

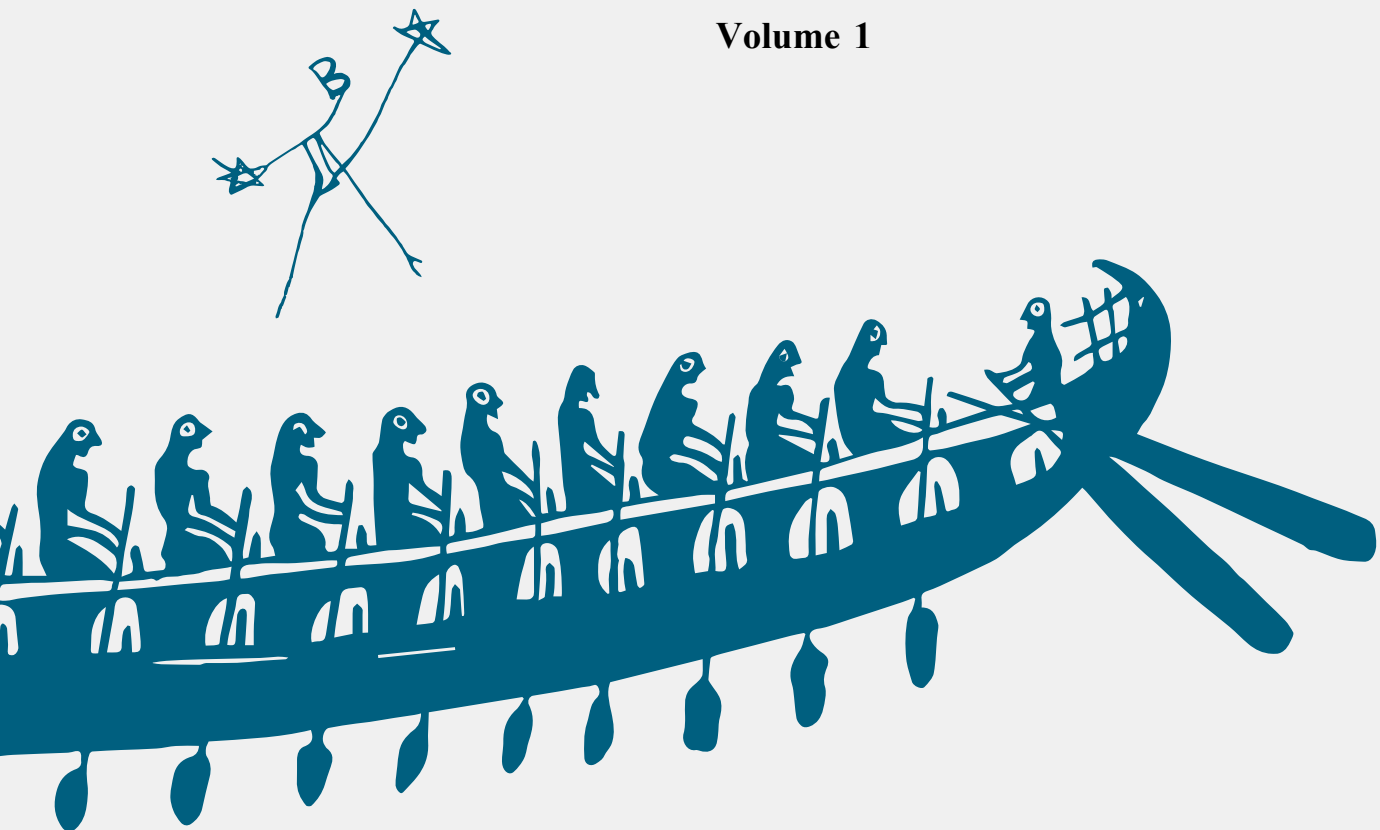
EUBOICA II

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



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E STORIA ANTICA

Nuova Serie | 27



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DI ARCHEOLOGIA
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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 Giangiulio** (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



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L'Albergo della Regina Isabella
Piazza Santa Restituta, 80076 Lacco Ameno - Ischia (NA)

SEZIONE E. L'Eubea: la madrepatria

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

17 Maggio

SEZIONE F. Le produzioni

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

CONCLUSIONI

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



Torri in Festa, Torri in Luce
7ª edizione



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

EUBOEANS & CO. IN THE NORTH AEGEAN: ANCIENT TRADITION AND MODERN HISTORIOGRAPHY OF GREEK COLONIZATION*

Antonis Kotsonas

Held in 1996 and published in 1998, the landmark conference *Euboica: L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente* (henceforth *Euboica*) represents a climax in the scholarly fascination with the startling discoveries of Early Iron Age material on Euboea and on Euboean foundations overseas, and it epitomizes the scholarly consensus about the central role of the Euboeans in Mediterranean interaction in this period. In the quarter century that passed since that conference, this consensus was challenged, especially by John Papadopoulos, and the field was swept by what I call “the Euboean discourse”¹, a heated exchange of arguments, which reshaped and sharpened our understanding of Aegean and Mediterranean interaction in the Early Iron Age and of the role of the Euboeans in this interaction².

The North Aegean figured prominently in *Euboica*, especially through the reference to Chalkidike in the conference title, the inclusion of four papers focused on this area and the Thermaic Gulf, and the touching dedication of the volume to the memory of Ioulia Vokotopoulou, one of the scholars who spearheaded some of the major discoveries of Euboean and related material in that region in the

1980s³. The North Aegean, however, also emerged as one of the major arenas for the unfolding of the Euboean discourse from the mid-1990s⁴, and more generally it has been the focus of numerous recent studies of Euboean trade and colonization⁵. The analysis that follows contributes to this discourse by approaching aspects of modern historiography and by revisiting the ancient textual traditions for Euboean and other colonization in the North Aegean⁶.

EUBOEOCENTRISM AND THE THALASSOCRACIES OF THE EARLY IRON AGE

An ancient historiographic tradition presents early Greek history as a succession of naval powers, or thalassocracies, centered on different Greek and

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¹ Cf. KOTSONAS – MOKRIŠOVÁ 2020, 235.

² See especially PAPADOPOULOS 1997; PAPADOPOULOS 2011; BOARDMAN 2002; RIDGWAY 2004; RIDGWAY 2007. The departure of the ideas of Papadopoulos from the consensus promoted in *Euboica* is summarized in his review of the volume (PAPADOPOULOS 1998).

³ PAPADOPOULOS 1996, 159.

⁴ POPHAM 1994, 30-33; SNODGRASS 1994a; SNODGRASS 1994b, 5-6; PAPADOPOULOS 1996; PAPADOPOULOS 1999; PAPADOPOULOS 2011, 122-124; PAPADOPOULOS forthcoming a; PAPADOPOULOS forthcoming b; HORNBLLOWER 1997; MELE 1998; TIVERIOS 2007; TIVERIOS 2008, 1-50; GIMATZIDIS 2011; KOTSONAS 2012a, 232-239; KOTSONAS forthcoming.

⁵ ABETE 2008 offers the most detailed analysis of the textual sources, expanding on MELE 1998. On the archaeology see the comprehensive review in TIVERIOS 2008, as well as: SOUEREFF 1998; GIMATZIDIS 2011; KOTSONAS 2012a, 128-134, 167-171, 227-239; LEONE 2012; MOSCHONISSIOTI 2012, 58-70; CHARALAMBIDOU 2017; KOUROU 2017, 27-28, 34-35; MAZARAKIS AINIAN – ALEXANDRIDOU 2017; ILIEVA 2019; TSIAFAKI 2020. For major final publications see PAPADOPOULOS 2005 (Torone); GIMATZIDIS 2010 (Anchialos/Sindos); BESSIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012 (Methone); MOSCHONISSIOTI 2012 (Mende).

⁶ I follow common practice in retaining the term colonization, despite its misleading connotations (cf. MALKIN 2003, 153; TSETSKHLADZE 2006, xxv-xxviii. *Contra* OSBORNE 1998). I concur that recent literature has increased awareness of its problematic conceptual load and has helped overcome certain aspects of it (cf. KOTSONAS – MOKRIŠOVÁ 2020, 219-221).

Eastern Mediterranean regions⁷. I here borrow the term thalassocracies to engage not with the ancient, but with the modern tradition of identifying “masters of the seas” in the Aegean and the Mediterranean of the Early Iron Age, placing particular emphasis on the time before the development of Euboeocentrism in modern historiography⁸.

Anthony Snodgrass has keenly observed that «The Euboeans are the great discovery of early Greek archaeology since World War II»⁹. This discovery can be traced back to two seminal studies of the 1950s by John Boardman¹⁰, which focused on Euboea and the Euboeans in the East, especially Al Mina. The important role of the Euboeans in early Greek and Mediterranean interaction became more prominent with the excavations of Pithekoussai, which commenced in 1952, as well as of Lefkandi and Eretria, which began in 1964¹¹. By the 1970s there were entire conferences dedicated to the Euboeans¹², which consolidated and disseminated the scholarly consensus on their central role in Early Iron Age interaction from the Eastern to the Central Mediterranean. Although this historiographic overview is well known to experts, the prehistory of the rise of the Euboeans in the scholarship is poorly understood. This section sheds light on this prehistory and indicates the ways in which an evaluation of early 20th century scholarship can inform current understandings of the role of the Euboeans.

It remains little known that before Boardman argued for the central role of Euboea in Early Iron Age interaction, scholars widely ascribed this role to Crete¹³. Indeed, major studies of the early 20th century on Mediterranean interaction in the early first millennium BC, such as Frederik Poulsen’s *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst*, overlooked Euboea and treated Crete as the major powerhouse in East – West relations. To Poulsen, Crete was the cradle of the Greek Orientalizing phenomenon, which is why he made extensive reference to 8th and

7th century BC bronzes, pottery, sculpture and terracottas from the island¹⁴. Based on the quality of these finds, and on the rich textual tradition for the master craftsman Daidalos and his work on Crete and elsewhere in Greece and the Mediterranean, Emanuel Löwy put forward the notion of pan-Cretism, which held that early Cretan art, particularly sculpture of the 7th century BC, exercised considerable impact over much of the Greek world¹⁵. Pan-Cretism also had a ceramic side to it, indicative of which is the choice of several authors of early 20th century histories of Greek vase-painting to start their discussion of the 7th century BC with Crete¹⁶. Additionally, several ceramic experts of the time held that some innovative stylistic trends of Proto-corinthian ceramics were modeled after Cretan material¹⁷.

Despite its earlier popularity, pan-Cretism was dismissed shortly after World War II. Indeed, Saul Weinberg attacked ceramic pan-Cretism and the alleged Cretan influence on Corinthian ceramics head-on, and his views proved influential¹⁸. Likewise, the monograph of Pierre Demargne on the Cretan Orientalizing, which can be taken as the twilight of pan-Cretism, received a cold review by Thomas Dunbabin¹⁹. Dunbabin argued against pan-Cretism relying on the absence of Cretan Early Iron Age pottery in the Levant, which he contrasted to the attestation of Minoan pottery in the area²⁰. He further observed that from the mid-9th to the mid-8th century BC, «nearly all the Greek vases in the Eastern Mediterranean are cups decorated with pendent semi-circles, originating in the northern Cyclades»²¹. Dunbabin passed away prematurely, but Boardman who succeeded him in Oxford correctly ascribed these vessels to Euboea and argued that it was people from this island who spearheaded Greek connections with the Near East in this period²². Fol-

⁷ MILLER 1971.

⁸ On the term Euboeocentrism see PAPADOPOULOS 2005, 592; KOTSONAS 2013.

⁹ SNODGRASS 1994a, 87. Cf. PAPADOPOULOS 1996, 151.

¹⁰ BOARDMAN 1952; BOARDMAN 1957.

¹¹ SNODGRASS 1994a, 86.

¹² *Contribution; Gli Eubei in Occidente*.

¹³ These paragraphs elaborate on an argument presented in KOTSONAS 2017, 15-17.

¹⁴ POULSEN 1912, 74-82, 148-150.

¹⁵ LÖWY 1909; LÖWY 1911. On Daidalos see MORRIS 1995.

¹⁶ See the references in KOTSONAS 2017, 16.

¹⁷ JOHANSEN 1923, 64-66; LEVI 1945, 16-18; DEMARGNE 1947, 340-347.

¹⁸ WEINBERG 1948, followed by e.g., DUNBABIN 1948, 463; BOARDMAN 1961, 153, 156.

¹⁹ DEMARGNE 1947; DUNBABIN 1952.

²⁰ DUNBABIN 1957, 72-76. Also see KOTSONAS 2017, 16-17, 22; KOTSONAS 2020, 37.

²¹ DUNBABIN 1957, 29; cf. DESBOROUGH 1952, 180-186.

²² BOARDMAN 1957, esp. 26; cf. KOTSONAS 2017, 17. On

lowing Dunbabin, Boardman concluded that «The pan-Cretism of Loewy and other scholars is now generally – and rightly – discounted»²³.

Boardman was instrumental in moving the field from pan-Cretism to Euboeocentrism. The shift is most explicit in his comparison of the role of people from the two islands in Al Mina, which basically elaborates on Dunbabin's observations on the distribution of Greek pottery in the East. As Boardman noted: «Al Mina was founded towards the beginning of the eighth century by Euboeans who were, probably not from the start, joined in the venture by colleagues from the East Greek states ... It is, however, not yet possible to say to what extent Cretans may themselves have joined in ventures like that at Al Mina. There is hardly anything at Al Mina which need be Cretan, although this is no argument against their possible participation»²⁴. The final nail in the coffin of pan-Cretism came two decades later, when numerous Greek vases which had been found in Italy, and had previously been ascribed to Crete by several authorities²⁵, were correctly reattributed to other Greek regional workshops, particularly to the Euboean²⁶.

The demise of the early 20th century orthodoxy on the role of Cretans in Aegean and Mediterranean interaction is offered here as a cautionary tale for the current consensus on the predominance of the Euboeans. Indeed, direct comparisons can be drawn over the dependence of the two thalassocracies on ancient textual tradition (Daidalos and his travels on the one hand, Euboean overseas foundations on the other) and on questionable assumptions about the provenance of ceramic and other materials and the diffusion of artistic styles. Some of the arguments that brought down ceramic pan-Cretism are not very different to the criticism which has been leveled at the erroneous identifications of Euboean vases at North Aegean sites and their role in (mis)

guiding earlier interpretations of Euboean colonization in the area²⁷. Notwithstanding, the problems in these identifications, I concur that current scholarship has grounded the provenancing of Early Iron Age pottery on much safer ground than the scholarship of the early 20th century, which means that the possibility of errors in the localization of regional styles or the provenance of common ceramic types is far less likely than it was some decades ago. Nonetheless, the problem of the provenancing of ceramics and ceramic style remains relevant to the Euboean discourse²⁸, and similar problems may apply to the identification of Euboean letter forms in early Greek epigraphy, as exemplified especially by the recent discussion of the pedigree of the alphabets of some of the early inscriptions found at the Euboean colony of Methone in the Thermaic Gulf²⁹. Although I claim no expertise on epigraphic matters, I feel uneasy with arguments that do not account enough for the notable imbalance in the existing “corpus” of early Greek epigraphy, which involves abundant 8th and early 7th century BC inscriptions from Euboea and her colonies, on the one hand, and considerably fewer inscriptions from the rest of the Greek world, on the other³⁰. This contrast creates a potential bias in the identification of the pedigree of the letter forms and thus of the alphabet of early Greek inscriptions. This bias involves that the letter forms of any newly discovered inscription have considerably higher chances of finding one or more comparisons in the epigraphic record of the Euboean orbit, than in the record of any other Greek region; hence, any newly discovered inscription is more likely to be identified as Euboean. Therefore, any future discovery of a cache of 8th or early 7th century BC inscriptions from anywhere outside Euboea and the Euboean colonies may result in the reconsideration of the assumed exclusively Euboean pedigree of certain letter forms.

Notwithstanding these remarks, I offer here no prediction that the alleged Euboean thalassocracy,

Dunbabin see KOTSONAS 2020.

²³ BOARDMAN 1961, 156 (see also, 158-159).

²⁴ BOARDMAN 1957, 26; cf. BOARDMAN 1961, 157-158. For the appeal of the notion of the passive role of the Cretans see e.g., COLDSTREAM 1968, 382-383; DICKINSON 2006, 218. More on this in KOTSONAS 2017, 17.

²⁵ PAYNE 1931, 5 note 1; BLAKESLEY 1932-1933, 174-175, 181-184, 191, 194-198, 201-204; DUNBABIN 1948, 8, 14, 230, 236, 264, 267-268; BOARDMAN 1961, 157.

²⁶ LO PORTO 1974.

²⁷ PAPADOPOULOS 1996.

²⁸ E.g., PAPADOPOULOS 1996, 152; PAPADOPOULOS 1999, 380; KOTSONAS 2012a, 132-134.

²⁹ See various contributions in CLAY – MALKIN – TZIFOPoulos 2017, with reference to the material published in BESSIOS – TZIFOPoulos – KOTSONAS 2012. On Archaic Greek alphabets and regionalism in letter forms see JEFFERY 1990.

³⁰ Cf. KOTSONAS 2012b, 247.

like the earlier Cretan one, will fall and give way to another. Indeed, I am deeply skeptical towards both the ancient and the modern tradition for thalassocracies in the Aegean and the Mediterranean of the Early Iron Age. This skepticism extends to comparable arguments which promote a Phoenician thalassocracy, and treat the Phoenicians as the nemesis of the Euboeans³¹. It seems to me that the thalassocracies of the Early Iron Age are increasingly being replaced by more nuanced understandings of Mediterranean interaction, which acknowledge and document the agency of different peoples. Jean-Paul Morel urged students of Greek colonization to work in this direction already in the early 1980s³², but it was only from the late 1990s that the challenge was taken up in different ways and with notable outcomes. For example, closer analyses of foundation traditions revealed that Greek colonies could attract Greeks from different regions, who co-opted to the cultural traditions that were established by a possibly much smaller, yet cohesive nucleus by means of *nomima*, or customary institutions³³. As Irad Malkin has observed, «We need to think more about rapid co-optation of immigrants to nuclei of settlers through *nomima*, thus adapting to and acquiring a collective identity predicated on a mother city. There were many “Eretrians” and “Chalkidians” who probably never had ancestors in either Chalkis or Eretria»³⁴. Along these lines, the study of colonization is increasingly less about the coming, and more about the becoming of Euboeans and other Greeks overseas.³⁵ Additionally, various

traditions of postcolonial literature inspired a range of novel approaches to Greek colonization in the last quarter century. These approaches, which cover network thinking, entanglement, hybridity, middle ground, and subalternity³⁶, have basically reshaped the field, despite the occasional rearguard action by scholars of a more traditional inclination.

Until recently, the new approaches to Greek and Mediterranean colonization had little impact on the history and archaeology of the North Aegean. A notable exception is the work of Papadopoulos, who introduced various postcolonial considerations and argued for the appreciation of the role of not only the Euboeans, but also of other people, in studies of colonization and other modes of interaction in the North Aegean³⁷. However, hard evidence to support this case was largely missing. In a recent study of important new finds – including inscriptions – from Methone in the Thermaic Gulf, which date from ca. 700 BC, Manthos Bessios, Yannis Tzifopoulos and myself, developed an approach which acknowledges the important role of the Euboeans but also investigates the agency of other Greek and indigenous populations³⁸. Indeed, one of the most important contributions I made to this study regards a specific type of transport amphorae, the Thermaic amphorae, which are agreed to have been manufactured primarily in areas around the Thermaic Gulf (including the western part of the Chalkidike) and to have circulated extensively within this protected seascape but also – and to a much lesser degree – elsewhere, as far as Pithekoussai³⁹. These amphorae have traditionally been associated with Euboean trade⁴⁰, but I argued that the geographic and chronological patterning of their production and distribution, and the trademarks and other graffiti and dipinti they carry, suggest that the manufacture and circulation of these vases was primarily controlled

³¹ As explained in KOTSONAS 2012a, 233. The juxtaposition of the Euboeans and the Phoenicians is canonized in titles of articles or book sections (e.g. CRIELAARD 1992-1993; DICKINSON 2006, 210). The dominant role of the Phoenicians is emphasized by several scholars (e.g., MORRIS 1995, esp. 141; SHERRATT 2019), including Papadopoulos (1996, 159; 1997, 193, 205-206; 1998, 135; 2011, 115-119), who has explained, however, that his purpose is not «to replace one form of cultural imperialism with another» (PAPADOPOULOS 2005, 592); and that «to focus on one particular group – whether Greek, Levantine or other – to the neglect of others, is to miss the broader Mediterranean perspective and to impose national and nationalistic concepts» (PAPADOPOULOS 1997, 191). Also, PAPADOPOULOS forthcoming b.

³² MOREL 1984, 124-135.

³³ MALKIN 2003, 160-166; MALKIN 2009, 378-379, 386-390; MALKIN 2011, 55-57; MALKIN 2017b, 64-69. For detailed analyses of this phenomenon with reference to Megarian colonization see ROBU 2014; ROBU 2018. Also, KOTSONAS 2012b, 245-246; KOTSONAS – MOKRIŠOVÁ 2020, 234.

³⁴ MALKIN 2017a, 152.

³⁵ Cf. HALL 2002, 5, 45-47; MAC SWEENEY 2017, 414-415.

³⁶ MALKIN 2002a; 2011; ANTONACCIO 2003; HALL 2004; VAN DOMMELEN 2005; VAN DOMMELEN 2012; HODOS 2006; HODOS 2010; DIETLER 2010; ZUCHTRIEGEL 2018.

³⁷ PAPADOPOULOS 1996, 158; PAPADOPOULOS 2005, 577; cf. DICKINSON 2006, 207-208.

³⁸ BESSIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012. See also, CLAY – MALKIN – TZIFOPOULOS 2017.

³⁹ On the name and essential characteristics of these amphorae see KOTSONAS 2012a, 154-162 (with references); KOTSONAS *et al.* 2017, 16-18.

⁴⁰ TIVERIOS – GIMATZIDIS 2000, 196; GIMATZIDIS 2010, 268-269; GIMATZIDIS 2011, 962; TIVERIOS 2013, 16-17.

by local populations around the Thermaic Gulf (which does not exclude the possibility that Euboeans were also involved in the circulation of these containers)⁴¹. The argument on the Thermaic amphorae and, more broadly, the new and more balanced approach to the agency of the Euboeans and other Greek and non-Greek populations is increasingly appreciated in latest scholarship on the North Aegean⁴², which is symptomatic of the rise of a new interpretative model for colonization in the area. This development is echoed in current literature on related topics in the archaeology of the region, including studies of the circulation of Early Iron Age ceramics and other materials by Papadopoulos and Petya Ilieva⁴³, or the work of Vivi Saripanidi on burial customs in Greek colonies and indigenous communities⁴⁴.

Given the thematic character of the present volume, my contribution places emphasis on the colonial activities of the Euboeans in the North (particularly Northwest) Aegean. However, the scope of this contribution is broader and covers colonies of different pedigree located across the North Aegean, hence the “Euboeans & Co.” of my title. More specifically, I investigate the range of foundation traditions available for the North Aegean colonies, which extend from Mount Olympus to the Hellespont, seeking to develop a more nuanced understanding of Euboean and other colonization in the region during the Early Iron Age⁴⁵.

⁴¹ KOTSONAS 2012a, 159-161, 232-237; KOTSONAS forthcoming; KOTSONAS *et al.* 2017, 16-18.

⁴² MOCHONISSIOTI 2012, 136-137 (Mende); MAZARAKIS AINIAN – ALEXANDRIDOU 2017, 137-138; MAZARAKIS AINIAN – ALEXANDRIDOU 2020, 424-426 (Skiathos); ANDREOU 2020, 924-926 (Thermaic Gulf). Negative reaction has been limited to an attempt to substitute the traditional neglect of local agency with the tabooization of it (as observed keenly in SARIPANIDI 2017, 73, 87 note 101).

⁴³ ILIEVA 2019; PAPADOPOULOS forthcoming a; PAPADOPOULOS forthcoming b.

⁴⁴ SARIPANIDI 2017.

⁴⁵ This inquiry and the associated Figure 1 are centered on the foundation traditions for the North Aegean which are preserved in the ancient sources (problems of these sources are discussed below). Related stories on the wanderings of various ethnic groups are excluded from this study, since my focus is on foundation. Likewise, I do not cover the Athenian expansion in the North Aegean, which is later in date; see TIVERIOS 2008 *passim*. For methodological considerations on the identification of Euboean colonies and *emporía* on archaeological grounds see KOTSONAS 2012b, with references.

FOUNDATION TRADITIONS

The rich ancient traditions on Greek colonization, which are preserved in Classical literature, have come under serious scrutiny in the last decades⁴⁶. In a seminal study, Jonathan Hall identified three main approaches to these traditions⁴⁷: first is the “historical-positivist” approach, which takes the literary testimonia as valid, empirical data from which we may derive the “facts” of Greek settlement overseas⁴⁸. Scholars operating in this tradition are not unaware of some of the problems with the ancient traditions, but they believe in the historicity of their basic elements. These scholars tend to ground the historicity of the tradition on archaeological evidence, which however, they treat as secondary, hence the criticism that this approach suffers from the “tyranny of the text”⁴⁹. The “historical-positivist” approach was the major – if not the only – paradigm for engaging with the topic of Greek colonization before the 1990s and remains popular in some quarters, despite the criticism it has received. Hall observed that two novel and alternatives approaches emerged in the 1990s (which is roughly the time of *Euboica*), as reactions to the established paradigm. This includes the “poeticist” approach, which treats foundation stories not as evidence for actual facts, but for the ways in which history was constructed and remembered. This approach is promoted by only a few scholars who operate within a tradition of literary analysis and engage only minimally with archaeology⁵⁰. Lastly, Hall identified a “historical-constructivist” approach, which treats the textual tradition as a blend of historical information and constructed memory, questions traditional assumptions deduced from foundation traditions, and seeks to understand the archaeological record on its own terms, rather than through a textual perspective⁵¹. Hall offered critical

⁴⁶ See especially MALKIN 1987; DOUGHERTY 1993; Hall 2008.

⁴⁷ HALL 2008, 383-388, 421-422.

⁴⁸ Hall (2008) cites GRAHAM 1971 and BOARDMAN 1999 as examples of this approach. The same approach is found in, e.g., DUNBABIN 1948.

⁴⁹ PAPADOPOULOS 1999, 383.

⁵⁰ Hall (2008) treats CALAME 1990 and DOUGHERTY 1993 as examples of this approach. The same approach is found in, e.g., DOUGHERTY 1994; DOUGHERTY 1998.

⁵¹ Hall (2008) considers OSBORNE 1998 as an example of this approach.

comments towards all three approaches, but I think he associated himself with the last one in concluding that «foundation stories—in association with the material evidence—can reveal a great deal about the early life of a colony but not, perhaps, its ultimate origins»⁵². Several other influential studies of Greek colonization of the last few decades can be associated with Hall's "historical-constructivist" approach⁵³, which thus emerges as the major new paradigm in the study of Greek colonization. This paradigm often clashes with the traditional "historical-positivist" approach, as evidenced by the Euboean discourse, which is probably the most conspicuous manifestation of the clash. The marked difference in approach which is at the heart of this discourse should not be obscured by the simplistic – and indeed Manichaean and often personalized – division of scholars into "Euboean men and women" and "anti-Euboeans"⁵⁴.

Scholarship on colonization in the North Aegean has not engaged enough with the revisionist approaches promoted by historians like Hall, Malkin, Robin Osborne, and Carol Dougherty, let alone with postcolonial literature from outside Classics⁵⁵. Accordingly, the weight that is usually placed on the colonial traditions for the North Aegean, which are typically poorly reported (see below), contrasts the more skeptical approaches developed by recent scholarship on the often more detailed foundation traditions available for Greek colonies in the Central Mediterranean⁵⁶. Drawing my inspiration from the range of new approaches to Greek colonization mentioned above, and especially from different studies by Malkin⁵⁷ and from Hall's analysis of

foundation stories for South Italy and Sicily⁵⁸, I pursue an inquiry into the numerous but mostly brief references of ancient literature to colonial foundations in the North Aegean. Like Hall, I acknowledge that ancient historiographic traditions and accidents of survival must have played a considerable – even if poorly understood – role in the make-up of the surviving corpus of foundations traditions, but the relevant material can yield interesting insights if treated collectively.

GEOGRAPHIC PATTERNING

Ancient literature dating from the Classical to the Roman period names as many as eleven Euboean colonies in the North Aegean, including sites allegedly founded jointly by Euboeans and other Greeks, as well as sub-colonies (see Fig. 1). This textual tradition has received considerable attention, including a recent Ph.D. dissertation⁵⁹. However, it has not been acknowledged enough that nearly all relevant references of ancient literature and epigraphy are extremely brief⁶⁰. These references typically offer the bare minimum of information, which regards the origins of the colonists. For example, several ancient authors call Mende on the Pallene peninsula "a colony of the Eretrians" (THUCYDIDES 4.123.1; POMPONIUS MELA 2.33; HARPOCRATION, 'Μένδη' s.v.), but none of them provides any further information⁶¹. Torone on Sithonia is termed "Chalkidian" by Thucydides (4.110), which Diodorus – controversially – interprets as a "colony of the Chalkidians"⁶². Heraclides Lembus (Dilts 62) notes that Kleonai on Akte (Athos) was founded by Chalkidians from Elymniot on Euboea⁶³. Dikaia is mentioned as an Eretrian colony in an epigraphic (*IG* I³ 282.11.55-56) – rather than a literary – source and this reference is equally brief⁶⁴, like the references to the colonies of

⁵² HALL 2008, 422.

⁵³ E.g., PAPADOPOULOS 1996; PAPADOPOULOS 1999; PAPADOPOULOS 2005, 580-594; PAPADOPOULOS 2011, 122-124; YNTEMA 2000; HALL 2008; KOTSONAS forthcoming.

⁵⁴ These terms are used in: PAPADOPOULOS 1996, 171; PAPADOPOULOS 2011, 121; BOARDMAN 2002, 11-12; GIMATZIDIS 2011, 961.

⁵⁵ The comprehensive and otherwise admirable studies of ABETE 2008 and TIVERIOS 2008 are indicative in this respect. Exceptions include the work of Papadopoulos on Torone and the Chalkidike (PAPADOPOULOS 1996; PAPADOPOULOS 1999; PAPADOPOULOS 2005, 580-594; PAPADOPOULOS 2011, 122-124), and my work on Methone (KOTSONAS 2012a; KOTSONAS 2012b; KOTSONAS forthcoming).

⁵⁶ See especially HALL 2008; also, OSBORNE 1998; YNTEMA 2000.

⁵⁷ MALKIN 1987; MALKIN 1998; MALKIN 2002a; MALKIN 2002b; MALKIN 2003; MALKIN 2009; MALKIN 2011; MALKIN

2016; MALKIN 2017a; MALKIN 2017b.

⁵⁸ HALL 2008.

⁵⁹ ABETE 2008.

⁶⁰ Notable exceptions include TIVERIOS 1989, 57; TIVERIOS 2007, 2; VOKOTOPOULOU 2001, 740.

⁶¹ FLENSTED-JENSEN 2004, 832. See also below.

⁶² PAPADOPOULOS 1999; FLENSTED-JENSEN 2004, 847; HENRY 2004, 5-8, 28, 32; ABETE 2008, 12-13, 35-44.

⁶³ FLENSTED-JENSEN 2004, 830. *Contra* BAKHUIZEN 1976, 15.

⁶⁴ On Dikaia and its Eretrian connection see: VOKOTOPOULOU

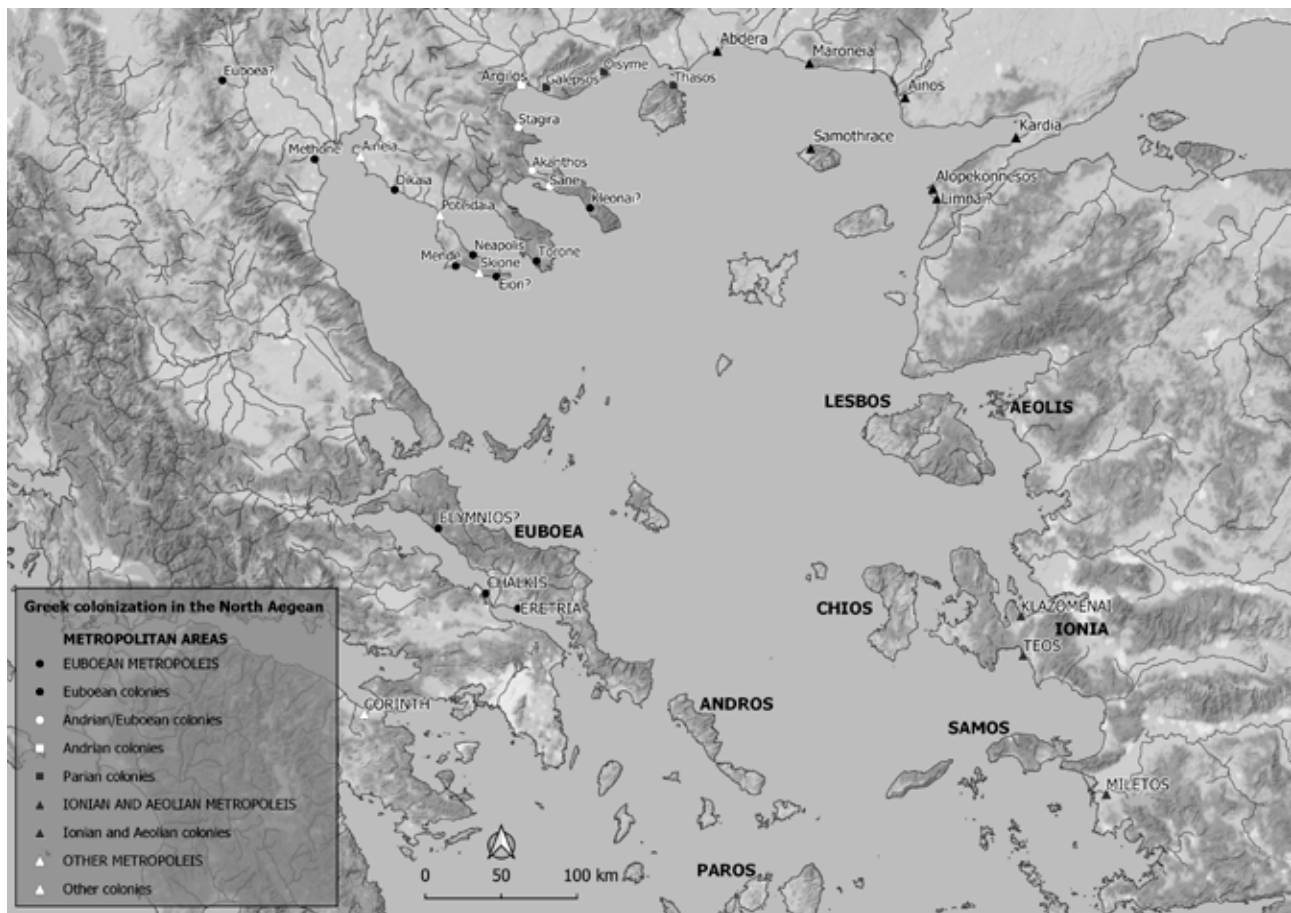


Fig. 1. The colonization of the North Aegean according to the ancient textual tradition

Mende on the Pallene peninsula, namely Neapolis (*IG* I³ 263.III.26-27 and *IG* I³ 281.II.13) and Eion (THUCYDIDES 4.7)⁶⁵. This strong pattern involves a few exceptions: the brief story for the obscure colony of Euboea, near Edessa, which was allegedly founded by Euboeans returning from the Trojan War (STRABO 10.1.15)⁶⁶, as well as the foundation story which Plutarch provides for the Eretrian colony of Methone in Pieria (*Moralia: Greek Questions* 293A-B)⁶⁷. Plutarch (*Moralia: Greek Questions*

298A) also records a foundation story for Sane and Acanthos on the Northeast Chalkidike, both of which he considers as joint foundations by Andrians and Euboeans from Chalkis, even though an earlier tradition considers these sites as Andrian colonies (Acanthos: THUCYDIDES 4.84.1 and STRABO 7 fr. 31; Sane: THUCYDIDES 4.109.3)⁶⁸. Lastly, Stagira is considered as an Andrian colony by Thucydides (4.88.2 and 5.6.1), but later tradition mentions an «expedition from Chalkis which founded the colony of Stagira» (DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSUS, *Ad Ammaeum* 1.5).

In addition to these eponymous eleven sites, there are numerous nameless Euboean foundations

2001, 745-746; FLENSTED-JENSEN 2004, 827; VOUTIRAS – SISMANIDIS 2007; MALLIOS 2011, 284. An «Eretrian» coin type is usually identified on the earliest coins of Dikaia, which date from the Late Archaic period (FLENSTED-JENSEN 2004, 827), but Peter van Alfen (2015, esp. 266) has recently argued that it was probably Dikaia that influenced Eretria, rather than vice versa.

⁶⁵ FLENSTED-JENSEN 2004, 827 (Eion), 833 (Neapolis). For Neapolis see also TSIGARIDA 2011, 145.

⁶⁶ Stephanos of Byzantium, (‘Εὐβοία’ s.v. [284.2]) calls it a Euboean foundation. This Euboea is often identified with the city Euia mentioned by other authors (HATZOPOULOS – PASCHIDIS 2004, 796), but this identification is uncertain (MALLIOS 2011, 157).

⁶⁷ KOTSONAS 2012a, 227-229; KOTSONAS 2012b, 253-254;

TZIFOPOULOS 2012, 19-21. Also, HATZOPOULOS – PASCHIDIS 2004, 804. On the epigraphic and archaeological evidence which supports the identification of Methone as a Euboean colony see BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 339-343 no. 2; KOTSONAS 2012a, 227-229, 236-237; KOTSONAS 2012b, 253-256; CLAY – MALKIN – TZIFOPOULOS 2017.

⁶⁸ On alternative traditions for the origins of the settlers of Greek colonies see HALL 2008, 390-395.

which are mentioned by Strabo. Indeed, the ancient geographer notes that «the Chalkidians of Euboea also came over to the country of the Sithones and jointly peopled about thirty cities in it» (STRABO 7, fr. 11); and he adds: «Eretria colonized the cities situated round Pallene and Athos, and Chalkis colonized the cities that were subject to Olynthos» (STRABO 10.1.8). The historical reliability of Strabo's references has been accepted widely in scholarship⁶⁹, and Rosa Maria Abete has deduced from them the establishment of a system of small Euboean *emporia*, in addition to a few colonies, across much of the Chalkidike⁷⁰. Any skeptical remarks towards Strabo's references have remained limited. For example, Simon Bakhuizen has argued that Strabo confused the Eretrians with the Andrians in the second passage above⁷¹, whereas Papadopoulos has observed that the high number of sites mentioned in the first passage cannot easily fit the limited space of Sithonia or be reconciled with the limited archaeological evidence for Early Iron Age occupation on the peninsula⁷². Nonetheless, this skepticism has largely been overlooked, and Strabo's passages are widely taken to be reliable (but see below).

My review of Euboean colonies in the North Aegean closes with brief remarks on sites which modern scholarship occasionally identifies as Euboean foundations, even though this has no basis on the ancient tradition. A case in point is Aphytis, on the Pallene peninsula, which is labelled as «a colony of Eretria» in a recent study⁷³, for no obvious reason. Another study notes «There was no written evidence that it was a colony, but it probably was ... Greeks of the south, in this case probably Euboeans, settled in this area at least as early as the 8th century BC»⁷⁴. The identification of Aphytis as a Euboean foundation is unconvincing to me. The same applies to the characterization of Thyssos on Akte (Athos) as a colony of Chalkis, and to the identifica-

tion of the poleis of Akte as colonies of Eretria, which find no support in ancient literature⁷⁵. Likewise, I see no textual basis for the argument which assumes Euboean precolonial interests in sites of the Thermaic Gulf which Classical literature considers as foundations by other Greeks⁷⁶. These modern hypotheses are excluded from the analysis that follows (and from the associated map of Fig. 1), but they are considered to be indicative of overstatements by modern scholarship concerning Euboean colonization in the North Aegean.

The alleged clustering – or even hyper-clustering – of Euboean colonies in the Thermaic Gulf and the Chalkidike has often been involved in the Euboean discourse, but its historical reliability has not received the focused analysis it deserves. In the paragraphs that follow I explain that the ancient textual tradition for this phenomenon can be treated as broadly reliable, but I also argue that part of this tradition is exaggerated.

The (hyper)-clustering of Euboean foundations in the Thermaic Gulf and the Chalkidike compares well to the pattern of Euboean colonization in the northeast part of Sicily, which involves numerous colonies, joint colonies and sub-colonies. From southeast to northwest these sites are: Leontinoi, Katane, Naxos, Zankle, Mylai and Himera, in addition to the unlocated Euboea and Kallipolis (which were perhaps close to Leontinoi and south of Naxos, respectively). Also, there is Rhegion across the Strait of Messina⁷⁷. The comparability of this pattern to the one seen on the Northwest Aegean is considerable.

Additionally, the (hyper)-clustering of Euboean

⁶⁹ KONTOLEON 1963, 21; VOKOTOPOULOU 2001, 748; TIVERIOS 2007, 3, 15; TIVERIOS 2008, 4-5, 17, 38, 45, 47; ABETE 2008, 44, 101-115; GIMATZIDIS 2011, 103; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012, 54, 57; MOSCHONISSIOTTI 2012, 2, 14; TSIAFAKI 2020, 416.

⁷⁰ ABETE 2008, 101-115.

⁷¹ BAKHUIZEN 1976, 18-19, 84.

⁷² PAPADOPOULOS 2005, 583.

⁷³ TSIGARIDA 2011, 143.

⁷⁴ TIVERIOS 2008, 39.

⁷⁵ TSIGARIDA 2011, 149 (Thysos); TSIAFAKI 2020, 416 (poleis of Akte). Tsiafaki quotes STRABO 7, fr. 35, where, however, the poleis are identified as foundations of Pelasgians from Lemnos. On the Euboean foundation of Kleonai see Heraclides Lembus (Dilts 62) and note 63 above.

⁷⁶ *Contra* ABETE 2008, 116-154; see also note 95 below. My skepticism also extends to the proposed identification of Anchialos/Sindos as a Euboean *emporion* (KOTSONAS 2012b, 249 *contra* TIVERIOS 2008, 21, 24).

⁷⁷ DUNBABIN 1948, 8-11; BÉRARD 1957, 68-107; BAKHUIZEN 1976, 16-18; FISCHER-HANSEN – NIELSEN – AMPOLO 2004a, 191 (Euboea), 199 (Himera), 202 (Kallipolis), 206 (Katane), 209 (Leontinoi), 216 (Mylai), 218 (Naxos), 234 (Zankle); FISCHER-HANSEN – NIELSEN – AMPOLO 2004b, 290 (Rhegion). For the smaller cluster of sites in the Bay of Naples see: BÉRARD 1957, 37-67; BAKHUIZEN 1976, 15-16; FISCHER-HANSEN – NIELSEN – AMPOLO 2004b, 256 (Dikaiarcheia), 257 (Parthenope), 270 (Kyme), 283 (Neapolis), 286 (Pithekoussai).

foundations in the Thermaic Gulf and the Chalkidike conforms to a hitherto overlooked, albeit strong geographic patterning which characterizes the entire North Aegean, from Mount Olympus to the Hellespont, and concerns both the colonies and their metropoleis (Fig. 1). More specifically, according to the textual tradition, the metropoleis which founded cities in the North Aegean (which vary in size and political geography) are largely located in four areas of the central Aegean: the islands of Euboea, Andros, and Paros, as well as Ionia with Aeolis. Interestingly, these four metropolitan areas colonized the parts of the North Aegean which lie almost directly north of them. Indeed, the Thermaic Gulf and the Chalkidike, which were colonized by Euboea, are located within the notional northward projection of the East and West ends of the island. Eretrian foundations lie around the Thermaic Gulf, including Pallene, while colonies of Chalkis are located on the central and the eastern part of the Chalkidike. The Northwest Aegean was spared by other Greek foundations, with a few exceptions treated below. The islanders of Andros, which lies immediately southeast of Euboea, settled areas east of those settled by the Euboeans, including Sane, Akanthos, Stagira, and Argilos, which are located on the northeast part of the Chalkidike and the head of the Strymonic Gulf⁷⁸. Farther east lies Thasos, which was colonized by the Cycladic island of Paros that is located southeast of Andros. In turn, Thasos established colonies – with Galepsos and Oisyme being explicitly identified as such in the literature – and *emporía* on its Thracian *peraia*⁷⁹. Lastly, the east part of the North Aegean, up to the Hellespont, attracted a number of foundations, which ancient literature ascribed to metropoleis located directly

south, in Ionia and Aeolis. Abdera was founded by Klazomenai and then Teos; Maroneia by Chios; Samothrace by Samos; Ainos by nearby Alopekonnos, which had previously been settled by Aeolians; Limnai by Miletos; and Kardia by Miletos and Klazomenai⁸⁰. Interestingly, this metropolitan and colonial landscape conforms to finer geographic patterning: the westernmost colonies (Maroneia and Samothrace) were founded by islands of the East Aegean (Chios and Samos), while the easternmost colonies (Limnai and Kardia) by metropoleis located on the coast of Asia Minor. The single exception to this pattern is Abdera, while the precise origins of the Aeolians that settled Ainos and Alopekonnos (from Lesbos or the opposite coast) remain unclear.

The overall geographic correspondence between metropoleis and colonies is exceptionally neat, and avoids any infringement⁸¹. Geography and the relative proximity of the four metropolitan areas to the four colonial areas must have had a role in this, but geographic determinism is an inadequate explanation, especially since it does not explain the patterns of colonial expansion of the Greeks in other parts of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Indeed, the patterning observed in the North Aegean makes the roughly concurrent Greek colonization of South Italy and Sicily look largely haphazard, as metropoleis located in different parts of Central and South Greece and the Aegean founded colonies in different parts of the Italian peninsula and Sicily⁸². Furthermore, the North Aegean patterning finds no match in other Greek and Mediterranean colonization.

⁷⁸ VOKOTOPOULOU 2001, 759-761; FLENSTED-JENSEN 2004, 820 (Argilos), 823 (Akanthos), 839 (Sane), 844 (Stagira); TIVERIOS 2008, 52-66; TIVERIOS 2012; TSIGARIDA 2011, 149-151. For references to the involvement of Euboeans from Chalkis in the foundation of Akanthos, Sane and Stagira see above.

⁷⁹ For Thasos see REGER 2004, 778. For the references of ancient authors to Thasian colonies and *emporía* see: LOUKOPOULOU 2004a, 854, 861 (Galepsos), 863, 864 (Oisyme), 865, 866; LOUKOPOULOU 2004b, 880. The distinction between Thasian colonies and *emporía* is not always clear in the ancient sources. I have chosen to single out the more straightforward cases of Galepsos and Oisyme. On Thasos and her colonies and *emporía* see also GRAHAM 1964, 71-97; GRAHAM 1978; BLONDÉ *et al.* 2008; TIVERIOS 2008, 72-91; MULLIEZ – BONIAS 2017; MANAKIDOU 2018. For the possibility that Paros's neighbor Naxos made a failed attempt to colonize Thasos see TSANTSANOGLU 2003.

⁸⁰ For the references of ancient authors see: LOUKOPOULOU 2004b, 873 (Abdera), 876 (Ainos), 879 (Maroneia); LOUKOPOULOU 2004c, 900, 904 (Alopekonnos), 907 (Kardia), 908 (Limnai); REGER 2004, 770 (Samothrace). Also, TIVERIOS 2008, 91-124.

⁸¹ Pottery imports from the metropolitan areas and their local imitation may also cluster in the corresponding colonial areas. For Euboean pottery see Fig. 2 below; for Andrian (?) pottery at Argilos see BONIAS *et al.* 2012; TSIAFAKI *et al.* 2012; for Parian pottery on Thasos and its *peraia* see COULIÉ 2008; MANAKIDOU 2018; PERRON 2018. Archaic East Greek pottery is widely exported across the North Aegean and its distribution cannot be associated specifically with the area of the Ionian and Aeolian colonies on the northeast part of it, see KOTSONAS 2012a, 171-183, maps 9-12; 194-213, maps 15-18.

⁸² This general observation does not overlook the occasional attestation of clusters of colonial foundations deriving from a certain metropolis, on which see BÉRARD 1957.

A rough comparison for the geographic patterning of Greek colonization in the North Aegean can perhaps be identified in the transatlantic colonization of North America by Western European powers during the late 17th to mid-18th century. At that time, the British were in the north, around Canada's Hudson Bay and also along the east coast of the modern USA; the French targeted territories in between these two areas, and to the west of the British (New France); and the Spanish ruled the south part of North America (as part of New Spain)⁸³. Notwithstanding the undeniable differences between the ancient and the modern historical phenomenon, the rich documentation available for the colonization of North America can inform our understanding of the processes that may underlie the neat geographic patterning which characterizes the colonization of the North Aegean. Indeed, it is worth noting that the geographic patterning of the European colonization of North America emerged not only by developments masterminded in the courts of metropolitan Western Europe, but also by lesser initiatives undertaken by colonial and native communities and private agencies. These initiatives involved the bigger powers seizing neighboring colonial areas previously held by weaker and/or less populous European communities, such as the New Netherland and New Sweden, thus building larger and unbroken territories⁸⁴. Comparable developments are not described in the thin foundation traditions available for the Northwest Aegean. However, the settlers of Methone came to the north having previously faced the aggression of the Corinthians in Corcyra (PLUTARCH, *Moralia: Greek Questions* 293A-B), while the story of the dispute and arbitration over Akanthos is indicative of hostility among colonists of different background (*Moralia: Greek Questions* 298A). Also, it is unclear whether the political relations among the northern colonies of Eretria and Chalkis were affected by the Lelantine War, the historicity of which is debated anyway⁸⁵. Whatever the conflicts involved in the colonization of the North Aegean, the process did not result in unbroken colonial territories, like those of North Ameri-

ca, but in the clustering of independent communities characterized by fairly similar cultural background, which was introduced and/or developed by the dominant groups at the different sites.

Further ideas on processes which formed and transformed colonial landscapes can be gleaned from the study of Greek colonization in the Black Sea. This area was largely colonized by Miletos and Megara in the Archaic period, with very few other metropoleis establishing only a few colonies according to ancient literature⁸⁶. Interestingly, in the case of the Black Sea, it can be shown that the tradition for foundations by different metropoleis was suppressed over time. «Minor participants tended to be forgotten after a short time except in the local tradition; even Megara's colonizing activity, well attested as it is in Classical and Hellenistic times, could be obscured as time went on by Miletos' greater fame as a colonizer and by her higher profile as a city in Roman times»⁸⁷. Indeed, it has been observed that by the Roman period, «there was the expectation that a Greek colony in the Propontis and Pontos areas *would* be Milesian»⁸⁸, or that «Non-specialists ancient writers expected colonies in the Black Sea area to be Milesian and sometimes uncritically or carelessly reported that they were»⁸⁹. This tendency of ancient scholarship need not be exclusive to the Black Sea and may extend to the North Aegean. Indeed, it could explain the reference of Roman authors to the involvement of Euboeans in the foundation of three colonies of the Chalkidike (Akanthos, Sane, Stagira), which the earlier authority of Thucydides identified as Andrian. The localization of these three sites in an area which was renowned for its Euboean colonies, in addition to the «fame» of Euboea «as a colonizer» (cf. Miletus above) and the island's historical prominence, could have promoted the addition of the Euboeans to the foundation traditions in question.

Interestingly, the inference of modern scholarship that by the Roman period any Greek colony in the Propontis and the Black Sea was expected to be

⁸⁶ AVRAM – HIND – TSETSKHLADZE 2004.

⁸⁷ AVRAM – HIND – TSETSKHLADZE 2004, 924. Cf. HIND 1999, 134. On the Megarian foundations see ROBU 2014, 222-324; ROBU 2018.

⁸⁸ AVRAM – HIND – TSETSKHLADZE 2004, 924.

⁸⁹ HIND 1999, 134.

⁸³ See, e.g., TAYLOR 2001, especially the maps on pages 305 and 367.

⁸⁴ TAYLOR 2001, 246-272.

⁸⁵ On the war see PARKER 1997; BERSHADSKY 2018.

Milesian is explicitly deduced from a passage of Strabo (14.1.6) which reports that «the Euxine Pontos has been colonized everywhere by these people [the Milesians], as also the Propontis». Abete has associated this passage with the comparable reference, also by Strabo, to the dozens of Euboean foundations in the Chalkidike (STRABO 7, fr. 11; cf. STRABO 10.1.8), which is the basis of her argument for «un “sistema” di fondazioni che costituiscono il risultato di un unitario progetto milesio» in the Black Sea and the Propontis⁹⁰, and for a comparable system of Euboean foundations in the North Aegean⁹¹. Nonetheless, this argument overlooks the critical approach by which experts in the Black Sea treat Strabo's relevant passage, and it does not acknowledge the probability that, in reporting the dozens of Euboean foundations in the Chalkidike, the geographer is not reproducing an early and genuine tradition, but is elaborating on it. Following the experts on Greek colonization in the Black Sea, I feel we can best appreciate Strabo's reference to the colonization of the Chalkidike in the light of his inclination to generalize historical tradition and homogenize the human landscape of colonial areas. More broadly, we need to consider how such inclinations by ancient authors may have shaped the geographic patterning of Greek colonization in the North Aegean, as portrayed in ancient literature⁹².

To conclude, the clustering of Euboean foundations in the Thermaic Gulf and the Chalkidike, which is reported by the surviving foundation traditions, seems broadly reliable. However, the reliability of these traditions is weaker on the eastern part of the area, and the hyper-clustering reported by Strabo, which has hitherto been accepted by modern scholarship, does not stand to scrutiny.

THE MISSING EUBOEAN *OIKISTS*

As mentioned above, foundation traditions for Euboean colonies in the North Aegean are typically very concise. Methone is the only Euboean colony in the north for which we have a lengthy foundation story. In this story, Plutarch (*Moralia: Greek Ques-*

tions 293A-B) reports that the colony was established by Eretrians who had previously settled Corcyra; were expelled from there by Corinthians; were prevented from returning to Eretria by their former compatriots; and thus, settled a site on coastal Pieria which had an indigenous history of occupation represented by the shadowy figure of Methon⁹³.

Some aspects of the foundation story of Methone are comparable to those found in another such story which is also provided by Plutarch (*Moralia: Greek Questions* 298A) and regards the foundation of Sane and Akanthos on the Northeast Chalkidike. Plutarch considers the last two colonies to be joint foundations of Andrians and Euboeans from Chalkis, even though an earlier tradition considers them as Andrian foundations (Akanthos: THUCYDIDES 4.84.1 and STRABO 7 fr. 31; Sane: THUCYDIDES 4.109.3). Indeed, Plutarch reports that when the settlers from Andros and Chalkis seized Sane, they heard that the local people had fled from neighboring Akanthos and they sent two scouts, an Andrian and a Chalkidian, who both attempted to seize the site in the name of their own countrymen. The dispute was settled in court, which decided in favor of the Andrians. This second story of Plutarch, like the story for Methone, involves a double Euboean foundation (Corcyra and Methone on the one hand, Akanthos and Sane on the other); refers to indigenous occupation (at Methone, Akanthos and Sane); and describes strife among colonists from different metropoleis (Corinthians and Eretrians for Corcyra, and Andrians and Chalkidians for Akanthos).

There is one conspicuous absence from both these stories, and more broadly from the traditions of Euboean colonization in the North Aegean, and this concerns the *oikists*. The stories for Methone and Akanthos do not give the names of their *oikists*, even though these stories are fairly long and include reference to specific individuals (Methon in the case of Methone, the two scouts in the case of Akanthos), not least to the Corinthian *oikist* of Corcyra (Charikrates or Chersikrates). Equally nameless is a reference to the distant ancestor of Aristotle who was «one of those who led the expedition from Chalkis which founded the colony of Stagira» (Di-

⁹⁰ ABETE 2008, 108.

⁹¹ ABETE 2008, 109-115.

⁹² Cf. PAPADOPOULOS 1999, 384-385.

⁹³ On the foundation story of Methone see KOTSONAS 2012a, 227-232; KOTSONAS forthcoming; TZIFOPOULOS 2012, 19-21.

ONYSIUS HALICARNASSUS, *Ad Ammaeum* 1.5), a site which is otherwise regarded as an Andrian colony (THUCYDIDES 4.88.2 and 5.6.1), like Akanthos and Sane.

The silence of our sources on the *oikists* of all Euboean colonies in the North Aegean has largely escaped the attention of researchers. This silence becomes more emphatic when contrasted to the ample references available for the *oikists* of the Euboean foundations in the West (excluding Pithekoussai)⁹⁴, and especially to the attestation of named *oikists* for all three non-Euboean colonies in the Thermaic Gulf and the West Chalkidike⁹⁵. Interestingly, in the case of two of these northern colonies, Aeneia and Skione, the founders (who are mythical heroes of the Trojan War) were rendered on Late Archaic coin types, which confirms the early date of these traditions⁹⁶. These coin types also suggest the emphasis that these two communities placed on their *oikists*, which is not attested for the neighboring Euboean foundations. Seen against this evidence, the paucity of textual and archaeological evidence on Euboean *oikists* in the North Aegean cannot be readily relegated to accidents of survival and to the undeniably lacunose character of our sources. Although arguments from silence are particularly prone to skepticism, I think this paucity deserves some reflection in the light of broader discussions on the role of the *oikist* in Greek colonization and of narrative patterns in Greek foundations stories.

⁹⁴ BAKHUIZEN 1976, 15-17; HALL 2008, 389 Table 1.

⁹⁵ These *oikists* include the Trojan hero Aeneas for Aeneia; the Corinthian Euagoras, son of Periandros, for Poteidaia; and the Homeric hero Protesilaos for Skione (see, respectively, FLENSTED-JENSEN 2004, 822, 838, 842-843, which includes references to the ancient sources). For Aeneia see also MALKIN 1998, 196-197; VOKOTOPOULOU 2001, 746; VOUTIRAS 2007, 144-152; MALLIOS 2011, 92, 103, 156, 248-249; TSIGARIDA 2011, 141. For Skione see also VOKOTOPOULOU 2001, 751; MALLIOS 2011, 156, 248-249; TSIGARIDA – PATIS 2012. It is worth noting that the surviving foundation traditions for Aeneia and Skione are exceptionally rich in comparison to the traditions for other colonies in the Thermaic Gulf and the Chalkidike. Abete (2008, 116-154) treats the foundation stories for these two cities as “Euboean precolonial traditions”, even though they make no reference to the Euboeans, which is why Mele (1998, 225-227) labels them more generically as “precolonial traditions”. On the other hand, Tiverios (2007, 9; 2008, 11) connects these traditions to the importation of Mycenaean material to the region. For the *nostoi* of Homeric heroes and Greek colonization see MALKIN 1998.

⁹⁶ FLENSTED-JENSEN 2004, 822, 843; TIVERIOS 2007, 8-9; TIVERIOS 2008, 11; ABETE 2008, 136-151.

The significance of the *oikist* for Greek colonization has been emphasized especially by Malkin, who has argued that the *oikist* embodied the transition of the colony to independent existence⁹⁷. Malkin assembled a range of literary and archaeological evidence to argue that, after his death, the *oikist* typically received a cult centered on his tomb, which was located in the *agora* of the new foundation⁹⁸. To him, «the cult probably played a role similar to a modern “Independence Day”, helping to anchor a narrative of foundation, a date, and a pivotal figure in the community’s collective memory and identity for generations to come»⁹⁹. Malkin’s systematic analysis of the evidence for the cult of the *oikist* encompassed two sites of the North Aegean, namely Aeneia and Abdera. At Aeneia, which is more relevant to the present discussion because of its location at the head of the Thermaic Gulf¹⁰⁰, the hero Aeneas, the founder of the city, received an annual sacrifice according to Livy (40.4.9). A Late Archaic coin type of the city, which shows the head of the hero, suggests to Malkin that the cult of the founder perhaps went back to this period¹⁰¹. Malkin believed in the universality of the practice of the cult of the *oikist*, but he also noted that there could be exceptions to it. One of the exceptions he discussed is Akanthos, for which he acknowledged a plurality of *oikists* (to be identified with the two nameless scouts from Andros and Chalkis) that was problematic for the foundation of a related cult¹⁰².

Malkin’s ideas on the cult of the *oikist* have been challenged by Hall, who emphasized that any textual reference to this practice is late in date, and the archaeological evidence is controversial¹⁰³. Malkin has defended, however, his position arguing that the obscurity and non-legendary nature of the majority of named *oikists* seems to «guarantee their

⁹⁷ MALKIN 1987, 3-13, 260; MALKIN 2003, 159.

⁹⁸ MALKIN 1987, 189-266. This elaborates on an idea of Dunbabin that foundation stories were transmitted through an annual commemoration of the *oikist* after his death (DUNBABIN 1948, 11).

⁹⁹ MALKIN 2002b, 200.

¹⁰⁰ MALKIN 1987, 196, 221-223 (see also 198-200 for a discussion of the cult of the *oikist* at the Euboean colony of Zankle). On the cult of the *oikist* at Abdera see also GRAHAM 1992; DOUGHERTY 1994.

¹⁰¹ MALKIN 1987, 196. But note the skepticism in HALL 2008, 410.

¹⁰² MALKIN 1987, 258, 260.

¹⁰³ HALL 2008, 405, 410-411, 422.

authenticity»¹⁰⁴. As he noted, «How come we have so many specific names for founders, mostly obscure and meaningless, unless they were real and their name probably preserved through the founder's cult?»¹⁰⁵. If the names were invented, it is not clear who invented them and why, especially since the descendants of the *oikist* received no special honors¹⁰⁶.

The textual tradition on Euboean foundations in the North Aegean excludes not only the *oikists*, but also all key aspects of the narrative pattern which Dougherty has identified in stories of Greek colonization¹⁰⁷. This pattern involves a crisis in the metropolis, the consultation of the Delphic oracle, the colonial foundation, and the resolution of the crisis. The pattern is identifiable in traditions for Euboean colonization in Italy and for other Greek colonization in the North Aegean¹⁰⁸, but not for Euboean colonization in the Thermaic Gulf and the Chalkidike. Individual scholars have sought to bridge this apparent inconsistency. Thus, Malkin has proposed to connect an oracle given to the Eretrians on an unspecified occasion (PLUTARCH, *Moralia: The Oracles at Delphi*, 401F-402A) with the foundation of Methone¹⁰⁹, whereas Michalis Tiverios has hypothesized that the Andrian colonists of the North Aegean consulted Delphi¹¹⁰. I find these arguments tenuous, but I agree with Malkin (personal communication) that the attack of the Eretrians on their former compatriots upon their return from Corcyra may indicate a crisis in the metropolis. In any case, the universality of the narrative pattern identified by Dougherty is disputed. Indeed, the notion of any “blueprint” in Greek foundation stories has been deconstructed by Hall with reference to Greek colonization in South Italy and Sicily¹¹¹. Notwithstanding the gravity of Hall's revisionist study, this has basically confirmed that stories for Greek foundations in Italy and Sicily make systematic refer-

ence to the *oikist*. Indeed, *oikists* are known for 20 of the 27 colonies Hall discusses, and they are often reported by more than one ancient author (15 out of 27 cases)¹¹².

It is not easy to explain the omission of *oikists* from the textual tradition for Euboean colonization in the North Aegean. The particularities of ancient historiography for this area and the vicissitudes in the preservation of the ancient tradition must have had a role in this. However, I do not think these factors can fully explain the contrast between the paucity of references to the *oikists* of as many as eleven Euboeans colonies in the Thermaic Gulf and the Chalkidike, on the one hand, and the attestation of named *oikists* for all three non-Euboean colonies which ancient literature placed in the same area, on the other. Hence, some reflection on the potential historical significance of this paucity is appropriate.

One way to interpret the thinness of the traditions for Euboean foundations in the North Aegean is to tie it to the skepticism which Papadopoulos has addressed to the Euboean colonization of the area¹¹³. This line of interpretation could draw support from the problems the preceding analysis identified in the ancient textual tradition, which often remain overlooked by proponents of the “historical positivist” approach. However, the same analysis has brought to the fore both the broad scope of the tradition, which covers as many as three Euboean metropoleis and eleven colonies, and its relatively early pedigree, which goes back to the Classical period. These parameters make the tradition hard to dismiss, and, together with a range of other evidence involved in the Euboean discourse, they are indicative of the important role of the Euboeans in the Thermaic Gulf and the Chalkidike of the Early Iron Age.

A different way to interpret the thinness of the tradition for Euboean foundations in the North Aegean is to connect it to the argument which holds that these foundations date from the beginning of the Early Iron Age, or from “shortly after the Trojan

¹⁰⁴ MALKIN 2002b, 212.

¹⁰⁵ MALKIN 2016, 36.

¹⁰⁶ MALKIN 2002b, 208, 210.

¹⁰⁷ DOUGHERTY 1993; DOUGHERTY 1994; DOUGHERTY 1998.

¹⁰⁸ Italy: DOUGHERTY 1993, 16, 24, 40, 73 (Rhegion). North Aegean: DOUGHERTY 1993, 22-150-151 (Thasos); DOUGHERTY 1994 (Abdera).

¹⁰⁹ MALKIN 1987, 31-41. See also KOTSONAS forthcoming.

¹¹⁰ TIVERIOS 2012, 276-278.

¹¹¹ HALL 2008.

¹¹² HALL 2008, 389 Table 1, 399-400; cf. MALKIN 1987, 189. Contrast Hall's finding that consultation of the Delphic oracle is mentioned in connection with just five of the 27 colonial foundations in South Italy and Sicily (HALL 2008, 400). However, Herodotus (5.42.2) treats such consultation as customary.

¹¹³ PAPADOPOULOS 1996; PAPADOPOULOS 1999; PAPADOPOULOS 2005, 580-594; PAPADOPOULOS 2011, 122-124.

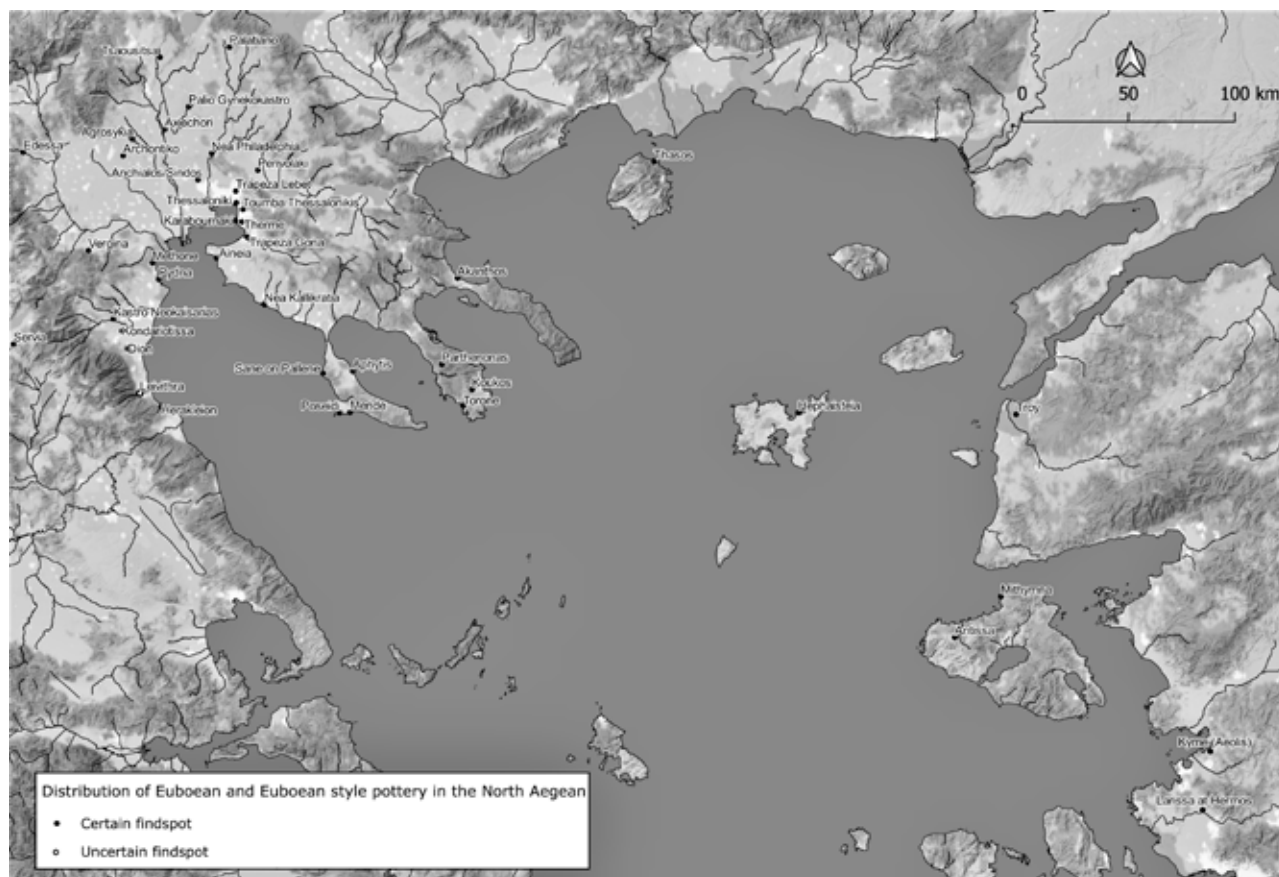


Fig. 2. The distribution of Euboean and Euboean style pottery in the North Aegean, including imports and local imitations

War,” which means that they predate the colonizing enterprises of the historical period¹¹⁴. Such an early date would have had a negative impact on the preservation of historical memory, and it could thus explain the thinness of the traditions for the Euboean colonies in the north¹¹⁵. This argument clearly conforms to the “historical-positivist” approach to Greek colonization, but it relies on a variety of evidence, including the widespread distribution of Euboean Protogeometric and especially SubProtogeometric to Late Geometric pottery in the Thermaic Gulf and the prongs of the Chalkidike (Fig. 2)¹¹⁶.

¹¹⁴ See, e.g., TIVERIOS 1989, 58-69; TIVERIOS 2007, 7-8, 13-15; TIVERIOS 2008, 1-17; VOKOTOPOULOU 1990, 125; 2001, 747; POPHAM 1994, 30, 33; SNODGRASS 1994a; SNODGRASS 1994b, 6; MALKIN 1998, 74-75, 265; ABETE 2008; TSIGARIDA 2011, 138. On the potentially related, but controversial topic of the *Chalkidikón genos* see, e.g.: BAKHUIZEN 1976, 14-15; TIVERIOS 1989, 59-60; TIVERIOS 2008, 12, 16-17; VOKOTOPOULOU 1990, 125; VOKOTOPOULOU 2001, 746-747; PAPADOPOULOS 1996, 151-181; PAPADOPOULOS 2005, 580-588; TSIGARIDA 2011, 137-138; MOSCHONIS-SIOTI 2012, 4-5.

¹¹⁵ Cf. POPHAM 1994, 33.

¹¹⁶ The map relies on KOTSONAS 2012a, 132-133, map 3, and updates significantly the maps published in DESCŒUDRES 2006-

However, relevant discussions largely leave unexplained the processes through which the alleged early foundations would have emerged. A notable exception is presented by Simon Hornblower, who has assumed that the early Euboean colonization of the Chalkidike involved «a process more like drift than like *oikist*-organized “colonization”»¹¹⁷.

There are considerable problems with this line of interpretation. First, Aeneia and Skione, two allegedly non-Euboean colonies established shortly after the Trojan War, had named *oikists* and celebrated them on their coins. Second, the allegedly joint Euboean and Andrian foundations on the Northeastern Chalkidike have no named *oikists*, even though they are widely dated no earlier than

2007. Note that the Euboean pedigree of certain ceramic types or styles is contested (PAPADOPOULOS 1996, 152; PAPADOPOULOS 1999, 380).

¹¹⁷ HORNBLOWER 1997, 184; cf. MALKIN 2017a, 150. Hornblower’s idea recalls the argument of Osborne (1998) that the early colonies were “unofficial” foundations, which is refuted by Malkin (2003; 2016, 31-32). See also KOTSONAS – MOKRIŠOVÁ 2020, 232-233.

the 7th century BC¹¹⁸. Third, the assumption for the early foundation dates of Euboean settlements in the North Aegean is controversial. Papadopoulos has argued strongly against it¹¹⁹; Irene Lemos has expressed uncertainty on the matter and has emphasized instead the economic and cultural character of the early networks connecting Euboea and the North Aegean (which approach I find most appealing)¹²⁰; and Nicholas Hammond has favored a late 8th century BC date for the foundation of the colonies of Methone, Mende and Dikaia on the basis of the ancient historical tradition¹²¹. Additionally, scholars who have studied large archaeological assemblages from the three best explored North Aegean sites which ancient tradition identifies as Euboean colonies, are not sympathetic to the idea of early foundation dates. More specifically, I have observed that the archaeology of Methone seems to confirm broadly the late 8th century BC date deduced from Plutarch's report on the colonial foundation at the site, and Sophia Moschonissioti has proposed that the Euboean colony at Mende was established ca. 700 BC¹²², while Papadopoulos has dismissed the problematic tradition for a Euboean colony of whatever date at Torone¹²³. These interpretations have not received enough attention by those arguing for early Euboean foundations in the North Aegean on the basis of material from especially Mende and Torone. One may object that the exploration of these sites remains limited and the dating of their foundation may need to be raised in the light of future fieldwork. This possibility cannot be excluded, but it falls upon those arguing against the dates suggested by the ancient tradition and by the current state of archaeological research to present evidence for the alleged high dating of Euboean colonization in the North. An innovative way to en-

gage this question would be through applications of archaeological science, a case in point being the current project of Strontium Isotope Analysis on human remains from Pithekoussai, which has identified non-local individuals buried at the site¹²⁴. A comparable investigation of burials from Early Iron Age cemeteries in the Thermaic Gulf and the Chalkidike could shed light on the date of the earliest Euboean settlement in the North, and on other aspects of the Euboean discourse.

CONCLUSION: THE DRAMA OF REHABILITATING THE EUBOEANS

Snodgrass once described Greek, and especially Euboean colonization in the North and the West as obscure dramas with similar plots¹²⁵, and this metaphor is elaborated upon in this conclusion. I argued that both ancient tradition and modern historiography do not favor the appreciation of Greek colonization as the solo performance of specific ethnic or other groups. Ancient literature identifies the Euboeans among those starring in the drama, but it can also be shown to have exaggerated their role in ways which suppress and even conceal the agency of other cast. This was demonstrated above with reference to Strabo's inclination to generalize historical tradition and homogenize human landscapes in his description of Euboean colonization in the Chalkidike and of Milesian colonization in the Black Sea. Such inclinations of ancient authors may have amplified the neatness of the geographic patterning between metropolitan and colonial areas in the North Aegean, which is deduced from Classical literature; and these same inclinations have encouraged modern scholars to overstate the extent of Euboean colonization in the North.

The textual tradition for Euboean colonization in the North Aegean basically excludes any reference to lead actors, i.e. eponymous *oikists*, and to any of the plot elements which recur in other Greek foundation stories. These omissions seem more striking when one considers that they concern all eleven Euboean colonies which textual tradition places in the Thermaic Gulf and the Chalkidike, but

¹¹⁸ VOKOTOPOULOU 2001, 759-761; FLENSTED-JENSEN 2004, 820 (Argilos), 823 (Akanthos), 839 (Sane), 844 (Stagira); TIVERIOS 2008, 52-66; TIVERIOS 2012.

¹¹⁹ PAPADOPOULOS 1996; PAPADOPOULOS 1999; PAPADOPOULOS 2005, 580-594; PAPADOPOULOS 2011, 122-124.

¹²⁰ LEMOS 2001; LEMOS 2002, 216 note 118. Cf. KOUROU 2017, 27-28, 34-35.

¹²¹ HAMMOND 1998.

¹²² KOTSONAS 2012a, 227-228; KOTSONAS forthcoming; MOSCHONISSIOTI 2012, 390-392. Both Moschonissioti and myself have emphasized that these interpretations rely on the limited exploration of the sites to date.

¹²³ PAPADOPOULOS 1996; PAPADOPOULOS 1999; PAPADOPOULOS 2005, 582-585; PAPADOPOULOS 2011, 122-123.

¹²⁴ See the paper by M. Gigante *et al.*, in this volume. More broadly, see ZISIS – PAPAGEORGIOPOULOU 2019.

¹²⁵ SNODGRASS 1994a, 92.

they do not apply to the three non-Euboean colonies in the same area, which are given named *oikists* in ancient literature. This contrast is not easy to explain, especially in the light of the “historical-positivist” approach, which has long dominated the study of Euboean and other Greek colonization in

the North Aegean. However, foundation traditions and their problems can be appreciated in more nuanced ways through the range of novel approaches to Greek colonization. Yet, to some scholars, exposure to these approaches comes with some drama.

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ZUCHTRIEGEL 2018

G. ZUCHTRIEGEL, *Colonization and Subalternity in Classical Greece: Experience of the Nonelite Population*, Cambridge 2018.

On the basis of the archaeological evidence on hand so far, this paper will focus on the complexity of regional interactions in the central Aegean during the Early Iron Age. Kephala is here set as a starting point for re-discussing the issue of the Euboean *koine* and more importantly of the role of the Euboeans in the trading enterprises at the time.

SAMUEL VERDAN, ELON D. HEYMANS, *Men and Metals on the Move: The Case of Euboean Gold*

This paper investigates the Euboean involvement in the circulation of metals, specifically gold, in the 8th and 7th c. BC. Rather than focusing on the distribution and consumption of luxury items, their style, and the craftsmen who produced them, we explore the production and circulation of gold as a raw metal, reconstructing its use as a form of money in the context of Euboean trade networks.

At the centre of this reconstruction stands the Late Geometric gold hoard from Eretria. This hoard consists of cut pieces of precious metal – *hackgold* – and has been regarded as possible evidence for the use of money in the Greek world prior to the introduction of coinage. Presenting new archaeological evidence alongside a detailed study of the hoard, we trace the Eretria gold back to its placer sources around the Thermaic gulf. Through their colonial presence in the region – at the Eretrian colony of Methone for instance – the Euboeans maintained a supply of gold, enabling them to benefit from its use in trade networks. In this context, Euboean specialist traders adopted gold for carrying out transactions with a high level of precision, thus pioneering the use of precious metal money in the Greek world. This innovation would serve as an anchor for the later introduction and spread of coinage, leaving a lasting impact on the ancient world. The memory of the Euboeans' role in this process was likely preserved in later times.

ANTONIS KOTSONAS, *Euboeans & Co. in the North Aegean: Ancient Tradition and Modern Historiography of Greek Colonization*

The role of the Euboeans in Aegean and Mediterranean interaction during the Early Iron Age is emphasized increasingly in the historiography of the post-War period. It remains little known, however, that before the rise of Euboea, the role which is widely ascribed to the island was basically given to Crete. My review of early 20th century scholarship on pan-Cretism and its downfall is intended as a cautionary tale for current assessments of the role of the Euboeans, and informs my critical analysis of the ancient textual tradition for Euboean and other foundations in the North Aegean. This analysis reveals that the tradition in question is characterized by a) a notable patterning in the spatial distribution of metropoleis and colonies, and b) a lack of any references to Euboean – as opposed to other – *oikists*. By approaching the significance of these two findings in the light of broader discussions of Greek colonization in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, I offer a more nuanced understanding of the ancient tradition for the Euboean and other colonization of the North Aegean, and I address different problems pertinent to the modern historiography of the subject.

Sardinia and Spain

PAOLO BERNARDINI, MARCO RENDELI, *Sant'Imbenia/Pontecagnano Sulci/Pithekoussai: Four Tales of an Interconnected Mediterranean*

New excavations and research have brought to light more sherds of Euboean and Pitheculan pottery from Sardinia, mainly from Sant'Imbenia (Alghero) and from Sant'Antioco and its territory. Previously such sherds were used to date the contexts

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