

## CHAPTER V:

### ERETRIA: ITS HISTORY IN THE WIDER GREEK WORLD DURING THE SEVENTH AND EARLY-SIXTH CENTURIES.

During my discussion of *probouloi*, I used a lengthy excursus into Eretrian relations with Kerkyra, Karystos, Miletos and Keos, to provide some circumstantial evidence for the existence of the magistracy during the Archaic age. I have elsewhere also had to make passing reference to matters (e.g. Zagora) that would have been more appropriate to this chapter. I shall avoid these henceforth and back-reference to the relevant section. The principal exception is colonisation, mentioned previously from time to time, but to which no systematic discussion has been given.

#### **(a) Trade, colonies and the colonisation movement:**

##### The East.

The Euboieis were active in the First Colonisation Movement. Ábantes sailed from Euboia to Khios and Asia Minor, settling in Erythrai and elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> They may also have been amongst the "Mycenaean" visitors to Kypros, for they were involved in trade with Mycenaean Thebai, and Late-Minoan/Mycenaean I copper ingots were found in the sea off modern Kimi suggesting links with Kypros or Krete.<sup>2</sup> In the period presently under discussion, Euboieis sailed to the Levant, where they either established trading stations such as that at Al Mina, or were settled there in originally native towns such as Tel es Sûkâs on the Syrian coast in such numbers that these seem to have become for some time at least *de facto* Euboio-Greek places.<sup>3</sup> In this Levantine enterprise, "Eretrieis" were probably leaders from first to last,<sup>4</sup> and it indicates that for these, the riches of the east were at that time a greater

---

<sup>1</sup> IV n. 180. Sakellariou 1958 (II/100) 220f., 240 (Erythrai); 239 (Teos); 240; 283ff. (Khios); there is no evidence whatsoever of Dryopes in Ionia (298); but cf. II, n. 95. Sakellariou (287): Ábantes who went from Euboia to Khios were non-Greeks (Thrakes) and Hellenised early: "De tout façon ils (the Ábantes) doivent avoir été d'origine non-hellénique."

<sup>2</sup> Sapouna-Sakellarakí 1984/86 (IV/213) 157: Late Minoan I. Sampson 1981B (II/2) 50: LH I; evidence of Euboian links with Krete (52), dated 1600 - 1500. For Euboian/Minoan links: Appendix 9.

<sup>3</sup> Al Mina: Boardman 1980 (II/224) 38ff.: "Who then were the Greeks who established this trading station?" (40) to which he answers "Euboeans" (42); Sûkâs: Riis 1970 (II/224) 126ff.; 129: "The place never became exclusively Greek; on the contrary, the impression which we get from the finds at Sûkâs taken as a whole is that of a Phoenician town with a strong, at times very strong Greek element. . . . it rather had the character of an ἐνοικισμός, a settling of Greeks *among* Phoenicians."; especially 159ff. Riis also thinks Al Mina is in the same category (159). However the support he cites from Boardman (supra this note) is no longer valid, as the latter has withdrawn his earlier comments, though still allowing that Euboieis were not the only inhabitants, and that an earlier native population continued to live on the site (42). For a contrary opinion: A. J. Graham, 'The colonial expansion of Greece', *C.A.H.*<sup>3</sup>, III, 3, 1982, ch. 36, 93: who believes that few, if any, Greeks lived in Al Mina or Tell Sûkâs.

<sup>4</sup> Boardman 1980 (II/224) 42, 48: "It seems likely then that it was the Euboeans who led the Greeks to Al Mina, together perhaps with islanders of the Cyclades over some of whom Eretria (in Euboea) apparently enjoyed control in this period." and "The balance of trade and colonization interest in the

priority than the corn-lands of the west. But by the sixth century, Euboian/Eretrian dominance of the market at Al Mina was over.<sup>5</sup>

#### The West.

The eastern trade activities preceded the colonisation movement to the west and the North Aegean area. There is no doubt that Euboieis were the front runners here. Euboian interest in the west may have resulted from their gradual loss of the eastern markets.

#### 1. Pithekoussai and Kyme (Cumae) in Italy:

By the time of the foundation of Pithekoussai<sup>6</sup> and its off-shoot Kyme, the earliest known colonial ventures in the west which were associated by both Strabon and Dionysios Halikarnaseus with Eretria and Khalkis,<sup>7</sup> the political configuration of the island had been transformed from a "unitary" *ethnos* to individual *poleis*.<sup>8</sup> Three further texts<sup>9</sup> dealing only with Kyme (Cumae), and omitting any reference to

two cities probably changed, and it is at Eretria, not (so far) Chalcis, that we find the type of vase still carried to Al Mina."

<sup>5</sup> R. Sealey, *A History of the Greek City States 700 - 338 B.C.*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1976, 177: trade was dominated by Attic ware.

<sup>6</sup> Pithekoussai is generally dated c.750. However, since its offshoot Kyme is also so dated, we must, I think, agree with S. C. Bakhuizen, 'Greek Steel', *World Archaeology* 9, 1977, 222, who doubts this chronology and thinks the foundation of Pithekoussai should be early-8th century. Kondoleon 1963/65 (I/28): believes that **only Eretrian** ships were used to ferry colonists to the west. Kahil 1980 (IV/148) 527 supports Kondoleon. Boardman 1957 (I/65); 1980 (II/224) and Coldstream 1977 (III/33) 22 would, however, not support Bakhuizen's theories.

<sup>7</sup> Strabon 5, 4, 9 C247: The juxtaposition of the words Ἐρετριεῖς ὄρισαν καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς gives primacy to the Eretrieis. Dion. Hal. 7, 3, 2: Κίμην τὴν ἐν Ὀπικοῖς Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν, ἣν Ἐρετριεῖς τε καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς ἔστησαν. (Kyme the Greek city in the country of the Opikioi (Oscans) which the Eretrieis and the Khalkideis founded.). Here again, the Eretrieis have positional priority. There are striking resemblances in burial customs between Pithekoussai and Lefkandi/Eretria: supra 101ff. For Pithekoussai: cf. Ridgeway 1992 (IV/57) ch. 4; Eretria: Bérard 1970 (IV/151). For a comparison of tombs at both sites: C. Albore-Livadie, 'Remarques sur un groupe de tombes à Cumès', in *Contribution à l'Étude de la société et de la colonisation eubéennes. Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard II*, Naples, 1975, esp. 53: "En effet, les tombes érétriennes mises au jour durant les campagnes de 1965 et 1966, près de la Porte Occidentale, présentent d'étroites similitudes avec les 7 tombes contemporaines de Cumès (dernier quart du VIIe siècle - début du VIIIe siècle av. J.C.). Le rituel funéraire est identique: le corps était incinéré avec une partie des bijoux et du mobilier funéraire loin du lieu de la sépulture, puis déposé dans un lèbès de bronze qui était ensuite placé dans un réceptacle de tuf, etc." (though the Italian tombs are more richly furnished than their Eretrian counterparts KW), 56, (and especially) 57. Euboian pottery could as well be of Eretrian origin as of anywhere else on the island. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, Oxford, 1948, 6: "It (the early colonial effort) was a combined effort of **many cities of Euboea**, no doubt under the general direction of Chalcis and Eretria.", cf. Bakhuizen 1977 (V/6) 222 and Mazarakis-Ainian 1987 (IV/11) 21f. who believe that Khalkis alone was involved at Pithekoussai and Kyme. G. Buchner, 'Pithekoussai, Oldest Greek Colony in the West', *Expedition* 8 (Summer) 1966, 12; Klein 1966 (IV/55) 35. A. Blakeway, "'Demaratus" - A Study in some Aspects of the Earliest Hellenization of Latium and Etruria', *J.R.S.* 25, 1935, 142, n. 52, argues for a mixed population at Kyme: Eretria, and perhaps Euboian Kyme, were also involved.

<sup>8</sup> Aristoteles (ap. Strabon 5, 4, 4 C243): ... Κίμη, Χαλκιδέων καὶ Κυμαίων παλαιότατον πτόμα (... Kyme, a foundation of great antiquity of the Khalkideis and the Kymaioi). This Aristoteles was probably the 4th century historian of Khalkis (who wrote an *Eἰβοϊκά* no longer extant), and not the philosopher who did indeed write (or supervise) a *Politeia of the Khalkideis*.

<sup>9</sup> Livius 8, 22, 6: Cumani Chalcide Euboica originem trahunt. Classe, qua advecti ab domo fuerant, multum in ora maris eius quod accolunt potuere, primo in insulas Aenariam et Pithecussas egressi, diende in continentem ausi sedes transferre. (The people of Cumae derive their origin from Khalkis in Euboea. From their fleet in which they had sailed from home, they were able to acquire much [power]

Eretrieis are often, for no good reason, given priority by modern historians, and so only Khalkidian involvement at Kyme is accepted,<sup>10</sup> though a "Kyme" is sometimes added as *metropolis*. Caution is needed: the wording of the first two passages in fact give the Eretrieis priority over the Khalkideis. My interpretation of this ensemble of texts is that originally Pithekoussai was a joint foundation of Eretrieis, Khalkideis and (perhaps) Euboian Kymaioi, but that political trouble erupted soon after, perhaps a local problem aggravated by a new episode in the Lelantine saga,<sup>11</sup> prompting the Eretrieis to expel the Khalkideis (and some of the Kymaioi) and to lodge them at Kyme on the mainland opposite; the fertile plains of Campania in any case would surely have appealed to the more agriculturally-oriented Khalkideis.<sup>12</sup> Eretrieis are mentioned by only Dionysios Halikarnasseus as having been involved at Kyme (unlike Pithekoussai). Livius indeed says it was founded by Khalkideis from Pithekoussai who "later decided to **take their chance** on the mainland."<sup>13</sup> Khalkideis from Kyme later founded a settlement (were they again expelled?<sup>14</sup>) at Palaiopolis near Neapolis (Naples), of which it was a precursor.<sup>15</sup> The presence of Kymaioi in Italian Kyme has been much debated - they provided one of the *oikistai*,<sup>16</sup> but there is disagreement as to whether the reference is to the insignificant Euboian "polis"<sup>17</sup> or

---

on the coast that they inhabited, and having first landed on the islands of Aenaria and Pithekoussai, they later were emboldened to transfer their base to the mainland). Also: Thouk. 6, 4, 5; Strabo 5, 4, 4 C243. Note that here, both historians are talking **only of Kyme** and not Pithekoussai.

<sup>10</sup> A. G. Woodhead, *The Greeks in the West*, London, 1962, 34 suggests that Eretria abandoned Pithekoussai/Kyme. Jeffery 1976 (II/224) 64 doubts any Eretrian presence, but any Eretrieis who may have been there (!) were soon submerged, because "only one author" mentions them!

<sup>11</sup> *Infra* 153ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Infra* 136ff.

<sup>13</sup> Dion. Hal. 7, 3, 2. Livius 8, 22, 6 and Strabon, 5, 4, 4 C243, make Kyme a settlement of Khalkideis and Kymaioi only.

<sup>14</sup> *Infra* 135 and nn. 24 - 25 for discussion of the fleet at Kyme.

<sup>15</sup> Strabon 5, 4, 7 C246 calls "Neapolis": city of the Kymaioi (Cumaeans), but he also says that it was later re-colonised by Khalkideis and Athenaioi and "some Pithekoussaioi"; it was also called Parthenope anciently: Strabon 14, 2, 10 C654. This was probably the occasion for its change from "Old" to "New City", and Parthenope probably became known as Palaiopolis to distinguish it from the newer settlement. Statius, a native, stresses its Euboian origins (*Silvae* 1, 2, 263ff.): "ad te nascentem gremio mea prima recepit || Parthenope, dulcisque solo tu gloria nostro || reptasti. nitidum consurgat ad aethera tellus || Eubois et pulchra timeat Sebethos alumna, || . . ." (Thee, lady, at thy birth my own Parthenope first fostered in thy bosom, and in thy infancy thou wert the glory and delight of my native soil. **Let the Euboian land be exalted to the starry pole, and Sebethos swell with pride of his fair nursling**; . . . Trans. J. H. Mozley (Loeb) *Statius* I, 37); the Sebethos was a small river E. of Naples. *Silvae* 2, 2, 94; 3, 5, 12. Livius gives his information on Kyme and its founders in connection with events at Neapolis. Amongst the Pithekoussaioi there may have been some Tanagraioi/Oropioi: there was a tribe Εἰνωστῖδαι at Neapolis perhaps from the deme (? Wallace 1936A [Intro./1] 40) Εἴνωστος at Tanagra: *supra* II 52, n. 209.

<sup>16</sup> Hippokles of Kyme; Megasthenes of Khalkis; the Ἔππος name of the Kymaios may indicate Eretrian connections: F. Bechtel, 'Das Wort ΠΙΠΙΟΣ in den eretrischen Personennamen', *Hermes* 35, 1900, 326ff. notes its frequency in Eretrian prosopography. Wallace 1947 (I/53) 128ff. The distribution of these names is inconclusive for the location of Kyme as a deme in the Eretrias.

<sup>17</sup> The exact location is still not known for certain: A. Sampson, 'Αρχαιότητες και Μνημεία Εύβοιας', *A.D.* 31, 1976 [1984], B' 1, 131ff. writing of his investigations at Kastri Potamias, 155: "Από τις ελάχιστες επιγραφές και τα νομίσματα δέν είναι δυνατό να ταυτίσουμε τον άρχαιο αυτό οικισμό, ποι πολλοί θέλησαν να τον συνδέσουν με την άρχαία Κίμη". Bakhuizen 1976 (Intro./2) 15, n. 50; 17 is categorical: Euboian Kyme did not exist; cf. Sampson 1981B (II/2) 60 (English summary): stresses

the more famous Asiatic Kyme. I believe that it was Euboian Kyme, the Aegean port of Eretria,<sup>18</sup> but certainly by the fifth century it no longer existed as a *polis*; no Kymaian coin has ever been certainly attributed to her;<sup>19</sup> and there is only one mention of Euboian Kyme in the surviving literary record.<sup>20</sup> This suggests that Kyme, if it ever existed as an independent place, was incorporated early into the Eretriás.<sup>21</sup> The Kymaioi were possibly the Kômaieis of the Eretrian *deme*-lists.<sup>22</sup> Their inclusion in the colonisation accounts possibly indicates *de facto* Eretrieis. On the other hand, one of Strabon's known sources was Ephoros of Kyme in Asia Minor, who was particularly interested in local matters; he wrote a history of his city whose achievements he tended to over-exaggerate.<sup>23</sup>

---

close connections of the settlement at Kastri Potamias/Kyme with Eretria: doubts its existence as a polis in historical times and believes the name denotes a collection of villages (κώμια); in the "Old Athenian" dialect of mod. Greek, anc. υ (/y/ = Ger. ü) has become ου (/u/) e.g. Κυιή/Κουιή and Ἀμαρούσιον/Αμαρούσιον both with "Eretrian" connections! (for Amarousi: II 50, n. 193): A Thumb, *Handbook of the Modern Greek Vernacular*, Edinburgh, 1912, 8, 4). Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1984/86 (IV/208) believes the remains of the early polis will be found in the area of Kastri Potamias and that it belonged within the orbit of Eretria. Cf. Willamowitz: who visited the area in 1895: Wilamowitz, in his letter, "came to the conclusion that from the lack 'of inscriptions . . . coins and references in the literary sources', Kyme cannot be located", and somewhat arbitrarily, that "Kyme must have been a village of Khalkis, and that from this village, Aioliike Kyme took its name in pre-Homeric times." Translated into M. Greek in Sapouna-Sakellaraki (154), citing the letter of Wilamowitz to S. Konstantinidis, published in the last *Calendar* of the High-School Committee of Kyme, 1898 (reprinted by B. Ganosis in *A.E.M.* 1954, 131). Geyer 1903 (Intro./3) 87 thinks that Kyme "probably" belonged to Khalkis. J. B. Bury, *History of Greece*<sup>3</sup>, London, 1955, 94; 65: (Euboian Kyme was) "a town on the eastern coast of Euboea, which at that time had some eminence, but afterwards sank into the obscurity of a village . . .", indeed, (65): "Cyme in Aeolis derived its name from Euboean Cyme." Cf. supra II, nn. 24f.; 62; 98ff.

<sup>18</sup> The land route to Kyme from Aliverion via Aulonarion in the Eretriás is the easiest from the Gulf to the Aegean coast, and thus easily brought under Eretrian control. Skylax 58: κατ' Ἐρέτριαν Σκόρος indicates that the Eretriás extended to Kyme when he wrote. (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1984/86 [IV/213] thinks that the conquest took place in the 6th century; J. L. Myres in *O.C.D.*: in the 4th); Hopper 1976 (IV/213) 3: "Another (route), not so clearly defined, leads from Kyme in Euboea (the Aegean port of Eretria) by way of Lemnos and Imbros to the Hellespont (Dardanelles)." Bury 1955 (V/17) 65: thought that Kyme had been a significant port-town very early, and the point of departure for the Aiolian (Abantic) colonists to Khios and Asia. Strabon 10, 1, 15 C449: indicates that there was a Euboaia on Lemnos. Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1984/86, 160: "Η γεωγραφική της θέση τη συνδέει - κάτι που ενισχύεται και επιγραφικά - περισσότερο με τὴν Ἐρέτρια παρὰ μετὰ τὴ Χαλκίδα." (Its geographic position links it - something also reinforced epigraphically - rather with Eretria than with Khalkis). (My translation).

<sup>19</sup> B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, Oxford, 1911, 360; C. M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Coins*, London, 1976, 57; pl. 15. Cf. B. V. Head, *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks from circ. 700 B.C. to A.D. 270*, British Museum Department of Coins and Medals, London, 1932, xlix; Wallace 1936A (Intro./1) 99: coin-types (if correctly attributed) are close to Eretrian types.

<sup>20</sup> Steph. Byz. (6th century A.D.) s.v. Κύμη . . . πέμπτη πόλις τῆς Εἰβόιας. However, his sources are often much earlier. But more significantly: neither Homeros nor Strabon mentions Euboian Kyme, though Homeros mentions other very small places in Euboaia, e.g. Dion and Kerinthos.

<sup>21</sup> Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1984/86 (IV/213) 154: "Εἶναι σίγουρο ὅτι αὐτόνομη πόλις μετὰ τὸ ὄνομα Κύμη δὲν ἵσχυρε στὴν Εἰβόια μετὰ τὸν 6<sup>ο</sup> π.Χ." (It is certain that an independent polis with the name Kyme did not exist in Euboaia after the 6th century B.C.).

<sup>22</sup> An opinion, to my knowledge, never disputed since A. Georgiadis came to that conclusion in 'Οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἐρετριακῇ γνωστοὶ δῆμοι οἷδε εἰσίν', *A.E.* 1916, 50, except, by inference, by Bakhuizen 1976 (I/27) 15, n. 50.

<sup>23</sup> Ἐπιχόριος λόγος: *O.C.D.* s.v.; Jacoby, *FGrH* II, *Zeitgeschichte* A, *Universalgeschichte/Hellenika*, 43 (70 F 1: [Plout.] *Hom. bios* 1, 2). On Ephoros: Strabon 13, 3, 6 C622: [Plout.] *Hom. bios* 1, 2: Ἐφορος μὲν οἶν ὁ Κυμαῖος ἐν συντάγματι τῷ ἐπιχρηομένῳ Ἐπιχωρίῳ . . . Strabon 13, 3, 6 C622: ἀνὴρ δ' ἄξιος μνήμης ἐξ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως (s.c. Κύμης), but acknowledges that: σκώπτεται δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἐφορος, διότι τῆς πατρίδος ἔργα οἷς ἔχων φράζειν ἐν τῇ διαριθήσει τῶν ἄλλων πράξεων, οὐ μὲν

The sequel to the passages of Livius cited above continues:<sup>24</sup> "Thanks to the fleet in which they sailed from their home, they enjoyed much power on the coast of that sea by which they dwell; having first landed on the island(s?) of Ainaria and Pithekoussai, they afterwards ventured to transfer their seat to the mainland." But whose fleet? He doesn't say. Kondoleon's<sup>25</sup> article (certainly not entirely dismissed by Eretrian specialists<sup>26</sup>), which discusses the role of the navies of Eretria and Khalkis, especially in the colonial movement,<sup>27</sup> argues that Khalkis **never** had a strong navy and sent out **all** its colonies in Eretrian ships. He marshalls telling arguments for its **later** impotence, but I think it is far too radical to argue that Khalkis never sent out a colony by herself at any period. Nevertheless, I do suggest that at the time of the colonisation of Pithekoussai, Eretria, the "Rowing-City", supplied the ships, as would be likely in a venture mounted jointly by an agriculturally-oriented and a mercantile city. If this is the case, then the powerful fleet which made such an early impression on the native tribes of Campania was Eretrian.

Rhotacism has been noted at Rhegion<sup>28</sup> (archaeological evidence from c.730) perhaps indicating that Eretrieis were pushing into the Khalkidian colonies. They may also have had a role in the foundation of Zankle (c.730-720).<sup>29</sup> Khalkidian colonisation in the west in any case ceases altogether about five years later.<sup>30</sup>

I have already noted general scholarly agreement that the principal motivation for colonisation in the eighth and seventh centuries was land hunger.<sup>31</sup> Thoukydides<sup>32</sup> puts it succinctly: "Those especially who did not have sufficient land sailed against the islands and conquered them." Platon anticipates a possible population/land crisis in his ideal state and resorts to "that ancient device"<sup>33</sup> (the sending away of excess population as colonists). Hesiodos, living close to the period of colonisation, opined that farmers should restrict themselves to one son.<sup>34</sup> By the

---

οὐδ' ἀμνημόνευτον αὐτὴν εἶναι θέλων, οὕτως ἐπιφανεῖ, "Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν Κυριαῖοι τῆς ἡουγίας ἦγον."

<sup>24</sup> Livius 8, 22, 6: quoted supra n. 9. Pithekoussai and Aenaria are in fact the same. Perhaps Livius means Aenaria and the other islands of the group; he might also mean islands of this group other than Aenaria, i.e. Pithekoussai itself, i.e. Leukothea and Sidonia.

<sup>25</sup> Kondoleon 1963/65 (I/28).

<sup>26</sup> E.g. Kahil, Bérard and Knoepfler criticise those sections dealing with tribes of Eretria and the number of probouloi and bouleutai.

<sup>27</sup> 1963/65 (I/128) 1ff.

<sup>28</sup> Arena 1988 (II/218) 17ff. Arena raises the unlikely idea of Eretrieis sailing the western seas in the first half of the fifth century (18).

<sup>29</sup> Founded by Khalkideis from Kyme: Thouk. 6, 4, 5 says that later ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Εὐβοίας πλῆθος ἐλθὼν ξυγκατενεύμαντο τὴν γῆν.

<sup>30</sup> Archaeological evidence: cf. table in Graham 1982 (V/3) ch. 37, 160 - 162.

<sup>31</sup> Supra IV 76f. Gwynn 1918 (IV/213) 88ff.; J. Bérard, *L'expansion et la colonisation grecques jusqu'aux Guerres médiques*, Paris, 1960, 60ff.; A. J. Graham *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*, Chicago, 1971, 5; Snodgrass 1980 (IV/184) 35ff.

<sup>32</sup> Thouk. 1, 15: ἐπιπλέοντες γὰρ τὰς νήσους κατεστρέφοντο, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι μὴ διαρκῆ εἶχον χώρον.

<sup>33</sup> *Nomoi*, 740 E: τὸ παλαιὸν ποῦ ὑπάρχει μιγάνημα. Also 708 B.

<sup>34</sup> *Erg. hem.* 376 - 377: Μοινογενῆς δὲ πάς εἶη πατρίων οἶκον ἢ φεθβέμεν. (May there be only one son to feed in his father's house). T. W. Allen, *Homer: the Origins and Transmission*, Oxford, 1924,

ninth and eighth centuries, pastoralism was, in most of Greece, already giving way to agriculture as the principal land-use régime, reflecting a need for more efficient food production to feed an increasing population. Though the overall population was small by modern standards, primitive technology and methods kept production low. The total free population of the Eretriás "at the height of her power" (the sixth century) has been estimated at c.50,000.<sup>35</sup> With the influx of refugees from Lefkandi, pressure on Eretria's very average-quality land resources would have increased. The Khalkideis who are supposed to have won that phase of the war for the fertile plain, should have had a reprieve, and their horse/cattle-rearing culture strengthened. Why then did the hippobotic government send out colonial expeditions as Strabon explicitly says?<sup>36</sup> I have discussed drought; Camp deals with its effects, particularly on Euboiá,<sup>37</sup> discussing the implications of Strabon's account of the foundation of Rhegion by the Khalkideis, the earliest of the so-called "Famine Colonies" (c.730 - 720):<sup>38</sup> and the comment of Herakleides Lembos.<sup>39</sup> Their **initial** response may have been colonisation; when this failed to completely solve the problem, the annexation of Lefkandiot territory<sup>40</sup> may have followed. Years of good rains and their (relative) abundance of fertile land may have encouraged over-production, and a consequent too-rapid increase in the population, so that when drought (even perhaps only moderate) came, food shortages, hunger and distress for the less well-off members of the community caused unrest. Also, the traditional pastoral economy of the Hippobotai would scarcely have been easy on parched pasturelands. While the land-owning nobles, with their greater resources, may have been shielded {for a while} against the full effects, traders and artisans would have seen their local markets and profits shrink, and when food-supplies slowed and, perhaps at times, stopped, this in turn would have had an inflationary effect on food prices. Perhaps common difficulties caused the commercial oligarchy at Eretria to join the Hippobotai of Khalkis in founding the first western colony at Pithekoussai. If so, it was a fairly

---

ch. 4: c.800; modern opinion favours a date between the 8th and mid/late-7th century: Powell 1997 (II/223) 3f.: 8th century; K. J. Dover et al. *Ancient Greek Literature*, Oxford, 1985, 177: c.700; P. Levi, *The Pelican History of Greek Literature*, Harmondsworth, 1985, 49: mid-7th or earlier; R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns*, Cambridge, 1982: mid-7th; W. G. Forrest, *C.A.H.*<sup>3</sup>, ch. 41: second half of 8th/early 7th. Evelyn-White 1926 (II/106) refers to "the Hesiodic poems", implying a plurality of authorship: c. 830/820 for *Erg. kai Hem.*, a century later for *Theog.* (Loeb. p. xxvi) though he hesitates to reject the funeral games of Amphidamas of Khalkis which he dates 705 (xv - xvi).

<sup>35</sup> Snodgrass 1980 (II/184) 36. R. Osborne, *Greece in the Making 1200 - 479 B.C.*, London, 1996 70ff. For a population estimate: Sakellariou 1971 (IV/284) 252.

<sup>36</sup> Strabon 10, 1, 8 C447 (quoted IV n. 212).

<sup>37</sup> 1979 (III/58) 406ff.

<sup>38</sup> Strabon 6, 1, 6 C257: *τίσιμα δ' ἐστὶ τὸ Πήριον Χαλκιδῶν οὐς κατὰ χρησίων δεκατεθέντας τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι δ' ἄφοριαν, ἴσπερον ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀποικίῃσαι δεῦρό φασι, παραλαβόντας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν οἴζοθεν.* (Rhegion is a foundation of those men of Khalkis who, in response to the oracle, were dedicated to Apollo - one man in every ten - because of the failure of crops; they say that later they came there as colonists from Delphoi taking still others from home).

<sup>39</sup> *Politeiai* 55: Πήριον ὄρισαν Χαλκιδεῖς οἱ ἀπ' Εὐβοίου διὰ λιμῶν ἀναστάντες (Khalkideis who left the Euripos because of drought founded Rhegion).

<sup>40</sup> Perhaps the reactions were reversed.

short-lived arrangement, and hints of dissent in the colony point to a breakdown in relations at home. Anyway, expelling surplus population would have been only a limited solution involving small numbers. Hard hit by the drought, Khalkis became a frequent "customer", and so an early favourite at Delphoi,<sup>41</sup> the rise of which to mantic primacy must ultimately be due to the widespread need for drought relief, and the explosion of population leading to colonisation. Sending away surplus population is likely to have been the only (successful) solution to occur to the priests, especially as they probably had a good fund of knowledge about potential sites.

Another possible reason for Khalkidian colonisation is that the Hippobotai, now firmly in power, took steps to ensure not only that they would keep it for the future, but also that they would protect their ancestral and noble occupation as horse-rearers from the inroads of small-scale agriculture. Yet another might have been a need to divert criticism by the artisan class in the city<sup>42</sup> (there must surely have been one) by ensuring a regular supply of raw materials, for despite the frequent association of Khalkis with copper (khalkeia [χαλκεῖα] "copper mines" cf. khalkeia [χάλκεα] "copper work-shops")<sup>43</sup> the territory of Khalkis was, **never** endowed liberally with copper ore deposits.<sup>44</sup>

The motives of the Eretrieis may have been more diverse. For them, with a larger than normal artisan/trading population, land hunger was not the main consideration, although, while her agriculture with its emphasis on olive-oil production, would not have been so hard hit, the effects of the shortage of food grain on the poorer classes ought not be underestimated. Already they and their Lefkandiot ancestors had been trading with the Kyklades and had established themselves as entrepreneurs if not actual "colonists" in the Levant where their commerce was now being threatened.<sup>45</sup> To find alternative markets in this multiple crisis, the Eretrieis sailed west and north and established "colonies" as their forebears had done in the east. I have placed colonies in inverted commas because the earliest Eretrian western settlements resemble the purely commercial sites of Zagora and the Levantine *emporía*. Excavations at Pithekoussai have revealed a thriving industrial town, with

---

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *infra* 168f.

<sup>42</sup> Sparta tried this solution, sending what was thought to be a potentially disruptive element of the population to a new colony at Taras: Jeffery 1961/90 (II/211) 112f.; 115, and Graham 1982 (V/3) 162. Dates: 706 (literary); 725/700 (archaeological).

<sup>43</sup> Cf. *infra* 138f. and nn. 55; 58.

<sup>44</sup> Bakhuizen, 1976 (Intro./2) 48f. (despite Strabon 10, 1, 9 C447). There are **iron** deposits but not within particularly easy reach of workshops in Khalkis itself, I would suggest, (48), judging from Bakhuizen's own maps: (46). His boundary between Khalkis and the Eretriás, incidentally, is arbitrary to say the least. Iron ore (even "purified" metal) is not easily transported in large quantities overland, especially in mountainous areas (map). He believes that Khalkis was a centre of iron manufacture, based on the exploitation of local ores, (56f.) and that production was not restricted to finished items, e.g. swords (57); but he acknowledges that there is presently no evidence, literary or archaeological, for ancient iron mining at Khalkis, (49) since he (rightly) dismisses Strabon's miraculous "double" (copper/iron) mine.

<sup>45</sup> IV 79f.; cf. III 64ff, 69 and n. 84; 70, n. 93.

an emphasis on metallurgy.<sup>46</sup> We have already noted strong similarities between burial practices at Eretria and those of the settlers at Pithekoussai, as well as the pottery from both places. That Eretria was involved here can hardly be doubted.<sup>47</sup> But why would Khalkideis, with their more agricultural biases, have come to **this** island? It is alleged to be barren, mountainous, unsuitable for farming, thus posing a problem for strict adherents to the theory of land-hunger as the **sole** motive propelling early Euboians overseas: Gwynn<sup>48</sup> avoids mentioning Pithekoussai at all; Graham mentions it but twice, and then only in passing in an appendix on the western aims of Korinthos.<sup>49</sup> Yet Strabon<sup>50</sup> gives **two** reasons for the great prosperity of the settlement, the first of which is the island's εὐκαρπία, its "fruitfulness", and scholars who have worked on the island have remarked on its fertile, volcanic soil.<sup>51</sup> Theognis later would describe the Lelantine Plain as having fine vinelands;<sup>52</sup> farmers from the Lelantine vinelands might well expect to flourish in the new settlement.

But though initially self-sustaining, and perhaps always having a trade in wine and oil, it was never exclusively an agricultural colony.<sup>53</sup> Strabon gives as a second reason for its prosperity its χρυσεία. Usually translated "gold-mines", these are geologically impossible on Ischia,<sup>54</sup> so unless Strabon is simply wrong, we need an alternative translation. This problem has been addressed by scholars with results that at least do not contradict natural and archaeological data: they are the workshops uncovered in an eighth century town devoted to the production of gold.<sup>55</sup> Within the excavated area have been found not only copper and bronze pieces but iron and its by-products (bloom and slag), and lead, including a lead weight weighing almost exactly one Euboic stater, probably used for weighing out silver, was also found.<sup>56</sup> But considering the many objects of silver from tombs on Ischia itself,<sup>57</sup> a surprising fact not commented upon is that **no gold objects of any kind are reported**. This

<sup>46</sup> For full information: cf. the reports of Buchner, the principal excavator of the settlement, listed in the bibliography in Ridgeway 1992 (IV/57) 159f. together with his own extensive corpus: 168f. Chs 3 - 5: a full description of the island and the excavations, arranged by site categories. For briefer surveys of the metallurgical settlement: cf. Klein 1966 (IV/55) 34ff.; Buchner 1966 (V/7) 4ff.

<sup>47</sup> Also the literary evidence: supra 132, nn. 7 - 9; 15; 135, n. 24.

<sup>48</sup> 1918 (IV/213) esp. 96.

<sup>49</sup> 1971 (V/31) 219; 221, n. 2.

<sup>50</sup> Strabon 5, 4, 9 C247.

<sup>51</sup> Ridgeway 1992 (IV/57) 33: "the fundamental resource of the island (Pithekoussai) in the pre-tourist age has always been agriculture, but in the specialized sense of viticulture, a direct result of the island's hilly terrain, of the climate and of the soil."

<sup>52</sup> Theognis l. 392: Ἀηλάντων δ' ἀγαθὸν . . . οἰνόπεδον.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. R. M. Cook 1962 (IV/58) 113f.

<sup>54</sup> Ridgeway 1992 (IV/57) 34.

<sup>55</sup> Χρυσεία is in fact the form found in all but one MS. Ridgeway 1992 (IV/57) 34 suggests χρυσεία be translated "goldsmiths' workshops"; χρυσία as "goldsmiths' products". P. Mureddu, 'XPYΣEIA a Pithecussai', *P. del P.* 27, 1972, 407ff.: χρυσεία are not limited just to the mine but include workshops: 408: "non se limitivano a designare il luogo da cui veniva estratto il metallo, ma comprendevano tutto l'adiacente complesso di edifici in cui si svolgevano i primi lavori di purificazione del minerale estratto", and cites various ancient authors: his n. 9.

<sup>56</sup> Buchner 1966 (V/7) 12; Klein 1966 (IV/55) 37ff.

<sup>57</sup> Idem. Cf. Ridgeway 1992 (IV/57) 75 for tables of finds.



surely is very strange, given Strabon's assertion that the settlement's prosperity was substantially based on its χρυσεία. It is very unlikely that if χρυσεία were gold-producing workshops, the total output was exported without a single item being preserved in any tomb or, as far as can be judged from Ridgeway,<sup>58</sup> anywhere else. Poverty amongst the population of the cemetery cannot be the answer, for there were numerous pieces of silver (and bronze) jewellery found amongst the burial offerings. I suggest that in the eighth century settlement, **there were in fact NO gold-working establishments (or mines)**. If Eretria exercised control over the settlement, and as early as the eighth century she may have even imposed her own political forms on her dependencies,<sup>59</sup> the commercial oligarchy at home may have decreed that all auriferous raw materials be shipped on for working in the goldsmithies at Eretria, for which we do have archaeological evidence. The small quantities involved with this metal make transport simple. Eretrian political and economic dominance within the settlement would also explain the removal of the Khalkidian part of the population to Kyme and beyond. I suggest **the χρυσεία were merely the offices of merchants who acquired gold from elsewhere (north and west), and remitted it home**. If this is an early case of Eretrian economic imperialism, it would not be the last. Less valuable metals also obtained from outside, were refined/manufactured before trans-shipment.

Before leaving Pithekoussai, I wish to refer, briefly, to the vessel found there known as "Nestor's Cup". It is inscribed with three lines of verse in the "alphabet of Chalcis".<sup>60</sup> This attribution is perplexing: there is much more likelihood that

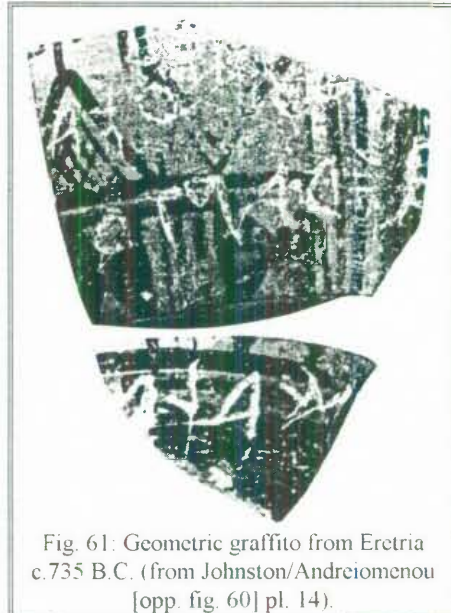


Fig. 61: Geometric graffito from Eretria c. 735 B.C. (from Johnston/Andreiomenou [opp. fig. 60] pl. 14).

we have here an example of the script as used at **Eretria** at this time:

"Punctuation is : **as at Eretria**."<sup>61</sup> It is written in Phoenician retrograde, and an early Eretrian presence in the *emporía* of North Syria is virtually assured. Jeffery

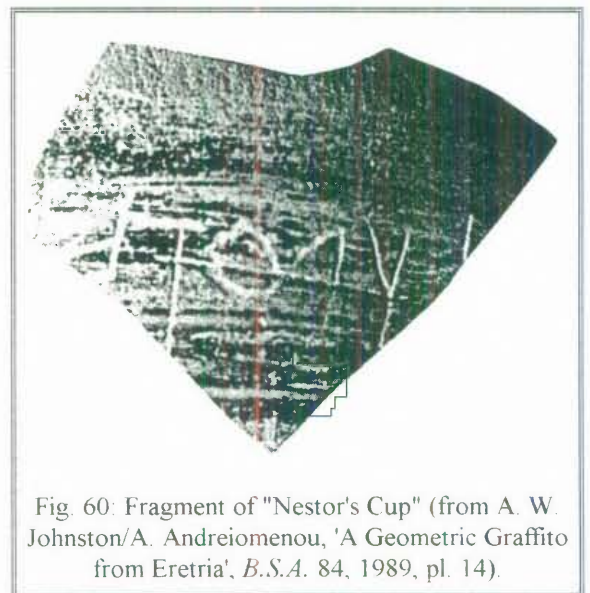


Fig. 60: Fragment of "Nestor's Cup" (from A. W. Johnston/A. Andreiomenou, 'A Geometric Graffito from Eretria', *B.S.A.* 84, 1989, pl. 14).

<sup>58</sup> Idem. s.v. index: gold-mines, smiths.

<sup>59</sup> Supra IV 117f.

<sup>60</sup> Ridgeway 1992 (IV/57) 55f., fig. 9.

continues: "Every letter-form has its parallel in the inscriptions of either **Kyme** or **Eretria**, except the unique *xi* and *san*. These are not found in actual use in any Euboic inscription."<sup>62</sup> Moreover, her notes to the Euboian alphabet<sup>63</sup> say that the script employed at Pithekoussai and indeed at Kyme in the early seventh century was the "**Eretrian version**."<sup>64</sup> (No further mention of Khalkis!) For comparison, we have an inscribed Eretrian *aryballos* mentioned by Jeffery, and an inscribed grave *amphora* from Eretria dated c.625.<sup>65</sup> It seems then that we could make a better case that the alphabet from Kyme, later borrowed and modified by the Romans, was ultimately that of Eretria. Apart from her initial assertion, Jeffery nowhere mentions Khalkis; and indeed we would expect mercantile Eretria to display greater literacy than pastoralist Khalkis.

## 2. Kerkyra.

The Eretrieis established themselves early in Kerkyra and around the Gulf of Avlona on the mainland of Albania nearby.<sup>66</sup> The Eretrian colony/*emporion*<sup>67</sup> on Kerkyra is now hardly disputed.<sup>68</sup> Its name was Drepane.<sup>69</sup> Ploutarkhos' note gives no indication when the Eretrieis first established themselves; it was obviously before 734, the year in which they were expelled. Pithekoussai was founded **before** 750,<sup>70</sup> the date attributed to its offshoot, Italian Kyme, so we would expect that Kerkyra (and the settlements in Albania?) *en route* to Italy<sup>71</sup> were founded either before or at about the same time. I would suggest c.785 or slightly later, i.e. a generation before the "expulsion" of the Khalkideis from Pithekoussai. This is a guess but a date earlier than 750 is certainly required. Traces of the original Eretrieis are numerous: there is, indeed, a place called Euboia on the island,<sup>72</sup> and the promontory on which the town

<sup>61</sup> Jeffery 1961/90 (II/211) 236. For early writing at Eretria: *S.E.G.* 12, 1955, nos 400 a & b (6th century vase graffiti); 401; 15, 1958, no 561 (6th century graffito); 17, 1960, no. 431; 22, 1982, nos 858; 859 (7th century graffiti); 39, 1989, nos 939 (735 - 725); 940; 941. Graffito Eretria museum inv. no. V 3348: Kahil 1980 (IV/146) 528.

<sup>62</sup> Jeffery 1961/90 (II/211) 236.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* 79ff.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.* 82: "The Eretrian version of the Euboic alphabet was already in use at Pithekoussai and Kyme, and among Kyme's non-Greek neighbours, in the first half of the seventh century, perhaps even before 700; but no surviving inscriptions from Euboia herself are as early. . . . the only inscription which is certainly as early as the seventh century is that on a small aryballos attributed to Eretria."

<sup>65</sup> Boardman 1952 (I/41) 21; 26f.; figs 20; 21e and pl. 5.

<sup>66</sup> The chronology of some early Western colonies: Appendix 3: table 3.

<sup>67</sup> Our only ancient evidence is Plout. *Ait. hell.* 11: Κέρκυραν τὴν νῆσον Ἐρετρίεις κατοικοῦν· Χαρίκράτους δὲ πλείσαντος ἐκ Κορίνθου μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατούντος, ἐμβάντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς οἱ Ἐρετρίεις ἀπέπλευσαν οἴκαδε. (Eretrieis used to inhabit the island of Kerkyra; but Kharikrates sailed there from Korinthos with an army and defeated them in war; whereupon the Eretrieis embarked in their ships and sailed home again).

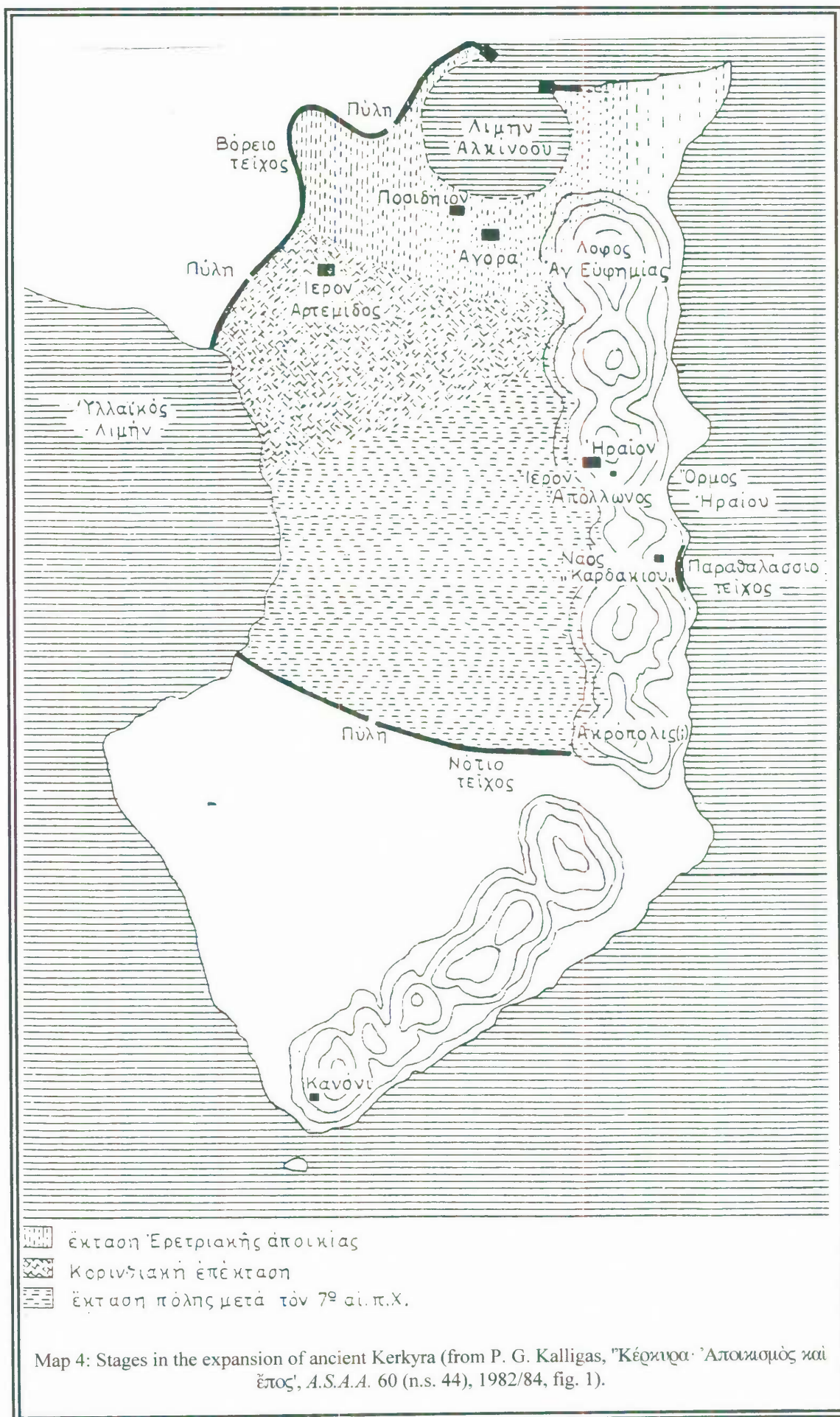
<sup>68</sup> For a bibliography supra 132, nn. 7ff. It was not always thus.

<sup>69</sup> *Ap. Rh.* 4, 982ff. with schol.; Kallim. *ap. Plin.* 4, 12, 8f.; the island's shape resembles a reaping-hook, cf. Drapanon in Sicily. Hammond 1967 (II/26) 418, n.1: believes that the pre-Greek origin of the name Kerkyra is Illyrian (mod. Albanian *kjark* = *curved*) but denies that the pre-colonial population was non-Greek.

<sup>70</sup> *Supra* 132, n. 6.

<sup>71</sup> For Kerkyra's strategic position on the route to Italy: *infra* 143 and n. 86.

<sup>72</sup> Strabon 10, 1, 15 C449.



stood was called Makris or Makridie, a decidedly Euboian name.<sup>73</sup> Kerkyra like Eretria had *probouloi* as her principal magistrates (as of course did Korinthos).<sup>74</sup> After their early and complete rupture with Korinthos, would the Kerkyraioi have willingly taken or kept institutions from their hostile "mother-city"? A persistent mythological tradition identified Kerkyra with Skheria, the land of the Phaiakes, the enterprising and skilled sailors in the *Odysseia* who were ruled by Alkinoos, and linked Skheria with Euboia.<sup>75</sup> The Kerkyraioi accepted this ancestral tradition<sup>76</sup> rather than that they were of Korinthian origin. They were hostile to their "mother-city" almost from the moment of the "foundation",<sup>77</sup> and dissension exploded into open warfare as early as 664, only 70 years after the arrival of the Korinthioi, in a naval engagement which Thoukydides thought was the earliest known sea-fight.<sup>78</sup> Such a state of affairs between colony and *metropolis* was unusual and the Korinthioi admit as much in a later speech before the Athenian assembly,<sup>79</sup> for relations didn't improve with time. But it appears that Eretria's dependencies, both in the Aegean and in the west, harboured friendly feelings towards their *metropolis* for there is little evidence of attempts to shake off its traditions: Keos also retained her characteristically Eretrian institutional arrangements, and later Eretria and Andros co-operated in establishing colonies in the North Aegean, and the "empire" endured for centuries. No-one, to my knowledge, has ever asked whether the atypical attitude of the Kerkyraioi amongst the colonists of Korinthos derived from the

<sup>73</sup> Makris was an alternative name for Euboia itself (II 21, n. 4) derived from the nymph Makris, daughter of Aristaios (whom I identify with Amarynthos, consort of Artemis at Amarynthos: cf. my paper 1995 (II/15) 19 - 20; 24ff., nn. 163; 164) who had nurtured Dionysos on Euboia. Driven out by Hera, she fled to Kerkyra, the land of the Phaiakes: schol. Ap. Rh. 4, 540; 650; 903; 1131; 1138; Nonnos, *Dionys.* 21, 193f.: Κρονίη δ' ἐλελίξετο Νύμφη || Μάκρις ἀπενθήτοιο Διονύσοιο πιθήρη (Kronian Makris, nurse of never-mourning Dionysos, sang her lament). Alkinoos, king of the Phaiakes, had Jason and Medeia married in her cave. The Argonaut saga, and legends about Makris, were probably transferred to Kerkyra from Euboia by the Eretrieis (for Stoll in *R.E.*: the Khalkideis). In Schol. Hom. *Il.* 2, 535 and Plout. *peri tōn en Plataiais Daidalon* fr. 3, she was the wet-nurse of Hera herself. For Makridie: schol. Ap. Rh. 4, 540 - 549a; 1175b. In Plout. *Sympos.* 3, 9 (*Mor.* 657E), she is specifically identified with (the nymph) Euboia. Cf. also Hammond 1967 (II/26) 415f.

<sup>74</sup> Supra IV 118f. Kerkyra (also like Korinthos **and** Eretria) had eight tribes: P. Calligas, 'An Inscribed Lead Plaque from Kerkyra', *B.S.A.* 66, 1971, 88; (for Eretria and Korinthos: VII 197; 199ff.).

<sup>75</sup> Hom. *Od.* 5, 34ff. Supra n. 73.

<sup>76</sup> Thouk. 1, 25. The personal name Phaiax occurs three times in IG XII 9, Index Nominum: twice from Eretriās; once from Khalkis perhaps indicating continuing popularity of legends associated with the Phaiakes. Strength of "Phaiakian" tradition: Calligas 1971 (V/74) 92.

<sup>77</sup> Hdt. 3, 49: Εἰ μὲν νῦν Περιάνδρου τελετήσαντος τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι φίλα ἦν πρὸς τοῖς Κερκυραίοις, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἂν συνελάβοντο τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμιον ταύτης εἵνεκεν τῆς αἰτίας, νῦν δὲ αἰεὶ ἔπειτε ἐκτίσαν τὴν νῆσον εἰς ἀλλήλοισι διάφοροι, ἔδοντες ἑωυτοῖσι . . . (συγγενεῖς;) τοῦτων ὄν (εἵνεκεν ἀπεινησιζάσεων τοῖσι Σαμίοισι οἱ Κορίνθιοι). (Now, if the Korinthioi had been friendly towards the Kerkyraioi after Periandros died, they would not have helped in the expedition against Samos solely for the stated reason. But as things stood, **ever since the island was colonised they have been squabbling amongst themselves for all their (kinship) etc.**) For the lacuna in the text: supplement by A. D. Godley: *Herodotus*, Books II/III (Loeb II) London/Cambridge Mass, 1982.

<sup>78</sup> Thouk. 1, 13.

<sup>79</sup> Thouk. 1, 38: ἄποικοι δὲ ὄντες ἀφεστᾶσι τε διὰ παντός καὶ νῦν πολεμοῦσι, . . . αἱ γοῦν ἄλλα ἄποικία τιμᾶσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ ἀποίκων στεργόμεθα. (Though they are our colonists, they have always been hostile to us, and now they are at war with us . . . at any rate, the rest of our colonies treat us with honour, and indeed we are loved by our colonists).

circumstances of the acquisition of the island. The remaining Eretrieis may have been, or quickly become, hostile to their new rulers; the introduction of Dorieis into other Ionian colonies provoked dissension e.g. at Rhegion<sup>80</sup> and possibly at Gela.<sup>81</sup> Evidence that Eretria and Kerkyra were friendly c.500 appears in the dedication by each city of two bulls, side by side, at Olympia.<sup>82</sup> Mother-city and daughter?<sup>83</sup> The subsequent history of Kerkyra is noteworthy for the ferocity of its civil strife, as both Thoukydides and Diodoros note.<sup>84</sup> At Kerkyra, the non-Dorian elements, i.e. the remaining Eretrieis, and the pre-Eretrian (pre-Greek?) natives,<sup>85</sup> may soon have reasserted themselves, first perhaps culturally (myths/cults/coinage), then probably politically (anti-Korinthian attitudes). The hostility generated would have benefited Eretrian trade with the west.

We should also note the similarities between the Eretrian monetary system and that of Kerkyra: the iconographic resemblances suggest shared cults, but more important historically, and for Eretrian commerce, was its organisational similarity. The numismatist Kraay<sup>86</sup> states: "Apart from the issues of the 'pegasi'<sup>87</sup> . . . the most important coinage in north-west Greece was that of the island of Corcyra. The original Euboean settlers were expelled by the Corinthians in the late eighth century, but thereafter the island's relations with its mother-city were chequered, for its size and its strategic position on the route to South Italy enabled it to pursue an independent line. The distinctive coin-type of Corcyra, a cow and calf, which endured unchanged for over three centuries,<sup>88</sup> appears to be derived from the original

<sup>80</sup> For Messenioi vs Khalkideis: Thouk. 6, 4, 6. Graham 1971 (V/31) 17ff.

<sup>81</sup> For Rhodioi vs pre-Dorians from Krete: Hdt. 7, 170: Minos came to Sicily pursuing Daidalos where he was killed; subsequently Kretans beseiged Akragas. For finds of early Kretan pottery at Gela: Boardman 1980 (IV/224) 178, n. 61; Graham 1971 (V/31) 19, n. 4. For Krete and Sicily generally: Woodhead 1962 (V/10) 29f.

<sup>82</sup> Paus. 5, 27, 9. The Eretrian base has been found and dated c.500. Inscription quoted VIII 253, n. 146; for photos of the inscribed plinth and bronze fragments: VIII 253.

<sup>83</sup> Wallace 1936A (Intro./1) 26.

<sup>84</sup> Thouk. 3, 70ff.; Diod. Sik. 13, 48, 1: Συνέβη δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐν τῇ Κορκύρᾳ γενέσθαι μεγάλην στάσιν καὶ σφαγήν. ἦν δὲ ἑτέρας μὲν αἰτίας λέγεται γενέσθαι, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αἰτοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχθραν. ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ γὰρ ποτε πόλει τοιοῦτοι πολιτῶν νόμοι συντελέσθησαν οἷοδὲ μείζων ἔρις καὶ φιλονεικία πρὸς ὀλεθρὸν ἀνίηρουσα. (It happened at about that time in Kerkyra that there occurred serious civil strife and massacre, which are said to have been due to various causes, but mostly due to the on-going mutual hatred existing between its people. For never in any polis have I heard of such killings of citizens nor greater strife and obstinate contentiousness which led to bloodshed.)

<sup>85</sup> Supra nn. 67; 69.

<sup>86</sup> 1976 (V/19) 128.

<sup>87</sup> Coins of Korinthian type with the mythical horse Pegasos on the obverse. Interestingly, Pegasos was part of Kerkyraian cult symbolism as we shall see below. Is this a case of deliberate rejection as a political symbol? On the other hand, there are Eretrian coins (Head 1963 [V/19] 362 fig. 205; idem 1932 (V/19) pl. 23, 1) with a cow (Io?) licking her hoof, with a bird on her back, probably Zeus who in this form guided Hermes to where Hera had tied Io to a tree. Io (eponymous heroine of the Ionian sea), gave birth to Paphos on Euboa at Boῶn Aulḗ. Schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 208: ἐνίοι δὲ Ἴόνιον πόντον ἀκούουσι τὸ κατ' Εἰβοίαν πέλαγος τὸ περὶ τὴν Ἰονίαν πόλιν Εὐβοίας, ἣν ἐκτίσεν Ἴων ὁ Ξοῖθου βασιλεύσας ἔτη ζε΄. Cf. infra 144.

<sup>88</sup> A. Blakeway, 'Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Commerce with Italy, Sicily and France in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.', *B.S.A.* 33, 1932/33 205f., n. 4: "A Euboic tradition in Corcyra is

Euboian settlers; the weight standard of the Corcyraean *stater* is related to the standards of both Corinth and Euboea though identical with neither." Of c.11.6 grammes, it is equivalent to four Korinthian *drakhmai* ( $4 \times 2.9$  gr.) or  $2/3$  of a Euboian *stater* ( $2/3 \times 17.4$ ); it could thus be integrated into the coinage of either *polis* and also that of the Korinthian and Eretrian/Khalkidian colonies in the west which used the Euboic standard. Its cow/calf motif also appears on coins of Eretria from its earliest issues in the sixth century, but only occurs on coins of Federal Euboea from the late fifth century, when Eretria was the seat of the Euboian League and its mint.<sup>89</sup> It was never a motif on Khalkidian coins. "The cow may be an emblem of the worship of Amarynthian Artemis, or may be connected with the Io myth."<sup>90</sup>

Lastly, there is similarity of cult between the Eretriás and Kerkyra. I have dealt *in extenso* with the Eretrian cult of Artemis Amarysia in a supplementary paper.<sup>91</sup> The pedimental figures on the temple of Artemis in Kerkyra, the goddess, gorgon-like, with wings outstretched,<sup>92</sup> flanked by her offspring by Poseidon, Pegasos and Khrysaor,<sup>93</sup> have strongly Oriental characteristics, and possibly reflect influences brought by traders from Syria. Similar depictions of her have been found on Geometric pottery from other locations, including Eretria.<sup>94</sup> Hera was also particularly associated with both Euboea (the island being sacred to her<sup>95</sup>) and Kerkyra. Even in the Argolis, for Homeros her primary home, her greatest temple was on a Mt Euboea. In Euboea she is associated with Mts Dirphys and Okhe on either side of the Eretriás. Eretria had a Heraia festival, a month Heraon and a *deme* called Parthenion from her Euboian epithet. Hera and cows were closely associated, so it is no accident that the Federal Euboian, Eretrian, and Kerkyraian coinage had as

---

supported by her sixth-century coinage, which alone of those of Corinth's North-West colonies does not bear the Corinthian Pegasus but the Euboic device of the cow suckling her calf." Cf. the device on a disk from Zakynthos: *ibid.* n. 4, 2.

<sup>89</sup> W. P. Wallace, *The Euboian League and its Coinage*, Notes/Monographs 134, Am.Num.Soc., New York, 1956, 1: "The Euboian League was founded at the time of the revolt from Athens, in 411 B.C., of Eretria, Chalkis and Karystos. . . . Eretria was the mint, and in some sense the capital, of the new League." On Eretrian leadership: Thouk. 8, 95; Diod. Sik. 13, 47.

<sup>90</sup> B. V. Head, *A Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum. (Central Greece)*, London, 1884, introd. lviii. Eustath. *ad Hom. 'Il.' pert.* 278, 17 - 22; Strabon 10, 1, 3 C445.

<sup>91</sup> 1995 (II/15).

<sup>92</sup> Spetsieri-Choremi 1991 (IV/266) 6f. (map [p.] 7); 20ff., fig. 13 on the sculptures from the pediment of the temple of Artemis. P. Kalligas, 'Κέρκυρα, ἀποικισμός και ἔπος', *A.S.A.A.* 60 (n.s. 44) 1982/84, 58ff. on Eretrian colonisation; the map/fig. 1 (reproduced supra 141, map 4): shows the extent of the Eretrian colony on the harbour of Alkinoós; *idem*, 'Τὸ ἐν Κερκύρα ἱερόν τῆς Ἀρκαίας Ἥρας', *A.D.* 24, 1969 A', 56f. On the Gorgon-figure, bibliography: Appendix 2. K. Rhomaios, in *Ἀφιέρομα εἰς Γ. Χατζιδάκη*, 184 - 192, suggests Κόρυρα > Γόργυρα > Γοργώ as a derivation; cf. Evangelides 1960 (II/26) 22, n. 42.

<sup>93</sup> Chadwick/Ventris 1973 (II/118) 483f. Py312 = An1281: called *po-ti-ni-ja i-ge-ja* (Potniāi hiqq<sup>a</sup>eiāi = Ἰππεῖα), appropriate epithet for the wife of Poseidon, mother of Pegasos. Khrysaor: Calligas 1971 (V/73) 90, n. 67.

<sup>94</sup> A bibliography of Eretria-related material: Appendix 2.

<sup>95</sup> Schol. Ap. Rh. 4, 1138. Euboea is one place where Hera was said to have been wedded to Zeus.

an emblem the cow and calf. One of her most common epithets in Homeros is "Ox-Eyed Potnia".<sup>96</sup>

### 3. Syrakoussai.

It is possible that there may have been a joint Eretrian/Khalkidian *emporion* on Ortygia.<sup>97</sup> The name of this small off-shore island on which the original settlement of Syrakoussai was planted, is linked with Artemis in Euboia: the quail was her (and the Kouretes<sup>98</sup>) special bird, and Artemis "was thus styled [Ortygia] in Euboian worship"<sup>99</sup> Though I feel there may in fact be something in the idea of an early Euboian presence on Ortygia at Syrakoussai, it must be admitted that the literary evidence is weak.<sup>100</sup> However the site, on a small off-shore island, points to a trading purpose, and early Eretrian *emporion* are often so located.<sup>101</sup> Mythologically, Syrakoussan Ortygia is also associated with Arethousa,<sup>102</sup> the name of fountains both in Euboia (near Khalkis) and in Elis, and both connected with Euboia and Eretria mythologically and by dialect. It has been suggested that colonists in Syrakoussai from Elis itself are symbolised in the myth of Alpheus pursuing the nymph Arethousa (or some say Artemis herself) across the sea to Ortygia island.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>96</sup> *Il.* 1, 551; 14, 159: βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη. The epithet was also applied to Artemis by Bakkhylides, *Epinikon* (for Alexidamos of Metapontion), 98f. Hera means "mistress", more or less synonymous with "potnia".

<sup>97</sup> Means "quail": Schol. Ap. Rh. 1, 419 (a link with Khalkis; cf. also Strabon 10, 1, 15 C449). It is the name of several places associated with Artemis-cults. There was a **very** archaic temple to Artemis on the islet: Smith II 1889 (I/1) 1063: "Some remains of this are supposed to be still extant in the N.E. corner of the modern city, where two columns, with a portion of their architrave, of the Doric order, are built into the walls of a private house. From the style and character of these it is evident that the edifice was one of very remote antiquity." Cicero: *in Verrem liber quartus*, 53: quarum (sectors of the city) una est ea quam dixi Insula, quae duobus portibus cincta in utriusque portus ostium aditumque proiecta est; in qua domus est quae Hieronis regis fuit, qua praetores uti solent. In ea sunt aedes sacrae complures, **sed duae quae longe ceteris antecellant, Dianae** . . .

<sup>98</sup> Strabon 14, 1, 20 C639.

<sup>99</sup> L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford, II, 1896, 433 citing Soph. *Trakh.* 212ff.:

βοῦτε τὸν ὀμόσπορον  
Ἄρτεμιν Ὀρτυγίαν ἔλαμφόλον ἀμφίπυρον.  
γείτονας τὲ Νήμας.

cf. also Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. Artemis, 578. Cf. Jebb 1908 (I/4) 99: the play is **not** direct evidence of a cult in Euboia (as Farnell thought), but note the Euboian context of the play.

<sup>100</sup> Blakeway 1932/33 (V/88) 205f.: "I do not believe the modern suggestion that at Syracuse Corinth also supplanted a Euboic settlement, . . ." and "The literary evidence for a previous Euboic settlement is, I think, most unsatisfactory, e.g. Strabon 449, Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i, 419, Schol. *Il.* ix, 557."

<sup>101</sup> E.g. Pithekoussai. Orikos. Zagora was also very isolated, on an arid peninsula, as was the settlement at Lefkandi. The exception might seem Kerkyra. But cf. map of the site: Kalligas 1982/84 (V/92) fig. 1 (map 4) shows that the city was also on a peninsula. Schol. Ap. Rh. 4, 1175b: τῆς Κερκύρας χερσόνησον εἴρηκε Μακρυδίην. ἴσως διὰ τὸ ὀκηρῆναι ἐκεῖ τοὺς Εἰθβοεῖς, ἢ δὲ Εἰθβοῖα Μάκρης ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ πρότερον.

<sup>102</sup> It is hard to know whether the frequent occurrence of toponyms in -ου(σ)α(ι) has any significance: Syrakoussai, Arethousa, Pithekoussai and Argous(s)a (associated with Lefkandi by D. Knoepfler 'Un témoignage épigraphique méconnu sur Argous(s)a, ville de Thessalie', *Rev. philol.* 57, 1983, 47ff.).

<sup>103</sup> G. S. Conway, *The Odes of Pindar*, London, 1972, 169. Strabon 6, 2, 4 C270 - 271.

## 4. Albania.

Eretrians settled around the Bay of Vallona (Aulon) in southern Albania. Their main town, Orikos,<sup>104</sup> which was most likely a purpose-built *emporion*, as was usual Eretrian practice, was originally established on a small off-shore island called Othronos,<sup>105</sup> despite the fertile hinterland in which settlement seems to have been made only later.<sup>106</sup> It was early enough to have been thought a settlement of Abantes returning from Troy,<sup>107</sup> founded by Elephenor.<sup>108</sup> It was well situated for communication with Kerkyra (of which it may have been an off-shoot), and while the Eretrians held Kerkyra, they would clearly have controlled all shipping between the island and the mainland.<sup>109</sup> The hinterland of Orikos was called Amantia or Abantia.<sup>110</sup> A major inland city here was at Thronion, also reputedly a foundation of Euboian Abantes. Apart from at Orikos, and perhaps on the coastlands immediately opposite Kerkyra, the later "Euboian presence" in Epeiros may be more apparent than real, and belong to the age of migrations when ancestors of the various Euboic peoples (the Dryopes, Ellopieis, Amantes/Abantes etc.) passed through *en route* southward. The ruins of Amantia/Abantia are near the Albanian town of Pliotsa.<sup>111</sup> This migratory movement was not forgotten later, as is shown by the Delian legends of the Hyperborean Offerings to Apollon, the passage of which passed through both Epeiros and Lelantine Euboia.<sup>112</sup> This route is also thought to reflect later trade routes following the west coast and terminating in Euboia,<sup>113</sup> from which there was a further extension to the Levant.<sup>114</sup> The west was certainly known to Greeks before

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Aulonarion in the Eretrias. Hekate was worshipped at Orikos: Hammond 1967 (II/26) 367, n. 2. Wilkes 1992 (II/119) 110, however, rejects Euboian penetration of Illyria (Albania).

<sup>105</sup> Plin. *H.N.* 2, 204: Epidaurus et Oricum insulae esse desierunt (Epidaurus and Orikos have ceased to be islands). Forms in -os are earlier than those in -on (-um Plinius). For Othronos: Lykoph. 1042; schol. (Tzetzes): ὄθεν περνευγῶς· ὄθεν ἀπὸ Ὀθρονοῦ γινῶν τοῖς ὄμαις ὁ Ἐλεφήνωρ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἀμαντίαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ κληθεῖσαν καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν Ἀβάντων Ἀμαντες προσηγορεῖθρα. For its identification: Beaumont, 1936 (II/26) 165, n. 4. Hammond 1967 (II/26) 416 denies presence of Euboians in Epeiros. (Note error[?]: Elephenor whom he calls Elpenor [sic.]).

<sup>106</sup> Beaumont 1936 (II/26) 165: the description suggests that it may have been reminiscent of the Lelantine area and its upland surroundings.

<sup>107</sup> Skymp. 411ff.: Ἑλληνίς Ὀρικῶς τε παράλιος πόλις || ἐξ Ἴλιου γὰρ ἐπανέγοντες Εἰβοεῖς || κτίζουσι. (Orikos is a Greek city and on the sea || for returning from Ilion, Euboians || founded it); Lykoph. 1042ff.; schol. (Tzetzes); supra n. 105.

<sup>108</sup> Schol. (Tzetzes) Lykoph. 1042.

<sup>109</sup> Beaumont, 1936 (II/26) 165.

<sup>110</sup> Pseud.-Skylax 26 - 27: Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίας εἰς Ἀμαντίαν ἐστὶ στάδια τε. [[Καὶ ὁ Αἴας ποταμῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πίνδου ὄρους παρὰ τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν παρῶρεῖ]]. Πρὸς [δ'] Ἀμαντίας εἶσω μᾶλλον εἰς τὴν Ἴονιον Ὀρικῶς. Τῆς Ὀρικίας καθήκει εἰς θάλατταν στάδια π. τῆς δὲ Ἀμαντίας στάδια ξ. 27: ὈΡΙΚΟΙ. Οἱ δὲ Ὀρικῶι κατοικοῦσι τῆς Ἀμαντίας χώρας. Also for Abantis: Paus. 5, 22, 2.

<sup>111</sup> Evangelides 1960 (II/26) 10; 24; 34; 75. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀβαντίς and Ὀρικῶς.

<sup>112</sup> Kallim. *Hymn II: Delos* 287ff.; Hdt. 4, 33; Paus. 1, 31, 2; Plout. *Mor.* 113 B.

<sup>113</sup> Beaumont, 1936 (II/26) Appendix II: Hypothetical Overland Trade Routes, 198ff.; *ibid.* 'Corinth, Ambracia, Apollonia', *J.H.S.* 72, 1952, 68; Grant 1987 (IV/304) 253.

<sup>114</sup> Mediterranean trade routes from east to west: Ridgeway 1992 (IV/57) *passim*, esp. ch 2.



the eighth century; Mycenaeans were trading there in the sixteenth/fifteenth centuries with the greatest activity in the fourteenth/thirteenth.<sup>115</sup>

### 5. Africa.

Africa is not usually considered an area of Euboian colonisation. The Italian scholar Mazzarino has, however, suggested extensive early settlement by Euboians not only in Libya, but also Tunisia.<sup>116</sup> His argumentation depends on Middle Eastern and Biblical texts concerning which I am not equipped to comment, as well as obscure references preserved in later Greek and Latin writers: a fragment of Hekataios in Stephanos Byzantios mentioning a "city of the Íones" called Kybó (or Kýbos) in "Phoenician Libya", and a place called Hippou Akre near Bizerta<sup>117</sup> in Tunisia not far from Carthage, and Utica (Phoenician "Libya" *par excellence*) and which, on some maps, is called Acra.<sup>118</sup> The Roman geographer Solinus<sup>119</sup> says that Hippo was founded by "Greek horsemen" (Hippeis!?). If this statement stood alone, perhaps it might be set aside. But Skylax<sup>120</sup> refers also to "a large number of islets nearby called the Naxioi; Pithekousai and its harbour. And opposite these [is] an island and the *polis* on the island is [called] Euboia." Not only have we here the name of Euboia itself, and also Pithekousai, but also Naxos, that of the earliest Khalkidian settlement in Sicily. When Homeros, in his story of the voyage of the Phaiakian ships from Skheria (Kerkyra? another Euboian link) to the most distant lands, implies that "Euboia" was one such remote place,<sup>121</sup> it is unlikely that he is talking of Aegean Euboia. The Aegean was well-known to the composer of the *Odysseia*; he certainly knew of many lands more remote than the island of Khalkis and Eretria. Could it be that he has in mind distant Tunisian Euboia as his paradigm

<sup>115</sup> D. Ridgeway, 'Tra Oriente e Occidente: La Pithecusa degli Eubei', *Gli Eubei in Occidente. Atti del diciottesimo Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia. Taranto, 8 - 12 Ottobre, 1978*, Taranto, 1979; idem 1992 (IV/57) 3ff.

<sup>116</sup> S. Mazzarino, *Fra Oriente e Occidente. Ricerche di storia greca arcaica*, Milan, 1947/89, esp. 116ff.; 262f. and nn. This theory is revived in G. Tedeschi, 'La guerra Ielantina e la cronologia eseodia', *Studi triestini di antichità in onore di Luigia Achillea Stella*, Trieste, 1975, especially 155, n. 39, referring to more recent excavations at Tocra (ancient Taukheira) in Libya, where an archaic Greek settlement has been discovered: J. Boardman/J. Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra 1963 65: The Archaic Deposits I*, London, 1966. However, these reports do **not** indicate Euboian ceramic at this site (unless mis-attributed: on this, cf. Boardman's comments on relationship between 7th/6th century "Melian" [sic.] and Cycladic (both present at Taukheira) and Eretrian pottery: 1952 (I/40) n. 406) 24ff.; 28f. J. Boardman, 'Crete and Libya in the Archaic Period', 2<sup>ov</sup> *Διεθνές Κρητολογικόν Συνέδριον. Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος «Ὁ Χρυσόστομος» ἐν Χανίοις*, I, Athenai, 1967, 134ff. (cited in support of Mazzarino by Tedeschi, n. 39 but not, I think, successfully).

<sup>117</sup> *F.Gr.H.* I F 343 = Steph. Byz. s.v. Κύβος [ἢ Κυβό]: Κύβος [ἢ Κυβό] πόλις Ἴόνων ἐν Λιβύῃ Φοινίκιον. Ἐκαταίος περιηγήσει αὐτῆς «καὶ λιμὴν που ἄζρη καὶ Κυβό». This fragment of Hekataios should undoubtedly be emended: «καὶ λιμὴν (Ἰπ)που ἄζρη καὶ Κυβό», since there was indeed a place in Tunisia called Hippou Akre (= Hippo Diarrhytos): Skyl. *Perieg.* 110. The name Bizerta is said to preserve the ancient Hippo Diarrhytos: Dessau in *R.E.* VIII, 1721 - 2. Cf. supra II, 23 and n. 14.

<sup>118</sup> J. A. Talbert (ed.) *Atlas of Classical History*, London/Sydney, 1985, 97 F 4.

<sup>119</sup> Gaius Julius Solinus (c.200 A.D.) 27, 7: "equites Graeci condiderunt": based his work on Plin. *N.H.* and Mela (O.C.D. s.v.). Quoted in *R.E.* s.v. 'Hippo' (9).

<sup>120</sup> Pseud.-Skyl. 111: νῆσοι Νάξιαι καὶ πολλὰι Πιθηκοῦσαι καὶ λιμὴν κατ' ἐναντίον αὐτῶν καὶ νῆσος, καὶ πόλις ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Εὐβοία.

<sup>121</sup> Hom. *Od.* 7, 321.

of the place at the end of the world? If so, knowledge of it must have returned to the Aegean area via stories of Euboian trader-colonists in the west.

Whether these indications of Euboian penetration in Africa are to be ascribed to Eretria or Khalkis or to both is impossible to say. Mazzarino thinks they were Khalkidian.<sup>122</sup> I would however point out that the earliest Euboian colonisation in the west was undertaken jointly by both cities, and Khalkidian colonisation ceases shortly after 730. Mazzarino believes that the Phoenicians, the first colonists in the region, were almost entirely displaced by Greeks by c.650,<sup>123</sup> but after the revival of Tyre and other cities of the Phoenician coast after their liberation from the Assyrians, following the fall of Nineveh in 612, there was a resurgence of Phoenician activity in Tunisia, and the re-"Punicisation" of the Hellenised settlements in the area. However, memory of the Greek period was apparently not lost, and the survival of some place-names (even in the local indigenous literature<sup>124</sup>), and the occasional disconnected notices, allow speculation that there may indeed have been Euboians in north Africa as early as the first half of the seventh century, and certainly Hekataios still retained a memory of Iones (as opposed to the Dorieis of Kyrene) in north Africa c.510.

#### The Northern Aegean.

A convenient literary link between the western and northern colonial activity of Eretria is provided by **Methone**, founded c.733 by the Kerkyraian refugees who, having arrived back at Eretria were "repulsed by slings" by the Eretrieis,<sup>125</sup> and forced to sail on. This they did and founded Pierian Methone in Makedonia on the shores of the Thermaic Gulf. The epitomiser of Strabon<sup>126</sup> places the town 40 stadia from Pydna. Thoukydides records that it was occupied by the Athenaioi to annoy Perdikkas of Makedonia,<sup>127</sup> and as the last remaining possession of Athenai on the Makedonian coast, it was attacked by Philippos II in 354/353.

Most Eretrian colonies in the Northern Aegean were merely trading posts rather than *poleis*; apart from their names, we know virtually nothing of most of them. One or two play a role in the affairs of Greece in the sixth and subsequent centuries: Peisistratos set out from Eretria for the northern Aegean to acquire the wherewithal to finance his final return to power, with the blessing and assistance of the Eretrian régime. He led an expedition from Eretria to **Rhaikelos** and founded what must have been a joint colony; it is inconceivable that a privateer would have gone into this area where Eretrian colonisation was dominant without Eretrian approval, founding a colony of his own, and still be able to use Eretria itself as a

<sup>122</sup> Mazzarino 1947/89 (V/116) 263.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid. 117.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid. 226.

<sup>125</sup> Plout. *Ait hell.* 11.

<sup>126</sup> Strabon 7, C330.

<sup>127</sup> Thouk. 6, 7, 3.

base from which to launch his final bid for power. A strong reason for believing this establishment was in fact an Eretrian foundation, and that Peisistratos was the agent of Eretria, is that if Rhaikelos were an Athenian colony, and given its supposed resource-wealth, it would presumably also have made a good base for a future return by the exiled Hippias, but he did not go there. It is usually located at or near the site of later **Aineia** (or **Ainos**) on the Thermaic Gulf.<sup>128</sup> It was called a "*polis*" by Lykophron and Stephanos Byzantios<sup>129</sup> but there is no agreement on its precise location. Possibly, as Edson suggests,<sup>130</sup> Rhaikelos was the name of the area, while Aineia was the city. It existed to exploit the mineral and timber wealth that made it possible for Peisistratos to finance his return to power.

Bradeen thinks that Euboian colonisation in the northern Aegean was concentrated within the period 775 - 750,<sup>131</sup> and Kondoleon believes that it pre-dates that in the west.<sup>132</sup> The foundation dates of most colonies of Eretria (or, for that matter, of Khalkis) are unknown. Euboian activity was mainly between the Axios and Strymon rivers, chiefly on the three-pronged Khalkidike. Eretria alone colonised Pallene (except for Korinthian Potidaia<sup>133</sup>), while Khalkis settled Sithonia. The most easterly peninsula, Akte (Athos), was mainly settled by Eretrieis and Andrioi,<sup>134</sup> while Thasos was Parian. Both Andros and Paros were probable early Eretrian dependencies.<sup>135</sup> Thus, with colonies on both sides of the Thermaic Gulf and with a presence in Athos, Eretria may well have been dominant in the region. Perhaps the name Khalkidike derives rather from a local tribe as some scholars argue.<sup>136</sup> It appears to me for geographic reasons, despite the general belief that Khalkis was first to colonise northward, that the Eretrieis were in fact earliest: not only are the Pierian coast and Pallene which their colonies dominated the first likely landfalls, but they are also the most fertile areas in the Khalkidike. Athos is all mountain while

<sup>128</sup> For Rhaikelos as an Eretrian (not Athenian) colony on Megalo Karavouno: VII 221. For the geography: Talbert 1985 (V/118) maps 16; 32 (who identifies Rhaikelos with Aineia); The Classical sources: Lykoph. 1236 - 1237; schol. (Tzetzes); Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ράκελος (sic.); [Ar.] *Ath. Pol.* 15, 2 (quoted IV n. 224). On the location of Ainea/Rhaikelos: *A.T.L.* fr. 36; S. Dow, 'Studies in the Athenian Tribute Lists', *T.A.P.A.* 72, 1941, 75. T. J. Figueira, *Athens and Aigina in the Age of Imperial Colonization*, Baltimore 1991, 134, n. 8 thinks it is possible to construe σινωράσιε ([Ar.] *Ath. Pol.* 15, 2) as "established a colony in conjunction with others". For a bibliography: Appendix 2.

<sup>129</sup> Stephanos frequently calls what were probably smaller places χώρα Ἐρετριέων. Larger (?) places e.g. Methone, are dignified by "polis", cf. "Okolon, khorion of the Eretrieis"; cf. infra n. 141.

<sup>130</sup> 1947 (V/128) 42f.

<sup>131</sup> 1947A (IV/32) 28.

<sup>132</sup> 'Ἡ Ἀποικιακή ἐξάπλωση τῆς Εἰβοίας', *A.E.M.* 13, 1966, 28.

<sup>133</sup> Potidaia was founded in the early-6th century (*C.A.H.*<sup>3</sup> 162). Its late date, planted in the midst of Eretrian foundations, perhaps reflects changed political alignments.

<sup>134</sup> Strabon 10, 1, 8 C447: (quoted supra IV n. 212).

<sup>135</sup> Supra IV 76f.; 119f.; IX 254f. Wallace 1936A (Intro./1) 34 - 35.

<sup>136</sup> The suggestion was put forward by E. Harrison, 'Chalkidike I', *C.Q.* 6, 1912, 93 - 103; 165 - 178, and supported by M. Zahrnt, *Die Herkunft der Chalkidier*, München, 1971 and Bakhuizen 1976 (I/29) 14 - 15. This view is repudiated by D. Bradeen, 'The Chalcidians in Thrace', *A.J.P.* 73, 1952, 356 - 380. Most scholars however seem to have accepted that the name is indeed derived from the Euboian city' name. The arguments can be found in Vranopoulos 1987 (IV/34) 40 - 41.

Sithonia, although it has some small plains, is not much more attractive as a place for self-supporting colonies. It seems that Khalkis had to be content with second best.

The Eretrian colonies in the north Aegean (certain or probable) are: Methone, Pydna, Dion, Eion, Aloros, Ainia (Ainos), Mende, Sane on Pallene, Skione, Apollonia (on the Thermaic Gulf), Therambos, Aige and Neapolis (on the Toronian Gulf coast of Pallene), Olophyxos, Akrothooi (on Athos). Also likely Eretrian foundations were Kharadriai, Palaiorion and Pharbelos.<sup>137</sup> Another, **Dikaia Eretrieon**, is interesting not only because it was identified thus in the Athenian Tribute Lists,<sup>138</sup> but because its coin types hint at a Karystian presence amongst its Eretrian colonists.<sup>139</sup> Its location is not certain but was probably close to Lake Bitsonis, not far from modern Kavála.<sup>140</sup>

Eretria also had one other significant colony, **Skábala**,<sup>141</sup> which if it was indeed Neapolis<sup>142</sup> (mod. Kavála) opposite Parian Thasos, would have controlled sea access to it, and the mines and forests of Mt Pangaion exploited by Peisistratos during his sojourn in the north. The identification of this place is thus of economic and historical importance. It has also been identified with the proverbially rich Daton<sup>143</sup> on the Thrakian seaboard opposite Thasos; a multiplicity of names acquired over time by places in the Greek world is not uncommon, as Euboia and indeed Eretria itself make clear. Neapolis is generally considered a Thasian settlement.<sup>144</sup> However, we do have the close similarity of the names Skábala and modern Kabála (mod. Gk "Kavála") on more or less the same site: the Turkish name for the town was "Kávalo",<sup>145</sup> preserving the ancient accentuation. Stephanos Byzantios is quite explicit that the place was Eretrian, and gives a specific source: Theopompos'

<sup>137</sup> Vide Appendix 2 for sources based on Herodotos, Thoukydides, Strabon, Plinius etc., coinage types, inscriptions e.g. *A.T.L.* (Dikaia). Vranopoulos 1987 (IV/34) 38f.

<sup>138</sup> B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, III, Princeton, 1950, 318.

<sup>139</sup> Kraay 1976 (V/19) 134, n. 4.

<sup>140</sup> For references: supra n. 128, especially Lykophron, and infra VI 189, nn. 104 - 106.

<sup>141</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. Σκάβαλα χώρα Ἐρετριέων. Σκαβλαῖο[ι] occur in *A.T.L.* 454/3 in conjunction with Olynthos.

<sup>142</sup> For Neapolis: Strabon 7, 330; Ptol. 3, 13; Skymn. 685; Plin. 4, 11. P. N. Ure, *The Origin of Tyranny*, London, 1922/66, 37 identifies Skábala with Kavalla.

<sup>143</sup> Strabon 7, 331 quotes the proverb; Hdt. 9, 75 describes the slaying of Leagros, the Athenian general by Edonioi περί τῶν μετάλλων τῶν χρυσέων μαχόμενον. Also Thouk. 1, 100; 102.

<sup>144</sup> IG I<sup>2</sup> 108+ (*S.E.G.* 10, no. 124) ll. 6f.: [ἐτραινέσαι τοῖς Νεοπολίταις] τοῖς) ἢ παρὰ Θάσον [πρό του μὲν ἴοτι ἄποικοι ὄντες Θασίον] (rasura) etc. The erasure (and another in consequence in l. 8) was made at the request of the Neapolitai (ll. 58 - 59). The last phrase, ὅτι ἄποικοι ὄντες Θασίον, was removed later. Why? B. D. Meritt/A. Andrewes, 'Athens and Neapolis', *B.S.A.* 46, 1951, 203 say: "at the request of the Neopolitans", confirmed by ll. 58f. Was this seen as a factual error; because they were **not** Thasian colonists but Eretrian? In the context of the events of 411 - 406, within which the decree belongs, it would not have been diplomatic to claim Eretrian connections, since in 411, Eretria had led the revolt of Euboia against Athenai, and was still allied to the Peloponnesians. Some other loyalty formula was much to be preferred under the circumstances!

<sup>145</sup> M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, III, London, 1805, 180.