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## The Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project 2007–2010: The Intensive Surface Survey—Eleon

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THE EASTERN BOEOTIA ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT 2007–2010:  
THE INTENSIVE SURFACE SURVEY—ELEON

VASSILIS ARAVANTINOS, BRENDAN BURKE, BRYAN BURNS,  
YANNIS FAPPAS, SUSAN LUPACK, AND CAMILLA MACKAY



ABSTRACT/RÉSUMÉ

Ancient Eleon, adjacent to the modern village of Arma in the agricultural plain east of Thebes, is the most significant settlement site included in the Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project surface survey. This article presents material collected from the systematic survey of the site between 2007 and 2009. The pottery and small finds suggest three major periods of occupation: the Late Helladic (LH), Archaic–Classical, and Medieval. Quantified analysis of the diagnostic material indicates that the most sustained activity occurred during the Mycenaean era, in both the palatial period (LH III A–B), when the political authority based in Thebes exerted a strong influence over the area, and during the post-palatial period (LH IIIC). In the latter period, there is no more evidence for a centralized political authority operating out of Thebes, and Eleon was presumably an independent entity.

L'ancienne Éléon, située en périphérie de l'actuel village d'Arma dans la plaine agricole de Thèbes, est le plus important site habité couvert par la prospection de surface du Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project (EBAP). Cet article présente du matériel recueilli lors de la prospection systématique du site effectuée entre 2007 et 2009. La poterie et les trouvailles diverses suggèrent trois principales périodes d'occupation : l'helladique récent, l'époque archaïco-classique et le Moyen Âge. L'analyse quantitative des objets diagnostiques indique que l'activité la plus soutenue eut lieu à l'ère mycénienne, à la fois durant la période palatiale (HR IIIA-B), alors que l'autorité politique installée à Thèbes exerçait une forte influence sur la région, et durant la période post-palatiale (HR IIIC). Lors de cette dernière, il n'y a plus de signes d'une autorité politique centralisée qui opérerait à partir de Thèbes et Éléon était probablement une entité indépendante.

INTRODUCTION

The Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project (EBAP), sponsored by the Canadian Institute in Greece and the ninth Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, conducted three seasons of intensive surface survey in

2007–2009.<sup>1</sup> The survey area consisted of a 10 x 16 km portion of the agricultural plain east of Thebes that is delimited on the south by the foothills of the Soros mountain range, with the national highway and the Ipatos mountain range constituting the northern border (fig. 1). Within this area are found, from west to east, the modern villages of Eleona, Arma, and Tanagra. The eastern extent of the EBAP collection area extends east and south from the modern village of Tanagra, stopping 4 km from the walls of Classical Tanagra.

The survey zone was chosen in part because of the important ancient sites already documented within the region (fig. 2). The first is Bronze Age Tanagra, where excavations of two Mycenaean cemeteries, located at Gephyra and Dendron, produced the well-known painted larnakes now in the Archaeological Museum of Thebes, the Schimatari Museum, and various private collections.<sup>2</sup> The second site is identified as ancient Eleon in nearby Arma, which has been long known because of its significant standing ancient remains (fig. 3).<sup>3</sup> One goal of our project was to understand Eleon's role in the history of the region, as suggested by brief textual references in ancient sources: the toponym occurs on two Linear B tablets from Thebes

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<sup>1</sup> The survey and research was led by Vassilis Aravantinos, Brendan Burke, Bryan Burns, and Susan Lupack. Our work was also overseen by the twenty-third Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, under the directorship of Eugenia Gerousi, assisted by Michalis Karambinis and Nikos Kontogiannis. We would also like to take this opportunity to thank the staff and researchers at the ninth Ephorate and the twenty-third Ephorate who were always willing to help make our work go more smoothly and pleasantly, including Alexandra Charami. The Canadian Institute in Greece is gratefully acknowledged for administrative assistance during the field seasons. Lucy Ellis, Genevieve Hill, Stavroula (Stephie) Nikoloudis, Seth Pevnick, and Trevor Van Damme were especially helpful in the collection and analysis of the material. All illustrations are by Tina Ross who is also heartily thanked.

<sup>2</sup> The Bronze Age cemetery at Tanagra first came to the attention of scholars when looted larnakes appeared on the European art market following the construction of the airbase at modern Tanagra around 1956 (Vermeule 1965: 124). A series of excavations conducted by T. Spyropoulos and published in preliminary reports demonstrate that there were at least two well-preserved Late Bronze Age cemeteries located outside modern Tanagra (Spyropoulos 1969, 1970, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977). The iconography of the sarcophagi is analyzed in Vermeule 1965; 1979: 201–205; Iakovidis 1966; Immerwahr 1990: 154–158; 1998; Cavanagh and Mee 1995; Marinatos 1997; Burke 2007.

<sup>3</sup> Ulrichs (1863: 79–80) and Frazer (1898: 65) were the first to identify the acropolis outside Arma with the site of ancient Eleon on account of geographical considerations. The site is included by Hope Simpson (1965: no. 427) and Hope Simpson and Dickinson (1979: 246–247, site catalogue G25). The abundant and excellent quality of ceramics from the Middle Helladic (MH) and Late Helladic (LH) periods are noted. More recently, Fossey (1988: 94–95) has reconsidered the testimonia and their usefulness but, nevertheless, arrives at similar conclusions.

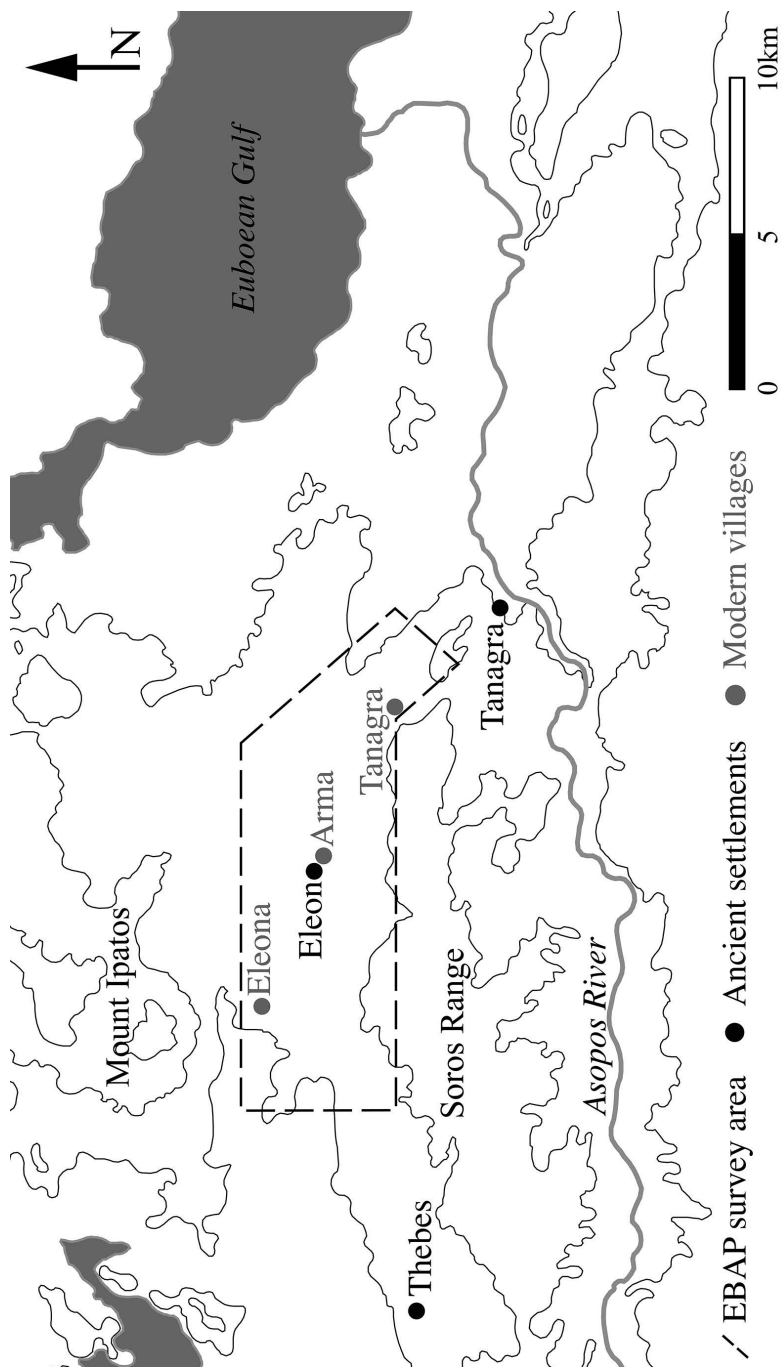


Figure 1. Map of EBAP survey

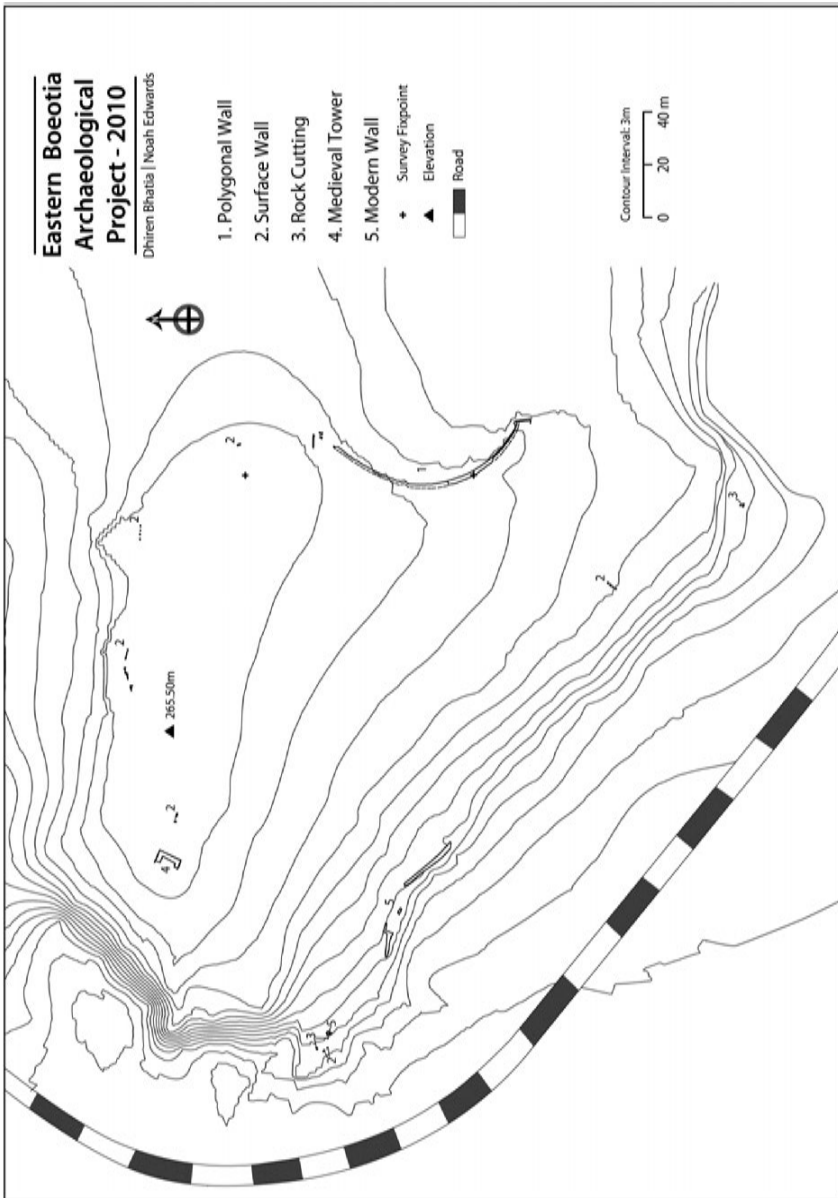


Figure 2. Topographic map of ancient Eleon



Figure 3. The Eleon site

(Ft 140.5 and X 155.1),<sup>4</sup> in the *Catalogue of Ships* (Il. 2.500), in Strabo (9.2.14), Pausanias (1.29.6), and Plutarch (*Quest. Graec.* 41 = *Mor.* 301a–c). The visible architectural remains at the site include an impressive wall of polygonal masonry (fig. 4) and the remains of a medieval tower, among other architectural features. The high quality of the abundant surface ceramic material is remarkable and testifies to the multiple periods of occupation at Eleon.<sup>5</sup>

We chose eastern Boeotia because of the importance that this region had in the history of Greece, both in the Bronze Age, when Thebes was one of the major palatial centres, and afterward, when it was the location of several armed conflicts, lying as it does at the convergence of Attic, Boeotian, and Euboean territory.<sup>6</sup> The EBAP survey area is located close to Classical Tanagra, the site of ongoing work by the Leiden–Ljubljana Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project, as well as the earlier studies sponsored by the Canadian Institute in Greece.<sup>7</sup> Although early travellers, as well as more recent scholars conducting extensive surveys, have examined the known sites of eastern Boeotia, no intensive surface survey has included this agricultural valley.<sup>8</sup>

The overall goal of the survey was a diachronic study of eastern Boeotia through an examination of its settlement patterns and burial practices. Selection of areas for field walking was guided by four basic research aims:

1. to investigate the acropolis of ancient Eleon and its surrounding territory;
2. to document the remains of Bronze Age Tanagra, especially the chamber tombs, and, if possible, to assess reports of a habitation settlement associated with the extensive burial sites;<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Aravantinos 2008; 2010: 59–60; Del Frio 2010: 45–46

<sup>5</sup> Hope Simpson 1981: 70–72; Fossey 1988: 89–95.

<sup>6</sup> For an overview of Boeotian history, see Buck 1979.

<sup>7</sup> Modern surveys have been conducted by Hope Simpson 1981; Fossey 1988; and, most recently, by the Leiden–Ljubljana Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project. See Bintliff and Slapšak 2007; Bintliff, Slapšak, and Noordervliet 2009; Bintliff et al. 2013. Previous work was done by Canadian researchers. See Roller 1987, 1989. For survey work across the broader region of central Greece, see Bintliff, Howard, and Snodgrass 2007.

<sup>8</sup> Ancient travellers in eastern Boeotia are conveniently catalogued in Roller 1988, including Leake 1835; Ulrichs 1863; Frazer 1898.

<sup>9</sup> Northeast of the Dendron cemetery, we located an excavation trench with slight remains of an ancient structure. Spyropoulos described this as evidence for a settlement associated with the Mycenaean cemetery, but he published no specific Bronze Age material. The vast majority of datable ceramics we recovered from this area date to the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods. Thus, the settlement associated with the Tanagra tombs has yet to be identified, unless we consider the possibility that Eleon, as the largest Mycenaean site in this region, should be connected with the Tanagra cemeteries. Spyropoulos 1969, 1970, 1973, 1974, 1976, 1979, 1981, 1982.

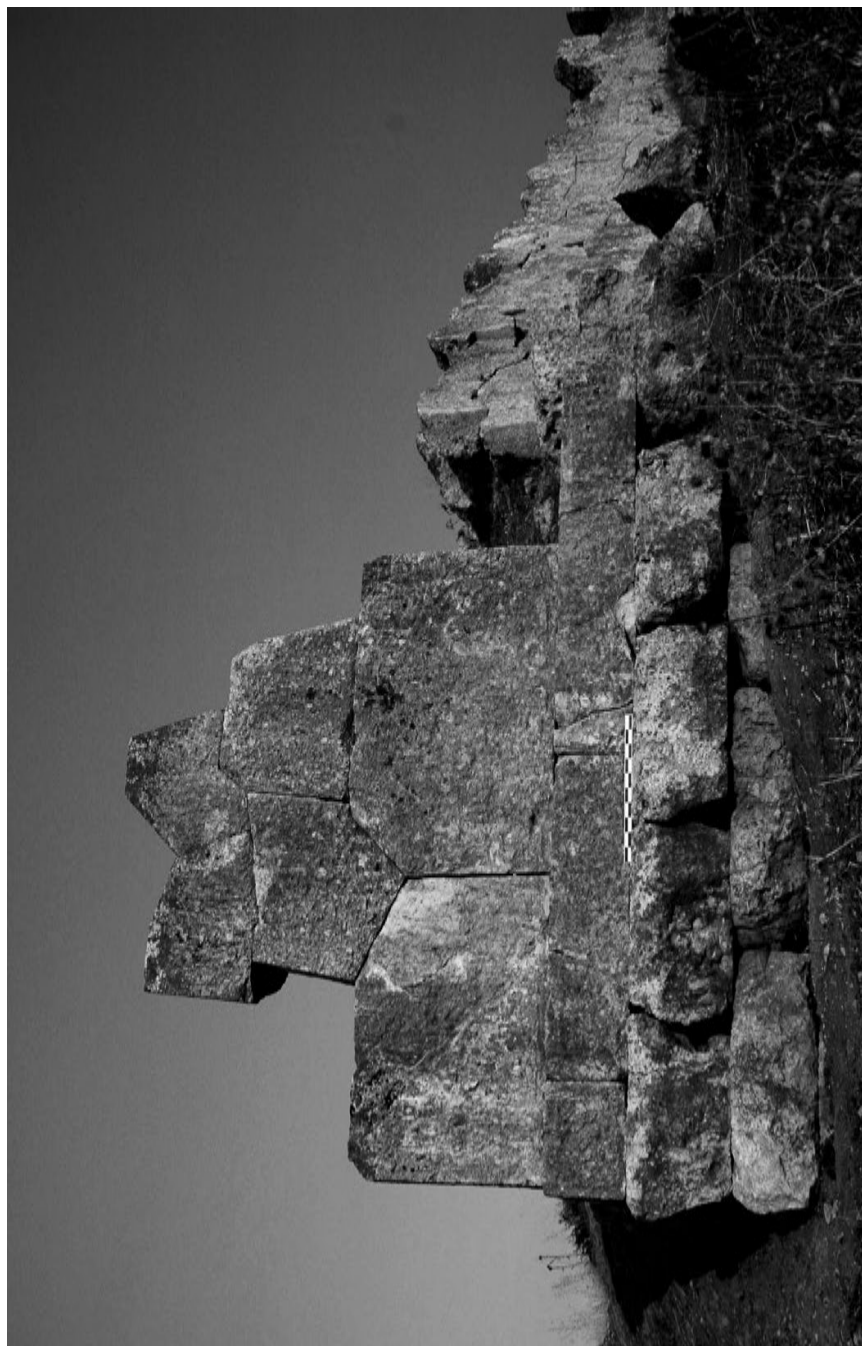


Figure 4. Polygonal wall of ancient Eleon in Arma



3. to add to the existing inventory of sites in the area through random sampling of the region; and
4. to assess potential evidence for connections between the major sites neighbouring the survey zone, such as Thebes and Classical Tanagra.

These research goals led us to evaluate 1,453 separate survey units in the landscape, comprising a sample that is roughly 20 percent of our permitted survey region (fig. 1).<sup>10</sup> Since the finds collected from the site of ancient Eleon were so great in number and of such high quality, we are devoting this report to an analysis of those finds and a presentation of our current understanding of the site of Eleon and its place in the surrounding region.

#### SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The Boeotian landscape is characterized by discrete geographical areas, such as the Skourta Plain and the Kopais Basin, and fortified settlements ranging from rugged Khostia (ancient Khorsiai) to the *poleis* of Plataea, Thespieae, and Koroneia.<sup>11</sup> The collection of surface material followed the general methodology established for intensive surveys by other projects in Greece, such as the Nemea Valley Archaeological Project and the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project.<sup>12</sup> In the field, teams of four to six individuals walked tracts defined by the natural features of the land and modern land use. The field walkers, spaced 10 metres apart, worked across each tract in parallel transects, recording the density of artefacts within a 2 metres width while collecting diagnostic ceramics and lithics. Survey units were defined by natural topography and contemporary land use, up to a maximum unit size of 500 square metres, mapped by hand-held GPS devices. We defined any site as an area of human activity—whether that consists of a type of settlement, a cult site, or a burial site—as indicated by a concentration of surface artefacts that are relatively dense in comparison to the background level.

We faced some challenges when we came to survey the acropolis itself. The elevated area of approximately 3.5 hectares has no field divisions, so it was artificially divided into roughly equivalent units organized according to cardinal directions. The property owner had recently ploughed the surface in a haphazard manner, with the intention of revealing subsurface remains. This effort to contribute to our study initially presented us with something of a methodological quandary, given that the ploughed areas provided greatly

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<sup>10</sup> Burke et al. 2007; Burke 2009; Aravantinos et al. 2012.

<sup>11</sup> Fossey 1970, 1986, 1988; Munn and Zimmerman Munn 1990; Bintliff, Howard, and Snodgrass 1999; Bintliff et al. 2002; Morin 2004; Bintliff and Slapšak 2007; Bintliff, Slapšak, and Noordervliet 2009; Bintliff et al. 2013; Konecny et al. 2013.

<sup>12</sup> Wright et al. 1990; Alcock, Cherry, and Davis 1994; Davis et al. 1997; Bintliff 1998; Alcock and Cherry 2004; Farinetti 2011; Bevan and Conolly 2012. For critiques of survey methods, see Schon 2000, 2010; Davis 2004; Forbes 2013.

enhanced visibility as well as newly revealed ceramic material. In the end, we decided that this event should also be considered part of the history of the site and that we would walk the entire acropolis just as we would have done without the ploughing. To deal with the large number of sherds that did not fall within the transects of a particular tract, but which were deemed too informative to be left out of our analysis of the site, we collected “non-transect” material that was kept separately from the sherds collected within the transects, and which were not included in counts or density calculations. This type of collection was used in many of the areas in which we found a high proportion of diagnostic sherds—that is, areas that were potentially sites of interest. Using this method, we were able to gain more information about the sites without having to invest the time and energy required by the gridded pick-up or vacuum methods used by other surveys.<sup>13</sup> Many of the most informative pieces have come from non-transect collections, and it was a method that was particularly helpful for the study of the acropolis of Eleon.

Much of the collected ceramic material preserves decoration and characteristics of manufacture that allow fairly precise chronological identification. These sherds indicate that there was activity on the acropolis of Eleon throughout the entire range of the Bronze Age, from Early Helladic (EH) I to Late Helladic (LH) IIIC (fig. 5).<sup>14</sup> The quantities of Mycenaean pottery indicate a robust settlement that continued into the latest phase of LH IIIC (fig. 6), but we have identified no sherds that date to the Geometric period with absolute certainty. The lack of evidence suggests a break throughout the early Iron Age, until perhaps the sixth century BC. The number of identifiable sherds increases from the late Archaic to the Classical period, and includes very little material that can be dated to the late fourth or early third centuries BC (fig. 7). Then we seem to have another break in the habitation of the site, one that lasts throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods. The third major phase of activity follows the Ottoman conquest of the mainland in the fifteenth century; occupation seems to have mostly disappeared (based on the ceramic evidence) during the period of Ottoman decline in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (fig. 8).

#### THE IDENTIFICATION AND HISTORY OF ANCIENT ELEON

The archaeological site we identify as ancient Eleon is located on a natural outcrop of limestone on the northwest side of modern Arma, 14 kilometres east of Thebes. At its highest point, 265.5 metres above sea level, it is possible to look out over the plain in all directions, including north to the Ipatos mountain range and the routes linking Thebes to the Euboean Gulf and

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<sup>13</sup> See discussion of various methods in [Alcock 1991](#); [Cherry 2003](#); [Kramer-Hajos and O'Neill 2008](#).

<sup>14</sup> Although we identified Neolithic sherds within our broader survey area, none were recovered from the acropolis itself.

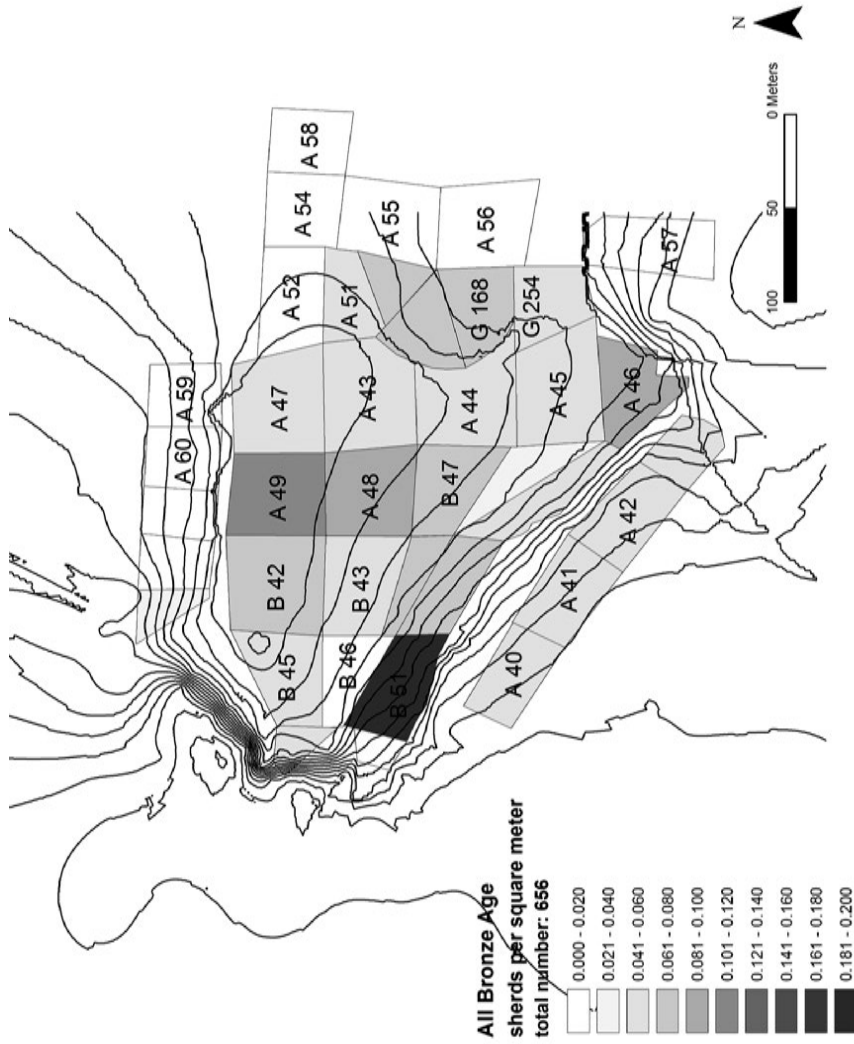


Figure 5. Bronze Age ceramics distribution map

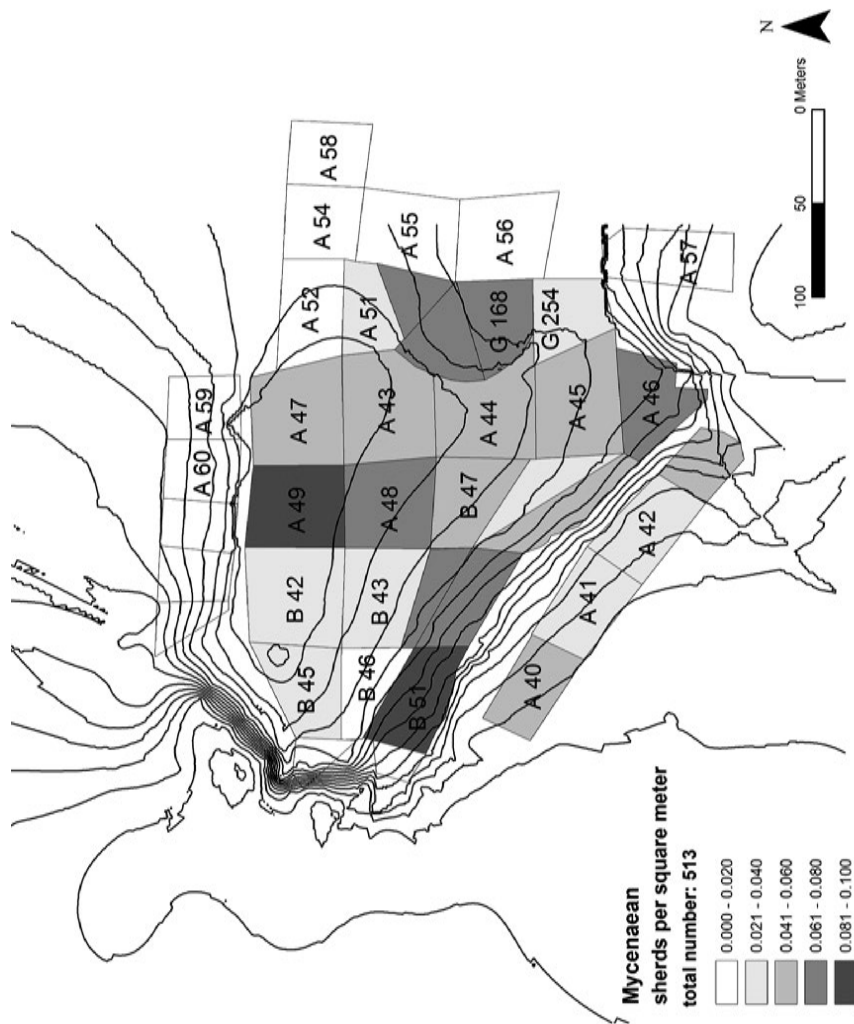


Figure 6. Mycenaean ceramics distribution map

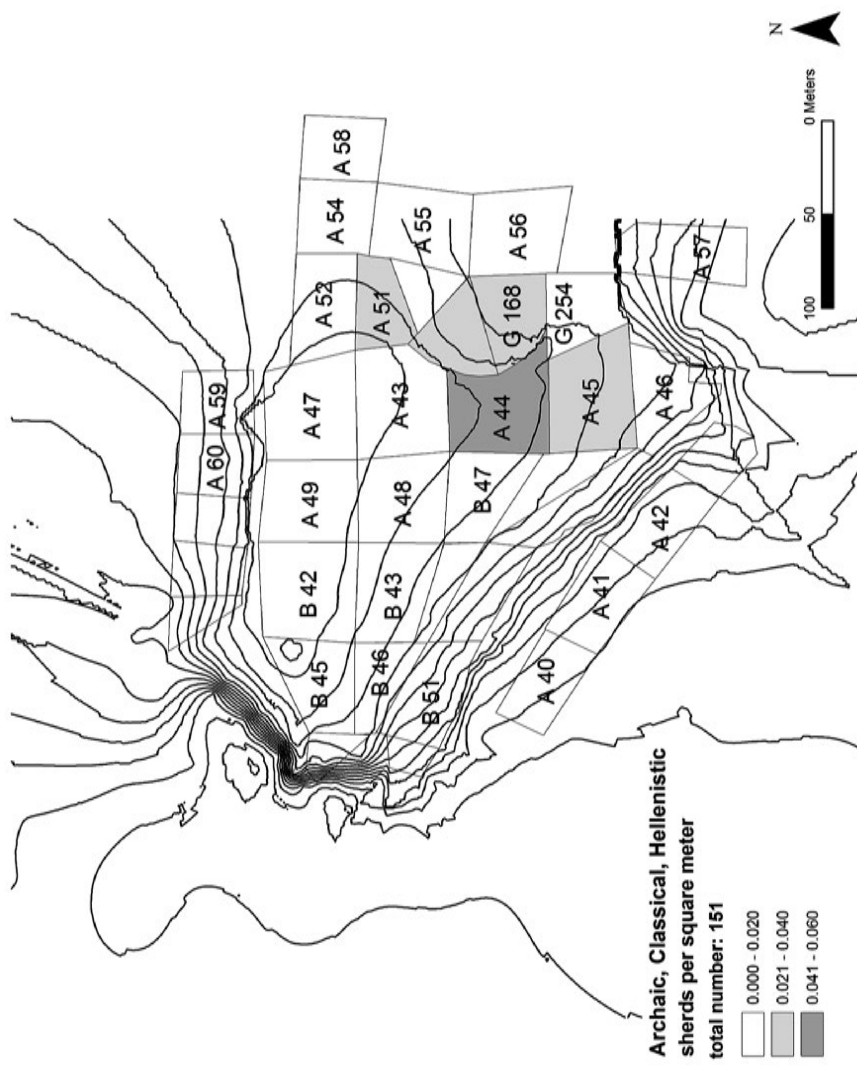


Figure 7. Archaic Classical Hellenistic ceramic distribution

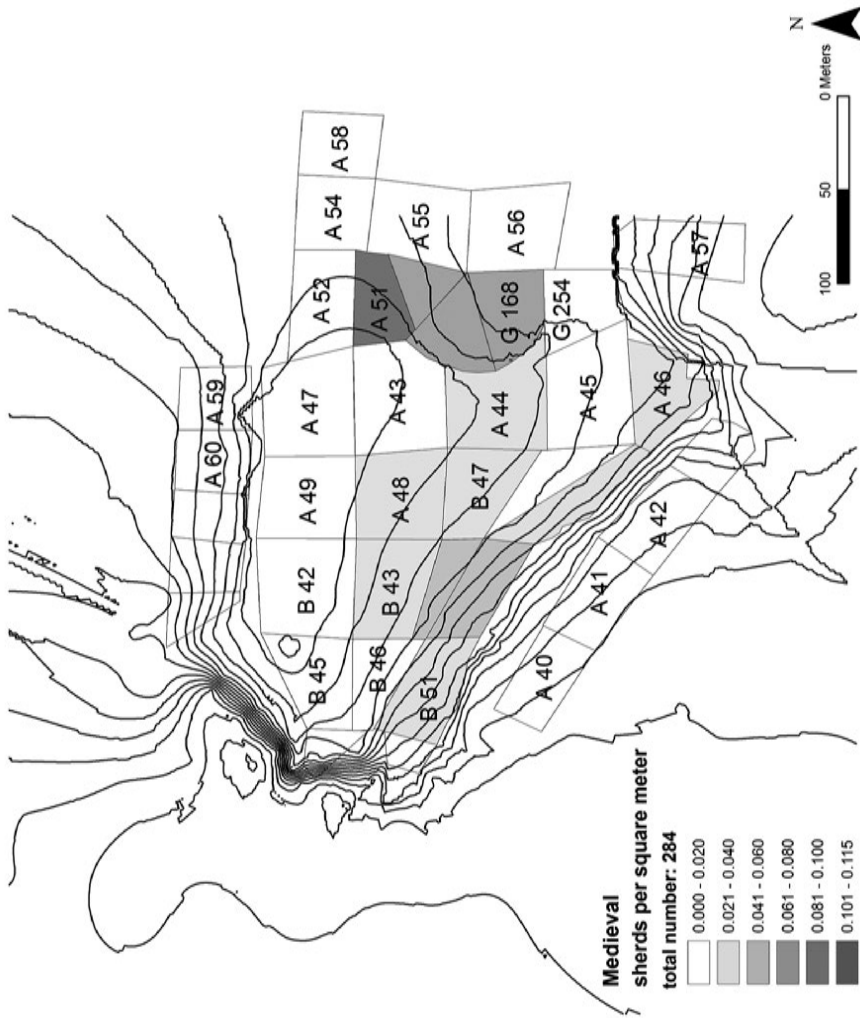


Figure 8. Byzantine-Ottoman ceramics distribution

Attica. Chalkis and the island of Euboea are visible to the west. Eleon also had ample sources of water, making it a hospitable place for a settlement.

The identification of the archaeological site with the ancient toponym of Eleon relies heavily on the geographer Strabo, who states that “Heleon, a Tanagrian village, has its name from the marshes (*hele*) there” (9.2.12) and that “Helos also, and Heleon, and Heilesium were so called from their situation close to marshes” (9.2.17). Strabo also twice designates Eleon as belonging to the region of Tanagra. In one of these references, he lists Eleon among the “four villages” or *tetrakomia* near Tanagra: Heleon, Harma, Mykalessos, and Pharai (9.2.14). The best way to secure the location of ancient Eleon is to identify where the other cities of the *tetrakomia* are. The early nineteenth-century traveller W.M. Leake, in visits during December 1805 and January 1806 to the village of Andritza (later renamed Arma), identified an archaeological site northwest of the village as the remains of “a small Hellenic polis or fortified *kome*” and the water surrounding it: “[W]here the rocks are highest, a copious fountain issues from under them, and discharges itself by two spouts.”<sup>15</sup> Leake believed the site must have been one of Strabo’s *tetrakomia*, but the absence of marshes then, as now, led him to conclude that, of the four possible towns listed by Strabo, the site was probably Pharai.<sup>16</sup>

H.N. Ulrichs, however, later in the nineteenth century, equated the site with the toponym Eleon through detailed analysis of the topography and the ancient sources, an identification that still holds.<sup>17</sup> Ulrichs took into account Plutarch’s etiological story for the place names Eleon and the Scamander River nearby (*Mor.* 301; *Quest. Graec.* 41). Deimachus, son of Eleon, a Boeotian and companion of Heracles, fell in love with Glaucia during the Trojan War. Glaucia bore a son, Scamander, but Deimachus was killed in battle. Heracles brought Glaucia and her son Scamander from Troy to Boeotia to be cared for by Deimachus’ father Eleon. Scamander became king of the area and renamed the Inachos River after himself.

In agreement with Ulrichs, John Fossey has suggested that a geographical logic pertains to Strabo’s description of the urban centres or towns, with the sites running from southwest to northeast, and that each town had a separate territory for agriculture.<sup>18</sup> Arma has been identified by Fossey with the remains at Lykovouni-Kastri, which includes a circuit wall of polygonal

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<sup>15</sup> Leake 1835, 467–469. Leake goes on to say, however, that marshy areas are not “easily found in this part of Boeotia.” See also Roller 1988: 71–83. Similarly, the traveller Ross (1848) mistakenly associated the remains in Dritzza with ancient Harma.

<sup>16</sup> The absence of marshes in the modern age is likely due to drainage and irrigation.

<sup>17</sup> Ulrichs 1863: 77–80. Ulrichs’s account of Boeotia dates to the period 1833–1842. Roller 1988: 123–134.

<sup>18</sup> Fossey 1988: 94–95.

masonry and likely exploited the flat plain to its southeast.<sup>19</sup> He associated Mykalessos with the scant remains at Rhitsona, a small community on the Thebes to Chalkis road, near the fork toward Vathy on the Euboean Gulf, whose agricultural territory would be the basin around the village of modern Rhitsona.<sup>20</sup> Fossey and others also identify Pharai with Ayios Pandeimon, assuming it lies to the east of Mykalessos based on its position in the reference by Strabo.<sup>21</sup> Its agricultural territory likely was the coastal plain near Vathy.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the remaining territory around Tanagra should be associated with ancient Eleon, and, based on the extant archaeological remains, Plutarch's story, and the descriptions of Strabo and early travellers, we may with some certainty identify the site on the northeast side of the village of Arma with ancient Eleon.

During the 2008 season, Ruth Siddall, of University College London, investigated some of the claims made by the early travellers. She discovered the reason for the abundant water that characterizes the archaeological site at Arma. The occurrence of springs along the base of the acropolis is directly related to the occurrence of fault scarps produced by tectonic uplifts, and a subterranean spring can still be found at the southern base of Eleon's acropolis.

#### BRONZE AGE ELEON

Eleon had a place in the regional hierarchy of Thebes during the Late Helladic period, as indicated by references on two Linear B tablets from Thebes (Ft 140 and X 155).<sup>23</sup> Both tablets can be securely dated to the LH IIIB<sub>2</sub> period because they were associated with the destruction level of the last Mycenaean buildings on the site.<sup>24</sup> Hence, they were among the last tablets written by the scribes working within the Mycenaean palace of Thebes and record the economic relationships that existed during the final stage of palatial operations.

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<sup>19</sup> For Lykovouni Kastron/Harma, see [Frazer 1898](#): 62–63; [Hope Simpson 1981](#): 72; [Fossey 1988](#): 85–89. See also [Leake 1835](#): 468, who says that the situations of Harma and Mykalessos, being on the route from Thebes to Chalkis are “both tolerably well determined.”

<sup>20</sup> For Rhitsona/Mykalessos, see [Frazer 1898](#): 66; [Burrows and Ure 1907–1908](#): 232–242; [Hope Simpson 1981](#): 73; [Fossey 1988](#): 80–85.

<sup>21</sup> For Pharai, see [Fossey 1988](#): 97–98.

<sup>22</sup> [Fossey 1988](#): 98.

<sup>23</sup> See [Aravantinos 2008](#); [2010](#): 59–60; [Del Frio 2010](#): 45–46. The toponym *e-re-oni* is the only preserved word on the extremely fragmentary tablet X 155, and, consequently, it is not very informative.

<sup>24</sup> [Aravantinos 1999](#); [Aravantinos, Godart, and Sacconi 2001](#): 14–16.



Ft 140 is a page-shaped tablet that records five different toponyms and varying amounts of wheat (GRA) and olives (OLIV) at each location.<sup>25</sup> Identification of three of the five toponyms is possible: *te-qa-i* in line 1 is Thebes itself. On Ft 140.2, *e-u-te-re-u* /*Eutreis*/ has been connected with the Homeric place name Eutresis (*Il* 2.502), which is thought to be the Bronze Age site southwest of Thebes excavated by Hetty Goldman from 1924 to 1927.<sup>26</sup> The reference to Eutresis on tablet Ft 140, along with other Boeotian toponyms, demonstrates that the Theban territory likely extended to the Corinthian Gulf.<sup>27</sup> The reference to *e-re-o-ni*, ancient Eleon, is found on line 5.

**Ft 140:**

.1 <i>te-qa-i</i>	GRA + PE	38	OLIV 44
.2 <i>e-u-te-re-u</i>	GRA	14	OLIV 87
.3 <i>ku-te-we-so</i>	GRA	20	OLIV 43
.4 <i>o-ke-u-ri-jo</i>	GRA	3 T 5	
.5 <i>e-re-o-ni</i>	GRA	12 T 7	OLIV 20
.6 <i>vacat</i>			
.7 <i>vacat</i>			
.8 <i>to-so-pa</i>	GRA	88	OLIV 194
.9 <i>vacat</i>			

The initial publication of this tablet interpreted it as a taxation document showing the amounts of grain and olives that each location was expected to give to the palace at Thebes.<sup>28</sup> But a more likely interpretation is indicated by line 1, where GRA + PE (*pe-ma*, seed) refers to so many seeds to germinate, thus calculating land. This follows John Killen, who stresses that the amounts refer not to an amount of grain being collected as a tax but, rather, to a measure of the productive capacity of the land.<sup>29</sup> In other words, the administration at Thebes was evaluating the land, perhaps for a future levy of taxes. This interpretation makes more sense in light of the fact that

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<sup>25</sup> The (PE) notation refers to Mycenaean *pe-mo*, meaning seed. Its occurrence at the beginning of the list suggests it should be restored for the other four places on the tablet. See Killen 1999, 2006.

<sup>26</sup> Goldman 1931: 5, 283–284. For a discussion of the place name, see Del Frio 2010: 46–47, and for a challenge to the identification with Eutresis, see Watkins 2007. See also Palaima 2011: 67–73, where he discusses the linguistic difficulties that complicate this identification.

<sup>27</sup> Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970: 27; Aravantinos, Godart, and Sacconi 2001: 263; Palaima 2000.

<sup>28</sup> Aravantinos, Godart, and Sacconi 2001: 263–264.

<sup>29</sup> Killen 1999, 2006.

both *te-qa-i* and *e-re-o-ni* are in the dative-locative case.<sup>30</sup> A translation of “so much grain at Thebes” or “at Eleon” fits the context of an inventory better than a requisition of amounts that are to be sent on to the palace.

The coordination of the economic productivity of Eleon by the Theban administration suggests a relationship like that between Pylos and the sites of Nichoria and Iklaina, which appear on taxation documents found at Pylos. These places are thought to be second-order sites, or district capitals, incorporated within the regional hierarchy overseen by the *wanax* at Pylos.<sup>31</sup> By virtue of its inclusion on Ft 140 as a community obliged to provide Thebes with taxable goods, Eleon may also have been a second-order site. Eleon would thus have commanded the collection of goods from its surrounding communities.

This prominent position of Eleon during the LH IIIB period, and likely in earlier periods, may have been maintained into the LH IIIC period. The survey has shown that habitation on Eleon remained strong during the LH IIIC period, even after the destruction of the palace at Thebes.<sup>32</sup> Eleon probably looked toward sites such as Lefkandi on Euboea as trading partners and perhaps even further east, given the affinities between LH IIIC pottery from Eleon and from other sites in eastern Boeotia, Euboea, and Lokris.<sup>33</sup>

#### ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL PERIODS

Our survey evidence indicates a gap in occupation from the Late Bronze Age until the Archaic period. We have nothing that can be securely identified from the Geometric period and only a few examples from the earlier Archaic period (discussed below in the catalogue). Although Boeotia experienced a general florescence in the Archaic period, with the rich cemeteries at nearby Akraiphnia and Mykalessos and thriving centres at Chalkis and Thebes, Eleon did not appear to play a role politically or economically. There are no epigraphic attestations, no coinage issued, and nothing particularly informative from historic or literary sources. There is reference to Eleon in the *Catalogue of Ships* and in a second Homeric passage (*Il.* 10.266–267), where Eleon is remembered as the home of Amyntor and the source of Odysseus’ boar’s tusk helmet. Eleon does not appear in the long list of sites in the Homeric

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<sup>30</sup> The other place names on Ft 140 are also likely in the dative-locative case. It should be kept in mind that, as Killen (2006, n. 2) points out, the fact that the dative-locative case is used here does not rule out the straightforward taxation scenario because this case is found, for example, on PY Ma 221 (*pa-ki-ja-pi*) where the context is definitely one of taxation. Nonetheless, the dative-locative case is more fitting for an inventory tablet.

<sup>31</sup> Shelmerdine 1981; Cosmopoulos 2006; Bennet 2011.

<sup>32</sup> For Thebes, see Symeonoglou 1985; Vitale 2006: 191–193; Dakouri-Hild 2001.

<sup>33</sup> Dakouri-Hild 2005. For comparable LH IIIC levels at Lefkandi, see Sherratt 2006, in Evely 2006, who discusses the similarity of East Boeotian pottery, as does Van Damme, forthcoming.

*Hymn to Apollo*, which traces the god's wanderings across Boeotia. The most frequently referenced individual from Eleon is Bakis, the seer, whose oracles were later attributed to Delphic Apollo.<sup>34</sup> While there are several seers named Bakis, the oldest is understood as the Boeotian Bakis of Eleon, who was inspired by the nymphs. Bakis of Eleon was so influential and his prophecies so highly regarded that eventually the name Bakis became a title for prophets, a male Sibyl.<sup>35</sup>

The only other known figure from Archaic Eleon is Antichares, a collector of oracles. In 510 BC, or a little earlier, according to Herodotus (5.43), Antichares from Eleon advised on the location of the Spartan colony of Heraclea on Sicily. That he and the seer Bakis both come from the same place in Boeotia is, as Simon Hornblower says, "a remarkable coincidence, or else informative about the intense religious culture of the locality."<sup>36</sup>

The relative silence of classical sources about Eleon, beyond the religious figures, is striking, given the archaeological evidence for activity on the site and the political context of the era. Given the territorial ambitions of Thebes, Tanagra, Athens, and Chalkis, Eleon was situated within a "contested periphery," a peripheral zone for which political control was in contention by competing centres.<sup>37</sup> Even the status of Eleon within Boeotia was likely fluid throughout the late Archaic period, as cities vied for power within the framework of the Boeotian confederacy, and Tanagra and Thebes competed for control in the aftermath of the Persian Wars.<sup>38</sup> The allegiance to Tanagra described by Strabo (9.2.12) may have been forged through the events of the Peloponnesian Wars, when Tanagra came to possess territory across eastern Boeotia. Although no contemporary source documents the relationship, a brief account by Pausanias describes one battle that included Eleon in Tanagra's sphere and indicates the two cities were acting together as allies. While describing several of the monuments erected by the Athenians for citizens killed in battle, Pausanias (1.29.6) records the monument of Melanopos and Makartatos, who died fighting against the Lacedaimonians and the Boeotians on the borders of Eleon and Tanagra. Leake thought this battle must have occurred before the battle of Tanagra of 457 BC, during the first Peloponnesian War.<sup>39</sup>

No other Classical reference is known for Eleon or for its involvement in the regional struggles of the fifth and fourth centuries, but architectural

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<sup>34</sup> Fontenrose 1978: 10.

<sup>35</sup> Fontenrose 1978: 159–160. Peisistratos even gets the nickname Bakis, according to the Scholiast on *Pax* 1071 and the *Suda* (beta 47 Adler) "Bakis." *Suda On Line*, translated by David Whitehead, 7 August 2001 <<http://www.stoa.org/sol-entries/beta/47>> (accessed 17 May 2016).

<sup>36</sup> Hornblower 2013: 155.

<sup>37</sup> Cline 2008.

<sup>38</sup> Buck 1994: especially 151–160; see Van Effenterre 1989.

<sup>39</sup> Leake 1835: 462–463; Thucydides 1.107: 5–7.

remains at the site suggest it had some prominence, at least ideologically, based on the large polygonal masonry wall, which is preserved up to a height of five metres. The wall construction is partially preserved, projecting above the modern surface on the east end of the site. The visible extent of this wall follows a curved path of at least 80 metres between two poorly preserved towers along the east side of the acropolis.<sup>40</sup> The exterior face consists of irregularly cut blocks of local dark limestone, many exceeding two metres across. This massive, curving form constitutes a major investment of resources in the site during the Late Archaic or Early Classical period, though there is little indication of a substantial settlement. While not identical, the pairing of irregular ashlar on an isodomic ashlar crepis has similarities with an early tower at Tanagra, identified by Duane Roller as the forty-first tower.<sup>41</sup> The best method for determining the date of the wall is excavation, which began in 2011. Although this work is not finished, foundation sherds indicate a date range from 550 to 500 BC. This is corroborated by our reading of formal stylistic characteristics of the masonry and the historical context of Eleon.

#### POST-CLASSICAL PERIODS

Occupation of Eleon is episodic rather than continuous. Our survey and the ongoing excavations at the site have uncovered nothing of a Late Hellenistic or Roman date. Little is known archaeologically about Arma in the Byzantine and Frankish periods, although some record of post-Roman material in the region is known from earlier surveys.<sup>42</sup> Most recently, the Durham–Cambridge Boeotia Project and the Leiden–Ljubljana Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project have investigated medieval remains, including church architecture, in the area around Tanagra.<sup>43</sup> While pottery of the earlier medieval period can be difficult to identify, particularly sherds from field survey, the almost complete lack of pottery dating from the late Byzantine or Frankish period is telling.<sup>44</sup> Since glazed ceramics were widely used during this time, their absence is probably significant and may indicate that there was little activity at Eleon.

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<sup>40</sup> Burke, Burns, and Charami 2014. For more on the significance of walls in Greek cities, see Winter 1971; Snodgrass 1986; Cooper 2000.

<sup>41</sup> Roller (1974; 1987: 220–221) associated the walls of Tanagra with a Late Classical date. Bintliff et al. (2013: 25–26) identify “unmistakably and invariably Late Roman building techniques . . . the visible city wall was built in one go, and that in Late Antiquity.”

<sup>42</sup> Koder and Hild 1976: 255 (Schimatari), 267 (Tanagra); Roller 1989: 97, no. 82, 116–118, no. 94.

<sup>43</sup> Vionis 2008; Bintliff et al. 2013: 28–32.

<sup>44</sup> Sanders 2000, 2003. Byzantine Frankish and Ottoman pottery was found in the Tanagra surveys. See Vionis 2006b, 2008.

The tower at the highest point of the acropolis at Eleon is a prominent landmark and has frequently been described as Frankish.<sup>45</sup> The survey pottery indicates that it is more likely to be of an early Ottoman date as virtually no pottery on the site dates from an earlier medieval period, although, in the absence of excavation or historical evidence, no definitive proof of its date exists. There is likewise little later Ottoman pottery. The village of Arma was known until the twentieth century as Andritza, Dritza, or Dhritsa. Leake described it as lying several minutes from the acropolis and having 10 to 12 households in 1806. The tower was already in ruins at that time.<sup>46</sup>

The north and south walls of the tower are partially preserved, but its full width of 9.10 metres can only be measured on its east side. The two-metre thick walls were constructed of larger irregular stones on the exterior with mortar and tile; smaller stones were used on the inner walls along with rubble and mortar fill. The walls rest on a socle extending out 10–20 centimetres, and the maximum preserved height, at the southeast corner, is 3.80 metres. The interior of the ground floor preserves the beginning of the springing of a barrel vault. Peter Lock suggests this tower was originally only two stories tall, given the amount of rubble surrounding it.<sup>47</sup>

If this is a tower of the earlier Ottoman period, it is unclear to what sort of settlement it belonged. The area became part of the Ottoman empire in the fifteenth century and was a part of the *sandjak* (provincial administrative district) of Eğriboz (now Chalkis), which consisted of the island of Euboea along with most of the area of modern Attica and Boeotia, including the *kazas* (municipal units) of Thebes, Livadeia, and Athens.<sup>48</sup> Translated Ottoman registers that record population and agricultural production for the *sandjak* of Eğriboz show an increase in population in the early Ottoman period from the mid-fifteenth to mid-sixteenth century, followed by a decline.<sup>49</sup> The settlement at Eleon was probably a small agricultural community that existed in the century or so of growth and prosperity following the Ottoman conquest of central Greece.

#### CERAMIC FINDS: BRONZE AGE

Habitation of the acropolis seems to have begun in the EH period, which is represented at Eleon by handmade vessels. Several sherds can be dated to EH I–II by diagnostic features such as a knobbed body sherd (B51.4.2) or the highly burnished red ware typical of these periods.<sup>50</sup> Although no sherds can be assigned specifically to the EH III or Middle Helladic (MH) I periods,

<sup>45</sup> See Leake 1835: 467–468; Lock 1986: 113–115.

<sup>46</sup> Leake 1835: 465–468.

<sup>47</sup> Lock 1986: 115.

<sup>48</sup> See Pitcher 1973: 137–138, maps 26 and 27.

<sup>49</sup> Kiel 1987, 1992, 1997; Balta 1992.

<sup>50</sup> Goldman 1931: 83–85; Caskey 1972: pl. 81: C40; Mountjoy 1980: 140, fig. 1: 1.

the number of sherds identified as EH and MH sustains the possibility of a continuous occupation (see [table 1](#)). By contrast, the hundreds of sherds dated to LH periods enable a more detailed description of the Mycenaean occupation. The catalogue includes the diagnostic pottery representative of the chronological span of the material collected.

*EH Period*

**A47.2.1** Open vessel. Lug handle (Plate 1)

P.L. 0.054, p.W. 0.032, Th. 0.008, max. handle Th. 0.022 m. Fabric: 2.5 YR 5/4 reddish-brown. Interior and exterior burnished reddish-brown, 2.5 YR 4/6. Horizontal handmade lug handle with vertical string hole. Early Helladic I-II ([Goldman 1931](#): 91, Figure 114:2)

**B51.5.1** Storage vessel. Strap handle (Plate 1)

P.H. 0.06, p.W. 0.063, Th. of body: 0.007, Th. of handle: 0.006, W. of handle: 0.043 m. Core: pinkish light brown, 10 R 6/6. Red to light reddish-brown slip interior and exterior, 10 R 5/6–8–2.5 YR 6/6. Broad horizontal handmade strap handle attached to rim and neck of a handmade vessel. Inner surface of body bulges out into the pot where the circular tunnel of the handle was created so that the hole is very circular. Early Helladic I-II ([Goldman 1931](#): 114, fig. 152: 2).

**B51.4.2** Coarse vessel. Body sherd (Plate 1)

P.L. 0.039, p.W. 0.036, Th. of vessel: 0.007, Th. with knob: 0.019. m. Core: 2.5 YR 5/2, grey to black. Untreated exterior and interior: 2.5 YR 5/4 reddish-brown, with frequent large red inclusions 3–4 mm and some signs of smoke damage. Handmade knob (or nipple) on surface is rounded at top, not flattened as at Eutresis. Early Helladic I-II ([Goldman 1931](#): 84–85, fig. 100).

**B42.NT.1** Handleless bowl. Rim fragment (Plate 1)

P.H. 0.024, p.W. 0.024, Th. 0.006, est. Diam: 0.008 m. Core fabric: 2.5 YR 6/6 tan with very small brown and grey inclusions. Burnished red-brown interior and exterior, 10 R 4/6. Rim curves slightly inward; probably from a handmade handleless bowl. Early Helladic I-II ([Goldman 1931](#): 83, 100; [Caskey 1972](#), pl. 81: C40; [Mountjoy 1980](#): 140, fig. 1: 1).

*MH Period*

Gray Minyan is the most common of several burnished wares, occurring in shapes that include ring-stemmed goblets and other carinated vessels. Yellow Minyan ware first appears in the later MH II period and continues through MH III into the LH I and II periods, as was shown to be the case at Eutresis.<sup>51</sup> Elsewhere, yellow Minyan vessels are sometimes decorated

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<sup>51</sup> [Goldman 1931](#): 124–125, 144.

Table 1. Eleon Acropolis Survey: Transect Counts

Survey Unit	Transect sherd count (total 13,674)	Meters walked (total of transect lengths)	Sherd density (per square metre; overall 0.91)	Datable sherds (total 1,103)	Datable sherds % (total 8%)	Early Helladic (total 26)	Middle Helladic (total 103)	Late Helladic/ Mycenaean (total 513)	Archaic-Classical-Hellenistic (total 151)	Medieval (total 284)
A 40	223	200	0.56	30	13%	0	2	20	4	4
A 41	222	200	0.56	30	14%	2	5	11	7	5
A 42	168	200	0.42	25	15%	1	0	15	5	4
A 43	331	250	0.66	37	11%	0	1	21	5	10
A 44	306	260	0.59	57	19%	0	0	23	23	11
A 45	354	250	0.71	43	12%	1	2	26	13	1
A 46	294	130	1.13	38	13%	0	3	20	5	10
A 47	179	200	0.45	26	15%	0	3	20	1	2
A 48	610	250	1.22	62	10%	0	9	33	8	12
A 49	387	230	0.84	64	17%	0	9	40	8	7
A 50	232	140	0.83	22	9%	0	1	14	4	3
A 51	350	200	0.88	76	22%	3	5	13	9	46
A 52	464	200	1.16	0	0%	0	0	0	0	0
A 53	61	58	0.53	0	0%	0	0	0	0	0
A 54	58	200	0.15	6	10%	0	0	2	0	4
A 55	65	200	0.16	1	2%	0	0	0	0	1
A 56	164	200	0.41	2	1%	0	0	0	1	1
A 57	106	281	0.19	5	5%	0	0	3	1	1
A 58	50	200	0.13	1	2%	0	0	0	0	1
A 59	4	120	0.02	0	0%	0	0	0	0	0

THE INTENSIVE SURFACE SURVEY—ELEON

A 60	54	245	0.11	2	4%	0	0	1	0	1
A 61	43	300	0.07	4	9%	0	0	1	1	2
A 62	85	300	0.14	12	14%	1	1	8	1	1
A 63	41	95	0.22	5	12%	1	3	1	0	0
B 42	406	250	0.81	39	10%	5	8	20	2	4
B 43	714	250	1.43	46	6%	3	6	20	2	15
B 44	298	49	3.04	10	3%	0	0	6	0	4
B 45	484	208	1.16	18	4%	2	4	11	0	1
B 46	350	250	0.70	11	3%	0	1	5	3	2
B 47	990	250	1.98	48	5%	1	2	28	2	15
B 48	326	105	1.55	12	4%	0	1	6	3	2
B 49	736	150	2.45	28	4%	0	0	13	4	11
B 50	1225	150	4.08	41	3%	0	1	21	5	14
B 51	900	150	3.00	71	8%	5	26	28	4	8
B 52	174	70	1.24	2	1%	0	1	1	0	0
B 53	156	55	1.42	7	4%	0	2	2	2	1
G 167	530	165	1.61	57	11%	0	0	25	8	24
G 168	1028	200	2.57	73	7%	0	2	28	13	30
G 253	376	152	1.24	51	14%	1	1	21	6	22
G 254	130	120	0.54	15	12%	0	4	6	1	4



with matt-painted or polychrome decoration. The Eleon material is plain but highly burnished and used predominantly for fine drinking vessels. Brown-burnished ware appears on both very fine cups or bowls (for example, B42.NT.7) as well as larger closed vessels or basins.

Matt-painted pottery is represented by large, closed, storage vessels, apparently used as a complement for the drinking vessels and bowls made in Minyan styles.<sup>52</sup> One Aeginetan matt-painted sherd (A48.4.1) is an unsurprising find given the wide distribution of Aeginetan exports in Boeotia and across the southern Aegean in the MH period.<sup>53</sup> A different form of ceramic exchange can be seen in the sharing of decorative motifs among different styles. For example, the matt-painted design on B53.2.1 finds parallels among polychrome vessels, and the polychrome B49.NT.1 is burnished in the manner of the Minyan and brown-burnished wares. Toward the end of the MH period, potters mixed different decorative treatments, and many of the MH styles continued to be produced in the early Mycenaean periods. Matt-painted and polychrome vessels are typical of LH I Boeotia<sup>54</sup> and have been found continuing into LH II at numerous sites.<sup>55</sup>

#### *Gray Minyan*

##### **A50.1** Ring-stemmed goblet. Stem fragment (Plate 1)

P.H. 0.062, p.W. 0.084, Th. of body 0.012 m, Th. of body at carination: 0.022, Diam. of stem: 0.017 m. Core fabric: 7.5 YR 6/1. Burnished exterior and underside of base: 2.5 Y 5/1; stem interior unburnished surface: 10 YR 6/1. Gray Minyan stem fragment with six well-defined horizontal rings on exterior. Interior has transition toward flaring base. Burnished fairly well but not of highest quality. Middle Helladic (Goldman 1931: 135–138, figs. 183, 184; Caskey 1972: pl. 82:D95–100; Sarri 2008: 105, Figure 2:7; Sarri 2010: 295, 413, Figure 24, pl. 2:3).

##### **B42.NT.8** Ring-stemmed goblet. Stem fragment (Plate 1)

P.H. 0.055, p.L. 0.075, max. Th. 0.012, min. Th. 0.008 m., Diam. of interior stem: 0.008 m. Core: 10 YR 6/1. Burnished exterior: 10YR 4/1; unburnished interior: 10 YR 6/1. Gray Minyan stem fragment with four horizontal low broad rings. Middle Helladic II–III (Goldman 1931: 135–138, figs. 183, 184; Caskey 1972: pl. 82: D95–100; Sarri 2008, fig. 2:7; 2010: 295, 413, fig. 24, pl. 2: 3).

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<sup>52</sup> Cf. Sarri 2007: 158.

<sup>53</sup> Sarri 2007.

<sup>54</sup> Buck 1964: 303. See also Mountjoy 1980: 148; 2010: 108.

<sup>55</sup> Goldman 1931: 124; O.T.P.K. Dickinson, personal communication. We offer our thanks to Dickinson for generously sharing his knowledge of the pottery and sites of Boeotia.

**B51.4.9** Kantharos or shallow bowl. Handle

P.H. 0.065; p.W. 0.025; Th. 0.007. Fabric: 10 YR 4/1 grey. Gray Minyan ribbon upswung handle. Middle Helladic (Goldman 1931: 139, figs. 187, 188; Caskey 1972: pl. 82: D93).

**B42.NT.9** Bowl. Rim and body fragment (Plate 1)

P.L. 0.053, p.H. 0.055, Th. 0.006 m. Core: 2.5Y 6/1. Burnished interior and exterior 2.5 Y 5/1-4/1; gray Minyan fragment with a sharply offset shoulder and the beginning of its everted rim. Middle Helladic (Goldman 1931: 138-139, figs. 187: 1, 188: 2, 189; Sarri 2008: 105, fig. 2: 5; 2010: 253, fig. 8: 6, 11, 23).

*Yellow Minyan*

**A46.4.2** Cup or bowl. Rim (Plate 1)

P.H. 0.022, p.W. 0.030, Th. 0.003, est. Diam. 0.008 m. Core: 10 YR 7/1, light grey. Burnished exterior 10 YR 7/4 yellow brown; burnished interior 7.5 YR 6/4 light brown. Yellow Minyan delicate everted rim of fineware cup or bowl. Middle Helladic II to early Late Helladic (Goldman 1931: 163, figs. 226, 227).

**B51.4.3** Bowl or cup. Rim (Plate 1)

P.H. 0.018, p.W. 0.045, Th. of vessel 0.004, Th. of rim 0.008, est. exterior Diam. 0.011 m. Core: 10 YR 7/1, light grey. Burnished interior: 10 YR 8/3; burnished exterior: 7.5 YR 7/3. Yellow Minyan flaring rim with a flattened top. Burnishing is higher on interior than exterior. Middle Helladic II to early Late Helladic.

**B51.4.4** Footed vessel, possibly goblet. Base (Plate 1)

P.H. 0.023, p.W. 0.071, Th. 0.010, est. exterior Diam. 0.008. Core: 10 YR 7/1, light grey. Burnished interior and exterior: 10 YR 8/3, yellow brown. Yellow Minyan ware base with the beginning of an articulated dome on underside. Middle Helladic II to early Late Helladic (LH IIA-B: Mountjoy 1986: 35, fig. 35: 47-48, figs. 53, 54).

*Brown burnished*

**B42.NT.7** Cup or bowl. Rim (Plate 2)

P.H. 0.024, p.W. 0.035, Th. 0.003, est. exterior Diam. 0.008 m. Core: 2.5 YR 6/6. Burnished interior and exterior: 5 YR 6/8, reddish-brown. Slightly everted very fine rim. Middle Helladic (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1995: 60, fig. 40: 3, for colour and fine nature of the pot).

**A51.1.1** Bowl or basin. Rim (Plate 2)

P.H. 0.042, p.W. 0.088, Th. of vessel 0.007, estimated exterior Diam. 0.35 m. Core: 2.5 YR 6/8, orangey brown, relatively fine with occasional 0.0001 m inclusions. Burnished interior and exterior: 5 YR 6/6, light brown. Everted rim with flattened top and triangular profile. Two very shallow grooves on exterior of rim. Middle Helladic.

*Matt-painted*

**A48.4.1** Pithos. Body sherd (Plate 2)

P.H. 0.042, p.W. 0.034, Th. 0.009 m. Fabric: 2.5 Y 8/3, pale yellowish white micaceous fabric with 1–3 mm inclusions and gold mica; smoothed exterior 5 Y 8/2, light yellow. Matt-painted body sherd with black paint on exterior; hatched pattern in faded black paint framed by horizontal and diagonal bands in solid black paint. Interior left untreated. Aeginetan import. Middle Helladic.

**B51.4.1** Small pithos or jar. Body fragment (Plate 2)

P.H. 0.059, p.W. 0.058, Th. 0.006 m. Core fabric: 2.5 YR 5/6, red brown. Lightly burnished exterior: 7.5 YR 6/6, light brown; untreated interior: 5 YR 6/6, light orange brown. Shoulder fragment with beginning of everted rim. Signs of cream slip and burnishing on exterior with a double triangle motif pendant from a rim band painted in black paint. Middle Helladic to Late Helladic I (Buck 1964: 258, pl. 42, motif 36).

**B53.2.1** Pithos or jar. Body fragment (Plate 2)

P.H. 0.071, p.W. 0.068, Th. 0.007 m. Core fabric and interior: 5 YR 6/6, light brown; exterior: 7.5 YR 6/4, light grey brown. Body fragment with two black painted hatched triangles in a row below a black band outlining a thicker, lighter brown band above. Middle Helladic to Late Helladic I (Goldman 1931: 171, fig. 240: 4; Buck 1964: 258, pl. 43, motif 46; Sarri 2010: 353, fig. 51: 1).

*Polychrome*

**A44.5.3** Open vessel. Body sherd (Plate 2)

P.H. 0.0023, p.W. 0.035, Th. 0.004 m. Core: 5 YR 6/4, reddish brown. Interior lightly burnished surface: 5 YR 7/6–6/6. On exterior a dark-brown painted band outlining a lighter one in polychrome style with a wavy line in dark brown paint above the bands. Middle Helladic to Late Helladic I (Goldman 1931: 171, fig. 240: 3, for wavy line and band combination).

**B49.NT.1** Jug. Body sherd (Plate 2)

P.H. 0.033, p.W. 0.030, Th. 0.005 m. Fabric: 5 YR 6/6, orangey brown. Burnished exterior: 7.5 YR 6/6, light brown. Polychrome narrow neck of a small jug (or other closed vessel) with two black-painted bands framing a red-brown band. A trace of another black band is visible below the first one. The exterior is slipped and burnished in the brown-burnished style. Middle Helladic to Late Helladic I (Sarri 2010: 355, fig. 52: 14).

*Mycenaean Period*

Judging by the amount and distribution of surface ceramics, the settlement at Eleon was most substantial during the Mycenaean period (see table 1 and fig. 5). Diagnostic sherds from this period were abundant across the elevated portion of the site, with fairly even distribution across our artificially defined units. The higher density of Bronze Age ceramics in several peripheral units

along the south and east (most especially B51 and A46) is attributable to the steep slope and exposed rocky surface that retained material washed down by erosion. It should also be noted that the units east of the polygonal wall (G167, G168, G253) had been cultivated more regularly in recent years, producing greater visibility of finds of all periods in this area.

As mentioned above, most of the pottery types in Boeotia that are associated with the MH period continued to be produced into the early LH periods. At Eleon, too, the early phases of the Mycenaean period (LH I–IIA) seem to be represented by MH wares. Transitional types of pots were also found: the shapes, such as low-stemmed goblets and bowls with upswung handles, are Mycenaean, but their exteriors exhibit the burnishing treatment that was typical of the MH period.

The development of LH pottery through its LH III subphases is well documented by the collected pottery, much of which preserves painted decoration in Mycenaean styles. The majority of these are executed in lustrous red-brown paint on a slipped fabric.

The LH III A–B period is well represented by the quantities of sherd material and the great variety of painted motifs they preserve. Drinking vessels, in particular, are elaborated with changing designs: for instance, the close stippling pattern unique to the IIIA<sub>1</sub> period (A49.NT.1) is represented among our material as well as the vertical dotted whorl shell of IIIA<sub>2</sub>–IIIB (G168.NT.5).<sup>56</sup> A handmade miniature jug (A44.NT.1) is an interesting find as it represents a set of miniature vessels, such as cups, jugs, and bowls, that were handmade and decorated with the simplest decoration that were produced in the IIIB period but apparently not before.

A large number of panelled deep bowls demonstrate that there was a very strong presence on the acropolis of Eleon in the LH IIIB period. That this occupation continued into LH IIIC is suggested by additional deep bowls featuring triglyph motifs and monochrome interiors. Further activity into the LH IIIC middle period is confirmed by *kalathos* fragments with figural decoration that may represent fish or birds (G168.5.1, G167.NT.6). The latest phase of the IIIC period also seems to be represented in a bowl (A51.4.2) that has a distinctive decorative pattern: the lower body of the outside of the vessel is reserved, while the interior is painted except for a reserved circle at the bottom.

*Early Mycenaean: Mycenaean Shapes with MH-Style Burnishing*

**B42.NT.5** Low-stemmed goblet. Stem (Plate 2)

P.H. 0.032, Diam. stem 0.022; Diam. of base 0.038; Diam. of bowl 0.037 m. Core: 5 YR 6/6, red-brown. Burnished exterior and on interior of bowl: 7.5 YR 6/6, light brown. Brown-burnished short, hollow goblet stem with part of bowl preserved. The interior of the stem is unburnished and completely hollow—the underside of the bowl of the goblet is visible from within the

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<sup>56</sup> Cf. French 1965, 1967.

stem. Late Middle Helladic to Late Helladic II (LH IIA–B: [Mountjoy 1986](#): 34–35, fig. 35: 47–48, figs. 53, 54; [Davis et al. 1997](#): 442).

**G168.1.5** Low-stemmed goblet. Stem (Plate 2)

P.H. 0.040, Diam. of stem 0.020, Th. of bowl 0.005. Core fabric: 2.5 YR 6/6, orange brown. Highly burnished exterior and interior: 5 YR 5/6, brown. Brown-burnished short goblet stem with part of bowl and turn to the base preserved. Late Middle Helladic to Late Helladic II (LH IIA–B: [Mountjoy 1986](#): 34–35, fig. 35: 47–48, figs. 53, 54).

**A48.3.2** Closed storage vessel. Handle (Plate 2)

P.L. of handle with body attachment 0.098, Diam. of handle 0.022, Th. vessel 0.005 m. Burnished exterior: 2.5 YR 5/6, reddish-brown; unburnished exterior: 5 YR 7/4, light brown; untreated interior 7.5 YR 7/4, light brown. Upswung Mycenaean-type handle with body attachment; the top surface of the handle is partially burnished. Late Helladic I–II.

**B48.1.1** Open vessel. Handle (Plate 2)

P.H. at body attachment 0.049, p.L. 0.122, Diam. handle 0.026, Th. body wall 0.006 m. Core: 2.5 YR 6/6 orangey reddish-brown. Interior: 5 YR 6/6 light brown; exterior: 5 YR 5/6 light brown to brown. Upswung Mycenaean-type handle with body attachment; burnishing is evident on majority of handle and light burnishing on interior. Late Middle Helladic to Late Helladic I.

*LH I–IIA Period*

**A44.5.1** Cup. Rim (Plate 3)

P.H. 0.019; p.W. 0.026; Th. 0.004; est. rim Diam. 0.015 m. Core fabric: 10 YR 7/4 pinky brown. Slip: 10 YR 8/4 buff. Everted rim of semi-globular cup with red to black painted band on interior of rim and black painted wavy line on rim exterior with brown-black band below. Late Helladic I to IIA ([Mountjoy 1986](#): LH I: 14, fig. 7: 10, LH IIA: 32, fig. 31: 2).

*LH IIB–IIIA Period*

**A44.5.4** Goblet. Stem (Plate 3)

P.H. 0.047, Th. at middle of stem 0.023; Th. of bowl 0.039, Th. of vessel 0.007 m. Core: 10 YR 7/4 light buff. Slipped interior: 10 YR 8/3 light buff. Goblet stem with part of bowl and part of base (outer edge is lost). Base is raised and has a well-articulated dome underneath; red monochrome paint on exterior (LH IIB: [Mountjoy 1986](#): 47–49, fig. 53: 2, 54: 1; [Mountjoy 1999a](#): 655; fig. 249: 46; LH IIIA<sub>1</sub>: [Mountjoy 1986](#): 65, fig. 75: 2, 14).

*LH IIB–IIIA<sub>1</sub> Period*

**B42.NT.6** Alabastron. Rim (Plate 3)

P.H. 0.020, p.W. 0.044, Th. 0.006; est. exterior Diam. 0.008 m. Core fabric: 2.5 Y 8/4 light buff. Slipped interior and exterior: 2.5 YR 8/3 creamy buff.

Everted spreading rim with a very short neck (alabastron type) with painted red-brown rim band on interior and exterior. Late Helladic II–III<sub>A1</sub> ([Mountjoy 1986](#): LH IIA: 25, fig. 20: 1; LH IIB: 41, fig. 43: 1; LH IIIA: 57, fig. 64: 2).

**B48.NT.2** Alabastron (most likely). Body fragment (Plate 3)

P.H. 0.034, p.W. 0.037, Th. 0.004 m. Fabric and interior: 10 YR 8/3 light buff. Slip on exterior; interior left untreated. Body fragment with dark brown painted rock pattern motif outlined with dots and portion of diagonal motif above. Late Helladic II–III<sub>A1</sub> (LH IIA: [Mountjoy 1986](#): 26; LH IIB: [Mountjoy 1986](#): 40–42, figs. 43: 1, 44; LH IIIA<sub>1</sub>: [Mountjoy 1986](#): 57, fig. 64).

### LH III Period

#### Kylikes

**A48.3.1** Kylix. Base (Plate 3)

P.L. 0.066, p.W. 0.041, Th. 0.005 m. Core fabric: 7.5 YR 7/4, pink to buff with sparse small red and white inclusions. Ext.: 7.5 YR 7/6 reddish buff; underside of base: 10 YR 7/4 yellow-brown. Kylix base painted with two concentric red bands toward its outer surface and a bit of another band preserved on stem. Base is not flat but slightly raised and at the stem it turns up into an articulated dome. Late Helladic IIIA–IIIB<sub>1</sub> ([Mountjoy 1986](#): for LH IIIA<sub>1</sub>: 65–66, fig. 76; for IIIA<sub>2</sub>: 88–90, fig. 107; for IIIB<sub>1</sub>: 113–115, fig. 141).

**A43.NT.1** Kylix. Stem (Plate 3)

P.H. 0.068, Diam. of stem 0.021, p.W. 0.028, Th. of beginning of vessel wall 0.007 m. Core fabric: 10 YR 7/4 pink buff with small occasional inclusions less than 1 to 1 mm. Slipped exterior: 10 YR 8/4 creamy buff. Slipped but unpainted well-made kylix stem with portion of base (or bowl). Perhaps a LH IIIB<sub>1</sub> Zygouries kylix whose stem is not banded (but these often have a motif extending down the stem from the bowl) or an unpainted LH IIIB<sub>2</sub> kylix. Late Helladic IIIB<sub>1</sub>–B<sub>2</sub> ([Mountjoy 1986](#): for LH IIIA<sub>1</sub>: 66, fig. 76; for IIIA<sub>2</sub>: 88–90, fig. 107; for IIIB<sub>1</sub>: 113–115, fig. 141; for IIIB<sub>2</sub>: 121; see [Symeonoglou 1973](#), pls. 59–63 for several plain kylikes [FS 265/6, 273]).

**G168.1.4** Kylix. Stem (Plate 3)

P.H. 0.044, Diam. of stem 0.029, p.W. 0.045, Th. of wall 0.008 m. Core fabric: 2.5 YR 7/4 light reddish-brown. Slipped exterior: 10 YR 7/4 light brown. Kylix stem with preserved interior of bowl and brown to black painted set of four fine lines below bowl with the start of a band below. Late Helladic IIIA<sub>1</sub>–IIIB<sub>1</sub> ([Goldman 1931](#): 187, fig. 258: 6; [Mountjoy 1986](#): for LH IIIA<sub>1</sub>: 66, fig. 76; for IIIA<sub>2</sub>: 88–90, fig. 107; for IIIB<sub>1</sub>: 113–115, fig. 141).

**B47.1.1** Kylix. Stem (Plate 3)

P.H. 0.036, Diam. min. 0.024, Diam. max. 0.029 m. Core fabric: 10 YR 7/4 reddish buff. Ext.: 10 YR 8/4 buff. Kylix stem with small portion of bowl preserved and two extant red-painted horizontal bands around stem with

the tails of four circumcurrent whorl shells extending down the stem from the bowl into the top band. Late Helladic IIIB<sub>1</sub> (Symeonoglou 1973: 30, pls. 57–58: 195–200; Mountjoy 1986: 114–115, fig. 141: 12, 18).

**B51.2.1** Kylix. Stem (Plate 3)

P.H. 0.048, Diam. of stem 0.020–0.024 m. Core fabric: 7.6 YR 6/4 buff. Exterior surface: 7.5 YR 8/4 orange buff. Kylix stem preserving part of bowl (or base) with two broad red painted bands. Late Helladic IIIA<sub>1</sub>–B<sub>1</sub> (Mountjoy 1986: for LH IIIA<sub>1</sub>: 66, fig. 76; for IIIA<sub>2</sub>: 88–90, fig. 107; for IIIB<sub>1</sub>: 113–115, fig. 141).

**G168.NT.8** Kylix (Plate 3)

P.H. 0.047, Diam. of stem 0.026, Th. of bowl 0.006 m. Core: 10 YR 7/4, pale brown with some varied inclusions, 1–3 mm. Interior: 5 YR 7/6 light orange brown; exterior: creamy buff on one side: 10 YR 8/4, and orange brown on the other: 5 YR 7/6. Kylix stem with red-painted motif of six sloppily drawn parallel lines running vertically down the stem and cross-hatched at intervals by sets of horizontal lines. This motif may be the bottom portion of a hybrid-flower motif. Given there is only one motif painted on the kylix it can be classified as a Zygouries type. The slip seems to have been inconsistently applied as it appears on most but not all of the stem and can barely be seen on the interior. Late Helladic IIIB<sub>1</sub> (French 1967: 224, fig. 4; Mountjoy 1986: 114, fig. 141: 10).

*Motifs*

**A43.3.1** Open vessel. Body sherd (Plate 3)

P.H. 0.023, p.W. 0.028, Th. 0.004 m. Core fabric: 5 YR 7/4 pink with a few white and reddish-brown small inclusions, up to 2 mm. Slipped interior and exterior: 7.5 YR 8/4 creamy buff. Body sherd with part of a lily motif (FM 9) in red paint. Late Helladic IIB to IIIA<sub>1</sub>.

**G168.NT.5** Kylix or bowl. Body sherd (Plate 3)

P.H. 0.020, p.W. 0.047, Th. 0.005 m. Core fabric and slipped interior and exterior: 2.5 Y 8/3 whitish buff. Body sherd with the upper portion of a brown painted vertically placed whorl shell motif (FM 23) with dotted interior. Late Helladic IIIA<sub>2</sub>–IIIB (Mountjoy 1986: IIIA<sub>2</sub>: 67–68; IIIB<sub>1</sub>: 93, 95, 114, fig. 141: 1, 12, 13; IIIB<sub>2</sub>: 123).

**A46.4.1** Kylix or goblet. Body sherd (Plate 3)

P.H. 0.033, p.W. 0.028, Th. 0.002–0.005 m. Core fabric: 5 YR 7/4 orange red. Slipped interior and exterior: 10 YR 8/4 buff. Body sherd with red-painted scale pattern (FM 70) on exterior; on interior a bit of dark brown band at the very top, possibly a rim band. Late Helladic IIIA (Mountjoy 1986: 53, 65, fig. 75: 3, 4; 66, fig. 76: 4).

**A49.NT.1** Mug, goblet, or cup. Body sherd (Plate 3)

P.H. 0.036, p.W. 0.025, Th. 0.005 m. Core fabric: 2.5 YR 6/6 red with few very small inclusions. Slip on interior and exterior: 10 YR 7/4 yellow brown. Body sherd with stippled red-brown paint (FM 77) on creamy slipped surface above two horizontal brownish-black thin bands separated by two grooves. Close stippling is unique to the IIIA<sub>1</sub> period. Late Helladic IIIA<sub>1</sub> ([Mountjoy 1986](#): 52–53, figs. 72, 73: 68; [Mountjoy 1999a](#): 661–662, fig. 251, nos. 67–68, 70; [Mountjoy 1983](#): 14–15, fig. 3: 47–49, 52; see also [Davis et al. 1997](#): 445).

**A44.NT.1** Miniature jug. Rim (Plate 3)

P.H. 0.017, p.W. 0.030, Th. 0.005, Th. of handle W 0.014 m. Core fabric: 5 YR 7/3 grey pink fabric with very few small brown inclusions. Slipped and burnished interior: 5 YR 6/6 light reddish-brown; exterior: 7.5 YR 8/3 buff. Handmade, miniature jug rim with vertical oval handle attachment. Red paint on rim and top of handle and with three vertical lines to the right of the handle below. Late Helladic IIIB ([Mountjoy 1986](#): 101–102, fig. 123: 2).

*LH IIIB–C Middle Periods*

*Deep Bowls*

**B47.NT.1** Deep bowl. Rim (Plate 4)

P.H. 0.048, p.W. 0.078, Th. 0.004, est. diam. 0.017 m. Core fabric: 5 YR 7/4 light reddish-brown. Exterior surface: 7.5 YR 7/4 light brown. Interior: painted monochrome dark brown. Slightly flaring rim with a reddish-brown rim band and a side triglyph motif of two parallel dark brown vertical lines filled with a zig-zag; the vertical lines extend upwards into the rim band. Late Helladic IIIB<sub>2</sub>–IIIC Middle ([Mountjoy 1986](#): IIIB<sub>2</sub>: 121–123, 129–131, IIIC Early: 137, 149–152, 150, IIIC Middle: 156, 176–178).

**A56.1** Deep bowl. Body sherd (Plate 4)

P.H. 0.050, p.W. 0.047, Th. 0.006 m. Core fabric: 2.5 YR 6/3 reddish-brown. Slipped exterior surface: 10 YR 8/2 whitish brown. Interior: painted monochrome reddish-brown. Body sherd is near rim with a deep reddish-brown rim band and an elaborate central triglyph motif with three vertical wavy lines alternating with straight ones and isolated semi-circles to the right in the central panel. Late Helladic IIIB<sub>2</sub>–IIIC Middle ([Mountjoy 1986](#): IIIB<sub>2</sub>: 121–123, 129–131; IIIC Early: 137, 149–152; IIIC Middle: 156, 176–178; [Jacob-Felsch 1996](#): pl. 9: 54).

**B47.4.1** Deep bowl. Body sherd (Plate 4)

P.H. 0.026, p.W. 0.032, Th. 0.004 m. Core fabric: 7.5 YR 7/3 pink. Slipped exterior 10 YR 8/3 buff. Interior: painted monochrome reddish-brown. Body sherd with partial triglyph motif of reddish-brown painted vertical lines and (most likely) partial spiral motif. Late Helladic IIIB<sub>2</sub>–IIIC Middle. Late Helladic IIIB to IIIC early (most likely IIIB) ([Mountjoy 1986](#): IIIB<sub>2</sub>: 121–123, 129–131; IIIC Early: 137, 149–152, 150, fig. 189: 2; IIIC Middle: 156, 176–178).



**A48.1.2** Deep bowl. Body sherd (Plate 4)

P.H. 0.020, p.W. 0.031, Th. 0.006 m. Fabric: 5 YR 6/4 red brown with frequent small red inclusions. Exterior and interior slip: 5 YR 7/6 buff red-yellow. Portion of red painted triglyph pattern with set of vertical lines framing horizontal wavy lines. Interior unpainted (French 1967: 232, fig. 8: 14; 1970: 82, fig. 7: 12; Mountjoy 1976: 89, fig. 7: 58; Mountjoy 1986: IIIB1: 93–96, 117, fig. 143: 17, IIIB2: 121–123, 129–131, IIIC Early: 137, 150).

**G168.5.1** Kalathos. Body sherd (Plate 4)

P.H. 0.045, p.W. 0.047, Th. 0.008–0.010 m. Core fabric: 2.5 YR 7/6 reddish brown. Interior: 5 YR 6/4 dusky brown. Exterior is painted black with a reserved band. Body sherd with an outward curving profile as of a kalathos; interior bears portions of two black to brown painted figures, the better preserved of which is filled with a scale pattern and suggestive of a bird's wing; beneath the figural zone is painted solid black to brown. Late Helladic IIIC Middle (Mountjoy 1986: 156, 179–180, fig. 232; Evely 2006: 236–237, pl. 64: E1; see also pls. 65: E20–22, 66: F10, 11 for various kalathos sherds with pictorial decoration; see also Mountjoy 1999b).

**G167.NT.6** Kalathos. Body sherd (Plate 4)

P.H. 0.040, p.W. 0.037, Th. 0.008 m. Core fabric: 2.5 YR 6/4 reddish brown. Exterior and interior: 7.5 YR 7/4–6/4 brown. Body sherd, which is near rim, with an outward curving profile as of a kalathos; exterior has running spiral in dark brown paint below a rim band; interior also has a brown to black rim band with pendant concentric semicircles and figural decoration suggestive of a fish. Late Helladic IIIC Middle (Mountjoy 1986: 156, 179–180, fig. 232; Evely 2006: 236–237, pls. 65: E20–22, 66: F10, 11).

**A44.2.1** Deep bowl or mug. Body sherd (Plate 4)

P.H. 0.030, p.W. 0.038, Th. 0.005 m. Core fabric: 5 YR 7/4 pink buff. Slipped interior and exterior: 10 YR 8/3 creamy buff. Body sherd with red-brown painted partial triglyph motif filled with dotted lozenge chain (FM 73). Interior is left unpainted. Late Helladic IIIB to IIIC Early (most likely IIIB) (Mountjoy 1986: 96, 117, fig. 143: 16, 123, 137, 160).

**B45.NT.1** Closed vessel. Body sherd (Plate 4)

P.H. 0.034, p.W. 0.042, Th. 0.005 m. Core fabric: 2.5 YR 6/4 light reddish brown. Exterior 7.5 YR 6/4 light brown; interior untreated. Body sherd with red painted cross-hatched design within an unidentified shape suggestive of a fish or other pictorial figure. Late Helladic IIIC Middle (Mountjoy 1986: 157–158; see Jacob-Felsch 1996: 126, pl. 17: 47, for cross-hatched fill of a figure (turtle?); Evely 2006: 236–237, pls. 65: E20–22, 66: F10, 11, for various kalathos sherds with pictorial decoration).

**B43.NT.4** Deep bowl. Base (Plate 4)

P.H. 0.025, Diam. of base 0.044, Th. 0.004 m. Core fabric: 7.5 YR 6/4 reddish-brown with inclusions 1–3 mm. Exterior slipped surface: 7.5 YR 7/4 brown. Interior: painted monochrome red brown. Full diameter of ring base with red-painted band around base that rises up the vessel slightly; reserved above band and on underside; monochrome painted interior. Late Helladic IIIB2–IIIC Early ([Mountjoy 1986](#): 130–131, fig. 161: 1, 150–152).

**A51.4.2** Deep bowl. Base (Plate 4)

P.H. 0.023, p.W. 0.080, est. base Diam. 0.080, Th. 0.006 m. Core fabric: 7.5 YR 7/4 pinkish with grey and red inclusions 1–2 mm. Slipped surface: 7.5 YR 8/4 pink brown. Ring base with groove at juncture between base and bowl; exterior of preserved lower body is reserved, but interior is painted red to reddish-brown except for reserved circle in the centre of the bowl. Late Helladic IIIC Late ([Mountjoy 1986](#): 190–192 (cf. pp. 176–178), fig. 254.3; [Evely 2006](#): 171, 188, fig. 2.12: 1; [Jacob-Felsch 1996](#): pls. 39: 277, 40: 292).

ARCHAIC, CLASSICAL, AND HELLENISTIC

Given the prominence of the polygonal wall, it may be surprising that the total number of sherds identified from the period of its construction and use is relatively small, compared to the Late Bronze Age count (see [table 1](#) and [fig. 6](#)). Sherds dated to the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods based on diagnostic features, including any trace of black glaze, have a significantly limited distribution across the site. The higher densities of this material were found exclusively in the southeast of the site, clustering very closely around the polygonal wall.

Few pieces of pottery can be securely dated to the Archaic period, but seven sherds were likely produced in the sixth or fifth century BC, including four decorated aryballois in Corinthian style. The aryballos (A44.4.1) has numerous counterparts in burial contexts at Tanagra and Rhitsona (ancient Mykalessos).<sup>57</sup> Also found were three miniature vessels that were most likely used in a religious context as votives as they were at numerous Boeotian sites, including Kalapodi and Chaeronea.<sup>58</sup> The Boeotian kylix fragments are easily identified by their characteristic decoration, but B51.3.1 features a more enigmatic figure, most likely a horse head, whose style of decoration may find parallels among pottery whose decoration was done in a “geometricizing” style in the middle of the sixth century, but this identification is tentative.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> P.N. Ure 1934.

<sup>58</sup> Braun 1996: 228–229, pl. 52. Dated to the end of the sixth century or to the beginning of the fifth century.

<sup>59</sup> P.N. Ure 1927, 1934.

Pottery produced during the Late Archaic and into the Classical period includes fragments of cups with palmette ornaments and other vessels with dotted rows (dot ivy) beneath their rims. These cup fragments could belong either to cup-skyphoi that date to the earlier part of the fifth century (or even the end of the sixth) or to “floral ware” cups that date to the latter half of the century.<sup>60</sup> Both types of vessels regularly depict palmette motifs, and given the small size of our fragments, it is difficult to say for sure which type our pieces represent. A44.NT.2 preserves a portion of more elaborate decoration: the lower portion of a draped female figure, which most likely formed part of a cultic procession or mythological scene. Other fragments are dated to the Classical period by their profile: *kantharos* bases with moulded profiles and the delicately elaborated rims of two small hydrias.

#### ARCHAIC

##### *Boeotian Kylikes*

##### **B46.NT.4** Boeotian kylix. Rim (Plate 4)

P.H. 0.040, p.W. 0.048, Th. vessel 0.006, Th. across rim 0.014, est. interior Diam. 0.026 m. Core fabric: 7.5 YR 6/3 light brown. Surface: 7.5 YR 7/4 dusky brown. Everted flat rim of Boeotian kylix with black painted bars across rim; bands on interior and exterior at rim. Possible thumbprint on exterior. Archaic, 550–500 BC ([Burrows and Ure 1907–1908](#): 314; [P.N. Ure 1927](#): 12–18, pls. 4, 5, [1934](#): 52).

##### **G168.1.2** Boeotian kylix. Body sherd (Plate 4)

P.H. 0.029, p.W. 0.030, Th. 0.005 m. Fabric: 10 YR 8/4 light buff. Slipped interior: 10 YR 7/4 buff. Body sherd with thick black horizontal band between thinner red horizontal lines; below are five black vertical thick hashes; above is a set of three black vertical wavy lines. Archaic, 550–500 BC ([Burrows and Ure 1907–1908](#): 314; [P.N. Ure 1927](#): 12–18, pls. 4, 5; [1934](#): 52).

##### *Corinthian Vessels*

##### **A44.4.1** Aryballos. Body sherd (Plate 5)

P.L. 0.018, p.W. 0.024, Th. 0.003 m. Fabric: 2.5 YR 8/2 creamy buff. Body sherd from shoulder of small closed vessel, most likely aryballos. Red painted horizontal band (worn) at juncture to neck (sherd starts to turn up at that point) and black petals around shoulder. Corinthian. Early to Middle Corinthian, Archaic ([P.N. Ure 1934](#): pl. 8: 95.46; [Stillwell and Benson 1984](#): 95, 156, 285, pls. 23: 437, 37: 795, 63: 1551–1554; [Andreiomenou 2007](#): 148–256, pls. 14, 15, 99).

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<sup>60</sup> We thank Vladimir Stissi and Vicky Sabetai for their generous assistance in the analysis and dating of these pieces. See [Heymans 2013](#) for the most recent discussion of floral ware.

**A44.4.4** Miniature kotyle. Base (Plate 5)

P.H. 0.018, p.W. 0.025, Th. 0.003, est. base Diam. 0.020 m. Fabric: 10 YR 8/3 buff with one 2 × 3 mm inclusion in wall fabric. Raised base with wall of vessel; underside of base has a raised central boss in centre; boss and centre of underside are reserved, outer ring of underside is painted brown as is the lower portion of the vessel; above the painted portion is a reserved band with a thin light brown line and another solid band above; streaky red to brown paint around interior. Likely Corinthian. Archaic to early Classical (sixth–fifth century) (Risser 2001: 145, pl. 39: 622, 623; Stillwell and Benson 1984: 310, pl. 67: 1688; Kocybala 1999: 81–82, fig. 3, pl. 52).

**A44.4.5** Miniature kantharos/cup. Handle with body attachment (Plate 5)

P.H. 0.022, p.W. 0.019, Th. 0.002 m. Fabric: 7.5 YR 8/3 buff. Vertical strap handle partially preserved with body attachment. Red-brown to black paint across exterior; uneven red paint across interior Corinthian. Archaic to early Classical (sixth–fifth century) (Stillwell and Benson 1984: pl. 67: 1729).

**A44.4.6** Miniature kotyle. Handle with rim attachment (Plate 5)

P.H. 0.006, p.W. 0.015, Th. 0.002 m. Fabric: 10 YR 7/3 buff. Horizontal round handle fragment joining body at rim with red paint on exterior left of handle. Corinthian. Archaic to early Classical (sixth–fifth century).

LATE ARCHAIC TO CLASSICAL PERIOD

*Figural body sherd*

**B51.3.1** Open vessel. Body sherd (Plate 5)

P.H. 0.046, p.W. 0.049, Th. 0.010 m. Fabric: 5 YR 6/6 orange brown. Exterior surface: 7.5 YR 6/4 brown. Body sherd of what may have been a krater with black painted animal figure on exterior in silhouette (no incisions): most likely a horse but perhaps a boar with head facing down and right; monochrome black paint interior. Archaic or Classical(?) (A.D. Ure 1929, pls. 11, 12; 1935: 225, fig. 1).

**A44.NT.2** Closed vessel. Body sherd (Plate 5)

P.H. 0.028, p.W. 0.038, Th. 0.004 m. Core and exterior: 5 YR 7/4 orange buff with no inclusions. Lower body sherd of a closed vessel, possibly lekythos. Black paint on exterior of a figural scene in silhouette black figure technique with no incised detail: lower portion of a draped figure walking right with foot extended at right and trailing drapery to left and hanging drapery or staff to right; figural decoration is scraped at lower centre and incomplete in two other areas; ground line is in thinner brown paint visible at left of figure; horizontal register of dots below (P.N. Ure 1927: 74, pl. 23: 139.41. Late Archaic–Classical [also in Walker 2004: vol. I, 42, vol. II, pl. 1: 4]; P.N. Ure 1927: 74, pl. 23: 139.43 [also in Walker 2004: vol. I, 43, vol. II, pl. 2: 2]; P.N.

[Ure 1927](#): 72, pl. 22: 139.40 [also in [Walker 2004](#): vol. I, 166–167, vol. II, pl. 124: 4–125: 3]).

*Palmettes and Dots*

**A54.1** Cup. Body sherd (near rim).

P.H. 0.020, p.W. 0.029, Th. 0.004 m. Fabric: 7.5 YR 7/4 pinky buff. Body sherd of everted rim (very top of rim has been scraped off) of kylix or cup with red to black painted band on interior of rim and black painted row of dots on exterior below black rim band. Late Archaic–Classical (cf. [Mountjoy 1986](#): LH I: 14, fig. 7: 10, LH IIA: 32, fig. 31: 6; [Sabetai 2001](#): 51–55, pls. 42–47).

**A45.NT.6** Cup. Rim (Plate 5)

P.H. 0.021, p.W. 0.037, Th. 0.004, est. rim Diam. 0.017 m. Fabric 2.5 YR 5/8 orange. Reserved surface areas: 7.5 YR 7/3 light orange brown. Sharply everted rim with black glaze around lip and solid interior save for reserve band on rim interior; exterior horizontal row of black glaze dots below rim and above black band; reserved bit just below band extant. Late Archaic–Classical ([Walker 2004](#): vol. I, 42, 134–135, 159–160, vol. II, pls. 89: 4–90: 4, 98: 6, 116; [Sabetai 2001](#): 51–55, pls. 42–47).

**G167.NT.11** Cup. Rim (Plate 5)

P.H. 0.025, p.W. 0.036, Th. 0.003, est. rim Diam. 0.015 m. Fabric: 5 YR 6/6 brown orange. Slightly flaring offset rim with black glaze solid interior except for a reserved band below lip and broad band around rim exterior with top portion of black glaze palmette below. Late Archaic–Classical ([P.N. Ure 1927](#): 76, pl. 24: 114a.15, 16; [Goldman 1931](#): 264–266, fig. 321; [Walker 2004](#): vol. 1, 44, 53, 103, vol. 2, pls. 2: 4, 5: 1–5, 60: 3. Offset rim with reserved interior band below lip could give a date of 430–420 BC [[P.N. Ure 1927](#): 76]; [Sabetai 2001](#): 26–27, 49–51, pls. 13, 40–41).

**A45.NT.7** Cup. Rim (Plate 5)

P.H. 0.035, p.W. 0.028, Th. 0.004 m. Fabric: 5 YR 6/8 orange. Exterior surface 7.5 YR 7/6 light orange brown. Slightly flaring offset rim with black glaze solid interior and broad band around rim exterior with top portion of black glaze palmette below. Late Archaic–Classical ([P.N. Ure 1927](#): 76, pl. 24: 114a.15, 16; [Goldman 1931](#): 264–266, fig. 321; [Walker 2004](#): vol. 1, 44, 53, 103, vol. 2, pls. 2: 4, 5: 1–5, 60: 3; [Sabetai 2001](#): 26–27, 49–51, pls. 13, 40–41).

**G168.3.1** Cup. Rim (Plate 5)

P.H. 0.012, p.W. 0.028, Th. 0.003 m. Fabric: 7.5 YR 7/6 orangey buff. Body fragment of cup broken just below everted black glaze rim with black glaze on rim and band below rim on interior (glaze is badly scraped). Two rows of black dots in reserved band below rim on exterior; trace of black band just visible below dots. Late Archaic–Classical ([Walker 2004](#): vol. I, 166–167, vol. II, pl. 124: 4–125: 3; [Sabetai 2001](#): 51–55, pls. 42–47).

**B49.3.1** Cup. Body sherd (Plate 5)

P.H. 0.028, p.W. 0.028, Th. 0.004 m. Fabric and exterior: 5 YR 6/6 orange. Body sherd with black glaze solid interior and portion of black glaze palmette with a thin red band to the left and a dot of paint above left that could be the end of a tendril that circles the main body of the palmette, a dot, rows or pairs of which are often painted between or framing the palmettes, or part of a lotus motif that can stand as the central motif of the pot and whose leaves sometimes rise above those of the palmette. Late Archaic–Classical (P.N. Ure 1927: 76, pl. 24: 114a.15, 16; Goldman 1931: 264–266, fig. 321; Walker 2004: vol. 1, 44, 63, 103, vol. II, pls. 2: 5, 15: 5, 60: 3; Sabetai 2001: 26–27, 49–51, pls. 13, 40–41).

LATE CLASSICAL TO EARLY HELLENISTIC

*Boeotian Hydriae*

**A45.NT.4** Hydria. Rim (Plate 5)

P.H. 0.030, rim Diam. 0.053; lip Diam. 0.049, Th. (neck) 0.004 m. Fabric: 7.5 YR 6/6 light orange brown. Undecorated rim and neck of hydria; narrow neck flares broadly to overhanging rim with a ridge that extends upwards around outer perimeter. Parallel: a black glaze hydria found in Atalante Museum, Classical Case no. 41, from Drymaia. Late Classical to early Hellenistic, fourth century.

**B49.4.1** Hydria. Rim (Plate 5)

P.H. 0.023; p.W. 0.077; Th. 0.003 m. Est. rim Diam. ca. 0.080 m. 5 YR 7/6 pink orange fabric; light buff slipped exterior 10 YR 7/4. Undecorated fragment of rim and neck of hydria; neck flares broadly to overhanging rim with a ridge that extends upwards around outer perimeter. Parallel: a black glaze hydria found in Atalante Museum, Classical Case no. 41, from Drymaia. Late Classical to early Hellenistic, fourth century (cf. Sabetai 2001: 87, no. 25548, fig. 39).

*Molded Bases*

**A44.5.5** Kantharos. Base (Plate 5)

P.H. 0.026, p.W. 0.048, Th. vessel 0.003, est. base Diam. 0.050 m. Fabric: 5YR 6/6 light orange brown. Undecorated moulded base of a short-stemmed vessel (likely kantharos) with flat resting surface and concave underside; one shallow groove in the exterior of the base and two ridges and another groove on stem. Late Classical to early Hellenistic, 375–325 BC (P.N. Ure 1913: 28–29, pl. 17: 24; P.N. Ure 1927: 37, pl. 10: 34.37; Heimberg 1982: 13–14, 129, pl. 6: 85; see also Sparkes 1970: 122–124, fig. 7, pl. 29: 718).

**A44.5.6** Kantharos or cup. Base (Plate 5)

P.H. 0.018, base Diam. 0.044, Th. 0.004 m. Fabric: 5 YR 6/6 orange brown. Undecorated flaring full base of a short-stemmed vessel (likely kantharos or

cup) with moulded profile and flat resting surface; concave underside with nipple at centre; part of bowl is preserved. Late Classical to early Hellenistic, 375–325 BC (P.N. Ure 1913: 46, 54, pls. 12: 3, 17: 12, 24; P.N. Ure 1927: 37, pl. 10: 34.37; Heimberg 1982: 13–14, 129, pl. 6: 78, 46: 41–53; see also Sparkes 1970: 122–124, pl. 29: 684, 686).

**G168.2.1** Kantharos(?). Base (Plate 5)

P.H. 0.025, p.W. 0.032, Th. 0.005, est. base Diam. 0.050 m. Fabric 2.5 YR 5/8 orange brown. Undecorated turned foot of a short-stemmed vessel, likely a kantharos with flat resting surface and concave underside with a groove on interior; outermost edge of base is raised, creating a convex transition to the stem; multiple ridges on upper part of stem. Late Classical to early Hellenistic, 350–275 BC (P.N. Ure 1913: 28–29, pl. 17: 24, 1927: 37, pl. 10: 34.37; Heimberg 1982: pl. 6: 75, 85, 86; Rotroff 1997: part 1, 90, 253, part 2, fig. 10: 103, 109, pls. 10: 103, 11: 109).

**G253.NT.1** Kantharos. Stem (Plate 5)

P.H. 0.037, max. Diam. 0.036, interior channel Diam. 0.008, Th. 0.008–0.010 m. Core fabric: 2.5 YR 5/6 red brown. Slipped surface 7.5 YR 6/4 brown. Stem with moulded ring; narrow inner vertical channel. Black glaze preserved unevenly around moulding, the rest of the exterior is without glaze. Classical, second half of fifth century, possibly into fourth (P.N. Ure 1913: 37, pl. 9: 7; P.N. Ure 1927: 36, pl. 10: 123: 2, 7; Goldman 1931: 264–266, fig. 322; Ure 1962: 373, pl. 112: 11; Heimberg 1982: 4–5, 127, pl. 1: 8–10, 46: 2–6).

*Medieval*

The surface material from the Byzantine to Ottoman periods was not found in spatial proximity to the medieval tower (see table 1 and fig. 7). Rather, like the pottery from other historical periods, it was found in greatest density in the ploughed fields on the eastern slope (A51, G 167, G 168, G 253). However, there is also a significant spread of glazed sherds across the southern half of the elevated site.

Apart from B42.51.1, a Byzantine sgraffito plate, most of the pottery is typical of late Frankish to early Ottoman Boeotia and Attica (fifteenth–sixteenth centuries).<sup>61</sup> Jugs and bowls occur with blue and red glaze decoration, and glaze-painted sgraffito bowls decorated in yellow, green, brown, and blue are common. Similar glazed bowls and jugs are found in excavations in Thebes and in Athens. Most of the pottery was probably made locally (the finds from Eleon may have been made in Thebes). Local glazed wares were supplemented with a few imports from Italy, like the maiolica jug (G167.NT.18) and a glaze-painted bowl (A48.NT.5).

<sup>61</sup> See Vroom 2003, in particular, for survey pottery from Boeotia.

**B42.5.1** Sgraffito plate (Plate 6)

Small fragment of body. Dim. 0.054 × 0.032. Th. 0.009. Hard dark pinkish red (2.5 YR 6/6). Slip within; worn layer of thin slip on exterior. Band of curlicue sgraffito decoration within concentric lines. Yellowish glaze. Twelfth century. This is the only example dating from this period found in the survey.

**B46.NT.2** Sgraffito bowl (Plate 6)

Fragment of curving body of bowl; flat bottom rising to vertical wall below rim. Dim. 0.033 × 0.046; Th. from 0.005 to 0.007). Reddish brown (5 YR 6/4). Light pink slip covers interior and exterior. Pale green glaze on interior and darker green glaze part way down exterior from missing rim. On interior, sgraffito circular curlicue design with dark brown glaze applied over sgraffito. Fifteenth century (cf. [Charitonidou 1982](#): 61, fig. 6; published in colour in [Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999](#): 97, no. 112).

**B43.1.2** Glaze-painted sgraffito bowl (Plate 6)

Body fragment. Wall of shallowly sloping bowl. Dim. 0.055 × 0.045; Th. 0.010. Reddish pink (5 YR 6/4) with rare large white inclusions. Pink slip on interior and part-way down exterior of body. On interior, two concentric incised lines around body of bowl with part of decoration of circle and lines on either side. Pale green glaze on interior; applied dark brown and dark green glaze. On exterior, darker green glaze almost covering slip. Fifteenth–sixteenth century ([Vroom 1998](#): 526–530, nos. 3.1–3.8, Group 3: Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware).

**A44.NT.5** Glaze-painted bowl (Plate 6)

Small part of rim of bowl. Rounded body and round lip. Diam. 0.13; p.H. 0.021) Gray brown with dark inclusions (10YR 6/3), white slip on interior and possibly exterior. Pale green glaze on interior with blue swags extending from rim. Dark brownish-green 0.005–0.007 over interior of rim and covering exterior; multiple applications of glaze. Fifteenth century ([Frantz 1942](#): 5, fig. 1).

**A51.4.1** Glaze-painted bowl (Plate 6)

Fragment of wall. Dim. 0.036 × 0.025; Th. 0.006. Pinkish brown clay (7.5 YR 7/4). Pale pink slip on interior and exterior. Pale green glaze on interior with added curved lines of blue glaze and darker green above. Fifteenth century (cf. [MacKay 2014](#): no. 3, fig. 10.5).

**B47.3.2** Glaze-painted sgraffito bowl (Plate 6)

Small part of rim and wall preserved. Squared rim with flat upper surface; slightly projecting exterior lip. Ridged body on exterior below rim. Diam. 0.21; p.H. 0.018; max. dim. 0.046. Pinkish red clay (2.5–5 YR 7/4) with white and dark inclusions. Light pink slip on interior and exterior. Green glaze on top of rim and exterior; pale green glaze on interior. On interior; two



incised lines around body at top very like. Fifteenth century (Charitonidou 1982: 61, figs. 5–7; Borboudaki 2007: 42–44, nos. 7–9; Kalopisi-Verti 2003: 100–101, nos. A84–A85; from the Athenian Agora; identified as sixteenth–seventeenth century).

**B48.3.1** Glazed bowl (Plate 6)

About half of base preserved. High squared slightly flaring ring foot with flat undersurface. Diam. base 0.08; p.H. 0.027; max. dim. 0.081. Light brown (7.5 YR 6/4–7/4). Rare medium white inclusions. Pale yellow-green glaze on interior. Fourteenth–fifteenth century.

**G167.NT.15** Blue and white pitcher (Plate 6)

Piece of rounded vertical body. Dim. 0.081 × 0.062; Th. 0.007. Orange-red clay (5 YR 7/4–7/6) with small red inclusions; rare large dark inclusions. White slip on exterior. Part of medallion of concentric blue circles filled in with short perpendicular strokes. Inside medallion blue design with added green glaze. Interior preserves a little pale green glaze at top; locally made. Sixteenth century (see Frantz 1942: 6, fig. 5; 8, fig. 12 and in colour (some of the same pitchers); Borboudaki 2007: 60–72, nos. 25–35).

**G167.NT.16** Glaze-painted pitcher (Plate 6)

Small body sherd. Dim. 0.37 × 0.28; Th. 0.004. Grayish brown (10 YR 7/3). Hard, fine. White slip on exterior. Painted blue lines with green, brownish yellow, and yellow splotches. Unglazed interior. Fifteenth–seventeenth century (see references for G167.NT.15).

**G167.NT.17** Blue and white pitcher (Plate 6)

Body with beginning of handle attachment. Vertical wall with thickening for lower handle attachment. Dim. 0.064 × 0.056; Th. 0.006. Pinkish orange (5 YR 7/4–7/6). Some small white and dark red inclusions. Whitish to pale green or brown murky glaze; murky blue lines applied. Uneven thickness to glaze. Yellowish green glaze on interior. Fifteenth–sixteenth century.

**A48.NT.5** Glaze-painted bowl (Plate 6)

Very small piece of body. Dim. 0.24 × 0.16; Th. 0.005. Pinkish brown (7.5 YR 7/4–7/6). White slip. Thick stripes of yellow and yellowish-brown; two parallel stripes of blue. On exterior white slip and mustardy yellow glaze. Probably fifteenth–sixteenth century (cf. examples found on Crete in Borboudaki 2007: 102–109, nos. 62–67 [mostly identified as sixteenth century, from Italy]).

**G167.NT.14** Glaze-painted sgraffito bowl (Plate 6)

About half of ring foot and bottom and part of wall of bowl preserved. High squared foot with flat under-surface. Wall flares out shallowly from base.

p.H. 0.025; Diam. base 0.08; max. dim. 0.093. Reddish clay (2.5–5 YR 6/4). White slip on interior. Incised petal shapes radiate from centre bottom; filled with alternating brown and green applied glaze over pale green glaze. Identified as late fourteenth–fifteenth century or later (a close parallel is [Vroom 1998](#): 528, no. 3.3, 529, fig. 9).

**G167.NT.18** Maiolica pitcher (Plate 6)

Body sherd from shoulder. Slight thickening on one side; probably at the neck. Dim. 0.047 × 0.042. Th. 0.005. Hard pale yellow clay. 10 YR 7/4–8/4. White exterior. Glazed with dark blue vertical lines filled in with a ladder pattern of short horizontal cross-hatched lines. Glazed on interior over clay. Fifteenth–sixteenth century (from Italy) ([Vroom 2005](#): 146, fig. 4.1, who notes that this type of maiolica vessel with this pattern are commonly found in Greece; [Vionis 2006a](#): 478, nos. 13, 14).

**G168.NT.3** Painted sgraffito bowl (Plate 6)

Small part of rim and top of body preserved. Rounded out-turned rim. Diam. 0.150; max. dim. 0.071; Th. 0.007. Reddish with rare small white inclusions. 2.5 YR 6/6. White slip on interior; dripped just over exterior rim. Sgraffito design of loose chevron and curlicue; two lines around inside of rim. Dark green and brown glaze lines on interior. Fifteenth century (cf. for decoration [Borboudaki 2007](#): 37–40, nos. 2–5. Similar decoration: [Armstrong 1993](#): 322, no. 252, 323, fig. 16, pl. 35B [although the profile of the bowl is steeper than this example]).

**A43.NT.2** Sgraffito bowl (Plate 7)

Small part of base and wall preserved. Flat base; steeply sloping wall flares out from just above base. P.H. 0.23; Diam. base 0.11; Th. wall 0.007; max. dim. 0.064. Orange clay (5–7.5 YR 6/6) with frequent small white and dark inclusions. White slip on interior. Roughly incised line around body at angle between base and wall; another line incised around wall 0.01 above; vertical lines above. Pale green glaze; trace of darker green in centre bottom. Fifteenth century.

**B42.NT.2** Sgraffito bowl (Plate 7)

Body fragment; from near rim. Dim. 0.055 × 0.025; Th. 0.007. Reddish brown clay (5 YR 6/4). Pale orange slip. On interior sgraffito squiggles with mottled yellow and yellow-brown glaze. Exterior has slip and clear glaze partially covering slip. Probably fifteenth century.

**G168.NT.4** Sgraffito bowl (Plate 7)

Fragment of wall body. Dim. 0.041 × 0.030; Th. 0.007. Fired black to brown (7.5 YR 5/3). Poorly fired. Slip on interior and part-way down exterior. Clear and brown glaze over sgraffito squiggles on interior; glaze partially covers slip on exterior. Probably fifteenth century.

**B43.NT.5** Sgraffito bowl (Plate 7)

Fragment of rim; too small to indicate diameter. Rim slightly projecting on exterior; rounded lip. Dim. 0.033 × 0.032; Th. 0.004. Reddish pink (2.5–5 YR 6/6). White slip on interior and just over lip on exterior. Three incised lines around rim and traces of sgraffito decoration below. Pale green glaze on interior; patch of light brown glaze. Fifteenth century.

**G167.NT.20** Sgraffito bowl (Plate 7)

Small piece of rim and beginning of body of bowl. Too small to determine diameter. Shallow body angles to wide horizontal rim with upturned lip. Dim. 0.054 × 0.047; Th. 0.007. Pinkish orange (5–7.5 YR 7/6). Pinkish tan slip on interior and ca. 0.015 down exterior with drips. Straight and wavy concentric lines around rim and body; small amount of interior decoration of bowl. Dark yellow glaze on interior and 0.007 down exterior. Very similar in shape and decoration to G168.NT.19. Fifteenth century or later.

**G167.NT.19** Sgraffito bowl (Plate 7)

Part of body of heavy large shallow bowl with wide horizontal rim. Lip missing. Dim. 0.94 × 0.77; Th. 0.08 to 0.14. Yellowish orange (7.5–10 YR 7/4); rare white inclusions and large voids. Slipped interior; dark yellow-brown glaze over interior. Exterior unglazed. Radial incised lines in bowl bottom with curlicues and wavy lines in between; two incised lines around body just below flat rim extension; incised lines around rim. Same shape as G167.NT.20. Cf. for shape an example from a fifteenth century and later deposit from Thebes. Fifteenth century or later ([Armstrong 1993](#): 315, no. 163, fig. 11).

**A51.1.2** Sgraffito bowl (Plate 8)

Two joining pieces. Most of ring foot preserved, with start of wall. High squared ring base with flat under-surface; sloping walls. p.H. 0.045; Diam. base 0.065; Th. 0.008. Orange-brown clay (7.5–10 YR 7/4) with numerous small white inclusions and rare angular voids. White slip with dark green glaze on interior. Sgraffito design of three thickly incised concentric circles; on wall; double zigzag of thickly incised lines around circumference; filled with thinner curving lines. Probably fourteenth–sixteenth century.

**B43.1.3** Glazed bowl (Plate 8)

About 1/4 of base preserved. Squared outwardly flaring ring base with flat under-surface. Diam. base 0.09; p.H. 0.024; Th. wall 0.009; max. dim. 0.06. Brownish pink (7.5 YR 6/4–7/4); some large white inclusions. White slip; pale yellow-green glaze. Fourteenth–fifteenth century.

**B47.5.4** Sgraffito bowl. Plate 8

About 1/4 of base preserved. High squared ring base with flat under-surface; beginning of wall. p.H. 0.039; Diam. base 0.08; Th. wall 0.009; max. dim.

o.078. Orange-brown clay (7.5 YR 6/4–6/6). Rare large white inclusions and voids. Slip on interior. Curlicue sgraffito line around centre bottom of bowl. Murky yellow-brown glaze over interior. Two tripod marks. Fourteenth–fifteenth century.

**A46.3.1** Glazed bowl (Plate 8)

Rounded bowl rising to vertical rim with round lip. About 1/4 of circumference preserved; entire profile of wall to attachment of base. p.H. o.043; Diam. o.11; p.L. o.084. Pinkish clay (5–7.5 YR 7/4). Light pink slip on interior; dripped over exterior of rim. Dark yellow glaze, also dripped over exterior of rim and thickly applied at rim. Tripod mark in centre bottom. Probably fourteenth–sixteenth centuries?

**B43.2.1** Slip-painted bowl (Plate 8)

Small piece of body of bowl. Body rising to vertical wall but not enough preserved to be able to predict the rim. p.H. o.039; p.L. o.047. Reddish clay (5 YR 5/6–6/6) with rare white inclusions. Thickly trailed white slip in concentric circles and perhaps chevrons over interior. White slip part-way down exterior. Clear glaze on interior; green almost covering slip on exterior (cf. [Borboudaki 2007](#): 85, no. 48, which is from Ioannina and said to be eighteenth century. This is probably earlier).

**B50.2.1** Glazed pitcher (Plate 8)

Fragment of shoulder and start of neck. Broadly sloping shoulder; neck appears to rise vertically. Dim. o.041 × o.049; Th. o.006. Dark red clay (5 YR 6/6); Mottled yellow to brown glassy glaze.

**G168.1.3** Jar (Plate 8)

Fragment of body of a closed shape; probably from transition from shoulder to neck. Dim. o.031 × o.024; Th. o.004. Reddish brown (5 YR 6/6) on interior; exterior brown (7.5 YR 7/3–7/4). Three rows of rouletted marks around body at shoulder.

**B49.5.1** Bottle? (Plate 8)

Part of body with beginning of what is probably a spout. Interior with folds of clay to draw up the spout. Shallowly incised wavy ridges around body exterior. Dim. o.020 × o.046; Th. o.009. Light reddish brown (5 YR 6/4–6/6); rare medium white inclusions.

**A43.NT.4** Jar (Plate 8)

Probably from a water jar or other storage container. Strap handle with upper handle attachment. Wide and flat with two ridges down centre. Slightly upswung from narrow neck. p.L. o.85; Diam. neck o.05. Dim. handle o.062 × o.016. Light brown (7.5 YR 7/4) with numerous small and medium dark brown inclusions and rare medium white inclusions. Medieval or post-medieval.

**A44.NT.6** Matt-painted jar (Plate 8)

Small part of rim and upper handle attachment preserved. Neck slopes into everted triangular rim with flat upper surface. Flat handle; oval in section; attaches just below point of triangular rim. Diam. rim (interior) 0.09; p.H. 0.028; p.L. handle 0.063; handle section 0.030 × 0.015. Hard rough orange-red clay (2.5 YR 6/6) with frequent small white inclusions. Stripe of dark red paint on upper surface of rim; stripe down handle.

*Non-Ceramic Finds*

For the most part, our study of the collected survey data has focused on ceramic material because it is plentiful and readily comparable to survey and excavation data from other sites in the area. In our field collection, we also recovered lithics, primarily obsidian, and small finds, mostly related to textile production. The lack of stratigraphical context for these finds makes secure chronological dating difficult, and it is hoped that in light of the ongoing excavation at the site a more detailed analysis of these finds will be possible. Until then, we provide a short catalogue of the non-ceramic finds.

*Stone Tools*

**G168.NT.7** Axe head

Stone axe head fragment, P.H. 0.076; max. p.W. 0.063; p.L. 0.050; diameter of shaft hole 0.027 m. basalt or granitic stone? GLEY 1 3/3 very dark green, two parallel striations 0.063 m. in length on one side of polished surface. Faint traces of circular drill lines visible on interior of shaft hole. Neolithic-Early Helladic

**G254.o.1** Chert tool blank

Worked tool blank. Chert has linear black veins with white flecks. Irregular dorsal side with multiple flakes removed and possible retouching on lower left edge. Ventral surface shows several large flakes and two erailleure flakes. Post-depositional damage. P.L. 0.0034; p.W. 0.0023; p.H. 0.0012 m. 7.5 YR 4/6 orange brown.

**G254.o.2** Chert flake

Primary stage reduction flake with large amount of cortex on dorsal surface. Three flakes removed. Ventral surface shows two proximal flake scars with damage to distal end. P.L. 0.0024; p.W. 0.0018; p.H. 0.0007 m.

**A50.4** Obsidian point fracture?

Possible point of grey obsidian. Uneven distal hinge break. Ventral surface shows multiple flake scars. Dorsal surface has irregular dorsal ridge with evidence of retouching on the left side from percussion. Possible remains of cortex on right side. P.L. 0.0025; p.W. 0.0016; p.H. 0.0005 m.

*THE INTENSIVE SURFACE SURVEY—ELEON*

**B43.o.7** Obsidian flake

Primary-stage reduction flake of grey obsidian, with further working. Concoidal fracture on ventral surface. Traces of pressure flaking near bulb of percussion. Remnants of cortex visible. P.H. 0.0028; p.W. 0.003; max. Th. 0.0085 m.

**A47.2.2** Obsidian blade

Obsidian blade of grey obsidian, with wide dorsal ridge creating two lateral margins; one of which shows secondary linear flake. Retouched on both edges of dorsal surface. Broken on distal end. P.L. 0.0027; p.W. 0.0011; p.H. 0.0002 m.

**B42.o.10** Obsidian blade

Well-formed flat blade of grey obsidian. Broad dorsal ridge creating two narrow lateral margins with evidence of retouching on each. Broken distal end. On ventral side small chip detached from bulb of percussion. P.L. 0.0023; p.W. 0.001; p.H. 0.0003 m.

**G168.o.11** Obsidian blade

Medial section of broken blade. Dorsal ridge broadens distally. Possible use wear. Broken proximally and distally. P.L. 0.0028; p.W. 0.0013; p.H. 0.0003 m.

**G168.o.12** Obsidian blade

Proximal section of broken grey obsidian blade. Broad dorsal ridge with medium size lateral margins. Use wear evident. Broken distally. Ventral surface has erailure flake. P.L. 0.0024; p.W. 0.0012; p.H. 0.0003 m.

**B49.1.1** Obsidian blade

Retouched blade. Curved linear dorsal ridge with retouching on both edges of dorsal sides. Linear flake removed midway on dorsal surface. Evidence of breakage at distal end. P.L. 0.003; p.W. 0.0015; p.H. 0.0005 m. grey obsidian.

**B51.4.12** Obsidian blade

Small blade with evidence of retouching, broken at distal end. Wide dorsal ridge with retouching along edge surfaces. P.L. 0.0022; p.W. 0.0011; p.H. 0.0003 m. grey obsidian.

**G167.o.21** Obsidian blade

Thin blade of grey obsidian, with single dorsal ridge slightly flattened. Some feathered retouching on ventral side. P.L. 0.0033; p.W. 0.0010; p.H. 0.0005 m.

**G168.o.10** Obsidian core

Core fragment of grey obsidian, distal end with 13 flake scars. Damage to distal end. P.L. 0.0022; p.W. 0.0024; p.H. 0.0007 m.

**B43.NT.1** Stone stopper

Worked white stone with flat finely chiselled bottom and roughly hewn top, P.H. 0.027; diameter of base 0.076 m, 2.5 YR 8/2 exterior buff; core: 2.5 YR 8/1 grey.

*Small Finds*

**A44.NT.3** Spindle whorl (Plate 9)

Hand-made spindle whorl, H. 0.017; D. 0.020; Perforation D. 0.005 m. 5 YR 6/4 brown-grey with no inclusions, burnished red brown exterior 5 YR 5/8. Early Helladic–Mycenaean.

**G167.NT.12** Spindle whorl (Plate 9)

Green steatite spindle whorl, P.H. 0.022; p.W. 0.030; suspension hole 0.006 m. GLEY 1 4/1 greenish grey.

**G168.NT.2** Spindle whorl (Plate 9)

Fragment of incised clay spindle whorl, P.L. 0.035; p.H. 0.020; est. diameter 0.038 m. core: 2.5 YR 6/3; surface: 5 YR 6/3, concentric incised lines around suspension hole and incised triangles w/ further lines on the upper surface. Early Helladic.

**B47.3.1** Loom weight (Plate 9)

Pyramidal (tetrahedral) weight, P.H. 0.041; p.W. at base 0.028; p.W. at top 0.014; suspension hole 0.007 m. 2.5 YR 8/3 buff on top side; 5 YR 8/3 on base. Classical(?)

**A48.NT.3** Loom weight (Plate 9)

Conical weight. Preserved at the top; eroded on sides and bottom, P.H. 0.066; p.W. 0.051; suspension hole 0.006 m, core: 5 YR 7/6 red grey; surface 5 YR 5/6. Only small part of original surface is preserved though undecorated. Mycenaean(?)

**G168.NT.1** Architectural terracotta (Plate 9)

Rectangular architectural fragment painted on three preserved sides, P.L. 0.061; p.H. 0.034; p. W. 0.33 m. core 2.5 YR 6/6 orange brown; surface 10 YR 8/4 buff; coarse to medium inclusions, Surface glazed with buff slip. One side shows palmette in orange paint inside brown painted circle. Row of palmettes is indicated though only one fully preserved. Second side has row of incised circles in brown paint with decorative rosettes inside in fugitive paint. At least three circles are indicated. Third side is glazed like the others but no decoration is preserved.

## THE INTENSIVE SURFACE SURVEY—ELEON

### *Archaic to Classical Period*

#### **A44.5.2** Lamp

Spout of circular lamp with solid black glaze interior and exterior P.H. 0.027; p.L. with spout) 0.035; p.W. 0.042; Th. 0.006 m. Red brown core fabric 2.5 YR 6/4. Black glaze interior and exterior. Classical(?)

#### **A45.5.1** Lamp

Spout preserving portion of flat base; solid red paint interior and exterior P.H. 0.027; p.L. with spout) 0.040; p.W. 0.023; Th. 0.006 m. Orange fabric 2.5 YR 7/6. Red paint interior and exterior. Classical(?)

#### **A44.3.1** Figurine

Fragment preserving the head (probably) of a draped female figure with the face not preserved; traces of red paint. P.H. 0.023; p.W. 0.020; p.Th. 0.017 m. Soft buff fabric 10 YR 7/3. Traces of red paint. Classical(?)

#### **G167.NT.1** Disc weight (Plate 9)

Lead weight, P.H. 0.008; diameter 0.033; suspension hole 0.006 m. Top and bottom surfaces decorated with floral pattern. Comparanda in British Museum, as lead spindle whorls (BM cat. GR 1927.11–15.23). Fourth–third century BC.

### CONCLUSIONS

In light of the chronological range of the surface material, the shifts in activity at Eleon are striking. The position of the site relative to Thebes made it a useful node within the political hierarchy of the Mycenaean period. The occupation of the Mycenaean palatial period sits within an extended period of development lasting from the MH period through the LH IIIC period. We might envision, therefore, a scenario in which an independent settlement was incorporated into the administrative network of Mycenaean Thebes, but it had sufficient resources to continue after the collapse of that palatial system and was able to establish its own network with sites like Lefkandi.

Our surface survey indicates that after the Mycenaean period (circa 1100 BC) the site of ancient Eleon had very limited, if any, use during the Iron Age/Geometric periods. From circa 600 to 400 BC, the site was reoccupied but for a specialized function. Within the dynamics of the Archaic-Classical periods, Eleon seems not to have been sufficiently developed to be a member of the Boeotian Federation. It is intriguing that it is to this time that the longest-lasting building project is dated, the elaborate semispherical polygonal wall. Who built this wall and for what purpose remains unknown, and with our ongoing excavation of the site, we hope to understand the wall construction better. Despite the investment in the large-scale architectural project, the pottery suggests a limited or specialized set of activities at the site rather than a significant and lasting



occupation. Following this period, there is little evidence for occupation for over 1,500 years until the early Ottoman period, when a small, presumably agricultural, settlement arose.

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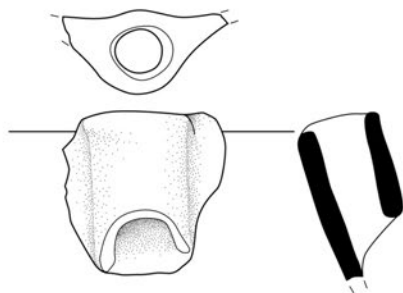
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*THE INTENSIVE SURFACE SURVEY—ELEON*

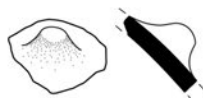
Early Helladic



A47.2.1 2007



B51.5.1 2007

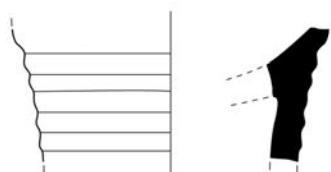


B51.4.2 2007



B42.NT.1 2007

Middle Helladic Gray Minyan



A50.1 2007



B42.NT.8 2007



B42.NT.9 2007

Middle Helladic Yellow Minyan



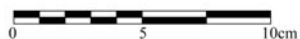
A46.4.2 2007



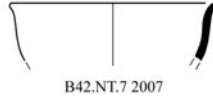
B51.4.3 2007



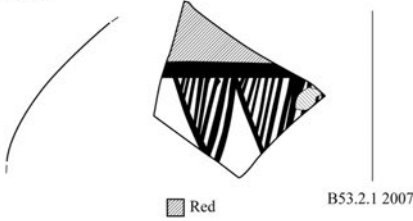
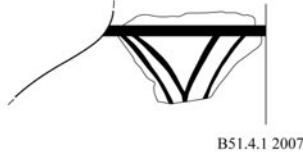
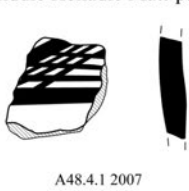
B51.4.4 2007



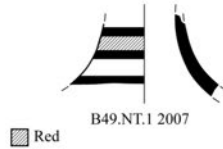
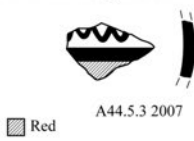
Middle Helladic Brown-burnished



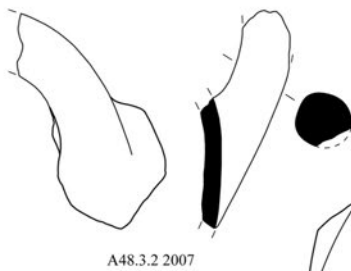
Middle Helladic Matt-painted



Middle Helladic Polychrome

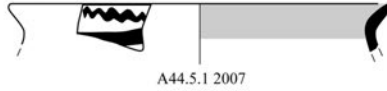


Early Mycenaean

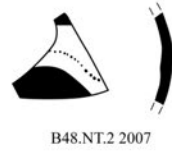


*THE INTENSIVE SURFACE SURVEY—ELEON*

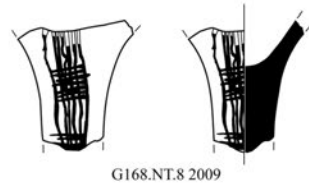
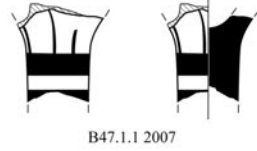
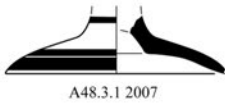
Late Helladic I-IIA



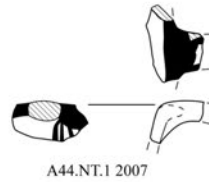
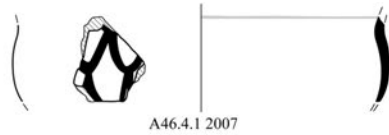
Late Helladic IIB-III A



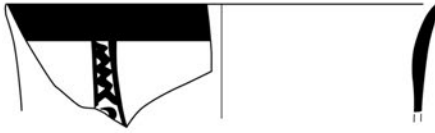
Late Helladic III Kylix Stems



Late Helladic IIIA-B Motifs & Shapes



Late Helladic IIIB-IIIC



B47.NT.1 2007



A56.1 2007



G168.5.1 2009



B47.4.1 2007



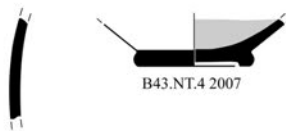
G167.NT.6 2009



A48.1.2 2007



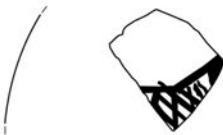
A44.2.1 2007



B43.NT.4 2007

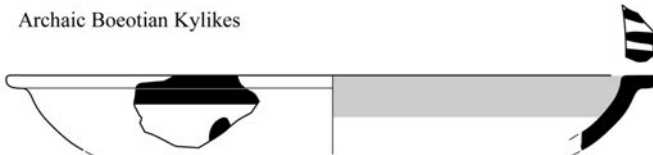


A51.4.2 2007

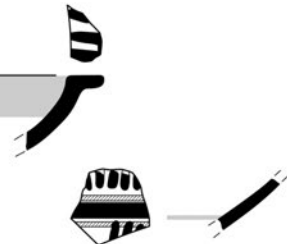


B45.NT.1 2007

Archaic Boeotian Kylikes



B46.NT.4 2007



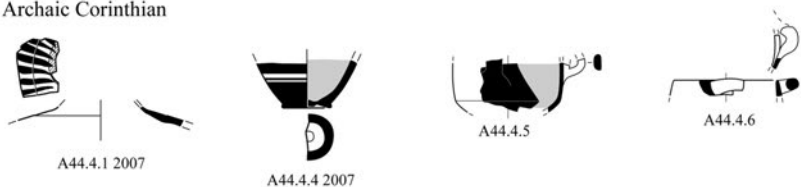
G168.1.2 2009



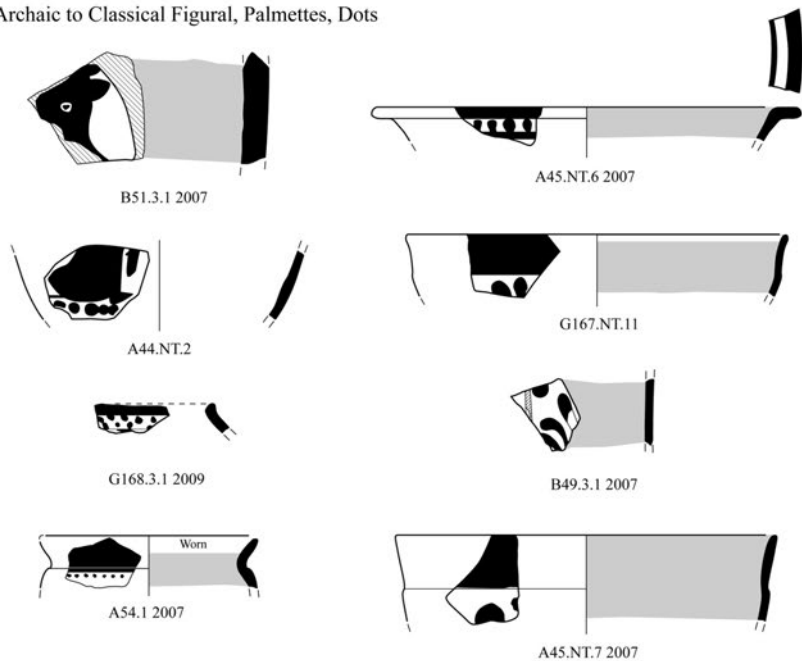
Red

*THE INTENSIVE SURFACE SURVEY—ELEON*

Archaic Corinthian



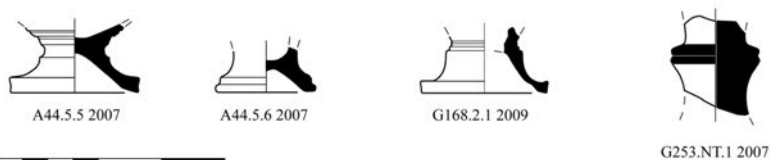
Archaic to Classical Figural, Palmettes, Dots



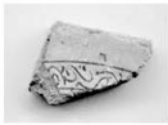
Late Classical to Early Hellenistic Boeotian Hydriae



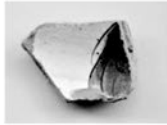
Late to Early Hellenistic Molded Bases and Kantharos Stem



Medieval



B42.5.1



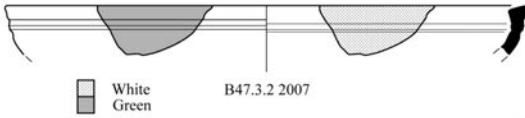
B46.NT.2



B43.1.2



A44.NT.5



B47.3.2 2007

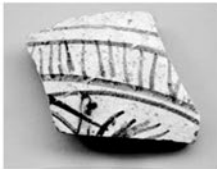


A51.4.1



B48.3.1 2007

Light green



G167.NT.15



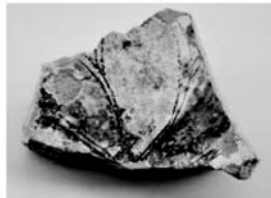
G167.NT.16



G167.NT.17



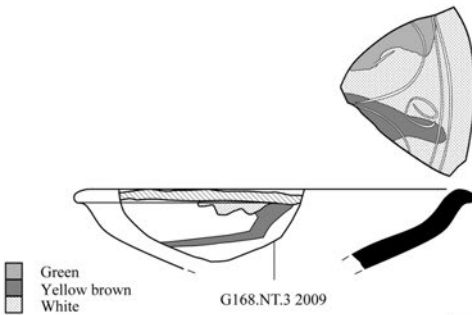
A48.NT.5



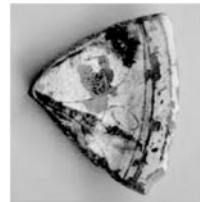
G167.NT.14



G167.NT.18



G168.NT.3 2009



*THE INTENSIVE SURFACE SURVEY—ELEON*

Medieval

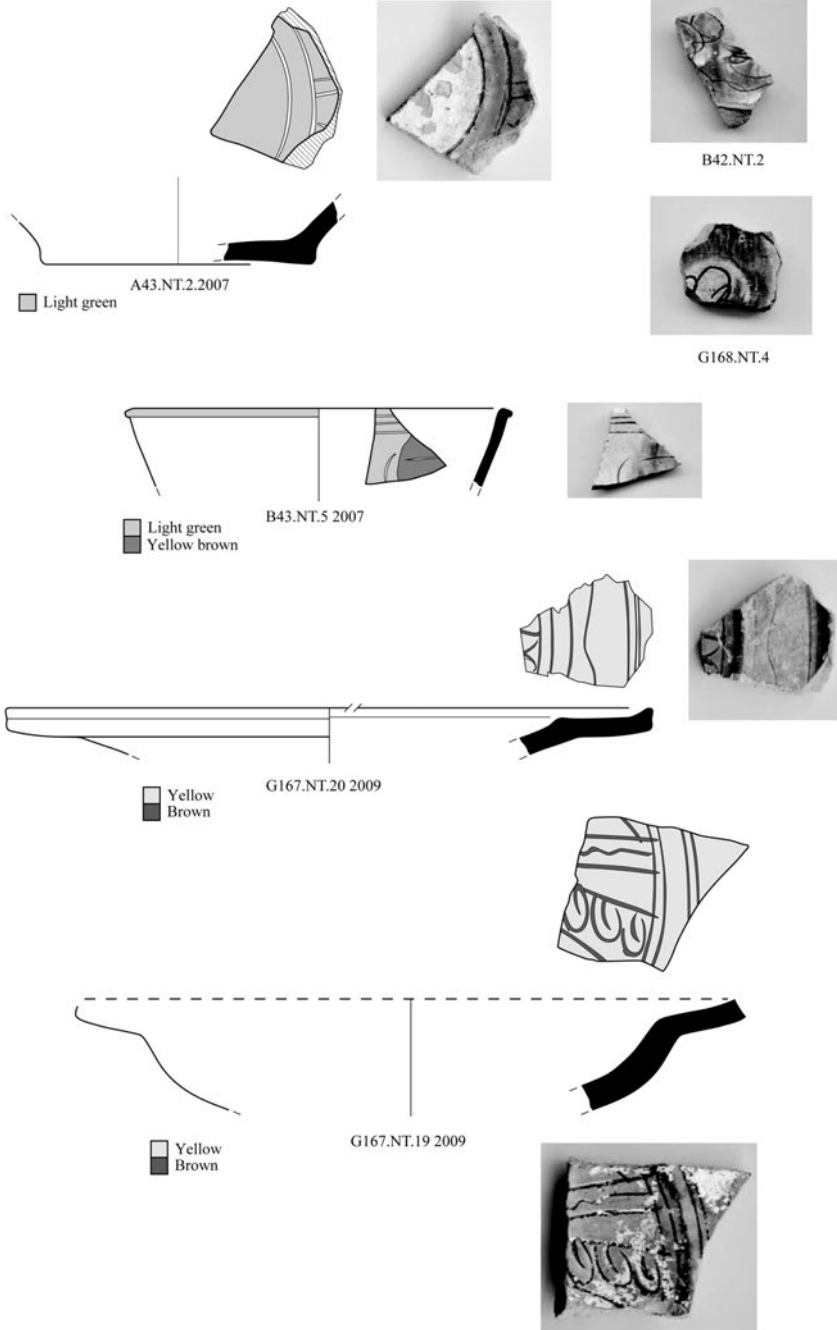


Plate 7

355



Medieval

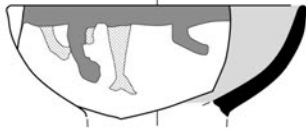


A51.1.02

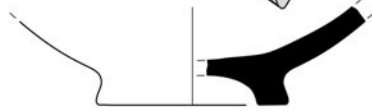


B43.1.3 2007

Yellow



A46.3.1 2007



B47.5.4 2007

Yellow

White  
Yellow  
Yellow brown



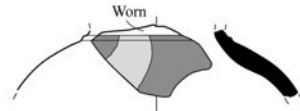
B43.2.1



B50.2.01



G168.1.03

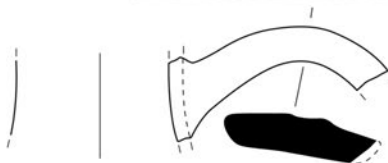


B50.2.1 2007

Yellow  
Yellow brown



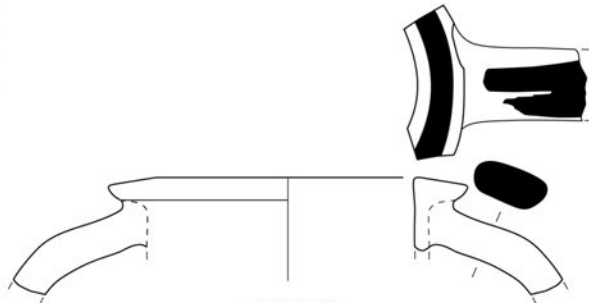
B49.5.1 2007



A43.NT.4.2007



B49.5.1 2007



A44.NT.6 2007

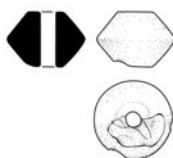


*THE INTENSIVE SURFACE SURVEY—ELEON*

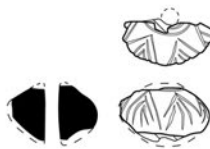
Small Finds



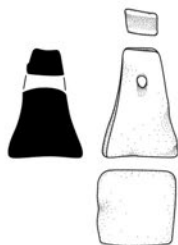
A44.NT.5 2007



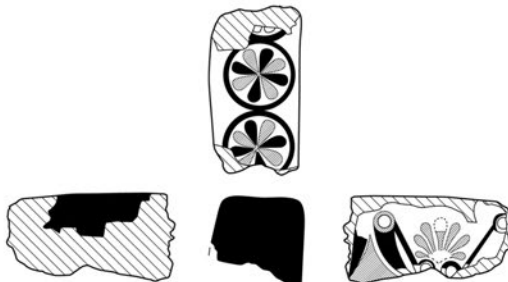
G167.NT.12 2009



G168.NT.2 2009

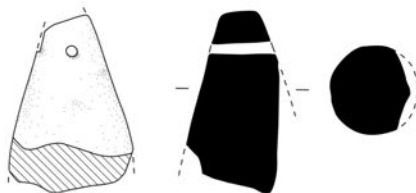


B47.3.1 2007

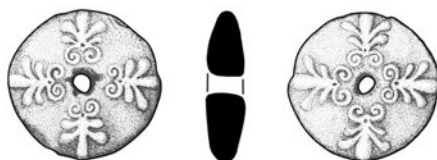


■ Red

G168.NT.1 2009



A48.NT.3 2007



G167.NT.1 2009



Plate 9