

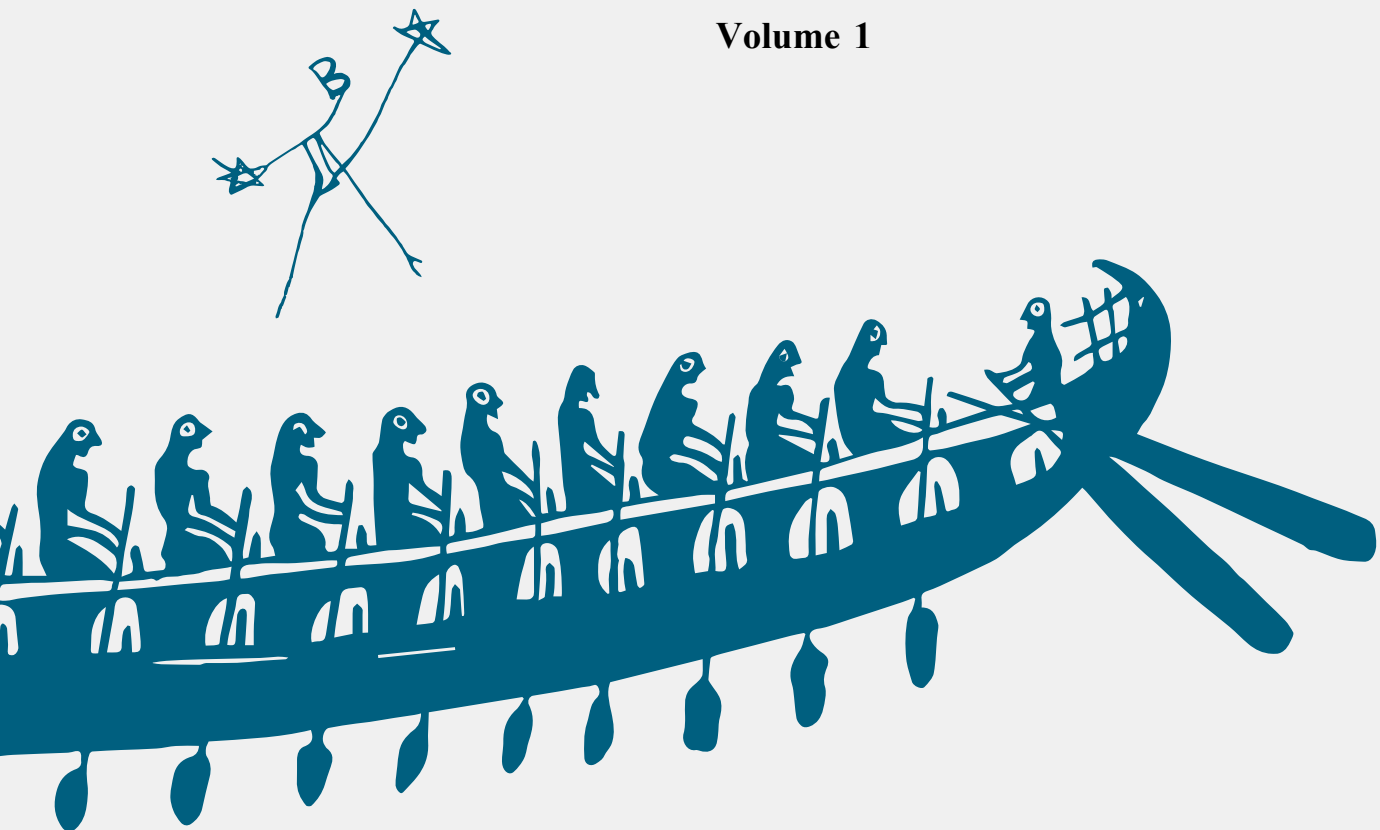
# EUBOICA II

## *Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West*

**Proceedings of the Conference  
Lacco Ameno (Ischia, Naples), 14-17 May 2018**

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro and Matteo D'Acunto (eds.)

**Volume 1**



**Napoli 2020**



UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI NAPOLI «L'ORIENTALE»  
DIPARTIMENTO DI ASIA AFRICA E MEDITERRANEO



# AION

ANNALI DI ARCHEOLOGIA  
E STORIA ANTICA

Nuova Serie | 27



2020 | Napoli



ANNALI  
DI ARCHEOLOGIA  
E STORIA ANTICA

Nuova Serie 27





UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI NAPOLI «L'ORIENTALE»

DIPARTIMENTO ASIA AFRICA E MEDITERRANEO

# ANNALI DI ARCHEOLOGIA E STORIA ANTICA

Nuova Serie 27

## EUBOICA II

### Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West

Proceedings of the Conference, Lacco Ameno (Ischia, Naples), 14-17 May 2018

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro and Matteo D'Acunto (eds.)

Volume 1

2020 Napoli

*Progetto grafico e impaginazione*  
Massimo Cibelli - Pandemos Srl

ISSN 1127-7130

Abbreviazione della rivista: *AIONArchStAnt*

Quarta di copertina: Pithekoussai (Ischia), T. 634, sigillo del Lyre Player Group  
(rielaborazione grafica M. Cibelli)

Sovracopertina: nave dipinta sul cratere corinzio del LG nel Royal Ontario Museum di Toronto, Inv. C.199;  
e costellazione incisa su un cratere del LG di fabbrica pitecusana, trovato nell'area di S. Restituta a Pithekoussai, Ischia  
(rielaborazione grafica M. Cibelli)



*Comitato di Redazione*

Matteo D'Acunto, Anna Maria D'Onofrio, Luigi Gallo,  
Marco Giglio, Fabrizio Pesando, Ignazio Tantillo

*Segretario di Redazione* Marco Giglio

*Direttore Responsabile* Matteo D'Acunto

*Comitato Scientifico*

Carmine Ampolo (Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa), Vincenzo Bellelli (CNR, Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico, Roma), Luca Cerchiali (Università degli Studi di Salerno), Teresa Elena Cinquantaquattro (Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l'Area Metropolitana di Napoli), Mariassunta Cuzzo (Università degli Studi del Molise), Cecilia D'Ercole (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Parigi), Stefano De Caro (Associazione Internazionale Amici di Pompei), Riccardo Di Cesare (Università di Foggia), Werner Eck (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei), Arianna Esposito (Université de Bourgogne, Dijon), Maurizio Giangiulio (Università degli Studi di Trento), Michel Gras (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei), Gianluca Grassigli (Università degli Studi di Perugia), Michael Kerschner (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna), Valentin Kockel (Universität Augsburg), Nota Kourou (University of Athens), Xavier Lafon (Aix-Marseille Université), Maria Letizia Lazzarini (Sapienza Università di Roma), Irene Lemos (University of Oxford), Alexandros Mazarakis Ainián (University of Thessaly, Volos), Mauro Menichetti (Università degli Studi di Salerno), Dieter Mertens (Istituto Archeologico Germanico, Roma), Claudia Montepaone (Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II), Alessandro Naso (Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II), Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Atene), Emanuele Papi (Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene), Nicola Parise (Istituto Italiano di Numismatica), Athanasios Rizakis (National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute of Greek and Roman Antiquity, Grecia), Agnès Rouveret (Université Paris Ouest Nanterre), José Uroz Sáez (Universidad de Alicante), Alain Schnapp (Université Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne), William Van Andringa (École Pratique des Hautes Études)

*Comitato d'Onore*

Ida Baldassarre, Irene Bragantini, Luciano Camilli, Giuseppe Camodeca, Bruno d'Agostino, Patrizia Gastaldi, Emanuele Greco, Giulia Sacco

I contributi sono sottoposti a *double blind peer review* da parte di due esperti,  
esterni al Comitato di Redazione

I contributi di questo volume sono stati sottoposti a *peer review* da parte di:  
Ida Baldassarre, Luca Cerchiali, Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro, Mariassunta Cuzzo,  
Bruno d'Agostino, Patrizia Gastaldi, Fausto Longo, Carmine Pellegrino

## ABBREVIATIONS

Above sea-level: above s.l.; Anno Domini: AD; and so forth: etc.; Before Christ: BC; bibliography: bibl.; catalogue: cat.; centimeter/s: cm; century/ies: cent.; chap./chaps.: chapter/chapters; circa/approximately: ca.; column/s: col./cols.; compare: cf.; *et alii*/and other people: *et al.*; diameter: diam.; dimensions: dim.; Doctor: Dr; especially: esp.; exterior: ext.; fascicule: fasc.; figure/s: fig./figs.; following/s: f./ff.; fragment/s: fr./frs.; for example: e.g.; gram/s: gm; height: h.; in other words: i.e.; interior: int.; inventory: inv.; kilometer/s: km; length: ln.; line/s: l./ll.; maximum: max.; meter/s: m; millimeter/s: mm; minimum: min.; namely: viz.; new series/nuova serie etc.: n.s.; number/s: no./nos.; original edition: orig. ed.; plate/s: pl./pls.; preserved: pres.; Professor: Prof.; reprint: repr.; series/serie: s.; sub voce: s.v.; supplement: suppl.; thick: th.; tomb/s: T./TT.; English/Italian translation: Eng./It. tr.; volume/s: vol./vols.; weight: wt.; which means: scil.; width: wd.

Abbreviations of periodicals and works of reference are those recommended for use in the *American Journal of Archaeology* with supplements in the *Année Philologique*.

## CONTENTS

### Preface

TERESA E. CINQUANTAQUATTRO, MATTEO D'ACUNTO, <i>Euboica, Again</i>	p.	i
--	----	---

### Euboea and the Mediterranean

NOTA KOUROU, <i>Euboean Pottery in a Mediterranean Perspective</i>	»	9
--	---	---

### Euboea

IRENE S. LEMOS, <i>The Transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age in Euboea and the Euboean Gulf</i>	»	37
XENIA CHARALAMBIDOU, <i>Chalcidian Deposits and their Role in Reconstructing Production and Consumption Practices and the Function of Space in Early Iron Age and Archaic Chalcis: Some First Thoughts</i>	»	55
SAMUEL VERDAN, THIERRY THEURILLAT, TOBIAS KRAPF, DANIELA GREGER, KARL REBER, <i>The Early Phases in the Artemision at Amarynthos in Euboea, Greece</i>	»	73
JAN PAUL CRIELAARD, <i>Karystos-Plakari: A "Pre-Colonial" Foundation in Southern Euboia</i>	»	119
ATHINA CHATZIDIMITRIOU, <i>Zarakes: A Cult Site in South Karystia, on the Island of Euboea</i>	»	135
BRUNO D'AGOSTINO, <i>Forgotten Cities in Eastern Euboea</i>	»	159
ALBIO CESARE CASSIO, <i>Κόμη, Κούμη, Cumae and the Euboeans in the Bay of Naples</i>	»	181

### Boeotia

LUISA BREGLIA, <i>Mythic Traditions of Euboea and Boeotia in the Archaic Age</i>	»	187
ALEXANDROS MAZARAKIS AINIAN, <i>Thirty-Five Years of Excavations and Research at Homeric Graia (Oropos)</i>	»	211
VICKY VLACHOU, <i>Pottery Production, Workshop Spaces and the Consumption of Euboean-Type Pottery beyond Euboea. A View from Oropos (Attica) in the 8<sup>th</sup> Century BC</i>	»	231

## North Aegean

- ALEXANDRA ALEXANDRIDOU, *One more Node to the Thessalo-Euboean Small World: The Evidence from the Site of Kephala on the Island of Skiathos* » 263
- SAMUEL VERDAN, ELON D. HEYMANS, *Men and Metals on the Move: The Case of Euboean Gold* » 279
- ANTONIS KOTSONAS, *Euboeans & Co. in the North Aegean: Ancient Tradition and Modern Historiography of Greek Colonization* » 301

## Sardinia and Spain

- PAOLO BERNARDINI, MARCO RENDELI, *Sant'Imbenia/Pontecagnano Sulci/Pithekoussai: Four Tales of an Interconnected Mediterranean* » 325
- MASSIMO BOTTO, *Phoenicians and Greeks in the Iberian Peninsula between the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> Centuries BC* » 347

- Abstracts* » 385

## PREFACE

### *EUBOICA*, AGAIN

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro, Matteo D'Acunto

A little more than twenty years since the international conference *Euboica. L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente* (Naples, 13-16 November 1996) – whose proceedings, edited by Bruno d'Agostino and Michel Bats, were published in 1998 – the great amount of new data that had enriched our knowledge of southern Italy, the western Mediterranean and Greece over the last few years called for a return to the theme of Euboean colonization. A direct thread, in motivations and content, ran from the 1996 conference to the one held in Lacco Ameno (Ischia, Naples) from 14 to 17 May 2018, which was entitled *Pithekoussai e l'Eubea tra Oriente e Occidente*. The intent was, again, to discuss the themes of colonization, how colonial realities became rooted in different areas of the Mediterranean, the specific traits of Euboean colonization, and forms of contact and relationship between the Greek element and local communities.

These Proceedings are divided in two volumes, arranged geographically, as per the conference program. They feature a dialogue between historians and archaeologists, with an emphasis on the new important contributions made over the last twenty years by field archaeology in Euboea and in colonial and Mediterranean contexts. This new archaeological evidence contributes to, and modifies our interpretations of, the historical phenomena in which Euboea played a prominent role in the Early Iron Age (tenth-eighth century BC), both in the motherland and in the several geographical districts touched by Euboean trade and colonization. These are the phenomena that led to the colonization of southern Italy and northern Greece, and thus from

the eighth century BC onward put an indelible mark on the history of the West.

The individual contributions are introduced by an important essay by Nota Kourou, a reflection on the theme of Mediterranean connectivity seen from the Euboean perspective and analyzed (over a time range spanning from the tenth to the eighth century BC) through the distribution of Euboean pottery in the Aegean, the Levant and the West.

The first volume begins with Irene Lemos' important assessment of Euboea at its transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. The contributions in the first part of the volume provide an up-to-date overview of the new archaeological and interpretive results of investigations at Lefkandi, Chalcis, the sanctuary of Artemis at Amarynthos, Karystos, and Kyme, and in eastern Euboea. The subsequent contributions regard the sector of Boeotia facing Euboea and falling within its orbit of influence, as borne out by mythical traditions and by the crucially important excavations of Oropos led by Alexandros Mazarakis Ainian. We are then led on into the northern Aegean and northern Greece, which were also destinations for Euboean trade and colonial migration. The book is concluded with a look at the western Mediterranean, and specifically at Sardinia and Spain. Here, the Phoenician and Euboean elements interacted with the local communities, forging relations based on mobility and reciprocity.

The second volume gathers contributions on Euboean presence in the Tyrrhenian (Pithekoussai, Cumae, Neapolis), the canal of Sicily (Zankle and Naxos) and areas that the Euboeans had an early interest in (Francavilla Marittima in Calabria).

These contributions, focusing on archaeological and interpretive novelties from each site, are preceded by two important reflections, by Maurizio Giangiulio and Luca Cerchiai, respectively. The former deals with the “social memory” of Greek colonization, the latter with new interpretive models for the dynamics guiding relations between the Greeks and local communities, based on a comparison between different milieus and on new evidence. Alongside the presentation of archaeological novelties from Pithekoussai and Cumae in several contributions in this volume, there are two reflections by Marek Wecowski and Alfonso Mele, respectively on social behavior in connection with the appearance of the symposium, starting from the famous inscription on Nestor's Cup, and on the mythical-historical tradition of Cumae from the story of the Sybil onward.

The conference was accompanied by an exhibition entitled *Pithekoussai... work in progress*, displaying a sample of grave goods from the still unpublished part of the necropolis of Pithekoussai, i.e., from the 1965-1967 excavations. In this exhibition, Giorgio Buchner was honored with a display of his letters and documents bearing witness to his dense correspondence with some of the foremost archaeologists of his time, and to his international standing as a scholar.

The conference provided an opportunity to strengthen the ties between the Soprintendenza and the university, compare different study traditions, and keep open the dialogue on the theme of intercultural connectivity and relations. This theme, far from being outdated, today stands as the true benchmark by which the progress of the peoples of the shores of the Mediterranean is and will be measured.

---

The conference was promoted by the Università degli Studi di Napoli “L'Orientale” and the Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l'area metropolitana di Napoli (Ministero della Cultura), with the crucial support of the town administration of Lacco Ameno d'Ischia. Heartfelt thanks go to the mayor, Giacomo Pascale, and the councilor for culture at the time, Cecilia Prota, who

enthusiastically agreed to and supported this venture, in the awareness that knowledge and research must provide the foundation for promotion of cultural heritage.

We thank all who brought their greetings to the conference and took part in it: Prof. Elda Morlicchio, Rector of the Università degli Studi di Napoli “L'Orientale”, and Prof. Michele Bernardini, Director of Dipartimento Asia Africa e Mediterraneo; Dr. Caterina Bon Valsassina, Director General of Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio of the Italian Ministry of Culture; Prof. Emanuele Papi, Director of the Italian Archaeological School of Athens; Prof. Claude Pouzadoux, director of the Centre J. Bérard; Prof. Oswyn Murray; Prof. Emanuele Greco, former director of the Italian Archaeological School of Athens; and Dr. Paolo Giulierini, director of the Naples National Archaeological Museum.

Especially heartfelt thanks go to all the speakers at the conference and authors of the essays in these two volumes. Through their valuable contributions, together they have achieved the collective endeavor of *Euboica II*, between the motherland, the East and the West. We are especially grateful to Bruno d'Agostino, who, from the height of his scholarly authority, accepted the onerous task of introducing the conference and authored a fundamental essay in the first volume. Our thanks also go to Carmine Ampolo and Catherine Morgan for exemplarily drawing the conclusions of the conference and of these two volumes. We are also keen to thank the session chairs who managed the dense days of the conference: Michel Bats, Anna Maria D'Onofrio, Maurizio Giangiulio, Irene Lemos, Oswyn Murray, Fabrizio Pesando, Karl Reber, Claude Pouzadoux, and Fausto Zevi.

We thank Drs. Costanza Gialanella and Maria-luisa Tardugno, the Soprintendenza officials who succeeded one another in the task of safeguarding the archaeological heritage of Ischia, for organizing the exhibition, as well as Mss. Teresa Calise and Teresa Iacono (Soprintendenza ABAP per l'area metropolitana di Napoli). We would also like to thank Dr. Federico Poole (Museo Egizio di Torino) for his consultation on the scarabs; Dr. Luigia Melillo and Ms. Marina Vecchi of the Restoration Laboratory of the National Archaeological Museum of Naples for their restoration of the materials; and the

firm Corsale & Amitrano Restauro e Architettura. For the exhibition imagery, we thank the Òrkestra. Media & Web Agency; for the welcome service, the Platypus Tour Agency and especially Emanuele Mattera; and for operative support, Mr. Giulio Lauro of the Marina di Sant'Anna.

Finally, our heartfelt thanks go to a group of PhD and MA graduates in archaeology and archaeology students of the Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale" for contributing decisively to the organization and management of the conference: Mariangela Barbato, Martina D'Onofrio, Chiara

Improta, Cristiana Merluzzo, Sara Napolitano, Francesco Nitti, Francesca Somma, and Marco Tartari.

With some emotion, we leave it to some photographs of the first and second conference of *Euboica* to conclude this brief introduction. A common research thread ran through these two conferences, which were held in a similar climate of dialogue, sharing and friendship among today's "Euboeans", along the sea routes of yesterday's Euboeans from the East to the West.



Participants in the conference *Euboica. L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*, Naples, 13-16 November 1996: from left to right, David Ridgway, Nicholas Coldstream, Michel Bats, Patrizia Gastaldi, Angeliki Andreiomenou, Bruno d'Agostino, Sandrine Huber, Irene Lemos, and Béatrice Blandin

# Pithekoussai e l'Eubea tra Oriente e Occidente

Lacco Ameno, Ischia (NA)  
14-17 maggio 2018



14 maggio

## SALUTI

- 15.30 **Giacomo Pascale** (Sindaco del Comune di Lacco Ameno)  
**Caterina Bon Valsassina** (Direttore Generale Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio - Mibact)  
**Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro** (Soprintendente ABAP per l'Area Metropolitana di Napoli)  
**Elda Morlicchio** (rettrice dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")  
**Michele Bernardini** (Direttore del DAAM, Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")  
**Emanuele Pappi** (Direttore della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene)  
**Corrado Matera** (Assessore con delega al Turismo, Regione Campania)  
**Rosanna Romano** (Direttore Generale per le Politiche culturali e il Turismo, Regione Campania)  
**Prospettive di valorizzazione del patrimonio archeologico**  
 Interverranno  
**Cecilia Protà** (Assessore alla Cultura del Comune di Lacco Ameno)  
**Paolo Giulierini** (Direttore del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli)  
**Nadia Murolo** (Dirigente per la valorizzazione e promozione dei Beni Culturali, Regione Campania)

## CONFERENZA INAUGURALE

- 16.30 **Nota Kourou** (University of Athens)  
**Euboian pottery in a Mediterranean perspective**

## INTRODUZIONE AL CONVEGNO

- 17.10 **Bruno d'Agostino** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")  
**Le problematiche archeologiche**  
 17.30 **Alfonso Mele** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II")  
**Le problematiche storiche**  
**VISITA AL MUSEO**

15 maggio

## SEZIONE A. L'Eubea tra madrepatria e colonie: aspetti storici e modelli interpretativi

- 10.00 **Maurizio Giangliullo** (Università degli Studi di Trento)  
**Memorie coloniali euboiche: appunti sulle tradizioni letterarie della mobilità mediterranea di VIII - VII secolo**  
 10.20 **Luisa Breglia** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II")  
**Relazioni tra Eubea e Beozia in età arcaica**  
 10.40 **Luca Cerchiai** (Università degli Studi di Salerno)  
**Modelli interpretativi sulla colonizzazione euboica e impatti sul mondo indigeno**

## SEZIONE B. Pithekoussai

- 11.00 **Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro** (Soprintendenza ABAP per l'Area Metropolitana di Napoli)  
**Pithekoussai: rappresentazione funeraria e dinamiche interculturali nella necropoli di San Montano (scavi 1965-67)**  
**Pausa caffè**  
 11.40 **Melania Gigante** (Università degli Studi di Bologna), **Wolfgang Müller** (Goethe University Frankfurt), **Alessandra Sperduti**, **Luca Bondioli** (Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico "Luigi Pigorini", Roma)  
**Euboici, orientali, indigeni: paleodemografia e mobilità dal campione odonto-scheletrico umano delle sepolture dell'antica Pithekoussai (VIII - VI sec.)**  
 12.00 **Costanza Gialanella** (Soprintendenza ABAP per l'Area Metropolitana di Napoli), **Pietro Giovanni Guzzo** (Accademia dei Lincei)  
**Il quartiere metallurgico di Mazzola a Pithecusa: ritrovamenti e produzioni**  
 12.30 **Mariassunta Cuzzo** (Università degli Studi del Molise)  
**Produzioni ceramiche dall'area di Mazzola**  
 12.50 **Nadin Burkhardt** (Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt), **Stephan Faust** (University College of Cork)  
**I primi risultati dello scavo nell'area di villa Arbusto/Pithecusa**  
**DISCUSSIONE**  
**Pausa pranzo**  
 15.00 **Valentino Nizzo** (Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Roma)  
**Paesaggi, forme e codici del rito nella necropoli di Pithekoussai**  
 15.20 **Marek Wecowski** (University of Warsaw)  
**The "Cup of Nestor" in context: the rise of the Greek aristocratic culture**

## SEZIONE C. Cuma e Parthenope

- 15.40 **Matteo D'Acunto** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")  
**Le prime fasi di Cuma alla luce delle ricerche recenti**  
 16.00 **Giovanna Greco** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II")  
**Strutture e materiali dalla Cuma arcaica: le ricerche della "Federico II" nell'area del Foro**  
**Pausa caffè**  
 16.40 **Michel Bats**, **Priscilla Munzi** (Centre Jean Bérard, Napoli)  
**Vaisselle et ustensiles de cuisine à Cumes à l'époque archaïque: analyse et confrontations**  
 17.00 **Daniela Giampaola** (Soprintendenza ABAP per il Comune di Napoli)  
**Napoli antica dall'Età del Bronzo Finale a Parthenope: i dati delle nuove indagini**  
**DISCUSSIONE**

16 maggio

## SEZIONE D. La Sicilia e il Mediterraneo occidentale

- 10.00 **Giovanna Maria Bacci** (Soprintendenza BB.C.C.A.A. di Messina)  
**Zancle: aggiornamenti sull'insediamento urbano e sui luoghi di culto**  
 10.20 **Maria Costanza Lentini** (Polo Regionale dei Siti Culturali di Catania)  
**Naxos di Sicilia tra l'VIII e il VII secolo a.C.: rapporti e connessioni esterne**  
 10.40 **Jean-Christophe Sourisseau** (Aix-Marseille Université), **Timmy Gambin** (University of Malta)  
**Premiers éléments sur la cargaison de l'épave de Xlendi (Gozo, Malte)**  
 11.00 **Massimo Botto** (CNR, Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico)  
**Fenici e Greci nella Penisola Iberica tra IX e VII sec. a.C.**  
**Pausa caffè**  
 11.40 **Marco Rendell**, **Paolo Bernardini** (Università degli Studi di Sassari)  
**La Sardegna**



Centro Congressi  
Auditorium "Leonardo Carriero"  
L'Albergo della Regina Isabella  
Piazza Santa Restituta, 80076 Lacco Ameno - Ischia (NA)

## SEZIONE E. L'Eubea: la madrepatria

- 12.00 **Irene Lemos** (University of Oxford)  
**Why Euboea? From the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age**  
 12.20 **Xenia Charalambidou** (University of Warsaw)  
**Rethinking Early Iron Age and Protoarchaic Chalkis: towards an appraisal of the archaeological evidence**  
 12.40 **Sandrine Huber** (Université de Lorraine)  
**The Athenaion on the acropolis of Eretria**  
**DISCUSSIONE**  
**Pausa pranzo**  
 15.00 **Jan Paul Crielaard** (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)  
**Recent research at Karystos-Plakari: cult, connectivity and networks in the 10th to 7th centuries BC**  
 15.20 **Karl Reber**, **Thierry Theurillat** (Université de Lausanne - École suisse d'archéologie en Grèce)  
**Finding Artemis: the Artemision at Amarnthos (Euboea)**  
 15.40 **Athena Chatzidimitriou** (Historical Archive of Antiquities, Ministry of Culture and Sports)  
**Zarakas: a cult site in south Karystia, on the island of Euboea**  
 16.00 **Alexandros Mazarakis Ainián** (University of Thessaly, Volos)  
**Thirty years of excavations and research at Homeric Graia (Oropos)**  
 16.20 **Antonis Kotsonas** (University of Cincinnati)  
**Containers, commodities and Euboean colonization in the Theraic Gulf**  
**DISCUSSIONE**

17 Maggio

## SEZIONE F. Le produzioni

- 10.00 **Samuel Verdan** (Université de Lausanne - École suisse d'archéologie en Grèce)  
**Men and metals on the move: the case of "Euboean" gold**  
 10.20 **Vicky Vlachou** (Université Libre de Bruxelles)  
**Patterns of production and consumption of Euboean-type pottery outside Euboea: a view from Oropos and Pithekoussai in the 8th century BC**  
 10.40 **Alexandra Alexandridou** (Open University of Cyprus)  
**One more node to the Thessalo-Euboean small world: the evidence from Kephala of Skiathos**  
**Pausa caffè**  
 11.20 **Gloria Olcese** ("La Sapienza" Università di Roma)  
**Il kerameikos sotto la Chiesa di Santa Restituta di Lacco Ameno: nuovi dati e prospettive della ricerca archeologica e archeometrica a Ischia**  
 11.40 **Franca Merlati** (Parco Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei)  
**Ceramica euboica e di tipo euboico tra Pithekoussai e Kyme: status questionis e nuovi spunti di riflessione**  
**DISCUSSIONE**

## CONCLUSIONI

- 12.30 **Carmine Ampolo** (Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa)  
**Catherine Morgan** (All Souls College, Oxford)



**Torri in Festa, Torri in Luce**  
7ª edizione  
Progetto cofinanziato con i fondi a rilevanza POC Campania 2014/2020



Organizzazione a cura di:  
**Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro** (Soprintendenza ABAP per l'area metropolitana di Napoli)  
**Matteo D'Acunto** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")  
**Cecilia Protà** (Comune di Lacco Ameno, Ischia)





The participants in the *Euboica II* conference



The greetings to the *Euboica II* conference: from left to right, Matteo D'Acunto, Paolo Giulierini (Director of the Naples National Archaeological Museum), Michele Bernardini (Director of the Dipartimento Asia Africa e Mediterraneo of the Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"), Elda Morlicchio (Rector of the Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"), Giacomo Pascale (Mayor of Lacco Ameno d'Ischia), Teresa Cinquantaquattro, Cecilia Prota (Councilor for culture of Lacco Ameno d'Ischia)



The organizers of the *Euboica II* conference, Teresa Cinquantaquattro and M. D'Acunto, with the Mayor of Lacco Ameno d'Ischia, Giacomo Pascale (right), and the Councilor for culture, Cecilia Prota (second, left)





The discussion after a session of the *Euboica II* conference



Discussion on pottery in the Archaeological Museum of Pithecusae (Lacco Ameno d'Ischia) after the *Euboica II* conference: from left to right, Maria Cecilia Parra, Bruno d'Agostino, Irene Lemos, Nota Kourou, Carmine Ampolo, Matteo D'Acunto, Teresa Cinquantaquattro, and Catherine Morgan



Discussion on pottery in the Archaeological Museum of Pithecusae (Lacco Ameno d'Ischia) after the *Euboica II* conference: from left to right, Catherine Morgan, Ida Baldassarre, Michel Bats, Alexandros Mazarakis Ainian, and Bruno d'Agostino



From left to right, Irene Lemos, Teresa Cinquantaquattro, Bruno d'Agostino, Matteo D'Acunto, Nota Kourou, and Samuel Verdan





Trip to Cumae after the *Euboica II* conference: from left to right, Thierry Theurillat, Sandrine Huber, Matteo D'Acunto, Samuel Verdan, Karl Reber, and Francesco Nitti



## THE EARLY PHASES IN THE ARTEMISION AT AMARYNTHOS IN EUBOEA, GREECE

Samuel Verdan, Thierry Theurillat, Tobias Krapf, Daniela Greger, Karl Reber

### INTRODUCTION

The origin of cults and their role for the development of Greek *poleis* have been discussed at length by archaeologists and historians. The ancient city of Eretria is a case study on these issues due to the well-preserved domestic and religious contexts from the Early Iron Age (EIA<sup>1</sup>). Indeed, the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros is among the earliest cult places established within a settlement where the evolution of architecture and rituals over time can be apprehended thanks to the detailed study of structures and finds<sup>2</sup>. The Greek *polis* however, far from being defined by the limits of its urban centre, was first and foremost a community of citizens occupying a territory. As such, the political and religious institutions of the Eretrians were forged in distinct places through the interactions of different social groups. In this long-term process, extra-urban sanctuaries played a significant role in the shaping of community and its territory<sup>3</sup>. Yet until now little was known about the shrines of the Eretrian. Recent discoveries made in the Eretrian *chora* provide new insights into this matter (Fig. 1)<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations of periods are as follows: E = Early; M = Middle; L = Late; BA = Bronze Age; EH = Early Helladic; MH = Middle Helladic; LH = Late Helladic; SM = Submycenaean; EIA = Early Iron Age; PG = Protogeometric; SPG = Subprotogeometric; MG = Middle Geometric; LG = Late Geometric; EA = Early Archaic. Neolithic, Helladic, Mycenaean, Geometric, Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic and Roman are not abbreviated.

<sup>2</sup> *Eretria XIV* and *XXII*.

<sup>3</sup> POLIGNAC 1995; MALKIN 1996; MORGAN 2003; LEMOS – TSINGARIDA 2019; DUPLOUY 2019.

<sup>4</sup> See the contribution of A. Chatzidimitriou in this volume on the sanctuary of Apollo Delios at Zarakes; on the sanctuary of Apollo Tamynaios near Avlonari, see KNOEPFLER – ACKERMANN 2012. Generally, see HUBER 2017, 62–64.

In particular, the region of Amarynthos, located 11 km east of Eretria, had been celebrated in ancient sources as the place of the sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia, the “High-goddess of the Euboeans”<sup>5</sup>. Yet, despite its regional fame and prominence, the location of the Artemision had long eluded archaeological identification. Since 2003, however, a large-scale field project carried out by the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece (ESAG) in collaboration with the Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea (EAE) has brought to light a monumental complex at the foot of Paleoekklisies Hill, few kilometres east of the modern town of Amarynthos (Fig. 2). This site was formally identified as the *hieron* of Artemis Amarysia in 2017 thanks to the discovery of inscriptions<sup>6</sup>. The exploration of the sanctuary is underway in order to locate the main buildings, but archaeological evidence already shows a dense and probably uninterrupted occupation of the site from LBA to the Late Roman period.

In its heyday in the Hellenistic period, the sanctuary was centred on a vast courtyard lined by porticoes on the northern and eastern sides (Fig. 3)<sup>7</sup>. It housed several votive monuments and important public documents displayed in this *epiphanestatos topos*<sup>8</sup>. According to inscriptions and ancient sources, Artemis occupied a central role in the Eretrian pantheon in the resolution of external conflicts and civil strife<sup>9</sup>. The goddess’ pre-eminence at the core

<sup>5</sup> NILSSON 1906, 238.

<sup>6</sup> *AntK* 2018.

<sup>7</sup> For a recent overview, see FACHARD *et al.* 2017; *CRAI* 2018, 847–879; REBER *et al.* 2018 and 2019.

<sup>8</sup> *CRAI* 2018, 883–892.

<sup>9</sup> The central role of Artemis in the wars of “annihilation” be-

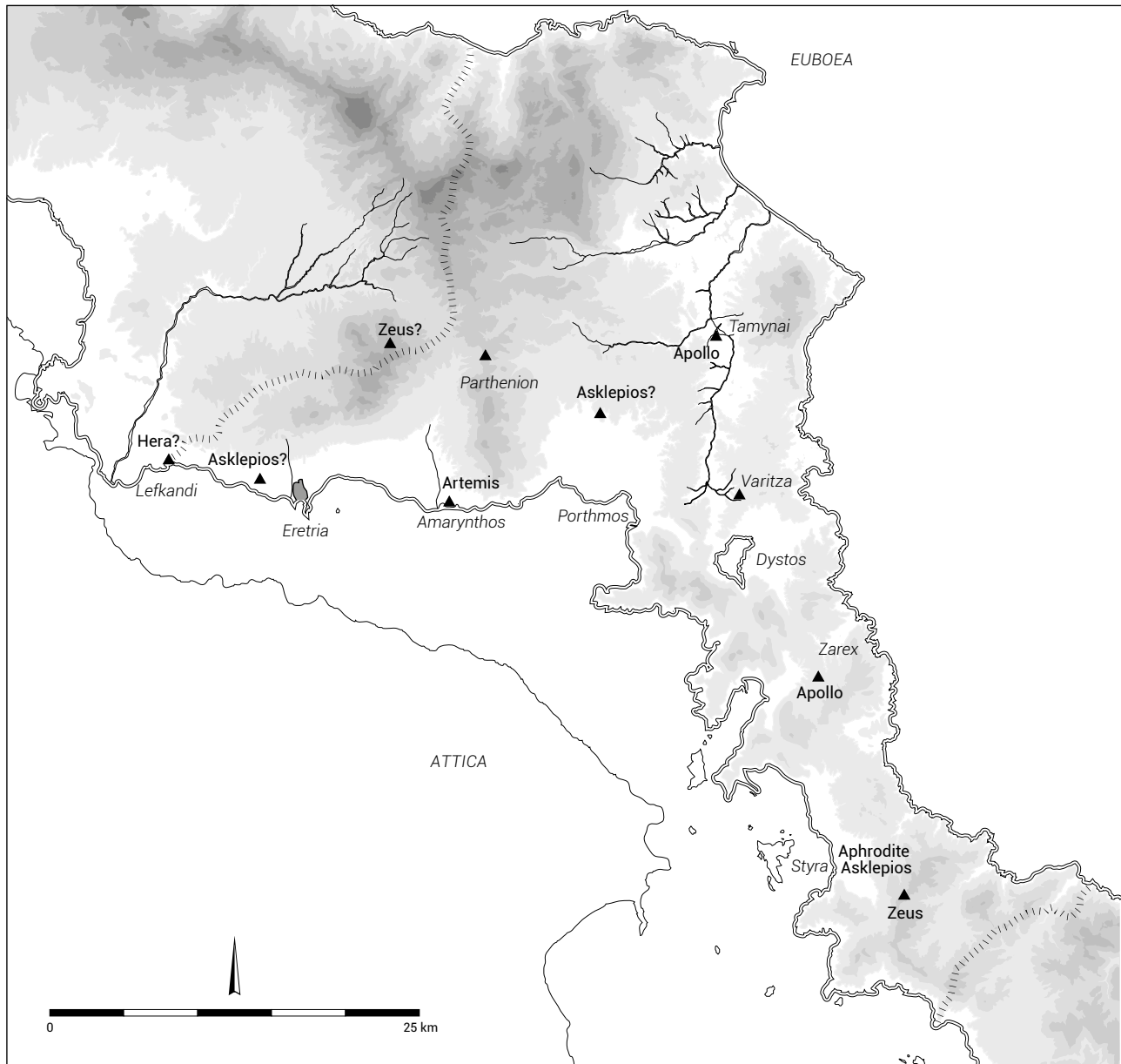


Fig. 1. The *chora* of Eretria with the location of the known extra-urban sanctuaries (S. Fachard)

of the *polis*' territory and civic institutions was epitomized each year during the festival of the Artemisia, which was attended by the citizens of the four

tween two *poleis* (ELLINGER 2009) is evidenced by an agreement between Eretria and Chalkis banning the use of missiles that was displayed on a stele in the Artemision (STRABO X, 1, 12; see also POLYBIUS XIII, 3, 2-4 and Archilochus fr. 3). This reference has often been associated with the so-called Lelantine war between Eretria and Chalkis (see now FACHARD – VERDAN, forthcoming). More treaties between Eretria and other *poleis* of Euboea are known from the sanctuary, such as the recently discovered *sympoliteia* between Eretria and Styra (CRAI 2018, 917-920). Artemis was also first among the gods to be summoned after the social struggles of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, which were ended by the restoration of democracy in Eretria in 341 BC (KNOEPFLER 2004).

*poleis* of Euboea, and beyond<sup>10</sup>. It involved a military parade composed by the tribes (later replaced by a *pyrrhiche*), musical and athletic contests organized by the demes, and sacrifices of sheep and cattle selected by the districts<sup>11</sup>.

The prominence of the extra-urban sanctuary of Amarynthos was the outcome of a long process in which the Eretrians ended up exercising control over a vast territory, one of the largest of the Greek World. The Artemision surely played a pivotal role

<sup>10</sup> On the Artemisia, see KNOEPFLER 1988.

<sup>11</sup> CRAI 2018, 942-944. On the civic organization of Eretria, see most recently FACHARD 2019.





Fig. 2. Situation of the Artemision of Amarynthos and Eretria in Central Euboea

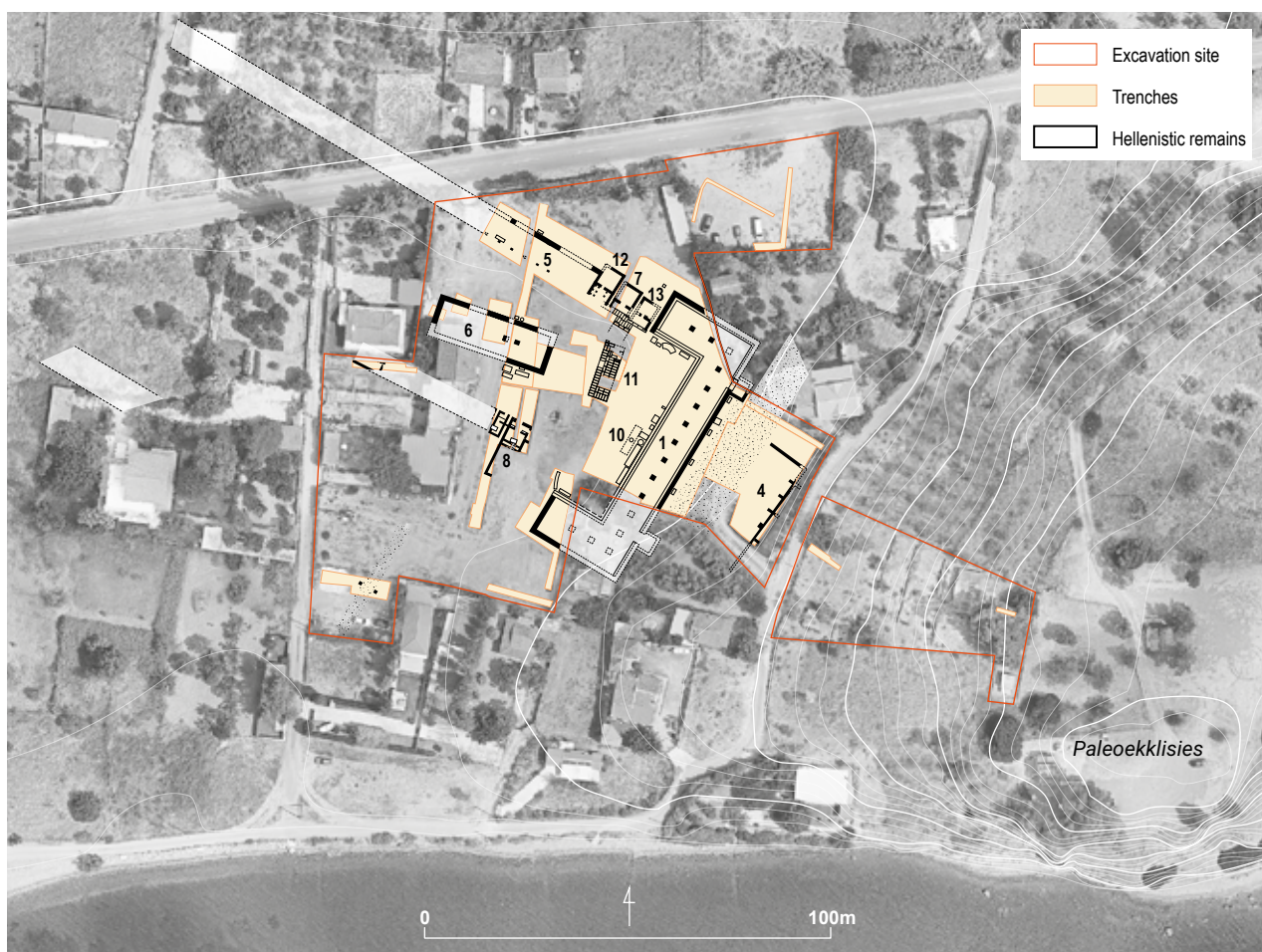


Fig. 3. Plan of the Artemision of Amarynthos with its porticoed courtyard during the Hellenistic period. East stoa (1), ashlar building (4), north stoa (5), temple (6), *oikoi* (7, 8, 12, 13), sacred well (10), altar (11)

in this regard, acting as a middle ground to resolve disputes and forge a collective identity. However, the hierarchy and nature of sites in central Euboea during the early centuries of the first millennium BC was much different, with Lefkandi and Amarnthos in the forefront while Eretria was still in the making. How and when did Amarnthos emerge as an eminent place of cult? The aim of this paper is to present the earliest phases of occupation on the site of the sanctuary and discuss the emergence of the cult at Amarnthos in relation to the development of the Eretrian *polis*.

# 1. THE LANDSCAPE DYNAMICS

Paleoekklisies Hill, which dominates the sanctuary, forms a coastal eminence occupying the eastern edge of the drainage basin of the Sarandapotamos river, probably called Erasinos in Antiquity<sup>12</sup>. The 250 × 150 m promontory offers an unobstructed view over the Euboean Gulf. The alluvial lowland where the sanctuary developed is nowadays planted with orchards and in some places densely built with country houses. This stretch of land used to be called *Ta Marmara* in recent times, a sound indication of the presence of ancient marbles. However, there were neither archaeological remains nor finds visible on the surface, between the foot of Paleoekklisies and the modern riverbed. This is partly due to the extensive reuse of ancient blocks since Antiquity, as attested by numerous *spolia* in the churches of the vicinity, but also to significant changes in the landscape.

In order to map the paleoenvironment, its dynamics and impact on human occupation through time, an interdisciplinary project was recently carried out at major archaeological sites along the Euripos (Aulis, Lefkandi, Eretria and Amarnthos), which revealed the typical features of a coastal wetland ecosystem (Fig. 4)<sup>13</sup>. From the end of the Neo-

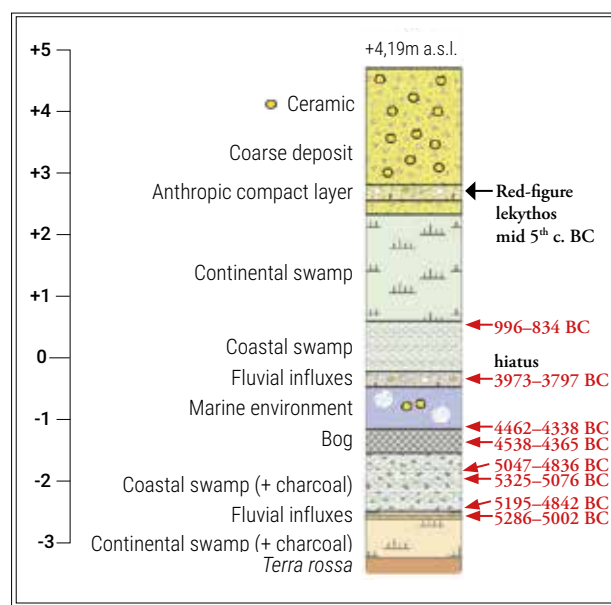


Fig. 4. Chronostratigraphic core profile A5 (adapted from GHILARDI 2018, fig. 5)

lithic, a fully marine environment prevailed until the deltaic progradation of the nearby Sarandapotamos river confined the marine bay around c. 2600–2400 BC. The expansion of alluvial deposits at the beginning of the BA, as evidenced at both Amarnthos and Eretria, was partly due to an increasing anthropic pressure on slopes and a change to a warmer and more humid climate. During most of the BA period, the area was occupied by a brackish lagoon, which evolved into a continental swamp during the EIA due to intense alluvial deposits. According to the geomorphological study, the BA site was a coastal tell with a sheltered anchorage on either side, a topographical feature typical of several BA sites, such as Lefkandi (Fig. 5) or Drosia on the opposite coast<sup>14</sup>.

The wetland retreat and anthropic backfilling, as evidenced in several cores (Fig. 4), allowed the extension of the sanctuary during the Classical period in the littoral plain, between coastal marshes to the west, a rugged promontory to the east, and the seashore to the south. Such a wetland ecosystem is shared by several sanctuaries of Artemis along the Euboean Gulf, at Aulis (Artemis Aulideia), Brau-

<sup>12</sup> KNOEPFLER 1988, 404.

<sup>13</sup> The 2011–2014 project was directed by M. Ghilardi (CNRS-CEREGE) and associated the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece and the British School at Athens. At Amarnthos, a series of 6 boreholes was drilled in the plain west of Paleoekklisies; sediments were analysed, molluscs and microfauna identified, and 22 samples from plant debris and mollusc remains from the cores dated with C14. See GHILARDI *et al.* 2012 and 2018.

<sup>14</sup> That Paleoekklisies might have been a promontory at some point in its history is echoed by Stephanus of Byzantium's qualification of Amarnthos as νῆσος Εὐβοίας, for the word is sometimes used for the compound χερσόνησος, meaning the peninsula (KNOEPFLER 1988, 404).

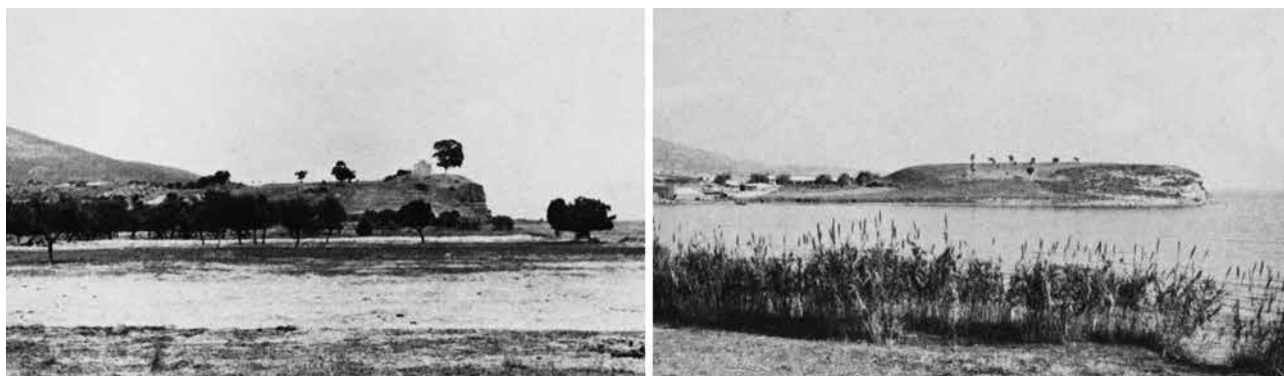


Fig. 5. Amarynthos (left) and Lefkandi (right); pictures taken in the 1960s by the archaeologists of the BSA during the survey of prehistoric Euboea (SACKETT *et al.* 1966, pls. 17a and 14b)

ron (Artemis Brauronia), Halai (Artemis Tauropolis), Myrrhinous (Artemis Kolainis), and Istiaia, northern Euboea (Artemis Proseoa) and is reminiscent of the “havens of Euripus” mentioned by Callimachus in the Hymn to Artemis<sup>15</sup>. The Artemision’s location in marshland on the eastern edge of the Eretrian plain bordered by a rugged coastline (the modern “Kaki Skala”) fits the general typology of the goddess’ sanctuaries in the *eschatia*.

## 2. THE BRONZE AGE OCCUPATION

The earliest excavated structures on Paleoekklisies Hill date to the EH II phase<sup>16</sup>, but the site might have already been occupied at the end of the Neolithic period<sup>17</sup>. The aforementioned drillings actually suggest human activity in the area as early as the LN<sup>18</sup>. By EH II, the Euboean Gulf was dotted with coastal settlements. West of the modern village of Amarynthos, at a distance of only 3 km from Paleoekklisies, EBA pottery has been found on another low elevation<sup>19</sup>, while further west is located the EH settlement of Magoula<sup>20</sup>. During the EH pe-

riod, Lefkandi<sup>21</sup> and the coastal site of Eretria were also established<sup>22</sup>. Trade relations with the Cyclades and other regions flourished, as best attested at the site of Manika, north of Chalkis<sup>23</sup>. The discovery of EH building remains in a private plot east of Paleoekklisies (Fig. 6)<sup>24</sup> indicates a thriving settlement that already spread by the third millennium BC beyond the confines of the coastal hill.

While a nucleation of sites can be clearly seen during the MH on both sides of the Euboean Gulf<sup>25</sup>, the situation does not appear to have changed much at Paleoekklisies, where MH buildings have been excavated both on the hill itself<sup>26</sup> and some 100 m to the northwest, at the edge of the prehistoric bay<sup>27</sup>. In fact, it seems that by the MH period Amarynthos became the main site of the large coastal plain alongside Lefkandi. At Eretria, the EH site was abandoned, and the inhabitants returned to the small plateau on the summit of the acropolis.

Within the limits of the later sanctuary of Artemis, on the western side of the hill, the earliest excavated layer dates to the shaft grave period, at the transition of the MH to LH, investigated at a depth of 3.5 m below the modern surface in a stratigraphic trench between the East Stoa 1 and the modern road

<sup>15</sup> III, 188: λιμένες γε μὲν Εὐρίπῳ; see also KNOEPFLER 1988, BRULÉ 1993 and KOWALZIG 2018.

<sup>16</sup> PARLAMA 1979.

<sup>17</sup> SACKETT *et al.* 1966, 65; SAMPSON 1980b, 90.

<sup>18</sup> A peak of charcoal and few terracotta fragments in deep strata might be related to a human occupation and deforestation in the LN, whereas spores of the coprophilous type found in pollen analysis indicate the presence of herbivores and possibly pastoral activities (GHILARDI *et al.* 2018, 110-112 and fig. 12).

<sup>19</sup> SAMPSON 1980a, 183.

<sup>20</sup> SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1988-1989, 101-104.

<sup>21</sup> POPHAM – SACKETT 1968, 5-6.

<sup>22</sup> The EH coastal settlement replaced an earlier small site on the top of the acropolis hill. MÜLLER CELKA *et al.* 2011, 47.

<sup>23</sup> SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1991.

<sup>24</sup> On this excavation by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea in 2009, see KALAMARA 2015, 157 fig. 11.

<sup>25</sup> KRAPP 2017.

<sup>26</sup> SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1988-1989, 96.

<sup>27</sup> On the 2006 excavation of the Patavalis plot, see *AntK* 2007 and KRAPP 2011.



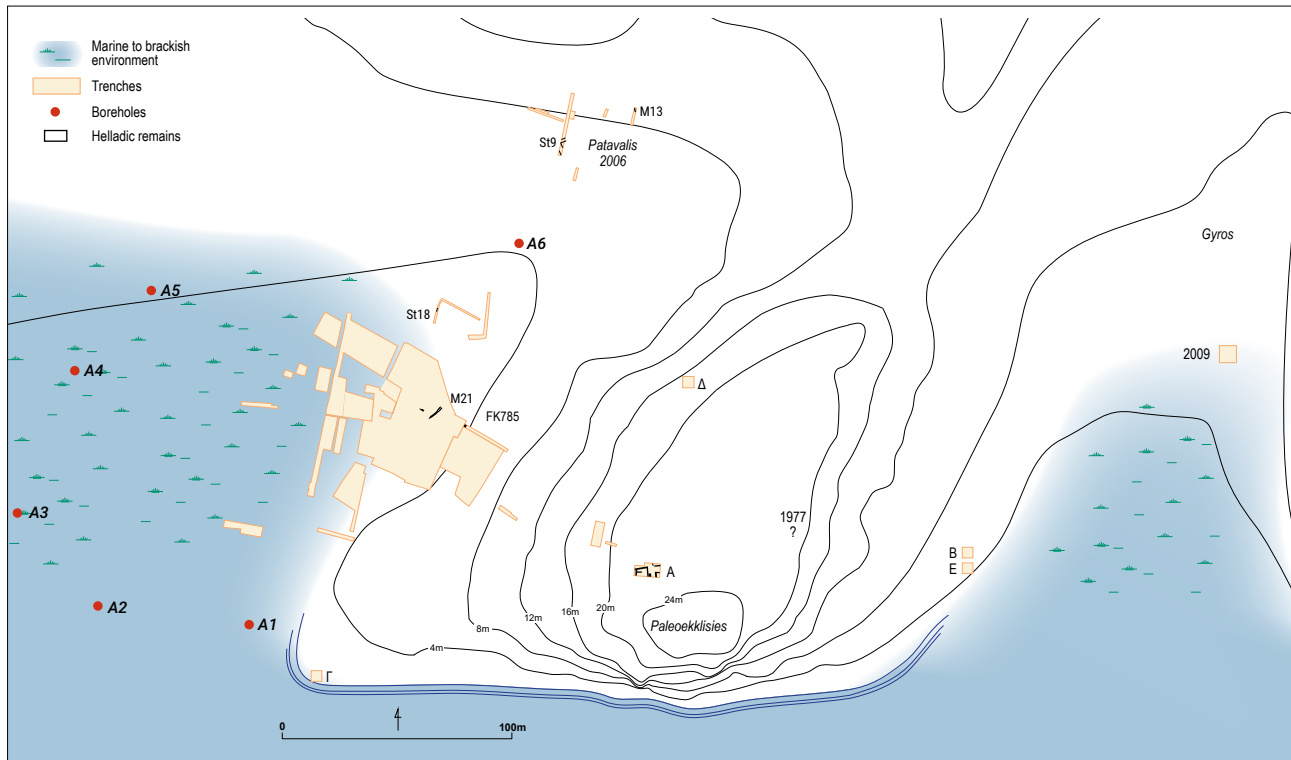


Fig. 6. Helladic remains at Amarynthos - Paleoekklisies

along the hillside (Fig. 6, FK784). In contrast to the finds from the MH II building in Patavalis plot, the sherds are heavily worn due to their deposition under the ground water level. Buff coloured fabrics prevail while grey minyan is almost absent. The shapes compare well to the later MH layer of the acropolis of Eretria<sup>28</sup>. Two large kraters with typical hawk's beak rims are illustrated here (**cat. 1-2**), one of which bears traces of matt painted decoration, probably belonging to the mainland polychrome ware. The upper layers produced the first Mycenaean shapes as well (**cat. 3**). Unlike Eretria, early Mycenaean pottery is present at Amarynthos, as indicated by the LH IIA shallow cup of **cat. 4**, a LH IIA Vapheio cup (**cat. 5**) as well as another one of LH IIB date today in the Museum Collection of the British School at Athens<sup>29</sup> and a LH IIB small (probably ring-handled) cup (**cat. 6**). Additionally, a tomb containing a LH II alabastron was recently excavated east of Paleoekklisies<sup>30</sup>.

Mycenaean remains have been found on the top



Fig. 7. Wheel-made bull terracotta figurine T7125 (Mycenaean)

of the hill<sup>31</sup>, while a Mycenaean layer might exist in the Kokkalas plot; however, excavations did not proceed further in 2007<sup>32</sup>. Mycenaean fragments of all LH sub-phases from LH II onwards (**cat. 4-18**) have been identified in the dense slope deposits during the excavation of the sector of the Hellenistic

<sup>28</sup> KRAPF 2015.

<sup>29</sup> KRAPF 2011, 152 fig. 8.32.

<sup>30</sup> KALAMARA 2015, 157.

<sup>31</sup> SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1988-1989.

<sup>32</sup> Vases nos. 35 and 37 in KRAPF 2011. *AntK* 2008, 156. On the MG I/SPG IIIa child tomb found in the same plot, see below.



Fig. 8. Wheel-made bull terracotta figurine T5161 (Mycenaean)

building 4 (and to a lesser degree down to the Stoa 1). They contained several thousands of BA sherds along with obsidian tools, leaving no doubt about the continuous Mycenaean occupation of the site down to at least LH IIIC Middle, as the sherds collected by the BSA survey in the 1960s already indicated<sup>33</sup>. Characteristic specimens of the palatial period are for instance the LH IIIA2 deep bowl with whorl-shell motif (**cat. 7**) and a LH IIIB1 Zygouries type kylix (**cat. 9**).

The discovery of the Artemision of Amarynthos at Paleoekklisies makes the identification of this prehistoric site with the toponym *a-ma-ru-to*, recorded on a Linear-B tablet from the palace of Thebes, very plausible<sup>34</sup>. This may imply, in return, Theban control over parts of Euboea. Like other sites along the Euboean Gulf, in particular Lefkandi, Amarynthos flourished during the LH IIIC period after the collapse of the palaces, which can be described as a period of renewed independence. Many sherds can be attributed to this period, finding good parallels both at Lefkandi and Perati<sup>35</sup>, such as deep bowls (**cat. 11-13**), a stirrup jar with dotted stacked triangles (**cat. 17**), a closed vessel decorated with the elaborate circle motif (**cat. 15**), a krater with crowded decoration of close style inspiration (**cat. 18**) and two more kraters (**cat. 14 and 16**). Two chariot/horse scenes of the pictorial style are known from the British survey<sup>36</sup> and a new fragment probably depicting a warrior was found in 2019. They are part of a rich tradition of this style along the Euboean Gulf during the LH IIIC period<sup>37</sup>. Another

important artefact retrieved from the slope deposits in 2019 is the head of a wheelmade bull figurine (Fig. 7), which is very similar to LH IIIC examples from Phylakopi<sup>38</sup>. A second probably Mycenaean wheelmade bull figurine from the fill of the Roman well 10 (Fig. 8)<sup>39</sup> and a head of a Mycenaean human wheelmade figurine<sup>40</sup> are indicative of cult activity at the site already by the end of the BA. There is, however, no evidence for an uninterrupted link to the later sanctuary<sup>41</sup>. A small number of fragmentary quadruped, Psi and Phi figurines have also been discovered<sup>42</sup>, but unlike the wheelmade figurines, they are very common in Mycenaean contexts, be they domestic or religious.

During LH IIIC, as the silting of the coastal swamp proceeded, a massive wall (M21) following the line of the slope was built in the zone later occupied by the East Stoa 1 (Fig. 9). A few late Mycenaean fragments and especially a monochrome deep bowl with a reserved band inside the rim and re-

<sup>38</sup> T7125, 1684-1. Head of a wheelmade bull figurine. Muzzle and horns modeled on the "outflaring rim" of the cylindrical wheelmade head and neck of the figurine, opening on the top, eyes attached below the missing muzzle. Hard fired clay, pale brown (2.5Y 7/3), quite numerous dark inclusions up to 2 mm, surface slightly burnished, dark brown lustrous painted decoration. Width of the horns as broken 9 cm, diameter of the neck 3.8 cm, preserved height 6.4 cm. Cf. GUGGISBERG 1996, pls. 26.8 and 28.1-2.

<sup>39</sup> T6151, 802-180. Head of a wheelmade bull figurine. Massive head with pierced eyes and mouth. Hard fired fine clay, pale brown (10YR 6/3), some calcareous inclusions up to 2 mm, surface slightly burnished, red brown painted decoration. Width of the horns as broken 6.6 cm, height of the head 5.7 cm.

<sup>40</sup> T5436, 315-1. Head of a Mycenaean human figurine. Plastic indication for the nose and eyes, three shallow perforations on the nose, incised mouth, traces of paint around the eyes and on top of head. Height 3.8 cm.

<sup>41</sup> Except the tradition of bull figurines (see below), but their number is too low for indicating any connection between the LBA and EIA. For two 12<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century BC handmade bull figurines at Lefkandi see LEMOS 2017.

<sup>42</sup> Psi-Idol: FACHARD *et al.* 2017, 173 fig. 135. Quadrupeds: KRAPP 2011, 152 fig. 8.30-31.

<sup>33</sup> SACKETT *et al.* 1966, 65-66 and 104.

<sup>34</sup> TH Of 25 in ARAVANTINOS 1987.

<sup>35</sup> For references see the catalogue.

<sup>36</sup> SACKETT *et al.* 1966, 103 fig. 28 nos. 66-67 and BAERISWYL 2020.

<sup>37</sup> CROWEL 2006.

served space underneath the handles (**cat. 22**) suggest a construction date around LH IIIC Middle. Most other fragments, such as kylikes and ring bases that could belong to similar bowls, are monochrome as well (**cat. 19-21**). The 80 cm-wide wall probably served as a boundary line at least until the end of the PG, and maybe even later (see below). The structure, preserved in two courses, is sealed by a thick layer of reddish clay, which might be related to the destruction of the mudbrick superstructure. This is the earliest built structure so far uncovered in the area of the later sanctuary and attests to the gradual movement of activities towards this zone, as well as a constant concern with the stability of the slopes<sup>43</sup>. The link between this structure and the settlement on the hill is an issue to be investigated in further excavations<sup>44</sup>.

### 3. THE PROTOGEOMETRIC TO EARLY ARCHAIC REMAINS AND FINDS

#### *Protogeometric and Subprotogeometric*

The importance of Amarnthos in LH IIIC fits in the dynamism of the Euboean Gulf area in the post-palatial period. The following period, however, is far less conspicuous and only recently started emerging out of the dark. In the survey carried out by the British School in the 1960s, a single “Proto-geometric” sherd was recorded from Paleoekklisies<sup>45</sup>, whereas no EIA levels were identified in the trenches opened in the late 1980s on the hill<sup>46</sup>. The only clear evidence for an occupation at this period came from three PG vases found intact east of the hill and probably belonging to a funerary context (see below).

The fieldwork initiated in 2006 has significantly changed this picture, with the discovery of EIA re-



Fig. 9. Dry stone wall M21 (Mycenaean to SPG)

mains and pottery in the deepest trenches, under a 2-meter-thick layer of colluvium and anthropic fill (Fig. 10)<sup>47</sup>. Yet, with less than 15% of the excavated area reaching pre-Classical layers, our understanding of the EIA occupation remains fragmentary.

PG and SPG pottery is frequently attested in the slope deposits at the foot of the Paleoekklisies Hill. However, due to the fragmentary state of the material and the slow evolution of the pottery style during this period, sound evidence for the entire sequence is still lacking, as secure chronological markers for the EPG have not yet been identified, and the same is true for the SM style. For the time being, the earliest pieces span broadly from EPG to MPG<sup>48</sup>. The current gap in the pottery sequence for the very beginning of the EIA is likely to be solved in the future. Indeed, the long period of use of the wall M21 (see above), probably built during LH IIIC

<sup>43</sup> A micromorphological project lead by the Wiener Laboratory of the American School of Classical Studies currently investigates the deposits that indicate both episodes of natural sedimentation and erosion as well as human activity. Building 4 functioned at least partially as retaining wall.

<sup>44</sup> A first test trench was opened in 2019 at the western edge of the summit, but it has not yet been excavated below the medieval layer (*AntK 2020*).

<sup>45</sup> SACKETT *et al.* 1966, 65-66 and pl. 16c; the sherd may date to the SPG as well.

<sup>46</sup> SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1988-1989, 104; SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1992, 238.

<sup>47</sup> See BLANDIN 2008 and 2011 on the finds from the first two field seasons.

<sup>48</sup> BLANDIN 2008, 184 and pl. 28.2-3; BLANDIN 2011, 814-815 and 826, figs. 3-4.

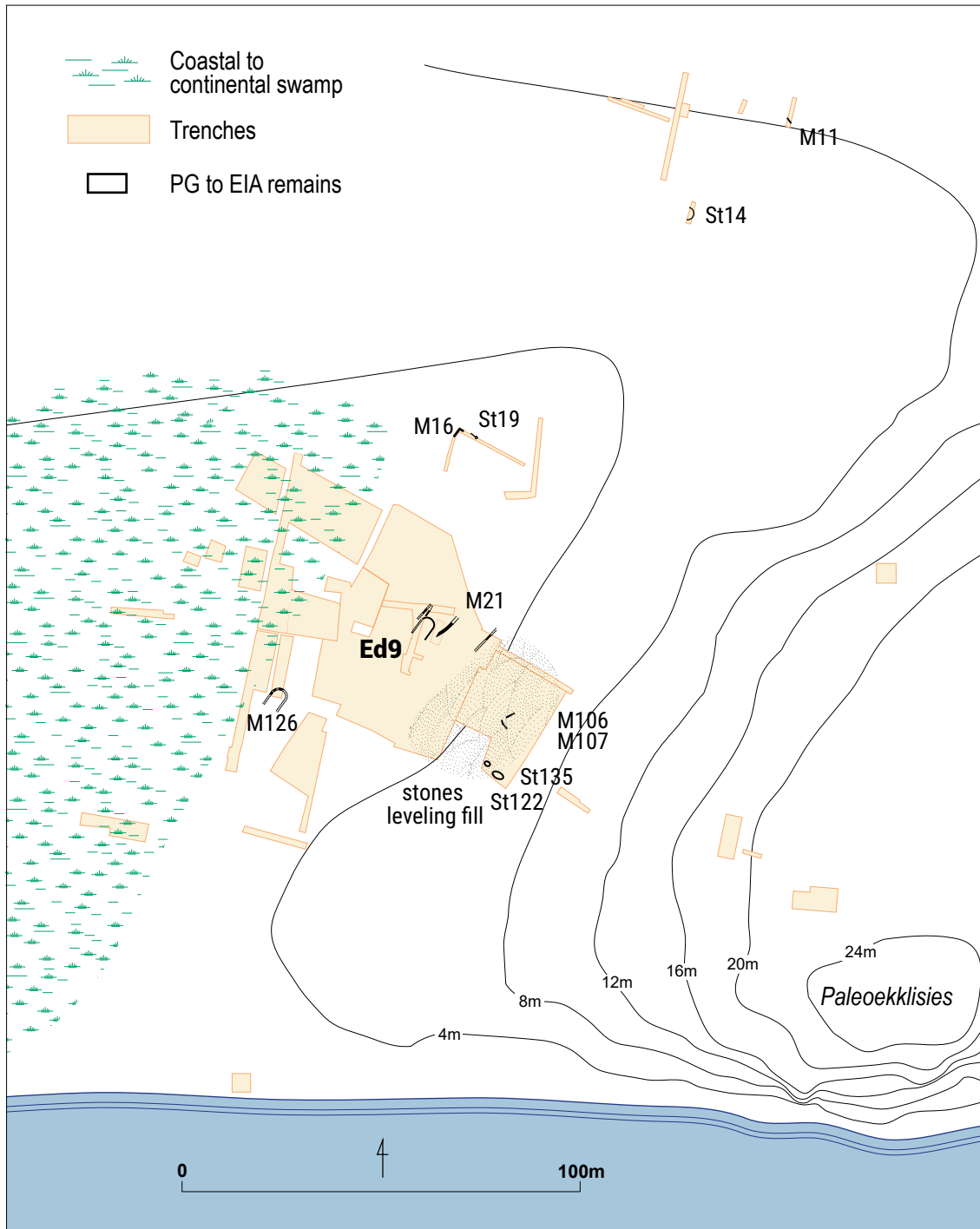


Fig. 10. PG and Geometric remains at Amarynthos - Paleoeekklisies

Middle and still in use in the PG period, suggests a steady occupation of the site<sup>49</sup>.

So far, this wall is the only built structure that can tentatively be associated with the PG-SPG occupation. Other finds relate to the funerary sphere: the

discovery of an EPG-MPG jug and two cups at the place called Gyros, some 200 m northeast of Paleoeekklisies, provides evidence for a burial ground in the area (Fig. 11)<sup>50</sup>. Northwest of the hill, a MG I/

<sup>49</sup> Sherds found in connection with wall M21 date to the PG-early SPG: see *cat.* 23-29.

<sup>50</sup> SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1988-1989, pl. 38. A Mycenaean burial was recently excavated in the same region, see KALAMARA 2015, 157 and above. On burial customs in Eretria, see *Eretria XVII* and BLANDIN 2008, 187-188 in relation to the burial at Ama-



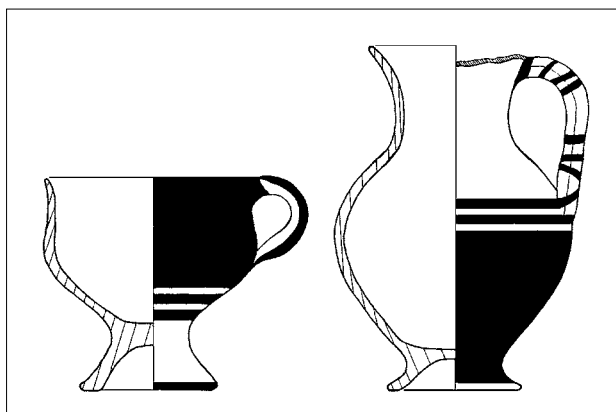


Fig. 11. Stray finds from Gyros, northeast of Paleoekklesies (EPG-MPG)

SPG IIIa inhumation of a child (less than 2 years old) in a shaft grave with three covering slate slabs was unearthed (Fig. 12)<sup>51</sup>. The following offerings were deposited at the feet of the deceased and along his legs: two pendent semi-circle skyphoi, a monochrome cup, a monochrome plate and a kalathos with hanging holes, two Attic pyxides with lids, a monochrome feeding bottle and a miniature cooking pot with stand in coarse ware. The exiguity of the trench did not allow to ascertain whether the grave is isolated or part of a larger necropolis.

The PG and SPG remains and finds downhill contrast with the quasi absence of surface finds from these periods and the negative evidence in trial trenches on top of Paleoekklesies. This might suggest that the promontory was not settled after the end of the BA, which seems however unlikely on two accounts: first, there is plentiful evidence in the plain as well as in the slope deposits; second, it would be at odds with what happens at the same period in the neighbouring site of Lefkandi, where the EIA occupation on the tell is now well documented (see below). It cannot, therefore, be ruled out that EIA levels on top of the hill have been obliterated by later activities, such as the reuse of stones as building material in the later sanctuary. As an alternative hypothesis, the relocation of the dwelling downhill might have been triggered by the existence of an early cult place uphill.

rynthos. On child graves at Lefkandi, see *Lefkandi I*, 203-205.

<sup>51</sup> LÉDERREY 2008; a wall also dated to the EIA was excavated few meters west of the shaft grave (M16, cf. *AntK* 2008, 155).

### *Late Geometric*

Clear-cut evidence for the LG occupation has been found at the location of the later sanctuary. A small apsidal building (Fig. 10, Ed9, ~5.50×4.00m), oriented parallel to the slope and opening to the south, is erected some 2 m west of the earlier wall M21. As the construction and occupation layers in the building have not been excavated yet, its precise chronology remains uncertain. However, the stratigraphy suggests a date in the LG, and a heap of LG II pottery deposited nearby may tentatively be associated with its period of use (see **cat. 30-37**). The area might have been densely built during the LG period, as evidenced by two stretches of walls (M93 and M118) running parallel to the west of building 9, but later constructions have left few remains intact. A second apsidal building of uncertain date was partially unearthed some 40 m southwest, under the foundation of a Classical edifice (Fig. 10, M126), whereas stretches of walls were discovered in a deep trench east near the foot of the hill (Fig. 10, M106-107). Further excavations are needed to clarify the plan of the sector, as well as the chronology and function of the buildings.

### *Early Archaic*

A crucial architectural achievement occurs at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC with the construction of two monumental edifices (Figs. 13-14, Ed3 and Ed6), which will be discussed below. The decades that span from the early to late 7<sup>th</sup> century BC are poorly known, in part due to the limited exploration of the deep strata. Yet a handful of remains and finds can be attributed to this phase, some of which are clearly related to cultic activities<sup>52</sup>.

Two limestone bases were discovered along the external facing of the eastern wall of building 3, probably designed to support wooden posts (Fig. 15, St21 and Fig. 16, St136)<sup>53</sup>. As the top of the stones lies just under the base of the wall and would therefore not have effectively protected the wood from rainwater, their belonging to Ed3 is not ascertained. They may have been part of an earlier construction.

<sup>52</sup> For a selection of vases coming from the central sector and dating to this phase, see **cat. 38-44**.

<sup>53</sup> Since excavations have not reached this level all around the building, other similar bases might be brought to light in the future.



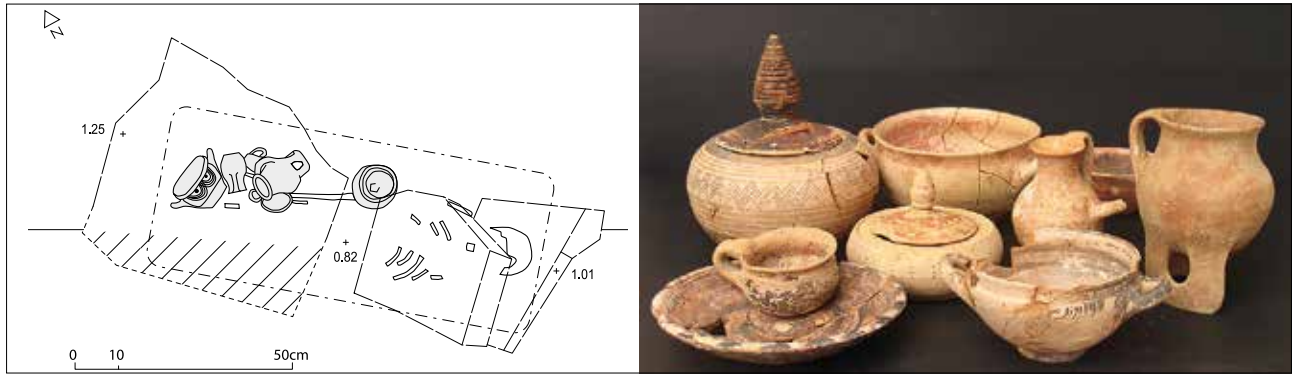


Fig. 12. Child grave St19, plan and finds (MG I/SPG IIIa)

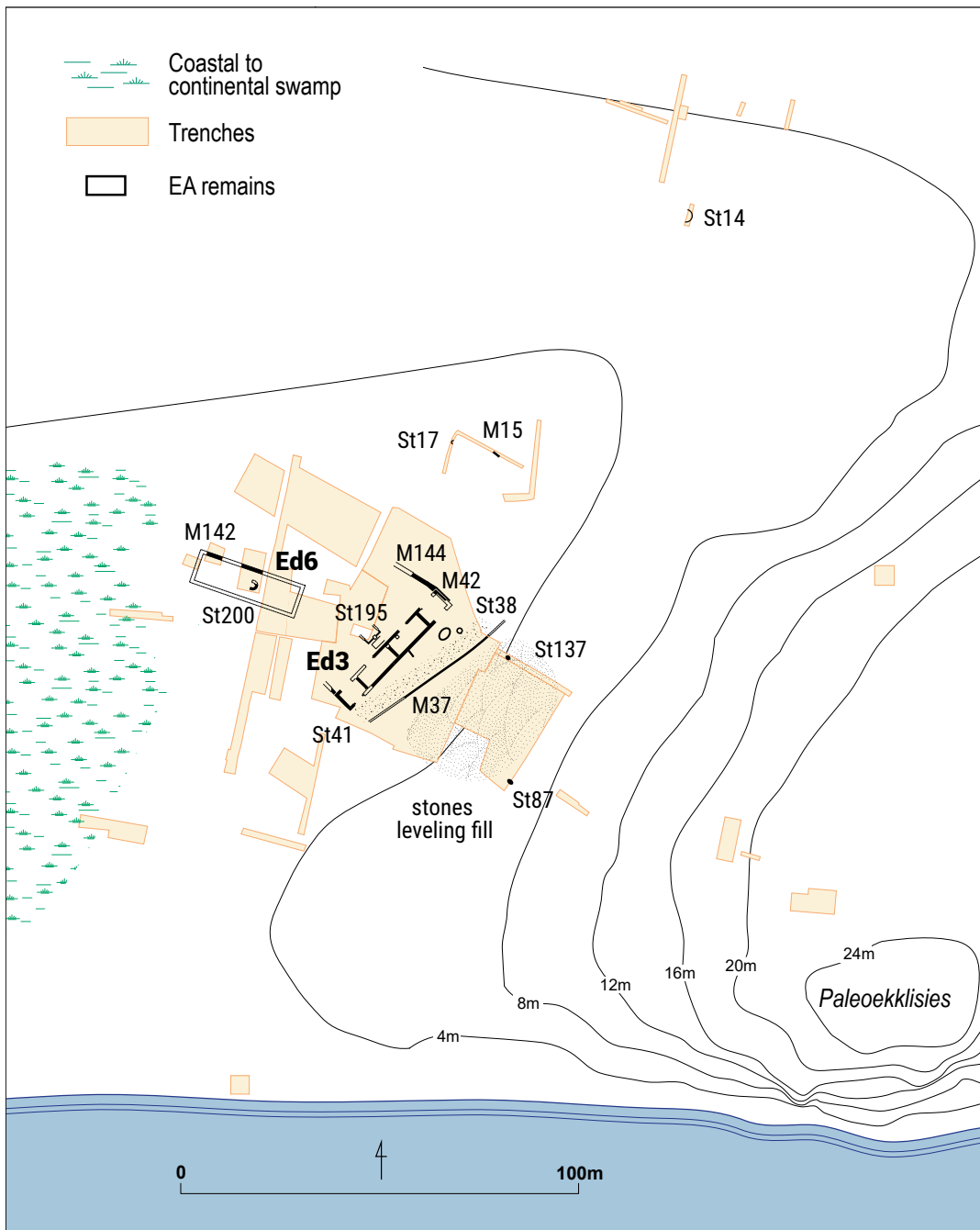


Fig. 13. EA remains at Amarynthos - Paleoekklisies



Fig. 14. Drone view of the eastern stoa with earlier remains (2019)





Fig. 15. Limestone base under east wall of edifice 3 (St21)



Fig. 16. Limestone base under the east wall of edifice 3 (St136)





Fig. 17. Seated terracotta figurine (T5052) found next to base St21

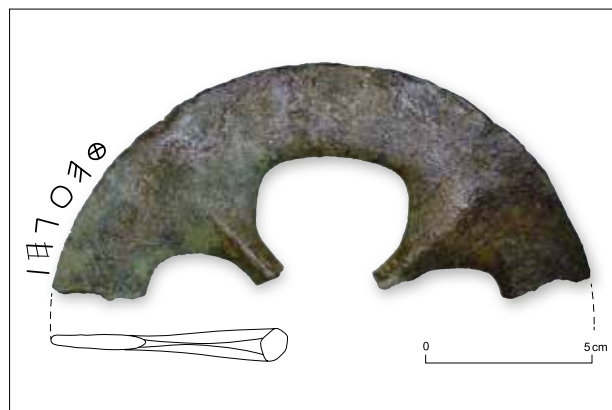


Fig. 19. Inscribed miniature bronze wheel (early 7<sup>th</sup> century BC)

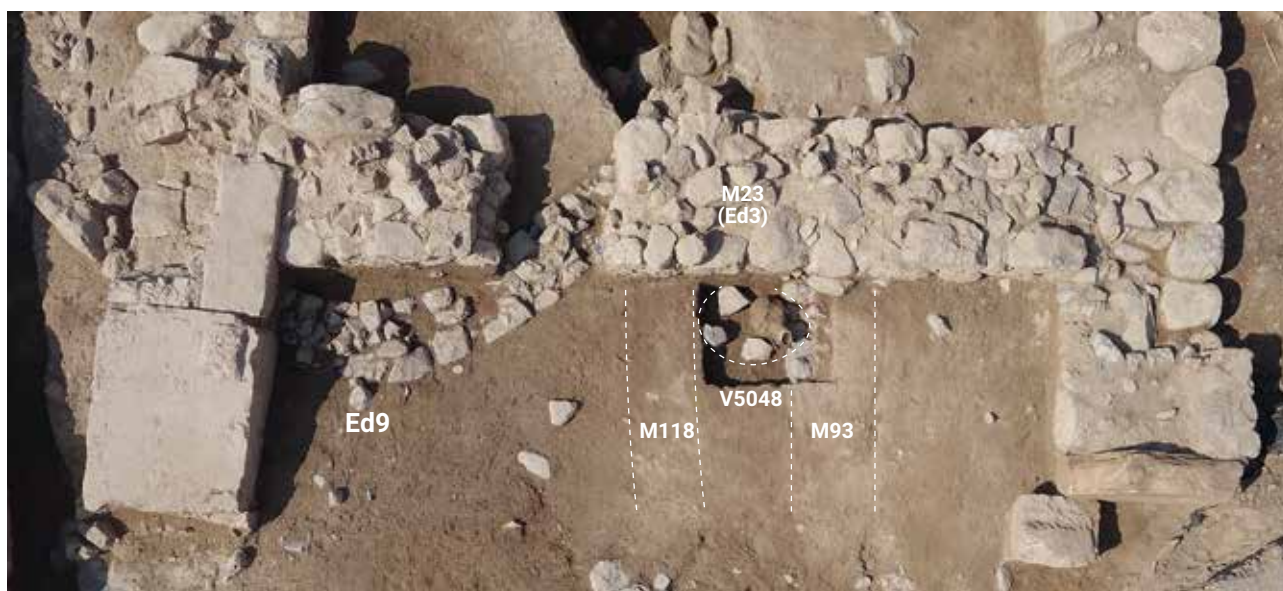


Fig. 18. Location of the deposit containing a complete LG II oenochoe (V5048, cat. 43)

Next to one of these bases, a small seated terracotta figurine was found, most probably a votive offering (Fig. 17).

A complete LG oenochoe (**cat. 43**) was buried at the base of the northern wall of building 3 in a shallow pit which partially overlaps a LG wall (M93, Fig. 18)<sup>54</sup>. In terms of stratigraphy, the deposit is situated above the LG level and just under the foundations of edifice 3. The intact trefoil jug exhibits signs of wear, which might suggest a long period of use. However, if interpreted as a foundation deposit for the monumental building 3, the vase would have

been passed down for almost a century before being buried. The deposit of this jug might also be related to a votive offering made during the early 7<sup>th</sup> century BC or to a burial.

Further east, a narrow and deep pit (Fig. 14, St38) yielded pottery dating to the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC (including the foot of a high-neck jug **cat. 71**), three terracotta balls, two terracotta figurines of quadrupeds, a piece of a shell with incised decoration, and part of an inscribed bronze wheel. The latter bears four letters written from right to left, Θεογ-, probably the name of the dedicant

<sup>54</sup> *AntK* 2019, 147 and fig. 3, and CHEZEAUX 2020.

Θεογείτων or Θεόγνητος (Fig. 19)<sup>55</sup>. The content of the pit cannot be interpreted as a primary votive deposit, due to the small quantity, the high fragmentation and the heterogeneity of the material found inside. Nevertheless, several finds can be associated with rituals and provide evidence for the activities carried out in the sanctuary at this early phase (for more such material, see below).

*The monumentalization of the sacred space in the Archaic period*

A rectangular edifice (Ed3, ca. 38.0×5.6 m), oriented parallel to the hillslope, was erected above the LG building 9. Its massive 80-to-90 cm-wide walls are preserved on two irregular courses, with a double facing made of large blocks of limestone retaining a fill of rubble (Figs. 20-21). The masonry presents various qualities of stones and dressing – roughly cut limestone and fine-grained limestone ashlar blocks –, which might be interpreted as repairs and could testify to the long period of use of the building. Later structures have extensively disturbed the area; as a consequence, floor levels within the building are only preserved in a limited area, and no undisturbed construction layer has been excavated yet, which makes the chronology of the building difficult to secure. Based on this limited evidence, its construction can be provisionally placed in the last quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>56</sup>.

Our understanding of the overall plan and internal organization of the edifice has significantly evolved since its discovery in 2012. It was then interpreted as an elongated building *in antis* with an axial entrance from the northeast through a shallow porch, reminiscent of the monumental EIA public buildings discovered throughout Greece, at Eretria, Samos or Kalapodi, to name but a few<sup>57</sup>. The recent field season brought to light new evidence suggesting a different and more complex layout (Fig. 22).

It is an elongated building with two rooms at

each end featuring large gates for access to the sanctuary (Fig. 20, St170/191 and St215/216). Their architectural layout is partially known as the remains were disturbed by later constructions, but they can be tentatively reconstructed as double doorways for pedestrian and carriages access<sup>58</sup>. These monumental gates flanked an elongated space divided in two spacious rooms of similar size (ca. 10.2×4.0 m) which were opened onto the sacred space. They have not been extensively excavated and their exact function is not yet ascertained. No destruction layer has been observed in or around the building. Either it was carefully cleaned and dismantled after its abandonment or the related strata were obliterated by later constructions.

The surroundings of building 3 are only known to a limited extent. At its north and south ends, two stretches of wall oriented toward the west (M144 and M146) can be interpreted as part of the peribolos. A shallow pool made of large Corinthian tiles (St195) directly to the west suggests that water-related activities took place in front of the building. To the east, a 5 m-wide gravel roadway (Figs. 14 and 20, St41) runs alongside the building, edged by a long wall (Figs. 14 and 20, M37) serving as a boundary. Further east, the space between the roadway and the hillslope is levelled with a dense layer of stones, probably originating from the destruction of earlier constructions uphill (houses, terrace walls, fortification?). Limited soundings in this 35 m broad and flat esplanade have yielded scattered finds dating from BA to EA (for examples of LG to EA pottery, see **cat. 52-62**). The esplanade might have served as a burial ground for infants, as suggested by the discovery of two enchytrisms (Figs. 23-24)<sup>59</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> The southeast gate (St170) preserves two rectangular limestone bases with sockets for wooden posts of a 2.5 m wide doorway. A massive fine-grained limestone ashlar block adjacent to the south (St173, 1.0×0.8×0.45 m) probably served as a threshold for a narrow door. An identical ashlar block (St174) attests to the existence of a symmetric entrance at the northeast end of the building, which was dismantled when the foundations of the Hellenistic Stoa (1) were built. On Archaic doors, see BÜSING-KOLBE 1978, 75-79, and more generally GUGGISBERG 2013 on entranceways in Greek sanctuaries. Double doorways for pedestrian and carriage access are attested later in Classical and Hellenistic houses in Eretria and Olynth; see references and discussion in *Eretria X*, 120-121.

<sup>59</sup> A coarse ware pithos (St137) yielded the remains of a newborn baby together with an amber bead; a fineware painted amphora (St87) contained the remains of a nearly full-term infant

<sup>55</sup> B1801 (*AntK 2015*, 146). Bronze wheel offerings are not uncommon in sanctuaries, either as *pars pro toto* or belonging to wheeled tripods. See also de DE FUIJK 2015.

<sup>56</sup> A handful of sherds of locally produced pottery found under a disturbed floor/construction level can be dated toward the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> / beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC (**cat. 45-49**), whereas two fragments of Ionian cups found in/under the walls of Ed3 belong to types appearing in 3<sup>rd</sup> third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC (**cat. 50-51**).

<sup>57</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997 and 2017a.



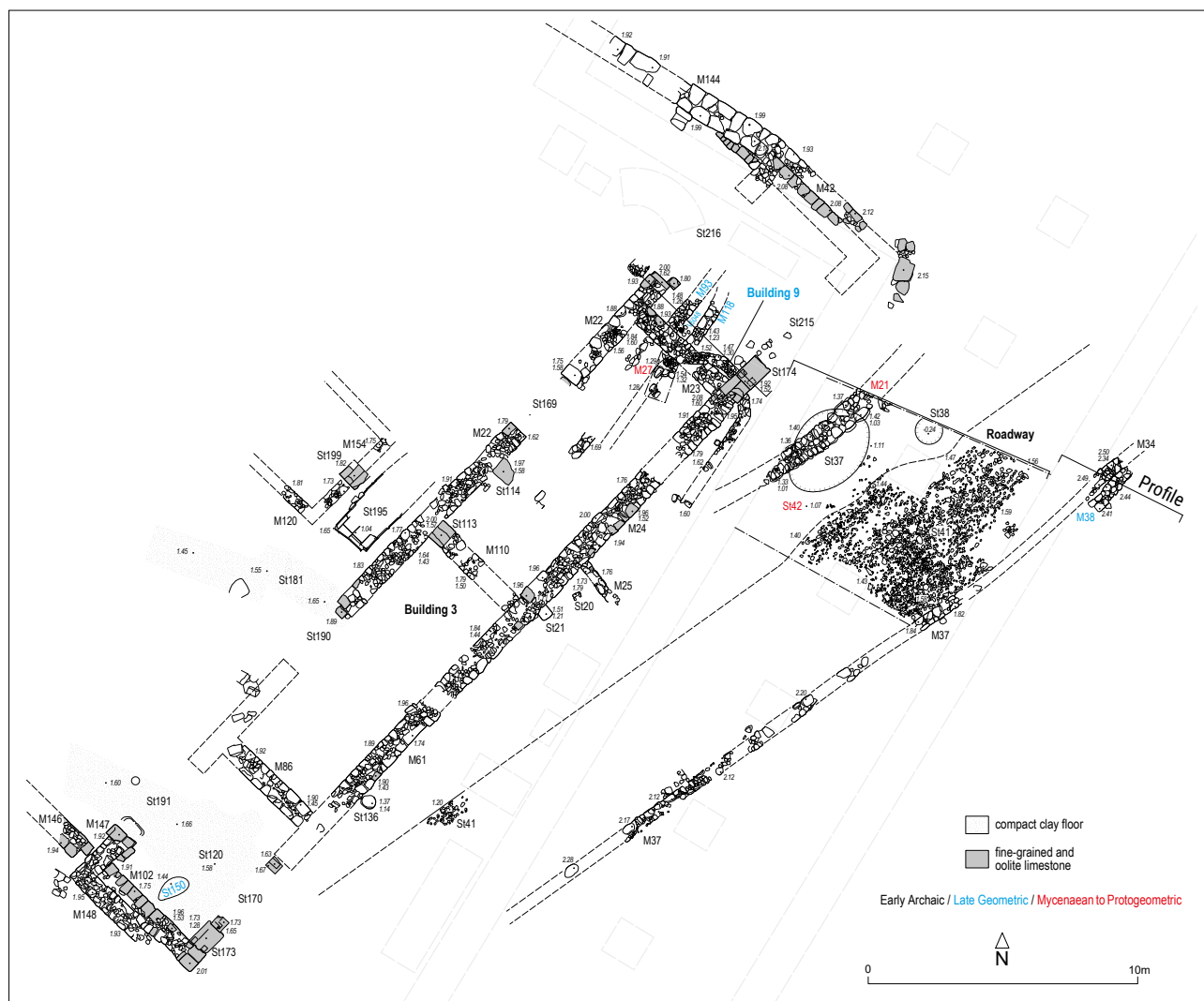


Fig. 20. Sector of edifice 3, plan of the EA (black), Late Geometric (blue) and Mycenaean to Protogeometric (red) remains

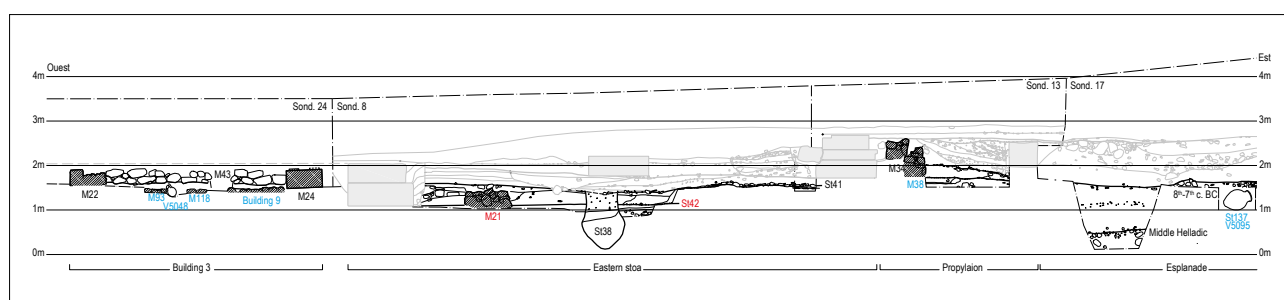


Fig. 21. Profile through the pre-Classical remains

Edifice 3 stood as the east boundary of the sanctuary, controlling the access from the surrounding land into the enclosed sacred space. This Archaic

(see Fig. 13 for the location of the burials). Infant cemeteries and the cult of Artemis have a close relationship, as attested in Astypalaia (MICHALAKI-KOLLIA 2010). See also on the Artemision of Amarnthos SEMENZATO – VERDAN – THEURILLAT 2020.

gate-building features an original plan with no exact parallel in Greek architecture<sup>60</sup>. It does, howev-

<sup>60</sup> The first example which comes to mind is the sanctuary of Apollo at Despotiko, with its sacred courtyard bordered by porticoes and various buildings (KOURAYOS 2012). See also OHNESORG 2013 on the western gate of the sanctuary of Dionysus at Yria on Naxos and more generally HULEK 2019, 227-228.

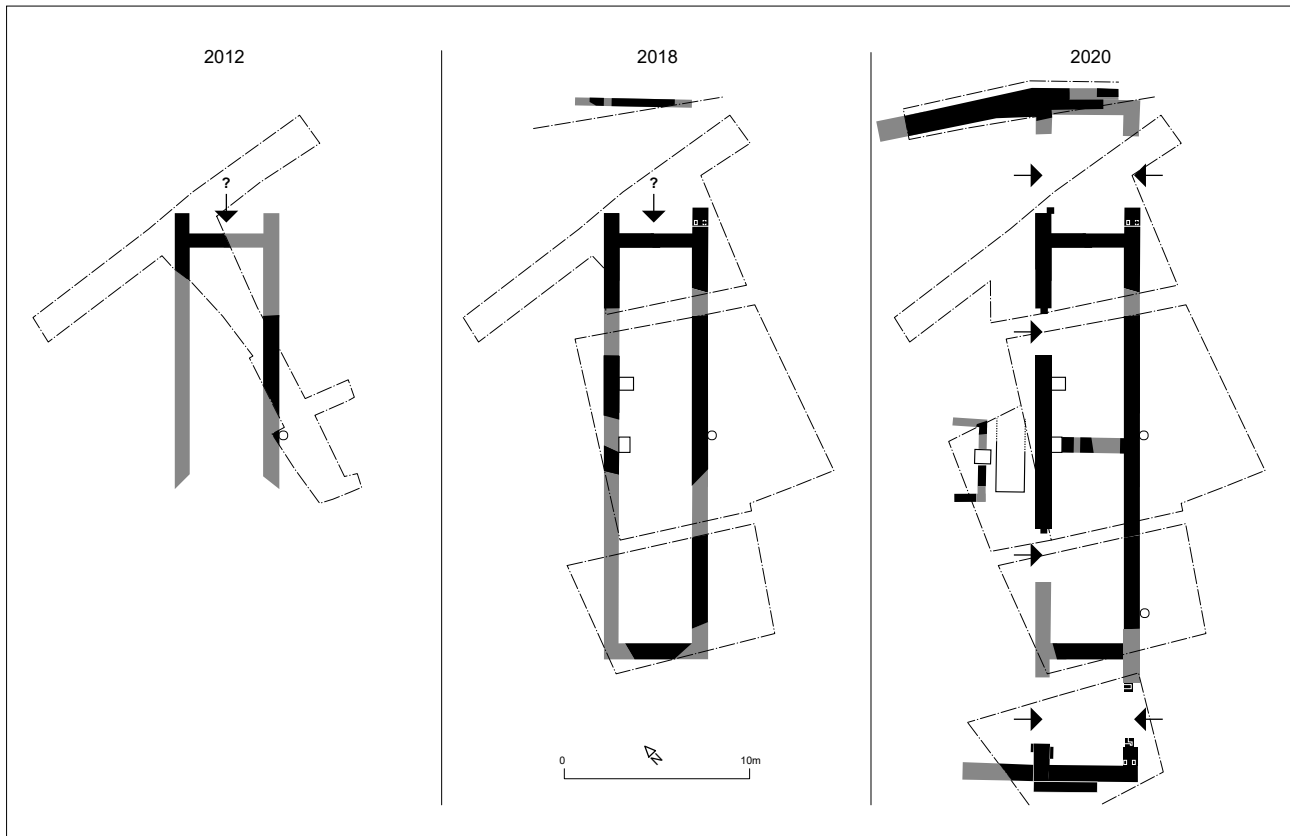


Fig. 22. The successive excavation phases of the EA edifice 3, with changing interpretations of its layout

er, exhibits similarities with the large winged portico (1) erected on the same spot some three centuries later: both monumentalized the eastern limit of the *temenos* and controlled access to the sanctuary; they offered a large assembly space opened onto the sacred courtyard with a water supply close by<sup>61</sup>. Such spatial permanence is remarkable but finds close parallel in one of the main buildings of the Artemision, which recent discoveries designate as a temple (Ed6).

The existence of a large east-west oriented building (Ed6) located in the centre of the sacred space has been known since 2017<sup>62</sup>. It was tentatively dated to the beginning of the Classical period and identified as a temple, on the ground of its plan with an axial colonnade (30.5×10.8 m) and its orientation toward a massive foundation interpreted as an altar

<sup>61</sup> An underground well (10) accessible by two opposing flights of stairs offered a source of water in front of the Hell Eastern stoa (*AntK 2018*, 133-135). The discovery of 160 coins on the stairs and in the well suggests that the structure might have had a ritual function.

<sup>62</sup> *AntK 2018*, 134.



Fig. 23. Pithos re-used for pot burial (enchytrism) St137 (8<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century BC)

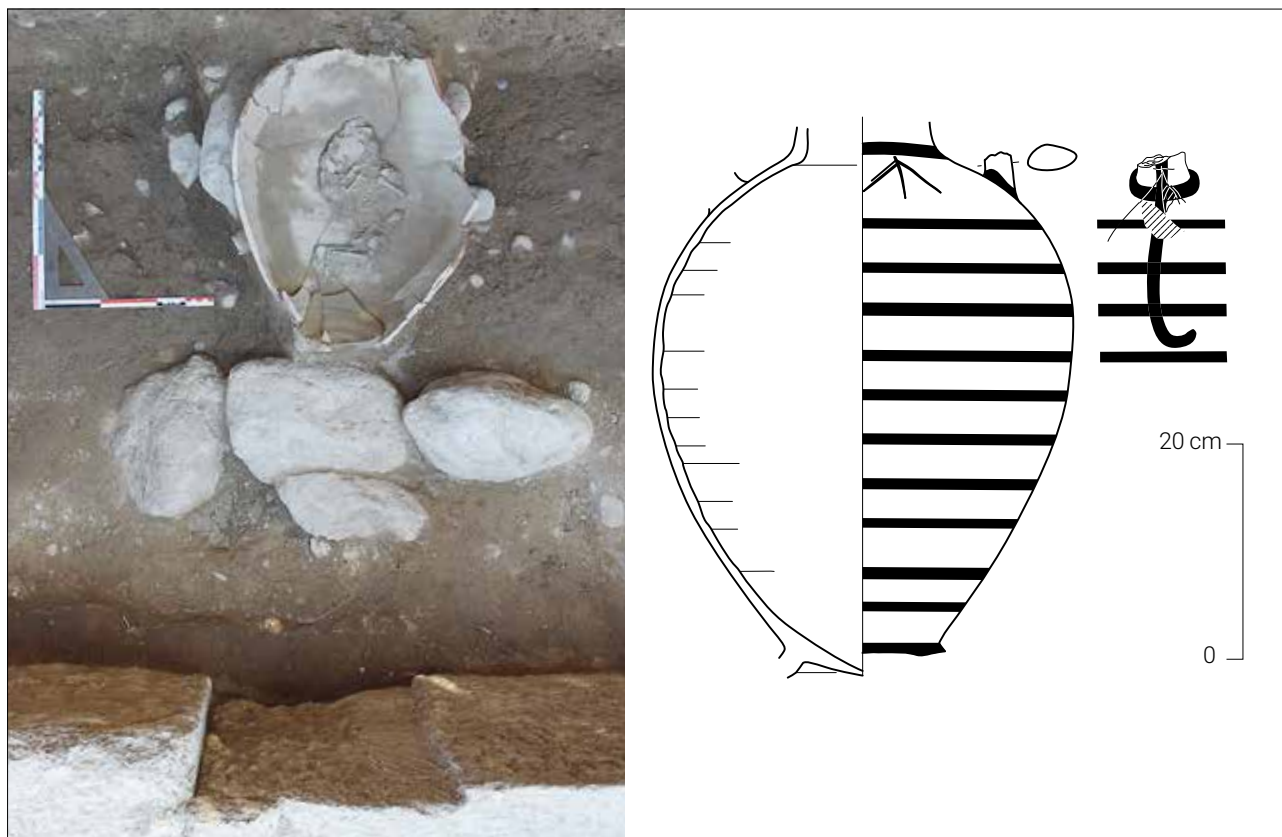


Fig. 24. Pot burial (enchytrism) in a transport amphora (St87) dug at the foot of the hillslope and found behind the rear wall of edifice 4 (7<sup>th</sup> century BC)

(11)<sup>63</sup>. Excavations in 2020 added compelling evidence for the identification of this building.

A limited trench along its north wall brought to light two superimposed stretches of wall, suggesting the existence of two successive constructions (Fig. 25). The earliest (M142) consists of mudbrick on top of a rubble limestone socle while the upper foundations (M74) are made of large blocks of conglomerate.

A rich deposit was found inside the building (Fig. 25). It yielded Attic black figured vases, locally produced high-neck jugs and miniature hydrias (two shapes already well attested in the sanctuary, see below), bronze vessels, terracotta figurines of the so-called “pappas” type, spindle whorls, seals, pearls, and other pieces of jewellery made of different materials<sup>64</sup>. The vases, which were intact when deposited, mainly date to the last quarter of the

6<sup>th</sup> century BC. The offerings were seemingly lying under a floor level and were probably collected and deposited in this specific place on a special occasion when building 6 was rebuilt.

A curve-shaped hearth (Fig. 26, St200, ca. 1.90 m in diameter) was partly excavated at the centre of the building. It probably belongs to the first phase of Ed6. The fireplace is made of an accumulation of thin layers of red clay and ashes, enclosed by mudbrick on top of a stone foundation. No artefact was retrieved from the interior of the hearth except for a silver ring and two lead sheets, but ongoing analysis of the sediment and macro-remains at the Wiener Laboratory in Athens might give more insights about its function. Given its size, setting and location inside building 6, it was certainly an important focal point for cultic activities.

The aforementioned discoveries strongly support the interpretation of Ed6 as a temple. The chronology of its successive phases of construction and use is not yet ascertained, but it might have been erected around the same time as Ed3, testifying to

<sup>63</sup> *AntK* 2019, 148-149; *AntK* 2020, 107-110.

<sup>64</sup> At the time of writing these lines, the finds from the votive deposit have not yet been properly restored and studied; they are therefore not included in the catalogue at the end of this paper.





Fig. 25. Votive deposit inside building 6 (late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC)

the monumentalization of the sanctuary in the Archaic period.

The EA architectural layout of the sacred area and its boundaries – the temple, the eastern gate-building, the road alongside bordered by a wall and the rear esplanade – are spatial markers that were perpetuated throughout the development of the sanctuary (Fig. 27). A Classical road replaced the Archaic one; at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, a small building (2) was installed above the Classical road, which was later succeeded by a long portico with one or possibly two back entrances (1), monumentalizing the boundary between the rear esplanade and the sacred courtyard.

#### *Late Geometric and Early Archaic pottery*

LG and EA pottery provides a sound indicator for links between Amarynthos and Eretria at the time of the sanctuary's development. The evidence remains limited, since the finds mainly come from later levels, filling layers and natural deposits; large assemblages coming from specific stratified contexts (buildings, pits, etc.) are still missing. Consequently, we will not try to give a comprehensive



Fig. 26. Curve-shaped hearth (St200) inside building 6 (7<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century BC)

view of the material here. Instead, we will first give a general comment on the quality and style of the “local” productions, and then make more specific remarks on a selection of vases interesting for their function.

As expected, most of the fine painted ware fits well in the range of local productions of Central Euboea, as known from Chalkis, Lefkandi, Eretria, as well as Oropos<sup>65</sup>. Broadly speaking, the fabrics cor-

<sup>65</sup> KERSCHNER – LEMOS 2014.

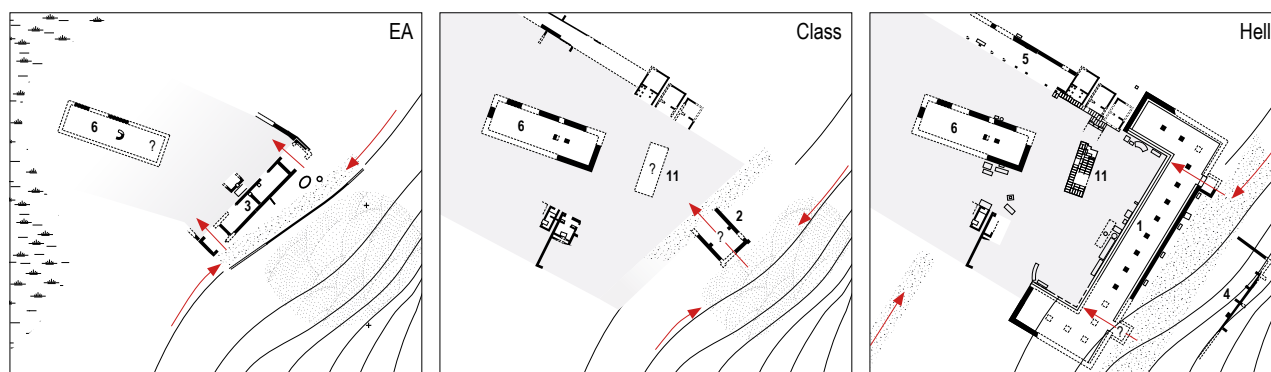


Fig. 27. Development of the Artemision from the EA to the Classical and Hellenistic periods

respond to those observed in Eretria. Among other technical characteristics, mention shall be made of the recurrent presence of a creamy slip, typical of the Euboean LG production<sup>66</sup>. On a few large vases (kraters, **cat. 55-57**), the slip is of very good quality. It is the sign of a high standard pottery, intended to be used in special occasions<sup>67</sup>. The same white slip is also used to paint motifs on a dark ground, producing a “bichrome style” frequent in the Eretrian productions of the LG II period (**cat. 34, 36, 44**)<sup>68</sup>. Another feature, typical of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC pottery in Eretria, is attested in Amarnthos: a “polychrome style”, combining red and white paint applied on dark glaze (**cat. 45-46, 58, 62**)<sup>69</sup>.

As for the morphological and stylistic repertoire, most vases also fall within the standard Euboean production. Most distinctive are the large skyphoi with concentric circles on the lip (**cat. 31**)<sup>70</sup>, and a series of local imitations of the Corinthian kotyle decorated with various motifs (chevrons, soldier-birds: **cat. 40, 52**). Except for the ubiquitous birds (see **cat. 32-33, 43, 64**), figured motifs are rare on LG pieces: the best-preserved occurrence found to date is a horse painted in a metope on

the upper part of a krater (**cat. 55**)<sup>71</sup>. The animal frequently appears on vases, where it illustrates an important occupation and prerogative of Euboean elite: horse breeding<sup>72</sup>. In a similar composition, a later krater bears what seems to be a lion, providing an orientalising touch to its decoration (**cat. 59**). This is one of the rare occurrences where orientalising features are observed in the material found so far. Last, an elaborated scene may be reconstructed from a small sherd belonging to a LG II closed vessel (**cat. 36**). The body of the vase is likely decorated with a battle scene, of which only the head of a warrior wearing a crested helmet is preserved. The shoulder also bears a complex scene, though difficult to identify (maybe lying human bodies?). The general composition is reminiscent of a richly decorated amphora found in a funerary context in Paros<sup>73</sup>. Most of the EA pieces are decorated with simple motifs in the Geometric tradition, as it is the rule for the main bulk of the Euboean production at that time<sup>74</sup>.

Unsurprisingly, LG to EA pottery from Amarnthos closely matches finds from Eretria, thus testifying to the tight links between the two sites. Future discoveries will hopefully contribute to refine this pattern: in particular, the “pan-Euboean” dimension of the sanctuary might be evidenced by pottery produced beyond Central Euboea<sup>75</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> ALOUPI – KOUROU 2007; *Eretria XX*, 24-25, with further references.

<sup>67</sup> Like the famous Cesnola krater in the Metropolitan Museum (COLDSTREAM 1971, pl. 1a), or vases from the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria (see for instance *Eretria XXII*, cat. 162, 193-195, 205-207, 210-212, 214-215, etc.).

<sup>68</sup> *Eretria XX*, 25 and 109-110.

<sup>69</sup> This style seems to appear around the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and is still in use in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. BOARDMAN 1952, 7 and 20; CHARALAMBIDOU 2017, 125-126.

<sup>70</sup> Typical of the LG I style: *Eretria XX*, 84. See also a slightly later version with a dotted net on the lip and a meander on the body (**cat. 53**).

<sup>71</sup> Most probably a grazing horse: see *Eretria XX*, pl. 69, cat. 338. The same motif may appear on the fragment of a small closed vase (see **cat. 42**).

<sup>72</sup> SIMON – VERDAN 2014 and DUPLOUY 2019, 166-176.

<sup>73</sup> ZAFIROPOULOU 2000, figs. 7-8.

<sup>74</sup> CHARALAMBIDOU 2017, 123-125.

<sup>75</sup> It is premature to tackle this issue, as well as to comment on pottery produced outside Euboea, which is attested in the cata-



The most common shapes in fine painted ware pertain to the drinking equipment, such as the ubiquitous small open vessels (cups, skyphoi and kotylai), large mixing vases (kraters and dinoi), and pouring vessels (jugs of various kinds). Beside this usual repertoire, two shapes deserve a special mention, as they point to cultic activities: the high-neck jug and the miniature hydria (**cat. 63-72**). Both belong to the most idiosyncratic pottery with ritual functions that has been identified in Eretrian sanctuaries. They have been discovered in especially high numbers in a sacrificial area located north of the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros<sup>76</sup>, but appear in other religious places in Eretria as well: the Athenaion on the top of the Eretrian acropolis, the sanctuary of Apollo itself, and the area of the Heroon close to the West Gate<sup>77</sup>. The presence of such shapes in Amarynthos provides significant evidence for the ritual activities that took place there at an early phase. It closely connects the Artemision with the Eretrian places of cult, in particular with the sacrificial area, possibly dedicated to Artemis, as hypothesised by S. Huber<sup>78</sup>. Fragments of high-neck jugs found in Amarynthos are mainly high conical feet, a distinctive feature of this shape (**cat. 70-72**), as well as a fragmentary neck with figurative imagery: it represents the lower part of the garment of a presumably female figure (**cat. 69**), and finds close parallels in the scenes painted on the Eretrian jugs.

The chronology of these specific vases is of importance. The miniature hydria already appears in the LG period. It is not always easy to date with accuracy, because of its plain decoration and the slow evolution of its morphology. However, a few examples in Amarynthos can be securely dated to the LG period (**cat. 63-65**). They are among the earliest evidence of cultic activities onsite. The high-neck jug appears in the Eretrian (and Euboean) repertoire in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>79</sup>. Some examples from Amarynthos are evidence for rituals carried out during

the EA, before the construction of edifice 3, while others may be contemporary with the monumental edifice.

In addition to the high-neck jug and miniature hydria, a third characteristic vase of the Eretrian repertoire of the EA period deserves to be mentioned: the pithoid amphora (**cat. 44, 62**). This shoulder-handled shape has an ovoid body, a large and high cylindrical neck and usually a conical pedestal. The early examples are covered with linear motifs, mainly vertical wavy bands, whereas later ones bear figurative imagery in orientalisising style. On the neck of a series of these amphorae, female figures appear, similar to those painted on the aforementioned high-neck jugs. Both shapes are connected through this iconography. The best preserved pithoid amphorae have been discovered in Eretrian cemeteries, where they were used as containers for the remains of young children (enchytrisms). Consequently, the shape is usually considered as having an essentially, or exclusively, funerary purpose<sup>80</sup>. This interpretation must however be reappraised, since such amphorae are also found outside of cemeteries<sup>81</sup>. The fragments found in Amarynthos could be related to disturbed enchytrism burials, an inhumation practice attested in the area<sup>82</sup>, or they might have had a function in the sanctuary itself, for instance as offerings. In any case, the presence of this shape strengthens the links between ritual practices carried out in Amarynthos and Eretria.

#### *Late Geometric and Early Archaic small finds and inscriptions*

Several small objects that can be interpreted as votive offerings have been recovered from the levelling layers on the eastern esplanade: a miniature lead votive (Fig. 28)<sup>83</sup>; a bronze bull discovered at

logue by imports from Athens (**cat. 60**), Corinth (**cat. 61**) and probably Ionia (**cat. 50-51**).

<sup>76</sup> Eretria XIV, 48-63, pl. 14-28 and 66-100.

<sup>77</sup> HUBER 2013.

<sup>78</sup> Eretria XIV, 149-156.

<sup>79</sup> Eretria XIV, 63. The shape has forerunners of the Geometric period, but a coherent series of Geometric high-neck jugs has not been identified in Eretria yet.

<sup>80</sup> BOARDMAN 1952; RITSONIS 1997 and 2005; most recently CHARALAMBIDOU 2018.

<sup>81</sup> In Eretria, many fragments have been identified in the Archaic material of the Heroon area. Some pieces have been found on the Xeropolis tell in Lefkandi (*Lefkandi I*, 71 and pl. 57, 309-317), and in a residential/workshop area in Oropos (CHARALAMBIDOU 2017, 141, fig. 14.21). For further discussion of the case, see VERDAN 2015b.

<sup>82</sup> See above on the enchytrisms found in the eastern sector of the excavation.

<sup>83</sup> This object in form of a rectangular barred panel with a stem (Δ6799, l. 2.5 cm; h. 2.6 cm) can be related to Laconian lead vo-

the foot of the hill, at the edge of a 1-m-deep pit (St122) filled with stones (Fig. 29)<sup>84</sup>; a scaraboid seal in serpentine from the “Lyre Player Group” (Fig. 30)<sup>85</sup>. More conspicuous are the “Argive” bronze shields, of which a dozen fragments have been recovered so far (Fig. 31)<sup>86</sup>. Their precise chronology in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC or later is under study.

The votive character of some finds is further manifested by inscriptions, such as the one on the bronze wheel already mentioned (Fig. 19). The early use of writing in the Artemision is also attested by several graffiti on pottery, such as a votive inscription ending with a cursing formula against thieves written after firing on the handle of a coarse ware pot (Fig. 32)<sup>87</sup>. The three lines inscribed in a false boustrophedon reads as follows: Πλειστίπ[ μ’ ανέθεκε | ]σχῶι: ἡό(ς) δ’ ἄ(ν) με κλέ[φσει... The dedicant bears a name suited for an Eretrian aristocrat, probably *Pleistippos*, “wealthy-in-horses” or “greatest *hippeis*”<sup>88</sup>. The identity of the deity the offering was made to remains unknown, but the epiclesis ending in “σχος” – a likely inversion for “χσος”<sup>89</sup> – points toward an archer god or hero, as

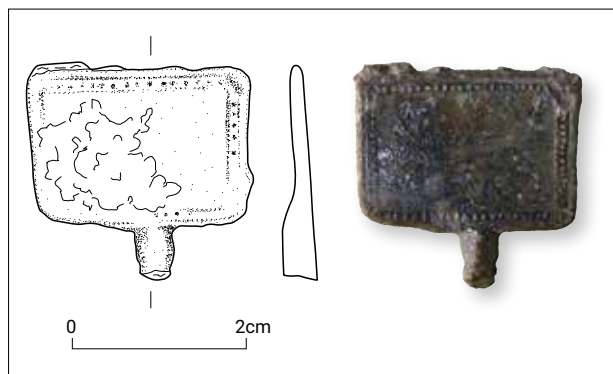


Fig. 28. Miniature lead votive (Archaic)



Fig. 29. Bronze bull figurine (late 8<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> century BC)

tives (BOSS 2000). See also SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1992, 241 for lead votives from a deposit near the Artemision of Amarnthos.

<sup>84</sup> The small bronze bull (B2101, l. 7.1 cm; h. 4.8 cm) finds good parallels in a votive deposit from the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC discovered at Pei Dokou, not far from Chalkis (KALAMARA *et al.* 2015, 30-33 and PAPAVASILIOU 1912). See GREGER 2020.

<sup>85</sup> *AntK* 2016, 99-100 (M1561, l. 1.7 cm, w. 1.4 cm, h. 1 cm). The seal is pierced lengthwise; it displays a man standing on the left, dressed in a lined loincloth and holding a lyre, and on the right a bird facing him. In the Aegean world, this type of object is dated from the late 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC and is mainly found in religious and funeral contexts. In Eretria, two “Lyre Player Group” seals have been discovered in the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros and four in the North sacrificial area (*Eretria XIV*, 91-92). See more generally on this group of seals AMBROSINI 2018.

<sup>86</sup> B1866 was recovered from a fill layer just above the EA roadway (St41). Other fragments of shields come mostly from contexts disturbed by the construction of the Hellenistic stoa.

<sup>87</sup> V4774. The object was found in front of edifice 3 in a context disturbed by the foundation trench of the Hellenistic stoa. The ostentatious dedicatory inscription contrasts with the inconspicuous appearance of the coarseware pot which bears it, although its content might have been of value.

<sup>88</sup> SIMON – VERDAN 2014.

<sup>89</sup> In early inscriptions, the sound “xi” is transcribed in the Euboean alphabet by the letters ΧΞ, or sometimes ΣΧ, as in the inscription ΣΧΕΝΙ from Methoni (BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 365-366). About the closed windows-like letter form of the xi, inherited of the Semitic samek and attested in an abecedaria from Eretria but never used by Euboeans to transcribe the sound “ks”, see KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, 60 and the appendix by R. WACHTER, 85-86.

epitomized by the famous bronze statuette from Thebes dedicated by Mantiklos to Apollo *Argyrotoxos* (“of the silver-bow”). We will never know what shall occur to the thief, but he would probably be blinded, as evidenced by the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC imprecations on the *Tataie* lekythos from Cumae and the *Akesandros* cup from Methoni<sup>90</sup>.

A LG monochrome cup with a hatched pattern on the handle and two letters on the wall written after firing (**cat. 30**) is reminiscent of several inscribed drinking cups discovered in the sanctuary of Apollo at Eretria and corresponds to the early practice of writing during communal banqueting<sup>91</sup>. Another Archaic graffito written before firing on a tile from

<sup>90</sup> BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 334-338. Worth noting is the absence of the final *nu* in the formula ἡό(ς) δ’ ἄ(ν) με, which finds an interesting echo in the Nestor cup, where the *nu* was added at a later stage. For a LG graffito from Eretria displaying the formula ἡε δ’ ἄν (ME10697), see reference in KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, 80.

<sup>91</sup> V5121, cf. KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005 and more generally WECOWSKI 2014.

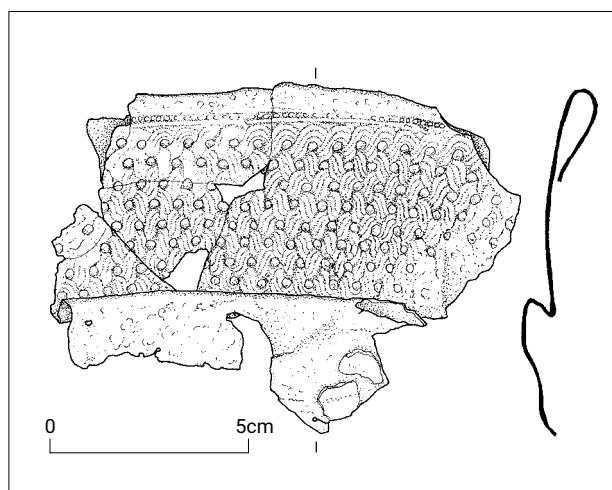
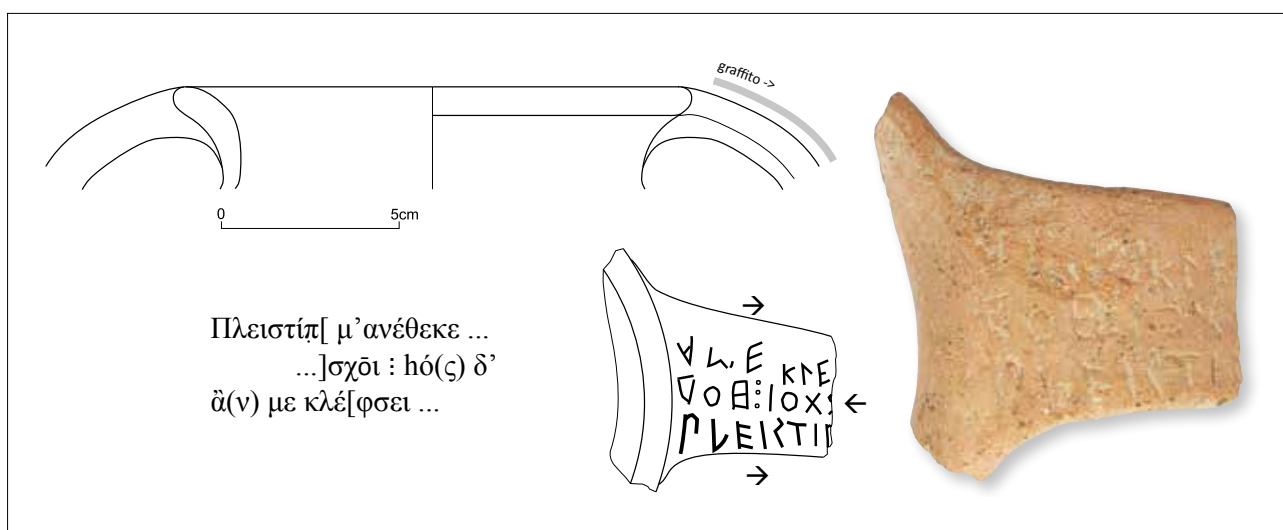
Fig. 30. "Lyre-player group" seal (late 8<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century BC)

Fig. 31. Fragments of a bronze "Argive shield" (Archaic)

Fig. 32. Graffito on a coarseware jug (7<sup>th</sup> century BC)

right to left reads ]KPETEP[, probably for *akroterion* (Fig. 33)<sup>92</sup>.

Together with distinctive shapes of pottery closely linked to ritual practices, such as the aforementioned high-neck jugs and miniature *hydriai*, these offerings testify to the existence of a cult at least from the LG onward.

#### 4. THE ORIGIN OF THE ARTEMISION AT AMARYNTHOS AND THE GENESIS OF THE ERETRIAN *POLIS*

The evidence presented so far is fragmentary and provisional. Nevertheless, this should not pre-

vent us from tackling the current issues and from suggesting tentative interpretations in order to stimulate future research: what changes occurred from BA to EIA and what kind of continuity is attested? Are the genesis of the *polis* of Eretria and the emergence of the sanctuary at Amarynthos related? How did the cult develop in the Artemision?

#### *The Bronze Age to Iron Age transition*

A reappraisal of the transition between the BA and the EIA is needed to discuss the possible prehistoric origin of the cult and to set Amarynthos in the regional settlement dynamics of this crucial period. To the usual question of "hiatus or continuity?", the discoveries made so far do not allow to give a decisive answer (see above). What is at stake, however,

<sup>92</sup> V4924, cf. *AntK* 2016, 99-100.

goes beyond the material evidence for a continuous occupation on the site, as Amarynthos was no doubt affected by the deep socio-political transformations that characterize the period<sup>93</sup>. For the time being, we are mainly looking at a pottery sequence, but the real interest lies in the signs of long-term cultural change and permanence.

At the regional scale, Lefkandi provides a case study which may help clarify what happened at Amarynthos. The whole pottery sequence from LBA to EIA is attested there, though the results of the first excavations gave a contrasted situation: there is a gap in the stratigraphic sequence after the LH IIIC in the settlement on Xeropolis, whereas the cemeteries start with SM graves. Pottery is the only comparable evidence, with very distinct assemblages from one period to the other, because of the different contexts of provenance. The excavators hypothesised some form of continuity, with the possible arrival of newcomers<sup>94</sup>. Recent excavations on the tell, however, have brought to light LH structures still in use in the beginning of the EIA, thus providing a real stratigraphic continuity<sup>95</sup>. The question about the composition of the community (indigenous and/or exogenous) remains open. The BA to EIA transition at Amarynthos fits the general pattern observed at Lefkandi, with a likely uninterrupted occupation, together with several changes in the spatial organisation of the area. The relationship between the two sites during the EIA is also a matter that requires further investigation. In this paper, however, we shall rather address the question of the rise of Eretria and its impact on the development of Amarynthos.

#### *Amarynthos and the rise of the Eretrian polis*

Before commenting on the relationship between the two sites, a few “myths” shall be discarded concerning the “birth” of Eretria in the Geometric period: there is no *ex nihilo* foundation in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, and most probably no massive popula-

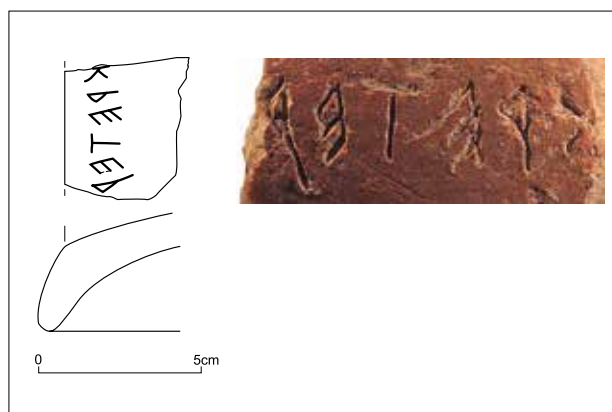


Fig. 33. Graffito on a tile (Archaic)

tion transfer from one single site to another. We rather assume that the process was progressive, with Eretria exerting a growing attraction on the surrounding communities<sup>96</sup>. In this respect, the attempts to locate an “Old Eretria” (*Palaia Eretria*) at Lefkandi, Amarynthos or elsewhere, following Strabo’s account (IX, 2, 6-7 and X, 1, 10), are pointless<sup>97</sup>. These terms refer more likely to the acropolis of Eretria itself, corresponding to an urban deme called *Astypalaia*<sup>98</sup>.

In Eretria, after a LH IIIC occupation attested on the acropolis<sup>99</sup>, not very conspicuous altogether, the site seems to be abandoned. PG finds are extremely rare<sup>100</sup> and there is no evidence of a regular occupation, let alone a continuity during the LH to PG transition. Important though sporadic discoveries date back to the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC (SPG II / EG II). They come from various places, but all belong to funerary contexts<sup>101</sup>. Traces of the

<sup>96</sup> For an overview on that matter, see *Eretria XVII*, vol. I, 155-162; *Eretria XXII*, 174-175; VERDAN 2015a, 183-184.

<sup>97</sup> Strabo’s mention of *Palaia Eretria* has fuelled a large debate. Various locations have been proposed: Lefkandi (SACKETT *et al.* 1966, 68; AUBERSON – SCHEFOLD 1972, 18-19; AUBERSON 1975; COLDSTREAM 2003, 197; BÉRARD 1978, 93, n. 25), Magoula (BOARDMAN 1957, 22-24), and Amarynthos (BOARDMAN 1957, 23-24; BAKHUIZEN 1976, 78-82).

<sup>98</sup> As proposed by KNOEPFLER 1981, 301, n. 79. See also FACHARD – VERDAN, forthcoming. For an Eretrian deme named *Astypalaia*, see KNOEPFLER 1997, 363.

<sup>99</sup> FRIEDEMANN 1995, MÜLLER CELKA 2010.

<sup>100</sup> The most distinctive one is a fragment of an Attic LPG skyphos (*Eretria XXII*, pl. 60, cat. 19; PAPADOPOULOS 2015, 20). See also THEMELIS 1969 and 1970.

<sup>101</sup> Burnt fragments of a large Attic amphora in the West Quarter; a whole Attic amphoriskos from O.T.740; a cremation grave containing a monumental krater and a sword, as well as scattered sherds in the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros (*Eretria XVII*,

<sup>93</sup> See for instance CRIELAARD 2006 and LEMOS 2012 and 2014b. Even if a short-term hiatus was identified at Amarynthos, it would not necessarily imply a complete break in the occupation, for the site could have been abandoned for a while before being re-occupied by the same group of people.

<sup>94</sup> *Lefkandi I*, 284-5, 355-6. See also CRIELAARD 2006, 284-285.

<sup>95</sup> LEMOS 2012, 23-24 and LEMOS 2019.

related settlement have not been found yet. However, the evidence is strong enough to point to the existence of a community with its own elite and access to valuable pottery imports from Attica. At that time, Eretria was definitely smaller than Lefkandi and probably more modest than Amarnthos, living in the shadow of its two neighbours. This situation changes in the following century.

Eretria starts booming toward the end of MG II as evidenced by the development of nuclei of habitation scattered in the deltaic plain<sup>102</sup>. Interestingly, this period is not well represented in the material so far retrieved at Amarnthos, and the same seems to be true at Lefkandi<sup>103</sup>. At Oropos, evidence of the MG II occupation remains also scarce<sup>104</sup>. This pattern may result to a certain extent from the stylistic evolution of the local pottery or from the state of research, but it could also be interpreted as evidence of the negative effects that Eretria's growth had on the demography of neighbouring sites during this period<sup>105</sup>.

In the LG, while Eretria keeps a steady pace of development, evidence grows stronger again in Amarnthos. The conspicuousness of the site at that time might be related to the development of the sanctuary (see below).

The shifting importance of Lefkandi, Eretria and Amarnthos during EIA certainly had multiple causes. Among them, environmental factors probably played a significant role, within a general context of dynamic changes of the coastal landscape as described above. At the beginning of the EIA, Eretria is not the most suitable place to settle: the deltaic plain is occupied by brackish marshes whereas

the "acropolis" has no direct access to the sea<sup>106</sup>. This is in contrast with the topography of Lefkandi and Amarnthos, two seashore promontories flanked by a double bay offering a sheltered anchorage<sup>107</sup>.

Later on, the wetlands tended to be dried up by the alluvial dynamics and the progradation of the delta, resulting in a larger space available for the settlement to expand<sup>108</sup>. The site was then close enough to the seashore, allowing for the development of a proper harbour zone. In comparison, the "old" tells of Lefkandi and Amarnthos only offered a limited space for the community to grow further<sup>109</sup>, whereas the shallow bays were gradually filled in by alluvial deposits and became less suitable for anchorage<sup>110</sup>. Summing up, an extensive dwelling area, an easy access to a naturally sheltered harbour, and a high rocky outcrop with commanding view on the Euboean Gulf and its coastal regions were key factors that contributed to the attractiveness of Eretria in the Geometric period. Beyond these environmental factors, the intense settlement dynamics and remodelling of Euboean communities during the EIA both homeland and abroad throughout the Mediterranean were also no doubt triggered and exacerbated by competitions and antagonisms between different groups of people. Such is the natural and historical background against which the origin(s) of the Artemision shall be discussed.

#### *The development of the Artemision in the Geometric and Early Archaic periods*

The foundation of a sanctuary is a complex process whose origin and motives are difficult to disentangle. When can the earliest evidence of cult be traced? Which are the divinities honoured at the outset? What are the ritual practices carried out and

vol. I, 157-162; *Eretria XX*, cat. 357; *Eretria XXII*, 66-72 and 175-178; see also VERDAN 2015a, 183-184).

<sup>102</sup> Evidence summarised in *Eretria XVII*, vol. I, 162-164.

<sup>103</sup> *Lefkandi I*, 293 (see also *Eretria XX*, 106). The picture may change, however, with the results of the new excavations (see for instance LEMOS 2015, 171, n. 54).

<sup>104</sup> A gap in the occupation between the SPG and the LG has first been hypothesised (MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1998, 188-191 and 2007b, 29), before the discovery of a MG grave, and the identification of a few sherds of the same period in the settlement (MAZARAKIS AINIAN – VLACHOU 2014, 95-97).

<sup>105</sup> Lefkandi, Amarnthos and Oropos are the main sites for which we can try pinpointing the phenomenon. However, other communities of smaller size might have been affected by Eretria's growing attraction (*Eretria XVII*, vol. I, 161; BLANDIN 2008, 189-190). Concerning the different pottery facies in Lefkandi and Eretria for the MG II period, see *Eretria XX*, 105-106 and KENZELMANN-PFYFFER 2011.

<sup>106</sup> A similar assessment was already made by BOARDMAN 1957, 23. For a recent overview of the topographic evolution of the site, see VERDAN *et al.* 2020.

<sup>107</sup> For Amarnthos, see above. For Lefkandi, see DAVIDSON *et al.* 2010; LEMOS 2012, 22-23. See also GHILARDI *et al.* 2016, 158.

<sup>108</sup> GHILARDI *et al.* 2016. Marshes are attested east and south of the city in historical times and subsist until nowadays although in limited areas. The inhabitants took protective measures against frequent flooding episodes of the seasonal river, see VERDAN *et al.* 2020.

<sup>109</sup> LEMOS 2015, 171.

<sup>110</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2017b, 30-31.



by whom? How is the sanctuary embedded in the geographical, political and mythological landscape of the *polis*? These are questions that can rarely be answered, all the more about the Artemision of Amarynthos, where excavations have barely scratched the deep strata and for which ancient sources are fragmentary and indirectly relevant for the periods under study. It is however not premature to discuss some of these key issues and replace them in the current debates about the place of sanctuaries in the genesis of the Greek *polis*.

It is tempting to hypothesize the roots of a cult at Amarynthos in earlier religious practices carried out in the extensive Bronze Age settlement attested on top of the hill and around the prehistoric bay. In this respect, the discovery of Mycenaean wheel-made figurines in the slope deposits is indicative of a cult activity at that time<sup>111</sup>, but these finds are few and not clearly related to the development of the later sanctuary. Current research shows that permanence of cult places across BA and EIA was an uncommon phenomenon in the Aegean. While a great many sanctuaries were abandoned at the end of the Mycenaean period, a sharp rise of their number did not occur before the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>112</sup>. Further excavations at Amarynthos might yield Mycenaean and PG offerings or religious structures to substantiate such an ancient filiation. Nevertheless, the prominence of the BA site at Paleoeckklisies, the probably enduring occupation after the 11<sup>th</sup> century BC throughout the EIA, and the likely movement of some of its inhabitants to Eretria in the 9<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century BC are key factors to explain why one of the main sanctuaries of the Eretrians was located there, on the eastern edge of their hinterland. The Artemision was obviously not founded in a *vacuum* but in a place charged with a long history and settled by a living community, as it was also the case at Brauron, for example<sup>113</sup>.

The earliest evidence related to religious practices carried out after the BA onsite are ritual vases (high-neck jugs and miniature hydriai) and votive offerings which can be dated to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> -

early 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. The absence of evidence for earlier centuries is partly dependent of the current state of research but can also stem from the very nature of the ritual practices, which might leave extremely faint traces on the archaeological record. The exact setting of the LG religious activities remains unknown: were the LG apsidal houses such as building 9 part of a larger dwelling or already a sacred space? The same question has arisen at Eretria in relation to the early phases of the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros. The place was already marked in the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC by the presence of a high-status group, as evidenced by SPG II *pyra* with a sword and a monumental krater<sup>114</sup>. According to Verdan's interpretation, the space was organized in the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC in two distinct areas with, on one side, a *hieron* centred on an altar and including two apsidal buildings and, on the other side, a dwelling plot<sup>115</sup>. Layers of ashes with burnt bones together with drinking vessels and offerings buried in pits attest to the practices of sacrifices and banquets. Around the last quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, the *hieron* was extended and earlier sacral and domestic buildings were dismantled to allow for the construction of a monumental building oriented towards the altar<sup>116</sup>. In the Artemision of Amarynthos, the first clear architectural evidence for a sacred space is the monumental edifice 3 built at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, which marked the eastern limit of the precinct and shaped the organization of the *hieron* in the following centuries.

Although tenuous, the evidence gathered so far contributes nonetheless to shed light on the early ritual practices carried out onsite and the identity of the attendants. The identity of the deity originally worshipped in the sanctuary is not ascertained, but the characteristics of votives and rituals find close parallels in other Artemisia and fits the goddess' prerogatives, while other deities might have been associated since the outset<sup>117</sup>. Ritual vases, such as

<sup>111</sup> See above part. 2 and Figs. 7-8.

<sup>112</sup> KOTSONAS 2017, 58-60 and HAYSOM 2020; for a different appreciation of the continuity of cult, see also COSMOPOULOS 2016 and EDER 2019.

<sup>113</sup> COSMOPOULOS 2016, 258-259.

<sup>114</sup> *Eretria XXII*, 68-72 and 176-177.

<sup>115</sup> *Eretria XXII*, 178-185.

<sup>116</sup> *Eretria XXII*, 201-204. According to MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997, there was no clear distinction in the early stage of the *polis* between the sacred and domestic spheres, when the ruler's dwelling accommodated both public and religious functions.

<sup>117</sup> Artemis' mother and brother, Apollo and Leto, were also worshipped according to later inscriptions, as well as other deities and heroes, such as the nymph Archô or the hunter Narkittos, son

miniature hydriai and high-neck jugs, are indicative of various practices carried out in the early phases of the cult, such as libation, purification or votive offering<sup>118</sup>. The presence of several EIA infant burials could be related to a dwelling in the vicinity but could also be explained by the role of Artemis as protector of childbirth<sup>119</sup>. The bronze shields are clearly connected with warfare and recall the ritualized contests or procession in arms attested by later sources<sup>120</sup>. Evidence for the practice of sacrifices is so far lacking in the pre-Classical periods, but banqueting is attested by the whole repertoire of pottery for the service and consumption of wine for the periods under study.

## CONCLUSION

Forthcoming excavations will undoubtedly expand our knowledge of the genesis and development of the sanctuary, which must be assessed on the long-term and within a regional level of social, political and religious interactions in Central Euboea and beyond. At this stage, no conclusive assumption can be made concerning the beginning of cult practices on this site. Likewise, the nature of the Mycenaean and EIA structures and finds remains to be determined. The place of Artemis and the role of other deities associated at Amarynthos also need to be cautiously examined over the long history of the sanctuary in order to trace patterns of permanence and transformation of the religious practices. Despite these pressing issues, evidence gathered in the course of ten excavation seasons provides significant avenues for further reflection. Current research already renders the Artemision at Amarynthos particularly appealing as a case study to better under-

stand the LBA to EIA transition in Euboea (in association with Lefkandi) and the role of the sanctuary in the development of the Eretrian *polis*.

## Acknowledgements

We are grateful to the Greek archaeological authorities, in particular the Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea under the direction of Angeliki Simosi, and to the Swiss National Science Foundation for their continued support. The ongoing excavation in the Artemision of Amarynthos is a collaboration between the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece and the Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea. The project is co-directed by Karl Reber and Amalia Karapaschalidou and since July 2021 by Sylvian Fachard and Angeliki Simosi.

## Catalogue of pottery (Pls. 1-6)

### Late MBA/ early LBA pottery from the stratigraphic trench (Pl. 1)

1. 780\_c02. Krater. Rim diam. 28 cm. Hawk's beak rim. Inside traces of a horizontal band, no traces of paint on the worn exterior. Hard clay; very pale brown (10YR 7/4) where original surface preserved; calcareous inclusions. For "hawk's beak rims" incl. further bibliography see MATHIOUDAKI 2010, 626.
2. 785\_c01. Krater. Rim diam. 34 cm. Hawk's beak rim. Hard semi-fine clay; light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4); small dark inclusions; slightly larger calcareous inclusions of normally 0.1 cm but up to 0.4 cm; original surface not preserved.
3. 780\_c01. Cup. Rim diam. 13 cm. Everted rim. Monochrome interior and exterior. Hard fine clay; brownish yellow (10YR 6/6); red paint.

### LBA pottery from the slope deposits (Pl. 1)

4. 272\_c01. Shallow cup; rim and upper body. Rim diam. 13 cm. Everted rim. Interior: narrow band on rim. Exterior: lip band and tangent or framed spiral (FM 46) below. Very hard clay; light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4); surface pink (7.5YR 7/4); reddish brown paint. LH IIA.
5. 513\_c08. Vapheio cup (FS 224), lower body and base. Base diam. 9 cm. Flat base. Interior: unpainted. Exterior: rippling (FM 78). Hard fine clay; very pale brown (10YR 7/4); well smoothed outer surface; dark brown paint. LH IIA.
6. 742\_c01, V4986. Cup, ring handled (?) (FS 237). Rim diam. 7.5 cm, height 2.5 cm. Shallow with down sloping rim and raised concave base. Barred rim. Banded decoration on interior and exterior. Very hard clay; light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4); few calcareous inclusions smaller than 0.1 cm and few tiny black inclu-

of Amarynthos. See *AntK* 2019, 152 and KNOEPFLER 2010 and 2019.

<sup>118</sup> *Eretria XIV*.

<sup>119</sup> On the link between Artemis and Eileithyia, attested in Eretria by an inscription, see KNOEPFLER 1990, 126-127. See SEMENZATO – VERDAN – THEURILLAT 2020 on the association of Artemis with childbirth and early childhood in the sanctuary of Amarynthos. Numerous terracotta figurines representing young girls and boys, as well as an inscribed base mentioning the bronze statue that Astylla's parents erected to their daughter (*AntK* 2019, 151) attest to the lasting importance of this aspect of worship in the later phase of the Artemision.

<sup>120</sup> See above note 9.

- sions; very pale brown unpolished surface (10YR 7/4); reddish brown paint. LH IIB. Cf. MOUNTJOY 1986, 46 fig. 52.
7. 266\_c01. Deep bowl, rim and upper body. Rim diam. 18 cm. Interior: pair of bands on rim. Exterior: narrow rim band, whorl-shell (FM 23) below. Very hard fine clay; very pale brown (10YR 7/4); red paint. LH IIIA2.
8. 938\_c01. Low stem and foot. Foot diam. 6.5 cm. Shallow dome underneath. Banded decoration. Very hard clay; light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4); grey inclusions up to 0.1 cm; very pale brown surface (10YR 7/4); red paint.
9. 513\_c01. Kylix (FS 258A). Stem diam. 2.5 cm. Zygyries type; whorl-shell (FM 23) terminations preserved only on one side. Hard clay; few dark inclusions smaller than 0.1 cm; pale brown surface (2.5Y 7/3); heavily worn but once well smoothed; red paint. LH IIIB1.
10. 590\_c02. Deep bowl, rim and upper body. Rim diam. 15 cm. Group A. Slightly flaring rim. Interior: monochrome. Exterior: narrow lip band, antithetic spiral (FM 50). Hard semi-fine clay; light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4); few dark inclusions up to 0.1 cm; one larger angular inclusion that is visible on the surface; well smoothed very pale brown outer surface (10YR 7/4); dark brown to black paint. LH IIIC Early-Middle.
11. 1131\_c01. Deep bowl, rim and upper body. Rim diam. 16 cm. Group A. Flaring rim. Interior: monochrome. Exterior: triglyph and half-rosette (FS 74). Very hard clay; yellowish brown (10YR 5/4, surface slightly lighter); fine with tiny mica and other inclusions, slightly porous; reddish brown paint. LH IIIC Early-Middle. For motif incl. the central vertical zig-zag cf. *Lefkandi IV*, 158 fig. 2.9.7 and IAKOVIDIS 1969, pl. 115β.783.
12. 738\_c02. Deep bowl, rim and upper body. Rim diam. 16 cm. Group A. Chipped flaring rim. Interior: monochrome. Exterior: narrow lip band, barred streamer (FM 62) below. Hard clay; fine with few tiny dark inclusions; very pale brown surface (10YR 7/4, break slightly darker); black paint. LH IIIC Early-Middle.
13. 738\_c01. Deep bowl, upper body. Height 5.3 cm. Interior: monochrome. Exterior: panelled pattern of elaborate semicircle (FM 43) with opposed joining semicircles (FM 42) fill. Very hard fine clay; surface light yellowish brown (2.5Y 6/3); black paint. LH IIIC Early-Middle. For filling motif see *Lefkandi IV*, pl. 53.12.
14. 1204\_c04. Open shape, upper body. Max. belly diam. 28-30 cm. Interior: monochrome with a reserved band. Exterior: elaborate streamer (FM 62)? with stacked arcs fill (FM 44). Very hard fine clay; surface pale brown (10YR 6/3); black paint. LH IIIC Early-Middle.
15. 513\_c51. Closed shape. Diam. 24 cm. Elaborate circle (FM 41) with dotted outline, barred perimeter and concentric semicircles fill; part of fringed motif preserved. Hard clay; yellowish brown (10YR 5/4); fine with few voids up to 0.1 cm; surface light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4); reddish brown to black paint. LH IIIC Middle-Late. Cf. Perati (IAKOVIDIS 1969, 122 fig. 110).
16. 430\_c01. Krater (FS 282), rim and upper body. Rim diam. 33 cm. Flat-topped everted rim. Interior: monochrome. Exterior: wide lip band; panelled pattern (FM 75) with joining semicircles (FM 42) and concentric arcs (FM 44). Very hard clay; pale brown (10YR 6/3); semi-fine with small white inclusions (rarely up to 0.1 cm); reddish brown paint. LH IIIC Early-Middle.
17. 624\_c38. Stirrup jar, shoulder and transition to false neck. 8×5.5 cm. Dotted stacked triangles (FM 61A), bordering band below. Very hard clay; tiny white and black inclusions; outer surface light yellowish to yellowish brown (10YR 6/4 to 5/4); inner surface light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4); black paint. LH IIIC Middle. Cf. *Lefkandi IV*, 205 fig. 2.32.5 and pl. 56Ac.
18. 1020\_c03. Krater (FS 282), upper body. Max. belly diam. 34 cm, wall thickness 0.8-1 cm. Interior: monochrome. Exterior: panelled pattern of checkerboard (FM 56) on the right and combination of multiple stem (FM 19), multiple arcs (FM 44) and auxiliary rosette (FM 17) on the left. Very hard clay; light yellowish brown (2.5Y 6/3); semi-fine slightly porous with calcareous inclusions up to 0.3 cm, normally small but in some cases up to 0.3 cm large dark grey to black inclusions; surface pale brown (2.5Y 7/3); dark brown paint. LH IIIC Middle. For checkerboard motif on kraters see *Lefkandi IV*, pl. 39.16 and pl. 54.11-12.

#### LBA pottery associated with wall M21 (Pl. 1)

19. 1066\_c01. Kylix. Stem diam. 2.3 cm. Partly preserved foot with shallow dome underneath. Monochrome. Hard clay; light yellowish brown (2.5Y 6/4); clearly darker border zones in the fracture at the foot); fine with few tiny inclusions; one calcareous inclusion of 0.2 cm in the stem; underside pale brown (2.5Y 7/4); reddish brown to brown paint.
20. 372\_c03. Kylix. Stem diam. 2.4 cm. Spreading foot with dome underneath. Monochrome. Heavily worn. Hard clay; light yellowish brown (2.5Y 6/4); fine with few tiny inclusions; red paint.
21. 1160\_c02. Open shape. Base. diam. 6 cm. Ring base. Monochrome. Hard clay; brown (7.5YR 5/4); fine with few tiny dark inclusions; one void of 0.3 cm; underside light brown (7.5YR 6/3); dark brown to almost black paint.
22. 372\_c01, V5090. Deep bowl (FS 285). Two non-joining parts, both handles preserved. Rim diam. 17 cm. Monochrome with reserved band inside the rim and reserved space underneath the handles. Hard clay; reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6); some red and white (calcareous) inclusions up to 0.3 cm; matt reddish brown flaky paint. LH IIIC Middle. Cf. MOUNTJOY 1986, 178 fig. 230.3. Reserved bands on the interior occur from Lefkandi phase 2 (*Lefkandi IV*, 188).

**PG-SPG associated with wall M21 (Pl. 2)**

23. 1063\_c04. Cup. Max. diam. 10 cm. Zigzag on the rim; monochrome body. Hard clay, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6); some tiny white inclusions, few grey inclusions up to 1 mm and tiny red inclusions; glossy paint, dark red-brown to orange-brown. Cf. *Lefkandi II.1*, pl. 9, 36-38 (MPG); *Lefkandi I*, pl. 13b and pl. 30 (LPG), pl. 15 and pl. 31 (SPG).
24. 1065\_c01. Skyphos. Max. diam. 15 cm. Rim painted; on the body, concentric circles (8) enclosing a solid hourglass. Hard clay, light reddish brown (5YR 6/4); small white and reddish inclusions; matt paint, orange-brown. Cf. *Lefkandi II.1*, pl. 11, 145-146 (MPG).
25. 189\_c01. Skyphos. Rim diam. 17 cm. Rim painted; concentric circles on the body. Hard clay, light reddish brown (5YR 6/4); few tiny white inclusions and few mica; matt paint, dark to light brown; smoothed surface. Cf. *Lefkandi II.1*, pl. 11, 145-154 (MPG).
26. 1063\_c03. Skyphos. Rim diam. 14 cm. Rim painted; pendant semi-circles (min. 10) on the body. Hard clay, reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6); few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, dark brown; smoothed surface. Cf. *Lefkandi I*, pl. 31, 5-7 (SPG); KEARSLEY 1989, 17, fig. 3e (Chalkis), 23, fig. 7 (Delos).
27. 368\_c03. Skyphos. Rim diam. 14 cm. Rim painted; pendant semi-circles on the body. Hard clay, reddish brown (5YR 6/6); few tiny white and grey inclusions; matt paint, orange-brown, worn. KEARSLEY 1989, 85, fig. 34 (type 1). Profile: cf. *Lefkandi II.1*, pl. 48, 155 (MPG); LEMOS 2014a, 50, fig. 17 (LPG) and fig. 19 (MPG?).
28. 206\_c02. Hydria or belly handled amphora. Rim diam. 13 cm. Monochrome, with horizontal zigzag in reserved band on the neck. Hard clay, yellowish red (5YR 5/6); glossy paint, black-brown, flaky. Dec.: Cf. *Lefkandi I*, pl. 132, P13.1 and P13.8 (SPG I).
29. 1160\_c01. Closed shape, shoulder with mastos. Max. diam. 20 cm. Concentric semi-circles, vertical dotted lines and horizontal lines on the shoulder. Soft clay, yellowish red (5YR 5/8); few white (calcareous) inclusions up to 3 mm, few mica; matt paint light orange-brown, flaky. Dec.: *Lefkandi I*, pl. 172, T7.1 and T7.3 (LGP), pl. 191, TP4.1 (LPG); *Lefkandi III*, pl. 47, T44.5 (LPG).

**LG pottery related to Ed9 (Pl. 2)**

30. 1693\_c04, V5121. Cup. Rim diam. 11 cm. Monochrome with reserved band on the rim. Lines in added white on handle. Incised marks on the handle and the body. Hard clay, yellowish brown (7.5YR 6/6); few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, dark brown.
31. 1693\_c01. Skyphos. Rim diam. 16 cm. Concentric circles on the rim; on the body, quartered and dotted lozenge in metope. Soft clay, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6); few tiny white inclusions; light white slip, heavily worn; matt paint, orange red, worn.

32. 1663\_c01. Crater, body fragment. Max. diam. 32 cm. Bird in metope, with quartered lozenge and dot rosette as filling motifs. Hard clay, pinkish brown (7.5YR 7/4); some large white calcareous inclusions, few grey inclusions; matt paint, light brown.
33. 1693\_c02. Crater, body fragment. Max. diam. 32 cm. Bird in metope, hatched triangle as filling motif. Soft clay, yellowish to reddish brown (5YR 5/6-5YR 5/3); very few large white inclusions; light white slip, almost faded; matt paint, light to dark brown.
34. 1693\_c03. Crater, body fragment. Max. diam. 52 cm. Groups of vertical lines alternating with bands bearing wavy lines in added white; large horizontal band with two interlaced wavy lines in added white. Rather soft clay, reddish-yellowish brown (5YR 6/6); very few mica; matt paint, light brown to black-brown. Cf. *Eretria XX*, pl. 69, 339. LG II.
35. 1606\_c01. Miniature hydria or jug, neck fragment. Height 7 cm. Vertical meander flanking a metope with unidentified motif; linked dots around the base of the neck. Very hard clay (overfired), very dark grey (GLEYS 1/3N); few small white inclusions; yellowish slip; matt paint, orange-brown to black-brown. Shape and dec.: Cf. COLDSTREAM 1971, pl. 1b-c.
36. 1528\_c01. Jug, shoulder fragment. Max. diam. 13.5 cm. Figured scene on the upper body, of which only the head of a helmeted warrior is preserved; on the shoulder, figured scene painted in added white: animals, lying human bodies (?), quartered lozenges and net of lozenges as filling motifs. Hard clay, reddish-yellowish brown (7.5YR 6/6); very few tiny grey and white inclusions; light creamy slip; matt paint, black-brown paint.
37. 1669\_c01. Amphora. Rim diam. 18 cm. Rim and handle painted; two preserved vertical wavy bands on the neck. Hard clay, yellowish-reddish brown (5YR 5/6); some large white inclusions, some small grey and few red inclusions; matt paint, brown-red, worn. Cf. *Eretria XX*, pl. 72, 354; CHARALAMBIDOU 2017, 128, fig. 14.8. Euboean "SOS" (?).

**Central sector, LG-EA (Pl. 3)**

38. 1122\_c01, V5050. Cup. Rim diam. 9.5 cm, height 6 cm. Monochrome. Rather hard clay, buff; very few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, grey-brown, worn.
39. 1122\_c02, V5049. Jug. Base diam. 6 cm. Monochrome. Rather hard clay, buff; very few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, grey-brown, worn (quality similar to cat. 38). Cf. *Eretria XX*, pl. 32, 126; *Eretria XXII*, pl. 78, 171 (LG II).
40. 1215\_c01. Kotyle. Rim diam. 15 cm. Two files of soldier birds and horizontal lines on the body. Soft clay, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6); very few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, light brown, worn; very light slip, white. Cf. BOARDMAN 1957, pl. 2b (Al Mina); COLDSTREAM 2008, pl. 41h (= *Pithekoussai I*, pl. 248, 23); COLDSTREAM 1995, 262, fig. 4, 91 (LG II).

41. 243\_c01, V5089. Kotyle. Rim diam. 15 cm. Upper part of the body painted, with reserved hourglass (?) close to the handle attachment, solid upward rays on the lower body. Rather soft clay, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6); few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, brown, worn. Imitation of EPC-MPC.
42. 1143\_c02. Aryballos or lekythos, shoulder fragment. Max. diam. 8 cm. Scribbles as filling ornaments and horse (?) with vegetal volute pattern between the legs. Hard clay, light brown (7.5YR 6/4); some tiny white inclusions; matt paint, dark brown, worn. Cf. *Pithekoussai I*, pl. 175, 622.6 (Euboean LG II).
43. 1241-1, V5048. Trefoil jug. Height 36 cm. Panel on the neck with affronted birds and swastikas as filling motifs; monochrome zone on the shoulder; horizontal lines on the body. Hard clay, light reddish brown (2.5YR 6/6-5YR 6/4); very few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, black-brown, flaky and worn; traces of white slip. LG II.
44. 228\_c05. Pithoid amphora, rim and neck fragment. Rim diam. 20 cm. Rim painted with horizontal wavy line in added white, horizontal lines and vertical wavy bands on the neck. Rather soft clay, very pale brown (10YR 7/4); very few tiny grey inclusions and few mica; matt paint, dark brown, worn. Cf. COLDSTREAM 2008, pl. 41e; *Eretria XX*, pl. 73, 355 and pl. 75B (LG II).

#### Pottery related to Ed3 (Pl. 4)

45. 1526\_c02. Skyphos, rim fragment. Rim diam. 20 cm. Horizontal red band between white lines (polychrome style). Hard clay, light reddish brown (2.5YR 7/4), very fine red and with inclusions; matt paint, orange-brown; red-violet band.
46. 1525\_c02. Krateriskos, rim fragment. Rim diam. 20 cm. Horizontal red band between white lines (polychrome style). Very hard clay (overfired), reddish brown (2.5YR 5/4), very fine; matt paint, black-brown (int.), orange-brown (ext.); red band, worn.
47. 1526\_c04. Krateriskos. Rim diam. 31 cm. Horizontal bands on the rim, separated by lines in added white; on the upper body, panel of thick sigmas (or vertical wavy bands?) crossed by a horizontal line in added white. Rather hard clay, pinkish brown (5YR 7/3), very fine; matt paint, black-brown.
48. 1526\_c06. Krateriskos, body fragment. Max. diam. 21 cm. In added white: swastikas alternating with dot rosettes, between horizontal lines. Very hard clay, light yellowish brown (10R 6/4), very fine; matt paint, red-orange.
49. 1525\_c03. Large open shape. Rim diam. 30 cm. Decoration heavily worn (horizontal bands in polychrome style?). Hard clay, pale red brown (2.5YR 6/2), very fine; glossy paint, black (int.), matt paint, orange-brown to black-brown (ext.), worn.
50. 1191\_c01. Ionian cup, body fragment. Max. diam. 14 cm. Monochrome with reserved band. Hard clay,

light red (2.5YR 6/8); very few tiny white inclusions; glossy paint, black. Cf. SCHLOTZHAUER 2001, pl. 18-19, nr. 98-100 (660/650-630/620 BC).

51. 1141\_c01. Ionian cup. Rim diam. 13 cm. Monochrome. Rather soft clay, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6); few tiny white inclusions, very few mica; glossy paint, dark brown, worn. Cf. SCHLOTZHAUER 2001, pl. 29, nr. 161 (660/650-600/590 BC).

#### East sector, LG-EA (Pls. 4-5)

52. 569\_c03. Kotyle. Rim diam. 15 cm. Panel of degenerated chevrons or soldier birds (?), solid double axe in lateral metope, lower body monochrome. Hard clay, light brown (7.5YR 6/4); very few tiny white inclusions; glossy paint, brown, slightly flaky. Local imitation of EPC kotyle.
53. 569\_c02. Skyphos or kantharos. Rim diam. 23.5 cm, height 15.5 cm. Net of dotted lozenges on the rim; hatched meander in panel on the body, horizontal lines on lower body. Hard clay, reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6), very few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, orange-brown, with very fine mica. Cf. *Eretria XX*, pl. 65, 319 (LG II); *Lefkandi I*, pl. 45, 81 (LG II).
54. 1020\_c02, V5056. Kalyx skyphos, with double handles. Rim diam. 28 cm. On the rim, groups of vertical wavy lines between horizontal lines, two rows; main decoration between handles not preserved, horizontal lines and painted zone on lower body. Hard clay, light pink; some white inclusions up to 2 mm; matt paint, brown-grey, flaky. Cf. DESCOEUDRES 1976, pl. 5, FK194.5; CHARALAMBIDOU 2007, 282-283, fig. 2-3. First half of 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC.
55. 576\_c01, V4974. Krater. Rim diam. 30 cm. Horizontal band on the rim; on the body, horse with vegetal motif between the legs and zigzag above the back. Hard clay, reddish yellow to light brown (5YR 6/6-7.5YR 6/4); very few tiny white and grey inclusions; glossy paint, dark brown; creamy slip. Dec.: Cf. *Eretria XX*, pl. 36, 147 and pl. 61, 296; *Eretria XXII*, pl. 83, 210-211. Shape and dec.: Cf. *Eretria XX*, pl. 61, 291 and pl. 69, 338 (LG I-II).
56. 1081\_c09. Krater. Rim diam. ca. 30 cm. On the rim, vertical dashes between horizontal lines; cross-hatched hourglass (?) on the body. Hard clay, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6); few grey inclusions up to 1 mm; glossy paint, orange-brown, on thick creamy slip. Dec. of the rim: Cf. *Eretria XX*, pl. 26, 105; *Lefkandi I*, pl. 52, 233, 235. LG II.
57. 1020\_c01. Krater, body fragment. Max. diam. 26 cm. Dotted circle enclosing a dotted Maltese cross. Hard clay, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6), very fine; matt paint, orange-brown, flaky; creamy slip, worn. Cf. *Eretria XXII*, pl. 83, 212. LG.
58. 1081\_c08. Open shape (kalyx skyphos?), body fragment. Max. diam. 21 cm. Horizontal red bands framed by white lines (polychrome style). Hard clay, reddish yellow (5YR 7/6-5YR 6/6); few red inclusions up to 1



mm; glossy paint, light orange-brown; violet-red bands. Mid-7<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

59. 1081\_c07. Krater, rim fragment with pouring spout. Rim diam. 25 cm. Head of a lion (?). Hard clay, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6); few tiny white inclusions and few fine mica; matt paint, orange-brown. Lion with a dotted muzzle: Cf. RITSONIS 1997, 88, fig. 18.

60. 1086\_c02. Small closed shape, body fragment. Max. diam. 12 cm. Bird in metope, horizontal lines, gear pattern. Hard clay, reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6-5YR 7/6); some reddish grey and white inclusions up to 1 mm; glossy paint, black-brown. Cf. COLDSTREAM 2008, pl. 9k. Attic LG I.

61. 1081\_c14. Aryballos, body. Base diam. 2 cm. Horizontal lines and bands. Hard clay, very pale brown (10YR 8/4), very fine; glossy paint, light orange-brown (lines) to dark brown (bands); smoothened surface. MPC.

62. 1086\_c01. Pithoid amphora (?), neck fragment. Neck diam. ca. 20 cm. Strokes or sigmas, horizontal red band framed by white lines (polychrome style). Hard clay, light brown (7.5YR 6/4); some white and grey inclusions up to 1 mm; glossy paint, black-brown glaze; violet red band. Cf. RITSONIS 1997, 85, fig. 12. Mid-7<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

#### Ritual vases, LG-EA miniature hydriai and high-neck jugs (Pl. 6)

63. 1067\_c03. Miniature hydria, neck and handle attachment. Neck diam. ca. 5 cm. Unidentifiable motif (maybe back of the neck and head of a bird). Hard clay, light yellowish brown to reddish yellow (10YR 6/4-5YR 6/6); few white inclusions up to 1 mm, very few mica; glossy paint, black-brown.

64. 1199\_c02. Miniature hydria (?), neck fragment. Neck diam. ca. 5 cm. Horizontal lines, line of cross-hatched triangles with dotted lozenges as filling motifs, file of birds. Soft clay, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6); few tiny white and red inclusions; matt paint, dark brown, worn; thick yellowish slip, worn. Dec.: Cf. *Eretria XIV*, pl. 66, H3. LG.

65. 997\_c02. Miniature hydria, fragment of neck. Height 3.1 cm. Tangential elongated blobs between horizontal lines. Hard clay, reddish yellow (5YR 7/6); few white (calcareous and quartz) inclusions up to 3 mm; glossy

paint, dark brown, slightly flaked. Cf. *Eretria XIV*, pl. 66, H1, H3, and pl. 77, H163; HUBER 2013, pl. VII D. LG.

66. 1143\_c01. Miniature hydria. Neck diam. 8 cm. Horizontal wavy bands on neck and body, separated by horizontal lines. Hard clay, very pale brown (10YR 7/4), few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, brown, heavily worn. Cf. *Eretria XIV*, pl. 77, H162. LG.

67. 1086\_c08. Miniature hydria or small high-neck jug, fragment of neck and shoulder. Neck diam. 8.5 cm. Horizontal wavy bands on neck and body, separated by horizontal lines. Rather soft clay, pale brown to reddish yellow (10YR 6/3-5YR 7/6); very few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, grey-brown, worn.

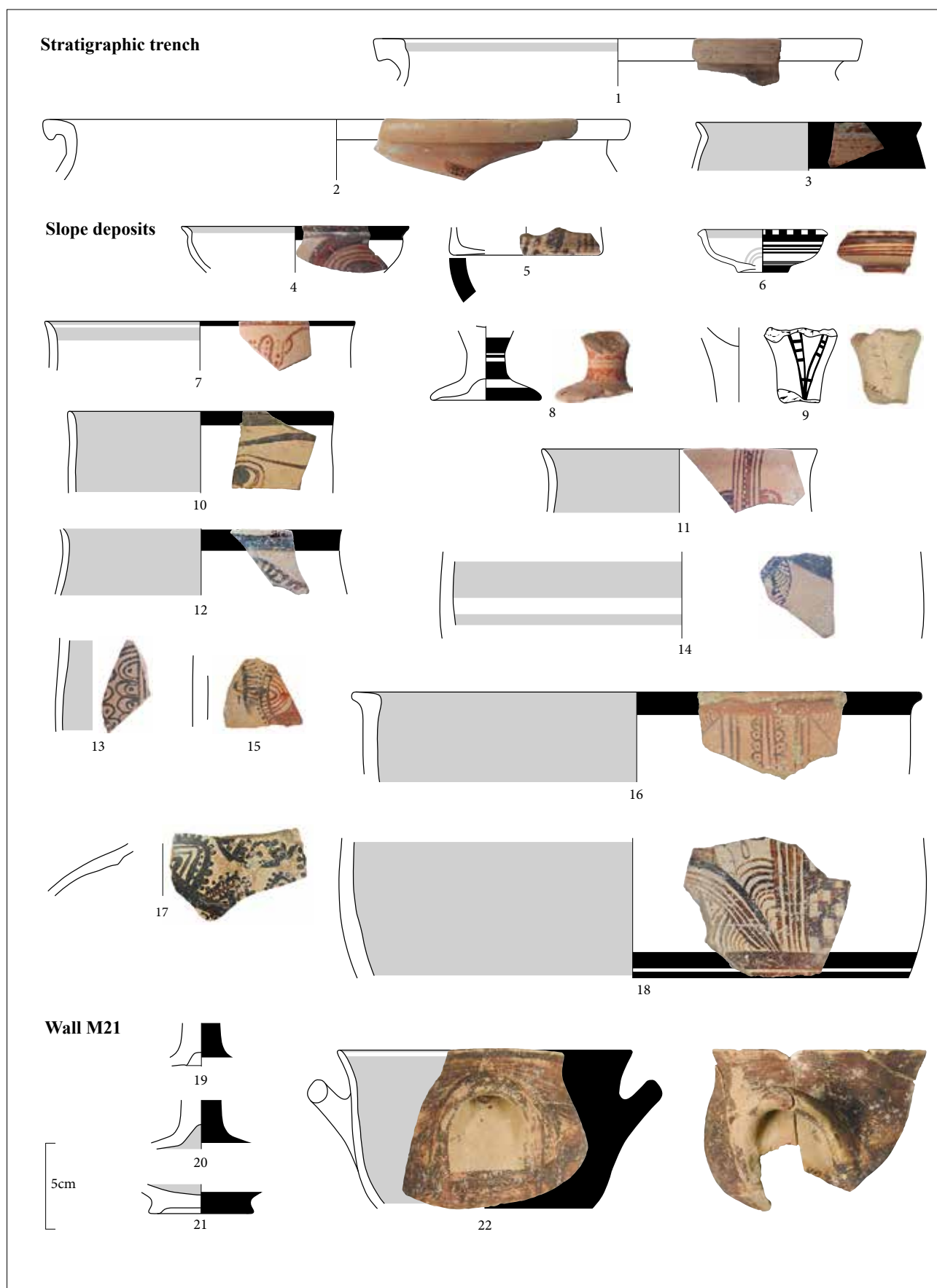
68. 1028\_c01. Miniature hydria, body fragment. Max. diam. 8 cm. Horizontal wavy band between lines, horizontal bands. Hard clay, reddish yellow to light red (7.5YR 6/6-2.5YR 6/8); very few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, dark brown, worn. Cf. **cat. 66**.

69. 206\_c01, V5017. High-neck jug, neck. Max. diam. 10.5 cm. Standing feminine figure, upper part of the garment painted, lower part reserved; one foot visible between the skirt and horizontal line; vertical wavy band (?) on the left. Soft clay, reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6); some red inclusions up to 1 mm, some tiny white inclusions and mica; matt paint, light red-brown, worn; trace of very light white slip. Cf. *Eretria XIV*, pl. 25-26, C10 and C16 (7<sup>th</sup> c. BC). See also BOARDMAN 1952, pl. 6 (amphorae) and pl. 7, C12 (high-neck jug).

70. 1123\_c04. High-neck jug, lower part of the body and pedestal. Diam. 8 cm (body-pedestal junction). All painted with horizontal lines in added white. Soft clay, buff pink (7.5YR 7/4); few tiny white and grey inclusions; matt paint, light brown.

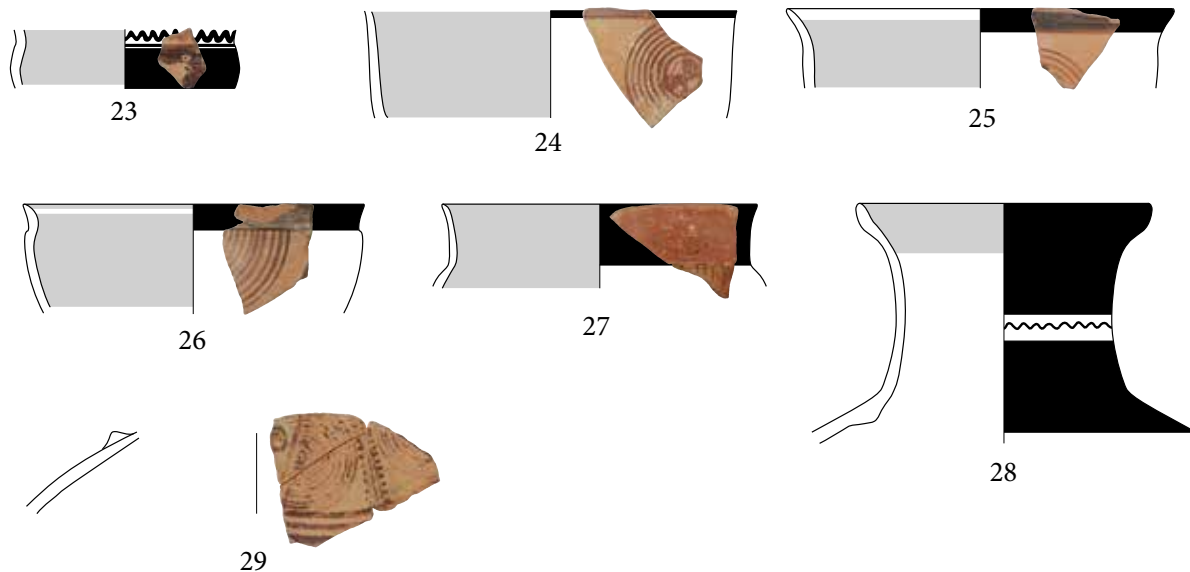
71. 374\_c03. High-neck jug (?), pedestal. Diam. 12 cm (pedestal, bottom). Group of horizontal lines between painted zones. Soft clay, buff pink (7.5YR 7/4); very few tiny white inclusions, large amount of fine mica; matt paint, black-brown, worn.

72. 1091\_c01. High-neck jug, lower part of the pedestal. Diam. 15 cm. Red horizontal band (probably framed by white lines, entirely worn). Soft clay, reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6); very few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, black-brown; violet-red band. Cf. *Eretria XIV*, pl. 90, C21, and pl. 93, C35.

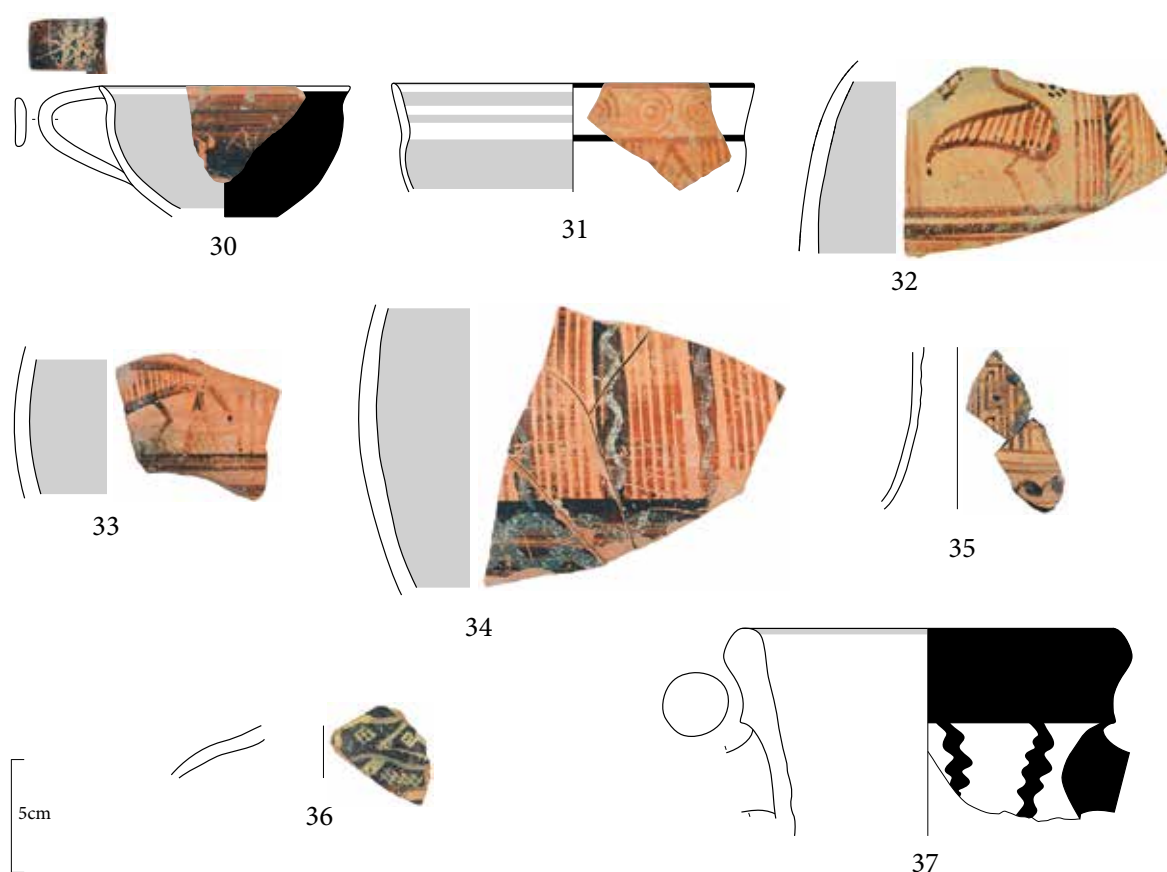


Pl. 1. Selection of BA pottery (by contexts)

**PG-SPG pottery related to M21**

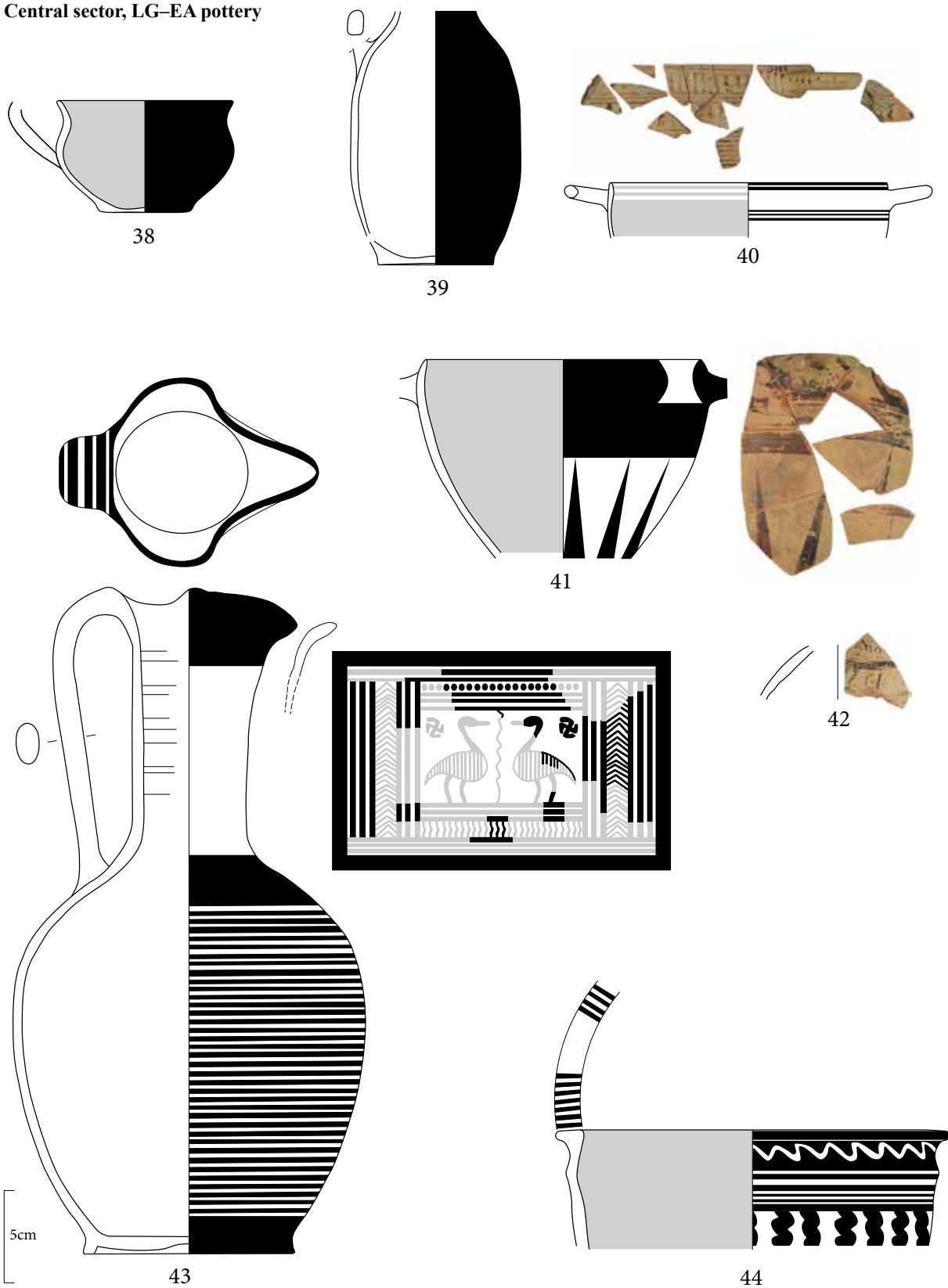


**LG pottery related to Ed9**



Pl. 2. Selection of PG to LG pottery (by contexts)

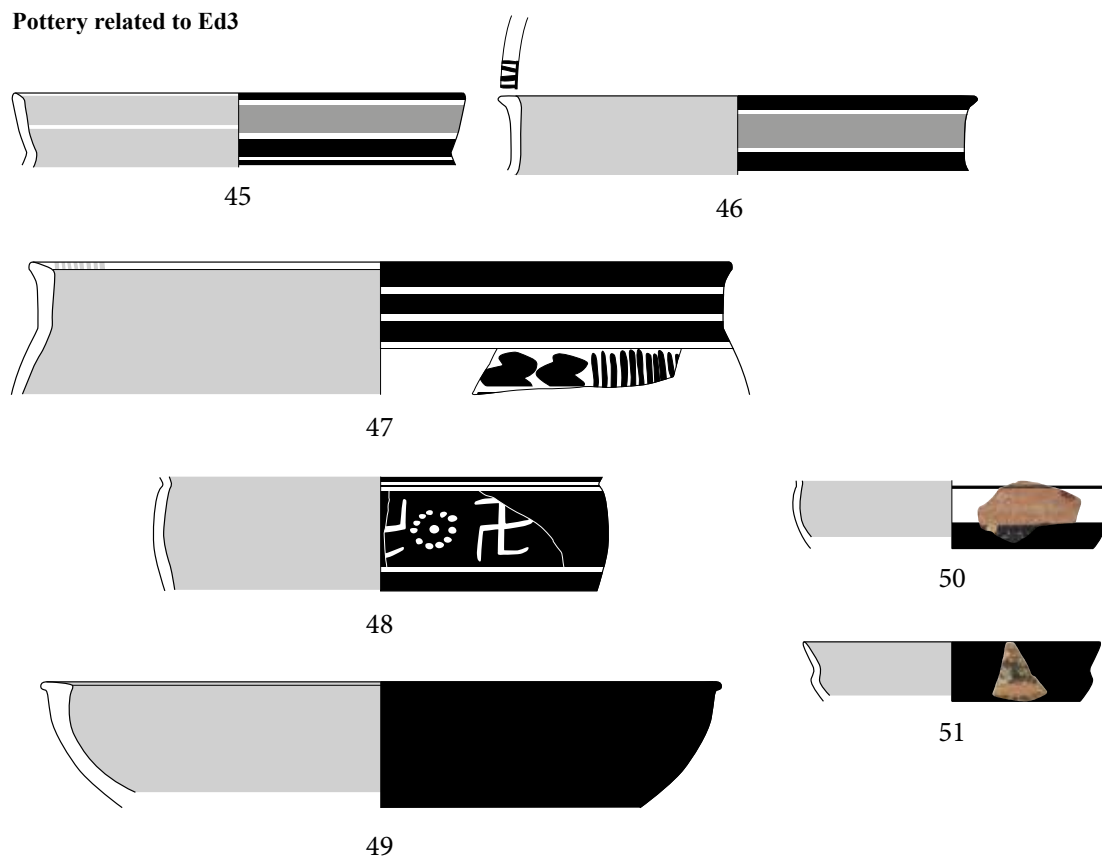
## Central sector, LG-EA pottery



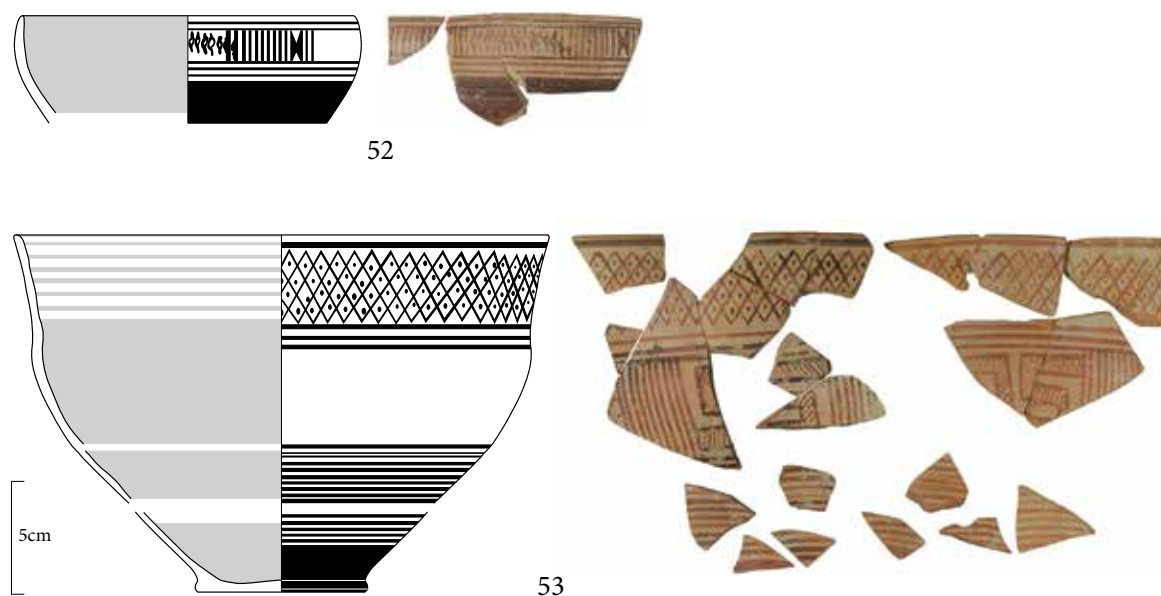
Pl. 3. Selection of LG to EA pottery (by contexts)



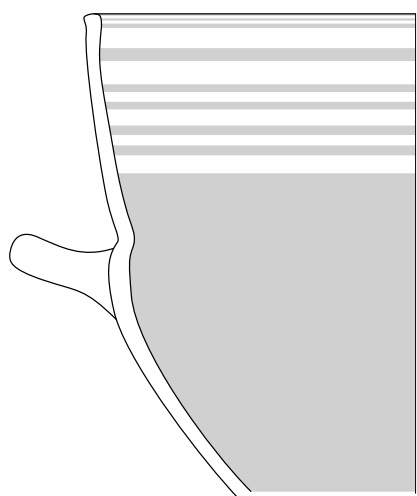
Pottery related to Ed3



East sector, LG–EA pottery



Pl. 4. Selection of LG to EA pottery (by contexts)

**East sector, LG–EA pottery**

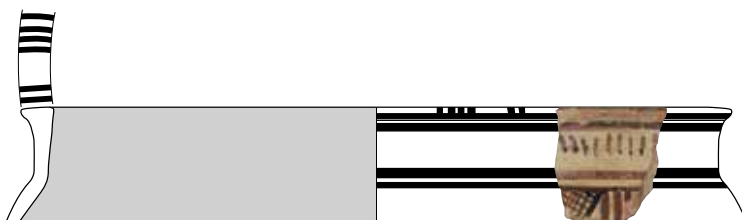
54



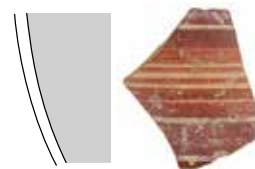
55



57



56



58



59



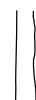
5cm



60



61

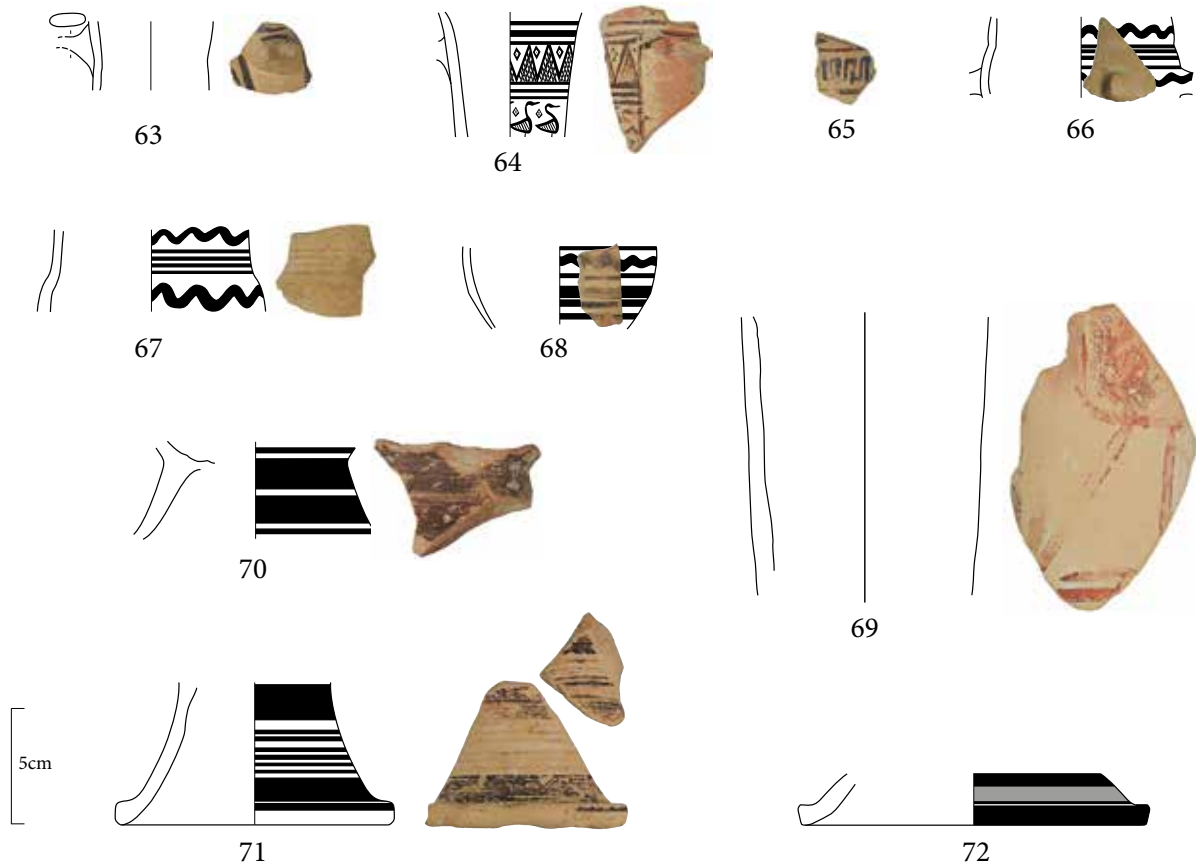


62



Pl. 5. Selection of LG to EA pottery (by contexts)

**Ritual vases, LG–EA miniature hydriai and high-neck jugs**



Pl. 6. Selection of LG to EA pottery (by contexts)

## References

- ἀποβάτης* 2020 G. ACKERMANN – T. KRAPF – L. POP (éds.), *ἀποβάτης. Mélanges eubéens offerts à Karl Reber par ses étudiant-e-s à l'occasion de son 65<sup>ème</sup> anniversaire*, Lausanne 2020.
- ALLOUPI – KOUROU 2007 E. ALLOUPI – N. KOUROU, 'Late Geometric Slipped Pottery: Technological Variations and Workshop Attributions (Euboean, Cycladic and Attic Workshops)', in MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2007a, 287-318.
- AMBROSINI 2018 L. AMBROSINI, 'I sigilli del Lyre-Player Group: riflessioni sulla distribuzione in Grecia e sul significato della loro offerta nei santuari', in *RIASA* 73 (III S., XLI), 2019, 9-38.
- AntK* 2007 T. THEURILLAT – S. FACHARD, 'Campagne de fouilles à Amarynthos', in *AntK* 50, 2007, 135-140.
- AntK* 2008 S. FACHARD – T. THEURILLAT – C. LÉDERREY – D. KNOEPFLER, 'Amarynthos 2007', in *AntK* 51, 2008, 154-171.
- AntK* 2013 D. KNOEPFLER – K. REBER – G. ACKERMANN – T. KRAPF – P. BAERISWYL – T. SAGGINI, 'Amarynthos 2012, campagne de sondages', in *AntK* 56, 2013, 100-107.
- AntK* 2014 D. KNOEPFLER – A. KARAPASCHALIDOU – T. THEURILLAT – S. FACHARD – T. KRAPF – P. BAERISWYL – D. ACKERMANN, 'Amarynthos 2013', in *AntK* 57, 2014, 127-133.
- AntK* 2015 D. KNOEPFLER – A. KARAPASCHALIDOU – T. THEURILLAT – S. FACHARD – P. BAERISWYL – D. ACKERMANN, 'Amarynthos 2014', in *AntK* 58, 2015, 143-150.
- AntK* 2016 D. KNOEPFLER – A. KARAPASCHALIDOU – T. KRAPF – T. THEURILLAT – D. ACKERMANN, 'Amarynthos 2015', in *AntK* 59, 2016, 95-102.
- AntK* 2017 D. KNOEPFLER – A. KARAPASCHALIDOU – K. REBER – T. KRAPF – T. THEURILLAT, 'Amarynthos 2016', in *AntK* 60, 2017, 135-145.
- AntK* 2018 D. KNOEPFLER – A. KARAPASCHALIDOU – K. REBER – T. KRAPF – T. THEURILLAT, 'L'Artémision d'Amarynthos 2017', in *AntK* 61, 2018, 129-137.
- AntK* 2019 K. REBER – D. KNOEPFLER – A. KARAPASCHALIDOU – T. KRAPF – T. THEURILLAT, 'L'Artémision d'Amarynthos 2018', in *AntK* 62, 2019, 145-157.
- ANTK* 2020 K. REBER – D. KNOEPFLER – A. KARAPASCHALIDOU – T. KRAPF – D. GREGER, 'Das Artemision EN AMAPYNΘΩI (Kampagne 2019)', in *AntK* 63, 2020, 106-114.
- ARAVANTINOS 1987 V. ARAVANTINOS, 'Mycenaean Place Names from Thebes: The New Evidence', in J.T. KILLEN – J.L. MELENA – J.-P. OLIVIER (eds.), *Studies in Mycenaean and Classical Greek Presented to J. Chadwick*, *Minos* 20-22, 1987, 33-40.
- AUBERSON – SCHEFOLD 1972 P. AUBERSON – K. SCHEFOLD, *Führer durch Eretria*, Bern 1972.
- AUBERSON 1975 P. AUBERSON, 'Chalcis, Lefkandi, Érétie au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *Contribution à l'étude de la société et de la colonisation eubéennes*, *Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard* 2, Naples 1975, 9-14.
- BAERISWYL 2020 P. BAERISWYL, 'Deux fragments du pictorial style mycénien d'Amarynthos revisités', in *ἀποβάτης* 2020, 110-115.
- BAKHUIZEN 1976 S.C. BAKHUIZEN, *Chalcis-in-Euboea, Iron and Chalcidians Abroad*, Leiden 1976.
- BÉRARD 1978 C. BÉRARD, 'Topographie et urbanisme de l'Érétie archaïque: l'Hérôon', in *Eretria* VI, Berne 1978, 89-95.
- BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012 M. BESIOS – I. TZIFOPOULOS – A. KOTSONAS, *Μεθώνη Περίας Ι: Επιγραφές, χαράγματα και εμπορικά σύμβολα στη γεωμετρική και αρχαϊκή κεραμική από το 'Υπόγειο' της Μεθώνης Περίας στη Μακεδονία*, Thessaloniki 2012.
- BLANDIN 2008 B. BLANDIN, 'Amarynthos au début de l'Âge du Fer à la lumière des fouilles récentes', in *AntK* 51, 2008, 180-190.



- BLANDIN 2011 B. BLANDIN, 'Amarynthos au début de l'Âge du Fer: les trouvailles de la propriété M. Patavalis', in A. MAZARAKIS AINIAN (ed.), *The "Dark Ages" Revisited, Acts of an International Symposium in Memory of William D.E. Coulson* (University of Thessaly, Volos, 14-17 June 2007), Volos 2011, 857-872.
- BOARDMAN 1952 J. BOARDMAN, 'Pottery from Eretria', in *BSA* 47, 1952, 1-48.
- BOARDMAN 1957 J. BOARDMAN, 'Early Euboean Pottery and History', in *BSA* 52, 1957, 1-29.
- BOSS 2000 M. BOSS, *Lakonische Votivgaben aus Blei*, Würzburg 2000.
- BRULÉ 1993 P. BRULÉ, 'Artémis Amarysia. Des ports préférés d'Artémis: l'Euripe (Callimaque, Hymne à Artémis, 188)', in *Kernos* 6, 1993, 57-65.
- BÜSING-KOLBE 1978 A. BÜSING-KOLBE, 'Frühe griechische Türen', in *JdI* 93, 1978, 66-174.
- CHARALAMBIDOU 2007 X. CHARALAMBIDOU, 'The Fine Pottery from Oropos from the Early Orientalizing to the Archaic Period: A First Approach', in MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2007a, 275-287.
- CHARALAMBIDOU 2017 X. CHARALAMBIDOU, 'Euboea and the Euboean Gulf Region: Pottery in Context', in CHARALAMBIDOU – MORGAN 2017, 123-149.
- CHARALAMBIDOU 2018 X. CHARALAMBIDOU, 'On the Style and Cultural Biography of Euboean and Euboean-related Amphorae: (Re)visiting Material Evidence from the Hygeionomeion Cemetery at the Spanou Plot in Eretria', in *AntK* 61, 2018, 3-15.
- CHARALAMBIDOU – MORGAN 2017 X. CHARALAMBIDOU – C. MORGAN (eds.), *Interpreting the Seventh Century BC. Tradition and Innovation*, Oxford 2017.
- CHEZEAUX 2020 C. CHEZEAUX, 'Quelle cruche! Une énigme géométrique dans le sanctuaire d'Amarynthos', in *ἀποβάτης* 2020, 116-121.
- COLDSTREAM 1971 J.N. COLDSTREAM, 'The Cesnola Painter: A Change of Address', in *BICS* 18, 1971, 1-15.
- COLDSTREAM 1995 J.N. COLDSTREAM, 'Euboean Geometric Imports from the Acropolis of Pithekoussai', in *BSA* 90, 1995, 251-267.
- COLDSTREAM 2003 J.N. COLDSTREAM, *Geometric Greece*, London 2003 (1<sup>st</sup> edition 1977).
- COLDSTREAM 2008 J.N. COLDSTREAM, *Greek Geometric Pottery: A Survey of Ten Local Styles and their Chronology, Updated Second Edition*, Exeter 2008 (1<sup>st</sup> edition 1968).
- COSMOPOULOS 2016 M.B. COSMOPOULOS, 'Lieux de mémoire mycéniens et la naissance des sanctuaires grecs', in *RA* 2/2016, 251-278.
- CRAI 2018 P. DUCREY – D. KNOEPFLER – K. REBER – T. KRAPF, 'Amarynthos. Séance du 1er juin célébrant la découverte et la fouille du sanctuaire d'Artémis Amarysia à 60 stades de la ville d'Érétrie (Eubée, Grèce)', in *CRAI* 2018, 843-953.
- CRIELAARD 2006 J.P. CRIELAARD, 'Basileis at Sea: Elites and External Contacts in the Euboean Gulf Region from the End of the Bronze Age to the Beginning of the Iron Age', in S. DEGER-JALKOTZY – I.S. LEMOS (eds.), *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*, Edinburgh Leventis Studies 3, Edinburgh 2006, 271-297.
- CROWEL 2006 J. CROWEL, 'Late Mycenaean Pictorial Pottery', in *Lefkandi IV*, 233-255.
- DAVIDSON *et al.* 2010 D.A. DAVIDSON – C.A. WILSON – I.S. LEMOS, 'Tell Formation Processes as Indicated from Geoarchaeological and Geochemical Investigations at Xeropolis, Euboea, Greece', in *JAS* 37, 2010, 1564-1571.
- DE FUIJK 2015 I. DE FUIJK, 'A Miniature Bronze Wheel-shaped Object from the Plakari Hill in Southern Euboea, Greece', in *Kleos* 1, 2015, 8-23.
- DESCOEUDRES 1976 J.-P. DESCOEUDRES, 'Die vorklassische Keramik aus dem Gebiet des Westtors', in *Eretria V*, Bern 1976, 13-58.
- DUPLOUY 2019 A. DUPLOUY, *Construire la cité: Essai de sociologie historique sur les communautés de l'archaïsme grec*, Paris 2019.
- EDER 2019 B. EDER, 'The Role of Sanctuaries and the Formation of Greek Identities in the Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age Transition', in LEMOS – TSINGARIDA 2019, 25-52.
- ELLINGER 2009 P. ELLINGER, *Artémis, déesse de tous les dangers*, Paris 2009.

- Eretria X* K. REBER, *Die klassischen und hellenistischen Wohnhäuser im Westquartier, Eretria X, Ausgrabungen und Forschungen*, Lausanne 1998.
- Eretria XIV* S. HUBER, *L'Aire sacrificielle au nord du Sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros, Eretria XIV, Fouilles et recherches*, Gollion 2003.
- Eretria XVII* B. BLANDIN, *Les pratiques funéraires d'époque géométrique à Éréttrie. Espace des vivants, demeures des morts, Eretria XVII, Fouilles et recherches*, Gollion 2007.
- Eretria XX* S. VERDAN – A. KENZELMANN PFYFFER – C. LÉDERREY, *Céramique géométrique d'Éréttrie, Eretria XX, Fouilles et recherches*, Gollion 2008.
- Eretria XXII* S. VERDAN, *Le Sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros à l'époque géométrique, Eretria XXII, Fouilles et recherches*, Gollion 2013.
- FACHARD *et al.* 2017 S. FACHARD – K. REBER – D. KNOEPFLER – A. KARAPASCHALIDOU – T. KRAPF – T. THEURILLAT – P. KALAMARA, 'Recent Research at the Sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia in Amarnythos (Euboea)', in *AR* 63, 2017, 167-180.
- FACHARD – VERDAN, forthcoming S. FACHARD – S. VERDAN, 'Eretria and Chalkis', in P. CARTLEDGE – P. CHRISTESEN (eds.), *The Oxford History of the Archaic Greek World*, Oxford, forthcoming.
- FACHARD 2019 S. FACHARD, 'The Emergence of Territorial Organization in Athens and Eretria', in O. PALAGIA – E.P. SIOUMPARA (eds.), *From Hippias to Kallias: Greek Art in Athens and Beyond, 527-449 B.C. Proceedings of an International Conference Held at Acropolis Museum (Athens, May 19-20, 2017)*, Athens 2019, 160-169.
- FRIEDEMANN 1995 P. FRIEDEMANN, 'Nouvelles données sur la préhistoire d'Éréttrie: L'apport des investigations 1994 sur l'acropole', in *AntK* 38, 1995, 108-119.
- GHILARDI *et al.* 2012 M. GHILARDI – S. FACHARD – K. PAVLOPOULOS – D. PSOMIADIS – C. COLLANA – A. BICKET – Y. CREST – A. BONNEAU – D. DELANGHE-SABATIER – A.R. KNOELL – T. THEURILLAT, 'Reconstructing Mid-to-Recent Holocene Paleoenvironments in the Vicinity of Ancient Amarnythos (Euboea, Greece)', in *Geodinamica Acta* 25.1-2, 2012, 38-51.
- GHILARDI *et al.* 2016 M. GHILARDI – S. MUELLER CELKA – T. THEURILLAT – S. FACHARD – M. VACCHI, 'Évolution des paysages et histoire de l'occupation d'Éréttrie (Eubée, Grèce) du Bronze ancien à l'époque romaine', in M. GHILARDI (éd.), *Géoaarchéologie des îles de Méditerranée*, Paris 2016, 149-163.
- GHILARDI *et al.* 2018 M. GHILARDI – M. VACCHI – A. CURRAS – S. MUELLER CELKA – T. THEURILLAT – I. LEMOS – K. PAVLOPOULOS, 'Géoaarchéologie des paysages littoraux le long du golfe sud-eubéen (île d'Eubée, Grèce) au cours de l'holocène', in *Quaternaire* 29.2, 2018, 95-120.
- GREGER 2020 D. GREGER, 'Den Bronzestier aus dem Artemision von Amarnythos bei den Hörnern gepackt', in *ἀποβάτης* 2020, 122-127.
- GUGGISBERG 1996 M.A. GUGGISBERG, *Frühgriechische Tierkeramik. Zur Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Tiergefäße und der hohlen Tierfiguren in der späten Bronze- und frühen Eisenzeit (ca. 1600-700 v.Chr.)*, Mainz 1996.
- GUGGISBERG 2013 M.A. GUGGISBERG, 'Tore griechischer Heiligtümer', in M.A. GUGGISBERG (Hrsg.), *Grenzen in Ritual und Kult der Antike*, Basel 2013, 131-156.
- HAYSOM 2020 M. HAYSOM, 'Religion and Cult', in I. LEMOS – A. KOTSONAS (eds.), *A Companion to the Archaeology of Early Greece and the Mediterranean*, Oxford 2020, 317-348.
- HUBER 2013 S. HUBER, 'Le cratère, l'hydrie et la cruche à haut col. Des céramiques au service des premiers rituels à Éréttrie (Grèce)', in M. TUFFREAU-LIBRE – M. DENTI (éds.), *La céramique dans les contextes rituels. Fouiller et comprendre les gestes des anciens, Table ronde UMR 6566 CReAAH - Laboratoire LAHM* (Université de Rennes 2, 16-17 juin 2010), Rennes 2013, 75-93.
- HUBER 2017 S. HUBER, 'Éréttrie. La naissance des lieux de culte et des pratiques cultuelles dans une cité-mère grecque', in S. AGUSTA-BOULAROT – S. HUBER – W. VAN ANDRINGA (éds.), *Quand naissent les dieux: fondation des sanctuaires antiques. Motivations, agents, lieux. Colloque organisé par les Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome et le LabEx Archimède, Rome, École française de Rome* (18 au 20 juin 2015), Collection de l'École française de Rome 534, Rome 2017, 47-68.

- HULEK 2019 F. HULEK, 'Temple and Hestiatorion. The Combined Edifice on Mount Çatallar Tepe (Turkey)', in E.C. PARTIDA – B. SCHMIDT-DOUNAS (eds.), *Listening to the Stones. Essays on Architecture and Function in Ancient Greek Sanctuaries in Honour of Richard Alan Tomlinson*, Oxford 2019, 223-232.
- IAKOVIDIS 1969 S.E. IAKOVIDIS, Περαιτή, Το νεκροταφείον, Athens 1969.
- KALAMARA 2015 P. KALAMARA, 'Αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα του νομού Ευβοίας, 2009-2013', in S. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ (επιμ.), *Αρχαιολογικές Συμβολές, Τόμος Γ': Βοιωτία & Εύβοια, Εφορείες Αρχαιοτήτων Βοιωτίας & Εύβοιας*, Athens 2015, 151-164.
- KALAMARA et al. 2015 P. KALAMARA – M. KOSMA – K. BOUKARAS – Y. CHAIRETAKIS, *The City of Chalkis*, Athens 2015.
- KEARSLEY 1989 R. KEARSLEY, *The Pendent Semi-Circle Skyphos*, BICS Suppl. 44, London 1989.
- KENZELMANN PFYFFER 2011 A. KENZELMANN PFYFFER, 'Attic Influences on Euboean Potters in the Geometric Period', in D.W. RUPP – J.E. TOMLINSON (eds.), *Euboea and Athens: Proceedings of a Colloquium in Memory of Malcolm B. Wallace* (Athens, 26-27 June 2009), Athens 2011, 135-147.
- KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005 A. KENZELMANN PFYFFER – T. THEURILLAT – S. VERDAN, 'Graffiti d'époque géométrique provenant du Sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros à Érétrie', in *ZPE* 151, 2005, 51-86.
- KERSCHNER – LEMOS 2014 M. KERSCHNER – I.S. LEMOS (eds.), *Archaeometric Analyses of Euboean and Euboean Related Pottery: New Results and their Interpretations, Proceedings of the Round Table Conference Held at the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Athens* (15 and 16 April 2011), Ergänzungshefte *ÖJh*, Wien 2014.
- KNOEPFLER 1981 D. KNOEPFLER, 'Argoura: un toponyme eubéen dans la *Midienn*e de Démosthène', in *BCH* 105.1, 1981, 289-329.
- KNOEPFLER 1988 D. KNOEPFLER, 'Sur les traces de l'Artémision d'Amarynthos près d'Érétrie', in *CRAI* 1988, 382-421.
- KNOEPFLER 1990 D. KNOEPFLER, 'Dédicaces érétriennes à Ilithyie', in *AntK* 33, 1990, 115-128.
- KNOEPFLER 1997 D. KNOEPFLER, 'Le territoire d'Érétrie et l'organisation politique de la cité (*démoi, chóroi, phylai*)', in M.H. HANSEN (ed.), *The Polis as an Urban Centre and the Political Community. Symposium* (August, 29-31 1996), Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre vol. 4, Copenhagen 1997, 352-449.
- KNOEPFLER 2004 D. KNOEPFLER, 'Pauvres et malheureux Érétriens. Démosthène et la nouvelle loi d'Érétrie contre la tyrannie', in *Poleis e politeiai. Esperienze politiche, tradizioni letterarie, progetti costituzionali*, Atti del Convegno internazionale di storia greca (Torino, 29 maggio - 31 maggio 2002), Alessandria 2004, 403-419.
- KNOEPFLER 2010 D. KNOEPFLER, *La patrie de Narcisse: un héros antique enraciné dans le sol et dans l'histoire d'une cité grecque*, Paris 2010.
- KNOEPFLER 2019 D. KNOEPFLER, 'Tombeaux de héros dans les sanctuaires des divinités olympiennes: de Hyakinthos le Laconien à l'Eubéen Narkittos', in J. JOUANNA – A. VAUCHÉ – J. SCHEID – M. ZINK (éds.), *Colloque Des tombeaux et des dieux*, Cahiers de la villa Kérylos 30, Paris 2019, 31-74.
- KNOEPFLER – ACKERMANN 2012 D. KNOEPFLER – G. ACKERMANN, 'Phulè Admètis. Un nouveau document sur les institutions et les cultes de l'Érétriade découvert dans les fouilles de l'École suisse d'archéologie en Grèce', in *CRAI* 2012, II, 905-949.
- KOTSONAS 2017 A. KOTSONAS, 'Sanctuaries, Temples and Altars in the Early Iron Age: A Chronological and Regional Accounting', in A. MAZARAKIS AINIAN – A. ALEXANDRIDOU – X. CHARALAMBIDOU (eds.), *Regional Stories towards a New Perception of the Early Greek World, Acts of an International Symposium in Honour of Professor Jan Bouzek* (Volos 18-21 June 2015), Volos 2017, 55-66.
- KOURAYOS 2012 Y. KOURAYOS, *Despotiko. The Sanctuary of Apollo*, Athens 2012.
- KOWALZIG 2018 B. KOWALZIG, 'Cults, Cabotage, and Connectivity, Experimenting with Religious and Economic Networks in the Greco-Roman Mediterranean', in J. LEIDWANGER – C. KNAPPETT (eds.), *Maritime Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, Cambridge 2018, 102-106.
- KRAPF 2011 T. KRAPF, 'Amarynthos in der Bronzezeit: der Wissensstand nach den Schweizer Grabungen 2006 und 2007', in *AntK* 54, 2011, 144-159.

- KRAPF 2015 T. KRAPF, 'Ερέτρια και Αμάρυνθος: Δύο γειτονικοί αλλά διαφορετικοί οικισμοί της Μέσης Εποχής Χαλκού στην Εύβοια', in A. MAZARAKIS AINIAN (επιμ.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας* 4, Volos 2015, 81-96.
- KRAPF 2017 T. KRAPF, 'Middle Helladic (Central) Euboea and its Cultural Connections: The State of Research', in Z. TANKOSIĆ – F. MAVRIDIS – M. KOSMA (eds.), *An Island between Two Worlds: The Archaeology of Euboea from Prehistory to Byzantine Times*, Athens 2017, 145-158.
- LÉDERREY 2008 C. LÉDERREY, 'Amarynthos 2007, Ein subprotogeometrisches Kindergrab', in *AntK* 51, 2008, 159-164.
- Lefkandi I* M. POPHAM – L.H. SACKETT – P.G. THEMELIS – J. BOARDMAN – M.J. PRICE – H.W. CATLING – E.A. CATLING – V.R. D'A. DESBOROUGH – O.T.P.K. DICKINSON – R.A. HIGGINS – L.H. JEFFERY, *Lefkandi I. The Iron Age. The Settlement. The Cemeteries*, BSA Suppl. 11, London 1979-1980.
- Lefkandi II.1* R.W.V. CATLING – I.S. LEMOS, *Lefkandi II. The Protogeometric Building at Toumba, Part I: The Pottery*, BSA Suppl. 22, Oxford 1990.
- Lefkandi III* M.R. POPHAM – I.S. LEMOS (eds.), *Lefkandi III. The Toumba Cemetery: The Excavations of 1981, 1984, 1986 and 1992-1994, Plates*, BSA Suppl. 29, Oxford 1996.
- Lefkandi IV* D. EVELY (ed.), *Lefkandi IV. The Bronze Age, The Late Helladic IIIC Settlement at Xeropolis*, BSA Suppl. 39, Athens 2006.
- LEMOS 2012 I.S. LEMOS, 'Euboea and Central Greece in the Postpalatial and Early Greek Periods', in *AR* 58, 2012, 19-27.
- LEMOS 2014a I.S. LEMOS, 'Pottery from Lefkandi of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age in the Light of the Neutron Activation Analyses', in KERSCHNER – LEMOS 2014, 37-58.
- LEMOS 2014b I.S. LEMOS, 'Communities in Transformation: An Archaeological Survey from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 9<sup>th</sup> Century BC', in *Pharos* 20, 2014, 161-191.
- LEMOS 2015 I.S. LEMOS, 'The Missing Dead: Late Geometric Burials at Lefkandi', in *MeditArch* 25, 2012 (2015), 159-172.
- LEMOS 2017 I.S. LEMOS, 'Offerings to a Goddess', in V. VLACHOU – A. GADOLOU (eds.), *ΤΕΡΨΙΣ, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology in Honour of Nota Kourou*, Brussels 2017, 501-509.
- LEMOS 2019 I.S. LEMOS, 'The "Ritual Zone" on Xeropolis at Lefkandi: Some Preliminary Thoughts', in LEMOS – TSINGARIDA 2019, 75-89.
- LEMOS – TSINGARIDA 2019 I.S. LEMOS – A. TSINGARIDA (eds.), *Beyond the Polis. Rituals, Rites and Cults in Early and Archaic Greece (12th-6th centuries BC)*, Brussels 2019.
- MALKIN 1996 I. MALKIN, 'Territorial Domination and the Greek Sanctuary', in P. HELLSTRÖM (ed.), *Religion and Power in the Ancient Greek World*, *Boreas* 24, Uppsala 1996, 75-82.
- MATHIOUDAKI 2010 I. MATHIOUDAKI, '"Mainland Polychrome" Pottery: Definition, Chronology, Typological Correlations', in A. PHILIPPA-TOUCHAIS – G. TOUCHAIS – S. VOUSAKI – J. WRIGHT (eds.), *Mesohelladika, The Greek Mainland in the Middle Bronze Age*, BCH Suppl. 52, Paris and Athens 2010, 621-633.
- MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997 A. MAZARAKIS AINIAN, *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples. Architecture, Religion and Society in Early Iron Age Greece (1100-700 B.C.)*, SIMA 121, Jonsered 1997.
- MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1998 A. MAZARAKIS AINIAN, 'Oropos in the Early Iron Age', in M. BATS – B. D'AGOSTINO (a cura di), *Euboica. L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Napoli (13-16 novembre 1996), Napoli 1998, 179-215.
- MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2007a MAZARAKIS AINIAN (ed.), *Oropos and Euboea in the Early Iron Age*, Acts of an International Round Table (Volos, 2004), Volos 2007.
- MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2007b A. MAZARAKIS AINIAN, 'Ἐνδὸν σκάπτει. The Tale of an Excavation', in MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2007a, 21-59.
- MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2017a A. MAZARAKIS AINIAN, 'Conservatism vs Innovation: Architectural Forms in Early Archaic Greece', in CHARALAMBIDOU – MORGAN 2017, 173-185.



- MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2017b A. MAZARAKIS AINIAN, 'Κώμη et πόλις: reflexion sur la formation de la cité dans la Grèce ancienne', in *CRAI* 2017, 21-50.
- MAZARAKIS AINIAN – VLACHOU 2014 A. MAZARAKIS AINIAN – V. VLACHOU, 'Archaeometric Analysis of Early Iron Age Pottery Samples from Oropos: Local or Euboean Production?', in KERSCHNER – LEMOS 2014, 95-108.
- MICHALAKI-KOLLIA 2010 M. MICHALAKI-KOLLIA, 'Dédicaces à Artémis Lochia et à Eileithyia à Astypalée. Rapport avec les 2750 enchytrismes des nouveau-nés?', in A. INGLESE (a cura di), *Epigrammata: iscrizioni greche e comunicazione letteraria in ricordo di Giancarlo Susini*, Atti del Convegno di Roma (1-2 ottobre 2009), Roma 2010, 279-298.
- MORGAN 2003 C. MORGAN, *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis*, New York 2003.
- MOUNTJOY 1986 P.A. MOUNTJOY, *Mycenaean Decorated Pottery: A Guide to Identification*, Göteborg 1986.
- MÜLLER CELKA 2010 S. MÜLLER CELKA, 'Avant la cité', in C. MARTIN-PRUVOT – K. REBER – T. THEURILLAT (éds.), *Cité sous terre. Des archéologues Suisses explorent la cité grecque d'Érétrie*, Catalogue of the Exhibition held in the Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig (22.09.2010 - 30.01.2011), Gollion 2010, 51-55.
- MÜLLER CELKA *et al.* 2011 S. MÜLLER CELKA – T. KRAPP – S. VERDAN, 'La céramique helladique du sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros à Érétrie (Eubée)', in *BCH* 135, 2011, 21-61.
- NILSSON 1906 M. NILSSON, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung*, Leipzig 1906.
- OHNESORG 2013 A. OHNESORG, 'Die Westanlagen des Heiligtums von Yria auf Naxos', in G. KALAITZO-GLOU – G. LÜDORF (Hrsg.), *Petasos. Festschrift für Hans Lohmann*, Mittelmeerstudien 2, Paderborn 2013, 227-240.
- PAPADOPOULOS 2015 J.K. PAPADOPOULOS, 'The Charitonidis Class: A Group of Large Athenian Late Protogeometric Skyphoi', in *OpAth* 8, 2015, 7-26.
- PAPAVASILIOU 1912 G. PAPAVASILIOU, 'Ἱερὸν Διοσκούρων Καβείρων', in *Prakt* 1912, 145-153.
- PARLAMA 1979 L. PARLAMA, 'Μικρή ανασκαφική έρευνα στον προϊστορικό λόφο της Αμαρύνθου', in *AAA* 12, 1979, 3-14.
- Pithekoussai I* G. BUCHNER – D. RIDGWAY, *Pithekoussai I*, Roma 1993.
- POLIGNAC 1995 F. DE POLIGNAC, *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State*, Chicago and London 1995.
- POPHAM – SACKETT 1968 M.R. POPHAM – L.H. SACKETT, *Excavations at Lefkandi, Euboea, 1964-1966*, London 1968.
- REBER *et al.* 2018 K. REBER – D. KNOEPFLER – A. KARAPASCHALIDOU – T. KRAPP – T. THEURILLAT – S. FACHARD, 'Auf der Suche nach Artemis. Die Entdeckung des Heiligtums der Artemis Amarysia', in *AntW* 4, 2018, 52-58.
- REBER *et al.* 2019 K. REBER – D. KNOEPFLER – A. KARAPASCHALIDOU – T. KRAPP – T. THEURILLAT, 'Το ιερό της Αμαρυνσίας Αρτέμιδος στην Εύβοια', in *Θέματα Αρχαιολογίας* 3.2, 2019, 206-215.
- RITSONIS 1997 A. RITSONIS, 'Παρατηρήσεις στη σύνθεση της Ερετριακής Αγγειογραφίας', in *Ανθρωπολογικά και Αρχαιολογικά Χρονικά* 4, 1997, 65-88.
- RITSONIS 2005 A. RITSONIS, 'Παρατηρήσεις στη σχεδιαστική απόδοση κεφαλής τής Ανατολίζουσας Ερετριακής αγγειογραφίας', in *Αρχαίον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 35, 2003-2004 (2005), 19-44.
- SACKETT *et al.* 1966 L.H. SACKETT – V. HANKEY – R.J. HOWELL – T.W. JACOBSEN – M.R. POPHAM, 'Prehistoric Euboea: Contributions toward a Survey', in *BSA* 61, 1966, 33-112.
- SAMPSON 1980a A. SAMPSON, 'Προϊστορικές θέσεις και οικισμοί στην Εύβοια', in *Αρχαίον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 23, 1980, 91-249.
- SAMPSON 1980b A. SAMPSON, Η Νεολιθική και η Πρωτοελλαδική Ι στην Εύβοια, *Αρχαίον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών*, Suppl. 24, Athens 1980.
- SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1988-1989 E. SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI, 'Έρευνα στην προϊστορική Αμάρυνθο και στη Μαγούλα Ερέτριας', in *Αρχαίον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 28, 1988-1989, 91-104.

- SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1991 E. SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI, 'Nouvelles figurines cycladiques et petite glyptique du Bronze Ancien d'Eubée', in *AntK* 34.1, 1991, 3-12.
- SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1992 E. SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI, 'Un dépôt de temple et le sanctuaire d'Artémis Amarysia en Eubée', in *Kernos* 5, 1992, 235-263.
- SCHLOTZHAUER 2001 U. SCHLOTZHAUER, *Die südionischen Knickrandschalen: eine chronologische Untersuchung zu den sog. Ionischen Schalen in Milet*, PhD Thesis (unpublished), Bochum 2001.
- SEMENTZATO – VERDAN – THEURILLAT 2020 C. SEMENZATO – S. VERDAN – T. THEURILLAT, 'La cigale et le poulain', in *ἀποβάτης* 2020, 140-143.
- SIMON – VERDAN 2014 P. SIMON – S. VERDAN, 'Hippotrophia: chevaux et élites eubéennes à la période Géométrique', in *AntK* 57, 2014, 3-24.
- THEMELIS 1969 P.G. THEMELIS, 'Μυκηναϊκά Ερέτριας', in *AAA* 2.1, 1969, 26-29.
- THEMELIS 1970 P.G. THEMELIS, 'Πρωτογεωμετρική Ερέτρια', in *AAA* 3, 1970, 314-319.
- VERDAN 2015a S. VERDAN, 'Geometric Eretria: Some Thoughts on Old Data', in *MeditArch* 25, 2012 (2015), 181-189.
- VERDAN 2015b S. VERDAN, 'Images, supports et contextes: sur quelques "amphores funéraires" érétriennes', in V. VLACHOU (ed.), *Pots, Workshops and Early Iron Age Society: Function and Role of Ceramics in Early Greece*, Proceedings of the International Symposium (Université Libre de Bruxelles, 14-16 November 2013), Brussels 2015, 127-137.
- VERDAN *et al.* 2020 S. VERDAN – T. THEURILLAT – S. FACHARD – M. GHILARDI, 'Of Dykes and Men: Eretria in the Making', in E. BIANCHI – M. D'ACUNTO (a cura di), *Opere di regimentazione delle acque in età arcaica. Roma, Grecia e Magna Grecia, Etruria e mondo italico*, Roma 2020, 19-36.
- WECOWSKI 2014 M. WECOWSKI, *The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet*, Oxford 2014.
- ZAFIROPOULOU 2000 F.N. ZAFIROPOULOU, 'Το αρχαίο νεκροταφείο της Πάρου στη γεωμετρική και αρχαϊκή εποχή', in *ArchEph* 2000, 283-293.

## Euboea and the Mediterranean

NOTA KOUROU, *Euboean Pottery in a Mediterranean Perspective*

The aim of this paper is to reconsider the issue of connectivity and contact in the Early Iron Age Mediterranean from a Euboean point of view and in the light of recent discoveries. Following a concise survey of the first two successive stages of the expansion of Euboean ceramics in the Mediterranean an attempt is being made to explore the incentives of these early ventures, patterns of contact, forms of interaction, the character of the expansion and the possible forms of exchange implied by the finds.

## Euboea

IRENE S. LEMOS, *The Transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age in Euboea and the Euboean Gulf*

Recent discoveries have enriched our knowledge of the Early Iron Age of Euboea. Results of the most important of them are presented in the present proceedings of the second Euboica conference. The archaeology of the Late Bronze Age of the island, however, is less known apart from a few exceptions. In this paper, I first outline the archaeological record of some of the known Late Bronze Age sites, while in the second part, I present a preliminary account of the Late Bronze Age discoveries on Xeropolis at Lefkandi. In particular during the most recent excavations, a large building located to the east area of the tell was discovered revealing that Xeropolis was continuously occupied during the last stages of the Late Helladic IIIC and into the Early Iron Age. Some comparisons are also offered with other sites along the Euboean Gulf that display similar continuity of occupation from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age.

XENIA CHARALAMBIDOU, *Chalcidian Deposits and their Role in Reconstructing Production and Consumption Practices and the Function of Space in Early Iron Age and Archaic Chalcis: Some first Thoughts*

The wells and deposits of ancient Chalcis which included Early Iron Age and Archaic material are the focus of this paper. These deposits, especially when studied in relation to other archaeological contexts from the town, such as the burial sites of proto-historic Chalcis, can increase our knowledge of the function of space in the ancient town. The ceramic assemblages from the Chalcis deposits also yield information on aspects of EIA and Archaic Chalcidian pottery consumption and, in the case of the Machairas plot deposit especially, offer valuable insights into ancient workshop activity and craftsmanship of these periods.

SAMUEL VERDAN, THIERRY THEURILLAT, TOBIAS KRAPP, DANIELA GREGER, KARL REBER, *The Early Phases in the Artemision at Amarynthos in Euboea, Greece*

Recent fieldwork conducted by the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece, in collaboration with the Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea, has uncovered a monumental complex on the western edge of a coastal promontory (Paleoekklisies) located near Amarynthos on the island of Euboea, Greece. Stone inscriptions and stamped terracotta tiles retrieved *in situ* provide conclusive evidence for the identification of this site with the sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia, the most prominent shrine in the territory of the ancient city of Eretria, already attested by epigraphic and literary sources. In light of the ongoing excavations, the site appears to have been continuously occupied from the Bronze Age to the Late Antiquity. In its heyday in the Hellenistic period, the sanctuary was organized around a vast courtyard

lined by porticoes, and housed several votive monuments and important public decrees.

Evidence for the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age occupation remains fragmentary, as pre-Classical strata have only been excavated on a limited area in deep trenches. Mycenaean finds, among which PSI-type and wheel-made bull terracotta figurines, were mostly found in slope deposits coming from the settlement on top of the hill. Continuity between the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age is attested downhill by the presence of a large wall built in Late Helladic IIIC and still in use in the Protogeometric period. A Late Geometric apsidal house and an Early Archaic monumental building with gates occupy the same location. The latter likely marked the eastern boundary of the sacred space, which was then maintained throughout the development of the sanctuary. In the centre of the sacred space, the remains of a temple probably built towards the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC were discovered. At the end of the Archaic period the temple was reconstructed, and a rich deposit of offerings buried under its floor. The content of the deposit gives an idea of the variety of objects offered to Artemis in her sanctuary during that period. To date, the earliest evidence of religious activities at the Artemision are ritual vases and votives dated to the Late Geometric period.

The aim of this paper is to review the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age phases in the area of Paleoeckklisies and to discuss the emergence of a sanctuary at Amarynthos in relation to the development of the Eretrian *polis*.

JAN PAUL CRIELAARD, *Karystos-Plakari: A "Pre-Colonial" Foundation in Southern Euboea*

In this article I present some results of recent field work on and around the archaeological site of Plakari, located on the coast of the Bay of Karystos in southern Euboea. This was most likely the location of Early Iron Age and Archaic Karystos. During the 11<sup>th</sup> century BC a cult place was installed on Plakari's summit that catered for a settlement lower down the hill slopes until ca. 325 BC. Focusing on the 11<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, I evaluate how this south-

ern Euboian site relates to the period of expanding Euboian contacts and the so-called Euboian colonization in Italy in which central-Euboian places played a prominent role. I argue that Plakari was an example of a new foundation and that its early history represents a phase that one could describe as "pre-colonization at home". Seen from this perspective, Plakari sheds new light on the later phase of Euboian colonization and on the motivations of the earliest Euboians to settle abroad.

ATHINA CHATZIDIMITRIOU, *Zarakes: A Cult Site in South Karystia, on the Island of Euboea*

This paper aims to present the architectural remains and the finds which are associated with a cult site in Zarakes in the region of Central-Southern Euboea. In 1997, on the occasion of the widening of the Zarakes-Almyropotamos detour road and at a distance of 3 kilometers south of the modern settlement of Zarakes, at the chapel of Zoodochos Pege, there came to light extensive relics of buildings, dating from the LG down to the Early Byzantine period. Of special interest is the corner of a long building (Building II) orientated from North to South. Along its west, long side there were uncovered circular holes, which were probably used for the placement of wooden supports. The architectural features of the building as well as the excavated pottery (drinking vases) lead to the conclusion that it was probably a Late Geometric elongated, possibly apsidal, structure with peristyle.

Noteworthy among the finds is a relief fragment belonging to a mid-7<sup>th</sup> century BC pithos; it bears a repeating motif of centaurs and, most importantly, an inscription which identifies this site as a sanctuary, in use since the Archaic period. The relief pottery includes also fragments of vases, possibly pithoi, mostly decorated with the motives of simple guilloche executed with a cylinder stamp, as well as fragments with pictorial decoration, executed with a flat stamp. The wide application of the stamping technique in the Zarakes pottery in combination with the use of local clay point to the operation of local workshops in the area during the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.



*Finito di stampare nel mese di luglio 2021  
presso l'Industria Grafica Letizia, Capaccio (SA)  
per conto della Casa Editrice Pandemos, Paestum*