

Middle Helladic (central) Euboea and its cultural connections: The state of research

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Περίληψη

Η Εύβοια κατείχε καίρια γεωγραφική θέση κατά τη Μεσοελλαδική περίοδο και η στρωματογραφία της θέσης Λευκαντί έχει χρησιμεύσει ως σημείο αναφοράς για τη μελέτη άλλων περιοχών. Η ανακάλυψη 42 αρχαιολογικών θέσεων πιστοποιεί το πλούσιο παρελθόν της Εύβοιας κατά τη Μεσοελλαδική περίοδο. Περισσότερες από δώδεκα από αυτές τις θέσεις έχουν ανασκαφεί, ως επί το πλείστον σε μικρή κλίμακα, ωστόσο η περίοδος παραμένει ανεπαρκώς μελετημένη συγκριτικά με άλλες περιοχές της κεντρικής Ελλάδας. Το παρόν άρθρο συνοψίζει την ιστορία της μεσοελλαδικής Εύβοιας, αναθεωρεί τις μέχρι τώρα γνώσεις και επιπλέον έχει σκοπό να διερευνήσει τη θέση της Εύβοιας μέσα στον μεσοελλαδικό κόσμο.

Introduction

With the British excavations at Lefkandi (1964-1966) and the publication of Dickinson's *The Origins of the Mycenaean Civilisation* in 1977, Euboea suddenly became a region of major interest for the study of the Middle Bronze Age (MBA), and the stratigraphy of Xeropolis emerged as an important reference point. Until that time, the MBA of the second largest Aegean island was almost unknown. Sackett et al. stated in 1966 in the introduction to their survey, that 'the gaps in our knowledge of Bronze Age Euboea are so serious as to amount in some areas to a total blank'.¹ Nowadays, Euboea has lost again its focal position in research, as the site of Lefkandi has actually still not been published in detail and the glory has passed by Euboea and gone to other regions, such as the Argolid, Boeotia and—especially—the opposite shore of the Euboean Gulf: Pevkakia, Mitrou and the Malian Gulf. V. Nikolopoulos dedicated less than half a page of his 2015 article on prehistoric Euboea to the Middle Helladic (MH) period.² Nonetheless, over 40 MBA sites are now known on Euboea (Fig. 1), and several of them have been subject to excavation. Unfortunately, only one of the sites of the island, Kalogeroivrysi, in the hinterland of Phylla, has been fully published, and this is probably one of the less important sites. In what follows, the history of research of MBA Euboea will be summarized, in order to determine the actual state of research of this period and to provide an outline of the principal characteristics as well as the major research questions relating to the study of the Euboean MBA.

1. Sackett et al. 1966, 33.

2. Nikolopoulos 2015, 174.

1959-1980: surveys and overviews (from Theocharis to Sampson) and the Lefkandi sequence

D. Theocharis, in 1959, was the first to compile a list of the then-known MH settlements on Euboea.³ He counted seven sites, most of which were identified only on the grounds of surface pottery collection: Oreoi, Koumpi Aidipsos, Manika, Vlichia (on the mainland coast, see below), Lefkandi, Amarynthos and Aliveri.⁴ At Oreoi, Ephor I. Threpsiades excavated a trial trench, which produced a probable MH wall and a cist tomb covered with sandstone slabs.⁵ For Manika, D. Theocharis recounts Papavasileiou's discoveries and his own investigations⁶ and refers to the site as the main production centre of Minyan pottery on Euboea.

Activities on Euboea subsequently increased in the 1960s, with surveys but also with the beginning of the British and Swiss excavations in Lefkandi and Eretria respectively, both of which commenced in 1964. In his PhD thesis, after undertaking extensive survey activity in 1962-1963, Thomas W. Jacobsen counted nearly 20 secure MH sites.⁷ He remarked upon the almost complete absence of sites south of Aliveri. His results were then integrated into the survey report of the British team of L. H. Sackett, V. Hankey, R. J. Howell and M. R. Popham, which was published in 1966.⁸ They were able to identify 28 sites securely dated to the MH period and six more that may have been occupied during this period as well. The sites were concentrated on the southern coast of central Euboea, between Politika and Amarynthos (17), but several were located along the coast of northern Euboea and in the Kymi area, while there was still no evidence for MBA activity south of Dystos and Nea Styra.⁹

For the first time, details of the identified MBA pottery wares were published, although mostly on the basis of the survey material.¹⁰ Therefore, it is not surprising that the easily identifiable Grey Minyan is predominant. However, this fact was confirmed by excavations later.¹¹ Many local varieties in colour and temper occur, and there is even micaceous Grey Minyan. Local production has recently been confirmed in Eretria (see below). Further MH fabrics identified during the British survey are monochrome ware; Yellow, Red and Black Minyan; coarse wares; Adriatic ware; Aegina ware (a rim fragment of a barrel jar from Aliveri¹²); matt-painted (including bichrome) and a Middle Minoan import with lustrous black paint.¹³ The dominance of monochrome wares at several sites has rightly been interpreted as a sign of later chronology.¹⁴ In general, these wares represent the typical central Greek fabrics. Similarities between these wares and ceramics from the Boeotian site of Eutresis led R. J. Howell to conclude that 'in all probability we can talk of a homogenous Euboean-Boeotian cultural province.'¹⁵

Most significant was the excavation from 1964 to 1966 at Lefkandi (Fig. 2), which produced a detailed stratigraphy¹⁶ that Dickinson employed in order to define the MH sequence more generally.¹⁷ Six layers in 3.5 m of deposits covered the Early Helladic (EH) to MH periods. The first Grey Minyan

3. He actually continued an unfinished and unpublished survey project of G. E. Mylonas and J. Papadimitrou (1949-1950) in which he had participated (Jacobsen 1964, xxxvii-xxxviii).

4. Theocharis 1959, 310-312.

5. Theocharis 1959, 310-311.

6. Papavasileiou 1910, 1-20; Schachermeyer 1962, 216; Theocharis 1959, 292-306.

7. Jacobsen 1964, 189.

8. Sackett et al. 1966. The sites were listed again in Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979.

9. Map: see Sackett et al. 1966, 99, fig. 23.

10. Sackett et al. 1966, 94-99.

11. Up to 50% Grey Minyan in Amarynthos (Krapf 2011, 150-151) and even more in Eretria (Krapf 2015, 684).

12. Sackett et al. 1966, 93, fig. 22, no. 124 and pl. 18c. A comparable fragment of a barrel jar was also found at Amarynthos in 2015.

13. Sackett et al. 1966, 97-99.

14. Sackett et al. 1966, 95-96.

15. Sackett et al. 1966, 99.

16. Popham and Sackett 1968. See also Maran 1992, 329-335 and Pavúk and Horejs 2012, 19-20.

17. Dickinson 1977, 17-23. Based on Howell 1973.

pottery, so-called 'Proto-Minyan', appears in phase 2 and its quality increases in phase 3, with mainly curved profiles contemporary with Pevkakia 2-4 (partially still EH III and MH I). Characteristic of phase 4 are grooved Minyan vases (Decorated Minyan) and carinated shapes that both have parallels in Pevkakia 4-5. In phase 5, Minyan pedestal goblets appear for the first time, along with goblets with low ring bases, which led Dickinson to the appellation of Mature Minyan (Pevkakia 5-6). In the same phase the first matt-painted fragments were encountered, and J. Maran even mentions some polychrome fragments, although the well-known mainland polychrome would only be introduced in the next phase.¹⁸ In phase 6, plain wares increased in comparison to Grey Minyan. Typical for this late phase (corresponding to Pevkakia 7), which probably covers also part of the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (LBA), are hawk's beak rims (in Grey Minyan and plain ware) and horizontal roll handles, which stand in contrast to the omnipresent crescent handles of the previous phases. Bichrome decoration is now found on craters and goblets. Amphorae with high cylindrical necks are frequently produced in plain ware. Owing to the restricted size of the trench, the architectural evidence is scarce. The corner of a house was excavated in layer 3, and layer 6 produced a building with two rooms. Floors were generally fine and were re-laid many times.

The MH pottery sequence for central Greece was refined only in 1992 by J. Maran, based on the stratigraphy of Pevkakia, but the Lefkandi sequence is still applicable, although it has not been published in detail. Since then, and especially since the discovery of the exceptional EIA cemeteries, the earlier phases of Lefkandi have not been focused on; the exception to this was a rescue excavation, triggered by illegal activities, of an MH tomb complex on the NE slope of Xeropolis hill in 1993.¹⁹ This complex consists of two unified chambers in an L-shape (built cist tomb with dromos or a double tomb) with walls of small stones and massive cover slabs. The few sherds indicate a date not prior to Lefkandi 5. Trial trenches in the vicinity did not provide evidence for further tombs, but apparently slightly further south one more tomb existed; this has, however, never been documented.²⁰

The decades of the 1960s and 1970s ended with another large survey project. From 1974 to 1978, A. Sampson located 148 other prehistoric sites on Euboea. Most of them dated to the Neolithic and EH periods, but 12 new MH sites²¹ were also discovered; it should be noted that these do not essentially alter the settlement pattern of concentration on central Euboea.²² The new data confirmed that most MH sites already had earlier EH occupation and that the majority of these continued to be frequented during the Mycenaean period. In a list of additional find spots in 1989, A. Sampson counts mostly sites of historical periods and does not mention further MH sites.

In 1974 A. Sampson also made a 5 x 5-m trial trench on the slope of the Prophitis Ilias²³ hill in the south of the Peleki Valley (Mantoudi) during the excavation on the nearby acropolis of ancient Kerinthos.²⁴ He investigated two layers of MH occupation, which were separated by a fine layer of pebbles. Parts of an apsidal building and a parallel second house were uncovered. A layer of pebbles in the space between the parallel walls of the two houses, although too narrow to indicate a passage, is a typical phenomenon of the MH period. Furthermore, a human skeleton in contracted position was excavated. It had a layer of small pebbles below the skull and was unfortunately without any grave goods. Worth mentioning for this site are stone tools,²⁵ silex, spindle whorls and boar tusks, as they

18. Maran 1992, 333.

19. Sakellarakis 1995.

20. Sakellarakis 1995, 47.

21. He counts 13 sites (Sampson 1980, 225), but one is Paralimni (no. 72) on the mainland coast. Skoteini Tharounia is not counted as an MH site in the publication of 1980, but in Sampson 1976, 54 he mentions a few MH sherds.

22. Sampson 1980, 226, fig. 112.

23. Sampson 1989a.

24. Sampson 1975; Sampson 1979 (see 486, fig. 14 for a plan); Sampson 1980, 146-147.

25. Sampson 1980, 162 and fig. 70.

come from datable layers, in contrast to similar finds from the survey projects. The pottery of the later phase comprised a matt-painted jug, a matt-painted jar, mainly coarse ware with lug handles, polished red ware and a few Grey Minyan sherds of differing quality. By comparison, Minyan ware was much more frequent in the older layer.

1980s and 1990s: small-scale excavations

After the surveys of the previous decades, the work of the 1980s and 1990s was characterized by the excavation, mostly on a small scale, of several sites from central to northern Euboea (Koumpi Aidipsos, Kalogerovrysi, Magoula, Eretria, Amarynthos and Manika, the last without mention of further MH finds) that have MH layers; thus, these excavations increased considerably our knowledge of different kinds of settlements on Euboea and, to a lesser extent, of the funerary rites.

Koumpi (Aidipsos): The prehistoric site of Koumpi near Aidipsos had previously been acknowledged by D. Theocharis, but it was first excavated in 1983 by A. Sampson. It is of interest because it is located opposite the important Lokridian sites and in a part of Euboea that is otherwise poorly explored. The 1983 trial trench (3.5 x 3 m)²⁶ produced two occupational phases. The later phase yielded a late MH destruction layer that was rich in pottery from what was presumed to be a storage room. There were also traces of a second building. In contrast to this phase, which had mainly monochrome and no Grey Minyan pottery, Grey Minyan dominated the earlier phase and matt-painted ware was almost absent. The architectural remains of this first phase consisted of a wall and a floor. Very little MH pottery was retrieved under the floor and no older layers were discovered. In addition to the architectural remains, a cist tomb without offerings was excavated in the same trench. A further trench in 1986 failed to produce other built structures but more MH pottery was collected;²⁷ two trenches closer to the sea yielded MH and also Mycenaean pottery in 1987.²⁸ Architectural remains were scarce again, but there was a paved area in trench II. The detected evidence for metallurgical activity was of great significance. The 1983 results led to the postulation of a bipartite MH chronology for Euboea (cf. the two phases of Kerinthos) and even the rest of mainland Greece, which has not found wide acceptance.²⁹ The pottery developments described in the publication, however, correspond well to the material culture of MH Euboea: the predominance of monochrome wares and the respective decrease of Grey Minyan towards the end of the MH have been, if there is any need of more proof, further confirmed by the material from the acropolis of Eretria. Finally, a specimen from Koumpi that is deserving of special reference is a bichrome krater, which had been repaired in prehistory.³⁰

Kalogerovrysi: The most extensive exploration of an MH settlement and accompanying funerary remains on Euboea was the excavation undertaken by A. Sampson from 1984 to 1990 at the site of Kalogerovrysi, in the hinterland of Phylla, which was published in 1993.³¹ The rectangular MH buildings are compounds of several small rooms. Five cist graves and a plundered shaft grave were also excavated in the settlement. The site was already occupied in EH, but a short gap in habitation occurred before the two MBA-early LBA phases III and IV. There is an abundance of pottery types, from Minyan to Adriatic ware, matt-painted (with a Vapheio cup from phase IV) and mainland polychrome, but also plain and coarse wares (some with plastic decoration). According to the typology, phase IV must cover

26. Sampson 1989b.

27. Sampson 1992, 200.

28. Sampson 1992, 202 and fig. 1.

29. Sampson 2007, 526.

30. Nikolopoulos 2004, 29 and fig. 22.

31. Sampson 1993.

the transition to the LBA and its beginning and has many parallels with the later phase of the acropolis of Eretria (see below). Kalogerovrysi is also the single site on Euboea which has published evidence on the zooarchaeological material. The small size of the sample, unfortunately, means that the comparison between the EH and MH phases is haphazard. There is, however, for both phases a clear prevalence of sheep and goats, while wild animals play a minor role.³² The presence of some marine molluscs is interesting for this inland site, which is situated two hours by foot from the sea.³³

Amarynthos and Magoula: The first excavations on the Paleoekklisies hill of Amarynthos (Fig. 3) were conducted by L. Parlama (1977)³⁴ and E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki (1988-1989),³⁵ but only in 2006 did a large campaign by the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece, in collaboration with the Ephorate of Euboea, focus mainly on MH remains some distance from the hill (see below). Between Amarynthos and Eretria, at the coastal site of Magoula, the 1987 excavation by E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki confirmed limited MH II / III activity at this otherwise EH site.³⁶

Eretria: During the MH period, the inhabitants of Eretria retreated to the safety of the acropolis. The first prehistoric sherds were found in 1969 in trenches along the fortification of the acropolis and were studied by S. Müller Celka,³⁷ but it was in 1993 that P. Friedemann's attention was drawn again to the acropolis and in 1994 a small MH settlement on the southern part of the summit was discovered.³⁸ Its investigation was resumed in 1995 by S. Müller Celka.³⁹ The 2006, 2007 and 2014 campaigns by S. Huber (2006 in collaboration with S. Fachard) on the acropolis focused on the sanctuary of Athena and the fortifications, but also produced a substantial quantity of MH pottery of mainly two phases as well as several child tombs.⁴⁰ The first pottery phase, mainly dominated by Grey Minyan of Dickinson's Mature type, dates to the second half of MH II (Pevkakia 6 *Mitte/spät* and Lefkandi 5), and there was also a second period of use that was characterized by mainland polychrome, late Minyan shapes and a preference for Yellow Minyan and Buff Plain ware that was contemporary with the shaft grave period at Mycenae.⁴¹

Further MH sites were investigated on the mainland shore opposite Chalkis and are mentioned briefly here, as administratively they belong nowadays to Euboea (as does Skyros) and certainly formed a broader cultural entity with the central Euboean sites in prehistory. The impressive coastal tell site of Salganea/Lithosoros near Drosia (occupied from the Neolithic to LH IIIC period; Fig. 4), was first explored by N. Papadakis in 1912 and subsequently by T. Spyropoulos in 1969/1970, with several trenches.⁴² In 1978, the Ephorate of Euboea discovered a cist tomb and an MH apsidal building west of the hill⁴³ and further trenches were excavated in 1983-1984, yielding mainly Mycenaean structures as well as some MH remains.⁴⁴ E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki found further MH evidence in 1988 and 1989 (13 trenches of 2 x 2 m) with pottery mainly consisting of late Minyan shapes.⁴⁵ As in Amarynthos, prehistoric occupation was not limited to the top of the hill, but extended to its periphery.⁴⁶

In 1977, K. Dimakopoulou-Papantoniou⁴⁷ discovered at Glypha/Vlichia, which is a coastal site in

32. Sampson 1993, 163-168.

33. Sampson 1993, 169-173. It must be mentioned, that almost all specimens come from EH contexts.

34. Parlama 1979.

35. Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1989.

36. Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1989, 103-104.

37. Müller 1985.

38. Friedemann 1995.

39. Müller 1996.

40. Fachard 2007; Huber 2007; 2008; 2015.

41. Krapf 2015, 683-686.

42. Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1989, 77-79 (for the research history of this site).

43. Papadakis plot.

44. Varvaresou plot.

45. Kontogianni plot: Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1988 and 1989.

46. Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1988, 79, 80 and fig. 2.

47. Dimakopoulou-Papantoniou 1984.

the bay opposite Chalkis, four cist graves and an MH wall in proximity to one of them. The pottery was again primarily of late MH typology, with a Minyan kylix with S-shaped profile (which has parallels with finds from Eretria), many polychrome sherds and a complete handleless monochrome cup. Several further trenches opened in 1987/1988 brought to light principally Mycenaean layers, but MH and some EH evidence lay underneath.⁴⁸

21st century: Karystia and pottery analysis

The distribution maps recently changed, with the discovery of MH activity in the area of Karystos, at Agios Nikolaos Mylon. The area was surveyed by D. Keller; the pottery was published by Ž. Tankosić and I. Mathioudaki in 2011⁴⁹ and the lithics by C. Perlès.⁵⁰ Almost every tenth sherd is a Cycladic import, mainly from Kea, a state of affairs which is in strong contrast to central Euboea, but with some parallels from Nea Styra.⁵¹ This discovery is of great importance, as it proves that this area was not completely uninhabited, as formerly assumed. However, even after extensive survey, it remains the single site in Karystia that testifies to strong nucleation and remoteness. The site has not been excavated, but walls, both straight and curved, some of which were possibly of defensive character, have been identified, as well as traces of metallurgical activity. Worth mentioning are also recent MH finds from Aliveri.⁵²

The other significant contribution to research is the analysis of the MH pottery technology and the chemical/mineralogical composition of the ceramic material from Lefkandi and Eretria. L. Spencer, examining the EH III-MH II pottery of Lefkandi, identified a marked increase in wheelmade pottery over time and in the use of fine clay, as well as an improvement in the firing quality (further reduced and generally more completely fired pots).⁵³ According to the same scholar, the increased use of a single clay type and the reduction of variation in surface treatment and decoration evidence the fact that a single technological tradition became dominant. Such changes in production tradition presume the transmission of knowledge and skills, and are more complicated and sophisticated than the simple imitation of motifs. The fact that we can note similar developments of manufacturing techniques in Boeotia, unlike for instance in the Peloponnese, is a further argument for Euboea's belonging to a wider central Greek cultural sphere.

In Eretria, a total of 28 sherds of MH-early LH date have been analysed as part of a larger programme, by the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece, in collaboration with the Fitch Laboratory of the British School at Athens; their research aims to analyse the local pottery of Eretria diachronically.⁵⁴ Grey Minyan, buff plain and coarse ware, including two pithos fragments are included in the material. The most significant result, thus far, is that the Grey Minyan pottery of high quality is locally produced. This may explain the presence of several Grey Minyan shapes on Euboea, which are not attested elsewhere.⁵⁵ At the same time, the Swiss-Greek excavations at Amarynthos in 2006 uncovered the remains of an MH edifice with two construction phases and a simple pit burial, at a distance of about 100 m from the Paleoekklisies hill.⁵⁶ Unstratified MH pottery continues to be found during the excavation of

48. Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1992, 213; 1993.

49. Tankosić and Mathioudaki 2011.

50. Tankosić and Mathioudaki 2011, 128-132.

51. Tankosić and Mathioudaki 2011, 127.

52. Kalamara 2015, 158.

53. Spencer 2010.

54. Charalambidou et al. 2016. This project is directed by S. Müller Celka.

55. e.g. Krapf 2011, 149, fig. 5.12 and 151, fig. 7.25.

56. Theurillat and Fachard 2007.

the sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia, especially in the 2015 season, when slope deposits from the hill were investigated.⁵⁷ The prehistoric sherds from the sanctuary of Apollon Daphnephoros at Eretria, which included some MH fragments, were studied and published in 2013.⁵⁸

Finally, a survey of the hinterland of Eretria confirmed once again the significant decrease in the number of MH sites in comparison to sites of EH II date.⁵⁹ S. Fachard's inspection of numerous sites permitted one more MH site (Psilo Lithari)⁶⁰ to be located, and the excavation at Kotylaion further proved the prehistoric origin of this defensive rocky place,⁶¹ which is not typical of MH Euboea. The most recent gazetteer of MH sites on Euboea can be found in L. Phialon's monograph on the emergence of the Mycenaean civilization.⁶² For our understanding of the location of the sites, paleogeographical studies, as for instance that undertaken at Amarynthos, are of major importance.⁶³

Conclusions: Euboea and beyond

Thus far, Euboea has been treated in the present paper as a geographical entity, but, as T. Jacobsen has already suggested,⁶⁴ and as has been argued elsewhere for Attica,⁶⁵ distinguishing between smaller units would be more reasonable from a geographical perspective. Southern Euboea, as evidenced by the site of Agios Nikolaos Mylon, and as proposed by Ž. Tankosić,⁶⁶ should be treated in relation to the Cyclades and its sparse habitation attributed to its remoteness and distance from the main routes along the eastern Attic coast, which bypassed southern Euboea. The Cycladic connection is also reflected in the ceramic material. Northern Euboea, on the other hand, has not yet been sufficiently defined in terms of material culture, despite the substantial number of sites. The fact that central Euboea, with its fertile plains and strategic location, was most densely populated is not surprising. MH sites on Euboea are in general found either on the coast or plains/fertile areas which have at least seasonal rivers (Lelantine Plain, Amarynthos, Mantoudi, Psachna, area of Kymi) and only rarely at remote inland locations, such as Kalogerovrysi, Kotylaion or Gerontas (Fig. 5). There was interaction between the Euboean and mainland coasts, characterized partially by cliffs and partially by safe harbours, which explains the corresponding settlement patterns. Approached from the south, Euboea becomes easily accessible and interesting for trade only from Aliveri onwards. At this point the island can be crossed towards Skyros, where the strategic site of Palamari continued to flourish during the MH period.⁶⁷ At the same time, the lack of anchorages and settlements on the Attic coast between Marathon and Oropos strongly suggests that the Euboean sites along this maritime routes were in a favourable position.

Over the course of the MH period, the tendency for nucleation seems to be manifested by the decreasing number of sites on Euboea, as is also the case on the opposite coast, at Oropos.⁶⁸ The evidence, however, is ambiguous, as some sites clearly contracted and the communities retreated to safer spots, such as in Eretria, possibly owing to lack of security, while others flourished and eventually even grew,

57. Knoepfler et al. 2016, 99.

58. Müller Celka et al. 2013, 42-45.

59. Delley 2003.

60. Fachard 2012, 135-138.

61. Fachard and Boukaras 2011.

62. Phialon 2011.

63. Ghilardi et al. 2013.

64. Jacobsen 1964, 2-3.

65. Krapf (In press).

66. Tankosić, this volume.

67. Parlama et al. 2010.

68. Cosmopoulos 1998.

such as Amarynthos, which expanded into the plain surrounding the tell.⁶⁹ Central Euboea seems to have been connected to Boeotia, not only geographically but also culturally, as the ceramic evidence demonstrates. This connection becomes clearly visible during the Mycenaean period, when Amarynthos is mentioned in the Linear B archives at Thebes.⁷⁰ Although the beginning of the MH period is rarely attested, Lefkandi excluded, there are several sites with two main occupation phases in MH II and the transition to the LH period. Many sites seemed to have bloomed, based on the abundance of late MH pottery shapes, just before the introduction of Mycenaean culture and subsequently during the period of domination of the palace of Thebes, as they would again after the Mycenaean collapse.

The excavated surfaces of Euboean sites are generally too restricted to permit a broad understanding of the architecture of the buildings or of matters of settlement organization. There are, as is the case elsewhere, apsidal alongside rectangular houses. Funerary remains have been found thus far only within settlements (with a high percentage of child burials) and consist of simple pit graves, cist tombs and rarely more complex structures, as at Lefkandi or Kalogerovrysi. Ritual evidence is conspicuously rare for the MH period, and on Euboea the only installation of such character is a coarse ware jar with a pierced bottom which was placed in a pit close to a simple pit grave at Amarynthos.⁷¹

Pottery studies have not yet advanced enough to allow us to define in much detail trade connections. There are references to Aeginetan, Cycladic and even Minoan imports (see above). Pottery analysis at Eretria has demonstrated that even coarse wares can be of non-local origin. The chipped stone tool assemblages of central Euboean sites are dominated by Melian obsidian, which amounts to more than 90% of the total.⁷²

The Euboean MH pottery tradition clearly covers also the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, and it is not surprising that P. Mountjoy in her account on the regional Mycenaean decorated pottery does not mention the LH I period in the case of Euboea.⁷³ From LH IIA onwards, there is a rich pottery assemblage from the chamber tombs at Chalkis (Trypa/Vromousa).⁷⁴

In the future, promising results are expected to be discussed with the publication of the early phases of Lefkandi. Additionally, it would be of great interest to investigate sites on the south or west coast of northern Euboea in order to understand their relations with the settlements in Lokris and the Malian Gulf.

List of Euboean MH sites with bibliography

Abbreviations: BSA no. (site number in Sackett et al. 1966), Fachard no. (number in Fachard 2012), Sampson no. (number in Sampson 1980), F/G numbers (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979)

Sites with uncertain evidence of MH activity: ***Chalkis Arethousa***: F79; ***Gouvai Palaiokastro***: BSA no. 10; G90. ***Kerinthos Kria Vrysi***: BSA no. 13; G92. ***Katheni Krasas***: BSA no. 29; F63. ***Psachna Gliphas***: BSA no. 34. ***Chalkis Vourkos***: BSA no. 39. ***Zarka/Zarakes***: BSA no. 86, Fachard no. 157. ***Vouno Panagia***: Sampson, Fachard no. 71.

69. The earliest architectural remains at the Patavalis plot at a distance of about 100 m to the hill date to the MH period. There is, however, some EH sherd material from this location as well, and S. Katsali excavated in 2009 on the Silkitsoglou plot remains of EH houses (Kalamara 2015, 157).

70. TH Wu 58.γ and TH Of 25.2: Spyropoulos and Chadwick 1975, 94, 98 and 104. See also Knoepfler 1988, 393-394.

71. Krapf 2015, 689, fig. 2.

72. Krapf 2015, 686.

73. Mountjoy 1999, 692-727. The attribution of the LH I Mycenaean pottery of Kalogerovrysi remains doubtful (Sampson 1993, 111-113).

74. Mountjoy 1999, 692; Hankey 1952.

MH sites of Euboea: **Agia Kalliopi**: Sampson no. 13. **Agios Nikolaos Mylon**: Tankosić and Mathioudaki 2009; Tankosić and Mathioudaki 2011. **Aliveri Agia Varvara**: Sampson no. 102; Fachard no. 87 (Agios Loukas). **Aliveri Magoula**: BSA no. 63; F86; Fachard no. 93. **Amarynthos Paleoekklisies**: BSA no. 62; F85; Fachard no. 53-55; Parlama 1979; Knoepfler 1988; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1989; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1992, 213; Theurillat and Fachard 2007; Krapf 2011; Ghilardi et al. 2013; Krapf 2015; Knoepfler et al. (In press). **Avlonarion Palaiokastri**: BSA no. 72; F92; Fachard no. 108. **Avlonarion Antires**: BSA no. 73; F92; Fachard no. 110. **Chalkis Vromousa / Trypa**: BSA no. 37; F76; Fachard no. 1. **Chalkis Kaki Kephali**: BSA no. 38; F77; Fachard no. 1. **Dokos Agia Triada**: BSA no. 47; F80. **Dokos Agios Nikolaos**: Sampson no. 97. **Dragonara / Kotylaion / Vrysi / La Cuppa**: Sampson no. 33; Fachard no. 129; Fachard and Boukaras 2011, 131. **Dystos**: BSA no. 84; F96; Fachard no. 146. **Eretria**: BSA no. 56; F83; Fachard no. 36; Müller 1985; Friedemann 1995; Müller 1996; Delley 2003; Huber 2007; Fachard 2007; Huber 2008; Müller Celka 2010; Müller Celka et al. 2013; Huber 2015; Krapf 2015. **Gerontas**: Fachard no. 41 (only mention of LH, but there is also MH). **Kalogerovrysi**: Sampson 1993. **Kerinthos Agios Ilias**: BSA no. 14; G92. **Koumpi (Aidipsos)**: BSA no. 5; G87; Sampson 1987; Sampson 1989b; Sampson 1992; Nikolopoulos 2004, 9-11 and 29. **Lefkandi Xeropolis**: BSA no. 48-50; F81; Fachard no. 13 (Xeropolis); Popham and Sackett 1968; Dickinson 1977, 17-23; Maran 1992, 329-335; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1995. **Likhas Kastri**: BSA no. 2. **Limni Kastria**: BSA no. 21; G97 and G98 (Panagia). **Magoula Eretrias**: BSA no. 59; F84; Fachard no. 47; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1989, 101-104; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1992, 210-213. **Manika**: BSA no. 35; F75; Theochari 1959, 300-303; Sampson 1987, 178-179, fig. 7-9. **Mantoudi**: Sampson no. 24. **Mantoudi Metamorphosi**: Sampson no. 58. **Makrimalli**: Sampson no. 52. **Nea Styra**: BSA no. 88; F98; Fachard no. 166. **Oreoi Kastro**: BSA no. 6; G88. **Oxylithos / Viglatouri Palaiokastro**: BSA no. 75; F93; Fachard no. 119; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1998, 91, fig. 31.4. **Peleki Mantoudiou (Kerinthos)**: Sampson no. 59; Sampson 1975; Sampson 1979. **Phylla Metamorphosi**: Sampson no. 84; Sampson 1993, 134. **Politika Cape Mnima**: BSA no. 25; F68. **Politika Kafkala**: BSA no. 26; F69. **Prodromos**: Sampson no. 49. **Psachna Agios Ilias**: BSA no. 30; F70. **Psachna Pirgos**: BSA no. 31; F70. **Psilo Lithari**: Fachard no. 42. **Rovies Agios Ilias**: BSA no. 19; G95. **Rovies Palaiochori**: BSA no. 20; G96. **Sko-teini Tharounia**: Sampson 1976, 54 (quite uncertain evidence). **Theologos Panagia**: Sampson no. 126; Fachard no. 43. **Vrachos Aphrati**: Sampson no. 44. **Yaltra Kastelli**: BSA no. 3; G85.

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Figures

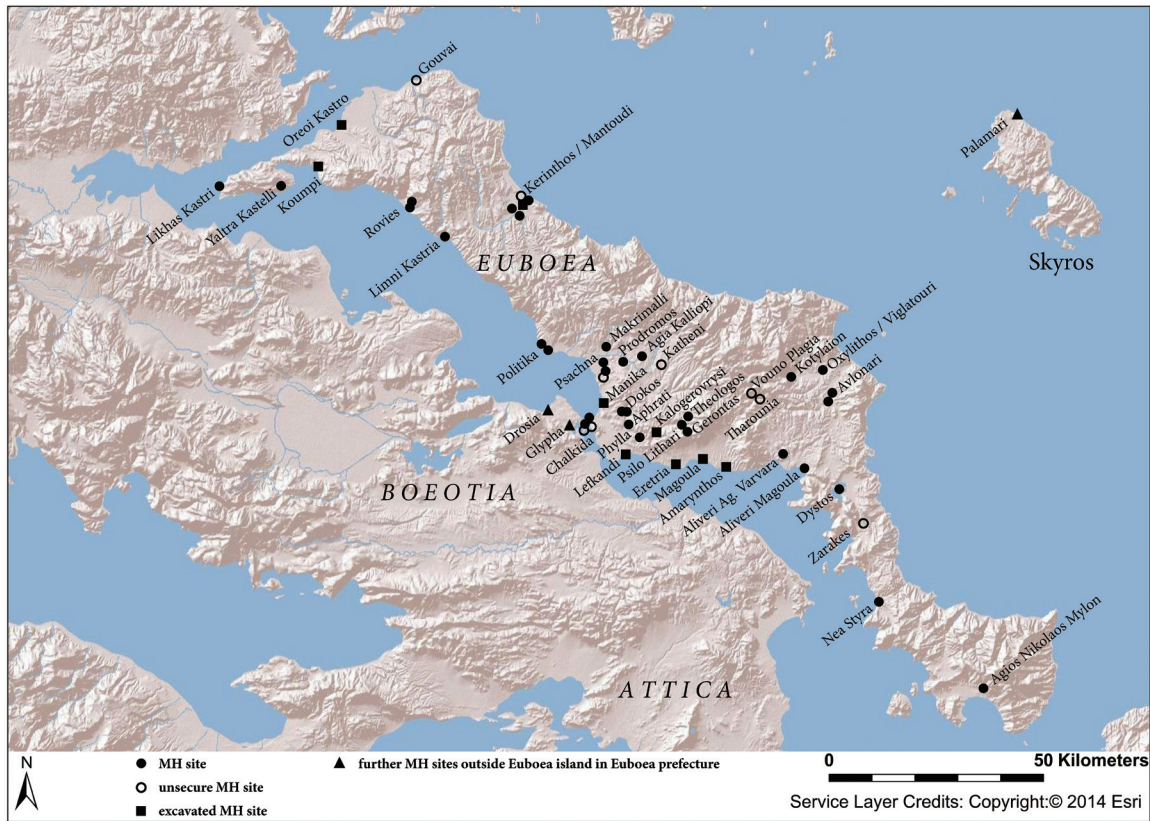


Figure 1. Map of the MH sites of Euboea.



Figure 2.
Lefkandi Xeropolis.

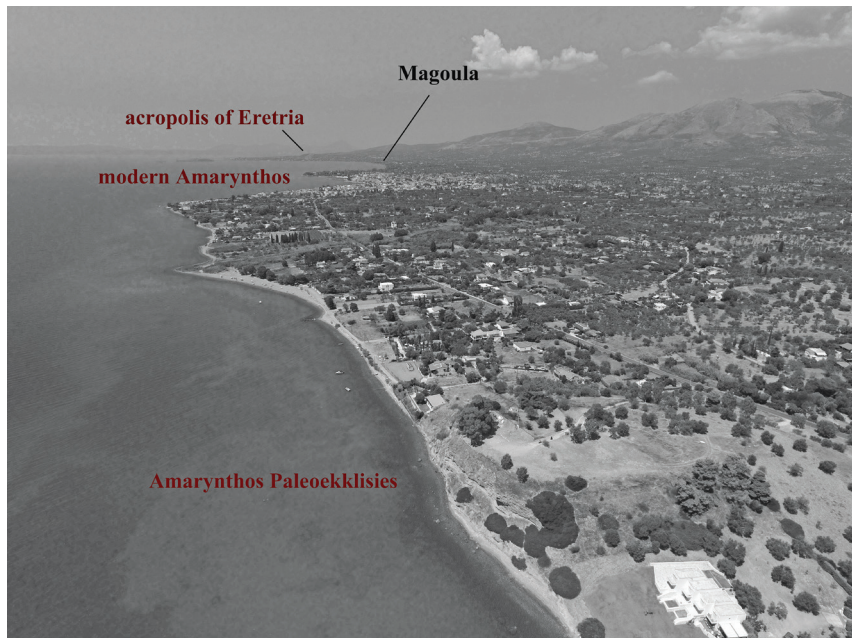


Figure 3.
Aerial view from
Amarynthos Paleoekklisies
westwards, towards Eretria
(photo ESAG, by V. Festau
and A. Görtz, assisted by
T. Krapf).



Figure 4.
Salganea at Drosia.



Figure 5.
Gerontas hill, seen from the south.