

belong to the Sub-PG/MPG II to LG.¹⁶³ As at the Heroön site, children were inhumed and adults cremated.¹⁶⁴ General practice here was to place the bodies of children in pithoi or Adults were cremated *in situ* on pyres, over the open grave, unlike the practice at the West-Gate Heroön.¹⁶⁵ The similarities of burial rituals that have been noted at Lefkandí, Eretria, and Pithekoussai, especially between those used at the site



Fig. 54: Burial amphora from the West Cemetery, Eretria Museum.

of Lefkandí and at the Heroön, suggest that there may have been close cultural and, perhaps, political relationships between these three communities, and that it was Lefkandiot emigrés that brought them to Eretria. This would agree with the theory that the new immigrants (represented by the aristocratic burials at the Heroön site) had established themselves as an élite. The more "popular" West Cemetery continued in use well after the Geometric period, indeed throughout the sixth and fifth centuries.¹⁶⁶

(For some other examples of Eretrian burial amphorai, vide *infra* 102, figs 55 - 58, for photographs).

This completes my survey of urban Eretria and its physical antiquities from the early-ninth to the mid-sixth century.¹⁶⁷ I shall now turn

to its human resources at the time that the influx of new settlers from Lefkandí arrived c.825.

¹⁶³ c.800 - 750. Originally excavated by Kourouniotis: report in *A.E.* 1903, 1ff. Cf. also Coldstream 1977 (III/33) 197f. and Mazarakis-Ainian 1987 (IV/11) 16, n. 56: "More than fifty Geometric and Sub-geometric child inhumations and eight adult cremations have been investigated up to the present day."

¹⁶⁴ For discussion of the two modes of interment: Bérard 1970 (IV/151). For cremation: 28ff.; for inhumation: 48ff. Cf. the Heroön.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. similar practice at Lefkandí: *supra* III 61. These practices seem to have been the rule at Eretria in the Geometric period. Cf. *P.A.A.E.* 1979, 51ff.; 1981, 150: for the excavations carried out in grid square E4/5.

¹⁶⁶ A. Andreiomenou, 'Ἐκ τῆς δυτικῆς νεκροπόλεως Ἐρετρίας (I), *A.A.A.* 7/1, 1974, 229 - 248; *idem*, 'Ἐκ τῆς δυτικῆς νεκροπόλεως Ἐρετρίας', (II), *A.A.A.* 9/2, 1976, 197 - 212.

¹⁶⁷ For more detail on the 6th and later centuries: Krause (various); Bérard (various); K. Schefold, 'The Architecture of Eretria', *Archaeology* 21, 1968, 272ff.

ERETRIAN BURIAL AMPHORÆ FROM THE WESTERN CEMETERY



Figs 55 & 56: "Orientalising" black-on-red (c.650); 57: "Herakles-style" black-figure amphora (c.550); 58: Typically Eretrian loop design. Eretria (56; 57) and National (55; 58) Museums. For a general discussion of Eretrian pottery: J. Boardman, 'Eretrian Pottery', *B.S.A.* 47, 1952, 1 - 48; J.-P. Descoedres, 'Die vorklassische Keramik aus dem Gebiet des Westtors', *Eretria* V, 1976, 13 - 58 (pls. 1 - 8; suppl. 1 - 11).

THE "AUTOCHTHONOUS" PEOPLE

The earlier inhabitants may have been a different "race" from the newcomers.¹⁶⁸ By the ninth century, the whole population was probably "Ionianised" but though non-Ionian Kouretes/Ábantes had already imposed themselves in the Eretriás, Dryopes (who had arrived even earlier) still occupied the Karystia in classical times, and both linguistics and mythology suggest that the Eretrian deme-centres of Styra, Dystos, Zarex, Grynkhai (a name so strange that later Greeks were totally uncertain as to how it should be spelt or even pronounced, to judge from the variations found in the lexical works and from inscriptions from outside Eretria) and Tamynai to the south-east, had been originally, and long remained, Dryopian¹⁶⁹ settlements. But we don't have to go as far as the south-eastern *eskhatia* of the Eretriás for obscure names: for if Tamynai and Grynkhai are pre-Greek, so too is Ptekhai, probably the swampy deme beside the very walls of Eretria itself. I have discussed¹⁷⁰ the possibility that bands of Ellopieis penetrated to the narrow isthmus at Zarex, staying long enough to leave the deme-names Histiaia and Oropos. The later inhabitants of Eretria (which had earlier been called Melaneïs or Arotria) developed new foundation myths,¹⁷¹ which said their city had been founded by Eretrieus, son of the Titan Phaethon.¹⁷²

2. THE EARLY POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF ERETRIA TO THE MID-SIXTH CENTURY.

Monarchy: Homeros' description of the Euboian/Abantic contingent to the Trojan War,¹⁷³ which included all the Euboieis including men from "Eiretria", belongs **before** the *polis*-state, to a politico-social order that later Greeks called an *ethnos*, in which kings (or as Homeros calls Elephenor, *hegemon[es]*¹⁷⁴) survived even into the classical period as the war leaders of family groups (*gene*?) long after the more politically advanced areas of Greece had evolved into true *poleis*. The society that he actually describes is an intermediate stage between those of the Bronze Age palace-cultures and the *polis*, and the physical circumstances depicted are largely those of the *polis*, since he in fact lived in a world made up largely of *poleis*. However, he knew that earlier there had been *ethne* and in accordance with his programme of describing an earlier age, he pretends that everywhere *ethne* exist,

¹⁶⁸ Supra 77, n. 45.

¹⁶⁹ For pre-Hellenic names: II 29ff.; 33f.; Appendix 6.

¹⁷⁰ II 35.

¹⁷¹ For the founding groups/oikistes: II 38f.; 50 (Kothos, Aiklos, Ellops); 51ff. (Elis).

¹⁷² Strabon 10, 1, 10 C477.

¹⁷³ Hom. *Il.* 2, 536 - 545.

¹⁷⁴ Elephenor, son of Khalkodon may have been an early king: he is referred to as "hegemon" and "arkhós" of the Ábantes in *Iliad* 2, 540f. Later scholiasts considered him a true king: Porphyrios ap. Eustath. *ad Hom. 'Il.' pert.* 281, 40ff. For a chronology of the Euboian Ábantes: II 37ff. For Lefkandi: III, 56ff.

though he seems to have no real knowledge of the nature of actual *ethne*, and even where he describes an actual *ethnos*, such as the Αἰτωλοὶ in Αἰτωλία, he ascribes to it the attributes of a *polis*.¹⁷⁵ But Homeric Euboia was united at least in war under the *hegemon-arkhós* of the Abantic *ethnos*, and war is the leading political occupation of its ruling class. Homeros doesn't tell us what the Abantic warrior-heroes did in times of peace, but there can be little doubt that they were large-scale landowners, the richest estates of whom were on the fertile Lelantine Plain, most likely maintained by unfree-labour,¹⁷⁶ with horse-rearing sufficiently prominent to give the class the name it still held at the end of the sixth century. This economic (**though not of course political**) state of affairs was still essentially the same when the *polis*-state began to emerge at about the time Old Eretria was destroyed. However, presaging the future *polis* of Eretria, the Ábantes were accompanied by "forty black ships".¹⁷⁷ Thus even as early as the Homeric epics there was a tradition linking Euboia with sea-faring. It had also taken part in the "First"¹⁷⁸ Post-Mycenaean Colonisation Movement; being involved in the colonisation of Khios,¹⁷⁹ and of at least two other cities in Ionia, Teos and Erythrai,¹⁸⁰ and possibly of Miletos and Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros.¹⁸¹ These

¹⁷⁵ The Aitoloi have one major settlement; everyone lives in that settlement, and goes out to work in the fields each day; everyone can be summoned by a herald, etc.

¹⁷⁶ E.g. the Thessalian Penestai on the lands of the hipobotoc lords of Thessalia. There is general agreement that modern terms for "unfree" labour do not accurately describe the circumstances of ancient times and deplores the use of words like "serf", "slave" etc.: cf. G. Wickert-Micknat, *Unfreiheit im Zeitalter der Homerischen Epen*, 63; Y. Garlan, *Slavery in Ancient Greece* (tr. J. Lloyd), 1988, 19f.; F. Gschnitzer, 'Studien zur griechischen Terminologie der Sklaverei. I: Grindzüge des vorhellenistischen Sprachgebrauchs', *Abh. Ak. Wiss. Mainz*, 1963, no. 13; II: 'Untersuchungen zur älteren, insbesondere homerischen Sklaventerminologie', *Forsch. ant. Skl.* 7, 1976. It might be argued that the cases of Thessalia and Lakonia are exceptional, involving huge areas, much larger than the Lelantine Plain, but though rare elsewhere, there need be no objection to the use of serf-like labour there; that the Hippobotai were a warrior-aristocracy is surely not in doubt; Aristoteles (*Pol.* 1289b35ff.) later looked back on them (specifically, with the Eretrian Hippeis amongst others) as paradigmatic of a cavalry-based aristocracy, whose title to rule was essentially based on their military status.

¹⁷⁷ Hom. *Il.* 2, 545: τῷ δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαινα νῆες ἔποντο. 40 (or 50) for metrical reasons ships was a standard numerical formula for contingents of the middle rank: Kirk 1980 (III/68) 171ff.

¹⁷⁸ Kondoleon 1963/65(I/28) 14f.: to distinguish it from the later movement to the west and the northern Aegean. Kirk 1980 (III/68) 205: "The places (i.e. in Euboia) listed suggest an Iron Age as much as a Mycenaean original . . ."

¹⁷⁹ Ion of Khios ap. Paus. 7, 4, 9 (quoted II n. 98); Hdt. 1, 146: τῶν Ἄβαντες μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίης εἰσι οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα. (Not the most insignificant part [of their ancestors] derives from the Abantes of Euboia.) He further remarks: τοῖσι Ἴωνίης μετὰ οὐδὲ τοῦ ὀνόματος οὐδέν. ([The Abantes] are not Ionians even in name): on the origins of the inhabitants of the Ionian cities. Jacoby, *FGrH* 392 F 1 (Ion of Khios): 115 F 276 (Theopompos of Khios). Emlyn-Jones 1980 (II/99) 13ff.; Huxley 1966 (II/100) 16: believes that the movement was earlier (15th century) and from Krete; Sakellariou 1958 (II/100) 240 (summary); 283ff.; 350ff.; 402ff.; 487.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. 220f. (for Erythrai). Euboian involvement in the settlement of Teos may be inferred from toponyms: Geraistikos, harbour of Teos (Livius 37, 27, 9); the small town called Khalkideis between Teos and Erythrai; Strabon 14, 1, 31 C644 implies that it belonged to Teos, but Paus. 7, 5, 12 says that it belonged to Erythrai. The third tribe of the Erythraioi was called Khalkis from this place. The distance from Erythrai to Teos across the peninsula on which both cities stand is quite short.

¹⁸¹ As late as the 3rd/2nd centuries, the Eretrieis issued decrees honouring their "kinsmen" of Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros and of Miletos, stressing their ancestral links: IG XII 9, Test./Not., 163f.: ἐπαδὴ Μάγνητες οἱ ἐπὶ Μαϊάνδρου φίλοι καὶ οἰκεῖοι ὑπάρχοντες ἐκ προγόνων τοῦ δήμου τοῦ

early migrating Euboieis must obviously have possessed ships. Moreover, from the ninth century, between the first and second colonial movements, we have the pottery fragments from Lefkandí depicting either warships or armed merchantmen,¹⁸² and before the second wave began, in which they were the pioneers, Euboieis including Lefkandiots and, subsequently Eretrieis, were trading at Al Mina in Northern Syria.¹⁸³

How the "indigenous" Eretrieis were ruled before the Lefkandiot immigration, it is impossible to say with confidence. The original Dryopes may have had a matriarchal society, reflected in the dominance of the Mother Goddess Artemis Amarysia and the inferior role of her "spouse", Amarynthos (Amarysios¹⁸⁴)/Aristaios) in S.E. Euboia. If so, it is highly unlikely that this state of affairs still prevailed by the late-ninth century, because the Eretriás had during Mycenaean times been subject to the Ábantes. The later Íones also possessed a patriarchal religion and society. In the Mycenaean period, the area owed allegiance to the palace at Thebai through the intermediary ruler of Lefkandí. Following the fall of Thebai, a pan-Euboian *hegemon* perhaps continued to exercise some control over the Eretrian Plain (from Lefkandí?). Knoepfler thinks that a prince of Amarynthos was *basileus* of the area: "Now this important Mycenaean location, where there very certainly resided a *qa - si - re - u* (*basileus*) remained - it should be clearly noted - a kind of 'capital' into the historical period."¹⁸⁵ Certainly it was a major settlement before the eighth century, and we have noted already evidence of EH circuit walls at Palaioekklisiés, the prehistoric settlement site.¹⁸⁶ Possibly the later *deme*-centres had originally been the seats of subordinate local chieftains, owing allegiance to the "*basileus*" at Amarynthos, in turn subordinate to the Lefkandiot *hegemon* and, ultimately, the Theban *wanax*.

Ἐρετριέων (c.206) or [ἐπειδὴ οἱ Μιλήσιοι] . . . φιλοπορόνως καὶ [οἰκεί]ως, νομίζοντες καθήκον . . . etc. (IIInd cent.).

¹⁸² III 61f., nn. 43 - 47 and figs 33 - 34.

¹⁸³ Boardman 1957 (I/65): 1; 8: "Euboians played a major role in the founding of Al Mina in the early Eighth century." and "The presence of these vases at Al Mina and other eastern sites suggests that the Euboians . . . looked to the riches of the East *before* they sought the corn lands of Italy and Sicily."; 9: for reasons why the Euboieis didn't pursue the eastern venture. Jeffery 1976 (II/224) 63; M. M. Austin/P. Vidal-Naquet, *Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece. An Introduction*, London, 1977, 66: believe the motives were solely commercial cf. many of the later colonial expeditions to the west. Cf. Boardman 1980 (II/224) 38ff. for Euboian (Eretrian and Lefkandiot) involvement at Al Mina, 38: "Possibly the Euboians there were Eretrians only, though the evidence is not conclusive." and "Up to the end of the eighth century, they (the Greeks at Al Mina) were mostly Euboians from Chalcis and Eretria who had probably come in search of metals."

¹⁸⁴ For assimilation of θ before σ: supra II 23, n. 14. On the question of matriarchy: supra II 28 and n. 37 with references.

¹⁸⁵ D. Knoepfler: review of P. Carrier, *La royauté grecque avant Alexandre*, Strasbourg, 1984, *R.E.G.* 99, 1986A, 336 (my translation). I don't know upon what evidence his "très certainement" is based.

¹⁸⁶ As opposed to the site of the temple of Artemis Amarysia, for which: Knoepfler 1988 (II/2) 382ff.; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1992 (II/2) 235ff. For Palaioekklisiés: Parlama 1979 (II/141) 14: "The excavation . . . revealed walls of EH buildings and part of a strong wall, probably a circuit wall (plan 1). The pottery found is dated mainly to EH II and III periods." (My translation); II 42, n. 136; 45, n. 157.

The question of the precise nature of the role of the Mycenaean qa - si - re - u, /G^uasileus/ (pl. qa - si - re - we, /G^uasilewes/) generally is a difficult one to answer; they are best attested from Pylos where they are possibly "guild-masters" or wealthy local land-owners who are outside the palace hierarchy of officials. The position was hereditary, and there was only ever one qa - si - re - u in any given group. Carlier considers the qa - si - re - we to be the remnants of an older, perhaps local order, which was superseded (but not eliminated) by the palatial bureaucracy. Knoepfler's views about the qa - si - re - u of Amarynthos are speculation,¹⁸⁷ though there appears nothing in Carlier's theory which precludes such a position in Amarynthos (or elsewhere in Euboia). Indeed, in view of the several very ancient associations of Eretrian (especially) and Euboian traditions with Triphyllia, Messenia and Arkadia, and the occurrence of "Amarynthia/-os" in the Pylian Linear B tablets, that the name and role of the Mycenaean *basileus* was brought, along with the other linguistic and cultural baggage from the western Peloponnesos, should not perhaps be ruled out.

What sort of socio-political régime did the newcomers impose upon their new homeland and its inhabitants? Drews¹⁸⁸ says there is little evidence for monarchy in early Euboia generally. He mentions only Amphidamas of Khalkis but omits Elephenor and a few other possibilities;¹⁸⁹ Amphidamas is described as *basileus* in the late and historically unreliable *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*¹⁹⁰ though Hesiodos who may have competed in his funeral games¹⁹¹ does not so refer to him. Knoepfler believes there was almost certainly some form of kingship within the Eretriás before the eighth century, and probably even after the arrival of the new settlers from Lefkandi: "I would willingly believe that the Eretrian *basileus*, whose existence we must guess, played, insofar as he was the inheritor of the qa - si - re - u of A - ma - ru - to, a role in the rites of the ancient Artemis Amarysia."¹⁹² Moreover he thinks there is no inherent difficulty in accepting kings of the "gift-devouring" kind, attacked by Hesiodos,¹⁹³ in both Eretria and Khalkis up to the Geometric period.¹⁹⁴ Whether the tombs at the *Heroön* are those of a princely family, as Bérard thinks,¹⁹⁵ or the tombs of an aristocratic "*oikos*", or perhaps of a group of nobles

¹⁸⁷ Supra and n. 185.

¹⁸⁸ Drews 1983 (II/106) 84f.; Carlier, 1984 (Knoepfler 1986 [IV/185]). But Knoepfler in his review (in which he also attacks Drews) 334ff.: posits kings at Eretria and Amarynthos at an early period.

¹⁸⁹ For Khalkodon, Elephenor, Pyraikhmés (ps.-Plout., Συναγωγή ιστοριών παραλλήλων, 307C); Kryos (Paus. 10, 6, 6). Citations for kings of Euboia: cf. E. Ziebarth, IG XII 9, Test./Not. 146.

¹⁹⁰ II 37, n. 106. The author uses *basileus* for both Amphidamas in the early archaic age and the Emperor Hadrian (his contemporary); a real doubt must thus exist regarding his understanding of the word as used in the archaic age.

¹⁹¹ Supra 101; infra V 163ff.

¹⁹² 1986 (IV/185) 336. "Je croirais volontiers que le *basileus* érétrien dont il faut supposer l'existence jouait, en tant qu'héritier du vieux qa - si - re - u d'A - ma - ru - to, un rôle dans les cérémonies en l'honneur de l'antique Artemis Amarysia."

¹⁹³ Hes. *Erg. hem.* 38f.: βασιλεὺς δοροφάγους.

¹⁹⁴ 1986 (IV/185) 336f. A hint of a *basileus* at Eretria?: infra 122, n. 296 (wanax?).

¹⁹⁵ Bérard 1972 (IV/96) 219f.: "Nous évitons de parler de 'roi', malgré les références faites au mot βασιλεὺς, parce que nous ignorons la position de notre prince dans l'ensemble de la noblesse érétrienne

buried around their prince/king, as apparently occurred at Lefkandí, though the Eretrian *Heroön* is nowhere on the scale of the Toumba cemetery there, it is impossible to decide. Mazarakis-Ainian believes that the "Daphnephoreion" was the residence of a *basileus* or *basileus-magistrate*.¹⁹⁶ But if there were kings in Eretria they disappeared at an early date.¹⁹⁷

The Rise of the Polis-State¹⁹⁸: Snodgrass links this phenomenon not with fortifications and urbanisation, since these features did not in his opinion, occur so early on the mainland¹⁹⁹ but rather with the emergence of geographically and politically isolated settlements within their own hinterland, which adhered to a local cult and possessed their own political institutions, **including an assembly**.²⁰⁰ He also believes it was associated with the beginnings of colonisation abroad.²⁰¹ But contrary to his assumptions regarding fortifications and urbanisation, Eretria was, as we have seen, beginning to show these material signs of development as early as the eighth century, though to be sure, the settlement pattern was of the "open" type with scattered houses in private gardens over most of the city area. There was a *polis*-cult, and he indeed cites Eretria as a city having a central religious focus: Apollon Daphnephoros²⁰² and for **that** reason considers it an early *polis*. The earliest cult building **may** have also been the political centre.²⁰³ The ninth/eighth centuries, when the change towards the *polis* occurred, was also when Lefkandí was abandoned, and changes in political attitudes reflected in the emergence of the polis may have played

et que nous privilégierions sans doute par trop ses fonctions." Ibid. 1982 (IV/96) especially 89ff.; *ibid.* 'L'héroïsation et la formation de la cité', *Architecture et société* (= *Actes du Colloque de Rome 1980*), Paris/Rome, 1983, esp. 48ff.; 59. In successive articles, Bérard appears to move towards the idea that the "prince" of tomb 6 in the Heroön was indeed a "basileus"; this is most apparent in the last cited. For the archaeological reports: *idem* 1970 (IV/151); tomb 6: 13ff.; for the status of the dead man whose cremated remains were interred in it, 28; 31.

¹⁹⁶ 1987 (IV/11) 21.

¹⁹⁷ On kings, kingship: II 37ff.; 47ff.; III 65ff.

¹⁹⁸ Snodgrass 1980 (II/184) 28ff.: on the nature and period of this phenomenon (8th century); W. G. Runciman, 'The Origins of States; the Case of Archaic Greece', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24, 1982, 351ff.; V. Ehrenberg, 'When did the Polis rise?', *J.H.S.* 57, 1937, 156. (Snodgrass regards Ehrenberg's study 1960 (III/75) as "the classic account of Greek state forms" and is his principal reference for his discussion of the early polis (28ff.). Cf. Ehrenberg 1960, 11: "... yet it (evidence and argument) establishes the general conclusion that the formation of the polis-town may be dated round 800." and "The type of the Polis was in existence around about 800 B.C." For a new, and rather different, discussion of the "rise" of the polis: F. de Polignac, *Cults, Territory and the Origins of the Greek City State*, Chicago/London, 1995, who has much to say about Eretria and seems to owe much to C. Bérard. Contrary to Snodgrass ('An Historical Homeric Society?', *J.H.S.* 94, 1974, 114 - 125) and G. S. Kirk ('The Homeric Poems as History', *C.A.H.*³, II, 2a, ch. 39b, 1975/80, 820 - 850) who think that Homeric society was a poetic fiction and amalgam, cf. I. Morris ('The Use and Abuse of Homer', *C.A.* 5, 1986, 81 - 138) and K. A. Raaflaub ('Homer to Solon: the Rise of the Early Greek Polis' in M. H. Hansen (ed.), *The Ancient Greek City-State*, Copenhagen, 1993, 41 - 105) who stress the importance of the existence of the polis in Homeros.

¹⁹⁹ Snodgrass 1980 (II/184) 32 - 33, explains fortification of non-mainland settlements such as Smyrna and Iasos as the result of the threat posed by inland native tribes of Asia Minor.

²⁰⁰ On cult: *ibid.* 33 - 34, de Polignac 1995 (IV/198) esp. chs 1, 2; for the assembly: 32; *infra* 129.

²⁰¹ Snodgrass 1980 (II/184) 40ff.

²⁰² *Ibid.* 33.

²⁰³ *Supra* 94ff.; cf. Mazarakis-Ainian: it was, perhaps, the house of a priest-king: 1987 (IV/11) 21.

a role in these events.²⁰⁴ Snodgrass suggests²⁰⁵ that one process by which the polis-state emerged was through what Greeks later called *synoikismos*, a term he acknowledges to be ambiguous: "It covers everything from the notional acceptance of a single political centre by a group of townships and villages whose inhabitants stay firmly put, **to the physical migration of a population into a new political centre, which could be either an existing or purpose-built city.** The crucial element in all cases is the political unification." (My emphasis). Of the first category, the *synoikismos* of the Attike is the best-known early example.²⁰⁶ Of the second, Snodgrass gives no example, yet he must have known of the movement of population from Lefkandi to Eretria (and perhaps also to Khalkis) since he refers - briefly - to Lefkandi during its *floruit*.²⁰⁷ He is naturally unaware of later discoveries at Eretria when he writes: "(If) ninth century Greece lacked sizeable towns . . . there are famous sites - Sparta, Tegea, Mantinea, **Eretria, (etc.) - where, if anyone was yet living, we have not found material trace of them.**"²⁰⁸ (my emphasis), since Themelis' earliest report of ninth century architectural and ceramic remains from the city was not published till 1982.²⁰⁹ However when he wrote, the Swiss excavators' dating of the earliest "Daphnephoreion" to c.800 had not been challenged.²¹⁰ That he was aware of the excavation reports is indicated by his inclusion (as fig. 10) of the Swiss plan of the *temenos* area.²¹¹ Thus Eretria in fact presents most of the conditions, physical, cultural and spiritual, which scholars such as Snodgrass have required for the emergence of a *polis*-state. During the ninth/early-eighth centuries, the Abantic *ethnos* evolved into a group of four principal *poleis* scattered throughout Euboia, and this process was completed by the mid-eighth century at the latest, for

²⁰⁴ *Infra* V, 154ff.

²⁰⁵ Snodgrass 1980 (II/184) 34.

²⁰⁶ And, perhaps, Korinthos: *ibid.* 34ff. Victor Parker has expressed "somewhat heretical" views on the involvement of the process of *synoikismos* in the "rise of the polis" in a note (1997) to me: "I know this (*synoikismos*) is standard in all the books; but how much do we know about the emergence of the polis by means of *synoecism*? *Synoecism* is a well-known phenomenon in the classical and hellenistic periods whereby already existing *poleis* (e.g. Mantinea and Helisson) are merged. I question - I know this is heresy - its applicability to the archaic period; and allege that not one polis is known to have arisen by means of *synoecism*. If you say "Sparta", I will say that the towns out of which Sparta was composed already existed as civic entities before the merger; and that the merger of the four *κῶμαι* finds its parallels with later *synoecisms* of already existing *poleis*. If you say "Athens", I will say that nothing whatever is known of the alleged *synoecism* of Athens - despite its figuring large in all the textbooks. If *synoecism* formed the polis of Athens, this *synoecism* occurred so early that nothing about it can be securely known." But I have already been arguing that the elements that were involved in any *synoikismos* in the Eretrias involved already existing "civic entities" though to be sure, little of their nature can be securely known. Dr Parker plans to present an alternative mechanism for the rise of the polis in the future: namely that *poleis* arise when the *ethne* disintegrate into their constituent parts, and he cites the emergence of 12 *poleis* from the moribund Achaian League in the 4th century. Such a theory would account for the rise of *poleis* out of the Abantic *ethnos* in Euboia, but Dr Parker doubts the existence of such a state in Euboia.

²⁰⁷ Snodgrass 1980 (II/184) 18f. and 21. He cites no literature in his bibliography and notes.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 19.

²⁰⁹ *P.A.A.E.* 1982, 167. *Supra* 90, nn. 98ff.

²¹⁰ *Supra* 94ff. esp. nn. 124; 127; cf. 135.

²¹¹ Snodgrass 1980 (II/184) 59.

when the Euboic colonies were established in the west, and in the northern Aegean, they were remembered as foundations of individual *poleis*, as Aristoteles (ap. Strabon) reports,²¹² whereas in the earlier colonisation of Ionia, the Abantic *ethnos* was involved and not of *poleis*.²¹³ That *ethne* could still be thought of by Greeks as *metropoleis* in the later colonial movement is illustrated by the case of the Akhaioi, who founded Sybaris, Metapontion, and Siris,²¹⁴ so the distinction is significant.

Early Aristocracy: By the eighth century, political power in the new *poleis* was in the hands of narrow aristocratic régimes,²¹⁵ sometimes based on one prominent *genos*, such as the Bakkhiadai at Korinthos, Penthilidai in Mytilene and Basilidai at Erythrai.²¹⁶ Change, I believe, occurred even earlier in Euboia, in the late-ninth century. A catalyst for (result of?) early political "(r)evolution"²¹⁷ there is provided by the first catastrophe at Lefkandí, and the migration to Eretria, the

²¹² Aristoteles ap. Strabon 10, 1, 8 C447: Ἐρετρία μὲν γὰρ συνώκησε τὰς περὶ Παλλήνην καὶ τὸν Ἄθω πόλεις, ἣ δὲ Χαλκίς τὰς ὑπὸ Ὀλύνθῳ . . . ἐστάλησαν δὲ αἱ ἀποικίαι αὐταὶ καθάπερ εἴρηκεν Ἀριστοτέλης, ἦνίκα ἡ τῶν Ἰπποβοτῶν καλουμένη ἐπεκράτει πολιτεία προέστησαν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τιμημάτων ἄνδρες ἀριστοκρατικῶς ἄρχοντες.

²¹³ For the movement to Ionia: supra 105. nn. 178 - 181; II 36f., nn. 98 - 103, V 131, n. 1. Kondoleon 1963/65 (I/28) 12ff.; A. Gwynn, 'The Character of Greek Colonization', *J.H.S.* 38, 1918, 102; Vranopoulos 1987 (IV/34) 35f.; that Euboian Kyme (not Asian) was involved, cf. E. Sapouna-Sakellarakí, 'Ἐβουζή Κῦμη', *A.E.* 1984 [1986] 151ff.; Krause 1985 (IV/1) 17. For Kyme as the northern (Aegean) port of Eretria and terminus of an important trade route to the north-east: Sapouna-Sakellarakí; R. J. Hopper, *The Early Greeks*, New York, 1976, 3; J. B. Bury/R. Meiggs, *A History of Greece*, London, 1981, 74.

²¹⁴ *C.A.H.*³ III, 165 (table). For a view that Metapontion was not a foundation by the Akhaioi but, rather, by Pylian and other Messenian refugees during/after the Second Messenian War: F. Kiechle, *Lakonien und Sparta. Untersuchungen zur ethnischen Struktur und zur politischen Entwicklung Lakoniens und Spartas bis zum Ende der archaischen Zeit*, Munich, 1963.

²¹⁵ Throughout this thesis I have used terms such as "aristocracy", "oligarchy", "democracy", "tyranny" (or a transliteration of the Greek term, e.g.: tyrannis, etc.). Much of the discussion cites Aristoteles. I here concede that his knowledge of political "theories"/conditions in the 6th and earlier centuries may well be suspect. "Demokratia" and "oligarkhia" are first attested in literature as late as Herodotos; "aristokratia" in Thoukydides. But we cannot say too categorically that such concepts did not yet exist in the 6th century (naturally, we do not know much about how people in earlier times conceived of social differences). It is true also that these words were never neutral in meaning and that they carried different overtones depending upon period and user. However, it is difficult to avoid using the terms at all, and one must begin somewhere. Aristoteles is at least closer in time and culture than are we in our modern political environment with 2500 years of extra political baggage. Moreover, I have tried to ground the various régimes, through which the polis of Eretria (and others) evolved, in the economic interests of competing classes. That is how I see the world, and I also think that human nature has changed little over time; there have always (I believe) been people who are and were ambitious, greedy, obstinate, snobbish (and the reverse - though I am also a pessimist!) and that such attitudes have always coloured political behaviour. When we hear that Periandros took aside Thrasyboulos' emissary, and presented him with the allegory of the tall poppies, we too understand immediately what he meant. Its just that modern politicians would probably execute the advice more subtly. In any case, I have tried at all points to make my apprehension of such socio-political terminology as clear as possible. For example, infra 104f. I have used the term "Hippeis" (which by many would perhaps be taken to denote an aristocratic group) to denote the Eretrian (commercial) oligarchy; I have, however, explained how I believe the transformation occurred and why the obsolete (in the Eretrian context) term was still retained by the governing class and thus how it was that the régime was later still called τὴν ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ δ' ὀλιγαρχίαν τὴν τῶν ἱππέων.

²¹⁶ J. Hasebroek, *Griechische Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte bis zur Perserzeit*, I Tübingen, 1931, 73f. The Bakkhiadai of Korinthos seem to have had royal antecedents (Bakkhis) as also the "Basilidai" of Erythrai. Cf. V. Parker, 'Vom König zum Tyrannen', *Tyche* 11, 1996, esp. 172.

²¹⁷ Morris 1987 (III/60) 202ff.

"foundation" of the so-called "first colony of Old Eretria"²¹⁸ c.825,²¹⁹ which was possibly the first *polis* on the island. While the destruction of Lefkandi strengthened the hippobotic tradition in Khalkis, the refugees at Eretria were less likely to have tolerated the exclusive power of either kings or aristocrats for long, not least because the territorial resources of the Eretrian Plain did not produce the kind of very great wealth that Aristoteles believed necessary for maintaining aristocratic power.²²⁰

Literary tradition, however, makes "Eretria", with Khalkis and Magnesia and other unidentified *poleis*, probably Klazomenai and Kolophon,²²¹ paradigmatic of states ruled by horse-rearing aristocracies.²²² But at Eretria this tradition goes back before the destruction of Old Eretria and in reality belongs to the period before the rise to political dominance of the commercial oligarchy. The terms "Hippeis" and "Hippobotai" designate a particular economic/political/social class as Aristoteles²²³ makes clear. Solon used "Hippeis" to designate the second highest census class.²²⁴ Athenian Hippeis had an income equivalent to the value of over 300, but under 500 medimnoi of wheat, but what the Eretrian or Khalkidian criteria were at this or any other time is unknown. However, since the constitution of these states was later remembered by their name,²²⁵ they must have originally constituted the highest class. Aristoteles notes that in early *poleis*, monarchies were generally succeeded by hippobotic aristocracies and he attributes this to the fact that at this stage of their evolution, the chief military strength lay in their cavalry,²²⁶ and it retained a military importance in most parts of Euboia longer than in most central or southern Greek regions, even if by the sixth century, this was largely symbolic: though we hear nothing of the Hippobotai **in action** in Euboia after Theognis' eye-witness account of

²¹⁸ Schefold 1966 (IV/87) 108: for the German text and my translation, supra n. 87; for a report: *A.D.* 20, 1965, Khron. 273 and Auberson/Schefold 1972 (IV/18) 18f. Schefold has been foremost in promoting the hypothesis that Lefkandi-Xeropolis was Old Eretria, cf. his first report in *A.K.* 8, 1965, 104, where he locates Old Eretria at the prehistoric site at Kotroni, east of the later city. This theory was taken up by Coldstream 1977 (III/33) 354. Bérard (who supports Schefold's theory) 1970 (IV/151) 68 n. 26 reconciles contradictory identifications by hypothesising synoikism: "il est probable que la fondation d'Érétrie est le résultat d'un processus de regroupement de bourgades locales préexistantes (cf. *B.S.A.* 61, 1966, 52ff.) comparable avec le synécisme attique; . . . Deux de ces bourgades sont connues: ce pourrait être Lefkandi à l'ouest et Kotroni à l'est, toutes deux pouvant prétendre être considérées comme l'*Ancienne Érétrie* . . .". Also cf. Appendix 7.

²¹⁹ Popham et al. 1980 (Intro./4) 363ff.

²²⁰ *Ar. Pol.* 1289 b 33 - 36: καὶ τῶν γνωρῆμαινεῖσι διαφοραὶ καὶ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὰ μέγεθθ τῆς οἰσίας (οἶον ἵπποτροφίας, τοῦτο γάρ οὐ ράδιον μὴ πλουτοῦντας ποιεῖν). (And amongst the upper-classes, there are also distinctions according to their wealth and the extent of their property [such as horse-raising; it is not easy to do this if you are not **very** rich]).

²²¹ Strabon 14, 1, 28 C643; L. J. Worley, *Hippeis. The Cavalry of Classical Greece*, San Francisco, 1994, 36.

²²² *Ar. Pol.* 1289 b 39.

²²³ *Ar. Pol.* 1289 b 27 - 1290 a 29.

²²⁴ Though Aristoteles (1274 a 20ff.) makes them the third class.

²²⁵ [Ar.] *Ath. pol.* 15, 2.

²²⁶ *Ar. Pol.* 1289 b 36 - 40. Greenhalgh 1973 (IV/162) 82 equates the Eretrian *hippeis* and the Athenian *pentekosiomedimnoi* as the highest class in the state.

the incident at Kerinthos, which I date between 538 and 533,²²⁷ they still appear as an important and imposing component in the procession from Eretria to the temple of Artemis Amarysia near Amarynthos, the most important of the civic festivals at Eretria after the mid-sixth century.²²⁸ Their importance in this religious context undoubtedly reflects their social, if not political, status.

Commercial Oligarchy: While Khalkis long remained controlled by the hippobotic class,²²⁹ its authority at Eretria was probably less, and it did not last long, in a political sense at least. Although the *Athenaion politeia*, describing Peisistratos' arrival at Eretria in 546, says that:²³⁰

Coming again to Eretria in the eleventh year (of his exile), he undertook for the first time to re-establish his rule by force, being supported in this by many . . . amongst whom were **the Hippeis who were ruling** in Eretria,

the régime at Eretria in Peisistratos' time was, in fact, if not in name an oligarchy, and Aristoteles in the *Politika* rightly discusses it in the general context of oligarchies,²³¹ for well before the mid-sixth century, its nature had changed radically from its origin as a government by horse-rearing aristocrats with Lelantine landholdings around Lefkandi. In the early eighth century it may in practice have been as exclusive as governments in the early hippobotic states, although it probably wasn't made up exclusively of landowners. Certainly by the sixth century economic conditions, and therefore the nature of the Eretrian *politeia*, had changed considerably. Aristoteles' account²³² of the fall of the Eretrian oligarchy clearly reveals that it was by then²³³ riven by internal jealousies, suggesting groups with different levels of power and social status, as well as conflicting interests. But we may be permitted to think that, since exclusivity is wont to produce factionalism by

²²⁷ The role of the Hippeis as cavalry in the archaic period is controversial, cf. Worley 1994 (IV/221) 1ff. for a summary of recent positions; Greenhalgh 1973 (IV/162) *passim*, believes that the hippeis generally rode to war, dismounting to fight. Worley makes the cavalry a fighting unit in its own right for our period. On this topic: Theognis 885 - 894; K. Walker, *Revolution and Tyranny: the History of Khalkis. c.540 - 506 B.C.*, 1993.

²²⁸ Strabon 10, 1, 10 C448. For the cult and procession: Walker 1995 (II/15).

²²⁹ In 506, and perhaps in 447/6, the Lelantine Plain was still the "lands of the hippobotai so-called" (Ail. *Poik. hist.* 6, 1); Plout. *Per.* 23, 2 uses an almost identical phrase referring to the ruling group in Khalkis at the time of the Euboian uprising 447/6. Geyer 1903 (Intro./3) 63 believes Ailianos' reference belongs to 447/6, not 506: he regards the outcome of the "Lelantine War", which he dates to an earlier period, as consolidating the control of the hippobotai: 58.

²³⁰ [Ar.] *Ath. pol.* 15, 2: ἵππεξήλθεν καὶ πρῶτον μὲν συνῴρασε περὶ τὸν Θέρμαιον κόλπον χωρίον ὃ καλεῖται Φαίκελος, ἐκείθεν δὲ παρήλθεν εἰς τοὺς περὶ Πάγγαιον τόπους, ὅθεν χρηματισάμενος καὶ στρατιώτας μισθοσάμενος, ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἐρετρίαν (sic.) ἑνδεκάτῳ πάλιν ἔπει τὸ πρῶτον ἀνασώσασθαι βίᾳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπεχείρει, συμπροσθημοιμένων αὐτῷ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων μάλιστα δὲ Θηβαίων καὶ Λιγυδῆμος τοῦ Ναξίου, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἔχόντων ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ τὴν πολιτείαν.

²³¹ Πολιτεία used in [Ar.] *Ath. pol.* 15, 2 and many modern historians; cf. Ar. *Pol.* 1306 b 36: τὴν ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ δ' ὀλιγαρχίαν τὴν τῶν ἱππέων. Also cf. Ar. *Pol.* 1289 b 27ff. "The careful distinction [between aristocracy and oligarchy] is semantic and typical only of an Aristotle." (Parker, note 1997).

²³² Ar. *Pol.* 1306 a 33ff.: (for the Greek text and translation: *infra* VII 193, n. 2).

²³³ After 546 (probably 538; *infra* VII, 198ff.).

its very nature, the Eretrian oligarchy is likely to have experienced the common malaise much earlier than this. If the ruling class at Eretria were in fact originally made up of factions both commercial (with economic power), and landowning (with traditional social *éclat*), it would be surprising if a tendency to division had **not** developed early. But since there was likely to have been a strong merchant component within the ruling class from the beginning, it is unlikely that in Eretria itself there were ever the equivalents of the Boiotian and Khalkidian landowning "gift-devouring *basileis*" of whom Hesiodos complains,²³⁴ though no doubt some rural landlords tyrannised their local peasant population in the countryside.

The hippobotic class in Euboea (and generally) were conspicuous consumers of luxury goods,²³⁵ and excavations at Eretria have revealed the richness of the grave furniture of the wealthy individuals interred at the heroön site.²³⁶ Exiled members of the old aristocracy must have seen that a quick way to renew their fortunes would be to join their commercially-orientated fellow citizens and engage in trade or, possibly, mercenary soldiering. Long before their expulsion from Lefkandí, they would have seen the profits to be made in trade with Levantine emporia like Al Mina and Tell es Sûkâs. We need not suppose that noble "ex-Hippeis" were involved in bargaining in the Levantine souks of Al Mina etc. (at least, not initially), but hippobotic resources very probably were. Thus social distinctions between the old landowning families and the entrepreneurial class would likely have broken down to some degree, as men originally non-noble became rich, and some who were anciently wealthy and of noble family sank into (relative) poverty and obscurity, and so, over time a new ruling-class would emerge, retaining (deliberately adopting?) the old noble class designation, and finally, becoming very rich, indulging in the ancient aristocratic equestrian pursuits as a status hobby; such behaviour is common at all times and in all societies. Such a class would, however, be very different from the traditional Hippobotai of Khalkis, whose main source of wealth was from pastoralism, not commerce. This could not but affect its attitudes. However, old values and traditions do not always simply vanish with the political eclipse of the class that cherished them; the social and political ambitions of the Eupatridai of fifth/fourth century

²³⁴ Hes. *Erg. hem.* 259 - 264: an early cry against injustice and oppression practised by the *basileis* of neighbouring Boiotia: (Loeb text

(Justice) αἰτίκα πάρ Δι πατρὶ καθέζομένη Κρονίων
 γυρίετ' ἀνθρώπων ἄδικον νόον, ὄφρ' ἀποτίσῃ
 δῆμος ἀτασθαλίας βασιλέων, οἱ λυγρὰ νοεῖντες
 ἄλλῃ παρκλίνωσι δίκας σχολιάς ἐνέποντες
 ταῖτα φιλασσομένοι βασιλῆς, ἰθὺντε δίκας
 δωροφάγοι, σχολιέων δὲ δικέων ἐπὶ πάγχυ λάθεσθε.

(sits right beside her father Zeus, son of Kronos, | and tells him about men's evil thoughts until | the Demos pays for the mad folly of the Basileis who, with evil intent, | pervert the course of justice and give crooked judgements. | Guard yourselves, you Basileis who devour gifts,* from these things, | and put aside crooked judgements from your thoughts altogether (*Read: "bribes", as is implied).

²³⁵ O. Murray, *Early Greece*, London, 1988, 75f.

²³⁶ For Lefkandí: Popham et al. 1980 (Intro./4); for Eretria: Bérard 1970 (IV/151) *passim*.

Athenai had not disappeared with the advent of democracy, and many, though by no means all of them, kept their heads down, or played the democratic game, until they judged it expedient to conspire against the hated order.²³⁷ Hippobotic ideals remained significant in Eretrian social and political life to the end of our period, and indeed beyond.²³⁸ Thus, from the eighth to the early sixth century, Eretria was ruled by a narrow oligarchy the purpose of whose government was to perpetuate its own wealth and power. Writing of the Khalkidian hippobotai Strabon's remarks can, no doubt, be applied (and more appropriately) to the rulers of Eretria too:

The régime of the hippobotai so-called was in power; for at the head of it were men chosen according to the value of their property who ruled in an aristocratic way.²³⁹

Subsequent acquisition of land by the upwardly mobile members of the commercial oligarchy is likely: old concepts of landownership as a requirement for full citizenship rights never died out in Greece, and wealth based on land was always regarded as being more respectable socially as Aristoteles more than once implies.²⁴⁰

The organs of the Eretrian government during the period c.825 - c.550 are:

1. THE BOULE (COUNCIL).

In Greek oligarchies, "τὸ *bouleuómenon*" (the power of deliberation; and by extension, the deliberative classes)²⁴¹ was the right of a small number of the citizens and normally resided in the hands of members of a *boule*, "the special organ of

²³⁷ Cf. C. Starr, *The Aristocratic Temper of Greek Civilization*, Oxford U.P., New York, 1992, 26f.

²³⁸ Some idea of the life-style of land-owning aristocrats in archaic times can be gained from the descriptions by Asios (ap. Athen. *Deipn.* 12, 525ff.) and Duris (*FGrH.* 76 F 60) of Samos and Plout. *Ait. hell.* 57. Cf. C. M. Bowra, 'Asios and the Old-Fashioned Samians', *On Greek Margins*, Oxford, 1970, 122ff., describing the Geomoroi there, they resemble the Attic Eupatridai, with their "badge", the gold grasshopper-hairpin; a "tettix-pin", such as was dedicated by the young Kharixenos to the nymphs in Hellenistic Amarynthos: II 25, n. 22.

²³⁹ Strabon 10, 1, 8 C446 (quoted supra n. 212). *L.S.J.* s.v. τίμημα (1794): "in a political sense the value at which a citizen's property was rated for taxation . . . ἡ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων πολιτεία, a government where the magistrates were chosen according to their property, a timocracy." The use of καλουμένη (so-called) seems to suggest that Strabon (or his source) did not really think that the régime was indeed still hippobotic.

²⁴⁰ *Ar. Pol.* 1278 a 25; 1321 a 29 (at Thebai). L. Whibley, *Greek Oligarchies: their Character and Organization*, London/Chicago, 1896/1975, 129: "Moreover, it is clear that when Aristotle mentions the political privileges of the rich, he is thinking of those whose property has been ascertained by the census, and **the same will probably be true of other writers**". In n. 12, he cites Strabon, and says that landed property **must** have been involved. Later (132), he links Eretria and Khalkis as examples of timocratic states. In the late-5th/early-4th centuries, the qualification for voting rights in the Boiotian *boulai* was low at 45 medimnoi, cf. 200 for zeugite status at Athenai (Aristoteles ap. Pollux). J. Moore, *Aristotle and Xenophon on Democracy and Oligarchy*, London, 1983, 129.

²⁴¹ The term, τὸ βουλευόμενον is legislative and administrative: *Ar. Pol.* 1291 a 28ff.; *L.S.J.* s.v. βουλευέω, B. Med. (2) p. 325; Whibley 1975 (IV/240) 140, n. 3.

oligarchic government",²⁴² while "the executive power in the early aristocracies was generally entrusted to a single magistrate whose powers were as unlimited in scope as those of the king"²⁴³ that he replaced. But in Eretria, we are not dealing with a traditional aristocracy, for "new" Eretria probably never had a purely aristocratic political phase. The single magistracy at Eretria may originally, as Knoepfler argues²⁴⁴ (in spite of the complete silence of the epigraphic and literary record)²⁴⁵ have had the title *basileus*, and have later evolved into a college of magistrates (the natural consequence of the increasing complexity of administration of the growing *polis*). Indeed, there was a *boule* in every Greek political entity for which we have evidence bearing on early Greek institutions of deliberation.²⁴⁶ However, I suspect that the silence is not accidental, and by the time the Eretrians were committing records to stone in the sixth century, the name of the *arkhe* had certainly changed.

Early oligarchic councils were invariably small,²⁴⁷ and the contexts of the few mentions of the Eretrian "Constitution of the Hippeis" in ancient writers make it quite clear that it was still very narrow compared with other oligarchic councils at the time of its fall.²⁴⁸ Such conciliar bodies are characteristically composed of members holding office for life.²⁴⁹ The name most commonly applied to them seems to have been *gerousia*: Herakleides Lembos²⁵⁰ reports that the Khalkidian hippobotic régime was made up of *gerontes* over fifty years old. How *bouleutai/gerontes* were selected at Eretria is unknown. Nor do we know what were the powers of the *boule* there, but members of oligarchic councils generally held the highest political privileges of the early *poleis*, so we may be sure they were considerable. The quarrel between Diagoras and the oligarchic régime shows that in the mid-sixth century, real power was still in the hands of an élite, and was sufficiently great to be jealously guarded by those who enjoyed its privileges. Thus the early situation at Eretria in practice can not have been so very different from other contemporary *poleis*.

²⁴² Ibid. 141. Ar. Pol. 1298 a 34: τὸ δὲ πᾶς περὶ πάντων (βουλευέσθαι) ὀλιγαρχικόν. W. L. Newman *The 'Politics' of Aristotle*, Oxford, 1902, vol. 4, 262: "The name Boulê seems, however, sometimes to be applied to Councils not of a democratic character . . .".

²⁴³ Ibid. 141. Cf. H. Bengtson (tr. E. Bloedow), *History of Greece from the Beginnings to the Byzantine Era*, Ottawa, 1969/1988, 60: "A concomitant of the change in terminology - *archon* instead of *basileus* - was an essential reduction in authority."

²⁴⁴ 1986 (IV/183) 334ff. and (by implication) Mazarakis-Ainian, 1987 (IV/11) 18. Supra 95f.; 106f.

²⁴⁵ Ibid. 334: "Il me paraît dès lors très probable, en raison des liens étroits de l'Eubée ionienne avec le monde insulaire (notamment avec Paros et Naxos), que des cités comme Chalcis et Érétrie avaient un *basileus*-magistrat - et/ou peut-être un collège de *basileis* -, et cela malgré le silence actuel de l'épigraphie eubéenne." Cf. Bengtson's comment supra n. 243.

²⁴⁶ S. Oost, 'Cypselus the Bacchiad', *C.P.* 67/68, 1972/73, 11.

²⁴⁷ Whibley 1975 (IV/240) 157: Sparta 30, Knidos 60, Korinthos 80, Elis 90.

²⁴⁸ Supra 112f.

²⁴⁹ Areopagites at Athenai, Gerontes at Sparta. Also at Knidos, Elis, Krete.

²⁵⁰ M. R. Dilts, *Heraclides Lembos Excerpta Politarum*, Durham N.C., 1971, 34f., fr. 63: νόμος δὲ ἦν Χαλκιδεῦσι μὴ ἄρξαι μηδὲ πρεσβεῦσαι νεώτερον ἑτῶν ᾗ. (The Khalkideis have a law that someone younger than fifty cannot hold office or serve on an embassy). The usual translation; but πρεσβεῦσαι might be better rendered here "be on council" (a 'gerōn' in the *gerousia*) since it doesn't seem very likely that Khalkideis under fifty never served as diplomats or on embassies..

It would be of more interest to know whether the Eretrian *boule* delegated authority, and if so, to whom. In later democratic *poleis* *boulai* often became too large to function as an executive without further sub-division. They thus normally formed committees.²⁵¹ The earliest *boulai* were much smaller and may not have needed formal working committees. Nevertheless, some division of executive duties amongst the *bouleutai* is likely, and there was a tendency, not universal it is true, for *boulai* over time to get larger rather than smaller.²⁵² It is thus probable that a small group was charged with probouleutic duties, preparing the agenda for meetings; ensuring that decisions of the full *boule* were carried out, etc. Even such small modern bodies as local councils, seldom larger than 12 to 20 members, form sub-committees: modern aldermen usually have other occupations, and most members of the ancient *boulai* were in the same position, whether they had businesses to manage or large estates to run. They would generally not have been full-time politicians. But any group with probouleutic powers would soon come to exercise a considerable, perhaps an over-riding, influence over the *boule*. These even smaller units of power-wielders were later seen as even less democratic than the *bouleutai* themselves.²⁵³ *Boulai*, in whatever form and under whatever name, in fact tend always to be probouleutic in nature since the actual legislative power is vested in the assembly. This was true for Athenai and also for Sparta, and also for *ethne* (e.g. Aitolia in the second century). *Boulai* existed as early as Mycenaean times,²⁵⁴ and are represented in Homeros as clearly defined institutions.²⁵⁵

THE MAGISTRACIES.

(a) Probouloi:

²⁵¹ Cf. *Prytaneis* of Kleisthenic Council of 500: C. Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford, 1958, 150; Whibley 1975 (IV/240) 163ff. At Korinthos there was a committee of eight: Nik. Dam. *F.G.H.* III, 394, and at Khios there was one of 15: P. Cauer, *Dialectus Inscriptionum Graecarum propter Dialectum Memorabilem*, [2nd. ed.] Leipzig, 1877, 496). In democratic *poleis*, of course, the assembly was sovereign.

²⁵² Whibley 1975 (IV/240) 157ff.

²⁵³ *Ar. Pol.* 1299 b 31 - 39: they check the power of *bouleutai*.

²⁵⁴ Parker, in a note to me, 1997.

²⁵⁵ Note the *γεροντικός ὄρκος* (Hom. *Il.* 22, 119); whether this was an oath sworn by them or before them, it implies the existence of *γέροντες*. Also *Od.* 21, 21: Odysseus sent while still a youth on an embassy by his father, Laërtes, king of Ithake, and the *γέροντες*. Indeed Laërtes himself was given this title (*Od.* 14, 9) as a mark of honour. At *Il.* 2, 53 - 84, the king (Agamemnon) calls a council of "great-souled gerontes. The role of the *boule*/gerousia was discussed at some length by K. Raaflaub in a paper entitled 'Interstate Relations among Early Greek Poleis: Homer and Beyond' delivered at a work-in-progress seminar, *Narrating Antiquity. Epic and History in the Graeco-Roman World*, at the University of New England, Armidale, New South Wales, Australia, 1 - 2 July, 1996. He argued for a more politically significant degree of debate in Homeric society: "In fact, an assembly is called, often combined with a council meeting, and public debate is arranged in a polis, army or band of warriors whenever an important issue requires discussion and decision." (from the abstract of the paper).

The principal magistracy at Eretria in (almost) all periods of its history, and frequently attested from the fourth century onward, was the college of the *probouloi*. Holleaux, discussing the aberration in the development of the Eretrian constitution presented by the sudden appearance and brief duration of *polemarkhoi* as chief magistrates between 308 and 304,²⁵⁶ stresses the special durability and venerability of the *proboulia*: "At Eretria they appeared, indeed, as heads of the State"²⁵⁷ and "presidents".²⁵⁸ I think the tenacity with which Eretrieis in later times clung to the magistracy, whether under democratic or oligarchic régimes, indicates a long-established institution, and Holleaux postulates an early date for it; they were still moving decrees as late as the first century.²⁵⁹ The *proboulia* was considered to be undemocratic,²⁶⁰ but neither was it suitable for aristocracies either, and Aristoteles explicitly contrasts the oligarchic *probouloi* with the aristocratic *nomophylakes*, significantly, unattested at Eretria.²⁶¹ Salmon, writing of Korinthos,²⁶² believes "probouloi are not easily compatible with the aristocratic Bacchiad state: they **belong to a more complicated age** (my emphasis)." Starr²⁶³ thinks Sparta was the first state to introduce a probouleutic council c.650 but it seems to me likely that "*probouloi*" (however named) existed before then.

It may appear rash to deduce the name and existence of the chief magistracy at Eretria in the Archaic period from fourth century inscriptions, but it was actually a comparatively rare *arkhe*; apart from Eretria, *probouloi* "have their one appearance at Athens and appear in scattered instances in Corinth and her north-western colonies. In the Aegean their main home is Euboea,²⁶⁴ and apart from one Hellenistic

²⁵⁶ M. Holleaux, 'Note sur un décret d'Érétrie', *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques*, Paris, I, 1938, 56, n. 1. Eretria then a member of the Boiotian Federation and adopted its chief magistracy.

²⁵⁷ G. Glotz, *The Greek City and its Institutions*, London, 1929, 88.

²⁵⁸ Ibid. Glotz cites C. Michel, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques* (one vol. with two supplements) Paris, 1899/1927, no. 345, l. 28f. (= IG XII 9, 211) τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν αἰεὶ προκα ἢ θημένην which he interprets as "presidents"; however, **probouloi are nowhere mentioned in this particular inscription**, and he might better have cited IG XII 9, 236, l. 47 where a similar phrase is used specifically of the probouloi (τοῖς προβούλοις τοῖς αἰεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντας).

²⁵⁹ IG XII 9, 234. Perhaps the Boiotoi felt the institution was so nationally-oriented they abolished it.

²⁶⁰ *Ar. Pol.* 1299 b 38f.

²⁶¹ *Ar. Pol.* 1323 a 8f.: οἱ μὲν νομοφύλακες ἀριστοκρατικόν, ὀλιγαρχικόν δ' οἱ πρόβουλοι. (Nomophylakes are aristocratic; while the probouloi are oligarchic).

²⁶² 1986 (IV/86) 205, n. 79 cf. Schaefer *R.E.* s.v. 'πρόβουλος': "Ich sehe keinen Grund, daß diese Einrichtung nicht schon vor den Tyrannen bestanden hätte, so wenig über die Verfassung Korinths in der älteren Zeit Genaueres auszusagen ist. (Suppl. Bd. IV 1013). Dafür, daß bereits vor dem Tyrannensturz die Institution des π. bestand, spricht auch ihre Existenz in Korkyra (IG IX 1, 682 . . .). Zwar tauchen sie dort in Verbindung mit den πρόδικοι (IG IX 1, 682) oder den Strategen auf (IG IX 1, 688), d. h. Beamten, die offenkundig jüngeren Ursprungs sind." He offers no comment at all about the (probable) Eretrian presence on the island; indeed his coverage of the institution at Eretria itself is very brief. On this, cf. E. Will, *Korinthiaka. Recherches sur l' Histoire et la Civilisation de Corinthe dès Origines aux Guerres Médiques*, Paris, 1955, 609ff.

²⁶³ C. G. Starr, *The Origins of Greek Civilization*, London, 1962, 346.

²⁶⁴ Schaefer (*R.E.*) erroneously, misunderstanding M. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, vol. II: from 403 to 323 B.C., Oxford, 1968, 124f. (no. 141) whom he believes says the magistracy existed at Histiaia; in fact Tod says those responsible for administering the provisions of the treaty at **Keos** (ll. 17ff) were "the council(?), the πρόβουλοι (cf. IG XII 5, 647 ll. 2; 6), the ἀστυνόμοι

appearance at Chalkis (IG XII 9, 207₅₉), one highly dubious (IG XII 9, 2₂), and one Hadrianic appearance (IG XII 9, 11₁₁) in Karystos, **they are characteristically an Eretrian magistracy.**"²⁶⁵ (My emphasis). Upon examination however, the "Khalkidian" evidence turns out to be an inscription originating at Eretria itself, so the intrusion of an **Eretrian** constitutional term into an inscription engraved at Eretria by an Eretrian mason by error for the equivalent Khalkidian magistracy cannot be ruled out. *Probouloi* also occur at Keos in conjunction with another specifically Eretrian constitutional term; this will be important in my argument for their existence at Eretria before the fourth century. A group of eight magistrates styled *epimenieuontes*²⁶⁶ in an inscription of the third century²⁶⁷ are (I think correctly) equated by its editor without reservation with *probouloi*.²⁶⁸ But another²⁶⁹ **of the late-sixth/early-fifth century** has an ἐπιμηνεούρης φυλῆς (gen. sing.), surely to be equated with the magisterial group: the *epimenieuontes* are likely at this time to be the *probouloi* of the "prytanising" tribe, the "prytaneis" for a (conciliar?) month. If so we are taken back to the early fifth century for *probouloi* at latest.²⁷⁰ But for further evidence of *probouloi* at Eretria earlier than the sixth century, we must embark upon an excursus into the "foreign relations" of Eretria during the seventh century.

Firstly, there were *probouloi* at both Korinthos and Kerkyra. This is of interest, for Ploutarkhos²⁷¹ tells us Korinthos colonised ("took over" is perhaps more appropriate) Kerkyra - previously an Eretrian colony, probably during the Kypselid

(cf. no. 162, l. 17) and one other body of magistrates, perhaps the νομοφύλακες." while on 124 he says the responsible magistrates at Histiaia were the στρατηγοί (treaty, ll. 6 - 11). The same error made by Glotz 1929 (IV/257) 88, who says, without any evidence, that *probouloi* at Histiaia "possessed executive functions" (citing Michel, *R.I.G.* no. 402, ll. 6, 14 etc.; IG XII 5, 594, l. 19). C. Lécrivain in C. Daremberg/E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, Graz, 1963, 660, s.v. *Probouloi* (it follows an article by Glotz!) also errs. Both inscriptions from **Keos** (the latter being that published as Tod, 141; the former a decree of Koressos referring to *probouloi* from there in a context with no connection with Histiaia).

²⁶⁵ D. M. Lewis, 'The Federal Constitution of Keos', *B. S. A.* 57, 1962, 3.

²⁶⁶ VIII 236ff.; 242.

²⁶⁷ IG XII Suppl. 555.

²⁶⁸ Papadakis 1915 (II/228) 174: "Ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν παρὰ τῷ ἄρχοντι συναναγραφῆν τὸ ἀπλοῦστατον εἶναι ὡς ἐπιμηνεύοντας" νὰ ἐκλάβωμεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς πασιγνώστους προβόλους τῆς Ἐρετρίας."

²⁶⁹ IG XII Suppl. 549.

²⁷⁰ There is no specific literary or epigraphical evidence for the *proboulia* earlier than the 4th century. Whether Knoepfler has any unpublished inscriptional material, I know not. Kondoleon 1963/65 (I/28) 39 claims evidence from an inscription of the 5th century (now dated more probably to the late-sixth: infra n. 321), though there is, in it, (B. C. Petrakos, 'Dédicace des Aeinautai d'Érétrie', *B.C.H.* 87, 1963, 545ff.) no mention of *probouloi* or *proboulia* in any form (for *aeinautai*: infra 126f., nn. 320 - 325); I think Knoepfler is right however to presume the institution behind ἐπιμηνεύοντες in IG XII Suppl. 555 and ἐπιμηνεύουρες in 549 is the *proboulia*, cf. Petrakos 545: "Il est certain que le décret n'appartient pas à l'époque où Kéos était soumise aux Érétriens (Strab. X, 1, 10); **mais on ne saurait guère douter que l'institution des magistrats dont nous venons de citer les titres ne remontât jusqu'à ce temps-là.**" (My emphasis). As in all studies of this early period, Kondoleon relies on rather sparse evidence. Some central planks of his argument are now proven incorrect, following the discovery of new epigraphic evidence.

²⁷¹ *Aut. hell.* 11.

tyranny; the literary date is 734²⁷² - whereupon the Eretrieis sailed home, only to be confronted and driven off by a barrage of "missiles"²⁷³ and compelled to set-off once more, finally settling at Methone. But must we necessarily assume that **all** the Eretrieis were ejected, or might a number have acquiesced in the prospect of Corinthian rule, and remained? Eretria seems to have bequeathed to (imposed on?) her colonies the names and probably the forms of her constitution, particularly of her chief magistracy. It is unlikely that the eighth century Eretrieis had acquired their *probouloi* from Korinthos; rather we may ask whether the Korinthioi later adopted them from Eretria via their new acquisition, Kerkyra? Salmon²⁷⁴ thinks that *probouloi* at Korinthos date only from Kypselid times, and that it was then that Kerkyra was won.²⁷⁵ Despite the short duration²⁷⁶ of the Eretrian colony, the Korinthioi would have found a functioning administrative system, no doubt with a *boule* and *proboulia* modelled on that of the *metropolis*. **If** the Eretrieis introduced *probouloi* to Kerkyra, then the magistracy must have already existed at home before 734 when their colonists were expelled.

Secondly, according to Strabon, at some time during the Archaic period: "[the Eretrieis] ruled over the Andrioi, Tenioi, **Keoi** and people of other islands."²⁷⁷ But when? The archaeological record says Zagora on Andros was certainly a Euboian

²⁷² Strabon 10, 1, 15 C449: there was a "Eubolia" in Kerkyra. For Eretrians at Kerkyra: V 140ff.; Appendix 2. Contra, W. Halliday, *The Greek Questions of Plutarch*, Oxford, 1928, 63f., doubts whether the passage is good evidence for Eretrieis in Kerkyra: "I am personally among the sceptics." For inscriptional references to *probouloi* at Kerkyra: IG IX 1, 682; 688. For the Προστάτας of the *probouloi* at Kerkyra: *R.E.* s.v. πρόβουλοι 1229, 35f. (Schaefer); *Inscr. v. Magnesia*, 144, 2.

²⁷³ On missiles: infra V 140; 148. Τηλέβολα, is a generic term for any long-range weapons, it is used in the Eretrian convention-stele quoted by Strabon 10, 1, 10 C448 [cf. Appendix 8], but not by Ploutarkhos; who uses rather the more specific compounds of σφενδονέω, i.e. slings. Perhaps even at this early period, the Eretrian army had a body of slingers (cf. Lorimer 1947 [II/105] 118) and this needs to be remembered when we discuss more fully the pact prohibiting "missile weapons" in warfare between Eretria and Khalkis. We need to ask ourselves *cui bono*? But the convention only applied to warfare between Eretria and Khalkis; the Eretrieis would not have been breaking the convention (if it yet existed) here, since the "enemy" were their own returning colonists. As far as I am aware, no commentator on the convention has used this passage in Ploutarkhos. On the stele: infra nn. 284 - 286 and Appendix 11: the terms used in Polybios, ἀθήλοις βέλεσι and ἐκβόλοις, define more clearly what was meant by τηλεβόλα: "invisible missiles", e.g. arrows and sling-shots, because they cannot be seen being fired and whose point of origin is not immediately known. On the other hand, one can see who is casting spears, which are thrown from the ranks before battle. Philippos II of Makedon (with a black sense of humour) labelled his lead sling-shots so the enemy did indeed know whose "gift" they were!

²⁷⁴ 1986 (IV/86) 40, n. 265.

²⁷⁵ Ibid. 205 n. 79. Schaefer, *R.E.* 23, (1957) 1222: the *probouloi* were a Bakkhiad institution, **because** the office is found on Kerkyra (IG IX, 1.682), cf. Glotz 1929 (IV257) 88 who thinks they, along with the *prostatas*, went from Korinthos to Kerkyra.

²⁷⁶ A. Spetsieri-Choremi, *Ancient Kerkyra*, Athens 1991, 6: founded in the mid-8th century, ended in 734. The Eretrian town was on the Hyllaian Harbour: map (p.) 7 (map reproduced V 141).

²⁷⁷ Strabon 10, 1, 10 C448: (text supra n. 65). Other islands: supra n. 65; J. L. Myres, 'On the List of "Thalassocracies" in Eusebius', *J.H.S.*, 26, 1906, 98: Paros an Eretrian dependency picked up from Naxos. If so, it was probably during the late-6th cent.: infra IX 254. Though the article by Myres is considered out-dated (for a critique: Jeffery 1976 [II/224]: her Appendix III, 252 - 253), it does contain much of interest to me, because it concedes (as does also his larger work, *Herodotus, Father of History*, Oxford, 1953 [II/221]) a much more important role to Eretria than has generally been admitted up to now.

emporion abandoned in the mid-seventh century, with its apogée rather earlier.²⁷⁸ Geopolitical considerations incline us to Eretria as the settlement's *metropolis* and Strabon's reference to Eretrian hegemony over Andros clinches the matter. If the "empire" was flourishing then, as some think,²⁷⁹ Eretrian influences are likely to have entered Keos at about that time. In the Hellenistic period Keos was a federation of four *poleis* and its constitution included *probouloi*.²⁸⁰ Dunant/Thomopoulos,²⁸¹ discussing an isopolity treaty between this federation and Eretria, which also mentions as a Keian territorial division the *khoros*, note that both *probouloi* and *khoroï* are characteristically Eretrian terms and ask whether they are a "lexical survival of Eretrian domination", for it is striking that not only the typically Eretrian magistrates, but also the territorial divisions occur also at Keos; these in fact are the **only** two places where this usage of the latter term occurs.²⁸² If Eretria ruled Keos in the seventh century, it would suggest an early date for the existence of both *probouloi* (and *khoroï*). Lewis, however, thinks these "Eretrian" influences came to Keos as late as the Euboian Revolt of 411 against Athenian rule.²⁸³

The reference to Eretria's maritime empire comes directly after Strabon's description of a stele, which he (or his source, Ephoros) saw in the temple of Artemis Amarysia at Amarynthos, detailing the military resources Eretria was capable of committing to the festival-procession in honour of the goddess: 3000 hoplites, 600 Hippeis and 60 (presumably ceremonial) chariots, a not inconsiderable force since it is not a full wartime muster but for a religious procession.²⁸⁴ The juxtaposition of these items may be the result of Strabon's belief that they are related in both a military and chronological sense.²⁸⁵ The stele implies that at the time, *hoplites* were

²⁷⁸ Supra 77, n. 40 (especially); 81f., nn. 58 - 62.

²⁷⁹ Descoeudres 1973 (IV/59) 88; C. Dunant/J. Thomopoulos, 'Inscriptions de Céos, I: Traité d'isopolité', *B.C.H.* 78, 1954, 320.

²⁸⁰ Decree of Koresia: IG XII 5, 647; (= Boeckh, *C.I.G.* 2360; W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*¹, Leipzig, 1915 - 20, no. 348) cited by Holleaux 1938 (IV/256) 56, n. 1 as referring to πρόβουλοι.

²⁸¹ Dunant/Thomopoulos 1954 (IV/279) 320: "À Corésia (one of the Kean poleis) par exemple, certains magistrats portaient encore (i.e. into the Hellenistic period) un titre caractéristique d'Érétrie, les πρόβουλοι. De même, le terme de "choros,, qui apparaît dans notre inscription peut-être **une survivance dans le vocabulaire de la domination érétrienne.**" (The text of the inscription is translated infra VIII, 232; for the Greek text: 227, n. 32). The political ramifications of this text are discussed infra VIII 227ff.

²⁸² But cf. Lewis 1962 (IV/265) 2 and Gehrke 1988 (I/17) who argue against *khoroï* as *districts*. Note also the "Eretrian-type" formula in IG XII 5, 647; Also infra VIII, 227ff.

²⁸³ Lewis 1962 (IV/265) 3, nn. 24ff.

²⁸⁴ Strabon 10, 1, 10 C448. From the statistics on the stele, M. B. Sakellariou, in *The Archaic Period*, Athenai, 1971, 252 estimates the population of Eretria, when the stele was erected, at c.50,000. Knoepfler 1985A (II/200) 243ff. calculates the total number of hoplites c.5000 (and of citizens between 5 and 10,000: "Il devait en effet y avoir alors à Érétrie entre 5,000 et 10, 000 citoyens, tandis qu'Athènes, on le sait, en comptait environ 21,000 sous Démétrios de Phalère."; i.e. c.500 Hippeis.

²⁸⁵ W. Forrest, 'Colonization and the Rise of Delphi'. *Historia* 6, 1957, 167 denies its authenticity. Walker 1990 (IV/32): argues for accepting it as genuine, even if what Strabon (or his source) saw was a copy, as discussed in Appendix 8). For evidence from the Eretrian corpus for the practice of duplicating decrees placed in the temple of Amarysia at Amarynthos: IG XII 9, 236/IG Suppl. 553. The numbers are particularly notable: Athenai turned out just 8000 hoplites at Plataia, a later, life-and-death

the largest group in the Eretrian military forces.²⁸⁶ *Hoplites*, as the **principal** military arm, would not sit entirely comfortably with a seventh century (or earlier) date. We are moreover dealing with an inscribed political stele; can we really believe that such a document existed from the seventh century?²⁸⁷ Thus I prefer a sixth century date for the stele, and consequently, that the "empire" still endured then. If the conclusions of the excavators of Zagora are accepted, Eretria was involved there in the late-eighth century. For the appearance of *probouloi* at Eretria, we are now looking at the mid-sixth century at the latest, and perhaps the eighth century as the earliest date.

Strabon mentions "other islands" besides Keos, Andros and Tenos.²⁸⁸ Eretrian expansion eastward must have taken her also to Karystos, and to postulate that the latter too was incorporated for some time into the "empire"²⁸⁹ might explain the shadowy presence there too of the *proboulia*. If Karystos were incorporated within Eretria's sea-empire, this could only have occurred early, and the seventh century would be the latest likely period. There is some evidence that could support such a hypothesis: Geyer wrote that the Petalai islands "always" belonged to Karystos,²⁹⁰ but later accepts that they "might have" belonged to Eretria by the third century.²⁹¹ He cites no evidence for Karystian control (and I do not think any exists) so he appears to be relying on geographic proximity. However inscriptions published as an addendum to IG XII 9²⁹² after Geyer's study, reveal that Eretria in some way²⁹³ presumed to exercise naval control over the waters around, and so probably over, these islands. Thus if Geyer's **belief** that Karystos originally controlled the Petalai

affair, Sparta 5000, Korinthos 5000, Megara 5000. Eretria and her dependencies only 600, but that was **after** her destruction in 490. Khalkis, which was not destroyed, sent but 400 men: Myres 1953 (II/221) 387; A. Lloyd, *Marathon*, London, 1975, 176f. Salmon 1986 (IV/86) 165ff.: thinks 3000 is the likely "full levy" in Korinthos during the 5th century; he emphasises importance of hoplite class as a factor in the considerable power of this city in archaic times and the farming sector from which they were drawn in producing the wealth which gave the city the epithet for which it was famous.

²⁸⁶ In c.590 (V 167f.), cavalry was apparently the mainstay of the Eretrian army against Khalkis. Of course, the number given in the stele may not reflect the actual comparative effectiveness of cavalry as against infantry at any given period. However, the worsening of hippobotic Khalkis' cavalry by the Eretrian is significant.

²⁸⁷ But cf. Jeffery 1961/90 (II/211) 82: "There are no epigraphic records from the protracted struggles of the Lelantine War; the only inscription which is certainly as early as the Seventh century is that on a small aryballos attributed to Eretria (22). The literary tradition records, however, that in the precinct of Artemis at Amarynthos near Eretria, there was a stele which preserved a military compact between Chalkis and Eretria during that war, of which an actual phrase is apparently quoted: 'μή χορήσθαι τῆλεβόλοις'." (her note 22: "Imitation of PC aryballos by Pyrrhos, son of Agasileos; c.650? *S.G.D.I.* 5292.").

²⁸⁸ *Supra* n. 277.

²⁸⁹ Wallace 1936A (Intro./1) 95 thought it was.

²⁹⁰ Geyer 1903 (Intro./3) 117.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.* 118. References: VI 174, n. 23.

²⁹² Detailed notes; bibliography/notes: Appendix 10. Cairns (1991) and E. Vanderpool/W. Wallace, 'The Sixth Century Laws from Eretria', *Hesperia* 33, 1964 accept the restoration (originally of Hiller) in l. 11 of Π[ε]ταλάς.

²⁹³ VI 174; 176ff. *passim*; 183ff..

Islands is true, Eretria had wrested them from the Karystioi before 550/525, to which period these inscriptions belong.²⁹⁴

There is also evidence²⁹⁵ of warfare between Karystos and Miletos, Eretria's ancient ally, while Miletos was still ruled by kings.²⁹⁶ At such an early period, if Miletos had captured Karystos she would have been unable to hold such a distant place, and may have handed it over to her Euboian ally, which may itself have played an active role in events. Eretrian expansion to the south-east involving Karystos is also suggested by Pap. Oxy. XXX, 2508, attributed by its editor to Arkhilokhos, but which I believe is a fragment of a local epic dealing with events on the border of the Eretriás with Karystos. As West remarks, elegiacs "are often chosen for longer poems, **especially ones drawing on sub-heroic legend.**"²⁹⁷ (My emphasis). Examination of the text, and Lobel's restorations, show that the lexicon and allusions are thoroughly "Homeric": the τετράφαλον, a four-crested/horned helmet; ἀσπίδας ἀμφιβρότας, large shields of pre-hoplite style covering the greater part of a man's body (cf. the smaller hoplite *porrax* shield that Arkhilokhos himself jettisoned²⁹⁸) and we may here specially note the breast-covers which also occur in the *Iliad* in a specifically Abantic/Euboian context. Ἀνάκτορον hints at the existence of a *wanax* (at Eretria probably, or Karystos?).²⁹⁹ Whether the poem is a fragment of a lost local

²⁹⁴ Vanderpool/Wallace 1964 (IV/292) 390; Jeffery 1960/90 (II/211) 84. *Infra* VI 179, n. 23; 183ff.

²⁹⁵ Konon (*FGrH* 26 F 1 section 44) in Photios, *Bibliothēke*, 140a (cited: IG XII 9, Test./Not. 146): ἦσαν δ' αἰτίοις τότε δύο πόλῃοι Καρυστίοι καὶ Μηλιεῖσι (sic) Λεοδάμας δὲ λαμπρῶς κατὰ Καρυστίων ἀνδραγαθήρας καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἑλὼν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀνδραποδισάμενος, Μιλήτου ἑπανδὸν κατὰ τὰ συγγεμμένα βασιλεύει. αἰχμάλωτον δὲ κατὰ χρησμὸν γυναῖκα Καρυστιανήν . . . μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἀναθημάτων ἡ δεκάτη τῶν λαφύρων ἐτίγγανον, ἀνέπεμψεν ἐν Βραγχίδαῖς. (There were two wars between the Karystioi and the Milesioi. . . . Leodamas, having fought very bravely and taken the city by storm and enslaved it, returned to his city, Miletos, and became its *basileus*. He sent, as was customary, a captive Karystian woman, along with many other offerings, being a tithe of the spoils, to Brankhidai (the temple of Apollo). G. Huxley, *Early Sparta*, London, 1962, 35.

²⁹⁶ Late-8th century: Huxley 1966 (II/100) 50; C. Thomas, 'From Wanax to Basileus. Kingship in the Dark Age', *Hispania Antiqua* 6, 1978, 187; Jeffery 1976 (II/224) 210: "all this must have happened before the end of the seventh century, and may have begun at its start." But Drews 1983 (II/211) 17ff. dismisses this as fable, and denies existence of kings at Miletos in the Geometric period (20). On the Milesian *basileia*: N. Erhardt, *Milet und sein Kolonien*, Frankfurt/Berne, 1983, 203ff. The later we down-date this incident the more likely we are dealing with a *basileus-magistrate*, similar to the *arkhon-basileus* at Athenai or *rex sacerdotum* at Rome. This is by no means to be ruled out, especially in view of the references in the story to the temple at Brankhidai and the offerings to the god. Further on Leodamas: *FGrH*. 90 F 52 (Nik. Dam.).

²⁹⁷ M. L. West, *Introduction to Greek Metre*, Oxford, 1987, 80. Note in this context the gloss in *Suidas* s.v. Σμωνίδης. Καρύστιος ἢ Ἐρετριεὺς ἐποποιός. Is it a fragment of one of his (unknown) epics? Leskhes of Mytilene (*fl.* 660 - 657: Euseb. *Khron.* Ol. 30) referred to Amphidamas and Eretrians in the *Ilias Parva* attributed to him: Plout. *Hepta soph. deipn.* 153F. Another possibility is Kreophylos of Samos (Khios?).

²⁹⁸ *Infra* V 157. Lorimer 1947 (II/105) 122 (commenting on similar language in Tyrtaios 11 [Loeb] 21 - 24): "At one period, and one only, in the history of Greek warfare was such a shield in use" i.e. the 16th and 15th centuries.

"epic" or the work of a later poet such as Arkhilokhos³⁰⁰ is impossible to say, but it does refer to S.E. Euboia, and in a very early period. It may depict an attempt of Karystos to free herself from Eretrian rule, or of Eretria to assert control, perhaps in conjunction with the Milesian attack; or it may merely reflect the traditional hostility between neighbouring Greek states at any period. It is testified epigraphically and in the literary record³⁰¹ that Eretria and Karystos later shared the great festival of the pre-Greek goddess Artemis Amarysia. Even in classical times, the Karystia was Dryopian³⁰² but pre-Greek toponyms in the Eretriás, especially in the adjacent districts suggests that the inhabitants of the whole area east of the city shared a common ancient culture including cults such as that of Amarysia. A perceived common heritage perhaps facilitated Eretrian political aims, but if Eretria seized the

²⁹⁹ E. Lobel (ed.) *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Pt. 30, London, 1964, 2ff.: 2508 (?Archilochus) Elegiacs: text, here spaced, accented etc. with the ed's supplements and two of my own:

Text	Notes
<p>] ην τετράραλον κινέην or κόρυθα¹ σὶν] τοῖσιν ἔβη ταχύς] εν γὰρ τοῖτ' ἔπος ἀϊδήσας²] σιν ἕνα πρόμον³ ντ] ἀσπίδας ἀμφιβρότας⁴] τεινησ⁵ Καρυστίων τὸν χώρον⁶ Ἐρετριέων] ν ἔργον ἐμήραττο⁷ ἀντιπάλων βοιοῖν ἐπι] ης ἐπ' (vel) ἔς ἀνάκτορον or ἴησι⁸] δυσμενέων ει] υσαμεναδι] ωνδ' εἶπε τάδε ἐνιοπὴν⁹ θωρήκιων¹⁰] ν ἄνδρα διξι] ς ἐχέτω δόμοισιν¹¹] ανερα τω σφι </p>	<p> 1. τετράραλον with κινέην (Il. 12, 384); with κόρυς [acc: κόρυθα] (Il. 11, 351; 13, 131; 22, 315: - "frequent in Hom. esp. Il." [LSJ]). 2 My suppl.: Il. 19, 407; Od. 5, 334. 3 πρόμος: Il. 7. 75. 4 ἀμφιβρότης (w. ἀσπίς) Il. 2, 389; 11, 32. Dr Parker has doubts concerning this restoration: "hardly certain!" 5 τεινω in Hom. to express spread of combat. 6 Hom. = "spot", "region" (Il. 13, 473; 21, 262) BUT N.B.: significance of term in Eretrian context, i.e. a technical term for a territorial region, cf. ed. 4, n. 7: "χώρον Ἐρετριέων would be a phrase to which I can find no parallel, though Herodotus has τῶν Θηβαίων τοὺς χώρους (ix, 15)." 7 Il. 2, 360: to plan shrewdly (cf. Odysseus). 8 My suppl. ἀνακτορίησι: Od. 15, 397 "belonging to the (w)anax" 9 "tumult" (joined with μάχη in Il. 16, 782). 10: "breastplate", "chest / thorax". In Il. 2, 544 in Abantia context: αἰχμηταὶ μεμαῶτες ὄρεκτῆσιν μελίησι / θάρησιν ῥήξειν δητῶν ἀμφὶ στήθεσσι. 11 δόμος: "hall" Od. 1, 126, "temple" Od. 4, 834; 7, 81; 11, 627. Household: Aiskh. <i>Kho.</i> 263; Soph. <i>O.K.</i> 370; Eur. <i>Or.</i> 70; one's father's house: Aiskh. <i>Pr.</i> 665: ἔξω δόμιον τε καὶ πάτρας ὄθειν ἐμέ </p>

Lexical references in the table are from G. Autenreith, *Homeric Dictionary*, London, 1984, and *L.S.J.*

³⁰⁰ Arkhilokhos has described the warlike "spear-famed lords of Euboia" fr. 3: J. M. Edmonds, *Greek Elegy and Iambus* II, (Loeb) London/Cambridge Mass., 1979, 98f.; text: V n. 196.

³⁰¹ Inscription from Karystos: *R.E.G.* 1932, 217 (re-ed. D. Knoepfler in: 'Karystos et les Artemisia d' Amarynthos', *B.C.H.* 96, 1972, 283ff. with commentary). Livius 35, 38, 3: "Sacrum anniversarium eo forte tempore Eretriae Amarynthidis Dianae erat, quod non popularium modo sed Carystiorum etiam coetu celebratur." (At exactly that very moment there was taking place at Eretria the annual festival in honour of Artemis Amarynthis in celebration of which participated not only the inhabitants of this city but also those of Karystos). The events in Livius took place in 192, on which cf. S. C. Bakhuizen, *Salganeus and the Fortifications on its Mountains*, Chalcidian Studies II, Groningen, 1970, 133ff. On the joint celebration of the festival: Knoepfler in detail.

³⁰² Thouk. 7, 57. (quoted Il n. 83). Il 33ff.

Petalai Islands in the mid-sixth century,³⁰³ then that may be when Eretria and Karystos parted ways.³⁰⁴

Revenons à nos *probouloi*! There is thus a strong possibility that Eretria gave the name and function of her chief magistracy to her dependencies Kerkyra, Keos (and perhaps Karystos) some time between the early-seventh and, at the latest, the sixth century. After 490 Eretria controlled no Aegean empire and was in no position to influence the constitutional arrangements of anyone else.³⁰⁵

If the functions of the *probouloi* revealed in the epigraphical record provide any clue as to their earlier duties,³⁰⁶ and in the unspecialised governments of the pre-classical period these must have been wide-ranging, then their powers were great; later they had the duty of registering public acts in the city archives, and of administering that record; they order the proclamation of awards, administer the ceremonies admitting the epheboi to citizen status, and receive the oaths of citizens whenever the city is undertaking some solemn engagement; they preside over the relations of Eretria with the outside world and so exercised great influence over foreign policy; they directed, at least in part, the administration of public finances. So much for their executive role. In the legislative field, they prepared the business of the assembly and presided over the *boule*. In addition, they had the right to present, on their own initiative and authority, drafts of decrees on all matters touching the interests of the state. This right alone conferred great power; other magistrates, e.g. the *strategoï*, could, it seems, present motions only conjointly with them and with their assistance. Thus the *probouloi* in classical and Hellenistic times were indeed, to borrow the phrase the Eretrians themselves frequently used in their decrees, the ἀρχὴ τῶν ἀεὶ προαθημένων. But the adverb ἀεὶ also suggests an *arkhe* whose authority, anciently conferred and still active, is taken for granted by anyone perusing the laws;³⁰⁷ was there ever a time (the "average citizen" may have wondered) when there was no authority of the *probouloi*?³⁰⁸

Any check upon their powers rested with the *boule*. However, they were appointed by and from it, and worked with it as their name suggests. The archaic *boule* being itself in any case a very exclusive body, there was not likely to have been much conflict between the two groups, especially in early times. The *probouloi* were, theoretically, supposed to execute the will of the *boule*, which had acquired more or

³⁰³ 1903 (Intro./3) 117.

³⁰⁴ But cf. VI 174; 183ff. and esp. VII 208f.

³⁰⁵ The only suggestion of a later possibility: Lewis 1962 (IV/265) 3, n. 27.

³⁰⁶ Note the caution, expressed supra n. 270.

³⁰⁷ "The authority duly constituted for the time being": e.g. IG XII 9, 211. 'Αεὶ is generally "ever", "always", but in the Eretrian inscriptions, it has the force of: "for the time being". Also at Athenai: [Ar.] *Ath. pol.* 30, 2. But it implies great antiquity and permanence, and so can mean "forever": *L.S.J.* s.v (26). Infra 127, n. 322 for another interpretation of ἀεὶ. Kondoleon 1963/65 (I/28) 6ff.: discussion of ἀεὶ in this context.

³⁰⁸ For a list of decrees (known to 1938) mentioning probouloi and their functions: Holleaux 1938 (IV/256) 47 - 50 (decrees), 50 - 51 (duties and powers).

less total control over the political mechanisms of the emerging *polis*. But we may be quite sure that they had great input into the formulation of the opinion of the *boule* on any question at all; it is possible - probable even - that the *probouloi* effectively made the policies emanating from sessions of the *boule*. For, as Aristoteles observed, "whenever both these authorities (exist conjointly) **the *probouloi* take precedence over the *bouleutai***"³⁰⁹ by the inherent natures of the offices. This was doubtless the case in archaic Eretria.

When, in the 530's, the oligarchy was finally overthrown at Eretria, the tyrant Diagoras may himself have taken the title "*Proboulos*" to confer its ancient dignity upon his upstart power: much later, the philosopher, Menedemos, a respected citizen and member of the ancient *genos* of the Theopropidai, which appears to have had a religious role at Eretria similar to that of the Attic *gene* of the Eumolpidai, Kerukes and Eteoboutadai,³¹⁰ and friend of the Makedonian king, Antigonos Gonatas, received this title when he assumed responsibility for the direction of the affairs of the *polis*.³¹¹ Another, archaic, parallel may be provided by Kypselos, who, Oost argues, adopted the royal title "*Bakkhis*".³¹² However it is more likely that his actual title was *prytanis* or *basileus*.³¹³

The *arkhe* of the *proboulia* must have chosen one of its number to be *arkheproboulos*, attested epigraphically at Karystos, though of late date,³¹⁴ and he would have become the eponymous magistrate for a year. The shipping laws, dated c.550/525 mention an *arkhon*:³¹⁵ the *arkhon* may have been *de facto* *arkheproboulos*. Later, *arkhontes* are inscriptionally attested at Eretria,³¹⁶ while Homeric Elephenor is

³⁰⁹ Ar. Pol. 1299 b 36: ἀλλ' ὅπου ἄμφο ἀίται αἱ ἀρχαί (i.e. the *probouloi* and the *bouleutai*), οἱ πρόβουλοι καθεστάνιν ἐπὶ ταῖς βουλευταῖς

³¹⁰ Knoepfler 1986 (IV/183) 391, n. 39; Vial's review of Knoepfler's Ph.D. thesis: 1984 (II/150) 242.

³¹¹ Diog. Laert. 2, 141 - 142: γράψαι ψήφισμα αἰτῶ (to king Antigonos Gonatas) Μενέδημος ἀπλοῖων τε καὶ ἀκόλακων. οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ πρόβουλοι εἶπον... (Menedemos drafted a decree in his (Antigonos') honour which was both simple and devoid of flattery, which began as follows: the generals and *probouloi* have moved . . .), i.e. Menedemos himself composed the decree and had it moved by his colleagues.

³¹² Oost, 1972/73 (IV/246) 10ff. The name of the last king of Korinthos. Some consider Diagoras to have been contemporary with Kleisthenes the Athenian reformer, and of the same ilk. If so (it is not my view) he may have kept the existing magisterial titles *probouloi* and *stratego*i after his reforms as did Kleisthenes the *arkhontes* and *stratego*i at Athenai.

³¹³ *Prytanis* was the title of the chief executive at the end of the Bakkhiad régime: Diod. 7, 9, 6; Paus. 2, 4, 4. Nik. Dam. *F.Gr.H.* 90 F 57, 1; 6 (from Ephoros?) says that Kypselos was a *basileus*. Oost, 1972/3 (IV/246) 10 believes that *prytanis* and king were one and the same person.

³¹⁴ IG XII 9, 11 (Hadrianic period).

³¹⁵ IG XII 9, 1273/1274 l. 5. M. Grant, *The Rise of the Greeks*, New York, 1987, 118, n. 5: the "shipping law of c.525(?) gives the title of Eretria's principal official as 'archos'." However, the inscription has the genitive form ἀρχ[ο]ντος for the chief magistrate. The form ἀρχός does occur, but it refers to "magistrates" (acc. pl. in acc./infinitive construction: "the magistrates are to act . . .").

³¹⁶ E.g. IG XII Suppl. 555 (ll. 54 - 56):

54 ἀρχοντος Αἰσχύλου, γραμματεῦντος Θεάγου, ἐπιμηνιεύοντων

55 Σακρίτου, Κλειτάρχου, Εὐθιππίδου, Ἡράκωντος, Πλοιπαρχίδου,

56 Φιλίππου, Ἀπολλοδώρου, Τιμμανιδριίδου, ἔφηβοι ἀνεγράψαντο . . .

Inscription dated by von Gaertringen to third century. It was used by Kondoleon to make his case for the number of *probouloi* during Hellenistic period.

called "*arkhós*". We find also an *epistates* of the *probouloi* in a third century decree, perhaps the actual title of Menedemos' superior office.³¹⁷

How many *probouloi* were there? Kondoleon discusses at great length the number of *bouleutai* and *probouloi* in the Hellenistic period. It now seems unlikely that his arguments will hold up. If his arithmetic (based on **three** tribes) were correct, we would have 108 *bouleutai*, too many I think (whatever might be the situation later) for the archaic *boule* which was almost certainly smaller and much less structured than his model.³¹⁸ I do not see why the traditional four Ionic (expanded later into eight "reformed") tribes can not be reconciled with groups of eight *epimenieuontes*; why not two *epimenieuontes* per Ionian (or later one per "reformed") tribe in each prytanic group plus an (eponymous) *arkhon* elected/chosen separately, giving (as he wishes) groups of nine *probouloi* (*epimenieuontes*)?³¹⁹ I think that the earliest *proboulia* would probably have had four members, one for each Ionic tribe, with one chosen (eponymous) *arkhon* for the year, decisions being issued ἐπὶ τοῦ δεινῶς ἄρχοντος καὶ τῶν δεινῶν συμπροβουλευόντων or some similar formula.

One purpose of Kondoleon's paper was to prove that the term *aeinautai* was applied to the *probouloi* at Eretria (i.e. that they constituted a magistracy).³²⁰ It occurs in the dedication of a Herm-stele dated c.510 - 500.³²¹ His long and complex

³¹⁷ IG XII 9, 225 (third century). *L.S.J.* s.v. ἐπιστάτης, III: president of a board of assembly; at Athens, ἔ. τῶν πρυτανείων, chairman of the boule". The epistates of the probouloi would likewise have been chairman of the boule at Eretria. Kondoleon 1963/65 (I/28) 43f. sees prytaneis and probouloi as very similar, if not identical (particularly the prytaneis of east Greek states, e.g. Miletos). Knoepfler 1986 (IV/183) 334, draws attention to "l'apparition à l'Eretrie de la prytanie dans une inscription inédite (another!) du IVe s. avant J. -C." It is not possible, without seeing it, to estimate the implications of this discovery, but for Kondoleon's view that in practice the probouloi = prytaneis, the prytaneis must now become the ἐπιμηνιεύουρες. Aristoteles *Pol.* 1305 a 15ff.: ἐγίνοντο δὲ τυραννίδες πρότερον μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν καὶ διὰ τὸ μεγάλας ἀρχὰς ἐγκρατίζεσθαι τισιν, ὥσπερ ἐν Μιλήτῳ ἐκ τῆς πρυτανείας (πολλῶν γὰρ ἦν καὶ μεγάλων κίριος ὁ πρύτανις). (And tyrannies occurred in olden times more than now because important offices used to be entrusted to certain men, as, for example, at Miletos, a tyranny arose from prytany [for the prytanis had control over many important matters]). The tyranny here referred to is undoubtedly that of Thrasybulos. Kondoleon is probably right, but how we will now explain the term *prytanis* at Eretria will pose problems! Miletos too had epimenioi: R. Meiggs/D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century*, Oxford, 1989, 147, no. 43. Regarding prytaneis in Kerkyra and Samos: Kondoleon, 88, n. 14.

³¹⁸ 1963/65 (I/28) 30ff. His argument produces 108 *bouleutai* (eleven 'prytanic' groups of nine plus one of eight, which provided the eponymous *arkhon*). The group 'in prytany' were the *probouloi*, holding office for a month; there were thus nine *probouloi* (or eight for the group supplying the eponymous *arkhon*) at any one time. The other groups awaiting their turn (or who had done duty) were the *epimenioi*. However, two unpublished inscriptions in the hands of Knoepfler, reported 1985B (II/207) 52, reveal the name of a second Eretrian tribe, thus destroying Kondoleon's argument for his hypothetical names of two of his three tribes. II 51, n. 200. Also VIII 231f. F. Cairns, 'IG XII Suppl., 555, Reinmuth no. 15 and the Demes and Tribes of Eretria', *Z.P.E.* 64, 1986, 156, n. 16.

³¹⁹ Papadakis 1915 (II/228) 174. I discuss the tribes *infra* VIII 231f., 235f.

³²⁰ Plout. *Ait. hell.* 32. Miletos was of course Eretria's ancient ally. For epigraphical evidence for the *aeinautai* at Eretria: Petrakos 1963 (IV/270) 545ff.; *ibid.* 'Χρονικά: Ἐρέτρια - Εἰβουά', *A.D.*, 17, 1961/2, 144ff., refs in Kondoleon 1963/65 (I/28) 3, n. 1: "Βεβαίως δὲ ὁ θεσμός ἦτο παλαιός." Also IG XII 9, 909 and 923 (Khalkis). On the origins of the *aeinautai*: M. T. W. Arnheim, *Aristocracy in Greek Society*, London, 1977, 53f.

³²¹ *Infra* fig. 59. *S.E.G.* 1984, 235 (item 898). A. Ritsonis, 'Ein Hermstele aus Eretria', *A.A.A.* 17, 1984 [1985] 147 so dates it on the basis of the herm-stele found in 1977 and associated with the

argument is that a "new" class (which he also calls "*aeinautai*"³²²) rose to power in the seventh century (thus at least implying an early supplanting of hippobotic power KW), usurping the hitherto exclusive position of the "Hippeis" in the government of Eretria, and then later evolved, via becoming a tribe, into a *de facto* body of magistrates,³²³ the *probouloi* being also called *aeinautai* during the period(s?) when Eretria was ruled in the interests of the merchant class (as at Miletos, where *aeinautai* indeed were an *arkhe* associated with the party of *Ploutis*³²⁴ [Wealth], an oligarchic faction). His arguments fail to convince; I seriously doubt that there ever was a "tribe" or "class" called *aeinautai* at Eretria, or that it gave its name to a homonymous magistracy equivalent to the (for him, later) *probouloi*,³²⁵ because I believe that the mercantile nature of the ruling group at Eretria was established almost from c.825 when the first refugees arrived from Lefkandí. The *Aeinautai* were possibly a mercantile *Koinon* (corporation).³²⁶

Later, Eretria had *demarkhoi* who were *deme* officials with religious duties;³²⁷ whether they existed in any form in archaic times is unknown; they probably did.

Other officials that are attested in the epigraphical record at Eretria in the fourth and later centuries, and which may have had their counterparts, at least in the democratic period, are: the *politai*,³²⁸ the *logistai*,³²⁹ the *tamiai*³³⁰ and, interestingly, in view of the evidence for an early Eretrian dramatic output from the (anciently) famous playwright Akhaios,³³¹ *khoregoi*.³³²

inscribed base; cf. its publisher, Petrakos 1963 (IV/270) 545: late-fifth century (Kondoleon 1963/65 [I/28] 39 agrees).

³²² Usually construed "the ever-sailors"; Kondoleon, however, interprets ἀεί as an early adverbial equivalent of ἐπί and thus ἀειναύται = those who act "on behalf of" sailors; cf. supra n. 307.

³²³ Kondoleon 1963/65 (I/28) 4f.

³²⁴ On the *aeinautai* at Miletos cf. Plout. *Ait. hell.* 32. N. Robertson, 'Government and Society at Miletus, 525 - 442 B.C.', *Phoenix* 41, 1987, 380ff. who identifies the *aeinautai* with *epimenioi* (ἐπιμήνιοι). and it should be noted that at Eretria, the *probouloi* (or some of them, perhaps those of the tribe 'in prytany' to use an Athenian manner of expression,) are mentioned inscriptionally (IG XII Suppl. 549: Μεταετδ || ος φιλεε : επιμενι || ευουρεε : ...). On the Eretrian *probouloi*, supra IV 117ff.

³²⁵ Kondoleon 1963/65 (I/28) passim. Hesykh. s.v. considers *aeinautai* an *arkhe*, though this is probably in response to Plout. *Ait. hell.* 32.

³²⁶ Petrakos 1963 (IV/270) 545; Papadakis 1915 (II/228) 161, n. 1.

³²⁷ IG XII 9, 189₂₃₋₂₅: τὸν δὲ ἀγόνα (the Artemiria games) τιθόντων οἱ δῆμι || ἀρχοὶ ὡς ἂν δύνανται δικαιοῦτα καὶ ζημιούντων || τὸν ἀτακτέοντα κατὰ τὸν νόμον. They also appear in a religious context in IG XII 9, 90 from Tamynai; the *demarkhos* is here threatened with penalty to be levied by *hieropoioi* if he neglects to enforce an oath on unknown defaulters.

³²⁸ IG XII 9, 194.

³²⁹ IG XII 9, 236.

³³⁰ IG XII 9, 192.

³³¹ He may have been as early as the late 6th century; he was considered to have been one of a canon of five great tragedians (Aiskhylos, Sophokles, Euripides and Ion of Khios) and second only to Aiskhylos as a writer of satyr-plays. He is usually dated to the early 5th century. Cf. D. F. Sutton, *The Greek Satyr Play*, Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie, Heft 90, Meisenheim-am-Glan, 1980.

³³² IG XII 9, 207.

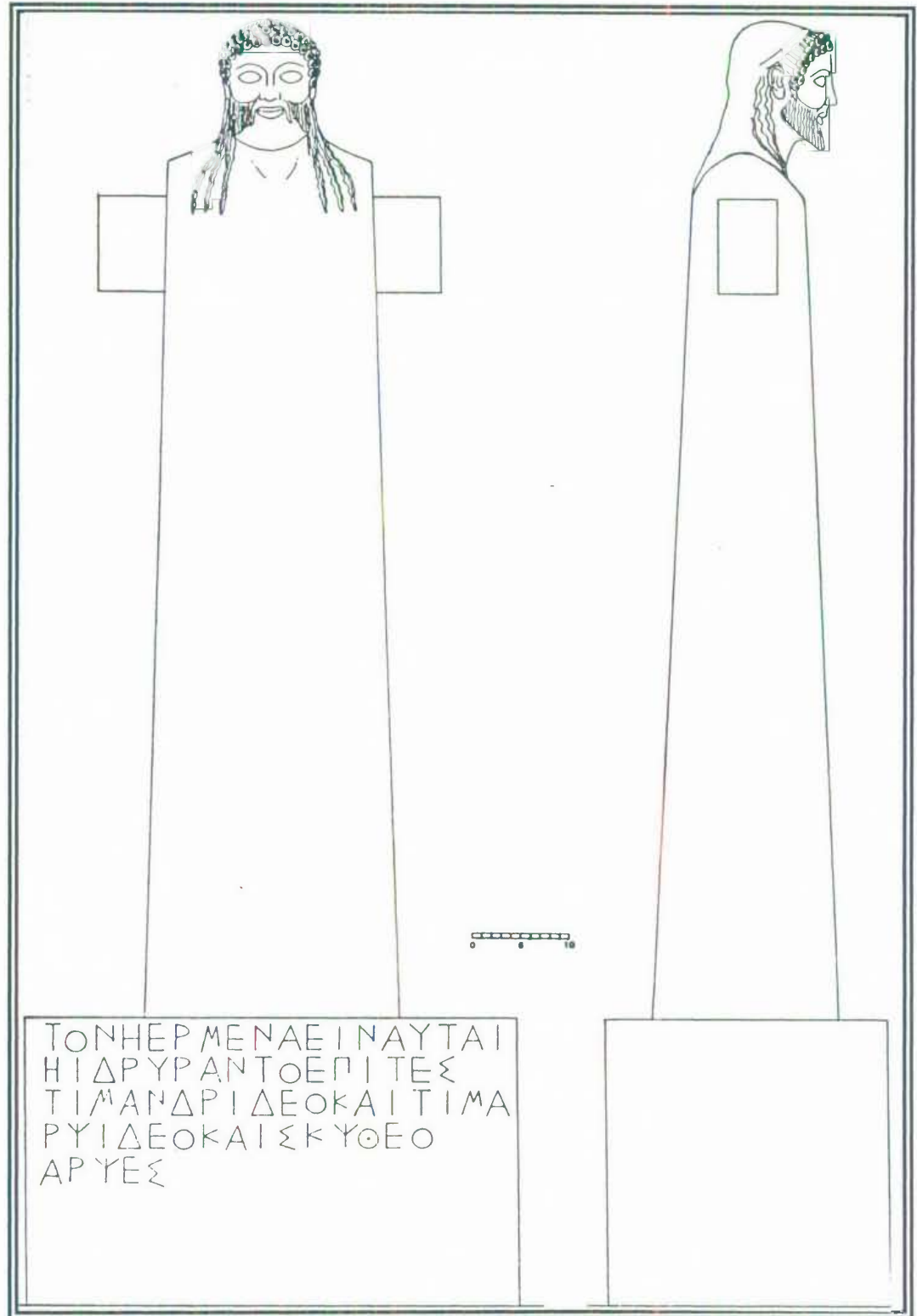


Fig. 59: Diagram by T. Hatzitheodorou (*A.A.A.* 17, 1985, 145) of the Herme-stele (no. 11436) with the inscribed base which Kondoleon believed indicated an *arkhe* of the *aeinautai*: ΤΟΝ ΗΕΡΜΕΝ ΑΕΙΝΑΥΤΑΙ || ΗΙΔΡΥΡΑΝΤΟ ΕΠΙ ΤΕΣ || ΤΙΜΑΝ||ΔΡΙΔΕΟ ΚΑΙ ΤΙΜΑ || ΡΧΙΔΕΟ ΚΑΙ ΣΚΧ<Υ?> ΘΕΟ (sic) || ΑΡΧΕΣ.

(b) Military Officials:

At Eretria we hear of both *strategoí* and *polemarkhoi* but again the evidence is late.³³³ Both are likely to have had archaic antecedents; one (or more) of the *probouloi* may well have been chosen in the early period as *polemarkhos* (-oi). I have argued elsewhere³³⁴ that the on-going Lelantine War meant Eretria would seldom have been without the need for war-leaders. Aristoteles says that the original justification of the "Constitution of the Hippeis" was that cavalry provided the military strength of the state; there may thus also have been a *hipparkhos*, given its early importance.³³⁵ Thus a *polemarkhos* (and/or *hipparkhos*?) appointed from the *probouloi*, together with a board of *strategoí* (one for each of the Ionian tribes?) to direct the state-at-war is a possible conjecture. There were certainly *strategoí* in Hellenistic Eretria³³⁶ when they appear in a political context, acting in concert with the *probouloi* moving decrees. It is likely that Eretria would have had a board of *strategoí* earlier than this but of it we know nothing. The decree cited for *hipparkhoi* also mentions *taxiarkhoi* (commanders of tribal levies at Athenai). Likewise, there may have been (probably were) senior naval magistrates in the late-sixth century when Eretria was a significant naval power, and the ships provided her principal military force: *trierarkhoi* are likely, for Eretria was using triremes at least as early as 499 as Herodotos tells us.

THE ASSEMBLY.

Snodgrass thinks possession of an *ekklesia*, however rudimentary, was a distinguishing feature of the emerging *polis*-state of the eighth century,³³⁷ and I think that there was an assembly of some sort in every early Greek state, *ethnos* or *polis*. The coming together of all tribesmen or townsmen would (necessarily) have to precede any officials, however they may have been chosen. The assembly in the

³³³ I have mentioned the brief appearance from 308 - 304 of *polemarkhoi*: supra 117.

³³⁴ Walker 1990 (IV/32): "the Lelantine War" not a single episode or confined within a narrow chronological period but continued, sometimes desultorily; sometimes as a war of Pan-Hellenic proportions from the heroic age and even earlier to 506. Most scholars do not share this view. Geyer 1903 (Intro./3) 42, has a bet each way: *the* war not earlier than 730 (foundation of Pithekoussai), when the two states apparently in harmony: Strabon: 10, 1, 11 C448, but later they fell out: 5, 4, 9 C247: Πιθηκούσας δ' Ἐρετρίεις ὄκησαν καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς, εὐτυχήσαντες δι' εὐκαρτίαν καὶ διὰ τὰ χρυσεῖα ἐξέλιπον τὴν νῆσον κατὰ στάσιν . . . (Pithekoussai was founded by the Eretrians and the Chalkideis, who, though prospering there on account of the fertility of the soil and the gold mines, abandoned the island on account of a quarrel . . .). This coöperation, in my opinion, was only temporary. But earlier (41) Geyer accepted the ongoing rivalry between Eretria and Chalkis: "Certainly more wars broke out between the two neighbour-cities." (My translation).

³³⁵ Newman 1902 (IV/242) 561. For *probouloi* and *strategoí* acting conjointly at Eretria: IG XII 9, 217 (3rd cent.): οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ πρόβουλοι εἶπαν; on *polemarkhoi*: Holleaux 1938 (IV/256) passim. *Hipparkhoi* at Eretria c.341/40: IG II², 230b (Athenian treaty with Eretria).

³³⁶ IG XII 9, 191 A₄₄; 205/6; 209; 212; 217; 219.

³³⁷ 1980 (II/184) 32.

ethne and in Homeros is too common to be considered as a later development. But in the earliest times, I doubt there would have been any assembly of any real authority at Eretria to check the power of the magistrates or *boule*.³³⁸ Early assemblies normally had the final and absolute power of decision-making, but this does not mean that they had any real power; one need only consider the evidence of the Spartan Great *Rhetra*³³⁹ or, for that matter, the role of the Queen who, under the Australian constitution, has the final and absolute decision-making power. Real power lay in the hands of those who could place specific proposals before the assembly. But the right to discuss and formulate policy in the assembly? I think not. Homeros makes the real position clear in his picture of Thersites and Odysseus at the assembly of the Akhaioi. He presents a picture of an early assembly of the "citizens", where they are called together to listen to and, if necessary, be berated by the *basileis* and nobles, and allowed to express their approval (but not their disapproval!) by shouts.³⁴⁰ The role of the lower classes tended to be further reduced as the early monarchies evolved through the stages of aristocracy and oligarchy. Possibly the only real power exercised by an assembly would have been the final voice in deciding peace or war, as was the case of the Spartan *ekklesia* ("*apella*"). For the existence of an assembly at Eretria before the late sixth century we have no evidence; in later Eretrian inscriptions, the assembly is implied in the rubric "the *Demos*": the earliest decree (late-sixth/early-fifth century) has a democratic preamble: ἔδοχσεν τα βολαι και τα δέμοι.³⁴¹ In a late decree,³⁴² it is called *ekklesia*, perhaps under Athenian influence.

³³⁸ Whibley 1975 (IV/240) 142, n. 8: "But however constituted, the powers of the assembly were inconsiderable beside those of the council, and the oligarchs carried into effect their theory of specialisation of authority, of efficiency, secrecy and despatch by delegation the duties of government to small councils or to the magistrates."

³³⁹ Additions to the *ρήτρα* indicate the loss of what *κυρία* and *κράτος* the assembly previously had. Plout. *Lyk.* 6, 4 quotes the *rhetra* as preserved in Tyrtaios: οἱ βασιλεῖς τάδε τῇ *ρήτρα* παρενέγραψαν: 'Αἱ δὲ σκολιὰν ὁ δᾶμιος ἔλοιτο, τοῖς πρεσβυγενέας καὶ ἀρχαγέτας ἀποστατήρας ἡμεν,' τοῦτ' ἔστι μὴ κυροῦν, ἀλλ' ὅλας ἀφίστασθαι καὶ διαλύειν τὸν δῆμιον. (The kings [Polydoros and Theopompos] inserted this clause into the *rhetra*: "But if the people should adopt a crooked motion, the elders and the kings shall have the power of adjournment", that is, should not ratify the vote, but dismiss outright and dissolve the [session of the] assembly.)

³⁴⁰ Hom. *Il.* 2, 188ff. (and esp. 211ff.). Also 3, 205 - 224; 11, 138 - 142 (Trojan). On an important role for the assembly in Homeros: Raaflaub 1996 (IV/255); P. Carlier, *La royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre*, Strasbourg, 1984; contra M. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*², London, 1977, 78 - 83; 113 - 116.

³⁴¹ IG XII Suppl. 549; IG XII 9, 187B; 196; 197; 198 etc.

³⁴² IG XII 9, 232 l. 6.