

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEY
OF THE HERMIONID

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INTRODUCTION
(See Plan I)

The Hermionid will be understood in this paper as the southwest tip of the Argolid peninsula, a district belonging in antiquity to the city of Hermione. Roughly, boundaries by land are with Epidaurus, the line of mountains running from the high mass of Mt. Didymo west to the sea, and with Troezen, a line running from the same Mt. Didymo east to the sea. The precise borders appear to have been in dispute in antiquity and can no longer be determined with certainty. (See below, ^{section PP88 FF.} ~~IV~~ and IG IV².1.74 and 75 for Epidaurus, and IG IV².77 for Troezen; cf. also Apollo Horius and the comments of Pausanias, ii. 35. 2.) At all times access by land has been difficult, and there does not yet exist a motor road with the outside. Communication was and is naturally by sea; three of the finest harbors in the Peloponnesos are found in this district: Hermione, Porto Cheli, and Koilada--excelled only by the isolated Geraka (Zarax) north of Monemvasia and by Pylos. Lacking plains and valleys of any extent and without a large stream or river securely within its borders, but possessing several harbors, economically the district is strongly inclined to the sea. During the Greek war of independence it was the prosperous sea-faring inhabitants of the two large, defensible islands of Spetsas and Hydra, lying off-shore, that provided the Greek fleet.

In ancient times, its isolation and poverty kept the Hermionid relatively independent and provincial. The provincial quality is apparent in all the antiquities of the area, from the bronze age on down, with the exception of the classical period, when a small but vigorous city-state could share to some extent in the best products of the culture of the age. A further

element in antiquity contributing to provincialism has its counterpart today: the inhabitants of the ancient Hermionid were--along with those of Asine--Dryopians, distinct (we are not sure how) from the Dorians with whom they descended from the mountains on the north; by the time we can see anything of their culture, they are no longer distinguishable from the Argolid Dorians. The modern inhabitants are for the most part of Albanian origin, but nowadays the Albanian language is spoken and known only by the old; the people are indistinguishable from the other Greeks of the Peloponnesos, except for a certain mountaineer vigor and mountaineer provincialism.

A few words on our impressions of the post-classical history of the district will be relevant to discussion of its antiquities. In Pausanias' day Hermione itself was evidently a fair-sized, flourishing city, although the second city of the district, Halieis, was deserted (Paus. ii. 34-36. 4). Continuous habitation was maintained in the Byzantine period through the sixth century A. D., to judge from a group of coins purchased by us in Hermione (see below, p. 43), by a number of late Roman and Byzantine mosaics (see below, pp. 36 ff.), by the large fort built of re-used ancient blocks and the foundations of a Byzantine church on the foundations of the temple of Poseidon, both on the promontory now known as the Bisti, and by the funeral inscriptions gathered in the Papabasileios garden. Later Slavic and Saracen ravaging of the Aegaeon coasts may well account for the abandonment of these sites and the disappearance of the Greek population. In the Frankish and first Venetian periods, before the Turkish conquest,

Thermisi, towards the eastern borders of the Hermionid, replaces Hermione in importance (a gloss on Ptolemy explains Hermione by "Thermisi"); the

castle was built by the Frankish lord of Nauplia, Walter of Brienne, in 1356. Under the Palaeologues, we may suppose that the Albanian population was introduced (cf. F. W. Hasluck, BSA XV 1908-09, 223 ff.). The Greek influence thenceforward was primarily ecclesiastic, witness the church of Hagia Triada between Hermione and Kranidi, the church of the Taxiarch in Hermione, the monasteries of Agioi Anargyroi and Agios Demetrios; in 1486 Demetrios Palaeologus scratched his name on the fresco of the little church of Hagios Georgios in the cave at Didymo. Under the Turks, the two big islands, Spetsas and Hydra, and the inland village of Kranidi were the centers of habitation. The village of Kastri at Hermione occupied only the lower slope of the hill known anciently as the Pron and now as "stous mylous" from its ruined windmills; cf. Gell's Itinerary of Greece, The Argolis (1810), p. 166, Pl. XXVII, and an unpublished Venetian map of Kastri in the Gennadaion Library. It is likely that the population was kept small partly by the extensive possession of land by the convent of Agioi Anargyroi. At Koilada, the pretty, busy fishing village today is the direct result of the expropriation of the lands of the Panagia convent within recent years; and the villages along the Bedeni River (in the district of the ancient Epidaurus border) have grown up since the abandonment of the monastery of Agios Demetrios tou Avgou. The area around Porto Cheli was almost deserted when Frazer visited it (Pausanias's Description of Greece, 1913, III, 292). Thanks to this thin population, the ancient remains of the area were clearly visible to travellers in the nineteenth century (e. g., Frazer III, 293 ff.; Blouet, Expédition Scientifique, 1833, II, 123 ff.); and in the case of the city on the Bouzeïka near Porto Cheli, they were in good preservation (Boblaye, Recherches, p. 62: "un lieu qui mérita l'attention de chaque voyageur").

Since then an increased population and vigorous farming and fishing have done the antiquities of the region no service. The abnormal situation of populations of 20,000 each in Spetsas and Hydra while the mainland was only very sparsely inhabited (cf. Pouqueville, Voyage de la Grèce, p. 307, and BSA XV, 224) is being righted, as the islands lose in numbers while Hermione, Porto Cheli, Koilada, and Kranādi grow. As a consequence, many of the remains described even forty years ago are no longer to be seen, and few of the forty-eight inscriptions assigned to Hermione in IG IV¹ are to be found (cf. Marcadé, BCH LXXIII [1949], 537). A returned American is vigorously improving his fields on the Bouzeika and is going to great effort to remove the great conglomerate blocks in his way. At Petrothalassa one is faced with two equally strong possibilities: either a number of ancient ruins were wrongly located in the nineteenth century, or they have completely disappeared.

This is a common enough story in modern Greece, but in many areas some record has been made of the vanishing antiquities within the past hundred years and excavation has often gone farther. In the Hermiticid no real description of the visible remains has ever been given. Only once has excavation been undertaken: in 1908 Philadelphus cursorily investigated the Bisti, the necropolis of Hermione and that of the city on the Bouzeika near Porto Cheli, and the bronze age site at Iliokastron. These excavations were never published. A brief survey of the results appeared in *Α. Φιλοδελφεύς, "Αἱ ἐν Ἑρμιόνιδι Ἀνασκαφαί," Πρακτικά* 1909, pp. 172-81), but no plans, drawings, or pictures were appended and no measurements (e. g., for the blocks and column drums of the temple, which have since disappeared) or detailed descriptions were given. In the case of

the temple this is particularly lamentable since a reconstruction on paper might otherwise have been possible. Some of this information might be recovered by an examination of Mr. Philadelphus' original notes, which he has expressed his willingness to make available. Subsequently, A. Frickenhaus and W. Müller published notes on a trip through the Argolid in 1909 (Ath. Mitth. XXXVI [1911], 23 ff.). Of special value is their printing of a plan of the immediate district of Hermione (Tafel I), the result of Philadelphus' work; this is the basis of our Plan II.

In January, February, and June of 1950 we made three trips, none lasting for more than a week, to the Hermionid and the Epidauras border. All our work was in the area west of a line drawn between Didymo and Hermione, thus excluding Iliokastro, Thermisi, and the Troezene border. Our chief concern is to record what was actually seen by us, with measurements and photographs as often as possible, and to report hearsay information that might prove useful in the future. Some fuller notes on particular problems have also been included. A brief bibliography will be found at the end of the paper; all references to items in the bibliography, will, whenever possible, give simply the author's name and the page number. We should like to call special attention to the interesting and valuable work of *Ἀντώνιος Μηλιαράκης, Γεωγραφία Πολιτική Νέας καὶ Ἀρχαίας τοῦ Νομοῦ Ἀργολίδος καὶ Κορινθίας* (Athens, 1886). We are grateful to Dr. J. H. Kent for introducing us to this interesting and beautiful district.

APPROACHES TO THE HERMIONID

Pausanias went to the Hermionid after visiting Troezenia (ii. 34. 6--36. 4). He describes the route over the mountains from Troezene up to the sanctuary of Demeter Thermasia, usually thought to be in the general neighborhood of modern Thermisi. He then records a distance of 80 stades from the sanctuary to the akra Skyllaion and relates a myth connected with the cape. The cape he had in mind can hardly be any other than the most easterly point of the Peloponnesos at the end of the chain of mountains running east from Mt. Didymo. The identification of this cape with Skyllaion would seem to be confirmed by Skylax (Periplus 51) and by the use of the name Skylli by mariners in the past two centuries. But Boblaye (p. 59) ascertained from a Captain Peytier that the name was unknown locally and this was confirmed by Miliarakis (p. 257); the latter attributed the use of this name to the Venetian Veronelli, while the former pointed out that it had been in use by modern geographers since Sophianus. (This is not an uncommon phenomenon in Greece--the application of ancient names, correctly or incorrectly, by modern cartographers, whence they come into general use.) Furthermore, Strabo (viii. 373) and Pliny (N. H. iv. 5. 9) take Skyllaion to be west of Hermione, not east. Finally, the description of the sea journey from this cape to Hermione, with ~~which~~ Pausanias resumes his narrative, does not make sense if the cape is supposed to be to the east, but makes good sense starting from the west, as we shall see shortly.

It thus appears that the cape Pausanias had in mind to the east of Thermisi and from which he starts his sea coast description may or may not have been called Skyllaion; it is not impossible that there were two capes

Skyllaion (there were two rivers Sellas on the borders of Epidaurus, one on the Hermione border, IG IV². 1. 75. 14, the other on the Corinthian border, IG IV². 1. 71. 4). That he knew of a cape to the east and had its distance from the Thermasia sanctuary approximately correct is clear enough. Frazer objected that the distance of 80 stades was too short; judging by the British Army map, sheet L9, the distance from western Thermisi to the cape is closer to 20 kilometers, i. e. 100 stades. However, we were told in Hermione of a paved area of "Cyclopean" blocks (the euthynteria of the temple of Poseidon on the Bisti was compared) lying some 500 meters inland from the second cape between Thermisi and the modern hamlet of Plepi. Mention was also made of an ancient statue associated with a pigadi and an old church at Plepi. Some forty years ago an archaeologist (Philadelphus?) heard of and looked for the paved area but failed to find it because of the dense dasos; later a fire burned off the undergrowth and the father of our informant rediscovered the site. The presence of bases with holes for feet (like the dedications on the Bisti) prompted local search for the missing agalmata, without success. This sounds very much like a sanctuary site, and the distance from Plepi to the cape is close to the 80 stades given by Pausanias.

Various attempts have been made to square Pausanias' sea coast account with a starting point to the east of Hermione. They are conveniently summarized by Frazer (III, 291 ff.). The most ingenious is that of Boblaye (p. 59) and Leake (Pel. 279 ff.): Pausanias is made to mistake Hydra for the mainland (there are at least 8 kilometers of open water) and sail all the way around the back of the island before approaching Hermione from the only direction that accords with his landmarks! Such is the desperateness of the case that this is the only workable

Hydra

Doko Mouzaki

Trikeri

Harbor
KamposBisti
Hermione
PronKappari Bay
Magoula

Fig. 1: View of Hermione and Environs from Cuckoo Mountain

scheme if the description starts from the east. We should realize, however, that none of Pausanias's sea coast account is likely to be first hand; he has given most of the land route to Hermione; it is incredible that he should then walk some 20 kilometers to the cape and then take a boat along the front or around the back of Hydra to Hermione! Surely what happened was that Pausanias himself went all or most of the way by land. At the point where he digresses on Cape Skyllaion he appended an account, received at second hand, of the sea coast from a point to the west of Hermione. The error may have arisen from a different identification of Skyllaion by his source. That he had no real understanding of this borrowed account is clear from his impossible description of a crescent-shaped beach just before Hermione as coming *μετὰ ταύτην*, the only available feminine antecedent being the island of Hydra, where the identification of Bouporthmos (Mouzaki), Aperopia (Doko), and Hydrea (Hydra) are quite certain. The crescent beach can only be that around Kappari Bay to the south of Hermione (see fig. 1), since the short beach

at the end of the north harbor scarcely shows farm the sea. No matter which beach it is, to say that it comes "after Hydra" is nonsense. This is not to say that the description as a whole does not seem reasonable, provided it is taken from a point ~~to~~ the west of Hermione. After several trips around these coasts we feel that there is no doubt about the correct explanation. It was first suggested by Lolling (Ath. Mitth. IV [1879], 107 ff; cf. the map in Miliarakis); we shall present it briefly with some extra comments. The account starts from, say, Cape Thynni, the first headland after leaving Koilada Bay (ancient Mases); first comes another cape, Boukephala, reasonably Cape Koraki, the headland west south west of Kranidi. This may be the same Boukephala as that in IG IV². 1. 122. 99, a sanitatio inscription from Epidaurus.

Next come islands:

1. Halioussa, which Pausanias says forms a harbor convenient for anchoring ships. Miliarakis and Svoronos (RIAN X [1907], 24) identified it with the small island and anchorage of ~~Chinit~~sa, just beyond the entrance to Porto Cheli, separated from the mainland by a wide salt lake (Ververonda) and connected only by narrow necks of sand (it is altogether possible that it was an island in antiquity); the harbor formed would then be the excellent anchorage of Porto Cheli. Frazer found this one of the chief objections to Lolling's explanation; our figures 2 and 3 show, however, how little removed from an island it still is. Indeed, the British Army map, sheet L8, calls it Nisi Portochelion while the Cheliotas today refer to it simply as "to nisi"; how much more of an island would it have been to a mariner who could not see the narrow strip of sand that connected it with the mainland. Finally, there is the name

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*Fig. 2: Spit between
"Tò Nisi" and Porto Cheli,
seen from the East.*

itself, Halioussa, which with great probability refers to the salt flats to the north of it (cf. Burchner on Halonnesos in RE, Suppl. III, 850).

2. Pityoussa, identified with the pine island of Spetsas (officially Spetsai), which seems to preserve the ancient name; the proclitic sigma is the result of the same tendency that makes the accusative the demotic form of the name today--one goes to (se, s') a place--and is seen in seventeenth and eighteenth century referenced to nearby Hydra as Sydra or Sidra (cf. various maps in the Gennadaion Library, e. g., that of G. deLisle, 1700). Unfortunately, the name can have been introduced (prior to the prefixing of the sigma) by Venetian mariners who got the name, through Renaissance geographers, from Pliny (N. H. iv. 12; 19). Fortunately Pliny's placing of Pityoussa ^{Gulf} in the Argolic, i. e. west of Hermione, assures us that we are on the right track, and the distinctive heavy growth of pines is further support for the identification. Spetsas was inhabited from Roman times at least (cf. Soteriou, *Πρακτικά*, 1937, 1938, 1939-48; and JDAI LVII (1942), 145-47).

3. "The third they call Aristerai" (Aristeras, MSS; Aristeran, Schubart). Aristerai, in the plural, may refer to Spetsapoulo just south of Spetsas and the small islands just to the east of it. Spetsapoulo was in the

nineteenth century more usually called Arasteri (Lalling) or Rasteri (Miliarakis), but once again an application of Pliny may be responsible.

For "Kolyergia, a cape projecting from the mainland," Cape Milianos is a likely candidate. It gives the impression of projecting a



Fig. 3 - Cape Milianos from the west.



Fig. 4 - Cape Milianos from the east.

long way out and may have projected still further in antiquity since it is sandy and considerably eroded (cf. figs. 3 and 4). The name seems to refer to its impeding character, and for small boats to beat around this exposed point must be a nuisance and a danger.

In the phrase *νήσος Τρίκωνα καλουμένη*, the last word is surely added because the island's name comes from its shape. Lying some distance off Cape Milianos, but clearly visible because of its height and shape, is the island of Trikeri (cf. fig. 1). The identification appears certain. More doubtful is the suggestion of Boblaye (63) and Leake (Travels in the Morea [1830], I, 464) that Pliny's Tiparenius (N. H. iv. 19. 5) is an error or a linguistic modification of Trikrana Nisos.

"Bouporthmos, a mountain projecting into the sea from the Peloponnesos," is universally agreed to be Cape Mouzakia. That the description is accurate can be seen from figures 1 and 26. Sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore and of Athena Promachorma were located here. The anchorage Athena

defended may have been the sheltered bay to the north, Porto Kouverta. We hope some day to have the opportunity of exploring this desolate crag for traces of the sanctuaries. The deep and fast-flowing straits between Mouzaki and Doko Island, with steep rocky crags on either side, preclude the possibility of there ever having been a veritable bouporthmos; the straits alone may have won for the headland the name "ox-ford," and the shape of the mountain is almost bovine. (Is Mouzaki a corruption of the Albanian mouzati, "bull"?)

"An island called Aperopia lies off Bouporthmos, and not far from that another island, Hydrea." The chain of Mouzaki, Doko, Hydra, fits perfectly. Aperopia we explain as the Dorian form of a word meaning "deception," a common island name today. (Cf. *Ἀπεροπέυς = ἡπεροπευτής*, Etym. Magn. 433. 45; cf. *ἡπεροπεύω*, "to cheat.") From some angles it is next to impossible to distinguish the island from the mainland and from Hydra (cf. figs 1 and 6a). This or the utterly desolate character of such a mass may account for its name. The identification of Hydrea with Hydra offers no difficulty. (For the settlement there of Samian exiles, cf. Hdt. iii. 59.) The crescent-shaped beach leading up to the promontory of Hermione, the Bisti (Albanian for "tail"), has been mentioned above.

Pausanias, then, came overland from Troezen by way of Eileoi and the sanctuary of Demeter Thermasia. To a digression on the cape to the east he appends a description of the sea coast which properly started from a point to the west of Hermione. After visiting and being impressed with the antiquities of Hermione, Pausanias' next destination was apparently Mases (modern Koilada; for the identification of this site and that of Halike,

i. e. Halieis, see below, pp. 51 f.), to which there was a direct road from Hermione. However, on being told that there was a sanctuary of Apollo at the foot of Cuckoo Mountain, and that--even if he turned left from the direct road, onto the road to Halike that ran between Pron and Cuckoo-- he could still proceed to Mases by another road without retracing his steps, he decided to investigate the sanctuary, which turned out to be a ruin without doors, roof, or image. This is the most reasonable inference to be drawn from his account of these places (ii. 36). It is clear that he himself saw the temple of Apollo, and almost as evident that he went to Mases. If, as seems probable, the temple of Apollo was located at the head of the Kappari Valley south of Hermione, the alternate route to Mases must have run along the south side of Mt. Cuckoo, possibly joining the direct road in the neighborhood of modern Kranidi (cf. Miliarakis' map and the British Army map, sheet L3). Besides the sanctuary of Apollo at the foot of Cuckoo Mountain, Pausanias mentions a sanctuary of Zeus at the top. He does not describe this, and it is improbable that the busy periegete climbed all the way up to see what little there must have been there (see below, p. 46). It is also apparent that he decided against visiting Halike. He must have heard in Hermione that it was deserted; and since, not being an early settlement, it was not likely to have had sacred spots that survived the desertion, there was no reason for him to go out of his way to see the site. Pausanias, it need hardly be remarked, was a tourist and an antiquarian rather than an archaeologist.

Of Mases he has three things to say: it was mentioned in the Homeric catalogue, it was used as a port by the Hermianians, and on the right there is a "road" from Mases to Cape Struthus. Discussion of that border region will be left to a separate section (see below, pp. 88 ff.).

Here we may observe that Pausanias certainly took ship from Koilada to Asine (there is a daily venzini between Koilada *and* Nauplio today). Firsthand experience with the border country permits us to say that no man in his right mind would walk from Koilada to Asine when he could take a boat. Furthermore, if he had actually traversed the territory, one would expect mention of the district between the border and Asine, inhabited in Roman times (see below, p 89~~4~~), as well as of some places lying between Koilada and the border. All that he says of the Hermionid to the north and west of Koilada can have been got at secondhand; moreover, his distances for this area are altogether impossible (the fault, to be sure, may lie with the manuscripts). Whereas Skylax records that some 30 stades of Argolic Gulf belonged to Epidaurus, Pausanias speaks of ancient Asine, a purely Argive territory, coming immediately beyond the Hermionid; the border inscription favors Skylax here. We may conclude then that Pausanias on leaving Hermione went straight to Mases, except for a brief and disappointing detour to see a ruined temple. At Mases (Koilada) he received some information about Didyma (Didymo) and the border country, and took a boat directly to Asine.

Unmentioned by Pausanias are the overland routes to Epidaurus. We know from the story of ^acure from Epidaurus (IG IV². 1. 129. 19 ff.) that there existed in the third century B. C. an hamaxitos dromos from Epidaurus to Halieis in the Hermionid: a man of Halieis with eye trouble visited the sanctuary of Asclepius without success; only on his *return home* did the snake appear and lick his eyes, having wound itself around the axle of the hamaxa and journeyed to Halieis. Where was this *road*?

Pausanias' path ~~to~~ Cape Struthus lay presumably along the coast up to the Iria plain; it is extremely rough and it leads to the hieron of Epidaurus only by a round-about way. We need not consider it in this connection. The next pass lies to the northwest of the Didymo valley. It ascends steeply over the mountains between Anamesa Malias and ^KGelpesi (the latter name, at least, is used only by the Didymiotes; the more recent non-Albanian settlers in the Bedeni valley do not know it). It ascends equally steeply to the small upland plain of Malavria and thence either to the monastery of Hagios Demetrios tou Avgou, the narrow river valley below, and eventually Iria, or to ^PSelei to the north and thence to the ^{Trakha}~~Trakha~~ valley leading up to the hieron. But it is not the most direct route to ^PSelei, and so to the hieron, from Didyma, and its importance in modern times comes rather ~~from~~ its leading to Nauplio by way of the monastery (it was the route taken by the Expédition Scientifique, Blouet, II [1833], 174). There is no question of there having been a wagon road here. The most direct route to Epidaurus from Didymo takes the easier pass to the north along the slopes of Mt. Didymo and its twin peak, Megalo Vouni; this is the pass the projected motor road will cross. The candidacy of this route is reinforced by the discovery by the people of Didymo of a stretch of roughly paved road some four meters below the surface, running north-south near the chapel of Hagia Kyriaki on the east side of the Didymo plain. The area around this chapel regularly yields a great number of ancient fragments; the level of the plain has risen greatly since

antiquity (see below, pp. 98~~8~~). We have not, however, crossed this pass ourselves, and the local people were very sceptical of our suggestion that a wagon road had led up to Lygourio (the hieron) in ancient times. They referred us rather to the traces of an ancient road, with the tracks of wagon wheels still visible in the rock, near Karakazi or Iliokastron, the ancient Eileoi, north north east of Hermione; this route leads into Troezenia to the east of Mt. Didymo and near the paleokastron at Choriza, reported by several writers (Gell, Boblaye, Miliarakis) but never described. (An informant, sophisticated in the distinctions between ancient and medieval construction by virtue of the latter's use of mortar, assured us that it was Venetian. Gebauer calls it Byzantine but suggests that it was originally a Mycenaean watch tower, AA [1938], p. 561.) Of the various possibilities this route makes the best sense. It will be remembered that Pausanias' journey from Troezene also led through Eileoi; thence, the route would lead to the older city of Hermione before going to Halieis. In the absence of first-hand observation we are inclined to trust the local opinion that a wagon road would have been practical here and that there are actually traces of one.

II

HERMIONE



*Fig. 5 - Hermione
(cf. Fig. 1)*

Figures 5 and 6 and Plan II give a good idea of the main outlines of the town and immediate surroundings of Hermione, situated between two excellent harbors. The small northern harbor--the one in use today--is protected on the north by a bare rocky mountain sloping directly into the sea, and on the south and southeast by the narrow curving promontory of limestone now called the Bisti (Albanian, "tail"). On this promontory was the ancient city of the Hermionians. By Pausanias' time the town had moved westward, to approximately the location of the modern town, at the foot and on the lower eastward slopes of the hill called in ancient times the Pron (Paus. ii. 34. 11), and now known as stous mylous from its ruined windmills. The Bisti is in fact a projection of the Pron, and has ~~on it~~ two very low hills: one occupying most of the eastern half of the peninsula, the other near its base, forming a slight hump in the south coastline. The modern road from Hermione to Kranidi follows the foot of the Pron on the north, and

probably coincides for some distance with the ancient "direct road to Mases" (Paus. ii. 35. 11 and 36. 1).

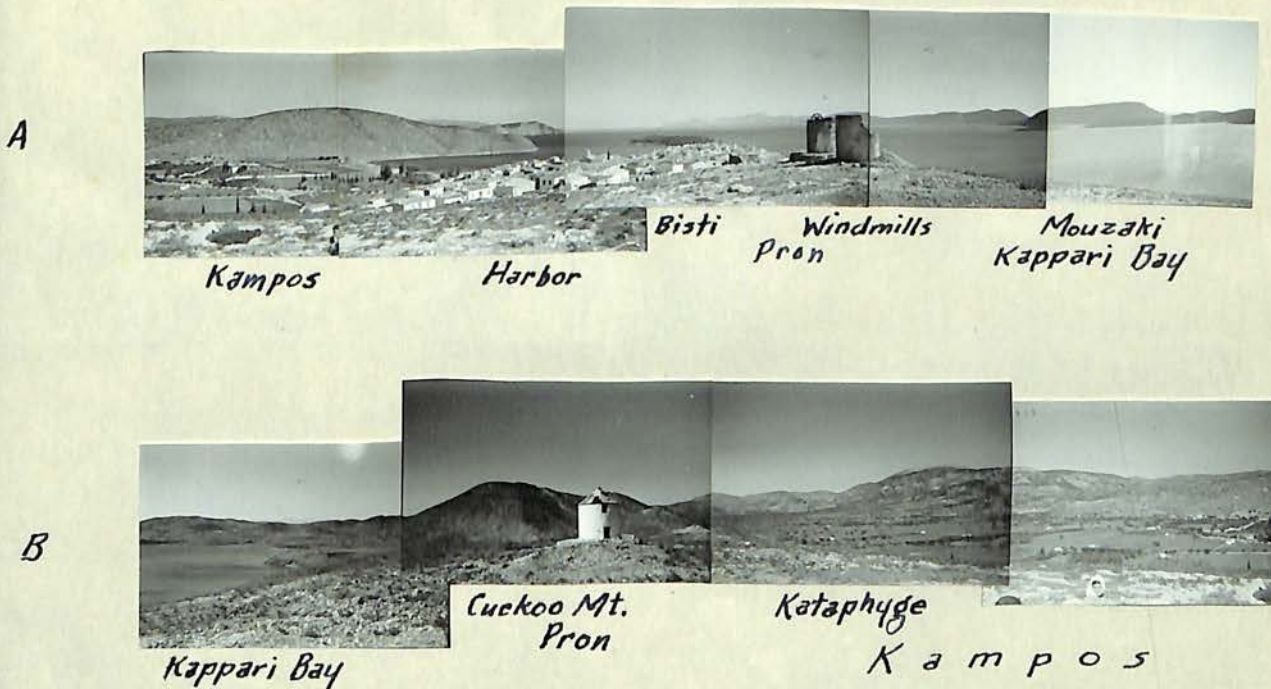


Fig. 6 - Panorama from the Pron: A, looking east; B, looking west.

To the north of the Pron, and for some distance to the west, stretches the fertile plain now called the Kampos, bounded by mountains on north, south, and west. There is a gap, on the level of the plain, between the Pron and the next mountain to the west, Prophet Ilias (ancient Mt. Thornax or Coccygios, "Cuckoo Mountain," Paus. ii. 36. 1 f.). To the south is a broad and scarcely less fertile plain, the Kappari Valley, lying along the shore of the other harbor of Hermione--a harbor larger and less closely sheltered than the first, but still calm and providing good anchorage--



Fig. 7- Kappari Bay and Valley from south shore at base of Bisti. White buildings in valley are convent of H. Anargyroi.

(see fig. 7), and protected on the south by a peninsula branching off from the long promontory ending in a blunt mountain, Cape Mouzaki. Near the northwest shore of this harbor, a little distance beyond the point where the coastline leaves the foot of the Pron to swing southward, and at the

very edge of the plain, rises the prehistoric mound known today as Magoula.

Of the nineteenth-century travellers to Hermione, Curtius (1852) offers by far the most complete catalogue of the extant ruins; Gell's cursory though entertaining account (1810) is more concerned with contemporary customs; and Leake (1846) devotes himself almost exclusively to discussion of the route of Pausanias in the area. There is no evidence that Bursian's account (1868-72) is based on first-hand observation, still less that of the Guide Joanne (1891). Curtius' catalogue (pp. 457 f.) is worth summarizing here. On the Bisti he saw the ruins of a tower near the sea (modern); blocks partly in the water and also traces of an ancient mole in the northern harbor; on the ridge of the promontory, the pavement of a temple 100 feet long and immediately behind it an 80-foot-

long pavement of an earlier period; many cisterns cut in the native rock; and various blocks in the chapels of H. Nikolaos and H. Ioannes. Immediately above the southern harbor, he saw ten rows of seats of a theater of brick and mortar, already largely destroyed by a rise in water level. Curtius seems to have been the first to suggest that the church of H. Taxiarches succeeded to the site of the temple and sanctuary of Demeter Chthonia. Of these ruins, the 80-foot pavement, behind the temple, the ancient mole, and the theater had apparently disappeared by the beginning of the present century, although Frazer's second-hand account implies that the first two were still extant in his day.

In 1908, excavations were conducted in Hermione by the Greek Archaeological Society under the direction of A. Philadelphus. These were devoted largely to demolishing the medieval wall and towers near the chapel of H. Nikolaos, and uncovering the foundations of the chapel itself. This work, though it proved fruitful of inscribed statue bases (see Peek, Ath. Mitth. 1941, 69 ff. and Marcade, ^{BCH} XXIII, 1949, 537), was never completed, witness, for example, an undoubtedly inscribed marble base still firmly cemented, roughly-finished back up, inscribed face down, in what remains of the northernmost tower. Philadelphus also cleared the foundations of the large temple on the Bisti, and had the few remaining architectural blocks moved to the chapel of H. Nikolaos, where, owing to a rebuilding of the chapel, none of them are distinguishable today; included among these were included two column drums found built into a wall on the northeast shore. None of these vanished members are described in the very cursory excavation

report. This expedition also uncovered at the end of the Bisti a rough "dromos" and part of a curved structure. The rectangular blocks on the northeast shore, partly in the water (presumably those seen by Curtius), Philadelphus would like to identify as the temple of Poseidon, "unfortunately completely destroyed" (for the excavator's objections to accepting the common identification of the large temple foundations as those of the Bisti temple of Poseidon, see below, p. 29). Finally, in this same campaign, the ancient necropolis was located on the northern slopes of the Pron and along the road to Kranidi. The graves on the slopes had been previously plundered, but those along the road yielded innumerable dolls, mirrors and pots buried with the bodies in sarcophagi or slab graves. Ninety-eight temachia pelina of these finds were taken to the museum at Nauplio. The work of excavation has been unofficially continued by the local inhabitants.

In 1909, the area was visited by A. Frickenhaus and W. Mueller, who were the first to report a "Mycenaean necropolis" on the mound called Magoula. For our conclusion that the site is neither a necropolis nor exclusively Mycenaean, see below, p. 24.

Of the two most recent general descriptions of the area, Frazer's is simply a convenient compilation of early sources (especially Curtius), while that of Bölte gives evidence of careful consideration of all the previous reports and also perhaps of first-hand observation.

For example, Bölte rightly corrects Bursian and Frazer for referring to the Pron as the ancient acropolis, pointing out that it lay outside the city walls. He also dates the contents of the necropolis--broadly described by Philadelphus as "in use for about one thousand years"--as generally not older than the fifth century, and mostly of the third to the first centuries B.C.

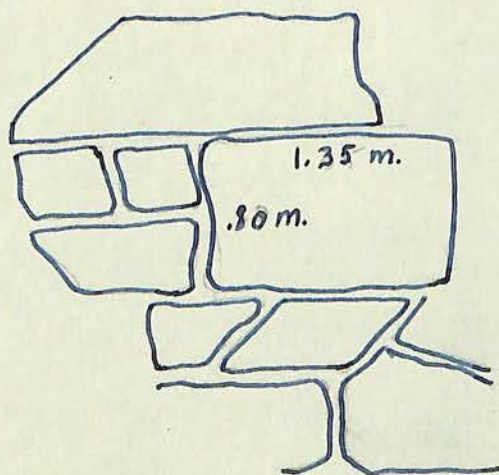
Of hitherto unreported or barely mentioned antiquities seen by us, the only ones worth mentioning here are a large conglomerate foundation near the base of the Bisti; three rows of conglomerate blocks running into the sea on the shore of the south harbor; a number of late Roman and Byzantine mosaics; and several unpublished inscriptions.

A. THE ANTIQUITIES OF HERMIONE

Walls: The remains of the circuit wall of the ancient city of Hermione are mentioned by several of the travellers, described by none. According to Pausanias, Hermione was surrounded by a wall (ii. 34. 11); he also mentions (35. 11) a gate through which a direct road led to Mases. A little northwest of the present quai, and about 50 meters from the sea, are preserved three stretches of ancient wall which from their position and direction seem to relate to this gate.

1. About fifteen meters from the sea, along the Kranidi road, is a fragmentary stretch of limestone polygonal wall partly built into the garden wall of a house and running east-west.

Another good section of what was undoubtedly the defense wall of the city now forms part of the cellar wall in the house of Antonio Papabasileios, just southeast of H. Panagia church. This is probably the stretch mentioned by Frickenhaus and Müller as the highest point in the city defenses, 30 paces east of Panagia. It consists of a 15-meter-long north-south portion which turns west for three meters at the north end. The entire stretch is solid and visible to a height of 3 or 4 meters. The material seemed to be a reddish limestone. Owing to the darkness of the cellar, we were unable to take photographs. We can offer only the following rough sketch of a small section, to give some idea of the masonry and the size of the blocks.



It will be readily noticed that the style of this wall is quite different from those just described. The general effect is more massive, though unfortunately it was not possible to measure the thickness of the blocks. The masonry is irregular trapezoidal with a rough or quarry face. That this wall may well be contemporary with the polygonal wall is supported by Scranton's remarks on the style: ". . . the intentional use of irregular trapezoidal masonry will probably be seen to fall within the same chronological limits as polygonal work, or to the last

seventy-five years of the fifth century. Toward the end of the fifth century it becomes almost isodomic" (p. 98).

At the northeast corner of the Bisti, about 60 meters from the tip and 5 meters up from the sea, is a part of the ancient defense wall of the promontory, in two parts: 1) two ashlar blocks (which may well be part of a trapezoidal wall); and 2) about five



*Fig. 9 - Wall on north
shore of Bisti*

meters in length of trapezoidal masonry standing in part to a height of three or four courses (fig. 9). The combined length of these two stretches and the gap between them is about 15 meters. The blocks are quarry faced; the largest measures .90 m.

long by .45 m. high by .35 m. deep. The material is that of the native rock on which the wall stands--grey limestone heavily veined with marble.

All along the north side of the Bisti are considerable stretches of a wall of irregular limestone blocks topped by rubble and mortar. The work is inferior to that of the other stretch, and the wall has usually been assigned to the medieval-modern period; but the style is roughly the same as that of the other (in the lower courses), and these may well belong to the ancient wall. We have no photographs, but the general appearance of these stretches is much like that of the irregular trapezoidal wall at *Messene*, illustrated in Scranton, figure 12, page 72.

The unusual character of these defenses consists in their exclusion of the nearest natural, high, strong point, the Pron. Not only is the Prân--so obviously an acropolis as to have misled Bursian and Frazer--outside of the defense system, but the system actually runs across its slopes. An attacker on the Pron would be in a good position above the city. The particularly heavy wall at the highest point of the village may be in consideration of this. Why was the Pron left out? It is a long hill and only part could have been included without extending the defenses unmanageably. As the system actually worked, only a short stretch of wall on the land side was needed and the ^tstrategy of the defense did not require the Pron. The weak spots of Hermione were the two exposed beaches on either side of the Bisti. An enemy was likely to come by sea, as did the Athenians in 430 (Thuc. II. 56. 5). The land approaches to the Hermionid were difficult, and Epidaurus, though squabbling over the border, was usually alligned with Hermione on the side of Sparta against Athens and Argos. Hermione was a nautical city. The richer Troezene contributed 1000 hoplites to Hermione's 300 at Plataea (Hdt. IX. 28), but only 5 to Hermione's 3 triremes at Salamis (Hdt. viii. 43). By strongly defending the Bisti, the Hermionians could, in the narrow waters of the northern harbor, protect the beach opening onto the rich Kampos with only a few ships. The wider and more exposed bay to the south was a greater problem. We suggest that the foundations of boat houses (see below, p. 49) found by us at the northwest corner of this bay relate to the naval defense of the valley; other



ships may have been stationed at the ormos Kouverta beneath Mouzaki (Bouporthmus) under the protection of Athena Promachorma. Once these two beaches were defended, Hermione was relatively safe. Across the peninsula, on the north coast, the beach and valley of Lambayana, leading easily to the Kampos and the rear of Hermione, was defended by a small fort (see below, p. 85~~4~~). The exposed position of the lands of Halieis, susceptible to ravaging by sea despite the security of its harbor, may account for its late settlement (not before the fifth century) and its early abandonment (by Pausanias's time, ii. 36. 1; see below, pp. 58 ff.).



A



B



C



D

Fig. 10 - Temple foundations on the Bisti: A, looking east; B, south side, looking west; C, part of east end, with remains of Byzantine apse; D, north side, looking east.

Temples and Sanctuaries: The principal ruin on the Bisti is the euthynteria of peristyle, pronaos, cella, and opisthodomos of a temple 39 m. long by 20 m. wide (Philadelphus' dimensions, 33 m. by 29 m., are incorrect) of hard gray limestone (see fig. 10). The pronaos measures 3.6 m. from front to back, the cella 20 m., and the opisthodomos 4.6; the width of these rooms is 8.8 m. The masonry has polygonal joints, the foundations of the cella being one block wide, those of the peristyle two or three blocks wide from outside to inside. In the peristyle, the joints between

the outer and the next row of blocks form a continuous, though very uneven, line. No clamps or dowels were used in the foundations. The width of the euthynteria of the peristyle, very uneven on the inner edge, averages 2.45 m. on the sides, 2.70 m. on the ends. A cutting one or two centimeters deep-- $.98 \text{ m.}$ ^{wide} _n on the north side, $.91 \text{ m.}$ on the south, 1.28 on the east, and 1.15 on the west--along the outer edge of the upper surface, presumably marks the line of the inside edge of the first step.



Fig. 11 - Polygonal blocks near northwest corner of temple.

A meter or two to the west of the northwest corner is an east-west row of five upright polygonal blocks (fig. 11), probably part of a precinct wall. As noted above, all other remains of this temple have vanished, as has the 80-foot pavement seen by Curtius ~~seen by Curtius~~ behind the temple. There are slight remains

of the apse of a Byzantine church just inside the foundations at the east end of the temple (fig. 10c).

In support of his theory that this is the temple of Athena, Philadelphus cites its position on a high ridge and its length (it is a "hecatompedon"), comparing it in both these respects to the hecatompedon on the Acropolis at Athens. Though we cannot accept these points as evidence for identification, comparison with the "old temple of Athena" on the Athenian Acropolis is not unrewarding. The ratio of length to width--roughly 2:1--is similar for the two temples; but these proportions are common in the late archaic and

early classical period (cf. the "Chronological List of Greek Temples" in Anderson, Spiers, Dinsmoor, Architecture of Ancient Greece, especially the Basilica at Paestum, the temple of Zeus Olympios at Acragas, the Tavole Palatine at Metapontum, the Aphaia temple on Aegina, all of the late sixth or early fifth century). Another point of comparison is the construction of the foundations with polygonal joints, found in both the Hermione temple and the old Athena temple, but by no means peculiar to these two, nor even to any particular period. The only conclusion to be derived from these comparisons is the safe conjecture of an early date for our ruins--late sixth or early fifth century.

The temple occupies a prominent position on the ridge of the high eastern half of the promontory. It has usually been identified as the temple of Poseidon, but since Philadelphus rejected this identification the question perhaps merits discussion.

The temples and sanctuaries of the promontory, as enumerated by Pausanias, were as follows: a sanctuary of Poseidon, a temple of Athena, temples to Helios, the Charites, and Serapis and Isis, and a precinct for the secret rites of Demeter. Of these, it is scarcely necessary to consider any but Poseidon and Athena as candidates for the temple in question. The sanctuary of Poseidon is mentioned three times by Pausanias. In describing the shoreline of Hermione, he says (ii. 34. 9):

... αἰγιαλός τε παρήκει τῆς ἠπείρου μηνοειδῆς καὶ ἀκτὴ μετὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐπὶ Προσίδιον, ἐκ θαλάσσης μὲν ἀρχομένη τῆς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς, προήκουσα δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν.

Though the language is slightly confusing, the meaning is clear enough: the spit runs eastward into the sea, and there is a sanctuary of Poseidon off toward the end of it. The second passage says substantially the same thing (34. 10):

ἔστι δὲ σφισι καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἱερά αὐτόθι, Ποσειδῶνος μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς τῆ ἀρχῆ, προελθοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης εἰς τὰ μετέωρα ναὸς Ἀθηναῖς, παρὰ δὲ αὐτῷ σταδίου θεμέλια.

Finally, in locating the city of his own day, Pausanias says that it is about four stades from the *ἄκρα, ἐφ' ἣ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τὸ ἱερόν* (34. 11).

Philadelphus bases his objections chiefly on Pausanias' language: our temple foundations, he argues, cannot be spoken of as *ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς τῆ ἀρχῆ*, since they are about 300 meters from the end of the promontory; and he also makes much of the first passage quoted, for the same reason. He would place the sanctuary (not necessarily a temple, but a hieron) of Poseidon literally at the very end of the promontory, and suggests as its remains a few rectangular blocks, some of them fallen into the sea, on the northeast shore. But surely it is unlikely that Pausanias would in that case characterize the promontory as that "on which is the sanctuary of Poseidon," ignoring the great temple which stood on its most prominent point. The clue, if clue is needed, perhaps lies in the point of view implied in the second passage. It might be pointed out the translation "farther inland" (Frazer and Jones) for *προελθοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης εἰς τὰ μετέωρα* is not only inaccurate but mis-

leading. The phrase means "as one comes from the sea toward the high places," and when one does that one comes **up** from the harbor, not from the end of the spit; Pausanias has finished with the shoreline and has landed, as the rest of this section shows. Ta meteora might be either the Pron or the hill which faces the quai (the ancient dock can scarcely have occupied any very different position from the modern). From the point of view of one landing in the harbor, the large temple rising from a high ridge some distance off to the left, with the land behind it falling away to the sea, would most naturally be described as *ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς τῆ ἀρχῆς*.

This is straining at a gnat. The salient fact remains the admittedly subjective one that this rocky eminence, commanding the sea on three sides, is the ideal location for a temple of the god of the sea.

As for the temple of Athena, the hitherto unreported foundations mentioned above (p. 21) may well belong to it. They are on a rise of ground about 50 m. southeast of the quai, in the direction of the western hill of the Bisti. About 10 by 20 meters of solid pavement are visible outside, and there is more inside the adjoining house. An average block measures 1.40 by .85 m. These remains, to judge from their appearance and material (soft yellowish conglomerate) formed part of the underground foundations of a large building. A few meters to the east a rectangular limestone block projects from the ground, suggesting that this was the material of the superstructure. These remains deserve further

study. There is no trace of the stadium, of which only themelia remained in Pausanias' time, but there would be room for one in this neighborhood, either parallel with the north or south shore of the Bisti, or perhaps a little farther away, stretching north and south across the low shoulder near H. Ioannes.

Having located the two chief sanctuaries of the Bisti, Pausanias quickly enumerates the others. Of these, only the periboloi megalon lithon, in which were performed secret rites to Demeter, have left a possible trace, in the form of four statue bases dedicated to Demeter Chthonia found in the medieval towers near H. Nikolaos (cf. IG IV¹.1. 683, 684; Marcadé, loc. cit., and one unpublished). The large sanctuary of Demeter Chthonia was on the Pron, but it is not unlikely that special rites of the same cult were performed here, in the neighborhood of the present chapel. This may have been a holy place of the cult before the building of the large sanctuary, in the city.

Pausanias enumerates several temples and sanctuaries which he saw within the Hellenistic town, located some four stades from the promontory on which the older city had stood. Since the modern town, thickly inhabited, occupies approximately the site of the Hellenistic city, it is a fruitless task to try to locate any of these sanctuaries, though there are numerous inscriptions and architectural members scattered throughout the town.

The sanctuaries mentioned by Pausanias as being on Mt. Pron are those of Demeter (with a temple), a temple of Klymenos, and a temple of Ares, as well as a sanctuary of Hera, which is specifi-

cally located at the top of the mountain.

In the neighborhood of H. Taxiarches, the principal church of the modern town, is a complex of remains which must relate to the ancient complex of sanctuaries of Demeter Chthonia and Klymenos. Most travellers, from Leake to Frickenhaus and Müller, have noted what appeared to be temple foundations under H. Taxiarches. Unfortunately, owing to alterations in the church and its yard, these foundations are no longer visible. However, there are still various minor ancient remains about the church (in front of the church, a monolithic column .38 m. in diameter and over 3 m. high; beside this, a small pillar .10 m. square, etc.). Curtius and his successors were supported by two dedications to Demeter found in the church, in their supposition that H. Taxiarches had succeeded to the site of the temple of Demeter Chthonia.

Immediately to the north of the church, forming the base of the south walls of a series of houses, is a white-washed stretch, one or two courses high with interruptions, of ancient wall, or perhaps only of re-used ancient blocks. From inside one of these houses, several orthostate blocks, about 2 m. long by 1 m. high, are visible in the house wall. On each block, a roughened surface is edged by a smooth band.

About 25 m. north of the church and 60 m. up from the main road, are two long east-west stretches of trapezoidal wall about 3 m. high, apparently parts of a long, continuous wall

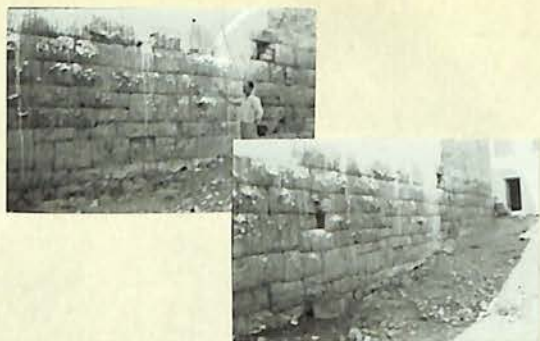


Fig. 12. Long wall on Pron, western stretch.



Fig. 13. Long wall on Pron, eastern stretch.

about 95 meters long (figs. 12 and 13). They now form the lower part of the outside walls of large buildings, and are visible only on their north face. The wall show corners turning south at either end; drafting is visible at the northeast corner. The average size of the blocks is 1.30 m. by .60 m., the material a hard gray limestone, quarry faced. The two stretches show some slight variations in style.

A. The eastern stretch, 40 m. long, is irregular trapezoidal with isodomic tendencies. The slant of the vertical sides is so slight that the effect is almost rectangular. The greatest variation in the dimensions of the blocks is in height, two long narrow blocks or series of blocks frequently continuing a course only one large block high. There are a few instances of cut or indented corners, where a course continues at a higher or lower level.

B. The western stretch, 15 m. long, is more nearly isodomic in appearance. In the lower courses the effect is almost ashlar. However, this difference seems to be due to accidental variations in the cutting and fitting of the blocks, rather than to indicate any difference in date or intention. Note that there are almost isodomic parts in the more irregular stretch, and

irregularities in the other stretch.

The style of this wall places it in roughly the same period as the city walls, i. e. in the later fifth or early fourth century. Therefore when it was built this structure stood outside the city (since it is outside of the walls), although by Pausanias' time the city had probably expanded around and beyond it.

This wall is the most impressive ruin at Hermione, and well fits Pausanias' description of the sanctuary of Demeter on the Pron as *τὸ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιον*. It has been suggested (e.g., by Frickenhaus and Müller) that the long wall belongs to the Echo Colonnade mentioned by Pausanias as to the right of the temple of Demeter (if this is the colonnade, Pausanias meant to the right of a spectator facing the temple). It seems rather massive for a colonnade in a city of no great importance, but its dimensions are equalled or surpassed by many colonnades throughout the Greek world.

Of the temples of Klymenos and Ares we saw no traces. The "places" of Klymenos and Pluto, and the Acherusian lake, *ἔπιισθεν... τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Χθονίας*, must have been a little farther up the Pron. It may seem strange that there is no sign of the lake nor of the chasm in the place of Klymenos. However, caves, chasms, and sink-holes are extremely common in the whole region; and this area is now heavily built over. There was also a sanctuary of Eileithyia inside the gate to Mases, probably at the north end of the transverse city wall (see above, p. 21).

Of the sanctuary of Hera on top of the Pron no vestige is to be found. The ground is rocky and uneven, with not so much as a rock cutting or a sherd to give a clue, and what few level places there are, are occupied today by ruined windmills.

Miscellaneous remains on the Bisti: The strangest of these is what Philadelphus called the false tholos tomb (fig. 14). Located to the south of the very tip of the promontory, just above the water's edge, this structure resembles the dromos of a pre-



cistern?? [lined w/
stucco]

Fig. 14. Three views of the "false tholos tomb."

historic tomb. About three meters high at the west end, it is made of large, very roughly hewn blocks of limestone. A slab covers the dromos at the west end; it is not clear whether the entire passage was once of the same height as this end, and covered like it; or whether, as now, the height gradually increased from east to west, the approach being uncovered. In any case, the passage is not a true dromos; instead of leading to a chamber of some sort, it ends in a blank wall at the west end. Excavations behind the structure revealed only a wall running in a line with one of the "dromos" walls, but with no corresponding wall parallel to it. The earth behind the dromos seemed, at the time of the excavations, to have been disturbed to a depth of about six meters, and Philadelphus suggests that there may actually have been a prehistoric

tholos tomb which had at some time been plundered and destroyed. However, we saw traces of stucco on the inside corners. Furthermore, Philadelphus, with Pausanias in mind (to the effect that the "ancient" city was on the promontory), fully expected to find prehistoric remains on the Bisti and was puzzled by the complete absence of prehistoric sherds. The reason for this becomes apparent when it is realized that the mound Magoula is a prehistoric dwelling site and not a necropolis.



Fig. 15- Curved foundation on the Bisti.

defensive tower? (Heel.)

To the north and west of this is a partially excavated curved foundation (fig. 15), about which little can be said. It is made of roughly hewn limestone blocks of irregular shape. The remains are insufficient to warrant an assignment of style.

Mosaics: The mosaics of Hermione, entirely unpublished, are all late Roman or early Byzantine. They are all concentrated in the area between the chapel of H. Ioannes--i.e. the eastern end of the present inhabited town--and the ancient city wall on the west.

A. The most complete and elaborate of the mosaics are the two in the courtyard of the house of Georgios Meintanes, just northwest of the present quai and a short distance from the ancient city gate. The better preserved floor (figs 16, 17, and 18), with animal, bird and plant motifs surrounded by borders, measures approximately 5.85 by 4.55 m. The top, or western, border of this, if there is one, is hidden under the courtyard wall. Immediately

to the east, .25 m. lower in level, and extending beyond the first mosaic to the north and south, is a second measuring over 7.50 m. in length in the courtyard. On the south it runs under the house wall, and may be seen again inside the house to a length of about 2 meters. The north and south limits of this pavement are indeterminate, and the original length may have run well over the 12 meters or so that are now discernible.. The east side is badly broken at about 1.90 meters from the west edge, so that the width cannot be determined with certainty; but the length of the pavement, and the arrangement of its designs in a series of panels each about a meter square, with borders, suggests a corridor or narrow passageway whose original width is then almost entirely preserved.

The upper mosaic, oriented toward a spectator facing west, is arranged in three panels: a long one occupying the upper half of the area between the borders; and two square panels side by side below, separated by an elaborate double-guilloche band .70 m. wide. The outside border, on the three sides on which it is visible, consists of two bands: on the inner band a guilloche pattern runs around continuously; the outer band in the north and south is decorated with a pattern of semi-circles overlapping to form curved wedges and fans; on the east this band is narrower and has a series of small, slightly overlapping rings. The total width of the border is .80 m. on north and south, .70 on the east.

In the long upper panel, a vase of highly stylized shape and decoration is flanked by two deer, each with a raised foreleg.



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18

*Three views of mosaic in courtyard
of Georgios Meintanes*

The background is broken with a pattern of vines. The panel is bordered with a double line in black. In the lower left-hand panel a conventionalized tree with parallel curving branches is flanked by two peacocks. In contrast to the comparative symmetry of these two, the third panel contains a confusion of birds of various sizes and species, as well as a snake or large worm which one of the birds is about to consume. In both lower panels, too, the background is filled in with grape and ivy leaves, tendrils and bunches of grapes. Each of these small panels is bordered by a double black line enclosing a ~~red~~-and-white checked line two tesserae wide.

There is no attempt at naturalism, perspective, or subtle shading in the figures in the panels. The figures are outlined in black and are filled in with flat areas of color or with such stylized patterns as stripes, checks, and spots. Black, red, white, and a bluish gray are the predominant colors; they are used for the borders and for most of the figures. However, the deer on the right is gray-green with horizontal purple stripes; the deer on the left is the same purple with red spots, a spot consisting of a single tessera. The tesserae, about 1 cm. square, are laid in lines, curves, and arcs which follow the outlines of the figures.

The colors and technique of the long corridor mosaic are the same as those just described. The extant border on the west has the same pattern of overlapping semi-circles that occurs on the north and south outer borders of the other mosaic. Each of the meter-square panels is filled with a different repeated geometric pattern, the motifs consisting of various arrangements

of circles and semi-circles--concentric, overlapping, or contiguous--forming curved wedges, fans, arcs, rosettes, four-pointed stars, etc., circles inscribed in squares and squares inscribed in circles; and the guilloche.

The two-dimensional manner, the large square tesserae, the motifs, and the arrangement of the designs in panels point to a rather late date, and perhaps to Oriental influence, for this set of mosaics. We are not qualified to suggest a date, but the fifth or sixth century A. D. is probably a safe enough guess. For the motifs and general spirit of the lower right-hand panel of the animal mosaic, compare, for example, a third-century floor from Antioch (Morey, The Mosaics of Antioch, Pl. VIII), and note, as an indication of considerable difference in date, the much greater realism and subtlety of the Antioch example.

B. Near the south shore of the Bisti, in the schoolyard, is preserved in a fragmentary condition about 5.50 m. by 1 m. of another mosaic. Much of the preserved surface is hidden by heaps of dirt and trash. On north, east, and west are remains of stuccoed house walls standing to a height of about .50 m. Only about a meter of the north-south width is preserved. The school building is said to house columns taken from the neighborhood of this mosaic.

Only small patches of the pattern can be made out. It consists of geometric designs set in squares, lozenges and triangles; the common rosettes, cable knots and circles occur. The colors

are red, black, white, and gray; the tesserae are about a cm. square. (For similar square and lozenge patterns, compare Hinks, Catalogue of Greek and Roman Paintings and Mosaics in the British Museum, no. 28 and fig. 96 [3rd century]; Blake, Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome,^{VIII} Pl. 35, nos. 1 and 4; Pl. 18, nos. 1 and 2.)

C. Just east of the taverna of Papamichaelis and opposite the house of the druggist lie about 8 square meters of a fragmentary mosaic in a polychrome knotted pattern with a blue and white border. Below this are visible parts of an earlier mosaic with a black and white rosette pattern.

D. In a north-south street near the base of the Bisti is a badly smashed mosaic which threatens to be completely destroyed by daily traffic. At present almost nothing is preserved except about 4.60 m. in length of an 85-m.-wide border in the "interlacing" pattern (cf. Hinks, nos. 36 and 38). The colors include, besides the usual red, black, white, and gray, a bright yellow. Each rectangle is outlined in black and filled in with another color; there is a crude attempt at "shading" in the form of a gray strip just inside the black outline on one long side of each rectangle; in the gray rectangles this strip is white.

E. Finally, there is a buried black and white mosaic whose edge is just visible for 2 or 3 cm. at a fall in ground level beside the road just east of the easternmost house on the north shore of the Bisti.

Small finds: There is a small Ionic capital from a column .22 meters in diameter, of poros or light limestone, in the house of Angeliki Koutoubali.

A small, seated, marble statuette (fig. 19), possibly of a goddess, is now in the house of Katerini Oikonomi. The head,



Fig. 19-Marble figurine

which was fitted on separately by means of a lead dowel, is missing, and the top of the statuette is rather badly broken. Its extant height is .14 m. at the back of the curved throne or chair, and .09 m. to the top of the chair arm. The figure is probably female, though this is not certain. The garments are bunched in the lap. There may

have been an animal at the right leg. The figure is reminiscent of the many "mother of the gods" figurines found in the Agora at Athens.

The Papabasileios garden, to the right of the Kranidi road just outside the town, contains a sizable collection of painted sh~~er~~ds, small vases, terra cotta figurines, pieces of bronze--including a bronze mirror and the visor of a helmet--jointed dolls, etc. The source of most of these objects is undoubtedly the ancient necropolis, in which in fact the garden is situated. Photis Papabasileios has coins, a few earrings and rings, and a glazed terra cotta pyxis top with an Aphro-

dite in relief upon it. He gave us the body of a jointed doll probably typical of those which Philadelphus reported finding in great numbers in the graves. It is of terra cotta, extant height 7.5 cm. The body is nude, female, and simply but realistically modelled. There are stumps of a neck and arms, each with a pin hole for fastening the separate movable members. The upper legs are modelled in one piece with the body, the separation between the legs being indicated by a rounded indentation. At the knees are three small projections, one with a horizontal pin hole, the other two broken off, for holding the movable lower legs.

We bought from the shoemaker, Georgios Loukas, a handful of coins found in his back yard. These range from a silver Aeginetan turtle of the early sixth century (Head, no. 316; counter-marked with a star on the turtle's back), through a bronze Sicyon dove (fourth century; BMC 138-42), a bronze Argos wolf (228-146 B. C.; BMC 138), an Elian Zeus and eagle, an Augustus Caesar, and several early Byzantine bronze coins: three of Constant I (333-350), an Anastasius I (491-518, mint of Constantinople), two of Justin II (565-78, both from the mint of ^{Thessalonica} ~~Constantinople~~), and a Tiberius II (574-78; mint of Constantinople).

We have not thought it necessary to mention the numerous marble slabs, moldings, etc. to be seen around the town.

B. THE ENVIRONS OF HERMIONE

Roads: The possible land routes to and from Hermione are limited in number by mountains and sea. The chief road in ancient times as today started west alongside of the Pron and Cuckoo Mountain; Today it leads to the chief town of the district, Kranidi; in ancient times it led directly to Mases, the modern Koilada. In ancient times there was also a ~~road to~~ Halieis, on the harbor now called Porto Cheli. Nowadays, travelling by vehicle, one must go first to Kranidi, whence there are branch roads to both Koilada and Cheli. The ancient road to Halieis can have followed the route of any of a number of paths leading over and around the Diskouri hills.

We know from Pausanias (ii. 36. 1) that there was a secondary road to Mases branching off from the Halieis road to the south of Cuckoo Mountain. This would simply have led around the back of Cuckoo to the region of Kranidi, and thence to Mases, probably joining the direct road on the way.



Fig. 20- The Kampos and, in the background, Kataphyge, the gap leading to the Didymo valley.

Finally, ~~we know~~ there was undoubtedly a road of some sort between Hermione and Didymo, through the gorge called Kataphyge, the only gap between the enclosed valley of Didymo and the region to the south (fig. 20).

Aqueduct and wells: Remains--especially a fairly good stretch of about five arches--of a Roman brick aqueduct are still to be seen along the north side of the Pron. This must have led to the fountain,--mentioned by Pausanias as made in his own day--into which the water flowed from a place called Leimon. Frickenhaus and Müller mark on their map the ruins of a Roman fountain house near the base of the Bisti, at the foot of the Pron. We did not see this, but the aqueduct in any case probably led into the town. The Leimon from which water was carried is somewhere to the south of Cuckoo Mountain, for there are slight traces of the aqueduct at the foot of the mountain leading around that side. Curtius seems to have known of a spring in that region, "a good hour on the way to Kranidi" (the nineteenth century road followed the south side of Mt. Cuckoo). Meliarakis suggested that the aqueduct had two sources, the one mentioned by Curtius and another in the large peribole near the shore toward the south end of the southern harbor.

The other fountain mentioned by Pausanias is generally identified, quite satisfactorily, as the large well now in the Papabasileios garden beside the Kranidi road--in and around which are many ancient blocks (the fountain appears in the right center of figure 20).

Sanctuary of Zeus on Cuckoo Mountain: In connection with the sanctuary of Hera on the Pron, Pausanias mentions a corresponding ~~san~~ sanctuary of Zeus on Cuckoo Mountain, the mountain some little distance to the west of the Pron. Cuckoo Mountain has two peaks,



*Fig. 21- Cuckoo Mountain (Proph. Ilias)
seen from north shore of Bisti.*



Fig. 22. Proph. Ilias chapel



*Fig. 23. North peak of
Cuckoo Mountain*

separated by a saddle (see fig. 21): the northern peak is slightly lower but sharper, the southern one long and very gradually sloping to the west. On the northern peak stands today the little chapel of Prophet Ilias (fig. 22), on a level area measuring about 14 by 10 meters, next to which the rocks which form the rest of the peak rise steep and jagged (fig. 23). There is almost no soil even on the level area around the chapel. A few nondescript sherds, rough and unglazed, were found on and near the peak; near the chapel was one piece of unmistakable black galze. In the wall of the chapel, inside the door and to the left, is incorporated a worked block, .83 m. long and .06 m. deep, with a smooth surface, rough pitted back, and rounded edge; one of the concealed surfaces may be inscribed. There are very possibly other ancient blocks in the chapel, hidden by whitewash. The sanctity of the spot may have been concentrated originally around the impressive jagged rocks. The long southern slope of the mountain yielded nothing in the way of ancient remains.

Magoula: Figure 24 (figure 1 is an enlargement of this) shows the position of the prehistoric mound known as Magoula--Frickenhaus and Müller's "Mycenaean necropolis." Its site, on a natural



↑
Fig. 24- Magoula
(on shore above
arrow).

mound close to the sea, on an excellent harbor, and on the edge of a fertile, well-protected plain, is a good one for a prehistoric dwelling site. There is no reason to call it a necropolis; the finds were simply sherds, which modern research enables us to describe in somewhat more detail than by the simple application of the general term "Mycenaean."

Without excavation and a careful study of stratification, little, of course, can be said with certainty about any sherd or group of sherds. There can be no doubt, however, that the fifty or so sherds collected by us on the site (and now included in the American School collection under the label M 14) cover a period ranging from Early Helladic to Late Helladic III. Some attempt was made to classify our sherds by comparing them with Blegen's descriptions of the pottery of Korakou and Zygouries. We offer the following with full awareness of the dangers of such classi-

fication on such a basis, but in the hope that this brief catalogue of the more distinctive pieces will give some idea of the range of styles found on the site.

To the Early Helladic period must belong at least some of the handmade pieces: no. 1 is an unslipped, gritty sherd, lightly polished, red with black mottling; no. 16, part of a large, round pot with wide, splaying rim, has a narrow slipped stripe around the top of the rim, is otherwise gritty red and poorly baked; 11, with a red glazed stripe on a white slip, seems to be part of a sauceboat, but of an exceptionally, perhaps impossibly, large one; 13 has brownish-red vertical stripes on a light wash, and very slight traces of a stripe running around the base of a handle or spout; 14, the most distinctive piece in the group, has a dull, brick-red coat with thin parallel lines and zig-zags in white; of two large, coarse splaying rim pieces, one is decorated with a row of nipples just under the rim (no. 18), the other (19) with a ribbon of adjacent squarish bumps.

To Middle Helladic we have assigned with little hesitation several pieces of Minyan ware: 20-23 are gray; 24 is brown-black ("Argive" Minyan?); and 25 is yellow; the shapes show the usual "metallic" character. The following also seem probable: 26, with a matt-painted festooned stripe; 27, broad, dull black parallel stripes and traces of curves, on buff; 33, red running quirks on buff; 35, an unslipped, horizontal handle (cf. Korakou, fig. 30, 28); and 37, a ribbon handle with festooned stripes, matt black on buff.

Of the apparently Late Helladic sherds, we mention here only ³⁹ a fine, thin, rather soft, high ribbon handle of unpainted buff; 40, 41, 42, 43, all with broad red or black glazed stripes on a buff or pinkish ground; 45, a pinkish, rough, unslipped goblet or kylix stem; 46 and 47, roughly glazed, striped round handles; and 48, thin buff ware with a red slip inside and red concentric circles or spirals on the outside.

Boat houses: On the sea shore less than ten minutes' walk south of Magoula, are three parallel rows of conglomerate blocks running east north east from under the road into the sea (fig. 25). The



Fig. 25- Northern row of blocks of "boat houses."

blocks average 1.25 m. by .65 m. in length and width. Of the northernmost and best-preserved row, about 20 blocks are visible, running for a distance of about 30 meters. The two more southern rows begin and apparently ended successively a little farther east and farther out from shore. The distance between the first and second rows

(from north to south) is about 5 m., between the second and third rows 3 m. The inequality in the width of the blocks may be due to wearing away by water.

Of the ~~any~~ coarse sherds found in the marshy land across the road, most, and quite probably all, are modern. The "foundatins" on the shore are regarded by the local inhabitants as of great antiquity.

The rows must have been part of some sort of harbor works:

docks or wharves or perhaps the approaches to ship sheds like those in the Zea harbor at Peiraeus. (See *above*, p. 25, for a suggestion as to their role in the defense system of Hermione.)

The convent of Hagioi Anargyroi at the southern foot of Cuckoo Mountain (cf. fig. 7) deserves mention. We have not visited it, but have been told that it contains many archaia; these may be ancient or only Byzantine. Some clue might be found there as to the location of the temple of Apollo at the foot of the mountain, already partially in ruins in Pausanias' day (ii. 36. 2; see *above*, p. 12). The Hagioi Anargyroi, however, Kosmas and Damion, imply the tradition of another ancient cult, that of the Dioscuri, of whom they are frequently the descendants. The hills that rise immediately behind the convent seem to have ^epreserved the very name of the Dioscuri, see p. 53 below. Mr. Costas Rhomaios, of the Folklore Archives of the National Academy, has suggested another possible indication of the cult of the Dioscuri in this region in the name of Didymoi, officially now Didyma and locally Didymos; to be sure the mountain and the village derived their name immediately from the twin peaks, but of all the twin-peaked mountains in Greece why was this particularly "The Twins" (note the masculine plural of the ancient form)? At present there is a ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ chapel of Prof. Elias on the peak that overlooks the village and if ~~E~~ Elias frequently replaces Zeus (cf. *above* pp. 45 f.) it is ~~surely~~ ^{also} possible that he replaces the sons of Zeus.

III

OTHER TOWNS OF THE HERMIONID

In addition to Hermione (and Eileoi, on the way from Troezen) Pausanias speaks of three other settlements in the Hermionid-- Halike, Mases, and Didyma. The identification of the last named causes no trouble: it occupied without doubt the same enclosed upland valley as the modern village of Didymo, under the high, twin-peaked mountain of the same name. Pausanias's Halike can only be the Halieis, Halia, or Halias Ge of other writers. The location of Halieis and Mases is interdependent: according to Pausanias Halieis is reached by turning left from the road to Mases; wherever ~~Halieis~~ ~~is~~ Halieis is Mases is to the right of it, from the point of view of a person coming from Hermione. Now on the coast of the Hermionid three ancient sites have long been known: (1) at Petrothalassa ("Thalassopetra" of the British Army Map, 1: 100,000, sheet L 8, is incorrect) named after a large rock or islet in the sea off-shore, some 6 or 7 kilometres south of Hermione; (2) the extensive ruins on the north shore of the Bouzeika peninsula, forming the south side of Porto Cheli; (3) the meagre ruins at the south-east corner of the well-protected bay of Koilada, about fifteen kilometres ~~south~~ ^{north-west} of Hermione. We have no additions to make to the list of town or village sites. Since Halieis must be to the left of Mases we have the choice of Petrothalassa (1), or Bouzeika (2) for Halieis, and of the Bouzeika (2) or Koilada (3) for Mases. In the nineteenth century there was considerable disagreement and several writers decided that Mases was on the Bouzeika. More recently site (1) has been left out of account, site (2)--

Bouzeika--given to Halieis, and site (3)--Koilada--to Mases (e.g., by Bölte, RE, s.v. Halieis). The locations are convincing. We know that Halieis was founded early in the fifth century with at least considerable support from the expelled Tirynthians, that it figured in the Peloponnesian War, and was solidly in the Laconian ranks in the fourth century. At this time it seems to ~~have~~ have led an independent existence as a city state. Towards the end of the fourth century it issued its own coinage (Svoronos, RIAN X [1907], 5-34) but by Pausanias's time if inhabited (a few later sherds were seen by us on the Bouzeika) its life as a city had come to an end. The site on the Bouzeika has a circuit of city walls of ashlar construction close to a mile in length on the land side (cf. plan III); the enclosed area is covered with ancient pottery and house walls; nothing earlier than the fifth century ^{B.C.} was found by us; the harbor is excellent and in the large necropolis to the east and north Philadelphus found pottery ~~of~~ only of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Nothing comparable is to be seen at the rival site of Petrothalassa. The impression we received of its scanty antiquities was of similarity to the remains on the Bouzeika, and Miliarakis is probably right in talking of it as a part of the Bouzeika settlement; the land ~~is~~ is at the present time farmed by Cheliotas and Kranidiotes. The city itself must have been on the Bouzeika. It follows that Mases was in the Koilada Bay area.

A. PETROTHALASSA

The name is applied to the sea coast stretching from Cape Mouzaki (Bouporthmos) west for about six kilometres, and particularly to that area facing the large petra in the thalassa about two-thirds of the distance along from the tip of Mouzaki (see figs. 26, 27).



Fig. 26 - Rock in sea
at Petrothalassa.
Mouzaki and Hydra
in background.



Fig. 27 - Beach at
Petrothalassa.
Mouzaki again.



Fig. 28. Petrotha-
lassa, looking WSW
from near Petrothalassa A.

The shore consists of wide, sandy beaches and sharply eroded conglomerate rocks; the conglomerate is characteristic both here and in the district around Cheli. It is rolling rather dry country, the coastal strip extending to no more than a kilometre inland before reaching the gentle crest of the hills. For all that it is good country, and, of late, extensively cultivated out of Krannidi and Cheli (cf. fig. 28).

The path from Hermione passes through the wide valley to the south-west (Kappari, dominated by the convent of Hagioi Anargyroi) and skirts the northern and western walls of a large Turkish perivole, now owned by an admiral on Hydra (45 min.). Thence the path leads ~~north~~ ^{south} and west through the low hills to the Diskori Pigadi (well) in a level area among the hills (30 min.). Miliarakis (p. 252) had reported that the ridge south of Hagioi Anargyroi was called Diskouria and had suggested a connection with the Dioscuri; we were told of the name Diskori for these hills but our informant on this point knew of the rep^uported connection with the Dioscuri. We have more confidence in the name of the well.

Natural features of the landscape, we have found, often get along with no particular name--nisi or vouno are very popular--or with any that is offered from the outside; there has been considerable success in reintroducing ancient mountain names in the Peloponnesos. Vital spots such as wells cannot get along without specific designations.

At the well one large worked block with worked depressions was built into the coping. About ten metres to the north were four conglomerate blocks, mostly buried, in an east-west row. Of the few potsherds lying around none could be certainly identified as ancient, and large conglomerate blocks, by themselves, are of little help; the material is easy to cut and little variety in technique is available.

Shortly after the pigadi the path descends and leads eventually to Cheli. (Alternative routes between Hermione and Cheli cross the hills further to the west, avoiding most of Petrothalassa, or reach the coast earlier, near Mouzaki). Some twenty minutes beyond the well, to the east of the path and about 400 metres inland, is the ktima of Andreas Antonopoulos. For convenience we shall refer to this site as Petrothalassa A: about 100 m. to the east of a newly dug well, in a field around a small kalyvi are a number of worked, rectangular conglomerate blocks; rows of 2 and 3 m. long can be made out (see fig. 29). To the



Fig. 29- Petrothalassa A,
looking east.

south of the K kalyvi is a large stone olive press, .55 m. long by 1.20 m. wide by .30 m. high, undoubtedly ancient. Large rectangular angular blocks of conglomerate are to be seen in the garden immediately to the south-east of the new well and in the orchard to the west. A rectangular building of such blocks once existed just to the south-east of the new well, and although most of the blocks have been removed to make way for an onion garden the south-west corner is still in situ. In the course of ~~the~~ digging the well a north-south stretch of wall of the same construction, at least

2 m. long was found about 1 m. below the surface; 4 m. below the surface a layer of sherds was met. The blocks, but unfortunately not the sherds, were found again and shown to us. Other conglomerate blocks, some probably worked, are built into nearby fences and terrace walls. About 100 m. to the west of the new well is an old well of rectangular conglomerate blocks (fig. 30); its internal dimensions are 1.55 m. by .90 m.; eight to nine courses are visible above the water level.



Fig. 30. Well at Petrothalassa A.

An average block measures 1.10 m. by .70 m. by .40 m. Some 3 m. to the west of this well is a wall running northeast-southwest; two courses at most of rectangular, yellow conglomerate are visible in this stretch of 11 blocks (fig. 30). The blocks are approximately 1.25 m long and .50 m. wide. The wall can be traced down to the sea.

By Petrothalassa B we mean the fields and the hill facing the nisaki, the rock in the sea, some ~~2~~⁷00 metres east of Petrothalassa. About 300 m. ~~W~~ west of the rock and about 200 m. inland, built into a terrace wall, we found a large fragment (.30 m. long by .15 m. high) of a heavy rim of yellowish terracotta^d; nearby was a smaller fragment of the same material. We found^a a similar piece on the Bouzeika^u. Some 300 m. to the northeast, on a rocky, pine-covered, hill top were the ruins of a small church of rubble and mortar. Nearby was a small cistern (?) of cement. According to the local people (who have not farmed the area for long) the church is supposed to be very old and a mnima (tomb) containing valuables was opened nearby. Below, on the ploughed terraces of the hill, were a few small patches of sherds, some of which are clearly ancient. The

conglomerate blocks built into the terrace walls may perhaps come from an earlier wall; however, natural conglomerate boulders and worn worked blocks are hard to distinguish.

The pottery at neither of the sites is distinctive; those pieces that are closest to being datable would seem to be Hellenistic, e.g. a black glaze fragment from site B. As a whole they are reminiscent of the Bouzeika site (Halieis) as are the ashlar walls of large conglomerate blocks, whose use for house walls is especially characteristic of both sites.

Purely on the basis of what we saw we would feel justified ~~if~~ in speaking of only one ancient site, Petrothalassa A, on whose outskirts were found the sherds at Petrothalassa B. But of previous accounts only Miliarakis (p. 253) agrees with us: he records a wall of rectangular blocks_x and a wall running down to the sea, but he also mentions ruins under ~~the~~ water opposite the rock, i.e. near Petrothalassa B; nothing of the sort could be seen ~~by~~ by us. De Vaudrimey saw the ruins of an Hellenic fortress 5000 m. south of Hermione on the shore of the sea, a little island forming its port (Boblaye, p. 61.). The description "port" is misleading; the rock can hardly be said to afford any shelter and the erosion of the coast makes us wonder if the island was not part of the mainland in ancient times. On the British Admiralty Chart, No. 1525, "Hydra Bay", compiled in 1838, the words "Ant. Halice (ruins)" are marked across from the rock and walls are shown on the south and south-east slopes of the hill across from and slightly to the east of the rock. This could be the Hellenic fortress mentioned by the

French. We scoured the whole hill and could find not the slightest trace of such walls. The upper~~xx~~ slopes of the hill are not cultivated and their disappearance (if they ever existed) within the past 100 years is not easy to explain~~x~~. We suspect that the remains at Petrothalassa A are the ones meant, and that the error as to its ~~x~~ location arose from their being ~~x~~ described roughly as "near the rock in the sea" meaning ~~xxx~~ either the ~~xxx~~ nisaki in a general way or the smaller rocks in the water nearer Petrothalassa A. Fishing boats do use the beach at this point. Having wasted much time at the site marked on the Admiralty chart, we were unable to examine the environs of Petrothalassa A in as great detail as we should have liked. More is probably to be discovered by inquiring and looking around.

The path continues on to Porto Cheli reaching the village in about an hour and a half, and the ancient site in a bit less, passing through the necropolis of Halieis near Phlamboura. A good enough road for our friend Aristocritus's wagon could easily have existed in antiquity. Leake felt that the Petrothalassa site might have been some small, unrecorded dependency of Hermione. We prefer Miliarakis's attaching it to Halieis. It is on the Halieis side of the Dis~~l~~ouria ridge, its antiquities are very similar to those of Halieis, it is farmed now ~~xxx~~ from ~~xxxxx~~ ~~xxxxx~~ that side rather than from Hermione; and, finally, Strabo~~x~~ (viii. 373) speaks of the Tyinthians of Halieis occupying the paralia of Hermione, which fits this area very well.

B. HALIEIS



Fig. 31- Porto Cheli, showing mouth of harbor.



Fig. 32- View to south and southwest from top of hill on Bouzeika.



Fig. 33- Bouzeika seen from village of Porto Cheli.



*Fig. 34- Looking north from Bouzeika
toward Mt. Didymo.*



*Fig. 35. Bouzeika from the north;
in the distance, Spetsas.*

The country from Krannidi south to the sea is gentle, rolling, and almost entirely arable. About ~~an~~ hour and a half due south is the first-rate harbor of Porto Cheli. The waters are remarkably sheltered, the entrance narrow and almost invisible out at sea, but possessed of a deep and clear channel nonetheless (see figg. 31-35, p. 58). The modern village is to the northwest of the ~~h~~ harbor near the spit of sand that connects the island, probably ancient Halicoussa, to the main~~a~~land. The villagers are evenly divided between fishing and farming as their vocation. On the south side of the harbor are two low hills which barely stand out ~~h~~from a distance (fig. 35); these form the Bouzei^hka (cf. the Albanian "buze", lip?). The more westerly of the two descends to the sea as a promontory, pointing towards the modern village and dominating the entrance channel. The northern slopes of this hill and the lower land to the east is the ancient site we believe to be Halieis. See plan III, copied from the Admiralty Chart, No. 1502, "Port Kheli", in the collection of the British School; cf. also the inset in No. 2836a, "Mediterranean Archipelago, South Sheet", in the American School library. The ruins are marked "Mazes"; the chart was compiled in 1838 and remains the closest thing to a plan of the site. A more detailed and accurate plan, recording what is visible at the present day, would be most rewarding in view of the considerable number of buildings still traceable. It would require, however, an experienced surveyor as the site is on a number of different levels. It is to be hoped that such a plan will be drawn before ~~the excavation~~ the agricultural potentialities of the site are exploited much further.

Fig. 32 gives the view from the top of the hill, 174 ft. high according to the Admiralty chart, looking south and southwest. There is a clear view all the way across the Argolic Gulf and over the entrance channel. Spet²as is visible on the extreme left. Fig. 36 is taken from the same spot looking northwest towards the village; all the foreground is within the city walls. Fig. 34 looks north across the harbor to Mt. Didymo, whose peak is in the clouds. Fig. 37 looks northeast to Cape Mouzaki (Bouporthmos) and Petrothalassa, across the low neck of land between Porto Cheli and Phlamboura Bay.



Fig. 36. Mouth of Cheli harbor. Bouzeika in foreground. To north of mouth, to nisi on left, village on right.



Fig. 37. View from Bouzeika northwest toward Mouzaki.

It will be seen from the plan that starting from the top of the hill the walls follow the ridge to the northwest almost to the tip of the promontory, but turning north northeast a few metres before the end. On the other side, the line of the walls descends to the northeast into the small valley between the two hills (fig. 35), ~~turning~~ turning back to the northwest on fairly level land. Most of the remains are to be found within these walls, in the flat areas to the east, and in the waters of the harbor

to the north of the site. Even approaching the site, however, walking along the shore from the north, one meets indications of ancient habitation; e.g., at a point 200 m. south of the northeast corner of the harbor and opposite the north end of the ~~ridge~~ village the sherds are numerous along the shore and in a bank two metres from the water's edge, and nearby is a ^{large} rectangular, conglomerate block, over a metre long and a half metre high and wide; of the sherds at this point a ~~fair~~ fair number seem to be late Roman.

Along the south shore, from a bank about two metres high, one metre from the sea, project at short intervals portions of ~~w~~ walls of large, rectangular, conglomerate blocks two and three courses high ~~x~~ ~~if~~, averaging one metre in length, .70 m. in height, and .50 m. in width. At times they are continued out into the water-- witness one row of some twelve blocks--although here only the surfaces are visible. Fig. 38 shows



Fig. 38 - Conglomerate blocks along shore of Bouzeika.

a stretch of three blocks running southeast-northwest. The middle block has dimensions of 2.50 m. by .65 m. by ~~x~~ .35 m.; there is a shallow rectangular ~~cut~~ cutting on the upper face of the northwest end, which is broken off; a fourth

block, not visible in the picture, meets this central block perpendicularly, running northeast-southwest and disappearing into the bank. This handsome, heavy construction is characteristic of

the whole site, and although we suspect that sun-dried brick was built on socle of stone, in those cases where it is possible to see more than a few projecting inches of each block there are indications of more than a single course. The conglomerate is the natural rock of the hill and it is perhaps possible to make out evidence of quarrying below the top of the hill, to the northeast. The relative ease in cutting this rock would encourage the generous use of it.

On the shore many scattered sherds are to be found and the outlines of buildings can be made out in the water. One rectangular ^{room} in the sea near the shore preserves stucco on the inside of the walls. In the fields inland many walls project above the surface. We include a sketch of an area in which the outlines are particularly clear, plan IV. It is possible that a plan of the whole site would disclose streets and an organized city plan, a reasonable hope since the city was founded in the fifth century.

Most of the pottery found is coarse ware, alternating with innumerable roof tiles, but a fair amount of black glaze was picked up, including one red-figured sherd of Attic origin and the bottom of a fifth century cup (see the sherd to the left in fig. 39). Among the miscellaneous objects found in this area we may mention what looks like an iron tent pin, .15 m. long, consisting of a tapering shaft and a wide flat tip, .04 m. long, bent over at the top.



Fig. 39- Sherd, and cup from grave, both from Bouzika.

Most of the blocks seen were of conglomerate but towards the west, near the city wall, there were a number of worked limestone blocks. On the other side of the city ~~wall~~, about 100 m.

northeast of the kalyvi (half of which belongs to Mr. Anargyros ~~the~~ Dimotsis of Kranidi and San Francisco) near the eastern angle of the city wall, a pinkish limestone column ~~block~~, .50 m. long by .36 m. diameter, was built into a terrace wall running east-west; it was broken at one end, roughly finished, and showed no signs of fluting. A similar section of column, whitewashed, is built into the floor of the kalyvi; it is about .40 m. high and has a diameter of about .25 m. Built ~~in~~ into terrace walls at two points were sawn ~~in~~ blocks of yellowish conglomerate; the dimensions of one were .27 by .09 by .21 m. (broken). A small unbroken block of poros was also found, .10 m. high, .12 m. wide and .06 m. deep, carrying a simple step moulding. About 6 m. northwest of the kalyvi, ~~nearby~~ there is a carefully worked circular pit in the natural conglomerate about one metre across and two metres deep; the bottom, we were told, is virgin rock, but the pit is now full of brush and we were unable to see it.

Near the point where the city walls meet the sea in the western part of the town we saw a large circular hole revealing two courses of a conglomerate ashlar wall. The upper course, the smaller of the two, is perhaps a string course and the masonry may be pseudo-isodomic ashlar. From this pit, we have it on first-hand authority, came the three small skyphoi or kotylae (as Payne preferred to call ~~them~~ ^{similar shapes}) shown in fig. 40. They were found in a rough pottery container, since broken. The smaller two are too small to have been ~~used~~ of practical use and were probably votives, as they could hardly



Fig. 40. Kotylae from Bouzeika

have come from graves within the city walls (cf. Payne, Necrocorinthia, 334 f. and especially fig. 181~~x~~ b). Their simplicity makes the dating of the large class of smaller cups difficult. Suffice it to say that they are of Corinthian work and could be as late as the middle of the fifth century, though a somewhat earlier date is preferable. Thus they may be among the first objects dedicated after the founding of the city. There are three sanctuaries at least to be found ~~in~~ ^{at} Halieis-- one of Asclepius, not founded until the fourth century (IG IV.²1. 129. 19 ff.), one of Apollo (IG I.²87. 32 f., late fifth century) and probably one of Dionysus (Schol. Townl. Hom. Il. VI. 136). Since a ~~xx~~ copy of a treaty is to be set up by the city of Halieis in the sanctuary of Apollo one might suppose that Delphi was meant, but Apollo appears on the coins of the city and a sanctuary there to the god who guided them to the Hermionid (Ephorus, ap. Steph. Byz., s.v. Halieis) is likely enough.

The city walls can be traced in their full course with but few and brief uncertainties. The general line of the Admiralty chart can be taken as correct. For most of the course only the upper surface with perhaps a few inches more ~~is visible,~~ the whole covered with undergrowth-is visible (we were, therefore, unable to include photographs). The ridge to the left ~~is~~ ⁱⁿ fig. 36 carries the northwest flank of the wall. Two parallel rows of long, rectangular blocks of conglomerate, are observable in many places, the total width being between 1.50 m. and 2.00 m., and greater, when composed of three parallel blocks, as is certainly the case at a number of points. Frickenhauss and Müller described the technique as that of good, large, breccia blocks on the

façade with rubble filling. The rubble & filling is likely enough although at present no rubble is to be seen. We have suggested for ~~xxxxx~~ the house walls that sun-dried bricks were ~~xxxx~~ set on conglomerate socles. Could this have been the case with the city walls? Frickenhauss and Müller do not suggest it and the walls may have been in better condition forty years ago. ~~xxxxxx~~ Where more than ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ one course is visible now their presence or their preservation may be explained by the sloping of the ground. In general, however, our impression is that the visible blocks belong not to the lowest course nor to a socle but to higher courses. This is most likely on the wide flat area on the summit of the hill, which we would describe as the acropolis of the city. Considering the modest scale of the town the area is sufficiently large. It is crossed by the southernmost east-west stretch of wall on plan III. The outlines of several rectangular buildings are to be seen. To the south the native rock crops out at a pronouncedly lower level, some 15 m. away and some 10 m. below. The space between the line of the walls and the native rock is a convex curve of soil. Even ~~for~~ allowing for a sharp drop in level just outside of the acropolis we suspect that the walls are most ~~x~~ likely to be preserved to some height at this point. Even on top of several courses of masonry it is still possible, of course, that sun-dried brick was used.

De Vaudrimey (Boblaye, 61 f.) observed a gate in the walls and this was probably the structure shown half way along the western line of walls on the Admiralty chart. We noticed at ~~xxxxxx~~ the same spot blocks perpendicular to the walls and on their inside. Lower down, near the point where the walls reach the sea,

there appears to have been a round tower, on a slight rise commanding the tip of the promontory, which lay outside the walls. This is the only tower we could find (unless a small rectangular structure on the acropolis was attached to the walls) and we could distinguish no jaggs in the wall.

Among various object seen by us in the upper part of the city was the rim of a large, yellowish, terracotta vessel, .21 m. long (cf. a similar piece found at Petrothalassa B, p. 55 above); four pieces of what appeared to be a large, marble handle, two pieces making a join and one (.09 by .06 m. long) with traces of two square bosses and a depression in between; a small unfinished base of fine, light grey limestone, .28 m. by .24 m. by .23 m. high. It is interesting that despite cordial cooperation by the local people we could hear of no coins ever found on or near the site, nor were we able to locate any inscriptions or inscribed fragments. A report that many years ago a British ship removed a piece of marble from Hagios Milianos on Cape Milianos, some five kilometres away, is the closest we came to finding an inscription (for this cape, see above p. 10). We suggest that we were spared the most common of ~~xxxx~~ provincial inscriptions, late grave stones, because the city was almost deserted in Roman times. The absence of civic and religious inscriptions may be explained by the abandonment of the site and the lapse of many centuries before regular habitation nearby could make use of worked blocks for building purposes, by which ^{time} the site had received a protective covering of earth from the hill side and part of the town had been submerged in the waters of the harbor. The historical connections of the town and the known existence of sanctuaries holds forth the pos-

sibility of interesting epigraphic material of the fifth ~~th~~ century through the Hellenistic period.

The main gate of the city would have been in the plain to the east, facing towards Hermione. Today a path runs along the small valley to the east, skirting the northeast-southwest stretch of wall. We suggest that there may have been a gate just south of the easternmost angle of the walls where several large blocks are built into the kalyvi and the native rock is exposed and deeply worn. Approaching from the east today, it is where the visitor leaves the path to explore the site (unless he has followed the shore all the way). The projecting eastern angle of the wall would then have served to dominate the unshielded right side of an ^{enemy} approaching from the plain.

The necropolis of the city is, for the most part, on the neck of land between Porto Cheli and Phlamboura Bay, three kilometres wide at the narrowest point. Philadelphus, who reported graves towards Kosta on the coast facing Spetzas as well, investigated several, most of which had already been rifled; what little was found was characteristic of the fifth and fourth centuries. We learnt that graves are constantly being found in the course of farming. ~~the same~~ Their disposition strongly suggests that they were placed on either side of the road between Halieis and Hermione, by way of Petrothalassa, cutting obliquely across the middle of the Phlamboura neck. With the cooperation of local farmers the course of the road might well be determined. It would be the final stretch in the road taken by the invalid Anacritus and his silent companion, the sacred snake, from Epidaurus.

The contents of one grave, accidentally opened, were kept ~~in~~

together and have been presented to the American School. The grave was situated between Phlamboura and Cheli; it was rectangular, each side consisting of a single slab of stone. The grave was oriented east-west, the head of the body was to the east. Three objects were found in the grave: (1) a bronze strigil of common fifth or fourth century design. The blade ~~is~~ broad, deeply curved, and bent to a right angle; the handle ~~is~~ in one piece with the blade, forming a loop which was fastened by a soldered attachment, now broken off. The handle itself is broken off at the end, at the point where it was fastened. For a closely similar shape, cf. Metropolitan Museum, Greek and Roman Bronzes, no. 857, dated "probably fourth century B.C." The strigil was found near the right foot of the body.



Fig. 41 - Pots from grave, Halicis.

(2) Two black-glazed pots, shown together in fig. 41.

The two-handled cup (figg. 42, 43, and 44, for which, along with fig. 45, we are most grateful to Miss Allison Frantz) was found near the left arm. Below the left foot



Fig. 42



Fig. 43



Fig. 44

of the body was found the single-handled mug (fig. 45). The decoration of concentric circles on the bottom of the two-handled cup is similar ~~ix~~ to that on a broken cup found by us in the city (fig. 39).



Fig. 45. Mug from grave

Both pots from the grave are very well made. The glaze is a reddish-brown on the upper parts and on the inside. ^{fired} ~~of the two-handled cup.~~ Miss Lucy Talcott informs us that the finding of the two pots together ~~ixn~~ in the same grave is somewhat surprising. The mug has Attic parallels of the first ~~ixix~~ half of the fifth century. The two-handled cup, on the other hand, would seem to belong rather to the latter part of the fifth century. Miss Talcott feels that since the original owner was quite certain that he found them together and apparently undisturbed, our surprise at the conjunction of the two pots is due to our ~~x~~ ignorance of the history of provincial shapes.

Various information was given to us about other graves. In one a stamnaki was said to have been found, decorated with a lion on one side and an αἰγόκερω on ~~ix~~ the other. Just outside the city wall on the promontory at the northwest of the city a grave was found containing a number of armless νούηλες; their description sounded similar to those known from the graves of Hermione (cf. pp. 42 f., above).

In the vicinity of Halieis the French expedition early in the last century (Boblaye, 61 f.) recorded antiquities on their map: the ruins of a temple near "Cape Mylonas", i.e., Cape Milianos, and, nearby, what seemed to be "un grand tumulus"; the latter,

we suspect, is the sharply eroded sandy hill quite clear from the sea and which may perhaps be made out in fig. 4, to the right. Mention has been made of the marble block removed from the chapel on the cape. We could learn nothing by inquiry of any worked blocks that would suggest the ruins of a temple. Miliarakis also marks on his map two points for ancient remains between Cape Milianos, Kosta and Cheli. Only graves in this area were reported to us by our informants.

Almost 400 m. east of the modern village of Porto Cheli and about 100 m. east of the well on the Krannidi road we saw large piles of late Roman--early Byzantine sherds. Some habitation would seem to have existed in the harbor in the early Byzantine period.

.....

The site of Halieis still possesses considerable interest and the enthusiastic description of the French surveyors in the last century suggests that more was visible at that time. We hope that advantage will be taken of an unusual circumstance, the foundation of a fifth century town and the building of fifth and fourth century houses with large conglomerate blocks, to investigate the site further and at least to make a detailed and accurate plan while ~~this~~ this is still possible. Should anyone be interested in visiting the site ~~and~~ and the extremely pleasant harbor and village of Porto Cheli, we urge him to ask for the house of our very good friend Iannis Rozos, who lives fifteen minutes from the village along the shore towards the site; he and his relatives are well acquainted with the whole area and will make any visitors feel most welcome.

The interest of the site of Halieis is bound up with its history and the date of the building of the city and its walls, which, as yet, are by no means altogether clear (cf. Bolte, RE VII. 2246 ff. ; Svoronos, RIAN X [1907], 5 ff.). The earliest certain date associated with the site is 459/8 when the Athenians landed a force and were defeated by Corinthians and Epidaurians (Thuc. i. 105. 1; Oliver, Hesperia II [1933], 96, says they were defeated by the arrival of Corinthians and Epidaurians but there is nothing ~~in the~~ in the text to suggest that the allied forces were not on the spot all the time). The famous ~~κατακλιτύχ~~ tribal casualty list for that year records the fields ἐν Ἀλιεύσει (IG I². 929. 3). Athens ravaged the land later, in 430 and in 425 (Thuc. ii. 56 and iv. 45. 2). Shortly thereafter, before 418 when Laches, the proposer of the treaty, was killed at Mantinea, and probably in the year 423, Athens concluded an agreement with Halieis whereby she was to have a naval station there so long as the war lasted and Halieis was not to receive any garrison within the walls nor to permit pirates (or privateers--the word is λ[ηστές], a certain resoration) in its territory (IG I². 87 and Merritt, Hesperia XIV [1945], 97-105; cf. Merritt and Davidson, AJP LVI [1935], 70 ff.) We know then that the area was under attack by 459 and that there was a city with walls by 423. Working back from 423 to what date can we assign the city and its walls?

Certain provisions ~~in~~ in the treaty with Athens suggest that the walls had been in existence and made use of earlier by forces hostile to Athens. Thus the requirement that enemy garrisons are not to be received seems to be directed against the reception of

such enemy forces as were in the territory and repulsed the Athenian landing in 459. Athenian concern on this point may also have been due to the following ~~incident~~ incident: sometime before 430, the date of his execution (Thuc. ii. 67), ~~the~~ a Spartan, Aneristus, had seized Halieis, sailing in with only a merchantship filled with men (Hdt. vii. 137). It is possible that this feat was all the easier because no walls had yet been built; we might suppose that the Spartans saw to the building of walls and the installation of an allied force of Corinthians and Epidaurians to insure that their success was not emulated by the enemy. However, the remarking on such unusual means for the capture of a town, the provision of the Athenian treaty that Halieis is not to receive "privateers", and the fact that evidently all citizens of Halieis had to swear to the treaty (cf. Merritt, Hesperia XIV [1945], pp. 103 f.) suggest that the success of Aneristus depended rather on the traditional friendship of the cities of the Argolid with Sparta and the consequent cooperation of the citizens than on the absence of adequate defenses. For this reason ^{all} the citizens were to swear the oath and Halieis was not to evade its agreement by claiming that there had been no collusion with the enemy but that pirates had invaded the territory. (A similar idea is seen in an Athenian treaty with Philip of Macedon some ten or twenty years earlier, IG I² 53 and Schweigert Hesperia X VIII [1939], 170 f.; here the tables are turned: Athens has been playing Perdicas against Philip, Philip against ~~Perdicas~~ Perdicas; to protect himself on this score Philip requires that the Athenians do not engage in or permit privateering against him.)

The nature of the Spartan exploit suggests that it took place at a time when, officially, Halieis was not able to welcome a Spartan garrison and Sparta did not wish to appear to be starting open hostilities by sending warships on a regular expedition. This would be the case in a period, or, rather, towards the end of a period ~~when~~ of official friendship ~~with~~ ^{with} both Sparta and Halieis with ~~with~~ Athens. Now a treaty was in effect between Hermione and Athens during the time of Cimon's pacifying influence on Athens' relations with the Peloponnese between 451 and 449 or possibly shortly before 461 (Cimon was in exile as the result of ostracism between 461 and 451; Oliver, Hesperia II [1933], 494 ff.). After Cimon's death in 450 Athens' relations with the Peloponnese deteriorated with hostilities breaking out in 446. Depending on the date of the Athens-Hermione treaty we can put the Spartans' "unofficial" seizure of Halieis either ~~in~~ (1) in the period shortly before 461, i.e. in time for the Spartans to have garrisoned the town with Epidaurians and Corinthians prior to the battle of 459, but an awkward date in view of the Spartan preoccupation with Messene, or (2) between 450 and 446 after the death of Cimon when matters were building up to a head but fighting was not yet open (How and Wells [A Commentary on Herodotus, Oxford, 1912] on Hdt. vii. 137 propose 461-450 assuming that a Spartan seizure meant an Argos-Halieis alliance at the time of Argos-Athens cooperation, but the one Athenian attempt ^{we know of} to seize Halieis, in 459, was rebuffed and there is no reason to suppose she ever succeeded in this period). Oliver prefers the date 451-449 for the Hermione treaty and we would then suggest 450 to 446, perhaps 449 or 448, just after the death of Cimon, for the Spartan seizure of Halieis.

Oliver believes that the earlier Athenian attempt in 459 was more than a mere raid. It is possible that the Athenians planned to build a fort on the site and use Porto Cheli as a naval base, as they did later. Their move was, perhaps, to forestall the fortification of so strategic a spot by the enemy. At a period when they were allied with Argos a hostile base at Halieis could cut their communications with their allies by blockading the Argolic gulf. Later Athens obtained her goal by constant raids on the territory, thus forcing Halieis to sue for peace.

The following chronology seems quite likely: in 459 Athens and the combination of Epidaurus and Corinth clashed over the fortification and occupation of the district of Halieis. Epidaurus and Corinth won and proceeded to fortify the town. Around 451 Athens under Cimon managed to conciliate the Argolic cities and the garrison was withdrawn. Between 450 and 446 Athenian relations with Sparta grew worse but before hostilities broke out Sparta quietly seized the not inhospitable Halieis and saw to its being garrisoned strongly enough to prevent anything more than Athenian raids in the years that followed; these, however, grew sufficiently unpleasant to force an agreement between Halieis and Athens in 423. The provisions of this treaty ~~indicate~~ suggest that Halieis was doing its own garrisoning at the time.

Thus a date between 459 and 446 is not unlikely for the city walls. According to Scranton, the ~~use~~ use of isodomic ashlar and isodomic trapezoidal with quarry or hammer face (the distinction between quarry and hammer face is not meaningful for conglomerate, especially when exposed and worn) were used mostly between 425 and 375 B.C., but the example of a city gate (Peiraeus,

early Asty gate) goes back probably to 470 B.C. and the city walls of Skyros to 450 (Scranton, Greek Walls, 85, 112, 176 f.).

Who were the settlers at Halieis and does their place of origin shed light on the date of this foundation? Herodotus says Aneristus captured Ἀλιέας τοὺς ἐκ Τίρουδος (vii. 137). That there were Tyinthians established in the Hermionid after the fifth century is clear not only from Herodotus but from the discovery of a hoard of ~~the~~ fourth century Tiryinthian coins near Krannidi, similar in style to contemporary coins of Hermione, while no similar coins have ever been found at Tiryns and the site of Tiryns was probably abandoned at this ~~date~~ time (Svoronos, op. cit.). Svoronos believes that not only were the coins inscribed with the name of the Tyrinthioi but that the city later called itself officially Tiryns and not Halieis; this would account for the reference in Stephanus of Byzantium to Tiryns (s.v.) as having been called Halieis earlier.

The circumstances surrounding the removal of the Tyinthians from their original home are unclear. Pausanias has several references to the destruction of Tiryns by Argos without any ^ereference to Halieis or any date (Paus. ii. 25. 8, 17. 5; viii. 27. 1). Strabo (viii. 373), who alone speaks specifically of the migration of the Tyinthians, has them going to Epidaurus; other refugees, probably from Midea--there is a gap in the text--to Halieis. It has usually ~~been~~ been assumed that Strabo was in error but the truth of the matter may be that some Tyinthians did go to Epidaurus (perhaps only at first) and some Mideans to Halieis; we have already suggested that the Epidaurians who repulsed the Athenians in 459 may have been instrumental in arranging for the occupation and the fortification of the area. Stephanus (s.v. Ἀλιεῖς ; cf. s.v. Τίρους)

quotes Ephorus for the story that the ~~Tyr~~ Tirynthians were counselled by Apollo to go to the land of the Hermionians many of whom were "ἁλιεῖς" (fishermen). Both these passages (Strabo and Stephanus) support the idea that the constitution of Halieis was not purely Tirynthian but that ~~there were~~ other Argolid exiles and local Hermionians ^{were} included.

This is confirmed by the consideration that the original Tirynthians were not known as fishermen and for the Tirynthians to achieve this reputation and for "Halieis" then to be transferred from the people to the town would require some time; certainly such a process in the ten years between the probable ^{date of} expulsion ~~of~~ of the Tirynthians in 469 (see below, p.78) and the ~~certain~~ certain Athenian landing in 459 would be most surprising. There is the possibility that the process was the other way around, i.e. that the place itself happened to be called Halieis and that the word was taken ~~up~~ for the common word "halieis" ~~fishers~~ = "fishermen" and used as an ethnic. Halieis is used only of the place by Thucydides (i. 105. 1) and in IG I². 929. 3, while Herodotus ~~uses~~ (vii. 137) seems to use it of both place and people as do Xenophon (iv. 216, vi. 2. 3, vii. 2. 2), Strabo (viii. 372 f.) and Stephanus (s.v. ἁλιεῖς, Τίρυνς). IG I². 87, Diodorus (ii. 78, perhaps following Philochorus) and Hesychius (s.v.) use Halieis exclusively of the people. IG IV². 1. 1 2. 60 and 42. 11 (followed probably by Pausanias ~~ii.~~ ii. 34) uses Ἀλικός and ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἀλικῶν. The ending -εὺς is ^{used} with places in such forms as φελλεῖς, "a stony part of Attica" (Hsch.), Σουανεῖς, "a reedy place", Πλατανεῖς, "a place of plane trees", ἔλαιεῖς, "an olive yard (?)", cf. Περαιεῖς. The plural ἁλιεῖς would then

be the "salty" or the "sea-ward places"; cf. the attaching of the paralia of Hermione to Halieis by Strabo and the probable presence of the island of Halicoussa and the salt-lake of Ververonda at the mouth of the harbor; cf. also ~~the~~ Halieion as the name of a mountain probably by the sea, IG IV². 1. 71. 13. The "sea-ward" places would of course tend to be occupied by "sea-men", the halieis.

In any case it is likely that the far from worthless district around Porto Cheli had a name and ^{some} inhabitants before a settlement in ~~the~~ a polis of the Argolid exiles who probably did not use the names Tiryns, Tirynthiōi (at any rate at first) in view of their mixed ~~the~~ origin and their incorporation of the local Hermionians but took over the local place or vocational name. Over a century and a half later, when the city was a unity, the traditional fame of Tiryns could be exploited by the whole city. The fact of some prior ~~habitation~~ habitation of the area, supported hitherto only by Bursian, may explain the early fifth century kotylai in a sanctuary although our finds as a whole confirm that the city as such does not predate the Persian wars. A small sanctuary may well have existed ~~on~~ on the site earlier--that of Apollo who guided the new settlers thither, whose ^{sanctuary} ~~site~~ is mentioned in the Athenian treaty of 423, and of whose cult at old Tiryns there is no evidence (cf. Svoronos, p. 22)?

The evidence for the date of the expulsion of the Tirynthians by Argos points to as much as ten years before 459. Tiryns, though not represented at Thermopylae, sent troops to Plataea in 479 (Hdt. ix. 28. 4; Diodorus Siculus xi. 65). This is the last certain date we have for the existence of an independent polis at Tiryns, for the victory of a Tirynthian athlete at Olympia in 468 (Ox. Pap. ii. pp. 84 and 93 n.) is not incompatible with the exile of his compatriots. Herodotus (vi. 83. 1) relates that after the Argive

defeat by Sparta at Cleonae in 494 Argos was compelled to admit slaves to citizenship. His doulói are usually modified to second-class citizens or perioeci (cf. Plut. Mor. 243, Aristot. Pol. 1303 a6). When the Argive youth came to manhood the "slaves" were expelled and after a battle took Tiryns. There they maintained themselves for a considerable (sychnon) time. When the group at Tiryns resumed the fight with Argos, probably when that city was engaged at Tegea in 469, Argos was victorious and captured and destroyed Tiryns (cf. Walker in CAH IV [1929], 164). The Tirynthians who went to the Hermionid might have been in opposition to the second-class citizens when they first took over Tiryns and ~~was~~ therefore exiled at that time. But their reception by the anti-Argive Hermione implies ~~rather~~ rather that they were the mixed lot of perioeci and disenfranchised Argives who were driven out of Tiryns around 469; we have already noted the likelihood that the settlers were not purely Tirynthian. A lapse of ten years before the foundation of the new ~~city~~ city is not unparalleled and in fact immediate settlement would have been surprising. The intervening years may have been spent at Epidaurus (cf. the discussion of Strabo viii. 373, on pp. 75 f. above).

One may wonder why greater use had not ~~not~~ been made of this good harbor earlier. Difficulties with ~~water~~ the water supply, which account for the long abandonment of the site later and which are still serious, did not impede Halieis from flourishing once it was settled. It will be recalled that the defensive strength of Hermione lay in its best land being easily protected from ravaging (pp. 25 f. above); for a small city the additional defense of the long coastline of the Cheli region would have been impractical. That it ~~is~~ was both a more strategic and a more vulnerable area is seen by the Athenian ~~roads~~

raids of 459, 430, and 425 as well as the Spartan attack, in all of which Hermione itself suffered only in 430. A glance at the map will show why this was so, despite the excellent harbor: the whole district projects into the sea and is surrounded by fine beaches and protected by no considerable hills. Raiders landing on the wide vulnerable bay of Phlamboura could with ease lay waste Petrothalassa and the low country between it and Halieis; other good beaches are available at Kosta, Metokhi, and on the other ~~side~~ side of the salt lake of Ververonda. A small settlement at Halieis could do little against such attacks and the town site itself is far from naturally strong. Therefore Hermione was in ^{no} position _^ to develop the region and probably was content to farm the district out of Hermione itself (many of its farms today are worked by Krannidiotes) while a small fishing ~~village~~ ^{village} may have existed on the harbor. These same considerations, however, would not apply to an isolated naval station, unconcerned with the wheat and olives, the livestock and farmhouses, outside the walls. The ^{in 459} repulse _^ of the Athenian landing, with the intention, very likely, of establishing such a naval intention, by foreign defenders does not prove the existence of the polis at that date, and it is possible that it was with regard to this danger of hostile seizure of the harbor that Hermione arranged for the foundation of the city shortly thereafter. She would be glad enough to have some ~~from~~ friendly force of trusty anti-Argives posted there. The Epidaurians who helped repulse the Athenians at Halieis in 459, on this theory, received the exiled Tirynthians at first, as the passage in Strabo suggests, and subsequently, within ten years' time, settled them at Halieis along with other Argolid exiles. Alternatively, the

foundation may have already been under way under guard of Epidaurian and Corinthian forces when Athens timed her raid with the intention of forestalling the settlement and substituting an outpost of its own. In either case the vicinity of 459 is as early as direct evidence for this site reaches and is a likely date for both the foundation of the city and the building of its walls. The results of our survey of the site are in accord with this conclusion.

6. KOILADA
(Cf. figg. 46-49)

The plains of Koilada lie to the east and, with low, mound-like hills, to the south of the round harbor. The mouth of the harbor is sheltered by a long island called Koronis or Kolonis, a name probably suggested, as in so many other cases, by Venetian geographers familiar with ancient history. The modern village lies along the south and southwest shore of the harbor. Behind it stretches a long cultivated hill parallel to the western sea coast.

The identification of Koilada with the site of the ancient Mases has been discussed above (pp. 51 ff.), and seems established



Fig. 46- Koilada Bay, looking west from the plain. Koronis is dimly visible at the mouth of the harbor.

on the grounds of Pausanias' references to the relative positions of Mases and Halieis. That there was a city of Mases in the pre-classical period we know from Homer Il. II. 562 (cf. Paus. ii. 36. 2). The

Homeric site has not been located; we found nothing on the hill behind the village; the other low hills in the area would bear examination. We were told of an old man, Ang. Barsemakopoulos, who had come across sherds in the district, but we were unable, in the short time left to us, to locate him for further investigation.



Fig. 47- Plains of Koilada, looking east from the hill above the village.

Curtius (p. 462) concluded from some building blocks, cisterns, and a dike that the plains of Koilada were inhabited in "Hellenic" times. It is improbable that such evidence could have provided reliable criteria for dating even so broadly, and unless further evidence appears, the question of a Hellenic site must be held in suspension. There is slight but sufficient indication of habitation in the Roman period. Pausanias tells us that the people of Hermione used Mases as a port in his day (ii. 36. 2), and he several times mentions the direct road to Mases as if it were the most important road out of Hermione. None of this is proof that Mases was at that time any more than the nearest to Hermione of the harbors of the Argolic Gulf; the easy road between the two places, as Curtius points out (p. 462), is a more convenient route from the gulf than the sea way around the Kranidi peninsula. We found a few late Roman sherds on the north shore of the harbor. In the same general neighborhood, a little farther west, Ioannes Athanassiou reported finding some terra cotta plaques, decorated with rosettes, etc., which disintegrated soon after they were unearthed. He had in his possession a lamp decorated with a rosette around the top opening; he had found others like it, in about the same place as the plaques. He also showed us a partially dug well in which he had found parts of a building of stone and brick. This could be Roman or medieval.

In the plain east of the northeast corner of the harbor is a well whose top is made of four ancient limestone blocks with

small cuttings and with deep rope marks inside.

About 400 m. south east of the cistern, in the house of Goumenos Tsirtsikis, is a marble stele with the inscription (fig. 48):



Πρωίνε φίλτατ[ε]
χαίρε

Letter forms: Α Ε Λ Ρ Φ Ω

Fig. 48- Kailada inscription

It was found in a nearby peribole, in the center of the plain. The finder is convinced that there are many others there, waiting to be dug. The stele is .47 m. ~~thick~~ wide, .09 m. thick. Of the flat inscribed surface, .60 m. remains above the break at the bottom. At the top, above a simple molding, is a raised portion, roughly curved at the top and decorated with what appear to be crude representations of two fishes, deeply cut. On the flat face, about .10 m. below the inscription, are cut two shallow circles, each about .08 m. from the edge. The letters are very unevenly and shallowly cut. The inscription is very late. The decorative fish are a Christian symbol, but the formula, and apparently the

name, are pagan (as to the name, $\Pi\tau$ at the beginning is conjectural, though supported by the traces of letters and also by the inscription $\Pi\tau\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma \text{ Εἰσῶν\omicron\varsigma}$ from Akraiphia, near Mt. Ptoon [BCH XXIII, 92], of about 200 B.C.; this support is feeble, at so great a distance of time and space, but no other reading seems possible). One must content oneself with late Roman--early Byzantine as a date.

We explored Koronis (fig. 49), a rocky, barren island with only one small, sheltered bay, on the south side. The east end especially, and the island generally, are covered with sherds, but these are mostly of the rough, unglazed type that might date anywhere from Hellenic to modern times. A number of pieces of rough, grooved ware were similar to those classed in the Athenian Agora as "late Roman," although two or three pieces of Byzantine or Turkish glaze suggest that most of the other sherds are probably of those periods. At the center and the east end of the island are ruins of some stone and mortar houses, and a number of low, coffin-shaped stone and mortar constructions which are probably Turkish graves. There is at least one cistern with pink stucco lining and a roughly vaulted ceiling. The "cave" near the east end is more like a large hollow with an overhanging cliff ^{on} ~~at~~ the east ^{side} ~~end~~; at the south, there is a passage up to the top of this cliff.



Fig. 49 - Koronis,
looking northeast
from hill above
village.

Lambayana: On the north, Koilada is effectively separated from the Lambayana Valley by a long mountain which descends steeply and jaggedly into the sea. We walked around the sea side of this mountain, but only with considerable difficulty. On the Koilada side, about 75 m. up from the sea, is a large cave, open on both sides (fig. 50). The road mentioned by Pausanias as leading from Koilada to Cape Struthus on the north must necessarily (whichever of the promontories to the north, Cape Struthus may be) have gone around the mountain to the east.



Fig. 50 - Cave between Koilada and Lambayana

About 200 m. from the sea shore at the western end of the valley that leads from Lambayana past Phournoi through the Kataphyge to the fertile Kampos of Hermione--branching off about midway also into the plains of Didymo--we found, with the help of natives, the remains of a fortification tower, ^{not mentioned in publications} ~~unpublished though~~ apparently visited by Scandinavians and Germans (figs. 51-54). ^{but see Meyer in RE, v. 1, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 2681, 2682, 2683, 2684, 2685, 2686, 2687, 2688, 2689, 2690, 2691, 2692, 2693, 2694, 2695, 2696, 2697, 2698, 2699, 2700, 2701, 2702, 2703, 2704, 2705, 2706, 2707, 2708, 2709, 2710, 2711, 2712, 2713, 2714, 2715, 2716, 2717, 2718, 2719, 2720, 2721, 2722, 2723, 2724, 2725, 2726, 2727, 2728, 2729, 2730, 2731, 2732, 2733, 2734, 2735, 2736, 2737, 2738, 2739, 2740, 2741, 2742, 2743, 2744, 2745, 2746, 2747, 2748, 2749, 2750, 2751, 2752, 2753, 2754, 2755, 2756, 2757, 2758, 2759, 2760, 2761, 2762, 2763, 2764, 2765, 2766, 2767, 2768, 2769, 2770, 2771, 2772, 2773, 2774, 2775, 2776, 2777, 2778, 2779, 2780, 2781, 2782, 2783, 2784, 2785, 2786, 2787, 2788, 2789, 2790, 2791, 2792, 2793, 2794, 2795, 2796, 2797, 2798, 2799, 2800, 2801, 2802, 2803, 2804, 2805, 2806, 2807, 2808, 2809, 2810, 2811, 2812, 2813, 2814, 2815, 2816, 2817, 2818, 2819, 2820, 2821, 2822, 2823, 2824, 2825, 2826, 2827, 2828, 2829, 2830, 2831, 2832, 2833, 2834, 2835, 2836, 2837, 2838, 2839, 2840, 2841, 2842, 2843, 2844, 2845, 2846, 2847, 2848, 2849, 2850, 2851, 2852, 2853, 2854, 2855, 2856, 2857, 2858, 2859, 2860, 2861, 2862, 2863, 2864, 2865, 2866, 2867, 2868, 2869, 2870, 2871, 2872, 2873, 2874, 2875, 2876, 2877, 2878, 2879, 2880, 2881, 2882, 2883, 2884, 2885, 2886, 2887, 2888, 2889, 2890, 2891, 2892, 2893, 2894, 2895, 2896, 2897, 2898, 2899, 2900, 2901, 2902, 2903, 2904, 2905, 2906, 2907, 2908, 2909, 2910, 2911, 2912, 2913, 2914, 2915, 2916, 2917, 2918, 2919, 2920, 2921, 2922, 2923, 2924, 2925, 2926, 2927, 2928, 2929, 2930, 2931, 2932, 2933, 2934, 2935, 2936, 2937, 2938, 2939, 2940, 2941, 2942, 2943, 2944, 2945, 2946, 2947, 2948, 2949, 2950, 2951, 2952, 2953, 2954, 2955, 2956, 2957, 2958, 2959, 2960, 2961, 2962, 2963, 2964, 2965, 2966, 2967, 2968, 2969, 2970, 2971, 2972, 2973, 2974, 2975, 2976, 2977, 2978, 2979, 2980, 2981, 2982, 2983, 2984, 2985, 2986, 2987, 2988, 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3487, 3488, 3489, 3490, 3491, 3492, 3493, 3494, 3495, 3496, 3497, 3498, 3499, 3500, 3501, 3502, 3503, 3504, 3505, 3506, 3507, 3508, 3509, 3510, 3511, 3512, 3513, 3514, 3515, 3516, 3517, 3518, 3519, 3520, 3521, 3522, 3523, 3524, 3525, 3526, 3527, 3528, 3529, 3530, 3531, 3532, 3533, 3534, 3535, 3536, 3537, 3538, 3539, 3540, 3541, 3542, 3543, 3544, 3545, 3546, 3547, 3548, 3549, 3550, 3551, 3552, 3553, 3554, 3555, 3556, 3557, 3558, 3559, 3560, 3561, 3562, 3563, 3564, 3565, 3566, 3567, 3568, 3569, 3570, 3571, 3572, 3573, 3574, 3575, 3576, 3577, 3578, 3579, 3580, 3581, 3582, 3583, 3584, 3585, 3586, 3587, 3588, 3589, 3590, 3591, 3592, 3593, 3594, 3595, 3596, 3597, 3598, 3599, 3600, 3601, 3602, 3603, 3604, 3605, 3606, 3607, 3608, 3609, 3610, 3611, 3612, 3613, 3614, 3615, 3616, 3617, 3618, 3619, 3620, 3621, 3622, 3623, 3624, 3625, 3626, 3627, 3628, 3629, 3630, 3631, 3632, 3633, 3634, 3635, 3636, 3637, 3638, 3639, 3640, 3641, 3642, 3643, 3644, 3645, 3646, 3647, 3648, 3649, 3650, 3651, 3652, 3653, 3654, 3655, 3656, 3657, 3658, 3659, 3660, 3661, 3662, 3663, 3664, 3665, 3666, 3667, 3668, 3669, 3670, 3671, 3672, 3673, 3674, 3675, 3676, 3677, 3678, 3679, 3680, 3681, 3682, 3683, 3684, 3685, 3686, 3687, 3688, 3689, 3690, 3691, 3692, 3693, 3694, 3695, 3696, 3697, 3698, 3699, 3700, 3701, 3702, 3703, 3704, 3705, 3706, 3707, 3708, 3709, 3710, 3711, 3712, 3713, 3714, 3715, 3716, 3717, 3718, 3719, 3720, 3721, 3722, 3723, 3724, 3725, 3726, 3727, 3728, 3729, 3730, 3731, 3732, 3733, 3734, 3735, 3736, 3737, 3738, 3739, 3740, 3741, 3742, 3743, 3744, 3745, 3746, 3747, 3748, 3749, 3750, 3751, 3752, 3753, 3754, 3755, 3756, 3757, 3758, 3759, 3760, 3761, 3762, 3763, 3764, 3765, 3766, 3767, 3768, 3769, 3770, 3771, 3772, 3773, 3774, 3775, 3776, 3777, 3778, 3779, 3780, 3781, 3782, 3783, 3784, 3785, 3786, 3787, 3788, 3789, 3790, 3791, 3792, 3793, 3794, 3795, 3796, 3797, 3798, 3799, 3800, 3801, 3802, 3803, 3804, 3805, 3806, 3807, 3808, 3809, 3810, 3811, 3812, 3813, 3814, 3815, 3816, 3817, 3818, 3819, 3820, 3821, 3822, 3823, 3824, 3825, 3826, 3827, 3828, 3829, 3830, 3831, 3832, 3833, 3834, 3835, 3836, 3837, 3838, 3839, 3840, 3841, 3842, 3843, 3844, 3845, 3846, 3847, 3848, 3849, 3850, 3851, 3852, 3853, 3854, 3855, 3856, 3857, 3858, 3859, 3860, 3861, 3862, 3863, 3864, 3865, 3866, 3867, 3868, 3869, 3870, 3871, 3872, 3873, 3874, 3875, 3876, 3877, 3878, 3879, 3880, 3881, 38}

It has already been suggested above (p. 25) that this was built to protect the Hermione Kampos from a land attack from the rear. There is also the possibility, to be discussed later, of its serving as a fort on the land border.

The tower is built toward the southwest corner of a slight eminence on the north side of the dry stream bed and valley. It is about 9.5 m. square, of conglomerate blocks varying from small to as large as 1.5 m. long. The thickness varies between .5 m. and 1 m.; there must have been some sort of rubble work backing the irregular inside surface. The masonry is polygonal; the weathering of the conglomerate makes it impossible to determine the finish. The corners are drafted.

The entrance was in the center of the north face. The interior was solid in its lower portions. There is a row of supports about 3 m. from the east side, probably for an upper story. ^{outside} Starting from about the middle of the west face are traces of a wall about 2 m. wide, built of conglomerate blocks on the façades.

The ground falls away rather steeply almost immediately to the south of the tower, but slopes off very gradually to the north-east. There is a terrace wall running roughly east-north-east which seems to utilize blocks of an ancient wall and may follow the line of such a wall, which would have been a continuation of that which has left traces on the west.

To judge again on the basis of Scranton's descriptions,

it seems reasonable to suppose that this ^{polygonal} tower was built at about the same time as the city defenses of Hermione--that is, probably in the last third of the fifth century (see above, 21 ff.)

IV

THE EPIDAUROS BORDER (see plan IV)

The discovery by Philadelphus and the publication by Peek (Ath. Mith. LIX [1934], 47 ff.) of the Hermione copy of the arbitration in a border dispute with Epidaurus (fig. 68 below), known already by the much less complete Epidaurus copy (IG IV². 1. 75), brought forward a number of problems in connection with the Hermione-Epidaurus border. It was with the hope of shedding some light on these difficulties by learning the topography and by reading two reported inscriptions that we visited the border region. We regret to say that the reconstruction of the ~~an~~ course of the border remains unsolved. It may be of interest, however, to record what we saw and what we heard and to indicate the problems and possible lines of solution.

A. DESCRIPTION

We landed on the paralia of Iri (known as Iria everywhere except at Iri itself), the Δ shaped plain on the Argolic gulf between Asine and Koilada; there is no dock and future ~~travellers~~ travellers who must wade ashore might well be warned that the depth of the water is greater than one might think. Pausanias completely ignores this region, going directly from Koilada (Mases) to Asine, but Scylax (51) reports that thirty stades of the gulf between Argos and "Halia" belonged to Epidaurus. This distance exactly covers the coast of the two small plains of Kandia (closer to Asine) and Iri up to Cape Iri, the ~~more~~ more westerly of the two capes that guard Vourlia Bay. Before the war Kurt Gebauer dug in both plains and also in the small valley above Kandia, Synora, and in all three found mostly bronze age remains, except for two late Hellenistic towers in the

Kandia plain (topography, AA, 1938, 557-62; excavations, AA, 1939, 287-94; 1940, 270 f.) In Iri he dug a bronze-age site on the low hill near the sea. There would seem to be other and later remains in the plain, reported by visitors in the nineteenth century (e.g. Kontakis, Athenaion, VIII (1880), 371 ff.) and encountered by us to some extent.

The plain, shut in by steep, barren hills, is hot and devoted now to intensive tomato gardening. It can never have been very healthful; recent settlers (mostly from around Tripolis in Arcadia) complain of the heaviness of the air and some have already moved away. The motor road extends at the present time to ~~Karnezeika~~ the hamlet of



Fig. 47

Karnezeika at the top of the Δ , where the Bedeni or Iri river issues from a narrow valley (see fig. 46). It is planned to continue up the valley to Pelel and then climb to the right (south) to Didymo. In the course of building this road sherds were said to have been found, particularly in the ktima of Gerougiannou about a kilometre west of Karnezeika.

At the village of Karnezeika itself we saw a large ancient press or mill, 1.30 m. by 1.40 m., roughly circular, by .60 m. high (see fig. 47). A bump in the middle is ca. .45 m. high and the surrounding depression is ca. .20 m. wide. The material is a hard limestone; it is broken on the top and back. Nearby, built sideways into the



Fig. 47 - Limestone Press (?) at Karnezeika.

corner of the house of Georgios Papatheophanis and whitewashed is the top of a horos stone, IG IV². 1. 701 (IG IV¹. 911 and Kontakis, loc. cit.); see fig. 48, p. 90). A few points are worth noting:

A, C, and the long seriph on I, P, Υ. In correction of Kontakis and IG IV¹ (IG IV², Hiller, gives no indication of ~~the~~ letter forms) it should be observed that the vertical bars of ~~the~~ the Π are almost equal in length--if anything, the left-hand bar is shorter~~x~~. The O₃ are slightly smaller than the other letters, most of which are between .04 and .05 ~~mm~~ high, not .06. The first letter of each line ~~is~~ ^{form} approximately ~~is~~ a straight line and the A of line two does not project almost a whole letter space to the



Fig. 48. Horos
stone, IG IV².
I. 701.

left. Date: First century B.C. ? Hiller speaks of the stone's place of discovery as "prope KávScav." We were told it was found in the Iri plain. There is no reason to suppose the stone marked the Epidaurus border or even of the sanctuary at ~~the~~ Ligourio. Rather, we must suppose, with Hiller, an ager sacra, perhaps belonging to the Ligourio

sanctuary. This implies that the territory was Epidaurian.

From the sea to Karnezeika is over an hour's walk. At this point the country changes (see fig. 49) : steep mountainsides rise abruptly to as much as 600 m. on either side of the river bed; though dry in the Iri plain, ~~the~~ in the valley the river has a good flow of water as late as June and ~~the~~ is bright with masses of Oleander in blossom. There are a few gardens by the river bed on one side or the other as



Fig. 49 - Iri River valley.
Looking W from monastery.

the river winds but most of the cultivation is on the hillsides and especially at about 400 m. where there is an approximation to a plateau on both sides (see figg. 50, 51, 52). Dominating the entrance to the narrow valley, on the right hand side as one goes up,



50



51



52

Figgs. 50, 51, 52 - Looking E from Giphto Kastro.



53



54

Figgs. 53, 54 - Two views of Leveta. Left, from the NE; Right, from the W.

is the domeshaped hill of Leveta, "the cauldron", see figg. 53, 54, 55~~x~~, and 46, 49. We strongly suspect that this distinctively shaped hill is to be connected with the *κατ' ἄκρας τὰς κολούρας* (but *ἄκραν τὰν κολούραν* of the Milesian report) in line 15 of the Rhodian report in the boundary dispute. The word *κολούρος*, meaning literally "dock-tailed" is certainly applied to steep rocks and cliffs.

Beyond Karnezeika the mountain ridges to the left as one goes up form a broad crescent; the first and lower tip of this crescent consists of a series of jagged outcroppings of rock near the river on whose pinnacle is located Kastraki, To Kastro tou Kapitanou, or Giphto Kastro, which last name we shall use in this paper to distinguish it from the many other Kastra and Kastrakia in the Argolid (see fig. 55 at the bottom of this page). It is some 1500 m. from Karnezeika and over 300 m. high. An area no longer than 50 m. and of irregular width is on the summit but there is considerable ~~at~~ level land in the saddles to the east. The site commands a fine view down the valley and across the sea to Tolon and up stream beyond



Fig. 55 - Giphto Kastro from the E; Leveta behind.



Fig. 56 - Fields below Giphto Kastro.

the monastery of Hagios Demetrios tou Avgou to Megalo Vouni, the eastern peak of Mt. Didyma (cf. figg. 50-52). Just below and well-watered lies the widest stretch of flat land in the river valley, fig. 56 (p. 91). In 1939 Gebauer reported "verheissungsvoller Grabung" here but decided to concentrate on the site near Iri (AA 1939, 294). In 1938 he distinguished Mycenaean and classical walls and Mycenaean and classical sherds. We found scattered sherds on the slopes below and on the Kastro itself, the majority of which were clearly Mycenaean (LH III), a few later, possibly Hellenistic. On the kastro we saw the base of a rough wall some 2m. wide and 3m. long on the north side. We later heard from the local people that rock-cut steps and some small stretches of wall (no different from the rubble work at the Kastro Stavropodiu) are to be found overgrown with bushes. Judging from the little we saw it would be impossible to date the walls without excavation. The predominance of Mycenaean sherds suggests the fort was bronze age in origin and used later as a strong point in the border disputes; it would serve as a refuge and lookout for those who farmed the good land below coming from the Iri plain or, even further, from Epidaurus. At present there is a small village, Kounoupitsa, some ten minutes to the east, up on the plateau (fig. 50). Sherds from Giphtho Kastro are now in the collection of the American School.



Fig. 57- Kastro Stavropodiu from the W.

A second kastro is located on the far north-east tip of the crescent of mountains at a height of 569 m., and close to three hours walk from Karnezeika and a half hour above the small village of Stavropodi beyond Kounoupitsa (fig. 57). Kastro Stavropodiu will serve to distinguish it. A palaiokastron was

Trakhia Valley

Ortholithi

93
Megalo
Vouni



Fig. 59. Malavria plain from Kastro Stavropodiu.

marked on their maps by both the Expedition Scientifique and Miliarakis, but wrongly located on Tsoungkania, a peak in the same crescent but closer to Gipto Kastro. The Kastro Stavropodiu holds a strategic position high above the point where two streams join to form the Iri ~~river~~ or Bedeni river. The Trakhia valley to the east and north, through which the one stream descends, leads eventually to the ~~Askalpi~~ Askalpi^{on} or to Epidaurus town (fig. 58, towards the left); the other stream bed, due east, passes through the small basin of Sheshe (or Sese) and Peleⁱ, coming from the Troezenia (fig. 58, towards the right). Border country extends from the junction to the mountains flanking Mt. Ortholithi (the sharp peak on the right side of fig. 58). In this vicinity Epidauria, Troezenia, and the Hermionid met. To the south and west one looks across to the fertile mountain plateau of Malavria, farmed by Didymiot^{es} today and, one suspects, in antiquity (fig. 59), and thence all the way down the Avgo ridge to Cape Iri and the sea (fig. 60).

On the summit a circuit of rubble walls some 400 m. in diameter may be traced. Only in the north and west are the walls to be seen clearly; they would have been highest ~~there~~ in any case since the ground drops away steeply on the other sides. They are built of dry rubble with perhaps a tendency towards Lesbian masonry, not unlike the Parnes-Aigialaios wall (fig. 61, a stretch on the north).

Fig. 59 - Malavria plain



Fig. 60 - WSW from Kastro Stavropodiu



Fig. 61 - Wall at Kastro Stavropodiu. N side.

No sherds or other signs of habitation were found. No date can be proposed; if it dates from the bronze age it may have guarded what we have reason to believe was a Mycenaean route to Iliokastro (Karakazi) and thence by way of the ~~xxxxxx~~ kataphyge to Magoula--the reasons for this route were, we suspect, prehistoric workings of the modern mining near Iliokastro, but we must return to Greece before we can bolster this with proof; in later times its strategic location would explain its existence and a rôle in the border squabbles is likely enough. We were impressed with the idea that it could well serve as a refuge for farmers and shepherds with their flocks who came here from their own towns and did not feel safe. The location shows that in Greek times the fort must ~~xxxx~~ have belonged to Epidaurus.

The monastery of Hagios Demetrios tou Avgou is set against the top of a high cliff, about three kilometres ^{and a bit east} south of Kastro Stavropodion as the crow flies. It has a fine view down the valley (fig. 49) and is visible from many directions (cf. figs. 52, 60). The Avgo of its name probably comes from the mountain on which it lies, but a story attached to other monasteries in Greece is told about it too: a woman after giving birth to several ^{(babies vowed} ~~dead) xxxxxxxx~~ to Hagios Demetrios that she would cast her next child over the cliff if it were born alive; the baby was born and lived, but when the time came to cast down the child she decided to throw an egg instead. She threw the egg and it did not break; thereupon she threw the child, with less happy results. This is the Stavropodi version of the story; at Didymo and Koilada a more intelligible account has it a contrast in faith between two women, one who threw her child down at once, safely, the other who lacked faith, tried an egg first, but killed the child. The egg is still to be seen, large and of stone, on the dome of the chapel of Hagios Demetrios and Hagios Theodoros in the

monastery. Up to the twenties of this century when its land was expropriated the monastery was inhabited and owned most of the land in the valley; since then settlers have come into the valley, especially from the Tripolis region. At the present time only the Byzantine chapel remains in any sort of repair. We heard in Didymo that Professor Soteriou investigated the monastery in the thirties; if he has published an account we have not been able to locate it; in any case we need only describe the chapel briefly as possessing an octagonal dome and an interesting arrangement of vaults. Of chief interest to us, however, was a marble Ionic capital on the sole column in the building. It is .54 m. wide by .44 m. deep; the height of the volutes is .15 m., of the echinus and abacus together, .22 m. The proportions of the capital are not too pleasing but the work is carefully done. From whence was this capital brought to the monastery? Evidently from a distance since it is the sole ancient ~~work~~ work in evidence and had there been an ancient sanctuary on the spot it is reasonable to assume its parts would have gone into the church. This capital, on the other hand, serves an essential purpose and would have been easy to transport some distance. Nevertheless the nearest possible site would be the most attractive. Reason will be given below for supposing that it may have come from the region of Sheshe to the east.

Our chief object in visiting the monastery was the examination of an inscription reported by a man from Didymo to be built into the wall near the entrance. No inscription could be found. We were told a rather hazy story by a shepherd of an inscription found in a sterna at the monastery; it was taken to a professor at Kranidi and when read was found to contain instructions for ~~xxx~~ locating buried treasure! We later learnt from the ~~xx~~ pappas in Didymo that a graffito of a

monk is still to be seen in the monastery but that a plaka approximately .25 m. by .40 m. with many small letters upon it was stolen by a German tourist, along with an old record book, around 1940. A cultivated farmer from Didymo, who recited Vergil and Homer to us, had accompanied Soteriou when he visited the monastery and described it as a Byzantine inscription relating to the founding of the monastery. We are inclined to believe him, but there is another possibility. A. Arvanitopoulos, while ephor of the Argolid, heard of a long inscription ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ containing mention of a dedication to Demeter in a "moni of Sheshe at Didyma" (Praktika 19 ,). Marble architectural fragments were reported in the *Σάος Σχοινῶν* nearby. Now as far as we were able to gather there is not and there never has been a moni at Sheshe although there are a number of chapels, some abandoned. But Sheshe is about as close to the monastery as Stavropodi, an hour and a quarter ~~XXXXXX~~ to the north-east, above the cliffs and then down into the valley of the southernmost of the two streams that ~~XXXX~~ join to form the Bedeni river. Both Sheshe and the monastery are attached to Didymo. It is possible that the stolen inscription was the one Arvanitopoulos had heard of. In this case our ^{information} ~~friend~~ at Didymo may still have been correct while Arvanitopoulos's informant may have confused this inscription with the dedication to Demeter at Didymo itself (see below, pages 100f.).

Sheshe is the name used of the western part of the southern stream valley below and to the east of Kastro Stavropodiu. Its only distinction is the possession of a spring. Farther to the east lies Peleï. The whole rather broken valley is separated from the Didymo valley by the high north slope of ^{gkelpesi} ~~XXXXXX~~, but from the Trakhia valley and the country west of Mt. Ortholithi

by low hills. The district is ~~previously~~^{now} attached to Didymo and is farmed by Albanians from that village. There was certainly an ancient site of some sort in the valley but the people are unusually zealous in guarding what they know. It ~~x~~ would take several days to get into their confidence. In the little time at our disposal we saw only one certainly worked limestone block in a rather ragged *δάσος σχοινῶν* on a low hill near the stream. It measured .86 by .54 by .15 m. and was smooth along one flat surface where there was a slight ridge to one side, perhaps a cutting to receive a superior course. Another stone may also be ancient; it is a large conical block, curved on three sides, flattened on the fourth, .42 m. high and .24 m. wide. Arvanitopoulos's reference to a ~~δα~~*δάσος σχοινῶν* is of little help since the whole area is covered with these bushes. The proedros at Didymo told us that worked blocks and sherds are found at various spots all over Peleï and Sheshe, that mnēmata had been opened and plakes with trees on them had been found.

Some two kilometres to the north at Voïthiki towards the bottom of the Trakhia valley our inquiries for soroi of stones--we were trying to locate the *βόλροι λίθων or λίθοι* of Pausanias and the border inscription--elicited a description of piles of worked blocks. Almost any ruins, ancient or modern, we found can be described as soroi petrōn (e.g. the ruins of a metokhi of the monastery at Vourlia) and these at Voïthiki are more likely to be some sort of ancient ruins than the border markers we were asking about. This agrees with Miliarakis's report that antiquities are scattered all over the Trakhia valley. Gebauer (AA 1938, 561) reported a poros capital at Hagios Ioannis between Trakhia and Baphi.

Since this district, clearly attached to no one town, is likely to have been involved in border disputes, we regret we were unable to see more of what evidently exists. At present Peleï is about four hours walk from Karnezelka and three hours from Didymo. The projected motor road will pass through this valley on its way to Didymo. The district may then be more accessible.

The path to Didymo from Navplio goes up the river valley, climbs past the monastery and then continues for some thirty minutes above the cliffs to the small upland ~~rocky~~ basin of Malavria (fig. 59; an alternative route, we were told, reaches the monastery by climbing to the cliffs soon after passing Leveta at the mouth of the valley). Here the French expedition reported ruined buildings; all that we saw, in whatever condition, were ~~ruined~~ ^{modern} kalyvia and we found no sherds. There is space for several large wheat fields but they are rather isolated and it is likely that the cultivators always lived closer to a greater, cultivable area. Today it is farmed from Didymo.

The path to Didymo continues over the ridge between Anamesa Malias and Gkelpesi to the east (both Didymiote names). The path climbs steeply from Malavria and is steeper still descending to Didymo. On the ridge one has a magnificent view of the Hermionid--Hermione, Kranidi, Didymo, the country around Porto Cheli, Hydra, Spetsas, and the Kynouria coast across the gulf. The whole trip from Malavria takes about two and a half hours.

Didymo--The village lies near the middle of an enclosed, circular plain, remarkably level, at the most three kilometres wide and 126 m. above sea level (see fig. 62, p. 99). The high Mt. Didymo, 1113 m., towers over the village and the plain. The land is stony but, for Greece, good. The depth of soil washed down from the surrounding hills



Fig. 62



Fig. 63



Fig. 64



Fig. 65.

is considerable. A grave was found more than two metres below the present surface, and near Hagia Kyriaki, to the east of the plain, a stretch of paved road, running north-south, was seen four metres underground. This fact probably ~~XXXX~~ ^{helps} ~~contributes to~~ ^{to explain} the paucity of antiquities from a small area where we are assured of ancient habitation. The French alone reported "fondations en grandes tailles" (Boblaye, p. 62); we feel some doubt is justified. To the south-west of the village is an ancient well, 1.92 m. by 2.60 m., of ~~XXXX~~ large, rectangular limestone blocks (fig. 63). It descends about 13 m. before reaching water; there are cross beams of large blocks across the center, all the way down. A Mr. Hawkins, quoted by Gell (p. 133) and Leake (Pel. 289) appears to ~~XXXX~~ ^{have} seen a flight of steps. These are no longer visible but the villagers said that when repairing the well they had found reason to believe it had been a fountain at one time and had become a well with the raising of the ground level.

There is no outlet above ground for the water in the plain, which must be considerable when the snow melts on Mt. Didymo. The result has been the creation of three large sink holes in the limestone in about a straight line; the first, on the slopes of Anamesa Malias, is in effect a cave (cf. figg. 62, 64, 65); the other two are in the plain. The middle and largest hole, to the northwest of the village, contains two chapels; ~~Mi~~ ^{li}arakis reports



Fig. 66



Fig. 67

that it is 150 m. wide and 80 m. deep; it can be seen in the foreground of fig. 65, page 99. It is entered by a passage and steps cut in the rock; another steeper set of steps opens into this passage and is probably earlier; there are cuttings for a door. The first chapel, that of Hagios Georgios, is to the right against the side of the depression. On the defaced frescoes can be seen various graffiti, including ~~xxxxxx~~ one that reads: "1486 hic fuit Demetrius Paleologus." Elaborate monograms, probably Venetian, surround the dates 1559 and 1608. The other chapel, of the Metamorphosis, on the other side is clearly later and has been recently restored.

The site of the ancient settlement, of which Pausanias ~~speaks~~ (ii. 36. 3) says only that it had three hiera--of Demeter (the chief divinity of the Hermionid), Poseidon (connected with the great sink holes?) and Apollo (cf. Apollo of the ~~xxxxxx~~ borders, Paus. ii. 35. 2?)--all with upright images of marble, was probably in the vicinity of the little chapel of Hagia Kyriaki to the east ~~in~~ ^{of} the plain, where many sherds are found in working the land. Nearby a large limestone oil-press (fig. 66 above) was found; the rim is broken for about .20 m. but it is otherwise intact, the diameter of the circle being 1.15 m.

Farther to the south and east, built into the north-west corner of the little church of Hagia Marina, ^{are} pieces of two cylindrical blocks, of which the larger, probably a base, is inscribed (IG IV.¹ 1. 746 and fig. 67 above). It is .80 high, of which .32 m. belong to ~~x~~ the roughly curved capital. The width

as far as it shows is .40 m. The material appears to be limestone covered by many layers of whitewash. The height of the letters averages .035 m. The reading *φαντά/Ἀριστομήδα*

Δαμάτρου/δεκάταν

and the letter forms of IG are correct.

For dating, the *A*, *E*, *Σ* are consistent with a third century B.C. date, but the angular ϕ , if one could be sure of ~~their~~ through all the layers of whitewash, may point to a later date.

Date: second century B.C. ? In connection with this dedication it is interesting to note that the festival of Hagia Marina at this Byzantine church is on July 18 "with the figs" as the people say; for Demeter and the fig, see Pausanias i. 37. 2.

B. THE INSCRIPTION (fig. 68)



Fig. 68.

See Peek, Ath. Mith. LIX (1934), 47 ff., Wilhelm, Neue Beiträge, I (1911), 26 ff., Hiller von Gaertringen, Πρ. τῆς Ἀκαδ. 1928, 110 f. and the Tabula I of IG IV.² 1 and Peek's Abb. 2 (whose topography, however, is misleading). Date: beginning of ~~XXXXXX~~ second century B.C. according to Hiller, IG. IV.². 1. 75. Two boards of arbitrators from Miletus and Rhodes give their identical decisions. The Her- mionians lodged a complaint against the Epidaurians over some land.

-----The area under dispute is ἡ χώρα κατὰ Σελλᾶντα καὶ ἀγρίους λιμένας ἄχρι τοῦ Στρουθοῦντος.

-----The decision by the arbitrators was that this land was to be the common property of both states: εἶναι ταύτην κοινὴν Ἑρμιονέων καὶ Ἐπιδευριῶν.

-----There follows a description of the land by means of a participial clause modifying χώρα: οὖσαν τῆς Διδυμίας κατὰ τοὺς ὅρους, οἱ εἶσιν βόλτος λίθοι κειμήφνοι ἀπὸ τῆς καλουμένης Φιλανορείας καὶ κατ' ἄκρας τὰς κολουράς ἕως τοῦ Στρουθοῦντος κατ' εὐθυρίαν ἕως εἰς θάλασσαν / τὰ πρὸς νότον ὡς ὕδατα καταρρεῖ.

There follows mention of crops, grazing, goats, and tax collectors.

The problem which, as far as we can see, has never been faced and which we are far from being able to solve is this: the land in question is described in the last quotation primarily in terms of a border line. None of the usual, and reasonable, topographic identifications can make of the border line an enclosed area, i.e. an area with more than two sides. It is difficult to suppose that the border line of another side of the disputed area was taken for granted and difficult to determine what this uncontroversial line would be, but it may be the only solution. There is an alternative which will explain the text in an altogether satisfactory manner by identifying the topography in such a way that one side of the area is bounded by the sea, but topographically, it must be admitted, this has its difficulties. We are at an impasse with text versus topography.

The usual identifications are as follows: first, in the general description of the area, the *Σέλλας*, usually a river name, is assigned to the Bedeni or Iri river as lying in the most likely river valley to be under dispute between Epidaurus and Hermione. The Wild Harbors (Agrioi Limenes) are identified with the Bay of Vourlia, to the south of Iri, as the most likely "harbors" to be under dispute. In support of this identification we note that the Admiralty Chart ~~marks~~ (Gulf of Nauplia, 1518) marks on the west side of Vourlia Bay a small harbor which it calls Xerólimni; locally it is known now as Xerolimáni, "dry harbor" for "wild harbors"; the plural may have referred to other anchorage in the bay. Xerolimáni was used in the evacuation of British troops during World War II. A young fisherman at Koilada, when asked what Vourlia was like, explained: "*ὅλα ἄγρια*."

At Vourlia there are a large cave (where people hid from the Germans), a fine spring, and grazing for flocks but no fields, we were told. The coast between Vourlia and Salánti, the first valley to the east after the coast turns south towards Koilada, is described as barren but no doubt is grazed.

Strouthous is known from Pausanias as a cape lying to the right of Mases as one comes from Hermione. It is usually identified with Cape Vourlia, the eastern of the two points that form Vourlia Bay. It could as well be Cape Iri, to the west of the bay, or, to the south of Salánti Bay, Akroteri Salanti (local name; Karteri on maps) ~~xx~~.

Thus the area in dispute lies in the vicinity of two places on the sea-coast and a river. The more detailed topography in the actual definition of the area is more of a problem.

The boleoi lithoi or lithōn (the latter in the Rhodian decision, Epidaurus copy, IG IV². 1. 75. B. 5) are mentioned with relation to a place called Philanoreia, Pausanias's Philanoreion. Pausanias gives the distance from Strouthous to both ~~xx~~ Philanoreion and Boleoi as 250 stades, an impossible figure which bring us to the middle of the Saronic Gulf. Thence from Philanoreion to Didyma, he says, ~~x~~ is 20 stades ~~x~~ (4 kilometres). He uses Boleoi as a proper name (*ἐπι Βολεούς*) and describes the boleoi as *λίθων...στωροὶ λογάδων*. Boblaye (p. 62, n. 1), comparing Thucydides iv. 240, 258 and vi. 420, explains these as piles of unworked blocks chosen so as to fit together, cyclopean architecture in miniature. Peek translates "Horossteine" and understands them as stretching for some distance and forming a ~~xx~~ border; a long line of them is rather controverted by Pausanias's giving us a single figure for the distance to them from Strouthous, even if the correct figure is lost to us. They would seem to be

markers consisting of heaps of large stones, presumably man-made though one cannot exclude the possibility of their being natural. A circle of four kilometres from Didymo takes in the ridges to the north and west of the village and the region of the Salánti valley to the southwest. Nonetheless it seemed wise to inquire for such heaps of stone throughout the river valley as well as at Didymo and Koiláda; the results ^{we} are not encouraging: ruins, probably ~~ancient~~ ancient, near Voithiki, north of Sheshe; others probably modern (of a metokhi of of the monastery) in Vourlia. In addition we noticed two jagged outcroppings of limestone cutting across the river valley a short way above Karnezelka which might be described as heaps of stones even now and could ~~we~~ easily have produced markers had the ~~the~~ stones been piled up. Also on the ridge called Boskaria south of the Salánti valley, natural outcroppings of rock forming two narrow lines seem to be topped with loose rocks, in effect the rough base of two parallel walls---whether natural or artificial we cannot say; if artificial they could well be the remains of a simple mandra (sheepfold) of ind^eterminable date. We recommend none of these as the boleoi and we have no great hopes that they can be discovered after questioning a number of shepherds who knew the district well and notice such things; they themselves ~~in~~ doubt that such markers would survive and since they are the ones who would be the cause of their destruction their opinion is not without weight.

For Philanoreia nothing has been suggested. We would remark on the name: it can only be connected with *ἀνορεία* (*Ἐπί ἡνορέῃ*, *ἀνορεία*), a poetic word for "manliness", "prowess"; Philanoreia means then "fond of (or, devoted to) manliness", a strange name for an out-of-the-way place or village. Awareness of the "given" character of the name is seen in the *καλουμένη* of the inscription and the

of Pausanias. As far as we know, such a high-souled designation for a remote spot is unparalleled. We suggest that the name *is* more understandable if applied to a fort built on a spot without any particular name of its own and where ephebes, performing their military service, might be stationed. The presence of a fort near border markers is reasonable. We know of three forts in this region---at Lambayana, south of Salánti (Hermionian), and Giphto Kastro above Karnezeika (probably Epidaurian) and Kastro Stavropodiu (certainly Epidaurian) at either end of the Iri river valley. Pausanias's distance of 20 stades to Didyma fits Lambayana best, and next Kastro Stavropodiu.

The phrase *κατ' ἄκρας τὰς καλούρας* (but N. *κατ' ἄκραν τὰν κολούραν*, Rhodian decision, IG IV². 1. 75. B. 6) is usually identified with the *κατὰ τῶν ὄρων τὰς κορυφάς* of Pausanias, between Strouthous and Philanoreion. The latter, however, surely is path while the former need be no more than a border line. With both has been identified the ridge of the mountain Avgo, reaching the sea in both of the two promontories flanking Vourlia Bay, and thus *ἕως τοῦ Στρουθοῦντος*. A blunt, dome-shaped mountain ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ as indicated by the name Avgo seemed to correspond to "dock-tailed" crest or crests. On the spot the identification is not so convincing: the dome of Avgo is not really apparent from most sides although the whole ridge is rounded and stubby (cf. figg. 60, 69). But the word *κολούρος* denotes something sharply cut off; *κολουραῖος* is used with *πέτρα* by Callimachus for a steep, sheer cliff (Fr. 66 [Pfeiffer]). Topographically the most satisfactory identification ~~the most satisfactory identification~~ is with the high line of cliffs along the south side of the Iri river valley, culminating in Leveta and separating clearly the upland country on the north slope

of Avgo from the river bottom (see figg. 52, 60, 49 and 55).
 Deveta itself could be the single akra koloura of the Rhodian
 decision. Next best is the precipitous south face of Avgo along
 the sea, from the easternmost end of Salánti west to Vourlia
 (fig. 60). Now both possess upland paths and will thus agree
 with Pausanias as well as the inscription. The monastery can best
 be reached from Iri by climbing up to the plateau on the right
 shortly after passing Deveta (we have not taken this path ourselves)
 and beyond the monastery an upland path continues to Malavria and
 then gradually descends to ~~xxx~~ Sheshe, still keeping to the side
 of the mountain. Between Koilada and Vourlia, we were told, there
 is also a path, lying along the ridge.

What sort of a line can be ~~xxxx~~ constructed from these iden-
 tifications? A sea coast promontory, Strouthous ([a] Cape
 Vourlia, [b] Cape Iri), fits well with either of the cliff or
 ridge lines. At the inland end must lie Philanoreia and the boleoi,
 and the two possibilities then are (1) Kastro Stavropodiou at the
 east end of the monastery cliffs (but on the other side of the valley)
 and (2) Lambayana near the east end of the south face of Avgo.
 Of the two, Lamabayana is closer to Pausanias's 20 stades to
 Didyma, but it might seem strange that Pausanias first mentions the
 road all the way to Strouthous and then ~~xxxxxxxx~~ refers all the
 way back to Philanoreion and the boleoi. It can be argued that he
 gives first the coastal route and then works back along the ridge
 route to get in a mention of Didyma, which he has skipped, lying
 much closer to Mases than ~~it~~ to Strouthous. Since Pausanias almost
 certainly did not traverse this area himself (see. p. 13 above)
 a completely logical order is not to be expected. We feel that

it is very likely that he learnt the names of these border points from this very border inscription, visible at Epidaurus and Hermione, and that his figures came from his guides at Epidaurus or Hermione who explained the location of these places. All he knows of Halieis comes ~~xxx~~ from inscriptions at Epidaurus (see above p. 12 and Paus. ii. 36. 1), and if his information on the border also comes from Epidaurus, ~~xxxx~~ his reference to Didyma after Strouthous, Philanoreion, and the boleoi is more understandable.

The location of the boleoi at either of these two inland ends (Kastro Stavropodion or Lambayana) is also reasonable, though better for line (1) and the Kastro. If near Kastro Stavropodion they would come at the point where two streams join to form the Iri river, in a region where Epidauria, Troezenia, and the Hermionid certainly met, where there are no natural boundaries and where there is evidence of ancient habitation at both Voithiki to the north and in the Peleï-Sheshe area to the south. Artificial markers are most reasonable. If, on the other hand, the boleoi were north of Lambayana they could have been along the ridge of Boskaria, bounding the next valley, Salánti, on its south side and stretching between the long low promontory of Akrotiri Salanti (or Karteri) and the high pass that cuts off the east end of Salánti from Didymo (see figs. 70 and 71 below). If the Salánti valley did not belong to the Hermionid, markers would be reasonable since the adjoining valleys of Didymo and Lambayana almost certainly did.



Fig. 69



Fig. 70



Fig. 71

Taking the line by itself we have two possibilities (cf. Plan IV): (1) Cape Vourlia, or Cape Iri, along the cliffs on the north side of Avgo to a point between Sheshe and Kastro Stavropodiu; this is topographically the more likely. (2) From the same capes along the south ridge of Avgo to the east and south borders of Salánti; this agrees with Pausanias's distances better if not with the order of his account.

How can we form the borders of a common territory with either of these lines and the rougher description "along the Sellas and the Wild Harbors"? Assuming an area which includes the Wild Harbors in Vourlia Bay, Cape Vourlia and line (1a) could form its southern boundary or alternatively Cape Iri and line (1b) could form its northern boundary (see the rough diagram, fig. 72, at the bottom of this page). With (1a) we would have then a common territory comprising the Vourlia Bay and the Iri river valley bounded on the south by a line running from Cape Vourlia along the cliffs to a line of stone markers at the head of the valley. But what is the northern border? Is it taken for granted that it is the line of mountains to the north of the river valley? Tacit assumptions are hardly the rule in such delicate matters as border disputes. And what of the Iri plain by the sea? It is hard to believe that this was common ~~xxx~~ property. We know it possessed regular habitation and land belonging to Asclepius, perhaps a sort of metokhi of the Hieron at Lygourio.

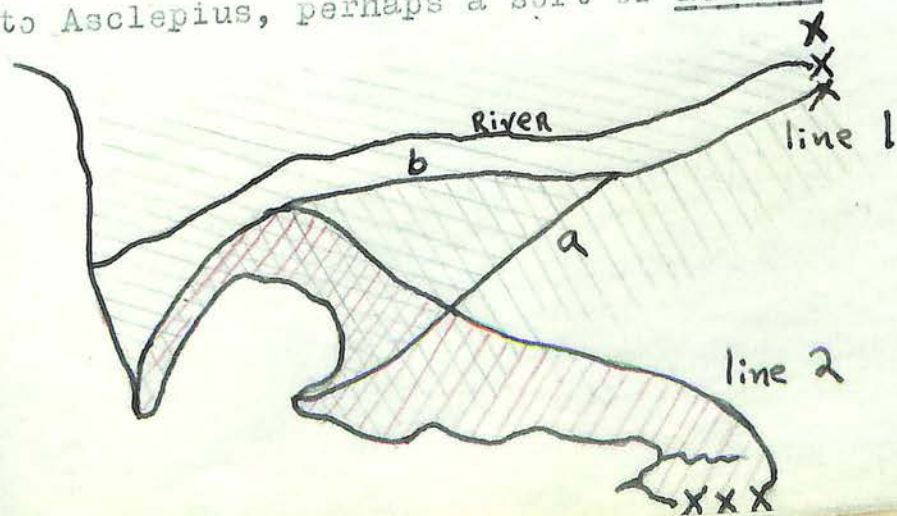


Fig. 72.
Territory enclosed by line:
1a
1b
2
Possible locations for boleoi xxx

The inclusion of its coastline in Epidaurian territory is necessary ~~xxxxxx~~ for Scylax's assignment of 30/stades to Epidauria. And where would an assumedly undisputed northern border come to the sea? There is no natural end ~~xx~~ to the Iri plain which narrows considerably but then widens out into the Kandia plain. There are similar objections to the less likely assumption that the river itself formed the northern border. The flat land lies scattered all the way down the valley, now to this side, now to that, of the river. On the Iri plain the river ~~xxxx~~ bed is dry most of the year and constantly shifting. It is hard to believe that the southern half of the plain was common land, the northern Epidaurian. Further the expression *κατ' εὐθυρίαν ἕως εἰς θάλασσαν / τὰ πρὸς νότον ὡς ὕδατα καταρεῖ* shows that the common land did not extend to the north of either Cape Iri or Cape Vourlia, and in either case this rules out the Iri plain. It would be much easier if the common territory along the upper reaches of the river could be brought to an end at the point where the Iri plain opens out, i.e. at Leveta, "the cauldron". To do this and still include the Wild Harbors it would seem reasonable to put the southern boundary, the "dock-tailed" line, along the top of Avgo (not a very clear line just because the mountain is rounded and stubby and not very convincing as a path, if Pausanias is to be considered) instead of along the much clearer line ~~x~~ lower down above the steep cliffs themselves which lead to the monastery; the already over-taxed assumption of a northern border along the northern mountain crescent would then have to bear the additional burden of shift across the river at Leveta and thence along the ridge to Cape Iri.

In only one way can these assumptions be justified: the inscription described the area as *οὐσαν τῆς Διδυμίας, κατὰ τοὺς ὄρους* (note the punctuation that is supplied). Peek wondered at the Didymia extending ~~κτικκκκ~~ beyond Avgo. We must suppose that the extent of the Didymia is not in dispute, that it traditionally includes Vourlia Bay and the narrow river valley above Leveta, that although Didyma itself may in fact have belonged to Hermione, both Hermione and Epidaurus claimed rights in the outlying parts of the area known as the Didymia. The assumption that ~~κτικκκ~~ the limits of the Didymia were known and that it is the ~~κτικκκ~~ extent to which common rights penetrate south into the Didymia which is ~~κτικκκκκκκκκ~~ being defined may be the best way of ^{reconciling} ~~κτικκκκκκκ~~ very probable topographical identifications with the failure to specify a northern border.

The southern border itself, however, is not altogether ~~κτικκκκκκκκκκ~~ satisfactory. To include the Wild Harbors in the area we have had to identify Cape Strouthous with Cape Vourlia. What then is the significance of *κατ' εὐθυρίαν ἕως εἰς θάλασσαν*? That phrase makes much more sense if Cape Iri is Strouthous; the common land is then confined to the southern slopes of that ridge and does not encroach on the Epidaurian territory in the Iri plain. This is line ~~κ~~ (1b) providing a northern but no southern boundary~~κ~~ to the area. This line has the advantage of ^{lying} along the sharp cliffs above the river, by far the most satisfactory akrai kolourai available. But if this area lies along the ~~κτικκκκκκκκκκκκκκκκ~~ (northern and western) borders of the Didymia, how far into the Didymia does it extend? The Hermionians, the ~~κτικκκκκκκκκκκκκκκκ~~ complainants, we may be sure would have wanted this made clear for they are

elydently objecting to Epidaurian transgressions. Finally, how does the line enclose an area "along the Sellas" ? The difficulties here are even more serious than with line (1a).

To get around the absence of either a northern boundary (with line 1a) or a southern boundary (line 1b) we can take line (2) starting from Cape Iri and including Vourlia Bay, all the way to the pass between Salánti and Didyma; then the boleoi may be understood as living along the ridge of Boskaria near Lambayana down to the tip of the Akroteri Salanti. The area is then completely enclosed, the northern and eastern border along this line, the greater part of the southern border consisting of the sea. The phrase *κατ' εὐθυρίαν ... καταρρεῖ* now makes better sense, "straight into the sea to the south as the waters|flow (i.e., following the water-shed)", referring to most of the area included in the boundaries and particularly to the fact that the common territory does not extend on **the** other side of the ridge at Cape Iri and into the Iri plain.

What happens to the Sellas with this explanation? Clearly it cannot be the Iri or Bedeni river. At the east end of the proposed area lies the valley of Salánti, running east-west for about three kilometres. The north side of the valley continues along the coast as the south face of Avgo without a break up to Cape Vourlia (fig. 69). There are fields on the bottom of the valley and grazing on the considerable slopes of Prophetes Ilias to the north. Today it is farmed by Didymiotes and reported to be good land. A revma, dry in June, runs down the middle and there is a wide sandy beach. It is cut off from Lambayana to the south by the steep and barren ridges of Boskaria. The path between the two valleys goes around by the point---a reasonable place for

boleoi. Salánti is also cut off from Didymo by a steep pass (figg. 70, 71, p. 108). One can see how the valley might have been a "no-man's land". By nature it is more closely connected to the slopes to the west than to ^{the} nearby Didymo or Lambayana plains. What justification is there for identifying it with Sellas? A stream does run down the valley and it is not necessary ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ that "Sellas" refer to a large stream or the largest stream in the area. (There is the possibility that the stream had a stronger flow at one time; the Didymo plain has no natural outlet ^{above ground} for water [witness the sink-holes] and the head of the Salánti valley would have been a likely spot for the exit of a katabothron).

Two other details of the text are facilitated in their interpretation by this identification: this area may be regarded as part of the Didymia, but the phrase *οὐσαν τῆς Διδυμίας κατὰ τοὺς ὄρους κτλ.* may be translated as "being along the borders of the Didymia," the genitive *Διδυμίας* modifying *κατὰ τοὺς ὄρους*. The Didymia then is all within the Hermionid; this area, outside of it, lies along the borders which are (marked by) the boleoi lithoi. The next phrase, "along the akrai kolourai" need not refer to the border of the Didymia but modify *οὐσαν* directly. The territory lies along the borders of the Didymia (which are such-and-such) and along the akrai kolourai up to Strouthous etc. (The distinction can be expressed by placing a comma after Philanoreia.)

It is tempting at first sight to relate the name Salánti itself to *Σελιάς*, deriving it from an oblique case of the ancient word as is so commonly the case in modern forms, e.g. *ἐλέφαντος* : *ἐλέφας*. But the immediate origin can hardly be anything but Turkish "selintí", "a small torrent caused by rain, the bed made by such a torrent" (Hovey's Turkish-English Dictionary). Is it possible

that the Turkish word was applied here among all such torrent beds in the Hermionid because of the Greek name *Σελλάντα* or *Σελλάντι(ον)* which might also account for the accent, Salánti : Selintí ?

The chief objection to this interpretation is the peculiarity of finding common land reaching so far into apparently Hermionian territory. However, Hermione did not occupy this western district strongly. The fort at Lambayana may have been to protect this land border as well as to guard the beach^head. The difficulty of the order in which Pausanias speaks of Strouthous and then the bolepi, Philanoreion, and Didyma, has been considered on pages 107 f. above. To be sure identification of the cliffs ~~wich~~ leading up to Leveta with the akrai kolourai is attractive and favours line (1). But in favour of line (2) and the location of Sellas at Salánti is the greater ease with which the text can be explained, the distance from Didymo, and the ^{absence} of any other border line in the text of the inscription.

Can we reconcile these arguments and push the northern border of an area including Salánti up to the cliffs above the Iri river? Only further leg-work can give the answer. No doubt other combinations are possible. Generally, we suspect that ignorance of the agreed boundaries of the Didymia may account for many of our difficulties.

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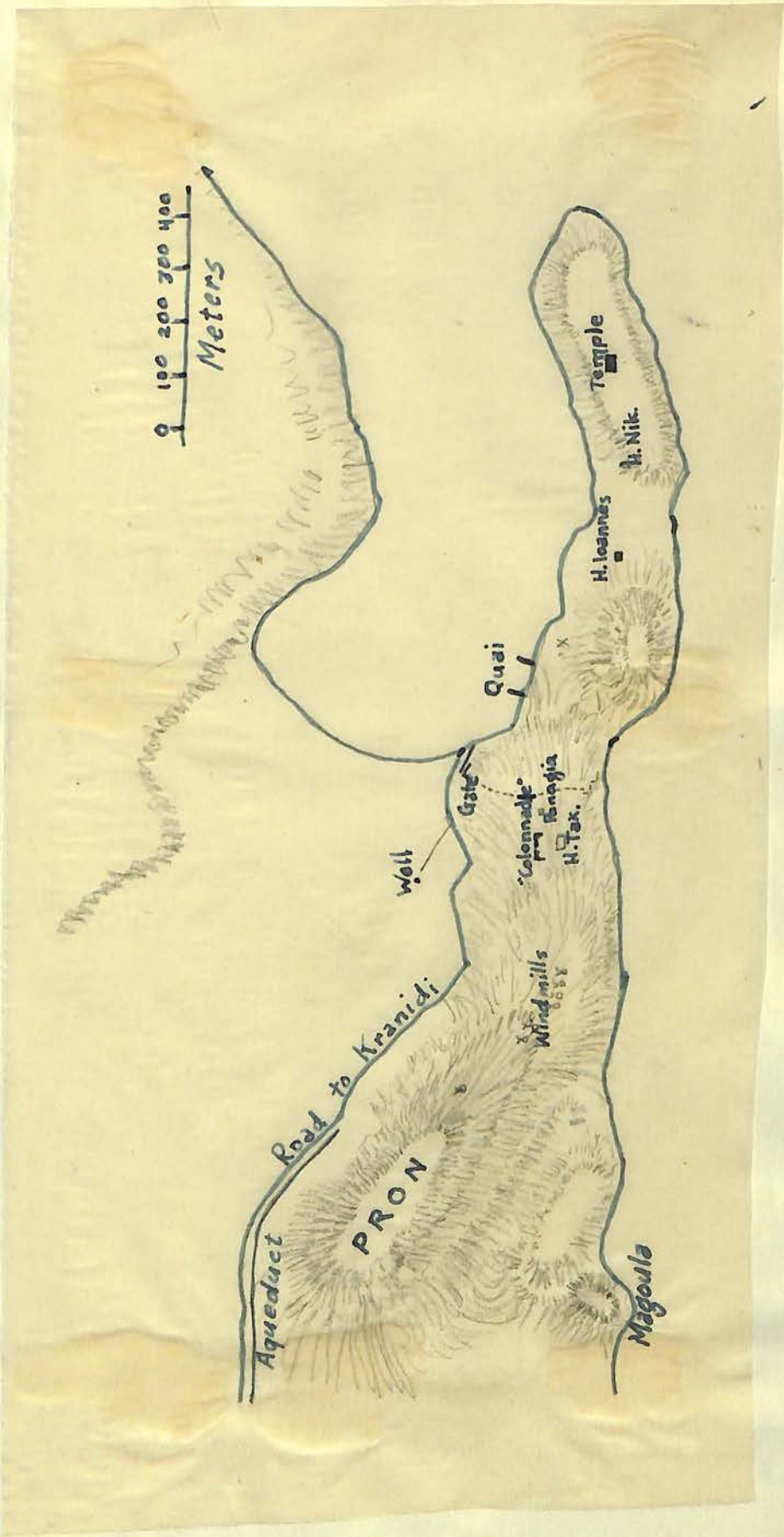
PLAN I - THE HERMIONID. Adapted from British Army Maps,
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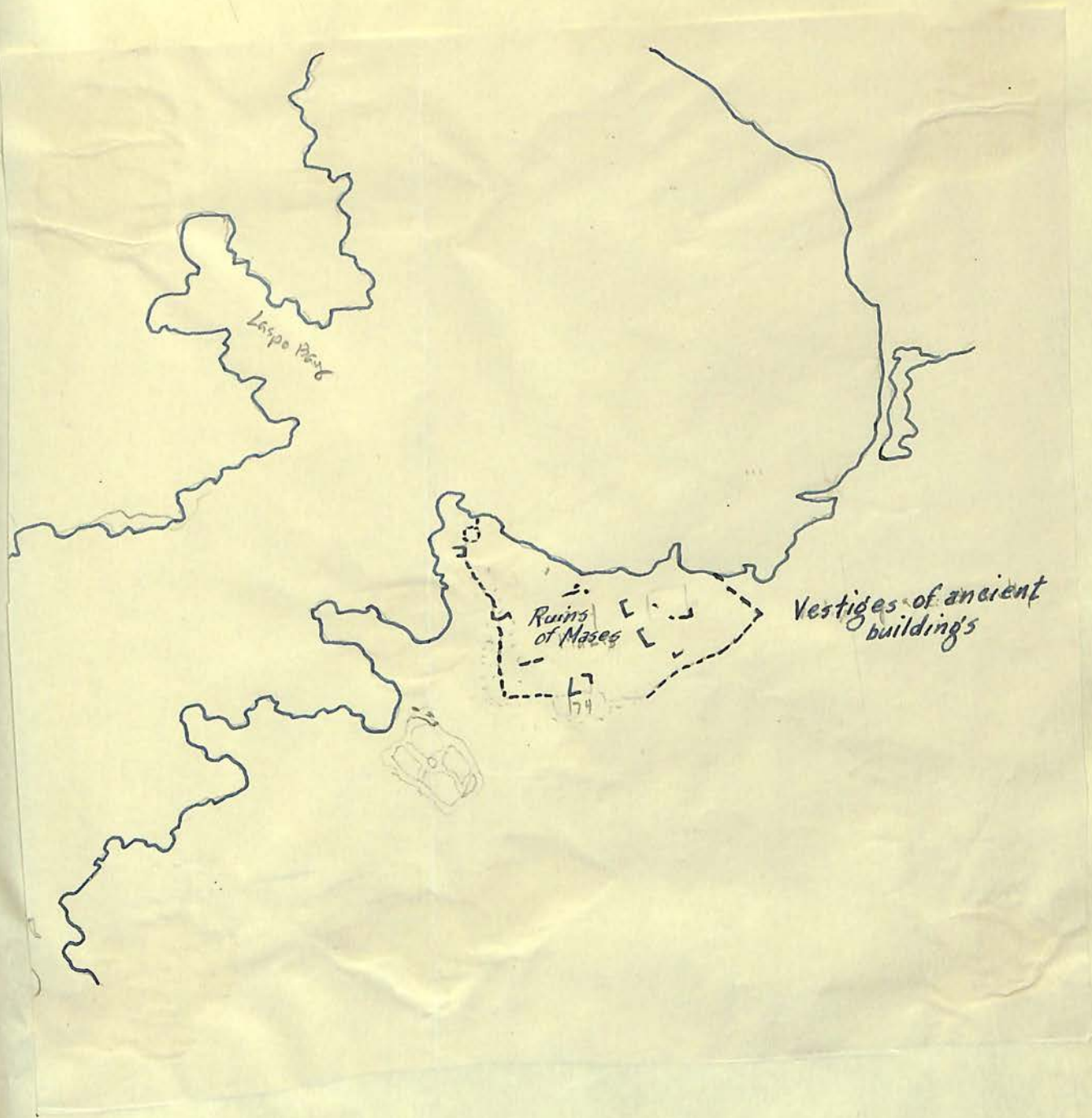
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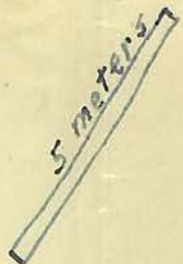
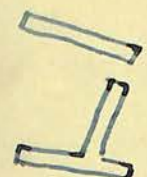
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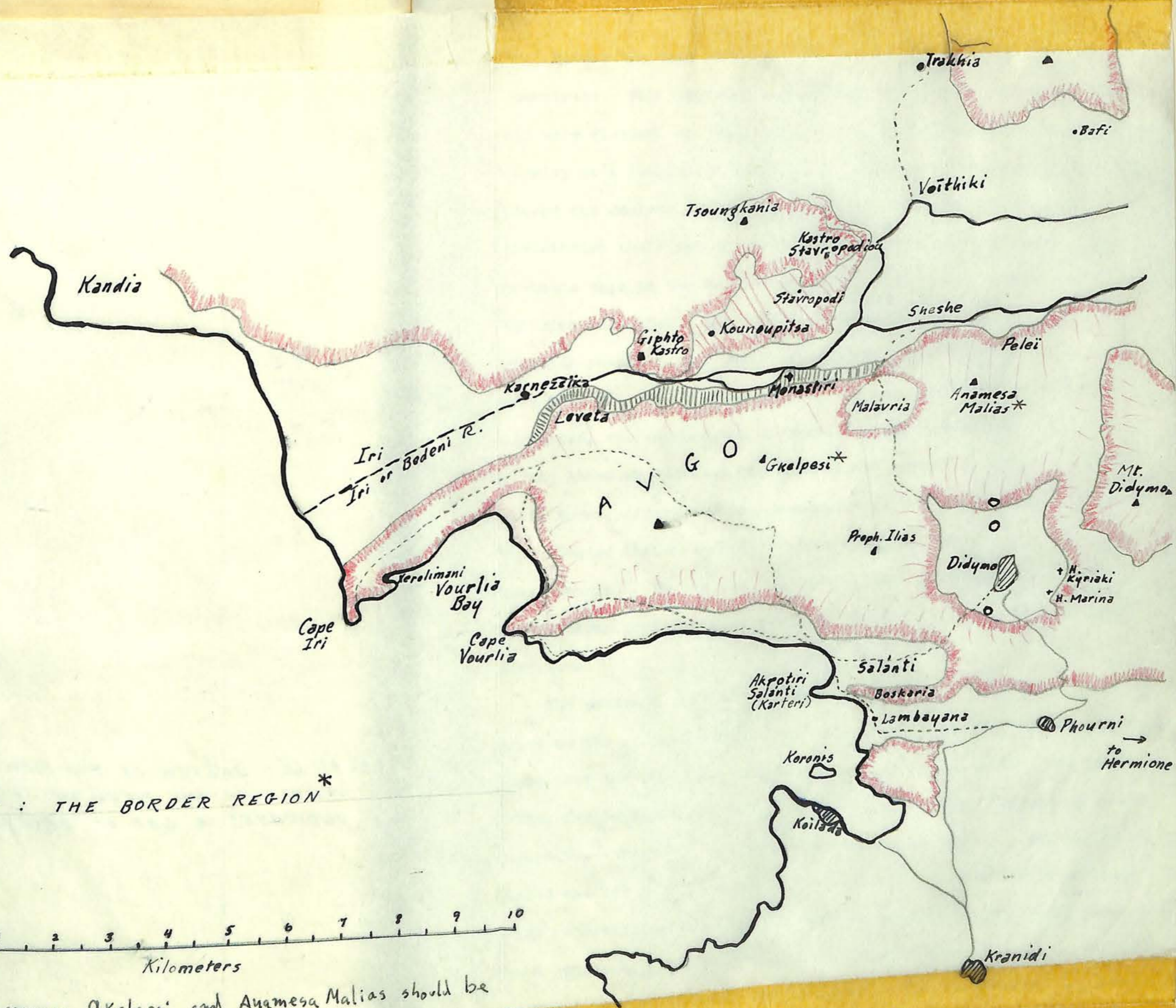
PLAN II. HERMIONE. Adapted from Frickenhaus and Müller, *Ath.*
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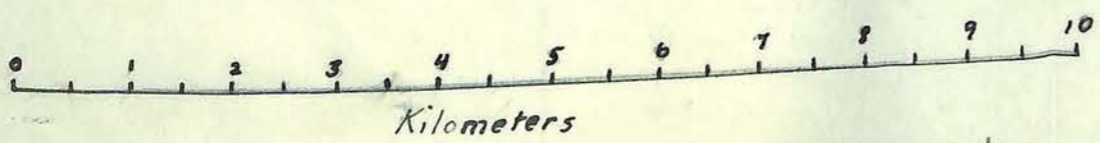
PLAN 3 - SITE OF MASES, from British Admiralty Chart.
(Now identified as Haleis)



PLAN IV - SKETCH OF POSITION OF CONGLOMERATE BLOCKS
VISIBLE IN ONE FIELD ON THE BOUZEÏKA. DOTTED LINE
INDICATES A GAP OF ABOUT 100 METERS IN THE PLAN.



PLAN V : THE BORDER REGION *



* Note: The names Gkelpesi and Anamesa Malias should be transposed.