

HELLENISTIC HALAI:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORICAL SOURCES,
STRATIGRAPHY, AND CERAMICS

A Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School

of Cornell University

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

by

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August 1998

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ABSTRACT

Halai, a small coastal city in ancient East Lokris, was first settled in the Neolithic period, and then successively inhabited in the Archaic, Hellenistic, Early Roman, Late Roman, and Byzantine Periods. First excavated by Hetty Goldman in the early years of the 20th century, it has been investigated in recent years by Professor John E. Coleman and the Cornell Halai and East Lokris Project (CHELP).

Halai reached its greatest extent during the Hellenistic, when its acropolis was rebuilt and refortified. The Hellenistic refoundation of Halai probably took place in the third quarter of the 4th century BC, perhaps as part of the systematic refortification of Central Greece by Philip II of Macedon. The coastal location of Halai allowed it to prosper on trade moving through the Euboean Gulf, the principal north-south sea lane in ancient Greece.

During the Hellenistic Period, the weakness of East Lokris made it an inviting target for the territorial ambitions of larger leagues such as Phokis, Boeotia, and Aetolia. Beginning in the early third century, the region of Halai changed hands several times, before being incorporated finally into the Boeotian League in the third quarter of the third century BC. Finally, at the end of the Hellenistic period, Halai was destroyed in the aftermath of the Roman consul Sulla's victory over Mithridates of Pontus in 86BC.

Although we know from Plutarch that Halai was resettled shortly afterwards, and we have continued mention of Halai for the next two centuries, it seems likely that Halai never again matched its Hellenistic peak of prosperity. Areas excavated by CHELP show no habitation levels between the last Late Hellenistic/Early Roman layer and late Roman levels. The Early Roman pottery on the site demonstrates that the acropolis was used, but probably less extensively than in the Hellenistic. Halai appears to have been gradually abandoned in the second century AD, before being resettled some two centuries later.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Jason Colburn Haas was born in Springfield, Vermont, and spent his childhood in nearby Chester, Vermont. After receiving a diploma from Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, in 1991, he attended Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts, where he studied Art and Economics. After graduating with a Bachelor of Arts in 1995, he pursued his interest in history and foreign cultures with stints in Spain, France, and Mexico, before enrolling in the Archaeology Master's of Arts program at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. In addition to two summers of excavation with the Cornell Halai and East Lokris Project at Halai, Greece, Haas designed and taught two writing courses on ancient themes as a part of the John S. Knight Writing Program at Cornell. He completed the course work for his program in 1998, and currently lives in Vermont.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this project would not have been possible without the patient assistance of many people. First, I am particularly grateful to my advisor, Professor John E. Coleman, for his faith in me in as a new graduate student, for introducing me to Greek archaeology, and for his many comments and suggestions on this thesis. I also would like to thank my other committee member, Professor Kathryn Gleason, for making time on short notice to read, comment, and propose bibliography through many rounds of drafts. I would also like to thank Professors Andrew Ramage and Kevin E. Clinton, for their suggestions and patient help through crises as the project neared completion. Funding to support my work was contributed by the Jacob and Hedwig Hirsch Bequest and the Cornell Halai and East Lokris Project.

In addition, I owe a debt of thanks to the other participants at Halai, who helped with the gathering of information, the proposal of alternate points of view, and for supporting me when I needed it. Victoria Buck, in particular, was instrumental in patiently explaining to me the complexities of the region's geology. Tyler, Joel, and Steve -- this would not have been fun without you.

Thank you also to Mom and Dad for providing me opportunities to discover what I love to do, and for the support, encouragement, and love throughout. Finally, thanks go to Meghan – for careful reading and comments, help in tracking

down books throughout the Northeast, and, most importantly, for sharing my discoveries and frustrations with encouragement and love.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
Agora V	Robinson, Henry S., <i>The Athenian Agora vol. V: Pottery of the Roman Period</i> . Princeton: ASCS 1959.
Agora XII	Sparkes, B.A., and L. Talcott, <i>The Athenian Agora vol. XII: Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th, and 4th Centuries B.C.</i> Princeton: ASCS 1970.
Agora XXII	Rotroff, Susan, <i>The Athenian Agora vol. XXII: Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and Imported Moldmade Bowls</i> . Princeton: ASCS 1982
Agora XXIX	Rotroff, Susan, <i>The Athenian Agora vol. XXIX: Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and Imported Wheelmade Table Ware and Related Material</i> . Princeton: ASCS 1997.
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
Austin	Austin, M. M., <i>The Hellenistic world from Alexander to the Roman conquest: A selection of ancient sources in translation</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
ASCS	American School of Classical Studies
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
FD	Fouilles de Delphes
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
JFA	Journal of Field Archaeology
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
MAAR	Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome
Perseus	The Perseus Project: An Evolving Digital Library. Classics Department, Tufts University. Translations on-line: www.perseus.tufts.edu .
PTCETS	Gunneweg, Jan, Isadore Perlman, and Joseph Yellin, <i>The Provenience, Typology, and Chronology of Eastern Terra Sigillata</i> . QEDM Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology #17. Jerusalem: Ahva 1983.
P-W	Pauly, A., and G. Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . Stuttgart: Druckenmüller, 1894-1980.
S.G.D.I.	Collitz, H., and F. Bechtel, <i>Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften I-IV</i> . Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1885-1910
SIG	Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum</i> , 3 rd ed., 1915-24.
SVA	Bengtson, H., and H.H. Schmitt, <i>Staatsverträge des Altertums</i> . Munich: Beck, 1962-1969.

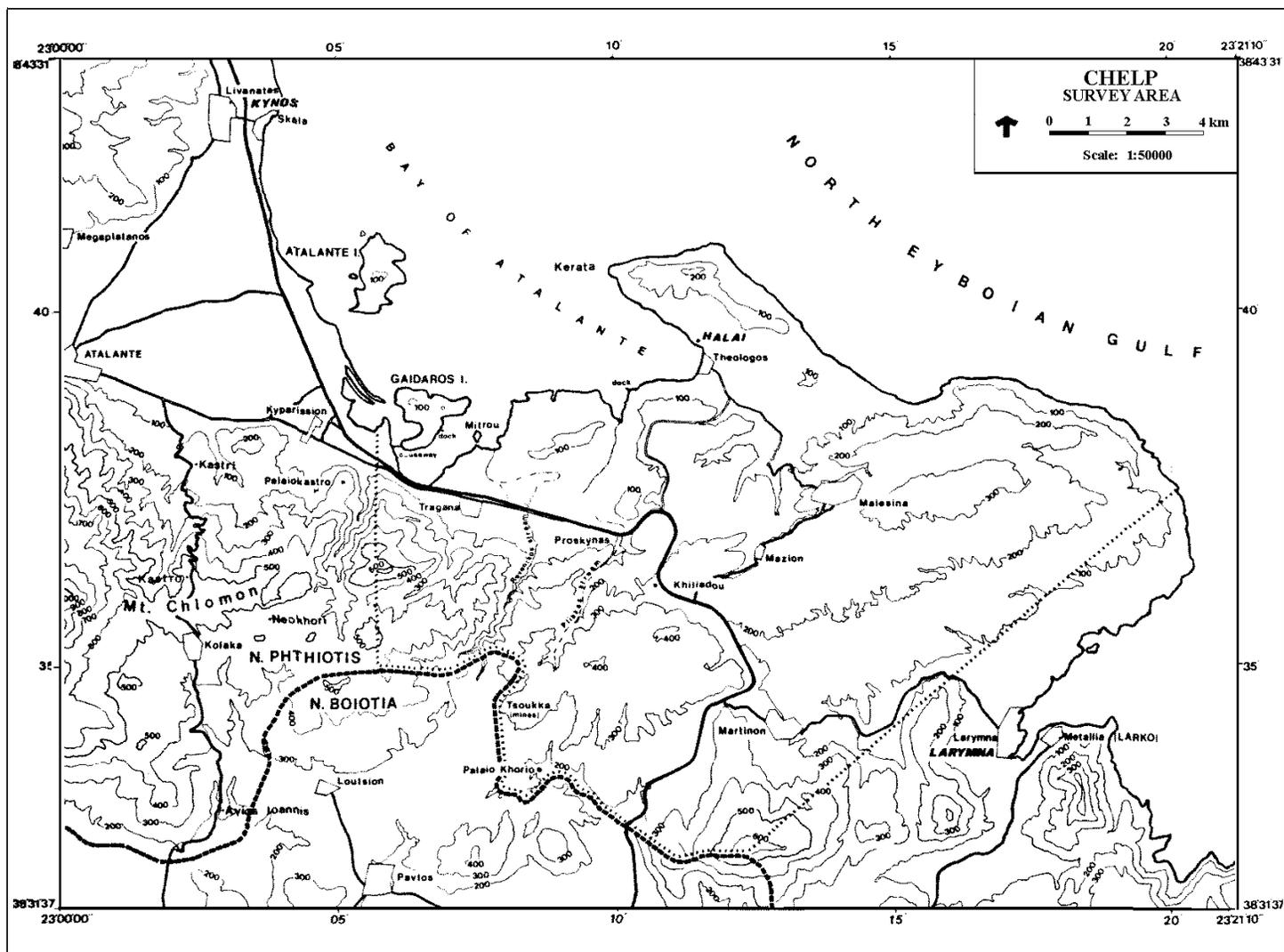


Figure 1: East Lokris (CHELP survey area delineated by dotted lines)

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION AND SITE OVERVIEW

The acropolis of ancient Halai is located in the modern town of Theologos, in the province of Lokris, in the district of Phthiotis, Greece. The small, rectangular fortified site was the center of a larger town occupied intermittently from the Neolithic through the Byzantine periods, reaching its greatest extent in the Hellenistic period. The site was first excavated by Hetty Goldman and Alice Walker from 1911-1935 under the aegis of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Goldman and Walker published several articles on their results between 1915 and 1942,¹ but left many questions unanswered and much of their excavation unpublished.

More recent study of the area, including surface survey (1988-9), excavations (1990-2, 96), and on-site analysis (1993-5, 97) has been conducted under the direction of John E. Coleman of the Cornell Halai and East Lokris Project (CHELP). The recent work has led to two preliminary reports,² a dissertation,³ and several Master's theses⁴ on various portions of the site. The Hellenistic period has been largely underrepresented in the publications.

¹ Goldman, Hetty, and A. L. Walker, "Report on the Excavations at Halae of Locris," *AJA* 19 (1915), pp. 418-437; Goldman, "Inscriptions from the Acropolis of Halae," *AJA* 19 (1915), pp. 438-453; Goldman, "Some Votive Offerings from the Acropolis of Halae," in *Festschrift für James Loeb*, ed. F. Bruckmann, Munich: 1930, pp. 67-72; Goldman, "The Acropolis of Halae," *Hesperia* 9 (1940), p. 381-514; and Goldman, Hetty, and Frances Jones, "Terracottas from the Necropolis at Halae," *Hesperia* 11 (1942), pp. 365-421.

² Coleman, John E., "Excavations at Halai, 1990-1991," *Hesperia* 61 (1992); and Coleman, Patricia Wren, and Kathleen Quinn, "Excavations at Halai, 1992-1994," in publication.

³ Katsonopoulou, Dora, *Studies of the Eastern Cities of Opuntian Lokris: Halai, Kyrtones, Korseia, Bumelitaia*. Dissertation, Cornell University 1990.

⁴ Wren, Patricia S., *Archaic Halai*. Master's Thesis, Cornell University, 1996; Ellett, Curtis, *The Stratigraphy of the Archaic Deposits at Halai*. Master's Thesis, Cornell University, 1995; and Quinn, Kathleen, *Late Antique Halai: The Roman and Byzantine remains at the site of*

Goldman and Walker were principally interested in the Neolithic, Archaic, and Classical periods of the site, and published only limited remains of the Hellenistic town. Various CHELP projects have examined intensively the Neolithic, Archaic, and Late Roman habitation. This thesis will examine the nature, history, and extent of Halai during the Hellenistic Age.

Halai's significance is not that it played a major role in the shaping of Greek history. Nor was it extensively mentioned by Classical writers. Even at its peak of prosperity in the Archaic and Hellenistic periods, Halai probably had no more than a few hundred citizens and its total population (including women of all classes, non-citizen craftsmen, traders, and slaves) would not have exceeded two thousand.⁵ Instead, Halai is instructive because it may provide us with a representative way of life for the average Greek.

There has long been a bias inherent in Classical archaeology toward the excavation of sites which figure prominently in the literature of the time. A site like Athens or Corinth is by nature extraordinary, and it is important to remember that the vast majority of ancient Greeks would have lived in a town much like Halai. Halai thus provides an unusual opportunity to examine a typical *polis* which flourished through the tumultuous Hellenistic period. Aristotle, for instance, would have considered Halai almost ideal in its size, since he believed that each citizen in a *polis* should know the character of every other, and that the city's territory should be appreciable at a glance.⁶

Halai, Greece, as recorded in the field journals of Hetty Goldman and Alice L. Walker. Master's Thesis, Cornell University, 1996.

⁵ Coleman, "Contributions of the Halai Project to the Humanities," Report published online: <http://halai.fac.cornell.edu/chelp/reports/halcon.htm>, 1993.

⁶ Aristotle, *Politics*, 1326-7.

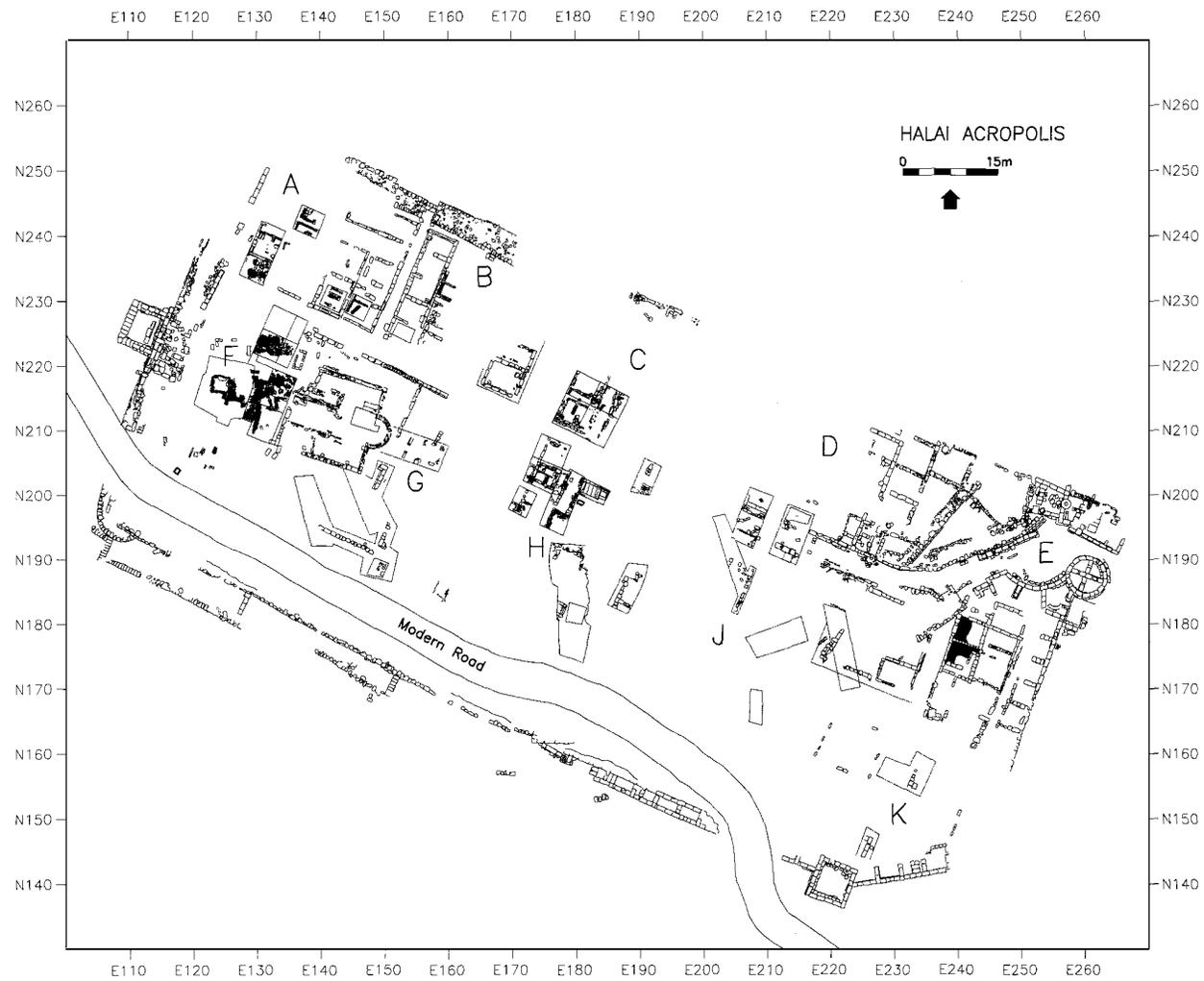


Figure 2: The Halai acropolis, including all excavated sections. CHELP.

CHAPTER II BRIEF SITE HISTORY⁷

The acropolis of Halai is situated on a low mound near the eastern edge of the Bay of Atalante, inside the borders of the ancient province of Lokris.⁸ The sea in modern times laps against the ancient walls of the acropolis, and, although it is clear that the sea has risen significantly since ancient times, the mound would at all periods of its habitation have been in close proximity to the Bay. The first permanent inhabitants of the site occupied the eastern edge of the acropolis in Neolithic times, and abandoned it by 5300BC, perhaps because rising sea levels had reduced the available farmland surrounding the settlement.⁹

Circa 600BC, an Archaic settlement was founded over the Neolithic remains. The new town was apparently carefully laid out from its conception, as the Archaic remains conform to a grid plan. The chief attraction of the site is its wide sheltered harbor, and the new settlement was perhaps intended to tap into the growing demand of southern and

⁷ In keeping with the system used by the CHELP team, “Archaic” is defined as the period of the seventh and early sixth centuries (ending at the Persian invasions of Greece), “Classical” is the period from 480 BC until the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 BC, “Hellenistic” is the period from 338-31 BC, “Early Roman” is the period from 31 BC to AD 150, “Middle Roman” lasts from AD 150 to 350, and “Late Roman” is from AD 350 to 650.

⁸ In ancient times, two separate provinces were named Lokris: East (or Opuntian) Lokris, and West (or Ozolian) Lokris, separated by the province of Phokis. Although both states recognized ties of kinship, the degree of political association between these two provinces is unclear. There is scant evidence of East Lokrian contribution toward the West Lokrian foundation of Lokroi on the toe of Italy ca. 673BC, for example. See Wren, pp. 8-9, 20-21. To further complicate matters, in the late Classical period (ca. 350BC), further Phokian encroachment separated East Lokris into Opuntian and Epiknemidian Lokris. Ancient authors often made no distinction between these different regions, although the context often enables us to make educated guesses.

⁹ Coleman, Wren, and Quinn, p. 6.

central Greek cities for resources (such as grain, timber and slaves) from the Black Sea area and Thrace.¹⁰

The Euboean Gulf was an important sea lane at this time. Because it allowed a ship captain to avoid the exceedingly difficult trip around the capes and headlands of eastern Euboea,¹¹ the Euboean Gulf was the preferred choice for north-south travel along the Eastern coast of Greece during ancient times. Even today, guides to sailing in the Mediterranean advise against the alternate route, along the north-eastern coast of Euboea. The Mediterranean Pilot (1941) reports “high precipitous rocks without even shelter for the smallest craft, nor scarcely a place where a boat can land.”¹²

After a massive destruction at the end of the Archaic period, likely caused by the invading Persians in 480BC,¹³ the site was largely abandoned for over a century. Evidence of Classical habitation from the Halai acropolis is extremely limited. The area around Halai was clearly settled in Classical times; numerous Classical graves and related materials were unearthed by Goldman and Walker in the cemetery areas nearby.¹⁴ Nevertheless, neither CHELP nor earlier excavators have uncovered Classical architecture *in situ* on the acropolis itself. This absence clearly frustrated Goldman and Walker, who would dig

¹⁰ Coleman, “Contributions”; Wren p. 17.

¹¹ See Wren, p. 17-19, for a fuller explanation of the attractions which Archaic Halai could offer to passing merchant and war ships.

¹² British Admiralty, *Mediterranean Pilot, vol. IV, comprising the islands of the Grecian archipelago, with the adjacent coasts of Greece and Turkey from Cape Tainaron on the west to Kara Burun on the east; including also the island of Kriti*, 7th ed. London: Hydrographic Department, 1941, p. 191.

¹³ Wren, pp. 27-35.

¹⁴ The exact location of the cemeteries excavated by Goldman and Walker are not known, but according to Kathleen Quinn, who has studied their field notebooks extensively, they were located in the fields to the north-northeast and east of the acropolis. See Quinn, p. 16.

through deep Hellenistic layers only to find themselves in remains from the Archaic or Neolithic periods.¹⁵

With the rise of Macedonian influence, Halai was in position to profit from the burgeoning sea trade along the east coast of Greece. Probably in the late fourth century BC, Hellenistic Halai was laid out on the same axis as the Archaic town, and the Archaic fortifications were expanded to the east. The town clearly prospered during the Hellenistic period; in addition to the extensive series of fortifications, the vitality of the Hellenistic settlement is indicated by ceramic remains, coins, graves, and inscriptional evidence.¹⁶

After a destruction by Sulla in 86BC,¹⁷ Halai was evidently resettled within a few years, and remained densely settled into the Early Roman period. Habitation remains from the Early Roman period include ceramics and burials, as well as numismatic evidence from Roman emperors Caligula (37-41AD) through Antoninus Pius¹⁸ (138-161AD). By the end of the Early Roman period, however, there is evidence that the site was less prosperous. A lack of new construction and a reduction in the quantity of pottery provide indications of a settlement in decline.

The settlement persisted into the Middle Roman period, but left little material evidence except for a few coins. The continuous sequence of Roman imperial coins ends after Septimius Severus¹⁹ (193-211AD), and the site was apparently abandoned until the

¹⁵ Quinn, p. 16.

¹⁶ The Hellenistic period is treated thoroughly below. This introduction is designed simply to place it within the larger history of the site.

¹⁷ Plutarch *Sulla* 26.

¹⁸ Quinn, pp. 25-26.

¹⁹ Quinn, pp. 26-28.

end of the Middle Roman period.²⁰ CHELP excavators have found no destruction layer at the end of the Early Roman levels, and under the *pax Romana* it seems likely that the abandonment of the site was gradual.

In the Late Roman period (AD 350-650), Halai was home to a flourishing Early Christian community, typical of the repopulation of rural Greek sites in the later years of the Roman Empire.²¹ Physical remains include an elaborate villa and a basilican church with a mosaic floor which overlook the ancient temple area, as well as several graves and the foundations of Late Roman structures. Goldman was almost certainly speaking of Late Roman remains when she reports removing “a perfect network of Byzantine walls that everywhere covered the more ancient constructions.”²²

Finally, in the Byzantine period, a smaller chapel was built within the ruins of the basilican church, and at least three graves excavated by CHELP are associated with the chapel.²³ One coin of Alexius (AD 1081-1118) and nine coins of Manuel I (AD 1143-1180) found around the chapel pinpoint the date of use to the twelfth century.²⁴ After this brief Byzantine occupation, Halai remains undisturbed until the rise of the small fishing village of Theologos in the late 19th century.

²⁰ Quinn summarizes extensive habitation in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods, but proposes that the “sharp break in the reigns represented” be correlated with “an abandonment of the acropolis at Halai,” p. 28.

²¹ van Andel, Tjeerd H., and Curtis Runnels, *Beyond the Acropolis: A Rural Greek Past*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987, p. 113; also Alcock, Susan, “Roman Imperialism in the Greek Landscape,” *JRA* 2 (1989), p. 14.

²² Goldman, “Inscriptions” p. 439; see discussion on Goldman’s use of “Byzantine” in Quinn, p. 30.

²³ Quinn, p. 111-12.

²⁴ Quinn, p. 110.

CHAPTER III AN EXAMINATION OF THE ANCIENT SOURCES

Before attempting a reconstruction of the history of the area, it is important to recognize how little we know with certainty. Much, however, can be inferred through an analysis of the ancient sources which touch on events near Halai. The sources are useful not only in suggesting the possible beginning and end of the Hellenistic settlement at Halai, but also in pinpointing the federal allegiance of Halai at different points in its history, and for inferring the political conditions of the area. Our task is complicated by the fact that the history of Halai is neither entirely that of Lokris nor that of Boeotia. Although it had originally been a part of Lokris, at some point in its history, Halai joined the Boeotian League. In any attempt to sort out the history of Halai, it is of paramount importance to determine the date in which Halai abandoned Lokris and joined Boeotia.

It will prove useful to enumerate the historical and inscriptional sources from which we extrapolate the local history. The sources will be addressed chronologically. Scylax, writing in the middle of the fourth century, names Larymna (see Figure 3) among the towns of Lokris.²⁵ His *Periplus* is of particular interest, and is treated in greater depth below.²⁶ Pausanias confirms that Larymna “of old belonged to Opus,”²⁷ and it seems sure that Halai, in the next bay to the north and in much closer proximity to Opus, did as well. We know,

²⁵ Scylax, *Periplus* 60.

²⁶ The *Periplus* bears the name of Scylax of Karyanda, who is mentioned as a traveler of renown in Herodotus 4.44. As the work is conclusively demonstrated to be mid-4th century (see below) such an attribution is highly unlikely, and was presumably added later to give the work credibility. Nevertheless, we have no other author for this *Periplus*, and as it has been passed down to us as the “*Periplus* of Scylax of Karyanda,” Scylax will continue to be used for convenience. See Allain, Michael L., *The Periplus of Skylax of Karyanda*. Dissertation, Ohio State University (1977), p. 9.

also from Pausanias, that “when Thebes rose to great power,”²⁸ Larymna joined the Boeotian League of its own accord. Our first contemporary indication that Larymna and Halai have changed allegiances comes from Polybius, in 229BC; a Macedonian general “sailing on some business along the coast of Boeotia”²⁹ ran aground near Larymna, and was confronted by Boeotian cavalry.

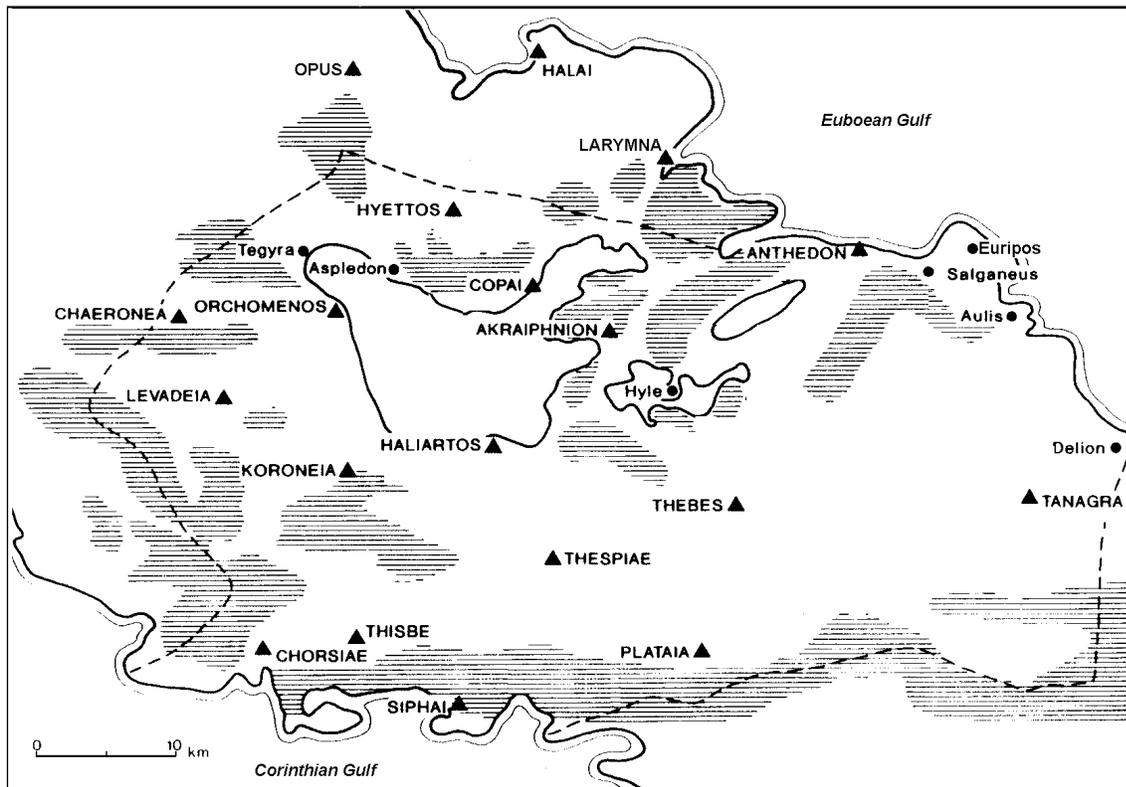


Figure 3: Classical Boeotia, with borders hashed and uplands shaded. After Bintliff,

Four inscriptions are relevant to the political allegiance of Halai, but only the earliest demonstrates Lokrian ties: a Delphian *proxenos* decree of 273/2BC in honor of a

²⁷ Pausanias 9.23.7 (Perseus translation).

²⁸ Pausanias 9.23.7 (Perseus translation).

Lokrian from Larymna.³⁰ An inscription found at Halai³¹ provides our first evidence for the date when Halai joined the Boeotian League. The inscription was dedicated during the archonship of Philon, whose time in office has been dated by Etienne and Knoepfler to 235-225BC.³² From the Halai inscription, we can be confident that Halai and Larymna were Boeotian by the third quarter of the third century BC. Slightly later, a stele from Leivadhia dated between the years of 221-216BC lists Larymna among the cities of the Boeotian League.³³ The last relevant inscription records a border dispute between Halai and the neighboring Boeotian town of Bumeliteia during the second century BC.³⁴ The placement of this inscription in the Theban Treasury at Delphi indicates both Halai's allegiance to Boeotia and the Theban preeminence within the Boeotian League.

Finally, in the late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods, we again have historical evidence. Plutarch describes "three cities of Boeotia: Anthedon, Larymna, and Halai,"³⁵ destroyed by the Roman consul Sulla in 86BC and resettled shortly thereafter. Halai remains among the towns of Boeotia in the accounts of Strabo (early first century AD): "there are still two small towns belonging to the Boeotians: Larymna, near which the Cephissus empties, and, still farther on, Halai,"³⁶ and Pausanias (mid second century AD):

²⁹ Polybius 20.5.7 (Shuckburgh translation).

³⁰ *S.G.D.I.* #2593 (1899), p. 787.

³¹ Goldman, "Inscriptions," p. 445

³² Etienne, Roland, and Denis Knoepfler, *Hyettos de Béotie et la chronologie des archontes fédéraux entre 250 et 171 avant J.-C.*, Athens: BCH Supplement III, 1976, pp. 285-7, 350.

³³ Vollgraff, W., "Inscriptions de Béotie," *BCH* 25 (1901), pp. 365-375.

³⁴ Published in two parts: Bourguet, E., "Epigraphie," *FD* III (1929) pp. 209-216; Michaud, J. P., "Le Trésor de Thèbes," *FD* II (1973). For a detailed discussion of the topographical significance of the boundary dispute, see Katsonopoulou, pp. 100-112.

³⁵ Plutarch, *Sulla* 26 (Loeb translation).

³⁶ Strabo, *Geography* 9.2.13 (Perseus translation).

“the last of the Boeotians in this part dwell in Halai-on-Sea.”³⁷ After these references, Halai disappears from history.³⁸

Such are the bare bones of the history of Halai. The site itself has produced few helpful epigraphic remains; of the five inscriptions found on the site by Goldman,³⁹ only one (see above) allows us insight into the political affiliation of the town. No relevant inscriptions have been uncovered by CHELP. Thus, if we hope to create a coherent local history, we must look to the larger and more influential neighbors (including Larymna and Opus in Lokris, and Thebes and Orchomenos in Boeotia) whose affairs have more frequently been recorded in the historical record.

One crucial advantage we have in this effort is our ability to infer the actions of both Halai and Larymna from the recorded actions of either one. For example, if at any given time Larymna, situated to the south of Halai and more closely tied by history to Boeotia, was allied with Lokris, it is highly unlikely that Halai would have been allied to Boeotia, as it would therefore have been surrounded by Lokrian towns. Likewise, if Halai has joined the Boeotian League, then we can reasonably assume that Larymna did so as well.

Despite the apparently clear epigraphic evidence, suggested dates for the shift of Halai and Larymna from Lokris to Boeotia have ranged from the early fourth century to the late third century.⁴⁰ I hope to present a case for a date in the third quarter of the third

³⁷ Pausanias 9.24.5 (Perseus translation).

³⁸ The omission of Larymna from Pliny’s catalogue of Boeotia (late first century AD) has been convincingly explained as a scribal corruption from Larymna to Lamiae. See Fossey, John M., *Papers in Boeotian Topography and History*. Amsterdam: Gieben 1990, pp. 5-7.

³⁹ Goldman, “Inscriptions,” pp. 438-453.

⁴⁰ Goldman, “Excavations,” p. 422 (earlier), and Oldfather, W.A., “Studies in the History and Topography of Locris I,” *AJA* 20 (1916), p. 52 (later).

century, and will draw on a number of historical sources relevant, directly or indirectly, to the history of Halai.

Much of the confusion over the date of Halai's change of allegiance comes from different interpretations of Pausanias's phrase, "when Thebes rose to great power."⁴¹ The only time in antiquity in which Thebes can be realistically credited with great power is during the brief time of Epaminondas, between the refoundation of the Boeotian League in 376BC and the battle of Mantinea in 364BC. During this period, Thebes defeated the allied forces of Athens and Sparta, invaded the Peloponnese and restored the freedom of Messene, and founded the town of Megalopolis. Goldman therefore dates the changeover from Lokrian to Boeotian allegiance to the early fourth century BC.⁴² However, Pausanias lived more than five centuries after the events he describes, and the Thebes he visited was much in decline.⁴³ He laments, "Thebes, once deemed worthy to be head of the Greek people, why, its name includes only the acropolis and its few inhabitants."⁴⁴ Compared to the decline and decadence which characterized it in Roman times, Thebes was an important player in the affairs of Greece through the end of the Hellenistic period. It is reasonable to suspect that Pausanias either was mistaken as to the date of the switch or was referring generally to Hellenistic Thebes.

The passage in Scylax has not been sufficiently considered in this debate. His *Periplus* is a sequential description of the coastlines of the Mediterranean, beginning at the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar) and moving clockwise along the north coast of the

⁴¹ Pausanias 9.23.7.

⁴² Goldman and Walker, p. 421.

⁴³ Pausanias 8.33.2, 9.7.6.

⁴⁴ Pausanias 8.33.2 (Perseus translation).

Mediterranean, into the Black Sea through the Bosphorus, back down the coast of Asia Minor, around the eastern Mediterranean, back across the coast of North Africa, and concluding with some description of the west coast of Africa outside Gibraltar. Although the work is undated, we can infer the date by an analysis of the events described within. The towns of Epicnemidian Lokris are in the possession of Phokis, which occurred no earlier than 354BC.⁴⁵ However, Scylax describes Olynthus, which was destroyed by Philip of Macedon in 348BC.⁴⁶ Therefore, we can pinpoint the composition of this account to within a few years of 350BC.

In his *Periplus*, Scylax describes the east coast of Greece from south to north. Boeotia (see Figure 3, above) is represented by Delion, Aulis, Euripos, Salganeus, and Anthedon.⁴⁷ The account of Lokris begins with Larymna, and continues with Kynos, Opus, and Alope.⁴⁸ Scylax is particularly detailed in his description of the Greek world: Sicily, Greece, Asia Minor, and the North African coast from Egypt to Carthage.⁴⁹ The omission of Halai in a work which is otherwise so careful should not be overlooked. It seems a reasonable inference that the Hellenistic establishment of Halai occurred after 350BC. The inclusion of Larymna in Lokris indicates that, whatever Halai's status as a town, the environs of Halai were Lokrian.

⁴⁵ Scylax, *Periplus* 60-61; the Phokian invasion of Lokris is described in Diodorus 16.33.3.

⁴⁶ Scylax, *Periplus* 66; the destruction of Olynthus is described in Diodorus 16.53.2-3.

⁴⁷ Scylax, *Periplus* 59.

⁴⁸ Scylax, *Periplus* 60. Although Opus was located south of Kynos, this discrepancy can perhaps be explained as a faulty emendation of the manuscript, which reads Κυνοσποῦς. See discussion in Fossey, John M., *The Ancient Topography of Opountian Lokris*. Amsterdam: Gieben 1990, p. 167.

⁴⁹ Kaeppl, Carl, *Off the Beaten Track in the Classics*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press 1936, pp. 143-148.

The references in Scylax and the Halai inscription bracket the Hellenistic renovation of Halai between the years of 350BC and 235BC. Goldman's proposal for an early fourth century date for the refortification of the Halai acropolis⁵⁰ seems unlikely, given the testimony in Scylax, but as CHELP has not excavated undisturbed portions of the fortification walls, we must accept Goldman's testimony of "vases of fourth century style"⁵¹ as the remains of the earliest Hellenistic settlers. Since we know that Philip II of Macedon engaged in a systematic campaign of refortification in the cities of central Greece,⁵² it seems quite possible that Halai's Hellenistic fortifications date to the third quarter of the fourth century BC.⁵³ Sea traffic between Macedon and southern Greece would have no doubt provided ample opportunities for profit by coastal towns on the route.⁵⁴ Certainly, a mid/late fourth century foundation date is more likely than one in the troubled third century, when the territory of East Lokris was frequently overrun by war.

The inscription found at Halai by Goldman is unequivocal, and dated to 235-225BC.⁵⁵ Therefore, we know that Halai (and, presumably, Larymna) was Boeotian by just after the middle of the third century. The *proxenos* decree from Delphi is securely dated (273/2 BC), but more problematic to interpret. It is conceivable that Halai could have joined the Boeotian League twice: once in the fourth century BC, and then, after a reversion to Lokris, again in the third century BC. A possibility proposed by Goldman is that the Delphi inscription refers to an ethnic rather than a political designation, and is compatible with a Larymna which is a member of the Boeotian League.⁵⁶ However, the *proxenos* decree is a relatively formal dedication designating a person to act on behalf of the citizens of another state. The formality of the office conferred by the decree decreases the likelihood that the inclusion of

⁵⁰ Goldman, "Excavations," p. 432.

⁵¹ Goldman, "Excavations," p. 434.

⁵² Lawrence, A. W., *Greek Aims in Fortification*. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1979, p. 120.

⁵³ See Brief History of Halai in the Hellenistic, below.

⁵⁴ John Coleman, personal communication.

⁵⁵ See above.

Lokris is casual. The third (and in my opinion, most likely) possibility is that Halai and Larymna did not join the Boeotian League until the middle of the third century BC. Scylax's *Periplus*, written around 350BC, indicates that if Larymna or Halai did join Boeotia at the time of Epaminondas, they had to have rapidly reverted to Lokrian allegiance. In fact, there is no contemporary evidence that either Halai or Larymna was Boeotian in the fourth century; our first historical reference to a Boeotian Larymna is that of Polybius in 229BC.⁵⁷

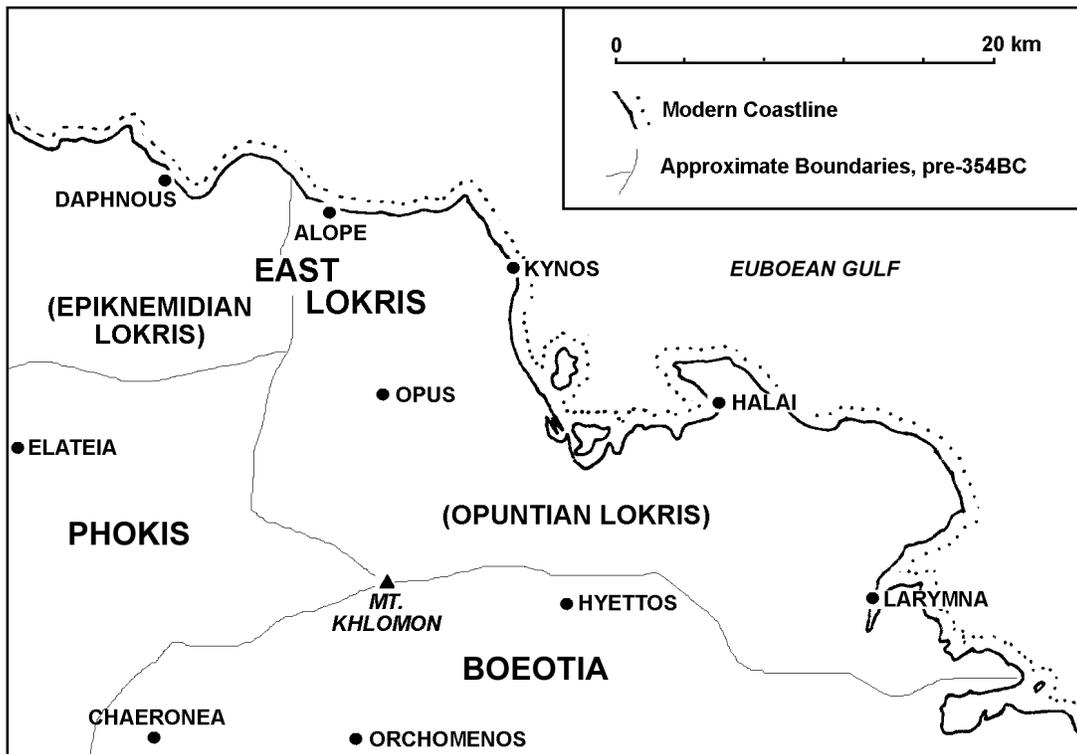


Figure 4: The region of Halai during Classical Times

⁵⁶ The relevant text of the inscription is “...Αλυ που Λοκρῶν ἐγ Λαρυμνῶν.” See Goldman, “Excavations,” p. 422.

⁵⁷ See above.

CHAPTER IV

BRIEF HISTORY OF HALAI DURING THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

Throughout the Hellenistic period, an increasingly weak Lokris presented a tempting target for the expansionist goals of nearby Boeotia, Phokis, and Aetolia. In the late third century, a gradual loss of independence culminated in the division of Lokris and its incorporation into its neighbors. To understand the political climate which confronted Halai during the Hellenistic period, it is necessary to undertake a description of the local history. What follows is an attempt to draw together different sources relevant to affairs in central Greece into a (relatively) coherent political chronology. Our main sources are the ancient histories of Xenophon, Diodorus, Plutarch, Polybius, and Livy, recording the actions of Thebes and the Boeotian League, Opus and the Lokrians, the Aetolian League, and Macedon.⁵⁸

Post-Peloponnesian War period (404-376BC):

Halai was not important as a political entity during the early years of the fourth century. Although the environs of Halai were settled, the acropolis seems to have been

⁵⁸ Structure for the following summary is drawn from P-W s. v. Opus, vol. XVIII.1, p. 816-7, with significant assistance from CAH 2nd ed., vol VI: *The Fourth Century B.C.*, D. M. Lewis, J. Boardman, S. Hornblower, and M. Ostwald, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994; CAH vol. VII: *The Hellenistic Monarchies and the Rise of Rome*, S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock, and M. P. Charlesworth, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1964; CAH 2nd Ed, Vol. VII.1: *The Hellenistic World*. F. W. Walbank, A. E. Astin, M. W. Fredriksen, and R. M Ogilvie, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1984; CAH 2nd Ed., vol. VIII: *Rome and the Mediterranean to 133 B.C.*, A. E. Astin, F. W. Walbank, M. W. Fredriksen, and R. M Ogilvie, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1989; and CAH 2nd Ed., vol. IX: *The Last Age of the Roman Republic, 146-43 B.C.*, J. A. Crook, A. Lintott, and E. Rawson, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994.

largely abandoned.⁵⁹ Whatever community did exist was a part of Lokris. During the Peloponnesian War, the Bay of Atalante was such an important staging ground for Lokrian privateers that Athens decided to fortify Atalante Island.⁶⁰ The region of Opus must have been Lokrian, as Thucydides makes it clear that the pirates which Athens was attempting to curb were Lokrian. A Boeotian military presence on the Bay of Atalante would have been considerably more threatening to Athens.

The history of Opuntian Lokris in this period is not well documented, but it seems clear that through most of the Classical period, Opus was a firm ally of Theban Boeotia.⁶¹ Xenophon credits the Opuntian Lokrians with the planned provocation of Phokis – and thus their allies the Spartans – which touched off the Boeotian War in 395 B.C.⁶² Whatever the veracity of this particular assertion (which has been questioned by scholars)⁶³ it is clear that in order for Xenophon’s narrative to be plausible, Lokris must have been closely tied to Boeotia.⁶⁴ In 394BC, Opus is present at the Battle of Nemea, and provides “about fifty”

⁵⁹ See Site History, above.

⁶⁰ Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, II.32.

⁶¹ Buck, Robert J., *Boiotia and the Boiotian League, 423-371 B.C.* Alberta: University of Alberta Press 1994, p. 35.

⁶² Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 3.5.3.

⁶³ George Cawkwell, in his notes to Warner’s translation of Xenophon, states, “unless the detailed narrative of *Hellenika Oxyrhynchia* is wholly awry, Xenophon has got the wrong Lokrians,” p. 175. Buck, however, includes a brief description of the contradictions between the accounts of Xenophon, Pausanias, and the *Hellenika Oxyrhynchia*, and supports the account of Xenophon as the most reliable of the three. *Boiotia and the Boiotian League, 423-371 B.C.*, pp. 30-33.

⁶⁴ Buck suggests that Opuntian Lokris and Boeotia were “close neighbors and old allies,” p. 33.

cavalrymen on the side of Thebes, Athens, and Corinth.⁶⁵ Later that year, at the Battle of Coronea, Opus again fights alongside Boeotia against Sparta.⁶⁶

The Boeotian League, led by Thebes, was an implacable enemy of Athens during the Peloponnesian War, but within ten years of the war's close, Thebes was fighting alongside Athens and Corinth against the newly hegemonic Sparta (394BC).⁶⁷ At the same time, however, Boeotia was becoming increasingly dissatisfied with Theban leadership, and this feeling caused Orchomenos (and several other cities) to withdraw from the Boeotian League in 395BC. For the next thirty years, Orchomenos would be a focal point for both internal and external struggles of power. Larymna, perhaps the most important port for Orchomenos,⁶⁸ would doubtless have been affected by any conflict in the region.

In response to pleas for aid by Orchomenos, Sparta installed a garrison there and began making raids on Boeotia. Although Thebes was able within a year to impel all the rebels other than Orchomenos to rejoin the confederation, the Spartan presence culminated in several Theban defeats and the Treaty of Antalcidas in 387/6BC which, among its other provisions, guaranteed the independence of Boeotian cities from Thebes.

Period of Theban Hegemony (376-362BC):

Halai probably was still not a significant political entity. However, it is likely that Lokrian citizens from near Halai shared in the golden age of Theban Boeotia. Sparta's gradually eroding power allowed Thebes to rebuild support for its policies under the

⁶⁵ Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 4.2.17.

⁶⁶ Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 4.3.15.

⁶⁷ Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 4.2.17.

talented leadership of Epaminondas. First, the Boeotian League was reintegrated in 376BC. Theban military supremacy was announced with Epaminondas's decisive defeat of Sparta at Leuctra (371BC). The refoundation of Messene (370BC) and the foundation of Megalopolis (368BC) demonstrated the new Theban effort to assume the status of hegemon. Fear of Theban power forced Athens and Sparta into alliance (369BC), yet Thebes remained preeminent in Greece. Orchomenos fell to the Thebans in 364BC. Finally, the brief national supremacy of Thebes ended with the death of Epaminondas at the battle of Mantinea in 362BC. Xenophon reports that Opuntian Lokris had "become trained soldiers"⁶⁹ in preparation for Epaminondas's invasion of Laconia in 370-369BC, and until the fall of Epaminondas, it seems clear that Lokris allied herself with Boeotia.

The Sacred Wars, and the Rise of Macedon (362-336BC):

After the death of Epaminondas, the allegiances of central Greece were more fluid. In 355BC, Opus remained neutral in the war between Philip II of Macedon and neighboring Phokis. In 354BC, Lokris fought alongside the Boeotian League in the Sacred Wars against Phokis, and suffered a major defeat to the Phokians.⁷⁰ In 352BC, Diodorus reports that the Phokians "succeeded in capturing all the cities but one"⁷¹ of Lokris. With the intervention of Philip II in 346BC and the forced demilitarization of Phokis, East Lokris was restored to a tenuous independence.⁷²

⁶⁸ Oldfather, W. A., "Addenda on Larymna and Cyrtone," *AJA* 20 (1916), pp. 347-8; Gomme, A. W., "The Topography of Boeotia," *BSA* 18 (1911-2), p. 200.

⁶⁹ Xenophon, *Hellenika*, VI.5.23 (Warner translation).

⁷⁰ Diodorus 16.24.4.

⁷¹ Diodorus 16.38.3 (Perseus translation).

⁷² Philip enters Lokris from Thessaly. Diodorus 16.59.2.

The intervention of Macedon into the affairs of central Greece put additional pressures on the Lokrian alliance with Boeotia. Macedonian control of Thessaly was a continual reminder that the independence of smaller central Greek states was tenuous. During the Sacred Wars, Philip's interventions were designed to limit the ability of individual Greek states to undermine peace while keeping Macedon preminent.⁷³ This policy led irrevocably to conflict with Thebes, and evidently brought about a break between Boeotia and Opuntian Lokris; in 340BC, Opus fought with Philip against Amphissa and Thebes.⁷⁴ There are no documents which explain the break between longtime allies Lokris and Boeotia, but it is easy to imagine Lokris, uneasy with the constant conflict brought about by Theban ambitions, being attracted to the Macedonian commitment to the general peace. Two years later (338BC), Macedonian supremacy was demonstrated at Chaeronea with a decisive victory over the combined forces of Thebes and Athens. Men from the region of Halai who fought at Chaeronea probably did so in the service of Macedon.

This period is the first where it can be reasonably argued on historical grounds that the acropolis of Halai was resettled and refortified. The rise of Macedon, and its repeated intervention in the affairs of central Greece, would have provided opportunities for coastal communities such as Halai which could offer services as ports for both military and merchant vessels. It is known, additionally, that after Chaeronea, Philip himself ordered the refortification of many cities in central Greece to serve as a network of defenses which would guard the new frontier.⁷⁵

⁷³ Ellis, J. R., "Macedon and north-west Greece" Chapter 14 in CAH 2nd Ed., Vol. VI, p. 755-759.

⁷⁴ P-W s. v. Opus, vol. XVIII.1, p. 816.

⁷⁵ Lawrence, p. 120.

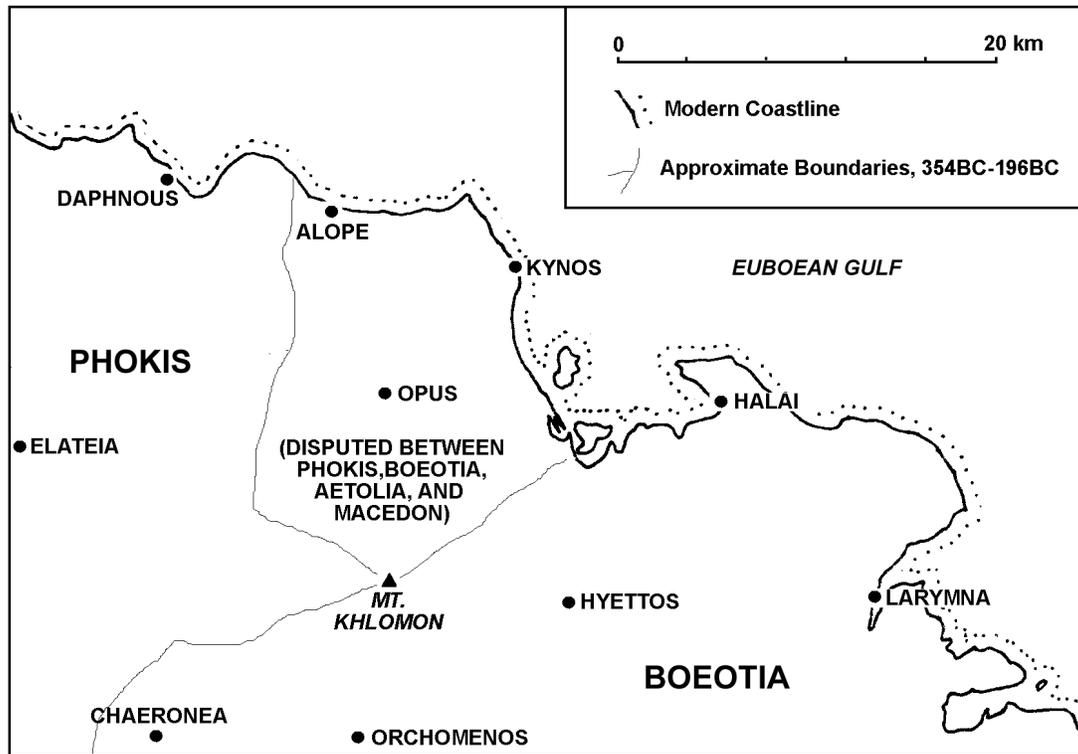


Figure 5: The region of Halai between 354BC and the Roman conquest of Greece in 196BC.

Alexander and his Immediate Successors (336-276BC):

Upon Philip's death, Alexander cemented Macedonian hegemony over Greece. The responsibilities of the Greek city states, under the aegis of the League of Corinth, were to supply a military tithe to support Alexander's campaigns in Asia, and to keep the common peace within Greece.⁷⁶ Although the first test to Alexander's authority came from Thebes, it is highly unlikely that Halai joined in the revolt or suffered in Thebes' fall. Alexander's destruction of Thebes in 335BC was an example designed to frighten those Greek cities who would consider revolt during his absences on campaign.⁷⁷ Theban rhetoric during the revolt, "to remember the battles of Leuctra and of Mantinea and the

⁷⁶ Ellis, "Macedonian hegemony created" Chapter 15 in CAH 2nd Ed., Vol. VI, p. 783-5.

glorious deeds which were household words throughout Greece,⁷⁷ is a language recalling past glories of the state, not a universal call for the liberation of the Hellenes. In addition, we know that other members of the Boeotian League, including Plataea, Thespieae, and Orchomenos, used the opportunity to settle old scores with Thebes.⁷⁹ It is unlikely that Halai joined in such a rebellion, and even possible that it was one of Alexander's allies.

Certainly, the example of Thebes was well learned by the cities of Greece. Not until 331BC did another Greek city revolt, and the Macedonians (under Alexander's regent Antipater) proved triumphant over Sparta and her Peloponnesian coalition.⁸⁰ The provinces of central Greece, with Thebes eliminated and Macedonian Thessaly near at hand, were particularly loyal to Macedon through the time of Alexander. A military contingent may even have accompanied the Macedonian regent Antipater on his expedition against the Peloponnesians in 330BC,⁸¹ and a Lokrian division, we know, fought alongside Alexander against Darius of Persia at Arbela in 331BC.⁸²

Undoubtedly of greater concern to the contemporary residents of Halai, a great drought afflicted central Greece from 330-326BC, and we know from a Cyrenean inscription that 10,000 measures of wheat are sent to the Opuntians.⁸³

The cities of Greece were at peace until Alexander announced his so-called Exiles' Decree in the summer of 324BC. This decree promised amnesty for exiles throughout the

⁷⁷ Diodorus 17.9.4.

⁷⁸ Diodorus 17.11.5 (Perseus translation).

⁷⁹ Justin, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* 11.3.8. Diodorus mentions only Phokis and Plataea (17.13.5).

⁸⁰ Diodorus 17.63.1.

⁸¹ Bosworth, A. B., "Alexander the Great Part 2: Greece and the conquered territories" Chapter 17 in *CAH 2nd Ed.*, Vol. VI, p. 854.

⁸² Diodorus 17.57.3. It is not clear whether he is referring to East or West Lokrians.

Hellenistic world and declared Alexander's determination to support the exiles with military intervention if necessary. Such an initiative was particularly problematic for Aetolia, Thessaly, and Athens, because each was occupying disputed territory at the time (Aetolia, the city of Oeniadae; the Athenians, the island of Chios; and the Thessalian league, the city of Pherae).⁸⁴ Apparently an attempt by Alexander to install citizens beholden to him in several important Greek cities, the autocratic decree summarily removed the façade of consensus engendered by the League of Corinth and created a common national spirit with Macedon as the enemy.⁸⁵ A general uprising against Antipater was already in progress when Alexander died ten months later.

Led by Athens and Aetolia, the Greeks at first achieved remarkable success against Antipater's Macedonian forces in the so-called Lamian War. Antipater, badly undermanned due to Alexander's losses in Asia, was forced to retreat behind the walls of Lamia and call for aid. Only after the arrival of another of Alexander's generals were the Macedonians able to break the siege and reassert control. Diodorus reports that the Lokrians, like most of the other cities of Greece, joined under Athenian leadership against Antipater,⁸⁶ although we do not know whether they suffered its punishment of occupation and demilitarization.

In the confused struggle for control of the remnants of Alexander's empire, Opus supported Cassander in 317 (when he uses ships from Lokris to transport his army to

⁸³ P-W s. v. Opus, vol. XVIII.1, p. 816.

⁸⁴ Bosworth, pp. 855-859.

⁸⁵ Bosworth, p. 859.

⁸⁶ Diodorus 18.9.5.

Thessaly)⁸⁷ and again in 313-2BC, when Opus withstood a siege by Ptolemy, the nephew of Antigonus.⁸⁸ Cassander appears to have trusted central Greece as an important base of support and bolstered it as a balance to Aetolian power.⁸⁹ His restoration of Thebes, in 315BC, was done with significant pan-Hellenic approval.⁹⁰

After the death of Cassander in 297BC, Boeotia and East Lokris were counted as subject states by Demetrius I (Poliorcetes) in his bid for the Macedonian kingship in 293BC.⁹¹ In 279BC Opus fought against the invading Gauls,⁹² and not until 276BC, under the Macedonian reign of Antigonus II, were the provinces of central Greece freed from upheaval caused by struggles for the Macedonian throne.

By the end of this period, Halai had almost certainly been fortified and resettled for some time. Goldman identified fourth century ceramics on the Halai acropolis. The power of Macedon was at its apex, and communities which could benefit from sea traffic to and from Macedon would have doubtless prospered. The succeeding period is one of strain and intermittent warfare in the region of East Lokris, and a new town in Halai's location would have seemed a dangerous proposition by the middle third century.

The Federal period of Aetolia and Achaëa, and the Chremonidean War (276-230BC):

⁸⁷ Diodorus 19.35.2.

⁸⁸ Diodorus 19.78.5.

⁸⁹ Diodorus 19.53.1.

⁹⁰ Pausanias 9.7.1, and Diodorus 19.54.3; see also a partially preserved inscription: IG 7.2419.

⁹¹ Tarn, W. W., "The New Hellenistic Kingdoms" Chapter 3 in CAH vol. VII, p. 81.

⁹² The "Lokrians over against the island of Atalanta" contributed a small force of 700 men to the effort. Pausanias 10.20.3 (Perseus translation).

The middle and later third century in Greece was dominated by a struggle for power between Macedon and the two large federal leagues of Aetolia and Achaëa. Aetolia, with the prestige gained from saving Delphi from the Gauls in 279BC, expanded rapidly from its base in western Greece to control much of central Greece.⁹³ The federation of Achaëa in the northern Peloponnese came together formally in 280BC and expanded rapidly in the second half of the third century to encompass nearly the entire Peloponnese. Under the talented leadership of Aratus, Achaëa surprised and defeated the Macedonian garrison in Corinth in 243BC, and soon incorporated Arcadia and Argos into their membership.⁹⁴ Although Achaëa would play an equally important national role in the events of the third and second centuries BC, the location of Aetolia involved it more directly in the affairs of the region of Halai.

The Chremonidean War (267-261BC), between Macedon and a coalition led by Athens and Sparta, had little effect in the balance of power in central Greece. The war's significance was that it marked the final demonstration of Macedonian supremacy over Greece, and announced the end of Sparta as a national power. In central Greece, Aetolia preserved a nominal neutrality, but its public recognition of the divinity of Ptolemy I (the founder of the Ptolemaic rival line to Antigonid Macedonia) at the same time as the final capitulation of Athens in 262/1BC is an indication that Macedonian authority in the region was negligible.⁹⁵

⁹³ Walbank, F. W., *The Hellenistic World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1993, p. 152-3.

⁹⁴ Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, p. 154.

⁹⁵ Walbank, "Macedonia and Greece," Chapter 7 in CAH 2nd Ed, Vol. VII.1, p. 241.

Aetolia, bordered to the east by the states of Boeotia and Phokis, and on the northeast by Macedonian Thessaly, dominated its region after 279BC through the Amphictyonic Council, a federal organization based in Delphi whose authority had previously been limited to religious affairs. Its northern expansion stopped by the effective leadership of Antigonus in Thessaly, Aetolia focused its efforts to the east. If it could conquer Phokis and Lokris, Aetolia would control all land north of Boeotia and south of Thessaly, and therefore the land trade between Macedon and southern Greece. East Lokrian ports would give Aetolia an important presence on the Euboean Gulf, still the principal north-south sea route of Greece. Forced into alliance, traditional rivals Phokis and Boeotia responded with mixed success.

W. W. Tarn, despite his assertion that “this period is utterly obscure,”⁹⁶ has identified several episodes of contest over the port cities of Opuntian Lokris in the third century between Aetolia and the Phokian/Boeotian alliance.⁹⁷ In 272BC Opuntian Lokris as a whole was briefly Boeotian, but was lost soon after.⁹⁸ In 262/1BC the Lokrian vote in the Amphictyonic council disappears and the Phokian vote rises from two to three, indicating that Phokis has taken control of Lokris. However, a renewed outbreak of war in 261BC led to the division of East Lokris into Opuntian and Epicnemidian Lokris, with Boeotia in control of Opuntian Lokris and Aetolia in control of Epicnemidian Lokris.⁹⁹ This divided situation lasted until 246BC. From 260/59BC the extra vote is exercised by

⁹⁶ Tarn, W. W., “Macedonia and Greece,” Chapter 6 in CAH vol. VII, p. 218.

⁹⁷ Walbank, “Macedonia and Greece,” p. 242.

⁹⁸ This summary is reconstructed from Tarn, “Macedonia and Greece,” pp. 197-223, and Walbank, “Macedonia and Greece,” pp. 221-256.

⁹⁹ Tarn, “Macedonia and Greece,” p. 218.

Aetolia, indicating that a significant portion of what was formerly Lokris has been incorporated into the Aetolian League.

With the renewal of hostilities between Boeotia and Aetolia in 245, Boeotia was soundly defeated and forced to ally itself with the Aetolian League.¹⁰⁰ Unlike its ally Phokis, however, Boeotia survived entire. Phokis was incorporated into the Aetolian League, and the town of Opus was Aetolian in 240BC.¹⁰¹ Upon the outbreak of war between Aetolia and the Macedonian king Demetrius II in 238BC, Boeotia abandoned Aetolia, allied itself with Macedon, and reasserted control over Opuntian Lokris. Thereafter, until the intervention of Rome, the territory around Halai was subject to Macedon, under the nominal authority of the Boeotian League.

The inscriptional evidence indicates that Halai and Larymna must have changed federal allegiance between the years 272BC (the *proxenos* decree at Delphi) and 229BC (Polybius's identification of Larymna as Boeotian). I propose the very end of this period, just after the resumption of hostilities between Boeotia and Aetolia in 238BC, as a likely date for Halai's and Larymna's official adoption of Boeotian affiliation. Political conditions would have encouraged changes in allegiance: the traditional state of Lokris was in shambles, and the towns in question were controlled by a larger, more secure state. With the reassertion of Boeotian control over Opuntian Lokris, the lure for a small town to ally itself with the authority of an established league (backed by the power of Macedon) must have been substantial. In addition, there is reason for Boeotia to incorporate Halai and Larymna into its league; with Aetolia in *de facto* possession of the political power of Lokris

¹⁰⁰ Tarn, "The Greek Leagues and Macedonia," Chapter 22 in CAH vol. VII, pp. 732-768.

¹⁰¹ P-W s. v. Opus, vol. XVIII.1, p. 816.

(the vote in the Amphictyonic council) the towns serve no strategic purpose as independent entities. As Boeotian towns, however, Boeotia is ensured continued access to the ports most convenient to the north shore of the Copais.

Goldman's inscription #3 identifies Halai as Boeotian in the time of the archon Philon (c. 230BC).¹⁰² This inscription lists every official of the town, from the powerful (city archon and military commanders) to the symbolic (weavers of hangings and officials for the torch race).¹⁰³ Such an inscription would only have been commissioned by so small a town for an event of unusual importance. The adoption of a new federal authority would be such an event, and it seems at least possible that the inscription was produced for this occasion.

The rise of Rome (230-196BC):

Macedon's Greek policy during the third century BC was not one of outright conquest, although they did so in Thessaly. Instead, it consisted of the fortification and garrisoning of crucial strategic points – Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, Polybius's "fettters of Greece"¹⁰⁴ – and the defense of Greece against the incursion of other outside powers.¹⁰⁵ Greeks certainly recognized the limited nature of their own independence. Polybius reports that Greek envoys, sent to Rome in 198/7BC, "all took pains to impress on the Senate that so long as Chalcis, Corinth, and Demetrias remained in Macedonian hands, it was impossible for the Greeks to have any thought of liberty."¹⁰⁶ Lokris would certainly

¹⁰² Etienne and Knoepfler, pp. 285-7.

¹⁰³ Goldman, "Inscriptions" pp. 444-450. For a full translation, see Appendix 2.

¹⁰⁴ Polybius 18.11.

¹⁰⁵ Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, pp. 91-94.

¹⁰⁶ Polybius 18.11 (Shuckburgh translation).

have felt the Macedonian presence keenly, with Macedonian-controlled Euboea close nearby.

However, the loss of Acrocorinth in 243BC to a surprise attack by Aratus and the Achaean league significantly weakened Macedonian authority in southern Greece. The alliance of Aetolia and Achaea provided a unified resistance, and Aetolia overran much of Thessaly. Macedon's situation did not improve until the rise of a powerful Spartan king encouraged Aratus to invite Macedon back into the Peloponnese in 224BC as a bulwark of Achaean power. This choice was viewed as a betrayal by many Greeks; Plutarch comments, "and so Aratus turned to a course of action unworthy of any Greek and most disgraceful for him, and in complete contradiction of his previous actions and policies."¹⁰⁷ As part of the settlement, the Macedonian presence was reestablished at Corinth.

This new era of Macedonian hegemony began under Antigonus III, and was continued after his death in 221BC by Philip V. The new Macedonian-led league was named the Symmarchy, and consisted of the powers allied to or controlled by Macedon: Thessaly, Epirus, and Macedon in the north, Acarnania, Boeotia, and Phokis in central Greece, and Achaea in the Peloponnese. The region of East Lokris was clearly included, although Lokris as an independent political entity had ceased to exist. Polybius's identification of Larymna as Boeotian in 229BC¹⁰⁸ gives us our first historical evidence of the new allegiance of coastal Lokris.

After an inconclusive war between Aetolia and the Symmarchy from 220-217BC, the peace of Naupactus was designed to present a unified front against incursions of Roman

¹⁰⁷ Plutarch, *Cleomenes* 16 (Loeb translation).

¹⁰⁸ Polybius 20.5.7; see above.

and Carthaginian power.¹⁰⁹ However, the ambitions of Philip V led him to ally Macedon with Hannibal and attack the Roman protectorate of Illyria, north of Aetolia. After some maneuvering, a treaty was negotiated in 211BC between Rome and Aetolia as a check to Macedonian power.¹¹⁰ The treaty allowed any territorial gains made during the campaign to be kept by Aetolia, although material gains would be split between Aetolia and Rome.¹¹¹ The text of the treaty listed as enemies the regions allied to Philip: “most of the Peloponnesians, Boeotians, Euboeans, Phokians, Lokrians, Thessalians, Epirotes.”¹¹² Such was the position of Greece in 211BC: on one side was the Symmarchy controlled by Philip, and on the other was an ambitious Aetolia, bolstered by Roman power, with evident designs of supplanting the existing league with one of its own. The region of Lokris, apparently, remains a recognizable entity, if perhaps no more than a traditional one.

Although Aetolia broke temporarily from Rome and made peace with Philip in 206BC, the position of Macedon became increasingly tenuous. In 200BC, war again broke out between Macedon and Rome, and Aetolia renewed its Roman alliance. The Roman policy of separating Macedonian possessions from Macedon city by city¹¹³ included campaigns in Phokis, Lokris, and Euboea. Opus fought on the side of Philip V against the Romans in 199BC.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Polybius 5.104-106.

¹¹⁰ Larsen, J.A.O., *Greek Federal States*. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1968, p. 365.

¹¹¹ Austin #62b, p. 122.

¹¹² Polybius 5.4 (Shuckburgh translation). It is likely that Polybius refers to the text of the treaty; see Larsen, p. 367.

¹¹³ Errington, R. M., “Rome against Philip and Antiochus” Chapter 8 in CAH 2nd Ed., vol. VIII, pp. 244-279.

¹¹⁴ P-W s. v. Opus, vol. XVIII.1, p. 816.

In large part due to the inability of Philip to protect his allies from Rome, Aetolia was joined in the Roman camp by Achaëa in 198BC.¹¹⁵ In the debate at Achaëa on whether to desert Macedon, Roman campaigns in central Greece were cited as evidence of the weakness of Philip: “we see the consul and his legions marching through Phokis and Lokris.”¹¹⁶ Boeotia (presumably including Halai) was particularly loyal to Philip; Boeotian troops continued to serve under Philip even after the League itself had been pressured to declare for Rome.¹¹⁷ After further defections, including that of Opus in 197BC,¹¹⁸ the peace treaty between Philip and Rome resulted in the confinement of Macedonian power to the traditional borders of Macedon. At the Isthmian games of 196BC, the Roman Senate declared “the following peoples free, without garrison, or tribute, in full enjoyment of the laws of their respective countries: namely, Corinthians, Phokians, Lokrians, Euboeans, Phthiotic Achaëans, Magnesians, Thessalians and Perrhaebians”¹¹⁹ Lokris evidently retains a recognizable ethnic designation, although it had not been truly independent in three generations. However, the Roman rhetoric would prove to be hollow: the Greeks had merely exchanged one overlord for another.

The Consolidation of Roman Power (196-146BC):

Rome’s first responsibility was to arbitrate the conflicting claims of many of the Greek leagues. Aetolia, because of its military support against Philip, was allowed “to

¹¹⁵ Errington, p. 266.

¹¹⁶ Livy 32.21.7 (Loeb translation).

¹¹⁷ Larsen, p. 385.

¹¹⁸ Livy 32.32.1-5.

¹¹⁹ Polybius 18.46.5 (Shuckburgh translation).

retain Phokis and Lokris as members of their league, as they had been before.”¹²⁰

However, further Aetolian claims were dismissed. In similar fashion, Rome disposed of the disputed territories in Greece, rewarding individual towns which had supported Rome and limiting the power of the federal leagues. Rome’s short-lived occupation of Greece from 196-194BC was based in Elateia, and the area around Halai would doubtless have felt the Roman presence.¹²¹

Aetolia had expected to be rewarded handsomely for their support of Rome, and reacted in 192BC with a decree that Antiochus III (a Seleucid king based in Asia Minor)

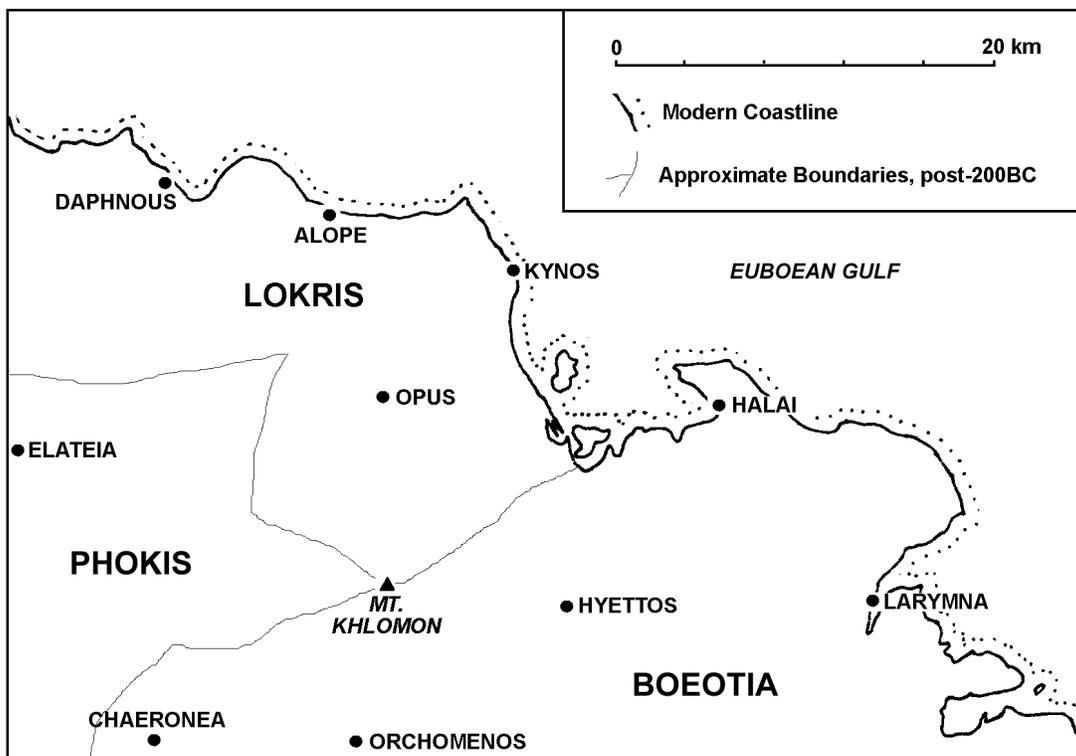


Figure 6: The region of Halai during Roman times

¹²⁰ Presumably not including Opuntian Lokris, which had been integrated into Boeotia for some time. Polybius 18.47 (Shuckburgh translation).

¹²¹ Larsen suggests that Phokis and East Lokris were the logical places to quarter such an army (p. 398).

“be summoned to liberate Greece.”¹²² The ensuing Roman victory over Antiochus and Aetolia was convincing, and Greece lost much of its remaining autonomy with the treaty of Apamea (188BC). Although Rome did not yet annex any Greek territory, the Senate decreed that any political or territorial dispute must be arbitrated by Rome.¹²³ Aetolia, however, was allowed to retain its current form, and its continued possession of the territory of Lokris and Phokis is indicated by an inscription of 178BC, where Aetolians hold the Phokian and Lokrian positions as representatives to the Amphictyonic council.¹²⁴

As Rome became more and more involved in Greek actions from Thessaly to the Peloponnese, the pressure to assume direct control grew. In order to more easily support Roman interests, Rome set out to limit the capability of the Greek leagues for combined action. Two significant events in 172BC marked the new Roman initiative. Boeotia, consistently hostile to Rome in the early second century and an ally of Macedon, provided one opportunity.¹²⁵ Upon evidence of dissent within Boeotia, each town was required to give individual expressions of allegiance to Rome, effectively dissolving the Boeotian League. The second event occurred in Macedon. Philip V’s son Perseus had arranged the assassination of a younger brother with powerful friends in Rome. This made him a hostile outlet for Roman frustration, and also in 172BC the Senate decided to eliminate him. The Third Macedonian War ended in 168BC with the capture and deposition of Perseus, and the division of Macedon into four independent republics. In 149BC, after an unsuccessful revolt by a pretender to the Macedonian line, Macedon became a Roman province.

¹²² Livy 35.33.8 (Loeb translation).

¹²³ Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, pp. 237-8.

¹²⁴ *SIG* 636; see discussion Larsen, p. 282.

¹²⁵ Larsen, pp. 463-4.

In southern Greece, matters were brought to a head by a dispute between Sparta and the Achaean League in 150BC. Sparta was a comparatively recent arrival to the Achaean League, and was reluctant to cede authority to any federal body. Upon Spartan appeal to Rome in 148BC,¹²⁶ the Senate decided on the partial dissolution of Achaean, including the detachment of Sparta, Argos, and Corinth, and territories as far north as Thessaly.¹²⁷ This settlement would have signaled the end of Achaean influence at the national level, and Achaean revolted. They were joined in their rebellion by Boeotia, Phokis, Lokris, Chalcis, and the Megarid.¹²⁸ The intervention of Rome was immediate. After the decisive battle at Scarphea in Phokis,¹²⁹ the rebellion dissolved rapidly. Corinth, the site of the largest anti-Roman display, was sacked and burned as an example to the rest of Greece. The walls “of all the cities which had made war against Rome [were] demolished,”¹³⁰ including those of Thebes, and the territorial confederacies (such as the Achaean, Boeotian, and Phokian Leagues) were dissolved. Those regions which had rebelled became subject to the Roman governor in Macedon.¹³¹

Although the Leagues were allowed to reform a few years later,¹³² and southern Greece was not incorporated formally into the Roman Empire until 27BC, contemporaries recognized that the Roman victories over the federal leagues of Greece were watershed

¹²⁶ Pausanias 7.12.8.

¹²⁷ Larsen, p. 492.

¹²⁸ Larsen, p. 495.

¹²⁹ Polybius 39.9. Scarphea, a coastal town north of Daphnous, had originally been Lokrian, but was in the part of East Lokris incorporated into Phokis in the fourth century BC.

¹³⁰ Pausanias 7.16.9 (Perseus translation).

¹³¹ On the balance, the evidence favors an immediate assumption of authority over the subjugated areas by the Roman governor of Macedon. See the summary of arguments in Habicht, Christian, *Athens from Alexander to Antony*, trans. Deborah Schneider. Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1997, pp. 269-270.

events. The Macedonians made 148/7BC the beginning of a new era, and calculated dates starting from this year on inscriptions over the next several centuries.¹³³ Former members of the Achaean League began their own era in 145/4BC, and even Athens, which had been loyal to Rome in the conflict, began a new table of eponymous archons in 146/5BC.¹³⁴ Residents of Halai would undoubtedly have recognized the significance of these events.

Greece during the Roman Republic (146-31BC):

The nature of the late Hellenistic centuries was such that Boeotia was described as the “dancing floor of Ares.”¹³⁵ In 198BC, from 196-4BC, in 170BC, and from 148-6BC, Boeotia either suffered enemy occupation or was the site of battles between outside powers. The final Hellenistic conflict which involved Greece was the war between Mithridates of Pontus and Rome, which culminated in two massive battles on Boeotian soil. Halai was one of several Greek cities destroyed in the aftermath of these battles.

The origins of the Mithridatic Wars are outside the scope of this survey,¹³⁶ but some discussion of the appeal of Mithridates VI is necessary to understand why so much of Greece – including Athens, which had remained loyal to Rome through nearly a century of conflict – flocked to his banner. The region of Pontus is inland, in northern Asia Minor,

¹³² Pausanias 7.16.10.

¹³³ Habicht, p. 270.

¹³⁴ Habicht, p. 270.

¹³⁵ Alcock, Susan, “Changes on the Ground in Early Imperial Boeotia” in John Bintliff, ed., *Recent Developments in the History and Archaeology of Central Greece: Proceedings of the 6th International Boeotian Conference* (BAR International Series 666). Archaeopress: Oxford 1997, p. 291.

¹³⁶ For a detailed account, see Hind, John F., “Mithridates” Chapter 5 in CAH 2nd Ed., vol. IX. A useful working summary of the events relevant to Greece is found in Habicht, pp. 297-314.

but during the second century BC the predecessors of Mithridates gradually annexed many of the Greek states along the southern coast of the Black Sea. In the time of Mithridates V (150-121BC), the kingdom of Pontus was rewarded for its loyalty to Rome with additional territories in Asia Minor. Upon his accession in 120BC, Mithridates VI was forced by Rome to surrender the land given to his father, and to direct any territorial ambitions elsewhere.

The Greek city states of the west and north coasts of the Black Sea were threatened at the end of the second century by the incursions of Scythian and Sarmatian tribes from the north.¹³⁷ In response to their appeals for help, Mithridates VI intervened against the barbarians as the patron and defender of Greek civilization. By the end of his intervention, he had annexed the territories to his growing kingdom. Such an act was not necessarily unwelcome for the Greek city states, as it promised the continued protection of a powerful Hellenized kingdom.¹³⁸ Likewise, Mithridates gained something from the intervention: by appearing as the savior of the Greeks against the barbarians, he won considerable renown among the Greek peoples of the Aegean.¹³⁹

As long as Mithridates remained a steadfast ally of Rome, such sentiments were not threatening, but as one conquest followed the next, and the frontiers of Pontus expanded to encompass the Black Sea and reach up into the Caucasus, Rome began to perceive him as a threat.¹⁴⁰ The Mithridatic conquest of Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and Galatia between 101BC and 97BC was followed by a Roman demand that Mithridates withdraw. He did so.

¹³⁷ Habicht, p. 298-9.

¹³⁸ For example: a decree honoring the Pontic commander Diophantus by the city of Chersonesus is recorded in *SIG* #709.

¹³⁹ Habicht, p. 299.

Finally, following Mithridates' seizure of Cappadocia in 91BC, Rome again ordered him to withdraw, incited Nicomedes of Bithynia to invade Pontus, and ordered Mithridates to allow unimpeded the campaigns of Nicomedes.

The Mithridatic response to this provocation was rapid.¹⁴¹ During the winter of 89/8 Pontic armies occupied much of Asia Minor. Although a few cities offered resistance and had to be taken by force, most opened their gates and welcomed Mithridates as a liberator.¹⁴² The news was transported back to Greece in the spring of 88BC, and by that summer Athens had cast its lot with Mithridates. Rome, preoccupied with war in Italy, declared war near the end of 89BC but was unable to muster an armed response until nearly two years later. Perhaps as a calculated response to the Roman declaration of war, Mithridates embarked on a campaign of atrocity designed both to vent the widespread hatred of Roman tax officials and moneylenders, and to make it impossible for any city to be welcomed peacefully back into the Roman fold. On a day determined in advance by Mithridates, all Romans, their wives and children, and any freedmen of Italian birth were killed, and their corpses cast out into the streets unburied.

The sea power of Mithridates was overwhelming, and would continue to be so throughout the war. The coastal towns of Greece were therefore particularly vulnerable to Pontic attacks, and essential for the success of Mithridatic campaigns in Greece. The ports of central Greece, especially that of Chalcis but evidently including those of East Lokris,¹⁴³ provided points of entry and escape for Mithridatic armies. Many cities and former Greek

¹⁴⁰ Habicht, p. 298-299.

¹⁴¹ The summary of the Mithridatic campaigns in Greece is reconstructed from Hind, pp. 149-159, except where noted.

¹⁴² Habicht, p. 300.

leagues went over to Mithridates en masse, including Achaëa and Sparta in the Peloponnese, Athens, and most of Boeotia. Two large Pontic armies installed themselves in Athens.

Not until the arrival in the summer of 87BC of a large Roman army under the command of Sulla was there any organized resistance to Mithridates. However, Mithridates' ability to support his troops by sea allowed him to reinforce his garrison in Piræus and supply his strongholds on Euboea. Sulla crossed from Italy through the Balkans into Thessaly, and marched south into the rebellious provinces of central Greece. Most of the cities of Boeotia, including Thebes, returned to Roman allegiance with the arrival of Roman legions.

After forcing the submission of central Greece, Sulla marched south and besieged Athens, which was occupied by Mithridatic armies both in the city and in the Piræus. To contest the land superiority of Sulla, in the spring of 86BC Mithridates sent a massive force into Northern Greece under the command of his son Archathius. They defeated the small Roman army in Macedon and left garrisons in the important towns of Amphipolis and Philippi. At roughly the same time, Athens fell to Sulla's siege and the Mithridatic commander of Piræus abandoned Attica to reconnect his forces with the Pontic army marching south from Macedon. Sulla burned Piræus and sacked Athens, but spared it total destruction due to its rich history and the intercession of Athenian exiles in his camp.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Oldfather, "Locris I," p. 54.

¹⁴⁴ Plutarch, *Sulla* 14.

After the fall of Athens and the submission of central Greece, Greek forces largely disappeared from the field, and Greece became merely the stage for the conflict between Sulla and Mithridates. In Boeotia, a major battle at Chaeronea (86BC) resulted in the defeat of the Mithridatic army, and Sulla pursued the remnants of the Pontic force back to their bases on the Euboean Gulf. Unable to prevent the escape of the Mithridatic army's remnants because of his lack of naval power, Sulla returned to Boeotia and punished Thebes for its brief Mithridatic sympathies by stripping it of half its territory.¹⁴⁵ We know that he punished Orchomenos as well,¹⁴⁶ and there were likely other reprisals.

Later that summer (86BC), as Sulla was marching north to meet a new Roman army, he received word that a new Mithridatic army had arrived in Greece and was ravaging Boeotia.¹⁴⁷ After a rapid march back south, Sulla confronted the Mithridatic forces near Orchomenos. The Roman victory was even more convincing than that of Chaeronea, and Sulla again pursued the remnants of the Mithridatic force east through Boeotia. Plutarch tells us that the towns of Anthedon, Larymna, and Halai were destroyed in the aftermath of this battle. Oldfather's suggestion that these East Lokrian towns must have played important (if involuntary) roles as harbors for the Pontic armies¹⁴⁸ is a reasonable explanation for their destruction, although Plutarch's account does not treat their destruction as an event with significance in its own right. Instead, the story is an example of Sulla's mercy, which takes place while Sulla is recuperating from gout at the baths of Aidepsos, on Euboea opposite Halai:

¹⁴⁵ Pausanias 9.7.5.

¹⁴⁶ Pausanias 9.33.6.

¹⁴⁷ Plutarch, *Sulla* 20.

¹⁴⁸ Oldfather, "Locris I," p. 54.

“Once, as he was walking along the seashore, certain fishermen brought him some very fine fish. Being delighted with their gift, and learning that they were from Halai, ‘What!’ said he, ‘is any man of Halai still alive?’ For when he was pursuing the enemy after his victory at Orchomenos, he had destroyed three cities of Boeotia together, Anthedon, Larymna, and Halai. The men were speechless with terror, but Sulla smiled and bade them depart in peace, since they had brought with them no mean or despicable intercessors. The men of Halai say that this gave them courage to go back again in a body to their city.”¹⁴⁹

For the remainder of the Early Roman period, East Lokris escaped further ravages from war. Greece played no more than a peripheral role in the struggle for control of Rome between Caesar and Pompey, and many Greek cities, including Athens, were patronized by Caesar.¹⁵⁰ The incorporation of the Roman province of Achaia in 27BC marked the formal acceptance of Greece into the Roman Empire.

The economic status of Lokris is more difficult to ascertain than its political status. We know that beginning in the fourth century, the region of Eastern Boeotia became increasingly linked to the seacoast, and was bypassed by land routes through central Greece.¹⁵¹ Situated in a bay with no easy route into the interior, it seems logical that Halai’s associations would lie with the sea rather than with the land, either of Boeotia or East Lokris.

¹⁴⁹ Plutarch, *Sulla* 26 (Loeb translation).

¹⁵⁰ Rawson, Elizabeth, “Caesar: civil war and dictatorship,” Chapter 11 in CAH 2nd Ed., vol. IX, pp. 441-3.

¹⁵¹ This is particularly evident in later antiquity; in the *Peutinger Table*, the late antique map of the ancient world, the region of eastern Boeotia is omitted entirely. See discussion in Roller, Duane, “The Modern Rediscovery of Ancient Boiotia” in Bintliff, ed., pp. 359-362.

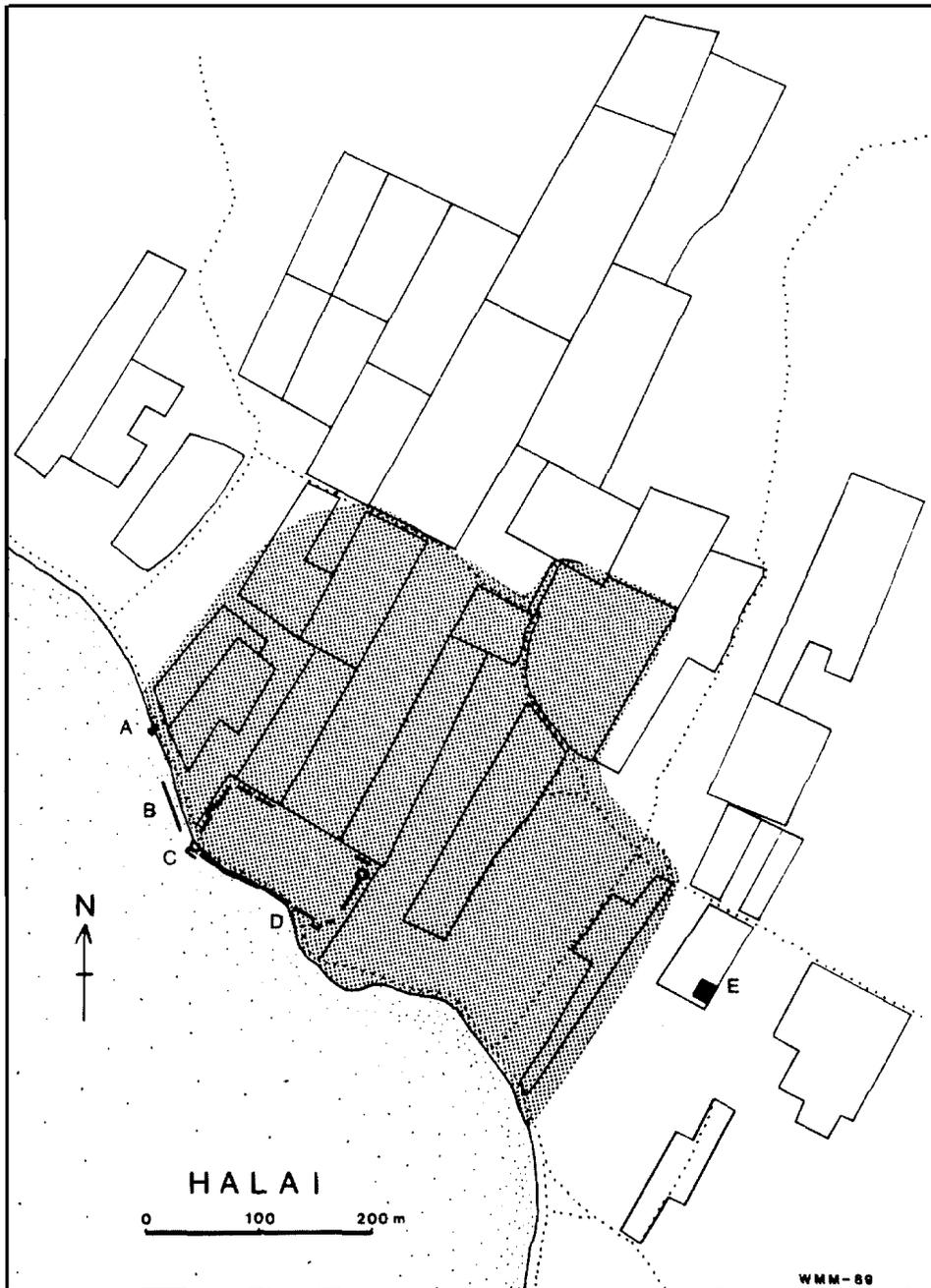


Figure 7: Area of Halai, with area of greatest sherd density stippled in dark. **A:** point where the outer fortification of Halai turned inland from the sea. **B:** submerged outer fortification wall, mistakenly identified by Goldman as ship sheds. **C:** corner of acropolis fortifications. **D:** point where outer fortifications diverged from acropolis fortifications. **E:** location of cist graves found during the winter of 1987/8. CHELP, originally drawn by Murray.

CHAPTER V HELLENISTIC TOWN PLAN AND SURROUNDINGS

The layout of Hellenistic Halai was similar to that of many small Greek towns. An interior city, or acropolis, was heavily fortified, while a lower town was spread below, probably fortified with an additional wall. The acropolis of Halai retains many of its fortifications, and excavation by Goldman and CHELP has clarified its layout. The lower town is buried under relatively featureless fields, and although there almost certainly was an outer set of fortifications, its course is so difficult to follow that its existence was not recognized by Goldman. CHELP survey teams studied the area around Halai from 1986-9 in an effort to determine the extent of the town, and we can now propose the layout of the area.¹⁵²

In the absence of a clearly recognizable course for the outer wall, the method used to determine the extent of the town was artifact density by quadrant. The quadrants were devised to be small enough to reasonably reflect ancient land divisions (no more than 1 or 2 hectares),¹⁵³ and were determined with respect to the modern landscape, such as vegetation and field boundaries. Walkers were set across these quadrants, and directed to pick up any recognizably human-made artifact in their straight-line path. Then, the total quantity of artifacts was divided by the linear distance traversed to get the average number of artifacts per meter (AA/M). For example, in one tract (B1-807) near the acropolis, four walkers each traversed 165 meters, and found a total of 5690 artifacts (mostly sherds and tiles).

¹⁵² The description of the survey and its results are originally reported in Murray, William M., and John Coleman, "East Lokris Survey Project: Recent Investigations at Ancient Halai," Unpublished, pp. 17-33.

¹⁵³ A hectare is a unit of area equal to a square 100 meters on a side.

The total number of artifacts was divided by the meters traversed (660) to arrive at a figure of 8.62 AA/M. A total of 40 tracts were so measured, and the AA/M figures ranged from 8.62 to 0.31.

These density figures were applied to a tract containing a group of cist graves, uncovered in the winter of 1987-8 during the digging of the foundations for a building in the town of Theologos. It is well known that tombs were customarily built outside the walls of ancient Greek communities, so this area should represent an approximate value for areas outside the ancient city. In fact, its density is 1.25 AA/M, while the density of the nearest tract in the direction of the acropolis is 5.43 AA/M. Differences like these allowed the CHELP survey teams to propose boundaries for the ancient city (see Figure 7). The outer fortifications apparently diverged from the acropolis at the northwest corner of the acropolis [C], and continued along the edge of the sea for approximately 100 m. [B], before turning inland [A] and stretching some 300m. to the northeast. Confirmation of the path of the outer fortification comes from Mr. Nikos Psarras, the guard for the region of Lokris, who reports that a section of the fortification was uncovered 20 years ago northeast of A, running northeast/southwest.¹⁵⁴ The wall apparently turned to the southeast approximately 300m. inland, and continued irregularly for some 400m before turning again to the southwest, passing just west of the cist graves [E] and continuing on presumably to the edge of the ancient coastline. It then apparently followed the shore and rejoined the acropolis just west of the southeast corner of the acropolis [D]. From a brief reconnaissance during

¹⁵⁴ Murray and Coleman, pp. 18-19.

the spring of 1998, Coleman reports probable traces of the fortification close to the limits predicted by the surveyed artifact densities.¹⁵⁵

It is difficult to determine the chronology of the outer town's habitation. The steady dispersal of artifacts by plowing, combined with some confusion on the part of the surveyors over the correct dating of red and black glazed wares¹⁵⁶ make it difficult to know exactly which sectors of the town were occupied during which periods. Nevertheless, from samples taken from each tract, it is clear that forms which are typically Hellenistic/Early Roman make up a large percentage of the total.¹⁵⁷ It is likely that the outer walls were designed to incorporate the area which was inhabited at the time the walls were built,¹⁵⁸ so we can expect that during the Hellenistic peak at Halai most of the area inside the walls would have been settled.

The organization of the land outside the walls is considerably more difficult to ascertain. Certainly, many people of Halai lived outside the fortified acropolis. Even in the areas outside the greatest densities, several hundred artifacts were found by teams of four making one pass across grids of approximately a hundred meters. From thousands of years of cultivation, artifacts are scattered widely, and any walk across nearby fields will reveal signs of habitation. Nevertheless, the field surveys conducted from 1986-9 revealed distinctions on a rough scale, and we can begin to make sense of ancient land-use patterns near Halai.

¹⁵⁵ Coleman, personal communication.

¹⁵⁶ See Pottery Analysis, below.

¹⁵⁷ Murray and Coleman separate the sherds into period (e.g. Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Early Roman, etc.) and list quantities for each tract, p. 22. I believe that increases in our understanding of the local wares and chronology since 1989 would change the relative quantities significantly.

In many areas of the ancient world, ancient land divisions are reflected in the field layout of today. Rocks uncovered by plowing are moved to the edges of fields, and over time form boundaries which are difficult to change. Usually, it is easier for any succeeding farmer to plow within the boundaries which were determined by his or her predecessor than it is to remove rows of rocks and vegetation and redesign the boundaries of the fields. For this reason, when fields remained under cultivation for of hundreds of years in ancient times, their modern descendents tend to share a similar configuration. Although research on field systems has been primarily focused on the Roman world, studies on the effects of Roman land redistribution in Greece have begun; an ambitious project based in Corinth has shown that Roman intervention had lasting effects on the landscape.¹⁵⁹ Town planners often used the destruction of a town as an opportunity to redistribute the town's fields, as after battles, land was given to veterans of the Roman campaigns. Halai would have had at least one such opportunity, after the destruction by Sulla in 86BC.¹⁶⁰

The CHELP survey plan provides quite a good context for studying the ancient layout of the city. Within larger grid squares, individual artifact collection tracts were determined by the physical terrain, including ground cover and modern field boundaries.¹⁶¹ An aerial photograph was used to help determine the most logical divisions for survey purposes. However, without excavation of the boundaries between the fields near Halai, it is difficult to speculate on the age of these divisions. A few test trenches in the landscape

¹⁵⁸ Lawrence, p. 121.

¹⁵⁹ Romano, David Gilman, "A computerized architectural and topographical survey of ancient Corinth," *JFA* 20 (1993), pp. 177-90.

¹⁶⁰ The residents of Halai would have had another opportunity to redesign land use patterns at the time of the Late Roman resettlement, and it is possible that any remnants visible today date to this later period. Further excavation would clarify our understanding.

around the acropolis could greatly increase our understanding of the relationship between Halai and its surroundings.

Planned Greek cities (like Halai) are relatively rare,¹⁶² although a number of newer cities, particularly colonies, were designed with a grid plan to ensure the fair distribution of land.¹⁶³ In fact, some of the greatest of the Hellenistic foundations were designed entire: Alexander the Great ordered that his architect Dinocrates design Alexandria with harbor, city, and surrounding fields as a single unit.¹⁶⁴

The extant fortifications at Halai are consistent with a date in the second half of the fourth century. Revolutions in siegecraft during the early years of the Hellenistic period led to such significant changes in the style of fortifications in Greece that the majority of existing stone walls “can be no earlier than the mid-fourth century.”¹⁶⁵ The chief changes in fortification were the strengthening and heightening of walls, and the incorporation of round towers to help deflect siege missiles. The Hellenistic fortifications at Halai use the latest military techniques, although it is impossible to say if the improvements were a reaction to a genuine threat of siege, or whether they merely reflected fashions in military construction.

The archaic circuit (see Figure 8) had been roughly rectangular, although the east wall of the acropolis was set at an angle to the rest of the site (and to the interior orientation of the town). The purpose of this oblique angle of fortification is not known.

¹⁶¹ Murray and Coleman, p. 8.

¹⁶² Dilke, O. A. W., *The Roman Land Surveyors*. Devon: David and Charles Publishers, 1971, p. 23.

¹⁶³ Dilke, p. 24-25.

¹⁶⁴ Vitruvius II.Preface.1-4.

¹⁶⁵ Lawrence, p. 121.

The Hellenistic circuit expanded the enclosed area to the east, and, except for a slight shortening at the southeast corner of the acropolis, completed the rectangle. The Hellenistic fortifications are formed by two parallel faces of large rectangular blocks of relatively uniform size: approximately 1.2m by 0.65m. Loose rubble filled the space between the faces and reinforced the walls.¹⁶⁶

At the northeast corner of the new circuit, the Hellenistic planners added a heavily fortified gate to the town, set between two towers, one round and one square. Inside this gateway was a relatively large forecourt, from which the gently rising slope of the main road continued toward the west end of the acropolis. At the point where the forecourt narrowed and the principal east-west street led off toward the acropolis, another gate probably controlled the flow of traffic and provided an interior line of defense in times of trouble.¹⁶⁷

A set of rectangular buildings (see Figure 10) inside the east gate apparently held shops which Goldman dates to the Early Roman period by numismatic remains.¹⁶⁸ These two shops were connected by a doorway and evidently reached by way of a street to the west. One held the tools and discarded stone typical of a statuary seller, while in the other were found hollow stone molds which could have been used to cast metal objects, and perhaps, in the back room, the remains of a forge.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ Goldman, "Acropolis," pp. 392-3.

¹⁶⁷ Goldman, "Acropolis," p. 395.

¹⁶⁸ Goldman, "Acropolis," pp. 487-488.

¹⁶⁹ Goldman, "Acropolis," p. 488.

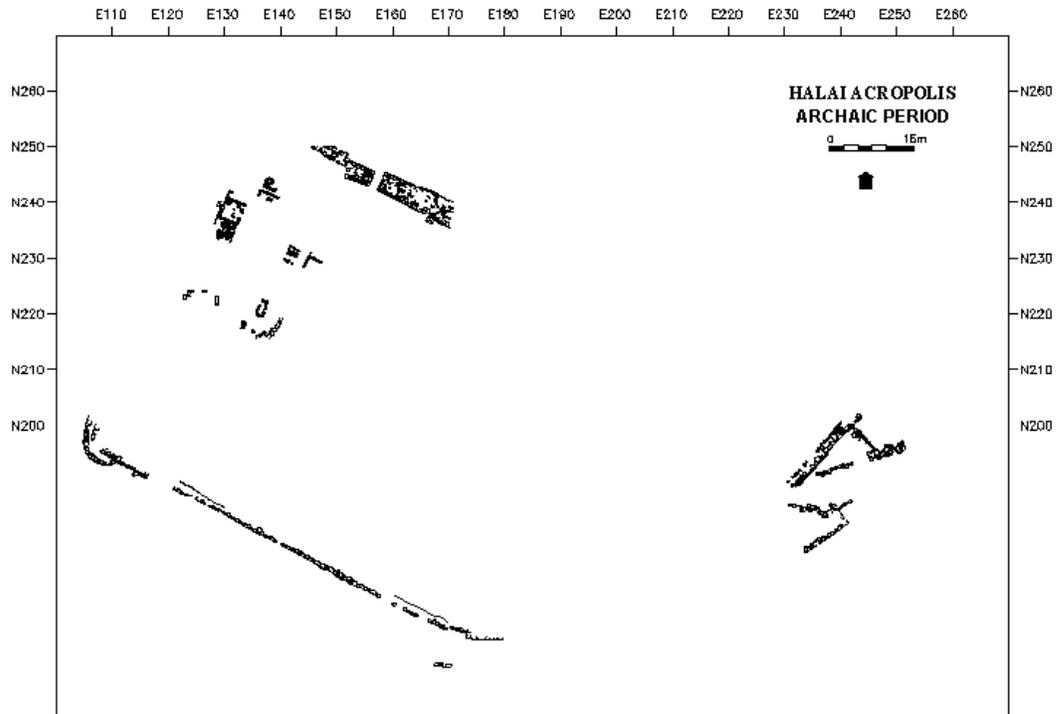


Figure 8: Plan of Halai in the Archaic Period. CHELP.



Figure 9: Plan of Halai in the Hellenistic Period.
CHELP

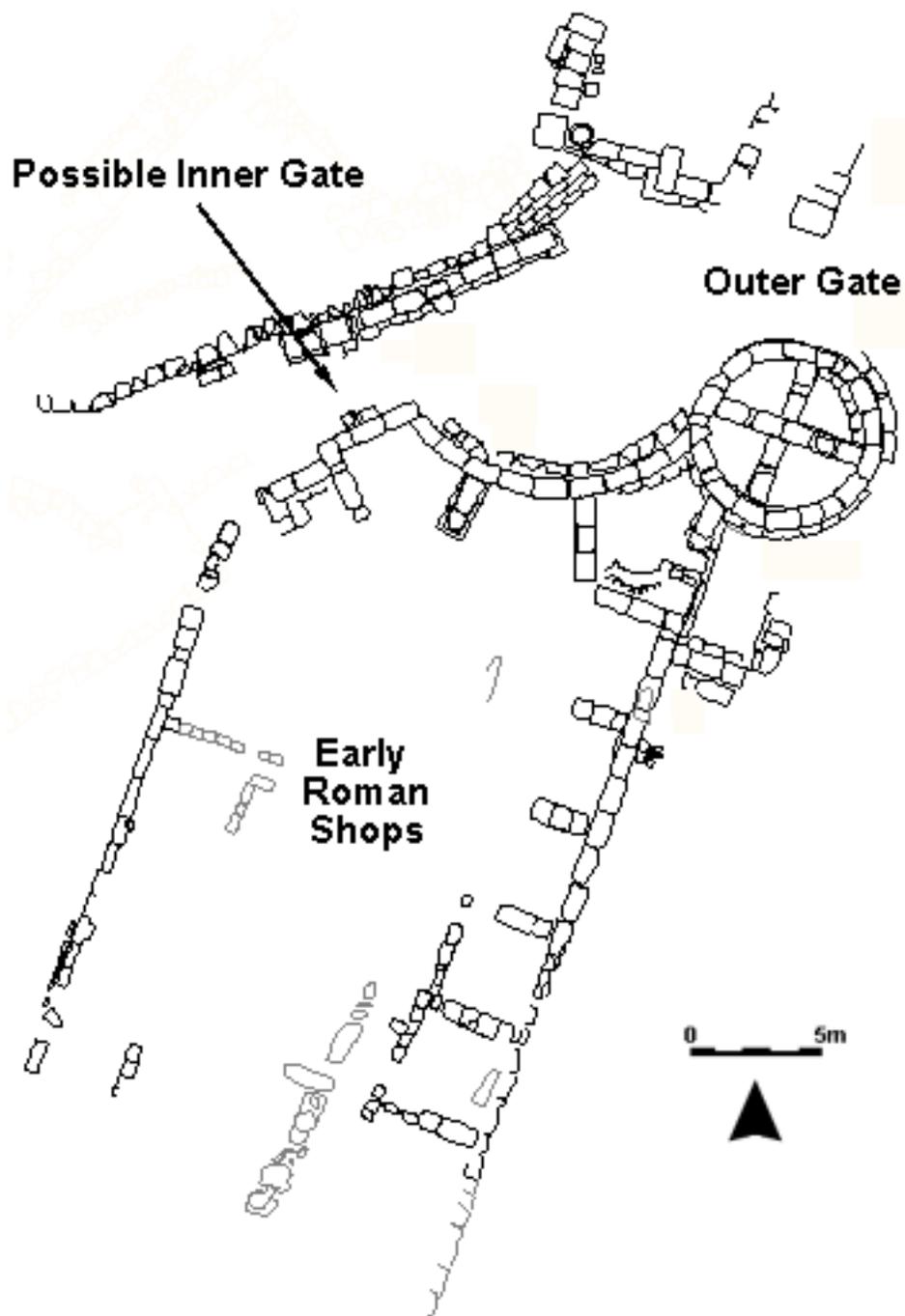


Figure 10: East Gate area, including Early Roman (gray) and Hellenistic (black) periods. CHELP.

The forecourt was a Hellenistic innovation especially associated with Philip II of Macedon. At Philippi, the area inside the main entrance is designed to allow the possibility of a second gate should the outer gate of the acropolis be breached.¹⁷⁰ Presumably, for the vast majority of the time the fortifications of the town were not used as means of defense, but rather as ways of directing traffic and organizing the collection of tolls. The east gate (Figure 10) was the only one at Halai wide enough to accommodate wheeled traffic, and whatever goods entered the acropolis would have had to have been wheeled through here.¹⁷¹ The offset stones of the forecourt indicate that it probably doubled as an assembly area; the semicircle with bench along the south side could have acted as a rough amphitheater. The offices listed in Goldman's inscription #3 include "producers of comedies,"¹⁷² and this semicircular forecourt is the most suggestive part of the town for their performance.

Continuing west along the main east-west street of Halai leads us through the areas excavated by CHELP, areas C and H, which were probably primarily residential. The presence of a mass of disc loomweights in a room in area H suggests the presence of some household industry, but whether this area was a weaver's shop or merely a private home is unknown. The street continues uninterrupted the length of the acropolis, and ends in the area near the basilica which contained the Archaic temple complexes. Ancient cities tended to reuse their sacred areas through successive periods. The presence of two archaic temples, and the basilica nearby makes it quite likely that the Hellenistic temple was

¹⁷⁰ Lawrence, p. 319.

¹⁷¹ Goldman, "Acropolis," p. 388.

¹⁷² Goldman, "Inscriptions," pp. 444-450.

located here as well.¹⁷³ However, aside from one suggestive mention of a “geison block... found at a higher level, obviously of a later date [than Archaic]”¹⁷⁴ we have no records of any Hellenistic religious buildings.

Just east of the northeast corner of the acropolis was another gate in the fortifications (Figure 11). The Archaic wall, nearly five meters thick and still formidable today, apparently sufficed in this area, as it was never superseded by a Hellenistic counterpart. Leading south from this north gate was a narrow (ca. 2m.) side street, and

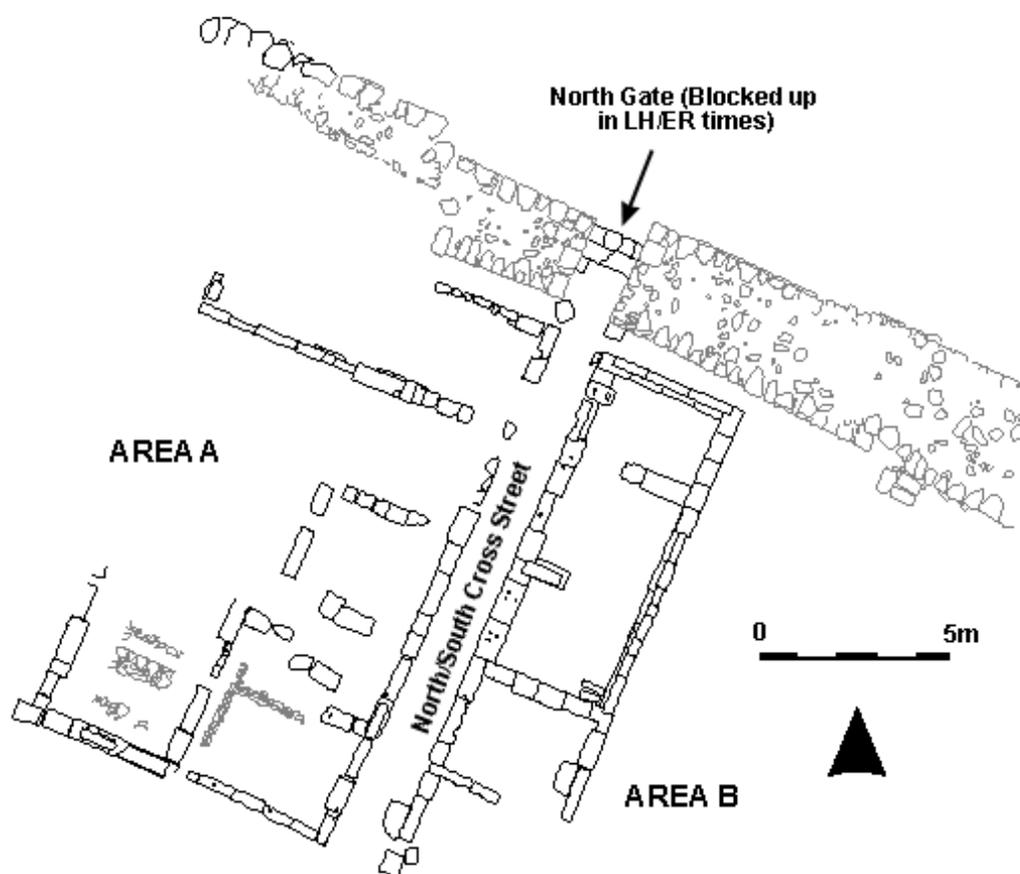


Figure 11: North Gate area, including Archaic (gray) and Hellenistic (black) periods. CHELP.

¹⁷³ Coleman suggests that the Hellenistic temple may have been just east of the basilica, and partially uncovered by Goldman. Personal Communication, July 1998.

¹⁷⁴ Goldman, “Acropolis,” p. 454.

rectangular buildings line both sides of the street. Goldman, who excavated the area, admits that it is impossible either by shape or by contents to propose their function. The pottery found within dates their construction to the fourth century BC.¹⁷⁵

At some later time, probably at the end of the Hellenistic period or the beginning of the Early Roman period, the North Gate was blocked up with large stones, and the East Gate became the sole means of entrance into the acropolis. Our knowledge of the sequence of construction on the Halai acropolis remains heavily reliant on the testimony of Hetty Goldman. As CHELP has not yet systematically restudied the finds still in existence, we have few means to corroborate or correct her interpretations. Further excavation of the major building phases of the acropolis would do a great deal to clarify our chronology. One method which is available to us is the analysis of the composition of the stones used for the construction. Although a full trace element analysis of the fortification blocks and the quarries they come from has yet to be attempted, surface and stylistic characteristics have allowed CHELP researchers to make some judgments about the periods of use of the quarries near Halai, and from this analysis correlate these with the structures visible on the acropolis. These studies are discussed below.

¹⁷⁵ Goldman, "Acropolis," pp. 478-9.

CHAPTER VI LOCAL GEOLOGY

Greece is “one of the most rapidly deforming continental areas on Earth,”¹⁷⁶ and there is reason to assume that the tectonic activity near Halai has wrought significant changes on the landscape even in the last two millennia. Many of these changes may have affected the relative sea levels near Halai. As most of coastal East Lokris is on the hanging wall of the Atalante fault,¹⁷⁷ shocks along that fault are likely to lower East Lokris relative to the sea. A brief investigation of the coastal sites of East Lokris, where acropolis walls are awash and foundations are evident in the water, illustrates the sea’s encroachment. There are at least two factors at work in determining the apparent changes of sea level along the east coast of Lokris. First, the eustatic sea level has been rising steadily over the past 2000 years, and has been estimated at between 1 and 1.5 meters since Classical antiquity.¹⁷⁸ In addition, tectonic processes can cause vertical displacements which lead to changes in the relative levels of sea and land, and East Lokris has suffered from many earthquakes over its history.¹⁷⁹ We have reports that earthquakes near Halai have created islands from peninsulas: Diodorus reports of the great earthquake of 426BC, “so severe were the shocks in many parts of Greece that the sea actually swept away and destroyed some cities lying on the coast, while in Lokris the strip of land forming a peninsula was torn

¹⁷⁶ Lambeck, Kurt, “Sea-level change and shore-line evolution in Aegean Greece since Upper Paleolithic time,” *Antiquity* 70 (1996), p. 597.

¹⁷⁷ Victoria Buck, personal communication.

¹⁷⁸ Lambeck, p. 599.

¹⁷⁹ for a full discussion of the tectonic history of East Lokris, see Wren, pp. 5-6.

through and the island known as Atalante was formed.”¹⁸⁰ More recently, the large earthquake of 1894AD separated the island of Gaidaros from the mainland.¹⁸¹ It seems likely that tectonic activity would have increased the apparent rise in sea level significantly above the eustatic contribution.

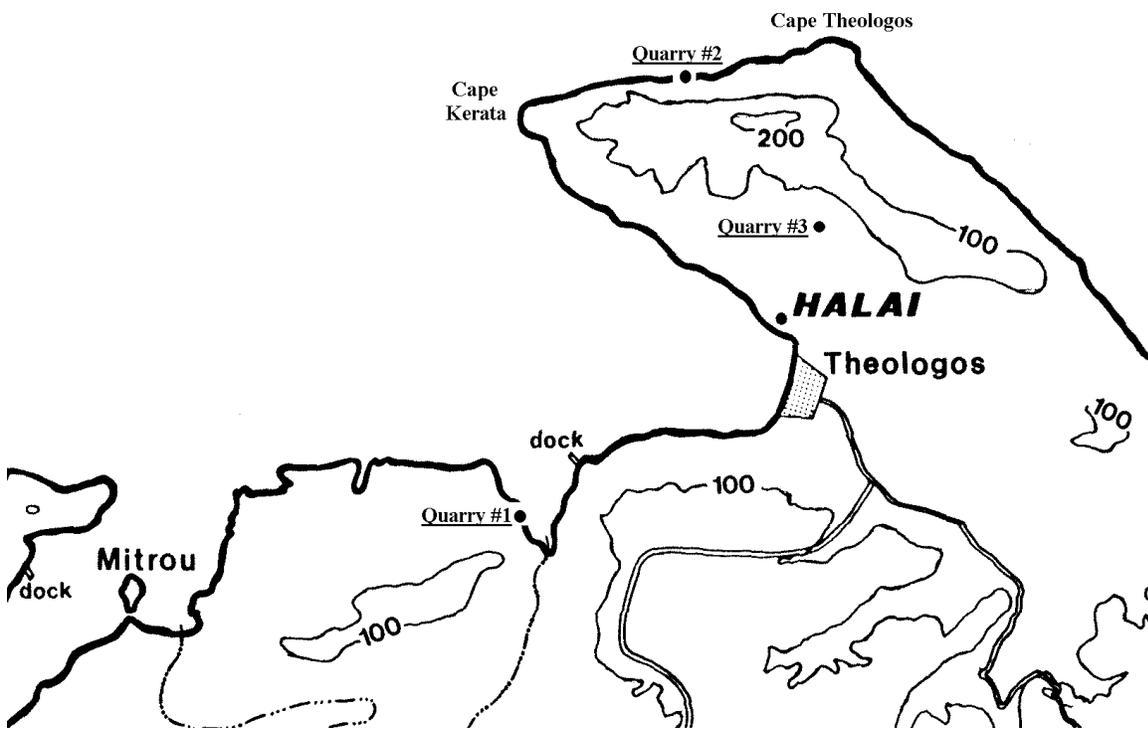


Figure 12: Location of Ancient Quarries near Halai

In an effort to determine the relative sea level rise near Halai, a CHELP survey team led by Bill Murray investigated a quarry approximately three kilometers north of Halai, at Tou Pethamenou on the north-facing coast midway between Cape Theologos and

¹⁸⁰ Diodorus 12.59.2 (Perseus Translation). The earthquake is also mentioned in Thucydides III.89.

Cape Kerata (Quarry #2 on Figure 12).¹⁸² The quarry, whose stone appears to match some of the Hellenistic structures at Halai in color, texture, and weathering quality,¹⁸³ is associated with a fourth century BC date: a black glaze rim sherd and two black glaze Laconian tiles were found above the quarries where the forest meets the outcrop. The quarry was on the coast in ancient times, presumably to take advantage of easy sea transport for the cut blocks. In order to accurately measure the relative rise of sea level, the surveyors investigated the portions of the quarry which are currently under water with mask and snorkel. They made the assumption that those who quarried the site were not interested in working underwater, as there is an ample supply of stone above water.¹⁸⁴ Any quarried surface which is currently below water therefore indicates the change in that cutting's position relative to the sea level since it was cut.

Murray records a quarried surface where the rock face drops into the sea to a depth of 2.1m. The depth of the quarried surfaces provides a minimum change of sea level since the time of quarrying,¹⁸⁵ so the change of sea level is at least 2.1 meters. This evidence must be applied to Halai with caution, and to other coastal towns further away with even greater reservations. The local tectonics are extremely complex, and it is possible that even the distance of three kilometers is sufficient to change the relative movements of land and sea.

¹⁸¹ Wren, p. 6.

¹⁸² What follows is a summary of the investigations described in Murray and Coleman, pp. 33-35.

¹⁸³ See below.

¹⁸⁴ Although the Greek Archaeological Service reports some instances of quarrying below the high tide mark (Coleman, personal communication), it seems unlikely to me that they would have done so with an ample supply of stone nearby above the water line.

¹⁸⁵ I believe that the lowest extent of quarrying must be very close to the ancient sea level; the stone would have been transported away by ship, and the closer to the sea level, the easier it would have been to load the blocks onto the ships.

Geological surveys of the area, currently underway, may clarify our picture of the tectonics of East Lokris and provide some guide to the relative encroachment of the sea. It is worth remembering, however, that relative sea level increases of two meters along the coast of East Lokris are probably conservative.

The region around Halai is rich in limestones which were exploited in ancient times. Three quarries have been identified in the region of Halai, and the large quantity of stone removed from the quarries was surely more than necessary for Halai alone.¹⁸⁶ Halai, moreover, used multiple sources of stone for its structures. The Hellenistic fortification wall of the Halai acropolis, including the towers to the east and west of the acropolis and some of the forecourt inside the east gate, are made from a conglomerate limestone which matches in appearance and weathering the stone from a quarry circa 3 km. to the southwest of Halai (Quarry #1). The remainder of the identifiably Hellenistic plan of the acropolis, including the north gate and associated buildings, and many of the structures along the main east-west road of ancient Halai, is made from an oolitic limestone which can be found at the coastal site where Murray did his investigation of sea level change (Quarry #2), as well as inland up the valley north of Halai (Quarry #3). In the late 1980s, the Greek Archaeological Service removed an apparently Archaic column¹⁸⁷ from Quarry #3 and brought it within the fenced area of the acropolis in an effort to protect it. Another, larger, column remains in the quarry, and cutting marks revealed during construction in the winter

¹⁸⁶ This paragraph, except where noted, is a brief summary of the relevant results from Merkley, Patricia, "Geology report on the site of Halai and the surrounding area," Unpublished field report, 1990.

¹⁸⁷ Coleman, personal communication.

of 1997-8 indicate that ashlar blocks were removed from the quarry.¹⁸⁸ As these blocks were probably headed for Classical/Hellenistic walls, the quarry appears to have remained in use for some time.

Finally, the remains which have been identified as Archaic (such as the polygonal wall near the north gate and the earlier fortification circuit west of the east gate) and those remains which have been identified as Late Roman (such as the olive press facility near the east gate and the basilica) are from a limestone which range from biomicrite to biosparite. Such limestones are found both at Quarry #3 and at Quarry #2.

A system of exploitation which made use of less uniform (but nearby) inland sources in the Archaic and Late Roman periods and more uniform (but farther away) sources during the Hellenistic peak would seem to me in line with the evidence from the geological survey. The large quantities of stone removed from the seaside quarries could have been used to supply the fortification needs of towns such as Larymna, so Oldfather and Goldman's suggestion that the fortification walls from both towns were quarried in the same location¹⁸⁹ is at least possible.

¹⁸⁸ Coleman, personal communication.

¹⁸⁹ Oldfather, "Addenda," p. 346.

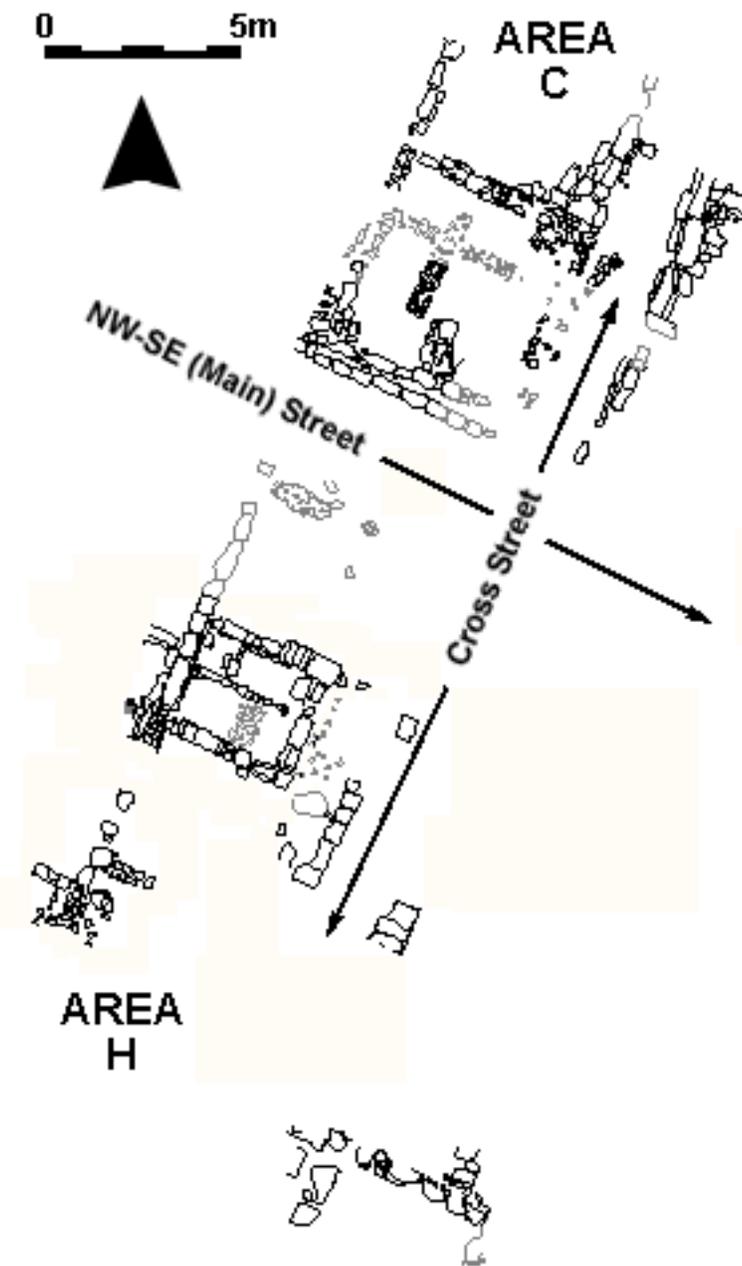


Figure 13: Areas C and H, Hellenistic (black) and Early Roman (gray) periods. CHELP.

CHAPTER VII HELLENISTIC STRATIGRAPHY

In an effort to explore the sequence of habitation during the Hellenistic period, CHELP opened up two areas which appeared to have been undisturbed by Goldman's excavations. These areas, C and H, were investigated during the summers of 1990-92, and excavated to depths of over two meters below the modern ground surface.¹⁹⁰ However, the expected Hellenistic habitation layers proved elusive. Instead, the vast majority of the excavation in areas C and H has been occupied with the removal of fill deposited after the abandonment of the site at the end of the Early Roman period. In fact, the fallen tiles and slumped mud brick still visible in area C indicate that undisturbed Hellenistic levels have yet to be reached. However, in area H, excavators have isolated two habitation layers beneath structures of Late Roman date.¹⁹¹

Area C

The lowest levels reached in area C still show significant amounts of broken (and whole) tile, rubble, and a mixed deposit of pottery.¹⁹² C1c(27), near the lowest levels reached in trench C1, includes a Late Roman combed ware sherd, while E.U.s just above

¹⁹⁰ The sections of the Hellenistic town excavated by CHELP have been relatively small, and it has not yet been possible to correlate the deposit history with the architectural history for the Hellenistic/Early Roman periods. Further excavation is needed to clarify the sequence of deposits.

¹⁹¹ CHELP excavations use a system whereby each unit of earth removed (an Excavation Unit, or E.U.) is assigned a number in the field identifying it by area, trench, year, and section. A typical E.U. number would be C1c(27), where "C" identifies the area, "1" identifies the trench, "c" identifies the year (1992), and "27" identifies the Excavation Unit. All objects found in this unit bear the same E.U. number, although different field numbers.

¹⁹² Gray, Celina, Unpublished field report, 1992.

this layer include thin walled wares (35, 37) and carinated forms (32) typical of the first century AD. Intermingled with this Roman material are molded bowls (10-13), hemispherical cups (9) and drinking bowls (6, 16) typical of the Hellenistic period. Six joining sherds have been found from one Hellenistic fish plate (17), and the sherds were distributed vertically through the deposit.

Proposed Chronological Horizons for Areas C and H:	
Layer V	Use III: Late Roman
Layer IV	Abandonment Deposit and Post-Abandonment Fill
Layer III	Use II: Late Hellenistic/Early Roman
Layer II	Rebuilding
Layer I	Use I: Hellenistic

The deposits from Area C must be considered abandonment and post-abandonment fill (**Layer IV**). From the occasional presence of Late Roman material at even the lowest levels, the date of the deposit is most likely from the early years of the Late Roman settlement. As Area C is not far from the Late Roman basilican Church, the fill was perhaps moved there during its construction. This area, to the north of the main east-west street, was certainly used in Late Roman times; Quinn suggests that the street may have divided the sacred ground of church and basilica to the south from the residential area to the north.¹⁹³

¹⁹³ Quinn, p. 99.

The presence of Late Roman walls and storage vessel sherds suggest habitation, rather than merely occasional use as a cemetery. Such intensive uses would likely have required the Late Roman inhabitants to modify the landscape which they would have found upon resettling Halai during the fourth century AD. The site, abandoned for most of the third and perhaps some of the fourth centuries, would have consisted of an uneven landscape of partially collapsed stone and mud brick. To make such a site habitable, the Romans would have either had to fill in the dilapidated buildings and build on top, or to excavate out and repair the remaining walls. From the position of a Late Roman building in Area H (see Figure 14), built over Hellenistic walls and blocking the Hellenistic cross street, it seems that the Late Romans chose the former: to flatten the landscape of Halai and build on top.¹⁹⁴

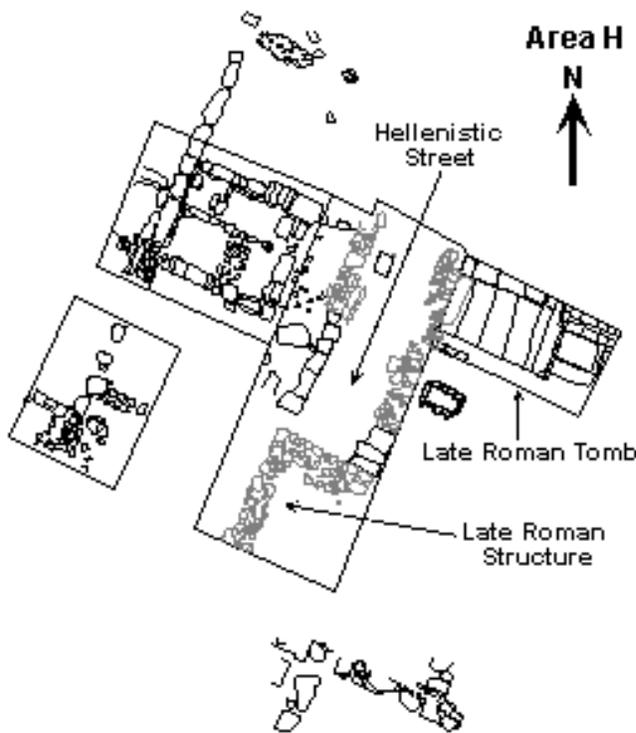


Figure 14: Area H, showing a Late Roman structure blocking a Hellenistic street. CHELP.

street, it seems that the Late Romans chose the former: to flatten the landscape of Halai and build on top.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ Quinn, p. 21.

Unlike the Late Roman plan, which is set at a slight angle to the Hellenistic grid (see Figure 14), the walls in Area C (presumably Early Roman) are in direct relationship to the Hellenistic streets. Both from the quantity of Early Roman pottery in the area, and from the constant relationship to the Hellenistic town plan, it is likely that this portion of the town remained in significant use after the Sullan destruction of the town.

Area H

As in Area C, the majority of the excavated fill was deposited after the abandonment of the Early Roman settlement, and must be assigned to **Layer IV**. The fill includes occasional bits of Late Roman combed ware, as well as Early Roman carinated forms (**33**) and molded bowl fragments and pieces of a lagynos (**4**) which are typically Hellenistic. Like its counterpart in Area C, it was probably deposited during the early years of the Late Roman settlement. However, the presence of a mass of loomweights [H5b(16), H5b(17)] at 3.43 meters above sea level indicates that at least one habitation layer was reached. Excavator Laura Kellogg reports two habitation layers underneath the thick layer of mixed fill (which I have identified as **Layer IV**).¹⁹⁵ The two habitation layers were tentatively labeled Hellenistic I and Hellenistic II by CHELP excavators. The top layer (**Layer III**), sealed by the collapse of a major wall (Wall A), contains pottery which appears to bridge the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods: red fineware and cookware, typical of the Early Roman period but found in Late Hellenistic contexts as well, gray wares (**21**, **22**) typical of the Late Hellenistic, and a plate with a false ring foot most common in second half of the 1st century (**38**). It is too early to tell what period this deposit should be

assigned to. Flecks of carbonized material along occupation layers within Area H suggest that this portion of the Early Roman settlement ended in fire. Fires, however, do not necessarily need to be correlated with rampaging armies; they were surely a recurring calamity in ancient times. It remains possible that the end of **Layer III** can be correlated with Sulla's campaigns, and that **Layer I** was destroyed in some earlier catastrophe. However, I believe that the relatively common presence of pottery which is conclusively Early Roman (**29-37**) in Areas C and H and the historical evidence of an Early Roman settlement at Halai from Plutarch, Strabo, and Pausanias indicates that some Early Roman presence is likely. The lack of clear-cut habitation evidence from Areas C and H should not rule out significant Early Roman occupation on the Halai acropolis.

Layer II is associated with the rebuilding of three walls, and has little associated pottery. **Layer I** (Hellenistic Use) seems to have genuinely Hellenistic pottery, including black slipped lamp fragments, a hemispherical cup (**8**), molded bowls (**14**), and an ovoid grayware jar (**25**).

In my opinion, the tile falls and collapsed walls which indicate the end of the **Layer III** settlement of Halai appear more a product of gradual abandonment than of a destruction by Sulla. Plutarch's account tells us that the people of Halai resettled their town relatively soon after it was destroyed.¹⁹⁶ However, there appears to have been no resettlement between the abandonment of **Layer III** and Late Roman times, as the fill (**Layer IV**) which separates the two habitation layers is up to a meter thick and unstratified. There is significant Early Roman pottery present in **Layer IV** (**29-37**) and the likelihood is that this pottery was not moved far

¹⁹⁵ Unpublished field report, 1992.

¹⁹⁶ See Site History, above.

from where it was deposited. There must have been Early Roman buildings somewhere more nearby than the East Gate (where Early Roman shops were identified by Goldman).¹⁹⁷

Instead, I would suggest that the sack by Sulla be correlated with the destruction of the **Layer I** (Hellenistic) settlement. Laura Kellogg reports that the **Layer III** settlement (to which I would assign an Early Roman date) is characterized by “the reuse of fallen ashlar blocks and tiles in the building of walls.”¹⁹⁸ Such would clearly be present after destruction by an army. Obviously, such an attribution is speculative. However, we have few enough historical sources about Halai, and archaeological evidence of a destructive event which apparently correlates closely with one of these sources. Further evidence to associate Sulla’s campaigns with the end of **Layer I** is that practically no fill was deposited between the two stages of habitation. A rapid resettlement of the site correlates well with Plutarch’s account.

I am not entirely comfortable with giving so much weight to the examples of pottery, in the absence of clearly distinguished Early Roman stratigraphic layers. Much work remains in correlating the pottery, which suggests significant Early Roman occupation of the site, with the evidence from lamps and loom weights, which appear predominantly Hellenistic. The lamps, in particular, are distinctively Hellenistic: black glaze with a simple round shape and circular nozzle. A detailed study of the Hellenistic/Early Roman deposits, context by context, is planned for the future by CHELP. This will almost certainly change the dating of individual architectural members, and perhaps even of the deposits themselves. Until then, it would be best to remember that an Early Roman attribution of **Layer III** is very tentative, and that the material remains in **Layer III** are essentially compatible with a Hellenistic date.

¹⁹⁷ See Hellenistic Town Plan, above.

¹⁹⁸ Kellogg, Laura, Unpublished field report, p. 7.

CHAPTER VIII

POTTERY ANALYSIS

The deposits excavated by CHELP have not yet provided clear stratigraphic/temporal distinction for the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods. Over much of the excavated area of Halai, Hellenistic and Early Roman pottery are found intermingled, and I include discussion of both the in an effort to clarify our picture of the uses of the Halai acropolis. In addition, in the absence of numismatic evidence, the dating of the stratigraphy is reliant on the pottery.

The pottery is difficult to associate with particular schools, due both to the complexity of pottery production of the time, and the scarcity of decorated wares. There are no stamped amphora handles, only one small painted sherd (7), and few entire pots (1 and 20, plus 5 and 17, the entire profiles of which can be reconstructed). In addition, the lack of publication of Lokrian or Euboean Gulf pottery means that parallels must be sought further afield. The coastal connections of Halai make this a feasible task; during the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods, Halai was clearly an active participant in the Aegean community.

Two fabrics dominate the Halai assemblage: pinkish-buff and cool gray. Pink-buff sherds have fabric readings in the pink to pale red to light reddish brown range: Munsell 10R 8/4, 10R 6/3, 5R 7/4, and 2.5YR 7/4. Sherds are either unslipped or have black, red-black, or fine red slips. The gray sherds show much less variability in color: Munsell N 7/-, N6/-, and 5B 7/1. Many are unslipped, and often extremely thin. If slipped, these grayware sherds have black to bluish black, glossy slips: Munsell 5B 2.5/1, 10B 2.5/1, and 5YR 2.5/1.

A third fabric is represented at Halai: a cookware fabric which is coarse and gritty, and fired to some shade between red and black. Often, the exterior is darkened additionally by use. The one consistent decorative technique, in both buff and gray fabrics, consists of slip being dripped over the outside of a vessel, leaving streaks and patterns on the exterior (**20, 22, 42**).

The working hypothesis of the Halai excavators was that wares could be distinguished between Hellenistic and Roman on the basis of surface treatment; black glaze wares were Hellenistic, while red glaze wares were reflections of the Eastern Sigillata school, and therefore Roman in date. Such categorization is not only an oversimplification; it is dangerously misleading for central Greece. Gray wares with a fine black glaze are common in the Hellenistic assemblage (**9, 11, and 15**) but continue to be common at Halai in shapes which are distinctively Roman (**31, 33, and 38**). Red wares do occur in classic Early Roman vessels (**29, 30, and 32**), but are also found on Hellenistic filter jugs (**18, 19**), lagynoi (**4**), and fish plates (**17**). In addition, there are numerous intermediate forms, where black glaze is found on buff fabric (**9, 12**), and even one sherd (**36**), to my knowledge unparalleled in the literature, with gray fabric visible on its outside (unslipped) surface, and a lustrous red slip on the interior.

In the absence of a convincing justification for separating Hellenistic sherds from Early Roman sherds by fabric or surface treatment, I instead propose a division on the basis of form. The most easily recognizable marker of the Hellenistic is the presence of molded bowls (**10-14**). First appearing around 230BC,¹⁹⁹ they remained popular through the rest of the Hellenistic period, and are found at Halai in both gray and buff fabric, with

and without black slip. The Early Roman period produced two clearly distinctive shapes: bowls with rims which are sharply carinated (29, 30, 32) or flanged (31, 33), and extremely thin wares with raised disc bases (34-37). Both are commonly found at Halai, and are not found in Greece before the second half of the first century BC.²⁰⁰ Thin-walled ware technology is known from Roman centers beginning in the second century BC, and spreads gradually throughout the western Mediterranean in the first century BC.²⁰¹ However, not until the last half of the first century BC and the first century AD does thin-walled ware become regularly imported into Greece and the remainder of the eastern Mediterranean.²⁰² Cups with carinated rims are called at Samaria “as characteristic of the first century A.D. as the plates with incurved rim and hemispherical bowls which preceded them are of the first century B.C.”²⁰³ John Hayes, in his *Handbook of Mediterranean Roman Pottery* identifies the sigillata cup with carinated rim as “the Roman shape *par excellence*.”²⁰⁴ If the pottery identification sheets are redesigned to incorporate the fact that to the Hellenistic and Early

¹⁹⁹ *Agora XXII*, p. 6ff.

²⁰⁰ Italian thin-walled beakers may make an appearance slightly earlier; Rotroff identifies one example (1784) as “Italian thin-walled ware” from a context of 100-75BC. *Agora XXIX*, p. 425.

²⁰¹ As described in Kenrick, P. M., *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish Benghazi (Berenice)*, vol. III, part 1: The Fine Pottery Supplement to Libya Antiqua V. Tripoli: Libya Department of Antiquities 1985, pp. 307-319, and Moevs, M. T. Marabini, *The Roman thin-walled Pottery from Cosa*. MAAR 32 (1973).

²⁰² *Agora XXIX*, p. 221.

²⁰³ Crowfoot, J.W., G.M. Crowfoot, and Kathleen Kenyon, *The Objects from Samaria*. London: Chiswick Press (1957), p. 338.

²⁰⁴ Hayes, John W., *Handook of Mediterranean Roman Pottery*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997, p. 44.

Roman potter shape was more important than fabric or color,²⁰⁵ excavators are less likely to be misled by the pottery within their layers.

Many late Hellenistic/Early Roman shapes are found in both gray and buff fabrics around the Eastern Mediterranean. Susan Rotroff identifies two different shapes of grayware cup and four grayware kraters which have analogues in Eastern Sigillata A.²⁰⁶ Henry Robinson, working from the Early Roman layers at Athens, identifies several shapes which are represented in both gray and buff wares, including hemispherical cups with flanged rims,²⁰⁷ bowls,²⁰⁸ globular jugs,²⁰⁹ and bell-cups.²¹⁰ Eastern Terra Sigillata alone can be found with slips of red, orange, brown, and black.²¹¹ A chronological distinction by fabric or surface treatment, rather than shape, will likely prove difficult in a site which is importing much of its pottery.

The proportion of gray wares is significantly higher in the Halai assemblage than it is in many of the larger centers of Hellenistic Greece. Although gray wares are found occasionally in Athens even before the Hellenistic period,²¹² they are comparatively rare in Athenian Hellenistic layers. In the Agora excavations, for example, less than 4% of the wheelmade table ware vessels catalogued (70 of 1802) are characterized by Rotroff as “gray

²⁰⁵ Hayes, John W., “Fine Wares in the Hellenistic World” in Rasmussen and Spivey, eds., *Looking at Greek Vases*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1991, p. 188.

²⁰⁶ *Agora XXIX*, p. 235.

²⁰⁷ *Agora V*, p. 24 and 29 (G13, G14, and G74, G75).

²⁰⁸ *Agora V*, p. 29 (G66, G67).

²⁰⁹ *Agora V*, p. 30 (G85, G86, G87).

²¹⁰ *Agora V*, p. 25, 47 (G28, H6, H7).

²¹¹ Gunneweg, Jan, Isadore Perlman, and Joseph Yellin, *The Provenience, Typology, and Chronology of Eastern Terra Sigillata*. QEDM Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology #17. Jerusalem: Ahva 1983.

²¹² *Agora XII*, pp. 190, 209.

wares.”²¹³ The proportion of gray fabrics in the Halai assemblage is closer to one in four. Many of the areas of the Mediterranean had indigenous traditions of black-glazed, gray fabric, and production was centered in the Aegean region. Areas with significant production of gray wares include Pergamon, islands such as Chios, Delos, and Samos, and, further south, in the area near Ephesos and Knidos.²¹⁴ It is logical that coastal Halai should reflect Aegean traditions, its pottery resembling that of Ionian Greeks more than that of Athens or Corinth.

The shapes present in the catalogue include representatives of most common Hellenistic and Early Roman forms: open vessels such as carinated and thin-walled cups, hemispherical wheel made and molded bowls, fish plates, casseroles, and frying pans; closed shapes such as lekythoi, arballoi, lagynoi, and filter jugs; and storage vessels such as amphorae and kraters. All shapes are represented in both buff and gray wares, with the exception of a few of the larger storage vessels, filter jugs, and fish plates, which are present only in buff. We do not know if this distinction is related to regions and technologies of production which are shape-specific, or whether our sample size is simply too small to reflect the gray ware examples of relatively rare forms.

The pottery catalogue is a group of representative examples of the thousands of sherds in the sampled excavation units, rather than an exhaustive compilation of what is present at Halai. It is designed to demonstrate the different types of wares and vessels which were used at Halai, and to allow a rough comparative chronology of the Hellenistic and Early Roman layers. Excavation units sampled were excavated during the seasons of

²¹³ *Agora XXIX*, p. 232.

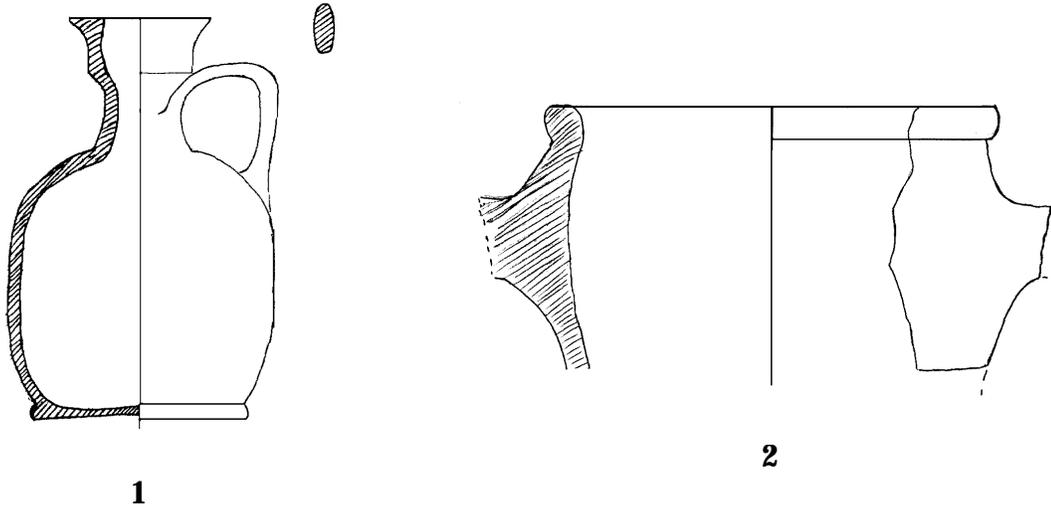
²¹⁴ *Agora XXIX*, p. 235.

1990, 1991, and 1992, in areas C and H. I made an effort to include diagnostic pottery at all apparent floor levels, as well as those levels in which other finds (such as loomweights or lamps) suggested habitation. In this pottery catalogue, I chose pieces both representative of the collection as a whole, and sufficiently recognizable to allow identification and cross-indexing.

I have separated the catalogue into examples representative of the Hellenistic period, and examples representative of the Early Roman period. Within these broad chronological divisions, I have separated the vessels into different classes, and addressed them from closed to open shapes. Sherds of undetermined date are at the end. Units are in meters. Munsell readings were taken outdoors in sunlight. Drawings are all 1:2 unless otherwise noted.

The format of each entry is as follows: **Catalogue number:** Layer # CHELP inventory number (which includes area-trench-year-lot-field number). Brief description of sherd; Rim/Base diameter [D. rim] or [D. base], Maximum/Minimum diameter [D. max.] or [D. min.], Height [H.], Thickness of walls [Th.]; fabric; slip/glaze or other surface treatment; decoration.

CATALOGUE



Hellenistic Wares.

LEKYTHOS:

1: Unstrat. H5b(17)130. Small one-handled lekythos, complete, with rounded body, complex closed neck profile, and slightly everted mouth; D. rim 0.038, D. base 0.058, D. max. (body) 0.072, D. min. (neck) 0.021, H. 0.111, Th. 0.003, except Th. (mouth) 0.009, Th. (handle) 0.005; Fabric 7.5YR 7/3 pink; Red-brown slip from 2.5YR 5/6 red (on top) to 2.5YR 2.5/1 reddish black (on body); Handle attaches on neck 0.028 below rim, and on shoulder 0.045 below rim. Neck meets body 0.036 below rim.

Direct parallels are difficult to find, although this seems to be a Hellenistic variation on the Classical squat lekythos.²¹⁵ A Hellenistic oinoche with similar surface treatment from Pergamon (C27) is dated quite early: fourth to third centuries BC.²¹⁶ The Lekythos was a chance find in the construction of some steps, and therefore without context, but may be the earliest example of Hellenistic Pottery discovered by CHELP.

BASED AMPHORA:

2: Layer IV C1c(17)219. Neck sherd with rolled rim, including handle attachment, of based amphora (?); D. rim 0.123, H. > 0.075, Th. 0.009, Th. (handle) 0.015; Fabric 5YR 7/3 pink; Unslipped. A similar example from *Corinth VII* (#630), with rolled rim, is mid 2nd century BC.²¹⁷ (tentative correlation)

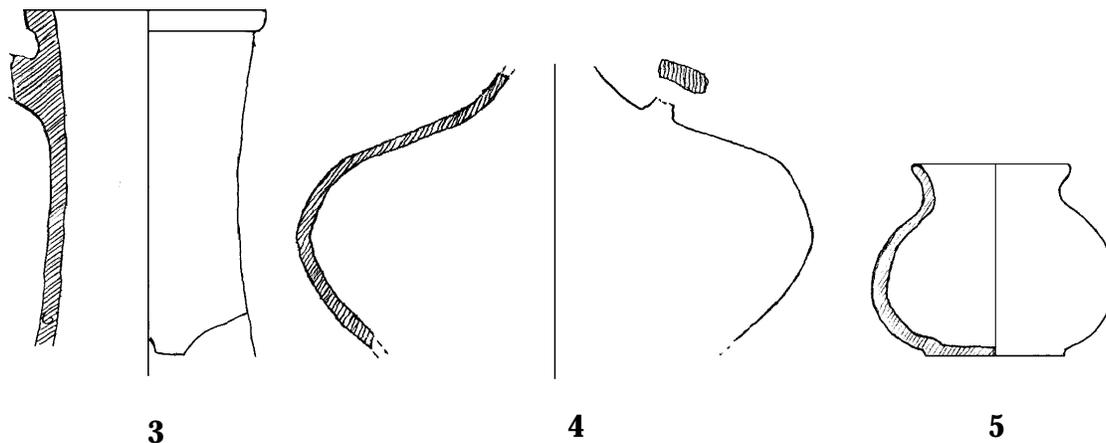
²¹⁵ *Agora XII*, pp. 153-5

²¹⁶ Schäfer, *Hellenistische Keramik aus Pergamon*, Berlin: Gruyter 1968, p. 39.

²¹⁷ Edwards, p. 112.

LAGYNOI:

Lagynoi, of many different fabrics, circulated widely in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Late Hellenistic.²¹⁸ Long-necked lagynoi parallels include *Tel Anafa* (Berlin 1997) PW24-PW27 (1st century BC),²¹⁹ and *PTCETS* form 22:3 (150BC-50BC),²²⁰ while semi-fine examples include *Tel Anafa* (Berlin 1973) #L3 (125-80BC)²²¹ and *Tel Anafa* (Berlin 1997) PW28-31 “semi-fine lagynos” (100BC and later).²²²



3: Layer IV C1c(26)267. Rim, neck, and handle attachment; D. rim 0.062, D. min. 0.049, H. > 0.093, Th. 0.005; Fabric 5YR 6/2 pinkish gray; Unslipped; Handles attach 0.014 below rim.

4: Layer IV H5b(13)69. 2 joining body sherds, including handle attachment; D. max. 0.139, D. min. < 0.029, H. > 0.074, Th. 0.003, Th. (handle) 0.005; Fabric 7.5YR 7/3 pink; Fine red slip outside only: 10R 4/6 red. Handle attachment points up at 20° angle from vertical

GLOBULAR OINTMENT POT:

Very close parallel is *Tel Anafa* PW127-9, dated as beginning c.125BC.²²³ *Corinth VII* “bulbous jar” (#589-596) is dated to the 3rd century BC,²²⁴ although the fabric is far thicker than in the Halai example and may be from another sequence entirely. *Agora XXIX*

²¹⁸ For discussion, see Berlin, *Tel Anafa II, i*, pp. 42-7.

²¹⁹ Berlin, *Tel Anafa II, i*, pp. 45-6.

²²⁰ Gunneweg et al., pp. 98-9.

²²¹ Berlin, Andrea M, *The Hellenistic and Early Roman Common Ware Pottery from Tel Anafa*, Dissertation, University of Michigan 1988, p. 153.

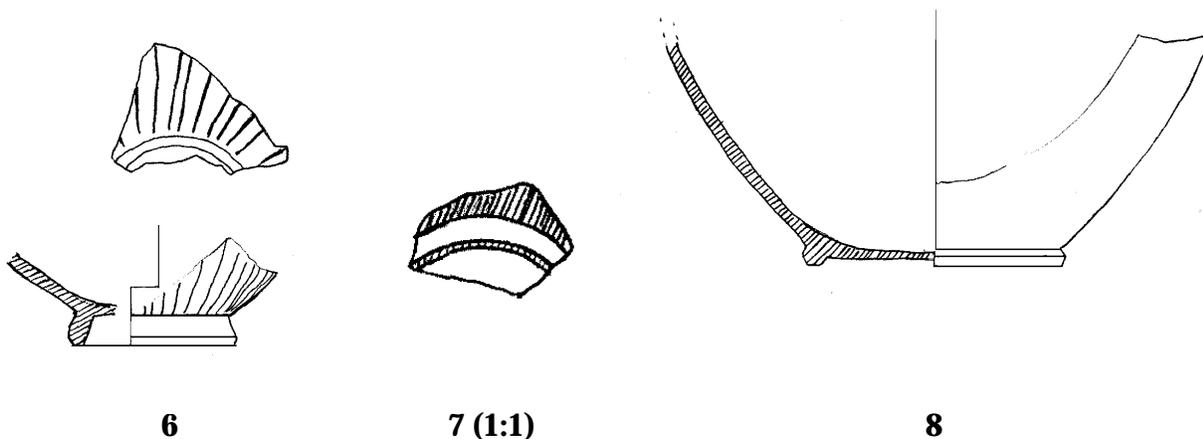
²²² Berlin, “The Plain Wares” in *Tel Anafa II, i*, p. 46

²²³ Berlin, *Tel Anafa II, i*, p. 71.

²²⁴ Edwards, pp. 100-101.

“medicine bottle” (#1309-#1313) is similar in profile to the examples from Corinth, and evidently of long duration; dates vary from 300BC-86BC.²²⁵

5: Layer IV C1c(17)226. Large fragment forming complete profile of globular ointment pot with closed rounded profile, everted rim, and raised disc base; D. rim 0.040, D. base 0.035, D. max. 0.061, D. min. (neck) 0.035, H. 0.051, Th. 0.004; Fabric 5YR 7/4 pink; Eroded brown slip on exterior only: 5YR 2.5/2 dark reddish brown.



BOWL WITH INCURVED RIM AND RING BASE:

Such bowls are found in both black slip and Eastern Sigillata A from 125-75BC. Identified as *Tel Anafa* type 24.²²⁶

6: Layer IV C1c(18)231. Base fragment of bowl with incurved rim and ring base; D. base 0.041, D. max. > 0.072, H. > 0.028, Th. 0.003; Fabric 2.5YR 7/4 light reddish brown; Fine red slip inside and out: 10R 4/6 red; Lines incised vertically, forming flaring pattern.

CUP WITH WHEELMADE BASE:

7: Layer IV C1c(32)298. Small sherd from interior of base, inside ring foot, with black-on-red decoration; 0.021 by 0.015, Th. 0.003; Fabric 2.5YR 5/4 reddish brown; Black glaze: 5YR 2.1/1 black, Red glaze 10R 3/6 dark red; glazes are applied in circular bands. Red is on interior (> 0.006), then a narrow band of black (.001), then a band of red (.003) and finally a band of black on the outside of the circles (> 0.005).

Such treatment of the underside of cups, skyphoi, bowls, and plates is common throughout the Classical period, and exists well into the Hellenistic. With the decline of black on red decoration in the 3rd century, such treatment becomes very rare. This sherd is likely one of the earliest Hellenistic examples from CHELP excavations at Halai.

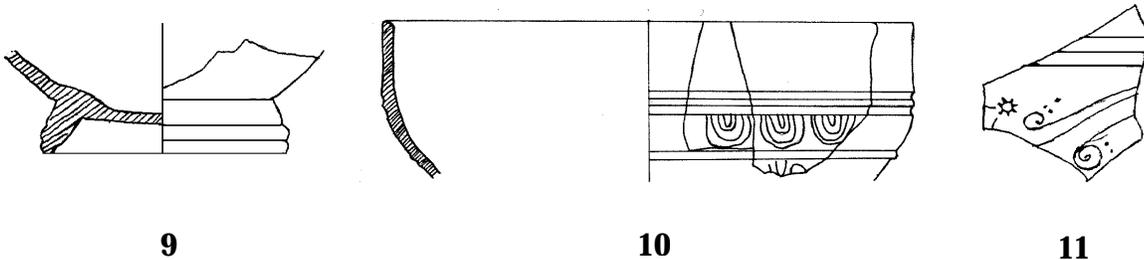
²²⁵ *Agora XXIX*, p. 370.

²²⁶ Slane, Kathleen W., “The Fine Wares” in *Tel Anafa II, i* (1997), p. 309.

HEMISPHERICAL CUP WITH FALSE RING FOOT:

8: Layer I H8c(36)228. Large fragment of hemispherical bowl with false ring foot; D. base 0.072, D. max. > 0.152, H. > 0.064, Th. 0.004; Fabric 5YR 7/4 pink; unslipped and undecorated.

No parallels were found, but both the hemispherical shape and the findspot in Layer I suggest a Hellenistic date.



HEMISPHERICAL CUP WITH RING BASE:

Tel Anafa type 25a (128-75BC), is called “the most common Hellenistic cup form.”²²⁷

Other examples are found in Athens (*Agora XXIX* “footed hemispherical bowl” 150-86BC)²²⁸ and Palestine: *PTCETS* form 21.4 gives the extremes of the dates as 180BC-AD 70, and suggests that it is particularly common 150-80BC.²²⁹

9: Layer IV C1c(18)231. Ring base fragment; D. base 0.063, D. max. > 0.085, D. min. (at join of base and body) 0.056, H. > 0.030, Th. 0.005; Fabric N 7/- light gray; Black slip on exterior only: 5B 2.5/1 bluish black.

HEMISPHERICAL MOLDED BOWLS:

The Hellenistic tradition of Molded bowls has long been recognized. First appearing around 230BC, they remained popular through the rest of the Hellenistic period. A full discussion of the development of the Attic moldmade bowl tradition is given by Rotroff.²³⁰

10: Layer IV C1c(18)231. 2 joining rim sherds (somewhat worn). Vertical profile at rim, curving inward gradually; D. rim 0.143, H. > 0.041, Th. 0.003; Fabric 2.5YR 7/4 light reddish brown; Slip eroded, but 2.5YR 3/1 dark reddish gray. Two horizontal incised lines 0.019 and 0.023 below rim, and a raised line 0.035 below rim. Between the lines are a series of raised concentric half-oval patterns dropping down from the double-incised lines. Additional raised decoration below the bottom line, but too little remains to be sure what.

²²⁷ Slane, *Tel Anafa II, i*, p. 309.

²²⁸ *Agora XXIX* vol. 1, p. 344.

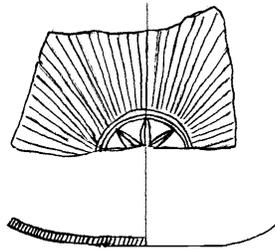
²²⁹ Gunnewag et al., p. 96.

²³⁰ *Agora XXII*, p. 6ff.

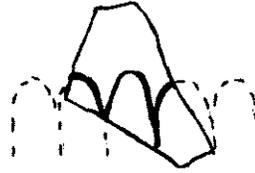
11: Layer IV C1c(18)231. Grayware body fragment; Fragment 0.046 by 0.043, Th. 0.004; Fabric N 7/- light gray; Black slip inside and out: 10B 2.5/1 bluish black. Raised design of spirals and dots, as well as two raised horizontal lines.



12



13



14 (1:1)

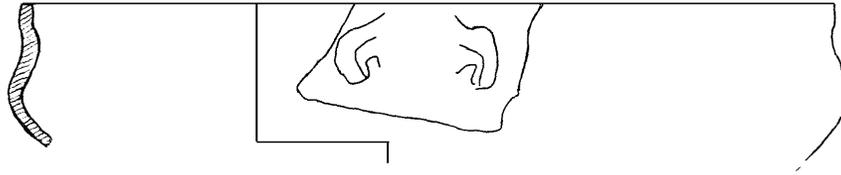
12: Layer IV C1c(18)231. Body fragment; Roughly triangular: 0.032 by 0.040, Th. 0.004; Fabric 5YR 5/3 reddish brown; unslipped; Raised pattern of rays spreading vertically from bottom of bowl. Each ray consists of three closely spaced raised lines. In the space between the rays, series of raised dots are set in vertical rows.

13: Layer IV C1c(25)263. 2 joining base sherds, very shallow profile; D. base 0.025, D. max. > 0.076, H. > 0.007, Th. 0.002; fabric 5YR 4/3 reddish brown; worn black slip inside and out: 5YR 2.5/1 black; slightly raised circle defines base. Inside base: raised foliate pattern of eight leaves, each defined by two exterior lines and one center line. Raised lines spread upward vertically from base; Raised decoration shows brown against black slip background.

14: Layer I H8c(32)202. Small grayware body sherd; fragment 0.023 by 0.021, Th. 0.003; fabric N 7/- light gray; unslipped; Decoration: raised series of arches (.011 high) joined at base.



15



16

IMITATION MOLDED BOWL:

During the Hellenistic, attempts were occasionally made to replicate the appearance of molded bowls through incision of patterns reminiscent of molded examples. Examples are found at *Hama* (form 19, dated 175-100BC).²³¹

15: Layer IV C1c(18)231. Body sherd from thin gray ware hemispherical bowl, 0.036 by 0.031, Th. 0.002; Fabric N 6/- gray; Fine black slip applied over incised decoration: 5B 2.5/1 bluish black. Decoration a series of roughly parallel incisions running vertically up the sherd underneath the slip.

FLAT DRINKING BOWL WITH LOOP HANDLES PINCHED INTO BOW SHAPE:

Common shape especially in the Levant and Palestine, although found throughout the Mediterranean; particularly popular in Greece in the first half of the 2nd century BC, but early examples from the third century and late examples from the early 1st century BC exist elsewhere.²³² Parallels include *Agora XXIX* #391-394 (200-165BC),²³³ *Corinth VII.3* #554 “drinking bowl with recurved handles” (c. 175BC),²³⁴ *Samaria* figs. 57.1,2 (second century BC),²³⁵ *Benghazi* B186.2 (first half of 2nd century BC),²³⁶ and Lapp Type 151.4 (200-100BC).²³⁷

16: Layer IV C1c(18)231. Rim sherd, including handle; D. rim 0.228, D. max. (at carination) 0.234, H. > 0.039, Th. 0.004; Fabric 2.5YR 5/4 reddish brown; Black glaze inside and out N 3/- very dark gray; Carination 0.026 below rim. Bow handle 0.045 long by 0.018 high, beginning 0.005 below rim.

²³¹ Christensen, A. P., “Les poteries hellénistiques” in *Hama: Fouilles et Recherches 1931-1938*. Copenhagen: Bianco Luno 1971, pp. 120-124.

²³² See *Agora XXIX*, pp. 117-8 and Kenrick, pp. 120-1, for a full discussion.

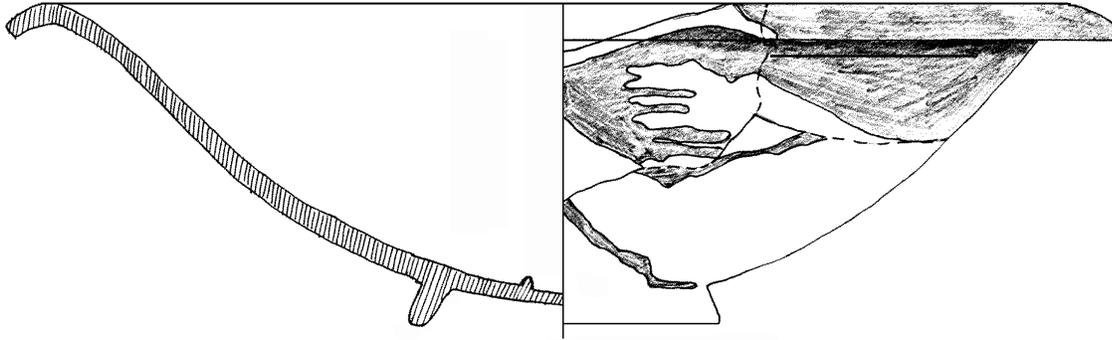
²³³ *Agora XXIX*, p. 284.

²³⁴ Edwards, p. 94.

²³⁵ *Samaria*, pp. 266-7.

²³⁶ Kenrick, p. 119-21.

²³⁷ Lapp, p. W., *Palestinian Ceramic Chronology 200 B.C.–A .D. 70*. New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research 1961, p. 204.



17

FISH PLATE:

The Hellenistic fish plate is found throughout the Mediterranean from late Classical times through the Hellenistic period.²³⁸ The classification of individual samples is complicated by the many local variations, as well as the long popularity of the form. Shallow open bowls with wells in the center are found at Athens from the end of the 5th century BC through the beginning of the 1st century BC, although the Athenian form, with its heavy overhanging rim and deep center well, is clearly different from the Halai example. Overall, the well became shallower and the center ring more pronounced later in the Hellenistic period,²³⁹ so our example may well be very late. Christensen suggests, “in the last years of the Hellenistic, a ring is added to the central depression which characterizes fish plates,”²⁴⁰ and has several similar examples (Figs. 1.13-1.19) in his analysis of finds at *Hama*.

17: Layer IV C1c(24)259a. 6 sherds forming complete profile: open bowl with everted rim and raised ring base. Small raised circle in center of interior, 0.017 diameter; D. rim 0.288, D. base 0.08, D. min. (at join of base and body) 0.074, H. 0.082, Th. 0.006; Fabric 10R 6/4 pale red; Slip, covering interior and dripped down sides of exterior: 10R 4/4 weak red; Everted rim comes 0.009 below highest point of bowl. Ring base 0.011 high.

Parallels include *Corinth VII.3* #131, the latest development in the Corinthian fish plate series (c. 146BC),²⁴¹ *PTCETS* form 21:2, “fish plate with drooping rim and ‘sauce dipper’” dated in Terra Sigillata from 190-100BC,²⁴² *Tel Anafa* type 11 (125-20BC),²⁴³

²³⁸ See *Agora XXIX*, pp. 146-149, for a full discussion.

²³⁹ *Agora XXIX*, p. 148.

²⁴⁰ Christensen, p. 2.

²⁴¹ Edwards, pp. 40-41.

²⁴² Gunnewag et al., p. 95.

²⁴³ Slane, *Tel Anafa II, i*, pp. 275, 283.

Samaria Q1514 and (fig. 43:1) dated as late Hellenistic,²⁴⁴ and a Macedonian example from Vergina (175-150BC).²⁴⁵

Late Hellenistic/Early Roman Wares:

FILTER JUGS:

This typically Hellenistic shape persists into the Roman period. Hellenistic parallels include *Agora XXIX* #1190 and #1193 (100-86BC),²⁴⁶ and *Corinth VII* #778 (c. 146BC).²⁴⁷ A red-glazed example from *Corinth XVIII* #211 is dated to the 1st century AD.²⁴⁸ The abbreviated rims of **19** and **19** are more typically Hellenistic, while the everted rim of **20** more resembles the late Corinthian example.

18: Layer IV C1c(14)187. Near-complete mouth of four-holed filter jug with abbreviated rim, broken 0.01 below strainer; D. rim 0.048, D. min. < 0.028, Th. 0.005; Fabric 5YR 7/4 pink; Red slip on exterior only: 10R 4/6 red; Four hole pattern formed by hole in center, and three in off-center triangle around center. Diameter of inner strainer 0.021.

19: Layer IV C1c(18)231. Mouth of five-holed filter jug, broken 0.014 below strainer, missing rim; RD > 0.049, D. min. 0.034, Th. 0.004; Fabric 2.5YR 7/4 light reddish brown; Red slip on exterior only 10R 4/6 red. Five hole pattern formed by hole in (just off) center, with four in very rough square surrounding. Diameter of inner strainer 0.025.

20: Layer III H5b(15)92. One-handled filter jug with squat rounded body, false ring foot, and everted rim, complete except for spout and small body hole. Handle at 90° angle from spout; D. rim 0.105, D. base 0.083, D. max. (body) 0.123, D. min. (neck) 0.042, H. 0.148, Th. 0.005, Th. (handle) 0.008; Fabric 5YR 6/2 pinkish gray; Heavily encrusted, but dark brown slip on exterior only: 5YR 2.5/2 dark reddish brown; Five hole pattern formed by hole in center and four in rough square surrounding. Diameter of inner strainer 0.03. Scar left by spout diameter 0.027, hole for spout diameter 0.006. Handle attaches to neck 0.015 below rim, and to body 0.06 below rim. Strainer 0.03 to 0.037 below rim.

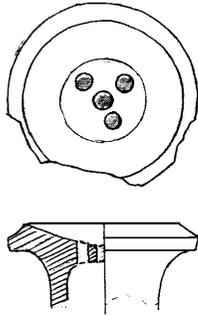
²⁴⁴ *Samaria*, p. 233.

²⁴⁵ Drogou, Stellas, *Hellenistike keramike apo te Makedonia*. Thessalonike: Aristoteleio Panepistemio Thessalonikes, 1991, p. 60.

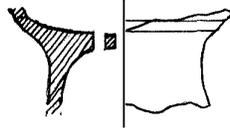
²⁴⁶ *Agora XXIX* p. 357-8.

²⁴⁷ Edwards, G. Roger, *Corinth, vol. VII, part iii: Corinthian Hellenistic Pottery*. Princeton: ASCS 1975, p. 149.

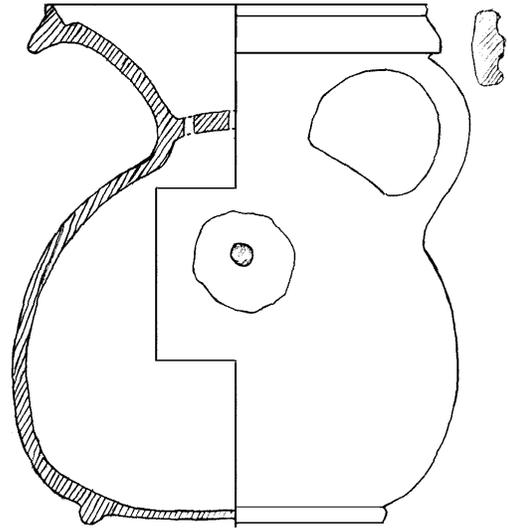
²⁴⁸ Slane, Kathleen W., *Corinth, volume XVIII, part ii: The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, The Roman Pottery and Lamps*. Princeton: ASCS (1990), p. 102.



18



19



20

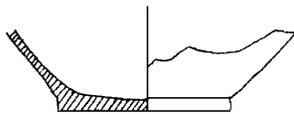
THIN WALLED PREDECESSORS:

Although the thin-walled ware tradition is characteristic of the Early Roman period, there were a number of Hellenistic gray ware styles which appear to have anticipated the preference for thin-walled vessels. Many of these examples are local, and it is likely that similar vessels bridged the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods. Gray wares, in particular, become increasingly common as imports in Greece in after 150BC,²⁴⁹ with numerous sources of production in western Asia Minor. Although many of the examples at Halai are probably local emulations of imported wares, a high proportion of gray wares is unlikely before the Late Hellenistic.

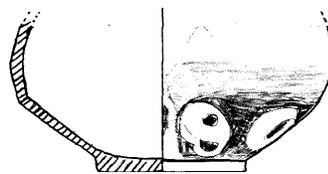
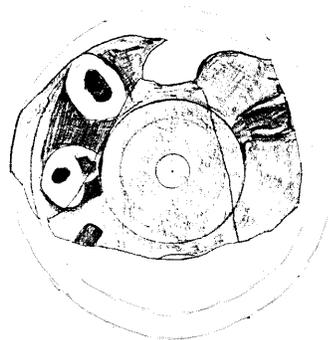
²⁴⁹ *Agora XXIX*, p. 223.

21: Layer III H5b(16)96. Grayware hemispherical bowl with raised base, in 3 joining fragments; D. base 0.045, D. max. > 0.074, H. > 0.022, Th. 0.002; Fabric N 4/- dark gray; unslipped.

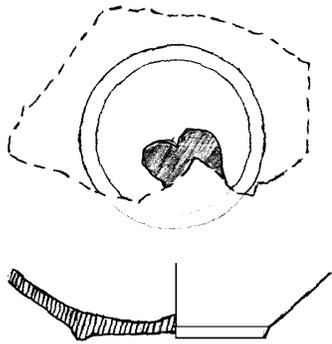
22: Layer III H5b(16)96. Globular cup with raised base (or perhaps bottom of a beaker?), 3 joining sherds; D. base 0.039, D. max. 0.086, H. > 0.039, Th. 0.003; Fabric 5YR 7/3 pink; Red slip inside and out, with patterns on exterior depending on slip thickness. Interior: 10R 4/6 red. Exterior from 10R 7/6 pale red to 10R 2.5/2 very dusky red. Slip forms striking arcs and ovals of light and dark encircling base.



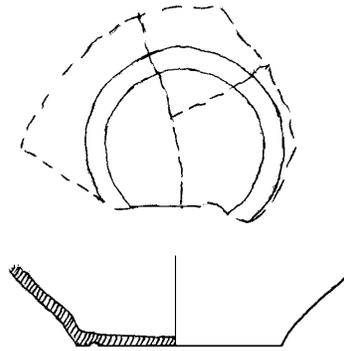
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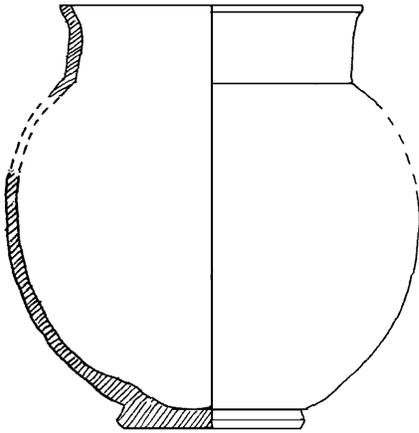
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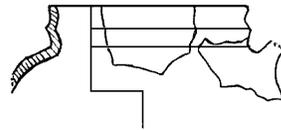
23



24



25



26

23: Layer IV C1c(25)263. Shallow hemispherical cup (or perhaps beaker?) with slightly raised base; D. base 0.047, D. max. > 0.082, H. > 0.015, Th. 0.004; Fabric N 7/- light gray; one drip of black slip on bottom of base: 10B 2.5/1 bluish black. No other slip visible.

For cups, see parallels above. As base of a beaker, as seems possible due to presence of slip on exterior only, see *Cosa* form LXVIII. *Cosa* #433 seems the closest parallel, although the fabric is red-to-gray rather than gray throughout.²⁵⁰

24: Layer IV C1c(24)259. Shape as **23**, consisting of 3 joining sherds; D. base 0.048, D. max. > 0.084, H. > 0.019, Th. 0.003; Fabric N 4/- dark gray; unslipped.

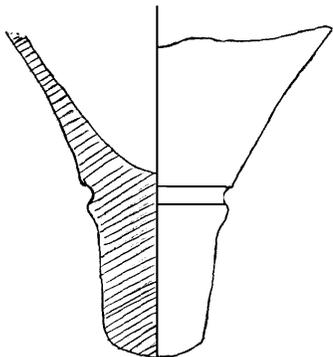
²⁵⁰ Moevs, p. 237.

25: Layer I H8c(36)228. 9 sherds (but not complete profile) from ovoid gray ware jar with raised base, broad neck and everted lip; D. rim 0.08, D. base 0.049, D. max. (body) 0.105, D. min. (neck) 0.075, H. > 0.098, Th. 0.003; Fabric N 6/- gray; Unslipped; Neck meets body 0.021 below rim.

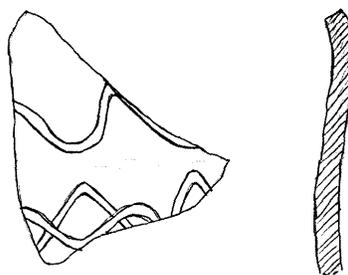
Cosa form LX is a near-exact parallel (although the Halai base is raised rather than flat) for the shape, which is dated to the Tiberian Period (14-37CE).²⁵¹ The fabric is somewhat thicker than the *Cosa* example, and it may be from an unrelated series.

26: Layer III H1a(34)141. 3 rim/handle fragments of small thin jar with short neck and rounded body; D. rim 0.051, D. max. > 0.069, H. > 0.023, Th. 0.003; Fabric 5YR 7/4 pink; Thin black slip inside and out: 10YR 2/2 very dark brown; Complicated, elegant rim profile with slightly everted mouth, then curved outward to a point 0.006 below rim, and then curved inward again until join with body 0.011 below rim. Handle attachment, at shoulder just below join with neck, points up at 30° angle from vertical.

No parallels found.



27



28

STORAGE VESSELS:

27: Layer III H5b(16)96. Amphora toe. D. base 0.026, H. > 0.086, D. max. > 0.082, Th. 0.005, Th. (toe) 0.030; Fabric 5YR 7/4 pink; Unslipped; Toe extends 0.048 below bottom of interior. Impressed band 0.030 to 0.035 from bottom. No parallels found, but findspot within Layer III indicates LH/ER date.

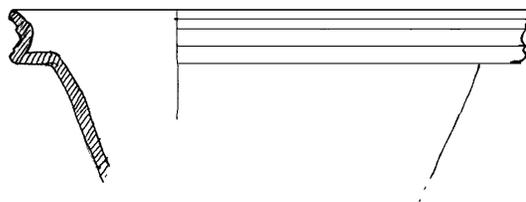
28: Layer III H8c(41)250. Large body sherd (perhaps from a storage vessel), 0.069 by 0.056, Th. 0.006; Fabric 2.5YR 4/2 weak red; unslipped; On either side of horizontal incision, wavy incised lines traverse the sherd horizontally. Again, no parallels found, but findspot indicates LH/ER date.

²⁵¹ Moevs, p. 176-176

Early Roman Wares:

CUPS WITH CARINATED RIMS:

These cups are found in both buff and gray wares, and are a part of the Eastern Terra Sigillata tradition. Many parallels include: *Agora V*, “Samian A cup” (G28),²⁵² dated to the first half of the first century. *Tarsus I*, “bowl with narrow floor, flaring wall” (L412)²⁵³ from the Early Imperial period (1st and early 2nd centuries CE) includes a description of the shape as a “fairly elaborate version” of Early Imperial cup.²⁵⁴ *Samaria*, “cup, flaring, rim concave, ring base” (form 23:6 (Z384), 23:9 (C307), and 23:10 (D960))²⁵⁵ is called “as characteristic of the first century A.D. as the plates with incurved rim and hemispherical bowls which preceded them are of the first century B.C.”²⁵⁶ *PTCETS* dates their “carinated cup with upper part vertical” from 30BC-AD 50.²⁵⁷ Most recently, Slane, in her work on Roman pottery at Corinth, has identified a nearly-identical vessel “imitation Samaria form 23” (127)²⁵⁸ as dating to the second or third quarter of the 1st century AD. Other parallels include *Tarsus* “bowl with spreading walls, concave vertical rim” (M417) from the Early Imperial period, *Agora V* “hemispherical cup, flanged rim” (G75) from the first half of the first century.²⁵⁹



29

29: Layer IV C1c(14)187 and C1c(17) 219. 2 large rim sherds of sharply carinated vessel. Profile slightly everted above carination, sloping inward below; D. rim 0.135, H. > 0.041, Th. 0.003; Fabric 10R 6/4 pale red; Lustrous red slip inside and out: 10R 4/6 red; Wide incised horizontal band from 0.005-0.009 below rim flanked by narrow lines at 0.004 and 0.01 below rim. Carination at 0.014 below rim.

²⁵² *Agora V*, p. 25.

²⁵³ Goldman, Hetty, *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus, volume I: The Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Princeton: Princeton University Press (1950), p. 244.

²⁵⁴ Goldman, *Tarsus I*, p. 182.

²⁵⁵ *Samaria*, p. 338.

²⁵⁶ *Samaria* p. 338.

²⁵⁷ Gunneweg et al., p. 101 (illustration p. 50).

²⁵⁸ Slane, *Corinth XVIII*, p. 61.

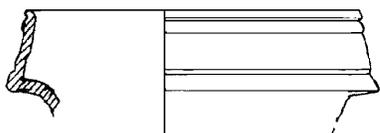
²⁵⁹ *Agora V*, p. 29.

30: Layer IV C1c(14)187. Carinated rim sherd, closed profile; D. rim 0.086, D. max. 0.095, H.>0.027, Th. 0.003; Fabric N 7/- light gray; Fine lustrous black slip inside and out: 5B 2.5/1 bluish black; Horizontal lines incised at 0.003, 0.006, and 0.012 below rim.

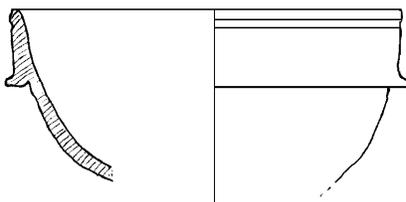
This shape, in Eastern Terra Sigillata A, is identified in *Agora V* as “bell cup with flanged rim” (G70),²⁶⁰ and dated to the first half of the first century AD.

31: Layer IV C1c(17)219. Carinated rim sherd. Vertical profile above carination, sloping inward below; D. rim 0.126, D. max. (at carination) 0.131, H.>0.034, Th. 0.004; Fabric N 7/- light gray; Fine black slip inside and out: 5B 2.5/1 bluish black; Horizontal line incised 0.011 below rim, extruding horizontal band at carination, 0.025-0.03 below rim.

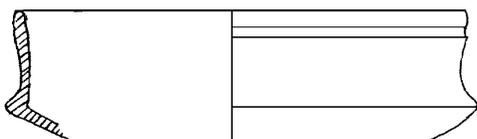
A similar piece from Nicosia (published in *PTCETS* as “carinated bowl with vertical convex rim”) dates from 14BC-AD 70.²⁶¹ Other similar forms from *Paphos* date from AD 50-100.²⁶²



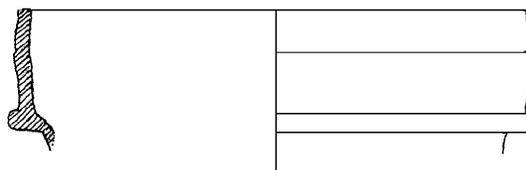
30



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33

32: Layer IV C1c(18)231. Carinated rim sherd, vertical profile to carination, then sloping inward rapidly; D. rim 0.12, D. max. (at carination) 0.125, H.>0.033, Th. 0.003; Fabric 5YR 7/4 pink; Interior slip red: 10R 5/6 red, exterior slip black fading to red (with thickness): 2.5YR 2.5/1 reddish black (at rim) to 2.5YR 3/6 dark red (just above carination); One fine horizontal line incised 0.005 below rim, carination apex 0.025 below rim.

²⁶⁰ *Agora V*, p. 29.

²⁶¹ Gunneweg et al., p. 102 (illustration p. 62).

²⁶² Hayes, *Paphos* (1967) form 8, as quoted in *PTCETS* p. 102-3.

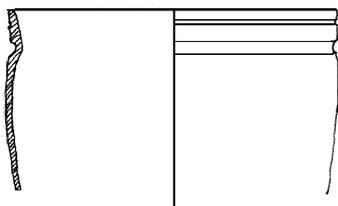
A very close parallel to *PTCETSTERRA* 31 (Kypros 53/9)²⁶³ “carinated cup with upper part vertical” dated 30 BC-AD 50.

33: Layer IV H5b(13)74. Large grayware rim sherd of hemispherical cup with flanged rim; D. rim 0.104, D. max. 0.108, H. > 0.048, Th. 0.004; Fabric N 7/- light gray; Fine black slip inside and out: 5B 2.5/1 bluish black. Thickening of clay, everted 0.022 below rim, gives appearance of carination, although interior shape is unaffected. Narrow horizontal band incised 0.005 below rim.

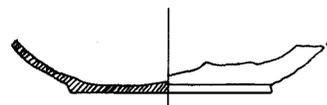
A near-exact parallel (even to the gray fabric and black glaze) is *Agora V*, “hemispherical cup with flanged rim” (G74),²⁶⁴ dated to the first half of the first century. This shape appears in the same layers in a buff fabric (G13)²⁶⁵ as well. A somewhat later date (140CE-160CE) is proposed by Slane for a sigillata version of the same shape from *Corinth XVIII* (109)²⁶⁶

THIN WALLED WARES:

Very thin gray wares have been identified at a number of sites around the Aegean. Such very thin wares, typically small cups, bowls, and beakers, can be dated from the last quarter of 1st century BC-middle 1st century AD. At Halai, these shapes all come from small bowls or cups with rim diameters typically less than ten centimeters. Parallels can be found at *Benghazi* (B470),²⁶⁷ *Cosa* forms XIII²⁶⁸ and XXXVI,²⁶⁹ dated to the third quarter of the first century BC. Other parallels include *Tel Anafa* (FW488), from the Augustan-Claudian period (27BC-54AD).²⁷⁰ Particularly distinctive are thin cups with raised disc bases, typical of the Augustan-Claudian period (27BC-54AD), although beakers with such raised bases appear somewhat earlier.²⁷¹



34



35

²⁶³ Gunneweg et al., p. 101 (illustration p. 50).

²⁶⁴ *Agora V*, p. 29.

²⁶⁵ *Agora V*, p. 25.

²⁶⁶ *Corinth XVIII, ii*, p. 54.

²⁶⁷ Kenrick, p. 317.

²⁶⁸ Moevs, pp. 74-75.

²⁶⁹ Moevs, pp. 132-137.

²⁷⁰ Slane, *Tel Anafa II, i*, pp. 354-5.

²⁷¹ Slane, *Tel Anafa II, i*, p. 351.

34: Layer IV C1c(17)219. Extremely thin gray ware rim sherd from an ovoid beaker; D. rim 0.086, H. > 0.046, Th. 0.002; Fabric N 7/- light gray; unslipped. Narrow horizontal incised line at 0.003 below rim, and wide incised line at 0.008-0.012 below rim.

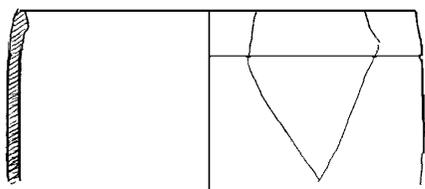
35: Layer IV C1c(18)231. Base of gray ware hemispherical cup with slightly raised base; D. base 0.049, D. max. > 0.076, H. > 0.013, Th. 0.002; Fabric N 7/- light gray; unslipped.

Clear parallels are *Tel Anafa* (FW486, FW490) and *Benghazi* B455, mainly Augustan-Tiberian (27BC-37AD).²⁷²

36: Layer IV C1c(17)219. Straight-sided sherd with thickened rim, perhaps part of a deep bowl; D. rim 0.10, H. > 0.043, Th. 0.003; Fabric 5B 7/1 light bluish gray (perhaps a light wash?); lustrous red slip on interior only: 10R 3/4 dusky red, exterior unslipped; One shallow horizontal line incised into exterior 0.011 from rim.

The combination of fabric and slip is, as far as I can tell, without parallel. The shape has very close parallel in *Benghazi* B472 (1st century AD), with a thin blue-gray slip on the exterior.²⁷³

37: Layer IV C1c(18)231. Base from beaker with raised base and cylindrical sides; D. base 0.056, D. max. 0.073, H. > 0.021, Th. 0.002; Fabric 2.5YR 7/4 light reddish brown; Red matte slip inside and out: 10R 5/6 red.



36



37

PLATE WITH FALSE RING FOOT:

The false ring foot is a relatively late development in plates; parallels for this shape include *Samaria* Form 14b, “deep plate with plain vertical rim, base with flange,” beginning c.30BC and continuing into the 2nd century AD.²⁷⁴ Others examples include *Benghazi* B331, comparatively late from AD 60-100,²⁷⁵ and *Antioch* Shape #432, “among the latest” of the Early Roman shapes.²⁷⁶

²⁷² Kenrick, p. 311.

²⁷³ Kenrick, p. 318.

²⁷⁴ *Samaria*, pp. 331-2.

²⁷⁵ Kenrick, p. 235.

²⁷⁶ Waage, Frederick O., “Hellenistic and Roman Tableware of north Syria” in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* vol. IV, part 1. Princeton: Princeton University Press 1948, pp. 33-37.

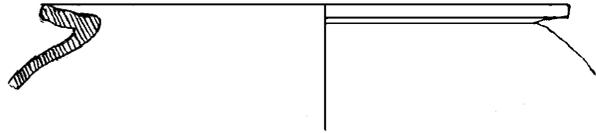


38

38: Layer III H1a(34)141. Grayware base, including false ring foot, originally from deep plate with vertical rim (3 fragments); D. base 0.098, D. max. > 0.129, Th. 0.006; Fabric N 7/- light gray; Lustrous black slip interior (top) only 10B 2.5/1 bluish black.

COOKWARE:

The cookware fabric at Halai is granular and coarse, fired from red to black, often with variability within one example. Additional darkening from use is often visible on exterior. Rims are typically everted to receive lids, sometimes with thin grooves to hold lid in place. A similar fabric (almost certainly common throughout Greece, although locally made) is found at Athens: “hard, coarse, reddish brown clay with grits, fired gray-black in part at the surface.”²⁷⁷

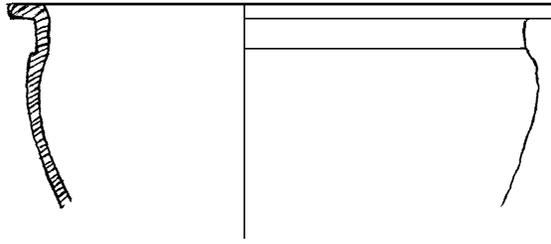


39

39: Layer IV C1c(25)263. Rim sherd from globular cookware pot with sharply everted horizontal rim, D. rim 0.148, D. min. (at neck) 0.129, D. max. > 0.169, H. > 0.026, Th. 0.004; Fabric granular: 10R 3/4 dusky red; unslipped.

Specific parallel for shape is *Agora V*F82, dated to the last three quarters of the 1st century BC.

²⁷⁷ *Agora V*, pp. 18.



40 (1:4)

Undetermined Date:

KRATER:

40: Layer IV C1c(14)187. 6 joining rim sherds of small krater with flat projecting rim and short vertical neck; D. rim 0.28, H. > 0.115, Th. 0.007; Fabric 5YR 8/2 pinkish white; Unslipped; Rim projects 0.014 from neck.

BEAKER:

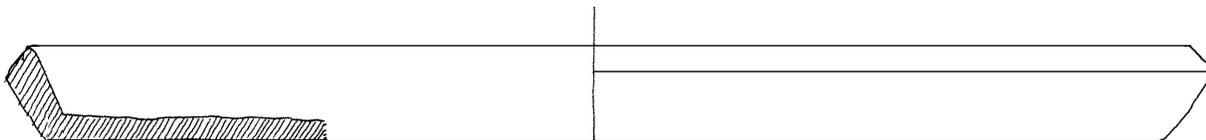
41: Layer IV C1c(30)287. Base fragment with ring foot and rounded body profile; D. base 0.08, D. max. > 0.107, H. > 0.023, Th. 0.003; Fabric N 7/- light gray; Remains of black slip on exterior only: N 3/- very dark gray.



41



43



42

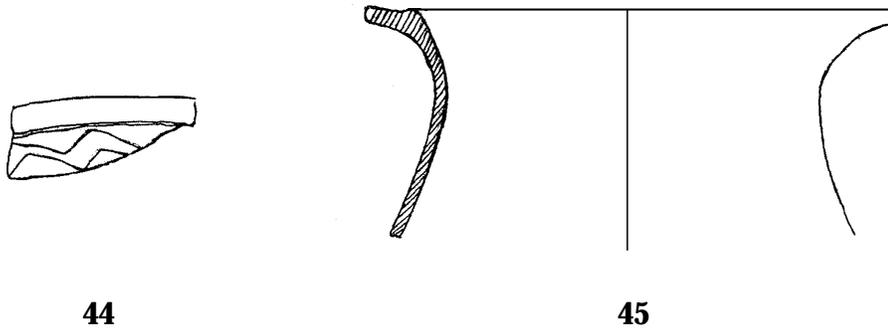
PLATES:

42: Layer IV C1c(14)187. Large plate rim fragment: flat-bottomed profile with upturned, thickened rim; D. rim 0.32, D. base 0.29, H. 0.022, Th. 0.007; Fabric 5YR 7/3 pink; Red to black slip (depending on thickness) on inside, outside of rim, and on base within 0.031 of edge. Inside color from 10R 4/6 red to 10R 3/2 dusky red. Outside color

from 2.5YR 6/6 light red to 10R 3/1 dark reddish gray. Bottom inside of 0.031 from edge unslipped; interior rather plain but slip on exterior forms fiery swirls and patterns.

43: Layer IV C1c(25)263. Small grayware plate (?) base sherd including ring foot, showing sloping profile; D. base 0.082, D. max. > 0.098, Th. 0.005; Fabric N 7/- light gray; Lustrous black slip interior (top) only: 10B 2.5/1 bluish black; Parallel lines incised at a slight angle to radius form pattern band between 0.029 and 0.037 from center.

44: Layer IV C1c(19)239. Small rim sherd with very flat profile (perhaps from a plate); D. rim 0.25, Th. 0.005; Fabric 10R 8/4 pink; unslipped; decoration is two roughly concentric zig-zag lines 0.003 apart, and beginning 0.008 from rim.



COOKWARE:

45: Layer IV C1c(24)259. Outturned rim sherd from cookware pot; D. Rim 0.145, D. min. (at neck) 0.104, H. > 0.058, Th. 0.003; Fabric as **39**, although granular and friable. Interior 10R 4/6 red; inside surface 10R 3/4 dusky red, outside surface darkened to 7.5YR 2.5/1 black; unslipped.

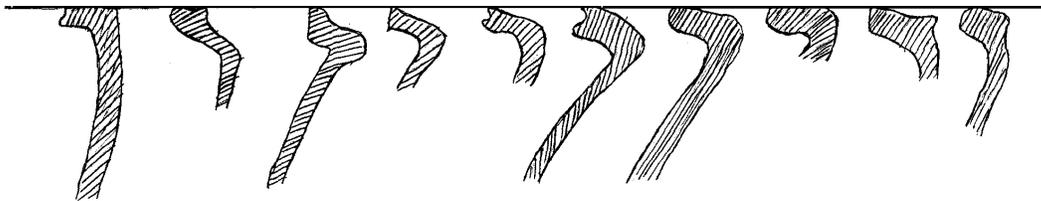


Figure 15: Various cookware rim profiles from H5b(13)74

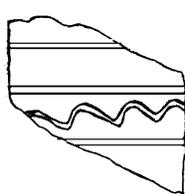
INCISED BODY SHERDS:

46: Layer IV C1c(17)219. Body sherd, 0.042 by 0.030, Th. 0.004; Fabric 10R 8/4 pink; unslipped; decoration consists of three parallel incised bands running horizontally around vessel separated by 0.009. Between the middle and bottom of the three, an incised horizontal wavy line oscillates in the leftover space.

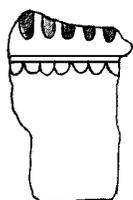
47: Layer IV C1c(17)219. Body sherd, 0.042 by 0.023, Th. (see below); Fabric 2.5YR 7/4 light reddish brown; Reddish slip on exterior only: 2.5YR 6/6 light red; sherd is of two thicknesses, used for decorative effect: body Th. 0.003, except near top of sherd where body Th. 0.005. At join between thin and thicker sections, a series of small plastic half-circles are suspended below over the thinner section. Above the row of suspended ovals, a narrow line is incised horizontally. Above the incised line runs a horizontal series of oval shapes incised into the thicker fabric.

48: Layer IV C1c(18)231. Body sherd, 0.031 by 0.030, Th. 0.003; Fabric 2.5YR light reddish brown; Lustrous red slip 10R 4/6 red; Decoration is two lines incised horizontally underneath slip 0.002 apart, and two arcing lines curving down away from horizontal lines incised through slip, exposing fabric.

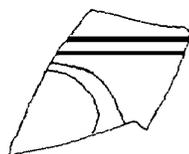
49: Layer IV C1c(26)267. Body sherd, 0.042 by 0.034, Th. 0.004; Fabric 2.5YR 5/4 reddish brown; unslipped; on one side of the sherd a shallow raised horizontal bump increases the Th. to 0.006 across the width of the sherd. On the other side, a series of regular, intersecting parallel incisions forms a complex pattern.



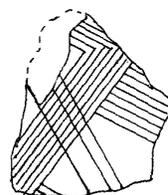
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CHAPTER IX CONCLUSIONS

There is a great deal of work still left to do. In fact, this study probably raises more questions than it answers. From historical sources, we can be relatively confident of many of the significant dates in the Hellenistic settlement of Halai. It seems quite likely that it was refortified in the last years of the reign of Philip II of Macedon, between the Battle of Chaeronea (338BC) and his death (336BC), and that it prospered on the burgeoning trade moving through the Euboean Gulf. The *Periplus* of Scylax provides convincing evidence that Halai was not of importance around 350BC. After many years of apparent prosperity, Halai and the rest of East Lokris was increasingly subject to the instability of the third century BC, and control over it and its neighbors was one object of wars between Boeotia, Phokis, and Aetolia. In the third quarter of the third century BC, the dissolution of the state of East Lokris was completed with the incorporation of Halai and Larymna into the Boeotian League. For the remainder of its existence, Halai was apparently a part of Boeotia, although five hundred years later Pausanias could learn that its original allegiance had been to Lokris.

The town's destruction by Sulla in the late summer of 86BC was surely catastrophic. Although the town was apparently resettled in relatively short order, if Sulla can express surprise that any men of Halai still live, the destruction must have been massive. The lack of clear Early Roman habitation layers in the areas excavated by CHELP may be evidence that the town never again reached its former size, and that only portions of the acropolis were in use in the Early Roman period. The apparent lack of Early Roman lamps in Areas C and H imply that the area was probably not inhabited.

Nevertheless, the relatively extensive presence of Early Roman ceramics even in an area where they do not appear to have lived suggests that Halai enjoyed at least a moderate degree of prosperity in the Early Roman period. Certainly, the town survived for another two centuries after Sulla, and retained enough significance to be mentioned by Plutarch, Strabo, and Pausanias. Further excavation is necessary in undisturbed areas to clarify the sequence of habitation. Halai seems to have been abandoned gradually during the second century AD, and there is scant evidence of Middle Roman occupation.

From the character of the pottery, Halai appears to have been an active participant in the Aegean community during the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods. The pottery has many features in common with wares of western Asia Minor, as would be logical for a port town relatively isolated from mainland Greece. Due to the relative lack of publication of central Greek ceramics, it is not yet possible to determine if the nature of the Halai ceramics is similar to more nearby provincial towns. Certainly, the pottery has surprisingly little in common with the large centers of Athens and Corinth. Not one sherd of West Slope ware or Attic fish plates has been found at Halai, while the proportion of gray wares is significantly higher than in the larger Greek cities.

However, significant questions remain. We do not appear to have isolated any layers from the beginning of Halai's Hellenistic settlement. All the ceramics in the two habitation layers are consistent with a date in the late second or first centuries BC. Thus, we have no way to corroborate Goldman's claim of fourth century ceramics as the earliest evidence of Halai's Hellenistic existence. Similarly, despite numerous sherds datable to the Early Roman period, we have not yet isolated Early Roman habitation layers. Until we do, we will be unable to determine the nature of the resettlement after Sulla's destruction.

Neither are we yet able to determine how the fill containing the Early Roman debris was deposited over apparently Hellenistic layers. Was it the product of some later destruction, or instead the result of Late Roman landscaping?

There remains significant work to be done in clarifying the sequence of building on the Halai acropolis. The discovery of the quarries apparently used in constructing Halai during surface survey suggests that a detailed analysis of the stones in the quarries and their correlation with the different phases of construction could provide a great deal of information. Similarly, we are not yet able to correlate stratigraphic layers excavated by CHELP with the structures present on the acropolis. A detailed, stratum by stratum examination of the finds in relation to the nearby architecture will do a great deal to clarify our picture of the Hellenistic at Halai.

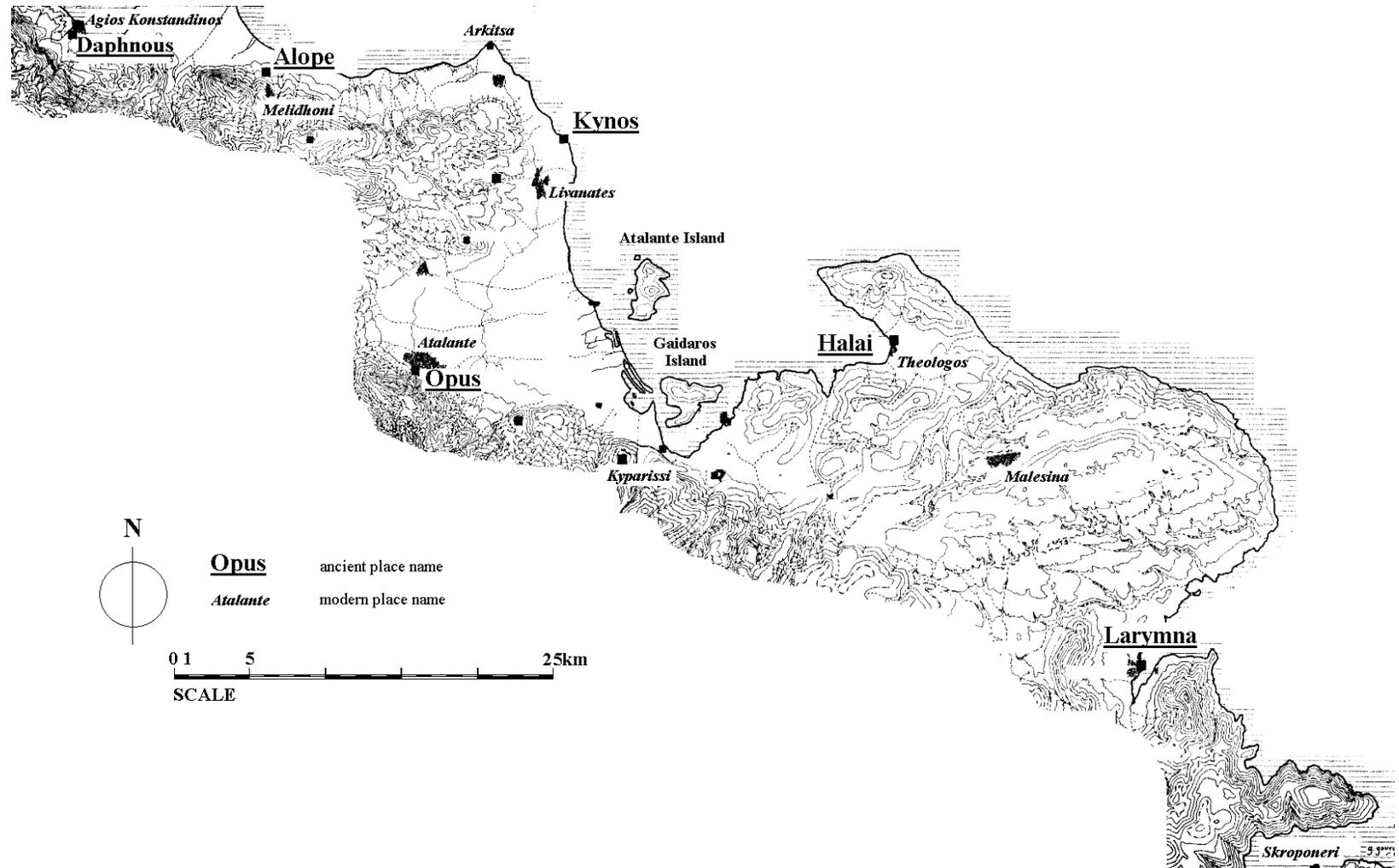


Figure 16: East Lokris, with towns mentioned in the text (after Fossey, *Opountian Lokris*)

APPENDIX 1 NEARBY SITES

The region of Lokris has not been much investigated in modern times. Nor was it well described by any ancient author whose works have survived to this day. Pausanias omits Lokris from his *Description of Greece*, although he seems to have intended to discuss it at some later date: in an offhand mention of Larymna, he says, "...her earlier ancestors I shall give in my account of Lokris."²⁷⁸ Strabo's account is heavily weighted to coastal settlements, and compromised by such serious inaccuracies in distances that many towns which he mentions are still unassociated with sites.²⁷⁹ The *Periplus* of Scylax is apparently accurate for its time, and invaluable for reconstructing the chronology of Halai, but gives very little account of the interior portions of Lokris. To compound the problem of fragmentary documentary evidence, very few Lokrian towns have been thoroughly excavated, and even fewer published. The only site at which a full excavation has been conducted is Halai, and Goldman left many of her actions undocumented and the majority of her finds unpublished. The situation is worse for the rest of East Lokris. Even the location of Opus, the provincial capital, has not been determined reliably. Although the traditional assumption has been that ancient Opus is located underneath the modern town of Atalante,²⁸⁰ a number of scholars including Oldfather and Pritchett have proposed that Opus be located at Kyparissi, southeast of Atalante and much closer to the bay.²⁸¹ To

²⁷⁸ Pausanias 9.23.7 (Perseus translation).

²⁷⁹ For example, neither of the two candidates for Opus (Atalante and Kyparissi) are 15 stadia from the sea, as suggested in 9.4.2; Atalante is 35 and Kyparissi 5.

²⁸⁰ The most convincing is Fossey, *Opountian Lokris*, pp. 71-74.

²⁸¹ Oldfather in P-W s. v. Opus (1939), p. 813; Pritchett, W. Kendrick, *Studies in Ancient Greek topography, Part V*. Berkeley: University of California Press 1985, pp. 184-5.

compound the problem, the excavations at Kyparissi are largely unpublished, and the accounts of the excavations at Atalante, Kynos, and Alope are as yet just a few brief mentions in the *Archaiologikon Deltion*.²⁸² The one recent article on the area, on the identification of Homeric towns in East Lokris,²⁸³ is tremendously useful, and hopefully, more will soon appear in print.

For these reasons, the study of East Lokris leads to unexpected difficulties. Because many of the sites in Opuntian Lokris were described in antiquity in relation to their capital, it is only the larger coastal sites – identified sequentially by both Pausanias and Strabo – which we can identify with assurance. I here give brief accounts of the archaeology and history of the other principal towns of coastal East Lokris, focusing on the Hellenistic period, in the hope that the comparisons will prove illustrative to the situation at Halai. In this work, I am drawing on the topographical surveys of Oldfather, Pritchett, Hope Simpson and Dickinson, and, particularly, Fossey,²⁸⁴ as well as personal observation from visits during the summer of 1997. After a brief comment on the location of Opus, the coastal towns of East Lokris will be treated from south to north.

Opus:

As the attribution of Opus is not determined with assurance, and as Opus was not in any case on the coast, I do not intend to give a full review of the site. Nevertheless, the

²⁸² *Αρχαελλτ*, s. v. Atalante, 1985, 1986, 1987.

²⁸³ Dakoronia, F., “Homeric Towns in East Lokris: Problems of Identification,” *Hesperia* 62 (1993), pp. 115-127.

²⁸⁴ Fossey’s surveys into the topography and history of Lokris, Phokis, and Boeotia are invaluable resources for the study of Halai and its environs. Not only is the research well

location of other Lokrian towns is sufficiently based on that of Opus that I believe it is worthwhile clarifying the state of research addressing the question. The first candidate for Opus is the site of Atalante, a large modern town on the plain of Atalante, and the findspot of the bulk of inscriptions identifying the city as Opus. The second candidate for Opus is an impressive acropolis site near Kyparissi where Blegen found a large Archaic *stoa* in test excavations at the beginning of this century.²⁸⁵

There are two ancient descriptions of Opus which have been used to determine its location. Strabo mentions that Opus is 60 stadia from the port of Kynos, and situated across from the island of Atalante.²⁸⁶ Livy describes events in 197BC in which a Macedonian garrison in Opus held the citadel of Opus against the Romans.²⁸⁷ Pritchett, in particular, has used these references to eliminate Atalante as a potential site, as it is without an apparent acropolis.²⁸⁸ Oldfather suggests that the inscriptions found in Atalante were carried there at some later date as building material.²⁸⁹ However, since the publication of Pritchett's survey, additional work has been conducted by the Ephorate of Lamia. A 350 meter long section of fortification wall has been uncovered at Atalante and dated to c. 300BC.²⁹⁰ In addition, a major objection to Atalante was removed by the

presented and thorough, but he includes useful plans of most of the sites he visits. Some of these plans are adapted and included as figures in this report.

²⁸⁵ Blegen, Carl, "The site of Opous," *AJA* 30 (1926), pp. 401-4.

²⁸⁶ Strabo, *Geography*, 9.4.2.

²⁸⁷ Livy, *History of Rome* 32.32.1-4.

²⁸⁸ Pritchett (1985), pp. 184-5.

²⁸⁹ Oldfather in P-W s. v. Opus (1939), p. 813

²⁹⁰ Dakoronia, p. 120.

discovery that it did have an acropolis of sorts; a hill just to the west was shown to be part of the ancient city.²⁹¹

With the discovery of the ancient acropolis of Atalante, there is no longer any reason to favor Kyparissi over Atalante. Each is roughly 60 stadia from Kynos, but Kyparissi, itself only 5 stadia from the sea, would have had little use for a port so far away. In fact, Kynos is no closer to Kyparissi than is Halai, although the overland trek from Halai to Kyparissi is more difficult. In addition, Strabo's mention that Opus is situated opposite Atalante Island is accurate for Atalante, but problematic for Kyparissi. Most importantly, all of the inscriptions found which identify the city of Opus have been found at Atalante.²⁹² To propose that an occasional stone could have been moved is reasonable, but the wholesale removal of all inscriptions is not.

²⁹¹ Fossey, *Opountian Lokris*, pp. 68-70; also noted in Dakoronia, p. 120. The acropolis of Atlante was called *Oion*, from the word for egg, and appears egg-like from the east.

²⁹² *IG* 9.1:268-272, 276, 280.

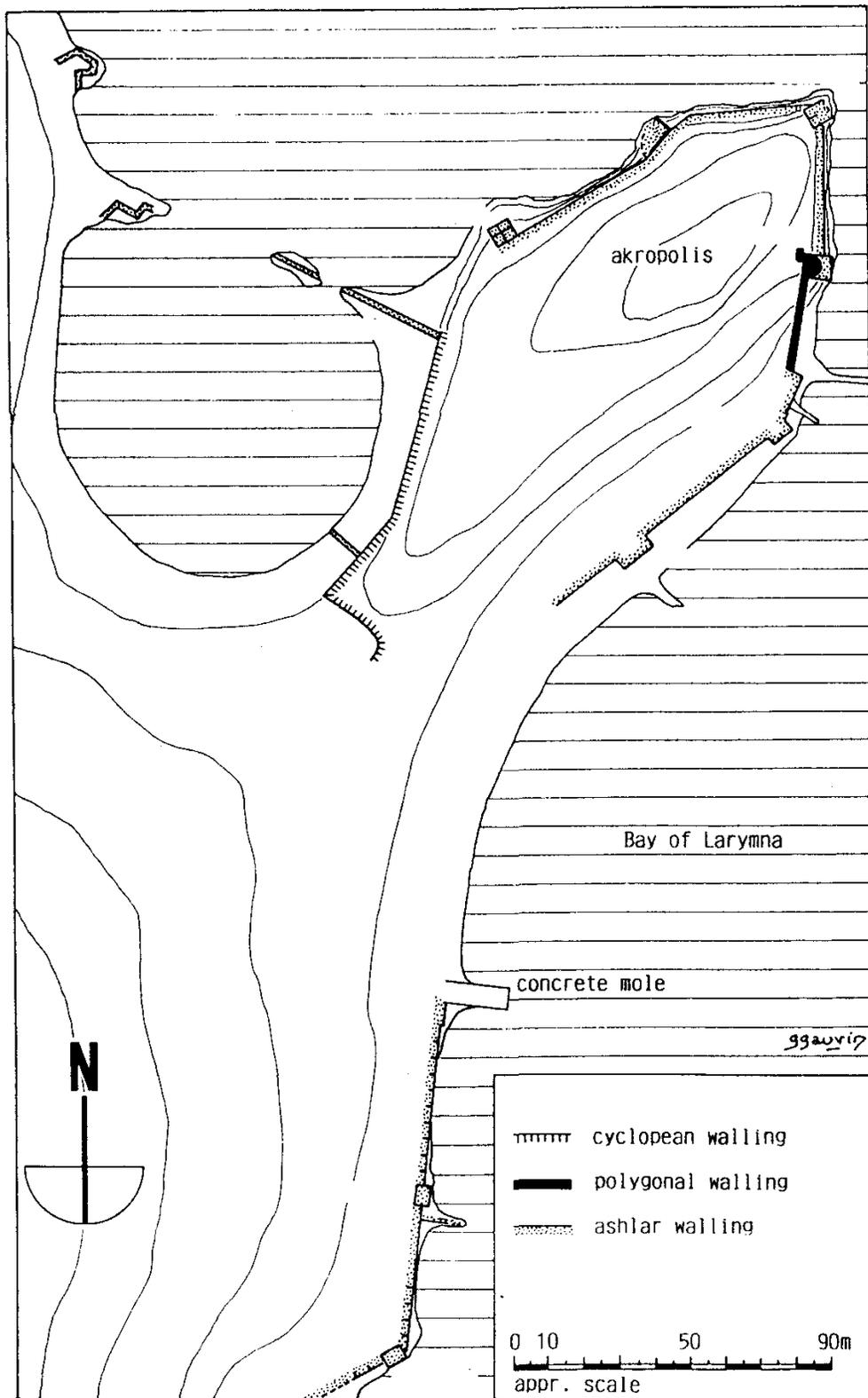


Figure 17: Plan of Larymna (after Fossey)

Larymna:

The ancient town of Larymna lies within and beneath the modern town of the same name, approximately 25 km. south-east of Theologos. The ancient acropolis occupies a slightly raised peninsula which juts north-east into the sheltered bay of Larmés, while a lower town, indicated by the remnants of an encircling wall, stretched south and west of the acropolis. Larymna's strategic position as the port of the northern Copaic basin provides a logic for its settlement: it is by far the most convenient port for Orchomenos and its associated towns along the northern shore of the Copais²⁹³ (see Figure 3). Of the towns of Lokris, Larymna alone remains an important port. The only nickel-smelting plant in Western Europe occupies the east shore of the Bay of Larmés, and has led to a considerable economic resurgence on the area.

The peninsula on which the acropolis of Larymna was built encloses a small bay to the west, but the commercial port is in the deep water of the Bay of Larmés to the south and east. Nevertheless, many modern topographers have suggested that the small western bay be identified as the ancient harbor.²⁹⁴ This interpretation can, since the unpublished underwater investigation of D. J. Blackman,²⁹⁵ be demonstrated to be false. Blackman found that the wall which encircled the lower town continues uninterrupted across the bottom of the shallow bay. Even now, after a rise in sea level of at least 1.5 meters, the deepest point of the bay is no more than two meters, and most of it is much shallower. Even

²⁹³ Oldfather, "Lokris I," p. 41.

²⁹⁴ Fossey, *Opountian Lokris*, p. 23, is merely the most recent: also Schäfer, p. 530; Oldfather, "Lokris I," p. 58, suggests that it must have been excavated in antiquity; and Ulrichs, W.N. *Reisen und Forschungen in Greichenland*, Bremen (1840) p. 231, provides the early (and clearly mistaken) suggestion that the ruins were in fact the supports of an ancient bridge.

scholars who accepted the bay's attribution as the harbor of ancient Larymna admitted that it was rather mean; Oldfather refers to it as "absurdly shallow" and suggests that the bay must have been excavated in ancient times as a heavily fortified war harbor.²⁹⁶ Instead, we should accept that the "harbor" is an illusion caused by the rise in sea level, and would in ancient times have been a shallow valley just outside the citadel's walls. There is no need to search for the real ancient harbor, as there are submerged ancient moles visible on the south-east side of the acropolis, jutting into the deeper bay. This interpretation agrees with the testimony of Pausanias, who says of Larymna, "the town has a harbor with deep water near the shore."²⁹⁷ Such a characterization of the small bay to the west of the acropolis is inconceivable.

Strabo mentions a second, higher Larymna, but the accuracy of his passage has been questioned by modern scholars.²⁹⁸ The most probable candidate for the site is the modern Bazaráki, located a few kilometers inland from the port,²⁹⁹ but even this attribution is speculative at best. The actual identification of the upper site is probably of little importance to the history of Halai, as it is only in the one passage by Strabo³⁰⁰ that we have any mention of two Larymnas. It is the lower town, with its deep harbor, extensive fortifications (including ten towers still visible today), and long tradition of habitation, which plays a role in the history of the time.

²⁹⁵ As quoted in Lawrence, p. 472.

²⁹⁶ Oldfather, "Lokris I," p. 58.

²⁹⁷ Pausanias 9.23.7 (Perseus translation).

²⁹⁸ Fossey, *Opountian Lokris*, pp. 30-32.

²⁹⁹ Oldfather, "Lokris I," p. 49.

³⁰⁰ Strabo, *Geography* 9.2.18.

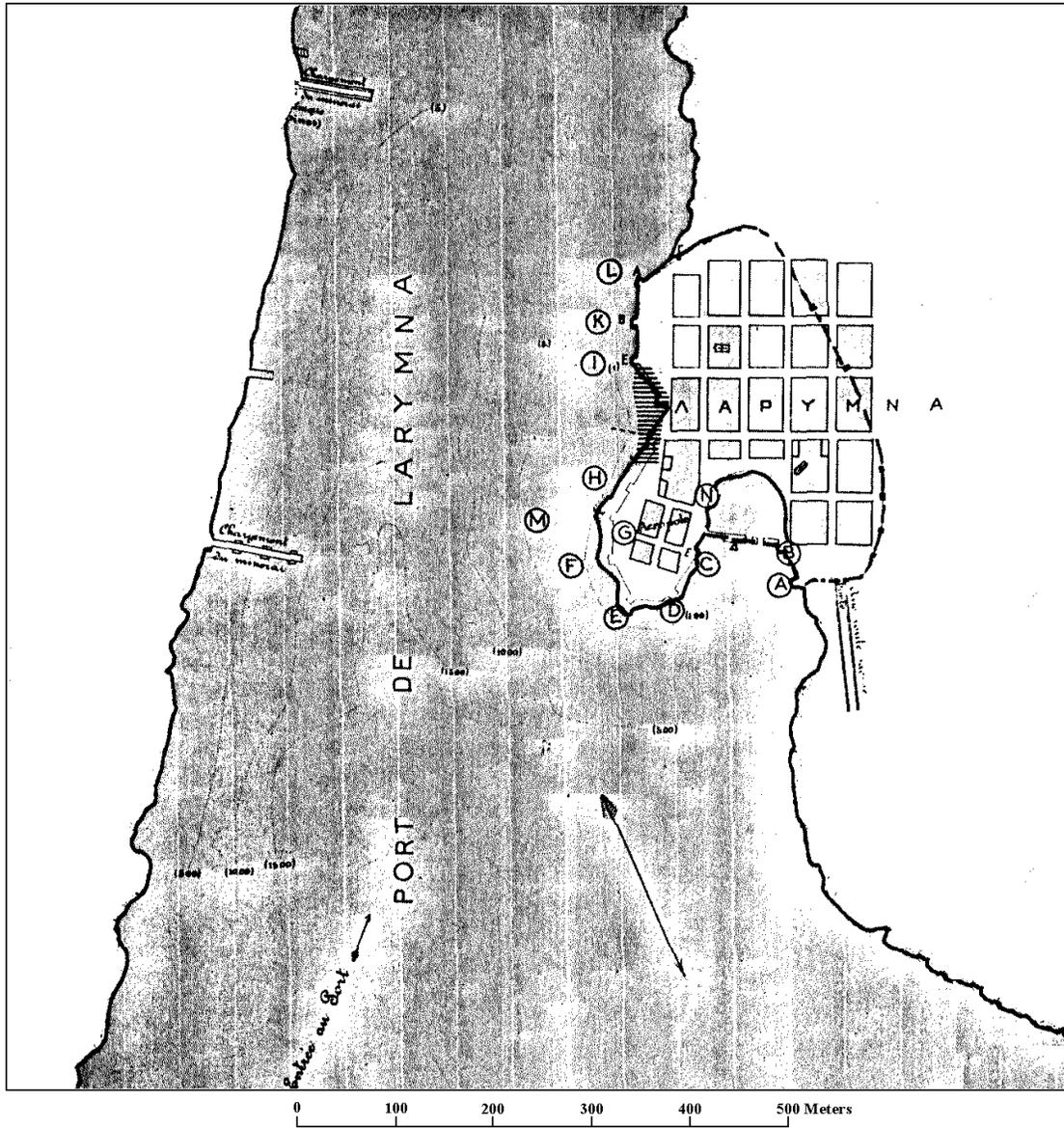


Figure 18: Late 19th Century plan of Larymna, after Georgiades

A detailed study of the fortifications of Larymna was published in 1967 by the German scholar Jörg Schäfer.³⁰¹ Larymna's preserved fortifications can be distinguished as two circuits: an inner circuit which surrounds the acropolis (and separates it from the lower town) and an outer circuit which extends out away from the acropolis. Schäfer includes in his publication an early plan by Georgiades (here shown as Figure 18) which traces a complete outer circuit underneath the modern village, studded with twelve towers since obscured.³⁰² Although much of this circuit is now lost, a considerable portion can be seen at either end, where it joins with the fortification of the acropolis. The inner circuit incorporates three distinct building styles: cyclopean walling at the southwestern edge of the acropolis with Late Helladic IIIB sherds among the stones of the wall,³⁰³ polygonal walling of small blocks typical of Archaic fortifications (and strongly reminiscent of polygonal fortifications at Halai and Alope), and well-hewn ashlar blocks providing the material for the remainder of the circuit. The best preserved section of polygonal walling, to the northeast of the acropolis, includes a round tower of polygonal masonry encased within a square tower of ashlar blocks. The ashlar blocks are preserved up to six courses high (over 3m.) to the northwest of the acropolis.

Lawrence argues that the round polygonal tower at the northwestern edge of the acropolis succeeds the ashlar walling of the square tower which surrounds it,³⁰⁴ but his

³⁰¹ Schäfer, Jörg, "Beobachtungen zu den Seeseitigen Mauern von Larymna," *AA* 82 (1967), pp. 528-545.

³⁰² Schäfer, p. 528.

³⁰³ Fossey, *Opountian Lokris*, p. 23.

³⁰⁴ Lawrence, p. 379.

sequence must be incorrect.³⁰⁵ Not only are the ashlar blocks preserved to a height of several courses on the exterior of the round tower, but the justification proposed for superseding square towers with round ones does not apply. Round towers replaced many square towers in the fourth century BC due to their greater ability to withstand siege machinery. However, the Larymna round tower faces the deep water harbor, and siege machinery is not suited for naval attacks. In addition, there would have been little point in making one round tower, at an unexceptional point in the circuit, while leaving the others square. A similar sequence is observable at Halai. At the southwest corner of the acropolis the foundations of an Archaic round tower are clearly visible beneath those of the square ashlar tower which superseded it.

Much less is preserved of the outer circuit. Approximately 100m. south-west of the tip of the acropolis (facing the shallow bay), the lower circuit and the acropolis circuit separate. The wall traverses the shallow bay, and follows the shoreline north for some thirty meters before turning inland to the west and rapidly becoming indistinguishable. On the eastern face of the acropolis, approximately 100m. of the outer circuit is missing, but it reappears and continues to the south another 100m. before becoming indistinguishable.

Larymna and Halai share an extensive history. Both were prosperous enough in Archaic times to build extensive fortifications. During the Hellenistic period, both witnessed the gradual dissolution of the Lokrian state, and ultimately opted in the mid third century BC to join the Boeotian League.³⁰⁶ Finally, both, along with Anthedon, were

³⁰⁵ Fossey recognizes this mistake. *Opountian Lokris*, p. 22

³⁰⁶ See History, above.

destroyed by Sulla in 86BC.³⁰⁷ Although Larymna's ceramic evidence indicates significant Classical period habitation³⁰⁸ while evidence for Halai's Classical period is spotty indeed, the period of greatest apparent prosperity was in both cases the Hellenistic. The extensive fortification walls studded with regular towers, the well-hewn ashlar blocks, and the similar relationship between harbor, acropolis, and town provide other parallels between the two.

Oldfather and Négris propose that the stone which makes up the ashlar blocks at Larymna comes from the same quarry as that of Halai,³⁰⁹ and Hetty Goldman approves this proposal.³¹⁰ Oldfather even claims that the quarry from which the stone was cut is submerged just across the narrow bay of Larmés, near the modern nickel-smelting plant. These assertions surely can not both be true; with three quarries in close proximity to Halai, there is no need for its residents to import stone from Larymna. The geology of the area is extremely complex, with many similar outcrops of limestone conglomerate,³¹¹ and assumptions made from surface observation are likely to be unreliable. CHELP geological surveys are currently underway which we hope will shed light on the source of the Halai limestone, and it is possible that in the near future we will be able to discuss the similarities between the ashlar walling at Halai and Larymna with more than speculation.³¹²

Oldfather also suggests the possibility that the fortification of Larymna be assigned to the period of Epaminondas.³¹³ Without excavation at Larymna, such speculation is unconfirmable, but recent scholarship suggests that such an attribution is unlikely.

³⁰⁷ Plutarch, *Sulla* 26.

³⁰⁸ Hope Simpson and Dickinson, p. 244.

³⁰⁹ Oldfather, "Addenda," p. 346.

³¹⁰ As reported in Oldfather, "Lokris I," p. 52.

³¹¹ Victoria Buck, personal communication.

³¹² See Local Geology, above.

Larymna is quite difficult to reach from Thebes unless the Copais has been drained,³¹⁴ and as the principal port of Orchomenos, would be an unlikely choice for Theban patronage in Epaminondan times. Scylax's identification of Larymna as Lokrian around 350BC makes it even more unlikely that it played an important role in Theban-dominated Boeotia. Fossey dismisses Larymna as a candidate for a major Epaminondan naval base, as it would have been utterly at the periphery of Boeotia.³¹⁵ In addition, Fossey claims to have found a major late Classical naval base in the Bay of Skroponeri, south of Larymna,³¹⁶ obviating the need for Larymna as a Theban port. It seems far more probable that the ashlar fortifications of Larymna are a part of the systematic refortification of central Greece initiated by Philip of Macedon in the third quarter of the fourth century.³¹⁷ If its walls, like those of Halai, can be attributed to the same Macedonian imperial gesture, the likelihood that the stone from its walls was quarried in the same location as that of Halai increases significantly. Such proposals are no more than speculative; excavation is necessary at Larymna to have any hope of answering the question.

Kynos:

The acropolis of Kynos is located 8 km. southeast of Arkitsa, 3 km. north of Livanates and approximately 20 km. northeast of Atalante, at the point where the coastline of the Bay of Atalante turns southward after running southeast from Arkitsa. Over 15 meters high, the acropolis commands an impressive view of the northern Atalante plain.

³¹³ Oldfather, "Lokris I," p. 51-52.

³¹⁴ Gomme, p. 200.

³¹⁵ Fossey, John M., "Une base navale d'Épaminondas," *Teiresias*, suppl. #2 (1979), p. 10.

³¹⁶ Fossey, "Une base navale," pp. 9-13.

The position of Kynos, in line of sight of the cape of Arkitsa to the northwest, the Atalante acropolis to the south, and as far away as Halai to the east gives it significant strategic importance.

The acropolis of Kynos has been in use at least since the Middle Helladic period,³¹⁸ and Kynos was of sufficient importance in pre-Classical Greece that it is included in the Homeric catalogue of ships.³¹⁹ During the Hellenistic period, Kynos was by all accounts a port of some significance. Polybius identifies Kynos as the point of entry into central Greece for a Macedonian army of over 5000 hoplites during a campaign in 217BC.³²⁰ Strabo and Pausanias both identify Kynos as the principal port of Opus.³²¹ Recent excavations on the acropolis by the Ephorate of Lamia have revealed extensive habitation layers of Bronze Age, Roman, and Byzantine date.³²²

Kynos does not now have an appealing natural harbor. On either side of the rocky point which juts from the acropolis slightly east into the Bay of Atalante, gently sloping pebbly beaches stretch in shallow arcs to the south and north-west. Neither appears to give much protection to ships pulled up onto the beach, and there are no visible harbor improvements in the water on either side. On the north side of the point, the few cut blocks visible at the level of the beach are broken and tumbled. Rather than the remains of beach-level structures, these seem to be fragments of the north wall of the acropolis, which

³¹⁷ See History, above, and Lawrence, p. 120.

³¹⁸ Fossey, *Opountian Lokris*, p. 84.

³¹⁹ Homer, *Iliad* 2.531.

³²⁰ Polybius 4.67.

³²¹ Strabo *Geography* 9.4.2; Pausanias 10.1.2.

³²² Dakoronia, p. 125.

has collapsed into the water.³²³ South of the point, however, approximately one meter below the modern surface and revealed in the eroded bank at the edge of the beach, lie several rows of ashlar blocks, still in place. The beach is quite narrow at this point, a mere four or five meters wide, and allows no clear picture of the structures which once stood on these blocks. Nevertheless, the blocks do continue slightly out into the bay, and it seems logical that the location of the ancient harbor is here, to the south of the point. There must in ancient times have been some sort of harbor improvement, for the beach as it lies now offers very little protection from the Euboean Gulf. However, three factors act against the preservation of the harbor of Kynos. Its position outside the Bay of Atalante exposes it to consistent pounding from the Euboean Gulf, which decreases the likelihood that harbor improvements would survive the two millennia since Hellenistic times. In addition, the sea has been rising steadily, possibly several meters since Hellenistic times.³²⁴ Finally, erosion from the acropolis has deposited over a meter of fill on the foundations visible in a road cut near the sea, and obscured whatever remains were left on land.

The visible Hellenistic remains on the Kynos acropolis are a series of well-laid ashlar blocks, each course slightly set in from the one below, which run in straight lines on the west and south sides of the acropolis. Apparently the remains of the Hellenistic fortification wall, these blocks are pierced by an ancient gate at the west side of the acropolis. Dakoronia, who supervised the excavation of the hilltop site for the Ephorate of

³²³ Pritchett (1985), p. 182.

³²⁴ See above; Kynos is on the hanging wall of an additional small fault, increasing the relative descent of the land with respect to the sea. Victoria Buck, personal communication.

Lamia, has remarked upon the relative scarcity of habitation remains, and postulated³²⁵ that the coastal acropolis might itself be no more than the harbor of a larger town located 2.5 km. to the southwest at the relatively large site known as Palaiokastro-Livanates. As she points out, such an arrangement is commonly known in Greece today: Atalante has Skala Atalante, and Livanates has Skala Livanaton.³²⁶ Nevertheless, Strabo, who remarks on the separate towns of Larymna,³²⁷ makes no mention of such a condition at Kynos, and specifically identifies Kynos as the seaport of Opus.³²⁸ Pausanias, as well, uses the phrase “Opus and its port, Kynos.”³²⁹ A potential explanation for the relative lack of habitation remains on the acropolis of Kynos is the existence of a lower town to the south of the acropolis. The structures made visible by the beach erosion are covered by over a meter of deposit, and the fill could be significantly deeper away from the sea.

Alope:

West of the promontory of Arkitsa, which marks the northernmost edge of the Bay of Atalante, the next ancient settlement of any size occurs less than 1km. from the modern village of Melidhóni. The site’s acropolis is an impressive ridge, steep on every side but the west, with fortifications of Bronze Age, Archaic and Classical/Hellenistic date.³³⁰ The lower town, at the northern foot of the acropolis, shows structures from both the Archaic and Classical/Hellenistic periods. The town is situated on a narrowing of the coastal plain,

³²⁵ Dakoronia, p. 125.

³²⁶ Dakoronia, p. 126.

³²⁷ Strabo *Geography* 9.2.18.

³²⁸ Strabo *Geography* 9.4.2.

³²⁹ Pausanias 10.1.2 (Perseus translation).

³³⁰ Fossey, *Opountian Lokris*, pp. 91-2.

pinned between the acropolis and the sea. Just east of the site lies a modest Late Roman church and villa, but the corresponding settlement has yet to be found.³³¹ Unfortunately, the national road connecting Athens and Thessaloniki occupies the narrow space between the excavations and the sea, and proposed widening will obliterate the lower town entirely. This unfortunate relationship with the modern road complicates study of the site's relationship to the nearby sea.

The association of Alope with this ancient site is conditional on Strabo's identification³³² that it lies between Kynos and Daphnous (now fairly securely identified with the modern town of Agios Konstandinos).³³³ As the only attractive candidate, it receives the name by default. Scylax concurs; Alope is the northernmost town of Lokris, directly before Phokian Daphnous.³³⁴

Bronze Age remains on the acropolis indicate that the site has been exploited at least since Mycenaean times.³³⁵ Later use of the acropolis is established by the presence of polygonal and ashlar fortifications.³³⁶ The extensive constructions of the lower town also show both ashlar and polygonal blocks, and the placement of an ashlar fortification right next to (presumably superseding) a polygonal fortification wall indicates that, like Halai and Larymna, the town of Alope was responding to threats during the Hellenistic period by upgrading its defenses. Hope Simpson and Dickinson (1979) report a predominance of

³³¹ Fossey, *Opountian Lokris*, p. 92.

³³² Strabo, *Geography* 9.4.3

³³³ Pritchett, W. Kendrick, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography, Part IV (Passes)* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982, pp. 149-151.

³³⁴ Scylax, *Periplus* 60-61.

³³⁵ Hope Simpson and Dickinson, p. 263

³³⁶ Fossey, *Opountian Lokris*, p. 93.

Classical sherds on the acropolis,³³⁷ and it is possible that by the Hellenistic period the centers of shipping in the area had moved to Kynos and Halai.

The construction for the National Road has cut the town site utterly off from the sea, and although I am sure that there must have been a harbor I was not able to explore it on my visit. The coastline extends east and west from Alope; there does not appear to be any sort of natural harbor such as one might find in Larymna, Halai, and perhaps even Kynos. Nevertheless, from the extensive material remains revealed by the excavations, it is clear that this was once a site of some importance. Perhaps the superb natural position of the acropolis, overlooking a narrowing of the coastal plain, provided enough incentive to settle the area.

³³⁷ Hope Simpson and Dickinson, p. 263.

APPENDIX 2
A TRANSLATION OF GOLDMAN'S INSCRIPTION #3

Translated by John E. Coleman:

When the Archon of the Boiotian League was Philon, the Archon of the City was Mikkinas, the Military Commanders were Kalliphanes son of Mittas, Phytollon son of Mnases, and Kleomachos son of Mnasitas, the Secretary was Mikrinas son of Diodoros, the members of the Prytany were Epikrates, Xenokrates, Menekrates, Timon, Ophelandros and Kleomenes, and the Producers of the Comedies were Mikkion and Timon. The Weavers of the Hangings were Kallithea, Charenika, and [...]neia; the Five-day Officials were Eudemidas, Agesipolis, Memekrates and Paidinas, the magistrates for the Shrine were Eparmostos, Charinostos, Nikon and Kallikrates; the Officials for the Torch-race were Klearchos and Xenotimidias; the Book-keepers were Timolaos, Eupolemos and Xenainetos.

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