

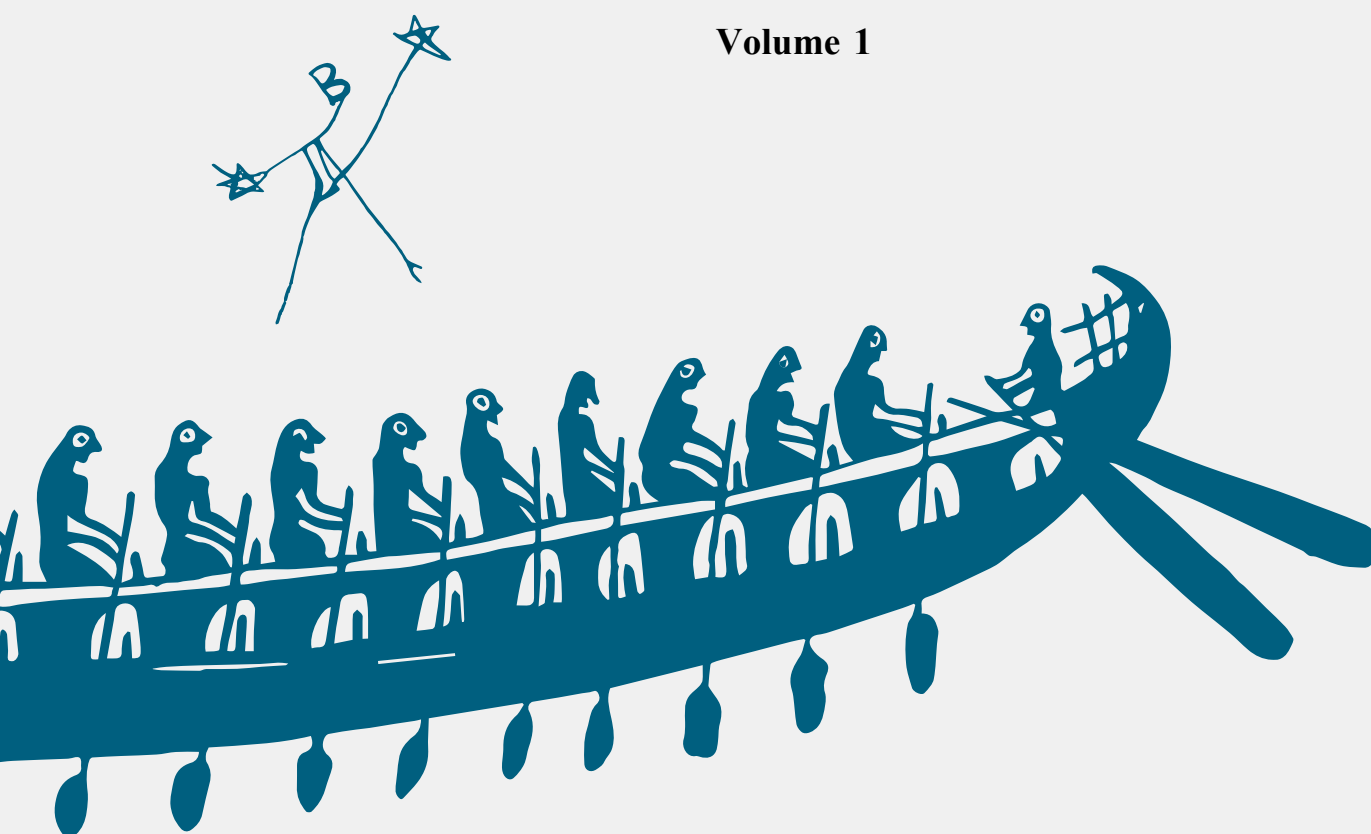
# EUBOICA II

## *Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West*

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

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

**Volume 1**



**Napoli 2020**



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



# AION

ANNALI DI ARCHEOLOGIA  
E STORIA ANTICA

Nuova Serie | 27



2020 | Napoli



ANNALI  
DI ARCHEOLOGIA  
E STORIA ANTICA

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Volume 1

2020 Napoli

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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*.

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## PREFACE

### *EUBOICA*, AGAIN

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro, Matteo D'Acunto

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

# Pithekoussai e l'Eubea tra Oriente e Occidente

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



14 maggio

## SALUTI

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

## CONFERENZA INAUGURALE

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

## INTRODUZIONE AL CONVEGNO

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

15 maggio

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

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

## SEZIONE B. Pithekoussai

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

## SEZIONE C. Cuma e Parthenope

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

16 maggio

## SEZIONE D. La Sicilia e il Mediterraneo occidentale

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



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

## SEZIONE E. L'Eubea: la madrepatria

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

17 Maggio

## SEZIONE F. Le produzioni

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

## CONCLUSIONI

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



**Torri in Festa, Torri in Luce**  
7ª edizione



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





The participants in the *Euboica II* conference



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



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





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



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



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



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





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



## MYTHIC TRADITIONS OF EUBOEA AND BOEOTIA IN THE ARCHAIC AGE

Luisa Breglia

Though some deny it<sup>1</sup>, the existence of close relations between Euboea and Boeotia in the Archaic Age and also during the time of Euboean colonisation is well established; it is also testified by a series of divine “presences” in the mythic traditions of the two zones, that were later transferred to the colonial outposts, as has been demonstrated and referred to on numerous occasions by I. Lemos and A. Mazarakis Ainian<sup>2</sup>. Returning to this subject could therefore appear to be unnecessary. There is, however, an Archaic poetic tradition originating in “Hesiod” that, on a literary level, seems to both confirm the importance of this relationship and at the same time to yield further insight on the rapport that these two areas also had with the Aeolic world. Other, later traditions to be taken into consideration here also stress the Boeotia-Euboea link and document exchanges, contact and sometimes unified political action between the two zones that lasted for some time. These links can be identified from the re-elaboration of the preceding mythic traditions, as well as from more precise historical documentation.

This contribution will be limited to following the “explanations” given for the name Euboea that are found first in the Hesiodic tradition and continue

to appear down to Ephorus and Eustathius. In the first part, I shall concentrate principally on the oldest tradition, that of Hesiod (in reality, a double tradition, as we shall see), that is of the greater interest here: one may thereby demonstrate, on the basis of a text already well-known but not always recalled, a close relationship between Euboea and all the eastern coastal areas of Boeotia, the latter probably being a zone involved in the various population shifts occurring in the Early Archaic period<sup>3</sup>. These movements can explain, as has been done, the actions of former inhabitants emigrating to other lands, to the East or to the West. One of the traditions under examination reflects a time period well in the past and allows us to understand that for a long time, even after the end of the Mycenaean Age<sup>4</sup>, the entire area of southeast Boeotia, inclusive of the area of Oropos, constituted a single unit that at some later stage must have fragmented: the area of the *chora* of Tanagra, with a now synecised Tanagra, was associated with Chalcis, while the zone to the

<sup>1</sup> JAMESON – MALKIN 1998, 477-485; for the colonization cf. PAPADOPOULOS 1997, 191-219; PAPADOPOULOS 2011, 113-133.

<sup>2</sup> LEMOS 1998, 45-58; LEMOS 2002, *passim*; DEGER-JALKOTZY-LEMONS 2006, *passim*; LEMOS 2007; LEMOS 2009; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1987, 3-24; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1998, 173-209; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2006-2007, 81-110; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2007a, *passim*; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2007b, 21-59; DOONAN – MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2007, 361-378; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2010; MAZARAKIS AINIAN – VLACHOU 2014, 95-207; cf. also RIDGWAY 2007, 141-152; CRIELAARD 2007, 169-194; VLACHOU 2007, 213-240; ALOUPI – KOUROU 2007, 287-318; ARJONA PEREZ 2007, 319-330; KNOELL 2017, 195-208; VAN DAMME 2017, 171-181.

<sup>3</sup> The secure data are obviously archaeological in origin; population movements in Boeotia are recorded by the ancient historians who touch on mythic traditions: HDT. 5, 57-59; THUC. 1, 12; EPHOR. *FGrHist* 70 F 119; STRABO 10, 1, 8 wrote about the Aeolians of Penthius' army that stopped in Euboea (and among these Aeolians there were some Boeotians, as one learns from Ephorus). It is also interesting to recall that AELIUS ARISTIDES *Panath.* 54 noted the desertion of the zone of Tanagra as due to the arrival of the Dorians: a “usual” explanation for an ancient historian that was probably based on an absence of visible monument remains. Such are only now, in some cases, being brought to light, not only for Tanagra but also for the surrounding area (FARINETTI 2011, 207-222; BINTLIFF 2004/5 541-606); cf. also COSMOPOULUS 2001, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> In the Mycenaean Age, as is known, all of southern Boeotia was linked to Thebes, as was Euboea up to Amarynthos and Carystos, toponyms that appear in the Theban tablets: DEL FREO 2016, 625-656.

south, Graia/Oropos, remained linked to Eretria (perhaps, as indicated by Knoepfler<sup>5</sup>, until after the Persian wars when it would pass to Athens).

The second part of the work will examine briefly the later explanations for the name *Euboia*. Recurrent in these accounts are mythical persons linked to the Euboean/Boeotian world (Heracles, the Thespiades, Glaucus, the Asopos), that represent different moments of Euboean history. These accounts re-propose, for different ends, the mythic events that reflected Archaic links.

#### A. "HESIODIC" TRADITIONS

##### 1. *Hesiod, Euboia and the papyrus of Philodemos*

a) The first text to consider is a papyrus (*POxy* 1606 f6; // *P.Herc.* 243 f3 col. 1; *P.Herc.* 243 f3 col. 2) that reports a section of Philodemos' *de pietate*: edited by Heinrichs<sup>6</sup> and by Luppe<sup>7</sup> (but an edition by Schober already existed<sup>8</sup>), and brought again to the attention of scholars by M. West in 1985<sup>9</sup>. Re-edited by Obbink in 2004<sup>10</sup>, another section of the same papyrus was also restored as the column immediately preceding the one presented by West<sup>11</sup>. In these two texts reassembled by Obbink, the first speaks of Poseidon's loves, and the second of Apollo's. On the basis of the existence of another section of Philodemos' work, already edited by Heinrichs (*P.Herc.* 1835)<sup>12</sup>, which, also following the *Cypria* 13, relates Zeus' loves, it has been possible to suggest that Philodemos narrated, successively, the loves of Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo and Hermes, partly

following, therefore, the order of verses 930 onwards of the *Theogony* and perhaps also that of the *Catalogue of Women* (Zeus - Poseidon - Apollo - Ares)<sup>14</sup>. The two texts listing the loves of Zeus and Poseidon do not bear the name of the author that was Philodemos' source: but because we have an endless series of the type *μυθῆναι*, because the name of the heroine is in the dative and because many of these unions were recalled in the fragments of the *Catalogue* and in the *Megalai Ehoiai* there is a general agreement that Philodemos is closely following an author that knew Hesiod's work well and who was widely read, one also mined by other Augustan poets, Ovid in particular and also, previously, by Apollodorus of Athens<sup>15</sup>. D'Alessio has expressed some doubts since in the two lists there are some heroines' names that do not currently appear in the fragments of the Boeotian poet, or that appear in the *ME*<sup>16</sup> rather than in the *Ehoiai*. However, attribution to the Hesiodic tradition does not appear to be in any doubt<sup>17</sup>.

In any case, for the purposes of this work, it is important that Philodemos' text reproduces a catalogue tradition that, even though crystalised in a written form either in the early- or mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, gathers together earlier local oral traditions: West has been able to reconstruct and also date the various genealogical segments<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> HES. F 1 MW = 1 MOST; the list Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo, Hermes was later followed by Corinna: *PMG* 654 III vv. 12-20.

<sup>15</sup> HENRICHs 1975, 5-38; OBBINK 2004, 175-209.

<sup>16</sup> D'ALESSIO 2005, 176-216: the author stresses that in the two lists of Poseidon's and Apollo's lovers some women present in the *Ehoiai* are missing and in turn some appear in the *ME*, a work that he considers independent of the *Ehoiai* and perhaps later (6<sup>th</sup> century BC). Philodemos could thus be depending on a source that comingled the two works or the *Megalai Ehoiai* alone. For the purposes of this paper it is important that the traditions regarding the heroine are in any case Archaic and come from local Euboean/Boeotian traditions: Euboia is the daughter of a hero Makareus and grand-daughter of one Hyrieus, that, as WEST 1985b demonstrates, takes her to Early Archaic level. But see below in the text.

<sup>17</sup> Philonis is in fr. 64, ll. 13-18 MW (= 65 MOST), Arsinoe, F 50 MW (= 53ab MOST); Aithousa F 185 MW (= 123 MOST), Cyrene F 215-6 MW (= 158-159 MOST) Astreis F 185 MW (= 123 MOST), Epicaste in *Schol. ARIST. Nubes* 508 A; D'ALESSIO 2005 notes the absence of Coronis, Pronoe, Therò. Coronis constitutes a problem, since in "Hesiod" we have two different traditions for the genealogy of Asclepius: from Apollo, once with Coronis and another time with Arsione.

<sup>18</sup> The dating in West's final editing of the work, WEST 1985a, 144, is the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century; for FOWLER 1998, 1-19 a little after the first Sacred War; WEST 1985a, 137-144, dated the internal segments of all the reconstructed genealogies: cf. WEST 1985a and WEST 1985b. After West's edition (the last is from 1990) there

<sup>5</sup> KNOEPFLER 1985, 50-55; KNOEPFLER 2000, 81-98.

<sup>6</sup> HENRICHs 1972, 67-98, spec. 86.

<sup>7</sup> LUPPE 1984, 109-124; however, a previous edition of Schober existed (SCHOBERT 1923/1988); OBBINK 2004, 175-209.

<sup>8</sup> SCHOBERT 1923/1988, 67-225.

<sup>9</sup> WEST 1985b, 1-7; MERKELBACH-WEST 1990, 190a; for comparison between the two texts cf. NICOLARDI 2017.

<sup>10</sup> OBBINK 2004, 175-209.

<sup>11</sup> Generously, Obbink had rapidly made known his reading of the papyri that were already in the Most edition of Hesiod of 2006 (F 157) and the content was amply discussed by D'ALESSIO 2005, 206-207. For the more strictly papyrological aspects, cf. NICOLARDI 2017, 81-99. I should like to thank Prof. Obbink for having communicated with me that he has not yet made any modifications to his reconstruction of the text and for having indicated Nicolardi's work to me.

<sup>12</sup> HENRICHs 1974, 302-304.

<sup>13</sup> In *Cypria* ff. 2,3,9,10 West only mentions the loves and descendants of Zeus



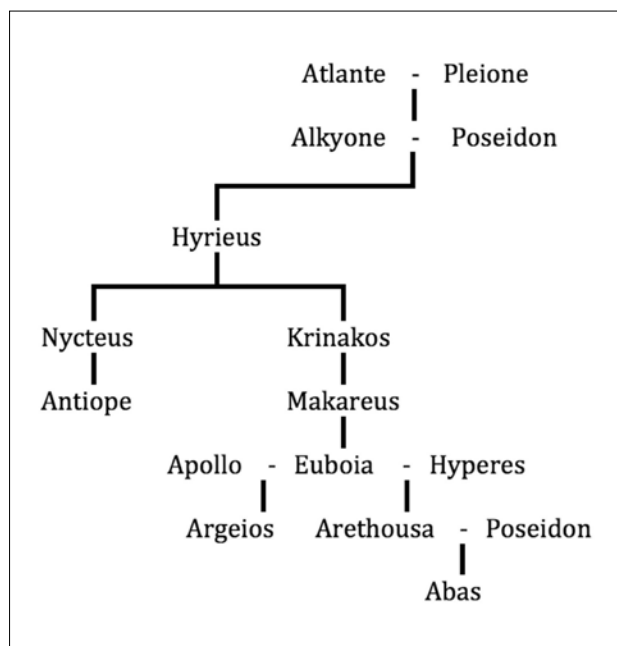


Fig. 1. Atlas' genealogy (from WEST 1985b)

In this setting, among the more interesting of Poseidon's lovers are Alkyone (as in *Ehoiai* fr. 184 MW = 128-129 Most<sup>19</sup>) and Kelainos (*Ehoiai* fr. 169\* MW = 118 Most), defined here as "Pleiades" and Mekionike (present in the *Megalai Ehoiai* fr. 253 MW = 191abc Most). Among Apollo's lovers in the next column, already analysed by West, appears Euboeia (col. 2 ll. 2 -14<sup>20</sup>): κα[ὶ τὸν/ μὲν Ἀπόλλων [τὸν Μουση{ι}γέτην ἐ-/ ρασθέντα τῇ[ς Μακα / ρέως θυγατρ[ὸς Εὐ-/βοίας Ἀργεῖον τεκεῖν./ μαιχθέν[τα] δὲ [τὴν νῆ-----/σον ἀπ' ἐκείν[ης ἐπονομάσαι.

The heroine is called Makareus' daughter, Makareus himself appearing as son of Krinakos of Olenos in Achaia (*Ehoiai* fr. 184 MW = 129 Most), Krinakos being Hyrieus' son (or, according to F 128 Most Zeus' son). The heroine Euboeia would have been transported to the island that then took its name

from her by the god, and uniting with him became the mother of Argeios. Euboeia, as the great grand-daughter of Hyrieus, is a character to whom we shall return.

It should also be recalled briefly that the heroines present in the list of Poseidon's lovers confirm the existence of traditions connected to the unions of the god with the daughters of Atlas (Alkyone, Kelainos), and permit the attribution to the *Ehoiai* itself of some verses reported in a Pindaric scholion, where Atlas' seven daughters are named (fr 169 MW = 128, 129 Most). Alternatively this is attributed to the *Cyclic Theogony* or to Musaeus<sup>21</sup>). Alkyone is presented as another element connecting Euboea and Boeotia, as we shall see.

In 1985, on the basis of the above mentioned fragments and Philodemos' text with Apollo's lovers West<sup>22</sup> was already able to trace the genealogical lineage (Fig. 1).

The well-known genealogy that descends to Kalchodon and Elephenor, chief of the Abantes in the *Iliad*<sup>23</sup>, starts from Abas.

The genealogy is very interesting: even though Euboeia does not appear as Apollo's lover in any other source except Hyginus (*Fab.* 161), where she is both Makar's daughter and Argeios' mother, it is highly likely that she was already present in Hesiod; a little uncertain, but acceptable, is West's hypothesis that once transported to the island, Euboeia becomes the wife of Hyperes (like Hyrieus, a son of Poseidon and Alkyone) and in this way was at the origin of a Euboean branch of Atlas' descendants. She is, therefore, a heroine of Boeotian origins, the daughter of a Makareus to be identified with Makar, a regal figure already in his own name, coloniser of Lesbos, known to Homer, and to Alcaeus<sup>24</sup>. Maka-

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Merkelbach-West at fr. 169.

<sup>22</sup> WEST 1985b.

<sup>23</sup> In the Hesiodic frs. we have: Atlas, fr. 169a MW = 118 MOST; Hyrieus, fr. 184 MW = 129 MOST; Makareus, fr. 184 MW = 128-129 MOST; Hyperes, fr. 188a MW 1990 = 130 MOST; Arethusa, fr. 188a MW 1990 = 130 MOST and 244a MW = 131 MOST; Abas fr. 244a MW = 131 MOST; Antiope and Nycteus appear in Pherecydes (but not only, also in Euripides, texts HYG. *Fab.* 8; PAUS. 2,6,1; APOLLOD. 3,4,2, *schol.*, AR 4,100) *FGrHist* 3 F 41c = DOLCETTI 207; *FGrHist* 3 F 124 = 124 FOWLER 2000 = 211 DOLCETTI; *FGrHist* F 10a-b = 170 FOWLER 2000 = 173 DOLCETTI; cf. GANTZ 1993, 484-486; FOWLER 2013, 361-365.

<sup>24</sup> HOM. *Il.* 24,544 *cum scholiis*; ALC. fr. 306Ea col.1 and 2 LIBERMAN; in *HHAp.* 37 Makareus is the son of Aiolos; in PAUS.

have been further contributions that have, in some cases, led to a different attribution of the fragments and to variants in the genealogical reconstructions: this does not apply to the genealogies we are discussing here. For a good summary of the problems, cf. CARDIN 2010, 151-210. In the text, the numbering of the fragments according to MERKELBACH-WEST 1967 and 1990 will be followed, accompanied by that of MOST 2007; the HIRSCHERBERGER 2004 numbering will not be taken into account as it does not touch on this problem, and the edition does not include all the fragments.

<sup>19</sup> MW indicates the Merkelbach-West edition.

<sup>20</sup> The copyist erroneously inserted four lines, probably from another column: cf. OBBINK *ad locum* and NICOLARDI 2017, 81-99.

reus is grandson of Hyrieus, a person of primary importance in the Boeotian sagas<sup>25</sup> and the founder of Hyria. In many cases Hyrieus is counted as Orion's father, even though in the *Ehoiai*, Orion is the son of Poseidon and Euryale (F 148a MW = 244 Most) and is also situated at Hyria in Pindar (F 72-73 M). Euboia is, therefore, closely connected to the mythical king of a centre that must have flourished in Boeotia in the Mycenaean Age, perhaps linked to the palace of Thebes. The Apollo, called Mousagetes in the papyrus, has to be associated with the Muses of The-spiae, where Pausanias<sup>26</sup> indicated the existence of a bronze statue of the god on Mount Helicon and where an epigraph of the early-5<sup>th</sup> century allows siting the cult in the Archaic Age, and is also linked to the Apollo of Eretria and of Tamynai<sup>27</sup> and of many other Euboean locations<sup>28</sup>. West has shown, acutely, that in this succession Euboea and Lesbos are both considered Aeolic foundations and that in this way the genealogy exalts the Boeotian participation in the Aeolic enterprise, that, in fact, according to Ephoros departed from Aulis (*FGrHist* 70 F 119) and that, according to Strabo left behind some of its participants in Euboea itself (10,1,8). Euboea itself was also considered "entirely Aeolic" by Plutarch<sup>29</sup> in Antiquity. Here, the Euboea/Boeotia relationship is one of interdependence, above all if one accepts West's proposal that Euboia is the wife of Hyperes and mother of Arethusa, given that it would link her particularly to Chalcis, the site where

the famous heroine was transformed into a fountain, a consequence of her union with Poseidon.

The connection with Hyrieus reconstructed in this way is important: it does not appear directly in any other source, but the testimony of other fragments makes it certain<sup>30</sup>. Besides, if Argeios was considered the son of Apollo and Euboia, then the genealogy also attempted to illuminate a privileged relationship with the Argolid, a relationship that other evidence also emphasizes<sup>31</sup>.

It should be noted that the version that makes Argeios the son of Apollo and Euboia seems to stress a "superiority" of Euboea over the Argolid, the same superiority that West<sup>32</sup> evinced from fr. 277 (= 213 Most) of the *Melampodia*, where Chalcis is annotated "of the beautiful women", a rivalry that is also evinced from the oracle of Deinias (*FGrHist* 306 F 6) in which those who drink from the waters of the Arethusa fountain are remembered as the best, while some successive verses and additions give this primacy to the Argives.

So, Euboea, Boeotia and Aiolis, and the Aeolic migration are a single unit and the Eastern coast of Boeotia is perceived as and deliberately associated with the island opposite it. The link that the genealogy then establishes with the Inachid dynasty through Abas<sup>33</sup> certainly touches on the branch of Agenor that includes the descendents of Cadmus and later of Oedipus, but it also includes the other branch of the Perseids, later joined in matrimony with the Pelopids in the *Catalogue*: in this way Euboea would rejoin the traditions connected to Agamemnon and the Trojan War<sup>34</sup>. These genealogical connections may not be as old as the nucleus that leads to Euboia, Hyperes and to their immediate descendants, given that in the *Ehoiai*, as is known, there is a confluence of traditions from differing chronological backgrounds, with influences de-

10,38,4 again Makareus son of Aiolos is the father of Amphissa, who, loved by Apollo gives her name to the Locrian city. Also in the west we find Makareus son of Aiolos in the Aeolian islands (SOSTRATOS *FGrHist* 23 F3). All these traditions identify Boeotia, Locris and Euboea as "Aeolic" zones.

<sup>25</sup> On Hyrieus, as well as the Hesiodic fr. quoted, cf. PIND. F 72-73 M (Hyrieus father of Orion); APOLLOD. 3,10,1; STEPH. BYZ. Ὑρία s.v.; HYG. *Fab.* 157; the story of Hyrieus, supposed father of Orion, was taken up by Ovid (probably through Euphorion) *Fasti* 5,493-494.

<sup>26</sup> PAUS. 9 30,1, SCHACHTER 1981, 89; *SEG* 33, 404 and SCHACHTER 1996, 101-102, on the coins of the first Imperial Age the god appears with the epiclesis "Citharoedus".

<sup>27</sup> And probably also present at Amarynthos next to his sister Artemis, as demonstrated by KNOEPFLER 1988, 382-421, especially 412-413.

<sup>28</sup> For example the Apollo Koropaios, PLUT. fr. 115 Sandbach.

<sup>29</sup> QG 296 D: perhaps the passage derives from the Constitution of the Chalcidians of Aristotele and implied an occupation of Boeotia on the part of the Aeolians after the Doric invasion; these Aeolians would have then been "bought" by the Athenians Aiklos and Kothos; according to other mythic traditions Aeolus and Boeotus were twins cf. MELE 1995, 427-450; MELE 2007 71 ff.

<sup>30</sup> APOLLODORUS 3,10,1 also makes him the father of Lycos and Nycteus. Lycos the father of a maiden that could be Antiope already appears in *Cypria*, arg. 4 b WEST 2013, 98-99.

<sup>31</sup> WEST 1985a and the relationship between the Argolid and Boeotian genealogies, 147-149; cf. also MITCHELL 2001, 339-352, although this elaboration is unconvincing.

<sup>32</sup> WEST 1985a, 4.

<sup>33</sup> WEST 1985a, 147-149 believes it is probably in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, but by the time the Euboean segment down to Abas became fixed, Abas had been acquired by the Argive genealogy (against MITCHELL 2001, 339-352).

<sup>34</sup> SCHACHTER 2014, 313-331.

pending on the differing settings.

It cannot be said for certain whether a nucleus connected to Arethusa was sung as the beginning of any poetic composition in Euboean performances, as has been recently hypothesised in general for other *ehoiai*<sup>35</sup>: a recent study<sup>36</sup> on the fragment and on the genealogy, known to Eustathius through Prophyrius (fr. 3 Schrader = EUST. *ad Il.* 1 p. 431) and from a papyrus text (F 188a = 130 Most) has stressed how Hera's transformation of the maiden into the fountain after the violence she suffered at the hands of Poseidon in the area of the Euripus Strait is not to be considered as a punishment, but as an act of pity and of compensation, in the sense that it conferred her with heroic status, also with the "magical" properties attributed to her waters. It has been shown, correctly, that, in a situation connected to the union with the god, transformation recalls a rite of passage, therefore referencing female rituals perhaps carried out by the women of Chalcis.

b) But it is now necessary to return to the other figures present in this genealogy, that, independent of the heroine Euboea, make connections between the two coasts. Above all this involves the union between Alkyone and Poseidon: it mirrors Hellanicus' passage (*FGrHist* 4 F 19 and 19a<sup>37</sup>), regarding unions between these heroines and Zeus, Poseidon and in particular Ares. Poseidon, besides Alkyone, united with Kelainos (as the first column of the papyrus confirms), while Zeus united with Maia – from the latter couple Hermes was born on Mount Cyllene. As we shall see, Hermes is very much present at Tanagra. The family of the Atlantids, or that of the Pleiades, has many branches: in the final version of the *Catalogue*, the one we read that was probably written down in the 6<sup>th</sup> century (reflecting an Athenian view according to West, or a Delphic view according to Fowler<sup>38</sup>), has its oldest nucleus in both Euboean and Boeotian oral traditions. Besides, Hesiod knew of the Pleiades in the *Theogony* (vv. 45,

151; *Erga* vv. 383, 572, 615, 619); perhaps the myth of Orion's chasing them and their mother Pleione<sup>39</sup> was already reported in the *Astronomica*. Orion is another hero linked to Hyria, to Tanagra, to Euboea and to the West, and also transformed, like the Pleiades, into a constellation<sup>40</sup>. The presence of Atlas and Alkyone, head of both the Boeotian and the Euboean line of descendents, is significant. As is known, in the *Theogony* Atlas is the Titan that holds up the world and is placed in Tartarus towards the west, near the Ocean<sup>41</sup>: as such he is a being linked to the borders and is also found among the Hyperboereans<sup>42</sup>. He may also be one of those creatures that, linked to the journey of Helios, can be located in both the East and the West.

Furthermore, with his being placed in a position between the earth and the infernal region, that is, between two worlds, Atlas is not greatly different, functionally, from the Euboean Briareos who is found positioned at the extreme West<sup>43</sup>. Being a Titan, Atlas brings to mind the other figures of Titans and Giants already present in Euboea, besides Briareos/Aigaion these include Lelantos, Krios, Eretrieus and others<sup>44</sup>. Not by chance, on the Boeotian side, at Tanagra, Atlas would have a place dedicated to him, a Πόλος, where it is said that he reflected on the movement of the heavenly bodies<sup>45</sup>; the tradition is not as late as may be thought: an image on an Attic lekythos from the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, found at Eretria<sup>46</sup>, depicts Heracles and Atlas and between the two there appear some signs, like letters, that seem to indicate these astronomical capacities of the Titan. Hermes also descends from Atlas, through his daughter Maia, and is a god linked to passages, always in movement, a counterweight to his father who is placed at the confines, but is forced

<sup>35</sup> STEINER 2017, 47-81; cf also RUTHERFORD 2000, 81-96 and 263-266, who considers the poetry of the *Ehoiai* a general catalogue with mythological paradigms that have a very long tradition behind them, but does not think that such a genre was the object of performance.

<sup>36</sup> ARJONA-PEREZ 2017, 403-407.

<sup>37</sup> Also F \*\*19b FOWLER 2000 = *POxy* 8, 1084.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *supra* note 18.

<sup>39</sup> FRs. 288-290 MW (= 223-224 MOST) recall the Pleiades; the *Erga*, vv. 618-620 narrates their pursuit by Orion: BALLABRIGA 1986, 75 ff., especially 94. For Orion and the west, cf. *infra*.

<sup>40</sup> BALLABRIGA 1986, 75 ff.

<sup>41</sup> HES. *Theog.* 509, 517-519 and already HOM. *Od.* 1, 50-54.

<sup>42</sup> APOLLOD. 2, 5, 11; cf. BALLABRIGA 1986, 75-95; cf. HEROD. *FGrHist* 31 F 13, where Atlas is called "Phrygian" and GUADAGNO 2016, 137-166.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. *infra*.

<sup>44</sup> BREGLIA 2013.

<sup>45</sup> PAUS. 9, 20, 3; cf. GUADAGNO 2016.

<sup>46</sup> Attic lekythos with black figures, *LIMC* 2, 'Atlas' s.v., no. 7 and already in *ABV* 1956, 522 (ca. 490 BC).

into immobility by his holding up the world<sup>47</sup>. So, Atlas, Alkyone and their descendents perfectly fit into everything that we know of the two areas, but by another avenue. West dated this section of the *Ehoiai* to the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century (about 770), at a time prior to that in which the figure of Abas, originating in the Argolid, was adopted into the Euboean tradition. Thus we are at the moment of the departure of the Euboean colonists towards the West.

c) Poseidon, whom Hesychius<sup>48</sup> calls Εὐρίπιος, thereby placing him precisely in the area of the deflowering of Arethusa, was considered the patron god of all Boeotia (ARISTAR. *schol.* in *Il.* V v. 422) that was sacred to him. The god can also be considered a *génie des passes*, as he is linked to Mt. Helicon and to Mt. Phikion in the area of the Lake Copais; nor is the *Homeric hymn to Poseidon* (XXII) to be forgotten: in this, his sites are in fact Mt. Helicon and Aigai, which must be identified with the island sacred to him to the north of Euboea, also recorded in *Od.* 5,381.

Alkyone, on her part, is a marine bird that nests on the sea at a time of the year that became proverbial (the days of Alkyone – the Halcyon days<sup>49</sup>); this is a bird that is also linked to passage, and not to be confused with the Alkyone who committed suicide and was transformed into a kingfisher, as documented for the homonymous heroine, daughter of Aeolos and wife of Keyx in the Hesiod's *Catalogue*<sup>50</sup>. Therefore the couple (Poseidon and Alkyone) qualify the zone (Euboea and Boeotia together) as a territory that is in a certain sense “extreme”, or in any case one of passage, linked to figures that others have already qualified as *génies des passes*<sup>51</sup>. Perhaps then it is no coincidence that Anthedon – founded by Anthas, also a son, it has been claimed according to Pausanias (9, 22) and Steph.

Byz.<sup>52</sup>, of the couple Poseidon-Alkyone, (and therefore again a descendent of Atlas) – is considered ἐσχατόωσα (*Il.* 2,508).

West<sup>53</sup> links Antiope to the same descent from Hyrieus, and therefore of the same genealogy, since a fragment would appear to recall her “as the maiden brought up at Hyria”<sup>54</sup>; this points to a tradition that is opposed to the Odyssean one involving an Antiope daughter of Asopos<sup>55</sup>, that, at this stage, would appear more a recent one. So, this Antiope would be the daughter of Nycteus, as stated in Pherecydes and then in Euripides<sup>56</sup>. This datum, independent of the probable additional presence in the fragment of Amphion and Zethus, sons of Antiope, once more revalues Hyria. If we consider that Hyria is the first Boeotian city mentioned in the *Catalogue of Ships*, followed closely by Aulis (2,493 ff.), it is clear that it must have been of notable importance; even the Euboean Histiaea is said to have taken its name from a daughter of Hyrieus<sup>57</sup>. The city is also recalled in another Hesiodic fragment, this time from the *Megalai Ehoiai* (253 MW = 191abc Most): here it is the city of Mekionike, another lover of Poseidon, and mother of Euphemos, ancestor of the founders of Cyrene, that is linked to an *ehoia*, to be attributed perhaps to the *Catalogue* by West, or to the *Megalai Ehoiai* by D'Alessio<sup>58</sup>. The chronological horizon of the *Megalai Ehoiai* is later than that of the other poem and the *ehoia* of Mekionike, in that it is linked to the foundation of Cyrene, making the last years of the 7<sup>th</sup> century its *termine post quem*; but in any case it demonstrates the desire to place Hyria again as the place of origin for the pilot of other overseas expeditions: while with Hyrieus/Makar one was looking at the world of the Eastern Aeolia, here, with the Argonauts (i.e. Minyians) we are looking at Libya<sup>59</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> ‘Ανθηδών’ s.v.

<sup>53</sup> WEST 1985b.

<sup>54</sup> Fr. 181 M-W = 124 MOST; cfr. WEST 1985b.

<sup>55</sup> *Od.* 11,260; ASIUS fr. 1,2 Bernabé.

<sup>56</sup> *FGrHist* 3 F 41 = 207 e 211 DOLCETTI; EUR. frs. 179-227 NAUCK = 179-227 KANNICHT = 1-48 VAN LOOY; in *Cypria arg.* 4b. Lycos appears as the father: see *supra*; for the tradition of Pherecydes, cf. though DOLCETTI, p. 25-28.

<sup>57</sup> EUSTAT. in *Il.* 2,535.

<sup>58</sup> D'ALESSIO 2005.

<sup>59</sup> We still do not have a precise identification of the site of Hyria: BLEGEN 1949 thought it could have been Dhramesi; FOSSEY 1988, 75-76 thought of Glyphas, a bay very near Aulis and right

<sup>47</sup> JAILLARD 2007a, 131-152 and JAILLARD 2007b, 27 ff.

<sup>48</sup> Εὐρίπιος s.v.

<sup>49</sup> SIMONID. fr. 3 t PMG; ARIST. *HA* 542b.

<sup>50</sup> Fr. 10,33e 96 MW = (10,33, 96 MOST); 10d MW (= 12 MOST): in Hesiod the myth foresaw only the transformation of Alkyone and Keyx into birds (unlike how it would be in Ovid) and also that Alkyone daughter of Aiolos makes her nest on the sea: cf. D'ALESSIO 2005, 182-183; HIRSCHBERGER 2004, 192-193; GANTZ 1993, 167-170.

<sup>51</sup> VIAN 1952, 129-155. GRESSETH 1964, 88-98; for the various Keyx in Hesiod, D'ALESSIO 2005, 182-183.

For the Eastern projection of Hyria the *schol.* to AR 946 is also to be kept in mind. It states that Si-nope, daughter of Asopos, was kidnapped from Hyria by Apollo and taken to the Pontic coast, where a city took her name. For Eumelus (F 10 Bernabé) the river was the Philisian Asopos but for Corinna (f 669 PMG), it was the Asopos in Boeotia.

As for Hyrieus, who has already been partly examined, he is, according to Pausanias<sup>60</sup>, the “owner” of a *thesauros* built by Trophonios, a *thesauros* from which the artful architect stole treasure, until the loss was discovered: the *thesauros* must have been situated in Hyria, even though Pausanias does not explicitly say so<sup>61</sup>. As is known, this myth has its parallel in that of Rhampsinitos known to Herodotus, and the connection with Trophonios takes Hyrieus back to the setting of honey and also to Demeter<sup>62</sup>. Therefore, Hyria and Hyrieus, predecessors of Euboea, are, as stated, very ancient<sup>63</sup>; the Makar of Lesbos, recalled by Alcaeus is also connected to very old traditions: he takes a talisman, the work of Hephaistos, from Pholoe to Lesbos. According to an oracle of a Sybil (F 306 Liberman)<sup>64</sup>, *grammata* were written in it. Only later<sup>65</sup> will he be assigned a wife, Klonia, whose name recalls Klonios, one of the heads of the Abantids at Troy. The

tradition about his son Nycteus, instead, seems to have been put in question at an early date: while he is still accepted as the father of Antiope in Pherecydes and Euripides<sup>66</sup>, the heroine is already the daughter of Asopos, as is seen, in the *Odyssey* and in Asius.

Finally, the traditions regarding Anthas, again as the descendent of the couple Poseidon and Alkyone, take us to Anthedon and to Troezen and to the cult of Poseidon there. This cult is now seen to be very old, from the excavations at Methana<sup>67</sup>, and at Calauria<sup>68</sup> (that also appears to go back to the Geometric period), and through this other figure (and a centre in Boeotia strictly connected to Chalcis) we have documented a southward connection. Therefore, the Atlantid/Poseidonian genealogy designates not only a unity and interdependence between Boeotia and Euboea, but also alludes to expansions that concern the Aeolic colonisation and the Amphictiony of Calauria (now placed definitely at a “high” chronological level) and ultimately also with moves to the West if one considers the close link between Hyria and Orion, the giant connected to Pelorus in front of Rhegium<sup>69</sup>. All this only involves the heroic figures connected to this particular genealogical tradition.

Therefore, this genealogy, dated to before 750 BC, presents divine and heroic figures (Poseidon, Atlas, Alkyone) that identify Euboea as a “zone of communication and passage”, and also features other semi-divine characters (Arethusa), objects of metamorphosis, that thereby connect to rituals of passage, and perhaps in the area of Chalcis to female rites (and in this way it allows one to hypothesise that the oral transmission of myths that were linked to ceremonial rites). The genealogy finds its human/regal starting point in a person, Hyrieus, who is the font of the heroes, Krinakus and Makar, involved in the Aeolic colonization: thereby emerges a unitary “Mediterranean expedition” of Boeotia and Euboea. Euboea of the 8<sup>th</sup> century is projected and identified in this common venture. It is the same Euboea as is presented as the heir of the Homeric

across from Chalcis with important remains from the Mycenaean Age and others from the Archaic and Classical. But up to now no decisive data exist; cf. also DEMAPOULOU 1988, 1-18, who has found evidence of the Archaic and Classical periods and FARINETTI 2011, 214 ff. Strabo, unlike Pausanias, names it (8,376 and 9,404) and says that in his time it was part of the *Tanagriké*, while previously it had been part of Thebes. One may suppose that the Thebes of the 7<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries had occupied it, or brought it under its own control, and that it then passed to Tanagra when it enacted its synoecism. Unfortunately, this does not clarify the problem of its position and, for the dateline it should be stressed that Strabo uses the present and seems, therefore, to be referring to events not long in his past. The only thing that seems possible to state is that Hyria must have been a centre with an important port, given that it was the departure point of Makar and that was the place of origin for Euphemos: in this way the identification of Blegen with Dhramesi would make sense, especially since he found a tombstone here with the image of a ship. Chalia is localised by BACKHUIZEN 1970, 145-146 and by FOSSEY 1988, 77-78 at Mikra Khaleia and Megala Khaleia (Dhrosià).

<sup>60</sup> PAUS. 9,37,5-7; cf. the history of Rhampsinitos in HDT. 2,121, on which BREGLIA 2016, 81-112.

<sup>61</sup> M. MOGGI, in MOGGI – OSANNA 2010 a PAUS. 9,37.

<sup>62</sup> DEBIASI 2010a, 99-119.

<sup>63</sup> Hyrieus could be a figure dating back to the Mycenaean Age; sources and data in GANTZ 1993, 215-216, 484.

<sup>64</sup> COPPOLA 2005, 153-175.

<sup>65</sup> *Schol.* in LYC. 328.

<sup>66</sup> Fr. 223,71 KANNICHT.

<sup>67</sup> KONSOLAKE GIANNPOULOU 2016, 45-74.

<sup>68</sup> BREGLIA 2005, 33; PRANDI 2011, 237-252.

<sup>69</sup> GIANGIULIO 1996, 251-271; DEBIASI 2010a, 99-119; DEBIASI 2010b, 9-27; for Orion as son of Hyrieus, cf. GANTZ 1993, 273.

heroes, Nestor, Odysseus and Agamemnon, the latter of whom left for Troy from Aulis and was also in some way “responsible” for a particular aspect of the Eretrian *Thesmophoria*<sup>70</sup>.

d) At this point I should like to advance some thoughts about this centre, Hyria (Ἥρια in *Il.* 2,496): the first of the sites listed in the *Catalogue of Ships*<sup>71</sup>, immediately followed by Aulis, it was sometimes identified as Hysiae<sup>72</sup> that Strabo (9,2,12), however, locates at the foot of Mt. Cithaeron and notes that it is said to be a colony of the Hyrieans and founded by Nycteus, son of Hyrieus<sup>73</sup>. Considering the two toponyms together, Wilamowitz<sup>74</sup> saw Hyria as the first example of that typically Eretrian rotacism to which we must also credit the variant Oropos of Asopos<sup>75</sup>, as Knoepfler has demonstrated. Wilamowitz’s hypothesis is now difficult to sustain<sup>76</sup>. Hyria, albeit not identified with certainty, should be found in close proximity to Aulis, probably more to the south; a fragment of Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115 F 211) says it is near Chalia, another centre of uncertain location, but involved, as we shall see, in a war with Chalcis. We now know that these centres recorded in the *Catalogue of Ships* in the *Iliad* – namely Aulis, Hyria, Harma, Mycalessos – ended up as part of Tanagra: Strabo (9,2,12)<sup>77</sup> lists them in the *Ταναργική* or *Ταναργαία* of his time, and it is not possible to give a precise date to the epoch of these “inclusions”, since the extension of the *chora* of

Tanagra seems to have changed often over time<sup>78</sup>. Initially Tanagra was inhabited *katà komas*, as Plutarch also recalls (*QG* 37), while, on the basis of inscriptions (less than on the basis of archaeological data which go back further), the epoch of synoecism is to be placed in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, towards the end. The centres involved in the oldest synoecism therefore are not those registered by Strabo; many of them, such as Aulis and Mycalessos, had long been part of the territory of Thebes<sup>79</sup>. PLUT. *QG* 37 narrates that at the time of the departure of the Greeks for Troy, Poimandros, having abandoned Aulis went and founded a location called Stephon; a lemma of the *Et. Magnum* gave more information: <Γέφυρα>: Πόλις Βοιωτίας, ἡ καὶ Τάναγρα καὶ Γραῖα καὶ Ποιμανδρία καλουμένη. Εἴρηται, ὅτι ἐν Σχεδία κόμῃ κατοικοῦντες, καὶ ἐν τῇ πέραν γῇ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ, διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπιμειξίαις γεφύραις ἐχρῶντο<sup>80</sup>. Here a series of toponyms are given, and because they are given as other names of the same centre, Tanagra, they probably indicate the *κῶμαι* that took part in the synoecism. According to the topographical research of E. Farinetti<sup>81</sup> these would be the centres that started the synoecism and Hyria should also be added. In this way it would be found located in the area near to Asopos<sup>82</sup>.

Hence, it seems probable – and the confirmation will be found in fact in Corinna – that Tanagra took possession of the traditions of Hyria through synoecism. Corinna recalls Hyria (Ouria, *PMG* 669), and writes extensively about Orion, whose civilizing influence she praises and whose return, following his exploits, perhaps she celebrates in the poem “*kataplous*”. Orion (*Oarion* *PMG* 654-656, 662) had a tomb at Tanagra (PAUS. 9,20); in Corinna, Hyrieus (Ourieus) is a priest of Apollo at Ptoion (*PMG* 654 col. III)<sup>83</sup>: here the connection between the

<sup>70</sup> PLUT. *QG* 37, cf. BREGLIA 1979, 53-63.

<sup>71</sup> *Il.* 2,496.

<sup>72</sup> VIAN 1963; PRANDI 1988, 20 e n. 5; MOGGI – OSANNA 2010, 218-220: the identification is in Euripides, in his *Antiope*, located in Eleutherai. However, the equation is impossible, as other Hyriai exist (one at Paros, STEPH. BYZ. s.v.) and because rotacism is an Eretrian/Oroposian/Chalcidian phenomenon of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC (cf. KNOEPFLER 1986, 71-98; KNOEPFLER 2000, 81-98; DEL BARRIO VEGA 1994, 315-328) and Hyria appears with this name in the *Catalogue of Ships* which is certainly older. Even so, as WEST 1985a, 100-102 has noted, the figures linked to these persons and recorded in Hesiod may have represented a departure point for this identification.

<sup>73</sup> Also as in STEPH. BYZ. Ἥρια, s.v.

<sup>74</sup> Wilamowitz 1886, 91-115.

<sup>75</sup> KNOEPFLER 2000, 81-98.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. *supra*; for Asopos/Oropos, KNOEPFLER 2000; DEL BARRIO VEGA 1997a, 553-575; DEL BARRIO VEGA 1998, 501-509; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2006-2007, 81-110, accept Knoepfler’s hypothesis of dating the toponym Oropos only to the 6<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century, but see *infra*.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. SCHACHTER 2016, 97.

<sup>78</sup> SCHACHTER 2016, 80 ff.

<sup>79</sup> SCHACHTER 2016, 95 ff.

<sup>80</sup> The equivalence Gephyra/Tanagra was already present in HECAT. *FGrHist* 1 F 118, cf. *infra*.

<sup>81</sup> FARINETTI 2011, 178-189, 207-222.

<sup>82</sup> It should be stressed that for the two Archaic inscriptions recorded by Schachter, one documents a close relationship with Thebes, while the other is an offering, a lebes, (JEFFERY, n. 94-05) to Apollo Καρυκαῖο, (Δεμοθερεῖς ἱεραὸν Ἀπολλῶνος Καρυκεῖο), made by a Euboian person whose name is written in Euboian characters, unlike the rest of the inscription.

<sup>83</sup> For Corinna and her dates see GENTILI - LOMIENTO 2001,

Boeotian city and Thebes appears certain. Besides, there is another work of the poetess, *Orestas*, that, according to a proposal of Schachter<sup>84</sup>, could have had the Aeolian colonisation as its subject; again Corinna, according to what Pausanias reports (9,20,1), considered Tanagra the daughter of Asopos<sup>85</sup>.

Furthermore, the *Megalai Ehoiai*, that seem perhaps to be more recent than the *Catalogue* or in any case have an orientation respectful to Heracles and to Boeotian-Peleponnesian<sup>86</sup> traditions, already included Chaerēsilaus, son of Iasius (fr. 251a MW= 189ab Most) who, in other traditions, would be the father of Poimandros founder of Tanagra, linked to Achilles and to a purification performed by Elephenor (PLUT. *QG* 37)<sup>87</sup>.

A tradition of a unity between western Boeotia/Euboea, contemporary with “common colonial adventures”, seems to be followed by a tradition adopted by Tanagra as its own, that incorporates Hyria and that is characterised by a pro-Theban viewpoint.

## 2. Euboea and Io in the “pseudo-Hesiodic” *Aegimius*

Another Hesiodic fragment is to be taken into consideration: it comes from *Aegimius*, a work attributed to Kerkops as well as to Hesiod, and seems to represent an autonomous Euboean tradition that directly reclaims for itself the relationship with the Argolid, a relationship that the previous tradition recognised through Argeius, son of Euboea, daughter of Makar. Fragment 296 MW recalls that Euboea was once called Abantis and then took its name from Io, transformed into a cow by Hera; in the same poem, some verses (F 294) recalled the birth, from the union of Argos and Asopide Ismene<sup>88</sup>, of Argus Panoptes<sup>89</sup>. Hera put this monster to guard Io after Zeus had surrendered her to the goddess.

The heroine Euboea, connected to the mainland and to Apollo, disappears here, being substituted instead by a heroine connected to the Argolid (Io) and to other figures present in the Inachid genealogy. Ismene, here considered as certainly the daughter of Boeotian Asopos<sup>90</sup>, has a completely secondary role, perhaps a further sign of union between Euboea and Boeotia, a Boeotia that could look to Thebes. Therefore, in this origin of the name and in the Argolid genealogical data there seems to be a desire to stress a very close relationship of Euboea with Argos, a relationship dating back to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century (but perhaps even older, if we recall people like Agamemnon in the Aeolic colonies<sup>91</sup>) and a relationship with Thebes, itself in close rapport with Argos: it is possible that the myths connected to the War of the Seven Against Thebes or to the War of the *Epigonoí* influenced this tradition, especially if one recalls that in the *Iliad* (4,383; 10,187) Tydeus leaves his companions at the Asopos before heading for Thebes, something that demonstrates that at that time the river was already

7-20.

<sup>84</sup> FR. 690 PMG; SCHACHTER 2016, 236 ff.

<sup>85</sup> In the same passage Pausanias gives the descent of Poimandros, similar to that quoted in the *Megalai Ehoiai*, in which Aithousa daughter of Poseidon stands out (cf. *supra*).

<sup>86</sup> D’ALESSIO 2005.

<sup>87</sup> The story of the foundation of Tanagra had already been narrated by Boeotian Aristophanes, a mythographic writer of the early 4<sup>th</sup> century, to whom is attributed, with FOWLER 2000, a papyrus fragment (*POxy* 2463), where the story is shorter, has no details as in Plutarch’s narration, and closes with the death of Poimandros’ son, Ehippos, killed by his father after he had dared to jump over the moat that must have been the perimeter of the city. In Plutarch’s account, instead, enraged with the architect Polykrithos that had criticised his work by jumping the moat, Poimandros attempts to strike him but kills his own son, Leucippus. Poimandros, needing to be purified and having difficulty travelling because the Achaeans had invaded Boeotia, sent another son, Ehippos, to Achilles. Ehippos persuaded Achilles to return in his company together with Tlepolemos, Heracles’ son, and Peneleos, Hippalkmos’ son; they accompanied Poimandros to Chalcis, where he was purified by Elephenor. Poimandros assigned *temene* to these men. This variant, with a strong local colouring, is interesting, not only because the presence of Achilles (the story served to justify the Tanagran absence at Troy) and of Peneleos, one of the leaders of the Boeotian contingent at Troy, but also because of Tlepolemos, who is the grandson of Ormenos, a Thessalian hero, but also linked to Boeotia and the father of Amyntor of the nearby Eleon, the first owner of Odysseus’ helmet. Besides, the purification of Poimandros by Elphenor at Chalcis gives another indication of the relationship Boeotia/Chalcis. Cf. D’ALESSIO 2005, 184; SCHACHTER 2014, 313-331, who published an inscription from Tanagra with a dedication to Tlepolemos.

<sup>88</sup> But this seems to be the genealogy given by Kerkops, an “Orphic” poet to be dated later than Hesiod: cf. KIVILO 2010, 24 note 73; 42-43.

<sup>89</sup> An Attic oinochoe of the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century coming from a tomb in Cuma (*LIMC*, ‘Io’ s.v., no. 7) bears the myth: although of a late period, the choice of the representation and its funereal destination put the vase in the colonial setting, where the myth was well-known (GRECO 2020).

<sup>90</sup> WEST 1985b.

<sup>91</sup> MELE 2005, 395-410, MELE 2007, 375-392.

perceived as a border with the Theban zone<sup>92</sup>. The fragment attributes the naming of the island to Zeus and indirectly, therefore, to Hera, a divinity known to be very important in Euboea<sup>93</sup>, and seems to wish to separate itself from the tradition of Euboea, grand-daughter of Hyrieus: it may be a slightly later event, or in any case a response to an autonomous identity for Euboea. But what is important to stress is that now the connection with Argos is no longer marked by the superiority of Euboea, but on the contrary it seems that the Hera of Argos and the Euboean one identify with each other (and we know that the Argive sanctuary was set on a hill called Euboea): there is parity between the two centres and perhaps also problems of transference of the heroes Io and Abas from one centre to the other. Io comes from Argos, but Abas will go to Argos, and Phoenix, another exponent of the Inachid genealogy, will go to Boeotia<sup>94</sup>. The existence of an anthroponym Ἰοκλῆς at Eretria seems to confirm the existence of a tradition linked to the heroine<sup>95</sup>.

This tradition concerns, like the other, all of Euboea, but while the previous one had a strong link with Arethusa and therefore to Chalcis, this one seems to wish to present itself rather as an Argive and unitary thread; it is to be remembered, however, that later sources situate the myth of Io, Hermes and Argos at Argoura, a locality that Knoepfler<sup>96</sup> thought could be the ancient name of Lefkandi: and this would take us again to Chalcis, the most important Euboean centre in the *Catalogue of Ships*. It would appear, therefore, to confirm a Euboean autonomy from the mainland coast where there were located Hyria, Aulis and perhaps the Chalia recorded by Theopompus: and perhaps what brought about this context of confirmed independence was the war, again reported by Theopompus (*FGrHist*

115 F 212) of the Chalcidians against Chaliens and Aeolians: that is, the Boeotians, Thebans and Orchomenians. It is striking that the Boeotians are here numbered among the Aeolians, as they were represented in the genealogy Hyrieus-Krinakos Makar. Chalcis must have tried to detach itself from the Boeotian unity to which we shall find it connected in the 6<sup>th</sup> century and from the traditions that represent Aiolos and Boiotos as twins<sup>97</sup>.

### 3. Final observations on the "Hesiodic" traditions

This analysis of the explanations given in the Hesiodic traditions of the name of the island and the analysis of the genealogies it is connected to (Hyrieus-Krinakos-Makar, and Io herself) throws light on the very close relationships with the zone of the Asopos, and at a certain moment to move from this link with the immediate mainland towards the Argolid or even towards Egypt (Epaphos).

A further reflection is to be made on the tradition that seems the oldest, the one in which Euboea is the great grand-daughter of Hyrieus, in this way connected to Hyriai, a centre near the coast near Aulis in particular, that would become part of the *chora* of Tanagra<sup>98</sup>.

We know that the two localities of the coast across from Euboea, Tanagra and Oropos, both claimed to be the ancient Graia, the city also recorded in the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*<sup>99</sup>. Of Hyria we have said that it was integrated into Tanagra, of Oropos we know for certain from Nicocrates<sup>100</sup> that it was a foundation of Eretria<sup>101</sup>.

Mazarakis Ainian has returned a number of times to the problem of identification of the ancient name of Oropos, accepting Knoepfler's demonstration<sup>102</sup> that this toponym, a rotacised form of Aso-

<sup>92</sup> Cf. HDT. 6,108; STRABO 9,1,23; OLIVIERI 2007, 15-24.

<sup>93</sup> PLUT. *QC*. 657e and above all F 157 Sandbach with the *aition* of the Daïdala, for which PAUS. 9,3,1; cf. also *schol.* AR 4,1138; other data in BREGLIA 2008, 231-270.

<sup>94</sup> HOM. *Il.* 9,432 ff.

<sup>95</sup> IG IX 246, B col. III.157; it should be recalled that the birth of Epaphos was, instead, located elsewhere on the island: STRABO 10,1,3, notes a location towards the Aegean Sea and relates the name of the island to Io and her myth: KNOEPFLER 1981 and already in Jacoby at ARISTOT. *CHALC.* *FGrHist* 423 F 1.

<sup>96</sup> ARISTOT. *CHALC.* *FGrHist* 423 F 1; KNOEPFLER 1981; DEL BARRIO VEGA 1997b, 121-133 (but only for what concerns the etymology of the toponym).

<sup>97</sup> MELE 2005, 395-410, MELE 2007, 375-392.

<sup>98</sup> PAUS. 9,2,12; cf. *supra*.

<sup>99</sup> ARIST. F 613 Rose = 406,1,2 Gigon; STEPH. BYZ. Ὀρωπός s.v.; STEPH. BYZ. Τανάγρα s.v.; *schol.* in *Il.* 2,498; cf. EUST. in *Il.* vol. 1, p. 406; for Graia in the Homeric *Catalogue of the Ships*, cf. HOM. *Il.* 2,498.

<sup>100</sup> *FGrHist* 376 F 1 (*P.Mich.* 4913); cf. NIKOKRATES, in *New Jacoby* F1 (SCHACHTER).

<sup>101</sup> KNOEPFLER 1985, 50-55.

<sup>102</sup> KNOEPFLER 1985, 50-55; KNOEPFLER 2000, 81-98, who claims that the toponym, originally referring to the river Asopos, is to be dated to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. cf. DEL BARRIO VEGA 1997a, 553-573; DEL BARRIO VEGA 1997b 2000, 501-509. There are a lot of data that testify the relationship Tanagra/Gephyrei:



pos<sup>103</sup>, would only have arisen in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. He also observes that the archaeological data demonstrate a reoccupation of the site contemporaneous to that of Eretria and considers in both cases the new arrivals as coming from Lefkandi. The Homeric Graia would have been, therefore, this site, before the arrival of the wave of people coming from across the sea. But, as one has seen, there was a strong link between the zone that would become Chalcis (the fountain of Arethusa) and the Boeotia of Hyria and this tradition also appeared as pan-Euboean. The archaeological data analysed by I. Lemos<sup>104</sup> have stressed a cultural continuity between eastern Boeotia and Euboea and the later data that we have just recalled equate the land of Graia or Gephyrea with Tanagra<sup>105</sup> and Oropos. One may, therefore, well-believe, as R. Calce has demonstrated, that all the southeast zone of Boeotia constituted a “land of Graia”, and that the Graia of Homer could have been the most important centre.

Now, also on the basis of what has been seen and stated, all this zone of the Asopos, (that later becomes Oropos), is the land Graia, as is stated by the *Et. Magnum*<sup>106</sup>, and it is also Gephyra, that is the land of the Demeter Gephyrea connected to Eretria, like the Gephyreans themselves, as Hecateus had already stated<sup>107</sup>. Makareus/Makar has taken us to Lesbos, also the island of Gras<sup>108</sup> and then to the Pentilids, descendants of Agamemnon. That Graia can lead us to Graikoi or to Graes, as already claimed by Wilamowitz<sup>109</sup>, who recalled an Attic demos

Graes<sup>110</sup> in an area that borders on Boeotia, and from there to the Graeci in Italy, has recently been demonstrated by R. Calce; even more recently C. De Simone<sup>111</sup> has demonstrated that a series of toponyms that are found in Italy (one example being the predial Gricignano [= Graikinianus] in Campania) depend on this ethnos. It is also to be recalled that a tradition present in a scholion of Lycophron (v. 194) explained the term Graia as an attribute of Iphegenia, transformed into an “old woman” by Artemis, so she would not be recognised by the Greeks, when saving her from her sacrifice: this being a tradition that confirms the probable para-etymological relationship between the ethnos and the adjective. Besides, if Gephyra was perceived as Tanagra and as Graia, a passage of Xenophon is to be recalled (*Hell.* 5,4,50): this narrates Agesilaus’ intervention against the Thebans and of how the Spartans devastated all the land up to Tanagra; the Theban survivors gathered in a place called ὁ ἐπὶ Γραὸς στήθει; in turn Polyaeus (2,1,12) narrating this event calls the place where the Thebans gathered Γραίας ἔδος. These data seem to confirm the extension of the toponym/ethnos to all the area from Tanagra to Oropos<sup>112</sup>.

Schachter has also proposed that Tanagra could have been Graia, as the Tanagrans proclaimed, explaining that the name would have formed with the addition of the adjective ταναός at the start; Aristotle<sup>113</sup> claimed that Graia was Oropos, and it seems that this identification is the correct one. Certainly the Tanagrans had to live down the infamy of not having participated in the Trojan War and identifying themselves with a city present in the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* offered a solution to the problem, even though we have seen that the story of Polydamas, the intervention of Achilles and the purification of Elphenor gave a more than sufficient justification for this absence. However, in that it belonged to the territory of the Graes/Graikoi (linked in fact to the Graikos whom Hesiod<sup>114</sup> located probably between Thessaly, Boeotia and the Aetolic/Epirote area), deep down Tanagra had some

data in BREGLIA 1984, 69-88 and CALCE, 2011, *passim*; above all note the proverb transmitted, among others, by PAUSANIAS ATTIC. 4,23 Δόρυ καὶ κηρύκειον s.v., but also cf. PHOT. Δόρυ κηρύκειον s.v.

<sup>103</sup> Mazarakis Ainian has raised doubts about the possibility that the Eretrians could have identified the stream, now almost disappeared, that ran in the area of Oropos with the river Asopos, and in any case the stream was independent of the river: but, as Nagy reminds us for the Asopos and, as we know for many other rivers, the Greeks often believed that a specific water course in some way disappeared underground and reappeared elsewhere. It would not be impossible that the small stream at Oropos was imagined as a branch of the Asopos and thus also called Asopos.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. *supra* note 2.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. note 102.

<sup>106</sup> STEPH. BYZ. Γέφυρα s.v. quotes Hecataeus (*FGrHist* 1 F 118); in *schol.* HOM. *Il.* 2498c Graia is the daughter of Medeon, naming another Boeotian city in the *Catalogue*, situated on the southern bank of Lake Copais.

<sup>107</sup> F 118; cf. HDT. 5,57.

<sup>108</sup> STRABO 13,1,3; PAUS. 3,21,1.

<sup>109</sup> WILAMOWITZ 1886, 91-115.

<sup>110</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 2362 l.30; CALCE 2011, 37-47.

<sup>111</sup> DE SIMONE 2015, 81-113.

<sup>112</sup> CALCE 2011, 122 note 22.

<sup>113</sup> FR. 613 Rose = 406,1,2 Gigon.

<sup>114</sup> FR. 5 MW = 2 Most with CALCE 2011, 54-60.

good reason, not only “defensive” propaganda, to call itself Graia.

So, the section of the Hesiodic genealogy that starts with Atlas and arrives at Euboeia, (with the connection to Hyperes) dating back to the 8<sup>th</sup> century is the one that reflects both the older Aeolic colonisation and that current in the West, and in any case indicates a very early Euboean presence in Italy<sup>115</sup>. The Boeotian “elements” that are found in the West are not scarce: Gephyrei<sup>116</sup>, Eunostos<sup>117</sup>, Thespiadai<sup>118</sup>, Orion<sup>119</sup>. A passage of Aelius Aristides<sup>120</sup> recalls that in the Archaic period Tanagra was uninhabited: the *Et. Magnum*<sup>121</sup> also clearly states the same when it explains that at times of rains the inhabitants of the villages moved with small boats, while the name of the Asopos itself recalls mud. Recent cartographic projections confirm that the area was marshy<sup>122</sup>. The advance of Theban power, definitely resurgent in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, may have created further problems: in all these phenomena one can find the explanations of a need to emigrate. Schachter has proposed that the synoecism of Tanagra may have created other problems, linked to the loss of the *kleroi* on the part of some groups. But in the 7<sup>th</sup> century the colonisation towards the West had lost its impetus and probably the exodus must have occurred before.

Another observation already anticipated in the course of the analysis is that even with the union of Tanagra to Thebes, for a certain time Chalcis seems to have resisted the Theban pressure: this is demonstrated by the mythical report of wars, studied by C. Talamo, that sees Amphitryon fight against Kalchodon or Heracles against Pyraichmes; but with time the city must have come to some agreement with Tanagra. It is probable that this would have resulted in a further “distancing” of Chalcis from Eretria. Meanwhile, the northern part of the Boeotian coast remained partly linked to the “new” Tanagra (prob-

ably up to Delion), while the area more to the south was, together with Oropos and Eretria, linked to Athens and to the Ionic world (we may think of the ancient relations with Miletus).

The presence of Boeotian/Aeolic elements evoking Gras in the Euboean colonies of the West contributes to placing the colonization process, as the archaeological data demonstrate more and more (Ridgeway<sup>123</sup> spoke of a Lefkandi level), at an early date. The close cultural union between the two zones and their relationship with Aeolic Asia, explains the presence of traditions also linked to that area (Apollo and Eumelus, among others)<sup>124</sup>.

On the basis of recent excavations, Euboea seems to have been seen not really as a unity, but as a set of regions with each having its own peculiarity. Certainly the Eretria zone with its Oropos *peraia* has always been, as the dialect shows, closer to the Ionic world, to Athens, but also to Miletus: this relationship must have intensified after the break with Chalcis. Eretria will be the base of Peisistratos and does not seem to have been involved in the war with Athens in 506. Perhaps other Athenian families, and I would not exclude the Alcmeonids, could have already had an interest there in the 6<sup>th</sup> century (in the 5<sup>th</sup> century there are noted personalities like Kosyra<sup>125</sup>, recorded from the comedy); Chalcis, linked to the zone more to the north would remain the most important city: but in the Archaic Age and perhaps also a little before the two cities undertook naval enterprises together and the mythic contribution of western Boeotia has certainly been quite appreciable.

## B. THE “POST-HESIODIC” TRADITIONS

Hecataeus (*FGrHist* 1 F 129) considered a certain Kombe, called Chalcis, daughter of Asopos, as an eponym of Chalcis, a city that was previously called Euboeia; the same tradition appears in Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 4 F82). It is difficult to state with certainty that these authors knew of the traditions just

<sup>115</sup> RIDGWAY 2007, 141-150.

<sup>116</sup> VELL. PAT. 1,4,1 with MELE 1979, 37.

<sup>117</sup> Eunostos at Tanagra, cf. PLUT. *QG* 300 DE; φρατρία of *Eunostidai* at Neapolis IG XIV 783 = 137 MIRANDA.

<sup>118</sup> See *infra* and BREGLIA 1985.

<sup>119</sup> GIANGIULIO 1996, 251-271; DEBIASI 2010b, 9-27.

<sup>120</sup> *Panath.* 54.

<sup>121</sup> Γέφυρα s.v., for the cartographic projection, cf. FARINETTI 2011, 178-182.

<sup>122</sup> FARINETTI 2011, 178-182.

<sup>123</sup> RIDGWAY 2007, 141-152; for recent data cf. D'ACUNTO 2017, 223 ff.

<sup>124</sup> BREGLIA 2008, 238-248; MELE 2008, 89-96; A. Mele in the second volume of these proceedings.

<sup>125</sup> ARISTOPH. *Achar.* 614; *Nub.* 800; *schol.* in *Nubes* 46 and 47; *E.M.* Ἐγκεκοιτυρωμένος s.v.; DAVIES 1971, 380.

analysed: though they may have known oral traditions that repeated them, possibly with variants on the theme<sup>126</sup>. Euboea's descent from Asopos will also be maintained by later authors. The constant revisiting of the tradition of the close relationship between Boeotia-Euboea confirms the continuity of a series of contacts, exchanges and relations, but also that in some cases reflects precise political situations, which we briefly intend to examine<sup>127</sup>. However, these, in the "variations" proposed, seem to encapsulate "memories" of an older tradition. Other mythic traditions too, perhaps Archaic, lead us to this relationship.

### 1. Euboea, daughter of Heracles and of a daughter of Thespios

Apollodorus (2,4,10) reports one of the many versions of the myth of the union of Heracles with the fifty daughters of Thespios: though this tradition does not have any corroboration in the Hesiodic fragments, I refer to it because it seems quite ancient and because it links with the "myths" connected to the western colonisation<sup>128</sup>. One of the daughters born from this union is called in fact Euboea. Even if transmitted by a "recent" testimony the information may be ancient. According to Apollodorus, the story of Heracles and Thespios took place when the hero was eighteen years old and after having killed Linos had been banished by Amphitryon to be a cowherd, therefore in a period preceding that of the labours; Diodorus (4,29) reports the event as a premise for the presence of the Thespiadai (that is the descendants of Thespios born of the union of his daughters with the hero) in Sardinia, though stressing that Heracles was *pais*; Pausanias (9,27) in the description of Thespieae says that he has visited the temple of the hero and claims that it was not the

Theban Heracles but the Heracles of the Idaean Dactyls, that the Boeotians were not unacquainted with. The Heracles of Thespieae was, therefore, a young Heracles, at an age of passage, and banished therefore from the community in accordance with ritual traditions that see exile from a group of origin as necessary for the "rebirth" as a citizen; he is the leader of a generation of youths destined to migrate and to found a colony. The Thespieae<sup>129</sup> that must have been at the origin of this tradition, later re-read from an Athenian bias (at least that in Diodorus 4,29), is a centre that links itself to Thebes (some Thespiadai transfer there and become δημοῦχοι), and is probably a Thespieae of the 7<sup>th</sup> century at the latest. The passage of these heroes to Sardinia, but also to Opician Cumae (Diod. 5,15,6)<sup>130</sup>, becomes one of the testimonies of the Boeotian participation in the western colonisation. Here, it seems unnecessary to recall again the well-known relationships of Eretria and Thespieae with the cult of Narcissus: they have been widely studied, starting from the founding work of Wilamowitz<sup>131</sup>.

### 2. Euboea, ancient name of Chalcis, the daughter of Asopos

Hecataeus of Miletus is the first author to directly connect Euboea to Asopos and to Chalcis: ΗΕCΑΤ. *FGrHist* 1 F 129 s.v. Χαλκίς· πόλις Εὐβοίας. Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ· <«Χαλκίς πόλις ἐστίν, ἥ πρότερον Εὐβοία προσηγορεύετο»>. ἐκλήθη δὲ ἀπὸ Κόμβης τῆς Χαλκίδος καλουμένης, θυγατρὸς Ἀσωποῦ. τινὲς δὲ .Χαλκιδεῖς φασὶ κληθῆναι διὰ τὸ χαλκουργεῖα πρῶτον παρ' αὐτοῖς ὀφθῆναι.

The information is repeated in Diodorus (4,72,1-2). Here Euboea is the older name of Chalcis and Chalcis is another name of Kombe, daughter of Asopos. So, a temporal jump is indicated, Chalcis would seem to be a "fresh start", separate from another moment in time, represented by Euboea. The jump is not very different from that which was expressed by the passage of the *Aegimius*, Abantis-Euboea. While in the Hesiodic tradition, both in that of the *Catalogue* and in that of *Aegimius*, Eu-

<sup>126</sup> For *Euboea* in Corinna, cf. *infra*.

<sup>127</sup> However, it is necessary to accept that the political events can only partly explain the variants. In zones in such close contact and with continual changes, the presence of related traditions may actually depend on this continual "osmosis". It has been observed that the dialect differences or the "affinities" that are found inside Euboea, and between Euboea and Boeotia, and also between Boeotia and Attica, are not explained by political events: this can be so for zones continually in contact and with common religious traditions. Cf. DEL BARRIO VEGA 1994, 315-328; MORPURGO DAVIES 1991, 261-279.

<sup>128</sup> BREGLIA 1981, 61-95.

<sup>129</sup> For Platea cf. PRANDI 2011, 237-252.

<sup>130</sup> Perhaps also HYPEROCHUS, *FGrHist* 576 F 3, on whom cf. Roller, in *Brill's New Jacoby*; BREGLIA 1981, 61-95.

<sup>131</sup> WILAMOWITZ 1886; KNOEPFLER 2010.

boia was in any case all of Euboea, (even though Chalcis took on an essential role, especially with Aresthusa), here the horizon is limited to Chalcis and it seems that the rest of the island is excluded. That is to say, there was a time when only the heroine Euboia existed, and then she was replaced by Kombe/Chalcis linked to the Boeotian Asopos, as he is her father. So, with Hecataeus, we are in the first years of the 5<sup>th</sup> century that had now seen Chalcis definitively allied to Thebes and probably also to Tanagra against Athens at the arrival of Cleomenes in 506; with Eretria alone taking up arms on the side of Athens at the time of the Ionic revolt<sup>132</sup>. Whether the author had wanted in some way to stress the difference between the two centres, one of which, Eretria, was particularly linked to his country, Miletus, one cannot say; the descent of Kombe/Chalcis from Asopos could indicate a close link between south-central Boeotia and the city, all the more so, since Corinna made Asopos the father of Tanagra (PAUS. 9,20,1). But the relationship Tanagra - Thebes - Chalcis is probably much older, as we shall see, and must certainly pass through Tanagra<sup>133</sup>.

For Hecataeus the link with Asopos does not pass through Euboia, old name of Chalcis, but it is Chalcis/Kombe who is the daughter of Asopos: this is also represented with the fact that he knew and nominated other Euboean centres (*Oreste*, *FGrHist* 1 F 131): something that for him seems to rule out that Chalcis was a part representing a whole. He also recalls Kombe, that is the mythic tradition connected to the Kuretes and to the Koribantes and to “oriental” traditions<sup>134</sup>.

### 3. Ephorus

A tradition of Euboia as directly the daughter of Asopos is also found in other sources: here it recurs in a version that does not mention Chalcis, in the traditions referring to Ephorus (*Iambi in Nicom.* 570) and in EUST. (*in Il.* 1 p. 278). Other traditions simply make her a nymph (STRABO 10,1,3 445C;

NONN. 42,411). They seem to be strictly local traditions, to the extent that Euboia does not appear in any of the other lists that bring the name of the Asopids down to us (the scholiast to Pindar, Pausanias and Diodorus, that even provides twelve names, and among them there is in fact Chalcis<sup>135</sup>). Hesiod did not name either Euboia or Antiope as daughters of Asopos: in the fragments appeared probably Aegina, Kerkyra, Salamina, perhaps Arne and Ismene<sup>136</sup>; but what is important is the certain exclusion of Euboia (and of Antiope). We know that Corinna, a contemporary of Pindar and whose work is therefore placed chronologically a little after that of Hecataeus, knew the names of nine Asopids, but among the names coming down to us from the fragments Euboia does not appear: it was presumed by Page as an integration of *PMG* 654, col. II verses 36-38, while Bowra, basing his notion of the passage of Hecataeus, integrated Chalcis. In reality the papyrus is so mutilated that any hypothesis is risky. One cannot say, therefore, that Corinna mentioned Euboia as the daughter of Asopos<sup>137</sup>. Pausanias, as has been said, traced back to Corinna the news that Tanagra was the daughter of Asopos.

This data, that of Hecataeus and that of Ephorus, give rise to the problematic question of why Hyria, and the traditions connected to her, disappeared and were substituted by those linked to the river, a river noted in several regions of Greece, the best-known being the Boeotian and Phliasian Asopos, but that probably come from a single mythic and divine river<sup>138</sup>. Aeschylus in the *Persians* (v. 805) defined the river φίλον πιάσμα Βοιωτῶν χθονί, indicating a particular value for the zone. As has been remarked by Nagy<sup>139</sup>, the ancients thought that the various rivers of this name were considered a single river that ran for some tracts in an underground path, and

<sup>135</sup> DIOD. 4,72, in his list nominates an Asopis next to Chalcis: this name is simply an equivalent of “daughter of Asopos” and so it can indicate almost any location: but the memory of Asopis in *Iambi in Nicomedem*, referring to Euboia raises some questions, that remain, however, without answers.

<sup>136</sup> CARDIN 2010, for all the sources; cf. also WEST 1985a, 100-103.

<sup>137</sup> DEBIASI 2015, 82, supports the presence of Chalcis by the fact that EUMELUS, fr. 12 Bernabé, considered Sinope, daughter of Asopos.

<sup>138</sup> Interesting observations on the course of the Asopos between Tanagra and Oropos can be found in KNOEPFLER 2002.

<sup>139</sup> NAGY 2011.

<sup>132</sup> HDT. 5,74-77; ARAVANTINOS 2010, 369-377.

<sup>133</sup> One should bear in mind the Tanagran coins that adopt the typology of the wheel of Chalcis on the reverse side (KRAAY 1976, no. 338), dating between the mid- and late 6<sup>th</sup> century: for the problem cf. most recently PARISE 2011, 285-291.

<sup>134</sup> MELE 1981, 9-33; BREGLIA 2013, 17-65; KATSAOUNOU 2017, 391.

probably behind them there was a divinity. Nagy has also advanced the notion that the Asopos could have been considered as an anthropogonic divinity: in Apollodorus (3,12,5)<sup>140</sup> the river, forced as a punishment to return to its bed, leaves traces of carbon (*ἄνθρακες*) and *ἄνθρακες* may be considered a sort of equivalent of *ἄνθρωποι*. But even if the Asopos was considered the father of Man, in this way allowing the inhabitants of the city to consider themselves as autochthonous this does not explain the passage Hyrieus/Asopos, that instead must be seen in the setting of the dynamic of Tanagorean expansion and the political “interests” first of Ephorus, as stated, and then of Hecataeus.

The paternity of Euboea directly from Asopos may be an amplification of the Hecataean tradition to the whole island, made by Ephorus at a time that saw the Theban expansion under Epaminondas. We can, though, also suppose that such a descent must have been elaborated by local bards at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century or even a little later: by synoecising, Tanagra would have taken over traditions connected to Hyria and the other zones that it was encompassing. Corinna’s Asopos was a river god, that gave his name to the broader area that constituted all the Tanagorean *chora* and was also the river on which the city grew, the city that Corinna calls his daughter: so the river had to become an identifying figure for the zone, superior to the Hyrieus present in her verses; the Chalcidians themselves that already considered themselves sons of Asopos, would have extended this descent to all of Euboea from the moment that it was considered the main centre. The Asopos, the father river of many daughters, that crossed the city and gave his name to the entire zone to the south, where with rotacism it became Oropos, was a more befitting predecessor for representing the Tanagorean identity and therefore also its “prevalence” over the nearby Chalcis. This Tanagra of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, as is seen has relationships with Thebes and with Chalcis; it is not to be excluded, rather it is most probable, on the basis of other data, that the relationship Chalcis/Eretria now started to deteriorate, unless it had already done so.

We have a series of mythic traditions that speak of the war of Chalcis against Chali and other Boeo-

tians (that should be those of the area in front of it, THEOP. *FGrHist* 115 F 212), and we have the story in Pausanias (9,22,2)<sup>141</sup> of a war of Eretria against Tanagra, a war won by Tanagra thanks to the intervention of Hermes Promachos, a young Hermes linked once more to initiation rites; we have those other confrontations studied by C. Talamo<sup>142</sup> that see Heracles against Pyraichmes or Amphitryon against Kalchodon. Each of these myths deserves a proper analysis that we do not wish to go into here and now (it has already been convincingly done by others); they agree on claiming that in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, with the synoecism of Tanagra and its falling back into the Theban influence, a progressive approach of Chalcis also started at the same time, and that there occurred a distancing of Eretria from the city with which it originally shared the colonial enterprise; a fracture that perhaps followed or was perhaps contemporaneous with the Lelantine war.

#### 4. Titanid Euboea, and Euboea daughter of Larymnos

In a long passage of book VII (7, 296 a-c), Athenaeus writes about Glaucus of Anthedon, reporting on him from various Hellenistic authors: Promathidas (*FGrHist* 430 F7, but to be identified with the Promathidas quoted in *SH* 1983 no. 711, p. 345)<sup>143</sup>, Theolytus of Methymna (F1 Powell), Mnaseas (F 4 Cappelletto) and the poet Euanthes (*SH* 409): all gave genealogies of this marine god, but the one that is of interest here is Promathidas’, that called him the son of a Polybus, in turn son of Hermes, and of Euboea daughter of Larymnos, distinguishing him from the traditions that made him a son of Poseidon (like Euanthes) or a son of Alkyone and Anthedon according to Mnaseas<sup>144</sup>. Glaucus, as has been seen<sup>145</sup>, is a sea god and linked to magical herbs and to immortality, strongly localised to Anthedon; Larymna is a locality of eastern Locris: according to Pausanias (9,23,7), it passed to Boeotia

<sup>141</sup> Cf. also *schol.* in *LYC.* 679.

<sup>142</sup> TALAMO 1981, 35-43.

<sup>143</sup> As for M. CUYPERS, in *New Jacoby* commentary to Promathidas.

<sup>144</sup> Cf. CUYPERS, in *New Jacoby* commentary to Promathidas, for an overall interpretation of the authors quoted in this passage of Athenaeus.

<sup>145</sup> CORSANO 1992, *passim*.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. ARISTOPH. *Nubes* 95-97.

when the Thebans became very powerful: this dating of Pausanias is vague and cannot indicate the period of the Theban hegemony because in 273 BC<sup>146</sup> it was still part of Locris; it appears as Boeotian in Polybius (20,5,7) in 230 BC. Recent studies claim that it became Boeotian in about 237 BC. Therefore, the genealogy have could been formed at the time of Larymna's adhesion to Boeotia and of its adhesion to the traditions of the nearby Anthedon, itself linked to Poseidon and to Anthas, as we have said. That it came about, instead, preceding this adhesion and independent of it, when Epaminondas organised his fleet perhaps at Larymna, is one of the many hypotheses that can be advanced: Pausanias attributed the uniting of Larymna to Boeotia to a relationship created for military reasons<sup>147</sup>.

Equally uncertain, though more easily traceable to local Euboean traditions is the lemma of Hesychius that makes Euboia a Titanid, daughter of Briareus<sup>148</sup>, and also notes the other belief that considers her daughter of Asopos. Briareus/Aegaeon is certainly a very old mythic figure in Euboea, venerated both in the north and the south of the island<sup>149</sup>. Hundred-armed but soon made equal to the Giants and the Titans<sup>150</sup>, in the West he was found localised in what would become the "columns of Heracles"<sup>151</sup>, to the east to the Rhyndacus river, according to Apollonius of Rhodes (1, 1165). The role of the Titans in Euboea is documented by traditions that go from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC to Nonnus: in particular Euboean Archemachus (*FGrHist* 424 F 5) believed that Aegaeon was the first navigator and Solinus<sup>152</sup> (perhaps taking up Archaemachus) believed that once all of Euboea was the kingdom of

the Titans. Even if we know other Titanic figures involved with the island, this does not mean that Archaemachus himself considered Euboia as such. Nonnus knew a Periboia as the wife of Lelantos<sup>153</sup> and we know that a Periboia appears in *Odyssey* 7,56 and is later a daughter of the Giant Eurymedon and thereby progenitor of the Phaeacians<sup>154</sup> with Poseidon, but again the equation Euboia/Periboia is difficult to sustain, though in both cases one may see a resemblance with some epiclisis of Hera. We can only say that a period like that of Archemachus, who wanted to recall the Euboean maritime traditions, could also see the start of a tradition that made Euboia herself a Titanic creature<sup>155</sup>, linked to Briareus, so that she would better confirm its maritime past.

#### FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The "Hesiodic" traditions represent a Euboia in relation to eastern Boeotia and to the Argolid, thereby reflecting traditions that involved the island in the Early Archaic Age and also illuminating its social organisation, linked to "principes" as could have been Krinakos and Hyrieus, to rites of passage connected to marriage, perhaps alluded to in the story of Arethusa and even in that of Io. Also divinities strongly present on the island, Hera, Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo, are implicated in the stories connected to the heroine. The later tradition is more closely tuned to political events and re-elaborates traditions that must have been very old (like the story of the Thespiadae in Sardinia), always remaking themselves from previous material. When Hecataeus makes Chalcis/Kombe a daughter of Asopos, he extends traditions about the Asopids to the city, that we can recover today only with difficulty; but at the same time, including Chalcis/Kombe seems to have present the traditions of the Kuretes and Kybele that were also alive in Eretria<sup>156</sup>. The "Ephorean" tradi-

<sup>146</sup> KNOEPFLER 2006, 23-24.

<sup>147</sup> Locris and Boeotia were linked in the tradition of Pherecydes: i(*FGrHist* 3 F 170 = F 170 a-b-\*\*\*c Fowler 2000 = F 173-174 Dolcetti) Lokros helps Amphion and Zetus to "found" Thebes; cf. FOWLER 2013, 361, where, on the basis of this the author reconstructs a genealogy in which a Lokros, probably the coloniser of Locris Ozolia, descended from Atlas through Merope, Thersandros, Proitos and Maira. Besides, as seen above, Aiolos intervenes in the Locrian genealogy and so names the area as "Aeolic". Perhaps Patroklos himself is Locrian.

<sup>148</sup> HESYCH. Τῑτανίδα s.v.

<sup>149</sup> EUST. in *Il.* 2,539; STEPH. BYZ. Κάρυστος s.v.; SOL. 11,16.

<sup>150</sup> DEBIASI 2004, 71 ff.; BREGLIA 2013, 21 ff.; DEBIASI 2015, 116.

<sup>151</sup> ARIST. fr. 678 R = 790 Gigon.

<sup>152</sup> 11,16.

<sup>153</sup> 48,245-247.

<sup>154</sup> DEBIASI 2004.

<sup>155</sup> DEBIASI 2015, 116 and note 305 gives value to a fragment of Euphorion (fr. 132 Acosta-Hughes/Cusset), which narrates Hera, raped by an Orimedontes, and having thus generated Prometheus, and thinks that the Hellenistic poet is the source for Nonnus: but cf. PAGÈS CERBRIAN 2013, 247-264.

<sup>156</sup> KATSAOUNOU 2017, 391-402; and BREGLIA 2013.

tion and Strabo's are certainly influenced by the stories of the Euboea of the 4<sup>th</sup> century: when Diodorus narrates the construction of a bridge that unites Boeotia and Euboea, he stresses that the Euboeans wanted to feel more connected to the mainland. This tradition, even though referring to a previous time, reflects the climate of the Boeotia of Epaminondas, a person, as is known, very dear to Ephorus;

the stories of Larymna seem to take us (putting aside Epaminondas) to those moments of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century when the city became part of the Boeotian *koine* that also included part of Euboea. However, all of these traditions and myths come down from the older ones, the Asopids, Glaucus, the Titans: an ever living "memory", but one always subject to "remodeling".

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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. Viglatouri 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, Viglatouri-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 15<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century many written documents attest to a pronunciation [kumi], often rendered in Roman characters as *Kumi*, of the village Κύμη in East Euboea; this traditional pronunciation is indirectly substantiated by the modern official adjective κουμιώτικος [kumiótikos]. 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 Mycenaean Age the entire area of south-east Boeotia, inclusive of the area of

Oropos, constituted a single unit that at some stage must have fragmented: thus was formed the area of the chora of Tanagra, with a now synoecised Tanagra adhering to Chalcis, with the rest coming under Athenian influence.

The second part of the work examines briefly the later explanations of the name Euboea; recurrent in these are mythical persons linked to the Euboean/Boeotian world (*Heracles, the Thespiadai, Glaucus, the Asopos*), that represent different moments of Euboean history. It repropose the mythic events that reflect the Archaic links.

ALEXANDROS MAZARAKIS AINIAN, *Thirty-Five Years of Excavations and Research at Homeric Graia (Oropos)*

The excavations of the Early Iron Age settlement at Skala Oropou in Attica were conducted between 1985-1987, originally as a rescue excavation of the Archaeological Service and, after a halt, continued from 1996 up to 2011 as a systematic excavation under the auspices of the Archaeological Society. The overall character of the site, occupied from the Late Protogeometric period onwards and achieving a floruit during the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, is Euboean rather than Attic or Boeotian. Pre-classical Oropos has been plausibly identified with Homeric Graia (*Iliad* B 498) and it has been argued that its inhabitants participated in the overseas travels and endeavors of the Eretrians, especially towards the West. The aim of this paper is to summarize the progress made both in field work and studies since the first *Euboica* conference in 1996 (published in 1998) and to highlight the main characteristics of the Early Iron Age community living in Oropos. Moreover, the progress of excavations on either side of the Euboean Gulf and the proliferation of related publications, have greatly enriched our knowledge about the history and character of the communities living in the area during the same period and allow the assessment of the data from Oropos within the wider geographical and cultural context.

VICKY VLACHOU, *Pottery Production, Workshop Spaces and the Consumption of Euboean-Type Pottery beyond Euboea. A View from Oropos (Attica) in the 8<sup>th</sup> Century BC*

The participation of Oropos in a shared material culture with the Euboean sites manifests a significant degree of cultural homogeneity on both sides of the Southern Euboean gulf. During a period of a strong Euboean presence in the overseas networks, from Northern Greece to the Western and Eastern Mediterranean, a particular interest has been placed in recent scholarship on population movement and the ways of interaction with the local and other foreign populations. Within this framework, the evidence from Oropos in comparison to its contemporary installation at Pithekoussai, in the Bay of Naples may serve as a basis for discussing short and long distance mobility of craftsmen and their clientele, issues of pottery production and consumption in areas that manifest strong Euboean influence although set up in distinct cultural environments. The local production of pottery and its functionality within the various contexts analysed from Oropos offer a helpful framework for turning typological and stylistic analysis into meaningful approaches of the social and cultural organization at the site.

### 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*

Kephala, situated at the northeast side of the island of Skiathos remains the only known Early Iron Age site of the North Sporades thus far. In its inception, the survey and the subsequent systematic excavation anticipated a promising “stepping stone” of the Euboean mobility towards the North Aegean and the Thermaic Gulf. Nevertheless, the results of the exploration of both the fortified settlement and its necropolis revealed a small center of the wider Thessalian cultural region, vividly interacting with Euboea and the North Aegean too.

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