

APPENDIX 2: SPECIAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES FROM FOOTNOTES:

Chapter I:

n. 1: TOPOGRAPHY; TRAVEL; GEOLOGY; BOTANY. **Generally:** W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, London, 1856 (2 vols); *The Mediterranean Pilot*, London, 1831; E. C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region*, New York, 1931/71; **Euboia:** J. Girard, 'Mémoire sur l'île d'Eubée', in *Archives des missions scientifiques*, II, 1851, Paris, 635ff.; K. Bursian, *Quaestiones Euboicarum capita selecta*, Leipzig, 1856; *ibid.*, *Geographie von Griechenland*, II, pt. 3: die Inselwe t, Leipzig, 1871; A. Baumeister, *Topographische Skizze der Insel Euboia*, Lübeck, 1864; Al. Rangavé, 'Mémoire sur la partie méridionale de l'île d'Eubée' in *Mémoires présentés à l'Académie des Inscriptions*, series I, vol. 3, 1853; J. Pickard, 'A Topographical Study of Eretria', *Pap. Amer. Sch. Cl. St. at Athens*, 6, 1890 - 1897, 104 - 122; F. Geyer, *Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euboia im Altertum, I: Bis zum Peloponnesischen Kriege*, Berlin, 1903 (part 2 never published). My ed. is a mod. Greek trans. by A. A. Zambalos, "Αρχαίων Εὐβοιῶν Μελετῶν 9, 1962, 18ff.; R. B. Richardson, 'Eretria: a Historical Sketch', *A.J.A.*, 7, 1891, 236 - 246; (repr. in *Pap. Amer. Sch. Cl. Stud.*, Athens, vol. VI, 1890 - 1897, 59 - 69); R. B. Richardson, *Vacation Days in Greece* New York, 1903, 111 - 113; *A Journey from Athens to Eretria*, W. Wallace, *The History of Eretria to 198 B.C.* Ph. D. diss. Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1936A, ch. 1; A. Philippson, *Die Griechischen Landschaften. Ein Landeskunde*. (Herausgegeben unter Mitwirkung von H. Lehmann), Klostermann, Frankfurt am Main, Vol. 1, 1950/59, 549 - 739; R. Boulanger, *Hachette: Greece*, Paris, 1964. (tr. M. N. Clark/J. S. Hardman); A. Huxley/W. Taylor, *Flowers of Greece and the Aegean*, London, 1977; G. Sfikas, *Self-Propagating Trees and Shrubs of Greece* Efstratiadis, Athenai, 1978; M. Aryiriadou, *Εὐβοία ὅπως τὴν εἶδατε τὴν φωτογράφησα*, Athens, 1981; H.-J. Gehrke, 'Zur Rekonstruktion antiker Seerouten: Das Beispiel des Golfs von Euboia', *Klio*, 74, 1992, 98 - 117; S. Wheeler, *An Island Apart*, London, 1992.

Chapter IV:

n. 3: THE URBAN EVOLUTION OF ERETRIA: C. Krause (1) 'Structure et développement urbanistique d'Érétrie archaïque', *Gli Eubei in Occidente. Atti del Diciottesimo Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto, 8 - 12 ottobre, 1978*, Taranto, 1979, 37 - 40, fig. 1; (2) 'Eretria: Ausgrabungen 1979 - 1980', *A.K.* 24, 1981, 70 - 87 (esp. report on a prehistoric site in area G 10 Eretria by A. Tuor 83 - 84), (3) 'Zur städtebaulichen Entwicklung Eretrias', *A.K.* 25, 1982(A), 138 - 139, nn. 7 - 12); (4) 'Ausgrabungen 1981. Eretria', *A.K.* 25, 1982(B), 150 - 160 (esp. report on G 10 site by A. Tuor, 153 - 160); (5) 'Remarques sur la structure et l'évolution de l'espace urbain d'Érétrie', *Architecture et Société (Actes du Colloque de Rome, 1980)*, Paris/Rome, 1983, 63 - 66, fig. 2); an updating of his earlier 1979 study and the article cited in n. 1.

n. 95: C. Bérard, 'Topographie et urbanisme de l'Érétrie archaïque: l'Hérôon', in *Eretria* 6, Berne, 1978, 93 - 94; *idem* 'Le sceptre du prince', *M.H.* 29, 1972, 219 - 227; *idem* 'Récupérer la mort du prince: héroïsation et formation de la cité', in G. Gnoli and J. -P. Vernant (edd.) *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes*, Cambridge, 1982, 89 - 105; *idem/A. Altherr-Charon*, 'Eretrie. L'organisation de l'espace et la formation d'une cité grecque', A. Schnapp (ed.), *L'archéologie aujourd'hui*, Paris, 1980, 232 - 233

Chapter V:

nn. 92/94: THE GORGON-SYMBOL AND ARTEMIS AT ERETRIA AND KERKYRA: B. Goldman, 'The Asiatic origin of the Greek Gorgon', *Berytus* 14/1, 1961, 1 - 22 (who notes bearded but female figures); *ibid.*, 'A Snake Goddess, Asiatic Demonology and the Gorgon', *A.J.A.* 65, 1961, 189 (links snakes and running gorgons); C. Hopkins, 'The Sunny side of the Greek Gorgon', *Berytus* 14/1, 1961, 25 - 35 (the gorgon as solar symbol) and *ibid.* 'Assyrian Elements in the Perseus-Gorgon Story', *A.J.A.* 38, 1934, 341 - 358 (argues for an Asiatic origin, as do M. Thompson, 'The Asiatic or Winged Artemis', *J.H.S.* 29, 1909, 286 - 307, and A. Giuliano, 'L'origine di un tipo de Gorgone', *A.S.A.A.* 37 - 38, 1976, 231 - 237); T. P. Howe, 'The Origin and Function of the Gorgon Head', *A.J.A.* 58, 1954, 209 - 221 (an apotropaic mask); A. L. Frothingham, 'Medusa, Apollo and the Great Mother', *A.J.A.* 15, 1911, 349 - 377 (identical with a prehistoric nature goddess, identical with, or cognate to the Great Mother, Rhea, Demeter, Hera, Artemis etc.,

the embodiment of productive and destructive forces of the sun, an emblem of the sun's disk.), *ibid.*, 'Medusa as Artemis in the Temple at Corfu', *A.J.A.* 26, 1922, 84 - 85 (not a bogey mask); A. L. Boegehold, 'A Neglected Gorgon', *G.R.B.S.* 15, 1974, 32 - 35 (Gorgons in unidentified knightly company); E. Niki, 'Sur une "Potnia-Gorgone" d'Érétrie au Musée Nationale d'Athènes', *R.A.* sér. 6, 1, 1933, 148; D. A. Amyx, 'The Gorgon Hydria from Eretria', *A.J.A.* 45, 1941, 64 - 69; D. B. Harden, 'A Series of Terracottas representing Artemis, found at Tarentum', *J.H.S.* 47, 1927, 93 - 101 (the goddess with lions or dressed in lion-skins, with stags); E. Bevan, 'Water-birds and the Olympian Gods', *B.S.A.* 84, 1989, 163 - 169; *C.A.H.* (1927 ed.) volume of plates 196 - 197; L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States II*, (Artemis) Oxford, 1896, 522 - 523 and pl. 29a; R. Graves, *The Greek Myths*, London, 1955/1961 (suggests that the name Artemis means "high source of water", cf. index s.v. *Artemis*). Also from Eretria is a clay idol of a goddess wearing a skirt decorated with a large duck-like bird: C. A. Hutton, 'Πῆλ να εἰδώλια ἐξ Ἐρετρίας' *A.E.* 1899, 25 - 43 (25 - 26. fig. 1).

n. 128: ERETRIAN COLONISATION IN THE NORTHERN AEGEAN: C. Edson, 'Notes on the Thracian "Phoros"', *C.P.*, 42, 1947, 88 - 91; J. W. Cole, 'Peisistratos on the Strymon', *Greece and Rome*, 22, 1975, 42 - 43; D. Viviers, 'Pisistratus' Settlement on the Thermaic Gulf, a connection with Eretrian Colonization', *J.H.S.*, 107, 1987, 193 - 195; S. Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria: their Relation to Greece from the Earliest Times down to the Time of Phillip, son of Amyntas*, Oxford, 1926, 82 - 85; N. G. L. Hammond, *A History of Macedonia*, vol. 1, Oxford, 1972, 186 - 188.

n. 137: CLASSICAL REFERENCES FOR THE NORTHERN COLONIES. **Aigê (Aigai)** on Pallene: Hdt. 7, 127, St. Byz., *A.T.L.*, **Ainia (Ainos)**, however they are apparently distinguished in the *A.T.L.* III, p. 270. List of 454/3 nos 6 and 7); Steph. Byz. says that it was a foundation of the Mitylenaioi and Kymaioi, but it is likely to have been Eretrian if, as some believe, it is to be identified with Rha(i)kelos, the "foundation" of Peisistratos. Its position at the head of the Thermaic Gulf, close to Dikaia Eretrieon (?) also suggests this; **Akrothôoi (Akrothôon)** on Athos: Hdt. 7, 22, Thouk. 4, 109, Strabon 7, 331, Skyl. 26, Steph. Byz., Plin. 4, 10, 17; **Aloros** north of Methone: Steph. Byz., Skyl., Strabon 7, 330; **Apollonia** on the Thermaic Gulf: Plin. 4, 10, 3; 17; 37, Steph. Byz. no. 22; **Dikaia Eretrieôn (Dikaiarkheia)**: Hdt. 7, 109, Skyl. 27, Strabo 7, 331, Plin. 4, 18, *A.T.L.*, coin types; **Dion (1)** in Pieria: Strabon 7, 330, St. Byz., Skyl. 26, Thouk. 4, 78; **Dion (2)** on Athos: Hdt. 7, 32, Thouk. 4, 109, Strabon 7, 331, Skyl. 26, (one of these is called πόλις Εἰβορέων by Steph. Byz.); **Eion** in Pieria: Steph. Byz., Eustath. *ad Hom. Il. pert.* 287 (Thouk. 4, 7 mentions a "colony of the Mendaioi", itself a colony of Eretria, *infra*); **Kharadriai**: Skyl.; **Mende** on Pallene: Thouk. 4, 123 says it was an Eretrian colony, Hdt. 7, 123, Steph. Byz., Paus. 5, 10, 27, Plin. 4, 10; Liv. 31, 45, Suid., Skyl. 26; **Methone** in Pieria: Plout. *Q.G.* 11 (founded by Eretrieis returning from Kerkyra), Steph. Byz. (one also in Euboeia), Skyl. 26; **Olophyxos** on Athos: Hdt. 7, 22, Thouk. 4, 109, St. Byz., Strabon 7, 331, Skyl. 27; **Pharbelos**: location uncertain, Steph. Byz. calls it πόλις Ἐρετριέων. If it existed it will have been in the North Aegean area; Pydna in Pieria: Plin. 4, 17, Skyl. 26, Skymn. 626, St. Byz.; **Rha(i)kelos**: vide supra Aineia / Ainos, Lykophron, 1236 - 1238 and Scholia; Steph. Byz. Ράκηλος: πόλις Μαιζεδονίας; **Sane (1)** on Pallene: Strabon 7, 330 (it. 27), Hdt. 7, 123 cf. Thouk. 5, 18 (is he referring to Paliene Sane?); **Sane (2)** on Athos: Probably Andrian but *infra*, Steph. Byz., Hdt. 7, 22, Thouk. 4, 109 (cf. 5, 18); Steph. Byz. of Sane says: πόλις Θυάκης μεταξύ Ἄθου καὶ Παλλήνης; **Skione** on Paliene: Steph. Byz., Strabon 7, 330, Plin. 4, 17; **Therambos** on Pallene: Hdt. 7, 123, Lykophron 1406, St. Byz., Skyl. 26.

n. 191: HOPLITE WARFARE: (cf. also Appendix 17) *R.E.*; V. D. Hanson, *The Western Way of War*, New York, 1989 (bibliography arranged under categories); idem (ed.), *Hoplites: the Classical Greek Battle Experience*, London, 1993 (extensive bibliography); A. J. Holliday, 'Hoplites and Heresies', *J.H.S.* 102, 1982, 97 - 98; J. B. Salmon, 'Political Hoplitism?', *J.H.S.*, 97, 1977, 95; P. Cartledge, 'Hoplites and Heroes: Sparta's Contribution to the Techniques of Ancient Warfare', *J.H.S.*, 97, 1977, 11 - 37.

n. 260: MILETOS IN THE SIXTH CENTURY: After the disappearance of its famous tyrant Thrasyboulos, there followed a prolonged state of civil war: "At Miletus . . . political strife seems to have been endemic there through the sixth century." Little is in fact known about Thrasyboulos. He was succeeded by an extreme democracy. This régime was followed by a period (sixty years) of particularly vicious party strife between the faction of the "rich" (ἡ πλουτίαι) and that of "labour" (ἡ χειροτάτοι) in which unheard-of atrocities were perpetrated on both sides. The stasis

was finally resolved when Paros, the old friend of both Miletos and Eretria from the days of Arkhilokhos, was asked to arbitrate; the Parians gave power to those whose estates were well and fairly administrated. The story suggests that the compromise was in the form of a moderate oligarchy of landowners. But the nature of the government which emerges and lasted almost to the Persian conquest was a commercial oligarchy, committed to supporting trade, like its Eretrian counterpart. Its supreme *arkhe* was the institution of the *aeinautai* whom we meet also (though not, I think, as a magistracy) in Eretria. This régime was increasingly weakened due to internal conflicts as well as the looming threat of Persia, Sardis fell in 546 and Miletos itself in 545 B.C. Eretria had lost a long-standing and loyal ally. Cf. R. M. Cook, 'The Eastern Greeks' in *C.A.H.* III², 3, 1982, ch. 39a, 201; *R.E.* s.v. Thrasyloulos (I) which suggests the beginning of the sixth century for his accession to power. H. Bengtson 1988 (IV/236) 64, n. 26 places his "removal" (how?) about the turn of the seventh/sixth century. On the "low" chronology (to which I adhere) he would have 'died' somewhere about 580 - 570. For a detailed treatment of Miletos in the late sixth century, cf. Robertson 1987 (IV/313) 356 - 398. For the stasis: Hdt. 5, 28 and Athenaios *Deipn.* 523f - 524b. For the terms ἡ πλουτίς and ἡ χειρομάχου: Plout. *Ait. hell.* 32. Athenaios' description of the atrocities is particularly graphic. Cf. also W. How/J. Wells 1928 (V/282) II, 10 (on Hdt. 5, 28). For the Parian arbitration, Hdt. 5, 29. The purpose of Kondoleon's paper, 1963/65 op. cit. (n. 1), is to prove that this term was applied to the institution of the probouloi at Eretria (i.e. a magistracy). His arguments rest partly on the close association between the two cities (see esp. 1 - 9, 25 - 26). In this he fails to convince, though in the process he amasses a body of data that is important for an appreciation of other important aspects of Eretrian history, e.g. the question of naval power. On the *aeinautai* at Miletos cf. Plout. *Ait. hell.* 32. Robertson (supra) 380ff. identifies the *aeinautai* with *epimeneioi* (ἐπιμένιοι), 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: Μεγαρεῖσι δὲ ὅς τε γὰρ ἔτε: ἐπιμένει· εὐουρεε: . . .). On the Eretrian probouloi, supra IV. On Eretrian *aeinautai*: Kondoleon 1963/65 (I/28).

Chapter VI

n. 2: KHEILON: W. G. Forrest, *A History of Sparta, 950 B.C. to 192 B.C.*, London, 1971, 75 - 76; J. T. Hooker, *The Ancient Spartans*, London, 1980, p. 147; L. F. Fitzhardinge, *The Spartans*, London, 1985, 141 - 143.

n. 3: THE ORTHAGORIDS: A. R. Burn, *The Lyric Age of Greece*, London, 1960, 205; A. Andrewes, *The Greek Tyrants*, London, 1956, 61; J. McGlew, *Tyranny and Political Culture in Ancient Greece*, Ithaca, 1993, 145 and n. 54; D. Leahy, 'The Dating of the Orthagorid Dynasty', *Historia* 17, 1968, 1 - 23; idem 'Chilon and Aeschines again', *Phoenix*, 13, 1959, 31 - 37; a reply to M. White, 'The Dates of the Orthagorids', *Phoenix* 12, 1958, 2 - 14; N. Hammond, 'The Family of Orthagoras', *C.Q.*, n.s. 6, 1956, 45 - 53; M. McGregor, 'Cleisthenes of Sicyon and the Panhellenic Festivals', *T.A.P.A.*, 72, 1941, 266 - 287; A. Griffin, *Sikyon*, Oxford, 1982, 57 - 59.

n. 5: THE EXILE OF PEISISTRATOS: P. Rhodes, ('Peisistratid Chronology again', *Phoenix* 30, 1976, 219 - 233 [esp. 231]; idem *A Commentary on the Aristotelian 'Athenaion Politeia'*, Oxford, 1981, 191 - 199) who says 556/5?, cf. G. R. Stanton, *Athenian Politics c.800 - 500 B.C. A Sourcebook*, London, 1990, 98 - 99. I have consulted also: F. E. Adcock, 'The Exiles of Peisistratus', *C.Q.*, 18, 1924, 174 - 181; G. V. Sumner, 'Problems in the Aristotelian "Athenaion Politeia"', *C.Q.*, ns 11, 1961, 31 - 54 (pp. 37 - 49 for this issue); J. E. Sandys, *The Constitution of Athens*, London, 1893, 59 (note re. use by author of Ath. Pol. (15) of πᾶσι; cf. Hdt. 1, 61); J. Holliday, 'The Followers of Peisistratus', *G. & R.* 24, 1974, 40 - 56; R. J. Hopper, 'Plain, Shore and Hill in Early Athens', *B.S.A.* 56, 1961, 189 - 219; M. F. McGregor, 'Phormion and Peisistratos', *Phoenix* 28, 1974, 18 - 21.

n. 40: PEISISTRATOS IN THE NORTH: Sealey 1967 (V/5) ch. 6. To items listed in V n. 128 supra may now be added French 1959 (I/25) and 1974 (VI/21), Cole 1975 (V/125) 42 - 44, Edson 1947 (V/125) 88 - 105; Smith 1989 (VI/40) 23 - 36; Burn 1960 (VI/3); Viviers 1987 (V/125) 193 - 195; R. Weil, *Aristote et l' Histoire: Essai sur la "Politique"*, Paris, 1960, 112 - 114.

n. 59: THE MARRIAGES AND CHILDREN OF PEISISTRATOS:

1st marriage:	"an Athenian woman"	Hippias Hipparkhos Thessalos
2nd marriage	Timcnassa (Argive)	Argeios/Iophon?

3rd marriage	Megakles' daughter	Hegisippos (no children, obviously!)
4th marriage	Koisyra (Eretrian)	Eretrius
5th marriage	Myrrhine (Eleusinian)	(5 children)

NOTES:

1. The basic discussion is Davies 1971 (V/282) 446 - 455; for Koisyra, Shear 1963 (VI/56) 99 - 112.
2. The sequence of marriages must remain doubtful.
3. The tradition confuses and conflates some children, e.g. "Argeios" may have been a nick-name of Iophon. However, ethnic forms are attested in a series of Peisistratid names from Khios cf. Forrest, 1982A (VI/16) 134. Likewise there is debate over the identity of Thessalos/Hegesippos. Another nick-name? Is Eretrius yet another for an as yet unidentified son?
4. Eretrius attested from an ostrakon. Likewise for a Hipparkhos, son of Kharmos (early-5th cent.) whom Davies (450) thinks may be associated with Myrrhine. Geyer 1903 (Intro./3) 80 writes as though **Hippias** were Koisyra's son (i.e. Eretrius?KW): "If they (the Eretrian Hippias) still ruled (in 510), they would not have hesitated to offer their strenuous help to **the son of an Eretrian woman, to the grandson of one of their own.**" However, Hdt. 1, 61 explicitly includes Hippias as one of those whose counsel Peisistratos listened to while in exile in Eretria. Moreover, later indications of his age tell against so late a birth date.
5. For Argeios, supra sub-note 3. Other examples from Khios are IG XI, 398 Ἀργεῖος Πεισιπλάτου and *S.E.G.* 19, 580 Ἀργεῖος Πιπτιῶν.
6. We shall have occasion to meet another Koisyra in connection with the Alkmaionidai.
7. The name Eretrius is attested on an ostrakon; it would continue the series of "ethnic" names for P's children. (From IX 247: The ostrakon would chronologically (cf. E. Vanderpool in: H. A. Thompson, 'Excavation of the Athenian Agora, Twelfth Season, 1947', *Hesperia* 17, 1948, 193 - 195; R. Thomsen, *The Origin of Ostracism - A Synthesis*, Copenhagen, 1972, 73) tie in with a purge of Peisistratids early in the 5th century following the fall of Miletos which included Hipparkhos, son of Kharmos. Since he would not have been born before c.546, his age in 494 would have been about 52 and could easily still have been alive. The fact that only one ostrakon has been found probably means that he was not a significant figure. Another, later Eretrius [a grandson?] occurs in IG I² 950₁₄ [a list of soldiers who fell in a naval engagement in 412/11]. Could it be that the battle was associated with the revolt of Euboia, of which Eretria was a prime mover? He may have been there because of his descent and some perceived use for his family connections in Eretria. Thoukydides describes the battle fought in the harbour of Eretria in 411 [8, 95, 3 - 7]. It might belong to an Eretrian deserter fighting alongside the Athenaioi, though the name appears to be a personal and not an ethnic one.) However, I shall signal here another possible interpretation: some ostraka have been found and published naming Megakles the Alkmaionid as son of Koisyra (which support refs in scholia to Aristophanes' *Nephelai*), one of which urges him to go home to Eretria. This Megakles may have been considered to be a foreigner and called simply "The Eretrian" in this ostrakon.

Chapter VII:

n. 115: THE MURDER OF HIPPARKHOS: M. Lang, 'The Murder of Hipparchus', *Historia*, 3, 1954/55, 395 - 407; T. R. Fitzgerald, 'The Murder of Hipparchus, - a Reply', *Historia*, 6, 1957, 5 - 286; C. W. Fornara, 'The "Tradition" about the Murder of Hipparchus', *Historia*, 17, 1968, 400 - 424 (no mention of Eretria at all); idem, 'Hellanicus and the Alcmeonid Tradition', *Historia*, 17, 1968, 381 - 383; idem, 'The Cult of Harmodius and Aristogeiton', *Philologus*, 114, 1970, 155 - 180; B. M. Lavelle, 'The Nature of Hipparchos' Insult to Harmodios', *A.J.P.*, 107, 1986, 318 - 331; idem, 'Herodotus and the Tyrant-Slayers', *Rh. Mus.*, 131, 1988, 211 - 215.

Chapter VIII:

n. 66: THE KORINTHIAN TERRITORIAL INSCRIPTIONS: The first commentary on the Korinthian inscription was by H. von Gaertringen in a review of Meritt in *Phil. Woch.*, 52, 1932, 361 - 364. Ten years later, S. Dow published his paper, 'Corinthiaca', *H.S.C.P.*, 53, 1942; this inscription is discussed in section 2, 90 - 106. This was followed by a series of other papers: R. S.

Stroud, 'Tribal Boundary Markers from Corinth', *C.S.C.A.*, 1, 1968, 233 - 242 (+ 2 plates); Roebuck 1972 (IV/85) 96 - 127; G. R. Stanton, 'The Territorial Tribes of Korinth and Phleious', *C.A.*, 5/1, Apl. 1986, 139 - 153. Others to have dealt with Korinthian civic organization include: Lutz 1896 (VIII/77) 418 - 419; Will 1955 (IV/252) 609ff.; Salmon 1986 (IV/85): Appendix I The Corinthian Local Tribes. Stroud links the original inscription of 1927 with three more found in (a) 1934, published by J. H. Kent in *Corinth: Results of Excavations VIII*, Cambridge Mass., 1966, Part 3; no. 8; (b) 1960, in *Corinth Inventory*, I, 2562; and (c) 1965, in *Corinth Inventory*, I, 2624. More recently, N. F. Jones, 'The Civic Organization of Corinth', *T.A.P.A.*, 110, 1980, 161 - 193, argued "strongly" (thus Salmon 1986 [IV/85] 414) that a decree from Delos (discovered in 1908 and reported briefly by Holleaux, *C.R.A.L.*, 1909 and in extenso by L. Robert in 'Un décret trouvé à Delos', *Hellenica*, 5, 1948, 5 - 15, and 'Un décret dorien trouvé à Delos', *Hellenica*, 12, 1960, 562 - 569), is of Korinthian origin. Cf. also Jones 1987 (VIII/77) 97 - 103.

Chapter IX:

n. 69: NAMES OF THE ERETRIAN TRAITORS IN 490: Apart from Aiskhines, these are not common names in the Eretrian prosopography. In the list of *Nomina* in IG XII 9 (including these mentions in Hdt.), Aiskhines occurs 21 times; Alkimakhos 4; Euphorbos (cf. *L.S.J.* s.v. εὐφορβία 737) is a hapax (as is Kuneas [cf. *L.S.J.* s.v. κύνεος and κύνων. Also possibly κύνειν: J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse - Obscene Language in Attic Comedy*, Oxford/New York, 1991, 181 - 182); Nothôn 2; Philagros 2. Some of these names sound suspect - esp. Kuneas, Euphorbos and Nothôn. Interestingly, translators transliterate Kuneas as Kineas (Cineas). Philagros ("fond of the chase" [*L.S.J.* s.v. p. 1931]) and Alkimakhos ("brave fighter" [*L.S.J.* s.v. p. 67]) are suitably 'hippobotic'. The Greek words translated as "leading men" are ἄνδρες τῶν ἀσπίων δόξιοι, *L.S.J.* s.v. δόξιος (1) 442 suggests "noble" as one possible translation and hence I think it is likely that these traitorous νόμοι were members of the oligarchic faction.

APPENDIX 3: CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES AND NOTES.

Table 1: (II/7)

<u>NEOLITHIC</u>	6200 - 3000	The information used to compile this table was obtained from E. Vermeule (II/47) 1964, 314 - 315, and R. Higgins, <i>The Greek Bronze Age</i> , London, 1977, 12 - 13. For greater detail on the Neolithic: A. Sampson 1981, (II/67). Others, e.g. R. Drews, <i>The Coming of the Greeks. Indo-European Conquests in the Aegean and the Near East</i> , Princeton, 1989, would down-date by c 50 - 100 years
<u>EARLY HELLADIC</u>	3000 - 2000	
EARLY HELLADIC I	3000 - 2500	
EARLY HELLADIC II	2500 - 2200	
EARLY HELLADIC III	2200 - 2000	
<u>MIDDLE HELLADIC</u>	2000 - 1550	
<u>LATE HELLADIC</u>	1550 - 1175	
LATE HELLADIC I (Mycenaean)	1550 - 1500	
LATE HELLADIC II (Mycenaean)	1500 - 1400	
LATE HELLADIC IIIA (Mycenaean)	1400 - 1300	
LATE HELLADIC IIIB (Mycenaean)	1300 - 1200	
LATE HELLADIC IIIC (Mycenaean)	1200 - 1100	
<u>SUB-MYCENAEAN</u>	1100 - 1050	

Table 2: (III/7; IV/10).

SUB-MYCENAEAN		1100 - 1050
PROTOGEOMETRIC		1050 - 900
EUBOIAN SUB-PROTOGEOMETRIC	(ATTIC EG I & II)	900 - 850
EUBOIAN MIDDLE GEOMETRIC	(ATTIC MG I, II & LG Ia)	850 - 750
Reference may be made to the following periods:		
EUBOIAN LATE GEOMETRIC	(ATTIC LG Ib, IIa & b, EPA)	750 - 690
SUB-GEOMETRIC	(ATTIC EPA, MPA)	690 =

Table 3 (V/66):

KHALKIS	JOINT	ERETRIA	DATES
		Kerkyra	Before 734 (prob. c.785)
	Pithekoussai		c.785 B.C.
Kyme (Cumae)			c.750 B.C.
	Syrakoussai (?)		Before 734
		Orikos	c.750 or perhaps c.734
		Methone	734 B.C.
Naxos			734 B.C.
Rhegion			c.730 - 20
Zankle			c.730 - 20
Katane			729 B.C.
Leontinoi			729 B.C.

The Korinthioi ejected the Eretrieis (who were probably there before Pithekoussai) from Kerkyra in 734; they would then have gone on and expelled the Eretrieis (and Khalkideis?) from Ortygia (Syrakoussai) soon after: Blakeway 1932/33 (V/7) 205, n. 4: "The synchronism with Syracuse is supported by Schol. Apollon. Rhod. iv 1212 and Plutarch *Amat. Narr.* 772." The exclusively Khalkidian colonies (so-called "Famine Colonies") were distinctly later than the Eretrian and Erethro-Khalkidian commercial *emporion*.

APPENDIX 4: THE KYPSELIDAI, THEOGNIS AND THE LOW CHRONOLOGY

VII n. 21: Herodotos implies that Periandros died between 540 and 530. He was still alive when Peisistratos was tyrant of Athenai: his arbitration at Sigeion: 5, 94 - 95 is also mentioned in *Ar. Rhet.* 1375 b. Such a dating agrees well with Theognis' *floruit*. It allows us to dismiss the notion that the "Kypselid tribe" involved in Euboeia was a cadet branch of the family e.g. the Philaidai at Athenai or the Ambrakiot branch, descended from Gorgos, an illegitimate son of Kypselos himself: Strabon 7, 7, 6 C325; Ps-Skymn. 453 - 5; cf. *Ant. Lib.* 4, 4. Newman 1902 [IV/235] 329 - 330). Gorgos was sent by Periandros to govern Ambrakia. He had two sons, Psammetikhos (Kypselos II) and Periandros (II). The former succeeded Periandros as tyrant at Korinthos; the latter became tyrant of Ambrakia. From him descended the husband of Timonassa, the Argive woman who later married Peisistratos. A Kypselos who was eponymous *arkhon* of Athenai 597/6 (D. W. Bradeen, 'The Fifth Century Archon List', *Hesperia* 31, 1963 187 - 208; Davies 1971 (V/282) 8429 V (B) 298) was a member of the Philaid family, father of Miltiades the tyrant of the Khersonesos. (Miltiades III in: Davies 299f.) Forrest 1982B (VII.34) 252, n. 6, suggests that some Kypselids seized Kerinthos en route to Potidaia (c.600) attributing the idea to H. T. Wade-Gery.

The problem that arises from the fact that we have an *arkhon* of Athenai of 597/6 with the name Kypselos is not as significant as might appear at first sight: (cf. Bradeen 1963 [supra] 194, n. 31) where he, an adherent of the 'high' chronology, admits that it would not have been impossible for the grandson of the Korinthian tyrant (on Beloch's chronology as modified by Will, coming to power in c.620) to have been *arkhon* in 597/6. In fact there are indications that point directly to Periandros himself as the Kypselid involved, as we shall see in this chapter. The reference to "tribe" need only refer to those associated with Periandros in the poet's mind. Likewise, to reject his involvement solely on the grounds that the Kypselidai "had no known involvement in Euboea" (Carrière 1962 [VII/58] 45, n. 172.) simply will not do, for this is tantamount to saying that we ought not to consider seriously any single reference to ancient events and people in any but a 'major' writer, and, moreover, Carrière's hypothesis that it may have been the Philaid-"Kypselid" Miltiades is not based on any solid evidence, and that a Megarian poet (and of what other likely *polis* might he have come, who would employ this particular malediction?) would be thinking of the Philaids is ridiculous. T. Hudson-Williams, *The Elegies of Theognis*, New York, repr. 1979, 231 cites a dedication at Olympia by Kypselos himself which had the dedicatory inscription: εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ χρισσοῦς σφραγίστατος εἰμὶ ζολοσσός ἐξόλης εἶη Κυρπελιδῶν γενεή. (*Agaklytos, F.Gr.H.* 411 F 1). On the offering: Plato, *Phaidr.* 236 B; [*Ar.*] *Oikon.* 1346 a 31 - b 6); however, Hudson-Williams 1903 (VII/64) 1 - 22, regards these lines as of dubious authenticity. For Herodotos' (i.e. the 'low') chronology: the references cited supra, esp. Will, ch. 5, and V. Parker (infra n. 36) 386 - 401. For Theognis: infra n. 53.

VII n. 36: Only on the 'low' chronology could Periandros have been still alive in the 530's, and then he would have been about 75 to 80 years old if he succeeded c.590 at age 20: he could thus have been alive and even active c.535. That he lived to old age and was unwilling to contemplate any loss of power is shown by Nik. Damask. *F.Gr.H.* 90 F 59, 1. He is not the only elderly and aggressive ruler in antiquity of whom we know: Antigonos Monophthalmos died in battle at age 81 (Hieronymos of Kardia, *F.Gr.H.* 154 F 8 = Loukianos *Makrobioi* 11. The *Makrobioi* is a catalogue of men who reached old age ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τοῖς ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ὀλοζλήρῳ τῷ σώματι. It does not however list Periandros) or 86 (Porphyrios, *F.Gr.H.* 260 F 32). R. A. Billows, *Antigonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1990, 185 remarks: "The ultimately unsuccessful aggressiveness of Antigonos's last years has colored the judgements of him by both ancient and modern commentators alike." So too Periandros' aggressiveness.

Sealey 1976 (V/5) 38 - 65 gives a brief survey of the growth of tyranny in the seventh and sixth centuries; also: Ure 1922/1966 (V/142) Andrewes 1956 (VI/3) and more recently, McGlew 1993 (VI/3). Amongst the reasons advanced, we may not in the case of Eretria disregard the possibility of a "racial factor" (Andrewes, ch. 5) for we hear of (later?) *perioikoi* at Dystos. For the Kypselid tyranny at Korinthos, I mention here again Édouard Will's monumental study of archaic Korinthos 1955 (IV/252) chs 5 and 6, 363 - 571 because it establishes the **low chronology** (cf. esp. 363 - 440) which is the basis of my own chronological framework for the history of sixth century Eretria. This has been attacked especially by J. Servais, 'Herodote et la chronologie des Cypselides', *L'Ant. class.* 38, 1969, 28 - 81 and the **high chronology** is probably still orthodoxy. However, the low position has been stoutly (and, I believe, successfully) defended by both Raphael Sealey (especially in his papers, 'From Phemios to Ion', *R.E.G.* 70, 1957, 342 - 351; 'Regionalism in Archaic Athens', *Historia* 9, 1960, 155 - 180; and 'Probouleusis and the Sovereign Assembly', *C.S.C.A.* 2, 1969, 247 - 269), and, in a major recent paper, Victor Parker, 'Zur griechischen und vorderasiatischen Chronologie des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kypselidenchronologie', *Historia* 42, 1993, 385 - 417.

n. 53: THEOGNIS: For an interpretation of these lines that would place them in a sixth century context (though **earlier** than mine): Figueira 1985 (VI/123) 262; 290 - 293. M. L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus*, Berlin/New York, 1974, 40 suggests that prudence requires all poems not "sealed" by the personal name of Kurnos be regarded as anonymous. For an early survey of the conflict of views on this question, cf. Geyer 1903 (Intro./3) 108 - 109. More recently: A. L. Ford, 'The Seal of Theognis: The Politics of Authorship in Archaic Greece' in Figueira/Nagy 1985 (VI/123) 82 - 95. The fact that poetry in archaic Greece circulated, and was recited publicly and privately quite freely, weakens the thesis that the *sphragis* (seal) assures us that Theognis is the sole author of parts that bear this mark. It was in fact applied to the gnomic element of the work: that the geographically descriptive lines do not have the *sphragis* (an address to Kurnos, always in the vocative, is generally considered to constitute Theognis' *seal*) is not a guarantee that they were not by Theognis. In brief, I accept that the lines are by Theognis because: **(a)** they are from Book 1, generally accepted by critics as being composed overwhelmingly of poems by Theognis; **(b)** despite the disputed nature of the late Kypselid dating, it is **not** precluded by the historical and geographical references in the lines (to the Kypselidai and to Euboia) that the poem is by Theognis; **(c)** There is another reference in the corpus to "him" going to Euboia (ll. 783 - 784); **(d)** The lines, considered within their immediate context in the corpus, present a coherent and convincing psychological and historico-geographic picture of Euboia in the mid-6th century.

APPENDIX 5: ON THE NAME PHYLAKÉ.

Contra H. -J. Gehrke 1988 (II/17) 21, I believe that Φυλακῆ is certainly a toponym; cf. D. Evangelidis 1962 (II/26) 17 and 47 who notes the existence of places of this name in both Epeiros and Thessalia (Phthiotis, S.E. of Thessalian Eretria and E. of the river Enipeus [the Eretrian deme ἔξ Ἐμ. ? KW] on the N. slopes of Mt Othrys); in the former, it is mentioned as a place in the territory of the Molossoi, along with a Larisa (and the ethnic of an Epeirot tribe [φυλάη], the Λαοσασσιῶται: H. Collitz, *Sammlung der griechische Dialekt-Inschriften*, (4 vols) Göttingen, 1884 - 1915 no. 1351). There was also a town called Phylake in Arkadia near the sources of the Alpheios on the frontier of Tegea and Lakedaimon. We may note here the possibility that the name of one of the five "Districts" of the Eretriás (V) was called Larasion: Wallace 1947 (I/53) 199ff. and IG XII 9, 241₁₀₇ [.]Α[.]αι[. . . or . . .] and Phylake might be the name for another (IV, since we in fact know the name of III). There were probably originally only three districts, Wallace's numbers 1 and 2 being, I believe, the result of Eretrian territorial expansion in the late-fifth/fourth century. Styra was still independent in the 5th century (Thouk. 7, 57. There is also clear evidence that the deme Grynkhai (closer to the city than Dystos, Zarex or Styra) was still contributing independently of Eretria to the Delian League in 424: *S.E.G.* 1949, item 304) When I speak of "the Eretriás" I of course mean the **area** that was **later** controlled by Eretria.

Schol. Theokritos 2. 12 gives it as an epithet of Artemis of Eretria: "Ἐξάτη καὶ νῦν Ἄρτεμις καλεῖται καὶ Φυλακῆ καὶ Δαδοῖχος καὶ Φωσφόρος καὶ Χθονία". Farnell quotes Soph. *OT*, 206f. (Farnell 1896 (V/98) in vol. II: Artemis 459 he links Artemis Ἄρροτέρα with torches tied to the horns of goats (the "Light-carrier"; the goat was sacred to Artemis and was sacrificed in a hecatomb by Miltiades after Marathon; see also II n. 150 for deme Aigalea/Aigilea. Was Hekate Artemis Phylaké "Guardian of the Gates" i.e. of the great temenos (deme Τεῦ.) which would have been in this District (i.e. IV)?; cf. Farnell, 517. Gehrke follows I. von Prott/L. Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae e titulis collectae*, Leipzig, fasc. 1, 1896; fasc. 2/i, 1906 in interpreting τῇ Μεταξὺ καὶ τῇ Φυλακῇ as datives of time rather than of place: (1, coll. 254ff., no. 88: "Verba tituli difficultatibus non carent. Statim quo spectant casus dativi 'τῇ Μεταξὺ καὶ τῇ Φυλακῇ' obscurum est. Locos dici putat editor (= Papavasileiou, *AE*, 1902, 104), sed locorum definitiones nudo dativo poni non oportebat; dies potius significari putaverim. praesertim proximo dativo "τῇ πρὸ τῶν Ἄρτεμισίων" qui ad diem Artemisiis superiorem non referri non potest (so, incidentally, Papavasileiou) nec diebus festis Artemisiorum singulis sua fuisse nomina improbable, at talia qualia illa fuisse nemo facile credit." (trans.: The words of the inscription are not without difficulties. At once we find that the purpose of the dative cases 'teî Metaxù kai teî Phylakeî' is obscure. The editor thinks that places are indicated, but it is not usual for definitions of places to be put into the simple dative. I would rather think that days are indicated, especially by the following dative, 'teî prò tôn Artemiôn' which cannot but be connected with the preceding day of the Artemisia [so, incidentally, Papavasileiou] but no one, on the other hand, can easily believe that they could have been the unlikely names for individual days in the Artemisia.) - as

Wallace 124, points out, "This last point seems more telling than his difficulty with the dative." Also re. Phylake: note the possible idea of a Hero-Phylakes of the West Gate heroön: Cl. Bérard 1982 (IV/96) 103 n. 15, and *ibid.*, 'Note sur la fouille au sud de l'hérôon', *A. K.* 12, 1969, 74: animal/sheep sacrifices to the hero-phylax cf. sheep to Artemis Kolainis. Also Bérard 1970 (IV/151) ch. V, 63. T. Hadzisteliou-Price 'Hero Cult and Homer', *Historia* 22, 1973, 135; 136 - 137: notes the association of Athena/ Erekhtheus at Athenai. (Hekate-Artemis? Amarynthos at Eretria ?KW). 136: youths in initiation rites at Athenai (cf. Eretria?). 136: hero and goddess in combination. Was Hekate Artemis Kolainis as goddess of the dead (see *RE* s.v. Artemis [14; 15]) related to chthonic ritual and Hekate Artemis Phylake? T. K. Hubbard 'The Theban Amphiaraiion and Pindar's Vision on the Road to Thebes', *M.H.* 50, 1993, 199: Amphiaraios (Oropian deity) as $\tau\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\nu$ and $\eta\upsilon\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\xi$. Note also the personal names $\Phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\zeta\omicron\varsigma$ and $\Phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\xi$ at Styra (IG XII 9, 56_{241 & 122} (5th cent. [or earlier KW]). *SEG* 36, 1986, 801 (p. 240): Inscription referring to [Λ]πολύων[ος] Προστατήριον[ο]: is this a cult equivalent of 'Phylakos' [? KW] There was a mythological relationship between Phylakos, Xuthos and therefore with Kothos Aiklos. (Stemma 1). He was the son of the Aiolian Deïon (Apollod. 1. 9. 4; Schol. II. 2, 695; Steph. Byz. s.v. Φύλαξη) or Deïoneus (Schol. Od. 11, 287; 290; Eustath. *ad Hom. Od. pertin.* on 11, 280, 1685, 21) and Diomedes, daughter of Xuthos. He is regarded as the founder of Phylake in Thessalia (Steph. Byz. s.v.; Schol. II. 2, 695; Eustath. *ad Hom. II. pertin.* on 2, 695, 323, 42; Schol. Theokr. 3, 43) or of Phylakia in the Attike; so why not also of Eretrian Phylake? Eustath. *ad Hom. Od. pertin.* on 11, 522, 1697, 60 wrongly calls him father of Protesilaos. Protesilaos was from Phylake in Thessalia (grandson of Phylakos); Smith 1889 (I/1) 614; *R. E.* s.v. Phylake, Phylakos and Phylas. Phylakos was: 1) King of Ephyra in Thesprotia (Epeiros) whose state was attacked by Herakles and the Kalydonians, and 3) King of the Dryopians between Oita and Parnassos.

APPENDIX 6: TOPONYMS IN -AI; -NTHOS/-SSOS; -STOS.

Chapter II:

TOPONYMS IN -AI: On **Tamynai**: Jacobsen, (Intro./2) 227 and n. 53 (though in fact D. A. Hester, 'Pre-Greek Place Names in Greece and Asia Minor', *Rev. hittite et anatolienne* 61, 1957, 107 - 119, cited by him as doubting this group as pre-Hellenic, does not mention them at all). But cf. E. Laroche, 'Linguistique asianique', in ed. M. S. Ruipérez, *Acta Mycenaea I: Proceedings of the Fifth International Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies held in Salamanca, 30th March - 3rd April, 1970*, University of Salamanca, 1972, 133 who thinks that they possibly are, but is unsure whether they represent an earlier or later time-stratum (or the same? KW) than nouns in *-inthos -issos*. With Tamynai we have Mykenai, Thebai, Athenai, Mytilene etc. Schachermeyr in *R.E.* XII² (1954) 1504 - 1505 certainly thinks that they are all pre-Hellenic. Note Dryopian/Argive connections; Geyer (I/1) 28. Mykenai: Mt. Euboia in Argolis 10 km from Mykenai and stemma III. Zeus Tamynaios (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ταμύνα. Stephanos cites Pausanias, but there is no mention of Zeus Tamynaios in our texts of his work: cf. Meineke's ap. crit. 600 [to l. 9]). Concerning the festival of Apollo of Tamynai: Nilsson 1906 (II/32) 176, n. 3 with bibliography. For a summary of the pre-1903 arguments re. the deme's location: Geyer, (Intro./3) 76f. Strabon. 10, 1. 10 C448 says the temple of Apollo at Tamynai was πλησίον τοῦ πορθυοῦ and from this and also from Herodotos' supposed reference to Tamynai in 6. 101, it is usually located on the coast near Aliveri. But Herodotos says Τάμενος and not Ταμύνας, and Strabon is sometimes inaccurate about Euboia. The epigraphical evidence is not clear: the victor list at the festival of Apollo at Tamynai which specifically names Tamynai was found built into a house in Aliveri (i.e. not *in situ*), but others come from in and around Avlonari. Wallace 1947 (I/53) 142 - 143 is therefore inclined to locate it nearer to Avlonari (some 5 Km inland). Gehrke, (II/17) is more definite, locating the deme centre on Palaiokastro hill at Avlonari (but reserves a slight doubt due to Strabon), 32 and nn. 103 - 107; Knoepfler 1988 (II/2) passim and his map 4 (396). Bibliography in n. 108.

Not far from Tamynai there was another later deme, **Grynkhai**, whose name has no apparent Greek associations (as, likewise, Tamynai). The ancients appear to have found the name Grynkhai odd, to judge from the variations found in lexica, inscriptions etc.: see Steph. Byz. s.v.: Πύργα. Τρύγα. Lykophon, Alex. 374: Τρύγοντες (Τρύγας) and *A.T.L.* (I, 256 - 257): Βουνζής. Βουνζαής. Γουνζής. Γουνζής (I, 478): Βούνζαες. Another of similar type whose meaning is unknown is **Ptekhai** (Πτέγα), a deme adjacent to the city itself: Wallace, map 131. Cf. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 14, 1925, 311 - 312; 21, 1933, 85; 89. for a pre-Indogermanic ancestry. The **Eretrian, inscriptional**, form however is quite unambiguous. The deme was called Γρύγγα. Of such words (especially toponyms), J. L. Caskey 1980 (II/68) ch. 4 (a), 139 has written, "they must belong to the Early Bronze Age and not any other." Grynkhai may be even earlier. It appears to survive today in the modern toponym *Kriezai*: P. Efstratiadis *A. E.* 1869, 331 and, more latterly, Gehrke 1988 (II/17) 33 - 34, who finds Efstratiadis' derivation convincing: Γρύγγα > (possibly pronounced Γρινζά) > (Γρινζά in the local dialect) > Κριεζά. I am not sure about this etymological process, however there are inscriptions recently found apparently in a recently built church (E. Ziebarth, *Philologus* 83, 1928, 204ff (= *IG XII Suppl.* 553) that have led Sampson, *A. D.* 30, 1975 [1983] Chron. 148 to conclude "Εἶναι βέβαιο ὅτι στήν ἀνατολική ἄκρη τῆς κοιλιάδας τῶν Λέπτουρων ἵπτηρχε οἰσιαιός.", which Gehrke (34) seems to imply would have been the deme-centre. On the other hand, Gehrke is perhaps too quick to dismiss

the possibility that the modern toponym *Vrynkhai* is related to the ancient Grynkhai (33 and n. 117). Th. Skouras, 'Οχυρώσεις στην Ειβοία', *A.E.M.* 10, 1975, 365 - 366 identifies the present site of Vrisi near Avlonari as that of Grynkhai, the present name being in his opinion a corruption of Grynkhai (*Vrynkhai*). For none of these *-ai* names is there a plausible Hellenic derivation. On Ptekhai as pre-Hellenic: *R.E.* s.v. 'Ptechai' and references there cited, esp. Kretschmer 1925 (*supra*) 311f.; 1933, 85: 89

TOPONYMS IN -NTHOS/-SSOS: A. E. Koder, 'The Gender of Nouns ending in *-inthos*', *A.J.P.* 63, 1942, 320 - 327; 321: she has a considerable (but incomplete) list of these nouns (without *Amarynthos* again) and then discusses each separately. See for *Kerinthos* and *Minthos*. Also C. D. Buck, 'The Language Situation in and about Greece in the Second Millennium B.C.', *C.P.* 21, 1926, 8 - 9 on this matter.

Amarynthos: Auberson/Schefold 1972 (IV/18) 153 and Parlama 1979 (II/141) 3 - 14. (English summary 14) for the Bronze Age importance of this site in the region and was occupied continuously from Neolithic times to the Byzantine period. There appear to be traces of a circuit wall which would seem to indicate a permanent settlement. F. J. Dunbabin, 'The Early History of Corinth', *J.H.S.* 68, 1948, p. 59 notes while referring to its "v0" type name that at *Korinthos* there are abundant Neolithic and EH remains but few from MH or LH.

Of great importance to any understanding of the linguistic geography of the Aegean area in the Bronze Age is, I think, C. Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language. The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins*, Harmondsworth, 1989, *passim*. He does not agree with the views of J. Mellaart, 'The End of the Bronze Age in Anatolia and the Aegean', *A.J.A.* 62, 1958, 9 - 33, esp. 19ff. and developed in his chapters (18 and 24) of *C.A.H.* I¹ and 'Anatolia and the Indo-Europeans', *J.I.E. S.* 9, 1981, 135 - 149 of widespread destructions accompanying the movements of people and languages (172). Neither scholar can, in the end, say who these people were. The language was non-IE, possibly a sub-stratum of Luwian (Mellaart). These name types are found all over the Greek mainland, islands and parts of Asia Minor and a large number survive even today. L. Deroy, 'La valeur du suffixe pré-hellénique *-nth-* d'après quelques noms grecs (sic.) en *-nthos*', *Glotta* 35, 1956, 171 - 195: on 194 he writes, "... le suffixe pré-hellénique *-nth-* servait à former des noms collectifs et à exprimer accessoirement le pluriel." He doesn't mention any Euboian place-name except **Kerinthos** (190). Both *Kerinthos* and **Amarynthos** are however frequently attested elsewhere. In addition we may note **Koskynthos** (Lyk. *Alex.* 1035), a river of unknown location; **Minthous** (a deme of Eretria: "Μινθουντόθεν" in the inscriptions); **Lelantos** (or *Lelanton*); a mountain, **Dirphossos**, (Lyk. *Alex.* 375) perhaps *Dirphys*; **Imbrasos**, today called the *Imbrossos* (a river on the Eretrian Plain east of Mt *Kotylaion*, a mountain specifically dedicated to *Artemis* (Steph. Byz. s.v.); schol. Pind. *Ol.* 4, 149 mentions a river *Imbrasós* which was also called *Parthenios* from *Hera Parthenos*; (Strabon, 8, 6, 8 C371 mentions a River *Erasinos* [ἄλλος δ' ἔστιν ὁ Ἐρασιναῖος καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ κατὰ Βραυρώναια] and another in the Argolid. In legend, Argive *Erasinos* was the father of *Britomartis* a form of *Artemis*. [*R.E.* s.v. 'Erasinos': Anton. Lib. 40] The rivers *Erasinoi* were all associated with cults of *Artemis* e.g. at *Brauron*). The *Imbrassos* may be the river which empties into the sea east of modern *Amarynthos*. (Roscher, *Lexikon* (above), s.v. Ἄρτεμις #3 (*Artemis als Quell- und Flußgöttin*), 2, 561, 21 into which category the author places *A. Amarysia*, 560, 32. The name with its *-ssos* ending fits well with the *-nthos* of the toponym. see *Rhodhakis/Triandafillidou*, no date (1/4) for the *Imbrossos* which "διαρρέει τὴν πεδιάδα τῆς Ἀμαρύνθου" (528). and there was one of this name on *Samos* where it gave *Artemis* the epithet 'Imbrasiê' [Kallim. *Hym. Dian.* 228]).

PERSONAL NAMES AND BY-NAMES IN -NTHOS/-SSOS AT ERETRIA:

We might also note that some personal names from mythical times associated with Eretria fall into this group: **Narkissos**, who is linked with Eretria in Strabo, 9, 2, 10 C404: Καὶ ἡ Γραῖα δ' ἐστὶ τόπος Ὠροποῦ πλησίον καὶ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου καὶ τοῦ Ναρκίσσου τοῦ Ἐρετριέως μνήμα. καλεῖται Σιγηλοῦ (Near Oropos is a place called Graia, and also the Temple of Amphiaraios, and the monument of Narkissos the Eretrian who is known as the "Silent One"). See also the report by D. Knoepfler of a dedication mentioning the Eretrian thyle 'Narkittis' in *A.D.* 30, 1975, [1983] b 169 (*S.E.G.* 1982, 855, 239) the eponymous hero of which was surely Narkissos. Also Knoepfler 1969 (II 78): 85 he links the "beetling-browed" acropolis with the idea of a watch tower (ἑποπή). The killer of Narkissos, son of Amarynthos (Akousilaos ap. Prob. ad Serv. in Verg. *Eclog.* 2, 48) was Epops (Roscher, *Lexikon* s.v. Narkissos). Perhaps we have a symbolic mythological reference to the abandonment of Lefkandi for the more defensible Eretria? [KW] Does killing of Narkissos by Epops reflect a supplanting of an earlier by a later ethnic group? (The mountain on Pithekoussai was called Epopeus) With only 9 preserved names of demesmen, Amarynthos ranks equal 27th (with Σπύρι). The eponymous hero was almost certainly Amárynthos, who was: 1, a hunter-follower of Artemis; 2, a king in Euboa (Et. Mag. 77, 42) and father of Narkissos (eponym of the Eretrian tribe Narkittis) see Akousilaos ap. Probus in *Verg. Ecl.*, 2, 48. According to Hom. *Hymn. in Ap. Pyth.* 33, he appears to have been the lover of Apollo or 3, one of the dogs of Aktaion (Apollod. 3, 4, 4). See Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v., *R.E.*, s.v., Steph. Byz. s.v. says . . . ἀπὸ τινος ζωνιγῶν τῆς Ἀορέμους Ἀμαρίνθου. Graves 1961 (VIII 107) 288 identifies Narkissos and Alkmaion (a possible eponym of the Alkmaionidai, Suid.: Hesych. s.v. Ἀλκμαιονίδα who gives as an ancestor a follower of Theseus (him of the short front/long back hair style [Plout. *Thes.* 5]; Herodotos 5, 62 knows nothing of a Pylian ancestor but rather suggests an autochthonous origin); for him see Graves 384 - 385). If Alkmaion is to be identified with Narkissos, we may note that he too was excluded from any place alongside his father, Amphiaraios (who in this interpretation must be identified with Amarynthos) and brother, Amphilokhos (see Stemma II) in the great altar in the Amphiaraiion at Oropos, probably on account of his matricide. Perhaps he had one at the shrine of Narkissos close by and if he is Narkissos, the crime may explain the injunction to silence associated with the shrine. If the deme comprised little more than the temple and its surrounds, this might account for the rather small number preserved, if the bulk of the local dwellers were temple personel (possibly from other demes too) but this is unlikely. The temple was the location of a famous festival of the local goddess Artemis Amarysia Amarynthia (Strabon, 10, 1, 10 C448; Paus. 1, 31, 5) which was of greater than purely local importance (Liv. 35, 38); it was the focus of a great procession of horsemen and chariots, an idea of whose splendour was recorded by Strabon quoting an ancient stele. The goddess here was akin to Artemis Kolainis, A. Iphigeneia and A. Brauronia (*R.E.* s.v. Ἀρτέμις 1379 - 80; 1387 - 88; 1389 - 90). Her worship was very primitive involving maimed or deformed animals: she is specifically identified with Amarysia by *Kallim. Diegesis to Iamb. X* (Loeb ed. 138 - 139). There was also a cult of Amarysia at Athmonon (Amarousion) in Attike and to the same goddess in Athenai itself in Kydathenaion; R. E. Wycherley, 'Minor Shrines in Ancient Athens', *Phoenix* 24, 1970, 286; *S.E.G.* 1956: item 16, II. 77 - 79 referring to the temple of Artemis Amarysia from Athmonon at Kydathenaion. *S.E.G.* 1990, item 1608 cites a dedication to Artemis Kolainis (Roman imperial period; IG II² 4860/IG XII 9, 1262; D. Knoepfler 1990 (II/20) 126 - 127 argues that its provenance is Eretria (or possibly Attica. P. Baur [II/20] 492). Included in IG XII 9 under "Aliena

et falsa". For Kolainis in Attike, see here also I. Probonas, 'Οἱ Θεοὶ τῶν Ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων στὰ Νεοελληνικά Τοπωνύμια', *Onomata* 10, 1986, 105 - 107; he draws attention to a number of places where the name Marousi survives: Khios, Andros and Euboia, all with Euboian links. (There was a cult of Artemis Meróessa [Roscher, *Lexikon* s.v. Μερούεσσα] at a place called Merousion near Syrakousai) and there is some very slight evidence that there may have been Eretrians here as well as in Pithekoussai and Kerkyra. Cf. also Blakeway 1932/33 (V/88) 180 - 181 where he gives the literary references while dismissing the idea of Euboians at Syrakousai. The Kolainis cult certainly had chthonic elements and she was probably a war and death goddess (*R.E.*, s.v. Ἀρταμῆς (14; 15) 1349, though Artemis Amarynthia was also associated with streams and Nymphs (Theodoridas in *Anth. Gr.* 6, 156 [vol. I Loeb]). The consensus of modern (but non-specialist) opinion is that the cult was transferred from Attike to Eretria (*R.E.* s.v. 'Amarysia') though there is no evidence that this was the direction of influence: indeed there is evidence in the migration of Eretrian families to Attike during the archaic period. But Knoepfler 1988 (II/2) 391f. argues that the cult originated in Euboia and must have been brought over to the Attike before the beginning of the 5th century. Wycherley too says that the cult was imported into Athenai from Euboia. I would argue that the cult came over with the Gephyraioi (or at the latest, following Peisistratos' stay in Eretria and the period of Attic exiles in Eretria). Stephanos seems to refute Themelis' (1969 [II/22] 166 - 170 and map 150) idea that there were two distinct cults of Artemis (Amarynthia and Amarysia) in the Eretriás (see his location notes) because he says: οὔτω γὰρ Παισιστράτους ἐν πρώτῃ ἀναλόγῳτερον δὲ μοι δοξεῖ τὸ διὰ τοῦ 'σ'. Heinze 1869 (IV/47) 17.

On this matter, M. Lejeune, 'L'assibilation de "θ" devant "ι" en mycénien', *Atti e memorie del 1º Congresso internazionale di Micenologia*, Rome, 1967, 737 where he discusses this phenomenon in relation to Amarynthia/Amarysia. Themelis derives Amarynthia from ἀμαρύνω and links this to Selene. Themelis 169, n. 6 correctly I think observes that the derivation would fit Amarysia better: Amarynthos is pre-Greek and it is impossible to say certainly what the meaning would have been (although a perusal of *L.S.J.* also offers: ἀμάρα (η) Ionic) "conduit, channel, hollow" (77); Ἀμάριος; epithet of Zeus and Athena in Akhaia"; *S.I.G.* Orkhomenos in Arkadia (3rd cent.); τὸ Ἀμάριον "precinct in Aigion" (= Ὀμάριον, Polyb. 5, 93, 10). ἀμαρύνω, (Hesykh.) "boundless", of which the first is not inappropriate to a goddess of streams, rivers and marshes. See also Stavropoulos 'Ἐρετριὰ Μελετήματα, *A.E.* 1895, esp. coll. 163 and n. 39 (has some discussion of the origins of the two forms of the epithet.

DRYOPE NAMES IN -STOS: **Karystos**; **Dystos**; **Geraistos**; all in southern Euboia. Geyer 120 includes also the name of the present day village of **Platanistos** in the Karystia (cf. Jacobsen (Intro./2) 21 and n. 56. Mt **Tymphrestos** is close to the Sperkheios valley in the supposed original homeland of Dryopis in Thessalia (Strabon 9, 5. 9 C433) although they may originally have been in Epeiros on the other side of the mountain. **Styra** is attested to be a Dryopian town (Hdt. 8, 46; Paus. 4, 34, 11) as is Karystos (Thouk. 7, 57 and Diod. 4, 37). The occurrence of EH remains at Dystos is somewhat doubtful: cf. Jacobsen 1964 (Intro./2) 104 - (esp.) 105. **Zarex** is also alleged to be ultimately Dryopian: Zarex is linked mythologically to Karystos: in EM 408, 10: Zarax (sic.) "a mountain in Euboia, is said to be named from Zarax, son of Petraios, son of Karystos", while Tzetzes, *ad Lyk. Alex.* 373 says simply that "Zarax was the son of Karystos". Petraios was an epithet of Poseidon in Thessalia (Pind. *Pyth.* 138; 245 and Bakkhylides 14, 20 [Kenyon 137] refers to a "temenos of Posidan Petraios"). See *R.E.* s.v. Petraios; Jacobsen 20 - 21, n. 55, Geyer 118; 120

and Wallace 1947 (I/53) 137f. Petraios is also attested as an Eretrian name. *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 5, 54. The deme Zarex has by far the largest number of preserved names (288 cf. Styra 199 etc.). Wallace 1947 n. 65 believes the name to be Dryopian on prosopographical grounds. This belief seems to be strengthened by the mythological link with Karystos and Mykonos: Steph. Byz. s.v. Μύκωνος. Μία τῶν Κυζλάδων ἀπὸ Μυζόνου τοῦ Ἀνίου τοῦ Καρύστου καὶ Ραιοῖς τῆς Ζάρεξος. and Schol. Lykophron *Alex.* 373: Ζάρεξ δὲ ἀπὸ Ζάρεξος τοῦ υἱοῦ Καρύστου (or τοῦ υἱοῦ <τοῦ> Καρύστου: supra Steph. Byz.). Another version makes Apollo his father. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ζάρεξ quotes Pausanias I. 38, 4 who says that there was a heroon to Zarex next to that of Hippothoön after whom the Attic tribe was named. Zarex is said to have learnt the art of music from Apollo. Paus. thinks that he was a Lakedaimonian who came to Attike who had given his name to the Lakonian town. (cf. the Eretrian deme Λαζιε-). "If there is a native Athenian hero called Zarex. I have nothing to say concerning him". This shrine was in the area of Eleusis. Zarex is in Wallace's District II; Wallace places Lakethen in District IV near Boudiothen; perhaps there is some connection between the hero Zarex of Lakedaimonian origin and Lakethen to bring the two demes closer together than they appear on Wallace's map. See Roscher arts. 'Anios', 'Mykonos', 'Petraios', 'Rhoio' Zarex and his wife Rhoio had a son Anios who had three daughters, Oino, (deme Οἶνο-) Spermo and Elaïs (the Oinotropoi), and sons, Thasos and Andros; all are connected with the cult of Apollo and, especially, of Dionysos. Cf. also (*R.E.* art.) Zaretis: Persian name of Artemis. IG XII9, 75 (Zarax): possibly rhotacism here as early as the 6th century. On the other hand, Jacobsen 19ff. by his sequential treatment of them amongst the early inhabitants implies that they were later. He cites G. L. Huxley, *Crete and the Luwians*, Oxford, 1961. 31 who suggests that they were pre-Greek. Jacobsen argues against this view and that the **stem** is a more important criterion in determining whether a word is Hellenic or not and notes that the stems of most of the "-stos" toponyms are apparently thoroughly Greek e.g. "platan-", "karu-", "geras-". But the derivation of Makistos seems to have been of a different kind.

APPENDIX 7: THE QUESTION OF "OLD" ERETRIA: SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

Chapter II

nn. 118; 119: Strabon, 10, 1, 10 C448: . . . τῶ τείχει (καὶ δεικνύουσιν ἔτι τοὺς θεμελίους, καλοῦσιν δὲ παλαιὰν Ἐρέτριαν). ἡ δὲ νῦν ἐπέκτισται. (. . . at the walls [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). This passage has proved fertile soil for discussion and controversy as to where it might be located, especially when linked to his remarks in 9, 2, 6 C403 where, amidst a set of difficult-to-reconcile distances between Oropos and its harbour, Delphinion on the Attic coast, and Eretria, he mentions "παλαιὰ Ἐρέτρια" again. This makes it virtually impossible to place "New" on top of the "Old" Eretria although cf. P. Themelis, "Εἰδήσεις ἐξ Εὐβοίας", *A.A.A.* 2, i, 1969B, 26 (29: English summary): Mycenaean finds on the slopes of the Eretrian acropolis "serve to bring under notice the opinion of Boardman, Sackett and Schefold that old Eretria was located at Xeropolis [Sackett and Schefold] or Amarynthos [Boardman]." and his "Ἐρέτρια", *A.A.A.* 3, ii, 1970, 314. Themelis deals with the question of the location of Old Eretria more fully in 1969A (II/22) Αἰ. Ἀναζητήσεως τῆς θέσεως τῆς Μυκηναϊκῆς Ἐρετρίας 143 - 147. For reasons why cities were sometimes displaced, other than war and defeat: J. M. Cook 1955 (III/59) 41.

Bakhuizen 1976 (Intro./2) would have Lefkandí as "Old Khalkis": in this identification he stands alone. On this identification: D. Knoepfler's criticisms in his review of Bakhuizen's book in *M.H.* 37, 1980, 191. For "Old Eretria": notably Sackett (in Popham et al. 1980 [Intro./4]) below, Appendix B, and Auberson/Schefold 1972 (IV/18) 19; Schefold 1966 (IV/87) 108 and Auberson 1975 (II/122) who summarizes the arguments for the move from Lefkandí to Eretria and, more cautiously in the writings of Knoepfler, e.g. 1983 (V/102) 51 n. 17. Also Cl. Bérard, 'Argoura fut-elle la "capitale" des futurs Érétriens?', *M.H.* 42, 1985, 268 - 275 passim but esp. 268: 276ff. and idem 'L'urbanisation d'une cité grecque', *Dossiers d'archéologie* 94, 1985, 30: "Les fondateurs venues de Lefkandí". These last four are excavators of Eretria, Sackett of Lefkandí. Bérard is a particularly strong supporter of Lefkandí as Old Eretria since his whole case in 'Architecture érétrienne et mythologie delphique', *A.K.* 14, 1971, 59 - 73 rests on this identification. Kahil 1980 (IV/151) 527 says that it is possible that Lefkandí is Old Eretria, but on 530 she is equating the two. For Amarynthos as "Old Eretria": Boardman 1957 (I/65) 22 - 25. For Oikhalia: S. Marinatos (cited in Popham et al. 1980 [Intro./4] 19), Themelis 1969A (II/22) 163 n. 5 and 1969B 101; R. Hope-Simpson/J. F. Lazenby, *The Catalogue of Ships in Homer's Iliad*, Oxford, 1970, 52, s.v. Εἰρέτρια, and, by implication, Talamo 1975 (II/87) 27 - 36 (but esp. on this 33ff.) in which she argues that Oikhalia was the prehistoric Eretria, then called Melaneís after Melaneus, king of Oikhalia, son of Eretrios and father of Eurytos whom Herakles slew before destroying his city. Quot doctissimi, quot loci! Any idea that Oikhalia might be equated with Lefkandí is confounded by the epigraphical evidence for the deme Oikhalia which makes it quite clear that whatever its precise location might be, it was certainly east of Eretria near Tamynai and not on the Lelantine Plain. One option might be to give the name Melaneís to Lefkandí instead of to Oikhalia as does Talamo.

A number of scholars have tried to use Strabon's figures to locate "Old" Eretria, and the results have been quite contradictory. It seems best to me to abandon altogether Strabon's distances. He probably did not visit Euboeia himself, or if he did it was a superficial excursion, and he appears to have relied on other earlier

geographers for his data (Polybios, Poseidonios and especially Artemidoros the Ephesian. Of the latter, E. H. Warmington in the *O.C.D.* [1961] s.v. Artemidorus (2) writes: "His records, especially of distances in western regions, including (misapplied) use of Roman measurements, were fair, with errors and confusions."; cf. Themelis 1969A (II/22) 157 and n. 2) so confusion either by Strabon himself or by his source(s) is by no means to be ruled out. Themelis 157 - 161, using Strabon's distances, thinks that Strabon's Old Eretria was on the Acropolis of Eretria, a site which has indeed yielded some evidence of Mycenaean habitation (ibid. 147 - 157 and esp. 149 - 152 with figs. 3 and 4 [no. 26]). I am inclined to think that Strabon or his source was indeed shown some remains there or at one of the other prehistoric sites in or near the city, and called them "Old Eretria". Whatever be the truth, Lefkandi fits the chronological requirements as the source of the settlers of the "New" polis of the late Eighth/early Seventh centuries. On site-transference generally cf. Demand 1990 (II/223) 15 - 18 and J. M. Cook 1955 (III/59) 39 - 45.

APPENDIX 8: THE SOURCE OF STRABON'S DESCRIPTION OF THE AMARYNTHOS STELE (10, 1, 10 C448).

F. W. Walbank¹ links the discussion in Polybios 13, 3, 4 (and also that in Strabon 8, 33, 3 C375) of conventions limiting warfare with Strabon's description of the stele recording the convention established between Eretria and Khalkis during the Lelantine War prohibiting the use of "missile" type weapons (10, 1, 10 C448). There is no doubt that the wording of the two passages are very similar:

Strabon 10, 1, 10: ἀλλὰ συνέθεντο ἐφ' οἷς σιστήσονται τὸν ἀγῶνα... μὴ χρῆσθαι τηλεβόλους.

Polybios: συντήθεντο πρὸς σφᾶς μὴτ' ἀδύλοις βέλει μὴτ' ἐκβόλοις χρῆσαισθαι κατ' ἀλλήλων.

OR

Strabon 8, 33, 3: ἡ μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς (χοῆσις) ... καὶ γὰρ σιστάδην καὶ ζοντοβολούντων.

Polybios: μόνη δὲ ἐκ χειρὸς καὶ σιστάδην γνομένην μάχην.

Thus we have to ask the question: whence the similarity? Since Polybios (b. c.208) precedes Strabon chronologically (b. 64/3) he clearly did not have Strabon's text in front of him with its "reading" of the stele as he wrote. But did Strabon have a copy of Polybios? It is very unlikely that either scholar had visited Eretria. Both wrote at Rome; it seems likely that they both had recourse to a common source.

Strabon (8, 33, 3) deals with another convention of a very similar kind takes his information here from the historian Ephoros ("Ἐφορος δ' εἶπεν... = *F.Gr.H.* 70 F 115) whose dates are c.405 - 330. J. F. Lockwood in his entry: "Apollodoros (6)" in *O.C.D.* (69 - 70) notes amongst this author's various works "a commentary on the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*, an important work of scholarship based on Eratosthenes and Demetrius of Skepsis, and containing many quotations from poets and historians, and many criticisms of earlier writers: **Strabo found it a valuable source for Books VIII to X of his *Geography*.**" Walbank thus thinks that Apollodoros is Strabon's source, though he does not seem to extend this observation to Polybios also. Nevertheless, as he himself notes, **Ephoros is known to have used inscriptions as a source** (*F.Gr.H.* 70 F 199): "The genealogical manner attracts the person fond of hearing stories while that which concerns the foundation of cities and kinship ties, as is found in Ephoros for example, attracts the person who is excessively devoted to trivial details of knowledge."².

But no-one seems to have taken account in this context of the fact that Ephoros was from Kyme in Asia Minor and wrote a history - *Ἐπιχώριος λόγος* - of his city,

¹ *Commentary on Polybios* II, Oxford, 1967, 416.

² 9, 1, 4: τὸν μὲν γὰρ φιλήσοον ὁ γενεαλογικὸς τρόπος ἐπισπάται, τὸν δὲ πολιτοεἰρημονία καὶ περιττὸν ὁ περὶ τῆς ἀποικίας καὶ κτίσεως καὶ συγγενείας καθά που καὶ παρ' Ἐφοροῦ λέγεται.

usually³ regarded as a co-founder with Khalkis and Eretria (*pace* Bakhuizen)⁴ of Kyme in Italy. He was, as Strabon himself observed, fanatically interested in the history of his own polis, so much so that he attracted ridicule (Strabon 13, 3, 6 C623). If this is true, it would not at all be unlikely that, when he came to Athenai to study under Isokrates, he visited the other metropoleis involved in the joint colonial venture and that while he was there - being a historian and antiquary - inscriptional antiquities would have attracted his attention. It is therefore very likely indeed that Ephoros was the source of both Strabon (8, 33, 3 and 10 1, 10) and Polybios (13, 3, 4) and, since Ephoros' writings were freely accessible at Rome where both men worked, I see no special reason to postulate an intermediary such as Apollodoros for the information about the stele, though of course it is not impossible. In the case of Polybios, an intermediary is even less likely given his strictures quoted above.

Both Strabon and Polybios were writing in times of brutal conflicts,⁵ (in Strabon's time, the civil war preceding the triumph of Octavianus) and so they were both looking back with romantic nostalgia to a more "civilised" and "humane" age. At the time Polybios was writing, the Amphiktyonic council was trying to ameliorate the rigours of contemporary warfare. If Polybios had any knowledge of the Lelantine War, he may have known about the involvement in it of Thessalia and its romantic hero Kleomakhos whose story is told by Ploutarkhos. During his researches in Ephoros, this Euboian convention of war in which the Amphiktyonic League, through its chief member, Thessalia, was involved, may well have attracted his attention.

The common source of Polybios, Strabon and Ploutarkhos(?) thus seems to have been Ephoros whether in the original text or in some digest. The importance of Polybios and Strabon is that they show that the convention of Amarynthos was not unique. Gardner was mistaken to so believe. And there was at least one other similar example which Livius (42, 47, 5) mentions.⁶ Despite his own *caveat* concerning romantic nostalgia, a "scientific" historian like Polybios took such conventions seriously. But that there was indeed an inscribed convention between Eretria and Khalkis during some phase of the Lelantine War should not be doubted.

³ But cf. Gwynn 1918 (IV/213) and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1984 (IV/213) who argue for Euboian Kyme.

⁴ Esp. Kondoleon 1963/65 (I/28); Kleir 1966 (IV/55); Buchner 1966 (V/7). Cf. Blakeway 1935 (V/7); Bakhuizen 1976 (Intro./2) 221 who explicitly denies any involvement by states other than Khalkis in the establishment of Pithekoussai and Kyme.

⁵ For Polybios and Roman brutality: W. Reiter, *Aemilius Paullus, Conqueror of Greece*, London, 1988, ch. 2: 'Polybios and the Image', 20 - 68 (hostile to both Polybios and Rome).

⁶ Non per insidias et nocturna proelia nec simulatam fugam improvisosque ad incautum hostem reditus, nec ut astu magis quam vera virtute gloriarentur, bella maiores gerisse; indicere prius quam gerere solitos bella, denuntiare etiam interdum pugnam et locum finire in quo dimicaturi essent. (Not by ambushes and battles at night, nor by pretended flight and unexpected return to an enemy off his guard, nor in such a way as to boast in cunning rather than real bravery did our ancestors wage war; they were accustomed to declare war before they waged it and even at times to announce a battle and specify the place in which they were going to fight.), Trans. E. T. Sage/A. C. Schlesinger, *Livy XII. Books XI - XIII*, (Loeb) Cambridge Mass./London, 1979, 433 - 435.

APPENDIX 9: MINOAN NOTES.

There is a tradition that links the Minoans through Rhadamanthys, son of Minos and judge in Hades, with Euboia. He is said to have come from Krete to "the islands" where he "legislated" for the people (his son was the eponymous hero of Erythrai), after which he fled to Okalia near Haliartos in Boiotia where he married Alkmene, later dying there. However, Okalia may recall the similarly named Oikhalia which was a deme of the Eretriás and which was destroyed by Herakles. Rhadamanthys was one of those credited with teaching Herakles the art of bowmanship; perhaps he came to Oikhalia to help his pupil in his feud with Iphitos its king. Steph. Byz. also preserves the name Okalon, "town of the Eretrieis", citing Theopompos as his authority, and Homeros tells us that the Phaiakes from Kerkyra brought Rhadamanthys to Euboia to visit Tityos, son of Gaia (who was slain by Artemis and Apollo). This seems to reflect the later connection between Eretria and Kerkyra in the eighth century. It is possible that the similarity between Okalia, Oikhalia and Okalon has led to confusion; the Minoans were more likely to have been connected with insular Euboia than mainland Boiotia, especially since Okalia/Haliartos was inland on Lake Kopais.

The references for this reconstruction are: Rhadamanthys to the islands, Apollod. 3, 1, 2, cf. Diod. Sik. 5, 79, 1ff.; for residence at Okalia in Boiotia and marriage to Alkmene, Apollod. 2, 4, 4; 3, 1, 2 and Tzetzes Schol. Lykoph. 50; his death there, also Plout. *Lys.* 28 and *peri Sokr. daimon.* 5 (*Mor.* 577E - 578A) where the tomb is "excavated" by the Spartans who found there an ancient tablet with a script no longer intelligible (Linear B?), but cf. Anton. Lib. *Metam.* 33 and Paus. 9, 16, 7; for Okalon, χώριον Ἐρετριέων, Steph. Byz. s.v.; for Rhadamanthys as Herakles teacher, Tzetzes Schol. Lykoph. 50; his voyage from Kerkyra, Hom. *Od.* 7, 321ff. and Strabon 9, 3, 14 C423; for Herakles and Oikhalia, Soph. *Trakh.* passim. The seige was the subject of an epic of the same name (Οἰχαλία ἄλλοις) by Kreophylos of Samos, though some attribute it to Homeros himself. *R.E.* s.v. Homeridai. Cf. also Euripides, *Rhadamanthys*(?) fr. 658; A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Hildesheim, 1964: οἱ γῆν ἔχουσι Εὐβοΐδα προσχώρον πόλιν (who held the Euboian land, the neighbour city). Oikhalia is a place of considerable importance in myth and is usually located not far from Kyme; cf. II nn. 74, 87, 165 and 196. It is possible that the name Oikhalia is one of the several pre- or early Greek toponyms of that area of the Eretriás; Sapouna-Sakellaraki, 159, n. 60 thinks it is Mycenaean; cf. Appendices 6; 7. The probable location of that very odd deme-name, Grynkhai, is not far away near Cape Okhthonia, cf. Wallace 1947 (I/53) 131 (fig. 1 - map); 135 - 136. For Minoan contacts in the general area of modern Kimi, cf. A. Sampson 1981B (II/2) 51 - 52; also generally Curchin (II/15) esp. 273 - 274 and n. 22. For Rhadamanthys and Euboia and the adjacent Skyros, Skopelos (anc. Peparethos) Halonesos (anc. Ikos) etc.: Hom. *Od.* 7, 320 - 324; Diod. Sikel. 5, 79, 1 - 3. Cf. also N. Platon, "Ὁ τάφος τοῦ Σταφίλιου καὶ ὁ μινωικὸς ἀποικισμὸς τῆς Πεπαρήθου", *Kretika Khronika* 1949, 334 - 373 and Sampson 1978 (V/153) 14ff. I have accepted the island name equivalencies from the *Guide Bleu* (1990).

APPENDIX 10: NOTES ON IG XII 9, 1273/74 AND RELATED TOPICS.

VI, n. 73:

IG XII 9, (Addenda et Ultima) 1273/1274 (I, II, III) and plates V, VI. Supra 30, n. 283. First publ. G. A. Papavasileiou 'Ἐρετριῶδες Νόμοι', *A.D.*, 1913, iv, 210 - 215 with memorandum by A. Georgiadis 1913 (IV/71) 214f. describing circumstances of discovery of the blocks (built into a wall part of later harbour works) and including a plan of the area; E. Schwyzer, *Dialectorum Graecarum Exempla Epigraphica Potiora*, Hildesheim, 1960, 376, no. 800. P. Kretchmer, 'Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1913', *Glotta* 7, 1916, 324f. was the first to attempt restoration of the battered text. His work now superseded by Vanderpool/Wallace 1964 (IV/292), 381ff. F. Cairns, 'IG XII9, 244 and the Demes and Districts of Eretria', *Z.P.E.*, 54, 1984A reproduces their text; later, with modifications, idem. 1991 (VI/23) 296ff. further comments on/interprets them. The most comprehensive study of these inscriptions is that by J. M. Mansfield, *IG XII 9, 1274 1274: The Eretrian Laws*, Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1976. For the date, Jeffery 1961/90 (II/211) 84f. (c.550 - 525); most subsequent scholars adopt her dating. I offer the following translation, using the text in Vanderpool/Wallace, but adding - from Schwyzer - (τρεζ?) to l. 3 of the second section. The four-fold division of the text is Vanderpool/Wallace's:

- I. Justice is to be done only after oaths have been administered. Fines are to be paid on (or before ?) the third day in official money (ζῶνῆματα δόζμια). Banishment* is the penalty for non-payment of fines.
- II In the arkhonship of Golos
------(15 - 20 letters)-----iv on the next day give three (τρεζ)-----
- III. -----(c.7)----ει[. . .]ει he must pay ten staters;
if he does not pay, the *arkhos* (= arkhon ?) is to make disbursement from the bonded (covenanted) money;
if he does not do so, he (himself) shall become liable.
- IV. Those sailing αἰ[----c.5----]θα payment
whoever αἰ. π[--c.2--] the Petalai Islands or Kenaion
shall be trans-shipped κει[---c.4 - 5---]εν and everyone
who εἰπ[---c.6---]μοζ if [---c.6---]
- (V) -----too fragmentary-----

Wallace 1936A (Intro./1) 76. n. 1. has an interesting and rather free translation of 1274. F. Cairns, 'ἘΠΕΜΑΤΑ ΝΟΜΙΜΑ; IG XII9, 1273 and 1274 and the Early Coinage of Eretria', *Z.P.E.*, 54, 1984 argues that in ll. 2 - 3 (V/W text): ζα[ῖ φρ]γία ἰάν:ση τεῖσε<ι> [: ἡέουα], that φρ]γία must be accusative. Vanderpool/Wallace translate: "and exile is the penalty for non-payment of the fines". but if we were to take Cairns' point, it would have to be rendered: "and exi e, (and) if he does not pay (the fine) to Hera, (let him suffer exile" (But can we have ἔστο φρ]γία ἰάν μῆ . . . ?) Hence Cairns would wish to see φρ]γία restored to ἰ]γῆ, presumably making ἰγῆ simply reinforce δόζμια and so refer to money to be paid to Hera(?). I am not persuaded by Cairns' desire to replace φρ]γία with ἰγῆ. Cairns 304 - 305 suggests ἦρα an (Eretrian) first aorist

infinitive form of αἰῶω: "let [him] be seized" (for non-payment of fines). Cf. also comments by J./L. Robert, 'Bulletin épigraphique', *R.E.G.* 78, 1965, item 322. Re. Cairns: it perhaps should be pointed out that some notable scholars with great experience in epigraphy have cast doubt upon his expertise in interpretation. I have had personal conversations with one such in Melbourne who expressed scepticism concerning his incursions into Euboian epigraphy (though Cairns has published several Euboian inscriptions, he is chiefly known amongst classicists as a Latinist) and the comment by Louis and Jeanne Robert, 'Revue épigraphique', *R.E.G.* 97, 1984, 471 is scathing: "Ce sont des incursions desinvoltes et négligées dans un domaine qui est l'objet de l'étude systématique d'un savant suisse, D. Knoepfler . . . Les publications de ce genre sont regrettables pour la clarté et la bonne santé de nos études (car elles sont à corriger, mais leur texte, plus ou moins inexact, sera aussitôt repandu largement par des compilations) comme pour la déontologie scientifique. A la vérité, on n'ose guère employer aujourd'hui ce dernier mot: il y a tant d'accrocs qui était naguère une règle d'honnête compagnie. Sipienti sat."

Ex VI, n. 85: ἐ]στο δὲ τοῦ πορθιεύοντι ἐξ X] -
 [α]λζίδος ἐς Ὀροπὸν πο[άττεσθα τρεξ ὀβολός· ἐάν δ] -
 [ἔ] τις ἐξ ἐξ Ὀροπὸ ἐς ηεστ[ίασαν ἐς Δίον ἐ ἐξεῖθεν] -
 [ξ] Ὀροπὸν πορθιεύει πο[άττεσθα ηεπτ' ὀβολός· ἐάν δ] - 70
 ἐ τις ἐξ Χαλζίδος ἐς ηε[στίσαν πορθιεύει. πορ[ατ] -
 ἐσθα τέτταρας ὀβολο[ς 21]
 [. . .] μὲν οἱ πορπαύοντε[ς 18 πορ] -
 [π]εῖεται. τελέτο τ' ἡ[μισυ] ἐάν δὲ ἡ πορθιεύον με]
 [ἔ]θελει ἄγειν τὸν πορπαύοντα . . . 7 . . . κατὰ τὰ γ[ρ] - 75
 [ρα]μμένα. ΕΓ[. 29]

 Ex VI, n. 88: IG XII 8, 347 II 8f.:
 μηδὲ πλοῖον Θάσιον ξενιζὸν οἶνον ἐσάχετο ἕσω Ἄθω καὶ Παζεῖης.

APPENDIX 11: N.W. ATTIKE AND EUBOIA.

VII/113:

From Herodotos (5, 57) to moderns, e.g. Boardman 1957 (I/65) 27, n. 158, who would, **if** the Gephyraioi were in fact Euboieis, make Khalkis their original homeland, based on the name, which may mean "bridgers", (but Boardman in fact has them from Boiotia: 26f.) and compares origin with that of the Alkmaionidai (VIII 243f.). The association of γαφυρα with "bridge" is late. In any case, with this meaning, it might be associated with the bringing over of the alphabet from Phoenicia or even from Eretria to the Attike and Boiotia. Thomson 1965 (II/210) 123 is surely correct **in his sequence** of homelands. However, he relies too much on Herodotos' prehistoric chronology. He is also misleading in saying they settled "in Athens": it was in Aphidna which with the neighbouring marcher towns of Oropos, Tanagra, Eleutherai, Dekeleia etc. had long established separatist tendencies with regard to both Athenai and Thebai (and ancient links with Eretria). Legend said that near-by Dekeleia had resisted Theseus and when the Tyndaridai came with an army into Attike searching for Helen, the Dekeleioi welcomed them and led them to Aphidna which was betrayed to them. When through *synoikismos* places like Aphidna etc. became attached to Attike and not Eretria or Boiotian Tanagra, "this was a result not of geographical predetermination, but of historical accident." (Sealey 1976 [V/5]. 95). The Athenocentric view of Greek history, assumes the primary loyalty of outlying Attic towns was to Athenai; "this temptation must be resisted; in many parts of Attica there were local traditions, local cults and locally powerful families, and factors of this kind commanded the primary loyalty of the locality." (95). Nowhere was this tendency more apparent than in north-eastern Attike. Some places were never fully incorporated into Attike, e.g. Oropos. In this context we may recall the association of Kothos/Aiklos with this region. Geography and mythological history: Roller 1989 (II/199) for primary sources: Buck 1979 (II/112) 17ff., nn. 155ff.; 78ff., nn. 29ff. Kadmos: Edwards 1979 (II/222) 45; 67f.; 111, n. 117; 112; 177, n. 191. A. W. Gomme, 'The Legend of Cadmus and the logographoi', *J.H.S.* 33, 1913, 53ff.; 223ff.: Herodotos and his immediate predecessors were not above using their own guesses to alter the tradition. His comments on the Gephyraioi seem to fall into this category. Cf. also II 53ff.: VII n. 114.

APPENDIX 12: KORINTHOS IN CENTRAL GREECE 519 - 506.

The chief consideration for Korinthos in the period of the last two decades of the sixth century was self-preservation rather than ideology: the oligarchy in power may have considered assisting like-minded governments to power but only if by doing so it would further the city's general political and economic aims. But Korinthos did not want to see Sparta ("Kleomenid" or "ephorid") or for that matter, Athenai or Eretria or Thebai or anyone else, all-powerful in the region of Central Greece. The post-Kypselid régime at Korinthos was notoriously cautious in its approach to foreign affairs. Each new political situation received careful assessment as it arose. As an ally of Sparta, Korinthos could with enthusiasm assist in the overthrow of a commercial rival in the east and with whom she had no recent significant ties of friendship. Thus she provided the ships for Sparta's attack on Polykrates. They could, with great misgivings, be induced to participate in the show of strength against Peisistratid Athenai, but she refused to agree to an attack that would have left Athenai dependent on her dangerously powerful friend. Nor would she acquiesce in the interference in her own dealings with her neighbour Megara. So, in 519, when Kleomenes advised the Plataiai to ally with Athenai, and the Thebaioi had sent an army against Plataia, thereby obliging Athenai to respond by sending a force to help her new ally, Korinthos did intervene. In a passage seldom given its due weight by historians, Herodotos tells us that:

"When the Thebaioi heard about this (i.e. the advice given to the Plataieis by Kleomenes) they marched against the Plataiai, and the Athenaiοi came to their aid. But when they were about to join battle, **the Korinthioi would not allow it and as they chanced to be there (!!!)** they made a dispensation at the request of both sides and drew a demarcation line, **imposing** the following conditions, namely that the Thebaioi should not interfere with any Boiotοi who did not want to be part of Boiotia (i.e. of the Boiotian League). The Korinthioi after having made this settlement left, but the Boiotοi set upon the Athenaiοi as they were returning home and they were defeated in the fight. The Athenaiοi thereupon made a new frontier beyond that which the Korinthioi had made for the Plataiai, and set the Asopos itself as the Theban border with Plataia and Hysiai."¹

This episode provides an interesting insight into the methods of Korinthian diplomacy, and its role was not that of a fomenter of trouble in the region. In this instance, Korinthos countered Kleomenes' mischief-making and **imposed** (Κορίνθιοι οὐ περιείδον and οὔρισαν τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε) her own settlement, and then withdrew her forces. No-one would believe surely that a Korinthian army big enough to interpose itself between those of Thebai and Athenai, was in the very neighbourhood

¹ Hdt. 6, 108: Θηβαῖοι δὲ παθόμενοι ταῦτα ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Πλαταιέας. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ σφί ἐβοήθηον. μελλόντων δὲ σφάπτειν μάχην, Κορίνθιοι οὐ περιείδον, παραιτούμενοι δὲ καὶ καταλλάξαντες ἐπιτρέψαντων ἀμοιρέτων οὔρισαν τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, εἴαν Θηβαῖοις Βοιωτῶν τοῖς μὴ βουλομένοις ἐξ Βοιωτοῖς τελέειν. Κορίνθιοι μὲν δὲ ταῦτα γνόντες ἀπαλάσσαντο. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀποῖσι ἐπεθήξαντο Βοιωτοῖ, ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ ἐσοσώθησαν τῇ μάχῃ. ὑπερβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔθηζαν Πλαταιεῖα εἶναι οὔριον, τοῖσδε ὑπερβάντες τὸν Ἀσωπὸν αὐτὸν ἐποίησαντο οὔριον Θηβαῖοι πρὸς Πλαταιέας εἶναι καὶ Ὑσίας.

by chance? (What for? And well away from the Korinthia itself). In fact the Korinthian army was already mobilized for action against Megara, and possibly still in the territory of Megara, when Kleomenes intervened stalling any Korinthian counter-offensive against it. So the appearance of the thwarted Korinthioi in Boiotia and obliquely undermining Kleomenes' policy by trying to keep Athenai and Thebai (both her allies) from coming to blows, should occasion no surprise. Korinthos was trying to preserve the balance of power in Central Greece even if that were to annoy her Spartan 'friends', friends that had interfered high-handedly against her in Megara and not in Korinthos' own perceived interests. It is noteworthy that, given the hostile attitude towards Athenai shown by Kleomenes over the next few years, Korinthos' arbitration favoured Athenai; the Thebaioi certainly thought so for as soon as the Korinthioi had withdrawn, they tried to overthrow the decision by force, only to be beaten for their trouble and having a worse demarcation imposed by Athenai. Korinthos undoubtedly saw Athenai as a useful check on Thebai and Aigina, especially since she had as yet no significant navy (I have discussed this issue several times during the course of the thesis) and posed no military threat.

APPENDIX 13: CLIMATE CHANGE (DROUGHT) AS A CAUSE OF THE COLLAPSE OF MYCENAEAN CIVILISATION.

It has been suggested that accompanying the disasters that ended Mycenaean civilisation was the onset of a long drought which began early in the 13th century and persisted until the mid-9th;¹ Carpenter believes the whole of the Dark Ages was drought-ridden. He and others postulate drought to explain historical phenomena such as the colonial movement to the west in the ninth and eighth centuries.² But the collapse was probably too sudden for climatic change to have been the **sole** cause³ and it was by no means uniform geographically. Moreover, there is evidence that there were armed incursions or insurrections at many of the disaster sites.⁴ Desborough points to what he calls "a nervous state of mind"⁵ throughout Greece manifesting itself in the provision of important sites with fortifications and water supplies, apparently to withstand sieges. Further, Greek tradition remembered invasions of North-West Greek/Dorian-speakers. Though Euboia, like neighbouring Attike, was not permanently settled by these new tribes, it may be that the last of the invading people, the Íones, were propelled into our island by pressure of population movements in Thessalia and Boiotia. The latter also escaped wholesale 'Dorianisation' though they were undoubtedly part of the corridor through which some Dorieis moved to reach the Megaris and the Korinthia (and beyond). Thebai was overwhelmed and possibly reduced to little more than "a miserable hamlet"⁶ Of course climatic changes in or outside of Greece may have produced famine causing tribes to begin their wandering, creating a domino-effect; but whatever the causes, destruction was widespread whether we look north from Euboia to Iolkos in Thessalia or south and west to Boiotia, Argolis, Elis and Messene. Thus, c.1200, a flourishing civilisation based largely on the requirements of great palaces with literate bureaucracies and exploiting a complex of international as well as local trade networks such as existed between south-eastern Euboia and Boiotia was followed by a decline in the size and number of settlements reflecting a "phenomenal decrease in the population in the districts concerned"⁷ and a breakdown in communications.⁸ Settlements that survived or were now established on virgin sites comprised inferior buildings and were rarely fortified. Their life-style was inferior; one of the greatest cultural losses was writing. These impoverished communities, often within sight of the great ruined buildings and monumental tombs of the former age⁹ could not but have been impressed; we now see the frequent development of hero-shrines at the great tholos tombs of the Mycenaean centres, and the heroisation of the exploits of the departed anaktes and basileis.¹⁰

¹ Carpenter 1966 (III/58) 18; Desborough 1972 (II/128) 21; 330 - 331.

² Camp 1979 (III/58) 397 - 411. Drought appears to have affected even Sweden as late as the 6th century; P. Phillips, *The Prehistory of Europe*, Harmondsworth, 1981, 243 - 244.

³ Desborough 1972 (II/128) 331

⁴ Rutter 1975 (III/18) 17 - 32.

⁵ Desborough 1972 (II/128) 22.

⁶ II 46ff., nn. 163 (esp.) - 166.

⁷ Desborough 1972 (II/128) 20.

⁸ *Ibid.* 20 - 25.

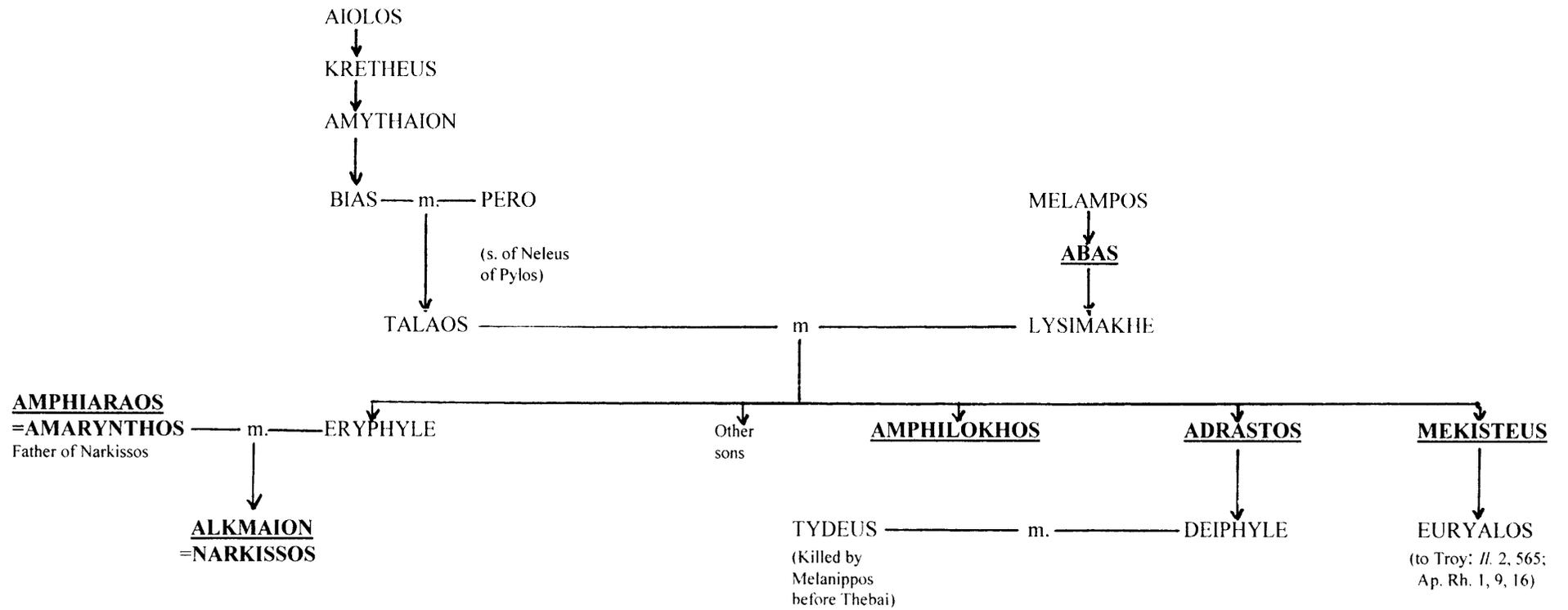
⁹ II 44f., n. 176.

¹⁰ Calligas 1988 (III/1)

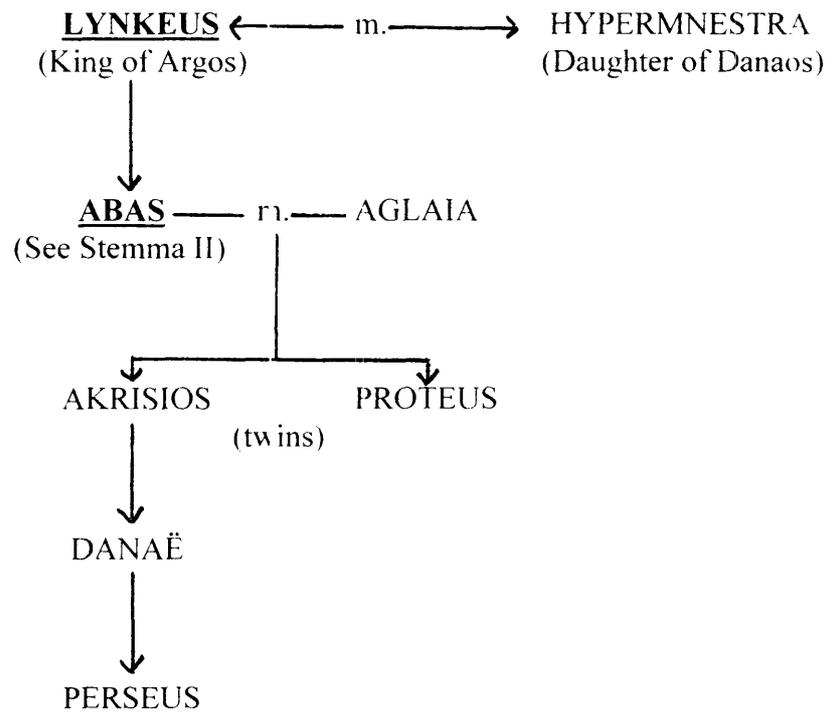
APPENDIX 14: SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON THE HOPLITE REVOLUTION.

Just where the hoplite revolution began is a matter of debate. R. Drews 1972 (V/268) 140 reminds us that in fact "We know very little about the introduction of hoplite warfare." He thinks that the process began in the 8th cent. (from which the earliest material evidence comes: P. Courbiat, 'Une tombe géométrique d'Argos', *B.C.H.* 81, 1957, 367). He also tends to agree with the idea of Snodgrass: 1964 (VII/64) and his article, 'The Hoplite Reform and History', *J.H.S.* 85, 1965, 110 - 122, who believes that the changes came in slowly and that men began to use the new equipment, perhaps still fighting as individuals, rather than as members of a phalanx. I have some doubts: why would someone adopt - even, we must assume, develop - equipment which is unsuitable for the current mode of warfare, before suitable tactics are in place to take advantage of the equipment? Euboia is by no means to be dismissed as a place where hoplite tactics began to develop. The Lelantine War would have provided an on-going opportunity to experiment and refine the tactics and equipment. I have referred in the body of the thesis to literary allusions to Euboia and the introduction of hoplite warfare. The career of the king-tyrant Pheidon of Argos, c.660 - c.630 is often linked with this development: on this ruler and the Lelantine War, cf. Bradeen 1947B (IV 32) 223 - 241 passim but esp. 238ff.; Oost 1972/73 (IV 246) 10; Salmon 1977 (V 191) 84 - 101; Cartledge 1977 (V/191) 11 - 37; Greenhalgh 1973 (IV 162) passim. Lorimer 1947 (II 105) 76 - 138 believes that the hoplite system came in *in toto* as early as the end of the 8th century/beginning of the 7th, a view not generally held today, but which might deserve some consideration in connection with the "Lelantine War" of the late 8th and early 7th centuries.

STEMMA II



STEMMA III



VIII: n. 107: Pero, wife of Bias was daughter of Neleus and sister of Nestor of Pylos, and so 'ancestor' of Peisistratos the tyrant. Graves 1961 (6 iii, n. 88) p. 288 identifies Narkissos with Alkmaion (stemma supra). Thus the Alkmaionidai and the Peisistratidai were mythologically linked. Since Amarynthos, the eponym of the town of Amarynthos in the Eretrike was said to be the father of Narkissos, if Alkmaion is equated with Narkissos, he must be identified with Amphiaraos, who had his principal shrine and oracle near Oropos. Narkissos 'the Eretrian' (also called Sigalos, "the Silent One") also had a shrine near the Amphiaraon. (Strabon, 9, 2, 10 C404; Eustath., *ad Od. pert.*, 24, 465; Alkiphr., *Epist.*, 3, 58). Cf. Roscher, *Lexikon* 1886 - 1909, s.v. Amarynthos; Narkissos; and Graves 384 - 385. Also, Adrasteia, who may be connected with the hero Adrastos, the brother of Mekisteus and uncle of Alkmaion, had as her servants the Daktyloi, the fathers of the mythical Kouretai of Euboia and Krete: Kerényi 1960, 85.