



A HISTORY OF ERETRIA IN THE
ARCHAIC AGE

FROM c.1000 TO 490 B.C.

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CERTIFICATE:

I certify that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not currently being submitted for any other degree or qualification.

I certify that any help received in preparing this thesis, and all sources used, have been acknowledged in this thesis.

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(Date)A handwritten mark, possibly a checkmark or a flourish, in blue ink.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Title	Pages
	Dedication	ii - iii
	Introduction: Objectives of this thesis Documentation and conventions Acknowledgements	iv - viii
	Abstract	ix
	General maps: Euboia	x
	The Eretriás and surrounding areas	xi
	The Districts and Demes of the Eretriás	xii
Chapter 1	The Geography of Euboia and the Eretriás	1 - 19
Chapter 2	The Earliest Inhabitants of Euboia and the History of the Island in Neolithic and Bronze Ages (LN to LH IIIC)	20 - 55
Chapter 3	The History of Central Euboia in the Dark Ages and Early Iron Age (c.1050 to c.750)	56 - 72
Chapter 4	The Internal History of Eretria (c.825 to c.550)	73 - 130
Chapter 5	Eretria: Its History in the Wider Greek World during the Seventh and Early-Sixth Centuries	131 - 170
Chapter 6	Eretria: Emergent "Great Power" of the Second Half of the Sixth Century	171 - 192
Chapter 7	The Tyranny of Diagoras (c.538 - 509)	193 - 221
Chapter 8	The Eretrian Democracy (c.509 - 490)	222 - 253
Chapter 9	Eretria in the 490's	254 - 271
Chapter 10	Epilogue	272 - 273
Appendix 1	General Bibliography	274 - 300
Appendix 2	Select Bibliographies for Special Topics	301 - 305
Appendix 3	Chronological Tables and Notes	306
Appendix 4	The Kypselidai, Theognis and the Low Chronology	307 - 308
Appendix 5	Notes on the Name Φυλακίη	309 - 310
Appendix 6	Toponyms in <i>-ai</i> ; <i>-nthos</i> <i>-ssos</i> ; <i>-stos</i>	311 - 315
Appendix 7	The Question of "Old" Eretria: Supplementary Notes	316 - 317
Appendix 8	The Source of Strabon's Description of the Amarynthos Stele	318 - 319
Appendix 9	Minoan Links with Euboia	320
Appendix 10	Notes on IG XII 9, 1273/1274	321 - 322
Appendix 11	Euboia and N.W. Attike	323
Appendix 12	Korinthian activity in Central Greece before 506	324 - 325
Appendix 13	Climate Change (Drought) as a Cause of the Collapse of Mycenaean Civilisation	326
Appendix 14	Supplementary Notes on the Hoplite Revolution	327
Stemma 1	The Genealogy of Aiklos, Kothos, Ellops and Elephenor	328
Stemma 2	The Genealogy of Abas, Mekistos, Amphiaraos/Amarynthos and Alkmaion/Narkissos	329
Stemma 3	The Genealogy of Argive Abas	330
	Notes on Stemma 3.	331

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AMICO SOCIOQUE CARISSIMO
GEOFF COOKE,

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In this "revised" edition of the thesis, I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to the examiners, Professors R. D. Milns of the University of Queensland, Dr Victor Parker of the University of Canterbury at Christchurch, New Zealand, and Raphael Sealey of the University of California at Berkeley, for their comments, favourable and critical. I have often adopted their suggestions and, where I have not felt able to do so, I have tried to defend my original position, acknowledging the impetus for the new discussion. The main outstanding area of disagreement with some of them (Dr Parker and Professor Milns) is the (peripheral) issue of the manner in which I have rendered Greek words and names.

Keith G. Walker,

15 July, 1998.

INTRODUCTION.

"For the historian of early Greece, one of the most pressing tasks is the study in depth of specific [geographical] areas."

J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, London, 1979, 19.

I. THE OBJECTIVES OF THIS THESIS:

It is now sixty-one years since the only study in English of the history of Eretria was written. It was never published, and access to it has been practically impossible for students of Euboian history.¹ Since then there have been a few monograph studies of other Euboian cities in English, but only one has appeared in published form.² There have of course been a small number of journal articles on special topics dealing with Euboia, but those who wish to pursue Euboian studies must turn to the more plentiful material in French and German, though even in these languages, it is almost exclusively to be found in the journal literature.³

This neglect is hard to justify in view of the increasing body of evidence indicating that the Euboian cities played a significant role in the history of Greece during the archaic period. Their part in the "Second Colonial Movement" has long been acknowledged, but the results of the excavations at Lefkandí, and at Eretria itself, demonstrate that Euboia had a flourishing civilisation going back to the tenth century century, and even earlier (chs 2 - 5).⁴

¹ W. P. Wallace, *The History of Eretria to 198 B.C.*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1936. This work is, apparently, not held in the library of this institution, and I have only recently had access to it, thanks to the generosity of his son, Dr Malcolm Wallace, who plans to deposit a copy in the Library of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

² D. W. Bradeen, *A History of Chalkis to 338 B.C.*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1947; T. W. Jacobsen, *Prehistoric Euboia: Studies in the History of a Greek Island from the Earliest Times to 404 B.C.*, Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1964; R. G. Vedder, *Ancient Euboea*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Arizona, 1978. The exception to this sad record is S. C. Bakhuizen's study, *Chalcis-in-Euboea: Iron and Chalcidians Abroad*, Chalcidian Studies No 3, Leiden, 1976.

³ In 1903, F. Geyer published a history of Euboia that is still quoted extensively in the literature: *Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euboia im Altertum, I: Bis zum Peloponnesischen Kriege*, Berlin (part 2 was never published). Much of it is now out of date, thanks to subsequent archaeological exploration undertaken since it was published. It is however a rich source of ancient source citations. Apart from this groundbreaking work, we have O. Picard's *Chalcis et la confédération eubéenne (IVe - Ier Siècle)*, Paris, 1979. This deals of course only with the Hellenistic period, as does the more recent study by D. Knoepfler, *La vie de Ménédème d'Érétrie de Diogène Laërce. Contribution à l'histoire et à la critique des "Vies des philosophes"*, Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, Heft 21, Basel, 1991; this constitutes the first part of a monumental work based on his Ph.D. thesis for the Sorbonne entitled *La cité de Ménédème, études et documents sur l'histoire d'Érétrie à la haute époque hellénistique*. This work (or parts of it) has been reviewed by Cl. Vial (infra II, n. 155) and K. Algra in *Mnemosyne* 1997 (vol. 1, fasc. 3) 359 - 365.

⁴ The excavations at Lefkandí are being published in M. R. Popham/L. H. Sackett/P. G. Themelis, *Lefkandi I: the Iron Age*, The British School of Archaeology at Athens, London, 1980; M. R. Popham/P. G. Calligas/L. H. Sackett, *Lefkandi II: the Protogeometric Building at Toumba*, British

However, the principal objective of this study is to exploit a considerable body of evidence embedded in the literary record, along with the results of archaeological investigations at and around Eretria, to argue that the city played a *quasi*-hegemonial role in the affairs of central Greece and the Aegean, certainly during the last half of the sixth century (chs 6 - 9), and probably even earlier, whilst also attempting a reconstruction of its constitutional and monumental antiquities (ch. 4). I shall suggest that some elements of the Kleisthenic democracy came to Athenai via Eretria (ch. 8), and that at least three successive regimes in Eretria (the pre-540's oligarchy; the tyranny of Diagoras [c.538 - c.510]; the democracy [509 - 490]) directly and indirectly intervened in Athenian internal affairs to effect changes in the government there (ch. 7 - 8). Success in the aims of this thesis would, inevitably, lead to a diminution of the part played by Athenai in the Greek *oikoumene* prior to 490.

The literary evidence is widely scattered amongst writers other than Herodotos and Thoukydides, although these two, especially the former, do provide us with much information. The seventh and sixth century poets, as well as Platon, Aristoteles and Ploutarkhos, the symposiac compiler Athenaios, and the geographers (especially Strabon) and lexicographers, are also important sources of evidence. Their details are often in turn derived from the works of earlier historians such as Ephoros of Kyme, Hellanikos, and others whose works are largely lost. Perhaps our greatest losses have been (1) the *Περὶ Ἑρετρίας* of Lysanias of Mallos in Kilikia; Ploutarkhos preserves the content of a vital passage from this work which gives us an inkling of how differently the history of Greece in the late-sixth and early-fifth centuries might have appeared to us had it survived *in toto*, and (2) the works of Arkhemakhos of Khalkis, Proxenos,⁵ and some by Aristoteles himself, whose series of *Politeiai* (Constitutions) survive only in fragments except for that of the Athenaios. He is known to have written *Politeiai* for Khalkis, Korinthos, Kerkyra and Keos,⁶ all of which would have been of direct interest to us, and, although there

School of Archaeology at Athens (Part 1, with R. W. V. Catling and I. S. Lemos: *The Pottery*, 1990; Part 2, with J. Coulton and H. W. Catling: *Excavation, Architecture and Finds*, 1993) together with a series of reports and articles on particular topics, mainly to be found in the *A.B.S.A.* (see bibliography). The Eretrian excavations by the Swiss School are published from time to time in the series *Eretria: Fouilles et Recherches*, Berne: 9 volumes to date, and in various reports etc. in *B.C.H.*, *A.K.* (Geneva), etc. Reports by the Greek Archaeological Service are in *A.E.* and *A.D.* Notices and summaries may be found in the *Archaeological Reports* of the *J.H.S.* (Euboea).

⁵ For Arkhemakhos and Proxenos: F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (hereafter cited as *F.Gr.H.*) Part IIIb (nos 297 - 607) Leiden, 1950/55, author nos 424 and 425.

⁶ V. Rose, *Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta*, Stuttgart, 1886/1967, 321 - 322 (Keos), 322 - 323 (Kerkyra), 324 (Korinthos), 366 - 367 (Khalkis). Ploutarkhos (*Erot.* 761a) mentions an Aristoteles as his source for a story concerning Eretria and Khalkis; Rose, *ibid.* 96 considers him to be the philosopher. It is however possible that he is the historian, Aristoteles of Khalkis: Jacoby *F.Gr.H.* 423.

appears to be no specific ancient reference to it, there was undoubtedly also one of Eretria.

Originally I had intended to include chapters on dialect, demes, the arts and architecture, coinage and (especially) cult. The limitations of length imposed on this thesis have unfortunately precluded them, though all these topics do emerge from time to time. I have, however, referred frequently to several unpublished papers written by me on cult, etc. and to a draft one on demes (notes).

2. DOCUMENTATION AND CONVENTIONS:

There are two **bibliographies**: Appendix 1 lists all works referred to in the thesis, with full publication details, and the location of their original citations in the footnotes; Appendix 2 contains a number of select⁷ bibliographies for various topics discussed. These are listed under the chapter/footnote number where they were originally placed.

Citation: In the body of the thesis, works are fully described (but without the publishing house) in the footnote of first reference; thereafter they are referred to by author, year of publication, chapter/footnote of original citation and page(s) thus: Knoepfler 1985B (II/196) 50f. where B (or other letter attached to the year) indicates that the author published more than one work in that year, II (Roman numeral) indicates the thesis chapter, 196 (Arabic) and the footnote of first citation, and 50f. means pages 50 - 51; (plurality of pages is indicated by ff. after the first page referred to). Publication house can be traced in the main bibliography (Appendix 1).

All **dates** are B.C. unless specifically indicated as A.D. (B.C. is omitted everywhere except in quotations, article-titles, etc.). **Abbreviations** of journal titles generally follow the system used in *L'année philologique*; the few exceptions are straightforward (e.g. T.A.P.A. rather than T.A.Ph.A.). Other **abbreviations** (mostly self-evident or often used elsewhere) that are employed frequently throughout the footnotes are: *Arch. Rep.* (the annual Archaeological Reports of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London); *A.T.L.*; *C.A.H.*; *F.G.H.* (C. & T. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, Berlin, (Vol. I: 1841; II: 1848; III: 1849); IV: 1851); *F.Gr.H.*; (F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, Leiden, 1954 - 1969); *I.G.*; *L.S.J.*; *O.C.D.*; *R.E.*; *Roscher Lexikon* (W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1886 - 1890); *S.E.G.*

In rendering **Greek personal names** I have aimed at uniformity. I transliterate **all** names literally: thus Thoukydides, Arkhilokhos, Strabon or Aristoteles. Similarly too with **place-names**; thus Korinthos, Athenai, Khalkis.

⁷ "Select" means in practice works available to, and consulted by, me; no doubt specialists would add numerous others, especially from the journal literature.

Adjectival forms from place-names, however, are given their normal English termination; thus Korinthian (not Korinthios), Athenian, etc. **Aegean** (Sea) is the single exception (not Aigaian).⁸ **Ethnics** (sometimes also used as personal names) are treated as personal names; thus Thessalos, Eretrius, Khalkideis. **Greek institutional and other technical terms** are given (italicised) in their standard Greek form⁹ literally rendered (and, where appropriate, rhotacised¹⁰); thus *arkhon* (pl. *arkhontes*), *epimeneuon* (pl. *epimeneuontes*) but also *epimeneuoures* (gen. sing.), *boule*, *hippobotai*. *Demos* presents a problem: it will be used to refer to three separate (but related) ideas: the People, the assembly and the political/territorial division of the deme. Hence *Demos* (People), *demos* (assembly) and *deme* (territory). If Anglicised forms such as Euboea, Chalcis, Thucydides, ecclesia, archon, etc. occur, it presupposes quotation from a secondary source. Abbreviations of Greek names will therefore differ from the standard forms of Liddell/Scott or the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* but should not occasion any confusion (**but N.B.**: Ar. = Aristoteles; Aristoph. = Aristophanes). In the **quotation of Greek texts**, I have generally employed traditional Greek orthography except that in quoting archaic inscriptions, I have sometimes followed the usage of the editor of the text available to me. **Translations**, unless acknowledged are mine, though I here acknowledge the assistance of a reading of various translators. Where I disagree strongly with a particular rendering I make this clear in an appropriate footnote.

The first four **appendices** are "bibliographical" and "chronological". Appendices 5ff. supply additional thoughts on a number of related topics (cult; "Old Eretria"; IG XII 9, 1273/4, etc.). They are not exhaustive in any case, but amplify/qualify the point they illustrate in the thesis proper; they are internally

⁸ I have simply avoided the problem that arises because, in some instances, no ancient Greek adjective exists, e.g. in the case of Lokris (toponym), Lokrós (a Lokrian person) and Lokrian (adjective), there is no corresponding Greek form *Λοκρίος. The Anglicised form "Locrian" is commonly enough used, and my insistence in using "k" to transliterate "κ" should cause no recognition problems. There may, of course, be argument about whether I should or should not have avoided the adjective altogether, by employing circumlocutions such as "the army of the Lokroi" rather than "the Lokrian army", since indeed my rigid use of direct transliteration may be castigated as pedantic. However, I have preferred to attempt both to achieve consistency and to preserve a sense of "Greekness". Besides, literal transliteration gives some hope that the "correct" sound might be captured. As for specifically modern Greek names etc., I have approximated (as far as possible using the English alphabet with the addition of an acute accent to denote the stressed syllable) the sounds and stress-accent of modern Greek, e.g. Lefkandí and not the ugly (to me) form "Leucandion", Órmos Metohíou (not Hormos Metochiou) etc.

⁹ In practice, this usually means Attic, unless Eretrian forms are being described; Krete (not Kreta), Athena (not Athana). However, Sparta is always used (not Sparte).

¹⁰ The Eretrian dialect rhotacised intervocalic sigma regularly, and occasionally before vowels and, rarely, in final syllables. This may produce some unfamiliar forms of common enough words, e.g. Artemiria, for the festival of the Artemisia, Lyranias (Lysanias), siteris (sitiesis) - intervocalic; pelargos (pelasgos) - before vowels; and Platon's celebrated example: *Kratylos* 343c, "ἤμεις μὲν φάμεν σκληρότης, Ἐρετριεῖς δὲ σκληρότηρ." (While we say 'sklerotes', the Eretrians say 'skleroter').

arranged in some cases under appropriate chapter/footnote numbers. Had I the luxury of more words, most would have been incorporated into the body of the thesis.

3. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

All colour (and several black-and-white) photographs are my own; all other illustrative material is acknowledged in the accompanying captions. I hope that my overall debt to other researchers is clear from the detailed citations in footnotes and the large bibliography.

ABSTRACT

The thesis attempts to present a coherent account of the history of Eretria from the earliest times to the destruction of the city in 490, by which time it had assumed hegemonial status in central Greece and the Aegean, if not indeed within the Greek *oikoumene*.

For the earliest period, discussion covers all Euboia (for the Neolithic, we have important excavations at Tharrounia in the Eretriás itself), while EH is also represented by finds on the city-site. Considerable mythological and cult information scattered through the works of classical writers is used together with archaeological data and the evidence of toponyms and linguistics to plot the movements of various prehistoric peoples to and through Euboia.

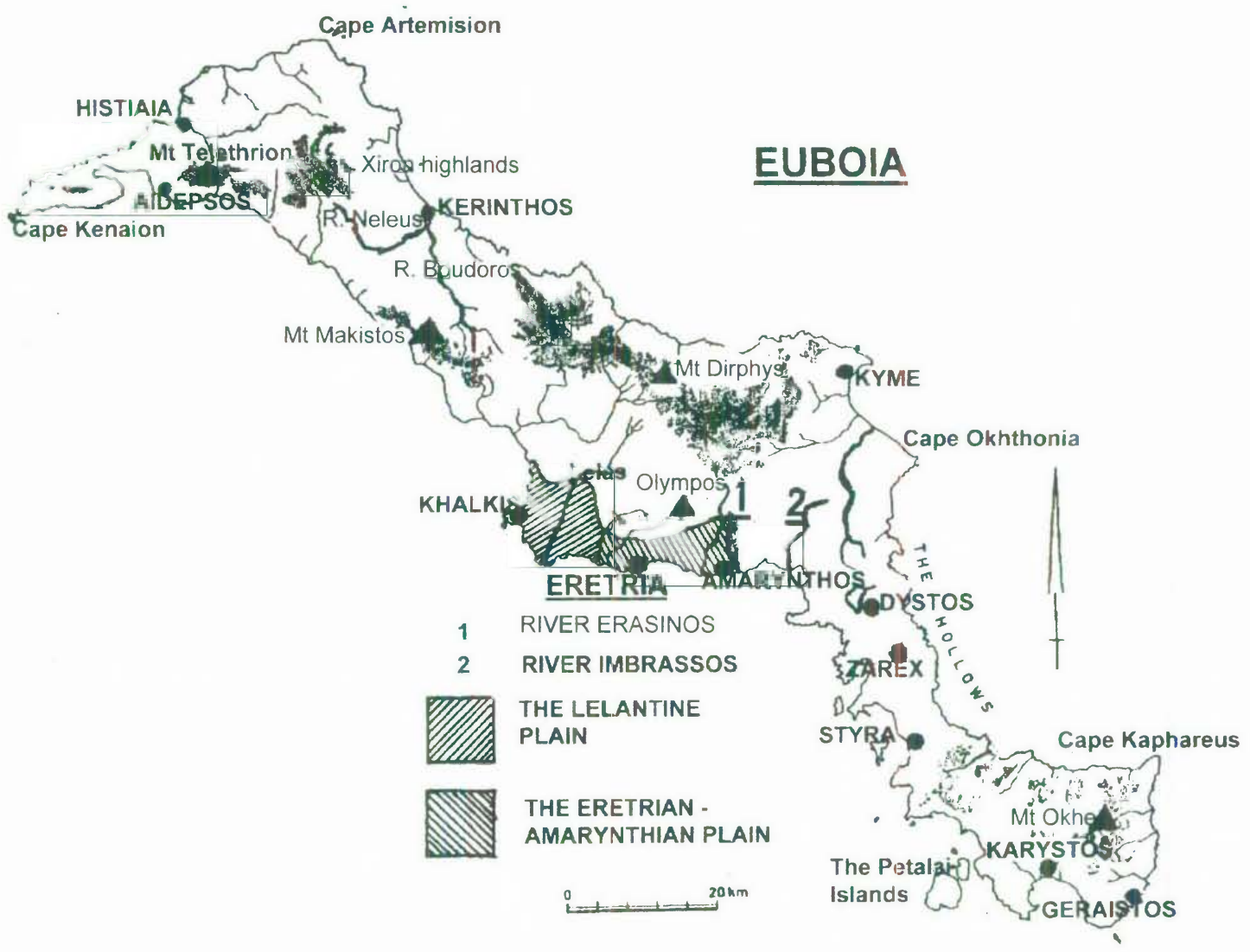
Archaeological evidence becomes more important for the Mycenaean period. This thesis argues for Lefkandi as "Old" Eretria, and a chapter is devoted to this settlement, its destruction, and the migration of its people to the site (already occupied) of "New" Eretria.

Eretrian trade with the Levant; its subsequent decline and replacement by colonial settlements in the "West", Africa and the northern Aegean is discussed. Eretria is seen as front-runner in colonisation at Pithekoussai, Kerkyra and, perhaps, Tunisia, and the northern Aegean. The latter connects with Eretria's increasing involvement in politics of central Greece, when Peisistratos spends time both in Eretria and the Eretrian "sphere of influence" in the north. Under her tyrant Diagoras (for whom rule from c.538 to 509 is argued), Eretria allies with Korinthos against Khalkis; the latter is captured and a pro-Eretrian/Korinthian tyrant installed there. Eretria is also involved in intrigues to overthrow the Peisistratidai at Athenai and Diagoras becomes the ally of Kleomenes I of Sparta.

Diagoras and the democracy c.509 have separate chapters. Evidence for the framework and functioning of the democratic constitution is examined; it is argued that it formed the immediate model for Kleisthenes; Athenian exiles at Eretria (including Kleisthenes himself: evidence for Alkmaionidai at Eretria is discussed) were the conduit.

Lastly, the premier role of Eretria in the Ionian Wars down to 490 is treated, along with evidence for Eretrian leadership, moral, military and naval. The thesis attacks the overwhelming "Athenocentrism" of modern accounts of Greek history that results in the neglect of poleis other than Athenai and Sparta.

EUBOIA



- 1 RIVER ERASINOS
- 2 RIVER IMBRASSOS



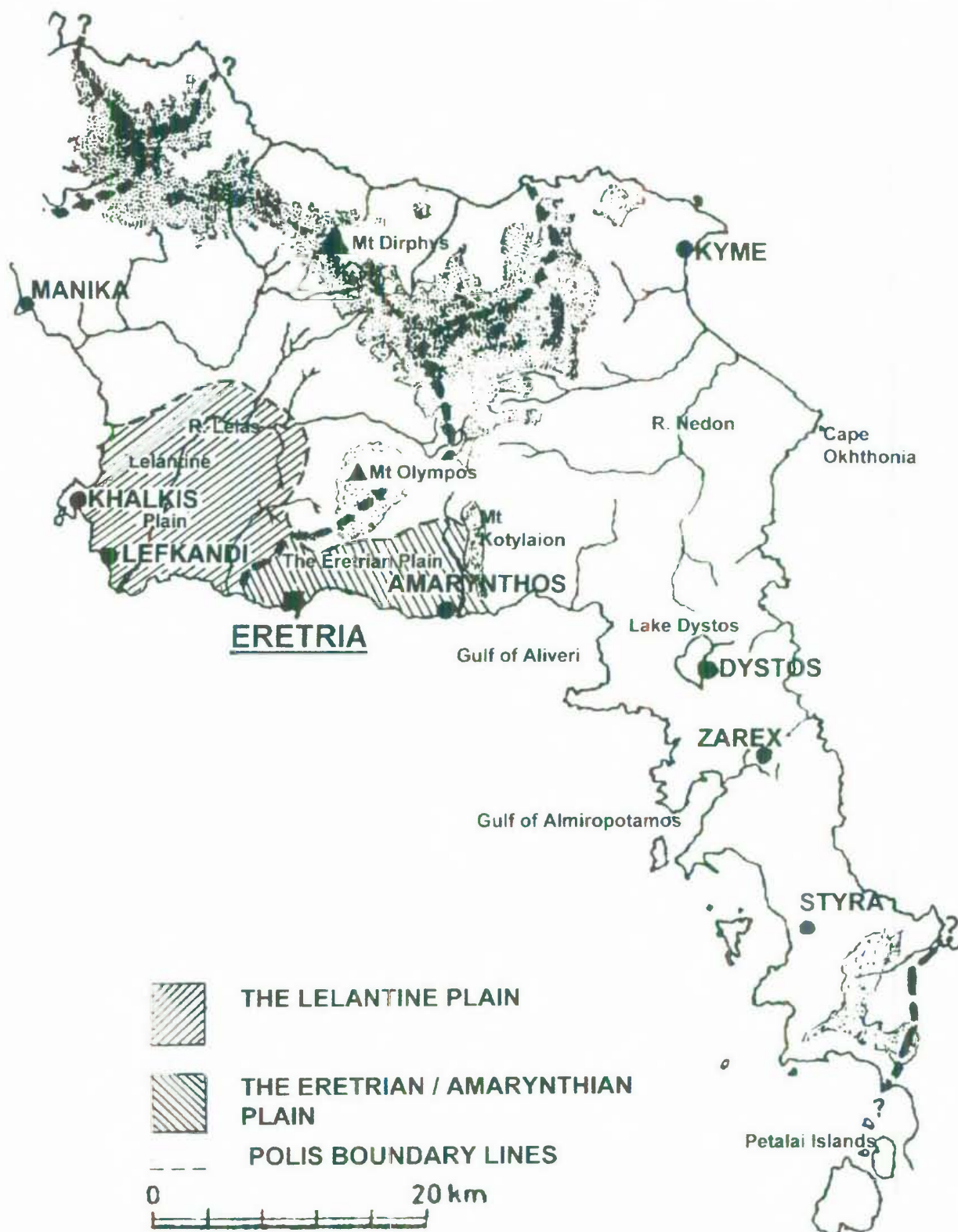
THE LELANTINE PLAIN



THE ERETRIAN - AMARYNTHIAN PLAIN



THE ERETRIAS AND SURROUNDING AREAS



THE "DISTRICTS" AND DEMES OF THE ERETRIAS

Map from: W. Wallace, 'The Demes of Eretria', *Hesperia* 16, 1947, p. 131 (fig. 1) with two positional modifications: see ch. II, 48 and n. 209; ch. V, p. 139, nn. 163; 165 for Oropos; ch. V, p. 121, n. 17 for Komaiéis (Kyme).

