demetrius Poliorcetes; the latter granted autonomy to the city in 288 BC (*Pl. Dem.* 46.1). One year later, it was reinstated in the Boeotian League, but never regained its former hegemony over the Boeotian cities.

In 222 BC, it was a powerful city with a thriving economy based mostly on agriculture and trade with Euboea, the Aegean islands, Thessaly, Attica and the Peloponnese. P. Cloché, *Thèbes de Béotie, des origines à la conquête romaine* (1952) 217-232.

Thebes suffered at the hands of the Romans: In 197 BC, the city was seized by T. Quinctus Flaminius and King Attalos of Pergamon (*Liv.* 33.1-2; *Plu. Flam.* 6).

J. Deininger, *Der politische Widerstand gegen Rom in Griechenland 217-86 v.Chr.* (1971) 49-53.

In 173 BC, it was captured by the consul Licinius. The general Metellus tried and sentenced the Thebans to pay fines to the Phokians and the Euboeans for invading and devastating their territory, and to the Amphissans for ruining the harvest at Amphissa (*Paus.* 7.14.7).

S.L. Ager, *Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek World, 337-90 BC* (1996) 410-411 no. 149.

Because of Metellus' intervention, Pytheas, who was at that time the Boeotian leader of Thebes, incited the Achaeans to war on the Romans in 148/147 BC (*Paus.* 7.14.6-7). The Thebans had helped the Achaeans at the siege of Herakleia in the Oita region, and took part in the battle of Skarpheia in Lokris. The Greeks were put to flight and Metellus turned against Thebes. Its inhabitants abandoned the city without trying to defend it and wandered about Boeotia, or took refuge on the mountaintops. Metellus allowed neither the burning of the sanctuaries nor the destruction of buildings, and forbade his army to kill any Theban or take prisoner any fugitive (*Paus.* 7.15.5, 7.15.9-10; *Plb.* 38.16.10).

M.G. Morgan, *Historia* 18, 1969, 422-446.

After the fall of Corinth (146 BC), L. Mummius is said to have destroyed the city for supporting the Achaeans (*Liv. Epit.* 52), but the archaeological evidence does not confirm Livius' statement.

Charami, *Νεοροσάφεια των Θηβών*, 270; *αnτnα*, A. Keramopoulos, *Prakt.Ak.Ath* 1931, 163; *id.*, *AA* 1931, 239; K. Kalliga, in *Z' Eπιστημονική Συνάντηση για την Ελληνιστική Κεραμική: Αθήνα, 4-9 Απριλίου 2005: Πρακτικά* (2011) 213-236, esp. 226-227.

Of note is a 'hoard' of coins and gold jewellery discovered near the Thebes Railway Station; its concealment between 168 BC and 146 BC is very likely.

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B1, 366-368, pl. 146; E. Vlachogianni, *NomChron* 19, 2000, 55-113; Aravantinos, *Museum of Thebes*, 332, 334-335).

The city's attitude towards Rome during the Mithridatic Wars was inconsistent. For this reason, Sulla decided to punish Thebes: he deprived the city of half its territory and dedicated it to the gods, in compensation for having plundered the temples at Olympia, Epidauros and Delphi (*Plu. Sull.* 19; *Paus.* 9.7.5-6). Though afterwards the Romans restored the confiscated land to the Thebans, they never recovered from this blow. From then on, Thebes declined and, in Strabo's time, did not even preserve the character of a respectable village (*Str.* 9.2.5).

In 124-125 AD, the Emperor Hadrian visited Thebes; he built a structure above the Oedipodeia spring, a piece of which was found and published by Keramopoulos

(Θηβαϊκά, 398-399 note 1, fig. 200). (It is noteworthy that the Phokians chose Thebes as the place to honor the Emperor Hadrian in 125 AD [IG VII 2497]).

Thebes was conquered by the Goths in 248 AD and in 395 AD. A serious earthquake damaged the city in 375 AD.

#### *The polis of Thebai*

The ancient *polis* of Thebai consisted of the Lower City and the acropolis –the so-called *Kadmeia* after the legendary founder of Thebes, Kadmos– which was a slightly pear-shaped eminence 800 m long and 400 m wide. The ancient citadel was bounded by the rivers Strophia and Ismenos to the east, the ancient Dirce (modern Plakiotisa) River to the west and the hill of the Ampheion to the north.

Berman, *Thebes*, 18-19 and 91-98.

Around the acropolis, the Lower City spread out in several directions. However, despite this expansion, the nucleus and the principal site of inhabitation throughout most of the city's history was the Kadmeia, which was occupied continuously, partially at least, from prehistoric times up to today.

It is noteworthy that in Pausanias' time Thebes became so reduced in population that only the acropolis was inhabited, which was called *Thebai* instead of *Kadmeia*; the Lower City was destroyed with the exception of the temples (D.Chr. *Or.* 7.120-121; Paus. 9.7.6).

#### *Sanctuaries*

Pausanias found most of the sanctuaries still functioning in the 2nd century AD, such as the extramural sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios (*Ismenion*), the extramural sanctuary of the Kabiroi (*Kabirion*), as well as the temenos of Herakles, which was recently discovered adjacent to the Elektra Gates.

The *Herakleion* was “a complex of temple, herôa, and athletic facilities dedicated to Herakles and his family”, so A. Schachter, in Aravantinos – Kountouri, *100 Χρόνια*, 325-335, esp. 328-330; this is where the young men of Thebes received their military training.

Schachter, *Cults* II, 14-30; V. Aravantinos, in *Epigraphy and History*, 149-210; *id.*, in *Αρχαιολογικές Συμβολές*, 85-106; K. Kalliga, in *Αρχαιολογικές Συμβολές*, 107-123, esp. 107-115; Berman, *Thebes*, 25-26; see also *SEG* LVIII 449.

Archaeological findings of the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods came to light in the Kadmeia area and in the modern suburbs around it: Neos Synoikismos and Polygyra to the NE; Palaioi Synoikismos, Agioi Theo-

doroi, Kastellia Hills, Astegoi and Nea Sphageia to the E; Palaia Sphageia and Kolonaki to the S; Agia Triada to the SW; and Alonia, Pyri and Plakiotissa to the NW.

#### **THEBAI – Agia Triada / Αγία Τριάδα 6:2C**

Building remains of a small farmstead of the Roman period were uncovered at the site for the 2nd High School.

A. Charami, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B1, 288-290; Vlachogianni, *Αγροικία*, 513 no. 12.

#### **THEBAI – Agioi Theodoroi / Άγιοι Θεόδωροι 6:4B**

A marble inscription was found, dating to the 2nd century BC or to the Roman imperial period.

S.N. Koumanoudis, *ADelt* 25, 1970, A, 128-129 no. 2.

Roman pottery sherds were found in the Matala plot.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 25, 1970, B1, 220.

A small repository (*apothetis*) of a Roman building which contained pottery was revealed in the Panagaina plot.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B2, 307.

Remains of a large house dating to the Hellenistic-Roman period were discovered in the Karakyris plot.

V. Philippaki – S. Symeonoglou – N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B, 234-235; Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 277 site 134.

27 Late Hellenistic burials were revealed at Kotopouli Street (A. Sevastopoulos plot).

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 60, 2005, B1, 402, 404.

A funerary relief depicting a couple, dating to the 3rd century AD (?), was found.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 359, no. 88; Karouzos, *Μουσείο Θήβας*, 50 no. 169.

#### **THEBAI – Alonia / Αλώνια 6:4B**

A rectangular cut in the rock containing Roman sherds was found.

N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 24, 1969, B1, 178; Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 286 site 177.

#### **THEBAI – Astegoi / Άστεγοι 6:3C**

Pottery sherds of the Roman period were found in the Tzintzilida plot.

N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 23, 1968, B1, 218; Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 279 site 147.

#### **THEBAI – The Sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios**

(*Ismenion*) / Ισμήνιον

6:3C

Remains of the extramural sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios

(Paus. 9.10.2-3; *IG* VII 2455; *SEG* XXII 417) were found on the top of a low hill by the banks of the Ismenos River (modern Agios Ioannis), approximately 250 m SE of the ancient citadel. The *Ismenion* was the principal sanctuary of the Archaic and later *polis*. It had three successive building phases:

- a) Late Geometric-end of 8th century BC (the temple was destroyed by a fire);
- b) During the 7th or 6th century until the 4th century BC; and
- c) First half of the 4th century BC (the third temple was never completed, perhaps because of the destruction of Thebes).

Keramopoulos *Θηβαϊκά*, 34-79, 317-325; A. Schachter, *BICS* 14, 1967, 1-21, esp. 3-5; Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 132-133, 236 site 8; Pharaklas, *Θηβαϊκά*, 36-37; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 364 no. 5; Berman, *Thebes*, 25 and 105-106. See also E. Bitely – K. Daly – R. Jacob – S. Larson, in *AET/SE* IV.2, 783-792.

According to A. Schachter (in Aravantinos – Kountouri, *100 Χρόνια*, 328), the oracular role of the *Ismenion* was taken over late in the 4th century BC by the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios, located to the E of the ancient city of Akraiphia, which “became the official mouthpiece of the revived Boiotian koinon”; the *Ismenion* “remained the sanctuary where upper class Thebans celebrated the initiation of their sons”.

It was customary to dedicate tripods to Apollo Ismenios at his sanctuary. The sanctuary was still in use in Pausanias’ time who saw only a few votive tripods there, as well as the statues of Athena and Hermes Pronaoi by Skopas and Pheidias respectively, the cedar cult statue of Apollo Ismenios attributed to Kanachos of Sikyon, the stone images of the two daughters of Kreon, Henioche and Pyrra and the so-called Seat of Manto, a stone on which, according to legend, Teiresias’ daughter Manto used to sit.

#### *The Daphnephoria*

Pausanias (9.10.4) and an inscription (*IG* XIV 1293b) associate the dedication of tripods with the enneateric festival of the *Daphnephoria* (the Carrying of the Laurel), in which a boy-priest (παῖς ἀμφιθαλής) led a procession to the shrines of Apollo Ismenios and Galaxios (or Chalazios), accompanied by a chorus of singing maidens. The boy-priest was followed by his nearest male relative, who carried the olive log *κωπώ* / *κώπω* that was wrapped in a yellow robe and adorned with laurel, flowers, bronze balls and purple ribbons; this was the principal object

borne in the procession. Following this man was the *daphnephoros* (the laurel-bearer) (Proclus, *ap. Phot. Bibl.* 321a-b, gives details of the ritual action). It seems that the *Daphnephoria* of the late 2nd century AD was associated not only with Apollo but also with Herakles, the patron of the Theban ephebeia.

Schachter, *Cults* I, 77-85; A. Schachter, in P.A. Bernardini (ed.), *Presenza e funzione della città di Tebe nella cultura Greca. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Urbino 7-9 luglio 1997* (2000) 99-123 (= Schachter, *Antiquity*, 255-278); E. Mackil, *Creating a Common Polity. Religion, Economy, and Politics in the Making of the Greek Koinon* (2013) 168-171.

According to Farinetti (*Boeotian Landscapes*, 364 no. 5), there are traces of Late Roman tombs near the *Ismenion*, as well as a probable habitation locus from the same period.

Part of a Late Hellenistic inscribed statue base was found in the Karatziki plot, situated to the N of the *Ismenion* Hill. The partial signature of the artist appears on the upper part, while traces of an older inscription can be distinguished lower down (1st century BC-1st century AD).

*SEG* LXI 544; LIX 506; E. Vlachogianni, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B1, 405.

#### THEBAI – KABIRION / Καβίριον 2:1B

Pausanias (9.25.5-10) mentions the mystery sanctuary of the Kabiroi (*Kabirion*) which was strictly linked to the city of Thebes. It was situated 6 km W of Thebes, in a valley opening onto the Teneric plain. Unlike the other public sanctuaries of the town, this one was private until the end of the Classical period. From then on, it was public and the cult was run by the *polis*. The cult complex at the Kabirion consisted of the Kabiroi – Kabiros and his son Pais, an unnamed mother goddess, and her unnamed consort. The cult in the sanctuary probably began in the 6th century BC and continued until the 4th century AD, reaching the height of its popularity in Hellenistic and Roman times; it was then that the size of the sanctuary progressively enlarged. In Pausanias’ time the sanctuary was still flourishing and continued to do so for about a century and a half afterwards.

Cf. *IG* VII 3575-4122 for the spelling.

*RE* 10<sup>2</sup> (1919) 1399-1450 s.v. Kabeiros und Kabeiroi (Kern); G. Bruns, in E. Boehringer, *Neue Deutsche Ausgrabungen in Mittelmeergebiete und im Vorderen Orient* (1959) 237-248; H.-P. Drögemüller, *Gymnasium* 68, 1961, 219-227; G. Bruns, *ADelt* 18, 1963, B1, 115-121; *id.*, *AA*



1964, 231-257; *id.*, *ADelt* 20, 1965, B2, 245-246; *id.*, *AA* 1967, 228-273; P.R. Franke, *Antike Welt* 1, 1970, 46-53; B. Schmaltz, *Terrakotten aus dem Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* (1974); K. Dimakopoulou, *ADelt* 33, 1978, B, 113; W. Heyder – A. Mallwitz, *Die Bauten im Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* (1978) 25-28, 30-35, 70; B. Schmaltz, *Metallfiguren aus dem Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* (1980); K. Braun – T.E. Haevernick, *Bemalte Keramik und Glas aus dem Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* (1981); U. Heimberg, *Die Keramik des Kabirions* (1982); Schachter, *Cults* II, 66-88; Van Effenterre, *Les Béotiens*, 155-157; M. Daumas, in *ÉpéBoiotMel* III.1, 374-389; I. Nielsen, *Cultic Theatres and Ritual Drama* (2002) 133; A. Schachter, in M.B. Cosmopoulos (ed.), *Greek Mysteries: the Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults* (2003) 112-142 (= Schachter, *Antiquity*, 315-343); Sear, *Roman Theatres*, 408; I. Nielsen, in I. Nielsen (ed.), *Zwischen Kult und Gesellschaft: kosmopolitische Zentren des antiken Mittelmeerraumes als Aktionsraum von Kultvereinen und Religionsgemeinschaften. Akten eines Symposiums des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Hamburg (12.-14. Oktober 2005)* (2007) 31-46, esp. 34; V. Pirenne-Delforge, *Retour à la source. Pausanias et la religion grecque, Kernos Suppl.* 20 (2008) 315-318; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 366 no. 20; D. Oikonomou, in R. Kolonia, *Αρχαία θέατρα της Στερεάς Ελλάδας* (2013) 55-61.

A building inscription dating to the 2nd century AD was found in the area of the *Kabireion*.

E. Touloupa, *ADelt* 21, 1966, B1, 204 no. 7, pl. 210a; *SEG* XXXV 413; *Epigraphica Boeotica* I, 255-257.

Two *villae rusticae* dating to the Roman period were partly uncovered in the area N of the Kabirion valley, in the Provatari locality, ca. 8 km W of modern Thebes.

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 49, 1994, B1, 284-286; cf. Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 367 no. 22; Vlachogianni, *Αγροικία*, 514 no. 13-14.

#### **THEBAI – KADMEIA** / Καδμεία 6:2B, 3B, 2C, 3C

Remains of a Late Roman/Early Christian building were discovered to the SW of the Mycenaean circuit wall (in the area of the ancient acropolis), near the bridge leading to Chalkis.

N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B1, 249.

A piece of a stone bearing two inscriptions, one of which dates probably to the 1st century BC, was found at the western side of the Kadmeia.

S.N. Koumanoudis, *ADelt* 25, 1970, A, 135-136 no. 9. Roman and Late Roman coins were found in the Neroutsou and Karamagkioli plots, situated at the eastern side of the Kadmeia.

M. Galani-Krikou, *ADelt* 49, 1994, B1, 126.

An inscription bearing a dedication of L. Mummius (*IG* VII 2478, 2478a) was found near the church of Metamorfofosi tou Sotiros, located at the southwest end of the Kadmeia.

A. Keramopoulos, *ADelt* 13, 1930-31, 105-118.

Five column bases of Roman date were discovered at the archaeological site known as the “House of Kadmos”; they were attributed by the excavator to the ‘Roman agora’ of Thebes mentioned by Pausanias (9.12.3). Roman pottery was also found in the area.

A.D. Keramopoulos, *Prakt* 1912, 76-77, 85-87; Keramopoulos, *Θηβαϊκά*, 340, 371-379, cf. Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 137-138; Pharaklas, *Θηβαϊκά*, 83, 98; A. Martina, in Aravantinos – Kountouri, *100 Χρόνια*, 367-368.

Roman pottery sherds were found in the Phloris plot (junction of Polyneikous and Mitropoleos streets), situated near the Western Tower of the Elektrai Gates. K. Demakopoulou, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B2, 442.

Two fragmentary inscriptions of Roman date were found to the S of the Western Tower of the Elektrai Gates.

A. Keramopoulos, *ADelt* 3, 1917, 24.

Late Hellenistic sherds were found in the Malliakos plot (Polyneikous Street), situated about 30 m to the S of the Eastern Tower of the Elektrai Gates.

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B1, 164.

Roman sherds were found in the Sarakostianos plot (Polyneikous Street).

A. Andreiomenou, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B2, 427.

Roman walls, a Roman repository (*apothetis*) and Roman pottery were found in the Pelekanos plot (Demokritou Street).

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 130-132.

Part of a marble female statue of the Late Hellenistic period was found on Threpsiadi Street.

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 139-140.

Hellenistic and Roman pottery and a Roman wall were found in the plot for the Municipal Conference Center (Demotiko Synedriako Kentro) of Thebes (junction of Bellou and Threpsiadi streets). Moreover, two cist-graves were revealed, dating probably to the Roman period.

E. Andrikou, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B1, 291-294; Charami, *Cemeteries of Thebes*, 274 no. 7.

An L-shaped portion of a Roman building was revealed in the Leontaris plot (Oidipodos Street).

N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 23, 1968, B1, 208-210; Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 271 site 112.



A Roman wall and Roman sherds were found in the Matala plot (Parodos Iokastis).

C. Piteros, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B1, 190; *id.*, in *EpetBoiotiMel* I.1, 89-112, esp. 90-93.

Part of a Roman building as well as Roman sherds were revealed in the Vylliotis plot (Iokastis Street).

A. Sampson, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B1, 192.

A Roman wall and built remains of Late Antiquity were revealed in the southwestern part of the Bekris plot (Ergodomiki Boiotias) (junction of Zengini and Iokastis streets). A mosaic floor of Roman date came to light in the southeastern part of the plot, while remains of a building, probably a bathhouse, and a hoard containing 84 bronze coins dating to the 4th-5th centuries AD, were discovered in the northwestern part of the plot. Moreover, a large Roman building covering the whole plot was found.

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 127-128; *id.*, *ADelt* 60, 2005, B1, 402.

Remains of a rich Roman villa with two building phases came to light in the Mamali – Kafe plot (Zengini Street). The remains continue into the adjacent Bekris plot.

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 136.

Late Roman building activity was noted in the Zengini plot (Zengini Street).

K. Demakopoulou, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B1, 215.

Part of a Late Roman building was revealed in the Mavrommatopoulos plot (Zengini Street). Finds included Late Roman pottery and a coin of the same period.

C. Koilakou, *ADelt* 47, 1992, B1, 79.

A Roman water pipe was found in the Ploumis plot (Dologlou Street).

K. Demakopoulou, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B2, 441.

Late Roman walls and Roman pottery sherds were found in the Ioannou plot (Isminis Street).

K. Demakopoulou, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B2, 439.

A water pipe associated with late Hellenistic sherds was revealed on Isminiou Street. Probably it belonged to the wider water system of the city, which was supplied from the Agios Giannis springs.

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B1, 391.

Walls and pottery sherds of the Roman period were revealed in the Borbatzis plot (Kevitos Street).

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 25, 1970, B1, 220.

A votive deposit of vases and figurines, dating from the Archaic to the Roman periods, was revealed in the C. Stamatis plot (Kevitos Street); it could be assigned to the shrine of Demeter Thesmophoros mentioned by Pausanias (9.16.5).

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 28, 1973, B1, 247, cf. Schachter, *Cults* I, 165-168; see also T. Spyropoulos – J. Chadwick, *The Thebes Tablets* II, *MINOS Suppl.* 4 (1975) 77-79.

A Hellenistic wall, which was partly renovated probably in the Roman period, as well as Roman walls were revealed in the Megalos plot (Kevitos Street).

K. Demakopoulou, *ADelt* 34, 1979, B1, 166, 168.

Roman sherds were found in the plot of Fasoulopoulos' inheritors (junction of Epameinondas and Kevitos streets).

N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B1, 239.

An aqueduct, probably Roman in date, as well as Roman potsherds were found on Epameinondas Street.

A.D. Keramopoulos, *AEphem* 1909, 81.

Another ancient aqueduct, dating probably to the Roman period, was found.

C. Karouzos, *ADelt* 10, 1926, Parart. 7-10.

For the aqueduct of Thebes discovered in many plots in the Kadmeia area, see Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 141-144 and Pharaklas, *Θηβαϊκά*, 31-32.

Rich Roman fills and a Roman wall were brought to light in the Giannopoulos – Dimitrakopoulos plot (Epameinondas Street).

S. Symeonoglou, *ADelt* 21, 1966, B1, 185-186; Charami, *Νεώτερα των Θηβών*, 61 note 235.

A Late Roman building and a Late Antique grave stele were found in the Dagdelenis plot (Epameinondas Street).

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 25, 1970, B1, 211-212, 228.

Building remains of a Late Roman room as well as Late Roman sherds were found in the Pelekanos plot (Epameinondas Street).

K. Demakopoulou, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B2, 436.

Roman walls were found in the Meletios plot (Epameinondas Street).

K. Demakopoulou, *ADelt* 30, 1975, B1, 128.

Remains of a Roman building were found in the Pouliopoulos plot (Epameinondas Street).

E. Andrikou, *ADelt* 49, 1994, B1, 276-278.

Building activity related to Late Roman pottery was noted beneath the central square of Thebes (junction of Epameinondas and Oidipodos streets).

K. Demakopoulou, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B1, 217.

Part of a Late Roman building, as well as three repositories (*apothetes*), one of which contained a Late Roman lamp, were found in the southeast part of the Bourantas – Alevizos-Laliois – Sabanis plot (Epameinondas and Oidipodos streets). Walls, floors and repositories of the Roman period were also found at the east side of the western half of the plot. A notable find was a pedi-

mental stele bearing a list of victors at the *Rhomaia* (*SEG* LIV 516, dating shortly after 118 BC?); this musical contest, which included a satyr-play contest and probably athletic competitions as well, must have been established after 146 BC in honor of the personified city of Rome; it was abolished during the Mithridatic Wars (ca. 87/6 BC). V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 128-130; D. Knoepfler, *CRAI* 2004, 1241-1279; B. Le Guen, *REG* 123, 2011, 495-520 esp. 503 and 511; F. Marchand, *ARepLond* 2013-2014, 72-80, esp. 73. *IG* VII 2448 = *SEG* LIV 517 refers also to the celebration of the *Πορναῖα* at Thebes.

Roman sherds were found in the A. Giannopoulos plot (Oidipodos Street).

K. Demakopoulou, *ADelt* 33, 1978, B1, 115.

Parts of the Late Roman fortification wall, as well as Roman walls, sherds and a Roman channel were revealed in the Liagkas plot and the Stamatis plot (Oidipodos Street).

C. Piteros, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B1, 191; *id.*, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B1, 131-133; *id.*, in *EpetBoiotMel* I.1, 97-103; V. Aravantinos, in *EpetBoiotMel* I.1, 113-133, esp. 119; C. Koilakou, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B1, 154-155.

14 walls of Late Roman or Early Christian date were discovered in the Kafe plot (Oidipodos Street).

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 62, 2007, B2, 568-570.

A Late Roman wall was found in the Blana plot (junction of Amphionos and Oidipodos streets).

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B1, 189.

Architectural remains of the Roman and Late Roman period as well as a water pipe of the 1st century BC-1st century AD were discovered in the E. Spourlis plot (junction of Amphionos and Oidipodos streets). Finds included *terra sigillata* pottery, seven bronze coins of the 3rd-4th century AD and two bronze coins of the 1st century AD and the 2nd-1st century BC.

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 51, 1996, B1, 269-270.

Further excavations on the E. Spourlis plot revealed a stratum (A) with architectural remains and a complex of drains dating to the 1st-2nd century AD.

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B1, 317.

Built remains of the 2nd century AD were exposed in the D. Matalas plot (junction of Amphionos and Oidipodos streets).

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B1, 316-317.

A Late Hellenistic funerary inscription was found in the Konstas plot (Amphionos and Zengini streets).

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 49, 1994, B1, 290.

Hellenistic and Roman pottery, as well as building

remains dating probably to Late Antiquity and the Early Christian era were found in the Loukeris plot (Amphionos Street).

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 61, 2006, B1, 493-494.

Movable finds of the Roman period were found in the Konsta plot (Vourdoumpa Street).

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 124.

Walls and sherds of the Roman period were found in the Zaroukian plot (Vourdoumpa Street).

K. Demakopoulou, *ADelt* 33, 1978, B1, 115.

A wall probably of the Roman period was found in the E. Giannopoulos plot (Amphionos and Vourdoumpa streets).

K. Demakopoulou, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B2, 439.

Roman and Late Roman walls were found in the Manisalis plot (junction of Pelopidou and Oidipodos streets).

K. Demakopoulou-Papantoniou, *ADelt* 31, 1976, B1, 121.

Movable finds of the Roman period were found in the Kylafi plot (junction of Pelopidou and Oidipodos streets).

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B1, 388.

Roman walls were found in the N. Stamati plot (Pelopidou Street).

E. Touloupa – S. Symeonoglou, *ADelt* 20, 1965, B2, 239.

Pottery sherds of the Roman period were found in the Poifa plot (Pelopidou Street).

N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 23, 1968, B1, 211-212.

Remains probably dating to the Roman period were found in the Spourli plot (Pelopidou Street).

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 25, 1970, B1, 212-213; cf. Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 287 site 183.

A Roman wall was revealed in the Vryzakis plot (Pelopidou Street).

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 25, 1970, B1, 216-217.

Building remains associated with Roman pottery were found in the Vogklis plot (Pelopidou Street).

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B1, 207.

A grave stele dating to the 1st-2nd century AD was seen in the house of D. Bellios at Pelopidou Street.

S.N. Koumanoudis, *ADelt* 25, 1970, A, 135 no. 8.

The fragment of a Roman relief with the representation of Aphrodite was found at Pelopidou Street.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 407 no. 187.

A wall probably dating to Late Antiquity was uncovered in the Pavlogiannopoulos and Zenginisi plot (Pelopidou Street).

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B1, 281.

Portable finds and pottery of the Roman period were found in the plot of the inheritors of Neroutsos-Kritikos and Panagiotidis (Pelopidou Street).

E. Andriku, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B1, 281-288.

Walling, a Roman silver coin and a 'hoard' were found in the Stepha plot (Pelopidou Street). The 'hoard' consisted of 24 sestertii and one dupondius of emperors Titus, Trajan, Plotina, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Faustina; it was possibly concealed in a stoa in 143/144 AD or immediately after, due to imminent threat.

A. Sampson, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B1, 220; E. Vlachogianni, *Archaïognosia* 11, 2001-2002, 57-71.

Part of a Hellenistic building, which was probably renovated in Roman times, was revealed in the Salta plot (at the junction of Pelopidou and Antigonis streets).

A. Andreiomenou, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B2, 427; *ead.*, *Teiresias* 4.1, 1974, 7.

Repositories (*apothetes*) and built bothroi of the Roman period were found in the Tsigkri-Makri plot (Pelopidou and Antigonis streets).

K. Demakopoulou, *ADelt* 30, 1975, B1, 133.

Part of the floor and hypocausts of a Roman bathhouse were revealed in the Seal-Cylinders Room ("New Kadmeion") (Antigonis Street).

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B1, 205.

The upper strata of the "Treasury Room" of the Kadmeion palace included a bath building of the Roman period as well as Late Roman pottery.

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 51, 1996, B1, 264; *id.*, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B1, 360.

Excavations at 27-29 Antigonis Street have brought to light a southern extension of the Mycenaean palace complex. Among the finds was the marble foot of a Roman phiale with the inscription ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝ ΑΘΗΝΙΩΝΟΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ ΣΑΜΟΘΡΑΞΙΝ, as well as an iron ring with an inlaid semi-precious red stone bearing the inscription EYTYXEI MOI.

V. Petrakos, *Ergon* 2012, 54-57.

Part of a fountain and a splendid mosaic with marine life, dating to the 4th century AD, were revealed in the Mycenaean palace complex.

V. Petrakos, *Ergon* 2013, 34-36; V. Aravantinos, *Prakt* 2014, 145.

A room, dating to Late Hellenistic or Early Roman times, was discovered to the north of the aforementioned fountain. Archaeological evidence (a clay conical lekane embedded into the floor and an offering table) attest the worship of a local hero or chthonic deity at the site. A small grave with two child burials, dated to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD, was added later to the east exterior face of the room.

V. Aravantinos, *Prakt* 2014, 148-149.

It seems that the core of this worship, which included the 'Samothracian gods' mentioned above, was the temple-shaped heroon with platform that was found close to the aforementioned room. Finds attest a continuous use of the heroon from the Early Hellenistic to Roman periods.

V. Petrakos, *Ergon* 2015, 26-27.

Architectural remains dating up to the Late Roman-Early Christian period came to light in Section I of the 'Palace Sector'. They stood atop a Late Roman stratum that contained bronze coins and earrings, fragments of glass vases, lead weights and masses of lead and copper. On the basis of this material, the site could have had industrial or commercial use.

V. Petrakos, *Ergon* 2015, 29.

Late Roman pottery was found in a repository (*apothetis*) in the Giokas plot (Antigonis Street).

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 51, 1996, B1, 270.

Pottery sherds of the Roman period were found in the Panagiotopoulos plot (Antigonis Street).

N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 23, 1968, B1, 211; Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 271 site 113.

Roman sherds were found in the disturbed fill in the Loukos plot (Antigonis Street).

K. Demakopoulou, *ADelt* 34, 1979, B1, 163, 165.

Roman finds were revealed in the disturbed fill of a Classical or Early Hellenistic building that was discovered in the A. and S. Tzortzis plot (Pindarou and Antigonis streets). An Early Roman marble female head and a Roman bronze coin were found near the northern wall of the building. The remains of a Roman bath building were revealed to the W of the building.

E. Touloupa, *ADelt* 19, 1964, B2, 194, cf. Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 228 site 2.

Further excavations in the Tzortzis plot revealed a Roman wall underneath Antigonis Street.

S. Symeonoglou, *ADelt* 21, 1966, B1, 177, 181 fig. 3; Charami, *Νεχροταφεία των Θηβών*, 61 note 235.

Disturbed fills containing Roman pottery sherds and remains of Late Roman walls were revealed along Pindarou Street.

K. Demakopoulou-Papantoniou, *ADelt* 32, 1977, B1, 98.

Pottery sherds of the Roman period were found in the Sinis plot (Pindarou Street).

N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 23, 1968, B1, 212.

Building remains and pottery of the Roman period were revealed in the Staikos plot (Pindarou Street).

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 25, 1970, B1, 213-214.



Roman walls were revealed in the Stavri plot (Pindarou Street).

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 25, 1970, B1, 214-215; cf. E. Touloupa, *ADelt* 19, 1964, B1, 196 plan 3.

Remains of a large edifice with mosaic floors and three building phases (end of the 4th century BC or beginning of the Greco-Roman period [first phase] / 4th or 5th century AD [second phase]) were discovered in the D. Koropoulis plot (Pindarou Street).

P. Lazaridis, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B2, 455-459; H.W. Catling, *ARepLond* 1974-1975, 17; Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 283 site 165; Charami, *Νεχροταφεία των Θηβών*, 61 note 235.

Roman walls were found in the E. and P. Dagdelenis plot (Pindarou Street).

K. Demakopoulou, *ADelt* 34, 1979, B1, 166.

Part of an epistylon bearing a Roman inscription was found in the Rousos plot (Pindarou Street).

*SEG* XXXIX 451; C. Piteros, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B1, 171-172.

Roman pottery sherds, Roman and Late Roman walls and clay water pipes, as well as a Late Roman cistern were found in the disturbed fill of the Zoulamoglou plot (Pindarou Street). The archaeological evidence attests to continual habitation of the plot from the Early Helladic to the Roman period.

K. Demakopoulou-Papantoniou, *ADelt* 31, 1976, B1, 125. *Terra sigillata* sherds were located in the area of the "Palace of Kadmos" (Kadmeion) (Room Π).

A. Keramopoulos, *Prakt* 1927, 34.

Part of a building that was probably a *nymphaeum* was brought to light in the I. and G. Tzortzis plot (located at the junction of Pindarou and Dirkiis streets). An inscription, dating to the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 1st century BC, was reused as one of its Ionic capitals.

E. Touloupa, *ADelt* 19, 1964, B2, 192, 194; S.N. Koumanoudis, *ADelt* 25, 1970, A, 130-134 no. 6.

Late Roman building activity disturbed the prehistoric occupation levels found in the Panagiotopoulos – Papa-georgios plot (at Pindarou and Dirkiis streets).

K. Demakopoulou, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B2, 433; cf.

K. Demakopoulou – D. Konsola, *ADelt* 30, 1975, A, 44-89.

Building remains dating from Roman to Ottoman times were discovered in the Gogos plot (Dirkiis Street). Among the finds were eight Late Roman *apothetes*, as well as Late Roman coins.

C. Koilakou, *ADelt* 48, 1993, B1, 79; M. Galani-Krikou, *ADelt* 48, 1993, B1, 83.

Roman pottery sherds and an *apothetis* that contained a Late Roman coin were found in the Lambros plot (at Dirkiis and Vryzaki streets).

C. Koilakou, *ADelt* 47, 1992, B1, 81, 83; E. Andrikou, *ADelt* 48, 1993, B1, 173-174.

Late Roman and Byzantine walls, built *apothetes*, pithoi and many Roman sherds were found in the Pagonas plot (Amphionos and Dirkiis streets).

K. Demakopoulou-Papantoniou, *ADelt* 31, 1976, B1, 126. An inscribed grave stele of the Roman period (epitaph of Parthena) was found in the Christodoulos plot (Oidipodos and Oikonomou streets).

*SEG* XXXIX 454; C. Piteros, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B1, 172.

Roman sherds, a water main probably of Roman date and a well, inside which was pottery of the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods, were discovered in the Malathounis plot (Tsevas Street). This site has been identified by Symeonoglou with the bird-sanctuary or oracle (*oionoskopeion*) of Teiresias mentioned by Pausanias (9.16.1), cf. S. Symeonoglou, *ADelt* 21, 1966, B1, 180, 182-183; Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 131-132, 247-248 site 23. Other scholars located the *oionoskopeion* on the rocky projection of the Kadmeia to the SW, on what is now called 'Pouros tou Kavalari'.

N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B1, 250; T. Spyropoulos – J. Chadwick, *The Thebes Tablets II, MINOS Suppl.* 4 (1975) 75; Pharaklas, *Θηβαϊκά*, 86, 88, 91, 93-95.

The truth is that the location of the *oionoskopeion* remains unknown.

Schachter, *Cults* III, 38; Berman, *Thebes*, 105.

A section of a floor associated with 1st-century AD *terra sigillata* was found in the Kolesias plot (Tsevas Street).

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B1, 388.

Building remains and potsherds of the Roman period were found in the Selekos plot (Tsevas and Vourdoumpa streets).

A. Andreiomenou, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B2, 427; K. Demakopoulou, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B2, 437; *ead.*, *Teiresias* 4.1, 1974, 9.

Remains of a Roman building were found in the Chouchoumis-Sinnis plot (junction of Pelopidou and Tsevas streets).

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B1, 368-369; Kountouri, *Νεχροταφεία*, 696 fig. 2 no. 39.

Remains of Roman and Late Roman walls came to light in the Chronopoulou plot (Kadmou Street). Part of a wall which was probably Hellenistic but renovated in Roman times was also found in the same plot; the fill to the N and S of this wall produced Hellenistic and Roman sherds.



A. Andreiomenou, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B2, 428; K. Demakopoulou, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B2, 440.

A few Roman sherds and three fragments of Roman female figurines were discovered in the Loukopoulos plot (Kadmou Street).

K. Demakopoulou-Papantoniou, *ADelt* 31, 1976, B1, 126.

The wall of a Roman house was revealed in the Maranis plot (Kadmou Street).

Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 254 site 41; Charami, *Νεκροταφεία των Θηβών*, 61 note 235.

Remains of a structure dating probably to the Late Roman/Early Christian period were found in the Karagatsoulis plot (Kadmou Street).

Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 255 site 45; Charami, *Νεκροταφεία των Θηβών*, 61 note 235.

Two deposits (*apothetes*) found at the site of the Archaeological Museum extension yielded a late Hellenistic clay philosopher's head and stratified Late Roman pottery.

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B1, 311.

A grave altar with representation of a horseman hero stood outside the church of Agios Ioannis Kaloktenis. It bears two inscriptions: the first (*IG VII 2658*) dates to the 1st/2nd centuries AD (probably contemporary to the relief representation) and the second (*IG VII 2659*) to the 3rd century AD.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 373-374 no. 129; Machaira, *Ἡρώας ἱπέας*, 869 no. 33, 889 fig. 33.

The church of Agios Dimitrios (Megali Panagia) contains the following reused ancient blocks:

a) A statue base for Vespasian (*IG VII 2494*).

*Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 233-234 no. 1, pl. 23 (cf. *IG VII 2496*, a fragmentary statue base for Vespasian, also found at Thebes).

b) An inscribed grave altar with representation of a horseman hero (*IG VII 2628*) dating to the Roman imperial period (2nd-3rd centuries AD).

*Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 236-237 no. 3, pl. 25 and 26; Machaira, *Ἡρώας ἱπέας*, 863 no. 13, 879 fig. 13; Aravantinos, *Museum of Thebes*, 354-355.

c) A quadriga relief probably of early imperial date.

*Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 240 no. 5, pl. 28.

d) A pedimental stele with figural relief, dating probably to the 1st or early 2nd century AD.

*Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 240-243 no. 6, pl. 29.

e) Votive reliefs in honor of dead men elevated to the status of hero.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 376-377 no. 138; 383 no. 148.

A cylindrical marble altar, dating to the first half of the

2nd century AD was found in Thebes (Kadmeia).

Aravantinos, *Museum of Thebes*, 359.

#### **THEBAI – Kastellia Hills / Καστέλλια** 6:3B

Late Hellenistic skyphoi were found in the so-called 'Grave 1' at Megalo Kastelli, which was hypothetically identified with the grave of the children of Oedipus ("Οἰδίποδος παίδων μνήματά") mentioned by Pausanias (9.18.3).

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B2, 309-311; cf. *id.*, *AAA* 4, 1971, 161-4; Papachatzis, *Πανσωνίας*, 114-116 note 2; *contra* Pharaklas, *Θηβαϊκά*, 134-141, 214-227.

Late Roman fill was removed from the lower zone of Megalo Kastelli Hill.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 28, 1973, B1, 255.

Late Roman pottery sherds were found in the E. Georgiou plot (Daglaridou Street), situated outside the Kadmeia, opposite Mikro Kastelli Hill.

K. Demakopoulou, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B2, 441.

A Late Roman coin was found in the Nikolaou plot (at Varnali and Ekatis streets).

M. Galani-Krikou, *ADelt* 51, 1996, B1, 85.

#### **THEBAI – Kolonaki / Κολωνάκι** 6:2C

Roman sherds were found in the Tzouvelaki plot.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 25, 1970, B1, 220.

A water pipe, dating probably to the Roman period, was revealed in the Loukou plot.

A. Ioannidou, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B1, 227.

#### **THEBAI – Nea Sfageia / Νέα Σφαγεία** 6:3C

Hellenistic-Roman pottery was noted.

Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 258 site 55.

#### **THEBAI – Neos Synoikismos / Νέος Συνοικισμός**

6:3A

Remains of houses and a small industrial installation, dating from the Classical to the Roman periods, were revealed in the plot of the Agricultural Cooperative Storehouse. Further investigations brought to light two walls of a Late Roman house. A Hellenistic hoard, containing eight silver and 449 bronze coins (dating between 288 and 146 BC) was found in a monumental structure (stoa?) which was exposed 100 m to the SW of the plot of the Agricultural Cooperative Storehouse. E. Touloupa, *ADelt* 21, 1966, B1, 194-197; T. Hackens, *BCH* 93, 1969, 712-729 (on the coin hoard from the site); Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 261-262 site 71; E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B1, 366-368 with note

31; E. Vlachogianni, *NomChron* 19, 2000, 55-101, esp. 70 note 37; Charami, *Νεκροταφεία των Θηβών*, 277 no. 18. A section of the circuit wall of the city of Thebai was brought to light in the same plot (Agricultural Cooperative storehouse). The date of its construction is not clear but it seems that it was still in use in Roman times.

E. Touloupa, *ADelt* 21, 1966, B1, 196, cf. Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 262 site 71 and 118-122; N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, 248-249. For the circuit walls of Thebes see also N. Pharaklas, *Θήβα. Μνημειακή τοπογραφία της αρχαίας πόλης. Μέρος Α', Οι οχυρώσεις* (1988) and Pharaklas, *Θηβαϊκά*, 8-9.

Remains of a theatrical structure were found 600 m N of the Proitidian Gate. It was identified by the excavators as the “thymele” (stage) built by Sulla near the fountain of Oedipus. This is where the Roman general held his *epinikia* or games in honor of his victory over Archelaos in 86 BC (Plu. *Sull.* 19).

A.S.F. Gow, *Hesperia* 32, 1912, 213-238; Keramopoulos, *Θηβαϊκά*, 362-363, 405-406; N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B1, 235; T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B1, 211; *id.*, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B2, 307; *id.*, *ADelt* 28, 1973, B1, 248; F. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 31, 1976, B1, 127; K. Demakopoulou, *ADelt* 33, 1978, B1, 113-114, fig. 41 b; M. Germani, in *AEThSE* III.2, 985-998; D. Oikonomou, in R. Kolonia (ed.), *Αρχαία θέατρα της Στερεάς Ελλάδας* (2013) 51-54.

Symeonoglou (*Topography of Thebes*, 139) considers the possibility that Sulla renovated the old theater of Thebes, where he built a new stage (“thymele”) to celebrate his victory.

A Late Hellenistic honorary inscription (*SEG* LII 510) for a benefactor, found near the chapel of Agia Triada, refers to the reconstruction of the theater.

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B1, 355.

Pausanias (9.16.6) states that the theater of Thebes was built at the NE corner of the Kadmeia, next to the temple of Dionysos Lysios, which was open once a year on pre-set days. This could mean that the temple was only used during celebrations of dramatic festivals in honor of Dionysos which took place in the theater, cf. Schachter, *Cults* I, 191.

#### *The Agrionia*

We learn from an inscription (*IG* VII 2447 = *SEG* XIX 379 = B. Latschew, *AM* 7, 1882, 349-350 no. 1) that musical and dramatic contests were included in the so-called *Agrionia*, a trieteric *agon* in honor of Dionysos Kadmeios, which was directed jointly by the city of Thebes and the Dionysiac *technitai* (the Isthmian and

Nemean Guild). The agonistic element of the *Agrionia* is attested from the 3rd to the 1st centuries BC; after that, there is a gap in the evidence until late in the 2nd century AD, when a combined athletic and musical *agon*, the so-called *Dionysia Herakleia* (*Antonineia*), is celebrated. Schachter, *Cults* I, 189-191; Rigsby, *Asyilia*, 68-75; J.M. Fossey, in Fittschen, *Lolling*, 141-150, esp. 142-143; G. Argoud, in *EpetBoiotMel* IV.1, 529-546, esp. 543-544; *Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 106. For the *Herakleia* at Thebes see P. Roesch, *ZPE* 17, 1975, 1-7; A.J.S. Spawforth, in S. Walker – A. Cameron (eds), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire, BICS Suppl.* 55 (1989) 193-197, esp. 197; D. Knoepfler, *CRAI* 2004, 1247-1252.

Remains of the so-called ‘Building of the Treasure’ were revealed in the Makrygiannis plot, situated in a short distance from the sanctuary and the theater of Dionysos. It was destroyed between 150-146 BC on the basis of its ceramic finds.

K. Kalliga, in *Ζ' Επιστημονική Συνάντηση για την Ελληνιστική Κεραμική, Αίγιο, 4-9 Απριλίου 2005, Πρακτικά* (2011) 213-236.

A rectangular Late Hellenistic structure with an over-painted floor with representation of a flute-player, victor in a contest, was revealed at the junction of Agiou Konstantinou and Smyrnis streets (now in Thebes Museum).

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B1, 370.

An ancient house that was destroyed in 146/5 BC by L. Mummius was discovered to the S of the railway.

A. Keramopoulos, *Prakt* 1930, 10-11, 69-74.

A female statue of Roman date was found in the Meidanis plot.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B1, 211.

Remnants of a large Roman building as well as domestic remains of the same period were found in the Limni locality.

N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B1, 251.

#### **THEBAI – Palaia Sfageia / Παλαιά Σφαγεία 6:3C**

A Roman hypocaust was revealed in the Koropoulis plot, situated in the Pigi locality.

S. Symeonoglou, *ADelt* 21, 1966, B1, 194; Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 269 site 107.

An honorary inscription for Tiberius dating after AD 41 was found.

S.N. Koumanoudis, *ADelt* 25, 1970, A, 129 no. 3; *AE* 1974, 159 no. 599.

**THEBAI – Palaios Synoikismos /**

Παλαιός Συνοικισμός

6:3B

Part of a public building associated with Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine pottery was revealed in the Theodoros plot.

N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B1, 235, pl. 165b; Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 275 site 127; Charami, *Νεοκρατεία των Θηβών*, 61 note 235.

Remains of a Late Antique building were exposed in the Panagiotidi-Parapouli plot (Patriarch Chrysostomou Smyrnis Street). Finds included a Roman bronze lamp not related to the building remains.

A. Ioannidou-Karetsou, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B2, 322; Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 282 site 162.

**THEBAI – Plakiotissa /**

Πλακιώτισσα

6:2C

A Roman grave, many Roman tiles and sherds and hypocausts were revealed in the Bardosa plot (Kassandras Street). Moreover, parts of half-ruined Roman walls were found in the Lanou plot (Kassandras Street). K. Demakopoulou-Papantoniou, *ADelt* 31, 1976, B1, 126.

**THEBAI – Polygyra /**

Πολυγύρα

6:3B

A large amount of Roman pottery was found in a cistern cut into the rock in the Kaskavelis plot.

N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 23, 1968, B1, 218-219; Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 280 site 148.

A few Roman sherds were found in a well and two shafts in the Lympérios plot (Papanastasiou Street). These openings could be associated with the aqueduct system of Thebes.

N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 24, 1969, B1, 178-179; Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 286 site 178.

Four Hellenistic houses (A, B, C and the one found in the Anastasios plot) came to light on the banks of the Ismenos River (modern Agios Ioannis). Traces of life can be found until the first years of the 1st century BC in houses A, B and C.

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B1, 331-333; K. Kalliga, in *AETHSE* II.1, 751-768; *ead.*, in *Z' Επιστημονική Συνάντηση για την Ελληνιστική Κεραμική: Αίγιο, 4-9 Απριλίου 2005: Πρακτικά* (2011) 213-236, esp. 226; *SEG* LVI 548: Knidian amphora stamps, late 2nd/early 1st centuries BC.

Architectural remains of Roman-Late Roman date came to light in the Herakleous plot (junction of Agiou Thoma Street with an anonymous road). It is worth noting that the ancient agora of the Lower City was located at the site of Polygyra, which was densely inhabited, especially during the Hellenistic period.

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 62, 2007, B2, 567.

**THEBAI – Pyri /**

Πυρί

6:2B

Part of an aqueduct was found in the I. Stamelos plot. Among the finds were Roman potsherds.

N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B1, 237; Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 276 site 129.

Remains of a house related to Hellenistic and Roman pottery were discovered in the Liakopoulos plot.

N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 23, 1968, B1, 221; Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 281 site 157.

Part of a Hellenistic wall, which was probably renovated in Roman times, was found in the A. Stamelos plot.

A. Andreiomenou, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B2, 428; Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 292 site 200.

A marble votive relief dating to 330-320 BC was found in the destruction layer of a Hellenistic building that came to light in the I. Skouma plot. The destruction layer dates to the second half of the 2nd century BC – early 1st century BC.

M. Bonanno Aravantinos, in *AETHSE* III.2, 973-984.

A grave stele dating to the second half of the 2nd century BC was found.

Y. Kalliontzis, in *Αρχαιολογικές Συμβολές*, 135-147, esp. 141 no.

Remains of a building (ceramics workshop?) associated with numerous Hellenistic and (mostly) Roman pottery and lamps were revealed at Pyri, in the Alonia locality.

N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 23, 1968, B1, 221; Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 281 site 156.

**Cemeteries / Tombstones**

The ancient cemeteries of Thebes extended outside the city's fortification walls into the Thebe/Aonian plain. Those that were established in the Archaic or Classical period continued to be used and expanded in Hellenistic and Roman times. Tombs dating from Hellenistic to Early Roman periods were mainly located to the NE and W of the town.

1) The largest and most important cemetery of Thebes was the so-called **'Northeastern Cemetery'**, extending along the ancient road from Thebes to the port of **Anthedon** on the Euboean Gulf (6:4A). It remained in use from the late Geometric to the Roman imperial period. It was crossed by an ancient road running S-N, which can be identified with the *λεωφόρος* leading from Thebes to Chalkis mentioned by Pausanias (9.18.1).

Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 85-87, fig. 3.1, no. 58; S.C. Bakhuizen, *Phoenix* 48, 1994, 307-330; E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 51, 1996, B1, 267-269; *ead.*, *ADelt* 52, 1997,



B1, 364; *ead.*, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B1, 319-323; V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B1, 377-388; *id.*, in *Αρχαιολογικές έρευνες και Μεγάλα Δημόσια Έργα. Αρχαιολογική Συνάντηση Εργασίας. Επταπύργιο Θεσσαλονίκης, 18-20 Σεπτεμβρίου 2003* (2004) 43; *id.*, *ADelt* 62, 2007, B2, 566-567; Kountouri, *Νεκροταφεία*, 666-669; Charami, *Νεκροταφεία των Θηβών*, 56-58, 63-272, 281-285; V. Aravantinos, in M. Pisani, *Avvolti dalla morte. Ipotesi di ricostruzione di un rituale di incinerazione a Tebe* (Monografia della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente 21) (2013) 9-13; M. Bonanno Aravantinos, in *Epigraphy and History*, 252-310.

A notable find from the tiled-roof grave no. 263 in the Northeastern Cemetery was a small hoard in a money-chest; it gives a *terminus post quem* of ca. 146 BC for the burial itself.

E. Vlachogianni, in *Κεραμίδια Φιλίας. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον Ιωάννη Τουράτσογλου*, vol. I (2009) 69-79.

Part of the Northeastern Cemetery was exposed in the Kokkala locality.

D. Mulliez, *ARepLond* 2009-2010, 83.

A Late Roman stone-paved road running N-S came to light at the same site; it was situated 200 m S of a group of seven Early Christian burials.

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 51, 1996, B1, 267-268. The site of Kokkala also produced 13 funerary stelai (most of them fragmentary), dating from the beginning of the 5th to the second half of the 2nd century BC.

E. Vlachogianni, in Aravantinos – Kountouri, *100 Χρόνια*, 279-294, esp. 279.

18 graves dating to the Classical (?), Hellenistic and Roman periods were found in the Aikaterini plot, located near the road leading from Thebes to Chalkis.

Kountouri, *Νεκροταφεία*, 685, fig. 2 no. 12; V. Aravantinos, in *AETHSE* II.1, 747 fig. 3; Charami, *Νεκροταφεία των Θηβών*, 282 no. 37.

48 graves were found in the northern sector of the OSE (Hellenic Railways Organization) excavation; they date from the Hellenistic to the Early Roman periods.

Kountouri, *Νεκροταφεία*, 683 no. 2; V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 140-152; *id.*, in V. Jeammet (ed.), *Tanagra. De l'objet de collection à l'objet archéologique. Actes du colloque organisé par le musée du Louvre à la Bibliothèque Nationale de France le 22 novembre 2003* (2007) 59-65; *id.*, in *AETHSE* II.1, 747 fig. 3; Charami, *Νεκροταφεία των Θηβών*, 65-124; A. Charami, in Aravantinos – Kountouri, *100 Χρόνια*, 295-313.

185 graves, dating from the late Geometric to the Roman periods, were discovered in the Tsallas plot, located

to the E of the country road Thivon – Mourikiou. Kountouri, *Νεκροταφεία*, 683 no. 1; V. Aravantinos, in *AETHSE* II.1, 747 fig. 3; Charami, *Νεκροταφεία των Θηβών*, 125-151, 283 no. 42 (figs. 2-6).

13 grave stelai dating from the 5th century BC to the second half of the 2nd century BC were found 11 m from the intersection of the country road with the road connecting Thebes and Mouriki.

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 51, 1996, B1, 267-269.

21 inscribed funerary stelai from Thebes (among which one dates to the 1st century BC [?], and five to the Roman period) were brought into the Museum of Thebes during 1961-1963; 12 of the tombstones were found by I. Threpsiadis in 1961 near the Basiakou Bridge. E. Touloupa, *ADelt* 19, 1964, B2, 202-203, pls. 246 b, 247 a-b, 248 a-c; L.H. Jeffery, *ADelt* 22, 1967, A, 1-5, pls. 1-4; E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B1, 366 note 30; V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 60, 2005, B1, 402.

Moreover, many graves were found near the Basiakou Bridge; they dated to the Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic and probably Roman periods.

E. Touloupa – S. Symeonoglou, *ADelt* 20, 1965, B2, 240; Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 258-259 site 58; Kountouri, *Νεκροταφεία*, 683-684 no. 6; Charami, *Νεκροταφεία των Θηβών*, 158-164, 281 no. 33.

Due to the significant reduction in the population of Thebes during the Roman era, Early Roman burials in the NE cemetery correspond to only 1% of the total. This phenomenon becomes more intense in the next few centuries, as only sporadic graves dating after the 1st century AD are located; even part of the settlement at Kadmeia was used as a cemetery at that time, as attested by the following archaeological evidence:

A robbed cist-grave of Late Hellenistic/Early Roman date was revealed in the Chouchoumi-Sinni plot (junction of Pelopidou and Tseva streets). Three Late Hellenistic female figurines and a gold earring found scattered in the area could be associated with the burial goods of the grave.

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B1, 368-369; Kountouri, *Νεκροταφεία*, no. 39 in fig. 2; Charami, *Νεκροταφεία των Θηβών*, 274 no. 8.

A group of Hellenistic cist-graves was discovered in the Chorovoevoda Agion Theodoron locality, to the N of the road leading from Thebes to Chalkis. Among the burial gifts were gold earrings of the mid-2nd century BC.

E. Kountouri, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B1, 335 note 32; Charami, *Νεκροταφεία των Θηβών*, 281 no. 32 (fig. 5).



Another grave of the Early Hellenistic period was investigated in the same area, cf. N. Pappadakis, *AEphem* 1914, 117-129. Pappadakis had also excavated some Roman and Early Christian tombs there but the results were not published; his excavation is mentioned by Keramopoulos, *Θηβαικά*, 297, note 1, cf. Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 87.

2. The second most organized necropolis of Thebes was the so-called **'Northwestern Cemetery'**, established at the fringes of the modern suburb of Pyri (6:1B).

Charami, *Νεκροταφεία των Θηβών*, 278-280.

According to Kountouri (*Νεκροταφεία*, 669), it seems to be used especially in the Geometric and Archaic periods and individually in subsequent periods. There is, however, the possibility that the expansion of the ancient city in this direction might have affected its original image and possibly many tombs were destroyed for the construction of public or private buildings in Hellenistic times.

Parts of this cemetery were revealed in the N. Liakopoulou and Ev. Liakopoulou plots in the suburb of Pyri. 88 graves were discovered varying in date from the Late Geometric period to the 2nd century BC.

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 157-159; *id.*, *ADelt* 62, 2007, B1, 570-571; Kountouri, *Νεκροταφεία*, 692 no. 44; Charami, *Νεκροταφεία των Θηβών*, 280 no. 30 (fig. 3-4).

Three Late Hellenistic cist-graves were revealed in the Tzoumaneka plot in the suburb of Pyri.

A. Ioannidou, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B1, 226, cf. Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 265 site 86.

A Late Hellenistic grave was found in the Chatzidourou field, situated in the Kazi locality in the suburb of Pyri.

E. Touloupa – S. Symeonoglou, *ADelt* 20, 1965, B2, 239.

The upper part of a grave stele dating to the middle of the 4th century BC was found on Agiou Athanasiou Street, in the locality of 'Foros' Pyriou. It bears the epitaph of Kleonymos, dating to the second half of the 2nd century BC.

*SEG* LVI 543; V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B1, 392.

A looted tomb, dating to the Classical (?), Hellenistic (?) or Roman (?) periods, was revealed in the Roupaka plot in the Pyri locality.

Kountouri, *Νεκροταφεία*, 687 no. 24.

Two tombs dating to the Hellenistic (?) and/or Roman (?) periods were revealed in the K. Skouma plot, located at Pyri.

Kountouri, *Νεκροταφεία*, 687 no. 25.

Two Late Hellenistic cist-graves were revealed to the W of the suburb of Pyri, S of the old Thebes-Levadeia National Highway.

Charami, *Νεκροταφεία των Θηβών*, 279 no. 27 (figs. 3-5).

3. The so-called **'North Cemetery'**, in use from the Classical to the Late Hellenistic periods, was brought to light in the Kanapitsa locality, situated 2 km N of the modern railway station (6:2A).

Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 87, fig. 3.1, site 59; Charami, *Νεκροταφεία των Θηβών*, 285 no. 45 (with previous bibliography).

A bronze coin of Augustus' time was found in a Macedonian-type tomb revealed in the Adrianou plot, situated at the site 'Dyo Litharia' or 'Dyo Adelfia' in the Kanapitsa locality.

E. Mazonaki – N. Pharaklas, *AEphem* 1967, Chron. 15-19; Kountouri, *Νεκροταφεία*, 686-687 no. 20; Charami, *Νεκροταφεία των Θηβών*, 285-286 no. 46.

4. Late Hellenistic graves were discovered in the Kolonaki locality; they belonged to the so-called **'South Cemetery'**, which was situated immediately outside the southern city walls (6:2C).

A. Keramopoulos, *Prakt* 1910, 156; cf. V. Aravantinos, in *AEThSEII*.1, 747 fig. 3.

A Roman grave was discovered in the area of the extended Mycenaean cemetery, which was located on Kolonaki Hill, to the S of the Kadmeia.

Charami, *Νεκροταφεία των Θηβών*, 286 no. 47.

Three pit graves dating to the late 2nd/early 1st century BC were found at Kithaironos Street in the Kolonaki locality. Settlement evidently contracted at this time, and the area was used for burials.

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B1, 390-391; Kountouri, *Νεκροταφεία*, 691-692 no. 43.

A Roman cist-grave, and a water pipe (probably Roman) associated with a Mycenaean aqueduct were found in the vicinity of the church of Agios Nikolaos.

N. Pappadakis, *Prakt* 1911, 141; Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 296 site 215; Kountouri, *Νεκροταφεία*, 690 no. 37 in fig.2; Charami, *Νεκροταφεία των Θηβών*, 286 no. 48.

5. A new cemetery may have been established in the **southeastern part of Thebes** during the Hellenistic period.

Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 152.

6. A Roman tombstone (*IG* VII 2693) was found in or near the southern suburb of modern Thebes called

**Tachi (6:2D).** This suburb is identified with ancient Potniai mentioned in the ancient literary sources (Str. 9.2.24; Paus. 9.8.2; Ael. *NA* 15.25.9), cf. A. Papadaki, in *EpētBoiotMel* III.1, 357-369. According to Fossey (*Topography and Population*, 209), the tombstone could easily have travelled from a Theban cemetery. In contrast, Farinetti (*Boeotian Landscapes*, 366 no. 18) suggests that there could have been a Roman cemetery nearby, since the area has yielded evidence for Classical-Hellenistic and most probably earlier cemeteries.

#### *Isolated Roman burials around the Kadmeia*

Three tile-roofed Roman tombs were discovered 50 m S of the Thebes Railway, to the N of the modern suburb of **Agiōi Theodoroi (6:4B)**.

A.D. Keramopoulos, *AEphem* 1910, 246-248; Kountouri, *Νεκροταφεία*, 686 no. 18; Charami, *Νεκροταφεία των Θηβών*, 275 no. 9 (fig. 6).

A Roman cist-grave was investigated near the 'Spring of Dirce' (modern Paraporti) to the W of Kadmeia.

*BCH* 45, 1921, 516; Kountouri, *Νεκροταφεία*, 696 no. 38 in fig. 2; Charami, *Νεκροταφεία των Θηβών*, 275 no. 12 (fig. 6).

A Roman rock-cut tomb was found in the Ninou plot situated in the Evraika Mnimata locality.

Kountouri, *Νεκροταφεία*, 690 no. 34 in fig. 2; Charami, *Νεκροταφεία των Θηβών*, 276 no. 17 (fig. 6).

Three Roman cist-graves were found in the Toutouza plot (Agiou Athanasiou Street), located to the N of Kadmeia. One of them contained a bronze bathtub in second use, which covered the deceased. The bathtub is exhibited in the Thebes Museum (stand 101).

Kountouri, *Νεκροταφεία*, 688 no. 26; Charami, *Νεκροταφεία των Θηβών*, 277 no. 20 (fig. 6).

A Roman marble sarcophagus was found in the church of Agios Loukas, located to the SE of the Kadmeia. It bears inscriptions (*IG VII* 1543-1524) that can be dated to the 4th century AD and attest the second use of the monument. According to local tradition, the sarcophagus belonged to the Evangelist Luke.

Leake, *Travels*, 223, pl. IX no. 40; P. Le Bas – S. Reinach, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* (1888), 34ff., pl. 36a; P. Lazaridis, *ADelt* 16, 1950, 154 no. 7; N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B1, 252; Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, 257 site 54; G. Koch – H. Sichtermann, *Römische*

*Sarkophage, Handbuch der Archäologie* (1982) 359, 452, 474; Bonanno Aravantinos, *Σαρχοφάγοι*, 318-319, fig. 7.

Roman burials were uncovered in the plot of the church of Agiōi Nikolaos and Roufos (Agiou Nikolaou Street) in the Kadmeia.

C. Koilakou, *ADelt* 48, 1993, B1, 78-79, 80 fig. 3 no. 2.

Part of an Attic marble sarcophagus depicting the "Ransom of Hector" was found at Thebes (now in the Thebes Museum); it dates from the end of the 2nd century AD.

Bonanno Aravantinos, *Σαρχοφάγοι*, 317, fig. 6; Bonanno Aravantinos, *Scultura*, 245; Aravantinos, *Museum of Thebes*, 352.

Part of a Roman sarcophagus depicting an Amazonomachy battle scene was found near the church of Agiōs Georgios.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 417 no. 197; Bonanno Aravantinos, *Σαρχοφάγοι*, 317.

A number of Roman grave reliefs in second use were found at Thebes, cf. Körte, *Sculpturen*, 332 no. 34, 333 no. 36, 335 no. 38, 337 no. 43, 338 no. 44, 340 no. 49, 341-342 no. 53, 347-348 nos 62-66, 351-353 nos 75-77, 356 no. 83, 357-358 nos 85-86, 359 no. 88; inscribed grave altars with representation of a horseman hero: 360-361 nos 93-94; grave stele with representation of a horseman hero: 370 no. 121, 373-374 no. 129; votive reliefs in honor of dead men elevated to the status of hero: 379-380 no. 142.

A grave relief in the form of a naiskos dating to the second or third decade of the 2nd century AD was found. Aravantinos, *Museum of Thebes*, 336 and 351.

A grave stele dating to the second half of the 1st century BC was found on the Trikalitis plot, located at the lower town of Thebes. Preserved on one side is a painted bust of a youth and the inscription ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΧΑΙΠΕ engraved on the carved border of the stele. On the reverse, in a similar border, is the inscription ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ. It seems that the stele was reused for another member of the family, presumably a namesake.

Aravantinos, *Museum of Thebes*, 306-307, 321.

A Late Roman epitaph of the hieraphoros of Isis (Neikaro) was found (*IG VII* 2681 = *SEG XXXI* 508).

The epitaph of Perigenes, dating to *ca.* 150-100 BC, was found (*SEG XLIX 530*).

#### *Other findings from Thebes*

A marble female bust of a priestess dating to 150-160 AD (in the Thebes Museum).

Aravantinos, *Museum of Thebes*, 351.

A dedication to the Theoi Sevastoi and others, dating to the 1st-2nd centuries AD.

*SEG XXXI 505*; Schachter, *Cults I*, 210-211.

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**THESPIAI (Thespies / Erimokastron) – ΘΕΣΠΙΑΙ**  
(Θεσπιές / Ερημόκαστρον) 1:4C/5:2C  
Aliartos - Thespies Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Scyl. 59.4; D. XVI. 28.6; X. *HG* 5.4.10; Ath. 13.561e;  
Str. 9.2.25; Paus. 9.26.6; Plb. 27.1; Liv. 42.43; Ptol. *Geog.*  
3.14.19; Eust. 1.405.26; St.Byz. 706.15.

Inscriptions: *IG VII* 1719-2222; N.G. Pappadakis, *ADelt*  
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Coins: Thespiat issued its own bronze coinage between  
146 and 27 BC. Imperial coinage is known for Domitian  
(81-96 AD), cf. Head, *Boeotian Coinage*, 8, 94, 99; Head,  
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168-183, esp. 173; see also Imhoof-Blumer, *Münzkunde*,  
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The ancient city of Thespiat was situated to the south  
of the modern village of Thespies (formerly Erimokas-  
tron) and **Leontari**, at the eastern foot of Mt. Helikon  
and on the right bank of the Thespios River (modern  
Kanavaris).

The area under its control –the so-called ἡ Θεσπιῶν γῆ  
(Th. 4.76.3) or just ἡ Θεσπιῶν (X. *HG* 6.4.4) or ἡ τῶν Θε-  
σπιῶν χώρα (X. *HG* 5.4.42)– included the ancient cities  
or villages of **Askra**, **Eutresis**, Keressos, **Thisbe**, the  
area called Donakon, the sanctuary of the Muses at the  
Valley of the Muses (named after them), the harbors of  
**Siphai** or **Tipha**, **Kreusis** and **Chorsiai** on the Gulf of  
Corinth, as well as the modern villages of Askri, **Ellopiat**,  
**Kroniza**, **Leuktra** and **Tatiza**. For the boundaries of the  
Thespiat *chora* see A. Schachter, in *Montagne des Muses*,  
99-126, esp. 103-105; I. Pernin, in *Philologos Dionysios*,  
283-314 and Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 155-156.

### *Thespiat and Rome*

Thespiat had good relations with the Romans and en-  
joyed special treatment because it was rather favourable  
to Rome in the war against the Macedonian King  
Perseus (Third Macedonian War, 171-168 BC, cf. Plb.  
27.1.1) and it stood clearly against the King of Pontus,  
Mithridates in the First Mithridatic War (89-85 BC).  
Thespiat was, in fact, the only Boeotian city not to go  
over to Mithridates' general Archelaos (App. *Mith.* 29).  
For this reason, Archelaos besieged the city, but Q. Brae-  
tius Sura, *legatus* of the governor of Macedonia (*IThesp*  
34), raised the siege (Plu. *Sull.* 11). In gratitude for their  
safety, the Thespiats voted a gold wreath to Braetius  
and erected a statue honoring him.

A. Plassart, in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à*  
*Charles Picard l'occasion de son 65<sup>e</sup> anniversaire*, vol. II (1949)  
(= *RA* 31-32, 1949), 825-832, esp. 831-832 and Payne,  
*Aretas eneken*, 256 (List I.93).

The city of Thespiat also dedicated a statue of Sulla as  
*imperator* after his victory in Chaironeia in 86 BC (*IThesp*  
397).

Due to its pro-Roman stance in the war against Mithri-  
dates, the city was granted the status of *liberum oppidum*  
"free city" (Plin. *HN* 4.7.25).

In 27 BC, the Thespiats honored M. Licinius Crassus,  
Octavian's consular colleague, with a statue and hailed  
him as *imperator* (*IThesp* 403).

E. Schumacher, *Historia* 34, 1985, 210; H. Flower, *CLAnt*  
19, 2000, 50.

A local corps of volunteers fought under Marcus Aure-  
lius in an imperial war around 170 AD (*SEG XXXIX*  
456 = *IThesp* 37; *SEG XLII* 432; *AE* 1971, 147-150 no.  
447). It has been suggested that this contingent of Thes-  
piat citizens was recruited to fight the Kostobokoi or,  
more probably, the Germans.

A. Plassart, in *Mélanges Gustave Glotz*, vol. II (1932) 731-  
738; I. Russu, *Dacia* 3, 1959, 341-353; P. Jones, *GrRomByzSt*  
12, 1971, 45-48; A. Lazarou, in *EpetBoiotiMel* I, 291-306;  
W. Scheidel, *Historia* 39, 1990, 493-498; W.J. Chertf, in  
E.W. Kase *et al.* (eds), *The Great Isthmus Corridor Route:*  
*Explorations of the Phokis-Doris Expedition*, vol. I (1991)  
134-141, esp. 134-136.

### *Italian negotiatores*

The position of Thespiat on an important commercial  
road across Boeotia and the fertility of its countryside  
attracted Italian *negotiatores* (large-scale businessmen,  
locally referred to as Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐν Θε-  
σπιαῖς, cf. *SEG XXXII* 499. 500; *IThesp* 352 and 373)



through its port in Kreusis, making it the only Boeotian city in which such a community is attested. The major phase of settlement of Romans in Thespiiai is between the middle of the 1st century BC and 30 AD.

*IThesp* 425 (a Latin inscription which lists a series of 19 people, most of whom are Romans); J. Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénique* (1919) 67-73; H. Müller, *ZPE* 3, 1968, 197-220; C.P. Jones, *HarvStClPhil* 74, 1970, 223-255; *AE* 1973, 149 no. 495 = J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 98, 1974, 651 no. 4; Roesch, *EB*, 173-177 (cf. *SEG* XXXII 495); *SEG* LII 501; S.E. Alcock, *Graecia Capta: the Landscapes of Roman Greece* (1993) 75; C. Müller, in A.D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Organized by the Finnish Institute and the Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, Athens 7-9 September 1993* (1996) 157-166; *ead.*, in C. Müller – C. Hasenohr (eds), *Les Italiens dans le monde grec. II<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.-I<sup>er</sup> siècle ap. J.-C. Circulation, activités, intégration* (2002) 89-100; S. Zoumbaki, in *Villae Rusticae*, 52-73, esp. 59; Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespiiai*, 115-116; C. Müller, in Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespiiai*, 236-237.

It should be mentioned that Polykratides, son of Anthemion, built a gymnasium for the Roman community in Thespiiai (*IThesp* 373).

The Italian businessmen introduced Roman funerary customs at Thespiiae, as proved by a possible monumental Roman tomb found not far west of the *Kastro*, a Late Roman wall circuit.

Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespiiai*, 106, 114.

#### *Cult of the Muses / Mouseion*

Thespiiai was an important center of the cult of the Muses. According to Pausanias (9.27.5), a temple of the Muses near the agora of the town contained small images of the goddesses (for a possible location of this temple see C. Müller, in *Montagne des Muses*, 171-183). But the city's reputation was rather linked to the extra-urban sanctuary of the Muses, which reached a peak in the early imperial period.

The celebrated sanctuary of the Muses (*Μουσεῖον*) (Nikokr. *FGrH* 376F4; Philostr. *VA* 4.24.1; Paus. 9.29.5, 9.31.3; Kallistr. *Imagines* 7.1; Strab. 9.2.25) was on the slopes of Mt. Helikon, in a valley about 9 km W of ancient Thespiiai.

Wallace, *Strabo*, 103; Van Effenterre, *Les Béotiens*, 136-139. Among the structures found there was a monumental altar (G. Roux, *BCH* 78, 1954, 25-27), a theater (P. Stamatakis, *Prakt* 1882, 67; A. De Ridder, *BCH* 46, 1922,

221; Roux, *op.cit.* 36; D. Oikonomou, in R. Kolonia (ed.), *Αρχαία θέατρα της Στερεάς Ελλάδας* [2013] 63-66; Germani, *Boeotian Theatres*, 352, 354-355, 358 fig. 5) and two stoas (Roux, *op.cit.* 27-36). Though all these architectural remains date to the end of the 3rd century BC or thereabouts, cult activity can be traced back to the Archaic period (if not earlier) until late in the 4th century AD. Schachter, *Cults* II, 151, 162-163.

The Grove of the Muses was adorned with a collection of works of art, mostly statues, depicting gods, famous artists, legendary poets, wealthy locals, eminent Romans as well as Roman emperors and members of the imperial family whom the citizens of Thespiiai honored. Some of the statues are described by Pausanias (9.29.5-6, 9.30.1-4, 9.31.1-2); the existence of the others is attested by their inscribed pedestals found either incorporated into the walls of several chapels (Agia Triada, Agios Georgios, Agios Nikolaos and Agia Aikaterini) or in the excavations conducted by the French Archaeological School in the nineteenth century; all are collected by A. Plassard, *BCH* 50, 1926, 383-462; Payne, *Aretas eneken*, 258-259 (List I.96), 327-328 (List I.226), 333 (List I.245); Schörner, *Votive*, 479-487 nos 973-1005; B.A. Robinson, *JR* 125, 2012, 227-258; A.A. Tzanimis, *Η Κοιλιά των Μουσών. Το χρονικό των ερευνών και των ανασκαφών στην κοιλιά των Ελικωνιαδών Μουσών και τα ευρήματά τους* (2012); see also R. Höschele, in M.A. Harder – R.F. Regtuit – G.C. Wakker (eds), *Hellenistic Poetry in Context* (2014) 171-194.

As expected, several statue groups of the nine Muses were set up in the *temenos* in which they were worshipped. Pausanias (9.30.1) saw two Classical groups (now lost): the first was attributed to Kephisodotos ('the Elder') and the second to three sculptors, Kephisodotos (probably 'the Younger'), Strongylion and "Olympiosthenis" (correctly: Sthenis of Olynthus as argued persuasively by D. Knoepfler, in A. Kolde – A. Lukinovich – A.L. Rey (eds), *Κορυφαίω ανδρά: Mélanges offerts à André Hurst* [2005] 657-670).

Inscribed blocks from the valley suggest that there were two—if not three—other statuary groups of the Muses. One of these was erected on an ellipsoid base (approximately 10 m long) which formed part of an exhedra and bore an epigram below each Muse (*SEG* XIII 344 = *IThesp* 288-297).

W. Peek, in *Γέρας Αντωνίου Κεραμόπουλλου* (1953) 609-634; Aravantinos, *Museum of Thebes*, 349; G. Biard – Y. Kalliontzis – A. Charami, *BCH* 141, 2017, 697-752.

The epigrams are signed by the early imperial poet Honestus of Corinth, who also seems to have provided epigrams for the second series of Muses (*SEG* XIII 347), as well as for an image of Livia, wife of Augustus, who is celebrated as a “chorus mate” of the Muses (*IThesp* 424). H. Dessau, *Hermes* 47, 1912, 466-471; Peek, *op.cit.*, 631 no. 14; C.P. Jones, *ZPE* 146, 2004, 93-98, esp. 93-95. According to K. Gutzwiller (*TransactAmPhilAss* 134, 2004, 393), “the Thespians felt the need for a refurbishing of the monuments in the sacred grove during the period when the imperial family began to be honored in association with the celebration of the local festivals”.

#### *Cult of Eros*

Next to the Helikonian Muses (Hes. *Tb.1, Op.* 658; *IG VII* 1788, 1789), the deity most worshiped at Thespiai was Eros, for whom Lysippos made a bronze statue and Praxiteles a marble one (Paus. 9.27.3). Praxiteles was said to have modeled his Eros on the desire he felt for the courtesan Phryne from Thespiai (Ath. 13.590f; Paus. 1.20.1-2; Str. 9.2.25 calls her Glykera), see C. Keesling, in C.A. Faraone – L. McClure (eds), *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World* (2006) 70-71 with notes 42 and 43. The Praxitelian Eros was one of the most famous statues in the ancient world and attracted crowds of pilgrims. Under the period of Roman domination, it was the only reason to visit Thespiai (Str. 9.2.25).

Pausanias (9.27.3-5) informs us that this masterpiece was removed to Rome by Gaius, then returned to Thespiai by Claudius, and was again removed to Rome by Nero, where it was destroyed by fire in 80 AD.

D. Knoepfler (in D. Knoepfler *et al.* [eds], *Nomen Latinum. Mélanges de langue, de littérature et de civilisation latines offerts au professeur André Schneider à la occasion de son départ à la retraite* [1997] 17-39), thinks that the Praxitelian Eros was removed from Thespiai by L. Mummius in 146 BC and given to Athens, and was returned to Thespiai before 70 BC, cf. *SEG* XLVII 518.

What Pausanias saw at Thespiai was a copy of the Praxitelian Eros made by the Athenian sculptor Menodorus, set up to replace the lost original. A marble statue base found at Thespiai preserves an imperial elegiac couplet (*IThesp* 271) about Praxiteles' Eros which was probably composed for Menodorus' copy of the Praxitelian statue. The couplet was signed by the poetess Herennia Procula (ca. 70-90 AD?), who was a member of a wealthy Roman family residing at Thessalonike (*IG* X2.1 70).

*SEG* LIV 523; P. Jamot, *BCH* 15, 1891, 660; A. Plassart, *BCH* 50, 1926, 404-406; A. Corso, *Praxiteles. Fonti epigra-*

*fiche e letterarie: vita e opera*, vol. I (1988) 27, 68; *id.*, *BICS* 42, 1997-1998, 63-91; K. Gutzwiller, *TransactAmPhilAss* 134, 2004, 383-418; *AE* 2004, 483 no. 1366.

According to an inscription (*IThesp* 269 = *IG VII* 1830), another statue of Eros was dedicated by Phileinos son of Mondon late in the 1st century AD or early in the 2nd, while he paid for extensive repairs to the sanctuary of Eros. Emperor Hadrian visited Thespiai during his first Greek tour in 124-125 AD after a successful Imperial hunt on Helikon; there he made an offering to Eros, inscribing it with a poem of his own composition (*IThesp* 270 = *IG VII* 1828) (now in the Epigraphic Museum, Athens, EM 11536). This metrical dedication expressed Hadrian's devotion to hunting—an activity associated with Eros—and alluded to his beloved Antinoos. *SEG* XLV 455; LIII 477; S.A. Koumanoudis, *AEphem* 1869, 336 no. 408; W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus* (1907) 157-158; A. Birley, *Hadrian: the Restless Emperor* (1997) 184-185; D. Knoepfler, *La patrie de Narcisse. Un héros mythique enraciné dans le sol et dans l'histoire d'une cité grecque* (2010) 62-65; *Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 193-195.

In two other inscriptions from Thespiai, Hadrian is called *εὐεργέτης καὶ κτίστης* (*IG VII* 1841 = *IThesp* 436) or *σωτήρ καὶ κτίστης* (*IG VII* 1840 = *IThesp* 435), cf. Camia, *Theoi Sebastoi*, 71.

*IThesp* 433, 434 and 437 are also dedications of statues of Hadrian.

#### *The Mouseia and the Erotideia*

The Thespians celebrated a festival of panhellenic appeal in honor of Eros, called the *Erotideia* (Ath. 13.561e; Scholia *ad* Pi.O. 7,154c; Ath. 13.561e) in association with an earlier established musical festival called the *Mouseia*, which was penteteric (occurring every fifth year) and honored the Muses of nearby Mt. Helikon (Paus. 9.31.3).

Feyel, *Contribution*, 88-132; A. Schachter, *NumChron* 1961, 67-70; A.G. Gossage, *BSA* 70, 1975, 115-134; Schachter, *Cults* II, 163-166; D. Knoepfler, in *Montagne des Muses*, 141-167; B. Le Guen, *Les associations de Technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique*, vol. I (2001) 141-151 nos 22-23; S. Aneziri, *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten im Kontext der hellenistischen Gesellschaft: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte, Organisation und Wirkung der hellenistischen Technitenvereine* (Historia Einzelschriften 163) (2003) 412-16 nos Gb1-Gb8; J.-Y. Strasser, *BCH* 127, 2003, 271-272; G. Argoud, in *EpetBoiotMel* IV.1, 529-546, esp. 535-539;

W. Slater, in B. Le Guen (ed.), *L'argent dans les concours du monde grec. Actes du colloque international, Saint-Denis et Paris, 5-6 décembre 2008* (2010) 249-281, esp. 272-276; A. Schachter, in D. Castaldo – F.G. Giannachi – A. Manieri (eds), *Poesia, musica e agoni nella Grecia antica: Atti del iv convegno internazionale di MOIΣA = Rudiae* 22-23, 2010-2011, 29-61(= Schachter, *Antiquity*, 344-371).

The *Erotideia* included athletic agons (L. Robert, *Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques*, vol. II [1946] 5-14; Th.F. Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics* [2002] 264-5; G. Argoud, in *EpetBoiotMel* IV.1, 529-546, esp. 539), though some scholars support the view that they also had a musical section (cf. *RE* VI [1909] 548 s.v. Ἐρωτίδια [Stengel]; L. Moretti, *Athenaeum* 59, 1981, 74; Schachter, *Cults* II, 174; Manieri, *Agoni*, 344-345).

The *Mouseia* consisted of thymelic and dramatic contests, as is clear from the catalogues of victors. According to C. Müller in Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespiiai*, 233, the *Mouseia* were still celebrated as a musical festival after the dissolution of the Boeotian League (171 BC).

*IG* VII 1761 = *SEG* XLV 453; *SEG* XXXI 514; XXXVI 469-476; XXVI 616; LII 511; *IThesp* 168; *IThesp* 177-180; *IG* VII 1773, 1776; P. Jamot, *BCH* 19, 1895, 336-337 no. 11 and 345-369 no. 18; Schachter, *Cults* II, 167-179; Fresh light, 287-292 no. 4.

Of note are contests of poems and praises to the Roman emperors, the imperial household and the Muses. For example, enkomia were offered at a celebration of the *Mouseia* to the Muses, to the younger Titus Statilius Taurus and to his brother-in-law, Marcus Valerius Messala Messallinus and to Julia Augusta (that is, the empress Livia, the mother of Tiberius) as Mnemosyne, who was thus assimilated to a Classical deity.

*IThesp* 174 (no. 2); *SEG* XXXVI 478; T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B1, 222 no. 16 = *AE* 1974, 160 no. 602; J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 98, 1974, 649 no. 3 = *AE* 1973, 148-149 no. 494.

The epithets *Rbomaia* and *Kaisareia* were also given to the *Erotideia*, and *Sebasteia* to the *Mouseia*. At least twice, the *Mouseia* were celebrated with the additional name of the *Sebasteia* (*IThesp* 376-377), probably shortly after 14 AD.

P. Jamot, *BCH* 19, 1895, 321-374; G. Roux, *BCH* 78, 1954, 22-48; A.G. Gossage, *BSA* 70, 1975, 115-134; Schachter, *Cults* I, 219; *Cults* III, 27-28; *SEG* XXIX 452; C. Müller, in A.D. Rizakis, *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects, Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Roman Onomastics, Athens 7-9 September*

1993 (1996) 157-166, esp. 159; A. Bonnet, in G.-J. Pinault (ed.), *Musique et poésie dans l'antiquité* (2001) 53-70; Kantiréa, *Dieux*, 29, 168-169, 196; G. Argoud in *EpetBoiotMel* IV.1, 540; Manieri, *Agoni*, 313-433; Camia, *Theoi Sebastoi*, 126; F. Marchand, *Journal of Ancient History* 1 (2), 2013, 157. Both festivals continued to attract visitors and competitors from all over Greece and the East Mediterranean until the 3rd century AD and possibly later.

J.M. Fossey, in Fittschen, *Lolling*, 141-150, esp. 144-146; *Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 109-113.

Tiberius himself, then living in Rhodes, took part in a chariot race at the *Erotideia* and *Rbomaia* between 6 BC and 2 AD (see *IThesp* 188).

Many Roman athletes, who probably belonged to a Roman colony in Corinth, participated in the Thespian festivals.

L. Robert, *Hellenica: Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques*, vol. II (1946) 5-14; *IThesp* 177 = *SEG* III 335 = Aravantinos, *Museum of Thebes*, 358 (inscribed stele from Thespias with a catalogue of victors in the *Erotideia* games, 1st century BC-1st century AD).

#### *The ancient polis and its chora*

Ancient Thespias was inhabited from Neolithic to Byzantine times, though genuine urbanism dates to the Archaic period. Little pre-Classical material came from the area of ancient Thespias, leading to the hypothesis that the Classical city was built at a different location than its predecessor: a possible claimant is the area around the temple of Apollo (Archegetas?), located in the Toumboutzi locality ca. 2 km SW of the Classical and later town, as A. Schachter (in *Montagne des Muses*, 105-106) suggests. On the contrary, A.M. Snodgrass (*Opus* 6-8, 1987-1989, 57) thinks that the early city occupied the same place as the Classical one, but consisted of at least four separate nuclei, spread out over a total area of about 100 ha.

It seems that Thespias was vulnerable to attack as it did not have a proper acropolis. In case of emergency, its citizens were obliged to take refuge in a fortified post called Keressos (for Keressos' location see **ASKRA**). This happened at least twice in the city's history: once at the time of the Thessalian invasion (about the middle of the 6th century BC?) and once after the battle of Leuktra (371 BC) (Paus. 9.14.2-3; *Plu. Cam.* 19.3), see A. Schachter, in *Montagne des Muses*, 124-125 and Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespias*, 93-94.



The written sources make it evident that the Thespians had built a circuit wall at some date before the last quarter of the 5th century BC, which was destroyed by the Thebans in 423 BC (Th. 4.133.1) and was rebuilt by the Spartan King Agesilaos in 378 BC (X. *HG* 5.4.41). A section of this wall, which was actually destroyed more than once, was discovered south of the modern Kanavaris River (ancient Thespios River), confirming the validity of the literary sources.

Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespiiai*, 92, 165-171.

A later, probably Hellenistic addition to this earlier Classical city wall was revealed to the north of the Kanavaris River; it enclosed a hill at the southern end of the modern village of Thespies, which was used as the acropolis of the ancient *polis*, presumably after 371 BC (last recorded use of the refuge of Keressos).

Slapšak, *Thespieae*, 79 with fig. 92; Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespiiai*, 32 fig. 3.21, 61 fig. 3.39, 92-94.

A section of wall, oriented north-south, was found to the northwest of the ancient city of Thespiiai. This location produced (unstratified) sherds of Late Hellenistic to Roman date.

Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespiiai*, 198.

Part of the city wall was located, dated to the Hellenistic-Roman times.

A. Charami, *Αρχαίες Θεσπιές... μια ιστορία θεών και ανθρώπων / Ancient Thespieae... a story of Gods and Humans* (2014) 14-15 with fig. 5.

A large depression on the south slope of the acropolis has been identified as the ancient urban theater of Thespiiai, mentioned by Pausanias (9.27.5).

Sear, *Roman Theatres*, 409 (with further bibliography); J.L. Bintliff – B. Slapšak, *Pharos* 14, 2006, 25-26 with fig. 12; J.L. Bintliff *et al.*, *Pharos* 15, 2007, 28; B. Slapšak, *Teiresias* 37.2, 2007, 17-20; J.L. Bintliff *et al.*, *Pharos* 17.2, 2009-2010, 22; Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespiiai*, 174-182.

A compact stone structure of the type of a large-sized pedestal was discovered; it dates to the Roman period.

A. Charami, *Αρχαίες Θεσπιές... μια ιστορία θεών και ανθρώπων / Ancient Thespieae... a story of Gods and Humans* (2014) 14-15 with fig. 6.

Settlement remains were uncovered dating to the late Hellenistic-Roman period.

A. Charami, *op. cit.*, 14-15 with fig. 7.

Settlement remains dating from Late Hellenistic to Roman times were revealed at location #363, situated south of the Kanavaris River.

Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespiiai*, 186, 198.

It has been suggested that the civic center, the *agora*, of the ancient city lay within the *Kastro*.

J.L. Bintliff, *Teiresias* 38.2, 2008, 2; Slapšak, *Thespieae*, 94; Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespiiai*, 191-192, 195.

An investigation at the municipal pumping-station in the *Kastro* brought to light both a Late Roman construction and an earlier building dating probably to the Early Roman period.

Slapšak, *Thespieae*, 89-94; Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespiiai*, 190-191.

Roman pottery was found within the *Kastro* and immediately to its east.

Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespiiai*, 192.

Late Roman potsherds were noted on Palaiolefka Hill, situated SW of Thespiiai.

Slapšak, *Thespieae*, 50-51, with figs. 51-53.

Mortar-bound masonry of Roman date and architectural members were noted on the Rachi Varvaras ridge, situated S of Thespiiai; it may be interpreted as a higher-status rural habitation site of the Roman / Late Roman period.

Slapšak, *Thespieae*, 43 no. 34, 63 with fig. 71.

Surface surveys conducted by the Cambridge / Bradford / Durham Boeotian Expedition (co-directed by A.M. Snodgrass and J.L. Bintliff) and by the Leiden-Ljubljana Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project (co-directed by J.L. Bintliff and B. Slapšak) have shown that Thespiar's size was 57 *ha* in the late Classical period, *versus* 34 *ha* from Late Hellenistic times to the end of Middle Imperial Roman period (*ca.* 150/100 BC to 400 AD).

Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespiiai*, 58, 115 and 389 with table 15.1; see also J.L. Bintliff, in *Montagne des Muses*, 193-210 esp. 198; J.L. Bintliff – P. Howard, *Pharos* 7, 1999, 51; J.L. Bintliff, in L. de Ligt – E.A. Hemelrijk – H.W. Singor (eds), *Roman Rule and Civic Life: Local and Regional Perspectives. Proceedings of the Fourth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, c. 200 B.C.-A.D. 476)*, Leiden, June 25-28, 2003 (Impact of Empire 4) (2004) 199-229, esp. 211-213, 225 fig. 9, 226 fig. 10, 227 fig. 11; J.L. Bintliff *et al.*, *Pharos* 15, 2007, 28.

Though the urban area shrank during Late Hellenistic to mid-Roman times (*ca.* 200 BC- 400 AD), districts in the *chora* or countryside were little affected by the general trend, “in accordance with Strabo’s statement (9.2.25) that Tanagra and Thespiiai stood out as relatively prosperous in his time in comparison with the rest of Boeo-



tia”, as Farinetti (*Boeotian Landscapes*, 161) points out. Intensive surface surveys in the *chora* to the S of ancient Thespiiai turned up traces of Early Roman (LSE 5, THS 17) and Roman (THS 4) occupation, two Hellenistic-Early Roman farms (LSE 1, LSE 6), a Roman farm/villa and a Late Roman village/villa (LSE 7), a Roman farm cluster (THS 2 + THS 16) and a Late Roman estate (THS 2), two Late Roman villages/estates (THS 3, THS 4), a Hellenistic-Roman farm/villa (THS 12) and three Late Roman villas (THS 12, THS 13, THS 14). These remains suggest that landholding in Thespiiai was concentrated in the hands of the wealthier class.

Bintliff *et al.*, *Testing*, 43-46, 53-60, 62-68, 71-77, 80-84, 155-160, 172, 174, 188-194, 221-222, 237, 239-240, 249-253, 258-266, 274-277, 283-284, 289-292, 299-304, 308-312; Slapšak, *Thespiiae*, 5 with fig. 1, 48 fig. 49, 49 fig. 50, 63, 69; Vlachogianni, *Αρχαολογία*, 515 nos 17-20; Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespiiai*, 115.

#### Movable finds

Numerous sculptural works and inscriptions dating to the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods were discovered at the site and its immediate area. Many of them were built into the aforementioned Late Antique fortification or *Kastro* and came to light when the wall was dismantled by the French epigraphist P. Jamot at the end of the nineteenth century (cf. Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespiiai*, 15-16):

a) A headless marble draped female statue of a Muse (Erato?), dating to the third quarter of the 2nd century BC.

Th. Homolle, *BCH* 15, 1891, 660; A. De Ridder, *BCH* 46, 1922, 240 no. 46, pl. XV; I. Leventi, in *AETHSE* II.1, 769-778.

b) A headless marble statue of Asklepios from the Askepieion at Thespiiai (2nd century AD), and two headless marble portrait statues (first half of the 2nd century AD).

A. De Ridder, *BCH* 46, 1922, 223-224 no. 11, fig. 3, 240-241 no. 47, fig. 20, 241-242 no. 48, pl. XVI; Aravantinos, *Museum of Thebes*, 342 and 347.

c) A Roman male statuette in Egyptian style. Körte, *Sculpturen*, 420 no. 206.

d) An inscription bearing a dedication of L. Mummius (*IG* VII 1808 = *IThesp* 396).

A.D. Keramopoulos, *ADelt* 13, 1930-1931, 105-118, esp. 110.

The pedestal of a statue of Julia, Augustus’ daughter, who was widely commemorated at Thespiiai (*AE* 1928,

nos 49-50), was discovered at the chapel of Agia Triada. P. Jamot, *BCH* 26, 1902, 153-155, no. 4.

Two fragments of a statue base, bearing a dedicatory epigram to Mnemosyne and the Muses, were also found at the chapel of Agia Triada; it dates to the late 1st century BC (*SEG* LIII 476).

A large statuary group depicting Julia at the center flanked by her children Lucius and Gaius, with Livia at the right and Agrippa holding Agrippina the elder at the left was set up in the sanctuary of the Muses between 17 and 12 BC (*IThesp* 422-423).

A. Plassart, *BCH* 50, 1926, 447-451; C.B. Rose, *AJA* 94, 1990, 465; C.B. Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period* (1997) 13-14, 149-150. A dedication of a statue of Cornelia, daughter of (Cornelius) Sisenna dating shortly after 31 BC was found. *IG* VII 1854 = *IThesp* 413 = *SEG* XXXIX 457; *AE* 1989, 209 no. 668.

A dedication to P. Memmius Regulus dating to the mid-1st century AD (*SEG* XL 414) was discovered.

An honorary inscription for Athanias, dating to around 50-100 AD (*SEG* XXXVI 479) was found.

An honorary decree for Sostratos, dating to the 1st century BC/1st century AD (*SEG* XLIV 419) was found.

A dedication by polemarchs and priests of a *stoa* and (something connected with the *bouleuterion*?) to the Theoi Sebastoi (*SEG* XXXI 521 = *IThesp* 426) was found. This provides firm epigraphic evidence for the worship of the Roman emperors at Thespiiai.

Schachter, *Cult* I, 212 and note 3.

An honorary inscription for the proconsul of Achaia Cervonius dating to 325-337 (?) AD was found.

*IG* VII 1855 = *IThesp* 419 = *SEG* XXXVI 480; Schachter, *Cults* II, 162-163.

*IThesp* 421 refers to the bronze statue of Augustus which stood in the *Mouseion*.

A base (*IThesp* 448-450) that was probably originally dedicated to the Muses was reused, first for Constantine, then for his sons, and finally for Valentinian and Valens. An honorary epigram for Quadratus, dating to the 3rd century AD, was found.

*IG* VII 1885 = *IThesp* 366 = *SEG* XXX 484.

A dedication to the hero Prokles (?), dating to the Roman period was found.

*IG* VII 1827 = *SEG* XLIV 422 = *IThesp* 268.

An inscription concerning a monument of the Homonoia of Athens and Thespiiai dating to the 2nd century AD was found.

IG VII 1784 = *IThesp* 331; *SEG* XLVI 544.

A catalogue of victories of the athlete Neikogenes dating to the 1st century AD was found.

IG VII 1856 = *IThesp* 210; *SEG* LIII 474.

A Herm with the figure of Herakles dating to the 1st century BC was found.

Karouzos, *Μουσείο Θήβας*, 47 no. 160; Aravantinos, *Museum of Thebes*, 317.

An epigram on a Herm of Herakles dating to the 1st century BC was found (*SEG* XXXI 519).

A list of benefactors of the upper gymnasium dating to the 1st century AD was found.

IG VII 1777 = *IThesp* 136; *SEG* XLVII 579.

An honorific pedestal of the emperor Valentinian (*IThesp* 452) was transferred during the Byzantine period from Thespiiai to Thebes, where it was found (now in the Thebes Museum).

*BCH* 45, 1921, 515; Y. Kalliontzis, *Horos* 22-25, 2010-2013, 309-326, esp. 319-320 no. 3; *Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 194-195 pl. 10.

A small enclosure of the Roman period was found, containing the headless statue of an orator. According to Farinetti, this find “could refer either to the Roman city settlement site or, most probably, to a burial area (a probable urban high-class cemetery) nearby, with statue and funeral peribolos”.

G. Roux, *BCH* 77, 1953, 219; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 337.

From the environs of Thespiiai originate nine little *cippi* (or *horoi* for a sanctuary?, so Roesch) bearing the inscription *Θεῶν Ταύρου*, dating to the 1st century BC or AD (*IThesp* 72-80). It seems likely that the cult of the god Tauros was linked to the Roman senatorial family of the Statilii Tauri—particularly with Titus Statilius Taurus (*cos. suff.* 37 BC, *ord.* II 26 BC), who was commander of Octavian’s land forces at Actium, or (less likely) with one of two brothers, Titus Statilius Taurus (*cos.* 11 AD) and Sisenna Statilius Taurus (*cos.* 16 AD)—, who were active at Thespiiai. This is the only cult for a Roman magistrate attested so far in Boeotia.

IG VII 1787; *SEG* XXXI 514; A. Plassart, *BCH* 50, 1926, 393.9-12; P. Lazaridis, *ADelt* 28, 1973, B1, 287; L. Moretti, *Athenaeum* 59, 1981, 71-77, esp. 75-77; Roesch, *EB*, 181 and note 180; M. Kajava, *ZPE* 79, 1989, 139-149; A. Schachter, *Teiresias Suppl.* 3 (1990) 103-109 (= Schachter, *Antiquity*, 245-252, esp. 250); Schachter, *Cults* III, 53-55; C. Müller, in C. Müller – C. Hasenohr (eds), *Les Italiens dans le monde grec. II<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.-I<sup>er</sup> siècle ap. J.-C. Circulation, activités, intégration* (2002) 96; Slapšak, *Thespiiae*,

33 no. 24; G. Thériault, *ZPE* 168, 2009, 183-186; J.L. Bintliff *et al.*, *Pharos* 17.2, 2009-2010, 22; B.A. Robinson, *JRA* 25, 2012, 238 with note 71; F. Marchand, *Journal of Ancient History* 1(2), 2013, 145-169; D. Knoepfler, *REG* 127, 2014, 450 no. 199.

A bilingual building inscription of the Emperor Domitian, dating either to 86 or 87 AD, was found near the Makri Ekklesia, to the W by the Barmpakas spring.

Slapšak, *Thespiiae*, 18-19; Fresh light, 292-294 no. 5; Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespiiai*, 107.

Fragments of a small clay vessel (official liquid measure) bearing an agoranomos inscription were found at Kastro. Slapšak, *Thespiiae*, 94 with fig. 117; Fresh light, 295-299 no. 6.

Part of a Roman decree stele was found.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B1, 221; *AE* 1974, 160 no. 601.

A dedication of a stoa to Rome and the imperial family, dating to the Julio-Claudian period after or during Tiberius’ reign (*SEG* XXXI 520), was found.

An honorary inscription of a cult association for P. Cornelius Ouetranos, dating to the 1st/2nd centuries AD, was found (*SEG* LIV 521).

Based on thirty-three honorary inscriptions that for the most part he discovered at Thespiiai, P. Jamot (*BCH* 26, 1902, 291-321) reconstructs the genealogy of two prominent families, the descendants of Polykratides and Mondon, during the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. A headless statue seems to have belonged to the base with an inscription in honor of Mnasippos, grandson of Polykratides.

Schachter (*Cults* I, 194 [with bibliography]) traces the involvement of a leading Thespian family with the cult of Dionysos over several centuries (from Hellenistic to Roman imperial times).

#### *Cemeteries*

Three extramural cemeteries in use from the Geometric until the Late Roman periods were noted at the **NE sector**, the **E sector** and the **SE sector**, respectively.

Slapšak, *Thespiiae*, 25 fig. 19, 31, 34 and 39; cf. Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespiiai*, 61 fig. 3.39.

Two urban cemeteries in use from the Archaic until the Late Roman periods were found at the **W sector** and the **NW sector** of the city, respectively.

Slapšak, *Thespiiae*, 26, 49.

An Early Roman rock-cut grave, known as Spilia, was located at the western outskirts of the ancient city; it belonged to the NW cemetery of the ancient town.

Slapšak, *Thespieae*, 56-58; Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespieai*, 183, 197.

Two cist-graves containing multiple burials of adults were located at the west cemeteries of ancient Thespieae. They dated to the 4th century BC but were reused in Roman times.

D. Oikonomou, in *Αρχαίες Θεσπιές... μια ιστορία θεών και ανθρώπων / Ancient Thespieae... a story of Gods and Humans* (2014) 24-25; Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespieai*, 183, 197.

Two tile-graves probably of Roman date were discovered at the southern part of the modern village of Thespies. Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespieai*, 183.

A group of Roman or Late Roman child-burials were found at location #356-A41-357, situated south of the Kanavaris River.

Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespieai*, 185-186, 196 fig. 4.42, 197. A Roman rectangular chamber tomb was discovered within the *Kastro* circuit.

Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespieai*, 147-148.

#### *Sarcophagi / Tombstones*

Fragments of a marble Attic sarcophagus from Thespieai, decorated with episodes from the myth of Iphigenia at Tauris, were found (now in the Thebes Museum); it dates to the last decades of the 2nd century AD.

P. Jamot, *BCH* 15, 1891, 660; A. De Ridder, *BCH* 46, 1922, 283-285 no. 136; M. Bonanno Aravantinos, in G. Koch (ed.), *Grabeskunst der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1993) 67-76; Aravantinos, *Museum of Thebes*, 356-357; Bonanno Aravantinos, *Σαρχοφάγοι*, 313-314, figs. 1-3.

A Roman sarcophagus depicting Herakles was built into the walls of the ancient acropolis.

P. Jamot, *BCH* 18, 1894, 201-215; A. De Ridder, *BCH* 46, 1922, 283 no. 135; M. Bonanno Aravantinos, in *EpetBoiot/Mel* I.1, 312 note 15 (with further bibliography), 313.

A Classical funerary relief bearing a Roman inscription was used to repair the paving of a road. It was revealed to the N of the marble Lion of Thespieai which marked the site of the *polyandron* erected for the Thespians who fell at the battle of Delion in 424 BC (Th. 4.96.3, 133.1). P. Stamatakis, *Prakt* 1882, 73-74; W.R. Lethaby, *JHS* 38, 1918, 39-44; C. Vermeule, *AJA* 72, 1968, 95-101 (seated lion from Thespieai); D.U. Schilardi, *The Thespian Polyandron: the Excavations and Finds from a Thespian State Burial* (PhD, University of Princeton, 1977); Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 137; Slapšak, *Thespieae*, 34 with fig. 32.

A Classical funerary relief, bearing an inscription of the

1st century BC, was found at *Kastro* (*SEG XXXI* 523). A bilingual funerary inscription (*IThesp* 1273), dating probably to the 1st century BC, was found.

Y. Kalliontzis, *Horos* 22-25, 2010-2013, 309-326, esp. 316-317 no. 6; cf. D. Knoepfler, *Bulletin épigraphique* 2014, no. 188.

An inscribed grave stele of Roman date was discovered. E. Touloupa, *ADelt* 19, 1964, B2, 203.

An inscribed funerary cube (*cippus*) of the 4th century BC was found at the site. In the 1st or 2nd century AD, it was reused as a statue base, bearing an honorary inscription of a cult association for an otherwise unknown P. Cornelius Vetranus.

*AE* 2004, 483-484 no. 1367; *SEG LIII* 475 and 479.

A reused Roman grave stele covered the roof of a cist-grave of the 5th-6th century AD. The stele bore the name of the dead in both Latin and Greek characters.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 25, 1970, B1, 228.

Funerary reliefs of Roman date were found.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 349 no. 69 and 353 no. 79.

The epitaph of Eytychianos was found, dating to the 2nd – 3rd centuries AD (*IG VII* 1886 = *SEG XXXVI* 488).

The epitaph of Zofotheios was found, dating to the late Roman imperial period (*IG VII* 2183 = *SEG XLV* 457). A major Roman funerary monument was discovered within the fortified area.

Bintliff *et al.*, *City of Thespieai*, 95.

The following Roman funerary cubes and stelai with representation of a horseman hero were found at the site: Körte, *Sculpturen*, 362-363 nos 97-100, 371 no. 123; Machaira, *Ἡρώας ἰππέας*, 859 no. 1, 872 fig. 1 (= *IG VII* 2172); 860 no. 6, 874 fig. 6 (= E. Touloupa – S. Symeonoglou, *ADelt* 20, 1965, B2, 243, pl. 291a); 860 no. 6a, 875 fig. 6a (= *IG VII* 2123 = *IThesp* 1174); 861 no. 7, 876 fig. 7; 861 no. 8, 876 fig. 8; 862 no. 11, 878 fig. 11; 864 no. 17, 881 fig. 17; 867 no. 27, 886 fig. 27 (= *IG VII* 2141 = *IThesp* 1188; 867-868 no. 29, 887 fig. 29; 868 no. 30, 888 fig. 30 (= *LIMC VI*, 1992, s.v. Heros equitans, no. 330); 870 no. 36, 891 fig. 36 (= T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 25, 1970, B1, 230 no. 8 = *IThesp* 1109); 870 no. 37, 891 fig. 37 (= A. De Ridder, *BCH* 46, 1922, 268 no. 101); 871 no. 39, 892 fig. 39.

The following grave stelai were found in the *Kastro* locality, in the center of the low-lying ancient town (see Slapšak, *Thespieae*, 6 fig. 2):

An inscribed funerary relief dating to the second half



of the 5th century BC; it was reused and re-inscribed in the 1st century BC. A Late Roman inscribed tomb altar with representation of a horseman hero leaning on an altar was found at the same site (now in the Thebes Museum).

SEG XXII 409; I. Threpsiadis, *ADelt* 16, 1960, B, 147-148, figs. 125 b and 126 b; J. Robert – L. Robert, *BE* 1963, no. 113; G. Daux, *BCH* 81, 1965, 740-741, fig. 1; Machaira, Ἡρώας ἱππέας, 862 no. 11, 878 fig. 11.

An Early Hellenistic grave stele, which was inscribed when it was reused in the 2nd century AD (epitaph of Q. Aelius Evangelos) (*SEG* LVI 550).

The Roman epitaphs of Elpis and Sosikratis.

C. Piteros, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B1, 171 nos 3 and 4; *SEG* XLII 434.

An inscribed, probably reused, funerary stele, dating to the 1st century AD.

E. Vlachogianni, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B1, 406.

Inscribed grave colonnettes (*keioniskoi*) from Thespiiai, dating to the Roman period, are exhibited in the new Archaeological Museum of Thebes (stand 110).

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**THISBE / THISBAI (Thisvi /Kakosi)** – ΘΙΣΒΗ / ΘΙΣΒΑΙ (Θίσβη / Κακόσι) **1:3C/5:2D**  
Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Hom. *Il.* 2.502; X. *HG* 6.4.3; Plb. 27.5.3; D.H. *Comp.* 16.107; Str. 1.2.3, 7.3.6, 9.2.27; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.19; Paus. 9.32.2, 10.37.2; Liv. 42.46.7, 42.63.12; Nonn. *D.* 6.347, 351, 355, 12.84, 13.61; Eust. 1.409.30; St.Byz. 314.15; Suid. θ 388.

Inscriptions: *IG VII* 2223-2368, 2870, 3563; N.G. Papadakis, *ADelt* 8, 1923, 182-189, 204-211; *SEG III* 342; F.B. Tarbell – J.C. Rolfe, *AJA* 6, 1890, 113-120; *AE* 1993, 421 no. 1424; Moretti, *ISE*, 163-170 nos 65-66; Vottéro, *Dialecte béotien*, 253-258.

The ancient *oionon* of Thisbe was adjacent to that of the Thespians and to the territory of Koroneia (Str. 9.2.28). It was situated at the southern foot of Mt. Megali Tsouka, a short distance from the Bay of Domvraia. The latter, with the two inlets Vathy and Agios Ioannis, may have served as Thisbe's ancient harbor; Vathy may have been the main harbor and Agios Ioannis the secondary one.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 182-183; Gregory, *Thisbe Basin*, 28.

Ancient literary sources give the epithet *πολυπτηρών* to the city from the abundance of wild pigeons at its rocky harbor (Hom. *Il.* 2.502; Str. 7.3.6, 9.2.27; Apollon. 154.19; Eust. 1.402.18; St.Byz. 314.15).

The city's economy was based on its port and on the production of grain, olives and wine.

Syll.<sup>3</sup> 646, 53; *IG VII* 2226. 2227; Kahrstedt, *Wirtschaftl. Gesicht*, 103.

The only public building mentioned by Pausanias (9.32.3) was a temple of Herakles which contained the standing statue of the hero in stone; the people of Thisbe celebrated the festival of the *Herakleia* in his honor.

Ancient Thisbe occupied the site of the present homonymous city (formerly Kakosi), which is situated

between a conical projection of Mt. Helikon to the NW (known as Palaiokastro) and a flat plateau to the S (now called Neokastro).

The ancient acropolis proper seems to have been on Palaiokastro Hill.

F.G. Maier, *AM* 73, 1958, 17; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 179.

A. Dunn (in E. Jeffreys [ed.], *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization. In honour of Sir Steven Runciman* [2006] 5) speaks of two acropoleis, an upper (Palaiokastro) and a lower (Neokastro). The Mycenaean settlement occupied the Palaiokastro Hill, while the Classical site appears to have been mainly centered on the plateau-like lower hill (Neokastro).

*Catalogue of Ships*, 27-28, 157; *Gazetteer*, (G35) 249-250. Surface survey on the site by the Ohio Boiotia Expedition, directed by T. Gregory, has shown that the main periods of habitation on the Thisbe plateau were the Late Classical, Hellenistic, Roman and Medieval ages.

T.E. Gregory, *Teiresias Archaeologica* 1980, 31-41, esp. 38; Gregory, *Thisbe Basin*, 26.

Both heights and the lower settlement in between, with the ancient city center, were enclosed by a strong circuit of ca. 2.5 km with interval square towers.

Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας*, 200 fig. 240; Gregory, *Thisbe Basin*, fig. 3.2.

#### *The circuit wall*

Fossey (*Topography and Population*, 179) noticed three different types of walling: Lesbian (earliest phase), coursed ashlar (4th century BC) and mortared work ("much later date").

Gregory (*Thisbe Basin*, 19) gives a Hellenistic date to the fortification wall, as does F.G. Maier (*AM* 73, 1958, 25), who dates it in particular between the last quarter of the 4th and the first quarter of the 2nd century BC; he also assumes that its west wall was renovated after the *Senatus Consultum* of October, 170 BC (*IG VII* 2225.27-31; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 646), that allowed the city's pro-Roman party to fortify the acropolis and live there, but forbade the fortification of the whole city.

#### *Thisbe and Rome*

The *Senatus Consultum de Thisbensibus* of 170 BC refers to the very strong measures taken by the Roman senate after the city's surrender in 171 BC to the praetor C. Lucretius Gallus (Liv. 42.63). Thisbe, along with Haliartos and Koroneia were the only Boeotian cities to align with the Macedonians and their last king Perseus in the Third

Macedonian War (Plb. 27.5, 28.5.8; Liv. 42.44.4, 42.46.7). After King Perseus's defeat, Haliartos was totally destroyed by the Roman army, while Thisbe and Koroneia suffered severe destruction at that time (171 BC). Thisbe's administration passed to pro-Roman citizens, and the Macedonian partisans were sold into slavery (Liv. 42.63.12).

F.G. Maier, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften I. Texte und Kommentare* (Vestigia I) (1959) 126-128; R.K. Sherck, *Roman Documents from the Greek East. Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus* (1969) 26-31 no. 2 with further bibliography; J. Deininger, *Der politische Widerstand gegen Rom in Griechenland 217-86 v. Chr.* (1971) 166-167; R.K. Sherck, *Rome and the Greek East to the death of Augustus* (1984) 20-22 no. 21.

#### *The dike*

According to Pausanias' description (9.32.3), between the mountain at the foot of which Thisbe stood (modern Mt. Megali Tsouka) and the mountain on the sea-side (modern Korompili), was a plain (modern Domvraina) which would be inundated by the water flowing into it, were it not for a dike constructed through the middle. Every year, this dike turned the water into the part of the plain lying on one side of the dam, while that on the other was cultivated.

Remains of this strong dam still subsist and are traceable along the road leading from Thisbe to Agios Ioannis, see the photos in J. Knauss, *AW* 20.3, 1989, 32-55; *id.*, in *Boeotia Antiqua* II, 53-46, pls. 20, 22, 23.

The monumental dike probably dates to the Hellenistic period and had Roman or post-Roman phases.

J. Knauss, *AW* 20.3, 1989, 47; H.-J. Gehrke, *Klio* 75, 1993, 146; J. Whitley *et al.*, *ARepLond* 2005-2006, 56-57. Based on the presence of Mycenaean dikes not far away in the Kopais, Fossey (*Topography and Population*, 182) suggests that the date of the original construction of the dike could go back to Mycenaean times; similarly, J. Knauss in *Boeotia Antiqua* II, 38.

#### *The chora of Thisbe*

The city's territory was called *Thisbai* (X. *HG* 6.4.3) and was limited in extent; it bordered on the confines of Thespiiai to the east and Koroneia to the north (Str. 9.2.28). Roman inscriptions provide evidence for agrarian issues and territorial disputes between Thisbe and Koroneia: *IG* VII 2870, I and III is a complete text from Antoninus Pius, dating to 155 AD, concerning a dispute between these two cities over control of the upland region.

*Epigraphica Boeotica* I, 10-14 (texts 9-11); *SEG* XXXII 464, 467, 468; M.T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (2000) 87; see also **Agios Dimitrios**.

According to Farinetti (*Boeotian Landscapes*, 170), the dispute between these two cities over the borders separating their domains could be explained by two reasons: on one hand, Thisbe needed more cultivable land to support its population, since the monumental dam left half of the plain flooded each year; and on the other, Thisbe wanted to have control of the upland routes connecting to N Greece and linking western Boeotia to the harbor on the Gulf of Corinth.

#### *Archaeological finds*

A Roman building with a mosaic floor was revealed in the area of the village.

*BCH* 44, 1920, 387-388.

A number of Roman inscriptions were found at the site: a) Five fragments (now lost) of a proconsular edict (*IG* VII 2226/2227 + add. (p. 747) = νόμος πολιτευτικός), dating to the late 2nd/early 3rd centuries AD, addressed to the inhabitants of Thisbe in order to regulate the holding of public and sacred land by private individuals.

*SEG* L.V 523 bis; F.B. Tarbell – J.C. Rolfe, *AJA* 6, 1890, 112-120 esp. 114-118 no. VI.; *RE* VI<sup>A</sup> (1936) 290 s.v. Thisbe (Fiehn); Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 182; F. Pernin, in *Epigraphy and History*, 443-459 with previous bibliography.

b) A fragment of Diocletian's Price Edict (*SEG* XXIII 282) (now in the Thebes Museum, inv. MΘ 2295).

P. Roesch, *REA* 68, 1966, 83-85 no. 16, pl. VIII, 2; *AE* 1967, 138-139 no. 456; Y. Kalliontzis, *Horos* 17-21, 2004-2009, 375 note 5.

c) An inscribed base for a statue of Caracalla set up by ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Θισβέων (*IG* VII 2239).

d) Two manumission inscriptions of the Roman period (2nd–3rd centuries AD).

N.G. Pappadakis, *ADelt* 2, 1916, 262-263; Cl. Grenet, in *Epigraphy and History*, 395-396.

e) A dedicatory inscription (*IG* VII 2233) to the Theoi Sebastoi (and the polis) of an οἶκος and (statue of) Dionysos; the dedicators are Tiberius Claudius Urbanus, his wife Claudia Philonicha, and their children Urbanus and Urbana (?).

Schachter, *Cults* I, 195, 213; Kahrstedt, *Wirtschaftl. Gesicht*, 103.

f) A dedicatory inscription (*IG* VII 2234) to the imperial household (Genos of the Sebastoi) and the polis by a certain Skylax, son of Skylax, who makes a private

dedication of a temple for Artemis Soteira. Both this inscription and the one mentioned above (*IG VII 2233*), provide evidence for the imperial cult in Thisbe.

P. Foucart, *BCH* 8, 1884, 399-416, esp. 402 no. 4; Kahrstedt, *Wirtschaftl. Gesicht*, 103.

g) Dedications of a statue of Trajan (*IG VII 2236* and *2237*).

Camia, *Theoi Sebastoi*, 35.

h) A fragmentary inscription mentioning the statue of Claudia (?) that was erected by her husband (?) and daughter.

F.B. Tarbell – J.C. Rolfe, *AJA* 6, 1890, 114 no. 5.

i) The fragment of an imperial or official letter.

F.B. Tarbell – J.C. Rolfe, *AJA* 6, 1890, 118 no. 7.

j) A monument dedicated by M. Ulpius Brachas to his eldest son (*IG VII 2241*).

k) An edict of the proconsul M. Ulpius concerning the distribution of public and sacred land; it dates to the late 2nd/early 3rd centuries AD.

F. Quass, *Tekmeria* 2, 1996, 82-117, esp. 108-115; *Syll<sup>3</sup>*. 884; *SEG XLIII* 214; *XLIV* 402; *XLVI* 546; *LII* 512.

Roman pottery was noted at the site.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 180.

**ΑΝΑΘΗΜΙΑ**  
*Burials*  
About 40 Roman rock-cut tombs were noted.

T.F. Gregory, in D.R. Keller – D.W. Rupp (eds), *Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Area* (1983) 245-247, esp. 245.

A funerary epigram (metric) (*IG VII 2249*) of the Roman period was found at the ruined church of Agia Triada.

C. Vatin, *BCH* 90, 1966, 241-242.

Roman tombs were brought to light. Among the finds were two fragments of Roman inscriptions, fragments of a golden crown, vases and figurines.

*BCH* 79, 1955, 257.

Six Roman grave reliefs were found.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 349-350 no. 71, 360 nos 90-92, 375 nos 134-135.

The funerary epigram for a priestess of Herakles Charops, dating to the Roman period, was built into the church of Agios Charalampos at Thisbe.

*BCH* 45, 1921, 522 note 1; A.D. Keramopoulos, *AEphem* 1936, *Archaeol. Chron.* 46; Schachter, *Cults* II, 31 note 1; *SEG XXXVI* 490.

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N.G. Papadakis, *ADelt* 8, 1923, 182-256.

W.A. Heurtley, *BSA* 26, 1923-25, 38-45.

*RE VI<sup>A</sup>* (1936) 287-291 s.v. Thisbe (Fiehn).

Kahrstedt, *Wirtschaftl. Gesicht*, 102-103.

E.G. Maier, *AM* 73, 1958, 17-25.

J.M. Fossey – R.A. Tomlinson, *BSA* 65, 1970, 243-263 = Fossey, *Boiotian Topography*, 130-156.

*Princeton Encyclopedia*, 915 s.v. Thisbe (P. Roesch).

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Roesch, *Confédération*, 53-54.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 178-182.

J. Knauss, *AW* 20.3, 1989, 32-55.

J.M. Fossey, in *Boeotia Antiqua* II, 47-52.

J. Knauss, in *Boeotia Antiqua* II, 53-46.

Gregory, Thisbe Basin.

H. J. Gehrke, in E.G. Schmidt (ed.), *Griechenland und Rom: vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Entwicklungstendenzen und –höhenpunkten der antiken Geschichte, Kunst und Literatur* (1996) 117-130 (= *Klio* 75, 1993, 145-154).

C. Müller, in *Boeotia Antiqua* VI, 127-141.

S. Levin, in Bintliff, *Developments*, 13-24.

Freitag, *Gott von Korinth*, 155-159.

*Barr. Atlas*, 55 D4; 57 A3; 58 D1.

S. Loukas, *Θίσβη, μια πόλη ... μια ιστορία* (2000).

Hansen – Nielsen, *Inventory*, 458-459 no. 223 (M.H. Hansen).

A. Dunn, in E. Jeffreys (ed.), *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization. In honour of Sir Steven Runciman* (2006) 38-71.

A. Dunn, *BBrByzSt* 32, 2006, 32-37.

A. Dunn, *BBrByzSt* 33, 2007, 38-42.

A. Dunn, *BBrByzSt* 35, 2009, 37-47.

Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 168, 170-171, 349-351.

*Epigraphica Boeotica* II, 135-139.

I. Pernin, in *Epigraphy and History*, 443-459.

**Thourion (Bramaga) – Θούριον (Μπράμαγα)**

4:2C/5:1B

Livadeia Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

An honorary inscription for the Emperor Aurelian was found at Thourion (formerly Bramaga), situated to the SE of Chaironeia.

L. Bizard, *BCH* 29, 1905, 101 no. 2; J.M. Fossey, in H. Kalcyk – B. Gullath – A. Graeber (eds), *Studien zur alten*



*Geschichte: Siegfried Lauffer zum 70. Geburtstag am 4. August 1981 dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, vol. I (1986) 247-260, esp. 256-257 no. 8.

A Roman tombstone (IG VII 3445) was found at the site. According to Fossey (*Topography and Population*, 381), the few stones found at Thourion came probably from Chaironeia.

**TILPHOUSION / TILPHOSAION (Petra)** – ΤΙΛΦΟΥΣΙΟΝ / ΤΙΛΦΩΣΑΙΟΝ (Πέτρα) 1:3A/5:2C  
Aliartos - Thespies Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

*h.Hom.Ap.* 385; D.S. 19.53.7; Str. 9.2.27; Paus. 9.33.1; Ath. 241; Suid. τ 587; Harpocr. s.v. Τιλφωσσαῖον.

Mt. Tilphousion (modern Petra) is situated on the southern side of Kopais Lake and can be regarded as the furthest offshoot of Mt. Helikon. It is often mentioned in the literary sources: Pausanias (9.33.1) says that it lay *ca.* 50 stadia away from Haliartos. Strabo (9.2.27) mentions a town named *Τιλφούσιον* at Kopais Lake.

Demosthenes (19.141, 148) refers to a fort on Mt. Tilphousion's summit, slight remains of which are still visible today.

Lauffer, *Kopais I*, 68-73 with fig. 76.

Plutarch (*Sull.* 20.3) informs us that Sulla engaged in a skirmish with Dorylaos near Tilphousion. We also hear that the spring Tilphousa was at the foot of the mountain, where the seer Teiresias, being very old, died from the excessive coldness of the water; his tomb was pointed out at the spot.

Ps.-Apollod. 3.7.3; Aristophanes of Boiotia, *FGrH* 379F4; D.S. 4.67.1; Paus. 9.33.1; Str. 9.2.27; Ath. 2.41e. The exact location of both the spring and the tomb is unknown. There are two possible claimants for the spring:

a) The spring that emerges near the foot of Mt. Petra (more likely); and

b) The spring at Agios Nikolaos, W of **Ypsilantis**.

Schachter, *Antiquity*, 372-376.

Next to the spring stood the temple of Apollo Tilphossios, the location of which is also disputed (Lycophron, *Alex.* 362; Str. 9.2.27). Two sites have been proposed for it:

a) At the foot of the Petrarocky spur, around the chapel of Agios Ioannis Prodromos, where the remains of a sanctuary have been found.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 28, 1973, B1, 271; *id.*, *AAA* 6, 1973, 381-385; *id.*, *Teiresias* 3.1, 1973, 5; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 267-268 no. 13; and

b) At the church of Agios Nikolaos near the modern village of **Ypsilantis**.

P. Guillon, *Les Trépieds du Ptoion II* (1943) 105 and note 2, 196; *id.*, *La Béotie antique* (1948) 110; *id.*, *Le Bouclier d'Héraclès* (1963) 87 note 114; E. Fontenrose, *Transact.AmPhilAss* 100, 1969, 119-130; Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 335. A rectangular pillar bearing manumission inscriptions, dating mainly to the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD, was built into the katholikon of the Monastery of Agia Paraskevi located at Petra Hill. It is assumed that this pillar belonged to one of the buildings of the Charopeion, the shrine of Herakles Charops mentioned by Pausanias (9.34.5), whose cult was thriving throughout the Roman period.

N.G. Pappadakis, *ADelt* 2, 1916, 217-272; N.D. Papatzatzis, *AEphem* 1981, 42.

Remains of a farmstead with two building phases (2nd-1st centuries BC and end of the 4th century AD) were revealed in the area of Tilphousion, near the modern village of **Solinari**.

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 169-171; Vlachogianni, *Αρχαιολογία*, 516 no. 21.

An S-shaped wall associated with Classical, Hellenistic, Roman and some glazed sherds was revealed in the Ekkdisaki locality, situated to the S of Petra Hill. The wall probably reinforced the flood protection of adjacent buildings. Moreover, the foundations of a Π-shaped building were found. Numerous bronze coins were discovered near one of its walls (τχ 1); some of them bore on the obverse the Emperor Gallienus (joint reign with Valerianus I 253-260 AD, sole reign 260-268 AD). Finally, walling associated with Classical, Hellenistic and Roman sherds was discovered.

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 171-174.

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A. Schachter, *BICS* 14, 1967, 1-16, esp. 5.

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Buck, *History*, 9.

Wallace, *Strabo*, 144-146.

*Kopais* 2, 42-68.

Papatzatzis, *Παυσανίας*, 208-209 note 2.

Schachter, *Cults I*, 76-77.

Schachter, *Antiquity*, 372-380.

Hansen – Nielsen, *Inventory*, 436 s.v. Tilphosaion (M.H. Hansen).

Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 323 no. 42.



**TIPHA → SIPHAI****Tseloneri → Glyfa**

**Tsoukalades** – Τσουκαλάδες 4:1D/5:1B  
Livadeia Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Isolated tombs of the Roman period were found on both sides of the National Road between Levadeia-Delphi, near the village of Tsoukalades, located to the NW of Levadeia.

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B1, 170; E. Vlachogianni, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B1, 304. According to Farinetti (*Boeotian Landscapes*, 96 and 279-280 no. 8), they could be connected to the presence of a Roman settlement or a large rural site (linked to pasturage) nearby, cf. F. Dasios, in *EpetBoiotMel* II, 245-255 esp. 250.

**Vagia** – Βάγια 4:4B/5:2C  
Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

The modern village of Vagia is situated 3km NE of Thespies. Only epigraphic evidence is available, making the existence of an ancient village and cemetery here uncertain.

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 146; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 338 no. 9.

A dedicatory inscription (*IG* VII 1830 = *IThesp* 269) to Eros, dating to the Roman period, was built into a church at Vagia.

L. Stephani, *Reise durch einige Gegenden des nördlichen Griechenlandes* (1843) 74-75, tabl. V no. 58.

A pedimental funerary stele of Roman date (*IG* VII 2160) was incorporated into the church of Agia Triada. Körte, *Sculpturen*, 345 no. 58.

A Roman limestone slab bearing an epitaph of Aristodama and Metabole (*SEG* XL 409) was incorporated into the foundations of the chapel of Agios Nikolaos, situated to the W of Thebes.

C. Piteros, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B1, 194.

**Vathy-Kouloureza** – Βαθύ-Κουλουρέζα 2:3A/5:4C  
Chalkideon Mun. / Euboea R.Un.

A Roman grave stele was found at Vathy, situated at the NW end of the large coastal plain N of Tanagra.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 25, 1970, B1, 229.

A robbed tomb, dating to the end of the Hellenistic or the beginning of the Roman period, was found in the

locality of Kouloureza (of Vathy Aulidos); it probably belonged to a cemetery.

A. Sampson, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B1, 153.

**Vigla** – Βίγλα 1:3A/5:2C  
Aliartos - Thespies Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Remains of a tower and traces of a round wall were recognized on Vigla Hill, situated to the SW of ancient Haliartos. A reuse of the fortification in Roman or Byzantine times has been proposed on the basis of tile fragments and mortar remnants noticed at the site.

Lauffer, *Kopais* I, 62-63; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 331 no. 34.

**Vlycha → Glyfa**

**Xinos** – Ξινός 4:3D/5:2B  
Aliartos - Thespies Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Roman *terra sigillata* sherds were found at Xinos, situated in SW Kopais.

H. Kalcyk, in *BOIOTIKA*, 277-283, esp. 279.

Farinetti (*Boeotian Landscapes*, 269 no. 16) interprets these ceramic finds, together with a Hellenistic inscription (dedication to Apollo Paiaion) and some architectural remains, as traces of a cult place in use from the Classical until the Late Roman periods, cf. E. Farinetti, *ΔΣ Ατene* 86, 2008, 131 table 1 no. 2.

**Xironomi** – Ξηρονομή 1:3C/5:2D  
Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

An inscription (*SEG* XLV 454 = *IThesp* 319) dating to the 1st century AD was found near the village of Xironomi, situated to the SW of ancient Thespiei (now in the Thebes Museum). It records the dedication by L. Vibullius Spanius and his wife, Vibullia Polleita, to the Egyptian Gods, the polis of Thespiei, and the *κὀμῆ* of Hyle of the statues of Isis and Harpocrates, the base, the thyromata, the altar and the screen.

J. Robert – L. Robert, *BE* 1971, no. 340, 1973, no. 211; Schachter, *Cults* I, 201; A. Spawforth, in *EpetBoiotMel* II.1, 469-476.

Roman funerary cubes with a representation of a “herorider” were found at the site.

T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 25, 1970, B1, 231-232; *id.*, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B1, 221, pl. 191-194; *BCH* 98, 1974, 648; Machaira, *Ἡρώας υπέας*, 861-862 no. 10, 878 fig. 10;

865 no. 20 (*IG VII* 2167. 2168), 883 fig. 20; 865 no. 21, 883 fig. 21; 865-866 no. 22, 884 fig. 22; 866 no. 24, 885 fig. 24; 866 no. 25 (*IG VII* 2139), 885 fig. 25; 866-867 no. 26, 886 fig. 26; 870 no. 36, 891 fig. 36; Machaira, Autels funéraires, 287-295, esp. 287-295, esp. 287.

Two funerary stelai of Roman date (*IG VII* 2135 and 2140) with a representation of a “hero-rider” were found.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 366 no. 110, cf. Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 149; Machaira, Ἡρώας ἱππέας, 864 no. 19, 882 fig. 19.

A Roman inscribed grave altar with representation of a horseman hero (*IG VII* 2137) was found in second use at the church of Panagia at Xironomi.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 365-366 no. 107.

Two Roman inscribed grave altars and an inscribed funerary relief of the Roman period were built into the church of Panagia at Xironomi.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 373 no. 128, 374 no. 131, 378 no. 140.

An inscribed funerary stele (*IG VII* 2175) of Roman date with a representation of a “hero-rider” was found at the abandoned church of Agios Georgios at Xironomi.

Körte, *Sculpturen*, 368 no. 116; T. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 25, 1970, B1, 232 no. 13; *id.*, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B1, pl. 193γ; *Teiresias* 1976, Epigraphica, 33 no. 102; Machaira, Ἡρώας ἱππέας, 861 no. 9, 877 fig. 9.

An honorary inscription for the hero Kolon and the heroine Elefas, which could be dated to the Roman period, was found in the ruins of a church.

L. Bizard, *BCH* 29, 1905, 102 no. 3.

According to Farinetti (*Boeotian Landscapes*, 340 no. 24), there could have been a Hellenistic / Roman settlement and a cemetery area close to Xironomi.

Remains of a dike were reported to the W of Xironomi. Farinetti (*Boeotian Landscapes*, 269 no. 17) dates them to the Roman period.

#### **Yliki Vouvali** – Ἰλίχη Βουβάλι

Roman tombs were found by the north shore of Yliki

Lake in the Vouvali locality. The site is nowadays covered by water and thus can hardly be located.

A. Sampson, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B1, 194; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 370 no. 41/42.

#### **Ypato / Syrtzi, Syrtsi** – Ὑπατο / Σύρτζι, Σύρτσι

2:2A/5:3C

Thiva Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Remains of a building dating, to the 2nd-1st centuries BC, were found in a plot, the property of FANTA-REAL SA at the village of Ypato (formerly Syrtzi or Syrtsi).

V. Aravantinos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B2, 160, figs 61 and 62.

Roman pottery was noticed by Fossey, who identifies the site with ancient Glisas (Str. 9.2.31; Paus. 9.19.2-4).

Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 217-223; cf. Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 372 no. 56 and *BarrAtlas* 55 E4.

#### **Ypsilantis / Vrastamites** – Ὑψηλάντης / Βρασταμίτες

1:3A/5:2C

Alartos - Thespies Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

An imperial *miliarium*, dating to 115-116 AD, was found at the ruined church of Panagia, situated to the E of the village of Ypsilantis (formerly Vrastamites). The milestone was reused in the 4th century AD to honor the co-emperors Valentinian, Valens and Gratian (367-375 AD), as well as the co-emperors Arcadius and Honorius (383-395 AD).

Y. Kalliontzis, *Horos* 22-25, 2010-2013, 309-326, esp. 311-312 no. 2, fig. 3-4; cf. D. Knoepfler, *Bulletin épigraphique* 2014, no. 197.

An identification with ancient Okalea mentioned in written sources has been suggested (Hom. *Il.* 2.501; Str. 9.2.26; Theognost. *Can.* 621.3).

Philippson, *Landschaften*, 474; Lauffer, *Kopais* I, 63-64; cf. Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 331-332 nos 39/40; *contra* Fossey, *Topography and Population*, 314-318, who locates ancient Okalea at the site of **Evangelistria**.

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

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Alalkomenes	Boeotia	28	1:3A/5:2B
Ano Siphai / Pyrgos	Boeotia	28	1:3D/5:2D
ANTHEDON	Euboea	28-30	3:2C/5:3B
ASKRA	Boeotia	30-31	1:3B/5:2C
Askris Potamos	Boeotia	31	1:3B/5:2C
AULIS	Euboea	31-33	3:3D/5:4B
Bathiza	Attica	33	2:4B/5:4C
CHAIRONEIA	Boeotia	33-37	4:1C/5:1B
CHORSIAI / KORSIAI	Boeotia	37-39	1:2C/5:1D
Dafni	Boeotia	39	2:2C/5:3D
Davlosi	Boeotia	39	1:4A/5:2C
DELION	Boeotia	39-41	2:4B/5:4C
Domvraina	Boeotia	41	1:3C/5:2D
Drosia area	Euboea	41	3:3C/5:4B
ELEON	Boeotia	41-42	2:2A/5:3C
Ellopia	Boeotia	42	1:4C/5:2D
Erythrai	Attica	42-43	2:1D/5:3D
EUTRESIS	Boeotia	43	2:1C/5:2D
Evangelistria	Boeotia	43-44	1:3B/5:2C
GLA(S)	Boeotia	44	3:1C/5:2B
Glyfa	Euboea	44	3:3D/5:4B
Graviotis	Boeotia	44	4:2D/5:2B
HALAI	Phthiotis	44-46	4:4A/5:2A
HALIARTOS	Boeotia	46-48	1:3A/5:2C
HYETTOS	Boeotia	48-49	4:3B/5:2A
Isoma Hill	Boeotia	49-50	4:2C/5:1B
Kalampaki	Boeotia	50	1:4A/5:2C
Karampampa Hill	Euboea	50	3:3C/5:4B
Kastraki area	Boeotia	51	1:4A/5:2C

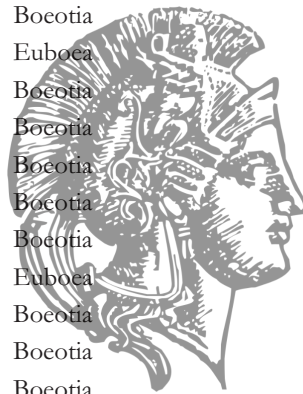
ΑΚΡΑΙΠΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΑΝ



Kleidi	Boeotia	51	2:3C/5:4C
Klimataria	Boeotia	51	3:1D/2:1A/5:3C
KOPAI	Boeotia	51-52	4:4C/5:2B
KORONEIA	Boeotia	52-56	1:2A/5:2C
Kouveli Islet	Boeotia	57	1:3D/5:2D
Kroniza	Boeotia	57	1:4C/5:2C
KREUSIS	Boeotia	57-58	1:4D/5:2D
LARYMNA	Phthiotis	58	3:1B/5:3A
LEVADEIA	Boeotia	59-64	4:2D/5:1B
Leontari(on)	Boeotia	64	1:4B/5:2C
LEUKTRA	Boeotia	64-65	1:4C/5:2D
Loukisia	Euboea	65	3:2C/5:3B
Loutsi	Boeotia	65	4:3B/5:2A
Magoula Balomenou	Boeotia	65	4:2C/5:1B
Makronisos Islet	Boeotia	65	1:3D/5:2D
Malesina	Phthiotis	66	4:4A/5:2A
Martino	Phthiotis	66	4:4B/5:2A
Mavrogeia	Boeotia	66	4:2D/5:2B
Mavrommati	Boeotia	66	1:4B/5:2C
Megalo Kastron	Boeotia	66	2:3B/5:3C
Megalo Vouno	Euboea	66-67	3:3D/5:4B
Megalovouno	Boeotia	67	3:1C/5:2B
Mesampelia	Boeotia	67	4:2C/5:2B
Mesovouni	Boeotia	67	2:2A/5:3C
Metrochi	Boeotia	67	2:2B/5:3C
Milia	Boeotia	67	1:2B/5:1C
MYKALESSOS	Euboea	67-68	3:3D/5:3B
Neochoraki	Boeotia	68	2:2B/5:3C
Neraidogorna	Boeotia	68	4:2D/5:1B
Ntzoumpizes	Boeotia	68	1:4A/5:2C
Oinofyta	Boeotia	68-69	2:3B/5:4C
OLD ORCHOMENOS (?)	Boeotia	69	4:3C/5:2B
ONCHESTOS	Boeotia	69	1:4A/5:2C
ORCHOMENOS	Boeotia	70-74	4:2C/5:2B
Paralimni Pyrgos / Palaiometochi	Euboea	74	3:2C/5:3B
Paralimni Yliki	Euboea	74	4:4D/5:3B
Pavlos-Palaiokastron	Phthiotis	74	3:1B/5:2A
Petra	Boeotia	74	1:3A/5:2C
PLATAIAI	Boeotia	74-80	2:1D/5:3D
Platanakia	Boeotia	80	3:2D/5:3B
Polygyra	Boeotia	80-81	4:2B/5:2B
Pontza	Boeotia	81-82	1:2A/5:1C
Pyrgos (Orchomenos Mun.)	Boeotia	82	4:3C/5:2B
Pyrgos (Thiva Mun.)	Boeotia	82	2:1C/5:3D
Schimatari	Boeotia	82	2:3B/5:4C
SIPHAI / TIPHA	Boeotia	82-83	1:3D/5:2D
SKOLOS	Boeotia	83	



ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ

ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

Skourta plain	Boeotia	83-84	2:3D/5:3D
Skroponeria	Euboea	84	3:2C/5:3B
Solinari(on)	Boeotia	84	1:3A/5:2C
Soros range	Boeotia	84-85	2:2B/5:3C
Stroviki	Boeotia	85	4:3C/5:2B
TANAGRA	Boeotia	85-91	2:3B/5:3C
Tatiza	Boeotia	91	1:3C/5:2C
THEBAI	Boeotia	91-107	2:1B/5:3C/6
THESPIAI	Boeotia	107-116	1:4C/5:2C
THISBE	Boeotia	116-118	1:3C/5:2D
Thourion	Boeotia	118-119	4:2C/5:1B
TILPHOUSION / TILPHOSAION	Boeotia	119	1:3A/5:2C
Tsoukalades	Boeotia	120	4:1D/5:1B
Vagia	Boeotia	120	1:4B/5:2C
Vathy – Kouloureza	Euboea	120	2:3A/5:4C
Vigla	Boeotia	120	1:3A/5:2C
Xinos	Boeotia	120	4:3D/5:2B
Xironomi	Boeotia	120-121	1:3C/5:2D
Yliki Vouvali	Boeotia	121	
Ypato	Boeotia	121	2:2A/5:3C
Ypsilantis	Boeotia	121	1:3A/5:2C



ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ

ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

**MAPS**

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ



ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ



ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ

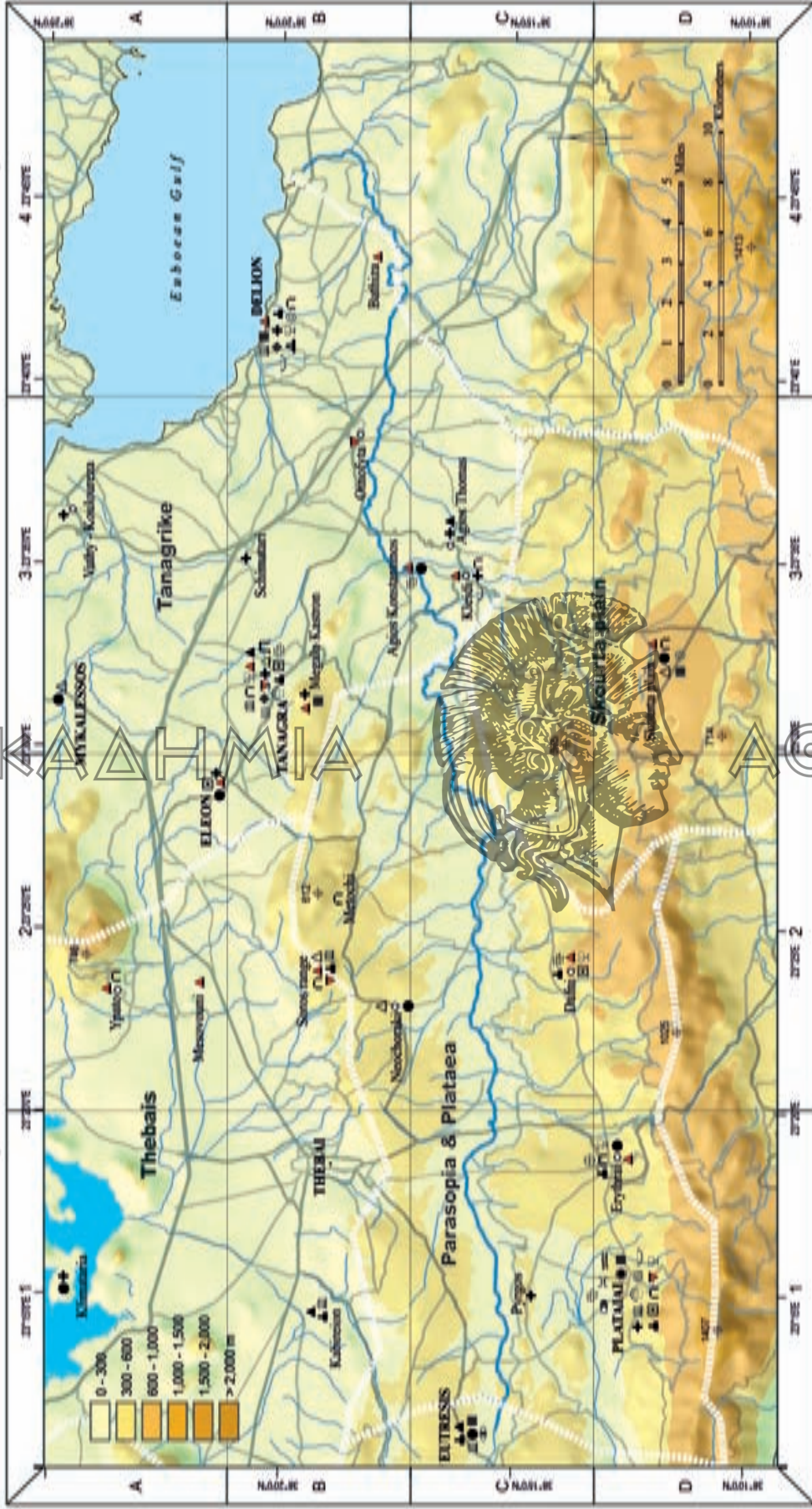


ΑΘΗΝΩΝ



# BOEOTIA - 2 (PARASOPIA & PLATAEA - THEBAIS - TANAGRIKE)

Map 2



## LEGEND - LEGENDE

- |                         |                       |                            |                     |  |                                 |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| ○ Modern village - town | Π Gate/Petra          | ■ Gymnasium                | ⊖ Bull's            | ⊕ Kiln, Workshop   | ▲ Farmhouse, farm site          |
| — Modern road           | ⊖ Temple, sanctuary   | ▲ Port/Portus              | ⊖ Aquae             | ⊕ Focuar, Officina   | ▲ Villa rustica                 |
| — Lake                  | ⊖ Temple, sanctuarium | ⊖ Cotus/Nuamini            | ⊖ Theatre           | ⊕ Fortifiable finds  | ▲ Traces of habitation          |
| ● Village, settlement   | ▲ Inscription, altar  | ⊖ Oracle                   | ▲ Sculpture, relief | ⊕ Inventum mobile  | ▲ Ruinae dabae interpretationis |
| ● Vici                  | ▲ Inscription, ara    | ⊖ Oraculum                 | ▲ Sigilla           | ⊕ Tower, castle, fortified village   | ⊕ Water supply system           |
|                         | ● Important city      | ▲ Urbs colonia, municipium | ▲ Acropolis         | ⊕ Tarris, castellum  | ⊕ Agrostodactis                 |
|                         |                       |                            | ▲ Acropolis         | ⊕ Necropolis, grave, grave stele or relief or altar, funerary culte, sarcophagus, heroon |                                 |
|                         |                       |                            | ▲ Acropolis         | ⊕ Sepulcrum, ara, cippus, sarcophagus, heroon/monumentum                                 |                                 |



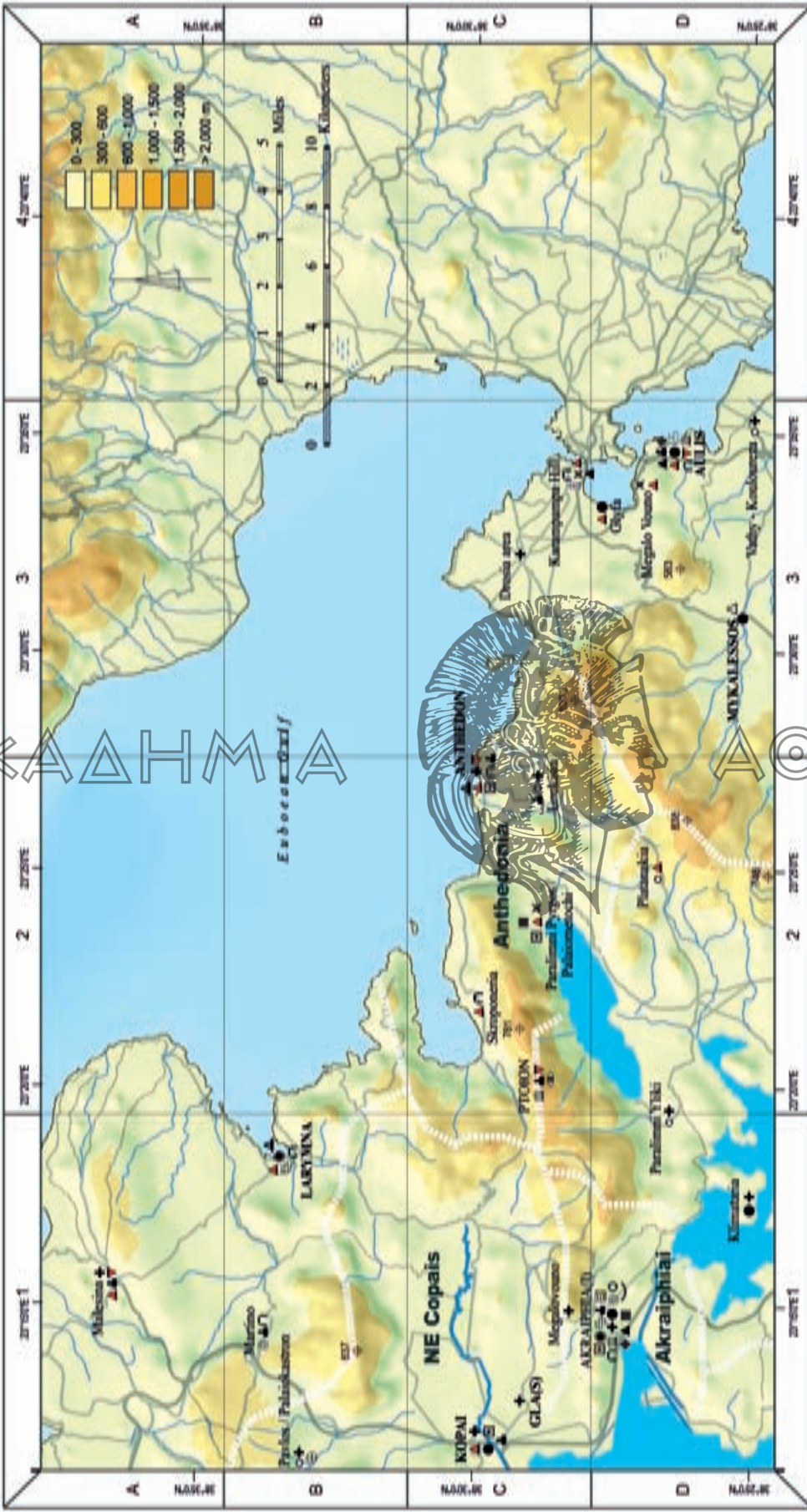
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ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

# BOEOTIA - 3 (NE COPAIS - AKRAIPHIAI - ANTHEDONIA)

Map 3



## LEGEND / LEGENDE

- |                         |                          |                      |                            |   |  |                         |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|---|--|-------------------------|
| ○ Modern village - town | ⊕ Temple, sanctuary      | ⊕ Fountain           | ⊕ Portable finds           | ⊕ Tower, castle, fortified village  | ⊕ Coins  | ⊕ Fortification wall    |
| — Modern road           | ⊕ Templum, sacrum/astrum | ⊕ Fons + Nymphaeum   | ⊕ Villa rustica            | ⊕ Turris, castrum   | ⊕ Naumani  | ⊕ Moenia, murus         |
| 🌊 Lake                  | ⊕ Inscription, altar     | ⊕ Pottery, Tiles     | ⊕ Village, settlement      | ⊕ Traces of habitation  | ⊕ Oraculum   | ⊕ Architectural remains |
| — Dike, Agger           | ⊕ Inscription, ara       | ⊕ Figulinae, Tegulae | ⊕ Vicus                    | ⊕ Ruinae abruae interpretationis  | ⊕ Oraculum   | ⊕ Aedificium, structura |
| — Milestone             | ⊕ Acropolis/Ara          | ⊕ Sculpturae, relief | ⊕ Important city           | ⊕ Necropolis, grave, grave stipe or relief or altar, funerary cube, sarcophagus, heroon | ⊕ Sepulcrum, ara, cippus, sarcophagus, heroon/monumentum |                         |
| — Milliarium            | ⊕ Portus/Portus          | ⊕ Sigilla            | ⊕ Urbs colonia, municipium |   |  |                         |
|                         |                          |                      | ⊕ Kiln, Workshop           |   |  |                         |
|                         |                          |                      | ⊕ Fornax, Officina         |   |  |                         |
|                         |                          |                      | ⊕ Inventarium mobile       |   |  |                         |

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ

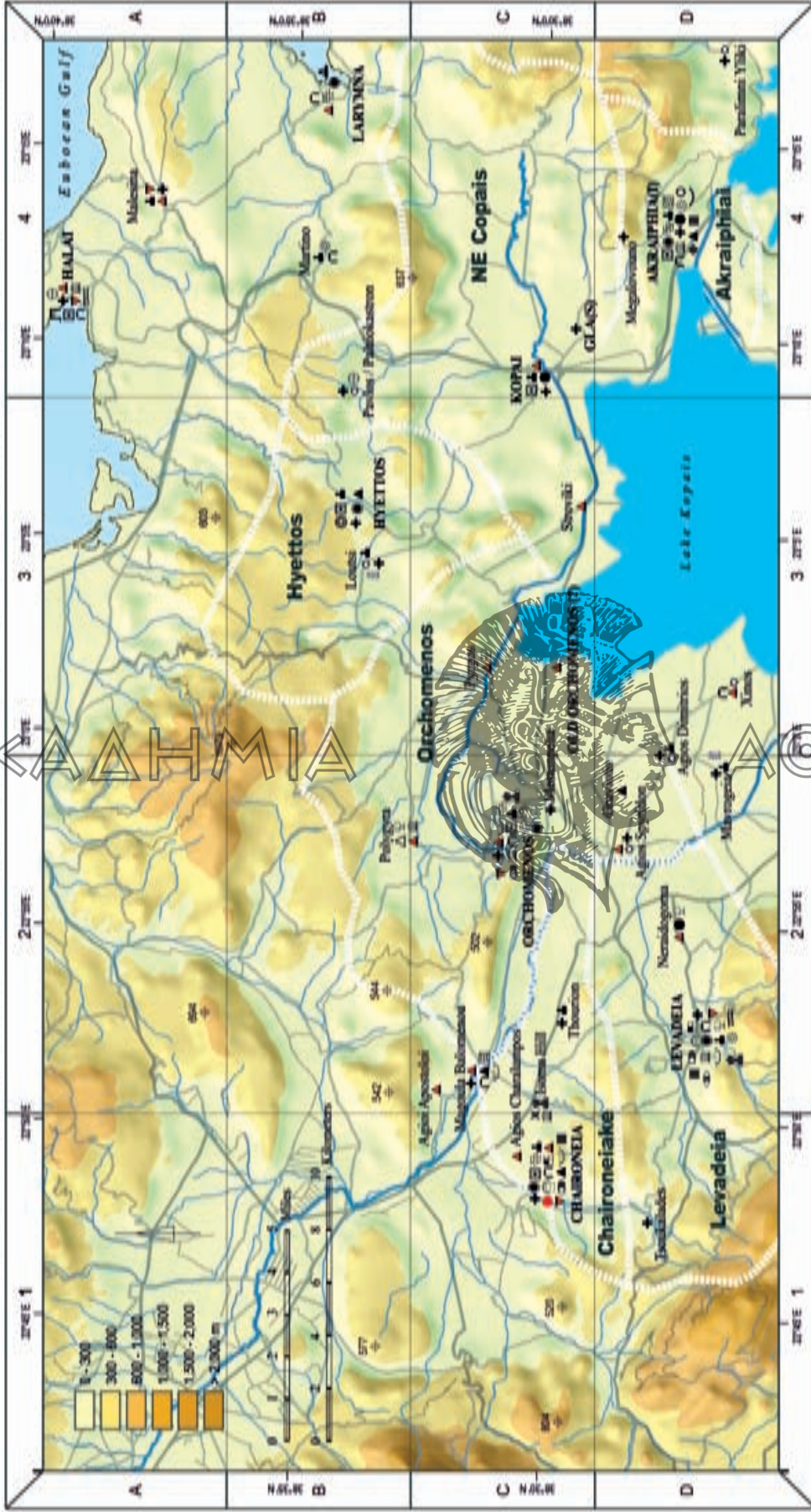


ΑΘΗΝΩΝ



# BOEOTIA - 4 (LEVADEIA - CHAIRONEIAKE - ORCHOMENOS - HYETTOS)

Map 4



## LEGEND

- |                         |                                     |                      |                       |   |                         |   |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|---|-------------------------|---|
| ○ Modern village - town | ⊙ Temple, sanctuary                 | ⊙ Theatre/Theatrum   | ⊙ Pottery, Tiles      | ⊙ Fortification wall                                    | ⊙ Water supply system   | ⊙ Baths/Aquae   |
| — Modern road           | ⊙ Templum, sanctuarium              | ⊙ Oracle/Oraculum    | ▲ Firmine, Tegulae    | ⊙ Moenia, murus   | ⊙ Aqueductus            | ⊙ Coins/Nummi   |
| ⊙ Lake                  | ⊙ Tower, castris, fortified village | ⊙ Sculpture, relief  | ⊙ Village, settlement | ⊙ Olive press   | ⊙ Inscription, altar    | ⊙ Trophy/Trophaeum  |
| ⊙ Milestone/Miliarium   | ⊙ Farms, castris                    | ⊙ Sigilla            | ⊙ Vicus               | ⊙ Tripetium/Torculum                                    | ⊙ Inscription, ara      | ⊙ Road/Via  |
| ⊙ Cisterna/Cisterna     | ⊙ Important city                    | ⊙ Portable finds     | ⊙ Fortified Remains   | ⊙ Architectural members                                 | ⊙ Architectural remains | ⊙ Gate/Porta  |
| ⊙ Cave/Caverna          | ⊙ Urbis colonia, municipium         | ⊙ Inventionis mobile | ⊙ Castellum           | ⊙ Lapis, gladius  | ⊙ Aedificium, structura | ⊙ Necropolis, grave, grave stela or relief or altar, funerary cube, sarcophagus, heroon |
| ⊙ Dolz, Agger           | ⊙ Traces of habitation              | ⊙ Kila, Workshop     | ⊙ Atrypolis           | ⊙ Sepulcrum, ara, cippus, sarcophagus, heroon/mausoleum | ⊙ Art                   |   |



ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

Map 5

# BOEOTIA - 5 (REGIONS - SITES)



ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ

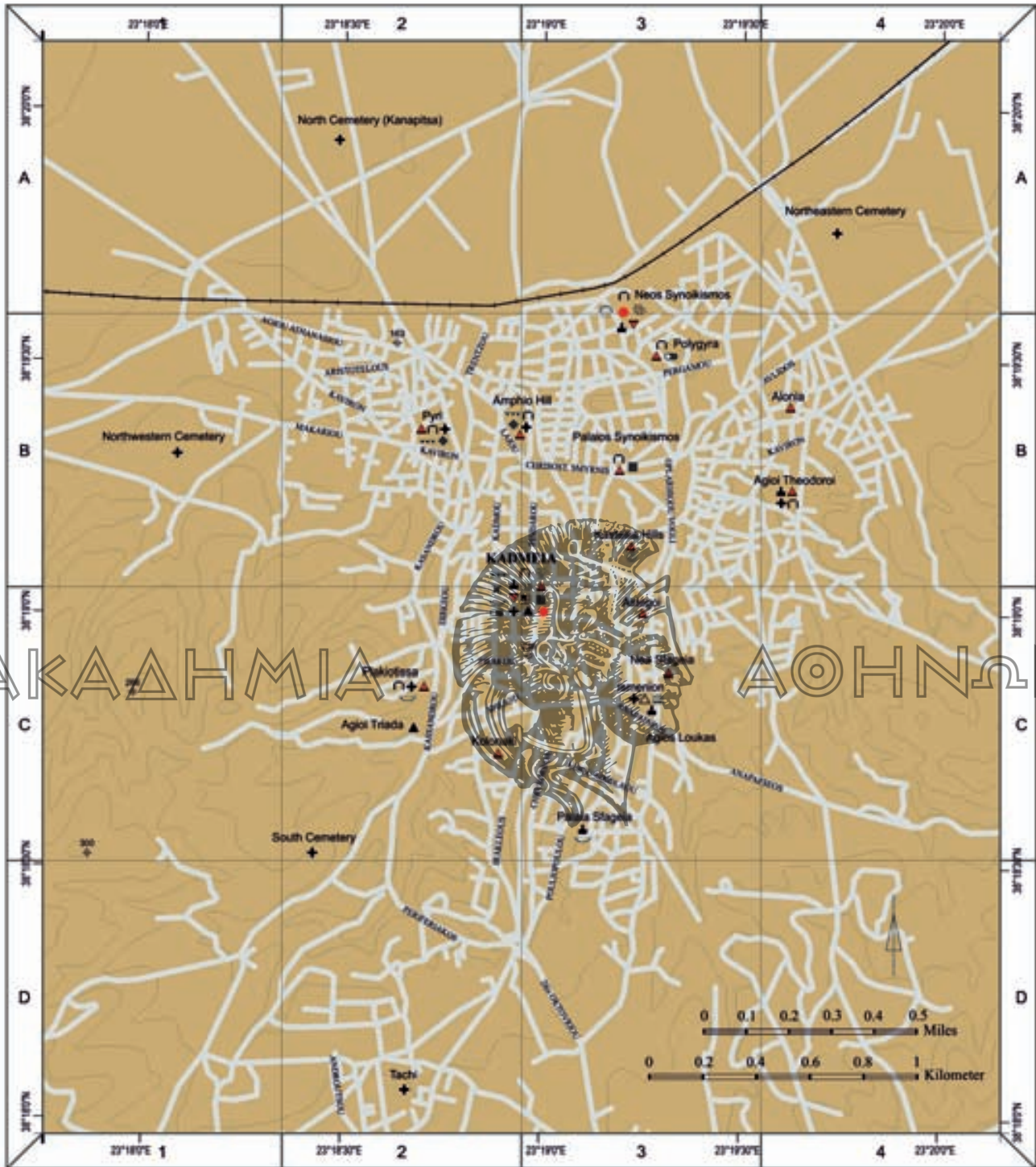


ΑΘΗΝΩΝ



# THEBAI

Map 6



ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

### LEGEND / LEGENDE

- |   |  |   |  |
|---|--|---|--|
| ▲ Inscription, altar<br>Inscriptio, ara | ● Hoard<br>Thesaurus                             | ☐ Temple, sanctuary<br>Templum, sanctuarium | △ Traces of habitation<br>Ruinæ dubiæ interpretationis   |
| ▲ Farmhouse, farm site<br>Villa rustica | ☐ Architectural remains<br>Aedificium, structura | ☐ Water supply system<br>Aquaeductus        | ▽ Sculpture, relief<br>Sigilla   |
| ⊙ Fortification wall<br>Moenia, murus   | ☐ Architectural members<br>Lapis, glæba          | ☐ Pottery, Tiles<br>Figlinae                | ☐ Mosaic<br>Pavimentum   |
| ■ Portable finds<br>Inventum mobile     | ✕ Fortified Remains<br>Castellum                 | ☉ Coins<br>Nummi                            | ☐ Theatre<br>Theatrum  |
|   |  | +   | Necropolis, grave, grave stele or relief, sarcophagus, heroon, altar,<br>Sepulcretum, sepulcrum, sarcophagus, heroum/monumentum, cippus, ara |



ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ