

TABVLA
IMPERII
ROMANI

J 34 - ATHENS

AKAΔHMIA AΘHNΩN
ACHAIA-PHTHIOTIS-MALIS-AEENS

OITAIA-DORIS-EURYTANIA
EAST & WEST LOCRIS-PHOKIS
AITOLIA-AKARNANIA



ACADEMY OF ATHENS

2016

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



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by

GEORGIOS A. ZACHOS

ACADEMY OF ATHENS

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ΑΚΑΡΝΑΝΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ

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ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

INTRODUCTION

The Regions: Research in Past and Present

The part of Central Greece under consideration includes Achaia Phthiotis, Malis, Aenis, Oitaia, Doris, Eurytania, East Locris, Phokis, Delphi, West Locris, Aitolia, Akarnania. This area extends from the coasts of the Pagasitic and Malian Gulfs to the Ionian Sea, and from the Ambracian Gulf, the South Pindos mountain-range and the north slopes of Mt. Orthys to the Corinthian Gulf. Attica and Boeotia are discussed in separate volumes.

The Index follows the ethnic divisions that were important for the geographers of the Roman period (Strabo, Pliny, Pausanias). For this reason part of modern Thessaly was included in order to describe Achaia Phthiotis in its entirety. The only exception is Eurytania, where the borders of Dolopes, Athamanes, Agraioi and Aperantioi were blurred in antiquity and for this reason the sites have been placed merely inside the borders of the modern prefecture (Eurytania). Delphi is discussed in a separate chapter due to the quantity of data. In addition, although in geographical terms it belonged to Phokis, it was never considered a Phokian city.

With the exception of Achaia Phthiotis which was part of the province of Thessaly, all other regions discussed were included in Achaia in 31 BC, although later the valley of the Spercheios became part of Thessaly and Akarnania of Epirus.

Until recently, the Roman presence was deemed worthy of notice only in Delphi, most famous archaeological site of the Central Greece. The main question to be considered was why Pausanias and Plutarch offered so little evidence about the sanctuary of the Roman period. This perspective was based on the topographical studies of I. Vortselas (1907), Y. Bequignon (1937), F. Stahlin (1921, 1924), G. Daux- P. de la Coste-Messelière (1924) for Malis, the region of Spercheios and the modern prefecture of Phthiotis, that of F. Schober (1924) for Phokis, E. Lerat (1952) for West Locris and W. Woodhouse (1897) for Aitolia, which have all remained crucial from a geomorphological point of view, but are inevitably outdated in respect of their archaeological evidence. Also, with the exception of Early Christian Nea Anchialos, archaeological research in other regions was limited to, or focused on, Pre-Roman settlements. Modern building activity from the 1970s (in Amphissa, Lamia, Atalanti, Stylida and Naupactus) and Great Public Works (the Gas Pipeline, the New National Road (P.A.T.H.E.=Piraeus-Athens-Thessaloniki-Euzonoi), the Railway, and the Ionian Odos) in the 1990s significantly altered the archaeological information for the area. Furthermore, a number of field surveys have altered our understanding of the historical landscape of every region (La Missione del Gruppo italiano per lo studio della Tessaglia antica, The Great Isthmus Corridor Route Project, The Dutch Aitolia Studies Project, Akarnanien Forschungen, Epicnemidian Locris Project). The establishment of Ephorates in the modern prefectures of Phthiotis and Aitoloakarnania in 1978 and 2004 respectively, made a significant contribution to the investigation of these regions. This new 'picture' must be considered with caution, especially as the problematic nature of the evidence provided by the surveys, the reports of Archaeologikon Deltion as well as by numismatic studies, is perfectly illustrated in Ljung's study of Aitolia.

Chronological Framework

The index includes sites principally from the 2nd century BC to the 4th century AD, that is, from the conventional *terminus* of 146 BC (the battle of Corinth) to that of AD 330 (the foundation of Constantinople). However, the first *terminus* has no value in the history of many regions under consideration. For instance, the treaties of 196 and 189 BC, as well the battle of 168 BC, are much more significant events for Achaia Phthiotis, the *ethnoi* of the Spercheios valley, Doris, as well as for Aitolia and Akarnania. Besides, generic dating to the 2nd century BC or to Late Roman and Early Christian times in archaeological reports makes both *termini* quite flexible. As far as the later *terminus*, buildings and cemeteries have in many cases a lifespan from the middle Roman times to the last part of Late Antiquity (cf. Naupactus in West Locris, Opous and Livanates-Paralia in East Locris, Amphissa in West Locris, Delphi). Therefore, a selection of archaeological finds dated in 5th or even the 6th c. are included

in the index of many regions. Contemporary Christian monuments are not included in this volume, unless they are directly associated with Roman finds [cf. [Pyrasos] / Thebes (Nea Anchialos) in Achaia Phthiotis], in order to avoid overlap with the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*.

Geomorphology and Road system

In Central Greece, the geomorphology of the region has changed substantially in many cases: as e.g. the shore line at Thermopylae, Livanates, Kirrha and Astakos, and banks of the Spercheios, the Kephissos, and the Acheloos rivers. However, the extent of these changes in Roman period is not well enough documented to be depicted on maps, with the exception of the Thermopylae pass and the Oeniadai-Messolongi region. In the case of Thermopylae, it has been decided to map the shoreline of the Classical period, since it had not substantially changed, at least in the early part of Roman Era (cf. Appendix I). The Xynias Lake which was drained in 1939-1942, has been mapped with its former extent and the artificial lakes of Stratos, Kastraki, Euenos, Kremasta, and Mornos are depicted in a different colour in order to distinguish them. The ancient geomorphology of Kallion has been restored on one of the maps, as far as possible.

The routes of the ancient roads, known from the Tabula Peutinger and the Itinerarium Antonini, are depicted in the studies of K. Axioti, M. Petropoulos, Fl. Cantareli, and F. Mottas – J.-Cl. Decourt, but a significant part of their course is hypothetical and for this reason they are not included in the maps of TIR. In a few cases segments of ancient roads came to light (i.e. at Aerino in Achaia Phthiotis), but are too small to be depicted.

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).

Apart from the ancient literature of the period under consideration, references to earlier publications are selective, or absent in respect of sites with a large number of citations (i.e. Delphi). In many cases, only a general reference to the IG corpus appears in the field “Inscriptions”, while other Roman inscriptions are placed in the body of the entry to avoid repetition. An attempt has been made to include the entire corpus of topographical and archaeological evidence; however, historical information, as well as references to general studies or to nineteenth century research, is selective.

Abbreviated references to ancient authors follow H. G. Lidell – R. Scott – H. S. Jones, *A Greek English Lexikon* (1925-1930) xvi – xlviii and A. Souter – J. M. Wyllie *et al.*, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1996³). Abbreviations of journals and series follow *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1997, 611-628, *Archäologische Bibliographie* 1993, ix-xliii, and those of epigraphic texts the abbreviations of *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* and *Guide de l'épigraphiste*^A (2010). For the transliteration of the place-names, the spelling proposed by UN/ ELOT system is used with the exception of very well established anglicised place names (e.g. Phalara not Falara, Delphi not Delfoi).

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G. Zachos

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ΑΕΘΣΕ</i>	<i>Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας.</i>
<i>Ανασκαφικό Έργο</i>	<i>Από το Ανασκαφικό Έργο των Εφορειών Αρχαιοτήτων, 2000-2010 (2012).</i>
<i>ΑΣΝΔΕ</i>	<i>Αρχαιολογική Σύνοδος, Νότιας και Δυτικής Ελλάδος.</i>
<i>ΑΣΠΛΑΛΙΣ I:</i>	<i>M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou - Gr. Tziallas (eds), ΑΣΠΛΑΛΙΣ I: Ιστορία και αρχαιολογία της Μελιταίας και της ευρύτερης περιοχής της, Μελιταία 8 Αυγούστου 2011 (2015).</i>
<i>Γαλαξείδι</i>	<i>P. Themelis, R. Stathaki-Koumari (eds), Το Γαλαξείδι από την αρχαιότητα έως σήμερα (2003).</i>
<i>ΔΙΕΕ</i>	<i>Δελτίον Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας.</i>
<i>ΕΛΛΚερ</i>	<i>Επιστημονική Συνάντηση για την Ελληνιστική Κεραμική.</i>
<i>Εύβοια και Στερεά</i>	<i>A. Vlachopoulos (ed), Εύβοια και Στερεά Ελλάδα (2008).</i>
<i>Θωράκιον</i>	<i>Θωράκιον: Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Παύλου Λαζαρίδη (2004).</i>
<i>ΙΑΣΑ</i>	<i>Ιστορικό και Αρχαιολογικό Συνέδριο Αιτωλοακαρνανίας.</i>
<i>Λοκρίδα</i>	<i>Ph. Dakoronia, D. Kotoulas, E. Balta, B. Sythiakaki, G. Toliias, Λοκρίδα. Ιστορία και πολιτισμός (2002), 17-112.</i>
<i>Νικόπολις Α'</i>	<i>E. Chrysos (ed), Νικόπολις Α': Πρακτικά του Πρώτου Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για τη Νικόπολη (1987).</i>
<i>Νικόπολις Β'</i>	<i>K. Zachos (ed), Νικόπολις Β': Πρακτικά του Δευτέρου Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για τη Νικόπολη (2007).</i>
<i>ΣΦΙ</i>	<i>Συνέδριο Φθιωτικής Ιστορίας.</i>
<i>Accame, Il dominio Achaïe I</i>	<i>S. Accame, Il dominio romano dalla guerra Acaica ad Augusto (1972).</i> <i>A. D. Rizakis, Achaïe I: Sources textuelles et histoire régionale, ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 20 (1995).</i>
<i>Achaïe II</i>	<i>A. D. Rizakis, Achaïe II: La cité de Patras: Épigraphie et histoire, ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 25 (1998).</i>
<i>Adam, Λοκρικά</i>	<i>D. P. Adam, Λοκρικά. Περιβοάγρια. Επινημίδα (2001).</i>
<i>Adrymi-Sismani, Θέατρα</i>	<i>V. Adrymi-Sismani (ed.), Αρχαία Θέατρα στη Θεσσαλία (2010).</i>
<i>Ager, Interstate</i>	<i>S. L. Ager, Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek World, 337-90 B.C. (1996).</i>
<i>Agusta-Boularot, Fontaines</i>	<i>S. Agusta-Boularot, Fontaines et fontaines monumentales en Grèce de la conquête romaine à l'époque flavienne, in J.-Ch. Moretti, J.-Y. Marc (eds), Constructions publiques et programmes éditaires en Grèce entre le II^e s. av. J.-C. et le I^{er} s. ap. J.-C., BCH Suppl. 39 (2001), 167-236.</i>
<i>Alcock, Graecia Capta</i>	<i>S. E. Alcock, Graecia Capta: the Landscapes of Roman Greece (1993).</i>
<i>Amandry, La mantique</i>	<i>P. Amandry, La mantique apollinienne à Delphes (1950)</i>
<i>Amandry, Delphi</i>	<i>P. Amandry, Delphi and its History, trans. J. Binder (1984).</i>
<i>Amandry, La ruine</i>	<i>P. Amandry, La ruine du temple d'Apollon à Delphes, Bull. de l'Acad. Royale de Belgique 75, 1989, 26-47</i>
<i>Amandry – Hansen, Le temple d'Apollon</i>	<i>P. Amandry – E. Hansen, Le temple d'Apollon du IV^e siècle, FdD II 14 (2010).</i>
<i>Antonetti, L'Acarnania</i>	<i>C. Antonetti, L'Acarnania in epoca imperiale. Contributi epigrafici (1986).</i>

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ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

ACHAIA PHTHIOTIS – ΑΧΑΪΑ ΦΘΙΩΤΙΣ

Phthiotis / Magnisia / Larissa R. Un.

Hdt. 7.173.1; 7.185.2; 7.197.1-2; 7.198.2; Th. 4.78; 8.3.1; X. *HG.* 1.2.18; 4.3.3-9; *Ages.* 2.2; Aeschin. 2.116; Arist. *Pol.* 1267b5-7; 1269b6; D. 11.1; 19.36, 39, 159, 163, 334; Scyl. 63; Theopomp. *Hist. Fr.* 63; D.S. 5.50.5; 18.11.1; 20.110; 26.9; Plb. 5.97-100; 9.18.5-9; 9.42; 18.3.13; 18.8.9; 18.19-20; 18.38.3; 18.46-47; Str. 8.8.5; 9.5.1, 9.5.3; 9.5.6-10; 9.5.13-14; 9.5.17; 10.1.10; Liv. 28.6.7; 28.7.12; 31.41.1; 31.46.7; 31.46.12; 32.4.1-7; 32.13.14; 32.33.16; 32.35.11; 33.3.10; 33.5.1; 33.6.10; 33.13.6ff; 33.13.9; 33.13.13; 33.32.6; 33.34.6-7; 33.38; 35.43.42; 36.12-15; 39.25-26; 42.42; 42.56; 42.67; Mela 2.39-40; Plin. *Nat.* 4.1; 4.28-29; Plu. *Ages.* 46; *Flam.* 10; *Sul.* 20.1; Paus. 2.24.1; 6.11.5; 7.1.6; 10.8.2; 10.20.6.

The name of the region is attested as Achaia or Phthiotis Achaia and the ethnicon as Achaïos or Achaïos Phthiotes or simply Phthiotai.

J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 686-687.

It extended over the plateaus of Mt. Othrys around Thaumakoi and Melitaia. The only low lying ground is the area around Proerna and the *Krokion pedion* around modern Almyros. A lake, Xynias, is mentioned. It had access to the sea, in the eastern part of Maliac Gulf, e.g. the coast from the Maliac city of Echinus to Pyrasos-Thebes. It was bordered to the south by Malis and Aenis, to the north, north-west and north-east by the tetradic Thessaly and to the far northeast and east by Magnesia.

Barr-Atlas, Map 55; on the borders of Magnesia and in particular the frontier between Eretria, Phthiotic Thebes and Pherai, cf. Di Salvatore, in *La Thessalie*, 93-124.

As for the geomorphological features mentioned in the sources relevant to the geography of the period, apart from Mt. Orthys / Othrys and the Krokian plain, the Amphrysos River, the Myonnesos islet [modern Agios Nikolaos on Glypha bay; Vortselas, *Φθιώτις*, 468; Stählin, *Thessalien*, 182; *RE* XVII (1933), 1080 s.v. Myonnesos 1 (Stählin), *Barr-Atlas* Map 55D3] between Larissa Kremaste and Andron, the Cape of Pyrrha, the islands of

Pyrrha and Deukalion near Pyrasos-Thebai are also noted (Str. 9.5.14). Rhigas of Velestino [*Νέος Ανάχαρις* 1 (1797), 141] identifies the cape of Pyrrha as the Cape of Agistri. The nearby rocky islet with the chapel of Agios Nikolaos must be one of the small islands Strabo mentions (cf. also, Leake, *Travels*, IV, 359-360, 371).

Achaia Phthiotis joined the Thessalian League after the treaty of Isthmos in 196 BC but without playing a significant role in it- it has been suggested that it had Peri-oikic status, since no general of the League came from its cities. However, it kept its two votes in the Delphic Amphictyony. Taking into account the origin of Phthiotian *hierommemones* it has been suggested that Melitaia, Larissa Kremaste and Phthiotic Thebes must have been the most significant cities of the region. This unusual autonomy lasted until the reform of the Amphictyony by Augustus, when the Achaia cities were fully incorporated into Thessaly. At some point, in the last part of the 2nd century BC, the archons of the city were replaced by a council of Tagoi. This modification is separate from the events of 146 BC, to which it has been previously associated. This evolution may be seen in the gradual adoption of the Thessalian calendar by the Malian and Achaian cities from the 2nd century BC to the 1st century AD.

In addition the disputes between Melitaia and Narthakion, Phthiotic Thebes and Halos show that the cities could solve their disputes independently from the Thessalian League, either bringing their case before the Roman Senate or choosing arbitrators from outside Thessaly.

Martin, *Leagues*, 28-34.

Thessaly became part of the Roman province of Achaia after the administrative changes made by Augustus in 27 BC. At that same time the geographical and political term 'Thessaly' was extended to include the region from Thermopylae to Orthys, e.g. to the ethnic areas of the Aenianes, Malians, Oitaioi and Achaia Phthiotis. In the reign of Antoninus Pius it was part of the province of Macedonia as is indicated by the mention in Ptolemy (3.12.13-14 and 42; cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* V, 29-30). The

exact time that Thessaly was detached from Achaia is disputed. The reigns of Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius have all been proposed [J. A. O. Larsen, in Frank, *Survey*, 437-441; G. Bianco, *La fonte greca delle Metamorfosi di Apuleio* (1971) 172; H. Van Thiel, *Der Eselsroman* (1971) I, 77; A. Avramea, *Η βυζαντινή Θεσσαλία μέχρι του 1204* (1974) 20], as well as that of Nero, and specifically the year of the proclamation of Greek independence in Isthmia (AD 67) (G. W. Bowersock, *RbM* 108, 1965, 277-289; cf. also W. J. Cherf, *Chiron* 17, 1987, 135-142). Thessaly gained its independence in provincial administration, as part of the diocese of Moesia, during Diocletian's reforms (284-305), and from the middle of the 4th century onwards, when Moesia was split into two dioceses, those of Dacia and Macedonia, Thessaly became one of the provinces of Macedonia under the *praefectus praetorio per Illyricum*. The whole district of modern Phthiotis from AD 695 onwards, under Justinian II, belonged to the *theme* of Hellas, part of the prefecture of Illyricum. *TIB* I, 50-51; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 9-10.

Melitaia continued to play a significant role among the cities of the region, since it is the only one that was called Sebaste. Small-sized sites and also the cities of the region served as *stationes* on the main road leading from Thessaly to Thermopylae via the plateau of Domokos and other secondary routes in the area such as Peuma to Philiadon-Melitaia-Narthakion. On the other side of the region, in the coastal zone, the city of Halos declined and the population was scattered to smaller settlements and farms with the aim of increasing agricultural productivity of the area. In Thebes, however, the population moved to the port of Pyrasos which from the 4th century onwards became the main ecclesiastical centre of the region and together with Demetrias, the main port of the Pagasitic Gulf.

The route leading from Larissa to Phthiotic Thebes-Demetrias is indicated by the *milliaria* in Aerino and Nea Achialos, dated to AD 305/306. They could be related to the sections of roads found in Kokkaleika (P.A.T.H.E. 299.500km mark).

F. Mottas – J.-Cl. Decourt, *BCH* 121, 1997, 344-345, 350-351, nos. 18, 20, figs 12-14; On the routes, cf. also *I.ThessEnipeus*, 127-132, pls 40-41; Burrer, *Münzprägung*, 24; Cantarelli, *Tessaglia*; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 16-19. Small forts or fortified settlements on Mt. Orthys between Halos and Peuma continued to be inhabited in the Roman-Late Roman period but it is not certain whether the fortifications still functioned.

G. Wieberdink, *Newsletter:Athen* 3, 1990, 47-63; Haagsma *et al.*, *Pharos* 1, 1993, 147-167; Reinders *et al.*, *The City of New Halos*, 24.

As far as the economy of the region is concerned, archaeological finds and literary evidence document the existence of cereal production, olive oil, wine, fruit trees and vegetable cultivation, stock-raising, fishing, mosaic production, pottery and glass workshops in Echinon (on the borders Malis-Achaia Phthiotis), Pteleon and Nea Anchialos in Late Antiquity (Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 167-179). It has also been suggested that Thessaly, i.e. the coastal Achaia Phthiotis in our case, contributed as well to the military anonna for the Danube with oil olive and wine, and its port (Nea Anchialos) participated in the sea-trade of LR2 amphorae between the 4th and 6th century AD (Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 213-214; *ead.* Thebes, 165). Furthermore, it cannot be excluded that Anchialos was one of the ports used for the export of *verde antico* in the Roman and Late Roman period and significant for the import of Prokonnesian marble (Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 183-195, proposes the port of Demetrias).

Apart from the cities included in the Index, Kypaira is listed by Ptolemy (3.12.42) in Thessaliothis but in the *Inventory* that followed Kip put it in Achaia as a result of its geographical position (Kip, *Studien*, 73; J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 714 no. 436). The city is situated at Kydonia (B. Helly, in Blum *et al.*, 79-80; *Barr Atlas*, *contra*, Stählin, *Thessalien*, 159-169; Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 336).

Ammoudera in the territory of the village of Polydendron has been proposed (Candarelli *et al.*, *Achaia Ftiotide* I, 163-164 no. 50D) as a possible location of the Erineos mentioned by Strabo (9.5.10) among other cities of Achaia, but it is rather difficult to accept, since there is no other evidence.

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Achilleio – Αχιλλεῖο 1:4C

Almyros Mun. / Magnisia R.Un.
Remains of a *villa maritima* were found on the small peninsula named Achilleio on Agioi Theodoroi bay in the territory of ancient Pteleon.
N. M. Verdelis, *AEphem* 1933, Par. 4-5.

Aerino-Aerino Roads – Αερινό 1:3A

Rigas Feraios Mun. / Magnisia R.Un.
A site on the border between Pherae and Phthiotic Thebes.
A *milliarium* dated to AD 305/306 was found to the east of the village. It probably marked the route leading from Larissa to Phthiotic Thebes or Demetrias and might be associated with the sections of ancient roads found beside the P.A.T.H.E., 3.5 km south of Aerino interchange (299.500km mark).
ADelt 18, 1963, B, 142; F. Mottas – J.-Cl. Decourt, *BCH* 121, 1997, 344-345, 350-351, no. 18, fig. 12; V. Adrymi-Sismani, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B, 425; 54, 1999, B, 386-387.

Agios Konstantinos-Paralia Pelasgias → **LARISSA'S KREMASTE'S harbour**

Agios Taxiarchis – Άγιος Ταξίαρχης 1:3D

Stylis Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.
A rectangular structure constructed over the slabs of a grave built using *opus testaceum* was excavated in Agios Taxiarchis in the region of Kyparissonas in Pelasgia. It is dated to the Late Roman-Early Byzantine period.
M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *ADelt* 47, 1992, B, 195.

Almyropotamos – Αλμυροπόταμος 1:3D

Stylis Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.
A fortified enclosure was located at the 244th km of the National Road on a summit overlooking the seashore, near the village of Achladi. It has been interpreted as a fort or watch tower which controlled the narrow sea passage of Oreoi. Three tile graves dating from the 3rd to the 1st century BC were found to the south.
Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B, 240; cf. P. Pantos, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B, 224-225.

ALOPE (Raches / Fournoi?) – ΑΛΟΠΗ (Ράχες – Φούρνοι;) 1:3D

Stylis Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.
Str. 9.5.8; Liv. 42.56; St. Byz. s.v.
Alope existed during Strabo's lifetime and it was possibly located in the village of Raches. A Roman date is proposed in *BarrAtlas*. However, no Roman finds are known from the area.
RE I1-2 (1894) 1595 s.v. Alope (Toepffer); *BarrAtlas* Map 55, C4.

Amaxolakka – Αμαζόλακκα 1:3C

Almyros Mun. / Magnisia R.Un.
Pottery, fragments of glass vases and scanty architectural remains (destruction levels, wells, roof tiles) attributed to a settlement of Roman-Late Roman date were found at Amaxolakka Sourpis, on the right side of the National Road from Lamia to Larissa (276th km mark). Bronze coins issued by the Thessalian League and dating to the reign of Augustus were among the finds.
Kallogianni *et al.*, in *Αχαιοφθιωτικά* 3, 2007, 146-147, fig. 6.

Ampelorrachi – Αμπελόραχη 1:1B

Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.
A site with Hellenistic and possibly Roman, Late Roman and Early Christian pottery was located to the northwest of Elkara at the foot of Ampelorrachi summit. A fortified citadel was possibly situated on the peak.
E. Phroussou, in *AEΘΣΕ* 3, 2012, 1187-1202, esp. 1188, 1194-1195.

ANDRON (Glyfa-Fanos) – ΑΝΤΡΩΝ (Γλύφα-Φανός) 1:4D

Stylis Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.
[D.] 10.9; Scyl. 63; D.S. 20.110.3; Str. 9.5.7; 9.5.8; 9.5.14; Liv. 42.67; Eust. 2.697.
Inscriptions: *IG IX2*, 96; *I.Thessaly*, 19.
The name of the city is attested as Andrōn and Andrōnes.
J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 713 no. 433.
The remains of the fortified city are located on a low hill overlooking Fanos Bay.
It was probably assigned to the Thessalian League after Cynos Cephales but passed again into Macedonian hands until 171 BC, when it was conquered by P. Licinius Crassus (Liv. 42.67).

The cemetery of the city (cist and pit graves) was located on the north slope of the hill and was in use from the Classical period to the 3rd century AD.

M. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni *ADelt* 41, 1986, B, 74, pl. 71β, γ; 43, 1988, B, 222-223; 44, 1989, B, 167; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, in *La Thessalie*, 229-230.

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Stählin, *Thessalien*, 181-182; Decourt, Nielsen, Helly *op.cit.*; *Barr-Atlas*, Map 55, D3.

Antinitza monastery – Μοναστήρι Αντίνιτσας 1:2C
Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Inscriptions: *IG IX2*, 213, 214; *SEG 3*, 467.

A decree of the 2nd century BC concerning an agreement between Thaumakoi and a neighbouring city is mentioned.

IG IX2, 214; *SEG 3*, 467.

A statuette of Hygeia was found. It has been suggested as a possible site of a sanctuary.

P. de la Coste - Messelière, G. Daux, *BCH* 98, 1924, 348, fig. 5.

It has been proposed as the location of ancient Erineos (Vortselas, *Φθιώτις*, 69), mentioned by Strabo (9.5.10), but this is disputed (Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 282-283).

CHALAI / CHALAIION (Tsournati Vrysi) –
ΧΑΛΑΙ/ΧΑΛΑΙΟΝ (Τσουρνάτη Βρύση) 1:2B

Almyros Mun. / Magnisia R.Un.

Inscriptions: *IG IX2*, 103-106.

The city is known from the territorial dispute of the 3rd century BC between Melitaia, Chalai and Peuma (*FD III4*, 351; Ager, *Interstate*, 99-103, nos 30-31). Only the ethnicon Chalaïos is attested.

Barr-Atlas, Map 55, C2; J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 687.

The settlement existed in the Late Hellenistic period, as indicated by *IG IX2*, 103, dated possibly to the second half of the 2nd century BC and by a manumission of 49/48 BC (*IG IX2*, 104). The first stone is an indication that Chalai was a dependency of Melitaia.

B. Helly *BCH* 125, 2001, 239-289.

It is located on a fortified citadel northeast of Vouna Gouras, 700-800 m northeast of the chapel of Profitis Ilias between Tourla and Ghidomantri, on the route leading from the plateau of Melitaia to the plain of Almyros (Halos, Thebes).

Fr. Stählin, *AM* 31, 1906, 72-73, Abb. 7; *id.*, *AM* 39, 1914, 83-103; *id.*, *Thessalien*, 169-170; Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide I*, 238-240, no. 86.

Kastro Petrotou / Tsatma (**PEREIA**) has also been proposed as its location.

RE Suppl. VII (1940) 885-892 s.v. Pereia (E. Kirsten); *RE Suppl.* XII (1970) 148 s.v. Chalai (E. Meyer).

Dasos – Δάσος 1:2C
Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A site with evidence of metalworking is located on a plateau ca. 0.5 km to the south of Neochori.

Hellenistic-Roman sherds are reported.

Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide I*, 171-172, no. 54A.

Divri-Paliokastro (PRAS?) – Δίβρη-Παλιόκαστρο
(ΠΡΑΣ;) 1:2D

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

X. *HG.* 4.3-9; X. *Ages.* 2.2; St.Byz. s.v.

A fortified citadel located 2.8 km southwest of the modern village of Divri, on the left bank of the Xerias torrent. It has been proposed as the site of the ancient city Pras mentioned by Xenophon and also a part of its territory was incorporated in the Hellenistic period into Lamia and another part into Narthakion.

RE Suppl. X (1965) 651-652 s.v. Pras 2 (E. Mayer); Cantarelli, Tessaglia, 308-310; J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 688; Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide I*, 201-203, no. 70, 287-297, figs 24-29; *contra*, Stählin, *Thessalien*, 187.

A bronze coin issued by the Thessalian League of Antoninus Pius date has been found.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 51, 1996, B, 324.

Ekkara-(EKKARA?) – Εκκάρρα (EKKAPA;) 1:1B
Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Liv. 32.13; St. Byz. s.v. Ἐκκάρρα.

Inscriptions: *IG IX2*, 223-229.

The name of the city is derived from the ethnicon used on the city's coins - EKKAPPEΩΝ. Livy mentions it as Acharras and Stephanus as Akarra. The ethnicon is attested as Akarraios, Akarratēs and Ekkareus (J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 714 no. 434).

The fortified acropolis located on a hill south of the modern village of Ekkara (formerly Kato Agoriani) has been proposed as its location. Roman pottery and coins are reported.

A. Ioannidou, *ADelt* 28, 1973, B, 281-282.

Other locations have also been proposed, cf. **Makryrachi**.

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Topographie, 85-89; J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventary*, 714 no. 434; Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide I*, 55-57, no. 12; *BarrAtlas*, Map 55C2.

Eleftherochori – Ελευθεροχώρι 1:3A

Rigas Feraios Mun. / Magnisia R.Un.

Site in the territory of Eretria. Remains probably of Roman date are located near the village school.

Di Salvatore, in Helly, *La Thessalie*, 97-98, figs 16-18, tab. 1, no. 15.

Ereipia – Ερείπια 1:1B

Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A settlement of Roman date located beside the Roman road from Larissa to Lamia via Pharsala close to Neo Monastiri. Traces of a grid plan (buildings arranged perpendicular and crossed by two paved streets running north-west, south-east) are reported. Traces of the Roman *via* were found in the Vardali area.

Roman sherds dating to the Imperial period are reported.

Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide I*, 38-39, no. 4.

ERETRIA (Kastro Eretrias / Turk. Tsangli)

ΕΡΕΤΡΙΑ (Κάστρο Ερέτριας)

1:3A

Pharsala Mun. / Larissa R.Un.

Plb. 18.20; Str. 9.5.10; 10.1.10; Liv. 32.13.9; 33.6.10; Ptol. 3.13.46; St.Byz. s.v.

Inscriptions: *IG IX2*, 199-204; *I.Thessaly*, 146-147.

It was destroyed by Philip V in 198 BC (Liv. 32.13.9), but continued to be inhabited until the 2nd century AD as is indicated by the finds.

The fortified acropolis of Eretria lies along the southern part of the hill of Kastro 1km south-southwest of the village of the same name, between the Krokian plain and the Enipeus valley. It shares its borders with Halos, Thebes, Peuma (or Kallitheia), Pharsala, Skotoussa and Pherai.

Pottery dating to the Imperial period was found. A cemetery was located near the north entrance of the city, 250-800m from the fortifications. A funerary stele dating to the 1st century BC has been found.

Among the inscriptions from the city, four inscribed funerary stelae can be dated to the 2nd century BC (*I.ThessEnipeus*, nos. 123-126) two to the 2nd century AD (*ibid.*, nos 128-129) and a funerary inscription to the Roman period (*ibid.*, no. 127).

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tria 2 (Philippson); I. Blum, *Die Stadt Eretria in Thessalien*, Lud. Maximilians Univ. 1981; *id.*, *AAA* 1982, 159-172; *id.*, in Blum *et al.*, *Topographie*, 157-229; *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, D2.

Fylakio – Φυλάκιο

1:2C

Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Two fortified summits are located at Fylakio in the area of the village of Palamas, in the northern foothills of Mt. Othrys very close to a section of ancient road.

Late Roman sherds are reported.

Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide I*, 109-111, no. 33A.

Geladaria – Γελαδαριά

1:1B

Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

An area between the Kakara torrent and the summit of Xerovouni, between the modern villages of Ekkara and Velesiotos. Livy (32.17) mentions a place called Celathara in the region and it has been proposed that the modern toponym is derived from the ancient one.

Hellenistic-Roman pottery is reported.

Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide I*, 61-62, no. 13B.

[HALOS] (Kefalosi-Almyros plain, Sourpi plain) –

[ΧΑΛΟΣ] (Κεφαλώση πεδιάδα Αλμυρού, πεδιάδα Σούρπης) 1:3B

Almyros Mun. / Magnisia R.Un.

Hdt. 7.173.1; 7.197.1; D. 11.1; 19.36, 39, 159, 163, 334; Str. 9.5.8; 9.5.14; Plin. *Nat.* 4.28; Mela 2.44; St.Byz. s.v.

Inscriptions: *IG IX2*, 107-131; *I.Thessaly*, no. 21.

Hellenistic Halos is located on the place name Kefalosi in Almyros. The river Amphrysos, passed to the north of the city and the Krokian plain lies between Halos and Phthiotic Thebes (Str. 9.5.8; 9.5.14).

RE I1-2 (1894) 1978 s.v. Amphrysos (Hirschfeld); *RE VII2* (1912) 2281-2282 s.v. Halos 1 (Stählin); *RE XI2* (1922) 1945 s.v. Krokion (Stählin).

The Amphrysos River, the Xerias torrent and the Platanorrema from the Classical period to the present day have deposited a sediment 1-2m thick over the beach ridge of Classical Halos in Sourpi - Almyros bay on the northern edge of the Maliac Gulf. As a result the ancient shore line in 300 BC in this area should be located 250m further east than the present one. Also, a salt marsh existed between the city of New Halos and the sea and specifically between the banks of the Amphrysos river and the Platanorrema torrent.

The name of the city is attested both masculine and feminine. The ethnicon is Haleus and in Stephanus Halousios and Halios.

J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 714 no. 435

The city was destroyed by an earthquake in 265 BC. Occupation continued in the area around the southeast gate until 230 BC. However, a Late Roman cemetery was excavated near the southwest corner of the lower city.

E. Nikolaou, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B, 430.

A dispute between Thebes and Halos was arbitrated, within the Thessalian League, by Makon from Larissa around the middle of the 2nd century BC or a few years later (145-137 BC). It concerned the religious jurisdiction over a sanctuary and the sacred land associated with it. The disputed land must have been located on the Krokian plain. Copies of the judgment were set up in Delphi, in the temple of Apollo Kerdoios in Larissa, in the temple of Athena Polias in Thebes and in the temple of Artemis Panachaia in Halos. The title of Panachaia indicates the significant role the sanctuary played for the Achaeans.

IG IX2, add. p. x, 205 I; *FD* III4, 355; *SEG* 27, 79; 28, 471; 29, 460; Kroog, *foederis*, 20, 22; Kramolisch, *Die Strategen*, 64-65; G. Daux, *ZPE* 36, 1979, 139-144; Ch. Habicht, *Chiron* 13, 1983, 25; G. Daverio Rocchi, *Frontiera e confini nella Grecia antica* (1988), 152-155, no. 14; Ager, *Interstate*, 415-420, no. 153; K. Freitag, in K. Freitag et al. (eds), *Kult-Politik-Ethnos* (2006) 211-235.

The word *Ligynaioi* is mentioned in the text, which has been interpreted by Bousquet as an ethnicon. However, Daux suggests that it is either a place name derived from *λύγος* (= loud / clear sound) or a fortress.

G. Daux, *ZPE* 36, 1979, 143-144.

The absence of any finds from the lower town datable between 230 BC and the Late Roman period is difficult to reconcile with the existence of the text of the dispute. However, it has been proposed that a part of the city possibly continued to be inhabited or that the population chose another site after the 3rd century BC (Karatadagli and mainly Vrynaina). In addition the city is mentioned in Pliny (*Nat.* 4.28) and Mela (2.44).

Reinders, *New Halos*, 152-154, 173-174; *id.*, *The City of New Halos*, 23-24.

It has been proposed that the sanctuary under dispute was that of Athena Itonia located by Strabo (9.5.8) in the town Iton between Thebes and Halos (L. Robert, *REG* 1979, 219), a suggestion that has been strongly questioned (J. Bousquet, *BCH* 101, 1977, 458; K. Freitag, *op. cit.*, 229-231).

A number of Roman-Late Roman sites were located on the plain of Almyros. Survey has indicated a dense concentration of settlement debris in the area between the torrents of Xerias and Platanorrema. A similar picture may be observed in the area south of Halos, along the National Road and the road leading from Almyros to Sourpi, as well as in the area of Voulokalyva. All the sites but one continued to be occupied until the Late Roman period and a number of new sites were founded in the Middle Roman-Late Roman period. The majority of the sites are small in size, presumably farmsteads or storage buildings.

Among them a large site of Late Roman-Early Byzantine date was mapped close to a series of graves of the same period at Tharka. Also a villa with bath complex (*pilae* from a hypocaust were found) was detected at Touvla in the middle of the Sourpi plain. It is dated to the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman period.

Z. Malakasioti – R. Reinders, *ADelt* 49, 1994, B, 326-32, fig. 57; 56-59, 2001-2004, 475-476; H.R. Reinders, P. Eijma, Z. Malakasioti, V. Rondiri, *Pharos* 8, 2000, 90-91; V. Stissi, H.R. Reinders, Z. Malakasioti, V. Rontiri, in *ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ* 4 (in press).

A Mycenaean-Geometric cemetery that was reused in the Hellenistic-Roman period was excavated in the Voulokalyva region.

Z. Malakasioti, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, 487-488.

Apart from the evidence of the survey, a number of individual sites, possibly agricultural, were excavated during the construction of P.A.T.H.E in Amaxolakka, Kontarolakka, Pournarolakka and Pontika.

These finds are evidence that a number of small settlements or farms were established in the territory of Halos after the decline of the city-centre. The association of the Roman sites with the agricultural activity in the plain of Almyros is reinforced by the discovery of a clay pipe line of Roman date found on the left side of P.A.T.H.E (275+000 km mark). It has been proposed that it belonged to a public facility for bringing water from Mt. Orthrys to the plain of Sourpi for irrigation. E. Nikolaou, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B, 429; Kallogianni et al., in *Αρχαιολογικά* 3, 2007, 145-146, 159, fig. 5.

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Karatsadagli-Kastraki / Paliokklisi – Καρατσάνταγλι-Καστράκι/Παλιοκκλήσι 1:3B
Almyros Mun. / Magnisia R.Un.

Remains of a fortress are located on Paliokklisi hill north of the village of Karatsadagli. It was inhabited from the Classical to the Byzantine period.

Haagsma *et al.*, *Pharos* 1, 1993, 156-157; Reinders *et al.*, *Pharos* 16, 2008, 108-109; *id.*, *The City of New Halos*, 21, 23, fig. 1.6-8.

Kommeno Tzami Magoula-Chasapli – Μαγούλα Κομμένο Τζαμί – Χασαπλή 1:2B
Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A magoula 2.5 km southeast of Neo Monastiri, in the area of Chasapli, near the Roman road from Larissa to Lamia via Pharsala. Sections of the Roman road have been traced ca. 200m south and ca. 700m north of the site. Roman sherds are reported.

Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide* I, 39-41, no. 5.

Kontarolakka – Κονταρόλακκα 1:3B
Almyros Mun. / Magnisia R.Un.

Scanty remains of rubble walls, roof tiles and a well were found at Kontarolakka Sourpis on the right side of P.A.T.H.E. (277+500 km mark). Pottery of Roman date was collected. It was possibly a farm.

Kallogianni *et al.*, in *Αρχαιολογικά* 3, 2007, 149, fig. 9.

KORONEIA – ΚΟΡΩΝΕΙΑ

Str. 9.5.10; Ptol. 3.12.43; St. Byz. s.v.

Unidentified. Citadels in Kislari (PEUMA) and Kokotoi in Orthrys have been proposed as its location. The only indications that the city existed in the Roman period are the references made to it in Strabo and Ptolemy.

Kip, *Studien*, 72; RE XI (1922) 1431 s.v. Κορώνεια 2 (Stählin); Stählin, *Thessalien*, 185; H. White, *Museum Philologicum Londinense* 6, 1984, 97-103; J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 687.

Koutroulou Magoula - Chasapli – Κουτρούλου Μαγούλα – Χασαπλή 1:2B
Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A magoula located 2 km southeast of Neo Monastiri in the area of Chasapli. Hellenistic-Roman sherds are reported.

Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide* I, 41-42, no. 5A.

Krikorrachi – Κρικόρραχη 1:2C
Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A settlement located in the northern foothills of Mt.

Othrys, on the right bank of the Thanasorrema torrent, 2km southwest of the village of Phyladona and 3km east of Melitaia, 700m to the south of the crossroads of the road coming from Nerochorion and that of the road from Melitaia to Phyladona. Roman sherds are reported.

Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide* I, 168-170, no. 53.

LARISSA KREMASTE (Pelasgia-Kastro) –

ΛΑΡΙΣΣΑ ΚΡΕΜΑΣΤΗ (Κάστρο Πελασγίας) 1:3D
Stylis Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Plb. 18.3.13; 18.8.9; 18.19.3; 18.38.3; Verg. *A.* 2.197; 11.404; Str. 9.5.13-14; 9.5.19; Liv. 32.35.11; 33.13.6; 42.67; Ptol. 3.12.14.

Inscriptions: *IG IX2*, 94-95, corr. ix; A.M. Woodward, *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 3, 1910, 145-146, nos 1-2; *I.Thessaly*, nos. 17-18.

The name of the city is attested as Larissa Kremastē and in Strabo as Larissa Pelasgia. The ethnicon is Larissaios and Larissaios *ek* Phthiotis (J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 714-715, no. 437).

According to Strabo, it was situated 20 stadia from the coast and presumably from its harbour at Agios Konstantinos. It has been identified with the fortified citadel on the summit of Kastro, north of the modern village of Pelasgia. Strabo mentions an abundance of water and vineyards.

After the defeat of Philip V at Cynoscephalae, Larissa was claimed by the Aitolians but Flamininus assigned it to the Thessalian League. Philip and his son Perseus asserted their power until 171 BC when the city surrendered to P. Licinius Crassus.

A dispute between Larissa and Pteleon was resolved by the Roman Senate. The subject of the dispute and the outcome of the case remain unknown. It may be dated to the second quarter of the 2nd century BC but it cannot be placed with certainty before or after 171 BC.

IG IX2, 520 corr. p. xiv; *SEG* 33, 460; 50, 526; 53, 545; Martin, *Leagues*, 35; Ch. Habicht, *Chiron* 13, 1983, 21-32, esp. 24; Ager, *Interstate*, 218-219, no. 78.

An honorific decree, dating to the end of the 2nd or early 1st century BC, in which the office of *agoranomos* and the god Hermes are mentioned, as well as a statue base for a boy athlete, dating possibly to the end of the 2nd century BC have been found at Larissa.

Virgil claims a Larissan origin for Achilles and it appears that this is not an invention of Latin literature, but is based on local epic tradition, as may be inferred by the

Hellenistic coins issued by the city on which the hero and Thetis are depicted [cf. L. Forrer, *The Weber Collection, V. II Greek Coins* (1924) 220; C. Heyman, in *Antidoron Peremans* (1968) 115–125] and a bronze state seal of 4th century BC date which is decorated with the figures of Thetis and Skyla (D.M. Robinson, *AJA* 38, 1934, 219–222).

Building remains with a niche on the west side were found outside the walls to the east, below the road leading to the village of Pelasgia. Its identification as the temple of Hermes is unfounded. A marble comic mask of Hellenistic or (more likely) Roman date came from the area between here and the village.

Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 170–171, fig. 104.

A dedication to the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian (AD 292) is the latest find from the site.

Schörner, *Votive*, 509 no. 1088.

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RE XIII1 (1924) 840–845 s.v. Larisa 2 (Stählin); Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 168–171, figs 101, 102, 104; N. Paulou, *Θεσσαλικό Ημερολόγιο* 59, 2011, 17–30.

LARISSA'S KREMASTE'S harbour (Agios Konstantinos/Pelasgia-Paralia) – Λιμάνι ΛΑΡΙΣΣΑΣ ΚΡΕΜΑΣΤΗΣ (Άγιος Κωνσταντίνος/Παραλία Πελασγίας) 1:3D

Stylis Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Scyl. 63; D.S. 20.110.2; Str. 1.3.20; Liv. 31.46.12; 42.56; Paus. 2.24.1.

A Late Hellenistic-Roman cemetery (2nd century BC–3rd century AD) was located in the area of a Classical settlement on the hill of Agios Konstantinos, at the 252nd km of the National Road from Athens to Thessaloniki. Pits covered with tiles, a cist in *opus mixtum* and a jar burial were found.

The settlement has been identified as the port of Larissa Kremaste.

Aik. Stamoudi, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B, 391–393, pl. 150; *ead.*, in Cantarelli, *Stählin*, 143; *ead.*, in *Αχαιοφθιωτικά* 3, 2007, 267–282, esp. 281–282.

Longitsi-Palaiokastro – Λογγίτσι - Παλαιόκαστρο 1:2C
Stylis Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A fortress located 1.4 km northeast of the modern village of Longitsi.

Roman pottery has been reported.

Cantarelli, Tessaglia, 315; Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide* I, 233–235, no. 84.

Makrolivado – Μακρολίβαδο 1:2C

Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A settlement located on an upland plateau to the west of the cemetery of the modern village.

Sherds and bricks of Roman date are reported.

Cantarelli, Tessaglia, 318; Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide* I, 117–120, no. 34B.

Makryrachi (EKKARA?) – Μακρυράχη 1:1C
(EKKAPA;)

Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A grave relief of Roman date was found incorporated into a fountain in Makryrachi (formerly Kaitsa) village.

A. Onasoglou, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B, 223–224, pl. 124γ.

It has been identified as ancient Ekkara (cf. **Ekkara**).

B. Helly, in Blum *et al.*, 85–89.

Kastro Rentinas and a fortified site between Petroto and Achladia have been also proposed as the site of Ekkara.

K. Liampi, in *Stephanos nomismatikos* (1998) 418–419.

Mati Magoula – Μάτι Μαγούλα 1:2B

Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A magoula located near modern Domokos, to the right of the National Road from Lamia to Pharsala beside the route of the Roman Via. A tomb of Roman date was excavated.

Hellenistic-Roman pottery is reported.

Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide* I, 68–70, no. 16

Mavri – Μάυρη 1:2C

Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A settlement located on a wooded plateau on the right bank of the Mavrorema torrent, 1.8 km southeast of the village of Panagia.

Roman sherds are reported.

Cantarelli, Tessaglia, 312; Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide* I, 181–183, no. 60.

MELITAIA (Melitaia, Avaritsa until 1914) – ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΑ (Μελιταία) 1:2C

Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Th. 4.78; Theopomp. Hist. fr. 373; X. *Ages*. 16.5; Dicaearch. Hist. fr. 21; Scyl. 63; Plb 5.97.5ff; 9.18.5–9; D.S. 18.15.1; Str. 9.5.6; 9.5.10; Liv. 31.41.1; Plin. *Nat*. 4.32; Plu. *Sul*. 20.1; Ptol. 3.12.43 or 46 (Melitara); Ant. Lib. 13 (Nicander); St.Byz. s.v. Μελιταία (Ephorus).

Inscriptions: *IG* IX2, 205–212, add. xi; *I.Thessaly*, no. 148–151; N. Giannopoulos, *AEphem* 1927–1928, 117–127; A. Ioannidou-Karetsou, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B, 329; Ager, *In-*

terstate, 107-114; Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 48, 1993, B, 220. The name of the city is Melitaia, Meliteia or Melitea and the ethnicon Melitaius, Meliteus. Melitia appears only in Diodorus and Melite in Pliny.

J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 715 no. 438.

Melitaia joined the Thessalian League, along with other Phthiotian cities, after the treaty of Isthmos in 196 BC but it retained a partial independence and an exceptional status among the cities of Achaia Phthiotis since it is one of the three Phthiotian cities (the others being Larissa and Phthiotic Thebes) which sent *hieromnemes* to Delphi in the second half of the 2nd century BC (*CID* 4, 114, 116, 117, 119B).

A long-standing territorial dispute between Narthakion and Melitaia probably over rights to pasture in land between the two cities started possibly in the 4th century BC and was arbitrated by Samian, Kolophonian and Magnesian judges perhaps around 143 BC, was heard by the Roman Senate a few years later, in ca. 140 BC, when it was settled in favour of Narthakion. Both cities had entered into *amicitia* with Rome during the period of T.Q. Flaminius and the mission of the ten legati (cf. **Narthakion**).

A citizen of Melitaia manumitted a slave in Delphi around the middle of the 2nd century BC. (*SGDI* 2138).

A number of mass manumission texts are dated to the 1st century BC-1st century AD. The standardisation of the fee (15 dinarii) is evidence of constitutional intervention by the city (*IG IX2*, 206-207). These inscriptions also record a significant part of the Melitaian calendar during the Roman period.

A. E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology* (1972) I, 81-82. The troops of Sulla and L. Valerius Flaccus faced each other outside the walls of Melitaia in 86/5 BC, without engaging in battle (Plu. *Sul.* 20.1).

A base for statues of Caracalla, Iulia Domna and possibly Geta was found in the monastery of Agia Triada and may have originally been erected in the ancient agora. In this text the city is called Sebaste.

P. de La Coste-Messelière, *BCH* 48, 1924, 367-368, no. 3; *SEG* 3, 466; Stavrogiannis, *Εννοδία*, 16.

The ancient city was located on the west part of Mt. Othrys, on a slope southeast of the modern village. A *diateichisma* divided the city into the lower and upper city with the acropolis at the summit.

Melitaia owned a large territory of 462 km² including part of the Domokos plateau. Its borders from the mid-

3rd century to the second half of the 2nd century BC are known thanks to an inscription in which several landmarks are mentioned including rivers (the Europos = modern Bouziotikos, the Elipeus = Chiliadiotikos, the Akmeus = Neochoritikos, the Kerkinus = Gouriotikos, the Charadraios = Skourisorema and Skapetaios), a spring (Galaïos), summits and slopes (Kolona, Mynis, Hypaton, Eurynia, Makyrion, Dikorypha, Mesoraktion, Spondos?) and shrines (=Boreas, Hermes). It controlled the plain to the north and the mountainous region to the east and to the south. The western border passed close to the villages of Leuka - Agios Georgios - Kalamaki, the northern border from Leuka - Mantasia - east slopes of Anavra, the eastern border crossed the east slopes of Anavra up to the fortress at Longitsi and finally, the south border may be drawn from the fortress at Longitsi to the northern slopes of Mt. Divri-Kalamaki.

Stählin, *Thessalien*, 162-170; *RE* XV1 (1931) 539-540, s.v. *Μελίταια* (Stählin); G. Daverio Rocchi, *Frontiera e confini nella Grecia antica* (1988) 153-151; cf. also, *ead.*, in Cantarelli, *Stählin*, 31-39; L. Stavrogiannis, in *ΑΣΠΛΑΙΣ* I, 92-94.

It shares borders to the south with Narthakion, with Xyniai and possibly Lamia to the southwest-west, with Thaumakoi to the northwest, with Pereia, Peuma to the north, with Philadon (modern Moria), Karandai (modern Kastro Ghridia?) and Chalai in the northeast and Halos to the east. Melitaia in the Late Hellenistic period and possibly in the Roman period as well controlled the neighbouring cities of Pereia, Philadon, Karandai and Chalai.

Fr. Stählin, *AM* 39, 1914, 83-103; Reinders, *New Halos*, 23, fig. 5; Stavrogiannis, in *ΑΣΠΛΑΙΣ* I, 95.

Two major routes crossed its territory from north to south and from west to east. The first led from the valley of Enipeus to Melitaia and then to Narthakion and Phalara and the second from the Almyros plain, across Mt. Goura (Anavra) to Melitaia, then through the valley of Palamas to Xyniai crossing the Roman road leading from Thessaly to Lamia and Thermopylae through Thaumakoi. A secondary route led from the valley of Palamas to Thaumakoi, via Nea Makrisi.

Candarelli, *Tessaglia*.

Acropolis

A rectangular building was excavated on the acropolis. It consisted of nine places and two rectangular rooms. It had been identified as the sanctuary of Asclepius and

was in use from the late 4th century BC to the Roman period, but recently has been re-identified as a tower and part of the fortification wall.

A. Ioannidou-Karetsoy, *AAA* 5, 1972, 47-57; Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide* I, 138-141, no. 40E; L. Stavrogiannis, in *ΣΦΙ* 4, 2010, 586-587; *id.*, in *ΑΣΠΛΑΙΣ* I, 91.

Asty

The agora of the city is mentioned by Strabo. In his lifetime the inhabitants of Melitaia displayed the tomb of Hellen, son of Deucalion and Pyrrha in the Agora (Strab. 9.5.6).

A votive stele dating to the 2nd-1st century BC was found in Xirokamara in the upper part of the asty. It has been associated with a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B, 444 (it is reported as burial); For its identification see L. Stavrogiannis, in *ΑΣΠΛΑΙΣ* I, 90-91.

The cemeteries were located to the southeast, south-southwest and northwest of the city.

Two houses were excavated in the lower part of the asty (Kontogeorgou field), separated by intersecting paved roads, evidence that the town was divided into insulae. Late Hellenistic- Early Roman sherds, bronze coins and other metal objects came to light.

M. Ph. Papakonstantinou, *ADelt* 47, 1992, B, 196-197; L. Stavrogiannis, in *ΑΣΠΛΑΙΣ* I, 87-91.

North-West cemetery

It is located at Paliouria / Tsairia.

A built-cist grave in use from the 1st century AD to the 3rd century AD was excavated in Bellou field. The skeletal remains of at least 7 individuals were found. A grave relief dating to the 4th century BC and three inscribed pediment stelae dating to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC had been used as cover slabs for the grave.

D. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 34, 1979, B, 191; P. Bouyia, in Cantarelli, *Stählin*, 114-120, fig. 2; *ead.*, in *Αχαιοφθωτικά* 3, 2007, 285-290, fig. 1, pls 1-6.

Two more inscribed funerary stelae, a palmette and a pedestal one, dating to the 2nd century BC also came from the same cemetery. The second one had possibly been used as a cover slab for a Roman grave.

P. Bougia, in *Αχαιοφθωτικά* 3, 2007, 294-296, fig. 1, pls 7, 11.

A pedestal inscribed grave stele dating 2nd century BC-Imperial Times came from Marmara. The name of Menecharma, daughter of Antivolos ΙΣΚΥΒΒΑ has been inscribed on it and it has been proposed that she

originated from Physkos in West Locris. The stone had possibly been used as a cover slab for a Roman grave.

A. Phloros, *Platon* 10, 1958, 286; *SEG* 23, 406; *LGPN* IIIB, s.v. Μενεχάρμα (erroneously the stone has been attributed to Echinus); P. Bougia, in *Αχαιοφθωτικά* 3, 2007, 295, fig. 1, pl. 8.

Extra muros

A large building of Roman date, probably a *villa rustica* or a *villa suburbana*, was excavated in Giannelos' field, 50m from the northern section of the fortification walls. A number of rectangular areas, mosaic floors, part of the drainage system, an Ionic capital and a statue base, as well as pottery and metal objects came to light.

Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide* I, 141, no. 40F; L. Stavrogiannis, in *ΑΣΠΛΑΙΣ* I, 92, *id.*, *Εννοδία*, 16-17.

A well filled with Roman sherds was excavated inside the modern village in Deukalionos Street (Chr. Pyrouli plot) close to the western section of the fortification walls. It was constructed using clay tubes and clay tegulae. Horseshoe-shaped openings were made in the walls of the well to aid the drawing of water. A looted cist grave and part of a manumission inscription were also found.

A. Onasoglou, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B, 199.

The temple of Artemis Ennodia / Aspalis

The temple of Artemis Ennodia came to light outside the western fortification wall, in the plot belonging to Kalamaras, in the area of the modern settlement, south of the church of Agios Nikolaos. It was an *oikos* with *pronaos* and *sekos*. It was destroyed by fire around the middle of the 1st century BC. Pottery, figurines and marble statuettes were found. It has been proposed that in the case of Melitaia a syncretism had taken place between the cult of Artemis Ennodia and that of the heroine Aspalis.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 48, 1993, B, 218; *ead.*, in A. Alexndri, I. Leventi (eds), *Καλλίστευμα. Μελέτες προς τιμήν της Ο. Τζάχου-Αλεξανδρή* (2001), 403-410; Stavrogiannis, *Εννοδία*.

According to another opinion the sanctuary of Artemis and Aspalis ought to be located in the area of Agios Georgios Iconostasis 2.7 km to the south of the modern village close to the border between Melitaia and Narthakion (and Lamia?). At least four temples or *sacella* have been identified and the pottery from the area indicates that the sanctuary remained in use in the Roman period.

RE XV1 (1931) 540, s.v. Μελίταια (Stählin); Fl. Cantarelli-A. Bianchi Spinelli, in Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide* I, 301-304; G. Spinelli, in Cantarelli *et al.* (*op.cit.*), 305-306; S. Morretta, in Cantarelli *et al.* (*op.cit.*), 317-340; R. Federico, in Cantarelli *et al.* (*op.cit.*), 341-345, tav. IIb; Fl. Cantarelli, in Cantarelli *et al.* (*op.cit.*), 370-434, fig. 30-42, tav. I-IIa.

A number of manumissions, mentioned above, dating to the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD, came from the area of Agios Georgios (IG IX2, 206-207).

The significance of the Aspalis cult in the Late Hellenistic-Roman period is documented by a myth recorded by Nicander of Colophon in the 2nd century BC and incorporated by Antoninus Liberalis in his *Metamorphoseon Synagoge* (Anton. Lib. 13).

Fl. Cantarelli (*op.cit.*).

However the temple in Agios Georgios, must be of Zeus Othryios, mentioned in a senatus consultum that was found in the area and is dated to the first half of the 2nd century BC (or around the middle of the century). The architectural members incorporated into the chapel of Profitis Ilias located on the top of the summit called Alogorrachi may once have been part of the temenos wall or an altar of the god.

L. Stavrogiannis, in ΣΦΙ 4, 2010, 590-592; *id.*, in ΑΣΠΛΑΙΣ I, 91, 94-95, fig. 19-20; *id.*, *Ευβοδία*, 17-18; *contra*, Fl. Cantarelli, in ΑΣΠΛΑΙΣ I, 67 note 6, who suggests that the triad Capitolina replaced the cult of Zeus in Agios Georgios.

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Metafio – Μεταφίω 1:4C
Almyros Mun. / Magnisia R.Un.

Architectural remains of four houses were found at Metafio, 1.3km north of the village of Agioi Theodoroi, on a small hill beside the old road from Lamia to Larissa. These houses have been suggested as a military outpost to guard the route or a rural settlement located on the

borders between Pteleon and Larissa Kremaste. It is dated to the Late Hellenistic or Roman periods.
N. M. Verdelis, *Prakt* 1953, 125-127, figs 7-8, plans I-II.

Mnimata – Μνήματα 1:3A
Volos Mun. / Magnisia R.Un.

A site in the territory of Phthiotic Thebes. Artifacts dating to the Roman-Late Roman periods and a cemetery of Hellenistic-Roman date have been found on the east side of the National Road from Lamia to Larissa at Mnimata or Kalymmata, 1.5km northwest of the village of Mikrothives.

Architectural remains of a *villa rustica* of Late Roman date have come to light.

V. Adrymi-Sismani, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B, 424-426; 54, 1999, B, 385, 388; 55, 2000, B, 475; *ead.*, in *Αχαιοφθιωτικά* 3, 2007, 339.

Mytaries – Μυταριές 1:2B
Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A cistern of Hellenistic-Roman date is located southeast of the modern village of Achladia, at the crossroads leading to Percia and Peuma. Hellenistic-Roman sherds are reported.

Cantarelli, Tessaglia, 320-321; Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide* I, 156-158, no. 49.

NARTHAKION (Limogardi-Paliokastro) – NAP-ΘAKION (Λιμογάρδι-Παλιόκαστρο) 1:2D
Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

X. HG. 4.3.3-9; X. *Ages*. 2.2; Plu. *Ages*. 46; Str. 9.5.10; Ptol. 3.12.43

Inscriptions: *Syll.*³ 674A; IG IX2, 89-91, Corr. ix.; *I.Thessaly*, nos. 11-14.

The fortified remains of the city are located on the summit of Palaiokastro 1.5 km north of the modern village. The settlement was abandoned in the second half (later part?) of the 2nd century BC as a result of a severe destruction from an unknown cause. Part of the necropolis has been excavated on the north slope of the hill. The graves date between the early part of the 3rd and the late 2nd century BC.

P. Bougia, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B, 399-400, pl. 152γ; *ead.*, in *AEΘΣΕ* 1, 2006, 927-944.

Narthakion had entered into *amicitia* with Rome during the period of T.Q. Flamininus and the mission of the ten legati. A long-standing territorial dispute between Narthakion and Melitaia was heard by the Roman Senate in ca. 140 BC and was settled in favour of Narthakion (cf. **Melitaia**).

B. Latscheff, *BCH* 6, 1882, 356-387; *RDGE* 52; Accame, *Il dominio*, 217-218; Martin, *Leagues*, 28-34; S. Ager, *AncHistB* 3, 1989, 107-114; *ead.*, *Interstate*, 420-423, 425-429, no. 154, 156; P. Baker, in *Mélanges Olivier Masson* (2000) 33-47; Camia, *Rome e le poleis*, 51-64.

A recent study suggests a date between 178 and 167 BC for the final decision.

A. Kontogiannis, *Ονομάτων επίσκεψις* (2009), 156-161.

A small aristocratic clique possibly dominated Narthakion in the 2nd century BC. This phenomenon has been associated with the Roman favouritism for timocratic governments after 146 BC (Accame, *Il dominio*, 223). However, it is not certain that the relevant epigraphic texts all date after the mid-2nd century BC (Martin, *Leagues*, 26-27, 51).

In addition it is attested epigraphically that the community of Narthakion was organised into *phatriae* or *genoi* in this period.

B. Latscheff, *BCH* 6, 1882, 580-590.

Pottery dating from the 5th century BC to the 6th century AD came from the lower city. A limestone block carved in the shape of a hoplite shield was reused as statue base in the 2nd-1st century BC, when an inscription was added.

P. Bougia, in Cantarelli, *Stählin* 2005, 127.

Two circular enclosures were excavated in the southeastern part of the ancient settlement. The first contained material from a destruction level dating to the late 2nd century BC. In the second a horseshoe-shaped structure, perhaps a hearth, possibly of Roman date was found over the construction level of a building that had been destroyed in the 2nd century BC. The remains of a second hearth (?) and metal slag were found a few metres away.

P. Bougia, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B, 397-398, pl. 152α, β; *ead.*, in Cantarelli, *Stählin* 2005, 128-129.

The cemetery of the city was located on the northwest slopes of the acropolis, at Zervo. Cists, double cists, tile graves and rock cut chamber tombs, dating from the end of 4th to the end of the 2nd – early 1st century BC have been excavated.

P. Bougia, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B, 451-454, figs 19-20; *ead.*, in Cantarelli, *Stählin* 2005, 129-130, figs 9-10; *ead.*, in *Ελληνισμός*, 2011, 333-346.

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Neochoraki – Νεοχωράκι

1:3B

Almyros Mun. / Magnisia R.Un.

Roman pottery has been found in a Classical / Hellenistic fortress located on a rocky spur of Mt. Orthys 1km south of the village of Neochoraki.

G. Wieberdink, *Newsletter:Athen* 3, 1990, 61.

Palaiochorio Magoula – Παλαιοχώριο Μαγούλα

1:1B

Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Roman sherds are reported from a magoula in the area of Gereni, 1.5 km east of Sophiada.

Cantarelli *et al.*, *Achaia Ftiotide* I, 47-48, no. 7B.

Palaiokklisi / Panagia sti Rachi – Παλαιοκλήσι / Παναγία στη Ράχη

1:1C

Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

An ancient settlement 1.5 km west of the village of Panagia on the southwest bank of the former lake Xynias. Roman and Late Roman sherds are reported.

Th. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 1970, B, 244-245; Cantarelli *et al.*, *Achaia Ftiotide* I, 74-76, no. 19.

Paliopigada – Παλιοπηγάδα

Almyros Mun. / Magnisia R.Un.

1:4C

A building was found at Paliopigada near the village of Agioi Theodoroi (P.A.T.H.E. 265+800km mark). Pithoi, cooking wares and transport amphorae of the late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD were found. Also, pieces of glass vases, metal objects and tools came to light.

The building has been interpreted as farmstead or a watchtower on the route leading from the northern to the southern of Achaia Phthiotis, since it is located between the Othrys and Chlomon mountains. The building was in use from the 1st century BC to the 3rd century AD.

V. Rontiri, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B, 426-427; Kallogianni *et al.*, in *Αχαιοφθιωτικά* 3, 2007, 154-157, figs 13-17.

PEREIA (Kastro Petrotou / Turk. Tsatma) –

ΠΗΡΕΙΑ-Κάστρο Πετροτού

1:2B

Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Hom. *Il.* 2.763-766; Hdn. Gr. 2.568.21; St. Byz.; Hsch s.v. Macrob. 1.17.44.

The city is not mentioned in ancient literature apart from by the Lexicographers,¹ but it is mentioned in the texts concerning a land dispute between Melitaia and Pereia in the period they had formed a sympolity in the second half of the 3rd century BC (*IG IX2*, 205 and add. 205III B; *Syll.*³ 546B; Ager, *Interstate*, 153-157, no. 56), as well as in a judgment about a land dispute between Peuma, Phyliaion and Pereia a few years earlier (*FD III* 4, 351; Ager, *Interstate*, 101-103, no. 31).

The fortified acropolis is located at the foot of Mt. Kasidiaris 1.5 km southeast of the village of Petroto.

Stählin, *Thessalien*, 167-168; *RE Suppl.* VII (1940), 885-889 s.v. Pereia (E. Kirtsen); Cantarelli, Tessaglia, 321; *ead.*, *BCH Suppl.* 34, 1991, 131-133.

It has been proposed that after the Second Macedonian War and especially during the Imperial period the agricultural production of the Pereia basin increased and the surplus was transferred via the Mytaries pass to the coast. Roman sherds (amphorae, sigillata) are reported. Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide* I, 85-88, no. 23.

Kastro Petrotou has been also proposed as location of **Chalai** or **Chalaion**.

RE Suppl. VII (1940) 885-892 s.v. Pereia (E. Kirsten); *RE Suppl.* XII (1970) 148 s.v. Chalai (E. Meyer).

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ

Perivlepto-Kastraki II – Περίβλεπτο-Καστράκι II

1:3A

Rigas Feraios Mun. / Magnisia R.Un.

A magoula 1.7km south-southeast of the village of Perivlepto. Traces of a fortification wall and pottery dating to the Hellenistic-Roman period are reported. It is sited on the border between Eretria and Phthiotic Thebes.

Di Salvatore, *La Thessalie*, 97, fig. 16-18, Tab. 1, no. 11.

Petrlia Magoula-Agios Dimitris – Πετρίλια Μαγούλα – Άγιος Δημήτρης

1:1B

Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A settlement located on a magoula 1.5 km east of the village of Petrlia and 2 km west of the Roman road leading from Larissa to Lamia. Pottery of Roman date (amphorae of Dressel types 2-4) has been reported.

Cantarelli, Tessaglia, 307, fig. 4; Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide* I, 44-45, no. 7.

PEUMA (Kallithea-Kastro / Kislar) – ΠΕΥΜΑ (Κάστρο Καλλιθέας)

1:2B

Farsala Mun. / Larissa R.Un.

Inscriptions: *IG IX2*, 519; *I.ThessEnipeus*, 145-147, no. 131. The toponym is attested as Peuma and the ethnicon as Peumatios.

J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 715-716 no. 439.

The city is well known from the territorial dispute of the 3rd century BC between Melitaia, Chalai and Peuma (*FD III* 4, 351; Ager, *Interstate*, 99-103, nos 30-31). A proxeny decree of the city, presumably for a citizen of Larissa, was found in Larissa. It is dated to the 2nd century BC (*IG IX2*, 519 [end]; *I.ThessEnipeus*, no. 131 [early]). Also, a citizen of Peuma was granted the status of proxenos in Chaeronea in the same period (*IG VII*, 3287; *I.ThessEnipeus*, 147).

The citadel at Kastro, near the modern village of Kallithea, has been proposed as the location of Peuma, though there is no epigraphic evidence for this. The site extends over a fortified oval hill with two peaks and has a surface area of 34 ha. It guarded the valley of Enipeus and the passage to the plateau of Melitaia.

There is an agora in the centre with public buildings which were abandoned in the Late 3rd/early 2nd century BC. A house with Roman features such as an *impluvium* dates to the 1st half of the 2nd century BC.

The habitation areas are concentrated in the eastern and the western part near the gates. The individual houses range in size from 14 x 15 m to 14 x 19 m and they consist of a courtyard with large and smaller side-rooms. Some of them had a second storey. A peculiar feature is the entrance which is located away from the street. The site was abandoned in the second half of the 2nd century BC. However, small fragments of mould-made bowls dating to the 2nd-1st centuries BC and some traces of the use of mortar in the upper foundation of the acropolis gate 1, suggest a later occupation.

Stählin, *Thessalien*, 165-166; *RE XIX2* (1938) 1399-1405, fig.1 (Stählin); *I.ThessEnipeus*, 145-147; J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 715-716 no. 439; A. Tziafalias, M. Haagsma *et al.*, *ADelt* 60, 2005, B, 519-522; *id.*, *Mouseion* 6, 2006, 91-35; Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide* I, 240-242, no. 87; M. Haagsma, in S. Ladstätter – V.

pasture land of Apollo [*RE Suppl.* VII (1940), 885 s.v. Pereia (E. Kirtsen)]. Cf. also, Eust. *Il.* ad. loc.

¹ The references in Homer and Macrobius are variants of the Alexandrian literary tradition in the manuscripts for Pieriē,

Scheibelreiter (eds), *Städtisches Wohnen im östlichen Mittelmeerraum 4. Jb. v. Chr.-1. Jb. n.Chr.* (2010), 37-38, figs 11-17; Tziafalias, Haagsma *et al.*, in *AEΘΣΕ* 3, 2012, 217-229.

PHTHIOTIDES THEBAI (Mikrothives-Kastro) – ΦΘΙΩΤΙΔΕΣ ΘΗΒΑΙ (Κάστρο Μικροθηβών) 1:3A
Volos Mun. / Magnisia R.Un.

Scyl. 63; D.S. 18.11.1; 20.110.3; 26.9; Plb. 5.99-100; 18.3.13; 18.8.9; 18.19.3; 18.47.7; Str. 9.5.6; 9.5.14; Liv. 28.7.12; 32.33.16; 32.35.11; 33.5.1; 33.13.6ff; 33.34.6-7; 39.25.9; Plin. *Nat.* 4.29; Ptol. 3.13.17; St. Byz. s.v. Φίλιπποι.

Inscriptions: *IG* IX2, 138-195, 1328-1334, 1362-1369; V. Adrymi-Sismani, *ADelt* 46, 1991, 209; 47, 1992, B, 225, 228-229; 48, 1993, B, 236.

The toponym is Thebai, distinguished from that of other places called Thebes by the addition of 'Phthiotides' or as 'Thebes of Phthiotis' or 'Achaides'. Stephanus mentions the name Philippoi. The ethnicon is Thebaios with the addition of 'from Achaia of Phthiotis'.

J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 717 no. 444.

It is located on Kastro hill above the modern village of Mikrothives at the north end of the Krokian plain (the modern plain of Almyros). It was captured and destroyed by Philip V in 217 BC. He sold its inhabitants into slavery, and drafting in Macedonian settlers, changed its name to Philippopolis. It was attacked by the consul T.Q. Flaminius in 197 BC without success. The city declined in the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman period. Pyrasos, its harbour, was in ruins in the lifetime of Strabo and Thebes was referred to as an insignificant settlement on the hill. It flourished again from the 2nd century AD onwards until the Late Roman period.

The theatre was renovated in the 2nd century AD, sections of Roman cemeteries have come to light and the cults of Asclepius and Serapis are attested in the Roman period.

A church was built on the acropolis in the Early Christian period (G. Sotiriou, *AEphem* 1929, 4) and a number of houses were renovated. It declined from 5th century AD onwards but was not abandoned when the population was shifted to the port that was renamed as Thebes (cf. **Pyrasos-Thebai**).

Cf. V. Sismani-Adrymi, *ADelt* 48, 1993, B, 235.

According to Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 53, the finds of Late Antiquity could not support the existence of permanent

habitation on the site and the coins found in the theatre could be considered as losses accidentally by the inhabitants of the coastal city, while they were visiting the inland theatre for entertainment.

Acropolis

A temple dedicated to Athena Polias has been found on the acropolis hill. It was built in the 4th century BC on the site of an Archaic and Classical temple and was in use until the Roman period. A head of Athena of Roman date was found in the ruins of the temple. Layers dating from the Roman-Early Christian period were uncovered.

A. Arvanitopoulos, *Prakt* 1907, 161; 1908, 163; V. Sismani-Adrymi, *ADelt* 49, 1994, B, 323-324.

The temple is mentioned in the inscriptions concerning the dispute between Thebes and Halos (145-137 BC) about a sanctuary and the sacred land associated with it in the Krokian plain. A copy of the judgment was set up in the temple of Athena Polias (cf. **Halos**).

Ascy

The temple of Asclepius was uncovered in the south part of the fortified city. It is a small *sekos* with *prodomos*. Its orientation was E-W and the entrance was located to the east. The cult of the god continued at least until the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman period, as it is indicated by bronze coins of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. V. Sismani-Adrymi, *ADelt* 46, 1991, B, 209-210; cf. D. Theocharis, *ADelt* 16, 1960, B, 183.

A Roman building complex was excavated near the east side of the city wall, 250m northeast of the ancient theatre (Papanikou plot). It was built over a Hellenistic one and was in use until the 3rd century AD. Six rooms were excavated and a foundry area was identified. The building was decorated inside with frescoes and marble facings. Pottery, metal objects and bronze coins dating to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD (issued by the Thessalian League in the reigns of Hadrian and Gallienus) were also found.

V. Sismani-Adrymi, *ADelt* 49, 1994, B, 321-323.

West cemetery

It was located to the south of the second fortified circuit wall of the city (Sakomitros' field). Some of the cist graves are dated to the 4th century BC and were reused in the 2nd-1st century BC.

V. Sismani-Adrymi, *ADelt* 47, 1992, B, 225-229; 48, 1993, B, 235-236.

South-East cemetery

It was located to the south of the ancient city (V. Kitsiou field), east of the acropolis hill and was in use in the Hellenistic and Roman period. Cist graves and inscribed grave stelae came to light, some of them of Roman date. D. Theocharis, G. Chourmouziadis, *AAA* 3, 1970, 204; V. Sismani-Adrymi, *ADelt* 46, 1991, B, 208-209; G. Paveli, in *AEΘΣΕ* 3, 2012, 384.

A cist grave with a bronze coin found in I. Phournari field dates to the end of the 1st century BC.

St. Alexandrou, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, 509.

Five graves (2 cists, 1 tile, 1 pit, 1 built) were found in Tsikra field. They date to the late 2nd – 1st century BC.

St. Alexandrou, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, 509-510.

A cist grave dating to the early or middle 1st century BC was found in E. Paraskevopoulou field.

S. Alexandrou, *ADelt* 61, 2006, B, 613.

153 graves dating between the Middle Bronze Age and the Roman period were excavated while laying a fuel pipe line for the Air Force.

St. Alexandrou-K. Almatzi, in *AEΘΣΕ* 2, 2006, 329-330.

A cist grave dated in late 2nd-early 1st century BC was found in Th. Kodrista field.

S. Alexandrou, *ADelt* 64, 2009, B, 554, grave 14.

AKAΔHMIA

Theatre

The theatre was transformed into an arena in the Roman period. The orchestra was made bigger by removing the first rows of seats and a parapet with holes for safety nets was constructed. Inverted seats were used for the parapet. The orchestra was reduced to 180 degrees in order to become semicircular. The drain of the Hellenistic period around the perimeter of the orchestra was covered over with slabs and a channel led off the rainwater to the pipe line for drainage of the new *scene* (stage building).

The new possibly two story scene 22.60 x 7.40m was constructed in *opus mixtum*. It consisted of four areas with underground rooms and a corridor covered with *tegulae*. The *scene* was furnished with a tile roof. A second corridor was found behind the *scene*. The monumental wall of the *scene* had three doorways and a *columnatio* built using Chassampali marble (verde antico). A wall parallel to the *scene* was located in front of the *columnatio* probably to support a *podium*. The presence of a *podium* is evidence that the theatre did not only serve as an arena but also for performances. These architectural features indicate that the theatre had a deep *pulpitum*. A coin of Caracalla dates the Roman phase of the theatre to the

early 3rd century AD. Coins of Gallienus and Gordian were also found.

Two 'Pi' shaped walls constructed using the stones of the theatre in the area between the podium wall and the *columnatio* after the end of the 3rd century AD, but not later than the end of the 4th century AD, indicate that the theatre had fallen out of use.

A curse tablet along with a bronze statuette of a male bound with a rope and also a clay model of a phallus came from the floor of the orchestra. They are associated with the cult of Dionysus, the god who mastered the spell.

A dedication to Serapis and Isis of Roman date was found, as well as pottery and bronze coins of Late Hellenistic and Roman date.

V. Adrymi-Sismani, *ADelt* 47, 1992, B, 222-225, figs 2-3; pl. 67 β; 48, 1993, B, 233-235, fig. 3, pl. 78 α, β, γ; *ead.* *Θέατρα*, 56-66.

Roman coins (Thessalian of Caracallan and Aurelian date) have also been reported.

P. Lazaridis, *ADelt* 18, 1963, B, 146.

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F. Stählin, *IM* 31, 1906, 5-9; A. Arvanitopoulos, *Prakt* 1907, 161-169; 1908, 163-201; *id.*, *AEphem* 1910, 82-94; Kip, *Studien*; Stählin, *Thessalien*, 170-173; *RE* VA2 (1934) 1582-1593, s.v. Thebai 3 (Stählin); N. Giannopoulos, *AEphem* 1945-1947, Chron. 17-18; D. Theocharis, G. Chourmouziadis, *AAA* 3, 1970, 204-207; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 52-53; J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 717-718 no. 444; Adrymi-Sismani, *Θέατρα*; G. Paveli, in *AEΘΣΕ* 3, Volos 2012, 383-391.

Pontika – Ποντίκα

1:4C

Almyros Mun. / Magnisia R.Un.

A Late Hellenistic-Roman *villa rustica* consisting of 9 rooms around a central *atrium*, and a cemetery, possibly part of a settlement, came to light on a low hill at Pontika (P.A.TH.E. 270+300 km mark). Apart from the architectural remains, pottery, pieces of glass vases, metal objects and bronze coins of Trajanic date were found. V. Rontiri, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B, 434-436, fig. 7; Kallogianni *et al.*, in *Αρχαιοθωτικά* 3, 2007, 150-154, figs. 11-12.

Pournarolakka – Πουρναρόλακκα

1:3B/C

Almyros Mun. / Magnisia R.Un.

A site of Late Hellenistic-Roman date was excavated at Pournarolakka Sourpis to the left of P.A.TH.E (276+000 km mark). Scanty remains of rubble walls, roof tiles, do-

mestic pottery, bronze artifacts and bronze coins, among them a worn coin issued by the Magnesian League (196-146 BC) were found. Four pit-wells came to light in the same area but on the right side of P.A.T.H.E.

Another site (a farm) was found 400m to the north, on the north slope of a hill, on the right hand side of P.A.T.H.E. (276+400 km mark).

Kallogianni *et al.*, in *Αχαιοφθιώτικα* 3, 2007, 147-148, figs. 7-8.

PRAS(?)→Divri-Paliokastro

PROERNA (Neo Monastiri-Gynaikokastro) – ΠΡΟΕΡΝΑ (Νέο Μοναστήρι-Γυναϊκόκαστρο) 1:2A
Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Str. 9.5.10; Liv. 36.14.12; St. Byz. s.v. *Πρόαρχνα*

The name of the city is attested as Proerna and the ethnicon as Proernios or Prœrnios.

J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 716 no. 441.

The city is mentioned only in the context of the march by Acilius Glabrio in 191 BC.

E. Kirsten [RE XXIII1 (1957) 107-108 s.v. Proerna 1-2] suggests that Proarna, mentioned by Stephanus as the city of Malis could not be the same as the city of Achaia Phthiotis, though Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide* 1, 29, thinks that they are identical.

The fortified acropolis is located on the low summit of Gynaikokastro, east of the modern village of Neo Monastiri, near the route of the Roman road leading from Larissa to Thaumakoi and then to Lamia and the Spercheios valley. The lower town was situated to the south of Tapsi hill.

The extra muros sanctuary of Demeter was in use during the Late Hellenistic period.

D. Theocharis, *ADelt* 21, 1966, B, 251.

A silver finger ring decorated with a stylised scorpion dating to the 4th century AD was found in Dekapentaria. Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 51, 1996, B, 324.

Walls representing two phases of occupation dating to the Roman period were found in M. Terzidis' plot.

M. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B, 184, pl. 75γ.

Roman sherds (East Sigillata A and amphorae) are reported.

Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide* I, 31.

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Kip, *Studien*, 70-71; Stählin, *Thessalien*, 157-158; RE XXIII1 (1957) 107-108 s.v. Proerna 2 (Kirsten); Papanan-

giotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 179-180; Cantarelli, Tessaglia, 305-306, fig. 4; J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 716 no. 441; *Αγρόπολη Πρόερνας: Νέο Μοναστήρι Φθιώτιδας* (2007) 1-15; Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide* I, 29-34, no. 1, fig. 8.

PTELEON (Gritsa) – ΠΤΕΛΕΟΝ (Γρίτσα) 1:4C
Almyros Mun. / Magnisia R.Un.

Th. 8.24.2; 8.31.2; Plb. 9.42; D.S. 20.110; Str. 9.5.8; Liv. 35.43; 42.42; 42.67; Mela 2.3; Plin. *Nat.* 4.10.15; 5.117; St.Byz s.v.; Hsch. s.v.; Eust. 1.505.28.

Inscriptions: *IG* IX2, 97-99; N. Giannopoulos, *AEphem* 1933, Chron. 4-5, no. 13; *I.Thessaly*, no. 20.

The ethnicon is epigraphically attested as Pteleeus and in Stephanus' *Ethnika* as Pteleatēs, Ptelousios, Ptelieus. RE XXIII2 (1959) 1482 s.v. Pteleon 3 (E. Kirsten).

It was probably assigned to the Thessalian League after Cynoscephalae but passed again in Macedonian hands until 171 BC, when it was destroyed by P. Licinius Crassus (Liv. 42.67). It has been proposed that the city was abandoned and a villa on the coast (**Achilleio**), a military outpost or a small settlement on the mainland (**Metafio**) were located in the area [RE XXIII2 (1959) 1482 s.v. Pteleon 3 (E. Kirsten)]. However, the validity of this view depends on the date of an inscription concerning a dispute between Larissa Kremaste and Pteleon. The text has been dated to the second quarter of the 2nd century BC but a date before 171 BC is possible, though not certain (cf. **Larissa Kremaste**). It is worth observing that Pteleos looks like a powerless city in the inscription, since it complains to the Roman Senate about the aggressive attitude of the Larissans.

The citadel was located on the rocky summit of Gritsa, to the south of the modern village of Pteleon, above the bay of Agioi Theodoroi.

Stählin, *Thessalien*, 181.

A Mycenaean chamber tomb was reused in Roman period. It was found in the field of G. Papa on a small peak of Gritsa. Two cist graves were constructed inside the chamber. Pottery, a sword and two bronze coins came to light.

N. Verdelis, *Prakt* 1953, 120-123, fig. 1, pl. 1.

[PYRASOS / DEMETRION] THEBAI (Nea Anchialos) – [ΠΥΡΑΣΟΣ / ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΝ] ΘΗΒΑΙ (Νέα Αγχιάλος) 1:3A, 10
Volos Mun. / Magnisia R.Un.

Th. 2.22.3; Scyl. 63 (Demetrium); Str. 9.5.14 (Demetrium); Liv. 28.6.7; Procop. *Aed.* 4.3.5; Hierocl. 642.4.

Inscriptions: *I.Thessaly*, nos. 22-145; *SEG* 9, 415-418; N. Giannopoulos, *AM* 1908, 294, no. 9; *id.*, *AEphem* 1913, 217, A2; 1916, 61-62; 1929, 142-150, nos 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24; 1932, 21-22, no. 6; G. Sotiriou, *Prakt* 1930, 35; 1933, 54ff; 1934, 64-65; 1935, 54; 1939, 68-72, figs 29-32; 1955, 138-139; E. Kourkoutidou, *ADelt* 24, 1969, B2, 235, pl. 237α-β; P. Lazaridis, *Prakt* 1971, 40-4; 1972, 40.

It was renamed Demetrium at one point (Ps. Scyl. 63; Str. 9.5.14) and was absorbed by the synoecism of Thebai sometime in the 4th century BC, functioning as its harbour [J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 716 no. 442 (Pyrasos) and 717 no 444 (Thebai)].

Strabo mentions that Pyrasos lay in ruins in his lifetime but the city of Thebes existed. However, the population of Phthiotic Thebes started moving gradually to the port from around the early 2nd century AD, and finally Pyrasos replaced the inland city and was renamed Thebes in the Late Roman period.

G. Sotiriou *AEphem* 1929, 4-5; P. Lazaridis, *AEphem* 1987, 314; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 53.

Strabo (9.5.14) also mentions a sanctuary of Demeter. An area 50m north of Basilica A has been proposed as the location of the sanctuary, but there is not sufficient evidence to confirm this.

G. Sotiriou, *Prakt* 1935, 137.

A Late Hellenistic votive inscription mentions Demeter and Kore.

N. Giannopoulos, *AEphem* 1929, 141, no. 6; *I.Thessaly*, 22.

A base possibly for a statue of Caligula has been found. N. Giannopoulos, *AEphem* 1929, 142, no. 8; *I.Thessaly*, 57. Among the Roman-Late Roman inscriptions there are texts warning people against reusing the tomb for someone outside the family. The provision that a fine should be paid to the treasury of the city, indicates the existence of legislation about this.

N. Giannopoulos, *AEphem* 1929, 143-145, nos 12, 18, 19; *I.Thessaly*, 65, 68, 69.

The office of general and the months of the Thessalian calendar, Thyos and Homoloos are mentioned in manumissions of the Roman period.

N. Giannopoulos, *AEphem* 1929, 148-150, no 24; *I.Thessaly*, 38; cf. A. E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology* (1972) I, 83-84.

The city enjoyed great prosperity in the Roman and Early Christian period as the finds indicate. The phrase *λαμπρότατη* (illustrious) city of the Thebans on a sarcophagus' lid reflects this.

G. Sotiriou *AEphem* 1929, 4; N. Giannopoulos, *AEphem* 1929, 146 no. 19; *I.Thessaly*, 69.

Large parts of the city's walls have been revealed. There were land and sea walls reinforced with towers. The circuit was almost 2km long and enclosed the north half of the acropolis, the port and a large part of the ancient city, an area of about 25 ha. However, a large part of the city extended outside the walls. The walls are of Roman date though repairs and additions were made. Thanks to its fortification, Thebes escaped the damaging effects of the Gothic invasion, as is indicated by the absence of destruction layers dating to the late 4th century AD. Its walls were repaired during the reign of Justinian I (Procop. *Aed.* 4.3.5).

The Roman road leading from northern Thessaly to Thebes or Demetrias, crossed the plain of Aerino, where a miliarium was found, and passed into the city through a gate possibly located to the south-east of the acropolis. This road continues out of the northwest gate, not far from Basilica C. The route is also marked by a *miliarium* of AD 305/306 found in the garden belonging to Koutsoukos (*IG* IX2, 1326; *CIL* III 14206, 34; E. Moitias – J.-Cl. Decourt, *BCH* 121, 1997, 344-345, 351, no. 20, fig. 14). The northwest and the northern gates led also to extramural cemeteries of the city.

G. Sotiriou *AEphem* 1929, 11-13; P. Lazaridis, *Prakt* 1980, 45-47; A. Ntina, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B, 248-249; P. Lazaridis, *Prakt* 1985, 47-48, 51; 1988, 86; *id.*, *AEphem* 1987, 322; A. Ntina, *Prakt* 1990, 158; *ead.*, in *La Thessalie*, 35; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 53-54; *ead.*, Thebes, 159.

Apart from the ecclesiastical buildings, which were the dominant features of the city, significant parts of the commercial sectors came to light.

The Market Place was found on the slope of the ancient Pyrasos hill. It was a large complex with paved courtyard surrounded by porticoes and other buildings. Ten building phases from the 3rd-2nd centuries BC to Late Antiquity have been identified. Areas for various uses were revealed, among them a bath complex of the 3rd-2nd century BC, with Late Hellenistic-Roman phases and renovation in the Late Roman period, an *atrium* with four porticoes and attached rooms, dating to the 3rd-4th century AD decorated with mosaic floors with geometric motifs, kitchen, lavatories, storerooms and a potters workshop that was in use at least from the 3rd century AD (10: 2B).

P. Lazaridis, *Prakt* 1964, 5-23, fig. 1; 1965, 10-21, fig. 1; 1987, 116-117, pls. 87-88; A. Ntina, in *La Thessalie*, 363,

fig. 8; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 60-61; *ead.*, Thebes, 161-162. A paved street, 3-3.4 m wide, flanked by square buildings, possibly shops, and with a colonnade on its east side came to light near Basilica A in the centre of the city. This street was probably the most commercially active part of the city. Also, part of the drainage system was revealed in this area, as well as in other areas of the city.

G. Sotiriou, *Prakt* 1938, 50; 1954, 150-151; 1955, 132-134, fig. 1; 1956, 111; P. Lazaridis, *Prakt* 1960, 61-62; 1973, 33; 1986, 90; Karagiorgou, Thebes, 161.

The large public building excavated 30 m to the north of the Thermae near Basilica C served as a storeroom in the 6th century AD but it was in use as early as the 4th century AD.

A. Dina, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B1, 225, fig. 5, pls. 94a-d; 39, 1984, B, 173-175, fig. 4; *ead.*, in *La Thessalie*, 365.

Domestic buildings

The domestic architecture is inspired more by the Hellenistic tradition than the Roman one. One or two storeyed buildings with rubble walls at ground floor level and brick walls above have come to light. A porch led to a paved courtyard surrounded by various rooms. They were decorated with mosaic floors, frescoes, marble facings and architectural members in relief. They are dated to the Roman and Late Roman period and were renovated, repaired or rebuilt in the Early Christian period. A 4th century AD phase has been identified in a significant number of the Early Christian buildings.

G. Sotiriou, *Prakt* 1937, 53-56, figs 2-5; 1939, 53-60, figs 1-11; 1954, 148-149, fig. 6 (it has been interpreted as Bishop's palace, but is actually a domestic building, perhaps a house which belonged to a local aristocrat); E. Iatridou, *ADelt* 31, 1976, B1, 190-192, pls 138γ-δ, 139, 140α-γ; A. Ntina, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B1, 225, pl. 93ε; 39, 1984, B, 173-174, fig. 4; Karagiorgou, Thebes, 162.

Churches

10:1C

Nine intra - or extramural Early Christian basilicas came to light. They are dated to between the early 4th century and the 7th century AD. Thebes was an episcopal city under the Metropolis of Larissa and names of seven bishops (4th-6th centuries AD) are known (cf. P. Lazaridis, *Prakt* 1984, 139-140; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 56). A number of churches were built in the 4th century AD or over the ruins of Roman and Late Roman buildings. Basilica C (complex of the Archbishop Peter), the most significant ecclesiastical complex of Thebes is located

next to the city walls. Its earliest phase (H) is dated to the second half of the 4th century and was constructed over the remains of Hellenistic-Roman (2nd -1st century BC, 1st century AD), and Late Roman (2nd-3rd century AD, first half of the 4th century AD) buildings. Walls, capitals from an Ionic portico, other architectural members, mosaic floors and frescoes in the second Pompeian style, pottery and coins came from the Late Hellenistic, Roman and Late Roman layers, or had been reused in Early Christian buildings.

G. Sotiriou, *Prakt* 1930, 30-35, esp. 32; 1931, 37-43, esp. 31, 33; 1933, 46-56, esp. 49, 52, 54; 1940, 18-22, esp. 22; 1954, 143-148; P. Lazaridis, *Prakt* 1969, 16-25, esp. 25; 1970, 37-49, esp. 40, 42, 43, 49, pls 64β, 66α,β; 1971, 34; 1973, 32; 1974, 47-57; 1975, 49-60; 1977, 54; 1978, 43-49; 1985, 46-54; 1988, 90-91; *id.*, *AEphem* 1987, 322, 325, fig. 12; A. Ntina, in *La Thessalie*, 358-359; Karagiorgou, Thebes, 160.

A statuette of Asclepius was found in the area. It is dated to the 1st-2nd centuries AD.

P. Lazaridis, *Prakt* 1979, 60, pl. 41b.

A complex of six rooms excavated in the south west corner of the south stoa of Basilica C has been identified as the area of the episcopal palace that was constructed in the 4th century AD, as it is indicated by the archaeological finds (coins of Theodosios I and Valentinian II).

Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 58; on dating evidence P. Lazaridis, *Prakt* 1975, 51-55.

Basilica K is a curious building that was found 70 m to the east of Basilica C in Diamantopoulou Street (N. Papagrigroriou's plot). It is a three-aisled church, without apse, but with an E-W orientation, and it used the city walls as its north and east walls. It dates to the beginning of the 4th century AD and it is considered to be the first church built in the city. It may have been a civil basilica that was transformed into a church in order to serve the needs of the first Christians of the city.

A. Ntina, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B, 247, fig. 1, pl. 156α; *ead.*, in *La Thessalie*, 365.

Basilica F (of Martyrdom) was constructed on the ruins of a 4th century building.

P. Lazaridis, *Prakt* 1979, 62-70; A. Ntina, in *La Thessalie*, 357-358.

Cemeteries

10:1A/B, 3/4A/B

The cemetery of the Roman-Late Roman period (chambers, cist or tile graves, sarcophagi) was located on the slopes of a low hill, east of the acropolis summit. It was

in use until the mid 4th century AD. An inscribed funerary stele depicting a standing man holding a stool was also found.

G. Sotiriou *AEph* 1929, 16-17, pl. A.ζ; 1939, 61-72; E. Kourkoutidou, *ADelt* 24, 1969, B2, 229-235, pl. 229-237; A. Ntina, *ADelt* 27, 1982, B, 249 (Dragoumi Street, Th. Vasilou plot); P. Lazaridis *AEph* 1987, 330, 334.

Christian extra mural cemeteries dating from the 5th century onwards were found in the north and northwestern parts of the city around the Primary school and to the south and southwest of the city. Also intra mural burials have been found at various sites.

A. Ntina, *ADelt* 27, 1982, B, 246, pl. 155β (Z. Rizopoulou plot); 27, 1982, B, 247 (N. Petridis plot); Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 62-63; *ead.*, Thebes, 163-164.

Baths

10:1C, D, 2B, C

Parts of a bath complex (hypocaust and frigidarium) dating to the 1st and 2nd century AD were found in the Iltsoğlu plot, outside the walls 100m to the southeast of Basilica F (Basilica of Martyrdom). It is decorated with mosaic floors with marine motifs. It was repaired and continued in use throughout Late Antiquity.

A. Ntina, *ADelt* 34, 1979, B, 238, pl. 89β; P. Lazaridis *AEphem* 1987, 330; A. Ntina, *La Thessalie*, 364, fig. 19; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 55.

The areas of the *frigidarium*, *caldarium*, *tepidarium*, *laconicum* with hypocaust and *praefurnium*, *apodyterium*, the pipe line system and a stone channel that carried water from the aqueduct were found 6m from the northeast corner of Basilica A (Agios Dimitrios). Another bath complex was found 50-60m to the south of this Basilica. The areas of the *frigidarium* and ancillary buildings (possibly a palaistra, hall and library) came to light. They are dated by Nielsen to the 5th-6th centuries AD but G. Soteriou identified a Late Roman phase and additions or renovations to the second bath complex in the Early Christian period.

G. Sotiriou, *Prakt* 1926, 114, figs 15-19; 1928, 58, fig. 5; 1935, 65-69; 1936, 67; 1955, 134-135, fig. 2; I. Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea: The Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths* (1993²), I, 98-99, fn. 22-23; II, 43-44; A. Ntina, in *La Thessalie*, 366-367.

A large Thermae complex was excavated to the north of Basilica C. The hypocaust, the *caldarium*, comprising three rooms, the *frigidarium* with two plunge baths and the *natio*, and the *apodyterium* came to light. The complex was decorated with mosaic floors with geometric motifs and animals and marble facings. Its earlier phase

is dated to the second half of the 4th century AD with latter additions.

P. Lazaridis, *Prakt* 1978, 45, fig. 7; 1980, 40; 1982, 99-101, fig. 3; 1983, 89-91; *id.*, *AEphem* 1987, 330; A. Ntina, in *La Thessalie*, 362-363, fig. 17.

Another bath complex was located in the centre of the city near the aqueduct. It is dated to the Late Roman or Early Christian period.

P. Lazaridis, *ADelt* 17, 1961-1962, B, 179.

The aqueduct was located on the hill west of the acropolis. Remains of this aqueduct were visible in the '30s opposite the modern church. However, no dating evidence was provided.

G. Sotiriou, *AEphem* 1929, 13, fig. A, b-c; A. Ntina, in *La Thessalie*, 367.

Pottery and glass workshops were active in Anchialos during the Roman and Late Roman period.

Sotiriou, *Prakt* 1939, 64-69, fig. 16-26; G. Davidson-Weinberg, *AJA* 66, 1962, 129-133.

Extra muros

A villa of Roman date with mosaic floor with floral decoration was excavated outside the walls near the coast.

Suburban settlements were located west of the city in the Early Christian period (10:1D).

G. Sotiriou, *AEphem* 1929, 14-16, fig. 12.

A high-density of architectural remains and sherds dating to the Roman period are visible on the plain between the modern town and the airport, as well as beyond it towards the west. They probably belong to *villae rusticae*. They include:

A pit-well with pottery, bronze artefacts and coins of the Roman Imperial period was found in A Dragogianni field east of Aidinian Magoula.

St. Alexandrou, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, 508.

A Roman bath complex was excavated in G. Dionysiou field to the north of Aidinian Magoula. The hypocaust and the pipe-line, the main bath with tubs, as well as the hall with the *apodyterium* came to light.

A tile grave dating to the end of the 2nd century BC was found east of the bath complex.

St. Alexandrou, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, 508.

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RE VA2 (1934) 1591-1593, s.v. Thebai 3 (Stählin); G. Sotiriou, *AEphem* 1929, 1-158; P. Lazaridis, *AEphem* 1987, 313-335; A. Ntina, in *La Thessalie*, 357-370; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 52-63; *ead.*, Thebes, 157.

Tapsi Magoula – Ταψί Μαγούλα 1:1/2A
Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.
A magoula located in the region of Neo Monastiri between the Mavroneri torrent and the road to Pharsala, 600m southeast of **Proerna**.
Roman sherds are reported.
Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide* I, 32-33, no. 2.

THAUMAKOI (Domokos) – ΘΑΥΜΑΚΟΙ 1:2B
(Δομοκός)
Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.
Str. 8.8.5; Liv. 32.4.1-7; 32.13.14; 36.12-15; 9.5.10; St.Byz. s.v. Θαυμακία.
IG IX2, 215-222; *I.Thessaly*, no. 152-155; *SEG* 3, 468; A. Arvanitopoulos, *Prakt* 1910, 196-198; P. de La Coste-Messelière, G. Daux, *BCH* 48, 1924, 368-375; Th. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 26, 1971, 237.
The name of the city is Thaumakoi and Thaumakia in the *Anthologia Graeca* and Stephanus. The ethnicon is attested as Thaumakos.

J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 716-717, no. 443.

Thaumakoi was an important stronghold of the Aitolians in the late 3rd and the first decade of the 2nd century BC, known from the unsuccessful siege of Philip V in 499/198 BC. It was taken by Manius Acilius Glabrio during his campaign against Antiochus III and the Aitolians in 191 BC.

Grainger, *League*, 210, 242, 370-372, 376-380, 460, 499-450. After the treaty of 189 BC, the city became a member of the Thessalian League and the strategos of the League is mentioned in their decrees (*FD III2*, 213). A closer relationship between Thaumakoi and Larissa is indicated around the mid-2nd century BC (*IG IX2*, 215, 218) and with Gyrtion in the mid-1st century BC by the proxeny decrees of the city. Italos, one of the Gyrtionians may have become *patronus* of Thaumakoi (*IG IX2*, 219; *SEG* 3, 468, 470; 28, 505d; P. de la Coste Messelière, G. Daux, *BCH* 48, 1924, 369-375, fig. 16, no. 4; Kramolisch, *Die Strategen*, 104F11). It is worth noting that while the decisions are taken by the archons in the middle of the 2nd century BC(?), one century later the decisions were approved by the Council of Tagoi.

The city was located on the main Roman road leading from Thessaly to Thermopylae and specifically from Larissa to Lamia. The modern National Road follows more or less the same ancient route. Also, a branch of this road descended from Thaumakoi to Hypata (cf. Aenis, **Hypata**).

The modern town of Domokos is situated on the site of the city, just to the west of the National Road. The acropolis overlooks the modern town from the location of the medieval Castle and the lower city formed a semi-circle around it. Pottery of the Imperial period is reported from the acropolis and Late Hellenistic sherds came from the excavation of the city wall.

A. Ioannidou, *ADelt* 28, 1973, B, 282, pl. 234; Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide* I, 67.

A chamber tomb that was in use from the end of the 3rd to the 1st century BC has been excavated. Pottery and bronze coins issued by the Thessalian League were found on the south edge of the acropolis, opposite the modern Secondary School.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 40, 1985, B, 170-171, pl. 57β; A. Papastathopoulou, in *Αχαϊορωσιτικά* 3, 2007, 301-312.

A sanctuary of Artemis is mentioned by Stephanus.

RE VA2 (1934) 1131 s.v. Thaumakie (Stählin).

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Velesiotēs-Kokkina Chortaria – Βελεσιώτες-Κόκκινα Χορτάρια 1:1B
Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A small settlement that was in use from the 3rd century to the 12th century AD is located at Kokkina Chortaria east of the village of Velesiotēs near the railway and beside the torrent.

Ανασκαφικό Έργο, 81.

Vrynaina – Βρύναινα 1:3C
Almyros Mun. / Magnisia R.Un.

A large fortress or fortified settlement is located on the north slope of a spur of Mt. Orthys, 4 km north of the village of Vrynaina. The site was inhabited in the 3rd-2nd century BC, and probably from the 2nd century AD to the end of the 5th or even the 6th century AD. It is not certain that there was occupation in the 1st century BC and 1st century AD.

G. Wieberdink, *Newsletter.Athen* 3, 1990, 50-52, 55-56;

Haagsma *et al.*, *Pharos* 1, 1993, 152.

The population of New Halos possibly settled in Vrynaina after the earthquake of 265 BC.

Reinders *et al.*, *The City of New Halos*, 23-25, fig. 1.9.

XYNIAI (Koromilia-Nisi) – ΞΥΝΙΑΙ (Κορομηλιά-Νησί) 1:1/2C

Domokos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Liv. 32.13.14; 33.3.8; 39.26.2; St. Byz. s.v. Ξυνία.

Inscriptions: *I.Thessaly*, no. 161; R. Bouchon, *BCH* 132, 2008, 464-469.

The ethnicon is attested as Ξυνιαῖος in inscriptions and as Ξυνιεύς in Stephanus.

R. Bouchon, *BCH* 132, 2008, 464.

The city became a member of the Aitolian League in the late 3rd century BC but the Aitolians sacked it and slaughtered the population in 198 BC because they surrendered without resistance to Philip V. Flamininus passed through the city in the spring of 198 BC. Xyniai was seized by Manius Acilius Glabrio in 191 BC and after the treaty of 189 BC was incorporated into Thessaly.

Grainger, *League*, 378-381, 398-399, 499, 509-510.

The fortified acropolis is located on a small hill on a peninsula of the former lake of Xynias, 1.5 km northwest of the village of Koromilia and 2km southeast of Agios Stephanos.

It shared borders with Melitaia as is mentioned in an inscription of the late 3rd century BC from Delphi (*Syll.*³ 546A; *IG IX,1*² 1:177).

Ager, *Interstate*, 151-153, no. 55.

The city dedicated a statue to Nero. Also, a manumission is dated to the same period.

R. Bouchon, *BCH* 132, 2008, 465-469, A. Tziafalias-R. Bouchon, *Neronia Electronica* 3, 2014, 3-4.

The city existed in the early 2nd century AD as indicated by a manumission dating to AD 112 found in the area. The month Hermaios is mentioned. The inscription was found in the ruins of an ancient temple.

N. Giannopoulos, *ADelt* 10, 1926, Par., 53-54, no. 12; Kramolisch *Die Strategen*, 118, no. 92; R. Bouchon, *BCH* 132, 2008, 464-465.

Roman pottery of the Imperial period is reported.

Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide* I, 103.

The lake of the same name (Xynias or Xynia) is mentioned by A. R. 1.68; Hygin. *Fab.* 14.5; Hsch. s.v.; St.Byz. s.v.

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P. de La Coste-Messelière, G. Daux, *BCH* 48, 1924, 351-352; Stählin, *Thessalien*, 160-161; *RE IXA2* (1967) 2174-2177 s.v. Xynia, Xynias (E. Meyer); Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 179; Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiotide* I, 101-103, no. 30, figs 12-13; E. Karantzali-G. Pallis, *AEphem* 2014, 288-290; *Barr Atlas*, Map 55, C2.



ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

MALIS – ΜΑΛΙΣ

Phthiotis R. Un.

Hdt. 4.33; 7.132; 7.196; 7.198; 7.201; 7.213; 8.31; 8.43; 8.66; 9.31; Th. 3.92.3; Xen. *HG* 3.5.6; 4.2.17; 6.5.23; Aeschin. 2.116; Arist. *Pol.* 4.1297b; Scyl. 62; D.S. 4.37.1; 11.3.2; 11.4.7; 15.85.2; 17.57.3; 18.11.1; Str. 1.2.20; 8.3.1; 9.5.1; 9.5.8; 9.5.10; Liv. 27.30.1-3; 42.40; Plin. *Nat.* 4.28; Curt. *b.A.*, 4.13.29; Plu. *De Pyth. Or.* 9; Paus. 1.23.4; 10.8.2-3; 10.23.13; Ptol. 3.12.43.

The toponym is Malis or Mēlis (Hdt. 7.198; 7.201; 8.31) or Malieon chora (Ps.-Scyl. 62). The ethnicon is attested as Mēlieis (D.S. 4.37.1; 11.3.2; 11.4.7) and Malieis (D.S. 15.85.2; 17.57.3; Str. 1.20.20; 9.5.1; 9.5.10; Paus. 10.8.2; 10.23.13; *FD* III 2, 69; *FD* III 4, 277).

Lamia, Phalara, Anthele and Echinus are the four cities that can certainly be attributed to Malis. Antikyra (Oitaia) was also either Oitaian or Malian. Strabo mentions two more cities or rather komai, Paracheloitai, presumably near the Acheloos River, and Paralia on the coast of the Gulf. Stephanus, in his turn, records the ethnicon Hieres (Stählin, *Thessalien*, 212-213). None of these cities can be located with certainty. Strabo adds Phthiotic Thebes to Malis, something which is obviously absurd. Herakleia, also, was founded in Malian territory, but there is no evidence that it became Malian at any point in its history. Finally, the inclusion of Narthakion in Malis (Kern, *IG* IX2, 89-91) is strongly disputed.

Stählin, *Thessalien*, 188-189; *RE* XVI2 (1935) 1760-1764 s.v. Narthakion (Stählin).

The borders of Malis were always blurred, especially in the region of Thermopylae, and certainly during the Roman period they were quite different from those of the Classical period [*RE* XIV1 (1928) 904 s.v. Malier (Stählin); Pritchett, *Studies*, IV, 191]. Once Herakleia became the centre of Oitaia in the Late Hellenistic and Roman period after the end of Aitolian supremacy, the estuary of the Spercheios near Malian Anthele, became the southern end of Malis (cf. Pritchett, *op. cit.*). Also, the foothills of Mt. Othrys formed a natural boundary between Malis and Achaia Phthiotis. Echinus was the

eastern limit of Malian territory (Ps.Scyl. 62; Plb. 9.41; Str. 1.3.20; 9.5.13). As far as the border with Aenis is concerned, this may be determined from the arbitration of the border dispute between Lamia and Hypata (cf. **Aenis**) under Hadrian.

Apart from the Spercheios River which flowed through Aenis, Malis and Oitaia, another river, the Acheloos, is also mentioned in Malis (Ephor. fr. 27; Plu. *Ages.* 16). It could be the Xyrias, between Lamia and Phalara (Stylida).

Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 292, 298; Stählin, *Thessalien*, 217.

Malis suffered tragically during the Second Macedonian War and the Roman-Syrian War (cf. Lamia). It became a member of the Thessalian League after the treaty of 189 BC.

FD III 4, 368; Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens*, 358; B. Helly, *BCH* 125, 2001, 274-275; Kramolisch, *Die Strategen*, 43; cf. also Larsen, *Federal*, 282; Burrer, *Münzprägung*, 5.

The existence of Malian *hieromnemones* in Delphi, represented by Lamian citizens until the end of the 2nd century BC implies the dominant position the city held in Malis and the recognition of Malian identity within the Thessalian League.

*Syll.*³ 636, 14, 704 E 6, 826 B II 1; *SGDI* 2234; *FD* III 2, 69; *FD* III 4, 277 B; Kramolisch, *Die Strategen*, 66, note 34; Daux, *Delphes*, 346; Martin, *Leagues*, 98.

The votes of the Malians as well as those of the Thessalians as a whole, were transferred to the newly founded colony of Nicopolis after the reorganisation of the Amphictyony by Augustus (Paus. 10.8.3).

Larsen, *Federal*, 123-130; Martin, *Leagues*, 46-52; Lefèvre, *L'amphictionie*, 127, note 615.

According to the administrative reforms of Diocletian (AD 284-305), Achaia Phthiotis, Malis, Aenis and Oitaia became part of the Diocese of Moesia, and Locris became part of the Diocese of Achaia. The region to the north of Thermopylae was integrated into Illyricum from the reign of Theodosius I. The whole district of Phthiotis from AD 695 onwards, under Justinian II, belonged to the *theme* of Hellas, part of the prefecture of Illyricum.

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M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, in *Εύβοια και Στερεά Ελλάδα*, 316-323.

INDEX

Agia Paraskevi→Lamia - Agia Paraskevi

ANTHELE (Psonera) – ΑΝΘΗΛΗ

(Ψωρόνερα)

2:3C

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Hdt. 7.200; Str. 9.4.17; 9.5.3; Plu. *De Pythia Or.* 409a.

The centre of Pylaia Amphictyony. Strabo, apart from the sanctuary, also mentions a harbour and a gulf (Pylaikos) of the same name, presumably a part of the Maliac gulf. It is located on a hill near the junction of P.A.TH.E. to the National road Lamia-Amphissa. The Thermal Spring called “psonera” could be identified to *Chytroi* mentioned by Herodotus (7.176) and Pausanias (4.35.9).

The sanctuary of Demeter was renovated in the late 1st - early 2nd century AD. According to Plutarch, the sanctuary was embellished with shrines and meeting-places and water supplies such as it had not acquired in the previous thousand years (Plu. *De Pyth. Or.* 409a). Also, Hadrian referred to it in his letters to Delphi [FD III4, 302, 304, 305; F. Martin, *La documentación griega de la cancelleria del emperador Adriano* (1982) nos 18, 40].

G. Daux, *RA* 11, 1938, 3-18.

Architectural remains of a stadium and a stoa have been found. They were in use until the Roman period.

BCH 1934, 253-255; 1935, 278-279.

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Avlaki-Voulgara – Αυλάκι-Βουλγάρα

2:4B

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Cemeteries of the Classical-Hellenistic and Roman times were excavated during construction works of the Highway P.A.TH.E. at a site named Voulgara 5km west of Stylida (anc. Phalara). Some of the classical cist graves were reused from the 2nd century BC to the 1st century AD. On the same cemetery two tile graves are dated in late 2nd century AD and a pit grave from the 2nd century BC to 1st century AD.

Another cemetery was found 700 west of the previous one. A cluster of tile graves and a pithos burial were excavated. The pithos is dated in 3rd century AD.

N. Koutsokera, *on the road*, 65-68.

Bikiorema→Stavros-Tympanos-Bikiorema

ECHINOS / ECHINOUS (Achinos) – EXINOS

/ EXINOYΣ (Αχινός)

2:4B

Stylis Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Al. Ljs. 1169; Dem. *Phil.* 3.34; Scyl. 62; Scymn. 603; Plb. 9.41; 17.3; 18.21; Str. 1.3.20; 9.5.10; 9.5.13; 9.5.22; Liv. 32.33; 34.23; Mela 2.44; Plin. *Nat.* 4.28; Paus. 9.5.3; St.Byz. s.v.; Procop. *Goth.* 8.25.16-19; *Aed.* 4.3.5.

Inscriptions: *IG* IX2, 92-93; A. Phloros, *Platon* 10, 1958, 281-283; P. Lazaridis, *ADelt* 16, 1960, B, 162-163; V. Philippaki, S. Symeonoglou, N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, 247; *I.Thessaly*, nos. 15-16; L. Reilly, *AJPh.* 92, 1971, 667-675; L. Gounaropoulou, in *Αμυγός* (1987) 251-259; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 43, 1988, B, 214; M. Zachou-Kontogianni, *Egnatia* 1, 1989, 209-217; P. Pantos, *ADelt* 45, 1990, B, 172.

The toponym is Echinous, Echinus or Echineos and the city-ethnic is Echinaios (J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 710 no. 429).

Echinus became a city of the Thessalian League after the end of the Roman-Syrian War and the treaty of 189 BC. It presumably sided with Rome in the conflict with Perseus, since in 168/7 BC they bestowed honours on the general of the Roman navy, Gnaeus Octavius, to whom the Macedonian king had surrendered. In addition, Livy mentions Octavius' operations in the area during the war (cf. Liv. 44.30.1; 44.32.5; 44.46.3; 45.28.8; *SEG* 25, 1971, 642; L. Bliquez, *Hesperia* 44, 1975, 431-434; *ISE* II, no. 93).

Ancient Echinus was spread over two hill-tops at the site of the modern village of Achinos at the northeastern end of the Maliac Gulf on the eastern border of Malis with Achaia Phthiotis.

The fortified acropolis was located on the higher eastern summit, above the modern village. The public sector of the city was settled from the 4th century BC to 3rd century AD in the middle of the south slope of the summit, which faces the sea. The residential zone was placed around the public centre of the city and at a lower level. The buildings of Roman date were built with rubble walls, and intervening courses of bricks and mortar. The cemetery of the city was located on a level plateau to the southwest of the acropolis summit and on the western summit. The area to the northwest, outside the city walls, beside a small torrent, may have been used as an industrial zone. The city walls were still standing in Late Antiquity, since Justinian renovated the fortification (Procop. *Aed.* 4.2-3).

L. Daly, *AJA* 46, 1942, 500-508; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 86-88.

The city flourished in the Hellenistic and Roman period, as is indicated by the archaeological finds and the epigraphic evidence. Priests and *agonothetes* of Sebastoi, are mentioned in manumission inscriptions dated between AD 131/132 and AD 150 (*IG IX2*, 92; L. Gounaropoulou, *op. cit.*).

These provide evidence not only for the Imperial cult, but also for an associated festival. According to these inscriptions the ex-slaves paid a sum of money for the publication of the manumission, to a treasurer of the city, who was then responsible for handing it over to the priests and *agonothetes*.

L. Gounaropoulou, *op. cit.*; A. Babakos, *Πράξεις κοινής διαθέσεως και άλλα συγγενή φαινόμενα κατά το δίκαιον της αρχαίας Θεσσαλίας* (1961) 25, 33; cf. also, Burrer, *Münzprägung*, 15, 17.

In another text of the same period, the manumittor was a citizen of Phthiotic Larissa although at the time of the manumission he was dwelling in Echinus.

L. Reilly, *AJPh.* 92, 1971, 669-673, no. 3.

The Imperial Cult is also indicated by an inscription on a statue base of Augustus, who is called *god sebastos and saviour* (*IG IX2*, 93).

On the basis of the evidence above, Echinus has been proposed as the centre for the Thessalian League's Imperial cult.

M. Zachou-Kontogianni, *Egnatia* 1, 1989, 214 note 24; Burrer, *Münzprägung*, 20.

The archaeological evidence indicates that the city was in decline after the Late Roman period possibly as a result of an earthquake that struck the city in the third quarter of the 3rd century AD.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, in S. Stiros-R. Jones (eds), *Archaeoseismology* (1996) 87-91.

It has been suggested that this event weakened the resistance of the city to the barbarian raids of the same period, although there is no evidence to support this. However, Echinus is mentioned by Hierocles who ranks it fourth among the Thessalian cities. It is also mentioned in the ecclesiastical records of the 5th and 6th centuries, in which the names of four of its bishops are preserved. The city was struck by earthquakes and destructive tsunamis in AD 551 (Procop. *Goth.* 8.16-19; *Aed.* 4.3.5).

Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 83, 92-93.

As far as the deities and their sanctuaries in Roman Echinus are concerned, Athena Ilias is mentioned in an inscription of the first half of the 2nd century BC (P. Lazaridis, *ADelt* 16, 1960, B, 163). According to one view, the manumissions of the 2nd century AD mentioned above were erected at the same sanctuary.

L. Gounaropoulou, *op. cit.*, 251-252.

On the cult and possible sanctuaries of Artemis, Aphrodite, Eros, Isis and Harpocrates, see below.

Little masonry buildings of certain or possible public function

A significant major building which consisted of at least three rooms was revealed at the foot of the south slope (A. Lytras' plot). It was built using limestone blocks and is dated to the 2nd century BC. A cist grave of possibly Roman or Late Roman date was placed in one of the areas probably after the destruction of the building. Also a mortar lined cistern was constructed over the ruins.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 34, 1979, B, 185-186, pl. 62e; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 91.

A public temple-like building (herôon?) was excavated in the middle of the south slope of the acropolis (G. Alexiou's plot), and a life-size statue of a Roman orator or philosopher was found in it. The building was constructed in the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman period and was destroyed by an earthquake which caused a fire in the third quarter of the 3rd century AD, a date based on the coins and pottery. A water cistern was found 2m to the east. It has been suggested that this building may have been part of a larger sanctuary. After its destruction the building material of the herôon was reused for the construction of a building 2m to the east. Three rooms were excavated, one of which had been turned into a cistern. Part of an ancient road probably ran to the east of the building as is suggested by a clay pipe which ran alongside it.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *ADelt* 43, 1988, B, 213-216, fig. 9-10, pl. 121β, 122α; *ead.*, in S. Stiros-R. Jones, *op. cit.*; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 91; E. Phroussou, in *ΣΦΙ* 4, 2010, 510.

A public building was excavated to the west of the building mentioned above (I. Karphis' plot) close to the steep rock of the summit. It was constructed in 4th-3rd century BC and remained in use at least until the Early Roman period. A relief of Artemis dating to the 4th / 3rd century BC and parts of statues of Aphrodite and Eros of Late Hellenistic-Early Roman date came from there. Statues of Artemis and Aphrodite known from the illicit antiquities' market, dated to the 2nd-1st century AD are attributed to the same find spot. The building has been suggested to be a sanctuary of Artemis Eileithyia / Locheia / Brauroneia, or Aphrodite Ourania / Eileithyia or Limenia, and Eros. A two-storeyed (private?) building dating to the 2nd-3rd century AD was constructed using the remains of its Hellenistic predecessor. Pottery, lamps from the 2nd-3rd century AD and bronze coins were collected.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B, 238-240, fig. 3, pl. 103α; Ph. Dakoronia - L. Gounaropoulou, *AM* 107, 1992, 217-227; E. Phroussou, in *ΣΦΙ* 4, 2010, 497-500, nos. 6-8, 510-517.

A statue of Harpocrates and a bust of Isis which date to the 2nd-1st century BC, indicate the presence of their cult in Echinus. It has been suggested that maybe they came from the sanctuaries of Artemis and Aphrodite / Eros. All the statues mentioned above are attributed to the same sculptor or the same workshop which was active in Echinus in the Late Hellenistic / Early Roman period. The foundry at the north-west edge of the city, outside the city walls (see below) is further evidence for the production of bronze sculptures in the city.

E. Phroussou, in *ΣΦΙ* 4, 2010, 500-507, nos. 10-11, 518-521.

Extra muros

The architectural remains of an Early Christian Basilica were excavated at Perivolaki (N. Kambouris' plot), outside the walls of the city, to the southeast of the acropolis hill. Marble fragments of the Hellenistic, Roman and Late Antique period found in the area indicate that the church succeeded an earlier building. The base of a bronze statue of a high official or philosopher of the Hellenistic or Roman period was used to engrave the inscription "Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΑΘΑΝΑCΙ / ΟC ΑΛΕΞΑΝ-

ΔΡΙΑC" after his death and sanctification (AD 373).

P. Lazaridis, *ADelt* 16, 1960, B, 163-164, pl. 147γ-δ; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 88-89, pl. 91.

Intra muros buildings of domestic character

Architectural remains of two rooms and part of a third one, a clay pipe and a floor paved with *tegulae* were excavated in the Angelokonstanti plot. The building was in use from 1st century BC to 4th century AD, according to coin evidence.

M. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B, 222. Parts of walls belonging to three different phases of occupation were found. Pottery of 4th century BC to Late Roman date was collected.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 40, 1985, B, 167-168, fig. 9, pl. 56γ. Two rectangular rooms belonging to a building, probably Late Roman in date, which had been constructed over the ruins of a Hellenistic one, were excavated in the plot belonging to Sp. Spyropoulos. One of them had possibly been used as a warehouse to store ready-made building materials since blocks, thresholds, unfluted columns etc. were found in it.

P. Pantos, *ADelt* 43, 1988, B, 211-213, fig. 5-6, pl. 120a, b; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 90-91.

An interesting complex of buildings came to light on the south slope of the acropolis where the centre of the Hellenistic and Roman city was located (D. Kyritsis' plot). A rectangular construction made of large stone blocks has been interpreted as a base belonging to an altar or to a statue group. Its foundations were built over a layer of small stones and mortar. In front of the construction, a floor made of tiles set in mortar came to light. Another rectangular room was found to the west. Its northern wall was plastered inside and decorated with a herring-bone pattern. Two mosaic floors with a 5-rayed and a 16-rayed star motif were found at different levels. A strong wall constructed with reused blocks was built in a later period over this mosaic. Walls of earlier date came to light beneath the floors. Remains of rubble walls which included fragments of tile were revealed in the south. A complex of four rooms and fragments of burial pithoi of Roman date came to light to the east. The pottery from the buildings dates to the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman period. A hoard of bronze and silver coins from the 3rd to 1st century BC was also found.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *ADelt* 48, 1993, B, 214-216, pl. 69δ, ε.

Villa urbana

A Late Roman villa decorated with mosaics was found on the eastern part of the settlement on the E. Zaro-
giannis' plot.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, in *La Thessalie*, 233.

Villae rusticae? or the *Late Antique Echinus*

A large building complex was excavated to the north of the ancient city during construction works of the Highway P.A.T.H.E. It consisted of a number of rooms, including a *triclinium* and two cisterns, as well as an apse on the north side of the complex. Two building phases were identified; one with rubble walls and the other in *opus mixtum*. It dates from the 3rd to the 6th century AD. *Ανασκαφικό Έργο*, 60-61; Ph. Tileli, *ADelt* 64, 2009, B, 527-528, fig. 30-31; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou – Ph. Tileli – N. Koutsokera – I. Giannopoulou, *on the road*, 71-72, fig. 1-3.

Another rural installation was found ca. 150-200 m to the east. It is a rectangular building with three rooms and an inner cistern. It was in use from the 3rd to the 6th century AD.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou – Ph. Tileli – N. Koutsokera – I. Giannopoulou, *on the road*, 71, 77, fig. 1, 9-11.

Between these two structures a building with a rather quadrangular plan came to light. It is a well-preserved agglutinative complex of rooms constructed on the remains of a Classical-Hellenistic cemetery. Eight storage rooms and working areas were excavated-perhaps used also as living quarters for the employees-, a storage room with pithoi, two wine-presses with their lower parts (*ypolinia*). The building has been identified as winery and was in use from the 4th to the end of the 6th century AD.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou – Ph. Tileli – N. Koutsokera – I. Giannopoulou, *on the road*, 71, 73-77, fig. 1, 5-11.

Cemetery

Chamber, cist, pit and tile graves, amphora burials and sarcophagi from the Hellenistic and Roman period (no later than the 3rd century AD), were found. Rectangular burial monuments built in *opus mixtum* and cist graves in *opus testaceum* are reported. Chamber tombs were also constructed in the Hellenistic period and continued in use in the Roman period. The inner surfaces of the cist graves were sometimes covered with red-coloured mortar.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 33, 1978, B, 137-138, pl. 46; 34, 1979, B, 183-185; 35, 1980, B, 236-238, pl. 103β; L. Lam-

bropoulou, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B, 222, pl. 136σ; 37, 1982, B, 197-199, fig. 5, pl. 120 β-γ, 121α; M. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 39, 1984, B, 135; 44, 1989, B, 167-169; P. Pantos, *ADelt* 45, 1990, B, 171-172, fig. 4, pl. 81β; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *ADelt* 48, 1993, B, 216-217; 50, 1995, B, 344-345; K. Stamoudi, *ADelt* 51, 1996, B, 315-316; P. Bougia, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B, 430-431, pl. 169; Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B, 355-358; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, in *Ελληνιστική κεραμική από τη Θεσσαλία* (2000) 204-205; *ead.*, in *ΕλλΚερ* E, 2000, 333-344; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 92; P. Bougia, in *ΕλλΚερ* ΣΤ, 2004, 149-160; Aik. Stamoudi, in *ΕλλΚερ* ΣΤ, 2004, 161-172; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 317, 348-353, fig. 34-35.

Cist graves, tile graves and a built grave were found in the centre of the village near the National Road from Lamia to Volos (K. Bourcha's plot). They date to the Hellenistic and Roman period. Also, a 'Pi'-shaped building constructed with poros blocks came to light. Part of horse's skeleton was found on the upper course of the wall. It was possibly a burial monument of the extra muros Hellenistic-Roman west cemetery of the city.

P. Pantos, M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 47, 1992, B, 187-188.

Two vaulted tombs built in *opus mixtum* set into the rock at the northeast end of the ancient cemetery (N. Baltadourou-Panagopoulou plot). Fragments of figurines, of glass vases and 44 lamps dating from the 5th-7th century AD were collected.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *ADelt* 49, 1994, B, 313, fig. 7, pl. 100β.

A small number of Roman graves were found in the Classical-Hellenistic cemeteries, excavated during construction works of the Highway P.A.T.H.E. to the north of the city.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou – Ph. Tileli – N. Koutsokera – I. Giannopoulou, *on the road*, 78-83, fig. 1-3, 9-11.

Industrial zone

A foundry of Roman date was excavated to the northwest, outside the city walls (plots belonging to Kanavos and Papaioannou). It was constructed over the ruins of a sizeable Hellenistic building. Part of a statuette of Heracles and two clay moulds with cult symbols were found. Also, remains of a Late Roman building were revealed adjacent to the foundry.

P. Pantos, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B, 223-224, fig. 10-11, pl. 138δ, 139α, δ, 140α; M. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B, 199.

Coins issued by the Thessalian League from the Augustan, Tiberian and Claudian periods were also found in Echinus.

Burrer, *Münzprägung*, 78, 80.

Bibliography

RE V2 (1905) 1921 s.v. Echinus 2 (A. Philippson); Stählin, *Thessalien*, 186-187; Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 299-303; Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 163-165, pl. 55, 98, fig. 7; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, in *La Thessalie*, 231-234; M. Chadou, in *Αχαιοφθιωτικά* 2, 1997, 197-208; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 83-93; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, in *ΣΦΙ* 1, 2002, 25-33; *ead.*, in Cantarelli, *Stählin*, 98-100; *ead.*, in *Εύβοια και Στερεά Ελλάδα*, 323-324; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou – Ph. Tileli – N. Koutsokera – I. Giannopoulou, *on the road*, 69-84; *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, D3.

Kastraki Neraidas→Stylida - Kastraki Neraidas

LAMIA (Lamia) – ΛΑΜΙΑ (Λαμιά) 2:3B, 11

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Hyp. *Epit.* 12; Plb. 20.11.1-9; D.S. 18.11.1; 18.12.4; 18.13.1-3; Trogus *Hist. Phil.* 13, pr. 5; Str. 9.5.9-10; Liv. 27.30.3; 32.4; 35.43; 35.49-50; 36.15.3; 36.25.3-5; 36.29.5-6; 37.4.8-5.3; 39.23.9; 39.28.3; Plin. *Nat.* 4.28; Curt. 4.13.29; Polyæn. 4.4.2; Plu. *Dem.* 27; *Eum.* 3; *Phok.* 3; *Vit. Dec. Or.* 8; Ptol. 3.12.43; St.Byz. s.v.; Hierocl. 632.6; Zonar. 9.10.

The ethnicon is attested as Lamieus (FD III4, 277; IG XII9, 92).

Inscriptions: R. Ragavis, *AEphem* 1837-1839, 115-124; IG IX2, 60-88, 1320, 1358, Corr. ix.; SEG 30, 1980, 531; N. Papadakis, *ADelt* 6, 1920-1921, Par., 146; G. Daux, P. de La Coste-Messelière, *BCH* 48, 1924, 366-367; *I.Thessaly*, nos. 9-10; Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 126, no. 4; fig. 75; Th. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B, 236-237; Kontogiannis, *Συμβολές*, 88-105.

Lamia was besieged, conquered and pillaged by the army of M. Acilius Glabrio in 190 BC (Liv. 37.4.8). Traces of this destruction are evident in the archaeological strata of the city.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *ADelt* 40, 1985, B 155-157; 48, 1993, B, 201-203; P. Bougia, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B, 428. Lamia became a city of the Thessalian League after the end of the Roman-Syrian War and the treaty of 189 BC. FD III 4, no. 368; Flacelière, *Les Aitolians*, 358; B. Helly, *BCH* 125, 2001, 274-275; Kramolisch, *Die Strategen*, 43; cf. also Larsen, *Federal*, 282; Burrer, *Münzprägung*, 3.

It seems that the city was involved in the Third Macedonian War, since it bestowed honours on Polyxenos and his son, because they paid the ransom for the Lamian prisoners of war. However it is not clear whose side they were on (IG IX2, 66a).

At some time, during the course of the 2nd century, the archons of the city were replaced by a council of Tagoi (including a *protostateuon Tagos*= i.e. the president of the council who is also epigraphically attested). This development must have taken place in the last part of the second half of the 2nd century or just after 146 BC (IG IX2, 69; Kramolisch, *Die Strategen*, 65-66; Kontogiannis, *Συμβολές*, 97-101) and continued in the Roman period (A. Tzafalias, B. Helly, *BCH* 128-129, 2004-2005, 410-411).

The city retained its leading role amongst the other Malian cities, at least until the late 2nd century BC, as we can assume by the presence of Lamian *hieromnemes* from Malis in Delphi.

A number of mass manumission texts from the second half of the 2nd century and the first half of the 1st century BC could indicate that the city faced a demographical and/or financial problem. The standardisation of the fee (15 dinarii) mentioned in the decrees of the mid 1st century and the fact that these manumissions were published in writing on a stele (*stelographia*) in return for a publication fee in a specific month (Vomion) is evidence of an administrative intervention by the city that was accompanied by a public ceremony.

RE XIII1 (1924) 557 s.v. Lamia (Stählin); J. A. O. Larsen, in Frank, *Survey*, 478; R. Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free* (2005), 68, 83, 101, 114, 120, 260, 310-311.

A kithara player from Lamia participated in the Tamyneia festival (in Euboeia) in 1st century BC.

IG XII9, 92; Stephanis, *Τεχνίται*, no. 2738.

Lamia was granted the name Sebaste by Augustus, as indicated by an inscription from AD 19.

IG IX 2, 80; corr. p. ix; P. de La Coste Messelière, G. Daux, *BCH* 48, 1924, 367; Burrer, *Münzprägung*, 6, note 31. Lamia also honoured Claudius (IG IX 2, 81; Højte, *Statue bases*, 306, Claudius 79).

Apart from the Imperial cult, the cult of Athena is epigraphically attested on a *xoanon*-like torso of a statue created by Praxiteles, an Athenian sculptor of the Early Imperial period (end of the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD).

IG IX2, 1320; P. Kastriotis, *Γλυπτά του Εθνικού Μουσείου* (1908) 100, no. 697; Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 125-126.

Lamia had common borders with Hypata as may be in-

ferred from the arbitration of a dispute over them by the governor of Macedonia around AD 125.

Hypata: *CIL* III, 586, Lamia: *CIL* III, 12306; *ILS* 5947a; E. M. Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Participates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian* (1966), 447.

It is quite difficult to reconstruct the borders of two cities but it seems that the dividing line was located to the west of the city, starting from the highlands to the north-west of the city and descending to the Spercheios River, the main landmark dividing the two territories. Small dependent settlements were included in its territory as the cemeteries in **Stavros** indicate. **Also, Phalara** (modern Styliida), 8km to the east is always cited as the port of Lamia, though it is obvious that it was also a major settlement.

A coin hoard with 2nd century BC issues of the Thesalian League was found.

IGCH 314; B. Helly, in *Rythmes de la production monétaire de l'antiquité à nos jours* (1987), 39-53.

Late Roman coins are known in private collections in Lamia or have been handed in to the local Ephorate.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 40, 1985, B, 180; P. Pantos, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B, 228-229.

The limited Late Roman material has led to the view that the city declined at some point after the 3rd century AD, perhaps as a result of the barbarian raids,¹ and was possibly abandoned around AD 530, despite the fact that it is attested as a bishopric in the 5th-6th century AD and as the fifth most important city in Thessaly according to Hierocles. According to another interpretation, the earthquake of AD 551 and the Slavic invasions were the reasons for this decline.

Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 106; G. Pallis, in *AEΘΣΕ* 3, 2012, 1304-1305.

The city was located on the foothills of two large fortified peaks (the summit of Kastro to the east, and the hilltops of Agios Loukas and Isadaki to the west) with a valley between them. The acropolis was located on Kastro where remains of the Classical - Hellenistic fortification are visible under the Byzantine, Frankish and Ottoman additions. The lower city was protected by a circuit wall, well known from the siege of 190 BC. It consisted of two large long stretches of wall that de-

scended down from Kastro. The northern one passed through the area of the modern theatre and climbed up via Tsirimokou Street to Isadaki hill. The southern stretch descended from the district of Agioi Theodoroi to the area of the church of Agios Dimitrios and climbed up via Patroklou and Vassakari Streets to Agios Loukas hill and then to Isadaki hill in order to join the north wall. The areas around the three squares of the modern city (Eleftherias, Diakou, Parkou, Laou) and the area extending from Eleftherias square and Laou square to the modern theatre were included in the city. The cemeteries were located outside the wall, in the south-south east part of the modern city (Thermopylon, Papakyrizi, Metsovou Streets, and the former Tsaltaki military camp), where one of the city gates was found (Palaologou Street), in the south west, as well as in the north, and particularly on the the west and north-west slopes of the Kastro hill (Karaiskaki, Argyrokastrou, Maliaion Streets) and, also, in the zone from the modern theatre to the area of the football stadium and the small hill of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel.

Stählin, *Thessalien*, 213-217; Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 267-268; Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 96-104, 121-122, figs. 43, 44, 46-50; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, in Cantarelli, *Stählin*, 105-110, fig 5 (N1, N2, N3). For details of the outer wall that enclosed and protected the northern extramuros section of the city and also a transverse inner defence wall in the southern section and their problems see Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 96-99.

The stadium of the city mentioned in an inscription (*IG* IX2 add. 1358; A. Keramopoulos *AEphem* 1906, 186; A. Wilhelm, *Hermes* 44, 1909, 44) had been located by Stählin (*Thessalien*, 217) to the north of Lamia, where the firing range was established in the early 20th century, but Bequignon (*Spercheios*, 273 note 2) found no traces of it.

Part of the ancient Gymnasium of the city was excavated outside the walls in Thermopylon Street quite close to the south-east gate of the city. The north part of the *palaistra* came to light and the *ephebeum* or *exedra*, changing room, plunge bath and oil storeroom (*elaiothesium*) were identified. The stylobate of a doric peristyle that surrounded the central court of the complex was

¹ It has been suggested that a system of tunnels found filled with Late Roman plain and domestic wares, Byzantine glazed sherds and Ottoman clay pipes, in Anastasiou Street (A. & K. Kallou plot) near the north branch of the city wall (Ph. Dako-

ronia, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B, 244) could have been used as shelter in times of danger.

Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 99-100.

also found. The peristyle was used for training when it rained. Part of the drainage system also came to light. The palaestra was constructed after the middle of the 4th century BC and destroyed by earthquake in the 3rd century BC. It was rebuilt on the same plan and abandoned after a second earthquake destroyed it at the end of the 2nd century BC. The victims of the earthquake were found lying on the floor of the plunge bath. An inscription bearing the name of the god Hermes was found (11:3D).

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B, 323; *ead.* in *Helike* 3, (2005) 153-166.

Residential Area

11:2C

Public sector

The administrative, commercial and religious centre was located more or less under the centre of the modern city, arranged possibly in blocks which were supported by retaining walls because of the steep slope of Agios Loukas hill. Public buildings, of the same date, were found in two areas a) on Aenianon Street b) at the junction of Drossopoulou and Patroklou Streets. The latter is close to the line of the fortification wall and is associated with an ancient road. The only public structure on the slopes of Kastro hill is a nymphaeum or fountain. Part of a public building of Hellenistic date was excavated in Aenianon Street. It was destroyed by fire and reorganised in the Roman period, when the north wall was restored to full height and other minor walls were added. A floor of *tegulae* was constructed over a layer of mortar and a clay tub with spout had been cemented into it. It was interpreted as Gymnasium or Palaestra because of the poros bathtub. Its north section was restored and reorganized in the Roman period.

A. Ioannidou-Karetsou, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B, 326, fig. 3, pl. 280γ (erroneously identified this structure as the city wall); M. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 40, 1985, B, 155-157, fig. 1-2, pl. 49α; 48, 1993, B, 201-203, pl. 67δ; P. Bougia, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B, 330.

Part of the Hellenistic Agora was found in the same area (Pasionikou plot). It has been identified as the religious, commercial and financial centre of the city. A pottery workshop destroyed in first half of the 2nd century BC came to light. Another pottery workshop was located in the same region, since Roman pottery and moulds for zoomorphic figurines and lamps of the 2nd century AD were found.

P. Bougia, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B, 352-353, note 7, fig. 5.

Not far away from this area, in Diakou square, part of

a wall built in ashlar masonry, possibly belonging to a Hellenistic public building, was found during the construction of the Hotel Samaras. In the same area walls, a yard paved with tiles, and a mosaic attributed to an Early Christian church came to light.

Papanagioutou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 124-125; V. Sythiakaki-Kritsimalli, in *ΣΦΙ* 1, 2002, 53; G. Pallis, in *ΑΕΘΣΕ* 3, 2012, 1303, fig. 3; cf. Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 101-103 for this specific mosaic and other possible Early Christian churches in Lamia.

In the same square a public building was excavated beneath the Bank of Greece. It was constructed in the second half of the 4th century BC with additions dated to the late 2nd-4th century AD. A cistern and a pipe line are evidence that it was used as a fountain at least during the later phase.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 313-314, fig. 9-11.

Architectural remains of two possible public buildings were found beside an ancient road at the junction of Drossopoulou & Patroklou Streets. They are dated to the second half of the 4th century BC and they were in use until the Late Hellenistic period. A Late Roman building was constructed partly over the foundation of the earlier one.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B, 321-2, fig. 1.

A nymphaeum or fountain, probably of Roman date, was located on the south-west slope of Kastro hill a few metres above the Agios Minas chapel. It is a rectangular construction with three semi-circular niches on its west side.

Papanagioutou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 119-120, fig. 71.

Private sector

Private buildings came to light on the lower slopes of Agios Loukas hill, at a lower level than the sector with the public buildings.

Parts of a building dated to the 1st-2nd century AD were excavated in Vironos, Diakou and Kolokytha Streets (D. Elassona plot). Late Roman phases were detected in the upper levels.

P. Pantos, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B, 193-195, fig. 4, pls 117γ, 118 α-ε.

Part of a wall was found at the junction of Vironos and Karagiannopoulou Streets (M. & A. Malamou plot), as well as sherds dating from the 4th century BC to the Roman period.

M. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B, 163.

Scanty remains of a Roman building were excavated in Riga Pheraiou Street.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 33, 1978, B, 134.

Remains of two walls in *opus mixtum* were found at the junction of Riga Pheraiou and Tzavela Streets (K. A. Antonopoulos' plot). Also, a child's urn burial came to light. The pottery dates from the 4th century BC to the 1st century AD.

M. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 39, 1984, 129. Building remains and Late Hellenistic pottery were found in El. Venizelou Street, near Parkou square.

A. Ioannidou, *ADelt* 28, 1973, B, 283.

Part of a building that was in use from the Late Classical to the Late Hellenistic period was found at the junction of Parkou square and Chantzopoulou Streets. Three rooms, a hearth and a corridor were excavated.

M. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 40, 1985, B, 155. In the area of Laou square where a number of water springs were located, a cistern and a bath were found. Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 101.

A Late Hellenistic cistern was found at the junction of Kalyva-Bakogianni, Lykourgou and Othonos Streets. It is associated with the fortification wall of the city (a possible *diateichisma*) that was built in the Classical period but underwent repairs in the Hellenistic and Roman period. Hellenistic and Roman pottery was found in the fill.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 32, 1977, B, 107; A. Onasoglou, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B, 205-206, fig. 1.

Remains of a bathhouse that was destroyed in the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman period were found at the junction of Laou square, Hsaia and Othonos Streets. A second building that was constructed and destroyed during the Roman period was found there, as well as a chamber tomb in use during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 33, 1978, B, 135-136.

In the same area, walls of a Late Hellenistic building and a floor constructed using small marble slabs of different colours (*opus sectile*) were uncovered in Karaiskaki Street (Syropoulos' plot).

A. Ioannidou-Karetsou, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B, 327-328.

Private houses and workshops were located on the east, south-east part of the city (10:3C).

Remains of a building with a Roman period of use were found in Othonos and Amalias Streets.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 33, 1978, B, 134.

A pithos that had been used as a deposit well head was found in Othonos Street. It contained pottery dating from the 3rd century BC to the middle of the 3rd century AD.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 41, 1986, B, 58.

A Hellenistic pottery workshop which remained in use

until the 2nd or 1st century BC was excavated in Hsaia Street (A. Miga plot)

Aik. Stamoudi *ADelt* 52, 1997, B, 422-424, fig. 3, pl. 167δ.

A workshop (a *lenos* = wine press or an oil-press) was excavated at the junction of Amalias and Rozaki Aggeli Streets (Petropoulos' plot). Grinding mills were also found. Pottery of Hellenistic or Roman date was collected from the area.

Papanagioutou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 124, fig. 73-74; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 103.

Cemeteries

South-South East Cemetery

11:3/4C/D

Five cist graves dating to the 2nd-1st century BC were excavated in Palaiologou Street (Chr. Kokkalaki plot) near the Agricultural Bank. Four of them shared a common cover slab. In the same plot the foundations of a possible small temple was found. It dates to the late 4th century BC, but a number of Roman sherds were also found in the fill.

Th. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 25, 1970, B, 233-234; Papanagioutou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 121, fig. 72.

A cist grave containing a Roman lamp of the early 3rd century AD was excavated among a group of Late Classical graves in Thermopylon Street (Pagourtzi plot).

P. Pantos, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B, 209-210.

Three cist graves and one tile grave dating to the second half of the 4th to the end of the 2nd century AD were found in the 1st *parodos* of Thermopylon Street (N. & A. Angelaki plot).

M. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 41, 1986, B, 59, pl. 64.

Part of the extra muros Hellenistic cemetery came to light in Thermopylon and Kapodistriou Streets. The graves date to the 2nd and 1st century AD.

M. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 41, 1986, B, 59-62, fig. 1, pl. 65-66.

A chamber tomb of Macedonian type was found in Thermopylon Street. It is dated to the end of the 3rd and the early 2nd century BC and reused in the 4th century AD.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B, 322-323, fig. 2; G. Pallis, in *AEΘΣΕ* 3, 2012, 1304.

Cists graves, part of the south-east cemetery of the city, in use from the 3rd to 1st century BC were found in Alamanas Street.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *ADelt* 48, 1993, B, 203.

Two 2nd century BC tile graves were found in Skoufa

Street. A coin of Antiochus VIII (121-96 BC) was collected.

E. Karantzali, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 357-358, fig. 38. A chamber tomb of Macedonian type that was in use from 3rd century BC to 3rd century AD was found in the area of the former Tsaltaki military camp alongside the Konstantinoupoleos Street. The roof of the tomb had collapsed as a result of the earthquake of 224 BC or the earthquake that struck the gymnasium in the 2nd century BC. Subsequent burials were located over the ruins of the roof.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou – A. Kravariti, in *AEΘΣΕ* 4 (in press).

South West Cemetery

11:1/2D

Cists graves, from the 3rd to 1st century BC were found at the junction of Botsari, Thetidos, and Menelaou Streets.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *ADelt* 47, 1992, B, 181-183.

North Cemetery

11:2A/B

The cemetery was in use from the Hellenistic period to the Early Christian period. Apart from clay and glass finds, Roman coins were found out of context (Thessalian League, dated to the 2nd-1st century BC and to the reign of Hadrian, Corinthian from the reign of Tiberius).

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou – A. Papastathopoulou, in *AEΘΣΕ* 1, 2006, 915-926.

Tombs dating to the 3rd-2nd century BC were found in the area between the modern Stadium and the hill of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel.

N. Papadakis, *ADelt* 1920-1921, par. 146; Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 272-273.

Two chamber tombs were found in Karaiskaki Street. They were in use in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 34, 1979, B, 188.

Four chamber tombs of the west cemetery came to light in Maliaion Street (Sdralli plot). They date to the Hellenistic-Early Roman period.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 42, 1987, B, 215-217, fig. 1, pl. 127γ.

Two chamber tombs of Hellenistic-Early Roman date were excavated in Skopelou Street and *parodos* Tsaltaki Street.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 49, 1994, B, 307, fig. 4, pl. 99^α.

Part of the north cemetery was excavated in Argyrokastrou Street (Tsadima, Skarla plots). Three rock-cut chamber tombs were in use from the 2nd century BC to

the Early Christian period and a third one was used at the end of the 3rd century, during the 2nd century BC and in the 1st century AD. Also, a tile grave dating to the early 1st century BC and fragments of a possible sarcophagus of the early 1st century AD. Five cists were in use from the 2nd to the 1st century BC (1st century AD). M. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B, 164-166, fig. 4, pls 71γ, 72β; Aik. Stamoudi, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B, 383-385; 55, 2000, B, 438-439; D. Mulliez, *AREpLond* 56, 2010, 97, pl. 105.

A chamber tomb and a cist grave built from poros slabs were excavated at the junction of Irakleous and Poseidonos Streets (I. Dimakos' plot). The first one was in use in the Late Hellenistic-Roman period. The second one is dated to the end of 2nd-early 1st century BC.

L. Lambropoulou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B, 161-162; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *ADelt* 39, 1984, B, 131.

Three chamber tombs and a tile grave that were in use at least until the end of the 2nd century BC were found in Poseidonos Street (I. Angelakopoulou plot).

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *ADelt* 43, 1988, B, 205-208, fig. 2, pl. 119β.

Chamber tombs of the Hellenistic necropolis were found on the 1st *parodos* of Achaion Street (K. Biba plot). Late Hellenistic and Roman sherds are reported. E. Karantzali, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 357-358, fig. 38. A rock cut chamber tomb was found in Cheimaras Street. It was in use from the 2nd-3rd century to the 5th-6th century AD.

Aik. Stamoudi, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B, 439.

Cist, tile graves and jar-burials dated to the end of the 4th-2nd century BC were found in Ypsilantou Street, possibly on the eastern edge of the cemetery.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 43, 1988, B, 208-211, fig. 2, pl. 119γ.

On the Early Christian use of the cemetery see G. Pallis, in *AEΘΣΕ* 3, 2012, 1304.

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Lolling, *Reisenotizen*, 759-764; Vortselas, *Φθιώτις*, 75-77; 162-163; Fr. Stählin, Lamia, in *Programm des Humanistischen Gymnasiums zu Erlangen 1920/21* (1921), 3-17; *id.*, *Thessalien*, 213-217; *RE* XII1 (1924) s.v. Lamia, 547-560 (Stählin); Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 263-278, fig. 506, pl. xii; Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 79-127; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 94-106; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, in Cantarelli, *Stählin*, 103-110; *ead.*, in *Εύβοια και Στερεά Ελλάδα*, 320-322; *ead.*, *Το κάστρο της Λαμίας* (2009); M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou – A. Papastathopoulou, in *AEΘΣΕ* 1, 2006, 915-926; G.

Pallis, in *AEΘΣΕ* 3, 2012, 1301-1311; L. Georgiou, *Το νομισματοκοπείο της Λαμίας*, PhD, Ioannina Univ. (2014).

Lamia-Agia Paraskevi – Λαμία-Αγία Παρασκευή 2:3B
Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Remains of walls, a floor in *opus signinum* and a cistern dated to the 2nd-3rd century AD were found 400m southeast of the well-known prehistoric site. Six tile graves were constructed in the area after the destruction of the buildings. It could possibly be the remains of a *villa rustica*.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 48, 1993, B, 211.

Lamia-Nea Magnisia – Λαμία-Νέα Μαγνησία 2:3B
Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Buildings remains attributed probably to a *villa rustica* came to light in Moudanion street in the suburb of Nea Magnisia to the east of modern Lamia. They are dated in 1st-2nd century AD. Pithoi, lamps and a bronze issue of the Thessalian League dated in the second half of the 1st century AD were found.

M. Sipsi, *ADelt* 31, 2008, B, 608-609, fig. 13-15.

Lamia-Pagkrati – Λαμία-Παγκράτι 2:3B
Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A slab cist grave was excavated in Matsovou Street (Sokri Souphleros plot). It was in use from the Early Hellenistic period to the middle of the 2nd century BC.

P. Pantos, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B, 206.
A wall associated with Roman and Byzantine pottery was found in Frantzi Street (Delli plot).

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B, 436; D. Mulliez, *ARepLond* 56, 2010, 96.

Lamia-Sanidi – Λαμία-Σανίδι 2:3B
Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Part of a Late Roman complex was found near the Xyriasis torrent, north-west of Lamia. Mosaics decorated with geometric motifs, bunches of grapes and ivy fronds were revealed in the central area and in the apse in the west part of the building. A hypocaust and a cistern also came to light. It has been interpreted as a bath complex and dated to the 5th or the first half of the 6th century AD.

Part of a *villa rustica* came to light. It was constructed over building remains of the 2nd-1st century BC and was in use from the (3rd) 4th to early 5th century AD. After the abandonment of the area it was used for burials until the end of the 6th, early 7th century AD. Pottery and coins of Late Roman date were collected. The small

handmade cooking pots found in the graves have been identified as Slavic ware.

Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 274; Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 137, 140-143, pls 84-87; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα* II, 176, note 237; P. Pantos, *ADelt* 45, 1990, B, 168-169, figs. 2-3; Aik. Stamoudi, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B, 385-388, fig. 4, pl. 148β, γ.; V. Sythiakaki-Kritsimalli, in *ΣΦΙ* 1, 2002, 53-54; G. Pallis, in *AEΘΣΕ* 3, 2012, 1304.

Lygaria-Palaiochoria – Λυγαριά-Παλαιοχώρια 2:3A
Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Remains of a settlement and of a *villa rustica* came to light at a place-name Palaiochoria to the west of the modern village of Lygaria, during construction works of the New Railway Line. The settlement was found on the south part of a hillside and it was in use from the 4th century BC to Late Roman times (5th c. AD). It could be identified to ancient Side, a landmark (kome?) mentioned in the inscription of the Hadrianic period concerning the borders between Lamia and Hypata.

A *villa rustica* was excavated in a low hill in the middle of Palaiochoria. It consisted of eleven places (rooms, storerooms and courtyards). It was founded in Imperial times and was inhabited until the 4th century AD.

F. Karantzali, *ADelt* 63, 2008, 599-604; *ead.*, *on the road*, 85-88.

On Side, cf. Stählin, *Thessalien*, 215-219; Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 278-282; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, in *ΣΦΙ* 3, 2007, 19-20.

Nea Magnisia→Lamia – Nea Magnisia

Pagkrati→Lamia – Pagkrati

PARACHELOITAI – ΠΑΡΑΧΕΛΟΪΤΑΙ

Str. 9.5.10, 10.2.1; St.Byz. s.v.

Kome of Lamia, near Acheloos. Unidentified.

Vortselas, *Φθιώτις*, 21; Stählin, *Thessalien*, 217.

The river Acheloos (Ephorus fr. 27, *FHG* I 239; Plu. *Ages.* 16; Str. 9.5.10) is located not in the region of Aenianes, as once believed, but to the east of Lamia.

RE I.1-2 (1896) 213 s.v. Acheloos 2 (Hirschfeld); Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 292, 298; Stählin, *Thessalien*, 217; G. Szemler, in *Great Isthmus*, 79-80; *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, C3.

PARALIA – ΠΑΡΑΛΙΑ

Str. 9.428; St. Byz. s.v.

Kome on the coast of the Maliac Gulf. Unidentified.

Vortselas, *Φθιώτις*, 78; Stählin, *Thessalien*, 212.

PHALARA (Stylida) – ΦΑΛΑΡΑ (Στυλίδα) 2:4B

Stylis Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Plb. 20.10-20.11; Liv. 27.30.1-3; 35.43.8; Str. 1.3.20; 9.5.13, Plin. *Nat.* 4.27; Ptol. 3.12.42; St.Byz. s.v. Φάλαρα
Inscriptions: *IG IX2*, 1359-1360; N. Papadakis, *ADelt* 6, 1920-1921, Par., 146; E. Mastrokostas, *AEphem* 1955, 84-85, nos 1-2, fig. 17; *I.Thessaly*, nos 157-160.

Phalara was the harbour of Lamia, though there is no clear evidence that it was a dependency of the metropolis of the Malians. It was involved in the Second Macedonian war and in the Roman-Syrian war.

It is mentioned again in a decree of the Thessalian League, found in Larissa, and dated possibly to the period 150-130 or even 130/129 BC. The League decided to send grain to Rome and one of the ports involved was Phalara.

K. Gallis, *ADelt* 31, 1976, B, 176-178; *SEG* 34, 558; *id.*, in *Praktika 8th Congress* 2 210-212; T. Garnsey, T. Gallant, D. Rathbone, *JRS* 74, 1984, 30-44; T. Garnsey, D. Rathbone, *JRS* 75, 1985, 20-25; for a date ca. 104 BC cf. G. Manganaro, *Chiron* 13, 1983, 405-409; *contra*, C.F. Konrad, in J. Linderski (ed.), *Imperium sine fine* (1996) 134-135. It is depicted in Tabula Peutinger, clear evidence for the existence of a coastal branch of the Imperial road network (Tab. Peut. VII.5, s.v. Falera).

A priestess of Aphrodite is epigraphically attested in the Late Hellenistic period (*IG IX2*, 1359).

The city was extended in the Hellenistic period as far as the centre of the modern settlement of Stylida. In the Roman period it was restricted to the south-eastern end of the modern urban area where lavish houses (*villae urbanae*) decorated with mosaics were located.

The west cemetery was located primarily west of Agia Aikaterini and alongside the old road from Stylis to Lamia. However, it was extended to the east of Agia Aikaterini, over the ruins of the Classical-Hellenistic city, an indication that the fortification wall went out of use at some time in the Roman period.

The north-east cemetery was situated in the east part of the modern town to the north of the residential area. Intra muros burials were detected in the Late Roman-Early Christian period.

A number of Late Roman houses were excavated on Cyprus Street on the western edge of the modern town which had been built over a section of the Classical cemetery. They could belong to a *villa sub-urbana*.

Part of a Roman bath was found near the coast in the plot belonging to St. Charalampopoulou. A Classical statue base with a dedication to Asclepius, was found in secondary use.

N. Papadakis, *ADelt* 6, 1920-1921, Par., 146.

Residential area

A Late Roman cistern was found in E. Venizelou (formerly Kyprou) Street (K. Syrmos plot).

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 32, 1977, B, 107.

A luxurious private house of Late Hellenistic (or possibly Early Roman) date was excavated in Zakoula Street (St. Babounis plot). Four rooms constructed in *opus mixtum* and a mosaic with geometric motifs in *opus tessellatum* were revealed. A mortared cistern was also found.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 33, 1979, B, 196-197, fig. 3, pl. 69a. This house is part of a *villa urbana* which was further excavated two decades later in an adjacent plot. The *stylobate* of a peristyle court, part of the summer triclinium and an aisle leading to the other parts of the villa came to light. Both triclinium and corridor were paved with mosaics bearing geometric motifs. It is dated to the 1st or early 2nd century AD.

L. Stavrogiannis - E. Karantzali, in *AEΘΣΕ* 3, 2012, 1249-1259.

Three rooms of a Late Roman building were found in Kostorizou Street (V. Karageorgou plot). A statuette of Dionysus, a Roman copy, was found in the eastern area. Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B, 253; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *AA* 20, 1987, 133-189.

Remains of a building complex, probably a private house, were excavated in Violeti Street (E. Emmanouil plot). Two child burials were also found. It was in use during the entire Roman and Early Christian periods.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B, 253-254.

Ten rooms belonging to a Roman house were excavated in a *parodos* of Petridou Street (S. Photsalis plot). They were built in *opus mixtum*. Part of a pipe line was also found.

L. Lambropoulou, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B, 170, fig. 8-9.

Parts of two Roman houses came to light in E. Venizelou (formerly Kyprou) and Agiou Dimitriou Streets (Ap. Skondra plot). Rectangular rooms flank a long corridor. They were built in *opus caementicium*. Sections of painted mortar have survived. A square cistern and a pipe line, as well as part of a drainage system were also found.

M. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B, 167, fig. 5-6, pl. 73γ.

A mosaic with geometric motifs was found Agiou Dimitriou street and is possibly associated with the buildings mentioned above.

E. Karantzali, *ADelt* 64, 2009, B, 521, fig. 19-20.

Foundations of two Late Roman houses were excavated in E. Venizelou (formerly Kyprou) Street (A. Papadopoulou plot). Three rooms of the first house and ten

of the second came to light. They were built in *opus caementicium*. A pipe-line was also found. The two houses had been constructed over a classical cemetery.

M. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 39, 1984, B, 133-135, figs. 2-3.

Part of a *villa urbana* was found near the port, at the junction of Kostorizou and Venizelou Streets. Three rooms came to light at the north part of the building. The first room has been interpreted as the summer *triclinium* and the second as the winter one. Both were paved with mosaics decorated with geometric motifs, double-axes, anchors and dolphins. The winter *triclinium* was warmed by a heating system of *tubuli*. The *prae-furnium* (furnace) for this system was located in the third room of the building complex. The south-eastern wing of the villa is attributed to bathing installations (*tepidarium, caldarium / sudatorium, aleiptirion*). The villa was constructed in the late 1st – early 2nd century AD. In the course of the 2nd century the third room was converted into a rubbish dump for the broken clay and glass vessels and continued to be used in this way until the early 3rd century AD, when it was filled up. It was a flourishing period for the villa but it declined in the 3rd and 4th century AD, when the other two rooms underwent extensive modifications. The first room was divided in two, and the second was changed into a kitchen. A second dump was dug outside the west side of the building.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, in *Εύβοια και Στερεά Ελλάδα*, 323, fig. 561; L. Stavrogiannis - E. Karantzali, in *ΑΕΘΣΕ* 3, 2012, 1249-1259; E. Karantzali – A. Tsoka, *on the road*, 29-32, fig. 1-6.

An interesting building complex came to light in the plot belonging to E. Michas in Agiou Dimitriou Street. Three Late Roman-Early Christian-Byzantine phases were excavated. An Early Christian church with mosaic bearing floral and geometric decoration (crosses and Solomon's knots) was erected over Late Roman structures. Walls of Byzantine date were found over the mosaic.

P. Pantos, *ADelt* 43, 1988, B, 220, fig. 11, pl. 123; *id.*, in *La Thessalie*, 223.

The find could be associated with the remains in the adjacent plot (A. Babounis).

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 23, 1978, B, 139.

Architectural remains attributed to a building complex with two phases, one in the Late Hellenistic period (2nd-1st century BC) and the other one in the Roman period (1st century AD) came to light in Phalaron street (Th. Triga – Ph. Tsoutsika – Triga plot). A child's tile grave and wheel-ridged sherds are also found.

E. Karantzali, *ADelt* 60, 2005, B, 444-445, fig. 7-9.

A building complex that was in use from the end of the 2nd century BC to 1st century AD was found in Dioleti street (S. A. and G. Lianou plot) in the centre of the modern settlement near the port.

E. Karantzali, *ADelt* 61, 2006, B, 546.

Cemeteries

East cemetery

Chamber tombs in *opus testaceum* or *opus mixtum* and a tile grave were found in Philonos Street (Ph. Kaltsas' plot) and at the junction of Philonos and Divrioti Streets. A number of them are dated to the 2nd century AD.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 33, 1978, B, 138; 33, 1979, B, 194-195.

Twelve cist and tile graves were found in Z. Divrioti Street (D. Athanasiou' plot). They are all of Early Christian date. Late Roman and Early Christian sherds came from the fill of the area.

P. Pantos, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B, 212-213, figs. 3-4.

Cists built in *opus mixtum* or *opus testaceum* and a tile grave without grave-goods were found at the junction of Philonos and Z. Divrioti Streets (E. Kontogiannis and N. Saraphidis plots). On the Kontogiannis plot a chamber-like storage room was excavated.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 34, 1979, 194-195; M. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B, 166-167.

Three Roman graves constructed with bricks, stones and mortar were found in K. Petridis Street (K. Kariotis' plot). The inner faces of the grave sides were lined with marble slabs.

P. Pantos, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B, 210-211.

Six cist graves, probably of Roman date, constructed of bricks and mortar were found in Thermopylon Street (Karagiannopoulos' plot). Part of a building was excavated a few metres to the north.

L. Lambropoulou, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B, 195-196.

A built grave of Late Roman date was excavated in the same street (P. Pappi plot).

E. Karantzali, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 366-367.

A tile grave and a chamber tomb were found in Ath. Diakou Street (G. Bourcha plot). Clay vases, parts of glass vases and three finger rings came to light. Hercules is depicted on one of them.

L. Lambropoulou, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B, 172-174, fig. 10.

West cemetery

A cist grave was excavated in Lamias Street (G. Oikonomos' plot), opposite the courtyard of Agia Aika-

terini church. It belongs to the extra muros Hellenistic-Roman cemetery of the city.

M. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B, 216-217.

A cist grave dated to the end of the 2nd, early 1st century

BC was found in Lamias Street (H. Kampouris' field)

L. Lambropoulou, *ADelt* 39, 1984, B, 132-133.

A tile grave of Roman date was found at the junction of Lamias and Kyprou Streets, and a storage vessel in Kyprou Street.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B, 447.

A number of graves were excavated inside the Classical-Hellenistic enclosure at Agia Aikaterini:

Twenty-three tile graves and jar-burials (amphorae) were found beside the old Lamia-Volos National Road in plots belonging to Mastichi and Alexiou. They are dated to the 3rd century AD.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 33, 1979, B, 195-196, 68, δ-ε.

Two tile graves and two cists in *opus mixtum* with *tegulae* as a floor were excavated in Lamias Street (B. Lainas' plot).

Pottery and bronze coins of Roman date were collected.

M. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B, 166, pl. 72γ.

Another grave of the same date was found at the junction of Lamias and Kapodistriou streets (K. Tsiaboula plot).

E. Karantzali, *ADelt* 60, 2005, B, 445.

Villa Sub-Urbana

Two rooms of a Roman building dating from the middle of the 1st century BC to the middle of the 2nd century AD were excavated in Karpouzias' plot. The walls were of rubble walls and broken tiles. A sort of *opus tessellatum* was used for one of their floors. A tile grave was also found.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 33, 1979, B, 194.

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Vortselas, *Φθιώτις*, 77; Kip, *Studien*, 46; Stählin, *Thessalien*, 217-218; Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 293-299; *RE* XIX (1938) 1647-1648 s.v. Phalara (Kirsten); Papanagioutou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 149-151, 153-155, fig. 6, pl. 91-92; P. Pantos, in *La Thessalie*, 221-223; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, in Cantarelli, *Stählin*, 101-103; Cantarelli *et al.*, *Acaia Ftiodite* I, 269-270.

Sanidi→Lamia – Sanidi

Stathmos Lianokladiou –

Σταθμός Λιανοκλαδίου

2:3B

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Late Roman-Early Christian graves and a well filled with

Roman-Early Christian material were found during the construction of the National Road E65 (Lamia - Karpenisi). Coins of the Aenian League were also collected.

Ανασκαφικό Έργο, 83, fig. 26-31.

Stavros-Kastraki – Σταυρός-Καστρούκι

2:3B

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A fortress for the protection of Lamia. It is located to the north west of the modern village of Stavros. It was constructed in the late 5th or early 4th century BC, though its gradual decline started from 2nd century BC onwards and it was finally abandoned before the end of the century.

It was identified as Side, a landmark (kome?) mentioned in the inscription of the Hadrianic period concerning the borders between Lamia and Hypata. This identification is disputed (cf. **Lygaria-Palaiochoria**).

Stählin, *Thessalien*, 215-219; Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 278-282; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, in *ΣΦΙ* 3, 2007, 19-20.

Stavros-Tympanos-Bikiorema –

Σταυρός-Τύμπανος-Μπικιόρεμα

2:3B

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A cemetery that was in use from the Archaic to the Roman period was found around the mouth of Bikiorema torrent. All but one grave was of the cist type and some of the earlier ones seem to have been reused.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 47, 1992, B, 185.

A large number of tile graves, dated to the Late Roman-Early Christian period, were found in the adjacent properties (belonging to N. Papanagnou and N. Kounoukla) along the National Road Lamia - Karpenisi. The graves had no grave-goods, with one exception, in which a necklace dated to the 5th-6th century AD was found.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 327-328, 330-332; 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 343-344.

Two Late Hellenistic-Roman graves were found in Tympanos.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, in *ΣΦΙ* 3, 2007, 24 note 18.

These graves belong to a cemetery of a settlement dependent on Lamia.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, in *ΣΦΙ* 3, 2007, 26, figs. 6-7; G. Pallis, in *AEΘΣΕ* 3, 2012, 1304; cf. Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 104.

A building of Late Roman date was excavated.

G. Kakavas, in *AEΘΣΕ* 4 (in press).

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΑΝ

Stylida-Kastraki Neraidas – Στυλίδα-Καστράκι
Νεράϊδας 2:4A
Stylis Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.
A grave stele of Roman date was found in secondary use in the area of the fortified citadel in Kastraki.
E. Mastrokostas, *AEphem* 1955, 84-85.

Styrfaka-Paliochoria – Στύρφακα-Παλιοχώρια 2:2A
Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.
A sanctuary of Demeter and her associated deities (Kore, Pluto, Venus) was found. It was in use from the Late Classical period to the early 1st century BC.
The occupation in the area continued in Late Roman period since the eastern building of the sanctuary was

disturbed and partially demolished in 4th-5th centuries AD. Its material was used in a Late Roman cemetery, where 22 pits and 9 ellipsoid-barrow graves were found.
E. Karantzali, *on the road*, 93-96.

Taratsa-Agia Paraskevi – Ταράτσα-
Αγία Παρασκευή 2:3A
Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.
Walls constructed in *opus mixtum* and painted on the exterior came to light. It is identified as an extra muros sanctuary. A headless statuette, possibly of Hygeia, was found on the nearby hill of the Agia Paraskevi.
Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 274-275.

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

AENIS – ΑΙΝΙΣ

Phthiotis R. Un.

Hdt. 7.132, 185, 198; Th. 5.51.1; X. *HG* 3.5.6; 4.13.15; Theopomp. Fr. 63; Scyl. 35, 62; D.S. 14.82.7; 18.7.2; 18.11.1; Cic. *Rep.* 2.8; Str. 1.3.21; 9.5.20; 9.5.22; Paus. 10.8.2-3; Plu. *Qu. Gr.* 293F-294C, 297B-C; St.Byz. s.v. Coins: *IGCH* 261; 271; E. S. G. Robinson, *NumChron* 1936, 181-182 no. 28; K. Liampi, in *La Thessalie*, 327-334. Aenis is located in the upper and middle Spercheios basin and in the central and northwestern part of Mt. Oita (Strabo, 9.4.11-12). The Spercheios River and its tributary, the Inachos, are the two rivers of the region. River Inachos (Plu. *Quest. Gr.* 13) is identified as the Vistrizta in the upper Spercheios valley [*RE IX2* (1916) 1219 s.v. Inachos 3 (Fimmen); Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 151, 157] and it has a significant role in Plutarch's version of the migration of the Aenianes (Sakellariou, *Memory and Oblivion*, 190-200, esp. 195-198). The natural geographical limits of its territory were Mt Tymphrestos to the west, Mt. Othrys to the north and the Oita-Vardousia mountain-chain to the south. The foothills of Mt. Oita around modern Kostalexi and Frantzi villages could have been the eastern border of Aenis. The Dyras (Gorgopotamos) could have formed the border with Oitaia.

Aenianes shared borders with the regions of Eurytanes, Dolopia-Thessaly, Malis, Oitaia, Aitolia. Strabo's mention (9.5.22) of the border between Aenis and Doris possibly refers to the earliest geopolitical formation of the area.

Pritchett, *Studies*, IV, 191-192; Dakoronia, *Μάγουρα*, 18-19; G. Szemler, in *The Great Isthmus*, 82-83.

Aenis was a member of the Aitolian League from the 3rd century onwards and regained its independence in 167 BC, when a League of Aenianes was constituted. *RE I* (1894) 1028 s.v. Ainiarchai (Szanto); Busolt – Swoboda, *Staatskunde*, 1515, 1518.

The League of Aenianes honoured Q. Caecilius Metellus son of Quintus in 148-146 BC, *eneka eunoias* (*IG IX2*, 37, Corr. p. ix). The inscription is dated 148-146 BC and

probably due to the presence of Metellus in the region, and if correct, it provides evidence for the pro-Roman attitude of the Aenianes or indicates at least that they escaped the consequences of the Achaian War.

B. Helly, in *Les "bourgeoisies" municipales italiennes aux II^e et I^{er} s. av. J.-C.* (1983) 356.

The Koinon was preserved until the 1st century BC, as indicated by its coinage, i.e. a series of frequent but small denominations dated to the end of the 2nd - early 1st century BC (E. Robinson, *NumChron* 1936, 181-182 no. 28; K. Liampi, in *La Thessalie*, 327-334), and by ancient sources and epigraphic evidence.

According to Pausanias (10.8.2-3) Augustus' reorganisation of the Delphic Amphictyony put Aenianes, Magnestians, Malians, and Phthiotes with the Thessalians and transferred their votes, as well as the votes of the Dolopians, to the newly founded colony of Nicopolis. Because of Pausanias' reference it was generally accepted that the incorporation of Aenis within the Thessalian *koinon* took place in the aftermath of the battle of Actium.

Kramolisch, *Die Strategen*, 14; Busolt – Swoboda, *Staatskunde*, 1494, 1496; Martin, *Leagues*, 46-47, 363; cf. R. Bouchon, *BCH* 132, 2008, 439.

However, it seems that the battle of Actium can only be regarded only as a *terminus ante quem*, and the incorporation of Aenis into the Thessalian League took place either after the Battle of Pharsalus in 48 BC, or at an even earlier date. The latest epigraphic evidence for the existence of the League dates ca. 62 BC (H. Pomtow, *Klio* 17, 1921, 186) and therefore the incorporation could have happened at any time between 62 and 30 BC. Busolt – Swoboda, *Staatskunde*, 1496 n. 1; N. Sekunda *ZPE* 118, 1997, 208.

From this date onwards the *strategos* of the Thessalian League is mentioned in the manumissions of the Aenianes (Hypata) (*IG IX2*, 12-25). The typical features of these acts in Roman times are similar to that of Lamia (*epimeletes*, publication fee).

R. Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free* (2005), 115-116, 199-200.

However, the close relationship between the Aenianes and the Thessalian cities may be traced as early as the second half of the 2nd century BC, when a number of *proxenies* were granted by the League to citizens of Thessalian cities (Larisa, Metropolis, Krannon) (*IG IX2*, 6b, c, d, e, *SEG* 44, 447). Also, they honoured as *proxenos* a citizen of Corcyra (=Corfu) (*IG IX2*, 5b).

At the same period, citizens from Hypata were referred to as *hierommemones* of the Aenianes in Delphi.

FD III2, 68-69; *III4*, 277, 279-281, *CID* 4, 414, 117, 119.

Two statue *tituli* set up by the Aenianes late in 88 BC at Hypata honoured the quaestor L. Licinius Luculus (*Syll.*³ 743; *IG IX2*, 38), when Sulla sent him to Greece as quaestor of L. Murena. These two texts are the earliest *tituli* without the ethnon added to the title of the Roman official. It has been proposed that the philhellene Luculus was the first Roman official who encouraged the Greek cities to remove the ethnic name and accept Romans as fellow Hellenic-speakers.

J. Thonemann, *ZPE* 149, 2004, 50-52.

Also, at some point in the 1st century BC someone [-nios] son of Markos pro-praetor and *presbis* restored (=apokatestise) the Aenianes (*IG IX2*, 10b, *CIL III* 585).

Therefore, for unknown reasons, the League lost some of its privileges during this period.

Aenianes and more specifically Hypatians held important offices in Athens and in federal organisations (the Thessalian League, the Amphictyony, the League of Hellenes and the Panhellenion). In the 2nd century AD they also reformed the annual celebration held in the Temenos of Neoptolemos to a quadrennial festival (cf. **Hypata and Delphi**).

The relationship of the Hypatian aristocracy with Delphi and the personal relationship between a number of them and Plutarch (e.g. L. Cassius Petraeus) could have been responsible for the creation of the migration tradition of the Aenianes. Though Strabo mentions that the Aenianes were driven out by the Lapiths and migrated to Mt. Oita (Str. 9.5.22), Plutarch (*Qu. Gr.* 293F-294C, 297B-C), in his long narration of their migration, makes the Aenianes take refuge with the Aithikes in Epirus, then move to Kassiopeia, to the sacred land of Kirrha, and finally to the valley of the Spercheios. The story of Plutarch “preserved elements, most of them going back to the original tradition, but spurious ones as well” (Sakellariou, *Memory and Oblivion*, 192), however, at the same time, the wanderings of the Aenianes looks like a digression from the main story of Temon’s “ptochikon

kreas” (beggar’s meat) and the fight between the Inachian Hyperochos and the Aenian Phemios, which is connected with the hecatomb to Apollo. Consequently, is it not likely that the wanderings of the Aenianes in Epiros and Kirrha, for which there is no earlier tradition in the literature, was added in the Roman period, when Hypata was flourishing, to the main legend of their establishment in the Spercheios valley, in order to be associated with the cult of Neoptolemos and the sanctuary of Delphi? The rather insignificant tribe of the Aenianes in Homer was now in this way connected to the son of Achilles, the rightful legendary owner of the Spercheios valley, as well as to the hero who persuaded Philoctetes, with the aid of Herakles, to offer his skill in archery to aid in the capture of Troy. Besides, it is not without importance that the sanctuary linked to this story was on Oita (cf. Oitaia, **Pyrrha**) rather than in their capital Hypata, the motherland of Plutarch’s friends. Therefore, the Aenianes acquired the same ancestral rights as the other tribes of the valley, the Malians and the Oitaians. Certainly, the tradition of the “ptochikon kreas” was something that every priest of Apollo was aware of, but is it improbable that Plutarch’s knowledge was enriched by the migration of his Hypatian friends?

Apart from Hypata, the capital of the Aenianes and principal city of the League, Sosthenis, Makran Kome, Spercherai, Brythrae and Apeitheion are included among the cities or komai of Aenis. Certainly, a number of settlements near Hypata (Argyrochori, Loutra Hypatis, Mexiates) should be considered as dependencies of the city. Also, although the northwestern borders of Aenis cannot be located with certainty, the unknown city at Palaiokastros must have belonged to Aenis.

According to the administrative reforms of Diocletian (AD 284-305), Achaia Phthiotis, Malis, Aenis and Oitaia became part of the Diocese of Moesia and Locris of Achaia. The region to the north of Thermopylae was integrated into Illyricum from the reign of Theodosius I. The whole district of Phthiotis under Justinian II, from AD 695 onwards belonged to the *theme* of Hellas, part of the prefecture of Illyricum.

TIB I, 50; V. Sythiakaki-Kritsimalli, in *ΣΦΙ* 1, 2002, 48.

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 Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 148-158, 307-324, 337-342.
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 M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, in *Εύβοια και Στερεά Ελλάδα*, 324.

M. Mili, *ZPE* 176, 2011, 169-176.

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Amalota – Αμαλώτα 2:2B
 Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.
 Two walls and pottery of Hellenistic and Roman date were found in the N. Kalatzi plot in Amalota village, near Hypata.
 M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 330.

Ano Fteri – Ellinika (SPERCHEIAE?) – Άνω Φτέρη – Ελληνικά (ΣΠΕΡΧΕΙΑΙ;) 2:1B
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 Vortselas, *Φθιώτις*, 90-91, 484; Stählin, *Thessalien*, 223; Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 315-316, 320-322; Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 235-236; *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, C3.
 A Late Hellenistic woman's torso (Aphrodite?) of poros limestone was found in a field northwest of the village of Fteri.
 A. Ioannidou, *ADelt* 28, 1973, B, 283.

ΑΡΧΑΪΑ

ΑΡΕΙΘΕΙΟΝ – ΑΡΕΙΘΕΙΟΝ
 IG IXI, 6a; *SEG* 44, 447; A. Kontogiannis, in *La Thessalie*, 239, 243, note 8; *id.*, *Συμβολές*, 56-58.

The name of the city or kome is mentioned also in a list of *theodorokoi* (A. Plassart, *BCH* 45, 1921, 20, III126). It has been erroneously read as Lapeithion by Plassart and Kern (Kontogiannis, *op.cit.*)

Location unknown.

Archani – Αρχάνι 2:2A
 Makrakomi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Location of an unknown town or kome of the Aeni-anes.

A metallurgical installation was located at Skouries, 3.5km from the modern village, close to the road leading to the settlement of Asvestis. The toponym is derived from the copper slags found there. Apart from the slags, two ancient galleries have been noted. The metallurgical activity continued until the Roman period, when the area was used as a cemetery.

A. Papastamataki – D. Dimitriou, in *Σκωριές της Αρχαίας Ελληνικής Μεταλλουργίας* (1986) 99-115.

A cist grave of Roman date was found in Skouries, close to the road leading to the village of Asvestis. Bronze jewellery and a bronze coin bearing the legend [SEVILERUS] were found.

St. Rozaki, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B, 180; P. Pantos, in *La Thessalie*, 227.

Six tile and cist graves of Roman date were found in the K. Douraki plot. One of them was built in *opus testaceum*. Pottery, bronze artefacts and coins were found.

M. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B, 180-182, fig. 15.

A burial pithos of Roman date was found south of the modern village at Tsatsara.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *ADelt* 47, 1992, B, 193, pl. 60ε

A cist grave built using different techniques (rubble wall, tiles, *opus mixtum*) that was in use from the first to the second half of the 2nd century or early 3rd century AD was found on the west side of the road leading from Archani to Asvestis, 100 m north of the junction for Archani.

A. Stamoudi, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B, 454; D. Mulliez, *ARepLond* 56, 2010, 98.

Argyrochori – Αργυροχώρι 2:2B
 Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A chamber tomb was excavated in the Th. Gourgiotis field. It was constructed in the second half of the 2nd

century and was in use until the end of the 1st century BC / early 1st century AD. It is attributed to a dependent settlement of Hypata.

P. Bougia, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 392-393; *ead.*, in *ΣΦΙ* 1, 2005, 12-25; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, in *Εύβοια και Στερεά Ελλάδα*, 322, pl. 555.

Diaseriani (SPERCHEIAI?) – Διασέριανη
(ΣΠΕΡΧΕΙΑΙ;) 2:2B

Makrakomi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Roman finds are reported on a hill to the east of modern town of Sperchiada on the road leading to Agios Sostis. Also, a Hellenistic-Roman villa has been excavated. A citadel located in the vicinity could be identified as ancient Spercheiaia.

E. Karantzali (*Pers.com.*).

Late Roman sherds are also reported.

E. Karantzali, *ADelt* 60, 2005, B, 445-446.

ERYTHRAI (Frantzi or Kompotades-Prof. Ilias) –
ΕΡΥΘΡΑΙ (Φραντζή ή Κομποτάδες-
Προφ. Ηλίας) 2:3B

It is attested in decrees of the League of the Aenianes dating to the second half of the 2nd century BC (*IG IX2*, 60e,f). Citizens of Erythrai are mentioned in texts from Delphi and one of them is referred to as *proxenos* of Delphi in the late 2nd early 1st century BC (*FD III1*, 461; *III2*, 213). A land dispute between Hypata and Erythrai is mentioned in an inscription of the 2nd century BC (*IG IX2*, 7, Corr. p. viii).

Frantzi village has been proposed as its location, but recent finds in Kompotades - Prof. Ilias suggest another candidate.

RE VIA (1936) 111, s.v. Thessalia (Stählin); Stählin, *Thessalien*, 222; B. Helly, *ZPE* 29, 1978, 149-156; Kontogiannis, *Συμβολές*, 58-59.

Frantzi – Φραντζή 2:3B
Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Architectural remains and sherds of Roman-Late Roman date came to light to the west (in front of Bolokouta house), as well as to the north-north east of the village square.

E. Karantzali, *ADelt* 61, 2006, B, 545.

HYPATA (Hypati) – ΥΠΑΤΑ (Υπάτη) 2:2B
Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Plb. 20.9.6; 20.10.13; 20.11.1-9; 21.4-5; *Liv.* 36.14.15; 36.16.4-17.9; 36.26.1-36.30.1; 37.6.2-37.7.1; 41.25.3;

Apul. Met. 1.5.12; 1.21.5; 11.20.20; Lucianus *Asin* 1; *Ptol.* 3.13.45; *Hld. Aethiopia* 2.34.

Inscriptions: S. Pittakis, *AEphem* 1837-1839, 197-204; *IG IX2*, 3-59; 1319, 1357, Corr. pp. viii-ix; *SEG* 3, 453-460; 16, 376; 44, 447, 459; 53, 535; *CIL III* 586=*ILS* 5947a; N. Giannopoulos, *AEphem* 1914, 88-89; L. Robert, *BCH* 49, 1925, 221-227; P. Lazaridis, *ADelt* 16, 1960, B, 166; *I.Thessaly*, nos. 5-8; Kontogiannis, *Συμβολές*, 34-87; M. Zachou - Kontogianni, *Archaiognosia* 12, 2003-2004, 265-275=*SEG* 54, 556; R. Bouchon, *BCH* 132, 2008; *id.*, in *AEΘΣΕ* 2, 2009, 395-407, F. Camia, *ZPE* 179, 2011, 145-154.

Hypataioi and Hypataicis are both used as the ethnon. W. Dittenberger, *Hermes* 41, 1906, 176.

Coins: Hypata became site of the League mint. A relief, not later than the 2nd century BC, depicting a spearman, similar to the one shown on the silver didrachm of the League was found in a private house opposite the church of Agios Georgios (N. Giannopoulos, *AEphem* 1914, 89-90). It has been proposed also that silver coins for Sulla's mercenaries were minted in Hypata during the First Mithridatic War (Fr. de Callataj, *Οβολός* 7, 2004, 125-126).

Hypata was the most important city of Aenis and a stronghold of the Aitolian forces in the region. The negotiations between the Aitolians and M. Aelilius (Scipio) in 491-490 BC took place in the city. It remained in Aitolian hands after the treaty of 189 BC and became the centre of the League of Aenianes after the end of the Aitolian domination in 168 BC until the 1st century BC (*IG IX2*, 5a, b, 6a-f, 7, 8).

Two citizens of Hypata were honoured by the city of Hyettos in Boeotia for their contribution to tackling brigands around the middle of the 2nd century BC [W. A. Wilhelm, *JÖAI* 8, 1905, 276-285; A. Bielman, *Retour à la liberté, Études Épigraphiques* 1 (1994) 174-177, no. 49]. According to one interpretation, they had freed the people of Hyettos who had been kidnapped by Theban and Boeotian anti-Roman troops during the campaign of 146 BC against the Herakleia in Oita. The actions of the two Hypatians could thus be interpreted as humanitarian (*Hyettos*, 163-166, 244-245). However, another explanation could be that Hypata was on the Roman side during the skirmishes, as we can assume from the honours bestowed on Metellus by the Aenianes, and that the liberation of the Hyettians was part of a mission organized by the two Hypatians.

A land dispute between Hypata and Erythrai is mentioned in an inscription of the 2nd century BC (A. Wil-

helm, *JÖAI* 8, 1905, 285ff). It concerned the ownership of a mountain and the arbitrating city was Chalkis. The inscription was found in Hypata and is the Hypatian copy of the arbitration. It dates between the end of the Aitolian domination (168 BC) and 146 BC, since only Aeniarchs but no Roman or Aitolian magistrates or statesmen are mentioned in the text (M. Tod, *GHI* II, 30). However, a post-146 BC date cannot be ruled out on the grounds of the absence of any mention of Rome (Ager, *Arbitrations*, 345-347, no. 125).

Judges from Hypata are honoured at Delphi around 146 BC (*FD* III1, 260; Ager, *Arbitrations*, 517 no. 14) for the arbitration on an internal Delphian matter or a dispute concerning the sanctuary at Thermopylae (cf. *FD* III1, 261). A few years later (110 BC) Hypatian judges arbitrated an Euboean dispute at the request of the Amphictyony (*CID* 4, 122; Ager, *Arbitrations*, no. 166).

Hypatians are referred as *hieromnemes* in Delphi in the second half of 2nd century BC (*CID* 4, 114, 117, 119B, I). Hypata honoured the propraetor L. Sempronius Atratinus, son of Bestia, legate of M. Antony in Greece in 39 BC (*IG* IX2, 39; *ILS* 9461).

T.R.S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* III (1986) 388.

Between 17 BC and AD 2 statues of Augustus and his sons were erected in Hypata (*IG* IX2, 40; Hojte, *Statue bases*, 252, Augustus 142). The city also honoured Caesar Germanicus (*IG* IXi, 41) in AD 47/8. In this inscription the archon is called *Sebastēos Hypataios*, an indication that the city was granted by Augustus the name *Sebaste* (*IG* IX2, 13; 41, *FD* III4, 63; C. Vatin, *BCH* 94, 1970, 690-691; J. Bousquet, *BCH* 85, 1961, 96-97).

Stählin, *Thessalien*, 220; *RE* VIA (1936) 111 s.v. Thessalia, (Stählin); B. Helly, *BCH* 1975, 125-127; R. Sher, *ZPE* 84, 1990, 257; R. Bouchon, *BCH* 132, 2008, 437, 451.

The existence of an Imperial cult is well documented in the inscriptions of the city. The priest of Sebastoi and a *protostatos Tagos* is mentioned during the Augustan period (*IG* IXi, 34; Schörner, *Votive*, 509 no. 1086), Goddess Rome and Theoi Sebastoi in (late 1st) early 2nd century AD (*IG* IX2, 32; Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ*, 159; N. Sekunda, *ZPE* 118, 1997, 220, no. 13a; Schörner, *Votive*, 509 no. 1087) and a high priest and *agonothetes* of Theoi Sebastoi in the last third of 2nd century AD (*IG* IX2, 44). The latter provides evidence for a local festival in honour of the Sebastoi. In an honorary inscription dated in the end of the 1st c. AD an Hypatian (Lykos son of Hermolaos) was honoured, following a decree of the Amphictyonic council, by the delegates (*σύνεδροι*)

of the Thessalian League and by his own city, Hypata. Lykos has been priest *heptaeterikos* of the Sebastoi and Zeus Karaios twice, priest of Sebastoi and Zeus Soter and Athena twice. So it seems that apart from the annual Sebasta, every six years a special celebration in honor of the emperors in association with the cult of Zeus Karaios was taken place at Hypata (F. Camia, *ZPE* 179, 2011, 145-154). Hypata has been also proposed as a possible centre for the Thessalian League's Imperial cult (Burrer, *Münzprägung*, 19) or as one of the cities where imperial festivals were organized or 'sponsored' by the Thessalian League (F. Camia, *op. cit.*, 152). Apart from the Imperial cult and those of Zeus and Athena, cults of Hermes, Isis, Anubis and Serapis are epigraphically attested (*IG* IX2, 31; *IG* IX2, 33; *SEG* 15, 367; Kontogiannis, *Συμβολές*, 34-40; Schörner, *Votive*, 508 no. 1084). The Imperial cult is associated with the aristocratic families in Hypata, such as the Kylooi and the Eubiotoi (and the abovementioned Lykos as well), who held important offices from the early 1st century BC to the 3rd century AD in their motherland (e.g. *archon*, *high priest* and *agonothetes* of Sebastoi), in Larissa (*tagos*), in Athens (*eponymous archon*) and in federal institutions (*Aeniarch* in the League of Ainiarcs, *general* in Thessalian Koinon, *epimeletes* of the Amphictyonic League and *agonothetes* of the Great Pythian Games, *Helladarch* in the League of Hellenes, *archon* in the Panhellenion, *agonothetes* of the Great Panhellenic Games and *priest* of the Panhellenic cult of Hadrian (*IG* IX2, 44). Also, Habroia, a female member of the family is mentioned in Apuleius' *The Golden Ass*. Kramolisch, *Die Strategen*, 121-123, 126; Burrer, *Münzprägung*, 14; N. Sekunda, *ZPE* 118, 1997, 221-223, no. 15; Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 58-59, 67-70, nos. 6-8, 10-11, 13-14. Particularly in Delphi, from the reign of Domitian onwards, Hypatians often held the office of *agonothetes* during the Pythian Games. In 2nd century AD they also changed the annual observances in the Temenos of Neoptolemos to a lavish quadrennial festival in order to associate themselves with Thessalian ancestry (cf. **Delphi**). Apart from the families mentioned above, Cassius Petraeus is listed amongst the friends of Plutarch (G. W. Bowersock, *RhM* 108, 1965, 279-282; B. Puech, *ANRW* II.33.6, 1992, 4867-4868; Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 68, no. 8) and a family of Sophists (T. Fl. Alexander, *synedros* of the Thessalians, and his sons) is mentioned in Delphi in the 2nd century AD (*FD* III4, 474; *SEG* 36, 545 c). T. Fl. Alexander has been identified (J. Pouilloux, *REG* 80, 1967, 379-384) as the epicurean Alexander to whom Plutarch dedicates his essay "On the Malice of Hero-

dotus"; *contra*, C. Jones, *BCH* 96, 1972, 265-267; cf. also, Puech, *op.cit.* (s.v. Alexander)

A musician (*pythaulēs*), and a citizen of Hypata, was victorious in the music competition of the Great Trajaneia, Hadrianeia, Sebasteia, Mouseia in Thespieae around the middle of the 2nd century AD (*I.Thespieai* IV, 40-42, no. 177).

Hypata in Roman Times is the most prominent city of the Thessalians. Heliodorus (*Aethiopica* 2.34) called Hypata *μητρόπολιν δε σεμνονόμενον* and Apulius (*Met.* 1.5) *civitas cunctae Thessaliae antepollet* and *florem Thessalicae regionis* (*Met.* 1.25). The latter, in his *Golden Ass*, describes a prosperous city with thousands of people, inns, baths, market place, luxury houses with statues and farms in the countryside, and at the same time tells us it is a birth place of witches (*Met.* 2.1). The details have no value, since are simply the result of Apulius' imagination (F. Millar, *JRS* 71, 1980, 63-75; K. Bradley, *Phoenix* 54, 2000, 282-308), which is, however, fed by the city's reputation. He also mentions that the Hypatians celebrated the god Risus with a carnival festival (*Met.* 2.31-3.11).

D. Robertson, *JHS* 39, 1919, 110-115; B. E. Perry, *AJP* 46, 1925, 253-262; *id.*, The ancient romances: a literary-historical account of their origins (1967) 277, 280, 374, 377; D. E. Koutroubas, *Parousia* 7, 1991, 363-392.

Apart from the semi-fictional public buildings described by Apulius, a number of real ones may be identified from the inscriptions of the city. A gymnasiarch built or restored the exedra, the temple and the bathhouse in favour of Hermes and of the city in 2nd / 1st century BC (*IG IX2*, 31; *SEG* 15, 367; Schörner *Votive*, 508 no. 1083). The Gymnasium of the city was repaired in 130-140 AD with the taxes of the manumissions (*IG IX2*, 56; *Corr.* p. ix; A. Arvanitopoulos, *Polemon* 1, 127; P. de La Coste-Messelière, G. Daux, *BCH* 48, 1924, 364-365; *SEG* 3, 457d; R. Bouchon, in *AEΘΣΕ* 2, 395-407).

There is also evidence about the location of Hypata in the imperial road system. A milestone of Hadrianic date was found (AD 125) (*IG IX2*, 1319; *CIL* III 7359; *GHW* 3823), an indication that Hypata was situated on a Roman road. However, two more milestones were located from the city of Hypata in the Domokos area, one of these bears two inscriptions one of Hadrianic date (P. de La Coste-Messelière, G. Daux, *BCH* 48, 1924, 375-376, no 5; *GHW* 3381) and one of Galerius, Constantius, Maximinus, Severus II date (AD 305-307) (Th. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B, 237 no.1; *GHW* 3380). The existence of these two milestones shows that Hypata was not located on the main road leading from Thessaly to Thermopylae, depicted on Tabula Peutinger,

but on a branch of it, which started on the plateau of Thaumakoi (F. Mottas – J.-Cl. Decourt, *BCH* 121, 1997, 337, 348-350, nos. 3, 4, 12; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 18, 94). A dedication beside a road is mentioned in an inscription of Roman date from Hypata (N. Giannopoulos, *AEphem* 1914, 89).

Under Hadrian's principate, around AD 125, a border dispute between Hypata and Lamia was arbitrated by the governor of Macedonia (Hypata: *CIL* III 586, Lamia: 12306; *ILS* 5947a). The main landmark mentioned is the Spercheios River, although other minor ones like a fountain called Derkyna, a border sanctuary of Poseidon, a hill called Pelion, located on the course of the river, and a heroon of Eurytos are also mentioned. Since the inscription was found in Mexiates, quite close to the bank of the Spercheios, it is plausible that a boundary stone was located here. Although it is not possible to retrace Hypata's borders, it is obvious that its territory extended beyond the north bank of the Spercheios River.

Stählin, *Thessalien*, 215-219; *id.*, *RE* IIA (1923) 2208 s.v. Side; *VIA* (1936) 111 s.v. Thessalia; Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 278-282, fig. 7.

Christianity was established shortly after the mid-1st century AD by Herodion, a close friend (possibly a relative) of the Apostle Paul, and one of the seventy disciples, who became the first bishop of the city. Herodion was martyred in the city by the Jewish community and the Pagans in AD 66.

Vortselas, *Φθιώτις*, 25; N. Giannopoulos, *EpetByz:Spud* 7, 1930, 254-255; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 118; V. Sythiakaki-Kritsimalli, in *ΣΦΙ* 1, 2002, 54.

Hypata is mentioned as an Episcopal centre in the 4th and 5th centuries AD, and as sixth among the seventeen cities of Thessaly in the 6th century AD (Synekd. 642.7). It was renamed *Νέα Πάτρα* in the 9th century AD.

V. Sythiakaki-Kritsimalli, in *ΣΦΙ* 1, 2002, 54-55; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 125-126; A. Kalatzi-Sbyraki, in *ΣΦΙ* 3, 2007, 460-461.

The ancient settlement extends beneath the modern village. Parts of the city's fortification walls, constructed in the Hellenistic period and repaired in the Roman Period, were found under the Early Christian Basilica in the area of the modern High School and to the north of the village. According to Procopius (*De aedif.* 4.2) the walls were repaired once again in the reign of Justinian I.

N. Giannopoulos, *Αρμυρία* 1, 1900, 635; Béquignon 1907, 309; P. Lazaridis, *ADelt* 16, 1960, 164-165; P. Pantos, in *La Thessalie*, 224; V. Sythiakaki-Kritsimalli, in *ΣΦΙ*

1, 2002, 55; On the problems relating to Procopius' reference see Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 125-126.

Part of the northern section of the city walls was revealed in plots belonging to E. Katsibra and D. Nikolaou, as well as in the area between them. It was restored in the Late Roman and Byzantine periods.

M. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 40, 1985, B, 159, pl. 52γ; 41, 1986, B, 70-72; P. Pantos, *ADelt* 45, 1990, B, 174.

In addition to these plots another section of the city walls was found (P. Katsigiannopoulou plot). Pottery dated in 1st-3rd century AD came from the fill.

E. Karantzali, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 367.

The Roman and Late Roman cemeteries were located to the north-north west of the modern village, along the Xerias torrent and at "Alpochori" or Sarantari-Kopanou place-name.

Vortselas, *Φθιώτις*, 474-475; Th. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 26, B, 1971, 236; Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 34, 1979, B, 197-198, pl. 69γ; 42, 1981, B, 229; P. Pantos, in *La Thessalie*, 224; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 124.

Remains of Late Roman and Early Christian houses with brick walls, cisterns and mosaics with geometric, floral and marine motifs were found in various areas of the village. A water supply system was also revealed.

P. Pantos, in *La Thessalie*, 224-226.

Walls belonging to different Roman and Late Roman periods, mosaics with geometric motifs made of large *tesserae* using *opus tessellatum* and *opus sectile* techniques were also found in Sp. Matsouka Street (E. Kyritsi's plot). Part of the drainage system also came to light.

St. Rozaki, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B, 174-176, fig. 11-12, pl. 74γ-δ.

A mosaic consisting of two sections came to light in the remains of a Late Roman building in the south of the modern settlement (Ag. Iphanti plot). In the first section geometric motifs (lozenges within squares) form a carpet-like mosaic and in the second one the Three Graces are depicted with a border of motifs of *plochmos* and spiral-meanders. It was executed in the *opus tessellatum* technique and is dated to around the middle of the 3rd century AD (AD 240-260). Pottery dated to the 2nd-4th centuries AD came from the fill of the building.

St. Rozaki, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B, 176, pl. 75α; *ead.*, *AAA* 16, 1983, 132-142.

An intact cistern with walls covered with marble slabs and floor sealed with a thick layer of *kourasani* (waterproof plaster), parts of two others covered with the same kind of *kourasani*, as well as remains of walls dated from the Roman to Byzantine period found in

Asp. Barda's plot. The cisterns were accompanied by water pipes and have been interpreted as part of the city's water supply system.

A. Rozaki, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B, 178, figs 13-14; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 119.

A two-storeyed public building or tavern was found in Sp. Matsouka's Street (Patichra plot). They had saddle-back or vaulted roofs in the basements constructed in bricks and mortar. The rooms on the first floor had mosaic pavements and the walls were covered with coloured plaster. It was possibly destroyed by an earthquake. A pipe line and part of the drainage system along with a pavement also came to light.

M. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 40, 1985, B, 159-162, pl. 53.

A rectangular building of Roman date, constructed in *opus mixtum* and paved with a mosaic with geometric, floral and marine motifs was excavated in plots belonging to Ir. Paparounis & D. Kyritsi. Roman pottery, glass vessels and bronze objects were also found.

M. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 40, 1985, B, 159-162, fig. 5, pl. 54, 55a.

Part of a Late Roman bath complex was excavated in Leonidou Street near the central square (property of Ap. Kariaba). Walls in *opus mixtum*, clay air ducts, and a mosaic floor with geometric patterns came to light.

M. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 40, 1985, B, 163-165, figs. 6-7, pl. 55β-γ.

A Late Roman building complex consisting of at least four rooms was excavated in the south-eastern part of the modern town (property of K. Kaklea and G. Kontogeorgou). Walls with coloured marble facings and mosaics with geometric motifs came to light. Late Hellenistic, Roman and Late Roman - Early Christian pottery was found.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 40, 1985, 165, fig. 8; A. Ntina, *ADelt* 40, 1985, B, 223, pl. 88γ. The building has been interpreted as a bath.

Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 120.

A cistern lined with thick mortar and a stout wall came to light near the High School. Pottery dated from the Late Hellenistic to 5th century AD was found.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 41, 1986, B, 70.

Part of a public building (a temple?) constructed in *opus mixtum* was excavated in the Chr. Phitsiou plot. It is dated to the 2nd century AD. A bronze head of Pan and small clay plaques depicting a winged figure, a procession of women and Herakles with the Cerynitian Hind were found.

P. Pantos, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B, 166.

A wall and cistern of Late Roman date were found south of the village's sports ground.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 47, 1992, B, 197.

Various finds

A marble head, the product of a local workshop, dated to the reigns of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius was found. Th. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B, 236; A. Onasoglou, *ADelt* 36, 1981, 228, pl. 141γ-δ.

A Roman altar decorated with *pankarpia* is mentioned. Th. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B, 236.

Early Christian finds

Architectural remains of three intramural and extramural Early Christian Churches as well as houses were excavated.

G. Lampakis, *DeltChrA* 3, 1903, 45; N. Giannopoulos, *ΔΙΕΕ* 7, 1918, 441-458; P. Lazaridis, *ADelt* 16, 1960, 165-166; Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 227 fig. 128; Aik. Kalatzi-Sbyraki, *ADelt* 34, 1979, A, 100-109, fig. 1, pl. 34-43; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka *Σύνταγμα* II, 182-186, pl. 310-319; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 120-122; D. Pallas, *Συναγωγή Μελετών Βυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας* (1987-1988) II, 641-666; V. Sythiakaki-Kritsimalli, in *ΣΦΙ* 1, 2002, 55-58.

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G. Dittenberger, *Hermes* 42, 1907, 542-547; Vortselas, *Φθιώτις*, 86-89, 164-165, 473-475; *RE* IX1 (1914) 236-240 s.v. Η Υπάτα (Stählin); Stählin, *Thessalien*, 220-222; Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 308-312, pl. xi, fig. 13; J. Larsen, *CIPhil* 48, 1953, 86-95; F. Millar, *JRS* 71, 1980; P. Pantos, in *La Thessalie*, 223-226; Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 58-59, 67-70; N. Sekunda, *ZPE* 118, 1997, 207-226; U. Egelhaaf-Gaiser, *Kulträume in römischen Alltag. Das Isisbuch des Apuleius und der Ort von Religion im kaiserzeitlichen Rom* (2000), *passim*; C. Bradley, *Phoenix* 54, 2000, 282-308; Karagiorgou, *Thessaly*, 117-126; *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, C3.

Kato Fteri / Vitoli-Kastrorachi (SPERCHEIAE?)

Κάτω Φτέρη / Βίτολη-Καστροράχη
(ΣΠΕΡΧΕΙΑΙ;) 2:1A
Makrakomi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A fortified hill north of the village of Kato Fteri, opposite Vitoli and near the bank of the Spercheios River. Roman pottery is reported.

It has been proposed as the site of Spercheiai (cf. also **Ano Fteri** and **Diaseriani**)

Stählin, *Thessalien*, 223; Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 313-315, 320-321.

Kompotades-Agia Aikaterini – Κομποτάδες-Αγία Αικατερίνη 2:3B

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A boundary stone (*Horos*) dating to the Late Hellenistic period (second half 2nd-first half 1st century BC) was found here.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B, 350.

Kompotades - Prof. Ilias (ERYTHRAI?) – Κομποτάδες – Προφ. Ηλίας (ΕΡΥΘΡΑΙ;) 2:3B

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A large cemetery which was in use from the Mycenaean period to the 2nd century BC has been excavated since 2009 to the northwest of the village, south of the Spercheios River.

According to E. Karantzali (*ADelt* 64, 2009, B, 517) this could be ancient Erythrai.

Loutra Ypatis-Varka – Λουτρά Υπάτης-Βαρκιά 2:2B

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

An inscription from Loutra Ypatis with a manumission text inscribed on it came from a monument of Roman date. The name of the slave, Epaphroditos, who was referred to in it, has led to the erroneous suggestion that the thermal spring was dedicated to Aphrodite.

IG IX2, 29; Vortselas, *Φθιώτις*, 39; N. Giannopoulos, *AEphem* 1914, 88; cf. Stählin, *Thessalien*, 222.

A Late Christian Basilica was excavated in Varka in a field belonging to G. Platis. Also, a bath complex built in *opus mixtum* was found 50m to the north (property of Ch. Antoniou). It was decorated with a mosaic depicting fish, birds, floral and geometric motifs. The excavator dates the building to the middle of the 4th century AD on the coin evidence. However, a much later date has also been proposed for the mosaics. Chamber tombs are also reported.

P. Lazaridis, *ADelt* 23, 1968, B, 252, pl. 195; Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 226-227, pl. 127; P. Lazaridis, *ADelt* 28, 1972, B, 390, figs 1-3, pls 326-327; J.-P. Sodini, *BCH* 102, 1978, 557-561; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα* II, 178-180, pl. 302-309a; V. Sythiakaki-Kritsimalli, in *ΣΦΙ* 1, 2002, 58.

Two inscribed stones with names of manumitted slaves and their owners were found in the Basilica in second use. They are dated to AD 127/8-128/9 AD and mid 2nd or 3rd century AD respectively.

G. Pallis-N. Petrocheilos, *HOROS* 22-25, 2010-2013, 327-341; R. Bouchon, *ZPE* 193, 2015, 172-178.

Magoula – Μαγούλα 2:2B

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A chamber tomb was found in Tsimpouri field. It was in use from the 3rd to the 1st century BC or to the 1st century AD.

A. Papastathopoulou, *ADelt* 64, 2009, B, 526-527, fig. 29.

MAKRAN KOME? → Platystomo-Prof. Ilias

Mexiates – Μεξιάτες 2:3B

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Inscriptions: *CIL* 586.

A chamber tomb of Macedonian type was found to the left of the Lamia-Mexiates road, 1km before the modern village. The sides and the arched roof of the tomb are constructed with rectangular blocks. Two benches were constructed inside to the left and the right of the entrance. It was covered by a tumulus that was surrounded by a ring of dressed blocks. It was in use from the 3rd century BC to the 3rd century AD.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B, 247 fig. 6; *ead.*, in *Ancient Macedonia* 4 (1986) 147-157; P. Pantos, in *La Thessalie*, 226.

A second tomb of similar type was found 70m to the east of the first one. It is dated to the 3rd century BC, but was also in use during the Roman period.

M. Papakonstantinou-Katsouni, *ADelt* 40, 1985, B, 159. Four bronze coins of Maximian, Aurelian, Valens, Valentinian and an *assarium* of Valentinian I were found at Tzani.

P. Pantos, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B, 229.

An inscription dated to AD 125, concerning the boundary between Hypata and Lamia was found. Since this inscription was the Hypatian copy, a boundary stone may have been placed here (at the fountain Derkyna, according to Stählin). Also, the other finds from the area indicated that a small community dependent on Hypata was possibly located here (cf. **Hypata**).

Kip, *Studien*, 47; Stählin, *Thessalien*, 215-219; *RE* VIA (1936) 111 s.v. Thessalia (Stählin); J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 684.

Palaiokastro Tymfristou – Παλαιόκαστρο

Τυμφρηστού

2:1A

Makrakomi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Inscriptions: *IG* IX2, 1336-1339.

A fortified citadel. Inscribed burial stelae (?) of Hellenistic and Roman date were found.

I. Vortselas, *Αθηνά* 15, 1903, 483-484; 18, 1905, 38-39; *id.*, *Φθιώτις*, 481-482; Stählin, *Thessalien*, 224-225; Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 315-316, 322-324; Kontogiannis, *Συμβολές*, 43, note 7.

Perivoli – Περιβόλι

2:1B/2B

Makrakomi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A chamber tomb of Hellenistic date was found in the Boliana plateau in the south slope of Kotroni hill, where a fortified citadel is located. The tomb was reused in the (mid?) 3rd to the mid 4th century AD and from the (mid?) 5th to the end of 6th (early 7th) century AD. Pagan symbols are depicted on the lamps of the 3rd-4th centuries AD and Christian symbols on those of the 5th-6th century. A rectangular construction above the chamber of the tomb is interpreted as heroon.

P. Pantos, *ADelt* 42, 1987, B, 221, 223; *id.*, in *Studies Theocharis* (1992), 414-421.

A small stronghold of Roman date was located at Agios Georgios. Pot-sherds and a Roman inscription are reported.

Dakoronia, *Μάγαρα*, 16.

It has been proposed as the location of the city or kome of Aristeia [P. Pantos, in *Studies Theocharis* (1992), 421], possibly mentioned in *IG* IX2, 6f (G. Daux, *REG* 54, 1941; *BE* 1942, 106, no. 91). Although, after the re-examination of the inscription the ethnonym Aristeatai has been corrected to the personal name Aristeas (Kontogiannis, *Συμβολές*, 45, 47-49, 56).

Platystomo-Prof. Ilias (MAKRAN KOME?) –

Πλατύστομο-Προφ. Ηλίας (ΜΑΚΡΑΝ ΚΩΜΗ;) 2:2A

Makrakomi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Inscriptions: G. Roux, *BCH* 78, 1954, 90-92.

The remains in Asteria and the acropolis on the Prof. Ilias summit have been identified as the ancient Makran Kome, destroyed by the Aitolians in 198 BC (*Liv.* 32.13.10).

Late Hellenistic / Roman sherds were found on both areas. The surface pottery indicates that the settlement flourished in the Hellenistic period and although in decline existed in the Roman period.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, A. Penttinen, *Opuscula* 6, 2013, 216, 245, 256.

A dedication to Isis dated to the 1st century BC -1st century AD was found reused in a cist grave at Marmara.

Th. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 26, 1971, 238; *SEG* 15, 362; Schörner, *Votive*, 513 no. 1102.

A bronze coin of Hadrian has been collected from the area (*pers.com.*)

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Vortselas, *Φθιώτις*, 91; A. Arvanitopoulos, *Prakt* 1911, 348; Stählin, *Thessalien*, 223-224; Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 316-322, fig. 15; G. Roux, *BCH* 78, 1954, 89-94; Papanagioutou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 233, pl. 133, fig. 11; J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 684.

SOSTHENIS – ΣΩΣΘΗΝΙΣ

Ptol. 3.12.42.

Sosthenis was a member of the Aitolian League until 168/7 BC. The precise location of Sosthenis in Aenis is disputed. It has been suggested that it was a settlement in the vicinity of Hypata or in the area between Hypata and Spercheiae and more specifically at Agios Sostis or Ano Fteri.

Vortselas, *Φθιώτις*, 91, 483-484; *RE* IIA1 (1927) 1198-1199 s.v. Sosthenis (Fr. Stählin); A. Kontogiannis, in *La Thessalie*, 239-244; *id.*, *Συμβολές*, 76-82; J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 684.

According to another opinion Sosthenis was a settle-

ment of Oitaia and located in the area of Herakleia. W. Dittenberger, *Hermes* 33, 1898, 324-329; Stählin, *Thessalien*, 210; G. Daux, *BCH* 58, 1934, 157-167; Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 306-307; Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens*, 16 n. 1, 363 n. 3; *RE* XVII2 (1937) 2292-2293 s.v. Oitaioi (Kirsten).

SPERCHEIAI→Ano Fteri-Ellinika or Kato Fteri / Vitoli-Kastrorachi or Diaseriani) –

ΣΠΕΡΧΕΙΑΙ

2:1A, 1B, 2B

Liv. 32.13.10; Ptol. 3.12.14.

Spercheiai was destroyed by the Aitolians in 198 BC (Liv. 32.10.13). The city is also mentioned in inscriptions from Delphi of the 3rd and early 2nd centuries BC (*SGDI* 2038; *SEG* 3, 393). Apart from Ptolemy's reference there is no other evidence for its existence in the Roman period. It has been identified as the remains in Fteri-Ellinika or in Kastrorachi, which, however, could be fortresses. The recent finds at Diaseriani suggest another candidate for Spercheiai.

Kip. *Studien*, 25-26; Vortselas, *Φθιώτις*, 90-91, 483; *RE* IIA2 (1929) 1625-1626 s.v. Σπερχειαί (Stählin); J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 684.

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

OITAIA – OITAIA

Phthiotis R. Un.

S. *Pb.* 479; Str. 9.4.10; 9.5.4; 9.5.10; Plin. *Nat.* 4.27-28; Plu. *Per.* 17; Ptol. 3.13.46.

A variation of the region's name, Oita, is referred to in *IG IXi*, 227. The ethnicon Oitaïos is found in Hdt. 7.217; Th. 3.92.2; X. *An.* 4.6.20; Aeschin. 2.116; Tit. *Cl.* 3.5; *IG II²*, 236b.

Mountainous area between Aenis, Doris, Locris and Malis. The southern part of Mt. Oita (Str. 9.4.10; 9.4.12; Paus. 10.22.1) and the northern part of Kallidromon were included in the region (Str. 9.4.13; Plin. *Nat.* 4.28). The River Dyras (modern Gorgopotamos, Hdt. 7.198; Str. 9.4.14), the Asopos and the Melas (modern Xirias) (Hdt. 7.200; Str. 9.4.14; Plin. *Nat.* 4.28), tributaries of the river Spercheios, irrigated the land of Oitaion.

Pritchett, *Studies*, IV, 188-190, 192-194; J. C. Kraft *et al.*, *JFieldA* 12, 1987, 181-198; G. Szemler, in *Great Isthmus*, 83-86.

The Spartan colony of Herakleia which passed into the control of the Oitaïans was their most significant city. Olea, Dryope, Antikyra and Kolakeia are epigraphically attested (*IG IX1*, 227, 229). Strabo mentions 14 demes in Oitaia, among them Akyphas (cf. Doris), Parasopias (Sideroport), Oineiadai. Pliny mentions (Malis-Oitaia) Aigoneia, Halcyone, and Trachis in the area, but the latter had been abandoned before the Roman era (Str. 9.4.13). Oichalia is mentioned by Strabo (10.1.10) and Stephanus. The kome of Chēnai is also mentioned in the sources. The city of Oita mentioned by Antoninus Liberalis (32) and Stephanus (s.v.) is possibly a legendary one. J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 684-685, 709.

The reference to *hierothytes* of **Akyphas** (cf. Doris) and **Charadra** (cf. Phokis) in the loan of Drymos (*IG IX*, 227, 229) does not necessarily mean that these cities had been incorporated into Oitaia. It is possible that they belonged to a kind of religious league associated with the sanctuary of Herakles in Pyrrha.

It has also been suggested that a citizen from a city named *Erythrai epi Thermopylae*, who is honoured in a de-

ree of the 3rd century BC (*Syll.³* 413) did not originate from the city of Aenis, but from an homonymous Locrian or Oitaian city (Kontogiannis, *Συμβολές*, 58-59). However, since there is no other evidence for such a Locrian or Oitaian city, it seems more plausible that the reference relates to the Aenian city, and the definition has been added in the Delphic text in order to distinguish that city, which bestowed the honours, from the Ionian Erythrai, by using a well-known geographical term. The alternative ethnicon, Erythrēios / Erythraios, is a rather common phenomenon.

The Oitaïans were under Aitolian control until 167 BC. Afterwards and until 146 BC they formed a League (*Syll.³* 653; cf. *IG IXi*, 226-220) with *Boularches* as generals, and issued coinage in their capital Herakleia from 167 to 146 BC.

Chr. Valasiadis, *Οβολός* 7, 2004, 173-179; Kravartoyanos, *Αρχαία νομίσματα*, 197; P. Bouyia, *NumAntCl* 39, 2010, 89ff.

Herakleia and presumably also the other Oitaian cities were under the control of the Achaean League after 160 and certainly before 147 BC (Paus. 7.14.1).

RE XVII2 (1937) 2294 s.v. Oitaïoi (Kirsten); Will, *Histoire*, 391, 393; B. Helly, *BCH* 125, 2001, 275-276.

Oitaïans also appeared as *hierommemones* in Delphi during the second half of the 2nd century BC (*IG II²* 1134; *CID* 4, 114, 177, 119B, D, E, F).

The region was incorporated into Thessaly (*IG IX2*, 103; *SEG* 51, 723; Str. 9.4.17) in the Imperial period or shortly after 146 BC (B. Helly, *BCH* 125, 2001, 239-289; Graninger, *Cult and Koinon*, 35). Strabo does not actually refer only to Oitaian cities, but also to the cities in the Thermopylae region. Pliny, in his turn, calls the whole region Phthiotis.

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RE XVII2 (1937) 2297-2298 s.v. Oite (Lenk).

Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 167-172, 243-263 and passim.

Pritchett, *Studies*, I, 71-82, IV, 203-206.
 Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 212-218.
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 J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 684-685, 709.
 M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, in *Εύβοια και Στερεά*, 320.

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Agios Dimitrios – Άγιος Δημήτριος 2:3C
 Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.
 Architectural remains are scattered around the church of Agios Dimitrios. A few worked blocks had been reused in the church. Early to Late Roman pottery is reported. It has been interpreted as the site of a sanctuary which belonged to the city located on **Kastro Orias-Kouvelos**.
 E.W. Kase, N.C. Wilkie, *ADelt* 32, 1977, 110, fig. 1; P. Wallace, in *Great Isthmus*, 49-50.

AIGONIA – ΑΙΓΩΝΙΑ

Hecat, *FGrHist* 1F 132; Plin. *Nat.* 4.27; Tz. in Lyc. 903; St.Byz. s.v. Αιγώνια.
 City of Malis or Oitaia. There is no evidence for its location. It has been proposed that it was in the area south of the river Spercheios near the Maliac Gulf.
 RE I (1894) 977 s.v. Aigoneia (Hirschfeld); Kip, *Studien*, 38; Stählin, *Thessalien*, 209.

ANTI KYRA – ΑΝΤΙΚΥΡΑ

Hdt. 7. 198, 213; 8.21; Str. 9.3.3; 9.4.14; 9.5.10.
 City of Malis that passed later into the hands of Oitaians according to Fr. Stählin.
 The toponym is Antikyṛē (Hdt.) or Antikyra (Str.) and the ethnicon is Antikyreus or Antikyritas (cf. J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 709 no 428).
 It was famous in the lifetime of Strabo for the fine quality of its white hellebore. According to Pliny the herb comes from Mt. Oite and he prescribes it for 'epilepsy, vertigo, melancholy, insanity, delirium, white elephantiasis, leprosy, tetanus, palsy, chronic gout, incipient tympanitis, stomach affections, cynic spasms, sciatica, quartan fevers, chronic coughs, flatulency and recurrent gripping in the bowels' (Plin. *Nat.* 25.21, 23, 24).
 Antikyra was member of the Oitaian League in the 2nd century BC (*IG IXi*, 227).
 Its location in the area of the modern village of Komma or in Agioi Theodoroi-Kostalexi is uncertain.

RE I (1894) 2428 s.v. Antikyra 3 (Hirschfeld); Kip, *Studien*, 35, 37; Stählin, *Thessalien*, 209; Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 305-306; Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 190; G. Szemler, in *Great Isthmus*, 77-78; J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 709, no. 428 (as a Malian city); *Bar-Atlas*, Map 55, C3.

CHENAI – ΧΗΝΑΙ

D.L. 1.106; D.S. 9.6; Paus. 10.24.1.
 Kome on Mt. Oite; home of Myson, one of the Seven Sages.
 The only evidence for its existence in the Roman Period is Pausanias' reference to the Archaic Sage.
 Unidentified.
 Vortselas, *Φθιώτις*, 82; Stählin, *Thessalien*, 212; J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 709, no. 425.

DHEMA / Dio Vouna – Δέμα / Διο Βουνά 2:3C

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.
 A stronghold on the border between Oitaia and Aenis. It controls the Dhema pass, at the precipitous western end of the Trachinian cliffs and the slopes of peak Tsouka on Mt. Oite. It is one of the main passes on the Great Isthmus Corridor Route and connects the Malian plain with Oitaia. It was inhabited from the Early Neolithic to Byzantine period.
 It has been proposed that the peak of Vounous, which rises ca. 500m to the east, may once have been used as citadel by the inhabitants.

E.W. Kase, N.C. Wilkie, *ADelt* 32, 1977, 112-113, fig. 1, pl. 68c; P. Wallace, in *Great Isthmus*, 47.
 The main fortification complex was constructed during the second half of the 4th and in the early 5th century AD as a result of barbarian raids.
 W. Cherf, *AJA*, 88, 1984, 594-598; *id.*, in *Great Isthmus*, 56-59, fig. 4.21; *id.*, *ByzZ* 104, 2011, 71-113; cf. also, J. Rosser, in *Festschrift for A.H.S. Megaw* (2001) 33-41.

DRYOPE – ΔΡΥΟΠΗ

Schol. Ar. *Pl.* 385; Schol. Pi. *P.* 1.121.
 It is epigraphically attested as Oitaian just before the middle of the 2nd century BC (*IG IXi*, 229, 230).
 Unknown location.
 D. Rousset, *BCH* 113, 1989, 233-234.

GORGOPOTAMOS – Γοργοπόταμος 2:3B

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.
 It is located on the borders of Aenis-Oitaia-Malis.

Some pottery dating from Late Roman to Byzantine times was found south and west of the modern settlement.

ADelt 33, 1978, B, 163-164; P. Wallace, in *Great Isthmus*, 46. It has been proposed as the location of Thapedon/Tapidon/Tapedon mentioned in Roman Itineraries (Ravenna Geogr. 4.10.15-20; Guido. Geog. 110; Tabula Peutinger 576-577).

The site of the Itineraries has been interpreted as a toll station located on the route of the Roman *via* - part of this highway has been found near the modern road and railway bridges - as well as on the *finis* (borders) between Achaia and Macedonia after AD 67.

W. Churf, *Chiron* 17, 1987, esp. 139-141.

HALCYONE – ΑΛΚΥΟΝΗ

Plin. *Nat.* 4.27.

City of Malis or Oitaia.

Unidentified.

Kip, *Studien*, 38; *RE* VII (1912) 2273, s.v. Halcyone 2 (Sittig); Stählin, *Thessalien*, 209.

HERAKLEIA (Irakleia, Turk. Moustafabey)

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑ (Ηράκλεια)

2:3C

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Th. 3.92-93; 4.51-52; 8.3; X. *HG* 1.2.18; 3.5.6; 6.4.9; 6.4.27; 6.5.23; Thphr. *HP* 4.15.2; Plb. 10.42; 20.9.1; *Ca Brut.* 1.6; D.S. 12.59.3-5; 12.77.4; 14.38.4; 14.82.6-7; 15.57.2; 18.11.1; 18.56.5; Str. 9.4.17; Liv. 31.46; 33.3; 36.16; 36.22-24; 36.30; Plin. *Nat.* 4.28; Polyæn 2.21; Paus. 1.1.3; 7.14.1; 7.15.2-3; 7.16.10; 10.22.1; 10.20.9; 10.22.10; 10.22.13 10.23.12; Ptol. 3.13.46.

Inscriptions: *IG* IX2, 1-2, Corr. viii; G. Daux, *BCH* 58, 1934, 157-167; A. Phloros, *Platon* 10, 1958, 283-286, no. 2; Theocharis, *ADelt* 19, 1964, B, 243; *I.Thessaly*, nos. 1-4; Kontogiannis, *Συμβολές*, 30-33.

It is located 2km to the southeast of Ano Vardates on the left bank of the Asopos River.

The name of the city is attested as Herakleia with the addition of Trachinia and the ethnicon as Herakleōtēs or Herakleiōtas ho en Trachini.

J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 710 no 430.

Parts of the citadel's fortification and of the lower city were destroyed in July 191 BC by the forces of M. Acilius Glabrio. It became the capital of the Oitaian League until at least the Achaean War. According to Pausanias, the Roman Senate decreed in 147 BC that the city

should be released from the Achaean Confederacy and sometime later Critolaus with his army besieged the city but he abandoned the siege on hearing that Metellus had passed Spercheios River (Paus. 7.14.1; 7.15.2-3; E. Gruen, *JHS* 96, 1976, 57, 65). Therefore, we can assume that Herakleia either was obliged to become part of the Achaean confederacy, or that it changed sides over the course of time. The status of Herakleia in the Oitaian Koinon allows us to conclude that the whole region of Oitaia came under the control of the Achaeans for a short period of time before the skirmishes of 146 BC. A few years later on in the Imperial period it is listed among the cities of Thessaly (*IG* IX2, 103). The city continued to be inhabited until the Roman period. The honorary decree to Sextus Cornelius, son of Maarkos (*IG* IX2, 1) possibly relates to the problems the city faced after the events of 191 or 146 BC, as we may infer from the phrase *ἐν τοῦ πολιτεύματος*. The other text which was found in the area is possibly dated to the 3rd century (*IG* IX2, 2) and mentions a *patron* and *benefactor* of the city. The fortifications of the city were reinforced by Justinian, according to Procopius (*Aedif.* 4.2). The events of the first half of the 2nd century BC and the provision of Justinian I for the city are reflected in the finds from excavation.

A sanctuary to Asclepius is mentioned in an inscription from 175/174 BC (G. Daux, *BCH* 58, 1934, 157-167) found in the village of Ano Vardates and in a manumission of 2nd-1st century BC (Kontogiannis, *Συμβολές*, 21-33).

Parts of the city walls were revealed near the west bank of the Asopos river. Pottery dating to the first half of the 2nd century BC, a few terra sigillata sherds and a number of issues of Maximian (AD 286-305) are mentioned. Pottery dating to the 6th century AD was found in the fill southeast and northwest of the wall.

P. Bougia, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B, 429-430; 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 387-388.

A temple was found inside the walls in the western part of the city near a gate as well as an extra mural cemetery. The temple was destroyed by fire during the first half of the 2nd century BC. A 16-Nummion of Justinian I, dated to 538-542 AD was also collected. A pit full of Hellenistic and Roman pottery is also reported from the same area near the temple.

N. Chourmouziadis, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B, 516; P. Bougia, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B, 430; 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 388-389.

The cemetery above is located on the east bank of the Asopos river and was in use in the 3rd and 2nd century BC. P. Bougia, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 387, 389.

Two cist graves constructed using poros slabs were found on the northeastern slope of the hill. They date to the 2nd century BC.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 41, 1986, B, 68.

Another cemetery was revealed in the Dounos area to the west of the city's fortification wall. A rock cut vaulted tomb with three chambers was excavated. It was in use from the 2nd century BC to the 6th century AD. The remains of two houses, destroyed after the middle of the 2nd century BC, were found 30m east of the cemetery.

P. Bougia, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 389-390, pl. 54-55.

Grave goods from a cemetery, located probably in Siderenia and Tessaragoni Herakleias are dated to the Roman period. Also fragments from a statue (a piece of fold from the garment and a small column) dated to the Roman period came from the area of Herakleia.

M-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 362. Building remains, part of an aqueduct, fragments of a statue, and pottery, all of Roman date, are known from area inside the city walls.

Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 249-251; P. Wallace, in *Great Isthmus*, 48.

A statue of Roman date came from the area of Agia Paraskevi

Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 247, note 1.

Rhoudountia, Teichious and Kallidromo, were natural strongholds in the vicinity of Herakleia, attacked by L. Valerius Flaccus and M. Porcius Cato in 191 BC (Liv. 36.16.11; 36.19.1; Appian. *Syr.* 17-20). The fortifications on Zastani and Lithitza peaks have been proposed as the locations of the first two (Pritchett, *Studies*, I, 71-79, 207, IV, 203-206; *id.*, *Essays*, 284-290) (cf. also **Anavrapaliokastro** in East Locris). The only evidence that suggest they may have been inhabited in the Early Imperial period is the passage in Strabo (Str. 9.4.13).

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HOMILAI?→ Kastro Orias-Kouvelos

Ilia – Τλία 2:3C

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Several cist tombs and Late Roman pottery have been noted on a small 'acropolis' hill in the Arakovitsa region, 1.5 km beyond Vounous, to the north of the road leading from the **Dhema** Pass to Delphino.

P. Wallace, in *Great Isthmus*, 47.

Kastro Orias-Kouvelos (HOMILAI?) – Κάστρο

Οριάς-Κούβελος (ΟΜΙΛΑΙ?) 2:3C

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Location of an ancient city in the Bralos region. The walled citadel is located on a naturally defensible hill. Ruins of various periods are visible within the enceinte. Pottery and coins of Roman date are mentioned.

Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 260-262.

The lower town is situated on the area of the abandoned village Kouvelos (or Kouvela), on the northern slopes of the Kastro Orias 200m from the acropolis. Roman sherds were found in the fields around the village and monumental tombs, possibly of Hellenistic and Roman date are located on the west and on a knoll on the east slope of the citadel's peak. A tower of Roman or Byzantine date is located on the east fringe of the citadel between the east necropolis and the hill. The sanctuaries at **Agios Dimitrios** and at **Koumaritsi** possibly belong to the city.

It has been proposed as the site of ancient Homilai (Ptol. 3.12.42; *IG IXi*, 227, 229, 230).

Vortselas, *Φθιώτις*, 82; RE VIII2 (1913) 2250-2251 s.v. Όμιλαι (Stählin); Stählin, *Thessalien*, 210-211; Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 260-262, pl. xi; Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 214-215; E. W. Kase, N. C. Wilkie, *ADelt* 32, 1977, 110, fig. 1; P. Wallace, in *Great Isthmus*, 49-50, figs. 4.3a, 4.3b, 4-5, pls. 4-8, 4-13; *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, C3.

KOLAKEIA – ΚΟΛΑΚΕΙΑ

Ath. 6.254F (Theopompus).

It is mentioned in the loan of Drymos (*IG IX1*, 230).

Unidentified.

RE XI (1921) 1067 s.v. Kolakeia (Geiger, Stählin); Stählin, *Thessalien*, 210.

Koukou - Moni Metamorfoseos – Κούκου-Μονή Μεταμορφώσεως 2:3B/C

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Roman-Late Roman pottery was collected from the

citadel in Koukou and the area around the monastery. Ashlar blocks, traces of a wall, are visible on the hill around the cloister.

E. W. Kase, N. C. Wilkie, *ADelt* 32, 1977, 110-112, fig. 1; P. Wallace, in *Great Isthmus*, 47.

Koumaritsi – Κουμαρίτσι 2:3C

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Blocks and possibly a stylobate of a temple have been found around 1km north of the village of Koumaritsi. It has been identified as the temple of Athena mentioned by Pausanias (10.22.1) in his description of the Galatian invasion in 279 BC. It possibly belongs to the city at **Kastro Orias-Kouvelos**. Roman sherds are mentioned.

P. Wallace, in *Great Isthmus*, 48-49, pls. 4-5, 4-6; *Barr. Atlas*, Map 55, C3.

OICHALIA – ΟΙΧΑΛΙΑ

Str. 10.1.10; Paus. 4.2.3; St.Byz. s.v.

According to Strabo, it was located in the area of Trachis.

Vortselas, *Φθιώτις*, 82; Kip, *Studien*, 38; Stählin, *Thessalien*, 209; *RE* XVII2 (1937) 2100-2101 s.v. Oichalia 3b (B. Lenk); Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 228-230.

OINEIADAI – ΟΙΝΕΙΑΔΑΙ

Str. 9.5.10; St. Byz. s.v.

It has been proposed that the area by the mouth of Spercheios River is its location, corresponding to that of the homonymous Akarnanian city.

Unidentified.

Stählin, *Thessalien*, 209; *RE* XVII2 (1937) 2228 s.v. Oiniadai 2 (Kirsten).

OLEA – ΟΛΕΑ

A *hierothytes* from Olea is mentioned in the loan of the Phokian city Drymos (*IG* IXi, 227) which dates to the second quarter of the 2nd century BC.

Unidentified.

Kip, *Studien*, 36; Stählin, *Thessalien*, 212; *RE* XVII2 (1937) 2431 Olea 2 (Kirsten).

Panagia – Παναγία 2:3C

Lamia Mun./Phthiotis R.Un.

Site near the border of Oitaia-Doris. Several trial trenches brought to light Late Roman pottery at the site

of Panagia on the eastern slopes of Aetos hill. It has been suggested that a livestock site was located in this hilly upland region.

P. Wallace, in *Great Isthmus*, 50.

PARASOPIAS? → Sideroporto

PYRRHA – ΠΥΡΡΑ 2:2C

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

S. Ph. 726-727; *Tr.* 1191ff; Thphr. *HP* 9.10.2; Theoc. *Idyl.* XXIV (Herakliskos) 82; *Ov. Met.* 9.229-231; *D.S.* 4.38.3-8; *Prop.* 1.13.23-24; *Liv.* 26.30; *Str.* 9.4.10; *Sen. Her. O.* 862, 1483, 1718; *Mela* 2.36; *Plin. Nat.* 25.129; *Hyg. Fab.* 36; *Stat. Theb.* 4.157-158; *Sil.* 6.452-453; *Lucianus Herm.* 7; *Serv. A.* 8.300.

Sanctuary of Herakles. It is located on a plateau of Mt. Oite 1 hour from the village of Pavliani. M. Acilius Glabrio visited the shrine after seizing Herakleia in 191 BC, in order to sacrifice to the hero (*Liv.* 26.30).

The sanctuary comprises the temple of the hero (a *sekos in antis*), an altar and the pyre in the south, a stoa in the middle of the area and a rectangular structure in the north. The latter has been interpreted as Philocteteion, the building constructed from the spoils of Troy (*S. Ph.* 1431-1432).

The sanctuary was in use from the Archaic to the Late Roman period. The floor under the cult statue was covered with slabs in the Late Roman period. Also, the circuit wall of a pyre was constructed in the Roman period. An inscription engraved on a base of a bronze statue of the Emperor Commodus mentions his victory in equestrian games. Roman pottery and coins dating from the early Imperial period to the reign of Maximian were found.

N. Papadakis, *ADelt* 5, 1919, Par. 28-32; *BCH* 1920, 392-393; 1921, 523-524; 1922, 513-514; 1923, 522; M. Nilson, *JHS* 43, 1923, 144-144; *RE* XVII2 (1937) 2297-2298 s.v. Oite (Lenk); Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 204-27, fig. 2; Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 215-218; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *Εύβοια και Στερεά*, 320.

An Early Roman bronze coin (aes grave) came to light inside the debris of the pyrrha.

P. Pantos, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B, 166.

It has been suggested that the sanctuary belonged to the Aitolians.

Nerantzis, *Ηχώρα*, 151-152; *contra* S. Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 108, s.v. Pyra.

Sideroporto (PARASOPIAS? or TRACHIS?) –

Σιδερόπορτο (ΠΑΡΑΣΟΠΙΑΣ; ἢ ΤΡΑΧΙΣ) 2:3C

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Site located on the mountain plateau above the Asopos Gorge near the modern village of Delfino. Early Roman pottery is reported.

It has been proposed as the location of the Oitaian kome Parasopioi or Parasopias, mentioned by Strabo (8.6.24; 9.2.23; 9.5.10), or Ancient Trachis.

P. Wallace, in *Great Isthmus*, 48.

On Parasopioi, Kip, *Studien*, 37; Stählin, *Thessalien*, 210; J.-Cl. Decourt, Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, in *Inventory*, 709 no. 426. On Trachis, Béquignon, *Spercheios*, 243-263.

Vardates – Βαρδάτες

2:3C

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

It is situated at the entrance to the Great Isthmus Corridor Road from the Malian plain, on the border between Oitaia and Malis. Late Roman Pottery is reported.

P. Wallace, in *Great Isthmus*, 47.

Zirelia – Ζηρέλια

2:3C

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A concentration of pottery dating to the Early Roman period was found north of the small lake called Zirelia, between Arakovitsa valley and Pergaros ridge.

P. Wallace, in *Great Isthmus*, 48.

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

DORIS – ΔΩΡΙΣ

Phthiotis / Phokis R. Un.

Hdt. 8.31.1; 8.43.3; 8.66.1; Th. 1.107.2; 3.92.3; Scyl. 62; Scymn. 592.5; D.S. 4.67; 11.14.2; 11.79, 16.33.4; Str. 9.3.1; 9.4.10; 10.4.6 (Andron fr. 16a, *FGrHist* 10); Cic. *Rep.* 2.8.10; Mela 2.3; Plin. *Nat.* 4.1; 4.28; Aristid. XXXIV Leuktrika II 40; Ptol. 3.14.14; Tz. ad Lyc. 980; Schol. in P. 1.121; Schol. in Ar. *Pl.* 385.

Doris is known in ancient literature as the Metropolis of the Dorians (Andron fr. 16a, *FGrHist* 10) or the Metropolis of the Lacedaemonians (Thuc. 1.107.2; 3.92.3). The ethnicon is referred to as Dorieus (Hdt. 8.66.1; Thuc. 1.107.2; Aeschin. 2.116).

It is located in the upland area between Parnassos, Knemis and Oita, but there is no agreement in the sources about its frontiers, which changed from time to time through Antiquity. Malians, Aitolians, Epiknemidian and Ozolian Locrians, Phokians and Oitaians are listed as its neighbouring nations.

Citizens of Dorian cities (Kytinion, Erineos, Boion) are mentioned in manumissions in Delphi of the middle of the 2nd century BC and the first part of the 1st century AD. Dorian *hieromnemes* in Delphi are mentioned in 125 BC (*FD* III2, 67; *IG* II², 1134).

Doris was under the control of the Aitolians for more than a century with intervals of Macedonian and Roman occupation (cf. J. Bousquet, *REG* 101, 1988, 12-53; F. Walbank, *ZPE* 76, 1989, 185-192). When the Aitolian domination came to an end ca. 167 BC, the cities of the region formed a league that lasted at least until the early 1st century BC. (*Syll.*³ 668; *FD* III3, 5; 37; *FD* III1, 490; Busolt – Swoboda, *Staatskunde*, 15151; Daux, *Delpbes*, 1936, 327; D. Rousset, *BCH* 113, 1989, 238-239).

The League of Boeotians, Euboeans, Locrians, Phokians and Dorians bestowed honours on M. Junius Silanus, Marc Antony's proquaestor just before the naval battle of Actium (*Syll.*³ 767; *IG* II² 4114), evidence that the area was under Antony's control at this time. The presence of a Doriarch in a manumission in Delphi, dated to 40-30 BC (*FD* III1, 490) indicates either that some kind of regional organisation remained

active or that the League was dissolved during this decade.

The Dorians are cited along with the Locrians, Achaeans, Boeotians, Phokians and Euboeans as members of the *Panachaeans* in an honorific decree for the *grammateas* of the League T. Statellius Timocrates, between the reign of Tiberius and that of Nero.

*Syll.*³ 796; *IG* IV², 1, 80-81; W. Peek, *Inscriptionen aus dem Asklepieion von Epidaurus* (1969) 28-29, no. 34; *SEG* 35, 304, A. Rizakis – S. Zoumbaki, *Roman Peloponnese I: Roman Personal Names in their Social Context* (2001) 233-235, Arg. 252.

The Dorians are absent from the coalition of Panhellenes (*IG* VII, 2711, 2878) and it has been suggested they may have been absorbed either by the Phokians (U. Kahstedt, *SymbOslo* 28, 1950, 70) or by the Locrians (J. Oliver, *Hesperia* 47, 1978, 187).

Doris was a *tripolis* or *tetrapolis*, and is mentioned, erroneously, in ancient sources as a *pentapolis* and *exapolis*.

Certainly Kytinion, Boion and Erineos were Dorian throughout antiquity and Akyphas/Pindos was either Dorian or Oitaian depending on the circumstances. Only Kytinion has been securely identified thanks to a number of inscriptions found in Paliochori.

The mention of Amphanai (*IG* IX1, 227.5; St.Byz. s.v.), Metropolis (St.Byz), Dorion (Aeschin. 2.116), Karphaia, Lilaia, Dryope (Ptol. III.14.14; Tz. ad Lyc. 980; cf. Str. 9.5.10), Sparthos (Plin. *Nat.* 4.28) as Dorian cities is the result of the 'unique place-names' phenomenon of Pliny's Natural History or of Stephanus' inventiveness, or simply of misunderstandings (an amalgamation of geographical and legendary tradition, incorrect restoration of texts, etc.).

D. Rousset, *BCH* 113, 1989, 222-226, 233-234.

Finally, Strabo (10.4.11) mentions that only a trace of the Dorian cities remained by the Roman period. However, Strabo probably refers generally to the situation in Greece in his time and not specifically to Doris, since immediately below he says exactly the same about the Aenians, who flourished in Roman period.

Magistrates called *Tagoi* are mentioned in an inscription

from the chapel of Agios Georgios in Ano Kastelli (AKYPHAS). During the period under consideration, this office was present in the area of the Spercheios valley attached to Thessaly from the 2nd century BC, but not further south. So, Akyphas was possibly a city of the Oitaians in the 2nd/3rd century AD.

D. Rousset, *BCH* 118, 1994, 363-368.

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RE III1 (1897) 635, s.v. Boion 1 (Oberhummer).
RE VI-2 (1905) 1564-1566, s.v. Doris (Philippson)
RE VII1 (1907) 454-455, s.v. Erineos 1 (Philippson)
 F. Foat, *BSA* 23, 1918/9, 104-111.
RE XIII1 (1924) 223, s.v. Kytinion (Pieske)
RE XXII (1950) 1704-1705, s.v. Pindos 2 (Kirsten)
 P. Tsakris, *Platon* 23-24, 1960, 239-257.
 Tsakris, *Αρχαία Δωρίς* (1970).
 P. Wallace, in *Symposium on the Dark Ages in Greece* (1977) 51-57.
 Müller, *Bildkommentar*, 483-484, 544-546.
 J. Bousquet, *REG* 101, 1988, 12-53.
 F. Walbank, *ZPE* 76, 1989, 185-192.
 D. Rousset, *BCH* 113, 1989, 199-239.
 G. Szemler, in *Great Isthmus*, 86-89.
 D. Rousset, *BCH* 118, 1994, 361-374.
 D. Rousset, in M. Brunet (ed.), *Territoires des cités grecques*, *BCH Suppl.* 34 (1999) 35-77.
BarrAtlas, Map 55, C3.
 D. Rousset, in *Inventory*, 674-675.

INDEX

AKYPHAS / PINDOS (Ano Kastelli / Chani Zagana) – ΑΚΥΦΑΣ / ΠΙΝΔΟΣ (Ανω Καστέλλι / Χάνι Ζαγγανά) 2:3D
 Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.
 Hdt. 8.43; Scymn. 594; Str. 9.4.10; 9.5.10; Plin. *Nat.* 4.28; St.Byz. s.v. (Theopompus).
 Inscriptions: E. Mastrokostas, *AEphem* 1955, 81. Found in Pera-Kastelli and dated to the 2nd century AD.
 The ethnicon *Akyphanios* is attested epigraphically (*IG* IXi, 227; *SEG* 27, 123).
 It is classified as Dorian city by Theopompus and Stephanus, though Strabo places it sometimes in Doris and sometimes in Oitaia, possibly because it changes regional affiliation periodically. It has been proposed that in the first half of the 2nd century BC it belonged to Oitaia and later became once again a Dorian city (D.

Rousset, *BCH* 113, 1989, 223, 232-235; *id.*, in *Inventory*, 675).

Ruins of an ancient building and extensive remains of foundation walls were located, surface sherds of Roman date were collected and a Roman inscription was found 200m east of the chapel of Agios Ioannis.

E. W. Kase, N. C. Wilkie, *ADelt* 32, 1977, 113, fig. 1, pl. 69b, c.

A chamber tomb of Hellenistic-Roman date is located in the cliff-face, about 300m NE of the church of Agios Georgios and 50m before the chapel of Agios Ioannis. P. Wallace, in *Great Isthmus*, 52, fig. 4-11, pls. 4-24 to 4-26.

An undated circuit wall is reported near Apostolias River, in the place called Pyrgos, named after the Frankish tower there (G. Kollias, *BZ* 36, 1936, 331-334).

D. Rousset, *BCH* 113, 1989, 214, 217, fig. 21-23.

An altar of Sebastoi dedicated by the *Tagoi* of the city is mentioned in an inscription of the 2nd-3rd century AD.

D. Rousset, *BCH* 118, 1994, 363-368.

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- H. Lolling, *AM* 9, 1884, 316; *RE* I (1894) 1223, s.v. Akyphas (Hirschfeld); F. Foat, *BSA* 23, 1918/9, 105; *RE* XXII (1950) 1704-1705, s.v. Pindos 2 (Kirsten); P. Tsakris, *Platon* 23-24, 1960, 252; *id.*, *Αρχαία Δωρίς*, 52-55; D. Rousset, *BCH* 113, 1989, 214-217, 223; *id.*, in *Inventory*, 674-675, no. 389; *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, C3.

BOION (Gravia) – BOION (Γραβιά) 2:3D

Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Th. 1.107.2; Scyl. 62; Scymn. 592.5; D.S. 11.79, 16.33.4; Str. 9.4.10; 10.4.6 (Andron fr. 16a, *FGrHist* 10); Mel. 2.3; Plin. *Nat.* 4.28; Ptol. 3.14.14; Hierocl. 643.9; St.Byz. s.v. Βοίων, mentions also Βοιάι.

Inscriptions: J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 93, 1969, 83-85; *SEG* 25, 606.

The ethnicon is epigraphically attested as Boaios, Boaia (*SGDI* 2074; *FD* III1, 311, 490; *FD* III3, 37). Boiatēs, Boiaios, Boiitēs have no value since they are mentioned by Stephanus, famous fabricator of ethnic names.

L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes*, 1937, 556; *id.*, *BE* 1950, 42, p. 137.

Citizens of Boion are mentioned in the Delphic manumissions of the end 2nd century BC –early 1st century AD (*FD* III1, 311, 320; III2, 239, 285 III3, 5, 37). Also, there is a possible mention of a secretary to the boule (?) (*FD* III1, 490).

A fortification is located to the south of the village.

D. Rousset, *BCH* 113, 1989, 210-213, figs 13-15.
A manumission dated to the 2nd century BC, in which the cult of Sarapis Euxias is mentioned, was found to the north of the modern village.
J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 93, 1969, 83-85.

A grave stele of Hellenistic date came from the chapel of Agios Ioannis in the same area.

D. Rousset, *BCH* 114, 1990, 457, no. 8.
Hellenistic tombs from the same area are reported.
Ph. Zappeiropoulou, *ADelt* 31, 1976, 165.

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RE III1 (1897) 635, s.v. Boion 1 (Oberhummer); P. Wallace, in *Symposium on the Dark Ages in Greece* (1977) 54; D. Rousset, *BCH* 113, 1989, 210-213, 220-221, 228-229; *id.*, in *Inventory*, 675, no. 390; *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, C3.

Dragasia-Sta Varka – Δραγασιά-Στα Βαρκιά 2:3D
Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Burial sites near the National Road leading from Gravia to Amphissa.

Early Roman sherds are reported.
P. Wallace, in *Great Isthmus*, 54, fig. 4-16, pls. 4-44, 4-45.

ERINEOS (Evangelistria / Kastellia) – ΕΡΙΝΕΟΣ
(Ευαγγελίστρια / Καστέλλια) 2:3D

Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.
Hdt. 8.43; Th. 1.107.2; D.S. 11.79.4-6; Str. 10.4.6 (Andron fr. 16a, *FGrHist* 10); Mela 2.3; Plin. *Nat.* 4.28; St. Byz. s.v. Erineios. Stephanus, also, mentions the city's name as Erineios and the ethnicon as Erineatēs and Erineeus, though in inscriptions it is cited as Erinaios (*SGDI* 1786, 1949, 1968, 2009, 2074, 2229) and more rarely Ereinaios (*FD* III3, 37).

Citizens of Erineos are mentioned in the Delphic manumissions of the second half of the 2nd century BC and the 1st century AD (*SGDI* 2149, 2172, 2286; *FD* III6, 13). Archons of Erineos are mentioned in texts of the second half of the 2nd century BC (*FD* III3, 5, 37; *SGDI* 2149, 2172). Also, an Erinean is a *hieromnemon* in Delphi in 125 BC (*FD* III2, 67; *IG* II², 1134).

A fortified enceinte has been noted above the modern village of Evangelistria. Early Roman pottery is reported. It has been interpreted as a stronghold that guarded the pass from the Dorian plain to the Pindos River gorge to the west.

P. Wallace, in *Great Isthmus*, 51, fig. 4-9, pls. 4-17 to 4-20. Cf. also, D. Rousset, *BCH* 113, 1989, 214.

Roman loom weights and three glass vases, dated to the 1st century AD were found, probably from more than one grave.

Ph. Zappeiropoulou, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, 521-522, pl. 343.

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Gravia →BOION

Keramidario-Paliokastro – Καραμιδαριό - Παλιόκαστρο 2:3D
Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

It is located on a hill south of the bridge over the Apostolias River, on the National Road leading from Lamia to Gravia, about 3 km to the SW of Paliochori.

F. Foat, *BSA* 423, 1918/9, 109-111; P. Tsakris, *Platon* 23-24, 1960, 245; *id.*, *Αρχαία Δωρίς*, 40-46; D. Rousset, *BCH* 113, 1989, 210.

Retaining walls and Hellenistic and Early-Late Roman pottery is reported.

N. Wilkie, *ADelt* 33, 1978, 157-158, 163; P. Wallace, in *Great Isthmus*, 50, fig. 4-7.

A number of grave stelae dating from the Archaic to Roman period came from the area.

Tsakris, *Αρχαία Δωρίς*, 42, fig. 23; D. Rousset, *BCH* 114, 1990, 457-462 nos 9-14 and 459, note 41e.

KYTINION (Paliochori - Agios Georgios) – ΚΥΤΙΝΙΟΝ (Παλιόχωρι-Άγιος Γεώργιος) 2:3D
Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Th. 1.107.2; 3.95.2; 3.102.1; Aeschin. 2.116; Scyl. 62; Scymn. 592.5; 11.79.4-6; D.S. 4.67.1; Str. 9.4.10; 10.4.6 (Andron fr. 16a, *FGrHist* 10); Plin. *Nat.* 4.28; Aristid. XXXIV Leuktrika II 40; Ptol. 3.14.14; Phot. 3.21; The name of the city is epigraphically attested as Kytinion, Kytinon, Kytenion in inscriptions (*IG* VII 3055; J. Bousquet, *REG* 101, 1988, 12-53) and the ethnicon as Kyt(e)inieus, Kytenieus, Kytineus (*FD* III3, 5, 37, 221, III6, 13; *IG* IX1, 226; *SGDI* 2528; J. Bousquet, *op. cit.*; D. Rousset, *BCH* 114, 1990, nos 1-3).

Inscriptions: *BCH* 47, 1923, Chron, 523; D. Rousset, *BCH* 114, 1990, 445-457, nos 1-7.

The citadel of the city is located on Profitis Ilias hill above the modern village. The lower town expanded to the SE of the village, to Marmara, between the Agios Georgios chapel, the modern cemetery and the asphalt road. Hellenistic and Roman pottery is mentioned.

P. Wallace, in *Great Isthmus*, 51.

A funerary stele of Roman date came from Marmara and three decrees, among them two dated to the middle of the 2nd century BC, were found built into Agios Georgios chapel. The stones used for the decrees belonged to an exedra.

D. Rousset, *BCH* 113, 1989, 208; *id.*, *BCH* 114, 1990, 445-449, 454-456, nos 1-2, 6.

A marble statuette of Aphrodite and Eros was found in the same area.

Ch. Karouzos, *ADelt* 10, 1926, Par. 13.

Grave stelae dating to the 2nd century BC were found in the field of Th. Olympiou to the south of Livadia-Lamia road (D. Rousset, *BCH* 114, 1990, 454, no. 5), or incorporated in I. Kaniras' garden wall (*BCH* 47, 1923, Chron, 523; D. Rousset, *op.cit.*, 456-457, no. 7).

A citizen of Kytinion is possibly mentioned in a manumission text from Delphi dated to AD 20-46 (*FD* III6, 13).

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E. Foat, *BSA* 23, 1918/9, 108; *RE* XIII (1924) 223, s.v. Kytinion (Pieske); Tsakris, *Αρχαία Δωρίς*, 50-52; P. Wallace, in *Symposium on the Dark Ages in Greece* (1977) 54; *id.*, in *Great Isthmus*, 50-51, fig. 4-8, pls. 4-15, 4-16; D. Rousset, *BCH* 113, 1989, 208, 221-222, 227; *id.*, *BCH* 114, 1990, 445-450; *id.*, in *Inventory*, 675, no. 392.

Oinochori – Οινόχωρι 2:3D

Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

The fortified citadel is located on an outcrop, ca. 0.5 km SW of the modern village.

D. Rousset, *BCH* 113, 1989, 217, 228.

The lower town is placed east and southeast of the citadel. Hellenistic/Early Roman pottery is reported.

P. Wallace, in *Great Isthmus*, 52, fig. 4-12, pls. 4-27, 4-28. It has been proposed as the location of an Oitaian city, possibly Akyphas.

J.-P. Michaud, in *Études Delphiques*, *BCH* Suppl. IV (1977) 131 note 8.

Palaiochlomos – Παλαιοχλωμός 2:3D

Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

A grave circle with a number of cist graves is located in the ruined village of Palaiochlomos 2km West of Gravia.

Roman sherds were collected from the grave circle.

P. Wallace, in *Great Isthmus*, 54.

A fortification has been located at Kalyvia Chlomou or Tsouka Chlomou.

D. Rousset, *BCH* 113, 1989, 210, figs 10-12.

Paliovrisi 1 – Παλιόβρουση 1 2:3D

Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Remains of a Roman *villa rustica* came to light during construction works for the gas pipeline. A room and a cistern were excavated. North of the villa two tile graves of children were found.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 77, 1995, B, 346-347; G. Zachos, in *Villae Rusticae*, 652 no. 1.

Paliovrisi 2 – Παλιόβρουση 2 2:3D

Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Remains of a *villa rustica* were found 3 km away from the farm mentioned above. Three rooms (store rooms and a kitchen), were excavated.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 77, 1995, B, 347; G. Zachos, in *Villae Rusticae*, 652 no. 2.

EURYTANIA – EYPYTANIA

Eurytania R. Un.

Th. 3.94.4-5; 2.102; 3.106, 111; Plb. 18.5; 21.25; Cic. *Pis.* 91-96; Str. 9.5.9; 10.1.10; 10.2.1; 10.2.5; 10.3.6; Liv. 36.33; 38.3; 43.21-22; Plu. *Flam.* 15; St.Byz. s.v. Αγραίοι, Αγραίαι; Tz. ad Lyc. 799 [Aristotle].

A mountainous area inhabited mostly by Aitolian tribes. The largest one, Eurytanes, was settled in the southern part of the modern county. Aperantoi occupied the northwestern part (Inarchos valley) and Agraioi the western one (middle Acheloos region).¹ Finally, Dolopes, a Thessalian tribe, occupied the east-northeastern part, the modern region of Agrafa. Mt. Typhrestos, Inachos and the Acheloos River are the only geographical features mentioned in ancient literature. The history of the region in the Hellenistic period is closely associated with that of the Aitolians and Thessalians [Aitolian-Philip V conflict for Dolopia and Aperantia in 191-189 BC (Plb. 21.25; 21.31; Liv. 36.33; 38.3; Plut. *Flam.* 15)]. Perseus marched in the winter of 170-169 BC across Aperantia (Liv. 43.21-22). The only historical information for the Roman period is the invasion by Agraioi and Dolopes of the cities of Aitolia in 56-57 BC; Cicero (*Pis.* 91, 96) blames L. Calpurnius Piso who forced them to abandon their homes. Consequently the governor of Macedonia interfered in some way in their region. Small unidentified settlements or towns were located at Agios Dimitrios/Karpenision, Klausion/Klapsi, Koryshades-Palaiokastro, Megali Kapsi-Agios Panteleimon and Topoliana. A few of them are suggested as candidates for Oichalia, the legendary city of Eurytos, the eponym of Eurytanes.

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Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 73-85.

RE VII (1907) 1357 s.v. Eurytanes, (Philippson).
S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pbaros* 3, 1995, 67-130 (passim).
Grainger, *League*, 29, 333, 472, 484-485, 499, 503, 528-529.
Ph. Dakoronia, in *Εύβοια και Στερεά Ελλάδα*, 336-345.

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Agios Sostis – Άγιος Σώστης 3:3D
Karpenisi Mun. / Eurytania R.Un.

A Hellenistic fortress is located on a steep summit, 1km south of Palio Mikro Chorio. Sherds dating to the 2nd-1st century BC are mentioned.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 43, 1988, B, 233-234.

Aspropyrgos – Ασπρόπυργος 3:2D
Karpenisi Mun. / Eurytania R.Un.

A fragment of (Late Hellenistic)-Early Roman terra sigillata was found among the Hellenistic and Post-Roman surface finds from the site.

S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pbaros* 3, 1995, 93 no. 44; Ejung, *Intemio*, 200.

Chochlia – Χόχλια 3:3A
Karpenisi Mun. / Eurytania R.Un.

A bronze statuette of Dionysos dated to the middle of the 2nd century BC.

Ph. Dakoronia, in *Εύβοια και Στερεά Ελλάδα*, 344, pl. 579.

Karitsa – Καρίτσα 3:3D
Karpenisi Mun. / Eurytania R.Un.

Sherds possibly of Roman date.

S. Bommeljé, *ADelt* 42, 1987, B, 241-244, table 1, no. 32; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 301.

Karpenisi-Agios Dimitrios – Καρπενήσι-Άγιος Δημήτριος 3:3C
Karpenisi Mun. / Eurytania R.Un.

Settlement. Sherds possibly of Roman date.

Settlement. Sherds possibly of Roman date.

¹ According to the views of Woodhouse, Grainger, Barrington Atlas and Dakoronia. *Contra*, Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 21-24, 32-34,

38-39, 49-104, who locates Eurytanes around Trichonis Lake and Agraioi on the plain of Agrinion and Lysimacheia Lake.

S. Bommeljé, *ADelt* 42, 1987, B, 241-244, table 1, no. 9; Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 87 (Karpenision A). On the fortification, Portelanos *Οχυρώσεις*, 927ff.

An Early Christian mosaic was found in Armoniada square.

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 302.

Klafsi / Klapsi – Κλαυσί / Κλαψί 3:3C
Karpenisi Mun. / Eurytania R.Un.

Remains of a settlement are visible in the area of Agios Taxiarchis. Graves dating to the 2nd-4th century AD, a glass workshop of the same period and Roman coins (Trajan, Severus Alexander, Constantine II, Julian, Valentinian II) were found. A pottery kiln is also mentioned.

Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 304-305; I. Phallis, *Κάλλιος Ευρυτανίας: Νέα θεώρηση της Ιστορίας του* (1982) 35-38, 177-181, 185, 187, 205; Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 89 (Klavision A); S. Bommeljé-J.Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 90 no. 19; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 305; Portelanos *Οχυρώσεις*, 930ff.

An Early Christian Basilica dedicated to Agios Leonidis, was excavated. Column bases of an earlier building (3rd – 4th century AD) were found in secondary use. The church was renovated in the late 5th-early 6th century AD.

E. Chatzidakis, *Prakt* 1958, 58-63; 1959, 34-36; J.-P. Sordini, *BCH* 102, 1978, 557-561; Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 89, Klavision B.

Megali Kapsi-Agios Panteleimon – Μεγάλη Κάψη-Άγιος Παντελεήμων 3:4C
Karpenisi Mun. / Eurytania R.Un.

Architectural remains of three houses of the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman period were found on the east slope of Agios Panteleimon hill. They belong to a settlement which was destroyed by fire.

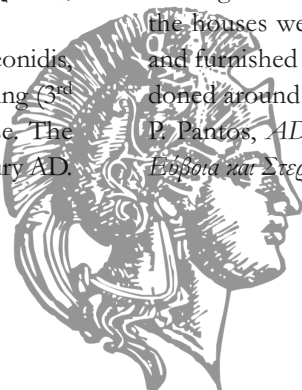
M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *ADelt* 47, 1992, B, 194-195; Ph. Dakoronia, in *Εόβροια και Στερεά Ελλάδα*, 344, pl. 592.

Topoliana - Kastraki – Τοπόλιανα-Καστράκι 3:1A
Agrafa Mun. / Eurytania R.Un.

A town of the Hellenistic period was located on Kastraki, at the entrance to the Acheloos ravine, south of the Templas bridge. The settlement was organized according to the Hippodamian grid plan. The rooms of the houses were arranged around a central courtyard and furnished with tile roofs. The settlement was abandoned around the end of the 2nd century BC.

P. Pantos, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B, 183; Ph. Dakoronia, in *Εόβροια και Στερεά Ελλάδα*, 344-345, pl. 594-595.

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

EAST LOCRIIS – ΕΩΑ ΛΟΚΡΙΣ

Phthiotis R. Un.

Hdt. 7.203, 132, 176, 216, 229; 8.66; 9.31; 9.67; Th. 1.108-109; 1.113; 2.9; 2.26; 2.32; 3.89.3, 3.91; 4.96.8; 5.32.2; 5.64.4; X. *HG* 3.5.3; 4.2.17; 4.3.21-23; 6.5.23; 6.5.30; Arist. *HA* 6.22.5; Aeschin. 2.132, 133, 138, 140; D. 19.62; Hyp. *Epit.* 13; Ps.Scyl. 61; Plb. 4.67.7; 9.41.11; 10.42.2-4; 11.5; 12.5; 17.46.5; 18.1; 18.7.7; 18.9.3; Liv. 18.10.4-5; 18.11; 28.5.8-7.12; 32.21.14; 32.32; 32.36; 33.3.6; 33.32.5; 34.32.8; 35.26.5; 35.37.6-8; 35.38.14; 36.19.5; 36.20.5; D.S. 11.4.7; 11.83.2; 12.42.4; 12.44.1; 12.65.6; 12.80.4; 14.82.8; 15.57.1-2; 15.62.4; 15.85.2; 16.25.2-3; 16.27.5; 16.28.3; 16.38.3-6; 16.59.2; 16.61.3; 17.57.3; 18.9.5; 18.11.1; 19.35.2; 19.53; 19.63; 19.78.5; 20.28.4; Str. 8.1.3; 9.1.1; 9.2.42; 9.3.1, 9.3.17-9.4.6; Verg. *A.* 3.399; Curt. 4.13.29; Mela 2.3.45; Plin. *Nat.* 4.1; 4.27; Plu. *Dem.* 23; 39; *Tit.* 5; 10; *Pyth. Or.* 15; Plu. *Que. Gr.* 15 (294E); App. *Syr.* 19; App. *Han.* 55; Ptol. 3.15.9-11; 3.15.19; Paus. 2.29.3; 5.22.3; 7.15.3-4; 9.23.7; 9.24.5; 10.1.2; 10.8.2; 10.13.4; 10.20.2-4; 10.35.1; Orosius 7.12.5 (487); Serv. *A.* 3.399; Schol. II. 2.517; Schol. E. *Or.* 1094; Not. Episc. 737-744; Hierocl. 643.7-645.1.

East Locris was never considered as a single region in ancient literature, since it was inhabited by two different regional groups, the Epiknemidian Locrians and the Opountians or Hypoknemidians. Epiknemidian Locris is a rather mountainous area with the exception of a narrow coastal strip on the Euboic Gulf. The Opountians inhabited the plateaus of Megaplatanos, Goulemi and Livanates, the fertile plain of Atalanti (Opous) (Str. 9.4.2), the much wider coastal zone on the Opountian Gulf and the hilly area with its small plateaus on the Larymna peninsula. On the other hand, as occurred quite often in the Late Hellenistic / Early Roman period, these two populations formed an administrative unity. The geomorphology and the historical development of the area, however, lead us to handle the region as a single one.

Th. Nielsen, in *Inventory*, 664.

The Epiknemidian Locrians shared a border with the Oitaians and Malians in the region of Thermopylae, as

well as on the northwestern part of the Kallidromon mountains. The borders between Locris and Doris must have been located on the same mountain, as well as on the Bralos plateau. They also shared a border with the Phokians on the Kallidromon Mountain range and more specifically on Mt. Aloni in the area of Drymos and Teithronio, and with Elateia in the plateau of Vasilica and in the region of Zeli. Mt. Chlomon probably marked the boundary between Opous and Abai/Hyamopolis. The mountains of Kolaka and the Larymna peninsula were the borders with Boeotia before the Roman period when the peninsula became part of Boeotia (Paus. 9.23.7).

Fossey, *Opuntian Lokris*, 11-13; G. Zachos, *Archaiognosia* 12, 2003-2004, 202-214; J. Pascual, in *Epicnemidian Lokris*, 1-6.

Kallidromon (Str. 9.4.13; Plin. *Nat.* 4.28), Knemis (Ps.Scyl. 61; D.S. 16.33.3; 16.38.3; Str. 9.4.1-2; Mela 2.3.45; Plin. *Nat.* 4.27; Ptol. 3.14.9) and Chlomon (ancient Delos?) are the most significant mountain ranges of the region. As for the vegetation, the Locrian rose (Poll. 5.102), a delicate flower that grew possibly in Chlomon, was used by romantic authors of the Roman period to illustrate the rapid fading of beauty.

W. Oldfather *AJA* 20, 1916, 168-172; *RE* X2 (1919) 1633-1634 s.v. Kallidromon, (Geisau); *RE* XI1 (1921) 909-910 s.v. Knemis (Oldfather).

As for the rivers, the Voagrius (Plin. *Nat.* 4.27), modern Xirias, was the most prominent. Strabo (9.4.4) adds that the Voagrius was also called the Manis because of its force and because it was 2 plethra wide. Its river bank was altered as a result of the earthquake mentioned by Demetrius of Callatis (Str. 1.3.20) (Adam, *Λοκρινιά*, 34, 374). The location of the Aphamius River (*FD* III4, 42), modern Liapatorema, is epigraphically attested between Skarpheia and Thronion (cf. **Skarpheia**). The Opous River (Schol. Apollon. 4.1780) irrigated the plain of Atalanti.

RE III1 (1897) 572 s.v. Boagrius (Oberhammer); *RE* XVIII1 (1939) 818 s.v. Opus 3 (Oldfather); Pritchett, *Studies*, VI, 116-118.

The coast of the Epiknemidians (Str. 9.3.1) and the Gulf of Opous (Str. 9.4.2-3; Mela 2.3.45; Plin. *Nat.* 4.27) are also mentioned. Lichadaí and Atalanti [modern (A)Talandonisi] (Th. 2.32; 3.89.3; 5.18.7; D.S. 12.44.1; 12.59; Str. 9.4.2-4; Liv. 35.37.7; 35.38.14; Sen. *Nat.* 6.24.6; Plin. *Nat.* 2.204; 4.62; 4.71; Paus. 10.20.4; Ptol. 3.15.23; St.Byz. s.v.) are islets in the region.

H.G. Lolling, *AM* 1, 1876, 253-255; *RE* II2 (1896) 1889-1890 s.v. Atalante 1 (Oberhammer); *RE* III1 (1926) 210 s.v. Lichades (Bürchner); Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 250, pl. 140; Fossey, *Opuntian Lokris*, 184.

Opous, Kynos, Kalliaros, Alope, Daphnous, Naryx, Skarpheia, Thronion, Alpenos, Knemides and Nikaia are mentioned in ancient literature as cities of Epiknemidian or Opountian Lokris. Anastasis is known only from later sources (Hierocles, *Notitiae Epicopatium*). The Locrian Halae, Voumelitaia, Kyrtoni, Korseia and Larymna are listed by Pausanias (9.23.7; 9.24.4-5) in Boeotia and therefore are not included under Lokris in the index as well as in the map.

The Locrians were probably on the anti-Roman side during the Achaean War 147-146 BC. Consequently the League of the East Lokrians probably dissolved or was subdivided in the aftermaths of the War (Martin, *Leagues*, 322-324). Hypoknemidians are mentioned among the *hikromnemones* in Delphi in 134-117 BC, in contrast to the Epiknemidians (*CIJ* IV, 111, 114, 119D-F). Opous continues to play an administrative role in Lokris, at least on behalf of the Opountians, as may be inferred by the copy of the inscription concerning the Delphic scandal of 125 BC that was found in Atalanti (D. Summa, *ZPE* 172, 2010, 100-104; *IG* IX 1², 5, 1921).

The Lokrian League is mentioned again in an inscription dating to the end of the 2nd century BC, concerning a dispute between Skarpheia and Thronion about the *hikromnemosyne* of the Epiknemidians (cf. **Skarpheia**).

The Lokrian League is cited again in another Delphian text, dating to the first half of the 1st century BC, concerning the dispute between the *Engaioi* and the *Thronians of the Gates*, two communities dependent on Skarpheia and Thronion respectively (cf. **Skarpheia**). The lack of any geographical determinative in both cases leaves open the possibility that the Hypoknemidians, Epiknemidians and Hesperians were part of the same coalition. During the First Mithridatic War, Lokris was probably under the control of Mithridates' army, even if only for a short period of time, since, in 86 BC, Taxiles marched his army from Thessaly to the Elateian territory in order to meet Archelaus. Both armies remained encamped in

the region until the battle of Chaeronea (Plu. *Sul.* 1.5; Paus. 10.34.4-5). The Lokrian cities (Daphnous, Alope and Halae) suffered from the skirmishes of the war, as the archaeological evidence indicates. Indeed, the city of Halae was destroyed and its population expelled by Sulla (Plu. *Sul.* 26.3-4) in the aftermath of his victory at Orchomenus because its port had provided supplies for his enemies. However, the identity of the army responsible for the destruction of the other Lokrian cities is far from certain.

Cicero (*Pis.* 91-96) denounced L. Calpurnius Piso, the governor of Macedonia for his actions in compelling the mountain tribes to leave their towns in Agriania and Dolopia, who then looted and destroyed Aitolia, Akarnania, Phokis, Lokris and Boeotia around 57-56 BC. However, it is not certain whether West or East Lokris was affected.

The areas south of Thermopylae were originally under the control of Pompey during the Civil War (Florus 2.15.2), but Caesar commissioned Q.F. Calenus to turn the cities in his favour (*Caes. Civ.* 3.55-56). So the Lokrians followed C. Domitius Calvinus, his general, to Thessaly and presumably took part alongside Caesar in the battle of Pharsalus (D.C. 41.51.3).

The League of Boeotians, Euboeans, Lokrians, Phokians and Dorians bestowed honours on M. Junius Silanus, Mark Antony's proquaestor in 34/33 BC (*Syll.*³ 767; *IG* II², 4114), evidence that central mainland Greece was under the control of Antony.

Lokris became part of the Province of Achaia and the East Lokrians retained one vote in the Amphictyony, as reorganised by Augustus (Paus. 10.8.50).

The Lokrians are mentioned along with the Achaeans, Boeotians, Phokians, Euboeans and Dorians as members of the *Panachaeans* in an honorific decree dated between the reign of Tiberius and that of Nero (cf. **Doris**).

Also, the Lokrians are mentioned as members of the *Panbellenes* in a decree dated ca. 37 AD (*IG* VII, 2711), as well as in a dedication to the Emperor Claudius in the sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Boeotia (*IG* VII, 2878).

It has been suggested that the League of 34/33 BC merged with that of the Achaeans at the end of the reign of Tiberius, and that the *Panachaeans* were renamed *Panbellenes* until 37 AD. The Dorians of Metropolis are absent from this last configuration, and it has been proposed that they may have been absorbed by the Lokrians.

J. Oliver, *Hesperia* 47, 1978, 185-188; G. Zachos, in *Epiknemidian Lokris*, 540.

East Locrians were absorbed into the League of the Boeotians some time before Hadrian and at the same time were members of the *Panbellenion*, since according to a response of the Emperor to the people of Naryx, the Locrian city contributed to the Amphictyony – it provided a *Boeotarch*, chose a *Panbellene* and sent a *theekolos*. The imperial letter is dated to AD 137/138 (cf. **Naryx**). Hadrian himself passed through Locris in 124-125 or AD 126, during his journey from Thessaly to Southern Greece.

Opous became the most important city of the region, a cosmopolitan centre with a Greek and Italian population. Furthermore the archaeological finds from modern Atalanti indicate it was a city with luxurious houses and facilities.

As a result of the administrative reforms of Diocletian (284-305), Locris became part of the province of Achaia, and from AD 695 onwards, under Justinian II, it belonged to the *theme* of Hellas, part of the prefecture of Illyricum.

Although there is no mention of it in literature, it is rather difficult to conceive that Locris escaped the raids of the Costoboci, the Heruli, and the Goths of Alaric, who left their mark on the adjacent regions (Phokis, Boeotia). Alaric entered Thermopylae in the spring of AD 395 after the withdrawal of the troops who guarded the pass, and proceeded to loot the countryside and the cities south of Thermopylae, slaughtering and enslaving the population (Zos. 5). Farmhouses in Agia Triada and in Trilofa were possibly abandoned after these raids.

Skarpheia, in the early 5th century, became one of the two 'granaries' of Southern Greece, along with Corinth, as well as a major port and significant administrative centre for the region, as is indicated by an inscription found in Megara and dated to AD 401/402 (Cf. **Skarpheia**). Skarpheia and Opous were Episcopal centres in Late Antiquity from the middle of the 4th to the early 6th century AD.

TIB I, 126, 227, 257.

The peace which followed for around 150 years resulted in prosperity as is indicated by the construction of the Early Christian basilicas and the associated Late Roman settlements in Locris, e.g. Agios Konstantinos (Daphnou's port), Alope, Halae, as well as in dense habitation and intensive agricultural and commercial activity in the coastal zone from Livanates (Livanates Paralia-Agia Kyriaki, Tselepak, Loutro, Kynos-Agioi Theodoroi) to Atalanti-Paliomagazia. In general, economic growth in the coastal zone from Skarpheia to Halae is associated with

the emergence of the Euboic Gulf as a secure channel at a time when piracy was rife.

G. Zachos, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 546; *id.*, in *What's New in Roman Greece* (in press).

In addition, part of the road leading from Thessaly to Southern Greece passed through Epicnemidian Locris. Pritchett, *Studies*, III, 197-288.

The fortifications in Thermopylae were possibly reinforced during the reign of Valens and Theodosius II, Marcian and Justinian, as a result of the raids of Gothic, Hun and Proto-slavic tribes, as well as the damages resulting from an earthquake in AD 522 (Procop. *Goth.* 2.4; *Aed.* 4.2.16-28).

W. Cherf, *AJA*, 88, 1984, 594-598.

The earthquake which struck the Locrian cities and countryside in the spring of AD 551 (Procop. *Goth.* 8.16-25), the Slavic invasions, financial problems and a severe global climatic change between AD 536-545 in combination with the plague of AD 542 contributed to the decline of the region. The destruction of the outer buildings of the Basilica Daphnousion is connected to the earthquake, though the abandonment of the Basilica itself, as well as the Livanates coin hoard, are clearly associated with the Slavic raid of AD 578.

The major coastal centres of Locris were abandoned and their populations moved to the naturally defensible hills in the hinterland.

V. Sythiakaki, in *Λοκρίδα*, 116-117.

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 G. Zachos, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 537-548.
 G. Zachos, in *What's New in Roman Greece* (in press).

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 A fortified peak on the mountain range south-southwest of Agios Konstantinos.
 Hellenistic-Roman pottery has been reported.
 Archive of the 14th EPCA.

Agia Kyriaki→Livanates Paralia-Agia Kyriaki

Agia Triada – Αγία Τριάδα 4:1A
 Molos - Ag. Konstantinos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.
 Architectural remains of a *villa rustica* were excavated in the foothills of Mt. Kallidromon, near the modern village of Agia Triada. It dates from the mid-3rd to the end of the 4th century AD. Two construction phases were identified. The main complex consisted of two rectangular rooms to the east and west of a large courtyard and a tower on the north side. A large rectangular construction west of the main building has been interpreted as a stable. The tower was added in the second phase and its addition may be interpreted as a last attempt at defence against the barbarian invasions of the 4th century AD. In addition to pottery, bronze coins of Valentinian I and II, Theodosius I and Caesar Constantius II were collected.
 Ph. Tileli – K. Psarogianni, in *ΣΦΙ* 4, 2010, 241-248; *id.*, in *Villae Rusticae*, 582-587; *id.*, on the road, 63-64; J. Pascual, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 98.

Agioi Theodoroi→Livanates Paralia-Agioi Theodoroi

Agios Ioannis – Άγιος Ιωάννης 4:3B
 Molos - Ag. Konstantinos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Located on the eastern edge of Agios Konstantinos (cf. **Daphnous**), between the port and Isiomata, on the road leading from the town to Agnanti village. A domestic complex with two phases of occupation was excavated in property belonging to Chr. & M. Papastamatis. Parts of walls in *opus mixtum*, a *praefurnium*, hypocaust and two cisterns, as well as part of a mosaic floor came to light. Pottery and a sestertius of Trajan Decius (AD 249-251) were found. It is possibly part of a *villa rustica* dated to the period (late 3rd) 4th-6th century AD.
 P. Kounouklas (*pers. com*); M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, P. Kounouklas, *ADelt* (in press); cf. M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou – G. Zachos, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 219.

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 Molos - Ag. Konstantinos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.
 Architectural remains attributed to a farm of Late Hellenistic date were brought to light at Rachi, between the Vathyrema and Dichalorema torrents ca. 2 km east of Agios Konstantinos. Two building phases were identified.
 M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou – G. Zachos, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 222.

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4:3B
 Molos - Ag. Konstantinos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.
 Three tile graves, a cremation urn and a pit grave, possibly of Late Roman date, were excavated at the edge of Agios Konstantinos not far away from Agios Ioannis.
 Archive of the 14th EPCA; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou – E. Karantzali, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 251, pl. 4.22.

Agnanti – Άγναντη

4:3C
 Molos - Ag. Konstantinos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.
 Roman pottery has been noted on the fortified hill of Profitis Ilias. Also Roman pottery was found to the northeast of the village (Triantafyllou's property) and to the south (near Sykamnies). The site has been identified as a kome of Daphnous.
 M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou – G. Zachos, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 222-223.

Allangi/Voulomeni petra – Αλλαγγή / Βουλωμένη πέτρα

4:2C
 Molos - Ag. Konstantinos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.
 Pilae from a hypocaust and Roman sherds are reported from Allangi, 2 km south-east of Rengini, on the road

from this village to the Vassilika Pass. W. K Pritchett attributed them to a resting place on the route from Thermopylae to Elateia. There are also Hellenistic and Roman remains 500 m further north, in Voulomeni Petra. If these finds belong to the same establishment, it might be better identified as the site of a kome belonging to Naryx.

Pritchett, *Studies*, V, 173; Adam, *Λοκρικά*, 385; J. Pascual, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 157.

ALOPE (Arkitsa-Agia Aikaterini, Melidoni) –

ΑΛΟΠΗ (Αρκίτσα - Αγία Αικατερίνη, Μελιδόνι) 4:3B

Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Th. 2.26; D.S. 12.44.1; Str. 9.425; Plin. *Nat.* 4.27; Mela 2.3.45; St. Byz. s.v.

Inscriptions: (*IG IX* 1², 5, 2002-2016).

The name of the city is attested as Alope, Alōpe and the ethnicon as Alopaioi (*IG IX* 1², 5, p. 95).

It is located in the costal zone of the Maliac gulf on the west side of the National Road Athens-Lamia (157th km). The acropolis is situated on a steep hill overlooking the ancient city. Parts of the city, the sea wall and the cemetery were excavated. The city was destroyed during the First Mithridatic War in 86 BC and possibly abandoned until the Early Christian period.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B, 437-441, fig. 7, pl. 173; *ead.*, in *Το Έργο των Εφορειών Αρχαιοτήτων και Νεωτέρων Μνημείων του ΥΠ.Π.Ο. στη Θεσσαλία και την ευρύτερη περιοχή της, 1990-1998* (2000) 16-17; P. Bougia, *ibid.*, 51-55; Ph. Dakoronia, P. Bougia, in *Ο δρόμος είχε τη δική του Ιστορία* (2002) 29-34.

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ALPENOS (Psylopyrgos) – ΑΛΠΗΝΟΣ

(Ψυλόπυργος) 4:1A

Molos - Ag. Konstantinos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Hdt. 7.176.2, 5; 216; 229; Str. 1.3.20 (Demetrius of Calliatis *FGrH* 85 F6); St. Byz. s.v.

The city name is attested as Alpōnos, Alpēnoi Alpēnos and the ethnicon as Alpōnios, Alpēnoi, (*IG IX* 1², 5, p. 114-115).

Town of Epiknemidian Locris in the Thermopylae pass. The assertion by Stephanus that Alponoi was considered to be the metropolis of the Locrians is probably a misunderstanding. It is located on a fortified hill to the northern side of the former New National Road, at the 196 km mark. Late Hellenistic and Roman sherds are reported.

J. Pascual, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 74ff.

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Anavra-Paliokastro – Παλιόκαστρο Ανάβρας 4:1B
Molos - Ag. Konstantinos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A fortified citadel covering an area of 20-30 ha is located on the steep peak of Paliokastro west-northwest of modern Anavra. Classical, Hellenistic and Roman pottery is reported. At the foot of the south-west slope, is a necropolis, probably of Hellenistic date. The settlement at Paliokastro controlled the routes from Thermopylae to Mendenitsa and probably overlooked the Anopaea Path.

Pritchett, *Studies*, I, 75-76, III, 223-224, IV, 1982, 164-166; J. Pascual, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 99ff.

Location of an unidentified city of Epiknemidian Locris. It has been proposed as the site of the stronghold Teichios (Liv. 36.16-19; App. *Syr.* 17; Str. 9.4.13; St. Byz. s.v.) (cf. **Herakleia** in Oitaia).

A manumission dated to the 2nd century BC, in which Serapis is mentioned, came from the site (*IG IX* 1², 5, 2030).

Stählin, *Thessalien*, 203-204; *RE VA1* (1934) 125-126 s.v. Τειχιούς (Stählin).

ATALANTI INS. [(A)talantonisi] – Νήσος

ΑΤΑΛΑΝΤΗ [(Α)ταλαντονήσι] 4:4C

Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Th. 2.32; 3.89.3; 5.18.7; D.S. 12.44.1; 12.59; Str. 9.4.2; Liv. 35.37.7; 35.38.14; Sen. *Nat.* 6.24.6; Plin. *Nat.* 2.204; 4.71; Paus. 10.20.4; Ptol. 3.15.23.

BarrAtlas, Map 55, E3.

Nankov (*Phrouria Lokrika*, 206-214) identifies Atalanti Ins. to Oion.

A cylindrical altar decorated with pancarpia was found. A. Ioannidou-Karetsou, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B, 325.

Atalanti-Kastri (OION?) – Καστρί Αταλάντης
(OION;) 4:4D

Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

It is located 5km from Atalanti on a peak that dominates the road to Kolaka. Roman sherds are reported.

It is possibly the fortress Oion which was demolished, according to Strabo (1.30.20), by the earthquake mentioned by Demetrios of Callatis (*contra*, Nankov, *Phouria Lokrika*, 206-214).

Fossey, *Opuntian Lokris*, 66-67.

Atalanti-Skala Atalantis – Αταλάντη-Σκάλα
Αταλάντης 4:4D

Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A wall incorporating spolia was found on the road leading from Atalanti to Skala Atalantis (Skoupha plot). The pottery is dated from the 1st century BC to the Early Christian period.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B, 336.

Chatzimichalis – Χατζημιχάλης 4:4C

Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Architectural remains, walls with spolia and a circular construction for storage (?) use, attributed to a *villa rustica* of 1st century BC or 1st century AD, were found 3 km east-northeast of modern Atalanti in Chatzimichalis' Estate.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B, 359.

DAPHNOUS (Agios Konstantinos) – ΔΑΦΝΟΥΣ
(Άγιος Κωνσταντίνος) 4:3B

Molos - Ag. Konstantinos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Ps. Scyl. 61; Str. 9.3.1; 9.3.17; 9.4.1; 9.4.3; Plin. *Nat.* 4.27; Hdn. Gr. 1.88, 32; 242,9; 269,39; 2.855, 36; St. Byz. s.v. Δαφνούς

Inscriptions: *IG IX* 1, 288-289.

The name of the city is attested as Daphnous and by Stephanus as Daphnousa. The ethnicon is known only from Stephanus, as Daphnountios, Daphnousios, Daphnousaios or Daphnousis (*IG IX* 1², 5, p. 100).

The port

Strabo mentions that, after Kynos and Alope, one arrived at Daphnous, which no longer existed in his time, but there was a port, connected by road to Elateia.

Baths of Late Roman date were found in the main square of Agios Konstantinos. Their use continued in the Byzantine period. In the same square the remains of a monument, Roman columns and a statue base bearing two inscriptions came to light (*IG IX* 1, 288-289).

The first inscription comes from a statue dedicated by the *boule* and *demos* in honour of Caracalla and Geta (AD 211-212) and the second one from a statue in honour of Gordian III (AD 238-244) erected by the *polis* of Histiaea, an Euboean city across the Gulf from Agios Konstantinos.

Architectural remains of an Early Christian Basilica were revealed to the northwest of the modern church, where an Ionic style column decorated with busts dated to the Late Roman period has been incorporated in secondary use.

V. Philippaki – S. Symeonoglou – N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B, 246; P. Lazaridis, *ADelt* 24, 1969, B, 219; 25, 1970, B, 265-267; 27, 1972, B, 391; *Ανασκαφικό Έργο*, 83; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou – G. Zachos, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 218-220.

Architectural remains of Roman date were found on Karras' plot in Alexandrou Street.

Five tile graves dating to the 1st-2nd century AD were found in Kapsoula (Daphnous Street) at the northern end of Agios Konstantinos near the old National Road leading to Kammena Vourla.

Archive of the 14th EPCA; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou – G. Zachos, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 219; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou – E. Karantzali, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 249, pl. 4.20-4.21.

The ancient city

Strabo's reference to the fact that the city of Daphnous no longer existed in his lifetime seems to be verified by archaeological evidence.

Traces of the ancient asty, dating from Protogeometric to Late Hellenistic times, were revealed during the construction of the National Road that bypasses the modern town of Isiomata on the slopes of Mt. Kallidromon, less than a kilometre from the bay of Agios Konstantinos.

In the same area, a sanctuary of Asclepius was excavated. Sacrificial *bothros*, altar, *enkoimeterion*, *loutron*, *abaton*, *katagogeion* and a small temple in antis with *prodomos* and *sekos* quantities of pottery, coins, metal objects and sculptures were found. It was destroyed in the early 1st century BC.

Architectural remains of Late Roman-Early Christian date were found 1 km west of the asty.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou – G. Zachos, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 206-218; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *on the road*, 43-58.

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Goulemi-Kastro – Κάστρο Γουλεμίου 4:3C
Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A fortified hill rises 1 km north-northeast of the modern village. The masonry is rough polygonal in some parts and trapezoidal elsewhere. Late Roman sherds are reported.

Fossey, *Opuntian Lokris*, 180-182.

KALLIAROS→Atalanti-Skala Atalantis / Megaplatanios-Paliokastra

Kam(m)ena Vourla (The port of THRONION?) – Καμ(μ)ένα Βούρλα (λιμάνι ΘΡΟΝΙΟΥ;) 4:2B
Molos - Ag. Konstantinos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.
Plb. 18.9.3; 19.9.2; Str. 9.4.4; Liv. 32.36.1; 33.38.14; 35.37.1-6; 36.20.5; 38.14.

Strabo mentions the harbour of Thronion on the shore between Knemides and the city of Thronion. No Roman sherds are reported among the limited ancient finds.

Pritchett, *Studies*, IV, 151, V, 177-179; J. Pascual, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 149ff.

KNEMIDES (Gouvali) – ΚΝΗΜΙΔΕΣ (Γούβαλι) 4:2B
Molos - Ag. Konstantinos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Scyl. 61; Str. 9.4.4; 9.3.17; 9.4.1; Mela 2.3.45; Plin. *Nat.* 4.27; Paus. 10.8.2; Ptol. 3.14.9; Eust. in *D.P.* 422.

Strabo refers to Knemides as a stronghold and not a polis. It is located on the naturally defensible hill of Gouvali, overlooking the sea between Agios Konstantinos (Daphnus) and Kammena Vourla (the port of Thronion) beyond the modern settlements of Neochorio and Asproneri. It covers an area of 1.6-1.8 ha. Abundant Hellenistic and Roman pottery has been reported.

J. Pascual, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 166ff.

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Th. Nielsen, in *Inventory*, 668, no. 381; *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, D3.

Kokkinonyzes→Livanates – Kokkinonyzes

KYNOS (port) (Livanates-Pyrgos) – Λιμάνι ΚΥΝΟΥ (Πύργος Λιβανατών) 4:4C
Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Hecat. fr. 131; Scyl. 60; Plb. 4.67.7; Str. 1.3.20; 9.4.2; 13.1.68; Liv. 28.6.12; Mela 2.3.40; Plin. *Nat.* 4.27; Paus. 9.23.7; 10.1.2; Ptol. 3.15.9-11; Hsch. s.v.; St.Byz. s.v. Inscriptions: *IG IX* 1², 5, 1988-2001.

The name of the city is attested as Kynos and the ethnonicon as Kynitis, Kynia, and in Stephanus as Kynioi and Kynaioi (*IG IX* 1², 5, p. 88).

Kynos is mentioned either as a *polis* in the urban sense (Hecat. fr. 131; Ps. Scyl. 60) or as the port of Opous by all other authors. It was used for embarking troops in Locris or for disembarking by Philip V (219 BC) and by Attalos (208 BC).

Late Roman walls were constructed over an important MH-LHIII settlement, located on a low hill, 800m north from the village of Paralia Livanaton. A fortification wall of pseudo-isodomic masonry of Hellenistic date surrounds the hill. Late Hellenistic and Early Roman sherds are abundant in the area. Remains of the ancient dock are visible in the sea at the foot of the hill. It has been suggested that the remains in Pyrgos Livanaton belong to the port of Kynos, though its associated settlement could be located in Livanates-Paliokastra.

A Kynia is mentioned in an epitaph of Roman date from Attika (*IG II*², 9118).

RE XII1 (1924) 29-32 s.v. Kynos (Oldfather); Papanagioutou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 269-270; Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 40, 1985, B, 173; 41, 1986, B, 68; 43, 1988, B, 223; 46, 1991, B, 195; Fossey, *Opuntian Lokris*, 81-84, no. 18; Ph. Dakoronia, *Hesperia*, 62, 1993, 126; Th. Nielsen, in *Inventory*, 668, no. 382.

Kyparissi – Κυπαρίσσι 4:4D
Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Part of a *villa rustica* was excavated southeast of Kyparissi (in Koulouris' field). It has been dated to the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman period. It was built with reused building materials (poros blocks, a Doric capital). It was probably destroyed in the Late 6th century. Graves dating to the Roman and Byzantine period were found ca. 150m to the west.

C. Blegen, *AJA* 30, 1926, 403; Ph. Dakoronia – P. Bougia, in *Villae Rusticae*, 557-563.

Kyparissi-Kokkinovrachos – Κυπαρίσσι-

Κοκκινόβραχος

4:4D

Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A fortified citadel is clearly visible on the steep summit of Kokkinovrachos, which lies to the south-east of the modern village. The settlement extends to the south-west of the peak into the area around the chapel of Agios Ioannis. A large agricultural building of Late Hellenistic or Early Roman date with pithoi, mill-stone and olive press was found. Sherds of Roman and Late Roman date are reported.

C. Blegen, *AJA* 30, 1926, 401-404; Fossey, *Opuntian Lokris*, 62-65, no. 12; *Barr.Atlas*, Map 55, E3.

The site had erroneously been identified as Opous.

RE XVIII2 (1939) 814 s.v. Opus 2 (Oldfather); *contra*, Ph. Dakoronia, *Hesperia*, 62, 1993, 117-122.

Another possibility is the Anastasis mentioned in Hierocles Synekdemosis (644,9) and Notitiae Episcopatum, 737-744 (Fossey, *Opuntian Lokris*, 64). It is, however, problematic to associate a settlement inhabited from LH IIIB to the Byzantine period with one that appears only in Byzantine sources.

Kyparissi-Paliagiannis – Κυπαρίσσι-

Παλιγιάννης

4:4D

Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Part of a Roman villa was found in the Paliagiannis area, at the 138th km of the Athens-Lamia National Road, 1.25 km north of the village. It was a two storey building. Three rooms were excavated. The walls had been constructed in *opus mixtum* over a rubble wall foundation. It was built in the 6th century AD and was destroyed in the late 6th during the Slavic raids. However coins of Late Roman date, among them one of the late 3rd/ early 4th century, were also found.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 40, 1985, B, 174, figs. 14-15; Ph. Dakoronia – P. Bougia, in *Villae Rusticae*, 562-569.

Livanates-Kokkinonyzes – Λιβανάτες-

Κοκκινόυζες

4:4C

Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

It is located 2 km southwest of the modern village. A burial pithos covered by a limestone pedestal stele was found on a bench in an earlier Mycenaean chamber tomb. The two burials found inside were furnished with vases dating to the 2nd century BC or later, a worn bronze coin and a bronze hook.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B, 244-245, pl. 105στ.

Livanates-Paliokastra – Παλιοκάστρα

Λιβανατών

4:4C

Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A fortified circuit wall of pseudo-isodomic masonry is located on a hill, 4 km west-southwest of Livanates. It is dated to the 4th century BC. A group of graves (pithoi, a clay larnax, cists and pits) dating from the 2nd to the middle of the 1st century BC were found 110m south-east of the wall. It has been suggested to be the settlement of Kynos, of Kalliaros, or of Phaloria.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 48, 1993, B, 207-208; *ead.*, *Hesperia*, 62, 1993, 125-126; *ead.*, in *Ελληνική Ζ*, 2011, 261-262, pl. 105γ; Nankov, *Phrouria Lokrika*, 183-188.

Livanates Paralia – Παραλία Λιβανατών

4:4C

Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

The underground storehouse of a building, of 2nd-1st century BC date, was found near the coast in Phokos' plot. A large quantity of sherds from transport amphorae and domestic wares along with grain seeds and a marble mortarium were found. The building was destroyed by fire and its remains restored with fragments of tiles and mortar and incorporated in a new building dating to the 3rd century AD and destroyed in the late 6th century AD as a result of Slavic raids.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 47, 1992, B, 202-203, fig. 6, pl. 61ζ; Ph. Dakoronia-P. Bougia, in *Villae Rusticae*, 570.

A Late Roman building (4th century AD) consisting of five rooms and a cistern was excavated in a plot owned by Tsarouchas. Pottery, coins, iron nails, loom weights, fragments of marble facings and Laconian tiles, were found.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B, 340-341.

Both buildings have been characterised as *villae rusticae*.

Ph. Dakoronia, in *Λοιμίδα*, 80 note 212.

A building complex with two architectural phases came to light near Agia Marina church (G. Papageorgiou's plot). In the second period a bath was built over the ruins of an earlier one. Two in-urned child cremations and a coin hoard were also found. It was in use from the 4th to the 6th century AD and was probably destroyed by the earthquake of AD 551. African Red-Slip ware and Late Roman Amphorae are also reported.

Ανασκαφικό Έργο, 80; G. Pallis, *ADelt* 61, 2006, B, 569-70.

These finds may be associated with the finds from **Agia Kyriaki, Tselepak, Loutro, Kynos-Agioi Theodoroi** and provide evidence for dense habitation in the coastal zone of Livanates in the (Roman)-Late Roman-Early Christian period.

Livanates Paralia-Agia Kyriaki – Παραλία

Λιβανατών-Αγία Κυριακή 4:4C
Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

An Early Christian basilica with auxiliary structures decorated with mosaic pavements, dating to the 5th century AD, was found in the area of Agia Kyriaki (I. Kyriazi field). Late Roman sherds from the area indicate that the area was in use at least in the 4th century AD. The basilica was destroyed by the earthquake of AD 551.

Ανασκαφικό Έργο, 80; G. Kakavas, in *Αφιέρωμα στον Ακαδημαϊκό Παναγιώτη Α. Βοκοτόπουλο* (2015) 295-302.

Livanates Paralia-Agioi Theodoroi – Παραλία

Λιβανατών-Άγιοι Θεόδωροι 4:4C
Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A large building complex that was in use from the Roman-Late Roman to Early Christian period was found.

Ανασκαφικό Έργο, 80-81.

Livanates Paralia-Loutro – Παραλία Λιβανατών-

Λουτρό 4:4C
Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A Roman burial monument was located about 300m southwest of Kynos (K. Argyroudi plot). It was built with large reused poros blocks. In front of the monument there was part of a damaged clay larnax containing a disturbed burial. A pithoid cinerary urn was later placed in the east side of the damaged larnax. Both had been covered by masonry from destroyed monuments. Five burials were found inside the burial monument. Bronze coins and pottery were found. It is dated from the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD. The monument was probably located over an earlier one, as a coin of Philip V indicates.

A tile grave and a jar-burial in a Roman transport amphora were also found.

L. Lambropoulou, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B, 187-188, fig. 2, pl. 115γ, 116α; Ph. Dakoronia, in *ΕλλΚερ* Z, 2011, 261-262, pl. 106.

A wider date range from the early 2nd century BC to the early 3rd century AD has also been proposed.

L. Raselli-Nydegger, *ReiCret.Acta* 38, 2003, 251-256, esp. 251.

Loutro→Livanates Paralia-Loutro**Mavrolithia-Mavrolitharia (The harbour of Knemides?) – Μαυρολιθία-Μαυρολιθάρια**

(το λιμάνι των Κνημίδων) 4:2B
Molos - Ag. Konstantinos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.
Str. 9.4.4

Communication between Daphnous, Knemides and the harbour of Thronion was probably by sea, since crossing Mt. Gouvali and Cape Knemis overland is quite laborious. This is reinforced by Strabo who provides the distances between these three places by sea. Some ashlar blocks which are semi-submerged in the sea at Mavrolithia or Mavrolitharia, between Vromolimni Lake and Mt. Gouvali, may have belonged to the harbour installations of Knemides, partly overlaid by the old National Road connecting Agios Konstantinos (the port of Daphnous) and Kammena Vourla (the port of Thronion).

Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 292-293; J. Pascual, in *Epicnemidian Lokris*, 173ff.

Megaplatanos-Paliokastrα – Παλιοκάστρα

Μεγαπλατάνου 4:3C
Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A fortification wall of rough polygonal masonry is located on a hill in the upper part of the Alanyma valley, c. 3.5 km west - northwest of Megaplatanos and c. 2.5 southeast of Goulemi. Late Roman sherds have been reported.

Fossey, *Opuntian Lokris*, 79-80, no. 17; Ph. Dakoronia, *Hesperia*, 62, 1993, 122-124.

Mendenitsa – Μενδενίτσα

4:1B
Molos - Ag. Konstantinos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Location of an Epiknemidian city or a *kome*. The walls of the medieval fortress of Mendenitsa (also known as Ternitza / Dernitza, Bodonitza / Pontonitza, Boudonitza / Boudonitsa / Pundonitza) contain an abundance of ancient building material. Classical, Hellenistic, Roman and Medieval pottery has been reported from the area inside the walls, where the ancient settlement was located. The ancient necropolis was to the south, occupying part of the modern town, where a limestone sarcophagus containing at least 7 burials has been found. The gravegoods have been dated from the Early to the Late Hellenistic period.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B, 246-247.

The identification of the settlement is disputed. It is suggested to be Tarphe or Pharygae or even Argolas, a place mentioned by Diodorus (D.S. 16.30.4). Pascual identified it as the Homeric Augeiae (Il.2.532), that, according to Strabo (8.5.3; 9.4.4), had disappeared completely by his life time and its heavily wooded territory belonged to Skarpheia. Consequently, the settlement was progressively depopulated from the end of the Hel-

lenistic period and reoccupied, perhaps in the 2nd century AD, from Skarpheia.

RE XIII1 (1926) 1140 s.v. Lokris (Oldfather); RE IVA2 (1932) 2342 s.v. Tarphe (Oldfather); A. Bon, *BCH* 61, 1937, 152-158; RE XIX2 (1938) 1872-1873 s.v. Pharygion (Kirsten); *TIB* I, 221-222 (Muntonitsa); Pritchett, *Studies*, V, 167-168; J. Buckler, *Philip II and the Sacred War* (1989) 34, 41-44; *id.*, *Aegean Greece in the Fourth Century BC* (2003) 406-407; J. Pascual, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 121ff; *Barr-Atlas*, Map 55, D3.

Metamorfofi Sotiros – Μεταμόρφωση Σωτήρος 4:2B Molos - Ag. Konstantinos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Architectural remains of a sanctuary and sherds of Roman date were found in the Monastery of Metamorfofi Sotiros, situated on Mt. Knemis, 4 km from Kamena Vourla.

J. Pascual, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 161-164.

NARYX / NARYCA (Reggini) – ΝΑΡΥΞ /

ΝΑΡΥΚΑ (Περγίνη) 4:1/2C Molos - Ag. Konstantinos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

D.S. 14.82.8; 16.38.3-6; Lyc. *Alex.* 1148; Str. 9.4.2; Verg. *A.* 3.399; Plin. *Nat.* 4.27; Hyg. *Fab.* 14; Serv. *A.* 3.399; St. Byz. s.v. Νάρυξ; Suid. s.v. Νάρυξ.

Inscriptions: *IG IX* 1², 5, 2018-2028.

The name of the city is attested as Naryx, Naryca and in later lexicographers as Narycion, Narycē. The ethnonym is attested as Narycios, Narycia (*IG IX* 1², 5, p. 101). Delphi honoured as proxenos a citizen of Naryx ca. 130 BC (H. Pomtow, *Klio* 15, 1918, 25-26, no. 48; *IG IX* 1², 5, fast. 240).

The most important evidence for the Roman history of Naryx comes from two inscriptions concerning the Emperor Hadrian. The first one is a letter written by Hadrian, in a response to a request made by the citizens of Naryx (*IG IX* 1², 5, 2018). It is dated to the end of 137 or the first months of AD 138.

Hadrian confirms the status of the city enumerating several institutions, which counted Naryx among their members (the Amphictyony, the Boeotian League, the Panhellenion). He also adds that the city has a council, magistrates, priests, Greek tribes, the law system of the Opountians (i.e. the Laws of East Locris) and also pays tribute along with the Achaeans. He also mentions the heroic past / heritage of Naryx that is associated with Oileus, one of the Argonauts, and with his son Aias, and maybe with Lelex, who participated in the Calydon-

ian boar hunt. Also, it should be added that Lycophron's Cassandra / Alexandra had strongly influenced the Latin epics.

Hadrian's letter is of particular interest since the emperor lists the elements necessary to define Naryx as a polis. A similar approach, though in a different context can be seen in Pausanias' description of the Phokian Panopeus. These considerations are possibly connected to the discussion about the nature of a city in the Second Sophistic.

The response of the Emperor could possibly be related to a question concerning the status of Naryx and the whole affair may have had its starting point in the journey the Emperor made in AD 124-125 or 126 from Thessaly to Southern Greece.

It has also been interpreted as a response to a Narycian request for a renewal of its existing rights, a common practice at the accession of an Emperor. Naryx possibly omitted to do this until AD 137/8 on the grounds of the cost and only decided to dispatch an embassy when they were informed about Hadrian's illness. The purpose of the embassy might not have been just a simple confirmation of the city's rights but also a request for financial aid as in the cases of neighbouring Abai and Hyampolis, where Hadrian funded the construction of temples and a portico.

If this latter hypothesis is correct, then an inscription from the base of the Hadrian's statue found in Reggini (N. Papadakis, *ADelt* 6, 1920-1921, Par., 142-143; *IG IX* 1², 5, 2019), in which the Narycians call the emperor "saviour and founder" could be considered the result of this mission. The stone was found in the ruins of a Roman building, possibly a temple, at Agios Ioannis near Paliokastra, where the ancient city was located, on a steep hill between the Kataphiorema and Sourlatzorema torrents, ca. 3.5 km northwest of the modern village of Reggini. Late Hellenistic, Roman and Late Roman sherds are also reported.

Immediately to the south-southwest and southeast of the acropolis, at Pournara and Diaskelo, are the Hellenistic-Late Roman necropoleis of the city. A chamber tomb that was in use from the 3rd to the 2nd century BC, eleven pit graves dating to the 1st-3rd century AD, and a built grave dating to the 5th century AD have been found.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 43, 1988, B, 224-225; 47, 1992, B, 201-202; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou – E. Karantzali, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 249, 258.

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Ch. Karouzos, *ADelt* 10, 1926, Par., 12; *RE* XVI2 (1935) 1772-1775 s.v. Naryka (Oldfather); Philippson - Kirsten, *Landschaften*, I², 344-345, 718; Pritchett, *Studies*, IV, 129, 132-134, 157-159, V, 168-171; *DNP* VIII (2000) 719-720 s.v. Naryka (G. Daverio Rocchi); Adam, *Λοιμική*, 51-52, 114-115; Th. Nielsen, in *Inventory*, 669, no. 384; D. Knoepfler – A. Pasquier, *CRAI* 2006, 1281-1313; D. Knoepfler, *REG* 119, 2006, 1-34; C. Jones, *JRA* 19, 2006, 151-162; J. Rzepka, in E. Dąbrowa *et al.* (eds), *Hortus Historiae* (2010), 385-392; J. Pascual, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 176ff; G. Zachos, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 540-543.

NIKAIA (Roumelio / Platanakos) – NIKAIJA (Ρουμελιό-Πλατανάκος) 4:1A/B

Molos - Ag. Konstantinos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.
Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F28; Plb. 10.42.4; 18.1; 18.7.7; Str. 9.4.4; 9.4.13; Liv. 28.5.18; 32.32.9; 32.35.2; 35.26.5; App. *Han.* 55; Harp. s.v. Νίκαια; St. Byz. s.v. Νίκαια; Suid. s.v. Νίκαια; Phot. *Bibl.* 234a.

The city name is attested as Nikaia and the ethnicon as Nicaeus, Nicaeus, Nicaeus, Nicaeus, Nikaia (*IG* IX 1², 5, p. 115).

City-fortress of Epiknemidian Locris near the shore of the Maliac Gulf (Str. 9.4.4, 13; Harp. s.v.; Phot. *Bibl.* 234a). Nikaia, together with Alpenos and Thronion, played a crucial role in controlling the Thermopylae Corridor and specifically the eastern exit of the pass (cf. Aeschin. 2.132-134, 138, 148, 152; 3.140; D. 6.22). Nikaia was also a very important port on the sea route from the Pagasetic Gulf to Chalcis (Liv. 28.5.18) since it had a large harbour with a sandy promontory suitable for anchoring war ships (cf. Aeschin. 2.133; Did. *In D.* 11.4). It was used in 209/8 BC by the fleets of Attalus I and the Roman consul Sulpicius (Plb. 10.42.4; Liv. 28.5.18), allies of the Aitolians against Philip V. Also, T.Q. Flamininus and Philip V met in Nikaia in November 198 BC (Plb. 18.1; 18.8.6-7; 7.7-8.15; Liv. 32.32.9; 32.39.9-12; 32.35.2-8; App. *Han.* 55).

After the Second Macedonian War, Nikaia remained under Aitolian control until 191 BC, when the whole area fell into Roman hands. The troops of the Achaean Confederacy had their barracks in the region and it seems plausible that Nikaia was in the anti-Roman camp. Its location is disputed. Oldfather and Pritchett suggest the area of modern Agia Triada. A better candidate is Roumelio / Platanakos, a hilly area, 1.5 km to the southwest of Agia Triada. A few scattered blocks of the fortification wall are still visible. The concentrations of

Hellenistic, Roman and later surface pottery are evidence that the city acquired greater importance from the Hellenistic period onwards and was also inhabited during the Roman and Late Roman periods.

J. Pascual, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 88ff.

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RE XVII1 (1936) 222-223 s.v. Nikaia (Oldfather); Pritchett, *Studies* IV, 162-166, VIII, 150-151; Th. Nielsen, in *Inventory*, 669-670, no. 385.

OPOUS (Atalanti) – ΟΠΟΥΣ (Αταλάντη) 4:3/4D Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Th. 1. 108; 2.32; Xen. *GH* 4.2.17; Arist. *HA* 6.22.5; Plb. 17.46.5; D.S. 4.39.1; 11.83.2; 19.78.5; 20.28.4; Str. 1.3.20; 9.4.1-2; Liv. 28.6.12; 28.7.4-12; 32.32.1-4; 33.32.5; 34.32.8; 38.6.12; Plin. *Nat.* 4.27; 8.163; Plu. *Tit.* 5; *Que. Gr.* 15 (294E); Paus. 10.20.4; 10.35.1; Ptol. 3.15.19; Orosius 7.12.5 (487); Hsch. s.v.; St. Byz. s.v.; Hierocl. 644.8. Inscriptions: *IG* IX 1², 5, 1908-1987.

Coins: Opous minted coins in the third quarter of the 1st century BC, possibly in the Augustan period (late 1st century BC), under Tiberius, and Galba (68/9) or Otho (69). A. von Sallet, *ZfNum* 3, 1876, 244-245; *BMC* Greek Coins, Central Greece, p. 10; Head, p. 337; A. Burnett, M. Amandry, P.-P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, I (1992) 269, nos. 1338-1342; Kravartoyannos, *Αρχαία Νομίσματα*, 70, 181 no. 20; W. Leschhorn, P. Franke, *Lexikon der Aufschriften auf griechischen Münzen* II (2009) 606; *BCD* 2010, lots 148-158. J. Morineau Humphris – D. Delbridge, *The Coinage of the Opountian Lokrians* (2014), 14-15, 162-164, 216-219.

The name of the city is attested as Opoeis and Opous and the ethnicon as Opontios, Opountios and Opoeitios and in Stephanus Opoeisios (*IG* IX 1², 5, p. 63).

Opous came under the control of T. Q. Flamininus in 198/197 BC when the pro-Roman and pro-Aitolian Opountians succeeded in holding the Macedonian garrison in the acropolis giving Titus the opportunity to take charge of the situation (Liv. 32.32.2-3). Locrians and therefore Opous remained in the Aitolian confederation despite the Flamininus' *Declaration of the Freedom of Greece* at the Isthmian Games of 196 BC (Plb. 18.44.1-7; Liv. 33.32.5; Plu. *Tit.* 10.5). The Aitolians lost control of Opountian Locris after their defeat at Thermopylae (191 BC) and the peace of 188 or in 167 BC. F. Gómez Espelosín, *Gerión* 4, 1986, 55-60; Grainger, *League*, 386-387, 422-423, 464, 500, 508, 534-535; *IG* IX 1², 5, fast. 222).

Opountian Locris acted both as an independent community and as part of a wider confederation called the East Locrian League or simply the Locrian League during the course of the 2nd and the early part of the 1st century BC. (*IG IX* 1², 1, 72; *Syll.*³ 653; *FD III* 4, 159; *IG IX* 1², 5, 1909, 1910, 1912, 1913). Apart from the first period when Opous is definitely the centre of the region, its status within the Locrian institutions is not certain.

In the 2nd century BC Opountians and Locrians with the Opountians honoured citizens of Cephallonia, an Hypatian, a Trallian, and an Aitolian with proxeny (*IG IX* 1², 5, 1909, 1910, 1912, 1913).

Apart from the texts already mentioned, references to the Opountian proxenoi in the Dorian Kytention around the middle of the 2nd century BC (D. Rousset, *BCH* 114, 1990, 448-449, no. 2; *SEG* 40, 441), the presence of Opountians in the Delphic decree for the Dionysiac guild in 134 or 130 BC (*CID IV*, 114; Stephanis, *Τεχνίται*, n. 2809; Le Guen, *Technites*, 109-110), their reference in the texts concerning the “scandal of 125 BC” (*CID IV*, 119D-F), and the discovery of a relevant text dated to 117 BC in modern Atalanti (D. Summa, *ZPE* 172, 2010, 100-104; *IG IX* 1², 5, 1921), as well as the mention of Opountians as proxenoi in Delphi in the early 1st century BC (*FD III* 4, 53) and possibly as proxenoi and benefactors at the Herakleia festival in Thebes around the middle to the 1st century BC (*SEG* 37, 388) are all evidence for the importance of the city until the middle of the 1st century BC. Also, they were honoured as judges in an unknown arbitration in the 2nd or 1st century BC (*IG IX* 1², 5, 1919).

A significant number of Opountians (both boys and adults) were victorious in the festivals of Central Greece in the late 2nd -1st century BC, as athletes, actors or musicians (Erotideia in Thespieae or Herakleia in Thebes, *IG VII* 1765; *I.Thespiiai* IV 187; *IG IX* 1², 5, fast. 266; Soteria in Akraiphia, *IG VII* 2727; Omoloia in Orchomenos, *IG VII* 3196; Amphiarara and Rhomaia in Oropos, *I.Oropos* 525, 528, 531; Basileia in Lebadeia, St. Koumanoudis, *ADelt* 26, 1971, A, 34 l. 7, 36 IV, Sarapieia in Tanagra, *SEG* 25, 501; Sotereia in Delphi, *Syll.*³ 690; in Charitesiis and Homoloiis in Orchomenos (*IG VII* 3196; *IG IX* 1², 5, fast. 269).

D. Summa, in B. Le Guen (ed.), *L'argent dans les concours du monde grec. Théâtres du monde* (2010), 107-125; *ead.*, *IG IX* 1², 5, fast. (passim).

The close association of the Opountians with the Theatre, apart from the evidence already cited, is clear from

the honorific decree of the city for the Dionysiac guild from Isthmos and Nemea who participated in the festival in Opous in the 2nd century BC (*IG IX* 1², 5, 1918). D. Summa, in Le Guen, *op.cit.*, 119-121; Le Guen, *Technites*, 181-183, no. 31; Aneziri, *Techniten*, 366-367, B11.

An Opountian is mentioned among the ephebes in Athens ca. 107/6 BC (*IG II/III*², 1011 col. VI; *IG IX* 1², 5, fast. 245) and another one was granted proxeny in the 2nd or 1st century BC (*IG IX* 1², 5, fast. 252). Proxenoï and benefactors of the Boeotians appeared in a text from around 50 BC (*SEG* 37, 388; *IG IX* 1², 5, fast. 267).

A Macedonian physician, Menophantos from Hyrkania, offered his services in Opous and Skarpheia in the end of the 2nd-early 1st century BC (*IG IX*, 1² 3, 750; for the date, D. Rousset, *BCH* 126, 2002, 93-94).

In the 1st century BC and specifically in 80 BC is placed the case of Philodamus from Opous and G. Verres proquastor of Cn. Dolabella in Cilicia. Philodamus had settled in Lampsakos and became one of the most eminent citizens of that city's multicultural society. When Verres plotted a sexual assault against his daughter, Philodamus and his son, accompanied by the people of the city, rose up against him and during the resultant fight a licitor of Verres was killed. Verres brought Philodamus and his son to trial before C. Nero, governor of the Province of Asia, and managed, with the help of Dolabella, to get them convicted and beheaded in the agora of Lampsakos (Cic. *Ver.* 2.1.63-86a; 2.2.109).

A few decades later, in Opous, citizens of Italian origin acted as a group (private association?) in correspondence with the demos of Opountion ([ὁ] δῆμος Ὀπουντίων καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες), an indication for a population change (the arrival of Italian colonists) before the late Augustan period, to which time the text is dated (*IG IX* 1², 5, 1935). The existence of an Italian priest of Augustus, archon of the city, *agoranomos* and *agonothetes* of the Dionysia, who offered to the city and to the god Sebastos, a fountain, statues and a lenos, as well as the mention of an Italian patron honoured by the Opountians and the Romans are all evidence for the civil and economic status of the Roman elite in Opous (*IG IX* 1², 5, 1930, 1935; Schörner, *Votive*, 511-512 nos 1096, 1100).

R. Sherck, *ZPE* 84, 1990, 254.

Opous gained the privileges of *civitas libera et immunis* in the period of Julio-Claudian dynasty since it issued coins under Augustus(?), Tiberius, Galba (68/9) and Otho (69).

J. Morineau Humphris - D. Delbridge, *The Coinage of the Opountian Lokrians* (2014), 14-15, 162-164, 216-219.

A head of Tiberius and another of Claudius¹ can be added to the evidence of the Julio-Claudian period of Opous.

Th. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B, 237, pl. 210-211; A. Stavridi, *AAA* 13.1, 1980, 109-118, fig. 104.

Delphi granted citizenship and the membership of the boule to an Opountian in the 1st or 2nd century AD (*FD* III3, 252) and, also, an Opountian was victorious in Ptoia or Soteria in Acraiphia in the same period (L. Bizard, *BCH* 44, 1920, 262, no. 12; *IG IX* 1², 5, fast. 288).

A citizen of Opous, Aurelius Hermes was victorious in the *gymnikoi agones* (Diaulos) in Pythia at Thessaloniki in AD 252/253 (*IG X*₂1, 38B1, l. 13).

The significance of the city in the first part of the Late Roman period is proved by the discovery of the Diocletian price edict (*IG IX* 1², 5, 1923).

The cults of Zeus Soter, Zeus Patroios (*synnaos* or *synbomos* to Athena), Artemis Ennodia, Hermes and Herakles, Demeter and Kore are mentioned in the inscriptions of the period (cf. D. Summa – P. Kounouklas, *ZPE* 178, 2011, 203-205; Schörner, *Votive*, 511-512 nos 1097, 1099), while the existence of a cult of Aphrodite is supported by the discovery of a statue, a Roman copy of the Aphrodite Frejus type (Th. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 28, 1973, B, 279). A statue of Hermes, a Roman copy of a prototype of the 4th century BC was also found [P. Kastriotis, *Γλυπτά του Εθνικού Μουσείου* (1908) 55, no 240; N. Kaltsas, *Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο. Τα Γλυπτά. Κατάλογος* (2001), 251, no 524]. The imperial cult is epigraphically attested, not only as the cult of Sebastoi, but also as *genti Augustae* and Demos of the Romans (*IG IX* 1², 5, 1930). Also, the Romaia festival was added to the pre-existing local festival of Dia and Aianteia. The *gymnikoi agones* (Diaulos) of this festival are mentioned in an inscription of 2nd/1st century BC (*IG IV*²1, 629; I. C. Ringwood, *Agonistic features of local Greek festivals* (1927) 109; Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ*, 105). Furthermore, a triennial Dionysian festival is epigraphically attested (*IG IX* 1², 5, 1930). Finally, Strabo (9.4.2) mentions an Aeaneion temenos and an Aeanis fountain named after the man who was killed by Patroklos.

Apart from these cults and festivals, the tradition of the establishment of the cult of Sarapis and Isis in Opous

is fully described in an inscription from Thessaloniki. Sarapis appeared twice to the Opountian Xenainetos in a dream, probably in the sanctuary in Thessaloniki, and invited him to deliver both a verbal and written message to his political opponent Eurynomos about the establishment of the cult. Since the cult was established in Opous, the story was recorded in an inscription in Locris and a copy was made for the sanctuary of Sarapis in Thessaloniki. This copy was re-inscribed in Thessaloniki around the 1st to the mid-2nd century AD (*IG X*₂1, 255; *BCH* 97, 1973, 588; R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 10, 1973, 49-54; D. Fraikin, *Introduction of Sarapis and Isis in Opus, Numina Aegea* 1, 1974, 1-6; F. Sokolowski, *GRBS* 15, 1974, 441-448).

Opous is mentioned as an episcopal centre as early as the 4th century AD in *Notitiae Episcopatum* and as a city of the province of Achaia by Hierocles (*TIB* I, 126, 227; V. Sythiakaki, in *Λοκρίδα*, 115, 119).

It is located beneath the modern city of Atalanti. The remains of the acropolis, seized by T.Q. Flamininus in 198/7 BC, are visible on the hill overlooking the modern city where the Palaiopyrgos, the medieval tower, is situated. The Hellenistic city walls came to light in the Macedonica area, on the northern edge of the city, in the Bodovatsa area, in the eastern part of the city, and on M. Alexandrou Street to the west. It fell into disuse in the Roman and Late Roman period when cist graves were dug into the ruins of its tower.

Nankov, *Phrouria Lokrika*, 199-206.

Public buildings and *villae urbanae* were located at the heart of the modern settlement near the square. A quite striking example is a villa with mosaic floors bearing geometric motifs and frescoes depicting peacocks and imitating marble facing. A number of Roman private houses were constructed over the remains of Late Hellenistic or Early Roman predecessors. Also, a number of kilns of Late Hellenistic-Early Roman date were located at the northern limit of the ancient city.

A general reconstruction of the city took place in the Late Hellenistic – Early Roman period, since a number of buildings of the period were built reusing earlier building material. It is difficult to make any assertions as to the cause of the destructions indicated by the older material incorporated into the walls of the buildings. Some of them (e.g. Phase 3 in Xirogiannis' plot), which

¹ Nero, according to N. Kasakidi, in N. Kaltsas – Th. Stephanidou-Tiveriou (eds), *Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο*.

Κατάλογος γλυπτών IV.1. Τα αυτοκρατορικά πορτρέτα (in press), inv. 3588.

were destroyed in the late 3rd century BC, may be connected to the earthquake of 224 BC, but this is not certain. The city was besieged in 198 BC but we do not have any information on the damage which occurred. At Halae, Alope and Daphnous there is archaeological evidence for extensive damage in the early 1st century BC, which has been attributed to the army of Sulla or that of Mithridates. In Atalanti the ancient city shrank in size in the early 1st century BC and pottery kilns - built using material from the ruins, were located in ex-residential areas between the modern square and the ring road, inside the fortification wall.

These kilns² were found in the northern sector of the city, inside the fortification wall, near the Karagiozis torrent and on the southern edge, below the acropolis hill (Kolomvrezos' plot, Daladimos' plot, Nikotsara Street). Another kiln was found on Oileos and Androutsou Streets (Kioulaphas' plot) on the western limit of the central residential area. The workshops were in use until the end of the 1st century BC and in the 1st century AD. The same period is a *terminus post quem* for the formation of the stream bed.

L. Lambropoulou, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B, 214, 218, fig. 7, pl. 134β; *ead.*, *AAA* 16, 1983, 74-79; Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 46, 1991, B, 190-191; 47, 1992, B, 200, fig. 5; 52, 1997, B, 433-434; *ead.*, in *ΕΛΚαο* ΣΤ, 2004, 513-520.

The operation of these kilns ceased in the 1st century AD and a group of lavish houses was located in the area of the ring road. The impetus for this new reorganization could be inferred from the reference in Orosius (7.12.5) about an earthquake that struck Opous during the reign of Trajan. A number of built graves dating to the Late Roman period were found in the area, but it is not clear if they coexisted with the houses or if the area was used as a cemetery after their abandonment. Another possible Roman pottery workshop of the period was found in Vasilikon Street at the eastern end of the city (cf. West cemetery).

In general the Roman cemeteries of the city were located on the northern and eastern edges of the city. In the Late Roman period a number of intra mural burials are reported with a characteristic example being the burial monument transferred to the church of Chamai Thanassis beside the central square of Atalanti (Papanagioutou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 252-253, pl. 141-142).

² In some cases there is also evidence for metallurgical activity.

As far as concerns public constructions, fountains are mentioned (*IG IX 1²*, 5, 1930; Str. 9.4.2) and two gymnasia are attested in inscriptions of the 1st century AD (*IG IX 1²*, 5, 1924, 1925, 1931, 1932, 1936, 1937). Also, parts of roads and a section of aqueduct have been revealed during excavations.

Pausanias mentions a *leoforos* leading from Orchomenos to Opous via Hyampolis and Abai (Paus. 10.35.1).

As regards the officials of the city, apart from *archons*, and the *gymnasiarch* mentioned above, the office of *agoranomos* is also mentioned (*IG IX 1²*, 5, 1930). Furthermore Ephebic catalogues dating to the 2nd century AD have been found in Atalanti or attributed to Opous, (*IG IX 1²*, 5, 1924, 1925), and athletic associations are mentioned in the early Imperial period in the honorary decrees for the gymnasiarch L. Allius Tauros (*IG IX 1²*, 5, 1937).

Palaiopyrgos (ancient acropolis)

Architectural remains of Late Roman-Early Christian date. Pottery dating to the 4th-6th century AD has been reported.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B, 389.

Asy

Central sector

Building remains of Roman date, a head, possibly of Tiberius and a torso of a Nike of Roman date were found in the plot owned by V. Tsapalis.

Th. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B, 237, pl. 210-211.

Part of a public building (a portico?) was excavated in the L. Kolomtsas' plot. It was constructed with poros blocks and is dated to the 2nd or 1st century BC. It was destroyed by fire and rectangular bases of *opus caementicium* attributed to an aqueduct were built over it in the Late Roman period. Also, part of another building with similar masonry was found in the northeast corner of the field. Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B, 233.

A deposit of the mid 1st century AD has also been detected in the same location.

L. Raselli-Nydegger, *ReiCretActa* 38, 2003, 251-256, esp. 254.

In addition to the buildings in this plot, a building complex of Roman date was excavated (Xirogiannis' plot). P. Pantos, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B, 177-179, fig. 1; L. Raselli-Nydegger, *AM* 111, 1996, 237-297.

Remains possibly of a *villa urbana*, dating to the 2nd century AD were excavated in Diakou Street (D. Phinou plot). A rectangular room and mortared floor were revealed.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B, 233, 236, pl. 1028.
Part of a building of 2nd-1st century BC date was excavated in Giatsou Street (Ch. Kaphasi plot). Rubble walls with reused poros blocks and a floor covered with a red coloured mortar came to light.

P. Pantos, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B, 179-180, pl. 113α, β.
A Late Hellenistic stoa(?) was excavated on the same street.

Ph. Dakoronia, E. Zachou, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B, 435.
Part of a Roman building was excavated on Androutsou Street (K. Loli plot).

P. Pantos, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B, 157, fig. 1-2, pl. 71β.
A cistern, a pipe line and a well dating from the Late Hellenistic period to the Roman period were found at the junction of Androutsou and Oileos Streets (L. Karadimos' plot).

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B, 335-336; 53, 1998, B, 389-390, fig. 9.

Part of a Late Roman villa was found at the junction of Kokkola and Ethnikis Antistaseos Streets. The apse and part of the *triclinium* were excavated. The latter was decorated with mosaic floors bearing geometric and floral motifs. The apse was attached to the long north side. Part of the apse's marble facing was also found. The walls of the building were in *opus mixtum*. Other minor rooms opened out to the east from the *triclinium*. A cist grave with a Protogeometric oinochoe was found at a higher level. Its existence is interpreted in two ways a) the grave was found during the construction of the villa, but not destroyed out of respect b) it is a later burial which was given an earlier grave offering.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 41, 1986, B, 62, figs. 2-3.
Building remains of Roman date were found in the same area. They were constructed with reused building material, fragments of tiles and mortar. Roman pottery and imitations of terra sigillata were collected.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 51, 1996, B, 318-319, fig. 4.
Remains of successive phases of public buildings came to light a few metres away on Kokkola Street. They are dated to the Classical-Hellenistic period. The building was restored in the Roman period, possibly in the 1st century AD and it was destroyed in 5th-6th century AD. Roman pottery, fragments of glass vessels, kiln supports and parts of the pilae from a hypocaust were found.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 51, 1996, B, 320-321, fig. 5.
A cistern of Late Roman date was found in a plot belonging to G. Giannopoulos. It was destroyed in the Late Roman-Early Byzantine period. Pottery of Early Roman and Late Roman date was recorded.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 46, 1991, B, 190, fig. 1.
Part of a Roman bath complex was found in Ethnikis Antistaseos (Markou's plot). The hypocaust, the *caldarium* and the *laconicum* or *sudatorium* came to light. It was built in *opus mixtum*.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 47, 1992, B, 197-200, fig. 4.
A building complex was found in E. Venizelou Street (G. Katsiphos' plot). Five rooms were excavated. A mosaic floor with geometric motifs came to light. It was constructed around the middle of the 2nd century BC over an earlier building and it was destroyed in the 2nd century AD.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B, 336-337.
A cistern of Roman date, in *opus caementicium* was found in the central square (Soultanopoulos' plot).

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 41, 1986, B, 62.
This cistern may be connected in some way to the *villa urbana* found beneath the northwest corner of the central square of Atalanti (Agioli Theodoroi square). Three rooms and parts of a three more were excavated. The floors were covered with mosaics bearing geometric motifs and theatrical masks and the walls with frescoes depicting *sipanium*, peacocks and imitating marble facings. One of the rooms had been paved with clay tiles. The villa dates to the Early-Middle Imperial period.

S. Dimaki, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 382-386, fig. 52;
Ph. Dakoronia, in *Ευβοία και Στερεά*, 290, pl. 483-484; *Ανασκαφικά Έργα*, 59-60; *on the road*, 39-42.

Parts of two walls of Roman-Late Roman date were revealed in the courtyard of Agioli Theodoroi church, and a mosaic pavement depicting animals was found in a nearby property (V. Giouloumi) and buried under the square. It must be associated with this villa.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B, 358, fig. 13; Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 255; cf. S. Dimaki, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 382, note 44.

Quite close to the square and at the junction of 25 Martiou and Aiantos Lokrou Streets (P. Koukouvi plot), a wall in *opus caementicium* was found and Roman sherds were collected.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B, 177.
Parts of walls in *opus mixtum* and terra sigillata sherds were found in Aiantos Lokrou Street near the square (Dimitriou's plot). Also a burial pithos came to light in association with Roman sherds and parts of glass vessels.

P. Pantos, *ADelt* 45, 1990, B, 180.
A Late Roman quarter consisting of luxurious Roman to Late Roman private buildings was found near the ring road round the modern city.

Architectural remains and a deposit with Roman sherds were found in I. Karatrandos' plot. A cist grave built reusing spolia and a tile grave, both of Roman-Late Roman date, were also found.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B, 177.

A decade later, an *impluvium* with a floor of marble slabs and marble facings was found in the same plot. A mosaic floor with geometric motifs came to light around the impluvium. It has been interpreted as part of a *villa urbana* dating from the second half of the 1st century BC to 1st century AD.

Ph. Dakoronia, S. Dimaki, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B, 362, fig. 17.

Sections of wall and of floors were found in Zyggiorgos' plot. Early Roman lamps and Late Roman coins were collected.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B, 178, fig. 4.

Parts of walls in *opus caementicium* and a deposit with Late Hellenistic-Early Roman sherds were found in the plot owned by K & Arg. Vagias. Rooms and walls of Late Hellenistic date, as well as two building complexes with eight and five rooms respectively, attributed to two Late Roman phases, were uncovered. Amongst the finds were Roman and Late Roman coins, lamps of the 2nd century BC-1st century AD, a great number of vases and a Hermaiic stele.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B, 178; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B, 444, fig. 15-16; 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 310-311, fig. 5-6.

A decade later, a significant building complex consisting of 13 rooms came to light in the same plot. Two phases dating to the Late Roman period were identified. These rooms were constructed over a Hellenistic building. Finds included Late Roman pottery, glass vessels and coins.

M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B, 444-445; D. Mulliez, *ARepLond* 56, 2010, 93, fig. 98.

Walls in *opus mixtum* belonging to a building of Roman date were found in Trikalioti Street (N. Chymeutos' plot).

Ph. Dakoronia, S. Dimaki, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B, 360.

A hypocaust of Roman date was excavated in V. Karatrandos' plot.

Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 255, pl. 144.

Architectural remains from two Late Roman phases were found beside the Atalanti ring road (L. & I. Augeris' plot). It is a 'Pi'-shaped construction of industrial character, associated with traces of ashes and sea

shells. A floor of pebbles set in mortar and segments of wall came to light. A pit grave of Late Roman date was also excavated in the north part of the plot. Pottery dating from the 1st/2nd to 4th century AD was collected. S. Dimaki, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 372-273.

Beside the ring road further building remains of Late Roman date came to light. Segments of wall and two pits, as well as a tile grave were excavated. The discovery of a Hellenistic deposit from which a clay mould for Locrian coins was collected indicates industrial activity in the area during the Hellenistic period.

S. Dimaki, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 375.

West sector

The western part of the fortification wall was found in M. Alexandrou Street. Sherds of Late Hellenistic to Byzantine date were collected.

S. Dimaki, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B, 445-446.

Parts of a Roman cuirassed statue, perhaps an Emperor, were found near a spring in the upper part of the modern city in M. Alexandrou Street (I. Charalabogiannis' plot). It has been associated with IG IXi, 282 (23 BC - 14 AD).

P. Pantos, *ADelt* 43, 1988, B, 220, 222, pl. 123α.

On the same street seven tile graves of Roman date were found (N. Charalabogiannis' plot). It is part of the Roman cemetery that was located in this area after the city was reduced in size.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B, 177.

The remains of two rooms and a looted tile grave were found at the junction of Dalianoudi and V. Velliou Streets. Roman pottery is reported.

S. Dimaki, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 377.

Late Roman-Early Christian remains were found in V. Velliou Street.

G. Pallis, *ADelt* 6, 2006, B, 570.

Parts of two walls were found in N. Avraam Street. Roman pottery is reported.

S. Dimaki, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 377.

Part of a Roman building was excavated in Ethnikis Antistaseos Street (at no. 80-78).

S. Dimaki, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 378.

Part of a Late Roman building in *opus tessellatum* and a floor constructed using the same technique was uncovered in Perdika Street.

S. Dimaki, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 378.

The most westerly findspot is a pit with pottery of Late Roman date which was found in 2-4 Kallidromou Street.

S. Dimaki, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 379.

East sector-Bodovatsa

Part of the east section of the city wall was found in Metaxa Street (K. Kyriakopoulou plot). The sherds from the fill are dated to the 3rd-2nd century BC.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 43, 1988, B, 222, pl. 124α.

A rubble wall and a floor of plaster with a substratum of clay and small pebbles and sherds of Late Roman date came to light in Pindarou Street (D. Tzintzira plot). S. Dimaki, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B, 445; D. Mulliez, *ARepLond* 56, 2010, 93, fig. 98.

Part of wall of Late Roman date was found in the same street (G. Giannara plot). Roman and Late Roman pottery is reported.

S. Dimaki, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 372.

A section of a Roman road heading east, probably leading to a gate in the city wall, was found in the area between Pindarou and Aiantos Lokrou Streets (Kokoretsis' plot). A bath of Roman date came to light on one side of the road (S. Dimaki, *pers. com*).

Cf. M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, in E. Borgna, S. Müller Celka (eds), *Ancestral Landscapes: Burial Mounds in the Copper and Bronze Ages* (2012) 395.

This section of the road is probably a continuation of another found in Kolomvrezos' plot a hundred metres to the west.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 47, 1992, B, 200.

Near these remains, parts of walls belonging to rooms around a courtyard and a cistern were excavated in D. Zekendes' plot. They date to the Roman period and were built over the remains of a building dated to the 3rd-2nd century BC. The Roman building fell into disuse at the end of the Roman period and sometime later, possibly in the Early Christian period, a tile grave was built. A coin hoard also came to light.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 42, 1987, B, 226.

Cemeteries

North cemetery

Roman and Late Roman cist graves were found in the region of Macedonica, built into the ruins of the city walls that had fallen into disuse.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 41, 1986, B, 62-63; P. Bougia, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B, 435-436; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 311.

East cemetery

Two cist graves of Late Roman date and seventeen bronze coins from the second half of the 4th century AD were found at the junction of 25 Martiou and Velisariou Streets (E. Pattas' plot).

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 42, 1987, B, 224-225; V. Penna, *ADelt* 42, 1987, B, 225.

A tile grave and a jar containing the remains of a child were found in the Scholia region (G. Liaskou plot). They are dated to the 1st century BC.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B, 337-338; *ead.*, Ph. Dakoronia, in *Ελληνική Ζ*, 2011, 261-262, pl. 105b.

A Late Roman tile grave and two pits were found at Agios Vasileios (S. Karagiorgou's field), beside the road leading from Atalanti to Kyparissi. It is not clear if they belong to the cemeteries of the city or to a farmstead.

S. Dimaki, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B, 446; D. Mulliez, *ARepLond* 56, 2010, 93, fig. 98.

A Late Hellenistic built grave was excavated in Ag. Anargyron Street.

S. Dimaki, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 377.

Part of a possible Roman pottery workshop was found in Vasilikon Street.

S. Dimaki, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 378.

An inscribed burial relief depicting a young man standing with a *pais* beside his right leg also came from Atalanti. It is dated to the (1st century BC?) - 1st century AD. *JG IX* 1² 5, 1970; A. Ioannidou-Karetsou, *ADelt* 1972, B, 325; *SEG* 3, 424; *LGNP* IIIB, s.v. Lykos (14).

Lolling, *Reisenotizen*, 801-803; C. Blegen, *AJA* 30, 1926, 401-404; *RE* XVIII1 (1939) 812-818 s.v. Opus (2) (Oldfather); *Kl. Pauly* 4 (1972) 322 s.v. Opus 1 (Meyer); Fossey, *Opuntian Lokris*, 68-74; Ph. Dakoronia, *Hesperia*, 62, 1993, 115-127; Th. Nielsen, in *Inventory*, 670-671, no. 386; Zachos, in *What's New in Roman Greece* (in press); *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, E3.

Palianifitsa – Παλιανιφ(ι)τσα 4:2C

Molos - Ag. Konstantinos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Roman sherds have been noted on the hill where the chapel of Agios Ioannis is located in the area of Palianifitsa or Kalyvia, 6 km east of Rengini. Ashlar blocks have been incorporated into the chapel and are scattered around it. Three grave stones were found there (*JG IX* 1² 5, 2022, 2034, 2035).

It has been identified as a kome of Naryx or Thronion. J. Pascual, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 157-161.

Paliomagazia – Παλιομαγαζιά 4:4C/D

Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Part of a Late Roman - Early Christian bath was found.

A mosaic pavement with geometric motifs came to light at Paliomagazia, Skala Atalantis.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 40, 1985, B, 167, pl. 56β.

Skala has been proposed as the site for Kalliaros, an identification that is far from certain.

Fossey, *Opuntian Lokris*, 75.

Rachi→ Agios Konstantinos-Rachi Vathyrematos / Dichalorematos

Rema Sykias →Agios Konstantinos

SKARPHEIA (Molos-Trochala) – ΣΚΑΡΦΕΙΑ

(Μώλος–Τροχάλα)

4:1A/B

Molos - Ag. Konstantinos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Lyc. *Alex.* 1147; Str. 1.3.20 (Demetrius of Callatis *FGrH* 85 F6), 9.4.4; Liv. 33.3.6; 36.19.5; Mela 2.3.45; Plin. *Nat.* 4.27; App. *Syr.* 19; Plu. *Mor.* 334F; *Alex.* 29.6; Paus. 2.29.3; 7.15.3-4; 10.1.2; Ath. 12.539a; Ptol. 3.15.11; Procop. *Goth.* 8.25; St. Byz. s.v. Σκάρφεια; Hsch. e 7145; Not. Episc. 737; Hierocl. 643.7; *AP* 7.639.4; Geogr. Rav. 375.6; Const. Porphy. *De Them.* 2.5; Eust. 2.532.

Inscriptions: *IG IX* 1², 5, 2038-2041.

Coins: E. Georgiou, in *Κεράτεια Φιλίας* (2009) 81-95; *BCD* 2010, 160.

The name of the city is attested as Skarphē, Skarpheia, Skarphia and the ethnicon as Skarpheus, Skarphieus, Skarphaieus, Skarphaios, Skarphios, Skarphis (*IG IX* 1², 5, p. 112).

Skarpheia was under Aitolian control until the battle at Thermopylae in 191 BC. After the battle, the Romans pursued Antiochus III and the remnants of his army as far as Skarpheia and then returned to Thermopylae and pillaged his camp. The king fled from Skarpheia to Elateia, and from there to Chalcis (Liv. 36.19.6-9; App. *Syr.* 19-20; cf. *CIL* 1² 2926).

The archons of Skarpheia are mentioned in a manumission in Delphi dated between 154 and 144 BC (*FD III* 2, 228; *IG IX* 1², 5, fast. 228). Also, a Skarpheian is mentioned in another Delphic manumission around 125 BC (*FD III* 2, 213; *IG IX* 1², 5, fast. 242). Skarpheia granted the privilege of proxenos to a citizen of Phthiotic Thebes in the 2nd century BC (*IG IX* 1², 5, 2038).

Skarpheia was on the anti-Roman side during the Achaean War. Achaean troops used it as their camp and the Roman army defeated the Achaean Confederacy near Skarpheia (Paus 7.15.3-4; 10.1.2).

Skarpheia and Thronion vied for representation on the Amphictyony about 160 BC, slightly after the end of

Aitolian domination. The dispute continued until the end of the 2nd century BC (ca. 110 BC) (*CID IV*, 123-126; Ager, *Interstate*, 482-490, no. 167; *IG IX* 1², 5, fast. 248-249).

At the same period there was also a boundary dispute between the two cities concerning an area of land called *Chonneia*, and for this reason they appealed to the Roman Senate (*FD III* 4, 42; *IG IX* 1², 5, fast. 250). It has been suggested that it was land formed by recent alluviation, and it was intended for sacred purposes. This area of land is virtually impossible to identify in the modern landscape since the points of reference used for its demarcation are now beyond recognition. Besides, the main landmark for its delimitation was the River Aphemios which has been identified as the modern Andera (Liapatorrema) stream near the 186th km of the National Road Athens-Lamia between Voagrius and Molos village. The Aphemios seems to have been the main boundary between the territories of the two cities. Another dispute is recorded between the *engaioi* and the Thronions of the Gates, dependencies of Skarpheia and Thronion respectively, in the first half of the 1st century BC. (*FD III* 4, 159; *IG IX* 1², 5, fast. 253).

A Skarpheian was granted citizenship of Delphi at the end of the 2nd century BC (G. Daux, *BCH* 63, 1939, 162-163; *IG IX* 1², 5, fast. 251) and another one was made proxenos in the 2nd or 1st century BC (*CIG* 2, 1936; *GIBM IV*, 1154a; *IG IX* 1², 5, fast. 252). A musician from Skarpheia was victorious in the Amphiaraia and Romaia Festival at Oropos between 80 and 48 BC (*IG VII* 416; *I.Oropos* 418, 421-426, no. 523.col. I.18-19). A Macedonian physician, Menophantos from Hyrkania, offered his services in Skarpheia and Opous in the late 2nd or early 1st century BC (*IG IX*, 1², 750; for the date see D. Rousset, *BCH* 126, 2002, 93-94).

The Skarpheians possibly offered in the second half of 2nd century AD citizenship to M. Ulpius Domitius Leuros, a member of the famous Hypatian family of Kyloi and Eubiotoi. Leuros married Flavia Habroia, a protagonist in Lucian's work, *Lucius or the Ass*. Flavia was the granddaughter of Titus Flavius Kyllus, *archon* of the *Panbellenes* in AD 157 and *agonothetes* at the Great Panhellenic Games.

N. Giannopoulos, *AEphem* 1927/8, 218-220; N. V Sekunda, *ZPE* 118, 1997, 207-226, esp. 224 (16b).

The base of an honorific statue of the Skarpheians dating to the 2nd century AD was found in the theatre of Larisa (*IG IX* 1², 5, fast. 297).

Skarpheia became a major city centre for the region in

the early 5th century AD as indicated by an inscription found in Megara. More specifically, a meeting of Hellenic cities held by the governor Cl. Varius at Corinth in 401/402 (during the joint reign of Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius II) determined the grain levies (*annona*) to be paid by the cities of Boeotia, Euboea and Aitolia, calculated according to the *Epinemisis* (Indiction), and deposited in Skarpheia's *horrea*. Thus, Skarpheia in Late Antiquity is one of the two 'granaries' of Greece, along with Corinth, and presumably a major port in Central Greece. Furthermore, holding the office of *praepositus horreorum* is an indication that it was a significant administration centre for the area (*Syll.*³ 908; *IG VII*, 24).

F. Trombley, in H. Beister - J. Buchler (eds), *BOIOTIKA* (1989) 217-219; A. Robertson, *The city of Corinth and Urbanism in Late Antique Greece* (1999) 97; E. Sironen, *Hesperia* 61, 1992, 225-226.

Skarpheia is situated on the section of the Roman road depicted on the Tabula Peutingeriana leading from the pass at Thermopylae to the Kephissos basin and then on to Southern Greece (Miller, *Itineraria romana*, 578, part VIII1, route VI 81, maps 148, 183, 185).

It was also an Episcopal centre from the middle of the 4th to the early 6th century (*TIB I*, 257), but the assumption that Skarpheia was the capital of the Greek Pentapolis (Δ. Syntakaki, in *Λοκρίδα*, 117) results from a misreading of the literature.

Zachos, in *Epicnemidian Lokris*, passim.

Skarpheia suffered as a result of the earthquake and the tsunami in AD 551, followed by the Slavic invasions. The city is last mentioned by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (*De Them.* 2.5) in the first half of the 10th century.

The asty

The asty was located in Trochala, a hill with a double summit, 1 km south-southeast of modern Molos. The settlement covers an area of 35 ha. Hellenistic, Roman and Late Roman sherds are reported. The stones of the fortification walls must have been removed and reused in Molos and neighbouring areas. The necropoleis of the city were situated at the northern edge and to the west of the hill, as well as on the bank of the river Potamia / Apalasurema in the place-name Tragano.

A magnificent relief frieze possibly from a burial monument came from Molos village. A group of dancers move on the waves. Nereids ride sea-horses and cupids ride fish-deer (ἰχθυέλαιφο) and sea-lions. It is dated to the second quarter of the 1st century BC or to the Augustan period.

S. Karouzou, *AEphem* 1974, 26-44.

A looted cist grave of Roman date was found in the field belonging to Ch. Pantopoulos west of the modern cemetery. A bronze coin was found.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 33, 1978, B, 137.

Unfluted monolithic columns and Late Roman-Early Christian sherds were found in the area of the modern cemetery.

G. Pallis, *ADelt* 61, 2006, B, 566-567.

A relief sarcophagus dating to the 2nd-3rd century AD was found near the modern cemetery of Molos village, east of ancient Skarpheia.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 51, 1996, B, 324-325; 52, 1997, B, 444-445.

An arched tomb of Late Roman date was found near the 1st km of the road Molos-Agios Charalampos. Pottery dating from the Late Hellenistic to the Late Roman-Early Byzantine periods was found.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B, 395-396.

A looted arched tomb of Late Roman period was excavated in Tragano.

M-Ph. Papakonstantinou – E. Karantzali, in *Epicnemidian Lokris*, 247, 249, 257.

The port

The port of Skarpheia mentioned by Strabo is located near the church of Agios Konstantinos and Eleni, about 1.5 km beyond the Earth Satellite Station. Architectural remains, possibly of a Late Christian Church and comb-decorated sherds dating from the 3rd to 6th century AD are reported.

Bibliography

Stählin, *Thessalien*, 218; *RE XIII1* (1926) 1139, s.v. Lokris (Oldfather); *RE IIIA1* (1927) 460-4565, s.v. Skarpheia (Oldfather); Philippson – Kirsten, *Landschaften*, I, 344, 696, 703, 728; Kahrstedt, *Villa*, 32; Papanagioutou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 307-308; Pritchett, *Studies*, IV, 166-167, V, 176-177; VIII, 145-148; Th. Nielsen, in *Inventory*, 387, 671-672, no. 387; J. Pascual, in *Epicnemidian Lokris*, 108ff; Zachos, in *Epicnemidian Lokris*; *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, D3.

Spartia – Σπαρτιά

4:2C

Molos - Ag. Konstantinos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A fortified peak on Mt. Blessia, south of Agios Konstantinos. It has been interpreted as a *fyctoria* (signal station).

Papanagioutou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 288.

Hellenistic-Roman pottery has been reported.

Archive of the 14th EPCA.

Tachtali / Ities – Ταχταλί / Ιτιές 4:3C

Molos - Ag. Konstantinos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

It is situated on a low hill, called Kambos, 3 km southwest of Agnanti village. Hellenistic and large quantities of Late Roman pottery are reported. A few ashlar blocks of isodomic appearance possibly belonged to walls of the settlement. It was possibly a kome of Thronion, located in the eastern border lands of Epiknemidian Locris. It controlled the route from Naryca to Hyampolis / Abai through this area and possibly defended the whole of southeast Epiknemidian Locris against a Phokian invasion.

Pritchett, *Studies*, III, 222-232, IV, 124; J. Pascual, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 154-156.

THRIONION (Palaikastro sta marmara / Pikraki / Bzika) – ΘΡΟΝΙΟΝ (Παλαίκαστρο στα μάρμαρα / Πικράκι / Μπζίκα) 4:2B

Molos - Ag. Konstantinos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Th. 2.26; Plb. 9.41.11; 18.9.3; D.S. 12.44.1; 16.33.3; Str. 1.3.20; 9.4.4; Liv. 28.7.11-13; 32.36.1-2; 33.3.6; 35.37.6; 35.38.14; 36.20.5; Plin. *Nat.* 4.27; Paus. 5.22.3; Ptol. 3.47; St.Byz. s.v. Θρόνιον; Hsch. s.v. Θρονεῖον; EM s.v. Θρόνιον. Inscriptions: *IG IX* 1², 5, 2032-2037.

The name of the city is mentioned as Thronion and in poetic texts as Thronias. The ethnonym is attested as Thronieus, Thronias, Thronios and by Stephanus as Thronitēs (*IG IX* 1², 5, p. 110)

It was destroyed by Philip V in 218 BC and repopulated by the Aitolians in 217 BC with the inhabitants of Thebes who had been expelled by the Macedonians. Philip recaptured the city and marched against Teithronion and Drymaia in 208 BC. Flamininus and Philip V met at Thronion's harbour in 198 BC.

Thronion and Skarpheia had long term disputes during the course of the 2nd and the first half of 1st century BC regarding representation on the Amphictyony, for the boundaries of an area of land called *Chonneia*, and for the land rights of two dependent communities, the *Engaioi* and the *Thronians of the Gates* (cf. *Skarpheia*). Thronion, as we can assume from the texts of these inscriptions, belonged to the Locrian League during the last part of the 2nd century BC and was possibly the most important city of Epiknemidian Locris in that period.

A slave (*τεχνίτης, ραφίδην*) from Thronion was manumitted in Delphi around the middle of the 2nd century BC (*FD III*3, 26). Delphi granted the privileges of proxenoi to two citizens of Thronion in 139-122 BC (*FD III*6,

111; *IG IX* 1², 5, fast. 241) and in 87 BC (*FD III*3, 350; *IG IX* 1², 5, fast. 255).

It is located in Palaikastro *sta marmara*, also called Pikraki or Bzika, a hill to the west of the ancient Voagrius River (modern Xerias or Platanias), 2 km southwest of modern Kainourgio. The acropolis is situated on the southeast part of the hill, named Pikraki and the lower town in Profitis Ilias iconostasis. Palaikastro occupies more than 100 hectares and is the largest known site in Epiknemidian Locris. Classical, Hellenistic and Roman sherds are reported.

A late Hellenistic building was excavated at Kastri 150 m north of the Profitis Ilias summit (G. Dimitriou's field).

E. Karantzali, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 359-360.

Thronion was located at the eastern end of the pass at Thermopylae and together with Alpenos and Nikaia guarded the road leading to Southern Greece. It was also on the route of the Tabula Peutingeriana leading from Thermopylae and Skarpheia to Elateia. A further road went from the city to the Phokian cities Teithronion and Drymaia.

It has also been suggested that the port of Thronion, mentioned by Strabo, ought to be located at Kammena Vourla. Flamininus met Philip V on the beach near Thronion (Plb.18.9.3; Liv. 32.36.1) in 198 BC, and both authors are probably referring to the harbour of the city. Also, at least ten ships of Antiochus III's fleet were at anchor close to Thronion at the time of the battle of Thermopylae (191 BC), according to Livy (36.20.5) and after the battle, this squadron sailed to Euboea and from there to Demetrias. However, no Hellenistic or Roman finds are reported.

J. Pascual, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 135ff.

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*RE XIII*1 (1926) 1140 s.v. Lokris (Oldfather); *RE VIA*1 (1936) 609, s.v. Thronio (Oldfather); Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 302-304, pl. 184-185; Pritchett, *Studies*, IV, 151-155; Adam, *Λοκρινιά*, 32-36; Th. Nielsen, in *Inventory*, 672, no. 388; J. Moreno Hernández – J. Pascual, Valderrama, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 532-535; G. Zachos, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 537-539.

Trikorfo/Trilofa – Τρίκορφο/Τρίλοφο 4:2B

Molos - Ag. Konstantinos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A settlement on the borders of Thronion-Skarpheia. It is located on a low hill 2 km southwest of modern Agios Serapheim and covers an area of 10 ha. It was probably a *kome* of Thronion. It has also been suggested that it could have been a *polis* at some point in its history and

it is identified as ancient Tarphe. Hellenistic and Roman sherds are reported amongst the surface finds.

J. Pascual, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 144ff.

In a nearby area, the remains of a Roman-Late Roman villa were excavated over a fill of Early Neolithic date. Only the foundation of the rubble wall survived and therefore it has been suggested that they used mud-brick to build the walls. Domestic pottery, a storage jar, metal tools, millstones, and Laconian roof tiles were found. It is dated from the late 2nd to the mid 3rd century AD.

S. Dimaki, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 374; A. Papatathopoulou, in *ΣΦΙ* 3, 2007, 143-153; *ead.*, in *Villae Rusticae*, 572-581.

Tselepak / Pazaraki – Τσελεπάκι / Παζαράκι 4:4C
Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A Late Roman store-house was excavated at Tselepak at Paralia of Livanates. Two wells and six pithoi were found. Within the well and inside a pithos were two hoards of 1083 and 1089 bronze coins respectively, dating to the 4th century AD and from AD 337 to the second half of the 6th century AD. The building is probably related to the production of and trade in olive oil.

Th. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 25, 1970, 240-241; Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 255-256; L. Lambropoulou, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B, 220-221; M. Vlachaki, in *ΣΦΙ* 3, 2007, 130-142.

Velona – Βελόνα

4:2C

Molos - Ag. Konstantinos Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A kome of Thronion was possibly located on a small hill in Velona, 5.5 km to the south of Karya. The distribution of Hellenistic, Roman and Classical pottery covers an area between 1 and 2 ha. It was situated on the route from Naryx to Tachtali and Agnanti.

J. Pascual, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 161.

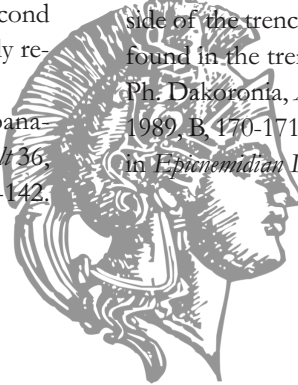
Zeli-Agios Georgios – Ζέλι-Άγιος Γεώργιος 4:3D

Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A settlement, possibly a *kome* of Daphnous.

Late Hellenistic / Early Roman sherds were found in the dromoi and tomb-chambers of the Mycenaean cemetery, on a low hill, known as Agios Georgios, 1.5 km from the village. Also, four skeletons and human remains belonging to at least nine individuals were found in a rectangular trench 70m away from the chamber tombs. Animal bones (mainly of goats) and Byzantine sherds were found in four small holes along the north side of the trench. Intact Late Hellenistic vases were also found in the trench.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B, 242-243, pl. 103γ; 44, 1989, B, 170-171; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou – G. Zachos, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 223-224.



ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ

ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

PHOKIS – ΦΩΚΙΣ

Phthiotis / Boeotia / Phokis R. Un.

Plb. 4.9.4; 4.15.1; 4.25.2; 4.55.2; 5.24.12; 5.26.1-2; 5.26.16-27.3; 5.28.4; 5.96.4-8; 10.42.2-7; 11.5.4-6; 16.32.1-3; 18.10.4-5; 18.43-47; 38.3.7-8; 38.16.4-5; 39.1.11-12; Cic. *Fam.* 5.12.2; *Pis.* 96.14; D.S. 11.4.7; 11.14.1; 11.31; 11.83.3; 12.80.4; 14.81.1-2; 14.82.7-8; 15.31.2; 15.57.1; 15.62.4; 16.23-16.31.6; 16.39.8; 16.56-16.64; 17.57.3; 18.9.5; 18.11.1; 19.78.5; Trog. *Hist. Phil.* 8.3; Str. 9.2.19; 9.2.42-9.3; Hyg. *Fab.* 117.2; Liv. 28.5.16; 28.7.3; 32.18.4-9; 32.21.7-14; 32.24.1; 32.32.1; 32.36.9-10; 33.1.1; 33.32.5; 33.34.6-9; 34.32.7-8; 35.46.3; 36.11.5; 36.12.11; 36.15.7-8; 36.20.1; 36.35.6; 36.43.9-12; Ov. *Met.* 1.313; Mela 2.39-40; Sen. *Ag.* 918; *Her. F.* 3.34; *Oed.* 279; Luc. 3.172; 5.53; Plin. *Nat.* 4.1; 4.7-8; 4.27; 18.215; Stat. *Theb.* 1.64; 2.64; 6.9; 7.235; 7.344; 11.281; *Arb.* 1.421; Amp. 6.71; Polyaen. 2.38; Plu. *Ages.* 28.3; *Alex.* 11.5; *Ann.* 50.5; *Cim.* 17.3; *Dem.* 17.5-18.2; *Flam.* 10.4; *Lys.* 15.3; 29.3; *Per.* 21.2; *Pyrrh.* 29.11; *Sm.* 15-16; *Them.* 9.3; *Tim.* 30.4-5; *Mor.* 244A-E; 249E-F; 274B-C; 397F; 401D; 401F; 553C; 558A; 761D; 840B-C; 859D; 864B; 868B-D; 868F; 1099E-F; Paus. 1.4.4; 1.25.4; 3.5.3; 3.9.9-10; 3.10.3; 7.2.4; 7.16.9; 9.13.3; 9.40.12; 10.1-10.37; Serv. *A.* 10.179.15; Hierocl. 643.6-644.8; Not. Episc. 737-762. The name of the region is Phokis and the ethnicon Phokeus.

J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 399.

Ancient Phokis covered an area of about 1600 sq.km in the middle of mainland Greece, wedged between other ethnic groups of the region (Boeotia, Doris, West and East Locris). The mountains of Hadylion or Hedylion (Vetriza), Helicon, Knemis-Kallidromon, and Oita form its natural boundaries with Boeotia, West Locris and the Oitaia region. Mt. Parnassos acts as a natural barrier between East Phokis (presumably the middle Kephissos basin) and West Phokis (the coastal zone, the Krisaion plain and Delphi) and at the same time is the mountain where four nations meet (Ozolians, Dorians, Aitolians and Phokians), since modern Mt. Ghiona was considered part of Parnassos (E. Kase, in *Great Isthmus*, 95). The rivers of the region are the Kephissos and the Pleis-

tos. The Assos, a tributary of the Kephissos which flows through the Parapotamioi Gorge (Pl. *Sul.* 16.7 and 17.3), the Kachalis in Tithorea, the Charadros in Charadra, and the Herakleion in Boulis are referred to in ancient literature as torrents. The Gulf of Krissa [D.S. 12.47; Str. 9.1.1; 9.2.2; 9.2.14; 9.3.1; 9.3.3; Arist. 13.271; Helioid. 2.26.5; *RE* Suppl. 4 (1924) 1112 s.v. Κρισσαίος κόλπος 2 (Bürchner); *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, C4, Crisaeus sinus], Mychos harbour (Zaltsa bay), the port of Boulis on the Boeotian borders, the cape of Pharygion and Megali Pounta, an anchorage between the *polichne* of Opisthomarathos and Boulis, 3km south of Medeon are also mentioned (McInerney, *Parnassos*, 73-74, 326-327). In a problematic passage of Pliny (*Nat.* 4.7) the port of Chaleon has possibly been confused with the port of Kirrha (L. Lerat, *REG* 56, 1943, 12-15; *id.*, *Εσπέριος*, I, 297-298). The plain of Kirrha is an area disputed over by the Phokians and the Ozolians. J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 399.

Pausanias mentions Panopeus, Daulis, Delphi, Tithorea, Lilaia, Charadra, Amphikleia, Tithronion, Drymaia, Elatea, Abai, Hyampolis, Stiris, Ambrosos, Antikyra, Boulis and Kirrha.

Strabo mentions Krissa, Kirrha, Antikyra, Delphi, Elatea, Panopeus, Opisthomarathos, Ambryssos, Medeon, Daulis, Trachis, Anemoreaia, Hyampolis, Parapotamioi and Lilaia. The Homeric Anemoreaia (Il. 2.521) is mentioned by Strabo (9.3.15) as Anemoleia, and also by the lexicographers but its existence in historical times, as well as its location, is disputed. Arachova has been proposed as a possible location. Various antiquities are reported from the region but no Roman finds have been identified so far (Ph. Dasios, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B, 213).

RE I (1894) 2181, s.v. Anemoreaia (Hirschfeld); Schober, *Phokis*, 25-26; Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 68-69; McInerney, *Parnassos*, 307-308; J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 404. Pliny lists Elatea, Hyampolis, Kirrha and Kirrhaei campi, portus Chaleon, Delphi, Lilaia, Crisa, Boulis, Antikyra, Naulochum, Pyrrha, Tithrone, Tithorea, Ambryssos, Mirana (Drymaea) and Daulis (*Nat.* 4.7-8; 4.27).

Pyrrha, in addition to Pliny's quotation, is attested in a

list of Aitolian *hieromnemes* of the 3rd century BC (*CID* IV, 81) but there is no other evidence for its existence in the Roman period. Larisa mentioned by Dion. Caliphon (81) appears to be a result of Pliny's confusion between Phokian and Thessalian Elateia. Mirana is corrected in other manuscripts to Drymea. Naulochum is probably the toponym Nolo[chum] mentioned in an arbitration by C. Avidius Nigrinus in the early 2nd century AD between Kirrha and Antikyra (*FD* III4, 294).

A number of 'cities' are attested to only by lexicographers. Stephane (*Hdn. Gr.* III.1. 328; 370.18; *St. Byz.* s.v.) has been associated with the ethnicon 'Stephanitai' mentioned in a proxeny list of the 1st century BC from Boeotia. Aigostheneia (*St. Byz.* s.v.; *Ptol.* 3.14.17) probably mistaken for Megarian Aigosthena, though Phokian toponyms such as Aigōneia (*FD* III2, 136) and Aigai (*Schol. Apollod.* 1.1165c) are also attested. Groneia is probably another misreading of Stephanus. He also mentions Apollonia but it is probably a 'ghost-toponym' derived from Apollo's territory, though Hya(m)peia is a misunderstanding by Stephanus of Strabo's distinction between Hyampolis and the cliff named Hyampeia above the sanctuary of Apollo (*Str.* 9.3.15; *Plu. Mor.* 557A). Onchoe (*St. Byz.* s.v.; *Hdn. Gr.* III.1.306.20) could have been the toponym Anchoai where the Kephissos river resurfaced according to Strabo (*Str.* 9.2.18). However, the toponym is located in East Locris, a region quite unconnected with Kephissos. Skirphai (*St. Byz.* s.v.) is not a city but probably Mt. Kirphis to the south of Delphi (*Str.* 9.3.3.). Melainai district of the Krissaian plain, is referred to as a polis by Dioscorides as a result of a misinterpretation of a passage by Galen.

J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 403-406.

Phokis was under Macedonian or Aitolian control for most of the 3rd century BC. When the Second Macedonian War came to an end, T.Q. Flamininus declared the liberty, immunity and autonomy of the Phokians but he awarded the Aitolians control of the region at the Isthmian Games of 196 BC. Titus had his headquarters in Elateia from 198 to 194 BC, and during these four years Phokis was in fact under Roman control. The withdrawal of the Roman troops from Greece in 194 BC offered the Aitolians the opportunity to settle their differences with the Elateians (they expelled them to Stymphalos) in order to make their domination of East Phokis more secure.

Grainger, *League*, 384-387, 421-425; G. Lehmann, *ZPE* 127, 1999, 69-83.

Phokis effectively regained its independence in 189 BC

when M. Acilius Glabrio put an end to Aitolian control. He also returned to Delphi the land which had been removed illegally by the Aitolians or Amphissans in 191/190 BC and restored the boundaries, both of the city and of the sacred land of Apollo (cf. **Delphi** and **Amphissa**). The Phokian League was re-established during the same period.

Grainger, *League*, 474-477, 495-500.

King Perseus and the Aitolians controlled the sanctuary of Delphi from 178 BC onwards, and the Phokian League lost its two votes which subsequently passed into Macedonian hands [*Syll.*³ 613, introduction, 636 note 4; Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens*, 361; N. Hammond, F. Walbank, *A History of Macedonia III, 336-167 B.C.* (1988) 493-494; cf. also, Fr. Lefèvre *et al.*, *BCH* 119, 1995, 125-136; *contra* Grainger, *League*, 508-509]. The king attempted to incite rebellion in the nations of central Greece, an initiative that resulted in the hostile reaction of Eumenes and Rome in 171 BC [*Liv.* 41.22.4-8; 42.41.13-42.42.3; *Syll.*³ 643=SEG 2, 646=RDGE no 19; *CAH* VIII, 304, 307; P. Green, *Alexander to Actium* (1990) 426; Jacquemin-Mulliez-Rougemont, *Choix*, 158]. Phokis showed a pro-Roman attitude after the break in the war, since Attalus II and Eumenes wintered in Elateia in 170/69 BC and crossed the Kephissos basin with their army unopposed [*Plb.* 27.18.1; E.V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* (1971) 114].

Although Polybius includes Phokians among the Greeks who fought against the Romans in the Achaean War (*Plb.* 38.5.8; S. Accame, *Il dominio*, 8, 201; Bernhard, *Imperium und Eleutheria*, 91), the fact is disputed by some modern scholars (E. S. Gruen, *JHS* 96, 1976, 68; H. Hill, *CIPhil.* 41, 1946, 36; McInerney, *Parnassos*, 255). It seems that the Phokian cities did not have a common attitude. The Elateians for example asked the Arcadian troop to leave the city after the defeat of the Achaean army and the death of Kritolaos in Skarpheia (*Paus.* 7.15.5) and Hyampolis or Abai honoured Metellus for his goodwill towards their city.

The Phokian League was probably dissolved or disintegrated after the battle of Corinth but was reconstituted not many years later (*Paus.* 7.16.9-10) since it is mentioned in two decrees from Delphi dating after 140 BC. It has been suggested that Roman patrons who had been honoured by the Phokians helped to re-establish the League by interceding in the Senate on their behalf but there is no evidence to confirm this [*H. Pomtow, Klio* 17, 1921; 159-160, nos. 145-146; *SEG* 1, 149-150; Martin, *Leagues*, 154-158; Cl. Eilers, *Roman patrons of*

Greek cities (2002) 203, C20, C21; *RE* XX1 (1941), 496, s.v. Phokis (F. Schober); Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire*, 76-82, esp. 81, note 97].

The loan inscriptions of Drymaia shows that some Phokian cities faced financial problems during the 2nd century BC. However, the synoecism of Medeon and Stiris could be used as evidence to suggest that the problem was more widespread. Phokis became a battle-field during the 3rd and 2nd century BC, and the destruction of its economy cannot be excluded (Alcock, *Graecia Capta*, 153-154).

The Kephissos basin became the battle-field of the First Mithridatic War, where the Phokian demonstrated their pro-Roman affiliation. Elateia's resistance to the Mithridatic troops played an important role in the final outcome of the battle of Chaeronea, and for this reason it was rewarded by Sulla the privileges of *libertas et immunitas*. On the other hand, Sulla confiscated the Delphic treasures to finance his campaign, and it seems rather unlikely that other temples of Phokis would have avoided the same plundering [Paus. 9.7.5-6; App. *Mithr.* 54; Pl. *Sul.* 12; A. Keaveney, *Sulla: The Last Republican* (1982) 85].

Phokis suffered considerable damage in 57-56 BC under the consulship of L. Calpurnius Piso (Cic. *Pis.* 96).

Central Greece became a source of supplies for Pompey during the First Civil War; an honorific decree in Elateia for the pro quaestor Faustus C. Sulla, son of the dictator and son-in-law of Pompey, could possibly be related to this.

A few months later, Delphi and probably the other Phokian cities were enticed or forced to come over to Caesar's side after the mission by Quintus Fufius Calenus [Caes. *Civ.* 3, 55-56; S.J. Van Ooteghem, *Pompée le grand, Bâtitseur d' empire* (1954) 609; M. Grant, *Julius Caesar* (1969) 180-181].

In the Second Civil War Mark Antony's men collected supplies from Boeotia and Phokis and used the port of Antikyra in order to transport them to his troops in Akarnania [Pl. *Ant.* 68; F. Millar, in R. Osborne, *Studies in Ancient Greek and Roman Society* (2004) 134-135].

The League of Boeotians, Euboeans, Locrians, Phokians and Dorians bestowed honours on M. Junius Silanus, Mark Antony's proquaestor, just before the naval battle of Actium (*Syll.*³ 767; *IG* II² 4114).

The Phokians were included along with the Achaeans, the Boeotians, the Euboeans, the Lokrians and the Dorians in the Panachaian League and in the Panhellenes in the first part of the 1st c. A.D. (cf. **Doris** and **Locris**).

The members of the League met in Phokikon, near Daulis, in the 2nd century AD (Paus. 10.5.1-2), and in the course of the 3rd century AD citizens of Phokian cities held the offices of both Phokarchs and Boiotarchs (*IG* IX1, 218). Also, a female member of a wealthy family of Chaeronea held along with others the office of the priesthood in the Boeotian and the Phokian Leagues (*IG* VII, 3426; *SEG* 36, 671; 46, 2292)

J. Fossey, *Epigraphica Boeotica I: Studies in Boiotian Inscriptions* (1991) 108-109.

Delphi, Elateia, and Abai were granted the privileges of *civitas liberae et immunitas* in the Roman period or at certain points in time during this period.

Bernhard, *Imperium und Eleutheria*, 118-119, 159, 183-185 notes 454 and 460, 228.

Territorial disputes between the Sanctuary of Delphi and the nearby cities (Amphissa, Myaneis, Ambrosos, Antikyra) that had resulted in war in the past were settled by the intervention of Rome during this period.

*Syll.*³ 609-610; *RDGE* no 37; *CIL* IIIi 567; *Syll.*³ 826, 827; *FD* III4, 291-296; Lerat, *Εσπέριος*, II, 104-105; 136-138, 146-147; D. Rousset, in *L'espace grec. 150 ans de fouilles de l'École française d'Athènes* (1996) 45-49.

Also a dispute between the city of Daulis and the wealthy Memmius Antiochus was arbitrated by the proconsul Cassius Maximus who communicated the results to the Emperor Hadrian (*IG* IXi, 61; G. I. Luzzatto, *JurP* 15, 1965, 49-64).

Augustus reorganised the Delphic Amphictyony (Paus. 10.8.3-5) but the dominant role of Thessaly and Nicopolis weakened the minor nations of central Greece. There is, moreover, no evidence for him favouring Phokis. Claudius and Domitian favoured Delphi, and the sanctuary flourished again during Plutarch's priesthood, in the Hadrianic and Antonine eras.

The interest of the Emperors were not restricted to Delphi, but also extended to other Phokian cities, as is demonstrated by the Imperial statues erected in Amphikleia, Tithronion, Elateia and Antikyra. Moreover, Hadrian visited the cities of eastern Phokis (Elateia) and built a stoa in the city of Hyampolis and a temple at the oracle of Abai.

The Imperial cult is attested in Delphi (priest P. Memmius Kleandros, J. Jannoray, *BCH* 60, 1936, 374-381 = *CID* 4, 138 = *FD* III4, 258 = *Syll.*³ 808, and priest Tiberius Cl. Kleomachos, *CID* 4, 139, 140 = *FD* III3, 181 = *Syll.*³ 813A, B, Nero's reign) (T. F. Megaleinos, *CID* 4, 141 = *Syll.*³ 813C, Domitian's reign) in Hyampolis and Steiris. The existence of large estates is well demonstrated by

the remains of *villae rusticae* in the Kephissos basin (Amphikleia-Kalogeroporos, Agia Paraskevi, Lefkochori, Modi, Agios Athanasios) in the Pleistos valley (Agia Varvara) and in the coastal zone (Steiri-Pesine, Aspra Spitia) but the most impressive is the possibility that the whole area of the city of Medeon was transformed in the Late Roman period into a single villa owned by a wealthy landowner.

The existence of an elite is apparent not only in Delphi but also in other Phokian cities, such as T.F. Soclaros and his family in Tithora and T.F. Aristotimos in Elateia. They gained Roman citizenship and along with their families held important offices not only in their own cities (such as *archon*, *curator* or *questor kalendarii*) but also in Delphi (Sánchez, *L'Amphictionie*, 530-531 nos 11-12; *FD III4*, 304). They were related to the Emperors [Aristotimos to Hadrian, F. Martin, *La documentación griega de la concilleria del emperador Adriano* (1982) 120 no 19] and other nobles of the region (Soclaros to Plutarch) (Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 57).

East Phokis suffered from a raid by the Costoboci around AD 170 (Elateia, Paus. 10.34.5; I. Russu, *Dacia* n.s. 3, 1959, 341-353; W. Scheidel, *Historia* 39, 1990, 493-498). There is no certain information relating to the Gothic invasions of the late 3rd century AD. However, since East Phokis was on the route Alaric took from Thermopylae to the south it is rather difficult to suggest that it avoided his destructive passage.

The ports of Kirrha, Antikyra and Boulis, as well as Elateia are shown on the sea and land routes of the Tabula Peutinger and Itinerarium Antonini.

Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, 578, VIII1, route VI 81, maps 148, 183, 185; K. Axioti, *ADelt* 35, 1980, A, 204-205, fig. 2.

The references to bishops from Phokis (Elateia, Abai, Drymaia, Daulis, Ambryssos and Stiris) in the Councils of the 4th and 5th centuries AD, and the Early Christian churches in the cities of Phokis (Erochos, Elateia, Tithorea, Antikyra and Delphi) indicate how widespread the new religion had become as early as the 4th and 5th century AD (*Not. Episc.* 737-762; *TIB I* s.v).

Elateia, Drymaia, Daulis, Delphi, Tithorea, Ambryssos, Antikyra and Stiris are listed by Hierocles among the cities of Achaia in the 6th century AD (Synekd. 643, 6-644, 8).

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RE XX1 (1941) 474-496 s.v. Phokis (F. Schober).
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 Fossey, *Phokis*.

Müller, *Bildkommentar*, 446-448, 452, 460-463, 486-487, 489-490, 495-497, 527-528, 530-536, 543, 583.

Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 18-97.

McInerney, *Parnassos*.

Freitag, *Golf*, 114-149.

J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 399-430.

Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*.

INDEX

ABAI (Exarchos-Kastro) – ABAI

(Εξάρχος-Κάστρο)

5:4B

Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Hdt. 1.46; 8.27; 8.33; Lyc. 1074; Str. 9.3.13; 10.1.3; Paus. 4.32.5; 10.3.2; 10.35.1-4; Plu. *Mor.* 868B-D; Hdn. Gr III.1.308.24-26; Philostr. *VA* 4.24; Hsch. s.v. Ἀβαί; St.Byz. s.v. Ἀβαί.

Inscriptions: *IG IXi*, 78-85; V. Yorke, *JHS* 16, 1896, 311; S. Prignitz, *ZPE* 189, 2014, 141-145.

The toponym is Abai or Aba / Abē. Only Hesychios mentions the form Abanta. The ethnicon is attested as Abaios. J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 408 no. 169.

Abai is located in the Exarchos valley in the upper reaches of the Assos river, a tributary of the Kephissos.

Abai and nearby Hyampolis were on the main road leading from Orchomenos to Opous, and also on the main route from the Kephissos basin to Eastern Lokris. The latter road, which Pausanias followed when travelling from Elateia to these two cities, was mountainous and probably passed through the Sphaka pass.

The most important cult place in the city was the oracle of Apollo which was destroyed by Xerxes. The sanctuary was burned again during the skirmishes of the Third Sacred War and the traces of the fire were still visible when Pausanias visited. Beside the large temple was a smaller temple, dedicated to Apollo by the Emperor Hadrian. The cult images of Apollo, Leto and Artemis were made of bronze and according to Pausanias, of earlier date. He also mentions the theatre and the agora, both constructed 'in ancient times'. Abai was autonomous in his lifetime (Paus. 10.35.1-4).

Frazer, Pausanias, V, 436-442; Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας* 5, 436-438; D. Grigoropoulos, in *Festschrift Niemeier*.

Philostratus (*VA* 4.24) mentions that the oracle was among the sanctuaries which Nero visited and restored during his travels round the Greek sanctuaries in AD 67. The city erected statues for Septimius Severus and Constantine I.

S. Prignitz, *ZPE* 189, 2014, 143 nos 6-7.

The cult of Aphrodite and the office of Aphrodisiarchis are mentioned in two inscriptions dating to the 1st century AD. They were found in secondary use in the village of Exarchos and have been attributed to Abai. They could equally belong to Hyampolis.

J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 93, 1969, 72-74, nos 1-2, figs 1-2; *SEG* 25, 595-596; Schörner, *Votive*, 507-508 nos 1081-1082. The acropolis of the city is situated on the hill, named Kastro, 2km west of the modern village of Exarchos. Remains interpreted as a temenos with two temples and a stoa were found on a low hill 200m northwest of the acropolis. Yorke identified the two temples as that of the oracle and the temple of Hadrian respectively. Remains of Roman bronzes, fragments of statues dating generally to the Greco-Roman period are also reported. V. Yorke, *JHS* 16, 1896, 294-302.

The location of the oracle on this hill has been strongly disputed and rejected [*Kl. Pauly* 1 (1964) s.v. Abai (Kirsten); Felsch – Kienast - Schuler 1980, 39 note 5]. Another site has been proposed, in Smixi at the Agia Paraskevi iconostasis, 2km south of Kastro where a circuit wall of late Greek or Roman date was found. According to the same opinion, Apollo Abaios, Apollo Hekatombaios and Artemis Soter were worshipped at the same sanctuary (Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 190-196). J. Fossey (*Phokis*, 77) attributes the remains to the sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods and U. Kahrstedt (*Villa*, 23) to a *villa rustica*.

The cemeteries were located to the west of the asty. Roman pottery and glass vessels are reported.

Fossey, *Phokis*, 164-165.

A funerary relief stele of Roman date is mentioned, but its origin is far from certain.

Th. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B, 237; cf. Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 188.

The location of the city in the Exarchos valley has been disputed. Kalapodi has been proposed as the location of Abai and the sanctuary at **Kalapodi-Agioi Apostoloi** as the site of the oracle. [W.-D. Niemeier, in *Εύβοια και Στερεά*, 302-305; K. Kopanias, in W.-D. Niemeier (ed.), *Kalapodi Vorberichte, Athenai* (forthcoming)].

Cf. also, S. Prignitz, *ZPE* 189, 2014, esp. 146.

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ney, *Parnassos*, 288-289; J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 408-409, no. 169; Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 185-196; S. Prignitz, *ZPE* 189, 2014, 133-146; *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, D3.

Agia Eleousa→EROCHOS

Agia Marina-Kastro – Αγία Μαρίνα - Κάστρο 5:2/3B
Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A funerary stele of the 1st century BC inscribed with the name ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΙΤΟΣ has been incorporated in the wall of the sitting room of the monastery of the Dormition of the Virgin.

A.-E. Contoléon, *REG* 1902, 135 no. 14.

Two funerary palmette stelae of the 2nd century BC are incorporated on either side of the east gate of the cloister. One of them bears the inscription ΜΝΑΣΙΑΣ.

They were probably transferred from the ancient cemetery in Agia Marina-Kastro-Mnimata-Tzelali that has been identified as Ledon or Patronis (Plu. *Sul.* 15-16; Paus. 10.33.1).

Papadimitriou-Velentzas, *Τιθόρα*, 26-30; McNerney, *Parnassos*, 284-286; Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 121-126.

The settlement at Kastro survived at least until the Late Hellenistic period.

Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 133.

Agia Paraskevi – Αγία Παρασκευή 5:3B
Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Remains of a *villa rustica* of Roman date were found in G. Triphilis' plot. It was destroyed in the 2nd-3rd century AD and six tile graves were constructed among its remains.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 48, 1993, B, 211; Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 131; G. Zachos, in *Villae Rusticae*, 653 no. 4.

Agia Soteira – Αγία Σωτείρα 5:2D

Distomo - Arachova - Antikyra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

A millstone, possibly of Roman date, was found near a modern well in the small bay of Agia Soteira, east of the Antikyra river.

S. Raptopoulos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 449, no. 9.

Agia Varvara – Αγία Βαρβάρα 5:1C

Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Remains of a Late Roman *villa rustica* were found built over an Archaic temenos, 500m southeast of the old road from Delphi to Chrisso. It is associated with the agricultural production of the Pleistos plain and it runs very close to the route of the ancient road leading from the gulf of Krissa to Delphi.

D. Skorda, *ADelt* 49, 1994, B, 319-320, pl. 101-102; *Ergon* 2005, 49-53; *Ανασκαφικό Έργο*, 50, fig. 4; G. Zachos, in *Villae Rusticae*, 654 no. 5.

Agioi Anargyroi→TITHOREA

Agioi Apostoloi→Kalapodi-Agioi Apostoloi

Agios Andreas – Άγιος Ανδρέας 5:2D
Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Late Roman rock-cut tombs were found in Agios Andreas, on the eastern part of the Desphina peninsula, in the foothills of Mt. Voidomoni. Also, a Late Roman pottery kiln has been reported.

D. Skorda, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B, 189-190; Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 84-85, no. 111.

Agios Athanasios→Modi-Agios Athanasios

Agios Ioannis→Kato Kalyvia Dadiou-Agios Ioannis

Agios Vasileios→Steiri-Agios Vasileios

Agios Vlasis – Άγιος Βλάσης 5:4A
Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Remains of a possible Late Roman *villa rustica* and tile graves were found on the site of a Neolithic settlement, on a hill on the right side of the road from Kalapodi to Atalanti (A. Gloustanos' field).

S. Dimaki, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 373-374.

Amalia-Kerdos – Αμαλία-Κέρδος 5:2C
Distomo - Arachova - Antikyra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

An enclosure, a retaining wall, a rock-cut pit and a well were identified on a plateau southeast of Distomo and east of Aspra Spitia. The site has been interpreted as a farm focussing on animal husbandry. Roman sherds are reported.

S. Raptopoulos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 448, no. 1.

AMBRY(S)OS / AMBROS(S)OS (Distomo) –
AMBΡΥΣ(Σ)ΟΣ / AMBΡΟΣ(Σ)ΟΣ (Δίστομο) 5:2C
Distomo - Arachova - Antikyra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.
Lyc. 900; Plb. 4.25.2; Liv. 32.18; 33.32; Str. 9.3.13; Plin. *Nat.* 4.7-8; Plu. *Tit.* 10; *Phil.* 15; Paus. 4.31.5; 9.13.3; 10.1.8; 10.3.2; 10.36.1-5; St. Byz. s.v.; Schol. A.R. A54; Inscriptions: *IG IXi*, 10-31.

The toponym is Ambrys(s)os, in the Roman period it also appeared as Ambros(s)os and Amphrysos in

Stephanus. The ethicon is attested as Ambrys(s)ios and Ambryseus, in the Roman period as Ambrossios and also Ambro/ōsseus, and only in [Lycophon's] *Alexandra* as Amphrysios.

J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 409, no. 171.

The acropolis is located on Kastro hill north of the modern town of Distomo. The modern settlement was built over the remains of the ancient city.

It surrendered to T. Flaminus in 198 BC (Liv. 33.32; Plu. *Tit.* 10).

Ambryssos and Phlygonion settled their borders with Delphi around the middle of the 2nd century BC (ca. 140?).

Ager, *Interstate*, 347-350, no. 126; Rousset, *Le territoire*, 76-79, 126-128, nos. 3-5.

A long territorial dispute between Ambryssos and Delphi dating from the lifetime of M. Acilius Glabrio was settled by Avidius Nigrinus ca. AD 110.

Ager, *Interstate*, 461-465, no. 163; *FD III4*, nos. 280, 290-291; Rousset, *Le territoire*, 91-94, 148-149, nos. 7-8.

In the lifetime of Pausanias the greater part of the plain was covered with vines. The other income of the Ambrossians came from the fruit of the kokkos, a kind of bush. A small creature bred inside the fruit and its blood was used as a dye for wool. The fortification wall was partly ruined and the majority of the statues set up in the small agora of the city were broken.

Statues of Trajan (*IG IXi*, 17; AD 98-102; Højte, *Statue bases*, 386, Trajan 97), Commodus (*IG IXi*, 18; AD 198-209, posthumous) and Alexander Severus (*IG IXi*, 19; AD 222-235), Gallenus (S. Raptopoulos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 443, pl. 65; AD 267) are epigraphically attested. The cult of Demeter and Kore, and a sanctuary of Sarapis, Isis and Anubis are mentioned in inscriptions of 2nd/ 1st century BC (*IG IXi*, 14, 16; Schörner, *Votive*, 502, nos 1059-1060). Athletic Games for Athena took place in Ambrosos in the early 3rd century AD (*IG IXi*, 12=*Syll.*³ 1063).

The sanctuary of Artemis Diktynaia is located near the northwest entrance of the modern city in Staurou plot (Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 73 no 93). According to Pausanias (10.36.5-6) there was a statue of Artemis in black marble from an Aeginetan workshop. C. Rolley, *La sculpture grecque I* (1994) 276-277.

The Hellenistic - Roman cemeteries are located to the southwest, south and east of the acropolis hill. Tile graves, cist graves and a clay larnax have been found.

E. Baziotopoulou-Valavani, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B, 211; Aik. Kyriazopoulou, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B, 211, 215-216; Ph.

Dasios, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B, 449-450; X. Arapogianni *ADelt* 39, 1984, A, 77-118.

Remains of the Roman period are located at various points above the ruins of the city wall on the slopes of the acropolis.

More specifically four rooms of a building which abutted the inner side of the city were excavated on the west slope of the Kastro hill (Sphontouri's plot). The complex was in use in the Late Roman period as an *asararius* of Valentinian I indicates.

Ph. Dasios, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B, 352, fig. 1.

Remains of various phases from LH IIIA to the Roman period were excavated on the west slopes of the Kastro hill in Anapauseos and Th. Kokkini Streets (P. Trakaniaris plot, Chr. Pappa plot). The walls of the Roman period are constructed with spolia. A cistern, pipe line and tiled floors have been found.

Aik. Kyriazopoulou, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B, 217-220, fig. 3-4, pl. 131-132α; E. Papastaurou, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B, 190.

Part of a polygonal building of Hellenistic date was converted into a kitchen in the 3rd century AD. It was found on the slope of the acropolis (Papanikolaou's plot).

S. Raptopoulos, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B, 380; 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 440-441.

A pottery workshop of Roman date was found in the playground (Ph. Boura plot) northwest of the modern cemetery on the remains of the fortification walls. Six rooms constructed with reused blocks from the city wall, and mortared rubble walls were excavated. Pithoi and a floor made of tiles over a layer of mortar or in *opus signinum* came to light. The workshop was constructed after the abandonment of the fortification wall, mentioned by Pausanias, and was in use after the middle of the 4th century AD. The same phenomenon is repeated a few metres to the south where architectural remains, probably of Roman date were found on the remains of the walls.

Ph. Dasios, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B, 352, 354-355, fig. 2.

Part of a Roman bath complex was found in Amissou Street (L. Kaili plot) at the lower end of the northwest slope of the acropolis, near the fortification wall of the city. The pilae of a hypocaust were discovered, as well as a drain which carried waste water to a courtyard. It was constructed in the 1st century BC-1st century AD and the last period of use is dated to the 3rd century-first half of the 4th century AD.

E. Baziotopoulou, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B, 234.

Parts of walls and a paved floor came to light in Karouzou Street (Il. Kailis' plot). They are of Late Hellenistic date.

Aik. Kyriazopoulou, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B, 212-213.

Building remains came to light in Kalavryton Street (I. Tzatha plot). A mosaic floor made of sea pebbles was found in the main room of a building, where a pipe line and three pithoi were also located. The building is interpreted as house or workshop and is dated to the Late Hellenistic period.

Aik. Kyriazopoulou, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B, 211-212, fig. 2, pl. 128, 129α.

A public building of Late Roman date with a high podium was excavated on the south slope of the Kastro hill. The floor was paved with tiles. The central part of an inscribed statue base dedicated to Gallienus was found incorporated into the northwest part of the structure. Neikēphoros Eutychestatou, *archon* in Antikyra, and Theganēs Anterōtos, *epimeletes*, are mentioned in the inscription.

S. Raptopoulos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 443, pl. 65. The *pastada* (portico) and the porch of a temple dedicated by three citizens to Anubis, Isis and Sarapis are epigraphically attested.

S. Pittakis, *AEphem* 1840-1843, 513-514, no. 839; *IG IXI*, 16.

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AMPHIKLEIA (Amfikleia- Turk. Dadi) –

ΑΜΦΙΚΛΕΙΑ (τουρκ. Δαδί) 5:2A

Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Hdt. 8.33; Paus. 10.33.9-11; St. Byz. s.v. Αμφικλαία.

Inscriptions: *IG IXI*, 218-221, 1065.

The toponym is Amphikleia, Amphikaia, Ophiteia and the ethnicon is Amphikleieus.

J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 409-410, no. 172.

The city of Amphikleia is situated in the foothills of Parnassos. The remains of the acropolis and the city wall are visible in the area of the modern cemetery 800m west of the modern settlement.

They held orgies in honour of Dionysus in Roman period. According to Pausanias there was no entrance to the adyton and they had no image of the deity that could be seen. The priest gave prophecies and cured diseases by means of oracles, which he uttered under divine

inspiration. The sanctuary of Dionysus is mentioned also in a decree of the city dating to the Severan period honouring M. Ulpius Damasippos, a *high priest* of the god, *Boeotarch* and *Phokarch*, *agonothete*, *member of the Amphibityony*, *theëkolos*, *Panhellene*, *archon* of the city (*IG IXi*, 218). The inscription was discovered in the church of the Panagia in the modern cemetery, which has been proposed as the location of the sanctuary.

G. Soteriades, *Prakt* 1909, 129; Frazer, Pausanias, V, 420-422; Papachatzis, *Πανσωνίας* 5, 430-431.

Grave stelae are reported dating to the 2nd, 1st century BC.

A. Jardé, M. Laurent, *BCH* 1902, 340, no. 50; Ch. Avezou – G. Blum, *BCH* 1913, 444; *LGN III B*, s.v. Κλεώ (6), Ξενώ (6), Δίωv (74), Εὐκράτης (17).

Two more inscribed palmette stelae of Hellenistic date which had been incorporated into the walls of the monastery of Dadi probably came from Amphikleia.

Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 93.

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Ano Tseresi-Platanos – Άνω Τσέρεσι - Πλάτανος

5:3C

Levadia Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Foundations of houses and Roman sherds have been noted on a slope in the Ano Platania valley.

Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 58-59, no. 63a; *id.* *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 220.

ANTI KYRA (Antikyra) – ANTIKYPA

(Αντίκυρα)

5:2C/D

Distomo - Arachova - Antikyra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Plb. 9.39; 18.45.7; 27.16; *Str.* 9.3.1; 9.3.3; *Liv.* 26.26; 28.8.7-8; 32.18; 32.39.4; 32.40.7; 32.31.7; *Plin. Nat.* 4.7-8; *Plu. Ant.* 68; *Paus.* 7.7.9; 10.1.1-2; 10.3.1; 10.36.5-37.1; *Ptol.* 2.184; *St. Byz.* s.v. Αντίκυρα.

Inscriptions: *IG IX1*, 1-9, 1062-1064; A. Sideris, *Εμβόλιμον*, 43-44, 2001, 121.

Coins: A. Longpérier, *RNum* 1843, 247-249, pl. 10.3; J. Friendlander, *ZfNum* 6, 1879, 15 (2nd century BC).

The toponym is Antikyra and the ethnicon is attested as Antikyreus (J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 410 no. 173).

Three cities appeared with the name Antikyra in ancient sources: an Oitaian, a Locrian and a Phokian [*RE I* (1894) 2427-2428, s.v. Antikyra (Hirschfeld)]; L. Robert, *RPhil* 1945, 19-20]. However, the Locrian city is nothing more than a result of a misunderstanding by Strabo (9.5.10) and of the amendments to Livy's text (26.26) and therefore should be identified as the Phokian Antikyra (L. Lerat, *RPhil* 1945, 12-18; *id.*, *Εσπέριοι*, I, 108-114).

The Antikyrans claimed in Pausanias' lifetime that their city was the Homeric Kyparissos. It changed hands frequently in the Hellenistic and Early Roman period since the control of its port, which was strategically located in the Corinthian Gulf, was crucial for anyone who wanted to control Central Greece.

Thus, the city was under Macedonian control in the first part of the First Macedonian War. Antikyra was captured by the M. Valerius Laevinus in 211/10 BC. The women and children were sold into slavery and their houses were allotted to Aitolians. It was recaptured by Philip V a few years later (208/7 BC). T. Q. Flaminius seized the city in 198 BC and Antikyra became the port for the Roman troops quartered in Elateia from 198 to 194 BC. Manius Acilius Glabrio drove the Aitolians out of Phokis and arrived in the city in 191 BC.

Antikyra remained under Roman influence and Aulus Hostilius Mancinus sailed from Antikyra to Thessaly in 170 BC. Plutarch mentions that Nicarchos, his great-grandfather, and his fellow citizens wiped by the soldiers and were forced in 31 BC to carry on their shoulders the grain that was confiscated from the region down to the port of Antikyra, in order to be shipped to the forces of Mark Antony in Akarnania.

A significant chapter in the history of the city is the territorial dispute between Antikyra and Delphi concerning the public land of the former and the sacred land of Apollo. The case was reopened in 117 BC but the final judgment was made by the legate C. Avidius Nigrinus in AD 110 or 114. The border with the sacred territory of Delphi began at cape Opus, ascended the stream to the plateau of Mesokampos and then at the foot of Mt. Kyrphis where it met the borders of Ambrossos.

FD III4, 280, 294-295; G. Szemler, E. Kase, M. Angelos, *AncHistB* 3, 1989, 68-77; D. Rousset, in *L'espace grec* (1996) 45-49; Ager, *Interstate*, 238-247, 461-465, nos 88, 163; Rousset, *Le territoire*, 80-91, 128-143, 99-106, 149-150, nos. 6, 11-12.

The mountains beyond Antikyra are very rocky and hellebore grew on them in great profusion (*Str.* 9.3.3, 9.4.14; *Thphr. HP* 9.8.8; 9.10.2-4; *Dsc.* 4.148-149). The

root of black hellebore (*Helleborus niger*) was used as a laxative, though the root of white hellebore (*Veratrum album*) was used to purge the body by inducing vomiting. According to Pliny (*Nat.* 22.64; 25.21) it was used mixed with a plant of the sesamoides genus, called “anticyricon” (*Reseda alba*) as a purgative agent, in cases of insanity, melancholy, epilepsy and gout (Cf. also Juvenalis, *Saturae* 13.97). Marcus Livius Drusus, tribune of the plebs in 91 BC, was cured of epilepsy in Antikyra (Plin. *Nat.* 25.21) and Caligula ordered a pretorian, who having send several times to Antikyra asked to prolong his absence, to be put to death, since there was no way for him to be cured (Suet. *Cal.* 29). Antikyra’s reputation as a place for the treatment of mental illness was so wide regularly mentioned in Roman literature that the phrases “Αντίκυρας σοί δεῖ” (Jul. *Or.* 7.223) and ‘Naviget Antikyram’ (Hor. *S.* 2.3.166) came to mean ‘you are insane’ (Alciphr. 1.12) [A. Escotado, *The General History of Drugs*, trans. and rev. G. W. Robinette (2010) 298-299]. Antikyra become synonymous for the cure using hellebore as may be inferred by the ‘tribus Antikyris’ (=triple dose of hellebore) mentioned by Horace (*Ars* 300).

An inscription dating to the 3rd century AD mentioned a *Dekaprotos* who held important offices in Antikyra, among them that of gymnasiarch, eponymous archon and *tamias*. It is the only evidence for *Dekaprotos* in Central Greece.

A. Sideris, *Eirene* 49, 2013, 54-74; D. Rousset, *CRAI* 2012, 1673-1674 no. 3.

The statues dedicated by Caligula (Fossey, *Phokis*, 101, pl. 17), Antoninus Pius (unpublished), Commodus (*IG IX1*, 6; Højte, *Statue bases*, 580, Commodus 68), Julia Domna (*IG IX1*, 7), Caracalla (unpublished) Maximinus Thrax (E. Mastrokostas, *AEphem* 1955, 73-74), Constantius II (unpublished) demonstrate the constant interest of the emperors in Antikyra.

The latest evidence for Imperial presence in the city is that of Gratianus in April of AD 380.

A. Coşkun, in K. Keats-Rohan (ed.) *Resourcing Sources* (2002) 122-141, Appendix, note 52.

According to Pausanias there were bronze statues in the agora of the city and there was a small sanctuary of Poseidon at the harbour. The walls of the sanctuary were built of undressed stones but the inner faces were plastered. The bronze cult statue was of the “Lateran type”. E. Bartmann, *Ancient Sculptural Copies in Miniature* (1992) 126.

Pausanias also mentions a gymnasium furnished with baths and an old one, opposite to the former, in which

a bronze statue of Xenodamus, stood. Xenodamus won the men’s *pankration* in the 211th Olympian Games (AD 67). These games were omitted from the official records, since they were not organised according to the rules and the results were not unimpeachable (in favour of the Emperor Nero) [Suet. *Ner.* 23-24; E. Champlin, *Nero* (2003) 58-60].

The new gymnasium could be identified with a building containing baths located to the west of the church of Agios Nikolaos.

Sideris, *Αντίκυρα*, 104.

Beyond the agora there was a well, covered with a roof supported by columns. A little higher up Pausanias mentions a tomb built of unworked stones, in which they said were buried Schedios and Epistrophos, the kings of the Phokians in Troy. It could be the well called «Pshychiko» located forty meters to the north of the church of Agios Nikolaos.

Sideris, *Αντίκυρα*, 105.

About two stades away from the city, on the right of the road, there was a sanctuary of Artemis Eileithyia. The image of goddess was oversized and attributed to Praxiteles. The sanctuary was located in the Kephalis peninsula, carved into the steep rock, and its temple was excavated by Lolling in 1888. Inscriptions dating to the 3rd-2nd centuries BC came from the area.

H. Lolling, *AM* 14, 1889, 229-232; Ph. Dasios, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B, 450; Sideris, *Αντίκυρα*, 125-129.

Three inscriptions, a manumission, a dedication and a catalogue of offerings were found engraved on the rock. In the latter text, the epithets Voupolos, Paidotrophos, Soteira, Agrotera and Orthia are used.

S. Raptopoulos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 445-446, pl. 70; S. Raptopoulos, *Το βραχίωδες Ιερό στην Φωκική Αντίκυρα* (2005) (unpublished manuscript in EFA’s library).

Two priestesses of Artemis Diktynnaia are mentioned in an honorary decree of the boule and demos of Antikyra dating to the Roman period (*IG IX1*, 5; Sideris, *Αντίκυρα*, 122-124). However, it is not certain if they should be associated with a cult in the city, or with the sanctuary of Artemis in Ambrossos.

The ancient city was located on Pelatia / Palatia. It extended to the north, towards the modern town in the Roman and Late Roman periods. The cemeteries were situated to the south and west of the city in the direction of the bay of Agios Isidoros. Intra mural tombs dating to the Late Roman period are also reported. The main port must have been situated between the modern military base to

the south and the extension of Perikleous street to the north. The ancient dock is now below sea level.

Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 78, no. 100; *id.*, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 414, pl. 13.

The harbour of Antikyra is mentioned on route 79 of the Tabula Peutinger.

K. Axioti, *ADelt* 35, 1980, A, 204-205, fig. 2.

Antikyra became an episcopal seat in the 5th century AD. Remains of a five-aisled Early Christian basilica (Argyri's plot), possibly an episcopal palace (Oikonoumou plot), luxurious houses, shops and bathhouses came to light in the center of the ancient city, where the ancient agora was located. The city was struck by earthquakes in the 6th century AD and began to decline.

A. Kourenta-Raptaki, in *Θωράκιον*, 109-122; E. Dafi, in *LRCW* 4, 737-738; Sideris, *Αντίκυρα*, 133-148.

A large number of Roman-Late Roman coins found in the excavations at Antikyra.

H. Tsourti, in *Θωράκιον*, 123-128.

Pelatia / Palatia-Modern Antikyra

Remains of a public building complex with several rooms (stores, warehouses, workshops) was found in the region of Palatia (G. and N. Alexiou's plots). The pottery (terra sigillata, domestic wares) is dated to the 1st century BC-1st century AD. It was constructed over an earlier building that had possibly been destroyed during the operations of T. Flaminus in 198 BC.

V. Komninou, *ADelt* 33, 1978, B, 146.

Poorly preserved architectural remains and Late Roman stamped ware were found in N. Alberi plot.

V. Komninou, *ADelt* 34, 1979, B, 200, pl. 71a.

A Roman house (villa?) built over a retaining wall was revealed in N. Vasilopoulos' plot. Five rooms and probably a courtyard with a well were located on the three sides of a larger place. A secondary road possibly ran past the north side of the house. The construction of the building is dated by coins of Gallienus to the second half of the 3rd century AD and its destruction to the late 3rd / early 4th century AD, as it is shown by the presence of Corinthian lamps and coins of Maximian. In addition a significant amount of domestic pottery was collected. The region was abandoned in the 6th or 7th century AD.

V. Komninou, *ADelt* 34, 1979, B, 200-202, fig. 1, pl. 71β, γ; E. Dafi, in *LRCW* 4, 2014, 737-748.

A building complex, similar to the one mentioned above, was found in L. Anagnostou's plot. It is interpreted as part of a large house or a Late Roman villa destroyed in

the 4th century AD. Pottery dating to the 2nd-4th century AD, fishing and hunting gear were found.

E. Baziotopoulou, *ADelt* 34, 1979, B, 204-206, fig. 3, pl. 72γ.

Remains of two houses separated by a gully were excavated in N. Ramantani plot. Three destruction layers [Late Hellenistic, Early Roman, Late Roman (4th-5th centuries AD)] were identified. The Late Hellenistic layer has been associated with the siege of the city by the Roman army in 198 BC.

V. Komninou, *ADelt* 34, 1979, B, 202-204, fig. 2, pl. 72α, β. Roman-Late Roman deposits were found in G. Christodoulou's plot in connection with the remains of private houses which are part of the Late Roman-Early Christian settlement. Also a wall of the advanced 2nd century BC was excavated. This wall may be attributed to port installations of the Late Hellenistic period.

E. Baziotopoulou-Valavani, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B, 260-261. Five rooms belonging to a Roman house, part of the Late Roman-Early Christian settlement, was excavated at the junction of Themistokleous and Perikleous streets (Leontopoulou's plot). It was built in the 4th century AD and one of the rooms was turned into a kitchen in the late 6th century AD. A large amount of Roman and Late Roman pottery was collected.

E. Baziotopoulou-Valavani, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B, 263-264; E. Dafi, in *LRCW* 4, 737-748.

An Early Christian church was excavated in the area of the ancient Agora, at the junction of Omirou and Irakleous streets (Argyri's plot). Statue bases and honorary inscriptions of the 2nd-4th centuries AD, including those for Caracalla, Antoninus Pius and Constantius II were found in secondary use.

A. Kourenta-Raptaki, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B, 100, pl. 31-32; *ead.*, in *Θωράκιον*, 113-117.

Remains of a Roman building were found in D. Sambani's plot, beneath the ancillary rooms of an Early Christian basilica.

E. Baziotopoulou-Valavani, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B, 206.

Part of the sea walls were found at the junction of Amalias and Omirou Streets (G. Stavrou's plot) near the coastal road. The wall was abandoned in the Early Roman period and the area was used for domestic purposes.

Ph. Dasios, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B, 404, pl. 154β.

Some carvings in the rock and part of an aqueduct of Roman date were found in the area of Agios Georgios, where the old fountain of the modern town was located, north-northeast of the football pitch. They have been

identified as the fountain mentioned by Pausanias. A tile kiln dating to Late Antiquity was found to the east. S. Raptopoulos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 449, no. 8, pl. 75.

A complex of buildings including a paved courtyard with a porch, may be identified as warehouses of the Imperial period, was found in the coastal zone of the city (Ag. Nikolaou's plot), beside a section of the sea walls.

S. Raptopoulos, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B, 461; 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 439, pl. 58.

Part of a buttress set over an earlier podium, of Hellenistic date, was excavated on O. & Ch.-K. Koureli plot. The upper structure was repaired in the Roman or Late Roman period using *opus vittatum*. It has been argued that it could be part of the cella of the temple of Poseidon mentioned by Pausanias.

S. Raptopoulos, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B, 461; 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 440, pl. 59.

A series of pyres with animal bones and pottery dating to the 3rd-6th centuries AD, as well as a curse tablet bearing the inscription ΕΥΣΕ---, dating to the end of the 3rd century AD were found in the coastal zone of Antikyra (Xatzikonstantinou's plot). The animal bones found in the pyres have been interpreted as offerings for eminent citizens.

S. Raptopoulos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 439, pl. 57;

S. Raptopoulos, K. Vlachou-Mogire, *Corpus*, July 2005.

A small burial enclosure of the 2nd-3rd century AD was excavated in the middle of the modern town (Margariti plot).

S. Raptopoulos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 443.

Architectural remains of domestic building dated in Late Roman and Early Christian period found in Karaiskaki Street (Th., E & B. Kokkorou plot) and at the junction of Pythagora and Sokratous Streets (I. Margariti-O. Papadimitropoulou plot).

A. Tsaka, *ADelt* 64, 2009, B, 483-484, fig. 15-16; A. Tsaka-A. Kesisoglou, *ADelt* 64, B, 2009, 485-486 fig. 17-19.

West cemetery

It is located to the west of the settlement in the direction of the bay of Agios Isidoros and was in use from the Geometric to the Early Christian period.

Four tile graves and a cist grave were excavated in I. Pharrantou plot. Burial urns had been used for the ashes of the dead. They are dated to the period from the 1st century AD to the first half of the 2nd century AD and they were part of the Roman cemetery that was located to the northwest of the Roman settlement. Pottery, fig-

urines and glass vases along with worn bronze coins came to light.

E. Baziotopoulou-Valavani, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B, 262-263, pl. 114β-η.

Graves of the 3rd-2nd century BC, one cist and two tile graves of Late Roman date were found in plots belonging to Drosserou and Kaliakouda.

Ph. Dasios, *ADelt* 48, 1993, B, 222-223; 50, 1995, B, 356-357; 52, 1997, B, 450-451.

Apart from the graves above, two tile graves of the 1st century AD were excavated in Episkopou Isaiah Street (G. Diamanti plot). They were found northeast of the Roman settlement and could not be attributed to the cemetery of the city.

E. Baziotopoulou-Valavani, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B, 261-262. Chamber tombs with *arcosolia* dated in Late Roman times were also found (Sideris, *Αντίκυρα*, 107-113).

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Aspra Spitia – Άσπρα Σπίτια 5:2C

Distomo - Arachova - Antikyra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

A Roman-Late Roman *villa rustica* has been excavated. It was constructed after the 2nd century AD over Classical-Hellenistic remains and destroyed in the last quarter of the 4th century AD. Seven rooms, an olive press and two child graves came to light. The walls were built in *opus mixtum* and a small part of floor laid with pebbles and mortar was found. Apart from pottery, bronze coins of Valens, Gratian, Valentinian II, Theodosius I, and Arcadius were collected.

It was located on the route from Medeon to Antikyra and may be associated with olive-cultivation, as well as to the use of the natural harbour in Aspra Spitia.

A. Andreiomenou, *ADelt* 26, 1971, A, 177-188, fig. 2, pls 35-40; G. Zachos, in *Villae Rusticae*, 654 no. 6.

ATHENA KRANAIA (Kastro Lazou) –

ΑΘΗΝΑ ΚΡΑΝΑΙΑ (Κάστρο Λαζού) 5:3A

Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Paus. 10.34.7-8.

Inscriptions: H. Lolling, *AM* 3, 1878, 19-27; Paris, *Élatée*,

179-197, 240-251, no. 47-64; *IG IXi*, 109, 137, 139; Klaffenbach, Bericht, 703-705.

Coins: *SNG Cop.* 165; *SNG Soutzos* 555; *SNG Greece* 6, no. 716; *BCD* 2010, 150-155 lots 427-433, 435.5, 179 lots 474-475.

The sanctuary of Athena Kranaia is located on a fortified hill named Kastro or Kastro tou Lazou about 3.5-4 km north-northwest of Elateia.

Apart from the temple, Pausanias mentions stoas and dwellings in them, where those who served the goddess lived. The priest was chosen for five years from boys who had not yet reached the age of puberty and his periods of office ended before puberty. The goddess is depicted armed and her shield was a copy of the shield of Athena Parthenos in Athens. The statue of Athena Kranaia was made by the sons of Polycles in the third quarter of the 2nd century BC (Paus. 10.34.7-8).

Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, *ad. loc.*; Papachatzis, *Πανσωνίας* 5, *ad. loc.*; G. Despinis, *AM* 110, 1995, 339-372; D. Damaskos, *Untersuchungen zu hellenistischen Kultbildern* (1999) 12-17; Zachos, *Ελάτεια*, Appendix, no. 1.

The statue is depicted on the coins of the city in the late 2nd-1st century BC.

The clay revetments (palmette antefix, simas, lion-head rainspouts) from the roof of the temple were renovated in the 2nd century BC, probably in the third quarter of the 2nd century BC, on the occasion of the dedication of the new cult statue of the goddess.

A stoa dedicated to Poseidon was repaired in the Roman period (*IG IXi*, 137).

An inscription mentioning the title *Aitolarch* probably came from the area of the sanctuary. It is dated to the late 2nd-early 3rd century AD and is the only evidence for the existence of the Aitolian League after the 1st century BC.

Zachos, *Ελάτεια*, Appendix, no. 2.

The finds from the sanctuary indicate that it was in use until the 4th century AD. In addition, a Late Roman tile grave was excavated on the eastern slope of the hill.

S. Dimaki, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B, 446-447; 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 386-387; Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 160-163; G. Zachos – S. Dimaki, in *ΑΕΘΣΕ* 1, 2006, 869-887.

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Lolling, *Reisenotizen*, 180; Paris, *Élatée* (passim); *RE* XII2 (1922) 1568 s.v. Kranaia (Prehn); Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 431-436; Papachatzis, *Πανσωνίας*, 435-436; G. Zachos – S. Dimaki, in *ΑΕΘΣΕ* 1, 2006, 869-887; Zachos, *Ελάτεια* (passim).

BOULIS (Zaltsa-Paliokastro) – ΒΟΥΛΙΣ (Ζάλτσα-Παλιόκαστρο) 5:3D

Levadia Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Plin. *Nat.* 4.7-8; Paus. 10.37.1-3; Ptol. 3.14.18. St. Byz. s.v. Inscriptions: *IG IX1*, 58-60; Ph. Dasios, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 413.

The toponym is Boulis or Boulia, Bouleia and the ethnonym is Boulios, but in some manuscripts of Stephanus is attested as Boulidios.

J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 410 no. 174.

It is located on the Paliokastro hill overlooking Zaltsa bay (the ancient port of Mychos, Str. 9.3.13; Leake, *Travels*, II, 549-550; McInerney, *Parnassos*, 329; *contra* Freitag, *Golf*, 149, locates Mychos on the other side of the peninsula, not far away from ancient Chorsiai). Pausanias mentions a road leading from Thisbe to Boulis and also notes that there was no communication between Antikyra and Boulis by land, but only by sea. More than half the population survived by collecting murex brandaris to make purple dye. The only significant buildings in his lifetime were the temples of Artemis and Dionysus, whose statues were made of wood (*xoana*), but the principal god of the city was named as Megistos (an epithet of Zeus). He also mentions a stream called the Hérakleion, which may be the torrent on the steep cliff of the acropolis opposite Helikon and also a well called Sannio.

Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 456; Papachatzis, *Πανσωνίας* 5, 447-448; A. Donohue, *Xoana and their Origin of Greek Sculpture* (1988) 173-174.

The harbour of Boulis is mentioned on route 79 of the Tabula Peutinger.

K. Axioti, *ADelt* 35, 1980, A, 204-205, fig. 2.

Roman sherds are reported from the acropolis.

Ph. Dasios, *Φωρατά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 65 no 70; McInerney, *Parnassos*, 329-330.

A funerary stele of the Late Roman period, depicting a Thracian Rider with the inscription ΕΥΑΜΕΡΟC / ΗΡΩC was found in a metochi of Agios Seraphim, south of the acropolis, where the ancient cemetery was also located.

Ph. Dasios, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 413, pl. 10; D. Rousset, *CRAI* 2012, 1665-1667, fig. 2.

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RE III1 (1897) 1046-1047 s.v. Bulis 1 (Oberhammer); Schober, *Phokis*, 25-26; McInerney, *Parnassos*, 329-330; Freitag, *Golf*, 147-148; J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 410 no. 174; *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, D4.

CHARADRA (Mariolata) – ΧΑΡΑΔΡΑ

(Μαριολάτα)

5:1A

Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Hdt. 8.33; Paus. 10.33.6-7; St.Byz. s.v.

The toponym is Charadra and the ethnicon is Charadraios.

J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 411 no. 175.

Pausanias' description of the city on the top of a lofty cliff twenty stades from Lilaia and his information that the inhabitants had to go down to the river Charadros (the modern torrent of Mariolata), a tributary of the Kephissos, three stades from their city in order to find drinking water, suggests that the fortified citadel located on a hill south of the village of Mariolata, where the modern cemetery is located, is this acropolis. Roman sherds are reported.

P. Wallace, in *Great Isthmus*, 53.

The city possibly extended in the Roman period as far as the northeast margin of the modern village, and specifically to the area from the sport ground towards the east, to Agios Georgios-Varko-Marmara.

Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 45-46.

In Pausanias' lifetime there were 'Hero altars', as they were called, in the agora of the city, said by some to be for the Dioscouri and by others for local heroes.

Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 415-418; Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας* 5, 428-429.

The citizens of Charadra are mentioned in the loan inscription of Drymos (*IG IXi*, 229) and in manumissions dating to the 2nd century BC and the 1st century AD in Delphi (*JGDI* II, 1789, 2094, 2285; *FD III*6, 37).

An Early Christian church was found under the Post-Byzantine church of Agios Dimitrios.

P. Lazaridis, *ADelt* 18, 1963, B, 132, pl. 169 α, γ; 19, 1964, B, 237-238, pl. 282-283; A. Gialouri, in *Θωράκιον*, 97.**Bibliography**

RE III2 (1899) 2114 s.v. Charadra (Bürchner); B. Tillard, *BSA* 17, 1911, 62; Schober, *Phokis*, 26; Müller, *Bildkommentar*, 460; P. Wallace, in *Great Isthmus*, 52-53, fig. 4-13, pls. 4-29 to 4-31; Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 28, no 1; McInerney, *Parnassos*, 265-266; Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 39-45; J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 411 no. 175; *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, C3.

Chrisso-Prof. Ilias – Χρυσό-Προφ. Ηλίας

5:1B

Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Ancient quarries have been found here from which came the stone for building the monuments in the sanctuary of Delphi.

P. Amandry, *BCH* 105, 1981, Chron. 714-721, figs 33-38; Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 88 no 123; Bom-melaer, *Guide* 2, 291-293, fig. 109; *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, C3.

DAULIS / DAULIA (Dauleia-Kastro) – ΔΑΥΛΙΣ /**ΔΑΥΛΙΑ (Δαύλεια-Κάστρο)**

5:3B

Levadia Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Hdt. 8.35; Th. 2.29; *Hell. Oxy.* 21.5; Plb. 4.25.2; Str. 7.7.1 (321, 323); 9.3.1; 9.3.7; 9.3.13; Liv. 32.18; Plin. *Nat.* 4.8; Paus. 1.41.8; 10.3.1; 10.4.7-9; 10.35.8; Nonn. *D.* 13.128; St.Byz. s.v. Δαυλίς; Not. Episc. 737-762; Hierocl. 643.6; Et.M. 250.7.

Inscriptions: *IG IXi*, 61-73; Ph. Dasios, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 411.

The toponym is Daulia or Daulis. Daulion is attested only in Polybius and the form Dauleia in Stephanus. The ethnicon is Daulieus and Daulios.

J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 411 no. 176.

Daulis is located on the border between Phokis and Boeotia on the east slope of Mt. Parnassos at a strategic point for controlling the Mauroneri pass. The routes leading to Delphi (the 'schiste odos') or from coastal Phokis and Boeotia to the middle Kephissos basin also passed through its territory.

The acropolis of Daulis is situated on a steep hill 1km south of the modern village, in the eastern foothills of Mt. Parnassos. The only natural access to the hill is on the western side, where the fortification wall and a strong gate rendered the city almost impregnable. T.Q. Flaminius seized the city in 198 BC (Liv. 32.18) via this gate. The lower town was situated on the eastern slopes and on "Lithari" and "Taxiarchis" in the plain. Roman sherds are reported.

A citizen of Statonikeia in Caria, honoured by the Daulians, probably helped the city avoid the consequences of the First Mithridatic War (Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 207).

In Pausanias' lifetime the population of Daulis was limited in number but they were renowned among the Phokians for their size and their strength. There was also a sanctuary of Athena Polias with an ancient image and an even earlier *xoanon* that the Daulians said had been brought from Athens by Procne. The church of Agioi Theodoroi was constructed on the remains of the temple of Athena Polias.

Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, *ad. loc.*; Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας* 5, *ad. loc.*

The sanctuary of Athena is mentioned along with the temple of Sarapis in manumissions of the 2nd-1st century BC (*IG IXi*, 66).

Also, at Tronis, in the territory of Daulis there was a heroon for the hero “archagetes”. This hero is identified by some scholars as Xanthippos, who distinguished himself the war against Cassander, or by others to the eponymous hero Phokos, son of Ornytion, son of Sisyphus (Paus. 10.4.10). The site is identified by some colleagues as Patronis, a place mentioned by Plutarch. However, there is no consensus for this suggestion or for the locations proposed for these two sites.

B. Tillard, *BSA* 17, 1911, 64-68; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12, 1960, 70-84; E. French - E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 32 1963, 213-225; J. McInerney, *Hesperia* 66, 1997, 193-207; *id.*, *Parnassos*, 284-286; J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 404; Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 229-233.

A proxeny decree for a citizen of Daulis was inscribed on a dedication made by the Phokians in Delphi in the 1st century BC.

A. Keramopoulos, *AEphem* 1907, 102.

Daulis seemed to enjoy prosperity in the Roman period, since Phokikon, the meeting-place of the Phokian League in Pausanias’ lifetime was located in its territory. Also, a territorial dispute between the city and a wealthy citizen is mentioned in an inscription from the Trajanic era (*IG IXi*, 61).

A built tomb dating to the 4th-5th century AD was located in Salayero.

N. Pappadakis, *ADelt* 6, 1920/21, 145.

The city is also mentioned as Daulia in various episcopal lists as well as in Synecdemus.

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DRYMAIA / DRYMOS (τουρκ. Glounitsa) –

ΔΡΥΜΑΙΑ / ΔΡΥΜΟΣ (Γλούνιτσα) 5:1A
Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Hdt. 8.33; Liv. 28.7; Plin. *Nat.* 4.8 (ap. crit); Paus. 10.33.12.

Inscriptions: *IG IXi*, 226-231.

The toponym is Drymaia, Drymos, Drymia. The ethnonim is attested as Drymaios, Drymios and as Drymieus in Stephanus. Pausanias mentions that the city was originally named Nauvoleis by its founder, the mythical hero Nauvolos.

J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 416, no. 178.

Livy referred to it as city of Doris (Liv. 28.7).

A sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros, with a cult statue made of stone, and an annual feast of Thesmophoria are both mentioned by Pausanias.

Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 423; Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας* 5, 431.

Drymaia was in a difficult financial position in the second quarter of the 2nd century BC and concluded a loan from the sanctuary of Herakles in Oeta or the sanctuary of Demeter in Anthele (*IG IX1*, 226-230)

Migeotte, *Emprunt*, 103-109; A. Giovannini, in Th. Hantos (ed.), *Laurea Internationalis* (2003) 287-297.

A citizen of Drymaia was granted proxeny in Delphi in the early 1st century BC (*FD III4*, 54).

The fortified acropolis is located on a low summit called Kastro in the foothills of Mt. Kallidromon. The south-east tower of the acropolis was repaired, possibly in the Roman period. Roman sherds are reported from Kastro and from the city that is situated in the plain.

P. Wallace, in *Great Isthmus*, 137; Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 28, no 2; *id.*, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 86.

An inscribed funerary stele dating to the 2nd-1st century BC was found at Plateia Petra, northeast of the acropolis.

A. Ioannidou-Karetsou, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B, 325, pl. 279γ; *SEG* 27, 1977, 142.

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Drymaia-Sorias / Milias – Δρυμαία-Σοριάς / Μηλιάς 5:1A

Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Possibly the site of an extra mural suburb of Drymaia. Hellenistic and Late Roman sherds are reported.

Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 86-87.

Elaionas Chrissou – Ελαιώνας Χρισσού 5:1C
Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Two olive press bases, probably of Roman date, were found to the right of the road from Chrisso to Sernikaki, below the plateau of Palaiosernikaki. It has been identified as Petra / Charadros, mentioned in an inscription concerning the arbitration by Avidius Nigrinus (Cf. **Amphissa** and **Delphi**).

S. Raptopoulos, *ADelt* 60, 2005, B, 463-464, no. 2, fig. 15. Parts of two *villae rusticae* were found during the construction of the irrigation system; one of them close to the

village of Agios Konstantinos and the other near Chrisso. Also tile graves without grave goods came to light. *ADelt* 2011-2013 (in press)

ELATEIA (Elateia) – ΕΛΑΤΕΙΑ (Ελάτεια) 5:3A
Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Hdt. 8.33; *Hell. Oxy.* 21.5; D. 18.143, 152, 168, 169, 174-175, 177; Thphr. *HP* 8.8.2; Plb. 5.27.1; 18.43.1; 18.43.8; 18.45.7; 27.18.1; D.H. *Amm.* 11.50; 11.66; D.S. 16.38.6-7; 16.84.2; Liv. 28.7.3, 28.7.13; 32.18.9-19.1; 32.21.14; 32.24; 32.32.1; 32.39.2; 33.1.1; 33.2.9; 33.3.6; 33.27.5; 33.29.10; 33.31.7; 34.25.1-3; 34.41.7; 34.48.2; 34.50.10; 36.19.9; 37.4.10; 41.24.13; Plin. *Nat.* 4.7-8; 4.27; 35.98-99; App. *Syr.* 20; Phleg. fr. 36; Polyæn. 2.38; Ath. 5.2.17-19; 6.264d; Plu. *Dem.* 18.1; *Phoc.* 33.4; *Sul.* 16.1; *Mor.* 845F; Paus. 1.26.3; 7.15.5; 8.4.4; 10.1.2; 10.3.2; 10.18.7; 10.34.1-6; Harp. 109. 6-9; Porph. fr. 3.3; 4.3; Lib. *Decl.* 19.30.8; 20.18.5; 21.3.7; 23.42.5; *Progymn.* IX.4.10; X.3.13. Hsch. s. v. *Ελάτη*; St. Byz. s.v.

Inscriptions: Paris, *Élatée* (passim); *IG* IXi, 97-185; G. Klaffenbach, Bericht, 703-705; Zachos, *Ελάτεια* (passim); G. Zachos, in *Τμητιζικός τόμος για την Φ. Διακορόνια*, nos. 6-11.

Coins: *SNG* Cop. 165-166; *SNG* Soutzos 555; *SNG* Greece 6, no. 716; D. Kravartoyannos, *Τετραμίηνα* 56-58; 1995-1996, 4349, 4354 pl. 3; *id.*, *Αρχαία νομίσματα*, 84; *BCD* 2010, 150-153 lots 427-434, 155 lots 436-437, 179 lots 474-475.

The name of the city is also attested in inscriptions and in ancient literature as Elatea (Plin. *Nat.* 4.7-8; *SEG* 11, 1107), Elatē (Hsch. s.v.), Elatina (Hierocl. 643.6-11), Elatia (Liv. 32.18.9). The ethnicon is attested as Elateus.

Zachos, *Ελάτεια*, 55.

Elateia was under Macedonian control in the first years of the 2nd century BC. T.Q. Flamininus seized the city in 198 BC and used it as his headquarters until 194 BC. During this period of time Elateia became the centre of government for central and southern Greece. After the departure of the Roman troops, Phokis came under the control of the Aitolians who drove out the Elateians from their city in 194 BC. Elateians found refuge in Arcadian Stymphalos and returned to the city thanks to the intervention of M. A. Glabrio in 189 BC (*SEG* 11, 1107; 19, 327; J.-P. Michaud, in *Mélanges Daux*, 272-278; G. Lehmann, *ZPE* 127, 1999, 69-83). For this reason they adopted a pro-Roman attitude in the Third Macedonian War and in the Achaean War. Lucius Cornelius Sulla gave the city the privileges of *libertas et immunitas* in 86 BC, as a reward for resisting Taxilos, Mithridates'

general. A few decades later in 49 BC the Elateians honoured the pro-quaestor Faustus Cornelius Sulla (*IG* IXi, 143), son of the dictator and his third wife Caecilia Metella, and son-in-law of Pompey the Great, an indication that the city may have benefitted financially from this association and sided with Pompey. For this reason, possibly, the city lost the privileges after the battle of Pharsala since it is not included by Pliny amongst the *civitates et liberae* cities of Phokis. These privileges were given back to the city some time later and lasted at least to Pausanias' lifetime. Elateia successfully repelled the raid of the Costoboci in AD 169-172 thanks to her glorious son Mnesiboulos who won several prizes in the Olympic Games of AD 162 and died in the fight against the barbarians. In AD 301 the Diocletian Edict on maximum prices was placed in the agora of the city (P. Paris, *BCH* 9, 1885, 222-239; *IG* IXi, 118; *SEG* 23, 338).

Zachos, *Ελάτεια*, 100-130.

Elateia was the largest city of Phokis in Strabo's lifetime and also, with the exception of Delphi, in that of Pausanias, who mentions the agora, where a figure of Elatus and a bronze statue of Mnesibulus were located, the temple of Asclepius, with a bearded image of the god, a masterpiece of the Athenians Timocles and Timarchides, sons of Polycles.

Some of the remains of the temple, which had been incorporated in the the Early Christian church of the Megali Panagia, were found to the north of the chapel of Agios Athanasios.

Ch. Diehl, *BCH* 9, 1885, 28-42; S. Lambros, *Νέος Ελληνομνημων* 1, 1904, 172-185.

A sanctuary dedicated to Isis and Sarapis is mentioned in manumissions of the late 2nd century BC. Both sanctuaries were involved in manumissions dating to the advanced 2nd century BC in which the intervention of the city is apparent.

G. Zachos, in *XXIXe Colloque du Groupe International de Recherche sur l'esclavage dans l'Antiquité* (2007) 115-124.

The theatre was located at the end of the city on the right, where Pausanias saw an ancient bronze image of Athena which, according to the Elateians had helped them against the army of Taxilus.

Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 425ff; Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας* 5, 432-435.

Statues of Hadrian, who probably visited the city in AD 124-126, and of Caracalla dating to AD 210-213 are attested epigraphically (*IG* IXi, 144-145; Højte, *Statue bases*, 438, Hadrian 244).

The remains of the city are visible in Livadi, east of the modern settlement in the foothills of Mt. Kallidromon. The fortified acropolis is located on a small hill in the middle of the area. The residential part of the city lies to the south of the acropolis, between the hill and the *diateichisma* that protected the city. The agora, mentioned by Pausanias, is situated in the western part of the city near Agios Athanasios. Roman and Late Roman sherds are abundant in every part of the city.

The cemeteries of the Late Hellenistic and Roman-Late Roman period are situated at Alonaki, in the northwest of the region and at Giolberi, east of the acropolis hill. Rock-cut chamber tombs, built and tile graves dating from the 2nd century BC to the 4th century AD have been found. In the case of Alonaki, chamber tombs of Mycenaean date had been re-used and a pottery work shop was in use in the 3rd-4th centuries AD.

K. Kouzeli – G. Zachos, *ReiCretActa* 36, 2000, 555-560; Zachos, *Ελλάτεια*, 133ff.

In the Hellenistic and Roman period Elateia dominated a large area of the fertile middle Kephissos basin, crossed by roads, with military and commercial significance, leading from Thessaly to Southern Greece and from the Euboic Gulf to the West of Greece.

Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, 578, VIII1, route VI 81, maps 148, 183, 185; G. Zachos, *Archaiognosia* 12, 2003-2004, 197-221. Elateia declined at the point that first Skarphia became the administrative centre of central Greece during the reign of Onorius and then Thebes (Hierocl. 643.6-11, 646.7).

It became an episcopal center in the 4th century AD. The bishop of Elateia is also mentioned in a letter to Leon I. *TIB* I, 153-154; Zachos, *Ελλάτεια*, 132.

Human activity (farms?) can be detected in the territory of the city in the Roman-Late Roman period (cf. **Agia Paraskevi, Giannakopoulos-Piperis, Lefkochori, Modi, Panagitsa**).

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Paris, *Élatée*; *RE* V2 (1905) 2236-2237, s.v. Elateia (Philippson); Schober, *Phokis*, 29-30; Müller, *Bildkommentar*, 486-487; McInerney, *Parnassos*, 287; Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 149-160; G. Zachos *Archaiognosia* 12, 2003-2004, 197-221; *id.*, *Ελλάτεια*; *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, D3.

Eptalofos-Ellinika – Επτάλοφος-Ελληνικά 5:1B
Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Part of a Late Roman public building (temple or *katagogeion*) was excavated near the vineyard of A. Mouka, 1km north of Eptalofos (Ano Agoriani), during the

construction of the road leading to Lilaia. Blocks, fragments of unfluted columns, pottery, clay and bronze statuettes and other bronze artifacts dating to the Roman period have been reported. A statue base (now lost) found in the area could be evidence for the existence of a temple.

AEphem 1973, Chron., 85-86 [I. Threpsiadis]; Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 75-76.

EROCHOS (Polydrosos, Turk. Kato Souvala) –

ΕΡΩΧΟΣ (Πολύδροσος, τουρκ. Κάτω Σουβάλα) 5:1A
Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Hdt. 8.33; Paus. 10.3.2.

Inscriptions: *IG* IXi, 232; G. Klaffenbach, Bericht, 701; V. Petrakos, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B, 386; *AEphem* 1973, Chron., 78 [I. Threpsiadis]; *LGNP* IIIB, s.v. Mnasikleia (4).

The city was located on the hill of Agios Vassilios. It probably became a satellite and dependency of the township of Lilaia from the 4th century BC onwards (J. & L. Robert, *BE* 1978, 236). Late Roman sherds are reported (Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 63-73).

Part of the sanctuary of Demeter was excavated 2-2.5 km northeast of the fortified settlement that was located at Agios Vassileios. The inner side of the west wall of the temenos (74.20m in length) may have been replaced by a stoa with 14 rooms. Also a small *propylon* was found. The temple was in use during the Roman period as the coins found indicate.

Chr. Karouzos, *AA* 1928, 576; 1932, 131; V. Petrakos, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B, 384-388; Papachatzis, *Πανσανίας* 5, 428, 440-441; McInerney, *Parnassos*, 269-270, pls. 8-9.

Remains of a temple and a fountain, statue bases and cistern are located by the Kephissos spring near the Middle Byzantine chapel of Agia Eleousa and the Early Christian basilica of Agios Christophoros. A river cult is mentioned by Pausanias. Roman sherds have been reported.

A base, on which «ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΙΚΑΙΤΩ» has been inscribed, might come from a statue of an emperor, or could be considered as an indication for the cult of the Sebastoi.

Y. Nikopoulou, *ADelt* 24, 1969, B, 216-217.

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Papachatzis, *Πανσανίας* 5, 426-427; Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 31 no 8; C. Barla, in *Χαριστήριο εις Ορλάνδον* (1967-1968) 303; Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 67-69; cf. also, I. N. Svoronos, *AEphem* 1909, 133-178, esp. 173-174 for the cult of Asclepius in the area of the church of Agia Eleousa.

Generali – Γενεράλη 5:1A

Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

A Late Roman fort, square in plan, with towers at each corner (*tetrapyrgia*) was found on the plain of Lilaia. Remains of a small temple and other buildings are located around the fort. They are attributed to a *latifundium*. The fort may have served as permanent barracks for a garrison.

Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 73-75, 282; *id.*, in *Εύβοια και Στερεά*, 356-357.

Giannakopoulos-Piperis – Γιαννακόπουλος-Πιπέρης

5:3A

Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Late Hellenistic and Early Roman sherds were found near the Neolithic site of the same name, less than 1km west of modern Elateia. An ashlar masonry wall is visible and a number of Late Roman graves have been excavated. A funerary stele dating to the 2nd century BC came from the area.

G. Zachos, in *Τιμητικός τόμος για την Φ. Δακορώνια*, note 24 and p.i.

HELIKONIOI (Kyriaki?) – ΕΛΙΚΩΝΙΟΙ

(Κυριάκι;) 5:3D

Levadia Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Only the ethnic name Ελικώνιος, Ελικωνία, is attested in inscriptions of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC (*SGDI* 2241; *FD* III1, 333; *IG* VII 2348). It could be attributed to a community, a kome or a city located in the southeast part of Phokis or in western Boeotia.

The architectural remains of Classical date at Kyriaki have been proposed as the site of the city.

L. Robert, *Hellenica* 3, 1946, 87; Fossey, *Phokis*, 35-39; M. H. Hansen, *Papers from The Copenhagen Polis Centre* 5, 1996, 194; D. Rousset, in Brunet (ed.), *Territoires des Cités Grecques* (1999) 43-44, 55; J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 403.

HYAMPOLIS (Bogdanos) – ΥΑΜΠΟΛΙΣ

(Μπόγδανος) 5:4B

Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Hdt. 8.33; *Hell. Oxy.* 21.5; Str. 9.2.42; Liv. 32.18; Plin. *Nat.* 4.27; Plu. *Mor.* 244E; 660E; Paus. 10.35.5-7; Polyaeon. 6.18.2; Stat. *Theb.* 7.345; Nonn. *D.* 13.124; Hsch. s.v. Υάμπολις; St. Byz. s.v. Υάμπολις; Sud. s.v. Υάμπολις.

Inscriptions: *IG* IXi, 86-96; S. Prignitz, *ZPE* 189, 2014, 133-141.

The toponym is Hyampolis and only in a scholiast on Homer and in Eustathius is attested as Hysampolis. The ethnicon is Hyampolios or Hyampolitēs.

J. Ouhlen in *Inventory*, 418 no 182.

Hyampolis was located near Abai. Pausanias mentions that although Xerxes had set fire to the city, and later Philip had razed it to the ground, an Agora of ancient construction, a small council-chamber and a theatre close to the gates of the city were still standing in his lifetime. He also reports that the emperor Hadrian had built a stoa. The only source of water, apart from the winter rains, was a well, which provided water both for drinking and for washing. Above all other divinities the citizens of Hyampolis worshiped Artemis, whose image Pausanias did not describe, since they only opened the sanctuary twice every year. He also notes the belief that the cattle consecrated to Artemis grew up immune to disease and fatter than others.

Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, *ad. loc.*, 442-445; Papachatzis, *Πλασινία* 5, 436-438.

Hyampolitans (?) honoured Q.C. Metellus as a benefactor and for his goodwill towards the city, by erecting a statue of him in the sanctuary of their gods (presumably Artemis and Apollo). The statue was sculpted by the Athenian Euboulides II (N. Pappadakis, *ADelt* 6, 1920-1921, *Par.*, 145-146). Consequently, it seems probable that the city was not among the Phokian cities which fought against Romans in the Achaean War and Metellus rewarded it for its attitude. The text is attributed to Hyampolis but the stone was found in secondary use in the chapel of Agios Dimitrios in Valtetsi and therefore it could be equally ascribed to Abai.

Philinos, a friend of Plutarch from Thespieae, possibly a kinsman of his wife, Timoxena, perhaps even Plutarch's brother-in-law, visited Hyampolis with his children between AD 98 and 116 (Plu. *Mor.* 660E) (for the date of Plutarch's dialogue, C. P. Jones, *JRS* 56, 1966, 72-73; for the relationship, *id.*, *HarvStCPhil* 74, 1970, 232).

The acropolis of Hyampolis is located in the valley of Exarchos, which lies between Mt. Chlomon and Mt. Akontion, on the small hill of Bogdanos, 1-1.5 km north-northwest of the acropolis of Abai. The west side of the south gate was probably reconstructed in the Roman period (Fossey, *Phokis*, 72, pl. 56). A stoa and the theatre mentioned by Pausanias have been identified in the southeastern part of the acropolis. Fragments of statue bases dated generally to the Greco-Roman period are also reported from the area of the hill.

V. Yorke, *JHS* 16, 1896, 302-303.

Yorke identified the ruins which lie near the church of Zoodochos Pygi at Smixi, 1-1.5 km south of the acropolis, as a sanctuary of Artemis. McInerney suggests that

these ruins should be attributed to the sanctuary of Sarapis and Isis, mentioned along with Anubis in the manumissions of the city (*IG IXi*, 86, Trajan period). The porch, the stoas and the *oikoi* of the gods were constructed under the supervision of a priest, honoured by the Phokian League in the 2nd/1st century BC (*IG IXi*, 89, 91-92 Schörner, *Votive*, 505-506, nos 1074, 1076).

A manumission dating to the 1st century BC was erected at the sanctuary of Artemis Elaphebolos.

N. Pappadakis, *ADelt* 2, 1916, 263-266; S. Prignitz, *ZPE* 189, 2014, 140-141.

The sanctuary of Artemis and Apollo owned a substantial amount of land in the Roman period which was rented out not only to citizens of Hyampolis but probably also to citizens from neighbouring cities (e.g. Elateia) (*IG IXi*, 87).

G. Zachos, *Archaiognosia* 12, 2003-2004, 209-210.

Apart from the sanctuaries of Artemis-Apollo and that of the Egyptian gods, a sanctuary of Dionysos is mentioned whose temple was constructed and its statues were restored by an Athenian called Menemachos, son of Menemachos in the 1st century BC.

V. Philippaki – S. Symeonoglou – N. Pharaklas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B, 245-246; *SEG* 25, 601; J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 93, 1969, 75-76, no. 4, fig. 4; Schörner, *Votive*, 506, no. 1077.

The Imperial cult was established at the end of the 1st century BC/beginning of 1st century AD, since the festival of the Great Caesaria is mentioned in one of the city's inscriptions along with the Great Elaphevoleia and Laphria (*IG IXi*, 90; Schörner, *Votive*, 506, nos 1075).

Also, the dedication of Imperial statues (among them those of Caligula, Trajan, Septimius Severus and Caracala?, Salonina) are epigraphically attested (V. Yorke, *JHS* 16, 1896, 306, 308, nos. 2, 4; Klaffenbach, *Bericht* 705-706; Fossey, *Phokis*, 101, fig. 17; Højte, *Statue bases*, 291, Caligula 16).

A Roman funerary relief was also found in the area of the city.

Th. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B, 237.

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V. Yorke, *JHS* 16, 1896, 303-304; Schober, *Phokis*, 31-32; Fossey, *Phokis*, 72-73; Müller, *Bildkommentar*, 495-498; W.K. Prichett, *Greek Archives. Cults and Topography* (1996), 92-147; McInerney, *Parnassos*, 290-292; Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 167-170.

Kalapodi – Καλαπόδι 5:4A
Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A Roman chamber tomb was found northwest of the

modern village, 300m north of the modern cemetery, near Vagia.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B, 171.

A chamber tomb was excavated c. 350m southeast of Dalianis' plot. It is dated to the Late Hellenistic period (second half of the 2nd-first half of the 1st century BC).

Ph. Dakoronia, S. Dimaki, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B, 367-368.

Kalapodi-Agioi Apostoloi – Καλαπόδι-

Άγιοι Απόστολοι 5:4A
Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

An ancient sanctuary near the chapel of Agioi Apostoloi in Kalapodi.

McInerney, *Parnassos*, 288-289; Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 173-175, 182; *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, D3.

It has been identified as the sanctuary of Artemis of Hyampolis (R. Felsch *et al.*, *AA* 95, 1980, 38-123; *id.*, *AA* 102, 1987, 1-99; *Kalapodi* I, II) or as the oracle of Apollo at Abai (W-D. Niemeier, in *Εύβοια και Στερεά*, 302-305; *id.*, in I. Gerlach - D. Raue (eds), *Sanktuar und Ritual*, Rahden/Westf. 2013, 33-42; *DNP*, Suppl. 10, 482-486, s.v. Kalapodi). Cf. S. Prignitz, *ZPE* 189, 2014, 133-146.

A form of activity in early imperial period has been traced near the Classical North temple, as it is indicated by fill deposits on the south side of the exterior colonnade. It has been interpreted as terracing works or it is related to the construction of a new building.

K. Braun, in Felsch *et al.*, *AA* 102, 1987, 52; *Kalapodi* II, 22; D. Grigoropoulos, in *Festschrift Niemeier*, 80-81.

A small temple-like edifice was constructed in front and over the ruins of the eastern part of the South temple. The architects of this structure seem to have taken into account the earlier remains. Painted wall plaster and pottery offer a terminus post quem for its construction in Late Hellenistic-1st c. AD. Also, an inscribed base for a votive offering to Apollo dated to the 1st century BC was found in second use in the north wall (*SEG* 30, 508; re-date S. Prignitz, *ZPE* 189, 2014, 144 no. 8). There was probably more than one building phase since a central interior appears to have been inserted at a later date. This edifice has been identified to the temple that constructed by Hadrian in the sanctuary of Apollo in Abai. *Kalapodi* II, 23-24; N. Hellner, in I. Gerlach - D. Raue (eds), *op. cit.*, 52; V. Sossau, in G. Grabherr-B. Kainrath (eds), *Akten des 11. Österreichischen Archäologentages in Innsbruck* (2008) 233-247; D. Grigoropoulos, *op. cit.*

Fragments of painted wall plaster were found on the foundation trenches of the abovementioned Roman

temple. They are dated to the Late Hellenistic-Early Imperial period and they could be attributed to a building that was destroyed before the construction of the temple. *Kalapodi* II, 22; Grigoropoulos, *op. cit.* 82, note 31.

Building remains and pilae from a Roman hypocaust were also found, as well as *terra sigillata*, Roman lamps and coins of Roman date.

Kalapodi II, 25; W-D. Niemeier, *AA* 2010/1 Beih, 108. A trench (NW1) on the west side of the area brought into light walls with architectural material in second use. An issue of Justinian I dated in AD 527-565 offers a terminus post quem for the destruction of the building. A large number of domestic ware dated in 2nd-3rd centuries AD was found under the roof tile layer.

K. Sporn, *Athe.Nea* 2015/2016, 77-79.

It has been proposed that, not only the sanctuary, but also the city of Abai was located at Kalapodi (cf. **Abai**), although there are no traces of a fortification. Besides, very few Late Hellenistic and Roman finds were found on the region.

Two looted built tombs of Hellenistic-Roman date were found 200m northeast of the Archaic temple (L. Kasouni's plot). Traces of wooden coffins were also found. Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 45, 1990, B, 177, pl. 82γ.

Kalapodi-Kryovrysi – Καλαπόδι-Κρυόβουση 5:4A
Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A Middle-Late Roman hostel was excavated beside the road from Atalanti to Kalapodi 1km before the Kalapodi bypass. It was constructed over a public building of Hellenistic date. The hostel has the form of a rectangular building with two wings and stoas with rooms arranged at either side of the rectangular courtyard. In its final phase it included a bath complex with *frigidarium*, *tepidarium* and *caldarium*, and a pottery workshop. It was in use from the 2nd to the 4th century AD.

A. Gialouri, in *AEΘΣΕ* 3, 2012, 1313-1322.

Kalogeroporos – Καλογερόπορος 5:2A
Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Remains of a Roman *villa rustica* in *opus spicatum* and pilae belonging to a bath complex were located.

Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 109 (Amphikleia-Rogkies); G. Zachos, in *Villae Rusticae*, 653 no. 1.

Kampinitsa / Paliokatouna – Καμπνίτσα / Παλιοκατούννα 5:2A
Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A concentration of Roman sherds is reported. It was

possibly a farm on the border between Tithronion and Drymaia.

Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 99.

Karakolithos – Καρακίλιθος 5:3C

Distomo - Arachova - Antikyra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

A fortified stronghold is located on the watershed between Levadia and Ambryssos which probably guarded the road leading from Chaeronea to Steiris through the plain west of Levadia. This road was well known to Pausanias. A cemetery dating from the first half of the 5th century BC to the second half of the 2nd century BC has been excavated. The identification of the site as Trachis is disputed and it has been proposed that it was possibly a kome of Panopeus (cf. **Kato Tseresi - Paliokastro**).

V. Komninou, *ADelt* 33, 1978, B, 149-153; Ph. Dasios, *EpetBoiotMel* B', 1995, 248, 250; on the identification, McInerney, *Parnassos*, 300-302; *contra* Fossey, *Phokis*, 135-136; Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 240-242 (Kome of Panopeus); J. Ouhlen, in *Inventory*, 426-427, no 195; S. Kakakouta, in *ΕλλΚερ* Z, 2011, 194-195.

Karamouza-Agioli Apostoloi – Καραμούζα-Άγιολι 5:3B
Apostoloi

Levadia Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

A site on the south slopes of Mt. Hadyllion. A concentration of sherds around and to the west of the church of Agios Georgios indicates an extensive settlement of Roman date. It has been proposed as the settlement of Assioi, a toponym referred to by Plutarch (*Sul.* 17.5) in his description of the events of the battle of Chaeronea (86 BC). However it is not certain whether Plutarch is referring to a settlement or to the area of the river Assos. Ph. Dasios, *EpetBoiotMel* B', 1995, 251-253, fig. 3; *id.* *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 243.

Kastrouli Zemenou – Καστρούλι Ζεμενού 5:2C

Distomo - Arachova - Antikyra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

A citadel is located in the area of Zemenou, 150m south of the road from Levadia to Delphi. Also traces of city wall are reported further down the slope.

Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 85, no.112; McInerney, *Parnassos*, 303; Rousset, *Le territoire*, 63 no. 68; J. Ouhlen, in *Inventory*, 405-406, 409 no 170.

The identification of the site as Kyparissos or Aiolidai (McInerney, *Parnassos*, 303) is disputed. A Late Hellenistic statuette of Eros and Roman sherds are reported (*ADelt* 28, 1973, B, 277-279, pl. 232δ).

Katik Chani – Κατίχ Χάνι 5:3B

Levadia Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

A Roman settlement was excavated near the source of the Mauronerio stream. Parts of houses and a paved road came to light.

Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 231.

Kato Kalyvia-Agios Ioannis – Κάτω Καλύβια-

Άγιος Ιωάννης

5:2A

Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Concentrations of Late Roman sherds have been noted around the church of Agios Ioannis to the south of Kato Kalyvia Dadiou. It was possibly a farm.

Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 109.

Kato Tseresi – Κάτω Τσέρεσι

5:3C

Levadia Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Residential remains extend over the spur northwest of Phokikon and in the northern foothills of Paliokastro at Kato Tseresi. Roman sherds have been reported. It could have been a settlement, associated with Phokikon, or a kome both dependencies of Daulis.

Fossey, *Phokis*, 58; Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 217.

Kato Tseresi-Paliokastro – Κάτω Τσέρεσι-

Παλιόκαστρο

5:3C

Levadia Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

A fortified citadel on Paliokastro hill overlooking the lower Platania pass. A mortar-lined cistern and Roman sherds are reported. It has been proposed as the location of Trachis, Aiolidai or Phlygonion (Str. 9.3.14; Paus. 10.3.2.) (cf. **Karakolithos** and **Kastrouli Zemenou**).

B. Tillard, *BSA* 17, 1911, 66-68; Fossey, *Phokis*, 54-56; Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 58, no. 62; Rousset, *Le territoire*, 61, no. 36; J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 407-409 no 170, 425 no 191; Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 217-219.

Kifisochoi-Kephissos Bridge –

Κηφισοχώρι-Γέφυρα Κηφισού

5:3A/B

Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Part of a mosaic floor with ivy leaf motifs was found to the right of the road leading from Kifisochoi to Elateia close to the Kephissos Bridge. It is attributed to a Hellenistic-Roman villa. Tiles and sherds of the same date have been reported from nearby (L. Argyriou field, N. Spyridonos plot).

Remains of similar date were found beside the south and the north branches of the Kephissos river, 200-400m to the south, and by E. Georgatsinou press.

A statuette of Artemis came to light to the right of the

road leading to Elateia, 300m after the bridge (P. Sasiakos' field).

Tiles and sherds of Roman date have been reported from south of the church of Agia Paraskevi and east of the Aphi Vaitso ABEE instalation.

Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 114; Papadimitriou, *Πεδείες*, 57-59, fig. 2, pl. 27.

KIRRHA (Kirrha) – KIPPA (Κίρρα)

5:1C

Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Plb. 5.27.3; Str. 9.3.1; Liv. 42.15; Plin. *Nat.* 4.7; Luc. *DMort.* 11.2; Paus. 10.37.4-8; St. Byz. s.v. Κίρρα.

Inscriptions: E. Mastrokostas, *AEphem* 1955, 72.

The city was located at modern Kirrha (old Xeropigado) 2km east of the town of Itea and 200m east of the mouth of the Pleistos river.

The toponym is Kirra and the city-ethnic Kirraios.

J. Ouhlen, In *Inventory*, 419.

Pausanias refers to the city as the port of Delphi. Also, the race-course for the Pythian Games was located in the plain of Kirrha which was treeless in Pausanias' lifetime, and the inhabitants did not plant trees either because they were afraid of a curse, or perhaps because the ground was useless for growing trees. Pausanias mentions a sanctuary of Apollo, Leto and Artemis with a large statue of Attic workmanship. A smaller image of Adrasteia was set up in the same location.

Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 457-462; Papachatzis, *Πανσωνίας* 5, 449-452, pl. 465.

The sanctuary of Apollo, Leto and Artemis was found northwest of the church of the Panagia. The sanctuary formed a rectangle 160 X 130m flanked by stoas with columns, opening inwards. The entrance to the sanctuary was at the south side, in the middle of which a propylon was found.

A funerary stele was found in I. Koukios' house beside the Primary School. Two names had been engraved on the stone, one in the 2nd century BC and a second in the 2nd century AD.

E. Mastrokostas, *AEphem* 1955, 72

Roman and Late Roman building remains were found in various locations in the modern village, especially in the southern part of the modern settlement.

D. Skorda, in *Εύβοια και Στερεά*, 381.

Remains of a Roman building with brick walls with marble facing and mosaic floors decorated with floral motifs have been excavated in Emporopanegyris square.

Y. Nikopoulou, *ADelt* 23, 1968, B, 247.

Parts of Roman private houses have been excavated in

D. Plati street (Papagiannopoulou-Kapnoutsis-Kalyva plot). An Early Christian cemetery was located on their remains.

D. Skorda, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B, 189.

A pipe line of Roman date was found in J. Kennedy Street (Ch. Kousnidi & A. Kalyva's plot).

D. Chadjimichail-Skorda, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B, 204, fig. 9. The shoreline was 50-100m further out from the present one from the Late Bronze Age to Late Antiquity, which means that the so-called Classical and Hellenistic dockyards (*neoria*) have been erroneously identified in the past.

D. Skorda, J. Zurbach, *BCH* 133.2, 2009, 565; C. Morgan, *ARepLond* 55, 2009, 43.

The building of the so-called *neoria* was altered to a private house in Roman times. Another house of the same date with a mosaic was found to the south and under the yard of the public school.

ADelt 2011-2013 (in press)

Pottery dated to the 1st-4th centuries AD was collected during archaeological work on the west segment of the fortification.

ADelt 2011-2013 (in press)

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KORYKEION ANDRON (Palaiouvouna) –

ΚΟΡΥΚΕΙΟΝ ΑΝΔΡΟΝ (Παλαιοβούνα) 5:1B
Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Str. 9.3.1; Plin. *Nat.* 4.27; Plu. *De Pythiae Oraculis*, 1 (394F); Paus. 10.32.2-7.

A cave on Mt. Parnassos, 60 stades north of Delphi, dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs.

Pausanias visited the Korykeion Andron coming from Delphi via the path of Kaki Skala that was more suitable for walkers than riders (P. Amandry, in *L'Antre Corycien* I, 35, figs. 5-6). He also mentions the water coming from the springs and drips from the ceiling forming stalagmites on the ground.

Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, *ad. loc.*; Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας* 5, 417-419.

The cult in the cave continued throughout the Roman period until the 4th century AD.

P. Amandry, in *L'Antre Corycien* II, 397, 401.

A votive inscription dating to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD, pottery, and lamps of Hellenistic and Roman date are reported. Roman Imperial coins have also been found.

A. Jacquemin, in *L'Antre Corycien* II, 140ff, 156ff; P. Amandry, *ibid.*, 344-354; O. Picard, *ibid.*, 300-303; Fr. Burrel, *Münzprägung*, 78, 80; D. Grigoropoulos, *AM* 126, 2011, 230, FO 6.

Pan sitting in the Korykeion Andron is shown on coins issued by Delphi in the Hadrianic period.

I. Svoronos, *BCH* 20, 1896, 39, nos. 63-64, pl. xviii 7-8.

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Kourmoutsi – Κουρμούτσι 5:1D

Distomo - Arachova - Antikyra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

A water pipe and a wall were found in the region of Kourmoutsi-Kardara on Desphina's peninsula. They are dated by a coin of Maximinus II to the late 3rd of the early 4th century AD. It has been proposed that the site was used for animal husbandry.

S. Raptopoulos, *ADelt* 61, 2006, B, 561, no. 8.

Kryovrisi → Kalapodi-Kryovrysi

Lefkochori (Turk. Manesi) – Λευκοχώρι

(τουρκ. Μάνεσι) 5:3B

Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Remains of a *villa rustica* of Roman date have been found.

G. Soteriadis, *Prakt* 1906, 140; G. Zachos, in *Villae Rusticae*, 653 no. 3.

LILAIA (Kato Agoriani-Pyrgos / Kastro / Paliokastro, Nichori / Panagia / Sidiroporto) –

ΛΙΛΑΙΑ (Κάτω Αγόριανη-Πύργος / Κάστρο / Παλιόκαστρο, Νιχώρι / Παναγιά / Σιδηρόπορτο 5:1A
Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Lyc. 1073; Str. 9.2.19; 9.3.16; Plin. *Nat.* 4.7-8; 4.27; Paus. 9.24.1; 10.3.1; 10.33.4; Hsch. s.v. Λίλαια, St.Byz. s.v. Λίλαια.

Inscriptions: *IG* IXi, 232-233.

The toponym is Lilaia. Lilaion is attested only in late literary sources (Ptol. 3.14.14; Sud. s.v.). The ethnic name is Lilaieus.

J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 421-422 no. 185.

Pausanias mentions a theatre, agora, bath complex, as well as a sanctuary of Apollo and one of Artemis with cult images of Attic workmanship made from Pendelic marble.

Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 410-414; Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας* 5, 425-428.

The city is mentioned in manumissions in Delphi dating to the second half of the 2nd and the 1st century BC (*SGDI* 1700; D. Peppas-Delmouzou, *BCH* 91, 1967, 87-89; *FD* III3, 42 and 139). Also, Delphi honoured the city and citizens-judges as proxenoi in 138-135 BC (H. Pomtow, *Klio* 18, 1923, 279, no. 207a=*SEG* 2, 282).

A honorary inscription for Septimius Severus or Caracalla was found at Nichori (*IG* IXi, 233).

The acropolis of Lilaia is situated on the summit Kastro / Pyrgos / Paliokastro in the foothills of Mt. Parnassos on the west bank of the Agorianiti river. The fortified city extended over the eastern slope in the areas of Nichori, Panagia and Sidiroporto.

Pottery and coins dating to the Roman period were found within the fortified circuit.

Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 50.

An extra mural cemetery was located on the east bank of the Agorianiti river. A cist grave of Roman date has been excavated. In the same area but further to the north, at Senrouka, is a rock-cut chamber tomb, possibly of Late Roman date.

Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 61.

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B. Tillard, *BSA* 17, 1911, 54; Schober, *Phokis*, 35-36; *RE* XIII1 (1926) 541-542, s.v. Lilaia (Geiger); P. Wallace, in *Great Isthmus*, 53, fig. 4-154, pls. 4-32 to 4-35; Ph. Dasios, *Φωνικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 29-30, no. 5; McNerney, *Parnassos*, 267-268; Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 49-55.

LYKOREIA – ΛΥΚΟΡΕΙΑ

Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Str. 9.3.3; 9.3.13; *Plu. Mor.* 394F; Paus. 10.6.2; *Sud.* s.v.; *St.Byz.* s.v.; *Et.M.* 571.46.

According to Plutarch, pilgrims from Delphi, and in particular a philosopher named Diogenianos (probably the Epicurean from Kyzikos who was active in the 2nd century AD) visited the Korykeion Cave and Lykoreia in Parnassos, the ancient location of Delphi.

It is mentioned as a city, kome, or settlement in ancient sources. It has been suggested that it was in the territory of Delphi.

Rousset, *Le territoire*, 34-35; J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 406. Unlocated.

MARATHOS?→OPISTHOMARATHOS? / MARATHOS

Marmara-Μάρμαρα

5:1B

Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Paus. 10.32.2.

Pausanias mentions a bronze statue 60 stades from Delphi on the path leading from the temple to the Korykeion Andron. A pedestal of Hellenistic date found on the peak of Marmara could be possibly attributed to this statue which was still standing in the 2nd century AD.

P. Amandry, *BCH* Suppl. 9, 1984, 427-452.

Martinis / Parasporistra→Modi-Martinis / Parasporistra

MEDEON (Steiri-Agioi Theodoroi) –

ΜΕΔΕΩΝ (Στείρι-Άγιοι Θεόδωροι)

5:2D

Distomo - Arachova - Antikyra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Str. 9.2.26; Paus. 10.36.6; *St.Byz.* s.v. Μεδεών.

The toponym is Medeōn and the ethnonym is attested as Medeōnios.

J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 422 no. 186.

Medeōn joined with Steiris to form a kind of *sympoliteia* in the 2nd century BC. The exact date of the union is disputed but could be placed between 175 and 130 BC (*IG* IXi, 32; *Syll.*³ 647).

F. Salviat - C. Vatin, *Inscriptions de Grèce Centrale* (1971) 77-80; Migeotte, *Emprunt*, 101-103, no. 28; Martin, *Leagues*, 164-165; I. Arnaoutoglou, *Ancient Greek Laws: A sourcebook* (1998) 132-133, no. 105.

The acropolis is situated on Agioi Theodoroi hill overlooking the Antikyra Gulf.

The city extended over Konakia Paliomelissiou, to the south slope of the summit of Skartzi (Skaritsa), east of the acropolis, though the cemeteries must have been located to the north. The city was in ruins in Pausanias' lifetime. The absence of any finds later than the 1st century BC is an indication that the city was abandoned progressively and its population migrated to nearby Steiris after the *sympoliteia* of the two cities in the 2nd century BC.

Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 452-453 (he mistakenly locates Medeōn at the monastery of Osios Loukas); Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας* 5, 444-445.

The area of the city was possibly transformed into a villa of a single wealthy landowner in the Late Roman period. The remains of the villa were found down in the plain. It was furnished with mosaic floors, bath-house and

olive press. A terminus ante quem for the construction is given by a coin of Aurelius, It was destroyed in the 6th century AD.

Fossey, *Phokis*, 29; McInerney, *Parnassos*, 325-326.

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Schober, *Phokis*, 36-37; *RE* XV1 (1931) 65-66, s.v. Medeon 3 (Kroll-Krahe); G. Daux, *BCH* 91, 1967, Chron., 862, 864, 865, 868; Cl. Vatin *et al.*, *Médéon de Phocide* V (1976) *passim*; Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 72-73, no. 90 (cf. also nos. 88-89); Fossey, *Phokis*, 26-29; Freitag, *Golf*, 145-146.

Mesokampos – Μεσόκαμπος 5:1C
Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un..

A fortified circuit is reported in Mesokampos near Desphina. Surface pottery indicates animal husbandry activity in the Roman period.

S. Raptopoulos, *Χρονικά Αρχαιολογικών Ερευνών*, 2008 (unpublished manuscript in EFA's library); cf. also, Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 84 no. 109 (Kastrouli Desphinas, Roman finds are not mentioned).

Modi-Agios Athanasios –
Μόδι-Άγιος Αθανάσιος 5:2A
Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Extensive remains of a large *villa rustica* that had been constructed over a Hellenistic building were found. Part of the bath complex (*praefurnium*, hypocaust with pilae and *tepidarium* in *opus spicatum*) has been excavated. It was destroyed in the Late Roman period.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 48, 1993, B, 206, pl. 68α; Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 139; Ph. Dakoronia, in *Εύβοια και Στερεά*, 301, fig. 508; G. Zachos, in *Villae Rusticae*, 653 no. 2.

Modi-Martinis / Parasporistra – Μόδι-Μαρτίνης /
Παρασπορίστρα 5:3A

Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A small settlement is located on a hill south east of the military base. Roman sherds and tile graves are reported. Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 140-141.

Modi-Skamna – Μόδι-Σκαμνά 5:3A
Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Hellenistic-Roman sherds have been found in the dromoi and chamber tombs of LH III date.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 48, 1993, B, 176; Ph. Dakoronia, S. Dimaki, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B, 371-372.

OPISTHOMARATHOS or MARATHOS

(Tarsos-Kastro, Palaiotarsos? or Grammatiko)

ΟΠΙΣΘΟΜΑΡΑΘΟΣ ή ΜΑΡΑΘΟΣ (Ταρσός-
Κάστρο, Παλαιοταρσός; ή Γραμματικό) 5:2D
Str. 9.3.13.

Polichni located in the coastal zone near Antikyra. It has been suggested that the fortified citadel at Kastro Tarsou and the settlement in the abandoned village of Palaiotarsos belong to the ancient settlement. Classical and Hellenistic pottery is reported.

Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 70, no. 83; McInerney, *Parnassos*, 325-327.

The Classical(?) or Hellenistic(?) remains in Grammatiko (Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 70, no. 84) have led to this site being proposed as the site of the *polichni*. Rousset, *Le territoire*, 61, no. 45; J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 407-408.

The only evidence for the existence of the settlement in the Roman period is in Strabo.

Paliokastro→Kato Tseresi-Paliokastro

Panagitsa – Παναγίτσα 5:3A
Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A grave of Early-Middle Roman date (Tsaprounis' field) and another one of Late Roman date have come to light.

They are presumably related to the farms in the territory of Elateia.

p.4.

Pania / Panya / Bania, Paliopyrgos – Πάνια / Πάνυα /
Μπάνια, Παλιόπυργος 5:2C

Part of a fortification wall has been identified 2km west of Kastrouli Zemenou. Roman sherds are reported. The site has been proposed as the site of Aiolidai or Phlygonion (cf. also **Kato Tseresi-Paliokastro** and **Kastrouli Zemenou**).

Schober, *Phokis*, 22; Müller, *Bildkommentar*, 449; Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 85, no.113; Rousset, *Le territoire*, 63 no 69; J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 409 no 170, 425 no 191; S. Raptopoulos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 450 no. 16; Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 283.

PANOPEUS / PHANOTEUS (Agios Vlasios) –
ΠΑΝΟΠΕΥΣ / ΦΑΝΟΤΕΥΣ

(Άγιος Βλάσιος) 5:3B/C
Hdt. 8.34; Th. 4.76; *Hell. Oxy.* 13.5; Plb. 5.96.4-8; Liv. 32.18; Str. 9.2.19; 9.2.42; 9.3.11; Plu. *Lys.* 29.3; *Sul.* 16.4; Paus. 9.40.12; 10.4.1; Nonn. *D.* 13.128; 39.255; St. Byz. s.v. Πανόπη και Φανότεια; Sud. s.v. Πανοπέυς.

Inscriptions: *IG IX1*, 74-77.

The toponym and the ethnonym are attested as Panopeus, Phanoteus or Phanateus. Panopē or Phanotē and Panopeia or Phanoteia appears in lexicographers. There exists also a rare form, an hybrid one, Phanopeus.

D. Rousset, J. Camp, S. Minon, *AJA* 119, 2015, 456-458. The city was pillaged by Mithridates' army in 86 BC and declined in the Roman period. According to Pausanias, there were no government offices, no gymnasium, no theatre, no agora, no water conducted to a fountain and the people lived in a ravine in huts, just like mountain shelters. Nevertheless, there were *boroi* on the borders and Panopeus sent delegates to the Phokian League. For these reasons Pausanias wondered if one should indeed give Panopeus the name of a 'city.'

Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 216; Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας* 5, 278-281; Alcock, *Graecia Capta*, 29, 119, 126, 145.

The acropolis is located on a steep summit in the foothills of western Mt. Thourion. Roman finds have been reported.

Fossey, *Phokis*, 63-67; Müller, *Bildkommentar*, 530-534.

The settlement of Roman, Late Roman and later periods was probably located to the northeast of the modern village.

Remains of a Late Roman (or even later) building were found more than 1km to the north of the village fountain. Rubble walls and a floor paved with slabs set in mortar have been uncovered. Two built cisterns were found on its northwestern part. Another floor in *opus pseudospicatum* was found beside the building. Part of a rubble wall was found a few metres to the southeast. It may have belonged to a house, a farmstead or even an industrial installation. Clay kiln supports were found in the nearby fields.

Two tile graves without gravegoods dating to Late Roman-Early Christian period or possibly later were found 1km northeast of the village and ca. 100m west of the Old National Road from Levidia to Lamia.

E. Vlachogianni, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B, 403-404.

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Schober, *Phokis*, 39; *RE XVIII3* (1949) 637-649, s.v. Panopeus (E. Kirsten); Fossey, *Phokis*, 63-67, 171-172; Müller, *Bildkommentar*, 530-533; McInerney, *Parnassos* 295-296.

[PARAPOTAMIOI] (Anthochori / Turk.

Belesi-Kastro) – [ΠΑΡΑΠΟΤΑΜΙΟΙ] (Ανθοχώρι / Μπέλεσι-Κάστρο) 5:3B
Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Hdt. 8.33; Plu. *Sul.* 16.1; 16.5-6; St. Byz. s.v. Παροποταμία. The city of Parapotamioi was located on Kastro hill in the northwestern section of the Mauroneri pass. It was abandoned in the Roman period (Paus. 20.33.7-8; Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας* 5, ad. loc.) and the territory was probably incorporated into the territory of Elateia. Sulla camped with his army on Philoboiotos hill (Koukouli hill overlooking Vasilika / Turk. Krevassara) and on the acropolis of Parapotamioi in 86 BC in order to prevent Archelaos from passing through Mauroneri to Chaeronea.

Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 418; Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder* II, 360, 365-366; Schober, *Phokis*, 38; *RE XVIII4* (1949) 1369-1374 s.v. Parapotamioi (Kirsten); Müller, *Bildkommentar*, 534-536; G. Zachos, *Archaiognosia* 12, 2003-2004, 206, 208; Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 201-204.

Pesine (Metochi Osiou Louka) – Πεσινέ (Μετόχι Οσίου Λουκά) 5:2D

Distomo - Arachova - Antikyra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un. Architectural remains of a *villa rustica* with bath facilities are mentioned.

D. Vatin, *Médéon de Phocide, rapport provisoire* (1969) 87-88; Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 71-72, no 87.

PHARYGION AKRA – ΦΑΡΥΓΙΟΝ ΑΚΡΑ 5:2D

Distomo - Arachova - Antikyra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un. Str. 9.3.13.
A promontory near Antikyra.
A settlement of Late Roman date is reported.
S. Raptopoulos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 442.

PHOKIKON (Dauleia-Kato Tseresi / Agios Ioannis) – ΦΩΚΙΚΟΝ (Δαύλεια-Κάτω Τσέρεσι /

'Αγιος Ιωάννης) 5:3C
Levidia Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.
Paus. 10.5.1-2.

Pausanias mentions a building, named Phokikon, to the left of the road from Levidia-Delphi. This building was the assembly place of the Phokian League in his lifetime. It was a large building with interior columns throughout. Between the columns and the walls there were steps, on which the Phokian delegates sat. At the end of the building were neither columns nor steps, but statues of Zeus on a throne, with Hera standing to his right and Athena on his left.

A public building similar to Pausanias' description was found at Agios Ioannis iconostassis on the track that runs parallel to the Plataniis river. It has been identified as Phokikon. Roman sherds are reported.

E. French-E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 32, 1963, 213-225; Papachatzis, *Πανσωνίας* 5, 283, *ad. loc.*; Fossey, *Phokis*, 57-58; J. McNerney, *Hesperia* 66, 1997, 193-207; *id.*, *Parnassos*, 297-299; Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 216-217.

Platanos→Ano Tseresi-Platanos

Platy Frear – Πλατύ Φρέαρ 5:1C
Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

A concentration of Classical, Hellenistic and Roman sherds are reported from the slopes of the summit of Kollia's Karaouli in the area of Desphina. The old path to Levadia started from this point.

Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 84, no. 110.

Profitis Ilias (Turk. Merali) – Προφήτης Ηλίας (Μεραλί) 5:3B
Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

A concentration of surface sherds of Roman (?) date has been reported from the area between the hill south of the modern settlement of Profitis Ilias and the Kinetta torrent.

Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 205.

Prosakos – Πρόσακος 5:2D
Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

A fortified citadel is located on a hill north of the chapel of Agios Nikolaos, on the eastern part of Desphina peninsula. Roman sherds have been reported from around the chapel where traces of a settlement are still visible.

Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 83, no. 106.

Sfaka-Alikou / Dragasia – Σφάκα-Αλικού / Δραγασιά 5:3/4A
Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

The foundation of a tower (9 X 9m) was found to the right of the road leading from Elateia to Kalapodi. It was probably a Hellenistic watch tower for the control of the road from Elateia to Hyampolis and Abai mentioned by Pausanias (10.35.1). It was destroyed in the early 1st century BC, probably during the First Mithridatic war.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 50, 1995, 341-342, fig. 4; G. Zachos, *Archaïognosia* 12, 2003-2004, 208-209.

Skamna→Modi-Skamna

Smixi – Σμίξη 5:4B
Lokroi Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Roman sherds have been found.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 34, 1979, B, 186.

Sorias / Miliias→Drymaia

Steiri-Agios Vasileios – Στείρι-Άγιος Βασίλειος 5:3C

Distomo - Arachova - Antikyra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Abundant Roman and Byzantine sherds have been found in a wide area around the chapel 1km NE of Steiri. It has been interpreted as a settlement site.

Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 75, no. 97.

ST(E)IRIS (Boulios-Paliochori) – ΣΤ(Ε)ΙΡΙΣ (Μπούλιος-Παλιοχώρι) 5:3C

Distomo - Arachova - Antikyra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

Plu. *Cim.* 1.9; Paus. 10. 35.8-10.

Inscriptions: *IG IXi*, 32-57; Ph. Dasios, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 412, 414.

The toponym is Steiris or Stiris. The ethnicon is attested as St(e)irios, Stirieus or Stiritēs.

J. Ouhlen, in *Inventory*, 426 no 193.

Steins joined with Medeon to form a sort of *sympoliteia* in the 2nd century BC. The exact date of the union is disputed but could be placed between 175 and 130 BC.

The decree was set up in the temple of Athena (*IG IXi*, 32; *Syll.* 647) (cf. **Medeon**).

Pausanias mentions the mountain road measuring 120 stades leading from Chaeronea to Steiris. The city suffered from a shortage of water in summer since the wells were few and the water not drinkable. The inhabitants used this water for washing and for the watering of the beasts, but for their own drinking water they had to travel about four stades to draw it from a spring. The fountain and the staircase were built or repaired in the Imperial period and dedicated to *theoi Sebastoi* and to the city (*IG IXi*, 47; Schörner, *Votive*, 507, no. 1079, 1st century AD). Pausanias also mentions the sanctuary of Demeter which was constructed with unfired bricks. The cult statue was of Pendelic marble and held torches. Beside this one, bound with ribbons, was another image of Demeter, as ancient as any of that goddess that existed (Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 446-449; Papachatzis, *Πανσωνίας* 5, 441-443).

The sanctuary of Asclepius is mentioned in manumissions of the 2nd century BC. A statue of Julia Domna is also attested (*IG IXi*, 48).

The acropolis was situated on Boulios hill. Different phases are evident in the fortification wall, dating from the Classical to the Early Christian period. The residential area extended over the acropolis hill and over the eastern

slope, where the cemetery was situated. The asty was expanded in the Roman period into Paliochori, 1.5 km north of the hill. The sanctuary of Asclepius may have been located in the area of the chapel of Agios Nikolaos, where a number of inscriptions have been found.

The road from Chaeronea to Delphi, mentioned by Pausanias, begins at Paliochora in Stiris, where there are remains of the Late Roman-Early Christian settlement and climbs up via the torrent “Helioremma” to Karthali and then descends down to the west of the fortress of Karakolithos.

Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 5, 1993, 52.

A number of Late Hellenistic-Roman inscriptions were found in secondary use in the monastery of Hosios Loukas:

An Athenian honorary decree dating to the late 2nd century BC. The decree honours a group of Steirians who went to Athens on a religious or secular mission.

E. Vanderpool, *AAA* 4, 1971, 439-442; *SEG* 49, 574.

A funerary relief depicting a draped standing figure. Above the relief is the name ΠΑΙΔΕΚΟΣ. It is dated to the Roman period.

E. Vanderpool, *op. cit.*, 443.

A funerary stele of the Late Hellenistic period.

SEG 36, 528.

The boule erected a statue for a benefactor of the city in the 2nd/3rd century AD.

C. Koilakou, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B, 135; *SEG* 53, 494.

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STEPHANE – ΣΤΕΦΑΝΗ

Hdn. Gr. III1.328.24; 370.18 (Στεφαννάϊον); St.Byz. s.v. Στεφάνη, ethnic Στεφαννάϊος.

The ethnicon is attested in an inscription of the 1st century BC (*SEG* 37, 388).

Unlocated.

J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 403.

Sykia – Συκιά

5:1D

Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

A fortified citadel is located on a summit over the bay, on the eastern part of Desphina peninsula. Retaining walls and sherds dating from the Mycenaean to the Roman period are mentioned.

Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 83, no. 108; *id.*, *ADelt* 60, 2005, B, 459.

It has been identified as Naulochos mentioned by Pliny (*Nat.* 4.8).

Freitag, *Golf*, 136.

Theotokos – Θεοτόκος

5:1A

Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

The site of a fortified town dependency of Lilaia. It is located on a hill south of Kato Agoriani.

Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 29, no. 3; *id.*, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 55-59, fig. 3; J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 408.

Roman and Late Roman sherds were found in trial trenches in the terraces below the hill. It has also been demonstrated that a second phase of alluviation took place in the Late Roman and Byzantine periods which is responsible for the fertile alluvial zones of the lower plain of the Kephissos river.

P. W. Wallace, N. Wilkie, *ADelt* 33, 1978, B, 160-161.

TITHOREA (Tithorea / Turk. Velitsa) –

ΤΙΘΟΡΕΑ (Βελίτσα)

5:2B

Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

Hdt. 8.32; D.S. 16.31.3-5; Plin. *Nat.* 4.7-8; Pl. *Sul.* 15; Paus. 9.17.4-6; 10.32.8-19; St.Byz. s.v. Τιθορέα; Hierocl. 644.

Inscriptions: *IG* IX1, 487-217; A. Wilhelm, *ÖJh* 4, 1901, Beibl., 19-22; J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 93, 1969, 79-80, fig. 6; Papadimitriou-Velentzas, *Τιθορέα*, 63-96; D. Rousset – G. Zachos, *Chiron* 42, 2012, 459-506.

It is located in the foothills of Mt. Parnassus at the site of modern Tithorea (Turk. Velitsa).

The toponym is Tithorra, Tithora, Tithōra and the ethnic name is attested as Tithoreus, Tithorreus and Tithoreeus (*IG* IXi, 66, 189-190; Paus. 9.17.4; 10.32.8; Pl. *Sul.* 15).

J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 422, no. 187.

In Pausanias' lifetime there was a theatre, an agora, but the most noteworthy place was the grove with the temple and the statue of Athena. The Tithoreans also showed him the tomb of Antiope and Phokos, one of the two Phokian eponymous heroes. The Kachalis River to the south east supplied the city with drinking-water. G. A. Zachos, in *Η Περιφέρεια του Μυκηναϊκού Κόσμου Β* (2003) 289-294.

Sanctuaries of Isis, Anubis and Sarapis are mentioned in manumission inscriptions of the Roman period. The sanctuary of Isis was outside the city walls, possibly near the Kephissos River. It was characterised by Pausanias who visited it during the biennial festival in honour of

the goddess as the holiest of all the sanctuaries made by the Greeks for the Egyptian goddess. He describes the festival in great detail, during which slaves, animals, garments, silver and gold items were sold, and also the sacrifices, which were based on the Egyptian rite. The remains of the sacrifices were buried two stades away from the shrine, always in the same spot. Paliatva near the Kephissos River has been proposed as the location of the sanctuary. A well filled with pot-sherds and animal bones was found near the site.

Papadimitriou-Velentzas, *Τιθόρα*, 39-46.

Pausanias also mentions the high quality of the olive oil from Tithorea which was used for the production of unguents and sent to the Emperor.

Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 402-410; Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας* 5, 419-424.

Another important sanctuary, not only for the natives, but also for the Phokians in general, was the sanctuary of Asclepius Archagetas. Pausanias mentions lodgings for the suppliants of the god and for his servants within the precincts. The cult statue was in the middle of the temple and had a beard more than two feet long. A couch was set on the right. The sanctuary of Asclepius is possibly located at Agioi Anargyroi, between Tithorea and Amphikleia (A. Papadimitriou, *ADelt* 33, 1978, A, 144). Sherds possibly of Roman date have been reported (Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 109) (5:2A).

Tithorea and Phokis as a whole became a member of the Aitolian League in 196 BC and regained its independence in 191 BC when M. A. Glabrio drove the Aetolians out of Phokis. It has been suggested that during this period of Aitolian control Tithorea minted bronze coins using Aitolian types (Kravartoyannos, *Αρχαία Νομίσματα*, 131; *contra*, M. Oikonomidou-Karamesini, *AAA* 3, 1970, 98-99).

During the skirmishes between Sulla and Archelaos in the Kephissos basin in 86 BC, Tithorea was controlled by the Romans, since a Phokian named Kaphis drove Hortensius via a mountain road from the citadel of Tithorea to Parapotamioi, where Sulla had encamped (Enisleidis, *Αμφιπέλεια*, 117; Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder*, II, 357-359).

Dorotheos, a doctor from Alexandria, moved to and was buried in Tithorea in the 1st century BC [L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2, 1946, 79-88; W. Peek, *Griechische Grabgedichte* (1960) 98 no 135; Papadimitriou-Velentzas, *Τιθόρα*, 85-89].

An important family of Roman Tithorea was that of T. F. Soclaros, a friend of Plutarch. His father, Aristion,

was a family friend of Aristoboulos. Soclaros himself acquired Roman citizenship during the Flavian period and was present in Plutarch's company for many conversations. As we learn from Plutarch, Soclaros was a witty companion and bon viveur who also tended his garden in Kephissos. He acquired citizenship of Delphi and along with other members of his family took over important offices in Delphi during most of the 2nd century AD. T.F. Pollios Aristion, one of his sons, married Eurydice of the family of Memmianus. T.F. Soclaros and his sons (T.F. Agias and T.F. Pollios) dedicated the statue of Nervas in Tithorea in AD 98 (*IG IXi*, 200; Højte, *Statue bases*, 369, Nerva 29). Pollios and his son, T.F. Kaphis, both held the office of archon in Tithorea and are mentioned along with other members of the family in the manumissions of the early 2nd century AD. B. Puech, *REG* 94, 1981, 186-192, *stemma* 189; *ead.*, *ANRW* II. 33.6, 1992, 4879-4883, *stemma* 4857; *ead.*, *Topoi* 8, 1998, 261, 262, 264; P.A. Stadter, in S. Pomeroy (ed.), *Plutarch's Advice to the Bride and Groom* (1999) 174 n. 4; D. Babut, *RPhil* 73, 1999, 175-189; Sánchez, *L'Amphictionie*, 530-531 nos. 11-12; D. Rousset – G. Zachos, *Chiron* 42, 2012, 484-485.

Delphi honoured a Tithorean as proxenos in 112 BC (H. Pomtow, *Klio* 18, 1923, 300, no. 225 = *SEG* 2, 289). Aphrodisios from Tithorea won the race in the games of AD 212 in Ambrossos (*IG IXi*, 12; *Syll.*³ 1063).

A cemetery of the city was located beside the Kachalis River. Cist graves dating to the 4th-1st century BC have been excavated (Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B, 254; G. Zachos, in *ΕλλΚεφ* ΣΤ, 2004, 521-534; S. Dimaki, *ADelt* 2010, B, in press).

Late Roman vases and inscribed funerary stelai of the same date came from the cemetery at Vamvakies (D. Vagen, I. Komna fields).

Papadimitriou, *Πεδιές*, 94-95.

Two table supports were found in second use in the floor of an Early Christian church under the Post-Byzantine church of Agios Ioannis Theologos. Manumissions were inscribed a second time on both faces in the early 2nd century AD and were erected in the sanctuary of Sarapis that must have been located in the area. The Basilica was constructed around the middle of the 5th c. AD and destroyed possibly by the earthquake of 551 AD (A. Gialouri, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B, 540-542; *ead.*, in *Θωράκιον*, 87-100; D. Rousset – G. Zachos, *Chiron* 42, 2012, 459-506). A Late Hellenistic funerary palmette stele is incorporated in the east wall of the Post-Byzantine church (P. Lazaridis, *ADelt* 16, 1960, B, 164, pl. 147ε).

Two inscribed funerary stelae, one of Late Hellenistic date and the other with a standing togatus dated to the 3rd-4th centuries AD, along with a roman marble sarcophagus decorated with rosettes and bearing *tabula ansata* without inscription, were found in the church of Abbas Zosimas among the remains of an Early Christian building (P. Lazaridis, *ADelt* 16, 1960, B, 164, pl. 147στ-ζ, 148α; J. Sodini, *BCH* 94, 1970, 715; *LGPNIIB* s.v. Κλεόπατρος, no. 5; D. Rousset, *CRAI* 2012, 1680-1681, fig. 14). A palmette stele of the 2nd century BC is incorporated in the east wall of the church's precinct (*LGPNIIB*, s.v. Καλλείδης 27, Κριτώ 1, Ξεῖνος 1).

Late Hellenistic-Early Roman grave stelae and a statue base of Commodus (J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 93, 1969, 79-80, fig. 6; *SEG* 25, 604; Højte, *Statue bases*, 581, Commodus 71) are now in the Archaeological Collection of Tithorea. A miliarium dated to the reign of Probus, now in Thebes museum, came from Tithorea (Th. Spyropoulos, *ADelt* 25, 1970, B, 241; D. Rousset, *CRAI* 2012, 1682-1683, no. 6, fig. 15-16), but was possibly moved there from the Kephissos plain, where the road shown in the Tabula Peutinger passed.

Tithorea is also mentioned by Hierocles (644-2).

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TITHRONION (Turk. Vertzana, Paliokastro) –
ΤΙΘΡΩΝΙΟΝ (Βέρτζανα, Παλιόκαστρο) 5:2A
Elateia-Amfikleia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.
Hdt. 8.33; Plin. *Nat.* 4.7-8; Paus. 10.3.2; 10.33.12; Hdn I. 364.20; St. Byz. s.v.

Inscriptions: *IG IXi*, 222-225; G. Soteriades, *Prakt* 1909, 130; E. Mastrokostas, *AEphem* 1955, 79-81, nos 2-3.

It is located in the foothills of Mt. Kallidromon, on a flat-topped hill flanked by the Kephissos River and its tributary, 5km south of the modern village of the same name.

The toponym is Tithrōnion, Tethronion / Tethrōnion. Tithrone mentioned in Pliny is presumably a corruption. The toponym Teithron, mentioned in an Epigram from the Aitolian Thermon is clearly a poetic form (*IG IX²*, 1, 51). The ethnic name is attested as Teithronios.

J. Oulhen, in *Inventory*, 426, no. 194.

Livy referred to it as a city of Doris (Liv. 28.7).

Citizens of Tithronion are mentioned in a manumission of the 2nd century AD in Delphi (*SGDI* 1983, 2077, 1755). Also, a Tithronian was general of the Phokian League in 171 BC. (*SGDI* 1977, 2033, 2044). Delphi honoured the city and three citizens-judges as proxenoi in 138-135 BC (H. Pomtow, *Klio* 18, 1923, 278, no. 207=*SEG* 2, 281).

Pausanias found nothing remarkable in Tithorion. He only mentions a grove located in the territory of Tithronion with a temple and altars of Apollo, but no image of the god.

Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 422-423; Papachatzis, *Πλασινία* 5, 431. Roman sherds have been found in the area. Parts of the acropolis wall were repaired in the Late Roman period. Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 33, no. 14; *id.*, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 95, photo 160.

A honorary monument for Septimius Severus, Julia Domna and Caracalla was erected by the city probably in AD 197, during the archonship of M. Ulpius Gratus (*IG IXi*, 224; E. Mastrokostas, *AEphem* 1955, 79-81, nos 2-3); who is mentioned as a high priest and *protos* in Anfikyra (*IG IXi*, 8). Also, Quintilia Ploutarche set up a statue in honour of her husband, M. Ulpius Damasippos (G. Soteriades, *Prakt* 1909, 130). For the offices of Damasippos cf. **Amphikleia**.

Roman sherds were found in a Mycenaean chamber tomb inside the acropolis enclosure (p. i).

A very large rectangular monument, constructed with massive blocks, was found at Verantzana or Vertzana, 1.5-2km northeast of the acropolis. Two fragments of marble *thranoi* came to light. It has been interpreted as a burial enclosure or as the base of a burial monument. It is dated to the 2nd-1st centuries BC.

Ph. Dakoronia, *ADelt* 45, 1990, B, 175, pl. 82a; Dasios, *Αρχαίοι οικισμοί*, 97.

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Valtos-Tsimplias – Βάλτος-Τσιμπλιάς 5:2D
Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Amphora sherds, possibly of Roman date were found

off Cape Tsimplias at Valtos (or Stenon) bay near Desphina, an indication of a shipwreck.

H. Spondylis, *ADelt* 43, 1988, B, 684.

Verva – Βεργιά

5:2C

Distomo - Arachova - Antikyra Mun. / Boeotia R.Un.

It is located at the cross road of the modern road to Delphi with the road to Distomo.

Retaining walls and a fortification square in shape, constructed with small stones, tiles and mortar have been noted. Roman sherds are abundant from the area. It could be a satellite settlement of Ambrossos.

Ph. Dasios, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 59, no. 65.

An Early Christian winery was excavated in 2007.

ADelt (in press).

Two funerary stelae dating to the 2nd century BC and to the 2nd century BC-1st century AD came from the chapel of Agia Paraskevi.

E. Mastrokostas, *AEphem* 1955, 74-75, nos 1-2.

Zaliska / Zaleska – Ζάλισκα / Ζάλεσσα

5:1C

Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Unfluted columns and building remains possibly of Late Roman date have been found incorporated into the walls of a small chapel near the Pleistos River.

S. Raptopoulos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 451, no. 19.

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Plb. 1.6.5; 2.20.6; 2.35.7; 4.25.8; 4.46.1; 9.33.4; 9.35.1; 25.3.2; Cic. *Font.* 30.9; *Div.* 1.37; 1.75; 1.79; 1.81; 1.95-96; 1.91; 2.68; 2.117-118; *Leg.* 1.58; *de Orat.* 3.129; *Rep.* 2.44; *Tusc.* 1.114; 5.70; *Ver.* 2.4.131; D.S. 9.10.1; 9.16; 9.32-33; 11.14.2-5; 11.26.7; 11.45.8; 12.29.4; 12.35.3; 14.13.3; 14.84.2; 14.93.3-4; 14.117.8; 15.13.1; 15.49.1; 16.1.4; 16.14.3; 16.23-27; 16.32.2; 16.57; 16.60.1; 16.63-64; 16.78.3; 17.10.5; Caes. *Civ.* 3.55-56; Var. *De Vita Populi Romani* 97; *Men.* 152, 320; Nep. *Lys.* 3.2; *Milt.* 1.2; *Them.* 2.6; Paus. 1.3; 3.10.3; 5.5; Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.3; 3.30.15; Str. 9.3.1-4; 9.3.12-16; Hyg. *Fab.* 2.2; 67.2-3; 88.8; 120.1; 122.2; 123.2; 161.1; 178.4; 190.3; Ov. *Fast.* 3.856; *Met.* 1.5.15; 2.543; 2.667; 9.332; 10.168; 11.414; 15.144; 15.631; *Tr.* 4.8.43; Vitruv. 4.1.4; 7 pr. 12.6; Liv. 1.56.5; 1.56.9; 5.15.4; 5.16.1; 5.16.8; 5.25.10; 5.28.2; 5.28.4; 22.57.5; 23.11.1; 28.45.12; 29.10.6; 29.11.5; 36.11.6; 38.48.2; 40.58.3; 41.22.5-6; 41.23.14; 41.23.16; 41.25.6; 42.5.10; 42.6.1; 42.12.6; 42.15.3-4; 42.17.2; 42.29.2; 42.40.6; 42.40.8; 42.42.1-2; 42.59.8; 45.5.5; 45.5.11; 45.27.6; 45.41.3-4; V. Max. 1.6.3; 1.8.10; 1.8 ext. 8; 4.1 ext. 7; 5.6.8; 5.6 ext. 1; 7.3.2; 8.15 ext. 2; Mela 2.40.4; Sen. *Oed.* 16; 214; 800; *Phoen.* 259; Luc. 5.70; 5.74; 5.112; Plin. *Nat.* 2.208; 4.7-8; 4.27; 6.216; 7.109; 7.199; 7.151; 7.203; 7.210; 19.86; 33.83; 34.14; 34.36; 35.58-59; 35.138; Stat. *Theb.* 1.564; 8.196; Fron. *Str.* 1.11.11; Tac. *Ann.* 2.5; D.Chr. 77/78.26; Apul. *Met.* 2.25; 10.33; Plu. *Aem.* 28.2; *Cim.* 17.3; *Demetr.* 40.4; *Pel.* 34.5; *Per.* 21; *Sol.* 11; *Timol.* 30.4.5; *Mor.* 349E; Plu. *De E apud Delpbos*; *De Pythiae Oraculis*; *De defectu oraculorum*; Suet. *Nero* 40.3; Gel. 12.5; App. *Hann.* 5.27; *Ill.* 1.4; *Mith.* 16.112; *BC* 1.11; Paus. 1.4.4; 3.10.3; 4.32.5; 7.2.4; 7.19.4-7; 10.5.5-10.19.4, 10.22.12-10.32.1; (Coryc. 10.32.2-7); D.C. 52.30.5-6; Aristid. *Or.* 13.153; Philostr. *VA* 8.18; 97; Ael. *NA* 6.1; Jul. *Ep.* 198.26-28; Lib. *Decl.* 16.1.60; *Or.* 10.32; Serv. *A.* 1.97; 2.318; 3.84; 3.96; 3.297; 3.332; 3.360; 3.339; 3.704; 7.637; 8.269; 8.334; *In Vergilii Georgicon* 3.292; *Digesta* 5.1.12.2; Hierocl. 643.13; Eustathius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 1.420. Inscriptions (selective): *FD* III 1-6; *CID* I-IV; *SGDI* 1684-2993; H. Pomtow, *Klio* 18, 1923, 259-308; J. Jan-

noray, *REA* 47, 1945, 33-81; Mulliez, *affranchissement*; Jacquemin, *Offrandes*; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*.

Coinage: I. Svoronos, *BCH* 20, 1896, 30-49, nos. 36-96, pl. xxvii-xxx; G. Blum, *BCH* 37, 1913, 323-325 fig. 1, 334-339; *id.*, *Journ.Inter. d'Arch.Num.* 16, 1914, 5,6; 34,2, pl. I, 7, 9; R. Vallois, *BCH* 55, 1931, 341-343; *BMC Greek Coins* 28, 31, 41, pl. IV, 18, 21, 25; *RPC* IV temp. 4601-4, 7853-4, 5056, 7855, 8202; *SNG* Cop. 152-154; *SNG* Sweden 1386; *SNG* Bar. 548; *BCD* 2010, lots 391-411; Bommelaer, *Guide* 2, 56-57.

Delphi issued coinage in the 1st and 2nd century AD. A few anonymous coins have been associated with the period of Nero's travels in Achaia (AD 66-67) (cf. B.E. Lévy, *SchnMjBl* 138, 1985, 41) but the bulk of the coinage was issued during the reign of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius (mostly Faustina I types). There are also a few specimens of Faustina II type. It is noteworthy to mention that the "Antinoos" type with the legend "Aristotimos dedicated" were issued between AD 130/1 and 138 when T. Fl. Aristotimos, friend of Plutarch and priest of Apollo, was *epimeletes* of the Amphictyony and subsidized the issue as public service. As we can assume by the iconography, the majority of these issues must have been struck on the occasion of the Pythian Games to serve rather as souvenirs than to cover the needs of the citizens and of the visitors, since the total number must have been relatively small, as it is indicated by the small number of dies. Of course, this small local production supported the local economy during the festival, but the city would normally cover its needs with the money spent by the pilgrims and with the product of the Imperial mints of the Empire. Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 82-87, table 3.1.

HISTORY

Literary sources from the Roman period place Delphi at the centre of their world (Gel. 12.5; Plu. *De defectu oraculorum* 409E-F; Aristid. *Or.* 13.153; Philostr. *VA* 8.18). The constant interest of the Emperors from the Early Empire until Late Antiquity is enough evidence

for this. However, this special interest starts as early as the intervention of Rome in Greek matters.

The impact of Rome on Delphi started as early as the first years of the 2nd century BC, the period that Titus Q. Flaminius ruled Greece south of Thermopylae with Elateia, a Phocian city, as his headquarters.

Flaminius dedicated some silver bucklers, and his own shield, to Apollo at Delphi, commemorating the liberation of Greece that had been declared by him in the Isthmian Games of 196 BC. He also offered a golden wreath (Plu. *Flam.* 12.6.6-7). The city of Delphi dedicated an equestrian statue of Titus (*Syll.*³ 616; Jacquemin, *Offrandes*, 325, no. 191; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 273-274, no. 151). It remains conjectural the attribution of a certain bust found in Delphi to Flaminius.

F. Chamoux, *BCH* 89, 1965, 214-224; Petrakos, *Delphi*, 60, pl. 53; *Guide de Delphes*, 111-113, fig. 69.

T.Q. Flaminius, L. Acilius, M. Aemilius Lepidus also appeared in the list of proxenoi of 189/8 BC (*Syll.*³ 585; *FD* III4, 427). They probably offered to Delphi their advice and their intervention in Senate.

J.-L. Ferrary, in P. Cartledge, P. Garnsey, E. Gruen (eds), *Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture, History, and Historiography* (1997), 108.

Manius Acilius Glabrio ended the one-century Aitolian control of the sanctuary (Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens*, 356-364; Daux, *Delphes*, 227-233) in 190 BC, confiscating the land of the Aitolians in favour of the sanctuary (P. Roussel, *BCH* 1932, 1-36; *RDGE*, 221-228, nos 37-38; J.-P. Michaud, in *Études Delphiques*, *BCH* Suppl. 4, 1977, 125-136; Rousset, *Le territoire*, 250-269; Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 258-264 no. 144). He also reinstated the borders of Delphi and the Sacred land to the neighboring cities. The city of Delphi erected a statue in honor of Manius (J. Bousquet, *BCH* 88, 1964, 387, fig. 6; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 258 no. 143). Praetor Sp. Postumius Albinus two years later officially declared on behalf of the Senate the autonomy, inviolability, and immunity of the city, and consul C. Livius Salinator confirmed the territorial arrangements of Manius (Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, nos 145-148). A few years later (180/79 or 179/8 BC) Rhodian judges arbitrated a territorial dispute between Amphissa and Delphi.

FD III3, 383; Rousset, *Le territoire*, 72-74, no. 1; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 281-283 no. 156.

Scipio Africanus possibly offered a dedication to the sanctuary of Apollo in 190 BC.

Daux, *Delphes*, 599-600; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 274, no. 152.

L. Aemilius Paulus transformed an unfinished monument of king Perseus on the east side of the *peribolos* to a trophy monument adorned with friezes depicting his victory in Pydna (167 BC). On the top of the monument stood the equestrian statue of the victor (Plb. 30.10; Plu. *Aem.* 28.2; *CIL* 1.622 = *ILS* 8884 = *ILLRP* 323; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 290-291, no. 161)¹.

Courby, *La terrasse*, 302-308; H. Kähler, *Der Fries vom Reiterdenkmal des Aemilius Paullus in Delphi* (1965); Petrakos, *Delphi*, 25; Will, *Histoire*, II, 282; A. Jacquemin – D. Laroche, *BCH* 106, 1982, 207-218; J.-L. Ferrary, *Philhellénisme et impérialisme* (1988) 556-560; N. Hammond, F. Walbank, *A History of Macedonia III, 336-167 B.C.* (1988) 613-617; *Guide de Delphes*, 124-126, fig. 92.

Athenian judges mediated the dispute about the borderline between Ambrysos, Phylgionion and Delphi around the middle of the 2nd century BC (ca.140?).

Ager, *Interstate*, 347-350, no. 126; Rousset, *Le territoire*, 76-79, 126-128, nos 3-5; Camia, *Roma e le poleis*, 65-70; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 308-310, no. 170.

In the third quarter of the 2nd century BC a serious case of embezzlement of sacred funds (50 silver talents from the temple's treasury, 3 talents and 35 mnai from another fund and incalculable grazing revenues on sacred land) occurred that turned the citizens against each other. Thirteen persons were exiled from Delphi and they turned to Rome. The senate requested the proconsul of Macedon (probably M. Acilius Balbus) to intervene and in turn he requested the Amphictyony to deal with the case, in accordance with the *senatus consultum*. The aforementioned thirteen were found guilty and obliged to repay. The whole case is known as the scandal of 125 BC but a date between 118/7 and 117/6 BC has recently been proposed. The impacts of the scandal continued until 114 BC. The texts were carved on four orthostates at the west end of temple's exterior south wall and onto the Aemilius Paulus Monument.

CID IV, 118-288; Daux, *Delphes*, 372-386, 699-707; Ager, *Interstate*, 461-465, no. 163; Rousset, *Le territoire*, 131-132,

¹Two proxyeny decrees, one for an Athenian grammarian and one for the proconsul Caristianus Julianus were engraved on

it in the first quarter of the 1st and in early 2nd century AD (A. Jacquemin – D. Laroche, *BCH* 106, 1982, 212-214).

43; D. Summa, *ZPE* 172, 2010, 100-104; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 317-323; nos. 174-177.

In 117 BC Amphissa was unsuccessful in reinstating the territorial dispute with Delphi arbitrated in early 90s by the Senate.

FD III4, 280; Ager, *Interstate*, 238, 245, no. 88III, 461-465, no. 163; Sánchez, *L'Amphictionie*, 408-415; Rousset, *Le territoire*, 80-91, 128-143, no. 6.

The city of Delphi erected in 106 BC two equestrian statues in honour of M. Minucius Rufus consul in the province of Macedonia for his victory against the Gauls, Scordisci, Bessi and the rest of the Thracians. It has been suggested that this monument is part of the propaganda organized by Minucius himself. The Scordisci were the new Gauls and the sanctuary of Apollo has been associated with the defence of Hellenism against the barbarians and especially against Gauls (279 BC). Quintus, the brother of Marcus, serving under him as legate, offered a dedication to Apollo.

*Syll.*³ 710A, C, D; *FD* III1, 526; C. Vatin, *BCH* 91, 1967, 401-407; Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire*, 223-227; Jacquemin, *Offrandes*, nos 183-184, 421-422; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 324-326, nos. 178-181.

Around 100 BC *Lex de Cilicia Macedoniae provincis* translated into Greek was inscribed on the plinth of the monument of Aemilius Paulus (*FD* III4, 37).

G. Colin, *BCH* 48, 1924, 58-96, 304; M. Hassall, M. Crawford, J. Reynolds, *JRS* 64, 1974, 195-220; A. Lintott, *ZPE* 20, 1976, 65-82; J.-L. Ferrary, *MEFRA* 89, 1977, 619-660; Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire*, 233, 236, 239; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 331-332, no. 184.

Sulla carried off works from the Greek sanctuaries, among them Delphi in 87/86 BC (Paus. 9.7.5). Plutarch adds that a huge silver jar, gift of the Lydian king Croesus was cut in pieces for transportation and also that Sulla took from the sanctuary a golden statuette of Apollo that he carried in his bosom in battle (Plu. *Sul.* 12.4-6; 29.6) (Daux, *Delphes*, 398-399, 406-407; Arafat, *Pausanias*, 102-103; Sánchez, *L'Amphictionie*, 421). The war caused the cancellation of the Pythian Games (*Syll.*³ 738A; L. Robert, *BCH* 53, 1929, 34-39; *FD* III3, 249; Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 43; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 390-392, no. 208).

Scordisci, Maedi and Dardani invaded Greece between 84/3 and 81/0 BC, causing damage to Greek sanctuaries, among them Delphi (App. *Ill.* 5).

Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire*, 361-366.

Cicero mentions that the sanctuary declined in his period

and oracles did not make utterances during his time and had not done so for a long time (Cic. *Div.* 1.19; 2.57). Plutarch (Cic. 5.1-2), also offers the information that Cicero himself asked for an oracle to prophesize about his career, but the credibility of this evidence is disputed.

Daux, *Delphes*, 592; R. Flacelière, in *Études Delphiques*, *BCH* Suppl. 4, 1977, 159-160; S. Rasmussen, in V. Rosenberger (ed.), *Divination in the Ancient World* (2013) 81-91.

Apart from Cicero, Strabo refers to the poverty of the Delphians (Str. 9.3.8), which could be associated with the compulsory loan to Sulla and the raid of the Thracians. Apart from looting, the damages caused in the times of Mithridatic Wars, as well as in Civil Wars, are difficult to detect. The relevant quote of Plutarch that the fire on the altar was extinguished remains obscure (Plu. *Num.* 9.6).

Pompeii probably controlled the area some time before Pharsalus (Flor. 2.15.2) but Q. Fufius Calenus changed the cities, among them Delphi, in his favour (Caes. *Civ.* 3.56). The name of Calenus is mentioned two times in a fragmentary honorific text from Delphi (*FD* III1, 318 and p. 400). Also, the Amphictyony erected a statue of Theopompus from Knidos, friend of Caesar, and honored Callistus from Knidos, who followed Caesar in Greece and offered his services to the Greek cities (*IGD* IV, 130-131).

Daux, *Delphes*, 407-409; Sánchez, *L'Amphictionie*, 422-424; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 392-396, nos. 210-211.

Antonius certainly controlled the region just before Actium, since he used the port of Antikyra to transfer his supplies to his army in Akarnania (Plu. *Ant.* 68) and promised to restore Apollo's temple, damaged by fire during the Thracian's raid (Plu. *Ant.* 23.3), but his promises came to nothing.

On this period of time, Delphi honoured Philotas, doctor from Amphissa (*FD* III4, 58). He was a protégé of Marcus Antonius Antyllus son of Antonius and participated in symposia organized by the latter together with Cleopatra in Alexandria (Plu. *Ant.* 28).

Augustus reorganized the Amphictyony and offered 10 of the 24 votes to his new colony Nicopolis.

Lefèvre, *L'amphictionie*, 127-128; Sánchez, *L'amphictionie*, 426-428.

A herm portrait of Augustus was erected by the Athenians for "saving all the Greeks".

J. Bousquet, *BCH* 85, 1961, 88-90; Højte, *Statue bases*, 251, Augustus 138; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 399, no. 213.

Livia dedicated a large golden E to hang on the temple (Plu. *De E*, 385F).

R. Flacelière, *Sur l'E de Delphes* (1941); Jacquemin, *Offrandes*, 179.

As far as the family of Augustus is concerned, Delphi erected a statue of Marcellus Claudius, nephew of Augustus, as patron of the city [*Syll.*³ 774A; Cl. Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities* (2002) C13] and the Amphictyony dedicated statues of Lucius Caesar and Julia the Junger, as well as of Agrippine the Younger [*Syll.*³ 779A, B, D; *CID* IV, 132-133; J.-M. Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa* (1984) 449; Jacquemin, *Offrandes*, nos. 20, 43, 44, 180; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 396-401, nos. 212, 214-216].

The city and the Amphictyony respectively erected two statues of Tiberius (*FD* III1, 529-530).

Jacquemin, *Offrandes*, nos. 56, 200; Højte, *Statue bases*, 278, Tiberius 93-94; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 401-402 nos. 217-218.

Also, Caligula was probably honoured with statue in Delphi (H. Pomtow, *Klio* 1921, 166-167, no. 152; *SEG* 1, 156). Højte, *Statue bases*, 290-291, Caligula 15.

Claudius being informed by proconsul L. Junius Gallio, brother of Seneca, that the population of Delphi has been declining, instruct the governor or the Amphictyonic Council to encourage free men from other towns of the province to settle in Delphi with full citizen rights (*FD* III4, 286; *Syll.*³ 802; A. Plassart, *REG* 80, 1967, 372-378; Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, no. 31). Claudius became also archon of the city and is mentioned as witness in manumission (D. Mulliez, *BCH* 125, 2001, 301-303). The city of Delphi erected two statues in honor of the emperor in the second half of AD 42 and in the second half of AD 46 (*FD* III1, 531; III4, 469; Højte, *Statue bases*, 309, Claudius 94-96; Jacquemin, *Offrandes*, nos. 155-156; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 402-405, nos. 219-221).

The sanctuary was renovated in AD 67 for the visit of Nero, who was crowned as winner in the music contest. Dio Cassius (63.14.2) offered a number of contradictory information about Nero's involvement in sanctuary's matters. He offered 400.000 sesterces to Pythia for uttering some oracles that suited him, but this sum of money was confiscated by Galba (Th. Homolle, *BCH* 20, 1896, 712-713). On the other hand, "whether from vexation at the god for making some unpleasant predictions to him or because he was merely crazy", he confiscated for his veterans the territory of Kirrha, the

sacred land of the sanctuary. The reliability of this information has been disputed but later studies argue against this skepticism (Sánchez, *L'Amphictionie*, 453; Rousset, *Le territoire*, 275, 278-279). Finally, he attempted to block out the "prophetic chasm" with the bodies of the people slayed in Delphi. Pausanias (10.7.1) also mentions that Nero carried off 500 bronze statues from Delphi, amongst them the statue of diver Hydna, daughter of Scyllis, who operated alongside her father against the Persian fleet during the storm near Pelion Mt. (10.19.2).

Arafat, *Pausanias*, 146-150; Bouchon, Neron [on Plutarch's silence on Nero's depredations, Jones, *Plutarch*, 33-34, 18-19; M. Griffin, *Nero: the end of a dynasty* (1984) 211; S. Levin, *ANRW* II.18.2, 1989, 1606; Arafat, *Pausanias*, 148-149].

The Amphictyony and the city of Delphi erected respectively in AD 54/55 two statues in honour of Nero and another of his mother Agrippine (Th. Homolle, *BCH* 20, 1896, 708-711; *CID* IV, 138; Højte, *Statue bases*, 309, 323, Claudius 94, Nero 27-28; Jacquemin, *Offrandes*, nos 49, 144).

Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 405-407, nos 222-223.

Vespasian allowed Delphi to remain free and autonomous and sold a harbour and pasturage to the city that could be associated with the land confiscated by Nero (*CID* IV, 152).

Sánchez, *L'Amphictionie*, 453-454; Rousset, *Le territoire*, 275-279, no. 43.

Titus is mentioned as archon in Delphi in AD 79/80 (*FD* III4, 34-35; *Syll.*³ 817).

A statue of Titus or Domitian was erected by the city of Delphi.

G. Daux, *BCH* 68, 1944, 122-123, no 35; Højte, *Statue bases*, 350, Titus 46.

Domitian offered the money for the restoration of Apollo's temple (*Syll.*³ 821A; *FD* III4, 120; *CIL* III, 14203; *ILS* 8905; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 414-415, no. 229). Various other restorations took part in this period under the *epimeliteia* of T.Fl. Megaleinos and T.Fl. Soklaros, though the activity of the latter could be placed in the reign of Trajan. Domitian also restored the Dodecais procession from Athens to Delphi (*FD* III2, 65). Not without significance is the statue of the proconsul in Achaia, T. Avidius Quietus, erected by the Amphictyony in AD 91/2 (*CID* IV, 143; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 424, no. 240).

A statue of Nerva was erected by the city of Delphi (Ch. Dunant, *BCH* 76, 1952, 627; Højte, *Statue bases*, 251, 368-369, Nerva 26; Jacquemin, *Offrandes*, 185).

Amphictyony constructed the house of the Pythian priestess during the *epimeliteia* of T. Fl. Soklaros, in the reign of Nerva or the first years of Trajan (*Syll.*³ 823A; *CID* IV, 146).

Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 423, no. 239. Trajan reassured the freedom and the autonomy of the city in AD 98. His letter was inscribed on an orthostate of the temple [*FD* III4, 287; *SEG* 26, 629; R. Flacelière, in *Recueil Plassart* (1976) 98-99]. The general policy of Trajan for Delphic matters was carried out by proconsul Caristianus Julianus, who was honoured by the city of Delphi. The text has been engraved on Aemilius Paulus monument in AD 101 or 102 (*FD* III4, 45).

Jacquemin, *Offrandes*, no. 154; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 425-426, no. 242.

The Amphictyony erected a statue of Trajan between AD 102 and 114, possibly in AD 103, on the occasion of Pythia. L. Cassius Petraios from Hypata, friend of Plutarch, and *epimeletes* in this case, erected himself another statue of the emperor (*Syll.*³ 825A-B).

Højte, *Statue bases*, 388, Trajan 109-110; Jacquemin, *Offrandes*, nos. 57, 316; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 425, no. 241.

Trajan's involvement in sanctuary matters and West Locris-Phokis as well is best viewed through the mission of Avidius Nigrinus the Younger, who dealt with the arbitrations of the 2nd century BC (190, 140, 117 BC) concerning the land of the city of Delphi, the Sanctuary and the Sacred Land. The boundaries were a matter of dispute between Delphi-Sanctuary and the neighbouring Locrian and Phokian cities (see above). Avidius confirmed the earlier arrangement and his decision was inscribed in large Greek and Latin letters on the southern corner of the temple (*FD* III4, 290-299).

Rousset, *Le territoire*, 81-83, 91-108, fig. 8, nos. 7-15; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 428-434, nos 246-247.

Further disputes between Amphissa and Delphi were settled in the times of Hadrian, in late 2nd century and finally in early 3rd century AD.

Rousset, *Le territoire*, 111-114, 150, 280-282, nos 21-23, 44. The interest of Hadrian in Delphi is depicted in the correspondence of the emperor (concerning his comments on various *dogmata*, financial matters, and also on festival regulations [*FD* III4, 300-308; C. Vatin, *Delphes à l'époque imperiale* (1965) 7-21; R. Flacelière, *CRAI* 1971, 168-169,

171-175, no. 1-2, 8, 10-16; F. Martin, *La documentación griega de la cancelleria del emperador Adriano* (1982) 3, 7, 8, 18-20, 40-41]. He also visited the shrine in AD 125 and possibly during his second trip in AD 128/9 [H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum* (1986) 192, 202; Th. Homolle, *BCH* 20, 1896, 723]. He served as archon twice AD 118-120 and 125 and he involved in construction in the sanctuary through his agent C. Julius Pudens during the period of his first office (*Syll.*³ 830, 836) and possibly after his visit in AD 125 [*FD* III4, 304; F. Martin, *op.cit.*, no. 4; M. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (2000) 68, 129].

The city and the Amphictyony honoured Hadrian with statues. Also, the Koinon of the Greeks that organized the Eleutheria in Plataea, erected a statue of the emperor in the sanctuary (*Syll.*³ 829A-B, 835A-B; *CID* IV, 150, 153; R. Flacelière, *CRAI* 1971, 169-170, 172 no. 3-5, 9; Højte, *Statue bases*, 438, Hadrian 241-243; Jacquemin, *Offrandes*, nos. 38, 169, 252, 311; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 435-446, nos. 248-254).

The Amphictyony and the city honoured Antinoos minting issues in which the protégé of the emperor is entitled as hero (I. Svoronos, *BCH* 20, 1896, 41, no. 72).

Also a statue of the young Bithynian was erected (A. Keramopoulos, *BCH* 1911, 492-498; Petrakos, *Delphi*, 59-60, pls 51-52).

Antoninus Pius never visited Delphi but he gave specific instructions to the Amphictyony and the city of Delphi for the organization of the forthcoming festival as a tribute to the deified Hadrian (*Syll.*³ 848; Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 173-174). The letter could be dated between AD 139 and 142. Also, a new series of coins were minted in the reign of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.

Herodes Atticus founded the reconstruction of the Stadium between AD 167 and 177.

It has been proposed that a nymphaeum in the form of exedra with a semicircular pool and the statues of Herodes and his family was erected by the city of Delphi in ca. AD 140 below the southwest corner of the temple terrace in the ancient sanctuary of Ge, beside the water source of Sibyl. However, the existence of the monument has been disputed. Furthermore, the city of Delphi and the Amphictyons erected statues in honour of Herodes, his wife and their children (*FD* III3, 66-75; J. Bousquet, *BCH* 88, 1964, 392-394, figs. 8-9).

Petrakos, *Delphi*, 22; W. Ameling, *Herodes Attikos II* (1983) 125; Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 110-111; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 447-448, nos 256-264.

The relation of Herodes to Delphi could be explained

by the fact that his grandfather Herodes, Tib. Claudius Hipparchos of Marathon, priest of Pythian Apollo in Athens was responsible, during the reign of Domitian, for the Pythais procession from Athens to Delphi, which had been renamed Dodekais (*FD* III2, 65-66).

Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 110.

Delphi petitioned for privileges for Commodus (*FD* III 4, 328), for Septimius Severus and Caracalla (*FD* III4, 329), and for Heliogabalus and Severus Alexander (*FD* III 4, 332). Gallienus visited Delphi in AD 264/5. He ratified or extended the privileges of the city of the Delphians and took an interest in the Pythian Games [E. Bourguet, *De rebus delphicis imperatoriae aetatis* (1905) 92; Jacquemin, *Offrandes*, no. 168]. Also, his father had received a statue in AD 253-255 (Jacquemin, *Offrandes*, no. 204).

Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 174; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 456, nos. 268-269.

The interest of the Imperial house or the intent of the Delphians to attract it is also indicated by the dedication of statues of Sept. Severus (B. Haussoulier, *BCH* 6, 1882, 453), Gordian III (R. Flacelière, *BCH* 73, 1949, 475, no. 12; *CID* IV, 168), Valerian (Th. Homolle, *BCH* 20, 1896, 728), Carus (J. Jannoray, *BCH* 70, 1946, 260; Constantius Chlorus In Constantine I (*Syll.*³ 903A, B; *FD* III 4, 275; C. Vatin, *BCH* 86, 1962, 229-230; P. Amandry *BCH* 105, 1981, 733), Dalmatius (G. Daux, *BCH* 63, 1939, 178-179), Constans I (*Syll.*³ 903D; *FD* III 3, 75; J. Jannoray, *BCH* 70, 1946, 260).

Jacquemin, *Offrandes*, nos. 37, 153, 162-166; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 458-460, nos 270, 272-275. Delphi mediated in the dispute between the councilors of the city and the Pythian agonothetes of the Pythian Games on the Pamphylian Side in AD 251. This intervention is possibly depicted in the Homonoia coins between the two cities of the Valerian period.

P. Weiss, *Chiron* 11, 1981, 315-346; *SNG* von Aulock 4838-4839; Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 207.

It has been suggested that the sanctuary may have been looted by the barbarians in the 3rd century AD, but there is no evidence to support this (Amandry, *Delphi*, 23-24). On the contrary, the edict of Diocletian was erected in AD 301 (P. Perdrizet, *BCH* 22, 1898, 403-409; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 457-458, no. 271) and also, the Septeria were still performed in the area of

Halos, re-enacting the slaying of the Dragon according to St. Cyprian [Petrakos, *Delphi*, 23; P. Themelis, *Delphi* (1980) 12].

Constantine removed, among others, the tripod commemorating the Hellenic victory in Plataea in order to adorn his new capital (E. Dyggve, *CArch* 3, 1948, 18-20; D. Laroche, *BCH* 113, 1989, 186-187). However, he was honoured with statues by the sacred city of Delphi.

The last inscription associated with the interest of the Central Government to the sanctuary is a letter of three Praetorian Prefects (in Gaul, East and Italy) dated in AD 340, in response to a petition from Flavius Felicianus, priest of Apollo, and a relative of Constantine I. The Prefects official confirms protection from *taraxia* that has been associated with the Christians.

Pouilloux, *Delphes et les Romains*, 205; P. Athanassiadi, *DeltChrA* 1989-1990, 275-277.

Julian is the last Emperor associated with Delphi. However, Julian is quite certain the one that supported the host cities of the Panhellenic Festivals (e.g. exempted them from taxation), but the only trace of his intervention in Delphi is the famous oracle delivered to his doctor and personal friend Oribasios. The oracle is known by two sources, Philostorgios, a Christian who lived around these times and Kedrenos, a Byzantine author of the 10th century AD [T. Dempsey, *The Delphic Oracle* (1918) 180; E. A. Thompson, *CIO* 40, 1946, 35-36; H. Parke, D. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (1956) I. 290, II. 194; T. Gregory, *GrRomByzSt* 24, 1983, 355-366; A. Markopoulos, *GrRomByzSt* 26, 1985, 207-210; V. Déroche, in *Mélanges Sadini* (2005) 236-240]. The reliability of the story is strongly disputed. It has been argued that the reference of Philostorgios is related not to the temple of Delphi but to that of Daphni and Antiocheia and Kedrenos misunderstood it (C. Vatin, *BCH* 86, 1962, 235-238). According to another point of view, Julian's Oracle should be attributed to Gregory of Nazianzos (Amandry, *La ruine*, 45)².

P. Athanassiadi, *DeltChrA* 1989-1990, 277 note 64; A. Robertson Brown, in H.A. Drake (ed.), *Violence in Late Antiquity* (2006) 311.

The city and the sanctuary (Agora, temple of Apollo) damaged by the earthquake of AD 365 (Amm. Marc. 26.10.15-19) and repaired by Valens and Valentinian honoured by the city of Delphi (cf. C. Vatin, *BCH* 86, 1962, 238-241, fig. 6; Pétridis, *céramique protobyzantine*, 18,

² It has been argued that the Neo-Platonic School played a role to the Julian's attempt to restore Paganism. Thus, the two

philosophers' portraits from Delphi dated in 4th century AD have a special interest. (*Guide de Delphes*, 136-138, figs 102-103).

note 8, 25). Yet, the matter of the Imperial benefaction is not mentioned in the text (cf. Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 460-461, no. 277). The absence of the phrase “the holy city” from the text could be considered as a compromise with the Christian beliefs of the new rulers.

P. Athanassiadi, *DeltChrA* 1989-1990, 274-275. On holy expression, G. Daux, *BCH* 63, 1939, 181.

The last connection between Delphi and the Central Government is dated in AD 424. The Curia of Delphi informed Isidore, the Praetorian Prefect of Illiricum, that its revenue was often exhausted since the councilors spent money on entertaining Rome with public displays, and Theodosius II ordered, on this occasion, that the duties of the officers in the cities of Illiricum should be restricted to their municipality (Cod. Theod. XV.5.4).

The city became a bishopric in the first half of the 5th century AD. A *diakonissa* Athanassia and a bishop Pantamianos or Pantimianos are known.

J. Laurent, *BCH* 23, 1899, 272-277; D. Feissel, *BCH* 104, 1980, 469-470; A. Jacquemin, in G. Freyburger, L. Pernot (eds), *Du héros païen au saint chrétien* (1997) 81-84; Pétridis, *céramique protobyzantine*, 18, note 8; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 483-484, no. 299.

Although the Oribasius oracle is connected in the collective subconscious to the end of the sanctuary, and this in its turn to the end of the city of Delphi, the latter seems to have had a new period of prosperity in the 5th and 6th century AD.

P. Pétridis, in *AEΘΣΕ* 1, 2006; *id.*, New Approach.

The city expanded in the 5th century to the west part of the area in the location of the Roman cemetery around the modern museum, as well as to the area of the sanctuary where *villae urbanae* and baths were constructed around the *peribolos*, though a private house were situated beside the temple (on Krateros' niche and Antinoos' house) [P. Pétridis, in *Mélanges Sodini* (2005) 195-197, maison A; *id.*, *céramique protobyzantine*, 21 pl. 1, fig. 1, n. 6]. Early Christian strata, dated in the 6th century AD, are also mentioned in the area of Rhodian chariot behind the great altar (J.-M. Luce, *BCH* 116, 1992, 690-691). The main street of the Late Antiquity town, which was paved in the early 5th century, follows more or less the course of the Sacred Way (Amandry, *Delphi*, 25-26). Some pagan monuments were occupied and transformed (Attalos stoa) and others robbed for building materials (Sikyonian, Athenian Treasuries) but the temple of Apollo was respected. It has even been also suggested that the roof of the temple was restored for a

last time at about this period (Amandry, *La ruine*, 26-38; Croissant, *Frontons*, 46; P. Amandry – E. Hansen, *Le temple d'Apollon*, 425).

It seems that from the 4th century AD onwards a reform program of renovations to the whole area took place. The Agora was monumentalized, the Sacred Way was re-paved and transformed to the main road of the settlement, and civil buildings were constructed inside the area of the sanctuary. The Agora and Sacred Way became the *phoros* and the *plateia odos* respectively of the Late Antique Delphi. The earthquake of AD 365 could be considered as one of the main causes and terminus post quem for it.

Pétridis, *céramique protobyzantine*, 25-28.

The architectonic elements from the 4th to the 6th century private (villas with *triclinia* and private baths) and public buildings (Agora, Thermae) and the incidences with emperor Julian in the 4th century, as well as the Delphic Curia in the 5th century indicate a flourishing community with a strong sense of civic identity and tradition.

S. Leyn, *ANRW* II.18.2, 1989, 1599-1649; P. Athanassiadi, *DeltChrA* 1989-1990; P. Pétridis, *BCH* 121, 1997, 681-695; *id.*, in *Mélanges Sodini* (2005), esp. 202-204; A. Robertson Brown, in H.A. Drake (ed.), *Violence in Late Antiquity* (2006) 310-312; P. Pétridis, *ReiCretActa* 42, 2012, 20.

Delphi is classified among the cities of the Achaia in *Synekdemos* (Hierocl. 643.13.).

The city was abandoned after the Slav raids in the first quarter of the 7th century.

P. Pétridis, *BCH* 127, 2003, 303; *id.*, New Approach, 104.

Constitutions

Apart from the eponymous archon, the boule, an executive board of councilors appointed semi-annually (from the 1st century BC annually) and the popular assembly, ecclesia, a powerful body was that of *damiourgoi*, a privileged class of citizens, stood midway between these abovementioned institutions. Though the office is known in Delphi as early as the 4th century BC, it is rather doubtful if such a privileged group of people existed before the Imperial times. Also, the *prostates* of *damiourgoi* is attested (*Syll.*³ 901A).

Ph. Gauthier, in A. Jacquemin (ed.), *Delphes cent ans après la Grande Fouille. Essai de bilan*, *BCH Suppl.* 36, 2000, 109-139, on *damiourgoi* cf. 126-129.

The members of this ancient oligarchic body had full civil rights, such as sitting in boule and serving as magistrates. *Damiourgoi* are mentioned also in an agrarian law,

associated with *emphyteusis*³, of the Hadrian period (ca. AD 127 to 132-135) obtaining, along with councilors, larger land allotments than the other citizens. Since the implementation of the degree was entrusted to the corrector Aemilius Juncus, appointed by Hadrian to the free cities of the Achaia, it has been argued for an intervention of Rome to the land property in Delphi, associated with an agrarian policy of the Emperor, and further on for the establishment of a veterans' colony, but this issue has been strongly disputed.

It is noteworthy that in the early 4th century AD, their meeting (*hierotaton synedrion*) was held in Hypata, as we know from the text mentioning the endowment of the baths in Delphi by L. Gellius Menogenes (*SEG* 12, 266; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, no. 276). The area of Dionysos Sphaleotas shrine has been proposed as the assembly place of the council, since the texts of the 4th century came from this specific area.

J. Jannoray, *BCH* 68-69, 1944-45, 77; J. Bousquet, *BCH* 76, 1952, 653-660; C. Vatin, *BCH* 85, 1961, 236-255; Pouilloux, *épimélètes*, 204; J.-L. Ferrary – D. Rousset *BCH* 122, 1998, 277-342; Partida, *Treasuries*, 139; Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 52-53.

Among the councilors and magistrates were wealthy merchants and businessmen, freedmen (P. Aelius Myron, *FD* III4, 445), Romans, prominent citizens of various origins (a sophist from Byblos, *FD* III3, 244; P. Fl. Domnos, rhetorician from Antiocheia, *FD* III1, 204), Greek immigrants (Nicolopolitans, Hypatians), veterans. *Hosioi*, a collegium of five officials, are epigraphically attested as early as in late 2nd century BC. Their duties were not restricted only to religious matters but covered also the financial interests of the sanctuary.

P. Amandry, *La mantique*, 123-125; D. Mulliez, in J.-F. Bommelaer (ed.), *Actes du Colloque Paul Perdrizet* (1992) 317-332; G. Jay-Robert, *Euphrosyne* 25, 1997, 25-45.

Also, the Thyiades' association is attested in Roman times. Women of influential Delphic families held the office of ἀρχή of Thyiadae, like Memmia Leontis, Flavia Clea and Memmia Loupa. Leontis and Clea are commemorated by Plutarch, who also dedicated two of his speeches to Clea (*Mulierum virtutes* 242E-F; *De Iside et Osiride* 351C). Her family hailed from Tithorea and was probably related to Plutarch himself. She also erected a statue in Delphi in honour of her mother

³ The beneficiaries did not obtain full possession, but hereditary possession in perpetuity of the land, provided that they

(*SEG* 1, 159) and a second one for Mattidia Minor, aunt of Antoninus Pius (J. Jannoray, *BCH* 70, 1946, 254-255 no. 8). A seat in the theatre brought the name of Ἀρχη-ἰδος Λούπη (FD III6, 2).

A. Keramopoulos, *AEphem* 1911, 167-168; E. Kapetanopoulos, *BCH* 90, 1966, 119-130; M.-C. Villanueva Puig, in *L'Association dionysiaque dans les sociétés anciennes* (1986) 31-51; A. Jacquemin, in G. Freyburger, L. Pernot (eds), *Du héros païen au saint chrétien* (1997) 81-84; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, nos 226-227.

The public offices, as well as, the offices associated to religious matters, in Roman times were held by a restricted number of families, mainly those of Gellii and Memmii, which were at the apex of the social hierarchy for three centuries.

C. Vatin, in *Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'antiquité classique* (1970) 263; on Gellii, cf. Chr. Settiani, *Continuité gentilice et continuité familiale dans les familles sénatoriales romaines à l'époque impériale : mythe et réalité* (2000) 477-483.

Amphictyony-Pythian Games

After a short period of Macedonian domination that started after the cease of the Aitolian period in 190/89 BC and culminated with the visit of Perseus to Delphi with his army in 174 BC (Pib 22.18.4; Liv. 41.22.4-8), the Amphictyony returned to the pre-Third Sacred War status, that remained unchanged till the Augustan reform [Daux, *Delphes*, 280-292; 312; Will, *Histoire*, II, 246-247; 258-259; Sánchez, *L'Amphictionie*, 387-390; Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 60, table 2.1 (cf. a letter of the Senate to the Amphictyony has been argued that it could be possibly associated to the events after 189 BC but the meaning of the text remains obscure, Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, no. 150)].

Augustus reorganized the Amphictyony and offered 10 of the 24 votes to his new colony Nicopolis, which he took away from the Magnesians, Malians, Aenianes, Achaian Phthiotians, and Dolopes, and the administration of the sanctuary fell under the control of the Epirotic city.

Lefèvre, *L'amphictionie*, 127-128; Sánchez, *L'amphictionie*, 426-428.

From this period onwards a new four-year office, *epimeletes*, lasting from one Pythian Games to the next was founded. *Epimeletes* were elected by the Emperor and not by the Amphictyones. In the 2nd century, apart

brought about improvements that would returned to the city together with the allotments in case of abnormal succession.

from the organization of the Games, *epimeletes* supervised the public works financed by the income of the Amphictyony

Pouilloux, *Δελφοί*, 177; *id.*, *épimelètes*; *id.*, *Delphes et les Romains*, 203-204; Sánchez, *L'Amphictionie*, 439; Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 55-58.

The establishment of the office of *agonothetes* should also be associated with the Augustan reorganization of the Amphictyony. The *agonothetes* was the leader of the processions; he started the events, kept the official catalogue of the victors and kept order among the spectators. It was a costly liturgy delegated to the wealthier members of the body and lasted till the celebration of the quadrennial games.

Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 58, 64.

Nero seemed to have redistributed the seats of the Amphictyony, since Hadrian mentions that he removed the surplus votes given to the Thessalians (*FD III4*, 303, col. I, l. 12-17).

In the reign of Domitian, a dispute between the city of Delphi and the Amphictyony about the date of the Pythian Games is epigraphically attested. The city was in favor of the traditional date in contradiction to the Amphictyony or *vice versa*. However, Domitian decided against the change (*Syll.*³ 821B-E; Lefèvre, *L'amphictionie*, 129; Sánchez, *L'amphictionie*, 451).

Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 415-418, nos. 230-233.

The pedestal of the so-called Emperor's monument (*Pilier des Nicopolitains*), a tall and elaborately decorated base for an equestrian bronze statue, standing against the eastern facade of Apollo's temple across from the Aemilius Paulus monument has been proposed as Domitian's monument (Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 152-154), and the place where the dossier concerning the emperor's intervention in the Pythian Games of AD 90 (*Syll.*³ 821 B-E; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, nos. 230-233) was inscribed.

It seems that from the reign of Domitian onwards the leadership of the Amphictyony was shifted from the "Roman" leadership originating from Nicopolis to a more "Greek" one, associated with Thessaly, and the assignment of the *agonothetes* office to the Hypatian families is related to this change. However, the influence of Nicopolis remained strong till the end of the 1st and the 2nd century AD, as we can assume by the Amphictyonic commendation to the Nicopolitans.

Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 58-61, 67-70; table 2.2; cf. also Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, no. 266.

The Hypatians, in the 2nd century AD, seemed to have

reformed the annual observances to the Temenos of Neoptolemos to a lavish quadrennial festival (*Theoria*) in order to be associated with Thessalian ancestry. This *theoria* was sent at the time of the Pythian festival and a hecatomb was offered at Pyrrhos tomb (it is referred to as *enagismos* as well). According to Heliodoros who was probably an eyewitness, as we can assume by his detailed description, a procession of boys on horseback, sacrifice and banquet, choruses of girls and *enhoplian* dances of boys took place during the ceremony (*Hld. Aethiopica* 3.1-3, 5-6).

J. Pouilloux, *JSav* 1983, 274-276; *id.*, in *Hommages Lerat* (1984), 695; D. Laroche – A. Jacquemin, *BCH* 116, 1992, 248-249; E. Suárez de la Torre, *Kernos* 10, 1997, 156-176; Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 61; cf. also Partida, *Treasuries*, 108-113. The identification of precinct no. 507 with the *peribolos* of Neoptolemos is now being very seriously questioned by G. Roux [*La Terrasse d'Attale I, FdD II* (1987) 142], who proposed an area south of the Knidian Lesche. The terrace of Attalos I has also been proposed for the temenos (R. Laroche – A. Jacquemin, *RA* 1990, 215-220; *id.*, *BCH* 116, 1992, 250), though the location of the hero's tomb to the massif no. 503 (Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 195) is not very solid (E. Suárez de la Torre, *Kernos* 10, 1997, 164, notes 57, 58) (12: n.10).

In the times of Pausanias, the total number of the delegates was 30 and Delphi, Nicopolis and Athens participated in every assembly though the other nations participated in rotation. It has been argued that Hadrian reduced the number of Nicopolitan delegates to 6 and increased the total number from 24 to 30 (Paus. 10.8.3-4), while others attribute the abovementioned regulations to Augustus [G. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (1965) 97-98]. He also removed the Thessalian votes given by Nero and distributed them to the Athenians, Spartans and other nations (for the distribution of the Amphictyonic seats in Roman Times, G. Daux, *CRAI* 1975, 348-362, 354-355; *id.*, in *Recueil Plassart* (1976) 59-79; Sánchez, *L'Amphictionie*, 426-436; Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 56-59, table 2.1).

According to another point of view, Hadrian organized his Panhellenic League (AD 131/2) after he had failed to widen the membership of the Amphictyony in AD 125 and Amphictyony ceased to exist not long after the foundation of the Panhellenion [D. Willers, *Hadrians panhellenisches Programm: Archäologische Beiträge zur Neugestaltung Athens durch Hadrian* (1990) 99-100; Arafat, *Pausanias*, 162; on the widening cf. A. Jacquemin, in S. Saïd (ed.), *ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ* (1990), 229-230]. Nonetheless, various inscriptions dated in late 2nd and 3rd

centuries, and especially a statue of Gordian III erected by the city and the Amphictyony prove that the Amphictyony existed long after the times of Pausanias (FD III4, 274; Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 58, 63, note 411).

Top athletes continued to participate to the Games in Roman times (Ael. *NA* 6.1; D.Chr. *Or.* 77 / 78.26; Plu. *Pel.* 34.6-7; D.C. 52.30-5-6; Lib. *Decl.* 16.1.60; Julian, *De imperio* 26).

Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 124-129, table 4.2.

The soloists (*pythaulēs*) and the flute players accompanied by a choir (*choraulēs*) were a significant part of the music contest in Roman times.

J.-Y. Strasser, *BCH* 126, 2002, 97-142; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 466-467, 479-483, nos 283, 298; R. Bouchon, in S. Émerit (ed.), *Le statut du musicien dans la Méditerranée ancienne. Égypte, Mésopotamie, Grèce, Rome* (2013), 171-194, passim.

It has been argued, also, that the spectacle of the festival overshadowed their cultic aspect.

P. Amandry, *PraktAkAth* 65, 1990, 316.

The Games ceased in AD 394 with the decree of Theodosius I that forbade ancient pagan worship and shut down the sanctuaries.

Plutarch and Pausanias

The involvement of Plutarch in the Delphic sanctuary is detected as early as the period of Nero, since he with his teacher Ammonius and his brother Labrias were present during Nero's visit in Delphi in AD 67 (Plu. *De E*, 385B).

It has also been argued that Plutarch was a member of the embassy sent to Vespasian and to Domitian as well (Jones, *Plutarch*, 21-25; Stadter, *Plutarch*, 23-24), whom the Chaeronean execrated (R. Flacelière, *AntCl* 32, 1963, 43-44).

Around AD 92 he left Rome and accepted the priesthood of Apollo offered to him by the city of Delphi and he remained in office for ca. 30 years.

Plutarch was probably involved in the Avidius Nigrinus arbitration in ca. AD 110, since he was a friend of his father and of his uncle as well, and to whom he dedicated his works “De sera numinis vindicta” and “De fraterno amore”.

As we can assume by Plutarch's references (*De Pythia Or.* 408F-409C), a significant increase of money took place during the period of his priesthood having as a result many additions in the form of existing buildings and restorations in others that were in ruins. This economic comfort could be traced to his wealthy friends, like

Florus, Theon, Polycrates, Petraios, and Optatus, also involved in city or sanctuary administration (Plu. *Qu. comv.* 734D; C.P. Jones, *HarvStCPhil* 74, 1970, 223-255; *id.*, *BCH* 96, 1972, 263-265; B. Puech, *REG* 94, 1981, 186-192; *ead.*, *ANRW* II.33.6, 1992, 4831-4893; M.-A. Zagdoun, *REG* 108, 1995, 586-592), and to the gifts from the Emperors (Domitian, Hadrian) (Stadter, *Plutarch*, 26, note 370). It has also been alleged that he is the “kathegemon” (*De Pythia Or.* 29, 409C), the statesman who refurbished the shrine managing the Amphictyonic income as *epimeletes* (C.P. Jones, *JRS* 56, 1966, 63-66; S. Swain, *Historia* 40, 1991, 318-330; Hadrian for R. Flacelière, *CRAI* 1971, 168-185; Domitian according to Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 162-163).

Plutarch has a close relationship to Hadrian and he erected a statue of the Emperor (*CID* IV, 150).

Chaeronea and Delphi erected a statue of Plutarch after his death (*Syll.*³ 843; *CID* IV, 151; P. Amandry, *PraktAkAth* 65, 1990, pl. III2; Jacquemin, *Offrandes*, 106; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 446, no. 255).

Plutarch offers various pieces of information about the sanctuary's topography through his work, but the Hellenistic and Roman monuments are deliberately absent.

He takes visitors to areas of Apollo's sanctuary (Lesche of Knidians) (*De defectu oraculorum* 6, 412D) without making any note of the monuments of Hellenistic kings (Perseus), or Roman Emperors and other statesmen of the period (Flamininus, Aemilius Paulus) mentioned in his *Vitae* (*Flam.* 12.6-7; *Paul.* 28.4; cf. *Liv.* 45.27.7). He refers to these monuments through allegories and ambiguities thinking that if the men who consulted Delphi were unworthy of the oracle, their monuments could hardly be thought to enhance the sanctuary (*De Pythia Or.* 401A-D).

Also, apart from his friends, various scholars like Demetrius, a grammarian from Tarsus, and the Spartan periegetes Kleombrotus visited Delphi to talk with Plutarch [*Mor.* 410A; P. Cartledge, A. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A tale of two cities* (1989) 178-180].

On the other hand, his three Pythian Speeches offer a significant amount of information about the procedures at the Delphi shrine (*De defectu oraculorum*; *De E apud Delphos*; *De Pythiae Oraculis*). He refers three major changes in comparison to the oracle of the old times. The number of priestesses was reduced from two (with one reserve) to one (*De defectu oraculorum* 7, 414b), the Pythia's responses were not any longer in a verse form (*De Pythiae Or.* 6, 397d), and many of them concern mundane or trivial matters (*De Pythiae Or.* 24-28, 407c-

408c). This last point, according to a point of view (P. Amandry, *JSav* 2, 1997, 195-209, esp. 204-205), clarifies the true decline of Delphi that was not associated to the buildings and the dedications, but to the lack of prominent clients and matters related to the policy of the statesmen. Consequently, there is no need of verse responses in response to ordinary requests of private clients.

R. Flacelière, *Ann. de l'École des Hautes Études de Gand* 2, 1938, 69-107; P. Amandry, *JSav* 2, 1997, 205; J. Potter, *Delphi and Beyond: An examination into the role of Oracular Centres within Mainland Greece*, MA Thesis, Otago Univ. (2010) 34.

Pausanias visited Delphi shortly after AD 170. He followed the road leading from Chaeronea to the sanctuary, through the Schiste odos. He first describes the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia and then the Kastalia fountain. After spending only a phrase on the city, he begins the description of Apollo's sanctuary.

He mentions an impressive number of offerings and dedications in the area of the sanctuary; among them 9 buildings (the Treasuries of Sikyonians, Siphnians, Knidians, Thebans, Athenians, Syracusans, Potidaeans, Corinthians, the portico of the Athenians and the Lesche of Knidians) 54 statues or groups [Corcyra, Tegea, Lacedaemonians (for their victory in Aegospotami, cf. also. *Plu. De Pythia Or.* 2, 395B), Argos, Athens, Argos, Tarentum, Lipara, Cleonae, Knidos, Paeonian king Dropion, Andros, Phokis, Pharsalus, Dion, Cyrene, Thebes, Phokis (for their second victory against Thesalians, cf. *Plu. De Pyth. Or.* 15, 401D), Phlious, Mantinea, Phokis, Tarentum, Greeks for Artemisium and Salamis, Delphi, Epidaurus, Megara, Phryne, Plataea, Heraklea in Black Sea, Amphictyons, Aitolians, Pherai, Cyrene, Amphictyons, Lacedaemonians, Aitolia, Elyrus, Carystus, Aitolia, Lipara, Echecratides of Larissa, Sardinia, Callias from Athens, Achaia, Lindos, Ambracia, Ornees, Elateia, Marseille, Aitolians, Gorgias of Leontini, Amphictyons, Methymna] and some other offerings [Tripod of Plataea, axes of the Tenedian Periclytus (cf. *Plu. De Pythia Or.* 12, 399F-400A), Great Altar of Chians, Palm-tree of Eurymedon, remains of Alyattes' dedication, omphalos]. All of them are dated in Archaic-Classical period with the exception of the Aitolian dedications (Groups of statues and trophy for their victory against the Gauls, and the group for their victory against the Akarnanians), as well as the Elateian dedication for their victory against Cassander (cf. Habicht, *Pausanias*, 137-138; Zachos, *Ελλάτεια*, 85-86).

Pausanias mentions also the omphalos (10.16.3) that ac-

ording to Aeschylus (*Eum.* 25-45) and Pindar (*Pyth.* 4.4) was located in the *adyton* [G. Roux, *Delphi* (1971) 121-122; P. Amandry – E. Hansen, *Le temple d'Apollon*, 85-100] that Pausanias did not enter (H. Parke, *Hermathena* 24, 1935, 102-105). This reference drove to the conclusion that the *periegetes* saw a copy of the omphalos, and for this reason the well-known marble omphalos in Delphi Museum (inv. no. 8194) has been considered as a Hellenistic-Roman copy. However, according to a new theory this specific find should be placed on the top of the acanthus column that was erected in the 330s BC possibly by Athens in the northeast corner of the sanctuary. The column supported a metal tripod and three female dancers, who themselves supported the omphalos in the middle of the tripod. The monument was still standing in the Early Christian period and, therefore, it did so in the days of Pausanias.

P. Amandry, *BCH* 117, 1993, 273-276; J.-L. Martinez, *CRAI* 1997, 35-45; Jacquemin, Pausanias, 138-139.

He describes also the temple of Apollo with the pediments of the 4th century BC (Croissant, *Frontons*, 4-5, 22ff), and the shields dedicated by the Athenians from the spoils taken at the battle of Marathon, and those by the Aitolians from their victory against the Gauls.

In the fore-temple at Delphi were written maxims of the Seven Sages. A bronze statue of Homer is also mentioned.

E. Wilkins, *The Delphic Maxims in Literature* (1929) passim. Inside the temple, in the *sekos*, there were an altar of Poseidon, two images of the Fates, and those of Zeus Moiragetes and Apollo Moiragetes. The hearth, on which the priest of Apollo killed Neoptolemos, was also preserved and not far away was the chair of Pindar. He mentions a gold image of Apollo in the *adyton*, but adds that very few were allowed to enter the area. This last expression makes probable that Pausanias did not enter the temple, but mentions what he had heard or was told in Delphi.

H. Parke, *Hermathena* 24, 1935, 102-105; Jacquemin, Pausanias, 138.

Leaving the temple and turning to the left, he visited, on the slope over the north corner of the terrace, the precinct with the grave of Neoptolemos, and on a higher level the stone of Cronus.

Finally, he mentions the Cassotis fountain, and describes extensively the Lesche of Knidians, located aside the precinct of Neoptolemos.

Leaving the terrace, he mentions the Theater, notices on the entrance of the left parodos a statue of Dionysos,

dedicated by the Knidians, and ascends to the stadium. Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, *ad. loc.*; Courby, *La terrasse*, 308-316; Daux, *Delphes*; Papachatzis, *Παρθενία* 5, *ad. loc.*; Habicht *Pausanias*, 72-78; L. Lacroix, *BCH* 116, 1992, 157-176; Bommelaer, *Traces*; Jacquemin, *Pausanias*.

As far as this impressive number of monuments and dedications is concerned, it should be noticed that Pausanias mentions only their existence and not their condition of preservation. Some of the buildings were in ruins or out of use (one temple in Marmaria, the Sikyonian, Knidian, and Cyrene Treasuries⁴) and some dedications had been partly damaged, like the palm-tree, a dedication of the Athenians from the spoils they took at Eurymedon. Pausanias mentions the gold on this monument was damaged in parts, and puts the blame on rogues and thieves (Paus. 10.15.5; cf. Plu. *Nik.* 13; *De Pythia Or.* 8, 398F; *Quaest. conv.* 724B; P. Amandry, *BCH* 78, 307-313). In addition, the gold tripod, a dedication of the Greeks for their victory in Plataea, had been stolen by the Phokians in the Third Sacred war (Paus. 10.13.9). Also, he mentions the Lydian gold stored in the Corinthian Treasury, but according to Plutarch only a bronze palm-tree decorated with frogs and water snakes survived in his times (*De Pythia Or.* 12-13, 399F, 400E). At the same time, he omits other dedications mentioned by Plutarch like an *oikos* offered by Brasidas and the Acanthians located between the Corinthian Treasury and the tripod for the victory in Plataea (Plu. *De Pythia Or.* 14-15, 401A-D; *Lys.* 1.1), the Krateros monument (Plu. *Alex.* 40.4; Plin. *Nat.* 34.64; *FD* III4, 137), the dedications of Flamininus (Plu. *Flam.* 12.6-7), the monument of Aemilius Paulus (Plu. *Aem.* 28.2) or that Phryne's statue was standing between the statues of Archidamos and Philip II (Plu. *De Pythia Or.* 15, 401C-E; Ath. 13.591). Is it a deliberate omission, as that we know for athletes and musicians (Paus. 10.9.2, cf. Arafat, *Pausanias*, 44) or had these monuments been destroyed in the time between the office of Plutarch and the visit of Pausanias?

Another aspect of his description is that he managed to reduce to a minimum the Roman presence in Delphi. He names 77 dedications and offerings at Delphi, while the only reference to Roman dedications is the images of Roman emperors in Marmaria. Of course, inscriptions engraved on the monuments but irrelevant to them (manumissions, proxeny decrees) are understand-

ably missing. However, significant landmarks of the Roman period, like the Roman agora, statues of statesmen and emperors, and the Antinoos' cult image are totally absent. Could the absence of Rome that is apparent throughout his work be explained by an anti-roman attitude of Pausanias? The answer is definitely negative (Arafat, *Pausanias*).

The old idea against the autopsy of Pausanias (U. Willamovitz-Moellendorff, *Hermes* 12, 1877, 344-347) has been strongly and effectively disputed (Habicht, *Pausanias*, 169ff; Arafat, *Pausanias*, 16ff). Book X certainly looks unfinished, but the description of Delphi though considered as "weniger gründlich" (Habicht, *op.cit.*, 18) it looks completed. Despite some problems in the description, which have been thoroughly analyzed (cf. Jacquemin, *Pausanias*), G. Daux judges that the errors in his description are fewer than the errors in the works of many modern scholars despite the many tools of reference they have in their disposal, and G. Roux asserts that in the whole Pausanias' work the modern researchers found not a single topographical error.

Daux, *Delphes*, 187; J. Pouilloux – G. Roux, *Énigmes*, 16. What we are left with is simple theories. The first one is based on Pausanias' emphasis on sanctuaries: "Religious respect and the lack of it are recurrent factors in forming Pausanias's attitude to the Romans" (Arafat, *Pausanias*, 203). However, this theory could be accurate in the cases of Sulla (Paus. 9.7.5) or Nero (Paus. 10.7.1; 10.19.2) but cannot explain the lack of reference to Domitian's restoration of the Apollo's temple.

The second is related to his attitude (and Plutarch's as well) towards Greek Past. Pausanias and Plutarch "filtered out those periods of the past that did not evoke the days of Greece's independence", and "both exempt Delphi from the process of inevitable decline. For Plutarch Delphi is a holy spot where the god makes his presence felt and for Pausanias it is the living center of the renewable Greece. In both cases the impact of Hellenistic and Roman Times is inconsequential" (McInerney, *Do you see*, 52-53).

Pausanias' awareness of the past could be divided into three categories: (1) the deep past, rich in details and myths, stretching from the legendary foundation of the sanctuary to the period the sanctuary played a significant role in the war against the barbarians and the conflicts

⁴ The emendation "Cyrenians" instead of Corinthians (Paus. 10.13.6) proposed by J. Bousquet – Y. Fomine, *Le trésor de*

Cyrène, *FdD* II (1952) has been rejected by D. Laroche, *BCH* 112, 1988, 298.

between the Greeks, commemorated by Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon (2) the intermediate past, from Chaeronea up to the recent past, ended with the loss of Greece's independence (3) the contemporary past. The deep past of Delphi is brought vividly alive by him through the monuments. On the contrary, the description of the other two is restricted only to the historical pages, with the major exception of the Aitolian dedications for their victory against the Gauls (however, he omits the Aitolian Stoa, where the weapons of the Gauls have been dedicated, P. Amandry, *BCH* 102, 1978, 571-581). This is the last war the Greeks united protected effectively the sanctuary and Greece in general. It was also the end of the sanctuary's independence. From this period onwards begins the Aitolian-Macedonian-Roman occupation of Delphi. As far as the contemporary past is concerned, it stretches in Pausanias' work from the time of Hadrian to M. Aurelius, a time of renewal.

The problem with the "periodization theory" is that this last period is best illustrated by Hadrian's benefactions, but not in Delphi. It is quite remarkable that though the emperor's building program is described in detail in Athens, and a small temple in the oracle of Abat is worth mentioning, his well-known interest for Delphi sanctuary found no place in Pausanias' description.

The answer in the case of Delphi is given by himself in the first sentences of the description of the sanctuary: "I will mention those of the votive offerings that seemed to me most worthy of notice" (Paus. 10.9.1). Pausanias is simply selective. Besides, even though the reference of Pliny is exaggerated that there were three thousand statues in Rhodes in the 1st century AD, and probably no smaller number in Athens, Olympia and Delphi (Plin. *Nat.* 34.36) the number of dedications in Delphi sanctuary was so large that Pausanias had to be selective to finish his work. Additions and restorations of the Roman period seemed trivial in comparison to the offerings of the past, with the exception of Herodes' construction of the stadium.

In this frame the phrase "in a place where one could encounter the past as vividly as one encountered god, the majesty of Rome looked very insignificant indeed" (McInerney, *Do you see*, 55) is quite close to the truth.

THE MONUMENTS

The city of Delphi

The city was extended from the sanctuary of Pronaia to the east to the "wall of Philomelos" to the west, and

from the foot of the two Phaedriadae rocks (Nauplia=Rhodini, Hyampeia=Phleboukos) to the north to the slope under the lower terrace of the Gymnasium. Pleistos River and the Arkoudorrema (Kastalia source) fulfilled the needs of the city and the sanctuaries for water. Two main roads led to the city, one from Chaeronea-Panopeus and the other from the port of Krissa. On both entrances of the city (east and west) cemeteries were situated. A third route, a mountainous path starting from the stadium, climbed up to Coryceian Cave (**Korykeion Andron**) and led to Lilaia and Tithorea in eastern Phokis. It has been argued that the city shrunk in the Roman period around the sanctuary and Kastalia, since Strabo mentions a circumference of 16 stades (Str. 9.3.3). Pausanias (10.9.1) mentions entrances in the peribolos, close to one another, connected Apollo's sanctuary to the city. At least five have been detected on the eastern wall, an equal number on the western and one on the northern part.

Papachatzis, *Πρωσaviaς* 5, 298-299 note 2, 313 note 3, 314 note 2, 417 note 2, 418 note 1, figs 331, 363-364.

Fortification

12:1B

The fortification walls in the western part of Delphi - the so-called Philomelos' walls - had been repaired during the Roman period (a date in the 5th century AD has also been proposed). Furthermore, it seems that the walls on the eastern end of the upper Gymnasium terrace had been constructed in Late Antiquity in order to protect the Early Christian settlement, leaving outside the ruined sanctuary of Athena Pronaia.

P. Amandry, *BCH* 105, 1981, 740-746; P. Athanassiadi, *DelChA* 1989-1990, 277 note 67; Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 217.

Cemeteries

12:n.14

A burial monument (Corinthian heroon or the "heroon of Blum") of Roman date was found on the slope behind the Archaeological Museum and a second one a few meters to the west.

The first one consists of a crypt, divided into a passage and a staircase, with a vaulted area for marble sarcophagi. A small temple-like structure of Corinthian order was constructed over the crypt. A distyle-in-antis pronaos and a vaulted cella, furnished with a marble roof, were placed on a two-stepped krepis. Probably, a statue or statues were standing in the cella.

P. Amandry, *BCH* 105, 1981, 722 fig 39; Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 221; J.-Ch. Moretti, *BCH* 116, 1992, 704-709; Bommelaer, *Guide* 2, 268, fig. 95.

In the same area rock-cut chamber tombs were found

as well. The burials are dated from the 4th century BC to the 2nd century AD. A number of vases and Roman coins have come to light.

I. Konstantinou, *ADelt* 20, 1965, B, 303-307.

The eastern cemetery is located beside the modern road in the place named Logari or Charoutais, to the east of Marmaria, at the foot of Phedriades.

H. Pomtow, *Beiträge zur Topographie von Delphi* (1889) 70-71.

The most significant burial monument is the so-called heroon of Meleagros' sarcophagus. It is a rectangular, chamber-like building in *opus mixtum* with an apse on the northern side. An anti-chamber constructed with rectangular blocks was added later on the southern side. Five sarcophagi (2+3) were placed alongside the western and eastern sides of the monument. An animal scene was engraved on the outer side of a sarcophagus dated in the 2nd century AD (*terminus post quem*). A sixth one was placed on the apse. It is of pentelic marble, depicting the legend of Meleagros and griffins, and dated at the end of the 2nd century AD. The tomb was in use from the 2nd to the 5th century AD.

Perdrizet, *Monument figurés*, 192-194; Ph. Bruneau, *BCH* 1971, 460-479; Zagdoun, *sculpture*, 107-132, figs 95-126; *Guide de Delphes*, 130-131, fig. 96; Bommelaer, *Guide 2*, 61-62.

A Roman pit grave dated in the 3rd century AD was excavated in the East Necropolis.

Y. Nikopoulou, *ADelt* 23, 1968, B, 246-247,

Rock-cut tombs were found in the entrance of the modern village near the stadium, and in the east cemetery.

P. Amandry, *BCH* 105, 1981, 721-723 figs 40-42.

MARMARIA-SANCTUARY OF ATHENA

PRONAIA

12:4D

Pausanias (10.8.6-8) mentions four temples; one in ruins and a second one without images or statues; the third one contains statues of a few Roman emperors and the fourth was the temple of Athena Pronaia. Near the sanctuary there was a precinct of the hero Phylacus.

Daux, *Pausanias*, 59-69; Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας* 5, *ad. loc.*

On the site, however, there are the remains of five buildings. Trying to explain this discrepancy it has been proposed that Pausanias omitted Tholos because of religious prohibitions (cf. Daux, *Pausanias*, 66-67) or because it was a civil building (*boplotheke*) and did not interest him [E. Bourguet, *Les ruines de Delphes* (1914) 324-325; L. Lerat, *BCH* 109, 1985, 260-264; Partida, *Δαυλός*, 53; N. Kyriakidis, *Anabases* 11, 2010, 156ff]. Another explanation is that apart from the first temple, an-

other building (the Massiliot Treasury or the Doric one) had fallen in ruins and therefore he did not notice its existence (G. Roux, *REA* 67, 1965, 37-53; A. Fingarette *AJA* 74, 1970, 401-404).

As far as the temple with the images of the Roman emperors is concerned, the Treasury of Massiliots that was standing in Roman times (App. 2, frg. 8) has been proposed as the center of the Imperial cult (Fr. Poulsen, *Recherches*, 387; Daux, *Pausanias*, 65-66; Petrakos, *Delphi*, 37; L. Lerat, *BCH* 109, 1985, 258; Partida, *Treasuries*, 245), or the Tholos (Charbonneaux – Gottlob, *Tholos*, 30; G. Roux, *REA* 67, 1965, 51; *id.*, *Delphes*, 206-207; Chr. Le Roy, in *Études Delphiques*, *BCH* Suppl. 4, 1977, 258, 271; Partida, *Δαυλός*, 59), or even the so called “priest’s house” (Bourguet, *op. cit.*; *contra* Demangel, *Pronaia*, 95-100; J. Bousquet, *Revue historique* 223, 1960, 297 note 1; G. Roux, *REA* 67, 1967, 37-53; N. Bookidis, *BCH* 107, 1983, 149-155).

The reference of Pausanias for the existence of an Imperial cult in Marmaria is proved by an inscription mentioning P. Memmius Kleandros, priest of Sebastoi in the reign of Nero (J. Jannoray, *BCH* 60, 1936, 374-381; *CID* IV, 438) and the expression “*nea Pythia*” for Drusilla (*ibid.*, 381-385).

Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 406, no. 222. The Doric Treasury was probably in ruins when the peregrines entered the sanctuary, or it had been transformed into a public or private building (Chr. Le Roy, in *Études Delphiques*, *BCH* Suppl. 4, 1977, 271; *contra* Bommelaer, *Guide 2*, 81 who places the statues of the emperors inside). A pithos was located on the destroyed floor of the building in the 6th century AD (Chr. Le Roy – M. Schwoerer, *BCH* 102, 1978, 243-261) and an epistyle was transformed into a basin and decorated with Christian crosses (P. Amandry, *BCH* 108, 1984, 185-194). The area was left outside the fortification walls in Late Antiquity, and architectural members from the buildings were used in the village, as well as in tombs of that period (P. Amandry, *BCH* 108, 1984, 191, notes 33, 34). Remains of residential or commercial purpose buildings indicate that the sacred character of the area was altered during those times. This change, presumably, is not irrelevant to the construction of an Early Christian church in the nearby area of Gymnasium that became the center of the new religion. Finally, Early Christian lamps are mentioned from the area around the Doric Treasury.

Demangel, *Pronaia*, 127-133.

A marble cylindrical altar depicting girls hanging bands on a garland came from Marmaria and specifically from

the area of the altars. It is dated possibly in the second century BC (Zagdoun, *sculpture*, 79-99, figs 65-87; Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 56; *Guide de Delphes*, 126-127, fig. 93; Partida, *Δαυλός*, 57-58) or in middle of the 1st century BC (Petraikos, *Delphi*, 54, pl. 42). It could be associated to a chthonic cult [F. Robert, *Thymélé* (1939) 417].

It has been placed by some scholars in the Tholos that according to one point of view was transformed in the 1st century AD to the centre of the Imperial cult [Th. Homolle, *La Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* 15, 1904, 17-20; E. Bourguet, *Les ruines de Delphes* (1914) 324-326; C. Yavis, *Greek Altars* (1949) 202-203; G. Roux, *Delphes* (1976) 206, fig. 61; Arafat, *Pausanias*, 125). However, the form of Tholos' pavement precludes this scenario (Zagdoun, *sculpture*, 98-99).

The location of Phylacus' temenos is disputed. Foundations east of the Pronaias' temenos, Tholos and the so-called "house of the priests" have been proposed, but there is no evidence of it. Pausanias also mentions a temenos of Autoonos, a hero who fights with Phylacus against the Perses (Paus. 8.39). This monument is located between the rock of Hyampeia and the archaic Kastalia fountain.

Papachatzis, *Πανσωνία* 5, 306-307 note 2.

Moreover, the bronze stand of the golden krater offered by Camillus in the Massiliots Treasure for his victory against Veii had survived in the times of Appian (*Ital.* 1 fragm.)

Gymnasium

12:3/4C

Paus. 10.8.8

The Gymnasium, located on the steep slope between the Kastalia fountain and the temple of Athena Pronaia, was built in the 4th century BC and its use continued till the Late Roman period. In Roman times it consisted of a proper gymnasium with a *xystos*, one Pythian stade long, a *paradromis* on the upper terrace, and *palaestra*, *loutron* and *Thermae* on the lower terrace.

A *structorion* (retaining wall, dining room or *pompeion*) and a library were added during the epimeliteia of T. Fl. Soklaros. It could be part of Domitian's renovation program or was financed by Trajan (*CID* IV, 146-148).

Keramopoulos, *Τοπογραφία*, 106; Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 101, 165-166; Stadter, Plutarch, 25 note 36; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 422-423, nos 237-238.

Private buildings and cisterns were constructed after the end of the 4th century AD when the Pythian Games ceased and the Gymnasium was abandoned. A pottery kiln found on the upper terrace near the Delphi-Ara-

chova road could be associated with this settlement. A thick fill with Early Christian – Medieval finds covered the *paradromis* and *xystos* after its destruction.

Also, remains of an Early Christian basilica were found in the lower terrace of the Gymnasium. It is dated from the second quarter to the second half of the 6th century AD. The basilica leveled the area of the *palaestra* and incorporated the *loutron*. Its columns are made of marble quarried from the Alyki in Thasos.

P. Foucart, *Mémoire sur les ruines et l'histoire de Delphes* (1865) 18; Th. Homolle, *BCH* 23, 1899, 560-583; Keramopoulos, *Τοπογραφία*, 99-104; Jannoray, *Le gymnase*; V. Déroche *et al.*, *BCH* 113, 1989, 403-415; Partida, *Δαυλός*, 176-178; Petridis, *New Approach*, 103; *id.*, *céramique protobyzantine*, 20, pl. 1, fig. 1, n. 3; Bommelaer, *Guide* 2, 95-101.

a) Xystos-Paradromis

12:n.18

An extended rebuilding of the Classical *xystos* took place in Roman Times. A retaining wall was erected on the east, and the back eastern wall of the *xystos* was rebuilt. Reused blocks, parts of columns belonging to the destroyed classical colonnade of the building, layers of tiles and mortar were used in both constructions. A drainage channel of limestone was laid between these two constructions. The precautions for good drainage and the retaining wall indicate that the landslide from the slope was the cause of the destruction of the earlier colonnade some time during the Imperial period. The narrow sides of the monument were renovated.

An Ionic colonnade of 60 columns made of grey marble with white specks and layers extracted from a quarry outside of Livadhia (V. Déroche *et al.*, *BCH* 113, 1989, 405, 410-415; *id.*, in *Actes du Colloque Paul Perdrizet* (1992), 301-315) replaced the destroyed classical Doric colonnade (Jannoray, *Le gymnase*, 41-44). The absence of epistyle fragments shows that the Roman *xystos* had a light roof of wood and tile. The first part of the 2nd century has been proposed as the period when the *xystos* was rebuilt (Hadrian and his successors) but also Domitian could not be excluded. A buttress of *opus incertum* masonry was built sometime between the 2nd and the 3rd century against the inside face of the back wall where another landslide had buckled it.

The water network that brought water from Kastalia was supplemented with clay pipes and a cistern.

Paradromis was also renovated in Roman times. A kiln for lime attributed to a tannery workshop was con-

structed on the east side in the second half or at the end of the 4th century AD.

Keramopoulos, *Τοπογραφία*, 104-106; V. Déroche, Fr. Queyrel, *ADelt* 41, 1986, B, 77-78; E. Pentazos *et al.*, *BCH* 110, 1986, Chron., 774-782; 111, 1987, Chron., 609-612; 112, 1988, Chron., 722-725; Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 75-76; F. Queyrel, E. Pentazos, *ADelt* 45, 1990, B, 190-191; *id.*, *BCH* 115, 1991, 702-711; V. Déroche, in *Actes du Colloque Paul Perdrizet* (1992), 309-310; E. Pentazos, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 116-125; E. Pentazos, E. Trouki, *BCH* 118, 1994, Chron., 428-434; 119, 1995, Chron., 650-654; Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 100-104; P. Petridis, in *AEΘΣΕ* 1, 2006, 1097; *id.*, *New Approach*, 103; Partida, *Δαυλός*, 153, 164-167, 176, 178; Bommelaer, *Guide* 2, 97-98.

According to another point of view, the cause for the reconstruction of the south side was not its destruction by an earthquake. This side was open until the Roman period and the Ionic colonnade allowed the placement of a gabled roof instead of the pitched one of the Classical *xystos*, but the new roof required the walling of the south side.

Partida, *Δαυλός*, 178-179.

A number of graffiti were painted on the plastering of the inner face of the east wall of the *xystos* by athletes in training. They are inscribed on the inside of a *tabula ansata* and are decorated with palms, crowns and apples, prizes awarded in the Pythia.

Fr. Queyrel, in *Actes du Colloque Paul Perdrizet* (1992), 333-348, *id.*, *BCH* 125, 2001, 333-387; Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 103.

An honorific Hermaic stele for Hippocrates, dated in the second half of the 2nd century AD, was found in second use in a wall 5 m. away from the north end of *xystos*. E. Pentazos, E. Trouki, *BCH* 119, 1995, Chron., 652.

The torch-race of the festival Eumeneia started in the

Gymnasium and ended at the altar of Apollo in AD 160/59 (*FD* III3, 238).

A gymnasiarch named Archelaos offered oil between AD 80 and 95 (*FD* III3, 233; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, no. 288).

The Gymnasium was not only a place for physical but also for mental training. An epic poet from Skepse (*FD* III1, 273, 132 BC), a grammarian from Thyreion in Akarnania (*Syll.*³ 739; *FD* III3, 338, S. Augusta-Boularot, *MEFRA* 106, 1994, 690-691; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 191, early 1st century BC), a roman astrologist (*Syll.*³ 771; Jacquemin-Mulliez-Rougemont, *Choix*, no. 281, ca. 29 BC or after 40 BC) and a roman orator (G. Daux, *BCH* 63, 1939, 168-169, 1st century BC), are honoured by the city of Delphi for their lessons in Gymnasium⁵.

b) Palaistra 12:n.20

The central court was furnished with an ionic peristyle in blue limestone and flanged with rooms on every side. An *apodyterion* (dressing room) and two *sphairisteria* (ball play courts) are epigraphically attested in the 3rd century BC (*CHD* II, 139, IV 57). An *elaiothesion* (oil store) and *konisterion* (dusting room) should be included, and possibly the *ephebeion* or exedra with a sanctuary of Hermes or Hercules. Th. Homolle, *BCH* 23, 1899, 560-583; J. Jannoray, *BCH* 61, 1937, 53-56; *id.*, *Le gymnase*, 1953; G. Roux, *BCH* 104, 1980, 127-149; J. Delorme, *BCH* 106, 1986, 53-73; Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 76-77; Partida, *Δαυλός*, 171-173; Bommelaer, *Guide* 2, 98-99.

c) Thermae-Loutron 12:n.10

This was built in the Roman period at the north end of the lower Gymnasium terrace and the retaining wall was cut to enlarge the space. It was constructed in opus *retic-*

⁵ Delphi, in general, was a pole of attraction for ancient scholars in Roman times. The bust of a neoplatonic philosopher sculptured in parian marble was found in the SE corner of the sanctuary and it is dated in late 2nd or in 3rd century AD (Fr. Poulsen, *BCH* 52, 1928, 245-255; Petrakos, *Delphi*, 61, pl. 54; *Guide de Delphes*, 135-136, fig. 101). Artemidorus from Mazaka taught in Delphi in early 1st century AD (*FD* III4, 59). Platonian or Pythagorean philosophers, like P. Cornelius Lupus from Nicopolis (*FD* III4, 115), Bacchios from Paphos (teacher of Marcus Aurelius), Cl. Nikostratos from Athens (*FD* III4, 94), L. Calvinus Taurus from Berytos (possibly head of the Academy and teacher of Aulus Gellius and Herodes

Atticus, *FD* III4, 91), Isidoros from Thmouis in Egypt (*FD* III2, 116), M. Atilius Ma[xim]us from Antioch on Orontes (*FD* III1, 199), Aurelius Phil[—] from Byblos (*FD* III3, 244), T. Flavius Alexandros from Hypata (*FD* III1, 474), Sex. Claudius Aurelianus (*FD* III1, 203) granted the privileges of proxeny and citizenship in Delphi from late 1st to 3rd century AD.

Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 115, table 4.1; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 475-478, nos 293-295.

A woman, also, Auphria, was granted the Delphic citizenship for the high quality of her education and of the speeches she gave during the Pythia of AD 115 (*FD* III4, 79).

ulatum and it consisted of a *frigidarium*, two small *caldaria*, two large *tepidaria* and hypocausts.

It could be dated either during the chairmanship of T. Fl. Soklaros and possibly be connected to the benefaction of Domitian, or it is related to the Hadrianic attention for the sanctuary in AD 125-130.

Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 101-102; Partida, *Δαυλός*, 153, 167; *contra* Mass, *Das antike Delphi*, 66, 5th century AD or later. The large open circular *kolympheio* with ten basins constructed on the lower terrace in the second half of the 4th century BC was repaired in Roman times, but no changes to the initial plan have been detected. Eleven animal head spouts supplied the tubs and the large plunge bath with water, which flowed from Kastalia. Keramopoulos, *Τοπογραφία*, 95-98; Petrakos, *Delphi*, 41; Partida, *Δαυλός*, 157-158, 167.

A cistern was constructed under the lower terrace to collect the overflowing water of the *loutron*. It would be transformed to a tomb in Late Antiquity.

Mass, *Das antike Delphi*, 67; Partida, *Δαυλός*, 167, 173-174.

Kastalia

12:3B

Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.61; Tib. 3.1.16; Prop. 3.3.13; Str. 8.7.5; 9.3.3; Ov. *Am.* 1.15.36; Met. 3.14; Verg. *G.* 3.293; Sen. *Oed.* 229, 276; Plin. *Nat.* 4.3.4; Luc. 5.125; Stat. *Silv.* 5.5.2; *Thyb.* 1.565; 1.697; 8.176; Mart. 4.14.1; 7.12.10; 9.18.8; Hld. *Ethiopica* 2.26; Lucianus *JTr.* 30; *Hes.* 8; Paus. 10.8.9; Clem. Al. *Protr.* 1.10; Oenom. Apud in Eusebium *RE* 5.28.224A; Nonn. *D.* 4.289ff; 13.129ff; Claudian *in Ruf.* 2, pref. 5ff; *Cons. Hon.* VI.27; Greg. Naz. *Or.* 5.25; Sud. s.v.; *AP* 14.71, 74; Sch. Aristid. Panath. 65 (107, 20); Sch. E. *Pb.* 222.

On Kastalia in the literature of the Roman period, see H. Parke, *BCH* 102, 1978, 199-219.

The fountain that was in use during the Roman period and mentioned by Pausanias (10.8.9) was constructed in the Late Hellenistic to Early Roman period (possibly in the 1st century BC). It is located at a higher level, ca. 50 m., than the Archaic-Hellenistic one. It has the form of an elongated covered rock-cut basin with an opening for cleaning at one end. It was supplied with water from the spring by a closed pipe line. Seven bronze lion-formed spouts, separated by rock-cut pillars adorned the facade. In front of the basin there was a paved terrace with eight steps. On the rock, above the fountain, niches of various sizes for the votive offerings to the nymph Kastalia were carved.

A. E. Contoléon, *Οι Δελφοί και η Κασταλία πηγή* (1911); A. Orlandos, *BCH* 84, 1960, 159-160; P. Amandry, in

Études Delphiques, *BCH* Suppl. 4, 1977, 179-228; *id.*, *BCH* 102, 1978, 221-241; Papachatzis, *Πασσαυία* 5, 309-312; Augusta-Boularot, Fontaines, 181, no. 12, figs 10-11.

It has been argued that the differences in the form of the building and in the arrangement of the spouts between the Archaic-Hellenistic fountain and the Late Hellenistic-Roman one could possibly be interpreted via an alteration in the ritual practices associated to the oracle. H. Parke, *BCH* 102, 1978, 216-219.

SANCTUARY OF APOLLO

Agora

The Roman Agora was constructed at the lowest south-east corner of the sanctuary, outside the main entrance. Two Roman Imperial phases are distinguished.

It is a paved square open on the north side and bordered on the three other sides by an ionic colonnade, which opens on the north side. The walls were constructed in *opus reticulatum*. The stylobate of the colonnades is made entirely of reused blocks. Among them a dedication to Apollo was found, implying that some monuments were in ruins at the time of its construction.

The first phase is dated in Early Imperial times and the ionic portico is dated in the 2nd century AD [V. Déroche, in *Actes du Colloque Paul Perdrizet* (1992), 310]. It was smaller and it has a simpler plan than the later building. It was positioned obliquely to the wall of the *peribolos*, unlike the Agora of the Late Antiquity that was placed vertically. The find of a glass workshop indicates that the complex has (among other unknown uses) a commercial/industrial character. Also, fragments from a grand statue of a thorakophoros dated in Imperial times were found in the construction fill (Pétridis, *céramique protobyzantine*, 24-25, pl. 5, fig. 11).

It was renovated or even reformed and monumentalized in the 2nd to 3rd or 3rd to 4th century AD. This second case could be related to the earthquake of AD 365 and the plans for renovation of the whole area. Its function during this period was a commercial one, since shops and workshops came to light, but also a civil character could not be excluded, as it was a possible candidate for the seat of the Curia, known from the Codex Theodosianus. The Roman Agora was transformed to the *phoros* of the Late Antiquity Delphi (Pétridis, *céramique protobyzantine*, 25-28, pls 4-5)

P. Amandry, *BCH* 71-72, 1947-1948, Chron, 446, pl. 21; J.-Fr. Bommelaer, *BCH* 92, 1968, 1049, pl. 3; P. Amandry, *BCH* 105, 1981, 724, figs 45-48; Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 89-92, figs 24-26; V. Déroche, *ADelt* 45, 1990, B, 191-193;

id., *BCH* 115, 1991, 700-702; V. Déroche, Pl. Pétridis, *BCH* 116, 1992, 709-711; 117, 1993, 641-644; 118, 1994, 423-428; P. Petridis, in *AEΘΣΕ* 1, 2006, 1097; Bommelaer, *Guide* 2, 111-114, figs. 24-26.

Possibly, the only *intra muros* Early Christian Basilica was constructed in the second half of the 5th century AD close to the area of the Roman Agora (12:n.6).

P. Athanassiadi, *DeltChrA* 1989-1990, 278, note 75; P. Pétridis, *BCH* 121, 1997, 686-687 note 14; *id.*, *New Approach*, 103; *id.*, *céramique protobyzantine*, 19, pl. 1, fig. 1, n. 1. It has been claimed that the porticoes of the Agora were used as the central nave of an Early Christian basilica. Partida, *Δαυλός*, 251; *contra*, P. Pétridis - K. Dimou, *Pallas* 87, 2011, 272 note 21.

Treasuries

Two inscriptions engraved in the 1st century BC on the Phokian dedication depicted the struggle between Apollo and Herakles for the Delphic tripod (Paus 10.13.7).

A. Keramopoulos, *AEphem* 1907, 93-103.

The Sikyonian, perhaps in a condition of ruin, was still standing in Pausanias' days and was demolished in the 5th century AD, when its stones were reused in the Late Roman houses down the slope (D. Laroche, M. D. Nenna, *BCH* 114, 1990, 275; Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 236-237; Partida, *Treasuries*, 74). Some of its blocks had possibly been reused in the Neronian reconstruction of the Theater (Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 91) (12: n30).

The lower part of the Sacred Way, just opposite the Sikyonian Treasury, was repaired in Roman Times.

Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 123, nos. 214-215.

The treasury of Siphnians remained intact during the Roman period, since a number of texts (proxeny decrees, manumission, grants of citizenship) had been inscribed on its blocks up as far as the roofline (*FD* III1, 198-217, 219-270) (12: n.29).

G. Daux – E. Hansen, *Topographie et architecture: Le trésor de Siphnos*, *FdD* II (1987) 16; D. Mulliez, *BCH* 112, 1988, 375-400.

The same phenomenon is observed on the walls of the Athenian Treasury (cf. esp. *FD* III2, 47-50, 161) that was possibly used by the Athenians during the procession of Pythais, renamed Dodecais from the period of Au-

gustus onwards (cf. *FD* III2, 59-66; St. Tracy, *BCH* 93, 1969, 371-395; Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 135; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, nos. 278-280). Besides, the relations between Athens and Delphi grew intensively in the second half of the 2nd century BC. Athens was willing to offer judges which mediated in the disputes concerning the land of the sanctuary and participation in the Amphictyony, and Delphi renewed the privileges of the Dionysiac guild [Ch. Habicht, *From Alexander to Antony*, trans. D. Lucas Schneider (1997) 102-104, 275-279⁶]. Two significant texts were engraved in the walls in 128/7 BC. They were musical notations composed by Limenios and Athenaios, members of the Dionysian guild, for both instrumental and choral performance (*CID* III, 47-51, nos. 1-2; A. Bélis in Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, nos. 203-A, 203-B).

E. Pöhlmann, M. West, *Documents of Ancient Greek Music* (2001) 62-85, nos. 20-21.

The treasury became workplace of pawnbrokers in 3rd and 4th century (J. Bousquet, *BCH* 66-67, 1942-1943, 124-126; Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 135; Partida, *Treasuries*, 50) and was ruined after the fourth century when its blocks were used in the paving of the Sacred Way (Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 90).

On the contrary, the Knidian Treasury that existed in the late 2nd / early 1st century BC (D. Mulliez – P. Thémelis, *BCH* 113, 1989, 343-346) had been ruined by the time of Pausanias (10.11.5) and its members were reused in other structures bearing inscriptions of the 1st and 2nd century AD (*FD* III1, 302-303, 311-312, 328-332; Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 90-91, 152 note 1030).

Athenian portico

12: n.21

A number of manumissions were engraved around the middle and the second half of the 2nd century BC on the polygonal wall, on the intervals between the wooden pillars which supported the ropes of the Persian ships. The pillars seem to have been removed a few years later since new manumission texts were engraved on their place from 80 BC to the late 1st century AD.

P. Amandry, *BCH* 70, 1946, 7-8.

Fountain near the Siphnian Treasury

A Roman-Late Roman fountain is located on the track

⁶ Delphi is characterized as “Athenian colony” in this period of time (Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 349). It is quite interesting that a phrase in a decree concerning the priv-

ileges of the Athenian Dionysian guild implies that the Romans had a decisive role on this matter (*FD* III2, 68 l. 60-61; cf. Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 353).

under the Siphnian Treasury. It is constructed in *opus tessellatum* and its floor is paved with tegulae. P. Amandry, *BCH* 105, 1981, 729, fig. 51.

The terrace of the temple of Apollo

The terrace of the temple was repaired in the 1st century AD by Tiberius Claudius Kleomachos from Nicopolis, the *epimeletes* of the Amphictyony during the period of Nero.

CID IV, 140; Courby, *La terrasse*, 169-170.

The pavement of the terrace was renovated in late 2nd century AD (Courby, *La terrasse*, 220) or in Late Antiquity, possibly in the Early Christian period when the temple was not in use.

The temple of Apollo

It has been epigraphically attested that Domitianus restored the temple in AD 84 (*CIL* III, 14203; *ILS* 8905; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, no. 229), but there are no repairs that could certainly assign restoration to this period. It has been suggested that the Emperor himself declared his plan in the Pythia of AD 83. It has been argued that it is possibly related to the looting of Sulla in the first Mithridatic War (Plu. *Sul.* 12.4-6), the raid of the Thracian tribe of Maidai in 87 or 84/3 BC (Plu. *Numm.* 9.6), or more likely, the earthquake of Corinth in AD 77 (Suet. *Vesp.* 17; Th. Homolle, *BCH* 20, 1896, 714, n.1).

Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 152-153; P. Amandry – E. Hansen, *Le temple d'Apollon*, 18-19.

The temple was renovated by the proconsul of Achaia, C. Claudius Leonticus in late 2nd / early 3rd century AD (*Syll.*³ 877A, C; R. Flacelière, *BCH* 73, 1949, 471, nos. 8-9; *FD* III4, 269, 331; Jacquemin, *Offrandes*, 246; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 454-455, no. 267).

Pouilloux, *Delphes et les Romains*, 202; V. Déroche, in *Mélanges Sodini* (2005), 233-234; P. Amandry – E. Hansen, *Le temple d'Apollon*, 19.

It was possibly damaged by the earthquake of AD 365 and repaired by the Emperor Julian or more probably by Valens and Valentinian, honored by the city of Delphi (cf. C. Vatin, *BCH* 86, 1962, 238-241, fig. 6; Pétridis, *céramique protobyzantine*, 18, note 8). A possible last restoration of its roof is dated in the 5th century AD.

Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 181; P. Athanassiadi, *DeltChrA* 1989-1990, 277 note 69; P. Amandry – E. Hansen, *Le temple d'Apollon*, 425.

The hypotheses that it was destroyed by Christians either in the times of Constantius II (and repaired by

Julian) or between AD 384 and 426 (Amandry, *La ruine*; C. Bowra, *Hermes* 87, 1959, 426-435), are strongly disputed.

V. Déroche, in *Mélanges Sodini*, 231-244.

The temple was not converted into a Christian church, but it was simply abandoned.

Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 181; P. Pétridis, *BCH* 121, 1997, 686 note 27; P. Amandry – E. Hansen, *Le temple d'Apollon*, 23; *contra*, J. Laurent, *BCH* 23, 1899, 271; V. Déroche, *op. cit.*

Other monuments

12: n.3

The repair of the *Ischegaon* or the construction of its extension (Courby, *La terrasse*, 218; Ph. Dasios, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B, 187) is attributed to Domitian and it has been proposed that the inscription that refers to the restoration of the temple by the Emperor was set on this wall (Courby, *La terrasse*, 219 note 3). Another candidate for the inscription is the floor of the temple's eastern pediment (Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 153). Also it is suggested that this statue of the Emperor has been placed in a niche opposite the middle of the north peristyle of the temple (Courby, *La terrasse*, 219 note 3; Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 171; in general on Domitianus statues, G. Daux, *BCH* 68-69, 1944-1945, 122-123; Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 155, note 1063). All these suggestions are far from safe. Cf. Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, p. 414-415.

Also the repair of a fountain carried out during the chairmanship of T. Fl. Megaleinos (AD 87-91) (*Syll.*³ 813C; CID IV, 141; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 421, no. 236) was probably part of the same renovation program (Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 165). The identification of the fountain to Cassotis is not certain and it has been also suggested a fountain to the south of the temple, called Fountain of the Muses (Courby, *La terrasse*, 171-184; Pouilloux – Roux, *Énigmes*, 100-101; Pouilloux, *épimélètes*, 289, note 35; Glaser, *Brunnenbauten*, 22-24; Augusta-Boularot, *Fontaines*, 206, no. 30, fig. 30, no. 332, fig. 32; Bommelaer, *Guide* 2, 275-276, no. 332).

Cassotis was located to the east end of *Ischegaon* behind the Proussias stele (Pouilloux – Roux, *Énigmes*, 79-99; Petrakos, *Delphi*, 21, no. 44; Papachatzis, *Πλασινία* 5, 392 note 1; Glaser, *Brunnenbauten*, 26-28; Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 171 fig. 73, 204-205; Augusta-Boularot, *Fontaines*, 206, no. 29, fig. 30, no. 516, fig. 31; cf. also Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 156 note 1064 and Bommelaer, *Guide* 2, 248-249). A small aqueduct, dated in the Domitian period, carried water from the Kerna springs in the area between the theatre and the stadium to the fountain (Partida, *Treasures*, 269-

270; on Kerna source, Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 213 no. 701, *id.*, *Guide* 2, 259, fig. 90; Glaser, *Brunnenbauten*, 98-100; Augusta-Boularot, Fontaines, 206, no. 32, fig. 33).

A proxy decree for the Bithynian king Nicomedes III and his wife Laodice was engraved on the pillar of his grandfather, Prusias, in 94 BC (*FD* III4, 77; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 332-335, no. 185). On the same monument a manumission dated in AD 85 (*FD* III4, 78), and honorific degrees of the first three decades of the 2nd century AD were engraved (*FD* III4, 79-86). P. Amandry, *BCH* 78, 312.

The great altar of the god Apollo, a dedication from the Chians, was repaired in Roman period (**12**: n.31).

Courby, *La terrasse*, 131, 137, fig. 100.

A niche was constructed in Roman times in the monument of Lilaia, located to the east part of temple's peribolos.

Courby, *La terrasse*, 220ff, figs 176-177.

A proxy decree for an astrologist (29 BC) and another one for the citizens of Smyrna (58 BC) were engraved on two exedrae north of the temple's pronaos (*Syll.*³ 771, 740). Both exedrae were based on earlier foundations, evidence that a re-organization of the terrace had taken place as early as the 1st century AD.

Courby, *La terrasse*, 265-266, figs 195 nos. 17, 18, 196a-c. A proxy decree for a Pheraian was engraved in 132 BC on a base of ionic column in front of the temple's pronaos (Courby, *La terrasse*, 269-273, fig. 213) and next to this, there is a similar base, attributed to a statue, dedicated by the city to a sister of Caligula (Drusilla?, cf. J. Jannoray, *BCH* 60, 1936, 381-385). It has been also argued that the three sisters (Agrippina, Drusilla, Julia Livilla) may have had statues in the sanctuary (Courby, *La terrasse*, 269-271).

In Late Antiquity, private buildings were built on the northwest corner, in front of the Theater, in the area of the Krateros' niche and Antinoos's house (**12**: n.2,12).

Courby, *La terrasse*, 117, 237; P. Amandry, *BCH* 71-72, 1947-1948, Chron, 452; J. Bousquet, *BCH* 83, 1959, 155-156 note 5; P. Amandry *BCH* 105, 1981, 736; Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 92; P. Pétridis, *BCH* 121, 1997, 685 note 25; *id.*, in *Mélanges Sodini* (2005), 195-197, maison A; Bommelaer, *Guide* 2, 271-272.

Theater

The construction of the Theater was completed, possibly around 160 BC, after restoration sponsored by Eumenes II of Pergamon [*FD* III3, 237, 239; Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 211; *id.*, in *Actes du Colloque Paul Perdrizet*

(1992), 297-298; Bringmann – Steuben, *Schenkungen*, 148-151, no. 93; J.-Fr. Bommelaer, *Ktéma* 21, 1996, 289-294; *id.*, in M. Kohl (ed.), *Pergame* (2008) 257-280; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, nos 165-166]. However, the paving of the orchestra area, a low parapet around it and drains under it must have happened after the Tiberian era (G. Daux, *BCH* 75, 1951, Chron., 136-137; Pouilloux, *épimélètes*, 282-284, 300; Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 299; Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 143). A large roman type stage, in pulpitum form, was added to the stage that was adorned with a number of gray marble columns in which manumissions were engraved, dated roughly in the Claudian-Domitian period [*FD* III6, 125-142; G. Daux, *Chronologie delphique* (1943), 84-90; Ch. Dunant, *BCH* 75, 1951, 307-315; Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 210, no. 239]. The other surfaces of the Theater were covered with inscriptions by the middle of the 1st century AD (cf. D. Mulliez, *BCH* 107, 1983, 429-450).

The front facade of the stage was adorned by a Frieze depicting Heracles' Labours that were found on the paving of the orchestra or nearby (P. Perdrizet, *BCH* 21, 1897, 600-603; P. Lévêque, *BCH* 74, 1950, 224-232; cf. A. Jacquemin, *BCH* 109, 1985, 585-587; *Guide de Delphes*, 128-130, figs 94-95; Bringmann – Steuben, *Schenkungen*, 152-153). M. Sturgeon (*AJ* 82, 1978, 231-232) suggests a date c. 110-90 BC, but P. Lévêque (*BCH* 75, 1951, 254-263) argues for a date in the 1st century AD. R. Weir suggests, on stylistic and archaeological grounds, that it is a work of the Neronian era and associates it, as well as the whole project of the Theater's reconstruction, to Nero's visit in AD 67 (R. Weir, *BCH* 123, 1999, 397-404). However, Nero's obsession with Apollo and Hercules is very well known (Suet. *Nero* 53; D.C. 63.20.5). Besides, the aim of his trip was to participate in the most prominent Greek Festivals and therefore the music contest of the Pythian Games would certainly have an important place in the plan of the *artist* Nero. It seems plausible that the Theater was renovated in anticipation of the Emperor's participation but it is not clear if it was financed by the incomes of the sanctuary or by Nero's gift of 100.000 denarii to the sanctuary (D.C. 63.14.2). It has been argued that this sum was earmarked for the reconstruction of the temple but it was confiscated by Galba (Th. Homolle, *BCH* 20, 1896, 712-713). Nero was declared the winner of heralds' and the kitharodes' contest (Philostr. *VA* 4.24; 4.39; 7.12; D.C. 63.20.5).

Reparation of the eastern part (?) of the temenos' retaining wall and the polygonal one by Tib. Cl. Kleoma-

chos of Nicopolis could also possibly be connected to the visit of Nero (*Syll.*³ 813A, B; *FD* III3, 181; *CID* IV, 139-140; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 419-420, nos. 234-235).

A significant number of seats bore incised letters, like numbering, in Roman times. Also the titles of distinguished officers in general, such as Amphictyones, and councilors, and the proper names of prominent individuals had been also engraved (cf. *FD* III6, 1-2). Finally, the four or five lowest rows of seats were removed in Later Roman times in order to construct a dais or tribunal over a small loggia.

Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 210; Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 143, note 938. The Theater functioned as meeting place for the body of citizens during the Roman period [Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* 4.19; On the reliability of Heliodorus who knows Delphi from firsthand experience, J. Pouilloux, *JSav* 1983, 259-286; *id.*, in *Hommages Lerat* (1984) 691-702].

A colossal statue of Dionysus was standing in the Theater in the days of Pausanias (10.32.1) (on the base of the statue and the problems of the identification, *FD* III1, 137; cf. Daux, *Delphes*, 169-170).

Antinoos' House

12: n.12

The Delphic Antinoos is a cult statue of the divine Antinoos sculpted in Parian marble in the type of a youthful Apollo or Dionysos.

It was discovered with broken arms but still standing in a building immediately west to the niche of Krateros on the northwest corner of temple's peribolos. It was probably dedicated by T. Fl. Aristotimus in the period between the deification of Antinoos and the death of Hadrian. He also subsidized the issue of "Antinoos' type" coins in which the hero was depicted as "Theos propylaios".

Th. Homolle, *BCH* 18, 1894, 196; G. Blum, *BCH* 37, 1913, 323-339; Courby, *La terrasse*, 241-243; Petrakos, *Delphi*, 44; Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας* 5, 395-395 fig. 429; H. Meier, *Antinoos* (1991) 36-38, I15; *Guide de Delphes*, 133-135, figs 99-100; P. Pétridis, *BCH* 121, 1997, 685 note 25. Yet, the "house" seems to be of a rather later date and possibly contemporaneous to the building on Krateros niche. It has also been suggested that both belonged to the same building complex [P. Pétridis, in *Mélanges Sodini* (2005), 195-197, maison A; Bommelaer, *Guide* 2, 269, no. 431], and "Antinoos' house" may have served as a shrine dedicated to an Imperial divinity. It looks certain that the statue was standing in a different place, probably in a small shrine for his cult in the entrance of the Sanc-

tuary, and when it was toppled over by an unknown cause and the arms were broken, it was re-erected in the find spot in Late Antiquity.

Courby, *La terrasse*, 242-243.

Sanctuary of Asclepius

The south corner of the peribolos has been proposed as its location. It was renovated in early 2nd century AD during the *epimeliteia* of T. Fl. Eubiotus (*CID* IV, 154). At the same period the poros pipeline that carried water to the fountain of the sanctuary was repaired.

A. Frickenhaus, *AM* 35, 1914, 256-269; *RE* Suppl. IV (1924) 1360-1361 s.v. Delphoi (Pomtow); P. Amandry, *BCH* 64-65, 1940-1941, Chron, 259-261, fig. 26; *BCH* 66-67, 1942-1943, Chron, 342-344; Glaser, *Brunnenbauten*, 28-29; Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 233, nos. 339-340, fig. 104; Agusta-Boularot, Fontaines, 206, no. 31, fig. 340, no. 340.

A statuette of the God, copy of the 4th century BC «Giustini type» is known from Delphi Museum. It is dated in the imperial period.

Guide de Delphes, 116, no. 5, fig. 78.

Lesche of the Knidians

12: n.11

The paintings of the Lesche were described in detail by Pausanias (10.25-31). As it is mentioned in a Delphic inscription, the city of Delphi honoured in 140/139 BC three painters sent by Attalos II to restore the paintings of a monument. Unfortunately, the name of the building has not survived in the stone, but it has been argued that maybe was the stoa of his father or the Lesche of the Knidians [*Syll.*³ 682; Daux, *Delphes*, 509; G. Roux, *BCH* 76, 1952, 184-185; Ch. Habicht, *Hesperia* 59, 1990, 573 note 67; Bringmann – Steuben, *Schenkungen* 158-159 no. 95]. The persons taking part in Plutarch's *περί τῶν ἐκλοιπόντων χρηστηρίων* (chapter 6), they choose Lesche for their conversation.

A Roman villa was located later east of the Lesche.

P. Pétridis, in *Mélanges Sodini* (2005), 196-197, maison B; *id.*, in *AEΘΣΕ* 1, 2006, 1097, fig. 1; *id.*, *céramique proto-byzantine*, 21.

A funerary relief depicting a child came from the area. It is possibly dated in the 1st century AD.

Zagdoun, *sculpture*, 105, figs 91-92.

Stoa of Attalos

12: n.9

This was transformed in the 3rd century AD into a large reservoir by blocking the intercolumniations and housing the building with an arch.

G. Roux, *BCH* 76, 1952, 166, 196; *id.*, *La terrasse d'Attale I*, *FdD* II (1987), 125-129; Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 191-192, no. 502; D. Laroche – A. Jacquemin, *BCH* 116, 1992, 258; P. Petridis, in *AEΘΣΕ* 1, 2006, 1098; *id.*, *céramique protobyzantine*, 21, pl. 1, fig. 1, n. 15; pl. 2, fig. 3.

East Thermae

12: n.7

This was a public building attached on the east peribolos of the temple. It was constructed in Imperial times (possibly in the middle or the second half of the 3rd century AD) and renovated in the first half of the 4th century AD. The building was constructed in three levels in *opus vittatum technique*. The entrance and the apodyterion are situated on the lower level to the east and three *caldaria* to the south. The middle part was occupied by the *frigidarium*, a square place with a cold piscine, with two apses, one on the south part and a second on the west part. The first one is part of the hypocaust's kiln and the second a small individual bathtub semi cyclic in shape.

A large hall opens on the upper level and three tanks that fill with water from the cistern on Attalos Stoa are placed on the west corner of the building.

The building was adorned with mosaics bearing geometric and floral decoration (seven have come to light).

R. Ginouvès, *BCH* 79, 1955, esp. 136-138; P. Amandry, *BCH* 105, 1981, 724, fig. 44; Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 196-198, no. 399, fig. 82; P. Pétridis, *BCH* 121, 1997, 687, fig. 1A, O; *id.*, *céramique protobyzantine*, 21, pl. 1, fig. 1, n. 7; P. Pétridis – K. Dimou, *Pallas* 87, 2011, 272; Bommelaer, *Guide* 2, 235-237, fig. 82.

The association of the renovation with the inscription of L. Gellius Menogenes, dated in AD 319, is disputed. J. Bousquet, *BCH* 76, 1952, 653-660; J. et L. Robert, *REG* 67, 1954, 138-140, no. 146.

A statuette identified as a Nymph or Aphrodite has been uncovered at the area of the Thermai. It is dated in the end of the 2nd century BC.

J. Marcadé, *BCH* 105, 1981, *Chron.*, 761.

House for the Pythian priestess (Maison à Péristyle)

12: n.8

It was found just outside the gate in the sanctuary's eastern perimeter wall, opposite the south facade of the later East Thermae. It consists of a number of rooms arranged around a square peristyle courtyard with ionic column capitals of Levidia marble. A large terrace was constructed for this purpose. It is dated in late first century AD to 2nd century AD, on architectural grounds. Its destination is uncertain and the identifications as the House for the Pythian priestess or as the Prytaneio are uncertain.

J. Bousquet, *Trésor de Cyrène*, *FdD* II, 28-29; V. Déroche – Y. Rizakis, *BCH* 109, 1985, 863; V. Déroche *et al.*, *BCH* 113, 1989, esp. 405-407; Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 162-163 fig. 65, no. 299, 196; Weir, *Roman Delphi*, 99; P. Pétridis – K. Dimou, *Pallas* 87, 2011, 272.

Villa to the South-East of the Peribolos

12: n.15

A building complex organized in four different levels was located on the area southeast of the sanctuary's peribolos, attached to its south wall. It is comprised of three *triclinia* with niches, a large dining room, resting area, and service rooms. Parts of a small bath were also found. Only fragments of the mosaics and the marble revetments have survived. It was constructed in late fourth or the early 5th century AD and was abandoned in the last quarter of the 6th century AD due to the first wave of the Slavic raids and/or to difficult economic situations. Shortly afterwards it was transformed to a pottery workshop, but also metallurgical activity has been traced. The final abandonment of the area is dated in AD 610-620.

G. Daux, *BCH* 86, 1962, 909-912; V. Déroche, *ADelt* 45, 1990, B, 191-193; *id.*, *BCH* 115, 1991, 700-702; V. Déroche, P. Pétridis, *BCH* 116, 1992, 709-711; 117, 1993, 641-644; 118, 1994, 423-428; V. Déroche, P. Pétridis, A. Badié, *BCH* 119, 1995, 649-650; 120, 1996, *Chron.*, 847-851; 121, 1997, 754-755; 122, 1998, 543-547; J.-P. Sodini, *Topoi* 7, 1997, 462-463, fig. 42-43; P. Pétridis, *BCH* 121, 1997, 687-688; *id.*, in *Mélanges Sodini* (2005), 197-198, maison C; *id.*, *New Approach*, 103; *id.*, *céramique protobyzantine*, 28-31, pls 6-7; *id.*, *ReiCretActa* 42, 2012, 15-16, fig. 2; V. Déroche, P. Pétridis, A. Badié, *et al.*, *Le Secteur au Sud-Est du Péribole*, *FdD* III15 (2014); Bommelaer 2015, 284, fig. 105.

Vestiges of another house of Late antiquity were found a few meters to the west, on the site of St. George church.

P. Pétridis, in *Mélanges Sodini* (2005), 197-199, maison D; Bommelaer, *Guide* 2, 284-285, fig. 106.

Western Portico

12: n.1

An urban villa was constructed in the area of the Western Portico. Part of the private bath (*caldarium* and *frigidarium*) was excavated. The south part of the building was transformed with apses in Late Antiquity.

P. Amandry, *BCH* 64-65, 1940-1941, *Chron.*, 264-266; *id.*, *BCH* 105, 1981, 729, 732; V. Déroche – Y. Rizakis, *BCH* 109, 1985, 863-864; Bommelaer, *Guide* 1, 218-220, no. 437; *id.*, *Guide* 2, 267.

A funerary relief depicting a rider came from the area.

It is possibly dated 1st century AD.
Zagdoun, *sculpture*, 106-107, figs 93-94.

Area to the west of the Sanctuary 12: n.4,5,13

Remains of luxury houses with triclinia or simple houses were found on the west side of the sanctuary around the area of the modern museum and the House of the French School. It is part of the Late Roman-Early Christian settlement that was extended to the west on the area of the Roman cemetery and the so-called heroon. The larger ones were furnished with private baths. In the area of the House of the French School a large cistern was also constructed in Late Antiquity with building material in second use.

P. Amandry *BCH* 105, 1981, 733; P. Pétridis, *BCH* 121, 1997, 687; *id.*, in *Mélanges Sordini* (2005), 199-201 (maisons E, F); *id.*, in *AEΘΣΕ* 1, 2006, 1097-1098, fig. 1; *id.*, *New Approach*, 103; *id.*, *céramique protobyzantine*, 21, pl. 1, fig. 1, n. 9, 12, 13, pl. 3, figs 4, 5; P. Pétridis – K. Dimou, *Pallas* 87, 2011, fig. 1.

Stadium

The stadium is situated on the highest northwest part of the area, above the sanctuary of Apollo. It was constructed on the slope of the mountain, with the north part cut into the rock and the south one supported by a walled terrace.

The Pythian Games were held in a typical stadium of the pre-roman period without permanent seating until the third quarter of the 2nd century AD when Herodes Atticus financed the construction of a stone one, larger than the later one, with a track 1 Roman stade long and ca.25.50 m. wide, quite similar to the Panathenaic stadium. (Paus. 10.32.1; Philostr. *VS* 2.1.551). It has a hair-pin shape, with 12 tiers of seats on the north side and 6 on the south, divided by stairways, and a semicircular *spendone* of 6 tiers of seats at the western end. It could hold ca.7000 spectators in Roman times. In the middle of the northern side there is a rectangular tribune with benches for the judges. The monumental entrance to the east consisted of a triple arch supported by four pillars with niches for statues in the two middle ones. The stadium was built of Parnassus limestone and not of pentelic marble as mentioned by Pausanias (10.32.1). There are many possible explanations for this controversy. Probably, the *periegetes* means that Herodes either used pentelic marble to face the limestone in order to decorate specific parts of the monument, or he offered statues carved out of this kind of marble for the entrance of the stadium, or Pausanias confused the pentelic marble with the limestone of Prof. Ilias that looks

like marble in the sun, or even he mentioned it on the analogy of the stadium in Athens that was constructed of pentelic marble probably from Herodes' quarry [cf. Aupert, *Le stade*, 92-93; J. Tobin, *The monuments of Herodes Atticus* (1991) 237; Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας* 5, 415-417; Arafat, *Pausanias*, 196-197; Jacquemin, *Pausanias*, 139-140]. Its construction started in AD 167 and remained incomplete until the death of the benefactor in AD 177. A fountain on the northwest end of the stadium's peripheral walkway was protected by a vaulted construction.

Th. Homolle, *BCH* 23, 1899, 601-615; P. Aupert, *BCH* 96, 1972, *Chron.*, 895-99; 97, 1973, *Chron.*, 526-27; 98, 1974, *Chron.*, 783; *id.*, *Le stade*; cf. also, A. Keramopoulos, *AEphem* 1906, 156-186.

The track was separated into 17 lanes with the center lane slightly wider. Though there is no archaeological evidence for *hysplex* in front of the stadium's *balbis*, the existence of a permanent or portable starting mechanism seems reasonable. On the contrary, the wooden bars proposed by Aupert as barriers should be replaced by a system of guy and cord.

H. A. Harris, *Sport in Greece and Rome* (1972) 27-34, 72; St. Miller, *JJA* 84, 1980; 162-165; P. Valavanis – St. Miller, *Hysplex* (1999) 53, 61-62, 144, 161. On the post holes and *kampteres*, cf. also, J. Pouilloux, *Études Delphiques*, Suppl. 4, 1977, 119.

Modern village - finds of Late Antiquity

Part of a mosaic, column fragments and a capital belonging to a Late Roman building were found in C. Kaltsis's garden.

G. Daux, *BCH* 82, 1958, 329.

An *extra muros* Early Christian basilica dated in the first half of the 6th century AD was found near the entrance of the modern village to the north of the modern hotel Apollo. It probably had a cemeterial character, judging by its vicinity to a Late Roman necropolis.

G. Daux, *BCH* 84, 1960, *Chron.*, 752-756; P. Lazaridis, *ADelt* 16, 1960, B, 167, pl. 149-150; P. Pétridis, *BCH* 121, 1997, 684 note 15, 687; *id.*, *New Approach*, 103; *id.*, *céramique protobyzantine*, 19-20, pl. 1, fig. 1, n. 2.

Rock-cut tombs with arcosolia were found northwest and southwest of the archaeological site, as well as under the Sikelianos' Museum. Probably the hill of Prof. Ilias became the border between the cemeteries and the settlement of Late Antiquity, the latter having been extended to the area of the Archaeological Museum, where the Roman necropolis was situated.

Pétridis, *New Approach*, 103; *id.*, *céramique protobyzantine*, 20, note 22.

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

WEST LOCRIIS – ΕΣΠΕΡΙΑ ΛΟΚΡΙΣ

Phokis / Aitolokarnania R. Un.

Hecat. fr. 13; Hdt. 8.32; 8.36; Th. 1.5.3; 3.95.3; 3.97.2; 3.101-102; X. *HG* 4.2.17; 4.3.15; X. *Ages.* 2.6; 2.24; *Hell. Oxy.* 13.2; 21.3; Aeschin. 3.113; 3.123; D. 18.140; 18.150-157, 163; Arist. fr. 574; Scyl. 35-36; Scymn. 317, 480-481; Theopomp. Hist. fr. 80.7; D.S. 14.34.2; 16.24; 16.27-28; Str. 6.1.7; 8.1.1; 9.3.1; 9.3.3-4; 9.4.1; 9.4.7-10; 10.2.1; 10.2.3; Liv. 26.26; Plin. *Nat.* 4.1; 4.7; Plu. *Ar.* 15; Plu. *Per.* 17; Plu. *Quest. Gr.* 15; Phleg. *Mir.* 2; Paus. 2.8.4; 3.9.9; 4.24.7; 10.38; Ptol. 3.14.3; Ael. *VH* 3.1; Serv. *A.* 3.999; 11.265; Tab. Peut. VI C; Eust. *ad. D.P.* 364, 426; St. Byz. s.v.; Et. M. 192.41; Hierocl. 643, 645.

The name of the region is Locris and the ethnicon is attested as either Hesperioi or Ozolai. They are also referred to by Strabo (6.1.7) as the Locrians who inhabited the Gulf of Krissa.

RE XXIII (1926) 1162-1165 s.v. Lokris (Oldfather). Aitolia was bordered to the west and north-west by the Ozolians. Their territory extended to the northeast into the foothills of Mt. Parnassos and to the east into the plain of Kirrha and the *hiera chora* of Delphian Apollo. Its southern border was the coast of the Corinthian Gulf. The western part of their region (Eupalion, Naupactus, Makynia, Molykriion) became part of Epiktetos Aitolia (Plu. *Mor.* 162E, 195A; Str. 10.2.3; Ptol. 3.14.3). Rousset, *Le territoire*, 167, figs 5, 6A; *id.*, in *Inventory*, 391; cf. Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, I, 135-143.

Mt. Taphiassos in the region of Makynia (modern Klokova) (Str. 10.4.8; Plin. *Nat.* 4.6; Paus. 10.38.2) and Mt. Corax between Kallipolis and Naupactus (St. Byz. s.v. Κόραξ; Liv. 31.30; App. *Syr.* 21; Aitolian according to Strabo 10.2.4) are the only known mountains in Locris. Also, Strabo notes the mountainous land of Epiktetos Aitolia (Str. 10.2.3). As for the rivers, the Hylaithos in Amphissa (Dion. Calliph. 240) and the Daphnos (modern Mornos) in the region between Oineon and Rio (Plu. *Mor.* 162d) are mentioned.

Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, I, 47-53, 136.

Amphissa was the main centre of West Locris in the Late Hellenistic and the Roman-Late Roman period.

Chaleion, Myonia, Physkos, Oineon and possibly Tolophon were certainly active in the Roman period. For others like Erythrai, Eupalion, Laphron there is no evidence that survived after the 2nd century BC. The same could be asserted for Makyneia and Molykreion in Epiktetos Aitolia too, though the cult in temple of Poseidon continued in the Christian era. Naupactus became the most important centre of this part of the region. Vouttos, with its temple of Asclepius, was possibly a dependency of Naupactus. Pliny (*Nat.* 4.7) also mentions Argyna, Calamisus (Calamissus, Calamysus, Camisus in other manuscripts) among the cities of the Ozolians, totally unknown in other sources. The same is true for Ainos and Hylē mentioned only by Stephanus.

Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, I, 106-107.

Dymanes, Alpha / Alopē, Hyaioi, Isioi, Hypnia or Ipnia, Peleis, Kyraioi, Stieis and Messapioi (Th. 3.102; Str. 9.4.9; St. Byz. s.v.) are included in the epigraphical record of the region and have been proposed as Locrian communities, cities, or komes but none of them are epigraphically attested after the mid-2nd century BC. Also, their locations are far from certain.

A. Keramopoulos, *AEphem* 1927-1928, 209ff; G. Szemler, in *Great Isthmus*, 92-93; Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί, passim*; D. Rousset, in *Inventory*, 392-395, nos 157, 160-161. Peleis, Stieis and Kyraieis are considered as a komes of Amphissa and Physkos.

Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, I, 83, 103.

For Hypneis / Ipneis the area of Vounichora has been proposed [H. Kiepert, *Formae orbis antiqui* (1893) XVI 9] or Kolopetinita (Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, I, 255-257, 312) or recently the region of Sernikakio (S. Raptopoulos, *Τετράμηννα* 82-87, 2009, 6137), for Isioi the district of Erateini-Chora or Vitrinitsa-Dovia (Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, I, 314-315) or to the west of Kiseli (S. Raptopoulos, *Τετράμηννα* 82-87, 2009, 6137-6155), and for Messapia the area between Sernikaki and Kolopetinita, Pente Oria, Vounichora (roughly between Itea and Galaxeidi) (S. Raptopoulos, *Τετράμηννα* 82-87, 2009, 6140-6149). However, their disappearance after the mid-2nd century BC (Messapioi even earlier) is an indication that they lost

any civic identity in the Late Hellenistic- Roman period. A Roman date for Hypneis is proposed in *Barr. Atlas* (Map 55 C4) but without justification.

The stance of Hesperia Locris in the Achaean War is far from clear. Shortly before the outbreak of war in 147/6 BC the Boeotians, allies of the Achaean Confederacy, were condemned by Metellus for pillaging the territory of Amphissa (Paus. 7.14.7; G. Morgan, *Historia* 18, 1969, 422-446; Ager, *Interstate*, 410-411, no. 149). A. Gabinius, a legate of Metellus, returned to Naupactus after the declaration of war by the Achaean assembly (Plb. 38.13.9).

Polybius (38.3.8) lists the Locrians amongst those which fought against Rome but we do not know to which Locrians he is referring. Consequently it is not certain that their League was dissolved at the same time as the others, as Pausanias mentions (7.16.10). If it was, then it was reorganised a few years later, as is indicated by the *agonothetes*, the chief magistrate of the League, who is cited as the eponymous official in manumissions (Paus. 7.16.10; Martin, *Leagues*, 304-307).

The Locrian League is also mentioned in two inscriptions dating to the end of the 2nd century and the first half of the 1st century BC. Although in both cases the texts concern disputes between two Epiknemidian cities, Skarphacia and Thronion (cf. **East Locris**), the lack of any geographical designation in both cases leaves the possibility that the East and West Locrians were part of the same coalition.

Manumissions by consecration are very often found in the sanctuaries of the Locrian cities in this period (Asclepius, Dionysus and Serapes in Naupactus, Asclepius in Krounoi in the city of Vouttos, Apollo Phaistinos, Athena Ilias and the goddess Vasileia in Physkos) and continued to be found until the Early Imperial period. Aitolia and West Locris were ravaged in 57-56 BC by the mountain tribes of the Agrianes and the Dolopes who were forced by L. Calpurnius Piso to abandon their homeland (Cic. *Pis.* 91, 96).

The Locrian and the Aitolian cities were controlled by Pompey in the first period of the Civil War, since Pompeian garrisons are mentioned in Kalydon and Naupactus and troops from Amphissa were included in his army (Caes. *Civ.* 3.35; Luc. 3.172; cf. Flor. *Epit.* 2.15.2). Later, Caesar sent troops into the area under the command of Cn. Calvisius Sabinus and L. Cassius Longinus to drive out the Pompeians (Caes. *Civ.* 3.34-35). The Locrians and the Aitolians followed Cn. Domitius Calvinus, the Caesar's general, in Thessaly (D.C. 41.51.3).

Locrians, without any precise geographical definition, appeared in a coalition along with the Boeotians, the Euboians, the Phokians and the Dorians in 34/33 BC, as members of the Panachaean League between the reign of Tiberius and that of Nero, and of the Panhellenic League in AD 37 and to reign of Claudius (cf. **East Locris**).

Locris was incorporated into the province of Achaia after the battle of Actium. The foundation of the colony of Nicopolis forced many Aitolians to migrate to Amphissa. Their number must have been very large since in Pausanias' lifetime the Amphissians claimed they were Aitolians and denied any Ozolian origin (Paus. 10.38.4). By establishing the colony of Patras, West Locris (or Naupactus and later the other cities) came under its control with the exception of Amphissa (Paus. 10.38.9). On the other hand, the Ozolians seem to retain their national identity since they continue to have a vote in the reorganised Delphic Amphictyony (Paus. 10.8.5).

U. Kahrstedt, *Historia* 1, 1950, 552-554, 561; *Achaïe* I, 234-235; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 208-209.

According to Pausanias (10.38.9) the Achaean inhabitants of Patras obtained the right to collect the taxes of the Ozolian cities.

A. Rizakis, *DHA* 22, 1996, 281-284.

Pausanias visited Locris around AD 170. He travelled from Delphi to Amphissa and then to Myaneia but he did not continue to the Locrian mainland. He boarded a ship in Kirrha and visited Oiantheia and Naupactus (Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας* 5, 457 note 3).

Christianity is attested in Locris around AD 300. The Early Christian basilica found in Amphissa and the adjacent baptistery which have been dated to the 4th century AD are further evidence for an early appearance of Christianity in Locris.

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A. Tsaroucha, in *Εύβοια και Στερεά*, 382-385.

Lerat, *Εστέριοι Λοκροί*.

INDEX

Agiioi Pantes-Paralia – Άγιοι Πάντες-

Παραλία

6:4C/D

Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Remains of an ancient quay were found on a small inlet off the west coast of Vidavi Bay at Paralia in Agioi Pantes. Sherds of Roman transport amphorae are reported.

H. Spondylis, *ADelt* 43, 1988, B, 684-685, fig. 1, pl. 403B. Cf. **Tolophon**.

AMPHISSA (Amphissa) – ΑΜΦΙΣΣΑ

(Άμφισσα)

6:4A

Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Hdt 8.32.2; 8.36.2; Th. 3.101.2; D. 18.140, 143, 151, 154, 155, 157; Aeschin. 3.113; 3.123; 3.128-129; 3.146; 3.147; *Hell. Oxy.* 21.2-3; Scyl. 36; Lyc. 1074; Plb 20.11; 21.4; D.S. 12.42.4; 16.33.3; 18.38.2; 18.56.5; Str. 9.3.4; 9.4.8; Liv. 37.7; Luc. 3.173; Polyae. 4.2.8; Plu. *Mor.* 249F; Plu. *Dem.* 18; Paus. 2.8.4; 7.14.7; 3.9.9; 10.22.13; 10.38.4-7.

Inscriptions: *IG IX*,¹² 750-773; V. Petrakos, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B, 374-375; *SEG* 17, 147-148; D. Rousset, *BCH* 126, 2002, 83-96; D. Rousset – R. Kolonia, *Chiron* 41, 2011, 181-216.

The toponym is Amphiss(a) and rarely Amphissa. The ethnonym is attested as Amphiss(s)eus, Amphissseus (masc.), Amphississ or Amphississaia (fem.).

D. Rousset, in *Inventory*, 393, no. 158.

Amphissa was unsuccessfully besieged by the army of M. Acilius Glabrio in 190 BC. It has been suggested that the severe damage to buildings during the advanced 2nd century BC could have resulted from the conflict between the pro-Roman and anti-Roman (nationalist, philo-Macedonian party) Aitolians in 174-160 BC. However, there is no evidence for such a conflict in Amphissa.

Pantos, *Σφραγίσματα*, 444-460 (on the conflict as the cause of the destruction of the archive in Kallipolis); D. Kravartoyannos., *ΕπετΒιοτΜελ Β'*, 1995, 447; *id.*, *Αρχαία νομίσματα*, 56-61.

In 117 BC Amphissa unsuccessfully revived the territorial dispute with Delphi concerning the sacred land that had been caused by a decision made by M. Acilius Glabrio in 190 BC and an arbitration by Rhodian judges a few years later (180/179 or 179/178 BC).

Daux, *Delpbes*, 372-386; *FD III4*, 280; Ager, *Interstate*, 238, 245, no. 88III, 461-465, no. 163; Sánchez, *L'Amphictionie*, 408-415; Rousset, *Le territoire*, 72-74 no. 1, 80-91, 128-143, no. 6; Jacquemin – Mulliez – Rougemont, *Choix*, 156.

This dispute did not disrupt the relationship between Amphissa and Delphi, as is proved by the proxeny decrees and the manumissions in the sanctuary.

SGDI 2261, 2686, 2093; *FD III2*, 123, 223; III6, 71.

Delphi honoured Philotas son of Nikon from Amphissa in the first decades of the 1st century AD (*FD III4*, 58). It has been suggested that he was the doctor Philotas who studied in Alexandria at the time of Mark Antony and who gave to the grandfather of Plutarch the information about Antony mentioned in his *Lives* (*Plu. Ant.* 28.2).

W. A. Oldfather, *CPhil* 19, 1924, 177; Colin, *FD III 4*, *ad. loc.* The Legate C. Avidius Nigrinus arbitrated in ca. AD 110 or 114 an old dispute between Delphi, Ambryssos, Myania, Amphissa, Antikyra and re-established the boundaries of the Sacred Land. His arbitration was based on the agreement of 117 BC, with the exception of the coastal part that seems to have been the area in dispute. *FD III4*, 290-299; *CIL III*, 567; Ager, *Interstate*, 238, 241-243, 245-247, no. 88IIA-B; Rousset, *Le territoire*, 91-108, 143-154, nos. 7-15; P.A. Stadter, in L. De Bois *et. al.* (eds), *The Statesman in Plutarch's work*, I (2004) 27-30.

In Nigrinus' decision the delineation of the border line between Delphi and that of Amphissa – Myania is mentioned without any distinction regarding the borders of the two Locrian cities, which has been interpreted via a kind of commonalty between Amphissa and Myania that ended before Pausanias' lifetime (Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, II, 136-138). However, it appears that the specific text refers to the western boundary of the sacred land and not to the border of between each of the Locrian cities with Apollo's land (cf. Rousset, *Le territoire*, 152-154, 167).

Further disputes between Amphissa and Delphi were resolved during the reign of Hadrian, in the late 2nd century and finally in the early 3rd century AD.

Rousset, *Le territoire*, 111-114, 150, 280-282, nos. 21-23, 44. The delineation of the border between Apollo's land in Delphi and Amphissa-Myania, which passes across the western slopes of Mt. Parnassos and the summit of Profitis Ilias down to the of heights of Glas and Moulki and reaches the eastern section of Itea Bay is a significant landmark for the demarcation of the territory of Amphissa. The land of Amphissa extended from Mt. Ghiona to the north, to the territory of Myania in the south and shared borders with Delphi on Mt. Parnassos and in the Sacred Land of Apollo to the southeast. Physkos was probably its western neighbour.

Rousset, *Le territoire*, 43, 167, 171-172, figs 5, 6A; cf. Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, I, 143.

Amphissa is mentioned by Pliny (*Nat.* 4.7-8) among the *immunes* cities of the region and was the largest and most renowned city of Locris in the 2nd century AD. However, its population claimed they were of Aitolian origin. Their allegation is supported by the fact that Augustus drove the Aitolians from their cities in order to found the city of Nicopolis after his victory at Actium (AD 31) but most of them emigrated to Amphissa (Paus. 10.38.4). The number of Aitolians who moved to Amphissa must have been significant, since the people of city were ashamed of the name of the Ozolians according to Pausanias.¹ He also points out the tombs of Amphissa, the eponymous hero of the city and the tomb of Andraemon with his wife Gorge, daughter of Oeneus. There was also a temple of Athena with a standing image of bronze, brought, according to the Amphissians, from Troy by Thoas, son of Andraemon and Gorge. Pausanias, however, does not accept the story. He also mentions the celebration of mysteries in honour of the *Anaktes paides* (the Dioscuri or Curetes or Cabeiri).

Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 463-465; Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας* 5, 452-456; D. Kravartoyannos, *Τετράμηνα* 39-40, 1989, 2657-2669.

An Amphissan became proxenos of Sparta around the middle of the 2nd century BC. Also, the city of Amphissa granted the rights of proxeny (including grazing rights) to someone, either a Greek who had received Roman citizenship or a freedman at the end of the 2nd century or the beginning of the 1st century BC. This last inscription would be the only example of proxeny being granted to a freedman. Also, a Macedonian physician, Menophantos from Hyrkania, offered his services in Amphissa, Opus and Skarpheia in the end of the 2nd – early 1st century BC (*IG IX*, 1² 750). The exedra with this inscription was found at the junction of Dyovounioti and Apollon streets.

D. Rousset, *BCH* 126, 2002, 83-96.

A significant role in Roman Amphissa was played by the sanctuary of Asclepius, as may be inferred by the manumission inscriptions of Late Hellenistic and Early Roman date (*SGDI* 2202; *IG IX*, 1² 753-755 and Add., *IG IX*, 1² 756), in which the *theokolos* of the god is mentioned (*IG IX*, 1² 756).

¹ According to another point of view, the Aetolians were of Kalydonian origin and moved to Amphissa not in the time of

The only public building attested in inscriptions of the period is a *balaneum*, offered by the wealthy citizen Laiteimus to the city in the 3rd century AD in honour of his son Aristopeithus (*IG IX*, 1² 759).

The final epigraphic evidence regarding Amphissa is an inscription of the 4th century AD (probably after the reign of Constantine I) which mentions the proconsul Decimus Secundinus, *curator* and defender of the people of Amphissa, who ordered the local officers to clean drains and to channel water back into the public cisterns, after an inhabitant had diverted it to his property (*CIL* III, 568; cf. *CIL* III, p. 1317; ILS 5794).

V. Mannino, *Ricerche sul "Defensor Civitatis"* (1984) 107, 124. Archaeological excavations brought to light a destruction level dating to the late 4th century AD, which, it has been suggested, resulted from the invasion of Alarich. S. Raptopoulos, in *IV^e colloque international d'archéologie funéraire* (2006), 229-234.

Amphissa is listed by Hierocles amongst the cities of the province of Achaia under the governor of Corinth. *Sticis* and *Peleis*, komes of Amphissa are mentioned in a manumission inscription dating to the third quarter of the 2nd century BC (*SGDI* II, 1874), but there is no evidence that they still existed in the Roman period.

City

The ancient acropolis was located on Frourio hill in the western section of the modern town. The medieval fort (Kastro) succeeded the ancient citadel.

The ancient city that was located on the northeastern, eastern and southeastern foothills of the acropolis was protected by a strong fortified circuit. The circuit wall descended from the acropolis hill along the northern slope and reached the Hylaitchos river, which flanked the city to the northeast, and then followed its west bank southeast. It then turned west running across Markidou-Giagtzis Streets to Kechagia square before climbing up the southwestern slope of the acropolis.

The walls were possibly constructed after the destruction of Amphissa in 338 BC by Philip II and remained in use in the early Roman period, since successive layers dating to the Roman period were excavated.

A. Tsaroucha, in M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou (ed.), *To Κάστρο των Σαλώνων (Αμφισσα)* (2014), 37-49.

Beside the south section of the fortification wall and

Nicopolis' synoecism but at some point in the 1st century AD, perhaps around the middle, Ljung, *Indemnity*, 195.

specifically the part found at the junction of Giagtzzi and Papachristou Streets (E. Moskachlaidi plot), building remains of Late Roman date were constructed against the inner face of the walls, probably after they fell into disuse. Ph. Dasios, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B, 198-199, fig. 6, pl. 118α. Two Roman-Late Roman necropoleis have been identified: a) the south cemetery outside the south section of the city wall, and b) the north-eastern one, along the west bank of the Hylaithos river outside the north and east section of the city walls. Intra mural graves of Late Roman date were also found and some of them may have been associated with *villae urbanae*.

Remains of important and often luxurious buildings were excavated on Frourio hill and on its eastern slopes: Part of a Roman villa came to light in Gerolymatos' plot. It has a mosaic pavement depicting a terrified pygmy being chased by a crane. It is dated to the 3rd-4th centuries AD. A similar mosaic floor was found in Chr. Zaphairiou's plot.

P. Themelis, *AAA* 10, 1977, 242-258; A. Keramopoulos, *O Αποτυπιασμός* (1923) 133, fig. 22; *SEG* 2, 353; 27, 149; 30, 1895; *IG IX*, 1² 773.

Another mosaic floor, dating to the 4th or 5th century AD was found during the construction of the Labour Centre at the corner of A. Simopoulou and G. Kottorou streets. Geometric patterns, amphorae, flora and fauna (ivy stems and flowers, lion, sheep, peacocks, cuttlefish) were depicted. Remains of Roman buildings were also excavated in the plot belonging to Kephala in the same area, near Isaia square.

P. Lazaridis, *ADelt* 24, 1969, B, 215-216, pl. 220γ.

A Late Roman building was excavated on the eastern slope of Kastro hill (S. Brougiannakis' plot). It was a vaulted building, the surviving portion of which consists of three small rectangular rooms and a large rectangular room ending in an apse paved with a mosaic floor with geometric and floral motifs. It dates to the late 4th century AD.

Ph. Zaphairiopoulos, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B, 521-522, figs. 1.11, 2, pl. 338, 339a,b; Lerat, *Εσπέριος Αρχαίολογία*, I, 272-273.

A sturdy Roman wall and a Late Roman destruction level were found in Frouriou Street (A. Seimeni plot).

G. Rethemiotakis, *ADelt* 35, 1980, B, 265-267, fig. 2.

A large building complex of Roman date was found in G. Kottorou Street (the plot occupied by the Nursery School). The walls were in *opus mixtum*. Five tile graves and a larnax were found in the west end of the building; they were possibly placed there after it fell into disuse.

D. Chadjimichail-Skorda, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B, 188, pl. 112δ. Roman walls and remains of a kiln were found in G. Kottorou Street (D. and A. Papadimas' plot) near a Late Classical burial monument.

D. Chadjimichail-Skorda, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B, 187-188.

Scanty remains belonging to a Roman building were found at the junction of Giagtzzi and Kottorou Streets. Ph. Zaphairiopoulos, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B, 523, fig. 1.9, pl. 339γ.

Part of a hypocaust system was found in G. Kottorou Street (Chr. Karveli plot).

E. Papastavrou, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B, 196.

Two rooms belonging to a large Late Roman building, constructed in *opus mixtum*, were excavated in Kottorou Street (V. Kotsokleni and P. Gatou plot). A capital of Aeolian type, dating to the 3rd-4th century AD, was also found.

R. Kolonia, *ADelt* 49, 1994, B, 318-319.

Another mosaic floor came from an adjacent area in Papatheanasiou street (Papadimitriou's plot) in 1994. It is a multicoloured floor made of cubic stone tesserae and decorated with geometric motifs, vases and animals (deer, rabbits, sheep). It is dated to the 4th-5th century AD (p.1).

Quite close to this area, but towards the east, a number of other remains of Roman-Late Roman date were excavated.

A building with Hellenistic and Late Hellenistic-Early Roman phases was revealed in Nomarchias Street (Chr. Pappas' plot). A Late Roman destruction stratum has also been observed.

V. Komninou, *ADelt* 33, 1978, B, 145-146; S. Raptopoulos, in *IV^e colloque international d'archéologie funéraire* (2006) 230.

Three rooms and a courtyard belonging to a house of the Roman period came to light in Vassilopoulou Street (Koulou Bros' plot).

E. Baziotopoulou, *ADelt* 26, 1981, B, 233, 235, pl. 146γ.

Architectural remains of Late Hellenistic-Early Roman date were found in Diovousiotou Street (E. Papalexi plot).

E. Baziotopoulou, *ADelt* 26, 1981, B, 234.

A wall of Late Roman date was found in Kechagia Street (E. Avramikou plot). Pottery and a coin of Diocletian were collected.

E. Baziotopoulou-Valavani, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B, 207-208.

Three rooms belonging to a Roman building have been excavated in Petsava Street (Ath. Varkouta plot). Rubble walls and walls in *opus caementicium*, as well as a floor in *opus tessellatum* came to light. Two construction phases dating to the Roman period have been identified. Also, a tile grave with two child burials was found.

E. Papastaurou, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B, 187.

Walls of Roman date were found at the junction of Kechagia and Petsava streets (Ath. Saranti plot).

E. Baziotopoulou-Valavani, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B, 206.

Architectural remains of Roman date and a cist grave came to light in Agioi Theodoroi Street (Sp. Latiphi, A. Maneta-Ai. Driva plots)

E. Baziotopoulou-Valavani, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B, 207; A. Tsaroucha, *ADelt* 61, 2006, B, 556-557, fig. 3.

Architectural remains possibly belonging to a Roman house were found at the junction of Agioi Theodoroi & Hephaestus Streets (Kavvada plot).

E. Baziotopoulou-Valavani, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B, 207.

Six rooms of a Roman house dating to the 1st century BC-1st century AD were excavated at the junction of Simopoulou and Panourgia Streets (site of the 2nd Primary School). Two of them were identified as store-room and kitchen respectively. A mosaic floor was found in a third room, while a fresco imitating marble slabs covered the walls of a fourth room. Remains of a pipe line, a wall and a kiln of Late Roman date were also found. A Roman cameo depicting Dionysos found.

E. Baziotopoulou-Valavani, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B, 207, pl. 125α; A. Tsaroucha, in *Εύβοια και Στερεά*, 384, pl. 671.

Four rooms, part of a Roman private house were found in the Ath. Latiphi plot. The walls were constructed in *opus mixtum* and decorated with coloured mortar. Two hearths were found in one room and mosaic floors with geometric, floral and cruciform motifs and fish in two others. It dates to the 4th century AD.

E. Papastavrou, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B, 187-188, pl. 77α.

Two rooms of a Late Roman building were excavated in Thermopylon Street (Euth. Giatsou plot).

E. Papastavrou, *ADelt* 38, 1983, B, 187.

A pottery workshop dating to the middle of the 1st century AD was found in the northeastern part of the modern city.

P. Kourachanis, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 102.

The style and the technique of the mosaics is evidence that a local workshop was active in Amphissa in the Late Roman period.

Cemeteries

South cemetery

Graves which have been dated from the Late Geometric to the Roman period have been excavated in Gidogianos Street, at the OTE site, in the Playground, in at the DEH site and in N. Kordoni and Desterli Streets.

I. Konstantinou, *ADelt* 18, 1963, B, 130; 19, 1964, B, 221; Y. Nikopoulou, *ADelt* 23, 1968, B, 250; D. Skorda, *ADelt* 33, 1978, B, 142-145, fig. 1, pl. 48; P. Kourachanis, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 4, 1992, 99; R. Kolonia, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B, 460-461; A. Tsaroucha, in *ΑΕΘΣΕ* 1, 2006, 856.

Nine tile graves and built cist graves dating to the Hellenistic and Imperial periods were excavated at the junction of Salonon and K. Karamanli Streets (K. Belli-T. Tsadima plot). Amongst the finds lamps from the Patras pottery workshop came to light.

R. Kolonia, A. Tsaroucha, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 427-430, pl. 34-36; *Ανασκαφικό Έργο*, 51.

Architectural remains belonging to a building that was destroyed around the middle of the 2nd century BC were excavated in Leophoros Salonon near the Playground by the south-east entrance of the city. A vast quantity of coins were amongst the finds. Its destruction has been attributed to the skirmishes between anti- and pro-Roman Aitolians. The area was used from then on as a cemetery until the Late Roman period.

D. Kravartoyiannos, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 5, 1994, 75-139.

North-East cemetery

A cemetery with burials dating to the Roman-Late Roman period was found along the west bank of the Hylaiithos River outside the north and east section of the city walls. The base of the walls was used as a retaining wall for the tile graves.

A. Tsaroucha, in *ΑΕΘΣΕ* 1, 2006, 856.

A burial monument of the Imperial period consisting of a chamber with three built graves along three of its sides was excavated on Poseidonos street (A. Papadopoulou plot). Fourteen tile graves of the same date were found beside the fortification wall and around the monument.

R. Kolonia, A. Tsaroucha, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 421-423, pl. 21-23; *Ανασκαφικό Έργο*, 51.

Thirteen graves (cists and tile graves) dating to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD were found in 103rd Street (G. Tsionou plot). Glass and clay vessels, gold earrings and worn bronze coins were collected.

Ph. Dasios, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B, 198, fig. 5, pl. 117β.

An interesting find came to light in Ylraithou Street (L. Panagiotopeoulos' plot). A cemetery was placed in the area outside the wall in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD when perhaps it was not in use, but still visible. It is worthy of note that the skeletons are assigned to crippled people.

A. Kyriazopoulou, *ADelt* 37, 1982, B, 208-211, fig. 1, pl. 125β, 126.

Metropolis area

Remains of an Early Christian church and a baptistry dating to the 4th century AD were excavated.

S. Risbow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien* (1998) no 233; D. Skorda, in *Εύβοια και Στερεά*, 351, pl. 606.

A Late Roman building with an atrium and furnished with mosaic floors was revealed in front of the Metropolis.

Το Έργο του ΥΠΠΟ 3, 1999, 109; Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, I, 406.

A Late Roman-Early Byzantine cemetery was located in the area on the remains of a Hellenistic house, after the invasion of Alarich (AD 396).

S. Raptopoulos, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B, 380-318, fig. 5.

A number of Roman and Late Roman coins are reported among the finds of the excavations.

D. Kravartoyiannos, *Τετράμηνα* 8-9, 1976, 736-749.

Bibliography

RE I (1894) 1955-1956 s.v. Amphissa (Hirschfeld); D. Kravartoyannos, *Ιστορία της πόλεως της Αμφίσσης* (1997); F. Lefèvre, *L'Amphictionie*, 79, 295-296; Rousset, *Le territoire*, 16, 19, 54-55, 135-136; *id.*, in *Inventory*, 393-394, no. 158; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 861ff; Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, I, 29-30, 59-62, 264-274, 403-407; St. Oikonomou, *Ποθούντες Αμφισσαν. Η αρχαία Αμφισσα στα πλαίσια της Δυτικής Λοκράδας* (2010); *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, C3.

Amygdalia – Αμυγδαλία

6:3C

Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Early Roman terra sigillata sherds (from the 1st century BC to the 1st-2nd century AD) were found below an isolated rocky foothill of Mt. Katsouros (or Kritsouros), with a prehistoric site on the top, 1 km west of the village of Amygdalia.

Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 76, s.v. Amygdalea A; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 89 no. 9, 98-99 nos 2.1-2.5.

Anemokampi-Steno / Nisaki – Ανεμοκάμπι-Στενό / Νησάκι

6:4D

Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Traces of habitation and sherds of Hellenistic and Roman date were found on the Nisaki peninsula at Steno in Anemokampi Bay.

H. Spondylis, *ADelt* 43, 1988, B, 682-684, fig. 1, pl. 401B.

Bouchouri (Agiou Pantos) – Μπούχουρη

(Άγιοι Πάντες)

6:3B

Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

There is a fortification wall on Bouchouri peak (Agiou Pantos) and Roman finds have been reported.

Strouza III, 36, table 1.

It was possibly a fort on the border between the Locrians and the Aitolians.

Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 188-189.

CHALEION / CHALAIION (Galaxeidi) –

ΧΑΛΕΙΟΝ / ΧΑΛΑΙΟΝ (Γαλαξειδί) 6:4C

Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Hecat. *FGrH* 1F 113; Th. 3.101.2; Plin. *Nat.* 4.7; Marti. Cap. 6.651; Ptol. 3.14.15; St. Byz. s.v.

Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² 717-738; *CIL III* 569; N. Pappadakis, *ADelt* 6, 1920-1921, Par. 149; *SEG* 3, 430; *BCH* 1940-1941, 247; Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, I, 25-26.

The name of the city is Chalaion, Chaleion, Chaleon, Chalēon, and the ethnicon is Chalaios, Chaleos, Chaleieus, Chalieus, Chalēus, Chalēis, Chaleus, Chaleeus and in the Roman period Chaleatēs.

D. Rousset, in *Inventory*, 394, no. 159; Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, I, 73-76.

The citizens of Chaleion appeared as manumittors, witnesses or guarantors in manumissions Delphi in the second half of the 2nd century BC and the 1st century BC.

A Poplius Licinius from Chaleion is mentioned in a manumission of the late 1st century BC (*FD III*6, 130).

Chaleion bestowed honours on Pompey for returning items probably from a sanctuary / sanctuaries of the city (the statues of the Gods?) (*IG IX*, 1² 719). These items had been transported to another place possibly as a result of extraordinary circumstances (e.g. war). This action by Pompey and the decree as well, is dated to 67-62 BC, during which time he was pro-praetor for the operations against pirates and Mithridates.

P. Perdrizet, *REG* 10, 1897, 19-23 argues that Pompey joined Chaleion to Oiantheia in the 1st century BC as a result of the piratic raids; *contra*, Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, I, 302-304; cf. E. Ziebarth, *Die Geschichte der Piraten im alten Griechenland* (2010) 4, 42, 117 n. 120.

The cult of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus is mentioned in a Latin inscription (*CIL III* 569; *IG IX*, 1² 722; Schörner, *Votive*, 512 no. 1101).

It has been argued that Chaleion was located on the highlands over Galaxeidi bay until ca. 300 BC and was moved afterwards to the coast where the modern town is sited (E. Baziotopoulou – P. Valavanis, in *Γαλαξειδί*, 11-26). It had been identified as Oiantheia in older scholarly literature [*RE XVII*2 (1937), 2088-2089, s.v. Oianthea (Oldfather)]. For this reason the remains around the monastery of the Transfiguration on the hill

east of the modern harbour were identified as the Oiantheian temple of Artemis, mentioned by Pausanias (N. Pappadakis, *ADelt* 6, 1920-1921, Par. 149). An ionic capital of Roman date has been reported from the area of the monastery (E. Mastrokostas, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 14, 2006, 65-66).

However, activity in the neighbouring foothills and more specifically in the area of Agios Symeon continued, as we can assume by the surface sherds and the excavation of a Roman grave (close to Zagoras' house).

E. Mastrokostas, *Φωκικά Χρονικά* 14, 2006, 67; E. Baziotopoulou – P. Valavanis, in *Γαλαξειδί*, 25-26.

Apollo Nassiōtas was the main sanctuary of Chaleion until the Late Hellenistic period as is indicated by a dedication and a manumission dating to the middle of the 2nd century BC (*IG IX*, 1² 3, 721A, C). The area around the church of Agios Nikolaos on the peninsula of Galaxeidi, the area of the church of Agios Vlassis to the north-west of the modern town, as well as the islets of Agios Georgios and Apsifia in the bay of Galaxeidi have all been proposed as the location of this sanctuary.

P. Perdrizet, *REG* 10, 1897, 20; L. Lerat – F. Chamoux, *BCH* 71-72, 1947, 48-55; Papachatzis, *Πανσωνίας* 5, 458-459; A. Skiadas, *Το Γαλαξειδί. Μια πανάρχαια ναυσική πολιτεία* (1999), 61, 70 note 25; E. Baziotopoulou – P. Valavanis, in *Γαλαξειδί*, 22-24; Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λογκροί*, I, 71, 244-246 (cf. *Achaïe* I, 367 no. 677).

Private houses were constructed in the Late Roman-Early Byzantine period in the area of the city wall after it fell into disuse.

D. Chadjimichail-Skorda, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B, 204, fig. 9. Roman and Late Roman coins have been found in Galaxeidi.

D. Kravartoyannos, *Τετράμηνα* 43, 1990, 2849-2853; *id.*, *Αρχαία νομίσματα*, 213-215, 218-219.

Cemeteries

Chamber tombs have been excavated in the area of the modern town. A funerary stele dating to the 2nd century BC has come to light.

N. Pappadakis, *ADelt* 6, 1920-1921, Par. 149.

Thirty graves of Hellenistic and Roman date have been excavated in the district of Manousakia, near Iroon square in the centre of the modern town, outside the fortification wall. The majority of them were cists, tile and jar burials, apart from a sarcophagus and a grave enclosure of ashlar masonry with five compartments, dating to the Roman period. Glass vases and clay lamps

dating from the Late Hellenistic to the 3rd century AD are reported among the finds.

I. Threpsiadis, *AEphem* 1972, 188-200, fig. 2A, pl. 74-77; Ph. Zaphiropoulou, *AEphem* 1975, 54-66; Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λογκροί*, II, 241-242.

Three looted chamber tombs of Roman-Late Roman date were reported from the foot of the hill east of the modern port.

I. Threpsiadis, *AEphem* 1972, 186-188, fig. 2 (tomb of Locros), pl. 73a, b; Ph. Zaphiropoulou, *AEphem* 1975, 54-55; Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λογκροί*, II, 242.

An impressive group of bronze vessels dating from the Archaic period to the 1st century BC came from Galaxeidi. It could be interpreted as a hoard, as a votive deposit, or as grave goods.

E. Zymi – A. Sideris, in *Γαλαξειδί*, 40-41, 52-55.

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Ελαιοστάσι→Naupactus-Ελαιοστάσι

Ερατεινή→PHAISTINOS and OIANTHEA

ΕΡΥΘΡΑΙ?→Monastiraki

ΕΥΑΝΘΕΙΑ→OIANTHEA / OIANTHEIA

ΕΥΠΑΛΙΟΝ (Eupalio) – ΕΥΠΑΛΙΟΝ

(Ευπάλιο)

6:2C

Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Th. 3.96.2; 3.102.1; Liv. 28.8; Str. 9.4.8; 10.2.3; Plin. *Nat.* 4.7; St. Byz. s.v.

Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² 657.

Eupalion or Eupalia, according to Stephanus, was probably located on a fortified citadel near the village of Eupalio (Turk. Sule). It is attested in the inscriptions of the 3rd-2nd century BC from Naupactus and Thermon (*IG IX* 1², 10, 13, 17, 640; *SEG* 17, 265-266). Livy (28.9) associates Eupalion with the port of Erythrai.

Pritchett, *Studies*, VII, 53, 60-61; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 629ff; Freitag, *Golf*, 94-96; D. Rousset, in *Inventory*, 392; Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λογκροί*, I, 78-79, 164-168, 288-291.

The only evidence for the existence of the city in the Roman period is in Pliny and Strabo.

Gipedo→Naupactus-Gipedo

Glaronisi – Γλαρονήσι 6:3D
Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.
Late Roman sherds are reported from the small island of Glaronisi in Kavoulinitsa Bay.
H. Spondylis, *ADelt* 43, 1988, B, 685-87, fig. 2, pl. 405.

Glyfa-Mavrafenti – Γλύφα-Μαυραφέντι 6:2C
Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.
A fortified citadel is located on a conical hill near the coast. A sanctuary of Vasileia is mentioned in an inscription dating to the 3rd -2nd century BC (*IG IX*, 1² 659). Also, a funerary stele of an *archiatre* dating to the Imperial period has been found (*IG IX*, 1² 660).
L. Lerat – F. Chamoux, *BCH* 71-72, 1947, 73-74; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 644ff; Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοιμοί*, I, 172-180.
Early Roman pottery has been found.
S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 89 no. 14, 99-100 nos 4.1-4.4.
Domestic sherds, possibly of Roman date, have been noted to the east of the modern settlement of Mavrafenti.
S. Raptopoulos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 457 no. 55.

Itea-Kamniotisa – Ιτέα-Καμνιώτισα 6:4B/C
Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.
Roman sherds have been reported from the area opposite the Paper Factory.
S. Raptopoulos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 453, no. 31.

Kallithea-Palaiokastro – Καλλιθέα 6:3C
– Παλαιόκαστρο
Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.
A settlement was possibly situated on Palaiokastro, a steep isolated fortified foothill of Xyrovouni, north of the village of Kallithea. Sherds of Early Roman terra sigillata were found.
Στρουζα III, 36, table 1; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 90, no 17, 102-103 nos 6.1-6.2; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 706ff; cf. Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοιμοί*, I, 185.

Karyes – Καρυές 6:3C
Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.
Roman sherds were found during the excavation of looted graves in Karya, 3 km east of Kallithea.
Ph. Zapheiroulou, *ADelt* 31, 1976, B, 161-162

Kavoulinitsa – Καβουλινίτσα 6:3D
Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.
Remains of a building, possibly of Roman date, were

found on the northwest coast of Kavoulinitsa bay. Building remains are abundant all round the bay. Also, amphorae from a shipwreck of Roman date were found in the sea.
H. Spondylis, *ADelt* 43, 1988, B, 685-87, fig. 2, pl. 405.

Kipia →Makyneia-Kipia

LAPHRON (Milea) – ΛΑΦΡΩΝ (Μιλέα) 6:3B
Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.
The only evidence for its existence in the Late Hellenistic period is the text of the manumission of a slave who was consecrated to the local sanctuary of Vasileia, dated to the second half of the 2nd century BC. The inscription was found in secondary use in the chapel of Agios Dimitrios.
J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 93, 1969, 86-91; D. Rousset, in *Inventory*, 392.

Loutro →Makyneia-Loutro

MAKYN(E)IA (Paliokastro Naupaktias / Kato Mamakou) – ΜΑΚΥΝ(Ε)ΙΑ (Παλιόκαστρο Ναυπακτίας / Κάτω Μαμάκου) 6:1C
Naupactia Mun. / Aitolioakarnania R.Un.
Str. 10.2.4; 10.2.6 (Hellenic. fr. 118), 10.2.21; Plin. *Nat.* 4.7; Plu. *Qu. Gr.* 15; St. Byz. s.v.
The toponym is Makyn(e)ia or Makyna (Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοιμοί*, I, 83-84) and the ethnic name is Makyneus (*IG IX*, 1² 13).

Makyneia was a city of Epiktetus Aitolia near Mt. Taphiassos (Str. 10.2.21). The fortified acropolis is located on Paliokastro summit. A theatre and a temple have come to light in the eastern foothills of this summit. It was probably abandoned in the 2nd century BC.
L. Kolonas, *ADelt* 42, 1987, B, 182, pl. 93β; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 304ff; S. Stiros, P. Psimoulis *et al.*, *BSA* 100, 2005, 299-313.
A small piece of Late Hellenistic-Early Roman terra sigillata is reported.
S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 94 no. 54.
A mountain called Macynium is mentioned by Pliny (Plin. *Nat.* 4.6).

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Ναύπακτος, 78-83; Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λογροί*, I, 82-84, 143-147; II, 134.

Makyneia-Kipia – Μακύνεια-Κήπια 6:1C
Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Remains of a *villa rustica* were found on the north-west slope of a small hill, beside the Ionian National Road at the exit of the tunnel. Five rooms were excavated set on a series of terraces. It is dated to the Late Roman / Early Christian period.

M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, 681, no. 36.

Makyneia-Loutro – Μακύνεια-Λουτρό 6:1C/D
Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Remains of a *villa rustica* were found on the south-west slope of a small hill, north-west of Palaiokastro, beside the Ionian National Road. Ten rooms were excavated, arranged in four rows across three terraces. Among them a brick-built an *hypoleion* was revealed. It was constructed in the Roman period (2nd century AD?) over the ruins of a Hellenistic building. Its destruction has been dated by coins of Gallienus to AD 267/8 and has been attributed to the Herulian raids.

Ανασκαφικό Έργο, 66, fig. 18; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, 681, no. 35; Kl. Sidiropoulos, G. Alexopoulou, in *ΑΕΘΣΕ* 4 (in press).

Makyneia-Paralia – Μακύνεια-Παραλία 6:1D
Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A large bath complex was excavated on the coast of Makyneia (Trogada & Katsouda plot). Eight rooms came to light. The *caldaria* were found in the north wing, where three private *alveii*, two hypocausts and the *prae-furnium* were revealed. The *tepidarium* or the *laconicum* have also come to light. Four cisterns were found in the western wing. One of them was fully excavated. It was paved with large clay slabs and a tub has been used for the collection of water. It was constructed in the 1st -2nd century AD and remained in use until the Late Roman-Early Christian periods. In this later phase, a long sturdy wall in *opus mixtum*, with buttresses and large pithoi incorporated in its structure, was added to the east side of the building. Some rooms had been totally renovated and a small rectangular pottery kiln was constructed. A burial was set into the kiln after it went out of use. In addition to pottery and coins, a male marble statuette was also found.

Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 90-91, fig. 27-30; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, 681, no. 37.

It has been attributed to a *villa maritima*.

M. Petropoulos, in *Νικόπολις Β'*, 203.

Makyneia-Rizo – Μακύνεια-Ριζό 6:1C
Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Two farmsteads of Hellenistic date were found in Rizo, 500-1000m south-east of the acropolis. They were abandoned in the early 1st century BC possibly as a result of the campaigns of Sulla and Loucullus in the area.

Ph. Saranti, in *ΑΕΘΣΕ* 4 (in press); Kl. Sidiropoulos, G. Alexopoulou, in *ΑΕΘΣΕ* 4 (in press).

**MOLYKR[E]IA / MOLYKR[E]ION (Velvina),
MOLYKRION RION / ANTIRRHION (Antirrio) –
ΜΟΛΥΚΡ[Ε]ΙΑ/ ΜΟΛΥΚΡ[Ε]ΙΟΝ (Βελβίνα),
ΜΟΛΥΚΡΙΟΝ ΡΙΟΝ (Αντίρριο)** 6:1C

Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Th. 2.84.4; 2.86.2-3; 3.102.2; Scyl. 35; Plb. 5.94; Str. 8.2.3; 9.1.1; 9.4.8; 10.2.4; 10.2.21; Plin. *Nat.* 4.6; Plu. *Mor.* 162e; Paus. 9.31.6; 10.11.6; Ptol. 3.14; St. Byz. s.v.

Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² 605-608.

The region west of Naupactus is called Molykreion or Molykreia and the modern cape of Antirrio was known as *Ἀντίρριον*, *Μολύκριον Ρίον* or *Ρίον τὸ Μολυκρικίον*. The city of the same name was located on the summit of Eliniko in Velvina. A temple of Poseidon mentioned by ancient sources was excavated and the remains included a graffito with the name «Viktorinou» (*IG IX*, 1², 608). A festival, called Ricia, was celebrated on the coast in Plutarch's lifetime (*Mor. Conv. Sept. Sap.* 162e).

Citizens of Molykreion were witnesses in a proxeny decree of the Aitolian League dating to 142/1 BC (*IG IX*, 1² 35).

The toponym is Molykr(e)ia or Molykrion and the ethnicon is attested as Molykreus and only in Stephanus as Molykrios and Molykraios.

K. Freitag – P. Funke – N. Moustakis, in *Inventory*, 385 no. 150.

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Monastiraki (ERYTHRAI?) – Μοναστηράκι (ΕΡΥΘΡΑΙ) 6:2C

Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Liv. 28.8; St. Byz. s.v.

Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, I, 78, 101, 106, 292-293; Pritchett, *Studies*, VII, 52-60; Freitag, *Golf*, 96-98; D. Rousset, in *Inventory*, 392.

The city is mentioned in the naval operations of Philip V in 208 BC (Liv. 28.8.7).

A Roman date is proposed in *Barr-Atlas* (Map 55, B4). The identification and the date are both unconfirmed.

MYANIA (Agia Euthymia) – MYANIA

(Αγία Ευθυμία) 6:4B
Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Th. 3.100.2; 3.101, 2; Plin. 4.7 (Mirana?); Paus. 6.19.5; 10.38.8; St. Byz. s.v.

Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² 746-747.

The name of the city is Myania, Myonia, Myōnia and only in Stephanus does it appear as Myōn. The ethnicon is attested as Myoneus, Myanōn (pl.).

Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, I, 86-88; D. Rousset, in *Inventory*, 395 no. 164.

It is located on the western edge of the plateau in the foothills of Diasselo, Tourla and Elatovouno. A roughly rectangular acropolis, remains of the asty, the location of the necropolis and a small temple have all been noted. No Roman date is mentioned, though Pausanias' description and the epigraphic record indicate that the city was active in the Roman period.

According to Pausanias (10.38.8) there was a grove and an altar of the *meilichioi* gods. Sacrifices were offered at night, and there was a custom of consuming the meat on the spot before sunrise. Beyond the city there was a precinct of Poseidon, called the Poseidonium, with a temple of Poseidon. The cult statue had disappeared before Pausanias' lifetime.

Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 465-466; Papachatzis, *Πλωσάνιας* 5, 456-457.

The archons of the city are mentioned in a manumission from Delphi dating to 138 BC (*FD III2*, 246; *FD III6*, 110). Delphi granted the privileges of proxeny to a citizen of Myania between 139/8 and 122/1 BC (*SEG* 27, 124). A long territorial dispute between Amphissa, Myania and Delphi dating to the times of M. Acilius Glabrio was settled by Avidius Nigrinus ca. AD 110 or 114. As we can assume by this case, Myania in the Roman period shared borders with Amphissa to the north, with the *hiera chora* of Apollo to the east and with Delphi to the northeast. Also, Physkos was its western neighbour. Myania had access to the sea in the bay of Itea (cf. **Amphissa**).

² Further evidence of the city's autonomy is the local magistracies (*grammateus* and *agonothetes*) in the manumissions from

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NAUPACTUS (Naupactus) –

ΝΑΥΠΙΑΚΤΟΣ (Ναύπαιτος) 6:1C
Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A. Supp. 266; Th. 1.103; 2.69, 80-84, 90-92, 102-103; 3.7.69, 75, 78, 94-102, 114; 4.13, 41, 49, 76, 77; 7.17, 19, 31, 36, 57; X. *HG* 4.6.14; Heraclid. Pont. *Keion Politeia* 9.10; Ephor. fr. 121; D. 9.34; Scyl. 35; Scymn. 479; Theopomp. Hist. fr. 235; Plb. 4.16.9; 5.95, 102, 103, 107; 16.27; 20.10-11; 23.5; 28.13; D.S. 11.84; 12.42, 44, 47, 60; 13.48; 14.34; 15.75; Cic. *Pis.* 91, 96; Caes. *Civ.* 3.35.1; Str. 9.4.7; Liv. 31.29; 35.12; 36.30, 34-35; 37.4-5; Plin. *Nat.* 4.6; Dion. Calliph. 64 (240); Apollod. 2.8.2-3; Plu. *Tit.* 15; Paus. 4.24; 4.26; 6.16.13; 9.25.8; 10.38.9-13; Ptol. 3.14.3; Zen. 6.33; Ant. Lib. 33; Phleg. *Mir.* fr. 36, 220-224; St. Byz. s.v.; Sud. 4.764.11; Zon. 9.19.

Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² (609?) 610-630, 641-656, 785; *ADelt* 28, 1973, B 395.

The name of the city is Naupactus and the ethnicon is attested as Naupactios (D. Rousset, in *Inventory*, 395-396). It was a city of Ozolian Locris, but became part of Epiktetos Aitolia, a member and the headquarters of the Aitolian League from the end of the fourth Sacred War until the end of the Aitolian-Roman War. Naupactus regained its independence after the treaty of 189 BC.²

It possibly remained on the pro-Roman side in the Achaean war, since A. Gabinius, a legate of Metellus, returned to Naupactus after the declaration of war by the Achaean assembly (Plb. 38.13.9).

Naupactus accepted the asyilia of the temple of Hecate in Stratonikeia and the quinquennial festival for the goddess and Rome.

OGIS 441; I. Stratonikeia 508. The association proposed by Siamantas, *Ναύπαιτος*, 71-72 is unfounded.

It was ravaged in 57-56 BC by the mountain tribes of the Agrianes and the Dolopes who were forced by L. Calpurnius Piso to abandon their homeland (Cic. *Pis.* 91, 96).

Naupactus was controlled by a Pompeian garrison in the first period of the Civil War, but Caesar sent troops to

the first quarter of the 2nd century BC down to 140-130 BC, cf. Ljung, *Indemnity*, 66.

the area under the command of Cn. Calvisius Sabinus to drive out the Pompeians and turn the city in his favour (Caes. *Civ.* 3.34-35).

Augustus put Naupactus under the control of the newly founded colonia of Patras and it was still under the authority of this Achaean city when Pausanias visited it in ca. AD 170 (Paus. 10.38.9).

ADelt 28, 1973, B, 395; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 113.

Extensive remains of the Late Roman and Early Christian period, including four or five Early Christian churches and at least four Christian cemeteries, came to light, an indication that the city flourished in Late Antiquity. Naupactus became an episcopal centre and Hierocles listed it under Corinth. It suffered considerable damage from an earthquake in AD 551 (Procop. *Goth.* 8.25.16-17).

P. Lazaridis, *ADelt* 21, 1966, B, 267-268; P. Vokotopoulos, *ADelt* 28, 1973, B, 394-397; N. Zias, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B, 543; D. Triantaphylopoulos, *ADelt* 33, 1978, B, 167; A. Savvides, *Ναυπακτικά* 5, 1990-1991, 46-47; V. Papageorgiou, in *ΑΣΝΔΕ Α'*, 2006, 547-554; Nerantzis, *Ναύπακτος*, 234-253, 262-265.

Pausanias mentions a temple of Poseidon on the coast with a cult statue of bronze and a sanctuary of Artemis with an image in white marble. Her statue was posed in the act of hurling a javelin, and was given the epithet 'Aitolian'. Aphrodite was worshipped in a cave. The sanctuary of Asclepius was in ruins in his lifetime (Paus. 10.38.12-13).

Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 467-469; Papachatzis, *Πανσωνίας* 5, 457-465, esp. 461-465.

For the sanctuaries mentioned by Pausanias, Pouqueville proposed a cave on the summit of Rigani as the sanctuary of Aphrodite and Woodhouse suggested the area of Kephaloivrisso in a district called "Aphrodite", but there is no evidence for it. Woodhouse proposed, also, that the reference of Pausanias to the temple of Poseidon should be associated with the temple of the same god in Molykreion. Finally, the sanctuary of Asclepius, was located at Tsoukari in the modern district of Aphrodite.

F.C.H.L. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, (1826), IV, 46-47; R. Weil, *AM* 4, 1879, 22-29; Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 312-316; Siamantas, *Ναύπακτος*, 46-54; Nerantzis, *Ναύπακτος*, 96-101; Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοιμοί*, I, 154-155.

A sanctuary of Sarapis is mentioned in manumissions dating to the 2nd century BC (*IG IX*, 1² 629-630; *SEG* 12, 295-296). It was possibly located in the area of Agia Paraskevi. It has been proposed that it was destroyed by

Christians, since an altar, attributed to the ancient temple was used in the construction of the nearby Early Christian basilica. Remains of a bath complex, small Ionic column bases, unfluted columns and a mosaic floor have been found in the same area and they have been associated with a Roman villa.

Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 311, 313; Kahrstedt, *Villa*, 35; Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοιμοί*, I, 154, 156-157; G. Alexopoulou, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B, 145, fig. 17, pl. 92b; Siamantas, *Ναύπακτος*, 67-71; Nerantzis, *Ναύπακτος*, 102-103, 354-355.

A sanctuary of Dionysus is mentioned in manumissions of the 2nd century BC (the latest one is dated to 135/4 BC) (*IG IX*, 1² 624-628; E. Mastrokostas, *AM* 80, 1965, 159 no. 18l).

Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοιμοί*, I, 155-156; Nerantzis, *Ναύπακτος*, 101-102.

The information from Phlegon of Tralles (*Mir.* fr. 36, 220-224) about "a sanctuary, common to all Greeks" in Naupactus in the 2nd century BC is unreliable.

Siamantas, *Ναύπακτος*, 77-78; Nerantzis, *Ναύπακτος*, 105. The acropolis was situated on the hill, where the medieval fort (Kastro) is located. The walls of the Venetian period were built over the ancient ones. Layers dating from the Classical to Early Christian times have been identified.

M. Petritaki, *ADelt* 42, 1987, B, 170-172; Nerantzis, *Ναύπακτος*, 147-149.

The core of the Roman settlement was located on the coast at Gribovo to the west of medieval port, in the area bordered by Tzavella and Athinon Streets to the north, Apokaukou Street to the south, Messinion Street to the west and Arvaniti Street to the east. The numerous remains of public and private buildings, as well as bath facilities indicate considerable activity in this area in the Roman and Late Roman periods.

Siamantas, *Ναύπακτος*, 104, 142-143; Ph. Saranti, in *ΑΣΝΔΕ Α'*, 2006, 494-510; Nerantzis, *Ναύπακτος*, 214-224.

Important architectural remains possibly of domestic buildings and bath complexes were found to the north of this area, in the region of Ovyrolakka, which is located between the Kastro hill and Varnorachi hill / Ska torrent. Siamantas, *Ναύπακτος*, 104, 142-143; Ph. Saranti, in *ΑΣΝΔΕ Α* (*op. cit.*); Nerantzis, *Ναύπακτος*, 212-214, 221. A few remains have been noted on the eastern edge of the city outside the walls.

The cemeteries were used continuously until the Hellenistic period and from time to time in the Roman and Early Christian periods. They were located in the

“Aphrodite” quarter on the south edge of the modern town, on Alonaki-Lagadoula on the west, the south-western slopes below the Kastro and on southern slope of Varnorachi hill in the central section of the modern settlement.

E. Kollia – Ph. Saranti, in *ΛΑΣΑ* B, 2004, 231-241; Siamantas, *Ναύπακτος*, 104-105; Ph. Saranti, in *ΑΣΝΔΕ Α*, (*op. cit.*); Nerantzis, *Ναύπακτος*, 226-230.

Isolated burials were found among building structures in the districts of Gribovo and Ovaryolaka. Also, the areas of the sea walls (Messinion Street, junction of Messinion and Apokaukou Street, junction of Athinon and Th. Nova Streets) had been turned into cemeteries in the Roman and Early Christian period when the walls were no longer used.

Gribovo

Remains of a Roman bath complex came to light in the section of Apokaukou Street between Synt. Psarrou and Mannasi Streets. Three arched rooms were found. The walls were constructed in *opus testaceum* and *opus mixtum*, covered with marble facings. Another impressive building was excavated a few meters to the east, in the corner of Apokaukou and Ep. Arvaniti Streets. A complex building with mosaic floors with geometric decoration and a cistern lined with marble slabs were found. In the same area (e.g. Ep. Arvaniti Street) built elliptical or square bath basins in shape, decorated with marble facings have been excavated. These remains and another a few metres to the northeast, in the area between Kephalovrissso Square and (formerly) 21 April Street are evidence that extensive bath installations were located in the area of Gribovo in the Roman and Late Roman-Early Christian period. Four graves were cut into its remains in the Byzantine period.

Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 312-316; E. Mastrokostas, *ADelt* 23, 1968, B, 277-279; Ph. Petsas, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B, 315-319; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, *ADelt* 39, 1984, B, 105; Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B, 274, fig. 22; V. Tsantila, in *IWA Regional Symposium on Water, Wastewater and Environment: Traditions and Culture* (2014) 1236.

Part of a Roman building was excavated in the corner of Apokaukou and Synt. Psarrou Street; a second one built using *opus caementicium* and *opus mixtum*, and floors covered with *tegulae* was found in Apokaukou Street (I. Loukopoulou plot). Also, the drainage system of the building came to light. It has been dated to the transition from the Roman to the Late Roman period and to the Early Christian period. Early Christian graves were cut into the floor after the destruction of the building.

I. Papapostolou, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B, 434; M. Petritaki, *ADelt* 42, 1987, B, 173-175; L. Kolonas, Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 50, 1995, B, 241; Nerantzis, *Ναύπακτος*, 217.

Remains of Roman bath complexes were found in Intze Street. They are possibly associated with the remains at the junction of Botsari and Psarrou Streets (I. Loukopoulou plot, O.T. 142) and also in Psarrou Street (Chr. Papakonstantinou plot).

M. Kotsaki, *ADelt* 40, 1985, B, 140.

Part of a Roman building was revealed at the junction of Botsari and Psarrou Street (I. Loukopoulou plot, O.T. 142). Its wall was built in *opus caementicium* and *opus mixtum*. Sherds of terra sigillata have been collected.

G. Alexopoulou, *ADelt* 45, 1990, B, 143-144, fig. 7; Nerantzis, *Ναύπακτος*, 217.

Architectural remains of three different phases were excavated in Psarrou Street (Chr. Papakonstantinou plot). The best preserved phase is dated to the Late Roman-Early Christian period and was constructed over remains of Hellenistic date. The walls were built in *opus mixtum* and then covered with mortar decorated with ‘X’ motifs. It is possibly associated with the Roman baths already mentioned in Intze Street.

L. Kolonas, Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 49, 1994, B, 245-246, fig. 17.

A significant number of structures, which are related to each other were revealed in Mavrommati Street, Manassi Street, the site of the ‘First’ Primary School, Novas-Athanasiadis’ plot and S. Toubanos’ plot. Seven buildings constructed at different times during the Roman period came to light. The most impressive was composed of 16 rooms around an atrium decorated with a mosaic floor in *opus tessellatum*. Another large building was found to the east of the previous one. It consisted of three rooms; a marble statuette is reported among the finds. The west part of the building had been transformed into a paved road, which was replaced by a drain later. Rectangular wells were found in the southern part of the plot. Also, part of an impressive complex of Roman baths with a colonnade on the southern side was found on the north corner of the plot. Significant quantities of Roman pottery (terra sigillata, domestic, plain and cooking wares) and a number of bronze coins were found.

I. Papapostolou, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B, 434; Ph. Zapheiro-poulou, *ADelt* 31, 1976, B, 165-169, figs 5-6, pls 115γ-118; Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B, 305-306, pl. 120γ; Nerantzis, *Ναύπακτος*, 214-216.

In the Xenia plot (formerly Novas-Athanasiadis) a corner tower of the sea walls (at the junction of the east and south section) have come to light. Parts of a Roman sarcophagus were found.

Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 61, 2006, B, 587-588, fig. 30.

Two buildings belonging to a Roman complex were excavated in the area of the 'First' Primary School. The larger building had 12 rooms and is dated to the 2nd century AD. It was renovated in the 4th century AD and possibly destroyed by the earthquake of AD 551. It was paved with mosaic floors bearing geometric motifs and the walls were covered by *opus sectile* and *crustae*. Fragments of statues (Aphrodite or a Nymph, parts of male statuettes and a fragment from a statuette of Asclepius) were also discovered.

Ανασκαφικό Έργο, 65-66 figs 13-14; Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 60, 2005, B, 478-480, fig. 13-15.

Also, part of the sea walls of the city came to light in Apokaukou Street (Ikka plot). An important building with mosaic floors with geometric motifs and a cemetery were located in the area in the Early Christian period.

Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B, 304-305, pl. 120; 53, 1998, B, 284.

On the west side of Gribovo, in Apokaukou and Messenion Streets (Athanasopoulou plot) the remains of a Hellenistic building have come to light. The area was used as a cemetery in the 1st-2nd centuries AD and afterwards a Late Roman house was constructed.

G. Alexopoulou, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B, 217-218.

Also, in Messenion Street (I. & S. Koggos' plot), five rectangular rooms had been attached in a later period to the inner face of a strong wall that was possibly part of the sea walls of the city. A well, pebble floors and Hellenistic-Roman pottery were found inside the rooms. A road made of beaten earth and broken tiles descended to the north of the buildings.

Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 48, 1993, B, 144.

Quite close to this area, in Episkopou David Street (G. Papathanasiou plot) part of a Roman bath complex was excavated.

ADelt 38, 1983, B, 127.

Part of a wall with a niche in *opus mixtum* was found in Tzavella Street (K. Dimopoulou-Sakellari plot). They are dated to the end of the Late Roman period. On the same street a compact square construction was excavated. It was built with stone blocks and smaller stones. A well was also found.

G. Alexopoulou, *ADelt* 43, 1988, B, 144, fig. 19, pl. 97b; V. Papadopoulou, *ADelt* 45, 1990, B, 281, fig. 5, pl. 128γ. Architectural remains of the Late Roman / Early Christian and Hellenistic periods were revealed in Papachristodoulou Street (A. & K. Papadokostaki plot). Walls of Late Roman to Early Christian date, covered

with red cement and associated with a layer of fine pebbles were excavated. Also a section of road, probably the main road leading from the centre of the city to the port was revealed. It was constructed in the early Hellenistic period but probably remained in use until Late Antiquity.

Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B, 330-333.

A section of the Classical-Hellenistic city walls was found at the junction of Leoforos Athinon and Th. Nova Streets (Ath. Konisti plot). The region was used as a cemetery in the 3rd century AD.

G. Alexopoulou, *ADelt* 43, 1988, B, 174.

Building remains belonging to the domestic area of the Late Roman-Early Christian period and 10 pit graves were found in Athinon Street (O.T. 162, Paisiou plot). The area was located on the eastern edge of the ancient city. Large blocks attributed to the sea walls of the city had been used in the buildings, an indication that the walls were no longer in use in Late Antiquity. The area was used as a cemetery after the abandonment of the buildings.

M. Petritaki, *ADelt* 42, 1987, B, 173, fig. 10.

Ορυζακκία

A section of the walls of the Classical-Hellenistic city came to light. The walls were abandoned in the Roman-Late Roman period. A grave of the 2nd century AD was also found.

M. Petritaki, *ADelt* 42, 1987, B, 170-172, fig. 9, pl. 85, 86β.

A wall of Roman date in *opus caementicium* was found over the remains of a Hellenistic house.

G. Alexopoulou, *ADelt* 46, 1991, B, 167.

Remains of a building of Roman date came to light in Pharmaki Street (A. Papachristodoulou plot). On the same street a long wall in *opus caementicium*, dating to the Roman period was excavated (Al. Sakellari plot, O.T. 107).

G. Alexopoulou, *ADelt* 45, 1989, B, 142; 46, 1991, B, 167.

A Roman grave was found near houses of Late Classical-Hellenistic date, at the junction of Pharmaki and Tzavella Streets (E.T.E. plot).

G. Alexopoulou, *ADelt* 43, 1988, B, 174, fig. 20.

Remains of a Late Roman building were found at Kapordeli (Euthymiopoulou-Chassoura plot). Two cisterns of earlier date were also excavated. Red slipped ware and a lamp of the 1st century BC were found inside the structures.

I. Papapostolou, *ADelt* 33, 1978, B, 165.

A section of the Classical-Hellenistic city walls with repairs from the Roman period was found in Kapordeli

and Karakoulaki Streets (E. Raikou plot). Three apses (one rectangular and two semicircular) of a Roman bath complex constructed against the main section of the walls were excavated. The bath complex was destroyed by fire and an Early Christian cemetery was then located in the area.

G. Alexopoulou, *ADelt* 43, 1988, B, 177-180, fig. 21-22. The remains of a workshop (walls in *opus mixtum*, a system of clay pipes connected to round cisterns) dated to the Early Christian period have been excavated in Kapordeli Street (Charalampopoulou-Tsiligiani plot). A built grave and a child's tile grave of the same date were also found. It is associated with a Late Christian basilica. Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B, 304, fig. 17, 119δ; cf. P. Lazaridis, *ADelt* 21, 1966, B, 267-268.

A building with five successive chronological phases from the Late Classical to the Late Roman period was excavated at the junction of Pharmaki and Vardakoula Streets (Pasaporti's plot). It has been interpreted as a pottery workshop since two clay moulds, one for bowls decorated with long leaves, dating to 145-100 BC, and a second mould for lamps dating to the 5th and 6th centuries AD, were found in the area.

G. Alexopoulou, *ADelt* 45, 1990, B, 142, pl. 65α; L. Kolonas, Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 49, 1994, B, 245, pl. 79a. Architectural remains dating to the 4th century AD were found on Vardakoula Street (Masgala plot).

Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 60, 2005, B, 477-478.

A corner of a Roman building was excavated at the junction of Pharmaki and Karakoulaki or Tsoni Streets (Kyr. Paulou's plot).

G. Alexopoulou, *ADelt* 46, 1990, B, 142.

Walls and drains dating to the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods were found at the junction of Kozoni and Kosma Aitolou Streets (Chr. Samaleka plot).

G. Alexopoulou, *ADelt* 47, 1992, B, 152.

Part of the Hellenistic intra-mural cemetery was found at the junction of Pharmaki and Tsoni Streets (Vasilopoulou-Sotiropoulou's plot). Eight graves (cist, built and tile graves) of the Late Roman period have been excavated.

Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B, 301-302.

Building remains dated from the Late Roman to Middle Byzantine period were found in Andreopoulou-Dimitropoulou plot (O.T. 120). Walls forming rectangular areas and a part of a pebble floor came to light. Terra sigillata sherds and Late Roman lamps have been reported.

Phr. Kephalonitou, *Ναυπακτικὰ* 13, 2002-2003, 165-167; Nerantzis, *Ναύπακτος*, 212-214.

East Sector

Parts of a Late Roman building and a cist grave of Roman date were found in Poseidonos Street.

M. Petritaki, *ADelt* 42, 1987, B, 170.

Remains of a Late Roman-Early Christian bath complex with hypocaust system have come to light in Xenitemenon Naupaktion Street (A. Lagiou plot). The inner face of the walls was built in *opus testaceum* and the outer in *opus mixtum*. Parts of marble facings were also found. In the Early Christian period, the apse was blocked off and a pipe line was added.

Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B, 304.

Cemeteries

Apart from the pre-existing cemeteries, numerous Early Roman graves appear in places whose function had previously been exclusively domestic, such as Apokaukou Street and Alonaki, an indication of changes in urban conditions during the Roman era.

Ljung, *Indemnity*, 73, 83.

South cemetery

Part of the Roman cemetery, organised into rows and groups of graves of similar type (cist, tile and built graves), has been found in the district called "Aphrodite" (Nymphion Street) in the southern section of the modern city. One of them is dated to the 2nd-3rd century AD and the others to the Late Roman-Early Christian period. Traces of wooden coffins have also been found. Also, a burial monument of Roman date has been partly excavated. The cemetery was established on the infill of the Ska torrent, an indication that it had changed course before that date. A section of the road leading from the city to the cemetery was also revealed.

G. Alexopoulou, *ADelt* 46, 1991, B, 167, pl. 74δ; L. Kolonas, Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 49, 1994, B, 244-245; Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 101; Nerantzis, *Ναύπακτος*, 226; Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοχοί*, I, 409.

Varnarachi Cemetery

Two chamber tombs were excavated in Irakleous Street (V. Koukouona plot). They are dated to the mid-3rd to early 1st century BC.

I. Papapostolou, *ADelt* 33, 1978, B, 165; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, Ph. Saranti, in *Ελληνιστική Κεραμική από την αρχαία Ήπειρο, την Αιτωλοακαρνανία και τα Ιόνια Νησιά* (2009) 267-278.

Twelve cist and tile graves, dating to the Late Roman period, were found on the summit of Varnarrachi hill

(S. Karametou plot) in the centre of the modern city.

Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 73.

A wall and five pit, tile and built cist graves, dating to the Late Roman-Early Christian period, were found, in Pharmaki Square on Athinon Street, on the southern slopes of Varnarrachi hill (Phragou-Pantazi plot). They were located above a burnt destruction level of Hellenistic graves.

Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 99.

Six cist, tile and built graves were excavated in A. Georgoutsis plot (O.T. 72). Most of them date to the 2nd century AD.

V. Staikou, *ADelt* 61, 2006, B, 589, fig. 33.

West cemetery (Alonaki-Lagadoula)

A cemetery with Hellenistic, Roman and Early Christian burials was excavated at Alonaki 300m west of the west fortification wall of the Kastro (Satlani plot).

D. Konstantios, *ADelt* 36, 1981, B, 293, pl. 193a, b; *id.*, *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά* 26, 1984, 133-140; Nerantzis, *Ναύπακτος*, 230, 246-249.

A burial enclosure was found at the foot of Aetorachi hill at Alonaki-Lagadoula (Lymperi plot OE). It is 'Pi' shaped and was constructed using large stones. It encloses two large cists dating to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. One of them continued in use until the mid-1st century BC. A cist grave of Roman date was found east of the enclosure.

Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 114-115, figs 8-10. Cist and tile graves of Roman date were found beside the plot mentioned above.

Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 60, 2005, B, 476.

Late Roman sherds came from the area of the west cemetery (Arvaniti plot).

Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 60, 2005, B, 475.

A coin hoard (*terminus post quem* 114/3 BC) from Naupactus with an Athenian 'New Style' Drachma and two dinarii minted in Rome has been reported, cf. Ch. Papeorgiadou-Bani, in *Χαρακτήρ* (1996) 215-224.

A number of *villae rusticae* were found in the vicinity of the west cemetery (**Naupactus-Elaiostasi-Gipedo-Palaiopanagia-Vareias**).

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Lolling, *Reisenotizen*, 447-454; Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 309-322; *RE* XVII2 (1935) 1979-2002 s.v. Naupactus (Oldfather - Trowbridge); Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 99 (Navpaktos A); E. Karagianni-Charalampopoulou, *Ναυπακτικά* 6, 1992-1993, 19-33; Strauch, *Römische Politik*,

329-336; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 570ff; I. Nerantzis, *Ναυπακτικά* 10, 1998-1999, 47-118; Siamantas, *Ναύπακτος*; D. Rousset, in *Inventory*, 395-396, no. 165; Ph. Saranti, in *ΑΣΝΔΕ Α'*, 2006, 499-510; Nerantzis, *Ναύπακτος*; Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοιμοί*, I, 150-157, 407-411; Ljung, *Indemnity*, 66, 81-84. 202.

Naupactus-Elaiostasi – Ναύπακτος-Ελαιοστάσι 6:1C
Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Remains of a Late Roman *villa rustica* with a *lenos*, a *hypolenio* and a cistern with ladder were found in Elaiostasi (I. Spyropoulos' plot). It was built over the rubble of a large earlier building. The main phase of the villa is dated in 2nd-3rd centuries AD. Coins dated in 2nd-6th centuries AD are also reported. It is located near the modern road from Naupactus to Thermon, evidence for the existence of an ancient route.

Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B, 302-303, fig. 16, pl. 119β; Nerantzis, *Ναύπακτος*, 224; Ph. Saranti – V. Staikou, in *Villae Rusticae*, 723-727, 731-733, plan 1-2, fig. 1-5.

Naupactus-Gipedo – Ναύπακτος-Γήπεδο 6:1C
Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Architectural remains of a *villa rustica*, dating to the Late Roman period have been found (Tsamadia plot). Sections of walls and two cisterns have been excavated. Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 116; Ph. Saranti – V. Staikou, in *Villae Rusticae*, 727, plan 1, fig. 6.

Naupactus-Palaiopanagia – Ναύπακτος-Παλαοπαναγιά 6:1C
Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Part of a Late Roman *villa rustica* was found beside the road from Naupactus to Antirrio. Rough reddish plaster and a stone paved floor came to light inside the building (Laourdeki plot).

Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B, 334; C. Morgan, *ARepLond* 56, 2010, 73.

It is probably associated with the remains of a *villa rustica*, found just to the south, 100m south of the Naupactus to Antirrio road (K. Mauromyti plot). Two buildings with two architectural phases and two wine presses with vats excavated.

V. Staikou, *ADelt* 60, 2005, B, 481, fig. 16; Ph. Saranti – V. Staikou, in *Villae Rusticae*, 728-730, plan 1, fig. 8-11.

Naupactus-Vareias – Ναύπακτος-Βαρειάς 6:1C
Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Part of a *villa rustica* came to light beside the Vareias torrent (Carrefour-Marinopoulos plot). It was built over

the ruins of a farm of Hellenistic date. Coins dating to the 3rd century AD were found. It was destroyed or abandoned in the 5th – 6th century AD.

M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, Ph. Saranti, in *Villae Rusticae*, 680, no. 31; Ph. Saranti – V. Staikou, in *Villae Rusticae*, 728, 733, fig. 7.

Naupactus - Xeropigado / Megalomata –

Ναύπακτος-Ξεροπήγαδο / Μεγαλομάτα **6:1C**
Naupactia Mun. / Aitolokarnania R.Un.

Part of a Late Roman building was excavated in the region of Megalomata.

G. Alexopoulou, *ADelt* 43, 1988, B, 180.

Six tile and pit graves of Late Roman date were found in Tzavorema to the south of the National Road from Naupactus to Itea.

Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 114.

Nisaki→Anemokampi-Steno / Nisaki

OIANTHEA / OIANTHEIA / EUANTHEIA

(**Paralia Tolophonas / Vitrinitsa**) – OIANΘEA / OIANΘEIA / EYANΘEIA (Παραλία Τολοφώνας / Βιτρινίτσα) **6:3D**

Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Hecat. fr. 113; Hellenic. fr. 120; Th. 3.101.2; Scyl. 36; Plb. 4.57-2; 5.17.8; Mel. 2.55; Plin. *Nat.* 4.7; Pausan. 8.46; Plu. *Mor.* 294E; Paus. 10.38.9-10; Ptol. 3.14.3; Tab. Peut. VIC; Geogr. Rav. 4.10; 5.13; St. Byz. s.v.

Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² 708-711.

The name of the city is Oianthea, Oiantheia, Oianthē, Euanthis or Euantheia. The ethnic name occurs as Oiantheus, Oianthis, Euantheus and Euanthis.

D. Rousset, in *Inventory*, 396 no 166.

Pausanias mentions a sanctuary of Aphrodite and a grove of cypresses and pines not far away from the city, where a temple of Artemis with a cult statue stood. The paintings on the walls had lost their colour with the passage of time by the 2nd century AD and there was nothing left still worth seeing, according to the Periegetes (Paus. 10.38.9).

It was located in the area of Vitrinitsa (hill of Pithas) and its port was probably in Erateini bay. Buildings and pottery of Roman date are reported from both areas.

L. Lerat – F. Chamoux, *BCH* 71-72, 1947, 70-72; Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 467; Papachatzis, *Πανσωνίας* 5, 457-460; Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 109-110 (Tolofon); S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 93 no. 38; Freitag, *Golf*, 101-104; D. Rousset, in *Inventory*, 396-397 no. 166; V. Karabetos, *Βιτρινίτσα, Αρχαία Οιάνθεια, σημερινή Τολοφώνα*

(2000); Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, I, 296-310. It had erroneously been identified with the remains in Galaxeidi, *RE XVII* (1937) 2085-2091 s.v. Oianthia (Oldfather).

An intra-mural complex dating to the 3rd-2nd century BC has been excavated on Pithas hill.

R. Kolonia, *ADelt* 52, 1997, B, 448.

Oiantheis *agonothetes* of the West Locrians are known from manumissions of the mid-2nd century BC from Delphi (*FD III3*, 20; *SGDI II*, 1901, 1954) and the assembly of the city from a contemporary manumission from the nearby temple of Apollo Phaistinos (*IG IX*, 1² 3, 712). *Hieromnemonēs* of the West Locrians from Oiantheia are mentioned in an inscription concerning the scandal of 117 BC in Delphi (*CID* 4, 119B), and an eponymous archon of the city is referred to in a manumission of 130 BC (*FD III2*, 214). A citizen of the city is a witness in a manumission from the second half of the 1st century BC (*SGDI II*, 2181).

The port of the city was on the sea route depicted in the Tabula Peutinger (VI C).

K. Axion, *ADelt* 35, 1980, A, 204, fig. 2.

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RE XVII (1937) 2085-2086 s.v. Oianthia (Oldfather); Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, I, 92-95; D. Rousset, in *Inventory*, 396-397 no. 166; *Barr Atlas*, Map 55, C4.

OINEON – OINEΩN

Th. 3.95.3; 3.96.1; 3.98.3; 3.102.1; St. Byz. s.v.

The toponym is Oineōn or Oinoē (Oinoa in Locrian dialect). The ethnicon is attested as Oinaios, Oinoaios and in Stephanos as Oineōnios and Oineōneus.

Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, I, 96-99.

The region of Klima, Marathias or Glyfa has been proposed as its location.

Pritchett, *Studies*, VII, 53-60; Freitag, *Golf*, 98-101; D. Rousset, in *Inventory*, 392; Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, I, 96-99, 293-295.

The only possible evidence for the existence of the city after the mid-2nd century BC is the restoration of the ethnicon in a manumission in Delphi (*FD III2*, 123).

Palaiopanagia →Naupactus-Palaiopanagia

Panormos-Kokkinovrachos – Πάνορμοσ-

Κοκκινόβραχος **6:3C**

Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

A dense scatter of pottery, including Early Roman and Late Roman sherds, was found 2km north-west of the

village of Panormos, near the Kokkinovrachos spring. S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 92 no. 31.

Paralia →Makynestia-Paralia

Pentapolis (Turk. Chani Vela) – Πεντάπολις

(τουρκ. Χάνι Βελά)

6:3B

Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² 664a-e.

The location of an ancient kome of Physkos. A concentration of Classical, Hellenistic and Roman sherds was detected 250-500m east of the village of Pentapolis. A Hellenistic wall was also found which had been rebuilt and cemented with mortar and fragments of tiles in a later period.

Strouza III, 36, table 1; Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 101, s.v. Pentapolis A; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 95 no. 56; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 350; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 195.

Beside the Secondary School of the modern village there are remains of an isolated tower that was in use until the Roman period, as is indicated by the surface ceramic finds.

Strouza II, 25, no. 8, fig. 25; Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 101-102, s.v. Pentapolis B.

According to G. Soteriadis, the Paradeisorrema torrent (modern Lagorrema) was the northern boundary of the Locrian territory.

G. Soteriadis, *BCH* 31, 1907, 278-279.

Pentapolis-Agios Ioannis – Πεντάπολις-Άγιος

Ιωάννης

6:3B

Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Some small fragments of Early Roman sigillata and Roman glass came from a fortified site on the low hill of Agios Ioannis, 1 km north-west of Pentapolis village. Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 101, s.v. Pentapolis C; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 92 no. 33.

PHAISTINOS (Panormos-Kiseli) – ΦΑΙΣΤΙΝΟΣ

(Πάνορμος-Κίσελη)

6:3C

Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Plin. *Nat.* 4.3.7.

Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² 708-714.

A kome of Oiantheia(?) was located at Ano Kiseli (Panormos). Its port was probably on Kiseli bay to the east of Erateini. A temple of Apollo is referred to in manumission. The name of the settlement is mentioned in the inscriptions as Phaistinos but is erroneously referred to as Phaestii by Pliny.

Traces of Roman habitation and Roman coins up to Constantine I were found in the centre of the modern village of Erateini. A Roman bath complex also came to light immediately to the west.

N. Pappadakis, *ADelt* 6, 1920-1921, Par., 149-150; L. Lerat – F. Chamoux, *BCH* 71-72, 1947, 68-69; L. Lerat, *BCH* 71-72, 1947/48, Chron., 455; Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 101 (Panomos B); S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 89 no. 12; Freitag, *Golf*, 104-105; D. Rousset, in *Inventory*, 392; Lerat, *Εσπέριος Λοιμοί*, I, 99-100, 307-308; II, 198-199.

P. Themelis asserts that the sanctuary belonged to Oiantheia, which he locates at Kiseli (Panormos). However, Pliny refers not only to a sanctuary but also a port. P. Themelis, in *Γαλαξίδι*, 32-33.

Roman sherds were observed on the promontory east of Panormos opposite the small island of Glaronysi.

S. Raptopoulos, *Χρονικά Αρχαιολογικών Ερευνών*, 2008 (unpublished manuscript in the EFA library).

PHYSKOS (Malandrino) – ΦΥΣΚΟΣ

(Μαλανδρίνο)

6:3B

Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Plu. *Mar.* 294E; St. Byz s.v.

Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² 665-703.

It is located on Agios Nikolaos hill to the south of the modern village of Malandrino.

Citizens of Physkos were granted proxeny by the city of Kytinion in Doris around the middle of the 2nd century BC (*SEG* 40, 442). Also, Physkians are usually mentioned among the *agonothetes* of the West Locrians in the second half of the 2nd century BC (D. Rousset, *BCH* 130, 2006, 378-379), and also in manumissions of the same period (*SGDI* II, 2097, 2137, 2265, 2279, 2283; *IG IX*, 1² 705; *FD* III1, 565; III 3, 49). There are also a few manumissions dating to the 1st century AD (*FD* III1, 303; III 6, 116).

Pottery of Imperial and Early Byzantine period was found during the archaeological work in the fortification of the city.

ADelt 2011-2013 (in press)

A temple of Athena Ilias is mentioned in manumissions of the 2nd century BC. Foundations detected on Asprovrisi, south of the ancient cemetery have been identified as the temple of Athena Ilias. A recent trial excavation has provided evidence that the monument was used for burials in the Roman period.

IG IX, 1² 671-689; L. Lerat – F. Chamoux, *BCH* 71-72, 1947, 74-76; L. Lerat, *BCH* 71-72, 1947/48, 455;

E. Mastrokostas, *AEphem* 1955, 51-71, nos. 1-8; Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοιμοί*, I, 101-103, 137-138, 214-215; II, 157-158; D. Rousset, *BCH* 130, 2006, 349-374; S. Raptopoulos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 456, no. 50.

A sanctuary of Vasileia is mentioned in a manumission dating to the mid-2nd century BC. The inscription was found in secondary use in the courtyard of the church of Agios Nikolaos (*IG IX*, 1² 685). Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοιμοί*, I, 206-209.

A law concerning the entrance fees for a *thiasos* of maenads and herdsmen associated with a Dionysian rite that took place outside the city during the night, in the mountains is mentioned in an inscription of the mid-2nd century AD (*IG IX*, 1² 670). An inscribed funerary stele of the Imperial period (*IG IX*, 1² 699) and an architrave dating to the 2nd-3rd century AD were also found (*IG IX*, 1² 703).

A. Heinrich, *HSPb* 82, 1978, 155-156.

Kyra, a kome of Physkos is mentioned in a manumission from the third quarter of the 2nd century BC (*SGDI* 1842).

A silver earring with granulated decoration has been found. It is dated to the Roman period (Amphissa museum).

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Prosilio-Viniani (Turk. Segditsa) – Προσήλιο

Βίνιανη

6:4A

Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² 777.

The location of an Ozolian city. Two circuit walls are located in the area of Agia Triada ca. 200m west of the modern village (Viniani) in the valley of the Katsikopnichts torrent. Surface pottery of Roman date has been reported.

G. Szemler, in *Great Isthmus*, 93-96; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 887ff; Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοιμοί*, I, 274-277, fig. 11; *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, C3; cf. Rousset, *Le territoire*, 43 for a critique of the proposed identifications.

An inscription has been found in secondary use, dating to the 3rd-2nd century BC.

N. Pappadakis, *ADelt* 6, 1920-1921, Par., 148-149; A. Keramopoulos, *AEphem* 1931, 161-162.

Rizo → Makyneia-Rizo

Skaloula – Σκαλούλα

6:3B

Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

BarrAtlas, Map 55, C4.

A site in the territory of Phalika(?), a city on the borders of Locris that was absorbed by Aitolians. The citizens of Phalika are mentioned in manumissions from the second half of the 2nd century BC (*SGDI* 2087, 2136; *FD* III6, 76).

Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοιμοί*, I, 119-120; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 197. Roman sherds were found on a hill 1km north-west of Skaloula village.

Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 106 (Skaloula B); Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 359.

TOLOPHON (Agioi Pandes / old Vidavi-Marmara) – ΤΟΛΟΦΩΝ

(Άγιοι Πάντες / τ. Βίδαβη-Μάρμαρα)

6:3/4C

Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Th. 3.101.3; Dion. Calliphon. 66; St.Byz. s.v.

Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² 715.

The toponym is Tolophon or Tolphon and the ethnicon is Tolophōnīos or Tolphōnīos.

D. Rousset, in *Inventory*, 397 no. 167.

Citizens of Tolophon are mentioned in manumissions of the mid-2nd and of the 1st century AD (*SGDI* 1954, 2028; *FD* III3, 32; 50; III6, 41).

The acropolis was located at Marmara to the north of the village of Vidavi. Sherds of Roman and Late Roman date were found in the acropolis as well as in the area of the asty, south of the circuit wall.

Roman sherds are reported from the caves and the bank of the torrent west of Kastro.

Strouza III, 36, table 1; S. Raptopoulos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 453-454, no. 36.

The sanctuary of Vasileia is mentioned in a manumission of the mid-2nd century BC (*IG IX*, 1² 715).

Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοιμοί*, I, 103-104, 223-226.

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TRITEA / TRITEIA? (Pente Oria) – TPITEA / TPITEIA; (Πέντε Όρια) 6:4C

Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Th. 3.102; Hdn. Gr. I.280.4; 2. 593.28; St. Byz.

Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² 716.

The city is located on a fortified hill southwest of the modern village of Pente Oria.

Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, I, 312-313; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 857ff; D. Rousset, in *Inventory*, 397 no. 168; *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, C4.

According to another opinion a large area which includes the modern villages of Kolopetinitsa, Vounichora, Pente Oria should be attributed to the territory of Tritea.

S. Raptopoulos, *Τετράμηνα* 82-87, 2009, 6139.

The name of the city is attested as Tritea and Triteia and the ethnon as Tr(e)iteus, Tr(e)itis.

D. Rousset, in *Inventory*, 397 no. 168; Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, I, 105.

It is mentioned in manumissions around the mid-2nd century BC from Delphi. A few of them are dated with certainty after 146 BC (*FD III2*, 20, 32; *SGDI II*, 1730, 1810, 1813, 1901, 2028, 2097; *IG IX*, 1² 705). The only inscription from the city is a 3rd century BC dedication to Artemis Tauropolos.

Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, I, 104-106, 226-232, 311-313.

A funerary relief dated to the Late Hellenistic period has been reported.

Y. Nikopoulou, *ADelt* 23, 1968, B, 246, pl. 190a.

Trizonia islet – Νήσος Τριζόνια 6:2C

Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

An inscribed funerary stele dated to the 2nd century BC or to the Roman period has been noted (*IG IX*, 1² 661). Also, the remains of a small settlement have been reported.

Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, I, 171; S. Bommeljé-J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 89, no. 15.

Vareias →Naupactus-Vareias

Vomvokou-Marmara-Spilia – Βομβοκού-Μάρμαρα-Σπηλιά 6:1C

Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A funerary stele of Roman date has been reported.

Kahrstedt, *Villa*, 35.

Another stele dated to the 2nd century AD was found in secondary use in the monastery of Agios Ioannis Riganis.

IG IX, 1² 649; Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 113 (Vomvokou A). Roman sherds were found on the north side of the village and Late Roman-Early Christian building remains came to light in the place-name Motsio (K. Tsarouchi plot) near the entrance of the village. Also, Roman sherds are reported at Marmara, a small hill to the northwest of Vomvokou, to the east of the road leading to Naupactus.

Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 113 (Vomvokou B, C); M. Petropoulos, in *ΙΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 106-107 note 80; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 93 no. 41; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 376; M. Gatsi, *ADelt* 63, 2008, B, 660, fig. 44.

Part of a building with a cistern and a mosaic floor came to light at Spilia (I. Triantaphyllou's field). It was destroyed around the middle of the 2nd century BC.

Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 61, 2006, B, 591-592, fig. 38-39.

VOUTTOS (Skala-Logga) – ΒΟΥΤΤΟΣ (Σιάλα-Λόγγα) 6:1B

Naupactia Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

IG IX, 1² 631-635, 638-641, 649.

The name of the city is attested as Vouttos or Vottos and the ethnon as Vouttios or Voutios (Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λοκροί*, I, 67-70). It has been proposed that the ethnon Vouttaeus should be disassociated from the city of Vouttos (G. Daux, *BCH* 1932, 327).

The city is mentioned in manumissions which record the consecration of the slave to the sanctuary of Asclepius in Krounoi. The inscriptions were found in Logga and are dated around the middle of 2nd century BC. Logga is located on Marouda peak, on the west bank of Logga torrent, 5km north of the village of Skala. A retaining wall, attributed to the temple, architectural elements, and Roman sherds have been reported from the area. It has been proposed as an Aitolian sanctuary, but was certainly a dependency of Naupactus.

It has been argued that the Naupactians manumitted their slaves in the Asclepieion in Krounoi because the sanctuary in Naupactus was in ruins by Pausanias' lifetime (Paus. 10.39.13; Nerantzis, *Ναύπαντος*, 115). However the period of time between the manumissions in Krounoi (mid-2nd century BC) and the visit of Pausanias is too great to support this argument.

Marmara to the northeast of Skala, has been proposed as the location of the kome.

An inscribed funerary stele dating to the 1st century BC was found (*IG IX*, 1² 646).

Ljung, *Indemnity*, 203.

Another one dated possibly to the 2nd century AD was found in secondary use in the monastery of Agios Ioannis Prodromos (*IG IX*, 1² 649).

A number of ethnica are mentioned in the manumissions of Vouttos, but without any known location (Akotieus, Apeirikos, Istorios, Kafreus, Phylaiοi, Porios, Spattios, Thaios). A strategos of the Aitolian League, who came from Ap(e)irikos, is mentioned in a proxeny decree from Thermon, dated to 141/0 BC (*IG IX*, 1² 34d).

Cf. Ljung, *Indemnity*, 63 note 91, 205ff.

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1992-1993, 69-77; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 359; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 590; Siamantas, *Ναύπακτος*, 54-62; Ph. Saranti, *Ναυπακτιακά* 13, 2002-2003, 69-86; Nerantzis, *Ναύπακτος*, 105-118, 355-361; Lerat, *Εσπέριοι Λογροί*, I, 67-70, 157-162, 288; *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, B4 (Bouttos).

Vraila – Βραϊλα

6:3B

Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Possible Roman finds were detected by the Strouza Region Project near the modern village of Vraila. The area was probably part of the territory of Physkos.

Strouza III, 36, table 1; for the fortifications and building remains in the area, cf. Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 752ff; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 192-193.

Xeropigado → Naupactus-Xeropigado / Megalomata

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

AITOLIA – ΑΙΤΩΛΙΑ

Aitoloakarnania-Phokis R. Un.

Cato *orat.* 130; Pl. *Capt.* 94; Plb. 2.2-10; 2.12; 2.46; 4.3-6; 4.19-27; 4.30; 4.61-67; 4.77-80; 5.3-9; 5.13-18; 5.28-30; 5.91-103; 9.28-32; 9.34; 9.39; 9.41-42; 10.41; 11.4; 11.7; 13.1-2; 15.22-23; 16.27.4; 16.19; 18.3-11; 18.22; 18.34; 18.36; 18.43; 18.47-48; 18.54-55; 20.4-5; 20.8-11; 21.3-5; 21.8; 21.25-33; 27.15; 28.3-4; 28.9; 29.7; 30.11-13; 32.17; 32.19-20; D.S. 8.17; 12.60; 18.9-13; 18.25.4-5; 18.38; 18.43-45; 18.54; 19.52.53; 19.66-68; 19.74-75; 20.100; Cic. *Att.* 5.20.1; *Pis.* 91; *Brut.* 79.10; *Tusc.* 1.3.16; Caes. *Civ.* 3.34-35; 56; 61; D.H. 20.1; Str. 7.7.2; 8.2.3; 8.7.1; 9.3.2; 9.4.8; 10.1.9; 10.2.1; 10.2.3-6; 10.2.21-24; 10.3.2; Verg. *A.* 11.225; Vell. 2.38.5; Ov. *Met.* 1.5.11; 1.19.31; Liv. 26.24-25; 27.29-33; 28.5-8; 29.12; 31.15; 31.28-30; 31.40-43; 31.46; 32.4; 32.9-10; 32.13-14; 32.18; 32.21; 32.32-36; 33.3; 33.7; 33.11-13; 33.17; 33.28; 33.34; 35.12; 35.23; 35.32-36; 35.44-49; 36.4-6; 36.10-12; 36.13-16; 36.21; 36.28-36.31; 37.2-6; 37.45-53; 37.49; 38.1-11; 39.4-5; 39.22.2; 39.25-28; 40.44.10; 41.27; 42.4-6; 42.15; 42.25; 42.37-40; 42.55; 42.60; 43.17; 43.21-22; 44.43; 45.28; 45.31; Plin. *Nat.* 4.6; Fron. *Str.* 2.5.19; Plu. *Alex.* 49; *Arat.* 16; 31-32; 41; *Dem.* 41; *Flam.* 7; Suet. *Aug.* 17.3; Flor. *Epit.* 1.24.16; App. *Syr.* 21; Paus. 1.26.3; 2.13; 2.25; 3.10; 4.24; 4.31; 5.1; 5.3; 5.18; 7.9; 7.18; 7.2; 8.24; 8.38; 8.49; 10.18; 10.22.3ff; Polyae. 4.6.18; Ptol. 3.15.14; Fest. 182.36-37; Hyg. *Fab.* 97.11; 137.2; 172.1; 175.2; 274.1; Serv. *A.* 10.28; 11.239; Hierocl. 648.4.

Aitolia is bordered to the west and northwest by the Akarnanians, to the east and the west by the Locrians, to the northeast by the territories of the Ainians, the Oitaians, the Athamanians and the Perrhaibians. The river Acheloos was the boundary between Aitolia and Akarnania, and Cape Antirrio between Aitolia and West Locris. The borders of Aitolia, Aenis and Doris meet on Mt. Oite and Ghiona, and the territories of the Aitolian tribes border those of the Thessalian ones in the mountainous region of Eurytania.

For the Mornos river (anc. Daphnos) as the east Aitolian border and the problematic line of the border north of Mt. Panaitolikon, as well as between Aitolia, West Locris

and Doris, cf. Ljung, *Indemnity*, 11-12, notes 40-41 (however, with the exception of the period of Aitolian expansion, there is no common border between Aitolia and Phokis).

The name of the region was Aitolia. The part of West Locris that was incorporated in Aitolia was named *ἐπιπητος* in contradiction to the *ἀρχαία*, the old Aitolia (Str. 10.2.3). The ethnicon is attested as Aitolos. The form Aitolios appears only in Homer and Stephanus.

K. Freitag – P. Funke – N. Moustakis, in *Inventory*, 378.

The Aitolian confederacy suffered a considerable loss of territory after the end of the war against Rome and the treaty of 189 BC, and it was confined to its 4th century BC borders. It was also removed from the control of the Amphictyony. After the defeat of Perseus even though it was an ally of Rome it was stripped of more areas (Amphilochia, Herakleia Trachinia). The Roman settlement of 146 BC did not affect Aitolia and it has been argued that the League was not dissolved. However, regardless of whether it was dissolved or not, it was soon reconstituted like other Koina, since its presence is attested down to the end of the 2nd century BC (cf. *IG IX*, 1², 34, 35, 137). The main urban centre was Stratos, and Kalydon, Trichonion, Arsinoe provided the magistrates of the commonalty. *Strategoï*, *hipparchoi* and *grammateis*, as well as regular meetings of the *Thermike* and *Panaitolike* assemblies are mentioned. The sanctuary of the League remained at Thermon, which granted the privileges of proxenos to citizens from Dyme, Naxos, Larissa and Sparta in the second half of the 2nd century BC (*IG IX*, 1² 34d, 35, 46, 137b). The city of Opous along with the associated Locroi erected the statue of Lykopos, son of Polemarchos, from Kalydon, an Aitolian general, at the end of the 2nd century BC (*IG IX*, 1² 72).

A. Eckstein, *Transact.AmPhilAss* 125, 1995, 271-289; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 126-132; Grainger, *League*, 531-546; *id.*, *Prosopography*, 7-8, 16, 3-32; 221, F163; Ljung, *Indemnity*, 65, 152-153, 157, 160-163, 222.

Also, the *Koinon* possibly continued to mint coins into the 140s BC.

D. Tsangari, *Corpus de monnaies d'or, d'argent et de bronze de la confédération étolienne* (2007); Ljung, *Indemnity*, 91, note 288, 102.

An Aitolian contingent took part in 134/3 BC in the siege of Numantia in Spain, under the command of P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus as it is indicated by the phrase 'ΑΙΤΩ/ΛΩΝ' inscribed on a sling bolt. The participation of this contingent has been interpreted as Roman client status.

J. Gonzalez, *Athenaeum* 74, 1996, 143-156; Grainger, *League*, 541.

The Aitolian Melankomas and his son held important offices at Kition in Cyprus in the second half of the 2nd century BC (*OGIS* 134; *I.Kition* 2024; Grainger, *Prosopography*, 229).

Aitoliars offered troops and provisions to Sulla for his campaign against the generals of the Mithridatic forces in Greece (*App. Mith.* 5.30) and the last reference to the League (*IG IX,1²* 1, 139), dated to 84 BC, is associated with this involvement. The discovery of graves of the 1st century BC built into the public buildings in Thermon, indicate that the sanctuary was no longer the centre of the League.

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 129-130.

There is no evidence about the League after 84 BC and it was possibly dissolved, but it was definitely reconstituted some time later, since an Aitolarch is mentioned in an inscription from Elateia dating to the late 2nd-early 3rd century AD.

Zachos, *Ελάτεια*, Appendix, no. 2.

Aitolia is characterised as *amissa* by Cicero when it was ravaged in 57-56 BC by the mountain tribes of the Agrinians and the Dolopes who were forced by L. Calpurnius Piso to abandon their homeland (*Cic. Pis.* 91, 96). The Aitolian cities were controlled by Pompey in the first period of the Civil War, since Pompeian garrisons are mentioned at Kalydon and Naupactus. Later, Caesar sent troops into the area under the command of Cn. Calvisius Sabinus and L. Cassius Longinus to drive out the Pompeians (*Caes. Civ.* 3.34-35, 56). Aitoliars and Akarnanians followed Cn. Domitius Calvinus, Caesar's general, in Thessaly (*D.C.* 41.51.3).

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 131-132, 139; J. Schmid – B. Schweighart, in Bertold – Schmid – Wacker, *Akarnanien*, 141-142; Ljung, *Indemnity*, 174, 182-183.

Aitolia entered the province of Achaia in 27 BC and remained in it after the establishment of the province of Epirus (*contra*, *TIB* I, 50), and the border between the two provinces became the Acheloos river (*contra*, U.

Kahrstedt, *Historia* 1, 1950, 559), the boundary between the newly founded colonies of Patras and Nicopolis. M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 97; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 77; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 201-202; *contra* U. Kahrstedt, *op.cit.*, 558, 561 who argues that Nicopolis controlled both Akarnania and Aitolia except for Kalydon, south Aitolia and the areas east of Kalydon, and the old areas of the Aitolian Koinon incorporated into the colony of Patras during the reign of Nero.

The *deductio* of Nicopolis in 30 BC and Patras in 14 BC resulted in the movement of the population to the Epirotic colony and the decline of the Aitolian cities. Areas of southern Aitolia, such as the lagoon at Kalydon (Str. 10.2.21) were given to Patras. The immigration of the Aitoliars is proved by the names on the funerary stelae in Nicopolis (Th. Sarikakis, *AEphem* 1967, 186). Also, after the reorganisation of the Amphictyony by Augustus the six Aitolian votes were transferred to Nicopolis (E. Kirsten, in *Νικόπολις Α'*, 94). However, the majority of the Aitoliars refused to move to Epirus and went away to Amphissa, with the result that the demographic composition of that city completely changed. So the inhabitants still asserted in Pausanias' lifetime that they were not Locrians but Aitoliars (Paus. 10.38.4-6). For these reasons Strabo refers to *Αιτωλῶν καὶ Ακαρνανῶν ἐρημία* (8.8.1). However, it is clear that the quote is associated with the status of the ethnos that was *exhausted and reduced to impotence* and with the situation in the cities and does not refer to the whole Aitolian region. He himself called Kalydon and Pleuron *τεταπειωμένα* (10.2.3). Also, the emigration of the population and the plundering of their temples played a crucial role in the attitude of the ancient authors. Pausanias observes *that the Aitolian people have been driven from their homes and their land had been laid waste; Aitolia remains untilled* (Paus. 8.24.11) and also that the temple along with the statue of Laphria Artemis and Dionysus were transferred to Patras (Paus. 7.18.9).

S. Dietz, *ProcDanInstAth* 6, 2009, 217-222; J. Isager, *ProcDanInstAth* 6, 2009, 201-216; On Strabo's *eremia* as a rhetorical trope see J. Isager in J. Isager, *Foundation*, 17-27. According to another opinion, the decline of Aitolia started as early as the beginning of the 2nd century BC and Strabo's description could be perfectly explained as in comparison to the late 3rd century BC settlement pattern. The decline of the League, which had offered access to international networks of exchange and its inability to mint new coins at some point in 130s BC,

resulted in diminished economic activity and, together with the phenomenon of depopulation, caused the collapse of the old settlement system. As a logical response to new conditions, a new, less complex system arose, but this could only support a smaller population, engaged principally in agricultural and pastoral activities. Aitolia was transformed into a region of isolated towns, not even city states, and dispersed settlements, each of which was affected differently by the crisis.

Ljung, *Indemnity*, 46-49, 148-151, 178-181, 189-192.

It seems the Aitolian cities were abandoned at the end of the 1st century BC-mid 1st century AD. However the sanctuaries continued to be used and small nuclei survived in the cities whilst new settlements of agricultural character were founded in the coastal zones (e.g. Kalydon, Mesolongi, Halikyrna), beside rivers (e.g. the Acheloos) or around lakes (Trichonis) but quite close to the old cities. These settlements flourished in the Late Roman or the Early Christian period (e.g. Kallipolis) and as a result later became small towns. The significant number of Early Christian basilicas in these new areas has been used as evidence to support this assumption. Another hypothesis is that these early basilicas were private foundations attributable to the owners of *latifundia* or to settlements of *coloni*.

Also, a great number of farms, some of them of a considerable size were established in significant economic zones (around Lake Trichonis, in the Kalydon-Mesolongi plain or along the road leading from Patras to Nicopolis). Inns in Aitolia are referred to in Apuleius' Golden Ass (*Met.* 1.5) of the 2nd century AD, but they could be simply a result of the author's imagination.

Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 96-97, 121-124; *id.*, in *Νικόπολις Β'*, 204; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 75-78, 121-124.

The Visigoths of Alaric passed through Akarnania and Aitolia on their way back north to Epirus after raiding Central Greece in AD 395-397 (Zos. 5.7.2-3; 5.26.1-2).

In an inscription of AD 401/402 Aitolia is mentioned as one of the regions which had to deliver grain to the state granary at Skarpheia in Locris (*IG VII 24*).

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 248; G. Zachos, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 545.

It has been argued that the Vandals also may have invaded Aitolia at the end of the 5th century AD.

TIB I, 52, III, 49.

In Hierocles' Synecdemos it belongs to the *theme* of Hel-las, part of the prefecture of Illyricum, and Aigion is

mentioned as the metropolis of Aitolia (Hieroc. 648.4). *TIB III*, 48.

The settlements on the Aitolian coast of the Corinthian Gulf probably suffered considerable damage in the earthquake of AD 551, as we can assume from the case of nearby Naupactus (Procop. *Goth.* 8.25.16-17).

Strabo (10.2.3-4, 10.1.6; 10.2.21-22) mentions Kalydon, Pleuron, Trichonion, Arsinoe, and Chalkis, Halikyrna, Makyneia (the latter on Epictetus Aitolia, cf. **West Locris**) as komae. He also refers to Homeric Olenos that was in ruins and Pylene which had been renamed Proschion (cf. Antonetti, *Les Étoliens*, 277-279; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 343, 356-357). He mentions Mt. Corax (modern Vardousia), Mt. Taphiassos (Klokova), two Mts. Chalkis or Chalkian (one near Pleuron and one close to the city of Chalkis). He includes Kourion near Old-Pleuron and the Euenos and Acheloos Rivers [and the Paracheloitis -the floodplain of the lower Acheloos River (Str. 10.2.19)], a lagoon in Kalydon, lake Lysimacheia (formerly Hydra) and the Antirrhion promontory (Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 265-266).

Strabo (10.2.4; 10.2.22) and Dionysius Periegetes (Eust. in *D.P.* 431) mention Mt. Aracynthus, modern Zygos (Leake, *Travels*, I, 121). Pliny (*Nat.* 4.6) and Solinus (7.22) erroneously call Aracynthus a mountain of Akarnania. Pliny (*Nat.* 4.6-7) assigns a handful of cities to Aitolia (Chalkis, Pleuron, Halikyrna, Kalydon) but it is certain that he bases his information on older literature. Mt. Taphiassos (Klokova), Mt. Achaton, Mt. Panaetolium, Mt. Macynium, the Euenus river and the Antirrhion promontory are also mentioned.

Ptolemy (3.15.14) mentions Chalkis and notes that Pleuron and Kalydon did not exist in his lifetime.

Funke, Strabone, 174-193; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 97-99; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 77-79.

A handful of settlements are known only from Stephanus (Aigai, Perantia, Pherai, Thorax). Akragas and Akropolis have been identified as Akrai (Lithovouni) (Pritchett, *Studies*, VI, 134-135).

Roads and Routes in Roman Aitolia-Akarnania

The route of the *via publica* connecting Nicopolis to Patras can be traced through miliaria, ancient sources and sites of Roman and Late Roman date. The road was constructed or repaired by Trajan between 10 December AD 114 and 9 December AD 115 to serve the transport needs of the Parthian War and received the attention of the Emperor Gaius Iulius Verus Maximinus and his son

Caesar Gaius Iulius Verus Maximus in the period AD 235-238 and of Caesars Constantius and Maximian between AD 293 and 305. It possibly follows the path of an earlier road that was connected to the campaign that preceded the naval battle of Actium.

In the Aitolian-Akarnanian territory the road begins at Actium and leads to Anaktorion. At Vonitsa it turns south towards Drymos, where a Late Roman settlement is located. The course of the road between Drymos and the Acheloos river is not certain. The road crosses the river via the Rigani pass where a tower is situated and continues south between the hill of Stamna and Palaïomanina. This section of the *Via* is guarded by the citadel of Konopi-Arsinoe (Angelokastro). After this point it reaches the gulf of Aitoliko, passes the foot of Agios Georgios Castle (Proschion?) and continues across the eastern plateau of Aitoliko, to the east and parallel with the modern National Road up to the region of Pleuron where an Early Christian basilica was located at Foinikia. Then, it turns east towards Kalydon and the Euenos river, passing through Halikyrna where a Roman villa is located, and ends at the port of Kalydon at Kryoneri.

K. Axioti, *ADelt* 35, 1980, A, 186-197, figs 1-2, pls 49-52; Antonetti, *Problemi*, 25-35; *ead.*, La diffusione, 153; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 214-219; M. Petropoulos, in *Νικόπολις Β'*, 198-202.

A second route with *stationes* at *Actia Nicolopi* (Nicopolis)-*Perdioricto* / *Per dioricto* (Leukas canal)-*Halisso* (Alyzia)-*Acheloum fl.* (mouth of the river Acheloos), *Euenos fl.* (Euenos R. mouth)-*Calidon* is depicted in *Tabula Pentingeriana*. Some of them are mentioned also in the fragmentary *Itinerarium Antonini*. It has been suggested that these *Itineraria* refer to sea routes rather than coastal ones, and the stations are points from which roads led inland (cf. also Dioryktos / Perdioricto) (K. Axioti, *ADelt* 35, 1980, 197-205, fig. 1-2; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 219-226). Certainly there were secondary roads in the coastal zone, like the road found by K. Rhomaios at Peripatos Alyzeias, which must be part of the road which connected Actium to Alyzeia (K. Rhomaios, *AEphem* 1930, 144; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 118), but the existence of a main coastal road leading from Actium to Naupactus (D. Konstantios, *Επιφανειακές και σκαφικές έρευνες στη ΒΔ. Ελλάδα, Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά* 26, 1984, 140) should be rejected (K. Axioti, *op. cit.*; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 119).

Other secondary routes were in use, like the one leading from Angelokastro (Arsinoe) or Paliampela to Am-

philochia through Ochthia or the road mentioned by Strabo (10.1.2) from Anaktorion to Alyzia via Stratos. L. Kolonas, *ADelt* 42, 1987, B, 175-176; E. Kirsten, in *Νικόπολις Α'*, 92; M. Petropoulos, in *Νικόπολις Β'*, 203. It is quite certain that other routes, like those used by Philip V for the invasion of 219-218 BC (Plb. 4.63.4-66.4; 6.5.12-14; 5.7.5-5.8.3; cf. G. Soteriadis, *AEphem* 1900, 165; Pritchett, *Studies*, VI, 126-140; Nerantzis, *Ηχώρα*, 84, 94-95) remained in use during the Roman period, since they connected places which remained active during this period (Phytaion, Metapa-Pamphiat-Thermon).

However, others like the Hellenistic route from Stratos to Amphilochia through the Lepenous pass, were abandoned because of the existence of the *via publica* built in the reign of Trajan.

F. Lang, in J. Isager, *Foundation*, 212.

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E. Kirsten, *Historica* 3, 1984 (1940), 103-130.
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M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 95-100, 117-124.
F. Lang, *Klio* 76, 1994, 248-254.
S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 69-81, 121-124.
Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 126-140.
Grainger, *League*, 531-546.
K. Freitag – P. Funke – N. Moustakis, in *Inventory*, 379-390.

INDEX

- Agia Sofia (Turk. Mokista)** – Αγία Σοφία
(τουρκ. Μόκιστα) 7:2B, 8:4B
Thermo Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.
A temple of Artemis Hegemone is mentioned in a manumission dating to the 2nd century AD found in the church of Agios Nikolaos in the village of Agia Sofia (Mokista) near Thermon (*IG IX*, 1² 92). Apart from Artemis, Zeus Helios is also mentioned in the inscription. The church was built reusing architectural members from the temple.
K. Romaios, *ADelt* 9, 1922-25, Par., 4-6; Antonetti, *Les Étolians*, 188, 227-228; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 86, no. 1; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 286-287.
U. Kahrstedt (*Historia* 1, 1950, 559, 561) dates *IG IX*, 1²

92 to the reign of Nero, interprets the abbreviation CN as Colonia Nicopolis, and uses the text as evidence that Thermon was included in the territory of Nicopolis (cf. **Introduction**). *Contra*, Antonetti, *La diffusione*, 154-155.

Agios Andreas – Άγιος Ανδρέας 7:2C, 8:4B
Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Graves of Roman date have been observed near the village of Agios Andreas on the south coast of Trichonis. Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 287.

Agios Georgios – Άγιος Γεώργιος 7:2D, 8:4C/D
Mesolongi Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A site of an Early Christian settlement located ca. 1 km south of the village at the homonymous chapel on the west bank of the Euenos river. A coin of Faustina I and graves of Roman date are reported.

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 288.

The site has been indentified as ancient Proschion.

BCH 86, 1962, Chron., 428 no. 12; M. Petropoulos, in *ΙΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 101; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 93 no. 42.

Agios Konstantinos → **Agrinio-Agios Konstantinos**

Agios Thomas → **Mesolongi-Agios Thomas**

Agiavasiliotika → **Agrinio-Agiavasiliotika**

AGRINION (Agrinio) – ΑΓΡΙΝΙΟΝ 7:1B, 8:3/4A
(Αγρίνιο)

Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.
Plb. 5.7; D.S. 19.67-68.

The toponym is Agrinion and the ethnicon is Agrinieus. K. Freitag – P. Funke – N. Moustakis, in *Inventory*, 382, no. 142.

It has been proposed that the acropolis and the ancient city were located in the area of two hills between Diamanteika and Agios Konstantinos, approximately 1 km northwest of the centre of the modern city. Part of the fortification has been revealed, two houses, a stoa and a temple-like monument have come to light. Significant finds came from the area of modern Agrinio, evidence that habitation extended to the south but it is not certain if in the Roman period they formed an urban area or were isolated farms, as in the cases of Agios Konstantinos and Agiovasiliotika.

Architectural remains, possibly attributable to a farm, were found on Proodou Street (Kolovou-Mariphoglou's plot). Sherds of Late Roman and Byzantine date were collected.

M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 82; *ead.*, in *Villae Rusticae*, 677, nos 15.

Also, building remains attributed to four or five rooms dating to the 2nd-3rd century AD were excavated near the University.

(p.i.)

Thirty nine Roman coins issued during the Republican period were found amongst the coins in a hoard dated to the 120s BC.

M. Thompson, *The Agrinio Hoard* (1968); C. Hersch, *NumChron* 1966, 71-93.

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RE I (1894) 895 s.v. Agrinion (Hirschfeld); I. Miliadis, *AEphem* 1928, 96-110; Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 96; S. Lauffer (ed.), *Griechenland. Lexikon der historischen Stätten* (1989) 80-81; Antonetti, *Les Étolieus*, 236-237; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 255-256; K. Freitag – P. Funke – N. Moustakis, in *Inventory*, 382, no. 142; *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, A3.

Agrinio-Agios Konstantinos – Αγρίνιο-Άγιος Κωνσταντίνος 7:1B, 8:3A

Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Three circular constructions attributed to a workshop (of a *villa rustica*?) were excavated in J. Kennedy Street (V. Papazacharia plot) east of the modern church of Ag. Konstantinos. Late Roman, Early Christian sherds and fragments of glass were collected.

Ph. Saranti, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 110-111; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, 677, nos 18.

Agrinio-Agiavasiliotika – Αγρίνιο-Αγιοβασιλιώτικα 7:1B, 8:3A

Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Remains of a pottery workshop were found beside the National Road from Agrinio to Amfilochia in the area of the main junction for the city of Agrinion (OSE, Stravodimou, Ch. Politi plots). Six rooms, a cistern, two pyres and a circular kiln came to light, dated to the Roman, Late Roman period. Six Christian tile graves have been found.

M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 81, fig. 14-15, fig. 1; *ead.*, in *Villae Rusticae*, 677, nos. 16-17.

AIGITION (Stroutza) – ΑΙΓΙΤΙΟΝ (Στρούτζα) 7:4C
Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Th. 3.97.

The toponym is attested as Aigation. It is located 1 km west of Stroutza where the remains of a fortified settlement and a hill-top stronghold have been noted.

Roman coins are reported from the area.
N. Papadakis, *ADelt* 6, 1920-1921, par., 152.

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RE I (1894) 975 s.v. Aigion (Hirschfeld); Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 75, s.v. Aigion A (Strouza); Nerantzis, *H χώρα*, 189; Pritchett, *Studies*, VII, 67-75; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 256, 366; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 689ff; K. Freitag – P. Funke – N. Moustakis, in *Inventory*, 382, no. 143.

Akres→Lithovouni

Arachova – Αράχοβα 7:3A

Naupactia Mun. / Aitolokarnania R.Un.

Early Christian finds are reported from Paliarachova, Paliochori or Kastro/Kastri, south-east of the modern village of Arachova, to the north of the modern Euenos reservoir. It is situated on the pass leading to western Aenis and south Eurytania.

S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 93 no. 43; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 266; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις*, 604; Nerantzis, *H χώρα*, 111.

ARSINOE (Angelokastro) – ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗ

(Αγγελόκαστρο) 7:1B, 8:3B
Agrimo Mun. / Aitolokarnania R.Un.

Plb. 4.64.3; 5.7.7; 5.13.9; Cic. *Pis.* 91; Str. 10.2.22; St. Byz. s.v. Ἀρσινόη, s.v. Κωνώπη.

Inscriptions: *IG* IX, 1² 131-134.

The original name of the city was possibly Konopi (Str. 2.2.22) and it was renamed Arsinoë in honour of Ptolemy I's daughter.

Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 213-214; Klaffenbach, *Neue Inschriften*, 360-394; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις*, 140-147.

Another opinion is that Arsinoe and Konopi were two different cities.

H. Lolling, *AM* 8, 1988, 339-341; G. Katopodis, *Αιτωλική Συμπολιτεία* (1990), 21-22.

The toponym is Kōnōpe / Arsinoë and the ethnicon Arsinoeus.

K. Freitag – P. Funke – N. Moustakis, in *Inventory*, 388. *Strategoí* and *hipparchoi* of the Aitolian League originating from Arsinoe are mentioned in inscriptions of the second half of the 2nd century BC.

Ljung, *Indemnity*, 199-200.

A citizen of Arsinoe was granted the privileges of *proxenos* in 139-121 BC (*FD* III4, 170).

Arsinoe was ravaged in 57-56 BC by the mountain tribes of the Agrians and the Dolopes who were forced by

L. Calpurnius Piso to abandon their homeland (Cic. *Pis.* 91, 96). Angelokastro has been proposed as the site of the *statio* Acheloos mentioned in portolani of Late Antiquity date.

Remains of the ancient acropolis were detected under the medieval fortification on the small hill of Agios Georgios to the north of modern Angelokastro. The *asty* was settled in the Kakavaria region that extends to the north-northwest of the village, between the acropolis and the river Dimikos (ancient Kyathos). The cemeteries in the Late Hellenistic-Roman period were located to the northwest (Kakavaria and Tragatsoula regions) and to the northeast (Repitsa and Skafida regions) of the acropolis. A number of tombs were also excavated at the north entrance of the village.

Cemeteries

North-West cemetery

A looted tomb excavated in the region of Kakavaria dates to the second half of the 2nd century BC.

Ph. Zappeiropoulou, *ADelt* 31, 1976, B, 171, pl. 122β-ε, 123α; V. Tsantila, in *ΕλλΚεφ* Z, 2011, 173-174, pl. 69β-8, 74β.

In general, the cemetery in Kakavaria was in use from the 6th century BC to the Roman period.

E. Mastrokostas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B, 318-324; cf. V. Tsantila, in *ΕλλΚεφ* Z, 2011, 183-184.

A cist grave, built of bricks, was excavated at the east edge of the region of Tragatsoula, near the modern bridge over the Dimikos river. Several burials were found inside. It was in use from the 3rd to the late 2nd / early 1st century BC.

M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, *ADelt* 39, 1984, B, 105; V. Tsantila, in *ΕλλΚεφ* Z, 2011, 174-177, pl. 70α-γ, 75.

North-East cemetery

The cemetery was located beside the road leading from Arsinoe to Lysimacheia.

A large rock-cut chamber tomb was excavated in the region of Repitsa. It was in use from the first half of the 3rd century to the second half of the 2nd century BC / early 1st century BC.

L. Kolonas, *ADelt* 40, 1985, B, 138, fig. 24; V. Tsantila, in *ΕλλΚεφ* Z, 2011, 177-179, fig. 2, pl. 71-72, 76α.

Another chamber tomb with four burials was found in the same region and was in use from the end of the 4th century BC to the end of the 2nd century BC.

L. Kolonas, *ADelt* 42, 1987, B, 181; V. Tsantila, in *ΕλλΚεφ* Z, 2011, 181 note 138.

A Late Roman bronze lamp was found in a grave in the Skafida region.

E. Mastrokostas, *ADelt* 23, 1968, B, 277; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 89 no. 10; cf. V. Tsantila, in *Ελληνικη Ζ*, 2011, 171, note 15.

Tombs near the north entrance of the village

Pottery dating to the second half of the 2nd century BC and gold leaves from a gold wreath were collected from a looted rock-cut tomb at Gouves.

Ph. Zappeiropoulou, *ADelt* 31, 1975, B, 169-171, pl. 121γ, 122α; V. Tsantila, in *Ελληνικη Ζ*, 2011, 172, pl. 69α, 74α.

A chamber tomb that was in use from the end of the 4th century to the end of the 2nd century BC was excavated in the area of Mylos or Stathmos. The site is located at the junction of the roads leading to Angelokastro-Agrinio-Lysimacheia.

E. Mastrokostas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B, 319; V. Tsantila, in *Ελληνικη Ζ*, 2011, 182 note 144, pl. 73α-β.

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ATTALEIA – ΑΤΤΑΛΕΙΑ

Plb. 4.65.6

A heroon is mentioned in an inscription dating to the end of the 2nd century BC (*SEG* 12, 303; 23, 398). The city is known from a manumission from the sanctuary of Aphrodite Syria in Phistyon dating to the end of the 3rd century BC (*IG* IX, 1² 95).

The location of the ancient city is unknown. The inscription was found in Kryoneri.

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 130, 150, 271-272.

Avarikos – Αβαρίκος

7:2C

Thermo Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Graves of Roman date have been recorded near the village of Avarikos.

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 272.

Chaliki – Χαλίκι

7:1C, 8:3C

Mesolongi Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Settlement remains of Hellenistic and possibly Roman

date have been detected near the torrent of Chaliki village (Turk. Derikovo).

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 273.

CHALKIS (Kato Vasiliki-Agia Triada) – ΧΑΛΚΙΣ

(Κάτω Βασιλική-Αγία Τριάδα)

7:2D, 8:4D

Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Th. 1.108.5; 2.83.3; Plb. 5.94.8; D.S. 8.17; Str. 9.4.8; 10.1.9; 10.2.4-5; 10.2.21; Plin. *Nat.* 4.6; 4.54; Stat. *Theb.* 4.105; St.Byz. s.v.; Eust. in *D.P.* 496.

The only reference to the city of Chalkis in the first century BC is that of Strabo (10.2.4-5) who refers to both a city and to a mountain of the same name (Chalkian according to Artemidorus) (Str. 10.2.21) which may be identified as Mt. Varassova. In contrast, Pliny mentions only the mountain (Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 280). P. Papinius Statius lists Chalkis as a port in the catalogue of the cities which followed Tydeus in the war of the Seven against Thebes. Finally, in Ptolemy's Geography Chalkis figures in a list of inland cities in Aitolia.

S. Houby-Nielsen, *ProcDanInstAth* 2, 1998, 238-254, esp. 238-244.

The toponym is Chalkis or Chalkeia and the ethnicon is, possibly, Chalkideis (K. Freitag – P. Funke – N. Moustakis, in *Inventory*, 322-383 no. 145).

Since the first decades of the 20th century it has been argued that ancient Chalkis was situated on the fortified site of Pangali on a plateau on the east side of Mt. Varassova. K. Rhomaïos first suggested the coastal site of Agia Triada, east of Kato Vasiliki village, as the site of the ancient city. Recent research has verified his suggestion. In contrast Pangali was a place of refuge that was in use in the Classical period.

The fortified settlement was located on the hill of Agia Triada. Pottery dating from the middle of the Hellenistic period to the Byzantine era was collected during the excavation of part of the fortified circuit. To the south, within the walls, remains of Hellenistic occupation came to light as well as pottery from the Prehistoric to the Hellenistic and the Early Christian period.

The city was abandoned in the Late Hellenistic period (although table ware and plates dating to the 2nd and 1st centuries BC have been reported, cf. Ljung, *Indemnity*, 81) and was re-occupied in the Late Roman-Early Christian period when a Christian basilica was constructed on the top of the hill and the fortifications of the city were repaired.

K. Rhomaïos, *ADelt* 1916, 46-47; A. Paliouras, *Dodoni* 84, 1985, 211-240; M. Petropoulos, in *ΙΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991,

111; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 93 no. 39; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 373-374; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 288ff; I. Moschos, S. Hourby-Nielsen, *ADelt* 53, 1998, B, 284; S. Dietz, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B, 346; S. Dietz, S. Hourby-Nielsen, L. Kolonas, I. Moschos, *ProcDanInstAth* 2, 1998, 232-317; 3, 2000, 219-307; Freitag, *Golf*, 53-57; G. Alexopoulou, *ProcDanInstAth* 4, 2004, 189-214.

Chania→Gavrolimni-Chania

Chondreika→Kalydon-Chondreika

Chrysovergi – Χρυσοβέργι 7:1C, 8:3B/C
Mesolongi Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Roman graves are known from the area north of the abandoned settlement of Magoula. The remains at the site have been identified as Pylene but it has been disputed.

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 273.

Dafnias-Palaiozeugaro –

Δαφνιάς-Παλαιοζεύγαρο 7:2C, 8:4B
Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A fragment of Western *terra sigillata* is reported among the finds from the area of Analipsis on the south bank of Trichonis Lake, where the remains of a Hellenistic settlement were found.

S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 93 no. 45.

Dendrochori – Δενδροχώρι 7:3A
Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Sherds, possibly of Roman date, were found in the field around the village.

Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 79, s.v. (B); M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 107; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 94 no. 46; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 275; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 109.

Diakopi (Turk. Granitsa) – Διακόπι 7:4B
(τουρκ. Γρανίτσα)
Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

A settlement, probably a dependency of Kallipolis, was located on Panagia hill east of the modern village of Diakopi. At the foot of the east side of the hill abundant Hellenistic and some (Late Hellenistic)-Early Roman *terra sigillata* sherds were found.

S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 89 no. 11, 99 nos 3.1-3.3.

Diasellaki – Διασελλάκι 7:2B
Thermo Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A fortified citadel is located on a hill opposite Diasellaki village.

Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 79-80, s.v. Diaselakion; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 276; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 121-122.

Graves dated by coins of the 1st and 2nd century AD have been found in Kritharakia.

M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 107; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 94 no. 47.

Dokimi – Δοκίμι 7:1B, 8:3A/B
Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A building of Roman date and a tile grave have been found.

V. Staikou – K. Leontariti, in *Villae Rusticae*, 708.

Drosato – Δροσάτο 7:3C/D
Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Latin inscriptions have been reported from a ridge 1.5 km east of the modern village, on the borderland Aitolia-Locris. The evidence has not been verified.

S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 94 no. 48.

Ellinika – Ελληνικά 7:1C, 8:3C
Mesolongi Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Roman graves have been reported near the village.

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 290.

Fakistra – Φακίστρα 7:3C
Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Two cist graves dating to the Hellenistic or Roman period (?) were found 100m west of the chapel of Thomas the Apostle near the modern settlement of Vitsaika.

G. Stathopoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 201, pl. 43a.

Fraxos→Kalydon-Fraxos

Gavrolimni – Γαυρολίμνη 7:2D, 8:4C
Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Early Roman pottery has been reported. A cemetery dating to the Roman period with several funerary inscriptions is also reported. The site was possibly located near the Byzantine church of Panagia Panaxiotissa, ca. 1 km north of the village, where traces of ancient habitation have been observed.

G. Soteriades, *Prakt* 1899, 64; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 107; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 89, no. 14; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 285.

Gavrolimni-Chania – Χάνια Γαυρολίμνης 7:2D, 8:4D
Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Building remains, pithoi, part of a small kiln and a small cist grave were found during the construction of the Ionia Odos. It is dated to Late Roman / Early Christian period. Possibly the site of a *villa rustica*.

M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, 680-681, no. 34.

Gouria – Γούρια 7:1C, 8:3C
Mesolongi Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A settlement of Roman date is located at Kastelli Gouria near the modern village. Near the settlement a Latin inscription of the Imperial period bearing the name [S.L.] L. STRABO was found (E. Mastrokostas, *ADelt* 19, B2, 1964, 299).

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 285; Antonetti, *La diffusione*, 153.

A Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine settlement was located on the fortified hill of Ellinika (Pheleki plot).

M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, *ADelt* 60, 2005, B, 473.

HALIKYRNA (Chilia Spitia) – ΑΛΙΚΥΡΝΑ
(Χίλια Σπίτια) 7:1D, 8:4C/D

Mesolongi Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Str. 10.2.21; Plin. *Nat.* 4.6.

An Anatolian kome according to Strabo (10.2.21). It is located on the road leading from Epirus and Akarnania to Patras. The ancient settlement was located at Chilia Spitia (recently renamed Alikyrna) on the southern slopes of Mt. Zygos, 1 km northeast of the village of Agios Thomas. A bath complex possibly belonging to a villa is located at Zesti Vrysi. Walls of Roman buildings have also been found.

Leake, *Travels*, III, 533; Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 114; I. Dekoulakou, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B, 438-439; Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 74; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 102; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 86 no. 5; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 228ff; *Barr. Atlas*, Map 55, B4; for other identifications (Olenos, Elaos) cf. Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 322 no. 351.

A chamber tomb of Macedonian type dating to the 3rd-late 2nd century BC was found amongst the Classical-Hellenistic graves at Rigeika Mesolongiou. It has been suggested that the cemetery could be associated with ancient Halikyrna.

M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *ΑΕΘΣΕ* 4 (in press).

The Roman Baths in Mesolongi-Agios Thomas belonged also to this territory.

ITHORIA (Mesolongi-Agios Ilias) – ΙΘΩΡΙΑ
(Μεσολόγγι – Άγιος Ηλίας) 7:1C, 8:3C

Mesolongi Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.
Plb. 4.64.9.

It is located on the fortified hill of Profitis Ilias, south of the village of Agios Ilias.

Oberhummer, *Akarnanien*, 34; Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 154ff; *RE IX2* (1916) 2307 s.v. Ithoria 1 (Fimmen); Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 172ff; K. Freitag – P. Funke – N. Moustakis, in *Inventory*, 381. *Contra* Schoch, *Topographie Akarnaniens*, 86-87, who locates it at Palaioமானια.

An inscribed grave stele dating to the 1st century BC-1st century AD was found on the eastern slope of the acropolis (P. Lazaridis, *ADelt* 19, 1964, B, 299; *IG IX*, I², 1, 134).

Also, surface sherds of Roman date are reported from the area.

E. Mastrokostas, *Prakt* 1963, 211; *ADelt* 19, 1964, B, 299; Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 74; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 101; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 86 no. 3.

Roman graves are known from the site.

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 288-289.

Kainourgio – Καινούργιο 7:1B, 8:4B
Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A *villa rustica* was found 300m north of the road leading along the northern shore of Lake Trichonis from Kainourgio to Thermon, on the west side of the village (G. Taratsa plot). Rubble walls belonging to seven rooms and a *lenos* (wine press) with *hypolenion* (vat) were revealed. It was located on the ancient route leading from Epirus and Akarnania to Thermon. It was in use in the 3rd century AD and after its abandonment Early Christian tile graves were set into the ruins.

M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 111-112, fig. 3-4; *ead.*, in *Villae Rusticae*, 678, nos 20; B. Staikou – K. Leontariti, *ibidem*, 713-716.

A Roman bath complex has recently been excavated.

V. Tsantila, in *IWA Regional Symposium on Water, Wastewater and Environment: Traditions and Culture* (2014) 1235.

Kainourgio-Petrota / Veinovrysi – Καινούργιο-Πετροτά / Βεινόβρυση 7:1B, 8:4B
Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A small Late Roman kiln was excavated above the remains of a Classical-Hellenistic farm (N. Lekka plot) 150m west of the ancient fountain of Veinovrysi on the east side of the village.

M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 97, fig. 42; *ead.*, in *Villae Rusticae*, 677, nos 19.

KALLIPOLIS/KALLION (Kallion) (Velouchovo) – ΚΑΛΛΙΠΟΛΙΣ/ΚΑΛΛΙΟΝ (Κάλλιον) (Βελούχοβο) 7:4C Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Th. 3.94.96; Plb. 20.11.11; Liv. 36.30.4; Paus. 10.18.7; 10.22.3ff; App. *Syr.* 21; St. Byz. s.v. Korax.

Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² 154-159; V. Petrakos, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B, 282; *BCH* 102, 1978, Chron, 845, fig. 8-9; *SEG* 28, 504; Antonetti, *La diffusion*, 155; D. Rousset, *BCH* 103, 2006, 381-434.

Kallipolis was located on Kastro hill near Velouchovo (modern Kallion), in a strategic position in eastern Aitolia guarding the roads leading from the Spercheios valley to West Locris and Aitolia and commanding the confluence of the Mornos (ancient Daphnos), the Megas, the Kokkinos and the Belesitsa Rivers.

The toponym is Kallipolis or Kallion and the ethicon is Kallieus or Kallipolitas (K. Freitag – P. Funke – N. Moustakis, in *Inventory*, 383 no. 147).

The city covers the eastern slope of an isolated hill of Mt. Vardoussia (ancient Korax). A large part of it is now under the water of the modern Mornos reservoir. The city flourished in the Roman period and a significant number of finds (building remains, pottery, coins, etc.) dating from the Roman to Early Christian period have come to light. It is worth noticing that a number of sites (both forts and komes) in the territory of Kallipolis (**Diakopi, Klima, Koniakos, Lefkaditi-Ypapandi, Pynos Dorikou, Sykia/Sykea-Trano Lithari**) also continued into the Roman period.

Late Hellenistic finds and a significant number of inscriptions from Kallion, Delphi, and the sanctuary of Asclepius in Krounoi, dating to the mid 2nd-1st centuries BC and 1st century AD (D. Rousset, *BCH* 103, 2006, 429-434 *passim*) indicate that it was continuously occupied until the Roman period. It seems that Kallipolis flourished during the 1st and 2nd centuries AD and it has been argued that was abandoned, probably in the second half of the 3rd century, possibly as a result of the Herulian raids.

Ph. Zapheirou, *ADelt* 31, 1975, B, 165; *ead.*, *AEphem* 1982, 13.

However, whether this last assumption is correct or not, it is clear that it recovered (partially?) in the 4th century AD.

City

Central and South-East sector

Parts of six walls and a floor in *opus sectile* dating to the

Roman period were found in Sepentzi field in the south part of the ancient city. A Roman cooking pot was recovered (Ph. Zapheirou, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B, 524, fig. 3, pls. 340β, γ).

Six trial trenches were opened in the central sector of the city. A destruction level dating to the mid-2nd century AD was found. Part of the city's 2 km long circuit wall was rebuilt in the Late Roman period. Roman sherds and bronze coins were collected. Also a bath complex with a polychrome mosaic floor, marble revetted walls and a hypocaust system was located which was abandoned in the mid-3rd century AD. The furnace area to the south was re-used twice after the abandonment of the bath complex and finally covered by a fill of 4th-5th century AD date. Two rooms with mosaic floors dating to the 2nd-3rd century AD were excavated 50m west of the east circuit wall.

Sh. Herbert, E.W. Kase, *ADelt* 32, 1977, B, 114-115, pl. 70.

The cella of a temple attributed to Demeter and Kore came to light near the southeast Gate of the enceinte. The *opisthodomos* was found at a higher level and is considered an addition in the Roman period.

Antonetti, *Les Étolies*, 289-290.

Part of a large two-storey building was excavated near the junction of the south and the east part of the city wall. It was constructed using *trolia*. A corridor flanked by four rooms and a square courtyard were revealed. One of the rooms had a paved floor and a well or cistern in the centre. This complex was connected to a large-sized courtyard to the north. A coin hoard of 14 sesterii minted in Rome came to light. It was buried a few years after the middle of the 3rd century AD. Coins of Valentinian II and Claudius II were collected from the external pipe-line, and issues of Gallienus, Diocletian and Constans from the fill of the area.

P. Themelis, *AAA* 12, 1979, 260, figs. 7, 10; Ph. Zapheirou, *AEphem* 1982, 10-12, fig. 5, pls. H-IA.

Next to this building was found the archive room of the city. It was destroyed during the civil war in Aitolia in the aftermath of Pydna (*Pantos, Σφραγίσματα*). A Late Roman bath complex was constructed on its east side. It was decorated with a mosaic floor depicting peacocks (P. Themelis, *AAA* 12, 1979, 260-261, figs. 11-12). A large building was excavated in Ch. Psophios' plot next to the archive. Finds included a Roman lamp (V. Petrakos, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B, 382). Also, a coin of Domitian was found in O. Karra plot (V. Petrakos, *op. cit.*, 378).

A seal representing the ethnicon and the symbol of the city (Athena holding a shield and a spear) has also been

found. It was a chance find and is not associated with the excavation of the archive.

Pantos, *Σφραγίσματα*, 545-546, pl. 49, ΜΔ 14600.

A coin of Valentinian II and one of Constans were collected during the excavation of the southeast gate of the city wall.

Ph. Zappeiropoulou, *AEphem* 1982, 13, pls Ia right, IBγ.

An inscribed statue base erected by a citizen of Kallipolis or granted to a citizen of Kallipolis, dating to the 2nd-1st century BC has been found (*BCH* 102, 1978, Chron, 845, fig. 8-9; *SEG* 28, 504) as well as a statue of Hecate dating to the 3rd / 4th century AD (Antonetti, *Les Étoliens*, 292).

North-West sector

In the northwest part of the city traces of buildings dating to the Late Roman (3rd-4th century) and the Early Byzantine period (5th-6th century) came to light as well as an Early Christian basilica and contemporary graves. Late Roman coins were included amongst the finds. In the same area inscriptions dating to the 2nd or 1st century BC were found in secondary use.

V. Petrakos, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B, 282-283, pl. 246-249a; 27, 1972, B, 380, figs 4-5; pl. 320a; Ph. Zappeiropoulou, *ADelt* 28, 1973-1974, B, 524, pl. 340d-e; R. Laffineur, *BCH* 102, 1978, Chron., 840-847; 103, 1979, Chron. 631-634.

A bronze coin issued by the *colonia* of Patras dated to the reign of Domitian, one of an unidentified Greek city dating to the 2nd century AD and a coin issued by Constantius II (AD 328) were found in trenches to the west, southwest and northeast of the Early Christian basilica. Also, a lamp of the second half of the 1st - early 2nd century AD and two Corinthian bronze coins dating to the reign of Commodus and to the period of Fulvia Plautilla, wife of Caracalla, were found in the fill of a kiln southwest of the basilica (Ph. Zappeiropoulou, *AEphem* 1982, 10).

For the Roman and Late Roman coins see Kravartoyannos, *Αρχαία νομίσματα*, 181-184, nos 18-66.

Cemeteries

North Cemetery

A Roman cemetery was located in the area north of the ancient fortification wall. It is divided into two sections. The most important graves (group A) were located in the southern part close to the city wall and the poorer group (group B) in the northern one. The graves of the first group are cists constructed using well-dressed slabs and local grey stone. In one case, a 'Pi'-shaped wall was added around a group of three graves in order to form

a kind of funerary monument. Brick and tile graves were also found in the same area. The area of group A is distinguished from that of group B by a layer of pebbles. The graves of group B were pits carved in the soft rock and covered with slabs or tiles, and tile graves. Remains of wooden coffins, pottery, glass and metal finds, as well as bronze coins were found. The cemetery was in use between the 1st -3rd centuries AD.

Ph. Zappeiropoulou, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B, 524-527, pl. 341-342; *ead.*, *AEphem* 1982, 1-8, figs 1-2, pls α-στ.

A grave stele dating to the Hadrianic period presumably came from this cemetery.

Antonetti, *La diffusione*, 155.

South cemetery

A chamber tomb of Macedonian type was excavated outside the circuit wall on the west side of the road leading to the south gate. It was constructed in the Hellenistic period and re-used in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. Sewing kit and other metal small objects were found as well as Roman coins (Thessalian League, Gallienus, M. Aurelius, Salonina).

V. Petrakos, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B, 283-284; 27, 1972, B, 377-378; *BCH* 101, 1977, Chron., 579, fig. 146.

Hellenistic, Late Roman graves were excavated.

P. Themelis, *AAA* 12, 1979, 254.

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RE X2 (1919) 1001-1002 s.v. Kallipolis 1 (v. Geisau); P. Themelis, *AAA* 12, 1979, 245-279; Ph. Zappeiropoulou, *AEphem* 1982, 1-13; Pantos, *Σφραγίσματα*; Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 84-85 s.v. Kallion A; J. Vroom, *Pharos* 1, 1993, 112-138; S. C. Bakhuizen, Velouchovo-Kallipolis 1993, *Pharos* 2, 1994, 21-29; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 89-90 no. 16, 100-101 nos 5.1-5.17; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 291-294; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 765ff; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 161-171.

KALYDON (Evinochori) – ΚΑΛΥΔΩΝ

(Ευηνοχώρι) 7:2D, 8:4D

Mesolongi Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

X. *HG*. 14.6.14; *Caes. Civ.* 3.35.1; *Str.* 10.2.3; 10.2.21-22; *Plin. Nat.* 4.6; *Paus.* 4.31.7; 7.18.8-10; 7.21.1; *Ptol.* 3.15.14. *St.Byz.* s.v.

Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² 135-153.

The toponym is Kalydon and the city-ethnic is Kalydonios. K. Freitag – P. Funke – N. Moustakis, in *Inventory*, 384 no. 148.

It is located at Kourtaga castle close to the town of Evinochori, on the west bank of the Euenos river.

A number of manumission inscriptions to Artemis Laphria and a proxy decree to a Spartan are dated between 130 and 120 BC. The mention of a *strategos* is evidence for the existence of the League in this period (*IG IX*, 1² 137). On the practice of manumission in Kalydon see Ljung, *Indemnity*, 69.

It is probable that some Kalydonians offered their help to Sulla in the Third Mithridatic War as may be inferred by an honorific decree of the Aitolian League referring to a Kalydonian citizen who fought on the side of the Romans (*Syll.*³ 744; *IG IX*, 1² 139). This is the only evidence for the existence of the League in the Late Republic. The city passed into the hands of Pompey's general L. Calvisius Sabinus in 48 BC. Strabo calls Pleuron and Kalydon «τεταπεινωμένα» (10.2.3). The upper part of the temple of Artemis and the images of Artemis Laphria and Dionysos were brought to Patras (Paus. 7.18.8-9; 7.21.1)¹ but the cult of Artemis continued until the 3rd century AD over the ruins of the temple. The city was laid waste by Augustus for the benefit of the Nicopolis synoecism (Paus. 7.18.8) and its territory probably passed into the hands of Patras after the foundation of Colonia Augusta Patrensis (14 BC), since according to Strabo (10.2.21) a large lake or lagoon, well supplied with fish, near Kalydon, was owned by the Romans who lived in Patras. However, it has been suggested that the population of Kalydon was not part of the Nicopolis synoecism (Ljung, *Indemnity*, 79, 87-88). Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 149-150; U. Kahrstedt, *Historia* 1, 1950, 552; Papachatzis, *Παυσανίας* 4, 92-93, 117-118; Antonetti, *Les Étolieus*, 245-264; *Achaïe* I, 165-167 no. 252, 167, 170, 171 no. 253, 181 no. 264, 313-314 no. 538; *Achaïe* II, 1998, 24-28; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 131-132, 188-189; M. Osanna, in Berktold – Schmid – Wacker, *Akarnanien*, 183-193; S. Dietz, *ProcDanInstAth* 6, 2009, 217-222; J. Isager, *ProcDanInstAth* 6, 2009, 201-216.

Roman veterans settled in Kalydon, as may be inferred from an inscription in which the Legio XII Fulminata (one of the legions which colonised Patras) is mentioned (*CIL* III, 509).

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 188, 298-299; *Achaïe* II, 302-303, no. 368.

The archaeological evidence indicates that the city was abandoned around the mid 1st century AD. The recovery of the city in the Hadrianic period has been questioned. Ptolemy mentions Kalydon in his Geography

but it is not certain whether he describes the cities of his time or of the past. Recent finds indicate a revival of the city in Late Antiquity.

S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 76-78.

The intramural city of Kalydon occupies two hills, the northern, where the Acropolis was placed, and the southern. The Lower City extended over low-lying areas to the east and west connected by a narrow strip between the hills. Roman material was found scattered on the northern and the western lower city but the quantity is much less than that of the Classical and Hellenistic periods. The southern hill was abandoned in the Roman period, since only four sherds were collected.

Significant public buildings came to light in the western part of the Lower City: the sanctuary of Artemis Laphria, the so-called heroon of Kalydon, the Bouleuterion-Theatre and a peristyle house.

The cult of Artemis Laphria and Apollo continued in the Roman period as is indicated by the lamps and the coins of the 3rd century AD. However, blocks from the sanctuary were used as building material in the same period. An inscribed fragment of Early Roman *terra sigillata* was found (*IG IX*, 1² 151).

E. Dyggve, F. Poulsen, *Das Laphrion. Der Tempelbezirk von Kalydon* (1948) 302.

The heroon of Kalydon was erected in ca. 100 BC as a burial monument for the family of a citizen called Leon (his son Pantaleon and three women), presumably prominent in the city. It is a square building with a large courtyard in the centre flanked by twenty columns, a porch on the north and small rooms on the west, east and south side. Athletic competitions and other events probably took place in the courtyard during the religious ceremonies, since the detail of Leon's features in his portrait suggest he may have been a boxer or a wrestler. An underground chamber containing two marble sarcophagi in the form of marble beds with pillows was found on the north side of the complex. The marble door of the chamber was carved to imitate a wooden one with metal decorative elements. Above the burial crypt there was a T-shaped area for religious ceremonies. Eleven medallions with busts of gods and heroes (*imagines clipeatae*) made of Pentelic marble (Zeus, Aphrodite Armata, Eros, Hercules and Meleager who was associated with the hunt of the Kalydonian boar) adorned the walls of the room. Some of them preserve signs of

¹ According to another view, the statues were brought to Patras not in the time of the Nicopolis synoecism but at some

point in the 1st century AD, perhaps around the middle, Ljung, *Indemnity*, 195.

re-carving. Leon is called *the new Herakles* in an inscription (IG IX, 1² 141-142).

E. Dyggve, F. Poulsen, K. Rhomaios, *Das Heroon von Kalydon* (1934); C. Bol, *AntPl* 19, 1988, 35-46; Ljung, *Indemnity*, 75-76, fig. 19-23.

According to other scholars, it was a palaestra inaugurated in honour of a victorious athlete [Chr. Wacker, *Das Gymnasion in Olympia. Geschichte und Funktion* (1996) 216-217] or that the palaestra had been erected in the Early Imperial period in honour of Leon over a Hellenistic tomb that had been reused (Charatzopoulou, L'héroon de Kalydon, 63-87). The inscriptions are dated to the 2nd-1st centuries BC and the dedication mentioning Pantaleon to the 2nd century AD, although an Augustan date has also been proposed for the latter.

Antonetti, *Les Étolians*, 266-267; Schörner, *Votive*, 515, 176-177, 513-514, nos 1104-1105; Charatzopoulou, *op.cit.*, 79.

The theatre (or Bouleuterion) came to light on the east side of the hill where the Laphrion is situated, near the National Road from Antirrhion to Ioannina. It has a square orchestra and rows of seats in a 'Pi' arrangement; for this reason it had been interpreted as a council house. Recently has been suggested that it was possibly a cult place for an unknown deity and was transformed later into a theatre. It was in use until the late Hellenistic period.

E. Mastrokostas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B, 320; S. Dietz, L. Kolonas, I. Moschos, M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in E. Hallager and J.-T. Jensen (eds), *ProcDanInstAth* 5, 2007, 35-60.

A large building complex with rooms around a peristyle court including a palaestra and cult room was excavated in the western lower city. It was built around the end of the 3rd century BC (210/200 BC). Its roof was repaired during the Republican or Early Roman period and it was demolished around the mid 1st century AD. An inscribed statue base dating to 150-100 BC with a dedication by Sosiklis to the Gods and the city, was found. The sculptor is named as Alexarchos from Sikyon. Part of a statue of Kybele (180-160 BC), a lion, a kernos, a small column for an altar table, a herm with the name Lanikos inscribed on it (2nd century BC) and an inscribed miniature altar (*arula*), of Late Hellenistic-Early Roman date dedicated by Thrason to Artemis, came to light in the cult room. The peristyle building has been interpreted as a clubhouse for some association.

L. Kolonas, S. Dietz, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 106-107, fig. 1; S. Dietz, in *Kalydon*, 87-109, 127-136, 153-156; S. Dietz *et al.*, in *Kalydon*, 111-125; J.-T. Jensen *et al.*,

in *Kalydon*, 137-151; R. Lund Pedersen, in *Kalydon*, 579-596; Ljung, *Indemnity*, 76-77, fig. 24-31.

Building foundations and deposits dating from the Archaic to the Roman period were excavated in the central sector of the acropolis.

L. Kolonas, I. Moschos, S. Dietz, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 101-102, 106.

A large building furnished with late 2nd century BC mosaic floors, unfluted columns and elaborate painted architectural terracottas was excavated on the acropolis. Finds included Hellenistic pottery, along with Early Roman cups of the 1st century BC and a sestertius dated to 25 BC.

Ljung, *Indemnity*, 74-75.

Pottery of Late Hellenistic-Early Roman date (2nd century BC-mid 1st century AD) came from both the acropolis and the Lower Town together with coins dating to the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. The large number of imports indicates that Kalydon was not isolated in the Late Hellenistic period from the wider Mediterranean world. E. Bollen, J. Eiring, in *Kalydon*, 399-453; E. Bollen, in *Kalydon*, 455-518; S. Mayerhofer Hemmi, S. Dietz, in *Kalydon*, 519-548; G. Alexopoulou – Kl. Sidiropoulos, in *Kalydon*, 549-578; Ljung, *Indemnity*, 78, 112, 123; cf. D. Grigoropoulos, *AM* 126, 2011, 217, 230, FO3-4.

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RE X2 (1919) 1763-1766 s.v. Kalydon (v. Geisau); Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 86-87; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 110-111; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 90 no. 18; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 294-300; Schoch, *Topographie Akarnaniens*, 42-43; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις 232ff*; *Kalydon* I, II; Ljung, *Indemnity*, 73-80; *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, B4.

Kalydon-Chondreika – Καλυδών-Χονδρέικα

7:2D, 8:4D

Mesolongi Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Numerous architectural remains, dating to the Hellenistic-Late Roman period, came to light on a small hill 1km northeast of Kalydon. Part of a road that was in use throughout antiquity, a Hellenistic-Late Roman cemetery, building remains of Hellenistic and Roman date and a Late Roman bath complex were found.

M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *ΑΕΘΣΕ* 4 (in press); O. Vikatou, in *ΑΕΘΣΕ* 4 (in press).

Kalydon-Fraxos – Καλυδών-Φράξος

7:1/2D, 8:4D

Mesolongi Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A burial complex that included cist graves and a cham-

ber tomb of Macedonian type dates from the Classical to the Late Hellenistic period.

O. Vikatou, in *AEΘΣΕ* 4 (in press).

Katavothra – Καταβόθρα 7:3C
Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Roof tiles dating to the Hellenistic or Roman period (?), along with other building materials are reported from the area of the chapel of the Panagia at Katavothra, to the west of the village of Anthofyto.

G. Stathopoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 202, pl. 44a.

Kato Chrysovitsa – Κάτω Χρυσοβίτσα 7:2B
Thermo Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Coins of Roman date are reported from the fields around the fortified citadel at Helleniko, where the modern village of Kato Chrysovitsa is located.

Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 247-248; Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 89 s.v. Khrysovitsa, Kato A; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 273-274; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 511ff.

A sanctuary possibly dedicated to Artemis, Dionysus or a nymph is located near a spring. Finds include a coin of Diocletian.

K. Romaios, *ADelt* 6, 1920-21, 65; Antonetti, *Les Étoiliens*, 214-221.

For an inscription of Archaic or possibly Roman date (?) which came from Valtza, cf. M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 111 and S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 94 no. 49.

Keramidi→Pamphio-Keramidi

Klepa – Κλεπά 7:3A
Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Two ancient settlements were located in the region of Klepa.

Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 110.

Roman sherds and coins of Roman date were found in the fields around Klepa.

Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 89, s.v. Klepa B; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 111; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 94 no. 50; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 305; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 606.

Klima – Κλήμα 7:4B
Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

A fortified citadel of a kome of Kallipolis is located on Paliokastro hill at the confluence of the Granitsorema and the Kokkinos torrents, 500-600m northwest of the

village of Klima (Yaiais). Small fragments of Hellenistic-Early Roman sherds are reported.

S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 90 no. 20. On the topography see Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 174.

Koniakos – Κονιάκος 7:4B
Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

A fortified settlement located on Paliokastro, a rocky ridge which projects from Mt. Ghiona, east-northeast of the modern village, west of the Mornos river. Quantities of Early Roman and Late Roman sherds are reported. Both Paliokastro Koniakos and the nearby **Sykia/Sykea-Trano Lithari**, were probably dependencies of Kallion and guarded the road which passed through the mountains of Aenis, Oitaia and Doris.

N. Papadakis, *ADelt* 6, 1920-21, Par. 147; Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 108, s.v. Sykea (it is actually the site Koniakos, cf. Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, note 1040); S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 92 no. 36, 104 nos 13.1-13.28; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 157-158; *Barr.Atlas*, Map 55, C3 (cf. Kastro Koniakou).

Koniska – Κόνισκα 7:2B
Thermo Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A coin hoard dating to the early 1st century BC came from the area.

ADelt 19, 1964, B, 9-10; Ljung, *Indemnity*, 118, Appendix 4.7.

Kryoneri – Κρυονέρι 7:2D, 8:4D
Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Remains of Thermae, which were in use at different periods from the Roman to the Early Christian, came to light in the coastal settlement of Kryoneri. A large rectangular pool, a pipe line system, hypocausts and a *prae-furnium*, as well as eleven rooms for various uses were excavated. Beside the complex is an Early Christian basilica. Both buildings should belong to a settlement.

K. Chamilaki, in *AEΘΣΕ* 4 (in press); V. Tsantila, in *IWA Regional Symposium on Water, Wastewater and Environment: Traditions and Culture* (2014) 1236.

Kryoneri was the end of the Roman via which connected Nicopolis with Patras.

K. Axioti, *ADelt* 35, 1980, A, 195; M. Petropoulos, in *Νικόπολις Β'*, 199.

Kyparissos – Κυπάρισσος 7:1A, 9:4D
Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Graves of the 3rd-1st century BC and inscriptions dating

to the 2nd-1st century BC were found near the modern village.

Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 91; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 111; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 94 no. 51; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 307-308.

Lefkaditi-Υπαπανδί – Λευκαδίτι-Υπαπαντή 7:4B
Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Remains of a fortified settlement, possibly a kome of Kallipolis, were located on a small hill, beside the road from Lefkaditi to Lidoriki, 3.5 km south of Lefkaditi village, in the area of the chapel of Υπαπανδί. In addition an isolated tower is situated on a higher level 100m further away.

Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 802f; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 170-171. A Roman inscription was found in the area of the ruined chapel of the Panagia.

Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 371, note 2; *IG IX*, 1², 159.

A lamp dating to the late 1st century BC-1st century AD has been reported.

S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 94 no. 52, 103 no. 9.1, 120; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 316.

Lidoriki – Λιδωρίκι 7:4C
Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

A Late Hellenistic-Roman funerary stele has been reported.

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 316.

Lithovouni / Akres (AKRAI or PHYTAION) –

Λιθοβούνι / Άκρες (ΑΚΡΑΙ ή ΦΥΤΑΙΟΝ) 7:2C, 8:4B/C
Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

The fortified citadel of Profitis Ilias on Palaiokastro, near the village of Akres / Lithovouni, has been identified as Akrai or Phytaiion.

Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 259-260; *RE XX1* (1941) 1169-1175 s.v. Phytaiion (Kirsten); Ph. Zapheirou, *ADelt* 31, 1976, B, 172; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 316, cf. also 352-353; Schoch, *Topographie Akarnaniens*, 56-58; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 542ff; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 90 note 530, 91-96.

Prichett (*Studies*, VII, 134-135) identifies Akrai as Akragas or Akropolis mentioned by Stephanus.

An inscription bearing the name Andronikos may be of a later date (Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 260; *IG IX*, 1² 127).

S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 91 no. 23.

Roman graves and Late Roman coins were found in Keramidaki between the villages of Mesarista and Akrai Lithovouni.

M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 112; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 316.

LYSIMACHEIA (Papadates) – ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΕΙΑ

(Παπαδάτες)

7:1B, 8:3B

Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Plb 5.7; Liv. 36.11; Str. 10.2.22.

Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² 128-130.

The fortification on a hill north-east of the modern village has been identified as Lysimacheia, which was abandoned in Strabo's lifetime.

Some early Roman sherds are reported from the area of the circuit wall.

Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 101, (Pappadatei B); S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 91 no. 32.

A probable Roman inscription and Early Christian finds came from the area of the football pitch and elsewhere in the modern village.

M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 115.

An inscription, dating to the 2nd / 1st century BC, records the determination of the boundaries of private properties (*SEG* 17, 1960, 273).

Remains of a Roman building complex were located at Loutra.

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 318-319.

A lake named Lysimacheia is mentioned by Strabo (10.2.22).

RE III2 (1927) 2554 s.v. Lysimacheia 2 (Bölte).

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Leake, *Travels*, I, 122; *RE III2* (1927) 2552-2554 s.v. Lysimacheia 1 (Bölte); Pritchett, *Studies*, VI, 136; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 348; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 558ff; *Barr-Atlas*, Map 54, D4; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 101.

Marathias-Liostasi – Μαραθιάς-Λιοστάσι 7:2C, 8:4C
Thermo Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A building attributed to a *villa rustica* of Roman date with a *lenos* was excavated, near the southeast entrance of the village, beside the road from Makryneia to Thermon. It was built over a Hellenistic site.

M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, 679, no. 26; V. Gerolimou, *ibidem*, 686, fig. 2 (K302), 687 note 21.

Marathias-Tserlis torrent – Μαραθιάς-
ρέμα Τσερλή 7:2C, 8:4C

Thermo Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A building attributed to a *villa rustica* of Late Roman date with a mosaic floor bearing geometric decoration came to light, 100 m east of the village of Marathias, 400-500m from the road from Makryneia to Thermon. Three Early Christian(?) graves were also found.

M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, 679, no. 25; V. Gerolimou, *ibidem*, 686, fig. 2 (Y81/Y306-7), 687 note 22.

Megali Chora-Psili Panagia (Turk. Zapanti) –

Μεγάλη Χώρα-Ψιλή Παναγιά (τουρκ. Ζαπάντι) 7:1B, 8:3A
Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Remains of a Roman building (*villa rustica?*) were found 400-500m northwest of Psili Panagia (Tsavikos' plot). A bath and mosaic floors with geometric motifs came to light.

Ph. Petsas, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B, 323-324; *BCH* 100, 1976, Chron., 640; Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 96; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 109; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 91 no. 26; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 321-322; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, 676, no. 14; V. Tsantila, in *IWA Regional Symposium on Water, Wastewater and Environment: Traditions and Culture* (2014) 1235.

An Early Christian mosaic floor was revealed in Psorolithi. E. Kirsten, *AA* 56, 1941, 119; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 109; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, *op. cit.*

Mesolongi-Agios Thomas→HALIKYRNA –

Μεσολόγγι-Άγιος Θωμάς→ΑΛΙΚΥΡΝΑ 7:1D, 8:4D
Mesolongi Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A large complex of Roman baths built in *opus testaceum* was found at Agios Ioannis, south-southwest of the village of Agios Thomas, quite close to the southern junction for Mesolongi from the National Road Antirrhion - Agrinion. It is not a small private bath (*balnea*) but a public one (*thermae*) probably associated with a settlement.

It has a T-shaped ground-plan, vaulted roofs and the walls, in *opus testaceum*, have internal niches and may have been decorated with mosaics. It consisted of a *natatio* for the *frigidarium* at the eastern end, the *tepidarium* with four cylindrical built pools in the middle and a series of *alvei* belonging to the *caldarium* the west. The *hypocausts* were found under the west wing, as well as the *prae-furnia*, furnished with metal boilers. Two rooms to the south of the *tepidarium* were identified as the *apodyterium* and the *sudatorium*. A cistern was attached to the southeast corner and a second one was outside the complex to the northeast. The entrance to the complex was found in the northern part of the middle wing. The *natatio* and the rooms of the *tepidarium* were paved with marble slabs. As is assumed from a milliarium of Trajan, a Roman road probably ran to the north of the building, where the entrance was situated.

It was possibly constructed in the 2nd century AD, repaired after the earthquake of AD 365 and destroyed by another earthquake in AD 551. It was converted into a building of Christian character (baptistry?). The graves set into the building should be associated with this last period of use.

A large domestic complex with a private bath house was excavated ca. 100m from the southern part of the *thermae* which dates to the 1st-6th centuries AD.

The remains of a substantial building (a stoa?) have also been reported.

Leake, *Travels*, III, 533; Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 114; G. Alexopoulou, *ADelt* 44, 1989, B, 139. M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Β'*, 2004, 413-432; *id.*, in *Νικόπολις Β'*, 202-203; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Εύβοια και Στερεά*, 405, fig. 703; V. Tsantila, in *IWA Regional Symposium on Water, Wastewater and Environment: Traditions and Culture* (2014) 1234-1235, fig. 4-6.

The site has been identified as ancient Elaos (Plb. 4.65.1) but it seems that is related to ancient Halikyrna, which itself is usually associated with the Hellenistic settlement at Chilia Spitia. If the whole area from Chilia Spitia to Agios Thomas belonged to territory of Halikyrna, it could be suggested that the centre of the Kome was transferred from the former to the latter in the Roman period. The still unexplored remains around *Thermae* and the existence of a milliarium argue in favour of this view.

S. K. Alexandropoulou, *Αιτωλοακαρνανικά Μελετήματα* (2002), 37-42 (Elaos); M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Β'*, 2004, 418 (Halikyrna).

Milia – Μηλιά 7:3B

Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Building remains and sherds of Hellenistic and possibly Roman date have been noted on a hill 1km from the village.

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 324.

(Nea) PLEURON (Kastro Kyra Rhinis-Kato Retsina) – (Νέα) ΠΛΕΥΡΩΝ

(Κάστρο Κυρά Ρήνης-Κάτω Πετσίνια) 8:3C
Mesolongi Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

S. *Tr.* 7; Th. 3.102; Apollod. 1.7; Str. 8.7; 10.2.3-6; 10.2.21-24; Ovid. *Met.* 7.350; Plin. *Nat.* 4.6; Paus 7.11.3. The name of city is Pleurōn and the ethnicon Pleurōnios.

K. Freitag – P. Funke – N. Moustakis, in *Inventory*, 385 no. 153.

It is located at the Kastro of Kyra Rhinis on the southern side of Mt. Arakynthos in the village of Kato Retsina.

RE XXI1 (1951) 239-268 s.v. Pleuron2 (Kirsten); Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 353-354; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις*, 147ff.

Pleuron joined the Achaean Confederacy after 189 BC (Paus 7.11.3) but regained its autonomy after the dissolution of the League in 146 BC. It continued to be occupied in the 1st century BC, but Strabo calls Pleuron and Kalydon *τεταπειωμένα* (10.2.3). The fortified harbour was located at Skali Mesolongiou (Fortification of the Three Churches).

Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 104; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 116.

A bath complex of Roman date with a cistern has been discovered.

L. Kolonas, *New Pleuron* (2008) 24-25, fig. 24. V. Tsantila, in *IWA Regional Symposium on Water, Wastewater and Environment: Traditions and Culture* (2014) 1236.

ORIVATON – OPIBATON

The ethnicon Orivatos is mentioned in a manumission from Kalydon dating to 130-120 BC (*IG IX*, 1², 137a). Unidentified.

PAMPHIA / PAMPHION (Sitaralona / Kato Morosklavo) – ΠΑΜΦΙΑ / ΠΑΜΦΙΟΝ

(Σιταράλωνα-Κάτω Μωρόσυλαβο) 7:2C, 8:4B
Thermo Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.
Plb. 5.8.1; 5.13.7.

The fortified citadel of the ancient kome mentioned by Polybius is located on an isolated hill called Kastro Morosklavo, east of the village of Sitaralona.

The toponym is Pamphias or Pamphion and the ethnicon is Panphieus.

K. Freitag – P. Funke – N. Moustakis, in *Inventory*, 388. Citizens of Pamphias are mentioned in a manumission from Phistyon dated between 170 and 150 BC (*IG IX*, 1² 105).

Various sites of Roman date were found in the area around modern Pamphias and Sitaralona.

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Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 242; K. Romaios, *ADelt* 2, 1916, 45; RE XVIII3 (1949) 307-309 s.v. Pamphias (E. Kirsten); Pritchett, *Studies*, VI, 128-130; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 358; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 519ff; *Barr-Atlas* Map 55, B3.

Pamphio-Keramidi – Πάμφιο-Κεραμίδι 7:2C, 8:4C

Thermo Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.
A burial monument in *opus reticulatum* was found to the southeast of the village, at the southern foot of a hill, beside the road from Makryneia to Thermo, 500m south of the cist grave at Rachi. It is dated to the Roman period. A Hellenistic burial monument was found nearby. M. Gatsi, *ADelt* 61, 2006, B, 585-586 fig. 29; *ead.*, in *Villae Rusticae*, 678-679, no. 24; V. Gerolimou, *ibidem*, 686, fig. 2 (K21/82-83), 687 note 19.

Pamphio-Rachi – Πάμφιο-Ράχη 7:2C, 8:4B

Thermo Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.
A cist grave with five lamps dating to the 2nd-4th centuries AD was found beside the road from Makryneia to Thermo near the entrance to the village. M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, 678, no. 23.

Paravola (VOUKATIEIS?) – Παράβολα

(ΒΟΥΚΑΤΙΕΙΣ;) 7:2B, 8:4A/B
Agrio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

The fortified citadel located on Kastro hill southeast of the modern village on the north side of Trichonis Lake, has been identified as Voukatieis (or Phystion). The identification is disputed.

Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 203; RE III (1899) 994, s.v. Boukation (A. Oberhummer); K. Rhomaios, *ADelt* 6, 1920-1921, 170; G. Klaffenbach, *IG IX*, 1², 97, scholia *ad. loc.*; Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 101; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 349-351; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 359ff; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 57; K. Freitag – P. Funke – N. Moustakis, in *Inventory*, 387.

An inscribed burial stele of Roman date came from the cemetery south of Kastro (*IG IX*, 1² 114).

Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 195; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 115; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 94 no. 55.

Perivolia-Agios Nikolaos – Περιβόλια-Άγιος Νικόλαος

7:3C
Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Sherds and tiles of Roman date were found in Chr. Stathopoulos' field on the hill of Agios Nikolaos chapel overlooking the village of Perivolia.

G. Stathopoulos, in *ΛΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 204-205, pls 48-50; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 138.

Petrota→Kainourgio-Petrota/Veinovrysi

PHISTYON (Palaiomonastiro-Neromana, Turk. Sobonikos) – ΦΙΣΤΥΟΝ (Παλαιομονάστηρο-Νερομάνα, τουρκ. Σομπονίκος) 7:2B, 8:4B
Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² 95-116.

The toponym is Phistyon and the ethnicon Phistynos. K. Freitag – P. Funke – N. Moustakis, in *Inventory*, 388. An ancient citadel is located on Palaiomonastiro hill (the ruined monastery of Agioi Apostoloi) 1.5 km south-southwest from the village of Neromana village (Turk. Soboniko) near the north shore of Lake Trichonis. It is probably the site of ancient Phistyon due to its proximity to the sanctuary of Aphrodite *Syria en Ieridais Phystiyidi*. Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 197-198; *RE XX1* (1941) 1297-1306 s.v. Phistyon (Kirsten); M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 116 note 184; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 337-338; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 458ff; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 60-67.

A cemetery is located southwest of the citadel. Four inscribed stelae of the Imperial period are known (U. Kahrstedt, *Historia* 1, 1950, 556) and a grave stele of the same date had been used as altar in the church of the Agioi Apostoloi (Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 198; *IG IX*, 1² 113; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 92 no. 29). Late Hellenistic sherds are reported.

Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 99-100, s.v. Neromana; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 60-62.

PHISTYON- sanctuary of Aphrodite (Kryo Nero-Agia Triada) – ΦΙΣΤΥΟΝ-Ιερό Αφροδίτης (Κρύο Νερό-Αγία Τριάδα) 7:2B, 8:4A

The sanctuary of Aphrodite *Syria en Ieridais* or *Iaridias* / *Earidaisis* is located at the chapel of *Agia Triada* at *Kryo Nero* on the middle part of *Krinorematos* torrent, 2.6 km from the fortified citadel and 1.4 km from the edge of the town. Manumissions dating to the 2nd and 1st century BC are reported (*IG IX*, 1² 96-110). Apart from Aphrodite, *Magna Mater* and *Parthenos* are also mentioned. It has been suggested that the sanctuary was first dedicated to the goddesses of the spring and later to the *Magna Mater*, *Parthenos* and *Aphrodite Syria* (*Atargatis*?) were introduced. Also the mention of *agonothetes* in a manumission of the 1st century BC (*IG IX*, 1² 110) is evidence for a festival (G. Soteriadis, *Prakt* 1908, 98-99; Klaffenbach, *Neue Inschriften*, 358-388; E. Kirsten, *AA* 56, 1941, 100; Antonetti, *Les Étoliens*, 230-235; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 62-66 note 302; Ljung, *Indemnity*, 69. A number of ethnica are mentioned in the manumissions of the sanctuary dating to the mid. 2nd century BC, but no indication is given of the location of their origin

(Proennios, Philotaeus, Rhadeos, Tnimaios, Tragantios). Cf. Ljung, *Indemnity*, 63 note 191, 205ff.

PLEURON→(NEA) PLEURON

POT(E)IDANIA (Katafidi) – ΠΟΤ(Ε)ΙΔΑΝΙΑ (Καταφίδι) 7:3C

Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Th. 3.96.2; Liv. 28.8.9; St.Byz. s.v.

The toponym is Poteidania or Potidania and the ethnicon Poteidanicus.

K. Freitag – P. Funke – N. Moustakis, in *Inventory*, 381. Two manumissions dated to the middle of the 2nd century BC were found in secondary use in the church of *Agios Nikolaos* church 1.5-2 km southeast of the village of *Kampos*. The slaves were dedicated to the sanctuary of *Athena Pyrgia* at *Potidania*. It has been proposed that the sanctuary could be located at *Varna* (*Agioi Apostoloi*) on the northwest slope of *Mt. Kastri* (*Vigla*) 1 km west of the village of *Teichio* (*Lykochorio*). As for the kome, it could be placed at *Katafidi*, 2 km north of *Teichio*.

Klaffenbach, *Neue Inschriften*, 371; R. Sherk, *ZPE* 83, 1990, 261; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 183-187.

S. Raptopoulos [*Ερευνες για την μνημειακή τοπογραφία της Δυτικής Λοκρίδος και της Νότιας Αιτωλίας* (2015) 32-33] includes *Potidania* in the *Locrian cities*.

Bibliography

Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 358; *RE XXIII1* (1953) 1037-1039 s.v. *Poteidania* (G. Klaffenbach); Pritchett, *Studies*, VII, 49-52; Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 87; Antonetti, *Les Étoliens*, 294-295; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 183-187; *BarrAtlas*, Map 55, C4.

PROSCHION → Agios Georgios – ΠΡΟΣΧΙΟΝ→ Άγιος Γεώργιος

Th. 3.102.5, 106.1; Str. 10.2.6; St.Byz. s.v.

RE XXIII1 (1957) 840-842 s.v. *Proschion* (Kirsten); Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 356-357; Schoch, *Topographie Akarnaniens*, 58.

Citizens of *Proschion* are mentioned in a manumission of the mid-2nd century BC from the sanctuary of *Aphrodite* at *Phistyon* (*IG IX*, 1² 108). The name of the city is *Proschion* or *Proscheon* and the ethnicon is *Proscheios* (K. Freitag – P. Funke – N. Moustakis, in *Inventory*, 386 no. 154).

Pyrnos (or Prinos) Dorikou – Πύρνος

(ή Πρίνος) Δωρικού

7:4C

Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

Early Roman sherds were found on a foothill of *Mt.*

Pyrnos 1.5 km northwest of the village of Doriko. It could be the location of a kome of Kallipolis. Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 80, s.v. Dorikon (B) (Sevedikos); Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 764f; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 160, 191; *Barr.Atlas*, Map 55, C3.

Rachi→Pamphio-Rachi

Rigeika→HALIKYRNA

Sitaralona – Σιταράλωνα 7:2C, 8:4B
Thermo Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A *villa rustica* has been excavated. Remains of an oil production installation came to light. Also, Roman lamps dating to the 1st-2nd century AD attributed to the workshop of Patras were found. It has been suggested that a 'branch' of the workshop was located in the area.

M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, 678, no. 21; V. Gerolymou, *ibidem*, 683-703.

Sitaralona-K6 – Σιταράλωνα-K6 7:2C, 8:4B
Thermo Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Roman building remains with water tank and *lenos* (?) and a child burial were found on the coastal plain west of Sitaralona, 300m west of the road leading from Pamphio to Thermo and 700m southeast of Va(g)eni. It is possibly part of a *villa rustica*.

M. Gatsi, *ADelt* 61, 2006, B, 584, figs 26-28; V. Gerolymou, in *Villae Rusticae*, 686, fig. 2 (K6), 687 note 20.

Sitaralona-Va(g)eni – Σιταράλωνα-Βα(γ)ένη 7:2C, 8:4B
Thermo Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A brick building of Roman date was located in Va(g)eni, west-northwest from the village of Sitaralona, near the shore of Lake Trichonis (Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 242; Pritchett, *Studies*, VI, 130, pl. 211; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 86; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 92 no. 34; Ljung, *Indemnity*, 84). It is attributed to a *villa rustica*.

U. Kahrstedt, *Historia* 1, 1950, 555; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 112.

Stamna – Στάμνα 7:1C, 8:3B
Mesolongi Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Two milliaría, one with a Latin inscription (AD 114-116) and the other with Latin (AD 283) and Greek inscriptions (AD 293-305) were found at Roggia (K. Bakatselou field). Late Hellenistic-Early Roman terra sigillata sherds are also reported.

K. Axioti, *ADelt* 35, 1980, A, 185-188; S. Bommeljé – J.

Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 92 no. 35; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 360-361.

Stromi – Στρώμη 7:4A
Delphi Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

A tomb of the Early Roman period came to light at the foot of Tsouka hill, ca. 1600 m north of the village of Stromi. It is an underground chamber tomb constructed with poros limestone. It had been used for at least three burials between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD. The cover of a stone sarcophagus bearing a Gorgon's head in relief and an inscription, dating to the Roman period was also found a small distance away. The burial goods included pottery vessels, coins and iron strigils.

[http://www.archaiologia.gr/en/blog/2013/06/26/early-roman-tomb-excavated-in-stromi/\(27-6-2013\)](http://www.archaiologia.gr/en/blog/2013/06/26/early-roman-tomb-excavated-in-stromi/(27-6-2013))

The tomb should be associated with the fortified settlement on the top of Tsouka hill, where the chapel of Sotiros is located. The settlement is situated on the border between Aitolia, Aenis and Oitaia.

G. Soteriádis, *BCH* 31, 1907, 280; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 818ff; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 150-151, 222.

Sykia (Agrinio) – Συκιά (Αγρινίου) 7:1B, 8:3B
Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A bronze coin of Roman date has been found. M. Gatsi, *ADelt* 61, 2006, B, 596.

Sykia / Sykea-Trano Lithari – Συκιά / Συκέα-Τράνο Λιθάρι 7:4B
Doris Mun. / Phokis R.Un.

A fortified settlement is located on the Trano Lithari ridge 1.4 km west-southwest of the village of Sykea and 2km north of Lefkaditi. Roman sherds are reported. Both Sykea and the nearby Paliokastro *Koniakos* were probably dependencies of Kallion and guarded the road which passed through the mountains of Aenis, Oitaia and Doris.

N. Papadakis, *ADelt* 6, 1920-21, Par., 147; Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 90, s.v. Koniakos A (it is actually Sykea, cf. Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, note 1040); S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 90 no. 21, 103 no. 8.1; Nerantzis, *op.cit.*, 157-158.

THERMON – ΘΕΡΜΟΝ 7:2B, 8:4B
Thermo Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Plb 5.6-8; Str. 10.3.2; St. Byz. s.v.
Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² 1-94, 196, 784.
Barr.Atlas, Map 55, B3.

The sanctuary continued to be the centre of the League until the end of the 2nd century BC as a proxeny decree of 142/1 BC (*IG IX*, 1² 34, 35) and a statue base of the late 2nd century prove (*IG IX*, 1² 72). Two manumissions of Roman date (the second one in 2nd century AD), in which Zeus, Gaia, Helios and Zeus are mentioned (*IG IX*, 1², 82, 92) are also evidence for the religious and public character of the area during the Imperial period. On the other hand, a number of graves dating to the 1st century BC located in the remains of the buildings show that the character of the activity changed from religious and public in parts of the sanctuary. Pottery of the Roman period and coins dating to the 1st century BC and the Imperial period are also mentioned.

Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 245, 283; G. Soteriades, *Prakt* 1898, 110; K. Romaios, *ADelt* 9, 1924-25, Par., 4-5; K. Konstantopoulos, *ADelt* 13, 1930-1931, Par., 34; *RE VA2* (1934) 2423-2444, s.v. Thermon (Fiehn); *BCH* 71-72, 1947-1948, Chron, 392; *KIPauly* V (1975) 746 s.v. Thermon (E. Meyer); *Ergon* 1983, 45; 1987, 83; I. Papapostolou, *Prakt* 1987, 107; *id.*, in *Φηγός, Τιμητικός τόμος Σ. Δάλαρη* (1994) 509-522; Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 109; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 109; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 92 no. 37; Antonetti, *Les Étolieus*, 209; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 366-369; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 77; Jung, *Indemnity*, 80-81, 203; cf. D. Grigoropoulos, *AM* 126, 2011, 230, FO4.

It is not clear whether the area of Thermon belonged to Patras and to the Province of Achaia or to Nicopolis and to the Province of Epirus in the 2nd century AD.

Antonetti, *La diffusion*, 154-155; A. Rizakis, *DialHistAnc* 22, 1996, I, 286; L. Ruscu, *ZPE* 157, 2006, 251-252.

Thermo (Neo) – Νέο Θέρμο 7:2B, 8:4B

Thermo Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Graves dating to the 3rd-2nd century BC were found in the region between Thermon and Kephalyvryso (Neo Thermo). It has been suggested that they belong to a settlement located probably at Neo Thermo.

K. Romaios, *ADelt* 4, 1918, Par. 32; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 80.

THESTIEION / THESTIA / THESTIAI

(Vlochos) – ΘΕΣΤΙΕΙΟΝ / ΘΕΣΤΙΑ / ΘΕΣΤΙΑΙ

(Βλοχός) 7:1B, 8:4A

Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Plb. 5.7.7.

The fortified citadel of Thestieis is located on the south slope of Vlochos hill, north of the village of Ano Vlochos.

G. Soteriades, *Prakt*. 1899, 62-63. Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 45,

52-55; the identification is disputed, cf. *RE VIA1* (1936) 183 s.v. Thestia (Fiehn); Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 340ff.

Roman sherds were found on the hill.

Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 112-113, s.v. Vlochos; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 375.

A tomb with arcosolia dating to the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. was excavated at Kamares inside the city wall.

K. Romaios, *ADelt* 6, 1920-21, 170-171.

TRICHONION (Gavalou) – ΤΡΙΧΩΝΙΟΝ

(Γαβαλού)

7:2C, 8:4B

Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Plb. 5.7.1; 5.13.3; Str. 10.2.3; Paus. 2.37.3; St.Byz. s.v.

Inscriptions: G. Cousin, *BCH* 10, 1886, 189; *IG IX*, 1² 117-126; I. Papapostolou, *ADelt* 34, 1979, B, 208; Antonetti, *Les Étolieus*, 238-240.

The toponym is attested as Trichōnion and Trichon(e)io and the ethnicon as Trichonios, Trichōnieus, Trichon(e)ieus, Trichōneus, Trichoneus and in Pausanias, Trikōnieus.

K. Freitag – P. Funke – N. Moustakis, in *Inventory*, 386 no. 156.

In the time of Strabo Trichonion dominated part of the fertile plain between Kalydon and the Acheloos river.

The remains of the city are located on Paliokastro hill, on the south side of Lake Trichonis, near the modern village of Gavalou. The city continued to flourish in the Roman period.

Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 232-235; *RE VIIA* (1939) 86-88 s.v.

Trichonion (G. Klaffenbach); Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 83, s.v. Gavalou; Pritchett, *Studies*, VI, 132-133; *KIPauly*

5, 955, s.v. Trichonion (E. Meyer); M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 107; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 283-285; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις* 544ff; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 98-99.

A citizen of Trichonion is a witness in a proxeny decree of the League dated to 141/0 BC (*IG IX*, 1² 34d).

The cemetery of the city extended to the south shore of the lake, alongside the ancient road leading to Thermon. Late Hellenistic-Roman graves and grave stelae of the same date came to light.

G. Soteriades, *Prakt* 1899, 62-63; 1902b, 52; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *ΛΑΣΑ Β'*, 2004, 345-368.

Another grave stele bearing the Latin name Allia C.L. Lena came from the spring on the northern side of the acropolis. It is dated in early 2nd century B.C.

Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 233-235, no. 2; *IG IX*, 1² 124=CIL III 7305; Antonetti, *La diffusion*, 153-154, Zoumbaki, Aetolia, Acarnania, 528.

The extra mural temple of Asclepius was excavated at the foot of Paliokastro hill near the modern Gymna-

sium. Manumission texts of the 2nd century BC came to light, as well as a hoard of Roman coins.

G. Alexopoulou, in A. Saccocci (ed.), *Inspecto Nummo* (2001) 23-35; M. Petropoulos, in *Νικιόπολις Β'*, 204.

Trikorfo – Τρίκορφο 7:2D, 8:4C
Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Settlement remains are visible on a steep hill northwest of the modern village of Trikorfo and in the fields to the west of it. Coins of Roman date are reported.

Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia*, 111, s.v. Trikorfon B; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pbaros* 3, 1995, 95 no. 58.

Va(g)eni→Sitaralona-Va(g)eni

Vlachomandra – Βλαχόμανδρα 7:2C
Naupactia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

An ancient kome was located on the hill where the modern village is situated.

Bommeljé *et al.*, *Aetolia* 112, s.v. Vlachomandra; Nerantzis, *Η χώρα*, 142.

A roman coin (Q. Pilipus) was found in a hoard of coins dated a little after 130 BC.

V. Stais, *ADelt* 1889, 101, no. 12; Ch. Papageorgiadou-Bani, in *Χαρακτήρ* (1996) 219.

Roman graves are known.

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 375.

Zesti Vrysi→HALIKYRNA

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

AKARNANIA – AKARNANIA

Aitoloakarnania R. Un

Plb. 2.6; 2.10; 2.65; 4.5-6; 4.9; 4.11; 4.15; 4.25; 4.30; 4.65-66; 4.80; 5.3-6; 5.13; 5.14; 5.96; 9.32-34; 9.38; 16.32; 18.10; 21.29.4; 21.32.14; 22.12; 28.4-5; 30.13; Liv. 26.24-25; 31.14; 31.23.8; 32.18; 32.40.7; 33.17.7-15; 35.18.1; 36.11; 36.13.3; 36.15.8; 36.21.5; 38.4-5; 38.9; 43.17.7; 43.21.5; 44.1.4; 45.31.9; Cic. *Fam.* 16.2; 16.5.1; *Pis.* 91, 96; *Str.* 7.7.2; 8.1.3; 8.2.2; 10.2.2; 10.1.2; 10.2.21; *Caes. Civ.* 56; 58; D.S. 11.85; 11.88; 12.47; 12.60; 15.36; 18.8; 18.38; 19.67; Mela 2.54; Plin. *Nat.* 2.205; 4.5; 6.216; 9.115; Suet. *Aug.* 17-18; Flor. *Epit.* 2.21.5; Plu. *Alex.* 49.8; *Per.* 19.2-3; Paus. 1.25.3-5; 4.25.3; 5.26.1; 6.2.1; Ptol. 3.14.5-6, 9-10; D.C. 50.12.2; 51.1.2-3; *Serv. A.* 5.298; *Just.* 26.2-3; *AP* 9.553.

Akarnania extended from the south-east coast of the Ambrakian Gulf to Oeniadaï in the south-west, and from the Ionian Sea to the River Acheloos (*Str.* 7.7.56; 8.2.23; 10.2.1). In the Classical period there was a distinction between inland Akarnania (μεσόγεια), part of which was the *Ἀκαρνανικὸν πεδῖον* beside the Acheloos, and the coastal region (ἡ ἄλλη Ἀκαρνανία, ἡ περὶ θάλασσαν, οἱ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω Ἀκαρνανῆες) (*Th.* 2.33.2, 2.80.1, 2.83.1; 2.102.2). The ethnicon is attested as Akarnan-Akarnanis. H.-J. Gehrke, in A. Biraschi (ed.), *Strabone e la Grecia* (1994) 93-118; H.-J. Gehrke – E. Wirbelauer, in *Inventory*, 351. The Akarnanians gained their independence with the treaty of 189 BC and recovered Oeniadaï. The League was reconstituted in 169 BC with Thyrraeion as its capital. Leukas left the League one year later. Thyrraeion, Oeniadaï, Koronta, Astakos, Alyzia, Medeon, Phoitiia, Anaktorion and possibly Palairos are listed as its members in an inscription of the mid-2nd century BC from Actium (*IG IX*, 1² 208). The League was probably not affected by the events of 147/6 BC but the issue of the province (Macedonia or Achaia) into which Akarnania was included is still open to debate (M. Petropoulos, in *LAΣA A'*, 1991, 96; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 194). The senatus consultum between Thyrraeion and Rome (94 BC), has been used as evidence for the dissolution of the League (Murray, *Acarnania*, 367 note 27). However,

Oberhummer's question (*Akarnanien*, 197-198) is still valid, of whether a treaty between a member of a League and Rome excludes the possibility that the League itself concluded a treaty with Rome (J. Schmid – B. Schweighart, in Berkold – Schmid – Wacker, *Akarnanien*, 140). In general, the senati consulti from Thyrraeion and Rouga show firstly the special relationship between the Akarnanian cities and Rome, to be associated with the philo-Roman attitude of the Akarnanians, as well as with the hostility between Rome and Aitolia, and secondly the rivalries at home.

Oost, *Roman Policy*, 65-91; M. Schoch, in Berkold – Schmid – Wacker, *Akarnanien*, 129-131; J. Schmid – B. Schweighart, in Berkold – Schmid – Wacker, *ibid.*, 133-144; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 132-140.

The Akarnanian coast, Leukas and the sanctuary of Apollo at Actium all suffered from piracy (Plu. *Pomp.* 24). Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 139; J. Schmid – B. Schweighart, in Berkold – Schmid – Wacker, *Akarnanien*, 141.

Akarnania flourished around the middle of the 1st century BC. Cicero visited Thyrraeion and Alyzeia in 51 BC and mentions that the latter had a population of 30.000. Stratos was ravaged in 57-56 BC by the mountain tribes of the Agrianes and the Dolopes who were forced by L. Calpurnius Piso to abandon their homeland (*Cic. Pis.* 37.91, 96). The Akarnanian cities were controlled by Pompey in the first period of the Civil War but followed Gn. Domitius Calvinus, Caesar's general, in Thessaly (D.C. 41.51.3). Antonius camped at Akarnania before the battle of Actium and got supplies from the area. Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 139-140; Dany, *Akarnanien*, 237; J. Schmid – B. Schweighart, in Berkold – Schmid – Wacker, *Akarnanien*, 141-142.

The situation changed with the foundation of Nicopolis. The inhabitants of the Akarnanian cities were forced to move to the new colony and 'all or almost all,' according to Strabo, became *περιουκίδες* komai (he mentions Palairos, Alyzia, Amphiloichikon Argos, Ambrakia) (Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 244-245). This resettlement had the same result as in Aitolia; not only the depopulation of the region, as reported by the ancient authors,

but a fundamental modification of the settlement pattern; the large fortified cities declined and small settlements and farms made their appearance along the coast, on the mainland and along shipping routes. The Palairos-Pogonia-Plagia peninsula and Stratos-Stratike (Lepenous) are characteristic examples of the new situation. Urban life seems to have been present only in Nicopolis.

F. Lang *Klio* 76, 1994, 248-254, esp. 254; P. Büscher in Berktold – Schmid – Wacker, *Akarnanien*, 145-148; J. Isager, in Isager, *Foundation*, 17-27.

At the same time the statues from the sanctuary of Herakles in Alyzeia were transferred to Rome (Str. 10.2.21) and other masterpieces of the Aitolian and Akarnanian cities were used to adorn Nicopolis (Paus. 7.18.9).

Also, a slight regeneration of the woodland has been observed during the Roman period as a result of the depopulation of large parts of the countryside following the battle of Actium, but agricultural use increased again in the following centuries.

A. Vött *et al.*, *Paleogeography, Palaeoclimatology, Palaeoecology* 239, 2006, 140.

Akarnania entered the province of Achaia in 27 BC which perhaps indicates that the League had ceased to exist.

J. Schmid – B. Schweighart, in Berktold – Schmid – Wacker, *Akarnanien*, 143-144.

It became part of the province of Epirus in the reign of Nero or Trajan (Ptol. 3.14.5-6, 10).

U. Kahrstedt, *Historia* 1, 1950, 561; G. Bowersock, *RBM* 108, 1965, 287-288; Th. Sarikakis, *Ellenika* 19, 1966, 195-200; Antonetti, *L'Acarmania*, 42; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 202-203. Cf. also, J. A. O. Larsen, in T. Frank, *Survey*, IV, 439 (Hadrian or Antoninus Pius).

The province was divided by Diocletian into Epirus Vetus (the southern part) with Nicopolis as its capital and Epirus Nova (the northern part) with Dyrrachium as its capital.

Bowden, *Epirus Vetus*, 7ff.

As far as naming Akarnanian cities and topography in general, Strabo (10.1.2; 10.2.21) mentions Anaktorion, in Stratos, Oeniadai, Palairos, Alyzia, Leukas Amphilochikon Argos, the lagoon of Myrtountion (modern Voukaria), the Astakenos Gulf, Cape Krithoti (modern Marathias) and the small islands of the Echinades.

In Akarnania Pliny (*Nat.* 4.5-6) lists, Heraclia, Echinus,

the colony of Actium, Dioryctos, Alyzia, Stratos, Argos Amphilochikon. The Pindos and Acheloos rivers, and Mt. Krania (Stephanus places Kraneia village in Ambrakia) are also mentioned.

Ptolemy (3.14.5-6, 10) considers the mouth of the Acheloos as the border between Epirus and Achaia and places Actium, Alyzia and Astakos in Epirus.

Leukas, Argos Amphilochikon, Anaktorion and Thyreion are listed in Akarnania in the *Anthologia Palatina* (9.553).

M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 97-99; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 77-79.

Economy

Aitolia and Akarnania were the main sources of supplies for Patras and Nicopolis: horse breeding (Str. 10.2.21), stockbreeding (Paus. 8.24.11), purple dye, fishing in the Mesolongi and Kalydon lagoons, in Myrtountion lake, and in the Ambracian gulf, as well as for the grain and wine from the farms of the region.

M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 119-121.

It has been argued that population growth in Aitolia and Akarnania during the Late Roman period and the requirement for more supplies for their own consumption, led to the decrease in exports to Nicopolis and thus contributed to that city's gradual decline.

M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 123, note 238.

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E. Kirsten, *Historica* 3, 1984 (1940), 103-130.

U. Kahrstedt, *Historia* 1, 1950, 549-561.

Oost, *Roman Policy in Epirus*, 65-91.

M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 95-100, 117-124.

F. Lang, *Klio* 76, 1994, 248-254.

P. Büscher, in Berktold – Schmid – Wacker, *Akarnanien*, 145-148.

J. Schmid - B. Schweighart, in Berktold – Schmid – Wacker, *Akarnanien*, 133-144.

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 126-140.

Schoch, *Topographie Akarnaniens*, 95-103.

Dany, *Akarnanien*, 189-239.

H.-J. Gehrke – E. Wirbelauer, in *Inventory*, 351-378.

Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 12-15.

INDEX

ACHELOOS – ΑΧΕΛΩΟΣ

A naval station on the estuary of the river is marked on portolani in Late Antiquity.

K. Axioti, *ADelt* 35, 1980, A, 197-202.

Various sites have been proposed as its location, including Angelokastro, Mastrost², Oeniadai, Katochi, Aetoliko, Stamna, Dyo Ekklesies, Ochthia and Stratos.

M. Veikou, *Byzantine Epirus* (2012) 371-373, S/N 1.

ACTIUM (Aktio) – AKTION (Ἀκτιο) 9:1B

Aktio-Vonitsa Mun. / Aitolokarnania R.Un.

Th. 1.29.3; Plb. 4.63; Verg. *A.* 8.704; Str. 7.7.6; 10.2.2; 10.2.7; Prop. 4.6.29f; Mela 2.54; Plin. *Nat.* 4.5; Suet. *Aug.* 17-18; Ptol. 3.14.6; Clem. Alex. *prot.* 2.39; Harpokr. s.v. Ἀκτια; St.Byz. Ἀκτιον;

Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² 207-211.

It is called 'chorion' by Strabo (10.2.7), a dependency of Anaktorion, which shared the control of the Apollo's sanctuary with the Akarnanian League during the festival period. It became a colonia at the point Julius Caesar settled childless veterans in this territory and it became an important commercial centre supplied with two ports, one on the Ionian Sea and the other probably on the Ambracian Gulf.

S. Dakaris, in *Νικόπολις Α'*, 21; *id.*, *Prakt* 1963, 91-92; 1976, 147-146; Murray, *Acarnania*, 271-272; M. Petropoulos, in *ΙΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 101; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, G. Alexopoulou, *Eulimene* 3, 2002, 88; Lange, *Actium, Apollo*, 100.

The final battle of the Third Civil War of the Roman Republic between Octavian and the joint naval forces of Mark Antony and Cleopatra took place off the coast of Actium on the 2nd September 31 BC. Antony and Cleopatra set up a camp 3 km south of Actium in the area of the modern airport and built two long walls which extend down to the naval station. They also built towers on each side of the mouth of the Gulf. Octavian set up his camp on the opposite side of the straits, on a hill 100m north of the modern settlement of Smyrtoula, on Nicopolis peninsula. He also constructed walls from his camp leading to the bay of Comarus where his fleet was anchored.

The numbers given in ancient literature for the land forces and the ships differ, but they were considerable (hundreds of ships and hundreds of thousands of men). Octavian blocked the enemy supplies arriving from Egypt by controlling Leukas. Following an outbreak of malaria in Anthony's army, he was forced to

engage in a naval battle against Octavian and his experienced admiral, Agrippa. His unwieldy, and in consequence of the malaria, undermanned ships suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Octavian's lighter and more manageable vessels which were manned by better-trained, fresher crews. The land forces of Publius Canidius Crassus surrendered a few days later and joined forces with the victor. Antony and Cleopatra escaped to Egypt (Plu. *Ant.* 61-68. Flor. *Epit.* 2.21; D.C. 50.10-51.3; Orosius 6.19). Modern scholars disagree over the size of the forces, the casualties and the causes of Antony's defeat.

Octavian constructed a kind of museum and offered ten ships to the god after his victory (one from every type of Antony and Cleopatra's fleet, ἀπὸ μονοκρότου μέχρη δεκλήρου). The building and the ships were destroyed by fire at a later date (Str. 7.7.6).

Octavian also founded the annual festival of Nea Actia between 30 and 27 BC. The supervision of these Games was undertaken by the Lacedaemonians but the majority of the events were transferred to Nicopolis. Possibly, only the ship-race continued to take place at Actium. The Games, which were recognised as *Iso-Olympioi*, ceased in the 4th century AD.

J. Kromayer, *Hermes* 34 (1899), 1-54; A. Ferrabino, *RFil* 52 (1924), 433-72; W. W. Tarn, *JRS* 21 (1931), 173-99; J. Kromayer, *Hermes* 68 (1933), 361-83; W. W. Tarn, *CAH* 10, 1934, 100-106; G. W. Richardson, *JRS* 27 (1937), 153-164; Th. Sarikakis, *AEphem* 1965, 145-162; Carter, *The Battle of Actium*; Reinhold, *Cassius Dio, ad. loc.*; Murray – Petsas, *Octavian's Memorial*; Gurval, *Actium*; W. Murray, in V. Gorman, E. Robinson (eds), *Oikistes* (2002) 339-360; O. Paulogiannis – E. Almpandis, in *Νικόπολις Β'*, 57-76; Lange, *Actium, Apollo*, 95ff.; *id.*, *CIQ* 61, 2011, 608-623.

Two hoards of coins associated with the naval battle of Actium came from Actium and the sea west of Pantokrator in Preveza.

P. Chrysostomou, in *Νικόπολις Α'*, 23-56.

For the ancient sources which referred to the cult of Apollo Aktios in the Imperial period, see Ch. Tzouvara-Souli, in Isager, *Foundation*, 242. On the impact of the battle of Actium on the roman art in Greece, cf. P. Karanastassis, in *Νικόπολις Β'*, 461-470.

The temple of Apollo was located on Pounta promontory and was remodelled by Augustus after the battle of Actium. A new temple with 24 by 9 columniation (prodromos - 4.20m deep; cella-19.20m deep) was built over its Archaic-Hellenistic predecessor. The walls were constructed in *opus reticulatum*. Behind the cella were

found a wall in *opus testaceum* and a pedestal in *opus reticulatum*. In this area were found parts of torsos and two Archaising style heads from colossal statues, one male and one female, suggested to be from the cult statues of Apollo and Artemis. It has been suggested that these were created to imitate the statues of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill. Terra sigillata sherds are also reported. I. Trianti, in *AEΘΣΕ* 4 (in press).

A bath complex of Roman date was found. It was probably part of the 'sacred grove' of the sanctuary of Apollo, beside the temple, which had lodging for visitors.

V. Tsantila, in *IWA Regional Symposium on Water, Wastewater and Environment: Traditions and Culture* (2014) 1235-1236.

Architectural remains of Roman and Late Roman date are visible on the coast of the Ambracian gulf.

Murray, *Acarmania*, 271; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 102; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, G. Alexopoulou, *Eu-limene* 3, 2002, 87.

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Agioi Theodoroi Preventzas – Άγιοι Θεόδωροι Προβεντζας 9:3C
Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Part of a Roman bath complex, attributed to a *villa rustica*, came to light northeast of the church of Panagia Preventzas close to Malateika village. It is associated with the nearby thermal springs. It now lies under the waters of the artificial lake of Kastraki.

P. Vokotopoulos, *ADelt* 24, 1969, B, 242; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, 674, no. 3.

Agios Ioannis→Palairos-Agios Ioannis

Agios Panteleimon→Astakos-Agios Panteleimon

Agrilaki→Ozeros-Agrilaki

ALYZEIA / ALYZIA / ALYZEA (Kato Kandila) port (Voulkos / Vourkos) –

ΑΛΥΖΕΙΑ / ΑΛΥΖΙΑ / ΑΛΥΖΕΑ

(Κάτω Κανδήλα) λιμάνι (Βούλιος / Βούρκος) 8:2A, 9:2D
Xiromero Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Hecat. fr. 111; Th. 7.31; Xen. *HG* 5.4.65-66; Scyl. 34; Cic. *Fam.* 16.2; D.S. 18.11.1; Str. 10.2.2; 10.2.9; 10.2.21; Plin. *Nat.* 4.5; Ptol. 3.14.6; St.Byz. s.v.

Inscriptions: *IG* IX, 1² 444-450; Antonetti, La diffusione, 152.

The name of the city is attested as Alyzeia, Alyzia, Alyzea and very rarely Lyzeia (Hecat.), Alyttian (Scyl.) and the ethnicon as Alyzaios, Alyzeus, Alyzēos.

H.-J. Gehrke – E. Wirbelauer, in *Inventory*, 354, no. 112. The city is located in the northwestern part of the Mytikas valley, according to Strabo (10.2.21), '15 stades from the sea.' The modern village of Kato Kandila is partially built over the southwest part of the ancient city. The cemeteries extended to the west and south of the circuit walls. The port that is mentioned, by Strabo again, as the sacred harbour of Herakles was situated in the Voulkos bay next to the Mytikas gulf. A temenos of Herakles, called the Herakleion was located in this area. It was decorated with the labours of the hero, sculptural works by Lysippus which were transferred to Rome shortly before or shortly after the naval battle at Actium. Cicero (*Fam.* 16.2) stayed in Alyzia in November 50 BC and mentions a prosperous city with a population of 30.000. Alyzeia is referred to by Strabo (10.2.2) as one of the dependencies of Nicopolis. Ptolemy lists it among the cities of Epirus.

A burial monument in the form of altar was found on the shore, west of Agia Triada. It is constructed in *opus incertum*, surrounded by marble architectural elements of the temenos at the end of the 2nd century AD (170-200 AD). It was possibly built for a rich landowner of the region.

K. Romaios, *ADelt* 5, 1919, Par. 40; *id.*, *Prakt* 1919, 47-49; 1922-1923, 141-159; *id.*, *AEphem* 1930, 141-159; W. Kovacovics, *AM* 97, 1982, 200-201; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 326-327; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις*, 1330ff (on fortification); K. Flämig, *Grabarchitektur der römischen Kaiserzeit in Griechenland* (2007) 144; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Εύβοια και Στερεά*, 424-425, figs. 744-745; Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 54-55.

An ancient dam blocks the torrent of Glosses as it enters the Mytikas Valley and its water irrigated the fields of Alyzia's territory. A date of the 4th or 3rd century BC has been proposed for its construction but it must have remained in use until the end of the 1st century BC. An aqueduct was added at a later period when the dam was repaired and cleaned out. A date in 7th century AD has been suggested but it is not based on evidence from the aqueduct or the dam but on the construction of the basilica of Agia Sofia Mytikas in the medieval fortress in Mytika and the fortification on Kalamos Island.

E. Mastrokostas, *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Στερεοελλαδικών Με-*

λετών 2, 1969-1970, 335-338; W. Murray, *AJA* 88, 1984, 195-203; S.M. May *et al.*, *GEO-ÖKO* 29, 2008, 89-113.

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ANAKTORION (Nea Kamarina-Agios Petros

Vonitsas) – ANAKTOPION (Νέα Καμαρίνα-

Άγιος Πέτρος Βόνιτσας) 9:1B

Aktio-Vonitsa Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Hdt 9.28.5; 9.31.4; Th. 1.29.2-3; 1.46.1; 1.55.1; 4.49; 5.30.2; 7.31.2; Scyl. 34; Str. 7.7.6; 10.2.2; 10.2.7-8; Paus. 5.23.3; Nic. Dam. fr. 58.

Inscriptions: *IG* IX, 1², 212-223, 225-237, 589-593; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, G. Alexopoulou, *Eulimene* 3, 2002, 84-85.

The name of the city is attested as Anaktorion and the ethicon Anaktorieus.

H.-J. Gehrke – E. Wirbelauer, in *Inventory*, 356, no. 114.

Located on Kastro hill in Agios Petros bay, near the modern village of Kamarina it became an emporion of Nicopolis in the late 1st century BC onwards. The two harbours of the city were Agios Petros and Limeni. The west and east cemeteries were located in the coastal zone. A few 1st century BC grave stelae have been reported (*IG* IX, 1² 232).

Roman sherds came to light from the acropolis area and the cleaning of the fortification walls.

M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, G. Alexopoulou, *Eulimene* 3, 2002, 80.

The use of the cemetery in Kapases stopped in the 1st century BC. It has been interpreted as resulting from the movement of the majority of the population to Nicopolis.

S. Dakaris, *AEphem* 1953-54Γ, 77-88, esp. 87; M. Petropoulos, in *LAΣA A'*, 1991, 106; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 378.

An important settlement was established at the site of Anaktorio in Late Antiquity.

E. Kirsten, in *Νικόπολις A'*, 96.

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ARGOS AMPHILOCHIKON (Limba-Kainourgio) –

ΑΡΓΟΣ ΑΜΦΙΛΟΧΙΚΟΝ (Λίμπα-Καινούργιο) 9:3B

Amfilochia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Th. 3.105-106; 2.68; Scyl. 34; Skymn. 455-457; Str. 6.2.4; 10.2.2; Plin. *Nat.* 4.5; Ptol. 3.14.9; St. Byz. s.v.

The place name is Argos or Argos Amphiloichikon and the ethicon Argeios or Argeios o Amphilochos or Amphilochos ex Argeos.

H.-J. Gehrke – E. Wirbelauer, in *Inventory*, 357, no. 115.

Argos is mentioned by Strabo (10.2.2) among the dependencies of Nicopolis.

The fortified citadel is located on a low summit called Limba, west of modern Ambelakia and 12 km from Amfilochia. The cemeteries of Argos were found to the west and southwest of the city along the two roads leading to Epeirus and the mountainous inland area. Architectural remains possibly of Roman date were found on the acropolis and a large building complex dated to the Late Hellenistic period was excavated in K. Papazekou plot.

E. Kirsten, *AA* 56, 1941, 104; cf. M. Petropoulos, in *LAΣA A'*, 1991, 103-104 note 73.

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ASTAKOS (Kastro) – ΑΣΤΑΚΟΣ (Κάστρο) 8:2B

Xiromero Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Th. 2.30.1; 2.33.1; 2.102.1; Scyl. 34; Str. 10.2.2; 10.2.21; Ptol. 3.14.10; Hdn. Gr. 1.149; St. Byz. s.v.

Inscriptions: *IG* IX, 1² 434-443.

The toponym is Astakos or Astakoi and the ethicon is Astakos or Astakēnos.

H.-J. Gehrke – E. Wirbelauer, in *Inventory*, 358, no. 116.

The citadel is located on the small plateau of “Kastro”, on the lower slopes of Mt. Veloutsi, 2-2.5km north-northeast of modern Astakos, a little less than 2km from the head of the Astakos’ bay.

Murray, *Acarmania*, 66-81.

The foundations of a temple with 20 by 12 columniation attributed to Zeus Karaos was found 200m to the west of the west gate of the citadel. It was in use in the Late Hellenistic period as may be inferred from a catalogue *sacrificiorum* of the 2nd century BC (*IG* IX, 1² 434=K. Romaios, *ADelt* 4, 1918, 117-120).

Also the *sygkynagoi*, those who took part in the ritual hunting during the festival held in honour of Artemis Agrotera are referred in an inscription of the 2nd century BC (*IG IX*, 1² 435; K. Romaios, *ADelt* 4, 1918, 120).

A number of inscriptions dating to the 2nd/1st century BC and to the Imperial period are known (*IG IX*, 1² 437, 446-449).

The city declined in the Roman period and therefore Roman finds are quite limited (M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 106). Claudius Ptolemy lists it in the cities of Epirus.

Roman graves are reported.

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 271; Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 56-57.

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Oberhammer, *Akarnanien*, 35; Heuzey, *Acarnanie*, 417-422; *RE II2* (1896) 1774 s.v. Astakos 1 (Oberhammer); Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 269-271; Schoch, *Topographie Akarnaniens*, 41-42; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις*, 1316ff.

Astakos-Agios Panteleimon (port of ancient

Astakos) – Αστακός-Άγιος Παντελεήμων

(λιμάνι αρχαίου Αστακού)

8:2C

Xiromero Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Part of a bath complex of the 'row type', in *opus quasi reticulatum* was excavated in the inlet at Agios Panteleimon, between the bay of Dragamestos-Astakos and the port of Platygiali, very close to the top of a fortified hill with remains of an unidentified settlement. Six rooms with hypocausts associated with the *caldarium*, a cistern for water and the *praefurnium* came to light. It was decorated with mosaic with geometric motifs. Constructed in the 2nd or the early 3rd century AD, it was repaired and modified up to the 5th century AD.

M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 101; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 271; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις*, 1327ff (on fortification); M. Gatsi, *ADelt* 61, 2006, B, 578, fig. 10; *ead.*, in *Εύβοια και Στερεά*, 424-425; Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 86-87; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, 679, nos 27; N. Ralli – I. Moschos, in *2^ο Διεθνές Αρχαιολογικό και Ιστορικό Συνέδριο, Το αρχαιολογικό Έργο στην Αιτωλοακαρνανία και τη Λευκάδα*, Messolongi 6-8.12.2013 (in press); V. Tsantila, in *IWA Regional Symposium on Water, Wastewater and Environment: Traditions and Culture* (2014) 1235.

As far as the geomorphological changes on the *Astakenos* gulf are concerned: 'Around 500cal BC the coast-

line lay about 200m landward of its present position. Possible harbour sites for the ancient polis of Astakos are (a) the area of modern Astakos where a mole in a position seawards of the present coast would have guaranteed deep water conditions for anchoring, or (b) the southeastern fringe of the plain where deep water prevailed and the nearby freshwater outlet protected the site from rapid siltation. We found increased torrential activity (i) for the 6th–5th millennium BC, (ii) for the 2nd half of the 1st millennium BC until Roman times, and (iii) at the end of the 19th century AD. At least the two younger phases are mostly due to anthropogenic soil erosion. Between the 4th and the 2nd millennium BC a period of ecological stability existed'.

A. Vött, *et al.*, *Palaeogeography, Palaeoclimatology, Palaeoecology* 239, 2006, 126-146; cf. also, Murray, *Acarnania*, 55-65.

Astakos-Graves – Αστακός-Γράβες 8:2B

Xiromero Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Scanty building remains of Late Roman–Early Christian date came to light at Graves (Gr. Sp. Katsivelou- Th. I. Georgakopoulou fields). They have been attributed to a settlement.

M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, *ADelt* 49, 1994, B, 248; M. Petropoulos, in *Νισσοποις Β'*, 203.

Bampini (PHOITIAI / PHYTIA?) – Μπαμπίνη (ΦΟΙΤΙΑΙ / ΦΥΤΙΑ;) 8:2A

Xiromero Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Th. 3.106.2; Plb. 4.63.7-9; 5.7; St. Byz. s.v.

The toponym is attested as Phoitiai and Phytia and the ethnicon as Phoiteus, Phoitias, and in Stephanus as Phoitios.

H.-J. Gehrke – E. Wirbelauer, in *Inventory*, 367-368, no. 134.

A fortified citadel located on Palaiokastro *tis* Portas hill, 2km north of Bampini village has been identified as ancient Phytion or Phytiai.

Oberhammer, *Akarnanien*, 38; F. Noack, *AA* 31, 1916, 217ff; *RE XX1* (1941) 436-443 s.v. Phytiai (Kirsten); Pritchett, *Studies*, VII, 4-7; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 272-273; Schoch, *Topographie Akarnaniens*, 57; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις*, 1272ff; C. Wacker, *Acheloos* 2, 2000, 33-40; G. Barbarousis, *Μπαμπίνη: Αρχαία Φοιτία* (2009).

A funerary relief of Roman date came from Bampini. *ADelt* 1964, B, 294; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 117.

DIORYKTOS? / PERDIORICTO? (Peratia) –

ΔΙΟΡΥΚΤΟΣ (Περατιά) 9:1C
Aktio-Vonitsa Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

The term Dioryktos in ancient literature (Scyl. 34; Plb. 5.5.12; Plin. *Nat.* 4.1.5; D.H. *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.50.4) must refer to the channel between the island of Leukas and the mainland. However, it is clear that a station is marked on the Roman itinerarium maritimum (cf. **Roads and Routes in Roman Aitolia-Akarnania**). This station must have been on Peratia. Also, a Roman bridge which connected Akarnania to the island of Leukas is reported.

Strabo (1.3.18; 10.2.8) mentions a bridge over the isthmus which once joined the island of Leukas to the Akarnanian mainland. Traces of the bridge were found at Agios Konstantinos.

Murray, *Acarnania*, 251-253, fig. 34c; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Εύβοια και Στερεά*, 425.

As far as the use of the channel in the Roman period, the natural tendency for the canal to silt up required it to be dredged frequently. It was navigable in the Late Republican period, since Cicero (*Fam.* 16.5.1) sailed through it in September 50 BC, but it was barely navigable by the time of Augustus (Liv. 33.17; Str. 1.3.18; 10.2.8; *Ox. Met.* 15.289-290) when, according to Hyginus (Commentary on Cinna's Propempticon Pollionis=Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* I, 134), small local boats called *πάκτωρες* acted as pilots and pulled ships through channel. The passage was closed in Pliny's lifetime (*Nat.* 4.1.5). He mentions a sandbar which blocked it and that it was necessary to sail round the island to approach the city of Leukas. Arrian (*Ind.* 41.2) refers to the markers which mark the passage, evidence that it was navigable in the mid 2nd century AD. The existence of the station Perdioricto in the Tabula Peutinger implies that the channel was open in the 4th century AD. However, sherds from the 4th to 6th century AD found on the south mole indicate that dredging and silting process continued until the end of the Antiquity.

Murray, *Acarnania*, 224-255, esp. 241-242, 246-247, 435-437; Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 64-65.

Roman finds are reported from the NW part of the Plagia peninsula alongside the Leukas channel.

L. Kolonas, I. Moschos, F. Lang, E.-L. Schwandner, P. Funke, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 117.

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RE XII2 (1925) 2234 s.v. Leukas 1 (Bürchner); K. Axioti, *ADelt* 35, 1980, 190, note 23; Murray, *Acarnania*,

190-192, 246; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 115-116; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 276, 350; *BarrAtlas* 54, C4.

Drymonas Archontochoriou – Δρυμώννας

Αρχοντοχωριού 8:2A
Xiromero Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A sanctuary of Artemis Epikrateia was located 5km east of Mytikas. It was founded in the Classical period and flourished in the Hellenistic period. The roof of the temple was repaired in the Roman period. The sanctuary was abandoned in the 2nd-3rd centuries AD. It belonged to the city of Alyzia. Pottery and coins have been reported.

L. Kolonas, *ADelt* 48, 1993, B, 140; 51, 1996, B, 241; I. Moschos, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B, 268; 55, 2000, B, 327-328; M. Petropoulos, in *Νικόπολις Β'*, 203-204.

Drymos (Vonitsas) – Δρυμός (Βόνιτσας) 9:2C

Aktio-Vonitsa Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

The name of Asclepius is mentioned in three inscriptions (two Greek and one Latin) dating to the 2nd and 1st centuries BC which were found in secondary use in an Early Christian church. In one of the inscriptions the god is referred to as Asclepius Pheinakos together with Zeus Naos. According to E. Mastrokostas, they may have been brought from Nicopolis. Cf. Antonetti disagrees and argues for a temple of Asclepius at the church. In addition a thermal spring is situated on Korpi quite close to Drymos. Mastrokostas' proposal for a *Φενακίων κόμη* should be rejected.

E. Mastrokostas, *AAA* 1971, 190-192; Antonetti, *L'Acarnania*, 45-52, 58; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 277-280; Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 66.

A miliarion of Gaius Julius Verus Maximinus and Gaius Julius Verus Maximus (AD 235-238) was found at Kelefi (Kourkida plot).

Ph. Petsas, *ADelt* 26, 1971, B, 323-324; K. Axioti *ADelt* 35, 1980, A, 188-189, pl. 51 a, b.

A burial inscription dated to the 3rd-4th century AD came from the same place.

E. Mastrokostas, *AAA* 1971, 193; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 107, note 87.

A Roman inscription came from Drymos.

ADelt 26, 1971, B, 324; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 107 note 86.

Drymos is located near to Thyreion, but is not certain whether it took over some of its functions in the Roman period or if it was only a sanctuary.

Antonetti, *L'Acarnania*, 61; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 108.

EURIPOS (Saradiniko) – ΕΥΡΙΠΙΟΣ

(Σαραντίνικο)

9:2C

Aktio-Vonitsa Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Scyl. 34.

The toponym is Euripos and the ethnonicon is attested as Euripios.

H.-J. Gehrke – E. Wirbelauer, in *Inventory*, 359, no. 119.

It was probably located west of Saradiniko on the west bank of the river Nyssa near Loutraki (*contra* Pritchett, *Studies*, VIII, 90-92). A Late Hellenistic-Roman settlement is located at Saradiniko (or Saraditika) but there is no mention of the city of Euripos in the Roman period. A marble sphinx of Roman date was found, as well as a fragmentary inscription dated to the 2nd century AD (Hadrianic period?). A number of grave stelae of Imperial date were also found.

BCH 80, 1956, Chron., 294-295; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 317-318; G. Faisst – Chr. Wacker, *Acheloos* 1.1, 1999, 3-7; Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 66-67.

A number of Roman vases came from Saradiniko.

M. Petropoulos, in *IASA A'*, 1991, 107, note 92.

It has been proposed that the Classical-Hellenistic settlement was located at Chalespita and moved to the valley of the river Nyssis close to the main Roman road in the Imperial period.

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 318.

ΑΚΑΡΝΑΝΙΑ

Floriada – Plakanida – Φλωριάδα – Πλακανίδα

9:3A

Amfilochia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A hoard of 180 bronze coins issued by Nicopolis was found at Plakanida hill. Roman sherds are also reported from the area.

M. Karamesidi-Oikonomidou, *AEBem* 1967, 91-114; 1971, Chron. 42-51; M. Petropoulos, in *IASA A'*, 1991, 117; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 352; Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 89-90.

Gourgouvli-Argyri – Γούργουβλη-Αργύρι

9:2C

Aktio-Vonitsa Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A burial enclosure was found. It was in use from Late Classical / Hellenistic to Roman (2nd-3rd century AD) period.

M. Gatsi – V. Staikou, *ADelt* 63, 2008, B, 642-643, fig. 6-7.

Graves→Astakos-Graves**Kakavoula→Palairos-Kakavoula****Kalami→Palairos-Kalami****Kastraki – Καστράκι**

7:1A, 9:3D

Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Graves of Roman date and grave stelae dating to the 2nd/1st century BC were found on the east bank of Acheloos River near the village of Kastraki.

SEG 37, 431; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 302.

Katochi – Κατοχή

7:1D, 8:3C

Mesolongi Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Two statues of Roman date were found in Trani Lakka. *ADelt* 29, 1973-4, B, 536; *BCH* 104, 1980, Chron., 622; M. Petropoulos, in *IASA A'*, 1991, 111; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 302.

Kefalos – Κέφαλος

9:2B

Aktio-Vonitsa Mun./Aitoloakarnania R. Un.

Islet in Ambrakian Gulf. A marble sundial was found during the excavation of the Early Christian church. It is decorated with two male figures in low relief (worshippers of Mithras) standing facing each other on either side of a *perirranterion*. It is of Roman date.

Ch. Barla, *Prakt* 1966, 99-100, pl. 88b; *Ergon* 1966, 87-92; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 305; M. Hüttig, *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 55, 2000, 163-176.

Late Roman coins are also reported.

Ch. Barla, *Prakt* 1968, 21.

KORONTA (Chrysovitza-Prodromos) –

ΚΟΡΟΝΤΑ (Χρυσοβίτσα-Πρόδρομος)

8:3B

Xiromero Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Th. 2.102. St.Byz. s.v.

Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² 427-433; *ADelt* 25, 1970, B2, 297; 26, 1971, B2, 321; 40, 1985, B, 140; *SEG* 29, 1979, 473.

Koronta was a member of the Akarnanian League in the mid 2nd century BC (*IG IX*, 1² 208). It is located on the summit called Kastro or Psilorachi between Chrysovitza and Prodromos villages.

RE XII (1922) 1435 s.v. Koronta (Geiger); *KIPanly* 3 (1969), 310 (Meyer); Schoch, *Topographie Akarnaniens*, 43; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις*, 1253ff.

An epitaph of the 2nd/1st century BC came from Koronta (*IG IX*, 1² 431).

Roman graves have been found in the south part of the site. A settlement of Roman date is also mentioned.

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 274.

Kourita – Κουρήτα

9:2B

Aktio-Vonitsa Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A sacred cave dedicated to Pan, the Nymphs and possibly Aphrodite was located 400m to the north of the road from Amfilochia to Vonitsa, 1.5km east of the village of

Paliampela. It was in use until the 2nd century BC.
I. Nerantzis, *Η Αρχαία Στρατιωτή Ακαρνανίας* (1997) 25-27.
Two Roman lamps were found (information provided by the excavator M. Chatziotou).

Lentini – Λεντίνοι 9:3D

Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.
Roman pottery and a grave stele of Roman date came from the area of the modern village of Lentini.
M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 112 note 140; S. Bommeljé – J. Vroom, *Pharos* 3, 1995, 90 no. 22; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 308.

Lesini – Λεσίνι 8:3C

Mesolongi Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.
Roman graves are mentioned near the village of Lesini on the west bank of the Acheloos River.
Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 308.

LIMNAIA (Amfilochia) – ΛΙΜΝΑΙΑ (Αμφιλοχία) 9:3C

Amfilochia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.
Th. 2.80.8; 3.106.2; X. *HG* 4.6.4; Plb. 5.5-5.6; 5.14.
The toponym is Limnaia and the ethnicon Limnaios.
H.-J. Gehrke – E. Wirbelauer, in *Inventory*, 366, no. 127.
The acropolis is located on the hill overlooking modern Amfilochia, in the same area as the chapel of Ag. Triada.
The habitation area is protected by two long stretches of wall that descended from the acropolis to the port.
Grave goods (clay vases and lamps) of Roman date came from the area. It is not clear if they came from the ancient city or a site in its territory.
M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 103.

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Lykoniko – Λυκόνικο 9:2C

Aktio-Vonitsa Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.
A temple of Asclepius was excavated at Lykoniko to the south-west of the village of Monastiraki. It was constructed in marble from Karystos. A marble relief depicting Herakles and a fragment of a Roman sarcophagus came from the vicinity. Traces of the fortification are visible on the peaks of Tampouria (or Vrachakia) and Kastri in the same area.

M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 112 no. 39; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 324-325; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις*, 1295ff; Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 75-76.

MATROPOLIS / METROPOLIS (Palaioமானina) – ΜΑΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ / ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ

(Παλαιομάνινα) 8:3B
Xiromero Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.
Plb. 6.64.3-4.

Inscriptions: *IG* IX, 1² 418.

The toponym is Matropolis or Mētropolis and the ethnicon Matropolitias. It is located at Palaioமானina.

Pritchett, *Studies*, VII, 9-15, pl. 10-20; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις*, 1192; H.-J. Gehrke – E. Wirbelauer, in *Inventory*, 366-367, no. 128; *contra*, Schoch, *Topographie Akarnaniens*, 86-87, who identifies it as Ithoria. Cf. also Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 323.

Roman walls were built on the ruined Hellenistic citadel.
M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 115.

MYRTOUNTION (Agios Nikolaos) – ΜΥΡΤΟΥΝΤΙΟΝ (Άγιος Νικόλαος) 9:1C

Aktio-Vonitsa Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.
Str. 10.2.21.

Strabo mentions a lagoon called Myrtountion that might be the modern Vourkaria or Voulkaria. M. Leake (*Travels*, IV, 24) suggests the existence of a settlement of the same name.

A fortified enceinte of Roman date, attributed to a settlement or a farm, was found at Agios Nikolaos. A bath complex with a mosaic of Roman date was found near the so-called Cleopatra's canal that connected the lake to the sea.

BCH 84, 1960, Chron., 744; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 112; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 289; L. Kolonas, I. Moschos, F. Lang, P. Funke, E.-L. Schwandner, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 103; Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 53; V. Tsantila, in *IWZ Regional Symposium on Water, Wastewater and Environment: Traditions and Culture* (2014) 1235.

It has been proposed that Lake Voulkaria and the canal might have been used as a diolkos accompanied by tow-paths, a shortcut for ships to avoid the dangerous circumnavigation of Cape Doukato of Lefkas Island when sailing through the Dioryktos (Peratia) was not possible. L. Kolonas, G. Faisst, *AA* 1992, 561-572; P. Berckthold, G. Faisst, *Chiron* 23, 1993, 1-11; A. Vött *et al.*, *Geoarchaeology* 21.7, 2006, 662.

Traces of tsunamis attributed to an event in the Classical-Roman period and to the earthquake of AD 365 were found along the shores of the lake.

A. Vött *et al.*, *Zeitschrift für Geomorphologie Neue Folge* 53, Suppl. 1, 2009, 32; *id.*, *Quaternary International* 242, 2011, 237.

Mytikas – Μύτικας 8:2A
Xiromero Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A building in *opus tessellatum* of Roman date is reported. Leake, *Travels*, IV, 13; M. Petropoulos, in *LAΣA A'*, 1991, 112.

A coastal fresh water lake was located inside the present shore line at Mytikas cape until AD 300.

A. Vött *et al.*, *Zeitschrift für Geomorphologie Neue Folge*, Suppl.-Vol. 142, 2006, esp. 98.

Ochthia (STRATOS region) – Όχθια-
(«χώρον» ΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ) 7:1A, 8:3A
Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A funerary inscription dated to the end of the 2nd century BC was found.

K. Romaios, *ADelt* 9, 1924-1925, Par., 11-12; Courby – Picard, *Stratos*, 110, fig. 66, *IG IX*, 1² 408.

Three sites of Roman date were surveyed west of the temple of Zeus in the area of Ochthia. A settlement area with bath facilities has been proposed as the principal centre of the plain of Stratos.

E.-L. Schwander, *AA* 1994, 606; P. Funke, in *Isagen, Foundation*, 195.

A Late Roman *villa rustica* was excavated 500 m to the south of the village of Ochthia. It is dated to the 2nd century AD by Antonine coins. Seven rooms (a cistern, a store house, *linos* and reception room) were excavated. Parts of them are built in *opus testaceum*. It was constructed in the period of Antoninus and destroyed by a flood of the Acheloos River. The villa was located on the road from Angelokastro to Pazaraki Stratou and Tryphou or Stratos-Limnaia and supplied agricultural products to those journeying from Nicopolis to Patras-Corinth. It possibly served as an inn during the same period of time.

L. Kolonas, *ADelt* 42, 1987, B, 175-176, fig. 11, pl. 87; M. Petropoulos, in *LAΣA A'*, 1991, 114; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 338-339; E.-L. Schwandner, *NüBLA* 17, 2000-2001, 17; M. Petropoulos, in *Νικόπολις Β'*, 203; Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 82; Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, 676, no. 11.

Another *villa rustica* is mentioned, but it is not clear whether it is this one or not. A burial stele of Roman date came from here.

G. Cousin, *BCH* 10, 1886, 182; *IG IX*, 1² 413; M. Petropoulos, in *LAΣA A'*, 1991, 114.

Ochthia-Agios Georgios Kissotis – Όχθια-
Άγιος Γεώργιος Κισσώτης 7:1A, 8:3A
Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A semicircular foundation has been attributed to a bath or to the baptistery of the Early Christian church. A. Paliouras, *Βυζαντινή Αιτωλοακαρνανία* (1985) 59; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 339; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, 675, no. 10.

OENIADAI (Katochi-Trikardo / Tri kardokastro)
– ΟΙΝΙΑΔΑΙ (Κατοχή-Τρίκαρδο/
Τρίκαρδόαστρο) 8:3C
Mesolongi Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

S. *Tr.* 510; Th. 1.111.3; 2.82; 2.102; 3.7; 3.94; 3.114; 4.77; X. *HG* 14.6.14; Scyl. 34; Plb. 4.64-65; 21.32.14; D.S. 11.85.1-2; 11.88.1-2; 18.8.6; 19.67.4; Liv. 26.24-25; Hp. *Epid.* 5.1.3-8; Str. 9.5.10; 10.2.2; 10.2.21; Plu. *Alex.* 49; *Per.* 49.2-3; Paus. 1.11.4; 4.25.3; 5.26.1; Hdn. *De prosodia Catholica* 3.1.66; St. Byz. s.v. Sud. s.v.

Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² 419-426.

The toponym is attested as Oiniadai, occasionally as Oineiadai and the ethicon as Oiniadas (H.-J. Gehrke-E. Wirbelauer, in *Inventory*, 367, no. 130).

An important city and port of ancient Akarnania. It is located on Tri kardos hill at the mouth of the Acheloos river 4km west of the modern village of Katochi. Today it is situated 7km from the sea and 2km from the Acheloos as a result of alluvial deposition. Strabo (10.2.21) mentions three lakes, Melite, which measured 30 stades, Kynia which was twice the size of Melite, both in length and breadth, and Ouria which was the smallest of the three. The city was under Aitolian domination until 189 BC when it returned to Akarnanian control. A significant proportion of the city was abandoned in the mid-2nd century BC and especially in 31 BC. However, a small settlement seems to have survived since the ship-sheds became a cemetery around the 2nd century AD and Roman sherds came from the west part of the acropolis. The area of the ship-sheds was destroyed in the 3rd century BC. The north ramp was converted into a 'skeuothiki' in the 2nd century BC and continued to be in use in the early 1st century BC, as is indicated by the presence of skyphoi with relief decoration. The area was abandoned in the Imperial period and graves were located in the area in ca. 2nd century AD. Roman coins (including one of Probus?), lamps and Italian terra sigillata were found.

J.M. Shear Jr., *AJA* 8, 1904, 236-237; L. Kolonas, *Archaiognosia* 6, 1989/90, 153-159, esp. 157; *id.*, *ADelt* 46, 1991, B, 164-166, pl. 73γ-ε, 74α, β; 47, 1992, B, 148; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 342; V. Tsantila, in *LAΣA B'*, 2004, 311-332; Zoumbaki, Aetolia, Acarnania, 529; For the ancient sources referring to the port see K. Freitag, *Klio* 76, 1994, 212-238.

A bath complex of the typical Greek public bath of the period was found at the southern edge of the eastern arm of the harbour. It was constructed in the 3rd or 2nd century BC and was in use until the 1st century BC. It consists of at least six basic rooms, *caldarium*, *tepidarium*, *frigidarium* with bathtubs, *laconicum*, *apodyteria*, anointing room and *atrium*. The walls were constructed with rubble masonry or sandstone blocks, while the rooms were covered with mosaic floors of hydraulic lime mortar and small pieces of white limestone. There is no evidence for a hypocaust or a wall heating system. Room D was altered to become a piscina in the Roman period.

J.M. Shear Jr., *AJA* 8, 1904, 216-226; V. Tsantila, in *IWA Regional Symposium on Water, Wastewater and Environment: Traditions and Culture* (2014) 1233-1234.

Remains of Roman date, probably a villa, have been noted in the area of the Theatre. The building has been associated with the dissolution of the polis and the abandonment of the theatre.

E. Fiechter, *Die Theater von Oiniadai und Neupleuron* (1931), 13, 18; U. Kahrstedt, *Historia* 1, 1950, 555; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 114, 343; Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 83.

A Heroon has also been excavated on the eastern part of the terrace occupied by the Agora. It is a circular building with an enclosure wall. The pottery indicates that the cult here continued after the middle of the 2nd century BC.

Serbeti, *Oviáδες*, 116-125, 172.

A paved altar of the eschara type was found beside votive monument C. It is also continued in use after the mid-2nd century BC.

Serbeti, *Oviáδες*, 115, 172.

A trench excavated in the western part of the acropolis brought to light pottery of Roman and Byzantine date, as well as coins of the 5th and 6th centuries AD.

Serbeti, *Oviáδες*, 173.

Sherds of Roman date came to light by drilling holes in the area south-east of Triardo. Remains of walls can also be seen. They could be possibly be associated with a farm.

Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 83-84.

It has been suggested that Oeniades was renamed Achelooos in Late Antiquity.

M. Petropoulos, in *LAΣA A'*, 1991, 114.

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Ozeros – Οζερός 7:1A/B, 8:3A
Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Three rooms of a building came to light on the north-east shore of Ozeros lake, during the construction of the Ionia odos. A mosaic with geometric decoration was also found. It is dated to the 2nd-4th century AD. This *villa rustica* and the next one in Agrilaki are located on a road which connected the main via of the Trajanic period to Stratos.

M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, 676, no. 12; V. Staikou – K. Leontariti, *ibidem*, 710-712; M. Gatsi, *ADelt* 63, 2008, B, 645, fig. 11-14.

Ozeros-Agrilaki – Οζερός-Αγριλάκι 7:1B, 8:3A
Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A building complex came to light at Agrilaki in Fyteeis Xiromero on the northeast shore of Ozeros lake, during the construction of the Ionia odos (I. Bakothymios' plot), 160 m to the southeast of the villa in the previous entry. Two rooms were excavated. It is dated to the Roman-Late Roman period and was in use until the 7th century AD.

M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, 676, no. 13; V. Staikou – K. Leontariti, *ibidem*, 709-710; M. Gatsi, *ADelt* 63, 2008, B, 645-648, fig. 14-17.

PALAIROS (Kechropoula) – ΠΑΛΑΙΡΟΣ 9:1C
(Κεχροπούλα)
Aktio-Vonitsa Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Th. 2.30.1; Scyl. 34; Str. 10.2.2; 10.2.21.

Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² 451-572; K. Romaios, *ADelt* 2, 1916, Par., 49; E. Mastrokostas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B, 324; D. Summa, in Cl. Antonetti (ed.), *Lo spazio ionico e le comunità della Grecia nord-occidentale* (2010) 385-394.

The toponym is Palairos and the ethnicon is attested as Palaiurus, Palairaios, Palairaiia.

H.-J. Gehrke-E. Wirbelauer, in *Inventory*, 368, no. 131. The fortified citaded is located at Kechropoula a rocky ridge of Mt. Profitis Ilias. It overlooks a small valley to the south and lake Voulkaria to the north-west, which is probably the lake **Myrtountion** mentioned by Strabo (10.2.21).

The city was abandoned progressively from the 1st century BC onwards and the population moved to the newly founded city of Nicopolis, as is shown by the limited Late Hellenistic-Roman material from the area of the city and the Agora. Palairos is mentioned by Strabo (10.2.2) as one of the dependencies of Nicopolis.

L. Kolonas, E.-L. Schwandner, I. Moschos, *ADelt* 55, 2000, B, 328; F. Lang *et al.*, *AA* 2007, 167-168.

Two honorific inscriptions from statue bases or monuments erected by the city have been found. They date to the period between the 2nd century BC and 31 BC.

J. McCamp II, *Hesperia* 46, 1977, 277-281, pl. 63-64.

Grave stelae dating to the 2nd-1st century BC are also reported.

Murray, *Acarmania*, 152 note 39; *IG IX*, 1² 560.

Finds of Archaic-Roman date came from the survey in the area of the south cemetery of Palairos.

L. Kolonas, I. Moschos, F. Lang, E.-L. Schwandner, P. Funke, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 117.

Small farmsteads dated to Late Antiquity were recorded in the countryside around ancient Palairos.

L. Kolonas, I. Moschos, F. Lang, P. Funke, E.-L. Schwandner, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 69-70.

Remains of a *villa rustica* (a possible peristyle and remains of a heating system) were located on the plain to the east of Palairos.

J. Whitley *et al.*, *ARepLond* 53, 2007, 34.

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Oberhammer, *Akarnanien*, 37; *RE XVIII*2 (1942) 2455-2467 (Kirsten); Murray, *Acarmania*, 141-156; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 303-304; Schoch, *Topographie Akarnaniens*, 22-25; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις*, 1357ff; Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 85-86; *BarrAtlas*, Map54, C4.

Palairos-Agios Ioannis – Πάλαιρος-

Άγιος Ιωάννης

9:1D

Aktio-Vonitsa Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A wall of Roman date was revealed near the church of Agios Ioannis beside the coast. A small part of mosaic was found to the east of the wall. It is possibly a farm.

F. Lang *et al.*, *AA* 2007, 160; Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 52; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, 675, no. 8.

Palairos-Kakavoula – Πάλαιρος-Κακαβούλα

9:2C

Aktio-Vonitsa Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Architectural remains attributed to a farm house with one or two floors and a central court were found. Cuttings preserved in the rock for an oil-press and a portable flour mill were noted. Pottery dating from the 2nd century BC to the 1st century AD was collected.

North of the site a concentration of tiles, fragments of pilae from a hypocaust, parts of a marble facing and of a mosaic, as well as fragments of a marble column were discovered. They have been attributed to a *villa rustica* or to an Early Christian church.

F. Lang *et al.*, *AA* 2007, 155-157; Wodtke *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 70-71; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, 674, no. 4.

Palairos-Kalami – Πάλαιρος-Καλάμι

9:1D

Aktio-Vonitsa Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A number of cist graves came to light at Kalami, a small valley northwest of the church of Agios Ioannis. They date, possibly, to the 2nd century AD. They have been attributed to a *villa rustica*.

F. Lang *et al.*, *AA* 2007, 165; Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 71-72; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, 675, no. 7.

Palairos-Paralia – Πάλαιρος-Παραλία

9:1/2C

Aktio-Vonitsa Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Mosaic floors attributed to a *villa rustica* came to light on the coastal road leading north from Palairos.

M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, 675, no. 6.

A head of Hermes with a dedication of the 2nd century AD and an inscribed funerary stele came from the same area.

E. Mastrokostas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B, 324; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 115; Schörner, *Votive*, 515, no 1109.

Palairos-Sklavaina (Pyrgos) – Πάλαιρος-Πύργος

Σκλάβαινας

9:2C

Aktio-Vonitsa Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A fortress located on a raised terrace at the western limit of the valley of Palairos beside the road leading to the village of Sklavaina. The site was in use from the 4th century BC to the 1st century AD. A *villa rustica* was built

on its remains in the Roman period. Pilae from a hypocaust, a fragment of a column and part of a mosaic floor have been reported. According to another opinion the building of the 4th century BC was not a fortress but a farmstead.

Murray, *Acarmania*, 14, 427-428; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις*, 1394ff; Chr. Wacker, *Acheloos* 1.1, 1999, 18-25; F. Lang *et al.*, *AA* 2007, 154-157; Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 70-71 (Kakavoula); M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, 674, no. 5.

A sarcophagus of Roman date was also found.

M. Petropoulos, in *ΙΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 116.

Palairos-Var(i)ko – Πάλαιρος-Βαρ(ι)κό 9:1D
Aktio-Vonitsa Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Remains of two residential structures dating to the Roman period were detected in the coastal zone of the modern settlement of Var(i)ko and near the Venetian Castle of Agios Georgios on Plagia peninsula. Hellenistic-Roman sherds are reported. The existence of a villa has been suggested.

L. Kolonas, I. Moschos, F. Lang, P. Funke, E.-L. Schwandner, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 79; F. Lang *et al.*, *AA* 2007, 157-158; Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 97.

Papadatos – Παπαδάτος 8:3A, 9:3D
Xiromero Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Roman graves are reported from Papadatos on the west coast of Ambrakia Lake.

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 349.

Paralia→Palairos-Paralia

Pentalofos – Πεντάλοφος 7:1C, 8:3C
Mesolongi Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

A funerary statue in Pentelic marble depicting a young woman in the type of Artemis Colonna was found at Imero Klima. It is dated to the last part of the 2nd century AD. Roman graves are also reported.

S. Karouzou *AEphem* 1953-1954, 63-80; M. Petropoulos, in *ΙΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 115; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 350; Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 69-70.

Pogonia (SOLLION?) – Πογωνιά (ΣΟΛΛΙΟΝ;) 9:1C
Aktio-Vonitsa Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Th. 2.30; 5.30; St. Byz. s.v.
The port of ancient Palairos. It has been proposed that it is the Corinthian colony of Sollion.

Antonetti, *L'Acarmania*, 62; *contra*, N. Pharaklas, in *ΙΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 221-227. For other locations proposed for Sollion see Schoch, *Topographie Akarnaniens*, 21-22.

A settlement of Hellenistic and possibly Roman date has been noted. Remains of Roman buildings (villas and other installations) are located in the coastal zone. A mosaic floor of Late Roman date with fish, birds and geometric motifs was found in a submerged building on the coastal road leading from modern Palairos to Pogonia (A. Delaporta, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B, 1022-1023, fig. 11; J. Whitley *et al.*, *AREpLond* 53, 2007, 34, fig. 40). Also, a tomb came to light 500m north of the ancient mole. The funerary inscription dated to the 3rd/4th century AD, informs us that it belonged to Aurelius Kyriakus, a freedman presumably responsible to officials of the Familia Caesaris in Nicopolis, as may be inferred from the phrase *ierotato tameio*. It is worth noting that Kyriakus is usually a Christian name (*SEG* 46, 606).

U. Kahrstedt, *Historia* 1, 1950, 555; Murray, *Acarmania*, 165-166, 430 nos 18-19, 440-442 no. 6; M. Petropoulos, in *ΙΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 115-116; Antonetti, *La diffusion*, 152; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 354-355 note 516, 360; F. Lang *et al.*, *AA* 2007, 150; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Ευβοία και Στερεά*, 425; Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 90.

(On Sollion see Heuzey, *Acarmanie*, 396-397; RE IIIA4 (1927) 932-933 s.v. Solion (Geyer).

Rouga Paliampelon (HERAKLEIA, ECHINOS or NESOS) – Ρούγα Παλιάμπελων (ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑ, ΕΧΙΝΟΣ ή ΝΗΣΟΣ) 9:2B

Aktio-Vonitsa Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Plin. *Nat.* 4.5; St. Byz. s.v.

Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² 376-380.

The sandy islet of Rouga is situated in the middle of a small bay on the south coast of the Ambrakian gulf, close to Paliampela, 4km from ancient Thyreion. It is fortified and traces of Hellenistic and Roman habitation were found inside the fortified area.

L. Kolonas, *ADelt* 42, 1987, B, 183, pl. 95β.

Inscriptions dating to the Early Roman period or the 2nd century AD were found.

K. Romaios, *ADelt* 4, 1918, 122-123; Antonetti, *L'Acarmania*, 60, 70, no. 5.

Also, a *senatus consultum* dating to the second half of the 2nd century BC or the first decades of the 1st century BC was found. The subject of the inscription is the long-term conflict between Thyreion and Nesiotai. Both parties sent delegates to Rome and each made ac-

cusations against the other. Nesiotai claimed that contrary to previous senatorial decrees, the Thyreians had attacked them at night and as a result they had an occupying force in their city.

L. Kolonas, *ADelt* 45, 1990, B, 140; K. Freitag, in J. Isager, *Foundation*, 227-228.

Remains of Roman baths are located on the Chaliki peninsula on the east side of Rouga Bay, near the sea. An ancient paved road was found on the other side of the bay on the sea bed.

M. Petropoulos, in *ΙΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 116; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Εύβοια και Στερεά*, 425; *ead.*, in *Villae Rusticae*, 673, no. 1; V. Tsantila, in *IWA Regional Symposium on Water, Wastewater and Environment: Traditions and Culture* (2014) 1236.

Part of an ancient pathway (?) and two tile graves were excavated northwest of the islet (P. Kourela's plot). Roman coarse ware is reported.

M. Gatsi, *ADelt* 61, 2006, B, 577.

Rouga has been identified either as Echinus or Herakleia, both mentioned by Pliny. Echinus has been proposed as the harbour of Thyreion (E. Kirsten, *AA* 56, 1941, 108). However, Rouga was probably called Nesos as it is referred to in the *senatus consultum* and it was not a dependency of Thyreion. Kastro at Profitis Ilias is another candidate for one of the two cities. Also, Romaios proposed the island of Koumoumitsa for Echinus and Vonitsa has been suggested as the location of Herakleia.

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Heuzey, *Acarnanie*, 417-422; K. Romaios, *ADelt* 4, 1918, 114-115; *RE V* (1905) 1921 s.v. Echinus 1 (Philippon); Pritchett, *Studies*, VIII, 93-101; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 280-281, 290-291, 345-347, 376-378; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις*, 1292ff; H.-J. Gehrke – E. Wirbelauer, in *Inventory*, 359-369, nos 118, 120.

Roupakia – Ρουπακιά 9:3A
Amfilochia Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Two graves of Hellenistic and Roman date have been found.

M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, *ADelt* 54, 1999, B, 269-270.

Sklavaina→Palairos-Sklavaina (Pyrgos)

Spathari Lepenous – Σπαθάρι Λεπενούς 7:1A, 9:3D
Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

An Archaic temple was excavated on a natural terrace

in the foothills of Mt. Charvati, 4.5 km north of ancient Stratos. The temple was restored and the roof probably replaced in its entirety at the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 1st century BC and was in use at least until the 2nd century AD. Finds of Late Roman date (until at least the 5th century AD) are also reported. The deity of the temple is a matter of dispute. Both Artemis and Demeter with Kore have been proposed.

E.-L. Schwandner, *AA* 1995, 784-786; *id.*, in *Säule und Gebälk* (1996) 51; *id.*, *AA* 1997, 510; I. Nerantzis, *Η Αρχαία Στρατική Ακαρνανίας* (1997) 102; P. Funke, in Isager, *Foundation*, 196-197; E.-L. Schwandner, in *ΑΣΝΔΕ Α'*, 2006, 538; M. Petropoulos, in *Νικόπολις Β'*, 204.

Spolaita – Σπολάιτα 7:1A, 8:3A, 9:3D

A Roman settlement is reported.

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 360.

STRATOS (turk. Sorovigli) – ΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

(τουρκ. Σοροβίγλι) 7:1A, 8:3A

Agrinio Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Th. 2.80.8; 2.81.2; 2.102.1-2; 3.106.1-2; X. *HG* 4.6.4; Plb. 4.63; 4.73; 5.6; 5.13; 5.14; 5.96; 18.10; Cic. *Pis.* 91, 96; D.S. 19.67.4; Liv. 36.11; 38.4; 43.21; Str. 10.2.2; Plin. *Nat.* 4.5; Paus. 6.2.1.

Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² 206, 390-416; I. Nerantzis, *Η Αρχαία Στρατική Ακαρνανίας* (1997) 114-115, nos γ, στ.

The toponym is Stratos and the ethnicon Stratios.

H.-J. Gehrke-E. Wirbelauer, in *Inventory*, 372, no. 138.

The old village of Sorovigli was located on the site of the city, to the north of modern Stratos. The acropolis was located in the northern part of the site; the temple of Zeus and the Agora in the west and the theatre in the east. The cemeteries were found in the area of the modern village and isolated graves had been placed to the northwest and south of the fortification wall.

Stratos was ravaged in 57-56 BC by the mountain tribes of Agriantes and Dolopes who were forced by L. Calpurnius Piso to abandon their homeland (Cic. *Pis.* 91). Part of the population emigrated to Nicopolis after 31 BC.

City

The agora was constructed on two plateaus on the west side of the city. It was flanked by stoas of the 'South-western Greek type' to the north, west and east side, and the entrance was located to the south. Stratigraphic evidence from the Classical to Byzantine periods was

found, as well as a construction level dated to the 4th century AD.

L. Kolonas *ADelt* 45, 1990, B, 140; E.-L. Schwander, *AA* 1992, 669; 1993, 678; 1996, 555; *id.*, in *ΑΣΝΔΕ Α'*, 2006.

An altar of Roman date has been excavated. It was in use from the 1st or 2nd century to the 4th century AD. Lamps as well as coins issued by Nicopolis have been found.

E.-L. Schwander, *AA* 1995, 783; 1996, 556, fig. 2; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 363; P. Funke, in Isager, *Foundation*, 193; Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 95.

Coins of the 2nd century BC and an aureus of Nero are reported.

ADelt 21, 1966, B, 12; E. Mastrokostas, *ADelt* 22, 1967, B, 322.

Roman coins were found in the excavation of the temple of Zeus which was located in the west part of the circuit wall. The cult continued until the reign of Commodus. Part of the temple was furnished with a temporary roof for a period of time after the Hellenistic period.

Courby – Picard, *Stratos*, 105-106; E.-L. Schwander – L. Kolonas, *IstMitt* 46, 1996, 187-196.

Parascene and side ramps to access the scene and the parascene were added to city's theatre in the 2nd century BC. Doric half columns were added to the scene. Also the proedria were constructed in this period.

E.-L. Schwander, *AA* 1993, 678; 1994, 607; 1995, 783.

Late Hellenistic sherds (1st century BC) were found in the fill of a dromos of a looted Macedonian type chamber tomb located in front of the South Gate.

E.-L. Schwander, *AA* 1997, 510; 1998, 525-526.

A grave stela of the 2nd/1st century BC and another one with a Latin name are known (*IG IX*, 1² 412, 413; cf. Antonetti, *La diffusione*, 152).

Cemeteries

West cemetery

The west cemetery of the city was located in Asproklissia, 500m north of the temple of Zeus outside the northwest gate of the city, on either side of the road leading to **Limnaia**. Two Roman marble statues copies of Hellenistic types (Isis and Kore?) were found in Ath. Mourtzapi field and they might belong to a burial monument of the west cemetery of the city.

Ph. Zapheirou, *ADelt* 29, 1973-1974, B, 533-534, pl. 354; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 364.

Three rooms of a rectangular building were excavated in Asproklissia. A large number of loom-weights, domestic and fine pottery, as well as coins, indicate that it was in use from the Hellenistic period to the 4th century AD.

V. Staikou – K. Leontariti, in *ΑΕΣΘΕ* 3, 2012, 776-777, fig. 9.

South cemetery

The south cemetery is located at Agriosykia and Fournoi outside the south gate of the city, on either side of the road leading to central Akarnania. A cist grave dating from the middle of the 4th to the middle of the 2nd century BC and Roman grave were excavated.

G. Alexopoulou, *ADelt* 42, 1987, B, 179; L. Kolonas, *ADelt* 43, 1988, B, 173.

In the Roman period the inhabited area shifted from the fortified town to the southwest, into the plain of Stratiki. A bathing complex, part of a larger residential unit was found. As indicated by the surface survey, farms or *komes* of Roman date were located on the plain of Lepenous (cf. also, **Ochthia**). Over 100 possible sites dating to the Roman period have been reported. L. Kolonas, *ADelt* 47, 1992, B, 147-148; F. Lang, *Klio* 76, 1994, 251; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 59, 179; P. Funke, in Isager, *Foundation*, 195; F. Lang, in Isager, *Foundation*, 205-221; M. Petropoulos, in *Νικόπολις Β'*, 204; Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 94-95.

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Theriakisi – Θεριακήσι

9:3A

Amfilochia Mun. / Aitolokarnania R.Un.

An inscribed funeral stele, possibly of Roman date is reported.

IG IX, 1² 533; Heuzey, *Acarmanie*, 311; M. Petropoulos, in *ΛΑΣΑ Α'*, 1991, 109; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 366.

THYRREION (Agios Vasileios) – ΘΥΡΡΕΙΟΝ

(Άγιος Βασίλειος)

9:2C

Aktio-Vonitsa Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

X. *HG.* 6.2.37; Scyl. 34; Plb. 4.6.2; 4.24.3; 4.25.3; 18.10.10; 21.29.4; 22.12; 28.5.1; Cic. *Fam.* 16.5.1; Liv. 26.11-12; 36.11; 38.9; St.Byz. s.v. Θυρρέα.

Inscriptions: *IG IX*, 1² 241-366, 596-601; P. Funke – H.-J. Gehrke – L. Kolonas, *Klio* 75, 1993, 131-144; Antonetti, *La diffusione*, 150-151; K. Freitag, in J. Isager, *Foundation*, 225-228; *id.*, in G. Cresci Marrone (ed.), *Studi in ricordo di Fulvio Mario Broilo* (2007), 341-352.

Coins: A silver issue produced by Thyrraeion in the early 1st century BC. It has been proposed that it could have been part of a financial contribution to repel the invasion of the mountain tribes in the time of L. Calpurnius Piso (57-55 BC), but there is no evidence to support this. On the other hand it is quite plausible that Thyrraeion gained the right to issue coins after the treaty with Rome in 94 BC. K. Liampi, in *ΦΗΓΟΣ* (1994) 268-278; *ead.*, in Bertold – Schmid – Wacker, *Akarnanien*, 173-182.

The toponym is attested as Thyrraeion, Thyrrion or Thourion and the ethnicon as Thyrraeios, Thyrraeus, Thyrieus, Thyrraeius or Thourios.

H.-J. Gehrke – E. Wirbelauer, in *Inventary*, 372-373, no. 139.

It is located in Agios Vasileios village (recently renamed Thyrraeio) at the north foot of Mt. Pergadi, to the southeast of Vonitsa. Thyrraeion has two ports; one of them was possibly Echinus. Its territory extended from Loutraki Katounas to ancient Anaktorio.

It was the centre of the Akarnanian League from 167 BC to 94 BC. A revolt took place in Thyrraeion against the local Roman administrator in 94 BC that ceased with a treaty between Rome and Thyrraeion and the city received the status of *civitas foederata* (*Syll.*³ 732; *IG IX*, 1² 242; E. Mastrokostas, *ADelt* 18, 1963, B, 148).

K. Freitag, in J. Isager, *Foundation*, 226-227; *id.*, in G. Cresci Marrone (ed.), *Studi in ricordo di Fulvio Mario Broilo* (2007) 341-352.

Menander, a grammarian from Thyrraeion was granted the privileges of proxenos in Delphi in 85 BC (*Syll.*³ 739).

When Cicero was travelling from Alyzia to Leukas in 51/50 BC he was entertained in Thyrraeion by his friend Xenomenis, a member of the local elite.

On the roads leading from Alyzeia to Thyrraeion see B. Schweighart, J. Schmid, *ZPE* 105, 1995, 51-56; Chr. Wacker, *Acheloois* 1.1, 1999, 22 note 2.

Thyrraeion and the Akarnanians in general were on the side of Antony and Cleopatra in 31 BC and Augustus forced the Thyrraeians to migrate to the newly founded Nicopolis (*Anth. Pal.* 9.553).

U. Kahrstedt, *Historia* 1, 1950, 557; *id.*, *Villa*, 280.

A bronze statuette of Hermes, dating to the Imperial period, a Roman group of Mithras and a white limestone bull, as well as three inscribed catalogues of *sacrificiorum* from the 2nd century BC (*IG IX*, 1² 247, 248; K. Romaios, *ADelt* 2, 1916, Par., 48-49) came from the site named 'Soros' on the top of the acropolis where the chapel of Taxiarchis is now situated. Lamps of 2nd/3rd century AD date, Roman fibulae and coins are also reported.

E. Mastrokostas, *ADelt* 19, 1964, B, 294; P. Themelis, *Ergon* 1977, 206; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 371-372; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Εύβοια και Στερεά*, 425; Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 96.

A cist grave dating to the first half of the 2nd century BC was found near Ilias Besiris' house in the modern village.

Ph. Zaphiropoulou, *ADelt* 29, 1973-74, B, 540-542, pls 365-367.

A number of funerary stelae and epigrams dating to the 3rd century BC to the 1st century AD (some of them of Imperial date) were found in secondary use in the houses of Agios Vasileios or in the fields around the village when ploughing (*IG IX*, 1² 300b, 312b, 340-352).

K. Romaios, *ADelt* 2, 1916, Par., 48-49; 4, 1918, 122; E. Mastrokostas, *ADelt* 18, 1963, B, 148; *id.*, *AM* 80, 1965, 157-159; I. Papapostolou, *ADelt* 27, 1972, B, 436 no.1, 437 no. 7; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, G. Alexopoulou, I. Moschos, *ADelt* 56-59, 2001-2004, B, 92-95.

A dedication by *strategoí* to Aphrodite Strategis dating to the 2nd/1st century BC is also reported (*IG IX*, 1² 256).

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Oberhummer, *Akarnanien*, 36; *RE IVA1* (1936) 744-747 s.v. Thyrraeion 1 (Fiehn); Pritchett, *Studies*, VIII, 85-90; Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 369-373; Portelanos, *Οχυρώσεις*, 1285ff; *BarrAtlas* Map. 54C4.

Var(i)ko→Palairos-Var(i)ko

Varnakas-Klimati – Βάρνακας-Κλιμάτι 8:2A, 9:2D
Xiromero Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Part of a Roman / Early Christian bath complex came to light in Klimati, 1.8 km southeast of the village of

Varnakas. *Tegulae mammatae* and a capital with a relief cross design were found. It has been attributed to a *villa rustica*.
M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, 675, no. 9.

Vonitsa-Magoula – Βόνιτσα-Μαγούλα 9:2B
Aktio-Vonitsa Mun. / Aitoloakarnania R.Un.

Remains of a hypocaust, attributed to a *villa rustica*, and Roman pottery were found at Magoula, 400m from the coast, 1.3 km southeast of Vonitsa.

Strauch, *Römische Politik*, 378; Wodtke, *Epirus und Akarnanien*, 76; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, in *Villae Rusticae*, 673, no. 2.

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

APPENDIX

MALIAN GULF (Sharing Common Features)-THERMOPYLAE

SHARING COMMON FEATURES

Aenis, Oitaia, Malis, Doris, East Locris and Achaia Phthiotis share more or less the same geomorphological features: The Malian Gulf, Mt. Oita, Mt. Othrys, part of Mt. Kallidromon and the Spercheios, the Inachos, the Dyras, the Melas and the Asopos rivers.

The River Spercheios (A. Fr. *Phil.* 249; Hdt. 7.198; Th. 3.92.6; 8.3.1; Scyl. 62; Str. 9.4.14; 9.4.17; 9.5.9; Verg. *G.* 2.487; Ov. *Met.* 1.579; Mela 2.2.44; Plin. *Nat.* 4.28; Polyae. 2.3.13; 4.4.2; Paus. 10.20.6-8; 10.22.3; Ant. Lib. 22.3; Schol. II. 16.174; Schol. A. Pers. 487; Ptol. 3.12.14-15; *CIL* III 586, III 12306) springs from Mt. Typhrestos (modern Velouchi; Str. 9.5.9).

The bank of the Spercheios river had already changed in antiquity as a result of the earthquake mentioned by Demetrius of Callatis (Str. I.3.20).

Vortselas, *Φθιώτις*, 25-26; *RE* IIIA2 (1929) 1626-1628 s.v. *Σπερχειός* (Stählin).

The River Dyras (Hdt. 7.198; Str. 9.4.14) has been identified as the Gorgopotamos. Its source is in Oita and, flowing to the SE, it joins the Spercheios river in the village of Frantzi. In Antiquity it flowed into the Malian Gulf.

RE V1-2 (1905) 1881 s.v. Dyras (Philippson); Vortselas, *Φθιώτις*, 23; Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 190-191; *Barr. Atlas*, Map 55, C3.

The gorge of Gorgopotamos has been proposed as the border between Achaia and Macedonia after Nero's reforms of 67 AD (cf. also **Gorgopotamos** in Oitaia).

W. J. Cherf, *Chiron* 17, 1987, 135-142.

The River Melas (Hdt. 7.198; Str. 9.4.14; Liv. 36.22.8; Eust. *ad D.P.* 414) has been identified as the Mavropotamos/Mavroneria or the Xirias. It flowed between the Dyras river and Trachis and also passed the north edge of Herakleia. It springs from Kato Dyo Vouna but there is a second source in the Trachinian cliffs. It joins the river Spercheios in Alamana, but in antiquity it flowed into the Malian Gulf.

Vortselas, *Φθιώτις*, 23; *RE* XV1 (1931) 439 s.v. Melas 14 (Stählin); Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 193.

The River Asopos (Hdt. 7.199-200; 216-217; Str. 8.6.24; 9.2.23; 9.4.14). It flowed through the western part of Thermopylae, near the ancient city of Anthele.

RE II2 (1896) 1705 s.v. Asopos 1 (Wagner); Vortselas, *Φθιώτις*, 23-24; Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 196.

The small river Phoenix in the south was a tributary of the Asopos (Str. 9.4.14).

Vortselas, *Φθιώτις*, 24.

Mt. Oita (Paus. 10.24.1) or the Oitaian Mountains (Str. 9.4.17) is the main mountain range of the region. It is an extension of the Pindos Mountain range and flanks the western part of the Kephissos valley from Typhrestos to Kallidromon and the Ghiona Mountains. The three peaks of Mt. Oita are mentioned by Statius (*Stat. Theb.* 1.119) and the holm oak (*Quercus Ilex*) which grew there, by Theophrastus (*Theopr.* *HP* 3.10.2). It was famous in the Roman period for its hellebore, mentioned by Strabo (cf. **Antikyra** in Oitaia), and Pliny (*Nat.* 37.141) makes a note of its Achate. It was known as the mountain of Herakles because of his death there and his sanctuary. Apart from the usual references to a mountain cult of the Nymphs (Ant. Lib. 32), there are references to a cult of the Stars (*Catul.* 62.7; Verg. *Ecl.* 8.30).

RE XVII2 (1937) 2294-2299 s.v. Oite 1 (Lenk).

The routes over Oita were used by the army of Xerxes (480 BC), Philip II (339 BC), the Gauls (279 BC) and Acilius Glabrio (191 BC).

G. Soteriades, *BCH* 1907, 303-320; Dakoronia, *Μάγουρα*, 17; Pritchett, *Studies*, IV, 232-233; E. Sánchez-Moreno, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 279-359.

Mt. Orthys/Othrys (Str. 9.5.6; 9.5.8; 9.5.14) forms the natural boundary of the Spercheios valley to the north. It is associated with the clash between Titans and the Olympian Gods (*Hes. Th.* 630-633) and the legend of Deucalion and Pyrrha (cf. **Melitaia**). Mt. Othrys was the setting of legends of Kerambos and Aspalis, written down by Nicander of Colophon in the 2nd century BC (*Ant. Lib.* 13; 22). These legends relate to the pastures and the flora and fauna of the region.

Cr. Cuscunà, in Cantarelli, *Achaia Ftiodite* I, 353-368; C. Pesarini, in Cantarelli, *op. cit.*, 369-370.

The fauna of Mt. Othrys is well known in the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman period ([Arist] *Mir.* 164; Plin. *Nat.* 8.85; Paus. 8.4.7). The borders between Malis and Achaia Phthiotis must be located on Mt. Othrys.

The Malian Gulf (Th. 3.96.3; 4.100.1; Liv. 27.30.1-3; 36.15.6; Str. 9.4.17; 9.5.9; Plin. *Nat.* 4.27; Plu. *Per.* 17) was much wider in Antiquity than today. It was also called either the Aenian Gulf (Plb. 9.42.5; 20.10; Liv. 28.5.15; St. Byz. s.v.) or the Lamian Gulf (Paus. 1.4.3; 7.15.2; 10.1.2). Its northern limit stretched as far as Echininos, according to a number of sources (Ar. *Lys.* 1169-1170; Scymn. 603; Scyl. 62; Plb. 9.41.11) or Larissa Kremaste (Ptol. 3.12.14) or the coast of Demetrias (Mela 2.44). Strabo in his turn put the end of the Gulf

at Andron, Halos or the Cape Poseidion Cape (Str. 7.330 frg. 32; 9.5.7; 9.5.8). It was struck at least three times by earthquakes (427/6 BC, 424 BC, AD 551) followed by destructive tsunamis (Th. 3.87.4; 3.89.2-5; Str. 1.15.20= Demetrius of Callatis *FGrH* 85 F6; Proc. *Goth.* 4.25).

RE XIV1 (1928) 905-907 s.v. Malischer Buschen (Stählin); V. Papazachos – K. Papazachou, *Oi σεισμοί της Ελλάδας* (1989) 222; Ph. Dakoronia – St. Stiros, in E. Guidoboni (ed.), *I terremoti prima del Mille in Italia e nell'area mediterranea* (1989) 422-439; G. Aujac, in A.-M. Biraschi (ed.), *Strabone e la Grecia* (1994) 228-230; I. Pappioannou – G.A. Papadopoulos – S. Pavlides, *Bulletin of the Geological Society of Greece* 26, 2004, 1477-1481; J.-A. González *et al.*, *passim*; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou – G. Zachos, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 216-218.

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ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

Lamia Mun. / Phthiotis R.Un.

The area of Thermopylae from the Middle to the East Gate would have been in Epicnemidian Locris and presumably to the city of Alpenos. The western part belonged to Malis.

J. Pascual, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 66-68, note 9, 72-73, fig. 2.1, 2.3.

Geomorphology

The River Spercheios and its tributaries created an alluvial deposit in the Maliac Gulf 20m thick and 15km wide over the last 4500 years. Therefore, the coast line in the Hellenistic and Roman period was 5km further to the west than the modern one, forming a narrow passage 20-30m wide between to the sea and Mt. Kallidromon, the route leading from Thessaly to Southern Greece. Correspondingly, the coast line of the gulf should be placed 10km to the west of the current one. The silting up of the sea started as early as the 4th c. BC, as we can deduce from Pausanias' reference (10.21.4), in the context of the battle between the Greeks and Gauls, that the marsh and the mud extended out to sea in 279 BC and, also, that in his lifetime, it prevented ships reaching the coast. He also assumed that this mud was associated with the hot springs pouring into the sea from Thermopylae.

Also, it seems that the sea retreated in the Roman to Byzantine period to form a coastal plain in some places as may be inferred from the 2nd century Roman tombs found in Agia Triada, not far from the southern mouth of the the Spercheios and from the abundant Byzantine remains in the same area.

Tziavos, *Sperchios Valley*; A. Zamani, H. Maroukian, in G. A. Kallerges (ed.), *Proceedings of the Colloquium on the Geology of the Aegean Region* (1979) 417-424; J. C. Kraft *et al.*, *JFieldA* 12, 1987, 181-198; K. Vouvalidis *et al.*, *Geodinamica Acta* 23/5-6, 2010, 241-253; M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, K. Vouvalidis, in *ΑΕΘΣΕ* 4 (in press); J.-A. González *et al.*, in *Epicnemidian Locris*, 52-56.

The Monuments

The hot springs of Thermopylae (Liv. 36.15; App. *Syr.* 17) are mentioned as "sacred to Herakles" (Str. 9.4.13). Strabo's suggestion is possibly related to the legend that Athena made the waters flow as a favour for Herakles (Ar. *Cl.* 1051; Schol. *ad. loc.*; Non. 28.8; Tz. *ad Lyc.* 50-51) and also to the altar of Herakles mentioned by

Herodotus (7.176). Pausanias (4.35.9) mentions that the water at Thermopylae is the bluest that he knows of from personal experience, although not all of it, but only that which flows into the swimming-baths, called locally, 'the Women's Pots'. In addition, Herodes Atticus financed the construction of a bath complex for the sick (Philostr. *VS* 2.5).

Papanagiotou, *Φθιώτιδα*, 205-206; B. Longfellow, *AJA* 116, 2012, 133-155.

The polyandron of the Greeks who fell in 480 BC is only mentioned by Strabo (9.4.2) who also reports the five stelae erected by the Amphictyons in the aftermath of the famous battle [Hdt. 7.228; J. Mikalson, *Herodotus and Religion in the Persian Wars* (2003) 63-67; C. Higbie, in Baumbach *et al.*, *Epigram*, 196-198; A. Petrovic, in Baumbach *et al.*, *op. cit.*, 211-213]. However, Strabo never passed through the region (M. Baumbach, A. Petrovic, I. Petrovic, in Baumbach *et al.*, *op. cit.*, 18). Besides, according to Pausanias (3.14.1), the bones of Leonidas had been transported to Sparta 40 years after the battle by the Spartan king Pausanias (probably the grandson of the commander of the Greeks at Plataea). An athletic contest, dedicated to him and to the Three Hundred, was established in Sparta during the reign of Trajan. However, it has been argued that Leonideia speeches were introduced no earlier than the Augustan period and that the festival was reorganised in the reign of Flavian. P. Cartledge, A. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A tale of the two cities* (1989) 192-193; A. Hupfloher, *Kulte im Kaiserzeitlichen Sparta: Eine Rekonstruktion anhand der Priesterämter* (2000) 190-193; O. Gengler, in H. Cavanagh, W. Cavanagh, J. Roy (eds), *Honouring the Dead in the Peloponnese* (2011) 151-162; A. J. S. Spawforth, *Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution* (2012) 124-130.

Colonos hill, where the heroes were buried and the stone lion in honour of Leonidas stood, was investigated in 1939, but, apart from a great number of arrowheads which bring into mind the last moments of the Greek fighters, nothing else was found which could be related to the polyandron. As the excavator mentions, many fortifications were built and alterations made from the Classical period onwards. On the other hand, a lot of small bastions came to light. They have been interpreted as fortified platforms for catapults and similar machines. It has been also argued that the hill was transformed into a dock of a harbour perhaps after the foundation of Herakleia and was in use continuously to the Byzantine Period. A large bastion with traces of stucco was uncovered on the level summit of the hill. It was

of late date and a part was perhaps Byzantine. Roman coins and graves were found in the area of the hill.

S. Marinatos, in M. Wegner (ed.), *Bericht über den VI. Internationalen Kongress für Archäologie* (1939) 340, Taf. 26b; *id.*, *Thermopylae. An Historical and Archaeological Guide* (1951) 61-68.

The impact of the Battle of Thermopylae in Roman literature
In Greek literature of the period, apart from Diodorus who drew his information from Ephorus and dedicated eight chapters to the battle [M. Flower, *CIQ* 48, 1998, 365-379; P. Green (ed), *Diodorus Siculus: The Persian Wars to the Fall of Athens. Books 11-14.34 (480-401 BCE)* (2010)], Plutarch makes extensive reference to the battle (*De Herod.* 29-34) and planned to write a biography of Leonidas [*RE* XXI.1 (1951) 896-897 s.v. Ploutarchos (K. Ziegler)] and Libanius (*Or.* 1.5) laced his orations with comparisons to the warriors of Thermopylae within the framework of the antiquarianism of the Second Sophistic and Late Antiquity.

The theme appeared in Latin literature as early as the 2nd century BC. The fate of the Spartans at Thermopylae has

been the literary model for the tragic tale of the 306 Fabii who died fighting in defence of Rome at the Cremera River in 478 BC (*Liv.* 2.50; *D.H.* 9.20.1). Gellius, also, quotes Cato's comparison between a military tribune and Leonidas in an action against the Carthaginians in Sicily during the First Punic War (*Gel. hist.* 3.7.19).

G. Forsythe, *A Critical History of Early Rome: From Prehistory to the First Punic War* (2006) 196; J. Dillery, in A. Feldherr (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Historians* (2009) 93-101.

The references to Leonidas and his men became more frequent from the 1st century BC. Cicero translated Simonides' epigram into Latin (*Cic. Tusc.* 1.42.1) and Seneca the Elder incorporated in his work a *suasoria* with the theme of Leonidas and Thermopylae (*Sen. Suas.* 2.11-2.14); Nepos makes a short reference to Thermopylae in Themistocles' Life (*Nep. Them.* 3.1), Valerius Maximus includes some references in his collection of historical anecdotes [*Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* 1.6 (ext) 1.21; 3.2 (ext) 3.1] and Frontinus includes the event in his *Strategemata* (*Fron. Str.* 4.5.13). Ampelius (14.6) and Florus (*Epit.* 1.18.64) also mention it briefly.

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Pente Oria	West Locris	174	
PERANTIA	Aitolia	179	
Peratia	Akarnania	205	
PERDIORICTO	Akarnania	205	9:1C
PEREIA	Achaia Phthiotis	30-31	1:2B
Perivlepto-Kastraki II	Achaia Phthiotis	31	1:3A
Perivoli	Aenis	65	2:1B/2B
Perivolia-Agios Nikolaos	Aitolia	193	7:3C
Pesine	Phokis	124	5:2D
Petrilia Magoula-Agios Dimitris	Achaia Phthiotis	31	1:1B
Petrota	Aitolia	185-186	7:1B, 8:4B
PEUMA	Achaia Phthiotis	31	1:2B
PHAISTINOS	West Locris	172	6:3C
PHALARA	Malis	52-54	2:4B
PHALIKA	West Locris	173	
PHALORIA	East Locris	86	
PHANOTEUS	Phokis	123-124	
PHARYGAE	East Locris	87-88	
PHARYGION AKRA	Phokis	124	5:2D
PHERAI	Aitolia	179	
PHILIADON	Achaia Phthiotis	27	

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PHTHIOTIDES THEBAI	Achaia Phthiotis	32-33	1:3A
PHYSKOS	West Locris	172-173	6:3B
PHYTAION	Aitolia	191	
Pikraki	East Locris	98	
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PINDOS R.	Akarnania	200	
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Platy Frear	Phokis	125	5:1C
Platystomo-Prof. Ilias	Aenis	65-66	2:2A
PLEISTOS R.	Phokis	101	5:1C
PLEURON (Nea)	Aitolia	192-193	8:3C
Pogonia	Akarnania	211	9:1C
Polydrosos	Phokis	116	
Pontika	Achaia Phthiotis	33	1:4C
POT(E)IDANIA	Aitolia	194	7:3C
Pournarolakka	Achaia Phthiotis	33-34	1:3B/C
PRAS	Achaia Phthiotis	22, 34	1:2D
Prinos Dorikou	Aitolia	194	7:4C
Prodromos	Akarnania	206	
PROERNA	Achaia Phthiotis	34	1:2A
Profitis Ilias	Phokis	125	5:3B
Prosakos	Phokis	125	5:2D
PROSCHION	Aitolia	194	
Prosilio	West Locris	173	6:4A
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Psylopyrgos	East Locris	83	
PTELEON	Achaia Phthiotis	34	1:4C
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[PYRASOS]	Achaia Phthiotis	34-37	1:3A, 10
Pyrgos	East Locris	85	
Pyrnos Dorikou	Aitolia	194	7:4C
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PYRRHA Cape	Achaia Phthiotis	19	1:4A
PYRRHA Isl.	Achaia Phthiotis	19	1:4A
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Rachi	Aitolia	193	7:2C, 8:4B
Rachi Dichalorematos	East Locris	82	4:3B
Rachi Vathyrematos	East Locris	82	4:3B
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Rema Sykias	East Locris	82	4:3B



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Sideroporto	Oitaia	72	2:3C
Sitaralona	Aitolia	195	7:2C, 8:4B
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Steiri-Agioi Theodoroi	Phokis	122-123	
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Styrfaka-Paliochoria	Malis	55	2:2A
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TAPHIASSOS Mt.	Aitolia	179	7:2D, 8:4D
Tapsi Magoula	Achaia Phthiotis	38	1:1/2A
Taratsa-Agia Paraskevi	Malis	55	2:3A
TARPHE	East Locris	99	
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AKAΔHMIA

AOHNΩN

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Vardates	Oitaia	72	2:3C
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Vraila	West Locris	175	6:3B
Vrynaina	Achaia Phthiotis	38-39	1:3C
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ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

MAPS

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

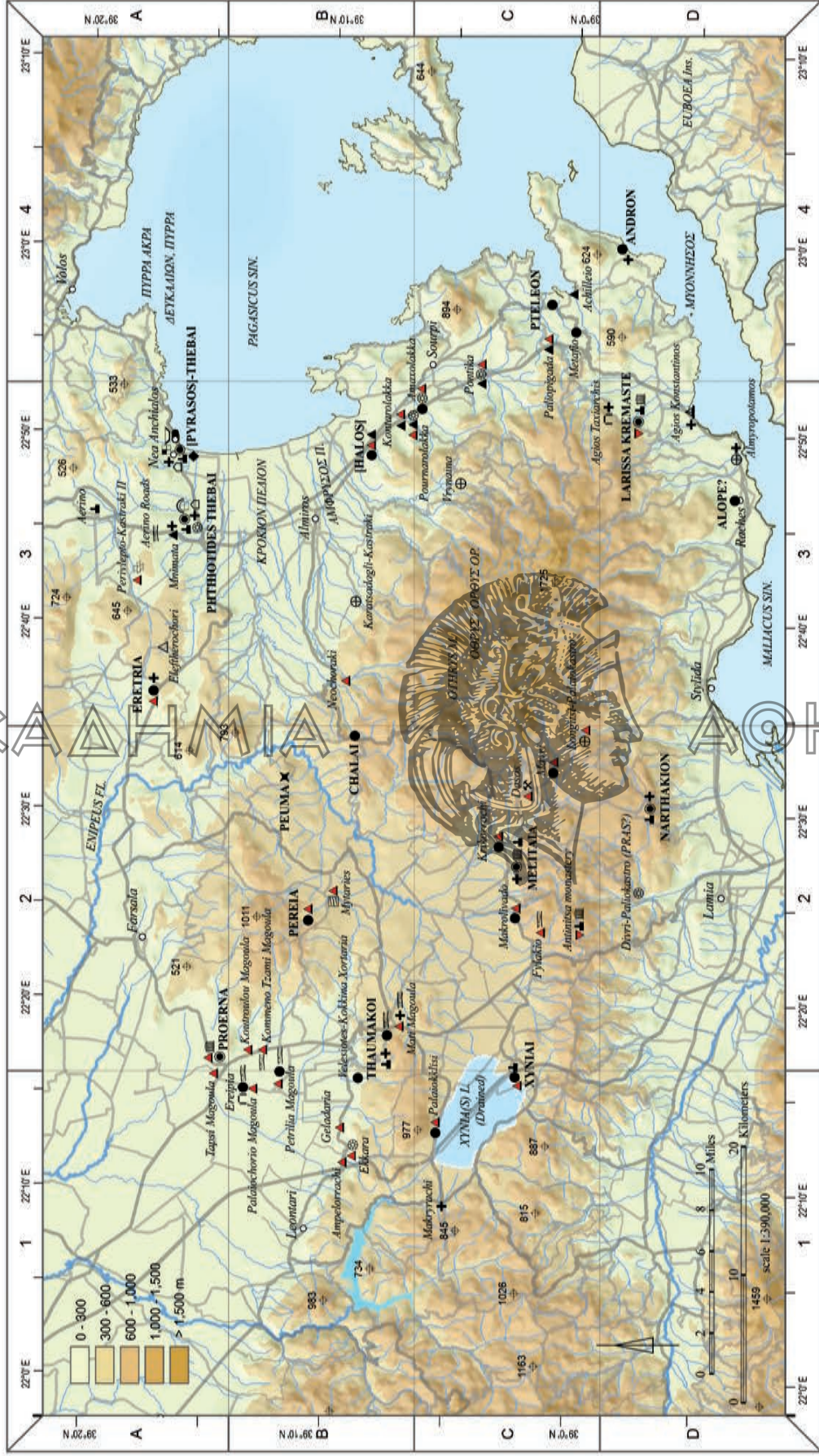
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ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

Map 1

ACHAIA-PHTHIOTIS



LEGEND/LEGENDE

- Modern village - town
- Important city
- Modern road
- Artificial lake
- Road
- Via
- Village, settlement
- Vicus
- Farmhouse, farm site
- Villa rustica
- Mosaic
- Pavimentum
- Architectural remains
- Aedificium, structura
- Fortification wall
- Moenia, murus
- Baths
- Mine
- Fodina
- Inscription, altar
- Inscriptio, ara
- Kiln, Workshop
- Formax, Officina
- Fortified Remains
- Castellum
- Coins
- Nummi
- Pottery
- Figlinae
- Theatre
- Basilica
- Basilica
- Sculpture, relief
- Sigilla
- Necropolis, grave, grave stele or relief, sarcophagus, heroon
- Sepulcrum, sepulchrum, sarcophagus, heroum/monumentum
- Cistern
- Cisterna
- Port
- Portus
- Temple, sanctuary
- Templum, sanctuarium
- Water supply system
- Aqueductus

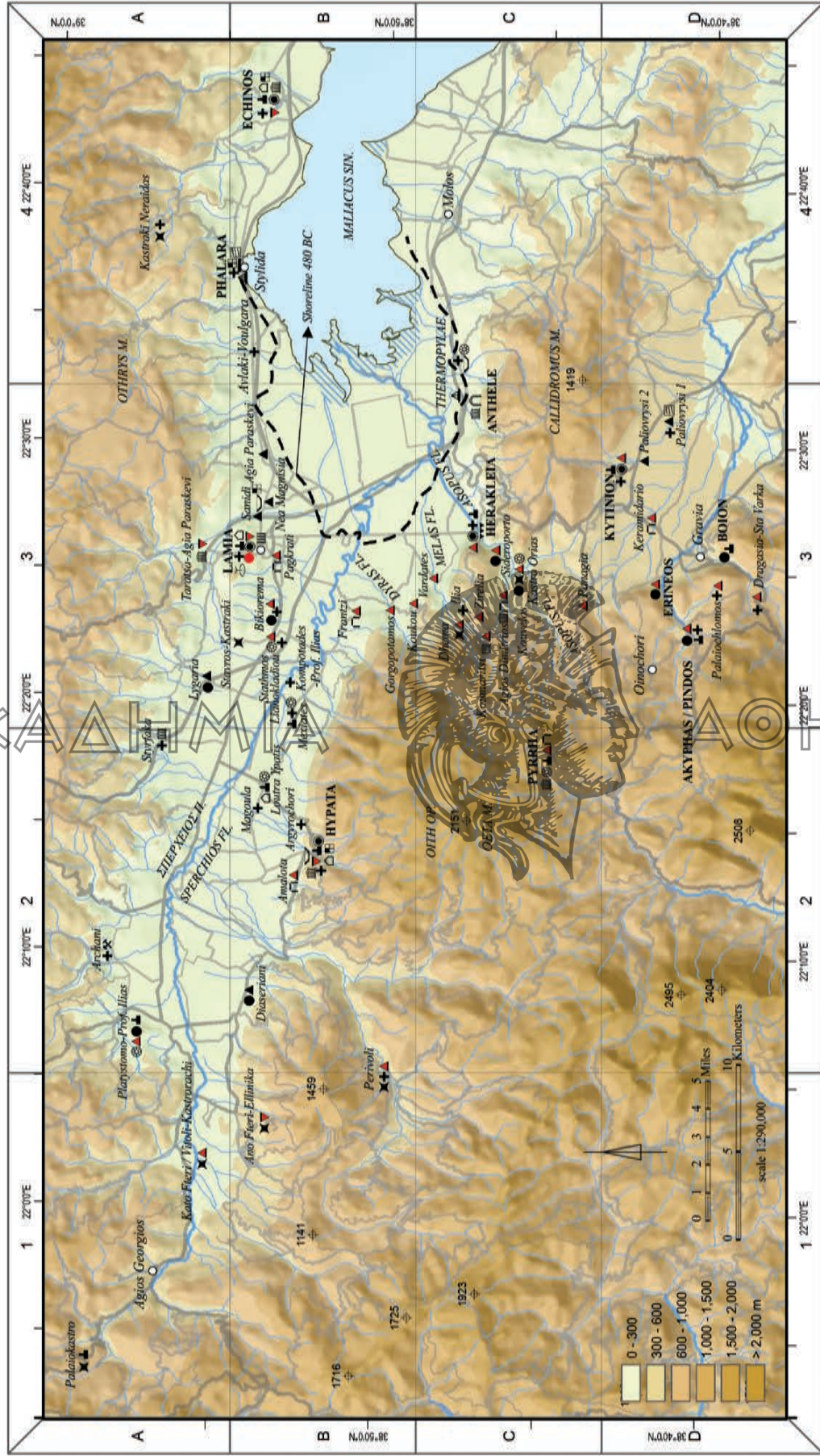
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ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

AENIS - DORIS - OITAIA - MALIS

Map 2



LEGEND / LEGENDE

- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|---|------------------------------------|---|-------------|---|-------------------|---|---|---|------------------------------------|---|--|
| ○ | Modern village - town | ⊞ | Village, settlement Vicus | ⊞ | Road Via | ⊞ | Baths Aqueae | ⊞ | Cistern Cisterna | ⊞ | Inscription, altar Inscriptio, ara | ⊞ | Important city Urbs colonia, municipium |
| — | Modern road | ⊞ | Farmhouse, farm site Villa rustica | ⊞ | Mine Fodina | ⊞ | Fountain Fons | ⊞ | Architectural remains Aedificium, structura | ⊞ | Portus | ⊞ | Temple, sanctuary Templum, sanctuarium |
| ⊞ | Gymnasium | ⊞ | Mosaic Pavimentum | ⊞ | Coins Nummi | ⊞ | Basilica Basilica | ⊞ | Fortified Remains Castellum | ⊞ | Pottery Figlinae | ⊞ | Sculpture, relief Sigilla |
| ⊞ | | ⊞ | | ⊞ | | ⊞ | | ⊞ | | ⊞ | Theatre Theatrum | ⊞ | Necropolis, grave, grave stele or relief, sarcophagus, heroon Sepulcrum, sepulcrum, sarcophagus, heroum/monumentum |

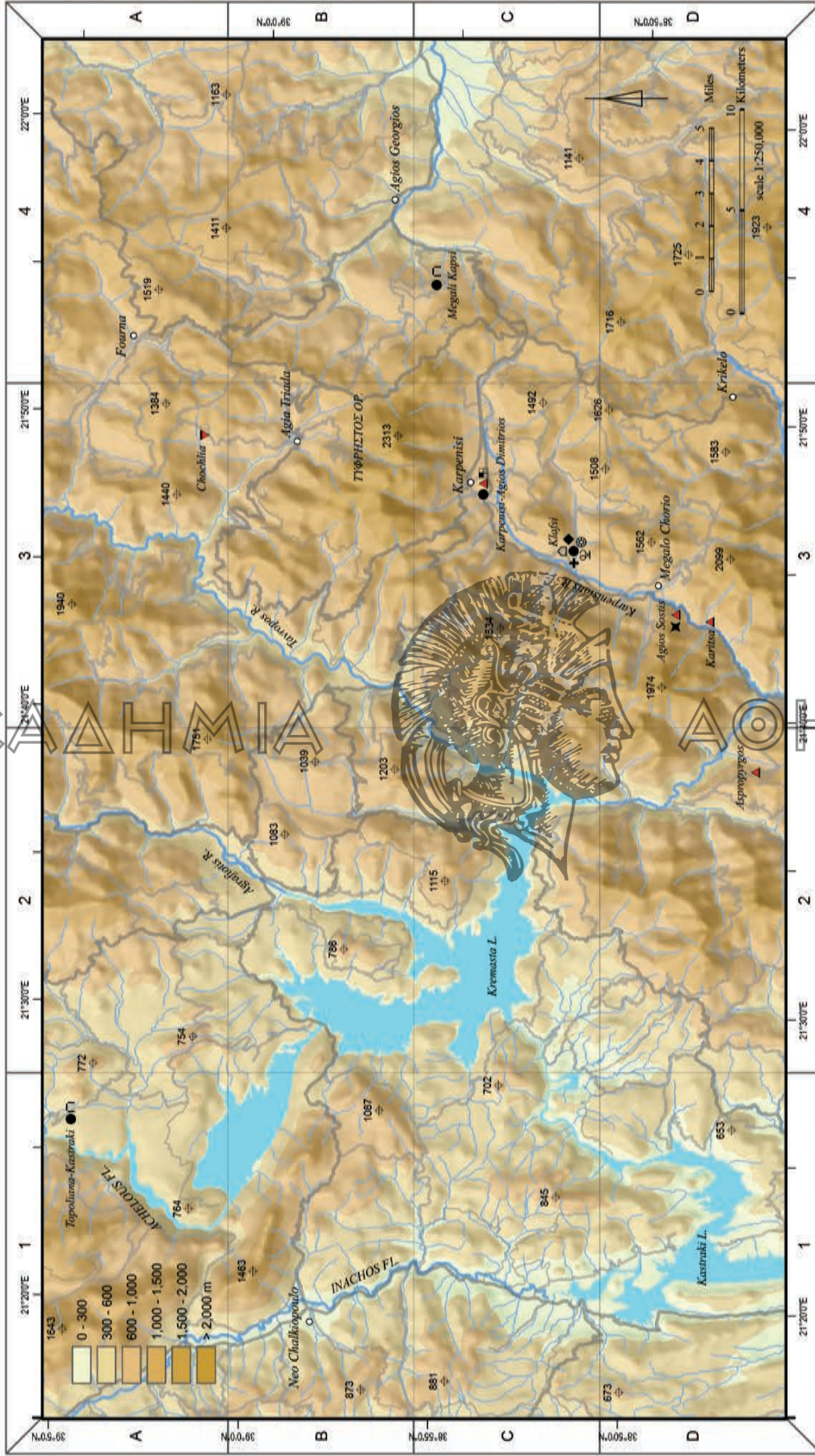
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ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

EURYTANIA

Map 3



LEGEND/LEGENDE

- Modern village - town
- Modern road
- Artificial lake
- Architectural remains Aedificium, structura
- Architectural members Lapis, glæba
- ✕ Fortified Remains Castellum
- ✕ Pottery Figinae
- ▼ Sculpture, relief Sigilla
- ⊕ Coins Nummi
- ⊕ Basilica
- ⊕ Mosaic Pavimentum
- ◆ Kiln, Workshop Fornax, Officina
- ◆ Necropolis, grave, grave stele or relief, sarcophagus, heroon Sepulcrum, sarcophagus, heroum/monumentum
- Village, settlement Vicus

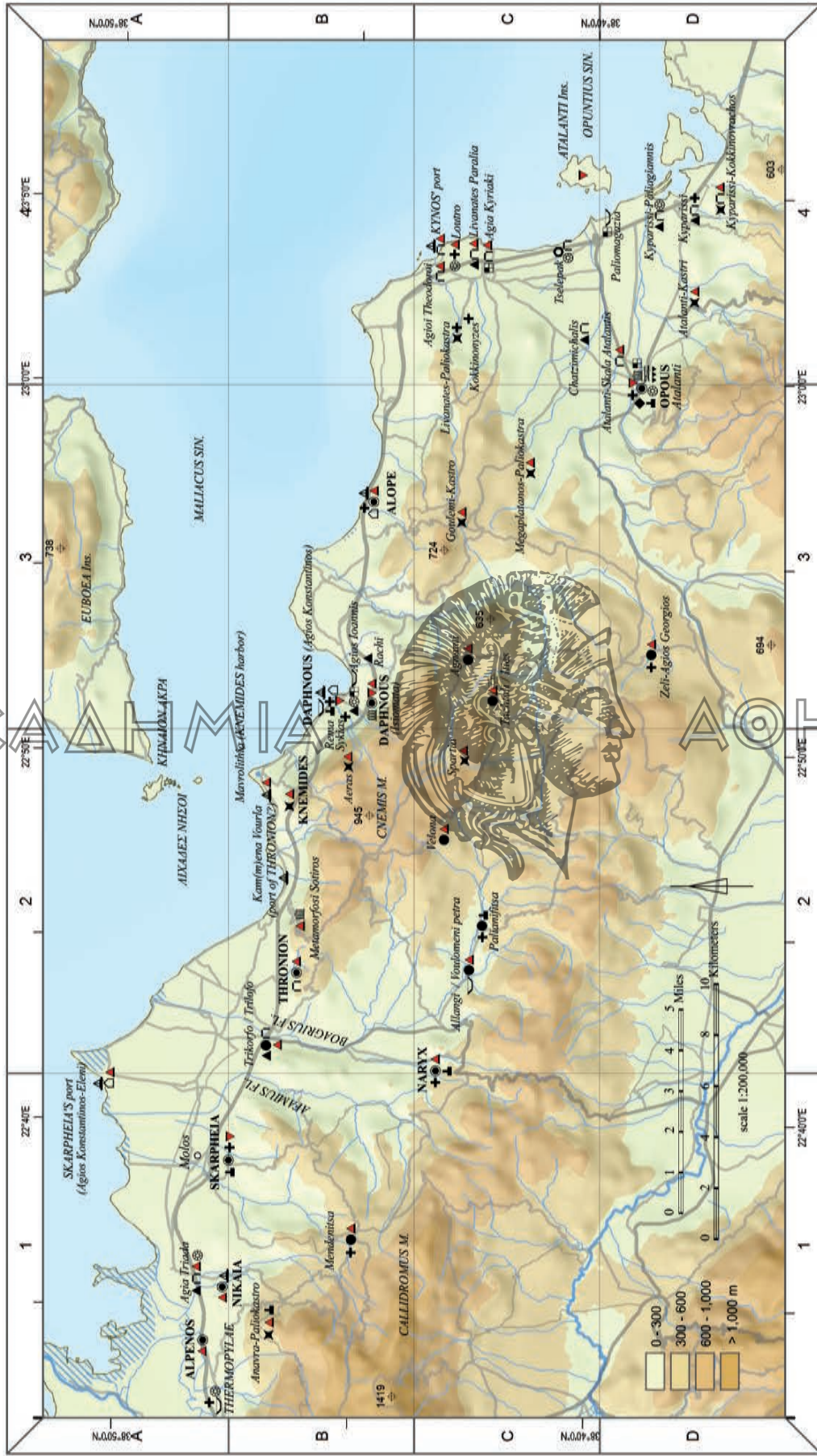
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ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

Map 4

EAST EÖCRIS



LEGEND/LEGENDE

- Modern village
- -town
- Modern road
- Architectural remains
- Aedificium, structura
- Aqueduct
- Aqueductus
- Fortification wall
- Moenia, murus
- Well
- Puteus
- Basilica
- Basilica
- Baths
- Aquae
- Coins
- Nummi
- Pottery
- Figlinae
- Port
- Portus
- Important city
- Urbs colorata, municipium
- Inscription, altar
- Inscriptio, ara
- Kiln, Workshop
- Fornax, Officina
- Mosaic
- Pavimentum
- Sculpture, relief
- Sigilla
- Road
- Via
- Village, settlement
- Vicus
- Temple, sanctuary
- Templum, sanctuarium
- Necropolis, grave, grave stele or relief, sarcophagus, heroon
- Sepulcrum, sepulcrum, sarcophagus, heroum/monumentum
- Fortified Remains
- Castellum
- Farmhouse, farm site
- Villa rustica

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

PHOKIS



LEGEND / LEGENDE

○ Modern village - town	⊕ Coins Nummi	≡ Road Via	○ Enclosure wall Scaepimentum	⊕ Tower, castle, fortified village Turris, castellum	▲ Farmhouse, farm site Villa rustica
— Modern road	○ Well Puteus	▲ Port Portus	✕ Fortified Remains Castellum	△ Traces of habitation Ruinae dubiae interpretationis	⊙ Olive press Trapetum/Torculum
▲ Pottery Figlinae	∩ Baths Aquae	≡ Cistern Cisterna	● Village, settlement Vicus	◆ Kiln, Workshop Fornax, Officina	⊕ Architectural members Lapis, glæba
▼ Sculpture, relief Sigilla	⊕ Fountain Fons	○ Cave Caverna	⊕ Fortification wall Moenia, murus	□ Architectural remains Aedificium, structura	▲ Farmhouse, farm site Villa rustica
⊕ Theatre Theatrum	△ Quarry Quadraria	≡ Gymnasium	⊕ Inscription, altar	⊕ Water supply system Aquaeductus	● Important city Urbs colonia, municipium
⊕ Mosaic Pavimentum	⊕ Basilica Basilica	■ Portable finds Inventum mobile	⊕ Temple, sanctuary Templum, sanctuarium	⊕ Necropolis, grave, grave stele or relief, sarcophagus, heroon Sepulcretum, sepulcrum, sarcophagus, heroum/monumentum	
⊕ Stadium					

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

Map 6

WEST LOERIS



LEGEND / LEGENDE

- Modern village - town
- Modern road
- Artificial lake
- ▽ Sculpture, relief
- Stigilia
- ▲ Portus
- ▲ Pottery
- Figlinae
- Coins
- Nummi
- ⊕ Theatre
- ⊕ Basilica
- ⊕ Mosaic
- ⊕ Pavimentum
- ⊕ Fortification wall
- ⊕ Moenia, murus
- ⊕ Fortified Remains
- ⊕ Castellum
- ⊕ Farmhouse, farm site
- ⊕ Villa rustica
- ⊕ Architectural remains
- ⊕ Aedificium, structura
- ⊕ Important city
- ⊕ Urbs-economia, municipium
- ⊕ Inscriptio, allar
- ⊕ Inscriptio, ara
- Village, settlement
- Vicus
- ⊕ Temple, sanctuary
- ⊕ Templum, sanctuarium
- ⊕ Baths
- ⊕ Aquae
- Kiln, Workshop
- Fornax, Officina
- ◆ Portable finds
- Inventum mobile
- ⊕ Tower, castle, fortified village
- ⊕ Turris, castellum
- ⊕ Villa maritima
- ⊕ Necropolis, grave, grave stele or relief, sarcophagus, heroon
- ⊕ Sepulcrum, sepulcrum, sarcophagus, heroum/monumentum

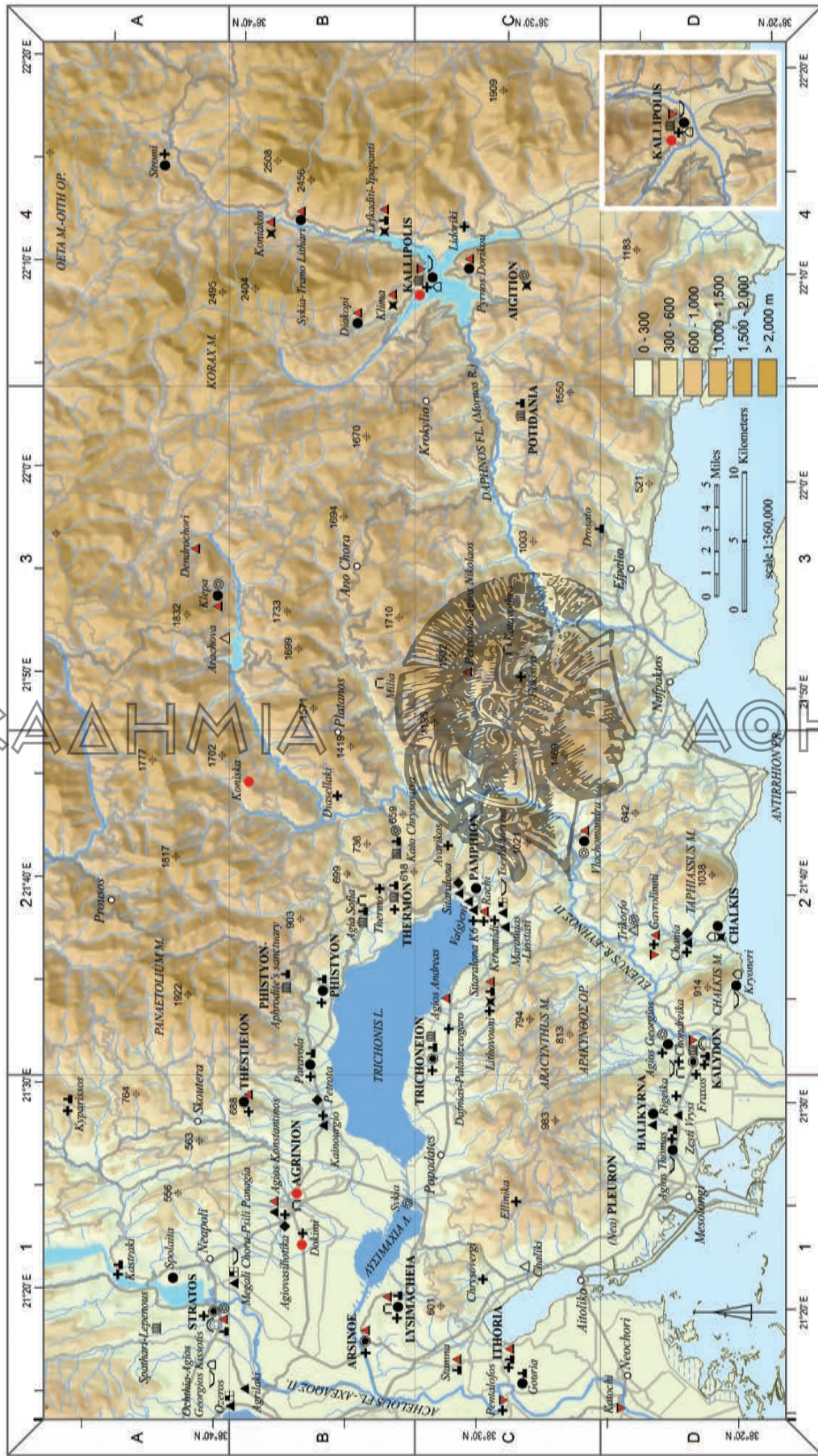
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ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

AITOLIA - AKARNANIA - I

Map 7



LEGEND - LEGENDE

- Modern village - town
- Modern road
- Artificial lake
- Temple, sanctuary
- Templum, sanctuarium
- Basilica
- Basilica
- Pottery
- ▲ Figlinae
- ▲ Inscription, altar
- ▲ Inscriptio, ara
- Theatre
- Theatrum
- Sculpture, relief
- Sigmilla
- Mosaic
- Pavimentum
- ▲ Farmhouse, farm site
- ▲ Villa rustica
- Village settlement
- Vicus
- ◆ Kiln, Workshop
- ◆ Forging, Officina
- Coins
- Nummi
- Hoard
- Thesaurus
- ◆ Baths
- ◆ Aqueae
- △ Traces of habitation
- △ Ruinae dubiae interpretationis
- Important city
- Urbs colonia, municipium
- Necropolis, grave, grave stiele or relief, sarcophagus, heroon
- Sepulcrum, sepulcrum, sarcophagus, heroum/monumentum
- ✕ Fortified Remains
- ✕ Castellum
- Architectural remains
- Aedificium, structura

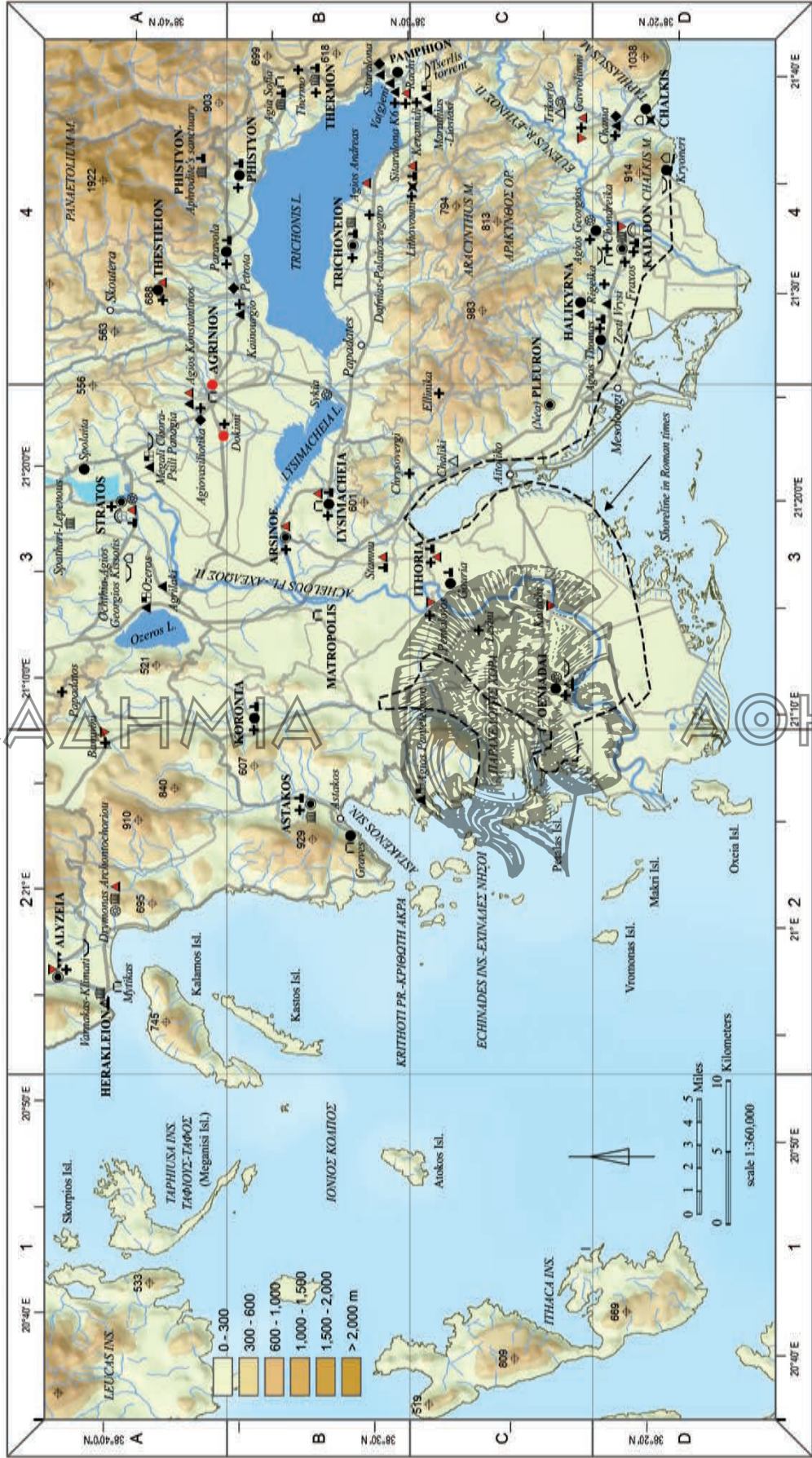
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ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

AITOLIA - AKARNANIA - 2

Map 8



LEGEND / ΛΕΓΕΝΔΑ

- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|---|----------------------|---|--------|---|-------------------|---|-----------|---|---------------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| ○ | Modern village - town | ⊠ | Temple, sanctuary | ⊠ | Port | ⊠ | Fortified Remains | ⊠ | Hoard | ⊠ | Traces of habitation | ⊠ | Architectural remains |
| — | Modern road | ⊠ | Templum, sanctuarium | ⊠ | Portus | ⊠ | Castellum | ⊠ | Thesaurus | ⊠ | Ruinæ dubiæ interpretationis | ⊠ | Aedificium, structura |
| — | Artificial lake | ⊠ | Inscription, altar | ⊠ | Baths | ⊠ | Vicus | ⊠ | Basilica | ⊠ | Important city | ⊠ | |
| | | ⊠ | Inscriptio, ara | ⊠ | Aquæ | ⊠ | Fortified Remains | ⊠ | Pottery | ⊠ | Urbs colonia, municipium | ⊠ | |
| | | ⊠ | Aqueduct | ⊠ | Nummi | ⊠ | Castellum | ⊠ | Figlinae | ⊠ | Sepulchrum, sarcophagus, heroon | ⊠ | |
| | | ⊠ | Aqueductus | ⊠ | | ⊠ | | ⊠ | | ⊠ | | ⊠ | |

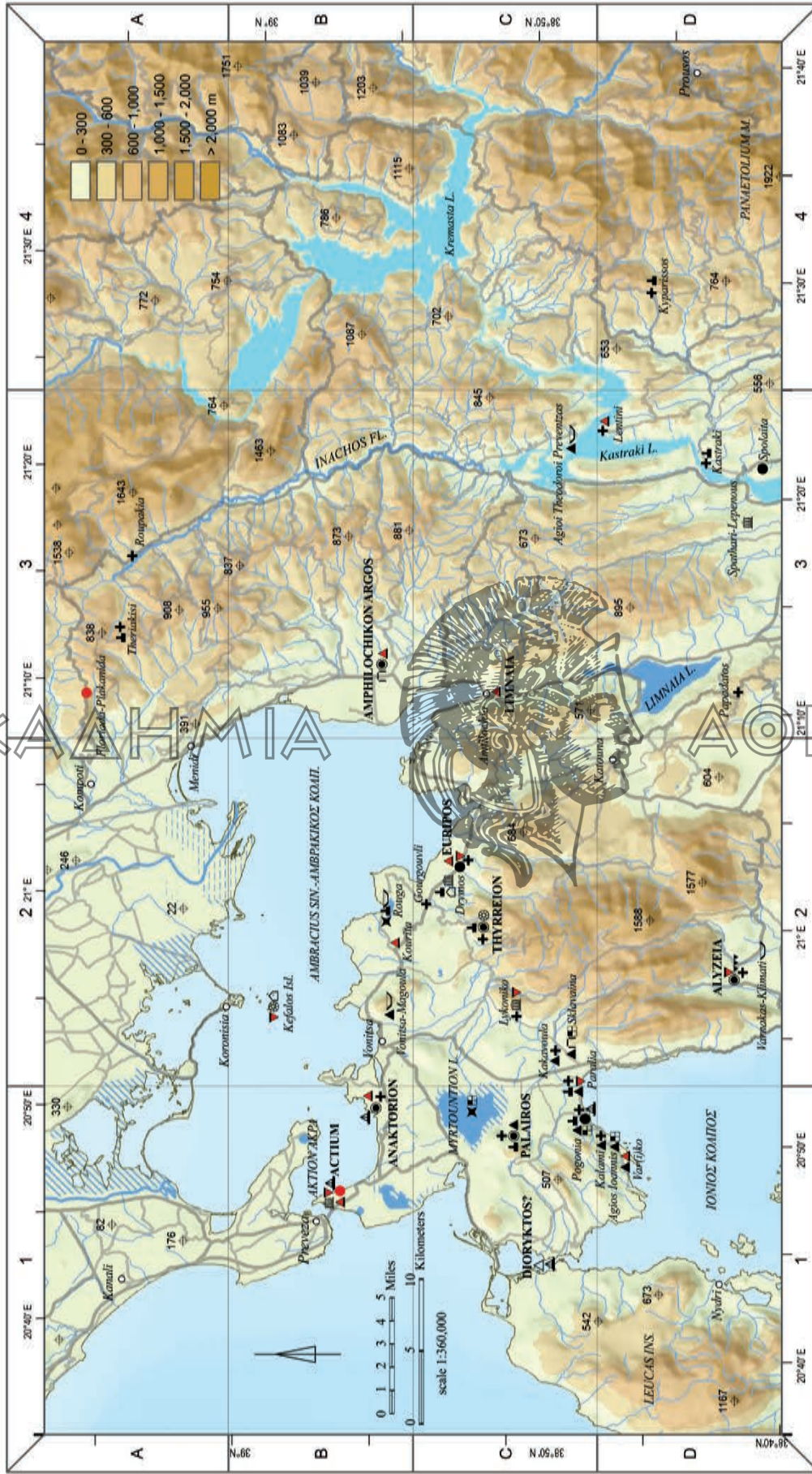
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ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

AITOLIA - AKARNANIA - 3

Map 9



LEGENDE / LEGENDE

- Modern village - town
- Modern road
- Artificial lake
- ⊕ Temple, sanctuary
- ⊕ Templum, sanctuarium
- ⚓ Port
- ♨ Baths
- ⌊ Aque
- ⊙ Coins
- ⊙ Nummi
- ⚡ Inscription, altar
- ⚡ Inscriptio, ara
- ⚡ Sculpture, relief
- ⚡ Sigilla
- ⚡ Mosaic
- ⚡ Pavimentum
- ▲ Farmhouse, farm site
- ▲ Villa rustica
- Village, settlement
- Vicus
- ⚡ Aqueeduct
- ⚡ Aqueductus
- ⚡ Hoard
- Thesaurus
- ⚡ Basilica
- ⚡ Basilica
- ⚡ Pottery
- ⚡ Figlinae
- △ Traces of habitation
- △ Ruinae dubiae interpretationis
- Important city
- Urbs colonia, municipium
- ⚡ Necropolis, grave, grave stele or relief, sarcophagus, heroon
- ⚡ Sepulcretum, sepulcrum, sarcophagus, heroum monumentum
- ⚡ Fortified Remains
- ⚡ Castellum
- ⚡ Architectural remains
- ⚡ Aedificium, structura

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

[PYRASOS] THEBAI (Nea Anchialos)



ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

LAMIA



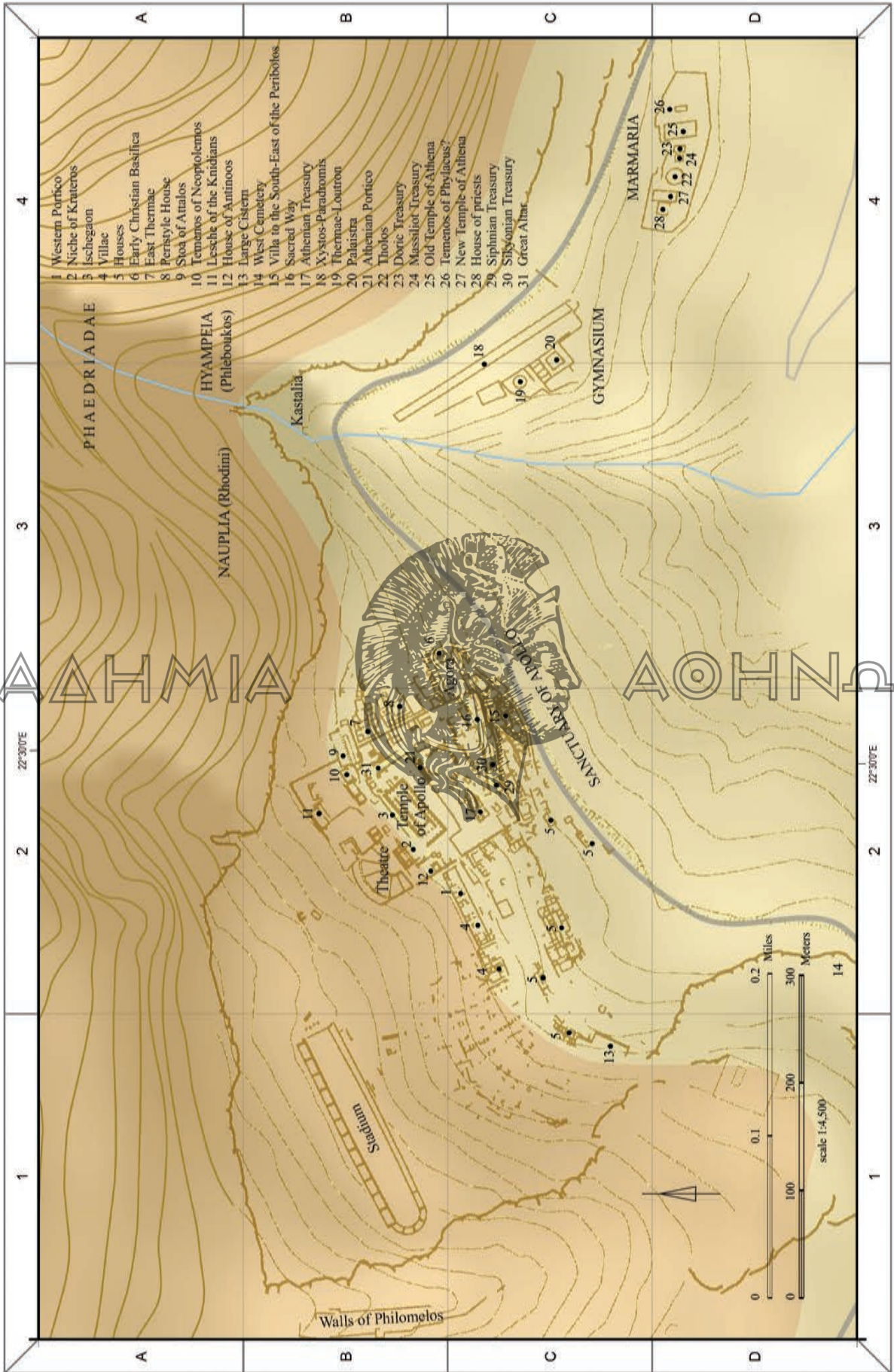
ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

Map 12

ΔΕΛΦΗ



ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

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