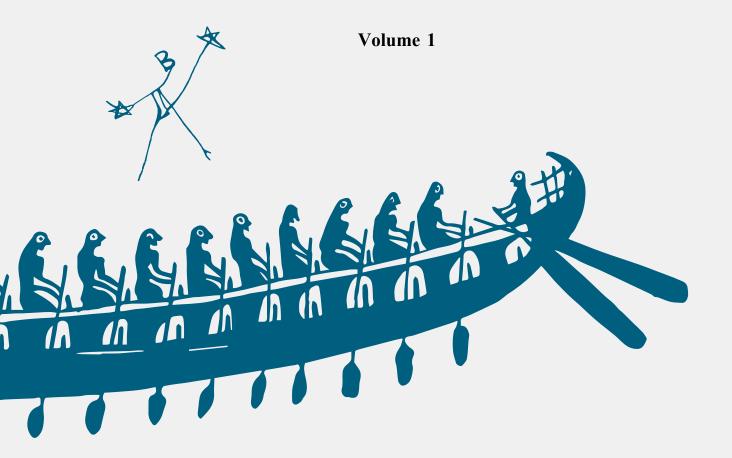
EUBOICA II

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.)





AION

ANNALI DI ARCHEOLOGIA E STORIA ANTICA



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

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 Cerchiai (Università degli Studi di Salerno), Teresa Elena Cinquanta quattro (Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l'Area Metropolitana di Napoli), Mariassunta Cuozzo (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 Ainian (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 Cerchiai, Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro, Mariassunta Cuozzo, 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, Euboica, Again	p.	i
Euboea and the Mediterranean		
Nota Kourou, Euboean Pottery in a Mediterranean Perspective	»	9
Euboea		
IRENE S. LEMOS, The Transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age in Euboea and the Euboean Gulf	»	37
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	»	55
Samuel Verdan, Thierry Theurillat, Tobias Krapf, Daniela Greger, Karl Reber, The Early Phases in the Artemision at Amarynthos in Euboea, Greece	»	73
Jan Paul Crielaard, Karystos-Plakari: A "Pre-Colonial" Foundation in Southern Euboia	>>	119
Athina Chatzidimitriou, Zarakes: A Cult Site in South Karystia, on the Island of Euboea	>>	135
Bruno D'Agostino, Forgotten Cities in Eastern Euboea	>>	159
Albio Cesare Cassio, Κύμη, Κούμη, Cumae and the Euboeans in the Bay of Naples	»	181
Boeotia		
Luisa Breglia, Mythic Traditions of Euboea and Boeotia in the Archaic Age	»	187
ALEXANDROS MAZARAKIS AINIAN, Thirty-Five Years of Excavations and Research at Homeric Graia (Oropos)	»	211
VICKY VLACHOU, Pottery Production, Workshop Spaces and the Consumption of Euboean-Type Pottery beyond Euboea. A View from Oropos (Attica) in the 8 th Century BC	»	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^{th} and the 8^{th} 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 Marialuisa 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 Orkestra. 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



Euboica, Again



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)

Euboica, Again



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

Euboica, Again ix



 $\label{thm:cumae} Trip\ to\ Cumae\ after\ the\ \emph{Euboica}\ II\ conference:\ from\ left\ to\ right,\ Thierry\ Theurillat,\ Sandrine\ Huber,\ Matteo\ D'Acunto,\ Samuel\ Verdan,\ Karl\ Reber,\ and\ Francesco\ Nitti$

ZARAKES: A CULT SITE IN SOUTH KARYSTIA, ON THE ISLAND OF EUBOEA*

Athina Chatzidimitriou

Zarakes belongs to the municipality of Kyme-Aliveri and is one of the Euboean areas that has only occasionally attracted the interest of archaeological research. The site is situated in the southern part of Euboea near at a point where, according to Plutarch's description, the breadth of the island is reduced to a 'narrow girth' and is surrounded by the seas of Almyropotamos and Zarakes (Fig. 1)¹.

In 1997, on the occasion of the widening of the Zarakes-Almyropotamos detour road and at a distance of 3 km south of the settlement of Zarakes, across and around the chapel of Zoodochos Pege, there came to light extensive relics of buildings (Fig. 2)². These architectural remains belonged to various construction phases dating from the LG down to the early Byzantine Period (Figs. 3-4). Nevertheless, occasional illicit digging and continuous tillage, as well as the illegal opening of a well

for the placement of cables in the middle of the excavation area, resulted into serious and extensive damage of the architectural remains and in the disturbance of the stratigraphy. Moreover, the discovery of the archaeological layer at a depth of hardly 50 cm and the successive building phases contributed to the disruption of the stratigraphy.

As regards the architectural remains, of special interest is the uncovering in the excavated area of an oblong building (II), oriented north-south (Fig. 5)³. The foundation wall of its long west side, which has a slight convex curve, was uncovered for a length of 26 meters⁴. Circular holes cut into bedrock were discovered at a distance of 50-60 cm from its west side running north along its long axis for a distance of about 30 meters. These holes, which had been opened for the insertion of wooden supports, were placed at a distance of 1-1.5 m from one another and measured 12-15 cm in diameter and 8-10 cm in depth. Their small distance from the exterior wall of the building indicates that they were probably used for the support of the roof⁵. The characteristic fea-

^{*} I would like to warmly thank the organizing committee and especially Professor Matteo D'Acunto for granting me the honor to participate in such an interesting conference held in Ischia, where one of the earliest Euboean colonies was founded. My thanks are also extended to emeritus professor and academic M. Tiverios as well as to the colleagues Dr Xenia Charalambidou and Dr Vicky Vlachou for the useful remarks about the finds of the excavation.

[©] of photographs: Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea.

¹ Plutarch, *Phocion*, 13.7: Έκ τούτου τὸν τε Πλούταρχον ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς Ἐρετρίας, καὶ Ζάρητρα φρούριον ἐλὼν ἐπικαιρότατον, ἡ μάλιστα συνελαύνεται τὸ πλάτος εἰς βραχὺ διάζωμα τῆς νήσου σφιγγομένης ἐκατέρωθεν ταῖς θαλάσσαις,...

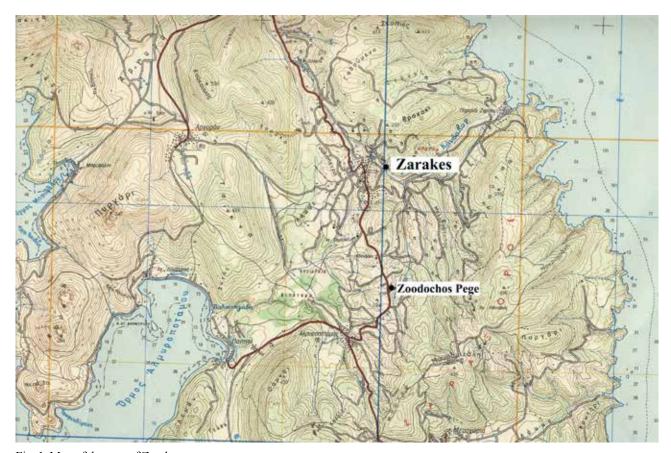
² The plan of the excavated area was drawn by Despoina Christou-Gkika of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea, while the drawing of pottery was executed by the draughtsman Giannis Theodosiou and Dr Xenia Charalambidou thanks to funding by the Psycha Foundation and its president Dr. E. Sakellaraki. The English translation of the text is due to Dr Anastasia Lampropoulou.

Thanks are also due to my colleague Kostas Boukaras and to the two guards of the Eretria Museum, Stavroula Parisi and Eleni Tachritzoglou, for facilitating my study.

³ Indicative buildings of the Geometric period, oriented north - south, are found in Poseidi (MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997, 43), in Asine (MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997, 68-70) and in Thermo (MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997, 125-128).

 $^{^4}$ Huber 1999, 793-794, fig. 154; Chatzidimitriou 2003-2004a, 56, fig. 4; Chatzidimitriou 2015, 266-267, fig. 4; Chatzidimitriou forthcoming.

⁵ It is noteworthy that in similar buildings in Eretria (MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997, 102-103, figs. 104-105) and in Nichoria, Messenia, (MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997, 74-80, figs. 256-266) the wooden supports for the roof were placed against either side of the exterior walls and not at a distance from them as is the case with the Zarakes building. Regarding the use of the peristyle, it has been suggested that it was at first a structural-functional element for the construction of the roof and later on it acquired a symbolic character and its use was restricted to religious architecture (cf. MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1998, 201-202; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2000, 94).



 $Fig.\ 1.\ Map\ of\ the\ area\ of\ Zarakes$



Fig. 2. General view of the area of Zoodochos Pege at Zarakes



Fig. 3. General view of the excavation from north

tures of the structure as well as the pottery collected therein lead to its identification as an oblong, possibly apsidal LG building with a peristyle whose dimensions approximate those of an hekatompedon temple⁶. A much earlier and more monumental

building with peristasis is the so-called heroon at Toumba in Lefkandi, dated to the first half of the 10th cent. BC⁷. Furthermore, as Professor Mazarakis Ainian points out, «...the existence of posts sur-

⁶ An example of an hekatompedon building, measuring 35x8 m, is the apsidal temple of Apollo Daphnephoros (730 BC) in Eretria which, however, did not have a peristyle, but was divided into two aisles by a row of columns, cf. MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997, 102-

 $^{103, {\}rm figs.}\ 104\text{-}105; {\rm Kaltsas}\ {\it et\ al.}\ 2010, 242\text{-}243\ [{\rm S.\ Verdan}]; {\rm Verdan}\ 2013, 42\text{-}63, {\rm pls.}\ 4, 7\text{-}8, 56\text{-}57.$

⁷ Popham – Calligas – Sackett 1993, 33-70, pls. 5, 28, 38; Crielaard – Driessen 1994, 251-270; Mazarakis Ainian 2000, 67-68, figs. 59-60 (with bibliography).

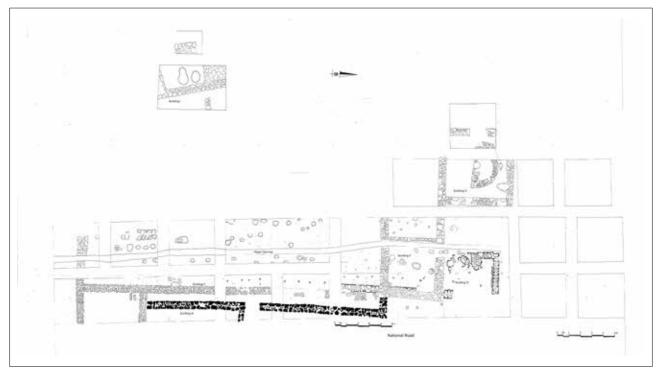


Fig. 4. Plan of the excavation of Zarakes

rounding edifices is characteristic of Geometric architecture both in Euboea and at Oropos»⁸.

West of building II at Zarakes, there was found a series of pits measuring 30-50 cm in diameter and 8-22 cm in depth; they were carved into the soft schist bedrock and were filled with sandy soil⁹. These pits were probably intended for planting bushes or other plants, in which case there is a strong probability that the area was surrounded by a sacred grove ¹⁰. Nevertheless, the absence of material remains from inside the pits makes the chronologic determination of this landscaping extremely difficult.

The sherds that were found in the interior of the building II belong mainly to drinking vessels. Skyphoi is the most characteristic shape of the LG period. These skyphoi are decorated mostly with the motif of three concentric circles (Figs. 6a-b), a distinctive decorative style well represented at Eretria and Lefkandi, with specimens also in Ischia ¹¹. Oth-



Fig. 5. Foundation wall of the long west side of the building II

⁸ Mazarakis Ainian 2017, 181.

⁹ Chatzidimitriou 2015, 273.

¹⁰ Cf. Karageorghis – Demas 1985, 32, 258. Sacred groves, mainly dedicated to Apollo -who was worshipped at Zarakes at least during the Classical period - are also attested in literary sources, see Birge 1994, 9-19. For sacred groves, see Birge 1982, 188-232.

¹¹ Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. nos. 18845, 18851, 18708. Cf. *Eretria*: Andreiomenou 1975, 212, pls. 55b, 56a-b;

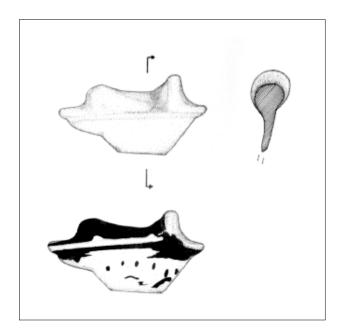
Andreiomenou 1981, 90-94, pl. 21-23; Verdan – Kenzelmann Pfyffer - Léderrey 2008, 121, no. 96, pl. 24; 121, no. 98, pl. 25; 123, no. 117, pl. 30; 130, no. 316, pl. 65. *Lefkandi*: Popham – Sackett – Themelis 1980, 63-64, pl. 46, nos. 103-116. *Ischia*: Buchner 1982, 103-107. For the LG pottery from Chalkis, see Charalambidou 2017a, 126-127; Charalambidou 2017b, 88.



Figs. 6a-b. Fragments of skyphoi, decorated with the motif of concentric circles



Figs. 7a-b. Spool handles of plates



er characteristic shapes are plates with spool handles, similar with those from Zagora at Andros (Figs. 7a-b)¹², as well as kantharoi (Fig. 8)¹³ with the typical high handles decorated several times with Xs motif (Fig. 9)¹⁴. Moreover, two sherds belonging probably to kraters bear a banded lip and vertical multiple-brush strokes on the body (Fig.

10)¹⁵ and Z-shaped hooks with dots respectively combined with the cross-hatched motif (Figs. 11a-b)¹⁶. Noteworthy is the presence of the Z-shaped hooks with dots also on the famous krater (725-700

¹² Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 18884: Cf. Andros, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 1629: Cambitoglou *et al.* 1988, 127, pl. 240a-b.

¹³ Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 18926.

¹⁴ Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 18841, 18850. Cf. Zagora: Cambitoglou *et al.* 1988, 83, 195-197, pls. 139-140. *Eretria*: Andreiomenou 1983, 179-180, nos. 148-151, 153-155, pl. 60; Verdan – Kenzelmann Pfyffer – Léderrey 2008, 86 ff., pls. 104-105.

¹⁵ Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 18920. For kraters decorated with the same motif, cf. *Eretria*: Andreiomenou 1975, 219, pl. 61c; Andreiomenou 1977, 154, pl. 36c. *Zagora*: Cambitoglou *et al.* 1988, 208, pl. 228b, d. For the motif of vertical multiple-brush strokes, cf. *Eretria*: Verdan – Kenzelmann Pfyffer – Léderrey 2008, nos. 95, 97, 124, 139, 178, 318. *Lefkandi*: Popham – Sackett – Themelis 1980, 62-63, pl. 46, nos. 103-117. *Chalkis*: Andreiomenou 1984, 57, nos. 68-70, figs. 33-35.

¹⁶ For the Z-shaped hooks motif cf. Kunisch 1998, 72, fig. 29e. For Corinthian cotylai with this motif, cf. Payne - Dunbabin 1962, nos. 702, 706, 907a, 1282b, d, pl. 29; nos. 929, 931, pl. 37. For kotylai from Oropos, cf. Charalambidou 2008, 107, 366-367, nos. 46-47, pl. 13 (1st quarter of the 7th cent. BC); Charalambidou 2017a, 125, fig. 14.2b. For vases with this motif from Eretria, cf. Huber 2003, 21, no. H 172, pl. 78 (7th cent. BC); 41, no. V 118, pl. 110.



Fig. 8. Fragment of kantharos with the typical high handle

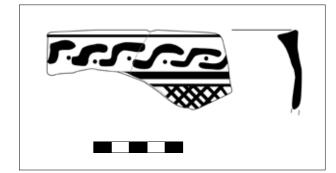


Fig. 9. Fragments of handles of kantharos with Xs motif



Fig. 10. Fragment of krater (?) decorated with a banded lip and vertical multiple-brush strokes





Figs. 11a-b. Fragment of krater (?) decorated with Z-shaped hooks with dots

BC) of the shipwreck from the necropolis of San Montano Valley ¹⁷. In the same period or in the beginning of the 7th cent. the sherd from Zarakes can be dated.

Few are the fragments with graffiti, dating probably to the LG and Archaic period. One fragment with a graffito belongs to a clay figurine, probably of an animal (Figs. 12a-b) 18, while a second bears a branch-like graffito which is similar to those from Eretria 19. At the right end of the second sherd a male

figure is faintly discernible, depicted to the right with his hands turned down (Figs. 13a-b)²⁰. Dating to the 7th or 6th century is also a fragment inscribed with the letters ΣE which probably belongs to the neck of jar²¹. A simple macroscopic examination of the material shows that a fine pinkish yellow fabric has been used for the manufacture of the above mentioned Geometric pottery. Unfortunately, the

 $^{^{17}}$ Ischia, Archaeological Museum of Pithecusae, Inv. no. 168813: Buchner – Gialanella 1994, 64-65, figs. 30-31; Stampolidis 2003, 319, no. 349 [C. Gialanella].

¹⁸ Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 19398.

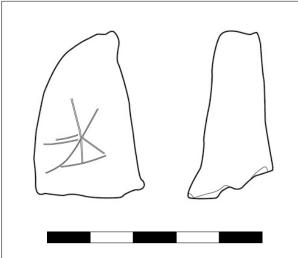
¹⁹ Cf. Theurillat – Kenzelmann Pfyffer – Verdan 2005, 68, no. 34; 73, no. 55; Verdan – Kenzelmann Pfyffer – Léderrey 2008, 47, 122, no. 114, pl. 30. A graffito found on the surface

of a base of a drinking vessel may be among the earliest graffiti from the sanctuary on the Plakari hill, see Charalambidou 2017c, 258, fig. 6c.

²⁰ Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 19042. The closest parallel figures are depicted on a fragment from Amyklaion of Sparta, cf. Buschor – Massow 1927, 52, 67, pl. 4, no. 5; Tölle 1964, 49-50, pl. 26a; Margreiter 1988, 67-68, pls. 40, 472, figs. 17, 65.

²¹ Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 18760: Chatzi-DIMITRIOU 2004-2009, 523, 534, no. 1.



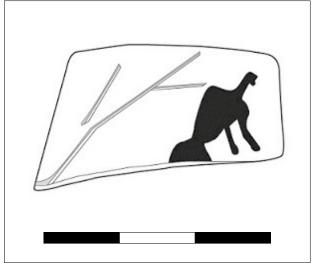


Figs. 12a-b. Fragment of a clay figurine with a graffito

brownish-black paint used for the decoration has not been preserved in most cases with the result that the decoration is barely discernible.

The identification of the Zarakes building as a temple is further corroborated by the discovery near the peristyle holes of a fragment of an inscribed relief pithos (Fig. 14) where one reads the word ἰερός (Figs. 15a-b)²². The lower zone of the neck of the pithos is decorated with a repeated motif of a Centaur with a human frontal torso. This mythological





Figs. 13a-b. A sherd with a depiction of a male-figure and a branch-like graffito



Fig. 14. Fragment of an inscribed relief pithos, with a repeated motif of a Centaur

creature is moving to the right holding a tree trunk with a sharp edge. Under the belly of the Centaur a hare is depicted in an upside position moving in the same direction. It is possible that the artist intended to fill up the space between the legs of the Centaur (horror vacui), but perhaps due to a lack in space he carved the hare on the stamp. The choice to depict a

²² Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 18687. The pithos has a maximum preserved h. of 0.14 m, a ln. of 0.41 m, a diam. of arc 0.38 m. and an exterior diam. of 0.51 m. For the relief pithos, cf. Chatzidimitriou 2003-2004a, 58, fig. 5; Chatzidimitriou 2003-2004b, 181-196; Chatzidimitriou 2015, 267-269, figs. 6, 7a-b, 8; Chatzidimitriou 2017, 304, 309-310, figs. 1a-b; Charalambidou 2017a, 138, fig. 14.7.



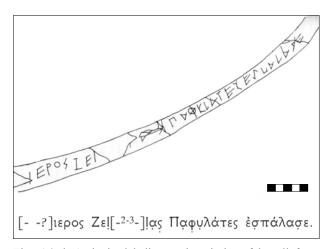
Figs. 15a-b. Fragment of a relief pithos, with the inscription $i\varepsilon\rho\delta\varsigma$

hare and not some other animal shows that the artist was aware of the iconography of a hunting scene and more specifically of the hare as the Centaurs' game²³.

The next two decorative zone of the pithos bear an incised dedicatory inscription, 0.015-0.027 m in wd. and the motif of a horizontal zigzag line filled with hatched triangles in the interstices (Figs. 16ab)²⁴. According to Angelos Matthaiou who published the inscription, the dedicator of the pithos was a potter of foreign descent as is denoted by the noun Παφυλάτης or Παμφυλάτης. In this dedicatory inscription the potter not only chose to offer a pithos with the relief decoration of Centaurs to the worshipped deity of Zarakes, but he also describes with the verb $\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\pi\dot{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\epsilon$ the technique used for the better application of the strip of clay on the vase²⁵. In this technique the potter incised at intervals that part of the vase which would receive the added strip of clay upon which the relief decoration was executed with a cylinder stamp.

The closest parallels regarding the technique and the decorative theme are found in works of Co-





Figs. 16a-b. An incised dedicatory inscription of the relief pithos

rinthian workshops. In particular, fragments of relief pithoi decorated with a cylinder stamp and dating to the mid-7th cent. BC have been found in the Argive Heraion²⁶. Depicted on these is the scene of a naked bearded archer, perhaps Herakles, confronting a Centaur. The build of the human frontal torso of the mythical creature points to the similar figures on the Zarakes pithos. On the basis of the closest parallels mentioned above, our pithos may be dated to the same chronological period (second half of the 7th cent. BC).

²³ A depiction of a hare under the belly of a centaur is found much later in a Centauromachy scene in red figure painting, cf. SENGELIN *et al.* 1997, 708, no. 362, pl. 457.

²⁴ Matthaiou 2004-2009, 541-544; Chatzidimitriou 2015, 267-269, figs. 6-8; Chatzidimitriou 2017, 304, 309-310, fig. 1a-b.

 $^{^{25}}$ The verb $\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\pi\dot{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\epsilon$ which is read on the inscription of the pithos is the past tense of the verb $\sigma\varphi\alpha\lambda\dot{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\nu$, which means $\tau\dot{\epsilon}\mu\nu\epsilon\nu$ or κεντεῖν (to cut, to prick) and occurs in HESYCHII ALEXANDRINI, *Lexicon*, vol. III (ed. P.A. Hansen), Berlin 2005, s.v.

²⁶ Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 14209: Anderson 1987, 79, 141, nos. Co12-14; Simantoni-Bournia 1990, 47, note 21; Waldstein 1905, 181, pl. 63, nos.1-3; Weinberg 1954, 116-117, pl. 26a-d; Chatzidimitriou 2003-2004b, 192-193, pl. 39a-b.





Figs. 17-18. Fragments of pithoi, decorated with a zone of a simple guilloche and a rope motif

The choice of the iconographic theme of Centaurs for the decoration of the pithos should perhaps be connected to the mythological traditions that are associated with the area of Zarakes. The poem Alexandra of the Chalcidean poet Lykophron, who lived in the 3rd cent. BC, informs us that Zarax was an Euboean mountain and that its name derives from an eponymous hero, son of Karystos ²⁷. Moreover, the comments on a poem mention Chiron as the father of Karystos: Ζάρηξ Καρύστου ἐστὶ τοῦ Χείρωνος²⁸. Given the close relationship between Chiron, Karystos and Zarax, we should not exclude the possibility that the artist of the pithos was aware of this myth and that the famous Centaur Chiron was the source of inspiration for his decorative theme²⁹. The identification of our Centaur with Chiron is further corroborated by the fact that Chiron is depicted in vase painting as a hunter of hares ³⁰.

Moreover, it is worth pointing out that the Centaur with a human torso has a long tradition in Euboea if we take into consideration the clay Centaur from the cemetery of Toumba at Lefkandi which is dated to the end of the 10th cent. BC and constitutes

the earliest and fuller rendering of Centaurs with a human torso not only in Euboea, but in the rest of Greece as well³¹. Some scholars have even identified the figure of the Centaur from Lefkandi with Cheiron³².

The relief pottery includes fragments of vases, possibly pithoi, two of which are decorated with a zone of a simple guilloche and a rope motif (Figs. 17-18)³³. The study of these few fragments ascertains that the simple guilloche motif is used in Zarakes in the decoration of horizontal zones. On the contrary in Cyclades and mainly in Naxos the principal area of its use, guilloche appears as a decorative motif solely on vertical bands which divided into metopes the zones around the belly of the vase³⁴. Although the relief fragments from Zarakes

²⁷ Lycophron, Alexandra, v. 373 [ed. L. Mascialino, Leipzig 1964]: Όφέλτα καὶ μύχουρε χοιράδων Ζάραξ...; and scholia to Lycophron, Alexandra, v. 373 [ed. G. Kinkel, 1880]. In the Etymologicon Magnum, line 408, 9-11 [ed. T. Gaisford, Amsterdam 1962] is mentioned: Ζάραξ καὶ Ὀφέλτα, ὅρη Εὐβοίας, περί ᾶ γέγονε τὰ ναυάγια τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ζάραξ δὲ ἀνόμασται ἀπὸ Ζάρακος τοῦ Πετραίου νίοῦ Καρύστου.

²⁸ Comments on Lycophron, 580.

²⁹ Grimal 1991, 'Cheiron' s.v., 700-701; Gantz 1993, 144-147, 163; Bremmer 2012, 31-35.

³⁰ Cf. GISLER-HUWILER 1986, 239, no. 17, pl. 187; 240, no. 42; 241, no. 47, pl. 191; 246, no. 100, pl. 196.

³¹ Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 8620. For the Centaur, cf. Desborough – Nicholls – Popham 1970, 21-30, pl. 8-10; Schiffler 1976, 77-80, 279, no. S1; Popham – Sackett – Themelis 1980, 169, pl. 3,3, 344-345; Kalligas 1986, 106-107; Kourou 1992, 110-123; Sengelin *et al.* 1997, 675, no. 20, pl. 417 [L. Marangou]; Xagorari 1996, 20-23, 85, no. 31, pl. 19, 2; Velidaki – Faraklas 2001, 23-25, no. 3; Caruso 2004, 391-401.

³² Rombos 1988, 237-238, interprets the incision on the knee of the Lefkandi Centaur as indicative of the wound of Cheiron and on the basis of this she speculates its identification with Cheiron. See also Lebessi 1996, 149-150.

³³ Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. nos. 18726+18802, 18806, 18808: Chatzidimitriou 2017, 305, 312, nos. A1-A3, figs. 2-4

³⁴ SIMANTONI-BOURNIA 1990, 92-93, nos. K22, K23, K24, K38-K40, K69. Similarly, on a relief pithos from Thera (650-640 BC) the simple guilloche motif is used as a vertical decorative zone of a metope; here, however, it is made from a mould, cf. Kontoleon 1958, 132ff; pl. 101-103; Manakidou 1994, 289, no. 85, pl. 4a. Finally, from the neighboring Zagora in Andros (Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 834), comes a fragment of a vase decorated with a guilloche executed by a roller, see Cambitoglou *et al.* 1992, 53, fig. 26.

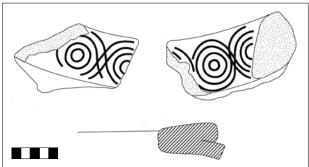
were found in disturbed layers, the date of their parallels from Naxos – from the middle of the 7th to the middle of the 6th cent. BC³⁵ – allows the dating of the relief pottery from Zarakes to the same chronological framework.

Last, the motif of the two concentric circles framed by two parallel volutes, which decorates two non-joining fragments from the rim of a vase (Figs. 19a-b), is unknown in relief pottery at least as regards neighboring workshops. It is most probable that it draws from the motif of concentric circles found on LG Euboean pottery³⁶.

The relief decoration of the Zarakes pottery executed with a cylinder stamp (roller) was not particularly popular in Euboea³⁷. In Eretria, on the other hand, the application of the handmade technique and of the mould technique indicates relations with Cycladic workshops³⁸.

The stamp technique, which was not particularly popular in Euboea, had been used for the relief decoration on fragments from north Euboea ³⁹ and some from Karystos ⁴⁰.





Figs. 19a-b. Fragments from the rim of a vase, decorated with the motif of two concentric circles



Fig. 20. Fragment of a clay circular plaque, decorated with two antithetic animals

The geographically closest workshops of relief pithoi decorated with the use of a cylinder stamp are found in the Cyclades, where, however, the use of the stamp of this type was limited to the rendering of

³⁵ Simantoni- Bournia 1990, 92-93.

³⁶ Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 18858+18883: Chatzidimitriou 2017, 305, 312, no. A4, fig. 5. Cf. Soueref 1998, 234, fig. 6, 236, 14-15; Verdan – Kenzelmann Pfyffer – Léderrey 2008, 121, no. 96, pl. 24, no. 98, pl. 25; 123, no. 117, pl. 30; 130, no. 316, pl. 65.

³⁷ For the presence of the simple and the composite guilloche as a decorative motif on relief pithoi, cf. SIMANTONI- BOURNIA 1990, 92-93, nos. K37-K40, pl. 16. For the use of the cylinder stamp for the decoration of relief pithoi, cf. Coullé 2000, 107-135; SIMANTONI- BOURNIA 1987-1988, 187-188; SIMANTONI-BOURNIA 1990, 47.

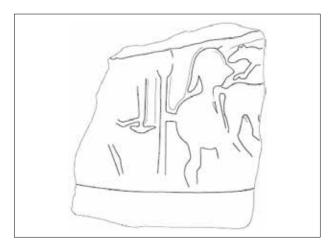
³⁸ A pithos dating to the beginning of the 7th century BC which comes from Eretria (Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 16620-16621) bears relief decoration in two parallel zones. A battle between warriors carrying figure-of-eight shields is rendered on the upper zone, while on the lower zone seven dead men are depicted being devoured by vultures. A handmade technique was used for the decoration of the pithos, while its figures in relief present stylistic similarities with equivalent examples from the Tenian workshop (THEMELIS 2006, 95-106, where extensive bibliography). Moreover, on a round fragment of a mould-made Laconian roof tile dating to the early 6th century BC, which was found in a bothros south of the heroon in Eretria, a figure of a horse is depicted moving to the right. Under the horse is portrayed a large fish, probably a tuna, moving to the right. The application of the mouldmade technique used for the decoration of Cycladic relief pithoi as well as the style of the representation might point to the identification of this piece as a Cycladic import (BÉRARD 1969, 77-78, pl. 36,3; DUCREY et al. 2004, 125 [P. Simon - S. Fachard]; SIMANTO-NI-BOURNIA 1990, 102).

 $^{^{39}}$ Chatzidimitriou 2017, 306, note 24.

⁴⁰ In a sanctuary located in Kampos, Karystos (Vouno site) there was found a fragment of a relief plaque with a suspension hole on its upper right corner, decorated with the stamp technique.

Depicted hereon is the front part of two galloping horses, probably belonging to a chariot scene (Keller 1985, 114, fig. 57). On another fragment of a relief plaque from Prophitis Elias, Marmari, there is discernible the back part of a horse, executed in the same technique. Moreover, in the Archaeological Museum of Karystos are exhibited fragments of pithoi and vases of the 6th and 5th cent. BC from Philagra, Marmari, decorated mainly with the technique of the cylinder stamp, cf. Chidiroglou 2012, 866, figs. 7-10. Recently, west of Kapsouri, Kafireas (Cavo D'oro), were found fragments of relief pithoi decorated with horsemen, warriors and battle scenes executed by a cylinder stamp, see Boukaras forthcoming.





Figs. 21a-b. Fragment of a relief pithos decorated with a representation of a warrior with a horse

secondary decorative themes during the 7th and 6th centuries⁴¹. On the contrary, in the region of southeast Attica and in particular at the sites of Legrena and Thorikos the cylinder stamp was used both for the secondary and the main decoration⁴².

Two examples of pictorial decoration executed with a flat stamp from Zarakes are in a very fragmentary and bad state of preservation. The first (Fig. 20) belongs to a clay circular plaque decorated with two antithetic animals ⁴³. Despite the unskilled execution of the relief, the anatomic features of the two animals lead to the identification of a predatory animal on the right, possibly a lion ⁴⁴, confronting a boar, a theme which appears more frequently in early iconography ⁴⁵. A fragment of a clay plaque from Taras which depicts a boar confronting a lion executed with a flat stamp, is dated to the late 7th and the beginning of the 6th cent. BC and is very similar both iconographically and stylistically to the example from Zarakes ⁴⁶.

On the second fragment (Figs. 21a-b) belonged probably to a pithos, a small size figure is portrayed on the left side while on the right is depicted a figure of a warrior and the back body of a horse ⁴⁷. The small figure on the left, that appears to be moving towards the right, preserves only one leg and a projected hand in which he probably held a sword. A comparative survey of swords depicted in relief pottery of the 7th cent. BC shows that they had a curved or lunate pommel similar to the one on the Zarakes example. A characteristic example of this type is the swords with a long blade held by the warriors in the scenes of the fall of Troy depicted on the famous pithos from Mykonos (second half of the 7th cent. BC) ⁴⁸.

Based on its small size, the figure depicted on the left might be identified with a child. Nevertheless, the absence of children holding swords ⁴⁹ in early vase painting, in combination with the appearance of figures in smaller scale already from the Late Geometric period, make it most probable that it represents an adult ⁵⁰.

⁴¹ See above note 34.

⁴² Helsen 1970-1971, 155-171.

⁴³ Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 18923: Chatzi-DIMITRIOU 2017, 307, no. A5, fig. 6.

⁴⁴ For the typology of lions in relief pottery, cf. SIMANTONI-BOURNIA 1990, 66-68.

⁴⁵ Boar-lion (AMYX 1988, pls. 52.1, 54.1, 77.1; KÜBLER 1970, 490, no. 92, pl. 77; PAYNE – DUNBABIN 1962, no. 203, pl. 8.8; WALTER 1968, 113, no. 377, pl. 66-68, fig. 33d;), bull-lion (PAYNE – DUNBABIN 1962, no. 2305, pl. 92), ibex-lion (PAYNE – DUNBABIN 1962, no. 2438). For the presence of animals facing each other in Melian vase painting, cf. ZAFEIROPOULOU 1985, 46-52 ff.

 $^{^{46}}$ Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, Inv. no. D 25876: DIERICHS 1993, 39, fig. 6; HÜBINGER – MENNINGER 2007, 165-166, no. 96.

⁴⁷ Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 18871: Chatzi-DIMITRIOU 2017, 307-308, no. A6, fig. 7.

⁴⁸ Mykonos, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. M 2240: Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 77-85, figs. 120, 127-131, 138; Benda-Weber 2008, 39-46; Ebbinghaus 2005, 51-72; Ervin 1963, 37-75, pls. 22, 23a-b, 26a-b, 27a, 28b; Ervin-Caskey 1980, 33-36.

⁴⁹ In relief pottery of Tenos the depiction of a child figure on a pithos fragment (Tenos, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. B5) has been connected with the episode of the departure of Amphiaraos in the presence of his children (SIMANTONI-BOURNIA 2004, 106-107, pl. 62, fig. 151).

⁵⁰ Cf. a) Warriors depicted under chariot horses on a krater of the LG period from Zagora, Andros (Archaeological Museum,

The warrior on the Zarakes relief is depicted turned to the right, holding a spear and a circular hoplite shield (Figs. 21a-b). In his right hand, which is stretched to the back he holds a spear with a wide shaft and a leaf shaped point ⁵¹, while in his left he carries a circular hoplite shield, the commonest type in the iconography of the 7th cent. BC ⁵². He wears a helmet of which is discerned the outline of the low dome and the edge of the plume ⁵³. The only preserved physiognomic trait of the warrior is his long pointed nose that projects from the helmet on the analogy of warrior figures on relief pithoi from a Tenian workshop ⁵⁴.

Above the back of the horse there emerges the front body of a dog moving headlong towards the warrior. This is a theme that is not found, as far as I know, in the iconography of this period ⁵⁵. In the case of Zarakes the appearance of a dog could be explained as an attempt to fill the empty space (*horror vacui*) on the analogy of other iconographic parallels ⁵⁶.

Inv. no. 416), cf. Cambitoglou 1981, 60-61, no. 126, fig. 28; Cambitoglou *et al.* Green 1988, 206-207, pl. 199a-b; Cambitoglou *et al.* 1992, 58-59, figs. 47-48. b) A figure depicted under the legs of a hoplite on a Protoattic conical stand near the Polyphemos painter in Berlin Staatliche Museum, Inv. no. A 40: *CVA* Berlin 1 (D. 2), pls. 28-29 (R. Eilmann – K. Gebauer); Morris 1984, 73, fig. 18. c) Figures wearing a himation and holding spears depicted under a horseman on a black figure plate (540 BC) in Heidelberg, Universität Heidelberg. Archäologisches Institut, Inv. no. 68/2: *CVA* Heidelberg. Universität 4 (D. 31), pl. 164.1-4 (H. Gropengiesser).

- ⁵¹ Cf. a LG vase from Amorgos, now in Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, on which a warrior is depicted holding a spear with a wide handle: MARANGOU 1983, 121-122, fig. 2.
- $^{52}\,$ Cf. Simantoni-Bournia 1990, 75, no. K17. For the hoplite shield, see Snodgrass 1964, 61-67.
- ⁵³ For the Corinthian helmets, see Kunze 1961, 56-128; SNODGRASS 1964, 20-28. For the helmeted warriors, see SIMANTONI-BOURNIA 1990, 74-75. For warriors with Corinthian helmets on a Laconian krater dating to the beginning of the 6th century BC, cf. MOUSTAKA 2004, 57, fig. 4, pl. 13, color pl. III.2, IV. 1-2.
- ⁵⁴ SIMANTONI-BOURNIA 2004, 101-105, pl. 58, fig. 142; 106-107, pl. 61, figs. 148-149 (650-600 BC). Warrior figures are a common theme in Archaic vase painting where they are depicted in procession, turned to the left or right, holding a round shield, cf. Morris 1984, pls. 8, 11, 17, 18, 21, 24; Moustaka 2004, 57-60, figs. 2-4, pl. 13.1, color plate III-IV; SIMANTONI-BOURNIA 2004, 101-105, pl. 58, fig. 142.
- ⁵⁵ This theme bears similarities to the predatory animal portrayed moving aggressively above the back of a horse on a LG kantharos from Samos, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. K 805. In this Samian example the animal resembles more a dog than a lion or any other quadruped: BOARDMAN 2001, fig. 144; DESPOINI 2000, 284, note 37; EILMANN 1933, 97-102, fig. 40.
- 56 One such characteristic example is the pithos from Zarakes, where the artist depicted a hare under the torso of the Centaur, cf. Chatzidimitriou 2003-2004b, 188-189 (see above note 22).

In front of the warrior and almost in direct contact with him there can be discerned the rear legs and the tail of a horse which is rendered in a smaller scale and at a higher level as compared to the warrior figure. Despite the fragmentary state of preservation we may assume, with all due reservation, that in this composition the artist intended, but he didn't manage, to depict the departure of a warrior on a chariot on the analogy of other representations in relief pottery of the Cyclades and other regions⁵⁷. As far as the figure with the sword on the left is concerned, we may surmise that he carries part of the military equipment of the warrior, before his departure. It should be pointed out, however, that the composition of this particular relief is, both in terms of technique and style, far from productions of neighboring workshops 58.

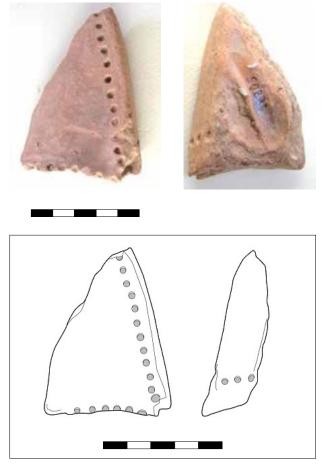
The inartistic and hasty rendering of the pictorial elements of the relief indicate that the potter lacked experience and was probably experimenting with the stamping technique without having previously designed the entire pictorial composition. The only comparative material from the excavation that may be used to date the relief fragment is the inscribed pithos with Centaur which is dated in the second half of the 7th cent. (Figs. 14, 15a-b)⁵⁹. As concerns the rendering of the figures, although the torso of the Centaur on the pithos is slimmer and more elegant as compared to the heavier body proportions of the warrior on the plaque, both figures are similar regarding the shaping of the anatomic details of the legs.

In addition to relief decoration, there are also other decorative types, albeit less frequent. More specifically, two wheel made clay fragments are decorated with impressed dots. One of them, which is decorated with impressed dots in the two borders,

⁵⁷ Cf. a) Fragments of relief pithoi from Naxos (Archaeological Museum, Inv. nos. 1611, 1613): SIMANTONI- BOURNIA 1990, 27, no. K19, pl. 10 (2nd quarter of the 7th cent. BC); 28-29, no. K22, pl. 12c (third quarter of the 7th cent. BC); b) Fragment of relief pithos from Sparta (Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 520): MANAKIDOU 1994, 289, no. 89, pl. 4b (end of the 7th cent. BC); c) Relief pithos from Thera (Archaeological Museum, without number): MANAKIDOU 1994, 289, no. 85, pl. 4a (650/640 BC).

⁵⁸ For the different rendering of warriors on relief pithoi of Cycladic workshops, cf. ERVIN-CASKEY 1976, figs. 15-16, pl. 3; figs. 18, 32, pl. 4; fig. 22, pl. 6; figs. 28-29, pl. 8; SIMANTONI- BOURNIA 1990, no. K19, pl. 10, no. K20, pl. 11, no. K22, pl. 12. For the relief pithos of Mykonos, see above note 48.

⁵⁹ See above note 22.



Figs. 22a-c. Clay fragment, decorated with impressed dots

probably belonged to a terracotta votive plaque (Figs. 22a-c)⁶⁰, similar with that from the neighboring settlement of Zagora, in Andros⁶¹. The impressed dots as a decoration motif occurs rarely in Euboea, while in Zagora - known for its tradition of pithos makers - a fragment of the third quarter of the 8th cent. BC is decorated with a square meander outlined with dots⁶². The same decorative motif appears also in clay figurines from Siphnos⁶³ and from more remote areas, as in Syme Viannou, in Crete⁶⁴.



Fig. 23. Fragment of a handmade animal figurine (horse?), decorated with the embossed technique

In the case of Zarakes, the brown, finely fired clay of the two fragments and the slip on their surface indicate that we are dealing with imported pieces, dated, according to the aforementioned finds, from the end of the 8th to the beginning of the 7th cent. A variation of this decoration can be considered the impressed dots on a helmeted head of a clay male figurine from Plakari at Karystos⁶⁵.

The embossed technique and especially the motif of the small circles which decorates a handmade animal figurine (horse?) from Zarakes (Fig. 23), is not often encountered in Euboea ⁶⁶. The stylistically closest, yet earlier, parallel is a handmade figurine or pendant from the Toumba Cemetery in Lefkandi which is considered an import, probably from Macedonia ⁶⁷. The same method of decoration is encountered on a human coarse-ware figurine that can be related to a child perhaps a girl of SP II/IIIa (875-800 BC) ⁶⁸. In this figurine circles have been used for reproducing facial features and jewels.

⁶⁰ Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 18805.

⁶¹ Andros, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 1328: CAMBITO-GLOU 1981, 91, no. 288; CAMBITOGLOU *et al.* 1988, 170, 228, pl. 273a-b.

⁶² Andros, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 1145: CAMBITO-GLOU 1981, 42, no. 41; CAMBITOGLOU *et al.* 1988, 122, pl. 226b; McLoughlin 2002, 107, cat. D2, figs. 46, 93; McLoughlin 2011, 870, fig. 4

⁶³ Cf. Terracotta horse figurine from the Acropolis at Aghios Andreas in Siphnos: Televantou 2008, 101, fig. 155.

 $^{^{64}}$ Cf. Terracotta figurines of animals from Syme Viannou: Muhly 2008, 31, nos. 10-11, pl. 2 (780-760 BC), 26, 39, no. 60, pl. 14 (710-700 BC); 74-75, no. 193, pl. 44 (700-675 BC or after 650

BC), 84, no. 222, pl. 49 (770-750 BC).

⁶⁵ See Crielaard 2012, 198-199, fig.7c; Crielaard 2017, 135, fig. 8e-f; Crielaard – Songu 2017, 278, fig. 4.

⁶⁶ Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 18844. Cf. Muhly 2008, 24, 38, no. 57, pl. 13 (710-700 BC); 29, 41-42, no. 87, pl. 17 (beginning of the 7th cent. BC).

⁶⁷ РОРНАМ – TOULOUPA – SACKETT 1982, 235, Т40, 15, pl. 28e (LPG-SPG).

⁶⁸ РОРНАМ – TOULOUPA – SACKETT 1982, 235, Т38, 33, pl. 29e; ВАВЫ 2012, 293, fig. 6; ВАВЫ forthcoming.



Fig. 24. Fragments of louteria

The embossed technique combined with the incised appears also on fragments of pithoi and spindle whorls of the 8th cent. BC from Eretria and Viglatouri in the area of modern Kyme in Euboea ⁶⁹. Moreover, the combination of both techniques has been applied for the execution of the decoration on the relief plaque from Zagora, in Andros. The borders of this plaque are decorated with impressed tangential circles, while the tangents are incised ⁷⁰.

The technique of embossed small circles which draws its origin in the Mycenaean period, became widespread during the Geometric period especially in workshops which produced handmade pottery of good quality ⁷¹. Moreover, such workshops have been found in other neighboring areas, but also in more remote areas, as for example Syme Viannou in Crete and Ialyssos in Rhodes ⁷².

The wide application of the stamping technique for the execution of relief decoration in the Zarakes pottery, which is rarely found in Euboea⁷³, in combination with the use of local clay point to the operation of local workshops in the area during the 7th and the 6th century BC. These workshops were run not only by local but also by itinerant potters who drew on neighboring or more distant workshops and also created new prototypes for pictorial compositions. In order to provide for the cult needs of the pilgrims, potters were also manufacturing products, mainly louteria (Fig. 24), i.e., spouted basins, of diameter 30 to 45 cm for pouring liquids, which became very common during the 7th century BC⁷⁴. One of these is inscribed on the upper part of the spout with the inscription EYAA which probably refers to the dedicator (Figs. 25a-b)⁷⁵. This inscription is perhaps the abbreviations of the name $E\dot{v}\dot{\alpha}\lambda(\kappa o)$

⁶⁹ *Eretria*: Boardman 1952, 11, note 65, fig. 16b. *Viglatouri* (Kyme): Sapouna – Sakellaraki 1998, 81, fig. 38,2 (pithos); 82, fig. 40, 2a-b (spindlewhorl). For Viglatouri see also Sapouna – Sakellaraki 1996-1997, 59-64.

⁷⁰ See above note 61.

⁷¹ Cf. Kourou 1999, 112, note 443, who cites characteristic objects, decorated with this technique, from the workshops of Corinth, Asine, Thera and Aigina.

⁷² The embossed technique has been found in: a) plaques from the Argive Heraion, cf. WALDSTEIN 1905, 47-49, pl. XLIX, nos. 1-5, 8a; WEINBERG 1954, 112-116, pl. 25a-c (2nd half of the 7th cent. BC). b) pithoi from the Cyclades, cf. KOUROU 1999, 112-113, note 112, no. 59, pl. 52a, c. c) in the hair rendering on a clay figurine (650-640 B.C.) from Ialysos, cf. D'ACUNTO 2014, 74, figs.

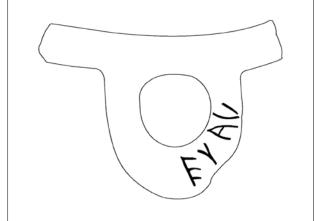
^{10-14,} and d) in the decoration of figurines from Syme Viannou (Crete), cf. Muhly 2008, 28-29, 41-42, no. 87, pl. 17 (early 7th cent. BC). According to Muhly 2008, 29, the stamped decoration was most common in the Transitional Phase and the beginning of the seventh century.

⁷³ The relief pottery from Kapsouli (see above note 40) possibly indicates the operation one more local workshop.

 $^{^{74}\,}$ Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. nos.18893-18895, 18986: Chatzidimitriou 2003-2004a, 61, fig. 14. For the louteria, see Gros 2017, 95-96.

⁷⁵ Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 18748: Chatzi-DIMITRIOU 2004-2009, 523, 534, no. 2, fig. 2.



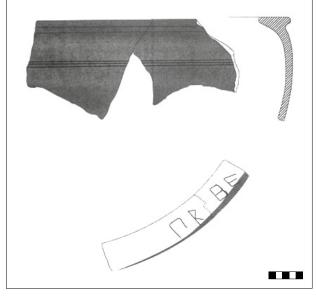


Figs. 25a-b. Louterion with the inscription EYA Λ on the upper part of the spout

which turns up in Eretria, or the name $E\dot{v}\alpha\lambda(\kappa i\delta o)$, which is encountered on inscriptions from Eretria and Styra. To the 6th century BC belongs also a fragmentary preserved krater, of diameter 34 cm, with traces of intense burning which bears on the lip the incised inscription Π PHE (Figs. 26a-c)⁷⁶. Louteria, due to similarities in shape, have been associated with the spouted kraters of the LG period. More specifically, the fact that spouted kraters have been found also in settlements, such as Eretria, Zagora and Oropos, leaves open the question about their ritual or domestic use⁷⁷. Nevertheless, in the sanctu-







Figs. 26a-c. Fragmentary preserved krater with the incised inscription ΠP HE on the lip

ary of Zarakes, louteria as well as kraters were undoubtedly used for pouring liquids during the ceremonial feasts and ritual dedications ⁷⁸.

⁷⁶ Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 18803: Chatzi-DIMITRIOU 2004-2009, 524, 534, no. 3, fig. 3.

⁷⁷ VLACHOU 2012, 149-150. For spouted craters (LG) from Eretria, cf. Andreiomenou 1975, 219-220, pl. 62b. From Andros (750-690 BC) in Archaeological Museum, cf. a) Cambitoglou 1981, 61, no. 132 (Inv. no. 1171); Cambitoglou *et al.* 1988, 127, pl. 239a-b. b) Cambitoglou 1981, 60-61, no. 131, fig. 29 (Inv. no. M 104). c) Cambitoglou 1988, 60, no.130 (Inv. no. 2059). d) Cambitoglou 1981, 61, no.133 (Inv. no. M 106). e) Cambitoglou 1981, 89, no. 286 (Inv. no. 1152); Cambitoglou *et al.* 1988,

pl. 262b-c. From Oropos, cf. Vlachou 2012, 142, fig. 2, pl. 16, 5; 147-148, fig. 7, pl. 16, 5.

⁷⁸ According to MORRIS 2014, 98, «The vessel form, par excellence, that seems to have been designed for heroes and their cults, was the louterion».

Fragments of basin-like vessels with characteristic handles should also be attributed to local workshops. One of these vases bears horseshoe-shaped handles with a hole in the middle, a type not known in other local workshops of Euboea (Fig. 27)⁷⁹. Variations of this handle type are found in pottery of Corinthian workshops as for example the Heraion in Perachora⁸⁰, as well as in local pottery of Macedonia of the type known as "Iron Age pottery"⁸¹.

A simple macroscopic examination of the material shows that a coarse-grained, orange-red to brown-red clay was used for the manufacture of the coarse ware of the Archaic pottery discussed above. In particular, the clay used presents differentiations not only in color but also as regards the content, size and composition of the inclusions. These differentiations are probably due to the mixture of clays, a practice that must have been frequently applied in antiquity as is also the case in contemporary ceramic workshops 82. At this point we should note the difference observed between the clay used for the production of the fine ware of the 8th century BC, and the brownish red clay used for the coarse ware of the 7th and 6th century BC. On the basis of fabric, it is probable that the fine Geometric ware was imported whereas the coarse ware was locally produced. Further chemical analysis is needed, however, for the location of the clay sources.

In addition to locally made coarse ware, a few examples of painted pottery were also found in the excavated area. This finer ware category includes fragments of kotylai, drawing on Corinthian prototypes and often decorated in Subgeometric style with birds in the form of sigmas (Fig. 28)⁸³ one such kotyle of the 7th century is decorated with a row of vertical sigmas and horizontal chevrons (Fig. 29)⁸⁴.



Fig. 27. Fragment of a vessel with a horseshoe-shaped handle



Fig. 28. Fragments of kotylai



Fig. 29. Kotyle of the 7th century BC

Its height 13.5 cm and the diameter of 22 cm allows its classification among the large size kotylai which were the most favorite drinking vessel in Euboea and Oropos 85.

Among the locally made painted ware there is a fragment decorated with a volute motif. This is a

⁷⁹ Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 18985.

⁸⁰ Cf. Payne – Dunbabin 1962, 323, nos. 3378-3380, pl. 127.

⁸¹ Cf. *Kastanas*: Hochstetter 1984, vol. 3, 269-270, pls. 242, 1, 243, 3; *Dipli Trapeza* of *Anchialos* (*Sindos*): Tiverios 1991-1992, 217, fig. 17; Tiverios 1998, 247, fig. 9; Tiverios 2012, 181, fig. 3c.

⁸² CHATZIDIMITRIOU 2017, 304-305.

⁸³ Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. nos. 18933-18934. Cf. PAYNE – DUNBABIN 1962, vol. II, 68-69, nos. 535, 540-544, pl. 25.

⁸⁴ Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 19036: Chatzidimitriou 2003-2004a, 61, fig. 13; Charalambidou 2017a, 125, fig. 14.2. For parallels cf., Payne – Dunbabin 1962, vol. II, 102, nos. 928a, 928b, pl. 37. For the presence of Corinthian and Corinthianizing pottery in Euboea cf. Andreiomenou 1975, 211, pl. 54c; Andreiomenou 1977, 147, pl. 52 α , 150, pl. 53 β ; Andreiomenou 1977, 147, pl. 52 α , 150, pl. 53 β ; Andreiomenou 1977, 147, pl. 52 α , 150, pl. 53 β ; Andreiomenou 1977, 147, pl. 52 α , 150, pl. 53 β ; Andreiomenou 1977, 147, pl. 52 α , 150, pl. 53 β ; Andreiomenou 1977, 147, pl. 52 α , 150, pl. 53 β ; Andreiomenou 1975, 210, pl. 53 α , 250, pl. 5

ENOU 1981-1982, 285-286.

⁸⁵ CHARALAMBIDOU 2017a, 125, fig. 14.2.

common Orientalizing motif appearing as secondary decoration on the base of Eretrian burial amphorae of group D (Fig. 30) ⁸⁶ dating to the early 6th cent. BC and on long-necked jugs also from Eretria ⁸⁷. A great number of these jugs dating to the 7th and 6th cent. BC were found in the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros, in Athenaion and in other cult places in Eretria ⁸⁸. The fragment from Zarakes probably belonged to a vase of similar type which was used for libations.

Finally, various kylix and lekythos fragments depicting figures with himation, warriors and komasts belong to the Attic black figure ware of the late 6th and 5th cent. BC⁸⁹.

The continuation of worship during the Classical period is attested by the discovery of black painted skyphoi of the 4th cent. BC, inscribed on their base with the word IE, an abbreviated form of the word $i\varepsilon\rho\delta\varsigma^{90}$, as well as by the presence of sherds with incised inscriptions and symbols ⁹¹.

The category of metal offerings includes an iron throwing discus, a bronze weight, an arrow head 92 and few remnants of metallurgical activity 93 . The discus is highly corroded and constitutes a rare find since the greater number of such bronze *discoi* are found in cemeteries 94 . A bronze weight of the 4th century BC that bears the inscription $A\Pi O\Lambda \Lambda\Omega NO\Sigma$ $\Delta H\Lambda IO$ indicates that during the Classical period the sanctuary was dedicated to Apollo (Fig. 31) 95 . The weight is rectangular in shape weighing 192 grams and measuring 4.7 cm in length and 3.5 cm in



Fig. 30. Fragment of a vase decorated with a volute motif

width. On its upper surface the weight is decorated with a ram's head in relief. The discovery of the inscribed weight allows the identification at Zarakes of a cult place dedicated to Delian Apollo, who was co-worshipped as Delian with Leto and Artemis in Eretria and Karystos 96 . It has recently been suggested that two pots bearing the letters AII, as well as a sherd with the graffito AP found in Plakari at Karystos, indicate the specific deity or deities, who were worshipped in the sanctuary on Plakari-hill, namely Apollo and possibly Artemis 97 .

According to Herodotus, Karystos and other Euboean cities were stopping points of the annual trip of the sacred offerings from the land of the Hyperboreans to Delos, the cult place of Apollo⁹⁸. Following Delian tradition, every winter Apollo moved to the land of the Hyperboreans, the birth place of his mother Leto. The earliest testimony for the route followed by the sacred offerings during their pas-

⁸⁶ Boardman 1952, 13-39; Kaltsas *et al.* 2010, 312-314, 362-363; Ritsonis 1997, 74-75, figs. 8-11.

⁸⁷ Huber 2003, vol. I, 58-63, 129-136; vol. II, 25-31, pls. 21-28, 81-99; Kaltsas *et al.* 2010, 314 (S. Huber). For the specific motif, cf. Huber 2003, 28-29, no. C30, pls. 23, 92; Huber 2012, 852, fig. 5; Charalambidou 2017a, 134, fig. 14.15.

⁸⁸ HUBER 2012, 852, fig. 5.

 $^{^{89}}$ Chatzidimitriou 2003-2004a, 63, figs. 16-17; Chatzidimitriou 2015, 271, fig. 12; Chatzidimitriou forthcoming.

 $^{^{90}}$ Chatzidimitriou 2004-2009, 527-530, nos. 10-15; Chatzidimitriou 2015, 272, figs. 14-15. For the use of skyphoi as votives, cf. Rotroff 1997, 207-208, nos. 1392-1397.

⁹¹ Chatzidimitriou 2004-2009, 521-533.

⁹² Cf. Despoini 2016, vol. III, 315, no. 661, fig. 693.

⁹³ CHATZIDIMITRIOU forthcoming.

⁹⁴ Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 18711: Chatzidimitriou 2015, 272, fig. 16. For throwing iron discs cf. Stampolidis – Tasoulas 2004, 108, no. 8 [S. Vassallo], no. 10 [E. Storaci].

⁹⁵ Eretria, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 18814: CHATZI-DIMITRIOU 2006, 1077-1092; CHATZIDIMITRIOU 2015, 273-274, fig. 18a-b.

⁹⁶ The Delion in Eretria, which has been identified from two *horoi* (3rd-1st cent. BC), was located outside the city, in the southeast end of the city wall: Kourouniotis 1900, 22-23, no.1. For the cult of Apollo in Eretria, cf. Themelis 1969, 170; Themelis 1987, 106-108; Pérez 2007, vol. II, 301; Chatzidimitriou 2015, 275. For the cult of Apollo in Karystos, cf. Chidiroglou 2017, 324-325.

⁹⁷ CHIDIROGLOU 2014, 60, 66, figs. 2.8,10; CHARALAMBIDOU 2017c, 261; CHIDIROGLOU 2017, 324-325, fig. 3.

⁹⁸ For the Hyperboreans, cf. Romm 1989, 97-113; Papadopou-Lou 1999, 115-118. For Hyperborean Apollo, cf. Burkert 1993, 245, 312, 392; Bouzek 2000, 57-62; Chatzidimitriou 2015, 275-276.



Fig. 31. A bronze weight of the 4th century BC with the inscription $A\Pi O\Lambda\Lambda\Omega NO\Sigma$ $\Delta H\Lambda IO$

sage through Euboea is found in Herodotus (IV.33). According to this tradition the offerings arrived in Karystos after a long trip through Scythia, the Adriatic, Dodona, the Maliac gulf and the cities of Euboea ⁹⁹. From Karystos the offerings were transported by ship to Tenos, by-passing the island of Andros, and from there they arrived in their final destination on the sacred island of Delos ¹⁰⁰.

This land or sea route of the offerings as attested by ancient sources forms an appealing ground to surmise that the ancient deme of Zarax with its sanctuary of Delian Apollo was among the Euboean cities through which the procession of the sacred offerings went.

The location of the Zarakes sanctuary at a distance of ca 4 kilometers from its harbor, Almyropotamos, which forms a deep bay and is naturally

protected by the island of Kavaliani, facilitated its communication with contemporary coastal sites of Euboea and also with the settlement of Zagora on the island of Andros ¹⁰¹. In any case, the pottery of the 8th century BC testifies contacts with Eretria, Lefkandi, Chalcis and other sites whose inhabitants probably visited the Zarakes sanctuary as pilgrims. Moreover, the sanctuary must have attracted pilgrims and potters even from more remote areas as is indicated by the presence of products imported or made by itinerant potters ¹⁰². It would not, therefore, be presumptuous to maintain that pilgrims and potters reached Zarakes from remote areas following the route of the sacred offerings.

The various dedicatory finds show that the sanctuary was in use from LG to late Classical times during which period it flourished. In Hellenistic times it seems to be on decline and is gradually abandoned.

It is true that the fragmentary character of the excavated data from Zarakes does not allow a satisfactory identification and reconstruction of uncovered architectural remains. As concerns other finds, and in particular the pottery of the Geometric and the Archaic period, the fact that most of it has not yet been fully conserved and studied, impedes the reconstruction of a clear and satisfactory picture of the multifaceted functions of the sanctuary during the early period. Nevertheless, these humble remains have not only added to the map of Euboea another cult place dedicated to Apollo, but also another site of trading, production and intercultural contacts.

 $^{^{99}}$ ΗΕΓΟDOTUS, IV.33: ..., ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Μηλιέα κόλπον καὶ διαπορεύεσθαι ἐς Εὔβοιαν, πόλιν τε ἐς πόλιν μέχρι Καρύστου, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκλιπεῖν Ἄνδρον; Καρυστίους γαρ εἶναι τοὺς κομίζοντας ἐς Τῆνον, Τηνίους δὲ ἐς Δῆλον. For the route of the sacred offerings of the Hyperboreans, cf. Tréheux 1953, 758-774; Parke 1967, 279-286; Biancucci 1973, 207-220; Bruneau 1970, 38-44; Burkert 1993, 312; Chidiroglou 1996-1997, 176-178; Pérez 2007, vol. I, 105-111.

¹⁰⁰ According to Tiverios (Tiverios 2001, 120 ff.) the circumvention of Andros could be due to the fact that the island had no close relations with Delos in older times, but also it could be due to the fact that Andros was known for its worship of Dionysos, the main rival of Apollo.

¹⁰¹ Chatzidimitriou 2015, 275.

¹⁰² Noteworthy is the presence in Zarakes of coarse ware which bear similarities to the local pottery of Macedonia of the type known as "Iron Age pottery" (see above note 81). Moreover, a handmade figurine or pendant from the Toumba Cemetery in Lefkandi has been considered as an import, probably from Macedonia (see above note 67). Finally, a juglet from the neighbouring site of Zagora, Andros, is considered as belonging to the "Macedonian bronzes" category, see PASPALAS 2014, 527-539.

References

AHLBERG-CORNELL 1992 G. Ahlberg-Cornell, Myth and Epos in Early Greek Art. Representation and Interpretation, Jonsered 1992. Амух 1988 D.A. AMYX, Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1988. Anderson 1987 L.H. Anderson, Relief Pithoi from the Archaic Period of Greek Art, Ann Arbor 1987. Andreiomenou 1975 Andreiomenou, 'Γεωμετρική και υπογεωμετρική κεραμεική εξ Ερετρίας', in ArchEph 1975, 206-229. Andreiomenou 1977 Α. ΑΝDRΕΙΟΜΕΝΟυ, 'Γεωμετρική και υπογεωμετρική κεραμεική εξ Ερετρίας. ΙΙ', in ArchEph 1977, 128-163. Andreiomenou 1981 A. Andreiomenou, 'Γεωμετρική και υπογεωμετρική κεραμεική εξ Ερετρίας. ΙΙΙ (Σκύφοι)', in *ArchEph* 1981, 84-113. Α. ΑΝDRΕΙΟΜΕΝΟυ, 'Συχνότης κορινθιακής κεραμεικής εις Βοιωτίαν και Εύβοιαν', in Andreiomenou 1981-1982 Πρακτικά του Β΄ Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών (Πάτραι, 25-31 Mαΐου 1980), vol. B', Athens 1981-1982, 282-286. Andreiomenou 1983 A.K. Andreiomenou, Γεωμετρική και υπογεωμετρική κεραμεική εξ Ερετρίας. V, in ArchEph 1983, 161-192. Andreiomenou 1984 Andreiomenou, 'Skyphoi de l'atelier de Chalkis (fin Xe-fin VIIIe s. av. J.-C.)', in BCH 108, 1984, 37-69. A. Babbi, "Ελα, Ύπνε, και Πάρε το... Clay Human Figurines from Early Iron Age Italian Вавы 2012 Children's Tombs and the Aegean Evidence', in N.CHR. STAMPOLIDIS – A. KANTA – A. GIANNIKOURI (eds.), Athanasia. The Earthy, the Celestial and the Underworld in the Mediterranean from the Late Bronze and the Early Iron Age, Proceedings of the International Archaeological Conference (Rhodes, 28-31 May 2009), Herakleion 2012, 285-306. Babbi forthcoming A. BABBI, 'Data Entries and Comment on the Coarse Ware and Fine Incised Ware Anthropomorphic and Zoomorphic Figurines', in I.S. Lemos (ed.), Lefkandi III: The Toumba Cemetery, BSA Suppl., London forthcoming. Benda-Weber 2008 I. Benda-Weber, 'Die Reliefamphora von Mykonos: Ein Beitrag zur Trachtenkunde des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.', in *ÖJh* 77, 2008, 39-46. Berard 1969 C. Berard, 'Note sur la fouille au sud de l'heroon', in AntK 12, 1969, 74-79. BIANCUCCI 1973 G.B. BIANCUCCI, 'La via Iperborea', in RivFil 101, 1973, 207-220. **BIRGE 1982** D.E. BIRGE, Sacred Groves in the Ancient Greek World, Berkeley 1982. **BIRGE 1994** D. BIRGE, 'Sacred Groves and the Nature of Apollo', in J. SOLOMON (ed.), Apollo. Origins and Influences, Arizona 1994, 9-19. BOARDMAN 1952 J. BOARDMAN, 'Pottery from Eretria', in BSA 23, 1952, 1-48. Boardman 2001 J. BOARDMAN, Πρώιμη ελληνική αγγειογραφία (Greek tr. L. Bournias), Athens 2001. **BOUKARAS** forthcoming Κ. Βουκακας, 'Σωστική ανασκαφή στο Καψούρι Καφηρέα', in A. Simosi (επιμ.), Acts of

BOUZEK 2000

Bremmer 2012

Bruneau 1970

Ευβοίας κατά τα τελευταία έτη (Chalkis, 30-31 October 2019), forthcoming.

J. Bouzek, 'Apollon Hyperboréen, le héros solaire et l'âme humaine', in P. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS (éd.), Agathos daimon. Mythes et cultes. Études d'iconographie en l'hon-

neur de Lilly Kahil, BCH Suppl. 38, 2000, 57-62.

the Congress Εὔβοια γη Άβάντων. Αποτίμηση του έργου της Εφορείας Αρχαιοτήτων

N.J. Bremmer, 'Greek Demons of the Wilderness: The Case of the Centaurs', in L. Feldt (ed.), Wilderness in Mythology and Religion, Approaching Religious Spatialities, Cosmologies, and Ideas of Wild Nature, Berlin – New York 2012, 25-53.

P. Bruneau, Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale, Paris 1970.

153 BUCHNER 1982 G. BUCHNER, 'Pithekoussai (Ischia)', in La céramique grecque ou de tradition grecque au VIIIe siècle en Italie centrale et méridionale, Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard III, Naples 1982, 103-107. BUCHNER - GIALANELLA 1994 G. Buchner – C. Gialanella, Il Museo Archeologico di Pithecusae, isola d'Ischia, Roma 1994. BURKERT 1993 W. BURKERT, Αρχαία ελληνική θρησκεία (Greek tr. N.P. Bezantakos – A. Avagianou), Athens 1993. Buschor - Massow 1927 E. Buschor – W. von Massow, 'Vom Amyklaion', in AM 52, 1927, 1-85. Cambitoglou 1981 A. CAMBITOGLOU, Archaeological Museum of Andros, Guide, Athens 1981. Cambitoglou et al. 1988 A. CAMBITOGLOU – A. BIRCHALL – J.J. COULTON – J.R. GREEN, Zagora 2. Excavation of a Geometric Town on the Island of Andros. Excavation Season 1969; Study Season 1969-1970, Athens 1988. Cambitoglou et al. 1992 A. CAMBITOGLOU – J.J. COULTON – J. BIRMINGHAM – J.R. GREEN, Zagora 1. Excavation of a Geometric Town on the Island of Andros: Excavation Season 1967, Study Season 1968-1969, Athens 1992. Caruso 2004 F. Caruso, 'Sul Centauro di Lefkandi', in N.Chr. Stampolidis – A. Giannikouri (επιμ.), Το Αιγαίο στην πρώιμη εποχή του Σιδήρου, Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου (Ρόδος, 1-4 Νοεμβρίου 2002), Athens 2004. Charalambidou 2008 Χ. CHARALAMBIDOU, Ωρωπός και Εύβοια κατά την Αρχαϊκή Εποχή (700 π.Χ. – αρχές του 5ου αι .π.Χ.). Η μελέτη της τροχήλατης κεραμικής και των στρωματογραφικών δεδομένων από τον Ωρωπό, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, National and Capodistrian University, Athens 2008. CHARALAMBIDOU - MORGAN 2017 X. CHARALAMBIDOU – C. MORGAN, Interpreting the Seventh Century BC. Tradition and Innovation, Oxford 2017. CHARALAMBIDOU 2017a X. CHARALAMBIDOU, 'Euboea and the Euboean Gulf Region: Pottery in Context', in CHARALAMBIDOU – MORGAN 2017, 123-149. CHARALAMBIDOU 2017b X. CHARALAMBIDOU, 'Viewing Euboea in Relation to its Colonies and Relevant Sites in Northern Greece and Italy', in Mazarakis Ainian – Alexandridou – Charalambidou 2017, 85-126. CHARALAMBIDOU 2017c X. CHARALAMBIDOU, 'The Pottery from the Sacrificial Refuse Area in Plakari-Karystos: A First Assessment', in Tankosić – F. Mavridis – M. Kosma 2017, 253-274. CHATZIDIMITRIOU 2003-2004a Α. Chatzidimitriou, 'Ανασκαφικά δεδομένα και πορίσματα από την αρχαιολογική έρευνα στους Ζάρακες Καρυστίας', in Archeion Euboikon Meleton 35, 2003-2004 (2005), 53-68. Chatzidimitriou 2003-2004b Α. Chatzidimitriou, 'Θραύσμα ανάγλυφου πίθου από τους Ζάρακες Καρυστίας', in Archaiognosia 12, 2003-2004 (2004), 181-196. Α. Chatzidimitriou, 'Χάλκινο ενεπίγραφο σταθμίο από τους Ζάρακες Καρυστίας', in Α. CHATZIDIMITRIOU 2006 ΜΑΖΑΚΑΙ ΑΙΝΙΑΝ (επιμ.), Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Βόλος, 27-2.-2.3.2003), vol. II, Volos 2006, 1077-1092. Chatzidimitriou 2004-2009 Α. Chatzidimitriou, 'Ενεπίγραφα όστρακα από τους Ζάρακες Καρυστίας', in Horos 17-21, 2004-2009, 521-540. CHATZIDIMITRIOU 2015 Α. Chatzidimitriou, 'Τα πορίσματα από την αρχαιολογική έρευνα στους Ζάρακες

Καρυστίας', in St. Οικονομου (επιμ.), Αρχαιολογικές συμβολές, vol. C: Boeotia and Euboea. Ephorates of Antiquities of Boeotia and Euboea, Athens 2015, 265-282. CHATZIDIMITRIOU 2017 A. CHATZIDIMITRIOU, 'Relief Pottery from Zarakes in Karystia', in TANKOSIĆ -

CHATZIDIMITRIOU forthcoming

F. MAVRIDIS – M. KOSMA 2017, 303-319.

A. CHATZIDIMITRIOU, 'Zarakes in South Euboea: Cult Continuity from the Late Geometric to Classical Times', in K. Reber - S. Huber - T. Krapf (eds.), Sanctuaries of Euboea Island (Greece) and its Colonies: Recent Excavations and Studies, 25th Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists (Bern, 4-7 September 2019), forthcoming.

GANTZ 1993

CHIDIROGLOU 1996-1997	Μ. Chidiroglou, 'Λατρείες αρχαίας Καρύστου', in Archeion Euboikon Meleton 32, 1996-1997 (1998), 175-191.
CHIDIROGLOU 2012	Μ. Chidiroglou, 'Φιλάγρα Μαρμαρίου. Μία οχυρή θέση κλασικών έως ελληνιστικών χρόνων στη νοτιοανατολική Εύβοια', in Α. ΜαΖακακις Αινίαν (επιμ.), 3ο Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Volos, 12-15.3.2009), Volos 2012, vol. II, 863-874.
CHIDIROGLOU 2014	M. Chidiroglou, 'Classical and Late Classical Pottery from the Sanctuary at Plakari, Karystos. First Report', in <i>Pharos</i> 20.2, 2014, 53-77.
CHIDIROGLOU 2017	M. Chidiroglou, 'Karystos Revisited: Interaction Networks of an Aegean Island Polity (Sources and Finds)', in Tankosić – Mavridis – Kosma 2017, 321-344.
Coulié 2000	A. Coullé, 'Les vases à reliefs thasiens de l'époque archaique', in BCH 124, 2000, 99-160.
CRIELAARD 2012	J.P. Crielaard, 'The Early Iron Age Sanctuary and Settlement at Karystos-Plakari', in ${\tt Desc@udres-Paspalas}\ 2012, 191-200.$
Crielaard 2017	J.P. CRIELAARD, 'The Early Iron Age Sanctuary of Karystos-Plakari (Southern Euboea) and its Wider Context', in MAZARAKIS AINIAN—ALEXANDRIDOU—CHARALAMBIDOU 2017, 127-144.
Crielaard – Driessen 1994	J.P. Crielaard – J. Driessen, 'The Hero's Home. Some Reflections at Toumba, Lefkandi', in \textit{Topoi } 4/1, 1994, 251-270.
Crielaard – Songu 2017	J.P. Crielaard – F. Songu, 'Connectivity and Insularity in 1st-Millennium Southern Euboia: The Evidence from the Sanctuary of Karystos-Plakari', in Tankosić – Mavridis – Kosma 2017, 275-290.
D'ACUNTO 2014	M. D'Acunto, 'Geometric and Daedalic Figurines from the Italian Excavations in the Necropolis of Ialysos», in A. Giannikouri (επιμ.), Κοροπλαστική και μικροτεχνία στον αιγαιακό χώρο από τους γεωμετρικούς χρόνους έως και τη ρωμαϊκή περίοδο. Διεθνές Συνέδριο στη μνήμη της Ηούς Ζερβουδάκη (Rhodes, 26-29 November 2009), Athens 2014, vol. I, 69-78.
DESBOROUGH – NICHOLLS – POPHAM 1970	V.R. Desborough – R.V. Nicholls – M. Popham, 'An Euboean Centaur', in $BSA~65$, 1970, 21-30.
Descreudres – Paspalas 2012	JP. DESCŒUDRES – S.A. PASPALAS (eds.), <i>Zagora in Context. Settlements and Intercommunal Links in the Geometric Period (900-700 BC)</i> , Proceedings of the Conference held by the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens and the Archaeological Society (Athens, 20-22 May 2012), <i>MeditArch</i> 25, 2012.
DESPOINI 2000	Α. DESPOINI, 'Ελάσματα Σίνδου με ζωφόρο ζώων', in P. ADAM-VELENI (επιμ.), Μύρτος. Μελέτες στη μνήμη της Ιουλίας Βοκοτοπούλου, Thessaloniki 2000, 277-304.
DIERICHS 1993	A. DIERICHS, 'Ein Terrakottarelief mit Sphinx und Greif', in <i>Studia varia from the J. Paul Getty Museum</i> , vol. 1, Malibu 1993, 33-54.
Ducrey et al. 2004	P. Ducrey – S. Fachard – D. Knoepfler – T. Theurillat – D. Wagner – A. Zannis, $\it Eretria.\ A\ Guide\ to\ the\ Ancient\ City$, Fribourg 2004.
EBBINGHAUS 2005	S. EBBINGHAUS, 'Protector of the City, or the Art of Storage in Early Greece', in $\it JHS$ 125, 2005, 51-72.
EILMANN 1933	R. EILMANN, 'Frühe griechische Keramik im Samischen Heraion', in AM 58, 1933, 47-145.
Ervin 1963	M. ERVIN, 'A Relief Pithos from Mykonos', in ArchDelt 18, Mel., 1963, 37-75.
Ervin-Caskey 1980	M. Ervin-Caskey, 'Echion on the Mykonos Pithos. The Fulfillment of Prophecy', in $\Sigma \tau \dot{\eta} \lambda \eta$. Τόμος εις μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος, Athens 1980, 33-36.
Euboica	M. Bats – B. d'Agostino (a cura di), <i>Euboica. L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente</i> , Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Napoli (13-16 novembre 1996), Napoli 1998.

T. GANTZ, Early Greek Myth, Baltimore 1993.

155 GISLER-HUWILER 1986 M. GISLER-HUWILER, 'Cheiron's.v., in LIMCIII, Zürich – München 1986, vol. 1, 237-248; vol. 2, 186-197. GRIMAL 1991 P. GRIMAL, Λεξικό της Ελληνικής και Ρωμαϊκής Μυθολογίας (επιμ. B. Atsalos), Thessaloniki 1991. GROS 2017 J.-S. GROS, 'Coarse, Plain and Cooking Ware: Seventh-Century Innovation for Old-Fashioned Pots' in CHARALAMBIDOU - MORGAN 2017, 93-99. HELSEN 1970-1971 A. HELSEN, 'A Relief-Decorated Basin', in Thorikos VII, Ghent 1970-1971, 155-171. HOCHSTETTER 1984 A. Hochstetter, Die Handgemachte Keramik. Kastanas. Ausgrabungen in einem Siedlungshüger der Bronze- und Eisenzeit, Berlin 1984. **HUBER 1999** S. Huber, 'Chronique des fouilles en Grèce en 1998 / Îles de l'Égée', in BCH 123, 1999, 779-812. **HUBER 2003** S. Huber, L'aire sacrificielle au Nord du Sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros. Un rituel des époques géométrique et archaïque, Eretria XIV, Gollion 2003. **HUBER 2012** S. Huber, 'Pour une archéologie des cultes à Érétrie', in Αργαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης (Βόλος, 12.3-15.3.2009), vol. ΙΙ, Στερεά Ελλάδα, Volos 2012, 845-861. HÜBINGER – MENNINGER 2007 U. HÜBINGER – M. MENNINGER, Terrakotten der Westgriechen im Akademischen Kunstmuseum der Universität, Bonn 2007. Kalligas 1986 P.G. KALLIGAS, 'Αρχαίοι ευβοϊκοί μύθοι', in Ανθρωπολογικά και Αρχαιολογικά Χρονικά 1, 1986, 103-108. Kaltsas et al 2010 N. Kaltsas-S. Fachard-N. Psalti-M. Giannopoulou, Ερέτρια. Ματιές σε μία αρχαία πόλη, Athens 2010. KARAGEORGHIS - DEMAS 1985 V. KARAGEORGHIS – M. DEMAS, Excavations at Kition. The Pre-Phoenician Levels, vol. 1, Nicosia 1985. **KELLER 1985** D. Keller, Archaeological Survey in Southern Euboea, Greece: A Reconstruction of Human Activity from Neolithic Times through the Byzantine Period, Ph.D. Thesis, Indiana University 1985. Kontoleon 1958 N. KONTOLEON, 'Theräisches', in AM 73, 1958, 117-139. Kourou 1992 N. Kourou, 'Aegean Orientalizing versus Oriental Art: The Evidence of Monsters', in V. KARAGEORGHIS (ed.), Proceedings of an International Symposium "The Civilizations of the Aegean and their Diffusion in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean, 2000-600 B.C.", Larnaca 1992, 110-123. Kourou 1999 N. Kourou, Το Νότιο Νεκροταφείο της Νάζου, Athens 1999. Kourouniotis 1900 Κ. Κουπουνιστις, 'Εκ του ιερού της Αμαρυσίας Αρτέμιδος', in ArchEph 1900, 5-26. K. KÜBLER, Die Nekropole des späten 8. bis frühen 6. Jahrhunderts. Ergebnisse der Aus-KÜBLER 1970 grabungen. Kerameikos, vol. VI.2, Berlin 1970.

Kunisch 1998 N. Kunisch, Ornamente Geometrischer Vasen, Köln 1998.

Kunze 1961 E. Kunze, 'Korinthische Helme', in Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia, vol. VII,

Berlin 1961, 56-128.

Lebessi 1996 A. LEBESSI, 'The Relations of Crete and Euboea in the Tenth and Ninth Centuries B.C. The

Lefkandi Centaur and his Predecessors', in D. EVELY – I.S. LEMOS – S. SHERRATT (eds.), Minotaur and Centaur. Studies in the Archaeology of Crete and Euboea Presented to Mervyn Popham, Oxford 1996, 146-154.

Manakidou 1994 Ε.Ρ. ΜΑΝΑΚΙDOU, Παραστάσεις με άρματα (8ος-5ος αι. π.Χ.). Παρατηρήσεις στην

εικονογραφία τους, Thessaloniki 1994.

Marangou 1983 L. MARANGOU, 'Découvertes récentes à Amorgos', in Les Cyclades. Matériaux pour une étude de géographie historique. Table ronde réunie à l'Université de Dijon les 11, 12, 13

mars 1982, Paris 1983, 121-129.

Margreiter 1988	I. Margreiter, Frühe lakonische Keramik der geometrischen bis archaischen Zeit (106. Jahrhundert v. Chr.), Waldsassen Bayern 1988.
Маттнаю 2004-2009	Α.Ρ. ΜΑΤΤΗΑΙΟυ, 'Θραύσμα ενεπίγραφου πίθου από τους Ζάρακες Καρυστίας', in $Horos$ 17-21, 2004-2009, 541-544.
Mazarakis Ainian 1997	A. MAZARAKIS AINIAN, From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples. Architecture, Religion and Society in Early Iron Age Greece (1100-700 B.C.), Jonsered 1997.
Mazarakis Ainian 1998	A. MAZARAKIS AINIAN, 'Oropos in the Early Iron Age', in Euboica, 179-215.
Mazarakis Ainian 2000	Α. ΜΑΖΑRAKIS AINIAN , Όμηρος και αρχαιολογία, Athens 2000.
Mazarakis Ainian 2017	A. MAZARAKIS AINIAN , 'Conservatism versus Innovation: Architectural Forms in Early Archaic Greece', in Charalambidou – Morgan 2017, 173-185.
Mazarakis Ainian – Alexandridou – Charalambidou 2017	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 2017.
McLoughlin 2002	B. McLoughlin, Searching for the Potter's Intention: The Pithos Makers of Zagora, Master's Thesis, University of Sydney 2002.
McLoughlin 2011	B. McLoughlin, 'The Pithos Makers at Zagora: Ceramic Technology and Function in an Agricultural Settlement Context', in A. Mazarakis Ainian (ed.), <i>The "Dark Ages" Revisited. Acts of an International Symposium in Memory of William D.E. Coulson</i> , Volos 2011, 869-884.
Morris 1984	S.P. Morris, <i>The Black and White Style. Athens and Aigina in the Orientalizing Period</i> , New Haven – London 1984.
Morris 2014	S.P. Morris, 'Artist in Motion: Proto-Attic and Related Pottery of the Seventh Century BC', in Valavanis – Manakidou 2014, 95-102.
Moustaka 2004	A. MOUSTAKA, 'Neue lakonische Kratere aus dem samischen Heraion', in AM 119, 2004, 55-66.
Muhly 2008	$P.\ Muhly, The Sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Syme Viannou, vol. IV. Animal Images of Clay, Athens 2008.$
Papadopoulou 1999	Z. Papadopoulou, 'Απόλλων Εὔυμνος, Άστερίη Φιλόμολπος. Η μουσική και η χορεία στους μύθους και τις τελετουργίες της Δήλου', in N.Chr. Stampolidis (επιμ.), Φως Κυκλαδικόν. Τιμητικός τόμος στη μνήμη του Νίκου Ζαφειρόπουλου, Athens 1999, 114-125.
Parke 1967	H.W. PARKE: The Oracles of Zeus: Dodona, Olympia, Ammon, Oxford 1967.
Paspalas 2014	S.A. Paspalas, 'A "Macedonian Bronze" Juglet from Zagora, Andros', in Valavanis – Manakidou 2014, 527-539.
Payne – Dunbabin 1962	H. Payne – T.J. Dunbabin, <i>Perachora. The Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia. Pottery, Ivories, Scarabs, and other Objects from the votive Deposit of Hera Limenia</i> , Oxford 1962.
PÉREZ 2007	M.A. Pérez, Λατρείες και ιερά των Ευβοέων: Γεωμετρική Αρχαϊκή Εποχή, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Volos 2007.
POPHAM – CALLIGAS – SACKETT 1993	M.R. РОРНАМ – P.G. CALLIGAS – L.H. SACKETT, <i>The Protogeometric Building at Toumba. Lefkandi II.2</i> , London 1993.
POPHAM – SACKETT – THEMELIS 1980	M.R. РОРНАМ – L.H. SACKETT – P.G. THEMELIS, <i>Lefkandi I. The Iron Age Settlement. The Cemeteries</i> , <i>BSA</i> Suppl. 11, London 1980.
POPHAM – TOULOUPA – SACKETT 1982	M.R. Рорнам – Е. Touloupa – L.H. Sackett, 'Further Excavation of the Toumba Cemetery at Lefkandi 1981', in <i>BSA</i> 77, 1982, 213-248.
Ritsonis 1997	Α. Ritsonis, 'Παρατηρήσεις στη σύνθεση της Ερετριακής Αγγειογραφίας', in $Ανθρωπολογικά και Αρχαιολογικά Χρονικά 4, 1997, 65-88.$
ROMBOS 1988	T. Rombos, The <i>Iconography of Attic Late Geometric II Pottery</i> , Jonsered 1988.

ROMM 1989 J. ROMM, 'Herodotus and Mythic Geography: The Case of the Hyperboreans', in TAPA 119, 1989, 97-113. ROTROFF 1997 S.I. Rotroff, Hellenistic Pottery, Athenian and Imported Wheelmade Table Ware and Related Material, Athenian Agora XXIX, Princeton N.J. 1997. SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1996-1997 Ε. SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI, 'Γεωμετρική Κύμη. Η ανασκαφή στο Βιγλατούρι Οξυλίθου', in Archeion Euboikon Meleton 32, 1996-1997 (1998), 59-64. SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1998 E. SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI, 'Geometric Kyme. The Excavation at Viglatouri, Kyme, on Euboea', in Euboica, 59-104. Schiffler 1976 B. Schiffler, Die Typologie des Kentauren in der antiken Kunst vom 10. bis zum Ende des 4. Jhs. v. Chr., Frankfurt 1976. SENGELIN et al 1997 T. SENGELIN – S. DROUGOU – M. LEVENTOPOULOU – L. MARANGOU – E. VAN DER MEIJDEN - L. PALAIOKRASSA - I. TOURATSOGLOU, 'Kentauroi et Kentaurides' s.v., in LIMC VIII, Zürich – München 1997, vol. 1, 671-721; vol. 2, 416-481. Ε. Simantoni-Bournia, 'Επίδραση της πρωτοκορινθιακής και κορινθιακής αγγειογραφίας στην ανάγλυφη κεραμική', in Πρακτικά Γ΄ Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου SIMANTONI-BOURNIA 1987-1988 Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών 1985, Athens 1987-1988, 175-189. SIMANTONI-BOURNIA 1990 Ε. SIMANTONI-BOURNIA, Ανασκαφές Νάζου. Οι ανάγλυφοι πίθοι, Athens 1990. SIMANTONI-BOURNIA 2004 E. SIMANTONI-BOURNIA, La céramique grecque à réliefs: ateliers insulaires du 7e au 6e siècle avant J.-C., Genève 2004. SNODGRASS 1964 A. Snodgrass, Early Greek Armour and Weapons: From the End of the Bronze Age to 600 BC, Edinburgh 1964. Sourref 1998 K. Soueref, 'Eubei lungo la costa della Grecia settentrionale. Nuovi elementi', in Euboica, 229-242. STAMPOLIDIS 2003 Ν.Chr. Stampolidis (επιμ.), Πλόες...Από τη Σιδώνα στη Χουέλβα. Σχέσεις λαών της *Μεσογείου. 16ος-6ος αι. π.Χ.*, Athens 2003. STAMPOLIDIS - TASOULAS 2004 N.CHR. STAMPOLIDIS – Y. TASOULAS, Magna Graecia. Athletics and the Olympic Spirit on the Periphery of the Hellenic World, Athens 2004. TANKOSIĆ – MAVRIDIS – KOSMA 2017 Ž. TANKOSIĆ – F. MAVRIDIS – M. KOSMA (eds.), An Island between two Worlds. The Archaeology of Euboea from Prehistoric to Byzantine Times, Proceedings of International Conference (Eretria, 12-14 July 2013), Papers and Monographs from the Norwegian Institute at Athens 6, Athens 2017. Televantou 2008 A. TELEVANTOU, Siphnos. Acropolis at Aghios Andreas, Athens 2008. THEMELIS 1969 P. Themelis, 'Ερετριακά', in ArchEph 1969, 143-178. THEMELIS 1987 P. Themelis, 'Ερετριακές Λατρείες', in Φίλια Έπη εις Γεώργιον Ε. Μυλωνάν, Athens 1987, 106-125. THEMELIS 2006 P. THEMELIS, 'A Relief Pithos from Eretria: Iconography and Interpretation', in N. STAM-POLIDIS (επιμ.), ΓΕΝΕΘΛΙΟΝ. Αναμνηστικός τόμος για την συμπλήρωση είκοσι χρόνων λειτουργίας του Μουσείου Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης, Athens 2006, 95-106. THEURILLAT - KENZELMANN PFYFFER - VERDAN 2005 TH. THEURILLAT – A. KENZELMANN PFYFFER – S. VERDAN, 'Graffiti d'époque géométrique provenant du sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros à Erétrie', in ZPE 151, 2005, 51-86. Tiverios 1991-1992 Μ.Α. ΤΙΥΕΙΟS, 'Αρχαιολογικές έρευνες στη Διπλή Τράπεζα, κοντά στη σημερινή Αγχίαλο και Σίνδο (1990-1992) – ο αρχαίος οικισμός', in Εγνατία 3, 1991-1992 (1994), 209-234.

Tiverios 1998

Tiverios 2001

M.A. Tiverios, 'The Ancient Settlement in the Anchialos-Sindos Double Trapeza. Seven Years (1990-1996) of Archaeological Research', in *Euboica*, 243-253.

Μ.Α. Τινέπιος, 'Η θρησκεία στην αρχαία Άνδρο', in Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Κυκλαδικών Μελετών ΙΖ΄ (2000-2001), Πρακτικά Β΄ Κυκλαδικού Συνεδρίου (Θήρα, 31 Αυγούστου - 3 Σεπτεμβρίου 1995), part I, Athens 2001, 117-134.

Xagorari 1996

Tiverios 2012 M. TIVERIOS, 'Classification of Local Pottery in Macedonia in the Late Geometric and Archaic Periods', in M. TIVERIOS – P. NIGDELIS – P. ADAM-VELENI (eds.), Threpteria. Studies on Ancient Macedonia, Thessaloniki 2012, 173-198. **TÖLLE 1965** R. TÖLLE, Frühgriechische Reigentänze, Waldsassen Bayern 1965. J. Tréheux, 'La réalité historique des offrandes Hyperboréennes', in G.E. MYLONAS – D. Tréheux 1953 RAYMOND (eds.), Studies presented to D. Moore Robinson, Saint Louis 1953, 758-774. VALAVANIS - MANAKIDOU 2014 P. VALAVANIS – E. MANAKIDOU (eds.), Essays on Greek Pottery and Iconography in Honour of Professor Michalis Tiverios, Thessaloniki 2014. VELIDAKI – FARAKLAS 2001 A. VELIDAKI – N. FARAKLAS, Ο κένταυρος στην πρώιμη Ελλάδα. Μορφή – περιεχόμενο – σημασιοδοτήσεις, Ρίθυμνα 8, Rethymnon 2001. VERDAN 2013 S. VERDAN, Le sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros à l'époque géometrique, Eretria XXII, Gollion 2013. VERDAN - KENZELMANN PFYFFER -S. VERDAN-A. KENZELMANN PFYFFER-C. LÉDERREY, Céramique géométrique d'Erétrie, Léderrey 2008 Eretria XX, Gollion 2008. V. VLACHOU, 'Figurative Pottery from Oropos and Zagora: A Comparative Analysis' in VLACHOU 2012 DESCŒUDRES - PASPALAS 2012, 137-151. WALDSTEIN 1902-1905 C. WALDSTEIN, The Argive Heraeum, Boston – New York 1902-1905. Weinberg 1954 S.S. Weinberg, 'Corinthian Relief Ware: Pre-Hellenistic Period', in Hesperia 23, 1954, 109-137. Zafeiropoulou 1985 F.A. ZAFEIROPOULOU, Προβλήματα της μηλιακής αγγειογραφίας, Athens 1985.

M. XAGORARI, Untersuchungen zu frühgriechischen Grabsitten. Figürliche plastische Beigaben aus geschlossenen Grabfunden Attikas und Euböas des 10. bis 7. Jhs. v. Chr., Mainz am Rhein 1996.

388 Abstracts

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 7th 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 Paleoekklisies 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 Euboia

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 Euboia. This was most likely the location of Early Iron Age and Archaic Karystos. During the 11th 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 11th to 7th 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-7th 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 7th and the 6th century BC.

Abstracts 389

The continuation of worship in Classical times is documented by a bronze weight bearing the inscription *Apollonos Delio*. The various dedicatory finds show that the sanctuary was in use from LG to late classical times during which period it flourished.

The location of the Zarakes sanctuary at a small distance from its harbor facilitated its communication with contemporary coastal sites of Euboea and also with the settlement of Zagora on the island of Andros. In any case, the pottery of the 8th century BC testifies contacts with Eretria, Lefkandi, Chalcis and other sites whose inhabitants probably visited the Zarakes sanctuary as pilgrims.

Bruno D'Agostino, Forgotten Cities in Eastern Euboea

The only evidence for the existence of a Kyme in Euboea is the testimony of Stephanus of Byzantium and has been persistently questioned by most contemporary scholars. I believe that the problem deserves to be reconsidered in the frame of the particular role of Euboea, point of balance in the changing system of relations between Greece, Near East and West.

In the first two centuries of the first millennium BC, Lefkandi appears to reflect a relation system involving the dominant cities on the east coast of the island. In this period, Lefkandi's bond with the Near East was so strong as to prompt even a cautious scholar like N. Coldstream to suppose that there was «a personal link between the élites of Lefkandi and Tyre».

This system seems to enter a crisis in the last decades of the ninth century BC. Around 825, during the Middle Geometric period, the cemeteries of Lefkandi known to us fell out of use. Life at the site went on until the end of the eighth century, but it was another world. Viglaturi seems to have declined by the end of the Middle Geometric period. These events thus appear to occur in a quick succession that marks the end of an epoch. Lefkandi, Viglaturi-Oichalia, and possibly Kyme itself paled away, condemning their names to oblivion.

Albio Cesare Cassio, Κύμη, Κούμη, Cumae and the Euboeans in the Bay of Naples

From the 15th to the 19th century many written documents attest to a pronunciation [kumi], often rendered in Roman characters as Kumi, of the village Kýun in East Euboea; this traditional pronunciation is indirectly substantiated by the modern official adjective κουμιώτικος [kumiɔ:tikos]. This article aims at showing that this 'uncanonical' pronunciation is not due to later manipulations, but is a relic of an extremely ancient Euboean état de langue, and a relic that can only be explained if we admit that some place in the area of modern Κύμη (the old harbour?) has an extremely long history behind it. This remarkably strengthens the opinion that when Strabo refers to Cumae in the bay of Naples as Χαλκιδέων καὶ Κυμαίων παλαιότατον κτίσμα he has Euboean Κύμη, not Aeolic Κύμη, in mind; and an exclusively Euboean colonization helps to explain why in early and late inscriptions of Cumae there is not the slightest trace of the Aeolic dialect.

Boeotia

Luisa Breglia, Mythic Traditions of Euboea and Boeotia in the Archaic Age

This contribution follows the "explanations" of the name Euboea that are found starting from the Hesiodic tradition and up to the authors Ephorus and Eustathius. The first part concentrates principally on the Hesiodic tradition, to demonstrate, on the basis of an already well-known text, a close relationship between Euboea and all the Eastern coastal areas of Boeotia, and the presence of Euboean and Boeotian elements in the West (*Cumae*, *Graikoi/Graeci*). Population pressures and movements can explain the need to emigrate, to the East or to the West. One of the traditions under examination reflects a very old time period and shows that even after the end of the Mycenean Age the entire area of south-east Boeotia, inclusive of the area of

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