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EDITORIAL PREFACE

When we had to find an appropriate name for the Journal of the Netherlands Institute at Athens, we did not in the first place think of the famous lighthouse of Alexandria. Our reflections were more modest. Besides, Alexandria is in Egypt, not in Greece. The pharos intended by us is the cloth woven by Zeus as a wedding-gift for his wife Chthonia. It bears the images of Ge and Ogyges, the Earth and the Ocean, and thereby it implies the orderly creation of the world wrapped in it. This not very well known part of mythology has been told by Pherekydes of Syros and a fragment of this story has been fortunately preserved on a papyrus. The title of Pharos thus reflects our aims in various ways. First, we hope that our periodical as a symbolic 'wedding-gift' will strengthen the ties between our Institute and Greece. Second, we consider the Pharos as the medium neccessary to present an orderly image of the work done by the members of our Institute to the wider audience of our colleagues abroad. We do not pretend that, as a lighthouse, we can shed our light on everything we think is in the dark and needs our illumination. A journal is a medium of communication that invites to debate, just like Pherekydes and his fellow philosopher-poets inspired to a rational discussion and scholarly study. And, last but not least, Syros is the main object of research of one of the members of our board.

The first contribution of this third issue deals with a kouros recently acquired on the art market by the Allard Pierson Museum of Amsterdam. We are very well aware of the problems involved in this kind of acquisitions nowadays. As a rule, we wish to subscribe to the recent statement by the editors and publishers of the *American Journal of Archaeology* and the exemplary policy formulated in *The ancient Greek world: the Rodney S. Young Gallery* (Philadelphia, 1995) and quoted in *Antiquity* 69 (1995), p. 1033 regarding the need for archaeologists to disantangle themselves from the dangerous pitfalls of the current art market. On the other hand, we feel that any find, however obscure its ultimate origins, should be made known at least in a proper way to the archaeological community, and in particular when it is to be expected that the find wil be exposed to the general public. This is a difficult dilemma for every serious archaeological journal, but we fear that a policy, albeit morally and scholarly correct, of rigorous exclusion in the end could do unnecessary harm. This publication thus, from our side, is a considered exception to our general policy, because we trust the integrity of the Allard Pierson Museum and we think that this object should not remain undiscussed.

A lecture given by Dr Naerebout in Athens recently on his researches into dance in ancient Greek culture is the second contribution. It is expected that other lectures, organized on a regular basis by the Netherlands institute will also be published in Pharos.

We are glad to be able to present three reports of field research and material studies carried out in Greece under supervision of the the Netherlands Institute at Athens. Professor Crouwel and members of his team report on their first season of their newly started fieldwork at Geraki in Lakonia. Two members of the Aetolia-survey project present an ample discussion and study of material regarding the Roman period in this mountanous region of Greece. It will certainly contribute much to the current renewed interest in this lesser known period of Greece. This volume also includes the third part in the series of publications on the the Dutch excavations at Lavda in Arkadia. Yvonne Goester presents a study of the Greek and Roman coins found during excavation.

When we were preparing this volume for the press the sad news reached us that our colleague Dr S.C. Bakhuizen had died. Kees Bakhuizen has been the organiser of much survey-work by Dutch archaeologists and ancient historians. The Aetolia-survey in particular is due to his initiative. With him the Dutch Institute has lost one of its first and most stimulating members.

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THE AMSTERDAM KOUROS

Herman A.G. Brijder
Maria H.J. van Dorst

THE small kouros in Figs. 1-2 has recently been acquired by the Allard Pierson Museum, the Archaeological Museum of the University of Amsterdam (inv. no. 13.116). It is made of yellowish limestone and broken off halfway down the thighs, though otherwise rather well preserved. The original height was about 40 cm.[1] The figure is thick-set and stands frontally, the left leg advanced. Most striking are the contours of the torso, formed by long concave curves from shoulders to hips. The anatomical structure is generalized. The vertebral column is straight; the head is turned slightly to the left. Seen in profile, the torso is broad and the buttocks small. The youth has no identifying attributes.

He embodies the ideal of a young human being. As such, the Amsterdam kouros probably served as a votive offering to a deity in a sanctuary. To which deity and in which sanctuary is, however, unknown. Similarly, the provenance is also unknown. The Amsterdam kouros shows the characteristics of the early Archaic kouroi of Richter's

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[1] Bought in the Amsterdam art market (M. Zilverberg Gallery), with financial support from the University of Amsterdam, the Association of Friends of the Allard Pierson Museum, the Olga Heldring Foundation and an anonymous foundation. Preserved ht. 28.0 cm; head: ht. 8.5 cm, width 6.0 cm, depth 8.5 cm; ht. of torso 13.5 cm; width of shoulders 11.5 cm; depth of breast 6.5 cm; width of waist 5.0 cm. The yellowish colour of the stone used to be lighter, as can be seen at the spot where the statue has been broken and in the surface chips. There are small damaged spots, scratches and notches all over the surface.
Bibliography: *Catalogue Christie's*, London, 2 December 1991, lot no. 106; *Agenda Oude Kunst- en Antiekbeurs Delft*, 1992, 62; Brijder, H.A.G. & M.H.J. van Dorst 1993. De Amsterdamse Kouros. *Mededelingenblad Amsterdam* 58: 6-18; Brijder, H.A.G. 1994. Het ontstaan van de monumentale Griekse beeldhouwkunst. In: *Marmer in Beeld, Griekse sculptuur 600-100 v. Chr.*, Exhib. Cat., *Mededelingenblad Amsterdam* 59/60: 19-20, fig. 34; Brijder, H.A.G. 1994. Griekse beelden in een Nieuwe Vleugel, *Hermeneus* 66: 28-29, fig. 2a-b; Lunsingh Scheurleer, R.A. 1995. In: *Mededelingenblad Amsterdam* 62: 12-13, fig. 5.

Figure 1. *The Amsterdam kouros, 600-580 BC, limestone, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 13.116, ht 28 cm*

Figure 2. *The Amsterdam kouros, back, left and right side*

Sounion and Orchomenos-Thera Groups, datable to ca. 600-580 BC.[2] Below we shall try to locate the statuette's place of manufacture.

Description

The head is rather big in relation to the whole statue, due to the very large hairdo. The hair resembles the Egyptian wig-like headdress. It is not divided into individual strands, as is often the case with Archaic kouroi, but is a solid mass. It is parted in the centre and falls down the back, ending in a regular line at the bottom. A ribbon encircles the forehead and is tied in a knot at the back, with the two short ends hanging down.

The face is narrow and pointed. Below somewhat protruding eyebrows there are large and slightly oblique eyes. Eyelids are not indicated. The mouth is small and shows a faint archaic smile. The chin is round and soft. The ears are big and set high, the right one higher than the left one. They lack antitragi and the lobes stick out a bit. The neck shows no sterno-mastoids; its lower limit is marked by a groove.

The forms of the body are full and rounded. The striking, long concave curves from the shoulders to the hips emphasize the broad shoulders and thin waist. The shoulders are rounded and slope strongly. Clavicles are not present. The breast is flat, with the lower contour of the pectorals indicated, but the lower limit of the thorax and the median line are not represented. Also the nipples and navel have not been modelled. The abdomen protrudes slightly and is rounded. The genitals are distinctly formed, however slightly damaged. The back shows no anatomical details. The buttocks are small and rounded. The arms hang down at the sides, partly separated from the body; and, seen in profile, they look thin in relation to it. The left arm is held somewhat more forward than the right one. They lack elbows or any other anatomical structure. The forearms are held in supine position.

The hands are clenched in fists held against the thighs, with the thumbs in front. The left fist has been more carefully sculpted, with the fingers more sharply modelled. It appears as if the youth holds a small object in his left fist, but this is due to the little piece of stone in the center which the sculptor has not removed. Two rusty brown spots on the hair may be traces of paint.

Comparable small kouroi

As remarked above, the provenance of the Amsterdam kouros is not known. Kouroi of such small size were made especially in East Greek areas like Rhodes, Samos, Chios and Knidos as well as in Naukratis, Egypt.[3] These kouroi are characterized by soft and rounded modelling. This can be seen in four kouroi which bear a strong resemblance to the Amsterdam kouros (compare Figs. 1-2 and 3-4). One of them has been found in the Heraion of Samos (Figs. 3a, 4a), and one in Knidos (Figs. 3d, 4d). The other two kouroi are of unknown provenance (Figs. 3b-c, 4b-c).

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2 Richter 1970, 38, 61, figs. 126-131, 200-201.

3 See below. For small kouroi from Chios, see Boardman 1967, 181-185, pl. 68.3 and fig. 127.

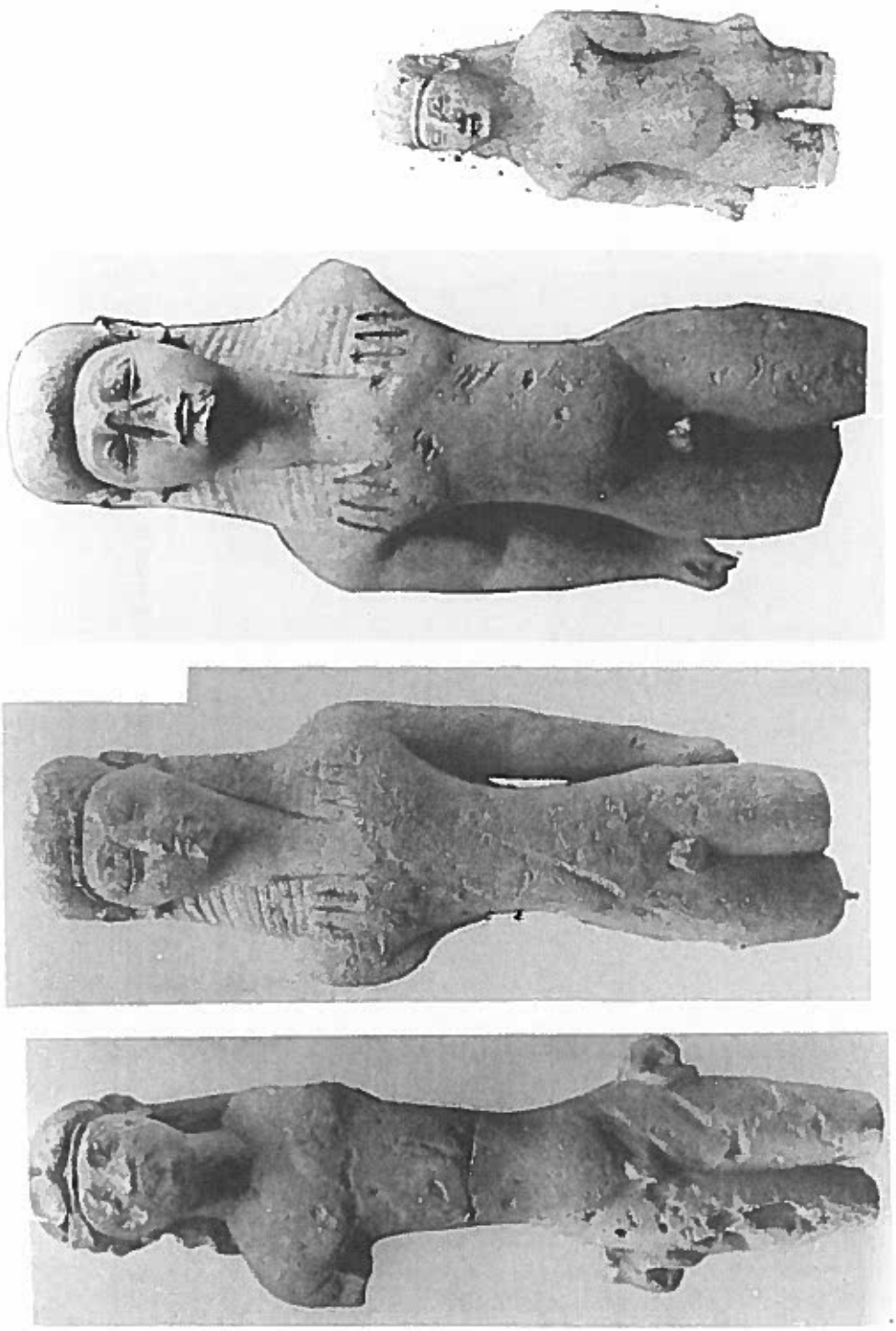

Figure 3. *Four limestone kouroi: (a) Samos museum C 211, ht. 30.5 cm; (b) American private collection, ht. 32.4 cm; (c) Paris art market, 1987 (S. de Monbrison), ht. 29 cm; (d) London, Br. Mus. B 320, ht. 17 cm*

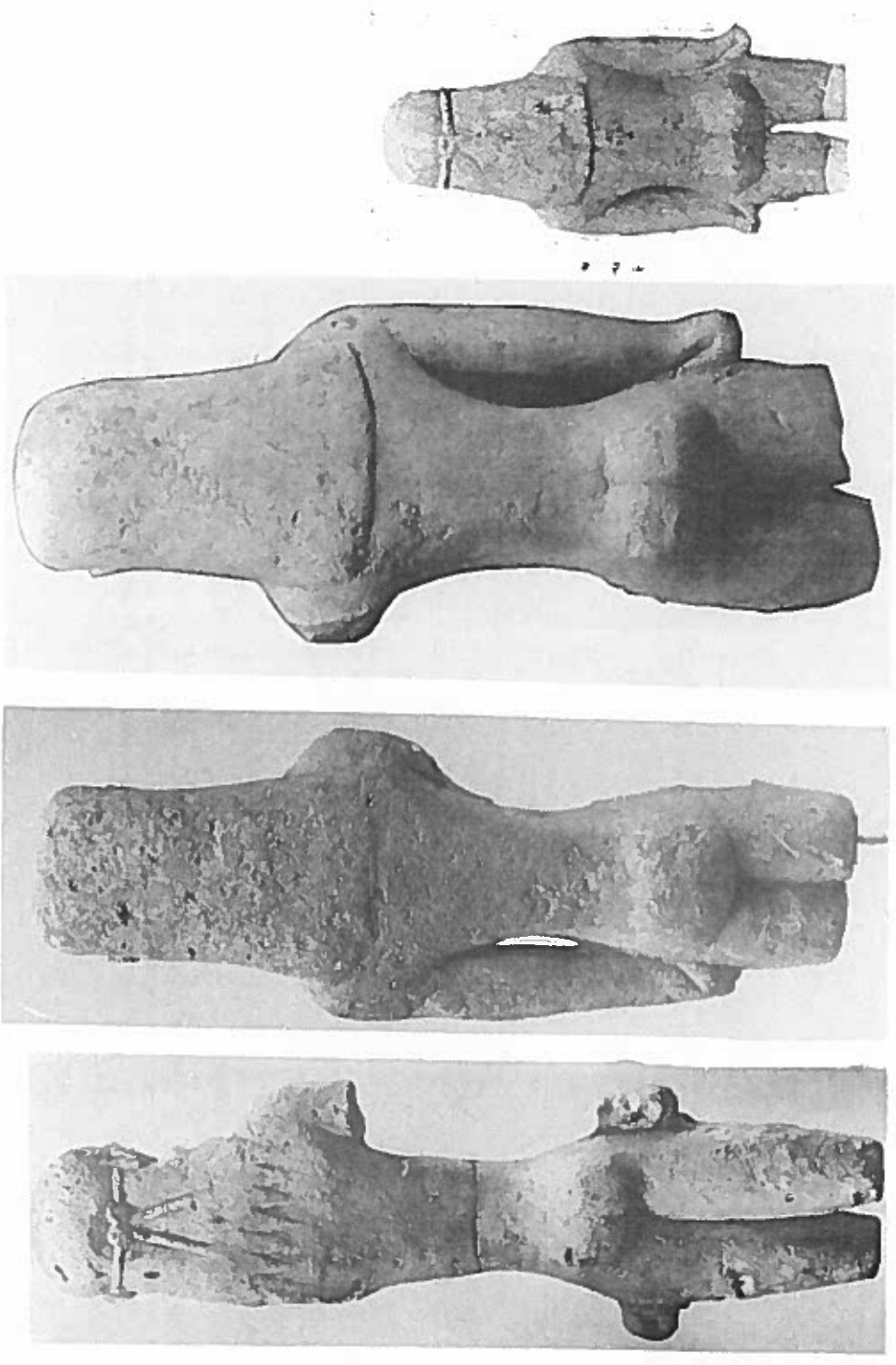

Figure 4. *Backs of kouroi in Fig. 3*

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All four are made of the same material, limestone, which varies from light greyish to light yellowish. In height, the Amsterdam kouros and those in Figs. 3a-c, 4a-c are more or less the same, without lower legs: 28.0, 32.4, 30.5 and 29.0 cm, respectively. Originally they must have been about 40.0 cm high. The Knidos kouros, on the other hand, was somewhat smaller, about 25.0 cm high (Figs. 3d, 4d). The Samos kouros and the one once in the Paris art market are dated to the end of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth centuries; whereas the Knidos kouros is slightly later, 590-570 BC.[4] These kouroi and the Amsterdam kouros are comparable with regard to build, rounded body forms and hairdo. Characteristic are the following traits: long concave contours of the torso, with upper ends defining the division between shoulders and arms; sharp neckline; rounded abdomen; and round, rather small buttocks. The three kouroi in Fig. 3a-c and 4a-c have rather thin bodies; the body of the smaller kouros in Figs. 3d, 4d is a bit heavy and thick-set. The build of the Amsterdam kouros is intermediate. Each of these kouroi differs from the others in small details: the face is turned slightly to the left or right (Figs. 1 and 3d); the right leg is advanced instead of the left one (Fig. 3d); and there may be no openings between the arms and body (Fig. 3d). Also the hairdos show some variation. The hair usually consists of a solid flat mass, falling in a long plain surface with a straight edge

Figure 4. *Backs of kouroi in Fig. 3*

Figure 5. *Bust of kouros, private Italian collection, ex Royal-Athena Galleries,*

[4] Schmidt 1968, 60; Cat. Galerie Simone de Monbrison, Paris 1987, p. 4; Richter 1970, 61; the other kouros of unknown provenance, unpublished, is now in an American private collection.

at the bottom, but the edge may be zigzagged (Fig. 4a). Further, the hair may be divided into horizontal bands and two zigzag plaits or tresses which hang in front of the shoulders (Fig. 3b-c). The ribbon is usually tied in a knot behind the head; it vanishes behind the hair in Fig. 4b; and in Figs. 3c-4c no ribbon is indicated.

The kouroi in Figs. 3b-c, IVb-c are almost identical; and the Amsterdam and Knidos kouroi are stylistically quite similar (Figs. 1-2, 3d-4d), though the latter is considerably smaller. These kouroi look so much alike that we may consider them a closely connected group, probably made in the same workshop. The upper part of another kouros, now in a private Italian collection, may be added to the group (Fig. 5).[5]

The question of where they have been made now arises. Do the two known provenances - Samos and Knidos - reveal something about the place of manufacture? Did one workshop export the kouroi, or were they made by a team of itinerant sculptors? These questions are difficult to answer. Let us first look at places where small kouroi have been found.

Naukratis

Several small kouroi have been excavated in the Greek settlement of Naukratis in the Nile delta; they are generally dated to around 600 BC or slightly later.[6] Some of them show the same features as those of the group identified above. One of the best preserved examples is in the British Museum, B 438 (Fig. 6). It is made of alabaster, a material that allows for the depiction of more anatomical details; the preserved height is 25.7 cm. The style is not Egyptian but purely Greek, as can be seen in the braids of hair hanging over the shoulders and the figure's complete nudity. It is very likely that this statuette was sculpted by an emigrant Greek, probably an East Greek colonist, and presented as a votive offering in one of the sanctuaries of Naukratis. Herodotus (2.178-79) names the regions where these colonists came from; they include Samos, Rhodes and Knidos, places where small kouroi have also been found.

Cyprus

Schmidt (1968, 113-19), Lewe (1975, 25-30) and Sørensen (1978, 111-21) maintain that the kind of small limestone kouros in the above group were manufactured in Cyprus or Naukratis and then exported to East Greece. These kouroi indeed reflect some Egyptian and Cypriote influences, but this does not necessarily mean the type was made exclusively in either Naukratis or Cyprus.

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[5] Preserved ht. 16.5 cm; J.M. Eisenberg, *Royal Athena Galleries, Art of the Ancient World*, IV (New York 1985), no. 395; P.E. Pecorella, in: E. Paribeni, *Aristaios, La collezione Giuseppe Sinopoli*, 93, no. 20 (Venice, 1995).

[6] For small kouroi from Naukratis, see Gardner 1888, pl. XIII.4; Hogarth 1898-99, pl. XIV.7; Edgar 1903, IV-V, pl. I; Pryce 1928, 181-85, figs. 221-222; Richter 1970, 57-58, 73-74, 88-89, figs. 129-131, 204-207, 264-266, 270-272; Comstock & Vermeule 1976, 4-5, figs. 7-9.

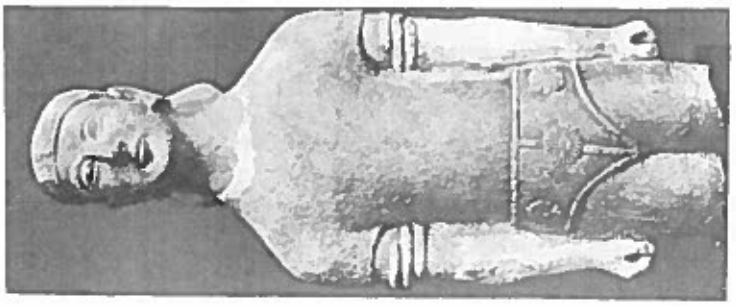

Figure 7. *Kouros in tunic and perizoma, from Cyprus, 600-550 BC, limestone, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cesnola coll. 74.51.2479*

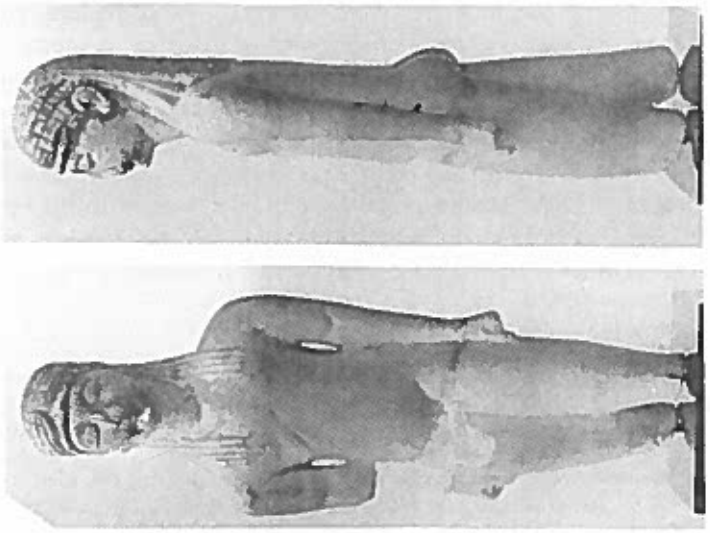

Figure 6a-b. *Kouros from Naukratis, 600-580 BC, alabaster, London, Br.Mus. B 434, ht. 25.7 cm*

In this respect it is striking that, so far, no example of this type of small nude kouros is known to come from Cyprus.[7] However, larger statues of males have been excavated there, dating to the first half of the sixth century BC (73.0 cm high, Fig. 7). The appearance of such a male figure - head held high, arms and clenched fists held rigidly against the body, hairdo with ribbon - may be compared to that of the small East Greek kouroi, the main difference being that the Cypriote figures are dressed. The characteristic outfit is a thin, tight tunic with short sleeves and a kind of perizoma; there may also be a himation.

Yet it seems highly unlikely that all small kouroi found in East Greece were manufactured in Cyprus for the export market (Riis 1989, 31-33). There were thriving local schools in Samos, Rhodes and, perhaps, Knidos, which were presumably influenced by the Cypriote style. Such influence can be explained by the presence of Cypriote sculptors there or by the imitation of imported Cypriote work by local sculptors (Davis 1980, 12). That the latter sometimes even made imitations in a better style than their models has been suggested by J. Boardman, citing as an example a small kouros from Cameiros in Rhodes (Boardman 1980, 74) (Fig. 8).

Rhodes

Many small limestone statuettes, portraying kouroi as well as animal-bearers, have come to light in several sanctuaries in Rhodes: Lindos, Cameiros, Ialysos, Vroulia.[8] It is often difficult to establish whether they were manufactured locally or not; therefore they are generally described as belonging to the so-called Cypro-Ionic style. The limestone kouros from Cameiros noted above, British Museum B 330 (25.4 cm high; Fig. 8), is stylistically close to the Amsterdam kouros; note the wig-like hair, the concave torso contours from hips to far into the shoulders, and the rounded abdomen. But it also shows differences: the hands are held flat against the thighs and the shoulders are rather horizontal, not rounded.

At this point it is interesting to look at the many small faience statuettes of males and females, only about 4.0-9.0 cm high, found in Rhodes and probably manufactured there. They have the characteristic Egyptian back pillar, the support between the legs, and a little hole for suspension, so that they could be worn as amulets. The faience youths, like the kouroi, have clenched fists, extended thumbs and advanced left legs; see, for example, the statuette in white faience in the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam (Fig. 9). Female statuettes, on the other hand, have their legs close together, and their arms, with stretched fingers, close to their bodies (Blinkenberg & Kinch 1931, pl. 56; Webb 1978, 81ff.). The small faience kouros statuettes from Rhodes may be regarded as related to the larger limestone ones. The material and the supports at the back and between the legs point to a link with Egypt.

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[7] No naked kouroi have been found, but two statuettes should be mentioned here: a naked animal-bearer, Budde & Nicholls 1964, 6, pl. 3.17 (ht. 17.7 cm), most probably exported to Cyprus from East Greece; and a musician dressed in a perizoma, carrying a lyre, Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1989, 104-105, figs. 106-108 (ht. 19.5 cm).

[8] Sørensen 1978, 111. For small kouroi from Rhodes, see Pryce 1928, 161-162, fig. 198; Blinkenberg & Kinch 1931, 411, 424, pls. 65, 69; Jacopi 1933, 282 fig. 3, 286 fig. 8; Richter 1970, 57, figs. 126-128.

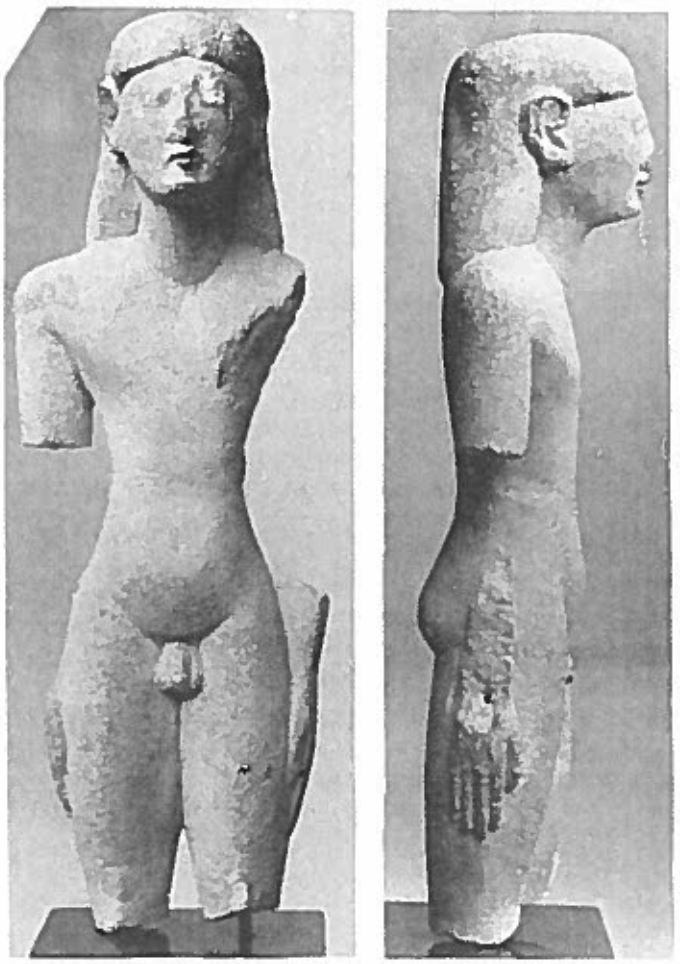

Figure 8. *Kouros from Rhodes, 600-580 BC, limestone, London, Br.Mus. B 330, ht. 25.4 cm*

Figure 10. *Kouros in tunic and mantle, holding animal, from Samos, 600-580 BC, limestone, Samos museum C 266*

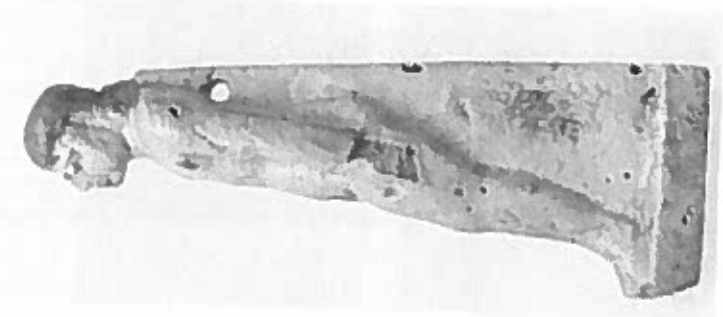

Figure 9a-b. *Faience kouros with back pillar, from Rhodes, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 4546*

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Samos

A small statue of a youth excavated in the Samian Heraion and recently published (Fig. 10) presents an interesting problem in connection with the small kouroi under discussion.[9] It has been dated to the beginning of the sixth century BC.

Only the upper half has been found. The original height of this delicately fashioned youth was about 40 cm. He is dressed in a straight, Cypriote tunic and a himation, and holds an animal, badly damaged, in his right hand. The motif of an animal (votive) being held in the right hand finds many parallels in Cypriote sculpture. Exceptional is the painting preserved on the hair, ribbon, eyes, eyebrows, tunic border, left cheek (part of beard?) and upper lip (moustache). H. Kyrieleis suggests that this kouros from Samos was made in Naukratis; in his opinion, the example from Naukratis mentioned above, British Museum B 438 (Fig. 6), provides one of the best parallels.

The kouros from Samos, however, bears a stronger resemblance to the Amsterdam kouros (Fig. 1), the kouroi in Figs. 3a, 4a, 3d and 4d, and, particularly, the kouros in Fig. 5, especially if we imagine that they were painted in the same manner. But we shall never know whether they were provided with, for example, moustaches because no traces of paint remain.

The youth from Samos (Fig. 10) differs from them by the arrangement of the hair, which is divided into braids or tresses and covered with zigzags, and by his being dressed and holding an animal.

Two additional details that are characteristic of most of the kouroi dealt with in this paper must be mentioned here: the sharp dividing line between neck and body, and the concave contour lines of the torso extending far into each side of the shoulder. In the youth from Samos (Fig. 10) these lines can be explained as the borders of the neck and sleeves of the Cypriote tunic; in the case of, for example, the Amsterdam kouros (Fig. 1) they may ultimately derive from a dressed statue and have been transferred onto the naked body as anatomical details. That they have become stylistic features can clearly be seen in the Amsterdam kouros.

Another, though unlikely, possibility is that the Amsterdam kouros was dressed in a short, straight tunic, indicated by paint. However, there are no traces of paint and, more importantly, a kouros attired in a shirt seems to be highly exceptional.

A type of male figure belonging stylistically to the group of small East Greek kouroi is the animal-bearer. Many examples, most of them fragmentary, have been found in

Figure 10. *Kouros in tunic and mantle, holding animal, from Samos, 600-580 BC, limestone, Samos museum C 266*

Figure 9a-b. *Faience kouros with back pillar, from Rhodes, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 4546*

[9] Kyrieleis 1989, 54-61, fig. 11. For small kouroi from Samos, see Schmidt 1968, 59-60, pls. 102-104. We wish to make a small addition to the number of kouroi from Samos which have been published. In the Samos Museum we discovered two more torsos, not published by Schmidt in 1968 or since then. The first torso (inv. no. C 94, ht. 14.8 cm) is made of light-yellowish limestone and has a brown-yellowish patina. It is preserved from neck to hips, but the arms are missing, and dressed in a mantle, like C 266. In front, the hair hangs down on each side in a braided mass with zigzag borders on the shoulder; in back, it is a flat mass with an oblique lower edge. The back of the statue is rather flat. The second torso (inv. no. C 95, ht. 12 cm) is also made of white-yellowish limestone, and has a brown-grey patina. It is preserved from neck to hips, with both arms joined to the body for their entire length. It has sharp body contours from the shoulders to the hips. The back is rather flat, the upper part of the buttock is just visible.

Figure 12. *Kouros holding lion, from Samos, 600-580 BC, limstone, Samos Museum C 156, ht. 18.5 cm*

Figure 11. *Kouros holding lion, from Samos, 600-580 BC, limestone, Samos Museum C 228 ht. 33 cm*

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Naukratis, Rhodes, Knidos as well as Samos.[10] Two of the best preserved examples found in the Samian Heraion are numbers C 228 and C 156 (Schmidt 1968, 57-58, pls. 98-99) (Figs. 11-12). Both figures hold a lion hanging by the hind legs. They are made of limestone and were originally about 33.0 cm high. They may be stylistically related to the Amsterdam kouros (Figs. 1-2) and to those in Figs. 3-5.

Of another small male figure from the Heraion, C 192, only the head remains; it may belong to statuettes C 93 or C 212 (Schmidt 1968, pls. 101, 104). The resemblance to the Amsterdam kouros, especially in the face, is undeniable.

Knidos

Several small, limestone kouroi and animal-bearers have been found in Knidos (see Gjerstadt 1947, 332, fig. 52; Bean & Cook 1952, 175, n. 21, pl. 40e; Richter 1970, 72-73; Hermary 1990, 359-369); one of them is noted above, British Museum B 320 (Figs. 3d, 4d). Another related male figure, representing a musician, can also be considered here (Fig. 13). It is as high as the animal-bearer in the British Museum and has been dated to about the same time, 600-580 BC. The head is slightly turned to the right too, and it has all the stylistic elements of East Greek kouroi. A. Hermary convincingly demonstrates that this statuette of a musician could not have been made in Cyprus, but is, rather, of East Greek workmanship, perhaps made in Knidos itself. According to him, it is an example of the so-called Cypro-Ionic style, a mixed style that possibly originated in Samos (Hermary 1990, 364-366, figs. 18-21).

Plinths

The Amsterdam kouros belongs to the group of best preserved statuettes of its kind. Curiously, however, the lower legs of all the kouroi in the group are missing (Figs. 1-4). Perhaps they were broken in two whilst being thrown and ritually buried in a votive pit in the sacred ground of a sanctuary. Originally these statuettes would have stood on a small, oval plinth sunk in a stone base. Several such detached plinths have been found; a good example is British Museum B 321, from Knidos, bearing the inscription 'Euarchos dedicated me to the Dioskouroi' (see Hermary 1990, 366, fig. 26) (Fig. 14). The length of the left foot is 6.0 cm. The kouros belonging to this plinth must have been about the same height as the Amsterdam kouros.

Finally, petrographical tests of such statuettes have, unfortunately, not yet been made. Analysis of the material of three limestone statuettes, from three different places, has been carried out by the Geological Museum of the University of Copenhagen (Riis, Moltesen & Guldager 1989, 32). It was concluded that, in spite of apparently slight differences in

[10] Ridgway 1977, 73. Animal-bearers: from Naukratis, see Pryce 1928, 189-190, pl. XL, fig. 228; Budde & Nicholls 1964, 7, pl. 4.19. From Rhodos: Pryce 1928, 158-165, pls. XXXVI-XXXVII and figs. 200, 202; Blinkenberg & Kinch 1931, 438, pl. 73, nos. 1775, 1772-1773; Jacopi 1933, 280-282, fig. 3. From Knidos: Gjerstadt 1948, 332, fig. 52. From Samos: Schmidt 1968, 57-58, pls. 98-101; Kyrieleis 1989, 54-61, fig. 11. Schmidt states that the animal-bearer C 158 was lost in World War II; however, in May 1991 we saw it displayed on the first floor of the museum, on the bottom left side of one of the showcases.

Figure 13. *Kouros with lyre, from Knidos, 600-580 BC, limestone, Paris, Louvre MNE 939, ht. 15 cm*

Figure 14. *Plinth with inscription and feet of small kouros, from Knidos, limestone, London, Br.Mus. B 321*

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colour, the statuettes are probably made of the same kind of limestone. Analysis on a larger scale, including as many small limestone kouroi as possible, from a wide range of find-spots, may provide important new information with regard to centres of manufacture. The Allard Pierson Museum would gladly grant permission for such an analysis of the Amsterdam kouros.

Conclusion

The search for parallels to the Amsterdam kouros has resulted in the following. Close parallels come from Samos (C 211, C 266; Figs. 3a, 4a, 10) and, though somewhat smaller, from Knidos (Figs. 3d-4d). The same style is also seen in the lyre-player from Knidos (Fig. 13) and lion-bearers from Samos (Figs. 11-12). And some resemblance is found in small kouroi from Rhodes (Fig. 8) and Naukratis (Fig. 6). All of them are dated to the end of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth centuries BC, which is also the probable date of the Amsterdam kouros: ca. 600-580 BC.

These kouroi seem to have been made in a 'mixed style', marked by a combination of elements from different places: East Greece (nakedness, soft rounded forms, fillet in hair), Egypt (general kouros type, wig-like hair) and Cyprus (form of face, sharp neckline, details of hair). Some observers believe that the kouroi excavated in East Greece were not made there but exported from either Cyprus or Naukratis, where they would also have been made.[11] However, since a naked kouros has not yet come to light in Cyprus and only a few examples are known to come from Naukratis, this theory finds little support. In short, it can be concluded that the Amsterdam kouros was made in East Greece, in order of probability, either Samos, Knidos or Rhodes.

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The photographs of Figs. 1-2, and 9a-b are by M. Bootsman (Allard Pierson Museum); those of Figs. 3a, 4a are after Schmidt 1968, pls. 102-103; Figs. 3b, 4b: after Cat. Galerie Simone de Monbrison (Paris 1987), 4-5, figs. 8-9; Figs. 3c, 4c: Royal-Athena Galleries; Figs. 3d, 4d: after Richter 1970, figs. 200-201; Fig. 5: after Eisenberg, J.M. *Royal-Athena Galleries, Art of the Ancient World*, IV (New York 1985), no. 395; Fig. 6a-b: after Richter (1970), figs. 129-130; Fig. 7: after Spiteris, T. *Art de Chypre* (Amsterdam and Lausanne,

[11] Schmidt 1968, 113-119; for more viewpoints, see Lewe 1975, 25-30.

1970), 130; Fig. 8a-b: after Richter 1970, figs. 126, 128; Fig. 10: after Kyrieleis 1989, fig. 11; Figs. 11-12: after Schmidt 1968, pls. 98-99; Fig. 13: after Hermary 1990, figs. 18 and 21; Fig. 14: after Richter 1970, fig. 150.

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TEXTS AND IMAGES AS SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF DANCE IN ANCIENT GREECE

Frederick G. Naerebout

THE ancient Greek world displayed a level of saltatory enthusiasm which, although not unique, is quite remarkable. This has resulted in a considerable corpus of written evidence and of images in several media. The number of individual dances and of occasions on which dance was deemed appropriate or indispensable, mentioned or depicted in these sources is very large. Of course the (in)frequent occurrence of a phenomenon in the record does not stand in a one to one relationship to this phenomenon's (un)importance, as every statistician will explain and every archaeologist (but not every ancient historian) knows. But in this instance, I suggest a good case can be made. Dance is omnipresent in our source material, because it was omnipresent in ancient Greek society. Consequently, dance should be given its due in scholarship. This is, however, hardly the case, although the specialist bibliography on dancing in Antiquity is certainly extensive - the first monograph on the subject dating from 1618 (Meursius) - most studies, whether scholarly or popularizing, dealing with ancient Greek society, culture, religion or *mentalité* do not mention dance at all or only as an unimportant side-issue. Several different reasons can be adduced to explain why this is so; one seems to be a failing source criticism.

In the present article I will stick to texts and images, with pride of place going to the images. There are many problems involved in the interpretation of these, often well-known sources, with all the treacherous self-evidence which that familiarity entails. What is the nature of the material, what can we do with it? What can one actually find out about a phenomenon so evanescent as we know dance to be? (Sparshott 1995, 420-21). We have to face the incontrovertible fact that the ordinary type of written source can only provide a highly inadequate description of more complicated motor behaviour. Indeed everything

non-verbal is by its very nature resistant to easy verbal analysis. To be more precise one ought to use some notational scheme. The ancient world, if it felt the inadequacy of words to describe movement at all, has apparently never tried to replace words by any notation. Worse, if there ever existed in Greek any writings on the dance that could be called technical, in the sense of dealing with the actual performance of movements, these writings have disappeared without leaving a trace.

Unwritten sources, which might appear to offer a solution in dealing with movement and movement patterns, bring their own difficulties. Though iconography can of course be quite helpful in analyzing the non-verbal, we generally come up against a whole range of limitations. Even if one has decided that some activity is portrayed in a way that is true to observable reality, which decision in dealing with imagery will often be even harder to make than in judging a description, it is still doubtful whether we can perform the transition from the static picture to the dynamic dance. Indeed, if texts ask for circumspection in their use as historical evidence, the more so for imagery.

Texts and images are of course not our only sources; we also should pay attention to the accoutrements of the dancers, architectural remains, and supposed survivals in existing dance traditions. But these are all of minor importance, or incapable of proof, as is true of purported survivals. Texts and imagery will always remain central to our enquiry. The two cannot be seen in isolation. Thus we should not only ask about the particular problems involved in the interpretation of texts and images describing or portraying dance, but we also should ask how texts and images relate to each other, to observable events, and to the mental life of the community that produced them. This is a three-cornered relationship, between past reality, and written and unwritten sources, and its study should not be reduced to two separate, bilateral exercises. Speaking of source criticism, and not here attempting some synthetic account, I might, however, be allowed to tackle texts and images after one another, for the sake of clarity.

Before setting out to collect the evidence, we need to know with as little ambiguity as possible what we are looking for. Gathering any number of supposedly relevant Greek words and using the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* to compile neat catalogues is something, but not enough. First, there is the problem what dictionary to compile: what is usually worded in standard ways can also be expressed in some idiosyncratic vocabulary, or can indeed be only hinted at. To put it in linguistic terms: signifiers and signifieds are two seperate things (see for instance Tambiah 1985, 3-5, on a 'lexical universe'). Thus looking up words does never absolve one from reading texts. Secondly, historians are investigating *phenomena of* some past society, not just *names given to phenomena by* some past society, even if that is where all research has to start. Of course semantic domains are everywhere bounded in distinct ways, and thus analysis of people's names for things and the grouping of these names in certain categories is done implicitly in any study of human society. But for the historian this should be only a means towards some other end, and alternative strategies should come into play. Also, tracing a vocabulary will not help in working with images or artefacts. When will historians stop looking at evidence as exclusively or primarily consisting of words? Thirdly, criteria building on Greek vocabulary are of little use when handling comparative material from non-Greek societies. The emic approach, using Greek categories to study Greek material, will not do (versus Lonsdale 1993).

We cannot, as an alternative, leave our central concepts vague; common sense offers no solution, because it does not exist and in scholarship as opposed to daily life we should not even pretend that it does. It can easily be demonstrated that we do not intuitively know what is dance and what is not (some examples taken from archaeological literature are given below). The inescapable conclusion is that we have to formulate our own definitions to guide our research. This should be an etic definition, stated in scholarly terms, and thus essentially arbitrary, though it seems wise to stay as close as possible to natural language usage (Snoek 1987; on emic-etic distinction, see Feleppa 1986). But it does not really matter how one goes about it, as long as one comes up with some explicitly stated definition that can be made operative. One should certainly not be led astray by that red herring of dance anthropology, the futile hunt for a definition that is cross-culturally valid.

My definition of dancing can be summarized as follows: dance is human movement, involving the whole body; it is a communal activity; this movement is intentional, rhythmized and patterned, always stereotyped to some degree, with some patterned sound as cue; it is in some way distinguishable from everyday movement, and the performers themselves consider it to be so; it has some potentially communicative function, carrying meaning over and beyond that carried by everyday movement (Naerebout, forthcoming).

Textual evidence

After having gathered texts on the basis of the systemic aspects of the vocabulary, which means that we should bring within the scope of the signified 'dance' a new range of signifiers not immediately associated with dancing in past research, we have to take a critical look at this huge corpus. What do the numerous texts containing lexemic units whose sense fits into my definition of dance refer to?

The information available is extensive but scattered. Relevant passages ranging from a single line to a small treatise can be found in the work of philosophers, historians, ethnographers, and lexicographers. This includes both descriptive and reflexive items. The fragmentary nature of this material has always caused scholars to hunt far and wide for evidence and combine everything from Homer to the Byzantine lexicographers in a single account as if dealing with some timeless past. The only viable theoretical basis for this unhistorical approach can be found in the Levi-Straussian structuralist tradition. Not sharing the structuralist creed, I would argue for a rigorous pigeonholing of the evidence according to time and place. Especially the use of late material in speaking of Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic times is fraught with danger. Although without Plutarch, Strabo, Lucian and the lexicographers we could in several instances not find much to tell at all, one should be aware of the fact that much of the information these authors offer reflects their own surroundings. The distortions that are likely to have resulted from the enormous popularity during the first centuries of the Christian era of a particular style of performance, viz. the (panto)mimic dance, are simply overlooked or ignored in much of the existing literature. This has given rise to several unwarranted presuppositions concerning the (panto)mimic nature of ancient Greek dancing (e.g. Wüst 1949).

Next we turn to poetry, another rich source of information on the dance. We find dance mentioned in the full range of Greek poetic output, from Homer down to Byzantine times.

Of course in Antiquity the distinction between the prose treatise and the poem was not as clear-cut as it is now, but many instances of dance in Greek poetry are not in Callimachean learned poetry, with its researched accounts of myth and ritual: they are rather to be explained by the concept of *mousikè*. Poetry, even if its recitation was not accompanied by dancing, was still regarded as part of the triad of poetry, music and dance which is *mousikè*. Of course, as soon as poetic recitation *is* combined with dancing, whether by the singer(s) themselves or by a third party which interprets the words and the music in movement, the texts themselves are sources for the history of ancient Greek dancing, whether their contents mention dance or not. That should cause us to ponder questions of metre and music, but these are minefields. Up to now, nobody got through to the other side unharmed and bearing some convincing information on the dance: for one, rhythm should not be equated with metre, which leaves us stranded straightaway (Scott 1984). The ancient vocabulary of metre shows it to have been, at least at some early stage, intimately connected with dancing, which is hardly surprising. But from our metrical analyses and musings about rhythm, only inadequately supported by the few sorry fragments of ancient Greek music surviving, there will never be, as far as I can see now, a way back to the dance.

If the singing of poems is frequently combined with dance into a single performative event, it is only to be expected that the text of at least some of these poems will contain explicit reference to the dance component. But while this usage of a meta-language by the poet-composer-choreographer is in a general sense easy to accept, there are alas many difficulties involved. First, a generalized concept of *mousikè* leaves unanswered the question which poetic texts where combined on a regular basis with dancing, and which were not. The distinction between choral and non-choral poetry is rather too simple a solution, now that doubt has been cast on the received wisdom that all so-called choral poetry was performed by choirs. In recent years much criticism has concentrated on the traditional distinction between genres (and on the related issue of self-reference in poetry: the first person which might indicate poet and/or choir; Davies 1988; Heath 1988; Lefkowitz 1988; Lefkowitz 1991; Heath & Lefkowitz 1991; D'Alessio 1994; and defending the traditional view: Burnett 1989; Carey 1989; Carey 1991). The seeds of doubt have been sown, at least some poems that have in the past been considered choral poetry, are likely to have been monodic, and unaccompanied by dance movements.

Even if some of the above questions could be satisfactorily answered, and one could conclude without serious doubts that some poetry has really been performed by a choir singing and dancing, it is still an open question whether the description they give in self-reference is a description that is true to nature. If it is, how about self-reference and intended audience at renewed performance? If choral poems are reperformed by choirs at all, how long does it take before the self-reference ceases to be realistic? How was the choreography that went with the text transmitted? (Roesler 1980). Here enter issues of orality. An ancient Greek public can be supposed to memorize the poetry they like and perform it anew. They can memorise a lot, as is typical of an oral culture. But can they also memorise the choreography? That they could preserve a particular choreography almost unchanged over a long range of years is quite unlikely (Naerebout 1994). Or was dance itself a mnemonic device, as Havelock has suggested? (Havelock 1963, 150-51; Havelock 1976-77, 370-71).

This leaves us with quite some poetry where the dance mentioned or described in the poems is not and has never been performed to accompany the reading, reciting or singing of those particular poems. Here we should try to differentiate between poetry largely reflective of contemporary practice and poetry largely reflective of the mental images of a community or an individual poet without a direct parallel in observable reality. This is very hard, but we should not be overly critical, if a dance is described in an etiological myth, the ritual dance in contemporary religious practice can be supposed to have corresponded to the aition (in fact this will have been a two-way traffic). But of course the passage of time might distort even this. In short, we have to be most careful in considering poems as referring to observable reality.

Some of the gaps left after we have put the scholarly and the poetic sources together can be filled in by turning to the epigraphic evidence other than inscribed poetry. But inscriptional sources can only make a limited contribution to the study of the dance; only rarely does one get information beyond the bare fact that dancing was going on. But that still is something worthwhile: here we have dancers of flesh and blood who put in an appearance when for instance a sanctuary is balancing the books (one example should suffice here: the scores of dancers in Delian accounts, Bruneau 1970). Above I argued against hypercriticism; it is the epigraphic evidence that put me in a position to do so. Considering this, it is a sad thing that up to now nobody working on the ancient Greek dance has felt the urge to put together the relevant epigraphical evidence. Most have ignored it altogether. I doubt, however, whether an exhaustive collection of epigraphic material would revolutionize our views on this particular subject. One of the oldest examples of alphabetic writing found in Europe is an inscription on dance (*IG* I^2, 919). This is nice, but the text does not really help us along as far as the dance is concerned. But it does provide proof beyond reasonable doubt that there were dance competitions being organized in Athens in the eighth century BC.

The above implies that the ancient world has left behind enough written material on the dance to enable us to formulate (partial) answers to the questions of who, when and where, some contemporary theorizing on the nature and the societal uses of dancing, but hardly anything worthwhile to respond to questions about what and how. This is not to say that if any technical work or notation had survived we would automatically know how to interpret these sources: thus the fragments of musical notation do not assist in reconstructing the actual performance. Unless dramatic discoveries occur, we cannot even make a try.

Imagery

Now to the images, it is impossible to study whatever aspect of the life in Antiquity without paying due attention to the iconographical sources at our disposal. It is quite obvious that in the field of non-verbal communication, not least the dance, images can be highly valuable sources (Beazley 1931, 176). But we should not put our expectations too high. Many collections of dance imagery have been put together in the past, usually haphazard and starting with no specific criteria at all. Confronted with a painted vase, a relief, a terracotta statuette or whatever item of ancient imagery, we must begin by

asking a very simple question, but one which turns out to be singularly difficult to answer: 'does this portray dance?'. Now there are no escape routes such as relying on a specific Greek vocabulary. For a long time, images have been interpreted as depictions of contemporary practice, and the identification with individual dances known from written sources was not considered to be problematical (a recent example in Brommer 1989). But this identification is in fact highly problematical: there usually is no way to ascertain that, for instance, the dancers depicted wearing *kalathiskoi* are identical with the *kalathiskos*-dancers mentioned in the written sources (versus Cook 1940, 975-1015). Usually we only have the images, and we have to approach these armed with our current definition of dance. But it is obvious that we face serious problems in deciding whether the artisan in any particular instance intended to portray physical activities which are covered by our definition (we speak only of the undifferentiated concept 'dance' here, and not yet of any individual 'dances').

The saying has it that 'every picture tells a story'. The historian trying to use as evidence the imagery of a community, certainly a community that is not his own, will not seldom find it to be exasperatingly mute. Of course images might 'speak' by carrying a written comment, a language usually easier to understand. But images are labelled only in the rarest of instances, especially when we restrict ourselves to purported dance imagery. The few examples are most welcome, though not always easy to interpret. One can think of the famous Pyrrhias' aryballos from Corinth, where a boy performing a high jump is enveloped by a meandering text reading *Pyrrhias prochoreuomenos* (Roebuck & Roebuck 1955; for the text see *SEG* 14.303; 17.137; 22.129; 24.269; 26.399). Other vase inscriptions offer *sprechende Namen* borne by komasts, satyrs, nymphs or maenads (Fränkel 1912; Kossatz-Deissmann 1991). We also have a few reliefs carrying an inscription, but it is not always clear whether the poses or movements portrayed belong to the dance mentioned in the text, or to some other activity (e.g. Poursat 1967).

Archaeologists regularly appear to be hard put distinguishing between dancing and running. They list images under the heading 'dance' quite arbitrarily, as can be illustrated from the work of several scholars, where scenes which are to all purposes identical are sometimes listed as dance, sometimes as running or pursuit (some examples can be seen in van Hoorn 1951, nos. 569, 918, 986; Mommsen 1975, nos. 79, 96, 97; Campus 1981, nos. 2, 3). The 'common sense' approach is inadmissible: we do need criteria, if only to be able to tell the doubtful from the reasonably secure. Obviously it is necessary to depart from a series of closely related material, and not from a single unrelated artefact. Here we can built on many previous attempts at serialization (a model study is Poursat 1968). The series selected should be studied in the context of other non-dance series, because so much of the imagery (but not all of it!) finds a place somewhere within a coherent system (Bérard 1983, 10; Hoffmann 1988, 146). It is in viewing the whole of this system that we might indicate the possible niches for a specific dance imagery. To this end one should consider the propensity of the painter or sculptor to decrease ambiguity (and I believe such a propensity was usually at work). One must try to isolate those elements which made it clear to the ancient observer that it was dance which was intended to be portrayed in a particular image. It is the *logic* of the system that ought to tell us how to isolate a specific dance iconography. This is of course slippery ground, and the danger of circuitous reasoning is always present. Indeed, the only proper checks on our recon-

struction of the original communicatory process are the textual sources, especially the epigraphic evidence, and the rare labelled image. By following this strategy we will be able to isolate a core of images, which can be considered with a reasonable degree of certainty to be dance imagery, but the farther we move away from this core the less sure we can be.

When we now try to put all this into practice, that is, to isolate depictions of 'dance' from the whole of Greek imagery, we must start by distinguishing between different types of movement. Simple locomotor movement such as walking, running or leaping, was not too hard to depict, and with a proper knowledge of artistic conventions it is fairly easy to recognize. Postural and gestural movement will usually have been much harder to portray, and is consequently much less easy to interpret. Naturally, it is the detail that suffered most in the transference from observed movement to image; in asking what movement a particular piece of imagery depicts, we can usually answer in the most general terms only: jumping, turning, crouching, standing, and so on. Next we should ask which of these movements can belong to the particular category of human behaviour covered by the particular definition of the dance which it has been decided to work with. This might be because the movement cannot be interpreted as anything else, or because of some contextual clues that disambiguate an image.

A rapid overview on the basis of my above definition: in depictions in which both feet stay on the ground, there is as far as I can see never anything that might be specific for the dance in the position of the legs. So we need some other criterium. First the number of people and their relative position ought to be considered; if they are depicted as a group arrayed in a single file (or a circle, but in two-dimensional images this is difficult to judge), we might be justified in thinking of a chorus. As so much of the dancing was choral, we can reasonably expect that several images attempt to visualize choruses. Extra support for supposing a file of persons to be a chorus, can possibly be found in the way they are holding one another. Two specific holds depicted seem to differ rather strongly from everyday movement: the wrist hold (the so-called *epi karpoi* grasp), and the w-position of the arms, with forearms lifted upwards, elbows pointing downwards and the protagonists holding hands. Turns, full or partial, are sometimes indicated by the whirl of a dress; without this element everything is open to doubt. If a turn is indeed depicted, one might think of dance imagery without much hesitation. In depictions of movements in which one leg is lifted off the floor, the position of the legs is portrayed according to well-known conventions. Movements which confirm to known running schemata cannot usually be fitted into whatever dance context: they belong in the sphere of athletics, or in depictions of flight and/or pursuit. If doubt is lingering, one should study the relative position of the protagonists. Non-dance scenes also confirm to certain patterns, and it is the departures from this pattern that should alert us. The darting out of a leg is usually rendered fairly recognizably, though of course it is not always possible to say where a simple raising of the leg ends and a high kicks begins. Such more vigorous movements seem to indicate dance rather unambiguously. In depictions of movements in which both feet leave the floor, the presence or absence of jumping weights (*halteres*) clinches the argument. Jumpers suspended in mid-air without *halteres* are most likely to be dancing. The arms in general are not very indicative. A few gestures, such as shading one's eyes with one hand (*aposkopein*) or crouching while clasping both hands above the head

(*oklasma*), have been claimed as belonging in a dance context, but being wholly dependant upon textual evidence, they cannot in themselves serve to disambiguate an image. In the position of the torso and of the head there is hardly anything that can be claimed as specific for dance scenes, only some of the stronger contortions in depictions of ecstatic behaviour, which might under certain circumstances be called dance, are hardly found elsewhere. A single element seems strongly associated with the dance, and this is prominency of the buttocks. The highlighting of this specific part of the anatomy can be traced in prehistoric scenes, some of which could very well be dance scenes, and it is of course a stock element in what have been called komos-dancers, or *Dickbauchtänzer*, a set of images that easily fit into the definition. But is also found in other images eligible as dance scenes. With all the above the presence of musicians is supportive evidence, as is the absence or presence of accoutrements which help to disambiguate a particular image (detail in Naerebout, forthcoming).

Imagery and artistic conventions

After isolating a core of dance imagery according to the above procedures, we have to address the issue of the validity of these images as historical evidence: what can the imagery contribute to our understanding of the dancing of the ancient Greek world? Obviously, it might tell us something about what the dancing looked like. But then we have to take into account all possible distortions, especially formulas or conventions, and restrictions imposed by the medium. Conventions are many and they change over time. Greek visual representation shows a tendency towards increasingly naturalistic or illusionistic portrayal; illusionism was deliberately sought after and was admired, as illustrated in stories about successful *trompe l'oeil* (I use 'illusionism' to indicate a representative tradition tending towards the naturalistic, narrative, pictorial, veracious, literal, as opposed to the schematic, iconic, generalized, and paradigmatic (see Gombrich 1972). But the restricted number of formulas implies that even their most illusionistic efforts move within narrow limits and usually fall far short of what in Western art we have come to regard as successful illusionism. This is most obvious in painting (though we have to allow for the fact that Greek monumental painting is almost completely lost to us). Notwithstanding the increasingly accurate representation of the human optical experience of nature, it should be kept in mind that the long and complex history of depiction in the ancient world oscillates between verisimilitude and convention (Pollitt 1985, 99-100).

Thus Greek artisans have used a number of formulas to impart a sense of movement: running schemata, and so on, as mentioned above. Secondly, there are the problems of spatial representation, encountered in all modes of rendition, except freestanding sculpture in the round and statuettes, but these are but minor sources for dance iconography. How to suggest space beyond the plane of the picture, how to present a notion of depth? Here enter questions of perspective and related phenomena (White 1956; White 1957; Richter 1970). Overlap (receding without diminution) is found early, but 'true' representations of objects in the distance, that is, objects diminishing in size, are rarely found earlier than in Hellenistic and Roman days. Converging central point perspective may have been introduced in stage painting in the fifth century, but it certainly was not used by vase

painters. In imagery without perspective many difficulties have to remain unsolved, amongst them the portrayal of human beings or objects arranged in a circle. A related problem is the position of the floor line: this can be positioned rather arbitrarily, or no floor line is indicated at all. Restrictions imposed by the medium are most obvious: most of our imagery consists of vase paintings, which of course lack the three-dimensional quality of sculpture. The image is transferred to the two-dimensional plane; but this carrier is in vase painting not an ordinary picture plane, but a freestanding *object*, with a convex or concave surface. The shape of a vase or of the decorated field of a vase often strongly influences or even determines the composition (a clear example is the tondo inside cups). Summarily one can say that it is always difficult to decide on the relative position of whatever people and objects are depicted in Archaic and Classical Greek paintings and reliefs.

Next, some general pronouncements on the nature of Greek visual representation are in order. Most of the imagery has been created by craftsmen or artisans, not by what we would call 'artists'. But whether we speak of artisans or artists, the imagery these men produced is usually restricted in its scope: there was a fairly limited, set repertory to choose from, and developments were generally slow and usually consisted of rearrangements of already existing elements. Obviously, the stance taken towards questions of originality and borrowing is radically different from our preconceptions about 'art', which of course does not preclude individual idiosyncrasies in the choice of subject matter or in execution. Indeed much of the imagery consists of objects made in series, sometimes even true mass-products. This is obvious when we are dealing with mould-made objects like terracottas, but holds good for other items as well. But with unique, or fairly unique objects, such as the larger sculpture in the round and the better quality reliefs, the innovative drive was equally restrained. Even the unicity of so-called 'unique works of art' is open to doubt: it is likely that most objects were copied. We can conclude that individual expression did not play a dominant part: the imagery as a whole should not be seen as the sum total of highly individualized products of innovative, 'artistic' minds, but as the unified result of a collective effort. The collectivity intended here is the workforce consisting of all producers of imagery working in close proximity in a single environment, usually their *polis*, a group that can reasonably be expected to have a shared background and outlook.

Now from producers to consumers: the imagery was widely distributed, either in private ownership, or intended for public display. Now all viewers interpret imagery against the background of their own 'mental universe' (Baxandall 1972, 45; Bérard 1983, 10-11). This can lead to widely diverging interpretations, but the respective mental universes of the members of a given society will be fairly homogeneous, if this society is not too big, as was for instance the face-to-face society of the Classical Greek city-state. Thus it is also on the receptive side that we should first think in terms of collectivity instead of individuality (again without denying the existence of idiosyncrasies).

With most of the imagery we will find that the craftsman seeks to decrease ambiguity and to increase intelligibility. We could also say: the craftsman wants to communicate (sometimes with others than his own community, if working for an export market). In a magisterial article, Paul Veyne has argued for the importance of the communicatory process in analyzing ancient imagery (Veyne 1985). In situations wherein the mental

universes of craftsman and customer overlap to a large extent, we can expect that the act of communicating frequently turned out successful. Images that appear to be equivocal from our distanced viewpoint, images in which things are not made sufficiently explicit, may well have been left in this relatively implicit state because the artisan knew (of course he did), that the viewer would add what is lacking in the image from his own mind. In the visual representations of the ancient world ambiguity, as opposed to multivalence, must usually have been unintended and in the eye of the beholder: ambiguity is an issue of reception. If communication fails, ambiguity might result; and of course it is always possible that something *not* intended by the sender is communicated, additionally or alternatively: the message received is unambiguous, but the receiver is mistaken. However, the unintended communication can be as interesting as the intended one, and we should certainly pay much, though never exclusive, attention to the receptive side, to what has been called 'to rediscover the beholder's share' (Lowenthal 1986, 190; 'beholder's share' is taken from Gombrich 1972). Of course *apparent* ambiguity might result from our inability to translate into narrative the various non-verbal stimulations arising from imagery: not only is a foreign imagery difficult to penetrate, but also imagery in general can be quite resistant to proper verbal explanation. Indeed, if such a translation would be easy or could be complete, there would be no need for texts and images dealing with the same slice of human experience to exist side by side. Summing up, the imagery, a largely stereotyped product, was known to a large number of people, was indeed intended for as large a public as possible, and was interpreted by this public in a fairly consistent and homogeneous manner.

Imagery and connotation

After the images have been selected, and their particular nature has been taken into account, what is the contribution that dance imagery can make? To use the images as mere illustration only, simply adding a handful of images to some written account of past actions is either mistaken, or going only half the way; imagery, whether in conjunction with textual material or in isolation, should be used as a source in its own right (Wohlfeil 1986; Haskell 1993). We ought to consider what Abby Warburg, Erwin Panofsky, and others have called iconology (and what nowadays is sometimes subsumed under the giant umbrella of semiotics): the uncovering of a certain symbolism, to enable us to use visual representations as an entry into the *histoire des mentalités*. First we have to admit that our understanding of this field is very provisional: how people see and how they interpret what they see is an indescribably complex process, still in large parts unknown, physiologically, psychologically and otherwise. The main progress made since Panofsky seems to me that we tend to move from symbolism to connotation, and that the imagery is no longer seen as a reflection of a mental universe, as merely mirroring developments outside the world of pictorial rendition, but as a functioning part of a society's mental make-up, what I would call its 'system' (for system and practice, see Naerebout 1987, following Ortner). There has arisen a contextual approach that obviously goes beyond iconography, but also takes us a step beyond iconology (bibliographic guidance is provided in Frontisi-Ducroux & Lissarrague 1990).

Ascertaining the connotation of imagery means finding out what general idea(s) the images are related to. To this end we have to ask ourselves what at a particular moment of time is the most likely association that a majority of spectators will have had when confronted with a particular image. Whatever the answer we come up with, it should best be put in rather broad terms, not highly specific ones: people's connotations, in the sense used here, will often be of the vaguest kind. It is symbolism, which is a learned system of references, that is specific. The one does not exclude the other: a piece of say, Dionysiac imagery can have with the general public the connotation 'religious, sacred, elevated', but can at the same time be interpreted according to a worked-out symbolism by some individual schooled in Neo-Platonic philosophy. Studying symbolism is a perfectly legitimate enterprise. But unless one is after the more or less idiosyncratic games played by an intellectual elite, the concept of a much wider, much vaguer, connotation appears to be the more fruitful one in historical research (Veyne 1985).

Imagery is not a passive mirror, produced by a craftsman/artist who is a mere conduit for extra-artistic information encoded in a visual form. In real life imagery is creative and contributes actively to the way in which people see and structure the world around them. Images, as messages in a communicatory process, are an integral part of the mental universe of every man and help structure human experience. Where this meant first analyzing the cultural background in order to 'read' the imagery, we also can turn things round and make use of the imagery to give us insight into a culture's world-view or system: 'penetrating the assumptions of an age', as it was put in a collection of historical studies using imagery of one or another kind (see the introduction by Th. K. Rabb and J. Brown to Rabb, ed. 1986). I must stress that this does not imply that we can use the evidence of the imagery as giving easy access to previously inaccessible terrain; our general knowledge of a culture and a period, derived from written sources, must give direction to our efforts. If written sources are completely lacking, imagery will remain hard or even impossible to interpret; without interpretation, however, there is no way back from the imagery to past reality. This is not to say that texts are primary, they are not, certainly not in many particular instances, but we ought to have a general knowledge of the past, which can sometimes come from oral sources, but usually is derived from texts. The images are there, in certain combinations, with a certain systematization, and any serious attempt at interpretation that sees these images as an active force in shaping man's understanding of himself and his world, is worthwhile.

All imagery aimed at a fairly wide audience can, and should, be seen as a living, shaping part of the mental universe of the ancient individual. But can we at the same time use at least some images to tell us about observable reality, or practice? Here in my opinion much is possible, in a particular image practice could be the main ingredient. But problems are manifold, we have to be constantly aware of conventions, as I have already [been] outlined above, to keep these from interfering at this stage of our interpretative effort. Of course the greater the illusionism the more this enables us to see in an image (and increases the likelihood of an image being) a rendering of practice. But the artisan's licence is of course another factor to reckon with and a problem less easily overcome; the dance depicted can be partly or completely imagined and not remembered. It is disconcerting to see the painter or sculptor using stock figures in whatever context he prefers, by slight manipulation he can turn non-dancers into dancers. A convincing example

can be seen in two vases in Malibu (Getty Museum L.78.AE.10) and in Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 153). The satyrs portrayed on both vases are in identical or but slightly varied poses, on the one vase they rest their feet on rocks (in what seems likely to be the original composition), on the other the rocks have been left out and the poses of the satyrs, with legs lifted in the air, could easily be interpreted as a dance (see Del Chiaro 1985, 161-62). An equally persuasive example are two vases by the Pig Painter in Cleveland (A.W. Ellenberger Sr Endowment Fund CMA 26.549) and in Brussels (Musées Royaux R 305). The one shows what look like dancers, the other athletes training. One of the athletes is almost identical with one of the supposed dancers (see Driscoll 1993). Thus, one can see the same schemata used for athletes and dancers (if that is what they are); only the context (*halteres* and the forked wand of the trainer) disambiguates. The artisan appears to be free to play around with whatever is in his fund of imagery. The image also can be built up from several disjointed remembrances or examples: moments observed in a number of different dances, or seen in other depictions of dances, past, present, local or foreign, can be combined within a single image. If that is the case, the image is a rendering of practice, but every element should be judged seperately, the combined elements present a whole that never was. Indeed, often 'real' versus 'unreal' is not a workable dichotomy, rather we are dealing with a spectrum ranging from a very strong to a very weak linkage to practice.

Of course there are limits to the artisan's licence: there are customers to think of, he wants to communicate, or to put it in commercial terms, he wants to sell. Images are, amongst other things, 'fossils of economic life' (Baxandall 1972, 1). How far licence can go is an intriguing problem, but not easy to solve. In studying both form and contents of imagery one of the central issues should be the image as a tradable object: we should ask about customers or patrons. I have repeatedly argued above that the artisans keep their audience, their public in mind, but do they often produce to order and if so, are their patrons leaving them free in the execution of the required subject matter, or do they specify things in detail? We would of course be interested to know whether a patron asked a vase painter or relief sculptor to produce a recognizable rendering of a particular event. As far as ancient Greece is concerned, we are in no position to answer this sort of questions. Some things might be gained, however, by comparison with literary patronage, and with patrons and artisan/artist in other, better documented periods.

Everything points in the direction of a situation wherein bespokes were relatively few, and ready-mades predominated: apart from metalwork in precious metals and large scale sculpture (statues and reliefs) most 'works of art' will have been more or less mass-produced items, often 'copy-book stuff', not ordered, but selected from existing stock. Some items may however have been produced with a particular public in mind, if not indeed as bespoke copies: here we can think of differentiated gifts for sanctuaries, vases or statuettes intended as dedications or offerings. The particular iconography of Brauron comes to mind, or of Artemis Orthia. If dance scenes are found in a temple context, these might portray the dance danced at the sanctuary. After the dancers have departed the dedicated vase or statuette perpetuates the dance for the god(s), and for other visitors. Of course it is also conceivable that a random dance, or even just 'dance', is depicted, not the dance connected with the sanctuary in question, if any, but the hypothesis of a link between practice and the imagery of a gift might be considered reasonable (for the

whole subject see Brommer 1984, 178-80). Also remarkable departures from the normative could be interpreted as having been caused by a client's wishes. We also can ask whether a vase or other item might be bought and taken home because its imagery shows some religious ritual in which the buyer of the object has partaken (or of course the god in whose honour the ritual was performed, or any associated symbols). The imagery then functions as a souvenir.

Without supportive evidence hardly any image can be used to reconstruct practice (but every image that is part of a series can be used to reconstruct system). But despite the many obstacles in our way, we will be left with at least some images that can, with all possible care, be considered representations of practice. This is not to the exclusion of the approaches outlined above, but complementary. An item of say Dionysiac imagery can in addition to its general connotation or symbolism be a depiction of, or at least be strongly dependant upon, ritual as practised (Geyer 1977). We have to be acutely aware of the fact that a rendering of contemporary practice and a connotative or symbolic dimension can perfectly go together: we encounter factual symbols, and symbolic facts. A successful combination of the depiction of practice and the reference to system might very well make out much of the attractiveness of a picture. A fruitful comparison here is the ongoing discussion on the symbolic nature of seventeenth-century Dutch imagery, where the illusionistic rendering of observable reality was combined with a strong interest in electrifying this illusionism with a wide range of messages (Hecht 1986; Hecht 1992; de Jongh 1992a; de Jongh 1992b). In seventeenth-century Dutch art we find a strong urge to make images after observable reality, but not in the sense of creating mirror images, but in the sense of creating the plausible, that which might exist. The approach of de Jongh and all who work in his manner is fruitful, the results obtained consistently supported by the evidence, while the factuality of the images is not, and need not be, denied (versus Alpers 1989). Of course the dangers are obvious: seeing symbols in everything, hunting for parallels in even the most obscure emblemata-books, what Schama has aptly called 'iconographic overkill' (Schama 1987, 162).

Of course many images will defy all attempts to find in them a depiction of practice. But we should avoid the dangers of hypercriticism: if the dance in the image cannot be shown to be practice, we need not conclude there was no dance at all (see the concept of the *okkasionel* in Hoelscher 1973, 11). When Marcadé, in speaking of the dancers on the famous acanthus pillar in Delphi, concludes that the dance motif was merely decorative (Marcadé 1974, 245), this is as much jumping to conclusions as would have been the suggestion that these statues render Delphian practice. Even if we admit that the marble girls might dance a dance that never was, there can very well have been *some* dance, or even a dance by dancers who were very much like the ones surrounding the acanthus pillar. Considering the written evidence we have for the central position and for the frequency of dancing in religious cult, I would posit as a general rule: if dance is portrayed in what can be interpreted as a ritual context, dance there was, whether the portrayal is true to practice or not. Of course there are likely to be some exceptions to such a general rule.

Imagery and reconstructionism

I have now argued that only some of the dance imagery can be used to illuminate practice (though all of it gives access to system). I have also argued that those images which depict practice, often do so in a way which is very generalized, without any reliable detail. One conclusion that can be drawn, is that existing imagery is quite unlikely to allow the reconstruction of actual dance movements, for that purpose there is not enough and what there is, is not usually specific enough. But in the past images have in fact been used to do exactly that. They have been supposed to be in large part reliable renderings of observable reality, and the reconstruction of individual movements, or even of complete dances, seemed the obvious thing to attempt on the basis of this evidence. Several scholars have been trying to reconstruct the dances of Antiquity, relying primarily on the iconographic sources (Emmanuel 1896; Prudhommeau 1956; Delavaud-Roux 1991). Let me act as devil's advocate, and accept this unlikely presupposition that most images are depictions of past practice and true to nature at that. Even accepting this, I would maintain that no static image can assist in recreating even a single movement, let alone a sequence of movements, if that movement or sequence of movements is not known beforehand (and even knowledge of a particular movement *idiom* is no guarantee). A moment depicted, of course all the time assuming this was done in a reasonably accurate manner in the first place, can be (and will be) interpreted as belonging to several different movements. A simple test with a couple of photographs will proof as much. Obviously, Greek dance movements should be considered unknown, as the reconstructionists will all agree, otherwise there would not be any need to reconstruct such movements: a simple reviving or even conserving would be enough. It is telling that the essentially French school of reconstructionism, from Emmanuel to Delavaud-Roux, presupposes a resemblance between (Italo-French) classical ballet and ancient Greek dance. But on what grounds they should do so, has always eluded me.

Of course the possession of a series of images showing several different moments taken from one and the same movement would make something of a difference. Both Emmanuel and Prudhommeau suggest that some Greek vase paintings are composed of what we might call frames of a film. Put the images behind one another on a film strip, run the film, and we have got the original movement (Emmanuel 1896; Prudhommeau 1965). In most instances this seems highly unlikely and the evidence has to undergo Procrustean treatment. No one can deny that there is found *within a single image* simultaneity of what is in fact a *sequence* of events: in Greek imagery there is not necessarily unity of time or place (Himmelmann-Wildschutz 1967, with the review by Hemelrijk 1970). Instances of 'chronological conlapsus' (unified composition, but no unified time) occur with some frequency in Archaic vase painting, for example on a sixth-century Laconian cup in Paris (Cabinet des Médailles 190), where we see Odysseus and his companions offering wine to and blinding the Cyclops in a single move. Apparently absent in Greek representations, however, is the serialized depiction within a single picture of the same human being at different moments of time (well known from other artistic traditions: Western mediaeval imagery for instance offers many examples); a possible isolated example is an early fifth-century cup in Paris (Louvre G 152), where on a single vase we find Astyanax portrayed twice, once alive and once dead, but this is on different sides of the vase.

Thus it does not seem likely that a row of dancers could be seen as a depiction of *a single person* at different stages of a particular dance. I cannot proof that Greek dance imagery does not contain examples of 'synoptic narrative' (Pipili 1987), 33), but these will have to go unrecognised. All we can say is that in some cases it is possible that the painter took different moments from the same movement, but that this cannot be ascertained if one does not know the dance. But we do not, so how to tell what role was played by the artisan's urge to individualize a group of dancers by introducing small shifts in poses not related to the observable dance? And if we would have different moments taken from a single dance movement, how to pronounce on any details, how to judge tempi or expressiveness? And, still increasing the confusion, why not include in a single image poses, movements or configurations taken from *more than one dance*, as has indeed been suggested by Jucker? (Jucker 1956, 23). So the evidence does not allow us to reconstruct the actual movements. Even if we could, how about floorpatterns, how about tempi, how about expressiveness? All unanswerable questions, that neither images, nor texts have much to tell about. The loss of the music is crucial as well, the same steps performed to different music might very well be different dance. Much energy has been and is being spent in chasing a chimera: ancient Greek movement is lost and we have to accept it is.

In lieu of a conclusion

The full story of the dance of the ancient Greek world will never be told; on the one hand we have too much source material. Whatever way we formulate our selective criteria, we have on our hands many hundreds of texts and images of direct import. It seems all rather too much to cope with (happily 'it is not necessary to know everything, in order to understand something', as Clifford Geertz put it). On the other hand we have too little material. The dances of Antiquity are lost and will remain lost. Where written sources and iconography fall short, we have to accept that some types of research into nonverbal and nonvocal communication will be hampered because we lack knowledge of the body movements themselves. Not only reconstruction is impossible (if it is deemed possible at all), but any modern morphological approach to form-function relationships must remain largely unworkable for the historian of the dances of the ancient world (and, I hasten to stress, of several other periods). Not a few people seem to find it indescribably difficult to accept that some things simply cannot be done on the basis of a particular set of evidence. But our sources cover a wide range of topics other than form: the many occasions at which particular dances were performed, the different functions fulfilled by the dance (in a most general sense), the appreciation of dance by Greek society, the way individual dances were named and depicted, and much more, are all documented. Amongst the material we even have a few examples of the ancients reflecting on their own dance tradition. This is sufficient to give us a generalised knowledge of the dance in the ancient world, a knowledge which enables us to study not so much the history of the dance, as the dance in history, that is, not its forms, but its role as the movement aspect of a wide range of events. A proper appreciation of the dance will definitely not revolutionise our view of ancient society. But dance should be brought within the field of vision of scholars. Its frequent absence from modern accounts of the ancient world would certainly have

surprised the ancient subjects of all this diligent research who were going out to perform or watch yet another dance.

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GERAKI, AN ACROPOLIS SITE IN LAKONIA. PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE 1995 SEASON

Joost H. Crouwel, Mieke Prent, Stuart MacVeagh Thorne, Gert-Jan van Wijngaarden, Chris Sueur

Introduction (J.H. Crouwel and M. Prent)

In the summer of 1995 a new Dutch fieldwork project began at the acropolis of Geraki in central-east Lakonia. These investigations, carried out by the Department of Mediterranean Archaeology of the University of Amsterdam and with permission of the Greek Ministry of Culture, follow on earlier and limited research at the beginning of this century.[1]

Geraki, nowadays a thriving agricultural community of some 1600 inhabitants, is situated 26 km SE of Sparta, in the foothills of the Parnon mountains (Fig. 1). The village is built against and around an imposing acropolis hill, with a distant but clear view of the sea. It dominates the large fertile plain that slopes down to the valley of the Eurotas to the west (Pls. I-II). Geraki is strategically located on the route which leads from central Lakonia through Parnon to the east coast of the Peloponnese.[2]

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[1] The team consisted of J.H. Crouwel (director), M. Prent (archaeological survey), S. MacVeagh Thorne (study of acropolis wall), G.-J. van Wijngaarden and C. Sueur (geodetical survey), and the (graduate) students N. Ham, E. Hom, L. Hof, A. Landa and I. Mantel. A. Thomas acted as house keeper. The Geraki project has grown out of the Lakonia Survey, a British-Dutch collaboration led by W.G. Cavanagh and J.H. Crouwel (1983-89; publication forthcoming in the supplementary volumes of the British School at Athens). The Lakonia Survey, which covered an area east of Sparta, in turn followed upon British excavations of the Menelaion complex (1909-10 and 1973-82).

[2] For Geraki, its topography and history, see Gritsopoulou 1992. For a succinct guide, see Wollny-Popota 1982, 132-38.

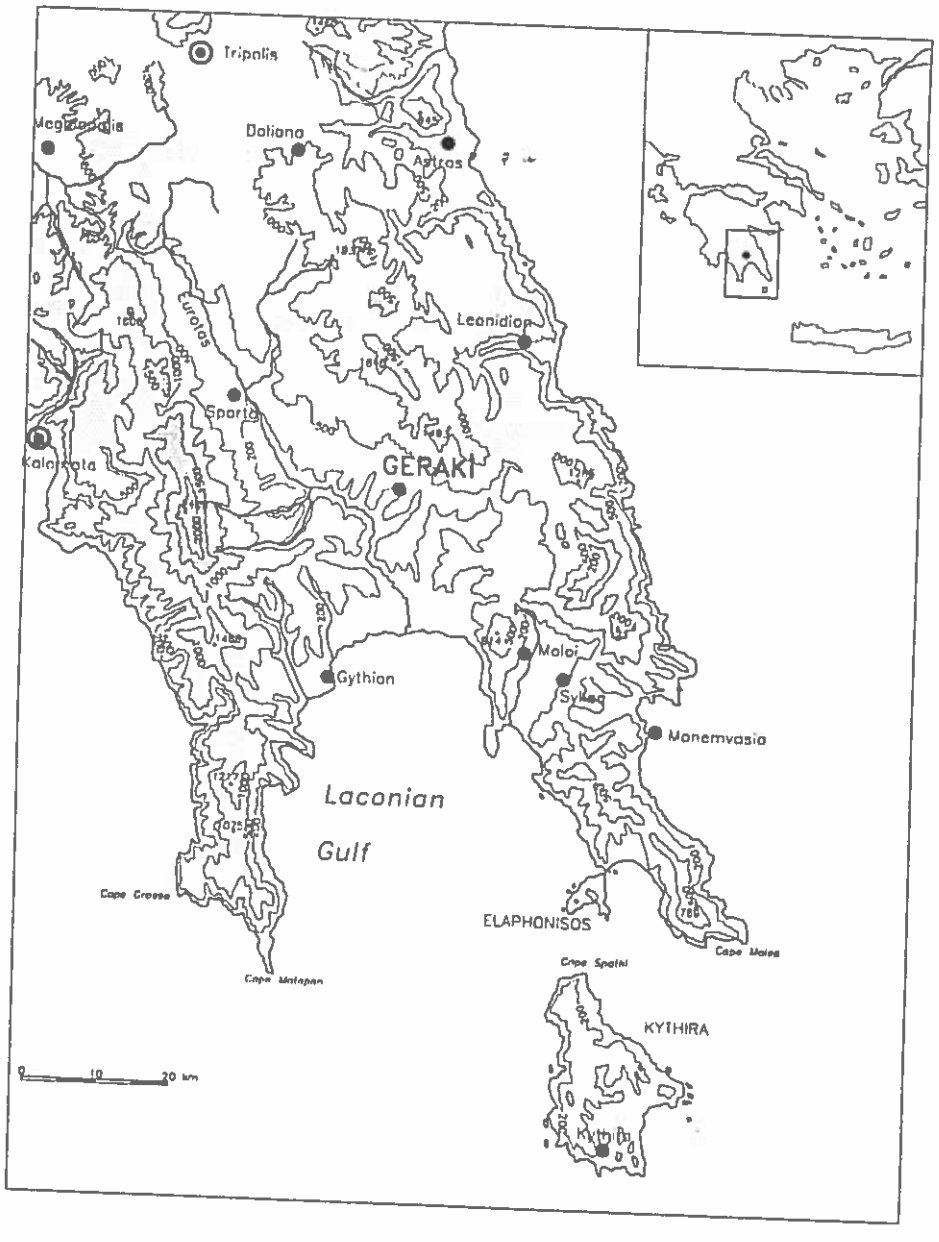

Figure 1. *Geraki in Lakonia*

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History and Earlier research

Geraki has for a long time been known as the site of ancient *Geronthrai*, mentioned in various inscriptions and ancient literary sources. The identification was first proposed in the nineteenth century by the British traveller Colonel Leake.[3]

Through the years, Geraki and its immediate environs have yielded chance finds of many different periods. These include stone sculpture (reliefs and fragments of two Archaic korai) and many architectural fragments and inscriptions, most of them incorporated into the walls of the various medieval churches in and around the village.[4]

Earlier studies mainly focused on the inscriptions, which range in date from Archaic to Late Roman times, and on the references in Pausanias, who visited the area in the third quarter of the 2nd century AD. He mentions the conquering of Geronthrai by the Spartan king Teleklos (Pausanias 3.2.6 and 22.6), an event which may have taken place in the first half of the 8th century BC. Elsewhere, Pausanias describes Geronthrai by referring to a temple and sacred grove for Ares, an Agora with springs and, on the acropolis itself, a temple of Apollo in which the ivory head of an earlier cult statue had been preserved (Pausanias 3.22.6-8). This and the other written testimony have led ancient historians to regard Geronthrai as an important perioikic town.[5]

In Imperial Roman times, Geraki was one of the Eleuthero-Lakonian towns and served as a market place, as attested by the copy of the Price Edict of Diocletian built into the Byzantine church of Hagios Ioannis Chrysostomos in the village.

Medieval Geraki possessed several churches, dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onwards and often incorporating *spolia* from the pagan past as well as from Early Christian churches. Extant remains of two Early Christian churches can be seen in fields directly SW of the village.[6] When textual sources become available again, in the thirteenth century, Geraki is no longer referred to as Geronthrai but under its present name.[7] This is the period of the Frankish domination of the Peloponnese following upon the conquest of Constantinople in 1204 during the Fourth Crusade; a number of baronies, including those centered on newly built castles at Geraki, Mistra and Monemvasia in Lakonia, were founded. The castle of Geraki was erected by Baron Jean de Nivelet in about 1250, not on the acropolis hill but on a long detached ridge, 591 m in height, situated about 2 km to the SE. After the re-establishment of Byzantine rule, sometime after 1260, the castle of Geraki (nowadays commonly called the Kastro) remained in use, probably until the imposition of Turkish rule in 1460. Of the churches built within and

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3 W.H. Leake 1830, 7f.; 1846, 149, 362; see also Wace and Hasluck 1908-09, 163, n. 3 (references to other early travellers).

4 See Gritsopoulou 1992, Part I; also Wace and Hasluck 1904-05b, and Tod and Wace 1906, 106f., nos. N, O (sculptures); H.J.W. Tillyard 1904-05, and *Inscriptiones Graecae* V.1. Berlin 1913, nos. 1110-1141 (inscriptions from British excavations and chance finds); Cartledge 1979, 190. For the churches with *spolia*, see especially Moutsopoulos and Dimitrokalles 1981.

5 See especially Shipley 1992, 217f., 223; Cartledge 1979, 121, also 107, 178, 190, 322.

6 Xynghopoulou 1937 (excavation). The remains of the other church can be seen in the area of the Hagios Sozon church, itself dated to ca. 1200; see Giaouri 1971, 83 with n. 1; Moutsopoulos and Dimitrokalles 1981, 173.

7 For what follows, see especially Bon 1969, 112f., 123f., 145, 510f., 592-98, 642-45, 693f. with full references; Gritsopoulos 1982, Part II. For the Geraki castle, see also Traquair 1905-06.

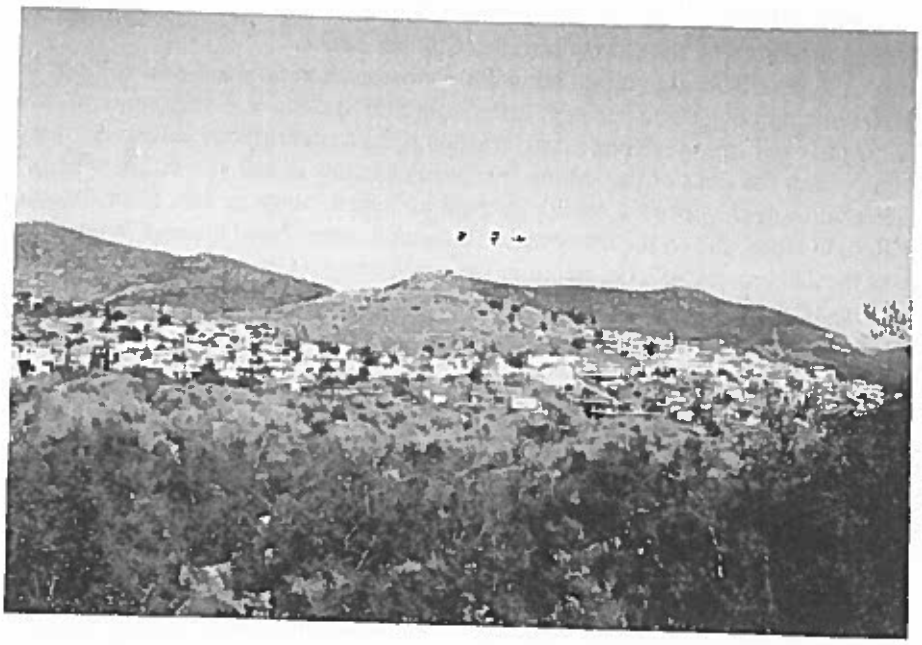

Plate I. *Geraki, acropolis hill seen from the west*

outside the walls of the Kastro some are at present in ruins, others have been restored in the course of this century, like several of the medieval churches in and around the village of Geraki. The Turkish occupation lasted until 1825, interrupted by two spells of Venetian rule (1463-1468 and 1668-1715).

Archaeological investigations at Geraki have so far been almost entirely restricted to a brief excavation, from May 26 to June 6 1905, by A.J.B. Wace and F.W. Hasluck for the British School at Athens.[8] Their work - on the acropolis and at the spot known as Metropolis at the southern edge of the village - was mainly inspired by the wish to locate the monuments (the springs, Agora and especially the temples) of Geronthrai, as they were described by Pausanias. This object was not fulfilled and led to the early abandonment of the project.[9] The explorations made clear, however, that Geraki's interest lies to no lesser extent in its earlier history, which is not documented by literary sources. The tradition of the Spartan take-over referred to by Pausanias implies the existence of a settlement predating the historical period. The results of the British excavation on the

[8] Wace and Hasluck 1904-05; 1908-09, 163f. Wace 1909-10.
[9] Wace and Hasluck 1904-05, 91, 95.

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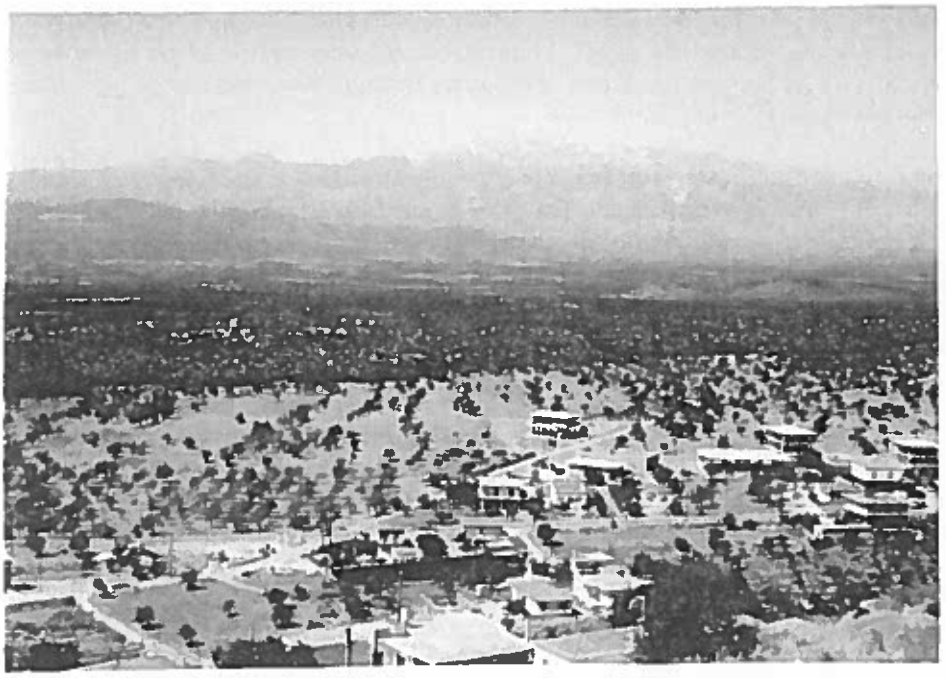

Plate II. *Geraki, view from acropolis wall looking west*

acropolis did indeed indicate that the site had been inhabited much earlier. Test trenches revealed 'unmonumental walls' and several cist graves containing Middle Helladic pottery and a decorated bronze pin.[10] Wace and Hasluck's catalogue further lists hand- and wheel-made pottery (described as 'Neolithic', 'pre-Mycenaean' and 'Mycenaean'), fragments of terracotta ('Mycenaean') figurines and obsidian.[11] Later visits by members of the British School confirmed the presence of Early Helladic pottery among surface material on the acropolis.[12]

Of special interest is the wall of megalithic construction around the top of the hill, which was first studied and mapped by Wace and Hasluck and which encompasses an area of no less than 240 x 160 m.[13] Although it shows various phases of rebuilding and repair,

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[10] Wace 1909-10; tomb group on exhibit in Sparta Museum. For the bronze pin, see also I. Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, no. 103, pl. 4.

[11] Wace and Hasluck 1904-05, 95-97; see also Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 85f. Restudy of the old excavation notebook and of the old finds, some of which have now been relocated by Mr R.W.V. Catling in the Sparta Museum storerooms, is planned for the near future and may illuminate the question of provenance.

[12] Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 85 (in n. 76 reference is made to a possible Neolithic sherd).

[13] Wace and Hasluck 1904-05, 93-95; 1908-09, fig. 2 (plan).

the original construction in places still stands 2 m high (Pls. III-IV). Wace and Hasluck suspected a gateway flanked by a tower in the NE, but this was not tested by excavation. Likewise, the dating of the different phases of the wall has remained uncertain.

Investigations in 1995 and future plans

The resumption of systematic archaeological investigations intends to reveal the long history of Geraki in greater detail. The primary aim is to establish the full chronological range of human occupation on the acropolis and adjoining slopes, specifying size and function of the site in any given period and documenting possible shifts of location.

For the historical period the investigations may help to balance a picture which is dominated by Spartan studies and based largely upon information provided by ancient authors. It adds a much-needed topographical and archaeological aspect to the study of the peroikic towns and to the social-political history of Lakonia in general.[14] It may also offer insights in the crucial period of the Early Iron Age during which, according to Pausanias, Geraki was transformed from an 'Achaean' into a perioikic community dominated by Sparta. The study of the acropolis of Geraki may also contribute to a better understanding of the origin and development of a Bronze Age site in Lakonia. Our knowledge of Bronze Age Lakonia is still full of gaps, the only other extensively studied settlement sites of that period being the Menelaion on the edge of the Sparta valley and Hagios Stephanos in the Helos plain.[15]

The 1995 season was dedicated to drawing up a detailed topographical map, to the planning and study of standing remains - in particular the large acropolis wall - and to the systematic collection of artefacts present at the surface of the acropolis and the adjoining slopes, with the help of modern geodetical and other computer-aided techniques. As detailed below, preliminary study of the acropolis wall led to the distinction of at least six different types of construction, whose date and function await further study. The archaeological survey made substantial progress with the collection of surface material and with its subsequent processing in the apotheke. This work is to be completed during a second campaign planned for the spring of 1996. We hope to supplement it with a study of erosion and of development of soils and a program of geophysical survey. The latter may help to relate the distribution of surface material in a meaningful way to subsurface deposits and to locate areas suitable for future excavation. At the same time, we intend to study the *spolia* incorporated in the churches and houses of the village of Geraki and the castle on the nearby ridge.

[14] See Shipley's plea, 1992, 211-14.
[15] See Dickinson 1992.

Study of the Acropolis Wall (S. MacVeagh Thorne)

Two weeks of study in the 1995 fieldwork season completed a preliminary evaluation of the acropolis walls. In the total circumference of 678 m six basic types of masonry construction representing seven distinct phases were noted and mapped by Total Station (Figs. 2-3; Pls. III-IV).

Six basic types of construction were isolated:

1. Large stone or 'megalithic' construction using roughly shaped limestone blocks varying in size from ca. 0.40 x 0.30 x 0.30 m to 1.50 x 0.80 x 0.50 m.

2. Smaller, more finely shaped stone construction using polygonal blocks, also of the local limestone and generally of a more uniform size (ca. 0.30 x 0.25 x 0.25 m).
3. Mortared small stone construction with tile inserted between cobble-like building stones. Rubble and cement core with some attempts at coursing visible where the facing has been preserved.

4. Construction using small, fist-sized stones without mortar. Stones are tightly packed with heavy accretion of soil at the interstices.

5. Loose small stone construction, undressed stones without mortar. There are a number of varieties of this type visible, differing largely in the care exhibited in construction and in the occasionally discernable presence of mud mortar. Other distinguishing characteristics are the notable use of *spolia* in white or blue marble and/or remnants of Type 3 construction as building material.

6. Reused megalithic blocks. As with Type 5, varying degrees of care and skill are exhibited. Type 6 also occurs both with and without mortar.

Phasing

Some basic phasing in the most general terms is self evident.

Type 1 represents the earliest phase of construction on the site (Phase I). It forms the basis of all subsequent building, which, in many cases, follows it faithfully (see Figs. 2, 3; Pls. III-IV). The early wall has acted as a retaining wall since completion, giving the hilltop much of its characteristic shape. Fortification walls anywhere in Lakonia are rare - if not absent altogether - until the 4th century BC and firm dating evidence for this exceptional wall is so far lacking. The fact that the site was inhabited from the Early Bronze Age onwards led the first excavators to propose an early or 'Pelasgian' date for the wall.[16] Later authors, like Waterhouse and Hope Simpson have assigned it to

[16] Wace and Hasluck 1904-05, 94.

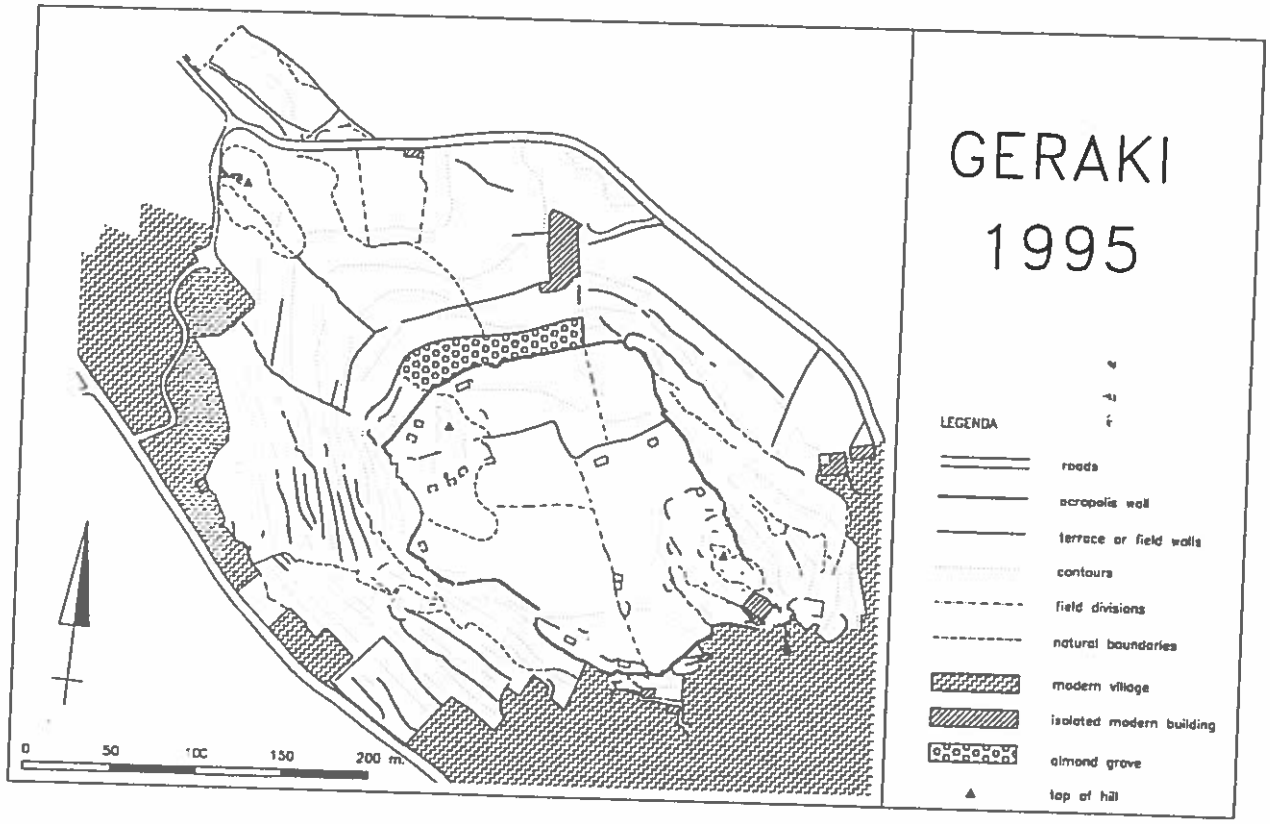

Figure 2. *Geraki, acropolis hill: topographical map*

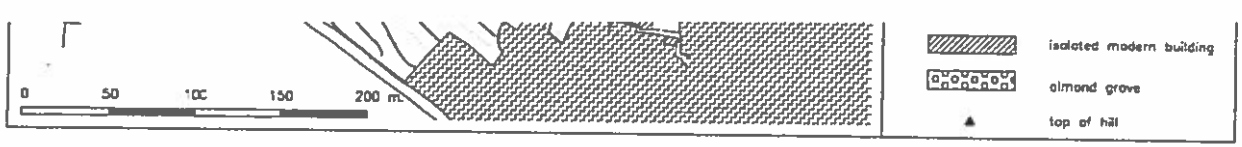

Figure 2. *Geraki, acropolis hill: topographical map*

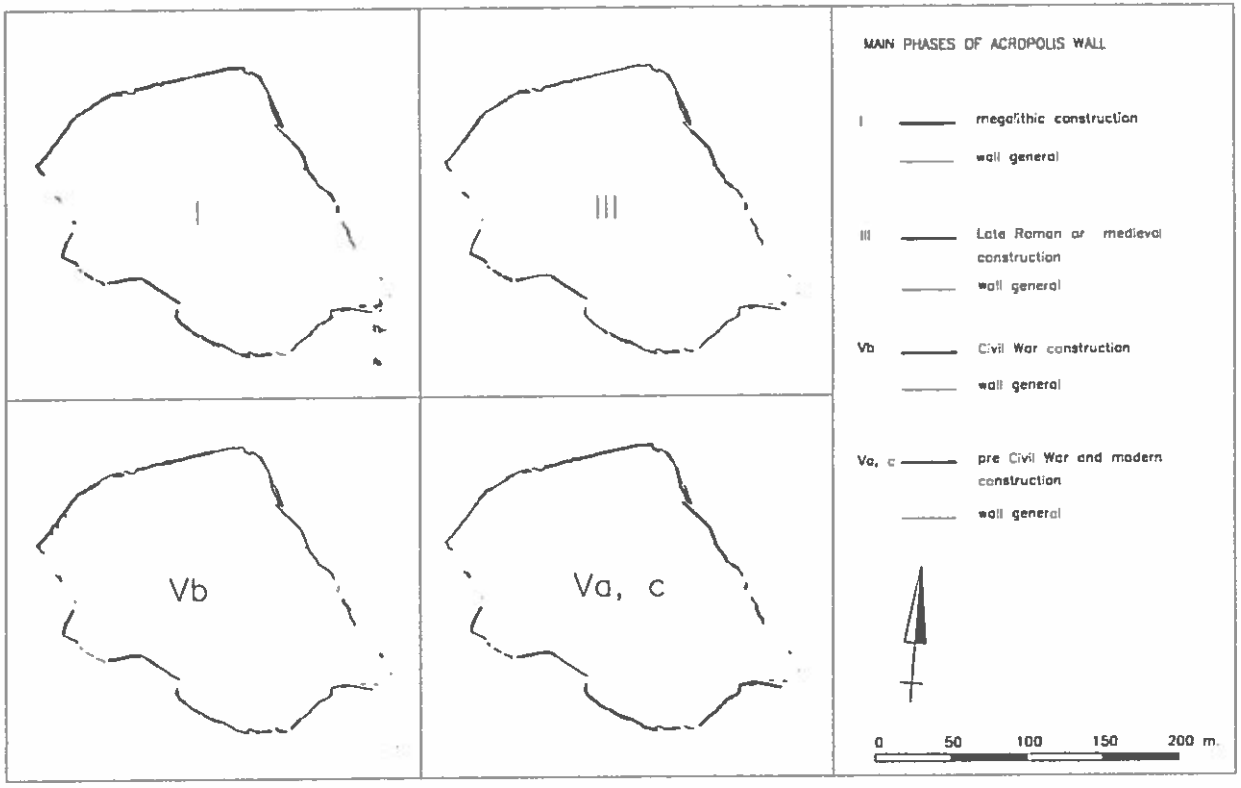

Figure 3. *Geraki, acropolis wall in its several phases*

Plate III. *Geraki, NW acropolis wall: Phase I with patching of Phase IV*

Mycenaean times on the basis of its megalithic construction.[17] In the absence of local parallels stylistic dating remains tenuous.[18] Association of this megalithic construction with the appropriate period in the long history of occupation at the site remains a primary goal.

Type 2 masonry, clearly represented to the N, occurs only as patching in its predecessor and seems to represent an early phase of repair (Phase II). The megalithic wall shows signs of having been displaced, perhaps by the pressure of the fill behind it, in the areas where Type 2 occurs. There is no evidence of erosion to indicate the amount of elapsed time between Phase I and II.

Type 3, with the use of smaller stones and tile and most especially of mortar, brings us to the Late Roman or medieval period and the third phase of construction on the

[17] Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 85f.; Shipley 1992, 217, n. 40. For a more cautious view, see Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 111 s.v. no. C 12.

[18] After a visit in 1994, Dr C.S. Bakhuizen has suggested the possibility that natural fragmentation is in some cases responsible for the shape of the blocks used, further weakening stylistic comparison with other megalithic masonries.

Plate IV. *Geraki, W acropolis wall: Phase I with guard house of Phase Vb on top*

acropolis.[19] Unlike Phase II (Type 2), Phase III is a period of major rebuilding. Although stretches of the earlier Type 1 and some patches of Type 2 masonry remained standing, much, especially to the SW and NE, had to be rebuilt from the ground up. In other places, clearly exemplified in the NW, the older Type 1 construction was repaired and strenghtened by the liberal application of the mortar so characteristic of Type 3 construction. The extent of the Type 3 work required indicates that the earlier wall, though still impressive, was in considerable disrepair and had allowed substantial erosion.

It is also after a period of disuse that Type 4, the next clearly distinguishable building style, manifests itself (Phase IV). Type 4 construction was used as patching, filling considerable areas in the N and E (Pl. III).[20] The small, fist-sized stones are heavily accreted with earth at the interstices. They patch wide breaches in the older walls and these patches lean characteristically inward, indicating the loss of considerable soil before

[19] The date of Phase III must await further ceramic and archival evidence, as well as the evaluation of local parallels, but it may well predate Jean de Nivelet's construction of the more imposing Frankish castle, known as the Kastro, on the ridge SE of Geraki.

[20] These patches do sometimes look as if they were for breaks that had been intentionally made. Earlier fortifications on the acropolis hill may have been rendered obsolete by De Nivelet's castle and their proximity may have proved to be an embarassment. This may have required breeching of the older wall.

application. Type 4 patches have failed and been repatched in the same manner, implying some longevity to the period. Type 4 with its small stones and lack of mortar is clearly not defensive in intent. The precipitous hillside W of the Acropolis preserves a series of long narrow terraces, now much lost to erosion, that were built in the same style and are perhaps contemporary. This suggests a period of renewed agricultural attention that is echoed in the reuse of the acropolis wall as terrace.

Type 5 construction includes the final three phases of construction in the walls of Geraki: pre-Civil War, Civil War, and modern (Phases Va, b and c). The first and the last of these are agricultural or ecological in intent, either providing growing land or preventing further collapse and erosion which would threathen houses on the slopes below. The second of the three phases, the Civil War period, was the most recent extensive refortification of the acropolis at Geraki. The old walls were patched where necessary, providing a basis for a defensive parapet with crenellated gun ports, many of which remain *in situ* to the NW, N and NE. Guard houses and gun emplacements for heavy artillery were built, trenches laid down and often revetted with small stones (Pl. IV). That defensive trenching met with archaeological artefact may account for the diagnostic presence of architectural *spolia* (cut stones, roof tiles, etc. in white and blue marble) in Civil War constructions (Phase Vb).

Type 6 construction - the reuse of blocks taken or fallen from the old megalithic (Type 1) wall - is clearly relevant to all periods of occupation at the site. Some sections are relatively datable by the type/phase of wall in or against which they are built. The reuse of megalithic blocks predominates in the N and NE where the slopes of the hill are gradual and little effort would be required to ferry them back to the wall from which they fell. Where the hill descends steeply and the blocks would roll far, as in the SE and E, other materials were found. Repair and refortification of this kind was a recurrent feature on the site.

Archaeological Survey (M. Prent)

The acropolis of Geraki, locally known as 'ta dhondákia', occupies a limestone hill (ca. 390 m high), NW-SE in orientation (Figs. 2, 4; Pl. I). The summit of the hill, encircled by the acropolis wall, consists of a relatively flat area of ca. 2.66 hectares. A limestone crest in the SE forms the highest point (Top 1), while a slightly lower and broader rock outcrop marks the NW part (Top 2). From the latter a ridge runs NW to a third, still lower outcropping, some 150 m from the acropolis wall (Top 3). In this area, a saddle connects the otherwise isolated acropolis hill with the rocky hinterland of Parnon.

The S and W slopes of the acropolis hill rise steeply from the large plain which descends towards the Eurotas valley (Pl. II). These slopes consist of abandoned and eroded terraces and exposed bedrock. To the N and NE the descent is more gradual, with broader terraces and fields immediately below the acropolis wall. Further down, beyond the modern road, the slope is characterized by bare rock, forming an abrupt transition to the small valley below with its modern gardens and olive plots. The spring at the NE foot of the acropolis hill (the 'káto vrýsis') is remembered by the older inhabitants of the village as a principal

source of water. A second, currently more prolific spring is situated lower on the E side of the hill, in a heavily built-up section of the modern village.

Methods

The methods used for the archaeological surface exploration at Geraki largely follow those developed during the past 15 years for the systematic and intensive sampling of urban settlements in Greece and other parts of the Mediterranean.[21] At Geraki, the existence of a large multi-period site is known because of standing architectural remains, the results of the 1905 excavation, later visits and ongoing chance finds. Although most of the available information relates to the area within the acropolis wall, the presence of *spolia* and inscriptions further east as well as descriptions by Pausanias indicate that, especially during later historical periods, habitation may have spread over a much larger area. Questions remain as to the maximum extent of the site and shifts in location during the course of Geraki's long history.

Given the over-all size of the site, as suggested by these various sources, the survey at Geraki clearly falls within the category of urban or 'large site' survey. An important difference, however, is that many urban surveys have been carried out in the context of larger, regional projects. Current definitions of sites are therefore largely phrased in terms of high surface artefact densities, comparing those found at sites with 'background' or off-site densities encountered in the surrounding countryside. With the present lack of such regional data for the area around Geraki, the survey area had to be made large enough to establish 'site edge', as indicated by a notable decrease in the number of surface artefacts. Together with topographical considerations, this has led to a provisional definition of the survey area as shown in Figs. 2-3. It should be noted, however, that the present boundaries cannot be equated with the limits of settlement at any period.

The survey area, totalling ca. 26.5 hectares, covers much of the acropolis hill and includes the saddle to the NW and a small portion of the limestone hill behind it. To the N and NE it extends slightly into the small plain below, while to the SW and S the asphalt road leading to the village center and lined with modern construction was taken as a boundary. To the S and SE the modern village reaches to the level of the acropolis wall, imposing an effective boundary on surface exploration in this area. While this section of the acropolis hill may well have been inhabited continuously, the study of spolia, inscriptions, ancient foundations and other features will substitute for intensive artefact collection. Smaller clusters of modern buildings similarly impede the surface exploration of portions on the lower NE, NW and W slopes.

The remaining ca. 16 hectares of survey area are relatively easily accessible due to limited vegetation. Differences in soil character, inclination of the slope and modern land use have resulted in distinct varieties of terrain. Each of these poses fundamentally different problems for the understanding of the provenance and meaning of the artefacts now present at the surface. Level areas of exposed bedrock and the much denuded limestone crests have preserved very little of their original deposits. At several places,

[21] See Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988; Alcock 1991, 421-22; Whitelaw and Davis 1991.

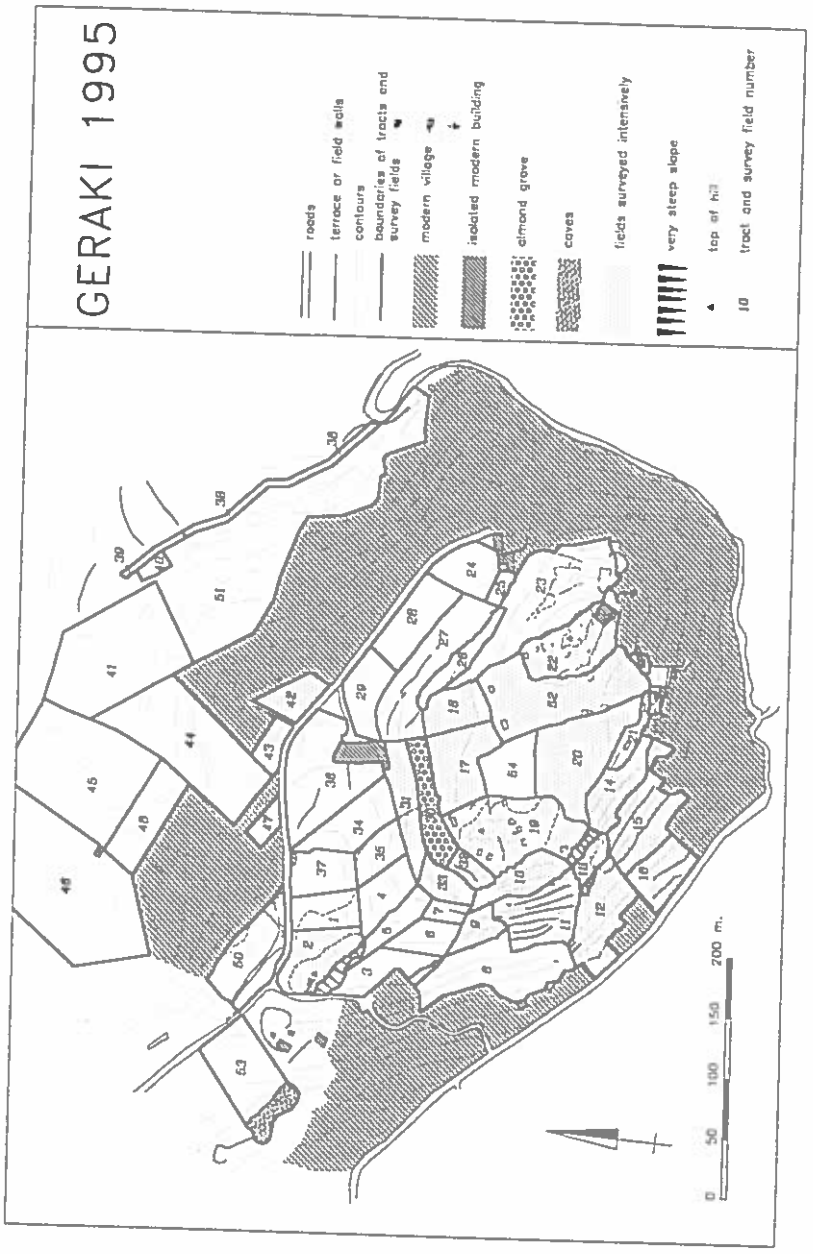

Figure 4. *Geraki, acropolis hill: survey tracts and fields*

ongoing erosion is responsible for the redeposition of material from fields and terraces higher up. The long and complex sequence of construction, collapse and reconstruction of the acropolis wall will likewise have affected the distribution of artefacts in the past.

Although currently subject to erosion, substantial deposits of earth have been retained by the acropolis wall in the relatively flat fields at the summit and by terrace walls on the slopes around it. Most of these fields and terraces appear to have been under cultivation until fairly recently.

Plough marks are still visible and occasional concentrations of artefacts, apparently turned up from the subsoil directly below, can be distinguished. Olive and other tree crops being sparse, terraces and fields now lie fallow and are used for the grazing of a handful of goats, sheep and mules. No new agricultural terraces have been constructed by bulldozing or other mechanical means.

Within the acropolis wall, the digging of man-holes and trenches for shelters and gun posts during the Greek Civil War (1946-49), has brought material from much deeper deposits to the surface. Clear signs of trenching remain visible in areas of marginal agricultural value, specifically on the skirts of the rocky knolls to the NW and SE. This, and local testimony, suggest that more extensive trenching in the arable N, NE and SW has been refilled.[22] These Civil War activities constitute another important factor in the evaluation of surface artefact distribution and in giving a diachronic overview of occupation and land use on the site as a whole.

In order to enable future comparison of artefact densities on the acropolis hill with data generated by regional survey, the whole survey area was first systematically walked in a series of tracts (Fig. 4). In accordance with common survey practice, tracts were distinguished on the basis of the relative homogeneity of their terrain, taking into account slope, character of the soil, vegetation and current land use.[23] Where present, modern topographical features such as roads, walls and field divisions were taken as tract boundaries. Once the tracts had been defined - usually with the help of an enlarged aerial photograph (1:1500) - field walkers with an intermediate distance of 15 m each counted the number of artefacts visible along their lines. At the same time, preliminary observations were made on surface visibility, patterns of artefact distribution and erosion, average size and condition of finds, etc. No artefacts were collected at this point, as most areas were to be intensively sampled at a later stage.

Tracts were numbered as walked, beginning in the NW part of our survey area, and amounted to a total of 55. This required four days of work for a team of five persons. The tract walking gave us a general overview of the amount and distribution of artefacts in different parts of the site. It further helped in the selection of certain areas suitable for intensive sampling and sometimes gave reason to redefine or subdivide the former tracts.

The next stage consisted of intensive surface collection of artefacts from the selected areas. This season priority has been given to areas where relatively high artefact densities were observed during tract walking. Former tracts were relabeled 'fields' with the same

Figure 4. *Geraki, acropolis hill: survey tracts and fields*

22 See also Andrews 1984 (1959), 176.
23 See a.o. Alcock 1991, 440.

number, when necessary adjusting their boundaries. Large fields were further subdivided into smaller and more manageable units, with a maximum size of ca. 20 x 20 m. These units were laid out in advance by using the Total Station, but instead of imposing an absolute grid, the orientation of existing features such as field or terrace walls was followed. Slopes or terraces directly below the summit were often subdivided according to construction type and state of preservation of the acropolis wall. This enabled us to keep separate material from areas affected by different stages of erosion.[24]

The intensive sampling method used at Geraki is largely comparable with that employed by S.E. Alcock at Phlius in the Nemea survey area.[25] Small 'vacuum samples', involving the collection and recording of all artefacts, were taken for each field unit, except for those on irregular or heavily overgrown slopes. The location of vacuum samples was not chosen at random, but was meant to be representative of the general circumstances and visibility on the basis of which a field had been defined. Vacuum samples provide a 'close-up' of artefacts easily overlooked or not considered as diagnostic and are important in quantitative study. As pointed out in recent studies, however, they hardly contribute material which is diagnostic in terms of the chronological or functional analysis of a site. For this reason the whole surface of a unit was searched for potentially diagnostic artefacts during the subsequent grab sample. Rim, handle, base or distinctive body sherds, terracotta, metal, stone and obsidian objects as well as architectural fragments were collected, initially sorted and recorded before being further processed in the apotheke.

In addition to the canonical vacuum and grab samples the concept of 'judgement samples' was introduced. This was done to isolate groups of artefacts which occurred in distinctive concentrations. Especially in the vicinity of Civil War constructions and trenches concentrations of disturbed material were encountered. In other cases sherds from erosion gullies and from earth banks exposed behind collapsed terrace walls were collected and bagged separately from the overall grab samples.

A total number of 24 fields (more than 160 units) at the summit and on the surrounding slopes of the acropolis hill were intensively sampled, constituting ca. 5.3 hectares or ca. 33 % of the area suitable for survey. This involved 18 days in the field for a team of four to five people. Another area of 4.6 hectares (28%) was tract walked but will not repay intensive sampling. At the end of the season a total of 13 fruit boxes with sherds and other artefacts was stored in the Tripolis Museum.

Preliminary results (M. Prent and J.H. Crouwel)

Although only part of the survey area has been intensively sampled, some preliminary results may be presented here. These will, however, have to be checked both in the field and by a detailed study of the material during future campaigns.

In date, the surface finds range from prehistoric to recent times, with the majority belonging to the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Earliest are Early Helladic pottery and

[24] The consequentially more complicated calculations of field area will be achieved by application of the AutoCad program.

[25] Alcock 1991.

Plate V. *Geraki*

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Plate V. *Geraki, acropolis hill: finds from field 104, unit 1*

chipped stone finds, mostly obsidian; the pottery includes types firmly dated to Early Helladic II. While the Middle Helladic period is represented by pottery of different fabrics, finds of firm Mycenaean date are so far notably absent. This casts doubt on dating the acropolis wall to this period. After a long gap, activity is again attested by a handful of painted sherds classed as Geometric. The Archaic period is well represented, some of the pottery being clearly votive in character. Votive pots continue to appear among the numerous finds of the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Among later material, mainstream Roman red slip, Middle Byzantine painted or sgraffito wares and Late Byzantine fine glazed wares are rare.

Some of the earliest material found during the survey was encountered on the rocky crests in the SE and NW of the summit of the acropolis (Top 1 and 2 respectively). Notable concentrations of obsidian and flint occurred together with diagnostic Early and Middle Helladic sherd material. On the northern part of Top 1 the amount of obsidian and flint fragments in some places almost equalled the number of sherds (Field 22). On the NW top (Field 19), less steep and more overgrown, lower overall artefact densities were counted. Exceptions were two depressions with thicker soil deposits in the NW and SW: here extensive trenching during the Civil War had brought material of different periods to the surface.

Plate VI. *Geraki, acropolis hill: red-figure potsherd*

In the SW depression, sizeable and well-preserved Early and Middle Helladic sherds were found around and in between the stones of a partially collapsed Civil War guard house. The deposit extended over the one remaining course of the acropolis wall. This flow of eroding earth and artefacts could be traced all the way down the slope (Field 10) onto the highest of a series of narrow terraces (Field 11). Approximately half of the artefacts from a grab sample taken in the upper part of Field 10 date to the Early and Middle Helladic periods and include obsidian arrowheads and a scraper (Pl. V). While moving down the slope the composition of grab samples changed. The proportion of Early and Middle Helladic material decreased, until there was a clear preponderance of Archaic material at the upper terrace of Field 11. Here, many fine ware-sherds, miniature pots and some terracottas were noted, perhaps votive in nature; this may suggest a link with the written evidence for a temple of Apollo on the acropolis. The observed pattern of redeposition may well indicate the gradual and ongoing erosion of previously stratified deposits from this section of the NW crest. Such evaluation of artefact redistribution by the ongoing processes of erosion will prove a vital aspect of 'reading' the results of the completed surface survey.

Full study of geomorphological changes and artefacts from these crests may determine to what degree the appearance of the rock outcroppings has changed. The presence of

rock-cut features, such as probable post holes on both tops and a round cistern on Top 2, may indicate that parts of these areas were already largely bared during antiquity.

The very top of the limestone ridge to the NW (Top 3) also yielded a few obsidian fragments, pointing to some kind of early activity. The ridge, however, is much overgrown and has a low surface visibility. The few sherds found were too worn to be diagnostic of either date or function. An interesting feature is formed by a large cave facing W. Its current use as a dump renders surface exploration impossible.

The extensive fields in between the NW and SE top of the acropolis present a relatively homogenous picture (Fields 17, 18, 20, 52, 54). Due to the gentle slope and the retaining action of the acropolis wall, erosion here is less severe than elsewhere. Though all the fields seem to have been under cultivation during modern times, only a few of them bear marks of recent ploughing. In the latter fields (18 and part of 17), higher artefact densities are encountered: large portions of ceramic roof tiles and pottery occur in concentrations, sticking up from the plough furrows. In the other fields surface artefacts are more evenly distributed. Finds predominantly fall in the chronological range from the Classical to the Roman periods and include black-glazed sherds of varying quality, pyramidical terracotta loomweights, etc. Two bronze coins (as yet illegible) deserve special mention as well as a small fragment of a red-figure vase, depicting a human head (Pl. VI). An interesting Roman bronze figurine was found in between the stones of the south face of the acropolis wall (SE of Field 52) (Pl. VII).

The fields at the summit are further characterized by the frequent presence of marble fragments and chips. These, though generally too small to be identified, contained some definite pieces of roof tiles and sculpture. A Doric column capital in marble was noted by Wace and Hasluck in the same area, i.e. on the rock shelf forming the transition from Field 52 to 22.[26] The former presence of a fairly monumental structure may therefore be suspected.

The preponderance of later material in the fields on the summit does not preclude the possibility of deeper and earlier deposits which may have escaped the reach of the plough (deep ploughing has not occurred). Notes by the first excavators refer to the sinking of test trenches more than 2 m deep without touching bedrock. Sections of earth, exposed by the collapsing acropolis wall, at places suggest similar depths of fill. Further study of the material collected from these fields will have to show whether - perhaps as a result of Civil War trenching - some earlier artefacts have indeed found their way to the surface.

In terms of artefact distribution and chronological range of finds, the situation on the terraces N and NW of the acropolis wall (Fields 30-33) is comparable to that of the fields at the summit. These terraces, with well-kept terrace walls, are situated directly below a well-preserved megalithic section of the acropolis wall. Erosion again being limited and ploughing having come to a halt in the recent past, a constant spread of predominantly Classical-Hellenistic finds was encountered. At the E end of the almond tree terrace (Field 30) a concentration of roof tiles and large fragments of Classical-Hellenistic pottery was noted, perhaps brought up by the plough.

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[26] Wace and Hasluck 1904-05, 95, 98f. with fig. 4 (another Doric capital, made of poros, was built into in a fieldwall not far below the supposed gate in the acropolis wall).

Plate VII. *Geraki, acropolis hill: bronze statuette*

On the S slope the pattern was quite different from that on the W and NW slopes. Field 14, directly below the acropolis wall, was subdivided in three sections, according to the different types of masonry visible in the acropolis wall. Sharp breaks in construction type perhaps significantly coincided with alterations in the orientation of the slope. Most artefacts had collected in the central area, with a clear influx of eroding material through an opening in the wall. Similar concentrations were repeated in the middle sections of the upper two terraces of Field 15. So far no chronological patterns could be distinguished. Preliminary dating of the finds has identified Classical to Roman pottery. Sherds tended to become smaller and more worn at the lower terraces of Fields 15 and 16, without apparent change in their date or type.

The NW to NE edges of our survey area turned out to be practically devoid of artefacts or other features during the initial phase of tract walking. These areas, consisting largely of bare rock with sparse vegetation of garigua and maquis, were therefore not intensively sampled. Subsequent tract walking along the NE foot of the hill, where material washing down from the slopes might have been redeposited, also proved unproductive.

Caution is warranted, however, in concluding that the whole lower NE slope was excluded from habitation in ancient times. The possibility that previously eroded material is now buried under a substantial deposit of earth at the foot of the hill, will have to tested

by geomorphological study. Moreover, the hill slope directly above the spring is largely obscured by modern constructions. The area between the houses has not yet been systematically searched for artefacts, ancient foundations or rock-cuttings. The occurrence, however, of very few but relatively well-preserved black-glazed sherds may point to activity here in antiquity. Wace and Hasluck, following Pausanias, already suspected that the ancient settlement extended over the NE side of the hill.[27] Marble slabs and cut blocks, still visible in the area of Tract 43, were turned up during the construction of the small square and taverna slightly further to the E.

Geodetical survey (G.-J. van Wijngaarden and C. Sueur)

The objectives for the 1995-campaign in Geraki were, as far as the geodetical survey was concerned, threefold. First, a grid which could serve as a basis for all the geodetic work, as well as for the archaeological survey and possible future excavation campaigns, had to be devised and set out. Second, the wall surrounding the acropolis had to be mapped, distinguishing its types of construction. Third, a map of the site had to be made, showing its main topographical and archaeological features. In addition, fields defined for the archaeological survey had to be divided into units and the locations of judgement samples had to be measured.

The work was carried out by a team of two surveyors, assisted by one of the students who changed weekly. All in all, 24 days were spend in the field. Daily computer work was done back at the house.

Available data, equipment and methodology

Surveying data available to us before departing for Greece consisted of four 1:5000 topographical maps of Geraki and the surrounding region. Five trigonometric points of the Greek National Geodetic Network surrounding the acropolis were marked on these maps, the coordinates of which we obtained from the Geographical Service of the Greek Army. Aerial photographs, on scale 1:6000 and 1:1500, taken in 1987 were obtained from the Greek Ministry of Public Works. Some information regarding the acropolis wall and the nature of the terrain on the acropolis was available to us from the reports of Wace and Hasluck.[28]

Our field equipment included a Sokkia Set 4B-G Total Station and an SDR-33 electronic field book. Angles and distances measured by the Total Station were calculated to coordinates by this field book. Moreover, the field book offered the possibility to assign feature codes to the measurements, thus making it possible to separate the collected data. Office equipment included a 486/90Hz computer (24Mb RAM), with digitizing tablet and a black and white printer. The data stored in the electronic field book were communicated

[27] "East" side in their terminology: Wace and Hasluck 1904-05, 93.
[28] See note 13.

to the computer, using the Windows Terminal option. They were then edited and transferred to the AutoCAD computerprogram (release 13), which generated drawings.

During our work, we tried to achieve a balance between geodetical precision and archaeological efficiency. The measurements for the main axes of the grid were repeated, to check our calculations and our equipment. Deviations between the first and second measurements turned out to be less than one centimeter, even at the edges of the site. Measurements for the acropolis wall and for the topographical map were generally taken from a free station, the coordinates of which were obtained by resection from two gridpoints. A control measurement was taken every time, ensuring that the exactness was within a five centimeter range.

Measuring grid

All the trigonometric points of the Greek National Geodetic Network were at a distance of more than 1.5 kilometers from the acropolis. Since our grid had to be set out as quickly as possible to ensure the progress of the campaign's work, our initial plan of creating a polygon with absolute coordinates around the site was abandoned. Instead a local grid was laid out from the center of the acropolis.

This 50 x 50 m system was started by laying out a N-S line across the acropolis by compass. A point on this line in the center of the acropolis was then chosen and given the coordinates X = 1000, Y = 1000. From here, gridpoints were laid out on the North-, East-, South- and West-axes at 50 m intervals. These were then used to set out other gridpoints. Our objective was to have at least three stations visible from every spot on the site and this was achieved by setting out 25 points. We decided to keep the grid two-dimensional (not including levels), as contour levels of the acropolis were available to us from the 1:5000 map.

Most gridpoints were simply marked by a nail and a wooden peg in the ground, or, in case of bedrock appearing at the surface, by spraypaint. As it was likely that these points would disappear during winter, several measures were taken to ensure the reliable reconstruction of the system. Firstly, three gridpoints on the N-S axis in the center of the acropolis, in fields not likely to be ploughed, were fixed by hammering iron tubes all the way into the ground. Secondly, four unmovable points on the acropolis were measured. Two of these are on the concrete base of a large antenna on the SE top (Top 1). Another is the highest point of Top 1, next to a drilled hole in the rock. A fourth point is on the central acropolis top (Top 2), likewise next to a hole. All these points were sketched and photographed. Thirdly, nineteen points on structures surrounding the acropolis - houses, concrete bases of fences and shrines, etc. - were measured, sketched and photographed.

Absolute coordinates from the Greek National Geodetic Network were brought into our local system, using the three trigonometric points visible directly from the acropolis. Angles to these points were measured from two local stations, using the Bessel method. Absolute coordinates of our local points were then retrieved by means of calculation, according to Collins. These calculations showed that our local system was rotated 5.50 grads (4.95 degree) in regard to the Greek National Geodetic Network. The absolute

coordinates also allowed us to determine the deviations in our local grid system, which turned out to be less than one centimeter.

Acropolis wall

The course of the wall surrounding the acropolis had already been mapped by Wace and Hasluck. The objective of our measurements, therefore, was to map the wall in more detail, including its several types of construction.

The measured points were generally taken on the top of the outside face of the wall. Every construction type, patching, gap or bedrock following the course of the wall was considered as a separate line, from which were measured the beginning and the end and as many intermediate points as necessary to establish its exact course. Every measurement was assigned a feature code in the field book. For example, a point in the original megalithic wall, where a small stretch of medieval construction started, was coded as follows: Megalithic Linepoint, Medieval Beginning. This example shows how, although several lines might be on top of one another, they remain separated by their coding. To facilitate the computer drawing, hand sketches of every measured part of the wall were made. In total, a number of over 400 points on the wall were thus measured.

In the computer drawing layers were created that correspond with the feature codes. This in turn gave us the possibility to show the wall with only one or two construction types. On the map reproduced in Fig. 2, for example, the megalithic stretches are emphasized, while all other parts of the wall are shown as a thin line.

Topographical map

Besides topographical features, the map had to show the fields defined for the archaeological survey. Possible archaeological remains that were visible on the surface also had to be indicated.

The actual measurements for the topographical map were taken in similar fashion to those for the acropolis wall. Measured points received a code that reflected the nature of the feature they were part of. These codes include: topography (modern construction and plot divisions), terrace walls, wash-outs, landscape (rock outcroppings, cliffs, etc.), vegetation (divisions between types of vegetation often serving as fieldborders for the archaeological survey), survey grid (lines laid out for the archaeological survey) and possible ancient features (rock cuttings, cisterns, walls showing at the surface, etc.). These codes coincided with layers in the AutoCAD computer program. An additional layer was taken up by the contours. The result of all this is a detailed plan of the area enclosed by the modern village and roads. A simplified version is shown in Fig. 2.

The possibilities of the computer drawing of Fig. 2 are manifold. Versions at varying scale can be shown, highlighting different features, such as modern construction, vegetation, possible ancient structures. Data from the archaeological survey can be combined with the drawing, for example to calculate sherd densities. Gaps measured in terrace walls will be of use in the study of erosion patterns.

Future work

Next season, the present grid will first have to be reestablished. It will then have to be extended into areas to the N and the W, which still need to be mapped.

Levels will have to be added to the present measuring system. This is especially important in the vicinity of the acropolis wall, of which elevations will be drawn. Absolute levels from the two tops of the acropolis are available to us from the 1:5000 maps. As it is uncertain how exact these are, they will have to be checked. With a three-dimensional grid, a detailed contourplan of the site can be made.

Work also remains to be done in combining the survey results with the measurements in the AutoCAD computer program. Archaeological data from the survey and the study of finds as well as geophysical data can be put into databases and connected with the computer drawing. Thus, a modest Geographical Information System for the site of Geraki can be created.

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This leaves us with quite some poetry where the dance mentioned or described in the poems is not and has never been performed to accompany the reading, reciting or singing of those particular poems. Here we should try to differentiate between poetry largely reflective of contemporary practice and poetry largely reflective of the mental images of a community or an individual poet without a direct parallel in observable reality. This is very hard, but we should not be overly critical, if a dance is described in an etiological myth, the ritual dance in contemporary religious practice can be supposed to have corresponded to the aition (in fact this will have been a two-way traffic). But of course the passage of time might distort even this. In short, we have to be most careful in considering poems as referring to observable reality.

Some of the gaps left after we have put the scholarly and the poetic sources together can be filled in by turning to the epigraphic evidence other than inscribed poetry. But inscriptional sources can only make a limited contribution to the study of the dance; only rarely does one get information beyond the bare fact that dancing was going on. But that still is something worthwhile: here we have dancers of flesh and blood who put in an appearance when for instance a sanctuary is balancing the books (one example should suffice here: the scores of dancers in Delian accounts, Bruneau 1970). Above I argued against hypercriticism; it is the epigraphic evidence that put me in a position to do so. Considering this, it is a sad thing that up to now nobody working on the ancient Greek dance has felt the urge to put together the relevant epigraphical evidence. Most have ignored it altogether. I doubt, however, whether an exhaustive collection of epigraphic material would revolutionize our views on this particular subject. One of the oldest examples of alphabetic writing found in Europe is an inscription on dance (*IG* I^2, 919). This is nice, but the text does not really help us along as far as the dance is concerned. But it does provide proof beyond reasonable doubt that there were dance competitions being organized in Athens in the eighth century BC.

The above implies that the ancient world has left behind enough written material on the dance to enable us to formulate (partial) answers to the questions of who, when and where, some contemporary theorizing on the nature and the societal uses of dancing, but hardly anything worthwhile to respond to questions about what and how. This is not to say that if any technical work or notation had survived we would automatically know how to interpret these sources: thus the fragments of musical notation do not assist in reconstructing the actual performance. Unless dramatic discoveries occur, we cannot even make a try.

Imagery

Now to the images, it is impossible to study whatever aspect of the life in Antiquity without paying due attention to the iconographical sources at our disposal. It is quite obvious that in the field of non-verbal communication, not least the dance, images can be highly valuable sources (Beazley 1931, 176). But we should not put our expectations too high. Many collections of dance imagery have been put together in the past, usually haphazard and starting with no specific criteria at all. Confronted with a painted vase, a relief, a terracotta statuette or whatever item of ancient imagery, we must begin by

beginning to emerge of ancient habitation across Aetolia, including habitation in the period of Roman domination.[4]

Aetolia in Roman times: problems and prospects

Recently, the study of the material effects of the Roman conquest of Greek lands has entered new grounds with Susan Alcock's *Graecia Capta. The Landscapes of Roman Greece* (1993). As a contribution to this new interest in a previously somewhat neglected era of Greek history, we will here try to discuss the historical evidence for Roman Aetolia in a regional perspective. It may be obvious that with 'historical evidence' we mean written sources as well as archaeological, topographical and geographical data.

Here the problems begin. Apart from the more fundamental questions which historical conclusions may be drawn from archaeological finds, which period in Greek history should be designated as 'Roman', and whether it is historically justified to use the toponym 'Aetolia' in the Roman period at all, the surface ceramics in Aetolia present difficulties in their own right. The chronological and typological divisions between (Late) Hellenistic and (Early) Roman, as well as those between Late Roman and Early Byzantine for instance, seem even more hazy than in better-researched parts of Greece. Systematic excavations which may provide a more solid chronology are virtually non-existent in Aetolia, and the rescue digs in the Roman urban centre of Naupactus have been only haphazardly published. On the other hand, Roman surface finds on some sites in the interior are sometimes so small in number that one hesitates to use the label 'Roman occupation' here at all.

The many well-known pitfalls related to the acceptance of archaeological as well as literary sources are a constant reminder of the treacherous grounds on which the study of the ancient world treads forward. However, in these days it is fortunately no longer an uphill battle to argue that the combination of ancient history and regional survey (intensive as well as non-intensive) offers the possibility of integrating literary, archaeological and topographical evidence in a cumulative pattern of historical arguments.

In an attempt to merge these different sorts of evidence into one line of argument about the history of Aetolia in the Roman period, we present here a short survey of the written sources, a provisional gazetteer of Aetolian sites with Roman finds, a selected catalogue of Roman finds sampled in the course of the Aetolia-survey, and a discussion of problems related to their typological and chronological interpretation.

It is superfluous to state that the division of the history of the ancient Greeks in supposedly clearly defined periods is a tradition imposed by the modern need for analytical clarity, and that designations such as 'Hellenistic' and 'Roman Period' are merely chronological aids, and not be taken literally as undisputed historical facts. Here, in the Aetolian perspective, the designation 'Roman period' is taken to cover the era between the beginning of the 1st century BC and the end of the 6th century AD. This is an

[4] Note that the gazetteer of Aetolian sites in Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 65ff. reflects the state of knowledge in 1987; since then the number of recorded sites has substantially increased.

historical designation; the problems related to a chronology based on the material evidence are discussed below.

Aetolia in the Roman period: the written sources

By the year 226 BC the Aetolians were at the summit of their power. From the final quarter of the fourth century onward they had evolved from a backward *ethnos* without *poleis* in an isolated mountainous territory to a major power in Greek lands opposite the Macedonians. At this time, the Aetolians controlled through their *sympoliteia*, or confederation, fifteen out of the twenty-six votes in the Delphian Amphictyonic Council and ruled virtually unchallenged over Central Greece (Flacelière 1937).

In 167 BC, a mere two generations later, the Aetolian *sympoliteia* was dissolved and the *ethnos* was reduced to its former status as a marginal people in the Southern Pindus Mountains. Years of war with the Macedonians and alternating collaboration and war with the Romans had left the Aetolians in a desolate state. The sources suggest that the Romans eventually dealt with the Aetolians as vigorously as they did with other mountain peoples they considered a potential threat, such as the Samnites and the Ligurians. In 167 BC they sponsored a massacre of several hundreds of the leading Aetolians, and in the final quarter of the first century BC they drove the Aetolians out of their territory and forced them to resettle in large low-lying *poleis* near the coast, such as Nicopolis, Patrai and Amphissa.

Hereafter, sources on Aetolia and the Aetolians are very scarce indeed. There is the odd reference to the "deserted lands of the Aetolians" (Strabo 8.8.1 C388), but until now it remained unclear whether these are factual reports or part of the rhetorical *topos* that Greece was in a wretched state under the Romans.[5] The absence of written records suggests that Aetolia simply ceased to exist, but there is no clear answer to the question whether we should indeed think of the Aetolian mountains in the Roman era as a landscape without figures, or whether life did just continue on a different, perhaps less conspicuous scale.

Decline (226 - 197 BC)

Soon after 226 BC the traditionally strained relations between the Aetolians and the Achaeans on the Peloponnese again deteriorated after a series of confrontations. An alliance of the Achaeans and other Greek states with the Macedonians in 224 BC under Antigonus Doson suddenly confronted the Aetolian *sympoliteia* with a situation of military encirclement and political isolation (Polybius 2.49.1ff.; Schmitt 1969, 506). The tide of Aetolian fortunes was now clearly beginning to turn. By the end of the year 224 BC Perrhaebia as well as large parts of Phocis and East Locris seems to have been lost, and

5 For a discussion of the prevalent sense of decline and disaster in the written sources, and the consequences of this literary *topos* for later students of the ancient world, see Alcock 1993, 25ff.

the Boeotians had definitively gone over to the Macedonians (Flacelière 1937, 280-87; now: Scholten 1987, 314ff.).

During the war of 224-222 BC of the Macedonian King Antigonos Doson and his Hellenic League against Sparta, the Aetolians remained neutral, although the land of some of their allies on the Peloponnese was conquered (Flacelière 1937, 282). Soon after Doson was elected general by the Achaeans, he marched against the West Locrians and the Aetolians, and ravaged parts of their territory (Pausanias 2.8.4).

Finally, in 220 BC the League, now led by the new Macedonian ruler Philip V, officially declared war against the Aetolians, after a series of war-like raids by the latter had provided a pretext (Polybius 4.3.1f.). The aim of this so-called Social War (or War of the Allies: 220-217 BC) was to reduce Aetolian power in Central Greece, and to expel the Aetolians from Delphi, which was under their control at least since 291 BC (Polybius 4.25; Schmitt 1969, 507; cf. Fine 1940; now: Scholten 1987, 368ff.). The most spectacular event of the war was the sacking in 218 BC of the Aetolian central place Thermos by the Macedonians. This "location" halfway the lower western parts and the mountainous interior of Aetolia constituted the non-urban capital of the *ethnos*; it was here that the Aetolians held yearly political and religious meetings, and had stored much of their wealth (Polybius 5.7.7ff.).

Although the Peace of Naupactus of 217 BC was concluded without major territorial loss for the Aetolians, their control over the conquered or incorporated important *poleis* of Phthiotic Thebes, Ambracia, Phoetiae and (temporarily) Oeniadae, all strategically situated outside the Aetolian heartland, came to an end (Polybius 4.63.7-8; 64.4; 65.5-11; 5.99-100; 5.102ff.; 5.105.1-2; Justinus 29.2.3; Schmitt 1969, 520).

Aetolian-Macedonian relations were now utterly disrupted. An opportunity to regain the lost ground came after Philip had sided with Rome's enemy Hannibal in 216 (Polybius 7.9). During the first Roman-Macedonian War (215/214-205 BC) the Aetolians entered (on Roman initiative) into an alliance with the new power from the west, against whom they had warned the other Greeks only a few years earlier as "these clouds that loom in the West to settle on Greece" (Polybius 5.104.10; cf. Deiniger 1971, 25f.).

The much discussed treaty which the Aetolians and the Roman concluded in 212/211 BC was primarily designed against the Macedonians. It committed the Aetolians "to make war on Philip immediately" and it provided that the Aetolians were to have the captured cities and the Romans the movable booty, including the inhabitants (Polybius 8.38.1f.; 9.39; 9.5; Livy 26.24.7f.; *IG* IX 1(2), 241; Schmitt 1969, 536).[6] According to Livy (26.24.6-8), a major incentive for the Aetolians to enter into the agreement was the prospect of gaining the territory of the Acarnanians, their western neighbours with whom they had waged war from ancient times.

Although the chronology of events is not entirely clear, it is evident that after some initial successes (such as the recapture of Oeniadae: Polybius 9.39.2) the war took an

[6] On the date of the treaty see: Rich 1984, 179f. The differences between the inscription and the phrasing of Livy on the division of the booty seem irrelevant. For a discussion of the treaty see: Flacelière 298; Klaffenbach 1954; McDonald 1956; Badian 1958; Muylle 1969; Schmitt 1969, no. 536, with further literature; now: Austin 1981, no. 62; Rich 1984; Gruen 1984: 17ff., 377f.; Gómez Espelosín 1989; all with further literature. Note that already in 228 BC a Roman delegation explaining the peace treaty with the Illyrians was received "with all due courtesy" by the Aetolians (Polybius 2.12.5).

unfavourable turn for the Aetolians. In 207 or 208 BC Philip was the first Macedonian king for over a century who succeeded in passing Thermopylae, which had been firmly under Aetolian control from perhaps as early as 317 BC (Livy 28.7.3; cf. Diodorus Siculus 19.52.6-53.1). He conquered large parts of the southern Thessalian districts and possibly also Dolopia and Phthiotic Achaea (Flacelière 1937, 304). In addition, Thermos was raided for the second time (Polybius 9.7.2f.). However, the Romans did not come to the help of the Aetolians (cf. Rich 1984). Finally, "deserted by the Romans" they made a separate peace with the Macedonians in 206 BC, against the stipulations of the treaty (Livy 26.24.12.f; 29.12.1; 31.29.3; 33.13.11; Appian, *Mac.* 3.4; cf. Holleaux 1921, 213-57; Gruen 1984, 379).

The Aetolians now probably lost control over some of their northern *sympoliteia*-members, such as the East Locrians and Perrhaebians, though they seem to have kept (or regained) control over Phthiotic Achaea (Klaffenbach 1932, XXXII; Flacelière 1937, 307-309, 367f.; Larsen 1938, 264). In spite of Roman pressure (Livy 29.12.4) and a severe financial crisis in 205 BC (Polybius 8.1-3), the Aetolians observed the peace with Macedon until 202 BC. Around 204 BC Philip even engaged the Aetolian leader Dicaearchus to go pirating in the Aegean and challenge Rhodian power there (Diodorus Siculus 10.1.1f.; Polybius 18.37.7-10; 54.6-11; cf. Holleaux 1920).

Eventually, further territorial conquests by the Macedonians, in particular of the Aetolian strongholds Lysimacheia, Calchedon and Cius at the Propontis as well as of additional parts of the southern Thessalian districts, resulted in a breach (Polybius 15.22; 17.2.3; cf. Schmitt 1969, 549; Flacelière 1937, 341). After some hesitations the Aetolians joined the Romans in the Second Macedonian War of 200-197 BC (Livy 31.28-33; cf. Polybius 16.27.4). In effect, they helped them to defeat Philip at Cynoscephalae in 197 BC (Polybius 18.35.5; Livy 33.11.1f.; Plutarch, *Flam.* 6.2; Bequignon 1928).

This battle would prove to be a watershed in Greek history, as it resulted in the establishment of the Romans as the principal influence in Greek lands at the cost of the Macedonians. However, when the Romans settled matters in Greece, and proclaimed many states "free" (that is to say without Roman garrisons and tribute), they almost totally ignored Aetolian ambitions (Polybius 18.34.1; 34.7; 36-37; 37.10-12; 38.3f.; Livy 35.12.1f.). The Aetolians were only allowed to hold on to a small part of Phthiotic Achaea, and to re-take Phthiotic Thebes (but not Larisa Cremaste and Echinus), as well as the parts of Phocis and East Locris they had previously lost to the Macedonians; the Aetolian claim on Pharsalus and Leucas was referred to the senate (Polybius 18.30.1f.; 38.1f.; 47.7f.; Livy 33.34.7).[7]

Showdown (196-189 BC)

The Aetolians were "indignant", "sullen" and "disappointed" (Polybius 18.38.2; 39.1; 45.1) about the settlement of 196 BC, and despite negotiations the relations with Rome deteriorated rapidly (Polybius 18.45.1; 48.5f.; Livy 33.31.2). The fact that Macedonian

[7] For a discussion of the Aetolian-Roman relations after Cynoscephalae: Flacelière 1937, 348; Larsen 1959, 273f.; Deiniger 1971, 58f.; Sacks 1975, 98.

power was not crushed definitively, that Thessaly remained outside their control and that "the fetters of Greece" (the fortified cities of Chalcis, Demetrias and Corinth) as well as other strategical towns came under Roman control or influence, was not good news for them.

After the Roman legions had left Greece in 194 BC, the Aetolians tried to stir anti-Roman feelings among the Greek states, including the Macedonians (Livy 35.12.2ff.; 12.8). Eventually, only the Seleucid ruler Antiochus III (who had long been threatening war with Rome) responded to their call to re-establish their power in Central Greece (Livy 35.32-34; 48.2-9; Polybius 20.1; cf. Mendels 1978; Gruen 1984, 456f.). Although Antiochus came to Greece in 192 BC and was honoured with the title of Aetolian commander-in-chief (Appian, *Syr.* 12; Livy 35.45.9), he brought only a small force, and Aetolian enthusiasm for him seems to have been ambivalent at best (Diodorus Siculus 29.3.1; Livy 35.45; 36.15.2; 16.3).

In the end, the Seleucid king proved to be of little help. There were some initial successes, such as the occupation of Thessalian Demetrias by the Aetolians (Livy 35.34.6-12), and of Chalcis by Antiochus himself, after an unsuccessful Aetolian attempt (35.34.4f.; 37.4f.; 38.1-13) - thus bringing two of the "fetters of Greece" back under control. But after the failure to convince Philip to join the anti-Roman alliance, Aetolian and Antiochid plans miscarried dramatically (Livy 36.8.5f.). Soon things were taking a nasty turn for the Aetolians: "Their zealous support of the king had plunged them into hopeless difficulties, and there was no way out of these troubles" (Diodorus Siculus 29.4.1).

The Romans returned to the Greek scene, and this time to settle matters definitively. They inflicted a severe defeat on Antiochus' army and some Aetolians forces at Thermopylae in 191 BC, and Antiochus fled the Greek scene rather undignified (Appian, *Syr.* 17f.; Livy 36.17-19). Immediately after this victory the Romans re-took Chalcis (Livy 36.21.2) and put an end to Aetolian's domination over Delphi: the Aetolians were ousted and their properties confiscated.[8]

Next, the city of Heraclea Trachiniae at the foot of Mt Oeta, which commanded the western approach to Thermopylae and had been under Aetolian control since ca. 280 BC, was besieged and captured by the Romans (Polybius 20.9.1ff.; Livy 36.22.1f.; 24.1ff.). The loss of this strategic stronghold, "for which the Aetolians had fought as if it was their own" (Pausanias 10.20.9), was serious, although Livy probably exaggerates in stating that it "broke the spirit of the Aetolians" (36.27.1). In any case, the Aetolians entered into negotiations with the Romans. The conditions for peace were, however, too harsh in the eyes of the Aetolian general assembly, although it seems that the central government was willing to accept them (Diodorus Siculus 29.4.1; Polybius 20.9-10; Livy 36.22-29). Two years of intermittent negotiations and war followed (cf. Flurl 1969, 26-118).

During this period the Romans undertook a series of sieges of key cities held by the Aetolians, such as Naupactus (which the Romans reached after a difficult march through the mountains of Eastern Aetolia), Amphissa, Lamia, Hypata, Same on Cephallenia, and also Ambracia (cf. Livy 36.34.1f.; 37.4.8ff.; 5.4f.; 6.2). Three times Roman commanders granted the Aetolians an armistice to enable them to negotiate in Rome with the senate

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8 Sherk 1969, nos. 37, 38, 39; cf. Daux 1936, 229-31; Flacelière 1937, 359; Michaud 1977; Habicht 1987; all with further literature.

directly about the peace terms. During those armistices the sieges of Naupactus and Amphissa were lifted (Polybius 21.4-5; Livy 36.34.1f.; 37.6-7). But Roman terms remained harsh and Aetolian resistance strong (Polybius 21.1.1-6).

Meanwhile the Aetolians were forced to wage war also with the Macedonians over the control of the *polis* of Demetrias and of the northern mountain peoples who were part of, or bordered on, their *sympoliteia*-organization, such as the Athamanians, Amphilochians, and Dolopians (Polybius 21.25.1ff.; Livy 36.33f.; 38.1.1f.; 39.23.1f.). In the words of Livy, the Aetolians were literally "rushing here and there to three different wars at the same time" (38.8.2). Eventually "they could not hold out, called a council and laid before the chiefs of Aetolia the question of what should be done" (*ibidem*).

Finally, after the fall of Ambracia and Amphilochian Argos and after extensive but unfruitful negotiations, an agreement with the Romans was reached in 189 BC (through Athenian and Rhodian good offices). The terms were not as harsh as the ones formulated in 190, but still they meant that the Aetolians were forced to surrender almost unconditionally with the acceptance of an "unequal treaty" dictated by Rome (Polybius 21.30.1ff.; esp. 32.1-4; Livy 35.46.10; 37.49; 38.8.7-10; 10.3; 11.1-9; cf. Larsen 1938, 282f.; Gruen 1984, 26ff.).

Fall (188 - 167 BC)

The Aetolians now had to recognize "the majesty of the Roman people" (Polybius 22.15) and were formally subjected as dependants, although the precise implications of this status are not clear (Flurl 1969, 26-106; Freyburger 1982; Gruen 1984, 26f., 32). They did, in addition, lose a large part of the territories and cities they had since long incorporated into their *sympoliteia*, such as Cephallenia, Ambracia, Oeniadae, Phocis, Malis, Dolopia, Heraclea Trachiniae, as well as Zakynthus and the parts of Phthiotic Achaea and Thessaly which had been under their rule.

For the time being, the Amphilochians, Aperantians, West Locrians, Dorians, Oetaeans, and Aenianes remained Aetolian, although their exact constitutional status in this period is unknown; it even seems that by 184 BC Heraclea Trachiniae was restored to the Aetolians (Klaffenbach 1932, XLIII; Daux 1936, 671-74). Their control over the Amphictyonic League was, however, seriously weakened, though not completely finished (*Syll.*^{3} 636; Roussel 1932; Flacelière 1937, 361; Gruen 1984, 31f.). Furthermore, they had to pay a considerable indemnity to the Romans (Livy 38.11.8) and submit hostages (Polybius 22.25; Livy 38.11.6; cf. Polybius 21.32.12f.; Livy 36.20.1f.).[9]

Although the Aetolians were now no longer in a position to pursue an expansive foreign policy, they seem to have retained some degree of independence, and the political organs of the *ethnos* itself and of what remained of the *sympoliteia* apparently continued to function (Polybius 38.3.10f.). The Aetolians kept relations with Hellenistic powers such as Pergamon (Livy 41.24.10; 42.13.67) and held seats in the Delphian Amphictyony (*Syll*^{3}

9 · For the indemnity see: Losada 1965; but also Walbank 1979, 134; hostages: cf. Moscovich 1974; Walbank 1979, 135.

636).[10] They even seem to have made efforts for a rapprochement with the Macedonians in 185-4 BC and more or less refused the Romans any help in 171 BC against their former enemies, with whom they are reported to have been "allied and friendly" by this time (Livy 41.24.10; 42.12.7; 55.8f.; cf. 41.9; Daux 1936, 311f.). In reprisal another five Aetolian commanders were deported as hostages to Rome (Polybius 27.15.2f.; Livy 42.60.1f.).

A year later the Aetolians again refused to submit to Roman demands for more hostages, although the anti-Roman faction was on the defensive (Polybius 28.3-4; Livy 43.17.5-6; cf. Gruen 1984, 31, 511). However, the Aetolian decline during these years is evident, and marked by heavy debt problems and severe internal strife (Polybius 28.4.13; 30.4; 11.3-6; Livy 41.25.1f.; 27.4; 42.2.1f.; 4.5; 5.7; 12.7; 40.7).[11]

When the Romans finally crushed the Macedonians at the Battle of Pydna in 168 BC, they were in a position to settle matters with the Aetolians once and for all. Now Rome could square accounts with them without running any risks at all. Although in the end the Aetolians had been fighting on the side of the Romans, they lost in 167 BC almost all areas outside their original (i.e. 5th to early 4th-century) *ethnos*-territory (*Syll.*[3] 653; Diodorus Siculus 31.8.6; Daux 1936, 266f., 327f.; Larsen 1938, 301). Furthermore, five hundred and fifty members of the anti-Roman faction in the Aetolian Council were murdered with Roman help, while others were put on trial for "patriotism" or exiled, whereas their properties were confiscated (Livy 45.28.6-7; 31.1-3). The coastal *polis* Pleuron as well as the strategically situated stronghold Heraclea Trachiniae, commanding the Thermopylae region and the north-eastern entrance to the Aetolian mountains, were put under the control of the Achaeans, who served for at least two years as Rome's guards against their old enemies (Pausanias 7.11.1-3; 14.1; Daux 1936, 266-67, 327).

Aftermath

Under Roman domination the Aetolians collapsed into a marginal position. Sources referring to the Aetolians after 167 BC are very scarce indeed, although perhaps some sort of collective *ethnos*-organization remained functioning well into the first century BC. Silver coinage of the Aetolians is recorded to continue into the 140's or the early 130's BC (Thompson 1968; Scheu 1960, 46; De Laix 1973; Scholten 1987, 487f.). The last known reference to a Aetolian general dates from the year 129/8 BC (*IG* IX 1(2), 137f.). The last written reference to the "koinon of the Aetolians" dates from ca. 84 BC (*IG* IX 1(2), 139).[12]

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[10] The Aetolians granted Pergamon's sanctuary of Athena Nicephoros *asyleia* in 182 BC: *IG* IX 1(2), 179; Gauthier 1972, 268-69.

[11] Evidently pro-Roman and pro-Macedonian factions fought each other (the Romans took hostages from both sides in an attempt to ease the tensions). Similar problems are recorded for Thessaly and Perrhaebia (Livy 42.5.7f.; 13.9), and even Crete (Livy 41.21.7); Note that the Aetolian appealed for mediation, first to Perseus and later to Rome: Deininger 1971, 146f.; Briscoe 1974; Mendels 1978, 59f.; Gruen 1984, 106, 503f.

[12] Although silver minting is recorded well into the 2nd century BC, the numismatical evidence seems to underline the impoverished condition of Aetolia from the late 150's BC and the extent to which the region was isolated from the rest of Greece by then (Thompson 1968, 108f.). As far as the epigraphical evidence is concerned, it is unclear whether the "koinon of the Aetolians" in *IG* IX 1(2), 139 (an honorary decree) actually refers to a functioning political organization; cf. *Syll*[3] 653a, 744; *SGDI* 2136; Accame 1946, 211. The

When Sulla came to Greece in 87 BC to carry on the war against Mithridates, he demanded money, men, and supplies also from "the Aetolians" (Appian, *Mith.* 30; cf. *IG* IX 1(2), 139). The Aetolians suffered even further under the dictatorship of the governor of Macedonia L. Calpurnio Piso in 57-56 BC (Cicero, *Pis.* 37.91, 96; Larsen 1938, 425f.). They still played a tiny part in the Greek events of the Roman Civil War, during which the Roman legions sustained themselves by stripping the Greek lands of resources (Caesar, *BCiv.* 3.34.2; 35.1; 61.2; Dio Cassius 41.51.3; Appian, *BCiv.* 2.70; Seneca, *Ad Att.* 9.9).

The continuous wars seem to have had a further devastating effect on Aetolia which was said to be "deserted" (Strabo 8.8.1; cf. 10.2.2ff.). The discovery of 1st-century BC graves over public buildings at Thermon indicates that the place had lost its central function for the Aetolians by that time. Still, the final act was yet to come in the form of a large scale territorial re-organization of north-western Greek lands.

Nicopolis When August founded the city of Nicopolis in 30 BC to commemorate his victory at Actium, the Aetolians were forced to take part in its synoecism. It is reported that they were "driven from their homes" (Pausanias 7.18.8; 10.38.4) and that statues of their religious places were taken to the new city (Pausanias 7.18.8-9). However, "the greater part of the people" is said to have settled not in Nicopolis but in West-Locrian Amphissa (Pausanias 10.38.4), while many also moved to Patrae, which was destined to be established in 14 BC as a Roman colony (Pausanias 7.18.5f.; 21.1; Rizakis 1988). Whether this is evidence of opposition against the imperial design, or just a side-effect of it, remains unclear.[13]

The sources suggest that the foundation of Nicopolis and Patrae had a major impact on Aetolia, apparently all but completing the depopulation of the region. Even cult objects were transferred from formerly major Aetolian towns, such as the images of Artemis Laphria and Dionysus which were brought from Kalydon to Patrae (Pausanias 7.18.8-9.11-12; 21.1; cf. 4.31.7), and the many "images out of Aetolia which were brought by Augustus' orders to Nicopolis" (Pausanias 7.18.8-9). On the other hand, the sources indicate that the process of territorial disintegration and depopulation had already started well before the synoecism (Kahrstedt 1950, 554; Alcock 1993, 132f.).

Although Aetolia was certainly expected to produce inhabitants for Nicopolis, it is less clear which parts of the former Aetolian territory came directly under the new city, the status of which is still very much in discussion. Probably most of the western, lower lying areas of Aetolia came under government of Nicopolis, but the fate of the mountainous northern and eastern parts of Aetolia is less certain.[14]

remark of Polybius (32.4.3; cf. 4.1; 5.1) that after the death of the pro-Roman leader Lyciscus (shortly after the massacre of 167 BC, which he may have initiated) "the Aetolians from this time on lived in unison and concord" seems to serve a moralistic purpose rather than the illustration of an historical fact.

[13] Side-effect: Kahrstedt 1950, 554. Opposition: Alcock 1993, 137.

[14] Contra Kahrstedt 1950, 558 who argues that "almost all of Aetolia", except for Kalydon and everything further east, was part of the *chora* of the new metropolis; see for a general discussion on the foundation and history of the colony: Chrysos, ed. 1987; and for the strategic considerations of Rome in founding the colonies in northwestern Greece: Alcock 1993, 132-45.

Aetolia and the new Roman provinces In 27 BC the province of Achaea was formally created and it apparently included the former territory of the Aetolians, or at least large parts of it (Strabo 17.3.25 C840; Ptolemaeus 3.14.2; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.53.1).[15] When the Roman colony of Patrae was established by 14 BC, the coastal region around Aetolian Kalydon seems to have come under its control - at least a lake or lagune near Kalydon was "held by the Romans who live in Patrae" (Strabo 10.2.21 C460). Kalydon itself had apparently been "laid waste by the Emperor August" for the benefit of the Nicopolis synoecism (Pausanias 7.18.9; 21.1). The territorial design may have been little more than a continuation of the Achaean hold on the coastal region around Pleuron after the Aetolian collapse in 167 BC.

There is a report that a large part of West Locris ("up to Amphissa") belonged also to the Roman colony of Patrae (Pausanias 10.38.9). Two cities are mentioned by Pausanias: Naupactus and Oeanthea, both former strongholds used by the Aetolians. Their status under Roman rule is unclear. Several Latin inscriptions found in Naupactus have led some to draw the conclusion that these cities lost their independence, but were not incorporated in the colony of Patrae (*CIL* 569f.; Kahrstedt 1950, 552-53).

In the beginning of the 2nd century AD, probably somewhere between AD 103 and 114, the province of Epirus was established under the capital of Nicopolis, comprising the territories of ancient Acarnania and Epirus. Its south-eastern border with the province of Achaea was the Achelous River, the ancient Aetolian-Acarnanian border, which meant that former Aetolia remained included in the province of Achaea (Ptolemaeus 3.13.1, 3.6; 14.2; 15.2).[16]

Long before that time, however, the Aetolians were "exhausted and reduced to impotence" (Strabo 10.2.23 C460), while most cities were "indeed reduced" (10.2.3 C450; cf. Pausanias 7.18.8; 8.24.11) and their lands "deserted" (Strabo 8.8.1 C388). Against the background of general depopulation in Greece, Aetolia in particular seems to have become a region devoid of human activity: "the Aetolian people have been driven from their homes and all their land has been laid waste (...); Aetolia remains untilled" (Pausanias 8.24.11).

During the early imperial period not a trace is to be found in the textual sources of the former power of Aetolia (cf. Accame 1946, 211-14; Kahrstedt 1954, 34f.). It is even unclear whether the Romans formally dissolved the Aetolians as a political entity, or that the *ethnos* and *sympoliteia* just faded away. Decline seems to have been omnipresent. In Kalydon, still a fortification during the Roman Civil War (Caesar, *BCiv.* 3.35.1), all activity seems to have come to a halt soon thereafter.[17] Pausanias describes the place in the

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[15] Kahrstedt 1950, 558; Alcock 1993, 14f.; contra Klaffenbach 1932, XLVII, who concludes from the words of Strabo that Aetolia belonged to the province of Macedonia.

[16] Soustal 1981, 47; contra Koder & Hild 1976, 50 who state that Aetolia belonged to Epirus. The fact that the Achelous was called "an Achaean River" by Ptolemaeus 3.14.13 does not mean that the border was to the west of the river (contra Kahrstedt 1950, 559); Whether the official drawing of boundaries meant an enlargement of the territory of Patrae at the cost of that of Nicopolis is not clear, as the extension of the original *chora* of Nicopolis into Aetolia is unknown (contra: Kahrstedt 1950).

[17] Cf. the not entirely clear chronology in Dyggve, Poulsen & Rhomaios 1934, 102ff., 116ff., 127ff., 138; Dyggve & Poulsen 1948, 279, 284f., 288f., which seems to suggest that there was no building activity in the Early Roman era (contra Klaffenbach 1932, XLVII), but a revival of the city in the era of Hadrian; Dyggve, Poulsen & Rhomaios 1948, 42-43.

2nd century AD as a mere ruin from the past (8.21.1; cf. 7.18.8; 21.1), while he noted that Naupactus was in decay (10.38.12), although the place had been called a "nobilis urbs" in the time of August (Cicero, *Pis.* 91; cf. Caesar, *BCiv.* 3.35.1). But Naupactus survived and is recorded in many later sources. The place became a bishopric at the latest in AD 431 (Soustal 1981, 81, 210).

The geographer Ptolemaeus, a contemporary of Pausanias, still lists as Aetolian cities Chalcis, Arachtus, Pleuron, Olenos and Kalydon (Ptolemaeus 3.15.14), though it remains unclear whether he describes the situation of his time or bases himself on older literature. Plinius (4.6-7) also still lists several places in Aetolia (and West Locris), but the status and source of his text are utterly obscure.

It is hard to determine from the literary evidence whether and how many inhabitants remained in the Aetolian lands, and what life was like for them. There is a report from the 1st century AD that Aetolia was part of "the mainland full of Jewish colonies" (Philo, *Leg.* 281). From the 2nd century AD there is a source which suggests the existence of private trade and inns in Aetolia (Apuleius, *Met.* 1.5).

In the years 395-397 AD Visigoths under Alaric pillaged Central Greece and the Peloponnese. On their way back north to Epirus, the Goths passed "through Acarnania and Aetolia" (Zosimus 5.7.2f.; 26.1f.).[18] The same general reference to "the lands of Acarnania and Aetolia" is still made in relation to events in the winter of AD 536/7 by Procopius (*Goth.* 1.24.20). In an inscription from Megara dating from AD 410/402 mention is made of "the cities of Boeotia, Euboea and Aetolia" which were to deliver grain to the state granary at Scarphia (*IG* VII 24).

The territorial organization of Greece in this era is known to some extent by the so-called *Synecdemos* ('Travel-companion') of Hierocles, which was edited somewhere around AD 527/528, but probably referred to the situation in the 5th century. According to this *Synecdemos* the prefecture of Illyricum comprised, among other territory, the province of Hellas ("the former province of Achaea") with 79 cities under the capital Corinth; Aigion on the Peloponnese is mentioned as "the metropolis of Aetolia" (Hierocles 638.1ff., esp. 648.4; cf. Soustal 1981, 48). It seems that by this time not much had changed since the early days of the imperial government over Greece. The province of Hellas (formerly Achaea) still comprised the Peloponnese and Central Greece, including the territory of ancient Aetolia. Both Naupactus and Amphissa, as well as Delphi, are listed under the most important cities of Hellas (Hierocles 642.12; 644.1).

In AD 551/552 the area around the Gulf of Corinth was hit by a series of earthquakes, as a result of which Naupactus suffered considerable damage (Procopius, *Goth.* 8.25.16f.; Io.Mal. 417f.). It is reported that after the first Slavic incursions and the earthquakes, numerous fortifications north of the Corinthian Gulf, especially near Thermopylae and the Isthmus, were rebuilt after years of neglect (Procopius, *Aed.* 4.2-4; *Anec.* 26.31-33), but this could not stop the impoverishment of the Greek cities due to the drain of funds to the central government (Procopius, *Anec.* 26.31-34; cf. Koder & Hild 1976, 53).

[18] At the end of the 5th century AD "the Peloponnese and the greater part of the rest of Greece" was plundered by Vandals, who may also have made incursions into Aetolia (Procopius *Vand.* 3.5.23; cf. Koder & Hild 1976, 52; Soustal 1981, 49).

The sources indicate that in the course of the first centuries AD the geographical name 'Aetolia' became definitively separated from the territory of the ancient Aetolian *ethnos*. The designation was now restricted to the western regions of former Aetolia. In Byzantine times it is sometimes even used as a synonym for the province of Old Epirus or north-western Greece in general (Nic.Greg. 1.74; 130; 164; 538; Laon.Chalc. 1.196-8).[19]

Although Aetolia proper was but mere outlying district, the not unimportant route from Nicopolis to the west ran along its coastline. The late classical itineraries mention as the main stations in Aetolia along this route the rivers Achelous and Evenos (as well as "the river" Kalydon in the 4th-century *Tabula Peutingeriana*), and the places Kalydon, Naupactus, and Euanthia (ancient Oeanthea).[20]

The fall of the Aetolian Empire: an end to a 'genre de vie'

The rise of the Aetolians to prominence in Central Greece during the late 4th and 3rd centuries BC was a complex process, the unravelling of which far exceeds the scope of this paper. During this period the marginal mountain *ethnos* developed into a large territorial political system, the *Aetolian sympoliteia* or *koinon*. In the course of the process the Aetolians added extensive low-lying and coastal zones and several large, urban *poleis* to their own mountainous territory. These incorporations gave them direct access to the developed and maritime Greek *polis*-world. It is safe to say that this enhanced their capability to support their expanding political system, not in the last place with the import of resources and wealth from outside their own territory.

Aetolia itself was known for its "ruggedness" (Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70, F122), its "rough and mountainous places" (Diodorus Siculus 18.24.2), and its "broken terrain" (18.25.1), so that it was almost impossible for enemy armies to march through it (cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.6.14; cf. Polybius 5.14.9; Livy 36.15.9). The Aetolian *ethnos* was truly "a sphinx sitting upon a rock" (Duris, *FGrHist* 76, F13). Life was not organized in *poleis* but in small *komai* (villages) and regional communities (Thucydides 3.94.5; 96.3).

The written evidence indicates that from ancient times the Aetolians acquired wealth by means of war, robbery, piracy and banditism, as well as by means of the incorporation of neighbouring states. Especially during the third century BC they were successful in doing so. When we get our first glimpse of the *ethnos*, in 426 BC, they are described as "a great and warlike people" (Thucydides 3.94.4), who's habit of carrying arms was "a survival of their old freebooting life" (1.5.3). Throughout antiquity, the Aetolians were

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19 Cf. Soustal 1981, 39; Paliouras 1985, 23. A late Byzantine list of changed toponyms records that Aetolia was by that time called "Legonia" (in fact a place near Volos in Thessaly), and another that Aetolia was called "Naupactus"; but those names seem to have found no general use.

20 Cf. *Itin.Ant.* 325.2ff.; *Geogr.Rav.* 4.8; 5.13; *Guid.Geogr.* 112; *Tabula Peut.* 8). Still in the 9th century the road from Naupactus to Thebes, presumably through the Mornos-valley in the interior of former East-Aetolia, is mentioned as important by the Arabic geographer Idrisi (633; II 122, ed. Jaubert). In 1260 Nicaean troops marched from Neopatras (ancient Hypata) in the direction of Naupactus through the Mornos valley (*Georg.Pach.* 1.89; Palaiologus *De vita sua* 6). In recent years bull-dozing has made the road into by far the fastest connection by car between the Navpaktos area and the Malian Gulf; cf. F. de Beaujour in his *Voyage militaire dans l'Empire ottoman* (Paris 1829, 156) with respect to communication by foot between the Spercheius valley and the Gulf of Corinth.

notorious for their brigandage. "It is Aetolian habit to seize properties of neighbours and now even what is far afield", runs a passage of a hymn the Athenians dedicated to the Macedonian ruler Demetrius in 291 BC (Duris, *FGrHist* 76, F13; Athenaeus 6.253b-f). They had "the old habit of looking for pillage from the Peloponnese", reports Polybius (4.3.2), who eagerly adds that "they despoiled every part of Greece" (4.26.4). Aetolian raiding was proverbial, and even in Byzantine times it was considered common knowledge that "Aetolians were robbers" (*Suda* K1835).

However, the view that Aetolians were mere bandits is a clear *topos*, in the ancient texts as well as in modern scholarship, and it is a simplification to consider the raids of the Aetolians as a crucial part of their *genre de vie*.[21] Still, Polybius seems to touch upon an important point in his analysis of Aetolian troubles in Roman times: "The Aetolians were accustomed to get their living by robbery and similar lawless conduct. And as long as it was in their power to raid and plunder the Greeks they lived upon them, regarding every country as enemy. But afterwards under Roman administration they were prevented from supplying their wants from outside, and had to turn upon each other" (Polybius 30.11.5; cf. 5.107.5f.).

The eventual result of the wars with the Macedonians and the Romans was the dismantling of the successful Aetolian system in which their mountain territory functioned as a natural fortress and the conquered low-lying or coastal districts and cities as bridgeheads in the Greek *polis*-world. Incorporated and conquered cities such as Naupactus and Hypata were used more and more as unofficial capitals for the Aetolian *sympoliteia*, and as bases from which raids were organized to make up for the lack of their own wealth. In the course of the second century BC, these incorporated cities of 'Greater Aetolia', such as Oeniadae, Heraclea, Phtiotic Thebes (their "chief source of plunder", Polybius 5.100.7), Amphilochia, Amphissa, Naupactus, were cut off one by one from the Aetolian heartland.

It seems clear that the Aetolians had difficulty in upholding their socio-economic system without the inflow of wealth from outside sources. Already in 221 BC the Aetolians were gravely worried when Antigonus Doson limited their possibilities for raiding (Polybius 4.3.1). But things got worse after the Romans settled matters in Greece and the *pax romana* made it more or less impossible to supply their wants from outside.

Already in 205, after their defeat by the Macedonians, "the Aetolians became deeply in debt" (Polybius 13.1.1), and this situation grew even worse after their defeat by the

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21 Especially in the second half of the 3rd century Aetolian raids swept all over Greece, from Megalopolis (Polybius 4.25.4) and Laconia (4.34.9; 9.34.9; Plutarch *Ag. & Cleom.* 18.3), to Epirus (Polybius 4.67.1ff.) and Attica (*IG* II(2), 746, 844). Many Greek states tried to protect themselves against the raids by concluding treaties of *asyleia* or *asphaleia* with the Aetolians (Gauthier 1972, 245-77; W. Ziegler. 1975. *Symbolai und Asylia*, (diss.) Bonn, 219-43. One of the main sources for the 25 or so recorded, mostly well-organized raids of the Aetolians is the not particularly impartial Polybius (but cf. Sacks 1975), who maintained that raiding was "habitual" for the Aetolians (IV 16, 2), because they were "dissatisfied with peace and an outlay limited to their own resources as they were accustomed to live on their neighbours, and required abundance of funds, owing to their natural covetousness, enslaved by which they always lead a life of greed and aggression, like beasts of prey" (4.3.1; cf. 5.107.5). In his eyes the Aetolians were "a whole tribe of thieves and swindlers" (4.29.4), and had a "violent and aggressive spirit" (4.3.3), while leading "extravagant lives" (13.1.1; cf. Athenaeus 12.527b-c). See for an attempt at understanding Aetolian raids as a historical phenomenon particular for a mountain people on the threshold of Greek civilization: Bakhuizen 1982.

Romans in 189 BC. It is recorded that the Romans captured a large booty at their victory (Livy 37.46.3f.) and summoned substantial repair payments (Larsen 1938, 318f.; Larsen 1968, 213f.). Again the Aetolians became "overwhelmed with debt" (Athenaeus 12.527b-c; Diodorus Siculus 29.33.1; Livy 42.5.7).

Though the sources are not clear about the nature of the debts, the state may have been simply bankrupt. In the years 175-174 BC a period of severe civil strife began (Polybius 28.4.13; Livy 41.25.1; Briscoe 1974; Mendels 1978, 59f.; Gruen 1984, 106, 503f.). In 167 BC the internal chaos culminated in the Roman-supervised massacre of five hundred of the most prominent Aetolians and the seizure of power by the pro-Roman faction (Livy 45.28.6-7; Polybius 30.14.1-6).

The textual evidence indicates that Roman efforts against the Aetolians were successfully directed at disrupting the *genre de vie* of this mountain people. Depopulation was a well-established Roman strategy to deal with rebellious mountain regions. Throughout their history the Romans showed a fierce determination not only to subdue enemy mountain people, but to annihilate them altogether. In the case of the Aetolians they seem to have succeeded.

It may be that after the unequal treaty of 189 BC the senate was at first less than anxious to get involved again in Aetolia (as Gruen 1984, 503f. stresses), but that attitude - if it existed - did not last. In fact already in 193 the Romans are reported to have considered no enemy "so hostile and so dangerous to the Romans as the people of the Aetolians" (Livy 35.12.1), and this remained the prevailing mood. In the end, it was less than a coincidence that in the years 168-167 BC the crushing of the Macedonians was soon followed by the devastating assault of Aemilius Paulus on mountainous Epirus, and by the Roman-supervised massacre of the Aetolian leadership. After that, these territories of potential resistance were hardly heard of. The literary sources suggest that Aetolia after 30 BC was little more than a wasteland. Still, it is evident that for Aetolia, just as for other parts of Greece, the written sources do not tell the full story.

The Aetolia-survey

In the course of the Aetolia-survey a total of some 750 sites has been recorded until now (ranging from large fortified settlements to scatters smaller than 10 x 10 m). At these sites 513 samples have been collected, and some 10.000 sherds and other finds have been recorded and diagnosed. In combination with the textual evidence (including sources such as Ottoman tax registers, toponymns, Early Modern census data and systematic village interviews) these results permit us to draw at least a sketchy outline of the history of habitation in this mountain landscape of Greece from prehistoric times until our era.

It is evident that the region known in ancient times as Aetolia has been inhabited in small sedentary settlements at least since the Bronze Age. Contrary to earlier assumptions, Bronze Age-Early Iron Age (BA-EIA) habitation in the interior of 'Aetolia' seems to have been rather widespread (cf. Rutter 1993, 752-53).

A clear peak in site numbers can be recorded for Hellenistic times, underlining the particular regional history of Aetolia and the Aetolians in this era of expansion (cf. Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 65ff. though the list of sites reflects the state of knowledge in

1987). Other (relative) peaks in site numbers can be established for the early centuries of Ottoman rule, and in the second half of the 19th-early 20th centuries (Doorn 1985; 1989; 1993).

If one is permitted to draw conclusions on the basis of the quantities of (imported) sigillata wares, the number of sites in Aetolia seems to fall dramatically in Roman times: of the total of 750 recorded sites, only 40 (or 5.5%) yield clearly diagnostic Roman finds (and a further 16 possible Roman material). The difference with the zenith in site-numbers in Hellenistic times is striking, as is the fundamental change in settlement pattern. Habitation in Aetolia during Roman times was apparently by and large confined to large nucleated settlements (even more so in Late Roman times when even fewer sites seem to have been occupied), although the nature of the evidence calls for the greatest caution in drawing conclusions.

Chronological and stylistic problems

The Roman period is not the most easily definable era in Greek history. In political-historical terms, the chronological boundaries are not fixed: some historians take as starting point 200 BC (The Second Macedonian War), others 146 BC (the conquest of Corinth) and others 31 BC (the ascendancy of Augustus). Neither is there general agreement about the transition from Late Roman to Early Byzantine times, which some set as late as the 7th century AD. Archaeologists in their turn have taken as starting point for the Early Roman period in Greece such widely different dates as 'the first century BC', 146 BC, 31 BC, and even the year 1 BC.

The result of these diverging chronological divisions is that it is rather difficult to compare the results of field works. In her *Graecia Capta* Susan Alcock (1993, 36, table 3) proposes an "average standard chronology" in which the Early Roman period only begins at the start of the first century AD.[22]

However, pottery has its own rhythm of change, and does not seem to obey the chronological schemes of historians and archaeologists. A red-glazed bowl from the late 2nd century BC may very well look from a stylistic point of view like Early Roman sigillata, but according to the 'standard chronology' it should be dated as Late Hellenistic. In the case of Aetolia things are not made any easier by this incongruence of archaeological and historical chronological designations. The fact that Aetolian society was clearly disintegrating in the first half of the 2nd century BC, and that the *pax romana* was established in this region from 189 BC or 167 BC onwards, makes it even more difficult to unhesitatingly give ceramic surface finds a definitive label. A comparable problem occurs in relation to the transition from Late Roman to Early Byzantine, about which we cannot but grope in the dark as far as the Aetolian mountain region is concerned.

Another well-known problem is constituted by the most recognizable pottery of the Roman era: *terra sigillata*. From the fourth quarter of the 1st century BC onwards these

[22] For the problem of the varying chronological divisions used in recent archaeological field works, see Alcock 1989, 11 n. 20; 1993, 49 n. 24.

fine, wheelmade tablewares with a red gloss were extremely popular and widely distributed in the Mediterranean. However, most of its features have Hellenistic antecedents.[23] The dating of red-gloss sherds found in the Eastern Mediterranean remains therefore difficult, perhaps especially so in Aetolia where there is no knowledge at all of local imitations of the sigillata wares from the Aegean and Near-East.

Here, we follow in general the typology developed by J.W. Hayes in his handbook on Late Hellenistic and Roman sigillata wares.[24]

Sherd sampling

In the Aetolia-survey sherds are collected (or recorded on sites) following a diagnostic judgement sampling strategy. Representative samples (of both fine wares and coarse wares) are collected by a field team over the entire site. Depending on sherd-density the sizes of the samples vary from several hundred fragments to a mere handful. We always try to ensure that a cross-sample of undiagnostic wares is part of the recorded ceramics. Re-surveys of key sites are also part of the standard procedure, in order to collect different diagnostic judgement samples from the same site. This sampling-strategy makes it possible to cover much ground during each field work season while each site yields a maximum of diagnostic material.

Field data indicate that the Aetolian mountains produce far fewer off-site scatters and ceramic 'background noise', than low-lying, level parts of Greece. Sites seem to be generally rather well-defined in a more or less sherdless landscape with clearly recognizable exploitation areas. That is not to say, though, that the Aetolia-survey is not burdened with the usual problems of methodology and interpretation.

The problem of 'relative visibility' One of the much-discussed aspects of surveys is the 'relative visibility' of pottery: partly depending on the biases and experience of sample-teams, some wares are much more easily recognized and sampled than other less distinctive sherds. Nowadays there are probably very few survey-projects in Greece which would claim that the full range of ceramics from all occupational periods is recorded without any problem.

In Aetolia the number of recorded clearly diagnostic Roman sherds is on most sites with evidence of Roman occupation small to very small indeed. Only on a few large urban-like sites substantial amounts of Roman pottery can be recorded. Until now, on a total of about 10.000 sampled and/or recorded sherds in Aetolia only 2% is clearly diagnostic as (imported) Roman ware.

The disturbing question is whether this does indeed indicate a dramatic fall of sherd density and/or site-occupation in the Roman era, or whether it is a result of the field walkers not recognizing the Roman material. Perhaps the problem is even more complex

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[23] It is now generally agreed that the production of red-glaze pottery began in the 2nd century BC, if not earlier.

[24] See Hayes' type series in the *Atlante delle Forme Ceramiche II, Ceramica Fine Romana Nel Bacino Mediterraneo* issued as a supplementary volume of the *Enciclopedia dell' Arte Antica, Classica e Orientale*, by the Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, Rome 1986 (abbreviated here as *EAA* II).

in these remote parts of the Empire, where Roman occupation is less well recognizable by the easy to spot sigillata wares, but should instead be diagnosed by yet unknown coarse ware.

Without excavations these questions must remain unanswered, although the re-surveys of sites as well as comparison with other Greek regions seem to make it not very likely that sub-surface research will result in a dramatic change of the overall picture in Roman Aetolia. Undoubtedly, continued survey work will increase the number of recorded Roman sites, but it will increase the number of sites from other periods as well.

The danger that diagnostic judgement sampling will ultimately result in dating sites on the basis of clearly diagnostic fine wares only, thus producing a possibly biased perspective on the habitation history, is undeniable (cf. Alcock 1993, 50) - hence the attempts to include as often as possible also (yet) undiagnostic coarse wares in the site samples. However, the unescapable reality is that the diagnosis of pottery from intensive surveys as well as from excavations is also always mainly dependent on the finding of fine wares imported from the large sites which have been systematically published, such as Athens, Corinth, Pergamon and Stobi. No field worker in Greece will deny that the understanding of Greek coarse and common local wares is still underdeveloped.

To complicate things, the Aetolia-survey has to cope, besides with all these well-known problems of handling surface survey pottery, with factors which are specific to the research region.

Aetolia-related problems Aetolia is a region which is not very inviting to systematic fieldwalking. The rugged terrain, the steep slopes, the perilous ravines and the sometimes dense vegetation make many sites hard to approach, let alone to apply the intensive sampling strategies known from surveys in low-lying areas. In addition, local severe erosion, occasional thick alluvial deposits, and the absence of deep ploughing make the distribution of surface ceramics even on the richest of Aetolian sites uneven.

On the majority of the Aetolian sites the scatter of surface ceramics is rather thin and of poor quality, compared to other parts of Greece. Knowledge of local pottery is non-existent. Even if excavations have been conducted, for instance at the sites of Pleuron and Calydon, the ceramics have hardly been published, and only as an illustration of the architectural remains, rather than a source of information in their own right. The eastern Aetolian Kastro of Veloukhovo (Kallion) is an exception. After the extensive rescue excavations of 1976-1979 several important studies relating to this site have been published.[25]

All this suggests that caution is needed in using the survey finds as detailed evidence for historical processes. Even if the recorded sherds fall into recognizable classes (and in the case of Aetolia many do), their exact date-spans remain more elusive than surveyors pursuing more refined chronological subdivisions would like. This is of course not to say that one should shrink from using survey data - even from 'worst-case scenario areas' such as Aetolia - to shed light on problems of habitation history and spatial organization; it

[25] For a summary of these excavations, see Vroom 1993. For a recent publication of the Hellenistic material from Kallion, see Baziotopoulou-Valavani 1994.

is only to stress that all archaeological and historical knowledge is provisional and conjectural in nature.

Roman sites in Aetolia: a gazetteer

Of the 40 Aetolian sites which yielded clearly diagnostic (Late Hellenistic-) Roman finds (terra sigillata, inscriptions, coins), some are large, nucleated urban-like settlements, such as Naupactus and East-Aetolian Kallion. But on most of these sites Roman finds are far from dominant, and more often than not very scarse indeed. On a further 16 sites an undecisive number of Roman finds (less than three sherds) was sampled; or questionable or unsubstantiated reports on Roman finds were recorded (they are listed here under the heading *Incerta*).

At this moment, we have recorded only 12 or so sites which yielded material clearly diagnostic of the Late Roman period (the handful of churches which are dated Early-Christian are described in Paliouras 1985). So far, not one single site in Aetolia yielded only clearly diagnostic Roman material; all sites with Roman finds are multi-period.

If one indicates with dots on a map the sites which yielded Hellenistic black glazed pottery but no terra sigillata, and those which yielded also terra sigillata finds, the drop in site numbers suggests a dramatic decline between the Hellenistic era and the (Late Hellenistic-) Roman period (Figs. 1-2). Of course, these dots cannot reflect in any way the above discussed intricate dating problems related to terra sigillata nor the historical transition between Hellenistic and Roman times in Aetolia. They do seem to show, however, the fundamental change of habitation in the Aetolian landscape which occurred between the first half of the 2nd century BC and the end of the 1st century BC.

The following gazetteer is an effort to list all archaeological sites in 'Aetolia' where Roman finds were recorded in the course of the field work (or have been reported in the literature). The list is in alphabetical order; the numbers refer to the locations indicated on the map. For each site main data are listed in a standard order:

1. **Site name** Names (in capitals) are derived from the nearest modern settlement; occasionally a second name (of a church, hamlet or geographical feature) is added. (When several sites are clustered in the vicinity of one modern settlement, we have added in brackets the designation A, B, C, etc.).
2. **Asterisk** An * following a site name indicates that the site was unknown in the literature, or that it was not known to contain Roman finds. An (*) indicates that substantial new information was found, corroborating earlier indications of Roman activity on the site.
3. **Site function** A classification of sites, into habitation sites, including perhaps not permanently inhabited fortifications (HAB), cemetery sites (CEM), and other special purpose sites (SP). A question mark after the designation indicates that the site function is not absolutely clear; a mere question mark indicates that the function is obscure.
4. **Date** Only designations of Roman dating is given here. The date of the sites is indicated by the following chronological divisions ER = (Late Hellenistic-)Early Roman; R =

Roman; LR = Late Roman; ECHR = Early Christian; A question mark after the designation indicates that dating is problematic.
5. Site description The site description includes mainly the features relevant for the Roman finds.
6. Literature References prior to 1987 are listed in Bommeljé & Doorn 1987; cf. also the valuable (but difficult to obtain) gazetteer of Roman finds in Petropoulos 1991.

Gazetteer of sites

1 **AGIA SOFIA (Mokista), ? / ER**
A Roman inscription of the 2nd century AD (*IG* IX 1(2), 92) was found in the Byzantine church of Agios Nikolaos (built with blocks of an apparently Hellenistic Artemis Hegemone-temple).
Lit.: Rhomaios 1924-25, 4-7; Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 73; Petropoulos 1991, 112.

2 **AGIOI PANDES (Vidavi) (*), HAB / ER/LR**
This well preserved Hellenistic fortification near the coast of the Corinthian Gulf (commonly identified with ancient Tol(o)phon) yielded many Early and a few Late Roman terra sigillata sherds (see catalogue); we recorded also Roman pottery in the fields directly to the south of the enceinte.
Lit.: Lerat 1952, 139ff. (with site-plan); Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 73 (s.v. Agioi Pandes A).

3 **AGIOS ILIAS, CEM / ER**
A Roman funeral inscription from the 1st century BC to 1st century AD (*IG* IX 1(2), 134) has been found at the multi-period site near the village of Agios Ilias, which further produced finds from Neolithic to Hellenistic times.
Lit.: Bazin 1864, 370, no. 12; Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 74.

4 **AGIOS N.KOLAOS (Laspi), SP / LR**
A mid-3rd century AD mosaic floor portraying the Graces has been discovered in a ruined building in the modern village of Agios Nikolaos in the mountains of Evrytania.
Lit.: Rozaki 1983, 132-42; Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 74 (s.v. Agios Nikolaos B).

5 **AGIOS SYMEON (Khilia Spitia), HAB? / R**
Leake reports 'very near' the site of Ag. Symeon, which produced Geometric and Hellenistic finds, the remains of a Roman bath, which might be the mere heating system of a villa (a hot spring 'Zesti Vrysi' is localized nearby). Dekoulakou also mentions walls of (Roman?) buildings on the site.
Lit.: Leake 1835, III, 533; Dekoulakou 1972, 438, Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 74; Petropoulos 1991, 102 (who suggests that the excavations of Dekoulakou 1977 revealed Roman walls).

6 **AGIOS THOMAS, HAB? / R**
Recently a Roman building has been discovered here by the Ephorate of Patras.
Lit.: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 74 (without Roman finds); Petropoulos 1991, 101.

7 **AGRINION, ? / ER**
A hoard of coins found "near Agrinion" yielded 39 denarii from the Republican era (mid 2nd century BC).
Lit.: Thompson 1968; Hersch 1966, 71-93, pls. III-V.

8 **AIGITION *, HAB / ER/LR**
Mainly on the southern terraces of this fortified site (inside and outside the enceinte) we recorded some Early Roman (Eastern Sigillata A?) and Late Roman (African Red Slip Ware) sherds.
Lit.: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 75 (s.v. Aigition A).

Figure 1. *Aetoli*

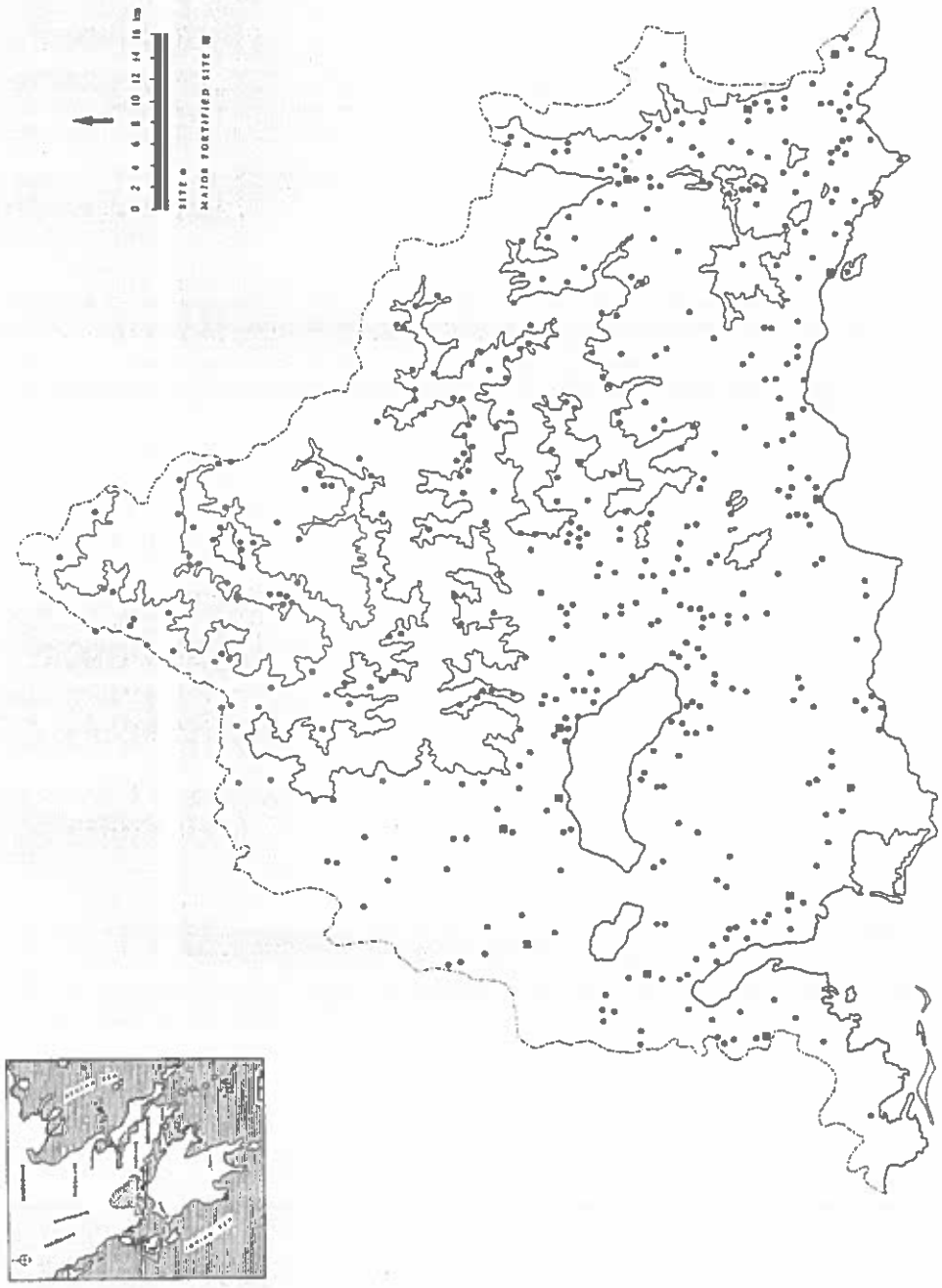

Figure 1. *Aetolia: sites of the Hellenistic period (contourline at 1000 m)*

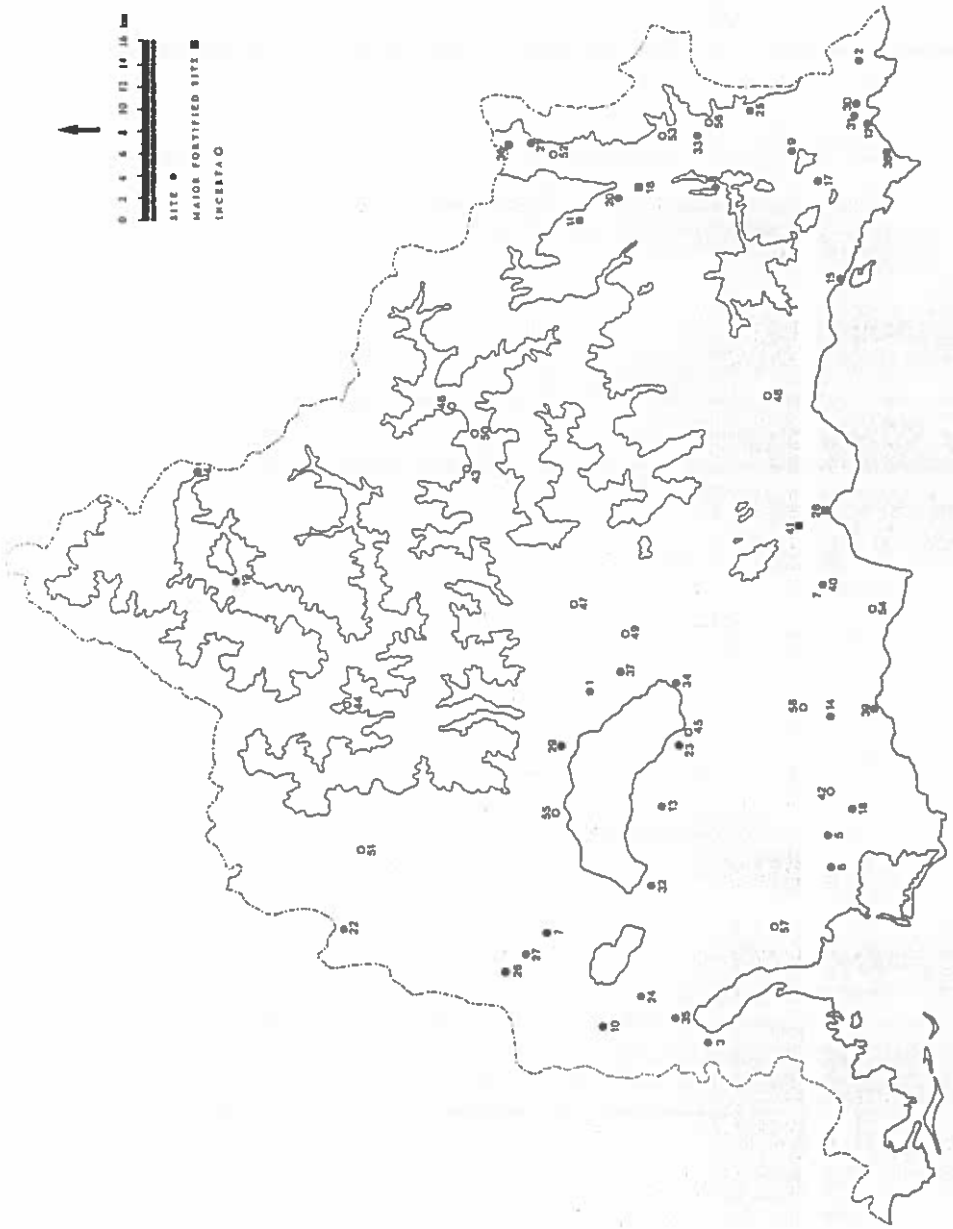

Figure 2. *Aetolia: sites of the Roman period (contourline at 1000 m)*

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9 **AMYGDALEA** *, HAB? / ER
Below a large isolated rocky foothill of Mount Koutsouros ca. 1 km. west of Amygdalea (on top of which is a substantial Prehistoric site), we recorded some Early Roman terra sigillata sherds (see catalogue).
Lit.: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 76 (s.v. Amygdalea A).

10 **ANGELOKASTRON**, HAB?/CEM / R/LR
Near this multi-period site, at the location 'Skafida', some Late Roman bronze lamps have been found. The nearby cemetery area of 'Kakkavaria' produced several Roman vases. Perhaps these are the vases "from Angelokastron", which the catalogue of the Agrinion Museum lists as Roman or probably Roman (nos. 392-93; 396-97; 601).
Lit.: Mastrokostas 1969, 319-20; Petsas 1971, 277; Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 77; 94 (s.v. Angelokastron A and Lysimakheia B); Petropoulos 1991, 100.

11 **DIAKOPION** *, HAB / ER
At the foot of the east-side of Panagia-hill, which constitutes the natural acropolis of the fairly large site of Diakopi, we recorded among the abundant Hellenistic pottery some (Late Hellenistic-) Early Roman terra sigillata sherds (see catalogue).
Lit.: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 79 (without the Roman finds).

12 **ERATEINI**, HAB/CEM / ER/LR
In the centre of the modern coastal village of Erateini remains of Roman (and medieval) habitation have been revealed in the beginning of this century (Pappadakis; Oldfather). The finds included Roman coins up to the times of Constantine (3rd-4th century AD). Immediately to the West of the village foundations of a Roman 'bath' (or a villa rustica?; Kahrstedt) as well as Early Christian or Byzantine remains were also found.
Lit.: Pappadakis 1920-21, 149-50; Oldfather 1926, 1149-1150; Lerat & Chamoux 1947-48, 69-70; Lerat 1952, 111-2; Kahrstedt 1954, 35; Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 82.

13 **GAVALOU**, HAB / R
Apart from several inscriptions from the Hellenistic era, the large site near the modern village of Gavalou has yielded a stele of the Roman era with a Latin inscription (*IG* IX 1(2), 124 = *CIL* III 7305, although there the place of origin is erroneously given as Kalydon).
Lit. Cousin 1886, 189; Woodhouse 1897, 233-4; Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 83; Petropoulos 1991, 107 (who refers also to a 'recently discovered very short inscription of which it is not certain whether it dates from the Roman era').

14 **GAVROLIMNI**, CEM? / R
Sotiriadis reports "near Gavrolimni" an ancient cemetery with several epitaphs in bas-relief dating from the Roman era. Perhaps this is near the 10th-century church ca. 1 km north of the modern village, in the vicinity of which we noticed architectural remains and ceramics of a possibly earlier date.
Lit.: Sotiriadis 1900 (*PAE* 1899), 64; Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 83 (without Roman finds); Petropoulos 1991, 107 (who erroneously refers to Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 83 for finds of Roman pottery).

15 **GLYFADA** (*), HAB / ER
Two inscriptions dating from the Roman era (*IG* IX 1(2), 660-661; the latter is from imperial times) as well as Roman pottery have been found at or near this fortified coastal site, which has been identified by some with ancient Polis (Lerat; Kirsten). Among the Prehistoric and mainly Classical/Hellenistic surface pottery we observed Early Roman material (see catalogue).
Lit.: Lerat & Chamoux 1947-48, 74; Lerat I 103, 109; Kirsten 1952, 1395; Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 83.

16 **KALLION**, HAB/CEM / ER/LR/ECHR
This large fortified multi-period site near the modern village of Veloukhovo (modern Kallion) has yielded much Roman material from the 1st century BC to well into the 6th century AD. Inscriptions have identified the Hellenistic remains as those of the important eastern Aetolian *polis* of Kallion

or Kallipolis. In the lower part of the fortification a large residential area of the Hellenistic and Roman period has been partly excavated (Laffineur 1978-80; Herbert & Kase 1984). A Roman cemetery (Zapheiropoulou 1973-74; 1982) as well as an Early Christian basilica (Petrakos 1971) were also revealed. Finds included many coins, glass vases, lamps and fine pottery. We recorded substantial Early Roman and Late Roman terra sigillata and other surface finds from the Roman era (Vroom 1993; see also catalogue).
Lit.: Petrakos 1971, 282-4; Zapheiropoulou 1973-74, 521-42; 1982, 1-13, Laffineur 1978, 840-47; 1979, 631-34; 1980, 742-47; Herbert & Kase 1984, 114-5; Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 84-5 (s.v. Kallion A); Vroom 1993, 113-38; Baziotopoulou-Valavani 1994, 46-55, pls. 16-24.

17 **KALLITHEA *, HAB / ER**
On a multi-period site atop the steep isolated foothill known as 'Palaiokastro', which is strategically situated at the entrance of a coastal delta ca. 2,5 km east of Kallithea, we recorded some Early Roman terra sigillata (see catalogue).
Lit.: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 86 (s.v. Kallithea A).

18 **KALYDON, HAB / ER**
Several inscriptions of the Early Roman period (*IG* IX 1(2), 139, 141, 142, 147,151; *CIL* III 509) were found at or very near this well-known fortified site. In one of these (139) an Aetolian is honoured who served in the army of Sulla, probably during his campaign against Mithridates in 88-84 BC. (This inscription has the last known reference to the "koinon of the Aetolians"). Two inscriptions (141, 142), dating from the time of Hadrian (1st half of the 2nd century AD), were discovered at the Heroon below the enceinte. A stele from the site can be dated to "the first century BC" (147). During the excavations of the nearby temple of Artemis Laphrias an inscribed piece of Early Roman terra sigillata was found (151). At this location some small fragments of Early Roman terra sigillata can also be noticed on the surface. In addition, Petropoulos reports finds of unpublished Roman pottery (terra sigillata) found at the same spot, as well as another unpublished (Roman?) inscription, which is now in the museum of Agrinion (no. L 42). (Note that the manumission *IG* IX 1(2), 137 is partly dated as 'after 143 BC.'; and that *CIL* III 7305 refers to a Latin inscription as found 'among the ruins of Kalydon', although the place of origin is probably Gavalou (cf. s.v.)).
Lit.: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 86-7 (s.v. Kalydon A with further literature); Petropoulos 1991, 110-11.

19 **KLAVSION, HAB/SP / R/LR/ECHR**
Remains of the late 5th to early 6th century Early Christian basilica of Agios Leonidas, with fine mosaic pavements, are to be found in the ruins of a later church below the modern village of Klavsion in Evrytania. A local publication (Fallis 1982) contains photos of a column base 'of the 3rd to 4th centuries AD', fragments of mosaic 'from the 4th to the 6th centuries AD' as well as photos of Roman coins dating from the 1st through the 4th centuries AD and of glass unguentaria of the 3rd-4th centuries AD. We noticed more Late Roman glass among a scatter of mainly Hellenistic pottery near the modern village.
Lit.: Fallis 1982; Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 89 (s.v. Klavsion A + B with further literature).

20 **KLIMA *, HAB / ER**
Amidst the Classical and Hellenistic surface pottery of the fortified site near the modern village of Klima we recorded some small fragments of (Late Hellenistic-) Early Roman terra sigillata.
Lit.: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 89.

21 **KONIAKOS *, HAB / ER**
We recorded a small amount of Roman finds (including a fine piece of Early Roman terra sigillata) among the mainly (Classical/)Hellenistic pottery on this fortified settlement (see catalogue).
Lit.: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 90 (s.v. Koniakos A).

22 **LENTINI, CEM / R**
Petropoulos noticed Roman pottery and a Roman stele originating from the vicinity of the modern village of Lentini (now drowned in a modern reservoir) in the storage rooms of the Museum of Agrinion (nos. P 593-599, 1013).
Lit.: Petropoulos 1991, 112.

23 **LITHOVOUNION (*), CEM / ER/LR**
At a place called 'Keramidaki', near the lofty site of Lithovounion, Roman graves and one Late Roman coin have been found (Petropoulos, unpublished). (Note that an inscription from this site, reported without autopsy by Woodhouse, may be of a late date: *IG* IX 1(2), 127).
Lit.: Woodhouse 1897, 260; Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 93 (s.v. Lithovounion C); Petropoulos 1991, 112.

24 **LYSIMAKHEIA ('Kakkavaria'), CEM / R**
A cemetery area (with some well-preserved 4th century BC chamber tombs with arched roofs of tiles) produced *inter alia* several inscriptions (including one from the 6th century BC), 19 golden leafs, and finds from the Roman period. The site is known as 'Kakkavaria'.
Lit.: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 94.

25 **MALANDRINO (*), HAB / ER**
Several inscriptions from the Roman period have been found at the fortified multi-period site near the modern village of Malandrino (*IG* IX 1(2), 670; 699; 700; 703). The Hellenistic remains have been identified with the site of ancient Physkeis, the capital of the West-Locrians. One of the inscription dates from the mid 2nd century AD (670; cf. Lerat I, 228; II, 240); another from the 2nd or 3rd century AD (703; Lerat I, 129,1); the two other can only be dated as "Late" (700), of "from the imperial era" (699). In one of the churches on the site Early Christian mosaics have been found. We recorded fragments of (Late Hellenistic-) Early Roman terra sigillata on the terraces to the South of the acropolis (see catalogue).
Lit.: Lerat 1952, 123f. (with plan); Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 94-5 (s.v. Malandrino A with further literature).

26 **MEGALI KHORA (Zapandi), HAB / R**
In 1970 remains of a Roman building with baths and a pebble mosaic floor were discovered to the north-west of the modern village.
Lit.: Petsas 1971, 323-4; Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 96 (s.v. Megali Khora B).

27 **MEGALI KHORA - Koimisis Theotokou (Zapandi), SP / LR/ECHR**
Remains of a 4th-century Early Christian mosaic floor were found in the modern church of Koimisis Theotokou, which originates from the Early Byzantine era. The church stands ca. 1 km. to the south-east of the modern village of Megali Khora.
Lit.: Lazaridis 1960, 196; Soustal & Koder 1981, 280; Paliouras 1985, 55; Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 96 (s.v. Megali Khora C).

* **MOLYKREION**
Cf. VELVINA (In the literature the site near the village of Velvina is often referred to as 'the site of Molykreion').

28 **NAVPAKTOS, HAB / ER/LR**
Extensive remains of Roman occupation have been excavated over the years in this harbour-town at the Corinthian Gulf. Substantial Roman public buildings were uncovered by Petsas. One excavated building was perhaps part of a bath; another structure contained rooms with mosaic floors with geometric designs. Apart from the many Early Roman finds, Late Roman ruins were excavated nearby the town hall by Papapostolou. A Late Roman and Early Christian cemetery was found to the west (and *extra muros*) of the settlement. The most important burial offering recovered was a pair of blue glass-paste bracelets with animal and geometric motifs (Papapostolou). The site yielded several inscriptions from the Roman era (*IG* IX 1(2), 646 (1st century BC); 647 (imperial era); 648 (imperial era); 649 (2nd century AD); 65f. (imperial era); 652 (1st century BC), and a Latin one from the imperial period (*CIL* III 570).
Lit.: Petsas 1971, 315ff.; Papapostolou 1972, 434; 1988, 293; Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 99 (s.v. Navpaktos A with further literature); Petropoulos 1991, 113-14.

29 **NEROMANNA (Sombonikos), SP? / R**
A stele with inscription from the imperial era (*IG* IX 1(2), 113) is reported to have been found here.
Lit.: Woodhouse 1897, 198; Aetolia I, 100 (s.v. Neromanna C without the Roman find); Petropoulos 1991, 116.

30 **PANORMOS *, SP? / ER**
Two inscriptions from the Roman era are reported to have been found in or near the village of Panormos (formerly Kisseli), one dating from imperial times and one perhaps from the 4th century AD; both are now lost (*IG* IX 1(2), 714). Above the village, at the site of a modern quarry, we recorded in a small scatter of multi-period pottery (from Late Bronze Age to Byzantine) also some small fragments of (Late Hellenistic-) Early Roman terra sigillata and glass.
Lit.: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 101 (s.v. Panormos B).

31 **PANORMOS (Kokkinovrachos) *, ? / ER/LR**
Near the spring Kokkinovrachos, ca. 2 km nort-west of the modern village, we noticed in a dense scatter of multi-period pottery (from Neolithic(?) to Ottoman) some Early Roman and Late Roman sigillata sherds (see catalogue).

32 **PAPPADATAI, CEM/SP / ER/ECHR**
A stele with an inscription, "probably Roman" according to Petropoulos, as well as some Early Christian material, have been excavated in the communal stadium and other locations in the modern village. At the fortified site east of the village, we noticed also some Early Roman sherds on the surface.
Lit.: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 101 (s.v. Pappadatai B); Petropoulos 1991, 115.

33 **PENDAPOLIS - 'Agios Ioannis' *, ? / R**
We recorded some small fragments of Early Roman sigillata and Roman glass on the fortified Classical/Hellenistic site on the low hill of Agios Ioannis, ca. 1 km north-west of the modern village.
Lit.: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 102 (s.v. Pendapolis C).

34 **SITERALONA (Morosklavon), ? / R**
Remains of a (probably) Roman brick wall still stand to a maximum height of ca. 2 m on a foundation of Hellenistic blocks, some 5 minutes to the north of the village.
Lit.: Woodhouse 1897, 242; Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 106 (s.v. Siteralona C); Pritchett 1989, 130 (with plate 211).

35 **STAMNA, HAB / ER**
Two Roman 'miliaria' (milestones) with Latin inscriptions from AD 114-6 and 283 respectively (the latter carries also a Greek inscription from AD 293-305) have been found near the fortified site of Stamna (Axioti). Near the western wall of this site, which is also known as Sideraporta, we noticed fragments of (Late Hellenistic-) Early Roman terra sigillata among the Hellenistic surface pottery.
Lit.: Axioti 1980, 186-205; cf. Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 107 (s.v. Stamna A).

36 **SYKEA ('Gla') *, HAB/SP / ER/LR**
We recorded much Early and some Late Roman sigillata among the dense and variform scatter of surface ceramics on the East slope of the multi-period (Late Bronze Age to Byzantine) site known as 'Gla' which occupies an isolated hill on the west bank of the River Megas opposite the modern village of Sykea (see catalogue).
Lit.: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 108.

37 **THERMON, CEM / ER**
Seven Early Roman graves, probably of the 1st century BC, were found by Rhomaios in the Hellenistic sanctuary and Aetolian centre of Thermon. A manumission inscription from the 2nd century AD (*IG* IX 1(2), 92) has also been found, as well as some coins from the imperial period (Amandry; Konstantopoulos).
Lit.: Rhomaios 1924-25, 4; Konstantopoulos 1930-31, 34; Amandry 1947-48, 392; Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 109 (s.v. Thermon A with further literature).

38 **TOLOFON (Vitrinitsa), HAB? / ER**
On this large, multi-period coastal site, now severely disrupted by modern building, the dense multi-period surface scatter includes Early Roman terra sigillata (see catalogue). The site is identified with the Locrian polis Oiantheia.
Lit.: Lerat & Chamoux 1947-48, 71; Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 109-10 (s.v. Tolofon A with further literature).

39 **VASILIKI, KATO, HAB/SP / (ER?)/ECHR**
A multi-period site occupies a small isolated hill near the modern coastal village. On the top are the foundations of an Early Christian basilica from the 5th-6th century and a small Byzantine church from the 9th-12th century (Paliouras). Among the Late Bronze Age, Classical and Hellenistic surface pottery, we noticed also one (Late Hellenistic-) Early Roman fragment of sigillata.
Lit.: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 112 (s.v. Vasiliki, Kato A); Paliouras 1989, 40-43 (with earlier literature).

40 **VELVINA, ? / R**
On an outcrop of rock directly below the remains of a large Hellenistic temple atop a hill near the modern village of Velvina, a graffitto from the Roman period has been found (*IG* IX 1(2), 608; Orlandos). It reads 'Viktorinou'.
Lit.: Orlandos 1924-25, 64; Petropoulos 1991, 112; Lerat I, 86.

41 **VOMVOKOU, ? / ER**
In the Monasteri of Agios Ioannis (founded in 1695) on the eastern slope of Mount Rigani to the north-east of the modern village is a stele with an inscription from the 2nd century AD (*IG* IX 3(2), 649). In addition, we noticed one fragment of (Late Hellenistic-) Early Roman sigillata among the Hellenistic surface ceramics at the location 'Ta marmara' on a low hill to the south-west of the village.
Lit. Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 113 (s.v. Vomvokou A + C); Petropoulos 1991, 106.

INCERTA:

42 **AGIOS GEORGIOS, ? / R?**
One Roman coin of the 2nd century AD ('sesterce de Faustine mère du type *RIC* no. 1151'), acquired by the Athens Numismatic Museum, is reported to have been found "near Agios Georgios Messolonghiou" (probably the village west of the river Evenos, where the remains of an Early Christian baptisterium can be found, and not the monastery of Agios Georgios in the hills east of Aitolikon as Petropoulos suggests).
Lit.: Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou 1962, 428, no. 12; Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 73 (s.v. Agios Georgios B, with literature on the Early Christian and Byzantine church); Petropoulos 1991, 101.

43 **ARAKHOVA (*), ? / ECHR?**
Local publications report ECHR finds to the south-east of the modern village of Arakhova at the location 'Paliarakhova' or 'palaiokhori'.
Lit.: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 78 (s.v. Arakhova B with references to the local literature).

44 **ASPROPYRGOS *, HAB / R?**
Among the Hellenistic and Post-Roman surface pottery at the site known as 'Polemos' to the east of the modern village of Aspropyrgos in Evrytania, we recorded a single (Late Hellenistic-) Early Roman fragment of sigillata.

45 **DAFNIAS - PALAIOZEVGARON, ? / R**
On a terrace above a scattered group of finely tooled, apparently Hellenistic blocks on the south bank of Lake Trikhonis near the modern church of Analipsis, we looked in vain for evidence of a settlement wall reported by Pritchett, but recorded among stray finds of Hellenistic pottery one fragment of Western terra sigillata.
Lit.: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 79 (s.v. Dafnias); Pritchett 1989, 131 (with plates 215-220).

46 **DENDROKHORION** *, ? / R?
Among the rather extensive scatter of worn pottery in and around the modern village of Dendrokhorion, we recorded some sherds which may be of Late Hellenistic- Early Roman date.
Lit.: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 79 (s.v. Dendrokhorion B).

47 **DIASELLAKION** *, CEM / ER?
Graves containing some undiagnostic pottery as well as bronze coins "from the 1st-2nd century AD" are reported by locals to have been found at a location called 'Kritharakia' near the modern village of Diasellakion.
Lit.: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 80 (s.v. Diasellakion B with the reports in the local literature).

48 **DROSATON** *, ? / R?
Locals report quadrangular limestone blocks "with Latin inscriptions" to have been visible on a ridge 1.5 km east of the village, before they were demolished by recent road building.
Lit.: Bommeljé &Doorn 1987, 81.

49 **KHRYSOVITSA, KATO**, HAB / R?
Woodhouse was told by locals of coins from the Roman era, found in the fields near the site of Kato Khrysovitsa.
Lit.: Woodhouse 1897, 248; Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 89 (s.v. Khrysovitsa, Kato A); Petropoulos 1991, 111 (who erroneously mentions autopsy by Woodhouse, and describes a Late Archaic inscription originating from the nearby location Valtsa, as 'probably Roman').

50 **KLEPA**, ? / R?
Coins "of the Alexandrian and Roman era" are reported to have been found in the fields around the modern village.
Lit.: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 89 (s.v. Klepa B with the reports in the local literature).

51 **KYPARISSOS**, CEM / ER?
Of several funeral inscriptions found near the modern village of Kyparissos one seems to date from the 2nd-1st century BC.
Lit.: Antonetti 1987, 97; Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 91.

52 **LEVKADITION** (*), HAB/CEM / R
Near the ruined church of Panagia, Bazin found a stele with a short inscription, of which 'les caractères semblent de l'époque romaine' (*IG* IX 1(2), 159). At the site directly below the modern village we recorded among the (Classical/)Hellenistic surface material a fragment of an (Late Hellenistic-) Early Roman oil lamp (see catalogue).
Lit.: Bazin 1864, 368 no.4; Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 92 (s.v. Levkadition C).

53 **LIDORIKION** *, ? / R?
We noticed a well preserved Late Hellenistic(?) or Roman(?) stele with an oil-lamp depicted in relief, which was used as ornament in a local garage of the town of Lidoriki. Recently, the stone seems to have been moved to the Delphi Museum. The provenance of the stele is unknown, but it may well originate from the nearby large site of Kallion (see Kallion).
Lit.: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 93 (s.v. Lidorikion J).

54 **MAMAKO, KATO (Mamakou)** *, HAB / ER
On the well-preserved small fortified settlement near Kato-Mamako we noticed among the Hellenistic surface pottery a small piece of (Late Hellenistic-) Early Roman terra sigillata.
Lit.: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 95 (s.v. Mamako, Kato A).

55 **PARAVOLA**, HAB/CEM / R?
This site yielded an inscription "of a late date" (*IG* IX 1(2), 114).
Lit.: Woodhouse 1897, 195; Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 101; Petropoulos 1991, 115.

56 **PENDAPOLIS A *, ? / R?**
One or two fragments of possibly Roman pottery, as well as glass, were recorded among the Hellenistic surface finds on the site to the east of the modern village. A surviving stretch of an (apparently Hellenistic) wall has evidently been rebuilt in a later period, and is cemented with mortar, small chinking stones and tile fragments.
Lit.: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 101 (s.v. Pendapolis A).

57 **PLEURON - PHOINIKIA, ? / LR?/ECHR**
At the location Phoinikia opposite the large fortified Hellenistic site of New Pleuron an Early Christian basilica has been discovered, which led Axioti to the conclusion that this indicates Late Roman occupation. However, on the site itself no trace of the Roman period is to be found.
Lit.: Axioti 1980, 194.

58 **TRIKORFON *, ? / R?**
Locals reported finds of "Roman" coins.
Lit.: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 111 (s.v. Trikorfon B).

Roman finds in Aetolia

To sum up: in the course of the Aetolia-survey 513 samples from ca. 750 sites have been collected, 41 of which contain clearly diagnostic Roman material (and another 7 possible Roman material). Of the total of some 10,000 sherds sampled and studied only 2 percent is Roman (Early and Late Roman put together). It should be noted, however, that no sampling was conducted in the large urban centre of Naupactus (much of the local finds, among which quite a lot of Roman pottery, is stored in the town's *apothiki*, which is to be rebuilt as a small museum).

Here we present a selection of fine wares from 14 of these 40 'Roman' sites in Aetolia. Minor fragments and amphorae fragments are not included in this catalogue. The emphasis is on the fine sigillata wares with distinctive features (rim, base etc.), because they provide at this moment the best dating material for the Late Hellenistic and Roman period. In a separate publication we hope to treat the complete samples of Late Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine wares found in Aetolia.

Most of the artefacts sampled in Eastern Aetolia are now stored in the Museum of Delphi, some in the Museum of Lidoriki. The material sampled in northern parts of Aetolia (modern Evrytania) is stored in the Ephorate of Lamia. Other sherds were drawn, diagnosed and photographed at the sites, and left there. The order of the presentation is chronological, in so far as the material permits. First the pottery is described, then other artefacts.

All measurements are given in meters.[26] For objects made of clay the colour is described according to the classification of the *Munsell Soil Color Charts* (1970 edition) only (e.g. 5 YR 6/6 for orange). The fabrics have been examined both by eye and using a 10x hand-lens. The description of the frequency and size of the inclusions refers to a

[26] Abbreviations used for measurements: H: height; W: width; L: length; Diam: diameter; Th: thickness; pres.: preserved; est.: estimated.

modified Wenthworth scale of clastic sediments, and the hardness is based on a modified Moh's scale of minerals.[27]

Catalogue of surface finds

AGIOI PANDES (no. 2 in the gazetteer):

1.1 Bowl, base fragment. (Fig. 3).
pres. H 0.023, est. Diam of base 0.070.
Moderately soft, fine, dull orange buff fabric (7.5 YR 7/4) with few fine lime and sand particles. Smooth feel. Sparse, dull, greyish brown slip (7.5 YR 4/2) on inside. Heavy, moulded ring foot with flat broad resting surface and flat underside; convex divergent lower wall.
For this Eastern Sigillata A bowl, see Crowfoot et al. 1957, 334-5, form 17, fig. 80, nos. 11-3; Christensen & Johansen 1971, 113, form 16.1, fig. 45; Kenrick 1985, 231, no. B 323.2, fig. 41 and especially Hayes in *EAA* II, 23-4, form 22b with all references, dated late 2nd century BC-ca. AD 10.

1.2 Bowl, base fragment. (Fig. 3).
pres. H 0.061, est. Diam of base 0.060.
Moderately soft, fine, dull orange buff fabric (5 YR 7/4) with few fine lime and grog particles. Smooth feel. Dull, orange slip (2.5 YR 6/6) on inside. Ring foot with flat resting surface; convex divergent lower wall.
Eastern Sigillata A or imitation? Close to Hayes in *EAA* II, form 22a, pl. III, no. 11, dated late 2nd century BC-ca. AD 10.

1.3 Plate, rim fragment. (Fig. 3).
pres. H. 0.036, est. Diam. of rim 0.200.
Soft, fine, dull orange fabric (5 YR 7/6) with few fine lime and sand particles. Smooth/soapy feel. Glossy, orange slip (2.5 YR 6/8) in and out. Straight divergent upper wall with straight rim and round overhanging lip.
Eastern Sigillata B or imitation? For generally analogous Eastern Sigillata B examples see Robinson 1959, 41, G 176, pl. 67; Eiwanger 1981, 46, no. III 126, pl. 33; Peppers 1979, 151, no. A13, fig. 103,f and Hayes in *EAA* II, 64, form 60, pl. XIV, nos. 7-8, dated ca. AD 50/60-80/90-150.

1.4 Bowl, base fragment. (Fig. 3).
pres. H 0.019, est. Diam of base 0.056.
Soft, fine, dull orange fabric (5 YR 7/4) with few fine sand particles. Smooth feel. Orange slip (5 YR 6/8) in and out. Ring foot with flat resting surface and an incised groove on inside.
Eastern Sigillata A or Italian Sigillata? It has some similarity to Schindler & Scheffenegger 1977, pl. 12b, no. 14, dated 1st century BC.

1.5 Dish or cup?, base fragment. (Fig. 3).
pres. H 0.034, est. Diam of base 0.060.
Moderately soft, fine, light yellow orange fabric (7.5 YR 8/4) with few fine sand particles. Smooth feel. Dull, orange slip (2.5 YR 6/8) in and out. Flat base with ring foot and convex divergent lower wall.

[27] Moh's and Wenthworth scales can be found in most basic geology textbooks. Here the following categories are used: Hardness: 'soft' = fingernail scratches easily; 'moderately soft' = fingernail scratches; 'fairly hard' = penknife scratches; 'hard' = penknife just scratches; 'very hard' = penknife will not scratch. The term 'inclusions' indicate temper naturally found in the clay and temper purposefully added to the clay. Frequency: 'few' = density below 2%; 'some' = density between 2% and 5%; 'many' = density between 5% and 10%; 'very many' = density above 10%. Size (distinguishable with naked eye): 'fine' = less than 1mm; 'medium' = 1mm - 2mm; 'coarse' = 2mm - 5mm; 'very coarse' = above 5mm.

Italian Sigillata. Cf. Goudineau 1968, 280, type 2(A), 371 and Schindler & Scheffenegger 1977, pl. 10a, no. 10.9, dated ca. 25 BC-AD 15.[28]

1.6 Bowl, base fragment. (Fig. 3).
pres. H 0.036, est. Diam of base 0.100.
Moderately soft, fine, orange fabric (2.5 YR 7/6) with few fine lime and sand particles. Smooth feel. Glossy, orange slip (2.5 YR 6/8) in and out. Ring foot with scraped groove and convex divergent lower wall.
Italian Sigillata. Cf. Loeschcke 1909, pl. X, no. 11 and Oswald & Pryce 1920, pl. XIIX, nos. 1-9, Dragendorff 27, dated ca. 1st century AD (Augustan-Claudian).

1.7 Flanged bowl, rim fragment. (Fig. 3).
pres. L 0.020, est. Diam of rim 0.150.
Soft, fine, orange fabric (2.5 YR 7/6) with few fine sand particles. Smooth/soapy feel. Semi-lustrous, orange slip (2.5 YR 6/8) in and out. Flanged rim with an applique fine-petalled? rosette applied to surface (Diam 0.009).
For similar Italian Sigillata rims with rosette, see Goldman, ed. 1950, 255, nos. 575-80, pl. 148; Goudineau 1968, type 38b; Hayes 1973, 432, form 24, pl. 78; Schindler & Scheffenegger 1977, 167f., pl. 67a and Kenrick 1985, 157-8, no. B 217, fig. 27 (Group D), dated ca. AD 35/40-80/90.

1.8 Bowl?, base fragment. (Fig. 3).
pres. H 0.014, est. Diam of base 0.043.
Soft, fine, dull orange fabric (7.5 YR 7/4) with few fine lime and sand particles. Smooth feel. Glossy, bright brown slip (2.5 YR 5/8) on outside; dull brown slip (7.5 YR 4/4) on inside. Small ring foot with groove on exterior and central nipple on underside; slightly convex divergent lower wall.
Italian Sigillata or imitation?

1.9 Relief bowl?, moulded body fragment. (Fig. 3).
pres. L 0.034, Th 0.007.
Soft, fine, reddish orange fabric (10 YR 6/6) with some fine lime inclusions. Smooth feel. Dull, red slip (10 R 4/6 to 4/8) in and out. Decoration of ovolo and hunting scene with a dog(?) walking to the right.
Western Sigillata (South Gaulish), probably Dragendorff form 37. Flavian?

1.10 Open shape, stamped body fragment. (Fig. 3).
pres. L 0.021, Th 0.006.
Moderately soft, fine, orange fabric (2.5 YR 6/6) with some fine sand and micaceous particles. Smooth feel. Thin, bright brown slip (2.5 YR 5/8) on outside. Decoration of stamped palm-branch on outside.
Probably Late Roman C. (Phocaean Red-Slip Ware). Cf. for decoration *EAA* I, 231-2, pl. 114, nos. 12-14 and Hayes 1972, 350, fig. 72 (group I), dated ca. AD 360-450.

1.11 Large bowl, rim fragment. (Fig. 8).
pres. H 0.015, est. Diam of rim 0.300.
Moderately soft, fine, orange fabric (2.5 YR 7/6) with few fine lime inclusions. Smooth feel. Dull, orange (2.5 YR 6/8) to red slip (10 R 5/8) in and out. Heavy rim roll with 2 grooves on upper surface of rim.
African Red-slip ware. Cf. Chenet 1941, 63-6, form 313, pl. XIII,i (Argonne) and Hayes 1972, 112-6, form 67, fig. 19.1, dated ca. 4th-5th centuries AD.

1.12 Lamp, rim fragment. (Fig. 9).
pres. L 0.043, pres. W 0.035.

[28] See also Mazzeo Sarracino in *EAA* II, 194-95, Forma Goudineau 2a, pl. LVI, no. 3.

Soft, fine, dull yellow orange (10 YR 7/2) to light grey fabric (10 YR 8/2) with few fine lime and some fine micaceous particles. Chalky feel. Surface very worn. Disk with rays and framing ring. Rim decoration with grape pattern in relief.
Corinthian (Broneer type XXVIIB). Cf. Perlzweig 1961, 94, no. 271, pl. 8 and Zapheiropoulou 1982, pl. Ba, dated late 2nd-early 3rd centuries AD.

1.13 Lamp, handle fragment. (Fig. 9).
pres. H 0.023, Th 0.010.
Soft, fine, light yellow orange fabric (10 YR 8/3) with few fine sand particles. Powdery feel. Surface very worn. Pierced handle, grooved at back.
Corinthian. Probably ca. 2nd-3rd centuries AD.

AMYGDALEA (no. 9 in the gazetteer):

2.1 Hemispherical bowl, base fragment. (Fig. 4).
pres. H 0.019, est. Diam of base 0.040.
Soft, fine, dull orange buff fabric (5 YR 7/4) with few fine sand and micaceous particles. Smooth/soapy feel. Sparse, dull, bright brown (2.5 YR 5/8) to orange slip (2.5 YR 6/6) in and out. Low ring foot with flat resting surface and central nipple on underside; convex divergent lower wall.
Eastern Sigillata A. Cf. Cox 1949, 9, no. 48, dated ca. 1st century BC.

2.2 Bowl, base fragment. (Fig. 4).
pres. H 0.015, est. Diam of base 0.060.
Soft, fine, orange fabric (5 YR 7/6) with few fine lime. Smooth/soapy feel. Sparse, bright brown slip (2.5 YR 5/6) on inside. Ring foot, grooved on exterior, with round resting surface and central nipple? on underside.
Eastern Sigillata A or imitation?. Cf. Meyer Schlichtmann 1988, 157, 239, no. 334 (Sü 2), pl. 20, dated 1st quarter of the 1st century BC-3rd quarter of the 1st century AD.

2.3 Plate, rim fragment. (Fig. 4).
pres. H 0.030, est. Diam of rim 0.200.
Soft, medium fine, orange fabric (2.5 YR 7/8) with some fine grog and micaceous particles. Smooth/soapy feel. Surface very worn. Convex divergent upper wall with triangular rim and two incised grooves on interior of rim.
For the general shape of this Eastern Sigillata B1 plate see Hellström 1965, 68, no. 217, pl. 35; Wiegand & Schrader 1904, 431, no. 121, fig. 550; Wright 1980, 146, no. 26, fig. 3; Unterkircher 1983, 184, Samos 12, fig. 3; Kenrick 1985, 249-50, no. B 352.1, fig. 45 and Hayes in *EAA* II, 57, form 19, pl. XII, no. 13, dated ca. mid 1st century AD.[29]

2.4 Plate, rim fragment. (Fig. 4).
pres. H 0.031, est. Diam of rim 0.200.
Soft, medium fine, dull orange fabric (5 YR 7/4) with some fine lime, sand and micaceous particles. Smooth feel. Surface very worn. Vertical, moulded rim with slightly concave divergent wall; single groove at lip interior.
Italian Sigillata. Cf. Goudineau 1968, type 39; Hayes 1973, form 12; Kenrick 1985, 150-51, nos. B213.9-11 (group D), fig. 28; Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 47, nos. 253-4, pls. 30, 164-5 and Pucci in *EAA* II, 384, Form X, pl. 119, no. 12, dated ca. AD 30-80/90.[30]

[29] Cf. Robinson 1959, 25, G 25, pl. 4 (Samian A).

[30] Kenrick 1985, 150: Italian Sigillata group D: forms that were in most widespread use at the time of the south stoa modifications at Corinth and which were already in full production before the abandonment of Magdalensburg (Hayes 1973, 444f., forms 12, 23 and 24, Schindler & Scheffenegger 1977, pls. 54, 56-59, 67).

2.5 Hemispherical bowl, rim fragment. (Fig. 4).
pres. H 0.037, est. Diam of rim 0.160.
Soft, fine, orange fabric (5 YR 7/6) with few fine lime and micaceous particles. Smooth/soapy feel. Surface very worn. Straight divergent upper wall with vertical flanged rim.
For this Çandarlı form in general, see Loeschcke 1912, pl. XXVIII, form 19; Kenrick 1985, 260-1, no. B 366, fig. 47; Eiwanger 1981, pl. 35, nos. III 92-103; Unterkircher 1983, 184-5, Samos 14, fig. 4; Hayes 1972, 318, fig. 63b and Hayes in *EAA* II, 76, form L19, pl. XVII, nos. 6-7, dated late 1st-2nd centuries AD.[31]

DIAKOPION (no. 11 in the gazetteer):

3.1 Hemispherical bowl, base fragment. (Fig. 4).
pres. H 0.039, est. Diam of base 0.045.
Soft, fine, orange fabric (2.5 YR 7/6) with few fine sand particles. Smooth/soapy feel. Glossy, reddish brown slip (2.5 YR 4/6) in and out. Ring foot with round resting surface and central nipple on underside; convex divergent lower wall.
Eastern Sigillata A or imitation? Cf. Mitsopoulou-Leon 1972-5, fig. 3.9 and for general parallels of the Eastern Sigillata A form, see Crowfoot et al. 1957, form 16; Goldman, ed. 1950, fig. 137, no. 271; Robinson 1959, 11, 23, F6-11, G1, pls. 1,4, 60; Unterkircher 1983, 182, Samos 9, fig. 2; Genneweg et al. 1983, fig. 21, form 4; Meyer Schlichtmann 1988, 89-90, 220, no. 92 (N1), pl. 30; 262, VK 38, pl. 37; Slane 1986, 278, no. 6, fig. 2 and especially Hayes in *EAA* II, 23-4, form 22, pl. III, no. 12, dated late 2nd BC-ca. AD 10.

3.2 Bowl or cup?, base fragment. (Fig. 4).
pres. H 0.044, est. Diam of base 0.032.
Soft, fine, orange fabric (7.5 YR 7/6) with few fine sand and micaceous particles. Smooth/soapy feel. Dull, bright brown slip (2.5 YR 5/6) on inside. Ring foot with round resting surface and convex divergent lower wall.
Imitation? It has some similarity to Waagé 1948, 34, nos. 453-5, pl. V (Eastern Sigillata A) or Unterkircher 1983, 208, no. D1, fig. 8 (Eastern Sigillata B), dated ca. 1st century BC-1st century AD.

3.3 Bowl, rim fragment. (Fig. 4).
pres. H 0.039, est. Diam of rim 0.220.
Soft, fine, orange fabric (5 YR 7/6) with few fine lime and sand particles. Smooth/soapy feel. Surface very worn. Straight divergent upper wall with everted hooked rim.
Eastern Sigillata A. Cf. Christensen & Johansen 1971, 82-3, form 6.1, fig. 33, dated ca. 1st century AD.[32]

GLYFADA (no. 15 in the gazetteer):

4.1 Bowl, base fragment. (Fig. 4).
pres. H 0.014, est. Diam of base 0.033.
Soft, fine, orange fabric (5 YR 7/6) with few fine sand particles. Smooth/soapy feel. Dull, thin, orange slip (2.5 YR 6/6) in and out. Small ring foot with flat resting surface and central nipple on underside; convex divergent lower wall.

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[31] In Robinson 1959, 24, nos. G 13-14, pls. 4, 61 Robinson identified this form as (an imitation of) Pergamene Ware, but it is now generally agreed (Hayes in *EAA* II, 76) that the Athenian vessel is of Çandarlı ware. See also Meyer Schlichtmann 1988, 107-9, 226, no. 163 (N 33a), pl. 13 (dated 2nd half of the 1st century B.C.-late 1st century AD). Cf. Pepper 1979, 156, no. A 28, figs. 14,c and 104,f where the same shape of the rim (with a slightly inclination to the inside) is dated in the last half of the 1st century AD.

[32] See also Waagé 1948, 40, no. 636, pl. VII where this shape is categorized as regional middle Roman and dated ca. 2nd-3rd century AD.

Eastern Sigillata A. Cf. Meyer Schlichtmann 1988, 90-1, 221, no. 100 (N2), pl. 30, dated 1st century BC.

4.2 Little plate, rim fragment. (Fig. 4).
pres. H 0.017, est. Diam of rim 0.190.
Soft, fine, orange fabric (7.5 YR 7/6) with few fine sand particles. Smooth/soapy feel. Dull, thin, dark grey slip (N 3/0) on outside. Straight divergent upper wall with everted moulded rim.
Cypriot Sigillata or imitation? Cf. Hayes in *EAA* II, 81, form P3, pl. XVIII, no. 7, dated 'probably Augustine'.

4.3 Hemispherical bowl, base fragment. (Fig. 4).
pres. H 0.028, est. Diam of base 0.045.
Soft, fine, light yellow orange fabric (7.5 YR 8/3) with few fine sand particles. Smooth/soapy feel. Sparse, dull reddish brown slip (2.5 YR 4/4) on inside. Concave moulded ring foot with central nipple on underside; convex divergent lower wall.
Italian Sigillata. Cf. Kenrick 1985, 167-8, no. 228.4, fig. 30 (group H), dated ca. AD 15-60. See also Loeschcke 1909, pl. X, type 12 and Oswald & Pryce 1920, pl. XL, no. 1, Drag. 24/5, dated in a later period.

KALLION (no. 16 in the gazetteer):

5.1 Small plate or dish?, base fragment. (Fig. 5).
pres. H 0.020, est. Diam of base 0.050.
Soft, medium, light brownish grey fabric (7.5 YR 7/2 and 7/1) with many fine/medium lime and quartz grits. Rough feel. Surface very worn. Ring foot with flat resting surface and central nipple on underside; straight divergent lower wall. Incised groove on inside around centre of floor.
Eastern Sigillata A or imitation? Cf. Crowfoot et al. 1957, 309, 312-6, form 1, fig. 73, 9-11. See also for similar Eastern Sigillata A forms, Waagé 1948, 23, no. 115f., pl. III; Robinson 1959, 11, F2-3, pls. 57, 60; Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 45, nos. 229, 233, pl. 28 (though the diameter is larger) and especially Hayes in *EAA* II, 16, form 4, pl. I, nos. 9-12 (with extensive references), dated late 2nd century BC-ca. AD 10/20.

5.2 Small dish, base fragment. (Fig. 5).
pres. H 0.013, est. Diam of base 0.080.
Moderately soft, fine, pale orange (5 YR 8/4) to dull orange buff fabric (5 YR 7/4) with few fine sand particles. Smooth feel. Dull, reddish brown slip (10 R 4/3 to 4/4) on the outside. Standing ring with grooved resting surface; straight divergent lower wall.
Eastern Sigillata A. It has some similarity to Christensen & Johansen 1971, pl. 59, form 1, no. 1.3 and Waagé 1948, pl. III, nos. 113-6, dated late 2nd century BC-ca. AD 10/20.

5.3 Bowl, rim fragment. (Fig. 5).
pres. H 0.020, est. Diam of rim 0.150.
Fairly hard, fine, orange fabric (2.5 YR 7/6) with few fine sand grits. Smooth feel. Glossy, reddish brown slip (2.5 YR 4/8) in and out. Straight divergent upper wall with straight rim and round lip, grooved outside.
Eastern Sigillata A. Cf. Meyer Schlichtmann 1988, 104-5, 225, no. 155 (N 25), pl. 12, dated 1st century AD.

5.4 Bowl or cup?, base fragment. (Fig. 5).
pres. H 0.031, est. Diam of base 0.100.
Soft, medium fine, light yellow orange fabric (7.5 YR 8/4) with some fine lime and grog. Smooth/soapy feel. Sparse, dull, bright reddish brown (5 YR 5/8) to dull reddish brown slip (5 YR

4/4) in and out. Torus ring foot with flat resting surface; straight divergent lower wall, slightly inward sloping.[33]
Early form of Çandarli Ware or Cypriot Sigillata? Cf. Schäfer 1962, 793, fig. 2, no. 28; Hayes in *EAT* II, 74, form A7, pl. XVI, no. 9, dated Augustus-Tiberius. Or Cypriot Sigillata-form Hayes 1967, 70, form 7b, dated mid 1st-begin 2nd century AD.

5.5 Hemispherical bowl, rim fragment. (Fig. 5).
pres. H 0.051, est. Diam of rim 0.200.
Soft, medium fine, light orange fabric (7.5 YR 7/6) with some fine lime and micaceous particles. Rough feel. Sparse, dull, bright brown slip (2.5 YR 5/6) in and out. Convex divergent upper wall with direct rim; flanged outside.
Probably Çandarli Ware. The shape has some similarity to Peppers 1979, 255, E 290, figs. 69a, 107b (a Greek-made imitation of this type); the fabric corresponds more with similar bowls on 155-6, nos. A27 and A28, figs. 14b-c, 104e-f, dated 1st century AD.

5.6 Relief bowl?, moulded body fragment. (Fig. 5).
pres. L 0.028, Th 0.007.
Moderately soft, medium fine, dull orange fabric (5 YR 7/4) with some fine lime inclusions. Smooth feel. Dull, thin, red slip (10 R 5/6) on outside; glossy, thick, red slip (10 R 5/8) on inside. Mouldmade fragment with garland?
Probably Western Sigillata (South Gaulish?). Cf. Déchelette 1904, pl. X, no. 1, Grands medallions, Drag. 37, dated AD 70 and later.

5.7 Large bowl, rim fragment. (Fig. 5).
pres. H 0.015, est. Diam of rim 0.260.
Fairly hard, fine, red fabric (10 R 5/6 and 6/6) with few fine lime. Smooth feel. Surface: self-slip. Broad flat rim, rising obliquely, and round lip with groove. Band of fine rouletting on rim.
On this African Red-slip Ware in general, Waagé 1948, 48, fig. 28, nos. 1, 812; Cox 1949, 5, pl. V, no. 93; Goldman, ed. 1950, 204, no. 816, fig. 165; Robinson 1959, 60, K3, pls. 12, 64; Hayes 1972, 62-65, no. 2, form 45A, fig. 11; Unterkircher 1983, 192, no. 25.5, fig. 6 (Samos 25), Sackett et al. 1992, 250, U5, pl. 190, dated ca. AD 230/40-320.

5.8 Plate, two joining fragments. (Fig. 5).
H 0.028, est. Diam of rim 0.220.
Fairly hard, fine, orange fabric (2.5 YR 6/8) with few fine sand grits. Smooth feel. Surface: self-slip. Flat (rounded transition) base with standing ring; straight divergent wall with straight rim and rounded lip.
African Red-slip Ware. Cf. Hayes 1972, 68-9, no. 8, form 50A, fig. 12 and Sackett et al. 1992, 250, U8, pl. 190, dated ca. AD 230/240-325.

5.9 Lamp, handle fragment. (Fig. 9).
pres. H 0.045, Th 0.008.
Soft, fine, light yellow orange fabric (7.5 YR 8/4) with few fine sand grits. Smooth/soapy feel. Surface very worn. Pierced handle, grooved at back.
Cf. Peppers 1979, 223, BCon10, fig. 48b, dated ca. late 2nd-early 3rd centuries AD.

5.10 Lamp, rim and disk fragment. (Fig. 9).
pres. L 0.041, Th 0.003-5.

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[33] See also Kenrick 1985, 97, no. 129.2, fig. 19 for a black-glazed Hellenistic bowl with a similar inward-sloping wall. Kenrick notes that the contexts in which it has been found belong exclusively to the 1st century AD (and later).

Soft, medium fine, light yellow orange (7.5 YR 8/4) to dull orange fabric (7.5 YR 7/4) with some fine lime and grog. Smooth/soapy feel. Surface very worn. On rim wreath pattern between circular grooves in relief.[34]
Cf. Davidson 1952, 61, nos. 108-11, fig. 26 Type XX; for decoration see Perlzweig 1961, 148, nos. 1598-1602, pls. 29, 51, no. 17; Sackett et al. 1992, 291-2, nos. 454-71, pl. 242, dated ca. 2nd-4th centuries AD.

5.11 Coloured glass fragment. (Fig. 10).
pres. H 0.015, Th 0.005, est. Diam 0.022.
Mould-made mosaic glass with floral pattern ('millefiori') in blue colour. Neck fragment of an alabastron or unguentarium?
Cf. in general, Berger 1960, 9ff.; Hayes 1975, 22-8, nos. 79-81, pl. 6, dated 1st century BC-1st century AD.

5.12 Glass bowl, rim fragment. (Fig. 10).
pres. H 0.016, Th. 0.002, est. Diam of rim 0.140.
Light green glass. Convex divergent upper wall with everted and rounded rim.
Cf. Isings 1980, 310, nos. 478-486, fig. 20; Eiwanger 1981, 120, no. IIIa 1116, pl. 88, dated 1st-3rd centuries AD.

5.13 Glass large bowl, rim fragment. (Fig. 10).
pres. H 0.024, Th 0.001-2, est. Diam of rim 0.200.
Colourless glass. Straight symmetrical upper wall with outfolded tubular rim.
Cf. Isings 1980, 310-15, nos. 559-567, figs. 21-22, dated second half 1st-3rd centuries AD.

5.14 Glass unguentarium or bottle?, rim fragment. (Fig. 10).
pres. H 0.007, Th 0.002, est. Diam of rim 0.030.
Colourless glass. Infolded and flattened rim.
Probably second half 1st-3rd centuries AD.

5.15 Glass unguentarium, base fragment. (Fig. 10).
pres. H 0.013, Th 0.004, est. Diam of base 0.040.
Light green glass. Slightly concave base.
Cf. Isings 1957, 97, form 82 B1; Berger 1960, 74-8, pls. 12, 20; see also Zapheiropoulou 1982, 7 (note 6, pl. 4.1, 4.8) on glass unguentaria excavated at the northern cemetery of Kallion, dated 1st-3rd centuries AD.

5.16 Glass cup or bowl?, base fragment. (Fig. 10).
pres. H 0.007, Th 0.002, est. Diam of base 0.040.
Light green glass. Pushed-in base ring.
Probably 1st-3rd centuries AD.

5.17 Glass cup or bowl?, base fragment. (Fig. 10).
pres. H 0.010, Th 0.003, est. Diam of base 0.050.
Colourless glass. Pushed-in base ring.
Probably second half 1st-3rd centuries AD.

KALLITHEA (no. 17 in the gazetteer):

6.1 Bowl, base fragment. (Fig. 6).
pres. H 0.023, est. Diam of base 0.050.

[34] In Vroom 1993 the decoration on the rim was described as a herringbone-pattern, but closer inspection suggests that it is rather a wreath.

Moderately soft, fine, light yellow orange (7.5 YR 8/4) to orange fabric (2.5 YR 7/6) with few fine sand particles. Smooth feel. Somewhat glossy dark red slip (10 R 3/4) on outside; sparse red slip (10 R 5/6) on inside. Ring foot with flat resting surface and central nipple? on underside.
Eastern Sigillata A?

6.2 Plate, rim fragment. (Fig. 6).
pres. H 0.024; est. Diam of rim 0.120.
Soft, medium fine, dull orange fabric (5 YR 7/4) with some, fine lime and quartz particles and many fine pores. Powdery/rough feel. Surface very worn. Vertical, molded rim with slightly concave divergent wall; single groove at lip interior.
Italian Sigillata. See no. 2.4 (Amygdalea).

KALYDON (no. 18 in the gazetteer):

7.1 Plate, base fragment. (BSA) (Fig. 6).
pres. H 0.018, est. Diam of base 0.160.
Fairly hard, medium fine, dull orange fabric (5 YR 7/4) with some fine to medium lime inclusions and many fine pores. Smooth feel. Glossy, red slip (10 R 5/8) in and out. Low ring foot with broad resting surface?, straight divergent lower wall. Rouletted zone on inside base over foot.
Italian Sigillata. Cf. *EAA* II, 196-7, pl. LVII 7 (Drag. 16; Haltern 1) with further literature, dated 20 BC-ca. AD 15.

KONIAKOS (no. 21 in the gazetteer):

8.1 Plate, rim fragment. (Fig. 6).
pres. H 0.013, est. Diam of rim 0.200.
Soft, fine, light yellow orange fabric (7.5 YR 8/4) with few fine lime and sand and mica particles. Smooth/soapy feel. Dull, bright brown slip (2.5 YR 5/8) on outside. Everted rim with rouletting on lip.
Eastern Sigillata A. Cf. Waagé 1948, 22-3, no. 113f., pl. III; Robinson 1959, 11, F 4, pl. 60; Christensen & Johansen 1971, 95-9, form 13, fig. 39, no. 15 and Hayes in *EAA* II, 27, form 28, pl. IV, no. 12 with extensive references, dated probably 10/1 BC-ca. AD 15/30.[35]

LEVKADITION (no. 23 in the gazetteer):

9.1 Lamp, spout fragment. Fig. 10.
pres. H 0.048, pres. W 0.034.
Soft, fine, dull orange fabric (5 YR 7/6) with few fine lime and mica particles. Smooth feel. Somewhat glossy, reddish brown slip (10 R 5/6) in and out. Lamp with angled nozzle.
In general, Perlzweig 1961, 75-79, dated ca. late 1st century BC-1st century AD.

MALANDRINO (no. 25 in the gazetteer):

10.1 Plate or flat dish?, base fragment. (Fig. 6).
pres. H 0.028, est. Diam of base 0.120.
Moderately soft, fine, light yellow orange fabric (7.5 YR 8/4) with few fine lime. Smooth/soapy feel. Somewhat glossy, red (10 R 5/8) to dark reddish brown slip (10 R 3/3) in and out. High ring foot with flat resting surface and flat base.

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[35] See also Meyer Schlichtmann 1988, 123, 230, no. 214 (Sa 16), pl. 15 for an '*unikat*' with the same rim, but in its context dated in a later period (1st-2nd century AD).

Eastern Sigillata A or imitation? Cf. Goldman, ed. 1950, 241, no. 373, fig. 192; Christensen & Johansen 1971, 105, form 14, fig. 40, no. 31; Unterkircher 1983, 180, no. 8.2, (Samos 8), fig. 2, dated second half of 1st century BC-1st century AD.[36]

10.2 Plate or dish?, base fragment. (Fig. 6).
pres. H 0.017, est. Diam of base 0.080.
Moderately soft, fine, dull yellow orange (10 YR 6/4) to yellow orange fabric (10 R 8/6) with few fine sand and micaceous particles. Smooth feel. Dull, orange (7.5 YR 7/6) to dull brown (7.5 YR 5/4) and orange slip (5 YR 6/8) in and out.
Ring foot with flat base and central nipple? on underside.
Italian Sigillata or imitation? Cf. Schindler & Scheffenegger 1977, pl. 74, no. 18, dated ca. end 1st century BC.

10.3 Plate or dish?, base fragment. (Fig. 6).
pres. H 0.026, est. Diam of base 0.080.
Moderately soft, fine, dull orange fabric (5 YR 6/4) with few fine sand and micaceous particles. Rough feel. Dull, reddish brown (2.5 YR 4/6) to bright brown slip (2.5 YR 5/6) on outside. High ring foot with flat base and concave underside?, convex divergent wall.
Italian Sigillata. It has some similarity to Goudineau 1968, 375, form 43 and Hayes 1973, 429, form 13, pl. 83, no. 45, dated ca. 1st century AD.

PANORMOS (no. 30 in the gazetteer):

11.1 Jug, rim fragment. (Fig. 6).
pres. H 0.045, est. Diam of rim 0.080.
Soft, fine, dull orange fabric (5 YR 7/4) with few fine sand and micaceous particles. Smooth/soapy feel. Surface very worn. Straight symmetrical upper wall with convex rim and rounded lip; down-turned flang on outside.
Eastern Sigillata?

PENDAPOLIS (no. 33 in the gazetteer):

12.1 Relief bowl, molded body fragment. (Fig. 6).
pres. H 0.035, Th 0.006-9.
Soft, fine, dull orange fabric (5 YR 7/4) with few fine lime and sand particles. Smooth/soapy feel. Dull, thin, bright brown slip (2.5 YR 5/6) in and out. Convex divergent upper wall with straight rim and thickened lip.
Probably Western Sigillata.

12.2 Glass cup or bowl?, base fragment. (Fig. 10).
pres. H 0.007, Th 0.002-4, est. Diam of base 0.044.
Light green glass. Pushed-in base ring.
Probably 1st-3rd centuries AD.

SYKEA (no. 36 in the gazetteer):

13.1 Hemispherical bowl, base fragment. (Fig. 7).
pres. H 0.025, est. Diam of base 0.045.

[36] The form can be compared with Loeschcke 1912, pl. XXVIII, form 1 from Çandarli. See also Kenrick 1985, 259, B 363.1, fig. 47; Hayes in *EAA* II, 75, form L1, pl. XVI, no. 16 and Sackett et al. 1992, 216, N2 14, pl. 160, dated mid to late 1st century AD. Cf. Goudineau 1968, 241, no. B-2B-18 or Dragendorff 1 for a similar shape in Italian Sigillata.

Soft, medium fine, orange fabric (5 YR 7/6) with some fine lime particles. Rough feel. Dull, dark reddish brown (2.5 YR 3/4) to bright brown slip (2.5 YR 5/8) with double dipping streak on outside. Ring foot with flat resting surface and central nipple; convex divergent lower wall.
Eastern Sigillata A. Cf. in general Crowfoot et al. 1957, 311, form 16; Robinson 1959, 11, F 6-11, pls. 1, 60; Christensen & Johansen 1971, fig. 45, forms 16 and 17; Unterkircher 1983, 182, Samos 9, fig. 2; Kenrick 1985, 230-1, no. B 323.3, fig. 41; Genneweg et al. 1983, fig. 21, form 4; Slane 1986, 278, no. 6, fig. 2 and especially Hayes in *EAA* II, 23-4, form 22, pl. III with many other examples of this form, dated late 2nd century BC-ca. AD 10.

13.2 Hemispherical bowl, base fragment. (Fig. 7).
pres. H 0.017, est. Diam of base 0.060.
Moderately soft, medium fine, orange fabric (5 YR 7/6) with some fine lime and grog particles. Rough/smooth feel. Reddish brown slip (2.5 YR 4/8) in and out. Low ring foot with flat resting surface; convex divergent lower wall.
Eastern Sigillata A. See no. 13.2 and, in particular, Hayes in *EAA* II, 23-4, form 22b, pl. III, no. 13, dated late 2nd century BC-ca. AD 10.

13.3 Hemispherical bowl, base fragment. (Fig. 7).
pres. H 0.019, est. Diam of base 0.050.
Moderately soft, medium fine, orange fabric (2.5 YR 6/6) with some fine lime and quartz grits. Rough feel. Dull, bright brown slip (2.5 YR 5/6) on inside. Ring foot with round resting surface and central nipple.
Eastern Sigillata A or imitation? See no. 13.2 and, in particular, Crowfoot et al. 1957, 334, form 16, fig. 80, no. 8, dated late 2nd century BC-ca. AD 10.

13.4 Hemispherical bowl?, base fragment. Fig.8.
pres. H 0.014, Diam of base 0.045.
Soft, fine, orange fabric (5 YR 7/6) with few fine lime, sand and micaceous particles and few pores. Powdery feel. Sparse, dull, bright brown slip (2.5 YR 5/6) in and out. Ring foot with flat resting surface and central nipple; concave divergent lower wall.
Eastern Sigillata A or imitation?

13.5 Plate, rim fragment. (Fig. 7).
pres. H 0.025, est. Diam of rim 0.130.
Soft, fine, light yellow orange fabric (7.5 YR 8/4) with few fine lime particles and few pores. Smooth feel. Thin, dull reddish brown slip (2.5 YR 5/4) on outside; somewhat glossy, red slip (10 R 5/8) on inside. Flattened, everted rim with a sharp edge to the straight convex upper wall.
Eastern Sigillata A. Cf. Crowfoot et al. 1957, 309, form 5, figs. 68.3 and 77.3-5; Christensen & Johansen 1971, 82, form 5, fig. 33; Unterkircher 1983, 178, nos. 3.2-4 (Samos 3), fig. 1 and especially Hayes in *EAA* II, 18, form 7, pl. II, no. 5, dated ca. 50-1 BC.

13.6 Bowl, base fragment. (Fig. 7).
pres. H 0.023, Diam of base 0.037.
Soft, fine, light yellow orange fabric (7.5 YR 8/4) with few fine sand particles and few pores. Smooth feel. Thin, sparse orange slip (2.5 YR 6/6) in and out; dull reddish brown slip (2.5 YR 4/4) on foot. Ring foot with flat resting surface and concave underside; convex divergent lower wall.
Eastern Sigillata A? It has some similarity to Unterkircher 1983, 178, nos. 2.1-3 (Samos 2), fig. 1, dated second half of 1st century BC.

13.7 Cup, base fragment. (Fig. 7).
pres. H 0.016, est. Diam of base 0.060.
Soft, fine, light yellow orange (7.5 YR 8/4) to orange (7.5 YR 7/6) fabric with few fine lime and black quartz particles and some pores. Smooth feel. Sparse, thin, dull reddish brown slip (2.5 YR 4/3) on inside. Ring foot with flat resting surface and concave interior; straight divergent lower wall.
Eastern Sigillata A. Cf. Waagé 1948, pl. V, no. 446; Crowfoot et al. 1957, 311-2, form 22, fig. 81.4 and Hayes in *EAA* II, 32-3, form 42, pl. VI, no. 4, dated ca. 10 BC-AD 20/30 or later.

13.8 Shape uncertain, stamped body fragment. Fig. 9.
pres. L 0.028, Th 0.008.
Soft, fine, dull orange buff fabric (7.5 YR 7/4) with few medium lime and some fine micaceous particles and few pores. Smooth feel. Dull reddish brown slip (5 YR 5/4) on inside. Flat base with central name-stamp (ΘΕΟ/ΔΑC) in rectangle on inside.
Eastern Sigillata A, generally attributable to the 1st century AD. Cf. Hayes in *EAA* II, 11-2 for similar name-stamps.

13.9 Hemispherical bowl, base fragment. (Fig. 7).
pres. H 0.032, est. Diam of base 0.060.
Fairly hard, fine, dull orange fabric (5 YR 6/4) with few fine sand particles. Rough feel. Dull, red slip (10 R 5/6) in and out. Ring foot with round resting surface and central nipple; convex divergent lower wall.
Eastern Sigillata A? Cf. Kenrick 1985, 238-9, no. 336.2, fig. 43, dated ca. AD 60/70-100.[37]

13.10 Bowl, rim fragment. (Fig. 7).
pres. H 0.026, est. Diam of rim 0.140.
Moderately soft, fine, orange fabric (5 YR 6/6) with few fine sand particles. Rough feel. Glossy, bright brown slip (2.5 YR 5/8) in and out. Double convex wall with straight rim and rounded lip.
Eastern Sigillata A or Italian sigillata? For the Eastern Sigillata A form, see Technau 1929, 49-50, fig. 40; Waagé 1948, 34, no. 450f-p, pl. V; Goldman, ed. 1950, 243, no. 411, pl. 144; Christensen & Johansen 1971, 163-6, form 22a.1, figs. 64, 66; Genneweg et al. 1983, fig. 23, form 5 and Hayes in *EAA* II, 33-4, form 44, pl. VI, nos. 9-10 (with other references), dated ca. AD 1-50. For the Arretine form, see Loeschcke 1909, pl. X, type 11; Oswald & Pryce 1920, pl. XLIX, no. 1, Dragendorff 27; Goudineau 1968, 302, type 32b. Also Kenrick 1985, 165-7, nos. B 227A.

13.11 Bowl, rim fragment. (Fig. 7).
pres. H 0.028, est. Diam of rim 0.120.
Soft, medium fine, orange fabric (5 YR 7/6) with some fine lime and white quartz and few pores. Smooth feel. Thin, dull, grayish red (2.5 YR 4/2) to dark reddish grey (2.5 YR 3/1) slip on outside; dull, bright brown (2.5 YR 5/6) slip on inside. Flanged rim with round lip and groove on inside; straight divergent upper wall.
Eastern Sigillata A or Çandarli Ware? Cf. Waagé 1948, pl. VI, nos. 470-3, dated 1st century AD?

13.12 Shape uncertain, body fragment. Fig. 9.
pres. L 0.032, Th 0.004.
Soft, fine, dull orange buff fabric (7.5 YR 7/4) with few fine sand particles. Smooth/soapy feel. Dull, red slip (10 R 5/6) in and out.
Eastern Sigillata A? For similar 'nicked' rouletting, see Crowfoot et al. 1957, 344, fig. 83, no. 6 and Sackett et al. 1992, 207, C2 54, pl. 153.

13.13 Plate, rim fragment. Fig. 9.
pres. H 0.044, est. Diam of rim 0.300.
Soft, fine, orange fabric (5 YR 7/6) with few fine lime and micaceous particles. Smooth/soapy feel. Sparse, glossy, bright brown slip (2.5 YR 5/8) in and out. Vertical molded flanged rim.
Eastern Sigillata B1. Cf. Hellström 1965, 68, no. 213, pl. 35 and Hayes in *EAA* II, 55, form 7, pl. XI, no. 18, dated ca. AD 25-50.

13.14 Shape uncertain, rim fragment. (Fig. 7).
pres. H 0.021; est. Diam of rim 0.011.

[37] The cup of Berenice, however, is conical and not hemispherical, but, according to Kenrick, it probably corresponds to the hemispherical flanged cup, form B217, in Italian Sigillata rather than to the conical cup form B216.

Moderately soft, medium fine, orange fabric (2.5 YR 6/6 to 5 YR 6/6) with some fine lime, quartz and micaceous particles and some pores. Smooth feel. Very thin, orange slip (2.5 YR 6/6) in and out. Flattened everted rim and bended upper wall.
Eastern Sigillata B2 or Çandarli Ware? Cf. Loeschcke 1912, 362, no. 3, pl. XXVIII; Waagé 1948, 38, S 3, pl. VI and Hayes in *EAA* II, 62, form 51, pl. XIII, no. 13 though the diameter is wider.

13.15 Bowl, rim fragment. (Fig. 7).
pres. H 0.034; est. Diam of rim 0.110.
Moderately soft, medium fine, dull orange (5 YR 6/4) to orange fabric (2.5 YR 6/6) with very many fine lime, black quartz and micaceous particles and some pores; brownish core. Smooth feel. Dull, orange slip (2.5 YR 6/6 to 6/8) in and out. Flanged rim with round lip and convex divergent upper wall.
Çandarli Ware. Cf. Hayes in *EAA* II, 76, form L 19, pl. XVII, nos. 6 and 7, dated end 1st-begin 2nd centuries AD.

13.16 Shape uncertain, body fragment. Fig. 9.
pres. L 0.025, Th 0.003.
Moderately soft, fine, orange fabric (5 YR 7/6) with few fine sand particles. Rough feel. Glossy, red (10 R 5/8) to reddish brown slip (2.5 YR 4/6) in and out. Barbotine leaf and stripes applied to surface.
For this Thin Walled Ware, see Peppers 1979, 181, no. A113d, fig. 27 and in general 35-8 with note 83 for bibliography on barbotine decoration, dated ca. 1st century AD. See also Goldman, ed. 1950, 258-9, nos. 188-9 and 605-15, pl. 149.

13.17 Shape uncertain, body fragment. Fig. 9.
pres. L 0.018, Th 0.003.
Moderately soft, fine, orange fabric (5 YR 7/6) with few fine sand particles. Rough feel. Glossy, red (10 R 5/8) to reddish brown slip (2.5 YR 4/6) in and out. Barbotine stripes applied to surface.
Thin Walled ware. As no. **13.16**.

13.18 Bowl, rim fragment. Fig. 9.
pres. H 0.026, est. Diam of rim 0.280.
Moderately soft, fine, dull orange fabric (5 YR 7/3) with few fine sand and micaceous particles. smooth feel. Somewhat glossy, thin, red slip (10 R 4/8) in and out. Convex divergent upper wall, grooved outside at rim, and straight rim with direct lip.
Italian Sigillata. Cf. Oswald & Pryce 1920, pl. LXXVIII, no. 1, Dragendorff form 41, dated mid 2nd century AD.

13.19 Flat dish, base fragment. (Fig. 7).
pres. H 0.025, est. Diam of base 0.100.
Soft, fine, light yellow orange fabric (7.5 YR 8/4) with few fine sand and micaceous particles. Smooth/soapy feel. Glossy, bright brown slip (2.5 YR 5/8) in and out. Molded ring foot with round resting surface and flat base; concave underside?
Italian Sigillata or imitation?

13.20 Large bowl, rim fragment. (Fig. 8).
pres. H 0.010, est. Diam of rim 0.220.
Moderately soft, fine, orange fabric (2.5 YR 6/8) with few fine lime and micaceous inclusions and few pores. Smooth feel. Dull, reddish orange slip (10 R 6/8) on inside. Everted rim roll with groove on upper surface of rim.
African Red-slip Ware. Cf. Hayes 1972, 112-6, form 67, fig. 19.17, dated ca. 4th-5th centuries AD.

13.21 Lamp, rim fragment. (Fig. 9).
Th 0.002, est. Diam of rim 0.050.
Moderately soft, fine, dull orange fabric (5 YR 7/4) with few fine sand and micaceous particles. Smooth feel. Glossy, orange slip (2.5 YR 6/8) in and out. Rim with impressed oblique leaf pattern.
Cf. Broneer 1934, 83-87, nos. 505-525, type XXV, pl. X, dated 1st century AD.

13.22 Lamp, spout fragment. (Fig. 9).
pres. H 0.025, Th 0.003.
Moderately soft, fine, dull orange fabric (5 YR 7/6) with few fine sand particles. Smooth feel. Glossy, orange slip (5 YR 6/8) in and out. Lamp with volute-nozzle.
Close to no. 9.1 (Levkadition).

13.23 Lamp, spout fragment. (Fig. 9).
pres. H 0.025, pres. W 0.027.
Moderately soft, fine, dull orange clay (7.5 YR 7/4) with fine few lime and sand particles. Smooth feel. Surface very worn.
Close to no. 9.1 (Levkadition).

13.24 Lamp, handle fragment. (Fig. 9).
pres. L 0.048, Th 0.015.
Soft, fine, light grey fabric (10 YR 8/2) with few fine sand particles. Powdery feel. Surface very worn.
Grooved handle.
Probably ca. late 2nd-3rd centuries AD.

13.25 Glass unguentarium, base fragment. (Fig. 10).
pres. H 0.018, Diam of base 0.035.
Light green glass. Slightly concave base and convergent straight lower wall.
Cf. Isings 1957, form 28 B or 82 B1 ?, dated 1st-3rd centuries AD.

13.26 Glass square or cylindrical bottle?, rim fragment. (Fig. 10).
pres. H 0.004, est. Diam of rim 0.000.
Light green glass. Everted flattened rim.
Probably 1st-3rd centuries AD.

13.27 Glass bowl, base fragment. (Fig. 10).
pres. H 0.006, est. Diam of base 0.000.
Light blue glass. Base ring with straight divergent lower wall.
Probably 1st-3rd centuries AD.

13.28 Glass handle fragment. (Fig. 10).
pres. H 0.033, Th 0.003.
Light green glass. Flat ribbon handle.
Probably 1st-3rd centuries AD.

TOLOFON (no. 38 in the gazetteer):

14.1 Plate or shallow bowl, base fragment. (Fig. 6).
pres. H 0.024, est. Diam of base 0.090.
Moderately soft, medium fine, dull orange buff fabric (5 YR 7/4) with some medium lime inclusions. Pink-reddish core. Smooth feel. Dull, orange (2.5 YR 6/6) to bright brown slip (2.5 YR 5/8) in and out. Heavy ring foot with flat broad resting surface; straight (gently) sloping divergent lower wall. Band of rouletting on inside base.
For parallels of this Eastern Sigillata A plate, see Crowfoot et al. 1957, 309, form 1; Waagé 1948, pl. III, nos. 123-5; Hellström 1965, 67, no. 199, pl. 35; Bruneau 1970, 245, no. D 43, fig. 126, pl. 42; Christensen & Johansen 1971, 64, form 1b, fig. 27, no. 32; Genneweg et al. 1983, fig. 21, form 3, dated late 2nd century BC-1st century AD.

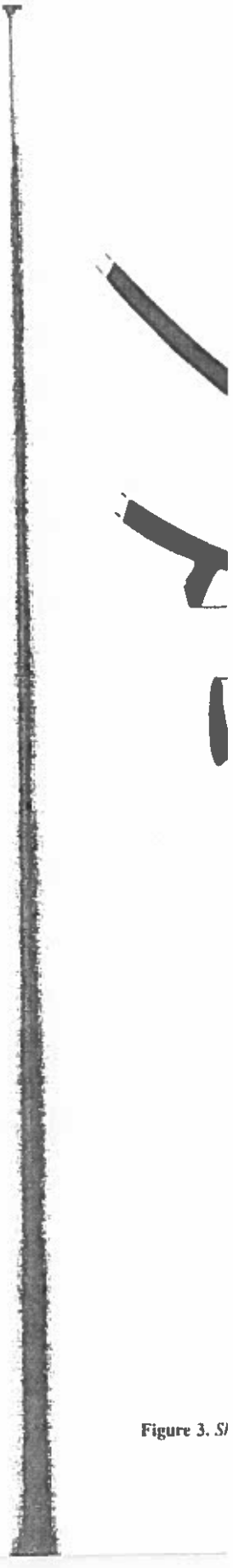

Figure 3. Si

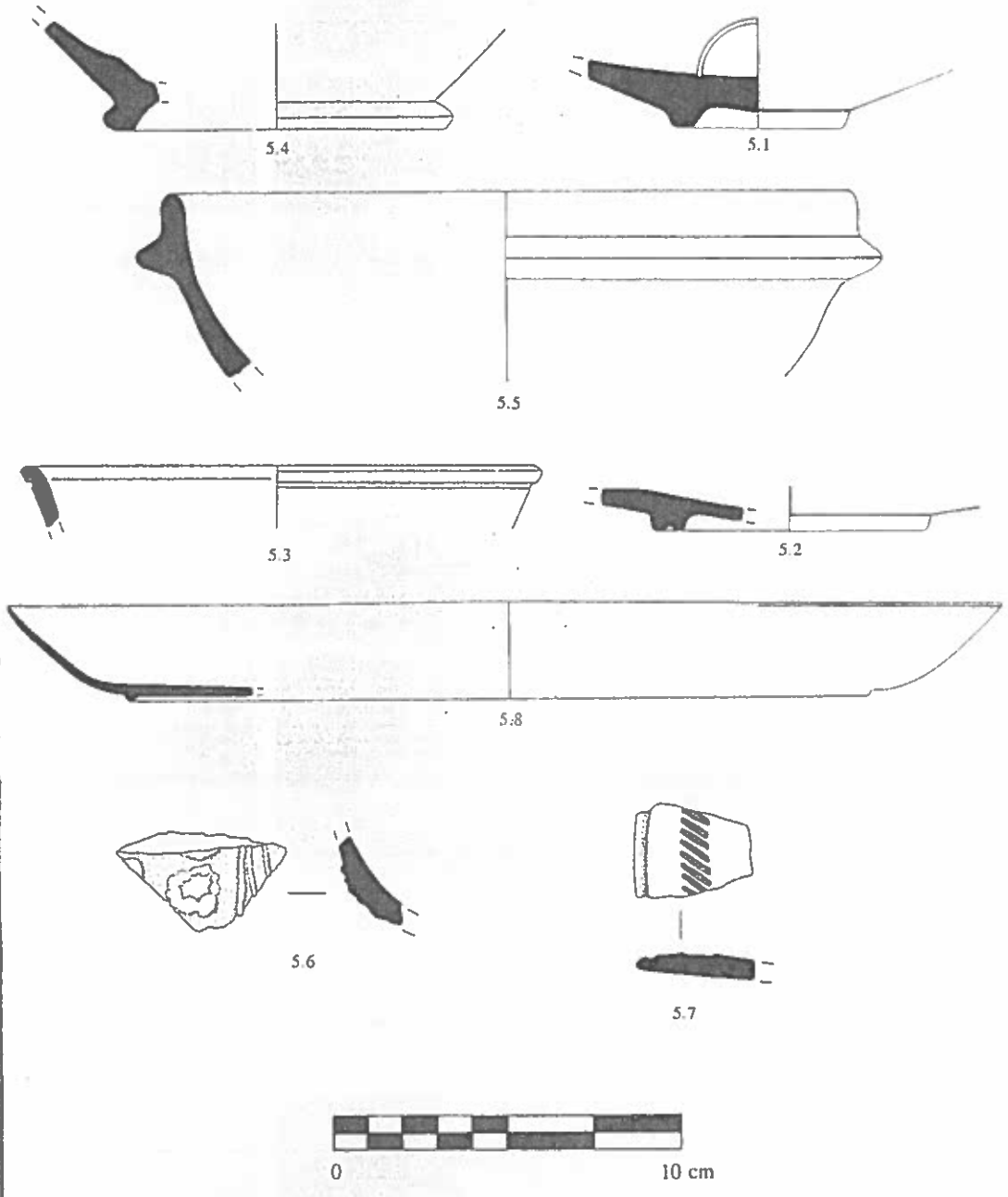

Figure 5. *Sherds from Kallion*

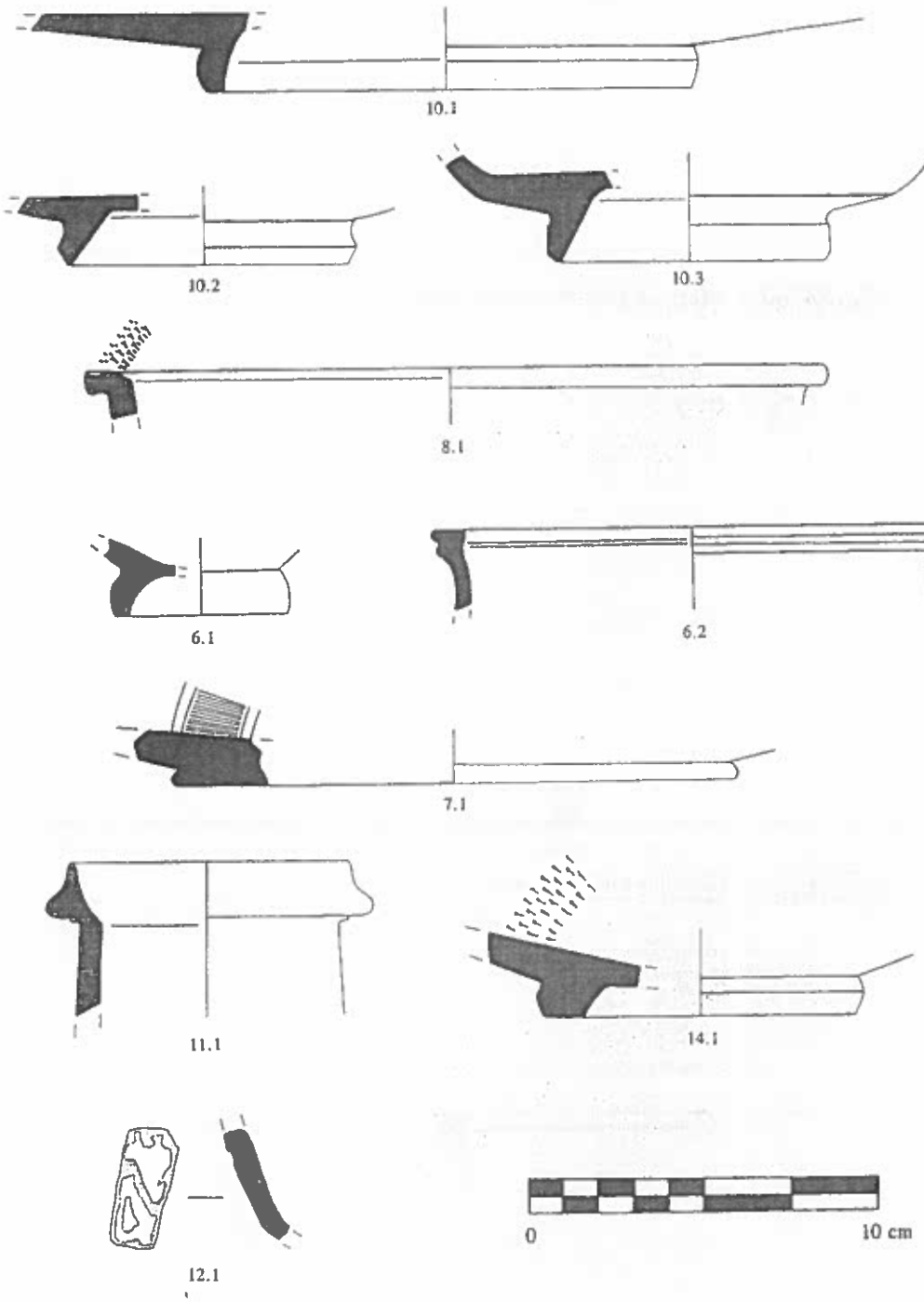

Figure 6. *Sherds from Kallithea, Kalydon, Koniakos, Malandrino, Panormos, Pendapolis and Tolofon*

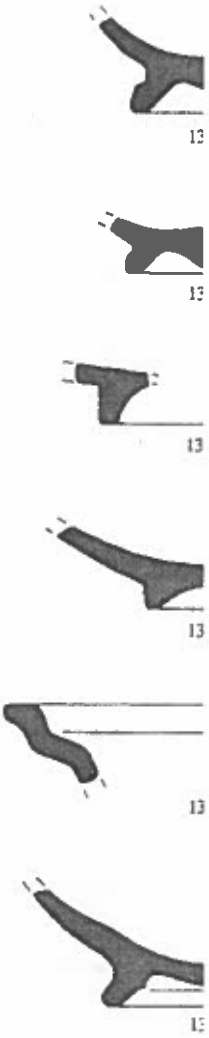

Figure 7. *Sher*

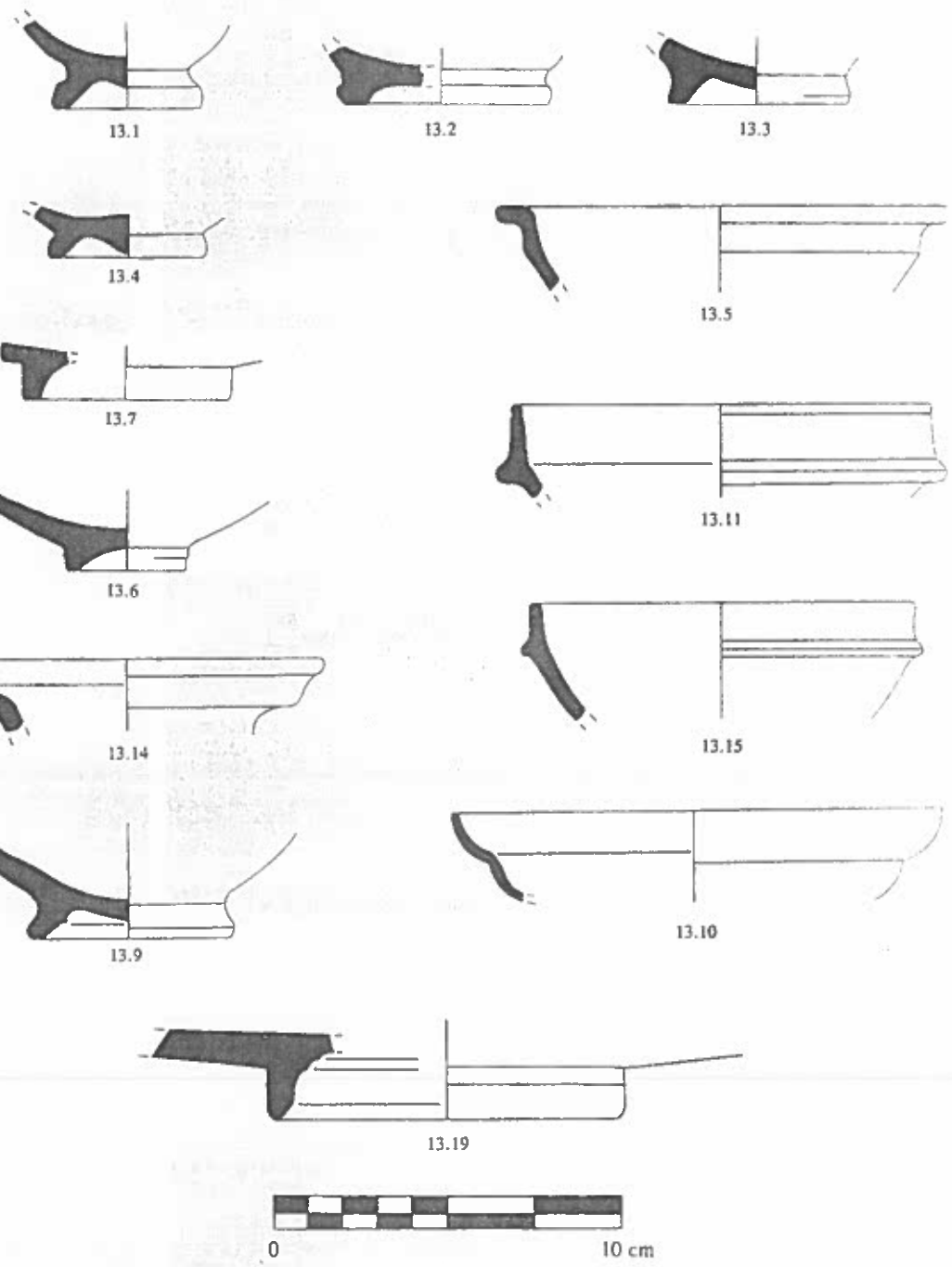

Figure 7. *Sherds from Sykea*

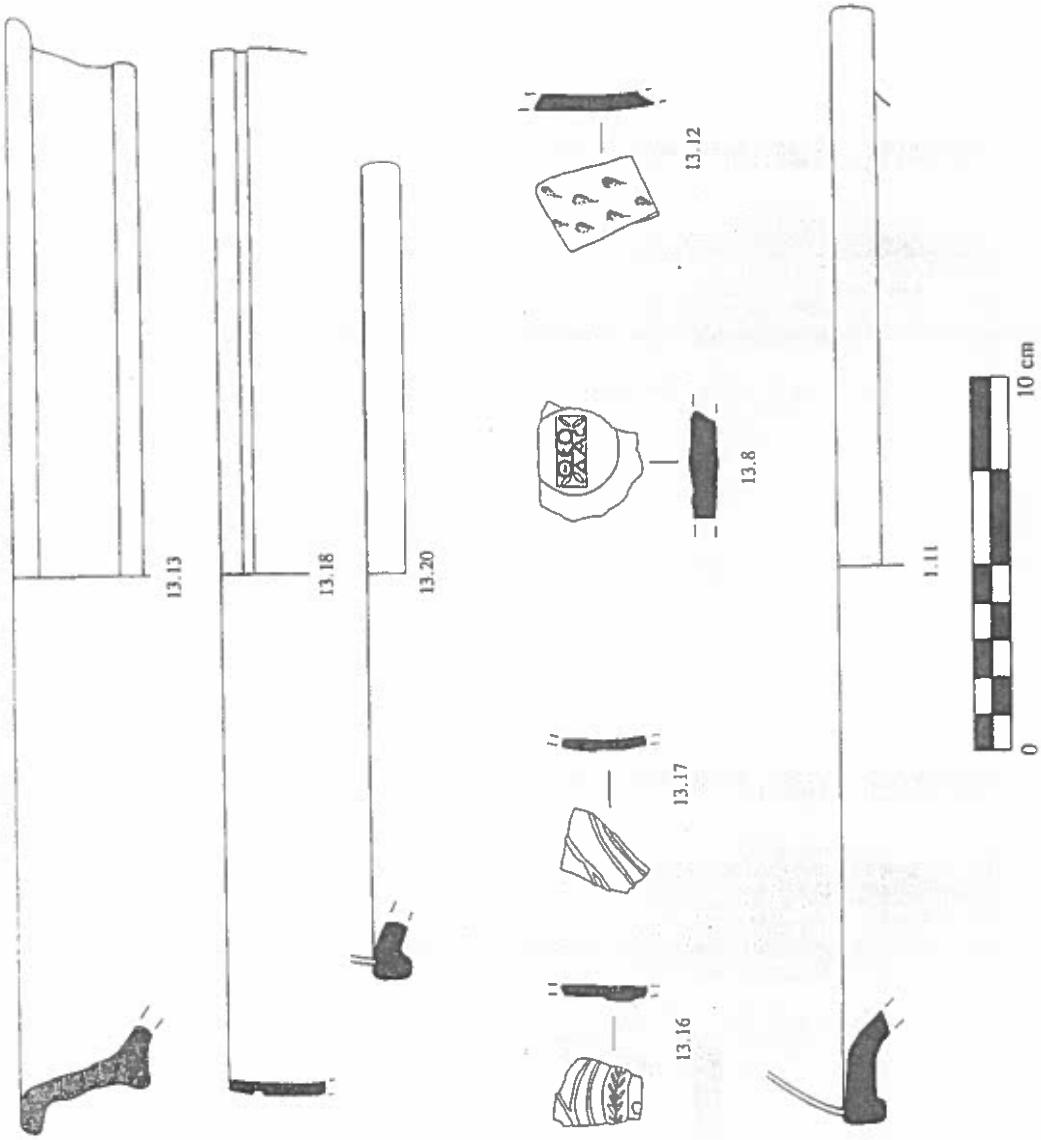

Figure 8. *Sherds from Sykea and Agioi Pandes*

Figure 9. *Lan*

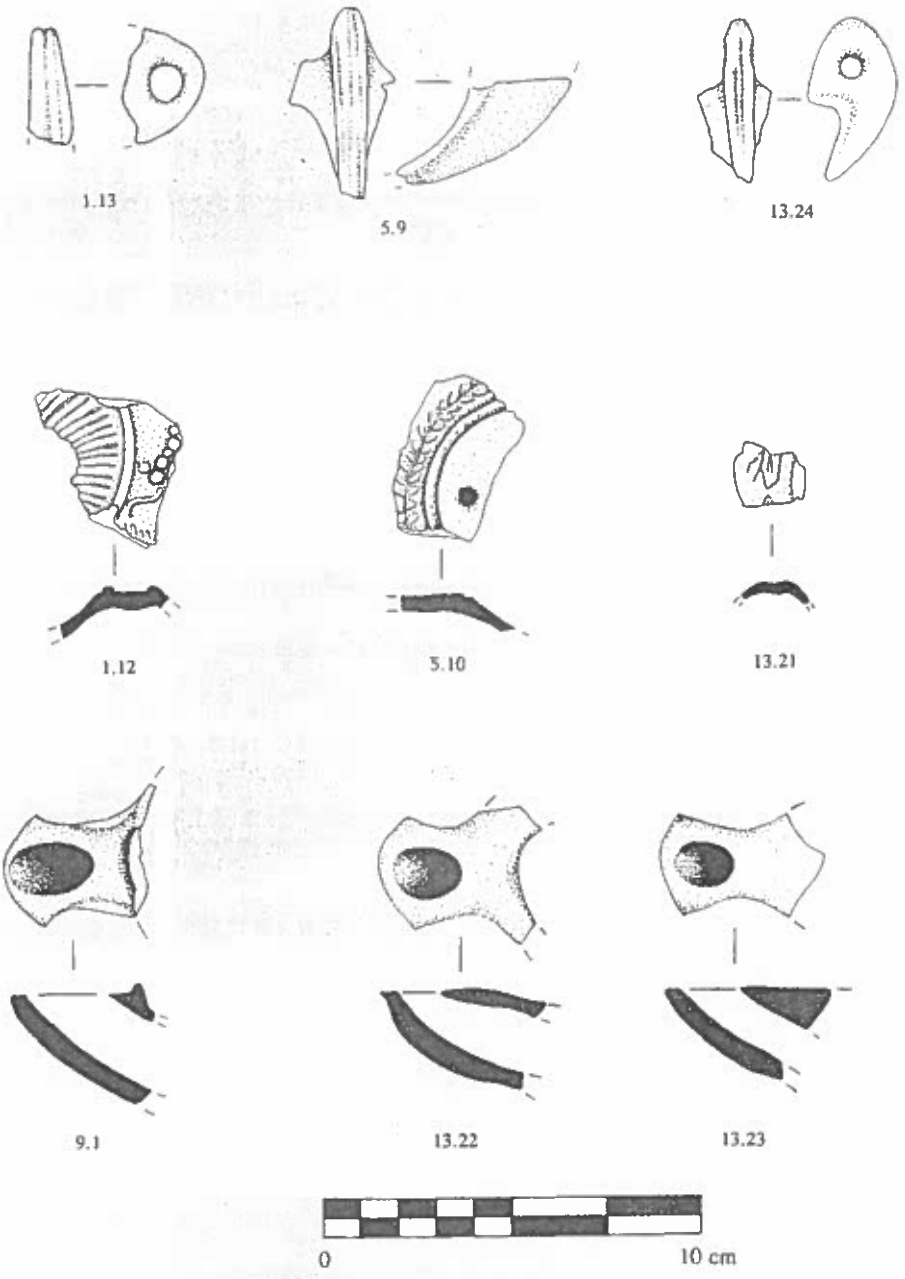

Figure 9. *Lamp fragments from Agioi Pandes, Kallion, Levkadition and Sykea*

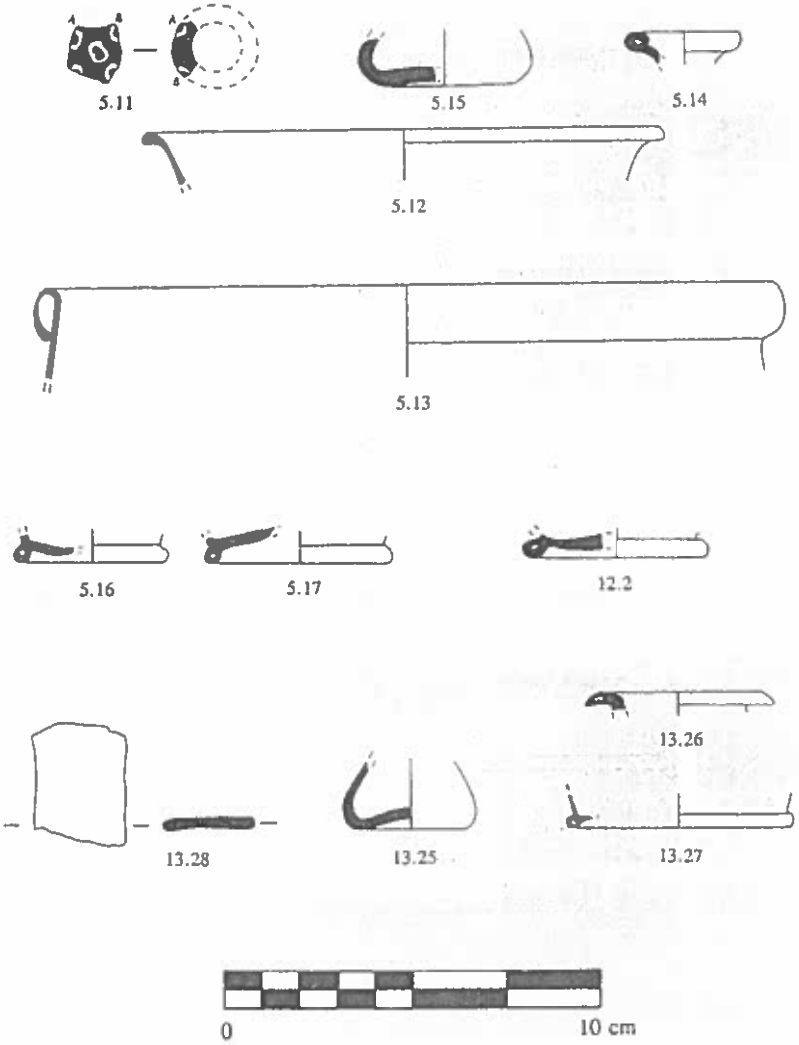

Figure 10. *Glass fragments from Kallion, Pendapolis and Sykea*

Late Hellenistic and Roman sigillata wares in Aetolia

Eastern Sigillata A[38]

In the course of the Aetolia-survey Eastern Sigillata A, formerly called 'Pergamene Ware', turned out to be the most frequently found of the sigillata wares. It is now believed that the manufacture of Eastern Sigillata A started somewhere in the 2nd century BC and lasted well into the 2nd century AD.[39] Its centre or centres of production have not yet been identified, although it has been found in abundance at Eastern Mediterranean sites as Antioch, Samaria, Hama, Tarsus and Athens.[40]

According to Hayes (1963-64, 31; 1972, 8-9), Eastern Sigillata A was the earliest of the red-gloss wares to appear in Greece. It was exported widely throughout the Eastern Mediterranean and found a good market in all parts of the Greek mainland. The earliest dated examples from the Athenian Agora occur ca. 100 BC, but at Stobi (in Macedonia) Eastern Sigillata A was found even in deposits of the late 2nd century BC (Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 44).

Fragments of Eastern Sigillata A were sampled in particular at sites in Eastern Aetolia. It is common at sites such as Agioi Pandes, Amygdalea, Kallithea, Kallion and Sykea. Of the approximately 25 fragments of Eastern Sigillata A ware in the catalogue, 8 are of the well-known small hemispherical bowl with ring foot (e.g. **1.1-2, 2.1, 3.1, 13.1-3**).[41] This is a very popular shape of the 1st century BC (Hayes form 22),[42] and the earliest examples found in Greece (at Delos and Paphos) date back to the end of the 2nd century BC. According to Unterkircher (1983, 182) the bowl has its antecedents in Early Hellenistic wares.

Other Eastern Sigillata A forms are plates or dishes with a low ring foot (**5.1, 5.2, 14.1**),[43] rim-fragments of plates (**8.1, 13.7**) and a variety of bowls (e.g. **2.2, 3.3, 4.1, 5.3, 13.4, 13.6**). Some shapes resemble Western Sigillata (**1.4, 10.1, 13.10**). The greater part of the Eastern Sigillata A fragments in this catalogue is however relatively early and fairly common.

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[38] By Eastern Sigillata A we mean the ware called 'Pergamene' by Zahn, Robinson, and others (Wiegand & Schrader 1904, 439-48; Waagé 1933, 285-7; Waagé 1948, 18-38; Goldman, ed. 1950, 172-83; Robinson 1959, 11). We prefer the terminology suggested by Kenyon in Crowfoot 1957, 282-284, which will be used here.

[39] Waagé 1948, 25f,; Goldman, ed 1950, 172f; 300-3; Crowfoot 1957, 284-8; Robinson 1959, 11 n. 7. The popularity of Eastern Sigillata A waned in the middle of the 2nd century AD and by the 3rd had completely dissappeared; cf. Hayes 1972, 10.

[40] For recent neutron activation studies that have suggested an origin in Cyprus, see Genneweg et al. 1983. Hayes in *EAA* II, 9, on the other hand, suggests the Syro-Palestinian region.

[41] See Hayes in *EAA* II, 23-24 with extensive references.

[42] In Greece this form is abundant at sites as Delos, Paphos, Athens, Knossos, Corinth, Samos (form 9); outside the Aegean in Samaria (form 16), Hama (form 16), Pergamon, Çandarli, Tarsos, Dura, Berenice, Jerusalem, Masada, Ashdod, Anafa.

[43] This a very common plate (Hayes form 4), found at Athens, Corinth, Delos, Knossos, Paphos, Stobi and outside Greece at important sites as Samaria (form 1), Antioch, Tarsos, Labraunda, Hama (form 1). Kenyon notes in Crowfoot 1957, 315 that these plates are the earliest and commonest sigillata forms on other sites, often decorated with rouletting and palmettes.

Western Sigillata

Under the designation Western Sigillata are grouped both the products of the Arezzo factories and vessels of similar type made in Italy or Gaul. These workshops produced plain (wheel-made) as well as relief-decorated (mouldmade) shapes from ca. 30 BC onward. Italian Sigillata flourished throughout the 1st century AD.

On the Greek mainland the import of these wares started early under August and they rapidly appeared in large quantities. Hayes (1963-64, 32; 1973, 470) suggests that Italian Sigillata accounts for probably 75% of all imports in Corinth.[44] He believes the same to be true of the other Roman *coloniae* in Greece, such as Patrae, but not Nicopolis for which there is as yet no evidence. According to him, Italian Sigillata shared at the Athenian Agora the market for red-gloss wares almost equally with Eastern Sigillata A and B, while west of the Isthmus of Corinth, and probably also in Crete, it emerged as the predominant red-gloss ware.

In our research area Western Sigillata is the second most found sigillata ware. In the catalogue ca. 14 fragments of mainly plain pottery are featured. They were collected at Agioi Pandes, Amygdalea, Glyfada, Kallithea and Malandrino, all in the south-eastern and coastal part of the region of study. Shapes found are base fragments of flat dishes or plates with ring foot (**1.5, 7.1, 10.2-3**) and pieces of a plate with a vertical, molded rim (**2.4, 6.2**). Other shapes represented are a bowl with a groove on the ring foot (**1.6**), a flanged bowl with rosette (**1.7**) and a hemispherical bowl with concave molded ring foot (**4.3**). This last form was widely distributed and among the commonest shapes in the South Stoa deposits at Corinth (Hayes 1973, 434).

Pieces with fine relief decoration were collected at East-Aetolian Kallion (**5.6**), at nearby Pentapolis (**12.1**) and at Agioi Pandes (**1.9**), but they are so small that it is impossible to identify the complete motif. In addition, thin-walled ware with barbotine decoration is represented by two fragments on the site of Sykea (**13.16-17**). They are, however, broken into very small pieces due to their extremely brittle nature.

Eastern Sigillata B

This is the ware labelled 'Samian' in the study on the Agora ceramics by Robinson (Robinson 1959, 12); the name Eastern Sigillata B was proposed by Kenyon in 1957 (Crowfoot et al. 1957, 323). Whether this 'Samian' pottery was indeed manufactured on Samos remains uncertain.[45] It appeared around the beginning of first century AD.[46] Two varieties have been distinguished on the basis of differences in fabric, gloss and shapes: Eastern Sigillata B1 (ca. first half of 1st century AD) and Eastern Sigillata B2 (ca. AD 70-150). Eastern Sigillata B was most frequently found in the Aegean and Black Sea areas from the turn of the era to the 2nd century AD. At Athens and Corinth it was

[44] See also Wright 1980, 174; Slane 1986, 317-18. In Stobi Italian imports make up 37,5% of the fine wares (Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 185, fig. 5.5), a greater percentage than that of any other group.

[45] Hayes 1972, 9 argues for Tralles in western Asia Minor.

[46] Waagé 1948, 38; Goldman, ed 1950, 186; Robinson 1959, 12 n. 9; Hayes 1963-64, 32.

common until ca. AD 150, but in Western Greece the ware was overshadowed by the Italian wares (Hayes 1963-64, 32-3).

Of a modest amount of Eastern Sigillata B found in Aetolia three fragments are included in this catalogue: a rim fragment with overhanging lip at Agioi Pandes (**1.3**),[47] a triangular rim fragment with two incised grooves on the interior at Amygdalea (**2.3**) and a vertical flanged rim fragment at Sykea (**13.13**). They are all of very common plates of the 1st century AD. In Greece these shapes have been also found in Corinth, Isthmia, Demetrias, Samos, Rhodos, Knossos, Paphos, Stobi and Athens.

Çandarli ware

This type of red-gloss ware was first identified by Loeschcke (1912) at Çandarli on the Aegean coast near Pergamon. It was probably manufactured in the Pergamon region and was in use during a long period: from circa mid 1st until the 4th century AD (Hayes 1963-64, 33). In the 1st century AD the distribution of Çandarli ware was restricted to the northern and north-western parts of the Aegean, but in its later period, during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, it was very common all over the Aegean and exported from the Black Sea to North Africa (Hayes 1963-64, 33; 1972, 317f. and in *EAA* II, 71).

Çandarli Ware forms a small percentage of the recorded Roman wares in this catalogue. The upper part of a bowl with flattened reverted rim was collected at Agioi Pandes (**1.6**), and fragments of a hemispherical bowl with flanged rim at Amygdalea (**2.5**). Kallion (**5.5**) and Sykea (**13.15**). According to Kenrick (1985, 260-61), this last shape is one of the commonest forms in this ware, occurring in both early and late fabrics and undergoing little change in shape. He thinks that this material is quite often mistaken for Eastern Sigillata A, but is in fact rare outside the Aegean region.

African Red-slip Ware

African Red-slip Ware, also known as *terra sigillata chiara* or 'Late Roman A and B wares', was produced at several production centres in North Africa, probably in Tunisia. The distribution of African Red-slip Ware is very wide: from Britain to the Black Sea and Arabia. It dominated both the Eastern and Western Mediterranean market for about 600 years, from the late 1st to the 7th century AD.

According to Hayes, African Red-slip ware remains rare in the Aegean until about the middle of the 3rd century AD, when the fine versions represented by Hayes forms 45 and 48-50 rapidly conquer the market.[48] Along the west coast of Greece the situation appears to be different: at Corfu the ware is common in an early 3rd-century group, and at Corinth it is present in contexts as early as the middle of the 2nd century AD. From the end of the 3rd until the early 5th century AD African Red-slip ware is the most dominant fine

[47] Robinson (1959, 41) believes that this shape is a development from the Samian A plate.

[48] Hayes 1972, 417: "Form 50 alone accounts for over half of the fine-ware imports found in the Herulian (AD 267) levels in the Athenian Agora, and a similar pattern occurs elsewhere in Greece."

ware in the South Aegean. In 4th century Argos, for instance, it represents about 85% of the imported fine wares (Abadie-Reynal 1989, 144).

Although African Red-slip Ware (Hayes forms 59B; 61A and 67) was apparently found in abundance during the salvage excavations at the East Aetolian site of Kallion (Herbert & Kase 1984, 115; Laffineur 1978, 842; 1979, 631), we recorded it only rarely elsewhere in the research area. Therefore it forms only a small percentage of this catalogue: only two rim fragments of a 4th-5th century plate (Hayes form 67) were collected at Agioi Pandes (**1.11**) and Sykea (**13.20**), beneath two 3rd-4th century fragments of a large bowl (Hayes form 45A) and a plate (Hayes form 50A) at Kallion (**5.7-8**).

Other examples of this ware are mostly fragmentary pieces found at Aigition, Kallion, Sykea and Panormos Kokkinovrakhos. They are not included in this catalogue, because no forms are identifiable. In the course of our field work only one decorated fragment of another 4th century sigillata ware (Late Roman or Phocaean Red-slip Ware) was found at the Eastern Aetolian coastal site Agioi Pandes (**1.10**). The small number of Late Roman sigillata wares recorded at smaller sites stands in marked contrast to the much more abundant finds in large urban centres such as East Aetolian Kallion and coastal Naupactus (although hardly anything has been published from this last site).

Objects other than pottery

In this catalogue eight red-glazed lamp fragments are also presented, ranging from the 1st century BC to the 3rd century AD. Among them are three Early Roman spout fragments with angled nozzle found at Levkadition (**9.1**) and Sykea (**13.22-23**), three handle fragments found at Agioi Pandes (**1.13**), Kallion (**5.9**) and at Sykea (**13.24**) and three decorated rim fragments found at Sykea (Corinth type XXV: **13.21**), Agioi Pandes and Kallion (Corinth type XXVII: **1.12, 5.10**). An identical lamp with grape pattern (as **1.12**) was excavated at the northern cemetery of Kallion (Zapheiropoulou 1982, pl. Ba) and is now in the museum of Lidoriki (Doridos, Fokidos).

As far as glass is concerned, we recorded a Late Hellenistic - Early Roman mosaic glass fragment with floral pattern ('millefiori') at Kallion (**5.11**). Other glass fragments include base fragments of unguentaria of the 1st to 3rd century AD (Isings form 82 B1) at Kallion (**5.15**) and at Sykea (**13.25**). Similar forms have been excavated at Kallion and at Galaxidhi, a small distance to the East of our research area, and dated from the 1st century AD onwards (Zapheiropolou 1979, pl. 342; 1982, pl. D on Kallion). Further we recorded three colourless glass fragments at Kallion (**5.13, 5.14, 5.17**) and a light blue base fragment of a bowl or beaker? at Sykea (**13.27**); all the other glass examples in the catalogue (**5.12, 5.13, 5.16, 12.2, 13.25-26, 13.28**) have a light green colour. Except for the mosaic piece (**5.11**) all the glass fragments in the catalogue can be dated from the 1st to the 3rd century AD.[49]

[49] C. Isings, personal communication, February 1995.

Aetolia in Roman times: the material evidence

Compared to the Hellenistic era, which is characterized by very numerous, clearly defined sites in more or less all recognizable exploitation areas, human activity in Aetolia during Roman times appears to have been very sparse and very unevenly distributed. Substantial traces of habitation can be recorded in a few large nucleated settlements, such as Naupactus, Kallion, Agioi Pandes (in the south-east), Sykea (in the north-east) and to a lesser degree Tolofon (in the south-east) and Klavsion (in northern Evrytania). But activity in the rural areas and especially in the mountainous interior seems almost non-existent. No more than a mere handful of architectonic remains and inscriptions from the Roman era are to be found in Aetolia outside these major settlements.

Compared to the quantities of recorded Prehistoric, Classical and especially Hellenistic ceramics, the amount of imported, clearly diagnostic 'Roman' sherds (the majority of which belong to Late Hellenistic-Early Roman sigillata wares, especially Eastern Sigillata A, compared to much less Late Roman pottery) sampled in Aetolia is very small, not exceeding 2 percent of the total of ca. 10,000 recorded sherds; the sites with Roman finds do not exceed 5.5 percent of the recorded total of ca. 750.

It may be noted that the shapes of the sampled Late Hellenistic-Early Roman sigillata wares are limited to open forms (tableware). Especially fragments of hemispherical bowls and plates decorated with mainly rouletting, barbotine and relief. The majority of these sherds can be dated within the period between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD. The presence of these types of sigillata wares in Aetolia and the ratio among them seems to be conform to finds elsewhere in Greece.

It is not possible to say anything specific about the organization of the rural landscape in Roman Aetolia outside the surviving urban-like centres. The "deserted lands" of Aetolia are described in the sources as "well adapted to horse-breeding" (Strabo 8.8.1 C 338; *CIL* VI, 33937), perhaps indicating that the lower-lying western areas were used only as grazing lands, but so far virtually no material evidence for human activity in the mountains has been recorded.

The sharp drop in site numbers in Roman times in Aetolia is consistent with results of surveys in other parts of Greece (Renfrew & Wagstaff 1982, 144f.; Van Andel & Runnels 1987, 110f.; Cherry, Davis & Mantzourani 1991, 327ff.; Bintliff 1991; in general: Alcock 1993: 33-49). A clear difference with other parts of Greece seems to be the ongoing contraction of habitation in 'Aetolia' in the Late Roman era (4th to the end of the 6th century): substantial activity in large nucleated sites such as Naupactus and Kallion can be recorded, but the number of functioning settlements seems to decline markedly. Diagnostic Late Roman material has been recorded until now only at 12 or so sites. So far we encountered nowhere in the research region any evidence of Late Roman flourishing of dispersed rural settlements nor the re-exploitation of rural areas, which are reported by other surveys as evidence of demographic growth in Greek lands during this period (Alcock 1993, 48; 1994, 217ff.; Bintliff 1995, 111).

Recently, remains of a Roman road have been recorded in western Aetolia. It was probably part to wider program of road construction on the Peloponnese and in northwestern Greece in the time of Trajan (Axioti 1980; Alcock 1993: 121). This find corroborates further evidence which suggests that an important route ran through Aetolia

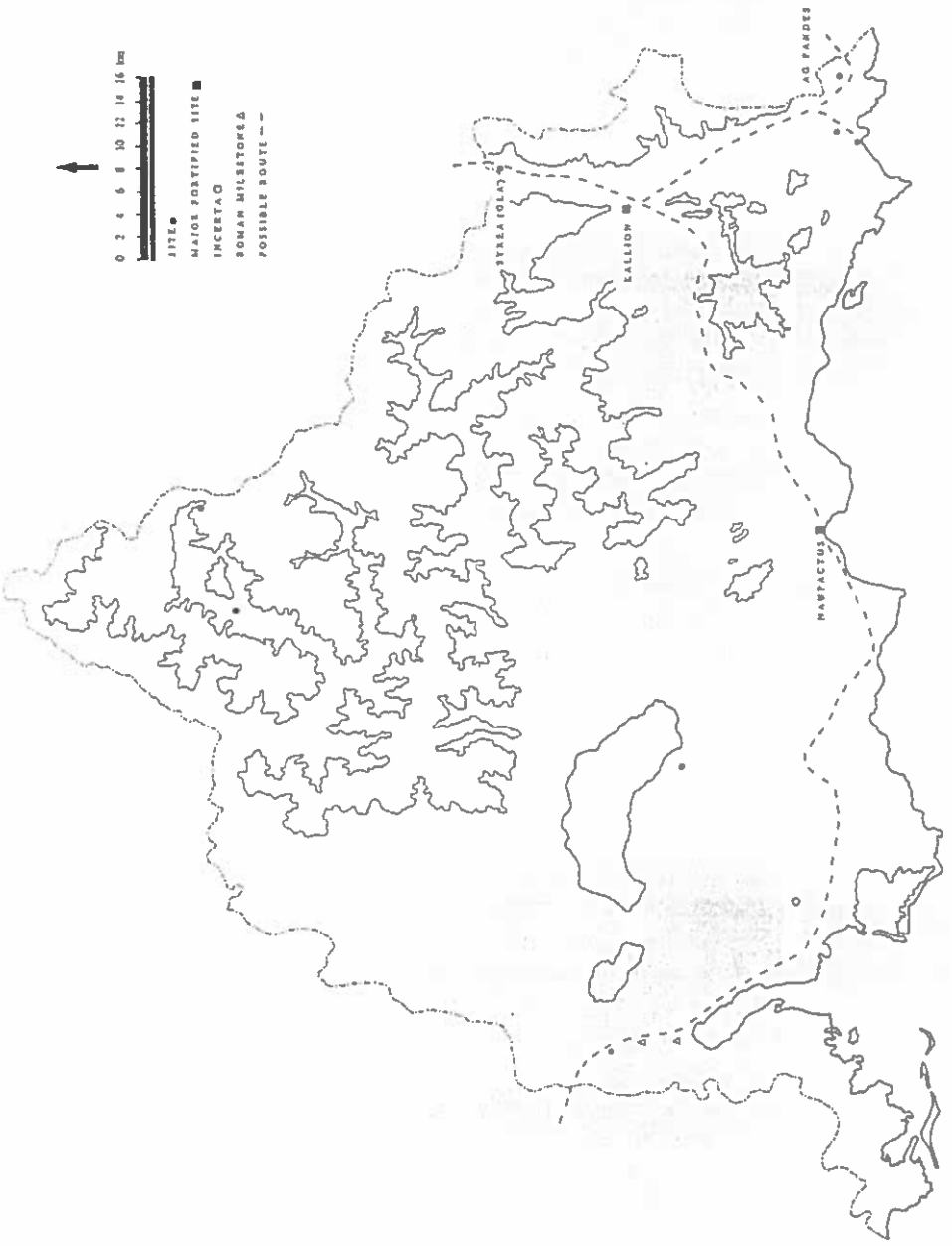

Figure 11. *Aetolia: Late Roman finds and route through Aetolia (contourline at 1000 m)*

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(also known from the written sources) which went not only eastwards along the Corinthian Gulf to Naupactus (medieval Lepanto), Oeanthea (medieval Vitrinitsa), Amphissa (medieval Salona), Galaxidi, Delphi, and Thebes, but also branched off to the north through the mountainous interior. At ancient Kallion (medieval Lidoriki) the route went straight through the mountainous country of Aetolia to Hypata (medieval Neopatras) in the northeast, thus forming a major but hitherto neglected north-south corridor from the Corinthian Gulf to Thessaly. The continuous occupation of large sites along this route (from Prehistoric times well into the Byzantine period) seems to illustrate its importance throughout the ages.

Conclusion

The textual and material evidence related to the transition from Late Hellenistic to Early Roman times in Aetolia does not permit us to draw a detailed picture of developments in this northwestern Greek region. It is evident, though, that as an inhabited and exploited landscape Aetolia underwent a radical transformation between the beginning of the 2nd century BC and the end of the first century BC. The shift in habitation pattern and spatial organization in the region is as striking as the disintegration and disappearance of the Aetolian polity.

The dramatic drop in site numbers in Roman times does seem to corroborate the reports in the written sources about Aetolia as a region where the land were "deserted and untilled". It does appear that the Aetolian *Hinterland* was indeed almost devoid of sedentary human habitation in the Roman period.

The general trend in Aetolia seems not uncommon for Greece as a whole. The fall in the number of settlements and the preference for habitation in large nucleated settlements is recorded by surveys all over Greece for the (Early) Roman period, although in Aetolia the decline seems perhaps to have been sharper and more profound than elsewhere after the remarkable flourishing of the region in Hellenistic times.

The textual and material record indicates that Aetolia was one of the regions in Greece on which Roman influence left a heavy mark at a relatively early stage (Epirus may provide a good parallel). In effect Roman military and political intervention in the region undermined the mountain *genre de vie* of the Aetolians, and thus broke the backbone of the *ethnos* itself.

The Aetolian *genre de vie* was rooted in a poor, marginal and inaccessible landscape, which was safe but could sustain only settlements on village-level; cities did never develop in the mountains. It proved to be a fragile fundament under the regional political and military cooperative system known as the *ethnos* of the Aetolians: once disrupted, it collapsed. Before the 2nd century BC, the *ethnos* had found its coherence in the collective need to overcome the uneven distribution of resources and wealth between its safe but poor mountain habitat and the low-lying, more developed (but un-safe) *polis*-world; in Roman times this Aetolian way of life grinded to a halt. The end of the mountain *genre de vie* in Early Roman times meant the end of the Aetolians as a political and military system. The *ethnos* of the Aetolians simply disintegrated at the moment its territory no longer functioned as a viable habitat.

With all the limitations of historical comparisons in mind, one may perhaps draw a parallel between this breakdown of the Aetolian mountain system and developments in much more recent times. After World War II and the Civil War, the mountains of 'Aetolia' again ceased to provide a viable basis for the mountain *genre de vie*, which had been in continuous existence from Early Ottoman times, reached a peak in Early Modern times, and rapidly collapsed in the 1950's and 1960's. Within the timespan of one generation after World War II the mountains had again played their role as natural fortress (with all of its military and political consequences), the depopulation was all but complete, the villages became all but deserted, the exploitation areas were all but abandoned, and economic as well as social life all but came to a halt. Presently, large parts of the Aetolian mountains are literally "deserted and untilled", and almost devoid of habitation save for the summer holidays.

In the Roman era Greece became a peripheral province in a large empire. The region once known as the territory of the Aetolians became the margin of that peripheral province. The only link with the economy, the technology, and the politics of the outside world was a major route skirting the region. Life in Aetolia was no longer rooted in a mountain economy but was apparently almost totally clustered along this route which linked central Greece with the north-western Provinces on the Balkans and ultimately Italy. Semi-urban settlements along this route flourished well into the imperial era, and some into the Byzantine era.

Aetolia and the Aetolians, however, had long before ceased to exist, because the mountain way of life on which the very existence of the most successful polity in Central Greece during Hellenistic times was based, had ceased to exist.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT LAVDA IN ARCADIA, 3

LAVDA: THE COINS

Yvonne C. Goester

DURING the excavations carried out at Lavda, between 1984 and 1988, 29 coins were found, most of which on or just below the surface or in later fills.[1] An overview of the find spots of the coins is given in the Appendix. Seven coins were so heavily corroded that it was no longer possible to recognize them (nos. 13, 15, 17, 22, 24, 27, 28). One of them may date from the Frankish period, another may be modern. The remaining 22 coins were provisionally cleaned, described and weighed at the local chemist in Andritsaina.

Catalogue

SIKYON

2 AE. Dove flying l./Σ in wreath; w. 1.37 g.
Warren (1983), 36-37: group 4A (ca. 330-251).

21 AE. Dove flying l./Σ?; w. 2.20 g.
Warren (1983), 36-37: group 4A (ca. 330-251) or 4C (ca. 251-200).

11 AE. Dove flying l./ΣΙ in wreath; w. 2.35 g.
Warren (1983), 38-39: group 4C, pl. 1,2 (ca. 251-200).

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[1] For the previous reports, see *Pharos* vol. I (1993), 177-81, 183-99, 201-208; vol. II (1994), 39-48, 49-89.

12 AE. Dove flying l./Θ? in wreath; w. 2.05 g.
Warren (1983), 45-46: group 5, no 6? (ca. 330-290, 2nd century BC).

25 AE. Dove feeding r., ΞE/tripod in wreath; w. 2.0 g.
Warren (1984), 13: group 9, no. 21, pl. 2 (ca. 196-146).

1 AE. Dove flying l., above wing ΠPOMA, above tail Δ/ΣI in wreath; w. 2.7 g.
Warren (1984), 14: group 10, no 2, pl. 3 (later than 146 BC).

MEGALOPOLIS

9 AE. Head of Zeus l./syrinx, ΔE, ME-Γ, KAΛ; w. 2.75 g.
SNG (Cop.), 264; Warren (1993), 95-96. (ca. 146-31) (Plate I).

23 AE. Head of Zeus l./syrinx, ΔE, ME-Γ, KAΛ; w. 2.3 g.
SNG (Cop.), 264; Warren (1993), 95-96. (ca. 146-31).

26 AR. Head of Zeus laureate l./Pan seated l. on rock, r. hand outstretched, in l. lagobolon, on his knee eagle to l., MEΓ upwards, Ⱥ ; w. 2.4 g.
BMC Peloponnesus 188, no. 6; Boehringer (1991), 166-67, pl. X. 24 (ca. 146-31) (Plate II a-b).

ARGOS

20 AE. Head of Hera r. wearing stephanos/Pallas fighting l.; w. 4.0 g.
BMC Peloponnesus 144, 106-108 (350-228); *SNG* (Cop.) 57-8 (Plate III a-b).

18 AE. Head of Hera r.?/quiver, helmet, illegible; w. 2.5 g.
BMC Peloponnesus 144, 142 variant (228-146); *SNG* (Cop.), 81-3.

ATHENS

14 AE. Head of Athena in helmet r., border of dots/fulminating Zeus, AΘE, thyrsos; w. 4.4 g.
Kroll (1993), 96 (mid 90's-early 80's).

4 AE. Head of Athena in helmet r., border of dots/fulminating Zeus r., star between crescents; w. 6.5 g.
Kroll (1993), 97 (87/6).

THOURIA

16 AE. Head of Zeus r./Athena standing l. holding spear and shield on ground; w. 7.0 g.
BMC Peloponnesus 119, nos. 2, 3. (late Hellenistic).

RHODES

19 AE. Radiate head r./illegible; w. 1.5 g.
BMC Caria 259, nos. 324-6. (166-88) (Plate IV).

EGYPT/PTOLEMY III EUERGETES

3 AE. Head r./standing eagle l. on thunderbolt, cornucopia, ΒΑΣΙΛΕ Σ, illegible letters; w. 5.4 g.
Price (1967), 362-63 and 385-86, n. 138, pl. 75, nos. 17, 18. (247-222).

UNCERTAIN GREEK STATES

10 AE. wreath/illegible; w. 2.95 g.

29 AE. illegible/horizontal thunderbolt; w. 0.016 g.

ROMAN

7 Diocletianus
Follis fraction. radiate head r. IMP DIOCLETIANUS PF AUG/Diocletianus receives victory from Iupiter CONCORDIA MILITUM; mint effaced. w. 1.3 g. (ca. 295 AD).

8 Constantinus I
Follis. CONSTANTINUS MAX AUG/two figures flanking a standard, GLORIA EXERCITUS; mint effaced; w. 2.0 g. (335-337).

6 Constans I
Follis. CONSTANS PF AUG/two winged Victories facing, holding up wreath and palm branch VICTORIAE DD AUGGQ NN; mint effaced; w. 0.56 g. (347-348).

5 Constantius II
Aes II. DN CONSTANTIUS PF AUG/emperor with kneeling captives, with star FEL TEMP REPARATIO; mint S M K Γ; w. 3.7 g.
RIC type EC(A) 83 (348-350) (Plate V a-b).

Plate I. *Megalopolis, coin 9, reverse*

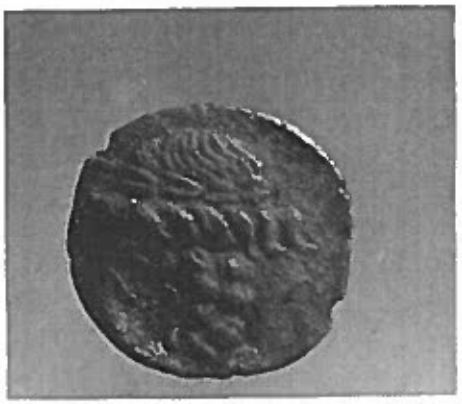


Plate IIa. *Megalopolis, coin 26, obverse*

Plate IIb. *Megalopolis, coin 26, reverse*

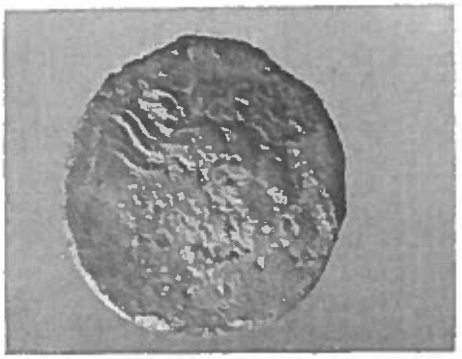
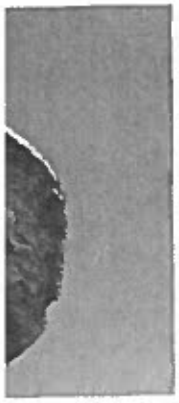


Fig. IIIa. *Argos, coin 20, obverse*



n 26, obverse

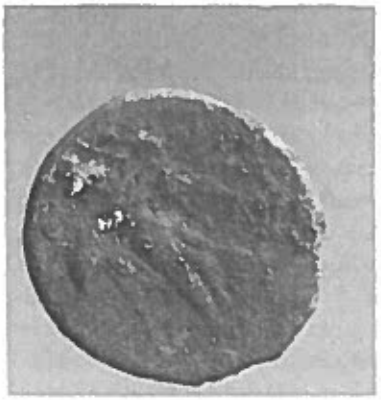


Plate IIIb. *Argos, coin 20, reverse*

Plate IV. *Rhodes, coin 19, obverse*

obverse

Plate Va. *Constantius II, coin 5, obverse*

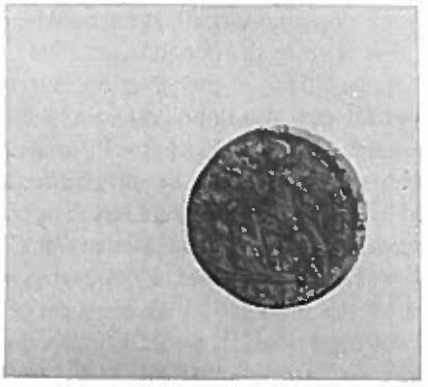


Plate Vb. *Constantius II, coin 5, reverse*

Discussion

Notwithstanding the small number of coins found at Lavda some observations can be made. The relatively large number of Sikyonian coins is remarkable. Miss Warren has published the autonomous bronze coinage of Sikyon in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (1983-1985). Her classification will be followed here. If the reading of **21** is correct, nos. **11** and **21** can be assigned to group 4C according to Miss Warren's list of groups (Warren 1983, 25). The combination 'Dove' and 'Σ in wreath' only occurs in group 4A. Miss Warren (1983, 43) suggests that the change from Σ to ΣΙ may have taken place at ca. 270 or 251 BC, probably as a result of a political event. An overlapping period, however, is likely. The dating of **2** may be tentatively placed in the 4th quarter of the 4th century or the first half of the 3rd century BC; **11** and **21** belong to the second period, i.e. the second half of the 3rd century. Coin **12** also presents a problem, as this type can be placed between ca. 330 and ca. 290 BC or in the 2nd century BC. If the reading of Θ is correct, however, the coin is not one of the two late issues. Group 9 (**25**) is dated in the years ca. 196 to ca. 146. Miss Warren kindly informed me that she is inclined now to think that groups 10 and 11 (**1**) are later than 146 BC.

Sikyonian coins of this period are found in remarkably great quantities in many places in the Peloponnese. This pattern suggests a generally accepted value of these coins. Miss Warren sees an explanation of the circulation of these bronze coins in the warning of the Corinthians to the inland Peloponnesian states in 432 BC (see Thucydides 1.120.2) to support the coastal powers on the penalty of obstructing their trade. She suggests that from this moment on the inland states became used to the Sikyonian silver. Later the bronze coinage will have followed in the wake of the well known silver currency (Warren 1985, 54).

The only silver coin found is the triobol of Megalopolis (**26**). It fits in Dengate's group III, issue 6, no. 38: the Arkadian type with ΜΕΓ (Dengate 1967, 83). He supposed that this group represented the hurried minting of an extensive coinage to be used in the war against Rome, which ended with the destruction of Corinth in 146 BC (Dengate 1967, 109). New research, however, makes it more than probable that a great deal of the late Hellenistic Peloponnesian coinage should be down dated to the end of the second century and the first century BC (Boehringer 1991). This new interpretation is strengthened by Miss Warren's linking of the silver coinage to bronze issues (Warren 1993, 95-96). The later dates for our Megalopolitan coins **9**, **23** and **26** are now widely accepted.

Both Athenian coins belong to the later 'Fulminating Zeus' series. The bronze coins can be joined to the New Style silver and gold series. Coin **14** belongs to the penultimate series 96, dated by J.H. Kroll in the mid 90's to early 80's of the first century BC. Coin **4** belongs to the concluding 'Fulminating Zeus' series 97, showing the Pontic star-between-crescents. This series is fixed to the year 87/6 during which Athens chose Mithridates' side in his conflict with Rome. After Sulla's conquest of the city the star-between-crescents bronzes became worthless. Kroll, however, suggests the possibility that after some time these coins came back into circulation (Kroll 1993, 66-74).

Coin **3** is one of the many bronze coins of Ptolemy III found in several places in the Peloponnese. The frequent occurence of these coins was commented upon by Mrs Varucha (1944, 171, note 1; see also Price 1967, 362-63) in her publication of the coins found at

Asea. Following Svoronos, she associates this phenomenon with the annual δόσεις of six talents given by Ptolemy III to Aratus, which may have consisted partly of bronze coins. Contrarily, Tony Hackens (1968, 85) thinks a subsidy to Sparta (227-223) a more likely interpretation. He prefers, however, not to link the occurence of this coinage in the Peloponnese to any special occasion, but rather to think in terms of trade or payments of mercenaries (Hackens 1968, 95).

The Roman coins all date from roughly the same period, except for 7, which being an issue of Diocletianus is almost half a century older. The mint on 5 is unfortunately no longer to be determined with certainty. Dr. Van der Vin prefers a K, which would mean it was minted at Cyzicus. An N (Nicomedia) is also possible, in which case a parallel is found in EC(A) 71 (348-351). These four coins were found just below the surface in the rubble at the foot of the western tower of the Akropolis wall. As no other evidently Roman remains were found during our investigations, the reason why and how these coins turned up at this spot must remain unclear.

Acknowledgments

The publication of the Lavda coins would not have been possible without the stimulating help of Mrs J. Cargill Thompson. She kindly identified several coins from plaster casts, an ungrateful task, and put us on the right track. Mistaken conclusions therefore are entirely mine. For identifying the Roman coins I have had the invaluable help of Mieke Zilverberg, Amsterdam and Dr. J. van der Vin, Leiden. Their expertise made an obscure matter to me crystal clear.

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C 143: 23-56.
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lver Coinage
Robert Carson

Appendix

In each trench (SL) a new and different phenomenon (unit) was given a number and was excavated layer by layer (steek), for example 15.7.4. Finds from each layer within each unit were given a separate lot number. Anticipating the publication of the excavation itself, which will follow in a next issue of *Pharos*, a preliminary overview is given here of the contexts in which the coins were found.

Coin no.	lot no.	SL.unit.steek (layer)
coin 1	surface	—
coin 2	surface	—
coin 3	21/22	WP Ib (later fill)
coin 4	28	WP Ic (below surface)
coin 5	62	3.4.1/2 (below surface)
coin 6	63	3.4.1/2 (below surface)
coin 7	73	3.4.2/3 (later fill)
coin 8	74	3.4.2/3 (later fill)
coin 9	344	6.6.2 (later fill)
coin 10	334	8.6.4 (later fill)
coin 11	231	5.6.1 (first level)
coin 12	231	5.6.1 (first level)
coin 13	470	20 (below surface)
coin 14	510	13.1.1 (below surface)
coin 15	489	19.3.2 (later fill)
coin 16	482	19.4.1 (later fill)
coin 17	522	15.7.4 (later fill)
coin 18	503	18.5.1 (later fill)
coin 19	533	13.6.1 (later fill)
coin 20	498	14.5.2 (ancient fill)
coin 21	449	14.5.2 (ancient fill)
coin 22	554	17.3.2 (below surface)
coin 23	582	18.7.2 (ancient dump)
coin 24	580	18.7.2 (ancient dump)
coin 25	558	17.7.1 (later fill)
coin 26	568	19.7.3 (later fill)
coin 27	551	17.3.2 (below surface)
coin 28	429	16.2.1 (below surface)
coin 29	456	17.1.3 (below surface)

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