

CHAPTER IV:

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF ERETRIA (c.825 TO c. 550).

The history of "New" Eretria¹ begins with the first exodus from Lefkandi c.825.² This statement should not be taken as indicating that I believe the site of the later Eretria was *terra nullius*; there is evidence from excavations at the temple of Apollon Daphnephoros in the centre of the ancient city area, as well as the acropolis³ and other nearby locations,⁴ of occupation from at least as early as EH.⁵ Indeed there are also signs of LN settlements on the slopes of Mt Olympos and at Tharrounia,⁶ and there may have been a small community on the site of the city; a well-preserved Neolithic axe was found during the 1983 excavations in the western sector.⁷ Mycenaean sherds have been found on the acropolis⁸ and at nearby Magoula.⁹ Scattered Sub-PG¹⁰ sherds¹¹ and

¹ C. Krause, 'Naissance et formation d'une ville', *Dossiers d'archéologie* 94, 1985A, 17. Strabon refers to an "Old" and a "New" Eretria (9, 1, 22 C403 and 10, 1, 10 C448); when the prehistoric settlement at Lefkandi was discovered between Khalkis and Eretria, a number of scholars identified it with Strabon's "Old" Eretria. There has been a shift recently from the earlier "certainty" though I suspect it is true that, often with reservations, most still hold that view, as I do myself, or rather I consider it *de facto* Old Eretria though not "Strabon's"; his sets of distances make it impossible for Lefkandi to have been his Old Eretria. **Henceforth "Eretria" signifies the settlement on the classical site, i.e. "New" Eretria; "Lefkandi" is thus "Old" Eretria.** Cf. II 40f.; Appendix 7.

² III 69f. Knoepfler 1985B (II/207) 50 refers to Lefkandi as "leur (the Eretrieis) ville primitive."

³ Knoepfler 1969 (II/78) 85, n. 16; Hope-Simpson 1981 (II/2) 55 (B68); cf. Boardman 1957 (I/65) 23, who questions finds by Kourouniotis in 1916: his reports, *Εφημερίς* 1917, are indeed unenlightening. Those of 1916 and 1917 are resuméd "in a very confused way" (Knoepfler *ibid.*) in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1922, 316: "Die Ausbeute an Kleinfunden war beträchtlich; ausser gelegentlich gefundenen mykenischen Scherben hauptsächlich hellenistische Keramik, darunter Bruchstücke megarischer Becher." (The yeild in small finds was considerable; apart from occasional Mycenaean sherds there was found mainly Hellenistic pottery, amongst which there were fragments of Megarian cups.). Much of Kourouniotis' work was lost at Smyrna in the 1922 conflagration, but Knoepfler is right to reject Boardman's dismissal of the earlier material, even though it is apparently now lost (as is also that found early this century by him in the Olympos Cave: *infra* nn. 6; 8); Kourouniotis has often been vindicated by recent investigations at Eretria. For the urban evolution of the city: Krause 1985 (IV/1) 17f.; maps (*infra* 86 - 87; not numbered) and references *infra* nn. 7; 8. For a supplementary bibliography of Krause's work: Appendix 2. Themelis, 'Ανασκαφή στην Έρετρία', *P.A.A.E.* 1976, 76: "our opinion that Eretria has been located on the same site even from prehistoric (Protohelladic) times has been further strengthened." **Henceforth, Themelis' excavation reports cited: P.A.A.E. + year.**

⁴ II n. 2 for a list of prehistoric sites in the Eretriás. For the location of sites in Eretria: maps *infra* 86f.

⁵ II 31f.

⁶ II 20, n. 2; 31, n. 67 (Tharrounia); Jacobsen 1964 (Intro./2) 90, nn. 132 - 134; 147 (Olympos).

⁷ Sector E5 of grid plan of the city (*P.A.A.E.* 1974, insert plan A). Report: *P.A.A.E.* 1983, 134.

⁸ Jacobsen 1964 (Intro./2) 218f., n. 29; Themelis 1969A (II/22) 143ff.: 'Αναζήτηση της θέσεως της Μυκηναϊκής Έρετριάς; 147ff.: Νέαι ένδειξεις περί της Μυκηναϊκής Έρετριάς, Knoepfler 1969 (II/78) 85, n. 16. For a summary of Mycenaean finds to 1974: *P.A.A.E.* 1974, 46.

⁹ Jacobsen 1964 (Intro./2) 203; 205 (map). Magoula: c.2 km from Eretria east of the Ptekhai swamp.

¹⁰ From c.900 to 850. Appendix 3 has a chronological table and concordance with Attic periods. Euboian Sub-PG II merges into MG, with which it is sometimes identified as SPG III (corresponding to Attic MG). Cf. Themelis' chronological framework in *P.A.A.E.* 1976, 76: "Early Geometric period (Attic EG II or MG I) 875 - 800." I presume by "Early Geometric" he means *Attic* EG.

¹¹ A. Mazarakis-Ainian, 'Geometric Eretria', *A.K.* 30, 1987, 3, n. 2.

traces of actual ninth century settlement are reported from the northern and central areas of the city¹² and close to the West Gate.¹³

About the same time as the **final** abandonment of Lefkandí about 125 years later (c.700),¹⁴ there is also evidence of destruction¹⁵ at the settlement at Eretria. Themelis believes that "with the [archaeological] data presently at our disposal, we can maintain that [Eretria] was occupied without interruption from the second half of the ninth to the late-eighth/early-seventh centuries, when, for unknown reasons, it was abandoned."¹⁶ However, the reason is suggested by the existence of a fortification wall, constructed between 710 and 675,¹⁷ which indicates that the inhabitants feared attack. But whether the (final) destruction of Lefkandí was significantly before that of Eretria or whether they occurred more or less simultaneously is unknown. At any rate, the Eretrians built their fortification and it failed.¹⁸ Eretria was deserted by its inhabitants, including the well-known goldsmith, who left behind his cache of precious metal and incomplete jewellery.¹⁹ Themelis believes the abandonment of c.700 was not confined just to the immediate area of his excavations, but that the **whole city area remained largely unoccupied until the fourth century!**²⁰ (For which reason he is unwilling to

¹² Ibid. 3, fig. 12 [nos 10; 14] n. 1; Krause 1982(A) (II/69) 139; L. Kahil, 'Èrètrie à l'époque géométrique', *A.S.I.A.A.* 59, 1981, 167; Krause 1981 (IV/3) 83 (Altherr-Charon: 'Tombe du 9e siècle avant J.-C.').

¹³ *P.A.A.E.* 1976, 76 (9th century amphoriskos); 1982, 167: "Up to now, by reason of the small dimensions of the trial trench, the EG amphoriskos has not been linked to any architectural remains of the same period. We hope that the continuation of the investigation will uncover also buildings of the 9th cent. B.C. and perhaps even earlier, which would bridge the gap which exists today in Eretrian studies, between the Mycenaean and LG periods." But he also remarks that the discovery of the vessel "further strengthens our opinion that Eretria has been located on the same site even from prehistoric (Protohelladic) times." and "In group 47 of the lowest natural sandy/pebbly layer was found also a fragment from the shoulder of a prokhous (ritual washing jug) decorated with concentric semi-circles (pl. 106a, first lower left), which may be compared with examples from the LPG. - Sub-PG I cemeteries at Lefkandí. **The appearance of early pottery of the 9th cent. B.C. in the lowest layer of the natural overfill along with LG sherds shows that there also existed on the ancient red earth bed-soil remains (buildings or tombs) of the LPG. period which were removed and deposited in the fill during the LG period.** With such PG remains belongs the EG amphoriskos from area Δ, together with a number of PG. vessels which were found in a deep trench in layers of red earth north of the temple of Apollo." (My translation).

¹⁴ Popham et al. 1980 (Intro./4) 368 - 369.

¹⁵ There are repeated references to fire destruction in excavation reports by Themelis in late-8th/early-7th century levels: *P.A.A.E.* 1983, 132: "Remains of unbaked bricks from the upper structure, which were found wedged in the stones of the foundations, were reddish-colour from the action of fire, **a fact that could mean that the apsidal building was destroyed by a conflagration.**" (My translation).

¹⁶ *P.A.A.E.* 1979, 49 - 50 (My translation).

¹⁷ *P.A.A.E.* 1981, 144; 151 (its chronology in relation to other PG/G structures in its immediate vicinity). Also infra 90, n. 96; 101.

¹⁸ For the wall: *P.A.A.E.* 1974, 38 - 39 (which suggests link with the similarly-built wall at the West Gate, citing P. Auberson/K. Schefold, *Führer durch Eretria*, Bern, 1972, 58, fig. 7; 60, fig. 8); 1976, 74f. esp. n. 2: where the wall as a fortification of the early city is first mooted; 1977, 32; 1978, 20: for further evidence for the wall as a fortification; 1979, 43ff.: contains a definitive statement regarding the nature of the wall and its relationship to fortifications at West Gate; 1980, 143f.; 1983, 137f.

¹⁹ *P.A.A.E.* 1980, 86ff.; idem. 1983 (I/60) 157 - 165.

²⁰ *P.A.A.E.* 1974, 39; 1975, 37; 1979, 50: "there is no evidence of continuity of occupation has been found by either Greek or Swiss excavators." On the absence of archaeological material at Eretria: Morris 1987 (III/60) 166.

identify Lefkandi as the so-called "Old" Eretria²¹). However he later notes that "it is a fact, nevertheless, that it [the first settlement at Eretria] was rebuilt and re-inhabited **immediately after the first catastrophe**."²² But the absence of archaeological data is not as complete as Themelis' 1974 statement, which started the theory of total abandonment, suggests. Not only the fact of the continued existence of the temple of Apollon through several phases of rebuilding, but also scattered finds throughout the city area during subsequent excavations deter acceptance of a total and prolonged abandonment of the whole site.²³ Moreover, the idea defies both probability and the literary-historical record, which point to the importance of Eretria during the whole of the archaic period. Mazarakis-Ainian suggests that there might have been a **brief** abandonment of Eretria at this time due to a "counter-attack" by the Khalkideis.²⁴ The choice of words implies that the destruction of Lefkandi was the result of an original Eretrian attack. Whatever the precise truth, Eretria was soon reoccupied, and continued to develop throughout the seventh and later centuries. It can thus still be argued that: (1) c.825 there was an attack on Lefkandi-Xeropolis causing part of the population to flee to Eretria and establish the ninth/eighth century settlement on an already occupied site;²⁵ (2) between c.825 and c.700, a much reduced settlement continued to exist at the Lefkandi-Xeropolis site, its East Bay location facing Eretria, perhaps indicating its allegiance to the "new" settlement at Eretria;²⁶ (3) c.700 there was a final attack on Lefkandi followed by/synchronous with(?) one on Eretria, leading to its brief temporary abandonment.

There are possible explanations for the present dearth of archaeological material at Eretria between then and the fifth century. Firstly, we must remember that the city was extensively destroyed by the Persians in 490. Furthermore, there is evidence of several later phases of extensive demolition and clearing of the Geometric and earlier settlement areas for redevelopment, as Themelis' own reports indicate,²⁷ as well as of clearing and re-use of cemeteries.²⁸ Secondly, as Morris points out, there is (due to the close similarity of pottery styles, with the persistence of particular shapes and motifs,

²¹ *P.A.A.E.* 1979, 50. For my use of the term "Old" Eretria: supra n. 1.

²² My translation and emphasis. *P.A.A.E.* 1983, 137: "εἶναι γεγονός πάντως ὅτι ἀνοικοδομήθηκε καὶ ξανακατοικήθηκε ἀμέσως μετὰ τὴν πρώτη καταστροφή." Mazarakis-Ainian 1987 (IV/11) 18, n. 69 concurs: There was "a sudden but **brief** abandonment of Eretria, which may have been caused by a counter-attack of the Chalcidians."

²³ For reports: cf. *Arch. Reps.*: A. Andreiomenou et al.: 1970/71: end 7th century; 1974/75: Geom. - 5th century; 1976/77: 7th century; 1982/83; 1983/84: agora, early stoa, c.550/500.

²⁴ 1987 (IV/11) 18.

²⁵ Popham et al. 1980 (Intro./4) 365: "We may wonder whether our site (Lefkandi) was not by this time occupied mainly by remnants of that element of its population which had largely moved to Eretria, so retaining a protective presence nearer the plain, part of which it continued to cultivate." III, 69ff.

²⁶ Ibid. 368: "The indications are that Xeropolis was by the second half of the eighth century contracted in size and probably concentrated around the East Bay facing towards Eretria. Whether this reflects the direction of its allegiance lies in the realm of surmise . . ."

²⁷ Supra n. 22. Also *Arch. Rep.* 1976/77, 17.

²⁸ A. Andreiomenou, "Αρχαϊκή Κεραμεική ἐξ Ἐρετρίας", *A.E.* 1976 [1977], 6f.: results of accurate provenance and chronology for finds from one such area (Plot OT 112a) near the shore at Eretria.

over long periods in Euboia), considerable difficulty in establishing precise dates for deposits, and there has been a too ready assumption by researchers that most, if not all, of certain types must be early. This may not be so. The explanation therefore may be, and indeed is likely to be, failures of retrieval and recognition of the archaeological material.²⁹ As Morris observes, that Eretria was a **total** casualty of the Lelantine War for over two centuries is hard to believe, but that Khalkis was also (where there is likewise an absence of a material record³⁰) stretches incredulity to its limits: "there may be serious errors in interpretation of the settlement pottery."³¹

It is naturally tempting to see these destructions of Lefkandi-Xeropolis and Eretria as outcomes of the Lelantine War, particularly since most scholars view this conflict as a single war, and many date it to the eighth century.³² I discuss the nature of the war below,³³ where I make clear my belief that "the" war was **not** a single war /battle, but rather a centuries-long struggle by Eretria and Khalkis since at least Mycenaean times for control of the Lelantine Plain, and that it does not "belong" to one restricted period.³⁴ Themelis himself thinks that this destruction of Eretria "should be related to the last and crucial phase of the Lelantine War, which resulted in the **definitive** defeat of Eretria by Khalkis."³⁵ I naturally do not agree. He later modifies this view: "Finally, it appears likely that the decline (he nowhere else in his reports mentions "decline") and abandonment of the LG settlement of Eretria at the beginning of the seventh century **should not be attributed solely to the Lelantine War as we earlier suggested, but to crop failure which accompanied a period of drought.**"³⁶ Camp had already argued for drought at the end of the eighth century in the Attike,³⁷ and Themelis rightly points out that the Attike and Euboia constitute a single climatic entity and so, if Camp's theory holds for the Attike, it does also for Euboia. Drought is suggested by the contemporary increase in offerings at the sanctuary of Zeus Ombrios on Mt Hymettos in

²⁹ Morris 1987 (III/60) 166 - 167; Walker 1996 (III/72) 12

³⁰ Also Boardman, 1957 (I/65) 28.

³¹ Morris 1987 (III/60) 166; *Arch. Rep.* 1976/77, 17. On the continuity of occupation: *ibid.*; A. Andreiomenou, 'Γεωμετρική και Ύπογεωμετρική Κεραμική ἐξ Ἐρετρίας (II)', *A.E.*, 1977 [1979], 206ff.

³² K. Walker, *An Examination of the Literary, Archaeological and Numismatic Evidence which may be of Relevance to a History of the Lelantine War*, 1990: 22, n. 14: for a sample of datings: Busolt (late-8th century); Beloch (late-7th); Will (late-6th). Bradeen 1947A (Intro./2) (720 - 600). *Idem*, 'The Lelantine War and Pheidon of Argos', *T.A.P.A.* 78, 1947B, 223 - 241, n. 1 reviews opinions to 1947.

³³ *Infra* V 153ff.

³⁴ E. A. Vranopoulos, *Ιστορία τῆς Ἀρχαίας Εἰβόιας, ἀπὸ τοῦ Προϊστορικοῦ Χρόνου ὡς καὶ τῆς Ρωμαιοκρατίας*, Athenai, 1987, 62 who adopts a similar position to mine: "Ἀνάμεσα στον 8^ο και στον 6^ο αἰῶνα π. Χ. πραγματοποιήθηκε πεισματικός πόλεμος ανάμεσα στις δύο πόλεις της Εἰβόιας, Χαλκίδα και Ἐρέτρια για την κυριαρχία της πολύ εὐφορῆς πεδιάδας, που διατρέχει ο ποταμὸς Λήλας." However, on 63 he says that the war "ἔγινε με ἐπίκεντρο τα τέλη περίπου του 8ου αἰῶνα π. Χ." (this last statement is based on Bradeen 1947B).

³⁵ *P.A.A.E.* 1980, 88; 1983 (I/60) 157ff.

³⁶ *P.A.A.E.* 1982, 167. (my translation and emphasis). Cf. Mazarakis-Ainian 1987 (IV/11) 18, n. 69.

³⁷ 1979 (III/58) 397ff. For drought as a cause of population movements and war etc.: III 64; cf. also Appendix 13.

the Attike.³⁸ Themelis reports geological evidence for drought at this time at Eretria itself, describing deposition layers (containing ceramic sherds of the late-eighth/early-seventh centuries) with hard upper crusts (ἐπίπλαγοι): "The creation of these thin successive layers beginning at a depth of -10 cm. and reaching approx. -1.10/-1.12 m. must be due to natural causes . . . They are perhaps the product of a period of drought during which rainwater stagnated in places, while the material which the water brought down (soil, pebbles, sand, clay) settled out and formed the thin successive layers whose upper surface hardened and took on the appearance of a crust (ἐπίπλαγος)."³⁹ Drought would have been a powerful force impelling the two cities that coveted the fertile Lelantine Plain to war. Also at this same time Zagora, the Eretrian *emporion* on Andros, was deserted systematically and without violence.⁴⁰ Water seems to have been a problem at Zagora even in its heyday.⁴¹ Andros is also in fact part of our climatic entity, however drought is not mentioned as a possible contributory cause of the abandonment by the excavators: "The reason for this move is not certain at present. It may have been caused by an earthquake which damaged their houses and reduced the quantity of water in the nearby springs or they might have decided to abandon their settlement not because of an act of God but rather because of a general improvement of conditions in the Aegean."⁴² Earthquakes destroyed Smyrna in the late-Geometric period.⁴³ If one occurred on such a scale that it could have seriously damaged both Zagora on Andros and Smyrna on the Asia Minor coast, then it could have destroyed Eretria (and Lefkandí) also. This in no way precludes any one cause, or indeed all three (drought /earthquake/war) being responsible. The literary references to persistent warfare between Eretria and Khalkis makes its involvement likely.

There are various traditions concerning the original name of Eretria, one or more of which may go back to the LN/EH settlement on the site. Melaneîs, Arotria and Eretria are mentioned.⁴⁴ Melaneîs refers to "blackness"/"darkness": perhaps the general complexion-colour of the earliest (pre-Hellenic) inhabitants compared with that of later (northern) immigrants.⁴⁵ Applied to soils, it is inappropriate for Eretria or the Eretrian

³⁸ M. Langdon, 'Sanctuary of Zeus on Mt Hymettos', *Hesperia Suppl. XVI*, 1976, 89ff., n. 49.

³⁹ *P.A.A.E.* 1982, 166. (my translation). Camp, 1979 (III/58) 397ff.: his study was three years too early to take account of Themelis' Eretrian evidence. A. M. Snodgrass, 'Two Demographic Notes (i: The Size of Lefkandí; ii: Population in Late Eighth Century Attica)', Hägg et al. (edd.) 1988 (III/1) 169ff. attacks Camp's arguments. (However cf. 210ff.: comments, especially of Camp himself, and Themelis [has since modified this position somewhat in Camp's favour], Coldstream [referring to drought on Paros] and Hägg). Evidence that prolonged drought not unique in ancient Greece: Carpenter, 1966 (III/58): gives evidence for such droughts in earlier (Mycenaean) and later (A.D. 400 - 750) periods.

⁴⁰ A. Cambitoglou/J. J. Coulton/J. Birmingham/J. R. Green, *Zagora I: Excavation of a Geometric Settlement on the Island of Andros, Greece. Excavation Season (1967), Study Season (1968/69)*, Sydney, 1971, 11; A. Cambitoglou/J. J. Coulton, "Ἀνασκαφαὶ Ζαγόρας Ἀνδρῶν", *A.E.* 1970, 154ff.

⁴¹ Cambitoglou et al. 1971 (IV/40) 9.

⁴² *Ibid.* 11.

⁴³ R. V. Nicholls, 'Old Smyrna', *B.S.A.* 53/54, 1958/59, 14.

⁴⁴ Melaneîs; Arotria: Strabo 10, 1, 10 C448. In Hom. *Il.* 2, 537, the name is spelt Εἰωέττω.

⁴⁵ Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἐρέττω. The "Elean"/Lefkandiot immigrants, were perhaps of N-W Greek/Dorian stock; the earlier inhabitants may have appeared dark to them. The dark complexion of the original

plain generally, where they are of the red-earth type.⁴⁶ It is more applicable to the richer soils of the Lelantine Plain, and so to Lefkandí.⁴⁷ The goddess Hekate (very much akin in nature to Artemis Amarysia) is frequently given epithets with the element "Mel-".⁴⁸ The pair Arotria/Eretria are interesting for their phonetic similarity. They may indicate the occupational interests of the inhabitants. Arotria is presumably derived from the stem ἀροτρο-, denoting "tillage"/"husbandry";⁴⁹ Eretria is usually derived from ἐρέττω, "to row". Arotria is thus not especially suitable as a name for the area of the new city. The Eretrian Plain is fertile enough as agricultural lands in Greece go. But Arotria, interpreted as "the ploughing city", like Melaneïs, is much more appropriate to the site which commanded the fabulously fertile Lelantine Plain. Greeks at all times were amused by word games and Greek interest in descriptive toponymy goes back to, and probably beyond, Homeros' time. The apparent punning on the two names might appear a later piece of sophisticated word-play, but it would not at all have been out of character for settlers, arriving at the site of their new home from Lefkandí, to have invented a punning-name for it, highlighting the new social and economic realities.⁵⁰ So the Ploughing-City became the Rowing-City. Arotria is not listed amongst possible names for the site of Lefkandi by the authors of *Lefkandi I*⁵¹; perhaps it should!

In the previous chapter, I suggested that the abandonment of Lefkandí was probably the result of military defeat of the traditional landowning aristocracy following a Khalkidian invasion. This conforms with the views of the excavators, though they are cautious in expressing these opinions.⁵² Military defeat of the traditional power-holders would provide the best hope for another group to seize control. Demand thinks this explanation "anachronistic". However, desire for political power is never anachronistic, and we have evidence of two distinct socio-economic groups in Lefkandí that would have had different political attitudes and objectives.⁵³ We are after all not so far from

(majority) people could have given rise to the story of "Arabs" on the island who came with Kadmos: Strabon 10, 1, 8 C447 (quoted II, n. 226). Cf. Rutter 1975 (III/17) 17 - 32 for ceramic evidence.

⁴⁶ *P.A.A.E.* 1982, 164: "These trenches went down to a depth of 1.86 m., i.e. to the weathered surface of the compacted ancient bedrock (terra rossa) known to us from other trenches, which is the natural, "virgin" subsoil of the area of Eretria, at least in the Geometric, and probably in the PG periods." (My translation); *P.A.A.E.* 1982, 167: passage quoted supra n. 13.

⁴⁷ W. Heinze, *De rebus Eretriensium*, Diss. Gottingen, 1869, 12: "ad coloniam in regionem aliquam deductam pertinet (nisi fallimur) quae silvosa et opaca erat." Cf. infra 88 and n. 79.

⁴⁸ *RE* s.v. Hekate: e.g. Μελινόη (2776); Μέλαινα (2773); she is closely associated with Zeus (2772) and had oracles of the dead (2781). In my paper 1995 (II/15), I argue that indeed (Artemis) Amarysia should be identified with Hekate, e.g. : Schol. Theokr. 2, 12: τῆ Διμήτρι μυχθεῖς ὁ Ζεὺς τεκνοῖ Ἑκάτη . . . καὶ νῦν Ἄρτεμις καλεῖται καὶ Φυλακῆ; Schol. Eur. *Med.* 397: ὅταν μὲν ἦ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, Σελήνη ὀνομάζεται, ὅταν δὲ ἕξ, Ἄρτεμις, ὅταν δὲ δεκαπέντε, Ἑκάτη. (When she was Selene for three days, Artemis for six and Hekate for fifteen), etc.

⁴⁹ *L.S.J.* s.v. 245.

⁵⁰ Or, if the site of the new city were already called Arotria, to have given it a new one more appropriately descriptive of their economic interests.

⁵¹ Popham et al. 1980 (Intro./4): Appendix B: 'The Ancient Name of the Site', 423ff.

⁵² *Ibid.* (Intro./4) 360f.; 366.

⁵³ Demand 1990 (II/223) 18; cf. Morris 1987 (III/60) esp. 202ff.; 207; 210. Rather, we have evidence for artisans and, by extension, traders; but that there was a landowning class hardly requires stating.

the time of the earliest tyrants; no one thinks their seizure of power, presumably backed by dissatisfied elements in the *poleis* "anachronistic". Socio-economic forces during the eighth/seventh centuries, leading ultimately to the rise of Pheidon, the Kypselidai and others, may have operated in central Euboia even slightly earlier. That the area was the earliest to send out colonies suggests that indeed political strains were becoming apparent by then. In the new environment at Eretria, the political balance must have been severely altered. Whilst any landowners compelled to flee would naturally have lost their land and probably their livestock and therefore the basis of their wealth to the invaders, artisans would have been able to take most of their wealth-producing means with them, their tools of trade and even some of their wares; and there was certainly metalworking in gold,⁵⁴ and copper⁵⁵ in the early Geometric settlement of Eretria. It is likely that these skills were brought in from elsewhere, for the products suggest both Lefkandiot and Kypriot models⁵⁶. Sailors too could take their ships and trade goods. There can be no doubt where economic and therefore political power lay in the new city: in the hands of the artisan and commercial classes. This is not to say there must necessarily have been an immediate "revolution"; if there were a large enough number of *émigré* landowners, they would have had a chance of maintaining control for a while, since they would still have been armed, and had a virtual monopoly of military skills. Although defeated and dislodged from their ancestral estates, they may have been able to successfully usurp possession of the farmlands on the Eretrian Plain and their wealth-producing capacity. Not the equal of the Lelantine Plain for crops, it makes good grazing land, and olives and fruit are grown there today. But such a scenario requires us to postulate that a **substantial number** of armed landowners migrated, and this is not likely. Anyhow, time, and economic strength, were on the side of the artisan and commercial classes. Their skills were in immediate demand in the new community, and they would relatively quickly have begun to generate wealth. We need not doubt that

⁵⁴ Supra 74, n. 19; Popham et al. 1980 (Intro./4) 93ff.; Desborough (in eodem), 279.

⁵⁵ A. Altherr-Charon reports an 8th century bronze-working establishment on the site of the temple of Apollon Daphnephoros, *A.K.* 24, 1981, 81f.; *A.K.* 25, 1982, 154ff.; 156: "Il est très intéressant de noter l'existence d'un atelier contemporain de ce type, dans la colonie eubéenne de Pithekoussai (Ischia). Ce dernier cependant, fait partie d'un quartier artisanal. C'est pourquoi l'intérêt essentiel de l'atelier d'Érétrie - son ancienneté mise à part - réside dans sa situation à l'intérieur même du sanctuaire d'Apollon, tout près du temple. Cette disposition est, à notre connaissance, un des seuls exemples d'époque géométrique." For the Pithekoussan workshop: J. Klein, 'A Greek Metalworking Quarter', *Expedition* 14, 1972, 34ff.; for another bronze working establishment in a temenos: W.-D. Heilmeyer, 'Giessereibetriebe in Olympia', *J.d.I.* 84, 1969, esp. 5; 17. They may have been common in sanctuaries of Magna Graecia in later times: cf. Altherr-Charon/Armstad: in Krause 1982C (IV/3) 156, n. 11. For Eretria: *P.A.A.E.* 1983, 139.

⁵⁶ *P.A.A.E.* 1980, 95 - 96; H. Catling, 'Objects of Bronze, Iron and Lead', Popham et al. 1980 (Intro./4) 235ff., pl. 247, nos 12, 15, 16; E. Sapouna-Sakellarakis, *Die Fibeln der griechischen Inseln*, Munich 1977, 49ff., pl. 7, no. 211. For Lefkandiots trading with the Levant and Kypros before going to Eretria; i.e. Kypriot influence could thus have come via Lefkandi: J. N. Coldstream, 'The Iron Age', D. Hunt (ed.) *Footprints in Cyprus. An Illustrated History*, London, 1984, 61f.; 66 (refers to ceramic evidence of early iron age trade goods which he believes were brought by Euboians).

trade was not only flourishing, but also politically important; its development was one way of providing a living for the new settlement. But it may not have been enough.

Even the agriculturally wealthier (and now expanded) Khalkidian territory was apparently becoming over-populated, and it should be, but never has, I believe, been noted, that Eretria, with far less food-producing potential, must have been overstrained even sooner, especially with the arrival of the new settlers. Population pressure and "land hunger" are often adduced as the main reasons for colonisation, and the Euboieis were the earliest to colonise in the west, Pithekoussai and its off-shoot Kyme being founded c.775/750 by Eretrian, Khalkidian and (presumably) Kymaean settlers - indicating a land/population problem in Euboia generally, perhaps exacerbated by drought. However Pithekoussai (and Kyme) were founded primarily for commercial reasons, though land hunger may also have played a role,⁵⁷ for though Pithekoussai town was clearly a manufacturing and trading place, as Snodgrass and Ridgeway both point out, the island is quite fertile and agriculturally productive, while the hinterland at Kyme (Cumae) is even more so.⁵⁸ But colonies do not account for the removal of many people, perhaps only the most vocal dissidents. The problem could not thereby have been solved, and so the two states resumed their on-going struggle c.700, the prize now being the part of the Lelantine Plain east of the River Lelas if we believe, as I do, that the instigators were the Khalkideis. However, it must be conceded that Eretria may have been the aggressor and, if so, the goal was the capture of the western part of the plain.



Fig. 39: The Eretrian Plain. Orchards, mixed grazing and cropland on shallow limestone soils.

⁵⁷ In this context, we may remember that the returning colonists from Eretrian Kerkyra were driven off with slings (the ἀποσφενδόνηται): infra 119f.; V 140 and n. 67, where Plout. *Ait. hell.* 22 is quoted and translated), just as the Theraioi, who had been sent from drought-stricken Thera to Libya, were also shot at, and prevented from landing when they tried to return (Hdt. 4, 156). The two incidents appear very similar.

The poorer productivity of the Eretrian lands was never in any case going to make its holders especially rich. Land at Eretria may have conferred status, but not great wealth. If the Hippeis at Eretria were to maintain their wealth-differential, they would surely have to acquire income from other sources. It would not have been long before some of them anticipated Alkaios' brother, Antimenidas, and the Athenian aristocrat Solon, and invested in trading ventures, and thus would have begun the merging of the upper-class into a larger oligarchic (rather than aristocratic) group whose power was based primarily on its liquid assets. The *emporion* established on Andros, possibly as early as 800,⁵⁹ i.e. shortly after the arrival at Eretria of the first refugees, appears to have been devoted solely to commercial activities. It is suggested that not only was it an Eretrian settlement but that: "The whole island [Andros] had passed over into Eretrian control."⁶⁰ Some of the pottery found there has close affinities with slightly earlier types typical of Lefkandí,⁶¹ and the "most common imported fabric is Euboean",⁶² indeed Eretrian.⁶³ The also excavators mention some ceramic characteristic of Tenos.⁶⁴ I am thus reminded of Strabon's assertion that Eretria once ruled an island "empire", including both Andros and Tenos.⁶⁵ Lefkandí/Old Eretria had long been playing an important trading role in the wider Aegean/Levantine area. The destruction at Eretria and the abandonment of Zagora⁶⁶ c.700 is probably related to the fact that about this time Eretria (and Euboia as a whole) ceases to trade with Al Mina in North Syria.⁶⁷

We must now consider what the newcomers found on and around the site that they chose for their new city by way of physical and human resources, and what political, social and cultural baggage they brought with them.

⁵⁸ Manufacturing: Snodgrass 1980 (II/184) 40f.; D. Ridgeway, *The First Western Greeks*, Cambridge, 1992, 15ff.; on its fertility: infra V 138 and nn. 50 - 53; R. M. Cook, 'Reasons for the Foundation of Ischia and Cumae', *Historia* 11, 1962, 113 - 114.

⁵⁹ Cambitoglou et al. 1971 (IV/40) 60; J.-P. Descoedres, 'Zagora auf der Insel Andros - eine eretrische Kolonie?', *A.K.* 16, 1973, 88, n. 15.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 88: (My translation); Die ganze Insel (i.e. Andros) in den Besitz Eretrias übergegangen war. For its varied trade connections 88, n. 14.

⁶¹ Cambitoglou et al. 1971 (IV/40) 56.

⁶² Ibid. 58. Cf. also Cambitoglou's report in *A.E.* 1970, 228ff.

⁶³ Ibid. fig. 54. Descoedres 1973 (IV/59) 88, nn. 12; 13. It is true that, as yet, chemical and crystal analyses of the Euboian pottery found at Al Mina, and elsewhere in the Levant, have not been able to establish precisely from which clay deposits the material comes, other than that it is from central Euboia: cf. Pollard/Hatcher 1983 (III/94) 281 - 290. When I speak henceforth of "Eretrian" pottery at Al Mina (or elsewhere in the east), I am basing that belief on the consequences of my own reconstruction of events in this thesis (chs III onwards).

⁶⁴ Ibid. 54, 56, n. 10.

⁶⁵ And Keos and other islands: Strabon 10, 1, 10 C448, ἐπιήροχον (sc. the Eretrieis) δὲ καὶ Ἀνδρίων καὶ Τηρίων καὶ Κείων καὶ ἄλλων νήσων. Descoedres 1973 (IV/59) 88 n. 19: a mid-7th century empire. A. Wilhelm, 'Τήνου Επιήροχης ἀναγνώσεις', *A.E.* 1918, 88 claims a similarity of names at both Tenos and Eretria.

⁶⁶ Supra 76f. and nn. 39; 40 for suggestions why.

⁶⁷ Descoedres 1973 (IV/59) 88, n. 18.

1. THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT OF ERETRIA: ITS ORIGINAL MATERIAL AND HUMAN RESOURCES, AND THEIR SUBSEQUENT MODIFICATION.

THE SITE



Fig. 40: The view over Eretria from the acropolis showing the harbour, the city-plain and the western fortifications. The unoccupied green area to the east (left) was part of the ancient Ptekhai swamp.

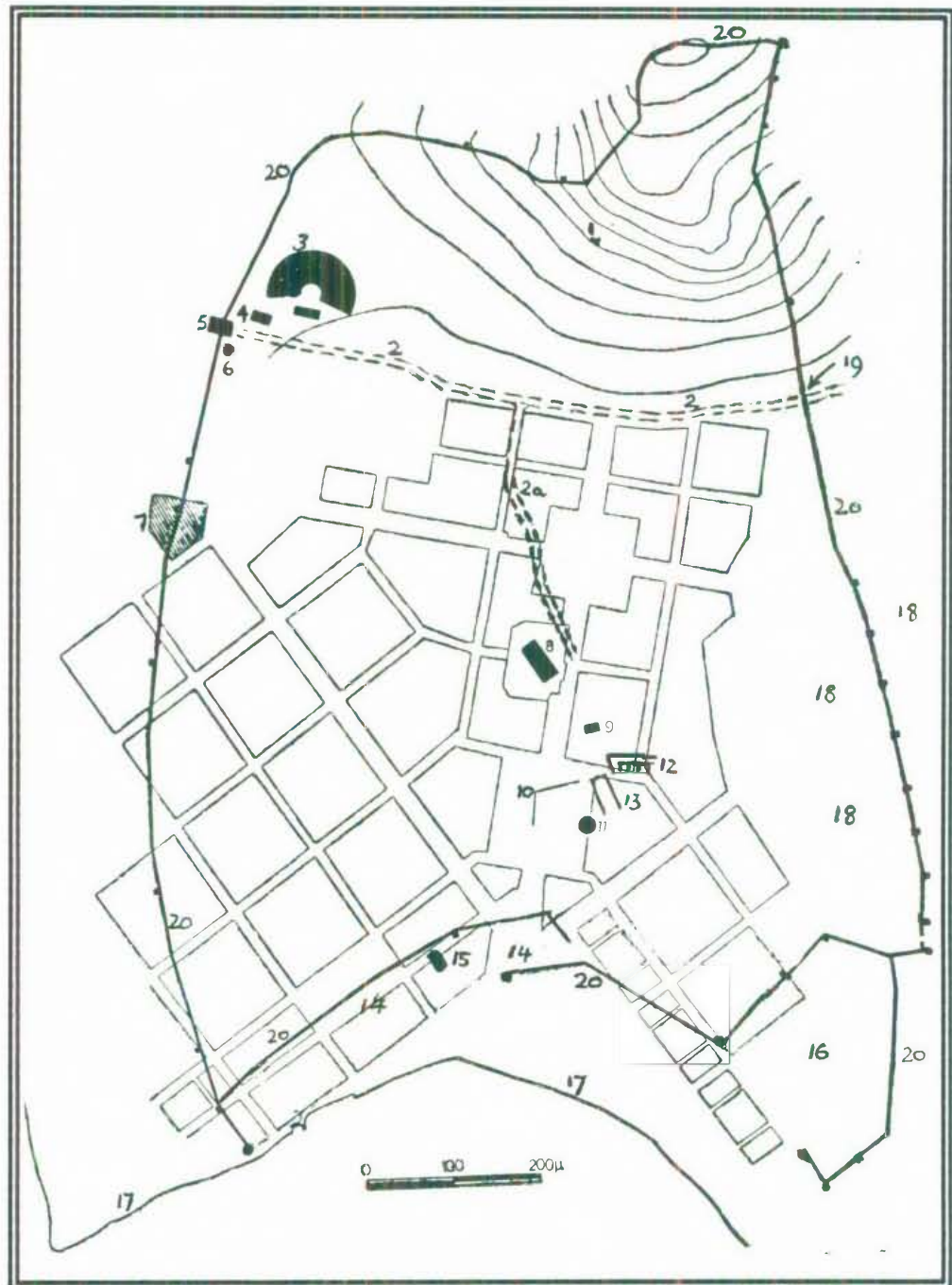
There was a potentially better **HARBOUR** at Eretria than that at Lefkandí. The situation at Lefkandí was adequate for the small ships of antiquity in virtue of the two anchorages east and west of the Xeropolis peninsula, allowing ships to draw up whatever the wind direction. But there was no prospect of developing them to accommodate greater *numbers* of vessels. At first sight, as is apparent from the maps in Krause's study of the urban evolution of Eretria,⁶⁸ the "natural" harbour at Eretria doesn't appear so much better. But thanks to the engineering works undertaken near the West Gate to divert the western stream eastwards during the eighth/seventh centuries,⁶⁹ and then again later in the mid-sixth century to redirect it back along its original course,⁷⁰ there emerged the opportunity to enlarge and enclose it, thanks to the

⁶⁸ Krause 1982A (II/69) 137ff.: a comparison of plans 1: Eretria 3rd and 2nd millennium; 2: Eretria 8th century indicates the degree of siltation occurring, and the likely *natural* evolution of the coastline, had later engineering operations by the Eretrians not been undertaken.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 138f.; plans 2; 3 (infra 86; 87).

⁷⁰ Ibid. 141, plan 4. Comparison of plans 2 - 4 shows the evolution of harbour area and the harbour works of the mid-6th century.

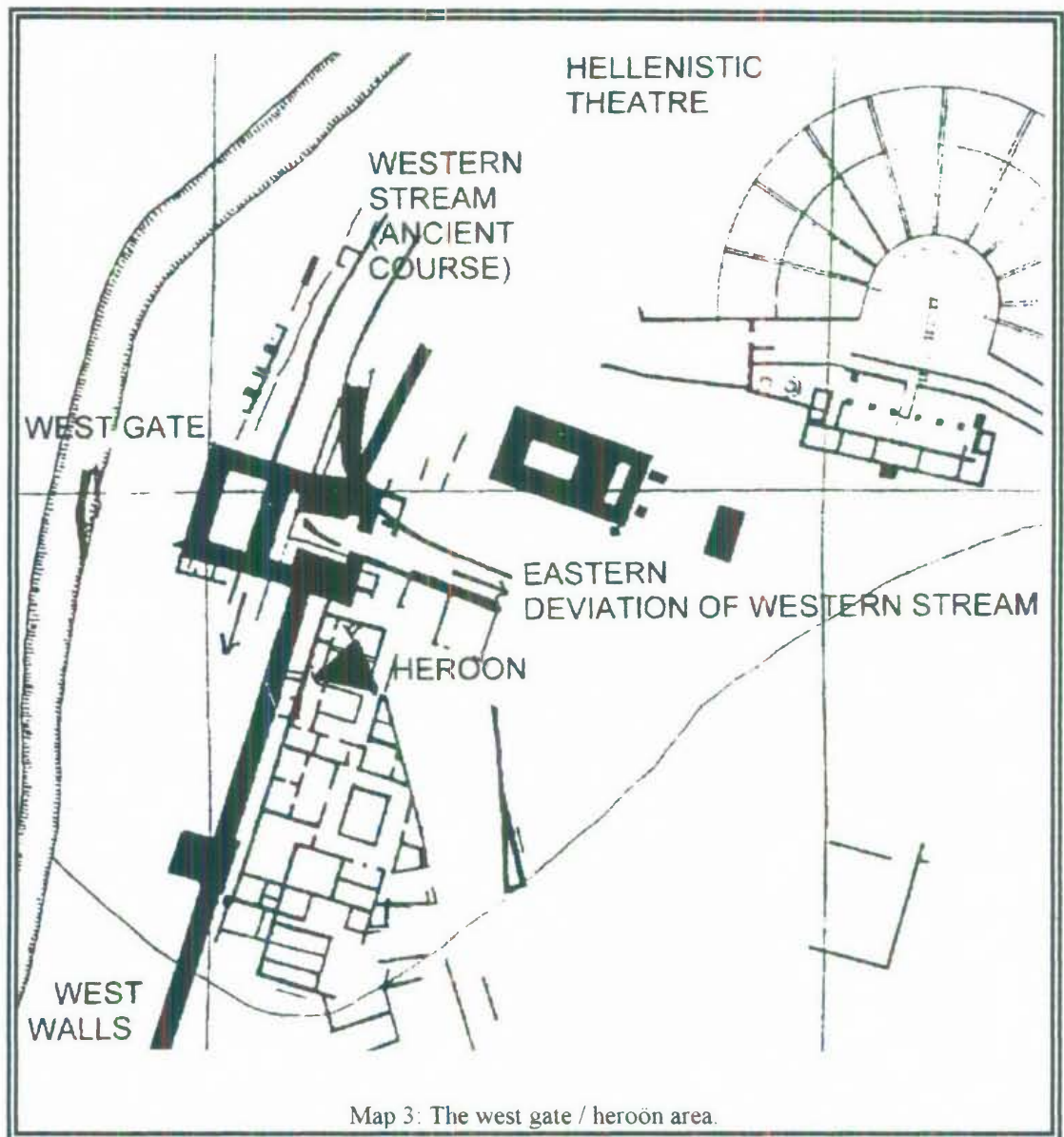
consequential gradual development of a peninsula towards the small islet of Pezonísi to the east, and then (later, when the stream



MAP 2: SITE LOCATION MAP OF ERETRIA

1: Thesmophoreion. 2: W → E main street. 2a: N → S street 3: Hellenistic theatre. 4: Temple of Dionysos. 5: West gate complex and monumental bridge. 6: Heroön. 7: The modern museum complex. 8: Temple of Apollon Daphnephoros and associated structures. 9: Fountain house. 10: Agora boundary. 11: Tholos. 12: Mesohelladic habitation. 13: East stoa. 14: Diateichisma (?). 15: Geometric

habitation. 16: The port. 17: The present coastline. 18: Swampy area (Ptekhai). 19: East gate. 20: Enceinte wall. 21: The Acropolis.



was re-directed), the growth of the spit to the west. In view of the brilliant results, one is led to wonder whether the early engineers who undertook these sequential diversion projects indeed understood the principles of siltation, and had planned the operations in order to **create a protected harbour for the city** as well as to drain the city area. The fact that later, when the stream was re-diverted to its old course, it was retained within walls to prevent re-flooding, shows that the authorities were aware of the problems posed by the streams (infra 89). The Eretrians in the mid-sixth century turned their energies to this task, commencing major harbour construction works

which resulted in the large and excellent port enjoyed by the city in later times.⁷¹ It was large enough to shelter a fleet of trading vessels and the war fleet which conferred upon Eretria the status of "thassalocrat" in the late-sixth century.⁷²

From the summit (levelled in ancient times) of the defensible **ACROPOLIS**



Fig. 41: The acropolis from the western quarter of the city.

hill there are expansive views over the Lelantine and Eretrian Plains and the Euboian Gulf as far as Khalkis to the west, to the mainland coast opposite, and eastward to Cape Aliveri and (in the absence of modern pollution) even beyond.⁷³ It also controls the easiest land route from Khalkis to Karystos, and allows observation of all shipping movements in the South Euboian Gulf. The Eretrieis in the sixth century were thus, as we shall see, able to control and tax shipping in the Euboian Straits.⁷⁴ It had provided a refuge for the EH and LH III settlements, but it is lacking of a good natural water supply, a situation rectified by Hellenistic times (if not earlier).⁷⁵

Between the acropolis and the sea is a **DELTA-PLAIN**, several hundred metres wide, and suitable for urbanisation, which was in the early-eighth century bounded on both east and west by torrential streams rising in the valley between the acropolis and its neighbouring rise, on which can presently be seen a Macedonian tomb. But over time, the site would require considerable modification, mainly due to extensive alluviation by these streams, although initially, no doubt, this would not have been apparent to the first settlers.

⁷¹ Krause, 1982A (II/69) 144. A. Georgiadis, 'Εἰς τὴν ἄνω Ἐρετρικὴν ἐπιγραφὴν', *A.D.* 1913, 214f. (includes diagram of harbour defence works and mole); C. Starr, *The Economic and Social Growth of Early Greece, 800 - 500 B.C.*, New York, 1977, 99.

⁷² 506/5 - 491/0 according to the *Thalassocracy List*.

⁷³ Knoepfler 1969 (II/78) 85f.

⁷⁴ That the Khalkideis who were on the Euripos failed so to do, needs to be explained; their lack of naval strength will be discussed later.

⁷⁵ P Friedmann, 'Un établissement hydraulique sur le flanc est de l'acropole d'Érétrie', *A.K.* 36, 1993, 132 - 136. The acropolis "apparaît avoir été dépourvue d'autres points d'eau" (132). For the quarry: supra I, 18 (and figs 24 - 26).

Abb. 1 Eretria im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.

- 1: Früh- bis späthelladische Siedlung
- 2: Mittel- und späthelladische Funde

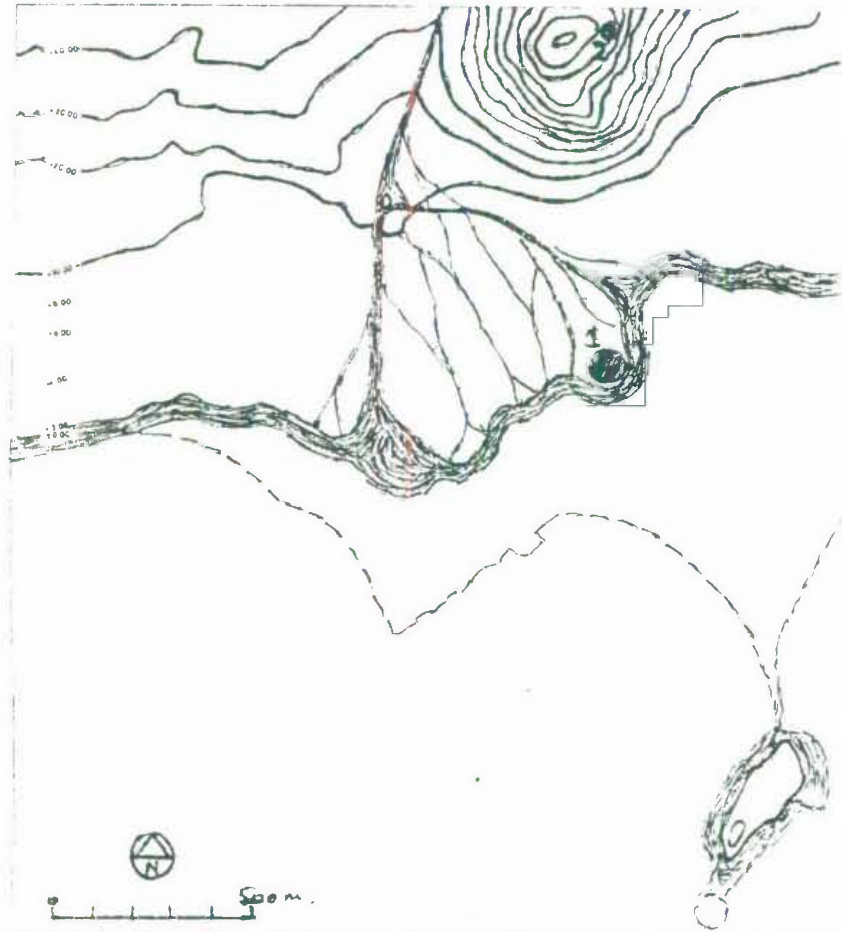


Abb. 2 Eretria im 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr.

- 1: Apollonheiligtum mit Hekatompedos I
- 2: Nekropole
- 3: Häusergruppierungen (Lage hypothetisch)
- 4: Strasse

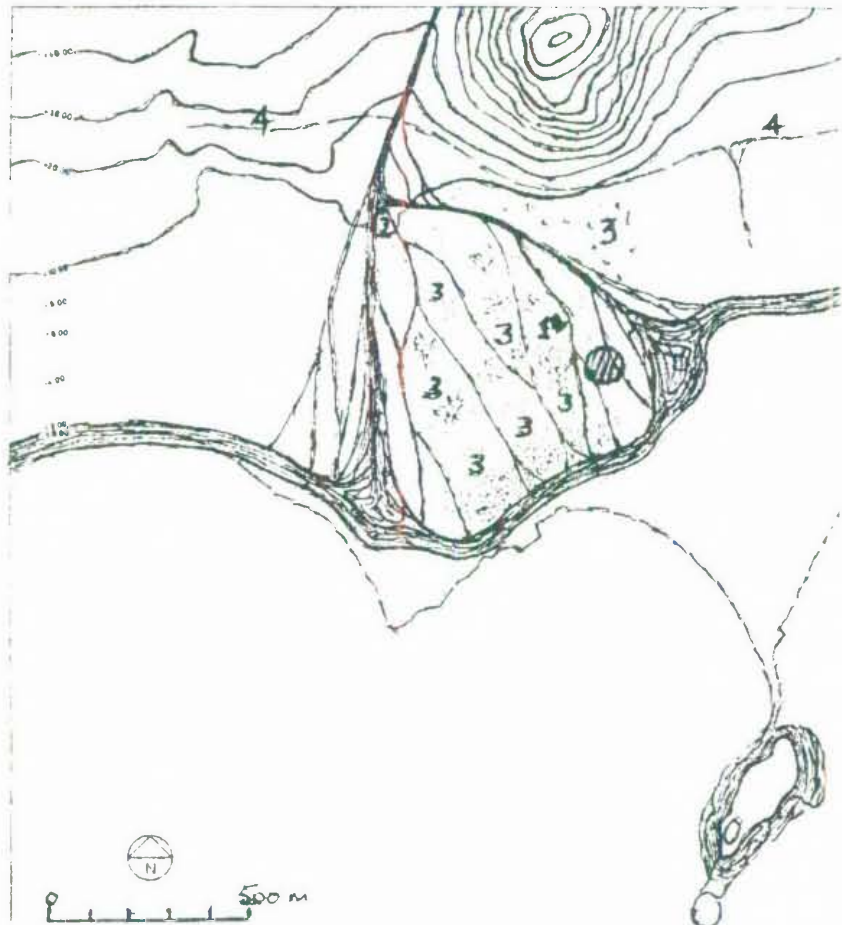


Abb. 3 Eretria im 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.

- 1: Apollonheiligtum mit Hekatompedos II
- 2: Heroon I
- 3: Ufermauer
- 4: Strasse
- 5: Akropolismauer

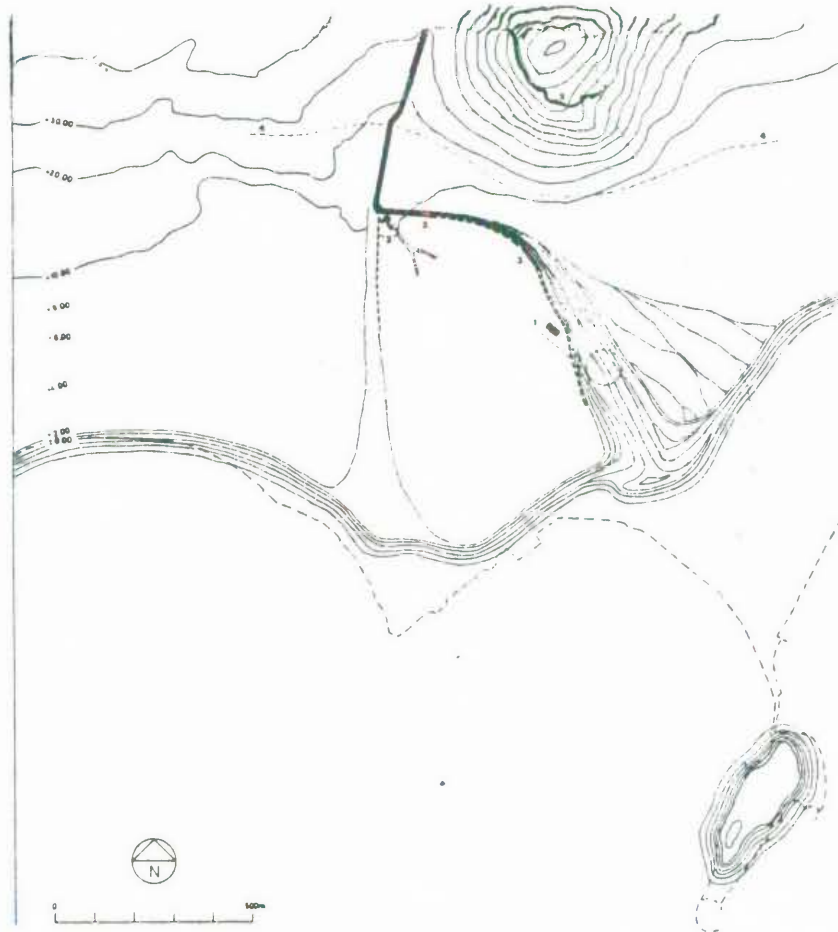
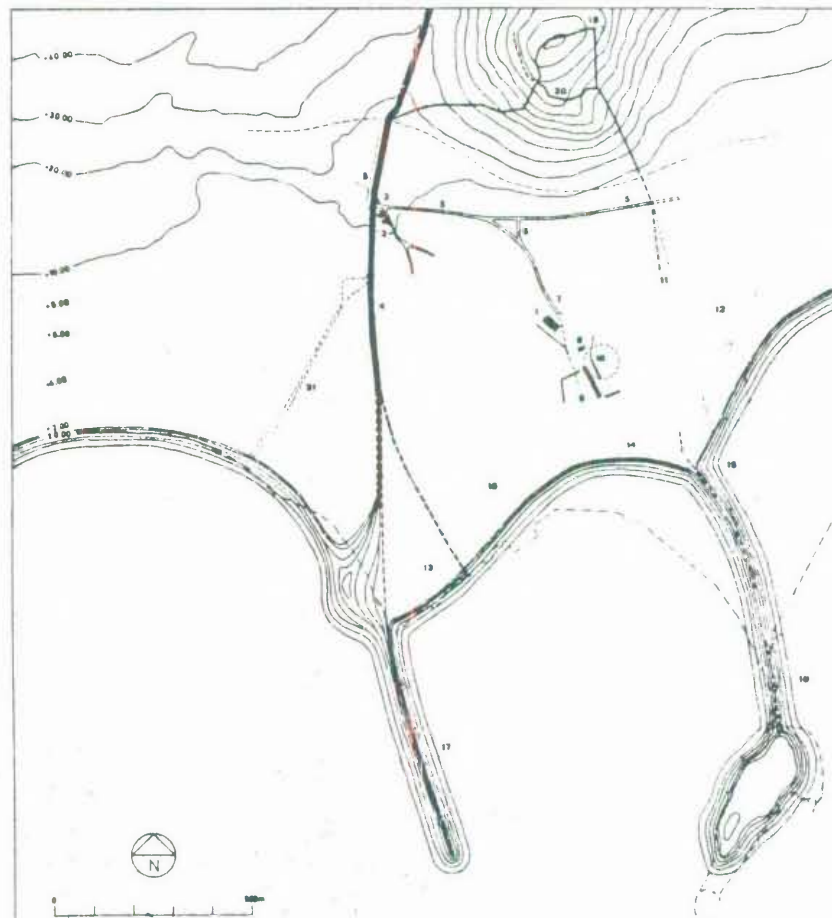


Abb. 4 Eretria nach 550 v. Chr.

- 1: Apollontempel III
- 2: Heroon II
- 3: Westtor I
- 4: Westmauer mit Bachgraben in archaischer und klassischer Zeit
- 5: Ost-Weststrasse
- 6: Verbindungsstrasse
- 7: Westtorstrasse
- 8: Brunnenhaus
- 9: Agora
- 10: Ladenstrasse
- 11: Ostmauer in archaischer Zeit(?)
- 12: Ostmauer in klassischer Zeit
- 13: Archaische Nekropole
- 14: Seemauer in klassischer Zeit
- 15: Befestigtes Hafenbecken
- 16: Diateichisma der hellenistischen Zeit
- 17: Westmole
- 18: Ostmole(?)
- 19: Akropolisbefestigung der archaischen und klassischen Zeit
- 20: Diateichisma der archaischen Zeit
- 21: Gegenwärtiger Verlauf des Baches



EARLY URBANISATION

Parts of the city area had long been occupied before the new settlers arrived: the EH/LH settlement was on a small promontory⁷⁶ near the mouth of the eastern stream.⁷⁷ This coastal village became threatened by the action of the stream in flood and its remains were subsequently buried under alluvial deposits.⁷⁸ It is entirely possible that alluviation by the streams was accelerated by ruthless denudation of the surrounding hills and valleys, the result of increased population and its demand for ship and building timber.⁷⁹ Whether there were any other major Helladic settlement foci in the city area remains to be seen. Scattered PG sherds have been found at various locations, but never in conjunction with architectural remains.⁸⁰ The earliest ceramic finds linked with architecture are from the late-ninth/early-eighth centuries.⁸¹ During the eighth, the settlement occupied the area between the site of the temple of Apollon, the coast, and the necropolis of the later Heroön by the West Gate.⁸² It is presently impossible to say whether the whole of the area was occupied simultaneously, or whether it was progressively settled from the coast in a north-westerly direction:⁸³ it is likely that it was quickly occupied by **scattered dwellings** surrounded by small family owned plots;⁸⁴ this was apparently especially true of the eastern delta area. The small groups of houses or villages were sufficiently close together for any surge in population growth to unite them together.⁸⁵ This pattern is found in other pre-archaic and archaic sites.⁸⁶

Unlike some early colony-foundations, Eretria didn't have a regular, orthogonal, **STREET GRID**, undoubtedly due to the fact that there was already habitation on the site preventing any systematic regular allocations of land to the new arrivals as happened at Megara Hyblaia in Sicily.⁸⁷ Also militating against orderly

⁷⁶ The line of the Prehistoric coast is conjectural: cf. Krause 1983 (IV/3) 65f. However, that the settlement was on the coast is not in doubt (65).

⁷⁷ Krause 1981 (IV/3): report by Tuor, 83f.; Krause, 1982B (IV/3) 150ff. noted first by Themelis 1969A (II/22); it was excavated systematically from 1979 to 1980. There was also a MH - LH site on the acropolis summit: Krause 1983 (IV/3) 66; 1982A (IV/3) 138; map 1, nn. 1; 2.

⁷⁸ Krause 1982A (II/69) 139.

⁷⁹ Krause 1983 (IV/3) 66. The remark in Livius 32, 16, 10 could refer to anywhere in the vicinity, e.g. the foothills of Olympos.

⁸⁰ Euboian PG: 1050 - 900 (Appendix 3, table 2). *P.A.A.E.* 1976, 76; 1982, 167 (quoted supra n. 13); 1969A (II/22) 143ff.; Knoepfler, 1969 (II/78) 87ff.; Mazarakis-Ainian, 1987 (IV/11) 3.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 3.

⁸² Krause 1983 (IV/3) 66f.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 67, map (fig. 3).

⁸⁴ Krause 1982A (II/69) 140.

⁸⁵ Snodgrass 1980 (II/184), 31.

⁸⁶ Generally: *ibid.* 31. For Athenai: *ibid.* fig. 5; A. M. Snodgrass, *Archaeology and the Rise of the Greek State*, Cambridge, 1977, 26ff.; Korinthos: C. Roebuck, 'Some Aspects of Urbanization in Corinth', *Hesperia* 41, 1972, 96ff.; H. S. Robinson, *The Urban Development of Ancient Corinth*, Athenai, 1965, 4ff. and, cautiously: J. B. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth. A History of the City to 338 B.C.*, Oxford, 1986, 79f.

⁸⁷ G. Vallet/F. Villard/P. Auberson, *Megara Hyblaia. Le quartier de l'agora archaïque*, Rome, 1976, 405ff. Eretria itself has been seen as a colonial foundation by K. Schefold, 'Die Grabungen in Eretria im

development was the fact that the area was broken up irregularly by the numerous branches of the two main torrents.⁸⁸ Krause observed "that any fundamental principle of organisation must be sought for in the specific [topographic] features of the place"⁸⁹ and that the irregularity of the plan of the early (as indeed of the later) city was not due to carelessness. The effect of earlier structures on the later urban lay-out is demonstrated by the discovery that the foundations of the LG town-wall later formed the curbing of a roadway.⁹⁰ The eastward diversion of the western stream⁹¹ resulted in the drying of the various sub-branches of the main streams, and people began to use their dry beds ("Hohlwege")⁹² as traffic-ways. This process can be seen by comparing Krause's maps 2 and 3. Later, in the mid-sixth century, when the eastern stream was rediverted into the old western bed, it was channelled within retaining walls to prevent re-flooding (map 4).⁹³ This map shows the main east-west road (no. 5), and the principal street leading south from it to the temple of Apollon (1) and the agora (7), which followed the now dry course of the eastern stream. Krause's maps 5 and 6 (not reproduced here) juxtapose the old stream network and the later (hypothetical) road pattern in the seventh century. The temple and the agora thereafter became the main traffic foci of the city. The east-west road led directly from the main western (Khalkis) to a (hypothetical) eastern (Karystos) gate; part of the main route from Khalkis to the south-east end of the island, it must have carried much through traffic. Its more ancient eighth century equivalent ran further to the north higher up along the foot of the acropolis outside the archaic urban area (map 2, nos 4/4).

Once the new main road plan was in place, the impressive **FORTIFICATIONS OF THE WEST GATE** were built. The stream, originally crossed by a ford here was, in the sixth century, crossed by a **MONUMENTAL BRIDGE** and channelled under the new West Gate, which was now the main gate in the new enlarged city walls which also acted as one retaining wall for the western stream.⁹⁴ The fortifications, like the drainage works, so necessary on a site like

Herbst 1964 und 1965', *A.K.* 9, 1966, 108: "Eretria ist gleichsam die erste Kolonie von Alt-Eretria." (Eretria is, as it were, the first colony of Old Eretria).

⁸⁸ Chronologically arranged maps: Krause 1982A (II/69) 1; 2; 1979 (IV/3) 1; 2 (supra 86 - 87).

⁸⁹ Krause, 1982A (II/69) 137: (My translation of the German: "deren ursprüngliches Ordnungsprinzip in den spezifischen Merkmalen des Ortes zu suchen ist.").

⁹⁰ In allotment 740: *P.A.A.E.* 1974, 39: "The Geometric analemma (so it was thought to be in 1974) was used during the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. as a support for the kerbing of the roadway. Indeed the upper series of stones is clearly an addition, probably of the 3rd century." (My translation).

⁹¹ Krause 1982A (II/69): plans 2, 3.

⁹² Auberson/Schefold 1972 (IV/18).

⁹³ Krause 1982A (II/69) 141. More clearly: idem 1979 (IV/3) 46f.

⁹⁴ Auberson/Schefold 1972 (IV/18) 57; Krause, 1979 (IV/3) 46. For the full excavation report of the West Gate: C. Krause, 'Das Westtor, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1964 - 1968', *Eretria IV; Fouilles et Recherches*, Berne, 1972, 10ff. Cf. map of this area.

Eretria with its torrential streams and swamps,⁹⁵ were on a scale unknown anywhere else in Greece in this period.

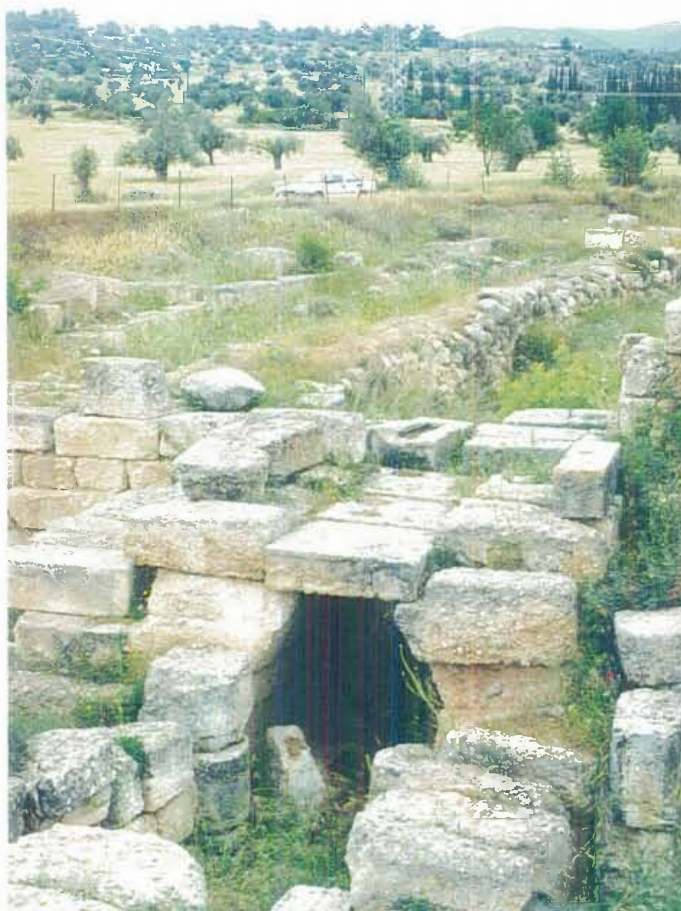


Fig. 44: The bridge at the west gate.

The open settlement pattern persisted after the arrival of the newcomers, but by the LG period, the urban area was most probably enclosed by an ENCEINTE WALL though this remains somewhat controversial.⁹⁶ Themelis' excavations in grid-squares E4/E5 (allotment 740) have revealed what he believes is an early town wall⁹⁷ with a gateway.⁹⁸ Finds from (Euboian) Sub-PG II levels indicate that the settlement in this area had already existed unfortified from at least the last quarter of the ninth century:⁹⁹ Architectural remains are described by Themelis which

he dates to "the end of the ninth/beginning of the eighth century", which may "have belonged to a 'hekatompedon' building similar to the (second?KW) temple of Apollon."¹⁰⁰ A fairly secure *terminus ante quem* for the enceinte is provided by an amphora which rested upon it, found in an adjacent tomb.¹⁰¹ Traces also of a (the?)

⁹⁵ I 10, n. 32.

⁹⁶ Themelis and Bérard believe that a city wall did exist: cf. especially the excavation reports of the Geometric wall by Themelis: supra 74, n. 17; idem 1983 (I/63) 157; for a supplementary bibliography of Bérard's work on this matter: Appendix 2. Krause 1972 (IV/94) 10ff. (for West Gate) but in 1983 (IV/1) 69 (re. the 7th century) Krause is more cautious: "Aucun élément ne prouve, dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, que la ville basse était fortifiée; une enceinte au sommet de l'acropole assurait, cependant, un refuge." R. Martin, 'Problèmes de topographie et d' évolution urbaine', in *Contribution à l' étude de la société et de la colonisation eubéennes. Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard*, Naples, 1975, 48ff.; C. Rolley, 'Fouilles à Éréttrie: archéologie, histoire et religion', *Rev. arch.* 1974, 307ff. deny any 7th century fortification.

⁹⁷ Krause 1972 (IV/94) 14f., fig. 6; n. 21: excavation reports by Themelis in *P.A.A.E.* (1974 - 1984).

⁹⁸ *P.A.A.E.* 1982, 86; 1979, 47.

⁹⁹ Ibid. 48f.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 48, figs 4; 5.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. 52. For other chronological evidence: *P.A.A.E.* 1976, 75; 1974, 39; 52: "(the amphora) must be dated to the end of the 8th century and . . . before the elements of the Orientalising style become dominant and could be perceived here." (My translation). The wall is dated to the period 710 - 675: *P.A.A.E.* 1981, 144. Supra 74, n. 18.

wall (c.690) were also uncovered near the West Gate.¹⁰² Bérard thinks it enclosed the whole of the later settlement,¹⁰³ but Themelis¹⁰⁴ only the northern part; Mazarakis-Ainian, who is inclined to agree with the latter,¹⁰⁵ dates its construction and that of the



Fig. 45: Fine-fitting archaic polygonal masonry at the west gate bridge

synchronous destruction of the Lefkandí settlement, to c.710.¹⁰⁶ However it was not until later that most of the enclosed area was covered by buildings. The defence of the later city was certainly secured in the sixth century by an enceinte wall, the



Fig. 46: The western stream channel near the western gate/bridge complex showing the retaining walls (the ashlar masonry of the enceinte on the right).

¹⁰² Krause 1972 (IV/94) plan 2. Mazarakis-Ainian 1987 (IV/11) 18.

¹⁰³ *Supra* n. 96.

¹⁰⁴ *Supra* nn. 96 - 97.

¹⁰⁵ 1987 (IV/11) 16.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 18.

upper levels were probably made of sun-dried brick.¹⁰⁷ The wall thus served a defensive role against both flood and external invasion. The West Gate was now elaborately fortified, displaying the results of very early and sophisticated defensive theory and planning, even incorporating a water supply system for the defenders and as a precaution against fire.¹⁰⁸

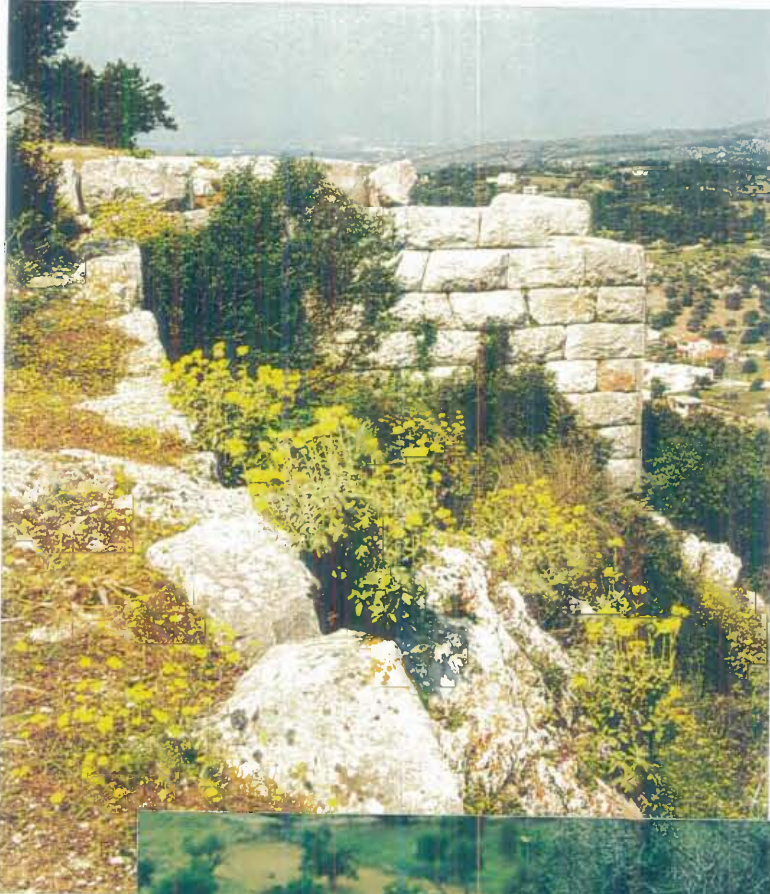


Fig. 47 (top): The ashlar NW acropolis tower. Fig. 48 (lower): Polygonal masonry of the acropolis west wall.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. 16.

¹⁰⁸ Starr, 1977 (IV/71) 99; P. M. Fraser, *Arch. Rep.* 1968/69, 8: "Old Smyrna had a city wall, or so at least it is reported and shown in an often reproduced reconstruction. By the sixth century some of the western colonies were walled. **On the Greek mainland we know of only fortified points of refuge, such as the Acropolis of Athens, down past 500, except for recent evidence of a wall around Eretria where at least its west gate went back to the seventh century.**" and "The early archaic fortifications under the West Gate are among the earliest known in Greece." For early fortifications in general: cf. Nicholls et al. 1958/59 (IV/43) section 3: "The Development of Early Greek Fortifications",

HOUSES: During the earliest period, dwellings were built of sun-dried brick, either oval or apsidal in plan.¹⁰⁹ It was only in the late-eighth century that rectangular structures began to appear, and thereafter "coexisted with houses of oval and apsidal form."¹¹⁰ Similarly coexisting types occur at Pithekoussai.¹¹¹ The apsidal/oval houses are also paralleled both in shape and building technique at Lefkandí in a quite striking way,¹¹² while the rectangular structures (usually with interior "benches") are similar to those at Zagora.¹¹³ There were workshops¹¹⁴ and, we may presume, shops, store-rooms and other businesses, established in the residential areas.

Mazarakis-Ainian¹¹⁵ believes that social distinctions are perceptible in housing during the eighth/seventh centuries, with less well-constructed, smaller buildings characteristic of the southern area near the sea, and larger, more elaborate ones in the north. He argues that artisans, merchants and sailors would have lived near the shore, while the aristocratic landowners gravitated inland. However, the goldsmith's workshop is in fact north of the temple of Apollon, and there was a bronzeworking establishment within the temenos itself.¹¹⁶ Moreover, the site of Eretria is not all that large, and there is no reason why men who acquired wealth from trade would have found it too difficult to walk to the shore if necessary.¹¹⁷ Those who actually worked on or about the ships would no doubt have preferred to live close to the shore, but whether wealthy merchants would so choose is by no means assured. Most of their business would have centred on the **agora** (infra) which was closer to the area of wealthier habitations. Thus we cannot assume that the inhabitants of the northern area with its "grander" (can we think of Geometric dwellings in such terms?) free-standing houses were of the "hippobotic class" exclusively. We need not disagree with the picture the archaeologists paint of older, smaller and more frequently repaired houses close to the sea. It was probably the earliest inhabited area of the city.¹¹⁸ It is true that interments at the site of the Heroön

114ff.; Schefold, 1966 (IV/87) 116ff. On the defence water-works: C. Krause, 'Brunnenturme in der archaischen Stadtmauer Eretrias', *A.K.* 25, 1982B, 39 - 42.

¹⁰⁹ Mazarakis-Ainian 1987 (IV/11) 4ff.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* 4.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* 17. Eretrian and Pithekoussan examples of co-existing apsidal and oval forms of domestic and public architecture show that H. Drerup's assertion, in "Baukunst in geometrischer Zeit", *Arch. Hom. II*, 1969, 82ff., of their mutual exclusivity, and the absence of elliptical buildings in the 7th century, is erroneous.

¹¹² Mazarakis-Ainian 1987 (IV/11) 17, fig 11; Popham/Sackett 1968 (III/17) 14f.; 23f.

¹¹³ Mazarakis-Ainian 1987 (IV/11) 4; Cambitoglou et al. 1971(IV/40) 17ff.; 25f.

¹¹⁴ Mazarakis-Ainian 1987 (IV/11) 9; Themelis 1969A (II/22).

¹¹⁵ Mazarakis-Ainian 1987 (IV/11) 20.

¹¹⁶ *Supra* 79, n. 55.

¹¹⁷ I have walked from the Museum (near the West Gate area where Geometric building-remains have been found) to the shore in a leisurely 15 minutes.

¹¹⁸ Andreiomenou 1977 (IV/31) 126 - 163; *ibid.* "Αψιδωτά οικόδομήματα και κεραμική τοῦ 8^{ου} καὶ 7^{ου} αἰ. π.Χ. ἐν Ἐρετρίας", *A.S.I.A.A.* 59, n.s. 43, 1981, 187ff.; Mazarakis-Ainian 1987 (IV/11) 18ff. *Supra* 86 (Abb. 1); 88.

are rich by comparison with those in the S.W. Cemetery, as Mazarakis-Ainian points out,¹¹⁹ but this was a very small burial area and probably the tombs were those of a single family or clan.¹²⁰

The **AGORA** was embellished with new roadworks and a stoa (the eastern) during the sixth century.¹²¹ This building continued in use until c.400. It is not presently known whether the original agora was on the same site as that of the sixth and later centuries but there would certainly have been a central commercial area almost from the beginning of the city.¹²²

CULT AND RELATED SITES: The most important of several cult places within the Geometric city was the **Sanctuary of Apollon Daphnephoros** (fig. 49 and plan 2 infra, 95). Since at Eretria no "royal" building, such as the PG Building at Lefkandí,¹²³ has ever been found, Mazarakis-Ainian¹²⁴ suggests that the earliest apsidal building in the sanctuary area, resting on virgin soil, the so-called "**Daphnephoreion**" (H),¹²⁵ may have been the residence (doubling as a cult-house? KW) of a *basileus* or *basileus-magistrate*; if this is correct, and the "king" lived on the site of the later temples of Apollon, it is possible that the transformation of the site into a cult-*temenos* and the building of the second, (i.e. the first *hekatompedon*) temple c.760/750 took place when the kingship was abolished. A very similar structure at Nikhoria in Messenia¹²⁶ is interpreted as a chieftain's house which also served as (or became) a cult-centre.¹²⁷ If Mazarakis-Ainian is right, the other Geometric *temenos* discovered by Themelis (below, which I have suggested may be that of Artemis-in-the-city) could have belonged to Apollon before the "royal" enclosure was transformed into his principal cult site, thus providing a possible explanation for its eclipse and abandonment.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. 16; 20.

¹²⁰ Infra 100f.

¹²¹ A. Geiser, 'Un trésor de monnaies d'argent', *Dossiers d'Archéologie* 94, 1985, 46 - 49. (archaic agora; east stoa (plan); shops. P. G. Kalligas, 'Η Ἀγορὰ τῆς Ἀρχαίας Ἐρετρίας', *A.A.A.* 15, 1982, 3ff.

¹²² The Geometric agora was probably on the same site as that of the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods: ibid. 4ff.

¹²³ Popham/Calligas/Sackett 1990 (Intro./4) Pt. I: The Pottery, 1f. On the building and its possible political and social implications: III 64ff. Cf. Infra 97 (and plan 3 and fig. 51).

¹²⁴ Mazarakis-Ainian 1987 (IV/11) 21. Infra 97f. Dr Parker has asked, "Need there have been any royal abode? Do we have any evidence that a king ever resided at Eretria?" The answer to the first question is, I believe, "not necessarily"; to the second, "no". He goes on: "I will grant you that one [king] in all probability at some point of time dwelt at Lefkandí; but might not the kingship already have fallen into disuetude by the time of the final transfer of population to Eretria?" (Indeed yes, I agree.) "If Lefkandí indeed be Old-Eretria (I do agree with you here), then any King will have had his residence there rather than in Eretria." To which I would reply, that if Lefkandí had suffered defeat, and its population had removed to Eretria, then the "king" would almost certainly (if he still existed as king) have fled with the refugees.

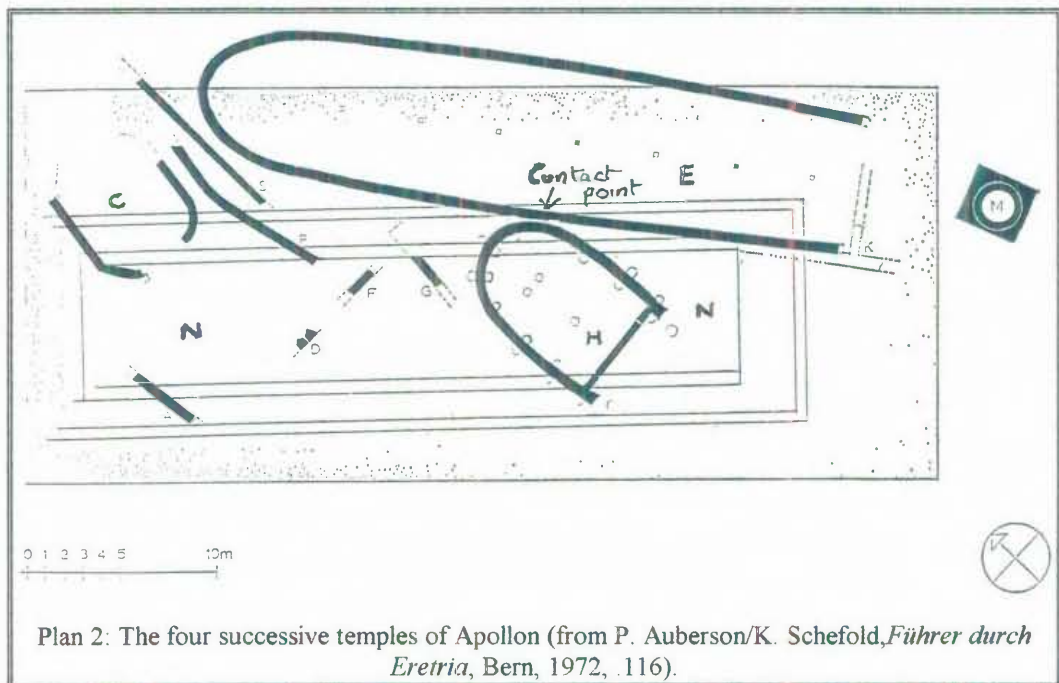
¹²⁵ The letters designating structures in the temenos of Apollon Daphnephoros are those used in the Swiss plans: *B.C.H.* 96, 1972, 759 (fig. 398 reproduced here: infra 95, plan 2).

¹²⁶ Unit IV - 1: W. McDonald/W. Coulson/J. Rosser, *Excavations at Nichoria in South West Messenia. (III: Dark Age and Byzantine Habitation)* Minneapolis, 1983, 18ff.: plan; restoration diagram of phase 2: infra 97 plan 3.

¹²⁷ Morgan 1990 (II/196) 73ff.



Fig. 49: The site of the temple of Apollon Daphnephoros with the acropolis in the background.



The Daphnephoreion, however, is regarded by its excavators as the first temple of Apollon. According to Bérard,¹²⁸ who has made a particular study of it, the new settlers from Lefkandí brought with them, not only their Olympian cult of Apollon Daphnephoros (later the *de facto* "official" polis-cult), but also indeed the very temple itself, piece by piece. He¹²⁹ believes that it was a more or less exact

¹²⁸ C. Bérard, 'Architecture érétrienne et mythologie delphique', *A.K.* 14, 1971, 59ff.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* 59ff.; 71 - 72: "lorsque les circonstances ont amené les Érétriens à se replier et à se regrouper autour de l'acropole de l'Érétrie historique, ils ont tout naturellement déménagé le vieux sanctuaire d'Apollon auréolé de son prestigieux contexte mythique."; later, on the same page, he observes: "Que, dans cette perspective, nous assistons, sinon à un phénomène proprement "colonial,, du moins au passage et à l'établissement sur un site nouveau, avec abandon des anciennes tombes d'une part, transfert des cultes et des sanctuaires de l'autre, correspond admirablement aux qualifications d'un Apollon archégète et législateur, "légalisateur,, comme on (i.e. E. Will, 'Histoire grecque', *Rev. hist.*

replica of the original temple at Delphoi which Apollon himself built from the laurel branches which he gathered from the Vale of Tempe, after having passed through Euboia, and indeed the Lelantine Plain itself.¹³⁰ His interpretation of the mythology of the temple has influenced most later reconstructions of this building, the most authoritative and influential being Auberson's¹³¹ whose model (fig. 51, next page) is figured in most of the subsequent works dealing with Geometric temple architecture.



Fig. 50: The horse-shoe shaped (9th century) Daphnephoreion (H) touching the walls of the first (8th century) hekatompedon (E), beneath the 7th century foundations of the later second hekatompedon (N). Foundations of the 6th century Doric temple (A).

Both the theory and reconstruction have been challenged recently, indeed whether it was in fact a Daphnephoreion at all.¹³² The very early date originally assigned to it (c.800) is now seriously doubted.¹³³ A more likely date, based on the pottery findings, is 760/750.¹³⁴ It remained in use until the end of the eighth century when it was replaced by a monumental hekatompedon (E); this endured until c.675 and was, in its turn, replaced by what the excavators describe as the "hécatompédon

238, 1967, 449, n. 2) l'a écrit: 'nul dieu ne pouvait mieux que lui dicter les prescriptions rituelles propres à écarter les multiples dangers inhérents à cette crise véritablement métaphorique et ressentie comme très grave.' Le Daphnéphoréion incarne donc le mythe de fondation d'Érétrie; il figure le pivot de la cité et de son territoire. Apollon assure la stabilité de ceux-ci: il en est le possesseur légitime."

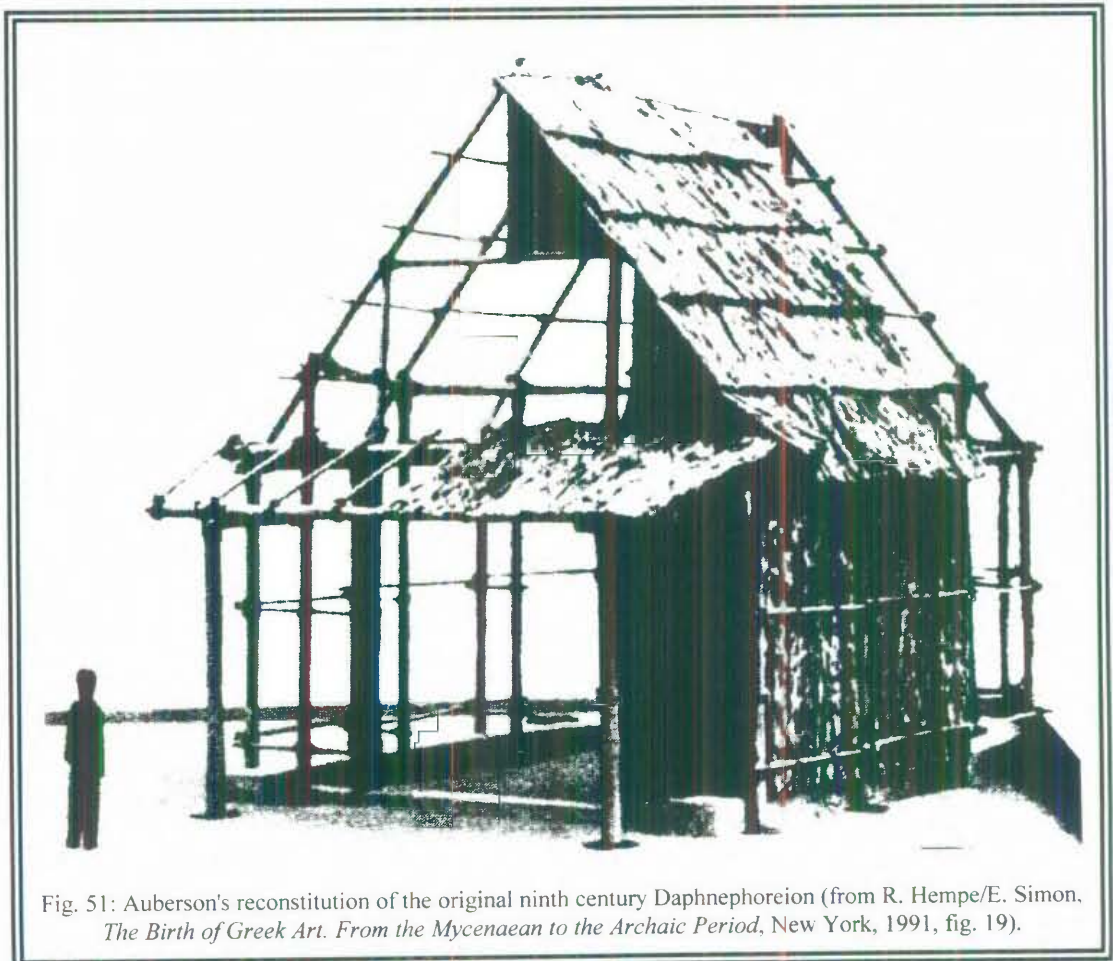
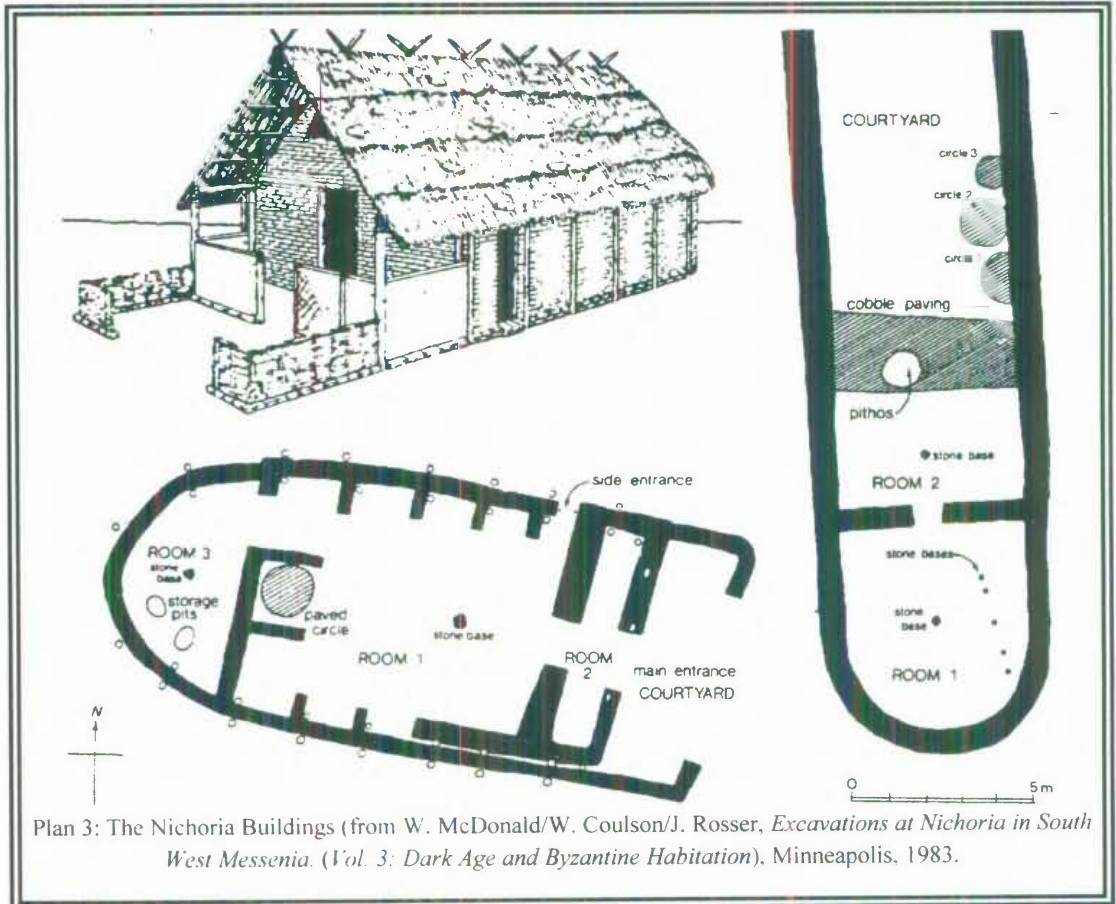
¹³⁰ Ibid. 71. It marked a major stopping point of the god himself on the Lelantine Plain, on his journey from the Hyperborean lands to Delos: *Hom. Hym. Pyth. Apol.*, (Loeb) 219 - 220: (quoted III n. 43). Never used, as far as I am aware, is the note in Steph. Byz. s.v. Κορόπη: 'Ορόπη γὰρ πόλις Εὐβοίας ὅπου Ἀπόλλωνος διασημώτατον ἱερὸν, which suggests that Lefkandí and the Eretrian deme Oropos were closely related; this is another argument for locating the deme west of Eretria.

¹³¹ P. Auberson, 'La reconstruction du Daphnéphoréion d'Érétrie', *A.K.* 17, 1974, 60ff. (supra fig. 51).

¹³² Mazarakis-Ainian 1987 (IV/11) 10f., nn. 35f.; H. Drerup, 'Das sogenannte Daphnephoreion in Eretria', in *Studien zur klassischen Archäologie. Festschrift Friedrich Hiller*, 1986, 3ff.

¹³³ *P.A.A.E.* 1981, 144, n. 5: "The early dating of the Daphnephoreion to 800 B.C. is not based on the excavation data." (My translation). Bérard 1971 (IV/128) 59ff.

¹³⁴ *P.A.A.E.* 1981, 144.



ionique du VII^e siècle" (second *hekatompedon*).¹³⁵ This sequence of buildings on the site of the later sixth century Doric temple of Apollon (N) thus suggests that a temple of some kind had stood here probably from the very beginning of the "new" settlement in the late-ninth century. Subsequent Swiss excavators still appear confident that building H was the earliest Daphnephoreion, and that the whole site was always a sacred *temenos*.¹³⁶ Mazarakis-Ainian's theory¹³⁷ that the apsidal building was the residence of the *basileus*, while interesting, is in fact no less conjectural than that it was the earliest Daphnephoreion. Nor should evidence of industrial activity within the *temenos* be seen as weakening the idea that it was indeed a sacred enclosure for, though rare, it is not a unique conjunction.¹³⁸ The site has yielded enough early indications of its sacred character, and its central position¹³⁹ within the area of the city is appropriate enough for the abode of an archegetal god. The temple buildings, however, did not stand in isolation. At least one other unidentified oval (or apsidal) building (C) stood in the *temenos*. Might **this** rather have been the royal abode? There is also evidence that a female deity was worshipped on the site, probably she was Artemis, the second of the great gods of Eretria and who later became the main focus of Eretrian popular religious activity.¹⁴⁰ The temple of Apollon that arose on the site in the late-sixth century is of the Doric order, but it also incorporates Ionic elements.¹⁴¹

The **THESMOPHOREION** was another, probably originally archaic, temple on the slopes of the acropolis. There is evidence of an archaic altar on the site, though the visible remains are of the fifth century. Ploutarkhos however describes a primitive rite of the Eretrian Thesmophoria in which women cook meat by the sun and not with fire, possibly suggesting an early origin for the cult.¹⁴² There

¹³⁵ For the early archaic (7th century) temple which replaced the hekatompedon: cf. Schefold, report 1966 (IV/87). For the original report: P. Auberson 'Le temple d'Apollon Daphnéphoros', *Eretria* 1, 1968, 11ff. For criticism of Auberson's interpretation: W. Cummer's review in *A.J.A.* 75, 1971, 341f. (who rejects the reconstruction of a pteron which the Swiss maintain on "uncertain or non-existent" archaeological data. Cf. also *P.A.A.E.* 1981, 144f.; nn. 5; and especially 6; and H. Knell, 'Eretria: zur Grundrissrekonstruktion des alteren und des jüngeren Apollontempels', *A.K.* 15, 1972, 40ff.: which deal with the three temples (two 7th, one 6th century) which succeeded the "Daphnephoreion"

¹³⁶ Report by Altheri-Charon/Amstad. Krause 1982C (IV/3) 156.

¹³⁷ Mazarakis-Ainian 1987 (IV/11) 21; but cf. supra 95, n. 124.

¹³⁸ Supra n. 55.

¹³⁹ Martin 1975 (IV/96) 50, thinks the temple was not the centre of the original urban agglomeration. I do not agree. There were dwellings both near the sea and in the north-west sector, from virtually the beginning of the "new" polis.

¹⁴⁰ Mazarakis-Ainian 1987 (IV/11) 13 - 14 (who however doesn't make this identification); Krause 1981 (IV/3) 82.

¹⁴¹ Fraser, *Arch. Rep.* 1966/67; 1968/69'. Auberson, 1968 (IV/135) 16ff.

¹⁴² Auberson/Schefold 1972 (IV/18) 105: "Das Heiligtum ist zum größten Teil in der Planung des 5. Jahrhdts erhalten. Jedoch macht das Mauerstück des Altars A vor dem Eingang des Tempels B einen archaischen Eindruck, mit seinen kleinen zierlichen, sorgfältigbearbeiteten Polygonen." Plout. *Ait. hell.* 31: "Why is it that at the Thesmophoria the Eretrian women cook their meat not by fire but by the rays of the sun? It is because it happened that the captive women whom Agamemnon was bringing home from Troy were celebrating the Thesmophoria **at this place** but when conditions for sailing suddenly appeared favourable, they put out to sea leaving behind them the sacrifice uncompleted." (Babbitt's

is considerable evidence from the Eretriás of its pre-Hellenic cults, the most famous of these being that of Artemis Amarysia,¹⁴³ the ancient Mother Goddess, and which manifests several very ancient chthonic features,¹⁴⁴ no doubt survivals of earlier practices which were later incorporated into the worship of the Olympian Artemis.



Fig. 52: The Thesmophoreion on the slope of the acropolis.

The large **TEMENOS** of the eighth/seventh century reported by Themelis which seems also to have incorporated a *hekatompedon* temple, may have been hers.¹⁴⁵ This earlier *temenos* (which is as large as that of Apollon Daphnephoros), if indeed it belonged to Artemis,¹⁴⁶ did not, apparently, survive as a major cult centre after the town was sacked at the end of the eighth century, and Apollon's temple and *temenos* remained the major *intra muros* cult centre henceforth. Perhaps this was due to the reinforcing of the non-indigenous Lefkandiot element by the second wave of immigrants. Apollon it seems was "the" Lefkandiot god: he had indeed stopped on the Lelantine Plain on his way to Delphoi. But the ancient religion later reasserted itself for most purposes except those of a political nature, especially those concerned

translation). This is not the only association of Agamemnon with Eretrian cult: Walker 1995 (II/15) 17; nn. 100, 101, 103. For the excavation report: C. Krause, 'Das Thesmophorion von Eretria', *Eretria* VII, 1985, 8ff. (and pls).

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Themelis uncovered underground chambers (θάλαμοι) of the classical period, which he believes were used both for harvest storage places and the worship of chthonian fertility deities (a statue of Agathos Daimon was found in a deposit next to the room), or Zeus Meilikhios: *P.A.A.E.* 1980, 100. Note: the worship of a Zeus-deity was anciently practised widely in the Eretriás (and incorporated in a subordinate status into the cult of Amarysia?): supra ch. II, passim; Walker 1995 (II/15).

¹⁴⁵ *P.A.A.E.* 1979, 48. There was also a (later) shrine of Artemis Olympia on the acropolis.

¹⁴⁶ Supra II 22ff. and nn. 12; 14 - 16.

with foreign states and individuals from **outside** Euboia. The two cults thus probably represent the two elements in the population of the newly-emerging *polis*-state: the "aboriginal" inhabitants, and the invaders who as conquerers, initially assumed the status of a ruling class. There is a reference from later times to a perioicic class in the Eretriás, but whether this hints at an early situation of city-based military rulers surrounded by a perioicic population, or whether the term was applied later to new territory conquered by the Eretrian state in the fifth and later centuries is hard to determine.¹⁴⁷

There was another **SANCTUARY** near the West Gate, identified tentatively as that of **Aphrodite-Astarte** by Kahil from the oriental origin of many finds from the *bothros*.¹⁴⁸ She dates the pottery from the site from c.800 to c.700. A Geometric building was replaced during the archaic period by an apsidal temple.¹⁴⁹ There may also have been a **sanctuary of (another) Oriental deity** near the harbour.¹⁵⁰ These early eastern imports, material and cultural, may indicate how quickly the newly revitalised settlement involved itself in overseas commerce. But we should remember that the Euboian/Eretrian presence in the Levantine *emporía* did not continue, although there might still have been some trade occurring elsewhere; there might have been *emporía* on Kypros through which Eretrieis (and Euboieis generally) could have maintained contacts with the east. These local manifestations of oriental influence perhaps resulted when merchants and their dependents returned from the east bringing new ideas and fashion with them. We shall note in passing some of these below.



Fig. 53: Bronze burial cauldrons from tomb 6; Heroön burials. Eretria Museum. (Infra 101).

¹⁴⁷ Steph. Byz. s.v. Δύστος (citing Theopompus *F.Gr.H.* 115 F 149): Δύστος Θεόπομπος ἐν Φιλιππικῶν κδ' "ἀποστήσας δὲ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ **περιοικίᾳ** τῶν Ἐρετριέων ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ πόλιν Δύστον". But Dystos was not Eretrian until the late-fifth century: cf. Gehrke 1988 (II/17) 38ff. for the latter view, citing Thessalia as a parallel.

¹⁴⁸ Reports by J.-P. Michaud, *B.C.H.* 96, 1972, 764; 97, 1973, 365; 98, 1974, 687; Schefold, *A. K.* 17, 1974, 70; Schefold/Auberson 1972 (IV/18) 97. For its identification: cf. L. Kahil, 'Contribution à l'étude de l'Érétrie géométrique', in Στήλη; Τόμος εἰς μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος, Athenai, 1980, 526ff.

¹⁴⁹ Mazarakis-Aimian 1987 (IV/11) 14.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 14; Andreiomenou 1977 (IV/131) 129, n. 1.

The **HEROÖN BY THE WEST GATE**:¹⁵¹ was originally a small, possibly private, cemetery of a noble or royal clan. The excavators uncovered 16 tombs dated c.720 - c.690,¹⁵² quite lavish compared to contemporary burials in the cemetery by the sea (*infra*). Pyres here were lit some distance from the tombs and the remains of the cremated adults placed in large (and expensive) bronze cauldrons and then into carefully constructed pits; a practice unique in Greece.¹⁵³ The adult males appear to have belonged to a warrior-class and the richest grave (6) is described as that of a "prince" or even "king" of Eretria.¹⁵⁴ About a decade after the last burial, c. 680, a triangular enclosure was built over the graves and cult instituted to the dead involving sacrifices and votive offerings.¹⁵⁵ The rites died out during the sixth century.¹⁵⁶ The sanctuary was then incorporated into the fortifications that were built at about the same time or perhaps slightly earlier¹⁵⁷) at the West Gate, and the hero/es¹⁵⁸ interred there seem to have become the focus of a protective warrior-cult, guarding the main road to the hereditary enemy, Khalkis.¹⁵⁹ The date of the new fortifications at the West Gate and the establishment of the Heroön suggest a connection with the final destruction of Lefkandí.¹⁶⁰ It seems reasonable to link literary evidence from Hesiodos¹⁶¹ and Ploutarkhos¹⁶² about the death in a sea-battle against the Eretrieis and the subsequent funeral games of the Khalkidian *basileus* Amphidamas with events around 700 - 680 that also perhaps involved the hero of tomb 6 at Eretria and his peers/descendants; we do not know his name but his imposing and lavish burial at the West Gate suggests that his status was similar.

THE GEOMETRIC CEMETERY: The main Geometric cemetery, however, was near the sea to the west of the principal settlement. The earliest burials

¹⁵¹ C. Bérard, *L'Héroön à la Porte de l'Ouest (= Eretria III)* Berne, 1970; idem 1972 (IV/95) 219ff.; idem 1978 (IV/95) 89ff.; idem 1982 (IV/96) 89ff. Cf. also (*supra* nn. 1; 3) papers of Krause for position of the Heroön in the general urban context.

¹⁵² Nine children (inhumations); seven adults (cremations).

¹⁵³ Desborough 1972 (II/128) 271; Vedder 1978 (Intro./2) 43, n. 86; Bérard 1970 (IV/151) 66f. Mazarakis-Ainian 1987 (IV/11) 16. There was similar practice at Pithekoussai (but not with the large bronze cauldrons): Ridgeway 1992 (IV/57) esp. 46ff. For **Eretria** as the Euboian source for the practice: T. B. L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer*, London, 1958, 140 (who derives it originally from Athenai). Ridgeway 20: "the cultural cargo" carried by the Euboieis to the West.

¹⁵⁴ For a full description of Tomb 6: Bérard 1970 (IV/151) 13ff.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.* ch. 6 (esp. 65).

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 65. For a political explanation: *infra* VII, 199f.

¹⁵⁷ Mazarakis-Ainian 1987 (IV/11) 14.

¹⁵⁸ Bérard 1972 (IV/96), 220; idem 1970 (IV/151) ch. 2, esp. 31f.; 69f.

¹⁵⁹ On the political ramifications of the Heroön cult: *infra* 101; 113; VII 199f., nn. 44 - 47.

¹⁶⁰ Bérard 1970 (IV/151) 27. bronze cauldrons c.715 - 685 (*supra* photo, fig. 53); dates the burials to the turn of the century.

¹⁶¹ On the funeral games (for Amphidamas of Khalkis): Hesiodos *Erg. hem.* 654 - 662.

¹⁶² Plout. *Mor.* fr. 84 (Εἰς τὰ Ἡσιόδου ἔργα): τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀμφιδάμαντα ναυμαχοῦντα πρὸς Ἐρετριέας ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀηλάντου ἀποθανεῖν. It is possible Amphidamas died in some sea-borne raid like that illustrated on a LG vase showing "Dipylon" warriors fighting to the left of a ship: P. A. L. Greenhalgh, *Early Greek Warfare: Horsemen and Chariots in the Homeric and Archaic Ages*, Cambridge, 1973, 67, fig. 40. For more detail regarding Amphidamas: V 163f.