

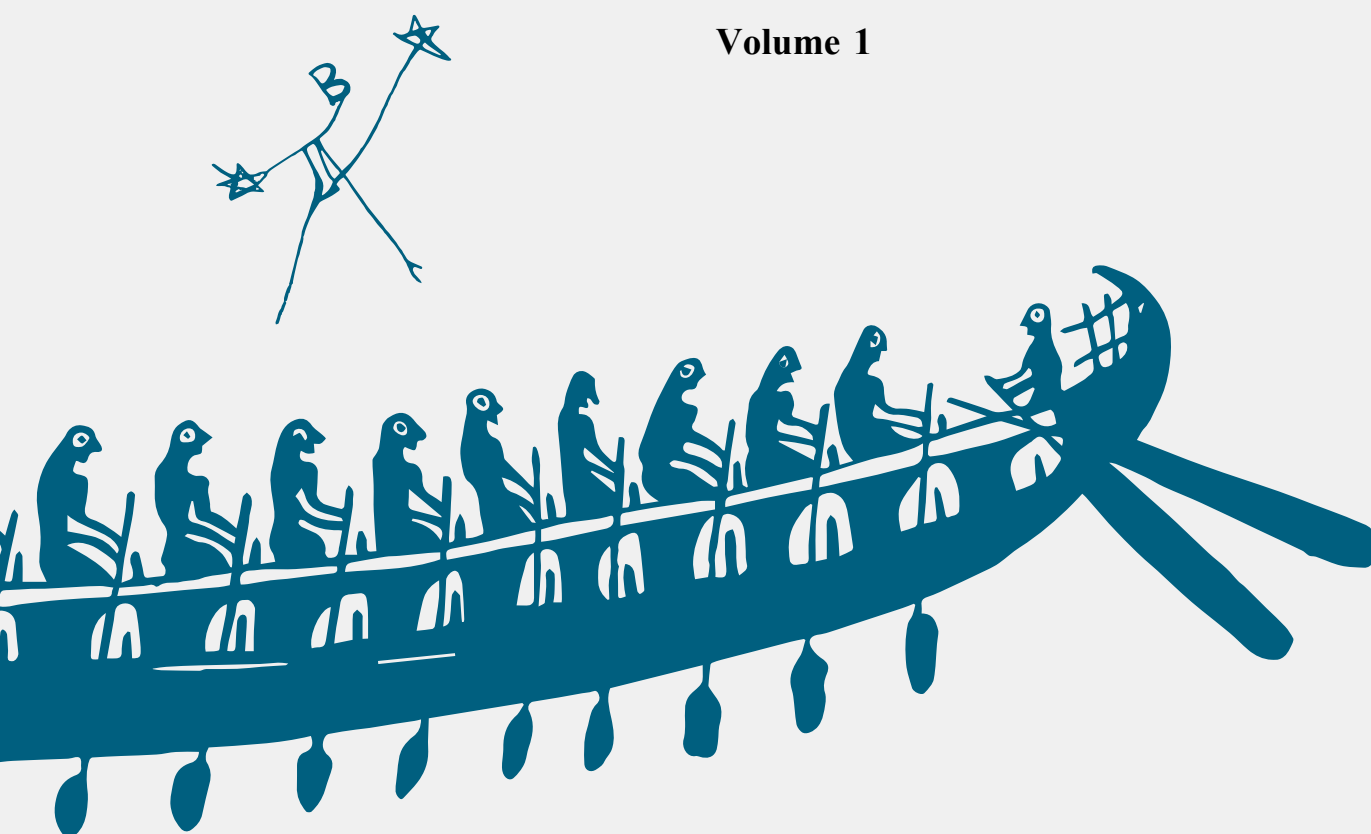
# EUBOICA II

## *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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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.AA. 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**



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Auditorium "Leonardo Carriero"  
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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 Euboean colonization in the Theraic Gulf**  
**DISCUSSIONE**

17 Maggio

## SEZIONE F. Le produzioni

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

## CONCLUSIONI

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



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**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



## THIRTY-FIVE YEARS OF EXCAVATIONS AND RESEARCH AT HOMERIC GRAIA (OROPOS)\*

Alexandros Mazarakis Ainian

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)<sup>1</sup> 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.

Oropos in Attica is located in the South Euboean Gulf at the marshy delta estuary of the Asopos river<sup>2</sup>, in the confines of Attica and Boeotia (Fig. 1). The excavations of the Early Iron Age settlement were conducted between 1985-1987, originally as a rescue excavation of the Archaeological Service under the direction of the late Alikí Dragona<sup>3</sup>, and, after a halt, continued from 1996 to 2003 and again from 2006 to 2011 as a systematic excavation of the Archaeological Society, under the direction of the author<sup>4</sup>.

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\* I wish to address my sincere thanks to the organisers of the *Euboica II* conference, Matteo D'Acunto and Teresa Elena Cinquantaquattro, for being such wonderful hosts both in Naples and Ischia!

<sup>1</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1998a.

<sup>2</sup> JAMES – KOUSOULAKOU – ARJONA PÉREZ 2007.

<sup>3</sup> DRAGONA 1994.

<sup>4</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1998a included the results of the earlier excavations, as well as those of the first campaign of the new field work, that of 1996. Further publications include MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2002a; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2002b; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2004a; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2006-2007; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012c. See also various papers in MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2007a. On the history of the excavation see MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2007b, with detailed bibliographical references.

The Oropos area, as documented by the excavations at the site of the so-called OTE plot (at Nea Palatia), was occupied already by the Late Proto-geometric and Sub-Proto-geometric phases, and, following a possible short break in the early 8<sup>th</sup> century BC continued to be occupied throughout the Late Geometric and Early Archaic periods (Fig. 2, no. 3)<sup>5</sup>. The floruit of the community appears to have been reached during the Late Geometric period, when, in the vicinity (OSK plot, at Skala Oropou, some 700 metres to the west of the OTE plot) numerous apsidal, oval, round and fewer rectangular buildings occupied an area at least 400 metres in length and possibly more than 50 metres in width (ca. 2 hectares) (Figs. 3-4). The overall extent of the settled area is difficult to estimate as the Early Iron Age horizon lies at a depth of ca. 3 m beneath the modern surface, covered by a sterile layer of alluvions, thus obliterating any surface macroscopic observation<sup>6</sup>. The eastern limits of the settlement were determined following the geophysical survey conducted in 2004, using magnetic and electrical resistivity methods, and the ensuing trial trenches in the same area in 2006<sup>7</sup>. A wall bordering the left bank of an ancient torrent or small river which seems to represent the eastern limit of the settlement at the east

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<sup>5</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1998a, 181-191; MAZARAKIS AINIAN – LEMOS – VLACHOU 2020. See also MAZARAKIS AINIAN – VLACHOU 2014.

<sup>6</sup> According to the results of the geological research (JAMES – KOUSOULAKOU – ARJONA PÉREZ 2007), the pre-Classical site was abandoned following a major inundation event, which led to the formation of a thick fill of clay deposits over the pre-Classical remains.

<sup>7</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2004c; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2006a; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2006-2007, 103-105.

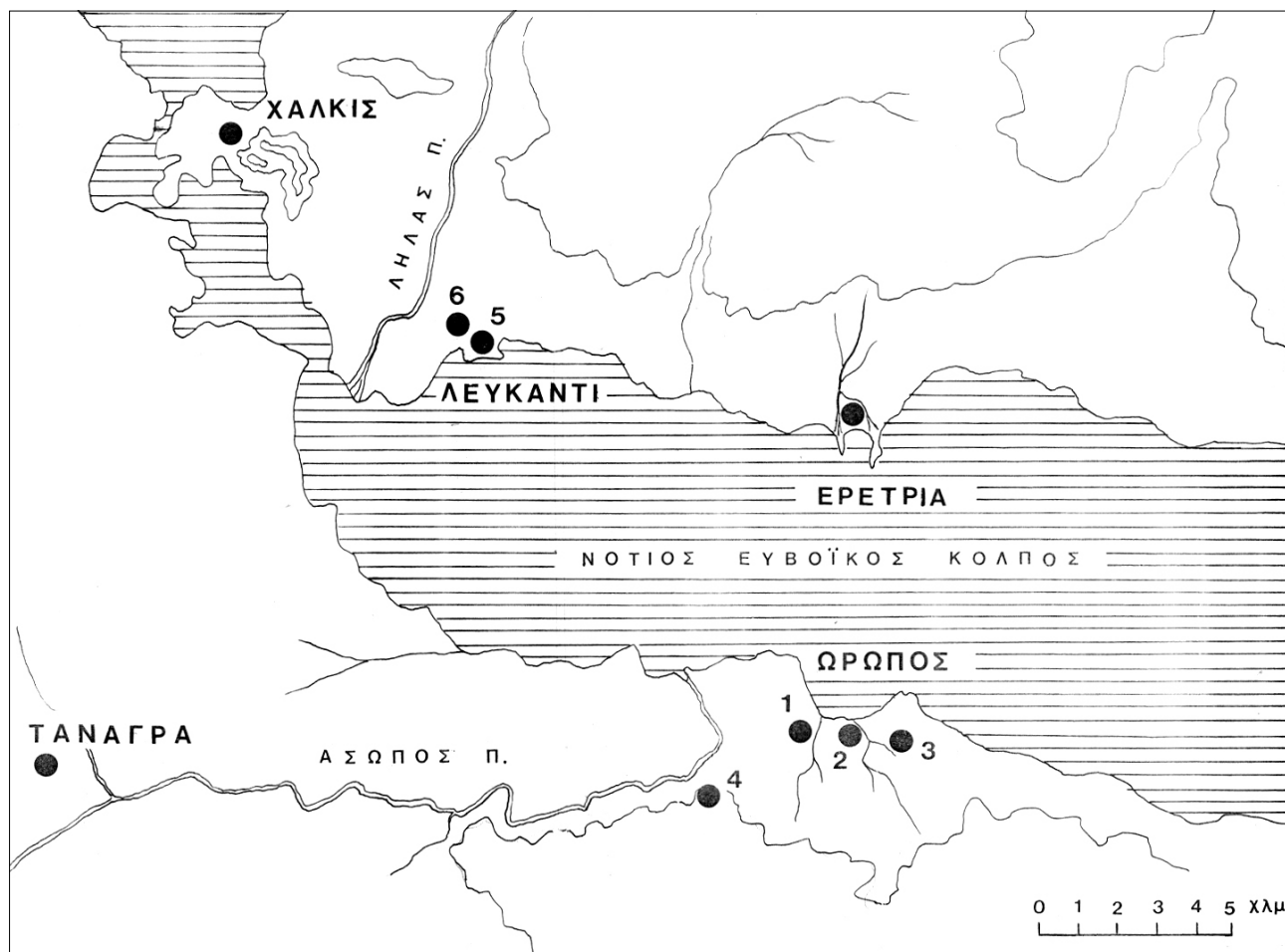


Fig. 1. Map of the South Euboean Gulf (drawing A. Mazarakis Ainian)

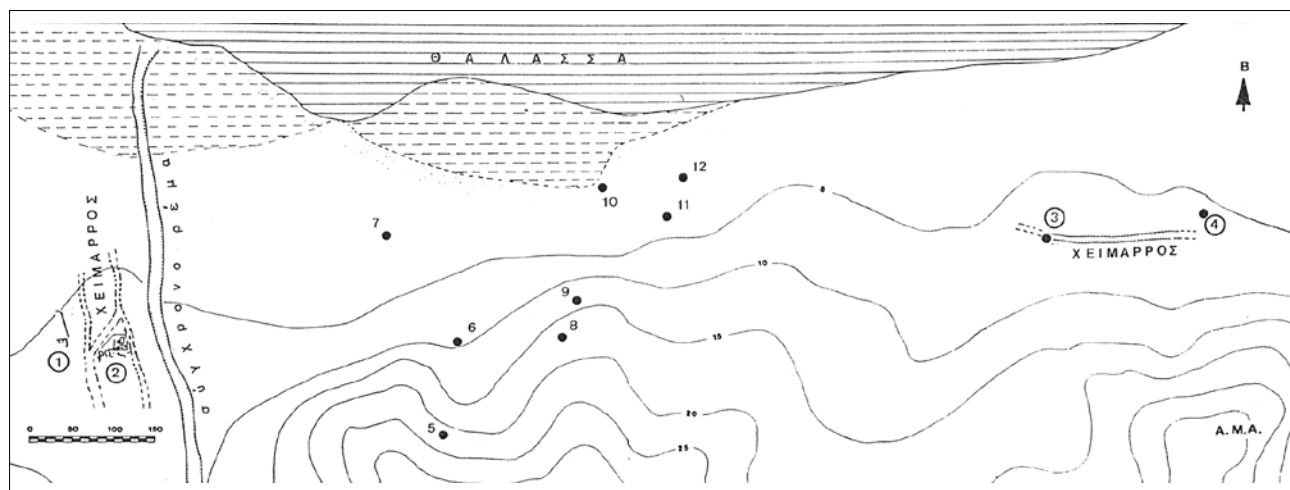


Fig. 2. The wider Oropos area in the Early Iron Age (drawing A. Mazarakis Ainian)

was revealed (“East Quarter”)<sup>8</sup>, but the expectations to uncover in the wider area the Early Iron Age necropolis proved unfounded. The western limits

of the pre-Classical settlement are probably immediately to the west of the area explored in the years 2007-2011 (Area II of the so-called “West Quarter”). An important river or torrent seems to have bordered this extremity of the inhabited area as

<sup>8</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2006-2007, 105, figs 16-17.

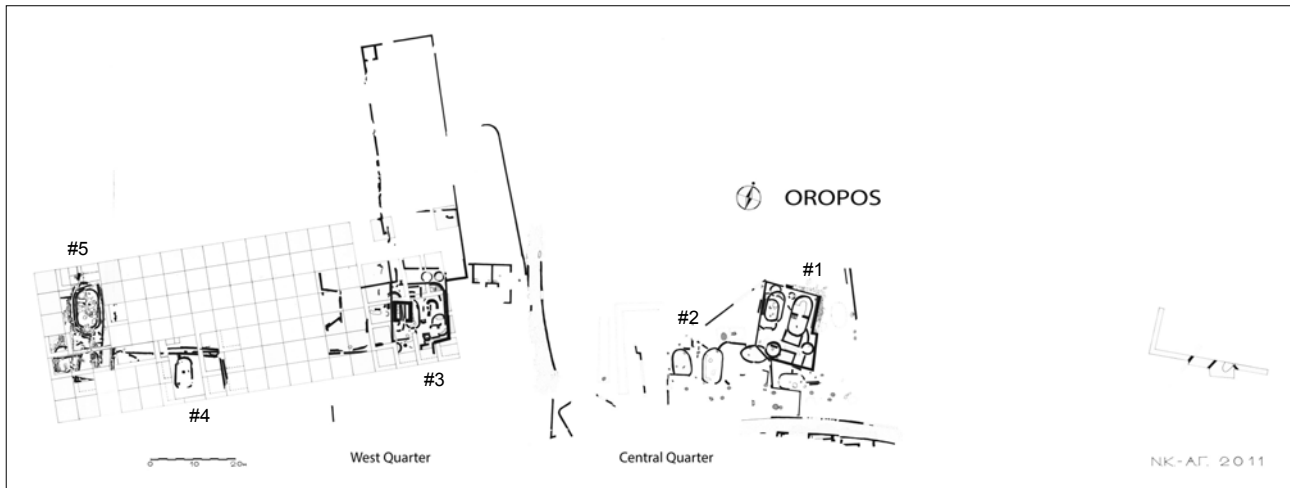


Fig. 3. Skala Oropou, OSK plot. Topographical plan of the architectural remains (drawing A. Gounaris)



Fig. 4. 3D reconstruction of the Late Geometric settlement at Oropos, looking towards the sea (drawing Markos Mazarakis Ainian)

well, and the larger oval edifice there, ΛΔ-ΛΕ, in use from the Late Geometric through the Archaic period, had to be protected by a retaining wall, bordered by a water evacuation channel. Two libation sacrifices of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC inside this channel enhance this hypothesis<sup>9</sup>. The assumption that the western limits of the pre-Classical settlement must

be sought here also rests on the fact that rescue excavations ca. 50 m further to the west by the Archaeological Service revealed a section of the later West Necropolis of Oropos<sup>10</sup>, but despite the fact that the excavation reached deep horizons, no evidence for Early Iron Age remains was encountered, apart from an Archaic ceramic kiln<sup>11</sup>. The various exca-

<sup>9</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2008, 15; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2009, 36-37; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2010a, 13-14.

<sup>10</sup> See also POLOGIORGI 1998.

<sup>11</sup> The excavation, which is unpublished, was conducted by P. Agalopoulou in the mid 2000's at the Mamalis brothers property,

vations undertaken since 1985 to the north of the uncovered architectural remains have been always sterile, providing a strong indication that the inhabited area did not extend further towards the sea<sup>12</sup>. On the other hand, the presence of substantial remains of the Archaic period towards the south, on higher grounds, suggests that if more Geometric structures are to be anticipated, these probably lie towards the south.

Despite these uncertainties and lacunae, the field research has clearly demonstrated that the settlement was located in a marshy area, characterized by numerous torrents or rivers, perhaps to be identified as the delta of the estuary of the Boeotian river Asopos<sup>13</sup>. The overall scattered layout of the housing fits the model characterised as “loose” by VI. Stissi<sup>14</sup>. Moreover, the Geometric settlement seems to conform to what D. Haggis has called “dynamic” settlement structures (as opposed to “static”)<sup>15</sup>. The overall character of the site, both based on the pottery and the architectural layout, is Euboean rather than Attic or Boeotian<sup>16</sup>. The presence of amphoras of Catling’s type II also confirms that the community seems to have maintained contacts with the North Aegean, and the Thermaic Gulf and the Chalkidiki peninsula in particular<sup>17</sup>, while a few finds attest also contacts with the East Mediterranean<sup>18</sup>. Most

importantly, pre-Classical Oropos can be identified beyond doubts with Homeric Graia (*Iliad* B 498)<sup>19</sup> and it has been argued that its inhabitants participated in the overseas travels and endeavors of the Eretrians, especially towards the West<sup>20</sup>.

The burial ground(s) of the adult members of the community has not been detected yet. On the other hand, scattered around the housing complexes but never in their interior, usually outside the enclosure walls, there were infant and child burials. These burials were often enchytrisms, as at Eretria<sup>21</sup>, though at Oropos a rather unusual custom is also observed, that is to say deep cylindrical pits which contain towards the bottom the poor remains of the deceased as well as, occasionally, a few vase offerings<sup>22</sup>. The analysis of the tiny bones preserved in some of the burials has enabled to determine the ages of the deceased, which range from newborn (or even fetuses), infants and up to five years old children<sup>23</sup>.

#### THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD (Figs. 5a-d, 6a-d, 7-12, 13a-c)

The excavations at the OSK plot have concentrated in two main areas, the so-called Central and West Quarters (the latter subdivided in two regions, Area I at the east and Area II at the west), while supplementary work has been conducted in the so-called South and East Quarters<sup>24</sup>. In all the areas that were investigated the organisation of the do-

on Kallitheas street, exactly to the West of the limit of Area II of the West Quarter. I thank Dr Agalopoulou for this information.

<sup>12</sup> This was the case of the extensive excavations carried on by A. Dragona north of the Central Quarter, in order to construct the building school II-II’ (MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1996, 84). My own excavations in deeper levels in the northern part of Area I of the West Quarter also in 2000 and 2001 did not produce substantial evidence for early occupation horizons.

<sup>13</sup> KNOEPFLER 1985; KNOEPFLER 2000.

<sup>14</sup> STISSI 2016; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2017a, 30.

<sup>15</sup> HAGGIS 2013

<sup>16</sup> Architectural forms and settlement organisation on either side of the Euboean Gulf are very similar (MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2002b). On the similarities in decorated pottery see VLACHOU 2010a; VLACHOU 2011; VLACHOU 2015; CHARALAMBOUDOU 2008. On the household wares see GROS 2007. On the character and installations related to the local pottery production see V. Vlachou in this volume.

<sup>17</sup> Catling amphora type II (CATLING 1998). On the category see PAPADOPOULOS 2005, 576; GIMATZIDIS 2010, 252; GIMATZIDIS 2011, 101; KOTSONAS 2012, 155. See in general MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012a.

<sup>18</sup> See for instance the Egyptian (or Egyptianising) scarab from Building ΣΤ (MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1998a, 199, note 63) which finds an exact parallel in the Cairo Museum: NEWBERRY 1907, 223, no. 36888, pl. 16, or the seal of the Lyre-Player Group from Building ΑΒ (MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2008, 10, pl. 12ε-στ), similar to one from the “Aire Sacrificielle Nord” of Eretria (HUBER 2003, pl. 49, no. O 190).

<sup>19</sup> On the questions related to the identification of Graia see WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLENDORFF 1886; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1996, 115-123; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2000a; CALCE 2011, esp. 37-47; HADAS-LEBEL 2012.

<sup>20</sup> SAKELLARIOU 1978; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1996, 123; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1998a, 210-214 and most publication of the author onwards.

<sup>21</sup> BLANDIN 2007.

<sup>22</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1996, 85-111; VLACHOU 2007.

<sup>23</sup> VLACHOU 2007, esp. 223-226 (the study of the available bones was done by A. Papathanassiou: cf. VLACHOU 2007, 225).

<sup>24</sup> Preliminary reports: *Main Quarter*: MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1996, 36-112; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997b; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1998b; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1999, 48-54; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2003, 14-16; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2004c, 19. *West Quarter*: MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1996, 26-36; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1999, 60-63; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2000b; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2001b; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2002c; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2007d; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2008; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2009; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2010a; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2011. *South Quarter*: MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1999, 54-59; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2003, 10-14. *East Quarter*: MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2006a.



a



b



c



d

Fig. 5a-d. 3D reconstructions of the third phase (yellow) of the settlement at Oropos.  
a-b: Central Quarter. c: West Quarter, Area I. d: West Quarter, Area II (drawing Markos Mazarakis Ainian)



a



b



c



d

Fig. 6a-d. 3D reconstructions of the fourth phase (orange) of the settlement at Oropos.  
a-b: Central Quarter. c: West Quarter, Area I. d: West Quarter, Area II (drawing Markos Mazarakis Ainian)



Fig. 7. Aerial view of the Central Quarter  
(photo Constantine Mazarakis Ainian)

mestic quarters is roughly similar: *Oikoi*, i.e. households, which I have also called “compounds”, consisting of a number of edifices, as a rule oriented towards the south in order to avoid the north winds, usually distributed within a peribolos wall. The functions of the edifices within each enclosure are varied, serving for habitation, communal, artisanal and pastoral activities, storage, as well as cult practices (seemingly of a household character)<sup>25</sup>. This model of social organisation, which was first detected and explored in the area of the Central Quarter in the mid 80ies and late 90ies, was subsequently confirmed by the discoveries in the West Quarter between 1999-2003 (Area I) and 2007-2011 (Area II). Up to the present day at least six independent *oikoi* units were revealed, each comprising a number of successive architectural phases: in the Central Quarter, within the main rectangular peribolos, oval Buildings  $\Theta$ ,  $I$ ,  $IA$ , rectangular building  $Z$  and round structures  $\Sigma T$ ,  $IB$ ,  $II$ ,  $IA$  and  $IE$  belong to a

single compound, apparently one of the most important within the entire settlement (#1); a few metres to the west, oval Buildings  $A$  and  $B/\Gamma$  doubtless form a second complex (#2). In the West Quarter (Area I) the edifices  $I\Theta$ - $AA$  belong to another compound, defined by yet another enclosure wall (#3). In contrast to Compound #1 it is characterised by the rather small dimension of the edifices, though the constructional details of certain among them denote that a considerable effort was made to differentiate certain buildings from others, either by the careful treatment of their masonry (this is the case of oval Building  $IH$ ), or their length (i.e. oval Buildings  $K$  and  $KA$  which are quite long though rather narrow<sup>26</sup>). Moreover, the pottery from Building  $KA$ , which comprises an unusual number of kraters, suggests the practice of occasional communal drinking<sup>27</sup>. Still at the West Quarter (Area II), oval Buildings  $AB$ ,  $A\Gamma$  probably represent yet another entity, within an enclosure,  $AB$  seemingly belonging to a family of high status, since it was furnished with a raised stone hearth and yielded also a seal of the Lyre Player Group, and bronze tweezers (#4). The spacious superimposed oval buildings  $AA/AE/A\Delta T$  further to the west seem to be related with Buildings  $A\Theta$  and  $M/MA$  further to the south (#5)<sup>28</sup>: this is doubtless a complex which tallied in importance that of the Central Quarter (#1), both due to their dimensions and the finds, which include substantial numbers of iron artefacts. Lastly, there are a number of structures which cannot be easily assigned to a specific group: between the later complex (#5) and  $AB$ - $A\Gamma$  (#4), a single curved wall,  $AZ$ , may be assigned to a building which could belong to a further compound which has not been investigated yet, while it is not sure whether Buildings  $E$  and  $I\Delta T$  in the Central Quarter should be associated with the second phase of Building  $I$ , in which case they could be associated with the earlier phase of Compound #1. Interestingly, in the latter area, both buildings are oriented east-west, while all the re-

<sup>26</sup> Building  $K$ : 9 by ca. 5 m;  $KA$ : 7,80 x ca. 5 m.

<sup>27</sup> See V. Vlachou in this volume.

<sup>28</sup> Building  $A\Theta$  may have originally belonged to another compound, since Peribolos Wall T169 seems to separate this edifice from the oval buildings immediately to the north. Nevertheless, by the end of the Geometric period, when  $A\Theta$  was apparently no longer standing, Buildings  $M$ ,  $MA$  were built over the peribolos wall and the two areas appear to have been united.

<sup>25</sup> For the artisanal activities at Oropos, see DOONAN – MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2007; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012b.



Fig. 8. View of Area I of the West Quarter from the south (photo A. Mazarakis Ainian)



Fig. 9. View of Area II of the West Quarter from the north (photo A. Mazarakis Ainian)



Fig. 10. Plan of the Central Quarter (drawing N. Kalliontzis)

maining elongated edifices follow the usual north-south orientation observed at Oropos<sup>29</sup>. It should be emphasised that all the buildings mentioned were not in use simultaneously and that in all areas explored thus far, six main architectural phases were identified, dated between ca. 760 and 690 BC<sup>30</sup>. We should also note that it seems that all quarters were founded at the same period, pointing towards a single planned act, though the presence of a handful of Protogeometric to Middle Geometric sherds in Area I of the West Quarter<sup>31</sup> could imply that somewhere near there may have existed some scattered habitation.

<sup>29</sup> Cfr. similar orientation of Ed150 at Eretria: MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2006b.

<sup>30</sup> On the Geometric pottery and the absolute dates see VLACHOU 2010a.

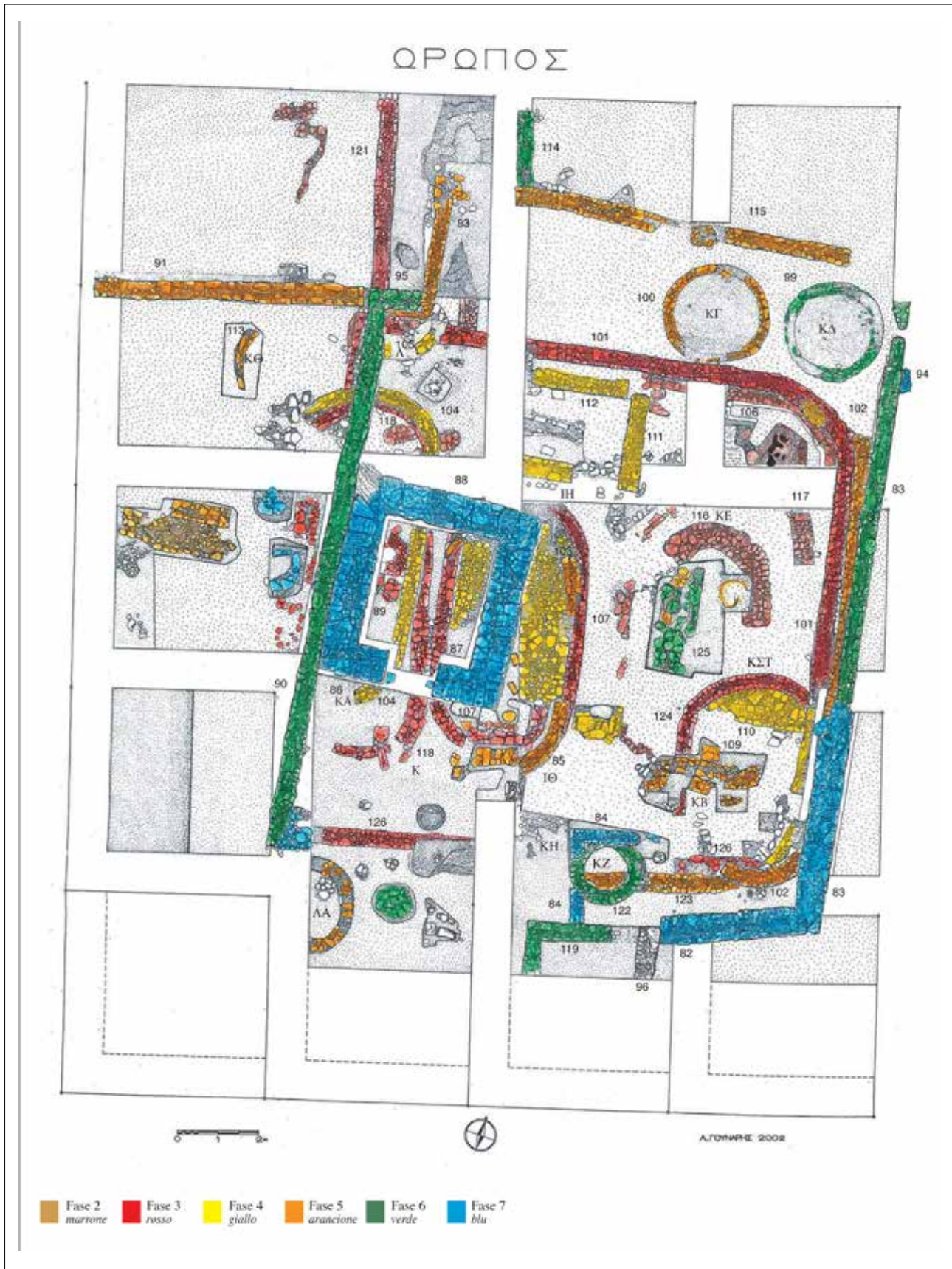
<sup>31</sup> Six sherds of Pendant Semicircle Skyphoi were found in all, three from the Central and three from the West Quarter. According to V. Vlachou they belong to Kearsley 2b, 3a, 5a, 6 (KEARSLEY 1989). The oldest of them come from the fill over Building KE and that of the kiln in relation to wall T106 (red phase): see VLACHOU 2010a, 263-265; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2002a, 171 and 172, fig. 11a; MAZARAKIS AINIAN – LEMOS – VLACHOU 2020, 59-62.

The subsistence strategies of the community were basically herding and fishing. Domestic and herd animals are represented among the faunal remains. These are mainly goat and sheep, in equal proportions, fewer cattle and pigs. Dogs, asses and/or small horses and hunted fauna (deer and hare) are also represented in fewer numbers among the animal bones<sup>32</sup>. Numerous sea shells and fewer lead and stone weights for fishing nets and bronze fishing hooks attest that the sea resources were also exploited by the community<sup>33</sup>.

The main cereal crops identified are emmer wheat and hulled barley (mainly two row). Emmer chaff is present in some samples, indicating the use of this cereal for human consumption. Several pulses are also present, such as bitter vetch, celtic bean and chickpea, indicating a diversity of crops culti-

<sup>32</sup> TRANTALIDOU 2007.

<sup>33</sup> THEODOROPOULOU 2007 (on possible purple-dye production in the Central Quarter see 431-437); THEODOROPOULOU 2008. On similar studies in sites of the Early Iron Age in the Euboean Gulf see THEODOROPOULOU 2017.



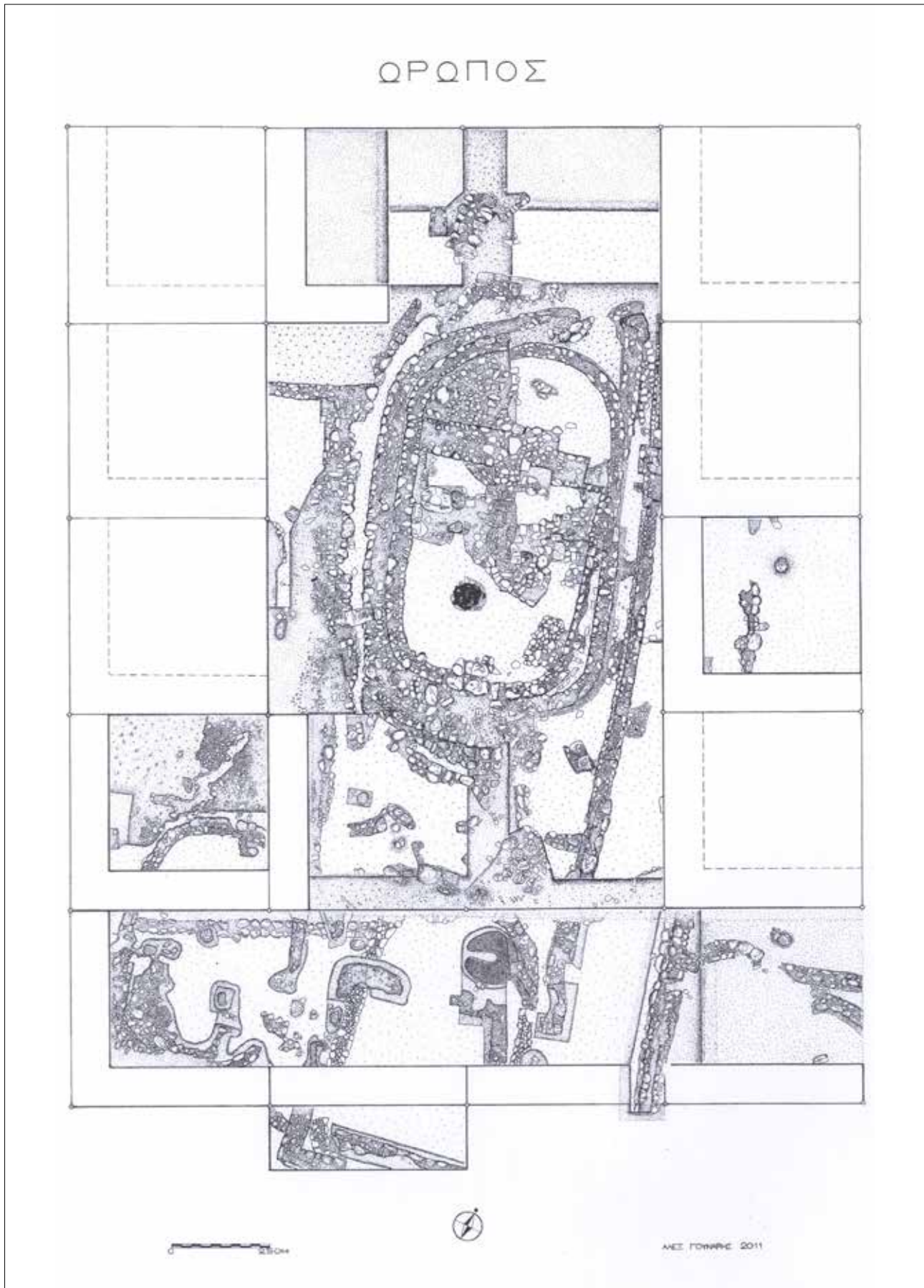


Fig. 12. Plan of Area II of the West Quarter (drawing A. Gounaris)

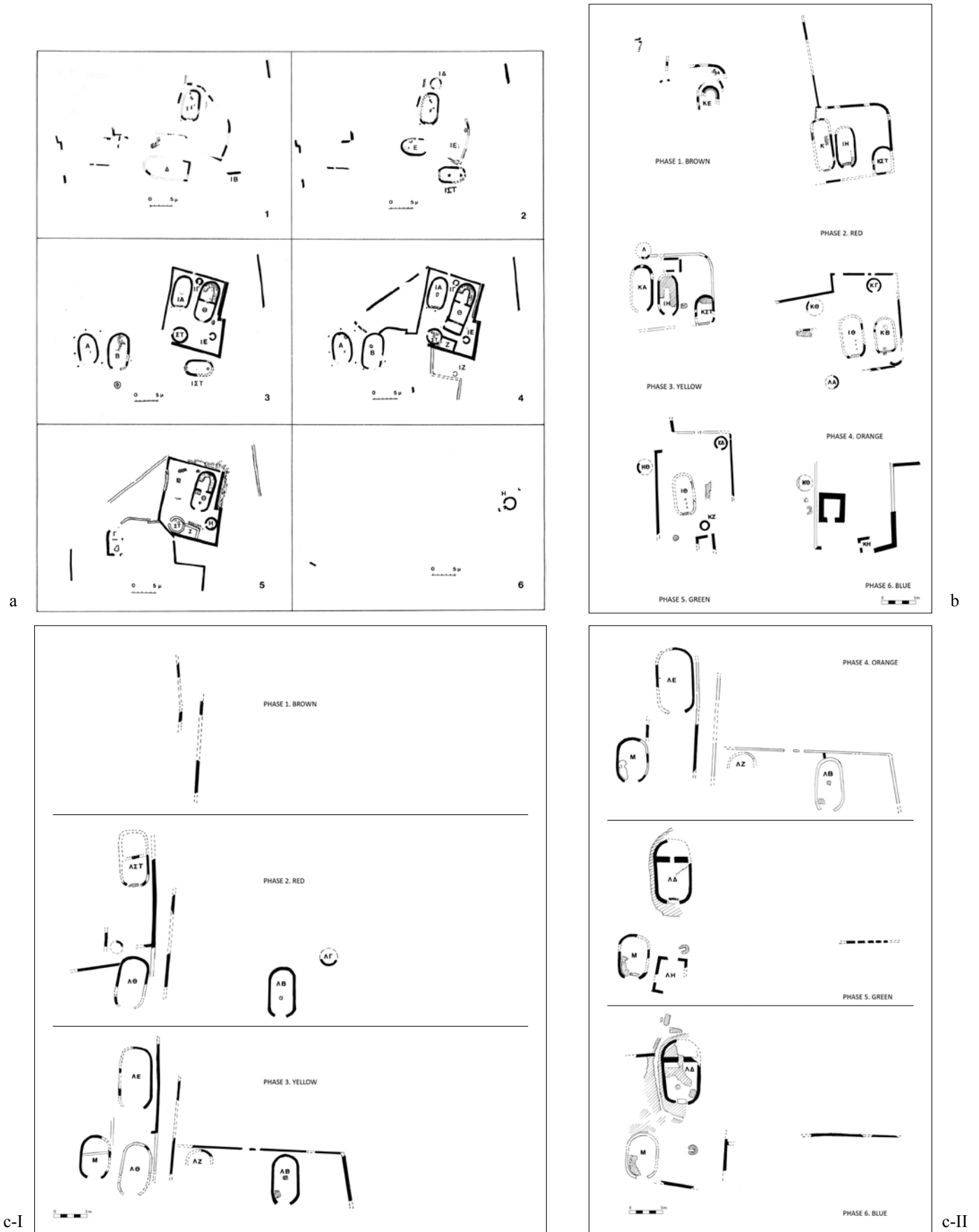


Fig. 13a-c. Reconstruction of architectural phases of the Central (a) and West (b: Area I; c: Area II) Quarters (A. Mazarakis Ainian)

vated, used and consumed<sup>34</sup>. Carbonised olive stones were found all over the site. In Building *A*, however, a different assemblage was found, consisting of several hundreds of olive stones which looked like charcoal fragments but when studied under the microscope it was possible to see that they have clearly been crushed in antiquity. One interpretation of this assemblage could be that it represents evidence for olive production: this is because of their fragmentation pattern, their quantities and the fact that they are found in only two samples in close proximity to each other, indicating deposition in specific loci. The other possibility is that these residues of olive oil production were brought to the site from somewhere else to be used for fuel<sup>35</sup>. The presence of a metallurgical kiln in the specific edifice (see below) would favour the second hypothesis.

The presence of modest pottery kilns within the inhabited areas and the macroscopic examination of the pottery, in addition to its characteristics concerning the decoration, point towards the acceptance that there was local pottery production<sup>36</sup>. The characteristics of this production have been outlined in detail in two doctoral studies<sup>37</sup>.

Additionally, the Central Quarter has yielded substantial evidence for metalworking, mostly smithing activities, both of bronze and especially of iron artefacts. Following the analysis and the statistical distribution of the slag, it has been established that in the earlier phases the activities represent a mixed production (iron and bronze), while in the later phases a more specialised production (ironworking only)<sup>38</sup>. Thanks to a magnetic susceptibility survey it was possible to detect flake and spheroid hammer scale produced by iron smithing in Building *A*. This, together with the discovery near the entrance, inside the building, of a cavity containing a hearth bottom, have proven that such

activities were taking place here<sup>39</sup>.

It should be reminded here that the Nymph Halia was worshipped at Oropos in the Hellenistic period. Though it is not sound to use such late evidence in a much earlier period, we nevertheless cannot ignore the fact that she was the sister of the Telchines, daemons of metallurgy<sup>40</sup>. The concentration of metalworking activities in the Central Quarter constitutes an interesting observation, as it suggests that such activities were confined to one specific group of the community, which seems to be ranked among the wealthiest. It is worth noting that similar activities were associated with the area of the future sanctuary of Apollo at Eretria, which, in my opinion, was a habitation quarter of the Eretrian elite in its earlier phases of the 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC<sup>41</sup>. Quite a large amount of finished iron objects, especially knives and various tools, presumably represent local products. Similar activities are known from a few other contemporary settlements, such as Eretria (see note above), Zagora on Andros and Asine<sup>42</sup>. The study of the stone tools from Oropos is also on its way<sup>43</sup>.

The discovery of 153 loom weights and 121 spindle whorls all over the site confirms the manufacture of cloths and various textiles<sup>44</sup>. The spindle-whorls belong to a variety of shapes and sizes, suitable for spinning a wide range of thread qualities. The loom-weights mostly pyramidal, for the vertical loom, are very light (most beneath 70 gm), suitable for weaving very fine, light textiles and cloth. The only heavier weights for more sturdy textiles were found in Buildings *AA-AE* and the Archaic house. In other words, coarser textiles (e.g. for rugs, sacks, covers etc.) were apparently not produced at Oropos<sup>45</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> MARGARITIS 2017, 685-686.

<sup>35</sup> MARGARITIS 2017, 686.

<sup>36</sup> V. Vlachou in this volume.

<sup>37</sup> CHARALAMBIDOU 2008; VLACHOU 2010a.

<sup>38</sup> DOONAN – MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2007. In MAZARAKIS AINIAN in press, the inscribed stone disc from Building I, originally interpreted as a weight for a fishing net (MAZARAKIS AINIAN – MATHAIIOU 1997) is reinterpreted as a possible flywheel of a drill which may have been used for lighting fire. VALAVANIS 2017 suggests that this object may have served as a door knocker. The metal artefacts are currently under study by Katerina Kolotourou.

<sup>39</sup> DOONAN – MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2007, 366-367; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012b, 128-129, fig. 3a-b.

<sup>40</sup> TERRANOVA 2011. MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2002a, 168; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2002b, 202.

<sup>41</sup> VERDAN 2007; VERDAN 2013. On my opinion see already MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1987, further developed in MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997a, 58-62.

<sup>42</sup> The data is assembled and discussed in VETTA 2020.

<sup>43</sup> This study has been recently initiated by Sophie Duchène in view of her related PhD thesis at Ghent University.

<sup>44</sup> Study conducted under the direction of M. Gleba, with the collaboration of Bela Dimova and the late J. Cuttler, as part of the PROCON Research Project, directed by M. Gleba.

<sup>45</sup> These preliminary results derive from the conclusions following the study of the material by the members of the above mentioned PROCON Project.

Two architectural complexes located in the Central Quarter (#1) and Area II at the West Quarter (#5), respectively, comprise more spacious edifices than the rest of the settlement. It is noteworthy that these two compounds, which I have argued housed members of the local elite, occupy the periphery and not the centre of the settlement. Moreover, one building within each of the above-mentioned compounds, may be singled out as more important than the rest of the edifices within the compound. This is the case of Building  $\Theta$  (Phases 1-3) in the Central Quarter and of Buildings  $\Lambda\Lambda$ - $\Lambda E$  (and perhaps their predecessor  $\Lambda\Xi T$ ) in Area II of the West Quarter. Not only do they present dimensions which overrun those of the surrounding buildings, but they also contained more numerous metal items. Both Building  $\Theta$  and  $\Lambda\Lambda$ - $\Lambda E$ , appear to have served communal functions and may have probably also been the main locus of the head of each *oikos*. M. Węcowski, argues that buildings such as  $\Theta$  should be considered as a *demios oikos*, serving communal functions, especially common drinking and dining<sup>46</sup>. This is indeed a possibility, though the diversified and mainly household character of these edifices, apart for their “public” function, served as dwellings too. It is noteworthy that on a smaller scale, a similar function may have been fulfilled by Building  $KA$  in Area I of the West Quarter, which seems to be the longest (though not the widest) edifice there.

Within the settlement no “communal” cult place has been detected so far, but cult activities are clearly attested in relation to the main compounds which were seemingly associated with the elite<sup>47</sup>. In the Central Quarter (#1) the cult seems to have been performed in circular Building  $\Sigma T$ , while occasional ritual drinking and eating was presumably held inside Building  $\Theta$ . In Area II of the West Quarter (#5), cult activities were perhaps centred to the south of Buildings  $\Lambda\Lambda$ - $\Lambda E$ : Building  $M/MA$  in this area may have served for some rituals: the small oval edifice  $M$ , a few metres to the south of  $\Lambda\Lambda$ - $\Lambda E$ , served probably for some religious ceremonies at some point. Indeed, here a pebbled platform, measuring ca. 2 by 1 m, was uncovered alongside the west side of the interior,

upon which numerous vessels had been intentionally smashed, while a few intact small closed vessels were found at the south extremity of the raised structure. An area for libations occupied the northwestern corner of the platform<sup>48</sup>. The impressive oval building immediately to the north ( $\Lambda\Lambda$ - $\Lambda E$ ) could have assumed a communal role similar to that of Building  $\Theta$ . In Area I of the West Quarter no clear evidence for the existence of a cult area within or near the compound (#3) was noted. A miniature oenochoe found against the inner face of round Building  $KZ$ <sup>49</sup>, could suggest that it served like a household shrine (unless we consider this isolated find a “foundation sacrifice” similar to that of Building  $\Lambda\Lambda$ ), thus allowing a comparison with Building  $\Sigma T$  in the Central Quarter. A round built structure in front of Buildings  $K$ - $KA$  and  $I\Theta$ , 0,50 m high and 0,80 m in diameter, which could be interpreted as an altar due to its raised compact cylindrical form and the slight traces of burning on its surface, seems to belong to the later period of use of the quarter, when habitation was gradually shifting away from the area<sup>50</sup>. A similar conversion of an area previously inhabited by the elite into a communal place of cult is observed at the so-called “Heroon” at the Central Quarter (centred around a low rectangular altar, a possible cenotaph XXIV, a raised circular platform XXXVI and a rather “monumental” access constructed at the west)<sup>51</sup>. In that respect, the “Heroon” by the West Gate at Eretria is indicative of a similar pattern (elite necropolis at the fringes of a quarter inhabited by members of the elite, transformed in the early seventh century into a heroic cult)<sup>52</sup>.

#### MAIN DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE ARCHAIC PERIOD (Figs. 8, 14)

The urban character of the site changed drastically after ca. 700 BC<sup>53</sup>. The Central Quarter was abandoned with the exception of Building  $\Theta 3$  and

<sup>46</sup> WĘCOWSKI 2014, 177-181.

<sup>47</sup> A discussion of these cases will appear in the acts of the meeting organized within the frame of the EAA Congress, in Bern, the 6<sup>th</sup> of September 2019.

<sup>48</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2011, 17-18.

<sup>49</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2000b, 55-56, pl. 30a.

<sup>50</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2001b, 41, pls. 24a and 25b.

<sup>51</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2002a, 161-164; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2004a, 378; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2004b, 136-137; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2006-2007, 91-92.

<sup>52</sup> BÉRARD 1970; BLANDIN 2007.

<sup>53</sup> In general on the Archaic period at Oropos and the pottery see CHARALAMBIDOU 2008; CHARALAMBIDOU 2011. For the architectural changes from one period to the other see MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2001a.



Fig. 14. South Quarter. View of the Archaic street from the east (photo A. Mazarakis Ainian)

the new cult area to its west, probably focusing around the cenotaph of a “hero” who, due to the presence of an offering of a clay boat model<sup>54</sup>, may have perished at sea. The cult assemblage brings to one’s mind the much later *mnema* of Narcissos the Eretrian, mentioned by Strabo, located in the surroundings (IX, 2, 10)<sup>55</sup>. Despite the fact that the association of the specific cult with the “Heroon” of Oropos is not possible, since it did not last for long and the area was abandoned by the end of the first quarter of the seventh century BC, nevertheless the establishment of a cult around the *mnema* (cenotaph XXIV) of a ‘hero’ is noteworthy.

The focus of habitation appears now to have shifted towards the south<sup>56</sup>. A grid of streets meeting more or less at right angles seems to have been planned and partly carried out in the West Quarter and to the south of the Central Quarter (the “South Quarter”). Much of the space between the squares formed by the walls bordering the sides of the streets was left free of any constructions, perhaps in the view of a future building project, which, however, was never fully accomplished, since this site was abandoned at the end of the Archaic period due to disastrous inundations. This planning reminds us of what was the norm in the first western *apoikiai*, in the foundation of which the inhabitants of Graia presumably had a share<sup>57</sup>. One structure, however,

the “Monumental Peribolos”, measuring 57 by 16,70 m, partly occupied the area previously occupied by the compound of the West Quarter-Area I. This was undoubtedly a communal structure, basically open to the sky, with two roofed check points at the north and south extremities, next to the entrances. The structure may have been either a provisional military camp built for the needs of a conflict, such as the Lelantine War<sup>58</sup>, or a simple enclosure for animals, or, as E. Greco has argued, an early *agora*<sup>59</sup>. This last hypothesis, though attractive, is difficult to accept, due to the short period of use of the peribolos. Indeed, a rectangular house (?) of the “pastas” type was built over its SE corner towards the turn from the seventh to the sixth century B.C., marking thus the *terminus ante quem* for its use<sup>60</sup>. The plan of the house (?) is comparable to earlier Attic examples<sup>61</sup>, of the early pastas type (as opposed to the “courtyard house” type). Whether this was a wealthy isolated dwelling or a civic building, is difficult to decide. The only building which continued to stand practically unchanged throughout the Archaic period, incorporated now within the new grid street plan, in which some rectangular structures were also built (such as the square edifice AΘ), was the large oval building, ΑΑ, discussed above<sup>62</sup>. Whether this old edifice changed function is difficult to say but its use seems to have been if not sacred at least civic: it was piously preserved and repaired on several occasions, protected with strong retaining walls against the danger of floods, receiving even libations twice as foundation sacrifices, while in the small pebbled courtyard in front of it a few Archaic miniature kotylai were found<sup>63</sup>.

also SAKELLARIOU 1978.

<sup>58</sup> In general on the Lelantine war see PARKER 1997. For a different opinion about the nature of the war see BERSHADSKY 2003, 44-93 (my thanks to P. Ellinger for bringing to my attention this interesting thesis).

<sup>59</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2002a, 174-178; GRECO 2006, 331-332 [*Od.* VI, 266-67; VIII, 5, 109 ff., 258 ff.]. For a more moderated view see LONGO 2010, 210-211.

<sup>60</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1996.

<sup>61</sup> Thorikos, Subgeometric house on the Velatouri hill (SERVAIS 1965) and the so called “Sacred house” at Eleusis (MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997a, 150-152 [Eleusis], 254 [Thorikos]).

<sup>62</sup> On the preservation of curvilinear buildings of the Geometric period into the Archaic period see MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2017b.

<sup>63</sup> Excavated between 2008 and 2010: see MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2008; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2009; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2010a.

<sup>54</sup> ARJONA PÉREZ 2007, 325.

<sup>55</sup> KNOEPFLER 2010.

<sup>56</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2003.

<sup>57</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2007c. MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2010b, 13-15. For the role of the Graians in the colonisation movement see



Fig. 15. 3D reconstruction of the Late Geometric settlement at Oropos, looking towards the hill of Prophitis Ilias (drawing Markos Mazarakis Ainian)

The growth of Graia was halted abruptly since in the transition from the Archaic to the Classical period the area suffered from one or more dramatic river inundation(s), which obliged the inhabitants to abandon the place and to re-build their city further to the east, on safer ground, at the foot of Prophitis Ilias hill (Fig. 15). This displacement and new foundation were seemingly accompanied by the renaming of the city as “Oropos”, probably a masculine river name, either a linguistic variant of the Asopos river, as D. Knoepfler has ingeniously proposed<sup>64</sup>, or the name of a river flowing to the east of the early settlement, which bore probably this name<sup>65</sup>.

The excavations at Oropos, more than thirty five years since the first remains came to light, and almost twenty five since the first presentation of the preliminary results in the *Euboica I* conference in Naples, have led towards a better understanding of Early Iron Age communities in the Greek World, served as a model to reinterpret a series of missing pieces in the puzzles from Eretria<sup>66</sup> and Xeropolis/

Lefkandi<sup>67</sup> (and now perhaps in the sanctuary of Artemis Amarynthia at Amarynthos<sup>68</sup>) and provided an additional node in the fascinating story of the wanderings of the communities of the South Euboean Gulf both in the Aegean Sea and the Western Mediterranean in the early first millennium BC.

Last but not least we should stress that the efforts to make the excavated remains an open archaeological site has been a constant concern of ours. However, the extremely difficult topographical and geological conditions, and basically the lack of funds, have not allowed this for the time being<sup>69</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> Concerning the recent excavations there see LEMOS 2003-2004; LEMOS 2004-2005; LEMOS 2005-2006; LEMOS 2006-2007; LEMOS 2007; LEMOS 2007-2008; LEMOS 2008-2009; LEMOS 2009-2010.

<sup>65</sup> REBER *et al.* 2019a; REBER *et al.* 2019b and annual reports in *Antike Kunst*. It is interesting to note that it seems from the first preliminary reports that in the Geometric period there were several apsidal or oval buildings here, replaced by a rather monumental rectangular complex in the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (REBER *et al.* 2019a, 209-210; REBER *et al.* 2019b, 145-147, figs. 1.1, 1.2). This situation reminds us of the sequence observed in the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria.

<sup>66</sup> See the MA thesis by Aphrodit Vlachou (VLACHOU 2010b) on this specific issue. In 2019 our architect, Goulielmos Orestidis, presented to the Ephorate of East Attica a detailed technical study concerning the protection and enhancement of the site. In early 2021 the necessary funds were secured, thanks to the generous donation of Mr Athanasios Martinos and the study is now on its way.

<sup>64</sup> KNOEPLER 1985.

<sup>65</sup> PETRAKOS 1997, 487-488. This is today a torrent between the East and Central Quarters, which on occasions may become dangerous, as some twenty years ago (MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2007b, 24).

<sup>66</sup> Especially HUBER 2003; BLANDIN 2007; VERDAN 2013.

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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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