

A city on a hill cannot be hidden:
Function and symbolism
of ancient Greek *akropoleis*

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ABSTRACT

Akropoleis (sing. *akropolis*), fortified hilltops towering above the cities of Ancient Greece, are some of the most well-known features of Antiquity, but have never been studied systematically. The focus on the Athenian Akropolis and its architectural history has brought a scholarly understanding of these features that has little general relevance to the archaeology of the wider Greek world.

In this dissertation, I address the phenomenon of ancient Greek *akropoleis* by studying their function and symbolism from a diachronic perspective. I argue that 20th century uncritical readings of ancient sources produced now outdated historical models by which these features are still interpreted. This was done as scholars strived to harmonise the often-conflicting information in ancient literature into a comprehensible narrative.

By regarding *akropoleis* as diachronic monuments in the ancient landscape, I investigate how changes in the function of these features lead to changes in their symbolic meaning. I argue that by doing so, one can resolve the seemingly conflicting denotations and connotations of the word found in ancient literature and, at the same time, reconcile textual sources with archaeological evidence. Moving away from the question of “what is an *akropolis*?”, I instead establish what reasonably might be identified as an *akropolis*. This is done through an analysis of the occurrence of the word ‘*akropolis*’ in ancient Greek textual sources from the Archaic period to the 2nd century CE. The result is a set of ‘essentials’, which assist in identifying sites in the archaeological record. The historical regions of Thessaly and Boeotia are my case areas, wherein I identify 39 *akropolis* sites.

The review of the ancient use of the word ‘*akropolis*’ shows that it was used both literally and figuratively in order to describe physical features and abstract phenomena. In contrast to common scholarly thought, *akropoleis* were seemingly not used as places of refuge in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Instead, they appear from the late Classical period and onwards to mainly have housed foreign garrisons aiming at controlling the general population. Cultic functions of some *akropoleis* are evident, but this can only be ascertained from a surprisingly small number of sources. The review further shows that it was relatively common to use the word ‘*akropolis*’ to refer to qualities in things and persons, and that these qualities over time changed from being positive to overwhelmingly negative in nature.

The survey of the published archaeological material from Thessaly and Boeotia confirm and add to the picture in ancient sources. *Akropoleis* in these two regions are generally small and unsuitable as refuges for larger groups of people, but could function well as a base for an occupying force. Very little suggests any habitation at the locations, with the majority of remains being of a defensive nature. The fortifications are often of a conspicuous nature, indicating a secondary function of display.

The overall results of the study indicate that *akropoleis* originated in the formation of the early *polis* state and that they went from refuge sites for a non-urban population to being bases for the garrisons of expansionist leagues and kingdoms of the Hellenistic period. Throughout the period, it is evident that the initiators of the fortifications aimed at maximising their visibility in the landscape, often resorting to the construction of monumental walls. The change in function from protection to suppression, together with the ideological message signalled through monumental display, ultimately lead to the shift in connotations relating to *akropoleis*. On a wider scale, the results challenge many of the existing notions of early *polis* states and highlight the complex development of urbanism in Ancient Greece.

KEYWORDS: *akropolis*, citadel, hillfort, fortifications, *polis*, city state, Ancient Greece, archaeology, monumentality, Thessaly, Boeotia

SAMMANFATTNING

En *akropolis* (plur. *akropoleis*), en befäst kulle högt över en antik grekisk stad, utgör en av de mest välkända vyerna från antiken, men ingen har än studerat *akropoleis* systematiskt. Ett forskningsfokus på Athens Akropolis och dess byggnadshistoria har skapat en bild av dessa platser som stämmer föga överens med den arkeologiska situationen i den övriga grekiska världen.

I denna avhandling behandlar jag antika grekiska *akropoleis* genom att studera deras funktion och symbolism från ett diakront perspektiv. Jag menar att okritiska läsningar av antika texter under 1900-talet gav upphov till historiska modeller genom vilka *akropoleis* tolkades och förstods; modeller som, trots att de är föråldrade, än idag är vanligt förekommande i forskningen. Detta skedde när forskare sökte harmonisera de ofta motstridiga antika texterna till ett förståeligt narrativ.

Genom att se *akropoleis* som diakrona monument i det antika landskapet undersöker jag hur förändringar i *akropoleis*' funktion ledde till förändringar i ordets symboliska betydelse. Detta gör att man kan lösa upp de skenbara motsättningarna i antika texter mellan ordets denotationer och konnotationer, och samtidigt bringa samman textkällor och arkeologisk evidens. I stället för att besvara frågan "vad är en *akropolis*?" upprättar jag en lös definition av vad vi kan identifiera som en *akropolis* genom att analysera hur ordet '*akropolis*' förekommer i antika Grekiska texter från den arkaiska perioden fram tills 100-talet e.v.t. Resultatet är en formulering av 'essenser', vilka sedan används för att identifiera 39 *akropoleis* i det publicerade arkeologiska materialet från regionerna Thessalien och Boiotien.

Genomgången av det antika bruket av ordet '*akropolis*' visar att det användes både bokstavligen och bildligt för att beskriva faktiska platser och abstrakta företeelser. Till skillnad från hur man vanligt förstår *akropoleis* så användes de tillsynes inte som tillflyktsorter under klassisk och hellenistisk tid. I stället verkar de från den senklassiska perioden och framåt huvudsakligen ha huserat utländska garnisonstrupper, vilka utplacerats för att kontrollera bosättningen. Det finns belegg för kultisk aktivitet på vissa *akropoleis*, men källorna för detta är förhållandevis få. Genomgången visar vidare att det var vanligt att använda ordet '*akropolis*' när man hänvisade till personer och tings egenskaper, och att dessa egenskaper över tid förändrades från att vara positiva till att bli huvudsakligen negativa.

Inventeringen av det publicerade arkeologiska materialet från Thessalien och Boiotien bekräftar den bild som framträder från de antika textkällorna. *Akropoleis* i dessa områden är oftast små och opassande som tillflyktsorter för större grupper människor, men skulle fungera bra som garnisonsförläggningar. Väldigt lite visar på att *akropoleis* utgjorde boplatser, och huvuddelen av de arkeologiska lämningarna härrör från försvarsanläggningar. Befästningsverken är ofta överdrivna till storleken, vilket skulle kunna innebära att de syftade till att kommunicera ett budskap.

Det samlade resultatet av studien visar att *akropoleis* har sin bakgrund i *polis*-statens tidiga historia och att de gick från att vara tillflyktsorter för en förurban befolkning till att bli garnisonsanläggningar under den hellenistiska perioden. Det är tydligt under hela den studerade perioden att byggherrarna på dessa platser syftade till att maximera befästningsverkens synlighet i landskapet, vilket ofta ledde till monumental storlek på murar och torn. Skiftet i funktion från försvar till förtryck, tillsammans med befästningsverkens ideologiska budskap, ledde till slut till förändringen i *akropoleis*' symboliska betydelse. I vidare bemärkelse så utmanar resultaten av studien flera av de vanliga uppfattningarna kring tidiga *polis*-stater och understryker komplexiteten i urbaniseringen av det antika Grekland.

NYCKELORD: *akropolis*, citadell, fornborg, befästningsverk, *polis*, stadsstat, antikens Grekland, arkeologi, monumentalitet, Thessalien, Boiotien

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Οι ακροπόλεις, οχυρωμένες κορυφές λόφων που υψώνονταν πάνω από τις πόλεις της Αρχαίας Ελλάδας, αποτελούν ένα από τα πιο γνωστά αρχιτεκτονικά σύμβολα της Αρχαιότητας, τα οποία όμως δεν έχουν μελετηθεί συστηματικά. Οι σχετικές μελέτες εστιάζοντας στην Αθηναϊκή Ακρόπολη και την αρχιτεκτονική της ιστορία δεν κατόρθωσαν να προσφέρουν μια επιστημονική ερμηνεία των ακροπόλεων του ευρύτερου ελληνικού κόσμου.

Σε αυτή τη διατριβή εξετάζω το φαινόμενο των αρχαίων ελληνικών ακροπόλεων, μελετώντας τη λειτουργία και τον συμβολισμό τους διαχρονικά. Υποστηρίζω ότι η μη συστηματική ανάγνωση των ιστορικών πηγών στον 20^ο αιώνα οδήγησε στη διαμόρφωση ιστορικών μοντέλων ερμηνείας των ακροπόλεων, τα οποία αν και είναι πλέον ξεπερασμένα χρησιμοποιούνται έως σήμερα. Αυτό συνέβη διότι οι μελετητές προσπάθησαν να εναρμονίσουν τις συχνά αντικρουόμενες πληροφορίες που μας παρέχει η αρχαία γραμματεία, έτσι ώστε να δημιουργήσουν μία κατανοητή αφήγηση.

Με την εξέταση των ακροπόλεων ως διαχρονικών μνημείων μέσα στο αρχαίο τοπίο, αναλύω το πώς οι αλλαγές στη λειτουργία τους οδηγούν σε αλλαγές στο συμβολικό τους νόημα. Υποστηρίζω ότι με αυτόν τον τρόπο μπορούμε να επιλύσουμε τις φαινομενικά αντικρουόμενες ονομασίες και σημασίες της λέξης που βρίσκουμε στην αρχαία γραμματεία και, ταυτόχρονα, να συνδυάσουμε τις αρχαίες πηγές με τα αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα. Απομακρυνόμενος από το ερώτημα «τι είναι ακρόπολη;», επιδιώκω να αποδείξω τι θα μπορούσε να χαρακτηριστεί ως ακρόπολη. Αυτό γίνεται μέσω της ανάλυσης της παρουσίας της λέξης «ακρόπολις» στις αρχαίες ελληνικές πηγές από την Αρχαϊκή εποχή έως τον 2ο αιώνα μ.Χ. Το αποτέλεσμα είναι ένα σύνολο «βασικών» χαρακτηριστικών που βοηθούν στον εντοπισμό αρχαιολογικών θέσεων. Οι ιστορικές περιοχές της Θεσσαλίας και της Βοιωτίας αποτελούν τον κορμό της έρευνάς μου, όπου και εντοπίζω 39 ακροπόλεις.

Η χρήση της λέξης «ακρόπολις» κατά την αρχαιότητα δείχνει ότι χρησιμοποιούνταν τόσο κυριολεκτικά για την περιγραφή των φυσικών χαρακτηριστικών μιας ακρόπολης, όσο και μεταφορικά συνδέοντας την «ακρόπολις» με πιο αφηρημένες έννοιες και συμβολισμούς. Σε αντίθεση με την επικρατούσα επιστημονική άποψη, οι ακροπόλεις φαίνεται ότι δεν χρησιμοποιούνταν ως καταφύγιο κατά την Κλασική και Ελληνιστική περίοδο. Αντίθετα, φαίνεται ότι από την ύστερη Κλασική περίοδο και έπειτα, οι ακροπόλεις στέγαζαν ξένες φρουρές με στόχο τον έλεγχο του γενικού πληθυσμού. Ενώ η τελετουργική χρήση κάποιων ακροπόλεων είναι εμφανής, αυτό υποδεικνύεται μόνο από έναν εκπληκτικά μικρό αριθμό αρχαίων πηγών. Η ανασκόπηση δείχνει περαιτέρω ότι ήταν σχετικά σύνθητες να χρησιμοποιείται η λέξη «ακρόπολις» για τον προσδιορισμό ιδιοτήτων τόσο πραγμάτων όσο και φυσικών προσώπων, καθώς και ότι αυτές οι ιδιότητες, με την πάροδο του χρόνου, άλλαξαν από θετικές σε συντριπτικά αρνητικές.

Η έρευνα του δημοσιευμένου αρχαιολογικού υλικού από τη Θεσσαλία και τη Βοιωτία επιβεβαιώνει και εμπλουτίζει την εικόνα που μας δίνουν οι αρχαίες πηγές. Οι ακροπόλεις σε αυτές τις δύο περιοχές είναι γενικά μικρές και ακατάλληλες να χρησιμοποιηθούν ως καταφύγια για μεγάλες ομάδες ανθρώπων, αλλά θα μπορούσαν να λειτουργήσουν κάλλιστα ως βάση για μια κατοχική δύναμη. Επίσης, δεν έχουμε πολλά στοιχεία για κατοίκηση στις θέσεις αυτές και η πλειοψηφία των αρχιτεκτονικών καταλοίπων έχουν αμυντικό χαρακτήρα. Οι οχυρώσεις είναι συχνά μνημειώδους χαρακτήρα, γεγονός που υποδηλώνει μια δευτερεύουσα λειτουργία βασιζόμενη στην επίδειξη δύναμης.

Τα συνολικά αποτελέσματα της μελέτης δείχνουν ότι οι ακροπόλεις προήλθαν από το σχηματισμό της πρώιμης πόλης-κράτους, και ότι από καταφύγια για ένα μη αστικό πληθυσμό έγιναν βάσεις για τις φρουρές των επεκτατικών συμμαχιών και βασιλείων της Ελληνιστικής περιόδου. Είναι προφανές ότι καθ' όλη τη διάρκεια της περιόδου, οι εμπνευστές των οχυρώσεων είχαν ως στόχο τη μεγιστοποίηση της ορατότητάς τους στο τοπίο, συχνά καταφεύγοντας στην κατασκευή μνημειωδών τειχών. Η μεταβολή της χρήσης τους από

προστασία σε καταστολή, σε συνάρτηση με το ιδεολογικό μήνυμα που επισημαίνεται μέσω της μνημειώδους κατασκευής, τελικά οδηγούν στην αλλαγή της σημασίας των ακροπόλεων. Συμπερασματικά, τα αποτελέσματα αμφισβητούν πολλές από τις υπάρχουσες αντιλήψεις για τις πρώιμες πόλεις-κράτη και υπογραμμίζουν την πολύπλοκη εξέλιξη του φαινομένου της αστικοποίησης στην Αρχαία Ελλάδα.

ΛΕΞΕΙΣ-ΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ: ακρόπολη, οχυρώσεις, πόλις, πόλη-κράτος, Αρχαία Ελλάδα, αρχαιολογία, μνημειακότητα, Θεσσαλία, Βοιωτία

RESUMO

Akropoloj (greke *akropoleis* sing. *akropolis*), montopintaj fortikaĵoj starantaj alte super la urboj de antikva Grekio, estas unu el la plej konataj vidaĵoj de klasika antikveco, sed neniu ankoraŭ sisteme pristudis ilin. La unuflanka enfokusigo de l' Akropolo de Ateno kreis sciencajn komprenojn de tiu fenomeno, kiu havas malmultan ĝeneralan aplikeblon en la arkeologio de la cetera greka mondo.

En tiu ĉi disertaĵo mi traktas la fenomenon de antikvaj grekaj akropoloj studante iliajn funkciojn kaj simbolismon laŭ diakrona perspektivo. Mi argumentas, ke nekritikaj interpretoj de antikvaj tekstoj en la 20-a jarcento kreis malaktualajn historiajn modelojn, laŭ kiuj akropoloj estas komprenataj ankoraŭ hodiaŭ. Tio okazis, ĉar scienculoj penis harmoniigi la ofte konfliktantajn informojn de antikva literaturo en koheran kaj kompreneblan rakonton.

Rigardante akropolojn kiel diakronajn monumentojn en la antikva greka pejzaĝo, mi esploras kiel ŝanĝiĝoj de iliaj funkcioj kondukis al ŝanĝiĝoj de ilia simbolisma signifo. Mi argumentas, ke tiel oni povas dissolvi la ŝajnajn konfliktojn inter denotacioj kaj konotacioj de la vorto 'akropolo' trovataj en antikva literaturo, kaj samtempe akordigi tekstajn fontojn kun arkeologio. Evitante la demandon "kio estas akropolo?", mi anstataŭe ellaboras difinon de tio, kion ni povas racie identigi kiel akropolon. Tion mi faras analizante la uzadon de la vorto 'akropolo' en antikvaj grekaj tekstaj fontoj de l' arkaika periodo ĝis la 2-a jarcento p.K. La rezulto estas kelkaj 'esencaĵoj', per kiuj mi poste identigas lokojn en la arkeologia materialo. En la historiaj regionoj de Tesalio kaj Beotio, kiuj konsistigas miajn ŝtudareojn, mi identigas entute 39 akropolojn.

La ekzamenado de l' antikva uzado de la vorto 'akropolo' montras, ke ĝi estis uzata kaj literare kaj figure por priskribi fizikajn aĵojn kaj abstraktajn fenomenojn. Kontraŭe al ofta supozo, akropoloj ne estis uzataj kiel rifuĝejoj dum la klasika kaj helenisma periodoj. Anstataŭe, ekde la malfrua klasika periodo, ili ŝajne funkciis kiel garnizonejoj por soldatoj kontrolantaj la populacion. Surprize malmultaj fontoj indikas religian funkcion de akropoloj, kaj tio nur ĉe kelkaj ekzemploj. La ekzamenado krome identigas oftan uzon de la vorto 'akropolo' por indiki kvalitojn de aĵoj kaj personoj, kaj ke tiuj kvalitoj post tempo ŝanĝiĝis de pozitiva naturo al negativa.

La esploro de l' arkeologia materialo de Tesalio kaj Beotio konfirmas kaj kompletigas la bildon videblan en antikvaj tekstoj. Akropoloj en tiuj ĉi regionoj estas normale malgrandaj kaj maltaŭgaj kiel rifuĝejoj por grandaj homamasoj, sed povus funkcii bone kiel garnizonejoj. Tre malmulto trovebla en tiuj lokoj sugestas, ke homoj loĝis tie, kaj la plejparto de l' antikvaj restaĵoj estas de fortikaĵoj. La dimensioj de la fortikaĵoj estas ofte imponaj, kio povus indiki ke ili celis komuniki monumentan mesaĝon.

La rezultoj de la ŝtudo indikas ke akropoloj originis en la formado de la fruaj polisoj kaj ke ili evoluiĝis de rifuĝejoj por ne-urba populacio al garnizonoj de la regantoj de la helenisma periodo. Dum la tuta periodo evidentas, ke la konstruintoj de la fortikaĵoj celis maksimumigi ilian videblecon, kio ofte rezultis en monumentaj muregoj. La ŝanĝiĝo en funkcio de sinprotekto al subpremado, kune la ideologia mesaĝo disvastigita pere de la monumentaj muroj, fine kondukis al la ŝanĝiĝo de konotacioj rilataj al akropoloj. Ĝenerale, la rezultoj kontestas multajn el la oftaj ideoj pri fruaj polisoj, kaj emfazas la kompletecon de l' evoluado de urboj en antikva Grekio.

ŜLOSILVORTOJ: akropolo, citadelo, burgo, fortikaĵo, poliso, urboŝtato, antikva Grekio, arkeologio, monumento, Tesalio, Beotio

*Ἑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου
οὐ δύναται πόλις κρυβῆναι ἐπάνω ὄρους κειμένη*

— Matthew 5:14.

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Abbreviations of standard works and journals

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i> (1965–).
<i>AAA</i>	<i>Ἀρχαιολογικὰ ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν</i> (1968–).
<i>ADelt</i>	<i>Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον</i> (1915–).
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> (1885–).
<i>ala2004</i>	Charlotte Roueché (2004). <i>Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity: The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions</i> . 2nd ed. London. URL: http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004 .
<i>AR</i>	<i>Archaeological Reports</i> (1954–).
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> (1877–).
<i>BSA</i>	<i>The annual of the British School at Athens</i> (1894–).
<i>Chios</i>	“Chios inscriptions. Texts and list” (1986a). In: <i>The Princeton Project on the Inscriptions of Anatolia</i> . Ed. by Donald F. McCabe. Princeton: The Institute for Advanced Study.
<i>Cunliffe</i>	Richard John Cunliffe (2011). <i>A lexicon of the Homeric dialect</i> . 2nd ed. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
<i>EIO</i>	Ehsan Yarshater, ed. (2010). <i>Encyclopædia Iranica Online</i> . URL: http://www.iranicaonline.org/ (visited on 10/08/2018).
<i>FD</i>	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> (1923–).
<i>FGrHist</i>	Felix Jacoby <i>et al.</i> , ed. (1923–). <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> .
<i>GLbS</i>	Siegfried Lauffer, ed. (1989). <i>Griechenland: Lexikon der historischen Stätten: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart</i> . Munich: Beck.
<i>Gonnoi II</i>	Bruno Helly (1973b). <i>Gonnoi II: Les Inscriptions</i> . Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert.
<i>IACP</i>	Mogens Herman Hansen and Thomas Heine Nielsen, eds. (2004). <i>An inventory of Archaic and Classical poleis: An investigation conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<i>ID</i>	André Plassart, Jacques Coupry, Félix Durrbach, Pierre Roussel, and Marcel Launey, eds. (1926–1972). <i>Inscriptions de Délos 1-7</i> .

- IEph* Hermann Wankel, Christoph Börker, Reinhold Merkelbach, Helmut Engelmann, Dieter Knibbe, Johannes Nollé, Recep Meriç, and Sencer Şahin, eds. (1979-1984). *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*. Vol. 1-8. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 11-17. Bonn.
- IEry* Helmut Engelmann and Reinhold Merkelbach, eds. (1972-1973). *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 1-2. Bonn.
- IG* *Inscriptiones graecae* (1873-).
- IK Estremo oriente* Filippo Canali De Rossi, ed. (2004). *Iscrizioni dello Estremo Oriente Greco: Un repertorio*. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 65. Bonn: Habelt.
- IK Knidos* Wolfgang Blümel, ed. (1992). *Die Inschriften von Knidos*. Vol. 1. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 41. Bonn.
- IK Perge* Sencer Şahin, ed. (1999-2004). *Die Inschriften von Perge*. Vol. 1-2. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 54 and 61. Bonn.
- IK Prusa ad Olympon* Thomas Corsten, ed. (1991-1993). *Die Inschriften von Prusa ad Olympon*. Vol. 1-2. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 39-40. Bonn.
- IK Sestos* Johannes Krauss, ed. (1980). *Die Inschriften von Sestos und der thrakischen Chersones*. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 19. Bonn.
- ILGR* Marjeta Šašel Kos (1979). "Inscriptiones latinae in Graecia repertae. Additamenta ad CIL III". In: *Epigrafia e antichità* 5.
- I.Lipara* Luigi Bernabó-Brea, Madeleine Cavalier, and Lorenzo Campagna, eds. (2003). *Meligunis-Lipara. Vol. XII: Le iscrizioni lapidarie greche e latine delle isole eolie*. Palermo: Mario Grispo.
- IMT Aisep/Kad Dere* "Aisep/Kad Dere" (1996). In: *Inschriften Mysia & Troas*. Ed. by Matthias Barth and Josef Stauber. Munich: Leopold Wenger Institut. Universität München.
- IosPE* Basilus Latyshev, ed. (1885-1901). *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae*. St. Petersburg: Русское археологическое общество.
- IvP II* Max Fränkel, ed. (1895). *Die Inschriften von Pergamon II: Römische Zeit*. Berlin.
- LGPN* *Lexicon of Greek personal names* (1987-). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lindos II* Christian Blinkenberg, ed. (1941). *Lindos. Fouilles et recherches, 1902-1914. Vol. II, Inscriptions*. Berlin.
- LSJ* Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones, eds. (1940). *A Greek-English lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Magnesia* “Magnesia inscriptions. Texts and list.” (1991). In: *The Princeton Project on the Inscriptions of Anatolia*. Ed. by Donald F. McCabe. Princeton: The Institute for Advanced Study.
- Maier* Franz Georg Maier (1959). *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften*. Vol. 1-2. Vestigia 1. Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer.
- Montanari* Franco Montanari, Madeleine Goh, Chad Matthew Schroeder, Gregory Nagy, and Leonard Muellner (2015). *The Brill dictionary of ancient Greek*. Leiden: Brill.
- Mylasa* “Mylasa inscriptions. Texts and list.” (1986b). In: *The Princeton Project on the Inscriptions of Anatolia*. Ed. by Donald F. McCabe. Princeton: The Institute for Advanced Study.
- NEPKb* Ella I. Solomonik, ed. (1964-1973). *Новые эпиграфические памятники Херсонеса*. Kiev: Наукова думка.
- Neue Pauly* Helmuth Schneider and Hubert Cancik, eds. (1996–2003). *Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*. Stuttgart: Metzler.
- Neue Pauly Online* *Der Neue Pauly Online* (2005). URL: <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/der-neue-pauly>.
- OCD* Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow (2012). *The Oxford Classical dictionary*. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Paton-Hicks* William R. Paton and Edward L. Hicks, eds. (1891). *The inscriptions of Cos*. Oxford.
- PECS* Richard Stillwell, ed. (1976). *The Princeton encyclopedia of Classical sites*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- PGI* *Searchable Greek Inscriptions: A Scholarly Tool in Progress* (2017). URL: <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/>.
- RE* August Pauly, Georg Wissowa, Wilhelm Kroll, Kurt Witte, Karl Mittelhaus, and Konrat Ziegler, eds. (1894–1980). *Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler.
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (1923–).
- TAM* Ernst Kalinka, Rudolf Heberdey, Friedrich Karl Dörner, Peter Herrmann, and Georg Petzl, eds. (1901–2007). *Tituli Asiae Minoris*. Vol. 1-5. Vienna.
- TIB I* Johannes Koder and Friedrich Hild (1976). *Tabula imperii byzantini: Hellas und Thessalia*. Vol. 1. Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- TLG* *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: A digital library of Greek literature* (2017). URL: <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/> (visited on 06/05/2017).

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Some notes on transliteration and conventions

The problem how to spell Greek names and toponyms will probably never be resolved, and I adhere happily to the “inconsistent school”, preferring ‘Athens’, ‘Corinth’ and ‘Thebes’, while disliking forms such as ‘Cnossus’, ‘Plataea’ and ‘Pharsalus’. Common English forms of towns and other places in modern Greece will likewise be used, thus avoiding forms such as ‘Athina’, ‘Korinthos’ or ‘Thiva’.

Concerning the transliteration of ancient Greek words and terms, however, I will strictly represent ‘K’ (*kappa*) with ‘k’, ‘X’ (*chi*) with ‘ch’, ‘Φ’ (*phi*) with ‘ph’, etc. ‘Υ’ (*hypsilon*) will be written ‘y’, while ‘Ω’ (*omega*) and ‘Η’ (*eta*) will be rendered as ‘ō’ and ‘ē’ respectively. The diphthongs ‘αυ’, ‘ευ’ and ‘ου’ will be represented as ‘au’, ‘eu’ and ‘ou’.

The ancient Greek φῶς, δημιουργός and κώμη will thus be represented as *phōs*, *dēmiourgos* and *kōmē*.

Most notably, I will use the spelling *akropolis* and not the latinized ‘acropolis’, as the combination of a Latin ‘c’ with the Greek plural ending *-eis* appears to me as a strange and displeasing hybrid.

The spelling of modern Greek names constitutes a more difficult problem. I have decided to use the Dutch practise of rendering the vowels as they are pronounced today (ει, η and οι as ‘i’ and not ‘ei’ ‘ē’ or ‘oi’). Fricativised former plosives such as γ, δ, φ, and θ are represented as ‘gh/y’, ‘dh’, ‘f’ and ‘th’. I have indicated (when possible) the stressed syllable. Γυναικόκαστρο, Γραιμάδα and Φθιώτιδα will be consequently be ‘Yinekókastro’, ‘Ghraimáda’ and ‘Fthiótidha’ and not ‘Gynaikokastro’, ‘Graumada’ and ‘Phthiotis’.

As many of the places mentioned in the Gazetteer has gone through a series of name changes since the early 20th century, I will also provide their previous names. When these are Turkish, I will spell them as they would appear in the modern Turkish alphabet rather than as transliterations of Greek transliterations. Thus *Arnavutli*, *Çağli* and *Kuşaklı Dağ* instead of *Arnaoutli*, *Tsangli* and *Keusseukli Dag*.

Both ancient and Greek words as well as Latin terms are always italicised. When discussing the use of a particular Greek word or term in ancient or modern literature, the term in question will be put in single quotation marks. The number of texts mentioning ‘*akropoleis*’ can therefore be contrasted with archaeological publications on *akropoleis*.

The abbreviations of standard works (such as *FGrHist* or *RE*) follow the list of abbreviations of the American Journal of Archaeology, some of which are listed on p. xvii. Ancient authors cited are listed on p. 276 according to the conventions of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (*ocd*).

Part I
Background

“Als ich dann am Nachmittag nach der Ankunft auf der Akropolis stand und mein Blick die Landschaft umfaßte, kam mir plötzlich der merkwürdige Gedanke: Also existiert das alles wirklich so, wie wir es auf der Schule gelernt haben?!”

Sigmund Freud (1936, 11).

1

Introduction

1.1 THE *AKROPOLIS* BEYOND THE *AKROPOLIS*

THIS DISSERTATION deals with the function and symbolism of ancient Greek *akropoleis*, with a specific focus on the *akropolis* in Thessaly and Boeotia. Few ancient Greek words carry so many sets of connotations as ‘*akropolis*’. Its evokes images of marble splendour and temples, and the view of the Athenian Akropolis is to many the very symbol of ancient and modern Greece. One pictures the gleaming white Propylaea, the Caryatids of the Erechtheion, the columns of the Parthenon, all set above the rim of Cyclopean ramparts. It is hard for anyone staying in Athens not to notice how the city is moulded around this great rocky cliff. You glimpse it above the rooftops, it directs your gaze, it forces traffic to flow around it. The Akropolis makes itself noticed.

To the classical archaeologist, the Akropolis is more than that. We read about this place from our earliest undergraduate days; its architectural history is a compulsive subject for all students of Antiquity. The Athenian Akropolis is not only monumental in its physical appearance, it is a monumental *topos* in the world view of the Classical scholar.

It is thus not to be wondered at, that this place – bearing the very name ‘Akropolis’ – has become *the* Akropolis, the *akropolis* above all other *akropoleis*. The Athenian Akropolis is not only the foremost in our minds, it has also become the defining example of this kind of feature. Even if it is sometimes asserted that there are other *akropoleis* – perhaps we hear of the Akrokorinthos of Corinth, the Kadmeia of Thebes, the Larissa of Argos – there is seldom any apparent need to describe them. Why would there be, when we have Athens (As exemplified in **Fig. 1.1**)?

No general archaeological study of the history of development, general appearance, or field(s) of use of *akropoleis* exists. There has in fact been extremely little written on Greek *akropoleis* from any point of view on any level of publication. This is surprising, as ancient features identified as *akropoleis* are

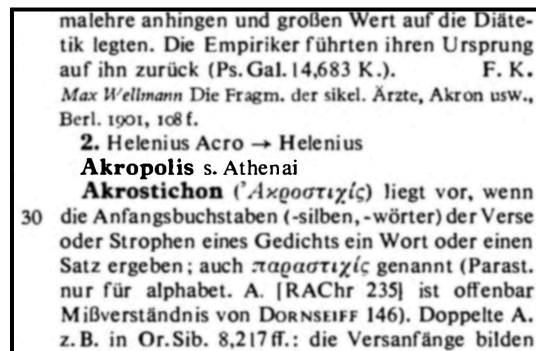


Figure 1.1: A typical example of the entry ‘*akropolis*’. *Der Kleine Pauly* (1964), s.v. ‘Akropolis’.

found in a vast geographical area from the Iberian peninsula in the west to northern Afghanistan in the east, and can probably be counted in the hundreds. The lack of research on this huge archaeological material was noted in 1998 by Tonio Hölscher, who lamented that in spite of the dire need, there had been no study of the archaeology of Greek *akropoleis*.¹ Twenty years later, the situation remains the same.²

As the scanty and scattered scholarly literature on the subject reveals, ‘*akropolis*’ is generally regarded as an archaeological category, denoting a loosely defined group of archaeological sites. The word ‘*akropolis*’ is subsequently ascribed by archaeologists and laymen to various locations found in the Mediterranean landscape,³ making the word almost toponymic in nature. This is done without much or any discussion or problematisation – examples of this can be found in countless publications. Any hill or height within or close to an ancient settlement will almost invariably be referred to as “the Akropolis”. This practise is to be regarded as problematic if not to say inconsistent, especially as “*akropoleis*” are sometimes identified where there is no *polis*,⁴ but this can perhaps be regarded as a case of archaeological jargon.

It is more problematic, however, that this category has been used interpretatively, thus becoming an explanatory term. If a certain position is identified on mere topographical grounds as the *akropolis* of a settlement, it will soon become associated with certain ideas of development and function which are not based on actual archaeological evidence. Whereas the *naming* of an “*akropolis*” can be seen as merely a matter of convenience, the *understanding* of a location as an *akropolis* causes more problems, since there has been little discussion about the meaning of this word.

As with many things, this situation calls for more research, especially through syntheses of published material, but also – as I will argue in **Chapter 6** – through systematic archaeological fieldwork on *akropolis* locations. This study is my attempt at developing a more systematic approach to these features, based on their actual occurrence in ancient literary sources and in archaeology. The suggested method as outlined below is of course not the only way of approaching this subject, but I hope that my study will constitute a starting point for further research.

¹Hölscher 1998, 54, note 62. ²As further observed by Tuplin 2011, 82. ³And beyond, see p. 36.
⁴See, for example, Mylonas 1962 (Eleusis in Attica); McCredie 1966, 3-5 (Koróni in Attica); Dakoronia 1993, 122 (Meghaloplátanos in East Locris); Vergnaud 2014 (Labraunda in Caria).

1.2 AIMS

In this dissertation, I study the archaeology of Boeotian and Thessalian *akropoleis* from the Archaic, the Classical and the Hellenistic periods in order to understand the interrelationship between function and symbolism of this kind of feature generally. By analysing archaeological and written evidence, I aim to demonstrate how changes in the practical functions of *akropoleis* over time lead to tangible changes in their symbolic meaning.⁵ More specifically, I aim to analyse and demonstrate how the rôle of *akropoleis* in state formation and urbanisation in Early Greece as well as in the conflicts of the Classical and Hellenistic periods over time lead to an accumulative symbolic meaning in especially the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Ultimately, the study will lead to a broader understanding of these features as diachronic entities, and at the same time raise some relevant questions regarding what we moderns – from an archaeological perspective – can identify as an *akropolis*.

I avoid answering the question “what was an *akropolis*?” as of the longevity and spread of the phenomenon makes any single answer impossible. Some attempts at definitions are made, but these serve to discriminate between sites within a large archaeological material rather than to delimit what we should regard as *akropoleis*.⁶ Instead, I focus on how *akropoleis* were used and understood in ancient societies while at the same time taking into consideration regional and chronological variances.

With little research available on *akropoleis*, it is necessary to raise a number of leading questions. None of these appear to have been addressed at length previously, but they still have great influence on the structure of this present study. First, what are the current scholarly notions concerning *akropoleis*, and do they remain relevant to the archaeological material? Second, being an ancient Greek word, how, where and when does ‘*akropolis*’ appear in ancient literary sources? Third, is it possible to link *akropoleis* mentioned in literary sources with physical locations in the archaeological record? Fourth, can we identify additional *akropoleis* in the archaeological material on the basis of information in ancient sources? If so, then fifth, are there common traits among these locations, and in that case, which are they? The answers to these questions create the platform of scholarly publications, literary sources, and archaeological material on which this study stands.

The over-representation of Athens in ancient sources and published archaeological material has led to an athenocentric view of *akropoleis* that carries little significance in relation to the large number of other *akropolis* sites. This problem is further highlighted by the fact that the vast majority of monographs, articles or entries in encyclopaedias mentioning *akropoleis* regards the Athenian Akropolis as the defining if not sole example of this particular feature, ignoring most other cases (see **Chapter 2**). In order to break this bias, I do the reverse, and will subsequently exclude the Athenian Akropolis from this study. This limits the amount of modern and ancient material relating to the subject, bringing brevity to the work but also causing some problems, as will be discussed on p. III. However, I argue that by leaving out the Athenian Akropolis, my study becomes more representative of the total number of *akropoleis*. How the Athenian Akropolis relates to other *akropoleis* is an interesting subject, but that is not the aim with in this study.

⁵Even if it is not the explicit goal of my study to discuss the semiotics of *akropoleis*, I believe the results may act as a starting point for such studies.

⁶The ‘essentials’ of an *akropolis*, as will be outlined below, even generate results that can arguably be dismissed as not being *akropoleis*. See **5.2**.

It is instead my aim to consider the totality of the relevant material, but, as the following chapters will demonstrate, the totality of the archaeological material is too vast to fit within any single study. I have therefore chosen to limit the archaeological scope to two ancient regions, Thessaly and Boeotia (for further discussion, see **1.4.2**).

1.3 STRUCTURE AND METHOD

The underlying structure of this study consists of a series of argumentative steps triggered by the lack of previous systematic research on *akropoleis*. Much of the underlying research related to the establishment of fundamentals, recorded in catalogues and databases, is done in order to pin-point the actualities relating to *akropoleis* instead of relying on loose assumptions. It is first necessary to re-evaluate what is currently being read into the term '*akropolis*' before it can be used as an archaeological category, which calls for a survey of the relevant scholarly literature. The validity or relevance of this archaeological category '*akropolis*' has then in turn to be ascertained through a comparative study of the use of the word in ancient texts, which has not previously been done.⁷ It was only after this that *akropoleis* can reasonably be identified in the archaeological record and the remains discussed and analysed on a more general level.

The ca. 1400 excerpts from ancient literary sources mentioning *akropoleis* contain references to 132 individual cases that can be connected with actual physical locations (**Appendix A**). By combining how these *akropoleis* are described in the respective source and the particulars of the archaeological sites identified with the respective *akropolis*, I am able to present a broad picture of what was considered an *akropolis* in Antiquity. The generalities extracted from the analysis of the literary sources is consequently summarised in a short expression of 'essentials', functioning to identify *akropoleis* in the archaeological material (**3.5**). Using these 'essential features' (henceforth to be referred to as simply 'the essentials'), I 'extract' *akropolis* sites from the archaeological material, 23 Thessalian and 16 Boeotian (**Appendix B**), to serve as the archaeological source material (unless otherwise stated).

Following the research questions, the study is divided into four parts, the first being the *Background*, which includes the Introduction and **Chapter 2**, the latter being an extensive survey of the development of the often anecdotal scholarly understanding of ancient Greek *akropoleis*.

The second part of the study, 'Material' is dedicated to the two strains of evidence, ancient texts and archaeology. I argue that '*akropolis*' is essentially an archaeological category loosely derived from textual sources, which makes it paramount to study the actual use of this word in ancient texts before analysing the material remains. **Chapter 3** is a thematic survey of the ca. 1400 textual examples of use that I have been able to find, together with brief outlines of other closely related ancient terms. As the textual survey shows, it is possible to observe some generalities when it comes to function and symbolism of features named as *akropoleis* in ancient texts. These generalities allow for the identification of archaeological sites as *akropoleis*, with certain 'essential features' acting as identifiers. In **Chapter 4**, using these 'essentials', I present the archaeology of sites identified as *akropoleis* within the two case regions, Thessaly and Boeotia (**Appendices B.1** and **B.2**).

The third part is the 'Analysis'. In **Chapter 5**, I discuss several issues relating to the main research questions. I also discuss the emergence of the current scholarly view of *akropoleis* and what it can say

⁷Except for an unpublished Master's thesis, see p. 16.

about our understanding of ancient Greek society; the changing use over time of the term ‘*akropolis*’ in Antiquity as a kind of *Begriffsgeschichte*; and the problems in identifying *akropoleis* in the archaeological record.

Finally, **Chapter 6** contains my main conclusions. Here I also present my suggestions for future research within the general topic of *akropoleis* and how this may be beneficial to the study of ancient Greek society in general.

The last part contains the Appendices, namely a catalogue of locations mentioned as *akropoleis* in textual sources (**Appendix A**), and two catalogues of archaeological sites in Thessaly and Boeotia (**Appendix B**).

1.4 MATERIAL

This study is based on a combination of textual and archaeological source material, in line with my interpretation of ‘*akropolis*’ as an archaeological category of features derived from textual sources (see p. 6). Whereas the literary sources employed in this study belong to the whole span of Antiquity until ca. 200 CE, the archaeological material has been confined to the Archaic, the Classical and the Hellenistic periods. There are many indications that settlement patterns and political organisation changed drastically after the 3rd c. BCE,⁸ and I have yet not found any indications of wide-spread or substantial activities on *akropoleis* locations between ca. 150 BCE and 200 CE.⁹ I have included Roman period literary works as the number of sources mentioning *akropoleis* in the pre-Roman period is relatively low, and several Roman sources contain information from older sources or refer to sites that existed in the pre-Roman period.

Also, it became clear that the specific textual sources used by scholars to interpret this type of ancient feature were very few, centred around a quotation from Aristotle’s *Politics* (see p. 20). This indicated that there was a need to study the wider use of the word ‘*akropolis*’, including its metaphorical usage.

A key approach to *akropoleis* when it comes to the archaeological material in this study is the regional perspective. I would like to argue that it is more relevant to study the *akropoleis* of whole regions than – as has previously been done – to focus on a scattered number of relatively well-published sites from a large geographical area.¹⁰ The latter approach creates the risk of a “cafeteria mentality”, allowing the scholar to pick sites that support certain arguments, while leaving out the ones that do not. By harmonising the characteristics of a small number of sites into a standardised form, one creates ‘an ideal *akropolis*’ with comparably little resemblance to the general picture. There is even a risk that some *akropolis* sites may be regarded as ‘atypical’ as they are not similar to the ideal. The regional perspective, however, requires a more critical attitude towards the identification of sites as *akropoleis*, and forces the scholar to regard the examples that do not comply with his or her previous notions.

The collection of the material presented in the Appendices posed a number of different problems. As there have been no previous compilations of the textual and archaeological material relating to *akropoleis*, I have included all with references (**Appendix A** and **B**). The large amount of cited publications and reports employed in these appendices could potentially flood the thesis with footnotes,

⁸For Boeotia, see Fossey 1988, 440-450; the Peloponnese see Alcock 1996, 48; and for Greece in general, see Bintliff 2012, 313-318.

⁹This based on my own survey of these sites, see **Chapter 4**. ¹⁰Fossey 1988, 491. Cf. Maher 2017, 7.

and to avoid this, I have strived to refer to the respective entries when discussing a particular site or location.

1.4.1 TEXTUAL SOURCES

Ancient Greek literary sources have been accessed through two main online databases – the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG) and the *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (SGI). Removing duplicates, there remains about 1400 occurrences of ‘*akropolis*’ within the span from Homer to the late 3rd century CE. The great majority of these relate to Athens and are mostly brief references without any substantial information. The types of sources vary substantially, ranging from epic poetry to funerary inscriptions, and most have not been cited in previous research on ancient *akropoleis*. Most excerpts are short and anecdotal, containing very little information relevant to this study, making it unproductive to present the whole corpus as a catalogue. I have instead arranged the types of textual sources thematically in **Chapter 3**, citing the most important and illustrative examples. **Appendix A** contains the 132 locations mentioned as *akropoleis* in ancient texts together with a short description of the archaeology of the location and references to the sources in question.

Ancient literature has been cited in accordance with the TLG, with my own translations. In some cases, I have included and edited translations by others. Inscriptions are reproduced from various publications, mainly the *Inscriptiones Graecae* (IG) and *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecae* (SEG), but also from other publications when necessary.

1.4.2 ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL

Any scholar trying to study the total distribution of a particular archaeological feature within a region will have to face the fact that he or she will never have access to the complete material. This is also true in the case of *akropoleis*, but, due to their often quite distinctive and accentuated locations together with their conspicuous architecture, they are rather easily spotted in the landscape.¹¹ This makes that we can assume that most of these places are known to scholarship.

To consider every region containing locations identified as *akropoleis*, however, would be a truly gargantuan task. In the *Inventory of Archaic and Classical poleis* (IACP), I have counted at least 306 locations identified as *akropoleis* (**Fig. 3.2**, p. 34), the true number certainly being much higher. It is consequently necessary to narrow the geographical scope, and I have thus decided to use two regions of ancient Greece as case studies: Boeotia and the Valley of Enipeus in Thessaly (**Fig. 1.2**).

These two regions were originally chosen as they appeared socio-politically different yet topographically similar. Scholars have also tended to regard the two regions as quite dissimilar. Boeotia is sometimes described as one of the ‘core areas’ of city-state Greece,¹² while Thessaly is often referred to as a “feudal backwater”.¹³ Concerning the physical terrain, they are both centred around large flat plains or former swamps surrounded by mountainous regions, they have limited but stable access to the sea routes of the Aegean, and are both continuously settled from the early Neolithic onwards. As work progressed, however, it became clear that the socio-political differences between Thessaly and Boeo-

¹¹Fossey 1988, 403. ¹²Bintliff 2012, 245-246; Hall 2013, 93-94.

¹³Larsen 1968, 12; 14; Ellis 1976, 138; McInerney 1999, 174; Crielaard 2009, 359; Hornblower 2011, 104; McAuley 2013, 177. Cf. Hall 2013, 91.

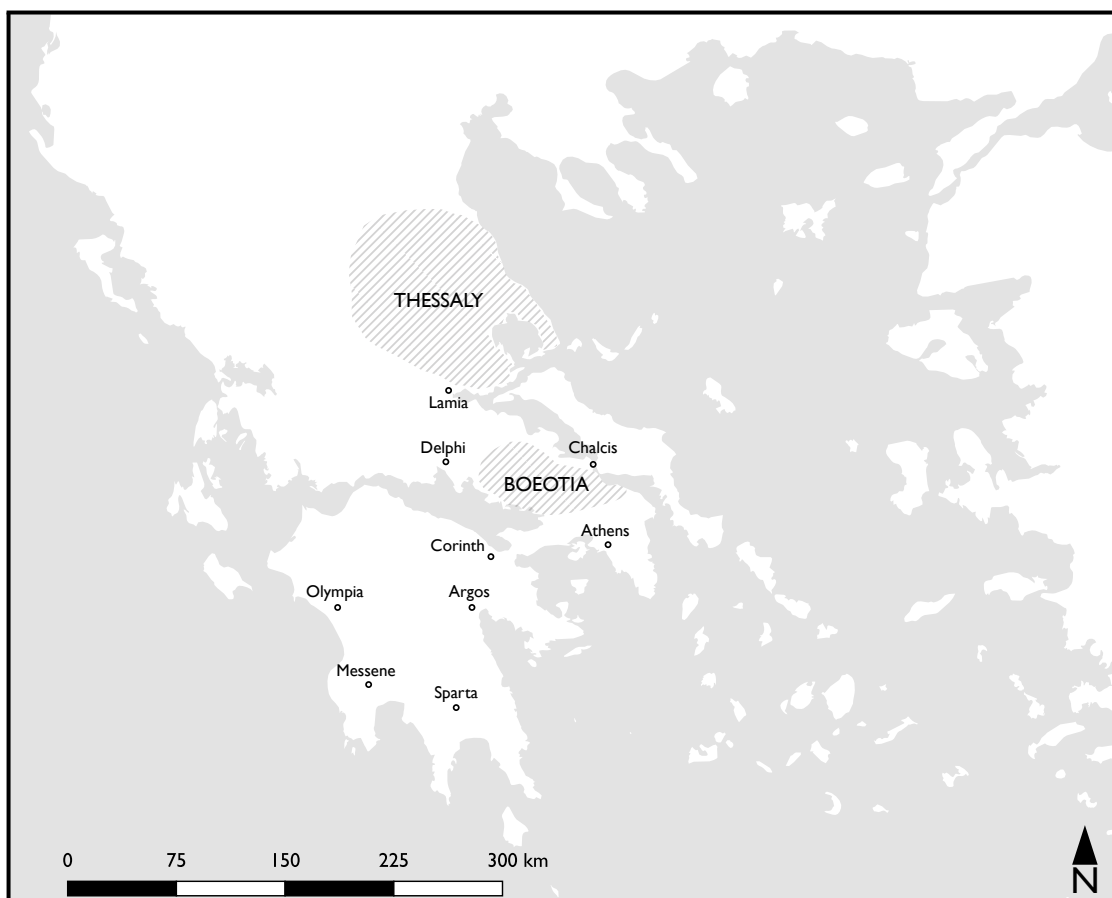


Figure 1.2: The historical landscapes of Thessaly and Boeotia within Classical-Hellenistic Greece.

tia were not as distinct as originally imagined. This view has been pointed out previously,¹⁴ and will probably become more evident as research on the concept of *ethnos* progresses.¹⁵

There are major differences between Boeotia and Thessaly when it comes to archaeological practise. Whilst Boeotia has been the subject of several intensive and extensive surveys, such as that of John Fossey (1960s–1970s), the Boeotia Survey (1978–1991) and the Eastern Boeotia Survey (2007–), Thessaly is still waiting for a similar undertaking. The ancient sites of Boeotia, even the un-excavated, have been published in comparable detail by *inter alia* Fossey (1988) and Farinetti (2011), while the only comprehensive review of Thessalian archaeology remains that of Friedrich Stählin (1924). The Valley of Enipeus, however, was studied by a French team in the 1980s and by an Italian team in the 2000s,¹⁶ providing more detail than available from most of the immediate surroundings.

The majority of the locations identified as *akropoleis* in these regions were already known by Western travellers of the early 19th century, as they were pointed out to them as *kástra* (sing. *kástro*) or ‘castles’ by the locals.¹⁷ The level of publication of these sites unfortunately varies to a great extent, especially with

¹⁴C. Morgan 2003, 24; Stamatopoulou 2007, 315–316. ¹⁵Beck 2014; Mackil 2014; Bouchon and Helly 2015; Mili 2015, 54. ¹⁶Decourt 1990; Cantarelli *et al.* 2009. ¹⁷*Cf.* Fossey 1988, 403.

regards to Thessaly. Some are the subject of larger archaeological projects, such as the sites at Kallithea (B.1.12) and Koroneia (B.2.9), whilst others have barely been published at all, such as Phaÿttos (B.1.15) and Akraiphia (B.2.1).

Most of the available material, especially from Thessaly, has only been published as short entries in periodicals such as the *Archeologikón Dheltión* (*ADelt*) and *Archaeological Reports* (*AR*), which are rarely rich in detail. It is probably this situation that triggered the major triennial conference, the *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας* (*Archaeological work of Thessaly and Central Greece, AETHSE*), at the University of Thessaly, Volos, creating a forum for scholars researching these two regions.¹⁸

In this study, *akropolis* sites within these regions have been identified through the ‘essentials’ extracted from literary sources (as discussed on p. 61), limited by the availability of archaeological publications. This means that there are additional archaeological sites that could tentatively be identified as *akropoleis*, but could not be included in this study because of the lack of published archaeological material. The relevant archaeological material at each site is summarised (together with the relevant bibliography) in **Appendix B**, arranged alphabetically according to modern site and region. I have also provided sketches of the topography and fortifications at each site.

1.5 THEORETICAL APPROACHES

In order to study and understand the physical remains of *akropoleis* and their relationship with ancient textual sources beyond mere statistical data, I will utilise a number of theoretical concepts relating to *monumentality*. To regard *akropolis* features as ‘monumental’ is not new,¹⁹ but an investigation into the further implications of a ‘monumental *akropolis*’ has to my knowledge not been done previously.

Monumentality studies is a rich and varied field of research, as it deals with many kinds of material from all inhabited continents. The field can broadly be divided into two sub-fields, the first dealing with the commemorative aspects of monumentality, the second with the ideological.²⁰ I would like to emphasise that I believe both strands to be non-exclusive, but their productivity could possibly differ according to the material analysed.

Due to the nature of the material of this study, I have chosen to emphasise the ideological aspects of monumental structures. This has to a large extent been a field within Marxian archaeology, as it deals with the material production of power relations. Originating in North America and Britain, it has mainly been an anglophone subject, which in turn has influenced the type of material to which it has been applied.²¹ It has figured mainly in *landscape archaeology* as it emerged in the 1980s,²² and especially so in archaeological contexts lacking written sources.

When studying the emergence of complex social organisation, monumental structures and other large-scale architectural enterprises constitute possible gate-ways into the processes underlying these developments. This in turn is probably the reason why *monumentality* as a theoretical concept has in the past not been utilised to any extent within Classical archaeology: the access to written sources reduces the imminent want for theoretical approaches.²³ I argue that this way of understanding *akropoleis*

¹⁸Mazarakis Ainan 2006; 2009; 2012; 2015. ¹⁹*Cf.* Rhodes 1995. ²⁰J. F. Osborne 2014b, 5. ²¹Neolithic Britain, pre-Columbian America and Oceania dominate the available publications. ²²Johnson 2012, 275.

²³It has to some extent, however, been utilised in the wider context of Greek archaeology, see for example Alcock 2002 and Galanakis 2011.

(as monumental structures) offers insights not only into the redevelopment, but also into the development of the Greek city-state culture.²⁴ It does not explain *everything* – regional and local variations will always be present – but it offers a way of placing and understanding *akropoleis* in a historical and political setting.

More narrowly, my understanding of *monumentality* in this study, is that it constitutes a mean by which one social group can exert their ideology on another social group without lapsing into crude physical coercion.²⁵ This is very much in line with *monumentality* as presented by Bruce Trigger, who described it in an influential article (1990) as a “thermodynamic explanation of symbolic behaviour”, or a least-effort coercive strategy within a social context.²⁶ This is, as mentioned above, of course not the only way of understanding monumental structures.²⁷ However, the nature of the material of this study (mainly fortifications) fits Trigger’s ideas of coercive conspicuous architecture:

Fortifications have to be powerfully constructed to be effective, but in discussions of early civilizations it is frequently observed that the scale and elaborateness of fortress and enclosure walls exceeded what practical defensive considerations would have required [...]. These structures were evidently designed to impress foreign enemies as well as potential thieves and rebels with the power of the authorities who were able to build and maintain them.

Trigger 1990, 121-122.

Even if I regard this explanation as a bit simplifying in its language, Trigger’s observation that ancient fortifications often exceed in size their practical purposes is quite central. As will be evident in **Chapter 4**, the hilltop locations of *akropolis* fortifications make them conspicuous in nature; they are (especially in the pre-Poliorcetic phase, see **4.1.4**), in short, far too lavish for their evident practical purpose.²⁸

In this study, the basic theoretical assumption relating to the concept of *monumentality* can be narrowed down to the idea that *monumentality materialises narratives of entitlement*. This formulation has a myriad of implications, many of which has been outlined with more detail by DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle (1996). I follow their understanding of the relationship between monumentality and ideology as a process of *materialisation* of ideas aiming at the coercion of social groups.

Monumental structures serve many purposes – intentional and non-intentional – which in turn constantly change over time as the meanings ascribed to them change. Monuments “serve to reproduce or to disrupt existing social groupings and ways of life by reinforcing or altering aspects of the physical terrain,”²⁹ and are thus manifestations of dialectically constructed social understandings. Monuments convey ideology in space, materialise what is otherwise immaterial, and explains the meaning of a place. Monumental structures are consequently born out of the exhibition and mediation of power and authority in space.³⁰

²⁴This will be discussed in **Chapter 5**.

²⁵I use the word ‘ideology’ in a broad sense, that is, an idea of how society and social relations should be organised.

²⁶Trigger 1990, 123. ²⁷See J. F. Osborne 2014b for a good introduction on the use of the term in archaeology.

²⁸Bintliff 2012, 257. ²⁹Anderson 2013, 76. ³⁰Criado 1995, 194; DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle 1996, 18-19.

This behaviour tend to be more evident in the formative stages of societies, when social structures are rapidly changing and are more at risk of being challenged.³¹ At these points in societal history, the exhibition of authority becomes more pressing, as the centralising and consolidating power structure seeks ways to express its authority in competition to precursory or competing power structures. The durable materials employed when constructing monumental structures, however, brings that they tend to be more long-lasting than other structures. This, in turn, makes that monuments outlive their original purposes as they are more long-lasting than the ideas they originally were built to convey.³²

Monuments must consequently be understood diachronically. Constituting the past in the present, their meaning is constantly developing and highly individual. Monumentality exists in the relationship between individual/group and its/their physical surroundings and is in no way a one-way communication. Monuments are not 'dead objects' – they have strong agency and actively influence human understandings of space and time.³³

³¹Trigger 1990, 127. ³²Bradley 1993, 5. ³³J. F. Osborne 2014b, 6.

“What is wrong with the doctor’s theories, Bunter?”
“You wish me to reply, my lord, that he only sees the facts which fit in with the theory.”

“Thought-reader!” exclaimed Lord Peter bitterly.

Dorothy L. Sayers, *The vindictive story of the footsteps that ran*, from *Lord Peter views the body* (1928, 174).

2

History of research

THE SCHOLARLY DISCUSSION ON ANCIENT GREEK *AKROPOLEIS* has almost exclusively been part of other discussions – especially that of urbanisation and to some extent poliorketics – and very rarely a subject of its own. This situation could potentially turn any historiography of *akropoleis* into something anecdotal since mentions appear mostly in passing, either as isolated examples of certain characteristics or as support to some more or less related argument.

In order to contextualise this particular subject in the wider scholarly tradition, I present the historiography of the *akropoleis* as part of the historiography of the Greek *polis* or ‘city’ (which is the most common translation). However, as this study is not the study of the latter, I will take as my starting point the historiography of the Greek *polis* as given in Vlassopoulos’ *Unthinking the Greek polis* (2007). Many of Vlassopoulos’ observations are similar to those of my own, which makes it a suitable frame for this chapter.¹

I outline how modern perceptions of the *akropoleis* fit into this more general outline of *polis* historiography. This means the exclusion of many brief discussions on *akropoleis*, but it will bring the necessary clarity for understanding the origins and development of the general notion concerning these features as a whole. Finally, I will summarise the modern views of this phenomenon following this outline, thus giving the historiographical background of this study.

Before I begin with this outline, it is important to understand how ancient *akropoleis* appear in the long line of scholarly works of the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries. In short, it can be said that they almost do not. This can probably be explained by the fact that the Greek *poleis* were for very long treated as mere abstractions by scholars of antiquity. Being very much physical archaeological remains, *akropoleis* were consequently rarely mentioned.²

¹Vlassopoulos 2007, 13-67. ²Snodgrass 1991, 1.

In fact, scholarly interest in ancient Greek *poleis* and urbanism never seems to have included the phenomenon of the *akropoleis* to any significant extent. This is surprising as they are often regarded as typical of the *polis* type of city.³

I find this astonishing. One would suspect that the *akropoleis* would have attracted considerable scholarly interest. Even works dealing exclusively with specific examples of these features – particularly the Athenian Akropolis – contain no discussion on the nature of the very phenomenon itself.⁴

For example, the large encyclopaedias of archaeology and classical studies – such as *RE*, *OCD*, and *Neue Pauly* – either lack entries on *akropoleis* or treat the word as something solely relevant to the urban layout of Athens.⁵ For a long time, there have been very few easily accessible general definitions or descriptions of *akropoleis*, which perhaps both creates and reflects the scholarly understanding of this phenomenon.

2.1 THE STUDY OF THE GREEK *POLIS* – A VERY BRIEF HISTORIOGRAPHY

As observed by Vlassopoulos, the historiography of the Greek *polis* follows the historiography of Greek history, and should be regarded as part of it.⁶ Like a *matryoshka* doll, the historiography of the *akropoleis* must subsequently be located on yet another sublevel, with the modern scholarly understanding of the *akropoleis* as both a part and a result of research on Greek history and urbanism.

It is worth repeating that the study of the development and organisation of the Greek *polis* was for very long a purely historical field of research. Snodgrass's complaint that until the 1970s, one had to "search very hard indeed [in works on the Greek *polis*] to find even a veiled recourse to archaeology" remains very true.⁷ References and citations are also generally scarce in 20th century literature, as is chronology, with most of the developments only described as having occurred *in illo tempore*.

The late 19th and early 20th century works on the Greek *polis* could not benefit from the information of the LBA societies provided by the deciphered Mycenaean clay tablets. The knowledge of prehistorical Greek society was therefore based on close readings of the Homeric epics combined with references in the later Attic tragedies. That the majority of preserved ancient texts are of Attic provenance naturally shaped the understanding of the ancient Greek city state into something very Athenocentric.

Vlassopoulos' outline of the historiography of the *polis* begins in the *polis* itself, and he argues that modern scholars should return to the source material of especially Aristotle's *Politics* in order to approach a less Eurocentric⁸ notion of ancient Greek states. However, for the purposes of this study, I will concentrate on the part of the outline dealing with the period after 1864, as the modern scholarly idea of the Greek state in many ways began in this year.

³The sole exception being a Master's thesis by Behrens-du Maire (1995), kindly provided to me by the author.

⁴Among many others Beulé 1862; Boetticher 1888; Schede 1922; Walter 1929; Rodenwaldt 1930; Brouscaris 1978; Brommer 1985; Rhodes 1995; Hurwit 1999; Greco 2010.

⁵The only exception to this being the outdated Daremberg and Saglio 1877, vol. 1, 37-44 and the *Neue Pauly Online*, see p. 110.

⁶Vlassopoulos 2007, 14-15. ⁷Snodgrass 1991, 1.

⁸Vlassopoulos' term, implying the over-emphasis on the European nature of ancient Greek culture, and the projection of modern (Western) European notions of statehood upon the ancient world.

Fustel de Coulanges' *La cité antique* (1866) fully transformed the modern European notions of ancient Greek culture.⁹ Relying on anthropological perspectives as well as on ancient literary sources, Fustel de Coulanges saw the beginnings of Greek society in the Indo-European or 'Aryan' institutions of the family and ancestral worship, which later evolved into more complex structures and finally became the Greek city state. Notably, Fustel de Coulange ignores the developments in the rest of the eastern Mediterranean. Much of the reasoning in the study relates to the wider 'Aryan' or Indo-European racial discourse of the time, highlighting 'racially Greek' characteristics and differences. This, Vlassopoulos argues, started the scholarly idea of the Greek *polis* as something exceptional in the ancient world to be studied in isolation from the developments in neighbouring cultures.¹⁰ Like the idea of the tribal origins of the Greek state, this notion, even if presented in another form, was to be common even until today.¹¹

What has arguably been Fustel's greatest legacy is his evolutionary understanding of the development of Greek culture as following a set of progressions from the tribalism of the *ethnē* to the urbanism of the *poleis*. Even if most of the more obvious racist ideas of this understanding have been discarded, many modern scholars continue to imagine the development of the *polis* as an evolution taking place in set stages.¹²

In the Fustelian version of events, however, this series of developments were not imagined as occurring in any particular time or place, as can be seen by the lack of any dates and localities. The Greek city was very much an abstraction or model of something without actual physical form. The study is wholly deprived of archaeology, pre-dating most large-scale excavations in Greece and elsewhere, and contains almost no reference to material remains.

Fustel's Evolutionist interpretation of the *polis* became one of the two main 'currents' (as expressed by Vlassopoulos) in the historiography of Greek *poleis*.¹³ His influence was discernible well into the 1920s in works such as Gustave Glotz' *La cité grecque* (1928),¹⁴ which similarly imagines the origins of the Greek city in migrating 'Achaean' tribes of shepherds gradually evolving into more complex societies.

The second current after this 'Evolutionist' understanding of ancient Greece was what Vlassopoulos calls the 'Modernist' interpretation, characterised by the inclusion of material culture, demographics and trade into the account of the ancient world.¹⁵ The term 'modernist' is intended to reflect this group's use of the complexity of contemporary society to motivate the identification of similarly complex structures among the ancients. The Modernists' use of the archaeological record clearly separated them from the Evolutionists, with material culture "taken seriously and independently as part of the economic, social and cultural life of the ancient Greeks."¹⁶ Many of the adherents to this current criticised the imagined 'model city' of the Evolutionists as unhistorical and abstract, and tried to link ancient Greek culture to the developments in the wider world of the Mediterranean and the Near East.¹⁷

Most of these Modernists were Germans, in contrast to the chiefly French (yet often Alsatian) Evolutionists.¹⁸ This may partly explain why the second current largely disappeared after the second World

⁹Still in print as of 2014; English edition 1877, still in print as of 2014. ¹⁰See p. 130.

¹¹Vlassopoulos 2007, 46, 49. ¹²*Cf.* McInerney 1999, 16. ¹³Vlassopoulos 2007, 45-47. ¹⁴Still in print as of 2014; English edition 1929, still in print as of 2014. ¹⁵Eduard Meyer 1910; Beloch 1912. ¹⁶Vlassopoulos 2007, 52.

¹⁷Eduard Meyer 1910, 41; Vlassopoulos 2007, 49. ¹⁸The region of Alsace with the important University of Strasbourg, was part of Germany in the period 1871-1918 until it was granted to France after the First World War.

War, and why the Evolutionist idea of the *polis* became almost universally accepted in Western scholarship.¹⁹

This was the time of the creation of the *polis* ‘orthodoxy’, as phrased by Vlassopoulos. Whereas the modernists had argued against the evolutionist view of Greek Antiquity as homogenic and following stages in an evolution, what now emerged was the “*polis* model” of Antiquity. This model did not take the great variation of actual ancient *poleis* into account, and archaeology was for long absent from the scholarly scene.²⁰

Even if its actual features were debated, the *polis* was considered a model according to which Greek history could be understood and organised. Relatively little interest in chronology also contributed to the homogeneity of the model, and the Fustelian isolation of the phenomenon from the surrounding regions of the Mediterranean further created an idea of a distinct ‘Greekness’ about the *polis*.

Other trends emerged at this time. Whereas the pre-war period had witnessed the publication of many large scale histories of the ancient *polis*, this new period in research marked a decline of these studies.²¹ The growing amount of available archaeological material indicated that the ancient world was too complex for this type of comprehensive accounts, which perhaps prompted a general reluctance to approach the subject on a wider scale.²²

It was only with the foundation of the Copenhagen Polis Centre (CPC) that a large scale account of the development of the Greek *polis* was finally embarked upon. The CPC published a series of collections of papers dealing with different aspects of the ancient Greek *poleis*, which finally lead to the collectively authored *An inventory of Archaic and Classical poleis (IACP)* in 2004.

The 1990s and 2000s marked a renewed interest in the problems of the Evolutionist understanding of the *polis*, with some noteworthy works on the different aspects and problems relating to the subject. Scholars started to pay attention to ‘alternative’ forms of Greek social organisation, such as the *koinon* and *ethnos*, or larger pluralistic political bodies such as the leagues and kingdoms.²³

More recent archaeological fieldwork, especially surveys, has also brought new understandings of the organisation of these polities, challenging many of the previous assumptions. As new empirical material continue to become more available, so will the critical studies of ancient Greek forms of political organisation continue to evolve, hopefully leading to more nuanced understandings of these societies.

2.2 THE HISTORIOGRAPHY AND MYTH OF THE *AKROPOLIS*

Even if the outline above is an abbreviated one, it provides at least a backdrop for an understanding of the historiography of the ancient Greek *akropoleis*, which to a large extent is a product of the historiography of the *polis*. The prominence of the Evolutionist current can also help to explain the lack of interest in these features, which in a more archaeologically oriented ‘orthodoxy’ arguably should have attracted more attention.

¹⁹Vlassopoulos 2007, 49. ²⁰Vlassopoulos 2007, 53-54.

²¹This development was however slow at the beginning, with some large scale accounts of the Greek city published in the 1950s. See for example Martin 1956 and Ehrenberg 1957.

²²Vlassopoulos 2007, 52-53.

²³Beck 1997; Grainger 1999; McNerney 1999; Scholten 2000; C. Morgan 2003; Funke and Luraghi 2009; Graninger 2011; Mackil 2013; Beck and Funke 2015.

Against this backdrop, a closer reading of the historiography of the *akropoleis* will show that it is highly probable that the general modern understanding of the *akropoleis* – as far as one can be discerned – is largely a 20th century construct devised to explain the evolution of the *polis* state. This understanding of the feature takes the form of an *ahistorical* narrative which I have chosen to name ‘the modern myth of the *akropolis*’.²⁴ The ‘myth’ could just as well have been called a “remarkable fable”, as Finley did in one of his essays,²⁵ and rests on narrative elements that have long been discarded in archaeology. However, there are many remnants of this ‘myth’ to be found in modern research, probably due to the lack of alternative explanations or narratives.

The ‘myth’ can be summarised as follows:

In some remote prehistorical period, proto-Greek tribes migrated into the fertile plains and valleys of Greece and settled around naturally fortified hillocks, which would serve as strongholds for their élite.²⁶ These elevated positions dominated the surroundings and were thus suitable as centres of power. The first prehistoric cities developed around these hilltops, which in turn were adorned with temples and mighty fortification walls.²⁷ Such fortified hills became known as the *poleis*, a word meaning ‘stronghold’ in proto-Greek,²⁸ and on the hilltops of the most prominent cities – such as Mycenae, Thebes and Athens – elaborate palaces in stone were built for the rulers.²⁹

However, after the fall of the great prehistoric civilisations, these locations fell gradually into disuse as the power of the rulers was transferred to the broader masses.³⁰ Being hallmarks of monarchy, the hilltops were no longer suitable for the increasingly democratic population who preferred more accessible locations in the plains.³¹ Here they built their new cities and designated them after the old position of power: *poleis*.³² The abandoned hilltops with their impressive prehistoric remains overlooking the new cities became known as the *akropoleis*, the ‘higher cities’, contrasting with the *hypopoleis* or ‘lower cities’ below.³³ The former were still venerable sites, pregnant with memory, and temples were constructed here,³⁴ acting as shrines for the tutelary deity of the city.³⁵ In times of imminent danger, these locations could also act as places of refuge for the population.³⁶

There are many obvious problems with this narrative. It is first and foremost highly generalising and does not include regional differences, local variations, or coincidence. Nor are there any dates, either absolute or relative, only a sequence of events. It is a tale without a real beginning and without any end. It is also obvious to the contemporary scholar that this narrative does not harmonise with the current archaeological view of the developments on the Greek mainland from the LBA onwards.

Following Kolb,³⁷ I interpret that the rôle of the *akropoleis* in a sequence of political developments – in short, the road from tribalism to democracy via monarchic rule³⁸ – derives from a passage in Aristotle’s *Politics*:

²⁴A similar ‘myth’ is identified by Polignac (1995, 2), summarised by Antonaccio (1994, 83).

²⁵Finley 1975, 88-89. ²⁶Beloch 1912, 119; Busolt 1920, 153; Kirsten 1956, 35. ²⁷Busolt 1920, 153; Gerkan 1924, 8-9; Ehrenberg 1957, 7; Fine 1983, 48-49. ²⁸Ehrenberg 1937, 156; Ehrenberg 1957, 7; Welwei 1998, 9. ²⁹Schede 1922, 11; Snodgrass 1977, 23; Brouscaris 1978, 17-18. ³⁰Adcock 1957, 57. ³¹Tritsch 1929, 72; Winter 1971a, 30.

³²Schede 1922, 11; Gerkan 1924, 10; Kirsten 1956, 45; Brouscaris 1978, 19. ³³Busolt 1920, 154; Ehrenberg 1937, 156; *LSJ*, s.v. ‘ἀκρόπολις’. ³⁴Zuiderhoek 2017, 30. ³⁵Tritsch 1929, 72; Snodgrass 1977, 23; Brouscaris 1978, 19.

³⁶Beloch 1912, 118; Tritsch 1929, 72; Lehmann 1937, 74; Kriesis 1965, 94; Winter 1971a, 31; Lawrence 1979, 126.

³⁷Kolb 1984, 71. ³⁸Thomas and Conant 1999, xxvi-xxvii.

When it comes to selecting suitable strong places [τόπων ἐρυμνῶν], there is no single scheme which suits all constitutions alike. An *akropolis* is suitable to oligarchies and monarchies; a level place [ὀμαλότης] is better for the character of a democracy; neither suits an aristocracy, for which several fortified places [ἰσχυροὶ τόποι πλείους] are preferable.

Arist. *Pol.* 1330^b77 (my translation).

It appears that 20th century scholars studying this paragraph interpreted this as a historical evolution rather than a theoretical ideal model. This is never explicitly stated, but the reasoning is still obvious.³⁹ The Aristotelian categories must have appeared intriguing to the scholars of the day, as there were no monarchies in the early 20th century general understanding of democratic Classical Greece (*i.e.* Athens), and the power of the aristocracy had at this time supposedly been smashed by the Solonian reforms. To the same scholars, kings and nobles must have been common in the period preceding the Classical period, as they figure in the Homeric epics, and the Aristotelean categories could therefore represent different historical stages. This understanding of the gradual evolution of the Greek form of state could also help to explain the apparent change in meaning of the very word ‘*polis*’ from ‘stronghold’ to ‘city’ as reflecting the shift in base of power (see 3.2.1).

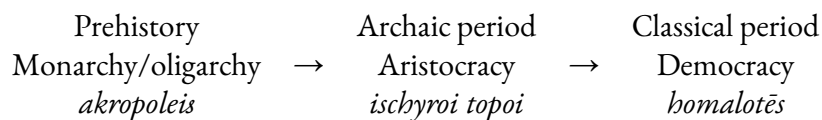


Figure 2.1: Aristotle’s ideal locations of fortified positions as applied to an evolutionary scheme.

It was thought to be well-established from the Homeric epics that the prehistoric kings (*basilēes*) resided in hilltop palaces, and the recently discovered magnificent ‘palaces’ in Mycenae, Tiryns and Knossos also supported this idea. Ὁ λόφος τῶν λόφων, the hilltop of hilltops, that of the Athenian Akropolis, was therefore interpreted as the seat of the early Athenian kings, even if there are extremely few remains of any Mycenaean structures found here, apart from fortification walls and some architectural fragments.⁴⁰

Some scholars thus imagined this historical development in which power ‘slid’ downhill from the lofty heights of the royal *akropolis* towards the level ground.⁴¹ The *agora* was regarded as the centre of democratic rule in the Greek state (*i.e.* Athens), and because it was located on more level ground, the above scheme seemed to fit the actual physical appearance of the *polis*.

Aristotle’s theoretical reasoning of the ideal locations for a fortified position was thus turned into a historical narrative explaining the gradual evolution of the Greek city (**Figure 2.1**). Originating in the 1920s, this model continued to be influential throughout the 20th century, and in spite of occasional criticism and contradictory evidence, it still holds some force.

³⁹As also observed by Lang 1996, 22.

⁴⁰Iakovidis 1983, 73–90; Camp 2004, 17, Fig. 14; Iakovidis 2006, 226, Plan 38. For a critique of the identification of a palatial structure on the Athenian Akropolis, see Darcque and Rougemont 2015.

⁴¹Kirsten 1956, 53.

2.2.1 ESTABLISHING THE MYTH (1920-1970)

Instrumental in establishing this model was the Baltic German archaeologist and art historian Armin von Gerkan, who presented an early form of it in his *Griechische Städteanlage* (1924).⁴² Having worked several years at the German excavations at Miletus, Didyma and Priene, he was at the time one of comparably few archaeologists to write a comprehensive volume on the Greek city, something more commonly done by historians. In contrast with the latter group, von Gerkan frequently used examples from many different archaeological sites of the ancient Greek world to fit their features into his general scheme.

Among other things, von Gerkan tried to explain part of the development of the Greek city (*i.e.* Athens) as a gradual evolution from the ‘*Burg*’ of Monarchy to the ‘*Stadt*’ of Democracy. The *Burg*, according to von Gerkan, represented the rule of the few, as the city’s origins could be traced to the families and servants of the members of the Prehistoric ruler’s court.⁴³ This location constituted an antipode to the marketplace or *agora*, which merely by its etymology could be interpreted as representing the change towards the democratic rule of the many.⁴⁴ When the Greek cities in the Classical period finally turned democratic, the importance of the *agora* waxed as the authority of the *Burg* waned. The *Burg*, after it had lost its rôle as the main node of political power, became the religious focal point where the most splendid temples were built, and to which the citizens could take flight in times of peril. The Greek city of von Gerkan’s was therefore largely organised around a “bipolarity” between monarchy and democracy.⁴⁵

Von Gerkan almost exclusively used the term ‘*Burg*’ where other scholars and translators have preferred ‘*Zitadelle*’ or ‘*citadel*’,⁴⁶ which possibly reflects ideas of non-Greek architectural features.⁴⁷ His use of terminology (“*Fürsten- und Adelsburgen*”) as well as the comparisons with Mediaeval cities (of Germany?) likewise indicate that his picture of the ancient Greek *polis* was very much influenced by Western European urbanism.⁴⁸ He is however surprisingly critical to the modern use of the word ‘*akropolis*’, which he thinks should be used with much caution, as it denotes a very specific feature.⁴⁹

The ideas of von Gerkan’s were continuously reproduced over the following decades, as exemplified in Wycherley’s *How the Greeks built cities* (1949, second edition 1969), Roland Martin’s *L’urbanisme dans la Grèce antique* (1956, second augmented edition 1974), and Victor Ehrenberg’s *Der Staat der Griechen* (1957, English edition 1969). Wycherley, Martin and Ehrenberg drew heavily from von Gerkan’s ideas,⁵⁰ and likewise regarded the cited paragraph in Aristotle’s *Politics* as pivotal to the understanding of Greek *akropoleis*:

L’acropole fortifiée n’est pas à rechercher par toute cité; elle est le fait des régimes oligarchiques et monarchiques, tandis que les démocraties préfèrent s’installer en plaine.
On comprend certes la valeur et le rôle de l’acropole pour la protection du roi et de la

⁴²Von Gerkan’s compatriot Bussing (1920) presented what can be seen as a prototype of the model some years prior, but it lacks many of the political aspects of von Gerkan’s version.

⁴³Gerkan 1924, 8. ⁴⁴Gerkan 1924, 9. ⁴⁵Gerkan 1924, 7.

⁴⁶The latter is still common, see Konecny and Ruggendorfer 2014 (Alinda in Karia).

⁴⁷The analogy, however, is perhaps not far-fetched, as discussed by *i.a.* Busolt 1920.

⁴⁸Gerkan 1924, 8. The rôle of the Feudal states of Mediaeval Germany in the historiography of the *polis* has been noted by *i.a.* McNerney 1999, 10-18.

⁴⁹Gerkan 1924, 10. ⁵⁰Wokalek 1973, 3.

minorité dirigeante ; Aristote explique lui-même l'intérêt de la situation en plain pour faciliter le ravitaillement, le commerce, les échanges avec le monde extérieur, particulièrement importants dans les démocraties.⁵¹

Martin 1956, 23.

To Martin, the political structure (Aristotle's *politeia*) thus precedes and shapes the physical outline of the urban settlement. By analysing the archaeological remains of a city one should therefore be able to identify its form of political organisation.⁵² As *akropoleis* are related to royalty in Martin's understanding, the existence of such must either indicate a monarchy or a previously existing monarchy.⁵³

Both Wycherley and Martin regarded the *akropolis* as an expression of the early city's need of protection and political independence, but whereas Martin does not hesitate in linking the feature with the Mycenaean past, Wycherley is more cautious.⁵⁴

Ernst Kirsten's *Die griechische Polis* (1956) was published the same year as Martin's book, but concentrates not merely on the actual urban outline of the *polis*, but also (if not more) on its hinterland. Being a member of both the *Luftwaffe* and the *Kunstschutz* during the Nazi occupation of Greece, Kirsten had the opportunity to study the Greek landscape through the new medium of aerial photography. Even if the book has been described as one of the last works before the 'orthodoxy' mentioned above,⁵⁵ Kirsten reproduces many of the Fustelian notions of the Greek *polis*. The development of the *polis* – and hence the *akropolis* – is presented as an evolution from the 'Indo-Aryan' or pre-Mycenaean *Höhensiedlung* to the *Flachstadt* of the Classical period.⁵⁶

Die durch Thukydides (II, 15) überlieferte, durch zahlreiche attische Inschriften bestätigte Bezeichnung der Akropolis von Athen als der Polis schlechthin bekräftigt das: *Polis ist die mykenische Höhensiedlung*, die indogermanische Burg des 2. Jahrtausends in Griechenland.⁵⁷

⁵¹My translation: "We should not look for the fortified *akropolis* in just any city; it belongs in fact only to oligarchic and monarchic régimes, while democracies prefer to settle in the plains. One is certainly to understand the value and rôle of the *akropolis* as the protection of the king and the ruling minority; Aristotle himself explains locations on the plain by the particular importance in democracies of the facilitation of trade, exchange with the outside world, and acquisition of supplies."

⁵²On this subject, see May and Steinert 2014, 15-16. ⁵³Martin 1956, 23-24.

⁵⁴Martin 1956, 31; 190; Wycherley 1969, 36-38. ⁵⁵Vlassopoulos 2007, 49.

⁵⁶Kirsten 1956, 65. Kirsten's work contains a myriad of emphasised terms for different forms of settlements, and it is evident that he strived to conceive some kind of typology to reflect the great variation in the physical appearance of the *poleis*. This very German way of expressing the different types of settlements is very hard to imitate in English translation, and the endless variation between similar works hardly facilitate any good rendering in English.

⁵⁷My translation: "Thucydides' (II, 15) reference to the Athenian Akropolis as the Polis, as further supported by numerous Attic inscriptions, simply reaffirms that: *the polis is the Mycenaean hilltop site*, the Indo-Germanic *Burg* of the Greek second millennium."

So bleibt kein Zweifel mehr: Polis ist die Bezeichnung des mykenischen Burgtyps der Burghöhe, den wir nach dem späteren Sprachgebrauch Athens auch *Akropolen-Typus* nennen dürfen.⁵⁸

Kirsten 1956, 43; 45.

The evolution from Mycenaean *Burg* to the final stage of the Greek *polis* (the *Flachstadt*) in Kirsten's model, begins with the gradual growth of the *Hangsiedlung*, his translation of *hypopolis* (see page 40). In this outline, the 'sliding' of the settlement is most evident, as the political nucleus of the *polis* is supposed to follow this movement towards the plain. The *Hangsiedlung* was formed around the hilltop settlement, and is supposed to have gradually overshadowed the importance of the *Burg*.⁵⁹

2.2.2 AKROPOLEIS AS FORTIFICATIONS (1970-1980)

Frederick Winter's *Greek fortifications* (1971) and Astrid Wokalek's *Griechische Stadtbefestigungen* (1973) appeared almost twenty years later, and addressed the use, development and significance of ancient Greek urban fortifications specifically. This subject had been treated somewhat unsystematically during the 19th and 20th centuries, but these works mark the beginning of a new interest in the particularities of Greek fortifications. As noted by Maier in his review of these monographs, "Greek fortifications are not merely monuments in the history of architecture. They are also evidence of the development of individual settlements and of the political and social history of the Greek *polis*".⁶⁰

In spite of archaeological evidence and the unprecedented large number of example sites, Winter's book was quite traditional in its evolutionist view of the development and rôle of the *akropoleis*. The great influence of Kirsten is explicitly stated in the foreword, and this is also traceable in the work as a whole.⁶¹ The now well-known quotation from Aristotle is used as a prelude to the first chapter, and the *Politics* is continuously cited throughout the volume to support various arguments.⁶²

In general, as with previous scholars, the *polis* is to Winter the end product of a cultural evolution beginning with the palatial centres of the LBA. Describing the latter and the 'heydays' of Bronze Age wealth, Winter is reluctant to see much need for fortification at all, and explains the emergence of 'lofty' *akropoleis* in the EIA (his view) as the result of a rising need of refuges. The hilltop locations of these are contrasted with the LBA sites found on the plain, the earlier situation explained as being due to the federal nature of Mycenaean society.⁶³

Even at the cost of some inconvenience, it was far better in the long run to choose a steep and inaccessible hill rather than the somewhat lower sites favoured by the Mycenaeans. Yet the citadel could not be too far removed from the farmlands it was meant to control. The ideal site was the tip of a spur, which ran out from the flank of a mountain and was linked to the main mass only by a narrow ridge. In this way natural defences were

⁵⁸My translation: "There is no more room for doubt: polis is the term for the Mycenaean form of citadel hill, which in later Athenian usage began to imply an *akropolis*."

⁵⁹Kirsten 1956, 52. ⁶⁰Maier 1977, 611. My translation. ⁶¹Winter 1971a, xvi. ⁶²Winter 1971a, 3-4.

⁶³Winter 1971a, 5-6 There is an obvious conflict between this claim and the supposed hill-top location of the Mycenaean palaces, as the attentive reader will notice.

provided on three sides; the dwellings of the lower classes, extending down the slopes of the hill, were within convenient distance both of the citadel above and of the fields below.

Winter 1971a, 6.

This view of the development of the ‘*akropolis* settlements’, is very similar to the ones already presented by von Gerkan and others, and follows the main outline of the ‘myth’. However, the book differs from previous studies in some respects, as Winter for instance makes a distinction between the settlements in Magna Graecia and Asia Minor and the ones on the Greek mainland. Differences in political organisation and needs of protection are important factors to his understanding of the development of the physical layout of the settlements, but we may also see the clear influence of Aristotle, as the outline of the ‘egalitarian’ colonies are contrasted with the “royal and aristocratic strongholds of Old Greece”.⁶⁴

Addressing the question of the appearance of the *akropoleis* in the later colonies of mainly the West, Winter explains these as rather different from the ones of ‘Old Greece’, as they were founded with different needs in protection.⁶⁵ The colonies in the East (excepting the Euxine, of which he had no knowledge) were according to Winter originally concentrated on the small citadels of the *akropoleis*, as protection from hostile natives were paramount for the early settlers.⁶⁶

Some of the hilltop-sites, such as Old Ephesos and the early stronghold on Kalabaktepe outside Miletos, are very similar in appearance to the acropolis-sites of Old Greece. In Asia Minor, however, the ‘acropolis’ was often large enough to accommodate the whole population. When it was not, it probably served chiefly as a *Fluchttort*; the centres of habitation, commerce, and political life were located elsewhere. For example, whatever the historical relationship of Miletos to the early settlement at Kalabaktepe, Milesian life must always have centred on the peninsula.

Winter 1971a, 16.

It is Winter’s view of the situation in Mainland Greece that most clearly reflects the evolutionist idea of the development of these societies. The places and regions where *poleis* evolved only later are regarded as ‘backward’ and lacking trade with the outside world. When cities eventually did appear in these regions, it was only in the Classical and Hellenistic period when the “royal and aristocratic privilege had virtually disappeared”. Winter therefore argues, in line with Kirsten’s idea of the ‘*Landschaftsfestung*’, that the ‘city-planners’ of this latter time strived to include the whole settlement in the walled area, and not only the *akropolis*. Winter however notes that the latter seems to have been kept as a separate fortified area even in these cities, “which [were] maintained until quite late times”, but there are also examples of cities which wholly disposed of the feature.⁶⁷

Wokalek’s *Griechische Stadtbefestigungen* (1973) mainly focused on the early historical period of Greece. Wokalek devotes a whole chapter to a discussion of the phenomenon of the *akropolis* and

⁶⁴Winter 1971a, 16. ⁶⁵Winter 1971a, 21-23. ⁶⁶Winter 1971a, 24. ⁶⁷Winter 1971a, 30-31.

how previous scholars have understood the term. She observes that the ideas and interpretations of von Gerkan had had great influence upon the general understanding of the *akropoleis*, which could especially be observed in the further developed forms of Kirsten and Martin.

This chapter – translated as “The significance of the *akropolis* in settlement history” – mainly examines and questions the interpretations by von Gerkan and how later excavations and research fit into them.⁶⁸ She makes some interesting observations here, for instance that if the settlement indeed did move, it was then actually upwards – towards the hilltop – rather than downwards towards the plain, quite in reverse to the idea of the sliding downward as presented by von Gerkan.⁶⁹

Wokalek is also quite sceptical of the identification of a *Herrschersitz* of a feudal lord on the *akropolis*, and clearly states that the idea of the palace on the *akropolis* is not supported by the archaeological material.⁷⁰ Next, she dismisses the “bipolar antagonism” between the *agora* and the *akropolis*, explaining that they belong to two wholly different categories; the first having a local political function, and the other merely reflecting a historical or topographical situation. There was no ‘weakening of the *akropolis*’, she argues, and von Gerkan’s statement that no new *Burgen* were ever built after the “early period” can easily be disproven.⁷¹ Finally, she justly criticises von Gerkan for relying on the statement of Aristotle, who “ascribe certain topographical settlement locations as ideal to certain political situations”, without taking into consideration that Aristotle was writing from a theoretical perspective.⁷²

However, Wokalek does not only compare the ideas of von Gerkan with more recent evidence; she also presents some new observations and interpretations relevant to this subject. Even if she apparently agrees with von Gerkan in that the *akropolis* constituted the earliest location of the settlement, she believes that the movement towards the hill-side or the plain must be explained by changes in needs of protection and by increased movability and trade. After the *akropolis* was supposedly ‘abandoned’, it could now serve as a refuge (*Fliehbürg*) for the population, as illustrated by the examples of Emborio and Melie.⁷³ The *akropolis* now also acquired its ‘sacred character’, which could explain its inclusion into the walled area of the city.⁷⁴

Wokalek is perhaps the first scholar to fully express the difficulties in presenting one comprehensive model to explain the development of all *akropoleis*, and does so by interpreting them as the results of various circumstances:

Das Phänomen der Akropolis kann nicht ausschließlich mit gesellschaftspolitischen Kriterien interpretiert werden, denn nicht die gesellschaftliche Struktur ist für das Siedeln auf einem Hügel oder in der Ebene ausschlaggebend, sondern die jeweils historischen Umstände im Sinne des Wachstums der Bevölkerung, des Bedarfes nach zugänglichen Straßen, der Probleme der Versorgung.⁷⁵

Wokalek 1973, 22.

⁶⁸As noted in Wurster 1974, 273. ⁶⁹Wokalek 1973, 15. ⁷⁰Wokalek 1973, 15-17. ⁷¹Wokalek 1973, 18-19.

⁷²Wokalek 1973, 22. My translation. ⁷³Wokalek 1973, 17-18. ⁷⁴Wokalek 1973, 21.

⁷⁵My translation: “The phenomenon of the *akropolis* cannot be interpreted by socio-political criteria only, since it is not the social structure that is crucial for deciding whether one should settle on a hilltop or in the plain, but by the historical circumstances related to the growth of the population, to the need of accessible roads, and to the problems of supplies.”

This interpretation of the development of the *akropoleis* clearly opposes the evolutionist model and especially the general idea of Martin (1956, 23-24) mentioned above, but at the same time it reduces the phenomenon to the result of the resolving of practical needs. However, in line with Martin and others, Wokalek still believes that the form of *politeia* does indeed have influence on the design of the settlement fortifications.⁷⁶

The final paragraph in Wokalek's chapter is perhaps the one most worth citing, as she addresses the relation between fortification and "socio-political structures" (*gesellschaftspolitische Strukturen*):

Für die Charakterisierung der Siedlungen in ihrem Typus sowie in ihren historischen Entwicklungsstufen ist das Phänomen der Befestigungsmauer sekundär. Ihre Bedeutung trägt nicht bei zur Definition der Begriffe wie Akropolis, Polis oder Asty; auch kann ihre Existenz unmöglich eine politische Struktur erhellen. Im Gegenteil, die Mauer ist primär funktional-pragmatisch angelegt (vgl. S. 93 f.); ihr Vorhandensein zeigt lediglich an, daß man um eine bestimmte Zeit auf ihren Schutz angewiesen war; daß man sich materiell und von der Menge an Arbeitskräften her erlauben konnte, ein solches Bauprogramm zu beginnen. Dieses geschieht jedoch nicht in einer für alle Städte verbindlich festgelegten Zeit, sondern nach lokalen Bedingungen wie eine mehr oder weniger günstige Geländelage, Gefahren von nichtgriechischen Völkern, allgemeine politische Spannungen etc. in ganz unterschiedlichen Epochen. Die jeweilige gesellschaftspolitische Struktur blieb ohne jede Auswirkung.⁷⁷

Wokalek 1973, 24.

This discussion and examination of Greek fortifications were continued some years later in Lawrence's *Greek aims in fortification* (1979). Lawrence is very unusual among the scholars mentioned, as he does not adhere to any of the old Fustelian notions on the origin of the Greek *polis*. His focus is exclusively on fortifications. Lawrence devotes a large section of his fifth chapter ("Forts at cities") to *akropoleis*, interpreting them as solely related to the needs of protection. Lawrence's account also stands out in that it actually defines an *akropolis*, if only briefly, and this from an archaeological point of view. He observes that "(a)t about a hundred cities there are still clear indications of a separately defensible area, small in relation to the general enceinte; in almost every case it can unhesitantly be called an acropolis."⁷⁸

Lawrence summarises the rôle of the *akropoleis* in the defence of the city:

⁷⁶Wokalek 1973, 95. This is questioned in the review by Maier 1977, 612.

⁷⁷My translation: "The phenomenon of fortification walls is however only secondary for the characterisation of settlements according to type and historical stages of development. Their meaning does not influence the definition of such terms as *akropolis*, *polis* or *asty*; also, a political structure cannot possibly be explained by their existence. On the contrary, walls are primarily built because of pragmatic reasons [...]; their presence only indicates that at a certain time, one was dependent on their protection, and that one had access to the necessary materials and labour to embark on such a building programme. However, this does not occur in all cities at the same time, but rather at quite different periods according to local conditions such as a more or less favourable settlement location, threats from non-Greek peoples, general political tensions, etc. The respective socio-political structure remained without effect."

⁷⁸Lawrence 1979, 126. This number is far too low.

Generally an acropolis would either serve as a refuge if the enemy entered the residential part of the city, or was garrisoned from elsewhere – more often than not against the will of the citizens.

Lawrence 1979, 126.

However, he observes that the average *akropolis* was too small to contain the whole civic population, and that the limited access to water and shelter also made them unsuitable as refuges for the whole *polis*.⁷⁹ The cost of constructing *akropoleis* for this particular goal, Lawrence argues, would therefore be disproportionate to the actual effectiveness of the feature.⁸⁰

The idea of the *akropoleis* being remnants of the LBA is more or less discarded by Lawrence, who sees the situation at Athens as quite unusual. He also states that it is very rare to have *akropolis* walls predating the rest of the urban enceinte.⁸¹ However, he does not reject the implications of the quotation from the *Politics*, as he interprets the existence of remarkably large *akropoleis* in Thessaly as indications of the aristocratic régimes in this region. The (later?) construction of lower enceintes would accordingly indicate the establishment of democracies at these sites. His argumentation is somewhat self-contradictory, as he also states that the type of constitution does not affect the appearance of the fortifications.⁸²

2.2.3 ENTER EVIDENCE (1980-2004)

As evinced by the works of Wokalek (1973) and Kolb (1984), there were scholars who already in the 1970s and early 1980s questioned the ‘myth’ on the basis of its dependence on mere suppositions. With the possible exception of the works on fortifications, many of the common assumptions concerning *akropoleis* during the 20th century were made on the basis of a small number of famous examples, which also applies to the ideas of the Greek *polis* itself. Therefore, it would not be surprising if the study of a larger number of examples were to produce other interpretations, which I argue indeed happened in the 1980s.

By the 1970s, the question of ‘the rise of the *polis*’ had become more and more relevant as several EIA sites interpreted as ‘proto-*poleis*’ had been published. Scholars such as Snodgrass (1971), Desborough (1972), and Coldstream (1977) produced important studies on this period, making better use of the increasing archaeological material in their interpretations.

It is especially Snodgrass who in a series of articles in the 1980s and early 1990s tries to expand on the rôle of the *akropolis* in the history of the Greek *polis* settlement. To him, *akropoleis* are fundamentally defensive installations, apparently not constructed for the benefit of the whole population as indicated by their small size, and were often build on the remains of the Mycenaean ‘citadels’.⁸³ Consequently, Snodgrass argues, *akropoleis*/citadels should not be regarded as indicators of an existing *polis* community, but rather as remnants of earlier forms of social organisation.⁸⁴

Snodgrass’ article ‘The rural landscape and its political significance’ (1989) became perhaps the most important article on this topic, as it was used by the members of the later CPC.⁸⁵ Here he presents a minimalist typology of *akropolis* settlements, consisting of type A and type B. The first is explained

⁷⁹Lawrence 1979, 133. ⁸⁰Lawrence 1979, 127. This reasoning on cost/effort and practical use will be discussed on p. 124. ⁸¹Lawrence 1979, 131. ⁸²Lawrence 1979, 132. ⁸³Snodgrass 1991, 6.

⁸⁴Snodgrass 1977, 23; Snodgrass 1991, 6-7. ⁸⁵It is also the model presented in Bintliff 2012, 213.

as originating in a hilltop settlement that later expands, leaving the original settlement location as an *akropolis*. The second type consists of a number of scattered small settlements going through a *synoikismos*, using one of the former settlement locations as *akropolis*.⁸⁶ It is probable, however, that ‘typology’ is modelled on Snodgrass’s experiences during the Boeotia Survey (see p. 239), and consequently more representative of the area of Thisbai (**B.2.16**) than universally applicable.

Even if many of the theses in de Polignac’s *La naissance de la cité grecque* (1986, augmented English edition 1995) have been criticised as problematic,⁸⁷ it is still an important work, as it questioned many of the old truths concerning the Greek *poleis*. As noted by Snodgrass, it is notable in that it includes the ‘territory’ as a part of ancient *polis* society, and regards religion as an important factor in its creation and sustainment.⁸⁸ Due to the latter, it can therefore be regarded as part of Fustelian tradition as it explicitly regards Greek society as held together by religion.⁸⁹

It is therefore interesting to note that de Polignac’s work marks the return of the idea of the bipolar *polis*, as originally imagined by von Gerkan. However, it is the extra-urban sanctuary which plays the rôle of the antipode of the *akropolis* in de Polignac’s model, and not the *agora* which took over this rôle only “later”.⁹⁰

To de Polignac, the beginning of the *polis* state is marked by the change from a pastoral to an agricultural society, an event which took place in the vaguely outlined transition period between the LBA and the EIA. This brought a change in the human perception of space, creating the idea of territories as the economy went from something based on movement (pastoralism and transhumance) to immobility (agriculture). The need to manifest the claims to a particular area prompted the creation of the extra-urban sanctuary to mark the end of the territory, and the *akropolis* to mark its centre.⁹¹

Acknowledging von Gerkan’s *Griechische Städteanlagen* as the first monograph on the subject of Greek urban settlements, Franziska Lang continued the line of reasoning of von Gerkan in her *Archaische Siedlungen* (1996). This is an ambitious book, listing all the (at the time) known Archaic urban settlements in Greece and Asia Minor together with (when possible) plans and sketches.

To Lang, the rôle and function of the Archaic *akropoleis* are to be found either in their relation to the city walls or as a cultic area. She rightly criticises the use of the stated passage in Aristotle on the basis of archaeological evidence,⁹² and notes that there are very few remains of activity on these sites apart from those of cult.⁹³ Observing that separate walled areas are common in “Oriental” settlements, where they are identified as the temple or ruler districts, she notes that in (Archaic?) Greek settlements, the only similarly separately walled area is the *akropolis*.⁹⁴

Die verschiedenen Formen der Nutzung der Akropolis zeigen, daß die Akropolis nicht nur der Ort für eine Kultstätte war oder einen anderweitig in besonderer Weise genutzten Platz darstellt, sondern jeweils spezifischen Erfordernissen folgend angelegt wurde. Zudem war nicht in allen Fällen die Ummauerung des Hügels von Anbeginn intendiert. Damit ist hinlänglich die Gerkan’sche These von der Akropolis als Herrschersitz wiederlegt. Die Akropolis der nachmykenischen Zeit unterliegt gegenüber jener der mykenischen Epoche, in der aufgrund der ähnlichen Herrschaftsstruktur in den verschiedenen

⁸⁶Snodgrass 1989, 56-64. ⁸⁷See the discussion on the Argolid in Hall 1995. ⁸⁸Snodgrass 1991, 18. ⁸⁹McInerney 1999, 2. ⁹⁰Polignac 1995, 154. ⁹¹Polignac 1995, 34. ⁹²Lang 1996, 22. ⁹³Lang 1996, 24-25. ⁹⁴Lang 1996, 21.

mykenischen Zentren im Prinzip gleichförmige Anlagen geschaffen wurden, anderen Gestaltungsprinzipien. Demgegenüber bestimmen in nachmykenischer Zeit die unterschiedlichen Erfordernisse und die Organisation der Gesellschaft die Nutzung der Akropolis. Ein gleichbleibendes Prinzip ist ihr nicht immanent.⁹⁵

Lang 1996, 25.

Except for this enlightened critique of von Gerkan and the ‘myth’, Lang does not offer any explanation nor definition of an *akropolis*, yet makes several statements concerning their nature. Her observation that “the subsequent separation [...] of an area” is less common among her examples is not further analysed, but perhaps shows that she sees the *akropoleis* as remnants of the earliest settlement, and not later additions to the *polis* nucleus. However, Lang observes that the exact meaning of these walled areas cannot yet be ascertained, as very few of them have been properly examined.⁹⁶

A very important observation to this study, however, is the comment that the walls of the *akropolis* also manifested and represented the political power of the settlement. Regrettably however, she refrains from doing a further analysis of this phenomenon, as it can only be observed with confidence in the later Classical and Hellenistic periods.⁹⁷

It might have been expected that the collective work of the CPC, could have changed this long-lasting trend. However, none of the Centre’s publications contain any substantial information about *akropoleis* on any specific or general level. The discussion is, however, refreshingly non-Athenocentric as far as the literary and epigraphical sources allow. This is most probably a direct result of the vast amount of data collected by the Centre.

All this is also true concerning the lengthy introduction in the final *LACP* volume, which – even if marvellously rich in detail – contains only a few lines on *akropoleis*. Most of the explanations are derived from Snodgrass’ articles from the 1980s, and Aristotle’s *Politics*, ignoring many of the other available sources.⁹⁸

The situation in the actual inventory, however, is somewhat different, as the word *akropolis* is used to describe features in 305 of the *poleis* (compared to 177 listed as part of the city walls). What this signifies is however still nebulous, as the *LACP* does not provide a definition of the term ‘*akropolis*’. The identification of such features in the *LACP* can therefore possibly be criticised as unmethodical; a risk further raised by the large number of contributors. Regrettably, there are also many obvious examples of *akropoleis* which are lacking in both the actual inventory, as well as in the list of city fortifications.⁹⁹

⁹⁵My translation: “The variety in use of the *akropolis* shows that it was not only a place for worship or some other important activity, but was constructed to fulfil certain requirements. Also, in many cases, the hill was not intended to be encircled on all sides. Thus we can refute the von Gerkanian thesis that the *akropolis* was the seat of the ruler. The *akropolis* in the post-Mycenaean period was subject to different principles of design to that of the Mycenaean era, as the almost uniform structure of domination in the different Mycenaean centres principally generated structures similar to one another. In the post-Mycenaean period, however, the use of the *akropolis* [was] determined by the various needs and by the form of organisation of the society. There is no immanent consistent principle.”

⁹⁶Lang 1996, 21. ⁹⁷Lang 1996, 21-22. ⁹⁸*LACP*, 8; 33; 42; 137; 139; 140.

⁹⁹Examples are many, such as Skotoussa (**B.1.20**) and Larissa Kremaste in Thessaly, Herakleia Pontike, Cher-

2.2.4 AFTER THE *LACP* (2004-)

Even if the activities of the CPC spurred further interest in the ancient Greek *polis*, it did not actualise studies on *akropoleis*. Hölscher's complaint (p. 6) continued to be valid.

Around the same time, the works on fortifications from the 1970s (2.2.2) were followed by Hansen's doctoral student Frederiksen, whose *Greek city walls of the Archaic period* (2011) presents all the known information on urban fortifications of this particular period. Even if Frederiksen's primary focus is on the development of city walls and not on urban layout, there are some interesting observations relevant to this study, especially concerning the rôle of monumental walls in the early *poleis*.

In more recent years, the research network *Fokus Fortifikation* has produced two excellent volumes on ancient Mediterranean fortifications, their function, execution and semantics,¹⁰⁰ opening up for a discussion on the wider meaning of fortifications in ancient society beyond more functionalist approaches. However, none of the articles contain any discussion on *akropoleis* and they are consequently not cited in this study.

This religious rôle of *akropoleis* has likewise been almost ignored by scholars. The subject of religion is always lingering at the periphery of the interpretations of these features, but no-one has actually studied the part played by *akropoleis* in cult, at least not specifically. Mili, however, presents a good summary of the known facts on the cult of Athena Polias in Thessaly in her *Religion and society in ancient Thessaly* (2015), examining both common aspects and local variation. Mili is also almost unique in that she actually describes a number of *akropoleis* in a wider region, and not merely to an 'ideal situation' which – as can be seen among the numerous examples above – is most common. Mili draws heavily on epigraphical material (quite uncommon concerning *akropoleis*, as stated), as the remaining ancient literature dealing with Thessaly is quite scanty. Her results show that the cult of Athena Polias on the *akropoleis* of Thessaly was at several locations conducted by a group of publicly elected magistrates. The limited research on Athena Polias makes it hard in the present to know whether this reflects a common or wide-spread practise, making Mili's book particularly valuable to this study.

sonesos Taurike and Phanagoria in the Euxine, and – most surprisingly – Messene (!), Corinth (!) and Argos (!) on the Peloponnese, all of which have their respective *akropoleis* mentioned in literary or epigraphical sources.

¹⁰⁰Müth, P. I. Schneider, *et al.* 2015; Frederiksen *et al.* 2016.

Part II
Material

“*Akropolis, being the city peak [karopolis], is the head [kephalē] of the city, and an Athenian lofty place [topos hypselos]. What is under it is called the hypopolis.*”

Etym. Magn. 48.21-23.

3

Literary sources

IN CONTRAST TO THEIR PHYSICAL CONSPICUITY, ‘*akropoleis*’ are relatively rare in ancient written sources.¹ This scarcity obstructs any closer examination of the term, as examples are scattered and often very brief, providing little information as to the appearance and use of *akropoleis*. What is clear, however, is that features mentioned in literary sources as *akropoleis* can be connected with 132 physical locations in virtually every region populated by the ancient Greeks, with examples of use throughout the whole span of Antiquity (**Fig. 3.1**).

This distribution can be compared with the corpus of Archaic and Classical *poleis* in the *IACP*, in which 306 *akropoleis* are mentioned (**Fig. 3.2**).² The respective distributions of literary and archaeological *akropoleis* appear to harmonise, with some notable exceptions.³ This suggests that there is at least a similarity between what was considered an *akropolis* by the ancients and what is considered an *akropolis* today.

The main difference between the ancient and modern usage of ‘*akropolis*’ is the strong symbolical aspects of the word. Whereas the modern usage of the word always indicates a physical feature, the ancient use also includes references to qualities and functions. The principle used by some to understand the *poleis*, “whatever is called a *polis* is one”,⁴ is therefore not applicable, as whatever is called an *akropolis* is not necessarily an *akropolis* in the archaeological sense (see **3.2.4** and **3.3.4** below). However, whatever was called an *akropolis* is of great interest when trying to understand what this word and feature meant to the ancient Greeks.

¹The *TLG* contains ca. 1400 entries, ranging from Homer to Photios, containing many duplicates.

²This number was assembled by the author from the brief descriptions of the archaeological sites listed in this work, as it features no list of *akropoleis*.

³Macedonia, Thrace, Cyprus, Palestine, and – perhaps most remarkably – Crete.

⁴Snodgrass 1980, 44; C. Morgan 2003, 5.

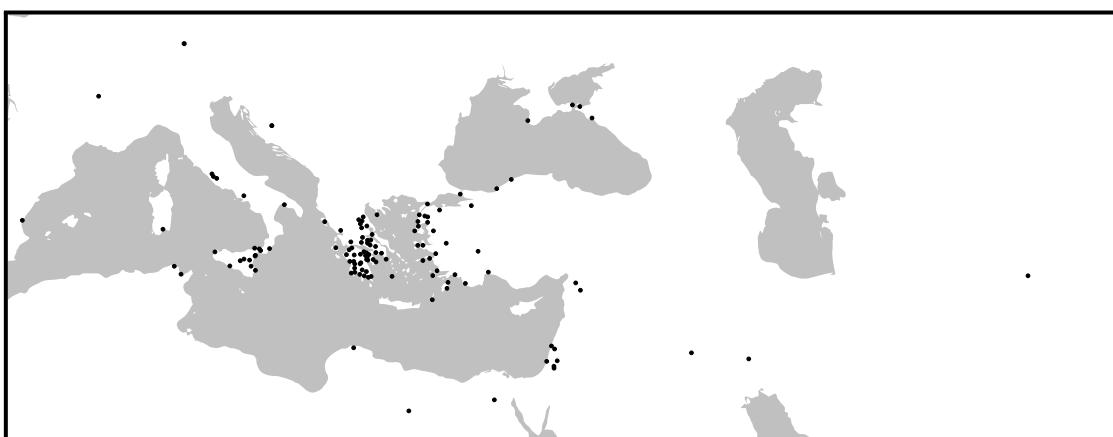


Figure 3.1: Distribution of locations described as *akropoleis* in ancient literature and epigraphy.

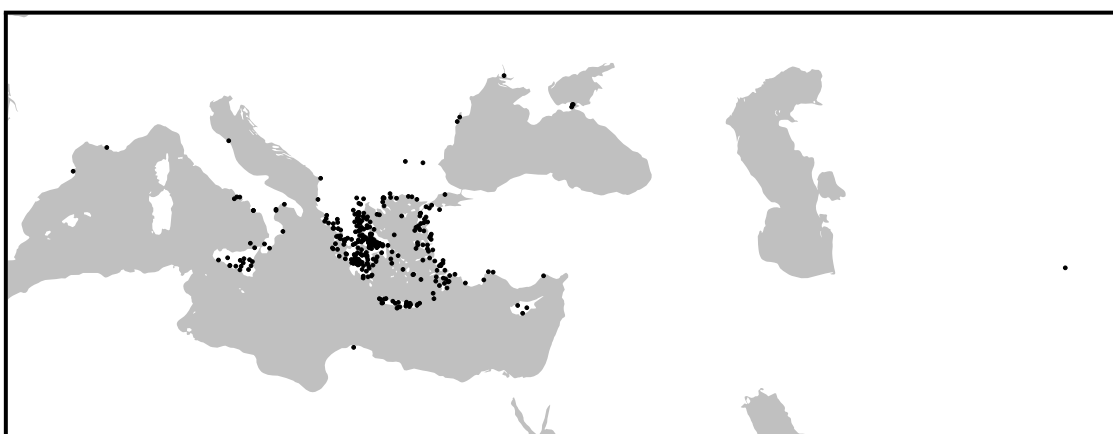


Figure 3.2: Distribution of archaeologically attested *akropoleis* in the Archaic and Classical periods.

In this chapter, I investigate how the word ‘*akropolis*’ figures in ancient sources in order to acquire a broader understanding of the use of the term in Antiquity. This will be done partly in order to question the relevance of this ancient word as an archaeological term, and partly to acquire a better set of criteria for identifying *akropoleis* in the archaeological record.

As is evident from textual contexts, the term ‘*akropolis*’ was apparently also used synonymously with other terms, mainly ‘*akra*’ and to a certain extent ‘*polis*’. As these words themselves carry a wide set of connotations and meanings, it is necessary to address them separately too. The Latin word *arx* (pl. *arces*) poses an additional problem which needs to be addressed, as it figures frequently in Latin accounts.

All mentions of physical *akropoleis* in ancient sources are collected alphabetically in **Appendix A** according to *polis*. Four additional locations are either fictional, regions or figures of speech (see section **3.3.4**), and are therefore not included.

3.1 TYPES OF SOURCES

Akropoleis are mentioned in virtually every type of ancient written source, from historical narratives and philosophical treatises to tragedies and funerary epigrams. They are either mentioned directly, referring to a particular *akropolis*, or more indirectly, speaking of *akropoleis* in general or of idealised ones. There are also some examples of use which indicate a more metaphorical meaning, where ‘*akropolis*’ illustrates the function or meaning of a particular object or person.

There was to our knowledge no ancient text dealing exclusively with *akropoleis* with the exception of the lost works by Heliiodorus of Athens and Polemo of Ilion, both of the 2nd c. BCE and both titled *On the Athenian Akropolis*.⁵ References to *akropoleis* occur in varying contexts, and very seldom contain any additional information other than the existence of an *akropolis* at a certain location.

The majority are found in accounts of the many wars of the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Classical historians such as Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon sometimes refer to *akropoleis*, and represent the first true providers of information about their function. *Akropoleis* continue to figure in the accounts of the Hellenistic period. Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Livy,⁶ and Plutarch all mention a comparatively large number of *akropoleis*. This is evidently because these authors deal almost exclusively with wars and sieges, in which *akropolis* locations figure.

Interestingly, *akropoleis* seldom appear in the military treatises of the Hellenistic era, such as Aeneas Tacticus’ *How to survive under siege* or Philo of Byzantium’s *Belopoeica* and *Polioretica*.⁷ Polyaeus’ *Stratagemas*, however, contains several instances of *akropoleis* playing a rôle in the city defence.⁸

The other major providers of *akropolis* passages are the *Geography* of Strabo and the *Periegesis* of Pausanias. The latter is of particular interest, as Pausanias records personal visits to certain locations which he identifies as *akropoleis*. Pausanias’ work contains the largest number of different *akropoleis* in any single source, but this in the second half of the 2nd c. CE, and his views and interpretations of more ancient remains should be treated with caution.

Epigraphy provides a more direct link between text and place. It gives a potentially different picture than literature passed down through the Middle Ages, and is less subject to copyists’ errors (but contains just as many *lacunae*, if not more). Also, inscriptions tell us more about the situation in their respective locations, and because they were texts that were on public display, we can perhaps be more certain that they were read by at least some people.

Inscriptions generally tend to be more concerned with events in their own time and place (except for copies of earlier inscriptions), distinguishing them from other written sources which more often deal with occurrences in the past and/or far away.

The latter is an important issue in the study of *akropoleis*, as they most often appear in accounts of events in which the authors did not partake. There might be hundreds of years between the event in which the *akropolis* is mentioned and the preserved account of that occurrence. It is to be suspected – and indeed it was probably the case – that ancient authors used the word ‘*akropolis*’ to describe features quite different from Greek *akropoleis* just to make the feature more comprehensible to the reader, or just because a more suitable designation was lacking (see p. 40).

Yet, the use of the term can also originate in the an earlier source from which the particular author drew his information. This is especially interesting when it comes to the large histories of Dionysius,

⁵Heliod. Hist.; Polem. Hist. ⁶This if ‘*arx*’ is equated with ‘*akropolis*’, see 3.2.4. ⁷Philo Byz. *Bel.*; Philo Byz. *Pol.* ⁸Polyaeus *Strat.* 1.23.2; 2.30.1; 5.1.1; 5.2.4; 5.5.1; 5.19.1; 5.44.3; 7.6.3; 8.21.1; 8.59.1.

Diodorus, and Livy, all of which dependent on the accounts of earlier writers. That these accounts sometimes describes (erroneously) a topography unknown to the author in question is sometimes evident.⁹

3.2 TERMINOLOGY

The modern use of the term ‘*akropolis*’ illustrates that the scholarly use of ancient Greek terms at times can be confusing if not inconsistent – a situation somewhat reflected in the ancient use, as will be evident. As any survey of archaeological publications will show, ‘*akropolis*’ has been applied to a wide variety of types of locations, often without any definition or motivation. It is even common to use word for locations and features far beyond the temporal and geographical extent of Greek civilisation, which adds further confusion to the subject, placing “*akropoleis*” in Assyria, Hattuša, and Mesoamerican Tikal.¹⁰ This unsystematic modern use of the word *akropolis* is mirrored in the ancient use, as the Greeks used the term to describe foreign features of a similar appearance. This makes it necessary to clarify how the word *akropolis* is understood in this study.

The words ‘*polis*’ (3.2.1) and ‘*akra*’ (3.2.2) need to be discussed first because their history, use and meaning overlap with ‘*akropolis*’.

3.2.1 POLIS

Comparative etymology has shown that the original meaning of the Greek word ‘*polis*’ – in its earliest form ‘*ptolis*’ – was probably ‘stronghold’, with similar words in Vedic (*pūr*) and Baltic languages (*pilis*, *pils*).¹¹ It is sometimes argued that the word was in use already in the LBA,¹² with the first attestation on a Linear B tablet found at Knossos.¹³ However, the inscription *po-to-ri-jo* more probably represents a masculine name than the genitive of *polis*, ‘*ptoleōs*’.¹⁴ It is therefore only from the time of the Homeric epics that *polis/ptolis* can be attested with certainty.

However, ‘*polis*’ seems to have lost much of the meaning of ‘stronghold’ in the Archaic period.¹⁵ It was only in a handful of communities that ‘Polis’ continued to be used toponymically for what was later to be known as the *akropolis*.¹⁶ The Athenian Acropolis was seemingly referred to as the Polis by the Athenians far into the Classical period, on the evidence in Thucydides and a number of inscriptions.¹⁷ This use of the word, however, was apparently reserved for the Athenian Akropolis, as a mid-5th c. BCE inscription mentions two *stelai* to be erected “on the Polis [...] and on the *akropolis* of the Erythraians”.¹⁸

The West Locrian *kōmē* of Polis mentioned by Thucydides belonged to the *polis* of the Hyaians,¹⁹ and might possibly have been the political centre of this social group. This naming of a physical location *might* reflect a situation more common in earlier periods, when the *polis* was the communal centre for an otherwise scattered group of villages (see p. 116). In the Hellenistic period, it seems that

⁹Lawrence 1979, 141. ¹⁰Ahlström 1982, 4; Bryce 1999, 47; Coe 1990.

¹¹Frisk 1934, 283; Benveniste 1969, 367; Sakellariou 1989, 155; Hansen 1996, 10; 34; Hansen 2000, 145; Cole 2004, 17; Hall 2007, 41.

¹²Ehrenberg 1957, 7; Effenterre 1985, 29. ¹³*KN As* 1517, 12. ¹⁴Hansen 1993, 9. Pers. comm. with Erik Hallager.

¹⁵Hansen 1996, 35. ¹⁶Ephesos (*IEph* 1A.1); Ialysos (*IG* XII¹ 677); Mycenae (*IG* IV 492). ¹⁷Thuc. 2.15.6. See Harrison 1906, 135-136 and *LACP*, 42. ¹⁸*IG* I³ 15. ¹⁹Thuc. 3.101. See Kirsten 1952 and Hansen 1996, 36.

the members of this community – the Polieis – had become a polity of its own (separate from that of the Hyaians), indicating that the earlier situation was rather different.²⁰ Pausanias’ account of the oldest location of Arcadian Mantinea is also illustrative of this earlier situation:²¹

<p>Μαντινεὺς μὲν οὖν ὁ Λυκάωνος ἐτέρωθι φαίνεται οἰκίσας τὴν πόλιν, ἣν ὀνομάζουσι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Πτόλιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ Ἀντινόη Κηφέως τοῦ Ἀλέου θυγάτηρ κατὰ μάντευμα ἀναστήσασα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἤγαγεν ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον·</p>	<p>There are plain indications that it was in another place that Mantineus the son of Lykaon founded his city, which even today is called Ptolis by the Arkadians. From here, in obedience to an oracle, Antioe, the daughter of Kepheus, the son of Aleus, removed the inhabitants to the modern site.</p>
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The change in meaning from ‘stronghold’ to ‘settlement’ appears to have begun prior to the time of the compilation of the Homeric epics, as ‘*polis*’ implies ‘stronghold’ in only three instances out of 235.²² Even at this point,²³ however, the adjective *akros* is sometimes needed to clarify the exact nature of the *polis* (see section 3.2.3 below).

The epic lengthened form of *ptolis*, *ptoliethron*, occurs less often in the epics. Even if it is merely a lengthened form of ‘*ptolis*’, its meaning appears to be limited to the ‘citadels’ in Troy and elsewhere rather than to various ‘settlements’,²⁴ and occurs similarly in a handful of later texts and inscriptions mostly of an archaising nature.²⁵ The Homeric *ptoliethra* are often described as “well-built” (*ejktemenon*), evoking a picture of large LBA walls rather than of the small EIA settlements.

Even if the old meaning of ‘*polis*’ was evidently still known to some learned persons of post-Archaic antiquity, it is unlikely that ‘*polis*’ would have implied ‘stronghold’ to the average person of the historical period.²⁶ At the end of the Classical period, the word almost exclusively referred to the political bodies or physical settlements of these societies, the old meaning only preserved in fossilised toponyms. The strongholds, wherever still in use, were now probably referred to as ‘*akropoleis*’.

3.2.2 AKRA

The noun *akra* (Ionic *akrē*), generally relates to extremities. It can – depending on context – imply a wide set of phenomena such as a promontory,²⁷ a mountain peak,²⁸ a ship’s stern,²⁹ a fingertip,³⁰ or even the glans of a penis.³¹

²⁰IG IX² 1.71a; IG IX² 1 812-13; *Magnesia* 28.13. ²¹Paus. 8.8.4. ²²Sakellariou 1989, 155.

²³The question of *when* the Homeric epics were compiled remains highly debated, and I would like to emphasise that my argument here only rests upon the fact that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* constitute the earliest preserved Greek literary texts.

²⁴Hom. *Il.* 1.164; 2.133; 2.228; 2.501; 2.505; 2.538; 2.546; 5.569; 2.584; 4.33; 4.239; 8.288; 9.149; 9.291; 9.396; 9.402; 9.668; 13.380; 15.257; 17.407; 18.512; 21.433; 22.121; Hom. *Od.* 1.2 (Troy); 3.4 (Pylos); 3.485 (Pylos); 8.283 (Lemnos); 9.165 (Ismaros); 10.81 (Telepylos); 15.193 (Pylos); 24.377 (Nerikon); *Hymn. Hom.* 3 410 (Tainaron, Laconia); *Hymn. Hom.* 13 318 (Eleusis); 356 (Eleusis).

²⁵Helioid. *Hist. FGrHist* 31 frgm 45 (Miletos); Hes. *Sc.* 81 (Tiryms); Hes. *Fr.* 331.4; 129.16 (Tiryms); Callim. *Hymn* 1 81; 33-34; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.186; 1.398; 1.812; 1.825; 1.1316; 2.760; 2.1143; 3.824; 3.1405; *Or. Sib.* 1.149 (Karian cities); 13.56 (Alexandria?); Dionys. *Per.* 436. IG II² 4968 (Athens, late 4th c. BCE); SEG 17:817 (Apollonia, Cyrenaica, 283-250 BCE); IG II² 10073 (Athens, 2nd – 3rd c. CE); Ramsay 1897 nr. 495 (Sebaste, Phrygia, late 2nd c. CE); Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896 nr. 164 (Diokaisareia); *alazoo4* nr. 37.

²⁶Hansen 1996, 35; Blok 2013, 164.

²⁷Str. 14.6.3 (Cape Sarpedon); Thuc. 6.30.1 (Cape Iapygia); Plut. *Vit. Dion* 25.4.1 (Cape Pachynos).

²⁸Plut. *Sert.* 7.3; Hdt. 6.100; 8.32.3. ²⁹Eur. *IA* 239. ³⁰Eur. *IA* 951; Ar. *Lys.* 435-436. ³¹Ar. *Thesm.* 239.

In texts describing sieges and attacks on cities, however, it is common to interpret *akra* as the ‘citadel’ of the settlement, *i.e.* a shorter form of ‘*akropolis*’. That *akra* could be used in this way in Antiquity is supported by passages in which the word is used interchangeably when referring to the same location.³²

‘*Akra*’ in this particular sense occurs very frequently in literary sources – contrary to the statement in the *LSJ*, far more than *akropolis*³³ – and especially so in texts narrating military events of the Hellenistic period. Judging from the diverse contexts, it appears that an *akra* was basically a unit in the city fortifications, almost exclusively located on hilltops or other elevated positions traversed by or connected with the wall enceinte. There are few secure examples of this use prior to the 4th century BCE, and the type of installation is probably to be connected with forms of urban fortifications emerging at this time.

The manifold meanings of the term can however pose some problems. For instance, the settlement of Herculaneum in Campania is described by Strabo as a “fortress (*phourion*) with an *akra*” extending into the sea.³⁴ ‘*Akra*’, in this case, is probably to be interpreted as a ‘promontory’ (in accordance with the local topography), but in the context of a *phourion* this could also be ‘citadel.’ Similar examples can be noted at Tauric Chersonesos (in the Crimea) and the Corinthian Peiraion, where *akrai* – again in the sense of promontories – were garrisoned, an action otherwise more connected with citadels and forts.³⁵

Just as with *akropoleis*, *akrai* do not figure notably in any of the Hellenistic treatises on siege warfare. In the histories of especially Diodorus and Dionysius however, they are often the scenes of intense fighting, as they were strategic positions in the urban fortifications.³⁶

A relatively large number of sites contain features which reasonably can be considered to be *akrai* in this sense; small, heavily fortified elevated positions in the urban enceinte, often reinforced with a bastion-like tower or a series of towers. This position in the urban landscape sometimes means that *akrai* share their location with the identified *akropolis*, and – as stated above – the two sometimes appear as synonyms in ancient and modern literature.³⁷ Some translators of ancient literature even render *akra* as ‘acropolis’, which further adds to the confusion between the two.³⁸

Akra and *akropolis* were used interchangeably in several texts of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, perhaps indicating that the ‘*akra*’ at some point had started to become a short form or metonym for ‘*akropolis*’. The connexion between *akrai* and tyrants also supports this (see **3.3.2** below),³⁹ as does the mentions of sanctuaries on the *akra* from the 1st c. BCE onward.

³²Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.46.1 (Troy), Xen. *HG* 6.1.3 (Pharsalos), Arr. *Anab.* 1.17.3-5 (Sardis). See also *LSJ*, *s.v.* ἄκρα: “citadel built on a steep rock overhanging a town (usu. ἀκρόπολις).”

³³The number of *loci* containing this word can be counted in tens of thousands, which puts it far beyond the scope of this study. However, after a relatively thorough review of these sources, it can with certainty be said that ‘*akra*’ in the sense of hilltop fortification is by far more common than ‘*akropolis*’. The assertion in the *LSJ* that ‘*akropolis*’ is the more common form can possibly be explained by the lack of tools such as the *TLG* at the time of its compilation.

³⁴Str. 5.4.8. A similar case is the description of Epidauros in Paus. 2.29.1. ³⁵Str. 7.4.7; Thuc. 5.75.6. ³⁶See for example **A.1.43** and **A.1.119**. ³⁷McNicol 1997, 192; 228; Müth, Sokolicek, *et al.* 2016, 9-10. ³⁸Probably a case of ‘elegant variation’. See the Loeb edition of Diod. Sic. (20.110.2; 20.111.3). ³⁹Philo *Spec. leg.* 3.25.

3.2.3 AKROPOLIS

Strictly speaking, ‘*akropolis*’ denotes something in the line of ‘the higher *polis*’, ‘the furthest *polis*’ or ‘the *polis* on the edge (of the hill)’.⁴⁰ The word is a determinative compound of the words ‘*akros*’ and ‘*polis*’, and appears to have substituted an earlier form ‘*hē akra polis*’. It has been suggested that this construction – which is unusual for the early Greek period – was influenced by the similar word *akropolis* (‘lofty’), which was used to describe mountain tops.⁴¹

It has further been suggested that the appearance of this compound construction reflects the need to distinguish between two different yet related phenomena both of which were originally referred to as *poleis*: the hilltop stronghold and the settlement (see 3.2.1). This need would ultimately have led to the emergence of an independent word, as *polis* began to exclusively denote something else than it originally did.⁴² ‘*Akropolis*’, hence, did not imply a city or *polis* on a hilltop generally, but rather the kind of *polis* that is on the height, in contrast to the kind of *polis* on the slope or plains, *i.e.* the settlement proper or *asty*.⁴³ The term in its compound form was apparently established at the time of the composition of the *Odyssey*, where it occurs for the first time, or at least at the time of the final compilation of this work. It has been suggested that the use of this form in the *Odyssey* was the result of a later editing of an earlier ‘*akrē polis*’, which would explain the difference from the *Iliad*.⁴⁴ Dictionaries of ancient Greek contain variations of this, such as the “upper or higher city; hence, citadel, castle”,⁴⁵ “(t)he highest part of a city, the citadel”,⁴⁶ and “high city, stronghold, citadel”.⁴⁷ It is universally assumed that the ‘-*polis*’ of the compound refers to *polis* in the urban sense (‘city’).

There are no ancient definitions of the meaning of ‘*akropolis*’, nor any elaborations as to its meaning or function. The only exception is in the very late Hesychius (5th or 6th c. CE), who simply states that an *akropolis* is “the top [*akron*] of the *polis*”.⁴⁸ The Mediaeval lexica of the 11th and 12th centuries repeat this information with the same brevity.⁴⁹ The only ancient text mentioning the wider connotations of an *akropolis* is a fragment of Polybius found in a quotation by Damaskios (early 6th c. CE), itself only known from the *Souda*:⁵⁰

Δαμάσκιος: τὰ γὰρ ἐπιφανέστατα τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων ὡς ἐτίπαν κοινήν ἔχει τὴν φύσιν. γνοίη δ’ ἂν τις τὸ λεγόμενον ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀκροπόλεις συμβαινόντων. αὗται γὰρ δοκοῦσι μὲν μεγάλα συμβάλλεσθαι πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τῶν πόλεων, ἐν οἷς ἂν ὦσι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἐλευθερίας φυλακὴν, γίνονται δὲ καὶ πολλάκις αἴτια δουλείας καὶ κακῶν ὁμολογουμένων, ὡς φησι Πόλυβιος.

Damaskios [writes]: On the whole, conspicuous strongholds tend to share this feature. One can appreciate this statement if one considers the history of *akropoleis*: they are indeed thought to contribute greatly towards the security of the *poleis* in which they are situated and towards the maintenance of freedom, but they often become the cause of slavery and undeniable abuses, as Polybius writes.

⁴⁰At this stage of analysis, one should be careful not to translate *polis* with ‘city’. ⁴¹Hom. *Il.* 5.523; Hom. *Od.* 19.205. See Risch 1944, 20. ⁴²Frisk 1934, 283. ⁴³Gerkan 1924, 10; Behrens-du Maire 1995, 14. ⁴⁴Risch 1944, 20.

⁴⁵*LSJ s.v.* ἀκρόπολις. ⁴⁶*Cunliffe s.v.* ἀκρόπολις. ⁴⁷*Montanari s.v.* ἀκρόπολις. ⁴⁸Hsch. *s.v.* ἀκρόπολις.

⁴⁹*Lex. Seg.* 212.10: “Ἀκρόπολις: τόπος ὑψηλός. τὰ δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτὴν ὑπόπολις ὀνομάσθη.” *Etym. Magn.* 41.21-23: “Ἀκρόπολις, καρπόπολις τις οὔσα, ἢ κεφαλὴ τῆς πόλεως. ἐστὶ καὶ τόπος ὑψηλὸς Ἀθήνησι. τὰ δ’ ὑπ’ αὐτὴν, ὑπόπολις ὀνομάζονται.”

⁵⁰*Suda* A.1015 *s.v.* ἀκρόπολις. Dam. fr. 114c, trans. after Athanassiadi 1999, 274-277. Damaskios’ passage probably deals with the fortress of Papirios in Sicilia.

This excerpt has to be regarded diachronically, being a Late Ancient quotation of an Hellenistic author preserved in a Mediaeval lexicon,⁵¹ yet it contains some of the conflicts of interpretation which can be noted. These, as I will argue, has probably their origin in the different sets of meanings and connotations linked with the word which sprung from the change in use of the physical locations over time.

In some modern works,⁵² the *akropolis* or ‘higher city’ is contrasted with ‘the lower city’ or *hypopolis*. This latter word, however, only appears two times relating to ancient sources, and that is in the *Ety-mologicum Magnum*, and the *Lexeis rhētorikai* of the *Lexica Segueriana*, all collections of rhetorical terms compiled in Constantinople in the 11th or 12th century CE.⁵³ The use of this term in Antiquity cannot be ascertained as the term does not occur in any known text before the Middle Ages. The prefix *hypo-* is also somewhat confusing, as it implies ‘under’ rather than the more logical ‘below’.⁵⁴ Pausanias contrasts *akropolis* with ‘*katō polis*’, which is more accurately ‘the lower *polis*’.⁵⁵ I believe this to be a more suitable designation. There is also the rare designation *anō polis* (‘upper city’) which appears in foremost Thucydides and Josephus, apparently describing differences in the terrain within the urban topography.⁵⁶

3.2.4 INTERPRETATIO GRAECA AND INTERPRETATIO ROMANA

As can be observed among the entries in the catalogue (**Appendix A**), ‘*akropolis*’ was used quite liberally by ancient authors when describing places and features that were essentially not Greek. Writing in Greek for a Greek-speaking audience, this is not surprising, as the accounts were aimed to be comprehensible to the readers. This means that we find *akropoleis* among the peoples of the Indus valley,⁵⁷ in Carthage,⁵⁸ or among the Gauls in what is now France.⁵⁹

As mentioned above, this use of Greek terms shows that some caution is due when it comes to terminology. The occurrence of the word ‘*akropolis*’ in an ancient text should not prompt the assumption that a place was actually regarded as an *akropolis* or served as such. However, the use of this particular word in these circumstances can give an insight into what the author himself read into the word.

The use of a non-Greek word to describe a Greek feature poses another interesting problem in this discussion. The Latin noun ‘*arx*’ (pl. ‘*arces*’) is a good example of just this. Originally, the *Arx* was the highest spot on the Capitol hill, and thus an important location in early Rome. Ancient authors seem to have equated *arx* with *akropolis*, as can be noticed in many instances, mainly in Livy.⁶⁰ Mediaeval and Renaissance translations of ancient Greek works also used this word to render the Greek *akropolis*, further linking the two in Western scholarship.⁶¹

⁵¹The manuscripts have *πολεμῖως* instead of *πόλεως*, which gives the section a rather different meaning!

⁵²Kirsten 1956, 52-53; Marcos 2012, 117. ⁵³Sandys 1915, 101.

⁵⁴The temple of Pan in Athens is, rightly so, described by Herodotus (6.105.3) as “underneath the *akropolis*” (*hypo tēi akropolī*).

⁵⁵Paus. 7.20.3 (Patrai).

⁵⁶Thuc. 1.93.7; 2.48.2; 3.34.1; 3.34.2; 4.54.2; 4.57.1; 4.66.3; 4.69.3; Dion. Hal. *Thuc.* 14.11; Str. 3.2.3; Joesph. *AJ* 7.66; 14.477; 15.318; Joseph. *BJ* 1.39; 2.344; 2.424; 2.426; 2.530; 5.11; 5.137; 5.140; 5.252; 5.260; 5.356; 5.445; 6.325; 6.364; 6.374; 7.26; Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 12.2; Plut. *Vit. Phoc.* 28.6; App. *B. Civ.* 2.6.39; Paus. 1.35.7; 4.31.2; 7.2.8; 7.26.2.

⁵⁷Xen. *Anab.* 6.15.7. ⁵⁸Str. 17.3.14; App. *Pun.* 4; Dio Cass. 21.70.30. ⁵⁹App. *B. Civ.* 3.4.27.

⁶⁰See several examples in **Appendix A**.

⁶¹For example, *arx* is used throughout the Latin editions of *IG* to represent the Greek ‘*akropolis*’.

The use of this Latin word becomes relevant to this study as *arces* figure quite frequently in Livy's accounts of the Macedonian Wars (214-148 BCE). Since Livy made use of a number of earlier Hellenistic sources, many of which Greek, his work provides additional information as to the use of these locations in the late 3rd – early 2nd century BCE. These mentions, however, should not be seen as direct transmissions of 'akropolis', but – as will be discussed below – they provide much insight in the use of (tentative) *akropoleis* in the two case regions.

3.3 AKROPOLEIS IN LITERARY SOURCES

Akropoleis occur in several different contexts in ancient texts, and not only as physical locations. The literary *akropoleis* can conveniently be organised into five groups. These are (i) *akropolis* as a place in myth; (ii) *akropolis* as a fortified location; (iii) *akropolis* as a cultic area; (iv) *akropolis* as an abstraction; (v) *akropolis* as a name.

The first group contains examples of mythical *akropoleis* (most notably Troy) and *akropoleis* in origin myths of various *poleis*. The second group is the most substantial, dealing with the many different situations in which *akropoleis* were used as fortified spaces. This includes accounts of sieges and other types of warfare, but also the instances when tyrants and foreign garrisons used these strong positions to control the *polis*. The epigraphical evidence comprises much of the material of the third group, as most of the inscriptions mentioning *akropoleis* are *stelai* put up in sanctuaries. The references to *akropolis* sanctuaries by ancient authors are also presented here, together with the various deities associated with them. Additionally, some of the social groups and societies related to these cults are presented here. The handful of examples in which *akropolis* is used as a metaphor account for most of the material in group four. Related to this are also the examples in group five, in which the rare female name of Akropolis is presented.

3.3.1 I: THE MYTHICAL AKROPOLIS

The presence of 'akropoleis' in the ancient Greek mythological landscape can be arranged in two main groups. The first one, and the first attested, consists of the various tales of their rôle in the great Trojan War, beginning with Homer. The second group is more general, and contains examples of tales relating to the legendary foundation of various *poleis*, all of which are similar in nature.

It is to be noted that these two groups differ in many ways, such as that the first is rather pan-Hellenic in nature and the second contains stories relevant only to the individual *polis*. Further, the references to the Trojan *akropolis* – through the continuous influence of the Homeric epics – are found throughout the period, whereas the foundation myths in question are known only from late Hellenistic and Roman sources.

THE TROJAN AKROPOLIS

As a type of feature still very much associated with the beginnings of the Greek city, it is perhaps not surprising that 'akropolis' occurs for the first time at the beginning of Greek literature, in the Homeric epics. As stated above (3.2.3), it is not found in its compound form in the *Iliad*, where the Pergamos of Troy is referred to as the 'akrē polis'. It occurs for the first time as 'akropolis' in the *Odyssey* (8.494;

8.504), also relating to the Trojan *akropolis*. At the court of Alkinoös at Scheria, Odysseus asks the poet Demodokos to sing of the Trojan Horse:

<p>ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ μετάβηθι καὶ ἵππου κόσμον ἄεισον δουρατέου, τὸν Ἐπειὸς ἐποίησεν σὺν Ἀθήνῃ, ὅν ποτ' ἐς ἀκρόπολιν δόλον ἤγαγε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς ἀνδρῶν ἐμπλήσας οἱ ῥ' Ἴλιον ἐξάλαπαζαν.</p>	<p>But come now, change thy theme, and sing of the building of the horse of wood, which Epeios made with Athena's help, the horse which once Odysseus led up into the <i>akropolis</i> as a thing of guile, when he had filled it with the men who sacked Ilion.</p>
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The pan-Hellenic nature of the legend of the Trojan war made ‘*akropolis*’ specifically associated with Troy, a connexion that would remain strong throughout Antiquity. It is only long after the Periclean building programme of the second half of the 5th century that the word appears to be connected primarily with Athens.⁶² Athens, however, was a comparably more tangible place than Homeric Troy, being physically more manifest than the Ilion of the epics, at least to the Athenians.

As pointed out by Berman, Homeric architecture (most notably in Troy) mainly functions as theatrical backdrops for the events of the poem and rarely as actual scenes of action.⁶³ The events of the *Iliad* mainly takes place in the plain, and the towering walls, towers, and *akropolis* of Troy are mostly experienced from afar, even by the protagonists/antagonists of the story.⁶⁴ The internal arrangement of the different topographical locations show instead that Homeric Troy is more “an *understanding* of a city that has riches, palaces, temples, streets, and of course, battlements”,⁶⁵ (my emphasis) than a *representation* of one. However, this does not imply that Homeric Troy is *purely* of a fantastic nature. The idea of a temple of Athena on the Trojan *akropolis*, for example, seems to reflect a more general trend in major Greek settlements at the time (as suggested by archaeological finds, see 4.4.3). The passages in which we hear of the houses (*dōmata*) of Hector and Priam (6.317) and the sanctuary (*nēos*) of Pallas Athena (6.297) “*en polei akrēi*” therefore tell us more of this *understanding* than of the actual outline of any physical city. It is possible that this reflects impressions of the physical landscape of Greece at this time: some of the most conspicuous features of the built environment at this point were the remains of the LBA citadels. This situation changed as monumental architecture started to develop in the Greek world in the late Archaic period, and with that the understanding of ideal cities.⁶⁶

With very few exceptions – probably due to the nature of our preserved sources – ‘*akropolis*’ was not used to designate any specific place other than the Trojan Pergamos before the early 5th century. Outside the epics, we encounter it in Stesichoros’ *The sack of Troy*, again in connexion with the ruse with the wooden horse,⁶⁷ and in Theognis’ *Elegies* (“Cruel love [...], you brought ruin to the *akropolis* of Ilion”).⁶⁸ The word continued to be connected with the Pergamos of Troy, even if to a lesser degree, and we find allusions to it in a number of various sources throughout Antiquity.⁶⁹

⁶²As suggested by the number of references. Athens’ rather outstanding position as provider of preserved ancient authors does probably play in here, also.

⁶³Berman 2015, 39. ⁶⁴With some notable exceptions, such as the inverted situation of the *Teichoscopy* (Hom. *Il.* 3.121-244 ⁶⁵Berman 2015, 40. ⁶⁶Berman 2015, 46. ⁶⁷S. 88. ⁶⁸*Eleg.* 2.1231.

⁶⁹*Anth. Graec.* ix epigr. 700; Diod. Sic. 4.32.5; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.46.1; Str. 13.1.35; Plut. *De def. or.* 436^b; Paus. 10.27.5.

THE *AKROPOLIS* OF THE OECIST

When ‘*akropolis*’ appears in mythical circumstances other than the Trojan War, it is mainly in connexion with the foundation myths of a number of mainland *poleis*. Interestingly, the tales which include the mention of the local *akropolis* all appear to be very similar, like variations on a common theme.

The general scheme is that a foreigner (often Easterner) arrives in a particular *polis*, kills a monster, becomes king (*basileus*), enacts a synoecism of a scattered population, and fortifies the *akropolis*.⁷⁰ The motifs of this tale, as observed by Vian,⁷¹ indicate that it probably originates from the Archaic or Classical periods rather than to the LBA or EIA, being similar to the foundation myths of the age of colonisation. The common occurrence of alternative – seemingly conflicting – foundation myths have led to the interpretation that the oecist tale reflects a later (post-Archaic) understanding of the foundation of cities.⁷² Especially interesting is the conflict between the focus on autochthony in many of the supposedly older myths and the apparent alienness of the oecist of the later. This was resolved by later mythographers by arranging the two myths chronologically, making one of the foundations a re-foundation.⁷³

The oecist legend of Boeotian Thebes could be regarded as the stereotype of this story.⁷⁴ Through a Delphic oracle, the Easterner/Phoenician/Egyptian Kadmos is told to follow a certain cow to the place where it finally drops to the ground. This leads him to a deserted location, where he established his new *polis*. Having sacrificed the cow, he sends his companions for water, but they are killed by a dragon/snake guarding the spring. Kadmos kills the monster, and is told by Athena to sow its teeth. Out of the ground men grow, called *Spartoi* (from ‘*speirō*’, ‘I scatter’) who became the ancestors of the Thebans.⁷⁵ From Pausanias we gather that Kadmos founded the city of Kadmeia, which later became the *akropolis* of the city of Thebes (B.2.14).⁷⁶

A second foundation myth is that of the twins Amphion and Zethos, who are *also* the legendary founders of Thebes. In pseudo-Apollodoros’ version, they assume the Theban throne after a power-struggle with king Lykos and queen Dirke.⁷⁷ In Pausanias’ version, they later build the famous seven-gated wall around the lower town (*asty*) which they call Thebes; Zethos with his hands and Amphion with his lyre.⁷⁸ By combining these two tales in a chronological arrangement, one seemingly resolves the conflicting traditions and the two names associated with the same location. There is thus no conflict, only two separate events, a founding and a re-founding.

As observed by *i.a.* Berman (2004), it is the latter story which is probably the older of the two. The legend of Kadmos – with its typical themes of Delphic oracles, animal guides, slaying of monsters and founding of cities – is possibly then a construction of the Archaic period, if not later.⁷⁹ Similar tales are to be found in other *poleis*, perhaps most notably at Athens.

The Athenian myth also consists of two stories that appear to have been combined into a longer narrative. It is summarised by Thucydides who states that Attica originally consisted of many autonomous *poleis* with their own seats of government scattered all around the region. It was only with the arrival

⁷⁰The obvious yet interesting parallel to this is of course the story of Aeneas. ⁷¹Vian 1963, 76-82.

⁷²Berman 2004, 18-19. ⁷³Berman 2004, 19. ⁷⁴Apollod. 3.4.1.

⁷⁵Berman 2004, 2-3. Diodorus does not have this story, but writes that they were called *Spartoi* as they were “gathered together from all sides” (Diod. Sic. 19.53).

⁷⁶Paus. 9.5.2. ⁷⁷Apollod. 3.5.5. Again a parallel to the foundation myths of Rome.

⁷⁸Paus. 9.5.5-6. The myth is also mentioned in Hom. *Od.* 11.263.

⁷⁹It is to be noted that the three main sources for this myth are of the Hellenistic and Roman eras.

of the foreign oecist Theseus that these became united under Athens, and one particular hilltop settlement – the Polis – became the *Akropolis* of the united Athenians.⁸⁰ Examining further the details of the story, one can easily see the many themes shared with the Theban myth: a foreigner arrives (Kadmos/Theseus), unites a scattered population (Athenians/Spartoi), founds a city (Polis/Kadmeia) on what later becomes the *akropolis* of the city (Athens/Thebes).

There are even more similarities, such as the slaying of a monster (Dragon/Minotaur-Marathonian bull), and an oracular consultation in which the archaising *ptoliethron* (see 3.2.1 above) is used for *akropolis*.⁸¹

Αἰγείδη Ἰησεῦ, Πιτθίδος ἔκγονε κούρης,
πολλαῖς τοι πολίεσσι πατήρ ἐμὸς ἐγκατέθηκε
τέρματα καὶ κλωστήρας ἐν ὑμετέρῳ πτολιέθρῳ.
ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ τι λίην πεπονημένος ἔνδοθι θυμὸν
βουλεύειν: ἄσκος γὰρ ἐν οἴδατι ποντοπορεύσει.

Theseus, offspring of Aigeus, son of Pittheus' daughter,
many are the *poleis* to which my father has given
bounds and future fates within the confines of your *ptoliethron*.
Thus be not dismayed, but with firm and confident spirit
counsel only; the bladder will traverse the sea and its surges.

As pointed out by Bernal in his controversial *Black Athena* (1987), there is another strong parallel to the myth of Kadmos in the Argive story of king Danaos, also said to have come from the East or Egypt.⁸² The legend of Danaos is again only one of several foundation myths of Argos, beginning with Phoroneus, and probably also reflects ideas and perceptions of the foundation of urban settlements stemming from the Archaic to Hellenistic periods. One of the *akropoleis* of Argos – the Larissa – was according to Strabo fortified by this early king.⁸³

We encounter yet more variations of the same story in another *polis* with multiple *akropoleis*, that of Megara. The first of these *akropoleis*, the Alkathoa, was named after the foreigner oecist Alkathoös (son of the Easterner Pelops), who comes to Megara, kills a monster (the Kithaironian lion), becomes king, fortifies the city and has the *akropolis* named after him.⁸⁴ The second is the Karia, named after another foreigner (the son of the aforementioned Easterner Phoroneus of Argos), reported to be the first king of Megara.⁸⁵ In Megara's harbour town, Nisaia, there was a third *akropolis* of the same name, named after king Nisos.⁸⁶ At this location was according to Pausanias the tomb of Nisos' predecessor, king Lelex (from Egypt), who though he was not a true oecist, founded a short-lived dynasty.⁸⁷

These examples show that there existed a number of very similar foundation myths in some *poleis* which to some extent included the *akropol(e)is* in the narrative, at least in sources from the Roman period.⁸⁸

In conclusion, it can be said that *akropoleis'* rôles in various ancient myths probably do not reflect the appearance of actual settlements nor an actual series of events, but rather the changeable understanding of urbanity and how *poleis* are established. Physical LBA remains in or close to the settlement may have

⁸⁰Thuc. 2.15. ⁸¹Plut. *Vit. Thes.* 24.5. ⁸²Bernal 1987, 84. ⁸³Str. 8.6.9.

⁸⁴Paus. 1.42. The story of how Apollo helped building the city wall using a harp is again very similar to that of Amphion and Zethos.

⁸⁵Paus. 1.40.6; 1.42.1.

⁸⁶Megara is called "The hill of Nisos" (Νίσου λόφος) in Pi. *Nem.* 5.85; Pi. *Pyth.* 9.161. This probably as the location of the Alkathoia festival, see Hiller von Gaertringen 1864.

⁸⁷Paus. 1.39.6; 1.44.3.

⁸⁸In addition, Pausanias (8.24.3) mentions that the oecist of Zakynthos, one Zakynthos, was said to have been from Arcadian Psophis, and that the Zakynthian *akropolis* was therefore called Psophis.

spurred the local imagination, helping the *polis* to establish more firmly its claims to Antiquity and place.

The origins of these myths, their function in the *polis* and the further implications of their distribution in the Greek world will be discussed in section 5.5.3. Generally, however, it can be stated with some certainty that the various myths concerning or containing references to *akropoleis* influenced the ways in which the ancient Greeks regarded and understood these locations.

3.3.2 II: THE FORTIFIED *AKROPOLIS*

As most references to ‘*akropoleis*’ in ancient literature can be found in accounts of sieges, it is perhaps not surprising that this aspect of their function has been the most thoroughly discussed in scholarly literature. Accounts of besieged and captured *akropoleis* start to appear in the late 6th century, and in the already quoted section in Aristotle’s *Politics*⁸⁹ *akropoleis* are contrasted with other forms of “strong places”.

On the so-called Xanthos stele (ca. 400 BCE), which was set up by one Harpagos, Athena Ptoliporthos (‘the sacker of *ptoleis*’)⁹⁰ is given credit for his exploits:⁹¹

[πο]λλὰς δὲ ἀκροπόλε(ι)ς σὺν Ἀθηναίαι Πτολιπόρθωι [π]έρσας συνγενέσιν δῶκε μέρος βασιλείας. ὦν χάριν ἀθάνατοι οἱ ἀπεμν(ή)σαντο δικαίαν.	Having razed many <i>akropoleis</i> assisted by Athena Ptoliporthos he gave a portion of the dominion to his kin, for this the Deathless have bestowed on him just favour.
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In the following centuries, *akropoleis* began apparently to play a rôle in urban fortifications (as archaeologically attested, see 4.3),⁹² but not necessary in relation to the defence of the *polis* proper. Instead, the *akropoleis* serve as the dwelling place of the tyrant and his bodyguard, or far more commonly, as the headquarters of the foreign (often Spartan, later mainly Macedonian) occupying garrison. Cases in which the civic population is said to have taken refuge in the *akropolis* are exceedingly few, and occur to the very end of the Hellenistic period.

THE *AKROPOLIS* OF THE TYRANT

In 66 passages in ancient literature, we hear of a tyrant having his seat on the *akropolis* of the city. The vast majority of these passages are from either Diodorus Siculus or Plutarch and deal with the tyrants of Syracuse, but we have examples of 19 tyrants on *akropoleis* from an additional ten *poleis* (Table 3.3, p. 59). Compared with the large number of known tyrants – more than 200 – this is not an impressive number,⁹³ yet there seems to have been some popular association in Antiquity between ‘tyrant’ and

⁸⁹Arist. *Pol.* 1330^b77, see p. 20.

⁹⁰A somewhat rare epithet for Athena, otherwise given to among others Ares or Herakles (*SEG* 42:818, Phalassarna, Crete). Also found in Tryph. 390; 681 (3rd c. AD).

⁹¹*TAM I* 44.26-28. Trans. after Leake 1847, 28-29.

⁹²Which was ridiculed by Theaet. (*fl.* 3rd c. BCE) 12.233: ἄλλοις ἀκροπόλῃες· ὁ μηδοφόνος δὲ δέδασται ξυνὸς ἐμὶν Μαραθῶν καὶ μαραθωνομάχοις (“Let others stand on *akropoleis*, but Marathon, which slew the Medes, is the common portion of myself and the men who fought at Marathon”).

⁹³This number should, however, only be regarded as low if it can be showed that tyrants normally inhabited places not identified as *akropoleis*. This would be a suitable theme for another study, as the idea of tyrants on *akropoleis* appears to prevail in modern scholarship, cf. Bintliff 2012, 259.

‘*akropolis*’. This association is attested in a number of examples from mainly the late Hellenistic and Roman periods, which due to their similitude suggests that they refer to some popular saying or aphorism. For example, Plutarch writes that Cato warned the Romans not to establish Caesar as “tyrant in the *akropolis*” by popular vote.⁹⁴

This association could also be the result of a literary model, perhaps most common among Sophists, that of the tyrant and the tyrannicide. In this model, the *akropolis* acts as “the first emblem of tyrannical power”, something of the tyrant’s foremost attribute.⁹⁵ *Akropoleis* thus appear as the *skēnē* in various rhetorical discussions, and this long after tyrants had ceased to be common in the Greek world. It is merely the place where one would find the tyrant, and could therefore be used metaphorically (as will be further expanded upon in section 3.3.4).

This model or imagery can be noted already in the late 4th c. BCE in a passage from Menander’s *Aspis*, which even if its context (nor direct connexion with a tyrant) cannot be ascertained, is still quite illustrative:⁹⁶

ὦ τρισάθλιοι,
τί πλέον ἔχουσι τῶν ἄλλων; βίον
ὡς οἰκτρὸν ἔξαντλοῦσιν οἱ τὰ φρούρια
τηροῦντες, οἱ τὰς ἀκροπόλεις κεκτημένοι.
εἰ πάντας ὑπονοοῦσιν οὕτω ῥαδίως
ἐγχειρίδιον ἔχοντας αὐτοῖς προσιέναι,
οἷαν δίκην διδόασιν.

Triply unhappy men!
Why do they want a bigger share than all
the others? What a wretched life they go through, those
who guard the forts, who hold the *akropoleis*!
If they suspect that it’s so easy for the world
to come and see them with a dagger, what
amends they make!

Among the examples of actual tyrants, it is never specified why the tyrant chose this particular location as his power base. The *akropolis* offered an easily defended confined space from which most of the city fortifications could be controlled, and access to the extramural world was often provided by a separate exit in the outer wall. This does not however imply that the *akropolis* contained the actual house of the tyrant; it is only Maiandrios of Samos who is said to have “withdrawn” (*anechōrēse*) into the Astypalaia, the *akropolis* of Samos.

Even if the origins of the literary archetypal tyrant can probably be traced to ideas of the Peisistratids of the Archaic period, it is Klearchos of Herakleia Pontike (A.1.45) who most closely follows the stereotype. Klearchos’ hard régime was kept in close memory through the *Epistles*, attributed to Chion of Herakleia (one of Klearchos’ murderers), but possibly a product of a 4th c. CE Neo-Platonist writer.⁹⁷ We know from Polyaeus that Klearchos had tricked the *polis* into letting him fortify an *akropolis*:⁹⁸

Κλέαρχος Ἡρακλεώτης ἀκρόπολιν ἀναστῆσαι βουλόμενος μισθοφόρους συνέταξε λεληθότως ἐξίναί νυκτός, λωποδυτεῖν, ἀρπάζειν, ὑβρίζειν, τιτρώσκειν. ἀγανακτοῦντες οἱ πολῖται παρεκάλεσαν Κλέαρχον βοηθεῖν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως ἔφη δυνατὸν εἶναι τὴν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτῶν κατασχεῖν, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοὺς περι-

In order to gain permission to fortify an *akropolis* in Herakleia, Klearchos ordered the mercenaries to go out by night, and plunder, rob, maim and do all the damage they could. Suffering from these injuries, the citizens complained to Klearchos, and begged his protection. He told them, it would be impossible to stop the depredations of the troops, unless they were confined within walls, which is what he wanted to rec-

⁹⁴Plut. *Vit. Cat. Min.* 33.6. ⁹⁵Tomassi 2015, 252. ⁹⁶Men. *Aspis* Fr. 1, quoted in Stob. *Ec.* 4.8.7.

⁹⁷Chion *Ep.* See the discussion in Düring 1951. ⁹⁸Polyaeus *Strat.* 2.30.1.

τειχίσειεν. συγχωρησάντων Ἡρακλεωτῶν
τόπον τῆς πόλεως περιτειχίσας ἀκρόπολιν
κατασκευάσας οὐκ ἐκείνους ἐκώλυσεν, ἀλλ’
αὐτῷ τὸ ἐξεῖναι πάντας ἀδικεῖν παρέσχεν.

commend to them. The citizens agreed, and assigned part of the city, where he could raise a wall and build an *akropolis*. In fact, this *akropolis* offered no protection to the citizens, but it enabled Klearchos to maltreat them in any way he chose.

The Ortygia in Syracuse (**A.1.119**) – also known as “The Island” – is the most well-attested tyrannical *akropolis*, but far from typical in other senses. Being a small island or peninsula in the harbour of the city, it would normally not qualify as an *akropolis*, but it is referred to as such in ancient sources. The island’s position in the harbour meant that Dionysios I and II were able to use it as a base for their mercenaries, fully dominating the city while still having a area of refuge nearby. One other example of an island acting as *akropoleis* exists,⁹⁹ but this situation probably reflects Syracuse’s unusually conspicuous fortifications and its outstanding position among the *poleis* of Sicily at this point.

In the Bosphoran Kingdom, the Spartokid archonts/tyrants/kings had during the 5th and 4th centuries turned the *akropolis* of the capital Pantikapaion (**A.1.84**) into a fortified monumental complex, complete with palace (*basileia*) and sanctuary to Apollo. This mirrors the development at Pergamon (**A.1.89**), where the Attalid kings turned the *akropolis* into a monumental showcase rivalling Athens. The Attalids and the Spartokids were, however, different from Klearchos and the Dionysioses in that their power was considered legitimate. There are no other known cases of a tyrant’s palace on any *akropolis*, as is sometimes asserted.¹⁰⁰

THE AKROPOLIS OF THE GARRISON

The small size of most *akropoleis* indicates that they were not built or suitable as refuges for the non-combatant population of the *polis*.¹⁰¹ This harmonises well with the literary sources, in which *akropoleis* very rarely figure as such. The fortifications of these locations, however, indicate that there was a need to protect something. According to the literary sources, what to be protected was in many cases the foreign garrison (*phrouros*) of the city.

The reasons why one would pick this particular location for a garrison were probably many. Similarly to the *akrai* discussed above, the location of the *akropoleis* on the rim (*akra*) of the walled enceinte offered good access to the fortifications of the city, and therefore also to the settlement as a whole.¹⁰² Also, the lofty location made it suitable as a lookout, for both light signals from allies and approaching enemies. To separate the occupying force from the domestic population was also desirable, as it mitigated the constant risk of tension between the two groups.¹⁰³

The quotation from Polybius cited above (p. 39), illustrates the problems related to having a garrison on the *akropolis*. Often consisting of mercenaries, the garrison could be the source of disorder and distrust, especially when installed by an oppressing major power.¹⁰⁴ To revolt against the great power would also be extremely difficult if there was an occupying force in the *akropolis*.¹⁰⁵ However, garrisons could also be installed with the good-will of the citizens, providing security and help to the *polis*. Generally, however, it appears that garrisons in *akropoleis* were not wanted by the *polis*, being a constant threat to order and independence.

⁹⁹Amastris (**A.1.5**), even if Taras (**A.1.120**) was close of being one. ¹⁰⁰See critique of this erroneous assumption in Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, 26. ¹⁰¹Lawrence 1979, 126-127. ¹⁰²Behrens-du Maire 1995, 48.

¹⁰³Lawrence 1979, 130. ¹⁰⁴Chaniotis 2005, 92. ¹⁰⁵Lawrence 1979, 129.

The first known instances of an occupying force installing garrisons in *akropoleis* occur in the Classical period.¹⁰⁶ Even if foreign garrisons were not uncommon at the time of the Persian Wars – at least among the cities of Ionia – it is only with the polarisation of power between Sparta and Athens that we find the first examples of *akropoleis* being garrisoned. To garrison these locations soon became a standard way of asserting power in cities recently conquered or apt to revolt, a strategy that will be discussed in **Chapter 5**.

Macedon appears to have been the great power in the Hellenistic period that put most effort into installing garrisons in foreign cities.¹⁰⁷ After the war in 322 BCE, Macedonian forces occupied cities in central and southern Greece continually until the time of the Roman conquest.¹⁰⁸ Using the example of Thessaly, both Isocrates and Demosthenes comment on how cities and whole regions could be kept in submission by the Macedonians through garrisoned *akropoleis*.¹⁰⁹

There are no detailed descriptions of how these foreign troops, often mercenary, were kept on the *akropolis*. As with all garrisons, they appear to have been supervised by an *akrophylax*,¹¹⁰ or more often a *phourarchos*,¹¹¹ an officer responsible for both the fortifications and the men stationed within. This officer also acted as the main link between the occupying force and the political body of the *polis*, and could sometimes become popular and well-esteemed with the citizens, as is attested in a number of inscriptions.¹¹² The existence of such inscriptions, however, is an indication that this was maybe not always the case, and it is likely that the garrisons were often considered a burden by the *polis* and its inhabitants.

The accounts in Livy of the taking of various Greek cities during the Macedonian Wars (214-148 BCE) show that the garrisoned *akropolis/arx* was often the very last position of the city to surrender to the attackers. However, the lack of fresh water and other subsistence made these locations ill-suited for prolonged occupation, and in most cases the besieged either surrendered, were overtaken or attempted to break out within a day or two.¹¹³

¹⁰⁶See for example **A.1.71**. Even if Diodorus (3.61.3) ascribes the phenomenon to the mythical age of Kronos.

¹⁰⁷As is repeatedly mentioned in Livy, for example 32.32 (**A.1.81**); 38.1.8.

¹⁰⁸Chaniotis 2005, 88.

¹⁰⁹Isocr. *Pac.* 118; Demosth. *Falsa leg.* 260.

¹¹⁰Polyb. 5.50.10 (Apamea, Syria); 4Mac 3.13; *IG* II² 2308 (late 4th c. BCE); 2309 (mid-1st c. CE); 2310 (mid-1st c. CE, all three from Athens; *St. Pont.* III 278 (ca. 100 BCE, Gazioura); *IK Estremo oriente* 102 (Babylon); *SEG* 36:1274 (dubious).

¹¹¹Aen. *Tact.* 22.20.2; App. *B. Civ.* 2.8.54; 2.9.60; App. *Mith.* 12.82; App. *Sam.* 9.2.2; 12.3.3; App. *Hann.* 133.3; 148.2; 188.5; 212.5; App. *Num.* 3.1.2; Arr. *Anab.* 1.17.3; 2.1.5; 3.5.3; 3.16.9; 4.16.5; Dio Cass. 9.40.11; 55.33.2; 68.22.3; p. 205.20; Diod. *Sic.* 12.65.9; 14.4.4; 14.53.5; 18.18.5; 18.37.4; 18.64.61; 18.68.1; 18.72.3; 19.16.1; 19.86.1; 20.45.2; 37.3; 20.103.6; Din. 1 39.8; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 20.4.8; 20.8.3; Joesph. *AJ* 14.p.36; 14.52.2; 11.320.3; 8.93.5; 15.408.3; 16.317.1; 17.223.1; 18.95.2; Joseph. *BJ* 1.35.3; 1.137.3; 1.528.3; 2.18.4; Memn. 9.12; 42.5; 51.14; Plut. *Vit. Dion* 11.5.3; Plut. *Vit. Eum.* 3.14.2; Plut. *Vit. Phoc.* 31.1.4; Plut. *Vit. Arat.* 12.4.2; Polyaeus *Strat.* 2.4.3; 2.19.1; 3.9.48; 6.10; 4.7.4; 7.26.1; 8.21.1; Polyb. 21.42.1; Str. 11.14.6; 12.3.11; Xen. *Mem.* 4.4.17; Xen. *Oec.* 4.7.7; Xen. *Cyr.* 5.3.17; 7.5.34; 8.6.1-3; Xen. *An.* 1.1.6.

¹¹²*SEG* 35 1183 (Xanthos, mid-3th c. BCE); *IG* IV, 1 (Aegina, mid-2nd c. BCE); *IG* XII², 1061 (Keos, ca. 260 BCE). Cf. Chaniotis 2005, 89.

¹¹³Livy 36.24. Cf. Lawrence 1979, 129.

THE AKROPOLIS AS FLUCHTBURG

A common understanding of the function of Greek *akropoleis* is that they were places of refuge – or *Fluchtburgen* – for the civil population in times of imminent danger.¹¹⁴ However, a thorough reading of all the literary sources shows that this was very rarely the case. The Greek sources contain one secure example, that of the Lycians defending themselves in the *akropolis* of Xanthos (**A.1.130**),¹¹⁵ to be compared with the numerous accounts of *akropoleis* being used for other purposes in similar situations. Livy contains more examples, but they all indicate that the *akropoleis/arces* were ill-equipped for this purpose.¹¹⁶

Whenever in risk of being attacked, the members of the *polis* appear either instead to have sought refuge in the walled city itself or fled to desolate places in nearby hills/mountains.¹¹⁷ This is attested from the whole period,¹¹⁸ while the examples of non-combatants taking flight to the *akropolis* are limited to the extraordinary events of the Macedonian Wars around 200 BCE. There are some few examples, however, of *akropoleis* acting as the last resort for political leaders. The most notable example of this is when family of Mithridates VI Eupator took refuge and was besieged in the *akropolis* of Phanagoria in the Bosporan Kingdom (**A.1.92**) during the last phase of the Mithridatic War (64 BCE).¹¹⁹

3.3.3 III: AKROPOLEIS IN CULT

There is comparatively little literary evidence supporting the idea that *akropoleis* contained important sanctuaries, at least in the pre-Roman era.¹²⁰ There are remains of sanctuaries on many locations identifiable as *akropoleis* in the archaeological record (see **4.5.4**), but the vast majority of these are not excavated or are poorly studied, providing us with very little information as to their function or attribution, as will be discussed further on.

From the literary sources, we know of 49 cults located on *akropoleis*, mentioned in 54 *loci* (Athens excluded), belonging to 25 different *poleis* (**Table 3.4**, p. 60). The majority of them, however, are known from Pausanias, and were we to exclude these, only 12 would remain, some of which are dubious.¹²¹ Athena clearly dominates the picture: 23 *akropoleis* apparently housed some kind of cult to Athena at some point. The epithets are many, but there are interestingly enough no examples in the literary sources of the cult of Athena Polias, the epithet most commonly associated with *akropoleis*.¹²² There are, however, several examples of dedications (indicating cultic activities) to this deity found on identified *akropolis* locations.

Little is known about other deities who have the epithet ‘Polias/Polieus’, but it is assumed that the reference is not to the *polis* as ‘the city’, but rather to the original sense of ‘stronghold’ (as discussed above).¹²³ Mili, although she acknowledges the scarcity of sources, suggests that the cult of Athena

¹¹⁴Kriesis 1965, 94; Winter 1971a, 16; Wokalek 1973, 17-18; Lawrence 1979, 126; Fine 1983, 48-49. ¹¹⁵Hdt. 1.176.5.

¹¹⁶For example, Livy 32.16-17 (Eretria and Karystos, Euboea, 198 BCE); 32.24 (Elateia, Phocis, 198 BCE); 36.24 (Herakleia Trachinia, Malis, 191 BCE); 37.6 (Amphissa, West Locris, 190 BCE); 38.15 (Isinda, Pamphylia, 189 BCE); 42.5.6 (Larissa Kremaste, Achaia Phthiotis, 171 BCE).

¹¹⁷Hanson 1998, 112-116. ¹¹⁸Hanson 1998, *Ibid.* ¹¹⁹App. *Mith.* 16.108.

¹²⁰*Contra* R. Osborne 2012, 259; Bintliff 2012, 259.

¹²¹That Derkyllidas sacrificed to Athena on the *akropoleis* of Gerge and Skepsis, for example, does not explicitly indicate that there were sanctuaries on these locations, even if that can be surmised. Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.21-23.

¹²²Kruse 1952a; Kruse 1952b; Mili 2015, 104. ¹²³Kruse 1952a (Polias); Kruse 1952b (Polieus); Hansen 1996, 36.

Polias in Thessaly was connected with the *phrouroi* and the *archeskopoi*, two groups of male citizens who erected dedications to the goddess in her sanctuaries in the Classical-Hellenistic period.¹²⁴ These groups, she argues, could be of a mixed cultic-militaristic nature, guarding the sanctuaries of the *polis*, rather than the *polis* itself.¹²⁵ An association between Athena and *akropoleis* can however be discerned already in 6th century texts, for instance in Pindar, who recounts how the mythical Heliadai created the first Rhodian sanctuary of Athena on the *akropolis* of Lindos/Ialysos:¹²⁶

καὶ τοὶ γὰρ αἰθοίσας ἔχοντες
σπέρμι' ἀνέβαν φλογὸς οὐ· τεύξαν δ' ἀπύροις ἱεροῖς
ἄλσος ἐν ἀκροπόλει.

Thus it was that they made their ascent without taking the seed of blazing flame, and with fireless sacrifices they made a sanctuary on the *akropolis*.

The Athenian Akropolis contained the treasury of the Delian League after it had been transferred from Delos in 454 BCE by Pericles.¹²⁷ The only known mention of a similar arrangement is on the *akropolis* of Pharsalos (**B.1.14**).¹²⁸ In 375 BCE, the Pharsalians entrusted the treasury and the *akropolis* to one Polydamas, to pay for the religious and administrative expenses of the *polis*.¹²⁹ Whether this treasury was placed within a sanctuary is not known. It is to be noted, however, that there is no archaeological evidence for a sanctuary in the *akropolis* of Pharsalos (see **B.1.14**).

AKROPOLEIS AS LOCATIONS OF PUBLIC DISPLAY IN INSCRIPTIONS

The epigraphical evidence indicates that some *akropoleis* were important locations of display for the *polis*. Almost all of the inscriptions referring to or containing the word ‘*akropolis*’ (from now on referred to as ‘*akropolis* inscriptions’) inform us that statues and other objects were displayed on (*en*) the *akropolis*. This practise does not differ from that of putting up similar honorific decrees and statues in *agorai*,¹³⁰ *gymnasia*,¹³¹ or sanctuaries;¹³² the very wordings are often quite identical.¹³³ However, it seems that the practise of erecting inscriptions on the *akropolis* was more common in certain *poleis* than in others.

The vast majority of these *akropolis* inscriptions belong to Athens. By using the word ‘belong’ I assert that they do not merely originate in Attica, but also in some way or another refer to the Athenian Akropolis.¹³⁴ Several of the decrees of the Delian League were put on display on the Akropolis with copies distributed to the various league members to be put up where suitable.¹³⁵ In some cases they were set up on the *akropolis* of the respective *polis*.

These inscriptions contain very little information about *akropoleis*. Variations of the same phrase are used repeatedly, informing us that the decision of the *boulē* was to be inscribed on a stele and put up (*bistēmi*) on the *akropolis*. The amount of cut holes in the bedrock in front of the Parthenon provides a good illustration of the sheer number of *stelai* put on display in this way.

This practise of displaying public decrees on the *akropolis* was however not unique to Athens. One of the Attic inscriptions mentioned above also informs us that an identical decree was to be put up

¹²⁴Mili 2015, 105-107. ¹²⁵Mili 2015, 107. ¹²⁶Pi. *Ol.* 7.47-49. The story of the Heliadai is also found in Diod. Sic. 5.56. ¹²⁷Thuc. 1.96. ¹²⁸It is possible that a similar arrangement existed at Ephesos (**A.1.30**), but this cannot be ascertained. ¹²⁹Xen. *HG* 6.1.2. Cf. Mili 2015, 104. ¹³⁰*Chios* 15 (unknown date); *Mylasa* 118 (ca. 210 CE).

¹³¹*Chios* 22 (unknown date); *IK Knidos* 1 59 (unknown date).

¹³²The sanctuaries of Artemis at Ephesos and Zeus at Sardis: IvP II 268 (ca. 98-94 BCE). ¹³³Mili 2015, 110.

¹³⁴For example, IvP II 251 (2nd c. BCE). ¹³⁵For example, *ID* 88 (368/362 BCE).

on the Erythraian *akropolis* in Ionia, which was at the time governed by an Athenian *phrouarchos* (see p. 47).¹³⁶ This suggests that the decision makers at least assumed that the Erythraian *akropolis* was a suitable location for the decree.

The fame of the Athenian Akropolis and the practise of putting up copies of decrees of the Delian league in various locations around the Aegean has resulted in the existence of a small number of inscriptions from various places of the Greek world that mentions the Athenian Akropolis. The fragmentary inscription found at Sestos probably relates to the Delian league,¹³⁷ while the altar found at Ohrid (ancient Lychnidos) in what is now the Republic of North Macedonia makes a direct reference to the erection of a statue on the Athenian Akropolis.¹³⁸

A similar practise of using the *akropolis* for public decrees can be found in Thessaly. At Gonnoi (**A.1.40**), several inscriptions mention that they were put up in the sanctuary of Athena on the *akropolis*. The sanctuary of Athena on the *akropolis* at Larissa was apparently also used for this purpose, as indicated by one inscription from 214 BCE.¹³⁹ Another, albeit fragmentary, inscription from Krannon (**B.1.6**) from ca. 140 BCE can tentatively be reconstructed as referring to the installation of the decree on the *akropolis*.¹⁴⁰

Several inscriptions have been found at Tauric Chersonesos in the Crimea showing a similar use of the *akropolis* as a location for public display. Especially interesting in this case is the famous Diophantos decree of ca. 107 BCE, which informs us of the existence of altars to Parthenos and Chersonasos on the *akropolis* of Chersonesos, next to which a bronze statue of the said Diophantos was to be erected.¹⁴¹ The mention of a procession during the Parthenia festival is also to be noted in this context. Most of the *akropolis* inscriptions from Chersonesos are however of the Roman period (ca. 20 BCE to ca. 200 CE). They are quite similar to the Athenian type in that they are very formulaic, most of them including the words “inscribed on a stele of white stone and erected in the most visible place of the *akropolis*”,¹⁴² or a similar text.¹⁴³ This formula is very typical of decrees of the pre-Christian Roman era which were not always displayed on *akropoleis*.

3.3.4 IV: THE ABSTRACT AKROPOLIS

A SYMBOL OF INDEPENDENCE AND DOMINANCE

As noted in the text of the Xanthos obelisk cited above (**3.3.2**), the *akropolis* was from quite early on a symbol of independence for the *polis*, and its destruction a symbol of defeat. This appears to have been the general connotation of the word until the Hellenistic period. A short 3rd c. funerary inscription found at Atalánda, ancient Opous (**A.1.81**), in East Locris illustrates this,¹⁴⁴ the connexion between *akropolis* and *patris* is evident:

Ἀρχία υἱὸς ἔδ’ ἔστ’ Ἀλκαίνετος, δὲ δορὶ σώζ[ων]
πατρίδος ἀκρόπολιν τέρμ’ ἔλαβεν βιότου.

This is Alkainetos, son of Archias, who with his spear saved the *akropolis* of his *patris* and thereby lost his life.

¹³⁶ *IG* I³ 15. For the use of ‘*polis*’ in this inscription, see **3.2.1**.

¹³⁷ Lolling 1884, 76; Dumont 1892, 427; *IK Sestos* 68. ¹³⁸ *IG* X² 2 371 (ca. 200-250 CE). ¹³⁹ *IG* IX² 517.

¹⁴⁰ Béquignon 1935, 37. ¹⁴¹ *IosPE* I² 352. ¹⁴² [...] ἐν τῷ ἐπισταμοστάτῳ τᾶς ἀκροπόλιος τόπῳ [...].

¹⁴³ *IosPE* I² 354; 357; 358; 359; 360; 361; 365; 382; *NEPKh* II 112; *SEG* 43:498. ¹⁴⁴ *IG* IX I² 5.

The circumstances of Alkainetos's death are not known, and the *akropolis* of Opeus (if that is the *akropolis* in question) has not been investigated.¹⁴⁵ It is possible that the wording of this inscription was influenced by the famous monument of Lysander in Delphi, which was put up after the Spartan victory at Aigospotamoi in 405 BCE.¹⁴⁶

εἰκόνα ἐὰν ἀνέθηκεν [ἐπ'] ἔργωι τῶιδε ὅτε νικῶν
ναυσὶ θαλαίς πέρσεν Κε[κ]ροπιδᾶν δύναμιν
Λύσανδρος, Λακεδαιμόνα ἀπόρθητον στεφανώσα[ς]
Ἑλλάδος ἀκρόπολ[ιν, κ]αλλίχορον πατρίδα.
ἔ(κ Σ)άμο(υ) ἀμφιρύτ[ου] τεῦσε ἐλεγείον. Ἴων.

Lysander set up his image on this monument when with his swift ships he victoriously routed the power of Kekrops' descendants and crowned invincible Lakedaimon, *akropolis* of Greece, the homeland of beautiful dancing-places. Ion of sea-girt Samos composed these elegiacs.

The epigram, by the otherwise unknown Ion of Samos (not the more famous poet of Chios), must arguably have been well-known throughout the Greek world, as it was located at the beginning of the paved street leading through the famous sanctuary and would have been visible to all visitors. The idea of a certain *polis* as "the *akropolis* of Greece" was however not new, as it occurs already around 500 BCE in a short epigram by Simonides of Keos (ca. 556-468 BCE). This was allegedly inscribed on the left side of the temple of Aphrodite on the Akrokorinthos:¹⁴⁷

αἰδ' ὑπὲρ Ἑλλάνων τε καὶ ἀγγεμάχων πολιατᾶν
ἔστασαν εὐχόμεναι Κύπριδι δαίμονια.
οὐ γὰρ τοξοφόροισιν ἐβούλετο δι' Ἀφροδίτα
Μήδοις Ἑλλάνων ἀκρόπολιν δόμεναι.

These women stand making an inspired prayer to Kypris for the Greeks and their close-fighting fellow countrymen; for the goddess Aphrodite was unwilling to hand over to the bowmen Medes the *akropolis* of the Greeks.

This epigram was said to have been next to a dedication, by the temple-slaves of Aphrodite or the Corinthian women, which consisted of either a painting or a bronze statue group, depending on the source.¹⁴⁸ Even if in a less conspicuous location than the Spartan monument at Delphi, this way of monumentalising poetry made certain wordings and expression known to a larger group of people. A fragment by Amyntas (2nd c. BCE), describing the vision of a Sparta in decline, shows that the idea of Lakedaimon as the *akropolis* of Greece continued to hold force:¹⁴⁹

[...] οἰωνοὶ δὲ περισμυχρὸν ἰδόντες
5 μύρονται, πεδίον δ' οὐκ ἐπίασι βόες.
καπνὸν δ' ἐκθρῶισκοντα παρ' Εὐρώταο λοετροῖς
Ἑλλάς δερκομένη μύρεται ἀκρόπολιν.

The birds look on the smoking ruins and mourn, and the oxen go not upon her plain. And seeing the smoke leap up beside Eurotas where men bathe, Greece mourns her *akropolis*.

¹⁴⁵Dakoronia 1993, 122. The *arx* of Opeus is also known from Livy 32.32.4, as being garrisoned and kept by Philip v's forces in 197 BCE.

¹⁴⁶FD III¹ 51,50.

¹⁴⁷Simon. 14. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13.32b. A short couplet of Simonides' was according to Pausanias (10.27) painted in the Cnidian hall at Delphi: γράψε Πολύγνωτος, Θάσιος γένος, Ἀγλαοφῶντος υἱός, περθομένην Ἰλίου ἀκρόπολιν ("Polygnotos of Thasos son of Aglaophon, painted the sack of the *akropolis* of Troy").

¹⁴⁸Contrary to Behrens-du Maire (1995, 25), I would argue that the *akropolis* in question is not the Akrokorinthos or a Corinthian *akropolis*. See Budin 2008 for a general discussion on this epigram.

¹⁴⁹Amynt. fr. 44. Only known from a papyrus fragment, probably of Alexandria.

Peloponnesos is referred to as the *akropolis* of the whole of Greece in Strabo,¹⁵⁰ and similar expressions of places acting as or being the *akropolis* of whole regions can be noted from the whole of Antiquity. Delphi is once described as the “*akroptolis* of Phocis”,¹⁵¹ Thebes as “the *akropolis* of Boeotia”,¹⁵² Thermon as that of Aetolia,¹⁵³ Enna as that of Sicily,¹⁵⁴ the Alps as the *akropoleis* of Italy,¹⁵⁵ and the Hieron Oros as that of the Hellespontine region.¹⁵⁶ Plutarch claims that Alexander wished his soldiers to think of the world as their *patris*, and of his camp as their *akropolis*,¹⁵⁷ but this could possibly be seen as a later tradition, as we do not know Plutarch’s sources.

This rôle of an *akropolis* was not limited to a place, but could also be played by a man, as Theognis (mid-6th c. BCE) does in his *Elegies*:¹⁵⁸

Ἀκρόπολις καὶ πύργος ἔων κενεόφρονοι δῆμῳι,
Κύρν᾽, ὀλίγης τιμῆς ἔμμορεν ἔσθλός ἀνῆρ.

Although a noble man is an *akropolis* and a tower for the empty-minded people, Cynrus, his share of honour is slight.

Similar expressions are found in Aeneas Tacticus,¹⁵⁹ and in Posidippos (3rd c. BCE):¹⁶⁰

ἄλβον ἄριστος ἀν[ήρ], Ἀσκληπιέ, μέτριον αἰτεῖ
— σοὶ δ’ ὀρέγειν πολλὴ βουλομένῳ δύναμις —
αἰτεῖται δ’ ὑγί(ει)αν· ἄκη δύο· ταῦτα γὰρ εἶναι
ἡθέων ὑψηλὴ φαίνεται ἀκρόπολις.

The noblest man, Asklepios, asks for moderate wealth
— great is your power to bestow it when you wish —
and he asks for health: remedies both. For these appear to be
a towering *akropolis* for human conduct.

These examples show the significance of *akropoleis* in relation to the independence of the *polis*, at least until the beginning of the Hellenistic period.

THE TYRANT’S SEAT: THE *AKROPOLIS* OF THE BODY

Consequently, the mind, free from passions, is an *akropolis*. A man has no fortress more impregnable in which he can find refuge and remain untaken.

M. Aur. 8.48.

It is clear from many sources that the word ‘*akropolis*’ had by Classical period had become a trope in philosophical explanatory models. Early examples of this can be found in the 4th century, with Plato discussing the relationship between the heart and the head in the governing of the body, calling the head the bodily *akropolis*, as commands are issued from it.¹⁶¹ Similarly, in *The Republic*, he calls the head the “*akropolis* of the soul,” which in this particular case is devoid of *phylakes*, that is virtues.¹⁶² Aristotle also compares vital bodily organs with *akropoleis* (albeit not the head/brain) because they need to be protected from harm.¹⁶³ Similar thoughts are expressed by Diocles of Karystos (fl. 4th c. BCE), who stated that “the mind is placed in the brain, like a sacred statue on the *akropolis* of the body”,¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁰Str. 8.1.3. There are suggestions that the text had the continuation: “and Greece is the *akropolis* of the world”. Cf. M. Scott 2012, 156.

¹⁵¹Eur. *Or.* 1094. This is the sole attestation of this archaising form of ‘*akropolis*’. ¹⁵²Diod. Sic. 15.20.1.

¹⁵³Polyb. 5.8.7. ¹⁵⁴Diod. Sic. 34/35.2.24b. ¹⁵⁵Polyb. 3.54.2. ¹⁵⁶Eudox. fr. 348.2; Str. 7a.1.56.

¹⁵⁷Plut. *De Alex. fort.* p. 343. ¹⁵⁸Thgn. 233-234. ¹⁵⁹Aen. Tact. 1.6. ¹⁶⁰Posidipp. 101. ¹⁶¹Pl. *Ti.* 70^a6.

¹⁶²Pl. *Resp.* 560^b. ¹⁶³Arist. *Part. an.* 670^a. ¹⁶⁴Diocl. fr. 72.

and Anaximenes of Lampsakos (4th c. BCE) similarly wrote of reason as “the *akropolis* of salvation (*sotēria*)”.¹⁶⁵

These examples show how functions and practises relating to *akropoleis* could be used metaphorically. However, the positive connotations gradually changed.

From the late Hellenistic period and onwards, the *akropolis* appears to have become a symbol of harsh rule, often by a stereotypical tyrant, actual or metaphorical. The reason behind this, as mentioned above, was probably not a rise in the number of tyrants on *akropoleis*, but rather some kind of common expression or aphorism.¹⁶⁶ As an example, Epictetus says (according to Arrian):¹⁶⁷

Πῶς οὖν ἀκρόπολις καταλύεται; οὐ σιδήρῳ οὐδὲ πυρὶ, ἀλλὰ δόγμασιν. ἂν γὰρ τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τῇ πόλει καθέλωμεν, μή τι καὶ τὴν τοῦ πυρετοῦ, μή τι καὶ τὴν τῶν καλῶν γυναικαρίων, μή τι ἀπλῶς τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἡμῖν τυράννους ἀποβεβλήκαμεν, οὓς ἐφ’ ἐκάστοις καθ’ ἡμέραν ἔχομεν, ποτε μὲν τοὺς αὐτοῦς, ποτέ δ’ ἄλλους; ἀλλ’ ἔνθεν ἄρξασθαι δεῖ καὶ ἔνθεν καθελεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς τυράννους· τὸ σωματίον ἀφεῖναι, τὰ μέρη αὐτοῦ, τὰς δυνάμεις, τὴν κτῆσιν, τὴν φήμην, ἀρχάς, τιμάς, τέκνα, ἀδελφούς, φίλους, πάντα ταῦτα ἠγήσασθαι ἀλλότρια. κἂν ἔνθεν ἐκβληθῶσιν οἱ τύραννοι, τί ἔτι ἀποτειχίζω τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐμοῦ γε ἔνεκα; ἐστῶσα γὰρ τί μοι ποιεῖ; τί ἔτι ἐκβάλλω τοὺς δορυφόρους; ποῦ γὰρ αὐτῶν αισθάνομαι; ἐπ’ ἄλλους ἔχουσιν τὰς βάρβδους καὶ τοὺς κοντοὺς καὶ τὰς μαχαίρας.

How, then, is an *akropolis* destroyed? Not by iron, nor by fire, but by judgements. For if we capture the *akropolis* in the city, have we captured the *akropolis* of fever also, have we captured that of pretty wenches also, in a word, the *akropolis* within us, and have we cast out the tyrants within us, whom we have lording it over each of us every day, sometimes the same tyrants, and sometimes others? But here is where we must begin, and it is from this side that we must seize the *akropolis* and cast out the tyrants; we must yield up the paltry body, its members, the faculties, property, reputation, offices, honours, children, brothers, friends—count all these things as alien to us. And if the tyrants be thrown out of the spot, why should I any longer raze the fortifications of the *akropolis*, on my own account, at least? For what harm does it do me by standing? Why should I go on and throw out the tyrant’s bodyguard? For where do I feel them? Their rods, their spears, and their swords they are directing against others.

A similar use of the word can be noted in the works of Philo Judaeus, who describes how passions – like tyrants – take possession of the soul, like “ascending up to an *akropolis*, taking it by storm, plundering it completely”.¹⁶⁸ Discussing the allegorical meaning behind the Biblical story of the Tower of Babel, he compares it with building a “tower in the city as an *akropolis* for the tyrant Vice”, showing that ‘*akropolis*’ could convey meanings even within Jewish culture.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵Anaximenes. 9.5.

¹⁶⁶The shift from positive to negative association can probably also be explained by the harsh Macedonian policies carried out by mercenary garrisons in *akropoleis* over much of the Greek world (see 3.3.2).

¹⁶⁷Arr. *Epict.* 4.85-89.

¹⁶⁸Philo *Spec. Leg.* 2.91.5.

¹⁶⁹Philo used ‘*akra*’ when discussing similar subjects, Philo *Spec. Leg.* 3.25: “For the man who fortifies his own house like a citadel [*akra*], and does not allow a single person within it to speak freely, but who behaves savagely to every one, by reason of his innate misanthropy and barbarity, which has perhaps even been increased by exercise, is a tyrant in miniature; and by his conduct now it is plainly shown that he will not stop even there if he should acquire greater power.”

The idea is most thoroughly explored by Lucian, who uses *akropoleis* as tropes of the tyrant theme in several of his works.¹⁷⁰

3.3.5 V: *AKROPOLIS* AS A PROPER NAME

'Akropolis' appears as a proper female name in seven inscriptions distributed over most of the Greek world. The oldest was found at Phalanna in Thessalian Perrhaibia, and has been dated to the 3rd c. BCE,¹⁷¹ while the others are probably from the Roman period.¹⁷² A Latin inscription (*ILGR 201*), found at Pella, records the epitaph of one Gaius Fictorio Heracleon, put up by his wife Fulv[ia] Acropolis. This represents one of few – if not the only – ancient renderings of the word in Latin script.

Names ending with *-polis* are otherwise attested; the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (LGPN)* lists only 107, many of which unique. Among the more common can be noted Agepolis, Agesipolis, Anaxipolis, Aristopolis, Archepolis, Eupolis, Sopolis, Sosipolis, and the most common Nikopolis. These names were common among both men and women from the 5th c. BCE onwards, one of the most famous is certainly the protagonist Dikaiopolis of Aristophanes' *The Acharnians*.¹⁷³

3.4 PROPER NAMES OF *AKROPOLEIS*

In a few cases, it appears that *akropoleis* had specific names, which acted as a 'proper name' for the location. The most well-known is the Akrokorinthos of Corinth, the Larissa of Argos and Ithome of Messene, but I have identified an additional 17 examples from textual sources (**Fig. 3.1**), indicating that this could have been a relatively common practise. The hill Keressos, mentioned as a place of refuge for the Thespians (**B.2.15**) as late as 371 BCE, could possibly be identified with the Thespian *akropolis*.¹⁷⁴

There are some indications that these names were associated with a mythical past. This is evident with regards to the "Pelagian" names Larissa and Pergamon of Argos and Troy, both interestingly being the names of other famous cities.¹⁷⁵ Others are associated with names in the Iliad, most noteworthy perhaps the case of Phalanna in Thessaly, the *akropolis* of which is according to Strabo to be identified with the Homeric Orthe. Orthe (or Orthos) is also the name of another Thessalian settlement.¹⁷⁶ Adding to the confusion, Strabo mentions that the same *akropolis* is also known by the name Korsea.

The mythical origins of the names for the Megarian *akropoleis* Karia (itself a region in Asia Minor) and Alkathoa has already been discussed (p. 44), as the connexion between the mythical founder Psophis and the *akropolis* of that name on Zakynthos.

¹⁷⁰For example, Luc. *Tim.*, 52.10; 53.1; Luc. *Tyr.*, 1.1; 7.15; 9.5; 16.10; 19.3.

¹⁷¹*ADelt* 1997 *Chr.* 532, no. 11; *SEG* 51:731.

¹⁷²*I.Lipara* 341 (Lipari); *IK Prusa ad Olympum* 118 (2nd c. CE); *IEph* 1674 (Christian era); Chalkis *IG XII⁹* 1149; Imbros *IG XII⁸* 103 (found at the Byzantine *kástro* s of the village of Schinouúdhi/Dereköy); Nikopolis, unpublished.

¹⁷³Ar. *Ach.* (425 BCE).

¹⁷⁴Snodgrass 2017, 16-17.

¹⁷⁵Similar cases are Ithome, which is both the *akropolis* of Messene and a *polis* in sw Thessaly, and the Psophis of Zakynthos/the Arcadian *polis* of Psophis.

¹⁷⁶*LACP* nr. 405. Identified with the site at modern Kédhros.

Akrokorinthos and Akrolissos stand out due to the prefix *akro-*. Akrolissos is never explicitly named as an *akropolis*, and the attestations in Polybius and Strabo indicate either a separate *polis* from Lissos or a fortress. Akrokorinthos has similarly also referred to as a fortress. The Astypalaia of Samos possibly reflects a local understanding of the *akropolis* as the location of the ‘older *asty*’, that is, the old settlement location.

POLIS	REGION	NAME(S) OF AKROPOL(E)IS	SOURCE(S)
Amastris	Paphlagonia	Sesamos	Str. 12.3.10
Ambrakia	Epirus	Perranthes	Livy 38.4.1
Argos	Argolid	Larissa and Aspis	Plut. <i>Vit. Cleom.</i> 21.3
Athens	Attica	Asty, Polis	Thuc. 2.15.6
Carthage	Africa	Byrsa	Str. 17.3.14
Corinth	Corinthia	Akrokorinthos	Plut. <i>Aratus</i>
Ialyos	Rhodes	Ochyroma and Achaia Polis	Str. 14.2.13
Lissos	Illyria	Akrolissos	Polyb. 8.13; Str. 7.5.8
Mantineia	Arcadia	Ptolis	Paus. 8.12.7
Megara	Megarid	Karia and Alkathoa	Paus. 1.40.6; 1.42.7
Messene	Messenia	Ithome	Str. 8.4.8
Phalanna	Thessaly	Orthe and Korsea	Str. 9.5.19
Ptolemais	Palestine	Ake	Harpocr. s.v. ‘Ake’
Same	Cephalonia	Kyneatis/Kyatis	Livy 38.29.10
Samos	Aegean	Astypalaia	Polyaenus <i>Strat.</i> 1.23.2
Sardis	Lydia	Hyde	Str. 3.4.6
Susa	Persia	Memnonion	Str. 15.3.2
Tiryns	Argolid	Likymna?	Str. 8.6.11
Troy	Troad	Pergamos	Hom. <i>Il.</i> 5.446; 5.460
Zakynthos	Ionic Islands	Psophis	Paus. 8.24.3

Table 3.1: Proper names of *akropoleis*.

3.5 THE ESSENTIAL *AKROPOLIS*

As is clear from this survey, there were locations known as *akropoleis* in Antiquity. These are sometimes different from the ideas and notions of *akropoleis* as presented by 20th century scholars. The word itself, in spite of its rarity, conveyed a relatively wide array of meanings, ranging from purely material concepts to more abstract qualities in people and objects. It appears that the chief connotations that can be discerned in the literary sources — a place of origins, a symbol of liberty, a symbol of oppression — can be linked to the changing functions of the physical *akropolis* locations within ancient Greek society. This change can also be noticed in the symbolical use of ‘*akropolis*’, both in its use as a metaphor and as a setting for archetypical stories: the positive sense of “*akropolis* of Greece” contrasts sharply with the “*akropolis* of the tyrant” of later sources.

It is consequently impossible to pin-point an *exact* meaning of the word (in its more concrete sense) that is relevant to all periods – or even for any period – as examples of use are derived from varying kinds of sources. From the textual sources summarised above, however, I argue that it is possible to extract some general information that can be seen as diachronically applicable. There are less ‘universal’ traits and aspects too, but they appear to be more specific with regard to period and location, and can therefore not be used to describe the phenomenon across the span of Antiquity.

To arrive at some kind of general understanding of what we should regard as an *akropolis*, I argue that we should focus on the references to the physical, actual examples of the feature. The ancient literary

Agyrion	A.1.1	Eryx	A.1.35	Megara	A.1.68	Phleious	A.1.96
Akragas	A.1.2	Geronthrai	A.1.38	Melos	A.1.69	Psophis	A.1.97
Alipheira	A.1.4	Gonnoi	A.1.40	Mende	A.1.71	Rhegion	A.1.101
Amastris	A.1.5	Gytheion	A.1.41	Messana	A.1.72	Same	A.1.105
Ambrakia	A.1.6	Halasarna	A.1.42	Messene	A.1.73	Samikon	A.1.106
Amphissa	A.1.8	Halikarnassos	A.1.43	Methymna	A.1.74	Samos	A.1.107
Antandros	A.1.9	Herakleia Pont.	A.1.45	Mycenae	A.1.75	Samosata	A.1.108
Argos	A.1.10	Herakleia Trach.	A.1.46	Mylai	A.1.76	Sardis	A.1.110
Asea	A.1.11	Histiaia	A.1.49	Opous	A.1.81	Sikyon	A.1.112
Asopos	A.1.12	Ialysos	A.1.50	Pallantion	A.1.82	Skepsis	A.1.114
Byzantion	A.1.15	Kaunos	A.1.54	Panopeus	A.1.83	Sparta	A.1.116
Chersonesos Taur.	A.1.18	Korkyra	A.1.56	Pantikapaion	A.1.84	Syracuse	A.1.119
Chios	A.1.20	Korone	A.1.57	Parapotamioi	A.1.85	Taras	A.1.120
Dyme	A.1.25	Koroneia	A.1.58	Patrai	A.1.86	Tauromenion	A.1.121
Elatea	A.1.27	Korseai	A.1.59	Pellene	A.1.87	Thebes	A.1.122
Elis	A.1.28	Krannon	A.1.60	Pergamon	A.1.89	Troezen	A.1.126
Enna	A.1.29	Kyrrhene	A.1.61	Perge	A.1.90	Xanthos	A.1.130
Ephesos	A.1.30	Larissa	A.1.62	Phalanna	A.1.91	Zakynthos	A.1.131
Epidaurus	A.1.31	Leontinoi	A.1.63	Phanagoria	A.1.92	Zeleia	A.1.132
Epidaurus Lim.	A.1.32	Leuktron	A.1.64	Pharsalos	A.1.93		
Eresos	A.1.33	Lindos	A.1.65	Pheneos	A.1.94		
Erythrai	A.1.34	Lokroi	A.1.67	Pherai	A.1.95		

Table 3.2: The representative cases of *akropoleis* mentioned in ancient literary sources.

sources from Homer to the 2nd c. CE contains references to 132 individual *akropoleis* (**Appendix A**). Out of these, 22 are more or less clear cases of *interprætatio graeca*,¹⁷⁷ 11 can be regarded as figurative,¹⁷⁸ 4 are referring to mythical/fictional locations,¹⁷⁹ 4 (I argue) should be regarded as *phrouria* or perhaps *akrai*,¹⁸⁰ and 8 are too imprecise (or too fragmentary) to be securely identified.¹⁸¹

Consequently, out of the 132 locations, I only regard 85 to be representative of what arguably can be seen as ancient Greek *akropoleis* (**Table 3.2**). These roughly correspond to the locations belonging to actual Greek *poleis*, and not locations merely mentioned as *akropoleis* by ancient authors. This does not imply that the other cases were not *understood* by the ancient Greeks to be *akropoleis*. It is clear that the word conveyed such strong connotations that meanings and understandings related to it were easily projected upon other (sometimes similar) features.

Although, even if there is plenty of variation, it can be said that an *akropolis* was a walled space and that it is most often described as being located on an elevated position, as the prefix *akro-* suggests. It is also almost exclusively referred to as belonging to a *polis* settlement, as to be expected from the very literal meaning of the word. It was, however, seemingly not a part of the inhabited *polis* settlement and is sometimes contrasted with this in descriptions of the urban topography.¹⁸² *Akropoleis* thus belong to the immediate environment of the *polis* settlement, and cannot simply be equated with any fortress, a part of a fortress or any other fortified position.¹⁸³ ‘*Akropolis*’ further denotes the actual walled area and not the hill itself, with the fortification wall probably acting as boundary.¹⁸⁴ With the exception of

¹⁷⁷A.1.3, A.1.7, A.1.13, A.1.14, A.1.16, A.1.37, A.1.47, A.1.52, A.1.53, A.1.55, A.1.70, A.1.79, A.1.98, A.1.100, A.1.103, A.1.104, A.1.111, A.1.113, A.1.117, A.1.118, A.1.128, and A.1.129.

¹⁷⁸A.1.17, A.1.21, A.1.23, A.1.24, A.1.35, A.1.39, A.1.44, A.1.66, A.1.80, A.1.88, and A.1.123. ¹⁷⁹A.1.75, A.1.80, A.1.125, and A.1.127. Perhaps to be added the Atlantis of Plato’s: Plat. *Criti.* II6c. ¹⁸⁰A.1.22, A.1.26, A.1.99, and arguably A.1.115. ¹⁸¹A.1.19, A.1.36, A.1.48, A.1.51, A.1.78, A.1.102, A.1.109, and A.1.124. ¹⁸²Xen. *HG*, 7.2.7 (A.1.96); Paus., 20.3 (A.1.86) has *katō polis* as contrast. ¹⁸³*LACP*, 42-43. ¹⁸⁴Frederiksen 2011, 26.

garrisons, *akropoleis* appear not to have been inhabited and they contained few buildings apart from sanctuaries. The *akropolis* was situated above the *polis*, but the type or height of the elevated position does not seem to have been important.

I suggest the following description of the ‘essentials’ of an *akropolis*: *A separately walled space, located on an elevated position in relation to a polis type settlement.* This description, which hence will be referred to as ‘the essentials’, is not to be used as a definition of an *akropolis*, nor as a tool in excluding locations. It is instead meant to be a help in identifying potential sites within an archaeological material, providing a kind of guideline for the collection of sites presented in the **Appendices B.1** and **B.2**. The various problems in using the ‘essentials’ – including the fact that it does not cover a third of what ancient authors referred to as *akropoleis* – will be discussed in the next chapter.

POLIS	TYRANT	PERIOD	SOURCE
Agyrion	Agyris	5-4 th c.	Diod. Sic. 14.95.5.
Akragas	Phalaris	6 th c.	Polyaenus <i>Strat.</i> 5.1.1.
Athens	Kylon	7 th c.	Hdt. 5.71-77; Thuc. 1.126.5-11; Paus. 7.25.3.
	Peisistratos	6 th c.	Hdt. 1.59; 1.60; Plut. <i>Vit. Sol.</i> 30.5.
	Isagoras	6 th c.	Paus. 6.8.6.
	Lachares	4 th -3 rd c.	Paus. 1.25.7.
	Ariston	1 st c.	Plut. <i>Vit. Sull.</i> 14.7.
Eresos	Eurysilaos and Agonippos	4 th c.	<i>IG XII²</i> 526.
Herekleia Pont.	Klearchos	4 th c.	Memn. 9; Polyaenus <i>Strat.</i> 2.30.1-2; Chion <i>Ep.</i> 15
Hestiaia	Neogenes	4 th c.	Diod. Sic. 15.30.3-4.
Leontinoi	Dionysios the elder	5-4 th c.	Diod. Sic. 14.58.1.
Messana	Dionysios the elder	5-4 th c.	Diod. Sic. 14.87.2.
Rhegion	Anaxilaos	5 th c.	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> 20.7.1.
Samos	Polykrates	6 th c.	Polyaenus <i>Strat.</i> 1.23.2.
	Maiandrios ¹⁸⁵	6 th c.	Hdt. 3.143-147.
Syracuse	Dionysios the elder	5-4 th c.	Diod. Sic. 13.95.4; 14.7.3; 14.10.4; 14.44.8; 14.65.3; 14.75.4; 15.74.5; Polyaenus <i>Strat.</i> 5.2.3; 5.2.4; Ael. <i>NA</i> 10.34.
	Dionysios the younger	4 th c.	Pl. <i>Ep.</i> 315 ^c ; 329 ^e ; 348 ^b ; 349 ^c -350 ^a ; Theopomp. fr. 331; III ^b Diod. Sic. 15.74.5; 16.9.2; 16.11.5; 16.13.1; 16.17.1; 16.19.2; 16.20.3-4; Polyaenus <i>Strat.</i> 5.2.7; Plut. <i>Vit. Dion</i> 14.6; 16.1; 24.7; 28.2; 29.3; 29.6; 29.7; 30.3; 30.12; 37.1; 39.1; 41.2-6; 44.1; 45.2; Plut. <i>Vit. Tim.</i> 9.3; 13.3-5.
	Dion	4 th c.	Plut. <i>Vit. Dion</i> 46.6; 48.2; 51.1.
	Timoleon	4 th c.	Plut. <i>Vit. Tim.</i> 16.2; 19.5.
	Hiketias	3 rd c.	Plut. <i>Vit. Tim.</i> 16.5; 17.4.

Table 3.3: List of tyrants on *akropoleis* in ancient sources

DEITY	POLIS	SOURCE	ATTESTATION
Aphrodite Epistrophia	Megara (Karia)	Paus. 1.40.6	2 nd c. CE
Apollo	Geronthrai	Paus. 3.22.7	2 nd c. CE
Apollo Archegetes	Megara (Alkathoös)	Paus. 1.42.5	1 st c. CE
Apollo Dekatephoros	Megara (Alkathoös)	Paus. 1.42.5	1 st c. CE
Apollo Deiradiotes			
with manteion	Argos (Larissa)	Paus. 2.24.1-2	2 nd c. CE
Apollo Pythios	Megara (Alkathoös)	Paus. 1.42.5	1 st c. CE
Artemis	Phleious	Paus. 2.13.5	2 nd c. CE
Artemis Laphria	Patrai	Paus. 7.18.8-9	1 st c. BCE
Asklepios	Megara (Alkathoös)	Paus. 1.40.6	2 nd c. CE
Athena	Akragas	Polyb. 9.27.6	2 nd c. BCE
	Amphissa	Paus. 10.3.5	2 nd c. CE
	Argos (Larissa)	Paus. 2.24.3	2 nd c. CE
	Elis	Paus. 6.26.3	2 nd c. CE
	Epidauros Limera	Paus. 3.23.10	2 nd c. CE
	*Gerge	Xen. <i>HG</i> 3.1.23	399 BCE
	Gonnoi	<i>Gonnoi</i> II, 40-41; 64 69-73; 80; 82; 84.	200-150 BCE
	Gythion	Paus. 3.21.9	2 nd c. CE
	Megara (Alkathoös)	Paus. 1.42.4	2 nd c. CE
	Korone	Paus. 4.34.6	2 nd c. CE
	Leuktra (Messenia)	Paus. 3.26.5	2 nd c. CE
	Pellene	Polyaenus <i>Strat.</i> 8.60	241 BCE
	Pergamon	IvP II 261	2 nd c. BCE
	*Skepsis	Xen. <i>HG</i> 3.1.21	399 BCE
Athena Aiantis	Megara (Alkathoös)	Paus. 1.42.4	2 nd c. CE
Athena Chalkioikos	Sparta	Paus. 3.17.2	ca. 500 BCE
Athena Kissaia	Epidauros	Paus. 2.29.1	2 nd c. CE
Athena Kyparissia	Asopos	Paus. 3.22.9	2 nd c. CE
Athena Nike	Megara (Alkathoös)	Paus. 1.42.4	2 nd c. CE
Athena Oxyderkes	Argos (Larissa)	Paus. 2.24.2; 2.25.10?	2 nd c. CE
Athena Poliouchos	Sparta	Paus. 3.17.2	ca. 500 BCE
Athena Sthenias	Troezen	Paus. 2.32.5	5 th c. BCE
Athena Tritonia	Pheneos	Paus. 8.14.4	2 nd c. CE
Chersonasos	Chersonesos Taurike	<i>IosPE</i> I ² 352	ca. 107 BCE
Demeter	Megara (Karia)	Paus. 1.40.6	2 nd c. CE
Demeter Thesmophoros	Megara (Alkathoös)	Paus. 1.42.6	2 nd c. CE
Demeter and Kore	Phleious	Paus. 2.13.5	2 nd c. CE
Dionysos Nyktelios	Megara (Karia)	Paus. 1.40.6	2 nd c. CE
Dioskouroi	Sikyon	Paus. 2.7.5	2 nd c. CE
Ganymede	Phleious	Paus. 2.13.3	2 nd c. CE
Hera Akraia	Argos (Larissa)	Paus. 2.24.1	2 nd c. CE
Hygeia	Megara (Karia)	Paus. 1.40.6	2 nd c. CE
Nyktos (manteion)	Megara (Karia)	Paus. 1.40.6	2 nd c. CE
Parthenos	Chersonesos Taurike	<i>IosPE</i> I ² 352	ca. 107 BCE
Tyche Akraia	Sikyon	Paus. 2.7.5	2 nd c. CE
Zeus	Messene	Polyb. 7.12.1	213 BCE
Zeus Atabyrios	Akragas	Polyb. 9.27.6; Polyaenus <i>Strat.</i> , 5.1.1	2 nd c. BCE
Zeus Konios	Megara (Karia)	Paus. 1.40.6	2 nd c. CE
Zeus Larissaios	Argos (Larissa)	Paus. 2.24.3	2 nd c. CE
Zeus Polieus	Akragas	Polyaenus <i>Strat.</i> 5.1.1	6 th c. BCE

Table 3.4: List of *akropolis* sanctuaries and other cultic installations. Asterisk indicates dubious case.

4

Archaeology

4.1 THE IDENTIFICATION OF *AKROPOLEIS*

THE ANCIENT SOURCES referring to *akropoleis* allow for some observations as to the generalities or ‘essentials’ of the features. Using these essentials as a guide, it is possible to identify potential *akropoleis* in the archaeological material of the ancient Greek world.

However, to use these to discriminate among hundreds of potential sites with remains from a thousand year timespan naturally causes some problems. Even if the written sources show that there was a common understanding in Antiquity of what an *akropolis* was, they also show that there was considerable variation in the application of the word. The suggested method will thus not help with identifying all *akropoleis*, and will also potentially grant ‘*akropolis* status’ to locations which were not regarded as *akropoleis* in Antiquity. I argue, however, that the suggested method is more productive than that of the ‘cafeteria approach’ (p. 9) as it considers the variation of the features and aims to include rather than exclude.

When it comes to the available archaeological material, Thessaly and Boeotia are dissimilar (summarised on pp. 182 and 236). Whereas the latter has been the object of several regional and micro-regional surveys, Thessaly is to a large extent still understudied.¹ When it comes to *akropoleis*, however, the situation is more equal. In Boeotia, 15 out of 16 *akropolis* sites have been published with a plan, and 21 of the 23 *akropoleis* sites of Thessaly have been published with a plan. The quality, detail and accuracy of these plans vary to a great extent, several of them are sketches.

I have identified in total 39 *akropoleis* in the Valley of Enipeus and Boeotia. These vary in location and appearance, but they all display some general uniformity. I would like to stress that there is an

¹Except for the extensive surveys of the Valley of Enipeus, see below (p. 185).

additional number of sites which could potentially have been included in this study. They will be discussed below (p. 63) together with other notable sites which have been excluded for other reasons.

4.1.1 THE IDENTIFIED SITES

Written sources indicate that *akropoleis* were walled or fortified spaces which – as the prefix *akro-* suggests – were to be found on elevated or lofty positions. As a result, *akropoleis* have been identified in a wide variety of locations within the ancient Greek world and beyond, with little reference to the specific context of the term itself. Both Thessaly and Boeotia abound with hilltop enceintes of various kinds, sizes and periods; varying from prehistoric walled settlements,² to Byzantine fortresses,³ to Frankish or Ottoman castles,⁴ and the essential is in itself not sufficient as a delimiting category.

Sorting out sites that are exclusively of apparent earlier or later date than the presented timeframe, we can further reduce the number. However, a number of possible ‘fortress sites’ remain,⁵ which prompts the use of further restrictions. The essential of the adjacency to a *polis* settlement is also a requirement; and all 39 cases are found at sites which has been identified as *polis* settlements.⁶ All these settlements have been interpreted as being of an urban character, with a separate fortified enceinte encompassing the area of the settlement proper. In a few cases, the masonry of the fortification wall is only visible as a dyke or crop-mark,⁷ or can only partially be followed/reconstructed,⁸ yet the general layout of the settlement can still be reconstructed. Some of these *poleis* appear to have dominated other *poleis*, as for instance Pharsalos (**B.1.14**) and Thebes (**B.2.14**), with the smaller *poleis* described as ‘secondary’ to the larger.

It is to be observed here that – with *one* exception⁹ – *all* known *polis* settlement locations in both Thessaly and Boeotia possess potential *akropoleis*. This in itself suggests that *akropoleis* are to be regarded as important or essential to a *polis* settlement, or – albeit with less probability – that only *polis* settlements with an *akropolis* have so far been discovered.

The identified sites, even if following the ‘essentials’, display differences mainly in size and only to a minor extent when it comes to layout. They are all located in elevated positions, they appear to be separately fortified areas connected to a fortified (often urban) settlement site, and they have been linked to an ancient *polis*. The main difference between them is their level of publication, which entails the potential risk of seeing differences and/or similarities where there are none.

Of all the included cases, only one stand out as potentially not an *akropolis*, and that is the smaller enceinte at the site of Xiládhēs (**B.1.22**). The location has been identified with that of Palaiopharsalos, and even if the larger circuit wall in polygonal masonry can be compared with similar locations in

²Dhimíni in Magnisia; Ghla in Boeotia. ³The Tríkala castle; the hilltop fortress at ancient Halos in Magnisia.

⁴Fanári at Kardhítsa, Thessaly; the Karabába at Chalkída, Boeotia.

⁵On mounts Fillíon and Psichikó in Thessaly; on Meghálo Vounó in Boeotia.

⁶Most of the sites are have been identified with *poleis* found in the *LACP*, except **B.1.2** (appears to have been an independent settlement or *polis* in the late Hellenistic period, see Helly 2001, 241-249), and **B.1.8** (not known as a *polis*).

⁷**B.1.1**, **B.1.6**, and **B.1.18**. ⁸**B.1.3**, **B.1.14** and **B.2.14**.

⁹Thessalian Methyilion (*LACP* nr. 402), at modern Mirína, just N of Kardhítsa. The site remains virtually unpublished with some brief reports in the *ADelt*, see Hatziangelakis 2008, 320.

Thessaly,¹⁰ the smaller “*akropolis*” is probably a later (Hellenistic?) sanctuary site.¹¹ The site as it is published, however, fulfils the ‘essentials’ and has consequently been included.

4.1.2 THE EXCLUDED SITES

Even if the majority of the sites left out of this study were excluded on strong grounds – such as being outside the time-frame, or not relating to an urban settlement – there were a few cases that had to be eliminated due to insufficient published information. They include a number of ‘secondary’ settlements of uncertain *polis* status in Boeotia,¹² many of which only described and identified by Fossey (1988). Two Boeotian *poleis*, those of Livadhiá (ancient Lebadeia)¹³ and Topólia/Kástro (ancient Kopai),¹⁴ had to be excluded as virtually no information is available on their spatial layout or architectural remains; a regrettable yet uncommon situation in this otherwise well-published region. In Thessaly, it is mainly the sites at Filáki (anc. Phylake?),¹⁵ Irmiç/Ermítsi (Peirasia),¹⁶ Yefíria (Thetonion), Ídrisköy/Dhrískoli/Kríní,¹⁷ and Omvriakí¹⁸ that had to be left out because they have not been published. Of these latter, only Peirasia and Thetonion are more definitively known to have been *poleis*, while Omvriakí is possibly a fortress site. Filáki (see **Fig. 4.2**) gives the impression of being a large (and potentially important) prehistoric site that may have become the site of a *polis* or proto-*polis*, which was later synoecised with the nearby Phthiotic Thebes (if the identification is correct).

Among the sites that had to be excluded because they did not fulfil the essentials, we may note the numerous Boeotian LBA installations around the former lake Kopaïs (including the palace site of Ghla).¹⁹ In Thessaly, there are a number of fortress sites in the south end of the Revénia hills and in the Othrys range which have occasionally been referred to as *akropoleis*,²⁰ but which must also be excluded from this study as they have no reported adjacent settlements. There are some more difficult cases of exclusion, such as the dyke enceinte at Sikiés in Thessaly (**Fig. 4.1**), which has remains from the historical period but appears to be mainly a prehistoric installation with no known adjacent settlement.²¹ Similarly, the site of Paleókastro at Ambeliá close to Fársala appears not to be that of a *polis* settlement, but either a fortified village or a sanctuary.²²

The sites of Askre, Kreusis and Eleon in southern Boeotia have been excluded as they were seemingly not *poleis*,²³ but it is worth noting that their spatial arrangement with a lower settlement and a hilltop

¹⁰B.1.4, B.1.8, B.1.10, and B.1.13. ¹¹Cf. Mili 2015, 92, 114.

¹²Askre, Aspledon, Eilesion, Eleon, Erythrai, Harma, Hyle, Medeon, Olmones, Peteon, Schoinos, Skolos, Tegyra and Trapheia.

¹³Fossey 1988, 343-349.

¹⁴Dodwell 1819b, 56; Frazer 1898b, 131-132; Gieger 1922; *ADelt* 19 *Chr.* 197-199 (1964); Hope Simpson 1965, 116; *ADelt* 22 *Chr.* 243 (1967); Fossey 1988, 277-281; Farinetti 2011, 127-135; 305-306. *LACP* nr. 209.

¹⁵Leake 1835d, 331-332; Bursian 1862, 80; Stählin 1906, 13-15; Kirsten 1942; *ADelt.* 32 *Chr.* 129 (1977); *GLhS*, 547; Nikolaou *et al.* 2012, 250; Efstathiou 2014, 15-18. *LACP* no. 440.

¹⁶*AR* 58 (2012), 88. ¹⁷J. D. Morgan 1983, 44-45; Decourt 1990, 216-248. ¹⁸Stählin 1924a, 161.

¹⁹Fossey 1988, 277-290. ²⁰Decourt 1990, 178-179

²¹Stählin 1924a, 134; Decourt 1990, 157; *ADelt* 55 *Chr.* 481-484 (2000); Hatziangelakis 2006, 71-73; Tsangaraki 2008, 28-30; Hatziangelakis 2008, 324; *AR* 56 (2009-2010), 112; Nikolaou *et al.* 2012, 83-85, 87-88; *AR* 58 (2012), 89.

²²The location was occupied since prehistory, but appears to have been abandoned in the late 5th c. BCE. *BCH* 55 (1931) 492-493; Béquignon 1932, 90-119.

²³Askre, the home of Hesiod, was a *kōmē* under Thespiai (**B.2.15**), Fossey 1988, 142-145. Kreusis was the Thes-



Figure 4.1: View of the site at Sikiés, Thessaly. Possible Prehistoric dyke-enceinte with secondary Historical period use. Photograph by Robin Rönnlund.

enceinte mirrors that of *polis* settlements. This is interesting, as the first is sometimes pointed out as a ‘proto-*polis*’, possibly indicating that *akropoleis* are related to early *polis* formation.²⁴ In Thessaly, the site on the hill at Kortíki/Metamórfosi bears much resemblance to a small *polis* settlement, but the lack of information about the lower settlement and the date of its remains exclude it from this study.²⁵

4.1.3 CHRONOLOGY

Relevant to the identification of *akropolis* sites is not just the question of *where* to look, but also the question of chronology. It is clear from the archaeological record that several of the selected cases contain remains of what can be considered separate building phases. This is mainly evident not only from the masonry style employed in the fortifications (which is the traditional but contested method of dating, see p. 87), but also in changes in the trace of the walls, indicating both pragmatic adaptations to new situations and probably also changes in use and ultimately meaning. The few instances of specific-purpose buildings on *akropolis* locations may also provide some indications as to the period of use, but the low level of publication of many sites makes this less reliable.

Some specific traits in construction technique – such as Classical-Hellenistic ashlar masonry, or Late Roman-Byzantine use of mortar – are strong indicators of a specific if somewhat extended date,

pian port on the Corinthian gulf, Fossey 1988, 157-163. Eleon, which appears to have been an important LBA site with remains of substantial Archaic activities, is currently examined by a Canadian team, see Burke, Burns, Charami, and Kyriazi 2013 and Burke, Burns, and Charami 2014.

²⁴Bintliff 2012, 217.

²⁵Similarly to the other hilltop sites in the immediate region, the summit appears to bear the remnants of several building phases of Antiquity and the Middle Ages. *TIB* 1, 193-194; Decourt 1990, 159-160.

whereas others – especially polygonal masonry – are more unreliable.²⁶ To apply any absolute dating to the sites is consequently difficult at present, if not impossible. However, a rough periodisation is needed in order to align the development of these sites chronologically.

Roughly speaking, the *akropolis* sites in this study appear to have belonged to four separate building phases. For the purpose of clarity, I have named these the *Prehistoric* (pre-11th c. BCE), the *pre-Poliorcetic* (pre-5th c. BCE), the *Poliorcetic* (4th-2nd c. BCE) and the *Late Roman-Byzantine* (post-6th c. CE) phases. Even if each phase has its range of variation, they display several distinguishable traits which allows for this general periodisation. I would like to emphasise that these four phases are not exact in their chronological extent, and may very well overlap. Instead, they should be regarded as descriptive, as they explain the aspects of fortification at these locations at different stages of use.

4.1.4 THE PREHISTORIC PHASE

Contrary to popular (and scholarly) imagination, there are very few *akropolis* locations displaying any remains of substantial prehistoric activity. The idea of a continuity between LBA ‘citadel’ and the Archaic-Classical *akropolis* can thus not be substantiated, at least not in the material presented in this study. Instead, the available archaeological material indicates that the great LBA centres of Boeotia – Ghlá, Orchomenos (**B.2.10**), and Thebes (**B.2.14**) – were abandoned at the end of the Mycenaean period. It is sometimes assumed that the prehistoric walls of Thebes were after a period of abandonment reused in the historical periods, but this can not be verified by the archaeological evidence. At Akraiphia (**B.2.1**), it even appears the small LBA fortification found at the w end of the hilltop was not incorporated into the Classical-Hellenistic enceinte,²⁷ and the numerous Mycenaean sites N of the *polis* appear not to have been in use in the historical period.²⁸

The situation appears to have been similar in Thessaly, even if the LBH and EIA situation is less well-known. The substantial LBA site at Dhimíni (sometimes identified with Homeric Iolkos) did not become the location of a *polis* settlement, and the (supposedly) Mycenaean fortifications at Pétra²⁹ and Chtouíri (**B.1.4**) show few traces of having been densely populated in Antiquity.

The scholarly practise of dating imposing fortification walls to the LBA, however, should be regarded with much scepticism. Especially that problematic expression ‘Cyclopean masonry’ has caused some Archaic, Classical or even Hellenistic sites to be backdated half a millennium or more.³⁰ The word is derived from ancient sources where it is used to explain the supernatural size of some of the stones employed in Prehistoric fortification masonry, but has been used sporadically as a descriptive term also in Historical archaeology (see p. 87).³¹ Scranton, in his defining monograph *Greek Walls* (1941) avoids the term almost completely. Masonry typology, in my view, is by itself an insufficient dating tool, and I argue that the reportedly LBA fortified enceintes in Thessaly and Boeotia could also often be regarded as dating to the Archaic period (see section **4.3.2**).

This does not mean that the *akropolis* sites in this study are devoid of prehistoric material. On the contrary, pottery and lithics have been reported from the majority of them, but with some notable exceptions, they appear not to have been *large* prehistoric centres. Little LBA material has been found

²⁶See Maher 2017, 41-43. ²⁷The little available material from this site, however, makes this hard to verify.

²⁸Fossey 1988, 277-290. ²⁹Milojčić 1960, 150-167. ³⁰As is, I argue, the example of Chaironeia (**B.2.3**).

³¹For a discussion on the dates and types of ‘Cyclopean masonry’, see Loader 1998, 5-41. Loader’s typology (and consequent dating scheme) appears as somewhat over-established in its strictness.

on Thessalian *akropoleis*,³² but this probably mirrors the lack of excavation on these locations. Partly as a result of Fossey's survey of Boeotia (1988), many Boeotian *akropoleis* are known to contain remains of prehistoric activities, and most of the lower settlements of the sites have yielded material from the Neolithic onwards.³³ The Geometric period, known to be notoriously hard to identify during surface surveys,³⁴ has been noted at least by Fossey on several of the Boeotian *akropolis* sites, but whether this indicates substantial or limited activity in the EIA cannot be ascertained.³⁵

This period of (apparent) general low-intensity activity pre-dating the time of the literary sources will be referred to as the Prehistoric phase of the *akropolis* sites. As it pre-dates the time-scope of this study, it will not figure much in the discussion, but as the historiography of the subject has shown, the question of 'akropoleis in prehistory' has to be addressed.

THE PRE-POLIORCETIC PHASE

Even if a substantial number of Greek urban settlements were fortified to some degree already in the late Archaic period,³⁶ it seems that the majority of *polis* sites discussed in this study were not.³⁷ Instead, the evidence suggest that the fortifications surrounding the assumed or confirmed settlement locations belong to the 4th or 3rd century BCE. Only a few of the *katō polis* fortifications can with some confidence be said to pre-date the Classical period.

An important observation related to this statement is that there is little to suggest that the *akropoleis* in this study (and generally) constituted proper settlement locations at any point in time. To regard early *akropoleis* as 'urban fortifications' is consequently misleading as the available material stands.³⁸ They were probably fortifications relating to *poleis*, as will be discussed later (4.2.3), but whether these *poleis* were urban settlements or village confederations – Kirsten's *Dorfstädte*³⁹ – is less certain.

Moreover, and as mentioned by Frederiksen,⁴⁰ we know very little about the actual settlements of this period, including those which the supposedly Archaic walls are thought to have encircled. Their size, their spatial layout, or even their exact location are still mostly unknown.⁴¹ Judging from the currently available archaeological material, however, it seems likely that the Archaic and early Classical *polis* settlements of Thessaly and Boeotia were generally not encircled by fortifications. This contrasts with the situation in the wider Aegean, as pointed out by Winter. Winter, however, suggests this is due to the focus on agriculture in Boeotia and Thessaly (where wealth was related to landed resources), and on trade among the islands (where wealth was bound to trading goods).⁴² I personally find this to be an over-simplified view.

³²B.1.4, B.1.5, and B.1.18. ³³B.2.2, B.2.3, B.2.4, B.2.5, B.2.6, B.2.8, B.2.9, B.2.11, and B.2.14.

³⁴Bintliff 2012, 214-214. ³⁵Fossey 1988, 401-402. ³⁶See discussion in Frederiksen 2011, 118-120.

³⁷Of the Thessalian-Boeotian walled sites in Frederiksen (2011), all fortifications surrounding the settlement have been dated to the Archaic period based on masonry style, or through literary sources (B.1.1, B.2.3, A.1.40, Gyrton, B.2.6, B.2.7, Larissa (= Argissa), B.2.10, Pagasai (= Sorós), B.1.14, and B.2.14). This problem is discussed by the author, who cautions against the simplistic use of stylistic dating but yet argues that it should not be fully discarded: Frederiksen 2011, 64-65. See p. 87.

³⁸Lawrence's (1979, 126) phrasing "Forts at cities" (my emphasis) is quite to the point. ³⁹Kirsten 1956.

⁴⁰Frederiksen 2011, 3.

⁴¹The growing use of gradiometry and other geophysical methods will hopefully change this picture in the upcoming decades.

⁴²Winter 1971a, 6.

When it comes to the *akropolis* locations, however, the picture is different. At several of the sites in the catalogue, there are more or less clear indications of fortifications which in their building execution and layout are fundamentally different from the more easily dateable later phases. These fortifications appear to be confined to the hilltop, and – in contrast to later phases – do not extend towards the foot of the hill. I have chosen to refer to this phase as ‘the pre-Poliorcetic’ as it evidently precedes the advanced building programmes aimed at resisting mechanised siegecraft as described in the poliorcetic treaties of the 4th century and onwards.⁴³

In general, the pre-Poliorcetic *akropolis* fortifications of Thessaly and Boeotia appear to have been closely adapted to the physical terrain. They have very few sharp angles and appear not to have had any towers. Lawrence, who dates this type of fortifications to before the beginning of the 6th century BCE, summarises them as follows:

[The walls] followed the contours of a hill as closely as was feasible, regardless of whether the face presented to the enemy were straight, convex, or concave; a siting below the crest was preferred because revetment cost less than free-standing construction, the amount of which could thereby be reduced.

Lawrence 1979, 34.

Lawrence exemplifies the type with a number of Thessalian sites,⁴⁴ and the *akropolis* at Phocian Exarchos (Fig. 4.9, p. 81), which all appear to belong to the same group of fortified hilltops. I argue that Lawrence’s date for these installations is plausible, but this can only be substantiated through excavations aimed at acquiring stratigraphical sequences relating to these walls, which has proven to be difficult.⁴⁵ The pre-Poliorcetic fortifications can instead only be placed chronologically in relation to the remains of the almost standardised features of the Poliorcetic phase,⁴⁶ hence the name.

THE POLIORCETIC PHASE

At some point after the construction activity of the pre-Poliorcetic phase, the *akropolis* locations became integrated into a more over-arching fortification scheme. This apparently aimed at making the increasingly urban *polis* settlement more resistant to siege warfare, which became more and more sophisticated in especially the late Classical period.⁴⁷

In Thessaly, it seems that this process had begun by the mid-4th century, with the series of conflicts leading up to the Macedonian “*Machtübernahme*” of the region in 344 BCE.⁴⁸ Most of the *polis* settlements were re-modelled to better withstand the growing threat of mechanised warfare, which meant that even if the *akropolis* locations were retained, the actual trace of the fortifications was ad-

⁴³Such as Aeneas Tacticus’ *How to survive under siege*, Philo of Byzantium’s *Poliorcetics*, and later Onasander’s *The general*.

⁴⁴**B.1.1**, **B.1.17**, and **B.1.11**.

⁴⁵In Thessaly, excavations of fortifications belonging to this phase (**B.1.4** and **B.1.5**) have shown that the walls are hard to date on the basis of ceramic finds, as construction techniques appear to confuse stratigraphies.

⁴⁶Lawrence 1979, 121. ⁴⁷Lawrence 1979, 122.

⁴⁸Philip II is elected *tagos* or *archon* for life by the Thessalians. Cf. Blum 1992, 226.

justed and/or completely altered. The overall scheme at the various sites displays the remarkable homogeneity that can be observed all over the Greek mainland (p. 76).

The Boeotian *akropolis* sites are less homogenous in their development in this phase. It seems like the larger, more influential *poleis* such as Thebes (**B.2.14**), Orchomenos (**B.2.10**) and Tanagra (**B.2.13**) were similarly to the Thessalian sites adapted to the new circumstances. Smaller, often dependent, *poleis* were only to a lesser extent re-fortified according to the new standards and it is probable that they retained much of the old fortification trace.⁴⁹

In both regions, the walls, towers and gates of this phase appear to have fallen into disrepair as the Greek demographic and political landscape changed in the Roman period, and there is very little to suggest any substantial activity on Greek *akropoleis* after this period.

THE LATE ROMAN-BYZANTINE PHASE

The gradual destabilisation of the eastern Mediterranean in Late Antiquity is evident in the re-emergence of fortification architecture in the archaeological record. The dilapidated fortifications of what was once the *akropoleis* of (now often abandoned) urban settlements appear to have been repaired or reconstructed to again serve as strongholds.⁵⁰ The presence of Late Roman tombs on some of the former *akropoleis* also show a change in the use of these locations.⁵¹

The Late Antique-Mediaeval remains on the *akropolis* locations are not a part of this study. They often constitute much of the standing structures. I would like to stress that there is comparatively little to suggest continuous activity on *akropolis* locations from the Hellenistic period to Late Antiquity. The Late Antique-Early Byzantine remains should generally be regarded as independent installations, which merely took advantage of the the strong positions and the ample access to *spolia*.

4.2 SETTING

Akropoleis do not only occupy particular locations, but are also situated in a landscape. They belong to micro and macro regional units, and because they are walled spaces, they have an internal topography of their own.

4.2.1 LOCATIONS

In line with the ‘essentials’ the examples in the catalogue are found on hilltops. These can vary quite substantially in height and conspicuousness, as compared to the location of the lower settlement. The hill of Strongilovoúni, with the *akropolis* at Vlochós (**B.1.8**) towers 200 m. above the inhabited part of the settlement, whereas the *akropolis* of neighbouring Phyllos (**B.1.18**) is a low plateau only 10 m. above

⁴⁹Such as **B.2.5** and **B.2.8**.

⁵⁰This has been noted at most of the sites: **B.1.1**, **B.1.5**, **B.1.8**, **B.1.9**, **B.1.10**, **B.1.12**, **B.1.13**, **B.1.14**, **B.1.16**, **B.1.21**, **B.1.23**, **B.2.4**, **B.2.6**, **B.2.8**, **B.2.9**, **B.2.12**, **B.2.13**, **B.2.14** and **B.2.16**.

⁵¹**B.1.8**, **B.2.1**, and **B.2.2**.



Figure 4.2: View of the site at Filáki, Thessaly. Example of an *akropolis*-like feature on a prehistoric *maghoúla*. Photograph by Robin Rönnlund.

the surrounding plain. Generally, *akropoleis* appear to be constructed on natural hilltops or ridges, with a small minority on the Thessalian plains being *maghoúla* sites.⁵²

The hilltops tend not to be the highest in the vicinity; it is common for pronounced spurs or rocky promontories to be chosen rather than the hilltop,⁵³ and isolated features such as the Athenian Akropolis are rare.⁵⁴

In both regions, but especially in Thessaly, *akropolis* locations on the foothills of the mountain ranges that surround the big plains or marshlands are common. This allows for good inter-site visibility, but also for good site visibility – that is, the locations are highly conspicuous in the landscape (see p. 71). The rocky ‘islands’ of the Western Thessalian plain were all used for *akropolis*-like installations already in the pre-Poliorcetic phase,⁵⁵ whereas in Boeotia, it seems that ‘island locations’ were preferred in the Prehistoric phase.⁵⁶

⁵²**B.1.6** and **B.1.18**. Potential *akropoleis* on *magoules* (not included in this study, see p. 63) can be found at the sites at Ghrémnos (anc. Argoura?), Irmic/Ermitisi (Peirasia), Filáki (Phylake? **Fig. 4.2**), and Yefiria (Thetonion).

⁵³**B.1.1**, **B.1.3**, **B.1.9**, **B.1.10**, **B.1.11**, **B.1.13**, **B.1.15**, **B.1.17**, **B.1.19**, **B.1.21**, **B.2.4**, **B.2.5**, **B.2.9**, **B.2.10**, **B.2.13**, and **B.2.16**. Winter 1971a, 6.

⁵⁴**B.1.16** and **B.2.7** are perhaps closest to this feature, yet they display fundamental differences when it comes to size, layout and location in the landscape. **B.1.4**, **B.1.5**, **B.1.8** and **B.1.12** occupy the very summits of isolated hills, but are still quite different to Athens.

⁵⁵**B.1.4**, **B.1.5**, **B.1.8**, **B.1.13**, and the site at Kortiki/Metamórfosi. The former island location of **B.1.23** is similar to this.

⁵⁶Most notably the fortress of Ghla, but also the series of sites from that of Kopai (modern Kástro) and further westward along the N shore of the former lake Kopais.

ROUTES OF ACCESS

Some of the sites occupy the summits and upper slopes of isolated hills, which means that they are surrounded on all sides by more or less steep ground. However, 13 *akropoleis* are located on hills that are protrusions from a larger hill, from which they are separated by a saddle.⁵⁷ The Poliorcetic phase fortifications facing these saddles are often substantial (see p. 92), but – with the exception of Mories (B.1.17) and Néο Monastíri (B.1.19) – this more accessible part of the fortification wall appears not to have contained any larger entrances to the enceinte.

In the majority of cases, however, there are no obvious routes of access – such as discernible roads leading to the *akropolis* gates.⁵⁸ Gates and posterns open towards the slopes but do not face roads or paths. This is probably due to the forces of erosion, as paths and roads leading up to the gates undoubtedly existed, but the modest sizes of most *akropolis* gates suggest that they were not constructed to allow for the passing of wagons (see p. 98).

A striking exception, however, can be found at Vlochós (B.1.8), where two 5-6 m. wide terraced roads, both over 2 km. long, zigzag from the plains below towards two gates in the pre-Poliorcetic fortifications on the hilltop (Fig. 4.3). These roads – similar to Early Modern *kalderímia* – belong to the earliest phase of construction at the site, being of a type discussed above (p. 76). They were consequently disturbed if not destroyed by the fortifications of the second (Poliorcetic) phase, the trace of which intersected one of the roads at several points. In this period, there were no known roads leading up to the small gates and posterns in the wider *akropolis* enceinte.⁵⁹

This situation in the Poliorcetic phase – combined with the narrow entrances (see p. 98) – arguably indicates that the *akropolis* locations were meant to be inaccessible, including from the direction of the settlement. This harmonises well with the literary sources, in which *akropoleis* appear in this period to often have housed foreign garrisons (see p. 47).

4.2.2 LANDSCAPE

It is easy to imagine the typical Greek landscape as dominated by narrow valleys cutting through mountainous regions. Whereas this description is often true, it excludes the landscapes of several quite substantial regions with great expanses of flat and marshy ground: the Argolid, Messenia, central Arcadia, Elis, Corinthia and Laconia on the Peloponnese, and Boeotia, the Valley of Spercheios, and Thessaly in Central Greece.⁶⁰

However, Thessaly and Boeotia were not only plains and marshes. The tablelands of Achaia Phthiotis in south Thessaly and of Thebes in Boeotia were fertile yet well-drained,⁶¹ and the Boeotian coastlines displayed much variation ranging from steep cliffs to gentle beaches. Both regions also contained mountainous landscapes, with some settlements located in the border-areas.⁶² In Thessaly, the Othrys

⁵⁷B.1.1, B.1.3, B.1.9, B.1.10, B.1.11, B.1.13, B.1.15, B.1.17, B.1.19, B.2.4, B.2.10, B.2.13 and B.2.16.

⁵⁸There is one noted at B.2.12, leading up from the ‘Oberstadt’ to the *akropolis* gate. At B.2.10, a rock-cut stairway constitutes the sole route of access to the *akropolis*.

⁵⁹A similar, yet less accentuated, ‘serpentine’ road can be observed at the neighbouring site of Korfíki/Metamórfosi, as well as at Boeotian Bazaráki at former lake Kopais. The latter, however, is of small size and possibly belongs to a LBA installation, see Lauffer 1986, 202.

⁶⁰Brodersen 2006, 109-III; Bintliff 2012, II. ⁶¹Farinetti 2011, 47.

⁶²B.1.7, B.1.9, B.1.10, B.1.15, B.1.21, B.2.1, B.2.3, B.2.9, and B.2.11.



Figure 4.3: Aerial view of Vlochós (**B.1.8**), Thessaly, towards S. The terraced road forming a large 'Σ' can be seen below the possibly Late Archaic circuit with the Classical-Hellenistic wall of the *akropolis* further up above the latter. Photograph by Derek Pitman.

range contained a relatively large number of smaller settlements, some of which have been identified as *poleis*.⁶³ In Boeotia, on the other hand, there were few settlements in the mountainous areas.

VISIBILITY

A high degree of visibility is shared by all *akropolis* sites. Especially in Western Thessaly, the fortifications of some of the sites are still visible from tens of kilometres away (**Fig. 4.4**).⁶⁴ Their visibility would have been even greater in Antiquity when the walls were several metres higher; it is commonly held that the stone walls as preserved constituted the 'socle' for a mud-brick superstructure. In order to protect the mud-brick from the elements, this superstructure must have been clad with some kind of protective plaster, which surely made the walls even more visible from afar.

⁶³*Inter alia* **B.1.2** and **B.1.17**.

⁶⁴On a clear day, one can clearly outline the walls of **B.1.8** from the *akropolis* of **B.1.5**, 15 km. s. Pers. observ. April 2015.



Figure 4.4: View of the Western Thessalian plain from the *akropolis* of Pharsalos (B.1.14). The *akropoleis* at Kierion (B.1.5), Euhydrión (B.1.4), Vlochós (B.1.8), and Klokotós (B.1.13) are all visible, as is the fortress sites at Metamórfosi and Filléon Óros. Photograph by Robin Rönnlund.

The *akropolis* locations, or rather their hilltop positions, often dominate the immediate landscape surrounding them. This is often not fully discernible in cartographical representations of the terrain. At Koroneía (B.2.9), for example, the ridge-location is barely distinguishable on a topographical map, but as one visits the foothills to the north, the *akropolis* fully dominates the immediate surroundings.⁶⁵ Similar situations can be noted at Ekkara (B.1.3), Phaýtto (B.1.15), Skotoussa (B.1.20), and Hyettos (B.2.7). The *akropolis* location sometimes constitutes a focal point in the centre of a smaller topographical unit (such as a valley or a lake-side district). Xyniai (B.1.23) and Isos (B.2.8) both occupy near-islands in the seasonal lakes of Xynias and Paralímni, combining inaccessibility with great visibility. The sites of Kierion (B.1.5) and Haliartos (B.2.6) were similarly situated above seasonal lakes or marshland, making them quite visible from afar in spite of the relatively low altitude of their hilltop locations.

It is clear in some of the cases that the *akropolis* location allowed for visibility in certain directions. At Pharsalos (B.1.14), the *akropolis* is visible from the lower settlement and most of the vast plain N of it, but it also visually connects with the tableland of Rízi to its S. The settlement itself would not have been visible from the latter area because of the hill of Profitis Ilías (upon which the *akropolis* of Pharsalos is found). A similar situation can be found at Kypaíra (B.1.7), the silhouette of which is quite striking from the area of the former lake of Xynias below. However, the ridge-position also allows for visual contact with the mountainous region of Dolopia and the settlements at Papá, Ktiméni and Kidhonía to the W.⁶⁶

Similarly, as one approaches Pereia (B.1.11) and Chalai (B.1.2) through the valleys leading up to the sites, the locations produce quite stunning effects as they suddenly appear in their immediate settings. The sites can both be seen from afar – Pereia from Melitaía (B.1.9) and Chalai from Filáki (anc. Phylake?)⁶⁷ – but they disappear behind hills as one approaches them, only to reappear at a closer distance.

4.2.3 RELATIONS TO THE LOWER SETTLEMENT

Since the locations in the catalogue in many cases appear to have been in use over many centuries, it is necessary to consider the chronology of the sites when discussing the relationship between *akropolis* and ‘*katō polis*’ in the pre-Poliorcetic phase. There is exceedingly little to suggest that there were any substantial settlements below the *akropoleis* in question at this time. As *polis* structures (in the polit-

⁶⁵Pers. observ. March 2017. ⁶⁶Helly 1992. ⁶⁷Pers. observ. April 2015 and March 2017.



Figure 4.5: View of Eretria (B.1.16), Thessaly, as seen from the pass East of the site. Photograph by Robin Rönnlund.

ical sense) arguably pre-date the actual remains in many cases,⁶⁸ it is not impossible nor improbable that there were pre-urban settlements in the vicinity of the *akropoleis* which were later reformed or synoecised into the new city foundation.⁶⁹

When it comes to the Poliorcetic phase, however, the situation is more distinct yet not completely unclouded. The exact locations of the lower settlements of this phase have often only tentatively been ascertained. Scattered surface finds of architectural fragments and pottery are often the sole indicators of habitation,⁷⁰ with the layout of the settlement unknown. Aerial photography and geophysical surveying methods have recently provided us with a better understanding of many of these sites. Still, at a few locations, the zone of habitation is only identified on the basis of the fortification trace,⁷¹ which in itself does not exclude the possibility of habitation, but should be treated as a weaker indicator.⁷² In some few instances, the basis of the identification of the existence a lower settlement cannot be ascertained from the published material.⁷³

However, there are several cases in which the location of the *katō polis* can be identified with a higher degree of certainty.⁷⁴ These examples show that the relationship between settled area and *akropolis* varied to a certain extent depending on the local topography, but that there are a few common traits. In general, it appears that *akropoleis* after this phase were separated from the lower settlement by steep

⁶⁸See the chapters on Thessaly and Boeotia in *LACP*. ⁶⁹As suggested by *i.a.* Snodgrass 1989, 56-64.

⁷⁰This is especially so at **B.1.3, B.1.7, B.1.11, B.1.22**.

⁷¹**B.1.4, B.1.13, B.1.15, B.1.16, B.1.18, B.1.19, B.1.23, B.2.3, B.2.5, B.2.12** and **B.2.16**. Perhaps also **B.1.21**.

⁷²I argue that in some cases, the actual settlement was located outside the fortified enceinte. This is especially the case at some locations in Achaia Phthiotis, notably **B.1.7** and **B.1.23**.

⁷³As especially the case of **B.2.1**.

⁷⁴**B.1.1, B.1.2, B.1.5, B.1.6, B.1.8, B.1.9, B.1.10, B.1.12, B.1.14, B.1.17, B.1.20, B.2.4, B.2.6, B.2.7, B.2.9, B.2.10, B.2.11, B.2.12, B.2.13, B.2.14,** and **B.2.16**.



Figure 4.6: The *akropolis* of Peuma (B.1.12), Thessaly, as seen from the area of the *agora* of the settlement. Photograph by Robin Rönnlund.

terrain or various forms of fortifications, most commonly by a cross-wall or *diateichisma* (see 4.3.2 below). Access to the *akropolis* area from the lower settlement appears not to have been aiming at facilitating movement between the two – most evidence point in the opposite direction. Gates connecting *akropoleis* with their respective lower settlement area are – if existing – often small or merely posterns. At some locations, it is clear that the constructors of the walls aimed at minimising the possibilities of movement between lower settlement and *akropolis*, either by narrow passageways or by the inaccessible locations of these. At Vlochós (B.1.8), the only non-postern opening in the cross-wall is a narrow gate flanked by a tower at a very steep and inaccessible part of the slope. The installation does not give the impression of aiming at facilitating the evacuation of the lower settlement. Similar situations are common elsewhere, indicating that the *akropoleis* were aimed at being independent units within the fortification system.⁷⁵ Larger gates are – perhaps surprising – more common in the outer walls of the *akropoleis*,⁷⁶ showing that access to the *extra muros* area was deemed important.

There are exceptions, however, especially at the sites where there was little option for other ways of access. At Atrax (B.1.1), the strong bastion-like s end of the *akropolis* was flanked in e and w by steep ravines, barring access to the plateau-like area in n from the saddle immediately s of it. It is quite possible that the situation was similar at Melitaia (B.1.9), but the patchy fieldwork leaves us with a fragmented view. At Kallithéa (B.1.12), the *akropolis* is fully surrounded by the inhabited area (Fig. 4.6), and the two gates both open on to the lower settlement.⁷⁷ At Plataiai (B.2.11) the extension of the *intra muros* area created a situation which has no parallel, as will be discussed below (4.5.1). It is only at Thisbai (B.2.16) and Akraiphia (B.2.1) that no cross-walls has been identified. They might have been of perishable material such as mud-brick, emphasising the steep slopes that create natural barriers between the valleys below and the plateau-like *akropoleis*.

⁷⁵Lawrence 1979, 126. ⁷⁶Notable examples are (B.1.16) and (B.1.14).

⁷⁷The *akropolis* is however connected with the main enceinte by two *diateichismata*.

4.2.4 INTRA-MURAL TERRAIN

Since the ‘essentials’ stipulate that *akropoleis* are to be located on elevated positions, we get a situation in which most intra-mural spaces of the identified locations consists of hilltops.⁷⁸ The lack of substantial vegetation on these locations creates a situation with harsh erosion, especially in the rainy season. This in turn leads to rocky or barren sites with little or no soil,⁷⁹ or covered in dense *pournária* maquis.⁸⁰ To excavate or survey the architectural remains at these locations is consequently difficult, with erosion causing the potential dislocation of contexts and finds. Interestingly, at a few sites, the fortification walls appear to have acted also as terraces, retaining much of the intra-mural soils on the actual hilltop.⁸¹ For example, the summary excavations at Melitaia (**B.1.9**), has shown that archaeological investigation can produce interesting results.

The situation is more generally different at the lower site. Here, the lower and flatter ground has limited erosion, allowing for the accumulation of soils on the *akropolis*.⁸² Whether this was also the case at the time of settlement/construction cannot be ascertained. The *maghoúla*-like locations at Kranónas (**B.1.6**) and Fillo (**B.1.18**) (and possibly Skoutoussa? **B.1.20**) are probably to a large extent artificial plateaus, created by the long-term accumulation of settlement debris in the prehistoric periods. Whether they themselves were regarded as (quite large) *akropoleis* or if there was some kind of internal spatial division cannot be ascertained at present, due to the lack of published material.

4.3 FORTIFICATIONS

The only truly substantial remains generally found on *akropoleis* are those belonging to fortifications. This is not surprising, but the sheer volume of walls, towers, bastions and gates is noteworthy, especially considering the limited amount of known internal structures at these locations.

Contrary to some assertions,⁸³ all but one of the *akropolis* sites in the catalogue appear to have been completely walled off.⁸⁴ Even if the locations in most cases are incorporated in the general fortified enceinte of the settlement, they form separate units, very much in harmony with the textual sources.⁸⁵ The remains of the pre-Poliorcetic phase appear to be restricted to hilltops, with no indications of lower fortifications and little to suggest the incorporation of towers within the walls. The significance of this will be discussed below (**4.3.1**).

In the Poliorcetic phase, several of the *akropoleis* were apparently fortified (or re-fortified) as a part of a larger scheme, aiming at fortifying the whole settlement. This is especially evident at some of the

⁷⁸At a few locations, I have not been able to gather information on the nature of the terrain, as I was unable to make an autopsy or the information provided in publications was inconclusive (**B.2.5**, **B.2.13**) At **B.2.14**, the modern city of Thíva covers all remains.

⁷⁹**B.1.1**, **B.1.4**, **B.1.8**, **B.1.10**, **B.1.13**, **B.1.14**, **B.1.15**, **B.1.16**, **B.1.21**, **B.2.1**, **B.2.3**, **B.2.4**, **B.2.7**, **B.2.10**, **B.2.12**, and **B.2.16**.

⁸⁰**B.1.2**, **B.1.12**, and **B.1.22**. ⁸¹**B.1.7**, **B.1.9**, **B.1.11**, and **B.1.17**. ⁸²**B.1.3**, **B.1.5**, **B.1.6**, **B.1.18**, **B.1.19**, **B.1.20**, **B.1.23**, **B.2.2**, **B.2.6**, **B.2.8**, **B.2.9**, and **B.2.11**. ⁸³Winter 1971a, 54; Lawrence 1979, 126.

⁸⁴The only example which has been proven to some extent is that of **B.2.16**. The sites at **B.1.6**, **B.1.18** (see p. 75) and **B.2.1** are difficult cases, and **B.2.3** appears to have been erroneously mapped.

⁸⁵It is impossible to ascertain if this was also the case at **B.2.1** and **B.2.13**, due to their present low level of publication.

larger *poleis*,⁸⁶ and can (as stated above) probably be related to the development of siegecraft in the mid-4th c. BCE.⁸⁷ There is nothing indicating further developments in the fortifications of these locations after the the early 2nd c. BCE and the Roman annexation of Greece,⁸⁸ but many sites appear to have been re-fortified for various reasons in the Late Antique or Early Byzantine period.⁸⁹

This three-step development can be exemplified by the case of Pelinna (**B.1.10**) at the N end of the western Thessalian plain (**Fig. 4.7**). Here, the original pre-Poliorcetic enceinte in polygonal masonry (red in figure) was extended to encompass not only the hilltop but also a large roughly square area on the plain immediately below. Whereas the original wall had had no towers, the new trace contained at least 50. The new layout meant that the pre-Poliorcetic fortification became the *akropolis* of the *polis* settlement,⁹⁰ enclosed on all sides by the old wall, even to the N where the sheer cliffs of a *dboláni* (collapsed cave) created a natural barrier.⁹¹

4.3.1 WALL TRACE

The spatial layout of the wall or the wall trace is less often taken into consideration in questions of dating than is masonry style. This is probably due to the lack of good site-plans of most fortification systems. The layout of the fortification units (walls, gates, towers) can potentially tell us much about the goals of the fortifications and ultimately also about their date.

This is most evident in cases where several different traces can be discerned at the same location. As will be shown below, at some of the site in the catalogue it is clear that the fortified areas has been both enlarged and reduced at various points in time, probably as a result of changing needs, functions and threats. However, it is also evident that some walls – even if no longer in use – were allowed to remain standing for some reasons. Rather than being completely torn down or reused for building material, some of the old fortifications were allowed to stand. There are some examples of walls that were clearly not in use and even in disrepair quite close to new and functioning fortifications.⁹²

‘PTOLIS ENCEINTES’

A particular type of fortified hilltop enceinte can be discerned in the pre-Poliorcetic phases at a number of sites found especially in Thessaly.⁹³ As a consequence of strictly following the outline of the topography, some of them are quite small⁹⁴ while others are exceedingly large.⁹⁵ In their general layout, they

⁸⁶**B.1.1, B.1.8, B.1.9, B.1.10, B.1.11, B.1.12, B.1.13, B.1.14, B.1.16, B.1.19, B.1.20, B.1.23, B.2.1, B.2.3, B.2.9, B.2.10, B.2.11, B.2.12, B.2.14, and B.2.16.**

⁸⁷Lawrence 1979, III. ⁸⁸Lawrence 1979, II2.

⁸⁹**B.1.1, B.1.5, B.1.8, B.1.10, B.1.13, B.1.14, B.1.16, B.1.23, B.2.4, B.2.6, B.2.8, B.2.9, B.2.11, B.2.12, B.2.13, B.2.14, and B.2.16.**

⁹⁰As also observed by Winter 1971a, 36.

⁹¹The *akropolis* enceinte contains at least 13 towers, which all appear to have been later additions. Whether these were added in the Poliorcetic phase or later is impossible to say, as the fortifications were extensively repaired in the Late Roman-Early Byzantine period.

⁹²Most notably at **B.1.8**, but also at **B.1.9** and **B.2.3**. See also Lawrence 1979, 121.

⁹³The Yinekóastro at **B.1.3, B.1.4, B.1.5, B.1.8, B.1.10, B.1.11, B.1.12, and B.1.13, B.1.14, B.1.15, B.1.22**. Adding to these, there are probably similar yet unpublished examples, such as Kástro Vouziou and Mandasiá.

⁹⁴As **B.1.12** and **B.1.14**. ⁹⁵Especially **B.1.8** but also **B.1.13** and **B.1.22**.

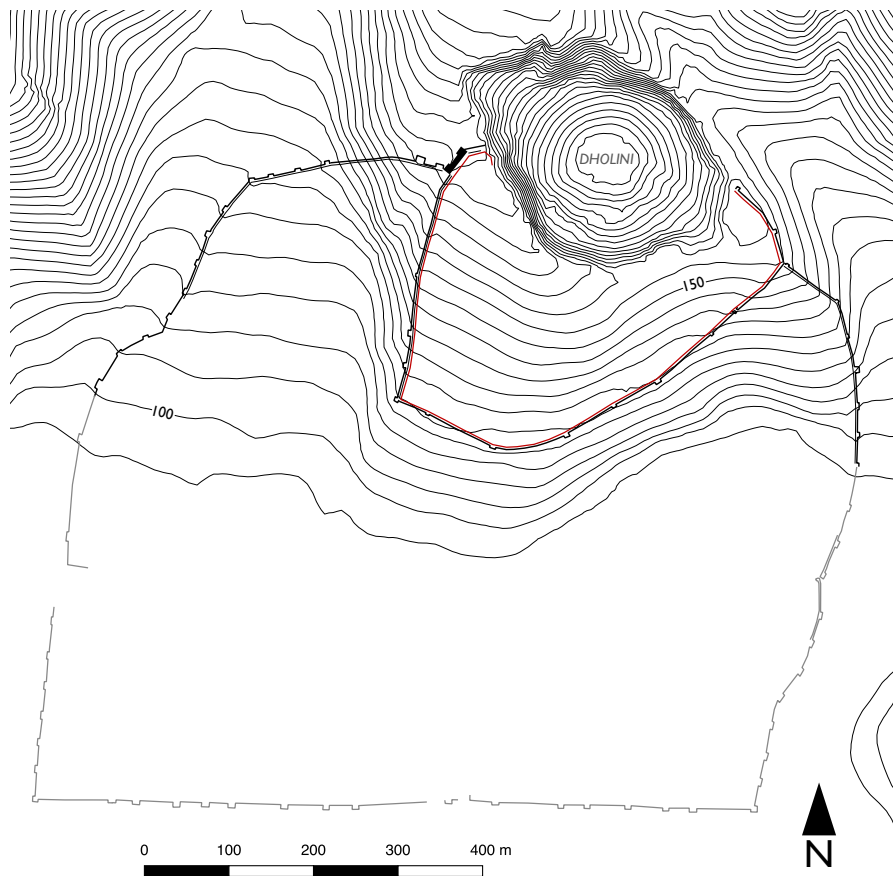


Figure 4.7: Plan of the fortifications of Pelinna, Thessaly. After Stählin 1937b, Abb. 1, with additional towers as observed by the author. Rectification and referencing by Robin Rönnlund. The red line indicates the trace of the pre-Poliorcetic phase. Grey lines indicate destroyed features.

tend to follow the crest of a hilltop, or – when the topography is less accentuated – the edge of the hilltop area.

As regard the more extensive fortifications, the wall trace follows the topography in gentle curves along the sides of their respective hills, such as at Vlochós (B.1.8) and Xiládhēs (B.1.22). The smaller encintes, however, are more angular as they adapt to rocky outcrops and cliffs. A good example of the latter is the *akropolis* of Pharsalos (B.1.14), which occupies the double summit of a steep elongated hilltop. The polygonal masonry of the earliest phase of construction (where discernible) follows the top of the cliffs even at locations where there is no apparent need for a fortification wall.⁹⁶ Whereas the later fortifications of the Poliorcetic and Late Roman-Byzantine phases also enclose the slope and area below the hill, the pre-Poliorcetic encinte appears to have been confined to the very hilltop.

12 km. E of Pharsalos and within view of its *akropolis* is the site of Xiládhēs (B.1.22), a large but severely (and recently) damaged hilltop encinte. The reconstructed trace of the wall runs for ca. 1600

⁹⁶Katakouta and Toufexis 1994, 193-194; Mili's (2015, 102) claim that all the discernible walls are Byzantine is not correct.

m. enclosing roughly 17 hectares of flat ground, presenting a stark contrast to the limited space of the neighbouring Pharsalian *akropolis*. Yet, the characteristics of the walls suggest that they could be contemporary: as with the other examples quoted above, both their walls follow the topography closely, they are devoid of towers, and all seem to have been constructed in a similar kind of polygonal masonry. These characteristics are typical for this kind of fortified site, and could indicate that they correspond to Lang's second type of Archaic settlement.⁹⁷ However, as will be discussed below (p. 102), even if the site of Classical-Hellenistic Pharsalos has yielded some Archaic material, no buildings have yet been reported from the '*katō polis*'. It is also worth stressing that there is little or nothing to suggest that there was a settlement on the Pharsalian *akropolis* at this time. Similarly, the site of Xiládhēs is almost devoid of ceramic material, suggesting that there might not have been a settlement within the walled enclosure.⁹⁸

I refer to this type of enceintes as '*ptolis* enceintes' for a number of reasons. With regards to the 'essentials', the archaeological record shows that these locations – in their pre-Poliorcetic phase – cannot be regarded as *akropoleis* as there is no evidence for any *polis* settlement in their immediate vicinity. Many of them, however, appear to have been incorporated into a proper *polis* settlement by the Classical period or the 4th c. BCE,⁹⁹ but in the late Archaic period they were probably free-standing entities. As will be discussed in **Chapter 5**, their proper designation at this time was probably '*polis*' or '*ptolis*', meaning 'stronghold',¹⁰⁰ and as '*polis*' is so clearly associated with other phenomena, I have chosen to refer to them as '*ptolis* enceintes'.

The site at Xiládhēs has been identified as the potential location of Strabo's Palaiopharsalos,¹⁰¹ an identification, which if correct, could indicate that it was considered the predecessor to the (later) *polis* centre at Pharsalos.¹⁰² The trace of the fortification at Chtoúri (**B.1.4**), even if quite different in masonry style, is similar to that of Xiládhēs, and they both have smaller (later) '*phroúria*' on their summits. The apparent lack of Archaic domestic architecture and pottery at these '*ptolis* enceintes' suggests that they were not the sites of settlements, but could possibly have been used as refuges in the pre-Poliorcetic phase.¹⁰³

This type of enceinte is less evident in Boeotia. There are some examples where seemingly pre-Poliorcetic enceintes can be noted on hilltop locations, most notably at Chaironeia (**B.2.3**), where the hilltop area w of the later *akropolis* of the Poliorcetic phase appears to have been fortified at some earlier period.¹⁰⁴ nowhere can we note anything similar to the Thessalian examples. There are indications of similar installations on the Akontion ridge, just w of the *akropolis* of Orchomenos (**B.2.10**), and on a hilltop at the sw end of the Paralímni lake, but they are to my knowledge both unpublished.¹⁰⁵ The *akropoleis* of Akraiphia (**B.2.1**) and Haliartos (**B.2.6**) could possibly had had similar layouts, but the present state of publication does not allow for any conclusive observations. The *akropolis* of Hyettos (**B.2.7**), however, shows many similarities to the site of Thessalian Kierion (**B.1.5**).

⁹⁷Lang 1996, 23.

⁹⁸This was the situation at my visit. Where the larger amounts of pottery observed by Morgan (1983, 33) and Decourt (1990, 194) were found could not be ascertained.

⁹⁹Notably **B.1.5**, **B.1.10**, and **B.1.14**. ¹⁰⁰*Cf.* p. 36. ¹⁰¹Strab. 9.5.6. ¹⁰²Decourt 1990, 220-221.

¹⁰³Lawrence 1979, 112. ¹⁰⁴Fossey and Gauvin's (1985) dating of this system of fortifications, projecting them to the LBA, is most probably erroneous.

¹⁰⁵Observations made by the author from aerial photographs.



Figure 4.8: Pre-polioretic phase fortifications at Xiládhēs (B.1.22). Photograph by Robin Rönnlund.

CHANGE OF LAYOUT

As already discussed, even if the physical location of the fortified enceintes remain unchanged over the studied period in many of the cases, the exact layout of the fortifications could clearly change. The older fortifications were probably not capable of withstanding the mechanised siege tactics of the 4th c. BCE, prompting the update, but the main reason behind the reconfiguration was probably the change in settlement pattern that seemingly occurred at this time.

There is very little to suggest the existence of any urban settlements in connexion with *akropolis* sites prior to the Polioretic phase. If this is merely due to the lack of systematic excavation is hard to say, but even if the sites in this study have produced Archaic and early Classical material, there is an apparent lack of pre-4th c. domestic installations. There are some exceptions to this, as also indicated by textual sources, especially at the larger *polis* centres such as Boeotian Thebes (B.2.14), Thespiāi (B.2.15) and Plataiai (B.2.11). At many of the locations, however, there is a remarkable lack of true indications of pre-Polioretic urban foundations. As far as the available archaeological material shows, most of the early urban environments are contemporary with the fortifications of the Polioretic phase, that is, belonging to the mid-4th c. BCE.

The old hilltop fortifications of the pre-Polioretic phase were sometimes used in the new scheme, but in many cases there were not.¹⁰⁶ At a small number of sites, there are indications that their locations were unsuitable for the new layout, with the Polioretic urban settlement being located elsewhere yet often in the vicinity. At Thessalian Ekkára (B.1.3), the seemingly older ‘Ptolis enceinte’ of Yinekókastro was abandoned in favour of the more typically urban site 1.5 km. wsw of it, which became the late Classical-Hellenistic *polis* settlement. Just 11 km. further NE, at Néο Monastíri (B.1.19), the Classical site

¹⁰⁶Lawrence 1979, 121.

of Tapsí Maghoúla abandoned for the typically Poliorcetic phase urban site just E of it, the Yinekóastro.¹⁰⁷ As pointed out by Decourt,¹⁰⁸ the ancient toponym of Palaiopharsalos, possibly to be identified with Xiládhes (**B.1.22**), could reflect a situation in which an old fortified site was abandoned for the site of Classical Pharsalos (**B.1.14**). The latter location has several cemeteries of the Archaic period, but no Archaic domestic architecture has yet been uncovered.¹⁰⁹

It appears, however, that the old pre-Poliorcetic fortification was retained in most cases. The clear difference between the fortifications of the *akropolis* and that of the actual settlement at many of the sites in especially Thessaly is evidence of their different dates.¹¹⁰ At Atrax (**B.1.1**), the late Classical-early Hellenistic *diateichisma* of the *akropolis* gives the impression of being a later addition to the larger hilltop enceinte, as suggested by the difference in masonry style and the apparent lack of towers in the latter. The long row of towers in the well-preserved *w emplekton* wall at Petrotó (**B.1.11**) stands in stark contrast to the polygonal masonry wall of the *akropolis* which has no towers. Whether this situation was common in Boeotia cannot be ascertained, as the current state of publication does not allow for such observations.

At a few places, the differences in layout between the pre-Poliorcetic and the Poliorcetic phase can be identified with greater certainty, as their remains are preserved side by side. It seems as if the trace of the pre-Poliorcetic fortification was not suitable for the new Poliorcetic requirements at these places. Interestingly, the old fortification walls were not completely destroyed. This can be observed at Melitaia (**B.1.9**), where the new *akropolis* fortifications (in *emplekton* masonry) of the Poliorcetic phase cuts through the remains of the older hilltop fortification (in polygonal masonry), leaving sections of the latter's stretch outside the new enceinte.

The most well-known example of this is arguably the site of Exárchos in Phocis, even if just outside the regions of this study.¹¹¹, traditionally identified as ancient Abai but more probably that of Hyampolis (**Fig. 4.9**) The extensive hilltop fortification (red in figure) – constructed in monumental-size polygonal masonry with two large gates, two posterns and no towers – was in the 4th c. supplanted by a larger enceinte in a different style of polygonal masonry.¹¹² The trace of the latter (in black) cut through the *intra muros* area of the former enceinte, to then descend the hill-sides enclosing the supposed '*katō polis*' at the foot of the hill in NE. Remarkably, the fortifications of the old trace were allowed to remain and still stands to a height of several metres.

This mirrors the situation at Thessalian Vlochós (**B.1.8**), sometimes identified as ancient Limnaion or Phakion.¹¹³ Here, the large pre-Poliorcetic enceinte enclosing the hilltop was crossed by an exceptionally strong fortification trace of the Poliorcetic phase, but left more or less intact where it did not pose any hinder to the new installation.

The same situation is probably to be observed at Boeotian Chaironeia (**B.2.3**). Here, the pre-Poliorcetic fortifications of the hilltop *w* of the later *polis* settlement were seemingly not incorporated in the Poliorcetic phase enceinte on the E slope of the hill.

¹⁰⁷Not to be confused with the Yinekóastro of Ekkára. ¹⁰⁸Decourt 1990, 218-223.

¹⁰⁹No remains Archaic domestic architecture has been reported from modern Fársala, but as with Boeotian Thebes, the modern habitation at the site makes archaeological work difficult.

¹¹⁰Where discernible: **B.1.1, B.1.2, B.1.4, B.1.5, B.1.8, B.1.10, B.1.11, B.1.12, B.1.13, B.1.14, B.1.17, and B.1.22.**

¹¹¹Ca. 10 km. NW of **B.2.10.** ¹¹²Typaldou-Fakiris 2004, 129-133, 134-138.

¹¹³This first identification is solely based on the sole occurrence of the toponym in Liv. 36.13. The entry in the *PECS* (*s.v.* Limnaeum) clearly confuses the site of Petrómaghoulá Kortikiou with that of Vlochós (**B.1.8**).

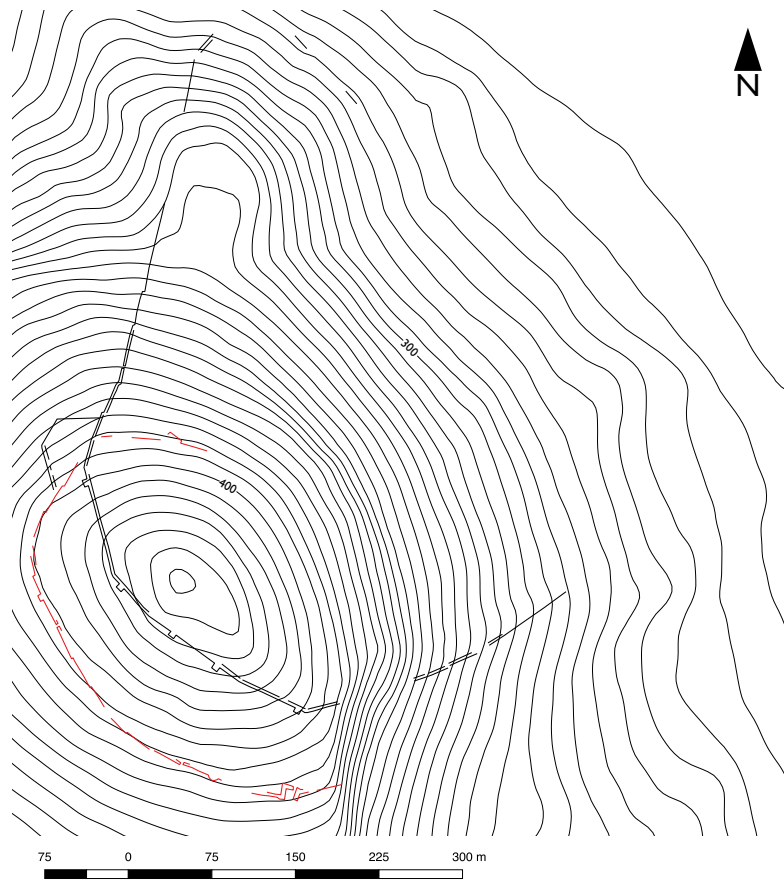


Figure 4.9: Plan of the fortifications of Abai/Hyampolis, Phocis. After Typaldou-Fakiris 2004, Fig. 98. Rectification and referencing by Robin Rönnlund.

These examples show that in the late Classical-early Hellenistic period, there was at certain locations within the study region a shift in what was deemed necessary to fortify. From a situation where the fortification trace encompassed a hilltop area – similarly to the unaltered sites at Chtoúri (B.1.4) and Xiládhēs (B.1.22) – to another, where the hilltops were turned into parts of larger fortified installations.

‘THE AKROPOLIS TRACE’

The new arrangement resulted in a radically new layout of the fortified site, which correspond more closely to the common scholarly view of the ‘ideal’ layout of a *polis* site. The ‘old order’, where a walled hilltop remained the only fortified unit within the settlement (or *polis*?) appears to have been almost completely abandoned, with the majority of sites confirming to the Poliorcetic scheme observed generally in the Greek world.

¹⁴On this type of fortification wall, see Winter 1971b.

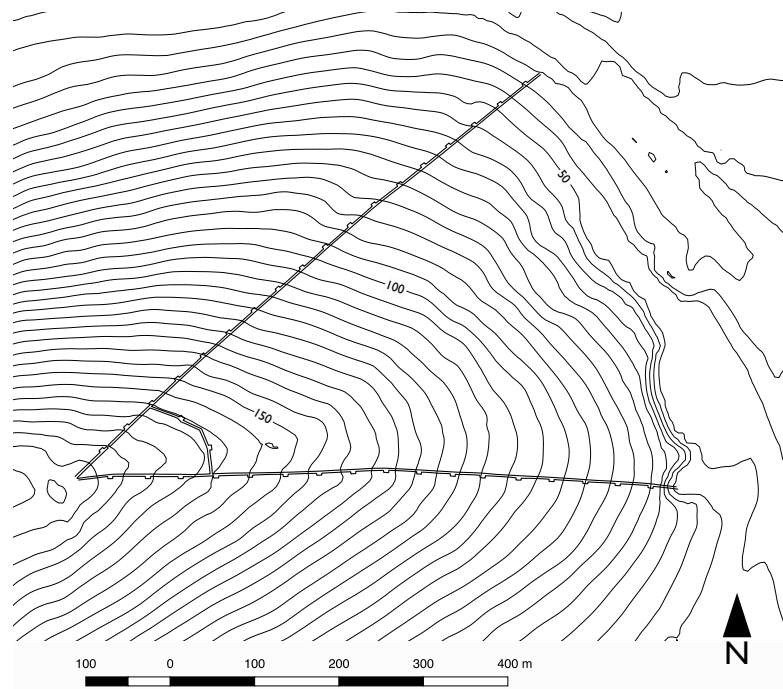


Figure 4.10: Plan of the upper fortifications of Halos, Thessaly. After Reinders 1988, Map 2. Rectification and referencing by Robin Rönnlund.

At Vlochós (**B.1.8**) we may note how the trace of the walls follows the outline of the topography. The two ‘descending walls’ follow two ridge-like promontories in the hill, and join in a wide arch on the hilltop. The ‘descending walls’ have ‘indented’ traces, with ‘jogs’ rather than towers breaking the otherwise continuous line.¹¹⁴ In contrast with the lack of towers in these sections of the wall, the curved arch of the wall on the hilltop contains 17 square towers, the northernmost quite large and bastion-like. Strongly fortified *akropoleis* of this kind are actually quite rare,¹¹⁵ with the vast majority containing few¹¹⁶ or no discernible towers.¹¹⁷ In some places, it is clear that the *akropolis* towers are later additions to an existent trace, and the dating of these additions is often difficult or impossible.¹¹⁸

A cross-wall or *diatichisma* connects the two ‘descending walls’ in the intermediate slope (see p. 85), creating the enclosed space of the *akropolis*. Such an arrangement is exceedingly common in the Greek world, but only to a limited extent in the two studied regions.¹¹⁹ Outside the geographical scope of this study one may note the upper fortifications of New Halos (**Fig. 4.10**) which forms an archetypical, almost stylised example of this arrangement. Two straight ‘descending walls’ start in a sharp corner immediately below the hilltop in the West to meet with the fortifications of the *katō polis* below. Both

¹¹⁵Clear examples are **B.1.1** (6 towers in *diatichisma*, large bastion at s corner), **B.1.4** (7 towers), **B.1.19** (ca. 12 towers), **B.1.7** (if the whole enceinte is the *akropolis*), could be added (9 discernible towers).

¹¹⁶**B.1.5, B.1.9, B.1.12, B.1.14, B.1.16, B.2.1, B.2.3** (1 bastion), **B.2.4, B.2.10** (the *akropolis* being a bastion by itself), **B.2.12**, and **B.2.16** (3 towers).

¹¹⁷**B.1.2, B.1.3, B.1.6, B.1.11, B.1.13, B.1.17, B.1.18, B.1.20, B.1.21, B.1.22, B.1.23, B.2.2**, and **B.2.8**.

¹¹⁸**B.1.10, B.1.15, B.2.7**, and **B.2.11** (18 towers, possibly Late Antique additions?).

¹¹⁹**B.1.1, B.1.9, B.1.10** and **B.1.14** (both incorporating older walls in the scheme), **B.1.19, B.2.10**, and **B.2.12**.

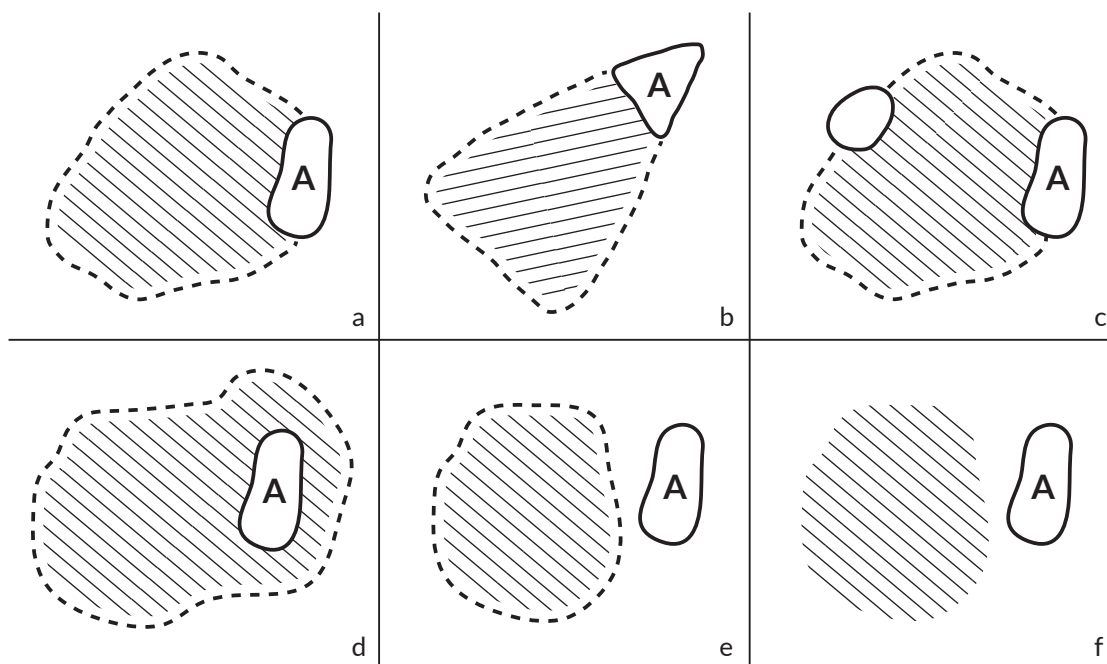


Figure 4.11: The different types of *akropoleis* (A) in relation to the city walls (striped) and the settlement (shaded area).

walls contain 18+17 towers and it is highly probable that the Byzantine remains immediately w of the end corner covers the remains of a finishing bastion, as is the case at other locations,¹²⁰ as will be discussed below (4.3.3).

With the emergence of this general scheme of fortified spaces within the urban defences, one may say that the typical *akropolis* comes into being. By this, I do not only mean the *akropolis* as complying with the ‘essentials’ defined in this study, but also the kind of feature that appears to be what most scholars would call ‘an *akropolis*’. Within the two study regions, I have failed to note any example of an ‘essential *akropolis*’ dating before the 4th c. BCE, the significance of which will be discussed in **Chapter 5**.

TYPES OF LAYOUTS

There is some conformity in layouts among the *akropolis* sites of the two studied regions. By conformity I do not mean uniformity, but rather that there are clear examples of similarly olayout fortifications in relation to the apparent settlement location. This conformity extends to sites outside the two regions, as the survey of sites in **Appendix A** shows, supporting the idea of a ‘pan-Hellenic’ phenomenon of *akropoleis*.

These similarly outlined sites can for descriptive reasons be arrange into six ‘types’ (Fig. 4.11). I would like to emphasise that this ‘typology of *akropoleis*’ is exclusively descriptive, and that the identification of a specific type does not necessary carry any interpretive significance. The ‘types’ (labelled

¹²⁰ B.1.1, B.1.8, B.1.10, B.1.13, B.2.10.

a-f) are of varying commonness within the regions – as can be observed in the **Appendix B** – some well-represented (especially type **a**) and some seemingly not at all (type **e**).¹²¹

Type **a** is characterised by a separately fortified *akropolis* occupying the summit of a hilltop, with a fortified *katō polis* in the slopes or at the foot of the hill. The main difference between type **a** and **b** is that the *akropolis* wall should encompass the summit as a whole, and not just a segment of it. This type (**b**) is as mentioned by far the most common arrangement, with 20 certain examples in the two regions.¹²² There are probably more examples of this group. Among the latter, it is probable that Boeotian Akraiphia (**B.2.1**) had a similar layout as Thessalian Atrax (**B.1.1**) as the two sites display many similarities, but this cannot be ascertained before the results of the French excavations of the 1930s are published.

As just stated, type **b** is very similar to type **a**, but is different in that the *akropolis* area only occupies a segment of the hilltop in question. The example of New Halos presented above (p. 82) is a good example of this, and there are several late Classical-early Hellenistic examples from the whole of Greece.¹²³ Within Thessaly and Boeotia, however, we may note only three locations corresponding to this type of arrangement,¹²⁴ making it quite rare. The significance of this particular type of *akropolis* will be discussed in **5.4.2**.

Type **c** is also rare, occurring only at Boeotian Thisbai (**B.2.16**). It has an additional fortified enceinte within the greater wall complex. The separately fortified enceinte (the Neócastro, or ‘new castle’) is apparently a Hellenistic addition to the walled area, previously confined to the *akropolis* and the valley immediately south of it. Similar sites are not very common (Cf. **Appendix A**), if one were not to include sites with ‘perimeter strongpoints’ of *akrai* (see **3.2.2**).

The undoubtedly most well-known arrangement is that of type **d**, as it is the type found at Athens. The type is characterised by an isolated *akropolis* in the midst of a walled lower settlement, with no fortification walls connecting the former to the outer enceinte. However, it appears from the archaeological record that this type is relatively rare in the Greek world, which is also the case within the two studied regions. Only three sites, those of Kallithéa (**B.1.12**), Dhomokós (**B.1.21**) and Koroneia (**B.2.9**), can be positively confirmed. The small ‘*akropoleis*’ of Chtóuri (**B.1.4**) and Xiládhēs (**B.1.22**) are, as mentioned, probably *not* to be regarded as *akropoleis*.

I have only been able to note one example of the type **e**, and that from outside the studied regions.¹²⁵ It is characterised by a separately fortified *akropolis* located outside the general enceinte of the walled settlement in question.

Slightly less uncommon is type **f**, which is characterised by a fortified *akropolis* on an elevated position, with an unfortified *katō polis* outside of it.¹²⁶ This can with some certainty be noted at three locations,¹²⁷ with an additional two less certain sites.¹²⁸

There are a number of sites which do not conform to these six types, which is only to be expected as the ‘typology’ is not aimed at being explanatory or interpretative. Some of the more ‘important’

¹²¹I have only identified type **e** at Arcadian Mantinea, which seems to be an abnormality.

¹²²**B.1.1, B.1.2, B.1.3, B.1.5, B.1.10, B.1.11, B.1.13, B.1.14, B.1.15, B.1.16, B.1.19, B.1.20, B.1.23, B.2.2, B.2.3, B.2.5, B.2.6, B.2.9, B.2.12, and B.2.15.**

¹²³Cf. Arcadian Alea (*LACP* nr. 265), Phocian Drymaia (*LACP* nr. 178), Argive Troezen (*LACP* nr. 357), and Lacedaemonian Prasiai (*LACP* nr. 342).

¹²⁴**B.1.8, B.1.9, and B.2.10.** ¹²⁵Mantinea in Arcadia (*LACP* nr. 281).

¹²⁶That is, where no fortified *katō polis* can be identified. ¹²⁷**B.1.7, B.2.7, and B.2.8.** ¹²⁸**B.1.23, B.2.4.**

urban sites – most notably Krannon (**B.1.6**), Plataiai (**B.2.11**), and Thebes (**B.2.14**) appear to have been fortified already in the pre-Poliorcetic phase, with the original enceintes becoming ‘the *akropolis*’ in the Poliorcetic. It is important not to regard the development of *akropolis* locations teleologically, but as a result of a certain historical development, as will be expanded upon in **4.4.5**.

4.3.2 WALLS

The by far most well-represented type of architecture – both in number of examples and in total mass – on *akropolis* sites is the fortification wall. They are in essence constructed to prevent human movement from one side to the other, and to protect humans and installations on one side of the wall from projectiles originating from the opposite side.¹²⁹ This makes them different from other types of large walls or wall-like features, such as *temenos* walls of sanctuaries and retaining walls. However, it is plausible that fortification walls could also serve other additional pragmatic purposes, such as functioning as terrace walls, retaining a flatter surface immediately inside of the trace.¹³⁰ The walls consequently not only serve to defend or delimit the *akropolis* area, but also effectively shapes the *intra muros* terrain, creating new easier routes of communication along the inside of the fortification.

Walls constitute the main factor in the construction of the *akropolis* trace, and at most *akropolis* locations they are only sparsely equipped with towers.¹³¹ The parapet appears in many cases to have been the most convenient route of access to and from the *katō polis*,¹³² allowing for the control of access up to and into the *akropolis*.

CROSS-WALLS

The basic meaning of a cross-wall in this study is a fortification wall the aim of which is to hinder movement within a space, rather than to keep assailants out. It is in Greek archaeology often used synonymously with *diateichisma*, a term which is used ca. 300 times in ancient literature prior to the 3rd c. CE, and which seems to have denoted either the wall by which an enceinte was divided or – in the Hellenistic period – a specific defensive installation.¹³³ As Lawrence points out, the term has become part of archaeological terminology,¹³⁴ and the modern meaning of the work may be quite different to that of Antiquity.

Cross-walls or *diateichismata* are very common at the sites in the catalogue.¹³⁵ The exact nature of these – as well as their origin, function and appearance – vary to a large extent, reflecting the local developments in the fortification process.

Cross-walls may be specifically or originally constructed as intra-spatial dividers, or belong to an older enceinte which at a latter stage was extended, leaving part of the fortification wall as a *diateichisma*.¹³⁶ At Vlochos (**B.1.8**), there are examples of both. Here, the 550 m. Poliorcetic phase cross-wall

¹²⁹Müth 2016, 162-163. ¹³⁰Clear examples of this at **B.1.3, B.1.5, B.1.7, B.1.8, B.1.10, B.1.11, B.1.13, B.1.15, B.2.2, B.2.7, and B.2.10**. ¹³¹Several examples are wholly devoid of towers in the Poliorcetic phase, the confirmed being **B.1.2, B.1.3, B.1.15, B.1.11, B.1.13, B.1.15, and B.1.17**.

¹³²As a rock-cut path has only been noted at **B.2.10**. ¹³³Sokolicek 2009, 13-17; Müth 2016, 171-172.

¹³⁴Lawrence 1979, 148.

¹³⁵Confirmed at **B.1.1, B.1.2, B.1.3, B.1.5, B.1.6, B.1.7, B.1.8, B.1.9, B.1.10, B.1.11, B.1.12, B.1.13, B.1.14, B.1.15, B.1.16, B.1.17, B.1.19, B.1.20, B.1.23, B.2.1, B.2.4, B.2.6, B.2.9, B.2.10, B.2.11, B.2.12 and B.2.14**.

¹³⁶Sokolicek 2009, 61.



Figure 4.12: The recently restored cross-wall of the *akropolis* of Pharsalos (**B.1.14**). The wall displays masonry of the pre-Poliorcetic, the Poliorcetic and the Late Roman-Byzantine phases. Photograph by Robin Rönnlund.

runs along the steep slope of the hill, and is strengthened by only three towers, the largest of which located at the southernmost and lowest corner of the slightly L-shaped trace. Ca. 140 m. uphill from this wall is the '*diateichisma*' created by the pre-Poliorcetic phase enceinte on the hilltop. Whether the latter was ever used for fortification in the Poliorcetic phase is hard to establish.

The 'keep' of the *akropolis* of Orchomenos (**B.2.10**) is so topographically isolated on its rock spur that it would probably not require any separating cross-wall. However, further down the slope after the corridor-like passage between the walls was at the time of Fossey's visit the remains of a proper *diateichisma* running from the n descending wall to the s. This appears not to have been preserved to the 1990s when the site was mapped.

The pre-Byzantine fortifications of Thessalian Eretria (**B.1.16**) appear to be single-phase, with the *diateichisma* separating the hilltop from the fortified settlement area in the slopes below it. It is a similar (if smaller) to Pharsalos (**B.1.14**), but the latter *akropolis* fortifications appear to have been originally constructed in the pre-Poliorcetic phase with many later additions (**Fig. 4.12**). The cross-wall of Eretria has only one tower and one jog, possibly because of the very steep slope surrounding the *akropolis*. The poorly preserved cross-wall of Xyniai (**B.1.23**) cannot be firmly dated to any period other than the Byzantine, yet it is probable that it has an ancient precedent, as it appears to be built upon an earlier foundation.

At Atrax (**B.1.1**), what appears to have been the s corner of a pre-Poliorcetic enceinte on a sloping hilltop plateau was walled off in the Poliorcetic phase. This latter wall, acting as a cross-wall for the new *akropolis* area, has six towers, the outer two added to the old wall which ran along the rim of the plateau. Two towers flanked the main gate.

Perhaps the most unusual situation can be noted at Kallithéa (**B.1.12**), where the *akropolis* fortifications are cross-walls only, as the separate enceinte is located in the very middle of the main circuit (see plan at **B.1.12**). The *akropolis* is connected with the main enceinte by two further *diateichismata*, stretching downhill in two arches. While there are no towers in the *akropolis* wall (which appears to be of an older date than the rest of the fortifications), the latter two cross-walls contain in total 8 towers directing towards the smaller *intra muros* area in w. This unusual solution was probably called for by the decision to construct a fortified urban settlement covering the whole hilltop.¹³⁷

At most locations, however, it appears that what can be regarded as a ‘*diateichisma*’ follows the trace of the previous main enceinte. This is indicated mainly by the difference in masonry, the apparent lack of towers or later addition of towers, and the layout of the general fortification trace. A clear example is that of Kierion (**B.1.5**), where the original pre-Poliorcetic phase enceinte on the hilltop was connected in sw and ne with two descending walls of the Poliorcetic phase. Towers were attached to the existing *akropolis* walls at the points where the descending walls joined them. The 260 m. stretch of wall between the towers was subsequently transformed into a *diateichisma*, similarly to at Petróporos (**B.1.10**), Petrotó (**B.1.11**), and Haliartos (**B.2.6**).

Cross-walls rarely contain any larger gates or openings towards the settled area in the *katō polis*. Where discernible, the openings are more often mere posterns and do not seem to be appropriate for the rapid evacuation of larger groups of people. At Vlochós, the only ‘gate like’ opening in the *diateichisma* is quite narrow, and its position at a very steep section of the slope makes it improbable that it was used for evacuation purposes. There are some exceptions, however, such as at nearby Atrax, where the gate in the *akropolis* cross-wall is 4 m. wide, allowing for the passing of carts and animals (see **4.3.4** below).

MASONRY

The *akropolis* sites within the studied regions display a wide array of different masonry styles, mirroring the development of fortification architecture over the course of Antiquity.¹³⁸ To use stylistic elements for dating architectural features, however, has proven to be difficult,¹³⁹ with certain styles being favoured over a long time with regional variations certainly playing a nuancing rôle.¹⁴⁰ However, combined with other factors in the construction of fortifications, masonry styles may lend additional weight to arguments for dating and periodisation. Also, all supposed dates for specific masonry styles are seemingly not equally imprecise – isodomic ashlar, for instance, appears not to have been in use prior to the 4th c. BCE, whereas examples of polygonal masonry can probably be identified throughout the period.¹⁴¹

There are exceedingly few clear examples of pre-Achaic masonry among the studied examples; the only positive example appears to be the oldest phases of the fortifications of the Kadmeia (**B.2.14**), reportedly built in ‘Cyclopean’ masonry. The term ‘Cyclopean’ causes some problems in the inter-

¹³⁷This arrangement is exceedingly rare in Central Greece and Thessaly, the only similar installation being that of Ghorítsa at Vólos. In Akarnarnia, however, there are several similar examples such as at Bambíni (anc. Phoítiai?, *LACP* nr. 134), Katoúna (anc. Medion?, *LACP* nr. 129), Kombotí (anc. Torybeia?, *LACP* nr. 140) and Paléa Plávia (anc. Palairos?, *LACP* nr. 131).

¹³⁸*Cf.* Jansen 2016, 113-114. ¹³⁹See criticism in Cooper 2000, 171-172 and Maher 2017, 41-43.

¹⁴⁰As observed in the case of Boeotia by Fossey 1988, 491. ¹⁴¹Maher 2017, 74; 99.

pretation of published data, as it appears to be very flexible and is not very descriptive.¹⁴² ‘Cyclopean’ masonry has been identified by scholars at several sites within the regions,¹⁴³ with seemingly very different types of masonry in mind. The term was originally used to refer to the type of large LBA masonry found at sites such as Athens, Mycenae and Tiryns, but even here, obvious differences are to be noted. Distinctions such as “small Cyclopean” (*petit cyclopéen*) further complicate matters,¹⁴⁴ and I have therefore chosen to avoid this term when possible.

Scranton’s *Greek walls* (1941) formalised the language of ancient Greek masonry, and even if his ideas concerning the use of the typology of masonry for dating cannot be applied generally, his descriptive terminology remains useful. I have used his terminology, with some exceptions, as will be evident below.

With this *caveat*, it can be stated that there is *some* correlation between the type of masonry employed at certain sites and their supposed construction phase (as specified in **4.1.3**). Most evident, variants of ashlar and coursed masonry appear to belong exclusively to the wall traces of the Poliorcetic phase, sometimes stratigraphically distinct from masonry of the preceding phase.¹⁴⁵ Polygonal masonry in turn, is generally more commonly found at *akropoleis* of the pre-Poliorcetic phase than elsewhere, and appears in some cases to have constituted parts of the earliest discernible enceinte.¹⁴⁶ There is, of course, the odd exception to this,¹⁴⁷ showing that this is a tendency, not a rule.

The term ‘polygonal’ comprises several distinguishable types of masonry, some to be regarded as sub-types whereas others are clearly examples of proper styles. Among the latter, the most prominent in especially the Thessalian material is that referred to as ‘*rohpolygonal*’ (‘rough polygonal’) by Stählin.¹⁴⁸ *Ro hpolygonal* masonry (**Fig. 4.13**) is characterised by being constructed in a mix of uncut and slightly tooled stones, ranging from boulder-sized to mere rubble. To refer to this kind of masonry as ‘rubble masonry’ is unfair to the ancient constructors, as the faces of the walls can be remarkably even and aesthetically pleasing. The collapse of the feature in question, however, may lead to a subsequent situation where the wall is reduced to, so to speak, a pile of rubble. This type of masonry can be noted at a few places within the studied regions (and beyond), and appears to have formed part of walls enclosing the *akropolis* only.¹⁴⁹ To date this kind of masonry outside of context is extremely difficult if not impossible, as similar techniques can be noted in features of much later date, such as in Early Modern terraces.

Polygonal masonry in the strict sense – that is, tooled/cut stones of varying forms fitted together with non-parallel joints – is more common within the studied regions. It is to be noted, however, that the grade of preservation varies to a great extent, sometimes making the distinction between ‘proper polygonal’ and *ro hpolygonal* hard to ascertain.¹⁵⁰ When discernible, the polygonal masonry can be un-coursed¹⁵¹ or semi-coursed,¹⁵² with no apparent aspect of particular date. The two semi-coursed

¹⁴²For a general discussion of this term, see Loader 1998. ¹⁴³For example at **B.1.2, B.1.4, B.2.3** and **B.2.16**. See Fossey 1988, 492. ¹⁴⁴Decourt 1990, Fig. 68. ¹⁴⁵As at **B.1.5, B.1.8, B.2.6, B.2.7** and **B.2.16**.

¹⁴⁶The confirmable examples are: **B.1.1, B.1.5, B.1.8, B.1.9, B.1.10, B.1.11, B.1.13, B.1.14, B.1.17, B.2.3, B.2.4, B.2.6, B.2.7, B.2.10, B.2.11, B.2.16**.

¹⁴⁷**B.1.8** and the “*Bollwerk*” at **B.1.10**. ¹⁴⁸Stählin 1924a, 1-2. ¹⁴⁹**B.1.2, B.1.4** (if the ‘*Frouúrio*’ is to be regarded as an *akropolis*), **B.1.5, B.1.8, B.1.9, B.1.12, B.1.15** and **B.2.6 (?)**. ¹⁵⁰Such as at **B.1.11, B.1.13, B.1.14, B.1.15** and **B.2.10**.

¹⁵¹**B.1.10 (?)**, **B.1.13, B.1.14, B.2.3, B.2.5 (?)**, **B.2.6 (?)**, **B.2.7, B.2.8 (?)**, **B.2.9 (?)**, **B.2.11** and **B.2.16**.

¹⁵²**B.1.1** and **B.1.8**.



Figure 4.13: Rohpolygonal masonry, first phase enceinte at Vlochós, Thessaly. Photograph by Robin Rönnlund.

examples, however, are found in what appear to be early Poliorcetic phase walls, enclosing not only the *akropoleis* but also their *katō poleis*.

Forms of ashlar masonry, including the trapezoidal and isodomic types, appear only in Poliorcetic phase walls. Isodomic ashlar can be noted at several locations in both regions,¹⁵³ and is never confined to the *akropolis* fortifications. The emplekton variant of isodomic ashlar has also been noted at some locations,¹⁵⁴ more thorough studies would probably reveal more examples. Emplekton masonry implies an ‘inter-woven’ arrangement of cut squared stones alternatingly placed so to create internal compartments supporting the rubble fill.¹⁵⁵ ‘Preludes’ to this arrangement can be observed in the polygonal masonry in the descending walls at Vlochós (**B.1.8**), but the compartments appear not to form part of the wall faces, which is the case with emplekton ashlar. The ‘compartments’ found in several towers within the studied regions (see **4.3.3**) have a similar stabilising function.

Trapezoidal ashlar, that is, coursed masonry in which only the upper and lower sides of the cut stones are parallel, is not very common within the studied regions. It has been observed at the adjacent sites of Proerna (**B.1.19**) and Thaumakoi (**B.1.21**) in Thessaly and at short stretches of wall at Boeotian Haliartos (**B.2.6**) and Thisbai (**B.2.16**), but might be more common as it seems that some publications do not distinguish this type of masonry from other forms of ashlar. At Hyettos (**B.2.7**), the only tower at the site appears to be built in un-coursed trapezoidal masonry, which is unique to the *akropolis* sites in the studied regions. The tower appears to be a later addition to the wall trace, as the latter is built in a distinguishably polygonal masonry originally not joined with any tower construction.

¹⁵³**B.1.1, B.1.5, B.1.7, B.1.9, B.1.12, B.1.14, B.1.23, B.2.2, B.2.3, B.2.4, B.2.6, B.2.10, B.2.11, B.2.12 and B.2.16.**

¹⁵⁴**B.1.1, B.1.7, B.1.9 and B.2.1.** ¹⁵⁵Lawrence 1979, 214-215.



Figure 4.14: South wall of the *akropolis* of Pharsalos (**B.1.14**). Note the many styles of repair. Photograph by Robin Rönnlund.

Similar examples can be noted at some other locations, and where two or more different building phases can be distinguished (see **4.3.3**). More overarching differences in masonry style between the fortifications of the *akropolis* and of the *katō polis* are not unusual within the studied regions,¹⁵⁶ and could indicate subsequent extensions of the walled spaces. The most common relation of this kind is polygonal masonry on the *akropolis* and ashlar in the *katō polis*,¹⁵⁷ comprising roughly one third of the total number of sites but over half of the sites where the masonry styles of the lower fortifications are known.

It appears that the majority of sites within the studied regions had fortifications with a mud brick superstructure, which in itself constituted the parapet of the wall.¹⁵⁸ It is only at Pharsalos (**B.1.14**), Orchomenos (**B.2.10**) and Siphai (**B.2.12**) that the preserved walls appears to be exclusively of. At Pharsalos, however, this is only the case at certain stretches of the walls, the remaining sections being destroyed or covered by later remains (**Fig. 4.14**).

The mud brick superstructure was probably constructed on a stone plinth on the top of the stone substructure of the wall. As this was the highest part of the stone element, this has naturally been the

¹⁵⁶**B.1.1, B.1.2, B.1.3, B.1.5, B.1.10, B.1.11, B.1.12, B.1.13, B.1.14, B.1.17, B.2.1 (?), B.2.3, B.2.4, B.2.9 (?), B.2.10, B.2.11, B.2.14 and B.2.16**

¹⁵⁷**B.1.3, B.1.5, B.1.10, B.1.11, B.1.12, B.1.13, B.1.14, B.1.17, B.2.1, B.2.3, B.2.9 (?), B.2.11, B.2.14 (?) and B.2.16.** There are several additional examples that cannot be substantiated.

¹⁵⁸Jansen 2016, 115-116.



Figure 4.15: Possible ramp (?) at Vlochós (B.1.8), Thessaly. Photograph by Robin Rönnlund.

first to collapse, and I have only been able to identify one preserved example. This is found at the SE corner of the Poliorcetic phase fortifications at Vlochós (B.1.8), where a short stretch of the original upper ‘rim’ of the wall is preserved for a few metres. The mud brick superstructure was most probably covered in plaster to prevent it from eroding, with some kind of cover on the top to protect it from the elements. What this cover was cannot be said, but the lack of substantial remains of roof tiles at the sites indicate that the latter material was not employed.

RAMPS AND OTHER MEANS OF PARAPET ACCESS

At a handful of sites in Thessaly, features similar to fortification walls have been noted, starting in the main *akropolis* circuit and going towards the centre of the enceinte like a beam. It is likely that they are not fortifications, as they appear to be too weak or incomplete.

The most well-preserved example is found at Vlochós (B.1.8), where it can be traced for ca. 30 m. (Fig. 4.15). The starting point is close to the westernmost of the *akropolis* towers, and it deviates from the general trace of the fortification wall by almost 90°, ascending the slope towards the remains of a larger structure on the hilltop (see p. 104). At its lower, NW end, it is constructed in a very nicely executed polygonal masonry, similar to that of the general Poliorcetic enceinte but of higher quality.

¹⁵⁹For more information on this interesting site, see Batziou-Efstathiou and Triandafillopoulou 2009. That the feature at this site should be a ramp, however, appears unlikely, as the slope here is extremely steep.

It is ca. 3 m. wide at the upper end, becoming gradually wider towards the end where it is ca. 3.5 m. It appears to have been built up in stone only at the lower end, as only traces of foundation stones remain further uphill. Its purpose is not obvious at first, but the suggestion that a similar instalment at Thessalian Sorós should be regarded as a ‘ramp’ opens up for an interesting interpretation.¹⁵⁹ At Vlochós, the ‘ramp’ feature is first traceable at ca. 8 m. above the level of its lowest part where it joins with the main fortification wall. This difference in height is highly suggestive, as if one were to transport missiles and other necessary materials to the boardwalk upon the fortification walls, this is approximately the suggested height of the parapet.¹⁶⁰ No staircases of the Poliorcetic phase have been noted at the walls of Vlochós, making this suggested route of access the only one suitable for transport of heavier objects.¹⁶¹

A similar ‘ramp’ has been noted at nearby Kierion (**B.1.5**), also indicating a 7-8 m. fortification wall, and possibly at Petrotó (**B.1.11**), at which the difference in level is harder to ascertain. It is possible that this feature is more common, but at present, there are no further mentions of similar features in the relevant publications.

Stairs leading up to the parapet of the fortification wall have only been noted at Boeotian Siphai (**B.2.12**), where one flight of stairs runs along the inside of the wall just N of the tower 4. They are clearly of the Poliorcetic phase, with a corresponding example further down the slope in the ‘*Oberstadt*’ at tower 7. Whether the lack of similar installations at the other sites reflects an actual situation in Antiquity is impossible to say. However, it at least seems plausible that at the majority of sites, access to the parapet was by ladders and not stone stairs.

4.3.3 TOWERS, BASTIONS, AND JOGS

Towers appear not to have been very common in the pre-Poliorcetic phase within the studied regions.¹⁶² The towers in the pre-Poliorcetic *akropolis* enceintes are seemingly later additions to an originally towerless trace at most locations, as is indicated by the continuous wall-trace behind the structure, the differences in masonry and material, and in the quality of execution.

The situation in the Poliorcetic phase, however, is different, with examples of *akropolis* enceintes containing a large number of towers. This appears to have been mainly the case at sites where the Poliorcetic phase fortifications had no precedent structures, notably at Vlochós (**B.1.8**), Proerna (**B.1.19**) and to a certain extent Atrax (**B.1.1**). The sites with pre-Poliorcetic phase fortifications appear in the Poliorcetic phase to have been equipped with towers only to a limited extent, some only with one or two.¹⁶³

Bastion-like features (**Fig. 4.16**),¹⁶⁴ or exceptionally large towers, occur in the pre-Poliorcetic phase as flanking the gates leading into the *akropolis*. At Vlochós (**B.1.8**) and Hyettos (**B.2.7**), the pre-Poliorcetic phase gates (see **4.3.4**) are flanked on the right by what can be regarded not as towers, but as square

¹⁶⁰Philo of Byzantium recommends a wall height of at least 20 cubits (ca. 9 m.), see translation in Lawrence 1979, 77.

¹⁶¹This ‘ramp’ could also be the remains of the foundations of an unfinished wall, but this is at present impossible to ascertain.

¹⁶²They start to appear in Mainland Greece from ca. 500 BCE according to Jansen 2016, 116.

¹⁶³Such as **B.1.5** (2), **B.1.11** (1?), **B.2.7** (1).

¹⁶⁴That is, large tower-like structures built into the fortification wall as to allow for the dispersing of projectiles in several directions.



Figure 4.16: Bastion at the North-West corner of the *akropolis* of Pelinna (**B.1.10**). Photograph by Robin Rönnlund.

(Vlochós) or ‘trapezoidal’ (Hyettos) bastions.¹⁶⁵ Whereas the whole gate complex at Vlochós is tangential, protruding from the general wall trace, the gate at Hyettos forms a ‘depression’ in the general trace, allowing for the ‘bastion’ to protrude slightly. Similar situations have been noted outside (yet close to) the studied regions at Thessalian Sorós and Phocian Abai (**Fig. 4.9**).

In the Poliorcetic phase, however, bastions appear to have been located at the extremities of the wall trace, such as at the top-most section of the wall, at conspicuous angles, or at a hill saddle. These can be additions to the earlier phase wall-trace,¹⁶⁶ but more commonly an integrated and important part of the enceinte as a whole.¹⁶⁷ The ‘battery-like’ kind of installation, as exemplified by the N angle of Arcadian Alea (**Fig. 4.18**), Thessalian Demetrias, and Halos (**Fig. 4.10**), can probably only be identified at Pelinna (**B.1.10**) and possibly at Chaironeia (**B.2.3**). At Klokotós (**B.1.13**), a similar installation can be noted at the NE corner of the fortified area, but this appears to have belonged to a ‘perimeter strongpoint’ (*akra?*) rather than the *akropolis*.

At Atrax (**B.1.1**) and Orchomenos (**B.2.10**), the triangular outlines of the hilltop fortifications end in small, fort-like features which in size exceed what can be called ‘bastions’. They could possibly be interpreted as the sites of garrison-forts (see **4.5.2**), as their size is much smaller than most *akropolis* sites yet they are far larger than what can be reasonably be referred to as a tower.

¹⁶⁵Étienne and Knoepfler 1976, Fig. 16. ¹⁶⁶Seemingly the case at **B.1.10**. ¹⁶⁷**B.1.7, B.1.8, B.1.16, B.2.3.**



Figure 4.17: Very large ashlar blocks in the masonry of the tower in the North-East corner of the *akropolis* at Makriráchi (**B.1.7**). Photograph by Robin Rönnlund.

Regular towers, however, can be noted in the Poliorcetic phase at 18 sites within the studied regions,¹⁶⁸ with some additional examples possibly dated to this period.¹⁶⁹ The vast majority of these are square, protruding from the outer face of the wall. Only a small minority appears to have been semi-circular,¹⁷⁰ and there is only one example of a polygonal tower.¹⁷¹

Only 6 *akropolis* sites have been published to the degree that individual towers can be analysed more closely,¹⁷² which does not allow for any general observations. Some of the available material, however, can act as examples of the apparent variation between the sites:

Tower 4 at Boeotian Siphai (**B.2.12**) was 6.1 m. wide, protruding 2.76 m. from the outer wall face and 1.10 m. from the inner; protecting a small postern immediately to its s. Just above it in the slope (N) was a flight of stairs leading up to the parapet. The towers appears to have been accessible both from the interior of the *akropolis* as well as from the parapet (through openings to the s and N), and shows indications of having been internally divided into four chambers, perhaps to support the foundation fill. A preserved arrow slit in the N upper-floor wall allowed for the firing of projectiles along the wall

¹⁶⁸Confirmed at **B.1.1, B.1.4, B.1.5, B.1.7, B.1.8, B.1.9, B.1.10, B.1.11, B.1.12, B.1.14, B.1.16, B.1.19, B.1.23, B.2.1, B.2.4, B.2.7, B.2.12,** and **B.2.16.**

¹⁶⁹The towers at **B.1.15** and **B.2.11** appear to mainly be of the Byzantine period, but whether they were built upon earlier foundations cannot be ascertained at present.

¹⁷⁰Fragmentary remains at **B.1.11** and **B.2.10.** ¹⁷¹**B.2.1.** ¹⁷²**B.1.7, B.1.8, B.1.9, B.1.19, B.2.1, B.2.7** and **B.2.12.**

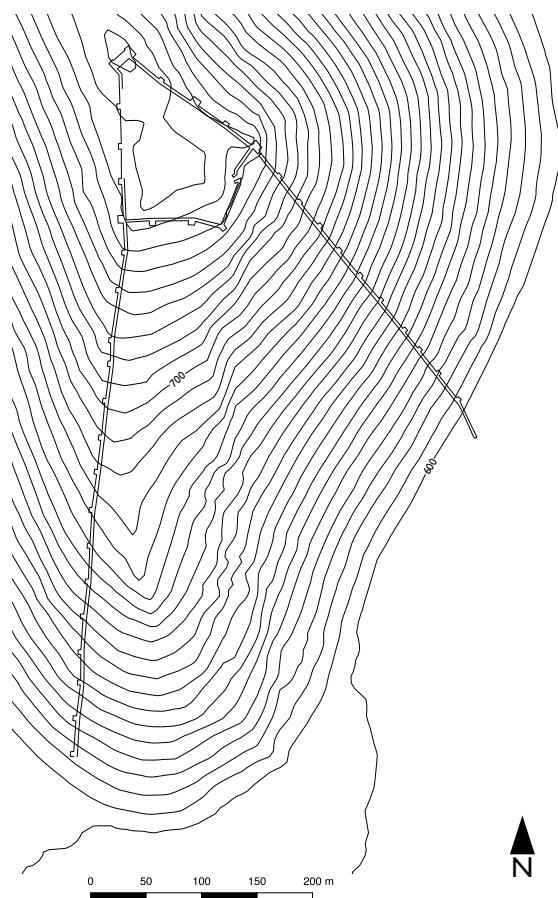


Figure 4.18: Plan of the fortifications of Alea, Arcadia. After Ernst Meyer 1939, Plan 2. Rectification and referencing by Robin Rönnlund.

flanking the tower. The tower was apparently wholly built in stone (trapezoidal ashlar), which appears to have been the case generally at this site, and seems to belong to one building phase.¹⁷³

The sole tower at Hyettos (**B.2.7**) contrasts with the generally polygonal masonry of the flanking fortification walls by being constructed in trapezoidal ashlar. It protrudes ca. 1.70-1.80 m. from the face of the wall, and is 5.05 m wide. It is preserved to a maximum height of 2.40 m., with the remaining part probably constituting the stone socle of a mud brick superstructure.¹⁷⁴

Similar construction techniques (mud brick on stone socle) appear to have been the norm at most sites, judging from the preserved remains.¹⁷⁵ The general architecture was however seemingly not much affected by this, as seen in the tower 8 (**Fig. 4.17**, p. 94) at Makrirrachi (**B.1.7**), where the four-chamber diversion of the foundation fill has been noted. This tower, protrudes ca. 3 m. from the outer wall face and is ca. 6 m. wide, making it similar in dimensions to that of Siphai. That mud brick-superstructure

¹⁷³Schwandner 1977, 539-541, Abb. 26-27. ¹⁷⁴Étienne and Knoepfler 1976, 55-59, Fig. 24-27.

¹⁷⁵Lawrence 1979, 206



Figure 4.19: Tower in the South wall of the *akropolis* of Melitaia (B.1.9). The adjoining wall interpreted as a stoa by the excavator. Photograph by Robin Rönnlund.

towers could be just as impressive as tower built only in stone is obvious at Makrirrachi, judging from the monumental-sized trapezoidal masonry of tower 9.¹⁷⁶

The gate tower (Fig. 4.19) at the Melitaian (B.1.9) *akropolis* (for some reason interpreted as a stoa by the excavator) displays a similar yet not identical internal arrangement. The tower and curtain wall ϵ of it are both built in emplekton masonry, indicating that the socle was filled with rubble and soil (the latter containing material from a possible nearby sanctuary). The size of the gate tower (ca. 8 by 8 m.) differs from that of the others,¹⁷⁷ and is similar to the largest tower at Vlochós (B.1.8).

This tower at Vlochós (context 253), the northernmost in the Poliorcetic phase enceinte, overlooks the flattest part of the extramural summit area. It is 8.1 m. wide, protrudes 5.8 m. from its w curtain wall, and is located at a 135° angle in the fortification with a 230° view of its extramural surroundings. The amount of rubble within the polygonal masonry socle suggests that it was only the mud brick superstructure that could be entered. The two towers immediately to the ϵ (contexts 251 and 247) are similarly wide, but only protrude 3 m. The remaining 12 towers in the outer fortification wall of the *akropolis* are more modest – ca. 6 m. wide, protruding ca. 3 m. – corresponding closely to the other sites mentioned above. One of these (context 247) is located at a similar protruding angle in the

¹⁷⁶Bosch 1982, 85, Fig. 38-41. Bosch appears not to have observed the extremely large ashlar blocks in this section of the fortifications (autopsy by author 2015).

¹⁷⁷Ioannidou 1972.

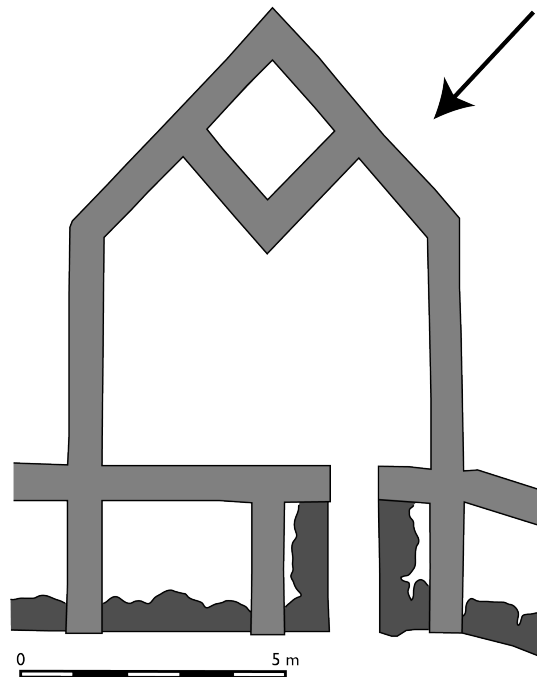


Figure 4.20: The pentagonal tower of Boeotian Akraiphia (**B.2.1**). After Garlan 1974, 99.

fortifications as the tower mentioned above, in spite of being located on the slope. None of the stone socles of the towers appear to have been hollow.

The most similar site to Vlochós within the studied regions is probably Proerna (**B.1.19**). The fortifications of the *akropolis* of Proerna were cleaned and restored by the Ephorate of Fthiótidha and Evritanía in the early 2000s, revealing the massive scale of the stone socles of the walls and towers. The two towers flanking the large *akropolis* gate are both ca. 6 by 6 m., and have the same compartment construction as discussed above, protruding from the outer face of the wall by 3 m. They are – just as the enceinte as a whole – built in isodomic ashlar of fine quality. The remaining 9 towers of the *akropolis* wall (all facing the extra-mural area) are of similar sizes (varying between 5.7-6.5 m. in width) and appear all to contain similar inner ‘cross-shaped compartments’.¹⁷⁸

Finally, the tower (**Fig. 4.20**) of Akraiphia (**B.2.1**) is not only unusual in its shape but also in that it is the only known (or at least published) tower from the site. The main wall of the Poliorcetic phase is built in isodomic emplekton, and so is also the case of the ‘pentagonal’ tower. It is just over 7 m. wide and the sides corresponding to the emplekta stones in the wall just inside it. Its general shape is pentagonal, with the two flank-sides parallel and the two outer sides forming a 45° sharp angle. A well-preserved postern (0.98 m. wide) leads into the inside compartment of the tower. The walls of the tower are narrow, only 0.64 m., in contrast to the main fortification wall which is 2.9 m. thick. The

¹⁷⁸Bosch 1982, 52-65.



Figure 4.21: Postern in the Poliorcetic phase wall at Vlochós (**B.1.8**), Thessaly. Photo by Robin Rönnlund.

inside of the tower was divided into at least two, possibly three compartments; the outermost being at the outer angle, with a corresponding angle forming a square compartment.¹⁷⁹

4.3.4 GATES AND POSTERNS

The main access to the *akropolis* areas in the Poliorcetic phase appears to have been the parapets of the fortification walls. However, there are in total 30 confirmed ground-level openings in the *akropolis* walls of the studied regions, indicating that other routes of passage were sometimes desired or needed. Contrary to Lawrence,¹⁸⁰ who states that gates were located where they allowed for the necessary passage of people to and from the settled area within the fortification, *akropolis* gates and posterns do not generally provide easy access from the settlement area.¹⁸¹

Within the studied regions, 17 *akropolis* gates (*pylai*) have been identified dating to the Poliorcetic phase, all of varying size and type.¹⁸² Only three (possibly four) gates can be identified from the pre-Poliorcetic phase,¹⁸³ whereas another two cannot be dated with certainty but appear to be Late Antique or later in date.¹⁸⁴

Several gate types exist. A type of court-yard gate of the Poliorcetic phase, ca. 6.5 m. wide, is one of the most notable features on the *akropolis* of Proerna (**B.1.19**), where one enters between two larger towers in the fortification wall, continues into a back-court and turns immediately left before accessing the *akropolis*.¹⁸⁵ At Atrax (**B.1.1**), entrance to the *akropolis* was also through a court-yard type of gate, but here the back-court is less intricate, with two spurs, “between which a second gate or a barricade

¹⁷⁹Garlan 1974, 99-105, Fig. 6. ¹⁸⁰Lawrence 1979, 302. ¹⁸¹*Cf.* Müth 2016, 164-165.

¹⁸²**B.1.1, B.1.3, B.1.4, B.1.8, B.1.12, B.1.14, B.1.16, B.1.19, B.2.4, B.2.6, B.2.8, B.2.12, and B.2.14.**

¹⁸³**B.1.8, B.1.17 and B.2.7.** ¹⁸⁴**B.1.21 and B.2.11.** ¹⁸⁵Lawrence 1979, 322-323.

might be placed, if desired”.¹⁸⁶ The small Poliorcetic phase w gate at Vlochós (context 219) just below the ‘ramp’ (see p. 91) has a similar, if smaller arrangement, being located next to a small tower.

Of the “seven gates of Thebes” (**B.2.14**), only one has been found and identified, the late 4th c. ‘Elektra’s gate’. It had a curved fore-court and situated between two large round-towers (ca. 10 m. in diameter) in the main Kadmeia fortification wall.¹⁸⁷

The idea that gates were ideally placed as to allow the defenders to fire at the attackers’ unprotected right side appears to be somewhat unsubstantiated.¹⁸⁸ The pre-Poliorcetic phase gates at Vlochós (**B.1.8**) appears both to have related to terraced roads approaching them as to leave the attacker’s left side exposed, whereas the small gate at Hyettos (**B.2.7**) is turned the other way. In the Poliorcetic phase cases, where discernible, it seems like access was most often from straight ahead or no particular direction,¹⁸⁹ and only to a less extent from the left,¹⁹⁰ or the right.¹⁹¹ Even if the ideal suggested by Lawrence might be discernible in urban fortifications at large, there appears to have been no discernible principle in the case of *akropolis* gates.

A total number of 15 posterns (*pylides*) can be noted at 6 sites in both regions,¹⁹² 7 of which are found at Vlochós (**B.1.8**).¹⁹³ The feature has not been reported at many other sites.

Archaeologically speaking, a postern differs from a gate in that it pierces the wall like a hole, not changing the trace of the latter.¹⁹⁴ The postern at Hyettos (**B.2.7**) is stepped, probably due to the steep slope, which appears not to be the case with the others. Two of the posterns at Vlochós have their lintels preserved *ex situ* as collapse within the passage, indicating a low polygonal passageway fully within the stone socle of the wall (**Fig. 4.21**).

4.4 INTRA-MURAL STRUCTURES

The number of reported remains of intra-mural structures on *akropolis* locations is low. This can probably be explained by a general lack of excavations, but surface observations confirm that *akropoleis* were probably not as a rule densely built environments. Remains of various types of building foundations have been reported on 20 of the 39 *akropolis* sites in the catalogue,¹⁹⁵ only 7 of which have been investigated.

Because of the high degree of erosion and continuous grazing, very little soil has accumulated over the centuries on many of the *akropolis* locations. The identification of the type of architectural structure is therefore often difficult.

¹⁸⁶Lawrence 1979, 328. ¹⁸⁷Lawrence 1979, 326; Thebes 2016 (online resource). ¹⁸⁸Lawrence 1979, 304.

¹⁸⁹**B.1.1, B.1.4, B.1.9, B.1.12, B.1.14 and B.2.4.** ¹⁹⁰**B.1.16.** This suggested route of access, however, is interpreted as ‘Byzantine’, see Blum 1992, Abb. 12. ¹⁹¹**B.1.19 and B.2.12.** ¹⁹²**B.1.8, B.1.16, B.1.9, B.1.19, B.2.3, B.2.7 and B.2.12.**

¹⁹³At Akraiphia (**B.2.1**), the postern-like opening leads into the inner compartment of a tower, thus piercing through the wall but not connecting to the extra-mural area, see p. 97.

¹⁹⁴Müth 2016, 167.

¹⁹⁵**B.1.3, B.1.5, B.1.6, B.1.7, B.1.8, B.1.11, B.1.12, B.1.14, B.1.15, B.1.17, B.1.22, B.2.4, B.2.6, B.2.7, B.2.8, B.2.9, B.2.10, B.2.11, B.2.13, B.2.14.**

4.4.1 HOUSES AND OTHER DOMESTIC INSTALLATIONS

Clear examples of living-quarters or domestic installations are rare in the studied material. It is only some of the more complex, larger sites that appear to have contained a substantial number of houses.

Aerial photographs of what is often referred to as the *akropolis* of Krannon (**B.1.6**) display crop marks indicating a street grid. However, that the 14 hectare *maghoúla* as a whole should be regarded as the settlement's *akropolis* is not plausible (see **4.4.3**). The situation is similar at Plataiai (**B.2.11**), where geophysics have shown that the '*akropolis*' was part of the same street grid system as the rest of the settlement, containing domestic '*insulae*' of the Poliorcetic phase. Nearby Thebes (**B.2.14**) appears to have had a similar arrangement in the same phase, but the post-Antique remains and buildings covering it makes the ancient layout hard to discern. These three '*akropoleis*' differ considerably from the majority of other sites precisely because they appear to have been the centres of habitation in the settlements' early phases.

The remains of a larger building with an internal square cistern has been identified on the *akropolis* at Vlochós (**B.1.8**), just below (ϖ) the summit.¹⁹⁶ The isolated hilltop position of the building is not suggestive of a common domestic installation, but the layout is indeed that of a typical Classical-Hellenistic courtyard house. In the small, keep-like *akropolis* of Boeotian Orchomenos (**B.2.10**), rooms and compartments surround an open court with a possible square cistern.¹⁹⁷ This is partially similar to the situation at Vlochós, but the building is free-standing within the large expanse of the *akropolis*, while the layout at Orchomenos is more confined, with chambers built up against the outer wall.

This latter arrangement has also been noted at Kierion (**B.1.5**) and Chorsiai (**B.2.4**) where a series of small (ca. 4 m.) compartments, possibly houses (?), follow the inside of the fortification wall, apparently built right against the inner masonry. The dates of the installations cannot be ascertained from the publications.¹⁹⁸ House-like structures of unknown date have also been observed at Glisas (**B.2.5**), but whether these are ancient or of a more modern date cannot be ascertained.

4.4.2 CISTERNS AND OTHER WATER SOURCES

The exposed locations of many *akropolis* sites mean that they often lack stable access to fresh water. Any activity requiring water would thus require the storage of rainwater or the burdensome transport of water by hand.¹⁹⁹ Cisterns of various types and sizes have been noted in *akropoleis* both within and outside of the two studied regions, but their number is surely much higher as they tend to get filled and covered by turf and vegetation. At present, however, it is only at Vlochós (**B.1.8**), Pharsalos (**B.1.14**) and Orchomenos (**B.2.10**) that cisterns have been noted.²⁰⁰ The 'crypt' at Hyettos (**B.2.7**) could be a form of cistern, but as the publication does not provide any details as to its construction, this is hard to ascertain.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁶The closest parallel of which is probably that of Meghálo Voúno at Chalkída, Bakhuizen 1970, 62-65.

¹⁹⁷Lawrence 1979, 135-136. ¹⁹⁸Fossey 1981, Fig. 6 (Chostia); YPPOA 2017 (Kierion, online resource).

¹⁹⁹Aqueducts have been found at some sites in Central Greece, for instance at Aetolian Kallion in modern Phocis and at Ghorítsa at Vólos, but not of them appear to have connected with the *akropolis* area of the respective settlements.

²⁰⁰The cisterns at **B.1.13** and **B.2.12** are all probably of a Byzantine or Mediaeval date.

²⁰¹Étienne and Knoepfler 1976, 61.

A ‘fountain’ has been reported at the *akropolis* of Koroneia (**B.2.9**), but whether this was connected to a spring or an aqueduct cannot be ascertained. The existence of a Mediaeval bishop’s residence at the site suggest that the installation could be contemporary.

4.4.3 MONUMENTAL STRUCTURES

Structures interpreted as ‘monumental’ in the sense of being the probable remains of temples, stoas or similar, have been reported from a handful of sites within the two studied regions.²⁰² Of these, only Krannon (**B.1.6**) and Haliartos (**B.2.6**) have been excavated, revealing the remains of what with certainty can be interpreted as sanctuaries. Arvanitopoulos’s excavations at Krannon in the early 1920s, are still unpublished, however, and the contemporary British work in the supposed Classical-Hellenistic sanctuary of Athena at Haliartos was only summarily published by Austin (1926, 1927).

Several of the reported foundations of monumental buildings cannot be securely interpreted. At Ekkára (**B.1.3**), trial trenches revealed the remains of a large Classical-Hellenistic building,²⁰³ possibly what Arvanitopoulos had seen and interpreted as an ‘*anaktoron*’ (‘palace’). This interpretation is highly dubious, as no *anaktora* have been identified on Greek *akropoleis* outside Caria in Asia Minor.²⁰⁴ Stählin’s ‘*große Gebäude*’ at Makrirrachi (**B.1.7**) is clearly of a monumental size, but its function cannot be ascertained. Other reports of monumental structures, such as the Archaic sanctuary on the *akropolis* of Atrax (**B.1.1**), cannot be substantiated at present.

Also in Achaia Phthiotis, the small *akropoleis* at Petrotó (**B.1.11**), Mories (**B.1.17**), Tsournáti Vrísi (**B.1.2**) and Kallithéa (**B.1.12**) all contain the remains of structures that have been interpreted as ‘temples’. At the time of my visit to these locations,²⁰⁵ it was only at Tsournáti Vrísi that it was evident that the remains in question were those of a small shrine or temple (**Fig. 4.22**).²⁰⁶ The dense vegetation covering the remains at Petrotó and Kallithéa prevents further interpretation, and the nature of the reported feature at Mories cannot be verified.²⁰⁷

Early excavations at Boeotian Tanagra (**B.2.13**) possibly revealed parts of a temple of unknown date, but the Byzantine basilica constructed on the same location appears to have removed most of the remains. Late Antique or Byzantine churches and chapels can be noted at a few locations,²⁰⁸ and have sometimes been interpreted as indications of previous pagan temples. The number, however, is low, which would probably also be the case within the wider Greek area.

The walls of the two small enclosures of asymmetric polygonal shape found at Vlochós (**B.1.8**) and Xiládhēs (**B.1.22**) are too narrow to have been as fortification walls.²⁰⁹ As will be discussed below, this means that the ‘*akropolis*’ of the latter site should probably be regarded as something else (see p. 112). Whether the feature at Vlochós could be regarded as a *temenos* or similar is also hard to determine.

²⁰²**B.1.2, B.1.3, B.1.6, B.1.7, B.1.11, B.1.12, B.1.15, B.1.17, B.1.22, B.2.6, and B.2.13.**

²⁰³*ADelt* 28 *Chr.* 281-282 (1973). ²⁰⁴Carstens 2011. ²⁰⁵In 2015 and 2017.

²⁰⁶As noted by several previous visitors. ²⁰⁷The latter is only known from a short mentioning in Cantarelli *et al.* 2009, 236-238. ²⁰⁸**B.1.10, B.1.15** (possibly), **B.2.7** (possibly), **B.2.11, B.2.12, B.2.13, and B.2.14.**

²⁰⁹The 0.05 hectare enclosure at Vlochós is surrounded by a 1.5 m. wide wall which by the sizes of the stones cannot have been functioning as a fortification.

4.4.4 UNINTERPRETABLE STRUCTURES

Most of the reported remains of structures on *akropolis* locations cannot be securely identified with any type of building. Because they are either too fragmentary or partially covered with turf, it is often impossible to ascertain anything other than the existence of architectural structures. Chronology also poses a problem, and apart from cases where the existence of mortar can support a Late Antique or Mediaeval date, the mains are often impossible to date.

More substantial remains of uninterpretable structures have, however, been noted at some locations.²¹⁰ These may vary in type from foundations in stone to rock-cuttings; they have rarely been thoroughly mapped.

On the fortified hilltop at Makriráchi (**B.1.7**), several structures that consists of a mix of rock-cuttings and built-up stone foundations are visible. Some of these are rather substantial, but most appear to have been modest if robust and consist of small chambers connected to one another by doorways. None of the remains, however, appear to be obvious houses or dwellings. At the s end of the fortified area, two ‘terraces’ have been cut in the bedrock, seemingly emphasising the rise in the terrain at the location. Stairs lead up to their top, where Stählin’s ‘*große Gebäude*’ is situated (Cf. above).

A similar situation can be noted at Phaýttos (**B.1.15**) and Hyettos (**B.2.7**), where the rock surfaces of the *akropoleis* contain many cuttings indicating the presence of various types of structures. The hilltop at Móries (**B.1.17**) contains just as many remains of structures, but they all appear to be purely stone foundations of buildings with no rock-cuttings.

At Vlochós (**B.1.8**), a myriad of foundations can be traced at the s end of the hilltop, seemingly constructed on top of the ruins of the pre-Poliorcetic phase fortifications. They are presently covered with large amounts of rubble, which hinders their interpretation. The rubble, however, must arguably have originated in the architecture of the buildings, which would make them different from most other *akropolis* structures which were probably built of mud brick on stone socles.²¹¹

4.4.5 URBAN OR NON-URBAN?

With the notable exceptions of the *akropoleis* of Krannon (**B.1.6**), Plataiai (**B.2.11**) and Thebes (**B.2.14**), the *akropolis* sites in the catalogue appear not to have been what can be regarded as ‘settled’. The three exceptions, however, stand out in many respects and cannot in any sense be regarded as representative. Interestingly, however, Krannon and Thebes are mentioned as possessing *akropoleis* in textual sources, which means arguably that features that were regarded as such must have existed there.

The remains at Krannon have hardly been mentioned in scholarly publications.²¹² Theocharis’s sketch-plan provides only the general layout of some of the fortifications, but aerial photography clearly reveals the remains of a street grid on the *maghoúla*-like feature of the ‘*akropolis*’ and the area immediately E of it.²¹³ The grid of the 14 hectare *maghoúla* itself appears to have been of a radiating type, with

²¹⁰**B.1.7, B.1.8, B.1.13, B.1.15, B.1.17, B.2.7 and B.2.8.**

²¹¹It is my understanding that these structures are probably of a Late Antique or Mediaeval date, and could be of a church.

²¹²The Central Archaeological Counsel (ΚΑΣ) has recently granted permission to the University of Crete to conduct a survey and consequent excavations at the site of Krannon during a five-year period (2018-2022).

²¹³Best visible on the aerial photographs available on the website of Ktimatologio AS: <http://gis.ktimanet.gr/wms/ktbasemap/>.

streets originating in the elevated area of the s corner of the enceinte, dispersing towards a general N direction. Some vague indications of crossing streets can be noted, but they are less evident than the main streets. The arrangement is similar to that of nearby Pherai,²¹⁴ or to Megara Hyblaia (which is better known),²¹⁵ suggesting a possible early Classical date. At the point of deviation of the streets, at the highest point of the *maghoûla* close to its s corner, is the crop mark of a possible larger rectangular structure, possibly to be identified with Arvanitopoulos's sanctuary. This elevated position, rather than the whole *maghoûla*, should probably be regarded as the *akropolis* proper of the settlement.

Plataiai shows several similarities to Krannon. It appears originally to have been a 12 hectare fortified low hill containing a settlement, which was later extended towards E. At time of the extension, a orthogonal street grid was established, in the whole settlement, including the former settled area. The old settlement area in this new arrangement is referred to as "the *akropolis*" by the excavators, but it is less likely that this was the designation in Antiquity. The "*akropolis*" appears in the Poliorcetic phase (dated to the time of Macedonian influence after the destruction of Thebes) to have contained several *insulae* with dense domestic architecture and a possible gymnasium. As the street grid appears to have been established only in the late 4th c. BCE, it is unlikely that this spatial arrangement reflects the situation in the Classical period and the time of the construction of the original walled circuit.

Despite being one of the most well-attested *akropoleis* in the textual sources,²¹⁶ the Kadmeia of Thebes is surprisingly hard to discern in the archaeological record. The textual sources' description of the location does not harmonise well with the archaeological remains, as the former appear to describe a relatively confined area whereas what is commonly regarded as the Kadmeia covers more than 25 hectares. The Kadmeia, however, consists of several smaller hilltops, and it is possible that there was some internal spatial divisions in Antiquity.²¹⁷ It is sometimes asserted that the whole Kadmeia was settled in the Archaic period,²¹⁸ having been abandoned at the beginning of the Iron Age, but this cannot be substantiated. Clearer remains of habitation appear only in the Classical period, but the spatial layout of the settlement is difficult to ascertain.

4.5 ACTIVITIES

The limited degree of archaeological fieldwork conducted on most of the Thessalian and Boeotian sites in this study means that little is known of the actual human activity at these places. Even if the textual sources give some hints, from a strictly archaeological perspective it is hard to identify any particular activity on ancient *akropoleis*. In the sections below, I have tried to summarise the evidence for four different fields of activity discernible in the archaeological remains. These correspond to some of the more common modern notions of the function of *akropoleis* (as expanded upon in **Chapter 2**), even if there is more evidence at some sites than at others.

4.5.1 HABITATION

With the exception for the atypical sites of Krannon (**B.1.6**), Plataiai (**B.2.11**) and Thebes (**B.2.14**), there is no strong evidence for habitation of *akropolis* locations (see **4.4.5** above). This this may change with

²¹⁴Donati 2015, 132; Donati *et al.* 2017, 9-10. ²¹⁵Bintliff 2012, 296. ²¹⁶II difference sources, see **A.1.122**.

²¹⁷Branigan 2001, 104-105. ²¹⁸Symeonoglou 1985, 105.

future investigation, but the exposed topographical situation of most *akropolis* sites in the studied regions makes this somewhat improbable.

Pottery indicative of habitation is also rare, even if the existence of surface pottery does not necessarily indicate habitation. The relatively low number of cisterns is also highly suggestive; many of the sites in the catalogue are simply not suitable for permanent settlement, especially without stable source of water.

Since inhabited areas have been found quite close by to all the sites in the catalogue, it appears probable that most *akropoleis* within the studied regions were not inhabited in Antiquity, at least not in the sense of a proper settlement. This does not mean that people did not live on these locations, as will be demonstrated in the following section.

It is worth stressing that there are no indications of palatial structures at any of the studied sites. The idea of a ruler's seat on the *akropolis* cannot be substantiated, neither in the studied regions nor elsewhere in Greece. With the exception of a few sites, it appears that the *akropoleis* were not the locations of proper settlements at any point in history, and that the idea of 'the original prehistoric settlement on the *akropolis*' should probably be discarded.

4.5.2 GARRISONING

The literary sources suggest that some *akropoleis* within the studied regions and beyond were used as the base for occupying garrison troops, at least in the Polorcetic period. With a certain risk of an *a priori* interpretation, it appears that some of the remains on *akropolis* locations could relate to garrison installations and activities.

The square keep-like structure at Atrax (**B.1.1**) and the corresponding 'fortress' at the w end of the *akropolis* of Orchomenos (**B.2.10**) appear both to be highly suggestive of such activities. The building with an internal square cistern at Vlochós (**B.1.8**) could also possibly relate to the same; its apparent layout and isolated position on the summit within the vast intra-mural space of the *akropolis* makes it dissimilar to any typical house. I believe it possible that it could be regarded as the house of a *phourarchos* figure, with a central *impluvium* court.

Whereas there are some indications that garrison activities were conducted at a couple of other locations,²¹⁹ there is at present not enough available evidence to state this with any certainty. I find it probable, however, that garrison remains could potentially be uncovered at several additional locations within the regions, were more fieldwork to be conducted, this as literary sources contain references to garrisons on *akropoleis*.

4.5.3 PUBLIC INTERACTION

Some of the remains of more substantial architectural units found on the studied sites indicate that they were used for public activities.²²⁰ The exact nature of these cannot be ascertained, but it is probably unlikely that *akropoleis* in the studied regions had similar functions to *agorai*, since they are often inaccessible and too far from the *polis* settlement.

²¹⁹**B.1.10** (a battery-like feature) and **B.1.14** (large cisterns).

²²⁰For the sake of convenience, structures identified as sanctuaries and temples are treated in the following section.

At Makrirráchi (**B.1.7**), the remains of monumental building foundations atop rock-cut terraces have been interpreted as the remains of a public building. This is further supported by the fragments of large roof-tiles found at the site, and the cut stairs in the bedrock indicate attempts to make the location more accessible within the fortified enceinte. As will be discussed further on (**5.4.1**), the situation at this particular site, however, differs from that of other sites within the studied region, and cannot be regarded as common.

4.5.4 RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

Indications of religious activity on *akropoleis* can be observed mainly in the form of the remains of cultic or religious architecture. As mentioned in section **4.4.3**, sanctuaries and other cultic installations can only be identified with some certainty at a handful of places. The excavated sanctuaries at Krannon (**B.1.6**) and Haliartos (**B.2.6**), together with the apparent sanctuary at Tsournáti Vrísi (**B.1.2**) constitute the clearest examples of religious architecture, but there are several other sites with the possible remains of cultic activities.

Limited excavations at Kallithéa (**B.1.12**) have yielded the remains of burned bone, possibly indicating sacrifice at the site. A free-standing structure here has been interpreted as a sanctuary, but this cannot be substantiated. The small, polygonal-shaped enclosure on the summit at Vlochós (**B.1.8**) is suggestive of religious activity, but this must be regarded as conjecture.²²¹

Some of the reported material from the *akropolis* of Melitaia (**B.1.9**) appears to have belonged to a shrine, on epigraphical grounds identified as an Asklepieion. The excavator's interpretation of the obvious tower and curtain wall in emplekton masonry (**Fig. 4.19**) as a "stoa" is confusing, and the material (including figurines) found within the fill of the fortifications more probably comes from a secondary context. The construction of the Poliorcetic phase fortification appears to have followed a new trace compared to the pre-Poliorcetic enceinte, and during the construction one possibly cut through the deposits of an earlier shrine.²²²

²²¹Gradiometry on the location has failed at identifying any traces of burning, which would speak against this interpretation.

²²²As suggested to me by Lambros Stavroyiannis.



Figure 4.22: Remains of structure on the *akropolis* of Tsournáti Vrísi (**B.1.2**), Thessaly. Photo by Robin Rönnlund.

Part III
Analysis

“There are many lofty hills in Crete, O Philip, and many towering citadels in Boeotia and Phocis; in Acarnania, too, I suppose, as well inland as on its shores, there are many places which show an amazing strength; but not one of these dost thou occupy, and yet all these peoples gladly do thy bidding. For it is robbers that cling to cliffs and crags, but for a king there is no stronger or more secure defence than trust and gratitude.”

Plut. *Arat.* 50.7.

5

Discussion

THIS CHAPTER DISCUSSES THE RELATIONSHIP between the ‘*akropoleis*’ of ancient literature and the “*akropoleis*” of archaeology. I begin by discussing the problems of modern 20th century scholarly ideas of *akropoleis* and the reasons why they prevail, which in turn leads to the following section where I explain the necessity of leaving out the Athenian Akropolis from this study. I discuss the identification of *akropolis* sites in this study, as well as the relevance of ‘*akropolis*’ as a word to describe a certain type of archaeological feature. Furthermore, I discuss the various functions connected with the term in ancient literature, as well as the functions discernible at archaeological *akropolis* sites. Based upon this textual and archaeological evidence, I then outline and discuss possible models of historical development which could explain the functional development of *akropoleis*. Finally, I present some suggestions on how a ‘monumental’ interpretation of *akropoleis* could connect these historical and functional developments, and how their synthesis forms the diachronic meaning of the concept. This last part, I would like to emphasise, is supported by the evidence as presented in this study. A study of the *akropoleis* of other regions in the Greek world could potentially produce other results.

5.1 THE RELEVANCE OF THE CURRENT SCHOLARLY VIEW

Scholars of the 20th century did not pay much attention to ancient Greek *akropoleis*. Except for one peripheral study,¹ there are no articles dedicated to the subject, only a few chapters or sections of varying length in monographs. When scholars did discuss *akropoleis*, they tended to rely on a set of similar

¹Ruggieri Tricoli 1979. This monograph, which is hard to obtain, is not referred to in any of the publications in my bibliography and cannot be considered a part of the discussion on *akropoleis*. It contains several serious flaws in its choice of archaeological material, and the use of Mircea Eliade’s theories on “the centre” is poorly adoptable to her empirical data (as the ideal models do not seem to correspond to any actual site).

explanatory models or narratives, in this study collectively known as ‘the modern myth of the *akropolis*’ or simply the ‘myth’ (p. 18).

Von Gerkan’s ideas continue to dominate text-books of the 2010s,² and the ‘myth’ is still a common if unstated understanding of *akropoleis* among archaeologists. The recent online edition of *Neue Pauly Online* (2005-) contains virtually the same claims as in von Gerkan’s *Griechische Städteanlagen* (1924), and provides a neat summary of the ‘myth’:

(ἀκρόπολις/*akrópolis*, ‘upper city’), the highest part (*ákros* = ‘located at the top’) of a Greek settlement, in Greece and in the Aegean area often with fortification walls, rarely so in the colonies of Sicily and Lower Italy (Fortifications). The original reference to these elevated settlements as *pólis* (on the Mycenaean roots of the word s. Polis I) was preserved in the designation of the Acropolis of Athens as *pólis* up into the 5th cent. BC (Thuc. 2,15,6; cf. Aristoph. *Nub.* 69; Paus. 1,26,6). When settlements began to extend down the slopes beginning in the 8th cent. and central squares (*agorá*) were built at the foot of the hills (Hom. *Il.* 18,490-497; Hom. *Od.* 6,262-267; 7,43-45), the old settlement was called acropolis in distinction to the growing polis in the plain below ([1. 54 f.]; on the spread of the term s. [2]). From the archaic [sic.] period, the acropolis offered refuge as a fortified ‘hill fortress’ (e.g. Xen. *An.* 1,2,1).

When cities were enclosed by walls in the 5th and 6th cents. BC, the acropolis was usually included within the circle, lost its function as habitation and was reshaped into a temple complex (cf. Paus. 2,24, 1-3; 8,13,2; 8,38; 8,39,5). This development took a different form in the western colonies. The acropolis of Selinus [4] (with sanctuaries on the hill with the oldest settlement) still followed the pattern of the mother country, but in Acragas, the complex of important temples was built on a hill directly behind the city wall instead of on the old acropolis (modern cathedral hill) [1. 53]. In flat Poseidonia/Paestum, the most important temples were built in the southern part of the city in a separate area which was referred to as acropolis (modern field name: Agropoli), comparable to the common use of the term *capitolium* (II, s. addenda) in the Roman Period for the temple of the main god of a city regardless of its elevation. In modern scholarship, the Greek term acropolis also refers to fortress-like complexes in high elevations in settlements outside of the Greek realm, as in Etruria (cf. [3]).

Neue Pauly Online, s.v. ‘Akropolis’.

With very few exceptions, scholars of the 20th century apparently saw little need to define or discuss the appearance or function of these ancient features. Apart from some references to Athens, there is very little discussion of archaeology in the mentioned studies – mostly quoting secondary literature – and most information regarding urban layouts is extracted from ancient literature, especially the *Politics* of Aristotle. The number of sites is also very low, with the repeated use of a certain set of examples of various periods.

Generally it can be noted that during the 20th century, *akropoleis* were primarily regarded as fortifications, even if ideas of their historical background varied to some extent. The chronological span

²Hölscher 2012, 174-175.

of use was rarely discussed, but their origin was often thought to be in the fortified ‘citadels’ of the LBA, a claim that appears never to have been substantiated. Other functions, such as their use for cultic practises, are sometimes mentioned but rarely expanded upon. References to sanctuaries on *akropoleis* can even be said to be rare outside the somewhat late Pausanias.

The lack of definitions or discussions on the nature of *akropoleis* probably led to the quite liberal and imprecise use of the term in Greek archaeology. Even if this practise has not come to an end, there is some tendency towards caution at present, exemplified by the title *Excavations in Pessinus: the so-called Acropolis*.³ Perhaps this is a sign of change, but alternatives to the stated ‘myth’ have yet to be presented.

CONSEQUENCES OF IGNORING ATHENS

The choice of excluding the Athenian Akropolis (that is, textual sources referring to it) from this study was prompted mainly by the disproportionate number of publications dealing with this site. Scholarly interest in this particular example of an *akropolis* has been immense for well over 150 years, but even if the remains at the location are well deserving of this attention, this modern fascination skews the understanding of the type of feature in general. Essentially, a study of ancient *akropoleis* which includes the Athenian example would risk to become but an updated version of von Gerkan’s work,⁴ or rather, a study of the Athenian Akropolis with guest appearances.

Leaving out Athens brings with it the exclusion of a substantial number of references in ancient sources, which is both unfortunate and advantageous. The loss of information is inevitably regrettable and should not be ignored. However, even if the number of references to this location in ancient texts is exceedingly high – it counts for over 80% of the 637 inscriptions⁵ – the texts in question are rarely very informative. Just as with the rest of the material, the bulk of the instances of use of ‘*akropolis*’ in connexion with the Athenian location are merely references to the place, and not to its qualities or functions.

It is not unproblematic to leave out such a large number of scholarly works and ancient sources. It is possible that the word ‘*akropolis*’ would not have been the word by which archaeologists addressed these features in question were it not for the Athenian Akropolis. Even if it is highly probable that the type of feature would have been observed in the archaeological record, it is less certain that the same function(s) or meaning(s) would have been ascribed to it. The Athenian Akropolis has very much shaped what is considered to be an *akropolis*, and omitting it will affect both the nature of the material and the outcome of any study concerning the feature in general.

However, it is important to keep in mind that none of the *akropolis* locations within the studied regions display any close similarity with the Athenian Akropolis, as the extreme splendour of the Periclean building programme is nearly unequalled within the Classical-Hellenistic world. If the type of feature found at Athens was of a common type, then one has to explain why it is not well-represented in the archaeological record. This would in itself be another field of study.

I instead suggest that the Athenian Akropolis is to be regarded as an abnormality, to a large extent caused by the sudden and extreme wealth brought by the tributes to the Delian League in the second half of the 5th c. BCE. Even if the complex inspired similar undertakings at especially Attalid Perga-

³Devreker, Thoen, and Vermeulen 2003. ⁴*Cf.* p. 21. ⁵*Cf.* p. 50.

mon (but also at Spartokid Pantikapaion), the Athenian Akropolis is a unique and extraordinary place within the ancient Greek world and should be regarded and understood as such.

5.2 THE IDENTIFICATION OF *AKROPOLEIS* REVISITED

The term '*akropolis*' was applied in Antiquity not only to symbolical or rhetorical *topoi*, but also to physically distinct locations. Speakers of ancient Greek in the historical periods regarded a certain type of feature in the urban landscape as an '*akropolis*'. This is evident not only from the examples of use from the Greek world but also from the examples of '*interpretaatio graeca*', *i.e.* projections of the term upon essentially non-Greek features. It thus appears that there was a certain – if liberal – consensus of what an *akropolis* was, or at least what it ought to be.

This is further supported by the sites listed in the **Appendix A**, which shows that the locations mentioned in ancient texts as '*akropoleis*' can to a large extent be identified with physical locations. It is very rare that no candidate for the *akropolis* can be identified at a stated location,⁶ and it is often quite easy to identify the potential candidate of the location from the topographic situation. There are some instances, however, where it is evident that the ancient author was not well-acquainted with the urban topography or the architecture of the settlement in question.⁷ However, I argue that the choice of the word '*akropolis*' to characterise a certain feature in order to make it comprehensible for the reader further strengthens my suggestion that the term was commonly used by speakers of ancient Greek.

The quite close conformity between what kind of topographical-architectural feature referred to by the term '*akropolis*' make the definition of the 'essentials' (p. 58) of the literary *akropolis* relatively straightforward. None of the claims in the 'essentials' conflict with the general modern notions of what the word implies, but – which I would like to stress – they emphasise the historical and cultural distinctness of the term. '*Akropolis*' is a Greek word and phenomenon belonging to the extended period of historical Antiquity, and even if there are relations and parallels in other cultures and periods, one should be cautious when employing the term.

Consequently, I argue that the apparent correlation between ancient attestations and archaeological features validates the identification of further archaeological features as *akropoleis*. That is, it validates the use of the word as an archaeological category – as has been common practise – albeit not without caveats. An *akropolis* might be on a hilltop, but not all hilltops are *akropoleis*.

The suggested method of identification in this thesis – that is, establishing the 'essentials' of an *akropolis* and employing them as criteria for identification – has proven to be successful. It is only rarely that the method has caused the inclusion of sites in the catalogue which probably should not be regarded as *akropoleis* proper (**B.1.4** and **B.1.22**). The reason behind this possible erroneous inclusion lies in the chronology of the sites, where walled enceintes of different periods and functions have created an archaeological situation which corresponds to the required 'essentials', but which most probably does not reflect 'proper' *akropolis* features. However, as is evident from the textual sources, the ancient Greeks themselves were quite liberal in their designation of places as '*akropoleis*', and one should not make the mistake in fully dismissing the possibility that these two locations were once regarded as such.⁸

⁶The only secure instance is that of Nikaia (**A.1.77**) in Bithynia.

⁷As Diodorus' account of **A.1.25**, Polybius' of **A.1.109**, and Herodotus' of **A.1.118**. ⁸*Cf.* the examples of **A.1.7**, **A.1.47**, and **A.1.115**, which probably would not be regarded as *akropoleis* by modern scholars.

The dependence upon the available published material, however, means that a relatively large number of sites from especially Boeotia had to be excluded from the catalogue. There is consequently much more that could have been included if more sites had been published. The number of examples was further minimised by the requirement that the related settlement must be of a ‘polis type’. The excluded sites range from small, supposedly dependent *polis* settlements under and close to mainly Thebes (Leuktra, Eutresis, Hysiai, Erythrai, Skolos, Teumessos, Schoinos, Hyle), Tanagra (Eleision, Eleon, Harma, Mykalessos, Schedia) and Orchomenos (Aspledon, Tegyra, Olmones), to comparably larger *poleis* such as Kopai and Lebadeia. Most of these locations have only superficially been published mainly by Fossey (1988), but some have been or are currently being systematically excavated, such as the supposed sites of Eutresis⁹ and Eleon.¹⁰ The picture is somewhat less drastic in Thessaly, where most *polis* sites of the Valley of Enipeus have been published to a sufficient degree to be included in the catalogue. The excluded cases are, however, somewhat regrettable, as they could potentially have contributed significantly to the discussion on the development of *akropolis* features. These include the sites at modern Filáki Almiroú (identified as ancient Phylake)¹¹ and Sikeón Palamá,¹² both of which appear to have been substantial and important locations from the EIA onwards.

5.3 THE FUNCTIONS OF *AKROPOLEIS*

The word ‘*akropolis*’ appears to have carried several strong connotations in Antiquity, many of which connected with persons thought of as residing at these locations, with activities carried out there or with certain functions ascribed to these features. Separate functions are difficult to isolate, as they tend to overlap, and to pin-point exact functions is consequently over-restrictive and potentially counterproductive.

I have been able to identify certain more general fields of function within the textual sources and the interpretations of the archaeological material. Whereas the former have been interpreted by myself, the archaeological interpretations are often influenced by the modern scholarly notions as presented in **Chapter 2**, and consequently contains sediments of potentially outdated scholarship. I have tried to evaluate the archaeology myself when possible, but many of the available publications concentrate on interpretations rather than on presenting the actual material. As the study concerns 39 sites, however, I argue that it is possible to identify general strands of function.

5.3.1 FUNCTIONS IN TEXTUAL SOURCES

The literary material contains several references to apparent functions of physical *akropolis* locations, even if these are clearly outnumbered by symbolic allusions to ideal locations and mere mentions. Some of these functions seem to have been ephemeral or short-term in nature, whereas others appear to have

⁹Goldman 1931; Fossey 1988, 149-154.

¹⁰Fossey 1988, 89-95; Burke, Burns, and Lupack 2007; Aravantinos, Burke, *et al.* 2012; Burke, Burns, Charami, and Kyriazi 2013; Burke, Burns, and Charami 2014.

¹¹Leake 1835d, 331-332; Bursian 1862, 80; Stählin 1906, 13-15; Kirsten 1942; *ADelt.* 32 *Chr.* 129 (1977); *GLbS*, 547; Nikolaou *et al.* 2012, 250; Efstathiou 2014, 15-18.

¹²Stählin 1924a, 134; Decourt 1990, 157; *ADelt* 55 *Chr.* 481-484 (2000); Hatziangelakis 2006, 71-73; Tsangaraki 2008, 28-30; Hatziangelakis 2008, 324; *AR* 56 (2009-2010), 112; Nikolaou *et al.* 2012, 83-85, 87-88; *AR* 58 (2012), 89.

been long-term, relating to activities that were carried out continuously over a longer period of time. The latter can crudely be sorted into two main groups, that of defence and that of religion. Whereas the former can be pinned to the chronology of political development in Greece, the latter contains examples from the whole period and beyond, making it more diverse in nature. An additional third group is that of the *akropolis* as the seat of the tyrant; this, however, is less connected with any physical location, as has been outlined previously.

That *akropoleis* installations were used for defensive activities has long been assumed if not taken for granted, but the more precise nature of this is somewhat surprising, as there are virtually no records of them acting as *Fluchtburgen* or places of refuge. Instead, the overall evidence shows that *akropoleis*-as-fortifications were mainly (and almost exclusively) used as seats of occupying foreign troops, with little benefit for any civic or domestic population. The evidence for this appears in the late 5th c. with Thucydides' accounts of Spartan and Athenian imperial activities. Most examples, however, are from the periods of Macedonian rule in various parts of the Greek cultural sphere, culminating with Philip V in the very late 3rd c. (see 5.4.2 below) After the Roman conquest of the Greek mainland and Asia Minor in the 2nd c. BCE, *akropoleis* were mainly referred to in accounts of older events and appear to have fully lost their rôle as defensive positions in the urban landscape.

The religious functions of *akropoleis* appear to relate to various cults and sanctuaries located within the fortified enceinte. There is little to suggest the dual function of the walls as both fortifications and a sacred boundary. References to temples or shrines within *akropoleis* appear already in Homer, but the vast majority are found in Pausanias' accounts of various locations on the Peloponnese (see Fig. 3.4 on p. 60). Judging from the totality of the textual sources, it appears that the main function of *akropoleis* in the Roman period was indeed to house various cults, which also appears to have been the main civic function prior to this period. The list of known cults on *akropolis* locations throughout the Greek world is mainly relevant for the Roman period, as Pausanias is – again – the main provider of this kind of information, but some cults may go back in time. What is evident – and somewhat surprising – in the literary sources, however, is that even if Athena is well-represented among the deities, the epithet *Poliás* is not.¹³ Concerning other *Poliadic* deities, the only cult of Zeus *Polieus* known from literature as having its sanctuary on an *akropolis* is the one in Akragas, the source of which is the rather late Polyaeus.¹⁴ However, there are several epigraphically identified examples of *Poliadic* cults on *akropolis* locations in the wider Greek world – even in Thessaly¹⁵ – and I find it probable that the cults of such deities were indeed associated with the *polis*,¹⁶ but this in its older sense (see 5.4.1 below), even if this is not mirrored in the literary sources.

The often occurring association between tyrants and *akropoleis* does appear to reflect an apparently common situation in Antiquity where the location served as the seat of a despot. However, the relationship appears at closer scrutiny to be more of a literary trope or a rhetorical figure than a reflection of reality. A closer analysis of the evidence indicates that few tyrants had their living quarters on an *akropolis* (see Fig. 3.3 on p. 59). The *akropoleis* became increasingly connected with oppression and oppressors in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods. One apparent function of a non-material or

¹³As is sometimes asserted, see Nilsson 1949, 128; Kruse 1952a, 1365; Buxton 1994, 5; Cole 2004, 17.

¹⁴Polyaen. 5.1.1.

¹⁵At Phthiotic Thebes and Gonnoi (A.1.40). There are more examples of *Poliadic* cults in Thessaly, but their connexion with an *akropolis* is less secure.

¹⁶As suggested by Mili 2015, 104.

idealised *akropolis* was thus seemingly to act as the backdrop or scene for a rhetorical discussion on tyrants or tyrant-like figures.¹⁷

5.3.2 DISCERNIBLE FUNCTIONS IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

As stated before, the largest category of archaeological remains found on locations identified as *akropoleis* in this study is that of fortifications. The existence of fortifications at all 39 examples can partly be explained by the formulation of the ‘essentials’ that an *akropolis* should be fortified, but the number of potential *akropolis* sites excluded from this study due to lack of fortifications is very small.¹⁸ Fortifications – including walls, towers, gates and posterns – have due to their durable building material in combination with their great mass been able to withstand the elements to a considerable degree, leaving easily discernible remains. That the ‘mass’ of fortifications exceed that of other preserved remains presented in publications can therefore potentially be misleading – it is possible that other buildings within the *akropoleis* of this study were just as imposing as the walls and towers of the fortifications.

The integrated nature of the *akropolis* fortifications in relation with those of the *katō poleis* indicates that their function was associated with the defence of the whole fortified complex. At several locations, we find indications that the *akropolis* area once comprised the only fortified unit within the settlement, either in the pre-Poliorcetic phase or at the final phase of the settlement. The latter can only be identified at two locations,¹⁹ whereas the former is more or less evident at 10.²⁰ Whereas the more precise chronology of the developments of the fortifications will be discussed below, it appears to be clear that the function of the fortifications was generally associated with defensive activities.

This leads to the question of *what* exactly the fortifications were meant to defend. The currently available archaeological material suggests that there were generally very few architectural structures within the *akropolis* walls. With the exception of the unconventional examples of Krannon (**B.1.6**), Plataiai (**B.2.11**) and Thebes (**B.2.14**), there is little to suggest any urban-type living quarters on these locations. Whether the three mentioned cases should be regarded as *akropoleis* in their entirety is dubious – the strip of the smaller enceinte at Krannon has been identified as the location of the *akropolis* of the settlement, and the status of the Kadmeia as the *akropolis* of Thebes may originate in the early Archaic period when only the lower area of Hypothēbai was inhabited. Immediately SE of the “*akropolis*” of Plataiai is a low hill on which the Archaic temple to Hera lay; this constitutes a good candidate for the *akropolis* of the pre-Macedonian phases of the settlement. At that time, there would have been no ‘upper *polis*’ to speak of.²¹

The claim that *akropoleis* were used as places of refuge cannot be substantiated archaeologically. There was little stable access to water or shelter at these locations, and the *diateichismata* dividing the area of habitation from the *akropolis* often show little indication of the wish to facilitate the evacu-

¹⁷The ancient association has given resonance in modern research, cf. Chaniotis 2002, 101.

¹⁸These sites, Peirasia and Thetonia in Thessaly and Lebadeia and Kopai in Boeotia, would have been excluded anyway as they are barely published. It is indeed most probable that the sites in question were fortified in Antiquity, and that the apparent lack of fortifications is merely due to lack of fieldwork.

¹⁹**B.1.7** and **B.2.7**.

²⁰**B.1.5**, **B.1.8**, **B.1.9**, **B.1.10**, **B.1.11**, **B.1.12**, **B.1.13**, **B.1.14**, **B.2.1** (?), and **B.2.3**.

²¹The team of archaeologists surveying the site of Plataiai have suggested that the Heraion was at an earlier point included in the walled area of the settlement. See Konecny, Aravantinos, and Marchese 2013, 60-61 and 377 (Fig. 5).

ation of large groups of people. It cannot be ruled out that smaller groups of evacuees might have taken refuge in the *akropolis*, but there is very little evidence for this having taken place outside a few extraordinary cases. However, this is only valid for the Poliorcetic phase. As will be discussed in section 5.4.1 below, there might be arguments for the function of fortified hilltops as places of refuge in the pre-Poliorcetic period.

Several archaeological sites contain the remains of what can be interpreted as continuous religious activity from the Archaic period onward. The existence of temple-like structures can be ascertained at several locations, indicating a continuous and stable function of *akropoleis* as a sacred space. Within the studied region, however, there are no truly monumental-size buildings similar to the famous examples of Athens, Lindos or Pergamon – *akropolis* temples in Thessaly and Boeotia appear to have been more modest.²² The known cult buildings – or rather, the buildings identified as cult buildings – were small and made of mud-brick on stone socle, and could not have housed much more than a cult image.²³ The picture of large state sanctuaries as imagined by many previous scholars cannot be substantiated in the studied examples, and probably reflects Athens rather than the average *polis*.

Temenos-like walls – that is, non-fortification enclosure walls – have been noted at three sites within the studied regions,²⁴ but whether they truly served as such cannot be ascertained. The “*akropolis*” at Xiládhes (B.1.22), as identified by previous scholarship and included in this study due to its conformity with the ‘essentials’, is most probably in itself a cultic installation with a small temple surrounded by a *temenos* wall.

5.4 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AKROPOLIS

5.4.1 FROM PTOLIS TO AKROPOLIS

Several scholars have noted that the original meaning of the word ‘*polis*’ or ‘*ptolis*’ was probably ‘stronghold’ or ‘fortification’, as indicated by the meanings of words of the same root in other Indo-European languages. Some usage in Homer as well as a small number of inscriptions further indicate that this was indeed the case in the early Archaic period, and that the term in this sense specifically referred to what was later known as an ‘*akropolis*’.²⁵ The continuous use of the word in the post-Classical period as a toponym at three sites – Athens, the seat of the West Locrian *kōmē* of Polis, and the hill Ptolis at Arcadian Mantinea – gives further evidence for the Early Greek association of the word ‘*polis*’ with later *akropolis* locations. In the Roman period, the old meaning of the word was known to at least Plutarch, who states that in the mythical time of Gorgidas, *akropoleis* were known as ‘*poleis*’,²⁶ but this probably reflects a scholarly interest in the past rather than common knowledge.

By the early Historical period, it seems that the original meaning of ‘*polis*’ had almost completely been replaced by other meanings. Among the Archaic inscriptions employing the term, the use of

²²There are examples of larger-size temples of the Archaic period in the general region of Central Greece, such as at Phocian Kalapódhi and Thessalian Mitrópolis, but they are not located on *akropolis* locations. They instead appear to be extra-urban or intraregional rather than settlement specific.

²³As at Gonnoi (A.1.40), but probably also at B.1.2 and B.1.12. ²⁴B.1.8, B.1.22, and B.2.6.

²⁵For the use of ‘*polis*’ in Homer, see Hölkeskamp 2009, who mentions the original meaning of ‘stronghold’, but does not discuss it.

²⁶Plut. *Pelop.* 18.1: “τὰς γὰρ ἀκροπόλεις ἐπιεικῶς οἱ τότε πόλεις ὠνόμαζον.”

polis-as-stronghold constitutes less than 0.3% of the cases, clearly showing the extreme rarity of this meaning at the time. ‘*Polis*’ is now almost exclusively referred to a political body, its nucleated settlement or its populated area, that is *polis*-as-organisation, *polis*-as-settlement and *polis*-as-land.²⁷ The conceptual development of the term has briefly been addressed by previous scholars,²⁸ but except for the original meaning of *polis*-as-stronghold, the consequent order of development cannot be reconstructed from textual sources.²⁹ From an archaeological point of view, it has been asserted that the *polis*-as-organisation or state pre-dates *polis*-as-settlement,³⁰ and indeed there is comparably little to suggest any wide-spread existence of urban settlements prior to the 5th c. BCE.³¹ In Thessaly, I have noted little that suggests any general trend of urbanisation prior to the mid-4th c., and the situation in Boeotia – even if somewhat distorted by unsystematic surface surveys – appears to have been similar.

Continuing with the regions Thessaly and Boeotia, I find the sequence stronghold via organisation to nucleated settlement the most probable and best reflecting the archaeological material. The existence of EIA or even LBA material at *polis* sites in Boeotia does not in itself suggest continuity, especially as several of these places have only been superficially examined.³² At the studied sites in Thessaly, there is to my knowledge little to suggest any urban-type settlements prior to the Classical period, even if there is monumental public architecture pre-dating this period.³³ In Western Thessaly, the dense Archaic settlement at Voúrla, ca. 3 km SE of the pan-Thessalian sanctuary at Fíliá in the *chōra* of Kierion (**B.1.5**), seems not to have developed into a *polis* settlement and appears to have been abandoned in the Classical period.³⁴ As the evidence for *poleis*-as-organisations can be traced prior to this date for the emergence of fortified urban settlements in Thessaly³⁵ and Boeotia,³⁶ I find the suggested stronghold-organisation-settlement sequence most probable.

The suggested dates of defensive architecture at the sites in the catalogue also supports this view, as the fortifications surrounding what has been identified as the settled areas are most probably of the late Classical or Hellenistic periods. Fortifications that are earlier in date are all confined to the *akropolis* locations, evidently only encompassing the summits of the hills. It is worth repeating that these specific *akropolis* locations have produced little or no archaeological material supporting any habitation that can be dated to the pre-Poliorcetic phase.

²⁷I prefer ‘organisation’ to ‘state’, as the latter implies functions and meanings that may not have been developed early in the period. Likewise, ‘settlement’ and ‘space’ is to be preferred to ‘city’ and ‘territory’, as the two latter are modern concepts, heavily loaded with connotations and denotations alien to the ancient world.

²⁸Benveniste 1970; *LACP*, 42. ²⁹Hansen 1997b, 40. ³⁰Hansen 1997b, 37.

³¹Contrary to what seems to be the consensus among scholars of Homer, cf. Hölkeskamp 2009, 330.

³²*Contra* Hansen 1997b, 40, note 216. Fossey’s (1988) reports of his visits at the many sites in Boeotia are invaluable to the study of the region. However, most of the ceramics collected at the respective sites are surface finds dated on stylistic grounds. Their relevance as evidence for urban settlements by themselves is dubious, see Fossey 1988, 401-402.

³³Stählin 1906, 29-30 (Geometric? temple at Mármara in the Othrys); Indzesiloglou 2002 (Archaic temple at Mitrópolis); Béquignon 1937b, 43-55 (fragments of Archaic temple at Pherai).

³⁴Karagiannopoulos and Paleothodoros, forthcoming.

³⁵In Thessaly, mainly in the form of ethnics that later (in the very late Classical period and afterwards) were explicitly associated with *polis* groups, see Decourt, Nielsen, and Helly 2004.

³⁶Boeotian ethnics later associated with *poleis* first occur in the *Catalogue of Ships*, long before the re-emergence of fortified settlements in the area.

The EIA in Thessaly and Boeotia is characterised by hilltop fortifications and a number of sociopolitical ‘organisations’ – both arguably known as *poleis*. The members of these ‘organisations’ were apparently not settled in urban nucleated settlements, and it is perhaps not far-fetched to assume that village communities constituted the norm.³⁷ The village locations in question have only rarely if not barely been identified, but it appears from the available archaeological evidence that they were not located within the confines of the fortified hilltop *poleis*. The apparent consistency between the toponyms of the LBA and those of the historical period, I argue, does not in itself suggest continuity in settlement location,³⁸ but rather a continuity of communities. That a community abandons and later resettles on the same place can simply be due to the site being suitable for habitation.

Polis-as-organisation in these regions was not the sole type of political body; both Thessaly and Boeotia had their respective *ethnos*, regional identities which were evidently more influential and important than has until recently been assumed.³⁹ How these supra-*polis* institutions functioned lies outside the scope of this study. It is interesting to note, however, that there was possibly enough competition between the *poleis* of the same *ethnos* to prompt the construction of monumental fortification walls.⁴⁰ Harmonic relations within the regional social groups are consequently to be doubted.

Returning to the term ‘*akropolis*’, it has been noted that the word constitutes a neologism in the ancient Greek of the Archaic period, being the compound of ‘*akros*’ and ‘*polis*’. It has further been suggested that ‘*akropolis*’ is even a portmanteau of ‘*akropolis*’ (hilltop),⁴¹ and an invention created to emphasise the difference between two distinct phenomena known by the same name.⁴² It is striking how this harmonises with the situation in the EIA as presented above. The change from ‘*akrē polis*’ of the *Iliad* (6.256-257; 6.297) to the ‘*akropolis*’ of the *Odyssey* (8.494; 8.504) has even been suggested to be the result of an ‘update’ or revision of the latter to correspond to more recent use of language.⁴³

The question then arises why the term for a hilltop fortification began to be used as the designation for a body of people. Ancient Greek abounds with terms for various social groups, but the norm is that the group lends its name to the place associated with it,⁴⁴ and not that a group adopts the name of the place. As pointed out by Benveniste, the situation on ancient Greek is in fact the opposite of that in Latin, where the corresponding word for ‘*polis*’ – ‘*civitas*’ – emerged from a word for a social group, ‘*civis*’, the “*concitoyens*”.⁴⁵

I argue that the evidence as presented above indicates a development of Greek EIA social organisation which is characterised by defensive needs in a particular topography, by the emergence of social groups aiming at resolving these needs, and by the subsequent development of these groups into polities. In short, one could imagine a general scenario in which a scattered group of EIA villages join forces for the construction and maintenance of a fortified location, a *ptolis*. The participants in this project will be referred to as the *ptolites* – the people of the *ptolis* – as they are committed to the common undertaking, enjoying the benefits of its protecting walls. The ongoing organisation of such an enterprise did in itself create new social relations, leading to the development of a social group centred around the maintenance of the *ptolis*. Eventually, the social group evolved into a political body of people not only

³⁷As noted by *inter alia* Kondouri 2009a, 257. ³⁸*Contra* Fossey 1988, 431. ³⁹Mackil 2013; Mackil 2014.

⁴⁰Bintliff 2012, 258. ⁴¹Risch 1944, 20. ⁴²Frisk 1934, 283. ⁴³Risch 1944, 20.

⁴⁴*Cf.* *boulē* and *bouleutērion*, *prytaneis* and *prytaneion*, *ekklēsia* and *ekklēsiastērion*.

⁴⁵Benveniste 1969, 367. The same author also points out that the Latin ‘*urbs*’ corresponds to Greek ‘*asty*’ rather than ‘*polis*’.

concerned with defence but also with other matters – in short, a polity.⁴⁶ The emerging designation of this kind of polity would be ‘a *ptolis*’, as the original (and for some time main) concern of the group was the ongoing maintenance of the stronghold bearing that name.

The emergence of the model as outlined is to a certain extent dependent on the topography of the specific area. Fortified hilltop locations are most cost-efficient in situations where there is no natural place or route of refuge, such as on a plain or large valley. In more mountainous regions, it is easier to “run to the hills”, evacuate the settled area and scatter into the wilderness. To concentrate people, wealth and livestock in a single location is only reasonable if there are few other alternatives or if the action of doing so is too slow or ineffective. In other regions of the Greek cultural sphere, where the topography was different, we should consequently encounter a different development. Whether the island or coastal urban-like settlements of the Aegean that developed in the 8th and 7th c. BCE (as Záchora on Andros, Embório on Chios and Áyios Andhréas on Siphnos) were known as ‘*poleis*’ is difficult if not impossible to determine – interestingly, they appear not to have developed into *poleis* in the historical period.

The existence of a potential group of people known as the ‘*ptolis*’ made that the original stronghold location had to be referred to as ‘the upper *ptolis*’ or *akrē ptolis* to avoid confusion. This designation, soon morphing into ‘*akropolis*’, became even more consolidated as some of the *ptolis* villages decided to nucleate, forming one larger settlement, which in turn took its name from its group of inhabitants, the *ptolis*. It is crucial to bear in mind that this latter step did occur at various times over the Greek cultural area; this is a process rather than an event. Some *ptoleis/poleis* appear to have gradually become nucleated or urban quite early, such as Corinth (7-6th c.⁴⁷) and Athens (late 8th c.), whereas others remained without an urban centre far into the Classical period, which seems to have been the case generally in Thessaly and Boeotia.⁴⁸

The preferred location of the nucleated *polis* settlement appears often to have been at the foot of the hill of the old *ptolis* fortification, further strengthening the need for a separate term for the latter. Among the examples in the **Appendix A**, only Thessalian Ekkara (**B.1.3**) appears to have moved away some distance from its (possibly) old fortified *ptolis*. The existence of the ancient toponym Palaio-pharsalos as distinct from Pharsalos (**B.1.14**) shows that a similar situation could have occurred here. The former could potentially be identified with the large pre-Poliorcetic enceinte at Xiládhēs (**B.1.22**), which displays little to suggest any settlement remains contemporary with the extensive fortifications. Both Pharsalos and Thebes (**B.2.14**) appear to have been controlled a number of surrounding dependent *poleis*, many of which possessed their own *akropolis*.⁴⁹

By the end of the Classical period, ‘*akropolis*’ had become the standard term for a type of feature associated with a *polis*-as-settlement. The symbolic weight of both the term and the feature it designated, as apparent from poetry and aphorisms, illustrates the historical importance of the phenomenon to the *polites* of the time. The overall positive connotations related to the term (as suggested by its use in poetry), however, was to change in the centuries that followed.

⁴⁶Please note how the use of “political” and “polity” both fit the subject generally and specifically.

⁴⁷Roebuck 1972, 127. ⁴⁸Parallels in Phocis, see McInerney 1999, 109.

⁴⁹**B.1.16**, **B.1.4**, and **B.1.12** were probably under the control of Pharsalos in the 4th c. At the time of the Theban hegemony, most of the small *poleis* surrounding the Theban *chōra* were under its influence, including **B.2.5**. Similar situations, albeit on a lesser scale, can be noted at **B.1.9**, **B.2.2**, and **B.2.13**.

5.4.2 THE MACEDONIAN ERA *AKROPOLIS*

The *akropoleis* of most of the non-epigraphical literary sources of the late Classical-Hellenistic period are mainly mentioned in connexion with sieges and the expulsion of foreign garrisons occupying the *akropoleis*. Examples of this are especially plentiful in Diodorus Siculus and Polybius, as is evident in the number of citations in the **Catalogue A**. Adding the evidence from Livy, the picture is even more evident: from Philip II to the Macedonian Wars of the late 3rd and early 2nd c. BCE, Greek mainland *akropoleis/arces* were commonly occupied by garrisons in order to keep the respective *poleis* under control.⁵⁰

The chief powers to employ this strategy were the Macedonians and their successor states, especially the Antigonid kingdom under Philip V, but also his predecessor Philip II. To install a garrison within the *polis* settlement one could stop uprisings in their cradle; a strategy that constituted a far more cost-effective method of subordination than annexation or direct administration.⁵¹ Thessaly appears to have been the main example of this practise, at least to Isocrates and Demosthenes, who both remark on this situation in their orations.⁵² However, it seems that this Macedonian practise had a long tradition, as Alexander I already in 371 BCE held the *akropolis/akra* of Larissa in Thessaly against the Boeotians under Pelopidas.⁵³

In addition to whatever purpose the *akropolis* of the settlement had served prior to this, one of the main functions of the *akropolis* within the fortified urban complex was now to house the garrison. This choice was not only made to provide the latter with a easily defensible position, but probably also to separate its mercenary members from the locals, minimising the risk of friction between the two groups.⁵⁴

There is ample archaeological evidence to support this situation, both from within and outside of the studied regions. Whereas the pre-Poliorcetic fortifications of *akropolis* sites give the impression of being *Fluchtburgen* for a larger body of people, the Poliorcetic period *akropoleis* constitute more confined spaces. As the settlements themselves were fortified by this phase, the *akropolis* would not have been the main area to protect, yet much effort was invested in making the location the strongest within the enceinte. Access to the space is generally quite limited,⁵⁵ with some examples of main routes of exit leading to the extra-mural area rather than to the *katō polis*.⁵⁶ Their positions do always allow for easy access to the general fortification enceinte: At Peuma (**B.1.12**), two walls were built to connect the *akropolis* fortifications with the circuit wall and thus allow for easy access along the parapet; a situation which is unique to the studied regions. In short, they appear to have been constructed to defend a limited number of people while at the same time allowing for the continuous control of the urban fortifications as a whole.

The most extreme example is the very small *akropolis* ‘keep’ of Orchomenos (**B.2.10**), which seemingly could have housed only a very small number of men. The position of the small fortified space and its access to the long descending walls of the total enceinte, allows for the control of a large expanse of the urban fortifications as well as denying access to the hill-slope from the Akontion ridge in w. Any ‘civic’ use of the highly confined area would have been very impractical, and its massive walls present a distancing impression to the *polis* settlement some 800 m. downhill.

⁵⁰Chaniotis 2005, 88. ⁵¹Chaniotis 2002, 99. ⁵²Isocr. *Pac.* 118; Demosth. *Falsa leg.* 260.

⁵³Diod. 15.61.4-5; 15.67.4. ⁵⁴Chaniotis 2002, 104; Chaniotis 2005, 88-89; 92. ⁵⁵Quite unlike the situation at Athens, *akropolis* gates are always fortified gates. ⁵⁶**B.1.3, B.1.16, B.1.14, and B.1.19.**

At Atrax (**B.1.1**), the early-Poliorcetic phase fortification system was modified at some point after its completion to allow for the creation of a confined space at the s end peak of the circuit. Here, a isodomic emplekton masonry *diateichisma* cut off a corner of the *intra muros* space, creating a small *akropolis* area. Six towers in the *diateichisma* and very steep cliffs on both surrounding sides made the position extremely strong, both from the settlement area in N and from the extra-mural directions. The existence of this strong ‘keep’-like structure, similar to that of Orchomenos, makes it very probable that the whole *akropolis* complex was aimed at housing the (Macedonian) garrison.⁵⁷

These examples and most of the preserved defensive architecture found on the sites of the two studied regions belong firmly to the Poliorcetic phase of construction. The style and execution of the *akropolis* walls, towers and gates do not differ from the rest of the *polis* fortification complexes, and should be regarded as integrated parts of the latter. The whole ‘complex’ of the general *akropolis* feature is so integrated with that of the fortified urban settlement that where the latter to be removed, very little would remain of the former. The construction of such large yet homogeneously executed building programmes indicates the existence of available expertise and ample access to labour and resources. The cost of the construction of the vast sweeps of fortification walls and their continuous maintenance must have been enormous to the individual *polis*. That smaller and often dependent *poleis* were able to afford this stands as remarkable, and I argue that one should look further for the source of this wealth.

FOLLOW THE MONEY: AKROPOLEIS IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

I argue that without the financial support by the late Classical and Hellenistic kingdoms and leagues, the rapid fortification of the mainland *polis* settlements would not have been possible. Even if the obvious primary reason behind the fortification of the urban settlement was to enhance its means of defence, the strengthening of locations held by a occupying force allowed for more durable control over people and resources.

The primary form of occupying force within the Hellenistic world was the garrison (*phroura*), which in this period typically consisted of a mercenary force in the pay of a league or the king himself.⁵⁸ The placing of a garrison of mercenaries in a subjugated *polis* was not only an act of control, but also of display. Through the garrison and especially its leader (*phrouarchos*), the kings and leagues acquired a channel of influence into the local politics of the *polis*, as is evident from a number of inscriptions from around the Greek world.⁵⁹ The *phrouarchos*, when competent and benevolent, could also act as a channel of influence for the *polis* to the league/king, giving the garrison the function of an embassy. The historical accounts of the installation of such occupying forces, however, are unanimously negative regarding the influence and effect of the garrison on the lives of the *polis* citizens.⁶⁰ It appears then that whatever message the presence of the garrison was aiming at conveying, the lasting impression was that of oppression.

The strategy of occupying garrisons as emerging at the beginning of this period has also been identified archaeologically, if only to a limited extent. Traditionally, the construction of the fortified enclaves all over Greece has been linked to the changing military and political landscape of the mid-4th c. BCE and the emergence of advanced siege-craft.⁶¹ However, the foreign influence on the *poleis*'s building programmes has been noted and used as an explanation of the sudden and coordinated construc-

⁵⁷As known from Livy 32.17. ⁵⁸Chaniotis 2002, 100. ⁵⁹Chaniotis 2002, 106. ⁶⁰Chaniotis 2005, 88-89.

⁶¹Lawrence 1979, 49-52; Maher 2017, 99.

tion of city wall complexes. Such foreign influences could be quite different in nature, ranging from the local level (Pharsalos' restructuring of neighbouring Peuma) to the interregional (the Thebans' instigations of wall-building in the Peloponnese under Epameinondas).⁶² Within the two studied regions, however, it is apparent that the growing power of Macedon constituted the main factor in the sudden interest in constructing walls.

Apart from the royally instigated *Neugründungen* of Demetrias, Ghorítsa and New Halos at the Pagasetic Gulf, the Macedonian influence on the fortification process in Thessaly was often of a proxy nature. It is only in the 3rd c. that Macedonian forces directly control fortified settlements in the region.⁶³ The effects of Macedonian politics, however, have been identified especially within the restructuring of Pharsalian territory that occurred after the destruction of Halos by Philip II's general Parmenion in 346 BCE.⁶⁴ As Pharsalos was given control of the *chōra* of Halos, it acquired a long-desired access to the sea. In order to secure its 'corridor', Pharsalos appears to have nucleated its dependent *poleis* Eretria (**B.1.16**)⁶⁵ and Peuma (**B.1.12**), turning them into veritable strongholds within the valley system leading towards the Krokian plain and the sea.⁶⁶ Both *polis* settlements were equipped with *akropoleis*, that of Peuma possibly the remains of an older installation, showing that even within freshly established locations, such features were deemed necessary or appropriate.

Pharsalos itself – as a *polis* settlement – appears to have been fortified roughly at the same time. The isodomic ashlar walls of the lower fortifications enclosing the large *katō polis* are highly suggestive of the 3rd c., but may reflect a program of repairs instigated after the ca. 265 BCE earthquake that possibly destroyed New Halos and severely dam-

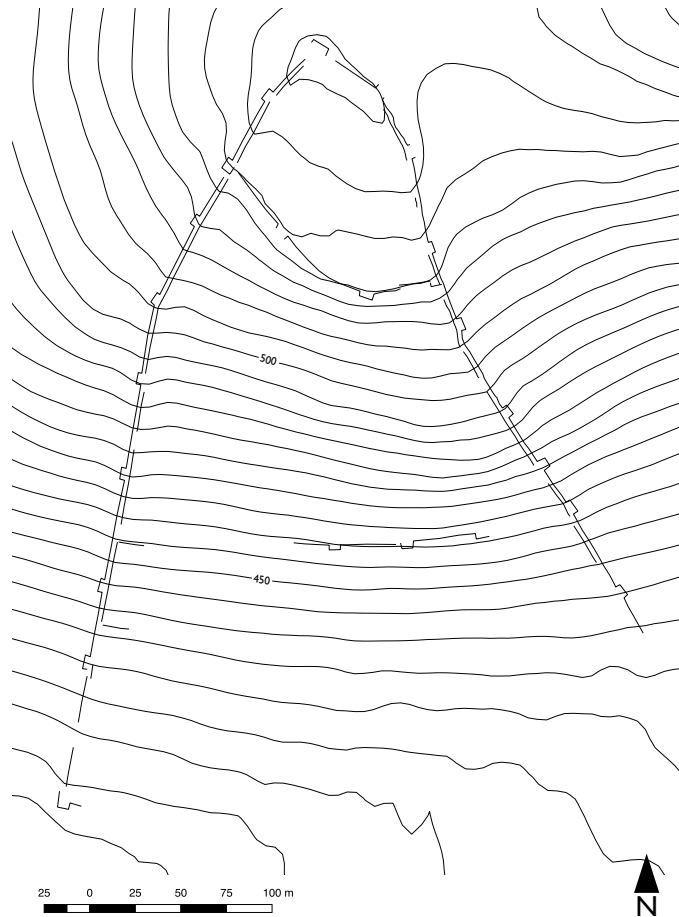


Figure 5.1: Plan of the fortifications of Drymaia, Phocis. After Typaldou-Fakiris 2004, Fig. 16. Rectification and referencing by Robin Rönnlund.

⁶²Cooper 2000. ⁶³Dem. 19 260; Isoc. 8 117-118. ⁶⁴Reinders 1988, 13. ⁶⁵Blum 1992, 224 (**B.1.16**).

⁶⁶Lee *et al.* 2009, 155.

aged Melitaia (**B.1.9**).⁶⁷ The *akropolis*, as outlined, was seemingly fortified prior to this, possibly already in the 6th c., but its walls were continuously reinforced and incorporated in the following building programmes and repairs of the Hellenistic period.

The earliest examples of the Poliorcetic period building programmes in Thessaly are somewhat older, probably relating to the very beginning of Macedon's involvement in the region in the 350s BCE. The clearest examples of the early development among the studied sites are at Atrax (**B.1.1**) and the nearby site at Vlochós (**B.1.8**), which both display indications of similar building programmes at this point in time. Similarities in masonry and wall trace – near-Lesbian polygonal masonry and a reliance on jogs in the descending walls – suggest a common date, possibly around 350 BCE, or a little later.⁶⁸ Whereas the fortifications of Atrax were continuously updated – allowing for the expansion of the urban settlement into the plain – the Classical-Hellenistic enceinte at Vlochós appears at present to be single-phase.

The Theban hegemony of the mid-4th c. appears not to have had any obvious effect on *akropolis* architecture in Boeotia, and it is only the events of the Sacred Wars that arguably lead to any substantial changes in settlement outlines in Central Greece. Philip's reinstatement of the Phocian confederacy in the mid-340s arguably constituted the reason for the rapid and homogenous fortification of Phocian *poleis* in the late 4th c.⁶⁹ The fortifications of Drymaia (**Fig. 5.1**) serves as a good example of this, displaying a conformity with other sites across the Greek mainland at the time.⁷⁰

In summary, the fortified *akropolis*, as an integrated part of a walled urban settlement, is to a large extent a feature of the second half of the 4th c. to the 3rd c. BCE. It seemingly arose through the adaptation of the pre-Poliorcetic fortified *akropolis* locations to the emerging threat of siegecraft, as well as by the need for a separately fortified area suitable as a base for a garrison. Whether the previous religious or cultic functions of the *akropolis* locations were retained cannot be ascertained from the archaeological material, but the comparably large number of examples of *akropolis* cults as mentioned by Pausanias indicates that this was the case.

5.4.3 AKROPOLEIS AT THE END OF THE PERIOD

The very low number of sites with identified Roman material suggests that *akropolis* locations were generally not used after the 2nd c. BCE, or that activities conducted there were of a kind that did not leave discernible traces. However, one could argue that the limited number of excavations at these locations constitute the reason behind this archaeological situation, and that further investigations will reveal a different situation. The literary sources, especially Pausanias, shows that in the 2nd c. CE, many *akropolis* locations were in use, at least for cultic purposes.

The lack of fortification programmes in the Roman period probably plays a rôle here. As most visible architectural remains at the sites in the **Appendix B** belong to defensive military installations,

⁶⁷Stavroyiannis forthcoming.

⁶⁸Winter 1971b, 423-424. The very similar fortifications of Arcadian Alea has been dated to the same period by Maher 2012, 131.

⁶⁹McInerney 1999, III; Typaldou-Fakiris 2004, 336-337.

⁷⁰Within the studied regions, cf. **B.1.1** (in its developed state), **B.1.8**, **B.1.9**, **B.2.10**. Quite similar installations also to be noted at Magnesian Halos (**Fig. 4.10**, p. 82), Arcadian Alea (**Fig. 4.18**, p. 95), and Argive Troezen.

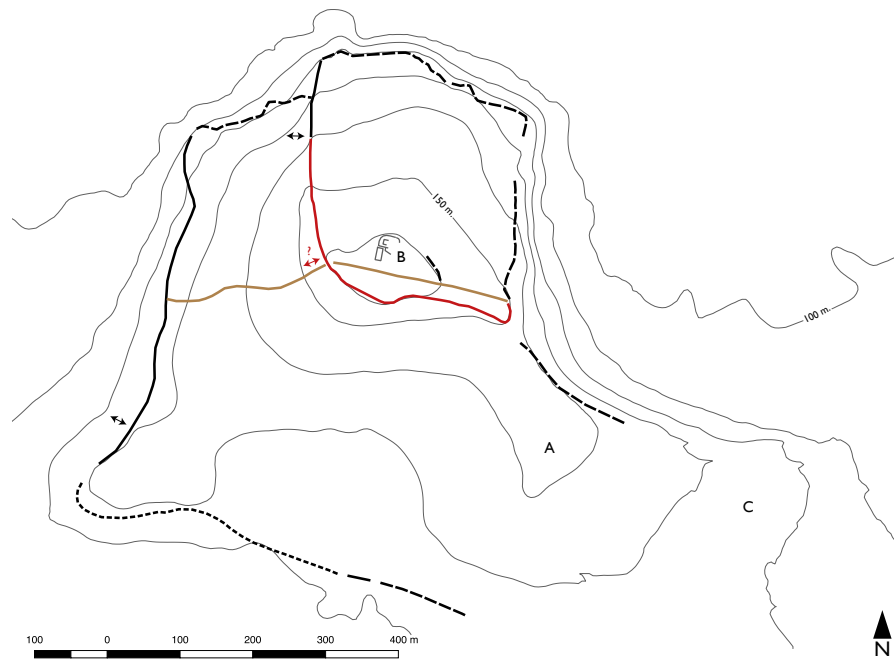


Figure 5.2: Plan of the fortifications of Haliartos, Boeotia. After Austin 1926 and Bintliff 2016. Rectification and referencing by Robin Rönnlund. Red lines indicate Lesbian masonry, full black lines isodomic/pseudo-isodomic masonry, and brown full lines Late Roman wall. Striped lines indicate fragmentary and reconstructed wall traces. A = location of *agora*; B = Sanctuary of Athena; C = location of the modern village of Aliartos.

either of the Classical-Hellenistic or Late Antique-Mediaeval periods,⁷¹ a period of no or little interest in fortifications would create a potentially erroneous picture of seemingly little activity on the sites in question. However, there is at present very little to substantiate any claim that *akropoleis* were the scenes of extensive human activity in the Roman to Late Roman period.

Textual sources, however, show that the locations were continuously known and referred to as ‘*akropoleis*’ into the Byzantine period. Pausanias names 27 locations as ‘*akropoleis*’, and it appears from his writings that he had a very clear idea of what the word should imply. Whatever activities were conducted at the locations – in Pausanias it is exclusively that of cult – it appears that the *akropoleis* themselves remained notable places in ancient topography. After the Byzantine period, however, the (Demotic) Greek word used for these locations is exclusively ‘*kástro*’, with ‘*akropolis*’ only reintroduced back into the language in the 19th century.

5.5 THE MONUMENTALITY OF *AKROPOLEIS*

The literary evidence shows that several seemingly conflicting symbolic notions of *akropoleis* can be traced in ancient texts. Especially noteworthy is the conflict between notions of liberty and notions

⁷¹Corresponding to the Poliorcetic and Late Roman-Byzantine phases of this study.

of oppression; the *akropolis* is a refuge and a “tower for the empty-minded people”,⁷² but also the stronghold of an occupying force and the seat of the tyrant.

The solution to these conflicting notions, I argue, lies in the chronology and reception of *akropoleis*. Change over time, from the Archaic to the Roman period, in the function of *akropolis* locations led to a set of divergent symbolical notions connected with them.

I argue that one way of analysing and interpreting this change is to regard *akropoleis* as monumental architectural complexes. This interpretation implied that the fortifications and other monumental features at these locations were intentionally constructed to assert the prerogative of one social group over other social groups. Monuments, according to this perspective, *materialise* “ideas, values, stories, myths, and the like, into a physical reality”,⁷³ making the prerogative – the ideology – of the constructing social group tangible. Monumentalisation practises have been observed to be most active in formative phases of societies,⁷⁴ or – in my own phrasing – when the prerogative or ideology of the group in question is more likely to be disputed. The other way around, historical periods with many apparent remains of monumental structures could (or should) then be interpreted as formative phases in the ancient societies. This is debatable, but I argue that this is indeed the case in ancient Greece, as will be discussed below.

Monumentality is of course not the only underlying process explaining the construction of large architectural features. Practical needs such as defence, shelter and cult also play important rôles here, but – I would like to point out – none of these are exclusive. Fortifications can be both defensive and monumental, and it is highly probable that the ancient architects considered not only the practical needs of the defenders but also the visual impact upon the aggressor.

However, one seldom addresses the fact that for the most of their time of active use, *akropolis* fortifications (and other fortifications) were not challenged by any attacking force. Still, the features were there and impacted upon how humans regarded their landscape. Being durable structures, *akropoleis* were continuously important and conspicuous locations in the ancient Greek landscape, not only at the time of their construction. One must consequently consider the diachronic importance and meanings of *akropoleis* as stable physical locations in a variable and dynamic ancient landscape:

[Monuments] may change their meanings from one period to another without necessarily changing their form. It can be adopted, it can be left alone, but unless it is actually destroyed, it is almost impossible to eradicate from human experience.

Bradley 1993, 5.

But, *akropoleis* were not only physical entities; they were also metaphysical scenes or tropes in narrative and thought. The diachronic significance of the Homeric epics probably acted as a continuous source of *akropolis* imagery throughout Antiquity. The literary *akrē polis* of Troy (**A.1.127**) was consequently more familiar to the Roman era literate classes than were the (then quite old) remains of Archaic or Classical fortified *akropoleis*.

⁷²Thgn. 233-234. ⁷³DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle 1996, 16. ⁷⁴Trigger 1990, 127.

5.5.1 PTOLEIS AND POLIS IDEOLOGY

The suggested development or historical model presented above (5.4.1), in which the origin of the *polis* can be traced to a social group's need for a fortified refuge, takes place in a highly formative period of Early Greece. The establishment of the *poleis* with their fortified central places and spatial prerogative constituted a new order of social and spatial organisation, the order of the *polis*, or the *polis* ideology.⁷⁵

Polis ideology should not be regarded as “a univocal entity, but as a constantly negotiated position which could encompass a number of competing and conflicting ideas”.⁷⁶ It has much to do with conflict and contest, but it is also a source of social power,⁷⁷ and an ideal “emphasising the corporate and centralising nature of the *polis*” and “directed towards securing the best interests of the *polis*”.⁷⁸ The social and spatial organisation of a *polis*, regardless of chronology, should not be taken as given or static, but understood as the product of conflicting ideologies. An ideology in this sense of the word, is therefore the dialectic outcome of opposing ideas of social and spatial organisation.

In my view, monumental structures constitute powerful mediators in such conflicts, as they materialise the ideology of a social group, turning the abstract into something tangible.⁷⁹ By constructing a monumental structure, the social group spatialises its ideological claim and imposes it upon the physical landscape. Through these building programmes, the landscape becomes part of the “internal universe” of the *polis* as the social organisation becomes spatially institutionalised, as expressed by Hölkeskamp:

[T]he Homeric *ptolis* was “institutionalized” in space and as a reserved, marked-out space – in other words: the emergence of “territoriality”, spatial differentiation and order were fundamental prerequisites of social organisation and internal integration, self-definition and self-representation of these communities.

Hölkeskamp 2009, 328.

‘*Ptolis* enceintes’ (p. 76), I argue, constitute the largest group of pre-Classical monumental architecture on Mainland Greece, far outnumbering temples and sanctuaries.⁸⁰ This is highly suggestive in the backlight of the conceptual relation between *polis*-as-organisation and *polis*-as-fortification as outlined above (p. 116).

The construction of the monumental structure itself also influences the production of ideology, as it requires the organisation of labour and leads to the consequent re-organisation of labour. The construction of such enormous enceintes such as at Atrax (B.1.1), Vlochós (B.1.8) and Chaironeia (B.2.3) must have required a large workforce, and the logistics must have influenced local communities to a great extent.

5.5.2 CITIES, LEAGUES AND KINGDOMS

Towards the end of the Classical period, especially in the early 4th c. BCE, the architecture of the *akropolis* locations appear to have been radically altered. The Poliorcetic phase fortifications often follow quite

⁷⁵Hölkeskamp 2009, 321. ⁷⁶Mitchell 1998, 179. ⁷⁷DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle 1996, 15.

⁷⁸Mitchell 1998, 179. ⁷⁹DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle 1996, 16.

⁸⁰There are only a handful of Archaic temples in Thessaly and Boeotia, to be compared to the number of examples of ‘*ptolis* enceintes’ in the the appendices (B).

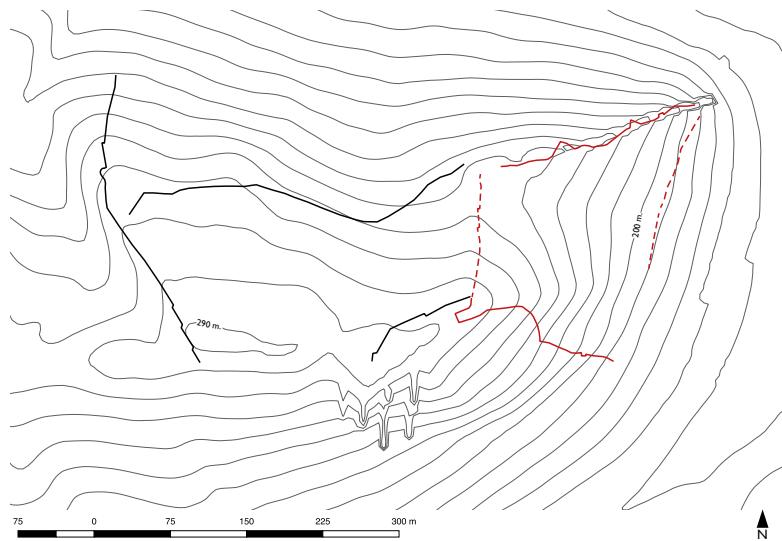


Figure 5.3: Plan of the fortifications of Chaironeia, Boeotia. After Fossey and Gauvin 1985. Rectification and referencing by Robin Rönnlund. Black lines indicate 'Cyclopean' walls, striped red lines polygonal masonry, full red lines isodomic masonry.

a different trace than their predecessors (where any), creating the type of separately fortified unit now regarded as the *akropolis*.

The establishment and subsequent fortification of nucleated urban settlements with a separate walled hilltop area appears all over the Greek mainland from the late 5th c. BCE onwards. The general spatial arrangement of the cities – a *katō polis* comprising the dwellings and an *akropolis* on an elevated position – becomes the norm. Previous urban and non-urban settlement forms are adopted to fit this scheme, and it is quite rare that we encounter exceptions to the general rule.⁸¹

What is normally regarded as an *akropolis*, I argue, is consequently an introduction of the late Classical period, and not something that developed from an earlier settlement location. The Classical-Hellenistic *akropoleis* has also comparably little in common with their '*ptolis* predecessors' in their design and wall trace, as can be seen in how these locations were architecturally re-configured at several locations (**Fig. 5.3**).⁸² In a few cases, the location of the predecessor '*ptolis*' is not the same as the Classical-Hellenistic *akropolis*,⁸³ possibly because the needs of the new fortified urban settlement were different. Further, at least in the majority of cases in this study, it is only at this time that *akropoleis* should be regarded as urban features. They are generally inhabited by local community members, but their proximity to the *asty* in the *katō polis* means that they are closely connected to urban life.

Akropoleis were however not empty spaces. They appear to have been important units in defending the fortified urban settlement, but seemingly *not* evacuation centres for the wider community of inhabitants (p. 49). I find it more probable that they were mainly inhabited by a group of professional soldiers or mercenaries loyal to one of the leagues or kingdoms of this period. In the case of Thessaly,

⁸¹The exceptions in the studied regions could possibly be **B.1.6**, **B.1.18**, **B.2.4**, **B.2.7**, **B.2.11**, and perhaps **B.2.13**.

⁸²At **B.1.1**, **B.1.8**, **B.1.9**, **B.2.3**, **B.2.10**.

⁸³Possibly at **B.1.3**, but more surely at **B.1.19**. Cf. the situation at Thessalian Pherai (**A.1.95**).

Macedonian garrisons on *akropoleis* are mentioned in the speeches of Demosthenes and Isocrates (p. 48), and in Boeotia, the Spartan occupation force in Thebes appears to have resided in the Kadmeia.⁸⁴

This use of the Classical-Hellenistic *akropoleis*, which were seemingly often (but not always) constructed for this purpose, must arguably have led to a shift in connotations relating to the locations. Whereas the fortified refuges of the '*ptoleis*' were constructed for the benefit of the *poleis* and to emphasise their prerogative, the Classical-Hellenistic *akropoleis* became relays of power of the leagues and kingdoms.

Here, I argue, the *akropoleis* function as monumental complexes aiming at materialising ideology in the landscape. The political landscape of ancient Greece changed rapidly, and perhaps could the construction of fortified cities in itself have constituted a strategy by the leagues and kingdoms to control a general population.⁸⁵ This can possibly be supported by the seemingly rapid decline of urbanity after the Roman conquest of the area – comparably few of the sites in question display any indications of habitation in late 2nd and 1st centuries BCE, and it is possible that habitation reverted to village-based communities after the leagues had lost their political initiative.

In several cases, the Classical-Hellenistic (Polioretic phase) *akropoleis* must have constituted the most obvious focal points in the ancient landscape; their white-plastered ramparts and towers gleaming from afar. The presence of the league or kingdom thus made itself tangible in the landscape, present and separated from the community at the same time.

5.5.3 THE CONSEQUENCES: *AKROPOLEIS* IN MYTH AND UNDERSTANDING

As stated, the shift in meaning of the *akropolis* monumental complexes, as well as their reconfiguration, could possibly explain the double nature of the connotations related to them (p. 39). After the Roman conquest, when the urban fortifications had fallen out of use, it appears that the *akropoleis* had been transformed into 'museums' of local history. This is how the *akropoleis* of Southern and Central Greece appear in Pausanias, who also reports many myths relating the *akropoleis* with the local history. Most commonly, it appears that *akropoleis* were regarded as important location in local myths of origin. Most if not all of these (see p. 43) relate to tales of the exploits of the alleged oecist of the settlement, and are more or less formulaic in their disposition.

The mythical connexion between the origin of the *polis* and its oecist and the *akropolis* could possibly stem from the suggested origin of the *polis*-as-organisation (p. 116). As outlined above (p. 43), the existence of *conflicting* foundation myths (only some of which relating to *akropoleis*) could be significant. How *polis* foundations were imagined could produce different foundation myths over time according to peoples' changing expectations of how a *polis* ought to be established.

In the most cases, there were probably no EIA or Archaic 'kings' or oecists residing over a lofty *akropolis* or citadel as imagined by both ancient and modern scholars. This idea, I argue, stems from a diachronic understanding of prehistory developed over the course of Antiquity, influenced by the changing political landscape of Greece and the consequent use of these hilltop locations.

Akropoleis were consequently both physical and ideal locations, and the relationship between the two latter was indeed a complex one. There appears to have been enough consensus in the Greek-speaking world as to what an *akropolis* should be (as the word is used in literature and inscriptions), but as the archaeological record shows, there was at the same time considerable variation.

⁸⁴A.1.122. ⁸⁵Cf. Chaniotis 2002, 99; Chaniotis 2005, 88.

6

General conclusions

IN THIS STUDY, I have demonstrated the complexity of the term ‘*akropolis*’ in ancient textual sources, and how 20th century readings of these sources led to the common historical narrative referred to here as the ‘modern myth of the *akropolis*’. Further, through a survey of the textual sources and a comparative study of the corresponding archaeological material, I have validated the use of ‘*akropolis*’ as an archaeological category applicable to specific features of Greek Antiquity. By analysing the textual and archaeological material relating to this concept/feature, I have then proposed historical models for the emergence and functions of *akropoleis*, and how their diachronic rôle shaped the symbolisms projected upon them.

This final chapter contains a summary of the findings of this study, as well as some proposals for possible future directions in *akropolis* studies. The arguments have been presented in previous chapters, and cross-references to the pages and sections in question are provided.

6.1 THE FUNCTION(S) AND SYMBOLISM(S) OF ANCIENT GREEK *AKROPOLEIS*

In my view, the key in understanding ancient Greek *akropoleis* is to regard them as dynamic symbols in *polis* society. Even if their topographical settings remained fixed, their positions in the social, spiritual and military landscape was ever changing. Consequently, the activities conducted at *akropolis* locations do not correspond directly to the notions and understandings of these features in Antiquity. I instead suggest that the relationship between function and symbolism is more complex, involving history of settlement, myths of origin, and ideologies of entitlement, and that one must understand *akropoleis* as diachronic features in the ancient landscapes.

Locations later to be known as *akropoleis* played important rôles in several developments of ancient Greece. The first (6.1.1) was arguably in the emergence of *poleis* and the subsequent rise of urbanism in

the EIA, which granted them social gravity in the sociopolitical landscape of the day. They continued to be focal points in the periods to come, as their monumental architecture visualised the *polis*' and later kingdoms'/leagues' political capacities (6.1.2). The diachronic function and existence of these features lead to several seemingly conflicting symbolic notions relating to them. 20th century scholarly attempts at harmonising the ancient accounts relating to function and symbolism of *akropoleis* led to the emergence of a historical model, the 'modern myth of the *akropolis*' (6.1.3).

6.1.1 FROM *PTOLIS* TO *POLIS*: *AKROPOLEIS* AND GREEK URBANISATION

Part of the history of development of locations identified as *akropoleis* coincide with the development of nucleated settlements and *polis* polities in the EIA. A common notion among scholars of the 20th century is that *akropoleis* belong to a settlement organisation common in the Middle East, with a city roughly divided into an upper and lower part. My study instead indicates that *akropoleis* have their origin in a pre-urban society, and that the division *akropolis*–*katō polis* only became common at a considerable later point in Antiquity than often assumed.

Instead, I suggest that the origins of the phenomenon of *akropoleis* in ancient Greece should be related to similar developments in the Balkans and Central Europe. Hilltop fortifications connected with powerful social groups aiming at asserting their prerogative amid the growing competition for land and resources in the EIA.

The original meaning of '*polis*'/'*ptolis*' being 'stronghold', I suggest that the very origin of the polities later referred to by that term was a social group bound together by the construction and maintenance of a *ptolis*. The later associations of *akropoleis* with mythical founder-figures can possibly be explained by this development from stronghold to polity to city. This reverses the now well-known model in which the *akropolis* was the actual site of the oldest settlement that later was turned into a refuge. The *ptolis* of my model was never part of the settlement, but rather the refuge of the early *polis* that later became a part of the settlement sharing its name, the *polis*.

The association between *polis* and *akropolis*, however, does not mean that the latter should be considered *urban* in nature. Very little archaeological evidence supports the idea that the locations were ever inhabited to any larger extent (except for garrisons), and it is reasonable to question whether *akropoleis* were considered parts of the *astē* of their *poleis*.

6.1.2 *AKROPOLEIS* AS MONUMENTAL FOCAL POINTS IN THE ANCIENT LANDSCAPE

There are many reasons to interpret *akropoleis* as monumental structures. Their highly visible positions, conspicuous fortifications, and non-domestic architecture all speak the language of monumental display. But, one does not simply construct monuments so that they can be seen; monuments are ultimately constructed to resolve conflicts between social groups. I argue that *akropoleis* were built and utilised as monumental complexes, but that the meaning – perceived or intended – changed with the historical context. The common factor, however, is the spatialisation of ideology and power.¹

Monuments are most productive as mediators in conflict in the formative phases of polities and states. They materialise one group's prerogative over another's, and – I argue – the most common goal is to assert the group's entitlement to resources. These resources can vary from more tangible (such as

¹Hölkeskamp 2009, 321-324; 327-328.

raw-materials and food), to more abstract (the control over land or labour), or even conceptual (the past and ideology).² In pre-Poliorcetic Greece, and locally further on, fortified *akropoleis* constituted the largest monumental features in the landscape, and their direct link with the emerging *poleis* societies made them beacons of ideology in space. They act as “symbolic foc[i] that fosters territorial consolidation”³ by linking the *polis* with the *chōra* at a time when the *polis*’ spatial prerogative was probably all but given.

In the two studied regions, it appears that this development occurred relatively late; that is, in the Archaic period. The pre-Poliorcetic phase of Boeotian *akropolis* sites are not as easily discernible as in Thessaly, where it seems like ‘*ptoleis*’ (see p. 116) were common at the beginning of the Classical period. As walled urban sites were constructed in both regions in mainly the 4th century, *akropoleis* locations were incorporated in the new fortified enceinte and thus acquired a new monumental rôle in the ancient landscape.

The late Classical and Hellenistic leagues and kingdoms appear to have played an important rôle here, as centralised (and fortified) *poleis* settlements allowed for a more direct interaction or rule over the local inhabitants. The symbolic notion of *akropoleis* as something relating to oppression and tyrants probably stems from this situation, when royal and league garrisons locations coerced the *poleis* from these hilltop locations.

6.1.3 AKROPOLEIS IN ANTIQUITY AND NOW

The survey of the literary sources mentioning *akropoleis* (Chapter 3) shows the manifold aspects of the term in ancient texts. Any attempt to harmonise these text into one narrative or explanation will ultimately be anachronistic and unproductive.

The overall narrative or historical model, the ‘modern myth of the *akropolis*’ (p. 18), remains influential today and will probably remain so until replaced by another narrative. The story of the transition from monarchy via oligarchy to democracy is a compelling one, probably because it is very much the narrative of modern Western society. However, applying it to ancient Greece – as shown in this study – produces an interpretation of the material ill-suited to present day comprehensions of the period. This does not mean that one should not propose historical models. In this study, I have done so, with the caveat that they fit (to a certain extent) only the investigated material in question.

Indeed, it appears that similar historical narratives or models were produced in Antiquity, as indicated by the rôle played by *akropoleis* in stories of *polis* foundations (p. 43). One should not regard these as direct reflections of reality, but rather as reflections of the ideas and notions of how *poleis* were founded, as influenced by the symbolisms connected with *akropolis* locations.

6.2 TOWARDS A DEFINITION – AGAINST A DEFINITION: FUTURE AKROPOLIS RESEARCH

In this study, I have shown that an *akropolis*, both as a term and an archaeological category, was and is a rather malleable concept. The long time of use as well as regional and local variations presents an indistinct picture of this ancient feature, a picture which in turn becomes further blurred in modern scholarly literature. It is indeed easy to criticise the few previous attempts at defining an *akropolis* and

²Appadurai 1981. ³Williamson 2016, 70.

difficult to produce a reasonable and productive definition. The ‘essential *akropolis*’ as presented in this study (p. 56), is a descriptive but not explanatory definition and will consequently not be of great help in interpreting these locations. A universally applicable explanatory definition, however, might not be possible. Modest fortified hillocks such as the *akropolis* at Tsournáti Vrísi (B.1.2) will unavoidably be something different to the Theban Kadmeia (B.2.14) or the 11 hectare enclosure at Vlochós (B.1.8), even if they might share some similar functions.

The study of ancient Greek *akropoleis* thus requires an allowing and nuanced understanding of the concept. However, a too liberal application of the word to ancient features may also be misleading. There are other fortified hilltops than *akropoleis*, and the notion of “an *akropolis*” may bring non-contextual associations.

The road forward in *akropolis* research is – unsurprisingly – excavation. The suggested main fields of use at these locations (as identified in this study) – refuge, cult, garrisoning – can only be tested, I argue, through tactical probes into the archaeological remains. Especially pressing would be more precise dates for the ‘*ptolis enceintes*’ (p. 76), which at present can only be chronologically situated in the EIA.

As I have shown in this study, there is a definite connexion between the concept of the *polis* and the kind of fortified hilltop that at some point became known as an ‘*akropolis*’. A better chronology for these locations would consequently not only provide a temporal context for this specific phase in the development of fortified sites in ancient Greece, but also increase our knowledge of the EIA and the so-called “rise of the *polis*”.

However, similarly with the development of *poleis*, the phases of development of *akropolis* locations (p. 64) do not represent a series of events, but a process. Even if relative or absolute dates could be acquired for individual sites, the overall pan-Hellenic developments and trends can probably not.

This leads to the question of the material of this study. Thessaly and Boeotia were chosen for several reasons (p. 10), but I think it probable that analyses of *akropoleis* from other regions would produce both similar *and* different results. The islands and coasts of the Aegean seem to have gone through a much earlier phase of urbanisation than the inland regions, judging from famous 8th c. BCE examples such as Zághora on Ándhros, Xoboúrgho on Tínos and Minóa on Amorgós.⁴ A comparative study of these and similar sites and their eventual *akropoleis* would be a fruitful future field of study.

There are several limitations to this study, the central of which is necessarily the lack of archaeological material. I consequently believe that some of the interpretations presented here will potentially be invalidated as more material becomes available. However, I hope that this study may act as a beginning for new thoughts regarding these ancient structures, leading to new studies on the intriguing ‘hilltop cities’ beyond the simplifying scope of Athenocentrism.

⁴Interestingly, these have been regarded as ‘failed’ *poleis*, see Zuiderhoek 2017, 29.

Part IV
Appendices



Catalogue of relevant passages in ancient
texts

A.1 LOCATIONS MENTIONED AS *AKROPOLEIS* IN ANCIENT TEXTS

The information provided in this catalogue (if not specifically stated otherwise) is derived from the *LACP*. Passages from ancient sources are quoted as they appear in the *TLG* and *PGI*.

A.1.1 AGYRION, SICILY

Passage(s): Diod. Sic. 14.95.5.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A? Ancient Sicel settlement (*LACP* nr. 7) at modern Agira. Named by the native Diodorus, who locates the treasury of the tyrant Agyris on the *akropolis*, which is probably at the site of the large Mediaeval castle above the town, immediately to the E. Ancient trace of fortifications unknown, but the town appears to have been fortified at ca. 400 BCE.

A.1.2 AKRAGAS, SICILY

Passage(s): Emp. fr. 112.2 (as *akra poleos*); Diod. Sic. 13.84.2; Polyb.; 9.27.6 Polyaeus *Strat.* 5.1.1; Timae. fr. 26^a.

Description of *akropolis*: Possibly type A or B? *Polis* settlement (Gelan colony, *LACP* nr. 9) on a plateau just SE of modern Agrigento/Girgenti. *Akropolis* possibly on hilltop underneath modern city, NW of lower settlement, or on the *Rupe Atenea* further to the SE. Temples to Athena and Zeus Atabyrios were located on the *akropolis*. The *akropolis* acted as a signal point to the rest of the city, according to Diod. (13.84.2). Plan in Frederiksen 2011, 125-126.

A.1.3 ALEXANDREION, JUDEA

Passage(s): Joseph. *AJ* 14.50.

Description of *akropolis*: Type not applicable. Fortress-site in the Jordan valley. Constructed by the Hasmoneans on the steep and conspicuous hill of Sartaba. Named after Alexander Jannaeus (104-77 BCE). No associated settlement. One of number of locations in the area of Roman Palestine referred to by Josephus as *akropolis*. See also Herodeion (**A.1.47**), Jerusalem (**A.1.52**), Joppa (**A.1.53**) and Sepphoris (**A.1.111**).

A.1.4 ALIPHEIRA, ARCADIA

Passage(s): Polyb. 4.78.11.

Description of *akropolis*: Possibly type A? Ancient *polis* settlement (*LACP* nr. 266) s of the modern village of Alífera/Nerovítsa. At SE corner of area on ridge-like hill, the latter seemingly fortified on all sides with a wall in coursed polygonal masonry (dated pre-370 BCE), but which did probably not contain the actual settlement (possibly on N slope?). The area interpreted as the *akropolis* constitutes

a small enclosure (0.39 hectare) on the easternmost pinnacle of the hill, where excavated remains of a sanctuary of Athena with a early 6th c. BCE temple are visible. This probably contained the famous colossal statue of the goddess mentioned by Polybius.

A.1.5 AMASTRIS, PAPHLAGONIA

Passage(s): Str. 12.3.10.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. Hellenic *polis* (*LACP* nr. 728) at modern Amasra, occupying a small island on the s shore of the Black Sea and the peninsula immediately s of it. The name Sesamos appears to have been the original name of the settlement before the synoikism of the later Amastris, and appears to have been used as the name of the *akropolis* of the latter. Exact location and size of *akropolis* unknown.

A.1.6 AMBRAKIA, EPIRUS

Passage(s): Polyb. 21.27.2. See also Livy 38.4.1.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A. Corinthian colony (*LACP* nr. 113) founded in second half of 7th c. BCE at modern Árta. The settlement lied on the E banks of the river at the foot of the hill Perranthes (110 masl.), just SE of the lower settlement, on which's top was the *akropolis* (size unknown). City walls descending the Perranthes hill possibly erected ca. 500 BCE, whether separating the *akropolis* is unknown. Mention (Diod. 17.3.3) of a Macedonian garrison in 338-336, possibly on *akropolis*. Plan in Frederiksen 2011, 129.

A.1.7 AMMON (TEMPLE OF), EGYPT

Passage(s): Diod. Sic. 17.50.4.

Description of *akropolis*: Probably the conspicuous rocky crag at the desert oasis of Siwa, where the famous temple oracle of Ammon visited by Alexander the Great in 332 BCE was located. No contemporary Hellenic settlement recorded.

A.1.8 AMPHISSA, LOCRISS

Passage(s): Paus. 10.38.5.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A. *Polis* settlement (*LACP* nr. 158) at modern Ámfissa. A city wall, attested from 321 BCE, enclosed the lower settlement, with the *akropolis* on a hilltop to the NW. The latter is now mostly covered with ruins of the Mediaeval castle of Salona, but the remains of Lesbian masonry show that the location was fortified in Antiquity. Pausanias noted a temple of Athena with a bronze statue of the goddess within the *akropolis*. Plan and description of remains in Lerat 1952, 174-180.

A.1.9 ANTANDROS, TROAD

Passage(s): Thuc. 8.108.5.

Description of *akropolis*: Possibly type A. *Polis* settlement (*IACP* nr. 767) on the SW slopes of the hill of Kaletaşı, between modern Avçılar and Altınoluk. Recent excavations lead by Gürcan Polat has revealed parts of the ancient city, including the lower fortifications of the 4th c. BCE and a necropolis that seems to have been established in the 7th or 6th c. BCE.¹ There is presently no information on the archaeological remains of the *akropolis*, which should probably be located on the top of the hill Kaletaşı.

A.1.10 ARGOS, ARGOLID

Passage(s): Hellenic. fr. 91; Str. 8.6.9; Plut. *Vit. Cleom.* 41.8.3; Plut. *Vit. Arat.* 44.3.5; Paus. 2.24.1; 2.25.10; *Anth. Graec.* IX epigr. 104.

Description of *akropolis*: Type C. *Polis* settlement at the SW edge of the Argive plain (*IACP* nr. 347). The *akropolis* (according to several sources) was known as the Larissa,² Archaic fortifications, however, have been identified on the Aspis hill, indicating that it was perhaps was similarly used. Plan in Frederiksen 2011, 130-132.

A.1.11 ASEA, ARCADIA

Passage(s): Paus. 8.44.3.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A. Ancient *polis* settlement (*IACP* nr. 267) at modern Káto Aséa. Centred on and immediately below (E) the hill of Paleokastro (706 masl., 54 m. above the valley), which constitutes the probable *akropolis* of the settlement (ca. 2 hectare). Excavations have shown that a settlement developed on the hilltop already in the 5th c. BCE, which was then fortified later in the Classical period. The lower settlement was finally walled in the 220s BCE. The excavators suggest that there was a Archaic-Classical temple on the *akropolis*. Pausanias' description of the site indicates that it was abandoned in the Roman period. Plans in J. Forsén, B. Forsén, and Karlsson 2005, Fig. 1 & 4 and J. Forsén, Smekalova, and Tikka 2017.

A.1.12 ASOPOS, LACONIA

Passage(s): Paus. 3.22.9.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type, possibly E. Seems to refer to the settlement of Kyparissia, which at some point changed its name to Asopos. At a small peninsula SE of modern Plítra, where

¹ *Antandros: Antik Kenti Kazıları* 2017 (online resource).

² Hellenic: ἀρχαιστάτη μὲν ἢ Ἀργειώτις, ἥτις ἐστὶν αὐτὴ ἢ ἀκρόπολις. ("The oldest [Larissa] is that of Argos, which is the *akropolis* itself").

aerial photographs show that much of the city is submerged, probably after the earthquake of 365 BCE. It has been suggested that the *akropolis* is to be located on the steep spur of Paleókastro, some 2.2 km. NE of the site. The latter appears to have been fortified in the Middle Ages, but whether this was also the case in Antiquity is unknown. Very little published material available on these sites.

A.1.13 BABYLON, BABYLONIA

Passage(s): Diod. Sic. 2.7.2; 2.8.6; 2.10.1; 19.100.7; Ctes. fr. 1b; Hdn. *De Pros.* 3.1 p. 386.

Description of *akropolis*: Type not applicable. Large multi-period city in modern Iraq. Only referred to as having an *akropolis* in accounts of mythical history, and a clear case of *interpretatio graeca*.

A.1.14 BAKTRA, BACTRIA

Passage(s): Diod. Sic. 2.6.2; 2.6.7-8.

Description of *akropolis*: Type not applicable. Large multi-period city at Balkh in modern Afghanistan. The *akropolis* of Baktra was the strongest in Bactria in the time of the mythical king Ninus according to Diodorus. Whether Diodorus' impression is derived from earlier sources or from an account of his contemporaries cannot be ascertained, but his *akropolis* could correspond to the hill of Bālā Heṣār. Plan in *EIO*, s.v. Balk, Fig. 15.

A.1.15 BYZANTION, THE HELLESPONTINE

Passage(s): Xen. *An.* 7.1.20.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. Colony and subsequent *polis* settlement at the Bosphorus (*LACP* nr. 674). Appears to have been on the location of the modern Topkapı, with temples to Dionysos, Poseidon, Athena, Artemis, and Aphrodite noted.

A.1.16 CARTHAGE, AFRICA

Passage(s): Str. 17.3.14; App. *Pun.* 4; Dio Cass. 21.70.30.

Description of *akropolis*: Type not applicable. Hill and fortified enceinte known as the Byrsa. The highest point within the city of Carthage and appears to have been a separately fortified position which included a sanctuary to Iʿšmn. Virgil's account of the founding of Carthage by Dido refers to the myth that the queen was allowed by a local chief to settle as much land as could be covered by a single ox-hide (βύρσα), which prompted her to cut the hide into strips, thus encompassing the whole hill.³ The etymology probably tries to explain the original Punic toponym Bi'rša ("Well of the Sheep").⁴

³Verg. *Aen.* 1.518-522. ⁴*Neue Pauly* s.v. Byrsa.

A.1.17 CHALKIS-AD-BELUM, SYRIA

Passage(s): Str. 16.2.18.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A. On roughly trapezoidal tell in former marshland, immediately s of the village of Qinnasrīn in the Aleppo Governorate. A separate fortified enceinte encompassed the lower settlement at the location of the modern village. Plan in Monceaux and Brosse 1925, 345. Introduction to literary evidence in Cohen 2006, 143-145. Appears to have been heavily looted during the ongoing civil war.

A.1.18 CHERSONESOS, TAURIS

Passage(s): *IosPE* I² 352 (ca. 107 BCE); 354 (17/16 BCE); 357 (late 1st/early 2nd century CE); 358 (ca. 130 CE); 359 (ca. 130 CE); 360 (ca 120 CE); 361 (ca. 120 CE); 365 (2nd century CE); *NEPKh* II, 112 (ca. 140 CE); *SEG* 43:498 (150-200 CE); 46:928 (154 CE); 48:999 (106-114 CE); 52:737 (early 2nd century CE)

Description of *akropolis*: Possibly type B. *Polis* settlement at modern Sevastopol (*LACP* nr. 605). The *akropolis* could arguably be identified with the highest point of the settlement in w, but no *diateichisma* has been noted as separating the *akropolis* from the *katō polis*. A Roman “citadel” can be found in the e part of the enceinte, but this appears to be a poor candidate for the kind of public place in which the cited inscriptions could be displayed.

A.1.19 CHERSONESOS, THRACE

Passage(s): *IK Sestos* 68.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. Whether the inscription (found at modern Yeniköy) refers to a Chersonesian *akropolis* or to the Athenian Akropolis is impossible to say. The phrasing of the text is very similar to inscriptions found at the Athenian Akropolis, suggesting the latter.

A.1.20 CHIOS, THE AEGEAN

Passage(s): Diod. Sic. 13.65.3.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. *Polis* settlement on the island of Chios (*LACP* nr. 840). There is no good candidate for an *akropolis* at the site of modern Chíos town. Diodorus mentions that the Spartans under Kratesippidas managed to seize the *akropolis* of the Chians, installing a group of Chian exiles into power (409/408 BCE). This implies a fortified location, which perhaps is to be located within the walled area of Early Modern Chíos.

A.1.21 (CISALPINE GAUL)

Passage(s): App. *B. Civ.* 3.4.27.

Description of *akropolis*: ‘*Akropolis*’ is here used metaphorically, with the Roman Senate regarding Cisalpine Gaul as “their own *akropolis*”. Cf. Delphi (A.1.24), Peloponnesos (A.1.88), Sparta (A.1.116), Thebes (A.1.122), and Thermon (A.1.123).

A.1.22 CORINTH, CORINTHIA

Passage(s): Polyb. 30.10.3 (fragm.); Diod. Sic. 14.92.1; Paus. 7.7.6; Plut. *De Herod.* 871^b; Theopomp. fr. 285^{ab}.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A? Large *polis* settlements of the E end of the Corinthian gulf (*IACP* nr. 227). The *loci* where the Akrokorinthos is referred to as an *akropolis* are surprisingly few and imprecise. Polybius, Diodorus and Pausanias all refer to “the *akropolis* of Corinth”, which from their contexts should probably be regarded as the Akrokorinthos. Pausanias’ mention is not from the book including Corinthia (Book 2), but rather that of Achaia (book 7). In the section on Corinth, Pausanias refers to the mountain as the Akrokorinthos, as “a mountain peak above the city”.⁵

The Akrokorinthos is a very large and conspicuous mountain overlooking most of Corinthia and the Isthmus area. It functioned in various historical periods as a fortress, most of the preserved remains are Mediaeval or later. It has been suggested that the conspicuous and rather remote hilltop did not ‘function’ as the *akropolis* of the settlement at onset; the Temple Hill at the centre of the settlement appears to be a better candidate for this.⁶ Plan of fortifications in Frederiksen 2011, 135, Fig. 27.

A.1.23 DAMASIA, RAETIA

Passage(s): Str. 4.6.8.

Description of *akropolis*: Strabo claims that the non-Greek settlement (*polis*) of Damasia functioned as the *akropolis* of the Likatioi (Lat. *licates*). Damasia is generally identified with the Auerberg in modern Bavaria,⁷ where an extensive settlement with several walled enclosures have been excavated.

Strabo uses ‘*akropolis*’ here as relating to the function-symbolism of the word, and not as a reference to an actual *akropolis*. For a similar use by the same author, see Lugdunum (A.1.66).

A.1.24 DELPHI, PHOCIS

Passage(s): Eur. *Or.* 1094.

Description of *akropolis*: Major sanctuary to Apollo. Referred to by Eurypides as the “*akroptolis* of Phocis” (note the archaising spelling), cf. Cisalpine Gaul (A.1.21), Peloponnesos (A.1.88), Sparta (A.1.116), Thebes (A.1.122), and Thermon (A.1.123).⁸

⁵“ἡ δὲ ἐστὶν ὄρους ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν κορυφή”, Paus., 2.4.6. ⁶Roebuck 1972, 126. ⁷Ulbert 1994, 37. ⁸See p. 53.

A.I.25 DYME, ACHAIA

Passage(s): Diod. Sic. 19.66.4-6.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. The location of ancient *polis* settlement of Dyme (*IACP* nr. 234) is still disputed. It is often assumed to be located close at modern Káto Achaiá or at the lagoons ca 12 km. w of it. The fortified *akropolis* described by Diodorus does not match any of the proposed locations in the vicinity.

Diodorus describes how the Macedonian garrison in the Dymaeian *akropolis* was besieged (in 314/313 BCE) by the Dymaeans, who almost succeeded in taking the location, were it not for the appearance of Alexander (son of Polyperchon) and his troops. The latter stopped the siege and killed many of the Dymaeans before departing. After a while, the Dymaeans managed to hire mercenaries from nearby Aigion who finally managed to take the *akropolis* and thus free the *polis* from the Macedonians.

A.I.26 EIRA, MESSENIA

Passage(s): Paus. 4.20.6; 4.21.1.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. The location is supposed to be on the hill of Áyios Athanásios just s of the village of Kakalétri.⁹ The location contains extensive remains of a fortified enceinte, dated to the Archaic and Hellenistic periods. Plan in Hiller von Gaertringen and Lattermann 1911, 21. Just w of the site, on a lower spur of the hill, is another fortified site. Pausanias describes the betrayal and subsequent capture of the fortress of Eira to the Spartans, including the mention of an *akropolis* that was guarded by a garrison.

A.I.27 ELATEIA, PHOCIS

Passage(s): *IG IX*¹ 117.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type, possibly A or F. *Polis* settlement in the Valley of Kephisos (*IACP* nr. 180). The fragmentary inscription contains the reconstructed line “out of the *akropolis*”, but whether this refers to the Elateian *akropolis* or not cannot be ascertained. Livy (32.24) describes the Roman siege and capture of Elateia in 198 BCE, when the settlement appears to have been fortified with an outer enceinte and an *arx*, into which the local inhabitants fled after the Romans had breached their city wall.

The remains at the site shows indications of several building phases. A wall in polygonal masonry – tentatively dated to the 5th c. BCE – surrounds the *maghoúla*-like hilltop of the *akropolis*, which in turn has a smaller fort-like structure in its NE corner. This “fort” has been dated on stylistic grounds to the 4th c. Indications of a lower settlement outside the *akropolis* enceinte suggests that the fort was not in itself the actual *akropolis* of the site.¹⁰ Plan in Typaldou-Fakiris 2004, 101, Fig. 75.

⁹Valmin 1930, 118-120. ¹⁰Typaldou-Fakiris 2004, 93-106.

A.1.28 ELIS, ELIS

Passage(s): Xen. *HG* 7.4.16; Diod. Sic. 19.87.2; Paus. 6.26.3.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type, possibly A. *Polis* settlement at the s bank of river Peneios (*IACP* nr. 251). Located on the hill of Kaloskopí/Paleópirghos in the NE sector of the large settlement of ancient Elis. Appears to have been the location of an settlement predating that of the synoecised Elis, with finds ranging from the EH to the Geometric period. The *akropolis* was seized in an oligarchic coup by Charopos in 365 BCE, but he and his allies were instantly ejected by the democratic faction.

Contained according to Pausanias a temple of Athena, and many remains of monumental architecture have been found on the location. Substantial remains of ancient fortifications have been unearthed at the foot of the hill, interpreted as that built by the Macedonian general Telesphoros who according to Diodorus refortified the *akropolis*.¹¹ Plan in Gialouris 1974, 141.

A.1.29 ENNA, SICILY

Passage(s): Polyaeus *Strat.* 8.21.1; Posidon. 64; 108^h.

Description of *akropolis*: Possible colony of Syracuse (**A.1.119**) and subsequent *polis* settlement at modern Enna (*IACP* nr. 19). Most of ancient settlement covered by modern city, which is located on a steep spur, but traces of a Hellenistic fortification wall has been found surrounding the *akropolis*. According to Polyaeus,¹² a pro-Roman garrison was installed in the *akropolis* in 214 BCE. Plan in Bejor and Marotta D'Agata 1989 (*non vidi*).

A.1.30 EPHEOS, IONIA

Passage(s): Polyaeus *Strat.* 5.19.1.¹³

Description of *akropolis*: Type c. Large *polis* settlement by the river Kaystros (*IACP* nr. 844). A 6th c. BCE inscription has one of the rare instances of *polis* being used as '*akropolis*', according to the *IACP*.¹⁴

Ephesos appears to have been fortified at least partly already in the late 6th c. BCE, with polygonal masonry found on the Panayırdağ.¹⁵ In the Hellenistic period, the site at Panayırdağ appears very much like an *akropolis*, being a separately fortified area just above the the actual settlement area w of it.¹⁶ See plan in Scherrer 2001, 65; Fig. 3-99.

¹¹PECS 299. ¹²Parallel in Livy 24.37 who has '*arx*'. ¹³Close parallel in Frontin. *Str.* 3.3.7. ¹⁴*IEph*, 1A.1: "Τετράφροντα μνέαι : τὸ πρῶ[τον] ἐστάθ[ησ]αν :: ἐκ τῶν δ[ώρ-] | [ων] χρυσο· : ἐκ πόλεως ἐνείχ[τθ]ησαν." (Forty minas of gold were first weighed (from the gifts); they were taken out of the *polis*).

¹⁵Frederiksen 2011, 9. ¹⁶Scherrer 2001, 63.

A.I.31 EPIDAUROS, ARGOLID

Passage(s): Paus. 2.29.1.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type, possibly A? *Polis* settlement on the Saronic gulf (*LACP* nr. 348). Located on promontory with two summits, forming a peninsula in the gulf, with harbours in the bays in N and S.

The *akropolis* was probably on the inner of the two summits, as it is separately fortified. It contains the remains of a church, and below it in W is the theatre and the probable location of the *agora*. Pausanias saw a temple of Athena Kissaia on the *akropolis*. Epidaurus appears to have been fortified in the 5th c. BCE.

A.I.32 EPIDAUROS LIMERA, LACONIA

Passage(s): Paus. 3.23.10.

Description of *akropolis*: Originally type A. Sea-side *polis* settlement at the bay of Paléa Monemvasía (*LACP* nr. 329). Located on steep isolated hillock with flattish top. The lower settlement extends in two separate directions (SE and SW, the latter extension of a supposedly later date), with the *akropolis* seemingly separately fortified. Fortifications appear (according to Lawrence) to be of the 4th c. BCE. Pausanias describes a temple to Athena on the *akropolis*. Plan in Lawrence 1979, 146.

A.I.33 ERESOS, LESBOS

Passage(s): *IG XII²* 526 (late 4th c. BCE).

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. On the Vighla hill, just above the harbour of the *polis* settlement (*LACP* nr. 796). Most of the ca. 5 hectare hilltop is covered in later Mediaeval remains, but some fragmentary stretches of an ancient Lesbian fortification wall has been noted.¹⁷

The *akropolis* of Eresos appears to have been used as a stronghold by the long line of tyrants that ruled Eresos until the liberation by Alexander.¹⁸

A.I.34 ERYTHRAI, IONIA

Passage(s): *IG I³* 15 (ca. 450 BCE); *SEG* 34:5; *IEry* 21 (334/332 BCE) (= *Maier*, 60).

Description of *akropolis*: Originally type A? then later type D. Large *polis* settlement at bay in the Chios sound (*LACP* nr. 845). *Akropolis* identified on isolated hill within the ancient fortification circuit, but remains of fortifications descending the *akropolis* slopes (in W and N) indicate a second stage enlargement of the *intra muros* area. The hill contains the remains of a temple to Athena Polias, and in its N slope is a theatre.

¹⁷Schaus and Spence 1994; Frederiksen 2011, 138. ¹⁸Lott 1996.

An Athenian inscription records the installation of a *phrourachos* on the Erythraian *akropolis* and the subsequent erection of a stele on the *polis* (= *akropolis*) of the Athenians with a copy on the *akropolis* of the Erythraians.¹⁹ Another inscription mentions the ejection of the foreign garrison and deconstruction of the *akropolis* by a certain Phanes.²⁰

A.1.35 ERYX, SICILY

Passage(s): Posidon. fr. 64; Str. 2.6.7.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type, A? Sicilian settlement on the eponymous isolated hill. The *akropolis* is probably at the location of the castle, and subsequently covered by the Mediaeval fortifications. Small-scale excavations in the 1930s on the location yielded architectural remains that could possibly belong to a temple (see below). The fortifications of the lower settlement are partially preserved, and appear to have been built in the 5th c. BCE with later additions. The hill of Eryx poses a striking silhouette from the sea, being an isolated feature in an otherwise flattish landscape. Plan in Vincenzo 2016, 693, Abb. 12.

Strabo writes that Eryx and Syracuse (A.1.119) were located like *akropoleis* on the sea. Polybius mentions that there was a temple of Aphrodite on the highest point in the settlement, and that Lucius – after seizing the location – garrisoned the summit (*koryphē*).²¹

A.1.36 ETEOKARPETHOS, KARPETHOS

Passage(s): IG XII¹ 977 (late 390s BCE).

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. *Polis* community without known central settlement (LACP nr. 372). It is possible that the inscription refers to a central place of the Eteocarpethians (the “real Carpathians”), or possibly even to some other location.²²

The relevant section of the inscription is heavily reconstructed; only the last three letters of the genitive (-εωζ) remains, but spacing makes the reconstruction plausible. Passage states that the soldiers occupying the *akropolis* should be evacuated. As with the inscription concerning Erythrai (A.1.34), the Athenian Akropolis is referred to as the *Polis* in contrast to (*akropol*)is.

A.1.37 GERGIS, TROAD

Passage(s): Xen. HG 3.1.23.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type, perhaps D? Non-Greek settlement in the Scamander valley at modern Karıncalık (LACP nr. 777). On dome-shaped hill, with fortifications probably running along

¹⁹Cf. Eteokarpathos (A.1.36).

²⁰Translation by F. Millar: “[...] As Phanes, son of Mnesitheus, is a good man and shows willingness in being constantly well disposed towards the People of Erythrai and has contributed money without interest both towards the sending away of the soldiers and the razing of the *akropolis* [...]”

²¹Polyb., 1.55.8-9. ²²Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 163–65.

its edge.²³ As observed by the editors of the *LACP*, Gergis was probably only a *polis* per *interpretatio graecae*. The *akropolis* reportedly contained a temple of Athena and was fortified at the time of the Spartan operations in the area (399 BCE).

A.1.38 GERONTHRAI, LACONIA

Passage(s): Paus. 3.22.7.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type, type A? Hill at the E end of the Laconian plain, just at the modern village of Yeráki (*LACP* nr. 332). Site occupied almost continuously from the Neolithic and onwards, with a concentration of activity in the EH period.²⁴ In the late Classical period, probably after the battle of Leuktra (371 BCE), the site was again used as a fortification. The excavators interpret the function of the location as a refuge site related to the Theban invasion of Laconia and the subsequent periods of unrest in the area.²⁵ Pausanias mentions a temple of Apollo on the *akropolis*, which appeared to have been reconstructed after a fire.

A.1.39 GINDAROS, KYRRHESTIKE

Passage(s): Str. 16.2.8; Hdn. *De Pros. s.v.* Gindaros.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. A probable Macedonian settlement on the site of a prehistoric tell (Tell Ğindaris). Occupies very central and striking position within its valley, possibly prompting Strabo's description of it as the "akropolis of Kyrrhestike and a natural stronghold".²⁶

A.1.40 GONNOI, THESSALY

Passage(s): *Gonnoi II*, 40 (180-160 BCE); 41 (180-160 BCE); 64 (150-100 BCE); 69 (ca. 178 BCE); 70 (200-150 BCE); 71 (180-160 BCE); 72 (200-150 BCE); 73 (200-150 BCE); 80 (200-150 BCE); 82 (200-150 BCE); 85 (200-150 BCE).

Description of *akropolis*: Type C. *Polis* settlement on spur of the Olympus (*LACP* nr. 463). The *akropolis* is located in the N corner of the greater enceinte, close to the saddle, which has been artificially cut.

The *akropolis* contained a sanctuary of Athena Polias, which has yielded many public inscriptions. The actual temple appears to have been originally constructed in the second half of the 7th c. BCE and was small and apsidal in form. The fortifications in the pre-Classical period appear to have encompassed only the *akropolis*. The late Classical-early Hellenistic fortifications that surrounded the whole settlement has been interpreted as part of Philip II's activities in Thessaly beginning in the 350s. Plan of city in Helly 1973a, Map 1.

²³Cook 1973, 347-351. ²⁴Crouwel 2010. ²⁵MacVeagh Thorne and Prent 2009, 238-239. ²⁶Cohen 2006, 170-171.

A.1.41 GYTHEION, LACONIA

Passage(s): Paus. 3.21.9.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A. *Polis* settlement on the Laconian gulf (*LACP* nr. 333). Aerial photographs suggests that the *akropolis* was at the location of the monastery of Áyii Pándi, just above (w) the modern village of Yíthio. Pausanias mentions a temple of Athena on the *akropolis*.²⁷

A.1.42 HALASARNA, KOS

Passage(s): *Paton-Hicks*, 369 (3rd c. BCE).

Description of *akropolis*: Type B? Sea-side *dēmē* on the island of Kos (*LACP* nr. 500). Excavations close to the beach and the modern settlement of Kardhaména have yielded remains of a temple to Apollo Pythaios as well as remains of an urban settlement dating from the 6th c. BCE onwards.²⁸ The *akropolis* mentioned in the Hellenistic inscription has been identified with the low, roughly triangular hill just above (NW of) the excavated area. Plan sketch in *Maier*, 173.²⁹

A.1.43 HALIKARNASSOS, CARIA

Passage(s): Diod. Sic. 15.90.3; 17.23.4; 17.25.5; 17.27.5-6; Str. 14.2.6; Arr. *Anab.* 2.5.7.

Description of *akropolis*: Type C or more probably D. Large *polis* settlement at bay in the Ceramic gulf (*LACP* nr. 886). Halikarnassos is described in ancient sources as having several *akropoleis*, which correspond to the four fortress-like features found in the fortification trace. However, these are also mentioned as *akrai* (see p. 37), and it is more probable that the actual *akropolis* of Halikarnassos was on the fortified peninsula/island of Zephyrion at the location of the Mediaeval fortress of Bodrum. Ongoing Turkish-Danish excavations on this location have yielded evidence of substantial Classical-Hellenistic fortifications here.³⁰

A.1.44 HEIRKTE, SICILY

Passage(s): Polyb. 1.56.6.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A? Natural strong position – probably to be identified with Monte Pellegrino (606 masl) N of Palermo – between the settlements of Panormos and Eryx (**A.1.35**). Described by Polybius as having some of the traits of an *akropolis*. The ‘knoll’ (*mastos*) can probably be

²⁷Giannakopoulos 1987 (*non vidi*). ²⁸Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 171-172; Kopanias 2009.

²⁹Sherwin-White (1978, 61-62, note 169) points out that the *akropolis* of Halasarna should not be confused with the fortifications of the Hellenistic *polisma* of Halasarna, which is to be found further to the SW along the coast.

³⁰Pedersen and Ruppe 2016.

located at the Castillo Utveggio at the s part of the hilltop. Polybius' description matches quite well the topography of the place.³¹

A.I.45 HERAKLEIA PONTIKE, BITHYNIA

Passage(s): Polyaeus *Strat.* 2.30.1; Memn. 9.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A. Megarian colony and subsequent *polis* on the Black Sea coast (*IACP* nr. 715). The *akropolis* – as fortified by the tyrant Klearchos in the mid 4th c. BCE – as well as most of the pre-Roman walls and towers, are covered by the Late Roman and Byzantine fortifications. The *akropolis* appears however to have been located on the hill immediately NE of the settlement and the modern village. The fortress-like structure at the N tip of the *akropolis* is Byzantine and later. The fragmentary state of the fortification trace makes it impossible to say if the *akropolis* was separately fortified. Plan in Hoepfner 1966, Plan 1.

A.I.46 HERAKLEIA TRACHINIA, MALIS

Passage(s): Dio Cass. 19.58.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type, A? Spartan colony and subsequent *polis* at the SW corner of the Malian part of the Valley of Spercheios (*IACP* nr. 430). Formerly in the area of a Malian settlement by the name of Trachis, the *polis* was founded in 426 by the Lacedaimonians. The interpretation by Béquignon that the location of Trachis became the *akropolis* of Herakleia is interesting but unsubstantiated.³² The small area (ca 20 by 40 m.) identified by him as “the *phrouion*” seems as an unlikely candidate for the *akropolis* of the settlement.³³ Plan in Béquignon 1937a, Fig. 4.

Dio's description of Glabrio's taking of the *akropolis* of Herakleia after the Battle of Thermopylae (191 BCE) matches that of Livy (36.24) who has ‘*arx*’ and ‘*oppidum*’ for ‘*akropolis*’.

³¹ἔχει δ' ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ μαστόν, ὃς ἅμα μὲν ἀκροπόλεως, ἅμα δὲ σκοπῆς εὐφυοῦς λαμβάνει τάξιν κατὰ τῆς ὑποκειμένης χώρας. (“There is also a knoll on it which serves for an *akropolis* as well as for an excellent post of observation over the country at the foot of the hill.”)

³²Béquignon 1937a, 244.

³³Béquignon 1937a, 253. Compare with the text in Livy 36.24: “About midday he recalled his men and formed them into two divisions. One he ordered to march round the foot of the mountain to a peak which was the same height as that on which the citadel (*arx*) stood and separated from it by a ravine as though torn away from it. The twin peaks were so near one another that missiles could be thrown from the rock on to the citadel (*arx*). With the other division the consul intended to mount up to the citadel (*arx*), and he waited in the city for the signal from those who were to surmount the peak”.

A.1.47 HERODEION, JUDEA

Passage(s): Joesph. *AJ* 15.325; Joseph. *BJ* 1.265.

Description of *akropolis*: Palace site of Herod the Great. Described by Josephus as an *akropolis*, which is clearly to evoke an image rather than to describe its function. One of number of locations in the area of Roman Palestine referred to by Josephus as *akropolis*. See Alexandreion (**A.1.3**), but also Jerusalem (**A.1.52**), Joppa (**A.1.53**) and Sepphoris (**A.1.111**).

A.1.48 HIPPOGRETA, AFRICA

Passage(s): App. *Pun.* 520.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. The location of the settlement of Hippogreta appears to be unknown. As it is mentioned as being located close to Utica, it can perhaps be surmised that it corresponds to Hippo Acra (modern Bizerte in Tunisia).

A.1.49 HISTIAIA, EUBOEA

Passage(s): Xen. *HG* 5.4.56; Diod. Sic. 15.30.3-4.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A? Large *polis* settlement, originally located inland, but in 446 BCE moved to seaside location (*LACP* nr. 372). Both cited sources (377 and 394 BCE) concern the later location, formerly known as Oreos. The Kástro hill – the site of one of the *akropoleis*³⁴ – at this location has not been systematically examined. The site of the other *akropolis* is unknown, but it seems that both *akropoleis* were separately fortified in the early 2nd c. BCE.³⁵ The settlement was fortified at the time of the earthquake of 426 BCE, and was walled again in the mid-4th c.

It has been suggested that the *akropolis* of Histiaia's earlier location is to be identified with the hill of Metropolis, which was fortified and garrisoned by Chabrias and his Athenian forces in 394 BCE.³⁶

A.1.50 IALYSOS, RHODES

Passage(s): Pi. *Ol.* 7.49; Str. 14.2.12.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type, type E or F? Seaside *polis* settlement or (later?) *kōmē* (*LACP* nr. 995). On the mountain of Phileremos, a large elongated hilltop plateau s of the modern settlement. A sanctuary with a Doric temple to Athena Polias (and Zeus Polieus?) has been found here,³⁷ dating

³⁴Livy, 28.6.2: *duas arces urbs habet, unam imminentem mari; altera urbis media est* (“the city has two *arces*, one right on the sea, and the other is in the middle of town”).

³⁵Livy, 28.6.4-6.

³⁶Diod. Sic., 15.30.5: “καὶ τὴν καλουμένην μὲν Μητρόπολιν, κειμένην δ’ ἐπὶ τινος ἔρυμνοῦ λόφου, τειχίσας, ἀπέλιπεν ἐν αὐτῇ φρουράν”. See commentary in Stylianos 1998, 280.

³⁷As mentioned in the inscription Pugliese Carratelli 1954, 282-283, nr. 54.

to the late 4th c. BCE, but with a possible 6th c. predecessor. Deposits dating back to the 9th c. have been found in the sanctuary area.

The *akropolis* of Ialysos appears to have been known as the *Achaïa polis*,³⁸ which according to Diodorus (5.57.6-7) was the name of the settlement founded by the mythical Heliadaï Ochimos and Kerkaphos. A fragment of Ergias states that the *polis* of Achaïa was originally held by the Pheonecians under Phalanthos,³⁹ and only to be captured by the Ialysians under Iphiklos through a complicated stratagem. Strabo claims that the *akropolis* of Ialysos (which he refers to as a *kômē*) was known as the Ochrōma ('stronghold', 'fortress').

A.1.51 INESSA, SICILY

Passage(s): Thuc. 3.103.1.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. Originally a Sikel site (*LACP* nr. 177) w of Katane that later evolved into the Greek *polis* settlement of Aitna II (*LACP*, nr. 8). The *akropolis* was held by a Syracusan garrison in 426 BCE which managed to withstand an Athenian siege. The site of Aitna II is called *phourion* by Diodorus when retelling events of 404 and 396,⁴⁰ and it appears to have been a dependency of Syracuse (**A.1.119**) at that point. Unknown location.⁴¹

A.1.52 JERUSALEM, JUDEA

Passage(s): Str. 16.2.37; Joseph. *BJ* 7.311; 12.272; 12.365; 13.40; 14.5; 15.403; *LXX 2.Macc.* 4.12; 4.28; 5.5; Posidon. fr. 70.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type, probably a case of *interpretaatio graecae* rather than an actual *akropolis*.

Strabo makes the point that the local inhabitants of the land did not regard the *akropolis* of Jerusalem as a seat of tyranny, but as a holy place. Generally, Josephus refers to the *akropolis* of Jerusalem in a way that shows that he means the Temple Mount. Sometimes he seems to refer to a fortified place on the hill, as when Hyrcanus II took refuge (70/69 BCE) in the *akropolis* of Jerusalem as the forces of his brother Aristobulus besieged the city. The *akropolis* was at the time used as the prison of Aristobulus' wife and children. Josephus also mentions the temple on the location.

One of number of locations in the area of Roman Palestine referred to by Josephus as *akropolis*. See Alexandreion (**A.1.3**), but also Herodeion (**A.1.47**), Joppa (**A.1.53**) and Sepphoris (**A.1.111**).

³⁸*IG XII¹* 677 (pre-3th c. BCE). Translation and comment in Peels 2015, 168. ³⁹Ath. 8.61 = *FGrHist* 513 fr. 1.
⁴⁰Diod. Sic., 14.14.2; 14.58.2. ⁴¹*PECS s.v.* Inessa.

A.1.53 JOPPA, JUDEA

Passage(s): Joseph. *BJ* 3.429.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type, probably a case of *interpretaetio graecae* rather than an actual *akropolis*. Mentioned by Josephus as Vespasian locates his military camp on the former location of the *akropolis* of Joppa.

One of number of locations in the area of Roman Palestine referred to by Josephus as *akropolis*. See Alexandreion (A.1.3), but also Herodeion (A.1.47), Jerusalem (A.1.52), and Sepphoris (A.1.111).

A.1.54 KAUNOS, CARIA

Passage(s): Diod. Sic. 20.27.2; *Hell. Oxy.* 20.4.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A. Karian settlement at the sea-side lagoons of the Kalbys river delta (*LACP* nr. 898). Contained according to Diodorus two *akropoleis*, referred to by the Turkish-German excavators as the *Große* and *Kleine Akropolis*, which are found at the s end of the settlement. Similarly to Halikarnassos (A.1.43) and Demetrias, the wall trace of Halikarnassos contains at least four smaller fortified areas, probably to be regarded as *akrai*.

The *akropolis* of Kaunos is reportedly to have been taken by Harpagos in a similar manner as that of Xanthos (A.1.130).⁴²

The *Große Akropolis* is currently being excavated by a Turkish-German team, aiming at ascertaining whether the hill was the location of the earliest, Archaic settlement at the Kaunos. The results indicate that the *akropolis* was fortified in the Archaic, Classical and Byzantine periods,⁴³ with the earliest phase being a circuit in rough polygonal masonry lacking towers. A later wall in a more ornamented polygonal style, dated by ceramics to the 2nd quarter of the 5th c. BCE, seems to have replaced this wall. Three large terraces on the actual summit supported a Classical sanctuary with a possible Archaic predecessor. The excavators interpret the finds as not supporting the interpretation of the *akropolis* as a settlement location nor as a “pure” *Fluchtburg*. The suggested interpretation is instead a sanctuary site that *may* have acted as a *Fluchtburg* at some extraordinary events. Plan in Özen-Kleine and Ösen 2015, Abb. 1; Abb. 5.

A.1.55 KELAINAI, PHRYGIA

Passage(s): Xen. *An.* 1.2.8.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A? Phrygian settlement at the sources of the Maeander. Xenophon’s description of the location as containing an *akropolis* is possibly a case of *interpretaetio graecae*, and the exact location of the feature is still debated,⁴⁴ even if the common assumption is that it should be located on the N spur of Üçlerce Tepe. See plan in Kienlin 2011, Abb. 3.

⁴²Hdt., 1.176. ⁴³Based on stylistic analysis. ⁴⁴See the excellent discussion on the subject in Tuplin 2011.

Xenophon describes the location as being above the Great King's palace (*basileia*). Arrian's description of the surrender of Kelainai to Alexander contains the information that the *akra* was on a fortified rock, steep on all sides, and was occupied by the satrap of Phrygia and a garrison of 1100 men.⁴⁵

A.1.56 KORKYRA, IONIAN ISLANDS

Passage(s): Thuc. 3.72.3.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. Corinthian colony and subsequent *polis* settlement on the eponymous island (*LACP* nr. 123). The location of the ancient settlement was s of the modern city of Corfu at the peninsula of Paleópolis. The location of the *akropolis* has been suggested to be at the s end of the Analipsis ridge that follows the outline of the Paleópolis peninsula.⁴⁶

Thucydides describes how the commons (*dēmos*) took refuge in the upper parts of the city and the *akropolis* at the time of strife between the Corinthian and Athenian factions at Korkyra.

A.1.57 KORONE, MESSE니아

Passage(s): Paus. 4.34.6.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type, type A? *Polis* settlement (originally known as Aipeia⁴⁷ on the Messenian gulf (*LACP* nr. 316). The double hilltop identified as the *akropolis* of the settlement is found immediately s of the modern village of Petalídhī and appears to have been surrounded by extensive fortifications at the time of Valmin's visit in the 1920s.⁴⁸ Pausanias saw an open-air sanctuary to Athena on the *akropolis*, with a bronze statue of Athena holding a crow.

There has been some argument whether Korone was founded or refounded at ca. 369 BCE by the Theban oecist Epimelides. Archaic finds indicate that there was a settlement at the location prior to the foundation of the *polis* of Korone.

A.1.58 KORONEIA, BOEOTIA

Passage(s): Ephor. fr. 94^a.

Description of *akropolis*: Type D? *Polis* settlement on the s border of former lake Kopais (*LACP* nr. 210). The fragment of Ephorus describes briefly the events of 353 BCE, when the Phokians under Onomarchos held the *akropolis* of Koroneia, and the mercenaries employed by the Boetarchs ran away at the beginning of the battle.⁴⁹

Plan sketch in Bintliff, Noordervliet, *et al.* 2013, Fig. 6. For more detailed information, see **B.2.9**.

⁴⁵Arr. *An.* 1.29. ⁴⁶Bürchner 1927, 1411; *PECS s.v.* Kerkyra. ⁴⁷Paus., 4.34.5. ⁴⁸Valmin 1930, 178; *PECS s.v.* Koroni. ⁴⁹...ὅτε τὴν πόλιν κατέλαβε καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν εἶχεν ὑφ' ἑαυῶν Ἰονόμαρχος ὁ Φωκεὺς προδοθεῖσαν αὐτῶν...

A.1.59 KORSEAI, THE AEGEAN

Passage(s): *IG XII*⁶ 2:1213 (4-3th c. BCE).

Description of *akropolis*: Type F? Small group of islands w of Samos (*LACP* nr. 733). Whether they were a *polis* community or not is debated (*LACP*, 732-733). N of the modern village of Fourni is the small fortified site of Ai Giórgis, which on the basis of the graffiti found on the bedrock immediately underneath the fortification wall has been interpreted as the *akropolis* of the Korseians.⁵⁰

The inscriptions appear to have been made by 4-3th c. Samian mercenaries garrisoning the *akropolis*, several of which are named.⁵¹ Samian mercenaries in the garrison of Korsiai. The remains of the fortifications are poorly preserved, but it appears that there was no lower fortification at the site (?). Plan in *ADelt* 43 *Chron.* B'2 (1988), 508, Σχ. 18.

A.1.60 KRANNON, THESSALY

Passage(s): *BCH* 59 (1935), 37-38.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A. Large *polis* settlement, originally known as Ephyra,⁵² on and immediately around *maghoúla* (*LACP* nr. 400). The location of the *akropolis* is traditionally equated with the extent of the *maghoúla*, but topography suggests that it should instead be located on the s peak of the low hill. The excavations (unpublished) by Arvanitopoulos on this location possibly revealed a temple to Athena Polias.⁵³

The inscription in question is very fragmentary, but Béquignon's reconstruction is convincing,⁵⁴ making it probable that the *akropolis* was a location for the display of public inscriptions. Plan in *ADelt* 16 *Chron.* (1960) [1962], 178 Σχ. 2. For more detailed information, see **A.1.60**.

A.1.61 KYRRHENE, KYRRHENAIKE

Passage(s): *SEG* 9:190 (2nd c. CE).

Description of *akropolis*: Type A? Very large Theran colony and subsequent *polis* settlement on a plateau ca. 9 km s of the Mediterranean coast (*LACP* nr. 1028). The *akropolis*, identified as the w of the two peaks within the city walls, was apparently separately fortified in 313 BCE,⁵⁵ and has been interpreted as the dwelling of the Battiad kings. The visible fortifications are in ashlar masonry and can tentatively be dated to the Hellenistic period.⁵⁶ The area was apparently incorporated in the later street grid of the urban area. Plan in Laronde 1987, Fig. 20.

⁵⁰*ADelt* 43 *Chron.* B'2 (1988), 503; Πιν. 309.

⁵¹*IG XII*⁶ 2:1213, XI: καὶ τᾶλλα σπεύδων Ἀπολλοκρ[άτει Δ]αμόδωρος, Ἐπίγονον | ποθῶν φυλάττω Κορσιητῶν ἀκρόπολιν ("I, Damodoros, of course desire Apollokrate, but I yearn for Epigonos as I guard the *akropolis* of the Korsians").

⁵²Stählin 1922. ⁵³Arvanitopoulos 1924. ⁵⁴Béquignon 1935, 37-38: [...καὶ] σταθμεῖμεν τὰν κίονα ἐν ἀ[κροπόλει ἐν τοῦ ἐπιφ]ανεσστάτου τόπου. ⁵⁵Diod. Sic., 19.79.1 (as *akra*). ⁵⁶Laronde 1987, 74.

A.1.62 LARISSA, THESSALY (PELASGIOTIS)

Passage(s): Antioch. Hist. fr. 2; Diod. Sic. 15.67.4; *IG IX² 517* (214 BCE).

Description of *akropolis*: Type unknown, possibly A?. Large *polis* settlement on the Peneios river (*LACP* nr. 401). The outline of the ancient settlement cannot be fully outlined, as the modern city of Lárissa covers most of the remains. The *akropolis* appears to have been located on the Froúrio hill, around which no fortifications have been preserved. The *akropolis* appears however to have been fortified in 369 BCE, as Diodorus mentions it to be besieged at that time. The *akropolis* contained a sanctuary of Athena Laitarra,⁵⁷ as well as the tomb of the mythical oecist Akrisios.

A.1.63 LEONTINOI, SICILY

Passage(s): Diod. Sic. 14.58.1; Plut. *Vit. Tim.* 24.1; Polyaeus *Strat.* 5.5.1.

Description of *akropolis*: Type C? *Polis* settlement ca. 10 km. inland from the Sicilian E coast (*LACP* nr. 33). The *akropolis* (or *akropoleis*, see below) was (were) located on the hill of San Mauro or at Colle Metapiccola, both just W of the modern town of Carlentini. The hill of San Mauro appears to have been separately fortified, at least in the Classical-Hellenistic period but perhaps as early as the 7th c.⁵⁸

Polyaeus describes how the (semi-mythical?) oecist of Leontinoi, Theocles (8th c. BCE) took possession of the settlement (including its *akropolis*) from the Sicilians who originally dwelled there. Diodorus mentions several *akropoleis*. Plan in Rizza 1978, Fig. 1

The passage in Plutarch refers to the *akropolis* of Leontinoi, but also to other sites, as Timoleon compels Hiketas of Leontinoi to destroy his *akropoleis*,⁵⁹ and retire as a regular citizen in his hometown.

A.1.64 LEUKTRON, MESSE니아

Passage(s): Paus. 3.26.5.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. Sea-side *polis* (at least in the Hellenistic period) at the E coast of the Messenian gulf (*LACP*, 557-558). The only real candidate for an *akropolis* is an isolated hillock ca. 500 m. SE of the small bay of Stoúpa. No remains of fortification have been noted, but the site has yielded finds of the LBA and onwards.⁶⁰

Pausanias describes a sanctuary and statue of Athena on the *akropolis*.

⁵⁷Salviat and Vatin 1971, 26. ⁵⁸Rizza 1978; Frederiksen 2011, 159-160. ⁵⁹τὰς ἀκροπόλεις κατασκάψειν

⁶⁰Valmin 1930, 203-204.

A.1.65 LINDOS, RHODES

Passage(s): *Lindos II* nr. 2 (99 BCE); *IG XII¹* 832 (2nd c. CE).

Description of *akropolis*: Type A. Large *polis* settlement on the SE coast of Rhodes (*LACP* nr. 997). Exceptionally monumentalised *akropolis* on rocky promontory above the sea. Acted as refuge in 490 BCE and was besieged by the Persians under Datis. The cult of Athena Lindia appears to have begun in the 8th c. BCE, with temples constructed in the 6th and 4th c. The entrance to the sanctuary was in N, and several bastion-like protrusions protected the wall from this side. The modern town of Línthos occupies the same location as its ancient predecessor.⁶¹

Pindar gives us the foundation myth of the Rhodian *poleis* (see **A.1.50**),⁶² and it is somewhat difficult to ascertain which *akropolis* the episode of the sons of Helios on the *akropolis* relates to. It seems most probable that it is that of Ialysos. An inscription of the 2nd c. CE informs us that one P. Aelius Hagetor, the priest of Athena Lindia, repaired the walls and towers of the *akropolis*.

A.1.66 LUGDUNUM, GALLIA

Passage(s): Str. 4.6.II.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type or type not applicable. Romano-Gallic settlement at modern Lyon. Strabo describes Lugdunum as the centre of its country (*chōra*), acting as an *akropolis* as it is at a river conflux, but also in the centre of the area.⁶³ Lugdunum was located on the hills of Fourvière, the old part of Lyon, and was at Strabo's time a young but sizeable Roman colony on the former location of the Gallic settlement of Lugudunon.

Strabo's use of *akropolis* here is perhaps not a reference to an actual *akropolis*, but rather an allusion to a function. For a similar use, see Damasia (**A.1.23**).

A.1.67 LOKROI (EPIZEPHYRIAN), MAGNA GRAECIA

Passage(s): Dio Cass. 17.II.

Description of *akropolis*: Type B? Large Locrian colony and subsequent polis on the E coast of modern Calabria (*LACP* nr. 59). The enormous 240 hectare *intra muros* area of the settlement was surrounded by a 7 km. circuit wall, and appears never to have been fully settled. The upper (NW) parts of the enceinte is in an area of low hills, and it is probable that the *akropolis* was located here on one of the three summits of Castellace, Mura de Abbadessa or Mannella. Plan in Frederiksen 2011, 161, Fig. 64.

Cassius Dio relates how Scipio and his Roman forces seized control over most parts of the settlement, with the Carthaginians holding the *akropolis*. The Romans eventually take the latter.

⁶¹Higbie 2003, 1-15; 44-45. ⁶²Pind. *Ol.* 7.73.

⁶³τὸ δὲ Λούγδουνον ἐν μέσῳ τῆς χώρας ἐστίν, ὥσπερ ἀκρόπολις, διὰ τε τὰς συμβολὰς τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐγγυὲς εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσι.

A.1.68 MEGARA, MEGARID

Passage(s): Thgn. 1.773; Plut. *Vit. Ages.* 27.1.3; Paus. 1.40.6; 1.41.1; 1.42.1-4; 1.42.6.

Description of *akropolis*: Double variant of type D. Large *polis* settlement on the Megarian plain, about 2 km. N of the Saronic gulf (*LACP* nr. 225). Ancient Megara had two *akropoleis*, the Karia and the Alkathoa (see also p. 44) which contained at Pausanias' time several sanctuaries and shrines. Excavations have revealed some of these, including that of Athena on the Karia.⁶⁴

The Alkathoa and the Karia were located within the great wall circuit of Megara, and appear to have been separately fortified. The Alkathoa (in W) contained a temple to Athena, a sanctuary of Athena Nikē, a sanctuary of Ajacian Athena, a temple of Apollo, and a sanctuary of Demeter the Lawgiver. The Karia (in E) contained a temple of Nocturnal Dionysus, a sanctuary of Epistrophian Aphrodite, a shrine of the Oracle of the Night, a temple of Dusty Zeus, a *megaron* of Demeter and statues of Aesculapius and Health. Plan in Alexandri 1970, 24-25, Σχ. 1 and Legon 1981, 28, Map 2.⁶⁵

Megara's port settlement, Nisaia, was connected in the Classical period with Megara by long walls. Nisaia (in parallel to the Athenian port of Piraeus) had according to Pausanias its own *akropolis* bearing the same name as the settlement (see **A.1.78**).⁶⁶

A.1.69 MELOS, THE SPORADES

Passage(s): *IG XII³ 1105*.

Description of *akropolis*: Type D. Sea-side *polis* settlement (*LACP* nr. 505). The fragmentary inscription was reportedly found at the chapel of Profitis Ilías, which is the probable location of the Melian *akropolis*. The hill of Perianti has been identified as an *akropolis* by previous scholars,⁶⁷ but can in relation with the better candidate of Profitis Ilías probably be regarded as not being one. The hill of Profitis Ilías appears at some point to have been separately fortified,⁶⁸ and scattered remains on the location have been interpreted as the remains of a temple. Plan in Cherry and Sparkes 1982, Fig. 5.3.

A.1.70 MEMPHIS, EGYPT

Passage(s): Hecat. fr. 25 (Diod. Sic. 1.50.5).

Description of *akropolis*: Egyptian settlement on the Nile. Hecataeus writes that the inundations of the Nile created an earthen bank in the S parts of the city, which acted as an *akropolis* against enemies by land. Hecataeus' location of an *akropolis* at Memphis is clearly a case of *interprætatîo graecæ*.

⁶⁴Threpsiadis and Travlos 1934; Threpsiadis 1936.

⁶⁵The latter apparently based on a plan by Travlos in the *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια Δομή* (274/5 (1978), 202-208, s.v. 'Μέγαρα'), *non vidi*.

⁶⁶A parallel to the Athenian port of Piraeus and its *akra* Mounichia? ⁶⁷Cherry and Sparkes 1982, 53.

⁶⁸Frederiksen 2011, 165.

A.1.71 MENDE, CHALKIDIKE

Passage(s): Thuc. 4.130.6-4.131.3.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. Eretrian colony and subsequent *polis* settlement (*LACP* nr. 584). *Akropolis* on the low hill of Vighla above the beach.⁶⁹ A Geometric (?) fortification wall has been excavated here, indicating that the location was settled quite early.

Thucydides writes that the Peloponnesian garrison took flight into the *akropolis* during the Athenian siege in 423 BCE, and that after the Athenians had taken the city, they also left a garrison there.

A.1.72 MESSANA/ZANKLE, SICILY

Passage(s): Polyb. 1.11.6; Diod. Sic. 14.87.2; Dio Cass. 11.6.

Description of *akropolis*: Kymaian-Chalkidian colony and subsequent *polis* settlement at the Strait of Messina (*LACP* nr. 51). The existence of fortifications before the Hellenistic period can only be confirmed through the literary sources, no physical remains have been found. The location of the *akropolis* can perhaps be identified with the hill of Monte Piselli, overlooking most of the modern city of Messina. Fortifications have been uncovered at the sw slope of the hill, indicating that it was fortified in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods.⁷⁰ Plans in Bacci 1999, 52, Fig. 1; 54, Fig. 2.

Diodorus writes that the exiled Syracusan Heloris and Rhegian troops besieged Messana and its *akropolis* in 394 BCE (which was held by the tyrant Dionysius). Polybius in turn relates how the Mamertines in 264 BCE tricked the Carthaginian commander – named as Hanno by Cassius Dio and Livy⁷¹ – into leaving the *akropolis* of Messana. They later handed over the control of it and the city to the Roman military tribune Gaius Claudius.

A.1.73 MESSENE/ITHOME, MESSENA

Passage(s): Str. 8.4.8; Polyb. 7.12.1-6; Paus. 4.33.1; 8.50.5.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A. Large *polis* settlement below the mount Ithome (*LACP* nr. 318). Founded in 369 BCE as Ithome (renamed in 280 BCE as Messene) by Epameinondas and his Thebans as a *polis* for the recently liberated Helots and exile Messenians. The *akropolis* on the hill of Ithome has remains of fortification walls in polygonal masonry possibly dating from the Helot rebellion of 460s BCE, but most of the walls are of the period immediately after the founding of the *polis*. The important sanctuary to Zeus Ithomatas was located here, and the hill was probably an important symbolical location to the ancient Messenians.⁷² The *akropolis* on mount Ithome was probably at the monastery of Voulkáno, and appears to have been separately fortified. Plan in Müth 2014, 108, Fig. 3

Strabo describes Messene as – similarly to Corinth (**A.1.22**) – incorporating the summit of a high mountain within its walls, “so that it is used as an *akropolis*”.⁷³ He makes the remark that both the Corinthian and the Messenian *akropoleis* are uninhabited. Similarly to Strabo, Polybius calls the mounts

⁶⁹Lang 1996, 270. ⁷⁰Bacci 1999, 54. ⁷¹Livy 16.27. ⁷²Müth 2014, 106. ⁷³ὥστ' ἀκροπόλει χρῆσθαι [...].

Ithome and Akrokorinthos “the horns of the ox”, and that was only by garrisoning them both that Philip v could control the Peloponnese (the ox).

A.1.74 METHYMNA, LESBOS

Passage(s): Polyaeus *Strat.* 5.44.3.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A. Large *polis* settlement on the N coast of the island of Lesbos (*IACP* nr. 797). The *akropolis* has been identified as having been located on a hill now crowned by a Genoese citadel, which covers all ancient remains.⁷⁴ Remains of Archaic walls (stylistic dating) have been identified just below the *akropolis*. Plan in Frederiksen 2011, 168, Fig. 75.

Polyaeus writes that the Memnon of Rhodes succeeded in averting Chares of Mytilene from seizing the city Methymna and its *akropolis* by employing a ruse.

A.1.75 MYCENAE, ARGOLID

Passage(s): *Anth. Graec.* IX epigr. 103.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. Small *polis* settlement on LBA palace site (*IACP* nr. 353). An early 5th c. BCE inscription possibly refers to the *akropolis* of Mycenae as the *polis*. Mycenae was apparently a dependent *kōmē* of Argos (**A.1.10**) in the Hellenistic period, after the latter had demolished the settlement in 464 BCE.⁷⁵

The epigram by Antonios of Argos (*fl.* 1st c. CE) evokes the desolation of Mycenae after its reported destruction by Argos in the 5th c. BCE. He uses the archaising form *akroptolis*, probably to emphasise the location’s epic significance.⁷⁶

The *akropolis* – as imagined by Antonios – probably corresponds to the Mycenaean citadel, which bears many signs of later repairs and additions. In the Hellenistic period, the NW corner of the bastion of the *akropolis* gate (“The Lion Gate”) was repaired in polygonal masonry fill in a large gap created by the demolition in 464 BCE. A temple to Athena stood at the summit of the hill among many “mean” and small domestic buildings.⁷⁷

A.1.76 MYLAI, SICILY

Passage(s): Thuc. 3.90.3.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. Colony founded by Zankle/Messana (**A.1.72**) and (perhaps) subsequently *polis* settlement on a promontory on the NE coast of Sicily (*IACP* nr. 38). Mylai is interchangeably described as either a *polis* or a *phourion*, which has been interpreted as a variation in settlement status over time. Epigraphical and literary sources indicate, however, that the Mylaians were a

⁷⁴Buchholz 1975, 41-42. ⁷⁵Boëthius 1922, 422.

⁷⁶Ἡ πρὶν ἐγὼ Περσῆος ἀκρόπολις αἰθερίοιο (“I, once the stronghold of sky-mounting Perseus”).

⁷⁷Boëthius 1922, 416.

political entity, and that the settlement – even if dependent on or strongly associated with its metropolis – was indeed a *polis*.

The *akropolis* was almost certainly located on the present location of the Castello di Milazzo, which today is fully covered with Mediaeval and Early Modern fortifications. The hill is roughly triangular and overlooks the location of the lower settlement in Ε, and the harbour site further s. There are no traces of the ancient fortifications described in literary sources.

A.1.77 NIKAIÁ, BITHYNIA

Passage(s): App. *Mith.* 6.18.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type or type not applicable. *Polis* settlement at the Ε end of Lake İznik (*LACP* nr. 976). Originally founded as Helikore, but was refounded in 301 BCE by Lysimachus as Nikaia. The settlement became in the early 3rd c. BCE one of the two “capitals” of the Kingdom of Bithynia. Most (if not all) of the published archaeological remains are from Late Antiquity, including the very extensive and well-preserved fortification walls. Plan in A. M. Schneider and Karnapp 1938.

The settlement is built on flat ground, and there are no good alternatives for the location of the *akropolis*. Appian’s account of how Prusias II of Bithynia took refuge with his men in the *akropolis* of Nikaia (ca. 156-154 BCE) contains very little additional information.

A.1.78 NISAIA, MEGARID

Passage(s): Paus. 1.44.3.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. The port settlement of Megara (**A.1.68**), to which it was connected in the 5th and 3rd c. BCE with two ‘long walls’. The exact location of Nisaia and the *akropolis* bearing the same name is still debated.⁷⁸

Pausanias writes that the tomb of the Egyptian Lelex – who became king of Megara – is directly below the *akropolis* (see p. 44).

A.1.79 NOLA, CAMPANIA

Passage(s): Diod. Sic. 19.101.3.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. Samnite settlement close to Neapolis. Diodorus relates how the Roman dictator Quintus Fabius takes the *akropolis* of Nola, which can perhaps be identified with the isolated hill of Castelcicala just SE of the modern city. The ancient remains of Nola have not been well published, with the exception of the vast *nekropoleis*.

⁷⁸Legon 1981, 27 ff.

A.1.80 MOUNT OLYMPUS, THESSALY

Passage(s): *Anth. Graec.* IX epigr. 526; Aristid. *Or.* I, 19; Luc. *Icar.* I; Pl. *Prt.* 321^d.

Description of *akropolis*: Mountain in the border area between Thessaly and Macedonia, close to the Vale of Tempe. Because it was regarded as the home of the Olympian gods, ‘*akropolis*’ is employed figuratively to evoke the picture of a fortified hill.

A.1.81 OPOUS, LOCRIS

Passage(s): *IG IX¹* 290 (4th c. BCE?).

Description of *akropolis*: Type A? Large *polis* settlement at the sw edge of the plain of Atalándi (*LACP* nr. 386). The ancient settlement and the modern town of Atalándi share the same location, but rescue excavations have revealed remains of fortifications of the 4th-3rd c. BCE, indicating that the lower settlement was fortified.

Fossey identified the Opountian *akropolis* with the remains on the hill of Paleópirghos, the middle one of the three promontories on the n side of the high hill immediately s of the town. A Mediaeval tower stands (about 520 m. s of the town limit) on the poorly preserved remains of an ancient wall of indiscernible masonry style, which forms a corner at the site of the tower.

The possibly 4th c. inscription found at modern Atalándi contains an epigram (see p. 51) to Alkainetos, who reportedly died while defending his *akropolis*. Livy relates how the *akropolis* (*arx*) was held by Macedonian forces in 199-198 BCE, indicating that it was separately fortified.⁷⁹

A.1.82 PALLANTION, ARCADIA

Passage(s): Paus. 8.44.5.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A? *Polis* settlement at the w end of the Tegean plain (*LACP* nr. 289). The *akropolis* was located on a small hill, above (w) of the lower settlement, now almost cut by the new highway that runs at its nw foot. At the summit are the remains of several temple foundations, dated to the 6th c. BCE.

Pausanias claims that the hill was “of old used as a citadel”, and that it contained remains of a sanctuary. Pallantion was known in Antiquity as the home of the mythical king Evander who reportedly settled on the Palatine in Rome.

⁷⁹Livy, 32.32.4.

A.1.83 PANOPEUS/PHANOTEUS, PHOCIS

Passage(s): Polyb. 5.96.8.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A or C. Small *polis* settlement at the E border of Phokis (*LACP* nr. 190), neighbouring on Boeotian Chaironeia (**B.2.3**). The settlement area, which is centred on and below (N) an elongated (WSW-ENE) rocky hill, appears to be divided in three sectors, the *ville basse*, the *ville haute* and the *acropole*. The *akropolis* constitutes the E of the upper two sectors, and it is separately fortified with a Late Classical wall in trapezoidal masonry.⁸⁰ There are no visible gate in the *akropolis* enceinte.⁸¹ Panopeus was among the Phocian cities (as also the case of Parapotamioi, **A.1.85**) destroyed by Philip II at the end of the Second Sacred War in 346 BCE, and it is possible that all fortifications on the site postdate that occurrence.

Pausanias, who visited the settlement of Panopeus (and did not think high of it), does not mention the *akropolis*. Polybius' account of the occurrences of 217 BCE contains the complicated stratagem by Alexander of Phocis, Philip V's governor, who had (the *phourarchos*?) Jason capture some Aitolians within the *akropolis* of Panopeus.⁸² Plan in Typaldou-Fakiris 2004, 170, Fig. 140.

A.1.84 PANTIKAPAION, BOSPORAN KINGDOM

Passage(s): Str. 7.4.4.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A. Large Milesian colony and subsequent *polis* settlement on the European side of the Cimmerian Bosphorus (*LACP* nr. 705). The actual settlement area was at the location of modern Kerč, with the *akropolis* at the E end of the long ridge of Mount Mitridat' (running roughly E-W).

The early Classical *akropolis* was separately fortified and contained a temple to Apollo Ietros and a "multi-purpose complex" with remains of a *tholos* similar to the one at the Athenian Agora.⁸³ This "complex" was apparently constructed right upon the remains of dug-out houses of the earliest colonial phase of the 6th c. BCE. Plan in Tolstikov and Muratova 2013, 191, Рис. 13

After short period of neglect, the area was extensively rebuilt in the second half of the 5th c. BCE, with a *basileia* or palace constructed on the site of the former monumental complex. A *diateichisma* was added E of this, creating a separate area on the very hilltop. Within this latter area, a keep-like feature was constructed possibly acting as a combined lighthouse and fortified unit.⁸⁴ It is probable that this more or less the situation which Strabo refers to. Plan in Tolstikov 2003, 747, Fig. 2 The site of Phanagoria (**A.1.92**) can be seen from the top of the *akropolis* in clear weather.

⁸⁰The construction of the Panopean walls has been linked with that of the third phase of the Pnyx in Athens, see Rotroff and Camp 1996, 271-275.

⁸¹Typaldou-Fakiris 2004, 162-181. ⁸²Polybius use 'akra' and 'akropolis' interchangeably in this passage.

⁸³Tolstikov 2003, 717-720. ⁸⁴Tolstikov 2003, 735.

A.1.85 PARAPOTAMIOI, PHOKIS

Passage(s): Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 16.6.7.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A? Small *polis* settlement on the hill of Hedyleion at the Kephisos river (*LACP* nr. 188). The *polis* settlement, as other *poleis* in Phocis including Panopeus/Phanoteus (**A.1.83**), was destroyed in 346 BCE and was apparently never resettled. What was pointed out by Sulla in Plutarch's account as the *akropolis* of Parapotamioi was most probable the whole hilltop enceinte, which must have been in a ruinous state at the time.

The wall surrounding the hilltop is constructed in a poorly preserved Lesbian masonry. The trace comprise "two polygons", that is, a larger enceinte of ca 6 hectare and a smaller appendix-like one of ca 0.4 hectare. The wall contains five semi-circular and square towers and three gates. The lower settlement was apparently just s of the hilltop and was separately fortified.⁸⁵ Plan in Typaldou-Fakiris 2004, 155, Fig. 130. Whether the whole hilltop or just "the small polygon" should be regarded as the *akropolis* is hard to discern, but the large size of the hilltop as a whole suggests the latter.

A.1.86 PATRAI, ACHAIA

Passage(s): Paus. 7.18.19; 7.21.15.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. Unsynoecised *polis* at the w end of the Corinthian gulf (*LACP* nr. 239). The site of the *akropolis* is underneath the extensive Byzantine fortress and cannot be outlined.

Pausanias saw a sanctuary of Artemis Laphria on the *akropolis*, and describes some of the rites associated with her cult. There was also the tomb of Eurypylos, a shrine of the god Aisymnetes, and a temple of the Panachaian Athena.

A.1.87 PELLENE, ACHAIA

Passage(s): Polyaeus *Strat.* 8.59.1.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. *Polis* settlement on mountaintop (*LACP* nr. 240). Very little of the archaeology of Pellene is known, and the location of the *akropolis* can only be surmised to have been on one of the summits of the hill of Tserkóva.

Polyaeus' account of the priestess of Athena who dressed up like the goddess to scare off the Aitolians has its parallel in Plutarch,⁸⁶ where the girl is not a priestess but rather the daughter of an aristocrat who was captive in the temple of Artemis.

⁸⁵Typaldou-Fakiris 2004, 151-162. ⁸⁶Plut. *Arat.* 2.31.

A.I.88 “PELOPONNESOS”

Passage(s): Str. 8.I.3.

Description of *akropolis*: Strabo describes the Peloponnesian peninsula as the “*akropolis* of whole Greece”. Several editors (Groskurd, Kramer and Curtius) argue that the following passage has been lost: “...and Greece is the *akropolis* of the whole world”.⁸⁷ Cf. Cisalpine Gauls (A.1.21), Delphi (A.1.24), Sparta (A.1.116), Thebes (A.1.122), and Thermon (A.1.123).⁸⁸

A.I.89 PERGAMON, MYSIA

Passage(s): Aristid. *Sacr.* 3.44; *IvP II* 25I (2nd c. BCE); 26I; 394 (reign of Nero); 434 (after 142 CE); 455.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A. Large non-Greek settlement and subsequent *polis* (*LACP* nr. 828). The *akropolis* of Pergamon, occupying a large hilltop plateau, went through a series of extensive monumentalisation programmes in the Hellenistic period under the Attalid kings. Similarly to Pantikapaion (A.1.84), the separately fortified *akropolis* area with its temple to Athena (mentioned as “in the *akropolis*” in an inscription⁸⁹) contained the palace complex of its Hellenistic kings. The actual settlement of the Early Hellenistic period was located in the *Wohnstadt von Philetairos* on the s slope of the hill, only to be enlarged in the 2nd c.⁹⁰ Under Eumenes II (197-159 BCE), the city was fundamentally reshaped; the *akropolis* was further monumentalised and fortified at this time.⁹¹

A heavily restored inscription of the time of the Mithridatic wars (*IvP II* 455) also mentions the *akropolis*. Two honorary inscriptions of the Roman period (*IvP II* 394; 434) were dedicated by “the inhabitants [*katoikountes*] of the *akropolis*”, indicating that – at least at this time – the *Wohnstadt von Philetairos* was also considered to be a part of the *akropolis*. Another inscription (*IvP II* 261), of unknown date, also mentions inhabitants on the *akropolis*.

Plans in Radt 2001, Fig. 2-3; 2-6.

A.I.90 PERGE, PAMPHYLIA

Passage(s): *IK Perge* 104 (ca. 124-125 CE); 234 (2-3rd c. CE) and 235 (2-3rd c. CE).

Description of *akropolis*: Type A. *Polis* settlement on hill close to the river Kestros (*LACP* nr. 1003). Originally a LBA settlement focused on the later *akropolis*, it became Hellenised in the 5th,⁹² as indicated by the establishing of a street grid on the E part of the hill. In the Hellenistic period, the city had according to the excavator grown to the extent that it was enlarged with a fortified extension in the plain s of the hill.

The *akropolis* is a large, plateau-like hill of roughly triangular shape with a good view of the Pamphylian plain. Plan in Abbasoğlu 2001, 174, Fig. 7-2. The existence of a temple to Zeus Machaonios

⁸⁷This can be criticised, see M. Scott 2012, 156-157. ⁸⁸See p. 53. ⁸⁹*IvP II*, 25I (2nd c. BCE).

⁹⁰Radt 2001, 45-49. ⁹¹Radt 2001, 48. ⁹²Abbasoğlu 2001, 177.

can be asserted from one of the base inscriptions for the mythical *ktistes* found in the *agora*.⁹³ Two inscriptions found *ex situ* were dedicated by two *paraphylakes* who had served on the *akropolis*.⁹⁴

A.1.91 PHALANNA, THESSALY

Passage(s): Str. 9.5.19.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type, possibly F? Small *polis* settlement, possibly at modern Dhamási (*LACP* nr. 468).⁹⁵ The supposed *akropolis* hill is covered by the extensive remains of a Mediaeval fortress, but polygonal masonry has been reported on the location.⁹⁶ Phalanna had a sanctuary to Athena Polias, in which public decrees were erected, but whether this sanctuary was located on the *akropolis* or not is not known.

Strabo writes that the Homeric Orthe (*Il.* 2.738) is by some thought to be the Phalannan *akropolis*; the Mediaeval Homeric scholar Eustathius comments that the *akropolis* of Phalanna was called Korsea.⁹⁷

A.1.92 PHANAGORIA, BOSPORAN KINGDOM

Passage(s): App. *Mith.* 16.108.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type, possibly A? Teian colony and subsequent *polis* settlement on the Gulf of Taman' (*LACP* nr. 706). Located on two sea-side plateaus, one upper and one lower, the latter of which is largely submerged. Fragmentary stretches of fortification walls of the 5th c. BCE have been found, but not enough to reconstruct the outline of the fortifications.

In 64 BCE, the *akropolis* of Phanagoria was held by Artapharnes and “other children of Mithridates”, which possibly implies some kind of palatial structure similar to that of Pantikapaion (A.1.84). The ongoing Russian excavations on the site of Phanagoria have reportedly yielded evidence supporting this account, as what seems to be a palatial structure destroyed by fire dated by coins to ca 60 BCE has been unearthed on the location of the *akropolis*.⁹⁸

⁹³*IK Perge* 104: [κτί]στης [Μαχ]άων Ἀσκλη[πιού] Θεσσαλό[ς] [ἄ]φ' οὗ ἱερὸν Διὸς Μαχαονίου ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει (“The founder Machaon, son of Asclepius, the Thessalian, of him is the sanctuary of Zeus Machaonios in the *akropolis*”).

⁹⁴*IK Perge* 234: ἔτους τὸ β' Εὐμηλιανοῦ· Δημήτριος δις Κεραμῆς παραφυλάξας τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τρίμηνον πρώτην ἀμέμπτως Ἄρει ἐπηκόῳ (“In the second year of Eumelianos, Demetrios son of Demetrios Keramas, after having impeccably guarded the *akropolis* for the first three months, (dedicated the stele) to Ares who listens to prayers”).

⁹⁵Lucas 1995, 122, *contra* PECS s.v. Phalanna.

⁹⁶Another possible location could be the low hill N of the neighbouring village of Damasoúli, just across the river Titaresios.

⁹⁷Eust. *Il.* 1.520.28.

⁹⁸The results have yet not been published, but the findings were widely reported in media citing the head of the excavation, V. Kuznetsov. Russia IC 2009 (online resource).

A.1.93 PHARSALOS, THESSALY

Passage(s): Xen. *HG* 6.1.2.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A. Large *polis* settlement at the E end of the W Thessalian plain (*LACP* nr. 413). The ancient (and modern) settlement spread out at the N foot of the lofty *akropolis*. For more detailed information, see **B.1.14**.

In 395 BCE, Pharsalos was garrisoned by Spartan forces, but whether these took residence in the *akropolis* or not is not known.⁹⁹ Xenophon's account of how the Pharsalians chose Polydamas to handle their economy in 374 BCE contains the information that "they (the Pharsalians) put their *akropolis* in his hands and entrusted to him the duty of receiving the revenues" and that he "in fact, used [the] funds to guard the *akropolis* and keep it safe for them".

A.1.94 PHENEOS, ARCADIA

Passage(s): Paus. 8.14.4; 8.14.9.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A? Probably large *polis* settlement in secluded valley in the Arcadian mountains (*LACP* nr. 291). *Akropolis* located on small, crescent-shaped hill at the NW end of the plain, and should probably be more specifically identified with the small (0.5 hectare) knoll-shaped top of the hill. The lower settlement was located immediately below and SE of the hill, where an Asklepieion has been excavated.

A Greek-Austrian research team is presently conducting fieldwork at the site of Pheneos. The cleaning of a 3.2 m. wide fortification wall in coursed polygonal and isodomic masonry was reported to the media, dated through finds of coins to post 345 BCE.¹⁰⁰ The wall followed the whole N side of the *akropolis* from the plain in E making a curve towards W, containing five round towers and two square.¹⁰¹ The announcement from the Ministry of Culture and Sports also related the discovery of a sanctuary to a female deity on the E plateau of the *akropolis*, possibly that of Athena Tritonia mentioned by Pausanias. The sanctuary appears to have been built in the Archaic period, with a Classical phase also identified.¹⁰² Partial plan in Maher 2012, 204, Fig. 5.8.

Pausanias describes the *akropolis* of Pheneos as naturally fortified on all sides, a situation which corresponds poorly to the present situation.¹⁰³

A.1.95 PHERAI, THESSALY

Passage(s): Dem. 7 32.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A? Large *polis* settlement at the S end of the E Thessalian plain (*LACP* nr. 414). The site contains two possible *akropolis* locations, the hill of Áyios Athanásios and the Maghoúla

⁹⁹Diod. Sic., 14.82.6. ¹⁰⁰Contra Maher 2012, 212. ¹⁰¹Maher 2012, 204. Maher explains the mix of types of towers as being the results of several building programmes.

¹⁰²YPPOA 2015 (online resource). ¹⁰³Maher 2012, 195.

Bakáli,¹⁰⁴ with the *akropolis* mentioned by Demosthenes most probably being the former. The trace of the 4th c. BCE fortifications shows that the *akropolis* was located in the w corner of the settlement. The masonry style is predominantly isodomic, with six preserved towers and one gate.¹⁰⁵ It cannot be ascertained whether a *diateichisma* separated the *akropolis* from the rest of the settlement. Plan in Kakavougiannis 1977, 177.

Demosthenes, while rallying against Philip II, says that the king had (in 352 BCE) deprived the Phereians of their *polis* and installed a Macedonian garrison on the *akropolis*.

A.1.96 PHLEIIOUS/PHLEIWOUS, CORINTHIA

Passage(s): Xen. *HG* 5.3.16; 7.2.7-9; Paus. 2.12.4; 2.13.3-5.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A. *Polis* settlement on and around the hill of Rachiotissa at the E end of small fertile valley (*LACP* nr. 355). The literary sources concerning the *akropolis* of Phleious are among the richest when it comes to detail.

Xenophon, who also has *akra* for *akropolis*,¹⁰⁶ accounts for the siege of Phleious in 381 BCE by the Spartans under Agesilaos and uses the expression “giving over their *akropolis*”,¹⁰⁷ possibly as an expression of surrender. In another section,¹⁰⁸ narrating the assault on the same settlement in 369 BCE this time by the Arcadians and Eleans, the enemy manages to capture the *akropolis* early in the battle, and attacks the settlement (*polis*) through a gate in the dividing wall. The citizens (*politai*), however, meets the attack and pushes the enemy back into the *akropolis* where the latter takes up position on the walls, shooting arrows at the people in the walled space. The citizens manages to enter the top of the walls by the stairs where they engage in battle with the enemy. The Arcadians and Argives are at the same time trying to destroy the outer wall of the *akropolis*. In this desperate situation, the citizens take some of the hay harvested on the *akropolis*,¹⁰⁹ and sets it on fire to smoke out the enemy still holding the towers.

Pausanias relates that the mythical oecist of Phleious, Aras, founded the first settlement of Arantia at the Arantine hill, not far from the *akropolis* of this time.¹¹⁰ The location of the Arantine hill has been suggested to be mount Polifengo, ca. 5 km. s of the site of Phleious and just s of modern Neméa.¹¹¹ Pausanias further describes the *akropolis* of Phleious as containing a grove of cypresses, and a sanctuary to Hebe/Ganymeda. This sanctuary appears to have been an important one, and the shackles of released prisoners were dedicated on the trees in the grove. There also appears to have been a temple to Hera here, a cult statue of Artemis, as well as an enclosure (*peribolos*) to Demeter containing a temple to Demeter and Kore.

The archaeological situation when it comes to the *akropolis* of Phleious, however, is not as rich. A fragmentary 4th c. BCE fortification wall encloses the E part of the ridge, making that this has been interpreted as the *akropolis* proper of the settlement.¹¹² The settlement itself (*polis*) was located s of the *akropolis* ridge. Plan in Alcock 1991, 427, Fig. 3.

¹⁰⁴A very similar situation can be observed at nearby Proerna (**B.1.19**). ¹⁰⁵Kakavougiannis 1977, 182-183.

¹⁰⁶Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.15. ¹⁰⁷Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.16: τούτο δὲ ἦν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν παραδοῦναι. ¹⁰⁸Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.7.

¹⁰⁹The location appears to have been used for growing grain: Xen. *Hell.* 7.28.8. ¹¹⁰Paus., 2.12.4.

¹¹¹Frazer 1898a, 76. ¹¹²Alcock 1991, 435-436.

A.I.97 PSOPHIS, ARCADIA

Passage(s): Polyb. 4.71.11; 4.72.2.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A. *Polis* settlement at the conflux of rivers Erymanthos and Aroanios (LACP nr. 294). The site is centred on the peak and slopes of a hill immediately NE of the village of Tripótama. A saddle separates the *akropolis* from the larger mountain body in N. The ancient remains of the *akropolis* are fully covered by a Frankish citadel, making it impossible to trace its original outline.¹¹³

Polybius describes the *akropolis* of Psophis as a nearly ideal and naturally fortified location. The Eleian garrison under Euripidas took its refuge in the *akropolis* as the settlement was besieged by Philip V and his Macedonians during the Social War (219 BCE). After taking possession of the *polis*, Philip left a garrison there, possibly in the *akropolis*. Plan in Petropoulos 2005, Σχ. 1.

A.I.98 PTOLEMAÏS, PHOENAIKA

Passage(s): Harp. s.v. Ἄκη.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. Originally a Phoenician settlement named Ake, which was named Ptolemaïs after Ptolemy I Soter in the Hellenistic period. The old Tell Akko, Harpocraton writes, became the *akropolis* of Ptolemaïs.

A.I.99 PYLOS, MESSE니아

Passage(s): Thuc. 4.26.2.

Description of *akropolis*: Type not applicable. What Thucydides calls the “*akropolis* of Pylos” is probably at the location of the Paleóastro Navarínou/Anavarin-i Atik on the peninsula facing Sphakteria.¹¹⁴ This was not the location of a *polis* settlement, but was instead the Athenian stronghold of Koryphasion.

A.I.100 RHAITINON, DALMATIA

Passage(s): Dio Cass. 56.11.7.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. Perhaps to be located at Bihać in Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹¹⁵ Cassius Dio describes the attack on the Dalmatian settlement of Rhaitinon/Raetinum (ca. 6-9 CE) during the *Bellum Batonianum* as a catastrophic event for the Romans. The settlement, which is unlocated, was probably not of a Greek type and the use of *akropolis* can possibly be seen as an *interpretaatio graeca*.

¹¹³Ernst Meyer 1959; Pritchett 1989, 22-28; Petropoulos 2005. The best summary of the site and the *polis* is in Maher 2012, 262-291.

¹¹⁴Wolpert 2005. ¹¹⁵Swan 2004, 240.

A.1.101 RHEGION, CALABRIA

Passage(s): Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 20.7.1.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. Large Chalkidian colony and subsequent *polis* settlement at modern Reggio Calabria (*LACP* nr. 68). As the modern city covers most of the ancient remains, it is difficult to establish the general outline of the ancient settlement. The Archaic-Classical walls found on the hillock of Trabocchetto, a little bit above the sea-side city centre has have been interpreted as those of the *akropolis*.

Anaxilaos of Rhegion, a tyrant active in the beginning of the 5th BCE, held the *akropolis* of Rhegion until his death in 476 BCE, according to Dionysius.

A.1.102 RHODES

Passage(s): Dem. 15 15-16.

Description of *akropolis*: Type not applicable. The passage by Demosthenes does not refer to any particular Rhodian *akropolis*, as he uses the expression “(they are slaves of the barbarians) whom they have let into their *akropoleis*”.¹¹⁶ This is similar to the expressions used in the example of Thessaly (A.1.124), also by Demosthenes and Isocrates. For a plan of the early fortifications at Rhodes city, see Filimonos-Tsopotou 2004, Σχέδ. 9.

A.1.103 ROME, LATIUM

Passage(s): Plut. *Vit. Cam.* 24.4; Plut. *De fort. Rom.* 12.1; Diod. Sic. 14.115.4-5; App. *Gall.* 3.2.15; App. *B. Civ.* 3.2.15; Dio Chrys. 13.33.

Description of *akropolis*: Type not applicable. Latin and later Roman settlement on the Tiber. The Roman *akropolis* is clearly to be equated with the Arx,¹¹⁷ the N spur of the Capitoline Hill, divided from the latter by a depression known as the Asylum. It contained the temple of Juno Moneta, and was thought to have been the residence of the Sabine king Titus Tatius.¹¹⁸ The location is at present covered by the Church of Santa Maria Aracoeli and the Vittorio Emanuele monument, but excavations have shown that it appears to have been fortified as part of the Servian wall programme (early 4th c. BCE) or earlier.¹¹⁹ Plan in Cifani 2016, 85, Fig. 1.

The Latin literary sources concerning the Arx of Rome are plentiful, but the Greek sources employing the word *akropolis* are almost exclusively recounting the events of the Sack of Rome in 387 BCE. In these accounts, ‘*akropolis*’ is clearly used to denote the Arx in relation to the Capitoline hill as a whole.

The exceptions to this are the reported lecture by Octavian to Mark Anthony on the murders of his adopted father Caesar. Here he refers to the murderers as “[taking] refuge in the Capitol; either as guilty suppliants in a sanctuary, or as enemies in an *akropolis*”.¹²⁰ Dio Chrysostomon, even if not

¹¹⁶[...] οὗς εἰς τὰς ἀκροπόλεις παρῆνται [...] ¹¹⁷See p. 40. ¹¹⁸Deines 1999. ¹¹⁹Ball Platner 1929, 54-55.

¹²⁰App. *B. Civ.*, 3.2.15; διὸ καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον συνέφυγον ὡς ἐς ἱερὸν ἀμαρτόντες ἰκέται ἢ ὡς ἐς ἀκρόπολιν ἐχθροί.

referring to the Capitoline hill explicitly, urges in his oration the Romans to pick a proper leader and “install him on their *akropolis*”.¹²¹

A.1.104 SAGOUNTOS, IBERIA

Passage(s): Dio Cass. 13.21.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. Iberian (Saguntine) settlement. The ‘*akropolis*’ of Dio Cassius corresponds to the Castell de Sagunt, which is covered in Moorish and later fortifications. Archaeological excavations on the location have revealed extensive Roman remains of mainly the Late Republican and Early Imperial period, including a forum and a *capitolium*. Dio Cassius relates how the Saguntians took refuge on the *akropolis* of Sagountos during the Carthaginian siege in 219 BCE. Plan in Aranegui Gascó 1991, 73, Fig. 8.

A.1.105 SAME, CEPHALLENIA

Passage(s): Polyb. 21.32^b.1.

Description of *akropolis*: Type c. *Polis* settlement at s end of gulf on middle Cephalenia (*IACP* nr. 136). Roughly egg-shaped *akropolis* located on hilltop E and above the ancient settlement on the slopes. Separately fortified with a 800 m. wall in polygonal and trapezoid masonry of the 4th c. BCE, with descending walls leading downhill, connecting with the smaller fortified promontory of Kyneatis/Kyatis 500 m. to the sw. Two small gates or postern in wall, one in E (ca. 1.2 m. wide), leading in from the outside, and one in W (ca. 2 m. wide), leading to the slope towards the city.¹²² The *akropolis* of Same appears to have been the only fortified location at the ancient settlement in its earliest phases, it has tentatively been dated to the early Classical period.¹²³ An extramural sanctuary is located ca. 350 NE of the *akropolis*. Plans in Randsborg 2002a, 269-270; 274; 277-278; 282.

The fragment of Polybius contains the information that the *akropolis* of Same was delivered to the Romans by the consul Marcus Fulvius in 189 BCE. The situation is outlined in more detail in Livy, where we learn that the Sameans (after having joined the Romans) suddenly revolted, and was subsequently besieged. The *arx* of Kyneatis/Kyatis, the lesser of two, was taken by the Romans by night and the population fled into the larger *arx*. By morning, however, the city was taken and the civilians captured.¹²⁴

A.1.106 SAMIKON, TRIPHYLIA

Passage(s): Str. 8.3.19.

Description of *akropolis*: Type D? Triphylian *polis* settlement above sea-side plain in NW (*IACP* nr. 542). Settlement is within roughly triangular fortified enceinte on hilltop and slope,¹²⁵ with no separately

¹²¹καταστήσαντας δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ¹²²Randsborg 2002b, 265-275. ¹²³Randsborg 2002b, 269.

¹²⁴Livy, 38.27-29. ¹²⁵The location bears many similarities to the upper plateau of Atrax, see **B.1.1**.

fortified space that can be interpreted as an *akropolis*. However, a rocky knoll at the middle part of the s fortification wall has been interpreted as the *akropolis* of the settlement.¹²⁶ Plan in Richter 2016, 332, Fig. 2.

Strabo suggests that Samikon was the “*akropolis* of Arene”, a Homeric locality, which might be a reference to its hilltop location rather than that the name referred to the *akropolis* itself.

A.1.107 SAMOS, IONIA

Passage(s): Hdt. 3.143-144; 146; Polyaeus *Strat.* 1.23.2; Ath. 13.78.

Description of *akropolis*: Type C. Large *polis* settlement on the SE coast of the island (*LACP* nr. 864). The walled enceinte appears to be the result of three building phases, the first (Archaic) centred on the hill of Kastélli which is to be identified with the *akropolis* of Astypalaia. The second phase, the most substantial, has been linked with the return of the Samian exiles in 322 BCE, and a subsequent restoration of the fortifications. The third phase has been dated to around 200 BCE, and consists most of repairs.¹²⁷

The *akropolis* on the Kastélli hill appears from the publication not to have separated from the lower settlement by a *diateichisma*; however, the proximity to the modern settlement of Pythagorío and the fragmentary state of the remains means that this cannot be positively ascertained. W of the Kastélli hill, the fortifications run uphill and encompass the summit of the hill Ámbelos. Here is another ‘*Zitadelle*’, separately fortified, the *diateichisma* of which appears to have been hastily built around 200 BCE.¹²⁸ This has been interpreted as the location of the Macedonian garrison stationed by Philip V, and it contains remains of cisterns and buildings interpreted as barracks.¹²⁹ Plan in Kienast 1978, Gesamtplan.

Polyaeus outlines how Polycrates established his tyranny over Samos in 538 BCE, and how he seized the *akropolis* known as Astypalaia. Herodotus relates how Polycrates’ former secretary and successor Maiandrios,¹³⁰ having realised that he must continue as tyrant of Samos, summoned the citizens to the *akropolis* “as if he would give an account of the money”.¹³¹ This indicates that location was perhaps used as a treasury. Maiandrios manages later to leave the *akropolis* through a secret tunnel, at the time when his brother Charilaos was attacking a Persian embassy with soldiers from the *akropolis*. Athenaeus, gives less information on the Samian *akropolis*, but claims that Polycrates had the *palaistra* of Samos demolished as he thought it to be a counter-fortification (*antiteichisma*) to his own *akropolis*.

A.1.108 SAMOSATA, KOMMAGENE

Passage(s): Luc. *Hist. Conscr.* 24.14.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A. Large Roman settlement in the Euphrates valley centred around a tell. All fortifications appear to have been Roman or Byzantine in date.¹³² Today, the site is completely covered by the waters of the Atatürk dam. Plan in Tirpan 1989, 527, Fig. 34.1.

Lucian, a native of Samosata (*fl.* ca. 2nd c. CE), complains about the inaccuracies of an unnamed writer who placed the city of Samosata in Mesopotamia: “my own home city, Samosata, this fine writer

¹²⁶Rheidt 2015, 309. ¹²⁷Kienast 1978, 94-103. ¹²⁸Kienast 1978, 34. ¹²⁹Kienast 1978, 99. ¹³⁰Roisman 1985.

¹³¹ὡς δὴ λόγον τῶν χρημάτων δώσω. ¹³²Tirpan 1989, 519.

in the same book lifted, *akropolis*, walls and everything, and moved to Mesopotamia”.¹³³ It is probable that by ‘*akropolis*’, Lucian meant the tell of the settlement.

A.1.109 “SARDINIA”

Passage(s): Polyb. 1.79.2.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown location. Could be a case of *interpretaatio graeca*, as Polybius describes a non-Greek location. The Punic *boetharch* Bostar and his men get shut up in an *akropolis* as the mercenaries on Sardinia revolt against Carthage (summer of 240 BCE).

Polybius does not specify which *akropolis* on the island he is referring to. Hoyos suggests that the *akropolis* should be identified with the fortress-site of Monte Sirai, a Punic site in s Sardinia.¹³⁴ Plan of Monte Sirai in Moscati 1995, 265, Fig. 19.

A.1.110 SARDIS, LYDIA

Passage(s): Hdt. 1.15; 1.84; 1.154; 5.100; Hermesian. Col. fr. 1; Ctes. fr. 9b; Xen. *An.* 1.6.6; Xen. *Cyr.* 7.2.3; Luc. *Cont.* 9; Luc. *Merc. Cond.* 13; Nicol fr. 65.25; Polyb. 7.15; 8.21.6-9; 21.16.1; Str. 13.4.6; Parth. 22.1; Polyaeus *Strat.* 7.6.3; Plut. *De Herod.* Steph. p. 861^b; Arr. *Anab.* 1.17.3; Diod. Sic. 17.21.7; *SEG* 33:802 (ca. 16-20 CE); Dio Chrys. 73.2.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. Large Lydian settlement at the foot of mount Tmolos in the Hermos valley. The *akropolis* is located on an extremely strong position overlooking the lower settlement in NW. The *akropolis* was apparently settled in the mid-7th c. BCE, and was reportedly known as Hyde.¹³⁵ The excavators interpret the Archaic *akropolis* as of the refuge-site type,¹³⁶ and discards Xenophon’s account of an outer city wall in 547 BCE.¹³⁷ The *akropolis* was still fortified as Alexander took the city in 334 BCE. The fragmentary archaeological remains on the site indicate that the *akropolis* was the location of a palace, and short stretches of Classical (pre-Alexandrian) fortifications has also been noted at the top of the s slope.¹³⁸ Plan in Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, Fig. 4.

A.1.111 SEPPHORIS, JUDEA

Passage(s): Joseph. *Vit.* 376.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. Large Judaeo-Graeco-Roman settlement in Galilee. The ‘*akropolis*’ is a small, low hill at the centre of the settlement with remains of continuous habitation from the 6th c. BCE to the 20th CE. Plan in Martin Nagy *et al.* 1996, 12-13.

One of number of locations in the area of Roman Palestine referred to by Josephus as *akropolis*. See Alexandreion (**A.1.3**), but also Herodeion (**A.1.47**), Jerusalem (**A.1.52**), and Joppa (**A.1.53**). Josephus

¹³³ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν πατρίδα τὰ Σαμόσατα ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ βιβλίῳ ἀράμενος ὁ γενναῖος αὐτῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ τεύχεσι μετέθηκεν ἐς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν

¹³⁴Hoyos 2007, 155-156. ¹³⁵Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, 28. ¹³⁶Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, 35, *cf.* Winter 1971a, 54. See p. 23. ¹³⁷Xen. *Cyrop.* 7.2.2-4. ¹³⁸Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, 34.

claims that the townspeople of Sepphoris, when attacked by him and his soldiers, took refuge in the *akropolis*. As no separate fortification on the ‘*akropolis*’ of Sepphoris (or anywhere else at the site) has been found,¹³⁹ it is probable that Josephus used the expression to familiarise the Greek readers with the local topography.

A.1.112 SIKYON, CORINTHIA

Passage(s): Xen. *HG* 7.3.1; Diod. Sic. 20.102.2-4; Paus. 2.5.6; 2.7.1; 2.7.5; 2.7.8; Polyb. 30.10.3; *IG* II² 448 (318 BCE).

Description of *akropolis*: Type A? Large *polis* settlement at the s shore of the Corinthian gulf, later on plateau further to the w (*IACP* nr. 228). The *akropolis* of Sikyon was probably originally on a small spur at the SE corner of the platau that extends w of the plain. This *akropolis* was garrisoned by the Macedonians at the death of Alexander, but it was expelled by Euphron according to a 318 BCE inscription. The actual settlement was on the plain below, with walls extending to the sea.

After the city had been conquered by Demetrios Poliorketes in 303 BCE, it was briefly renamed Demetrias and the whole urban area moved up to the aforementioned plateau. The westernmost and highest part of the plateau consequently became the new *akropolis* of the settlement, a very large area of over 50 hectares. Pausanias’ description of the *akropolis* includes two sanctuaries, one of Tyche Akraia and one of the Dioskouroi.

Early travellers reported remains of fortifications around the steep side of the Hellenistic *akropolis*, but the archaeological survey of the site has only yielded fragmentary remains of walls.¹⁴⁰ The *akropolis* was surrounded in w and n by an ashlar wall,¹⁴¹ with remains of a gate at the westernmost point and one in the middle part of the n fortification wall.¹⁴² Three of the main streets of the settlement (nr. 3, 4, and 6) traversed the *akropolis*. A fragmentary Doric temple has been noted above the theatre in the E slope of the *akropolis*. Plan in Lolos 2011, Map 6.

A.1.113 SIRAKES, EUXINE

Passage(s): Diod. Sic. 20.23.3.

Description of *akropolis*: Unlocated. The main settlement of the Sirakes, and appears to have been located on the river Thatis in the region of modern Krasnodar. Diodorus’ description of the site indicates that it was built on a strong position, but the terminology employed (‘*basileia*’ and ‘*akropolis*’) implies that he had very little information on the actual site.

¹³⁹Weiss and Netzer 1996, 31. ¹⁴⁰Of an original course of 9 km., only 200 m. remains. Lolos 2011, 207.

¹⁴¹Lolos 2011, 194-197. ¹⁴²Lolos 2011, 208.

A.I.II4 SKEPSIS, TROAD

Passage(s): Xen. *HG* 3.1.21.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. Large *polis* settlement on the hill of Kurşunlu Tepe (*LACP* nr. 792). The hill, which probably contained the *akropolis*, had many well-preserved remains of Antiquity until the late 18th c. CE, when they were all removed to become building material at modern Bayramiç. Among the destroyed remains were a Doric temple, a bath, and apparently parts of a circuit wall, 2.80 m. thick.¹⁴³

Xenophon mentions a Persian garrison in 399 BCE, and that Derkylidas sacrificed to Athena on the *akropolis*. The settlement was thought in Antiquity to have moved from an earlier location known as Palaiskepsis,¹⁴⁴ identified with the fortification on Küçük İkizce, 10 km. NE of the first site. Plan in Cook 1973, 301.

A.I.II5 SOUNION, ATTICA

Passage(s): Posidon. fr. 35 (Ath. 6.104).

Description of *akropolis*: Attic sanctuary to Poseidon on promontory in the Saronic gulf. The sanctuary site is only referred to as having an *akropolis* on a fragment of Posidonius. Here it is claimed that when the slaves of the Laurion silver mines revolted (ca. 100 BCE), they seized the *akropolis* of Sounion and ravaged Attica. It is questionable whether the hilltop of the sanctuary was ever regarded as an *akropolis*.

A.I.II6 SPARTA, LACONIA

Passage(s): Phlegon fr. 1; *FD* III¹ 51,50; Diod. Sic. 14.82.4; Paus. 3.17.1-2. *IG* V¹ 665; 729 (2nd century CE).

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. Very large *polis* settlement on the Eurotas valley (*LACP* nr. 345). The *akropolis*, a low hill in the N part of the settlement, was unwalled (just as the settlement as a whole) until the early 3th c. BCE. The *akropolis* contained a temple of Athena Chalkioikos, and a theatre was constructed in the S slope of the hill. The *akropolis* was possibly used as a location of display for public inscriptions, as is indicated by a manumission record.¹⁴⁵ Plan of Pausanias' Sparta in Cartledge 1998, 41.

Sparta is sometimes referred to as the *akropolis* of the Peloponnese, as in a Delphic oracle reported by Phlegon of Tralles,¹⁴⁶ or as the *akropolis* of the whole of Greece, as on the Spartan monument in

¹⁴³Cook 1973, 325. ¹⁴⁴Str., 13.52. ¹⁴⁵*IG* V¹ 729.

¹⁴⁶Fontenrose 1978, Q3: ὃ γῆς ἀκρόπολιν πάσης Πελοπηίδα κλεινὴν ναίωντες πρέσβεις τε βροτῶν πάντων καὶ ἄριστοι, φράζεσθ' ἐξέμεθεν χρησμὸν θεοῦ, ὅτι κεν εἶπω (“Ye who dwell on the Pelopian *akropolis*, famous throughout the entire earth, and best ambassadors of all mortal kind, take heed of this godly prophecy from me, which I deliver.”)

Delphi.¹⁴⁷ Cf. Cisalpine Gaul (A.1.21), Delphi (A.1.24), Peloponnesos (A.1.88), Thebes (A.1.122), and Thermon (A.1.123).¹⁴⁸

A.1.II7 SPLAUNON, DALMATIA

Passage(s): Dio Cass. 56.II.2.

Description of *akropolis*: Dalmatian settlement identified with a site at modern Pljevlja in Montenegro.¹⁴⁹ Splaunon (or Splonum) appears to have been an important Dalmatian hilltop settlement in 6 CE, when the Romans seized the location, defended by strong walls as well as by its natural topography.

A.1.II8 SUSIA, SUSIA

Passage(s): Hdt. 3.68; 3.79; Str. 15.3.2.

Description of *akropolis*: One of the capitals of the Persian empires. Herodotus' use of the word '*akropolis*' probably does not reflect the topographical situation on the location, and possibly refers to the palace in the city. Strabo relates that the *akropolis* of Susa was known as the Memnonion in memory of Memnon, the son of the Trojan Tithonus who in turn was the founder of Susa.¹⁵⁰ The French excavators at ancient Susa used '*acropole*' to refer to the low hills of the 'Palace of Darius'.¹⁵¹

A.1.II9 SYRACUSE, SICILY

Passage(s): Polyaeus *Strat.* 5.2.4; Plut. *Vit. Tim.* 9.3.2; 13.3-5; 17.4; 18.6; Plut. *Vit. Dion* 14.6; 28.2; 29.6; 30.12; 39.1; 41.2-6; 44.1; 48.2; 51.1; Diod. Sic. 14.7.3; 14.10.4; 14.65.3; 16.6.2; 16.11.5; 16.13.1; 16.19.2; 16.20.3-4; Pl. *Ep.* 348^b.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A?. Very large colony and subsequent *polis* settlement on the E coast of Sicily (*LACP* nr. 47). The island of Ortygia, which constituted the original settlement location, is repeatedly referred to as the *akropolis* of Syracuse.¹⁵² This is most often done in relation to the series of tyrants who ruled the *polis* in the Classical period, with strong indications for a separately fortified fortress on the island. The island lies just S of the coastal plain of Arachnadina, and was probably artificially joined with the mainland by a causeway in the 7-6th c. BCE. The Ortygia contained several large temples, including a 6th c. to Apollo in the N and the 5th c. Doric temple (supposedly to Athena) incorporated in a Christian cathedral. Fragmentary stretches of ancient walls indicate that the island was fully fortified.

¹⁴⁷FD III¹ 51,50. See also p. 52. ¹⁴⁸See p. 53. ¹⁴⁹Dzino 2010, 152, note 80 *contra* Swan 2004, 240.

¹⁵⁰This Greek (probably not Persian) myth can also be found in Diod. Sic., 2.22: οἰκοδομησαὶ δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας τὰ ἐν Σούσοις βασιλεία τὰ διαμείναντα μέχρι τῆς Περσῶν ἡγεμονίας, κληθέντα δ' ἀπ' ἐκείνου Μειμόνια ("He also constructed the *basileia* in the *akra* of Susa, which stood until the time of the Persian Empire and was called Memnoneia after him").

¹⁵¹Steve and Gasche 1971.

¹⁵²The closest parallel to this is the *akropolis* of Taras (A.1.120), which was also located on a small peninsula.

A.1.120 TARAS, CALABRIA

Passage(s): Str. 6.3.1; Polyb. 8.32.2-3; Plut. *Regum.* Stephanus p. 195^f; App. *Hann.* 33; Dio Cass. 9 (fr.).

Description of *akropolis*: Type A. Large Spartan colony and subsequent *polis* settlement on a lagoon in the Tarentine gulf (*LACP* nr. 71). The original settlement location of the colony was at the isthmus of a narrow peninsula separating the inner lagoon of Mare Piccolo from the outer of Marie Grande. The artificial canal cutting the isthmus is Early Modern and does not reflect the situation in Antiquity. The *akropolis* was located on an elevated area at the w end of the peninsula, covering ca. 16 hectare, and its steep sides appears to have been fortified in the 6th c. BCE.¹⁵³ The Mediaeval and Early Modern buildings of modern Tarento cover most of the ancient remains. At the E end of the *akropolis* was a Doric temple of the 6th c., the earliest in Magna Graecia, and at the w end, a possibly ashlar foundation of another sanctuary has been observed. The situation at Taras is most similar to that of Syracuse (**A.1.119**) and its Ortygia. Plan in Lo Porto 1971, Tav. LXIII.

When Hannibal took the city in 212 BCE, the Roman governor of the city took refuge in the *akropolis* and managed to hold it, indicating that it was separately fortified.¹⁵⁴

A.1.121 TAUROMENION, SICILY

Passage(s): Diod. Sic. 14.88.2-3; 34.2.24^b.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. *Polis* settlement, founded in the 4th c. BCE and populated with exiles from nearby Naxos, of which it had previously been a secondary settlement (*LACP* nr. 48). The passage in Diodorus, however, indicates that the location was considered a *polis* prior to then, but that it was possibly a Sikelian settlement.

The *akropolis* was probably on the steep and lofty Monte Tauro at the location of the Mediaeval and Early Modern Castello Saraceno, just NW of the settlement. Remains of a Hellenistic fortification wall has been found in the lower settlement, but nothing similar reported from the *akropolis*. Diodorus, however, writes that it was protected by an unusually high wall at the time of Dionysius' attack on the city in 394/3 BCE.

A.1.122 THEBES, BOEOTIA

Passage(s): Arm. fr. 5; Aristid. *Or.* 34.430.6; Aeschin. 2 74; Xen. *HG* 5.2.26-35; 5.4.1; 5.4.10-57; Plut. *Vit. Pel.* 13.1; 18.1; Plut. *Vit. Ages.* 23.7.7; Diod. Sic. 15.20.1; 15.27.1-2; 17.12.5; Paus. 8.33.2; 9.5.2; 9.7.6; 9.12.3; Harp. *s.v.* Καδμεία & Προστάσια; Hyp. 6 17; Apollod. 3.190.

Description of *akropolis*: Type D. Large *polis* settlement in s Boeotia, at the location of modern Thíva (*LACP* nr. 221). The *akropolis* of Thebes is repeatedly mentioned to have been called Kadmeia, in refer-

¹⁵³Lo Porto 1971, 362.

¹⁵⁴Polyb., 8.32.2-3. Appian has both *akra* and *akropolis* for the location. Livy, 25.10 has *arx*.

ence to one of the mythical oecists Kadmos.¹⁵⁵ From a small number of lexica, however, we learn that the historian Armenidas¹⁵⁶ referred to the *akropolis* of Thebes as “The Island of the blessed”.¹⁵⁷

Most of the sources mentioning the Theban *akropolis* concerns the events following the Spartan occupation of the Kadmeia in 382-379 BCE. At this time, it was separately fortified and the location of the Spartan garrison.¹⁵⁸

The Kadmeia appears to have been an important religious area, where the festival of the Thesmophoria was celebrated. The *akropolis* was rather large, containing the *agora* and several sanctuaries. At the time of Pausanias’ visit, the lower settlement was abandoned and the population all lived in the *akropolis*.¹⁵⁹ For more detailed information on the site, see **B.2.14**.

Diodorus claims that Thebes was at the time of the Spartan occupation, “generally speaking, the *akropolis* of Boeotia”.¹⁶⁰ Cf. Cisalpine Gauls (**A.1.21**), Delphi (**A.1.24**), Peloponnesos (**A.1.88**), Sparta (**A.1.116**), and Thermon (**A.1.123**).¹⁶¹

A.1.123 THERMON, AETOLIA

Passage(s): Polyb. 5.8.7.

Description of *akropolis*: Important sanctuary of Apollo and gathering place of the Aitolian league. Polybius states that the location of the sanctuary was so strong that it “acted as the *akropolis* of whole Aitolia”,¹⁶² For similar expressions, see Cisalpine Gauls (**A.1.21**), Delphi (**A.1.24**), Peloponnesos (**A.1.88**), Sparta (**A.1.116**) and Thebes (**A.1.122**).¹⁶³

A.1.124 (THESSALY)

Passage(s): Dem. 19 260; Isoc. 8 117-118.

Description of *akropolis*: Isocrates, writing in ca 355 BCE, uses the example of the Thessalians when discussing why Sparta and Athens rose to prominence. In spite of being rich in natural resources and possessing a large military force, the Thessalians have been subjected by foreign states and had its *akropoleis* garrisoned.¹⁶⁴ The ‘foreign states’ is of course Macedon, which was at the time involved in the Third Sacred War, which would lead to the annexation of Thessaly within the Macedonian sphere of influence.

Similarly to how he speaks of Rhodes (**A.1.102**), Demosthenes – writing in 343 BCE – also emphasises the ongoing subjugation of the Thessalians by Philip II by saying that several of the former’s *akropoleis* are garrisoned by the Macedonians.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁵See p. 43. ¹⁵⁶5th c. BCE, possibly a mistake for the poet Parmenides of the same period. ¹⁵⁷Arm. nr. 378 F 5: Μακάρων νῆσοι· ἢ ἀκρόπολις τῶν ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ Θηβῶν τὸ παλαιόν. ¹⁵⁸Xen. *HG*, 5.2.26-35; 5.4.1-57; Diod. Sic., 15.27.

¹⁵⁹Paus. 9.7.6. ¹⁶⁰Diod. Sic. 15.20.1: καὶ τὸ σύνολον ὡσπερ ἀκρόπολιν τινα τῆς Βοιωτίας οὖσαν. ¹⁶¹See p. 53.

¹⁶²Polyb., 5.8.7: ὥστε τῆς συμπάσης Αἰτωλίας οἶον ἀκροπόλεως ἔχειν τάξιν ¹⁶³See p. 53.

¹⁶⁴Isocr. *Pac.* 118: ἀκείνων μὲν τὰς ἀκροπόλεις ἄλλοι τινὲς αἰεὶ κατέχουσιν [...].

¹⁶⁵Demosth. *De Falsa* 260: τὰς γὰρ ἀκροπόλεις αὐτῶν ἐνίων Μακεδόνες φρουροῦσιν.

A.1.125 TIRYNS, ARGOLID

Passage(s): Str. 8.6.11.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type or type not applicable. Mainly prehistoric settlement and later *polis* on the Argive plain (*LACP* nr. 356). Appears to have been destroyed and abandoned already in the mid-5th c. BCE, and the Mycenaean citadel (by Strabo called the '*akropolis*'), known as the Likymna, was only visible as a ruin afterwards. An Archaic temple have been attributed to either Hera or Athena has been found on top of the Mycenaean remains, as has the fragmentary remains of a 6th c. stoa.

A.1.126 TROEZEN, ARGOLID

Passage(s): Paus. 2.32.5.

Description of *akropolis*: Type B. Large *polis* settlement at foothills in the s end of sea-side plain (*LACP* nr. 357). The *akropolis* is located on rocky outcrop on hill promontory above (sw) the lower settlement, and is connected with the general fortification enceinte by two descending walls. On the hilltop, which consists of a 33 m. wide terrace with built up walls, are the foundations of a temple identified as that of Athena Sthenias.¹⁶⁶ Information acquired during the ongoing Greek-Australian fieldwork on the site shows that the *akropolis*, while originally being fortified by an ancient wall in polygonal masonry, contains mostly remains of the Mediaeval and Venetian period.¹⁶⁷ The very hilltop, a rocky peak at the extreme s of the enceinte, is so inaccessible that it has not been properly documented.

At the foot of the promontory is a *diateichisma* separating the hillside from the settlement proper. Within this latter space (yet below the *akropolis* proper), the remains of the sanctuaries of Pan, Isis and Aphrodite Akraia,¹⁶⁸ have been identified. Plans in Legrand 1905, xvii, Welter 1941, Taf. 2, and Sokolicek 2009, Tafel 59.

A.1.127 TROY, TROAD

Passage(s): Hom. *Od.* 494; 504; Thgn. 2.1232; *Anth. Graec.* ix epigr. 700; Str. 13.1.35; Plut. *De def. or.* Steph. p. 436^b; Paus. 10.27.5; Diod. Sic. 4.32.5; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.46.1.

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type or type not applicable. Prehistoric and mythical settlement later becoming the location of the *polis* of Ilion (*LACP* nr. 779). No ancient source appear to refer to the *akropolis* of Troy within a contemporary context; the setting is always the Homeric city and its *akropolis* Pergamos.¹⁶⁹ The *akropolis* of Hellenistic Ilion has been identified with the tell of prehistoric Troy, but a linear connexion between the *akropolis* of Ilion and the *akropolis* of the Homeric epic should not be taken for granted.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶Welter 1941, 19; Taf. 7. ¹⁶⁷Hill 2016 (online resource). ¹⁶⁸As mentioned by Paus.

¹⁶⁹Hom. *Il.* 4.508; 6.512; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.46.1. ¹⁷⁰Cook 1973, 92-93, note 2.

A.1.128 TUSCULUM, LATIUM

Passage(s): Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 14.6.2.

Description of *akropolis*: Latin settlement in the Alban hills. The location to be identified with the *akropolis* is a steep hill, separately fortified in Antiquity, with remains of dense Mediaeval habitation on top. The Roman remains stretches further on towards w on a ridge. Plan in Quilici and Quilici Gigli 1990, Fig. 30.

Livy refers to the *arx* of Tusculum, which was seized by the Aequi in 459 BCE.¹⁷¹ Dionysius relates shortly how the Romans considered placing a garrison (*phrouras*) in the Tusculans' *akropolis* (382/381 BCE) after the capture of the Tusculan territory by the Romans.¹⁷²

A.1.129 VEII, ETRURIA

Passage(s): Dio Cass. 6.21.1.

Description of *akropolis*: Large Etruscan settlement 15 km. N of Rome. Built on a series of plateaus between ravines, with the *akropolis* probably to be identified with the plateau of Piazza d'Armi, the smallest and SE-most. This was separately fortified and separated from the rest of the settlement in NW by a moat-like *fossa*. The *akropolis* contained a temple to Juno/Uni, which after the sack of Veii in 396 BCE, was famously incorporated in the Roman pantheon.¹⁷³ Plans in Ward-Perkins 1961, Fig. 6; Bartolini and Acconcia 2012, 35-36.

Cassius Dio relates how the Roman dictator Marcus Furius Camillus takes Veii by excavating a tunnel into the *akropolis*.¹⁷⁴

A.1.130 XANTHOS, LYCIA

Passage(s): Hdt. 1.176.5.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A. Large Lycian settlement and subsequently Greek *polis* settlement at the river Xanthe (*LACP* nr. 943). The so-called Lycian *akropolis* is in the SW corner of the Classical enceinte and was separately fortified.¹⁷⁵ The masonry of the fortifications, which are mainly of the Classical period, is polygonal.¹⁷⁶ The excavators interpret the Classical settlement of Herodotus' description as a Lycian city without too much Greek influences,¹⁷⁷ with an *akropolis* containing a temple to Artemis Ephesia.¹⁷⁸ However, extensive Roman and Byzantine activities on the site makes it hard to acquire a comprehensible picture of these remains. Plans in Courtils and L. Cavalier 2001, 148, Fig. 6-1; 157, Fig. 6-14.

Herodotus relates how the Xanthians took refuge in their *akropolis* as Harpagos was taking the city.¹⁷⁹ Rather than being taken capture, they set the *akropolis* on fire.

¹⁷¹Livy 3.23. ¹⁷²Cf. Livy 6.25-27. ¹⁷³Livy, 5.21. Summary of archaeological remains in Ward-Perkins 1961, 28.

¹⁷⁴Plut. *Cam.* 5.3 has *akra*. Cf. Livy 5.19, who has *arx*. ¹⁷⁵Courtils and L. Cavalier 2001, 149.

¹⁷⁶Courtils and L. Cavalier 2001, 153. ¹⁷⁷Courtils and L. Cavalier 2001, 155.

¹⁷⁸Courtils and L. Cavalier 2001, 151. ¹⁷⁹Cf. the inscription found on the location, see p. 45.

A.1.131 ZAKYNTHOS, IONIAN ISLANDS

Passage(s): Paus. 8.24.3.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A? Large *polis* settlement on the E coast of the eponymous island (*IACP* nr. 141). The *akropolis* was located on the steep hill W of the settlement, today covered by the remains of Venetian fortifications.

The name of the *akropolis* was according to Pausanias Psophis, (reportedly) named after the home *polis* the Zakynthian oecist, Psophis in Arcadia (**A.1.97**).

A.1.132 ZELEIA, PHRYGIA

Passage(s): *IMT Aisep/Kad Dere* 1135 (late 4th c. BCE).¹⁸⁰

Description of *akropolis*: Unknown type. *Polis* settlement ca. 13 km S of the Sea of Marmara (*IACP* nr. 764). I have not been able to find any publication dealing with the archaeological remains at the location. The *akropolis* can possibly be identified with the low hill just NE of the modern town of Sarıköy. Zeleia was apparently incorporated into Kyzikos in the Hellenistic period, becoming a mere fortress (*phbourion*) at the time of Stephanus Byzantius.¹⁸¹

The inscription – which mainly concerns publicly cultivated land confiscated from Phrygian landholders – mentions how the citizens gained control of the *akropolis*, probably after the campaigns of Alexander.

¹⁸⁰Lolling 1884 229-232; Mattheou 2012, 32. ¹⁸¹Steph. Byz. 295.7.

B

Gazetteer

B.1 THESSALY

Thessaly (Thessalian Πετθαλία, Attic, Doric, Aeolic Θετταλία, *koinē* Θεσσαλία) is the historical name for a large region of ancient and modern Central Greece, often defined as the area between the Vale of Tempe and the pass of Thermopylae. The historical region of Thessaly is currently located within the administrative district (*apokendroméni dhiikisi*) of Thessalía and to a certain extent within that of Stereá Elládhā (Central Greece). The area is covered by five prefectures (*nomí*): Tríkala, Kardhítsa, Lárisa, Magnisía, and Fthiótidha, all with their respective Ephorate of Antiquities.¹ The areas covered by the Ephorates of Tríkala and Kardhítsa formerly belonged to the Ephorates of Lárisa and Magnisía respectively.

The region has been inhabited by humans since the Early Palaeolithic; the Theópetra site in the Tríkala prefecture reportedly inhabited from 50000 BP to 3000 BCE. The site of Sésklo near Vólos is known as one of the earliest walled settlements of Europe, and the whole region is dotted with tell settlements (*maghoúles*) of the Neolithic and Bronze Age. At the onset of the historical period, Thessaly appears to have been well-settled with established communities over the whole region.

Thessaly was (arguably) from the late Archaic period a federation (*koinon*) organised in a tetrarchy, a federal structure for the purpose of military conscription, which comprised the tetrads (*merē*, sing. *meros*) of Thessalíotis, Phthíotis, Pelasgiotis and Hestíaiotis.² These tetrads were according to a fragment of the Aristotelian *Constitution of the Thessalians* (fr. 497) instituted by the semi-legendary Aleuas the Red of Larissa in the 6th century BCE.³ The same Aleuas is known as the first leader, or *archon*, of this federation, probably a mainly military position.⁴ The common sanctuary of this federation was that of Athena Itonia in the *chōra* of Kierion, which judging from the nature of the finds at the site belonged to a warrior cult.⁵

At some point prior to 500 BCE, a number of surrounding *ethnē* known as the *perioikoi* appears to have been subjected to Thessaly. These perioecic areas were Dolopia in sw, Achaía Phthíotis in s and se, Magnesia in e and Perrhaibia in n. The area of Ainis in the valley of Spercheios, just s of Achaía Phthíotis, was sometimes included in the *perioikoi*. The relation between the perioecic *poleis* and the Thessalian cities is unknown, but it is probable that the former group was obliged to pay tribute to the federation.

In the early 4th c. BCE, the Thessalian *koinon* faced internal strife, mainly in the form of conflicts between the powerful *poleis* of Pherai, Pharsalos (**B.1.14**) and Larissa. The ambitions of the tyrants of Pherai lead to the interference of Macedon,⁶ which ended with Philip II becoming archon of the Thessalians in the mid-4th c. BCE, ending the first Thessalian federation.⁷

In the following decades and in the Hellenistic period, the Thessalians were *symmachoi* under the Macedonian kings. The now fortified and urbanised *poleis* in the region were much under Macedonian influence, with foreign garrisons and magistrates present.⁸ Several of the perioecic *poleis*, especially in Achaía Phthíotis, joined the Aetolian league in the 3rd c., creating a new political frontier in what

¹The borders of the prefectures, however, does not exactly follow those of Ephorates. The site of Atrax (**B.1.1**), for example, is located in the prefecture of Lárisa but belongs the Ephorate of Tríkala. The same goes for Phylíadon (**B.1.17**), which is in Fthiótidha but administrated by the Ephorate of Magnesia.

²Decourt, Nielsen, and Helly 2004, 680. ³Helly 1995, 150-167; Decourt, Nielsen, and Helly 2004, 680.

⁴The historicity of this information has been repeatedly questioned, see Welles 1960. ⁵Graninger 2011, 46-67; Mili 2015, 225-234 ⁶Graninger 2011, 23. ⁷Bouchon and Helly 2015, 231. ⁸Bouchon and Helly 2015, 240.

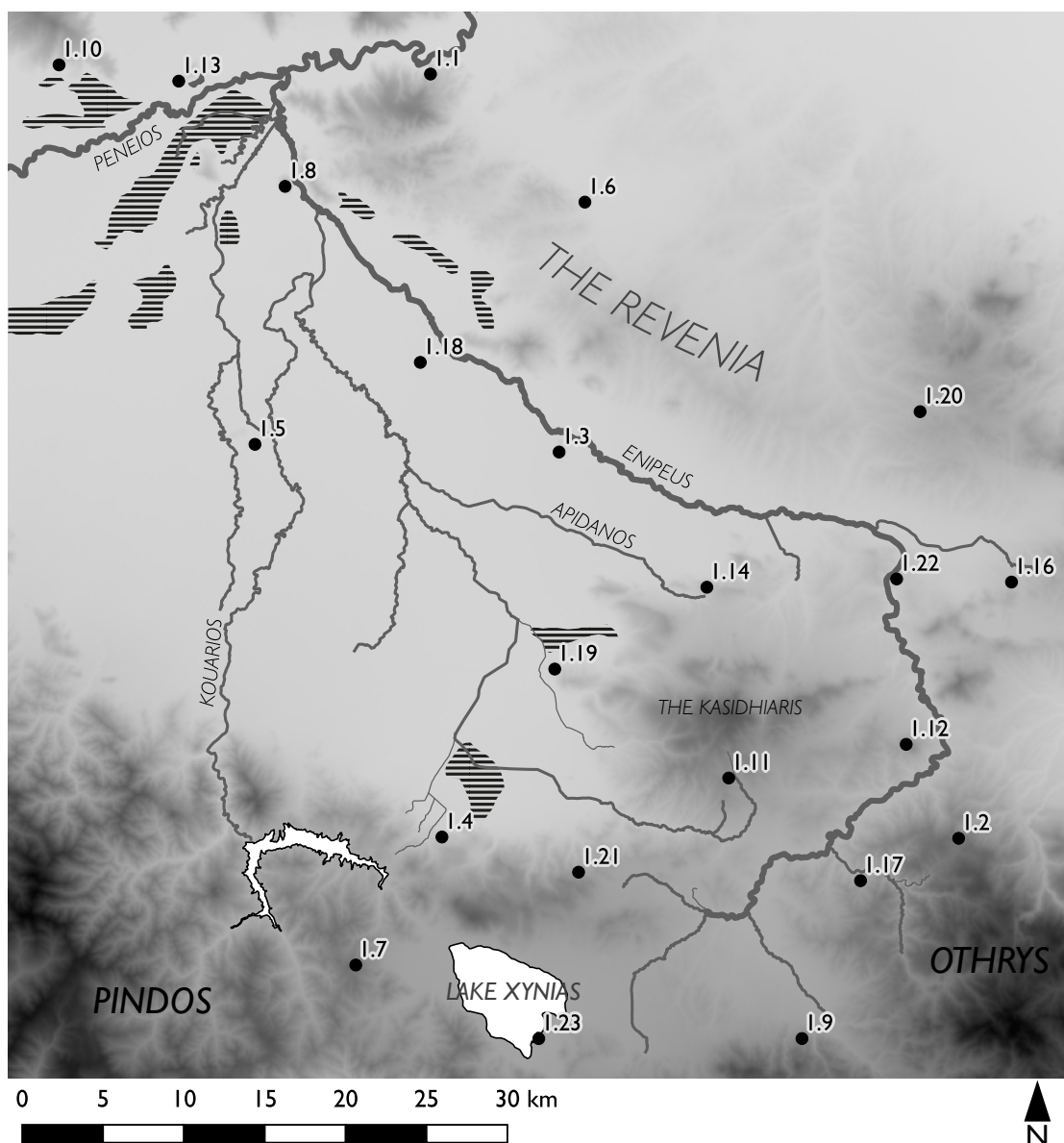


Figure B.1: The archaeological sites in Thessaly, numbered as in catalogue, together with the chief rivers of the valley of Enipeus and the main seasonal swamps.

was previously the Thessalian heartland.⁹ After the defeat of Macedon under Philip v in 196 BCE, the Roman general Flamininus re-organised the *koinon*, which subsequently survived into the 3rd c. CE within Roman Greece.¹⁰

The most important cities of pre-Roman Thessaly were Larissa, Pherai, Skotoussa (**B.1.20**) and Krannon (**B.1.6**) in Pelasgiotis; Pharsalos (**B.1.14**) in Phthiotis; Kierion (**B.1.5**) in Thessaliotis; and

⁹Graninger 2011, 27. ¹⁰Bouchon and Helly 2015, 240-249.



Figure B.2: View of the valley of river Enipeus towards Skotoussa (B.1.20) as seen from the site at Xiládhēs (B.1.22). In centre, at the horizon, is mount Olympus. Photo by Robin Rönnlund.

Trikke and Metropolis in Hestiaiotis.¹¹ The largest cities of the perioecic areas were Melitaia (B.1.9), Larissa Kremaste and Phthiotic Thebes in Achaia Phthiotis; Azoros, Doliche and Phalanna in Perhaibia; and Demetrias in Magnesia (founded in 293 BCE). A number of aristocratic families appears to have been influential throughout the region, most notably the Aleuadai of Larissa, the Skopadai of Krannon, and the Echekratidai of Pharsalos.¹²

Topographically, Thessaly is centred around two large plains, that of Lárisa in the East and that of Kámbos/Kardhítsa in the West. These are divided by a range of hills, the Revénia, which follow a curved line from the area of Atrax in NW towards Volos at the Pagasaic Gulf in E. Massive mountain ranges surround these plains in all directions except at the sea in E: The Pindos in W, the Othrys in S, the Chassiá in N and the Olympos/Óssa in NE.

Especially the plain of Kámbos was to a large extent covered by wetlands and seasonal swamps (*válti*) before the mid-20th century when large land reclamation programmes (*anadhasmós*) were enacted. The dense network of irrigation canals that now characterises the plain was constructed using bulldozers, which dramatically changed the topography and caused serious damage to many archaeological sites.¹³ The fluctuating lakes of Boibe (mod. Kárla) on the Eastern plain and Xynias (mod. Dhaouklí)

¹¹Decourt, Nielsen, and Helly 2004, 682-683. ¹²Archibald 2000, 230. ¹³Orengo *et al.* 2015, 101.

on the Dhomokós plateau were also drained in this period, which also marks the construction of the large reservoirs of Plastíras and Smókovo in the Pindos range.

The river Peneios/Piniós (formerly the Salamvría) and its tributaries dominate both plains. It runs from the pass of Kalambáka in NW through the plain of Kámbos, through the narrow pass of Kalámaki into the plain of Lárísa, further through the Vale of Tempe, after which it empties in the sea at the border of Macedonia. The most important tributaries to the Peneios are the Apidanos (formerly Farsalítis) and the Enipeus/Enipéas (formerly Tsanarlís/Filiadhoréma), the latter running through a vast span of territory from its hill-land sources at Melitéa, out to the plains at Fársala before joining the Apidanos at Vlochós.

Archaeologically, Thessaly remains to a large extent unknown to the scholarly community. The main over-arching work on the sites in the region remains Friedrich Stählin's *Das Hellenische Thessalien* (1924), which combines information from ancient sources, epigraphy, early excavation reports (mainly those of Giannopoulos and Arvanitopoulos), and his own observations in the field. The situation is, however, improving, mainly due to the excavations conducted in connexion with large works of infrastructure and the efforts of the local Ephorates. Studies by foreign scholars have also produced more information as to the sites of specific areas, such as Decourt's survey of the valley of Enipeus,¹⁴ Cantarelli's study of the Dhomokós plateau,¹⁵ the Dutch and Canadian studies of the northern Othrys,¹⁶ and Lucas' and Darmezín's work in Perrhaibia.¹⁷ Excavations of larger sites of the historical period have mainly been conducted in eastern Thessaly, such as the French excavations at Gonnoi and Pherai, the Greek-Dutch projects at Ghorítsa and Halos (ongoing), the Greek-Canadian Kastro Kallithéa project (B.1.12, ongoing), and the Greek-German excavations of Argoura, Demetriás and Sorós (ongoing). Some larger investigations of important settlements still remain unpublished, perhaps most notably Atrax (B.1.1), while others are still conducted, such as the Italian investigations of Skotoussa (B.1.20), the Greek-Swedish project at Vlochós (B.1.8), and the already mentioned Greek-Canadian work at Kallithéa. The conference series *Archaeological Work of Thessaly and Central Greece* (AETHSE) is organised triennially in Vólos, and its proceedings have become perhaps the most important organ of Thessalian archaeology (just as with the case of Boeotia, see below).¹⁸

Concerning the broader picture, there are some recent and excellent studies on the political and religious organisation of Thessaly in Morgan (2003), Graninger (2011), and Mili (2015), which by using archaeological and epigraphical sources supplement the literary exposé of Westlake (1935). The reconstructions of the developments in early Antiquity, as presented in Sordi (1958), Decourt (1990) and Helly (1995), have however been criticised as unconvincing,¹⁹ speculative,²⁰ and theoretically weak,²¹ mainly due to the lack of early written sources. An overview of the influence of Macedon upon Thessaly in the 4th and 5th c. BCE is presented by Graninger (2010).

With most of the archaeological work in Thessaly having been conducted in the areas closest to Vólos, the Western part of the region remains to a larger extent unexamined or unpublished. Much effort has been spent in the latter area to try to connect known sites with locations mentioned in especially Homer and Livy, with less emphasis on the actual archaeology.

Because it has been the subject of two separate extensive surveys, the valley of the river Enipeus is by far the best published part of Thessaly, which explains the choice of this area in this study. Using a

¹⁴Decourt 1990. ¹⁵Cantarelli *et al.* 2009. ¹⁶Bosch 1982; Wieberdink 1986; Chykerda 2010. ¹⁷Darmezín 1992; Lucas 1997. ¹⁸Mazarakis Ainan 2006; 2009; 2012; 2015. ¹⁹Westlake 1960. ²⁰Trevett 1999. ²¹Mili 2015, 161-164.

topographical definition instead of an administrative unit also removes some of the artificial divisions of material that otherwise characterise archaeological interpretations. However, unlike Boeotia, this choice means that the sites are located within the administrative areas of five different ephorates of antiquities in two separate districts. In Antiquity, the river Enipeus flowed from the uplands of Achaia Phthiotis, down into the valley of Phthiotis, further into the large plains in Thessaliois to join the Peneios in Hestiaois. The *poleis* bordering at its banks would thus belong to these three areas, with the addition of Pelasgiois, which lay just north of where Enipeus flowed through Phthiotis.

Six Thessalian *akropoleis* are mentioned in ancient literature, Gonnoi (A.1.40), Krannon (A.1.60), Larissa (A.1.62), Phalanna (A.1.91), Pharsalos (A.1.93), and Pherai (A.1.95). The number might not be impressive, but is actually rather high in comparison with other regions, and the distribution in time (Classical to Roman periods) and media indicates that both the Thessalians themselves and other Greeks regarded certain locations in Thessaly as *akropoleis*. The mention by Attic orators of foreign garrisons on Thessalian *akropoleis* provides additional evidence.²²

The following catalogue of *akropolis* sites has been extracted from the archaeological material using the ‘essentials’ presented in 3.5 (p. 58). The region examined corresponds to the valley of river Enipeus and its two major tributaries, the Apidanos and the Kouarios. This has caused little problem, as sites corresponding to this definition can easily be identified. Some notable sites, however, were excluded on the same principle, including Sikeón in Kardhítsa,²³ Kortíki/Metamórfosi in Kardhítsa,²⁴ Paleókastró Ambélión in Lárísa,²⁵ and Filakí in Magnísia.²⁶ The main reason behind these exclusions is the lack of published indications of a lower settlement or of settlement in the historical period (see 5.2).

Some additional sites – even if potentially of an *akropolis* type – had to be excluded due to lack of published material. This includes the sites at Yefíria in Kardhítsa (ancient Thetonion),²⁷ Ermítsi in Kardhítsa (ancient Peirasia),²⁸ Dhrískoli/Kriní in Lárísa (ancient Palaiopharsalos?),²⁹ and Omvriakí in Fthiótidha.³⁰

²²Demosth. *De Falsa* 260; Isocr. *Pac.* 118.

²³Stählin 1924a, 134; Decourt 1990, 157; *ADelt* 55 *Chr.* 481-484 (2000); Hatziangelakis 2006, 71-73; Tsangaraki 2008, 28-30; Hatziangelakis 2008, 324; *AR* 56 (2009-2010), 112; Nikolaou *et al.* 2012, 83-85, 87-88; *AR* 58 (2012), 89.

²⁴Decourt 1990, 159-160. ²⁵Béquignon 1932, 90-119. ²⁶Stählin 1906, 13-15; Kirsten 1942.

²⁷Nikolaou *et al.* 2012, 86-87. Find-spot of the famous Archaic inscription *IG IX*² 257.

²⁸Nikolaou *et al.* 2012, 83-85. ²⁹J. D. Morgan 1983, 44-45. ³⁰Stählin 1924a, 161.

B.1.1 ΚÁΣΤΡΟ (ATRAX)

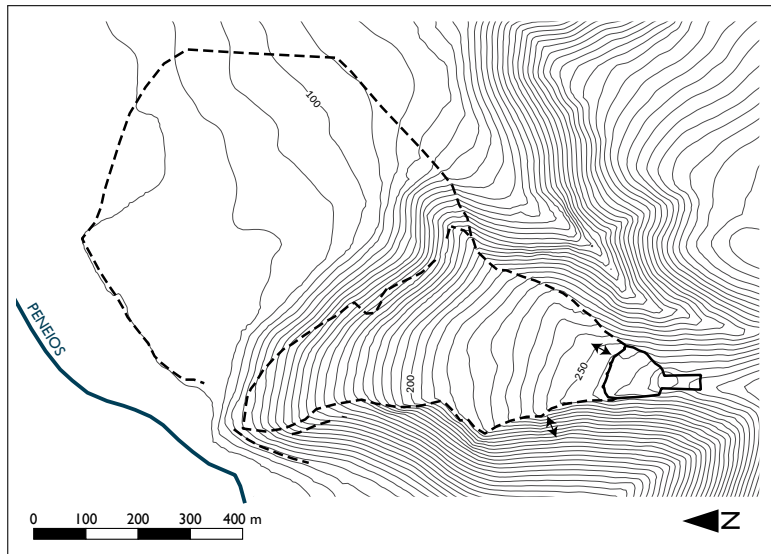


Figure B.3: Atrax, after Stählin (1924), Decourt (2013) and Tziafalias, Bouchon, et al. (2016).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Ἄτραξ (Atrax), Ἄτραγος (Atragos), or Ἄτρακία (Atrakia).

MODERN NAME(S): Alif Ağa; Αλήφακα; Κάστρο (since 1957). The site itself is known as Çingene Kalesi or Γυφτόκαστρο.

POSITION: 39°34'16.9047" N, 22°11'30.6083" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In Pelasgiotis. In the pass of Kalamáki, connecting the plain of Kámbois in the west with that of Lárissa in the east. Most of the area immediately N of the site consists of the former marshland of river Salamvriás/Pineios which flows through the pass eastward. The pass is delineated in S by the mountains of Dobruca Dağ/Títanos and in N by the hill area of Bába/Kokinodhákia.

NE of the site, at Áyios Nikólaos, a possible sanctuary of Poseidon. Several *maghoúles* are to be noted in the area, especially around the modern village of *Káastro*, E of the site. Distances to surrounding sites: Zárko (B.1.15) 6.5 km WNW, Vlochós (B.1.8) 11.2 km SW, Krannónas (B.1.6) 12.2 km SE, Argoussa 16.1 km NE, Dhamási 17.1 km N. None are visible from the site.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: Located just S of river Salamvriás/Pineios, which previously ran further to the N, but agricultural activities in the 1970s moved the riverbed further S, which has caused serious damage to the site. The settlement was surveyed in 1977 by a *synergasia* between the ephorate in Lárissa and the French Institut Courby, which revealed extensive architectural remains and added to already quite substantive number of inscriptions.

The settlement area consists of several walled spaces; the small *akropolis* on the top of the hill in s, below which is an area extending on the slope towards n, and yet another larger area on the river plain e of the slope of the hill. The Archaic and Classical settlement was probably limited to the area on the slope below the *akropolis*, which later expanded to the plain. Here are remains of a substantial urban settlement, built according to an irregular grid on large supporting terraces. The location of the theatre was possibly n and below the small spur forming the easternmost point in the upper enceinte.

At a later stage, the settlement area was extended to encompass a large portion of flat ground ne of the slope, making the *intra muros* area ca. 50 hectare. The area of the *agora* has been identified in the n part of the lower settlement. Inscriptions locate a sanctuary of Athena here, and there are visible remains of a temple to the Nymphs further w of the *agora* right in the river bank.

The published plans show great differences in the general outline of the settlement. Most notable is the large walled area w of the hill which is indicated on the plan published by Tziafalias (1995) but wholly lacking in the plans and descriptions by Decourt (2013) and the later volume on the epigraphy of the site. It is however to be assumed that the latter plan is more correct, as there are no indications of such an area to be seen on aerial photographs. However, the same aerial photographs show clear traces of walling not present on Decourt's plan and the one in Tziafalias, Bouchon, *et al.* 2016.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type B. Ca. 260-250 masl. The southernmost tip and highest point of the roughly triangular upper area of the settlement which extends from the tip of the hill towards river Salamvriás/Pineios. The *akropolis* is delimited by a *diateichisma* in isodomic emplekton, creating an enclosed area of ca 0.8 hectares, 360 m. in circumference. Six towers can be noted in the *diateichisma*, two flanking the main gate and two at the nodes with the main enceinte. The gate is 4 m. wide, with the combined width of the towers being 16 m.

The outer walls of the *akropolis* are double-faced in polygonal masonry with rubble filling. They have been identified as Mycenaean, but are more probably of the 5th century. The *akropolis* was later (late 4th c.?) reinforced with a square, keep-like installation (22 x 25 m.) at the s and highest corner of the area. The latter was built in isodomic masonry, and was apparently accessed through a door in the e façade. The 'keep' appears to have been rapidly dismantled or destroyed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Leake 1835a, 434; Leake 1835d, 292-293; Ussing 1847, 262-263; Bursian 1862, 68; Oberhammer 1896; Edmonds 1899, 21-22; 24; *IG IX²* 472-486; Stählin 1924a, 101-102 (with plan); Heuzey 1927, 73-74; *TIB* 1, 129; *PECS*, 110-111; *GLhS*, 154-155; Tziafalias 1995 (with plan); Lang 1996, 277; Hatziangelakis 2008, 305-306; Frederiksen 2011, 133; Nikolaou *et al.* 2012, 55-57; Decourt 2013 (with plan); Tziafalias, Bouchon, *et al.* 2016 (with plans). *LACP* nr. 395.

B.1.2 ΤΣΟΥΡΝΑΤΙ ΒΡΪΣΙ (CHALAI?)

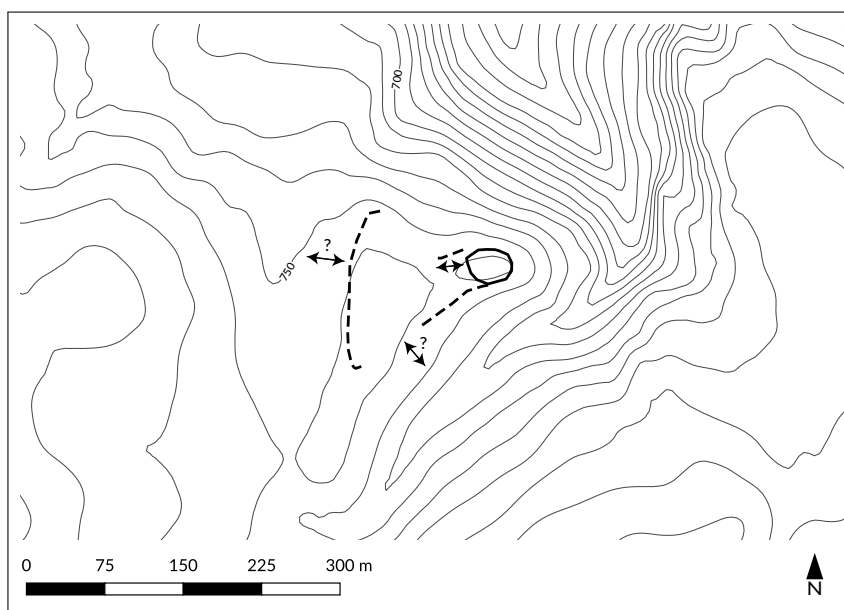


Figure B.4: Chalai, after Giannopoulos (in Kondonatsios 2009), Stählin (1906), and Wieberdink (1986).

ANCIENT NAME(S): *Χαλαί (*Chalai), reconstructed from the ethnic Χαλαῖος.

MODERN NAME(S): Τσουρνάτη Βρύση.

POSITION: 39°21'45.6310" N, 22°17'00.2239" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In Achaïa Phthiotis. In the northern part of the Óthrys range, centred around the a long ravine that meanders downhill in a general NE direction towards the village of Neo-choráki. The surrounding landscape is hilly with many steep ravines, but also several flat plateaus. The natural terrain suggests that the area of Chalai was confined within the valley in the centre of which the site was located. Extremely steep ground creates a veritable wall in the N slopes of mount Mégħa/Dhendró (1129 masl.) about 2.5 km. s of the site, possibly constituting a natural barrier in this direction.

The eponymous spring of Tsournáti³¹ is located just E of the little chapel of Prophet Elijah, feeding the small stream that flows down the ravine.³² On the other side of the stream, just E of the actual site, are large and very steep cliffs which create the impression of a wall towards s and SE. The site of Phyliaodon (B.1.17) is 6 km. ESE, but is not visible nor easily accessible due to the Likórachī peak

³¹Probably from the Slavic црната (*crnata*), “the black (spring)”.

³²Stählin’s report of a ruined monastery at this chapel could not be verified.

(817 masl.) and the ravines w of it. 5 km. s is the small fortified site of Ghrindiá (identified as ancient Karandai).

The largest neighbour was Peuma (**B.1.12**), ca. 6 km. NW. It has been argued that the foothills E of the area of Chalai belonged to the *polis* of Halos, 22 km. E of the site.³³ Several fortified sites are located in the foothills in this direction.³⁴

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: On a rocky promontory, which possibly gave the *polis* its name,³⁵ in a system of ravines created by the many small streams in the vicinity. The ground is exceedingly steep in E and SE in the direction of the great ravine, as well as in the N, but a saddle connects the area of the *akropolis* with the more gentle ground towards W. The area is abundant with *pournária*, which greatly hinders the mapping and subsequent understanding of the remains. The site offers a splendid view of the steep valley/ravine leading down to the Krokian plain in NE.

The fortifications have been interpreted as belonging to several different building phases, with stylistic variation ranging from ‘Cyclopean’ via coursed polygonal to ashlar.³⁶ The N part of the W stretch of wall, which cuts off most of the saddle area, is built out of uncut stones in various sizes, with the support of two buttress or tower-like protrusions in ashlar. Towards the S end, a well-preserved stretch of coursed polygonal masonry makes a semi-circular turn towards NE, creating the impression of a round tower. This impression is strengthened by the remains of a round built-up feature just inside of it.³⁷ The S and N sections of the wall are very hard to trace, and can only be followed in short stretches.

As described by Giannopoulos and others, the site contains many remains of ancient structures, most of which appear to be the foundations of Classical-Hellenistic houses. These are not confined to the *intra muros* area, but can be found all over the saddle. Some of these appear to have belonged to substantial buildings; the foundations marked by Stählin in the NW corner of the enceinte are especially significant, possibly belonging to a monumental structure.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type A. Ca. 762 masl, 0.07 hectares, 100 m. in (reconstructed) circumference. Small hillock, located on the very edge of the promontory, with a commanding view of the whole immediate environment. A curved section of the *diateichisma* was the only extant part of the fortifications surrounding the hillock (as at Stählin’s visit) at the time my visit (May 2017). The very uneven, steep and rocky ground made it somewhat difficult to follow the trace in other parts of the locations. The masonry, contrary to the statements by Stählin, appears to have been irregularly coursed polygonal, of which only the outer face is preserved. The width of 4 m., as also suggested by Stählin, could not be ascertained but appears to have been quite impossible at places. I made no note of a gate at my visit.

As observed by previous visitors, the only flat area of the *akropolis* (in its N half) is dominated by the foundations of a large building (**Fig. 4.22**, p. 106), 10 by 5 m., which seems to have been robbed

³³Chykerda, Haagsma, and Karapanou 2014, 297-298. ³⁴Efstathiou 2014.

³⁵Χαλαί, possibly from the noun *χηλή/χαλά*, meaning (among other things) a ‘spur of a mountain’ (*LSJ s.v. χηλή*), as also observed by Helly (2001, 244, note 19).

³⁶The existence of ‘Cyclopean’ masonry (as observed by Stählin and Wieberdink) could not be ascertained during my visit, and appeared instead to be coursed polygonal masonry constructed of very large stones.

³⁷Surprisingly, Wieberdink’s sketch of the site indicate that this section should be fragmentarily preserved, when the autopsy clearly showed that it is instead the most well-preserved part of the ancient fortifications.

repeatedly over the years. This building, probably a temple, must have been a striking feature in the ancient landscape as one approached the site from the plains in κ .

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Giannopoulos 1899; Stählin 1906, 27-29 (with plan); Wieberdink 1986, 17, Fig. 24 (with plan); Wieberdink 1990, 71 (with plan); Helly 2001, 241-249; Kondonatsios 2009, 143-151 (with plan by Giannopoulos); Efstathiou 2014, 18-20 (with plans).

B.1.3 ΕΚΚΑΡΑ (ΕΚΚΑΡΑ?)

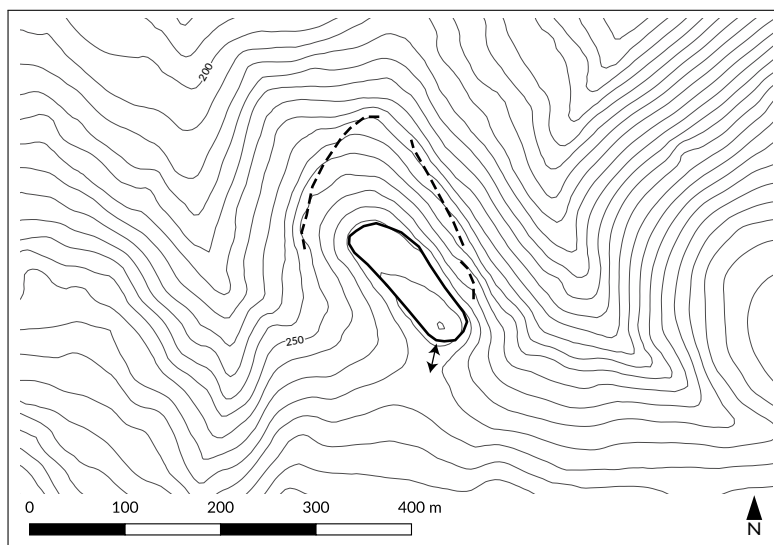


Figure B.5: Ekkara, after Arvanitopoulos (1912).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Ἐκκαρα (Ekkara), Ἐκκαρρα (Ekkarra), Ἄκαρα (Akarra), Acharrae.

MODERN NAME(S): Κάτω Αγόριανη; Εκκάρρα (since 1930).

POSITION: 39°8'59.64" N, 22°11'58.84" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In Achaïa Phthiotis. In the borderland between the mountains and tablelands of Achaïa Phthiotis in s and the great plain of Kámbos in n. The irrigated fields n of the site were until the mid 20th century covered by the marshland of Mátia which fed the rivulet of Dhomokiotikós, a tributary to the Apidanos/Farsalitikós. s of the site are the hills of Xerovouni and the pass towards the tableland of former lake Xynias.

On the hill of Yinekókastro, e of the settlement, are the remains of another fortification consisting of a rubble wall enceinte. Right below it is a monumental rock-carved sarcophagus at the locality Sarmánitsa. The site offers a great vantage point over the plain of Kámbos with most of more elevated sites in plain view. Distances to surrounding sites: Thetonion 19 km n, Proerna (**B.1.19**) 12.4 km ne, Thaumakoi (**B.1.21**) 8.8 km ese, Xyniai (**B.1.23**) 14 km se, Kypaira (**B.1.7**) 9.6 km sw, Dhranísta 9.9 km wsw, and Orthos 15.5 km wnw.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: Most of the lower settlement is today covered by the modern village of Ekkára, which is situated immediately below and n of the *akropolis*. Topographical data, however, suggests that the walled area was quite small and only confined to the slope immediately below (n) the *akropolis*.

There is a possibility that a settlement was previously located on the small hill of Ambelórrachi just NW of the modern village, where pottery of mainly prehistoric periods, but also of Classical-Hellenistic dates, has been found.

A necropolis on the S slope below the *akropolis* was noted in the early 20th century.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type A. A roughly oblong area on top of the small hill (265 masl.) just S of the modern village, 365 m. in circumference. Masonry described by Stählin (1924, 154) and Arvanitopoulos as badly preserved polygonal with blocks ranging from 0.92 - 0.37 - 0.28 m, the wall itself 3.3 m. thick. A S gate leads to the saddle connecting the hillock with the surrounding mountains. Stählin (1924, 155) and Arvanitopoulos (1912, 349-350) observed ashlar walls below (NE) the *akropolis*, which in itself seems to have been separately fortified.

Trial excavations on the *akropolis* revealed the foundations of a building, 9.5 m. long and 3.20 wide. The finds were mainly Hellenistic, with two coins of the Thessalian federation of the 2nd to the 1st c. BCE. At the time of the excavation, the remaining fortifications were described as being better preserved in the N part of the enceinte.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Arvanitopoulos 1912, 348-350 (with plan); Stählin 1924a, 154-155; *ADelt* 28 *Chr.* 281-282 (1973); Cantarelli *et al.* 2009, 55-57; Nikolaou *et al.* 2012, 269-273; Froussou 2012. *IACP* nr. 434.

B.I.4 ΧΗΤΟΥΡΙ (EUHYDRION?)

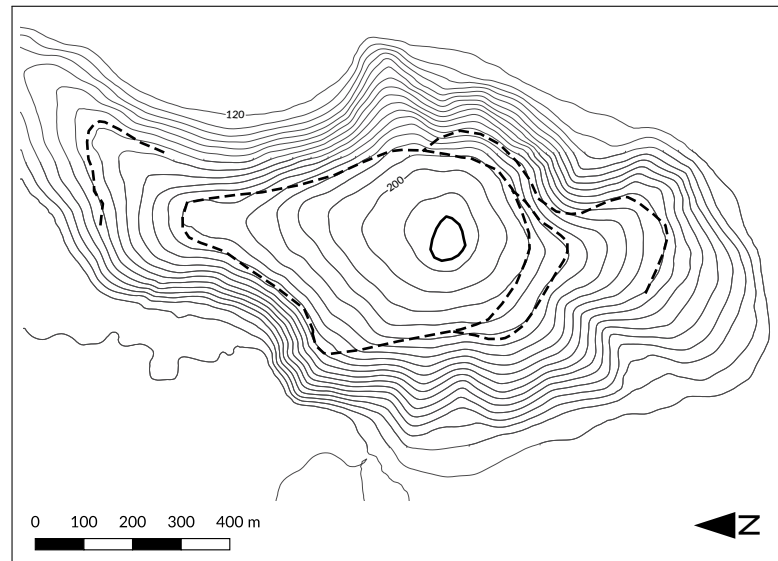


Figure B.6: Euhydrion, after Béquignon (1932) and author (based on aerial photographs).

ANCIENT NAME(S): *Εὐδρίον (*Euhydrion) reconstructed from *Eubhydrium*.

MODERN NAME(S): Οχτούρι/Χτούρι/Κτούρι.

POSITION: 39°21'45.6310" N, 22°17'00.2239" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In Pelasgiotis or Phthiotis. At the mouth of the Eastern extension of the plain of Kámpos. The Tsanarlís/Enipeus flows right N of the site in an SE-NW direction. The area is rich in prehistoric (?) *maghoúles* but remains of later periods are scarce or unknown, apart from several hillforts on the mountains of Doğancı Dağ/Fillíon, Kaloyíros and Psichikó in N. The area appears to have been quite marshy before early modern irrigation programmes.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: An elongated isolated hill dominating the surrounding plain. A large enceinte in crude polygonal masonry (width 2.66 m., size of stones up to 1.7 m.), ca 1700 m. in circumference, surrounds the flatter upper part of the hill, with at least two possibly later extensions in S and possibly yet another in N. There are no discernible towers in this outer enceinte. Possible gates in W and SW corners (Decourt has 4 gates or posterns in this wall). On the very top of the hill, a small keep-like circuit known as the *Froúrio*, isolated from the general enceinte.

The general outline of the fortifications suggests a pre-Classical date: Archaic or possibly prehistoric with later additions/modifications. There are several similarities with the site of Pétra at lake Boebe in Eastern Thessaly, similarly located on a rocky hill above former marshland.

The settlement has been interpreted as that of Euhydrion on the basis of a mention by Livy (32.13.9). Euhydrion appears not to have been a *polis* in the pre-Hellenistic period (possibly a dependency to Pharsalos?). Immediately to the w of the hill, a small *maghoúla* which has yielded remains of a small building, possibly a temple, but otherwise mainly Mycenaean and Protogeometric pottery. A little bit further to the N of this, an ancient *peribolos* has been found surrounding the small chapel of Áyios Ioánnis, indicating that the latter was possibly constructed on top of an ancient building.

A base of a statue of Agias by Lysippos (330s BCE), multiple pankration winner at Olympia, Nemea and Delphi, has been found at Chtoúri (IG IX², 256a). Inscriptions from the 3th century CE have also been noted, indicating habitation even after the Hellenistic period.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type A or D. Ca. 205 masl, 0.39 hectares, 250 m. in circumference, known as the *Froúrio* ('fortress'). Described as '*unbebaut*' by Marzloff (1994). This inner circuit has been interpreted as the *akropolis* of the settlement, and has seven rectangular towers, 5-6 m. wide, extending from the walls 5-6 m. One gate between two towers leads into the inner part. The masonry (at least of the curtains) is similar to that of the first phase circuit at Vlochós (B.1.8), being made from uncut stones of varying sizes in the *robpolygonal* style of Stählin's. The lower parts of the walls have been interpreted as Mycenaean on the basis of LHIII C finds from inside the enceinte. Béquignon interpreted this *akropolis* as only holding the garrison of the settlement.

The sites of Skotoússa (B.1.20), Fársala (B.1.14), Pírgchos Kieríou (B.1.5), Fíllō (B.1.18), Néō Monastíri (B.1.19) and Dhómokós (B.1.21) are visible from here, underlining the centrality of the location.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Leake 1835d, 328; 492-493; Stählin 1924a, 143; Béquignon 1932, 125-129; 140-143; 194 (with plan); Milojević in AA 70 (1955), 229-230; PECS, 666 (as Palaiopharsalos); GLbS, 227; Decourt 1990, 196-198; 214-215; Marzloff 1994, 256; Kalogeroudis 2008, 244.

B.1.5 ΠÍΡGHOS KIERÍΟΥ (KIERION)

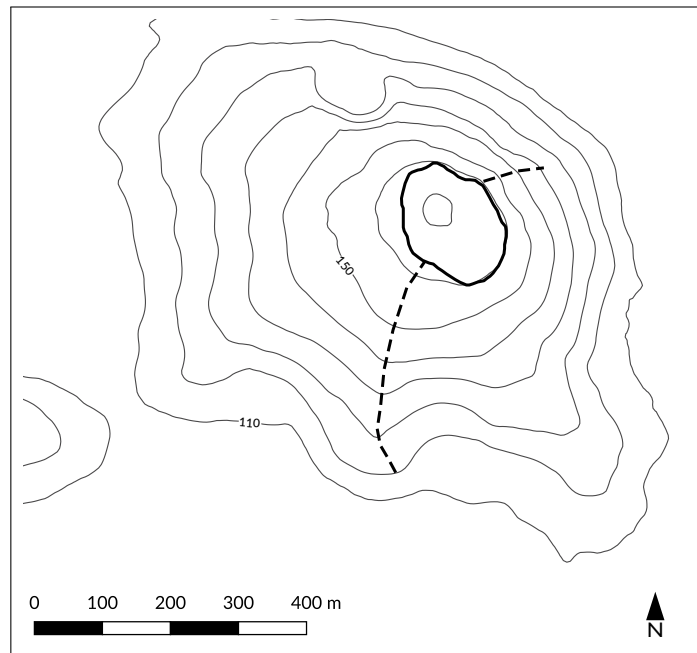


Figure B.7: Kierion, after Hatziangelakis (2000 and 2013).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Ἄρνη (Arne); Κιέριον (Kierion).

MODERN NAME(S): Πύργος Ματαράγκας, Πύργος Κιερίου. The hill is known as Ογλάς.

POSITION: 39°22'1.74" N, 22° 3' 57.99" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In Thessaliotis. The Sofadhitikós/Kouarios, Farsalitikós/Apidanos and Orghózinós rivers flow through the area towards N, where they join with the Tsanarlís/Enipeus close to Limnaion/Phakion (**B.1.8**). Except for the Oghlás hill and its N neighbour Láyou Mníma, the area is extremely flat. Most surrounding land appears to have consisted of marshes or floodplains prior to the substantial irrigation programmes of the 20th century, but ancient itineraries suggest that the area could be crossed in a general N-S direction. Recent studies of the late pre-Industrial landscape have revealed traces of ditches and other earthworks in the area suggesting ancient irrigation works.³⁸

Protogeometric tholos tombs have been found in the *chora* of the *polis* 4.2 km W at Áyii Theódhori, and 4.7 km NNE at Chomatókastró Matarángas. The *polis* seems to have controlled the pan-Thessalian sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Fíliá, 12 km SSW upstream river Onochonos. A Classical-Hellenistic Asklepeion has also been found 5 km NW at Paleókastra, N of Áyii Theódhori.

³⁸Orengo *et al.* 2015.

Kierion occupied one of the truly central positions on the Kámbos plain, and can be seen from all neighbouring sites in the region. The low trees planted on the *akropolis* perhaps give an indication how the location was perceived in Antiquity when its walls were in full height, as the silhouette of the trees is very striking from as far as Fársala (**B.1.14**).

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: Settlement concentrated on the SE slope of the hill Oghlás in the middle of the western Thessalian plain between the Onochonos/Karóumbalis and the Orghózinis rivers. A Bronze Age settlement has been identified at the nearby Maghoúla Makriá SW of the *akropolis*.

The lower settlement was most probably surrounded by a wall, which is however not visible as of date. Parts of it has been observed at the S slopes of the *akropolis* hill running from the *akropolis* fortifications towards the plains in S, as well as on the E slope. Topography suggests that the lower settlement was surrounded by protecting marshland in all directions except towards the *akropolis* in NW. One of the cemeteries were on the slopes of Oghlás hill, where Hellenistic cist tombs have been found, and in the fields S of the settlement.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type A. Roughly ellipsoid enceinte on hilltop, 1.9 hectares, ca 510 m. in circumference. Possibly the site of a Mycenaean fortress, but the extant walls are Archaic (rough, polygonal masonry) and Hellenistic (ashlar masonry) with some Mediaeval additions. One large tower in N (Hellenistic?) and two others in SW and SE, are seemingly later additions to the extant enceinte. Excavations of the wall yielded mostly Classical to Roman material, with some finds of the Archaic (and Mycenaean?) period. Remains of buildings were found parallel to the *akropolis* wall along its inside.

The highest point of the area is in N, where some rocks form a platform-like elevation on top of which are the remains of some kind of building, possibly Mediaeval. Ramp-like feature leads from inside of *akropolis* unto the wall, similarly to at Vlochós (**B.1.8**) and Petrotó (**B.1.11**). In the slopes just W of the *akropolis* are the remains of what appears to be quarries, possibly ancient.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Leake 1835d, 497-503; Bursian 1862, 73; N. Georgiadis 1894, 206; Kroll 1921; *IG IX²* 258-268; Stählin 1924a, 130-132; Milojević in *AA* 70 (1955), 229-230; *PECS*, 704; *GLbS*, 581; *ADelt* 42 *Chr.* 262-263 (1987); Tsiouka 1994; *ADelt* 51 *Chr.* 358-361 (1996); *ADelt* 52 *Chr.* 473 (1997); *ADelt* 53 *Chr.* 444-445 (1998); Hatziangelakis 2000, 386-389 (with plan); *ADelt* 56-59 *Chr.* 578 (2001-2004); Hatziangelakis 2008, 316-319; Kalogeroudis 2008, 244-245; *AR* 51 (2004-2005), 61; Tsangaraki 2008, 46-48; *AR* 56 (2009-2010), 112.; *AR* 58 (2012), 89; Nikolaou *et al.* 2012, 71-77; Hatziangelakis 2013 (with plan); Mili 2015, 179-180. *LACP* nr. 398.

B.1.6 ΚΡΑΝΝÓΝΑΣ (KRANNON)

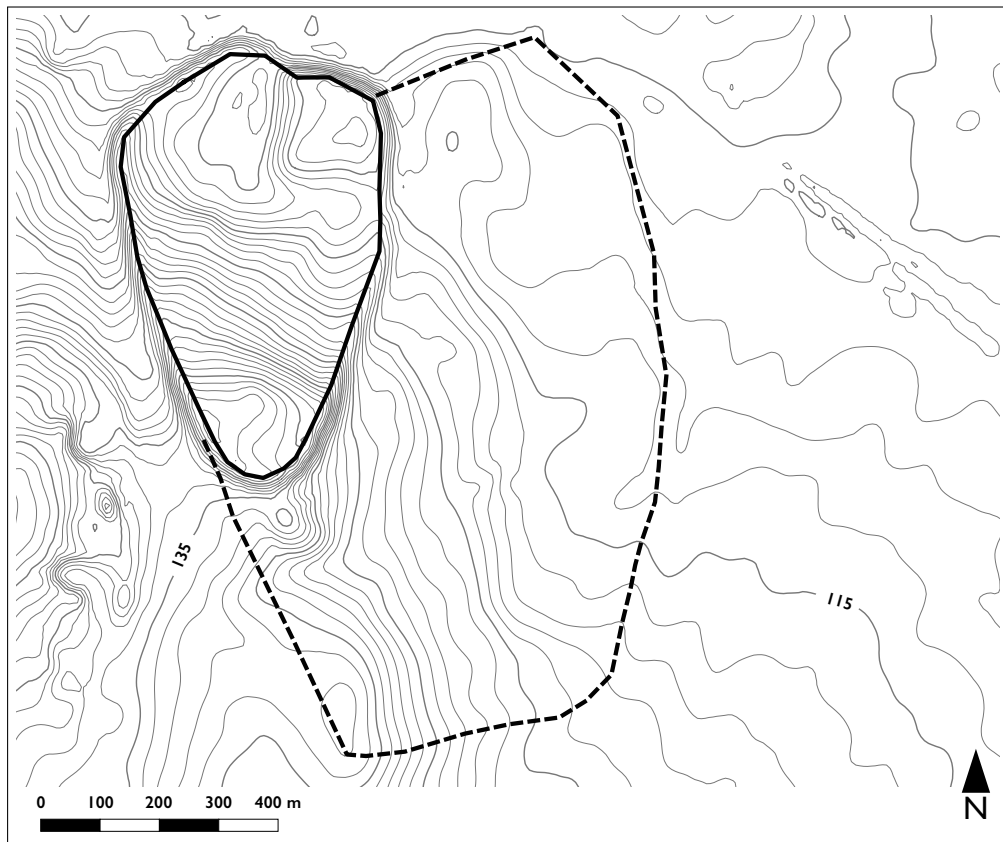


Figure B.8: Krannon, after Theocharis in *ADelt 16 Chron.* 178 (1960) [1962].

ANCIENT NAME(S): Κραννών (Krannōn).

MODERN NAME(S): Hacilar; Χατζηλάρ; Κραννώνας (since 1919). The site is known as Παλαιαλάρισα.

POSITION: $39^{\circ}29'59.6931''$ N, $22^{\circ}18'07.1590''$ E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In Pelasgiotis. Krannon dominated the area of higher ground of Pelasgiotis, probably including the hills of Dobruca Dağ/Titanos in w and s as well as the part of the Kámbos plain immediately below. The plain immediately around it was known in Antiquity as the Πεδίον Κραννώνιον.³⁹ The main routes from Fársala (B.1.14) towards Lárisa and Kástro (B.1.1) probably ran through the area of Krannon, either through the pass of Doğancı Dağ/Fillío-Psichikó or that of Dhrískoli/Kriní.

³⁹Theocr. 16.38.

Most of the area immediately N and E of the site consists of the plains around the small stream of Révma, a tributary to the Salamvriás/Pineios which it joins further downstream (towards NNW) close to Kástro (B.1.1). S and W of the site is an area of low hills which separates the Western and Eastern plains. Visually, Krannon clearly belongs to Pelasgiotis, the site visible from Larissa, Ghounítsa and Skotoússa (B.1.20) but invisible from any of the sites on or around the Kámbos plain.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: The settlement is concentrated on and around what is probably a prehistoric *maghoúla* which constituted the core of the original settlement. The outline of outer fortifications is however clearly visible on aerial photographs as cropmarks, indicating that the rest of the settlement lay E and SE of the *maghoúla*. Here, a Hellenistic house has been excavated (unpublished).

Several EIA burial mounds are visible around the actual settlement, some of which are excavated, and a Protogeometric-Geometric cemetery has been excavated ca 1.5 km SE of the *akropolis*.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type A. Ca. 140 masl. Ca. 14 hectares. Large, roughly kite-shaped *maghoúla* (ca 1450 m. in circumference) on N-S axis. Main corner in S which is also the highest point of the settlement. Cropmarks indicate the presence of an internal urban grid with streets radiating from S corner of area towards a general north direction. The *akropolis* possibly mentioned on an inscription found nearby could arguably be located in this S corner of the *maghoúla* enceinte.⁴⁰

Trial trenches by the local Ephorate of Larisa (unlocated) have revealed that the *akropolis* fortifications were 3 m. wide. The excavations by Aravantinopoulos in the early 1920s appear to have been conducted on the *akropolis*, possibly revealing parts of a sanctuary of Athena. Statuettes of Hekataia and Ennodia, as well as votive stelai to Zeus, Apollon, Athena, Aphrodite, Asklepios and Helios have been reported as found on the *akropolis*, but their exact findspots are unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dodwell 1819b, 100; Leake 1835c, 363-366; Ussing 1847, 264-265; Bursian 1862, 67; *IG IX²* 458-471; Stählin 1922; Arvanitopoulos 1924; *BCH* 46 (1922), 518; Stählin 1924a, III-III2; *PECS*, 469; *ADelt* 16 175-182 (1962); *GLhS*, 351-352; *ADelt* 46 *Chr.* 222 (1991); *ADelt* 51 *Chr.* 368-369 (1996); Lang 1996, 279; Nikolaou *et al.* 2012, III-III5; Batziou-Efstathiou and Karagounis 2013. *IACP* nr. 400.

⁴⁰ *BCH* 59 (1935), 36-54.

B.1.7 ΜΑΚΡΙΡΡΆΧΙ (ΚΥΠΑΙΡΑ?)

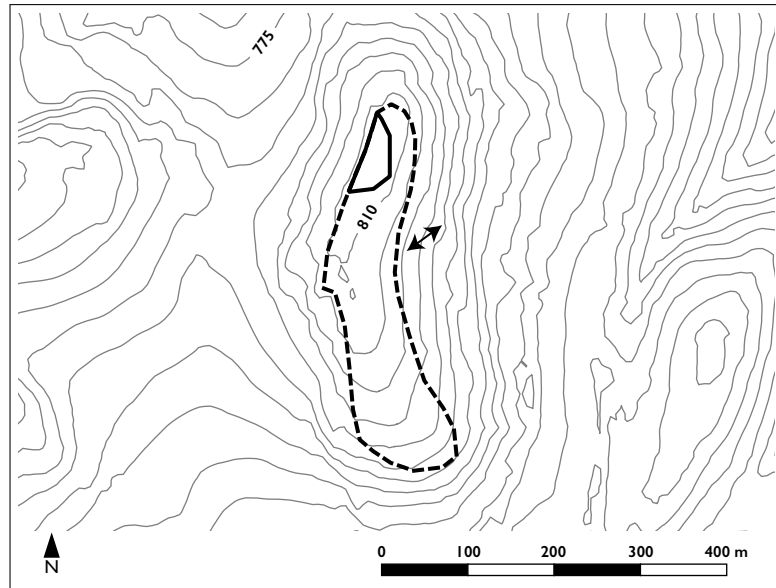


Figure B.9: Kypaira, after Stählin (1924) and Bosch (1982).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Κύπαιρα (Kypaira), Κύφαιρα (Kyphaira).

MODERN NAME(S): Καΐτσα; Μακρυρράχη (since 1928).

POSITION: 39° 4' 43.37" N, 22° 8' 18.53" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In the border area between ancient Dolopia and Achaïa Phthiotis. The mountainous area of the Pindos and Othrys ranges occupies the areas s, w and n of the site, with long deep valleys running in a general n-s direction. Further downhill in e is the Dhaouklí/Xynias basin with former lake Xynias.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: Settlement located on an elongated hill in the foothills above the Xynias basin, ca 2 km sw of modern Makrirrächí (formerly Kaítsa). The fortified area, 775 m. in circumference, ca. 2 hectares, follows the outline of the hill on a n-s axis. Stählin found shards of mainly the Hellenistic period, but notably one piece of painted "Homeric" pottery with a partly preserved inscription. With the exception of the plans made by Stählin and Bosch, no archaeological work has seemingly ever been carried out at the site. No tombs have been noted.

The outline of the *akropolis* hill is visible from most of the basin of Dhaoukli/Xynias, and the location acts as a visual connection between the regions of Dolopia and Achaïa Phthiotis. Among the

visible *poleis* can be noted especially Xyniai (**B.1.23**), but also the more distant sites of Chtoúri (**B.1.4**), Melitéa (**B.1.9**), Mories (**B.1.17**), Néο Monastíri (**B.1.19**) and Smókovo in Dolopia.

A few hundred metres w of the site is the site of Paleokaítsa, the former location of the village now known as Makrirrachi. A few chapels still remains, at which some of the inscriptions belonging to the site was found, unfortunately undated. Livy (32.13.4) describes Kypaira as a “fortress” held by forces opposing the Romans during the Second Macedonian War (198 BCE).⁴¹

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Stählin identified the *akropolis* as a small semicircular area at the northernmost point of the enceinte formed by a *diateichisma* from the general enceinte. This was not noted by Bosch, but appeared at my visit to be fragmentarily preserved. The small size of the general enceinte, however, indicates the possibility that the enceinte as a whole should be regarded as the *akropolis* of the settlement. The latter was then possibly located in the saddle w of the enceinte where ancient shards are abundant, or immediately to the s, where Bosch noted extramural architectural remains.

Both Stählin and Bosch noted the remains of large structures in the southern part of the enclosure as well as a number of rock-cut chambers. These appear to belong to larger buildings constructed on rock-cut terraces in the south-facing slope. Robber trenches further uphill show the existence of further structures below ground. An inscription of an unknown date was found here by Giannopoulos (*IG IX² 223*).

The level of preservation of the fortifications varies; most of the walls facing the location of the abandoned village of Old Kaítsa are only visible as a trace of stones in the ground. The NE corner of the enceinte, however, remains preserved up to 3 courses and over 2 metres,⁴² with very large trapezoidal ashlar blocks (<2 m.) at tower 9, giving a monumental impression. The wall appears to have been ca 2.50 m. wide at most locations. The style of the masonry, ranging from isodomic ashlar to emplekton, at places similar to the lower fortifications at Fársala (**B.1.14**) suggests a possibly Hellenistic date of construction.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Arvanitopoulos 1912, 347; Stählin 1924a, 159-160 (with plan); Stählin 1924b; Béquignon 1928, 463-65; Béquignon 1937a, 332-337; *PECS*, 752-753; Bosch 1982, 13; 28; 82-89; 153-155; 204-206 (with plan); *GLhS*, 403; Helly 1992, 50 (as Ekkara). *IACP* nr. 436.

⁴¹Grainger 1999, 376. ⁴²Not noted by Bosch.

B.1.8 VLOCHÓS (LIMNAION?/PHAKION?)

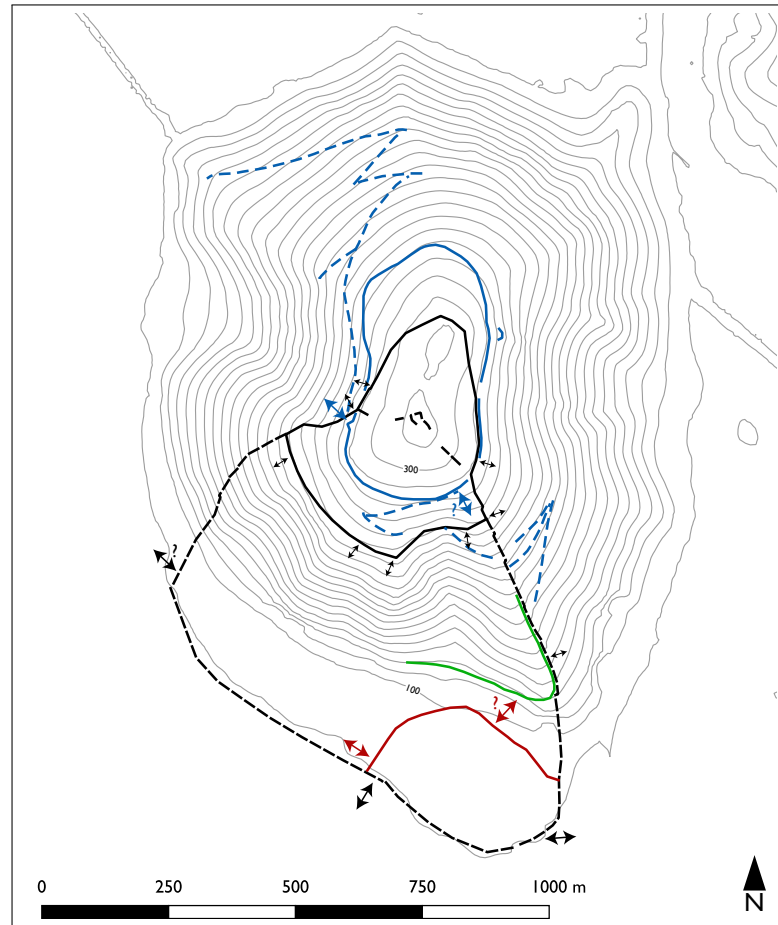


Figure B.10: Limnaion/Phakion, after Vaiopoulou *et al.* (forthcoming). Blue lines indicate pre-Classical fortifications, striped blue lines pre-Classical terraced roads, red line Late Roman fortifications, and green line Early Byzantine fortifications. All other lines Classical-Hellenistic.

ANCIENT NAME(S): *Λιμναίον (*Limnaion) from Limnaeum (Liv. 36.13.9) or Φάκιον.

MODERN NAME(S): Βλοχός. The site is known as Kuşaklı Dağ/Zonάρια/Στρογγυλοβούνι.

POSITION: 39°30'32.69" N, 22°5'16.71" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: At the conflux of several important rivers in the region, the Farsalitikós/Apidanos, Sofadhitikós/Kouarios, and Orghózinios into the Tsanarlís/Enipeus, and the latter into the Salambriás/Pineios. The flat land in combination with the abundance of rivers makes the area quite

rich in marshland, most notably the now drained marsh of Éli Dhermbínia NW of the site. It is quite probable, however, that most of the land surrounding the site was flooded in spring prior to the large irrigation programmes of the 20th century.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: Located on the isolated 313 masl. limestone dome of Strongilovoúni, the fortifications at Vlochós are visible from at least as far away as Kierion (**B.1.5**), 16 km S, but the actual hill itself can be seen as far away as from Thaumakoi (**B.1.21**), 45 km SW.

The remains on the hill show traces of four distinct phases of construction as identified by relative stratigraphic relationships between the phases. Three of these phases are preserved above ground, whereas one has only been discerned through geophysics.

The earliest phase remains (1), which can only be dated as preceding the second (2), consists of a large fortification wall, relatively ellipsoid in shape, enclosing the entire hilltop. The enceinte is ca. 1.3 km in length and encircles an area of ca. 11 hectare (blue line on sketch). The wall is in rough polygonal masonry (“*robopolygonal*”) with stones of varying size with a filling of small uncut stones. It is best preserved in the extreme N and in the SW, where it sometimes reaches over two metres in height. It is also possible in N to see a clear inner face, most of which seems to have collapsed. The wall can be traced without difficulty around the whole summit except for in the very E, where it is sometimes only visible in remaining fundamentals. This construction phase seems to have incorporated a ‘platform’ along the inside of the wall, ca. four metres wide, which probably facilitated movement for the defenders. This is best preserved in N and S but untraceable in E and W. The main access into this enceinte from N was in the W wall, where a large tangential gate is well preserved. The actual entrance in the gate is 3 m. wide, the gateway running at least 10 m. NNW-SSW. A section of the wall in SE almost wholly covered with rubble of a later phase may possibly be the remains of yet another gate.

There are two substantial terraced roads leading to the summit of the hill. The most well-preserved of these begins at the foot of the hill in NW, leading in zig-zag in the slope, turning three times before reaching the area of the big gate in W, where it is extremely damaged. As the road approaches the wall, there is a deviation running towards SW for about 90 m. There is a corresponding road in the S slope, leading up to the supposed S gate. This road is very well-preserved in its E part, but it has been almost completely destroyed by later phases as the fortifications of the latter passed through it.

The second major phase (2) is characterised by the very large and well-preserved enceinte in polygonal masonry that includes both the summit and the foot of the hill in S. The presence of this fortification around the lower area can only be discerned through geophysical work, as most of the stones have been removed. The preserved wall begins on a promontory in SE and continues uphill towards NNW where it ends in a bastion like tower close to the SE gate of the earlier phase. The wall continues from the bastion around the very summit of the hill for ca 600 m. before reaching the area of the W gate of the previous phase. In this part of the wall are 16 towers. In between the first and second tower as well as after the last are two small posterns. The northernmost tower in this section of the wall is very large and may possibly had a bastion-like function. At the point where the this wall crosses the trace of the earlier fortifications, an additional polygonal wall, over 2.5 m. wide and of exceptionally good quality, can be traced running from the point of interception towards SE for ca 40 m. before disappearing. It is possible that this constitutes an abandoned project which was substituted by the executed one (or a “ramp”, see p. 91).

After the last postern, a curtain wall starts to descend the summit towards the plain in sw, making a slight turn towards w before ending in a bastion like tower after 115 m. Here the curtain continues in the general direction of wsw for another 200 m, showing traces of at least two jogs, before it disappears above some modern pens and pens at the foot of the hill. Geophysical prospection (gradiometry) reveals, however, that the fortifications continued a little bit further towards s before they turned se and joined with the se descending wall mentioned above (see sketch). The destroyed section of the wall incloses the area known as Pátoma, where gradiometry and ground-penetrating radar has revealed the existence of a substantial urban-like settlement. At least two large gate complexes, one in the centre of the s stretch and one at the se corner lead into this area. The previous of these was of a court-yard type and the latter a tangential. It is quite probable that a corresponding gate to the latter was located in the sw corner of the enceinte.

This Classical-Hellenistic city appears to have been abandoned, possibly in connexion with the Second Macedonian War. A third phase (3) of fortifications can be discernible through geophysics, probably to be connected with a Late Roman town as suggested by its outline and of surface material. This was limited to the e area of the previous city (red line on sketch). This enceinte was ca. 1 km in length and enclosed ca. 7 hectares. There are two possible gates this enceinte, one in w and one in ne.

The fourth and final phase (4) of fortifications on site consists of a badly preserved stretch of wall along the s slope of the hill as well as repairs of the second phase (2) fortifications in the se slope (green line on sketch). These latter repairs use both *spolia* from the older wall as well as smaller stones joined with white mortar, and appears to only have been completed until roughly the middle of the slope where are traces of repair suddenly cease.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type D and B. Ca. 11 hectares (first phase), ca. 6.7 hectares (second phase). This *akropolis* is by far the largest in this catalogue. The *akropolis* can arguably be identified as either comprising the large enceinte of the first phase or as the smaller area created by the combined first and second phases. There are some remains of structures inside the latter, one of which being a large courtyard house of Classical-Hellenistic type with a substantial internal square cistern. A small (0.05 hectares) roughly eight-shaped enclosure can be noted close to the very top of the hill, which possibly could be the *temenos* of a small sanctuary (?). Just sw of this are a number of small rock-cut cisterns.

A *diateichisma* with at least two towers, possibly three, one small gate and three posterns originates in the sw descending wall ca 40 m. below the bastion, and runs along the middle of the slope towards se until it ends in another bastion like tower in e. This closes off the Classical-Hellenistic *akropolis* from the lower settlement below.

In the s area of the hill-top as well as in the nw are a number of foundations, the functions and dates of which cannot be discerned. Most of the *intra muros* area of the *akropolis* area (except in s) consists of rugged cliffs, making passage hard and tiresome.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Leake 1835d, 319; Ussing 1847, 258-259; Bursian 1862, 74; N. Georgiadis 1894, 206-207; Edmonds 1899, 21; 22-23; Stählin 1924a, 134 (as Peirasia); Heuzey 1927, 75-76; Stählin 1937a (with plan, as Peirasia); Winter 1971b, 421; *TIB* 1, 233 (as Peirasia); *PECS*, 684 (as Peirasia); Lawrence 1979, 155, 477 (as Peirasia); *GLhS*, 706; Decourt 1986, 374-375; Decourt 1990, 120-121; 159-163; Decourt 1995, 1-8; *ADelt* 52 *Chr.* 492 (1997); *AR* 45, 70 (1997); Tsangaraki 2008, 34; Hatziangelakis 2008, 322-323; Nikolaou *et al.* 2012, 82-83; Mili 2015, 181; Vaïopoulou *et al.* (forthcoming). *IACP*, 679.

B.1.9 ΜΕΛΙΤΕΑ (ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΑ)

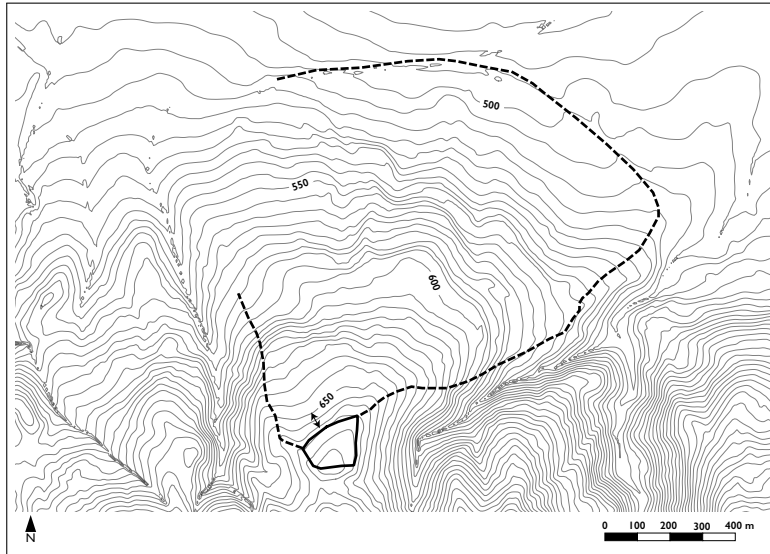


Figure B.11: Melitaia, after Stählin (1924).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Μελιταία (Melitaia), Μελίτεια (Meliteia), Μελιτέα (Melitea).

MODERN NAME(S): Αβαρίτσα; Μελιταία (since 1915).

POSITION: 39°2'18.51" N, 22°27'24.61" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In the SE corner of the Achaïa Phthiotis tableland, consisting of fertile, well-watered, rugged terrain in N and NW and the inaccessible mountain ranges of Othrys in S and E. The ever-expanding *chōra* of Melitaia seems to have been an ongoing subject of dispute in Antiquity, as a number of inscriptions mention border conflicts with the neighbouring *poleis* of Pereia (**B.1.11**), Phyladon (**B.1.17**), Narthakion, and Xyniai (**B.1.23**).

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: Very large (ca. 340 hectares), roughly triangle-shaped enceinte with *akropolis* at S angle. *Intra muros* area on north-facing slope of one of the foothills of the Othrys with visible remains of terracing throughout. In spite of the importance of the *polis* in especially the Hellenistic period, very little has been published on this large site.

Little of the mainly Hellenistic city wall is left, especially in W, towards the modern village of Avarítsa/Melitéa, but the outline is easily discernible in the terrain. Several towers have been noted in the now very damaged N stretch of the wall, with a gate at the NE corner. The masonry style seems to have been trapezoidal ashlar, but the remains are so fragmentary that it cannot be ascertained whether this was the case for the whole fortification system.

The possible site of the theatre can be discerned as a cavity in the terrain, and one of its seats has been observed at the monastery s of the *akropolis*. Structures interpreted as Roman *villae rusticae* have been excavated (not published) just n of the city walls, probably indicating the disuse of the latter already before Late Antiquity.

The *akropolis* at neighbouring Petrotó (B.1.11) in n is clearly visible from the upper parts of the settlement.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type B. Excavations on the *akropolis*, conducted by the Ephorate of Fthiotidha in 1971, yielded remains of various periods, mostly Hellenistic and Late Antique. A section of a fortification wall in ashlar masonry, including a tower flanking a 1.5 m. wide postern, was interpreted by the excavator as an Asklepieion with an adjoining stoa, which seems very unlikely.⁴³ Among the finds can be noted many loom-weights, a bronze mirror and Laconic-type stamped roof-tiles. A building was partially excavated immediately s of the aforementioned tower and gate, yielding remains from Geometric to the Roman period. Among the finds here are to be noted several Late Archaic decorated roof-tiles, most probably belonging to a large temple of the 6th c.

A fragmentary ‘pseudo-polygonal’ stretch of wall was also found in the s part of the *akropolis*. The fragmentary finds excavated in connexion with the wall places it tentatively in the Geometric period or later. Judging from the position of the above mentioned tower, it appears that this ‘pseudo-polygonal’ wall was located outside the main fortifications in the Hellenistic period. The older fortification appears to have followed the general outline of the topography while the later trace of the city wall must have cut this older area, leaving the s part of the original “*akropolis*” immediately outside the enceinte. The construction of the Hellenistic wall is dated by Stavroyiannis to the early 3rd c., and is interpreted as a reconstruction of an earlier wall destroyed in the seismic events that struck the region in 265 BCE. An inscription of the early 3rd c. BCE (in E wall, now disappeared) contained the information that one Amynandros Machaios payed ten talents for the construction of gates and walls. This generous donation could be connected with the Hellenistic construction phase.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ussing 1847, 306-307; Bursian 1862, 85; *IG IX²* 205-212; Giannopoulos 1901, 181-182; Stählin 1924a, 162-164 (with plan); Stählin 1931; *Maier*, 136-138; Ioannidou 1972; *TIB* 1, 218; *PECS*, 569-570; Bosch 1982, 130; 164; *GLbS*, 417; Ameling, Bringmann, and Schmidt-Dounas 1995, 167-168; Cantarelli *et al.* 2009, 138-141; Cantarelli 2009; *AR* 58 (2012), 85; Nikolaou *et al.* 2012, 252-262; Stavroyiannis 2015; Stavroyiannis forthcoming. *LACP* nr. 438.

⁴³The finds by Ioannidou relating to the cult of Asklepios, found in the filling of the Hellenistic wall, can probably be explained as belonging to a secondary context, as the filling of the wall was surely taken from nearby soil and/or debris. The compartments in the wall, interpreted as separate chambers by the excavator, should instead be seen as supporting the rubble fill.

B.1.10 PETRÓPOROS (PELINNA?)

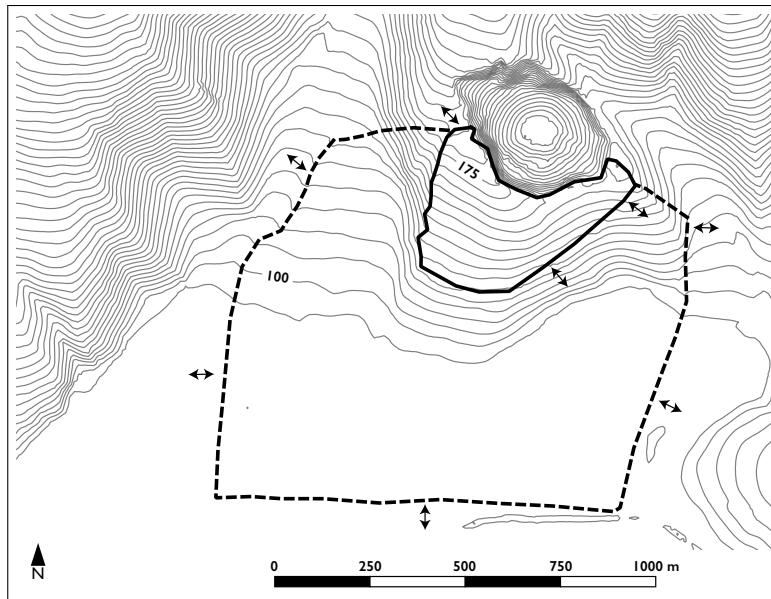


Figure B.12: Pelinna, after Stählin (1937) and Tziafalias (1992).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Πέλινα(ιον) (Pelinna(ion)).

MODERN NAME(S): Παλαιογαρδίκι; Πετρόπορος.

POSITION: 39°34'33.3088" N, 21°55'35.5574" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In Histiaiotis. On the N edge of the Kámbos plain, bordering on the Chassiá range. The neighbouring *poleis* were Trikke in W and Pharkadon (B.1.13) in E. The site N of Neochóri identified by some as that of Homeric Oichalia has the appearance of a Byzantine fortified settlement and was perhaps not inhabited in Antiquity.⁴⁴ Extensive marshland spread from the area of the settlement towards S, the closest neighbour in S was that of ancient Metylion, 19 km S.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: Occupying the S slope of the hill Pátoma and the part of the plain immediately below it. In N, a large natural cavity of a collapsed cave (*dhólini*) known locally as the Zóri Papá limits the extent of the settlement in this direction. The current farmland S of the site was until the early 20th century covered by the marshland of Voúla which fed the Salamvriá/Pineios and its tributary Avláki Rémma in S.

⁴⁴Darnezin 1992, 144-146.

The lower city wall as seen and drawn by Stählin (see p. 77) has been nearly obliterated by bulldozing, but the outline can still be seen in aerial photographs. The most well-preserved part of the fortifications of the lower parts of the settlement, the western stretch (isodomic) going down from the *akropolis*, has been excavated and dated to the late 4th century BCE. In the lowest part of the slope, just above the plain, a large rectangular structure, 30 by 30 m., has been excavated and interpreted as a monumental tomb. There are very few other visible remains of architecture at the site, but the ploughed fields below are very rich in pottery and tile.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type B. 170-125 masl. Ca. 7.9 hectares. On the slope N above the lower part of the settlement, limited in N by the *dhólíni*. The cross wall in polygonal masonry is probably of an older date than the 4th century fortifications of the lower part of the settlement. The *akropolis* walls run for ca 1630 m, and had remains of 13 towers in the early 20th century, but I could observe at least three additional, especially in the stretch of wall between Stählin's towers 9 and 10. It is however highly probable that most these towers belong to a later phase than the construction of the actual wall, as they are of a different style and seem to be later additions to the wall.⁴⁵

At the E corner of the upper enceinte (at Stählin's tower 10) are the remains of a possible gate facing outwards. Stählin noted a possible postern at tower 9, which is at the point of the modern dirt road to the top of the *akropolis* and is therefore much damaged.

At the NW corner of the *akropolis* are indications of a smaller enceinte, now only visible as a terrace, perhaps that of a keep (?), with the remaining parts of the Byzantine basilica Ayía Paraskeví. Whether this belongs to the Classical settlement or to some later period is hard to say. In the NW corner of this area, at the point where the 4th century wall connects with the *akropolis* wall, is what Stählin (1937, 330-331) described as a 37 m. long *Bollwerk*; a 30 by 10 m. large structure in polygonal masonry with some isodomic tendencies. This has parallels at Demetrias and Ghorítsa (both in nearby Magnesia),⁴⁶ but also at nearby Klokotós (**B.1.13**). There seems to be an additional later phase in this structure, as smaller purely isodomic stones can be noted along its top.

The polygonal walls at the N end of the upper *akropolis* plateau seem to have followed the brink of the *dhólíni*, and there are rock cuttings that seem to have been used to fit further polygonal stones. In the corresponding end of the polygonal cross wall at the brink of the *dhólíni* is a large tower, possibly belonging to the original phase of the wall.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Leake 1835d, 287-289; Ussing 1847, 217-222; Bursian 1862, 52-53; Edmonds 1899, 20; 22-23; *IG IX²* 299-300; Stählin 1924a, 116-118 (with plan); Heuzey 1927, 53-55; Stählin 1937b (with plans); *PECS*, 684-685; Winter 1971a, 36; *TIB* 1, 161 (as Gardiki); Lawrence 1979, 333, 477; *GLhS*, 523; Tziafalias 1992 (with plan); Hatziangelakis 2008, 306-307; *AR* 55 (2008-2009), 54; 56 (2009-2010), 112; 58 (2012), 90; Nikolaou *et al.* 2012, 52-55; *ADelt* 66 *Chron.* (2011) [2016] 562; 571-572. *IACP* nr. 409.

⁴⁵Cf. Pírgchos Kieríou (**B.1.5**) and Vlochós (**B.1.8**). ⁴⁶Bakhuizen 1992, 105-114, 156-157. See p. 92.

B.1.II PETROTÓ (PEREIA?)

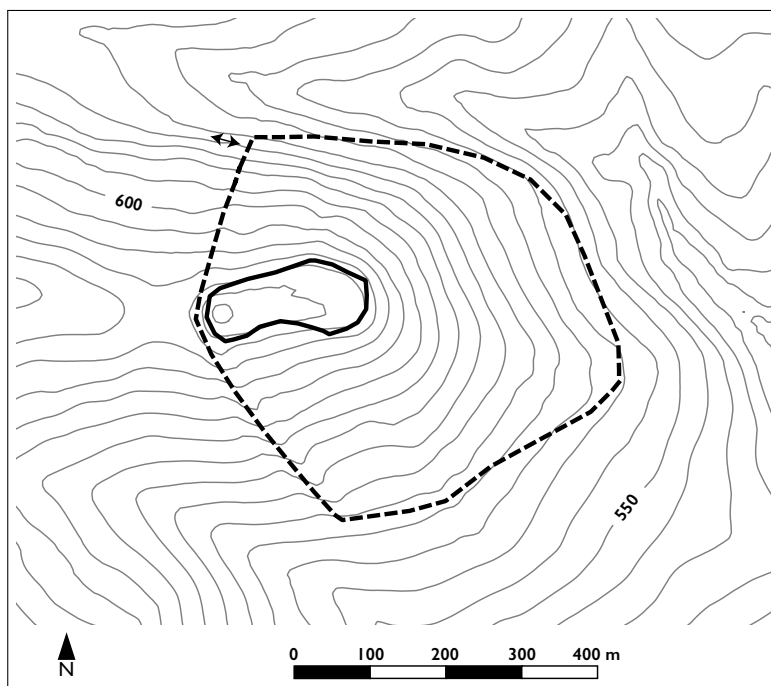


Figure B.13: Pereia, after Stählin (1924) and Bosch (1982).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Homeric Πιερίη (Pierie); Πήρεια (Pereia) or Χαλαί (Chalai).

MODERN NAME(S): Çatma; Τσατμάς; Πετρωτό (since 1930).

POSITION: 39°10'56.63" N, 22°24'16.69" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In Achaïa Phthiotis. Located in the foothills of the Kasidhiáris range (in N), the area consists of fertile hill-land around rivers Kakára (a tributary to the Farsalítis/Apidanos) and Chiliadhiorikós/Enipeus facing the tableland in S. The ruggedness of the area makes inter-site visibility quite limited.

The site at Petrotó can probably be identified with that of the *polis* of Pereia. It appears to have been a small community often involved in territorial disputes with the expansionist neighbour Melitaia (B.1.9) in S which finally annexed it in the late Hellenistic period. A Hellenistic inscription (see B.1.9 above) describes the stretch of the border with Melitaia as arbitrated by representatives of the Aitolian league. This included a sanctuary of Hermes, probably at the location Pirgháki 6.8 km S of the settlement proper.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: On the hillock of Kástro SE of modern Petrotó. Possibly a prehistoric *magh-oúla* either continuously inhabited or resettled at a later point. Crossing the low saddle connecting the hillock with the heights in W is a well-preserved stretch of the outer city wall, built in limestone emblekton masonry with seven preserved towers. The rest of the outer fortifications were quite fragmentary already by Stählin's visit, but can still be traced on aerial photographs as cropmarks.

The site's location on a hill in a small valley makes that in its immediate surroundings, it is mainly visible from SE. From a larger distance, however, it becomes more visible, and can be seen from Melitéa (**B.1.9**) and Móries (**B.1.17**) and even Kallithéa (**B.1.12**). As one approaches the site from SE, the *akropolis* plateau suddenly appears over the hills in front, presenting a formidable silhouette.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type A. The rather flat top of the settlement hill, ca. 0.7 hectare, surrounded by stretches of walls in mainly polygonal masonry with later repairs in ashlar, ca 380 m. in circumference. Inside the *akropolis* enceinte are remains of architectural structures, possibly a temple. The highest point of the area is in W, where the ground is raised.

Bosch's plan indicates that the westernmost part of the *akropolis* is divided by a small cross-wall, in itself a continuation of the outer fortification N of the area. Extending from this is another short stretch of wall, continuing towards a possible semicircular tower in W end of the *akropolis*. This arrangement is similar to the sites of Pírgchos Kieríou (**B.1.5**) and Vlochós (**B.1.8**) and possibly constitute not walls, but ramps leading up to the top of the fortifications. The same plan also shows that there are possible supportive terrace walls further down the slope in S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Leake 1835d, 471; Bursian 1862, 85-86; Stählin 1914, 90; Stählin 1924a, 166-168 (with plan); Kirsten 1940 (as Chalai); Lawrence 1979, 435; Bosch 1982, 28; 75-81; 149-152; 202-203 (with plans); *GLhS*, 530; Cantarelli *et al.* 2009, 85-88.

B.1.12 ΚΑΛΛΙΘΕΪΑ (PEUMA?)

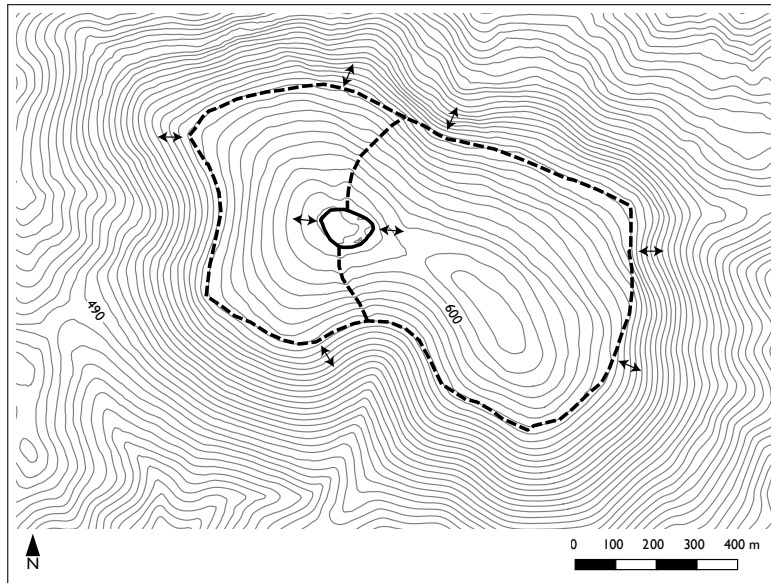


Figure B.14: Peuma, after Lee et al. (2009).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Πεύμα(τα) (Peuma(ta)).

MODERN NAME(S): Kōzler; Κισλάρ; Καλλιθέα (since 1957).

POSITION: 39°12'3.46" N, 22°31'52.68" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In Achaïa Phthiotis. A well-watered region of low and higher hills between the Kasidhiáris/Narthákio ridge, mount Karaboutáki and the Othrys. The Tsanarlís/Enipeas and its tributary Kotsiloréma flows towards N, creating the two main valleys of the area. The region is of great strategic importance, connecting the tableland of Achaïa Phthiotis (sw) with Phthiotis proper (n), and, consequently, both with the Krokian plain and the Gulf of Pagasai in E.

The *polis* of Peuma appears to have been under the political influence of Pharsalos (B.1.14) in the late Classical to Hellenistic period, acting as the latter's 'corridor' to the sea and the conquered area of Halos. A small *kastró* on the hill immediately N of the village of Plátanos overlooks the pass towards Pharsalos, Eretria (B.1.16), and Xiládhes (B.1.22), and along the N edge of the Othrys towards Halos in E is another series of small *kastra* and towers.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: Large urban site with a orthogonal street grid covering most of the summit of the hill immediately E of the modern village of Kallitheia. Located w of the Enipeas, overlooking the passage from the Dhomokós tableland in sw to the Krokian plain in E and the Pharsalian plain in N.

A ca. 2.5 km late 4th century BCE city wall with 40 towers surrounds the whole of the settlement, with two main gates in E and W. The *intra muros* terrain consists of two low peaks (the western containing the *akropolis*) in between which are the remains of the *agora*. Crossing the settlement roughly N-S is a *diateichisma* with seven towers, connecting the city walls with the *akropolis*.

The city wall and most of the settlement has been dated to the late 4th century BCE. The excavators interpret the construction of the city as possibly part of the Macedonian policies in Thessaly at this time, when Pharsalos (B.1.14) was awarded the territory of Halos. Peuma might have been one of the dependent *poleis* under Pharsalos and used as a strong point connecting the Pharsalian plain with the Krokian plain and the sea.

The double hilltop location is visible from many sites in the region, and one has a complete view of the entrances to the Krokian, Pharsalian and Melitaian flatlands in E, N and SW. Peuma is in sight from Petrotó (B.1.11), Skotoússa (B.1.20), Dhomokós (B.1.21), Xiládhēs (B.1.22), Xiniádha (B.1.23); as well as from the nearby sites at Kástro NARTHÁKI in NNW and Tsournáti Vrísi (B.1.2) in SSE.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type D. 0.35 hectares, ca 260 m. in circumference. The almost circular *akropolis* is located on the W hilltop and is surrounded by a wall consisting of polygonal and ashlar limestone masonry. Two gates lead into this small area, the one in W is of a courtyard type whereas the one in E is a tower gate, with the entrance on its S side. The fortifications on the *akropolis* are regarded by the excavators as Classical, except for the gates which have been interpreted as belonging to the same second building phase as the fortifications of the outer, Hellenistic city walls. Inside the *akropolis* walls are foundations of what has been interpreted as a temple.

The *akropolis*, even if barely visible from the main W gate, appears very accentuated from the area of the *agora* just E and below it (see Fig. 4.6 on p. 74).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Leake 1835d, 331; 470 (as Melitaia); Ussing 1847, 297-299; Stählin 1906, 21-23 (as Koroneia); Stählin 1914, 90-91; Stählin 1924a, 165-166 (with plan); Stählin 1937c (with plan); Lawrence 1979, 131, 442, 449, 452, 477; Bosch 1982, 26-27; 30-50; 131-136; 164-177 (?) (with plan); Wieberdink 1986, 22; Lang 1996, 278; *ADelt* 56-59 *Chr.* 559-564 (2001-2004); *AR* 51 (2004-2005), 62-63; 52 (2005), 76-78 (with plan); Kennell 2005, 294-301 (with plan); *AR* 53 (2006), 46; 53 (2006), 60-61 (with plan); Rupp 2006, 211-212; *AR* 54 (2007-2008), 60-61 (with plan); Rupp 2007, 140-145 (with plan); Haagsma, Karapanou, and Gouglas 2008 (with plan); Tziafalias, Haagsma, *et al.* 2009 (with plans); Cantarelli *et al.* 2009, 240-242; Lee *et al.* 2009 (with plan); *AR* 56 (2009-2010), 107. *IACP* no. 439; Surtees 2012; *ADelt* 62 *Chr.* 2007 (2014) 725-730; *ADelt* 63 *Chr.* 2008 (2014) 710-712; *ADelt* 64 *Chr.* 2009 (2014) 594-598. *IACP* nr. 439.

B.1.13 ΚΛΟΚΟΤÓS (PHARKADON?)

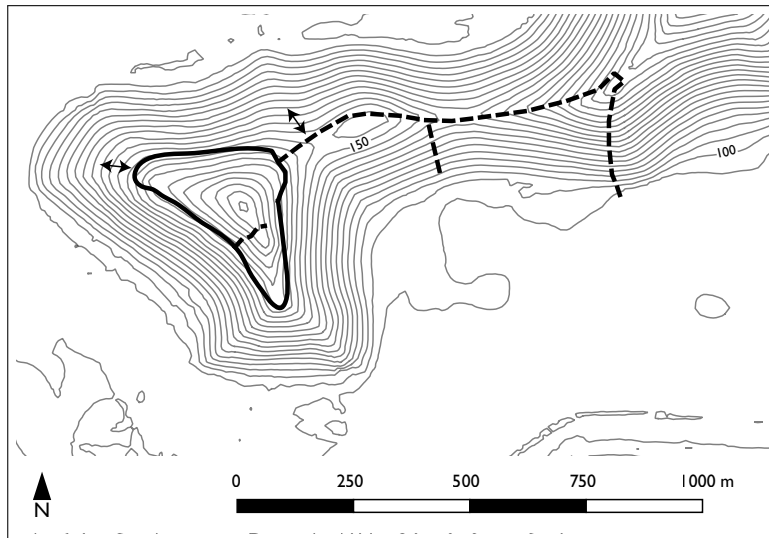


Figure B.15: Pharkadon, after Kirsten (1938) and Theoyianni and Athanasiou (forthcoming).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Φαρκαδών (Pharkadōn).

MODERN NAME(S): Βακλαλί; Μπακλαλί; Κολοκοτός/Κλοκοτός.

POSITION: 39°34'01.0950" N, 22°00'43.2733" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In Hestiaiōtis. In the N part of the great Kámbos plains. In the pre-industrial era, the area lay N of the large marshes of Marathiés and Dherbínia, S of the valleys of Neochóri and Ghrizáno. Limited in W by the marsh of Voúla and the *chōra* of Pelinna (B.1.10) and in E by the mouth of the Kalamáki pass and the *chōra* of Phaýtto (B.1.15). The river Peneios/Piniós flows in a general SW-NE direction through the area, being fed by a large number of small tributaries, including the Kouralis/Neochorítis, the Dómidza, the Lithéos/Trikalinós and the Gangamános.

The valleys of Neochóriō and Ghrizáno N of the area were possibly dominated by the settlements at Kástro Ichalías and Kástro Ghrizánou, of which is very little published, but which are probably of a later, Mediaeval date.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: The visible remains are located on the hill Vígħla/Mikró Vounó/Síkia,⁴⁷ an isolated island-like feature on the plain. The rivers Lithéos and Neochorítis join with the larger

⁴⁷The *GLbS* gives the name of the hill as Vígħla, whereas the National Register of Ancient Monuments (ΔΕΑΜ) lists it as Mikró Vounó, and the topographical map of the Hellenic Army as Síkia.

Peneios/Piniós just SE of the site, and there are several springs on the SE slopes of the hill, creating a small pond at the ruin of the Ayía Sofía church at Pazartópi.

The *akropolis* is located on the W spur of the hill and contains the majority of visible remains. However, on the narrow saddle E of the *akropolis*, which connects it to the larger mountain body, are the remains of a structure, 30 m. long and ca 8 m. wide (ENE-WSW) in polygonal masonry, of which only one course is preserved. Only the E and N faces are still visible. On aerial photographs, it appears that the short E face could possibly continue for as long as 80 m, and could thus be the last part of a long wall. This could not, however, be seen at the time of my visit (April 2015). Another wall, ca 2.5 m. wide but only visible as a fundament, originates at the very corner of this structure and continues just N of the actual top of the saddle towards NE before it turns E and starts to climb the E hill where it eventually terminates at a large single bastion-like tower. Just 20 m. after its beginning, the wall is interrupted by small cleft-like feature in the bedrock, like a deep cut path in the hill that runs NNW-SSE from the plain in N to the probable location of the settlement in S. It appears to be if not artificial then at least artificially accentuated.

Kirsten (1936) has two additional walls running from the middle of the saddle wall towards S as well as one going from the large tower in NE towards the plain in S, but very little of these remains to be seen today. There are possible other ancient remains in the area of the tower, as can be seen on aerial photography, but the ground was covered with weeds at the time of my visit and none could be seen.

The lower settlement was most probably located in the small valley between the *akropolis* and the main mountain body in E. Here, at a location known as Pazarotópi the remains of a three-aisled basilica of the 6th c. CE has been excavated.⁴⁸ The area is now used as a dump by the inhabitants of the nearby village of Klokotós, but several large cut stones can still be seen in the edges of fields.⁴⁹

Pharkadon was razed in the 350s BCE after the Macedonians under Philip II had intervened in its conflict with Pelinna (**B.1.10**). Whether the site was continuously inhabited or later resettled is unknown, but it seems to have been inhabited around 200 BCE when the Aetolians and Athamanians encamped close to it.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type C?. 170-145 masl. Ca. 3.1 hectares, ca. 800 m. in circumference, roughly triangular with one point in S, one in NW and another in NE. A large but poorly preserved polygonal wall follows the steep W slope from the NW corner of the enceinte towards the S corner where it seems to disappear. Just inside this wall is a small terraced area created by the soils retained by the wall, similarly to at Vlochós (**B.1.8**). The wall is very poorly preserved on the E side of the hill, and with some exceptions, only the terrace remains.

The main entrance to this upper enceinte was perhaps just W of the NE corner, where the walls seem to form the outlines of a tangential gate. This could not be ascertained during my visit due to dense vegetation. The N wall is similar to the E wall in that it is mostly traceable as a terrace in the slope. The terrace ends in the NW corner, where it forms a small gate with a possible tower of possible later date. Apart from this, there are no visible towers in the enceinte.

On the very summit, a large pile of small stones supports a cistern or a tower, of the Middle Ages or later. Just SE of this spot are several remains of rectangular structures on a small plateau, all arranged

⁴⁸ *ADelt* 46 *Chr.* 242 (1991).

⁴⁹ Further N, on the summit of the main mountain body, what appears to be further fortifications can be seen on aerial photographs, but whether these belong to the *polis* of Pharkadon or are earlier/later is unknown.

in a general NNW-SSE direction. Further down along the top ridge is a probably Mediaeval tower built of in mixed spolia, tiles and mortar. From it a road towards WSW towards the wall platform in SW, marked on the plan in Kirsten (1938) as a wall. Just E of the older (?) NW gate is another larger cistern, constructed right upon the older wall. The whole N slope above the walls is heavily terraced and shows many traces of structures.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Leake 1835a, 431; Leake 1835d, 290; Ussing 1847, 261; Bursian 1862, 53; N. Georgiadis 1894, 188-189; Edmonds 1899, 210-21; 22-23; Stählin 1924a, 116-117; Heuzey 1927, 57; Kirsten 1938a (with plan); Winter 1971b, 421; *TIB* 1, 238; *PECS*, 699; Lawrence 1979, 477, 434, 457; *GLbS*, 535; Theoyianni and Athanasiou (forthcoming). *LACP* nr. 412.

B.1.14 ΦÁRSALA (PHARSALOS)

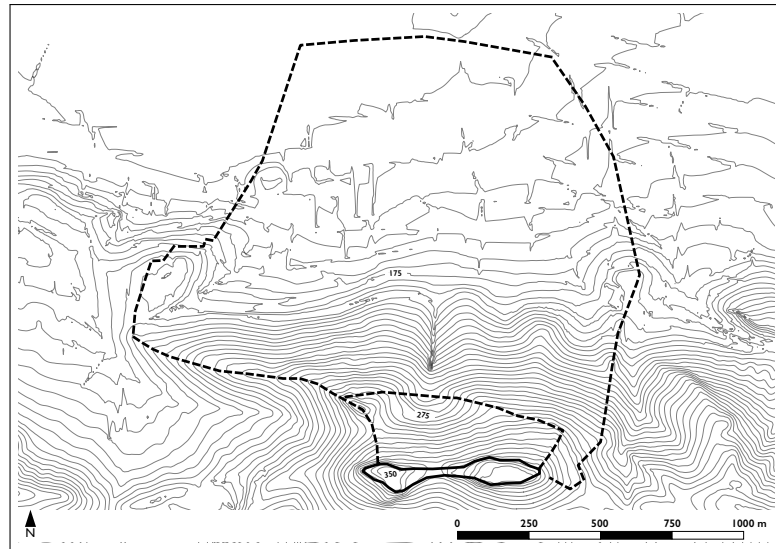


Figure B.16: Pharsalos, after Katakouta and Toufexis (1994).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Φάρσαλος (Pharsalos),

MODERN NAME(S): Çatalca; Τζατάλτζε; Φέρσαλα; Φάρσαλα.

POSITION: 39°17'16.24" N, 22°23'21.93" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In Pelasgiotis. The *chōra* of Pharsalos probably consisted of the area of the middle basin of the river Enipeus, which flows through it. This consists mainly of a flat plain (an outcrop of the larger Western Thessalian plain in w), formerly subject to seasonal flooding, now heavily irrigated. n of the plain is the hill land of Revénia, which divides the Thessalian plains. s of the site are the basins of Rízi and Narthákio, which borders to the Kasidhiáris range even further to the s.

It seems that the influence of Pharsalos grew during the 4th c. BCE, leading to the annexation/incorporation of other minor *poleis* in the area, including Peuma (B.1.12), Euhydrión (B.1.4) and Eretria (B.1.16). After the events of the Third Sacred war, Philip II transferred the *chōra* of Halos in Achaia Phthiotis to the Pharsalians, a situation that probably remained until the re-establishment of the new settlement at New Halos in ca. 302 BCE.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: The site of the ancient settlement is to be found right underneath modern Fársala. The outline of the city fortifications have been established by chance discoveries of stretches of walls during construction work in the modern city, showing that the settlement occupied the n slopes of the hill Profitis Ilías and the lower ground at its foot. Immediately to the w of the walled area is the

location of a necropolis, most notably containing a monumental tumulus tomb of the Archaic period partially built upon the remains of an earlier Mycenaean tholos tomb.

Most of the visible city fortifications are of a Late Roman-Early Byzantine date, probably of the 6th century, following the trace of the Hellenistic predecessor. The visible sections of the lower pre-Byzantine fortifications are built in a neat isodomic style, indicating an Hellenistic date.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type A. Occupying the two top ridges of the hill Profitis Ilías, just s of the modern town of Fársala, and comprises an area ca 500 m. long and 60 m. wide. The ε top is slightly higher than the one in ω, with the latter quite rocky.

The ε and larger summit is rather flat, connected with the ω summit by a saddle. A rock cut road leads from a gate in the N wall of the saddle (with several Byzantine repairs, but originally in a type of near-cyclopean polygonal masonry) towards the summit. Here are several rock cuttings which probably indicates now removed ancient structures. Close to the saddle are some circular cisterns with adjoining rock cuttings that suggest a type of drain for water collection. The N and especially s slopes below this summit are extremely steep, forming a natural defence line reinforced by fortification walls, in trapezoidal ashlar in N and in almost cyclopean polygonal masonry in s. A square tower close to the ε end of the summit forms the connexion with a stretch of wall that continues down the slope to form a *diateichisma*. The ε descending wall (connecting the *akropolis* with the rest of the city fortifications) can be traced a little bit further down the slope in ε. At the s side of the saddle area is a projecting square tower with a smaller gate leading to the steep slope outside the fortified area. The gate with adjoining tower and wall is in trapezoidal ashlar masonry. Immediately inside this gate are two cisterns, one circular and one rectangular, the latter exceedingly large and of a probable Byzantine date.

The ω summit is smaller and less even. The westernmost extremity forms a kind of a bastion where the *akropolis* wall connects with the ω descending wall.

Most of the probable *chōra* of Pharsalos is visible from the summit of the *akropolis*, connecting visually both the plains in N and the basin of Rízi in s. The summit of the site at Xiládhēs (**B.1.22**) is most notably visible above the hills in ε, with most of the latter's surrounding area invisible. The most important neighbour, Skotoussa (**B.1.20**), is not visible, but the silhouette of the *akropolis* at Pírghos Kieríou (**B.1.5**) is quite visible to the far ω as is that of Vlochós (**B.1.8**) (see **Fig. 4.4** on p. 72).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dodwell 1819b, 120-121; Leake 1835a, 448-453; Ussing 1847, 266-270; Bursian 1862, 75-76; *IG IX²* 233-256; Stählin 1924a, 135-141 (with plan); *TIB* 1, 238-239; *PECS*, 699-700; Béquignon 1978 (with plan); *GLhS*, 535-537; Katakouta and Toufexis 1994 (with plan); *AR* 41 (1994-1995), 41; Lang 1996, 279-280; Frederiksen 2011, 182; Nikolaou *et al.* 2012, 99-103; Mili 2015, 174-179; Wagman 2016. *LACP* nr. 413.

B.1.15 ΖΆΡΚΟ (ΦΗΑΨΤΤΟΣ)

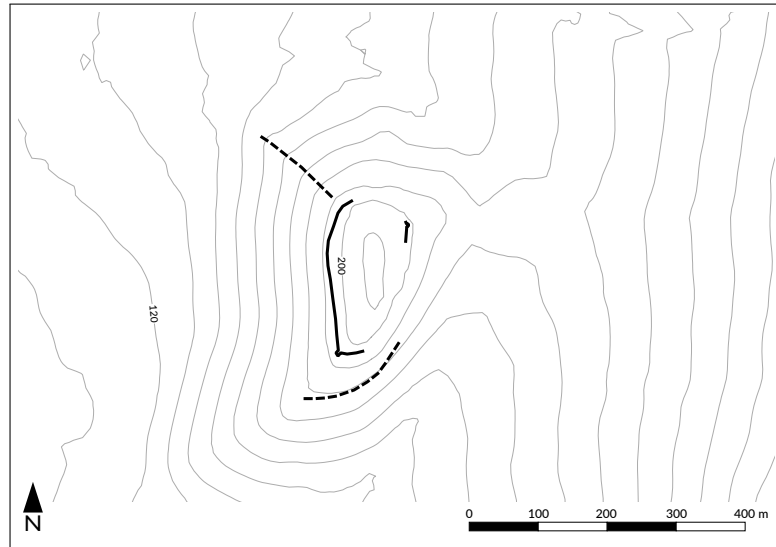


Figure B.17: Phaÿttos, after Theoyianni and Athanasiou (forthcoming).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Φαÿττός (Phaÿttos, Aiol.); Φαÿσσός (Phaÿssos, Ion.).

MODERN NAME(S): Ζάρκο. The hill is known as Κριτίρι/Προφήτης Ηλίας.

POSITION: 39°36'19.31" N, 22°7'51.77" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In Hestiaiotis. Centred around an appendix of the great Kámbos plain, N of the W end of the Kalamáki pass. To the S is a formerly marshy area around river Peneios with the large prehistoric settlement of Platiá Maghoúla. To the E is the extremely steep hills of Kokkinadháki-Koútra, belonging to the mountain range of Chassiá which is also found in N and W. Phaÿttos bordered the *poleis* of Pharkadon (B.1.13) in SW, that of the site at Vlochós (B.1.8) in S, and Atrax (B.1.1) in E. The closest neighbour to the N appears to have been the small *polis* of Erikinion (at Vlachoyiánni?), mentioned in the arbitration of a border dispute of the mid-3rd c. BCE (IG IX² 487).

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: Located on Kritíri, a trapezoidal hill connected with the larger mountain body in W by a narrow saddle, just N of the W end of the Kalamáki pass. The lower settlement might possibly be located below the slope in W or less possibly on the gentle slope just NE of the small hill, where remains from activities during the Greek-Turkish war of 1897 are extensive. Apart from the upper fortifications of the *akropolis*, there is a further stretch of wall on the slope just S of it.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: The hilltop of Kritíri is limited in ϵ by steep cliffs running NNE-SSE, and in ω by a 160 m. dyke-like feature going N-S. This latter feature can be traced also in S, where it runs for ca 20 m. before encountering the cliffs. The N part of the settlement has been much damaged by bulldozing N and ϵ of the chapel of Profitis Ilías, and it is unclear whether the dyke was present even here.

The remaining walls can be found in the outer face of the dyke in ω and indicate an original circuit of ca 440 m., giving 1.3 hectares. A fragmentary tower can be noted in the SW corner of the enceinte, but whether this belongs to the original wall is impossible to ascertain. Ca 40 m. NE of the summit of the hill are extensive remains of the wall in the side of the bulldozed dirt road leading up to the site as well as the fragmentary remains of a tower. The masonry is polygonal where visible, consisting in the best preserved part in NE of quite large stones up to one metre.⁵⁰ The adjoining tower however appears to be of a later construction phase, similarly to Pírgchos Kieríou (**B.1.5**).

The area inside the enceinte is steep, leading up to the rocky summit. In N is the chapel of Profitis Ilías, just below the actual hilltop. In the ω slope are many remains of terraces and structures, in a general W-E direction, some quite large, and just ω and NW of the chapel are foundations and rock-cuttings indicating a large structure. On the summit are the remains of yet another structure, in N limited by three large polygonal blocks in a row with a roughly rock cut space S of it indicating the rest of the structure, ca 8 x 4 m. in a N-S direction. Other similar spaces among the rocks indicate at least two additional structures, 12 and 30 m. long respectively, but lacking any visible superstructure. The northernmost tip of the rocky area of the hilltop has evidently been accentuated and follow the general N-S direction of the structures. Just ϵ of this location, in the side of the bulldozed dirt road are quite extensive remains of further structures.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Leake 1835d, 318; Ussing 1847, 261-262; *IG IX²* 487-503; Stählin 1924a, 115-116; Kirsten 1938b; Kirsten 1956, 44; Fig. 2; *TIB* 1, 283 (as Zarkos); Theoyianni and Athanasiou (forthcoming).

⁵⁰This masonry style is quite similar to that of other *akropolis* sites in the region, such as that of Petróporos (**B.1.10**), Klokotós (**B.1.13**), Fársala (**B.1.14**), and Xiládhēs (**B.1.22**).

B.1.16 ERÉTRIA (PHTHIOTIC ERETRIA?)

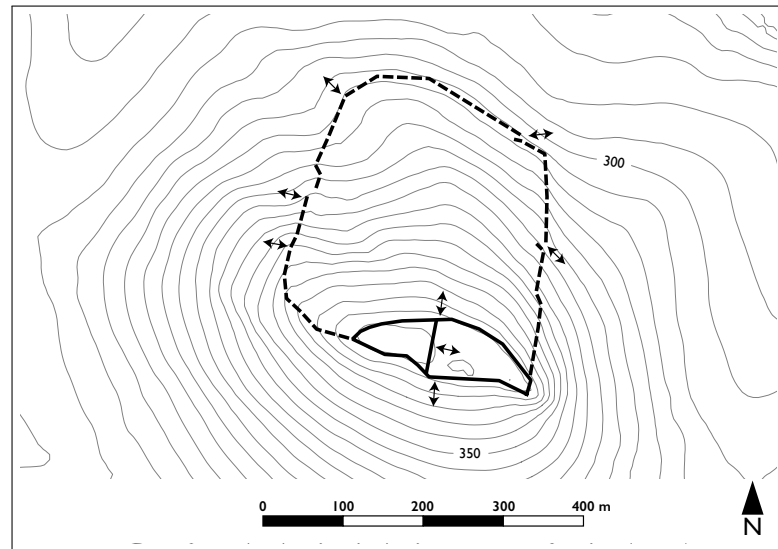


Figure B.18: Phthiotic Eretria, after Blum (1992).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Ἐρέτρια (Eretria).

MODERN NAME(S): Çağlı; Τσαγγλί Ερέτρια (since 1927).

POSITION: 39°17'26.05" N, 22°36'26.02" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In Achaïa Phthiotis. In the NW part of the hills of Saradzí, at the E end of the extension of the Kámbos plain formed by the Tsanarlís/Enipeus, largely corresponding to ancient Phthiotis. The valley of Kókkina connects the latter with the area of Aeríno to the NE. The site is located in a pass between the Krokian plain in SE and Phthiotis in NW, and the area is thus at the crossroads of several settled regions. The area of Eretria appears to have been under the influence of Pharsalos (B.1.14) from quite early on.

A *pyrgos* has been reported on a nearby hill 600 m. to the ssw of the *akropolis*, which allows for a view towards Kallithéa (B.1.12). A prehistoric settlement has been excavated at the nearby *maghoúla* of Karaman Çayır.⁵¹

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: Occupying the top and N slope of the conspicuous hill of Kástro (385 masl.), just SW of the modern village of Erétria. A roughly rhomboid enceinte, ca. 1000 m. in circumference, surrounds the site, creating an *intra muros* area of ca 6 hectares. The rather flat hilltop in the S part of

⁵¹Wace and Thompson 1912, 86-130.

the enceinte was closed off by a *diateichisma*, creating the *akropolis* of the settlement. The steepness of the slope increases towards the *akropolis* in s, and it is probable that most of the internal structures were concentrated in n. Much of the upper part of the slope is almost inaccessible.

The fortifications follow the natural topography of the hill, with larger gates in the w and e stretches of the walls, as well as at the ne and nw corners. The masonry varies between “*pseudopolygonal*” (coursed polygonal) in curtain walls and a “*größerer Tendenz zum Quadermauerwerk*” in towers, corners and gates. The curtain walls are constructed in emplekton with a fill of rubble. Quarry-face dominates both masonry styles, with blocks ranging to maximum 0.6 by 1.8 m. The outer fortification (that is, excluding the *diateichisma*) contains 8 gates, 4 at the level of the lower settlement, all of which are 3 m. in width. There are several stretches with clear indication of Late Roman or Byzantine repairs, indicating two separate phases of construction, one “*antike*” and one Byzantine. Blum puts the date of construction to the time of the Macedonian “*Machtübernahme*” of Thessaly in 344 BCE based on the style and outline of the fortifications.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type A. Ca. 170 m. long and 50 m. wide, covering ca. 0.59 hectare of the flattish, slightly sloping summit of the hill, 385 masl in w, 379 masl. in e. Divided in two by ca. 40 m. cross-wall reinforced with a single tower (possibly Byzantine) with a small postern-like gate (0.6 m.) just n of it. Two entrances lead into the lower division of the *akropolis*, one smaller postern-like gate in the *diateichisma* in n (1.5 m.) and one larger axial gate (2 m.) through the outer wall in s. The latter is supported by a bastion-like feature to its w.

The masonry is very poorly preserved, and shows clear signs of extensive Byzantine modifications and repairs. It appears that the *akropolis* was turned into a fortress at this time, with some minor modifications to the original wall trace. The *diateichisma* is only partially traceable, and the westernmost sections appears to have been hastily repaired, but appears to have been ca. 2.2 m. wide.

Apart from the possibly later tower in the small cross-wall, the *akropolis* fortifications contain no clear towers. Three bastion-like features protrude from the wall in n, w and s respectively (the latter at the aforementioned gate), with one jog in the s wall. The easternmost point of the *akropolis* is located above steep cliffs and acts in itself as a kind of bastion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Leake 1835d, 466-468; Ussing 1847, 272-273; Bursian 1862, 80; *IG IX²* 199-204; Giannopoulos 1893; Philippson 1905; Stählin 1906, 18-21 (with plan); Kip 1910, 28; Stählin 1924a, 174-175; Lawrence 1979, 133, 236, 249, 306, 468 (with plan of gates); *GLbS*, 225; Blum 1992 (with plans).

B.1.17 ΜÓRIES (PHYLIADON?)

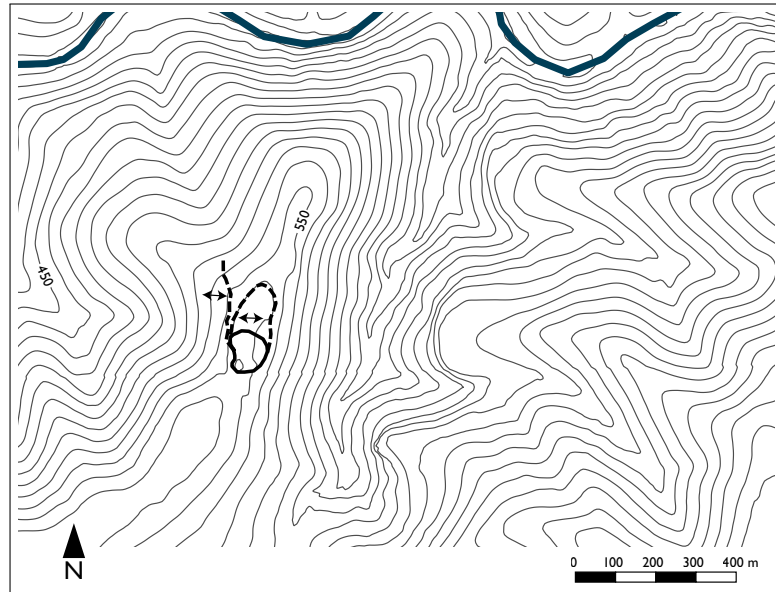


Figure B.19: Phyliadon, after Stählin (1924), Bosch (1982), and Wieberdink (1986).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Φυλιαδών (Phyliadōn).

MODERN NAME(S): Μόριες/Μόριας/Μωρηά.

POSITION: 39°7'30.62" N, 22°29'53.55" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In Achaia Phthiotis. In and around the steep valley of the Ghouriotikós (anc. Kerkineus?), a tributary to the Enipeus/Enipéas in the NW foothills of the Othrys range, which meanders in a general E-W direction in the valley N of the site. The terrain N and E of the site is very steep and inaccessible, and the main route of access appears to have been from the saddle in S. Just S of the site is a small valley with cultivated fields at its bottom. The site of Kallithéa (B.1.12) is 9 km to the NNE, that of Petrotó (B.1.11) 10 km NW, and Melitéa (B.1.9) 10 km SSW. 5 km E of the site are the remains of a fortification at Ghrindiá (ancient Karandai?), and 6 km NE is Tsournáti Vrísi (B.1.2).

Immediately E of the site are two excavated Mycenaean tholos tombs, with indications of later use. Bosch saw fragments of sarcophagi in a field ca. 800 m. SE of the site, indicating a possible necropolis.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: Centred on the the small plateau-like summit of a ridge-like hill, 620 masl., running roughly in a NNE-SSW direction. Bosch's plan of the settlement area differs substantially from that of Stählin, but both are quite schematic in nature. Bosch interprets the site as consisting of the

remains of at least two phases, the second constituting the enlargement of the settlement (as also suggested by Marzolff). It is my impression that Bosch's description of the site is somewhat incomplete (many measurements are lacking), with some of the interpretations consequently misleading.

A ca. 400 m. wall, fragmentarily preserved in E and S but quite well in W and N, encloses a roughly ellipsoid area of ca. 1 hectare, within is also the separately walled *akropolis*. Two gates lead into the inner area through the SW part of the enceinte, giving the impression of two parallel tangential gates separated by a ca. 15 m. stretch of wall. The wall of this enceinte is interpreted as belonging to the first phase by Bosch, and is built in an irregular polygonal style, with a medium width of ca. 2.5 m. Foundations of buildings within this space have been noted by several visitors, which appear to have been organised according to a near-regular scheme.

Immediately W of the plateau and the double gate are the remains of another series of walls, which constitute the second phase of Bosch's interpretation. These appear to follow a general N-S trace in parallel with the W side of the plateau enceinte, and is constructed in a trapezoidal irregular masonry, sometimes preserved to a height of 2.2-3.3 m. (max. 7 courses). A small, tangential gate leads through this wall just a few steps W of the northernmost of the gates in the first phase wall. Aerial photographs suggest that this wall continues further than indicated on Bosch's plan.

Bosch and Wieberdink argue that the fortifications cannot be dated on stylistic grounds, but I would argue that the trapezoidal irregular masonry suggests a Classical-Hellenistic date, which is also supported by the observations made during a 1993 autopsy by the Ephorate of Magnesia.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type A? The available plans of the site display two very different outlines of the fortifications and of the *akropolis*. Stählin's plan harmonise proportionally better with the aspect of aerial photographs, whereas Bosch's displays more detail. In the former, the 50 m. wide settlement *akropolis* is "*kreisrund*", occupying the S half of the main enceinte, whereas the latter has a very small and fragmentary enclosure of ca. 10 m. diameter at the S extremity of the main enceinte.

Cantarelli reports of the find of a fragmentary handle "*(d) a un edificio dell'acropoli*", carrying the inscription $\epsilon\rho\acute{o}$, indicating a possible sanctuary on the *akropolis*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Giannopoulos 1901, 183; Stählin 1914, 93; Stählin 1924a, 168 (with plan); Kirsten 1941; Bosch 1982, 14; 28-29; 90-94; 156-157; 207-209 (with plan); Wieberdink 1986, 20-21 (with plan); Malakasioti 1994, 705; Marzolff 1994, 256; *GLhS*, 549; *ADelt* 53 *Chr.* 423 (1998); Cantarelli *et al.* 2009, 236-238; Fig. 21-23.

B.1.18 ΦΪΛΛΟΣ (PHYLLOS?)

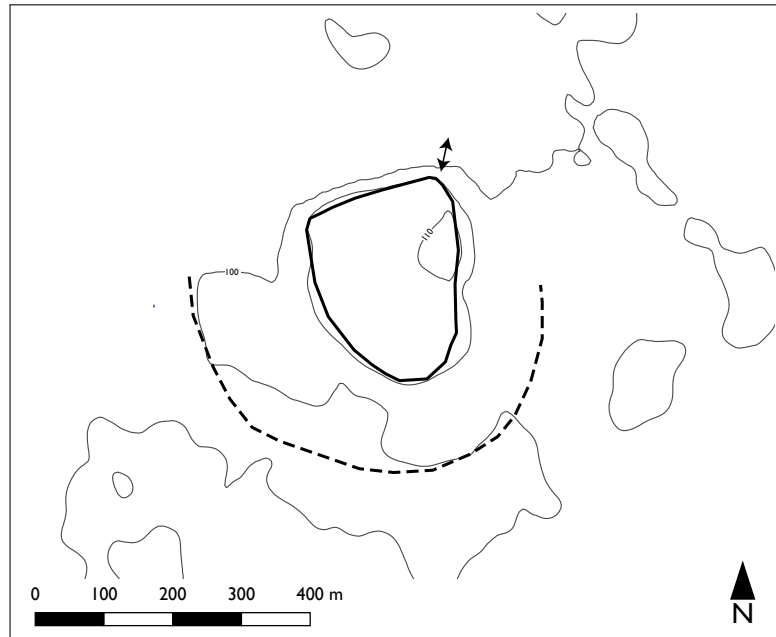


Figure B.20: Phyllos.

ANCIENT NAME(S): Φύλλος (Phyllos).

MODERN NAME(S): Şambali; Σαμπαλή; Φύλλο (since 1930). The site is known as Μαγούλα Παλι-
άμπελα or Χωματόκαστρο.

POSITION: 39°24'42.7809" N, 22°11'03.7648" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In Thessaliotis. The site is located on the large Κάμβος plains, ca 3 km. w of the large hill Φιλλέον Όρος/Doğanca Dağ (which has a series of ancient fortifications). 7 km w of the site is the location of ancient Peirasia at modern Ermítsi; 11 km sw is Kierion (B.1.5); 10 km s is the site of Thetonion at Yefiria; 10 km se is the hill of Chtóuri (B.1.4); 9 km nne is the dyke enceinte at Sikeón; and 13 km nw is the hill of Strongilovóuni and the remains at Vlochós (B.1.8). The area is very rich in *maghoúiles*, and the surrounding terrain is extremely flat with former marshland and irrigated fields. The river Apidanos/Farsalitikós flows through the sw part of the area in a se-nw direction towards Vlochós. The modern course of Enipeus/Enipéas flows along the foot of Φιλλέον Όρος/Doğanca Dağ, about 2 km ne of the site, roughly following the course of the former Ofios stream. A vast marshland stretches from the n part of the region at the foothills of the Revénia range to the n towards the area of Vlochós further to the nw.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: Centred around a large roughly triangular *maghoúla*, the site bears many similarities to that of Krannónas (B.1.6). This *maghoúla* is plateau-like, ca. 5.4 hectares in size with a perimeter of ca. 870 m. The edges of the plateau are steep, dropping 5-6 m. to the flat land of the surrounding plains. Immediately E of the plateau is a higher area, yet not as elevated as the plateau, which could possibly be an extension of the settlement.

Finds from the Neolithic, the Middle Helladic, Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods have been noted at the site, indicating a very long period of settlement. The Prehistoric material is concentrated to the SW of the plateau, while the plateau is rich with black and red glazed Classical-Hellenistic ware. Aerial photographs shows vague crop marks indicating possible streets. Decourt observed a possible gate at the N edge of the plateau, which has since been destroyed by agricultural activities.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type F?. Most of the top of the *maghoúla* is quite flat, with the exception of the NE edge, where there is a small peak, 4 m. high, where the highest spot of the site is (112 masl.). Figurines have been found at this place, possibly indicating a small sanctuary at the location. This peak is interpreted by Decourt as the small *akropolis* of the settlement, covering less than a hectare with a circumference of ca. 340 m. The whole *maghoúla*, however, could constitute the *akropolis*, as historical aerial photographs indicate what could be the fortifications of a lower settlement.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stählin 1924a, 133; Decourt 1986, 359-366; Decourt 1990, 148-152; Tsangaraki 2008, 33; Nikolaou *et al.* 2012, 85; *ADelt 66 Chron.* (2011) [2016] 584-585.

B.1.19 ΝΕΟ ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙ (PROERNA)

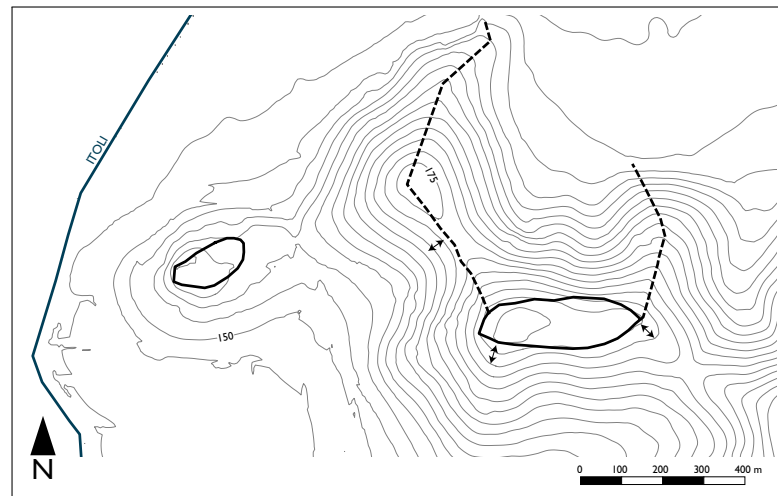


Figure B.21: Proerna, after Stählin (1924), Bosch (1982), and Papakonstandinou (1994) and (2007).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Πρόερνα (Proerna).

MODERN NAME(S): Çoban; Νέο Μοναστήρι (since 1927, or rather 1955 when the present village was built). The site itself is known as Γυναικόκαστρο.

POSITION: 39°14'33.84" N, 22°16'49.12" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In Achaïa Phthiotis. The E border of the great Kámbos plain, at the w extremity of the Kasidhiáris range, the Klári, as this extends into the plain. The stream of Mavronéri runs from the village of Vardhalí in s towards N and the marshland of Vrisí-Chadziámár, where it is emptied into the Apidanos and its tributary the Kakára.

2.5 km SE of the site is the *maghoúla* of Koutroulouí, a Neolithic to LBA settlement currently excavated by the Ephorate of Fthiotidha and the British School at Athens. The presence of several other *maghoúles* in the vicinity indicates that the area was densely inhabited in prehistoric times.

The area borders on that of Thetonion, 10 km to the NW, to Euhdrion (**B.1.4**) 10 km to the N, Fársala (**B.1.14**) 10 km to the NE, Petrotó (**B.1.11**) 13 km to the SE over the Kasidhiáris range, Dhomokós (**B.1.21**) 13 km to the S, Ekkára (**B.1.3**) 12.5 km to the SW, and Pírgchos Kieríou (**B.1.5**) 22 km. to the NW.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: Located on top and N slopes of an outcrop of the Klári hill at E edge of the Thessalian plain. The walls have been dated to early 3rd century BCE, and extend from *akropolis* along promontory in w (towards NW) and down slope in E (towards N). Stählin reported 20 towers, Bosch an additional 2. The “amphitheatre” (sic.) of Bosch in the small vale N of the hilltop probably the location of lower settlement.

The older settlement location probably on and around the *maghoúla* of Tapsí, immediately w of site (0.8 hectares, 360 m. in circumference). Settlement remains from the EBA and onwards (including a Geometric tholos tomb) shows that the latter location was continuously inhabited until the Classical period. A 5th c. BCE fortification in irregular ashlar has been noted along the base of the hill in sw. In the 4th or 3th c. BCE, the settlement appears to have been moved to this latter site at the time of the construction of the more substantial fortifications of Yinekóastro.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type A. Ca. 2 hectares, ca 660 m. in circumference. On hilltop, bounded by general enceinte in E, S and W, and by fragmentary terrace wall in N. Monumental gate in SE, two posterns in S. S fortifications excavated and partially restored by Ephorate of Antiquities at Lamia.

The S wall of the *akropolis* contains 12 rectangular towers (interdistance 30-40 m.) and is constructed in a trapezoidal isodomic masonry preserved up to 8-9 courses. The width of the wall varies between 1.5 to 2 m., with 'compartments' supporting the rubble fill. At the SE corner of the *akropolis* is a L-shaped gate, 6.6 m. wide, with two adjoining towers.

There are no reports of internal structures on the *akropolis*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dodwell 1819b, 122; Leake 1835a, 455; 459; Bursian 1862, 76; Kip 1910, 70-71; Stählin 1924a, 157-158 (with plan); Daux and Coste-Messelière 1924, 356-359 (with plan); Winter 1971a, 151; 221; 223; *PECS*, 740; Lawrence 1979, 178, 322-323, 478 (with plan of *akropolis* gate); Bosch 1982, 27; 51-66; 137-146; 178-193 (with plan); *GLhS*, 568; Papakonstandinou 1994 (with plan); *AR* 53 (2006), 59; Papakonstandinou 2007 (with plan); Froussou 2008 (with plan); Bougia 2009, 331; Cantarelli *et al.* 2009, 29-34; Nikolaou *et al.* 2012, 262-268. *IACP* nr. 441.

B.1.20 ΣΚΟΤΟΥΣΣΑ (SKOTOUSSA)

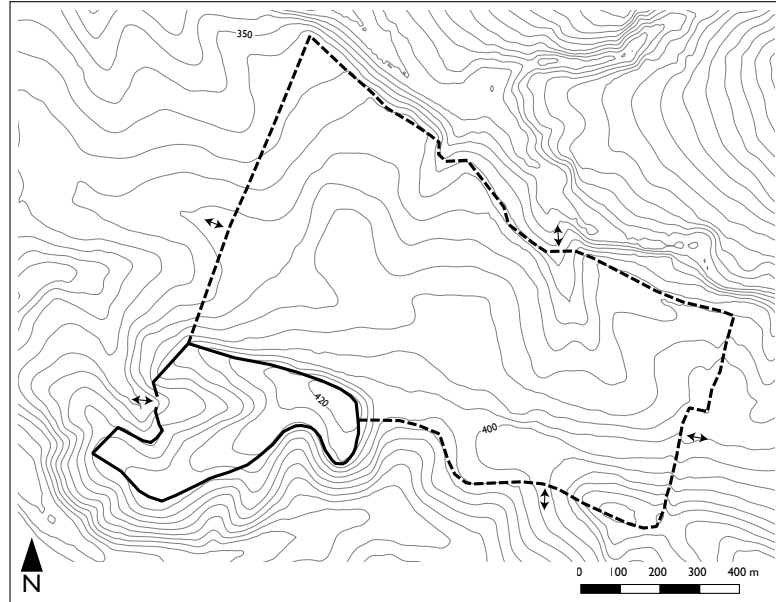


Figure B.22: Skotoussa, after La Torre *et al.* (2016).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Σκοτούσσα (Skotoussa).

MODERN NAME(S): Arnavutli; Αρναουτλί; Άνω Σκοτούσα (since 1927).

POSITION: 39°23'3.78" N, 22°32'27.96" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In Pelasgiotis. In the low hill land N of the plain land NE of modern Fársala, bordering on the hills of Paleócastro-Kara Dağ in N. Ancient Skotoussa appears to have controlled a vast area, as the closest neighbours are distant: Pharsalos (B.1.14) 17 km S, Pherai 16 km E, Krannon (B.1.6) 25 km NW, Larissa 30 km NNW. The smaller settlement of Xiládhēs (B.1.22) is closer at 10 km S as is Erétria (B.1.16) at 12 km SE.

A Classical site on the hill of Livadháki close to the village of Dilófo could possibly be a secondary site at the frontier towards Krannon in NW. This site could, however, also be of a prehistoric date. The sanctuary of Thetideion was reportedly in the area of Skotoussa, but its location has not been ascertained. Possible candidates are the sites at Kástra (4 km SW), Vasiliká (6 km S) and Paleócastro Ambélión (8.5 km SW). A large fortification has been noted at Paleócastro Skotoúsas, 4.5 km NE of the settlement, which has yielded surface material of the Hellenistic and Byzantine periods.

⁵²Now in the Archaeological museum of Larissa, inv. no. 83/6.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: Very large urban settlement, ca. 60 hectares, with remains of a circuit wall of ca. 3.8 km, the outline of which is described in a 2nd c. BCE inscription found close to the site.⁵² The *intra muros* area consists of a flat area in N gently sloping northwards towards a the ravine of a small stream. In SW is a hill with several outcrops which constitutes the *akropolis*.

The site of Skotoussa has only recently become the subject of systematic archaeological research (conducted by the Ephorate at Larisa in collaboration with the Italian School at Athens). The preliminary results indicate that the site was originally settled already in the Neolithic, but that it is only in the Archaic period that a more substantial settlement is established on the *akropolis* and immediately N of this. In the late Classical-early Hellenistic period, the settlement was extended to cover a large area N, NE and E of the *akropolis*. This was encircled by a city wall in isodomic ashlar masonry. Remains of large public buildings have been identified on aerial photographs and partially excavated by the Greek-Italian team.

It appears from surface pottery that Skotoussa was abandoned in the early Roman period, only to be rehhabited in Late Antiquity. After the early Middle Ages, however, the site is again abandoned.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type A. 6.5 hectares, ca 1000 m. in circumference. Called *akra* in the above mentioned inscription found close to settlement. A fortification wall, 3 m. high and roughly 1.5 m. high (?), in polygonal masonry appears to have surrounded the *akropolis* area in the Archaic to Classical period. At this time, the *akropolis* constituted the only fortified area within the settlement. In the late Classical period, the polygonal masonry wall was repaired/reconstructed in W, S and SE, using the old material combined with ashlar masonry. The excavators link this with the construction of the larger fortification circuit in ashlar masonry that surrounds the extended settlement area. The section of the *akropolis* wall that faced the extended area of the settlement was kept, acting as a kind of *diateichisma* of the separately fortified enceinte.

One possible gate in the outer W fortification wall, at the site of a small dell, has been identified by the excavators. This is also where Stählin locates the theatre, the existence of which only known from literary sources. The top of the easternmost summit of the hill (401 masl.) constituted the *akra*, and aerial photographs indicate a possible large structure at this location.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Leake 1835d, 454-464; Bursian 1862, 70-71; *IG IX²* 397-410; Stählin 1924a, 108-111 (with plan); Winter 1963, 380, note 68; *PECS*, 845-846; *GLhS*, 626; Decourt 1990, 110-112; Missailidou-Despotidou 1993 (with plan); Nikolaou *et al.* 2012, 115-119; La Torre *et al.* 2016. *IACP* nr. 425.

B.1.21 ΔΗΜΟΚΟΣ (ΘΑΥΜΑΚΟΙ)

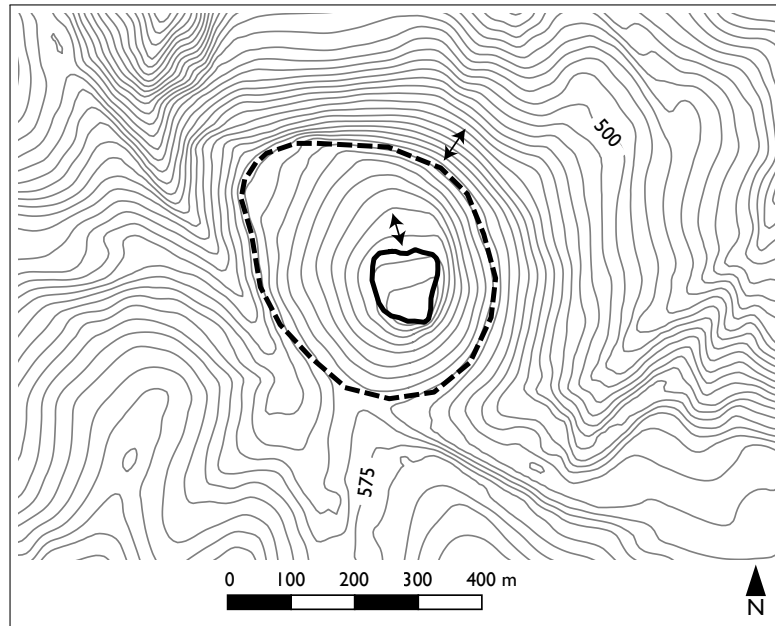


Figure B.23: Thaumakoi, after Stählin (1924).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Θαυμακοί (Thaumakoi).

MODERN NAME(S): Δημοκός; Dömeke.

POSITION: $39^{\circ}7'48.52''$ N, $22^{\circ}17'51.39''$ E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In Achaïa Phthiotis, but visually mostly perceptible from Thessaliotis and Hestiaiots in the Kámbos plains in N. Located on the N rim of the Xyniai/Dhaoukli tableland of the wider Othrys range, controlling one of the main N-S routes to Thessaly. According to Livy, the *polis* acquired its name from the word *thauma* ('wonder') as the sight of the Thessalian plains from the location was (and still is) quite wonderful (32.4). The *chōra* appears to have covered the N slopes of the tableland area as well as a section of the quite marshy plain immediately to the N. A sanctuary was possibly located somewhere N of the settlement, based on the find-spots of inscriptions. The fortification of Strongilókastro, 2 km. S of the modern village, is Ottoman of an unknown precise date.⁵³

The *polis* bordered that at Ekkára (B.1.3) to the W, Néο Monastíri (B.1.19) to the N, Petrotó (B.1.11) to the NE, and Xiniádha (B.1.23) to the S. A secondary settlement (?) has been noted at modern Omvriakí, ca. 3 km SE of the settlement.⁵⁴

⁵³Pallis 2008, 571-573. ⁵⁴Stählin 1924a, 161.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: As the ancient city was located right underneath the modern town of Dhomokós, it has always been difficult to trace the outline of the settlement. Hellenistic city fortifications consisting of a semicircular tower and walls in 'rustic' ashlar masonry have been found at the *platia* just s of the *akropolis*. Topography and the observations by Stählin, however, indicates that most of the *asty* was located in the NW slope immediately below the *akropolis*.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Probably type A. The *akropolis* was in the early 20th c. mostly covered by the Mediaeval *kastro*, but seems to have been roughly rectangular (100 x 70 m). No ancient nor pre-Modern structures can be observed today, as a modern park installation with concrete paving covers the whole hilltop. The fortifications were apparently (according to drawing by Bosch) in trapezoidal ashlar style, with sections visible in the SW slopes of the hill.

Most of the sites on the Kámbos plain are visible from the *akropolis*. On clear days, one can clearly see as far as to Vlochós (**B.1.8**), 45 km to the NNW.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dodwell 1819b, 122-124; Leake 1835a, 457-458; Ussing 1847, 302; Bursian 1862, 85; *IG IX²* 215-222; Stählin 1924a, 155-157 (with plan); Daux and Coste-Messelière 1924, 354-355; Stählin 1934; *ADelt* 28 *Chr.* 282-283 (1973); *TIB* 1, 148-149; *PECS*, 903-904; Bosch 1982, 131, Fig. 4; *GLhS*, 200-201; Papakonstandinou 1994, 235; Cantarelli *et al.* 2009, 64-67. *IACP* nr. 443.

B.1.22 ΧΙΛΆΔΗΕΣ (PALAIOPHARSALOS?)

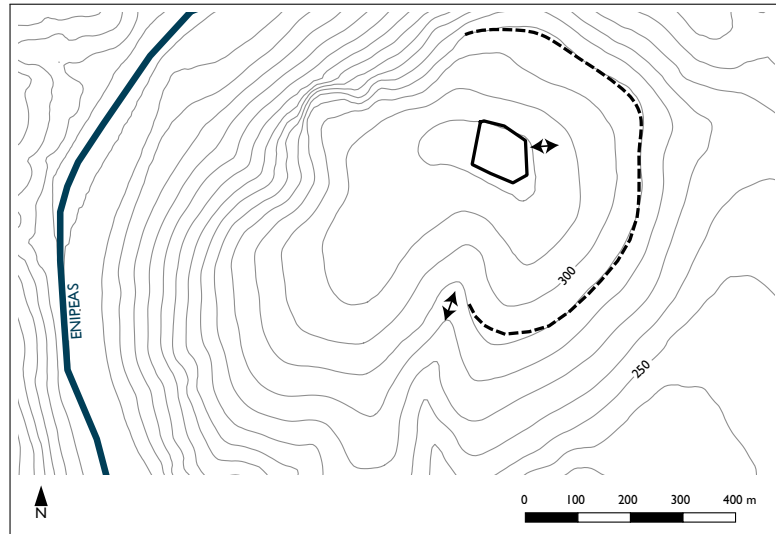


Figure B.24: Xiládhēs, by author after aerial photographs.

ANCIENT NAME(S): Παλαιοφάρσαλος (Palaiopharsalos)?

MODERN NAME(S): Γενιτσαροχώρι; Ξυλάδες (since 1928), the location is known as Κάστρο.

POSITION: $39^{\circ}17'33.8784''$ N, $22^{\circ}31'28.5636''$ E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In Pelasgiotis. In the undulating landscape E of modern Fársala, in the area between the rivers Enipeus/Enipéas and Asmáki, E of their conflux at Ambéλια. The site commands visually the flat area to the E and NE towards Erétria (B.1.16) as well as the more hilly ground towards SE and Neráidha and the slopes of the hill Meranítis (614 masl.). This means that the area must have been within the sphere of influence of Pharsalos (B.1.14), at least in the Classical and early Hellenistic period. The closest neighbouring area to the S was apparently the site at Kallithéa (B.1.12), possibly also under Pharsalian influence.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: Isolated hill in bend of the Enipeus/Enipéas, in S and E gently sloping towards the fields below, but in N and especially W very steep towards the ravine formed by the river. The S part of the hilltop is cut by a small stream, creating the impression of two plateaus on top.

The remains of a large polygonal wall with stones up to 2.5 m. can be traced from the area of the small gully in S along the slope in E for ca 475 m. until the easternmost part of the site, where it has been destroyed by a modern bulldozed road. From this point along the N slope however, the wall continues for at least 275 m. and is here quite well preserved. A large polygonal terrace wall (?), at least 50 m, can

be seen parallel with the ϵ wall close to the point where the latter has been destroyed. The gate flanked by bastions seen by Decourt in s appears to have disappeared completely. By the time of my visit, no trace was to be seen of the '*phrouzion*' described by Decourt.

The *intra muros* part of the settlement has been severely disturbed by modern agricultural activities, most notably the planting of fruit trees (now all dead due to wildfire). Stones, some clearly belonging to structures and some very large, can be seen scattered all around the fields and clearings on the hill. Aerial photographs (of Sep 2016) show that after my visit in 2015, the *intra muros* area has been bulldozed yet again.

Very few shards can be seen on the hill, on the w side I was only able to see some fragmentary tiles. In the field right ϵ of the destroyed part of the ϵ wall are however plenty of visible shards and fragments of tiles, indicating a possible outer settlement. Decourt saw more shards on the hilltop, which he dated to mostly Hellenistic, with some rare Roman and Byzantine material, as well as occasional Neolithic shards in the n. Some shards collected by Morgan (1983, 33) outside the enceinte were reportedly Hellenistic-Roman, but it is unclear whether they were collected below the upper or lower wall. Decourt dates the fortifications to the Archaic period, comparing them to those at Chtoúri (B.1.4).

The site of Xiláthes is very strategically located, and connects visually with Erétria (B.1.16), Kallithéa (B.1.12), and Skotoússa (B.1.20), as well as the sites at Kástro NARTHÁKIΟΥ and Tsournáti Vrísi (B.1.2). The *akropolis* at Fársala (B.1.14) is very strikingly visible from the top of the hill in between the summits of two intermediary hills.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Small enceinte of a roughly polygonal form located on the very summit of the hill, 0.5 hectares, ca 275 m. in circumference. Most of the masonry is covered by rubble and soil, but seems to have been made of small (<40cm) uncut stones with a rubble filling. thick. In the NE corner was a possible entrance.

The inside of the enceinte was at the time of my visit covered with *pournaria* recently charred by wildfire, which made any closer understanding difficult. It seems, however, that there is a central rectangular platform in the middle, supported by small terrace walls (visible in NE). In the middle of this are the remains of a structure covered in rubble, ca 20 by 10 m, in the general direction of WNW-ESE. A black stone altar with a dedication (SEG 40.484) to Zeus Thaulios has reportedly been found inside the enceinte, which could possibly indicate the presence of a sanctuary. The *akropolis* could be based on the rather weak masonry, alternatively be interpreted as a *temenos* of a sanctuary, somewhat similar to that found on the *akropolis* at Vlochós (B.1.8).

The silhouette of the *akropolis* is very clearly distinguishable especially from the N at the crossing over Enipéas, where it presents a very striking appearance over the ravine of the river.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Leake 1835d, 469; Stählin 1924a, 143; J. D. Morgan 1983, 33; Decourt 1990, 185-223.

B.1.23 ΧΙΝΙΑΔΗ (ΧΥΝΙΑΙ)

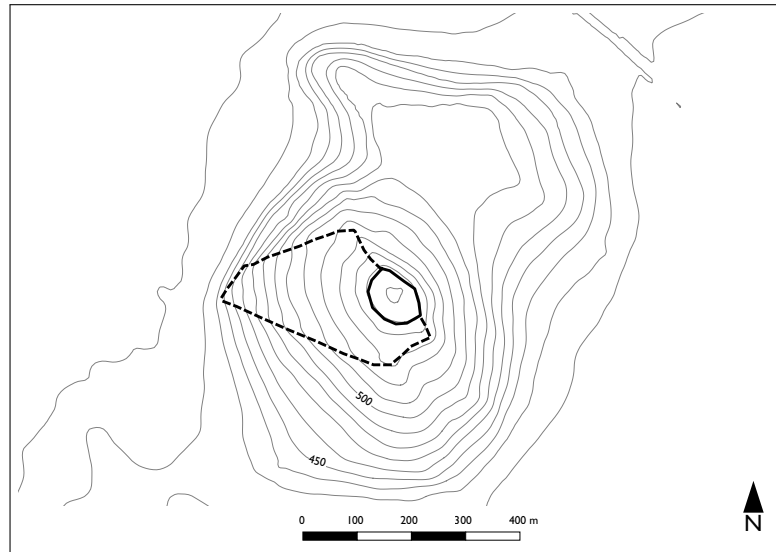


Figure B.25: Xyniai, after Stählin (1924), Daux and Coste-Messelière (1924), and Bosch (1982).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Ξύνιαι (Xyniai).

MODERN NAME(S): Nézero; Tavukli; Δαουκλί; Ξυνία/Ξυνιάς/Χυνιάδα (since 1916). The hill is known as Νησί.

POSITION: 39°2'17.68" N, 22°16'8.71" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In Achaïa Phthiotis. In the ε part of the tableland of Xynias/Dhaouklí and at the s shores of former lake Nézero/Xynias. Bordered in s by the higher terrain of the Othrys range and the ancient region of Ainis, in w by the Ághrafa area and ancient Dolopia, in nw by the *chōrai* of Makrirráchi (B.1.7) and Ekkára (B.1.3), and in n by Dhomokós (B.1.21) and the northern hills framing the tableland. To the ε was the *chōra* of Melitaia (B.1.9), the border of which was repeatedly disputed, which called for Aitolian arbitration in the late Hellenistic period.

Lake Xynias dominated the area, a shallow waterbody rich in fish that was drained in the 1940s as a part of a land-reclamation programme. One of the major routes into Thessaly went through the Fóurka pass from Lamia in Malis through the area of Xyniai up to Dhomokós.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: Located on rocky hill, previously a seasonal island in the drained Lake Nézero/-Xynias. Steep cliffs along nw and ne slopes. Fortifications, ca. 1000 m. circumference, surround hill-top and w and s slopes. Bosch counted 13 towers, 4 of which to be regarded as jogs in wall. Southern

stretch of fortification reinforced with 6 strong towers. No identified entrance to enceinte. Bastion-like towers in N, E and S corners of enceinte.

Internal area gently sloping towards W, containing some terrace walls, but no visible traces of buildings. Indications of habitation are, however, visible on the very flat ground immediately NE of the fortified area, but whether these are ancient or belonging to the Mediaeval settlement of Nézero cannot be ascertained.

No archaeological work has been conducted at Xyniai, apart from an unpublished excavation of “an ancient Greek temple”,⁵⁵ making all datings based on stylistic observations. The settlement was destroyed by the Aitolians in 198 BCE, but an inscription of ca. 112 CE, apparently a copy of an honorary inscription for Nero, shows that there was a *polis Xyn[iaion]* at this later point.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type A. 0.9 hectares, ca 250 m. in circumference. Small oval enclosure connected with the general enceinte in NE, with tower at N joint. Mostly isodomic masonry, ca. 2 m. wide, with later Byzantine additions. Maximum height of pre-Mediaeval wall, 0.5 m. At centre, remains of large Byzantine tower.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Leake 1835a, 460; Stählin 1924a, 160-161 (with plan); Daux and Coste-Messelière 1924, 348-352 (with plan); Giannopoulos 1926, 53-54; Winter 1971a, 200; *TIB* 1, 158-159 (as Ezeros); Bosch 1982, 27; 67-74; 147-148; 193-201 (with plan); *GLbS*, 713; Cantarelli *et al.* 2009, 101-103; Tziafalias and Bouchon 2014; *ADelt* 65 (2010) [2016] 1043-1045.

⁵⁵Giannopoulos 1926, 53.

B.2 BOEOTIA

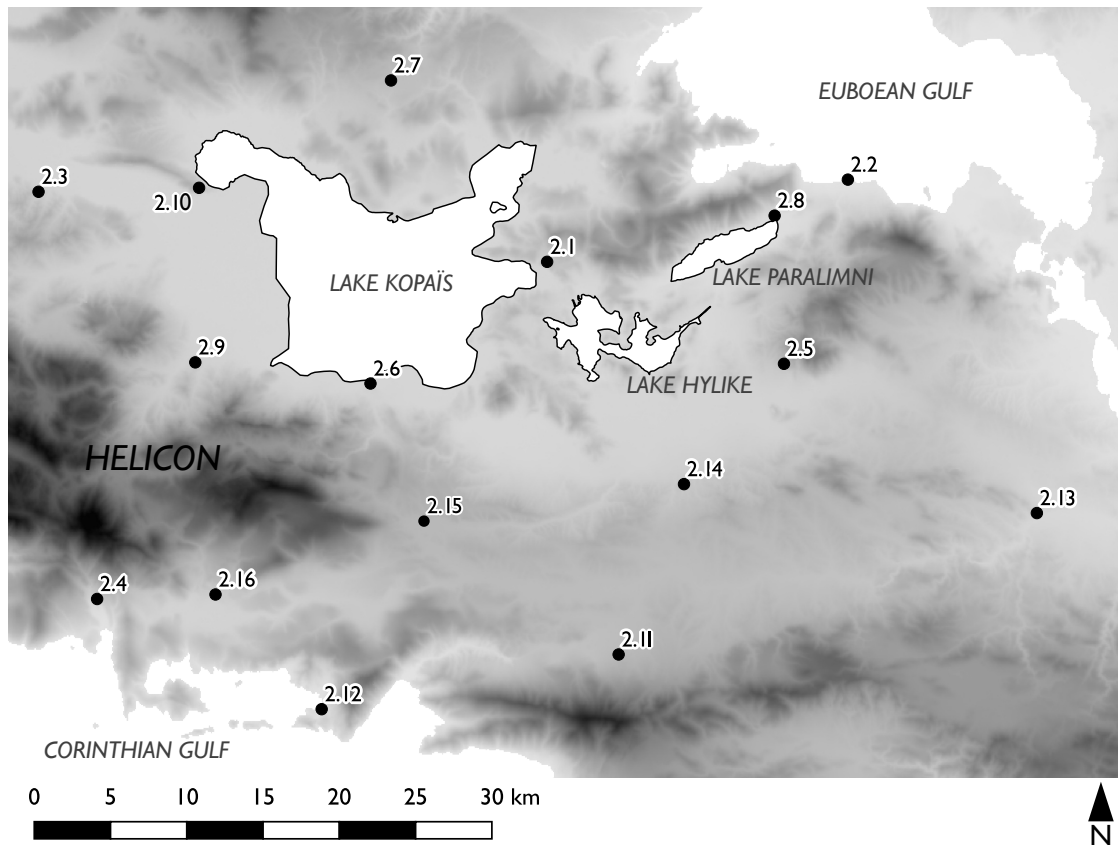


Figure B.26: The archaeological sites in Boeotia, numbered as in catalogue, with former lake Kopais.

The ancient region of Boeotia, roughly corresponding to the modern regional unit (*nomós*) of Vio-tía, was centred around three lakes in the isthmus between the Euboean and Corinthian gulfs (**Fig. B.26**). Whereas the area appears to have been well-defined and stable throughout Antiquity in the w (towards Phocis) and N (towards Locris), the area in SE (bordering with Attica) was the subject of boundary conflicts at several points in history.⁵⁶

Ancient Boeotia can be divided into an Eastern and Western part, with the former dominated by Thebes (**B.2.14**) and the latter (at least initially) by Orchomenos (**B.2.10**). The area of Thebes consisted of smaller plains immediately N of the settlement and the hill-land of Parasopía to the s, and contained a large number of secondary dependent settlements. In w was the lake of Kopais, surrounded on all sides by hills and mountains, which was fed by the river Kephesos running from Phocis in NE. Boeotia had limited access to the Gulf of Euboea in NE, with the harbours of Anthedon (**B.2.2**) and Aulis between the areas of East Locris and Attic Oropia. On the Northern coast of the Gulf of Corinth in s were the

⁵⁶Fossey 1988, 433; Farinetti 2011, 207-209.



Figure B.27: View of the former lake Kopais in Boeotia as seen from the site at Ghla. Photo by Robin Rönnlund.

harbours of Kreusis, Siphai (**B.2.12**) and Thisbai (**B.2.16**), providing access to both sides of the Greek Mainland.

The seasonal lake of Kopais was fully drained in the first half of the 20th c. CE. This had previously been drained in the LBA by the construction of large drains leading the waters of the river Kephissos into natural sink-holes (*katavóuthra*) in the NE part of the valley. This enormous enterprise was probably conducted by the palatial centre at Orchomenos (**B.2.10**) which was the leading power in Mycenaean west Boeotia. The large fortified (possibly) palatial site at Ghla probably belonged to the same sphere of influence as Orchomenos, and guaranteed the maintenance of the important drain system.⁵⁷ At least parts of the lake were again drained in the Hellenistic period, as indicated by remains of ditches at the E end of the lake just S of Akraiphia (**B.2.1**). For most of the historical period, however, the area of Kopais was either lake or marshland.

In the E, Thebes (**B.2.14**) was one of the main Mycenaean palace centres of the Greek mainland, with several dependencies documented in Linear B tablets found here. After the collapse of the LBA economy, the population of Boeotia fell drastically. However, it appears that there was some stability in settlement location or in social organisation, as some of the toponyms identified in Linear B tablets from Thebes continue to be in use into the Historical periods.⁵⁸ The Boeotians themselves seem to have been of the opinion that they some years after the Trojan war had been expelled from Arne (**B.1.5**) in Thessaly and had moved to what was to become Boeotia.⁵⁹

In the historical period, the Boeotian *poleis* were numerous; the *IACP* lists 26 polities as *poleis* prior to the late 4th c. BCE which is an unusually large number for such a confined area. Another 40 settlements are listed as either being of a non-*polis* character or only known to have been *poleis* in the Hellenistic period. Some of these latter are included in the catalogue of this study.

⁵⁷Knauss 1987a. ⁵⁸Fossey 1988, 430. ⁵⁹This appears to be supported by Schachter 2016, but probably more reflects ancient understandings of history rather than historical fact, see Beck and Ganter 2015, 134.

Originating in the 6th c. BCE, the Boeotian *koinon* has been described as a federation⁶⁰ of *poleis* centred around political, religious and economic affairs.⁶¹ The examples of strife between Boeotian *poleis* in the 6th c. appear to predate the emergence of a common type of coinage struck by a number of *poleis*, soon followed by others.⁶² This “monetary union” should not be equated with a political union, which appears to have been advocated by mainly Thebes (**B.2.14**) from ca. 500 BCE and onwards.⁶³

The instigating forces behind the creation of the *koinon* of the Boeotians cannot be ascertained, but it appears to have been the of a manifold nature. The fluctuating power of Thebes was always influencing the structure and organisation of the federation, and it has even been suggested that one of the main points of the intra-*polis* collaboration was to limit the Thebans’ hegemonic aspirations.⁶⁴

Boeotia was according to the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* geographically (similarly to the Thessalian tetrads) divided into Π *merē* (sing. *meros*)⁶⁵ which provided one magistrate or boeotarch each to the *damos* of the *koinon*.⁶⁶ Some of the larger *poleis* – as they were in control over more land – provided several boeotarchs; the Theban boeotarchs were four in number, “two for the *polis* and two for the Plataians (**B.2.11**) with Skolos and Erythrai and Skaphai and the other places which originally were part of their [the Plataians’] *polis* but which were, at the time of which I write [early 4th c. BCE], absorbed into Thebes.”⁶⁷

After the revolt and liberation of Boeotia from the Athenians in 457 BCE, Thebes was no longer in the same strong position as before and it appears that there now was a more even distribution of power between the *poleis*. Orchomenos (**B.2.10**) in the w part of the area was again influential, and there was a growing sense of regional identity expressed in the large sanctuaries of Athena Itonia at Koroneia (**B.2.9**), Apollon at the Ptoion at Akraiphia (**B.2.1**) and Poseidon at Onchestos. The Thebans, however, were able to use this federal organisation to re-group and again become the leading power in Boeotia in the 4th c. BCE, leading to the so-called Theban Hegemony under Epameinondas. The boeotarchs met in Thebes, with the *koinon* more or less turning into a Theban state.

After Alexander’s destruction of Thebes in 334, the geographical division of the Boeotian *koinon* was re-organised, and the number of *merē* decreased to 7. The pan-Boeotian sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos between Haliartos (**B.2.6**) and Thebes now acted as the meeting-place for the boeotarchs, and there are examples of federally issued coins struck at this location. Even if Thebes was refounded by Cassander in 316 BCE, the *polis* was only allowed to rejoin the *koinon* in 287, and it was never allowed to exert the influence it once did.

The Boeotian *koinon* was forced to join the Aetolian League in 245 BCE, which lead to loss of spatial influence and a change in military organisation aimed at integration in the league. The Boeotians sided with the Macedonians during the Second Macedonian war, which ultimately lead to the dissolution of the Boeotian *koinon* in the late 170s. It afterwards only survived as a ceremonial confederacy within Roman Greece.⁶⁸

Several large-scale archaeological field-projects have been conducted in Boeotia, both surveys and excavations. Among the earliest were excavations by Schliemann at Orchomenos (**B.2.10**) in 1880,⁶⁹ the French school at the Ptoion sanctuary at Akraiphia (**B.2.1**) in 1884,⁷⁰ the German school excavations of

⁶⁰For a critique of the use of the word ‘federation’, see Mackil 2014, 45. ⁶¹Mackil 2014; Beck and Ganter 2015; Schachter 2016. ⁶²Mackil 2014, 46. ⁶³Mackil 2014, 50; Beck and Ganter 2015, 137; Schachter 2016, 21.

⁶⁴Schachter 2016, 18. ⁶⁵Beck and Ganter 2015, 141. ⁶⁶*Hell. Oxy.* D.16.3–4. ⁶⁷Schachter 2016, 51.

⁶⁸Beck and Ganter 2015, 155-156. ⁶⁹Schliemann 1881. ⁷⁰Guillon 1943; Ducat 1971.

the Kabeiron at Thebes (**B.2.14**) in 1888,⁷¹ the American school at Plataiai (**B.2.11**) in 1889-1890,⁷² and at Eutresis in 1924,⁷³ and by the British school at Ritsona in 1907,⁷⁴ and at Haliartos (**B.2.6**) in 1926.⁷⁵ At the same time, several Greek excavations were conducted by the local ephorate and the epigraphical society in Athens, the most notable being those at Thebes and Tanagra (**B.2.13**), making Boeotia quite well-known to the scholarly public by the mid-20th century.

It is, however, hard to imagine modern Boeotian archaeology⁷⁶ without the pioneering work by John Fossey, who surveyed most of the ancient sites in the area in the 1960s.⁷⁷ Fossey's observations often remain the most reliable or the only available for a large number of sites, and his influence in Boeotia can be compared to that of Stählin in Thessaly.⁷⁸ Fossey's work has recently been updated and combined with modern GIS approaches by Farinetti.⁷⁹ Another extensive survey, if less systematic, was carried out at roughly the same time in the Kopaïc region by Siegfried Lauffer,⁸⁰ highlighting the LBA fortification network protecting the drain system of former lake Kopaïs.

In the later part of the century, and partly as a consequence of Fossey's work, the ground-breaking *Boeotia Survey* (1979-1986, 1989-1994), conducted by Anthony Snodgrass and John Bintliff, and the successor *Leiden Ancient Cities of Boeotia*, led by the latter took place. The projects had a focus on the archaeological landscapes of Boeotia, originating in the idea of the *Siedlungskammer* or 'settlement chamber',⁸¹ and aimed at understanding the long-term settlement development in the region.⁸²

Other important ongoing projects are the American excavations at the pan-Boeotian sanctuary at Onchestos close to Haliartos, the AROURA remote-sensing and geophysical project in the Kopaïc region,⁸³ and the Canadian *Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project*, the latter mainly taking place at ancient Eleon in the Tanagraïke. Even if just outside the relevant area of this study, in the contested border area to Attica, the Greek-Swiss *Mazi Archaeological Project* survey currently examines the long-term human occupation of the area around modern Inói.⁸⁴

Ancient literary sources mention only two *akropoleis* within the bounds of Boeotia, those of Koroneia (**A.1.58**) and Thebes (**A.1.122**). The latter, however, is one of the most well-attested, with attestations in 11 different sources.

The 16 Boeotian *akropolis* sites in this catalogue have been selected mainly on the basis of the 'essentials' (p. 56) from the total archaeological material available from the area of ancient Boeotia. The important sites of Kopai (modern Kástro) and Lebadeia (modern Livadhía) could not be included due to the lack of published material. The sites of the "disputed areas" bordering on the Megarid and Attica, including ancient Oropos have not been included.

⁷¹Wolters and Bruns 1940; Schmaltz 1974; Mallwitz 1978; Schmaltz 1980; Braun and Haevernick 1981; Heimberg 1982.

⁷²Waldstein, Tarbell, and Rolfe 1889; Waldstein 1890; Washington 1890a; Washington 1890b.

⁷³Goldman 1931. ⁷⁴Ure 1913; Ure 1934. ⁷⁵Austin 1926; Austin 1927. ⁷⁶A summary of which (until 2011) can be found in Farinetti 2011, 57-63. ⁷⁷His PhD thesis was later published as a monograph: Fossey 1988.

⁷⁸See p. 185 above. ⁷⁹Farinetti 2011. ⁸⁰Lauffer 1986. ⁸¹Bintliff 1985, 196.

⁸²The results were for long only available in short preliminary reports, but two larger volumes on the *polis* of Thespiai (**B.2.15**) has recently been published: Bintliff, Snodgrass, and Howard 2007; Bintliff, Farinetti, Slapšak, *et al.* 2017.

⁸³Lane *et al.* 2016.

⁸⁴Fachard, Knodell, and Banou 2015; Knodell, Fachard, and Papangeli 2016; Knodell, Fachard, and Papangeli 2017.

B.2.1 ΑΚΡΕΦΝΙΟ (ΑΚΡΑΙΦΙΑ)

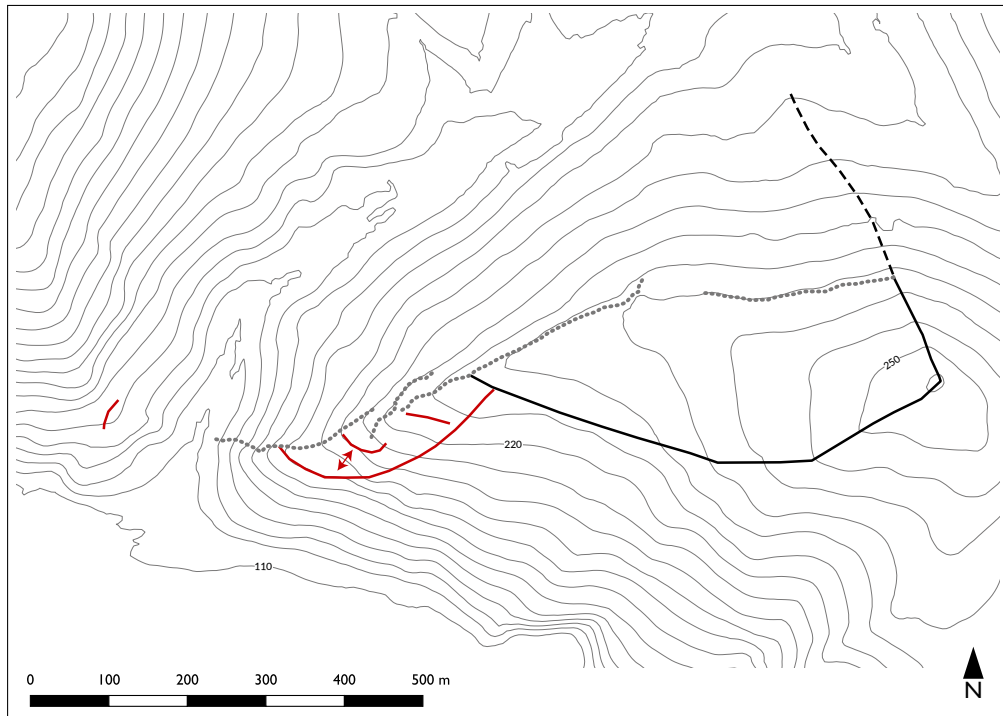


Figure B.28: Akraiphia, after Knauss (1987a). Red lines correspond to polygonal masonry walls, black to ashlar masonry, and dotted a natural precipice.

ANCIENT NAME(S): Ἀκραίφια (Akraifia).

MODERN NAME(S): Καρδίτσα; Ακραίφνιο (since 1933).

POSITION: $38^{\circ}27'4.91''$ N, $23^{\circ}13'20.76''$ E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: The ancient *polis* was centered around the Kardhítsa bay of former lake Kopaïs, now the area of the plain where the artificial riverbeds of Melás and Kifisós meet before emptying into lake Ilikí (ancient Hylike). In the NE of the area is the mountainous landscape of the Ptoion ridge, below which was the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios. The land bridge between lakes Kopaïs and Hylike was most probably in the *chōra*, as were some of the main routes from Thebes (B.2.14). Several supposedly prehistoric fortress sites have been noted in the regions, possibly relating to the protection and maintenance of the Minyan drains of the former lake Kopaïs.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: The archaeological publications relating to the actual habitation site of ancient Akraiphia are very fragmentary and at times contradicting.

The material from several large cemeteries indicate continuous habitation at the site from the Geometric period onward, which has not been attested at the actual settlement site. The latter is concentrated on w, sw, and n slopes of the hill Skopiá (291 masl.) just s of the modern village. A circuit wall (excavated by the French School in the 1930s but still unpublished) encloses a hilltop area of ca. 9.8 hectares, which appears to be heavily terraced in an apparently rectilinear fashion in the w and n slopes. An *agora* is reported in the slopes n of the hill, but is at present unlocated. The site is visible from most of the s part of former lake Kopais, but is most striking in the area immediately around the bay below it.

The lack of published plans of the fortifications is very unfortunate, as the available descriptions of the site does not harmonise well with the terrain.⁸⁵ Most confusing is the naming of the whole hilltop enceinte as “the *akropolis*”, which makes it hard to grasp where the location of the lower settlement is supposed to have been.

The masonry of the fortification walls indicates two separate phases, one earlier (4th c. BCE?) in rough polygonal masonry, and one later double-faced of the Hellenistic period in coursed ashlar with emplekton. For the exact locations of these phases, see below. A supposed “Minyan” fortress has been noted at the lowest point of the Classical enceinte, possibly relating to the prehistoric remains found at the plains immediately below it. The hilltop relates visually with the *akropolis* of Thebes (B.2.14) and the Theban plain to the se, but also offers a splendid view of the Kopais basin to the sw.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type A? The exact extent of the *akropolis* cannot be ascertained with any accuracy. It was probably at the se part of the general enceinte, on the very top of the hill. Garlan’s *diatichisma* in polygonal masonry, which might be of an earlier date than the rest of the enceinte appears to have been over 550 m. w of the se corner of the the hilltop enceinte, making it possibly unrelated to any *akropolis* installation. This location could, however, be erroneous. A polygonal tower of a Hellenistic date has been excavated as part of the outer wall at the very hilltop, with a preserved postern at its inside. This is the only known tower of the whole site.

Several “later” (Late Roman?) tombs are recorded as having been found on the location of the supposed *akropolis*, indicating (?) abandonment at this time.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dodwell 1819b, 54-55; Hirschfeld 1894a; Frazer 1898b, 97-99; *BCH* 60 (1936), 461; Guillon 1943; Lauffer 1959, 1524-1526; Threpsiadis 1973, 83-85; Garlan 1974, 95-112; *TIB* 1, 182 (as Karditsa); Knauss 1987a, 247-248; Knauss 1987b; Fossey 1988, 265-271; Farinetti 2011, 137-144; 315-317. *IACP* nr. 198.

⁸⁵Garlan’s outline of the fortifications is very much lacking in detail and harmonises poorly with what can be observed on maps and aerial photographs. Fossey’s description of a lower “plateau” in the w part of the enceinte appears to be erroneous, as the sloping is relatively continuous from the hilltop in e towards w.

B.2.2 ANTHIDHÓNA (ANTHEDON)

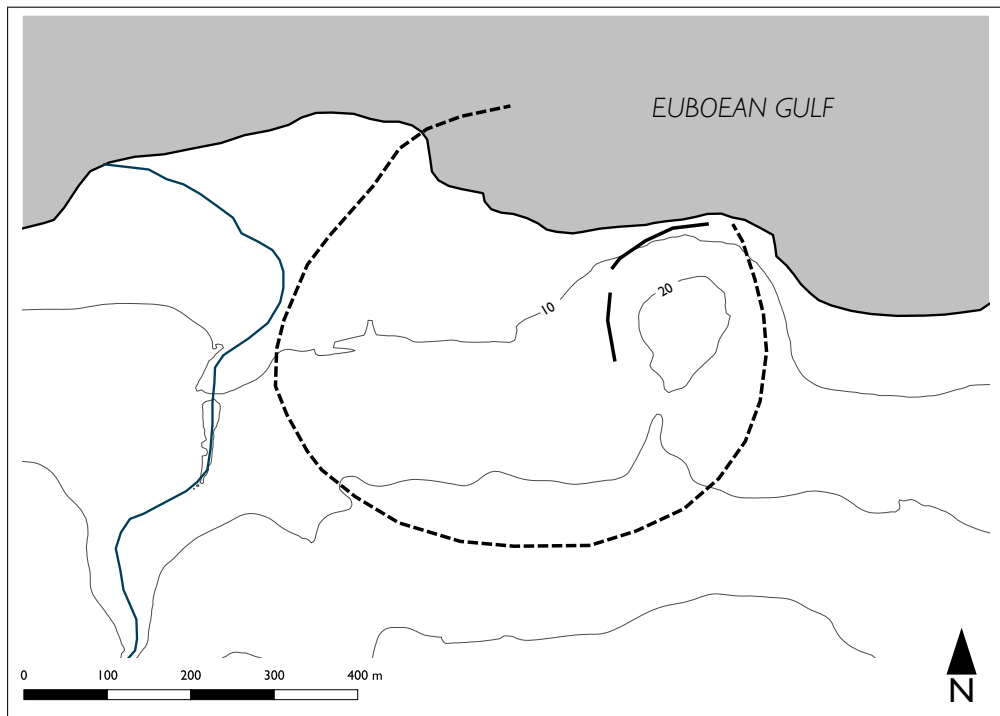


Figure B.29: Anthedon, after Fossey 1988.

ANCIENT NAME(S): Ἄνθηδών (Anthedon).

MODERN NAME(S): Ανθηδώνα.

POSITION: 38°29'52.91" N, 23°26'55.83" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: The area of Anthedonia is centred around a coastal plain on the s shores of the Strait of Euboea, clearly defined by the sea in N and the mountains of Ktípas and Ptoion in s and N respectively. It seems probable that the *chōra* at some point included the area close to the Lake Paralímni, where was the smaller settlement of Isos (B.2.8), and the Skroponéri bay further westward along the coast. The economy appears to have been dependent on fishing, and the harbour of Anthedon was probably one of the more important in the region.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: At the modern location of Paleá Chóra/Mandhráki. Possessed a good harbour and was the main naval base of Thebes (B.2.14) in the 4th c. BCE. Very little is known of the

settlement itself, as no excavation has been conducted in the area, but the *asty* appears to have been located w of the hill Kastrí, which probably constituted the *akropolis* of the settlement.

Anthedon is mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships, and appears to have flourished until the Roman period. The reconstructed trace of fortifications surrounds the lower settlement, enclosing ca. 36 hectare.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type A. Low, sea-side hill, ca. 23 masl., projecting from low foothills of Messapios in s, overlooking the area of the probable lower settlement to the w and its harbour to the nw. Leake noted some cisterns here. Sherds of LHIIIB and LHIIIC as well as of the Geometric, Archaic and Classical period have been noted on the *akropolis*, indicating a pre-existing settlement of considerable age. A Roman tomb found on the hilltop indicates that the location was not inhabited at this later period.

The *akropolis* fortifications have only been noted in n close to the shore, and appears to be built in ashlar masonry (Scranton prefers “isodomic ashlar-tooled”), and is preserved to maximum 3 courses. Schläger *et al.* suggested a Hellenistic date for the visible fortifications. Frazer noted terraces on the hilltop with several architectural fragments.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Leake 1835b, 272 (with plan); Hirschfeld 1894b; Frazer 1898b, 92-95; Scranton 1941, 178; Hope Simpson 1965, 128; Schläger, Blackman, and Schäfer 1969 (with plans); Fossey 1988, 252-257 (with plan); *ADelt* 1993 *Chr.*, 197; Farinetti 2011, 201-206; 375-376. *LACP* nr. 200.

B.2.3 CHERONÍA (CHAIRONEIA)

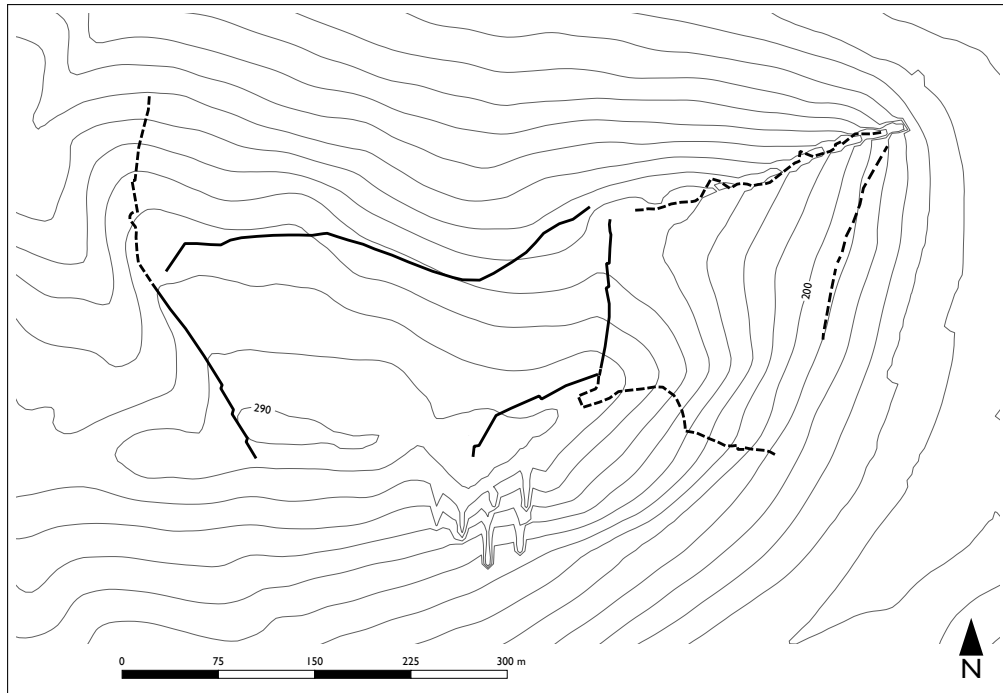


Figure B.30: Chaironeia, after Fossey and Gauvin (1985).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Χαιρωνεία (Chairōneia).

MODERN NAME(S): Κόπραινα; Χαιρωνεία (since 1916).

POSITION: 38°29'34.72" N, 22°50'22.58" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: The region of Chaironeiake is concentrated around a plain of the lower Kephisos valley, just above the point where the latter empties in the former Kopais lake. The area is limited in the **Ν** by the Kephisos, the probable border with Orchomenos (see **B.2.10** below), in **ς** towards ancient Lebadeia by the mountain of Kourpeiko, and in **Ε** towards Phokis and the *polis* of Panopeus by the fortification at Ísoma, possibly that of the ancient Thourion. An ancient sanctuary has been identified in an olive grove 1.5 km **Ϟ** of the *akropolis* by the chapel of Άγιος Charalάmbios, possibly to be identified with that of Apollo Thourios.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: Located where the small valley of the Κόπραινα stream meets the larger Chaironeia basin. Most of the ancient settlement is now probably covered by modern Cheronía. As the modern village covers most of the ancient settlement, what can be seen today are the fortifications on

the E slope of the hill Pétrachos immediately w of the village and remains of a theatre on the NE slope of the same hill.

Description of *akropolis*: Type A. The extensive fortifications on the hill Pétrachos above the modern village were studied and published by Fossey and Gauvin 1985, identifying several phases of construction. Comparisons with aerial photographs, however, show that many of the published plans are proportionally distorted, even if correct in general arrangement.⁸⁶

What is named as the *akropolis* of ancient Chaironeia by the scholars above, represents the remains of several phases of activity. Prompted by LH surface finds (shards), the large hilltop enceinte – encircled by a ‘Cyclopean’ wall, covering ca. 4.5 hectare – of the first phase was dated to the LBA by Fossey; a dating which I deem somewhat unsubstantiated, as the type of fortification is more suggestive of the Archaic period.

The third phase of the fortifications are preserved in the E slope of the hill, with walls in isodomic masonry descending the hill along two ridge-like ‘arms’ (*cf.* Limnaion/Phakion, **B.1.8**). Two walls, both in Lesbian masonry and possibly of an earlier date (?), connect these two descending walls, one at the top of the slope and one at the bottom. This creates a second enceinte, the uppermost location and SW corner of which constitute a square bastion-like area, protruding from the general trace of the third phase. This creates a small citadel-like area, from which the view extends to Phocis and most of the Kopais region. To my view, this latter space is what should be considered the *akropolis* of the historical settlement.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dodwell 1819a, 220-223; Frazer 1898b, 205-208; Sotiriadis 1903; *TIB* 1, 138; Lawrence 1979, 151-152 (with photographs); Fossey and Gauvin 1985 (with plans); Fossey 1988, 375-382 (with plan); Fossey 1990 (with plans); Camp *et al.* 1992; Lang 1996, 281; Buckler and Beck 2008, 255 (general plan of environs in 338 BCE); Kondouri 2009a; Farinetti 2011, 99-107; 283-289; Frederiksen 2011, 134. *IACP* nr. 201.

⁸⁶See my rectified plan on page 127.

B.2.4 ΠΡÓΔΡΟΜΟΣ (CHORSIAI)

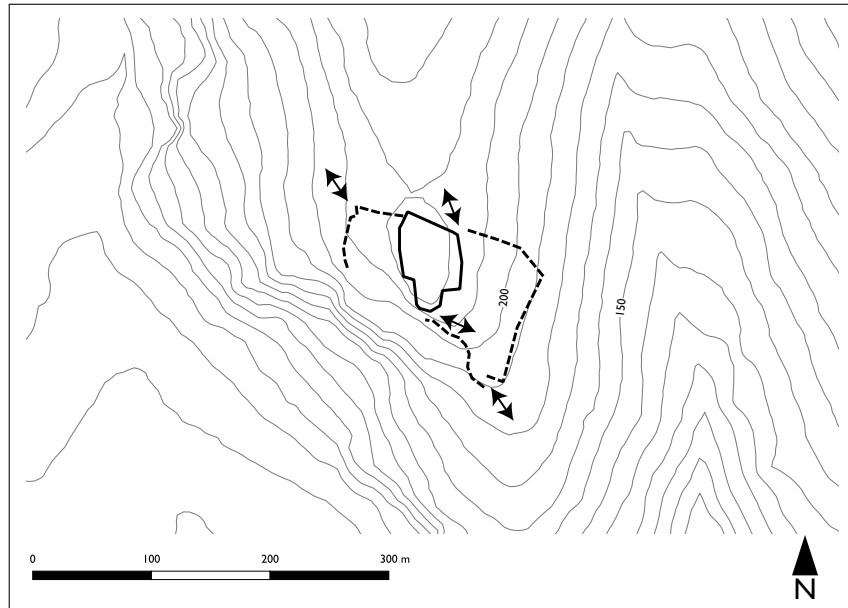


Figure B.31: Chorsiai, after Fossey (1988).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Χορσιαί (Chorsiai).

MODERN NAME(S): Χόστια; Ελικών (from 1955 to 1956); Πρόδρομος (since 1956).

POSITION: $38^{\circ}15'13.84''$ N, $22^{\circ}52'59.31''$ E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In the s foothills of Helicon, centred around a small costal plain n of the village of Sarándis/Paralía, which is effectively enclosed by two ridges in e and w. The area was controlled in Antiquity by the *polis* of Thisbai (**B.2.16**) to the e. Further w of the area of Chorsiai was the frontier between Boeotia and Phocis, which remains relatively uninhabited today.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: The small archaeological site lies on a narrow ridge which extends into the coastal plain from n. The fortified area, known as Kástro, was examined and partially excavated in the 1970s-80s by a Canadian team, revealing remains of habitation from the eH until Late Roman times, with a hiatus in the Geometric. During the latter period, it seems likely that the inhabitants moved to the nearby site of Máli to the e, only to relocate in the Early Archaic.

The settlement was fortified and divided into three 'quarters', the middle of which has been named the *akropolis* of the settlement. The whole *intra muros* area of the settlement except for the Western Quarter was surveyed by the Canadian team, which also conducted several trial excavations within the

enceinte. The three quarters are placed side by side from w to e, but the Western and Eastern sectors give the impression of being additions to the *akropolis* area. The area is mostly accessible from the saddle in n, as there are many steep cliffs immediately to the s. An ancient road, however, has been found leading from the site in se, where are the remains of ancient industrial activities. A few scattered tombs were also identified.

The site contains remains of fortifications of several phases, including possibly Archaic polygonal walls in the Eastern Quarter. The “lower settlement” in the Eastern quarter was accessed from the outside by a tangential gate in the s corner of the enceinte, protected by Tower 1. An additional 3 towers are found in this part of the enceinte, with yet another one in the outer wall of the *akropolis* as well as one possible one at the w extremity of the Western Quarter. Two additional gates have been suggested in the n parts of the Eastern and Western Quarters. Excavations indicate that the main circuit was possibly originally constructed in the Classical period. The preserved fortifications, however, are mostly constructed in ashlar and have been dated after excavation to the Hellenistic period.

Remains of a sanctuary were noted immediately n of the enceinte on a rocky location overlooking the settlement.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type A. Small, ca. 0.8 hectares, located on the highest part of the hill-like ridge (ca. 208 masl.). Enclosed by a Classical wall in mainly isodomic ashlar masonry with Late Roman repairs, which have been linked to the Spartan invasions of 340s BCE. The investigators were of the opinion that the masonry style was identical to that of the *akropolis* of Orchomenos (**B.2.10**), which was reportedly also destroyed at this time (Diod. 16.60). The Late Roman repairs are so extensive that they could be called reconstructions, similar to what has been recorded at other sites, including Thessalian Limnaion/Phakion (**B.1.8**) and Eretria (**B.1.16**).

Access to the *akropolis* area was through a gate in the s corner of the wall. Two towers are preserved in the circuit, one in the straight n stretch of the wall, and one above the steep cliffs in the w wall. The sw part of the area appears to have been unwalled, if not destroyed due to erosion.

Excavations within the enceinte revealed several edifices along the inside of the fortification walls, which were all interpreted as belonging to the Late Roman period. Ceramic finds indicate activities from the EH until the Late Roman period. Distributions indicate that the first period of intensive activity on the *akropolis* was in the Classical period, before which the location appears to have been only occasionally used.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Büsing and Büsing-Kolbe 1972 (with plan); Fossey 1981 (with plan); Fossey 1988, 187-194 (with plan); Fossey and Morin 1989; Lang 1996, 281; Farinetti 2011, 167-178; 352. *IACP* nr. 202.

B.2.5 ΪΠΑΤΟ (GLISAS)

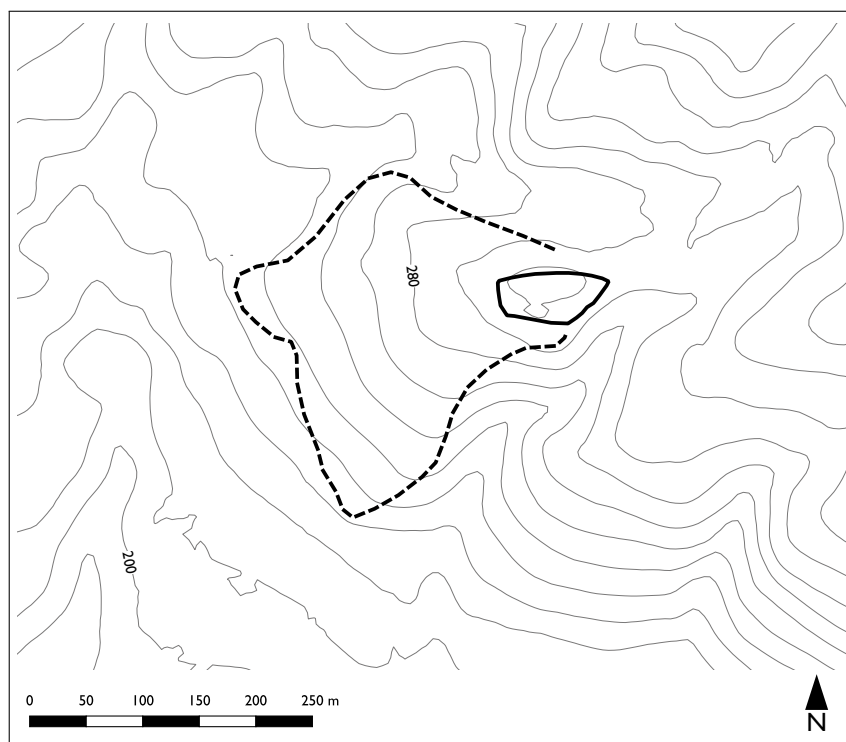


Figure B.32: Glisas, after Fossey (1988). Striped lines indicate reconstructed trace of lower fortification walls as indicated by the topography.

ANCIENT NAME(S): Γλίσας (Glisas).

MODERN NAME(S): Σύρτσι; Ϊπατο (since 1953). The hill itself is known as Τουρλέζα.

POSITION: 38°23'30.46" N, 23°23'49.14" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In the NE corner of the E Theban plain (the Aeonian plain); a very fertile region with very little marshland. The archaeological site is just SW of the mountain body of Sagmatás, whose ancient name Hypaton ("the highest") suits its location. At the top of the mountain was possibly the sanctuary of Zeus Hypatos, of which there are no known remains. The area of Glisas was included in the area controlled by Thebes, and the settlement appears to have been secondary to the latter *polis*.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: Concentrated around the low hill of Tourléza, just NNE of the modern village of Ípato. The lower settlement appears to have been located on the s and sw slopes of the hill, where fortification walls in rough polygonal masonry were discernible in the late 19th c. Surface finds indicate a settlement of the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Cemeteries N and S of the hill, however, contain burials of the Geometric and Archaic period in addition to the Classical and Hellenistic. MH and LH tombs have been located in the area of the modern village. Glisas lay in ruins at the time of Pausanias' visit.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type A. Small hilltop enceinte on the top of the hill Tourléza, ca. 0.3 hectares, ca. 292 masl. Fortification wall in polygonal masonry, dated to the Classical-Hellenistic on basis of surface shards. Appears not to be connected with the lower fortifications (which are no longer discernible). Remains of houses of unknown date(s) have been noted within the enceinte.

The fortified summit of the hill is visible from most of the Theban plain in sw, as are the *akropoleis* of Akraiphia (**B.2.1**) and Thebes (**B.2.14**).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frazer 1898b, 60-61; Fossey 1988, 217-223 (with plan); Lang 1996, 283; Farinetti 2011, 372.

B.2.6 ΑΛΙΑΡΤΟΣ (HALIARTOS)

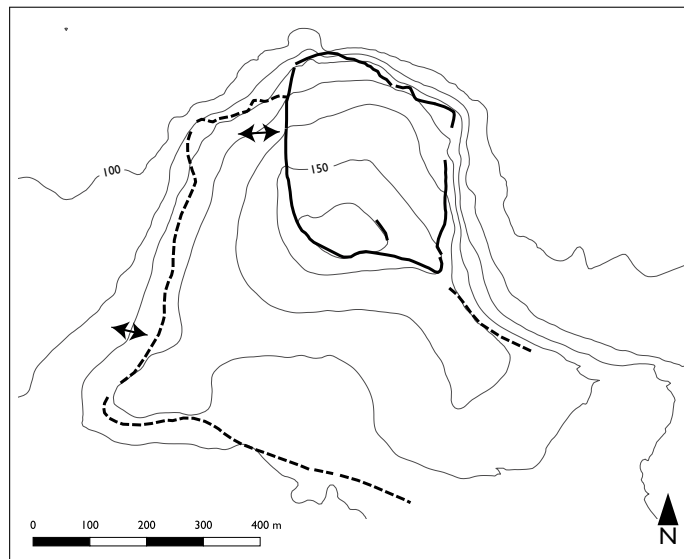


Figure B.33: Haliartos, after Bintliff (2016).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Ἀλίαρτος/Ἄριαρτος (Haliartos/Hariartos).

MODERN NAME(S): Μούλκι/Κριμπιά; Αλίαρτος (since 1919).

POSITION: 38°22'42.36" N, 23° 5'15.70" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: The region of Haliartos was known in Antiquity as Haliartia and was located on the s shore of lake Kopais, also comprising the hill-land to the s and the promontories to the E of the lake. The area borders on the areas of Thebes (B.2.14) in E, Thisbe in SE, Koroneia (B.2.9) in W and – across the former lake – Akraiphia (B.2.1) in NE. The pan-Boeotian sanctuary of Onchestos was located at the pass towards the Theban plain in the SE.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: The settlement is concentrated on and immediately s of a flat limestone terrace of ca. 40 hectare, which formed a promontory in the lake before the draining of the latter (See Fig. 5.2 on p. 124 for sketch of fortifications). The lower settlement was spread out on the gentle slope towards s, with the location of the *agora* at its upper E part. Geophysical investigations have shown a well-developed street grid in the s slope, most probably belonging to the last phase of the ancient settlement: The city was razed and evacuated by the Romans in 171 BCE.

The whole site appears to have been walled – several trenches indicate archaeological investigations of the s walls close to the modern road. These have not been published. A large gate, connecting to one of the main *plateiai* of the settlement, has been noted in the W wall of the lower fortification.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type A. Located on the N part of the limestone plateau from its centre – which is also its highest point (ca. 157 masl., ca. 60 m. above the former lake) – towards N. The *akropolis* enceinte is roughly rhomboid in shape with clear corners in SE, NE and NW. The SW ‘corner’ follows the outline of the summit. The *akropolis* is located in a very striking location, being visible from the whole area of former lake Kopais. Whether the whole *akropolis* enceinte comprises the actual *akropolis* is somewhat dubious. Topography and aerial photographs suggests that the original *akropolis* area consisted of the summit area (ca. 1.5 hectare), and that the rhomboid enceinte could possibly be the original outer fortifications.

Stylistically, the walls of the *akropolis* enceinte can be distinguished into a group of five. The earliest, a rough dry wall, can be traced along the S flank of the summit further onwards to the SE corner. This has been dated on somewhat dubious grounds to the Mycenaean period. A gate of unknown dimensions in this wall was noted at the SW ‘angle’ of the enceinte. The second phase is in the Lesbian style, dated to ca. 500 BCE, which can be found at the SE corner of the enceinte as well as partially along the N escarpment. This was constructed on an *euthyneria* of large, flat, cut slabs. The third phase is in a isodomic trapezoidal masonry, typical of the late Classical and early Hellenistic period. The fourth is a similar isodomic ashlar wall, probably the latest of the pre-171 walls, which had a gate, 3.75-2.1 m. wide, in the W stretch of the *akropolis* trace. A Late Roman⁸⁷ repair and reconfiguration of the fortifications can be noted, dividing the upper *akropolis* enceinte from E towards W, to cross the area of the W part of the lower settlement towards SW. This consists of small stones joined with mortar, and has also been noted in the W section of the *akropolis* wall.

On the summit are the remains of a sanctuary (of Athena?) excavated in the 1920-1930s. This appears to have been of an original Archaic date (6th c.) with a possible older (7th c.) predecessor. The temple appears to have been Doric, and was probably destroyed by the Romans when they razed the settlement in 171 BCE. Mycenaean pottery found during excavations indicates prehistoric activity on the site. Aerial photographs show what appears to be a 60 m. long prospection trench in the central part of the *akropolis*, running down the slope. At the middle of this is a rectangular extension of the trench, ca. 20 by 20 m large, containing what is described by the team currently working at the site as “a large apsidal house of Early of Middle Helladic age [sic.] enclosed by a quadangular enclosure in the Greek historic era [sic.]”.⁸⁸ These trenches appear to be archaeological in nature, but they are to my knowledge not reported.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dodwell 1819a, 248-252; Frazer 1898b, 164-166; Austin 1926; Woodward 1926, 234-236; Austin 1927; Payne 1931, 189-190; Faraklas 1968a; *TIB* I, 170; Fossey 1988, 301-308 (with plan); Lang 1996, 282; Bonanno-Aravandinou 2009, 267; Frederiksen 2011, 145-146; Farinetti 2011, 145-154; Bintliff, Noordervliet, *et al.* 2013, 23; Bintliff 2013; *ADelt* 65 (2010) [2016] 994; Bintliff 2016, 1-7 (with plan); Bintliff 2017. *LACP* nr. 206.

⁸⁷This date has recently been questioned by the team researching the site. Very little Late Roman pottery has been found in the area of the *akropolis*, but the abundance of Mediaeval and Ottoman shards indicate that the fortification might be much later in date.

⁸⁸Bintliff 2017, 4.

B.2.7 ΛΟΥΤΣΙ (ΗΥΕΤΤΟΣ)

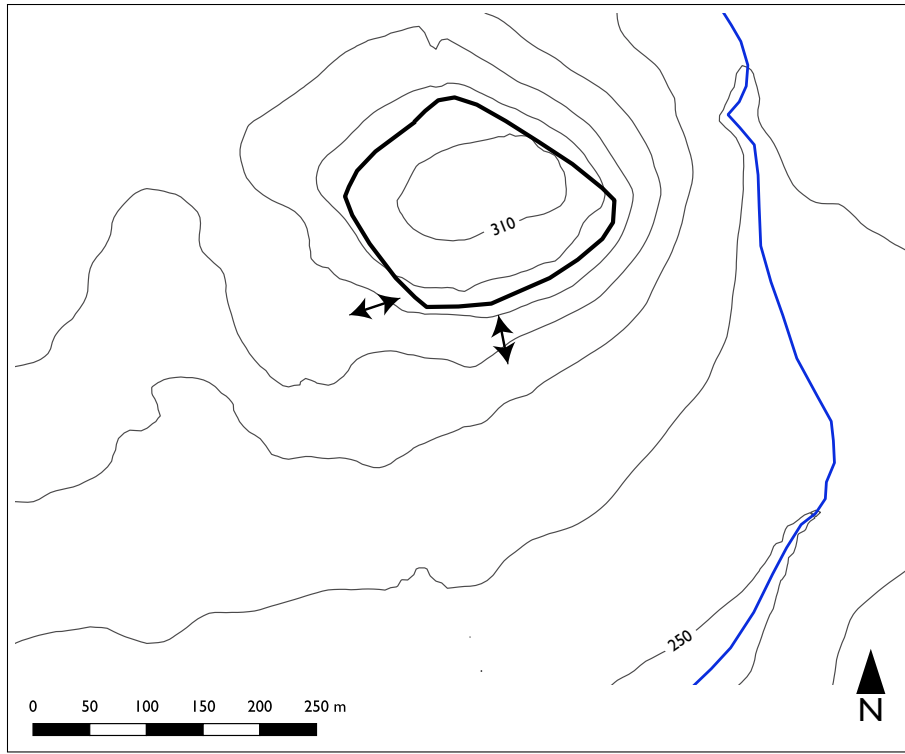


Figure B.34: Hyettos, after Étienne and Knoepfler (1976).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Ἰηττος (Hyettos).

MODERN NAME(S): Λούτσι.

POSITION: $38^{\circ}33'28.03''$ N, $23^{\circ}6'12.52''$ E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: The region of Hyettia is located in the mountainous area N of former lake Kopaïs. Mount Chlomon dominates the area in N and NW, while the central part consists of a series of valleys which form the route from the Kopaïs towards Locris and the Gulf of Euboea in NE.

Apart from ancient Hyettos itself, the area contains the small fortified site at Paleócastro Pávlou, which has been interpreted as a secondary settlement or that of ancient Olmones (otherwise associated with the site at Strovíki).

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: In an area known as Dhendrí. Intensive surveying and geophysical investigations have revealed that the settlement was located immediately E and SE of the *akropolis*, seemingly

with a regular layout. Here is also an abundant spring. Surface shards indicate that the site was inhabited from the Prehistoric to the Late Roman period, with a gap in the Geometric. Ancient cemeteries have been noted E, W and S of the *akropolis*.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type F? Slightly ovoid summit of isolated hill (240 masl., 60 m. above surroundings) sloping towards W, summit ca. 2.8 hectares. A circuit wall (Archaic?) in mainly polygonal/Lesbian masonry of high quality, ca 610 m. in circumference, is preserved around the edge of the summit. A larger gate in SW (3.5 m. wide) of tangential type with preserved paving seems to have been the main entrance with additional postern (1 m. wide, 3 m. long) in S, facing the lower settlement. The sole tower, built in trapezoidal uncoursed masonry onto the S wall, is probably a later (Classical?) addition to the enceinte.

The S stretch of the fortifications, including the gate, show indications of having been reinforced at a later stage. The modern path-road leading to the chapel of *Ágios Athanásios* at the top of the hill has breached the ancient wall at the westernmost point of the enceinte, revealing the method of construction of the wall.

Several rock-cuttings inside the enceinte indicate the presence of passageways, stairs, buildings and other structures. Among these, a possible small open-air sanctuary in the N part of the area. A subterranean “crypt” consisting of two small chambers of unknown date was unearthed by clandestine diggers. Close to the modern chapel are remains consisting of brickwork, indicating “later” activities on the site, as expressed by the excavators.

The *akropolis* dominates the visual landscape of the immediate region surrounding the settlement, but hills in almost all directions hinder further visibility. The only exception is in ESE, where the *akropolis* of Orchomenos (**B.2.10**) is quite visible.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frazer 1898b, 133; Bölte 1914 (with plan); *TIB* 1, 173; Étienne and Knoepfler 1976 (with plan of *akropolis*); Fossey 1988, 293-295; Bintliff 1991; Bintliff 1992; Bintliff, Slapšak, *et al.* 2010, 12; 26-29; Farinetti 2011, 119-126; 301-303; Bintliff, Noordervliet, *et al.* 2013, 19-22; Bintliff 2013; Bintliff 2014 (with geophysical plan of lower settlement). *LACP* nr. 207.

B.2.8 ΠÍRGHOS (Isos)

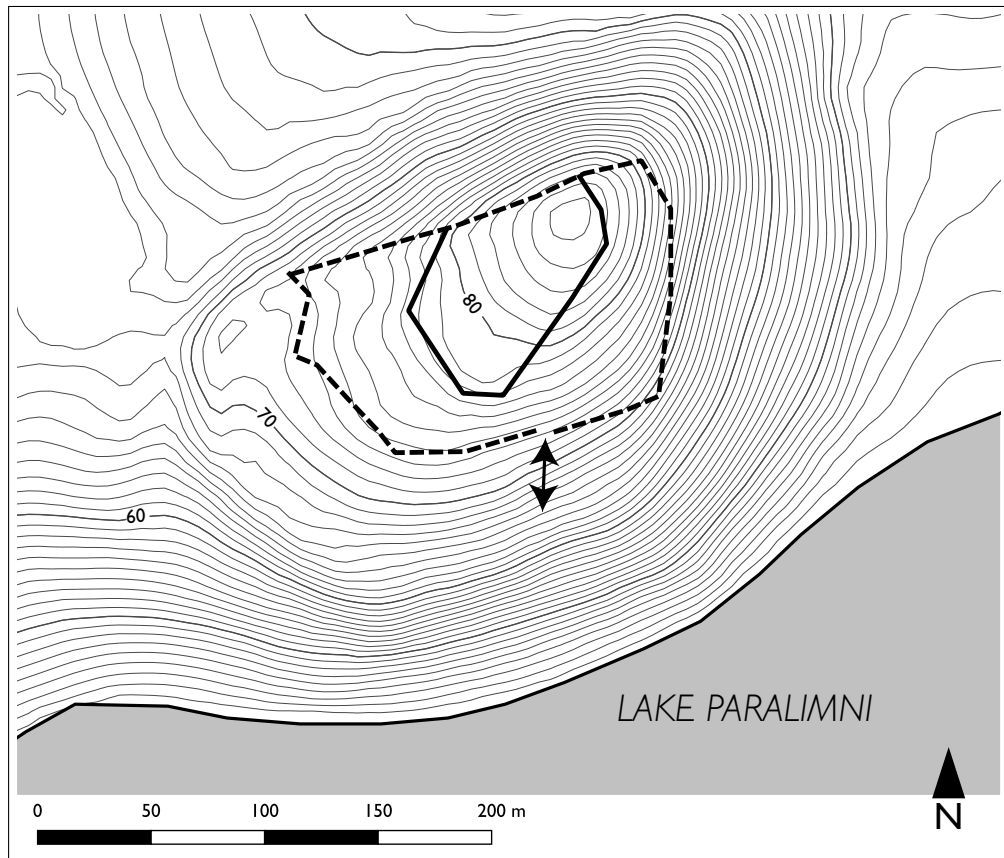


Figure B.35: Sketch of Isos, after Fossey (1988).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Ἴσος (Isos).

MODERN NAME(S): Πύργος/Παλαιομέτοχη.

POSITION: $38^{\circ}28'42.46''$ N, $23^{\circ}23'23.16''$ E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: At the NE end of Lake Paralímni, centred around the small plain of lacustrine deposits that lies between the lake and the bay of Skroponéri in the Strait of Euboea. The area was probably part of the sphere of influence of Anthedon (B.2.2), that lay only 5.5 km ENE of the settlement site. The area is very secluded and has been flooded after the 20th c. draining of lake Kopaïs.

To the N of the settlement are the steep slopes of the elongated, ridge-like extension of mount Ptoïon and the area of Akraiphia (B.2.1) with the peaks of Petalás (781 masl.) and Kleftospília (568 masl.). The

other side of the lake and the plain contain a series of lower hills, Platíki (380 masl.), Kandíli (246 masl.) and Kakoúsi (388 masl.) that form the barrier towards the area of Thebes (**B.2.14**).

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: Erroneous location on map in Farinetti 2011, 375. Conflicting information in the various published descriptions. Located on and immediately below (SE, S, and SW) of the low, flat hill of Pírgchos/Paleométochi at the NE end of the Lake Paralímni. Excavations of the lower settlement and surface finds shows that this was the location of a settlement from the Mycenaean period until the Hellenistic, with a re-settling of the location in the Late Roman period. This harmonises with Strabo, who describes the site of Isos as that of an abandoned *polis* (9.2.14). Much of the Mycenaean and later remains have been washed away by the fluctuations of the lake, but Fossey describes much surface material which indicate a larger settlement. His use of directions, however, causes some confusion as to the actual locations of the remains.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type A. Ca. 0.5 hectares. A fortification wall of varying level of preservation follows the outline of the hilltop plateau. The best preserved sections are above the SE and S slopes, with “*sehr regelmässige*” polygonal masonry. In the S side is a tangential gate, 3.75 m. wide N of which (parallel with wall) is a terraced foundation. Noack noted the remains of other foundations on the *akropolis*, which is otherwise dominated by a large Mediaeval tower built of ancient spolia, giving the hill its name.

Noack noted the remains of an “older” wall, partially covered by the E section of the circuit wall, prompting him to identify the location as a possible Mycenaean fortress site similar to the ones found around Ghla at former lake Kopaïs. Fossey believes this to be possible, and identifies an inner circuit which he interprets as Byzantine, although he does not state his reasons for this dating.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Noack 1898, 457-458; Lauffer 1959, 1575; Faraklas 1968b; Fossey 1988, 257-261 (with plan); Farinetti 2011, 377-378.

B.2.9 KORÓNIA (KORONEIA)

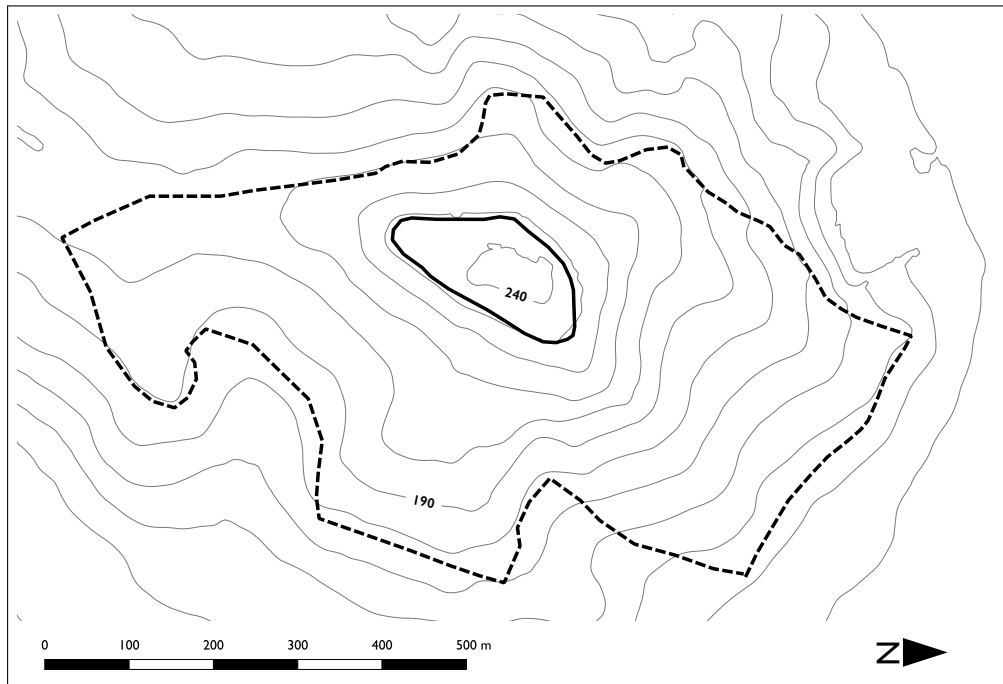


Figure B.36: Koroneia, after Bintliff (2013).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Κορώνεια (Korōneia).

MODERN NAME(S): Κουτουμουλάς; Κορώνεια (since 1916).

POSITION: $38^{\circ}23'33.46''$ N, $22^{\circ}57'24.66''$ E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In Koroneiake, a tableland at former bay in the sw corner of lake Kopais demarcated by the ridges Laphystion in nw and Tilphousion in s. A low ridge divides the area into two valleys, the location of the ancient settlement located at n end of this ridge. Area apparently wooded in Antiquity but now mainly covered by olive groves. Region hilly; flat, arable land only available in n closest to former lake Kopais.

A small *polichnē*, Alalkomenai, was located in the e end of the area. The sanctuary of Athena Alalkomenia was probably in its vicinity. Closer to the main settlement was the Boeotian federal sanctuary of Athena Itonia, the exact location of which is still debated.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: On and around the two northernmost low hills of the Boutsouráti ridge. As the location is the point of division between the two main valleys of the tableland, it can be seen as the

natural centre of the area. The site was some distance from the main route of the area (which followed the general outline of the Kopaïs), but was well visible from this.

A circuit wall, probably enclosing the whole settlement, was still visible in the early 20th century. Summary excavations in the settlement area indicated mainly activities in the Late Roman to Byzantine period, which is contradicted by surface finds of ceramics going back to the Geometric. Remains of a theatre and the probable Roman agora have been found on the E slopes of the *akropolis* hill.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type D. Ca. 1.7 hectares. Remains of a separate enclosure in polygonal masonry, the details of which has not been published in any detail. Frankish tower on summit cover remains of (ancient?) fountain, probably the main water source of the settlement.

The hilltop location visually dominates the two valleys on each side of the ridge, and is quite visible from almost the whole plain of former lake Kopaïs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Leake 1835b, 133-5; Frazer 1898b, 170-171; *BCH* 47 (1923) 521-522; *Maier*, 128-131 (with plan); *ADelt* 1972, 317-318; *AAA* 1973 *Chron.*, 385-392; *TIB* I, 192-193; Fossey 1988, 324-330 (with plan); Bintliff and Slapšak 2006, 18-23; Farinetti 2011, 67-88; 263-275; Bintliff, Noordervliet, *et al.* 2013, 2-19 (with plan); Bintliff 2013 (with plan); Bintliff 2014; *ADelt* 65 (2010) [2016] 994. *IACP* nr. 210.

B.2.10 ORCHOMENÓS (ORCHOMENOS)

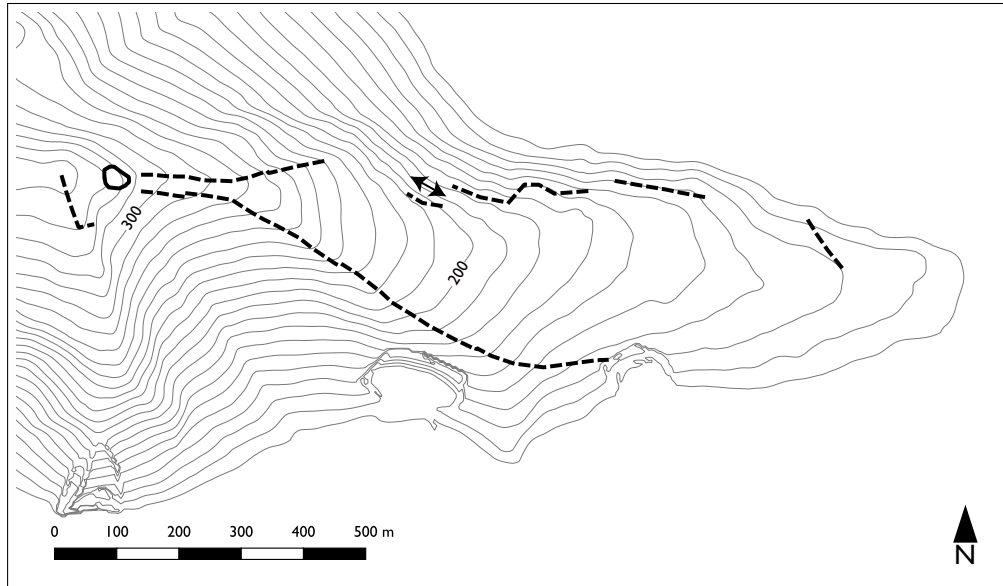


Figure B.37: Orchomenos, after AA 1998, 541-543.

ANCIENT NAME(S): Ὀρχομενός/Ἐρχομενός (Orchomenos/Erchomenos).

MODERN NAME(S): Καλπάκι; Ορχομενός (since 1963).

POSITION: 38°29'42.72" N, 22°57'33.59" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: Consists of the area bordering on Chaironeia (**B.2.3**) in w on the north side of the Kephisos, the shores of former lake Kopaïs in s and E, and area of the Dzamáli bay in N, where are also the sites of ancient Aspledon and Tegyra.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: At the E end of the Akontion ridge, the settlement was strategically located on a rock spur between river Kephisos and the Dzamáli bay of lake Kopaïs. The site appears to have been continuously settled since the Neolithic, and became the leading power of Boeotia in the LBA. The remains of a large LH tholos tomb have been excavated at the modern village, which probably marks the location of the ancient settlement. Fragments of frescoes found in the vicinity suggests the presence of a LH palace.

Remains of an Archaic phase in the city fortifications have been noted on the E slope of the Akontion, but most preserved masonry is of the Classical period. The enceinte follows the E part of the

Akontion ridge, and appears to have comprised several ‘compartments’ following the terrain.⁸⁹ The lowest (and easternmost) was at the location of the present village, and comprised the so-called Treasury of Minyas, the possible prehistoric megaron and the theatre. Divided by a *diateichisma*, the next ‘compartment’ contained much of the Classical habitation as well as a temple. Further uphill was a second *diateichisma*, creating yet another ‘compartment’ with a heavily fortified wall to the n, containing several towers and a tangential gate. The corresponding s stretch of wall appears to have been jogged, and had a small postern gate at its uppermost section to the w. At this location was a third *diateichisma* at the point where the fortified area became more narrow as one approached the top of the hill and the *akropolis*. The ‘compartment’ beyond (w) of this wall is triangular with a very narrow, corridor-like space leading up to the “*Gipfelkastell*” of the *akropolis*. Several towers are found in the parallel n and s stretches of walls here, as well as a tangential gate in the s wall. At the w end of this space are the narrow rock-cut stairs that leads up to the citadel on the summit. The outer fortifications in s and n are all in polygonal and trapezoidal masonry, seemingly belonging to one phase, and has been dated by Scranton as being of the mid- to late 4th century.⁹⁰

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type close to b. The so-called *Gipfelkastell*, a small keep-like construction at the sharp w end of the fortified area, occupies the very summit (369 masl.) of the easternmost peak of the Akontion ridge. The location offers an almost complete view of the whole Kopaïs basin and is often referred to as the *akropolis* of Orchomenos.

Late Classical-Hellenistic fortification walls in isodomic ashlar surrounds the very small, yet extremely imposing, area of the peak (ca. 0.15 hectare). Scanty remains of polygonal masonry suggests that this structure had a predecessor, probably relating to the rest of the noted fortifications.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dodwell 1819a, 226-231 (with plan); Frazer 1898b, 180-191; Scranton 1941, 90-; *TIB* 1, 227-228; Lauffer and Hennig 1974 (with plan); Fossey 1988, 351-359 (with plan); *AA* 1998, 541-543 (with plan); Kondouri 2009b; Sokolicek 2009, Tafel 41; Farinetti 2011, 109-117; 292-294; Frederiksen 2011, 176. *LACP* nr. 213.

⁸⁹These ‘compartments’ are very poorly preserved.

⁹⁰*Contra* Frederiksen 2011, 176. A close parallel to this can be found at Limnaion/Phakion (**B.1.8**).

B.2.II PLATEÉS (PLATAIAI)

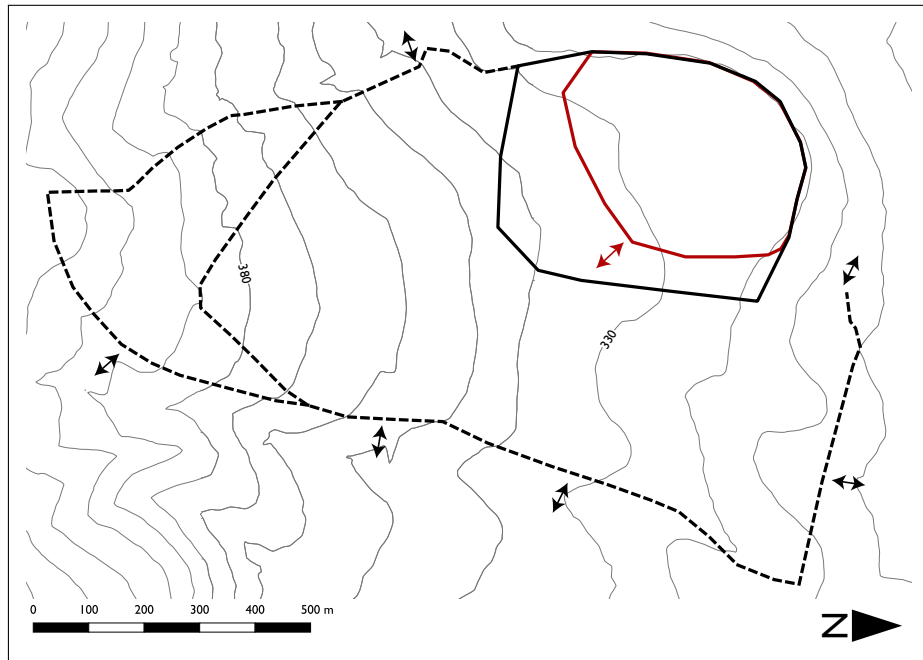


Figure B.38: Plataiai, after Konecny (2013). Red lines indicates Late Antique circuit, black lines the reconstructed *akropolis* area, striped lines the Hellenistic enceinte.

ANCIENT NAME(S): Πλαταιαί (Plataiai).

MODERN NAME(S): Κόκλα; Πλαταιές (since 1916).

POSITION: 38°13'14.35" N, 23°16'25.95" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: Fertile, flat area s of mount Kithairon, bordering on Thebes (**B.2.14**) in n and several smaller *poleis* in w and e. The mountainous area in s was the border-zone between Boeotia, Attica and the Megarid, with one of the major routes between the Peloponnese and Central Greece through a pass in e.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: In the n foothills of mount Kithairon, on a low rocky outcrop extending into the plain. The site is at present uninhabited, and is cultivated/grazed by the inhabitants of the modern village of Κόκλα/Plateés just to the sw. An important spring can be found at the base of the promontory, probably further motivation for the choice of site. The site, being nearly continuously inhabited from the Neolithic to the Middle Ages, bears many signs of various building activities. A se-

ries of fortification enceintes dominate the present picture, being constructed at several different points in history.

The original fortification trace (early 5th c. BCE) appears to have encompassed what is referred to as the '*akropolis*' of the settlement, in the NW corner of the site (see below). In the late 4th c., the fortified area was extended to the E and S with a wall in isodomic masonry, possibly as a result of Philip II's re-foundation of the settlement. Sometime after this, the area was reduced in the S part with a *diateichisma* in similar masonry.

The geophysical investigations at Plataiai indicates that the city went through an extensive reformation after the Macedonian conquest, with the establishment of a regular street grid covering the whole extended *intra muros* area. However, the new urban space was too large for the relatively little population of the *polis*. Only the areas immediately outside the *akropolis* walls appear to have been settled, with the whole S half of the larger *intra muros* area apparently empty.

An Archaic temple to Hera (located on an elevated terrace), a sanctuary to Dionysos, and a theatre have been found at the *agora* in the centre of the larger enceinte.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type A. Relatively large ovular area, ca. 12.5 hectares, separately fortified but later incorporated in the general enceinte. The earliest fortification walls (dated to the early 5th c.) are constructed in a polygonal/Lesbian masonry ('orthostates') on a foundation of smaller stones. No reported towers. This wall is only fragmentarily preserved, but the excavators presume that it followed the same trace as the later phases.

The later phase of fortification walls (dated to the late 4th c.), as mentioned above, appears also to have surrounded the *akropolis*. However, 3rd c. CE reconstructions (using spolia) of this trace covers most of the visible remains. A larger gate, flanked by two towers, is found at the SE corner of the enceinte, but the date of this cannot be ascertained. It does, however, not appear to relate to the street grid.

The *akropolis* appears to have been the only settled area at the site prior to the mid-4th c. BCE, when the site was extended. In the Late Antique and Byzantine periods the population again withdrew to the *akropolis* area. At this time, the *akropolis* enceinte was rebuilt using *spolia*, and included a large number of towers.

The *akropolis* is fully incorporated in the late 4th c. street grid, containing ca. 30 *insulae* and a structure identified as a gymnasium.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dodwell 1819a, 277-280; Waldstein, Tarbell, and Rolfe 1889; Waldstein 1890; Washington 1890a; Washington 1890b; Waldstein and Washington 1891; Frazer 1898b, 8-18 (with plan); Pritchett 1957; *TIB* 1, 243-244; Fossey 1988, 102-112 (with plan); Lang 1996, 283; Aravantinos, Konecny, and Marchese 2003 (with plan); Aravantinos, Konecny, and Marchese 2008 (with plan); Farinetti 2011, 179-190; Konecny, Boyd, *et al.* 2012 (with plans); Konecny, Aravantinos, and Marchese 2013 (with plans). *LACP* nr. 216.

B.2.12 ALIKÍ (SIPHAI)

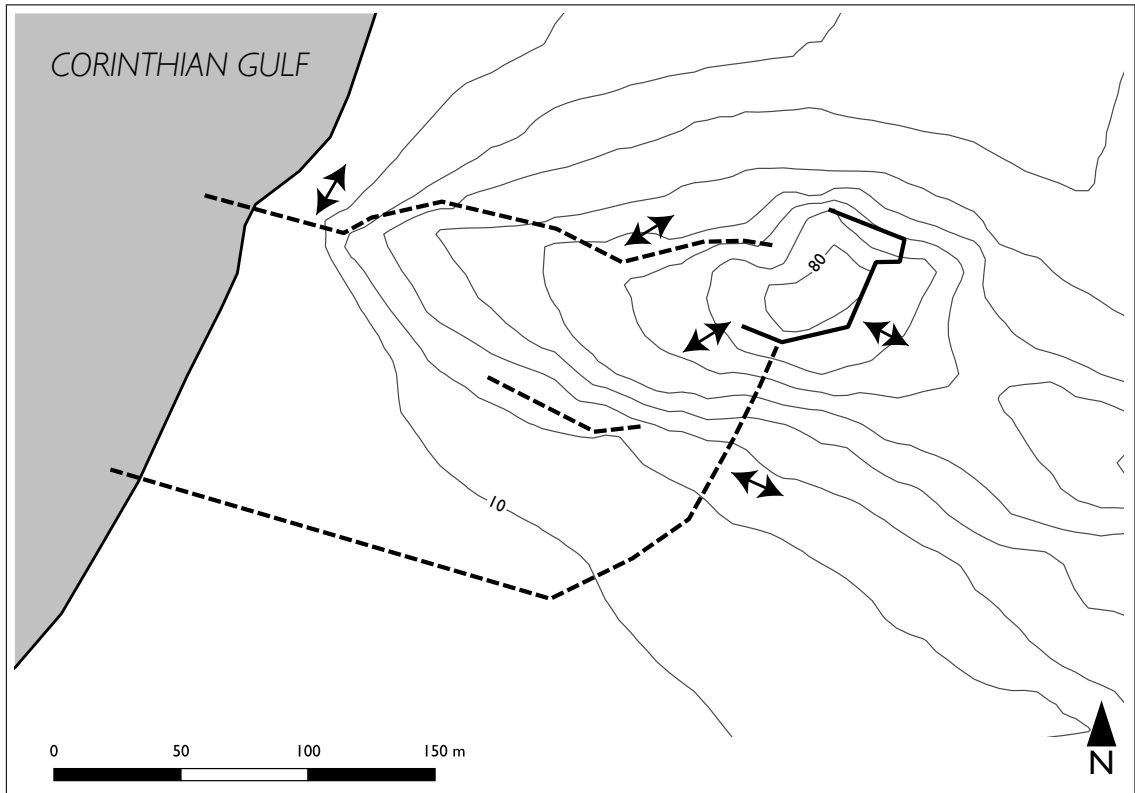


Figure B.39: Siphai, after Schwandner (1977).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Σίφαι (Siphai).

MODERN NAME(S): Αλική.

POSITION: $38^{\circ}11'24.35''$ N, $23^{\circ}3'11.60''$ E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: Concentrated around the E end of the Bay of Dhomvréna in the Corinthian Gulf, SE of the area of Thisbai (B.2.16) and SW of ancient Thespiai (of which Siphai was apparently a dependent in the Classical period). Consists mainly of a small coastal plain of Alikí which seems to have been barely inhabited in the early 20th c. Here is a small salt-water lagoon, which has given the site its modern name (αλική, “saltern”). E of the plain is the high hill of Korombíli (907 masl.), and in N is the flat hill area of Mavrovóuni, where are the remains of a large sanctuary site, partially covered by a Mediaeval fortress.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: On small coastal plain at the bay of Alikí, divided from larger plain in N by the *akropolis* hill. Most of settlement area now covered by modern villas, but harbour installations still visible at beach. The settlement appears to have been divided into three sections, the '*Unterstadt*', the '*Oberstadt*', and the *akropolis*. The *Unterstadt* was accessible through a gate in NW, one in E and possibly yet another in SW. A *diateichisma* separates the *Unterstadt* from the *Oberstadt*, in which there are the remains of three towers and one gate. The *Oberstadt* was also accessible through a gate in the N wall, to which a terraced road lead from the plain in N. The fortification system appears to have been constructed in the mid-4th c. BCE, and is built in isodomic ashlar, but Siphai appears to have been fortified already in 424 BCE (Thuc. 4.76.2-3).

Byzantine remains are visible especially in the *Oberstadt*, including the foundations of a church, a large cistern and a wall above the lower *diateichisma*.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type A. Small area, 0.17 hectares, ca. 75 masl., separated from the *Oberstadt* by a *diateichisma*, and only accessible through a gate in the S corner. It occupies the highest and easternmost part of the settlement and was separately walled with at least one preserved tower in SE. The remains of stairs in the wall immediately N of the tower indicates the existence of a *parodos*. The remains of a Byzantine chapel constitute the only visible structures inside the enclosure.

The *akropolis* dominates the immediate landscape and the bay of Dhomvréna W of it, but is barely visible from surrounding regions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schwandner 1977 (with plan); Fossey 1988, 168-173 (with plan); Bonanno-Aravandinou 2009, 264; Farinetti 2011, 167-178; 347-348. *IACP* nr. 218.

B.2.13 ΓΗΡΑΪΜΑΔΗ (TANAGRA)

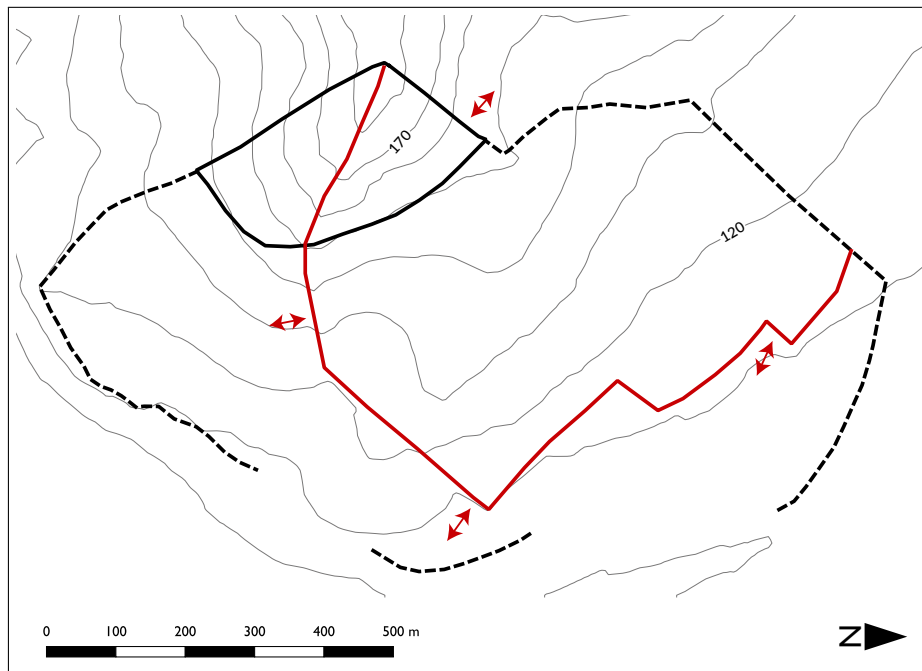


Figure B.40: Tanagra, after Bintliff (2013). Red line indicate Late Antique enceinte, black line the reconstructed *akropolis* area, and striped the reconstructed Classical-Hellenistic outer fortifications.

ANCIENT NAME(S): Τάναγρα (Tanagra).

MODERN NAME(S): Γραιμάδα.

POSITION: 38°18'24.23" N, 23°34'59.77" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: The ancient region of Tanagrike fluctuated over the centuries, and came to contain the areas of several smaller communities, including Eleon and Mykalessos in N. The area is focused on a plain bordered in N by the Ktípas and Messapion mountains, the Gulf of Euboea in NE, the Sorós range in W and mount Parnes and the Skourta plain in S. Tanagra was bordered by the most powerful neighbour, Thebes (B.2.14) in W and the (sometimes) Athenian Oropos in E.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: The remains of the ancient settlement have long been known, and have traditionally been identified as confined by a circuit of fortification walls of ca. 2.2 km., encompassing an area of approximately 30 hectares. Recent geophysical work, however, has shown that this is rather the picture of the city in its Late Roman state, and that the Classical city was at least 1½ times larger as previously assumed. The urban grid appears to continue further towards S and E, probably all the

way down to the stream of Láris. The layout of the pre-Roman fortification has only superficially been published.

The street grid is orthogonal, spreading out on a gentle slope from the area of the *akropolis* in sw towards NE and appears to divide the whole site in almost equal-sized blocks. At the centre of the settlement is a low ridge, on which are the probable remains of the *agora* as seen by Pausanias.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type A? The location of the *akropolis* was probably at the highest spot of the present *intra muros* area, immediately s of the modern aqueduct (see Bintliff, Noordervliet, *et al.* 2013, Fig. 24).⁹¹ This is the last spur of the long Sóros range, ancient Kerykios, and it constitute a highly visible location from the flat plain N, E and s of the settlement, as well as from the hilltops in s and sE. The hill has two summits, the w slightly larger and higher (204 masl.) than the E (189 masl.). In the saddle is the probable location of the Early Christian basilica excavated by the Archaeological Society in 1890. This seems also to have been the location of an Ionic temple, tentatively identified with the temple of Dionysos described by Pausanias (9.20.4). Immediately below (E) of this location are the probable remains of a theatre.

It appears that the E slope of the *akropolis* was included in the Late Ancient fortification circuit, but not the w slope (?). What appears to be a preserved fortification wall is visible on aerial photographs about 600 m. w of the sw corner of the present *akropolis* fortifications. There are no records of a *diateichisma* separating the *akropolis* from the slope area below. Three square towers were noted in the s wall of the *akropolis* in the 1970s.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Leake 1835b, 454 (with plan); *Praktika* 1890 (1893) 33-35; Frazer 1898b, 76-82; Roller 1974b; Roller 1974a (with plan); *TIB* 1, 267; Fossey 1988, 44-49 (with plan); Roller 1989 (with plan); Bintliff, Farinetti, Sbonias, *et al.* 2001; Bintliff and Slapšak 2006, 15-17 (with partial plan); Charami 2009, 229 (WWI aerial photograph of site); Farinetti 2011, 207-222; 380-381; 397-402; Bintliff, Noordervliet, *et al.* 2013, 25-28 (with plan); Bintliff 2013; Bintliff 2016, 8-10. *LACP* nr. 220.

⁹¹Farinetti 2011 locates the *akropolis* on what is otherwise known as the “Agora Ridge”. As this does not constitute the highest location in the city nor a topographically conspicuous place, I regard it as somewhat implausible.

B.2.14 THIVA (THEBES)

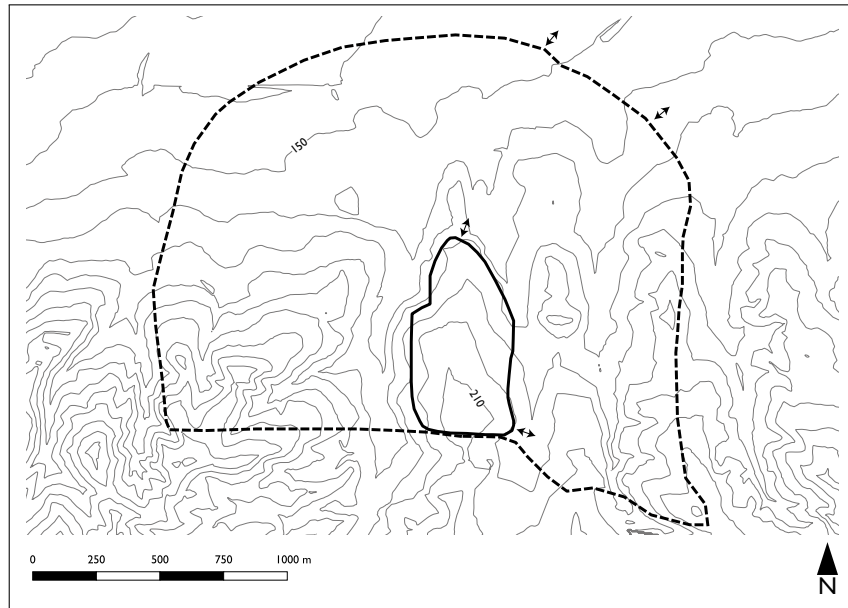


Figure B.41: Classical Thebes, after Symeonoglou (1985).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Θήβαι (Thebai).

MODERN NAME(S): Φήβα; Θήβα.

POSITION: 38°19'9.07" N, 23°19'3.89" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: Ancient Thebes and its area Thebaïs occupied an extremely dominant position in both the topographical and political landscape of ancient Boeotia. On the physical plane, the settlement was located at the s end of the Aonian plain, a fertile and not very marshy flat area SE of former Lake Kopaiis and s of Lakes Hylake and Paralímni. During the course of Antiquity, Thebes incorporated several smaller settlements within its area, including Glisas (**B.2.5**) in NE and Plataiai (**B.2.11**) in s.

The area of the Aonian plain is self-confined, with very little visual contact with neighbouring areas due to several hills and ridges all around it. The most powerful neighbours of Thebes were Haliartos (**B.2.6**) and Thespiiai in w, Plataiai (**B.2.11**) in s, Tanagra (**B.2.13**) in E and Akraiphia (**B.2.1**) in NNW. At the w end of the smaller Teneric plain (w of the city) was the sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos, the centre of the pan-Boeotian federation.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: The ancient site of Thebes lies directly underneath the modern city, and has been continuously inhabited since prehistory. This means that much of the reconstructed developments on site are based on fragmentary information acquired mainly through rescue work of the 20th and 21th century, often combined with information from ancient textual sources. Focus has mostly been the prehistoric remains, which further obscures the developments of the historical periods.

The modern and ancient city was focused around the low hill of the Kadmeia, which lies in the borderland between the Theban plain in N and the hill land in s . After the end of the palatial system, the Mycenaean palace at the Kadmeia was abandoned, and it seems that most of the EIA population of Thebes lived in a smaller area at the N end of the hill. This has been tentatively identified with the toponym Hypothebai, and was confined by a Submycenaean circuit wall. The Kadmeia was then used for burials. This changed in the 9th c. BCE, when a wall was constructed around the Kadmeia. The fortifications of Thebes are mentioned already in Homer and appear to have been exceedingly impressive.

Where traceable, the Classical fortification walls (late 5th c. BCE?) seem to have been in isodomic masonry of low quality stone with a mud brick superstructure. The width varied between 2.5 to 3.2 m. As noted by Berman 2015, the walls of Thebes pose an interesting historical problem, as they are physical objects, and a literary *topos*.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type A? A large number of sources refer to the Kadmeia as the *akropolis* of Thebes,⁹² and the hill appears to have been regarded as such until the Roman period. Pausanias writes that the inhabitants of his day referred to the hill as simply ‘Thebes’.

The hilltop is flat and large, ca. 25 hectares, and is visible from the whole plain N of the settlement, as well as from the mountain tops of the surrounding regions in W , N and E . The low hills s of the settlement, however, cover the view from the tableland in s .

The hill appears to have been resettled in the 6th c. BCE and housed the main part of the settlement, but this is supported by very scanty archaeological remains. In the 5th c., a circuit wall was constructed far beyond the confines of the Kadmeia, indicating the emergence of a lower settlement at or before this time. Based on observations of early 19th c. CE travellers, it has been suggested that the Archaic-Classical wall was constructed on the remains of a LH wall.

Most of our information about the urban topography come from Pausanias, who visited the city when it consisted only of the Kadmeia. The ‘old agora’ of the city was seemingly located in the Kadmeia, together with adjoining treasury and prison. The Kadmeia contained sanctuaries of several deities, including Demeter Thesmophoros, Zeus Hypsistos, Ammon, Tyche, Poseidon, Aphrodite, Dionysos Kadmeios and Zeus Homoloios. As as the case with the rest of Thebes, the *akropolis* and its fortifications were probably destroyed by the forces of Alexander in 335 BCE, to be partially rebuilt by Cassander in 315.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dodwell 1819a, 264-268; Frazer 1898b, 31-47 (with plan); *TIB* I, 269-271; Symeonoglou 1985; Fossey 1988, 199-208; Aravantinos 2009; Farinetti 2011, 191-200; Frederiksen 2011, 196. *LACP* nr. 221.

⁹²See p. 175.

B.2.15 THESPIÉS (THESPIAI)

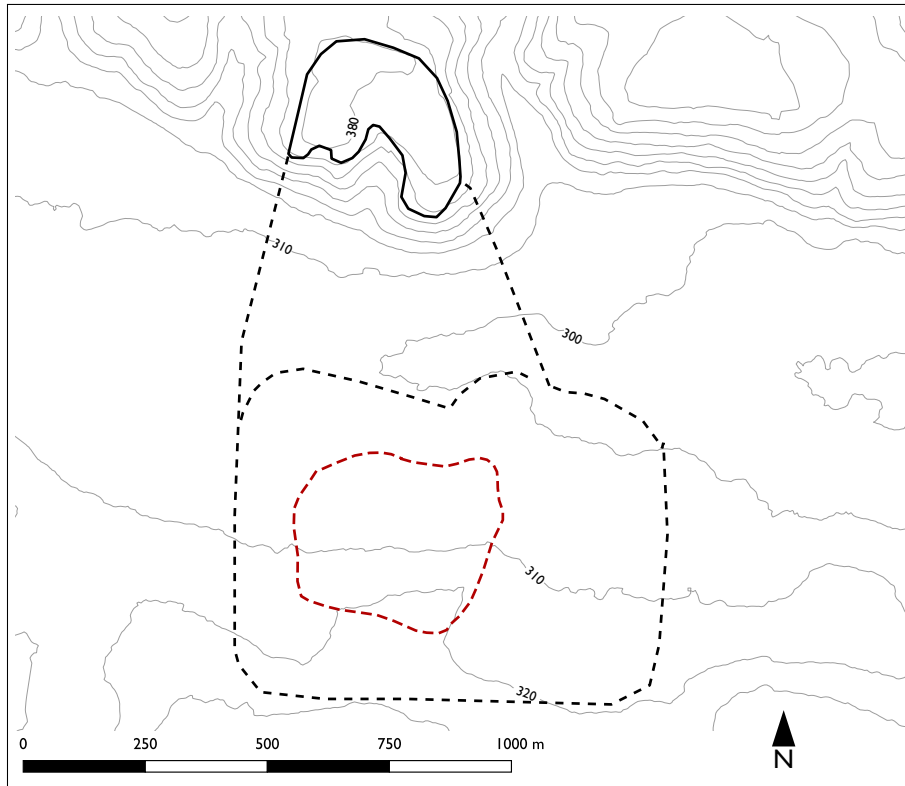


Figure B.42: Thespiai, after Bintliff et al. (2017). Red striped line indicates the Late Roman fortification circuit.

ANCIENT NAME(S): Θεσπιαί (Thespiai).

MODERN NAME(S): Ερημόκαστρο; Κομπίλα; Κασκαβέλι; Λεοντάρι; Θεσπιές (since 1934).

POSITION: 38°18'06.9" N, 23°09'00.5" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: In the centre of a large valley connecting to that of Thisbai (**B.2.16**) with the areas of Thebes (**B.2.14**) and Plataiai (**B.2.11**). To the w is the Helicon massif, below of which is the area of the dependant settlement of Askre. The river Kanaváris flows towards ε from the valley of Thisbai, cutting through the settlement before it continues towards the area of Thebes in NE. A ridge-line, containing the *akropolis*, runs parallel to the river from the area of Askre in NW.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: The site of Thespiai was severely damaged by (pseudo-)archaeological activities in the late 19th c. The Late Roman fortified enceinte was completely destroyed during a hunt for

reused inscribed stones, radically altering the visual appearance of the site. Extensive non-invasive surveys of the area have been conducted since the 1980s, providing an overall picture of the large site and its environs.

The Archaic to Late Roman settlement appears to have been concentrated around a gently sloping area just s of the small river of Kanaváris. A Neolithic *maghoúla* is located within the same general area, and the site is surrounded on all sides by extensive cemeteries of the Geometric to Late Roman periods.

The Archaic to Classical urban site was seemingly fortified and confined to the area s of the river. Probably in the mid-4th c. BCE, the fortified area was extended towards N, traversing the river, including (and establishing) the *akropolis*. This meant that an Archaic cemetery was included in the *intra muros* area. In the Late Roman period, the urban site was again remodelled and confined to the so-called Erimókastro, an area of ca. 13 hectares (to be compared with the ca. 75 hectare area of the Hellenistic city).

Aerial photographs reveal a non-regular street network, possibly belonging to the Hellenistic phase. Except for some of the banks of the Late Roman fortifications and small sections of the NW section of the late Classical wall, no ancient remains are visible on the surface.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type A. Large, ca. 8 hectares, flat area on projecting spur of ridge. Possibly known in Antiquity as Keressos. Currently the location of the modern village of Erimókastro/Thespiés, and only fragmentary parts of the fortification wall has been reported from the NW sector of the *akropolis*. The reconstructed line of fortifications appear to largely follow the topography, with the supposed location of the theatre below the summit in the s slope. A section of a mud-brick fortification wall in the w side of the *akropolis* was excavated in the 2000s.

The *akropolis* seemingly only included into the fortified area in the late Classical period, as the Archaic-Classical city appears to have been confined to the area s of the Kanaváris river only. As the Late Roman settlement of Thespiái appears to have been confined to the *kástro* further to the s, it appears that the location was abandoned at this time.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *TIB* 1, 275; *PECS*, s.v. Keressos; *PECS*, s.v. Thespiái; Fossey 1988, 135-140; Bonanno-Aravandinou 2009, 263; *ADelt* 65 (2010) [2016] 993; Bintliff, Farinetti, Slapšak, *et al.* 2017; Snodgrass 2017. *IACP* nr. 222.

B.2.16 THÍSVI (THISBAI)

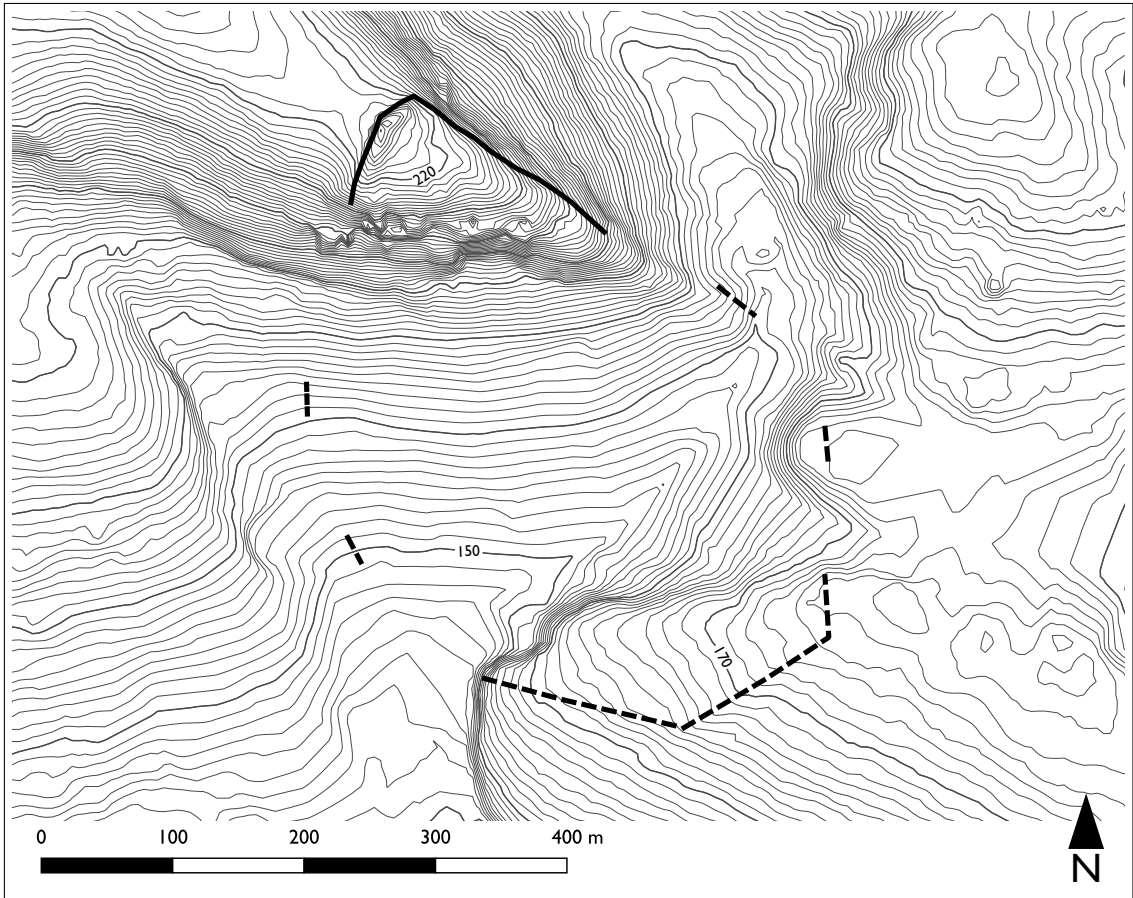


Figure B.43: Thisbai, after Dunn (2008).

ANCIENT NAME(S): Θίσβαι (Thisbai).

MODERN NAME(S): Κακόσι; Θίσβη (since 1915).

POSITION: 38°15'35.53" N, 22°58'5.25" E.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA: At the northern end of the Thisbai basin, a flat formerly marshy area s of the modern village of Kakósi/Thísvi and its neighbour Dhomvréna. The marshland was drained and irrigated by a system of earthworks, dams and dykes from the Mycenaean period onwards. The Helicon massif rises N of the settlement, with foothills continuing towards the sea w of the site, where ancient Chorsiai (B.2.4) is located. A pass in the E leads to the area of ancient Thespiai and the plains of Boeotia.

Just s of the Thisbai basin are the hills of Mavrovóuni and Chimadhió, between which runs the road towards Áyios Ioánnis, the probable harbour site of the *polis*. Further SE, across the Bay of Dhomvréna, is the location of ancient Siphai (**B.2.12**), and across the hills in W is the site of Chorsiai (**B.2.4**).

DESCRIPTION OF SITE: The lower part of the ancient settlement occupied the same location as the modern village in a hollow between two low hills. The flat summit of the south hill (Neókastró) is partly enclosed by an ashlar wall of probable Hellenistic date, containing seven rectangular towers and a gate. Surface shards suggest that this *intra muros* area was inhabited. The top of the hill in N (Paleókastró) is more conspicuous, and probably constitutes the *akropolis* of the settlement in the Bay of Vathí. Partial remains of fortifications connecting the south and north hill could be seen in the 1950s, including a tower in E.

The site has apparently been continuously inhabited since EH, as suggested by pottery, tombs, and architecture.

DESCRIPTION OF AKROPOLIS: Type C. Small, ca. 0.5 hectares, sloping area on the S slope of the N hill, immediately N of the modern settlement. The fortification wall follows the outline of the hilltop, creating a roughly kite-shaped area with the main corners in SE, SW and N. The wall stretch facing the outside of the walled area is curved, creating an additional fourth corner. In this stretch are the remains of three towers “of ancient date”, one of which is circular, the flanking two rectangular, constructed in rough polygonal or Lesbian masonry. Some stretches of trapezoidal and isodomic ashlar have also been noted in this wall, corresponding to the masonry of the S hill. Mediaeval repairs covers most parts of this wall, making it hard to discern any details. There are no traces of a *diateichisma* separating the *akropolis* from the lower settlement, but the steep slope (in itself acting as a natural boundary) and the proximity to the modern village might have caused it to disappear.

The location of the *akropolis* is visible from most of the basin S of the settlement, but barely from surrounding regions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dodwell 1819a, 258-259; Frazer 1898b, 160-164; *Maier*, 126-128 (with plan); *TIB I*, 184; 275 (as Kastorion and Thisbai); Fossey 1988, 178-182; 185 (with plan); Gregory 1992; Dunn 2006; Dunn 2007; Dunn 2008 (with plan); Dunn 2009b (with plan); Dunn 2009a (online resource); Farinetti 2011, 167-178. *IACP* nr. 223.

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