

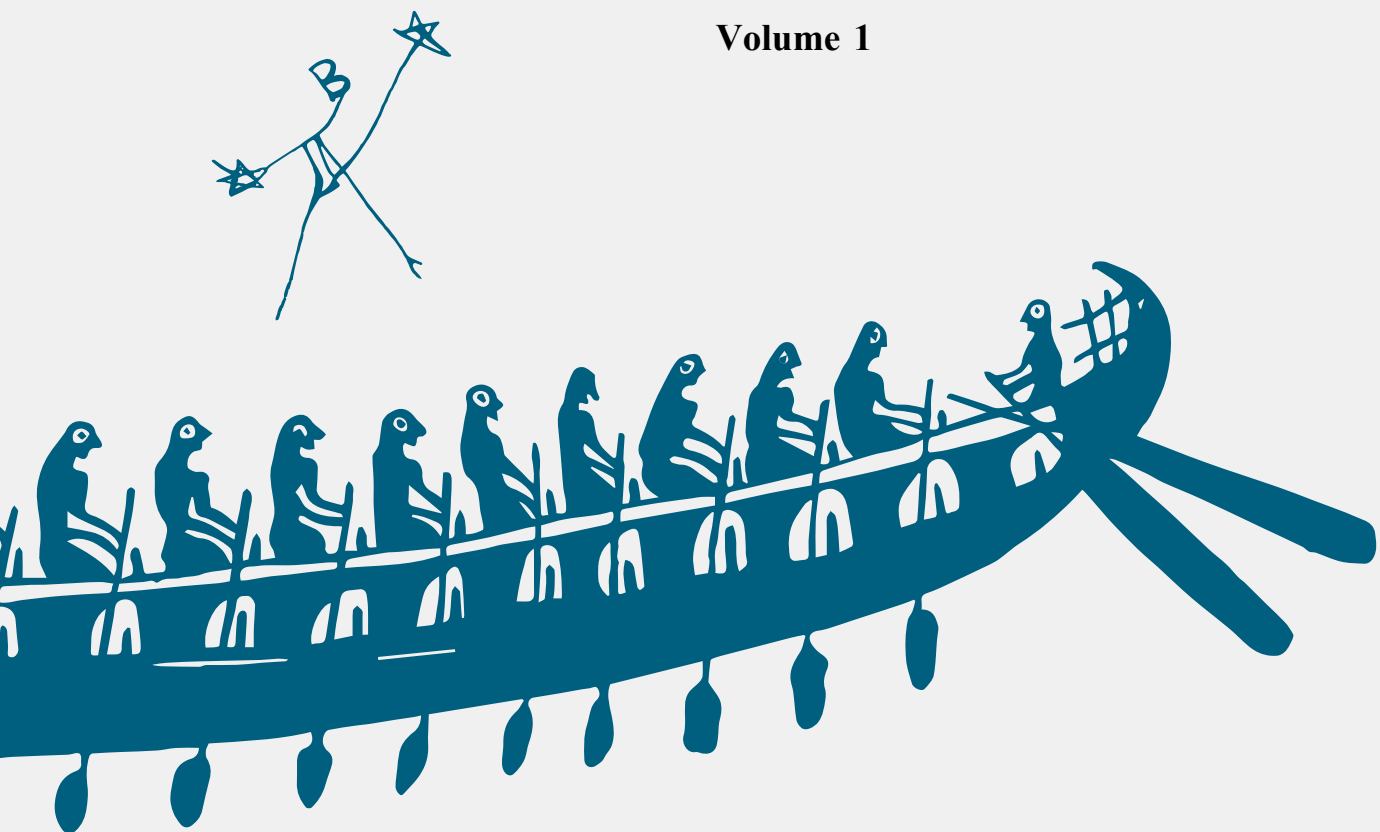
EUBOICA II

Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West

**Proceedings of the Conference
Lacco Ameno (Ischia, Naples), 14-17 May 2018**

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro and Matteo D'Acunto (eds.)

Volume 1



Napoli 2020

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI NAPOLI «L'ORIENTALE»
DIPARTIMENTO DI ASIA AFRICA E MEDITERRANEO



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E STORIA ANTICA

Nuova Serie | 27



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DI ARCHEOLOGIA
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Bruno d'Agostino, Patrizia Gastaldi, Fausto Longo, Carmine Pellegrino

ABBREVIATIONS

Above sea-level: above s.l.; Anno Domini: AD; and so forth: etc.; Before Christ: BC; bibliography: bibl.; catalogue: cat.; centimeter/s: cm; century/ies: cent.; chap./chaps.: chapter/chapters; circa/approximately: ca.; column/s: col./cols.; compare: cf.; *et alii*/and other people: *et al.*; diameter: diam.; dimensions: dim.; Doctor: Dr; especially: esp.; exterior: ext.; fascicule: fasc.; figure/s: fig./figs.; following/s: f./ff.; fragment/s: fr./frs.; for example: e.g.; gram/s: gm; height: h.; in other words: i.e.; interior: int.; inventory: inv.; kilometer/s: km; length: ln.; line/s: l./ll.; maximum: max.; meter/s: m; millimeter/s: mm; minimum: min.; namely: viz.; new series/nuova serie etc.: n.s.; number/s: no./nos.; original edition: orig. ed.; plate/s: pl./pls.; preserved: pres.; Professor: Prof.; reprint: repr.; series/serie: s.; sub voce: s.v.; supplement: suppl.; thick: th.; tomb/s: T./TT.; English/Italian translation: Eng./It. tr.; volume/s: vol./vols.; weight: wt.; which means: scil.; width: wd.

Abbreviations of periodicals and works of reference are those recommended for use in the *American Journal of Archaeology* with supplements in the *Année Philologique*.

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PREFACE

EUBOICA, AGAIN

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro, Matteo D'Acunto

A little more than twenty years since the international conference *Euboica. L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente* (Naples, 13-16 November 1996) – whose proceedings, edited by Bruno d'Agostino and Michel Bats, were published in 1998 – the great amount of new data that had enriched our knowledge of southern Italy, the western Mediterranean and Greece over the last few years called for a return to the theme of Euboean colonization. A direct thread, in motivations and content, ran from the 1996 conference to the one held in Lacco Ameno (Ischia, Naples) from 14 to 17 May 2018, which was entitled *Pithekoussai e l'Eubea tra Oriente e Occidente*. The intent was, again, to discuss the themes of colonization, how colonial realities became rooted in different areas of the Mediterranean, the specific traits of Euboean colonization, and forms of contact and relationship between the Greek element and local communities.

These Proceedings are divided in two volumes, arranged geographically, as per the conference program. They feature a dialogue between historians and archaeologists, with an emphasis on the new important contributions made over the last twenty years by field archaeology in Euboea and in colonial and Mediterranean contexts. This new archaeological evidence contributes to, and modifies our interpretations of, the historical phenomena in which Euboea played a prominent role in the Early Iron Age (tenth-eighth century BC), both in the motherland and in the several geographical districts touched by Euboean trade and colonization. These are the phenomena that led to the colonization of southern Italy and northern Greece, and thus from

the eighth century BC onward put an indelible mark on the history of the West.

The individual contributions are introduced by an important essay by Nota Kourou, a reflection on the theme of Mediterranean connectivity seen from the Euboean perspective and analyzed (over a time range spanning from the tenth to the eighth century BC) through the distribution of Euboean pottery in the Aegean, the Levant and the West.

The first volume begins with Irene Lemos' important assessment of Euboea at its transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. The contributions in the first part of the volume provide an up-to-date overview of the new archaeological and interpretive results of investigations at Lefkandi, Chalcis, the sanctuary of Artemis at Amarynthos, Karystos, and Kyme, and in eastern Euboea. The subsequent contributions regard the sector of Boeotia facing Euboea and falling within its orbit of influence, as borne out by mythical traditions and by the crucially important excavations of Oropos led by Alexandros Mazarakis Ainian. We are then led on into the northern Aegean and northern Greece, which were also destinations for Euboean trade and colonial migration. The book is concluded with a look at the western Mediterranean, and specifically at Sardinia and Spain. Here, the Phoenician and Euboean elements interacted with the local communities, forging relations based on mobility and reciprocity.

The second volume gathers contributions on Euboean presence in the Tyrrhenian (Pithekoussai, Cumae, Neapolis), the canal of Sicily (Zankle and Naxos) and areas that the Euboeans had an early interest in (Francavilla Marittima in Calabria).

These contributions, focusing on archaeological and interpretive novelties from each site, are preceded by two important reflections, by Maurizio Giangiulio and Luca Cerchiai, respectively. The former deals with the “social memory” of Greek colonization, the latter with new interpretive models for the dynamics guiding relations between the Greeks and local communities, based on a comparison between different milieus and on new evidence. Alongside the presentation of archaeological novelties from Pithekoussai and Cumae in several contributions in this volume, there are two reflections by Marek Wecowski and Alfonso Mele, respectively on social behavior in connection with the appearance of the symposium, starting from the famous inscription on Nestor's Cup, and on the mythical-historical tradition of Cumae from the story of the Sybil onward.

The conference was accompanied by an exhibition entitled *Pithekoussai... work in progress*, displaying a sample of grave goods from the still unpublished part of the necropolis of Pithekoussai, i.e., from the 1965-1967 excavations. In this exhibition, Giorgio Buchner was honored with a display of his letters and documents bearing witness to his dense correspondence with some of the foremost archaeologists of his time, and to his international standing as a scholar.

The conference provided an opportunity to strengthen the ties between the Soprintendenza and the university, compare different study traditions, and keep open the dialogue on the theme of intercultural connectivity and relations. This theme, far from being outdated, today stands as the true benchmark by which the progress of the peoples of the shores of the Mediterranean is and will be measured.

The conference was promoted by the Università degli Studi di Napoli “L'Orientale” and the Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l'area metropolitana di Napoli (Ministero della Cultura), with the crucial support of the town administration of Lacco Ameno d'Ischia. Heartfelt thanks go to the mayor, Giacomo Pascale, and the councilor for culture at the time, Cecilia Prota, who

enthusiastically agreed to and supported this venture, in the awareness that knowledge and research must provide the foundation for promotion of cultural heritage.

We thank all who brought their greetings to the conference and took part in it: Prof. Elda Morlicchio, Rector of the Università degli Studi di Napoli “L'Orientale”, and Prof. Michele Bernardini, Director of Dipartimento Asia Africa e Mediterraneo; Dr. Caterina Bon Valsassina, Director General of Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio of the Italian Ministry of Culture; Prof. Emanuele Papi, Director of the Italian Archaeological School of Athens; Prof. Claude Pouzadoux, director of the Centre J. Bérard; Prof. Oswyn Murray; Prof. Emanuele Greco, former director of the Italian Archaeological School of Athens; and Dr. Paolo Giulierini, director of the Naples National Archaeological Museum.

Especially heartfelt thanks go to all the speakers at the conference and authors of the essays in these two volumes. Through their valuable contributions, together they have achieved the collective endeavor of *Euboica II*, between the motherland, the East and the West. We are especially grateful to Bruno d'Agostino, who, from the height of his scholarly authority, accepted the onerous task of introducing the conference and authored a fundamental essay in the first volume. Our thanks also go to Carmine Ampolo and Catherine Morgan for exemplarily drawing the conclusions of the conference and of these two volumes. We are also keen to thank the session chairs who managed the dense days of the conference: Michel Bats, Anna Maria D'Onofrio, Maurizio Giangiulio, Irene Lemos, Oswyn Murray, Fabrizio Pesando, Karl Reber, Claude Pouzadoux, and Fausto Zevi.

We thank Drs. Costanza Gialanella and Maria-luisa Tardugno, the Soprintendenza officials who succeeded one another in the task of safeguarding the archaeological heritage of Ischia, for organizing the exhibition, as well as Mss. Teresa Calise and Teresa Iacono (Soprintendenza ABAP per l'area metropolitana di Napoli). We would also like to thank Dr. Federico Poole (Museo Egizio di Torino) for his consultation on the scarabs; Dr. Luigia Melillo and Ms. Marina Vecchi of the Restoration Laboratory of the National Archaeological Museum of Naples for their restoration of the materials; and the

firm Corsale & Amitrano Restauro e Architettura. For the exhibition imagery, we thank the Òrkestra. Media & Web Agency; for the welcome service, the Platypus Tour Agency and especially Emanuele Mattera; and for operative support, Mr. Giulio Lauro of the Marina di Sant'Anna.

Finally, our heartfelt thanks go to a group of PhD and MA graduates in archaeology and archaeology students of the Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale" for contributing decisively to the organization and management of the conference: Mariangela Barbato, Martina D'Onofrio, Chiara

Improta, Cristiana Merluzzo, Sara Napolitano, Francesco Nitti, Francesca Somma, and Marco Tartari.

With some emotion, we leave it to some photographs of the first and second conference of *Euboica* to conclude this brief introduction. A common research thread ran through these two conferences, which were held in a similar climate of dialogue, sharing and friendship among today's "Euboeans", along the sea routes of yesterday's Euboeans from the East to the West.



Participants in the conference *Euboica. L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*, Naples, 13-16 November 1996: from left to right, David Ridgway, Nicholas Coldstream, Michel Bats, Patrizia Gastaldi, Angeliki Andreiomenou, Bruno d'Agostino, Sandrine Huber, Irene Lemos, and Béatrice Blandin

Pithekoussai e l'Eubea tra Oriente e Occidente

Lacco Ameno, Ischia (NA)
14-17 maggio 2018



14 maggio

SALUTI

- 15.30 **Giacomo Pascale** (Sindaco del Comune di Lacco Ameno)
Caterina Bon Valsassina (Direttore Generale Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio - Mibact)
Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro (Soprintendente ABAP per l'Area Metropolitana di Napoli)
Elda Morlicchio (rettrice dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
Michele Bernardini (Direttore del DAAM, Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
Emanuele Pappi (Direttore della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene)
Corrado Matera (Assessore con delega al Turismo, Regione Campania)
Rosanna Romano (Direttore Generale per le Politiche culturali e il Turismo, Regione Campania)
Prospettive di valorizzazione del patrimonio archeologico
 Interverranno
Cecilia Protà (Assessore alla Cultura del Comune di Lacco Ameno)
Paolo Giulierini (Direttore del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli)
Nadia Murolo (Dirigente per la valorizzazione e promozione dei Beni Culturali, Regione Campania)

CONFERENZA INAUGURALE

- 16.30 **Nota Kourou** (University of Athens)
Euboian pottery in a Mediterranean perspective

INTRODUZIONE AL CONVEGNO

- 17.10 **Bruno d'Agostino** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
Le problematiche archeologiche
 17.30 **Alfonso Mele** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II")
Le problematiche storiche
VISITA AL MUSEO

15 maggio

SEZIONE A. L'Eubea tra madrepatria e colonie: aspetti storici e modelli interpretativi

- 10.00 **Maurizio Giangliullo** (Università degli Studi di Trento)
Memorie coloniali euboiche: appunti sulle tradizioni letterarie della mobilità mediterranea di VIII - VII secolo
 10.20 **Luisa Breglia** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II")
Relazioni tra Eubea e Beozia in età arcaica
 10.40 **Luca Cerchiai** (Università degli Studi di Salerno)
Modelli interpretativi sulla colonizzazione euboica e impatti sul mondo indigeno

SEZIONE B. Pithekoussai

- 11.00 **Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro** (Soprintendenza ABAP per l'Area Metropolitana di Napoli)
Pithekoussai: rappresentazione funeraria e dinamiche interculturali nella necropoli di San Montano (scavi 1965-67)
Pausa caffè
 11.40 **Melania Gigante** (Università degli Studi di Bologna), **Wolfgang Müller** (Goethe University Frankfurt), **Alessandra Sperduti**, **Luca Bondioli** (Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico "Luigi Pigorini", Roma)
Euboici, orientali, indigeni: paleodemografia e mobilità dal campione odonto-scheletrico umano delle sepolture dell'antica Pithekoussai (VIII - VI sec.)
 12.00 **Costanza Gialanella** (Soprintendenza ABAP per l'Area Metropolitana di Napoli), **Pietro Giovanni Guzzo** (Accademia dei Lincei)
Il quartiere metallurgico di Mazzola a Pithecusa: ritrovamenti e produzioni
 12.30 **Mariassunta Cuzzo** (Università degli Studi del Molise)
Produzioni ceramiche dall'area di Mazzola
 12.50 **Nadin Burkhardt** (Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt), **Stephan Faust** (University College of Cork)
I primi risultati dello scavo nell'area di villa Arbusto/Pithecusa
DISCUSSIONE
Pausa pranzo
 15.00 **Valentino Nizzo** (Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Roma)
Paesaggi, forme e codici del rito nella necropoli di Pithekoussai
 15.20 **Marek Wecowski** (University of Warsaw)
The "Cup of Nestor" in context: the rise of the Greek aristocratic culture

SEZIONE C. Cuma e Parthenope

- 15.40 **Matteo D'Acunto** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
Le prime fasi di Cuma alla luce delle ricerche recenti
 16.00 **Giovanna Greco** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II")
Strutture e materiali dalla Cuma arcaica: le ricerche della "Federico II" nell'area del Foro
Pausa caffè
 16.40 **Michel Bats**, **Priscilla Munzi** (Centre Jean Bérard, Napoli)
Vaisselle et ustensiles de cuisine à Cumes à l'époque archaïque: analyse et confrontations
 17.00 **Daniela Giampaola** (Soprintendenza ABAP per il Comune di Napoli)
Napoli antica dall'Età del Bronzo Finale a Parthenope: i dati delle nuove indagini
DISCUSSIONE

16 maggio

SEZIONE D. La Sicilia e il Mediterraneo occidentale

- 10.00 **Giovanna Maria Bacci** (Soprintendenza BB.C.C.A.A. di Messina)
Zancle: aggiornamenti sull'insediamento urbano e sui luoghi di culto
 10.20 **Maria Costanza Lentini** (Polo Regionale dei Siti Culturali di Catania)
Naxos di Sicilia tra l'VIII e il VII secolo a.C.: rapporti e connessioni esterne
 10.40 **Jean-Christophe Sourisseau** (Aix-Marseille Université), **Timmy Gambin** (University of Malta)
Premiers éléments sur la cargaison de l'épave de Xlendi (Gozo, Malte)
 11.00 **Massimo Botto** (CNR, Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico)
Fenici e Greci nella Penisola Iberica tra IX e VII sec. a.C.
Pausa caffè
 11.40 **Marco Rendell**, **Paolo Bernardini** (Università degli Studi di Sassari)
La Sardegna



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L'Albergo della Regina Isabella
Piazza Santa Restituta, 80076 Lacco Ameno - Ischia (NA)

SEZIONE E. L'Eubea: la madrepatria

- 12.00 **Irene Lemos** (University of Oxford)
Why Euboea? From the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age
 12.20 **Xenia Charalambidou** (University of Warsaw)
Rethinking Early Iron Age and Protoarchaic Chalkis: towards an appraisal of the archaeological evidence
 12.40 **Sandrine Huber** (Université de Lorraine)
The Athenaeon on the acropolis of Eretria
DISCUSSIONE
Pausa pranzo
 15.00 **Jan Paul Crielaard** (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)
Recent research at Karystos-Plakari: cult, connectivity and networks in the 10th to 7th centuries BC
 15.20 **Karl Reber**, **Thierry Theurillat** (Université de Lausanne - École suisse d'archéologie en Grèce)
Finding Artemis: the Artemision at Amarnthos (Euboea)
 15.40 **Athena Chatzidimitriou** (Historical Archive of Antiquities, Ministry of Culture and Sports)
Zarakas: a cult site in south Karystia, on the island of Euboea
 16.00 **Alexandros Mazarakis Ainián** (University of Thessaly, Volos)
Thirty years of excavations and research at Homeric Graia (Oropos)
 16.20 **Antonis Kotsonas** (University of Cincinnati)
Containers, commodities and Euboean colonization in the Theraic Gulf
DISCUSSIONE

17 Maggio

SEZIONE F. Le produzioni

- 10.00 **Samuel Verdan** (Université de Lausanne - École suisse d'archéologie en Grèce)
Men and metals on the move: the case of "Euboean" gold
 10.20 **Vicky Vlachou** (Université Libre de Bruxelles)
Patterns of production and consumption of Euboean-type pottery outside Euboea: a view from Oropos and Pithekoussai in the 8th century BC
 10.40 **Alexandra Alexandridou** (Open University of Cyprus)
One more node to the Thessalo-Euboean small world: the evidence from Kephala of Skiathos
Pausa caffè
 11.20 **Gloria Olcese** ("La Sapienza" Università di Roma)
Il kerameikos sotto la Chiesa di Santa Restituta di Lacco Ameno: nuovi dati e prospettive della ricerca archeologica e archeometrica a Ischia
 11.40 **Franca Merlati** (Parco Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei)
Ceramica euboica e di tipo euboico tra Pithekoussai e Kyme: status questionis e nuovi spunti di riflessione
DISCUSSIONE

CONCLUSIONI

- 12.30 **Carmine Ampolo** (Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa)
Catherine Morgan (All Souls College, Oxford)



Torri in Festa, Torri in Luce
7ª edizione



Organizzazione a cura di:
Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro (Soprintendenza ABAP per l'area metropolitana di Napoli)
Matteo D'Acunto (Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
Cecilia Protà (Comune di Lacco Ameno, Ischia)



The participants in the *Euboica II* conference



The greetings to the *Euboica II* conference: from left to right, Matteo D'Acunto, Paolo Giulierini (Director of the Naples National Archaeological Museum), Michele Bernardini (Director of the Dipartimento Asia Africa e Mediterraneo of the Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"), Elda Morlicchio (Rector of the Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"), Giacomo Pascale (Mayor of Lacco Ameno d'Ischia), Teresa Cinquantaquattro, Cecilia Prota (Councilor for culture of Lacco Ameno d'Ischia)



The organizers of the *Euboica II* conference, Teresa Cinquantaquattro and M. D'Acunto, with the Mayor of Lacco Ameno d'Ischia, Giacomo Pascale (right), and the Councilor for culture, Cecilia Prota (second, left)



The discussion after a session of the *Euboica II* conference



Discussion on pottery in the Archaeological Museum of Pithecusae (Lacco Ameno d'Ischia) after the *Euboica II* conference: from left to right, Maria Cecilia Parra, Bruno d'Agostino, Irene Lemos, Nota Kourou, Carmine Ampolo, Matteo D'Acunto, Teresa Cinquantaquattro, and Catherine Morgan



Discussion on pottery in the Archaeological Museum of Pithecusae (Lacco Ameno d'Ischia) after the *Euboica II* conference: from left to right, Catherine Morgan, Ida Baldassarre, Michel Bats, Alexandros Mazarakis Ainian, and Bruno d'Agostino



From left to right, Irene Lemos, Teresa Cinquantaquattro, Bruno d'Agostino, Matteo D'Acunto, Nota Kourou, and Samuel Verdan



Trip to Cumae after the *Euboica II* conference: from left to right, Thierry Theurillat, Sandrine Huber, Matteo D'Acunto, Samuel Verdan, Karl Reber, and Francesco Nitti

THE TRANSITION FROM THE LATE BRONZE TO THE EARLY IRON AGE IN EUBOEA AND THE EUBOEAN GULF*

Irene S. Lemos

Since the last *Euboica* conference in 1996, Euboean studies have been benefited by important new discoveries not only on the island but also in the northern Aegean. In Euboea, thanks to recent excavations in Chalcis, Lefkandi, Eretria, and Amarnthos, we know much more about the Early Iron Age of the island and we can add new sites such as Zarakes and Plakari in Karystos that have recently been investigated¹.

Important scientific results were also gained by geo-archaeological research conducted by Matthieu Ghilardi and his team regarding the palaeo-landscape of the regions located at the Euripus straits and along the west coast of central Euboea².

Another important project was that of archaeometric analyses with material analysed from Lefkandi, Eretria, Chalcis and Oropos and with samples also taken from Ionia and Italy. In total some 141 pots were sampled. The Nuclear Activation Analyses results localised the “type of clay” used for Euboean pots produced in the central part of the island. In the project were also included vases found in central and southern Italy and in particular the hallmark of Euboean production, the pendent semicircle skyphos³.

Most of the new discoveries, a number of which are presented in this volume, are dated to the Iron Age. The exception is Lefkandi where the more recent excavations on Xeropolis have provided evi-

dence for the transition from the Late Bronze Age (LBA) to the Early Iron Age (EIA).

It is noticeable that in general there are not that many LBA sites in Euboea that have been systematically investigated. A lot of our knowledge about the LBA depends even today on the excavations by Papavasiliou conducted in the beginning of the 20th century, as well as the survey directed by Hugh Sackett in the 1960s and of course the investigations of the Greek Archaeological Service⁴. Indeed, the Greek Archaeological Service has carried out many rescue excavations providing valuable but often shortened reports of the archaeological discoveries. Fragmentary as such information might be, it does indicate, however, that the island has much to offer regarding the archaeology of both the Bronze and Iron Ages⁵.

In any case, archaeological investigation has not yet located a Mycenaean palatial centre for the island. This could be accidental since the more recent discovery of a palatial center in Laconia – at the site of Agios Vasileios – has shown that such possibility cannot be excluded even in regions well investigated. Some indications, however, from the Linear B tablets suggest that the island belonged to the sphere of influence of the palace in Thebes. Nodules and one tablet refer to the toponyms a-ma-ru-to and ka-ru-to, which have been identified with the sites of Amarnthos and Karystos respectively⁶. More spe-

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¹ New discoveries were presented at the conference by X. Charalambidou, A. Chatzidimitriou, and J.P. Crielaard.

² GHILARDI *et al.* 2013; GHILARDI *et al.* 2018.

³ KERSCHNER – LEMOS 2014.

⁴ PAPAVALIOU 1910; SACKETT *et al.* 1967.

⁵ For a recent summary with discussion of the finds from northern Euboea: LEMOS 2020.

⁶ PITEROS – OLIVIER – MELENA 1990, 120-121, 153-154; KILLEN 1994, 71-72; ARAVANTINOS 1987, 36-38; ARAVANTINOS *et al.* 2001, 355-357; DEL FREO 2009; but see PALAIMA 2011 for scepticism.

cifically, a man, called *qe-ri-jo* from *a-ma-ru-to*, sent a pig to the palace on the occasion of a banquet. The toponym appears again on a tablet that records that wool was allocated to various individuals, including someone from *Amarynthos*⁷. On another nodule, the toponym, *ka-ru-to*, that has been identified with *Karystos*, refers again to a pig that was offered, most probably for another ceremonial feast. Moreover, Del Freo has identified the toponym *ka-zo-de* with *Chalcis*⁸.

Indeed, *Chalcis* must have been an important centre during the LBA – and although we have not yet located the Mycenaean settlement, a number of cemeteries that have been excavated suggest that perhaps the Mycenaean site was under the modern town. *Papavasiliou* excavated most of these tombs but since his excavations were conducted very early, we do not have any detailed information about them. However, some 20-chamber tombs were also excavated on the hills of *Ayia Eleousa* and are dated from the Late Helladic (LH) IIA to LH IIIB with a few vases belonging to the LH IIIC period. Another cluster of tombs has been excavated at the location of *Panagitsa* near *Manika*, 3 km northwest of *Chalcis*. They also date from LH IIIA1 to LH IIIB and were rich in finds including good quality pottery and seals⁹.

According to *Mountjoy*, the pottery discovered in the tombs displays close connections with that found in *Thebes*¹⁰. Some of the vases in the tombs in *Chalcis* are imports from *Crete* or local copies of *Minoan* shapes and motives. Interestingly, seals were also found in these tombs together with bronze weapons. Among the seals are examples assigned to *Mitanni* workshops and again similar seals have been found in *Thebes*. Spectacular among the finds from *Panagitsa* is the bronze sword which is almost identical to another sword from the *Zapher Papoura* tombs at *Knossos*, highlighting the links between *Chalcis* and *Crete*¹¹. At present, is hard to say whether such links were direct but it is nevertheless signifi-

cant to verify such interactions during the LBA¹².

Another cluster of important LBA tombs has been found in the area around *Aliveri*. Among them are the tholos tombs at *Velousia* and at *Katakalous*, which have also been found robbed apart from the discovery of a few pots dated to the LH IIIA2¹³. More tombs have been discovered near *Aliveri* with impressive finds, including a number of seals¹⁴.

Significant LBA finds were also found on the eastern coast of *Euboea*. *Papavasiliou* excavated a number of tombs in the region of *Oxylithos* – only a few kilometres inland of the modern town of *Kyme*, while *Pelon* has recorded an impressive tholos tomb in the area. Most of these tombs were discovered robbed and only a few finds were rescued such as ceramics dated to the LH IIIA1-IIIB periods and a number of bronze daggers and other bronze objects¹⁵.

A remarkable assemblage is that of metal objects which most probably were found in a tomb at *Androniani*. The site is located a few kilometers to the south of modern *Kyme*. The assemblage has been dated from the LH IIB to LH IIIA1 and it is comparable to bronze weapons and tools from *Mainland Greece* and *Crete*. *Costas Paschalidis* noted that the two axes in the assemblage are similar with examples found in hoards in the *Sea of Marmaras* and the *Black Sea*¹⁶. Another remarkable discovery in the region is that of 19 copper oxide ingots, salvaged from the sea near the modern port of *Kyme* and most probably imported from *Cyprus*¹⁷. This discovery together with the *Androniani* finds, underline the importance of the region in the LBA and confirm that the island was well supplied with copper for the production of bronze weapons and tools. At the

¹² M. Kramer-Hajos suggested that earlier links with the southern Aegean in LH I-II, were direct but via the palatial centre of *Thebes* in the LH III A-B: KRAMER-HAJOS 2016, 59-61, 112-114. This might be the case, but the evidence is too scarce to suggest any particular situation. In any case, the evidence from the Aegean coastline of the island, especially the finds at *Androniani* and *Kyme* (see below) suggest that the whole of *Euboea* was involved in long distance exchanges in the Mycenaean period and not only the coast along the Gulf.

¹³ PAPAVALIIOU 1910, 39; SACKETT *et al.* 1967, 69-70; CHATZIDIMITRIOU 2015 with further bibliography.

¹⁴ The chamber tombs have been excavated by C. Boukaras.

¹⁵ PAPAVALIIOU 1910, 24-38; SACKETT *et al.* 1967, 73-76; MOUNTJOY 1999, 692-696, 704, 710.

¹⁶ PASCHALIDIS 2005; PASCHALIDIS 2007.

¹⁷ SACKETT *et al.* 1967, 75-76; PASCHALIDIS 2007, 436.

⁷ DEL FREO 2009, 42.

⁸ Del Freo 2009, 47-48.

⁹ PAPAVALIIOU 1910, 43-45; HANKEY 1952; CHOREMIS 1972; KARAPASCHALIDOU 2000.

¹⁰ MOUNTJOY 1999, 694-696.

¹¹ KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1993, 44, no. 54, pl. 10, 54.

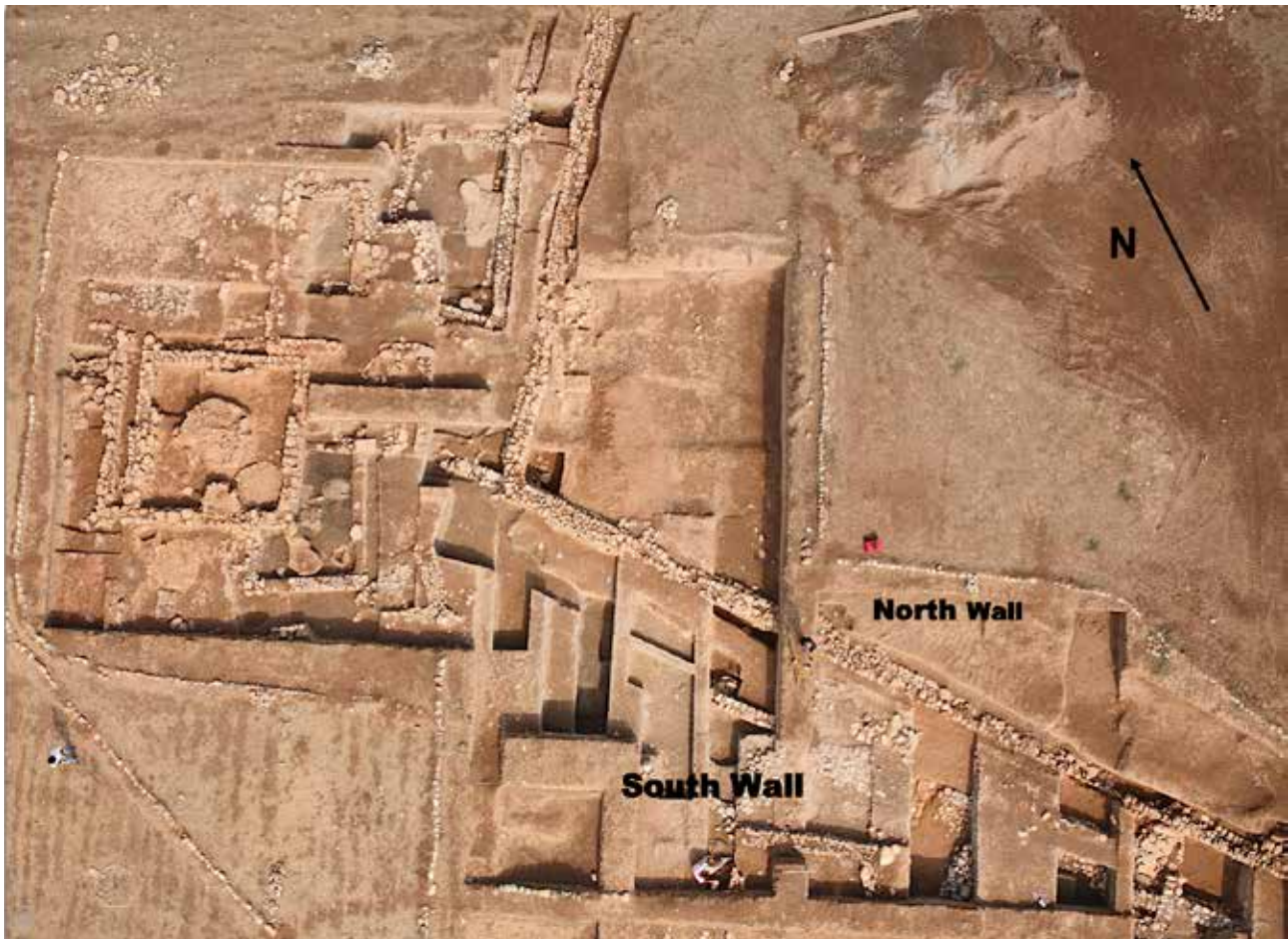


Fig. 1. Lefkandi, Region II on Xeropolis with the wall and the “Ritual Zone”

same time the presence of imported goods indicates the operation of exchange networks during the Mycenaean period.

This short review shows how promising is the archaeology of LBA Euboea but also how scarce is the evidence – we have so far – in order to construe the Mycenaean period of the island. We are, however, more rewarded when we turn into the period after the demise of the Mycenaean palaces, the LH IIIC period which corresponds with the 12th century BC. This is mostly thanks to the excavations of the settlement on Xeropolis at Lefkandi¹⁸.

Xeropolis is a tell which was first occupied in the Early Bronze Age and was abandoned around 700 BC. The period after the demise of palatial administration was one of the best for Xeropolis. On present

evidence, it appears to be the largest site in the region because the tell and its surroundings cover an area of around 8-10 ha. If we consider the erosion that the tell experienced during its long history, then the site was indeed much larger than it is today. We also know that in the 12th century the whole tell of Xeropolis was occupied and it was located between two harbours and the nearby, fertile Lelantine plain¹⁹.

The LH IIIC settlement was equipped with large houses divided by alleys. They were occasionally furnished with a second floor and storage facilities, while the consumption of high-quality ceramics and other finds suggest exceptionally good living standards. In the middle of the tell, a LH IIIC wall ran from west to east, marking the approach to the settlement. This construction involved complex de-

¹⁸ The recent excavations at Amarynthos have revealed more finds dated to the period. For a few LH IIIC finds from Eretria see FRIEDEMANN 1995.

¹⁹ EVELY 2006a; DAVIDSON *et al.* 2010.



Fig. 2. Region I: the “Megaron”. Marked in dotted lines the earlier building in the area

sign and deliberate landscaping²⁰. A “Ritual Zone” lying west of the wall involved structures whose character is neither domestic nor funerary (Fig. 1). The structures enclosed clay drums and circular structures of stones and have been compared with similar circular features found on Naxos, at Asine, and Troy. These, however, date much later from the 10th to the 7th centuries BC while those at Lefkandi date from the LH IIIC to the SubMycenaean/Proto-geometric transition and were associated with large open vessels and cooking pots, suggesting communal feasting. Exceptional figurines were also found nearby, implying that their display was also part of the rituals that took place in the area²¹.

Excavations in Region I on Xeropolis located in the eastern part of the tell revealed a large building overlooking the eastern harbour of the settlement. We nick-named the building the Megaron because of its size, plan, and orientation. The challenges, however, of reconstructing the sequences of the building and its levels of occupation are great because of the complexity of excavating a tell, where walls and deposits are reused all the time. Nevertheless, after preliminary studies of the stratigraphy and the ceramics in this particular area, we are now able to see two major phases in the life of the building during the LH IIIC period. Moreover, we were able to trace evidence for the occupation of the area from the LBA into the EIA. The study, however, of the ceramics and other materials is still in progress and thus here I offer a preliminary account of the “biography” of this remarkable building²².

M1 is the first main phase, which has two main periods of occupation **M1A** and **M1B**, each of them with sub-phases. Better-documented is phase **M1A-1** because it is the earliest and thus less disturbed from later activities. The area, however, was also inhabited in earlier periods as buildings were revealed below **M1**. What is interesting is that these earlier buildings had both a different orientation and plan from **M1**, as it is clear from the aerial photograph marked with a dotted line (Fig. 2).

Inside the building marked in red are the walls dated to this phase, while marked in white are the areas of the excavated floors deposits (Fig. 3). A number of burials were also associated with this particular phase of use of the building. These were three neonates and one girl around 12 year's old. To the east of the building a large room – the North-Eastern room – was constructed during the same time and was part of the complex. The building was equipped with a lot of good quality ceramics and also coarse wares for storage and preparation of food. There were also large pits used also for storage of dry food (these are marked on the plan in black). On the other hand, the smaller circles indicate postholes which must have supported wooden posts that divided internally the space of the Main room. In the northern end of the Main room was found an elaborate hearth (Fig. 4). The dimensions of the Main room of the building are around 10 m by 5.70 m, while that of the North-Eastern room are 4.80 m by 3.72 m.

The building with its new orientation and plan is dated – based on study of the ceramics associated with it – to Lefkandi Phase 2a, which corresponds with the LH IIIC middle period – roughly from around 1150 to 1100 BC. So, the building was constructed sometime in the middle of the 12th century. A rich deposit of ceramics was also discovered in the North-Eastern room associated with a destruction level dated to the end of this phase (Lefkandi Phase 2a) after which the room came out of use (Fig. 5).

In the second phase of **M1A** - phase **M1A-2**, - the North-Eastern room was covered with a yellow clay deposit as were parts of the Main room of the building – marked in yellow in Fig. 6. Occupation, however, continued during this phase in the main building. Clay bins were discovered in the Main room and used for storage facilities, while the hearth continued to be also in use. So, storage facilities and the use of the hearth remain important aspects of the function of the Main room during this phase too.

At the end of this phase, levelling material covered Building **M1A** and prepared the area for the construction of building **M1B**. During the same period, a long and narrow room was also built to the southeast side of the main building which is called the Annex (Fig. 7).

The use of Building **M1B** has three sub-phases

²⁰ LEMOS 2006-2007; FREDERIKSEN 2011, 107.

²¹ LEMOS 2019.

²² I am grateful to David Mitchell and Matthew Lloyd for comments regarding the stratigraphy of the building. I am also indebted to the Packard Humanities Institute and the Institute for Aegean Prehistory for supporting generously the project, as well as the University of Oxford and the A.G. Leventis Foundation.

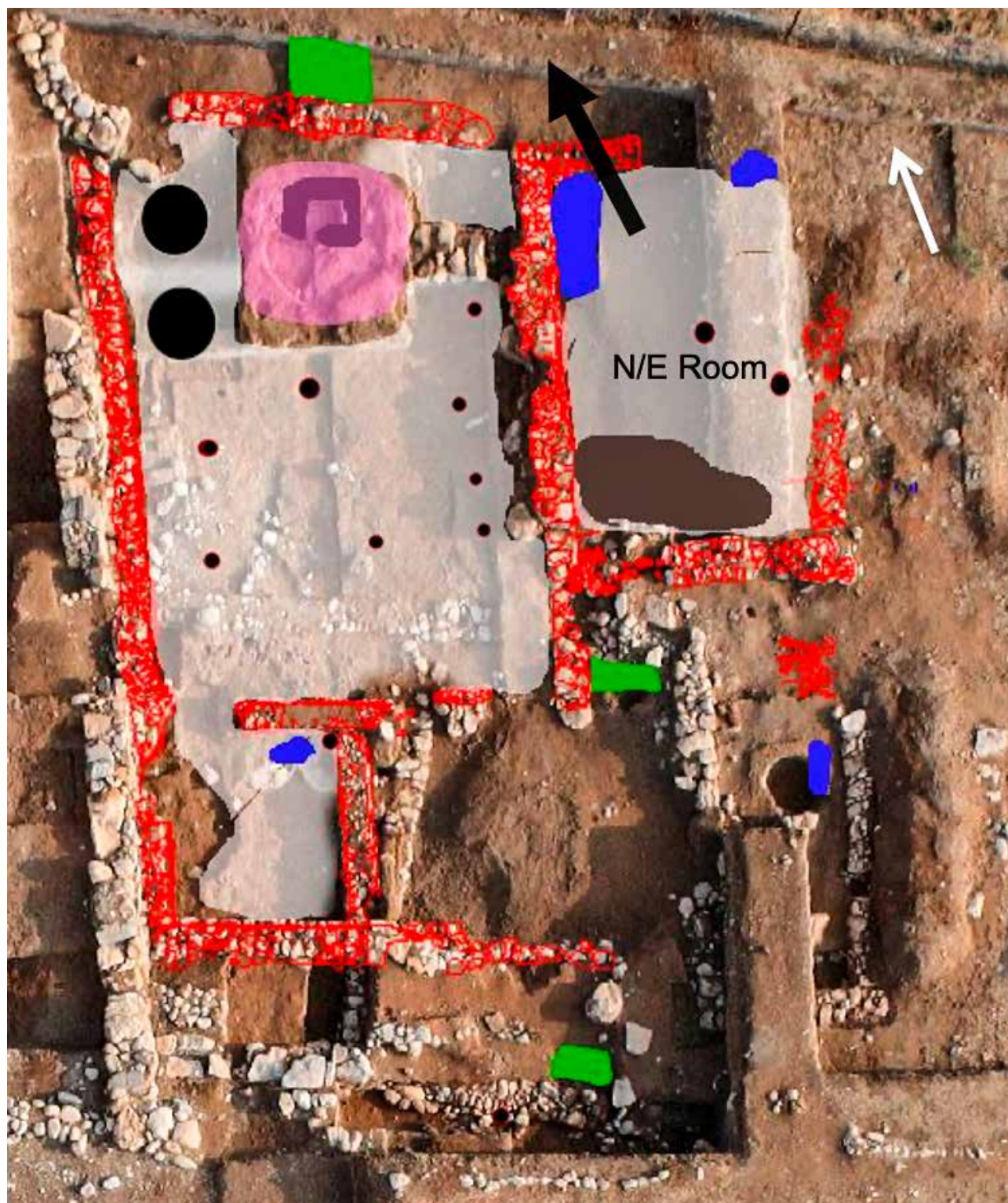


Fig. 3. Building M1, Phase M1A. Marked in red are the walls that belong to this phase after David Mitchell

that were traced in the Main room and the so-called Annex. The ceramics associated with the construction of the first phase of use, phase **M1B-1**, are dated to the transition of Lefkandi Phase 2a to 2b – this is roughly at the end of the 12th century (Fig. 8).

However, the later use of the area during the EIA had disturbed parts of the building, especially the south part, and makes it hard to reconstruct the complete area that **M1B** occupied in the end of the 12th century. Noticeable is the cutting of Pit 13 during



Fig. 4. The Hearth in the Main Room



Fig. 5. Selected pottery from phase M1A and the Norther-Eastern room dated to Lefkandi Phase 2a



Fig. 6. Building M1, phase A2 after David Mitchell

the late 9th century, which had destroyed most of the southeast part of the building (Fig. 9).

Nevertheless, the ceramics found associated

with the two sub-phases of the building – **M1B-2** and **M1B-3** and the Annex correspond with the transition from LH IIIC late to SubMycenaean. In

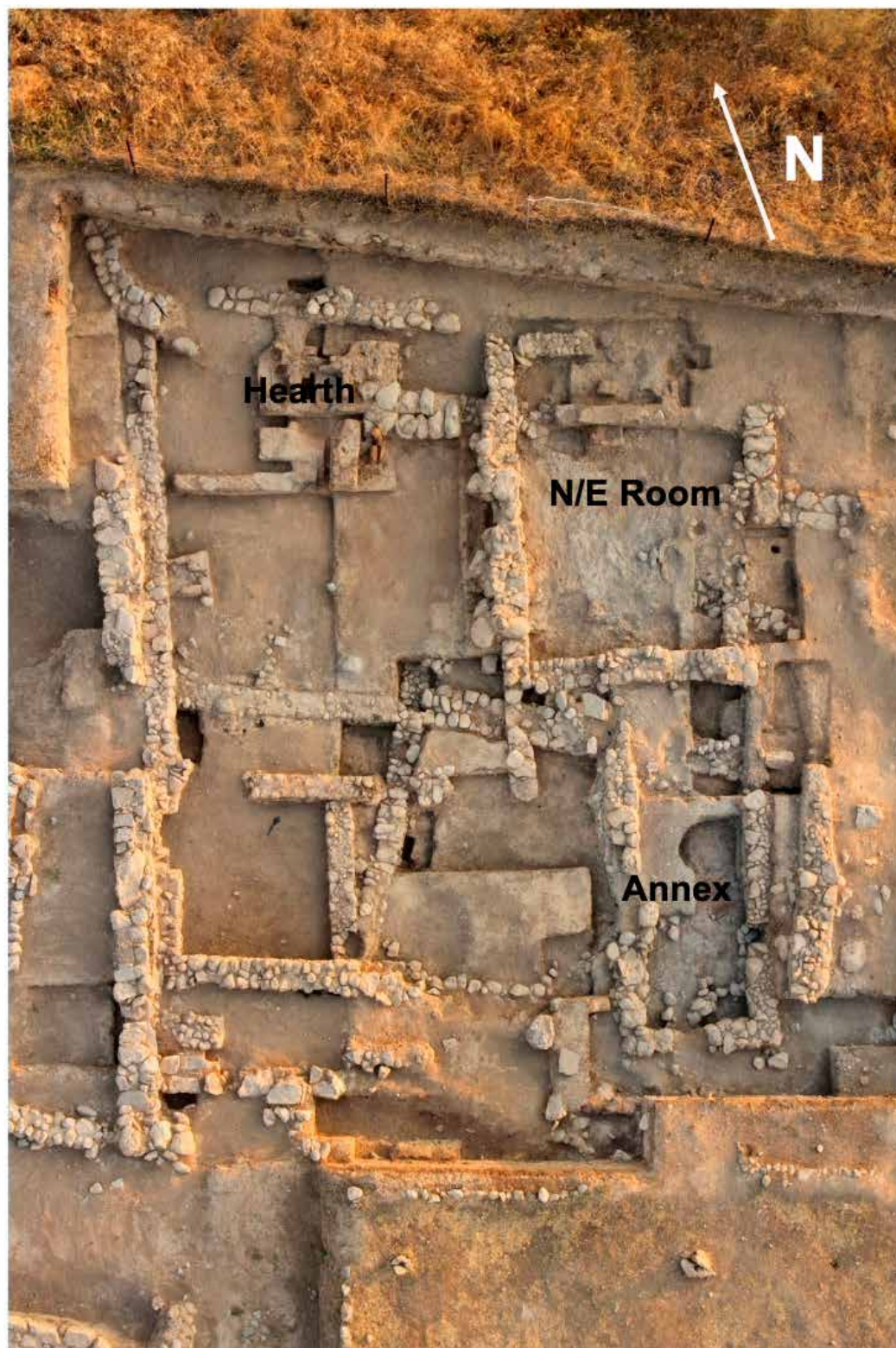


Fig. 7. Building M with the Annex built at the same time as M1B

Fig. 10 are illustrated some of the vases found in the main building and the Annex that show this development from Lefkandi Phase 3 dated to the Late

Helladic IIIC late period to the SubMycenaean period. According to the conventional chronology, this period covers the middle to the late 11th century

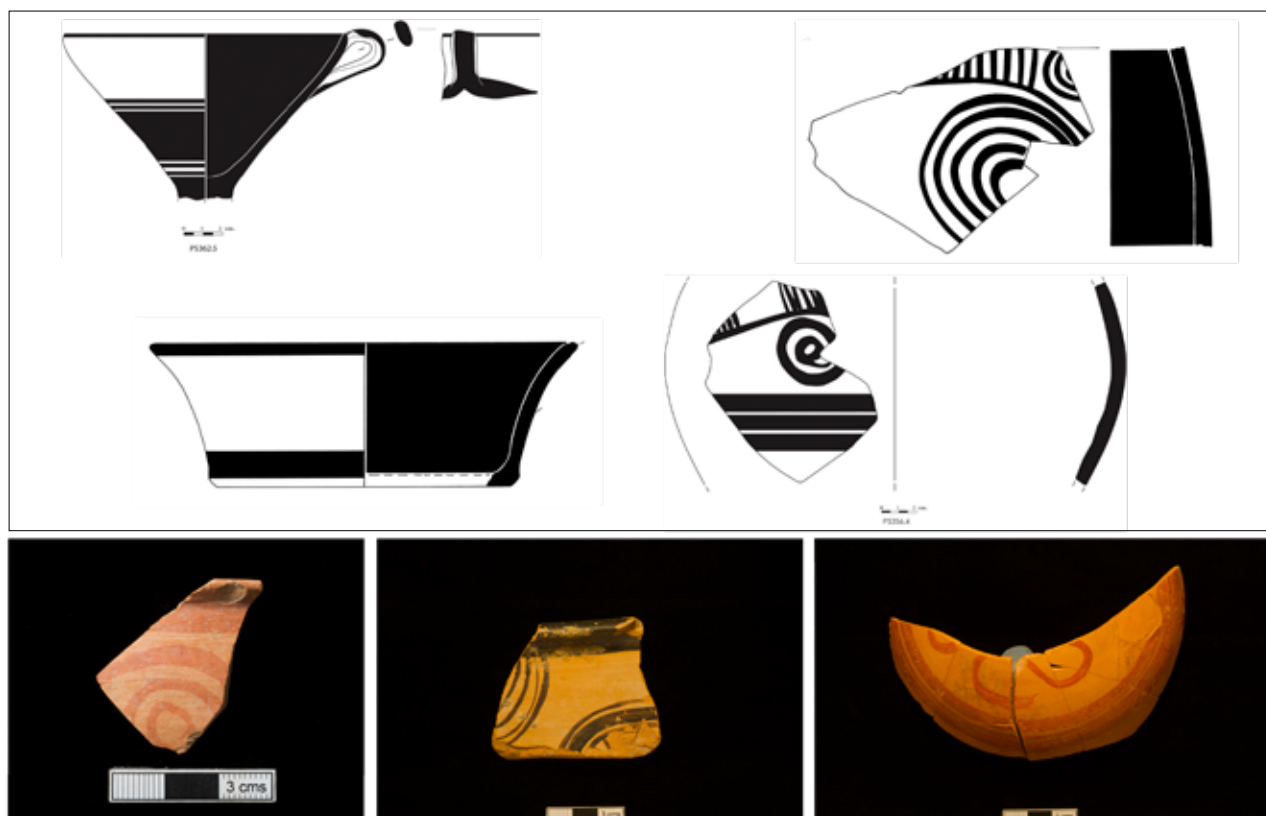


Fig. 8. Selected pottery associated with M1B, phase M1B-1 dated to Lefkandi phase 2a-2b

– roughly from 1050 to 1025 BC. It is noticeable that the character of the deposits indicates that the transition from the one sub-phase to the other were short-lived and must have corresponded with brief periods of time.

The next building that occupied the area was **M3**, which is poorly preserved because of the extensive use of the area in later periods and the erosion that has affected the whole of the tell (Fig. 11). Yet, **M3** is dated to Protogeometric period (Fig. 12). Later periods are also represented in the area with remains of walls that belonged to structures dated to the Sub-Protogeometric, building **M2**, and the Geometric periods, building **M4**.

What is important to note then is that there was certainly continuity of occupation on Xeropolis from the LB to the EIA as observed in the area presented here but which is also detected in other areas of the site excavated by my teams²³. Continuity can

also be hinted in the discovery of a few LH IIIC late vases found in the area of the cemeteries and in particular in the Khaliotis plot – a large burial ground which has never been excavated and lies now under the main modern road from Vasiliko to Lefkandi²⁴. SubMycenaean finds were found in the Skoubris cemetery and have been compared to those from Athens, the Argolid and elsewhere²⁵.

Equally important is that Lefkandi remained connected with other regions during the 12th century as it is evinced by the discovery of finds that come from outside Euboea. These include imported pots from Cyprus and Crete²⁶. Apart from the ceramics

²⁴ For the finds in the Khaliotis burial plot see POPHAM – SACKETT – THEMELIS 1980, 140-141; DESBOROUGH 1980, 313.

²⁵ RUPPENSTEIN 2009 has traced the synchronism between Athens and Lefkandi during the transition from the SubMycenaean to the Early Protogeometric Period. He has also noted similar developments at Kalapodi, at Kynos and at Nea Ionia, Volos.

²⁶ At least two imports are in particular important: a Cypriot Base Ring bowl and an octopus stirrup jar of Chaniot fabric: SHERATT 2006, 224, 230. The Cretan vessel is of particular interest since such vessels have also been found in Tiryns where it has been argued that links with Crete remain active during the Postpalatial period, see MARAN 2005.

²³ This continuity must have been missed in the earlier excavations although it was often acknowledged in conversations, I had with the late Mervyn Popham but never stated in any of the early reports where in contrary a break has been noted.

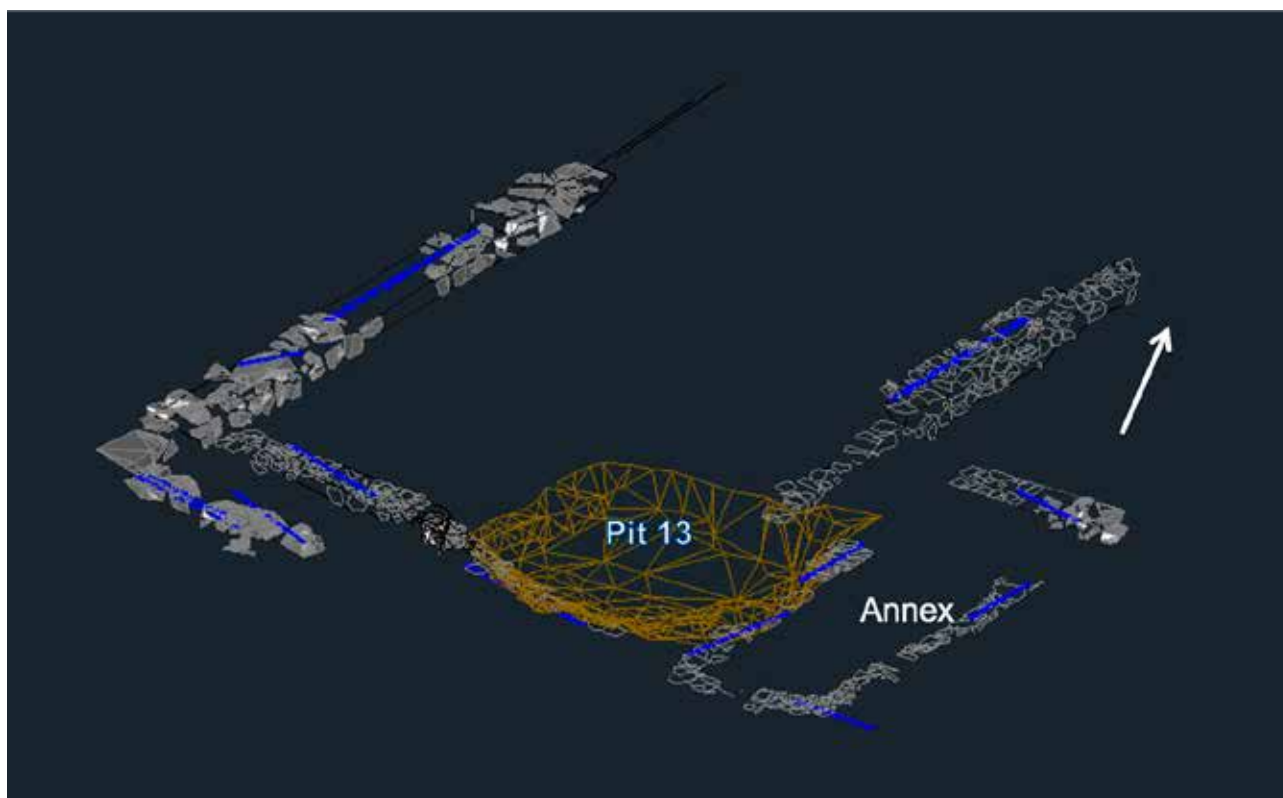


Fig. 9. AutoCAD reconstruction of the phases of the building M1B-1-3 showing the LG Pit 13 after David Mitchell and Matthew Lloyd

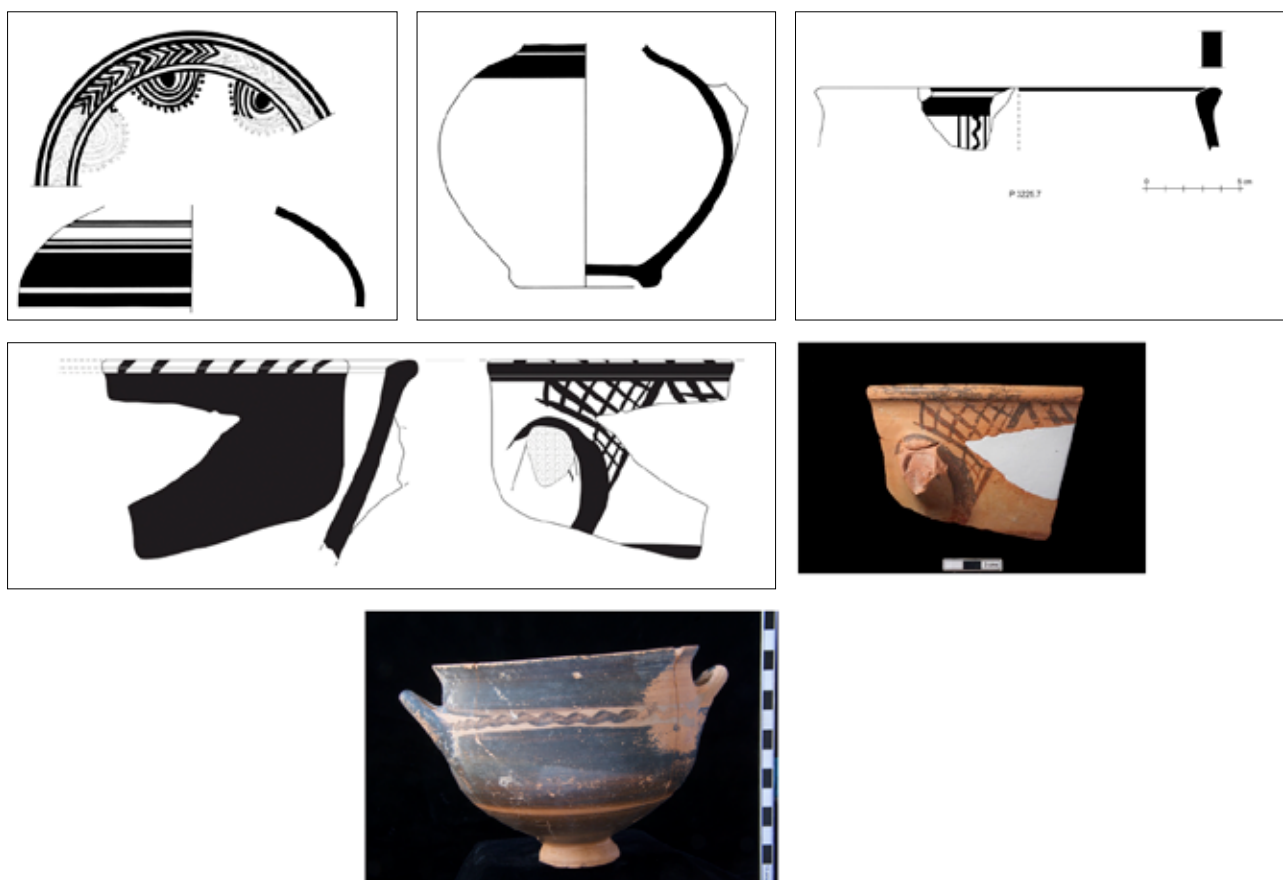


Fig. 10. Selected pottery from the building M1B phases B2 and B3 and the Annex dated to Lefkandi phases 2b,3, and the SubMycenaean period

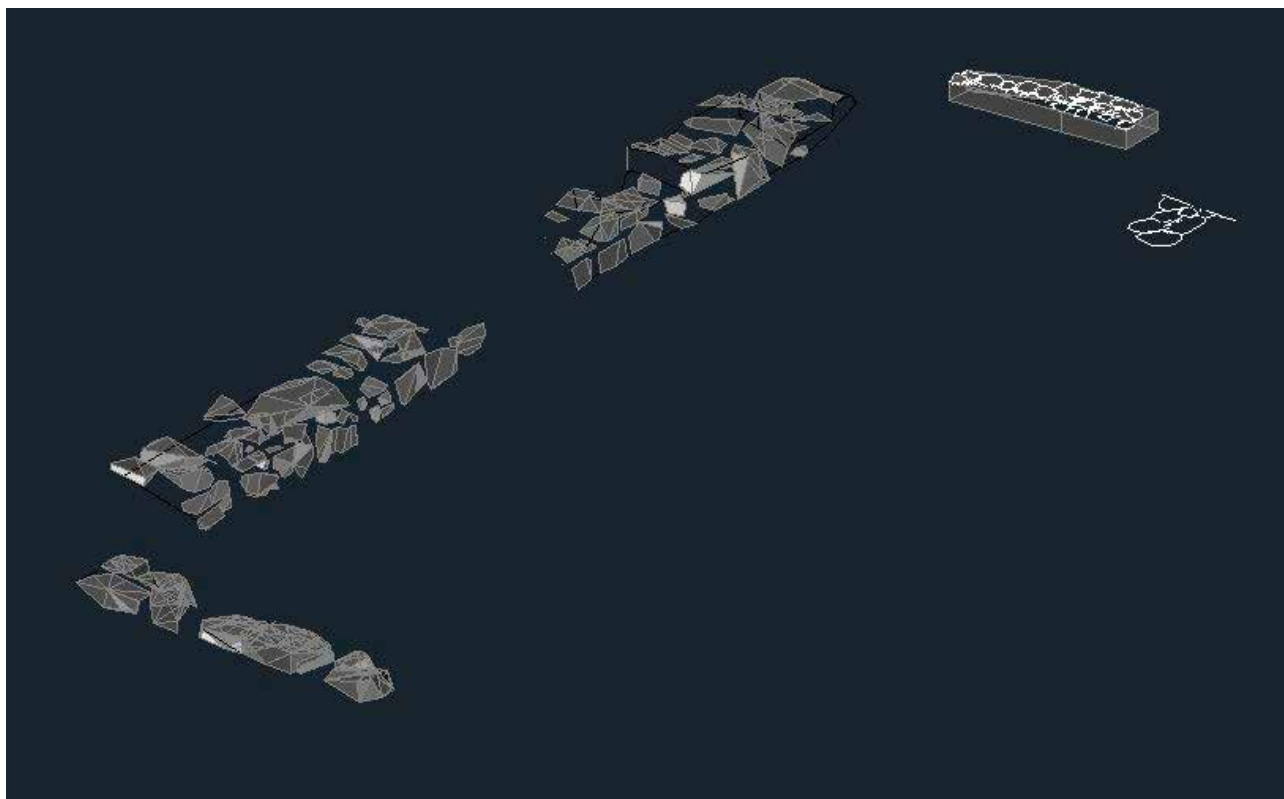


Fig. 11. AutoCAD presentation of building M3 dated to the Protogeometric period after Matthew Lloyd

from regions outside the island, Xeropolis also is one of the sites where knives with iron blades – most probably from Cyprus – made their appearance in 12th century BC Aegean²⁷. And if the LH IIIC tombs at Lefkandi had been investigated, we would have had more information regarding interregional contacts since more imported offerings might have been discovered as is the case in the cemetery at Perati.

Thus, contacts that were maintained during the Postpalatial period and the arrival of new technologies and ideas carried on into the SubMycenaean period and the EIA as the finds from the cemeteries at Lefkandi clearly indicate²⁸.

This continuous occupation of the site to the end of the 8th century – when it was abandoned – is one



Fig. 12. Protogeometric sherds found within building M3

²⁷ Two iron knives were found on Xeropolis: one from the old excavations (EVELY 2006b, 282-283) and a second from the more recent ones. Sherratt (1994) has advocated the importance of Cyprus in the distribution of the 12th century iron knives found in the Aegean.

²⁸ For example, certain shapes of vases such as the bird vase, the bottle and the flask are considered to have been inspired by Cypriot prototypes: LEMOS 1994; LEMOS 2002, 80-83; RUPPENSTEIN 2009, 331-334. Iron objects also become more common from the SubMycenaean period onwards.

of the reasons that makes Lefkandi one of the most important settlements on the island and in the Euboean Gulf. Other reasons are its large size and of course splendid location. Other sites, however, on Euboea must have also experienced continuity from the LB to the EIA and especially in the region of Chalcis, in the area around Kyme on the Aegean coast – where the important site of Viglatouri was



Fig. 13. Pictorial pottery from Xeropolis

located in the EIA, but also in the north of the island which again is very little explored²⁹.

As it has already been noted, however, on the opposite coast and along the Euboean Gulf are located sites that also flourished in the Postpalatial period during the 12th century and later³⁰. Particular important are the two coastal sites on East Locris, Kynos-Livanates and Mitrou, and inland sites such as the important sanctuary at Kalapodi and the cemetery at Elateia which display connections with sites located along the Euboean Gulf. It should be acknowledged, however, that in general central Greece also shared common features in its material culture with Attica, the Argolid, Thessaly and other regions³¹.

So, although each one of the sites mentioned above displays certain distinct features, they also share similarities in their material culture. This is, for example evinced particularly in the production and consumption of their ceramics. One particular class of ceramics, which has been much discussed, is that with pictorial decoration produced mainly in

the middle of the 12th century. At present Xeropolis has provided the largest number of vases, mostly craters (Fig. 13), with pictorial decoration that have been found along the Euboean Gulf with other examples coming from Kynos-Livanates, Kalapodi but interestingly not from Mitrou yet³².

It is also important to note that those sites along the Euboean Gulf that have been systematically excavated were not only occupied during the LH IIIC but also in the transitional periods from the LB to the EIA. Therefore, as in the case of Xeropolis, they were not abandoned. Although there is an ongoing debate among excavators and ceramic specialists about the synchronisation of the different phases and horizons found at each one of them, it is important that despite local preferences, specialists can locate common features in the production of specific ceramic shapes and their decoration. Yet, it is only with the detailed study and publication of ceramic assemblages that it will be possible to illuminate further local productions and shared features³³.

²⁹ A bronze pin found at Plakari in Karystos might be of Sub-Mycenaean date: CRIELAARD *et al.* 2012, 100, fig. 14a.

³⁰ CRIELAARD 2006; LEMOS 2012; KRAMER-HAJOS 2016, 168-171.

³¹ See for example MOUNTJOY 2009, where she explores a LH IIIC Late east Mainland and Aegean koine based on the ceramics found in a number of sites. Also important are the similarities in the production of LH IIIC early and middle ceramics between Lefkandi and the site of Eleon in Boeotia, VAN DAMME 2017.

³² DAKORONIA 1990; CROUWEL 2006; KRAMER-HAJOS 2016, 151-156; LEMOS 2018. The number of vases with pictorial decoration has increased since the study of Crouwel in 2006 with at least another 60 examples mostly on large size craters. Interestingly ancient Eleon in Boeotia has also produced pictorial style ceramics some of which might have been imported from Euboea: BURKE *et al.* 2013.

³³ A lot of progress has been made to synchronise developments at the sites of central Greece and to interrelate them with others in the Argolid and Attica. See important contributions by DEGER-JALKOTZY 2009b, LIS 2009, RUPPENSTEIN 2009 and RUP-

But what is important to acknowledge is that those well-excavated sites in central Greece and along the Euboean Gulf appear to have produced evidence that suggests that were not abandoned during the transition from the LB to the EIA.

Albeit continuity in occupation at these sites, major changes appeared in other aspects of life from the LH IIIC to the EIA when new social and cultural practices are introduced together with new burials rites³⁴.

It has been suggested that the driving force behind the transformations marking the archaeological record of these communities was the household since houses of different size and importance dominated the archaeological record of the period. While it has been noted that the priority in such households was to provide self-sufficiency to their members, this could have not been their only economic strategy. It is clear from the available evidence that exchange of goods, ideas and technologies were in operation and played an important role in the economic and cultural activities of household communities³⁵.

In conclusion, we have seen that even the so far relatively few finds discovered in Euboea dated to the palatial era indicate that the island participated in the maritime networks of the period. These could have been under the patronage of the palace in Thebes and supplied the LBA funerary display of the island with offerings that include weapons, seals, and ceramics, some of them imported. After the destruction of the palace in Thebes, Euboea though deprived from palatial services was not impoverished. On the contrary, as we have seen this was a

thriving period for the island and the Euboean Gulf. One of the reasons for such an affluent period might have been that if there were palace officials stationed at Lefkandi before and after the demise of the palaces, they managed to operate a more auspicious management of the region after the loss of palatial control. It has been suggested that the qa-si-re-we might have been such officials in charge, but others might have also joined them who fled from Thebes and elsewhere. These local leaders achieved control of their territories by military prowess and by sustaining regional networks, utilising prior knowledge of and familiarity with other communities in the Aegean, in the eastern Mediterranean and elsewhere³⁶.

Indeed, the archaeological finds show that by the middle of the 12th century the region enjoyed a revival that surely relied on preserving and maintaining connectivity. So, the operation of regional and interregional networks survived into the 12th century and thrived especially during the EIA. Hence, Euboea's role in maritime connectivity goes back to the LBA and exchanges were never really interrupted even if they were operated in a different scale and mode³⁷.

Recent archaeological research and discoveries on the island and the Euboean Gulf support the above reconstruction and have advanced our understanding of the significant part that the region played in the transition from the LBA to EIA in the Aegean and the contribution Euboea offered in exploring and establishing outposts in the northern Aegean and Italy in the Iron Age.

PENSTEIN 2012. The site of ancient Eleon in Boeotia has not produced any EIA material since it seems, according to the present evidence, that was abandoned during LH IIIC and reoccupied in the Late Geometric period: CHARAMI *et al.* 2018.

³⁴ A new burial practice was the rite of cremation which according to a recent suggestion might have been introduced from Italy: JUNG 2007. For an outline of the period: LEMOS 2014; EDER – LEMOS 2020.

³⁵ Such interactions can be seen in the introduction of iron technology, the circulation of ceramics and the appearance of common types of dress ornaments, weapons and accessories. For the importance of the household organisation see FOXHALL 2016; EDER – LEMOS 2020; LEMOS forthcoming.

³⁶ EDER – LEMOS 2020, 135-136.

³⁷ SHERRATT 2016; SHERRATT 2020.

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Euboea and the Mediterranean

NOTA KOUROU, *Euboean Pottery in a Mediterranean Perspective*

The aim of this paper is to reconsider the issue of connectivity and contact in the Early Iron Age Mediterranean from a Euboean point of view and in the light of recent discoveries. Following a concise survey of the first two successive stages of the expansion of Euboean ceramics in the Mediterranean an attempt is being made to explore the incentives of these early ventures, patterns of contact, forms of interaction, the character of the expansion and the possible forms of exchange implied by the finds.

Euboea

IRENE S. LEMOS, *The Transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age in Euboea and the Euboean Gulf*

Recent discoveries have enriched our knowledge of the Early Iron Age of Euboea. Results of the most important of them are presented in the present proceedings of the second Euboica conference. The archaeology of the Late Bronze Age of the island, however, is less known apart from a few exceptions. In this paper, I first outline the archaeological record of some of the known Late Bronze Age sites, while in the second part, I present a preliminary account of the Late Bronze Age discoveries on Xeropolis at Lefkandi. In particular during the most recent excavations, a large building located to the east area of the tell was discovered revealing that Xeropolis was continuously occupied during the last stages of the Late Helladic IIIC and into the Early Iron Age. Some comparisons are also offered with other sites along the Euboean Gulf that display similar continuity of occupation from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age.

XENIA CHARALAMBIDOU, *Chalcidian Deposits and their Role in Reconstructing Production and Consumption Practices and the Function of Space in Early Iron Age and Archaic Chalcis: Some first Thoughts*

The wells and deposits of ancient Chalcis which included Early Iron Age and Archaic material are the focus of this paper. These deposits, especially when studied in relation to other archaeological contexts from the town, such as the burial sites of proto-historic Chalcis, can increase our knowledge of the function of space in the ancient town. The ceramic assemblages from the Chalcis deposits also yield information on aspects of EIA and Archaic Chalcidian pottery consumption and, in the case of the Machairas plot deposit especially, offer valuable insights into ancient workshop activity and craftsmanship of these periods.

SAMUEL VERDAN, THIERRY THEURILLAT, TOBIAS KRAPP, DANIELA GREGER, KARL REBER, *The Early Phases in the Artemision at Amarynthos in Euboea, Greece*

Recent fieldwork conducted by the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece, in collaboration with the Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea, has uncovered a monumental complex on the western edge of a coastal promontory (Paleoekklisies) located near Amarynthos on the island of Euboea, Greece. Stone inscriptions and stamped terracotta tiles retrieved *in situ* provide conclusive evidence for the identification of this site with the sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia, the most prominent shrine in the territory of the ancient city of Eretria, already attested by epigraphic and literary sources. In light of the ongoing excavations, the site appears to have been continuously occupied from the Bronze Age to the Late Antiquity. In its heyday in the Hellenistic period, the sanctuary was organized around a vast courtyard

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