

Khalkodon) had ruled a territory which included several important regions, he probably would have been called '(w)anax'. In later times, the Thessaloi had a "national" war-leader called *tagos*, whose office was hereditary, but also semi-elective; the status of the Khalkodontid rulers of the Ábantes may have been similar. "It does not seem doubtful, therefore, that the tradition concerning the Ábantes represents a Pan-Euboian ethnic unity, and, at the same time it indicates, up to the first mention in Homeros and Hesiodos, the hegemony of Khalkis in this unity."¹⁰⁸

Their main territory, as with the Kouretes, was on the Lelantine Plain,¹⁰⁹ from where they extended their control over the island. They most likely arrived from Boiotia, seizing the coastal lands directly opposite; the Euripos has in all ages been the easiest point of entry. Geyer¹¹⁰ thought they were "Arkhaio-aiolians", originally from southern Thessalia and Phokis. Ploutarkhos¹¹¹ reports that at one time Euboa, or part of it, was inhabited by Aioleis, and it also seems clear from the context that he thought this was just before the arrival of Kothos and Aiklos who, as sons of Xouthos were descendants of Erekhtheus of Athenai by his daughter Kreousa, and so "brothers" of Ion who gave his name to the Íones;¹¹² Ion in this tradition is also father

fragment of his lost Σκάρου D. I. Page (ed./tr.) *Select Papyri III: Literary Papyri: Poetry*, (Loeb), Cambridge Mass /London, 1970, 20 - 21, representing him as friend of Akhilleus' son Triptolemos, who seeks refuge with him in the "glens of Euboa".

¹⁰⁷ The name has obvious echoes of Khalkis. Mythology and link with the (later?) famous metal-working industry of "Copper City"(?): A. Mele, 'I Ciclopi, Calcodonte e la metallurgia calcidese', *Nouvelle contribution à l'Étude de la société et de la colonisation eubéennes*, Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard, VI, Naples, 1981, 9 - 33. Supra n. 28.

¹⁰⁸ Mele, 1975 (II/20) 16 (my translation): he strongly supports the concept of Abantic unity in Euboa and even of "Abantic" settlements in Epeiros, and the primacy of Khalkis; 17: he assumes an Iron Age setting for this unity; 16: and believes that Skyros was a "colony of Khalkis" (founded by Ábantes *en route* to Khios? KW). G. L. Huxley 'Mycenaean Decline and the Homeric "Catalogue of Ships"', *B.I.C.S.* 3, 1956, 26 - 27: regards the catalogues in the *Iliad* as reliable guides to political realities at the end of LM IIIC. An epigram from Khalkis (IG XII 9, 954₁₂; W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften; Grab-Epigramme*, Chicago, 1988 no. 755 l. 9, dated [IG XII 9, 117] to the time of Philon, founder of the so-called Fourth Academy [159 - 80]) refers to the soil/land of Khalkis as βῶλος (or κόνις) Ἐλεφνηοῖς (sod/dust of Elephenor), so the association of the Abantic leader's name with Khalkis was still strong enough at that time to be used as a definitive epithet.

¹⁰⁹ Geyer 1903 (Intro./3) 36. Whether we can take the fact that Homeros places the cities of Khalkis and Eretria first as evidence of this, as Geyer does, seems doubtful to me, but the fact that in later times, Khalkis still preserved the name in its tribe Abantis is better evidence. The archaeological record favours this interpretation; the area was also vital for trade with Boiotia, and control of the rich Lelantine Plain would have been a major attraction for any invader.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 36. He cites G. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* I², 289; E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, 191f.; J. Töpffer, in *RE* s.v. Abantes and U. v. Wilamowitz, *Philol. Untersuch.* I, 204.

¹¹¹ Plout., *Ait. hell.* 22: . . . Κόθος καὶ Αἰκλος οἱ Ξούθου παῖδες εἰς Εὐβοίαν ἤκον οἰκήσοντες, Αἰολέων τότε τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς νήσου κατεχόντων. (Kothos and Aiklos, the sons of Xouthos, came to Euboa to live at a time when the Aiolians occupied the greater part of the island).

¹¹² Cf. *infra* Stemma I. Apollod. 1, 7, 3: Ion son of Xouthos and Kreusa; Plout. *Ait. hell.* 22 (supra n. 111): Aiklos and Kothos were sons of Xouthos; Ellops, the son of Ion: Strabon, 7, 7, 1 C321; 10, 1, 3 C445; 10, 1, 8 C446; Vell. Paterc. 1, 4; ps.-Skym. 575; Alkman fr. 66. Aiklos and Kothos first founded Eleutheris in Boiotia and then went to Euboa to found Eretria and Khalkis: Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἐλευθερίς. K. Schefold/D. Knoepfler, 'Forschungen in Eretria, 1974/1975', *A.K.* 19, 1976, 56 - 57; *S.E.G.* 1982, item 855: report the *horos* of a temenos of Kothos, 'oikistes' of Khalkis at **Eretria**; R. J. Buck, *A History of Boeotia*, Calgary, 1979, 79: "Eleutheris (sic) was the foundation (or birthplace) of Kothos and Aiklos, who are commonly held to be the founders of Eretria, Cerinthus and sometimes Chalcis", citing Strabon 10. 1, 8 C446, but overlooking Ploutarkhos for Kothos at Khalkis; J. Toepffer, *Attische*

of Ellops. Xouthos, representing an earlier "generation", was brother of Aiolos, eponym of the Aiolieis, i.e. he precedes Kothos/Aiklos (who were Íones, despite their "barbarian" names). Later writers did not consider that the Ábantes were Íones.¹¹³ But they were probably Aioleis. Strabon¹¹⁴ cites Aristoteles¹¹⁵ that the Ábantes issued from Abai in Phokis, and that they proceeded to re-colonise Euboia and rename the (existing) inhabitants after themselves; he is supported by Arrianos.¹¹⁶ In later times, the dialect of Phokis had Aiolic features.¹¹⁷ "Mycenaeans" also used a form of the Aiolic dialect, at Mykenai itself and at Pylos, as well as at Thebai.¹¹⁸ But Abantia/Amantia,¹¹⁹ a district in Epeiros, might also claim to be the original homeland of the Ábantes, given the many links between Euboia and Epeiros, and especially considering Fossey's¹²⁰ assertion that Abai was uninhabited until Geometric times. There is yet another tradition which makes them descendants of the

Genealogie, Berlin, 1889, 164 stresses the importance of the mythological connections of the N.E. coastal region of Attike with Euboia and Boiotia (infra VI 174, n. 21; VII 212, n. 114; Appendix 11). Busolt I² 1893 (II/110) 206. Buck, 78f., nn. 30; 31; 39ff.: describes the ancient links between these localities in more detail. Strabon 9, 1, 6 C393 assigns Euboia to Lykos, son of Pandion. Cf. also L. R. Farnell, 'An Unrecorded Attic Colony in Euboea?', *C.R.* 20, 1906, 28.

¹¹³ Hdt. 1, 146; Paus. 7, 2, 3; 7, 4, 9.

¹¹⁴ Strabon, 10, 1, 3 C445: φησὶ δὲ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐξ Ἄβας τῆς Φωκικῆς Θράκας ὀμηθέντας ἐποικῆσαι τὴν νῆσον καὶ ἐπονομάσαι Ἄβαντας τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτῆν.

¹¹⁵ He is probably the local historian, Aristoteles of Khalkis (4th century). For Abai: V. W. Yorke, 'Excavations at Abae and Hyampolis in Phocis', *J.H.S.* 16, 1896, 291 - 312 (with little reference to the pre-classical period); J. M. Fossey, *The Ancient Topography of Eastern Phokis*, Amsterdam, 1986, 78 - 81; 95 (there is nothing on the site earlier than Geometric/Archaic); *R.E.* s.v.

¹¹⁶ Arrian. ap. Eustath. *ad Dion. Perieg.* 520.

¹¹⁷ C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects*, Chicago, 1928/1955, 156 [Item 229].

¹¹⁸ J. Chadwick/M. Ventris, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*², Cambridge, 1973, 74f.; V. Georgiev, *Issledovaniya po sravnitel'no-istori českomu yazykoznaniiyu*, Moscow, 1958 69 (cited in A. Bartoněk, 'Mycenaean Kone Reconsidered' in L. R. Palmer and J. Chadwick, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies*, Cambridge University Press, 1966, 95, n. 2; cf. also Bartoněk himself: loc. cit. and, in the same collection, a paper by Georgiev, 'Mycénien et Homérique: le problème du digamma' (104 - 124) conclusion (122) arguing for influences by both proto-Aiolian (earliest phase of the formation of the Mycenaean *koine*) and proto-Ionian (later). J. Chadwick, 'The Descent of the Greek Epic', *J.H.S.* 110, 1990, 174 - 177 written in reply to M. L. West, 'The Rise of the Greek Epic', *J.H.S.* 108, 1988, 151 - 172, believes that some figures in Homeric epics go back to Minoan/Mycenaean times; but he argues for a separation between Mycenaean, (now seen by him as related to Arkado-Kyprian), Aiolic, and Ionic strata in the poems, (and incidentally, assigns an Euboic origin to the *Odyssey*) cf. W. F. Wyatt, 'Homer's Linguistic Forbears', *J.H.S.* 112, 1992, 167 - 173 who says that proto-Ionic and proto-Aiolian are **not** very different. Also: M. Ruiperez, 'Le dialecte mycénien', *Acta Mycenaea* I: Proceedings of the Fifth International Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies, Salamanca, 30 Mar. - 3 Apl., 1970, University of Salamanca, 1972, 136 - 169. Dr V. Parker says that "Aeolic is much closer to Doric than Ionic and Mycenaean's descendants Arcadian and Cyprian." On the other hand, cf. Buck (II/117) 7 (pace Dr Parker!) who classifies Aiolian as an East Greek dialect, and Chadwick/Ventris (supra) 74, who point out the difficulties of "reconstructing a common Aeolic from dialects which have been strongly influenced by West Greek." (in **later** times; Buck comments on later heavy influence from the same source). On Mycenaean words referring to Euboia: A. Hurst, 'Ombres de l'Eubée? (Quelques mots mycéniens)', *Eretria* V, 1968, 7 - 11.

¹¹⁹ Probably a barbarised form of "Abantia". For Abantis in Thesprotia: *R.E.* s.v. Amantia; Abantis. Paus. 5, 22, 4 uses "b" not "m". J. Wilkes, *The Illyrians*, Oxford, 1992, 96; map 3 (cf. infra V 146, n. 104); A. Plassart, 'Inscriptiones de Delphes: la liste des théorodokes', *B.C.H.* 45, 1921, 22 - 23: has theorodokoi from Abantiai.

¹²⁰ Fossey 1986 (II/115) 95.

Argive Abas, son of Lynkeus and Hyperm(n)estra.¹²¹ This link is supported by the sharing of toponyms (Euboia, Oinoe, Larisa, Erasinos etc.) and pottery-types with the Argolis. There are also other genealogies in our sources, the most interesting, perhaps, that he was the son of a certain Khalkon (an ancestor or alternative form of Khalkodon?). There is thus much confusion of traditions concerning the origins of the Ábantes.

THE ERETRIÁS IN THE MYCENAEAN AGE (LH II/IIIC)

I have hitherto placed the name "Khalkis" in inverted commas and, in geographical groupings, included Lefkandí in the Eretriás. This now requires explanation. Lefkandí is on the Lelantine Plain, between modern Khalkis and Eretria. Before the ninth century, there was seldom a very large settlement on the site of later Eretria, except perhaps during EH. There are also signs of LH settlement at Khalkis,¹²² but how extensive it was we still can't say; the modern city covers most of the evidence for all earlier periods, making it unlikely there will ever be systematic excavation. Strabon¹²³ however states that there had been an "Old" Eretria before the city of his day, and that he had seen the ruins. There is much controversy as to its site (and name), with suggestions for the site ranging from the Eretrian acropolis itself, or Amarynthos and Oikhalia east of Eretria¹²⁴ to Lefkandí, which is my own presently preferred location, and for the moment **I proceed on the assumption that Lefkandí is Old (i.e. pre-ninth century) Eretria.** Lefkandí/Old Eretria was certainly the most important town in Euboia, indeed one of the most significant in all Greece,¹²⁵ from MH¹²⁶ to the Sub-Mycenaean and Early Iron Age. It suffered the cycle of disasters and prosperity that the island as a whole experienced, but it differs from most other

¹²¹ Infra Stemmata 2; 3. References: Paus. 2, 16, 2; 10, 35, 1; schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 8, 73; Apollod. 2, 2, 1. Son of Melampos: Apollod. 1, 9, 13; Schol. Ap. Rh. 1, 143; of Alkon (Attic hero): Eustath. *ad Hom. Il. pertin.* 232; schol. *Il.* 2, 536; of Khalkon; grandson of Metion son of Kekrops; Aristokrates ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀβαντίς; Hyginos, 157; of Poseidon/Arethousa. Abas' (and Amphiaraios') mother appears to be Hypermnestra: Paus. 2, 21, 2 (Jones [Loeb]; Frazer, Levi's translation); Apollonios 2, 1, 5; 2, 2, 1. A. Room, *Room's Classical Dictionary. The Origins of the Names of Characters in Classical Mythology*, London, 1983 s.v. Hypermestra/Hpermnestra; O. Seyffert, *A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities; Mythology, Religion, Literature and Art*, London, 1891, s.v. Catreus; Nauplius; Palamedes. Palamedes (like the Gephyraioi [infra 49f.] associated with the invention of an alphabet).

¹²² V. Hankey, 'Late Helladic Tombs at Chalcis', *B.S.A.* 47, 1952, 49 - 95: twenty tombs; Jacobsen (n. 2) 208 - 210 bases his account exclusively on Hankey's work, and for reasons already alluded to, the situation at Khalkis is not greatly different now. P. Auberson, 'Chalcis, Lefkandí, Érétrie au VIII siècle', *Contribution à l'étude de la société et de la colonisation eubéennes: Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard II*, Naples, 1975, 9ff.

¹²³ Strabon, 10, 1, 10 C448: . . . καὶ δεικνύουσιν ἔτι τοὺς θεμελίους, καλοῦσι δὲ παλαιὰν Ἐρέτριαν), ἣ δὲ νῦν ἐπέκτισται. (. . . [and they still point out the foundations, and the place is called "Old Eretria"], and the city of the present day is founded on it).

¹²⁴ Appendix 8.

¹²⁵ L. H. Sackett/M. R. Popham, 'Lefkandí: a Euboean Town of the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (2100 - 700 B.C.)', *Archaeology* 25, 1972, 11: the hill settlement Xeropolis at Lefkandí: "approximately as extensive as the Citadel of Mycenae, and more than twice that of the Acropolis at Athens." The archaeological history of Lefkandí is discussed more fully infra, ch. III.

¹²⁶ Infra III, 56ff. For a survey of the material culture of MH, during which the settlement at Lefkandí developed extensively: R. J. Buck, 'The Middle Helladic Period', *Phoenix* 20, 1966, 193 - 209.

places following the collapse of Mycenaean civilisation (LH IIIC) because it actually experienced a revival,¹²⁷ although it was "abandoned [later] and only reoccupied after a possibly long interval" at the end of the 10th century.¹²⁸



Fig. 29: The Xeropolis headland, Lefkandí: site of the prehistoric settlement, from the west bay.

The site of Lefkandí was occupied as early as the LN period,¹²⁹ but the earliest evidence of settlement comes from EH levels.¹³⁰ The "native EH pottery"¹³¹ was succeeded by an "alien" fabric "unrelated" to the earlier EH ware.¹³² I have already discussed this new pottery, the EH Gray-burnished ware. Recent opinion would disagree with this dating and description from the excavation publication; the new fabric is apparently not alien, but the natural ancestor of the subsequent MH Gray-Minyan ware.¹³³ Thus it is unlikely that it represents an influx of newcomers c. 1900 as the excavators believed. The first (EH I/II) settlement was large, and made up of substantial buildings. The pottery of the early inhabitants, which seems to have had Anatolian characteristics, "had been conservative and exclusive; it was replaced at the end of EH III by Gray-Minyan ware related to contemporary pottery on the mainland a sign of contact with other parts of Greece."¹³⁴ During MH, the settlement spread over the whole of the Xeropolis hill, which was 'intensively occupied'. By the Mycenaean acme (LH II/III), the pottery shows that Xeropolis/Lefkandí was "in touch with the main trend of Mycenaean developments, probably through connections with the nearby important centre of Thebes (my emphasis) though it would be

¹²⁷ For the early history: Popham et al. 1980 (Intro./4) 1 - 8; Sub-Mycenaean onwards: 355 - 369. For a summary of arguments for identification of site: Appendix B: The Ancient Name of the Site, 423ff.

¹²⁸ V. R. d'A. Desborough, *The Greek Dark Ages*, London, 1972, 189.

¹²⁹ Popham et al. 1980 (Intro./4) 6.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ *Supra* 30f.

¹³⁴ Sackett/Popham 1972 (II/120) 6. This is not incompatible with Rutter.

premature, with the small quantity of material yet recovered, to define how early or close this relationship might have been."¹³⁵ We may however keep in mind that Rutter and Drews argue that there was an invasion (technological if not also military) of the Argolid from central Greece and Euboea.¹³⁶ Even as early (1964) as his thesis, Jacobsen talks of extensive interchange with Thebai, noting Amarynthos as a find site, and Theban/Euboian trade via Khalkis: Lefkandí was not yet known to him.¹³⁷

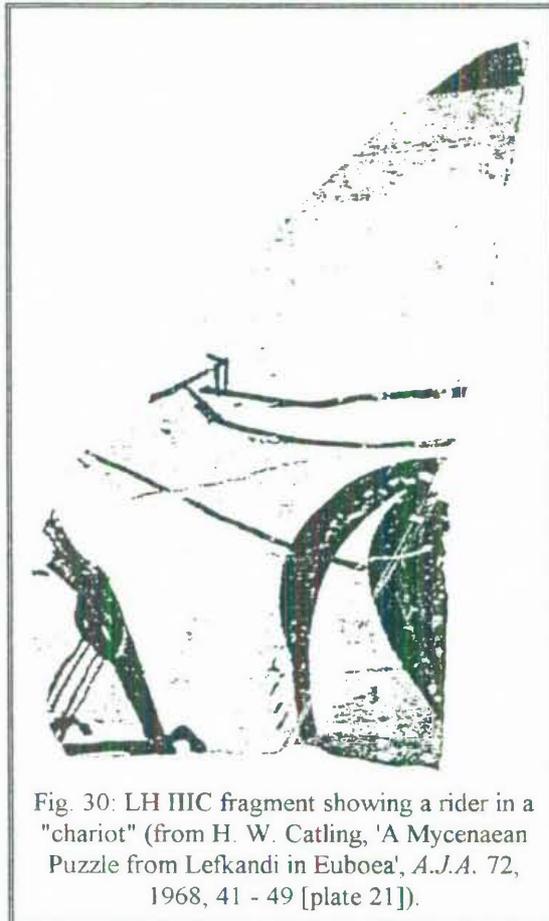


Fig. 30: LH III C fragment showing a rider in a "chariot" (from H. W. Catling, 'A Mycenaean Puzzle from Lefkandi in Euboea', *A.J.A.* 72, 1968, 41 - 49 [plate 21]).

We have already noted some toponymic similarities between Euboea and the Argolid.¹³⁸ There is an interesting LH III C fragment showing (part of) a man riding in a horse-pulled chariot or cart of light construction,¹³⁹ which may perhaps be a ceremonial vehicle; the driver's descendants at Eretria still maintained the practice of riding in chariots in the great procession in honour of Artemis Amarysia in the sixth century;¹⁴⁰ horse-drawn chariots were a sign of great wealth and high social standing from the Bronze to the Archaic Age. We must, if we accept the later dating for the arrival of the Indo-Europeans in Greece, assume that there was a change of inhabitants (or at least their rulers) after c.1600. The new Mycenaean pottery of Lefkandí, similar to that at other Mycenaean sites,

perhaps indicates an invasion by Theban Mycenaean, and this would have followed some time after their establishment in Boiotia. The excavators do not however discuss the evidence of contacts provided by the Theban Linear B *nodules*.

These provide some evidence that the Eretriás and the Karystia were dependent both economically, and also probably politically, on the Mycenaean palace-kingdom at Thebai. The great age of the palaces was LH II/III, and there are many sites in central Euboea that report surface finds from this period. But unfortunately, **no Mycenaean site on Euboea has been fully excavated yet.**¹⁴¹ The

¹³⁵ Ibid. 7 for both citations.

¹³⁶ Supra 30f.

¹³⁷ (Intro./2) 211; 235ff.

¹³⁸ Supra 40.

¹³⁹ H. W. Catling, 'A Mycenaean Puzzle from Lefkandi in Euboea', *A.J.A.* 72, 1968, 41ff. (pl. 21ff). For pl. 21, fig. 30.

¹⁴⁰ Strabon 10, 1, 10 C448.

¹⁴¹ Jacobsen 1964 (Intro./2) 208 - 210. Lefkandí was occupied during the Mycenaean period, but in fact the findings from the excavations (for early levels, simply soundings) are too few for firm conclusions:

civilisation that we call "Mycenaean" arose during LH I/II (1550 - 1400) and by the end of LH II it had reached most of mainland Greece, and was trading overseas both in the east and west. The Euripos was a major N/S trade artery between the Argolis and Thessalia during LH II, and undoubtedly Lefkandi played an important role as a transit point between this sea-route and the overland way to central Boiotia and Thebai. Hammond and Jacobsen ¹⁴² believed that Thebai ruled both "Khalkis" and the Lelantine Plain at this time. (In the meantime any influence of Krete in Aegean trade declined and died out after LM II [ended c.1380],¹⁴³ but there may have been a period when Euboeia, along with many other Aegean islands, was part of a Minoan thalassocracy.¹⁴⁴ It is possible that copper ingots [dated c.1550] found in the sea off Kimi represent part of a flourishing Minoan /Mycenaean trade system and are from Kypros).



Fig. 31: The headland of Palioekklisiés (thought to be the site of the prehistoric settlement of Amarynthos).

Popham et al. 1980 (Intro./4) 6. R. V. d'A. Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors*, Oxford, 1964, 222: only at Khalkis had any excavation at all been done: "So far as the Mycenaean period is concerned, one need do little more than refer to two accounts: the work of Papavasileiou . . . Πέρι (sic.) τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἀρχαίων τάων sic. (for τάφων) and the article by Mrs Hankey recording in full the excavations of Papavasileiou at the site of Trypa-Vromousa near Chalkis. This site is the only one both excavated and published." (My emphasis). Since then, there has been little systematic excavation on Bronze Age sites except at Lefkandi. Minor exceptions include the trial/rescue operation at Palioekklisiés Amarynthou in 1977 by L. Parlama 'Μικρὴ ἀνασκαφικὴ ἔρευνα στὸν προϊστορικὸ λόφο τῆς Ἀμαρύνθου (Εὐβοία)', *A.A.A.*, 12, 2, 1979; reported by Σαρούνα-Σακελλάρακι, (II/2) of finds from a site nearby. Also cf. G. A. Papavasileiou, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἀρχαίων τάων*, Athenai, 1910 (non vidi). Vide supra n. 2 for a list of sites/dates of (mainly) surface finds.

¹⁴² N. G. L. Hammond, *A History of Greece to 322 B.C.*, Oxford, 1959, 44 is quite categorical. Jacobsen 1964 (Intro./2) 233; 246.

¹⁴³ W. R. Biers, *The Archaeology of Greece; an Introduction*, Ithaca and London, 1980, 24.

¹⁴⁴ Appendix 9.

Hammond and Jacobsen, who wrote before 1970, were unaware that soon there would be evidence of a new kind to support their view that (at least part of) Euboia was indeed under the control of the Theban *wanax*. In that year, clay seal-nodes were uncovered on the Kadmeia in Thebai amongst which was one with the toponym *a-ma-ru-to-de* (Amarunthon-de): i.e. Amarynthos, with the allative ending *de* ("to").¹⁴⁵ Chadwick initially wondered whether this was the "well-known Amarynthos", or a hitherto unknown location in Boiotia,¹⁴⁶ but he had noted the fact that a small number of Mycenaean finds had been reported from Palaiokhora, presently thought to be ancient Amarynthos, and concluded that control from Thebai reached to the west coast of Euboia, and that the Artemis-temple there was recipient of the consignment of wool listed in the document. This by itself might not seem much evidence to postulate Theban control over the Eretriás, but in 1982 a further cache was discovered¹⁴⁷ including two more seals¹⁴⁸ that confirm and extend Chadwick's theory. The first has *a-ma-ru-to* (nominative) as the place from which the consignment (contents unknown¹⁴⁹) came.¹⁵⁰ The second has a new place-name: *ka-ru-to* (a *hapax* in the Linear B corpus) which clearly indicates that Theban commercial intercourse extended to Karystos, in the very south-east of Euboia.¹⁵¹ Thus in the 13th century,¹⁵² economic activity was occurring between south-central Euboia and Thebai. But Chadwick and Aravantinos report another two sealings¹⁵³ which have a place-name, *a-ki-a₂-ri-ja* (Of 25. 1) also spelt *a₃-ki-a₂-ri-ja-de* with allative *-de* (Of 35. 2), and they say that this name must represent */Aigihaliân-de'*, and "both must be derivatives of αἰγιαλός 'beach', and the form does little to assist the etymology, except that the use of *-a₃-* confirms that the second part of the compound begins *hal-*, suggesting that it is from ἄλς. No such place name seems to be recorded in Boeotia or Euboea, . . . One would naturally assume that 'the coast' to a Theban would be the east coast facing Euboea."¹⁵⁴ He is apparently unaware of the Eretrian

¹⁴⁵ T. G. Spyropoulos/J. Chadwick, 'The Thebes Tablets II', *Supplementos a Minos*, 4, 1975: TH Of 25.2, 94 - 95; 98; 104: drawing, text, commentary; V. L. Aravantinos, 'The Mycenaean Inscribed Sealings from Thebes: Preliminary Notes', *Tractata Mycenæa*, 1987A, 19 - 20; idem, 'Mycenaean Place-names from Thebes: The New Evidence', J. T. Killen/J. L. Melena/J.-P. Olivier (edd). *Studies in Mycenaean and Classical Greek presented to John Chadwick*, (= *Minos* 20 - 22) 1987B, 33 - 40.

¹⁴⁶ Spyropoulos/Chadwick 1975 (II/145) 94 - 95.

¹⁴⁷ Aravantinos 1987A. (II/145) 13

¹⁴⁸ Wu 58. γ, and Wu 55. β.

¹⁴⁹ Aravantinos 1987B (II/145) 37: the ideogram (SUS) may indicate a consignment of pelts. But the "pig" ideogram may suggest a relationship with the near-by (later) Eretrian deme Χοιρέα (Χοιρήθεν): supra n. 86; Chadwick/Ventris 1973 (II/118) 50; 131, and that the area was famous for wild boar (and other game animals?). For later Euboian export of pig-skins: Wallace 1936A (Intro./1) 5 citing Paus. 8, 1, 5 (ἴων MS); Athen. 2, 54b mentions acorns for feed.

¹⁵⁰ Aravantinos 1987A (II/145) 19 - 20.

¹⁵¹ Idem; 1987B (II/145) 36 - 38. The consignment had the same ideographic designation as Wu 58. γ.

¹⁵² Aravantinos 1987B (II/145) 40.

¹⁵³ Of 25. 1; Of 35. 2: Chadwick. in Spyropoulos/Chadwick 1975 (II/145) 95; Aravantinos, eodem, 35.

¹⁵⁴ Chadwick, in Spyropoulos/Chadwick 1975 (II/145) 95. Dr Parker asks: "Why not on the Gulf of Corinth? Any town on a sea-beach can be named 'sea-beach'." However, I agree with Chadwick that the coastal site would most likely have been that on the Euboian Gulf rather than on the Korinthian; I have already mentioned the importance of the Euboian Gulf as a very ancient and major trade route (I, 7 - 8

deme Αἰγαλιῆθεν], probably that called Aigilea by Herodotos, as one of the locations (with Τέμενος and Χοῖρεα with which it is contextually linked, and all(?) of which are attested epigraphically as demes of Eretria)¹⁵⁵ where the Persians disembarked prior to attacking Eretria in 490, and therefore on the coast of the Eretriás.¹⁵⁶ Its mention with Temenos suggests a link with the Eretrian "*temenos*" *par excellence*, that of Artemis Amarysia at Amarynthos.¹⁵⁷ Wallace¹⁵⁸ locates Temenos on the plain east of Mt Kotylaion whilst Gehrke¹⁵⁹ places it further west, on the Eretrian-Amarynthian plain at Magoula c.4 km east of Eretria, the find-place for a tombstone of a man from this deme (IG XII 9, 772), as does Knoepfler¹⁶⁰.

and n. 25; its importance will again be referred to in a later Eretrian-Athenian context: VI, 174f.), which leads out to the east and south, while certainly Mycenaean trade with the west did take place, trade with the east was much more important. Communication via the Korinthian Gulf to Argos and the east would necessitate trans-shipment at the Korinthos end, so why not go straight to the Boiotian-controlled eastern coast? Besides, there is the evidence of the other Euboian toponyms.

¹⁵⁵ Hdt. 6, 101, 1. Also Polyain. 1, 9. The abbreviations used in Eretrian inscriptions are: Αἶγα; Αἶγ. and Αἶγαλ. Gehrke 1988 (II/17) 25: Αἶγαλιη. It appears in an Attic inscription: IG I² 376₉, *S.E.G.* 1949, 304 as [ἐν Ἐρε]τρία Αἶγαλ[εθεν]. A. E. Raubitschek, 'The Athenian Property on Euboea', *Hesperia* 12, 1943 n. 67 rejects the identification with the "Styrian island" [Hdt. 6, 107, 4] as does Wallace 1947 (I/53) 133. For the full form, we are dependent on the now lost IG XII 9, 243: P. Girard, 'Inscriptions d'Eubée', *B.C.H.* 1878, 278, where Αἶγαλι[ῆθε] and [Αἶγαλι]ῆθεν should probably be read: Wallace, 133, n. 43: omits mention of l. 3: Θεοράνης Πουλυχάρου Αἶγαλι-. (Is the "I" the left hand *hasta* of H?) It is possible that [Αἶγα] and Αἶγα] should be restored in ll. 7 and 8 respectively of IG II², 230b: for the text: Wallace, 145. *L.S.J.* s.v., 34: Αἶγαθεν; Doric for Αἶγαθεν from Αἶγαί: schol. and Pind. *Nem.* 5, 37: "island off Euboea"; Aigai was near Rovies (Orobiai) north of Khalkis. There were many other places called Αἶγαλός (Steph. Byz. s.v.). There is however a reference to a place αἶγα[λο]ῖο in a fragment of Euphorion in an Euboian/"heroic" context (Pap. Oxyrh. 2528 l. 2): cf. B. A. van Groningen, *Euphorion*, Amsterdam, 1977 210 - 211 with commentary; cf. Lobel's, comment linking it with Oikhalia, Kerinthos and Ellopieis. It is probably the location referred to by Herodotos as Ἀιγίλαια; if so, it was on the coast (with Τέμενος & Χοῖρεα): Wallace, 130ff. (for Khoireai: supra n. 149 and [also for Temenos] my paper on Eretrian demes). Temenos (neuter in Hdt. (τὸ τέμενος acc.). Wallace, 133, n. 45; Gehrke 25 - 26. At Magoula: Sackett et al., 1966, (II/2) 63 with n. 83. Knoepfler 1988 (II/2) 382 - 421; map 4 (396): this represents a shift from his thesis opinion 1991 (Intro./3, non vidi) reported by Cl. Vial in *Rev. hist.* 108²⁷², 1984, 242, where it is apparently located near the Amarysion at Amarynthos. Knoepfler notes that Menedemos the philosopher (who appears in IG XII 9, 246A₆₆) was demesman of Aigale; his family was the Theopropidai (cf. his interpretation of IG XII 9, 213) which Knoepfler believes was a religious corporation with special privileges concerning consultation of the oracle which he thinks was at the Amarysion (242). Cf. supra 27. However, only two **restored** deme names in one inscription (IG XII 9, 191 B10:Τ[μ] and C44:Τε[μ]) are known and give no certain evidence for a **deme name** Temenos; cf. infra IX 268.

¹⁵⁶ On the location of these demes: vide supra, and also the map and commentary in Wallace 1947 (I/53) 115 - 146.

¹⁵⁷ According to Stavropoulos 1895 (II/15) 153, n. 11, Temenos was at the Amarysion, as the sanctuary κατ' ἐξοχήν of the Eretrieis, but against this we also have a certain deme 'Amarynthos'. Gehrke 1988 (II/17) 26 locates Temenos at Aghia Paraskevi, just outside the walls of classical Eretria. Themelis 1969A (II/22) 167ff., puts the Amarysion at this site - contra Gehrke, 26, n. 61. Hdt 6, 101 makes it clear however that Temenos lay on the coast and was near Αἶγ. i.e. in district IV. Cf. Knoepfler 1988 (II/2) 396, map 4: where this deme is near Kokaki c.2 km east of Kato Vatheia. Knoepfler (and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1992 [II/2]) locates the great sanctuary at Ayia Kiriakí on the east bank of the river Sarandapotamos (Erasinos?); his map suggests that it was not in the deme Temenos but in Amarynthos.

¹⁵⁸ 1947 (I/53) 130ff.

¹⁵⁹ 1988 (II/17) 25 - 26, n. 58.

¹⁶⁰ 1988 (II/2).

Why therefore, since we already have two toponyms (Amarynthos; Karystos) unambiguously belonging to central/southern-eastern Euboia, should we not consider Aigihalia to be in the same region and identify it with Aig(h)alêthen? Taken all together, they imply significant contact between Thebai and the south-east of the island that involved, on the evidence of the seals (doubtful though the interpretation of the designatory ideograms may be), trade in livestock, animal skins and fleeces, that were then returned as woven fabric along with, presumably, other manufactured goods. There is also in fact contemporary archaeological evidence for Euboian trade with the much more distant Egypt (18th Dynasty) and the Levantine interior.¹⁶¹

This trading activity, the literary evidence of Abantic occupation of the Lelantine Plain, and the existence of Mycenaean pottery at the above mentioned sites, leads me to suggest that there was actual conquest by Mycenaeans from Thebai, that the territory ruled from there extended over both the Eretriás and the Karystia, or at least the coastal plains bordering the South Euboian Gulf, and that this occurred in the LH IIIB, if we accept the dating of the seals by the editors. I believe that Lefkandí became the "capital" of the Mycenaean "province" on Euboia, and of the native Abantic polity that succeeded it,¹⁶² not only because of its undoubted size and wealth but also the repeated assertion that the Lelantine Plain and "Khalkis" was the base of both the Ábantes and the Kouretic peoples. Also in favour of viewing Lefkandí as the Mycenaean/Abantic capital is the close proximity of Khalkis, which would have led to later literary confusion, since not much would have been visible on the site of Lefkandí by Strabon's or Ploutarkhos' time. However Jacobsen held that Thebai fell in LH IIIA, and that its fall is reflected both in the decline in the number of finds at Khalkis and the absence of Thebai in the Homeric *Catalogue of the Akhaians*.¹⁶³ But on his own admission,¹⁶⁴ the present state of excavation of Mycenaean sites in Euboia is very haphazard, and any attempt to set a firm dating from the currently available data is risky. Moreover Oikhalia in the Eretriás was still flourishing at the beginning of LH IIIA.¹⁶⁵ Thus I will for the present hold to the dating of the seals as

¹⁶¹ Ibid. 237, n. 78 for details.

¹⁶² F. Schachermeyr, *Die griechische Rückerinnerung im Lichte neuer Forschungen*, Vienna, 1983, 250 - 254; 302; 318: i.e. the inhabitants of Lefkandí in LH IIIC Phase 2 Ábantes (i.e. after 1200).

¹⁶³ Jacobsen 1964 (Intro./2) 236; 238: Hypothebai was "a miserable hamlet"; this does not seem to be what Homeros (*Il.* 2, 505) is saying when he writes: "Hypothebai, the well-built citadel"! Huxley 1956 (II/108) 22 refers to its inhabitants as "miserable survivors"; his n. 42 indicates that the originator of this vision of abject poverty was Keramopoulos (*Eph. Arch.* 1909, 106), presumably based upon archaeological dedomena given there. Huxley argues that the Homeric catalogues indeed reflect political reality in the LH IIIC (conclusions 25 - 27); so also Jacobsen 1964 (Intro./2) 216f. n. 23.

¹⁶⁴ Jacobsen 1964 (Intro./2) 10, n. 52.

¹⁶⁵ For Oikhalia: supra n. 74; 87; infra n. 196. Jacobsen 1964 (Intro./2) 225 - 226. It was destroyed by Herakles; if the Trojan War is to be assigned to LH IIIB, then presumably its destruction occurred before then, thus explaining its absence from the Homeric *Catalogue*. So Jacobsen. But the Trojan War is rather to be dated c.1200, i.e. the end of IIIB: F. H. Stubbings, 'The Recession of Mycenaean Civilization', *C.A.H.*³, II, 2a, 1980 ch. 27, section ii (The Trojan War) esp. 350; R. Drews *The End of the Bronze Age. Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe of ca.1200 B.C.*, Princeton, 1993; *ibid.* 1989 (II/53).

a more reliable guide to the likely period of Mycenaean trade ("empire"?) with the Eretriás, and that this ended with the fall of Thebai at the beginning of LH IIIC (c.1200), which is also approximately when the destruction of Iolkos took place.¹⁶⁶ Thus Theban/Mycenaean rule in Euboia must be placed between c.1325 and 1200 (mid-LH IIIA/end-LH IIIC).

Who then were these Mycenaean Lefkandiots? Were they foreign overlords ruling a population conquered earlier in the 13th century? Jacobsen's maps 12a/12b (Mycenaean habitation/burial sites in Euboia), and descriptions of the relatively few sites where Mycenaean remains have been found,¹⁶⁷ show quite clearly a strong concentration in central Euboia, a few in the south, and almost nothing north of Politiká: He lists nine habitation sites for the Eretriás alone (out of only 23 for all Euboia, including Lefkandí) and eight tombs (of a total of twelve for Euboia) of the LH,¹⁶⁸ making the area apparently the most thickly settled by "Mycenaean" on the island by far. Its local "area-capital" was probably at Amarynthos, a site where remains (including architectural) from LN to Byzantine have been found, and which show "that the hill was the most important prehistoric settlement of the Eretrian plain." Traces of a circuit-wall have also apparently been found.¹⁶⁹ That the Eretriás and Karystia were part of the area of Mycenaean control in Euboia is clear from the three toponyms that appear in the Theban seals, two quite certain, the other very likely. If we combine this archaeological data with the description in the *Iliad* of the status of Elephenor as "*hegemon*" of all Euboia, and the evidence of Theban trade contacts, we are left with the impression that a group, probably of limited numbers, had entered Euboia across the narrows,¹⁷⁰ and established themselves firmly at Lefkandí, whence they extended a hegemony over lesser rulers in the more remote areas of the north and south, and were later strong enough to be able to demand levies to go to Ilion. In fact, trade-links between Euboia and Ilion had already existed from the EH: "The Trojans sent their typical tall jugs and the famous *depas* westward too - the jugs to Euboia, the *depas* to Syros and Orchomenos, although one cannot be sure how late in the millennium this happened".¹⁷¹ Moreover, pottery with Trojan (Troy 2/3) affinities was found in the remains of the earliest settlement at Lefkandí.¹⁷² Euboians certainly already knew about Ilion.

¹⁶⁶ N. G. L. Hammond, 'The Literary Tradition for the Migrations', *C.A.H.*³, II, 2b, 1980, ch. 36b, 701.

¹⁶⁷ Jacobsen 1964 (Intro./2) 12a: 205, 12b: 207; for site descriptions, cf. his ch. IV, 208 - 240.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 202ff. including 2 maps.

¹⁶⁹ Parlama 1979 (II/141), 3 - 14 (quotation from the English summary, 14).

¹⁷⁰ The "second" narrows near Lefkandí is less hazardous than "the" Euripos.

¹⁷¹ Vermeule (II/49) 64, C. W. Blegen, *Troy*, London, 1963, 89; for Trojan trade with Kyklades; 174: Troy II. *Depas*: this is a Homeric term for a two-handled cup (mis)applied to a peculiar Trojan shape (Early Bronze Age) and used in Linear B as the sign for a large jar (Vermeule).

¹⁷² Sackett/Popham 1972 (II/125) 11: from Troy II and succeeding cities.

In the context of Theban/Mycenaean rule in Euboea we may consider the significance of the name of Elephenor, the Abantic leader in the *Iliad*.¹⁷³ If Mastrocinque¹⁷⁴ is right that the *comæ abanticae* implies that the Abantic warriors so distinguished must have fought bare-headed, then they were probably not typical Mycenaean warriors, for the helmet, especially of the type fashioned from boar-tusks, seems to have been one of the distinguishing pieces of armour worn by Mycenaean heroes. But perhaps there is indeed a link between this helmet-type and the 'Abantic' rulers at 'Khalkis'; Elephenor's name is derived from ἐλέφας which in Homeros only ever means 'ivory'.¹⁷⁵ Perhaps what distinguished the leaders/rulers ("heroes") of the Abantic/Euboian contingent in the Trojan War was their Mycenaean boar's-tusk helmet, i.e. that it was the distinguishing "badge" perhaps of the Mycenaean nobles, just as the *comæ abanticae* was that of their Abantic subjects/allies. I will therefore now suggest¹⁷⁶ that the Ábantes of Euboea who were remembered by later traditions, were a "Mycenaean" **ruling-class** from Thebai who invaded c.1380, settling first on the Lelantine Plain and in the Eretriás, and thereafter proceeded to bring the rest of the island and its peoples under their hegemony, including the "indigenous" local tribe within whose name they were later subsumed, and on whom they subsequently conferred their aura of glory.

Was the Abantic ruler called *hegemon* and not *wanax* because of his subordinate status to the Theban *wanax*? Probably not. A passage from Ploutarkhos

¹⁷³ In this discussion, the reader is reminded of Dr Parker's caveat (supra 29 and n. 43): "They - like the Couretes - are a tribe which disappeared early. Their presence on Euboea is well enough attested through 'Homer' who mentions them for one reason in particular: 'Homer' - the Catalogue of Ships is no different from the rest of the two epics in this respect; questions of authorship and date in this point *mal à propos* - always endeavours to describe the circumstances of his imagined Heroic Age. He avoids references to contemporary events and situations where he is aware that they are indeed contemporary. When he is not, they naturally creep in willy-nilly. Since 'Homer' does know that the migrations of Ionians to Euboea is post-Heroic, he presents a pre-Ionic tribe as ruling over the island. Owing to the mention in the Catalogue of the Ships the Abantes are far more reliably attested as present on Euboea than the Couretes. But many tribes may have dwelt on the island both simultaneously and in succession in those 'centuries of darkness.'" This however does not account for 'Homer's' choice of the Ábantes from the "many tribes (who) may have dwelt on the island both simultaneously and in succession in those 'centuries of darkness.'" It also ignores the evidence (supra 28, where I suggest an identification of the Kouretes and Ábantes) that the Ábantes were associated with a number of cultural changes which may suggest Mycenaean influence: metal-working, the Olympian pantheon (and others which Dr Parker would dismiss, e.g. patriarchy), as well as the memory of a saga cited below concerning the fall of (Mycenaean) Thebai.

¹⁷⁴ 1980 (II/18).

¹⁷⁵ *Il.* 5, 583; Hes. *Aspis.* 141. *L.S.J.* s.v. ἐλέφας.

¹⁷⁶ For a Boiotian origin for the Ábantes: Busolt (II/108) 289; Meyer (II/108) 191f.; Wilamowitz, (II/108) 204; Buck 1979 (II/112) 79. On the other hand, Töpffer, *R.E.* s.v. "Abantes", suggests a confluence around the Asopos river of migrating tribes from Thessalia, the west generally, and the Argolis; he believes that this is evident in the notable consistency of Attic and Euboian legends, and he may well be right. It may be noted that Oropos and the Asopos valley was a centre of rhotacising speech well into historic times. The link of Abas with the Argive Lynkeus comes from a consciousness of tribal relationships between the Ábantes and the people who were, before the Dorian occupation, in the Argolis. Cf. C. Kirchner, *Attica et Peloponnesiaca*, Greifswald, 1890, 34; 42 (cited in *R.E.* s.v. Abantes).

already referred to¹⁷⁷ for Khalkodon, father of Elephenor as *basileus* of the Euboieis says that Thebai was ruled **from Khalkis**, and that it was freed by the slaying of Khalkodon. Pausanias¹⁷⁸ says that he was killed by Amphytrion in a battle between Thebaioi and Euboieis. But even if we were to take this at face value, it is hard to imagine such a rapid transformation in the fortunes of the Khalkodontid rulers from a catastrophic loss of sovereignty over Thebai (and the death of Khalkodon in the process) to the hegemonial status of his son, who raises and leads the whole of the Euboian levies to Ilion!¹⁷⁹ On the other hand, Homeros tells of the *wanax* Mekisteus going to Thebai after the fall of Oidipous, and defeating all the Kadmeiones.¹⁸⁰ Mekisteus was, of course, the eponym of the tribe Mekistis, which as we have seen, is epigraphically attested at Eretria. All these stories may, however, preserve a faint memory of a (brief?) period during which "Khalkis" was a residual outpost of Mycenaean power following the fall of the palace at Thebai.¹⁸¹ Indeed, Lefkandi experienced (a revival of) prosperity immediately after the disaster which overwhelmed Thebai, although there were no similar revivals at other mainland sites.¹⁸²

The fame of the Ábantes persisted into later times as a consequence of the comparative magnitude of the civilisation represented by the Abantic rulers on the island, and the Mycenaeans generally in Greece, and the universal popularity of the Homeric poems that celebrate it. When their rule collapsed in Euboia following that of Thebai,¹⁸³ the memory of the powerful Theban overlords would have remained in the Euboian popular imagination. In many places throughout Greece, including some not very far from Euboia (Orkhomenos and Thebai in Boiotia; Menídi in Attike), hero-cult shrines were established at large and impressive Mycenaean tombs. Thus reverence for the representatives of the past glorious age soon emerged, and a similar process was probably responsible for the perpetuation of the glory of the Ábantes.¹⁸⁴ Henceforth, the shaven fore-head and long-flowing locks behind,¹⁸⁵ the distinctive warrior symbol of the local Ábantes who now resumed control in central Euboia, free of their Theban overlords but inheriting their glory, was attributed by later poets to most of the inhabitants of the island who came before and after them.

¹⁷⁷ Plout. *Erot dieges.* (Mor. 774c): quoted supra n. 106.

¹⁷⁸ 9. 19, 3. In Plout. *Erot dieges.* Mor. 774c, Amphytrion is called Amphiktyon.

¹⁷⁹ Supra 38 and n. 108f.

¹⁸⁰ Hom. *Il.* 23, 676ff. For a brief comment on this passage in a Mycenaean context: M. P. Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1932/1972, 108.

¹⁸¹ A parallel may be the Pontic rump of the Byzantine Empire after 1453.

¹⁸² III 56ff.

¹⁸³ Desborough 1972 (II/128) 24, citing destruction at Lefkandi.

¹⁸⁴ J. N. Coldstream, 'Hero Cults in the Age of Homer', *J.H.S.* 96, 1976, 8 - 17; J. Whitley, 'Early States and Hero Cults; a reappraisal', *J.H.S.* 108, 1988, 73 - 182; esp. 175 (Cl. Bérard and Euboia). A. M. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece: the Age of Experiment*, Los Angeles/Berkeley, 1980, 38 - 40, proposes a sociological explanation as an alternative.

¹⁸⁵ Hom. *Il.*, 2 542.

5. The Íones: Since the Ábantes were not Ionic-speakers, as Herodotos¹⁸⁶ explicitly says, there must have been at least one more invasion, because the island in classical times was regarded as completely Ionian north of the Karystia.¹⁸⁷ I have already suggested¹⁸⁸ that it may be represented in the tradition by the arrival of Kothos, Aiklos and their **half**-brother Ellops,¹⁸⁹ the legendary founders of Khalkis, Eretria, and Kerinthos respectively. Another tradition also makes the first two the founders of Eleutherai on the Attic-Boiotian border,¹⁹⁰ while both Strabon and Ploutarkhos¹⁹¹ have them coming from Athenai itself. There were claims throughout antiquity of early Athenian/Ionian colonisation of Euboia (at Eretria, Khalkis, and Histiaia in particular), which are usually explained as Athenian propaganda, invented to bolster claims to control of the island after its conquest in 446 by Perikles. There is doubtless some truth in this, but for the propaganda to be credible, there must have been some element of "truth" behind the claims, so there may well have been a prior tradition of Ionian penetration of Euboia from the Attike, which was taken up and exploited by the Athenaioi. There was an Attic deme "of the Histiaieis" and, according to Strabon,¹⁹² one "of the Eretrieis", and Aiklos and Kothos were believed to have set out from these places. While that of the Histiaieis is attested epigraphically, there is no such confirmation of one of "Eretrieis"; there was however a major shrine to the goddess Amarysia in the Attic deme Athmonon (presently called Maróusi¹⁹³ from her epithet), whose cult came at an early time from Eretrian Amárynthos to the Attike; so perhaps Strabon was thinking of Athmonon as the "Eretrian" deme. If such an early tradition means anything, it is a vague remembrance of an incursion of Íones from the Attike, probably from the borderlands between the Attike and Boiotia centred on Eleutherai led by Kothos and Aiklos, which entered Euboia near Khalkis, and spread from there: one band of invaders under "Kothos"

¹⁸⁶ Hdt. 1, 146: (quoted supra n. 83).

¹⁸⁷ Hdt. 8, 46; Thouk. 4, 61; 7, 57: (quoted supra n. 83). There was possibly an audible speech/dialect distinction making the Karystioi appear different from other Euboieis for educated Athenaioi like Thoukydides. For the Styreeis: supra n. 83.

¹⁸⁸ Supra 38f.

¹⁸⁹ Though Strabon regarded their names as barbarian: 7, 7, 1 C321; supra n. 26.

¹⁹⁰ Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἐλευθερίς (sic).

¹⁹¹ Strabon, 10, 1, 8 C445; Plout. *Ait. Hell.* 22. Supra 38f., nn. 111ff.

¹⁹² Strabon, 10, 1, 3 C445: ἐνιοὶ δ' ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἀποικισθῆναι φασὶ τὴν Ἰστίασαν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἰστιαέων, ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐρετριέων τὴν Ἐρέτριαν. (Some say that Histiaia was colonised by Athenians from the [Attic] deme of the Histiaians, as Eretria was from that [in the Attike] of the Eretrians); 10, 1, 10 C447 gives both the alternative (Athenian and Elian) traditions: Ἐρέτριαν δ' οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Μακίστου τῆς Τριφυλίας ἀποικισθῆναι φασὶν ὑπὸ Ἐρετριέως, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀθήνησιν Ἐρετρίας, ἣ νῦν ἐστὶν ἀγορά. (Some say that Eretria was colonised from Mákistos in Triphylia by Eretrius, but others say from the Eretria at Athenai, which is now a market centre); also Eustath. *ad Hom. Il. pert.* on *Il.* 2, 537, 279, 44f. The Attic "deme" of Eretria was thus, apparently, a market-town: Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἐρετριεύς. In *RE* s.v. Eretria, (3) Wachsmuth: observes that his (or any) theories concerning its location are entirely speculative: "Ein Marketplatz in Athen. Strabon X 447 (sic.; it is 448: KW) erwähnt, daß einige erzählten, das euboische E. sei gegründet ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀθήνησιν Ἐρετρίας, ἣ νῦν ἐστὶν ἀγορά. I have noted already the Eretrian deme Histiaieis.

¹⁹³ Infra V, n. 17 for notes on the "Old Athenian" dialect and its preservation of the phoneme /u/ ("ou") for the ancient υ (/y/ = German "ü").

occupied Khalkis while the other, under "Aiklos" moved into the Eretriás. By the historical period, all Euboia north of the Karystia was speaking a purely Ionian dialect.¹⁹⁴ Or rather, not quite all. There is one more hint of a prehistoric influx of people into Euboia:

6. Migrants from Elis: who came to the Eretriás from Mákistos in Triphyllia,¹⁹⁵ a region south of the Alpheios river, bordering on Messenia and Arkadia. This tradition is exclusively "Eretrian", and not "Euboian". Much cult and mythology, associated particularly with the Eretriás, has close associations with these three Peloponnesian regions.¹⁹⁶ The evidence for an Eleian "origin" of (some of) the Eretrieis is: firstly, that there was, in historical times, a tribe at Eretria called Mekis(s)tís¹⁹⁷, whose eponym was undoubtedly a hero called M(a)êkisteus (-stos), for whom the literary tradition provides a number of candidates, including the sacker of Oikhalia, Herakles himself.¹⁹⁸ Mêkistos also occurs as an element in one personal name at Eretria.¹⁹⁹ But Themelis believes that in the tribal name Μακισ(σ)τίδων φυλή (IG XII Suppl. 549₄₋₅ in fact has Μεκισστίδος φυλής), cf. Ἀβαντίς φυλή in Khalkis, we have the survival of a pre-polis ethnic division, i. e. those who came from Makistos in Triphyllia, and I think that he may well be right in this conjecture.²⁰⁰ Secondly, the eponymous hero Eretrieus, son of the Titan Phaethon, is said to have

¹⁹⁴ I.e. West Ionic or Euboian: C. D. Buck 1928 (II/117) 143 (items 186 - 188).

¹⁹⁵ Strabon, 10, 1, 10 C447 (quoted supra n. 192). Makistos in Elis: G. Papandreou, *Ἡ Ἠλεία διὰ Μέσσην τῶν Αἰώνων*, Athenai, 1924/1990, 57 - 58; ch. 7 passim.

¹⁹⁶ For Oikhalia and related myths: supra nn. 74; 87; 165. Paus. 4, 2, 2, citing Hekataios, regarded the Messenian tradition as more authentic than the Euboian: "The story told by the Euboians agrees with the statements of Kreophylos in his *Herakleia*; and Hekataios of Miletos averred that Oikhalia is in Skios, a part of the territory of Eretria. Nevertheless I think that on the whole the version of the Messenians is more likely than theirs . . . ". Hekataios' *floruit* means that Oikhalia was already Eretrian (located by Wallace in his District V) in the 6th century. Talamo 1975 (II/87) 27 - 36 discusses these myths in detail, implying that Oikhalia was "Old Eretria". Cf. *R.E.* s.v.: Minthe (there was an Eretrian deme Minthouthothen) in Elis. We find an Alkmaion in Arkadia, and Marpessa and related figures in Messene etc. There is also a late Hellenistic poem by an anonymous writer that links Aitolians and Elis (Page 1970 [II/106] 414 - 415). Vide supra 21, n. 8 for Kouretes and Aitolia. There was an Alipheira in Triphyllia in Elis as well as a deme(?) of Eretria: Plassart 1921 (II/119) 49. Location: C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles. The Transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the Eighth Century B.C.*, Cambridge, 1990, 80, map 15.

¹⁹⁷ IG XII Suppl. 549. There was also a deme Mêkistos at Hestiaia: cf. IG XII 9, 1189₃₁ which Geyer 1903 (Intro./3) thinks was on the slopes of Mt Makistos in its territory. On the deme-name: F. Cairns, 'A Duplicate Copy of IG XII 9, 1189 (Hestiaia)', *Z.P.E.* 54, 1984C, 135 (text ll. 31 - 32). There was a River Makestos, a tributary of the Rhyndakos in Phrygia: schol. Ap. Rh. 1, 1165d links this area with Euboia cf. relationship between Kouretes and the Phrygian Magna Mater: sup. 25f., nn. 23; 27; 33).

¹⁹⁸ Supra n. 10. *R.E.*; Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. 'Mekisteus'.

¹⁹⁹ The Doric Mákistos of Elis = Mêkistos in the Ionic of Euboia: Δροπίδης Μηραστοδόρου Δις (IG XII 9, 245A 82). His deme, Dismarothén (Wallace's map 1947 [I/53] 131 and supra ix), was in the extreme S.E. of the Eretriás (District I).

²⁰⁰ Themelis 1969A (II/22) 161. But he is mistaken in supposing three Eretrian tribes; Knoepfler shows in his thesis, based on inscriptional evidence, some unpublished, that Eretria had 6/10 tribes: D. Knoepfler, 'Les Cinq-cents à Érétrie', *R.E.G.* 98, 1985A, 246, n. 12; Schefold/Knoepfler, 1976 (II/112) 57 (also in *A.D.* 30, 1975/83: *Khronika*, 169). Themelis' (161) remark that Mêkistis must "ὄπωσθήποτε" have comprised the aristocratic *gene* of the ancient colonists as well as the great land-owners of the hippobotic class is pure supposition. Cf. infra VIII 232ff.

led a colonisation movement from Elean Makistos to Eretria.²⁰¹ Thirdly, the dialect spoken in Eretria in historic times, with its characteristic rhotacism (of intervocalic sigma,²⁰² and even, possibly, of final sigma in speech, though not, apparently, in writing, since it does not occur in any inscription,²⁰³ and in a few cases, between consonant and vowel,²⁰⁴) is a feature it shares with Eleian²⁰⁵ and the area around Oropos on the coast of Boiotia, and the Attike (not far from Eleutherai) opposite Eretria itself,²⁰⁶ and which some consider a colony of Eretria.²⁰⁷ Oropos, also, is linked to Elis by the myth of Eunostos referred to by Ploutarkhos:²⁰⁸ the father of this haughty youth from Tanagra near Oropos was named Elieus, "possibly connected

²⁰¹ Strabon 10, 1, 10 C447.

²⁰² Examples of intervocalic rhotacism are frequent in the Eretrian inscriptions; e.g.: σίτησις > σίτηρις, Λυσάννις > Λυθάννις, ἐπιμενεύουσες > ἐπιμενεύουρες (IG XII Suppl. 549). Further examples: IG XII 9, p. 224 (Rhotacismi Eretriensium exempla).

²⁰³ Rhotacism of final sigma: ... τ[οῖ]ϱ ἀδελφε[ὸς αὐτο] (IG XII Suppl. 549, ll. 13 - 14); ὄπωρ ἄν > ὄπωϱ ἄν (IG XII 9, 189, l. 1) The last is, perhaps, not strictly rhotacism of final sigma, but we have some evidence in Strabon 10, 1, 10 C448 and Platon, *Krat.* 434c: ἡμεῖς μὲν φάμεν σκληρότης, Ἐρετριεῖς δὲ σκληρότηϱ. (While we say 'sklerotes', the Eretrians say 'skleroter'). Thus while they may not have written it their speech may have voiced a final 'ϱ'. It has been argued that the ancient commentators are of no use, that Strabon is justifying his contention that settlers came to Eretria from Elis while Platon is not attempting to define the Eretrian dialect, but merely giving an example of a particular dialectical variation from Attic: the argument is that knowing that the Eretrians often said "r" where Athenaiοι said "s", he may have given an inapposite example (i.e. of rhotacism but in the wrong position). So indeed he may, but are **both** Strabon and Platon wrong? The first example above (τ[οῖ]ϱ) is precisely of the kind emphasised by Buck 1965 (II/117) 56 (60a): "In the earlier inscriptions ϱ is relatively most frequent in the forms of the article . . ." Perhaps if we had more inscriptions from the early period (6th cent.) the lack of evidence might be less of a problem. IG XII Suppl. 549 is, as a matter of fact, the earliest lengthy public inscription from Eretria which is generally dated to the early 5th century, but which I argue (infra VIII, 222ff.) should belong to the late 6th.

²⁰⁴ IG XII 9, 56 l. 281: Styra: Μίσγος > Μίγρος. There is only one other case in the lead-tablets from Styra; however, Styra was originally a Dryopian town (supra nn. 83; 187f.) and rhotacism occurred also in Thessalian; these two were perhaps Eretrians. Phrynichos, 88: Πελαργός οἱ ἀμαθεῖς ἐκτείνουσι τὸ "α", δέον σιστέλλειν πελαργός γάρ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ Ἐρετριακός Πελασγός specifically attributes the practice to Eretrians; W. G. Rutherford, *The New Phrynichus, being a revised text of The Ecloga of the Grammarian Phrynichus*, London, 1881, 195.

²⁰⁵ Rhotacism at Elis was, without exception, final, and never medial.

²⁰⁶ It also occurs in late Laconian and, perhaps, Thessalian: H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, Cambridge Mass., 1920/1959, 33, item 132, and Aitolian: Eustath. in *Hom. 'Il.' pert.* 279, 20 - 22. Knoepfler 1981 (I/20) 317, n. 115 cites 3 funerary stelai (IG XII 9, 1050; 1105; IG XII Suppl. 681) from Khalkis, and suggests that it may have been a feature of the dialect there, though he admits that three examples are rather few on which to base this belief. All are Hellenistic, and rhotacism occurs only in patronymics; it is thus far more likely that they either represent *pierres errantes*, as Ziebarth thinks, or as I believe, that they were for people who had removed from Eretria. By the Hellenistic period, there must have been some (probably considerable) population exchange between the two cities. Also note his comments (318f.) concerning Eretrian linguistic habits amongst the population living on the "Eretrian" side of the Lelantine Plain and cf. infra 37. Knoepfler cites Suid. (IV) 782 ll. 25 - 26 (Adler): Χαλκιδίξειν καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσθαι... δ' ἐπὶ τὸ ϱωτακίξειν ἐπεὶ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ Ἐρετριεῖς δοκοῦσιν τῷ 'ϱ' κατακορεστέρας χρῆσθαι καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ 'σ' τιθέντες. This goes against the epigraphical evidence and is certainly no more decisive than Hesykh. s.v. Ἐρετριέων ϱῶ Ἐρετριεῖς τῷ 'ρ' κατακόρας χρῶνται, cf. Hesykh. s.v. Χαλκιδίξειν ἀπὸ τῶν κατ' Εἰθβοῖαν Χαλκιδέων τίθεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παιδεραστοῦντων, ἐπὶ ἐπλεόναζον παρ' αὐτοῖς οἱ παιδικοὶ ἔρωτες.

²⁰⁷ U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, 'Oropos und der Graer', *Kleine Schriften* IV, Amsterdam, 1971, 9ff.; D. Knoepfler, 'Oropos: colonie d'Érétie', *Dossiers d'archéologie* 94, 1985B, 50. Cf. supra n. 78: Evangelides' opinion was that Oropos was Dryopian. "Oropos" is probably a rhotacised form of "Asopos".

²⁰⁸ Plout. *Ait. Hell.* 40.

with the nearby town of Eleon²⁰⁹ said to have been on the banks of the Asopos river, but the name may well be associated with immigrants from Elis. Oropos and near-by Tanagra, both with Eretrian associations and both identified with Graia, have been suggested as the last home of the Graioi, who are also said to have originated in Epeiros but may have come via Elis.²¹⁰ It used to be thought that rhotacism was late in coming to both Eretria and Elis.²¹¹ It is however certainly attested inscriptionally at Eretria for at least the early fifth century, indeed in the very decree mentioning the tribe Mēkis(s)tís (and I shall argue later²¹² for a late-sixth century date on both epigraphical and political grounds²¹³), in the agonistic epigram of the mid-sixth²¹⁴ and, probably, also in an inscription from the deme Zarex of the late-sixth century,²¹⁵ which, with the example cited (supra in footnote 204) from Styra, suggest that it was already present in the speech of sixth century Eretrieis, and that the practice was not just a city affectation, but a feature of the dialect even of some south-eastern demes of the Eretriás. It was apparently a source of amusement for outsiders, for the Eretrieis apparently used it excessively in their speech.²¹⁶ This may explain its grudgingly inconsistent use in public inscriptions after the great age of Eretria in the late sixth/early-fifth centuries: i.e. a form of "cultural cringe" by people trying to "write good".²¹⁷ It is impossible to say with which group of people the practice came

²⁰⁹ D. W. Roller, 'Graia and Eunostos', J. M. Fossey/H. Giroux (edd.) *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Boiotian Antiquities, Montreal (31/10 to 4/11, 1979)*, Amsterdam, 1985, 154; idem, *Tanagran Studies I: Sources and Documents on Tanagra in Boiotia*, Amsterdam, 1989; *RE* s.v. 'Eleion'. Zeus at Thebai had the by-name Elieus (Hesych. s.v.). There was a tribe, the Εἰνωστῖδαι, at Naples from Εἰνωστος; infra V 133, n. 15.

²¹⁰ J. M. Fossey, 'The Identification of Graia', *Euphrosyne* 2, 4, 1970, 3 - 22; L. Chandler, 'The Northwest Frontier of Attica', *J.H.S.* 46, 1926, 2 - 4. For an Epeirote origin for Graioi: G. Thomson, *Studies in Ancient Greek Society: the Prehistoric Aegean*, New York, 1965, 398, who explains the transfer of their name to the Hellenes generally from the closeness of Dodona to the Adriatic and Italy and likely early contacts. Evangelidis 1962 (II/26) passim esp. n. 16.

²¹¹ On Eretrian rhotacism: Buck 1928/65 (II/117) 56 - 57; Eleian: 56; **only final** at Elis; this fact is used as an argument by Wallace and Parker for rejecting the connection with Eretria. Rhotacism occurred at Elis at least as early as the sixth century: W. Dittenberger/K. Purgold, *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Berlin, 1896, 11; Buck (supra) 261, no. 63. Wallace 1936A (Intro./1) 14 - 15. For Eretria: W. Wallace, 'An Eretrian Proxeny Decree of the Early Fifth Century', *Hesperia* 5, 1936B, 279, nn. 1; 3. L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece - a Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries B.C.*, Oxford, 1961 (rev. A. W. Johnston, 1990), 86; 88; M. B. Wallace, 'Early Greek Proxenoí', *Phoenix* 24, 1970, 207: first quarter of the 5th cent. H. W. Smyth, *The Greek Dialects: Ionic*, Oxford, 1894, (very outdated) 331: mid-fifth century. Wallace 1936B (Intro./1) notes that this inscription pushes the date back some 50 years.

²¹² VIII 222f.; 239f.

²¹³ IG XII Suppl. 549. More likely it belongs to the late-6th century. The political implications of the details of this decree for the Eretrian democracy are discussed in VIII.

²¹⁴ Supra n. 11.

²¹⁵ IG XII 9, 75. Knoepfler, reported by O. Masson, 'Noms grecs des femmes formés sur des participes (Type 'Θάλλουσα')', *Tyche*, 2, 1987, 108 n. 12, believes that the word πρέσβος should be read πρέρβος following his examination of the stone. *S.E.G.* 1987 item 737 (235) gives a 6th century date.

²¹⁶ Eustath. *ad Hom. 'Il.' pert.* 239, 34 calls such speakers βαρβαρόφωνοι; Strabon 10, 1, 10 C448: (specifically of Eretrieis) κωκωμώδηται. Suidas s.v. χαλκιδίσειν; Hesych. s.v. Ἐρετριέων ῥῶ (both quoted in full supra n. 206); Diogenian. 4, 59.

²¹⁷ In IG XII 9, 189 (c.340) intervocalic rhotacism occurs only five times out of a possible 25, and all examples are in the first 14 (of a total of 40) lines; was the provincialism "corrected"? Another mason?

in. Perhaps the Eleioi were an isolated band somehow forced out of their western homeland, and who wandered eastward, perhaps pausing at Oropos, who may then have crossed the Gulf and settled in Lefkandi, and so the speech practice may have spread from there to both Khalkis and Eretria following the destruction of the settlement: later it was, however, generally perceived as a peculiarly Eretrian phenomenon. That it survived in the speech of the later Eretrieis may be explained as being due to many more Lefkandiot refugees having ending up in Eretria, while those who chose to remain in Khalkidian territory most probably stayed on their Lelantine lands, and indeed rhotacism is so slightly attested for Khalkis that it may have been the dialect practice of only a limited area, i.e. the eastern (Lefkandiot) part of the Lelantine Plain.²¹⁸ However, perhaps the dialect went from Euboia to the west as is implied by Rutter.²¹⁹

7. The Gephyraioi: are mentioned very briefly here only because Herodotos²²⁰ thought they were "Phoenicians" who originally came to Boiotia with Kadmos. Ploutarkhos treated this with some scorn (if not on 'politically correct' grounds), and implies that they were indeed Eretrieis. We too should treat Herodotos here with scepticism.²²¹ They may represent a group who came to Euboia in the wake of the Mycenaeans, as Kadmos is associated with Theban myths.²²² This idea is suggested by the tradition linking the Gephyraioi with the introduction of writing to

²¹⁸ Or, the inscriptions Knoepfler cites may have been set up by people from Eretria then living in Khalkis. There is slight support for Khalkidian rhotacism: Jeffery 1961/90 (II/211) 244; 248: a name from Rhegion (a "Khalkidian" colony) exhibiting rhotacism; infra V 135 and n. 28; R. Arena, 'Di alcuni tratti dialettali delle colonie euboiche d'occidente', *Acme* 40/1, 1988, 17ff.

²¹⁹ Supra 30f: there is evidence of ceramic affiliation with Elis as early as 1600 when (Drews 1989 [II/53]) the first Greek-speakers arrived. If this dialect feature was exchanged then, it was certainly very ancient indeed, and may explain the divergences in usage; the direction implied from Euboia to Elis. I think it rather unlikely however. For Oropos in District III: infra V 152 and nn. 163; 165.

²²⁰ Hdt. 5, 55; 57, 1; 61. cf. Plout. *peri Hdt. kakoeth.* 23.

²²¹ It has been suggested to me that Ploutarkhos' essay is "patently biased". Be that as it may, it has also been suggested that Herodotos' account touching upon Euboian affairs is defective. One does well to remember the observation of a leading scholar of Herodotos of the last generation, J. L. Myres, on the work as a whole: "Herodotos is no less memorable for his silences than for garrulity." (*Herodotus. Father of History*, Oxford, 1953, 91). Later he says (183): "Another example (of Herodotos' dependence on Athenian sources KW) is the Raid on Sardis, when Athens provided the commando and landing craft; Eretria, as sea-power, the naval escort (198). It was part of the exceptional fortune of Athens to be the residuary heir of two great precursors, Eretria and Miletus, both devastated by the Persians, and to be the source of almost all our information; the historians of Eretria and Miletus are lost." Another prominent scholar of Euboia, M. B. Wallace, has dealt with Herodotos' unsatisfactory treatment of Euboian affairs in 'Herodotos and Euboia', *Phoenix* 28, 1974, 22 - 44. It is perhaps significant that in the more laudatory studies of Herodotos and his methodology, Euboia is scarcely mentioned e.g. in D. Lateiner's *The Historical Method of Herodotus*, Toronto, 1991, in which Euboia is not mentioned at all. L. Pearson, 'Notes on the Text of Plutarch', *A.J.P.* 80, 1959, 260 - 261 also reveals the kind of unquestioning adherence to Herodotos that worries me (infra IX esp. 258ff.) and an unawareness of even the possibility of a scenario such as Myres (above) had outlined in his study of Herodotos. Herodotos' greater chronological proximity is certainly no guarantee of greater objectivity; indeed this, together with his residence in Athenai until at least 430, might have clouded his judgement concerning controversial matters affecting Athenai.

²²² R. B. Edwards, *Kadmos the Phoenician. A Study in Greek Legends and the Mycenaean Age*, Amsterdam, 1979 for a full treatment of the topic.

Greece: in this scenario, it would have been the Linear B script which the Mycenaean overlords of Euboia would have brought with them. But the fact that later Euboieis were instrumental in the re-establishment of (alphabetic) writing into Greece c.800²²³ has led scholars to associate the introduction of **alphabetic** writing to the Gephyraioi. The precise source of the alphabet and the route by which it reached Greece is not yet known for certain, but a view that has met with favour recently is that it was first introduced by Euboian merchants, resident at Al Mina on the north Syrian coast, where there was a community of Greeks, who were mainly Euboieis early on, living in close contact with Phoenicians.²²⁴ The Gephyraioi may have been such merchants.²²⁵ There is no real evidence for a permanent Phoenician settlement on Euboia. The notice by Strabon about "Arabs coming with Kadmos" who remained on the island, and which Dondorff linked to a migration of Philistines!,²²⁶ should rather be seen in the context of the migration of Boiotoi/Phokaeis to Euboia, and it would be better to emend the text from ἼΑραβεῖς to ἼΑβαντες. The story that fish with jewelled collars lived in the waters of the Arethousa fountain near Khalkis, which were fed entrails of sacrificed animals, indicates rather a late Levantine cult practice²²⁷ which undoubtedly arrived with one of several eastern cults during the Hellenistic Age.²²⁸

²²³ The bibliography is large. Since the topic will be dealt with later, I will content myself here with a reference to just two recent scholars on this topic: B. B. Powell, *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet*, Cambridge, 1991, passim, especially 221 - 237 (conclusions); idem, 'Homer and Writing' in I. Morris and B. Powell (edd.), *A New Companion to Homer*, Brill, Leiden, 1997, 3 - 32; cf. N. Demand, *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece; Flight and Consolidation*, Bristol, 1990, 28 - 31; but why (as does Demand) postulate Asia Minor as the "near-by" inspiration for "Homeros" (*Od.* 6, 2 - 10) in preference to Lefkandiot Euboia bearing in mind Powell's theory and data?

²²⁴ Jeffery 1961/90 (II/211) 10 - 12; but note especially her comment in idem. *Archaic Greece*, London, 1976, 63: "Possibly the Euboians there were Eretrians though the evidence is not conclusive." Boardman 1957 (I/65) 25 - 27; Powell 1991 (II/223); idem 1997 (II/223); P. J. Riis, *Sûkâs I: The North-East Sanctuary and the First Settling of Greeks in Syria and Palestine*, Publications of the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia 1, Copenhagen, 1970, 129; 142 (Sûkâs), 159 (Al Mina); J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, London, 1980, 42 - 43; 83 - 84.

²²⁵ Strabon 9, 2, 2, C400: γέφυρα as "bridge"; were they seen as a bridge between east and west?

²²⁶ Strabon, 10, 1, 8 C447: καὶ ἸΑραβεῖς [ἸΑβαντες?ΚΩ] οἱ Κάδμω συνδιαβάντες. H. Dondorff, *Die Ionier auf Euboia*, Berlin, 1860, 30ff. (in Geyer 1903 [I/1] 39) non vidi; A. Schachter, 'Kadmos and the Implications of the Tradition for Boiotian History', *La Béotie antique. Colloques internationaux du Centre national de la recherche*, Lyon - St Étienne, 16 - 20 mai, 1983, Paris, 1985, 151 - 152.

²²⁷ Athen. *Deipn.* 8, 331e.

²²⁸ E.g. the Egyptian deities (Isis, Serapis and Harpokration) at Eretria (IG XII 9, 566, 567, 568, 569, 562, 563); at Khalkis (IG XII 9, 927, 928, 929); Magna Mater [Kybele]: (IG XII 9, 259₂₁). For the Iseion at Eretria, N. Papadakis, 'Ἀνασκαφὴ Ἰσείου Ἐρετρίας', *A.D.* 1, 1915, 148 - 190. *S.E.G.* 1988, item 863: dedication to the "Syrian Goddess" at Khalkis; 1984, item 884: the "Mother of the Gods" (Khalkis) and item 885 to the "Syrian Goddess" (Khalkis); P. Bruneau *Le sanctuaire et le culte des divinités égyptiennes à Érétrie*, Leiden, 1975, passim.