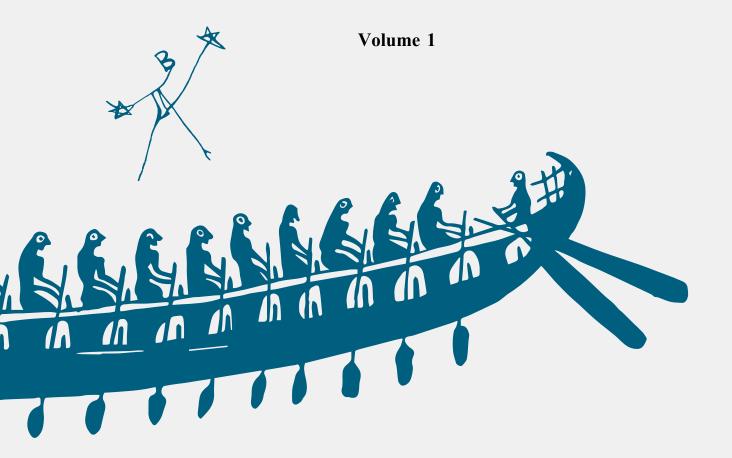
EUBOICA II

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.)





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Nuova Serie 27



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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*.

CONTENTS

Preface		
Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro, Matteo D'Acunto, Euboica, Again	p.	i
Euboea and the Mediterranean		
Nota Kourou, Euboean Pottery in a Mediterranean Perspective	»	9
Euboea		
IRENE S. LEMOS, The Transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age in Euboea and the Euboean Gulf	»	37
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	»	55
Samuel Verdan, Thierry Theurillat, Tobias Krapf, Daniela Greger, Karl Reber, The Early Phases in the Artemision at Amarynthos in Euboea, Greece	»	73
Jan Paul Crielaard, Karystos-Plakari: A "Pre-Colonial" Foundation in Southern Euboia	>>	119
Athina Chatzidimitriou, Zarakes: A Cult Site in South Karystia, on the Island of Euboea	>>	135
Bruno D'Agostino, Forgotten Cities in Eastern Euboea	>>	159
Albio Cesare Cassio, Κύμη, Κούμη, Cumae and the Euboeans in the Bay of Naples	»	181
Boeotia		
Luisa Breglia, Mythic Traditions of Euboea and Boeotia in the Archaic Age	»	187
ALEXANDROS MAZARAKIS AINIAN, Thirty-Five Years of Excavations and Research at Homeric Graia (Oropos)	»	211
VICKY VLACHOU, Pottery Production, Workshop Spaces and the Consumption of Euboean-Type Pottery beyond Euboea. A View from Oropos (Attica) in the 8 th Century BC	»	231

North Aegean

Alexandra Alexandridou, One more Node to the Thessalo-Euboean Small World: The Evidence from the Site of Kephala on the Island of Skiathos	»	263
Samuel Verdan, Elon D. Heymans, Men and Metals on the Move: The Case of Euboean Gold	»	279
Antonis Kotsonas, Euboeans & Co. in the North Aegean: Ancient Tradition and Modern Historiography of Greek Colonization	»	301
Sardinia and Spain		
Paolo Bernardini, Marco Rendeli, Sant'Imbenia/Pontecagnano Sulci/Pithekoussai: Four Tales of an Interconnected Mediterranean	»	325
MASSIMO BOTTO, Phoenicians and Greeks in the Iberian Peninsula between the 9^{th} and the 8^{th} Centuries BC	»	347
Abstracts	»	385

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 Marialuisa 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 Orkestra. 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



Euboica, Again



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)

Euboica, Again



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

Euboica, Again ix



 $\label{thm:cumae} Trip\ to\ Cumae\ after\ the\ \emph{Euboica}\ II\ conference:\ from\ left\ to\ right,\ Thierry\ Theurillat,\ Sandrine\ Huber,\ Matteo\ D'Acunto,\ Samuel\ Verdan,\ Karl\ Reber,\ and\ Francesco\ Nitti$

KARYSTOS-PLAKARI: A "PRE-COLONIAL" FOUNDATION IN SOUTHERN EUBOIA*

Jan Paul Crielaard

Plakari is located on the northwest side of the Bay of Karystos, about 2.5 km west of the modern town (Fig. 1). It was most likely the location of Early Iron Age and Archaic Karystos until the late 6th century BC, when the inland site of Palaiochora gained in importance and became the civic centre during the Hellenistic and Roman period ¹. Between 2010 and 2015 archaeological fieldwork was carried out on and around the site of Plakari as a collaboration between Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and the 11th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (now EFA)². The Plakari Archaeological Project is multidisciplinary in scope, combining systematic excavations with geo-archaeological landscape research, palaeo-ecology, archaeobotany, zooarchaeology and the study of marine faunal remains. Fieldwork has focussed on Final Neolithic habitation on the north-eastern part of the hilltop, the first-millennium BC sanctuary on the hill's summit, and on the ancient landscape and environment of Plakari's surroundings (Fig. 2)³.

Here, I wish to present some results of our field research, focusing on the 11th to 7th century BC. More in particular, I want to evaluate how Karystos—Plakari relates to this period of expanding Euboian contacts and so-called Euboian colonization in Italy. In the first part of this paper, I present Plakari as an example of a new foundation in a period preceding the establishment of Euboian colonies abroad. In the final section of this paper, I briefly discuss what Plakari can tell us about the organization of and access to supra-regional networks in which especially central Euboian sites played an active role.

At the beginning of the Iron Age, the Karystia was formless and empty. For the Middle Bronze Age and the first part of the Mycenaean period, there is evidence of habitation at the hilltop site of Ayios Nikolaos Mylon⁴, but during most of the palatial period southern Euboia had been deserted. Theban Linear B documents mention a place called *ka-ru-to*, which has been identified with Karystos. However, given the extreme paucity of Mycenaean finds (and especially LH IIIB material⁵) this place must be located outside what was later known as the Karystia⁶. After some three or four centuries, the earliest signs of the re-occupation of the region

^{*} I wish to express my warmest thanks to Teresa Cinquantaquattro and Matteo D'Acunto for the opportunity to participate in this conference and for the hospitality received during our stay at Ischia. I would like to thank the participants of the conference for their comments and suggestions, and Filiz Songu, Ruben Brugge and Stefan Kooi for reading the final version of this paper.

¹ Keller 1985, 108, 185-187, 195, 201-214; Chatzidimitriou 2006; Chidiroglou 2011. For other, sporadic Geometric finds in the Karystos area, see Crielaard *et al.* 2011-2012, 94 no. 13.

² The Plakari Archaeological Project is funded by the Faculty of Humanities of VU University Amsterdam and the Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP), Philadelphia. We wish to express our gratitude for their support over the years. The excavations took place as a *synergasia* under the direction of the author and Maria Kosma (IA' EPKA) until her untimely death in 2015.

³ Preliminary reports: Crielaard *et al.* 2011-2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017. Preliminary synthesizing papers: Crielaard 2012; Crielaard 2017; Crielaard – Songu 2017.

Website: http://www.plakariproject.com

⁴ Despite intensive surveys in the region, the only Mycenaean finds from the Karystia are four fragments of kylix stems and one krater rim, broadly datable to late LH IIA to LH IIIA, from this location; Keller 1985, 128-129, 276-278; Tankosić – Mathioudaki 2009; Tankosić – Mathioudaki 2011, 135-136; Kramer-Hajos 2016, 7. Reported Mycenaean sherds found on Cape Philagra are doubted, Cullen – Talalay – Tankosić 2011, 38 no. 30.

 $^{^5\,}$ Earle 2012 and Kramer-Hajos 2017 argue for a marginalization of the Cyclades and Euboia by the mainland palaces during LH IIIB.

⁶ Crielaard – Songu 2017, 276-77, with further references.

120 Jan Paul Crielaard

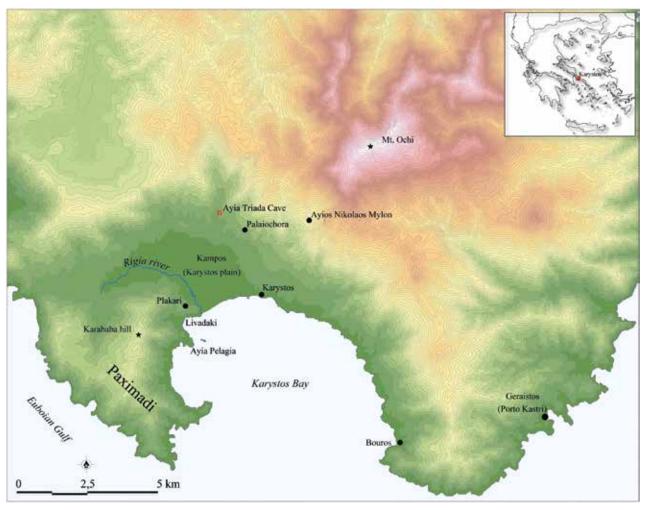


Fig. 1. Map of Karystos area with place names mentioned in the text (by Jaap Fokkema)

come from Plakari in the shape of a handful of bronze dress pins and fibulae of Sub-Mycenaean date (Fig. 3: A-B, D-F)⁷ and Early to Middle Protogeometric pottery⁸. It is not impossible that the early visitors, prospectors or settlers who came from outside the area brought the name Karystos with them from their original home and gave it to the new settlement, as was done by later migrants settling in, for instance, Kyme in Campania or Naxos in Sicily.

We don't know where the earliest inhabitants came from. The earliest locally made pottery from Plakari does not give much of a clue about the origin of the settlers. For what it's worth, there is the literary tradition about the Dryopes who originally lived

in the Sperchios valley in eastern Thessaly but were driven out by the Malieis and settled in southern Euboia and on the island of Kythnos⁹. All we may say on the basis of imported ceramics and metal items is that the 10th- and 9th-century inhabitants were in contact with central Euboia and, especially, Attica¹⁰. The founding of a new settlement at Plakari,

⁷ In total, six symmetrical arched fibulae with twisted bow and three violin bow fibulae of SM date came to light inside Building A, while three SM dress pins have been found in the so-called sacrificial refuse area; for these find locations, see below.

⁸ Charalambidou 2017, 255-256.

⁹ HDT., 8. 46: Styra and Kythnos are Dryopian; THUC., 7.57: Karystos Dryopian, other Euboian cities Ionian; PAUS., 4.34.11: Styra not proud to be Dryopian; PS-SKYM., 566: Dryopes founded Karystos. HDT., 1.56; 8.31, 43; STRABO, 8.6.13: Dryopis near mouth of Sperchios river. DIOD.SIC., 4.37.1: Dryopes expelled by Malieis founded Karystos. Also HDT. 1. 146.1-2: Dryopes took part in migration to Asia Minor. Dryopes were reckoned among pre-Hellenic or aboriginal populations that had been replaced by the principle Hellenic ethnic groups, see HALL 1997, 74-7; HALL 2002, 69. See also CHIDIROGLOU 2017, 323.

¹⁰ Metal: see especially the above mentioned SM fibulae and dress pins of bronze that have good parallels in Lefkandi and Athens; the SPG gold ear and finger rings that will be discussed below find close parallels in Lefkandi. For pottery imports from Attica and central Euboia, see Charalambidou 2017.



Fig. 2. Plan of Plakari hill top with location of trenches (by Jaap Fokkema)

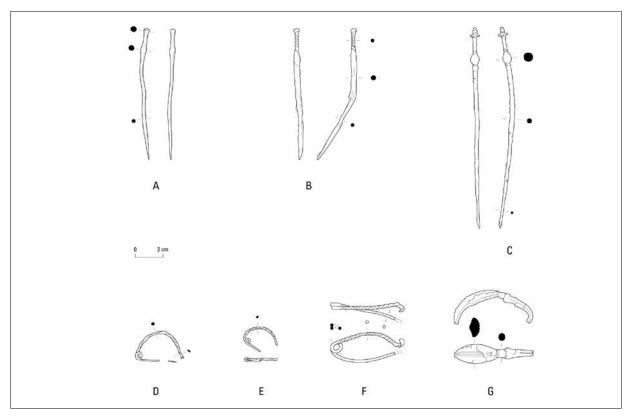


Fig. 3. Bronze pins and fibulae found at Plakari: a.-b.) pins with elongated swelling, Sub-Mycenaean;

- c.) pin with spherical bulb and disk decoration, Early Geometric II Middle Geometric II;
- d.-e.) symmetric arched fibulae, Sub-Mycenaean; f.) violin-bow fibula, Sub-Mycenean;
- g.) asymmetric arched fibula with swollen bow, Late Protogeometric-Sub-Protogeometric I (by Bert Brouwenstijn)

122 Jan Paul Crielaard



Fig. 4. Aerial photo of Bay of Karystos from north/northwest with Plakari in foreground (by Anke Stoker)

and indeed the re-occupation of the southern part of Euboia, concurs with a phase during which new settlements were established in the Sporades and Cyclades ¹¹ and Euboians from the central part of the island intensified contacts with various places in the archipelago and settled in the northern Aegean ¹².

What the earliest settlers picked as the site of their new settlement was a schist stone spur that was strategically located on the northwest side of the Bay of Karystos (Fig. 4). It was protected to the west by a rather steep cliff and to the south and east by sea and wetlands, respectively. Although not particular high (nowadays the summit is 85 m asl) an ArcGIS viewshed analysis shows that the top offers an excellent view over much of the surrounding area and the bay (Fig. 5). What would have also added to Plakari's strategic location is that incoming

ships first had to traverse the entire Bay of Karystos, which would have made it virtually impossible to approach Plakari unnoticed. In antiquity, the small coastal valley of Livadaki southwest of Plakari was probably an inlet. Sheltered by the Ayia Pelagia headland to the south and by Plakari itself to the north, this would have formed an excellent harbour, or rather a sheltered place where ships could be hauled onto the beach.

What did the landscape around Plakari look like during the Early Iron Age? A programme of intensive coring was carried out in the coastal areas to the west and east of Plakari in order to investigate the subsoil stratigraphy and to take soil samples for reconstructing changes in the landscape and ecology. It appears that until an advanced stage of the first millennium BC the coastline was much further inland, making Plakari into a sort of cape jutting into the sea. A perennial stream (today's Righias) flowed to the east/northeast of Plakari and debouched into the sea probably at the foot of the hill, as it does today. It was part of a dynamic coastal landscape, influenced by both the sea and the stream, which peri-

¹¹ Skiathos-Kephala: MAZARARAKIS AINIAN 2010, 59. Andros: Lemos 2002, 207. Amorgos-Minoa and Arkessini: Lemos 2002, 147; Mermoz 2010, 163, 459-461, 470. Paros-Oikonomos: Mermoz 2010, 455, 458, 475. Melos: Renfrew – Wagstaff 1982, 42-45.

 $^{^{12}}$ Lemos 2002, 211-222; Tiverios 2008, 6-17; Gimatzidis 2011.

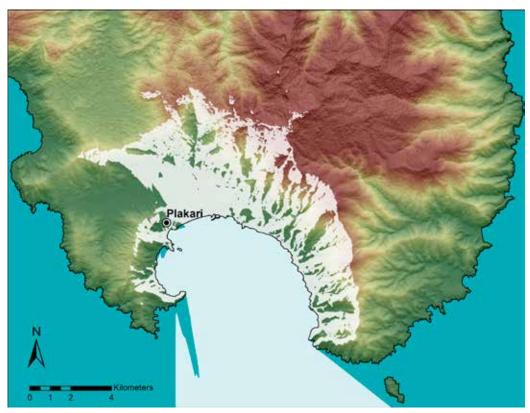


Fig. 5. GIS generated 3D-viewshed of Karystia. Areas marked in grey are visible from Plakari (by Ruben Brugge)

odically changed its course and discharged much alluvial material ¹³. This river delta, and probably most of the coastal area east of Plakari, consisted of wetlands, lagoons and marshes ¹⁴. Behind it lay a broad and relatively flat alluvial plain that is now called the Kampos. Archaeobotanical analysis indicates that during much of the 1st millennium BC, oak was found in abundance in Plakari's immediate surroundings and we may assume that these oak woods or shrubs covered especially the slopes of the hills west of Plakari ¹⁵.

In addition to the presence of a naturally defensive hill, the availability of land for cultivation and wood for fuel and construction, another attraction of the area may have been the presence of metal ores. Around the modern city of Karystos and along the coast up to Kastri (ancient Geraistos) and Archampolis, large quantities of slag are found ¹⁶.

Most of these must be the remains of mining and smelting activities of later periods, but they give a clear indication that the region was rich in metal ores—particularly iron ores—that could probably be extracted by open mining ¹⁷. It is likely that smelting took place close to the source of the metal in order to avoid having to transport large quantities of ores. There is an unpublished report of a Geometric handle-body sherd found in connection with a large slag heap at the north edge of the modern town, which could indicate that these ores—probably iron—were exploited in that period ¹⁸. The probable abundance of wood in the area would have offered plenty of fuel necessary for the melting and smelt-

¹³ Crielaard 2017, 128-129.

¹⁴ The transitional zone between alluvial plains and marshy areas seem to constitute a preferred location for EIA habitation, see GHILARDI *et al.* 2013; GHILARDI *et al.* 2016.

¹⁵ Lentjes 2015, 150-156.

¹⁶ Observations made during our 2016-2018 surveys as part of the project 'Sea and Land Routes of Southern Euboia' (SESLR),

see http://seslr.nl. I wish to thank Ruben Brugge and Stefan Kooi for discussing these metallurgical issues with me. Remains at Archampolis are Archaic and later, see Panagopoulou 1995.

¹⁷ In the area of Karystos town there are indications of open mines, probably ancient, one likely to be Classical; see Keller 1985, 148-49, 192-93. Chunk of copper ore from FN Plakari; Keller 1982, 49; 1985, 107. Copper ingot, large amount of slag, fragments of clay crucibles from Ayios Nikolaos (FN-EH II, MBALH IIIA): Keller 1985, 128-29, 277-78; Tankosić – Mathioudaki 2006, 942, 944.

¹⁸ Found in 1989 during a survey of metal production sites by Drs Noel Gale, Don Keller and Tracey Cullen. Notes in SEEP archive.

124 Jan Paul Crielaard

ing processes. In this connection it should be noted that the EIA and Archaic contexts at Plakari yielded, apart from a large number of iron knives and other implements, some fibulae and a notable quantity of dress pins made of iron 19, which might support the idea that iron was locally available. Moreover, the same deposit vielded material that can be linked to procedures for removing or refining copper from ore, and refining or production of alloy or metal objects. This indicates that metal production, and probably smelting, was taking place at Plakari and, like at other contemporary cult places, was practiced in association with the sanctuary 20. To complete this picture of the presence of metals and evidence of metal production, on the northern coast of southern Euboia (Kallianos-Gianitsi area) iron, probably copper and lead, and possibly silver were mined in antiquity; gold is also found in this area²¹. This coast is difficult to access but the area could in principle also be reached via overland routes from the Karystos Bay area²².

A circumstance whose impact should not be underestimated is that when the 11th-century settlement at Plakari was established, the area lacked any agricultural or other infrastructure, like roads or paths. This is in contrast to settlements with a Late Bronze Age history or to early Greek communities in Italy, which were often established close to indigenous settlements and that in one way or another could profit from what was already there²³. The settlers at Plakari had to bring with them livestock, sowing seed, and materials and provisions to survive while they were setting up their new community. Also, they had to organize the settlement's catch-

ment area by clearing the natural vegetation, making the alluvial Kampos plain suitable for agriculture and/or constructing retaining walls for terrace farming on the slopes of the hills to the west of Plakari.

As far as we can see from the present archaeological record, the hilltop was right from the start reserved for cultic activities. Most of the earliest material found in the sanctuary was part of the socalled sacrificial refuse area, an open-air deposit lying to the south of the sanctuary's upper terrace but still within the confines of the cult place (Fig. 2: Trenches 1 a-c; Fig. 6: area in lower left corner). This sacrificial refuse area contained large amounts of animal bones, charcoal, ceramics and small finds identifiable as votive offerings, dating from the 11th to the 6th century BC. The SM fibulae already mentioned were found stored in a small building (Building A) near the highest point of the ridge, together with other valuables (some of which were 'antiques') and a host of pottery of especially the 4th century BC²⁴. This building was constructed or refurbished around 400 BC but it is possible that it had an earlier phase.

The small amount of 10th and 9th century pottery includes amphora and krater fragments as well as sherds of drinking vessels – in others words, the necessary items for communal drinking practices. Besides the Sub-Mycenaean dress items just referred to, there are a few dress pins and fibulae that date to the Protogeometric and Sub-Protogeometric periods (e.g. Fig. 3: C, G) and can only be interpreted as votive offerings. These group activities and communal rituals must have contributed to establishing a sense of community. We don't know to which deity these were dedicated but for the Classical period there is evidence to assume that it was Apollo, perhaps in combination with Artemis²⁵.

The Plakari ridge probably functioned as an acropolis with a sanctuary at its top catering for a settlement located on the flanks and at the foot of the ridge. The earliest excavated evidence of habitation dates to the 8th century and takes the form of curvilinear buildings and other stone structures that Dr Maria Chidiroglou brought to light lower down the

¹⁹ Some 11 iron fibulae and 100 iron dress pins and pin fragments have been found; the earliest pins date to the PG period.

²⁰ Descoeudres 2008, 336-337.

²¹ DAVIS 1935, 243-5; PERNICKA 1987; DIMOU et al. 1995; VOUDOURIS et al. 2011. In the Kallianou area evidence of ancient mining comes in the form of galleries. In the 19th cent. attempts were made to re-use the ancient copper mines, CHIDIROGLOU 2012, 262. Evidence of ancient (LBA,? Late Archaic/Classical?) silver mining: PERNICKA – WAGNER 1985, 209; CLINE 1991, 134-35. The nearby fortified site at Cape Philagra (Geometric, Archaic, Classical and Byzantine remains) has yielded a thick scatter of slag and other evidence of metal production possibly dating to the Classical period, see SACKETT et al. 1966, 80; CHIDIROGLOU 2012, 28, 38, 40, 151, 260-264.

²² Before road construction in the 1980s much of the traffic to places north of Mt Ochi went over *monopatia* and *kalderimi*-type pathways.

²³ CRIELAARD in press.

²⁴ Chidiroglou 2014.

²⁵ Crielaard 2017, 134-35; Chidiroglou 2017, 324-325.



Fig. 6. Plan of Plakari sanctuary (by Jaap Fokkema and Jan Paul Crielaard)

southern slope of the ridge²⁶. Survey finds suggest that another nucleus of Geometric and Archaic habitation was found at the foot of the ridge on the

northeast side, close to the Righias river²⁷. Theoretically, it is possible that Plakari started off in the 11th century BC as a hilltop sanctuary and only during a

²⁶ Chidiroglou 2003-2004.

²⁷ Keller 1985, 107-108.

126 Jan Paul Crielaard

second phase became the location of a settlement that continued to use the hilltop as a cult place. Such a scenario is not very plausible, however, as this would mean that during the first two centuries of its existence this cult site would have been virtually in the wilderness – literally in the middle of nowhere, considering that the nearest human presence in the Protogeometric period was probably found on the opposite coast of Attica²⁸. Of interest in this connection are three chance finds made on a bulldozed road on the saddle immediately to the northwest of the Plakari hilltop, namely a gold finger ring, a gold mushroom-headed earring decorated with zigzags, and a bronze spherical element belonging to a pin or fibula, all found together within a layer of dark material. The gold ornaments find close parallels in Sub-Protogeometric I grave material from Lefkandi (ca. 900-875 BC)²⁹. The presence of a large, worked stone slab a short distance to the east that obviously had been pushed aside by a bulldozer during road construction, may indicate that there had been one or more tombs in the area³⁰. If we are right to assume that these items originate from a destroyed tomb, we can push the earliest evidence for people living (and dying) on the flanks of the Plakari hilltop back to the later 10th or the early 9th century BC, which makes the gap between these and the earliest votives considerably narrower.

All in all, the division of space for the gods, the living and the dead, the organization of the settlement and territory, and the establishment of various community building projects are activities that are also typically associated with the founding of colonies ³¹. In the conceptualization of the early Greeks, the founding of a town not only embodied the transition from wild nature to culture, but was also an almost sacred act inspired or guided by divine powers. This relates *a fortiori* to Archaic Greek colonies, many of which possessed a foundation story in

²⁸ See Crielaard 2006, 276 fig. 14.1c.

which a guiding and civilizing role was attributed to Apollo³². The early start of cult at the Plakari hilltop can be explained in a similar way.

During the 8th century we see an intensification of cult activities at Plakari. The sacrificial refuse area yielded some 33,000 pottery fragments, over 26,000 fragments of animal bones and more than 430 small finds³³. The majority of the pottery dates to the Middle Geometric II and Late Geometric periods. Dr Xenia Charalambidou, who studies the ceramics for publication, reports that painted fine wares are especially well represented. These include kraters, pitchers, pithoi/jars, amphorae or hydriae, and various types of drinking vessels - in other words, the whole range of vessels needed to transport, store, mix, distribute and consume wine on a considerable scale and probably on frequent occasions ³⁴. We assume that a large part of the animal bones are to be associated with this same phase of increased cultic activity. Most of the identifiable animal bones belong to sheep/goats (80 %), followed at a distance by cattle (8.5 %) and pigs (0.3 %). Of the sheep/goat fragments, only a small portion (6.5 %) were burnt; most of these burnt fragments were from the femur and the lower part of the tail, which matches with what later literary and iconographic sources tell us about 'the gods' portion'. The much larger percentage of unburnt bones suggests that most of the meat was cooked before consumption, probably by those attending the sacrifices 35. The many fragments of cooking vessels that are part of the same deposit can probably be linked to this ³⁶. Archaeobotanical macro remains found together with the Protogeometric and Geometric pottery, animal bones and small finds as part of the sacrificial refuse area included grape pips (Vitis vinifera), pulses (Fabaceae), cereals (wheat, oat and rye) and grass seeds (Poaceae). The presence of grapes, pulses and cereals suggests that land use around the settlement was characterised by the typical Mediterranean polyculture system. The ag-

²⁹ Ear ring (mushroom shaped, with zigzags): see especially Toumba tomb 51, POPHAM – LEMOS 1996, pl. 58: nos. 23-24; LEMOS 2002, 127 no. 182. Gold ring (with double carination): e.g. S pyre 4 (nos. 4-7; SPG II), T. 13 (nos. 19-20; SPG II), T. 32 (nos. 2-3, 5; SPG IIIa) and T. 70 (nos. 15-16; LPG).

³⁰ Cf. Minoa on Amorgos where early 9th century tombs of early inhabitants (founding family?) are found relatively close to the hilltop; MARANGOU 2002, 299-301.

³¹ Cf. Od. 6.9-10, with CRIELAARD 2009a, 353.

³² Dougherty 1993; Crielaard 2009a, 355.

³³ Note that these figures are of a preliminary nature: we are still in the process of conserving and restoring the small finds and this may lead to small changes in the number of objects attributed to individual find categories.

³⁴ Charalambidou 2017.

³⁵ Groot 2014.

³⁶ Charalambidou 2017, 260.

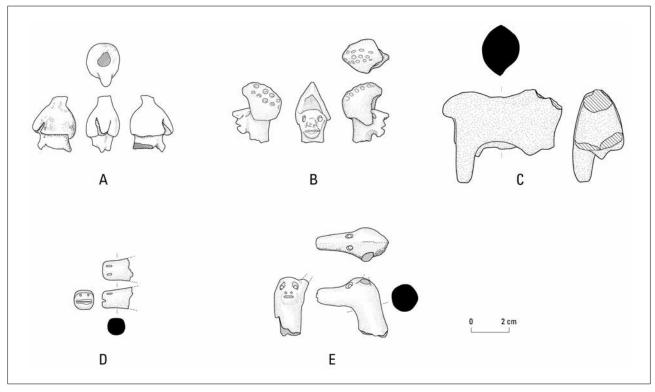


Fig. 7. Fragments of terracotta figurines from Plakari: a.-b.) helmeted figures; c.) bull; d.) horse; e.) dog? (by Bert Brouwenstein)

ricultural products found at Plakari may have been consumed at Plakari as part of sacrificial feasts³⁷.

At some point before the mid 7th century, a long wall running north-south was constructed on the hilltop (Fig. 6: red wall, un. 85/un. 244, with trapezoid stone feature un. 128 to its south), delineating a terrace or an open space to its east. During a following phase, perhaps in the later 7th century BC, a peribolos / terrace wall retaining a large stone-fill was constructed (brown walls, un. 4, un.146/un. 75). In the southern part of this terrace, a semi-circular stone altar was built in the 6th century (yellow walls, un. 240). Inside and next to this structure we found burnt bones and other burnt material, an iron hook and a number of iron knives, probably used for butchering the sacrificial animals, a bronze *phiale* mesomphalos, a large iron thrusting spear, a terracotta rattle and a bronze horse figurine, suggesting that this was the focal point for a variety of rituals taking place in the open air.

Many of the votive offerings found in the sacrificial refuse area were broken or, in the case of metal objects, bent or folded. Together with the numerous pottery fragments this suggests that objects that were used in rituals or offered in the sanctuary were ritually destroyed before deposition. Locally produced terracotta figurines of two helmeted figures, horses, bovines and a wheel of a vehicle may reflect the interests or indeed the lifestyle of part of the local population (Fig. 7). If this is correct, we may take this as an indication that Karystos-Plakari like the central Euboian settlements - had a horse-owning, warrior elite, who perhaps also had an interest in ships 38. The thrusting spear mentioned in connection with the semi-circular altar is 50 cm long and possibly an antique, and is a type of weapon that Archilochos' despotai Euboies douriklutoi - 'spear-famed lords of Euboia' ³⁹ - would be eager to wield.

³⁷ Crielaard *et al.* 2016.

³⁸ This is suggested e.g. by Karystos' connections with Delos (Chidiroglou 2017, 324-325) where it built a treasury – probably in the 6th cent. BC – and, by implication, participation in the local festivals; all this put Karystos firmly in the island world of the Cyclades; see Constantakopoulou 2007, 52-53. Note that in the Archaic period the Delian festival was above all a coming together of ship-owning, island aristocrats; see Crielaard 2009b, 68-70. For an example with ship iconography from Plakari, see Crielaard 2017, 196, fig. 9 ('Boiotian' fibula).

³⁹ Arch. fr. 3W.

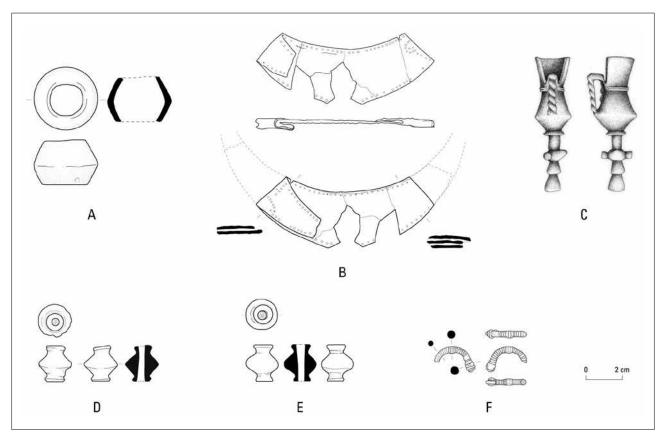


Fig. 8. Imported bronze items from Plakari: a.) bead, probably from Macedonia, 7th c. BC; b.) crescent ornament ("pectoral"), probably from Macedonia, 7th century BC; c.) pendant ("jug stopper"), from Macedonia or northern Aegean, later 7th or 6th century BC; d.-e.) beads, probably from Sicily, 7th-6th century BC; f.) arched fibula, from eastern Aegean, 7th century BC (by Bert Brouwenstijn)

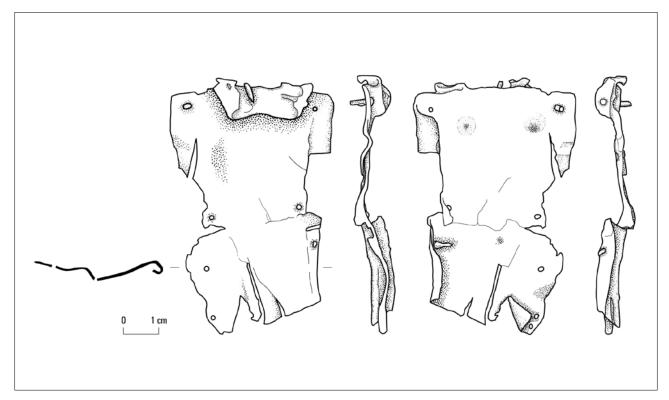


Fig. 9. Sphyrelaton figurine from Plakari (by Bert Brouwenstein)

The votive offerings also give us an impression of Plakari's networks. The offerings include very few 'exotic' goods and none of these seem to date before the 7th century. For instance, the only Eastern import is a scarab from Egypt or the southern Levant dating to the Middle Bronze Age, so clearly an antique. The central Mediterranean is represented by two bronze beads, probably from Sicily (Fig. 8: D-E). In addition, there are also imports from more nearby regions, like Macedonia and the Balkans (Fig. 8: A-C), or the eastern Aegean (Fig. 8: F) -however, nothing like what has been found in, for instance, the Artemis and Apollo sanctuaries at Eretria or the Archaic sanctuary at Kythnos⁴⁰. Other objects, like a fragmentary bronze plate figure, show that in the 8th century the inhabitants of Plakari were experimenting with making sphyrelaton images, suggesting that they were in touch with other settlements within the Aegean producing similar, experimental pieces of small-scale sculpture (Fig. 9)⁴¹.

TO CONCLUDE

A somewhat paradoxical conclusion may be that, although the Karystians were probably not involved in the Euboian colonization movement, Karystos—Plakari helps to shed new light on this phenomenon. First of all, the early history of Plakari represents a phase that one could describe as 'pre-colonization at home'. It also throws a different light on some of the motivations that are traditionally mentioned to explain early Greek colonization, namely overpopulation, land hunger and what

Nota Kourou in her introductory paper in this volume refers to as the quest for metals ⁴². Sites like Karystos–Plakari show that during the Early Iron Age there was still fertile, cultivable land available in the Aegean, while metals could also be found nearer to home. In addition, it has been repeatedly suggested that the founding of new communities abroad forced the Greeks to conceptualize what a polis community was and that the colonists in effect exported the idea of the polis back to the motherland ⁴³. I hope to have shown that this process of community building in which an important role was reserved to cult had already started in an earlier phase with the establishment of new communities within the Aegean.

The 8th-7th-century phases at Karystos-Plakari can also help us to discern certain contrasts with the central Euboian settlements. On the basis of the present evidence we may conclude that southern Euboia was not that well connected and did not play much of a role in Mediterranean networks 44. In fact, we may question whether the 'Small Greek World' that Irad Malkin believes developed as a result of Greek colonization included all Greek communities 45 to the same extent. Indeed, whereas the recent model of Mediterranean interconnectivity propagates the fluidity of the movement of people, goods and ideas, integration and limitless expansion, I tend to believe that the contrast between, for example, Eretria and Karystos-Plakari shows that some communities or individuals were much more successful than others in establishing, maintaining or manipulating external relationships, or had access to different or more limited networks.

 $^{^{40}}$ Huber 2003; Koukoulidou et al. 2017.

⁴¹ Small, sphyrelaton anthropomorphic figures are known from Dreros, Palaikastro, Praisos, Samos and Olympia, see PAPADOPOULOS 1980, 130; BOARDMAN 2006.

⁴² Kourou elsewhere in this volume.

⁴³ MALKIN 1994, especially 9.

⁴⁴ What Bruno d'Agostino in his contribution to this volume calls the light-dark contrast between west and east Euboia.

⁴⁵ Malkin 2011.

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388 Abstracts

lined by porticoes, and housed several votive monuments and important public decrees.

Evidence for the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age occupation remains fragmentary, as pre-Classical strata have only been excavated on a limited area in deep trenches. Mycenaean finds, among which PSI-type and wheel-made bull terracotta figurines, were mostly found in slope deposits coming from the settlement on top of the hill. Continuity between the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age is attested downhill by the presence of a large wall built in Late Helladic IIIC and still in use in the Protogeometric period. A Late Geometric apsidal house and an Early Archaic monumental building with gates occupy the same location. The latter likely marked the eastern boundary of the sacred space, which was then maintained throughout the development of the sanctuary. In the centre of the sacred space, the remains of a temple probably built towards the end of the 7th century BC were discovered. At the end of the Archaic period the temple was reconstructed, and a rich deposit of offerings buried under its floor. The content of the deposit gives an idea of the variety of objects offered to Artemis in her sanctuary during that period. To date, the earliest evidence of religious activities at the Artemision are ritual vases and votives dated to the Late Geometric period.

The aim of this paper is to review the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age phases in the area of Paleoekklisies and to discuss the emergence of a sanctuary at Amarynthos in relation to the development of the Eretrian *polis*.

JAN PAUL CRIELAARD, Karystos-Plakari: A "Pre-Colonial" Foundation in Southern Euboia

In this article I present some results of recent field work on and around the archaeological site of Plakari, located on the coast of the Bay of Karystos in southern Euboia. This was most likely the location of Early Iron Age and Archaic Karystos. During the 11th century BC a cult place was installed on Plakari's summit that catered for a settlement lower down the hill slopes until ca. 325 BC. Focusing on the 11th to 7th century BC, I evaluate how this south-

ern Euboian site relates to the period of expanding Euboian contacts and the so-called Euboian colonization in Italy in which central-Euboian places played a prominent role. I argue that Plakari was an example of a new foundation and that its early history represents a phase that one could describe as "pre-colonization at home". Seen from this perspective, Plakari sheds new light on the later phase of Euboian colonization and on the motivations of the earliest Euboians to settle abroad.

Athina Chatzidimitriou, Zarakes: A Cult Site in South Karystia, on the Island of Euboea

This paper aims to present the architectural remains and the finds which are associated with a cult site in Zarakes in the region of Central-Southern Euboea. In 1997, on the occasion of the widening of the Zarakes-Almyropotamos detour road and at a distance of 3 kilometers south of the modern settlement of Zarakes, at the chapel of Zoodochos Pege, there came to light extensive relics of buildings, dating from the LG down to the Early Byzantine period. Of special interest is the corner of a long building (Building II) orientated from North to South. Along its west, long side there were uncovered circular holes, which were probably used for the placement of wooden supports. The architectural features of the building as well as the excavated pottery (drinking vases) lead to the conclusion that it was probably a Late Geometric elongated, possibly apsidal, structure with peristyle.

Noteworthy among the finds is a relief fragment belonging to a mid-7th century BC pithos; it bears a repeating motif of centaurs and, most importantly, an inscription which identifies this site as a sanctuary, in use since the Archaic period. The relief pottery includes also fragments of vases, possibly pithoi, mostly decorated with the motives of simple guilloche executed with a cylinder stamp, as well as fragments with pictorial decoration, executed with a flat stamp. The wide application of the stamping technique in the Zarakes pottery in combination with the use of local clay point to the operation of local workshops in the area during the 7th and the 6th century BC.

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