

PAPERS AND MONOGRAPHS FROM THE NORWEGIAN INSTITUTE AT ATHENS

VOLUME 6

AN ISLAND BETWEEN TWO WORLDS

The Archaeology of Euboea from Prehistoric to Byzantine Times

Edited by

Žarko Tankosić, Fanis Mavridis, and Maria Kosma



ATHENS 2017

AN ISLAND BETWEEN TWO WORLDS
The Archaeology of Euboea from Prehistoric to Byzantine Times

NORWEGIAN INSTITUTE AT ATHENS



ISBN: 978-960-85145-6-0
ISSN: 2459-3230

PAPERS AND MONOGRAPHS FROM THE
NORWEGIAN INSTITUTE AT ATHENS, VOLUME 6

AN ISLAND BETWEEN TWO WORLDS

The Archaeology of Euboea from Prehistoric to Byzantine Times

Proceedings of International Conference, Eretria, 12-14 July 2013

Edited by

Žarko Tankosić, Fanis Mavridis and Maria Kosma

ΕΝΑ ΝΗΣΙ ΜΕΤΑΞΥ ΔΥΟ ΚΟΣΜΩΝ

Αρχαιολογική Έρευνα στην Εύβοια, Προϊστορικοί έως και Βυζαντινοί Χρόνοι

Πρακτικά διεθνούς συνεδρίου, Ερέτρια, 12-14 Ιουλίου 2013

Επιμέλεια

Žarko Tankosić, Φάνης Μαυρίδης και Μαρία Κοσμά



2017

Cover photo: Group of bronze votive offerings from the site of Pei Dokou (Πέι Δοκού), end of the 8th century BC, Museum of Chalkida. Courtesy of the Ephorate of Antiquities for Euboea.

International conference “An Island Between Two Worlds: The Archaeology of Euboea from Prehistoric to Byzantine Times” (Eretria, 12-14 July 2017) was co-organized by the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 11th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, and the Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology-Speleology of Southern Greece.

Organizing Committee:

Žarko Tankosić, Norwegian Institute at Athens

Maria Kosma, 11th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities

Fanis Mavridis, Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology-Speleology of Southern Greece

Renate Storli, Norwegian Institute at Athens

Scientific Committee:

Panos Dimas, Norwegian Institute at Athens

Maria Chidioglou, National Archaeological Museum at Athens

Jan Paul Crielaard, VU University of Amsterdam

Pari Kalamara, 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Archaeology

Donald Keller, American Center for Oriental Research, Boston

Eleni Panagopoulou, Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology-Speleology of Southern Greece

Liana Parlama, Chairman of the Interdisciplinary Committee of the Project: “Research, Restoration, Formation, Protection, and Presentation of Palamari on Skyros,” Fund of Credits Management for Archaeological Projects

Dimitrios Triantaphyllopoulos, Professor Emeritus, University of Cyprus

© 2017 The Norwegian Institute at Athens

ISBN: 978-960-85145-6-0

ISSN: 2459-3230

To the memory of
Maria Kosma
(1970-2015)

Μνήμη
Μαρίας Κοσμά
(1970-2015)

TABLE OF CONTENTS / ΠΙΝΑΚΑΣ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΩΝ

<i>In Memoriam</i>	5
Preface/Πρόλογος	
P. KALAMARA	11
Introduction/Εισαγωγή	
Ž. TANKOSIĆ and F. MAVRIDIS	13
Keynote lecture/Εισαγωγική ομιλία	
<i>Ερμηνευτικά αρχαιολογικά ζητήματα της βυζαντινής Εύβοιας</i> Δημήτριος Δ. ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑΦΥΛΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ.	17
<i>Euboea during the Neolithic period: A review of the evidence</i> Vagia MASTROGIANNOPOULOU and Adamantios SAMPSON	33
<i>The prehistoric settlement of southern Euboea</i> Lauren E. TALALAY, Tracey CULLEN and Donald R. KELLER.	51
<i>Neolithic pottery groups from the Agia Triada Cave, southern Euboea, and the Aegean Late Neolithic: Some remarks</i> Fanis MAVRIDIS.	67
<i>The northernmost Cycladic island? Insularity and the case of prehistoric southern Euboea (the Karystia)</i> Žarko TANKOSIĆ	99
<i>Euboean connections with Attica and Kea: A view from Final Neolithic and late Early Bronze Age II pottery</i> Margarita NAZOU.	111
<i>Στα ίχνη του τεχνίτη: αναζητώντας τεχνολογική παράδοση και ατομικό στυλ σε σύνολα οψιανού από ευβοϊκές θέσεις της πρώιμης Εποχής του Χαλκού</i> Άννα ΚΑΡΑΜΠΙΑΤΣΩΛΗ	121
<i>A 3D spatial approach to post-excavation study, as exemplified at the Agia Triada Cave, Karystos</i> Markos KATSIANIS, Fanis MAVRIDIS, Žarko TANKOSIĆ and Spyros TSIPIDIS	133
<i>Middle Helladic (central) Euboea and its cultural connections: The state of research</i> Tobias KRAPF	145

<i>Gaps in the record: The missing LH I-II and IIIB phases on Euboea</i> Margaretha KRAMER HAJOS	159
<i>Euboean connections with eastern Boeotia: Ceramics and synchronisms between Lefkandi and ancient Eleon</i> Trevor VAN DAMME	171
<i>Archaeomagnetic dating: Examples from Euboea-Attica and the missing link between the central Greek mainland and the islands</i> Despina KONDOPOULOU, Philippe LANOS, Ted EVANS, Evdokia TEMA, Elina AIDONA and Emanuela DE MARCO.	183
<i>A conduit between two worlds: Geography and connectivity in the Euboean Gulf</i> Alex R. KNOPELL.	195
<i>Euboeans in the Far West? New data and interpretations</i> Adolfo J. DOMÍNGUEZ.	215
<i>Greek Geometric incised coarse ware, Euboea, and its connections to central Italy</i> Orlando CERASUOLO	235
<i>The pottery from the sacrificial refuse area in Plakari-Karystos: A first assessment</i> Xenia CHARALAMBIDOU	253
<i>Connectivity and insularity in 1st-millennium southern Euboea: The evidence from the sanctuary of Karystos-Plakari</i> Jan Paul CRIELAARD and Filiz SONGU	275
<i>To see or not to see: A study in maritime visibility</i> Ruben BRUGGE	291
<i>Ανάγλυφη κεραμική από τους Ζάρακες Καρυστίας</i> Αθηνά ΧΑΤΖΗΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ	303
<i>Karystos revisited: Interaction networks of an Aegean island polity (sources and finds)</i> Maria CHIDIROGLOU	321
<i>Τα επιτάφια μνημεία της Εύβοιας ως μαρτυρίες των επαφών με την ηπειρωτική και τη νησιωτική Ελλάδα. Η περίπτωση των στηλών με παράσταση κρατήρα.</i> Χρυσάνθη ΤΣΟΥΛΗ.	345
<i>Η οχύρωση της Χαλκίδας. Η ανασκαφή στον χώρο ανέγερσης του Νέου Γενικού Νοσοκομείου</i> Μαρία ΚΟΣΜΑ [†] και Γιάννης ΧΑΙΠΕΤΑΚΗΣ.	359
<i>Ο υδάτινος κόσμος της Ερέτριας: Τα λουτρά της αρχαίας πόλης: παλιά και νέα δεδομένα</i> Σοφία ΚΑΤΣΑΛΗ και Γαρυφαλλιά ΒΟΥΖΑΡΑ.	371

<i>Euboean cults and myths outside Euboea: Poseidon and Briareos/Aigaion</i> Giovanni BOFFA and Barbara LEONE	381
<i>Η λατρεία της Κυβέλης στην Εύβοια. Μία νέα θεώρηση του θρησκευολογικού περιεχομένου της Μητέρας των Θεών και η συμβολή της Ερέτριας σε αυτή</i> Συλβάνα ΚΑΤΣΑΟΥΝΟΥ.	391
<i>Η Αρέθουσα, ο Ποσειδώνας και η Ήρα. Ανάλυση και ερμηνεία ενός χαλκιδικού μύθου.</i> Manuel ARJONA-PEREZ.	403
<i>Proud to be Euboeans: The Chalcidians of Thrace</i> Selene E. PSOMA	409
<i>Ancient Greek coin hoards: Insights into the history of Euboea</i> Mairi GKIKAKI	421
<i>Situating the Paximadi towers in the Classical and Roman landscapes</i> Rebecca M. SEIFRIED.	431
<i>A half-carved marble vessel (Tsoukali) from the ancient quarries of Myloi, Karystos in southern Euboea: A contribution to the study of the use of Karystian marble for vase carving in antiquity</i> Eirene POUPAKI and Maria CHIDIROGLOU.	441
<i>A GIS exploratory analysis of farmsteads: A case-study of the Karystian farmsteads on the Paximadi Peninsula</i> Maeve McHUGH	461
<i>Η κεντρική Εύβοια στο τέλος της Αρχαιότητας. Ένα σύνολο αγγείων από τον υστερορωμαϊκό και πρωτοβυζαντινό οικισμό στις εγκαταστάσεις της ΔΕΗ Αλιβερίου</i> Εύη ΝΤΑΦΗ	469
<i>Μελέτη στερέωσης και αποκατάστασης του παλαιοχριστιανικού λουτρού στον Α.Η.Σ. Αλιβερίου</i> Ελένη-Αθηνά ΑΓΓΕΛΗ	493
<i>Η μεσοβυζαντινή γλυπτική στην Εύβοια: επισημάνσεις και ερωτήματα</i> Γιώργος ΠΑΛΛΗΣ	507
<i>Μεσοβυζαντινή μαρμαρογλυπτική στην Εύβοια: ο γλυπτός διάκοσμος των ναών των Εισοδίων της Θεοτόκου και του Αγίου Νικολάου στην Άτταλη</i> Ανδρομάχη ΚΑΤΣΕΛΑΚΗ και Ελένη ΤΣΙΟΜΠΙΚΟΥ	519
<i>The settlements of the Middle and Late Byzantine period in Euboea</i> Pari KALAMARA	537

<i>A short overview of the history of the Church on Euboea (Negroponte)</i> Despoina Stef. MICHALAGA	559
<i>Δίκτυο βυζαντινών ναών στην κεντρική Εύβοια: σχεδιάζοντας μια πολιτιστική διαδρομή στα ίχνη των Ελλήνων αρχόντων της Λατινοκρατίας</i> Ευρυδίκη ΚΑΤΣΑΛΗ και Αλεξάνδρα ΚΩΣΤΑΡΕΛΛΗ	577
<i>Η Χαλκίδα κατά τους Μεσοβυζαντινούς χρόνους και την Εποχή της Λατινοκρατίας: η μαρτυρία της κεραμικής (9ος-15ος αι.)</i> Στεφανία Σ. ΣΚΑΡΤΣΗ και Γιάννης ΒΑΞΕΒΑΝΗΣ	593
<i>The Rizokastro near Aliveri, Euboea, in the context of Frankish castle architecture in Greece</i> Stavros MAMALOUKOS	613
<i>The medieval towers of Euboea: their dimension as domestic and landscape phenomena</i> Chrystalla LOIZOU	625
<i>Νέα στοιχεία για την αστική αρχιτεκτονική στη βενετσιάνικη Χαλκίδα. Το παράδειγμα του κτηρίου Βαΐλου</i> Γιώργος ΚΟΥΡΜΑΔΑΣ και Παναγιώτα ΤΑΞΙΑΡΧΗ	639
<i>Mapping Frankish Euboea: Tracing the depiction of the island through the portolan charts and early maps from the 13th to 17th century</i> Andrew BLACKLER.	653
<i>List of contributors/Κατάλογος των εισηγητών</i>	663

PREFACE / ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ

Η έκδοση των Πρακτικών του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου «Ένα νησί μεταξύ δύο κόσμων: η αρχαιολογική έρευνα στην Εύβοια – Προϊστορικοί έως και Βυζαντινοί χρόνοι» είναι το επιστέγασμα του σημαντικού αυτού επιστημονικού εγχειρήματος, που έλαβε χώρα το καλοκαίρι του 2013, 12 έως 14 Ιουλίου, στην Ερέτρια. Παράλληλα, ο τόμος των Πρακτικών συνιστά πολύτιμη παρακαταθήκη για το μέλλον της έρευνας που εστιάζει στην αρχαιολογία και την ιστορία της Εύβοιας.

Το Συνέδριο διοργανώθηκε με τη συνεργασία του Νορβηγικού Ινστιτούτου Αθηνών και των δύο συναρμόδιων για την περιοχή Εφορειών Αρχαιοτήτων, της ΙΑ' Εφορείας Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων και της 23^{ης} Εφορείας Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων, και σε αυτό μετείχαν εγνωσμένοι κύρους επιστήμονες από πολλές χώρες. Η διενέργειά του οφείλεται καταρχήν στην πρωτοβουλία του Νορβηγικού Ινστιτούτου Αθηνών, το οποίο διασφάλισε και την απαιτούμενη χρηματοδότηση. Από τη θέση αυτή θα ήθελα να ευχαριστήσω τον πρώην διευθυντή του Νορβηγικού Ινστιτούτου καθ. Πάνο Δήμα που στήριξε το όλο εγχείρημα, ενώ για την άψογη διοργάνωση της εκδήλωσης όσο και για την παρούσα έκδοση τους αρχαιολόγους Δρ. Zarko Tankosic και Δρ. Φάνη Μαυρίδη. Δεν θα ήταν, ωστόσο, δυνατή η διοργάνωση του συνεδρίου χωρίς την πίστη στο εγχείρημα και τον ενθουσιασμό της αρχαιολόγου της ΙΑ' ΕΠΚΑ, Μαρίας Κοσμά, η οποία δεν βρίσκεται πλέον ανάμεσά μας, αλλά η μνήμη της μας συντροφεύει, και στις οποίες το έργο αισθάνομαι την ανάγκη να αναφερθώ και με αυτή την ευκαιρία.

Η Μαρία Κοσμά είχε αφιερώσει το μεγαλύτερο τμήμα του επαγγελματικού της βίου στην προστασία και τη μελέτη του αρχαιολογικού αποθέματος της Καρυστίας, και στο πλαίσιο αυτό συνεργάστηκε στενά και με το Νορβηγικό Ινστιτούτο, που επίσης δραστηριοποιείται ερευνητικά στην περιοχή. Στο πλαίσιο των υπηρεσιακών της καθηκόντων, προέβη σε εκτεταμένες επιφανειακές έρευνες, ενώ παράλληλα διενήργησε σωστικές και συστηματικές ανασκαφικές έρευνες. Ειδικότερα, αναφέρεται η σωστική ανασκαφή στα Στύρα που αποκάλυψε σημαντικό νεκροταφείο της 3ης χιλιετίας π.Χ., το οποίο εμπλουτίζει τις γνώσεις μας για την ταυτότητα του νησιού εκείνη την περίοδο και σηματοδοτεί μια νέα αρχαιολογική θέση. Επίσης, η συμμετοχή της από το 2013 ως συνδιευθύντριας, μαζί με τον Δρ. Paul Crielaard, στην ανασκαφική έρευνα στην Πλακαρή Καρύστου, που διενεργείται με τη συνεργασία της ΕΦΑ Ευβοίας και του Πανεπιστημίου VU του Άμστερνταμ. Η τελευταία αποκάλυψε ιερό με μακρά διάρκεια ζωής (10^{ος} – 4^{ος} αι.) καθώς και λείψανα νεολιθικής εγκατάστασης. Σημαντική υπήρξε η συμβολή της και στη μελέτη άλλων περιοχών της Εύβοιας – με τις οποίες επιφορτίστηκε κατά το τελευταίο διάστημα παραμονής της στην Υπηρεσία – όπως η Χαλκίδα, όπου εργάστηκε για την αποκάλυψη και τη μελέτη του τείχους της αρχαίας πόλης. Η Μαρία Κοσμά εκτός από δυναμική αρχαιολόγος πεδίου φρόντιζε πάντοτε να δημοσιεύει τα πορίσματα των ερευνών της και αυτή ακριβώς είναι η ουσιαστικότερη προσφορά της στην επιστημονική κοινότητα. Η διαρκής έγνοια της για τη διάχυση της γνώσης την οδήγησε να υποστηρίξει εξ αρχής με θέρμη τη διενέργεια ενός επιστημονικού συνεδρίου για την αρχαιολογία της Εύβοιας, που θα αναδείκνυε την ενότητα αλλά και την τυχόν ιδιαιτερότητα της νησιωτικής αυτής περιοχής.

Η Εύβοια, το δεύτερο σε μέγεθος νησί του Αιγαίου, αυτό που βρίσκεται πλησιέστερα στην ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα, είχε διαχρονικά διττή ταυτότητα, όντας μεν νησί αλλά ταυτόχρονα και τμήμα του ηπειρωτικού χώρου με βάση γεωγραφικούς και πολιτισμικούς όρους. Η Εύβοια επίσης συνδέει τη βόρεια με τη νότια Ελλάδα, καθώς το βόρειο άκρο της βρίσκεται απέναντι στη Θεσσαλία και το νότιο

πλησιάζει στις Κυκλάδες. Αυτή η διττή ταυτότητα καθώς και η κομβική, διαχρονικά, θέση της Εύβοιας στους θαλάσσιους δρόμους αποτυπώνονται στο πολιτιστικό της υλικό απόθεμα, το οποίο συνδέεται τόσο με την ηπειρωτική χώρα όσο και με τον νησιωτικό χώρο του Αιγαίου. Η παραδοχή των ανωτέρω οδήγησε στη σκέψη ότι η Εύβοια αρμόζει να τύχει μιας συνολικής αλλά και διακριτής από άλλες γεωγραφικές ενότητες διαπραγμάτευσης από την επιστημονική κοινότητα, και συνακόλουθα στη διοργάνωση του Συνεδρίου και στην έκδοση των Πρακτικών του.

Η παρούσα έκδοση έρχεται να σταθεί πλάι σε σημαντικότερες προγενέστερες μελέτες, εκ των οποίων, ωστόσο, οι περισσότερες εστιάζουν σε επιμέρους ζητήματα, κυρίως στις περιοχές της Ερέτριας και του Λευκαντίου, όπου για χρόνια δραστηριοποιούνται ερευνητικά –πέραν της ελληνικής αρχαιολογικής υπηρεσίας– η Ελβετική Αρχαιολογική Σχολή και η Αγγλική Αρχαιολογική Σχολή, αντίστοιχα, με πολυεπίπεδο ερευνητικό και εκδοτικό έργο, που έχουν καταστήσει την Εύβοια διεθνώς αναγνωρίσιμη. Επίσης, συχνά οι αναφορές στο νησί γίνονταν στο πλαίσιο μελετών που εστίαζαν στην ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα ή τις Κυκλάδες. Τα Πρακτικά του πρόσφατου Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου θέτουν την Εύβοια στο επίκεντρο της έρευνας όλων των περιόδων της προϊστορίας και των ιστορικών χρόνων.

Κλείνοντας, θα ήθελα να ευχαριστήσω θερμά όλους όσοι με το ερευνητικό τους έργο ή και τη γενικότερη συνδρομή τους βοήθησαν στην επιτυχία αυτού του επιστημονικού εγχειρήματος.

Δρ Παρή Καλαμαρά
Προϊσταμένη της Εφορείας Αρχαιοτήτων Εύβοιας

INTRODUCTION / ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

The island of Euboea has always acted as a bridge connecting mainland Greece to the wider Aegean and the Mediterranean world; its archaeological importance was an acknowledged but often understated fact. Euboea, a region with an identity crisis, at the same time considered an island but also a part of the mainland, due to its geographical and cultural proximity, has for millennia played an important role in events that shaped aspects of Greek antiquity. Euboea connects southern and northern Greece, the Cyclades and Thessaly. These complex geographical parameters and historic conditions are expressed in the material archaeological record, which is as rich and varied as one would expect from the second-largest Aegean island.

Euboea has been the focus of generations of Greek and international scholars—focus which has resulted in numerous multilingual publications; these publications increased in number and detail, especially in the post-World War II years. The island's past has benefited from the work of both regional (i.e. the 11th Prehistoric and Classical Ephorate and the 23rd Byzantine Ephorate, now unified under the title of the Ephorate of Antiquities for Euboea) and specialized (i.e. the Ephorate for Palaeoanthropology-Speleology and the Ephorate for Underwater Antiquities) archaeology directorates of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture. Of the foreign schools, the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece and the British School at Athens have been present the longest on Euboea, and work principally in the central region of the island, most notably at Eretria, Lefkandi and Amarynthos. The work of the Canadian, Dutch and Norwegian Institutes has focused on the southern part of Euboea, in the area around Karystos. The indisputable wealth of scholarship testifying to Euboea's importance and uniqueness makes it imperative that the archaeology of the entire island be put once again under the scientific spotlight.

The aim of the 2013 conference “An Island between Two Worlds: The Archaeology of Euboea from Prehistoric to Byzantine Times” and this resultant book is to shine a light on the significant contribution to scholarship made by colleagues working on Euboea. It is a reader that provides new data as well as reinterpretations of old data within updated paradigmatic and methodological frameworks. For the first time, evidence from the entire island spanning millennia of Euboea's past, has been collated in one place. This work is intended for professionals in need of reference material as well as for the general reader interested in learning about the past of this region of the Aegean. Despite its many strengths, this book, like any other, has its shortcomings and does not include all resources currently available for the study of Euboea's archaeology. To cover possible lacunae in this book, we direct readers to other works on the archaeology of Euboea published by colleagues from Greek and foreign institutions. Many of those resources, however, are referred to in the works included in the present volume, which means that this book is a useful starting point for research into prehistoric and historic Euboean archaeology.

To facilitate easy access to the data (amongst other reasons), the papers in this volume are generally arranged chronologically, from topics related to prehistory to ones dealing with Byzantine, medieval and even post-medieval periods. Although there are, sometimes significant, regional differences within an island as large as Euboea, we elected not to organize the contributions in this volume according to region, both because this would make the contents overly complicated and because several of the contributions take the form of general, diachronic, pan-Euboean or

even pan-Mediterranean discussions. The geographical scope of this work is just another reminder of the importance of Euboea and the far-reaching connections the inhabitants of this island had with their Mediterranean neighbours in the past. We intentionally combined papers written in Greek and in English to demonstrate that scholarship in both languages is essential for a full understanding of the island's history. To make the book more accessible, all Greek contributions begin with an abstract/summary in English, and all English contributions begin with an abstract/summary in Greek. A small number of the papers are general in scope or traverse the chronological boundaries more freely than others. These are slotted into the book on the basis of their period of primary focus or, if this is not possible, of the first period discussed.

We would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the invaluable contribution of our dear and prematurely departed friend, colleague and co-editor of this volume, Maria Kosma. Maria worked tirelessly for more than a decade as an archaeologist of the 11th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, and she was an inspiration to us all. She accomplished much, not only in terms of understanding Euboea's past but also in helping preserve the remains of that past for future generations. She also selflessly helped her colleagues from other institutions to establish a professional foothold on the island. We were fortunate to have had the chance to know her and work with her. Without her involvement and energy, neither the 2013 conference nor this book would have been possible. She will be sorely missed, and we dedicate this book to her.

Acknowledgements

Many individuals and institutions have in some way contributed to the success of both this volume and the conference on which it is based. It would be impossible to mention them all here, and we apologize for this. However, this does not change that fact that we are deeply grateful to all of them for their support and help. First and foremost, we would like to extend our gratitude to our home institutions, which supported this endeavour from the very beginning, namely the Norwegian Institute at Athens, the Ephorate of Antiquities for Euboea and the Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology-Speleology. Without their backing, and the funding provided by the Norwegian Institute at Athens, for both the conference and the publication of this volume, neither the conference nor this book would have been possible. We also owe a debt of gratitude to the current and past directors of these institutions for their personal support, namely: Professors Panos Dimas and Jorunn Økland (Norwegian Institute) and Drs Eleni Panagopoulou and Andreas Darlas (Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology). Special thanks go to Dr Pari Kalamara, the director of the Ephorate for Euboea, whose support was the decisive force behind the success of the 2013 conference and the present volume. We salute her for her indefatigable and often challenging work on Euboea.

Our thanks go to Nikos Lagonikos from Southern Euboea Tours for his tireless work on logistical matters related to the conference. He is to be congratulated for the choice of venue and for the seamless accommodation and travel arrangements. A number of volunteers were in charge of the smooth running of the 2013 conference, namely Paschalis Zafeiriadis, Malamatenia Bakka, Vasiliki Anevlavi and Stavroula Iliopoulou. We thank them all for their excellent work.

The academic quality of the contributions was vouchsafed by a truly prominent pool of international scholars who served as anonymous peer reviewers. Through their suggestions and corrections, they significantly improved the value of our individual contributions and the book as a whole. Although we cannot mention them here by name, for obvious reasons, we thank them for their outstanding work. Nevertheless, the views and opinions expressed in the contributions

remain those of their individual authors. We are also grateful to our other reviewers, copy editors and translators, namely Dr Catherine Parnell, Dr Bridget Martin and Memi Gourdouba. The high standard and expedience with which they tackled this enormous task under the directorship of Dr Parnell have left us truly in awe. The contributions of others to this task, although not as extensive, were no less important, and we take this opportunity to thank Paschalis Zafeiriadis, Maria Mina and Dr Delia Tzortzaki for their help with edits and translations.

We are grateful to our colleagues from the Netherlands Institute at Athens and the Canadian Institute in Greece for their support of the conference organizers at some very crucial moments. Moreover, we are privileged to have the opportunity to work with them on Euboea and are happy to include their important contributions in this volume. We were fortunate to host in 2013 the former ambassador of Norway in Greece, H.E. Sjur Larssen, who opened the conference proceedings, and Dr Maria Andreadaki-Vlazaki, the current secretary general for culture of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, who addressed the gathering on behalf of the Ministry.

Finally, we would like to express our hope that this book, which is currently unique in terms of scope and coverage, is but the first in a series of important publications tackling the archaeology of Euboea. We eagerly await the moment when the current and future research of our colleagues from Greek and foreign institutions will be published, and it will surely complement and enhance the work presented here.

Ž. Tankosić
F. Mavridis

KEYNOTE LECTURE / ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΙΚΗ ΟΜΙΛΙΑ

Ερμηνευτικά αρχαιολογικά ζητήματα της βυζαντινής Εύβοιας

Δημήτριος Δ. ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑΦΥΛΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ

Μ ν ή μ η
Γεωργίου Λαμπάκη (†1914),
Νικολάου Γιαννοπούλου (†1942),
Ανδρέου Σ. Ιωάννου (†1972),
Αναστασίου Κ. Ορλάνδου (†1979),
πρωτοπόρων στην έρευνα της χριστιανικής Εύβοιας

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to present the current status of the study of the Christian monuments in Euboea and to summarize current issues for future researchers. We should take into consideration the lack of monuments from certain periods, the sometimes obscure chronological terminology, the shortage of a critical overview of the material already published, as well as the tendency for *damnatio memoriae*. Finally, there is also a great volume of unpublished material. In view of these facts, one can easily understand why Early Christian and Byzantine Euboea represents almost a blank page in our knowledge of Byzantine Greece, with the exception of the period of Venetian dominion over the island (1204-1470). The absence of a local Ephorate for Byzantine Monuments before 2005 has played a not-insignificant role in this defective situation.

The Early Christian Period (4th century AD-AD 565) is characterized by the lack of archaeological evidence for the majority of its Christian centres (Chalkis, Oreoi, Porthmos), with Karystos being an exception. Concerning the Early Byzantine Period (7th-9th century), it seems certain that Euboea remained relatively unaffected by the disastrous effects of the so-called 'Slavic invasions'. During the Mid-Byzantine Period (9th-12th century), the island was considerably favoured by local and other saints, which had an obvious impact on the architecture and art of Euboea. The following Late Byzantine Period (1204-1470) is marked by the Latin Dominion on Negroponte that ended to the fatal Ottoman occupation. The prevailing view that Euboea remained religiously and politically a rather peaceful, indifferent place has to be reconsidered, since a more detailed examination of the religious and secular architecture and the iconographical settings of the churches reveal a vigorous confessionism against the Latin Church of the conquerors. The appendix enumerates open issues on various topics.

Εισαγωγικές παρατηρήσεις

Αν εξαιρέσει κανείς την περίοδο της Λατινοκρατίας με τη σχετική αφθονία πηγών και μνημείων, η φυσιογνωμία της βυζαντινής Εύβοιας εξακολουθεί να είναι μία σχεδόν λευκή κηλίδα πάνω στον αρχαιο-

λογικό χάρτη της βυζαντινής Ελλάδας.¹ Οι λόγοι είναι εξωτερικοί και εσωτερικοί: αν η Εύβοια δίνει την εντύπωση μιας σχεδόν έρημης χώρας από τον 4ο έως τον 12ο αιώνα – κάτι που διαψεύδουν ωστόσο οι μαρτυρίες των πηγών,² η σπάνια των μνημείων μπορεί να οφείλεται είτε σε φυσικές καταστροφές (λ.χ. στη γνωστή, μεγάλη σεισμογένεια του νησιού³), είτε σε πλημμελή έρευνα, γεγονός που επίσης ισχύει.⁴

Θα επιχειρηθεί κατωτέρω να δοθεί μια χαρακτηριστική ανά εποχή περίπτωση, αφού διευκρινιστούν εκ των προτέρων τρία σημεία.

Πρώτον, η περιοδολόγηση. Το ακανθώδες πρόβλημα, να βρεθεί μια κοινή γλώσσα με τους συναδέλφους της Κλασικής Αρχαιολογίας, δεν έχει επιλυθεί οριστικά. Πότε (πρέπει να) σταματάει η Ύστερη Αρχαιότητα⁵ και τι ακριβώς σημαίνουν από πλευράς χρονολογίας γενικοί όροι, όπως “μεσαιωνικοί χρόνοι” ή “χριστιανική εποχή”;⁶ Το πρόβλημα έχει περιπλακεί, ιδιαίτερα ως προς τις απαρχές της Βυζαντινής εποχής· ακολουθώ εδώ μία συμβατική περιοδολόγηση.

Το δεύτερο: η απουσία κριτικής βιβλιογραφικής επισκόπησης,⁷ ολοένα εντονότερη, όπως και η αυξανόμενη τάση αποσιώπησης της επιστημονικής συμβολής των άλλων (*damnatio memoriae*)⁸ καθιστούν το έδαφος ολισθηρό.

Τρίτο και όχι έσχατο: ο μεγάλος όγκος αδημοσίετου υλικού (λ.χ. κεραμικής ή γλυπτικής),⁹ όπως και η έλλειψη ετήσιας επισκόπησης των νέων ερευνών¹⁰, αποθαρρύνει προσπάθειες επισκόπησης· αλλά *θαρσεῖν χρή!*

Εποχές και ενδεικτικά προβλήματα.

Παλαιοχριστιανική Περίοδος (4ος αι. - τέλη βασιλείας Ιουστινιανού): Η ασάφεια του τοπίου.

Σε παλαιότερο δημοσίευσμά μας είχαμε σημειώσει περί τα 15 μνημεία ή χώρους, αλλά για αρκετούς τα

1. Βλέπε τους χάρτες μνημείων παρά Koder 1971, εικ. 1; Koder and Hild 1976 [στο τέλος του τόμου]; Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1992, 67.

2. Συγκεντρωμένες οι σημαντικότερες για τα μνημεία στο Koder and Hild 1976. Και μόνη η μνεία επισκοπικών καταλόγων ή αξιωματούχων που μαρτυρούνται από πηγές, σφραγίσματα κλπ. μαρτυρεί, ότι το νησί δεν ερημώθηκε ποτέ. Το αίτημα για τη σύνταξη της ευβοϊκής βυζαντινής/μεσαιωνικής προσωπογραφίας παραμένει ζωντανό και επείγον και ελπίζουμε να ενοθευθεί η σύνταξη της από την έμπειρη Βυζαντινολόγο, Δρα κ. Φωτεινή Πέρρα.

3. Για τη σεισμική δραστηριότητα στην Ελλάδα βλ. Papazachos and Compninkis 1982; Μουγιάρης 1994; Σπυρόπουλος 1997. Για τις επιπτώσεις των σεισμών στον βυζαντινό κόσμο και τον πολιτισμό πρβλ. Koder 2005, κεφ. 4ο και σποραδικά.

4. Θα άξιζε για την ιστορία της Αρχαιολογικής Υπηρεσίας να γραφεί η ιστορία της τύχης των χριστιανικών μνημείων στην Εύβοια· σποραδικά στοιχεία στον Τριανταφυλλόπουλο 1990; 1994-1995; 2005-2006; 2007, 1131.

5. Για τη βαθμιαία “απαλλοτρίωση” μεγάλου τμήματος της χριστιανικής περιόδου επ’ ωφελεία μιας συχνά ασαφώς προσδιοριζόμενης “Ύστερης Αρχαιότητας” αποτελεί χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα η Κύπρος, όπου η αρχαία τέχνη θεωρείται ότι (παρ)εκτείνεται μέχρι τα μέσα του 7ου αι., δηλαδή έως την έναρξη των αραβικών επιδρομών, απλώς επειδή επιβιώνουν μερικές τεχνικές! Τέτοιου είδους θεωρήσεις αποκαλύπτουν την επιβίωση του “δόγματος Harnack” για εξελληνισμό του Χριστιανισμού απέναντι στη νεώτερη, ορθή θέση του G. Florovsky για εκχριστιανισμό του Ελληνισμού. Την έλλειψη συζήτησης του θέματος στον ελληνικό αρχαιολογικό χώρο αντικατοπτρίζει ο κατάλογος έκθεσης Byzantine Museum of Athens and Onassis Foundation 2011, όπου και συναφής βιβλιογραφία. Μία πρόσφατη σύνοψη των απόψεων για την ορθή έννοια των κλασικών επιβιώσεων στη βυζαντινή τέχνη βλ. στον Ταχόπουλο 2013.

6. Η ανυπαρξία προσδιορισμού των χρονολογικών ορίων των όρων επιδεινώνει την ασάφεια της εικόνας ενός χώρου· πρβλ. λ.χ. τις επισημάνσεις μας για τον χώρο της Χαλκίδας: Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1990, 175 και σποραδικά.

7. Παλαιότερη προσπάθειά μας για τη συστηματική παρακολούθηση της σχετικής διεθνούς βιβλιογραφίας δεν συνεχίστηκε· βλ. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1971; 1972; 1975.

8. Επιτείνονται και στην Ελλάδα τα φαινόμενα λογοκλοπής και *damnationis memoriae*, όπως επισημάναμε κατ’ επανάληψη (βλ. πρόσφατα Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 2012β, 353).

9. Πρόχειρο παράδειγμα οι ανασκαφές του Γαβριήλ Βέλτερ/Gabriel Welter (1952) στον σχεδόν ολότελα εξαφανισμένο σήμερα μεσαιωνικό λόφο του Βελήμαπα Χαλκίδας και όπου αλλού (πρβλ. Βέλτερ 1955 για τα ιστορικά στοιχεία της πόλης, χωρίς ιδιαίτερη αναφορά στις ανασκαφές του· πρβλ. την εκεί βιβλιογραφία και μνεία των ανασκαφών του, 7-9).

10. Η πρόσφατη, ανεπίτρεπτη συρρίκνωση και υποβάθμιση του *Αρχαιολογικού Δελτίου* επέτεινε το κακό, που δεν καλύπτεται πλήρως με τα περιφερειακά τοπικά συνέδρια.

δεδομένα είναι ασαφή.¹¹ Το υλικό έχει αυξηθεί σε κάποιο βαθμό¹², ωστόσο το γενικότερο πρόβλημα παραμένει: η παλαιοχριστιανική Εύβοια εξακολουθεί να είναι εν πολλοίς ένα φάντασμα, με αβέβαιες ενδείξεις για τα κέντρα της, τουλάχιστον όσων η ύπαρξη μαρτυρείται και από τους επισκοπικούς καταλόγους.¹³ Στους Ωρεούς δεν έχει εντοπιστεί λατρευτικό κέντρο ή συμπαγές τμήμα οίκησης.¹⁴ Η επισκοπή Πορθμού, στην ευρύτερη περιοχή Αλιβερίου, εξακολουθεί αρχαιολογικά να παραμένει στο σκοτάδι.¹⁵ Στην Έρέτρια τα ίχνη είναι απογοητευτικώς πενιχρά.¹⁶ Στην Κάρυστο η εικόνα είναι σήμερα ευκρινέστερη για την παλαιοχριστιανική Παλαιochώρα.¹⁷ Οι αμφιβολίες για θεωρούμενα ως παλαιοχριστιανικά κατάλοιπα στη Χαλκίδα¹⁸ (ποικίλα λείψανα στην περιοχή Αγ. Στεφάνου,¹⁹ Αγ. Παρασκευή²⁰ [Εικ. 1]) εγείρουν επίσης σοβαρά ερωτήματα: καταστράφηκαν και τότε και πώς όλα τα κατάλοιπα; Πώς δεν διασώθηκε κανένα ίχνος, ενώ έρχονται στο φως συνεχώς και καινούργια κατάλοιπα από την προχριστιανική πόλη;²¹ Με τι είδους κτίσματα μπορούν να ταυτιστούν όσα παλαιοχριστιανικά αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη διασώθηκαν;²²

Ενδεχόμενες απαντήσεις στα παραπάνω ερωτήματα δεν αποκρύπτουν το γεγονός, ότι η παλαιοχριστιανική Εύβοια παραμένει στο ημίφως.

Πρωτοβυζαντινή Περίοδος (από το τέλος της εποχής του Ιουστινιανού έως την ανάρρηση της Μακεδονικής δυναστείας, β' ήμισυ 9ου αι.): Εχθρικές επιδρομές σε σχέση με την Εύβοια.

Σε αιώνες που για λόγους ποικίλους και όχι πάντα ορθούς ονομάστηκαν “σκοτεινοί” και κατά τους οποίους η οικοδομική δραστηριότητα σε όλη τη Βυζαντινή αυτοκρατορία είναι περιορισμένη,²³ η Εύβοια δεν φαίνεται να αποτελεί εξαίρεση. Τα ερωτήματα που προκύπτουν είναι η διάρκεια ζωής των παλαιοχριστιανικών οικισμών και ο χρόνος τυχόν εξαφάνισής τους. Αν είχαν δοθεί απάντηση σε

11. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1992, πίνακας σ. 67. Από ασάφεια διέπονται λ.χ. τα δεδομένα για Αυλώνα/Αυλωνάρι, Ιστιαία, Φύλλα.

12. Π.χ. παλαιοχριστιανικές πιθανόν ταφές στα Ζάρκα (Χατζηδημητρίου 2003-2004, 61), ενδεχομένως τμήματα παλαιοχριστιανικής βασιλικής στη θέση Άγιος Κωνσταντίνος στη Σπιάδα περιφέρειας Λίμνης (πρβλ. Αποστόλου και Φαφούτης 1999, 39 και φωτ.) κ.ά.

13. Οι παλαιές μελέτες του μακαριστού Ευβοέως Χρυσοστόμου Θέμελη, Επισκόπου Θαυμακού και κατόπιν Μητροπολίτου Μεσσηνίας, εξακολουθούν να είναι η βάση για νεώτερες μελέτες: επείγει μια συνολική αναθεώρηση.

14. Για τα ιστορικά στοιχεία Koder and Hild 1976, 228· για τα μνημεία εξαίρετη σύνοψη από τον Γκιολέ 1998-2000. (Τοποθετώντας την προχριστιανική Ιστιαία στον Ωρεό ο συγγραφέας πιστεύει, σ. 48, ότι η σημερινή Ιστιαία κατοικήθηκε τον 15ο αι., αλλά ενδείξεις των μνημείων – Αγ. Νικόλαος κ.ά. – μαρτυρούν μάλλον πρωιμότερη φάση. Στο κτίσμα στη Νησιώτισσα Ωρεών ο συγγραφέας, 38 εξ., τοποθετεί ναό του 13ου αι. και ανεμόμυλο, άλλοι ερευνητές αποκλείουν την ύπαρξη ανεμόμυλου: Κουμανούδης 2001-2002, 24 εξ.).

15. Η παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία στον Koder 1973, 133, 135 και σποραδικά, επίσης Koder and Hild 1976, 246. Για τις νεώτερες έρευνες Χατζηδημητρίου 2000.

16. Βλ. σύνοψη δεδομένων στη Γερούση 2010.

17. Χιδίρογλου και Χατζηδημητρίου 2006, όπου και η παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία. Εκτενέστερα για την παλαιοχριστιανική φάση της Παλαιochώρας στην Kosso 1996.

18. Γενικές επισκοπήσεις: Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1970/[1999] και 1990; Koder and Hild 1976, 156-158. Ο Kontogiannis 2012 αφήνει εκτός συζήτησης τα προβλήματα για την παλαιοχριστιανική Χαλκίδα πλην της Αγ. Παρασκευής (βλ. παρακάτω). Η πιο πρόσφατη σύνοψη περί των ελλαδικών παλαιοχριστιανικών πόλεων (Bouras 2013) δεν αναφέρεται στις ευβοϊκές.

19. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, ό.π., ιδιαίτερα 1990, 174-180 και πίν. II, III.

20. Σε πιο πρόσφατες έρευνες επιχειρείται να ανατραπούν τα περί παλαιοχριστιανικής και βυζαντινής φάσης του μνημείου· βλ. παρακάτω, υποσ. 62.

21. Η αθρόα επίσημανση σημαντικών λειψάνων μετά την επιτόπου εγκατάσταση της 23ης Εφορείας Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων (2005 κ.ε.) βρίσκει το παράλληλό της στην περίοδο επιτόπου λειτουργίας μιας βραχύβιας Επιμελητείας Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων (1970-1975), επιβεβαιώνοντας, εκ των υστέρων, παλαιότερο ισχυρισμό μας (Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1994-1995, 79-80; 2007, 1131): η έλλειψη ευρημάτων οφείλεται στην απουσία συστηματικής έρευνας και στον πλημμελή έλεγχο οικοδομικών εργασιών του χαλκιδαϊκού χώρου.

22. Πέρα από τα πολυδημοσιευμένα κιονόκρανα της Αγ. Παρασκευής, αναμένεται με ανυπομονησία ο αναλυτικός κατάλογος της προσωρινής έκθεσης γλυπτών στο φρούριο του Καράμπαμπα· βλ. πρόχειρα, κυρίως για τα μεταγενέστερα γλυπτά, Κουνουπιώτου-Μανωλέσσου 2008.

23. Πρβλ. Λαΐου 2006, σποραδικά και συνοπτικά στον τόμ. Γ', 361-364· Çurčić 2010, 249-262; Bouras 2013, 49 εξ.; Grubaker and Haldon 2011, 531-572 σποραδικά, κλπ.

αυτά τα ζητήματα, ίσως θα ήταν περιττό αυτό που ετέθη επανειλημμένα από τον έμπειρο συνάδελφο της Προϊστορικής Αρχαιολογίας κ. Αδαμάντιο Σάμψων κατά τη δεκαετία του 1980²⁴ σχετικά με την τύχη της Εύβοιας την περίοδο των σλαβικών επιδρομών (τέλη 6ου αι. κ.ε.). Όσο γνωρίζουμε, τούτο δεν απαντήθηκε ποτέ ολοκληρωμένα, έγινε μόνο περιστασιακή ανασκευή από τον γράφοντα.²⁵ Κατά τον φίλο συνάδελφο, που πιθανόν θέλησε να παραλληλίσει μεταξύ αρχαίων “σκοτεινών αιώνων” (περίπου 13ος - α΄ ήμισυ 8ου αι. π.Χ.) και βυζαντινών (7ος - μέσα 9ου αι.),²⁶ η Εύβοια επλήγη από τις σλαβικές επιδρομές. Το αποδεικτικό υλικό στο οποίο ερείδεται η άποψή του σύγκειται από κεραμική αδημοσίευτη, ασαφώς χρονολογημένη και χωρίς σταθερό αρχαιολογικό συγκείμενο, από αρχιτεκτονικά λείψανα αμφίβολης ή κυμαινόμενης χρονολόγησης (Εικ. 2) και τέλος από ελάχιστα, αδημοσίευτα νομίσματα για μια εποχή με εξαιρετικά αόριστη, θολή εικόνα όσον αφορά τους ευβοϊκούς “θησαυρούς”.²⁷ Εκτοτε η βιβλιογραφία για το λεγόμενο “σλαβικό ζήτημα” έχει αυξηθεί σημαντικά,²⁸ αλλά όσο γνωρίζουμε είναι γενικά αποδεκτό από τους Βυζαντινολόγους, πως το νησί έμεινε εκτός πεδίου σλαβικών επιδρομών.²⁹ Οριστικότερη απάντηση στο ερώτημα μπορεί να δοθεί, όταν θα έχει επιχειρηθεί αναλυτική ταξινόμηση και χρονολόγηση του υλικού και των τόπων εύρεσής του βάσει της νεώτερης αρχαιολογικής και ιστορικής βιβλιογραφίας. Ωστόσο η ανακίνηση του ζητήματος έφερε στην επιφάνεια το μείζον πρόβλημα του αδημοσίευτου ή ανεπαρκώς δημοσιευμένου αρχαιολογικού υλικού, όπως επισημάναμε ήδη.³⁰

Μεσοβυζαντινή Περίοδος (9ος - αρχές 13ου αι.): Η ιστορική διάσταση των τοπικών αγίων.

Η αυξανόμενη σημασία των αγίων μετά τη λήξη της Εικονομαχίας στο Βυζάντιο³¹ δεν άφησε εκτός πεδίου την Εύβοια, ωστόσο δεν διαθέτουμε σύγχρονες αγιολογικές μελέτες για το Νησί, πέρα από τη βασική του μακαριστού Μητροπολίτου Μεσσηνίας Χρυσοστόμου Θέμελη.³² Γνωρίζουμε αρκετούς αγίους που σημαδεύουν τη ζωή του νησιού, τοπικούς και άλλους, μεταξύ των οποίων υπάρχουν μορφές επιφανείς όπως ο όσιος Νίκων ο Μετανοείτε,³³ ενώ μερικοί αφήνουν ανεξίτηλα ίχνη και στην τέχνη, όπως ο όσιος Λουκάς.³⁴ Ορισμένοι συνιστούν πολύτιμες μαρτυρίες για την ύπαρξη

24. Σάμψων 1984-1985; 1988-1989.

25. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1990, 166-169.

26. Για την κρίσιμη αυτή περίοδο γενικά στο Βυζάντιο πρβλ. Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών/Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών 2001; Λαΐου, ό.π.; Brubaker and Haldon 2011.

27. Βλ. *Σύνταγμα Βυζαντινών “Θησαυρών”* 2002, αριθ. 36: από Χαλκίδα ή περίχωρα, έτος απόκρυψης μετά το 608· αριθ. 43, από Ψαχνά [στη βιβλιογραφία ως θησαυρός “Ψαχνών-Πολιτικών”], έτος απόκρυψης μετά το 616.

28. Μνημονεύουμε επιλεκτικά, από την εξαιρετικά εκτεταμένη βιβλιογραφία (πρβλ. υποσ. 26), μερικές πρόσφατες συνόψεις του ζητήματος: Νυσταζοπούλου-Πελεκίδου 2001; Μαλιγκούδης 2013. Τα λεγόμενα “σλαβικά τοπωνύμια” της Εύβοιας είτε έχουν αμφισβητηθεί ως προς την καταγωγή τους είτε χρονολογούνται από τους υστεροβυζαντινούς χρόνους και αργότερα (πρβλ. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1990, 167-168).

29. Η κατάσταση συνοψίζεται κατά το ίδιο πνεύμα στο Kazhdan 1991, Vol. 2, 736.

30. Βλ. υποσ. 9.

31. Επισκόπηση στον Efthymiadis 2011.

32. Θέμελης 1982· επίσης αρκετά στοιχεία δίνονται και στα τέσσερα άρθρα του για τις επισκοπές του νησιού (δημοσιεύτηκαν τα έτη 1952, 1953, 1954 και 1955)· θα ήταν πολλαπλά χρήσιμη μια ευρετηριασμένη συνέκδοση όλων των συναφών ευβοϊκών μελετών του.

33. Ό.π., 15-18.

34. Ο ίδιος ο όσιος δεν μαρτυρείται να βρέθηκε στην Εύβοια· η επίδραση είναι κυρίως από την τέχνη του καθολικού της περιώνυμης μονής του στη Φωκίδα σε μετόχια της ή άλλους ευβοϊκούς ναούς, όπως λ.χ. στο καθολικό της Μονής Παναγίας Περιβλέπτου στα Πολιτικά, όπως έχει διαπιστωθεί από παλαιότερα. (Απομένει να διερευνηθεί, αν η προκείμενη Μονή ταυτίζεται με τη *Μονή Άνω Παναγίας*, γνωστή από μαρτυρία του 11ου αι., στον οποίο και χρονολογείται το υφιστάμενο καθολικό στα Πολιτικά). Για τον βίο του οσίου Λουκά συνοπτικά Σοφιανός 1989, όπου και έκδοση του συναξαρίου του με μνεία θαυματουργικής θεραπείας κάποιου ανώνυμου Ευβοέα (αυτόθι, 150, 219). Για το γκρεμισμένο μετόχι στον Άγιο Λουκά Αλιβερίου βλ. την παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία στον Τριανταφυλλόπουλο 1974, 244-245· πιο πρόσφατα Βελένης 1990; Σοφιανός 1992, 79; Μυλωνάς 2005, 85-86. (Αρκετά στοιχεία που παρέχει ο Φαράντος 2010-2011, χρήζουν βασάνου). Ενδελεχέστερη έρευνα ίσως βοηθήσει και σε προσγραφή άλλων ευβοϊκών μετοχίων στη μεγάλη μονή της Φωκίδας.

οικισμών που δεν μνημονεύονται ρητά στις σύγχρονες τους πηγές. Ένα εύλωτο παράδειγμα:

Σε παλαιότερη δημοσίευτη ανακοίνωσή μας³⁵ κατεβλήθη προσπάθεια να τεκμηριωθεί πληρέστερα ο πιθανότερος τόπος παραμονής και κοίμησης του οσίου Χριστοδούλου, του περιώνυμου ιδρυτή της Μονής Πάτμου,³⁶ στην Εύβοια το 1093. Οι σύγχρονες του πηγές αναφέρουν αόριστα τον *Εύριπο*, δηλαδή είτε τη Χαλκίδα είτε ολόκληρο το νησί.³⁷ Η Χαλκίδα πρέπει πιθανότατα να αποκλειστεί ως υποψήφια³⁸. έτσι η έρευνα στράφηκε κυρίως εκεί όπου η παράδοση σώζεται μέχρι σήμερα με πολλούς τρόπους, στην παραθαλάσσια Λίμνη στη Βόρεια Εύβοια, στο δυτικό άκρο της οποίας βρίσκεται το σπήλαιο του Οσίου Χριστοδούλου (Εικ. 3).³⁹

Τη Λίμνη τη γνωρίζουμε από τις πηγές με σχετική βεβαιότητα από τη Λατινοκρατία και μετά⁴⁰. ωστόσο τα διάσπαρτα στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της αρχαιολογικά τεκμήρια καλύπτουν, σχεδόν σε αδιάσπαστη συνέχεια,⁴¹ το διάστημα από την παλαιοχριστιανική εποχή έως την υποταγή της Εύβοιας στους Λατίνους.⁴² Για τον όσιο Χριστόδουλο ειδικότερα υπάρχουν και άλλες σοβαρές ενδείξεις πέρα από την ύπαρξη του σπηλαίου, που πείθουν για την ταύτιση του τόπου άσκησης και κοίμησής του· μάλιστα η σκηνή της ανακομιδής του λειψάνου του οσίου από το παραθαλάσσιο σπήλαιο της Λίμνης αποτυπώθηκε και σε μία μοναδική μεταβυζαντινή εικόνα. Γενικότερα, η ύπαρξη και ταύτιση της τελευταίας κατοικίας του οσίου καθιστά βέβαιη την ύπαρξη της Λίμνης στη μεσοβυζαντινή εποχή πριν το 1204, που προφανώς συνέχισε στο ίδιο σημείο τον βίο της από την παλαιοχριστιανική εποχή.⁴³

Αγιολογία και τοπικές παραδόσεις είναι συνεπώς πολύτιμες πηγές και για την Εύβοια, ιδιαίτερα κατά τη Μεσοβυζαντινή Περίοδο.⁴⁴

Επισημαίνουμε και πάλι, ότι σημαντικός αριθμός ευβοϊκών ναών τιμάται επ' ονόματι του Λουκά, πιθανόν του εδώ οσίου ή του Αποστόλου, αλλά κάποιοι ίσως και κάποιου λανθάνοντος ομωνύμου ασκητή, που αργότερα θα ταυτίστηκε είτε με τον Απόστολο και Ευαγγελιστή – υπενθυμίζεται ότι ο φερόμενος ως τάφος του στη γειτονική Θήβα αποτελούσε σημαντικό κέντρο λατρείας του – είτε με τον όσιο της Φωκίδας.

35. Βλ. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1999.

36. Για τον όσιο Χριστόδουλο και την περίπυστη μονή του στην Πάτμο βλ. ενδεικτικά από την εκτενή βιβλιογραφία: Βρανούση 1966; Κομίνης 1988; *Πρακτικά Συμποσίου Πάτμου* 1989; Kazhdan 1991, Vol. 3, 1596-1597, κ.ά.

37. Για τη διπλή έννοια του γεωγραφικού όρου *Εύριπος* στους μεσαιωνικούς και μεταμεσαιωνικούς χρόνους (πρβλ. τις μεταγενέστερες μορφές *Negroponte*, *Νεγροπόντε* κλπ.) βλ. Koder 1973, 41 εξ., 48 εξ., 63 εξ. και συχνάκις; Koder and Hild 1976, συχνάκις, ιδιαίτερα 156 εξ.

38. Αναλυτικότερα στην προσεχή δημοσίευση της πλήρους μελέτης.

39. Την πληρέστερη παλαιότερη μνεία οφείλουμε στον Μπελλάρα 1940, 207-214. Επίσης βλ. Σκούρας 1978, 50-56 (με κάτοψη); 1998, 134 και πίν. 144· Αποστόλου και Φαφούτης 1999, 63-64, κ.ά.

40. Η παλαιότερη μνεία του σημερινού ονόματος βρίσκεται σε δυτικό έγγραφο του 1256 (*Nicola di Limine*), που επιτρέπει πιθανόν σύνδεση με τη Μονή Αγ. Νικολάου Γαλατάκη· βλ. Koder 1973, συχνάκις [Register: 189, s.vv. *Limene*, *Limne*]; Koder and Hild 1976, 203. Για τη Μονή Γαλατάκη η πιο πρόσφατη βιβλιογραφία συγκεντρωμένη στον Δούκουρη 2006 και στον Τριανταφυλλόπουλο 2007, 1132-1138. Το μετόχι της του Αρχαγγέλου στο Χορτοκόπι Σπαθαρίου, χρονολογούμενο τον 12ο αι., δεν πρέπει να ταυτίζεται με τη μονή Ταξιαρχών των Κιστερκιανών από τον 13ο αιώνα, όπως φαίνεται να εννοεί ο Δούκουρης 2005, 48 υποσ. 56. (Για τη λατινική μονή βλ. Koder 1973, 141-143; Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1974, 240; Koder and Hild 1976, 268· ο Σκούρας 1998, 94 και 116, αναφέρει ερείπια αφενός στα Γιάλτρα και αφετέρου στην Ιστιαία, χωρίς σύνδεση με τις πληροφορίες των πηγών). Πρόσφατες μελέτες αναμοχλεύουν εκ νέου το πρόβλημα των Ροβιών, της μεσαιωνικής *Ορόβης* (πρβλ. *Χρονικόν της Μονεμβασίας*) και της –μάλλον βέβαιης– βυζαντινής φάσης της Μονής Γαλατάκη, αλλά δεν είναι εδώ ο κατάλληλος χώρος για διερεύνηση του ζητήματος.

41. Εδώ προκύπτει πάλι το πρόβλημα των “σκοτεινών αιώνων” και της αναλυτικής δημοσίευσης του υλικού, ιδιαίτερα της κεραμικής, που τοποθετείται αόριστα στους “μεσαιωνικούς χρόνους”.

42. Βλ. αναλυτικά στην προσεχή μελέτη μας (υποσ. 38). Οφείλω και από εδώ να ευχαριστήσω τον φίλο και παθιασμένο ερευνητή της πατρίδας του κ. Γιάννη Φαφούτη για την πολυποικίλη και συνεχή βοήθειά του.

43. Ό.π.

44. Σύνοψή τους στον Παππά 2003-2004. (Ευχαριστώ θερμά τον συγγραφέα για την παραχώρηση αντιτύπου της αξιοπρόσεκτης μελέτης του). Από τις πιο πρόσφατες, αξιοσημείωτες έρευνες είναι εκείνες στις Λιχάδες Β. Εύβοιας, που συνδέονται με τον τοπικό όσιο Γρηγόριο (Γιαλούρη και Κουνούκλας 2006), ενώ σημαντικό επίσης μεσοβυζαντινό ευβοϊκό κέντρο αναδεικνύεται από τις πρόσφατες εργασίες η Άτταλη της Κεντρικής Εύβοιας με τα γνωστά από παλαιότερα μνημεία της (Πέτρον και Ανδρούδης 2006).

Υστεροβυζαντινή Περίοδος ή Λατινοκρατία (αρχές 13ου αι. – 1470): Αντιστάσεις και αμφιθαλότητα.

Η φυσιογνωμία του νησιού αλλάζει άρδην με την επί τρεις αιώνες Λατινοκρατία (1204-1470)⁴⁵: Πολυάριθμες νέες οχυρώσεις,⁴⁶ ναοί κατά προτίμηση στον αποκληθέντα “σταυροφορικό τύπο” του σταυρεπίστεγου,⁴⁷ λατινικοί ναοί και μονές στο αρχιτεκτονικό αμάλγαμα γοθτικού και βυζαντινού των Φράγκων της Ανατολής (*oultre-mer*),⁴⁸ η πρωτεύουσα Χαλκίδα αναδιαμορφωμένη εντός των τειχών ως μια οχυρωμένη πόλη του Όψιμου Μεσαίωνα.⁴⁹ Ένα πλήθος στοιχείων από ποικίλες πηγές διαφωτίζει πολλά πράγματα· παρά ταύτα, εξακολουθούν να παραμένουν αναπάντητα πολλά ζητήματα αρχαιολογικά. Θα περιοριστώ κυρίως σε ένα: Σε τι βαθμό συνυπήρξαν ειρηνικά ντόπιοι και επήλυδες, που τους χώριζαν διαφορά γένους, γλώσσας, δόγματος, πολιτισμού και νοοτροπίας και πώς μπορούμε να αιχνεύσουμε κάτι τέτοιο μέσα από τα αρχαιολογικά τεκμήρια;

Σε πρόσφατη μελέτη συνοψίσαμε μερικά ιστορικο-εκκλησιαστικά γεγονότα, που μαρτυρούν υπόγειες ή εμφανείς συγκρούσεις.⁵⁰ Τούτο λ.χ. φανερώνει η εικονογραφία, με την έντονη έμφαση στο τριαδικό δόγμα έναντι του δυτικού *Filioque*, όταν την εποχή αυτή σημειώνεται ένταση στις σχετικές συζητήσεις.⁵¹ Επίσης σημειώνεται έξαρση στην απεικόνιση ορθοδόξων στρατιωτικών αγίων, ιδιαίτερα ως δρακοκτόνων,⁵² όπως και πιθανός επηρεασμός στα καλλιτεχνικά επιτεύγματα από το ρεύμα του Ησυχασμού του 14ου αιώνα, κ.ά.⁵³ Ακόμη και αν το ύφος προδίδει εμφανείς δυτικές επιρροές, όπως στις τοιχογραφίες στην Οδηγήτρια στις Σπηλιές,⁵⁴ η δογματική καθαρότητα παραμένει.

Ωστόσο η καθημερινότητα της συμβίωσης είναι αδήριτη ανάγκη και αναμφισβήτητη πραγματι-

45. Βλ. τη χρήσιμη επισκόπηση της βιβλιογραφίας για την εποχή αυτή στην Πέρρα 2006· συμπληρωματικά στη Μαλτέζου 2010, 977-1051.

46. Βλ. συνοπτικούς πίνακες στον Koder 1973, 30-31; Τριανταφυλλόπουλο 1992, 67. Κριτικές παρατηρήσεις στους Koder, ό.π., συχνάκις; behind συχνάκις και 1993 Τριανταφυλλόπουλο 1974, 216-238 και 1992-1993 Koder and Hild 1976, συχνάκις; Lock 1996, 107-126; Χιδίρογλου 2008-2009, σποραδικά (ανεπαρκής βιβλιογραφία για τα μεσαιωνικά μνημεία). Φωτογραφικό υλικό και στον Σκούρα 2003, συχνά με βιβλιογραφία ή σσονος σημασίας. (Για τον πολυγραφημένο, ολιγοσέλιδο λιβέλλο εναντίον μας του μακαρίτη ιατρού, φίλου και συμπατριώτη Θόδ. Σκούρα: 1996, σημειώνουμε απλώς, πως ο ίδιος δεν τον μνημονεύει στη μονογραφία του 1998, σπάνια δε σ' εκείνη του 2003). Ενδιαφέροντα στοιχεία για τις οχυρώσεις της περιοχής Δύστου παρέχει η Χατζηδημητρίου 2003. Για την προαναγγελθείσα αποτύπωση των ευβοϊκών οχυρώσεων από την Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία δεν έχουν δημοσιοποιηθεί λεπτομέρειες, βλ. *Πρακτικά Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 148 (1993) 231 εξ. Για απόψεις οχυρώσεων σε χαρακτηριστικά, πέραν του Koder 1973, βλ. επίσης *Χαρακτικά της Εύβοιας* 1999· Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 2010 (ο συγγραφέας λυπάται για τις αναντιστοιχίες παραπομπής μεταξύ κειμένου και πινάκων, που δεν οφείλονται στον ίδιο).

47. Απαρίθμηση των σταυρεπιστέγων βυζαντινής εποχής στον Koder 1973, 159-164· συζήτηση στον Τριανταφυλλόπουλο 1974, 247-248· νεώτερη διερεύνηση στον Kürper 1996, όπου και εκτενής συζήτηση για την καταγωγή του τύπου. (Πιο πρόσφατα ο Çurčić 2010, 566, 586-587, 603, ανάγει τη γένεση του τύπου στην Άρτα του Δεσποτάτου της Ηπείρου, στα τέλη του 13ου αι.). Στον κατάλογο ευβοϊκών σταυρεπιστέγων του Σκούρα 1998, 23, δεν γίνεται χρονολογικός διαχωρισμός. Χρήσιμο πίνακα για την πυκνότητά τους ανά περιοχή και τις ιδιομορφίες του κάθε κτίσματος παρέχει ο Παππάς 2004-2005, 35 εξ., 65 εξ., 109 εξ., 118 εξ.

48. Σύνοψη των πηγών για τέτοια κτίσματα παρέχει ο Koder 1973, 139-143, που σημειώνει και τη σπανιότητά τους στην Εύβοια για ποικίλους ιστορικούς λόγους. Όπως παντού, η αρχιτεκτονική των κυριάρχων Λατίνων επέδρασε εν μέρει και στα κτίσματα των Ορθοδόξων (οξυκόρυφα τόξα, νευρωτά σταυροθόλια κλπ.). Οι “σταυροφορικοί”(:) σταυρεπίστεγοι απαντώνται κυρίως στην Κεντρική Εύβοια (βλ. προηγούμενη υποσ.), περιοχή με διαπιστωμένες τάσεις εναντίωσης προς τους κατακτητές (βλ. κατωτέρω).

49. Μία πρώιμη προσπάθεια συγκρότησης εικόνας για την πολεοδομική μορφή της Χαλκίδας/Νεγκροπόντε οφείλουμε στον Βέλτερ 1955, 63-119, με καταγραφή αρκετών αρχαικών και ιστορικών μαρτυριών. Το αρχαιολογικό υλικό και εκείνο των πηγών εκμεταλλεύθηκε πληρέστερα ο Koder 1973, 68-95 (συμπληρώσεις αρχαιολογικές στον Τριανταφυλλόπουλο 1974, 249-255, ιστορικής κυρίως φύσεως στον Jacoby 1977). Συνοπτική εικόνα έδωσαν οι Koder and Hild 1976, 156-158 και λεπτομερέστερη ο Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1990, 185-200 και συχνάκις. Πιο πρόσφατη σύνοψη είναι του Kontogiannis 2012, με ενσωματωμένο το νέο αρχαιολογικό υλικό (στην εκεί βιβλιογραφία προσθετέα: Βέλτερ 1955; Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 2007, 1115-1132; 2010). Δεν επεκτεινόμεθα στις πιο πρόσφατες μελέτες και έρευνες για τους “θησαυρούς” αντικειμένων, που βρέθηκαν στα τέλη του 19ου/αρχές 20ού αι. κατά την κατεδάφιση των τειχών.

50. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 2012α, 152-153; πρβλ. 2012γ, 322-323.

51. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 2012α, 145 εξ., 153.

52. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 2012α, 150.

53. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 2012α, 153.

54. Emmanuel 1990, με την προγενέστερη βιβλιογραφία.

κότητα, δυτικά στοιχεία ενσωματώνονται στην εγχώρια παράδοση: ο χώρος της Αγίας Παρασκευής Χαλκίδος, με το έντονα γοθικό του ύφος ιδιαίτερα στο τμήμα του Ι. Βήματος,⁵⁵ ακόμη και σήμερα δεν προκαλεί αισθήματα αποξένωσης στους Ορθοδόξους – άλλωστε, η αρχιτεκτονική αδυνατεί να εκφράσει δογματικές αποχρώσεις.⁵⁶

Η επικρατούσα αντίληψη για μιαν αδιατάρακτη αμφιθαλότητα στον ευβοϊκό χώρο είναι, κατά συνέπεια, σωστή ή πλασματική; Το ζήτημα εξακολουθεί να παραμένει ανοιχτό και τούτο αυξάνει τα ερωτήματα. Αν οι σχέσεις ήταν αδιατάρακτες στο θρησκευτικό πεδίο, πώς δεν διασώθηκαν μαρτυρίες και δείγματα ναών κοινής λατρείας των δύο δογμάτων, φαινόμενο τόσο συχνό στο Αιγαίο, την Κρήτη, το Ιόνιο, την ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα εν μέρει, την Κύπρο;⁵⁷ Πράγματι, ξενίζει η απουσία τέτοιων ναών, ιδιαίτερα από την Κεντρική Εύβοια με τη μεγάλη πυκνότητα εκκλησιών αυτής της περιόδου, όπως είδαμε.⁵⁸ Ένα σπάνιο δείγμα είναι η Μονή Αγ. Γεωργίου Μαύρου Καρυστίας, με σαφώς βυζαντινή προέλευση, αλλ' αγνοούμε αν το δεύτερο κλίτος είναι σύγχρονο ή από μεταγενέστερη φάση (Εικ. 4).⁵⁹ Ανερευνήτη και ασαφής επίσης παραμένει, όσο γνωρίζουμε, η περίπτωση του ναΐσκου της Αναλήψεως και του Αποστόλου Λουκά στο Χαρτζάνι Καρυστίας, που προφανώς σχετιζόταν με τον παρακείμενο πύργο.⁶⁰

Ένα άλλο συναφές ερώτημα εγείρεται: Πώς δεν επέζησε κανένα από τα λατινικά θρησκευτικά κτίσματα, πέρα από την Αγία Παρασκευή; Πώς συμβιβάζεται η άποψη για πολυπολιτισμική φυσιογνωμία του χώρου με τα αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα και ποια είναι η πραγματική ταυτότητά του την εποχή αυτή;⁶¹

Για να έλθουμε σε συγκεκριμένα παραδείγματα: Η ίδια η Αγία Παρασκευή Χαλκίδας, ναός τότε της Θεοτόκου, χτίστηκε πράγματι εξαρχής ως καθολικό Δομηνικανών μοναχών, κατά την πρόσφατη θεωρία;⁶² (Εικ. 5). Χωρίς να αμφισβητείται βέβαια η χρήση του ναού από Λατίνους, οι ενδείξεις για μη ύπαρξη φάσεων του ναού πριν τη Λατινοκρατία, σύμφωνα με τα μέχρι σήμερα δημοσιευμένα τεκμήρια από τις αναστηλωτικές εργασίες, δεν είναι καθοριστικά αρνητικές κατά τη γνώμη μας.⁶³ Πέρα από

55. Βλ. για το μνημείο κατωτέρω, υποσ. 62. Άλλο ένα εμφαντικό παράδειγμα διείσδυσης είναι το γοθικό νευρωτό σταυροθόλιο στο νάρθηκα της Κοίμησης Θεοτόκου στον Οξύλιθο με το τονισμένο ορθόδοξο, και μάλιστα ομολογιακό, αντι-filioque εικονογραφικό του πρόγραμμα: Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 2012α, 146, εικ. 4.

56. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 2012δ, 461-462; 2013, 134.

57. Για τον χώρο της Ελλάδας και της Κύπρου το πρόβλημα έχει τεθεί επανειλημμένα, αλλ' απάντηση συνολική και πειστική δεν υπάρχει, όσο γνωρίζουμε. Ενδεικτικά παραπέμπουμε: Κουμανούδης 1960, 17-19; Βασιλειάδης 1962, 192-219; Μουτσόπουλος 1962, 216-235; Δημητροκάλλης 1976, 420-422; 1993, 190-191; 2004, σποραδικά; Παναγιωτάκης 2000, 72; Κουτελάκης, 2001, 313-318; 2013, 142-154; Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 2002α, 146; Γκράτζιου 2010, συχνάκις; Arvaniti 2012. Για την Κύπρο: Παπαγεωργίου 1975, 463; Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 2002β, 318, 321.

58. Πρβλ. υποσ. 47. Πιθανόν το ζήτημα ετέθη για πρώτη φορά από τον Τριανταφυλλόπουλο 2012α, 152 και 2012δ, 322.

59. Η Μονή μαρτυρείται από επιγραφή και άλλες πηγές στα 1260 και στα 1275, αλλά η χρονολόγηση των φάσεων του σταυρεπίστεγου οικοδομήματος και της σχέσης του με τον γκρεμισμένο, εφραπτόμενο βόρειο ναΐσκο παραμένουν ασαφείς και αμφισβητούμενες και απαιτούν ενδελεχή αρχαιολογική έρευνα. Βλ. Θέμελης 1965, 15, 66; Koder 1973, 154 και εικ. 69; Koder and Hild 1976, 163-164; Φαράντος 1984-1985, 374 εξ.; Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 83; Ευαγγελάτου-Νοταρά 2000, 60-62; Παππάς 2004-2005, 103-104.

60. Πρβλ. Σκούρας 1998, 197 και εικ. 211, όπου και άλλες μνείες, για τον πύργο ο ίδιος 2003, 118 και εικ. 225· βλ. και Koder 1973, 121. (Ο Σκούρας 1998, 27 και 87, αναφέρει με αντιφατικά στοιχεία μερικούς δικογχους ναούς, από τους οποίους τους περισσότερους τους τοποθετεί στην Καρυστία).

61. Δεν είναι εδώ ο κατάλληλος χώρος για να θιγεί το ζήτημα τούτο, που απασχόλησε εντατικά τη διεθνή βιβλιογραφία για το λατινοκρατούμενο Βυζάντιο τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες της μετανεωτερικότητας: οι πιο πρόσφατες συζητήσεις φαίνεται να οδηγούν σε εξισορρόπηση. Από τις νεώτερες προσεγγίσεις ενδεικτικά: Δημάδης 2001; Eastmond 2004; Page 2014. Περαιτέρω βιβλιογραφική ανασκόπηση στον Κωτσάκη 2013, 128 υποσ. 64.

62. Τη θεωρία για ανέγερση εκ βάθρων του ναού και χρήση του από το τάγμα των Δομηνικανών διετύπων ο Mackay 2006 (και με μεταγενέστερες αναρτήσεις του στο διαδίκτυο, αλλά με άγνοια βασικής ελληνικής βιβλιογραφίας), και οι Δεληνικόλας και Βέμη 2006 (απουσιάζει εκεί η μελέτη μας 1990, 193-197), υιοθετείται δε από τον Kontogiannis 2012, 43-44.

63. Οι αντιρρήσεις μας εκφράστηκαν ήδη κατά τη διάρκεια του σχετικού συνεδρίου, πρβλ. τον υπαινισμό στον Τριανταφυλλόπουλο 2006, 407 (δεν έχουν περιληφθεί στα *Πρακτικά* οι συζητήσεις επί των θεμάτων). Εκτενέστερη κριτική μας επί των απόψεων MacKay και των Δεληνικόλα και Βέμη διατυπώθηκε το 2007, 1115-1131 (έχει διαλαθεί της προσοχής του Kontogiannis, ό.π.). Υπενθυμίζεται, ότι δεν διαθέτουμε τελικό κείμενο συνολικών πορισμάτων από τις αναστηλωτικές εργασίες πολλών δεκαετιών επί του μνημείου. Ο Μπούρας 2001, 171, διακρίνει στο ναό τέσσερις, τουλάχιστον, φάσεις: παλαιοχριστιανική, βυζαντινή, φραγκική και νεώτερη, όπως έχει γίνει αποδεκτό πριν από πολλές δεκαετίες. (Συγκέντρωση

αυτό, ποιά ήταν η ακριβής θέση λατινικών και ορθοδόξων ναών εντός του οχυρωμένου Negroponte/Χαλκίδας;⁶⁴

Τέλος, πέρα από τα θρησκευτικά κτίσματα, μια σειρά ευβοϊκών οχυρώσεων, που μαρτυρούνται στις πηγές ή σώζονται σε ερείπια, χρήζουν ταύτισης και αρχαιολογικής έρευνας, που ενδεχομένως θα μας αποκαλύψει περισσότερα και για την οχυρωματική της μεσοβυζαντινής Εύβοιας.⁶⁵ Φτάσαμε στα πολυπληθή αρχαιολογικά *desiderata* της βυζαντινής Εύβοιας!

Επιλογικά

Στο Επίμετρο γίνεται μια προσπάθεια καταλογράφησης των ανοιχτών, κατά την κρίση μας, ζητημάτων κατά κάθετη/διαχρονική και οριζόντια/ειδολογική διάταξη. Τούτο δεν ξεκίνησε ως μία θεωρητική σύλληψη, αλλά προέκυψε από *πραγμάτων επίσκεψιν*: αναδιψώντας πρόχειρα τη βιβλιογραφία, σημειώσαμε παραπάνω από εκατό περιπτώσεις τοποθεσιών, μνημείων και ευρημάτων, όπου τα αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα είναι ελλιπή ή ασαφή.

Γενικό συμπέρασμα: Η Εύβοια φαίνεται να αποτελεί, ακόμα σήμερα, μιαν άγνωστη περιφέρεια για τη βυζαντινή αρχαιολογία και τέχνη. Αλλά βέβαια, πρώτιστο καθήκον είναι η διάσωση των μνημείων! Είναι εξαιρετικά παρήγορο, ότι η σύγχρονη γενιά των μη Βυζαντινών Αρχαιολόγων σέβεται και διασώζει με περίσσια επιμέλεια και τα βυζαντινά κατάλοιπα.

Στον καιρό της Πληροφορικής καιρός είναι πια να συλλεγούν επιμελώς και να εκδοθούν, κατάλληλα σχολιασμένα και ευρετηριασμένα, τα συναφή κείμενα παλαιότερων επιφανών αρχαιολόγων και ερευνητών, συχνά αναντικατάστατες πηγές πληροφόρησης για μνημεία οριστικά χαμένα! Αυτή την έννοια έχει, μεταξύ άλλων, η εισήγησή μας και η αφιέρωσή της σε μερικούς από τους παλιούς πρωτοπόρους.

Επίμετρο

Όπως αναφέρθηκε, σκοπός του Επίμετρου είναι να συνοψιστούν σημαντικά κενά, ώστε να διευκολυνθεί η έρευνα. Ορισμένα ζητήματα τίγονται στο κείμενό μας, άλλα μας έχουν απασχολήσει σε παλαιότερες εργασίες μας ή τίγονται σε μελέτες άλλων συναδέλφων, αρκετά παραμένουν *terra incognita*. Η απαρίθμηση ασφαλώς δεν είναι πλήρης, ο κατάλογος παραμένει ανοιχτός για συμπλήρωση.

Οριζόντια-χρονολογική διάσταση

Για την Προεικονομαχική περίοδο (Παλαιοχριστιανική & Πρωτοβυζαντινή Εποχή) αναδύονται προβλήματα, όπως:

της βιβλιογραφίας για το ναό: Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1970/[1999] 186-191 [= 38-42, 52-54]; 1974, 254; 1990, 193-197; 2007, 1115-1131).

64. Όπως είναι γνωστό, η εξαφάνιση των μνημείων, η έλλειψη ανασκαφικών δεδομένων και η ασάφεια των χαρακτηριστικών έχουν δημιουργήσει αντικρουόμενες απόψεις μεταξύ των μελετητών, όπως οι Koder 1973; Kontogiannis 2012; Jacoby 1977; 2002; MacKay 2006 (και διαδικτυακές αναρτήσεις του), Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1970; 1974; 1990. Κατά τη γνώμη μας, έχει δοθεί μάλλον υπερβάλλουσα πίστη στην ακρίβεια του χαρακτηριστικού του *Camoscio*, καμωμένου έναν περίπου αιώνα μετά την άλωση του 1470, ως προς την ταύτιση των προ-οθωμανικών μνημείων (απεικόνιση του χαρακτηριστικού: *Χαρακτικά της Εύβοιας* 1999, αρ. 52; Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 2010, εικ. 53). Επ' ευκαιρία θα επισημάνουμε ότι φαίνεται να δικαιώνεται η άποψή μας, πως ο ήδη οχυρωμένος κατά την Αρχαιότητα λόφος του Καράμπαμπα δεν ήταν ακατοίκητος κατά τον Μεσαίωνα και εύλογα υποθέτουμε ότι δεν παρέμεινε ανοχύρωτος, έκθετος σε εχθρικές επιδρομές, παρά τη στρατηγική του σημασία για το στενό του Ευρίπου: βλ. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1970, 195-197 [= 1999, 44-46], 252-253; 1990, 200-202, σε συνάφεια με Kazhdan 1991, Vol. 1, 155, λήμμα "H. Elias". αρνητική θέση πρόσφατα ο Kontogiannis 2012, 48 (του διέφυγε γνώση του προηγούμενου λήμματος).

65. Βιβλιογραφία για τις ευβοϊκές οχυρώσεις στην υποσ. 46. Ενδεικτικά σημειώνουμε μερικές εκκρεμείς τοπογραφικά ταυτίσεις ή πλημμελώς ερευνημένες οχυρώσεις: Αργαλιά, Gastello, Holorita, Ποταμιά κλπ.

- Καθορισμός και φυσιογνωμία αστικών κέντρων,
- όρια προχριστιανικών και χριστιανικών μορφών βίου,
- δημόσιος και ιδιωτικός βίος σε συνάρτηση με πάσης φύσεως κατάλοιπα,
- όρια και βίος επισκοπών,
- ανάγλυφο παλαιοχριστιανικών βασιλικών/ναών,
- ανάγλυφο κοσμικών κτηρίων,
- εντοπιότητα και δάνεια αρχιτεκτονικής και τέχνης,
- “σλαβικό πρόβλημα” και Εύβοια, κ.ά.

Στη Μεταεικονομαχική (Μεσοβυζαντινή) Περίοδο η προβληματική μετατοπίζεται εν μέρει και σε άλλα πεδία, όπως:

- Άλλοι λαοί σε σχέση με Εύβοια,
- διακοπή, συνέχιση ή εμφάνιση νέων επισκοπών,
- ίδρυση μονών,
- τοπική αγιολογία,
- οχυρώσεις και νέοι όροι οικιστικής,
- τεκμήρια αρχιτεκτονικής και τέχνης, κ.ά.

Στην Υστεροβυζαντινή Περίοδο (Βενετοκρατία) η νέα κατάσταση εγείρει πρόσθετα προβλήματα, όπως λ.χ.:

- Κατάργηση και αναδιάρθρωση εκκλησιαστικού καθεστώτος,
- βυζαντινά και μη κτίσματα,
- ταυτότητα οχυρώσεων,
- σύνοψη τεκμηρίων αρχιτεκτονικής και τέχνης,
- μορφές συνύπαρξης και αντιπαράθεσης κοσμοθεωριών και ιδεολογιών μεταξύ των λαών και των δημιουργημάτων τους, κ.ά.

Κάθετη-ειδολογική διάσταση

Ένας τυπικά αρχαιολογικός διαχωρισμός θα επικεντρωνόταν, μεταξύ άλλων, και στα ακόλουθα *desiderata* ή *vacua*:

- Σύνταξη χάρτη με τις νέες επισημάνσεις θέσεων και μνημείων μετά τη σύνοψη στον τόμο Koder and Hild 1976.
- Συνολικές παρουσιάσεις των μεγάλων κέντρων (Χαλκίδα, Κάρυστος, Ωρεοί, Αμάρυνθος, Αλιβέρι/Πορθμός κλπ.).
- Σύνταξη χάρτη λεπτομερούς χρονολογικής κατάταξης των πάσης φύσεως οχυρώσεων (ανέγερση, φάσεις).
- Προώθηση των εργασιών σύνταξης του *Corpus* βυζαντινών τοιχογραφιών Εύβοιας [Πρόγραμμα Ακαδημίας Αθηνών, συντάκτες: Δημ. Δ. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Ευγ. Μπαντερμάχερ-Γερούση⁶⁶].
- Συνολική παρουσίαση εικονογραφημένων χειρογράφων που συνδέονται με την Εύβοια.
- Διερεύνηση για την ύπαρξη βυζαντινών εικόνων και των λόγων εξαφάνισής τους από την Εύβοια.
- Σύνταγμα γλυπτών, προέλευση και διακίνηση υλικού.
- Δημοσίευση της ανέκδοτης κεραμικής.
- Συνολική παρουσίαση αντικειμένων μικροτεχνίας.
- Σύνταγμα χριστιανικών επιγραφών.
- *Corpus* μολυβδοβούλλων που σχετίζονται με την Εύβοια.

66. Πρβλ. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 2012α, 142 υποσ. 3.

- Σύνταξη χριστιανικής προσωπογραφίας.⁶⁷
- Σύνταξη νεώτερης, κριτικής βιβλιογραφίας μετά την τελευταία καταγραφή,⁶⁸ συμπλήρωση παλαιότερων λημμάτων.

Βιβλιογραφία

- Αποστόλου, Δ. και Γ. Φαφούτης. (1999) *Εκκλησίες και εξωκλήσια της Λίμνης και της περιοχής της*. Λίμνη: Νομαρχία Αυτοδιοίκησης Εύβοιας.
- Βασιλειάδης, Δ. (1962) *Αι επιπεδόστεγοι μεταβυζαντιναί βασιλικάι των Κυκλάδων*. Αθήνα: Εταιρεία Κυκλαδικών Μελετών.
- Βελένης, Γ. (1990) 'Επιλεγόμενα σε επιγραφές του μετοχίου του Οσίου Λουκά Ευβοίας'. Στον Τόμ. Α', *Αρμός. Τιμητικός τόμος στον καθηγητή Ν. Κ. Μουτσόπουλο*, 353-361. Θεσσαλονίκη: Παρατηρητής.
- Βέλτερ, Γ. [Welter, G.] (1955) Τόμ. Α', *Χαλκίς*, επιμ. Γ. Κουλικούρδη. Αθήνα: Ροταριανός Όμιλος Χαλκίδος.
- Βρανούση, Έ. (1966) *Τα αγιολογικά κείμενα του Οσίου Χριστοδούλου*. Αθήνα: Δωδεκανησιακή και Λαογραφική Εταιρεία.
- Γερούση, Ε. (2010) 'Η Ερέτρια στους παλαιοχριστιανικούς χρόνους'. Στο *Ερέτρια, Ματιές σε μια αρχαία πόλη*, 89-117. Αθήνα: Ελβετική Αρχαιολογική Σχολή.
- Γιαλούρη, Ά. και Π. Κουνούκλας (2006) 'Το μετόχι της Μονής Μεταμορφώσεως του Σωτήρος Καμμένων Βούρλων στη νήσο Στρογγυλή στον Βόρειο Ευβοϊκό Κόλπο'. Στο *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, Β, Ι/2003*, 1185-1197. Βόλος: ΥΠΠΟ και Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας.
- Γκιολές, Ν. (1998-2000) 'Ο χριστιανικός Ωρεός στη Βόρεια Εύβοια. Ιστορία και αρχαιολογικά κατάλοιπα'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 33, 5-48.
- Γκράτζιου, Ό. (2010) *Η Κρήτη στην ύστερη μεσαιωνική εποχή. Η μαρτυρία της εκκλησιαστικής αρχιτεκτονικής*. Ηράκλειο: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης.
- Δεληνικόλας, Ν. και Β. Βέμη (2006) 'Η Αγία Παρασκευή της Χαλκίδας. Ένα βενετικό πρόγραμμα ανοικοδόμησης το 13ο αιώνα'. Στο *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου. Βενετία - Εύβοια. Από τον Έγριπο στο Νεγροπόντε, Χαλκίδα 12-14 Νοεμβρίου 2004*, Επιμέλεια Χ.Α. Μαλτέζου και Χ.Ε. Παπακώστα, 229-266, πιν. 1-8. Βενετία-Αθήνα: Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Σπουδών Βενετίας και Εταιρεία Ευβοϊκών Σπουδών.
- Δημάδης, Κ. Α., επιμ. (2011) *Ταυτότητες στον ελληνικό χώρο (από το 1204 έως σήμερα)*. Δ' Συνέδριο Ευρωπαϊκής Εταιρείας Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών, Τόμοι 1-5 (Γρανάδα, 9-12 Σεπτεμβρίου 2010). Αθήνα: Ευρωπαϊκή Εταιρεία Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών.
- Δημητροκάλλης, Γ. (1976) *Οι δίκωγχοι χριστιανικοί ναοί*. Αθήνα: Γρηγόρης.
- Δημητροκάλλης, Γ. (1993) 'Τυπολογική και μορφολογική θεώρηση της μεταβυζαντινής ναοδομίας των Κυκλάδων'. Στον Τόμ. 4 *Εκκλησίες στην Ελλάδα μετά την Άλωση*, 185-212. Αθήνα: Εθνικό Μετσόβιο Πολυτεχνείο.
- Δημητροκάλλης, Γ. (2004) *Παραδοσιακή ναοδομία στην Τήνο*. Αθήνα: Εταιρεία Τηνιακών Μελετών.
- Δούκουρης, Β. Ν. (2005) *Ιερά Μονή Οσίου Δαυίδ του Γέροντος (1550-1823)*. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Maximum.
- Δούκουρης, Β. Ν. (2006) *Ιερά Μονή Αγίου Νικολάου Γαλατάκη Εύβοιας. Οι μαρτυρίες των αρχαιακών και επιγραφικών τεκμηρίων, 1503-1823*. Λίμνη: Νομαρχία Αυτοδιοίκησης Εύβοιας.
- Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών/Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών (2001) Τόμ. 9(4) από *Διεθνή Συμπόσια [Οι σκοτεινοί αιώνες του Βυζαντίου (7ος - 9ος αι.)]*. Αθήνα: Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών/Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών.
- Ευαγγελάτου-Νοταρά, Φ. (2000) *Χορηγοί, κτήτορες, δωρητές σε σημειώματα κωδίκων: Παλαιολόγιοι χρόνοι*. Αθήνα: Παρουσία.
- Θέμελης, Χ., Επίσκοπος Θαυμακού (1965) *Ευβοϊκή μοναστηριολογία*. Αθήνα: Τυπογραφείο Τσιρώνη (ανάτυπο από Θεολογία).

67. Βλ. υποσ. 2.

68. Βλ. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1975.

- Θέμελης, Χ., Μητροπολίτης Μεσσηνίας (1982) *Ευβοϊκή αγιολογία*. Αθήνα: Τυπογραφείο Τσιρώνη (ανάτυπο από Θεολογία).
- Κομίνης, Α., επιμ. (1988) *Οι θησαυροί της Μονής Πάτμου*. Αθήνα: Εκδοτική Αθηνών.
- Κουμανούδης, Ι. (1960) *Η λαϊκή χριστιανική αρχιτεκτονική της νήσου Θήρας*. Διδακτορική διατριβή, Εθνικό Μετσόβιο Πολυτεχνείο, Αθήνα.
- Κουμανούδης, Ι. (2001-2002). 'Τριάντα οκτώ ξετροχάρηδες και δυο α ξετροχάρηδες ανεμόμυλοι σε δέκα οκτώ περιοχές της Ευβοίας'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 34, 7-62.
- Κουνουπιώτου-Μανωλέσσου, Ε. (2008) 'Μεσοβυζαντινά γλυπτά με ζώα από τη συλλογή γλυπτών στο Τζαμί της Χαλκίδας'. *Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, Δ', 29, 221-232.
- Κουτελάκης, Χ. Μ. (2001) *Τήνος αρχαία και χριστιανική*. Αθήνα: Πανελλήνιον Ιερών Ίδρυμα Ευαγγελιστρίας Τήνου και Αδελφότης Τηνίων εν Αθήναις.
- Κουτελάκης, Χ. Μ. (2013) *Φραγκοκρατούμενη Αθήνα και Τήνος (1204-1688)*. Αθήνα.
- Κωτσάκης, Θ. Δ. (2013) 'Η δράση δυτικών μισσιοναρίων στο Αιγαίο (16ος-20ός αι.) και το φαινόμενο του "πολιτιστικού ιμπεριαλισμού"'. *Νέος Ερμής ο Λόγιος* 3 (8), 113-128.
- Λαΐου, Α. Ε., επιμ. (2006) *Τόμοι 3, Οικονομική ιστορία του Βυζαντίου*. Αθήνα: Μ.Ι.Ε.Τ.
- Μαλιγκούδης, Φ. (2013³). *Σλάβοι στη μεσαιωνική Ελλάδα*. Θεσσαλονίκη: Κυριακίδης.
- Μαλτέζου, Χ. Α., επιμ. (2010) *Βενετοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα. Προσεγγίζοντας την ιστορία της, 1-2*. Βενετία: Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Σπουδών Βενετίας.
- Μαλτέζου, Χ. Α. και Χ. Ε. Παπακώστα, επιμ. (2006) *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου "Βενετία - Εύβοια: Από τον Έγριπο στο Νεγροπόντε" (Χαλκίδα, 12-14 Νοεμβρίου 2004)*. Βενετία-Αθήνα: Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Σπουδών Βενετίας και Εταιρεία Ευβοϊκών Σπουδών.
- Μουγγιάρης, Ν. (1994) *Σεισμική ιστορία της Αιγαίας χώρας από 2400 π.Χ. έως 1990 μ.Χ.* Πάτρα.
- Μουτσόπουλος, Ν. Κ. (1962) *Η Παληαχώρα της Αίγινης*. Αθήνα.
- Μπελλάρας, Ν. (1940) *Το Ελύμιον*. Πειραιεύς: Προυκάκης Ε.
- Μπούρας, Χ. (2001) *Βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή αρχιτεκτονική στην Ελλάδα*. Αθήνα: Μέλισσα.
- Μυλωνάς, Π. Μ. (2005) 'Μονή του Οσίου Λουκά του Στειριώτη. Η αρχιτεκτονική των τεσσάρων ναών'. Αθήνα: Ακαδημία Αθηνών [Πραγματεΐαι, 80].
- Νυσταζοπούλου-Πελεκίδου, Μ. (2001) *Βυζάντιο καί Σλάβοι, Ελλάδα και Βαλκάνια (6ος-12ος αι.)*. Θεσσαλονίκη: Βάνιας.
- Παναγιωτάκης, Ν. Μ. (2000) *Τα νεανικά χρόνια του Δομήνικου Θεοτοκόπουλου. Ηράκλειο: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης*.
- Παπαγεωργίου, Α. (1975) 'Οι ξυλόστεγοι ναοί της Κύπρου'. Στο *Τόμος αναμνηστικός επί τη 50ετηρίδι του περιοδικού 'Απόστολος Βαρνάβας' (1918-1968)*, 361-556. Λευκωσία: Εκκλησία Κύπρου [και ανάτυπο με ανασελιδαρίθμηση].
- Παππάς, Δ. (2004-2005) *Βυζαντινή ναοδομία στην Εύβοια*. Διπλωματική εργασία στο ΕΚΠΑ, Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας, Μεταπτυχιακό Πρόγραμμα Σπουδών Βυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας.
- Πέρρα, Φ. Β. (2006) 'Η λατινοκρατία στον ελλαδικό χώρο και στην Κύπρο. Βιβλιογραφική συμβολή'. *Βυζαντινός Δόμος* 15, 373-434.
- Πέτρου, Δ. και Π. Ανδρούδης (2006) 'Οι βυζαντινοί ναοί του Αγίου Νικολάου και των Εισοδίων της Θεοτόκου στην Άτταλη Ευβοίας'. Στο *Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, Ι/2003, Β, Βόλος*, 1165-1184. Βόλος: ΥΠΠΟ και Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας.
- Πρακτικά Συμποσίου Πάτμου (1989) Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου: Ιερά Μονή Αγίου Ιωάννου του Θεολόγου. 900 χρόνια ιστορικής μαρτυρίας (1088-1988), Πάτμος 1988*. Αθήνα: Εταιρεία Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Μελετών [Διπτύχων παράφυλλα 2].
- Σάμψων, Α. (1984-1985) 'Χερσαία και νησιωτικά καταφύγια της πρώιμης βυζαντινής περιόδου στην Εύβοια και Ανατολική Βοιωτία'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 26, 363-372.
- Σάμψων Α. (1988-1989) 'Επισημάνση αρχαιολογικών θέσεων στην Εύβοια'. *Αρχαιολογικά και Ανθρωπολογικά Χρονικά* 3, 163-181.
- Σκούρας, Θ. (1978) 'Υπόσκαφοι και σπηλαιώδεις χριστιανικοί ναοί και ερημητήρια στην Εύβοια'. *Δελτίον Ελληνικής Σπηλαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 15, 33-70.

- Σκούρας, Θ. (1996) *Μεταπρατισμός γνώσεων. Απάντηση του γιατρού Θόδωρου Σκούρα στον καθηγητή Δημήτρη Τριανταφυλλόπουλο*, Αθήνα [πολυγραφημένο].
- Σκούρας, Θ. (1998) *Χριστιανικά μνημεία της Εύβοιας*, Χαλκίδα.
- Σκούρας, Θ. (2003) *Ακροπόλεις – κάστρα – πύργοι της Εύβοιας και αποδελτίωση 82 μεσαιωνικών χαρτών*. Χαλκίδα: Νομαρχιακή Αυτοδιοίκηση Εύβοιας.
- Σοφιανός, Δ. Ζ. (1989) *Όσιος Λουκάς. Ο βίος του οσίου Λουκά του Στειριώτη*. Αθήνα: Ακρίτας.
- Σοφιανός, Δ. Ζ. (1992) 'Η Μονή του Οσίου Λουκά. Έλεγχος και κριτική της αξιοπιστίας των πηγών'. *Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Ελληνικά* 4, 23-80.
- Σπυρόπουλος, Π. Ι. (1997) *Χρονικό των σεισμών της Ελλάδος από την Αρχαιότητα μέχρι σήμερα*. Αθήνα: Δωδώνη.
- Σύνταγμα Βυζαντινών 'Θησαυρών'* (2002) *Σύνταγμα Βυζαντινών "Θησαυρών" του Νομισματικού Μουσείου (ΣΒΘ)*. Αθήνα: ΥΠΠΟ, Νομισματικό Μουσείο.
- Ταχόπουλος, Γ. (2013) 'Βυζαντινή τέχνη. Ελληνικότητα, επίδραση στη Δύση, πρωτοτυπία. Μέρος Β': Η ελληνικότητα της βυζαντινής τέχνης'. *Νέος Ερμής ο Λόγιος* 3 (8), 131-161.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. Δ. (1970/[1999]) 'Η μεσαιωνική Χαλκίδα και τα μνημεία της'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 16, 183-204 [Ανατύπωση με βιβλιογραφικές προσθήκες: 'Μεσαιωνική και νεώτερη Χαλκίδα: Μια τριαντάχρονη διαδρομή', εις Εταιρεία Ευβοϊκών Σπουδών (εκδ.), *Χαρακτικά της Εύβοιας. Συλλογή Κ. Καράκωστα*, Αθήνα 1999, 35-54].
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. Δ. (1971) 'Παράρτημα Ευβοϊκής Βιβλιογραφίας, Ι'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 17, 688-694.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. Δ. (1972) 'Παράρτημα Ευβοϊκής Βιβλιογραφίας, ΙΙ'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 18, 250-255.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. Δ. (1974) 'Τοπογραφικά προβλήματα της μεσαιωνικής Εύβοιας (J. Koder, *Negroponte*, Wien 1973). *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 19, 209-258.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. Δ. (1975) 'Παράρτημα Ευβοϊκής Βιβλιογραφίας, ΙΙΙ'. *Αρχείο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 20, 493-499.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. Δ. (1990) 'Χριστιανική και μεσαιωνική Χαλκίδα. Ανασκόπηση της νεώτερης αρχαιολογικής έρευνας'. Στο *Διεθνές Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο: Η πόλη τής Χαλκίδας (Χαλκίδα, 24-27 Σεπτεμβρίου 1987)*, 163-228. Αθήνα: Εταιρεία Ευβοϊκών Σπουδών/Τμήμα Χαλκίδας.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. Δ. (1992) 'Αρχαιολογικά βυζαντινής και μεταβυζαντινής Εύβοιας'. *Αρχαιολογία* 42, 63-75.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. Δ. (1992-1993) 'Οι ευβοϊκές μεσαιωνικές οχυρώσεις και η ανοχύρωτη επιστήμη – Μετά είκοσι έτη.' *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 30, 163-168.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. Δ. (1994-1995) 'Το ιστορικό κέντρο της Χαλκίδας. Μια πρόταση για τη διάσωσή του'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 31, 71-87.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. Δ. (1999) 'Πάτμος και Εύβοια: Παραλειπόμενα και σχόλια στον βίο και την εικονογραφία του οσίου Χριστοδούλου (περίληψη)'. Στο *ΙΘ' Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, Πρόγραμμα και Περιλήψεις*, 105. Αθήνα.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. Δ. (2002α), Τόμ. 84 *Μελέτες για τη μεταβυζαντινή ζωγραφική. Ενετοκρατούμενη και τουρκοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα και Κύπρος*. Αθήνα: Σύλλογος προς διάδοσιν ωφελίμων βιβλίων.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δημήτριος Δ. (2002β) 'Βενετία και Κύπρος. Σχέσεις τους στην τέχνη'. *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου "Κύπρος - Βενετία. Κοινές ιστορικές τύχες"* (Αθήνα, 1-3 Μαρτίου 2001), *Μνήμη Κωνσταντίνου Λεβέντη hominis universalis*, 315-336. Βενετία: Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Σπουδών Βενετίας, Σπίτι της Κύπρου και Γεννάδειος Βιβλιοθήκη.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. Δ. (2005-2006) 'Χαλκίδα: Μνημεία και περιβάλλον στον 20ό [recte: 21ο] αιώνα. Από τον πολιτισμό στην ψευδο- 'πολιτιστική δραστηριότητα'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 36, 7-14.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. Δ. (2006) 'Σύνοψη των εργασιών του συνεδρίου', Στο *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου "Βενετία - Εύβοια: Από τον Έγριπο στο Νεγροπόντε"* (Χαλκίδα, 12-14 Νοεμβρίου 2004), επιμέλεια Χ. Α. Μαλτέζου και Χ. Ε. Παπακώστα, 405-409. Βενετία – Αθήνα: Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Σπουδών Βενετίας και Εταιρεία Ευβοϊκών Σπουδών.

- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. Δ. (2007) *‘Euboeae fragmenta archaeologica medii et infimi aevi, I, (Χαλκίδα - Μονή Γαλατάκη - Μαντούδι)’*. Στο *Ευκαρπίας Έπαινος. Αφιέρωμα στον Καθηγητή Παναγιώτη Δ. Μαστροδημήτρη*, 1113-1139. Αθήνα: Πορεία.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. Δ. (2010) *‘Κωπηλατώντας ανάδρομα στο χρόνο: Εικόνες από το μεσαιωνικό και νεώτερο Νεγροπόντε’*. Στο *Χαρακτικά της Εύβοιας. Διαδρομή στο Χρόνο. Από τη Συλλογή του Ιωάννη Κ. Καράκωστα (κατάλογος έκθεσης, Αθήνα 29.1.-10.3.2010)*, 9-38. Αθήνα: Μουσείον της Πόλεως των Αθηνών / Ίδρυμα Βούρου-Ευταξία.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. Δ. (2012α) *‘Ζητήματα ερμηνείας της ζωγραφικής στη Μεταμόρφωση στο Πυργί Αυλωναρίου. Όψεις της λατινοκρατούμενης Εύβοιας’*. *Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, Δ', 33, 141-154.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. Δ. (2012β) *‘Άνιχνεύοντας το Μεταβυζάντιο στον ελληνικό χώρο. Μια επισκόπηση των προβλημάτων της αρχαιολογικής έρευνας’*, ημερίδα εις μνήμην Δημ. Κωνσταντίου (ΧΑΕ/ΒΧΜ, Μάιος 2011), *Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, Δ', 33, 349-356.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. Δ. (2012γ) *‘Λήμμα Έβιοια. Χριστιανικά μνημεία’*. *Μεγάλη Ορθόδοξη Χριστιανική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια* 8, 321-324.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. Δ. (2012δ) *‘“Μεταφράζοντας” τη βυζαντινή τέχνη. Το πρόβλημα της παράδοσής της στους εκ Σκιά-Άθου Αλεξάνδρους’*. Στον Τόμ. Α', *Πρακτικά Γ' Διεθνούς συνεδρίου για τον Αλέξανδρο Παπαδιαμάντη, Σκιάθος, 29/9-2/10/2011*, 449-471. Αθήνα: Εταιρεία Παπαδιαμαντικών Σπουδών και Δόμος.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. Δ. (2013) *‘Ο Πρωτόκλητος στην Κύπρο: Τεκμήρια και συμφραζόμενα.’* Στο *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου ‘Ο Απόστολος Ανδρέας στην ιστορία και την τέχνη,’ Πάτρα, 17-19 Νοεμβρίου 2006*, επιμέλεια Ε. Γ. Σαράντη και Δ. Δ. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, 129-147. Πάτρα: Πανεπιστήμιο Πελοποννήσου.
- Φαράντος, Χ. Δ. (1984-1985) *‘Δύο σταυρεπίστεγοι ναοί στις περιοχές των χωριών Μετόχι και Λενωσαίοι της Ν. Εύβοιας’*. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 26, 374-390.
- Φαράντος, Χ. Δ. (2010-2011) *‘Άσκληπείο στο χωριό Άγιος Λουκάς Αλιβερίου Εύβοιας’*. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 39, 99-106.
- Χαρακτικά της Εύβοιας. Συλλογή Γάννη Κ. Καράκωστα* (1999). Αθήνα: Εταιρεία Ευβοϊκών Σπουδών.
- Χατζηδημητρίου, Α. (2000) *Αλιβέρι. Συμβολή στην αρχαιολογική έρευνα της περιοχής*. Αθήνα: Ιδιωτική έκδοση.
- Χατζηδημητρίου, Α. (2003) *Δύστος. Πόλις Ευβοίας*. Αθήνα: Εξωραϊστικός-Μορφωτικός Σύλλογος Δύστου.
- Χατζηδημητρίου, Α. (2003-2004) *Άνασκαφικά δεδομένα και πορίσματα από την αρχαιολογική έρευνα στους Ζάρακες Καρυστίας’*. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 35, 53-68.
- Χιδίρογλου, Μ. (2008-2009) *‘Όχυρώσεις, πύργοι, δρακόσπιτα και αγροικίες στη Νότια Εύβοια’*. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 38, 35-68.
- Χιδίρογλου, Μ. και Α. Χατζηδημητρίου (2006). *Αρχαιότητες της Καρυστίας, Κάρυστος: Κόσμος*.

*

- Arvaniti, E. (2012) *‘Double-Identity Churches on the Greek Islands under the Venetians: Orthodox and Catholics sharing Churches (fifteenth to eighteenth centuries)’*. In *Innovation in the Orthodox Christian Tradition? The Question of Change in Greek Orthodox Thought and Practice*, edited by W. T. Stauning and L. Molokotos-Liederman, 53-72. Ashgate: Routledge.
- Bouras, Ch. (2012) *‘Byzantine cities in Greece’*. In *Heaven & Earth. Cities and Countryside in Byzantine Greece*, edited by J. Albani and E. Chalkia, 44-73. Athens: Ministry of Culture and Sports, Benaki Museum.
- Brubaker, L. and John Haldon. (2011) *Byzantium in the Iconoclastic Era c. 680-850. A History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Byzantine Museum of Athens and Onassis Foundation. (2011) *Transition to Christianity. Art of Late Antiquity, 3rd - 7th century A.D. (Exhibition Catalogue, N. York, December 2011 – May 2012)*. Athens: Byzantine Museum of Athens and Onassis Foundation.
- Ćurčić, S. (2010) *Architecture in the Balkans. From Diokletian to Süleyman the Magnificent*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Eastmond, A. (2004). *Art and Identity in Thirteenth-Century Byzantium. Hagia Sophia and the Empire of Trebizond*. Vol. 10 of *Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs*. Ashgate: Variorum.

- Efthymiadis, S., ed. (2011) Vol.1 of *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*. Ashgate: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- Emmanuel, M. (1990) 'Die Fresken der Muttergottes-Hodegetria-Kirche in Spelies auf der Insel Euboia (1311). Bemerkungen zur Ikonographie und Stil'. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83, 451-467.
- Jacoby, D. (1977) 'Book review of Koder 1973'. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 70, 144-148.
- Jacoby, D. (2002) 'La consolidation de la domination de Venise dans la ville de Négrepont (1205-1390): une aspect de sa politique coloniale'. In *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII-XV secolo)*. *Atti del Colloquio Internazionale organizzato nel centenario della nascita di Raymond-Joseph Loenertz o.p.*, (Venezia, 1.-2.12.2000), edited by Ch. A. Maltezos and P. Schreiner, 151-185. Venezia: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini.
- Kalopissi-Verti, S. (1992) *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Kazhdan, P.A. (1991). *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Vols. 1-3. New York/Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press.
- Koder, J. (1971) "Hellas und Thessalia". In Vol. II of *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, 1099-1189. Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann.
- Koder, J. (1973) *Negroponte. Untersuchungen zur Topographie und Siedlungsgeschichte der Insel Euboia während der Zeit der Venezianerherrschaft*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Koder, J. (2005) *Το Βυζάντιο ως χώρος. Εισαγωγή στην ιστορική γεωγραφία της Ανατολικής Μεσογείου στη βυζαντινή εποχή*, [μετάφρ. Χ. Δ. Σταθακόπουλος]. Θεσσαλονίκη: Βάνιας.
- Koder, J. and F. Hild (1976) *Hellas und Thessalia*. Vol. 1 of *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
- Kontogiannis, N. D. (2012) 'Euripos – Negroponte – Eğriboz: Material Culture and Historical Topography of Chalkis from Byzantium to the End of the Ottoman Rule'. *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 62, 29-56.
- Kosso, C. (1996) 'A Late Roman Complex at Palaiochora near Karystos in Southern Euboia, Greece'. *Echos du monde classique/Classical Views* N.S. 40(15.1), 201-230.
- Küpper, H.-M. (1996) *Bautypus und Genesis der griechischen Dachtranseptkirche*. Vol. 6 of *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die TIB*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Lock, P. (1996) 'The towers of Euboea'. In *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece*, edited by P. Lock and G. D. S. Sanders, 109-126. Oxford: Oxbow Monographs 59.
- MacKay, P. A. (2006) 'St. Mary of the Dominicans: The Monastery of the Fratres Praedicatorum in Negropont'. In *Πρακτικά διεθνούς επιστημονικού συνεδρίου 'Βενετία - Εύβοια: Από τον Έγριπο στο Νεγροπόντε' (Χαλκίδα, 12-14 Νοεμβρίου 2004)*, επιμέλεια Χ. Α. Μαλτέζου και Χ. Ε. Παπακώστα, 129-156. Βενετία - Αθήνα: Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Σπουδών Βενετίας και Εταιρεία Ευβοϊκών Σπουδών.
- Page, G. (2014) *Οι Έλληνες πριν τους Οθωμανούς. Ο εθνισμός στο Ύστερο Βυζάντιο* [μετάφρ. Γ. Αβραμίδης και Α. Παπασυριόπουλος]. Θεσσαλονίκη: Εκδόσεις Θύραθεν.
- Papazachos B. C. and P. E. Comninakis (1982) *A catalogue of historical earthquakes in Greece and surrounding area, 479 B.C. – 1900 A.D.* Thessaloniki: University of Thessaloniki.

Εικόνες

Εικόνα 1:
Χαλκίδα, Ιερός Ναός
Αγίας Παρασκευής: Δυτική
πρόσοψη με τους δύο
παλαιοχριστιανικούς κίονες.
[Προέλευση: Διαδίκτυο].



Εικόνα 2:
Άνω Ποταμιά Κύμης, Καστρι:
Άποψη της οχύρωσης.
[Προέλευση: Σάμψων 1984-1985].

Εικόνα 3:
Λίμνη, Σπήλαιο Οσίου
Χριστοδούλου: Άποψη
πριν τις πρόσφατες
επεμβάσεις.
[Προέλευση: Αρχείο
Γιάννη Φαφούτη – Λίμνη].





Εικόνα 4: Μετόχι Καρυστίας, Μονή Αγ. Γεωργίου Μαύρου: Άποψη από ΝΔ.
[Προέλευση: Αρχείο Θ. Σκούρα / Γ.Α.Κ. Χαλκίδος].



Εικόνα 5: Χαλκίδα, Ιερός Ναός Αγίας Παρασκευής:
Άποψη εσωτερικού προς το Ιερό Βήμα, το γλυπτό γοτθικό τόξο. [Προέλευση: Διαδίκτυο].

Euboea during the Neolithic period: A review of the evidence

Vagia MASTROGIANNOPOULOU
Adamantios SAMPSON

Περίληψη

Η Εύβοια αποτελεί μια ειδική περίπτωση της Νεολιθικής περιόδου στην Ελλάδα λόγω της γεωγραφικής της θέσης και των αρχαιολογικών καταγραφών που αφορούν σε ολόκληρη τη Νεολιθική περίοδο. Μια αναθεώρηση των καταγραφών σχετικά με τη Νεολιθική περίοδο στην Εύβοια συμβάλλει στη συζήτηση για τη Νεολιθική περίοδο στην Ελλάδα με δύο τρόπους: αποκαλύπτει τις διασυνδέσεις της ηπειρωτικής χώρας με τα νησιά του Αιγαίου και της νότιας με τη βόρεια ηπειρωτική χώρα. Σε αυτό το άρθρο εξετάζονται οι μεθοδολογικοί περιορισμοί της ‘περιφερειακής μελέτης’ και ο διαχωρισμός του ‘Αιγαίου’ με την ‘ηπειρωτική χώρα’ κατά τη Νεολιθική περίοδο. Εντοπίζοντας το χωρικό και χρονικό πλαίσιο της Εύβοιας, είναι επίσης εφικτή μια περιεκτική αναφορά της προϊστορίας της δεδομένων των νέων ανακαλύψεων που έχουν γίνει στο νησί και στην περιφέρειά του.

Introduction

Recently, research on the Greek Neolithic has gained momentum, with specialists isolating socio-cultural regions—such as Thessaly, the Cyclades and southern Greece, and Crete being considered ‘isolated’—or engaging in large-scale syntheses.¹ Central Greece is overlooked both in terms of the areas to its north and to its south. Moreover, this regional segmentation has established an even more important distinction—that is, the ‘continental’ and the ‘coastal/ insular’ Neolithic.

The main goal of this paper is to incorporate the Neolithic record of Euboea into this framework and also to demonstrate that the aforementioned methodological framework should always be considered tentatively: Euboea is perhaps the most characteristic counter-example, as it belonged both to the Boeotian, hence continental, and the insular Neolithic. Thus, in the following text, our central question concerns the diachronic variation between these two aspects, evidenced in elements such as pottery but also site distribution. Additionally, the long-established ‘eastern explanation’, i.e. the influence of the south-east Mediterranean on the Aegean is re-evaluated,² as Euboea was a major stepping stone *from* but also *towards* these areas.

As Euboea’s topography is circumscribed, at first sight the designation of a ‘local’ element is clear: the societies which settled on the island and their material culture are considered local. Unsurprisingly, the Neolithic of Euboea demonstrates the amalgamation of cultural elements of both the mainland and the islands, since local societies were equally involved in the continental and insular social networks

1. For example Halstead 2011, 132 and Robb 2013; but see also Bintliff 2012.

2. Bintliff 2012, 49-50; Özdoğan 2005, 13-16; Perlès 2005.

that developed. Therefore, Euboea emerges as a characteristic nodal point in the establishment of interregional networks, as it both delineated and connected regional social networks.

History of research

The volume of research dedicated to the prehistory of Euboea is relatively restricted. However, the prehistoric sequence on Euboea is (surprisingly) complete; this is especially surprising considering the fragmentary knowledge of Greek prehistory.³ Despite its literally *central* position, though, it is usually included in studies of the Aegean islands or central Greece only as a marginal outcrop of the mainland.

G. Papavasileiou⁴ was the first archaeologist to report prehistoric finds at the outset of the 20th century. It was at the time of D. Theocharis, after several decades, when research targeted the Stone Age specifically.⁵ Archaeologists of the British School conducted the first survey, producing the first evidence for the Middle Palaeolithic on the island in the 1960s.⁶ In the 1980s a general volume about the Euboean Neolithic and Early Bronze Age (EBA) was published.⁷ In the 1990s, the excavation at the Tharrounia Cave produced the longest stratigraphic sequence for prehistoric Euboea, along with ¹⁴C dates, thus far.⁸ In the area of the Karystia, the systematic exploration which was begun by D. Keller⁹ under the aegis of the Canadian Institute in Greece, producing a considerable volume of finds.¹⁰ Finally, the recent excavations at the Ayia Triada Cave, in collaboration with the Ephoreia of Palaeoanthropology-Speleology, have revealed a new, significant stratigraphic sequence.¹¹

The earliest background

Although our focus is the Neolithic period, the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic provide necessary background. The earliest finds on Euboea are conventionally dated to the Middle Palaeolithic and have been recovered from surveys in Agia Anna and Rovies.¹² Comparable finds were reported in the area of Nea Artaki, where roughly 3800 artefacts were collected from a possible quarrying site, and Makrikapa.¹³

Mesolithic finds on Skyros were reported as early as the 1950s by D. Theocharis;¹⁴ however, at the time the knowledge of the insular pre-Neolithic periods was in its infancy. Over the last two decades, sites such as the Cyclops Cave¹⁵ in the Sporades, Maroulas on Kythnos,¹⁶ Stelida¹⁷ and Roos on Naxos,¹⁸ and Kerame on Ikaria¹⁹ have helped us to document the presence of populations moving across

3. For an account of the parameters, see for example Andreou et al. 1996, 538; Cullen 2001, 7-16.

4. Papavasileiou 1908; 1910.

5. Theocharis 1959, 322-325.

6. Sackett et al. 1967.

7. Sampson 1981.

8. Sampson 1993a.

9. Keller 1985.

10. Cullen et al. 2013; Talalay et al. 2005.

11. Mavridis and Tankosić 2009.

12. Sackett et al. 1967, 48.

13. Sampson 1981, 26; Sarantea-Micha 1996, 43-47.

14. Theocharis 1959.

15. Sampson 2008a.

16. Sampson et al. 2010.

17. Carter et al. 2014.

18. Sampson 2010, 85-86.

19. Sampson 2014; Sampson et al. 2013.

the central Aegean during the period between the 10th and 8th millennia. On the mainland, stratified Mesolithic deposits were discovered at proximal sites such as the Sarakenos Cave in eastern Kopais²⁰ but also at distant ones such as the Cave of Theopetra²¹ (Thessaly). It is also of importance that several Early Neolithic sites on Euboea produced earlier lithic types.²²

The development of seafaring

Considering the configuration of the Greek Peninsula, i.e. the significantly mountainous hinterland, extensive coastline and numerous islands, the development of seafaring was a key element of interregional mobility. Due to its position, Euboea played a crucial role in the development of seafaring in the central Aegean. A considerable volume of literature is devoted to the sea routes which connected the north-east Aegean with the south (Melos) via the Euboean Gulf.²³ This protected channel provided the necessary safety for primitive vessels which relied on sea currents, as the sailboat had not yet been invented. It would have been impossible to navigate via Cape Kafireas (Kavo Doro), a route historically avoided, without this channel.²⁴ Instead, the protected route via the Euboean Gulf was preferred diachronically, even during periods when boatbuilding reached an advanced level.²⁵

More specifically, the occurrence of Melian Obsidian on north Aegean islands such as Youra suggests the systematic navigation from north to south across the Aegean Sea as early as the Mesolithic.²⁶ Even though this route was time-consuming and demanded particular navigation skills, Melian obsidian at Youra would more likely have been procured through the Euboean Gulf.²⁷ Another west-to-east itinerary connected central Greece with the north Cycladic islands (Andros, Tinos, Mykonos), Ikaria, Samos and the Anatolian coast via Euboea—a hypothesis supported by the recently excavated Mesolithic site of Kerame on Ikaria.²⁸ These islands functioned as stepping stones, meaning that voyages were not exposed for long to the open sea, and would have been facilitated by the prevailing sea currents.

Nonetheless, during the Mesolithic, when the sea level was considerably lower, the area of Euripus was dry land, which would have been crossed terrestrially. The absence of Mesolithic coastal sites on Euboea is to an extent attributable to the sea level, which rose rapidly until c.3000 BC, following the global trend of the Early to Middle Holocene.²⁹ In areas to the north and south of Euboea, recent research has demonstrated an alteration of emerged and submerged beaches, suggesting differential movement which was probably caused by tectonic effects.³⁰ It should be noted though that no systematic survey for the Mesolithic has yet been conducted on the coast or in the hinterland.

By the Early Bronze Age, the passage of the Euboean Gulf was being intensely used, especially for trade between Troy, Euboea and the Cyclades. The flourishing of Manika in this period³¹ is attributed chiefly to the fact that it controlled this vital passage.

20. Sampson et al. 2009.

21. Kyparissi-Apostolika 2000, 39-42.

22. Sampson 1981, 26.

23. Agouridis 1997; Broodbank 1999, 26, fig. 1.4; Kambouroglou et al. 1988.

24. For a different view, see Agouridis 1997, 8.

25. Papageorgiou 2008, fig. 4.

26. See also Cullen et al. 2011, 41.

27. Papageorgiou 2008, 213.

28. Sampson et al. 2013; for a different view, see Perlès et al. 2011.

29. Ghilardi et al. 2014.

30. Evelpidou et al. 2012, 18; Kambouroglou et al. 1988.

31. Sampson 1985.

The Neolithic period (Fig. 2)

During the Neolithic, Euboea participated in the socio-cultural traditions³² of central Greece, namely the region south of the Spercheios River.³³ The connection between Euboea and the mainland is clearly evident when long stratigraphic sequences are correlated: the stratigraphy of the Skoteini Cave for instance, the longest sequence for Euboea, presents a notable analogy with the neighbouring Sarakenos Cave (east Kopais, Boeotia), a fact substantiated by the available ¹⁴C dates.³⁴ Furthermore, excavations in neighbouring continental sites such as Halai³⁵ make up a fuller site-distribution pattern: before Halai and Sarakenos, the closest Boeotian parallels for Euboea were Elateia,³⁶ Chaeronea³⁷ and Eutresis,³⁸ in western Boeotia.

However, central Greece has been defined only with concern to its northern border, with the underlying implication that the continental coast forms its natural border to the east. The discovery of the aforementioned sites at the eastern fringes of continental Greece and on/very close to the Aegean coast challenges the distinction between sites classed as ‘mainland’ or ‘coastal’. The site at Pazaraki³⁹ is also included in the coastal Boeotian sites. Therefore, in the following text, a primary objective is the integration of Euboea but also of the islands to its east in the broader region of the central Greek Neolithic, which should include both the continental and the insular areas. It thus becomes evident that the intervention of the narrow sea between Euboea and the mainland posed no barriers. Our conventional segmentation of the different regions of Greece has led to the alienation of areas positioned on the margins of any given ‘distinct region’, as in the case of Euboea. Still, it is now becoming evident that Euboea more likely functioned as an in-between area which enjoyed the privileges of both Boeotia and the central Aegean islands.

Early (6300-5800) and Middle Neolithic (5800-5300)

On Euboea, the Early and Middle Neolithic are relatively underexplored periods. Early Neolithic sites are heavily disturbed, with pottery of poor quality.⁴⁰ Decoration with plastic, mastoid pellets falls within the traditions of the Early/Middle Neolithic of central and southern Greece, and has been noted at numerous sites in Boeotia (e.g. Elateia,⁴¹ Orchomenos⁴² and Chaeronea),⁴³ but also in the Peloponnese,⁴⁴ for example at Corinth⁴⁵ and Nemea.⁴⁶ The earliest evidence is located at the Politika Cave, the deepest stratum in the Skoteini Cave and the open-air site at Pisonas.⁴⁷

32. *Sensu* Skibo 2013, 6-9.

33. Alram-Stern 2005, 183.

34. Sampson 1993a, 33-34; Sampson et al. 2009.

35. O’Neill et al. 1999, 273-274.

36. Weinberg 1962.

37. Sotiriadis 1908; Tzavella-Evjen 2012.

38. Caskey and Caskey 1960.

39. Sampson 2008b, 362; Theocharis 1959.

40. Sampson 1981, 50.

41. Weinberg 1962, 171.

42. Kunze 1931, 13-17.

43. Tzavella-Evjen 2012, 63, tables 13-14.

44. For a different view, see Alram-Stern 2005, 191. Alram-Stern argues that links with the Peloponnese are not so close, though variegated and plastic (mastoid) decoration is also found.

45. Weinberg 1937, 496.

46. Caskey and Blegen 1975, 261-262.

47. Sampson 1981, 51-55; sites have been located in the areas of Pisonas, Chalkida.

A regular transition between the Early and Middle Neolithic is observed in Boeotia,⁴⁸ on Euboea, however, the available stratigraphic evidence is meagre.⁴⁹ The most important sites of the Middle Neolithic were excavated at Glypha, Liani Ammos and Theologos.⁵⁰ It is worth mentioning that these are located not only on the coast but also in the uplands. In the absence of ¹⁴C dates, we rely on conventional dating with the red-on-white 'Chaeronea' ware heralding the Middle Neolithic. Limited examples of this ware have been reported on Euboea,⁵¹ emphasizing the links with central Greece but also with the north Aegean: the Cyclops Cave at Youra,⁵² Agios Petros,⁵³ and Skyros.⁵⁴

These areas comprised a sphere of socio-cultural interaction in central Greece, partly overlapping with Thessaly: contrary to what geography implies, the distant northern Sporades were related not only to Thessaly but also Boeotia.⁵⁵ Although a route off the Thessalian coast to the Sporades has been suggested,⁵⁶ the fact that pottery traditions around the Sporades, Skyros and the north Euboean Gulf⁵⁷ are also connected to Boeotia⁵⁸ suggests that Euboea was a key area. The north-east Aegean should also be added to this broad sphere, if we consider for example the connections of Chios with the Greek mainland.⁵⁹

Euboea evidently played a crucial role, as it is more likely the sea contributed to than hindered the formation and consolidation of networks. In this light, it is no coincidence that sites of the 6th and 5th millennia are located in central and northern Euboea, directly opposite the mainland coast.

Late Neolithic I (LN Ia: 5300-4800, LN Ib: 4800-4300)

The affinity of Euboea with central Greece continued during the late 6th/5th millennium. In contrast, links with the north Aegean collapsed, and LN Ia sites are almost non-existent on the Sporades,⁶⁰ Skyros or in northern Euboea. The transition between the Middle and Late Neolithic is stratigraphically documented at Skoteini Cave.⁶¹ New sites have been found in the area of Psachna, of which the site of Varka represents the best example.⁶² In Boeotia, this transition is evident at Halai and Sarakenos Cave.⁶³ ¹⁴C dates cluster around 5300-5600 BC, shedding light on a critical phase, which was scarcely investigated⁶⁴ in old excavations. Euboean caves were also more extensively used during this phase, judging by the Agia Triada Cave (the Karystia) and Skoteini Cave (Tharrounia).

Matt-painted pottery is treated as the primary indicator for the Late Neolithic I in central Greece.⁶⁵ Black and grey polished wares as well as the patterned Urfirnis belong to a conceivably earlier, Middle

48. See for example Weinberg 1962, 174 for Elateia; Fakorellis and Coleman 2012, 2-4 for Halai.

49. Sampson 2006, 145.

50. Sampson 1996-1998.

51. Sampson 1981, 76-77.

52. Quinn et al. 2010; Sampson 2008a.

53. Efstratiou 1985.

54. Theocharis 1959.

55. Efstratiou 1985, 62-63; Katsarou-Tzeveleki 2006, 132.

56. Broodbank 1999, 29, fig. 1.6.

57. Sealey 2001.

58. Coleman et al. 1992, 288; Liritzis et al. 1991, 311-312.

59. Hood 1982, 715-716, 725.

60. But see Mavridis 2008 for Youra.

61. Sampson 1993a, 43.

62. Sampson 1977.

63. Sampson 2008b, 50-51.

64. Fakorellis and Coleman 2012, 2.

65. Phelps 2004, 65.

Neolithic-Late Neolithic transitional stage.⁶⁶ This development is observed on Euboea, e.g. at Varka⁶⁷ and Agia Kalliopi,⁶⁸ in Boeotia at the Sarakenos Cave,⁶⁹ Elateia,⁷⁰ Halai⁷¹ and Eutresis,⁷² but also in the Peloponnese at Aria (Argolid)⁷³ and Kouphovouno⁷⁴ (Lakonia).⁷⁵

The sites of Agia Kalliopi and Varka provide substantial stratigraphies and, more importantly, they comprise a rare group of open-air sites for the Late Neolithic Ia. On the other hand, the Skoteini Cave indicates the expansion of settlement and herding and the systematic exploitation of natural resources at higher altitudes.⁷⁶ All things considered, in this phase affinities across central and southern Greece are all the more evident, reaching at least the north-eastern Peloponnese.⁷⁷ The expansion of settlement on Euboea followed the developments on the mainland: central Euboea apparently constituted the easternmost limit of the mainland affinity, since matt-painted pottery is markedly scarce in southern Euboea or the islands to the east of Euboea.

On the other hand, the distinctive ‘Nea Makri’ incised pottery (with white in-fill), which is rare in Boeotian sites, was found in considerable quantities in the deepest stratum at the Skoteini Cave.⁷⁸ Examples of this ware are rare in Boeotian sites, suggesting that Euboea was linked with eastern Attica through an alternative coastal route. This was based on the networks between coastal sites along the east coast of Attica and west Euboea. Therefore, the existence of distinct, partly overlapping networks is evident: one encompassed the south Euboean Gulf and east Attica, while another one encompassed the area of Psachna and the north Euboean Gulf, stretching to Lokris (Halai).

In the later part of the Late Neolithic I (LN Ib), a striking contrast is manifest: the scarceness of polychrome wares in central Euboea (‘Gonia/Klenia-type’ wares)⁷⁹ *vis-à-vis* Boeotia (the Sarakenos Cave,⁸⁰ Corycean Cave⁸¹ and Elateia)⁸² contrasts with the omnipresence of the matt-painted ware. A chronological difference is not substantiated: this LN Ib-early LN Iia phase is well represented, in the Skoteini Cave for instance.⁸³ Instead, the contrast between the distribution of LN Ib Polychrome pottery *vis-à-vis* matt-painted pottery may have been related to the centres of production/circulation, which for some reason did not reach the areas closer to the Aegean, contrary to other contemporary networks. Generally, examples of polychrome wares of either Peloponnesian or Thessalian origin/inspiration are absent from Euboea. Therefore, in this phase links with the mainland probably made room for those coming from the Aegean and/or vice versa, as contact between the mainland and the Aegean was fading or being channelled through other areas.

Meanwhile, intense contact with the Aegean is documented by the discovery of painted light-on-dark pottery, a ware relatively scarce on the mainland. Southern Euboea is settled for the first time in

66. Douzougli 1998, 59.

67. Sampson 1977.

68. Sampson 1981, 80, 100.

69. Sampson et al. 2009, 24.

70. Weinberg 1962, 180, 196.

71. O’Neill et al. 1999, 273-274.

72. Caskey and Caskey 1960, 159-161.

73. Douzougli 1998, 61-64.

74. Mee et al. 2014, 90-91.

75. For a different view, see Vitelli 1993, 218.

76. Sampson 1993a, 95-101.

77. Vitelli 1995, 2.

78. Sampson 1993a, 94.

79. Blegen 1930, 69; Phelps 2004, 96.

80. Sampson 2008b, 190.

81. Touchais 1981, 150-154.

82. Weinberg 1962, 198.

83. Sampson 1993a, 83.

the late Neolithic,⁸⁴ an event paralleled to the foundation of sites in the Cyclades and occupation of coastal promontories especially in the southern Aegean.⁸⁵ The discovery of Saliagos ware in the deepest strata at the Agia Triada Cave⁸⁶ indicates the Cycladic element of the first societies of southern Euboea, societies which evidently participated in the extensive networks across the Aegean.⁸⁷

The orientation towards the Aegean was explicable for the Karystia, due to the rough terrain obstructing connections with central Euboea; however, it was not isolated from the rest of Euboea. The rare examples of light-on-dark pottery at Sarakenos and Eutresis had found their way probably via Euboea. This hypothesis is further supported by the increase of Melian obsidian, as southern Euboea participated in its procurement from the Cyclades.⁸⁸

The settlement of Ftelia on Mykonos is also dated to the Late Neolithic Ia.⁸⁹ In this case, several features in material culture and subsistence support the view that this northern Cycladic settlement stood quite apart from Saliagos in terms of several aspects of material culture⁹⁰ and economy. On the contrary, it was not worlds apart from Euboea, judging by several similarities in pottery shapes,⁹¹ clay figurines,⁹² but also in the specialized, 'mainland-type' economy based on ovicaprids.⁹³ The limited matt-painted pottery found at Ftelia suggests that contact with the mainland did take place, at least with the northern Cyclades⁹⁴—a dozen matt-painted fragments have been reported from Saliagos and Akrotiri.⁹⁵ This contact, instead of being direct, may have been channelled *via* Euboea,⁹⁶ which at this point had 'a foot in both camps'.

Late Neolithic IIa (4300-3800)

In the Late Neolithic IIa new trends spread across the Aegean islands and the southern mainland, signalled, amongst other things, by the appearance of red burnished and pattern burnished pottery.⁹⁷ Characteristic are the new shapes, such as bowls with rolled rims, and new types of lugs and handles, which were usually arranged vertically. The new features appear gradually while the painted wares⁹⁸ died away. The increase of pithoids with cordon decoration and smaller coarse vessels continued, with the addition of plastic and incised decoration.⁹⁹

It is becoming evident that the conventionally described 'Kephala Culture' influenced not only the western Cyclades and Attica but southern Greece as a whole.¹⁰⁰ Judging by the recent excavations in Boeotia, this seems to be also the case for central Greece.¹⁰¹ In this context, Euboea provided a major

84. Cullen et al. 2011, 39.

85. Davis 1992, 703.

86. Zas Cave, Naxos, and the Antiparos Cave belong to this phase as well; Mavridis 2010, 20-21; Zachos 1999, 154.

87. Mavridis and Tankosić 2009, 11. For further discussion see Takaoğlu 2006, 312-313; also Mavridis 2008, 114.

88. Cullen et al. 2011, 36.

89. ¹⁴C dates from the site's deepest stratum range around 5100-4800 BC; Fakorellis and Vardala-Theodorou 2015; Sampson 2006, 174.

90. At Ftelia, the discovery of Patterned Crusted Bichrome decoration and the scarceness of light-on-dark pottery is characteristic of this site.

91. For example, the particular pedestalled basins (*réchaud*-type vases).

92. Sampson 2002, 155.

93. Phoca-Cosmetatou 2008, 40-41.

94. Sotirakopoulou 1996, 583-595.

95. Evans and Renfrew 1968, figs. 56, 20, 21; Sotirakopoulou 2008a, 123-124.

96. For a detailed discussion, see Sotirakopoulou 2008b, 533-537.

97. Mari in Sampson 1993a, 147-149; Phelps 2004, 65; Sampson 1997, 323-326.

98. *Sensu stricto*, by use of the brush for decoration prior to original firing.

99. Sampson 1993a, 126.

100. Mari in Sampson 1993a, 147; Zachos and Douzougli, Forthcoming.

101. Sampson 2008b, 283-284.

gateway between the Aegean and central Greece. Despite the homogeneity present between Euboea and Boeotia in the Late Neolithic I, however, in the Late Neolithic II the marked increase of sites which occurred on Euboea did not equally occur in Boeotia. This contrast indicates new circumstances on the island, most probably following the developments in the islands of the Aegean. On Euboea, sites are located in diverse areas, on the coast, in the hinterland, even in remote upland areas at 800-m elevation. Most of them lie in the central and southern parts of the island, opposite the coast of Attica¹⁰²—a sharp contrast is observed between north and south Euboea, as sites are scarce to the north, unlike in earlier millennia. To the south, Plakari represents a major site in the Karystia, where the mountainous terrain meant better visibility and communication with Attica, Andros and Kea.¹⁰³

Late Neolithic IIB (3800-3300) and the transition to Early Bronze Age I

Although beyond the scope of this paper, the subsequent Early Bronze Age is briefly included, in order to further elucidate the diachronic changeability of perceived ‘distinct regions’. Homogeneity around the Aegean is more profound during the Late Neolithic IIB phase.¹⁰⁴ Although a hiatus around the mid-4th millennium is maintained by several authors,¹⁰⁵ past and recent excavations point to the opposite: numerous sites appear parallel to existing ones in central and southern Greece, such as Eutresis in Boeotia,¹⁰⁶ Strofilas¹⁰⁷ on Andros, Kephala on Keos, the Cyclops Cave on Youra, the Kitsos Cave,¹⁰⁸ and Tsepi in Attica,¹⁰⁹ to name but a few. Thus far, the available ¹⁴C dates range around 3600-3500 BC.¹¹⁰ In the Skoteini Cave at Tharrounia and the Sarakenos Cave, radiocarbon dates are clustered around 3500 BC.¹¹¹ Sites of the Grotta-Pelos phase in the Cyclades and in the Dodecanese also date to this period.¹¹² The recently excavated site of Nyphi at Ikaria¹¹³ is well in accordance also with this data. Moreover, a similar chronological framework is proposed both for the Peloponnese¹¹⁴ and the Rachmani phase in Thessaly.

A tripartite periodization has been proposed for Euboea:¹¹⁵ the first phase around 3500 BC, the second around 3300 and the third around 3000. Consequently, if indeed a hiatus occurred, it must have lasted no more than 200 years, given that dates for the EBA I range around 3300-3100 BC. Such a short gap could be attributed to various factors, other than actual desertion: economic and/or demographic demise, change in habitation areas, or even the light quality of building material, which generated thin deposits. The duration and nature of the transitional stage between the Neolithic and the EBA remain controversial,¹¹⁶ partly due to the preservation of EB I sites, with typically meagre deposits¹¹⁷ or architectural remains.¹¹⁸ But perhaps the most important constraint is the scarcity of carbon dates.¹¹⁹

102. Sampson 1981, 129.

103. Cullen et al. 2011, 40; Sampson 1981, 147; Tankosić and Mathioudaki 2011, 132.

104. Vagnetti 1996.

105. Coleman 2011; Nowicki 2002.

106. Caskey and Caskey 1960.

107. Televantou 2005.

108. Lambert 1981, 277-279.

109. Pantelidou-Gkofa 2005.

110. Alram-Stern, Forthcoming.

111. Sampson 2008b, 49-50.

112. Sampson 1987, 116-118.

113. Sampson 2014, 90; Sampson and Mastrogiannopoulou 2009, 5-6.

114. Alram-Stern, Forthcoming.

115. Sampson 1987, 198.

116. Coleman 2011; Vitelli 2007, 135.

117. Alram-Stern, Forthcoming.

118. With the exception of mortuary remains.

119. Alram-Stern 2014, 307-308.

Numerous new sites of varying size appeared all over Euboea during the very early Early Bronze Age I, i.e. after 3300 BC, next to the older ones. In consequence, in comparison with Boeotia, Euboea itself was probably influenced from the Aegean Bronze Age onwards or slightly earlier. Excavated sites, such as Manika and Kaloyerovrisi,¹²⁰ elucidate the course of developments in the late 4th millennium. Smaller coastal sites such as Linovrochi and Magula are also dated to between 3300 and 3000 BC. The vast quantities of obsidian suggest increased contact with the Cyclades. The pottery was neither typical Early Helladic (EH) II nor Neolithic. The same pottery was found in the settlement outside the Skoteini Cave, and in the deepest stratum at Manika and Kaloyerovrisi, again preceding the EH II stratum. The cemetery at Tharrounia, paralleled with Kephala, Tsepi and Early Cycladic I cemeteries, probably dates to this period. The coastal proximity of many EBA sites of southern Euboea,¹²¹ also observed in the Corinthian Gulf, demonstrates the marine orientation and increasing importance of seafaring.¹²²

Therefore, the developments in the Cyclades and Crete in the EB I not only affected the mainland a few hundred years later, but they also materialized differently. The juxtaposition of stratigraphies from Boeotia and Euboea illustrates this in the best way: the close synchronicity of the LN I-IIa gives way to a different picture at the turn of the 3rd millennium. At the Sarakenos Cave, the actual shift in the sequence is observable at the end of the EBA I and not between the LN IIB and the EB I, as was the case at Eutresis. Similar observations are made for stratified sites in the north-eastern Peloponnese such as Aigeira.¹²³

Suffice to say, the diverse terminology for this phase constitutes not only a methodological issue of description and synchronization, it portrays actual differences in the perception of scholars specializing in either the Bronze Age or the Neolithic. The fact that the Early Bronze Age culminated in very different phenomena around the Aegean in the Middle Bronze Age indicates that despite the observable similarities in material culture, the underlying economy and social structure might in fact have differed fundamentally. This differentiation was the outcome of the nexus between the rural (Neolithic) and urban (Bronze Age) economy,¹²⁴ boosted by the ‘international spirit’ of trade and seafaring.

Conclusions

The Euboean Neolithic can be used to partly explain the absence of sites in the islands of the central Aegean during the Early and Middle Neolithic. Habitation was centred in the west and central parts of the island and was related to the mainland. The association with the islands of the northern and north-east Aegean underlines a parallel maritime orientation which was already established by the Early Neolithic.

During the Middle and Late Neolithic I, Euboea was principally integrated in the socio-cultural traditions of central Greece. Sites were mainly concentrated in the central part of the island and to the north to a lesser extent. Nonetheless, the maritime perspective persisted, judging by the association with the Sporades-Skyros Culture but also with east Attica (Nea Makri). This aspect should not be overlooked when deeming central Greece a region isolated from the Aegean. The advantageous position of Euboea provided an outlet to the open sea but also a protected stretch of water between the continental coast and Euboea, thus contributing fundamentally to the multiplication and diversification of available resources for Euboean societies.

120. Sampson 1993b, 36-44, 73-74.

121. Cullen 2001.

122. Alram-Stern, Forthcoming.

123. Alram-Stern 2007, 5.

124. Nakou 1995; Renfrew 1972.

In the 4th millennium, transformations are palpable, and settlement expanded in the Aegean islands and along the mainland coast. Settlement in central Euboea continued; in south Euboea new sites appeared, unlike in north Euboea. Another shift is also visible in the late 4th millennium: Euboean societies responded more promptly and profoundly to the transformations of the Early Bronze Age, in comparison to Boeotia.

All in all, Euboea provides an example of the constant negotiation of interregional contact and mobilization which did not rely solely on geography but also on the conscious choices of the local societies who surpassed presumed limitations such as the mediation of the sea. From a very early stage, this area had perceivably distinct cultural entities and participated in extensive social networks. This review of the Euboean Neolithic can thus contribute to the re-evaluation of methodological classifications such as insular/continental or marginal/central.

Bibliography

- Agouridis, C. (1997) 'Sea Routes and Navigation in the Third Millennium Aegean'. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 16, 1-24.
- Alram-Stern, E. (2005) 'The Early Neolithic settlement in Central and Southern Greece. The actual state of research'. In *How did farming reach Europe? Anatolian-European Relations from the second half of the 7th through the first half of the 6th Millennium cal BC*, edited by C. Lichter, 183-194. Istanbul: Ege Yayinlari.
- Alram-Stern, E. (2007) 'Das Chalkolithikum in Südgrichenland. Versuch einer chronologischen und topographischen Gliederung'. In *ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΑΠΙΣΤΕΙΟΣ. Archaeologische Forschungen zwischen Nil und Istros, Festschrift für Stefan Hiller zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by F. Lang, C. Reinholdt and J. Weilhartner, 1-10. Vienna: Phoibos Verlag.
- Alram-Stern, E. (2014) 'Times of change: Greece and the Aegean during the 4th Millennium BC'. In *Western Anatolia before Troy: Proto- Urbanisation in the 4th Millennium BC?*, edited by B. Horejs and M. Mehofer, 305-328. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences.
- Alram-Stern, E. (Forthcoming) 'Aigeira and the Corinthian Gulf at the Transition from the Neolithic Period to the Early Bronze Age'. In *The Aegean Early Bronze Age: New evidence. International Conference, Athens. April 11th-14th. Ministry of Culture, Archaeological Institute of Aegean Studies*, edited by C. Doumas, G. Giannikouri and O. Kouka.
- Andreou, S., M. Fotiadis and K. Kotsakis (1996) 'Review of Aegean Prehistory V: The Neolithic and Bronze Age of Northern Greece'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 100, 537-597.
- Bintliff, J. (2012) *The Complete Archaeology of Greece: From Hunter-Gatherers to the 20th Century A.D.* Malden, MA; Oxford; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Blegen, C. (1930) 'Gonia'. *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 3(1), 55-80.
- Broodbank, C. (1999) 'Colonization and configuration in the insular Neolithic of the Aegean'. In Vol. 2 of *Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology [Neolithic Society in Greece]*, edited by P. Halstead, 15-41. Sheffield: Bloomsbury T&T Clark.
- Carter, T., D. A. Contreras, S. Doyle, D. D. Mihailović, T. Moutsiou and N. Skarpelis (2014) 'The Stélida Naxos Archaeological Project: New data on the Mesolithic and Middle Palaeolithic Cyclades'. *Antiquity Project Gallery* 88, 341.
- Caskey, J. and C. Blegen (1975) 'Neolithic Remains at Nemea: Excavations of 1925-1926'. *Hesperia* 44(3), 251-279.
- Caskey, J. and E. Caskey (1960) 'The earliest settlements at Eutresis: Supplementary excavations 1958'. *Hesperia* 29, 126.
- Coleman, J. (2011) 'The Petromagoula-Doliana Group and the Beginning of the Aegean Early Bronze Age'. In Vol. IV of *Heliki [Ancient Helike and Aigialeia. Protoelladika, The Southern and Central Greek Mainland]*, edited by D. Katsonopoulou, 13-44. Athens: The Helike Society.
- Coleman, J. E., K. O'Neill, M. Pomeroy, K. E. Carr and A. Heafitz (1992) 'Excavations at Halai 1990-1991'. *Hesperia* 61(3), 265-289.
- Cullen, T. (2001) 'Voices and Visions of Aegean Prehistory'. In Vol 1 of *American Journal of Archaeology Supplement [Aegean Prehistory: A Review]*, edited by T. Cullen, 1- 18. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.
- Cullen, T., L. Talalay and Ž. Tankosić (2011) 'The Emerging Prehistory of Southern Euboea'. In *Euboea and Athens, Proceedings of a Colloquium in Memory of Malcolm B. Wallace, Athens 26-27 June 2009. Publications of the Canadian Institute in Greece* 6, 29-51. Athens: Canadian Institute in Greece.
- Cullen, T., L. Talalay, D. Keller, L. Karimali, W. Farrand (2013) *The Prehistory of the Paximadi Peninsula Euboea*. Philadelphia; Pennsylvania: INSTAP Academic Press.
- Davis, J. (1992) 'Review of Aegean Prehistory I: Islands of the Aegean'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 96, 699-756.
- Douzougli, A. (1998) *Αρια Αργολίδος. Χειροποίητη Κεραμική της Νεότερης Νεολιθικής και της Χαλκολιθικής περιόδου*. Athens: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων.

- Efstratiou, N. (1985) *Agios Petros. A Neolithic site in the Northern Sporades: Aegean Relationships during the Neolithic of the 5th Millennium*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Evans, J. D. and C. Renfrew (1968) 'Excavations at Saliagos near Antiparos'. *The British School of Archaeology at Athens, Supplement 5*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Evelpidou, N., A. Vassilopoulos and P. Pirazzoli (2012) 'Holocene emergence in Euboea island (Greece)'. *Marine Geology* 295-298, 14-19.
- Facorellis, Y. and J. Coleman (2012) 'Interpreting radiocarbon dates from Neolithic Halai, Greece'. *Radiocarbon* 54(3), 319-330.
- Facorellis, Y. and E. Vardala-Theodorou (2015) 'Sea Surface Radiocarbon Reservoir Age Changes in the Aegean Sea from about 11,200 BP to present'. *Radiocarbon* 57(3), 491-503.
- Ghilardi, M., D. Psomiadis, K. Pavlopoulos, S. Müller-Çelka, S. Fachard, T. Theurillat, S. Verdan, A. R. Knodell, T. Theodoropoulou, A. Bicket, A. Bonneau and D. Delanghe-Sabatier (2014) 'Mid- to Late Holocene shoreline reconstruction and human occupation in Ancient Eretria (South Central Euboea, Greece)'. *Geomorphology* 208, 225-237.
- Halstead, P. (2011) 'Farming, material culture, and ideology: repackaging the Neolithic of Greece (and Europe)'. In *The Dynamics of Neolithisation in Europe. Studies in Honour of Andrew Sherratt*, edited by A. Hadjikoymis, E. Robinson and S. Viner, 131-151. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Hood, S., J. Clutton-Brock and P. G. Bialor (1982) 'Excavations in Chios 1938-1955: Prehistoric Emporio and Ayio Gala'. *The British School at Athens Supplement* 16(2).
- Kambouroglou, E., M. Hampik and S. Adamantios (1988) 'Coastal evolution and archaeology north and south of Khalkis (Euboea) in the last 5000 years'. In *Archaeology of Coastal Changes*, edited by R. Avner, 71-79. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Katsarou, S. and D. Schilardi (2004) 'Emerging Neolithic and Early Cycladic Settlements in Paros: Koukounaries and Sklavouna'. *Annual of the British School of Archaeology in Athens* 99, 23-49.
- Katsarou-Tzeveleki, S. (2006) 'Διακοσμημένα Σκεύη της Μέσης Νεολιθικής στο σπήλαιο του Κύκλωπα'. In *The prehistory of the Aegean Basin. Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic*, edited by A. Sampson, 126-136. Athens: Atrapos.
- Keller, D. (1985) 'Archaeological Survey in Southern Euboea, Greece: A Reconstruction of Human Activity from Neolithic Times through the Byzantine Period'. PhD thesis. Indiana University, USA.
- Kunze, E. (1931) 'Die neolitische Keramik. Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophische- Historische Abteilung'. Vol. II of *Orchomenos*. Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Kyparissi-Apostolika, N. (2000) 'Η ανασκαφή του σπηλαίου Θεόπετρας'. In *Σπήλαιο Θεόπετρας. Δώδεκα Χρόνια Ανασκαφών και Έρευνας 1987- 1998. Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου, Τρίκαλα 6- 7 Νοεμβρίου 1998*, edited by N. Kyparissi-Apostolika, 17-36. Athens.
- Lambert, N. (1981) 'La Céramique Néolithique'. In Vol. I of *La Grotte Préhistorique de Kitsos, Attique*, edited by N. Lambert, 275-371. Paris: ADPF.
- Liritzis Y., L. Orphanidis-Georgiadis and N. Efstratiou (1991) 'Neolithic Thessaly and the Sporades: Remarks on cultural contacts between Sesklo, Dimini and Aghios Petros based on trace element analysis and archaeological evidence'. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 10(3), 307-313.
- Mari, A. (2007) 'Η Νεολιθική Σαλαμίνα'. In Vol. A of *Έπαθλον. Αρχαιολογικό Συνέδριο προς τιμής του Αδώνιδος Κ. Κύρου*, edited by H. Konsolaki-Giannopoulou, 73-104. Athens: Demos Porou.
- Mavridis, F. (2008) 'Late Neolithic Painted and Burnished decorated wares'. In Vol. 1 of *The Cave of the Cyclops: Mesolithic and Neolithic Networks in the Northern Aegean, Greece [Intra-Site Analysis, Local Industries, and Regional Site Distribution]*, edited by A. Sampson, 111-121. Philadelphia; Pennsylvania: INSTAP Academic Press.
- Mavridis, F. (2010) 'Salvage Excavation in the Cave of Antiparos, Cyclades: Prehistoric Pottery and Miscellaneous Finds. A Preliminary Report'. *Aegean Archaeology* 9, 7-34.
- Mavridis, F. and Ž. Tankosić (2009) 'The Ayia Triadha Cave, Southern Euboea: finds and implications of the earliest human habitation in the area'. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 9(2), 47-59.

- Mee, C., B. Cavanagh and J. Renard (2014) 'The Middle-Late Neolithic Transition at Kouphovouno'. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 109, 65-95.
- Nakou, G. (1995) 'The Cutting Edge: A New Look at Early Aegean Metallurgy'. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 8(2), 1-32.
- Nowicki, C. (2002) 'The End of the Neolithic in Crete'. In *Aegean Archaeology* 6, 7-72.
- O'Neill, K., W. Yielding, J. Near, J. E. Coleman, P. S. Wren and K. M. Quinn (1999) 'Halai: The 1992-1994 Field Seasons'. *Hesperia* 68(3), 285-341.
- Özdoğan, M. (2005) 'The expansion of the Neolithic way of Life: What we know and what we do not know'. In *How did farming reach Europe? Anatolian-European relations from the second half of the 7th through the first half of the 6th millennium cal BC*, edited by C. Lichter, 13-27. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları.
- Pantelidou-Gkofa, M. (2005) *Τσέπι Μαραθώνος: το Πρωτοελλαδικό Νεκροταφείο*. Athens: Archaeological Society at Athens.
- Papageorgiou, D. (2008) 'The Marine Environment and its Influence on Seafaring and Maritime Routes in the Prehistoric Aegean'. *European Journal of Archaeology* 11, 199-222.
- Papavasiliou, G. (1908) 'Ανασκαφαί ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ'. *Πρακτικά Αρχαιολογικού Δελτίου* 64-65, 101-113.
- Papavasiliou, G. (1910) *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τάφων*. Athens: Archaeological Society at Athens.
- Perlès, C. (2005) 'From the Near East to Greece: Let's reverse the focus-cultural elements that didn't transfer'. In *How did farming reach Europe? Anatolian-European Relations from the second half of the 7th through the first half of the 6th Millennium cal BC*, edited by C. Lichter, 275-290. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları.
- Perlès, C., T. Takaoglu and B. Gratuze (2011) 'Melian obsidian in NW Turkey: Evidence for early Neolithic trade'. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 36(1), 42-49.
- Phelps, W. (2004) *The Neolithic Pottery Sequence in Southern Greece*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Phoca-Cosmetatou, N. (2008) 'Economy and Occupation in the Cyclades during the Late Neolithic: the Example of Ftelia, Mykonos'. In *Horizon: A Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades*, edited by K. Boyle, J. Doole, N. Brodie, G. Gavalas and C. Renfrew, 37-41. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Quinn, P., P. Day, V. Kilikoglou, E. Faber, S. Katsarou-Tzeveleki and A. Sampson (2010) 'Keeping an eye on your pots: the provenance of Neolithic ceramics from the Cave of the Cyclops, Youra, Greece'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 37(5), 1042-1052.
- Renfrew, C. (1972) *The Emergence of Civilisation. The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium BC*. London: Routledge.
- Robb, J. (2013) 'Material Culture, Landscapes of Action, and Emergent Causation: A New Model for the Origins of the European Neolithic'. *Current Anthropology* 54(6), 657-683.
- Sackett, H. L., R. J. V. Hankey, T. Howell, W. Jacobsen and M. R. Popham (1967) 'Prehistoric Euboea: Contributions toward a Survey'. *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens* 61, 33-112.
- Sampson, A. (1977) 'Ανασκαφή στον προϊστορικό οικισμό της Βάρκας Ψαχνών-Ευβοίας'. *Αρχαίο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 21, 5-77.
- Sampson, A. (1981) *Η Νεολιθική και η ΠΕΙ στην Εύβοια*. Athens: Εταιρεία Ευβοϊκών Σπουδών.
- Sampson, A. (1985) 'Μια πρωτοελλαδική πόλη στη Χαλκίδα'. Vol. I of *Μάνικα*. Athens: Εταιρεία Ευβοϊκών Σπουδών.
- Sampson, A. (1987) 'Η Νεολιθική Περίοδος στα Δωδεκάνησα'. *Δημοσιεύματα του Αρχαιολογικού Δελτίου* 53.
- Sampson, A. (1992) 'Late Neolithic Remains at Tharrounia, Euboea: A Model for the Seasonal Use of Settlements and Caves'. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 87, 61-101.
- Sampson, A. (1993a) *Σκοτεινή Θαρρουνίων: το Σπήλαιο, ο Οικισμός, το Νεκροταφείο*. Athens: Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology.
- Sampson, A. (1993b) *Καλογερόβρυση: Ένας οικισμός της Πρώιμης και Μέσης Χαλκοκρατίας στα Φύλλα της Εύβοιας*. Athens: Morfi.
- Sampson, A. (1996-1998) 'Τρεις Θέσεις της Αρχαιότερης Νεολιθικής στην Εύβοια και η συμβολή τους στην Αιγαιακή Προϊστορία'. *Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα Αθηνών* XXXIX-XVI, 79-94.
- Sampson, A. (1997) *The cave of Lakes at Kastria of Kalavryta. A prehistoric site in the highlands of Peloponnese*. Athens: Society of Peloponnesian Studies.

- Sampson, A. (2002) *The Neolithic Settlement at Ftelia, Mykonos*. Rhodes: University of the Aegean.
- Sampson, A. (2006) *The Prehistory of the Aegean Basin. Palaeolithic-Mesolithic-Neolithic. With the contribution of S. Katsarou- Tzeveleki, J. Koszłowski, M. Kaczanowska, C. Televantou*. Athens: Ατραπός.
- Sampson, A. (2008a) Vol. 1 of *The Cave of the Cyclops: Mesolithic and Neolithic Networks in the Northern Aegean, Greece: Intra-Site Analysis, Local Industries, and Regional Site Distribution*. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press.
- Sampson, A. (2008b) Vol. 1 of *The Sarakenos Cave at Akraiphnion, Boeotia, Greece: The Neolithic and the Bronze Age*. Athens: Polish Academy of Sciences; University of the Aegean
- Sampson, A. (2010) *Mesolithic Greece 9000-6500 BC. Palaeoenvironment, Palaeoeconomy, Technology*. Athens: Ion.
- Sampson, A. (2014) *Ικαρία. Προϊστορία και Εθνοαρχαιολογία*. Athens: Εταιρεία Ικαριακών Μελετών.
- Sampson, A. and V. Mastrogiannopoulou (2009) 'Η προϊστορία της Ικαρίας στο φως'. *Εταιρεία Ικαριακών Μελετών* 10, 3-7.
- Sampson, A., M. Kaczanowska and J. K. Kozłowski (2010) *The Prehistory of the Island of Kythnos (Cyclades, Greece) and the Mesolithic Settlement at Maroulas*. Krakow: The Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences; the University of the Aegean.
- Sampson, A., M. Kaczanowska, J. K. Kozłowski, Athanassas Constantin, Y. Bassiakos, Y. Liritzis, N. Laskaris and I. Tsermegas (2013) 'Mesolithic Occupations and Environments on the Island of Ikaria, Aegean, Greece'. *Folia Quaternaria* 80(1), 5-86.
- Sampson, A., J. Kozłowski, M. Kaczanowska, A. Budek, A. Nadachowski, T. Tomek and B. Miekina (2009) 'Sarakenos Cave in Boeotia, from Palaeolithic to the Early Bronze Age'. *Eurasian Prehistory* 6(1-2), 199-231.
- Sarantea-Micha, E. (1996) 'Παλαιολιθικά λατομεία- εργαστήρια κατασκευής εργαλείων'. *Τέχνες και Αρχαιολογία* 60, 43-47.
- Sealey, G. (2001) 'Red-On-White Painted Pottery from Neolithic Halai, Greece'. BA thesis. Boston University, USA.
- Skibo, J. M. (2013) *Understanding Pottery Function*. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Sotirakopoulou, P. (1996) 'Late Neolithic Pottery from Akrotiri, Thera: its relations and consequent implications'. In Vol. 2(1) of *Die ägäische Frühzeit [Forschungsbericht 1975–2002. Das Neolithikum in Griechenland, mit Ausnahme von Kreta und Zypern]*, edited by E. Alram-Stern, 581-607. Vienna: Verlag der Oesterreicher Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Sotirakopoulou, P. (2008a) 'Akrotiri Thera: the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Phases in Light of Recent Excavations at the Site'. In *Horizon: a Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades*, edited by K. Boyle, J. Doole, N. Brodie, G. Gavalas and C. Renfrew, 121-134. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Sotirakopoulou, P. (2008b) 'The Cyclades, the East Aegean Islands and the Western Asia Minor: Their Relations in the Aegean Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age'. In *The Aegean in the Neolithic, Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Age*, edited by H. Erkanal, H. Hauptmann, V. Şahoğlu and R. Tuncel, 533-558. Ankara: Ankara Universitesi.
- Sotiriadis, G. (1908) 'Προϊστορικά αγγεία Χαίρωνείας και Ελάτειας'. *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* 1908, 63-96.
- Takaoğlu, T. (2006) 'The Late Neolithic In the Eastern Aegean; Excavations at Gülpınar in the Troad'. *Hesperia* 75, 289-315.
- Talalay L., T. Cullen, D. Keller and E. Karimali (2005) 'Prehistoric Occupation in Southern Euboea: An Overview'. In *Ancient Greece at the Turn of the Millennium: Recent Work and Future Perspectives. Proceedings of the Athens Symposium, 18–20 May, 2001*, edited by N. M. Kennell and J. Tomlinson, 21-44. Athens: The Canadian Institute in Greece.
- Tankosić, Ž. and I. Mathioudaki (2011) 'The Finds from the Prehistoric Site of Ayios Nikolaos Mylon, Southern Euboea, Greece. With a contribution on lithics by Catherine Perlès'. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 106, 99-140.
- Televantou, C. (2005) 'Strofilas: a Neolithic Settlement on Andros'. In *Ορίζων: a colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades. In Horizon: a Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades*, edited by K. Boyle, J. Doole, N.

- Brodie, G. Gavalas and C. Renfrew, 45-53. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Theocharis, D. (1959) 'Εκ της προϊστορίας της Ευβοίας και της Σκύρου'. *Αρχαίον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 6, 279-328.
- Touchais, G. (1981) 'Le matériel néolithique, dans L'Antre Corycien I'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplement VII*, 95-172, 183-245 and pls. I-XIX.
- Tzavella-Evjen, C. (2012) *Χαιρώνεια*. Athens: Archaeological Society at Athens.
- Vagnetti, L. (1996) 'The Final Neolithic: Crete Enters the Wider World'. In *Cretan Studies* 5, edited by W. F. Bakker and R. Willets, 29- 39. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert.
- Vitelli, K. (1995) Vol. 1 of *Franchthi Neolithic Pottery: Classification and Ceramic Phases 1 and 2. Excavations at Franchthi Cave, Greece*. Bloomington-Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Vitelli, K. (2007) 'The Neolithic Pottery from Lerna [Results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens]'. Vol. V of *Lerna*. Princeton; New Jersey: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Weinberg, S. (1937) 'Remains from Prehistoric Corinth'. *Hesperia* 6(4), 487-524.
- Weinberg, S. (1962) 'Excavations at Prehistoric Elateia, 1959'. *Hesperia* 31, 158-209.
- Zachos, K. (1999) 'Zas Cave on Naxos and the Role of Caves in the Aegean Late Neolithic'. In *Neolithic Society in Greece*, edited by P. Halstead, 153-163. Sheffield: Bloomsbury T&T Clark.
- Zachos, K. and A. Douzougli (Forthcoming) 'Attica and the Cyclades from the Chalcolithic to the Early Bronze Age'. Presented at *the Aegean Early Bronze Age: New evidence. International Conference Athens: April 11th-14th 2008*, edited by C. Doumas, G. Giannikouri and K. Ourania. Athens: Ministry of Culture; Archaeological Institute of Aegean Studies.

Figures

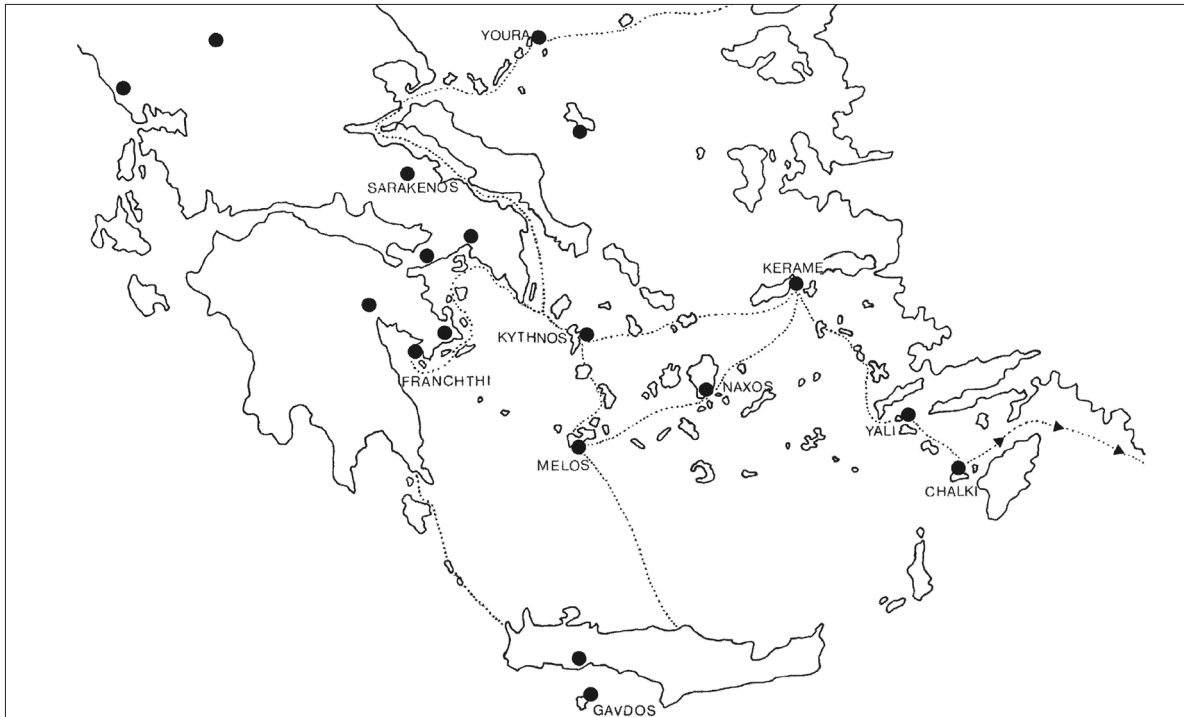


Figure 1: Mesolithic marine routes in the Aegean Sea (after Sampson 2014).

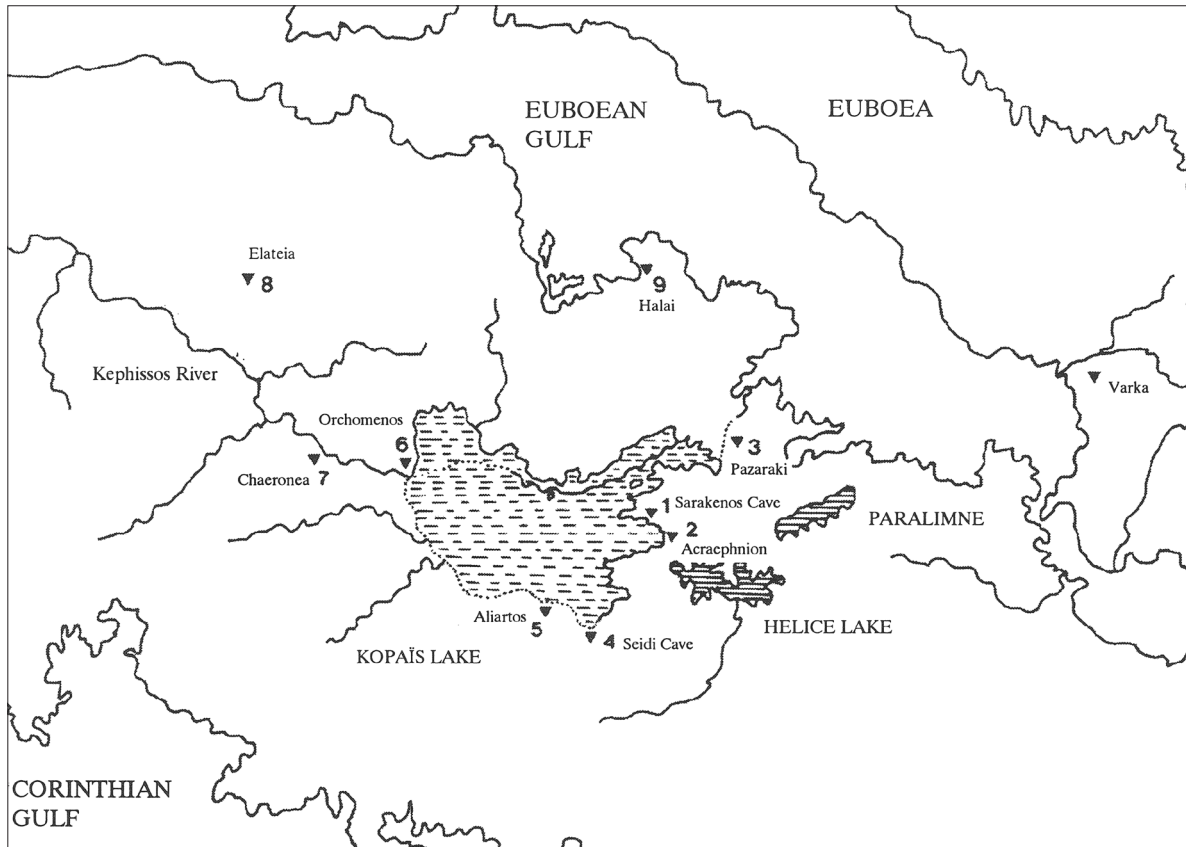


Figure 2: Neolithic sites in central Greece (after Sampson 2008b).

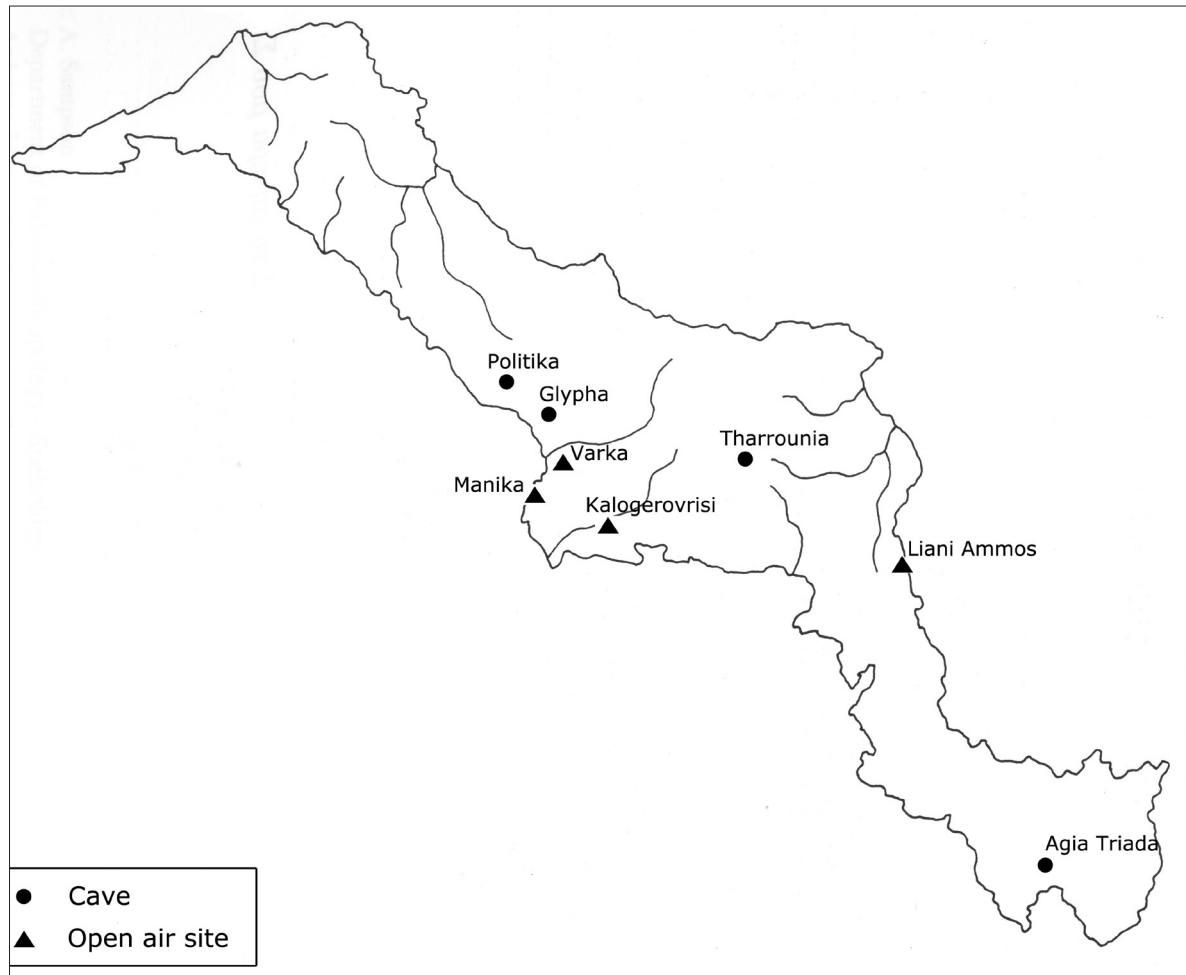


Figure 3: Map of Euboea with excavated Neolithic sites.

The prehistoric settlement of southern Euboea

Lauren E. TALALAY

Tracey CULLEN

Donald R. KELLER

Περίληψη

Αν και η κεντρική και βόρεια Εύβοια κατοικούνταν τουλάχιστον από το 6000 π.Χ., σχεδόν δύο χιλιετίες νωρίτερα αποικίστηκε το νότιο άκρο του νησιού. Σε αυτό το άρθρο συνοψίζονται τα στοιχεία που είναι τώρα γνωστά σχετικά με τον πρώιμο οικισμό στη νότια Εύβοια και τις σχέσεις του με την ευρύτερη περιοχή του Αιγαίου. Η πρωιμότερη θέση που έχει τεκμηριωθεί με ακρίβεια στην περιοχή είναι το σπήλαιο της Αγίας Τριάδας στους πρόποδες του βουνού Όχη, όπου βρέθηκαν κατάλοιπα της Ύστερης Νεολιθικής Εποχής. Κατά τη διάρκεια της Τελικής Νεολιθικής περιόδου και στις αρχές της πρώιμης Εποχής του Χαλκού ο οικισμός απλωνόταν στα απόκρημνα ακρωτήρια που πλαισίωναν τον κόλπο της Καρύστου. Σε αυτές τις περιοχές είχαν ιδρυθεί μικρές αγροτικές και κτηνοτροφικές θέσεις και κάποια πιθανά παρατηρητήρια-παρακτίες τοποθεσίες σε άλλες θέσεις δείχνουν θαλάσσιες δραστηριότητες. Το προφίλ του οικισμού στις δύο μεγάλες καλλιεργήσιμες πεδιάδες είναι αρκετά διαφορετικό. Στον Κάμπο κυριαρχεί ένας μεμονωμένος οικισμός της πρώιμης εποχής του Χαλκού ΙΙ με κτίσματα πολλαπλών δωματίων και βόθρους· σε παρακείμενες θέσεις βρέθηκαν ασυνήθιστα μεγάλα δείγματα οψιανού. Η πεδιάδα Κατσαρωνίου η οποία είναι πιο μακριά από τη θάλασσα απέδωσε επίσης άφθονο οψιανό καθώς επίσης και μια μεγάλη θέση της τελικής Νεολιθικής περιόδου και 7 πιθανούς κιβωτιόσχημους τάφους. Οι τάφοι που παρατάσσονται κατά μήκος της νότιας άκρης της πεδιάδας είναι άδειοι και δεν έχουν χρονολογηθεί άλλα ομοιάζουν με δείγματα της Πρωτοελλαδικής ΙΙ περιόδου που βρέθηκαν σε άλλα σημεία της περιοχής. Στη θέση Γκισούρι των Νέων Στύρων αποκαλύφθηκαν στη σειρά τάφοι από σχιστόλιθο Πρωτοελλαδικών ΙΙ χρόνων στην είσοδο των οποίων οδηγούσε βαθμιδωτή κλίμακα ενώ στρώματα Πρωτοελλαδικών ΙΙ χρόνων στο σπήλαιο της Αγίας Τριάδας απέδωσαν υλικό που οδηγεί στις Κυκλάδες γεγονός που υποδηλώνει εντατικές θαλάσσιες επαφές. Στην περιοχή δεν υπάρχουν κατάλοιπα των Πρωτοελλαδικών ΙΙΒ ή Πρωτοελλαδικών ΙΙΙ χρόνων, μόνο δύο μεσοελλαδικές θέσεις και λίγα διάσπαρτα μυκηναϊκά ευρήματα είναι γνωστά. Σε αυτό το άρθρο οι εισηγητές αναζητούν μια εξήγηση για την ταλάντευση της πυκνότητας και την φύση της κατοίκησης λαμβάνοντας υπ' όψιν τους ζητήματα περιθωριοποίησης, απομόνωσης και συνεκτικότητας.

*Introduction*¹

Over the last few decades we have learned a considerable amount about the earliest settlement of southern Euboea and its relationship with Greece and the wider Aegean. Unlike the central and

1. Our thanks to the organizers of the conference 'An Island between Two Worlds' for inviting us to participate and to contribute an article to the proceedings. SEEP, a long-term, multidisciplinary research effort begun by Donald R. Keller and the late Malcolm Wallace in 1984, is conducted under the auspices of the Canadian Institute in Greece, with permits overseen by the 11th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Chalkis. We gratefully acknowledge the support of both institutions. We would also like to thank Karl Longstreth for his help in obtaining the base image for Figure 1.

northern reaches of Euboea, which were sparsely populated by at least 6000 BC, the drier, more rugged southern portion of the island does not seem to have been inhabited until nearly two millennia later, in the later part of the Neolithic.² In this article we consider when and why the southern region was first colonized, what kinds of sites were established, how long the sites continued to be viable, and how these settlements fit into the broader perspective of life in the Aegean. The data we summarize are drawn from 35 years of work conducted by the Southern Euboea Exploration Project (SEEP) and from other recent investigations. We begin with an overview of work in the region, followed by a discussion of concepts relating to the variable density of habitation—marginality, insularity and connectivity—in an effort to better understand current evidence.

Since 1986, SEEP has undertaken a series of surface surveys that cover three separate but roughly contiguous areas: 1) the Paximadi Peninsula, which forms the western arm of the Karystos Bay; 2) a large alluvial plain (the Kampos) north of Paximadi; and 3) the territory to the east of the bay, known as the Bouros-Kastri Peninsula (Figs. 1, 2).³ A brief salvage excavation was also carried out in 1979 at Plakari, a Final Neolithic (FN) site on the Paximadi Peninsula.⁴ More recently, Plakari has been the focus of systematic excavations jointly sponsored by VU University Amsterdam and the 11th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities.⁵ A survey initiated by the Norwegian Institute at Athens in 2012 continues to explore the upland Katsaronio Plain north-west of Karystos.⁶ The cave at Agia Triada, situated in the foothills above Karystos, was excavated from 2007 to 2010 under the auspices of the Ephorate for Palaeoanthropology and Speleology of Southern Greece, in collaboration with SEEP.⁷ Finally, excavation sponsored by the 11th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities has taken place at Gkisouri, an Early Bronze (EB) II site near Nea Styra, which marks the northern boundary of southern Euboea.⁸ As a final report has appeared for only the prehistoric remains from the Paximadi Peninsula, the findings discussed below are necessarily preliminary.

The various parts of the investigation have taken place in different environmental zones, resulting in a good sampling of the region. Southern Euboea, and especially the Karystia, angles away from the Greek mainland, extending east into the Aegean and south toward the Cyclades. In terms of geology, topography and climate, the region is aligned with the northern Cyclades and southern Attica rather than the well-watered, fertile plains of central Euboea or the more forested northern reaches. Barren, rugged highlands and *phrygana* vegetation dominate the south, although the two large arable plains—the Kampos and the Katsaronio—are noteworthy. To the north, the imposing mountain ranges of Mount Ochi (c.1400 masl) act as an overland barrier. The Euboean Gulf, however, would have provided an attractive way to circumvent the Mount Ochi ridge system. Surrounded on three sides by water and a mountain range to the north, southern Euboea may well have functioned in prehistory as an ‘island within an island.’⁹ The insular nature of the region and its physical orientation, located at a juncture of major maritime routes, undoubtedly shaped its history.

Investigations carried out since the early 1980s indicate that prehistoric occupation in southern Euboea was sporadic, supporting a series of small settlements, beginning with a Late Neolithic (LN)

2. For possible Middle Palaeolithic and Mesolithic remains on Euboea, see Sampson 2006, 20–22, figs. 6, 7; Sarantea-Micha 1996. Early Neolithic remains have been tentatively identified at Koilos Cave (Sampson 1981, 70), but no details have been given.

3. For Paximadi, see Cullen et al. 2013; for the Kampos, see Tankosić and Chidiroglou 2010. A monograph on the survey of the Bouros-Kastri Peninsula is in the final stages of revision: Wickens et al., In prep.

4. Keller 1982.

5. Crielaard et al. 2011–2012; 2013; 2014; 2016; Forthcoming.

6. Tankosić and Psoma 2016.

7. Mavridis and Tankosić 2009; 2016. See also Katsianis et al., this volume.

8. Kosma 2010; 2012.

9. Cullen et al. 2002; see also Tankosić, this volume.

cave and rock shelters at Agia Triada. The ensuing two millennia, however, are characterized by a marked increase in occupation; surveys of the region have revealed a substantial number of sites and findspots, most ranging in date from the FN to EB II (c.4200 to 2200 BC). The Paximadi Peninsula produced 20 FN-EB II sites and findspots, the Kampos at least 10 that were clearly prehistoric or had a prehistoric component, the Bouros-Kastri region another 12 prehistoric findspots, and the Katsaronio Plain yielded 23 findspots with prehistoric material, all tentatively dated within the FN-EB II range.¹⁰ In addition, two Middle Helladic sites are known from the area, Lefka, located near Nea Styra at the northern boundary of the study area, and Agios Nikolaos, 2 km north-east of modern Karystos (Fig. 2).¹¹ Evidence for the Late Bronze Age continues to be scanty, a surprise in view of the legendary importance of the region in the Homeric epics and the appearance of the name 'Karystos' (*ka-ru-to*) on an inscribed Linear B nodule from Thebes.¹² In the following pages, we describe a few of the more informative sites in the region, and then consider the changing pattern of settlement over time.

Rugged hills and coastal bays

The Paximadi Peninsula and the Bouros-Kastri area embrace the Karystos Bay and share several features: a rugged landscape, a number of easily accessible, small coastal bays, and peaks and ridges that offer excellent inter-site vistas and panoramic views of the sea and nearby islands. Although both areas are likely to have been agriculturally marginal, the uplands probably provided good pasturage, and the sea would have afforded fish to supplement the local diet.

Plakari, which was subject in 1979 to a few days of salvage excavation, has provided tantalizing remains of a predominantly FN settlement on Paximadi.¹³ The excavated pottery includes fine pattern burnished vessels (Fig. 3a), red slipped and burnished ware, and cheese pots (Fig. 3b), which find parallels with material from excavated FN sites in Attica and on Kea, Aegina and as far away as Crete.¹⁴ The lithics consist largely of discarded debitage and splintered flakes. The primary material is obsidian, presumably imported from Melos as raw nodules and decorticated on site. One such nodule is illustrated here, along with a bifacial arrowhead of honey flint, which is likely to have been imported from western Greece or the region of modern Albania (Fig. 4). A large, unmodified lump of copper and iron minerals, perhaps of FN date, was recovered in a road scarp prior to excavation. Lead isotope analysis of the sample suggests that its source may have been a mine at Kallianou, several hours' walk from Plakari.¹⁵

From 2010 on, Plakari has been the focus of renewed fieldwork. Although primarily concerned with historical levels at the site, the project has also enhanced our understanding of the FN occupation of the ridge,¹⁶ which was more extensive than originally posited, extending over at least 1 ha, and possibly as much as 2 ha.¹⁷ Remains of several stone foundations were unearthed on the slope north-east of the summit. The most extensive set of walls appears to represent a rectangular, domestic structure that

10. For references, see notes 3 and 6, above.

11. For Lefka, see Sackett et al. 1966, 78-80; for Agios Nikolaos, see Tankosić and Mathioudaki 2009; 2011.

12. Hom. *Il.* 2.536-2.545; *Od.* 3.174-3.179. For the Theban nodule, see Piteros et al. 1990, 153-154.

13. Cullen et al. 2013, 21-42, fig. 4; Keller 1982. Plakari and other sites on the Paximadi Peninsula also produced possible examples of EB I ceramics, but the evidence is ambiguous (Cullen et al. 2013, 71-74).

14. For discussion of FN ceramic parallels, see Cullen et al. 2013, 68-71; Nazou, this volume; 2014, esp. 297-303. The ceramics recently published from Kontra Gliate (Kiapha Thiti) and Mine 3 at Thorikos in Attica (Nazou 2014, 88-260) exhibit a number of similarities to the pottery from Plakari.

15. Cullen et al. 2013, 40-41.

16. See especially Crielaard et al., Forthcoming.

17. Crielaard, pers. comm. An earlier estimate of 0.6 ha (Cullen et al. 2013, 42) was based on the distribution of FN finds in the area of the 1979 trenches.

contained a hearth near the entrance and a possible foundation deposit. Probably contemporary with that building are two small annexes, one of which may be associated with a concentration of burned or calcinated animal bones suggesting the roasting and burning of meat. Stretches of large terrace or defensive walls were discovered nearby and may also date to the FN. Preliminary analysis of the finds from the new excavations demonstrates that they are generally comparable to those found in 1979, and consist of obsidian and flint tools, hammer stones and axes, spindle whorls and ceramic wares with parallels primarily with Attica and the Cyclades.

Roughly 800 m west of Plakari lies Kazara, an FN site of approximately 0.3 ha in size, situated on a windy ridgetop.¹⁸ Surveyors recorded stone rubble walls and daub, along with a small collection of pottery, mostly limited to coarse utilitarian wares (Fig. 3c). No examples of the fine pattern burnished ware typical of Plakari were found. The steep and exposed setting of the site suggests that Kazara was not occupied year-round. If Plakari and Kazara were contemporary, the inhabitants of Plakari may have used the high ridge for the summer grazing of herds or, given its expansive views of surrounding territory, as a lookout for defensive or other purposes.

Just south of Plakari and within view of Kazara is Agia Pelagia, located along the shore of a rocky promontory.¹⁹ Survey of the site has revealed extensive architectural remains, an empty cist grave and abundant pottery. With surface material covering 1.4 ha, it appears to have been markedly larger than Kazara, and on a scale with Plakari. The northernmost building consists of several small rectangular rooms bordered by narrow corridors, reminiscent of the small corridor houses at EH II Zygouries and Lithares.²⁰ The ceramic assemblage is confined to FN-EB II examples, with most dating to EB II (Fig. 3d). Of particular interest are a number of finely made sauceboat fragments, and a classic piece of yellow mottled ware, probably imported from the mainland. Although the structure with corridors may indicate that Agia Pelagia served as a public gathering place, the sauceboat fragments suggest the possibility that those assemblies were reserved for drinking among the elite. Agia Pelagia seems to have functioned as a coastal settlement that maintained contacts with neighbouring regions and helped shape emerging social asymmetries in the region.

Also deserving of mention is Akri Rozos, an extensive FN-EBA site of 1.5 ha that occupies a headland jutting into the Euboean Gulf. Surveyors traced sections of a perimeter wall, punctuated along the north-eastern rim by built drains and semicircular bastions.²¹ Comparable configurations are known from FN Strophilas (Andros), EC III Kastri near Chalandriani (Syros), and EH III levels at Kolonna (Aegina).²² The purposes of such enclosures are not known, but a reasonable possibility is protection from pirates or raiders, at the same time serving as a visible statement of power or as a territorial claim. The material remains from Akri Rozos point to far-ranging Aegean contacts and emerging social complexity. The pottery spans FN-EH II (Fig. 3e) and is broadly similar to ceramics from the Cyclades and southern and central Greece, but also includes some idiosyncratic pieces. Celts and handstones, one fashioned from non-local volcanic lava, were also collected, along with spindle whorls, two small bronze or copper bits, abundant obsidian and a lump of unworked ore.

Unlike the Paximadi Peninsula, which was the target of intensive survey, the Bouros-Kastri Peninsula, on the other side of the bay, was extensively surveyed by teams using pre-modern land routes as survey transects. In general, the two peninsulas appear to have had comparable histories. Of the 12 findspots located on Bouros-Kastri, most are on or near the coast; all can be dated to the FN or early phases of the EBA. As on Paximadi, no remains date definitively to EB IIB (Lefkandi I culture) or III

18. Cullen et al. 2013, 49-51, fig. 13.

19. Cullen et al. 2013, 51-57, fig. 18. Agia Pelagia was excavated briefly in 2000 by the Greek Archaeological Service, and is now covered by a sewage treatment plant.

20. Zygouries: Blegen 1928, 25, fig. 21; Pullen 1986; Lithares: Tzavella-Evjen 1985, 7, fig. 5.

21. Cullen et al. 2013, 57-62, fig. 25.

22. Strophilas: Televantou 2006, 186-187, figs. 174, 176; Kastri: Bossert 1967, 57; Kolonna: Felten 1986, 26, figs. 12, 13.

and there is no evidence for Middle (MBA) or Late Bronze Age (LBA) occupation. The settlement pattern is also dispersed and sites are generally small, well below half a hectare. None of the findspots indicates a scale comparable to either Agia Pelagia or Akri Rozos, suggesting that the more rugged eastern side of the bay sustained only small farmsteads (and possible lookouts), not places built for larger collectives. The chipped stone assemblages indicate mostly local working of obsidian, although one site, Agioi, provided evidence for non-local production, perhaps by specialized knappers.²³ The pottery from Agioi is also notable for its parallels with pottery from EB II mainland Greece (see, e.g., Fig. 3f for a flat-topped bowl with a *kerbschnitt* pattern on the lip).

In four locations—Spilia, Agioi, Kalamos and Bouletza—there were traces of architecture, but without excavation the dates of these features cannot be securely assigned. Higher elevations with good viewsheds were sometimes selected. Spilia, a rocky crag at 298 masl, for example, has a panoramic view of the Paximadi Peninsula, and a 360° vista of the area; pottery included large vessels with taenia bands, datable to FN (Fig. 3g). The coastal site of Kalamos included the remains of a possible cist grave, reminiscent of the example from Agia Pelagia and similar structures at the edge of the Katsaronio Plain (see below). Also from Kalamos came a sauceboat with traces of dark Urfirnis paint (Fig. 3h), which provides a secure EB II date for the site. At FN Bouletza, located on an upland rocky plateau, surveyors recorded rubble walls, coarse ware and a pattern burnished bowl sherd (Fig. 3i).

Two important prehistoric sites were found in the rugged areas north of the bay: the Agia Triada Cave, located at the foot of Mount Ochi, and Agios Nikolaos, an MBA settlement close to modern Karystos. The cave attests to the earliest occupation in the area, with ceramic links to the so-called Saliagos culture, dated to the end of the LN. Excavators uncovered a series of hearths, one of which was associated with a structure and attached platform, and apparent offerings, including a large LN clay vessel and an anthropomorphic protome resembling a figurine from Kephala, on Kea.²⁴ In addition, the cave produced abundant remains of FN pottery and, unusual for a subterranean context, several EBA human burials associated with well-preserved food remains, metal finds and grave goods that exhibit affinities with the central Cyclades.²⁵ The overall impression is that Agia Triada was used over time for ritual rather than domestic purposes. Moreover, recurring similarities with Cycladic material culture suggest regular maritime connections with the Cyclades, both its northern reaches and the central islands. Rock shelters below the entrance to Agia Triada and a small cave above the site also produced LN and FN remains.²⁶

Agios Nikolaos, one of only two MBA sites currently known in southern Euboea, is of particular interest since it marks a shift in settlement patterns and offers evidence for local metal production. Located inland atop a rocky ridge, it has possible circuit walls, traces of apsidal structures, and surface remains covering c.0.4 ha. Approximately 9% of the ceramic assemblage is said to comprise imported wares of Cycladic origin; other finds, which suggest metalworking, include a swage stone possibly used to shape tools, a fragment of a bronze ingot, tweezers, a modest amount of slag, and clay crucible fragments.²⁷ The existence of a single modest and well-defended inland site in the Karystia points to either nucleation of the local MBA population or a notable decrease in the number of people who inhabited the region.²⁸ A few kylix stems may indicate a Mycenaean visit to the site, but, as elsewhere in southern Euboea, there is no solid evidence for LBA habitation.²⁹

23. C. Perlès, pers. comm.

24. Mavridis and Tankosić 2009, 49, 51-52, fig. 2, nos. 3, 4; cf. Coleman 1977, 68, no. 128, pls. 26, 73.

25. Mavridis and Tankosić 2016.

26. Keller 1985, 125-127.

27. Tankosić and Mathioudaki 2011.

28. Nucleation of sites during the MBA elsewhere in the Aegean has also been argued: see, e.g., Broodbank 2000, 347-349; Cherry 1979, 43-46; Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982, esp. chapters 4, 11, 19.

29. Sackett et al. (1966, 104-105) commented on the surprising absence of Mycenaean sites, noting only one dubious candidate at Philagra and one possible LH IIIC sherd from the Styra area.

The other MBA settlement in southern Euboea is found farther north at Lefka, near Nea Styra. It was reported in the 1960s as a substantial EBA-MBA site worthy of excavation, but few details are available.³⁰ Excavations directed by the late Maria Kosma at Gkisouri, located just north-east of Lefka, have provided vital information that has increased our understanding of southern Euboea during the EBA, particularly the interconnections of the area with the Cyclades. Gkisouri is the probable findspot of three Early Cycladic (EC) figurines found at the end of the 19th century, and recent work at the site has uncovered three large graves with stepped *dromoi* and sides lined with schist slabs.³¹ The discovery of additional fragments of EC II figurines and pieces of marble vessels of typical Cycladic shape prompted the excavator to compare Gkisouri to the cemetery at Tsepi, across the Euboean Gulf on the plain of Marathon.³² It seems likely that Gkisouri was the cemetery associated with Lefka, a settlement positioned strategically to take advantage of maritime traffic, much like Akri Rozos to the south and Manika to the north.

Fertile plains

The FN and EBA remains from the two large arable areas in the Karystia—the Kampos and the Katsaronio Plain—provide intriguing contrasts to the settlement of the Paximadi and Bouros-Kastri Peninsulas, and raise questions about the dynamics of life in the overall region. The Kampos, located near the Karystos Bay, is dominated by a single large EB II site (1.5-2 ha in size), Agios Georgios. Excavation by the Greek Archaeological Service in 1992 revealed wall foundations for multi-roomed, rectangular structures, some of which were large enough to support a second storey, and pits or *bothroi*.³³ Survey subsequently identified additional findspots in the Kampos, some close to the large site and all seemingly of EBA or FN-EBA date.³⁴ These findspots consist almost exclusively of obsidian scatters, with very little pottery and no architectural remains. One findspot, 07N35, is located just west of Agios Georgios, and produced several thousand pieces of obsidian from an area 100 x 150 m. The tools represent specific types, suggesting an area dedicated to special production. Two other sites, 07S28 and 06N16, also contained relatively high numbers of obsidian; the entire lithic reduction sequence is represented in the former, while the latter has been interpreted as an area for blade and flake production. No comparable concentration of lithics appears on either the Paximadi or Bouros-Kastri Peninsula, underscoring how different the activities conducted in the Kampos were from those in the hills and along the coastal bays of the region.³⁵

By contrast, the other fertile plain in the region, the Katsaronio, occupies a large, well-watered upland area some distance from the sea and closer to the deep bay at Marmari than to the Karystos Bay. Survey work has only recently been completed in this area, and findings have not yet been published. It is likely that the focus of activities on the two plains differed: the Kampos oriented to sites near modern Karystos, and the Katsaronio looking westwards towards Marmari and environs. We assume that the plains were used for agricultural production, but the abundant obsidian in both the Katsaronio and the Kampos also points to overseas contacts and the possible existence of emporia. Survey of the Katsaro-

30. Sackett et al. 1966, 78-80.

31. Wolters 1891; Kosma 2012, fig. 3.

32. Kosma 2010, 34-35.

33. Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1992, 178, fig. 4.

34. Tankosić and Chidioglou 2010.

35. Cape Mnima, one of the nearest landfalls on Paximadi for traffic from the south (see Fig. 2), yielded 31 obsidian pieces, including raw nodules, but almost no pottery. It is tempting to view Cape Mnima as an intermediate working station for processing raw nodules, or even as a landing site for vessels bringing the raw material from Melos to southern Euboea, but if so the scale of operation would seem to have been much smaller than at the Kampos sites.

nio Plain in 2012-2014, followed by revisitation of sites in 2015, documented 23 prehistoric findspots, 18 of which are characterized by scatters of lithics, predominantly obsidian, and little or no pottery. The half-dozen sites with both pottery and lithics occur on the fringes of the agricultural plain or on high areas within it, whereas the lithic scatters are confined to the plain itself, a pattern also seen in the Kampos.³⁶ Tankosić reasonably proposes that this pattern is the result of the prehistoric inhabitants of the region wishing to maximize the area devoted to agriculture, and consequently situating larger settlements on the edges of the area.³⁷

Of particular interest on the Katsaronio Plain was the discovery of a major FN site on a schist outcrop, Gourimadi, which has yielded a large number of obsidian arrowheads, iron-rich slag and a well-preserved bronze axe or chisel.³⁸ We eagerly await more details from Gourimadi, including evidence for its relationship with other FN sites in the Karystia. Also notable are seven structures built of flat schist slabs along the ridge defining the southern edge of the plain.³⁹ The structures are difficult to date, but could be EBA cist graves, similar to those documented elsewhere in the region. The pottery collected in the survey zone was neither plentiful nor well preserved, and remains to be studied.

As on the Paximadi and Bouros-Kastri Peninsulas, neither the Kampos nor the Katsaronio Plain yielded any recognizable EB IIB-III material, which suggests a hiatus at the end of the EBA. It is also curious that no LN, MBA or LBA finds have yet been identified in either of the plains, reflecting considerable gaps in the prehistoric record for these areas. Despite extensive survey throughout the region, the Agia Triada Cave provides our only indication of an LN presence.

Marginality, insularity and connectivity

Although the remains from survey in southern Euboea are often scrappy and excavations have been limited in extent, we are nevertheless able to offer a general outline of habitation in the region from the LN to the LBA. In this last section we offer a short synopsis of settlement trends, followed by thoughts on how best to interpret the evidence.

As described above, southern Euboea seems to have been first visited (possibly for ritual purposes) or briefly occupied only towards the end of the LN. Where these individuals came from and how often they frequented the region are not known. Judging from the pottery, these initial inhabitants had ties to the Saliagos culture, and their short-term occupation coincides roughly with an expansion into agriculturally marginal areas of the Aegean. During the ensuing FN, the landscape of southern Euboea begins to fill with scattered small farmsteads, lookouts and a few sites with stone-built architecture. The material remains point to ongoing contacts within the region as well as to a wider web of communication, particularly with Attica and the northern Cyclades.

Although it is difficult to distinguish locations settled only in the FN from those newly founded in the EBA, sites that seem to be predominantly EBA suggest the ushering in of new social alignments. Four substantial communities are now documented (Agios Georgios with an abundance of obsidian and *bothroi*, Agia Pelagia containing a structure with corridors and fine wares perhaps used for elite gatherings, Akri Rozos characterized by towers and walls, and Lefka, associated with a cemetery of schist-lined graves). If contemporary, these sites may each have controlled strategic locations: Agios Georgios might have overseen the Kampos (and possibly the importation and processing of obsidian), Agia Pelagia the maritime traffic into the Karystos Bay, and Akri Rozos and Lefka the Euboean Gulf.

36. Tankosić and Psoma 2016.

37. Tankosić, Forthcoming.

38. Tankosić and Psoma 2016.

39. Tankosić and Psoma 2016.

The appearance of several possible EB II cist graves extending from Paximadi and the Bouros-Kastri region to the northern boundaries of southern Euboea may imply that organized burial of the dead, often used to mark ancestral control of surrounding territory, was becoming an important social and economic strategy. The apparent absence of EB IIB-III material indicates a possible hiatus, but the area was (re)occupied in the following period. The two known MBA sites, Agios Nikolaos and Lefka, may suggest a trend towards settlement nucleation. Finally, the area appears to have been virtually abandoned by the LBA, with no evidence of further habitation until the Protogeometric period.

Although these generalizations about oscillating densities and settlement patterns establish a baseline, many questions remain. Some scholars have suggested that the initial movement into more marginal lands during the 5th and 4th millennia can best be explained parsimoniously.⁴⁰ Broodbank, for example, speculates that with the population rising on the mainland—and much of the best land probably being ancestrally held—communities periodically splintered and spilled into other regions, and island life became a ‘second-best’ but ‘tolerable’ alternative.⁴¹ Agriculturally marginal areas such as the Paximadi and Bouros-Kastri Peninsulas may also have been considered tolerable, if not ideal, options. Others have argued that the primary move to colonize marginal areas toward the end of the Neolithic, particularly upland regions on the Greek mainland, was driven by a rise in pastoralism, which itself may have been partially set in motion by the onset of drier environmental conditions.⁴² While not discounting the importance of pastoralism, climatic forces or population pressure, Halstead and Tomkins have recently focused on social motivations to explain movement into marginal lands. Halstead, for example, suggests that the desire for the increasing autonomy of individual households encouraged groups to break away from larger communities while still maintaining networks of exchange and interdependence among newly formed, dispersed settlements.⁴³ Tomkins’ proposal is similar: newly scattered communities and trade set the stage for the socio-economic diversification of the Bronze Age.⁴⁴

In some ways southern Euboea can accommodate all of these models. The uplands were presumably well suited for herding and pastoral activities, and the rocky, previously uninhabited slopes south of Mount Ochi afforded limited agrarian potential for a tolerable existence in a new area. The notion of an increasing drive for household autonomy is also within the realm of possibility, given the small size and dispersed nature of FN sites, good inter-site visibility, and evidence for both local interaction and limited exchange with more distant regions. While these features provided a safety net in a risk-prone environment, the small, scattered nature of the sites argues for an interest in maintaining discrete domestic units rather than communal areas and shared resources. Although some combination of these paradigms may help explain the early occupation of southern Euboea, the area’s mosaic of topographic zones complicates the issue of marginality: the fertile plains provide some of the best arable land in the greater region. One might think that these plains should have been an enticement for settlement in the FN (if not before), but we cannot assume that the plains were farmed during that long period. It may well be, instead, that the FN settlements dispersed throughout the region were sustained for generations by household-based horticulture, herding in the uplands and limited fishing. The plains, with their heavier alluvial soils, may not have been agriculturally exploited until the EBA, when ox-driven ploughs were adopted, and the plains were viewed as an important commodity, and as sources of power and valuable agricultural surplus that might be traded. As noted above, the Kampos and Katsaronio

40. See, e.g., Broodbank 1999, 33-34; 2000, 131-135; 2013, 215; Cherry 1981, 58-61, for the widespread movement at the end of the Neolithic onto peninsulas and islands throughout the Mediterranean. In this scenario, southern Euboea would have served as a jumping-off zone for the colonization of the northern Cyclades.

41. Broodbank 2013, 215.

42. Broodbank 2008, 284-285; Cherry 1981; Halstead 1996; Roberts et al. 2011.

43. Halstead 2000, 111-115; 2008, 248.

44. Tomkins 2008; 2010.

Plain may have been deliberately settled sparsely in order to maximize agricultural yields.⁴⁵ The fluid relationship between the plains and the agriculturally more marginal peninsulas and uplands surely played an important role in the settlement of the region, but the precise dynamics are as yet unclear.

We are on firmer footing when we explore the applicability of notions such as insularity and connectivity to the prehistory of southern Euboea. Although the extensive literature on insularity is often confined to the study of islands, it has long been recognized that the concept does not apply simply to land masses surrounded by water. Rather, the concept should be conceived metaphorically, with insular regions, water-bound or not, defined by cultural and physical isolation, a sense of special identity or uniqueness, and a conscious idea of boundedness.⁴⁶ True insularity is rare: even ostensibly isolated and insulated cultures usually participate to some degree in contact, trade or communication outside their own small spheres. Insularity and connectivity are in some senses, then, two sides of the same coin.

Certain physical features may have helped maintain a real or perceived notion of distance from other areas. Bordered on the north by the towering ridge system of Mount Ochi (Fig. 5) and surrounded by water on its other sides, the Karystia projects a feeling of insularity. Indeed, in climate and topography, southern Euboea is virtually indistinguishable from the nearby northern Cyclades. Shared identity, which surely helped encourage a sense of boundedness, is suggested by the relative homogeneity of pottery, architecture and burial practices during both the FN and EBA. Close intraregional connections would have been useful for various reasons: to find mates nearby, to cross-breed flocks with neighbouring herds, to aid one another in harsh economic times and perhaps to rely upon shared specialists for long-distance trade.⁴⁷ All of these links could have been cemented with periodic ceremonial feasts at regional gatherings, facilitated by the proximity of sites, many only a few hours' walk from one another.

We can plausibly view Mount Ochi and the nearby mountain chains as impeding interaction farther north, thus promoting the island-like feel of the region, but it would be a mistake to view the waters surrounding southern Euboea as an equal hindrance to external contacts. The consistent and ongoing choice of site locations either near the coast or with wide-ranging views of the sea implies a maritime orientation. Moreover, as noted above, similarities in ceramic production and style can be traced with northern Kea, eastern Attica and even Crete throughout the FN. During the EBA, the region participated in the wider *koine* of the time. Imports other than obsidian, though hardly abundant, include the honey-flint arrowhead from Plakari, yellow mottled ware and sauceboats from Agia Pelagia, the handstone of non-local lava from Akri Rozos, and a small piece of possible talc ware from Agia Paraskevi, at the southern tip of Paximadi.⁴⁸ Although such items may have served utilitarian purposes, they also silently transmitted the prestige of those who acquired them, making powerful political or social statements about access to distant communities, non-local materials and foreign knowledge.⁴⁹ These exotic goods further substantiate an underlying web of interrelated communities across the Aegean, with the inhabitants of southern Euboea taking part actively in seafaring and trade or receiving others from around the Aegean.

The southern shores of prehistoric Euboea were strategically situated to take advantage of maritime traffic in the Aegean, whether as a stopping point for a longer journey between north and south or through the Euboean Gulf, as a final destination, or as a temporary safe harbour during storms.⁵⁰ It is possible that the largest sites in the area—Agios Georgios (and 07N35) on the Kampos, Akri Rozos on

45. Tankosić, Forthcoming.

46. For a discussion of prehistoric Karystian identity, see Tankosić, this volume.

47. Broodbank 2013, 226.

48. Cullen et al. 2013, 39, 55, 62, 64.

49. cf. Fitzpatrick 2008, 8.

50. For a discussion of the Euboean Gulf as a maritime entity and conduit that shaped nodes of interaction in the LBA and Early Iron Age, see Knodell, this volume.

the gulf, and Agia Pelagia on the Karystos Bay—served as EB II centres for the reception and transport of Melian obsidian. We have yet to determine whether some sites received the raw or modified material for their own use or whether they functioned as emporia, moving obsidian farther north into Euboea or west onto the mainland. As gateways for both obsidian and other valued commodities, these sites may have served different catchment areas. Lefka, too, may have been part of this network; finds from the nearby EB II cemetery at Gkisouri are evidence of clear connections with the Cyclades.

In sum, the balance of insularity and connectivity in southern Euboea shifted over time. In the LN, the barely occupied region may have appeared insular although its inhabitants established ties with the Cyclades and the mainland. From the FN to the EBA, the outwardly connecting webs emanating from southern Euboea grew stronger, participating in a Mediterranean that was, in Broodbank's words, 'slowly promoted from being simply something crossable to becoming the focus of newly emergent social constellations'.⁵¹ After an apparent hiatus in southern Euboea in EB IIB-III, the dispersed settlement pattern characteristic of several millennia was replaced in the MBA by a nucleated pattern: at least one of the two sites known, Agios Nikolaos, exhibits evidence of outside contact and possibly limited metal production. In the LBA, however, for reasons unknown, the area is once again virtually uninhabited, and no longer a player in the robust activities that occurred in and around the Aegean.

51. Broodbank 2013, 217.

Bibliography

- Blegen, C. W. (1928) *Zygouries: A Prehistoric Settlement in the Valley of Cleonae*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bossert, E.-M. (1967) 'Kastri auf Syros: Vorbericht über eine Untersuchung der prähistorische Siedlung'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 22(Μελέται Α1), 53-76.
- Broodbank, C. (1999) 'Colonization and Configuration in the Insular Neolithic of the Aegean'. In Vol. 2 of *Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology [Neolithic Society in Greece]*, edited by P. Halstead, 15-41. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Broodbank, C. (2000) *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Broodbank, C. (2008) 'Long after Hippos, Well before Palaces: A Commentary on the Cultures and Contexts of Neolithic Crete'. In Vol. 8 of *Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology [Escaping the Labyrinth: The Cretan Neolithic in Context]*, edited by V. Isaakidou and P. Tomkins, 273-290. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Broodbank, C. (2013) *The Making of the Middle Sea: A History of the Mediterranean from the Beginning to the Emergence of the Classical World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cherry, J. F. (1979) 'Four Problems in Cycladic Prehistory'. In *Papers in Cycladic Prehistory*, edited by J. L. Davis and J. F. Cherry, 22-47. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Cherry, J. F. (1981) 'Pattern and Process in the Earliest Colonisation of the Mediterranean Islands'. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 47, 41-68.
- Coleman, J. E. (1977) 'Kephala: A Late Neolithic Settlement and Cemetery'. Vol. I of *Keos*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Crielaard, J. P., E. Barbetsea, X. Charalambidou, M. Chidioglou, M. Groenhuijzen, M. Kosma and F. Songu. (2013) 'The Plakari Archaeological Project: Preliminary Report on the Second Field Season (2011)'. *Pharos* 19(2), 35-56.
- Crielaard, J. P., X. Charalambidou, M. Chidioglou, M. Kosma, D. Lentjes and F. Songu, Forthcoming. 'The Plakari Archaeological Project: Preliminary Report on the Fifth Field Season (2014)'. *Pharos* 22(2), 2016.
- Crielaard, J. P., X. Charalambidou, M. Chidioglou, M. Kosma and F. Songu (2014) 'The Plakari Archaeological Project: Preliminary Report on the Third Field Season (2012)'. *Pharos* 20(2), 1-24.
- Crielaard, J. P., X. Charalambidou, M. Chidioglou, M. Kosma and F. Songu (2016) 'The Plakari Archaeological Project: Preliminary Report on the Fourth Field Season (2013)'. *Pharos* 21(2), 117-133.
- Crielaard, J. P., F. Songu, M. Chidioglou and M. Kosma. (2011-2012) 'The Plakari Archaeological Project: Project Outline and Preliminary Report on the First Field Season (2010)'. *Pharos* 18(2), 83-106.
- Cullen, T., L. E. Talalay and D. R. Keller (2002) 'An Island within an Island? Earliest Settlement of Southern Euboea, Greece'. Presented at the conference 'Settlers and Settlements in Greece, 9000-1000 B.C.', University of the Aegean, Rhodes, Greece, 8 October, 2002.
- Cullen, T., L. E. Talalay, D. R. Keller, L. Karimali and W. R. Farrand (2013) *The Prehistory of the Paximadi Peninsula, Euboea*. Vol. 40 of *Prehistory Monographs*. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press.
- Felten, F. (1986) 'Early Urban History and Architecture of Ancient Aigina'. In Vol. 76 of *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology [Early Helladic Architecture and Urbanization. Proceedings of a Seminar Held at the Swedish Institute in Athens, June 8, 1985]*, edited by R. Hägg and D. Konsola, 21-28. Gothenburg: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Fitzpatrick, S. M. (2008) 'Synthesizing Island Archaeology'. In *Voyages of Discovery: The Archaeology of Islands*, edited by S. M. Fitzpatrick, 1-17. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Halstead, P. (1996) 'Pastoralism or Household Herding? Problems of Scale and Specialization in Early Greek Animal Husbandry'. *World Archaeology* 28, 20-42.
- Halstead, P. (2000) 'Land Use in Postglacial Greece: Cultural Causes and Environmental Effects'. In Vol. 3 of *Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology [Landscape and Land Use in Postglacial Greece]*, edited by P. Halstead and C. Frederick, 110-128. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Halstead, P. (2008) 'Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Coping with Marginal Colonisation in the Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age of Crete and the Aegean'. In Vol. 8 of *Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology [Escaping*

- the Labyrinth: The Cretan Neolithic in Context*], edited by V. Isaakidou and P. Tomkins, 229-257. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Keller, D. R. (1982) 'Final Neolithic Pottery from Plakari, Karystos'. In Vol. 5 of *Miscellanea Graeca: Studies in South Attica I*, edited by P. Spitaels, 47-67. Ghent: Comité des Fouilles Belges en Grèce.
- Keller, D. R. (1985) 'Archaeological Survey in Southern Euboea, Greece: A Reconstruction of Human Activity from Neolithic Times through the Byzantine Period'. PhD thesis. Indiana University, USA.
- Kosma, M. (2010) 'New Early Cycladic Figurine at Nea Styra'. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 10(3), 29-36.
- Kosma, M. (2012) 'ΙΑ' Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων, Στερεά Ελλάδα (2), Στύρα'. In *2000-2010: Από το Ανασκαφικό Έργο των Εφορειών Αρχαιοτήτων*, ed. M. Vlasaki, Athens, 55.
- Mavridis, F. and Ž. Tankosić (2009) 'The Ayia Triadha Cave, Southern Euboea: Finds and Implications of the Earliest Human Habitation in the Area (A Preliminary Report)'. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 9(2), 47-59.
- Mavridis, F. and Ž. Tankosić (2016) 'Early Bronze Age Burial Deposits at the Ayia Triada Cave at Karystos, Euboea: Tentative Interpretations'. *Hesperia* 85(2), 207-242.
- Nazou, M. (2014) 'Defining the Regional Characteristics of Final Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Pottery in Attica'. PhD thesis. Institute of Archaeology, University College London, UK.
- Piteros, C., J-P. Olivier and J. L. Melena (1990) 'Les inscriptions en linéaire B des nodules de Thèbes (1982): La fouille, les documents, les possibilités d'interprétation'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 114, 103-184.
- Pullen, D. J. (1986) 'A "House of Tiles" at Zygouries? The Function of Monumental Early Helladic Architecture'. In Vol. 76 of *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology [Early Helladic Architecture and Urbanization. Proceedings of a Seminar Held at the Swedish Institute in Athens, June 8, 1985]*, edited by R. Hägg and D. Konsola, 79-84. Gothenburg: P. Åströms Förlag.
- Renfrew, C. and J. M. Wagstaff, eds. (1982) *An Island Polity: The Archaeology of Exploitation in Melos*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roberts, N., D. Brayshaw, C. Kuzucuoğlu, R. Perez and L. Sadori (2011) 'The Mid-Holocene Climatic Transition in the Mediterranean: Causes and Consequences'. *The Holocene* 21(3), 3-13.
- Sackett, L. H., V. Hankey, R. J. Howell, T. W. Jacobsen and M. R. Popham (1966) 'Prehistoric Euboea: Contributions toward a Survey'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 61, 33-112.
- Sampson, A. (1981) *Η νεολιθική και η πρωτοελλαδική Ι στην Εύβοια. Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών*, Supplement 24.
- Sampson, A. (2006) *Η προϊστορία του Αιγαίου: Παλαιολιθική-Μεσολιθική-Νεολιθική*. Athens: Atrapos.
- Sapouna-Sakellarakis, E. (1992) 'Οικόπεδο Δ.Ε.Η. εκτός σχεδίου πόλεως στη θέση Άγιος Γεώργιος Κάμπου'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 47(Χρονικά Β1), 177-178.
- Sarantea-Micha, E. (1996) 'Παλαιολιθικά λατομεία-εργαστήρια κατασκευής εργαλείων: Φανερωμένη και Βολέρι Νέας Αρτάκης Ευβοίας'. *Αρχαιολογία και τέχνες* 60, 43-50.
- Tankosić, Ž. (Forthcoming) 'Land Management in the Final Neolithic/Early Bronze Age Aegean? Some Tantalizing Indications from Southern Euboea'. In *Proceedings of a Conference 'Communities in Transition: Circum-Aegean Later Neolithic Stages'*, edited by S. Dietz, F. Mavridis, Z. Tankosić and T. Takaoglu. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Tankosić, Ž. and M. Chidioglou (2010) 'The Karystian Kampos Survey Project: Methods and Preliminary Results'. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 10(3), 11-17.
- Tankosić, Ž. and I. Mathioudaki (2009) 'Άγιος Νικόλαος Μυλων: Some Speculations on the Bronze Age of Southern Euboea'. In Vol. 2(II) of *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας: 2006. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης, Βόλος, 16.3-19.3.2006 [Στερεά Ελλάδα]*, edited by A. Mazarakis-Ainian, 941-949. Volos: Εργαστήριο Αρχαιολογίας Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλίας; Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού.
- Tankosić, Ž. and I. Mathioudaki (2011) 'The Finds from the Prehistoric Site of Άγιος Νικόλαος Μυλων, Southern Euboea, Greece'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 106, 99-140.
- Tankosić, Ž. and A. Psoma (2016) 'Prehistoric Finds from the Survey of the Katsaronio Plain, Southern Euboea, Greece: A Preliminary Assessment'. Presented at the 117th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, San Francisco, 8 January, 2016.

- Televantou, C. A. (2006) 'Ο οικισμός του Στρόφιλα στην Άνδρο'. In *Η προϊστορία του Αιγαίου: Παλαιολιθική-Μεσολιθική-Νεολιθική*, edited by A. Sampson, 185-194. Athens: Atrapos.
- Tomkins, P. (2008) 'Time, Space, and the Reinvention of the Cretan Neolithic'. In Vol. 8 of *Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology [Escaping the Labyrinth: The Cretan Neolithic in Context]*, edited by V. Isaakidou and P. Tomkins, 21-48. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Tomkins, P. (2010) 'Neolithic Antecedents'. In *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean (ca. 3000-1000 B.C.)*, edited by E. H. Cline, 31-49. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tzavella-Evjen, H. (1985) *Lithares, an Early Bronze Age Settlement in Boeotia*. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press.
- Wickens, J. M., S. I. Rotroff, T. Cullen, L. E. Talalay, C. Perlès and F. W. McCoy (In prep.) *Settlement and Land Use on the Periphery: The Bouros-Kastri Peninsula, Southern Euboea*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Wolters, P. (1891) 'Marmorkopf aus Amorgos'. *Athenische Mitteilungen* 16, 54-55.

Figures

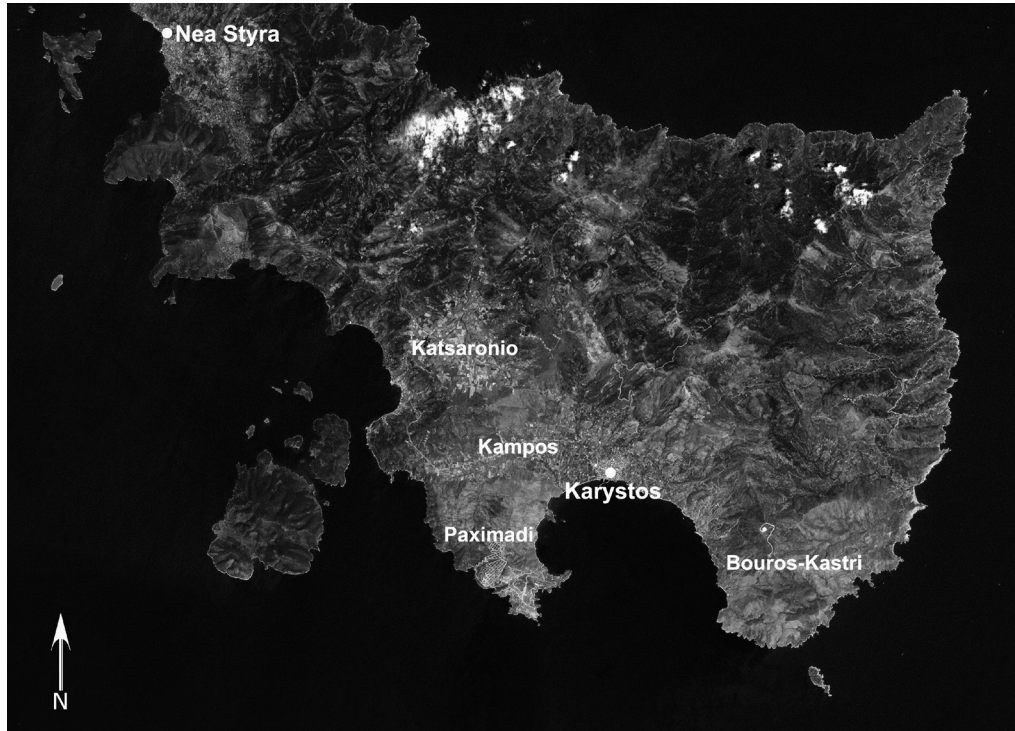


Figure 1: Aerial view of southern Euboea. Photo courtesy ESRI World Imagery.

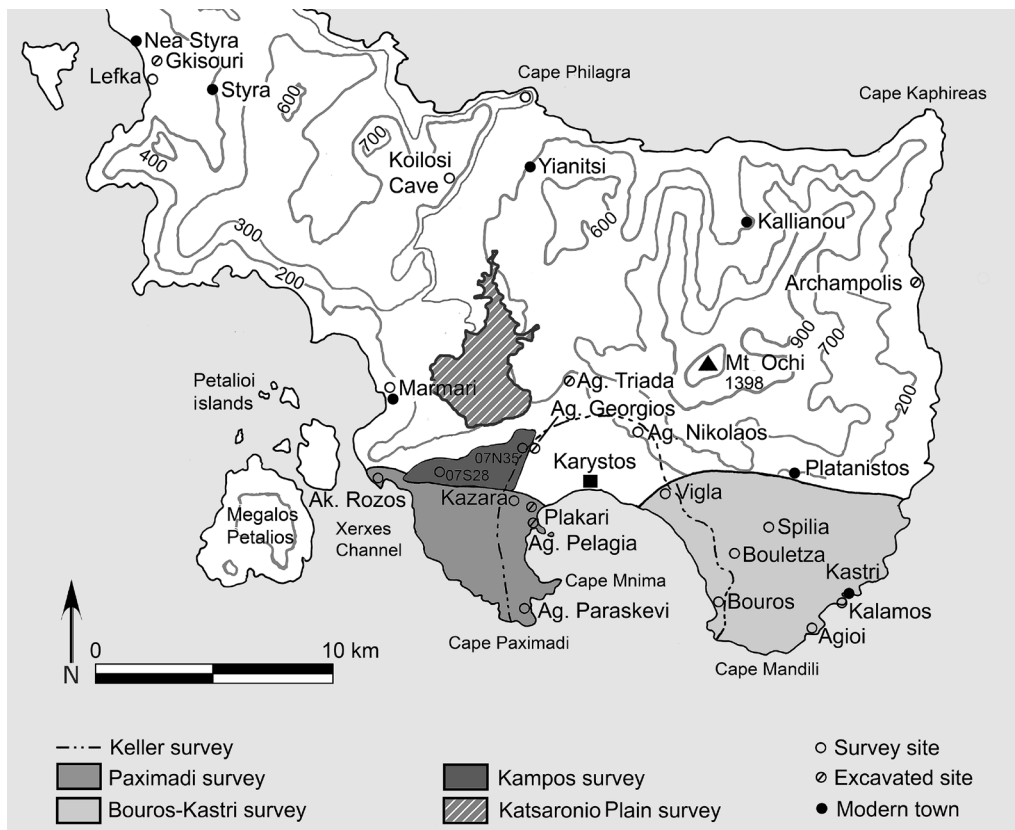


Figure 2: Map of southern Euboea, showing research areas and distribution of sites. Drawing: Todd E. Gerring.

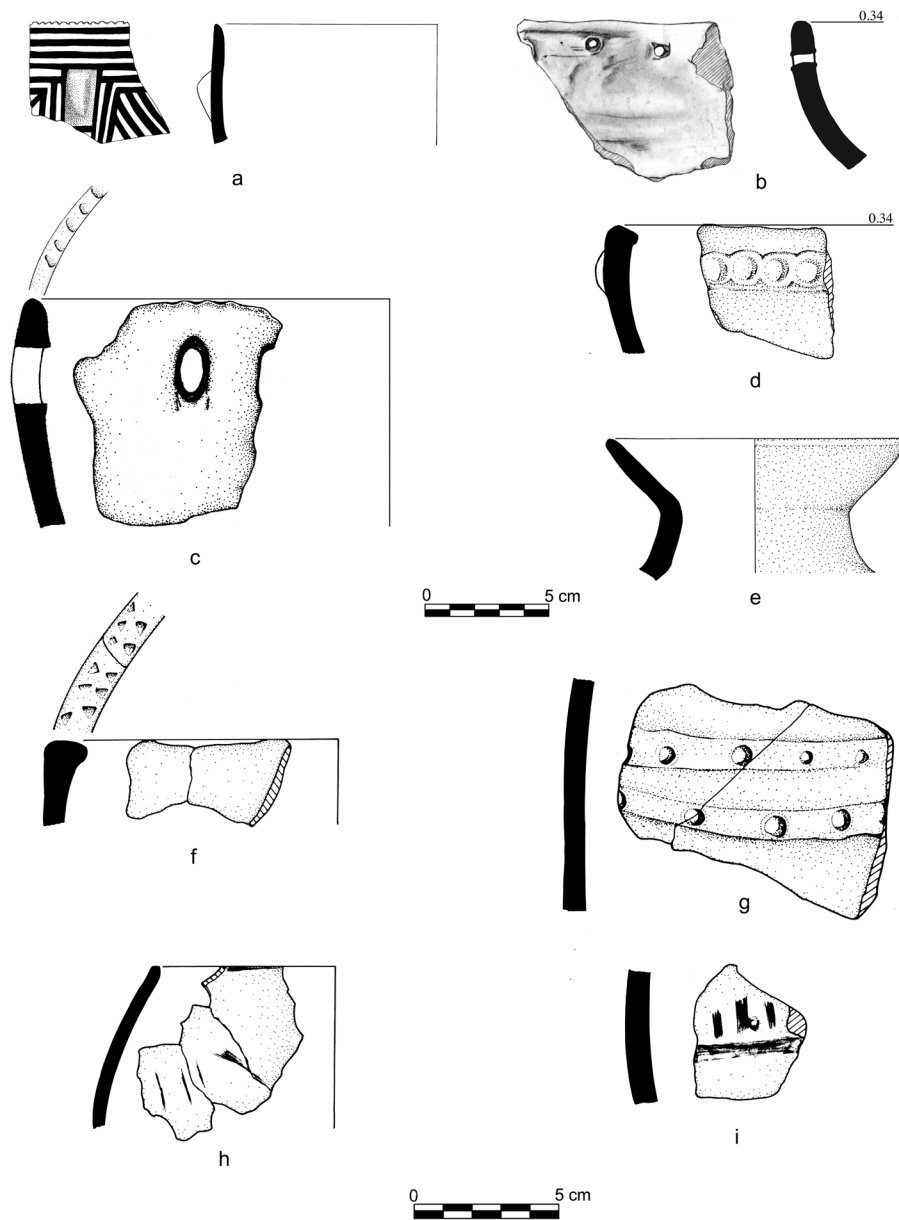


Figure 3: Pottery profiles from Paximadi (a-e) and the Bouros-Kastri Peninsula (f-i): (a) Plakari: pattern burnished bowl; (b) Plakari: cheese pot; (c) Kazara: bowl with scalloped tab; (d) Agia Pelagia: bowl with taenia band; (e) Akri Rozos: jar with flaring collar; (f) Agioi: bowl with *kerbschnitt* impressions; (g) Spilia: jar with taenia bands; (h) Kalamos: sauceboat with Urfirnis pattern; (i) Bouletza: open vessel with pattern burnishing. Drawing: Lauren E. Talalay.



Figure 4: Plakari: obsidian core and triangular honey-flint arrowhead. Photo SEEP Archives.



Figure 5: View of Mount Ochi above Karystos. Photo courtesy Hans R. Goette.

Neolithic pottery groups from the Agia Triada Cave, southern Euboea, and the Aegean Late Neolithic: Some remarks

Fanis MAVRIDIS

Abstract

Στο κείμενο που ακολουθεί παρουσιάζονται τα προκαταρκτικά συμπεράσματα της εν εξελίξει μελέτης του υλικού των ανασκαφών που πραγματοποιήθηκαν κατά τα έτη 2007-2010 στο σπήλαιο της Αγίας Τριάδας Καρύστου.¹ Από τα έως τώρα δεδομένα προκύπτει ότι ορισμένα κεραμικά σύνολα διαφοροποιούνται ως προς τα τυπο-τεχνολογικά τους χαρακτηριστικά από την κεραμική της Νεότερης Νεολιθικής ΙΙ. Η πιο χαρακτηριστική κατηγορία είναι η γραπτή κεραμική με λευκή διακόσμηση σε σκούρο βάθος που χαρακτηρίζει τη Νεότερη Νεολιθική Ι περίοδο των νησιών του κεντρικού, ανατολικού Αιγαίου και άλλων περιοχών. Ο μικρός αριθμός αντιπροσωπευτικών οστράκων και η κακή κατάσταση διατήρησης τους δυσχεραίνουν ιδιαίτερα τη μελέτη.

Introduction

The Agia Triada Cave is located approximately 5 km north-west of Karystos, near the village of Kalyvia, at the foot of Mount Ochi (Fig. 1). The entrance of the cave (Fig. 2) is relatively small (c.1.5 x 1 m). It opens into a narrow but high corridor that slopes downwards (Fig. 3). The length of the entrance corridor is c.70 m. It turns sharply left and continues for another c.50 m until it ends at a vertical crevasse. A side chamber opens almost at the end of the main corridor at the beginning of the section where the main corridor becomes more leveled. It is only passable by crawling, but further in towards the second part of the side chamber there is a room of no more than c.6 x 4 m, where there was enough space and the ceiling was high enough to allow trenches to be opened. Excavations were concentrated in the side chamber and the level section of the main corridor of the cave (see Fig. 4).

The presence of material dated to the Late Neolithic (hereafter LN) at Agia Triada was noted in the early 1980s, owing to the surface collection conducted by A. Sampson.² LN I and II material is mentioned by D. Keller, who also visited the cave; he had visited four additional caves c.30 m below the main cave discussed here, as well as a fifth 200 m higher up and across the gorge from Agia Triada.³ Survey as well as test excavation in these rock shelters produced no reliable evidence of Neolithic use.

This LN material mentioned by Keller and Sampson represents the earliest currently attested ma-

1. I would like to thank my friend and co-excavator of the Agia Triada Cave Dr Ž. Tankosić for his overall help and support. I am also grateful to the archaeologist D. Lambropoulos for his help with sorting the material, as well as to A. Mari, D. Pullen, V. Şahoğlu, P. Sotirakopoulou and K. Vitelli for discussing with me aspects of the material presented in this report.

2. Sampson ([1985]1988).

3. Keller 1985, 125-127, figs. 63-66.

terial in southern Euboea. It has been claimed that at another cave site near the village of Koilos, Karystia, even earlier material has been noted;⁴ however, only after a more systematic study will it be possible to evaluate these claims.⁵ Surveys in Karystia have not yet produced any reliable evidence for human presence earlier than LN II.⁶

Achieving a better understanding of this early material was one of the main reasons for starting an excavation at the Agia Triada Cave. Furthermore, the natural characteristics of the cave,⁷ which are different from the caves usually used during the LN I-II in southern Greece, meant it was worth investigating.⁸ Agia Triada is not suitable for prolonged habitation by even a small group of people due to its configuration, the lack of light, and the damp (Fig. 3).⁹

Beyond the LN I material, the main phases present in the cave, according to the current state of material study, belong to the LN II¹⁰ and the Early Bronze Age II (hereafter EBA) phases.¹¹

Excavation and contextual information

Distribution patterns of the material stratigraphically detected below the LN II layers (Fig. 4) indicate (Table 1a-e) its concentration in specific layers and units/features. Moreover, characteristic sherds are sporadically present in chronologically later layers, indicating that deeper strata were disturbed either by natural formation processes or by LN II use. According to the excavation data, layer 7, which represented a stone, layered surface with a sub-structure made of rubble securely dated to the LN II Attica-Kephala culture, sealed lower deposits, and any disturbance and intervention from above seems to belong to this phase. This is due to the fact that the EB II burials were apparently placed on the contemporary surface of the cave without any significant digging being undertaken, and thus little damage was caused to the earlier strata; there is therefore a clear distinction between the LN II and EBA II layers. In between these two layers a sandy layer was found that contained few finds from both phases. At least stratigraphically and according to the available radiocarbon dates, there is a gap between the LN II and EB II phases of use.

The deepest layers of the trenches opened inside the side chamber mainly contained sand and pebbles, indicating disturbance caused by water. The cave is still an active underground river. In these layers, traces of burning were identified, possibly indicating the presence of fires (burnt soil and traces of ash) or other activities.¹² They were generally very badly preserved. It is therefore difficult to extract more precise information regarding the character of occupation and the use of the cave in the deposits found below the LN II layer 7. Additionally, based on the quantity of material present in these layers, occupation cannot but be considered sporadic. Beyond some bone tools excavated in the entrance corridor, the overall picture of the material is that of few lithics and small-sized sherds with extremely worn surfaces. This picture is completely different from that presented by the LN II and mainly the EB II material.¹³

4. Sampson 1981, 70, fig. 130; Sampson 2002b, 79-94.

5. See also Cullen et al. 2013, 7.

6. Cullen et al. 2013, 7; Tankosić and Chidiroglou 2010, 11-17; Tankosić and Katsianis, Forthcoming.

7. See Mavridis and Tankosić 2009; 2013.

8. For the use of caves in the Later Neolithic stages of southern Greece, see Mavridis 2014, 599-610, and also Mavridis et al. 2013.

9. Mavridis and Tankosić 2009, 798; 2013.

10. Mavridis and Tankosić 2016a.

11. Mavridis and Tankosić 2016b.

12. As indicated by the geologist of the excavation, Dr P. Karkanis.

13. See Mavridis and Tankosić 2016a; 2016b.

The most important pottery groups/concentrations come from trenches 2 and 3 at the main corridor and from trenches 4, 8 and 9 in the side chamber. In trenches 4, 8 and 9 we reached bedrock,¹⁴ and the stratigraphy there consisted of thick deposits in contrast to the main corridor trenches that preserved fewer finds in shallow deposits (Fig. 4).¹⁵

Trench 2 is located at the very end of the main section of the entrance corridor. The stratigraphical sequence as well as the archaeological inventory from this trench is much better preserved and more informative than that from most of the trenches opened in this part of the cave. We were able to discern seven distinct stratigraphic layers based on soil colour, inclusions and consistency—criteria used in the rest of the trenches opened. The most important element of trench 2 stratigraphy is feature 1 (Fig. 5a, b). This feature consists of a roughly circular patch of reddish hardened and burned soil with large pottery sherds (pithos fragments with rope decoration, Fig. 13.5) and flattish slabs of local stone. This small platform extends towards the north-east corner and into the profile of the trench.¹⁶ Roughly below the middle section of the circular feature, we found a prosopomorphic protome handle that belongs to a vessel whose other parts were also found in trench 2 (Fig. 14.4). It appears that such positioning of the prosopomorphic handle was intentional. The handle was found within a leveled layer containing significant amounts of charcoal and ash. The purpose of this feature is unclear. However, on the basis of other excavations in caves such as the Drakaina Cave on Kephallonia¹⁷ and the Leontari (Lion) Cave in Attica,¹⁸ it appears that the intentional placement of certain artefact categories and especially figurines below floors was a common practice.¹⁹ Below feature 1 more sherds were found, some of which have white painted decoration (Figs. 13, 14), dating its construction with reasonable certainty to the LN I. A few obsidian tools were found in the same trench as well as some scattered human bones.

In trench 3 (Fig. 6a, b), a pottery concentration was found (U2/4a) towards the north profile in a loose grey and silty layer related to layer 4 (compact, reddish-brown layer with traces of burning, stones and pottery sherds). This concentration possibly represents a shallow pit cut into layer 4. In layer 4, obsidian tools were found, together with a bone needle (U2/4a) as well as two human vertebrae (one from layer 4, the other from U2/4a). Layers 4b (red clay) and 5a-b (stones) represent an intentional construction, probably a leveled area.²⁰ Deeper, there was another layer (L6) with traces of burning together with a fair number of sherds (U4/L6). At the bottom of this layer there was another concentration of finds (U5) containing pottery, bone tools and stones. Deeper layers contained only sporadic finds.

Excavations in the side chamber produced the richest prehistoric deposits so far, which date to the LN and the EBA.

The deepest layers consisted mainly of sand and pebbles. Traces of burned soil may indicate the presence of layers of use. Sporadic sherds were present throughout the stratigraphic record (for an example from trench 4, see Fig. 7) with some notable concentrations being present.

In trench 9, layer 11 yielded a fair amount of characteristic sherds. It is a yellowish sandy layer with traces of burning. It contained sherds with dark burnished surfaces among which was found one horn handle and also a few burnt bones and obsidian (one arrowhead). Sporadic finds are present in several other layers as well (e.g. layer 12).

Excavation of trench 8 produced a very interesting selection of pottery and other finds. Layer 9b (yellowish sand with traces of burning and several large stones) produced one spindle whorl, obsidian

14. See Mavridis and Tankosić 2016a; 2016b.

15. For a description of the cave and the region of its location, see Mavridis and Tankosić 2009; 2013; 2016a; 2016b.

16. Mavridis and Tankosić 2009, 51.

17. Stratouli 2005.

18. Karali et al. 2005; 2006.

19. Karali et al., Forthcoming; Mavridis 2014.

20. Karali et al., Forthcoming; Karkanias and Stratouli 2008; Mavridis 2014.

(arrowheads) and burnt bones together with dark-faced pottery, mainly body sherds. Layer 13 (silty brown/yellowish layer with pebbles and traces of burning) is of great interest. It contained some burned bones and obsidian as well as a concentration of dark-faced pottery with carinated profiles together with other pottery categories. Characteristic dark, burnished sherds with carinated profiles come also from trench 4, layer 23 and trench 3, layer 5. They were found together with white-on-dark painted sherds. Layers 11 and 12 of trench 8 have more or less the same character but with even fewer finds.

In summary, material found stratigraphically below the well-defined leveled stone layer of the LN II (layer 7 of trenches 4, 8, 9 of the side chamber) comes mainly from layers with traces of burning, possibly representing surfaces of use, but also in some cases from specific features located in the main corridor (possible pits, feature 1) (Table 1a-e). White-on-dark pottery seems to be better attested in the corridor trenches, while black burnished monochrome pottery is in the side chamber. Shouldered bowls seem also to be more closely associated with white-on-dark sherds compared to the rest of the monochrome pottery, an indication that is perhaps of some chronological importance and will be better defined by future work. The presence of different phases of the LN beyond the Attica-Kephala horizon is supported by the radiocarbon dates which point towards the end of the 6th to approximately the middle of the 5th millennium (Table 2).

Pottery: Wares and shapes (Table 3 a, b)

Pottery presented in this report (Figs. 10-21) was selected on the basis of its morphological/typological and technological characteristics, as a body of material presenting significant differences from that of the LN II. The detailed study of the material and the cave's stratigraphy is ongoing and will be presented in the final publication of the 2007-2010 excavations. Therefore, all results presented here are preliminary.

The pottery selected for this report is basically dark faced, commonly with heavily burnished (mechanical) slip and more rarely smoothed or rough surfaces.

The most characteristic decorated ware is white paint on (usually) burnished ground. The colouring of surfaces ranges from black to shades of grey and brown. The fabric of the LN painted ware from the Agia Triada Cave is characterized by the presence of schist (schist quartz muscovite silty), indicating its local production (Fig. 8a, b).²¹ The fabric appears uniform with a non-calcareous, compact clay and whitish inclusions throughout the clay body. Larger inclusions are more frequently present in coarser pots (Fig. 9a, b). This semi-coarse clay with more frequent larger inclusions was also used for the manufacture of most of the carinated monochrome pots found in trench 8, layer 13 (Fig. 17, 19.62, 20). A fair amount of silver and sporadic gold mica is also evident. The firing temperature of the white-on-dark ware is about 800°C (Table 4).

White painted decoration (calcium carbonate) was applied after the burnishing of the surface.²² In the Aegean, this type of painted decoration usually appears as a relief, placed there after the surface was burnished and before firing, and often only survives as a 'paint ghost'.²³ It seems that when painting was completed with a very liquid clay slip, there is no noticeable difference in level between the painted lines and the background, whereas when the clay slip is less diluted, the result is somewhat dry and crumbly, creating some difference in surface levels.²⁴

Generally, laboratory analysis of white-on-dark painted ware from different island sites indicates

21. Mavridis 2009, 257.

22. See Evans and Renfrew 1968, 40; for the white substance used, see Letsch and Knoll 1983; Vitelli 1999, 39.

23. Phelps 2004, 74.

24. Thiessen 1993, 223.

that they were locally produced on each particular site.²⁵ Firing temperatures are relatively high, between 800-1000°C in a reduction atmosphere. The so-called 'sandwich effect' observed in the core of the sherds was achieved through the sudden alteration of temperature.²⁶ Non-calcareous clays predominate in the Cyclades, together with mechanical slip, whereas calcareous clays with slip are common in the eastern Aegean; however, this distinction is not clear cut.²⁷ Whether this observation is of chronological or cultural importance can only be verified by future research. Current evidence coming from the Aegean islands as well as coastal Anatolia indicates that white-on-dark ware is present over a long period of time.

Fine ware rim fragments outnumber coarse.²⁸ As far as one can predict from the few rim sherds preserved, straight-sided bowls are the most numerous (e.g. Figs. 10.54, 17.90, 18.41).²⁹ In two cases, such bowls bear evidence of lugs with vertical perforation below the rim (Figs. 18.57, 21.84). Rounded bowls are the second most numerous preserved shape (e.g. Figs. 10.23, 10.32, 10.33, 18.63).³⁰ Everted rim bowls (e.g. Fig. 13.86, 13.106) follow,³¹ whereas flaring rim bowls (15.69 is the most characteristic example)³² are under-represented. Rounded bowls with a rather S-shaped profile are few (e.g. Figs. 17.36, 18.1, 18.89),³³ as are closed bowls (Figs. 11.19, 12.82),³⁴ and the necks of closed vessels (Figs. 10.46, 12.119, 13.123).³⁵ Carinated bowls (Fig. 10.74)³⁶ are rare. One example preserves a carinated body with a horizontal tubular lug (Fig. 19.22).³⁷ There are, however, no clear-cut limits between different bowl types since there is no standardization in the typological characteristics.

The taphonomic conditions at the Agia Triada Cave were not favourable for the preservation of this material. Sherds were badly worn and it was very difficult to determine which were finally decorated or which pattern was preserved. The syntax of the decoration is therefore difficult to reconstruct. In one case, the surface of a straight-sided bowl was divided into panels by vertical and horizontal lines (Fig. 10.54). Rectilinear motifs predominate. Decoration is found mainly on the outer surface of pots; only in two cases was the interior surface of the bowl decorated (Figs. 10.72, 13.86). Decoration is found on larger, coarser vessels (Fig. 17.16, 18.1, 18.57), something which is also known from Saliagos.³⁸ Patterns are applied to the entire surface, from rim to base (Figs. 17.16, 18.57, 19.22,³⁹ 21.2).⁴⁰ Most decorated examples come from upper parts of the rim (e.g. Figs. 11.39, 13.86, 18.41).

Patterns are characterized by a rather standardized repertoire. They range from simple combina-

25. Mavridis 2009, 252-261.

26. Mavridis 2009, 258.

27. Analysis by I. Whitbread and V. Kylikoglou in Mavridis 2009, chapter 11.

28. See also the case of Saliagos in Evans and Renfrew 1968, fig. 41, and also Sampson 1987, fig. 57.631 for Rhodes.

29. Evans and Renfrew 1968, fig. 49; Hatjianastasiou 1988, figs. 1.2, 3; Mavridis 2010, fig. 6.135; Sampson 1987, figs. 58.639, 59.643, 59.644, 60.655; Sampson 1993, fig. 57.11.

30. Benzi 2008, figs. 2, 3; Evans and Renfrew 1968, figs. 35.16, 36.12; Hatjianastasiou 1988, figs. 1.9, 11; Sampson 1987, figs. 53.602, 54.605, 54.607.

31. See for example Evans and Renfrew 1968, fig. 50.13, 50.15-17.

32. Evans and Renfrew 1968, fig. 51; Mavridis 2010, fig. 6.109, 6.118, 6.120, 6.138.

33. See Evans and Renfrew 1968, fig. 40.3, 40.4; Felsch 1988, figs. 78.F69, 69.381-69.387; Hatjianastasiou 1988, fig. 1.12; Sampson 1987, figs. 56.619, 58.637, 59.645; Sampson 1993, fig. 57.10.

34. See for example Evans and Renfrew 1968, fig. 52.5, 52.11, 52.12; Felsch 1988, fig. 54.74, similar to Evans and Renfrew 1968, fig. 12.82; Hood 1981/1982, fig. 130.248, 130.249 necks of closed vases; Mavridis 2008, 4.1.774, 4.1.777 but with thickened rims, also n. 770; Sampson 1987, figs. 53.603, 56.621, 57.631; Sampson 1993, fig. 57.1, 57.5, 57.6, 57.8.

35. See for example Felsch 1988, fig. 51.33, with almost the same pattern beginning from rim; Mavridis 2008, fig. 4.1.775; Sampson 1987, figs. 57.626, 58.634; Sampson 1993, fig. 57.4.

36. Carinated shapes at Tigani are rare and not similar to Agia Triada; see Felsch 1988, figs. 51.34a, 54.73a, 61.247, 61.249a; Hood 1981/1982, fig. 34; Mavridis 2008, fig. 4.1.773, 4.1.779; Sampson 1987, fig. 40.409 (monochrome).

37. See for example Sampson 1987, fig. 51.573.

38. See Evans and Renfrew 1968, 36.

39. See Evans and Renfrew 1968, fig. 57.10, 57.12-14.

40. See Evans and Renfrew 1968, figs. 36.12, 36.14, 53.11.

tions of straight lines and bands⁴¹ (e.g. Figs. 10.74, 10.93, 12.34, 12.82, 12.83, 13.106, 13.122, 13.123, 18.1) to more elaborate motifs and combinations of different elements: wavy lines (which are the only curvilinear motif),⁴² which are rather popular, were used as the main filling pattern inside panels formed by straight lines, in vertical rows, combined with other motifs such as a vertical row of V-shaped motifs (Figs. 10.23, 10.54, 11.19, 11.39, 11.40).⁴³ Rows of triangles⁴⁴ and multiple chevrons⁴⁵ (Figs. 11.31, 12.59); squares (Fig. 17.36);⁴⁶ lozenges (Figs. 10.32, 12.7, 14.130, 14.133, 16.35),⁴⁷ either simple or multiple, vertical, horizontal or diagonal (e.g. Figs. 12.119, 14.12—antithetic 14.130, 14.133), are present. Solid motifs (e.g. ladder-like or zig-zag bands, Fig. 20.121) also occur as well as hatched or cross-hatched motifs and intersecting lines (Figs. 16.10, 16.33, 16.35, 16.56).⁴⁸ There is also a unique rounded bowl with thick jagged bands (Fig. 19.134), which seems to be closer to motifs known from the crusted ware of Ftelia on Mykonos.⁴⁹

There are very few examples of relief or plastic decoration. The jar with relief bands decorated with finger impressions (rope decoration) (Fig. 13.5) is a well-known element used throughout the LN.⁵⁰ A small fragment with evidence of white paint also preserves a curved, thin relief band (Fig. 10.120).⁵¹

In one case three thin, vertical, shallow, incised lines are preserved, descending from the rim on the interior of a most-probably straight-sided bowl with a black burnished surface (Fig. 11.67).

A well-represented category is the monochrome, undecorated pottery, usually with a heavily burnished surface (a few recognizable examples had smoothed or rough surfaces). The surface ranges in shades from black to grey and brown. Both grey and black wares were made together during the LN, and it is sometimes difficult to decide to which class they belong since only a small portion of the black ware has black fabric; usually a dark grey fabric is evident.⁵² The clay is similar to that used for the painted ware. Again, straight-sided bowls predominate (Figs. 15.51, 18.47, 18.50, 20.116). Closed bowls/wide mouth vessels follow (Figs. 12.73, 12.81, 13.128, 14.48, 19.30), while some rounded bowls are also present (Figs. 13.125, 19.44). The everted rim and rounded vessels with S-shaped profile are few.

Carinated shapes are well represented. Taking into consideration their form and the heavily burnished black or grey surface (e.g. Figs. 11, 15.24, 19.60) they appear to belong to the black burnished ware of the LN I of mainland Greece.⁵³ This is suggested by the bead rim and thickened shoulder, while the separation of the zones of the vase are clear. Different varieties of shouldered closed bowls are present (Fig. 11, 19.60). Parallels for these carinated shapes cannot easily be found in island sites. Shapes with carinated profiles, but not identical to those coming from the Agia Triada Cave, are known from Grotta on Naxos; but here as well as at Saliagos they are rare finds.⁵⁴ There are similarities with material from Seimen Mnema and other LN I sites on Euboea.⁵⁵ Shouldered bowls exhibit similarities in shape

41. See Evans and Renfrew 1968, fig. 34.1, 34.3, 34.5.

42. But see Fig. 18.41.

43. See also Fig. 18.41.

44. Evans and Renfrew 1968, figs. 49.2, 49.6, 51.3, 51.13; Mavridis 2010, fig. 6.130.

45. Benzi 2008, fig. 2, 3.31, 3.32; Felsch 1988, figs. 69.382, 72; Mavridis 2008, fig. 4.1.773, 4.1.779, 4.1.781; 2010, fig. 6.8, 6.77, 6.82, 6.89, 6.111, 6.118, 6.119; Sampson 1987, fig. 56.624, 56.625.

46. Evans and Renfrew 1968, figs. 48.14, 49.1, 50.6; Hood 1981/1982, fig. 34.205, 34.209.

47. Evans and Renfrew 1968, figs. 39.2, 39.4, 49.9, 50.8, 50.11; Mavridis 2010, fig. 6.49; Sampson 1987, fig. 57.626.

48. See for example Felsch 1988, fig. 381; Hood 1981/1982, fig. 34.201a; Sampson 1987, fig. 56.623.

49. Sampson 2002a, fig. 143.4.

50. Sampson 2002a, figs. 76-77, n. 522, similar to the example from Agia Triada; Sampson 2008, figs. 125-127.

51. Fine, thin ridges: Evans and Renfrew 1968, fig. 43.1-43.10; Sampson 1993, figs. 164, 165; Sampson 2002a, fig. 73; also from many mainland sites, see for example Mavridis 2006, fig. 68a and Sampson 2008, fig. 116.

52. Phelps 2004, 70.

53. See discussion in Douzougli 1998; Gallis 1987, 147-162; Holmberg 1964; Mari 2001; Phelps 1975, 203; Sampson 1975, fig. 10; Vitelli 1999, 26.

54. Evans and Renfrew 1968, 37.

55. Sampson 1981, figs. 38.72-73, 39.33-34, 39.36, 50.214, 62.426-427, 62.429-431, 73.620, 73.717, 73.721. Also, Samp-

with material from Elateia⁵⁶ and Aria in the Argolid.⁵⁷ These shapes are well known in northern Greece as well, and are widely distributed.⁵⁸

A concentration of carinated vases with particular characteristics comes from trench 8, layer 13 and other associated layers (Fig. 15.65—a lug possibly belonging to a vase similar to that in Fig. 19.17; see also Figs. 17.28, 17.58, 19.17, 19.20, 19.62, 21.37, 21.102). They are made of a slightly coarser clay compared to the fabric used for the fine white-painted sherds with mechanical slip and the shouldered bowls described above, and have relatively larger inclusions and less well-burnished surfaces (this last observation may also be due to their poor state of preservation). They vary in colour from shades of brown and grey to black, and they also contain many mica inclusions both in the surface and the clay body. The example Fig. 19.62 bears traces of a strap handle rising above the shoulder. Two other shapes represent unique examples: one has a carination below the tall cylindrical neck and a small handle joining shoulder and neck (Fig. 19.20);⁵⁹ the other is a type of squat pyxis/closed vase with carinated shoulder and three lugs around the perimeter of the shoulder of the pot with vertical string-hole perforations (Fig. 19.17),⁶⁰ also preserving the base of an additional handle.⁶¹ One example from trench 8, layer 12, preserves the carination of the body and a lug with horizontal perforation (Fig. 17.28). Whether these pots represent a distinct chronological/cultural group remains to be clarified after the completion of the study, for the final publication. Some of these pots were found together with the shouldered bowls and characteristic white-on-dark sherds, in layers below the LN II stone leveled floor. A disturbance that was caused after LN II use cannot easily be supported by the excavation data. It may be of some importance to note here the presence in the deepest layers of the Zas Cave of Aegean/Anatolian elements with characteristic black burnished pottery, especially the type known from Samos.⁶² However, the characteristic black burnished motifs well known from the pottery of the east Aegean islands and western Anatolia are not present at Agia Triada. Black burnished medium/coarse pottery reminiscent of the fine black burnished ware of mainland Greece but slightly less finely tempered and finished is known from sites in Anatolia.⁶³ The description of the material from these sites, such as sharply carinated bowls, slightly concave walls between carination and base, upturned in the carination associated with string-holes,⁶⁴ seems to be generally reminiscent of the material from Agia Triada. Additionally, Phelps⁶⁵ describes a sub-category of the black burnished ware comprised of a type of thick-walled pot with softer, friable fabric and black slip.

son 1975, 75; Sampson 1977, figs. 9, 11, 27. For the distribution of white-on-dark ware in mainland Greece see also Mari 2001, 72; Phelps 1975, 210.

56. Lavezzi 1978, 431; Weinberg 1962, fig. 10.1; see also Weinberg 1937, fig. 26.

57. Douzougli 1998, table 31.69.

58. Aslanis 1992, table 29.2, 29.4, fig. 34.5; Douzougli 1998, 60; Hauptmann and Milošević 1969, tables 4.27, 7.18, 7.19, 9.13, 11.12, 19.1, 20.11; Sampson 2008, 104, 107.

59. See for example the general resemblance with the carinated pot from Grotta, Naxos (Hatjianastasiou 1988, fig. 1.13). See also the pot from Stofilas, Andros, with conical neck, almost spherical body, carination and four symmetrically placed lugs (Televantou 2006, fig. 7b).

60. See for general parallels, Weinberg 1962, fig. 10; small, squat, carinated shapes are well known from the Middle Neolithic of the Balkans and Anatolia. See for example Lichardus and Iliev 2000, fig. 6.4, 6.10, 6.12. For general similarities see Grammenos and Kotsos 2004, table 5.3, and esp. table 6.3; Hauptmann and Milošević 1969, fig. 2.2. A small closed pot is also known from Tigani, (Felsch 1988, fig. 55.99). General parallels can also be found in later contexts of sites such as Poliochni on Lemnos (Dova 1997, fig. 5), Emborio on Chios (Hood 1981/1982, type 44), Kalythies on Rhodes (Sampson 1987, fig. 45.476). The general idea is also known from the Cyclades and other EBA sites, but lugs are usually different (e.g. Karantzali 1996, fig. 84.MH4060, 107, 161, 162; Pantelidou-Gofa 2005, tables 3.1, 11.4, 17.3, 17.4; Rambach 2000, figs. I-VIII). See also for general similarities, Agio Gala (Hood 1981/1982, figs. 34.209, 35.216), Emborio (Hood 1981/1982, fig. 125.169) and Zas Cave (compare section with Zachos 1987, fig. 8).

61. General similarities in Weinberg 1962, figs. 8.1 and 10, also Touchais 1981, fig. 23.

62. Zachos 1996, 87; 2001, 86.

63. Thiessen 1993, 215.

64. Thiessen 1993, 213.

65. Phelps 1975, 199.

Of chronological importance is a monochrome semi-coarse pot with asymmetrical rim (early scoop). The shape can be securely reconstructed since joining sherds from the base to the rim have been preserved (Fig. 14.9). Parallels can be found in the LN IA and B phases at the Tharrounia Cave⁶⁶ and elsewhere.⁶⁷

Closed shapes are few, beyond the closed bowls/wide-mouthed vessels referred to above. This is also the impression one gets from the site of Saliagos in the Cyclades.⁶⁸ Characteristic is one jar with rope decoration (Fig. 13.5),⁶⁹ another with a strap handle (Fig. 15.29), and there is also a unique cylindrical neck (Fig. 19.42).⁷⁰

Only one sherd may be considered as belonging to the matt-painted ware (Fig. 12.6), but it is not an absolutely representative specimen. Its presence along with the grey-black burnished sherds may be of chronological significance. Its outer surface is burnished and the interior is rather coarse with many small voids. The clay is fine, with few small-sized white and dark brown inclusions. The decoration is dark grey on pale brown ground, but it is also lustrous. It is an example that may represent an over-fired specimen or a failure during the production process. Matt-painted pottery is defined as iron or manganese-based paint on a buff brown or cream background.⁷¹ Sometimes the decoration of matt-painted pottery may appear glossy as a result of a high firing temperature.⁷²

Handles and lugs can be considered standardized. Strap handles of various sizes are well represented (Fig. 15.29, 15.38, 15.112)⁷³ as well as tubular lugs with horizontal or vertical perforation (Figs. 19.22, 21.84). The knob on the shoulder of a carinated shape also finds parallels from mainland sites.⁷⁴ Tab handles are also present. They can be horned, triangular or semicircular in section. One rounded bowl has a wavy rim (Fig. 14.25), whereas in another case the tab handle has a rectangular shape (Fig. 16.109) and rises above the rim (Fig. 12.26).⁷⁵ One horned projection has also been identified (Fig. 20.107).⁷⁶

An anthropomorphic projection, rising above the rim of a rounded burnished bowl with white-painted decoration, is unique (Fig. 14.4).⁷⁷ The head of the handle is reminiscent of figurines from Kephala on Kea and other sites.⁷⁸ The head has a general inclination to the back, resulting in an upturned face that has a rounded triangular shape with an emphasized nose. At the back of the head there is a large horizontal trough. Two vertical relief bands on the body of the bowl to which this projection belongs may represent the legs of the human figure. Several marble EC II folded-arm figurines

66. Sampson 1993, figs. 33.43, 78.

67. See the examples from Otzaki with horned handles and ring bases (Hauptmann 1981, fig. 47); also Sampson 2002a, fig. 31.215.

68. Evans and Renfrew 1968, 35.

69. See for example Evans and Renfrew 1968, figs. 42.1-42.4, 42.8-9, 43.12 with most examples bearing bands below the rim; Sampson 1993, figs. 158-162; also Vitelli 2007, figs. 89a, 90.

70. See for example Evans and Renfrew 1968, fig. 53.

71. For the technological characteristics and other details of this ware, see review in Bonga 2013, 39, 68, 160-165; Mavridis 2008, 118-120; in more detail, Kylikoglou and Maniatis 1993, 440; Phelps 2004, 87.

72. Phelps 2004, 71. For the presence of matt-painted sherds at Aegean LN sites, see Evans and Renfrew 1968, 42; Sampson 2002a, 155; Sotirakopoulou 2008.

73. See Evans and Renfrew 1968, fig. 44.

74. Phelps 1975, 203.

75. Evans and Renfrew 1968, e.g. fig. 58.3, 58.11, 58.12, 58.13; Sampson 1993, figs. 48.56, 78.6 of LN IA and B phases. See a characteristic example with two holes and almost square shape (Mavridis 2010, fig. 7.103); also Benzi 2008, figs. 5-8; Felsch 1988, figs. 52.42, 52.48, 61.244, 61.793a-4c; Hatjianastasiou 1988, fig. 2.14; Hauptmann 1981, figs. 12.7, 71.20, 85.5, 96.2; Hauptmann and Milojevic 1969, fig. 6.1a, 6.1b, and especially fig. 11.10; Hood 1981/1982, fig. 105; Sampson 1987, fig. 12.132; Sampson 2002a, fig. 27.75, 27.110; Vitelli 2007, fig. 95.a, 95.g.

76. See examples in Evans and Renfrew 1968, figs. 58 and 59; Sampson 1993, figs. 96, 98.10, 98.11, with horn handles of various types. Also Sampson 2008, figs. 99.581, 102 (LNIB phase). For several variations see Sampson 2002a, fig. 111.

77. See Mavridis and Tankosić 2009, 52. Anthropomorphic handles raised above rims are known from other sites; see for example Felsch 1988, fig. 66.305, 66.306.

78. Coleman 1977, fig. 5.

have the same characteristics of head design and the same emphasis on the nose. Many Neolithic parallels can be found for the long neck of the Agia Triada example—e.g. human figures made on a vessel from Tharrounia⁷⁹ and some Ftelia examples.⁸⁰ However, the shape of the back of the head, regardless of its intended use or meaning, is a rare element.

The small lugs, rather rounded (Figs. 18.57, 19.17, 19.30) or more elongated in shape (Figs 15.65, 17.58, 21.37) with a vertical perforation, are also characteristic. They are close but not identical to some examples from Saliagos,⁸¹ Aria in the Argolid,⁸² Paradimi in Thrace⁸³ and Ftelia on Mykonos.⁸⁴ They also resemble examples dating to the Middle Neolithic, such as that from Liani Ammos and Theologos in Euboea,⁸⁵ the Sarakenos Cave in Boeotia⁸⁶ or even earlier material.⁸⁷ Some resemblance can possibly be traced even to Anatolian Chalcolithic and Balkan sites.⁸⁸

Preserved bases are few. In most cases they are flat (Figs. 17.16, 18.49, 21.2), whereas beveled (Figs. 11.8, 15.80) as well as some low ring bases (Figs 20.117) are also present.

Finally, one straight-sided bowl has a mending hole (Fig. 15.78).

Discussion and conclusions

Material collected from the cave prior to the excavations (white-on-dark sherds decorated with multiple chevrons, wavy lines, triangles, etc.)⁸⁹ was dated by A. Sampson to the second phase of the Later Aegean Neolithic, with Saliagos being dated earlier.⁹⁰ Elsewhere, Agia Triada was dated before the Otzaki phase and after or contemporary to the Arapi-Tsangli phase, between Kalythies I-II, Beycesultan 1-2 and Saliagos.⁹¹ The black burnished pottery from Varka with white-painted decoration has been considered different from that coming from Agia Triada and the Aegean islands.⁹² According to Coleman, the LN I of mainland Greece is characterized by the Elateia bothros phase, layer 4c of Kitsos Cave, Korykeion Cave, the material from Eutresis, Varka, and the south slope of the Acropolis, situating the white-on-dark ware between Dimini II and III, at about the middle of the LN I, since radiocarbon determination from Saliagos dates the site between c.5000 and 4600 BC.⁹³ Ftelia is dated between 5000/4900 and 4500/4400 BC.⁹⁴ The presence of 'late elements' in phase 3 of Saliagos and especially at Ftelia strongly indicates that it may be a cultural stage that lasts longer,⁹⁵ stretching as far as the 'Chal-

79. Sampson 1993, fig. 202.

80. Sampson 2002a, figs. 145, 148.

81. Evans and Renfrew 1968, fig. 57.1, 57.4, 57.5, 57.8.

82. Douzougli 1998, tables 26.50, 31.85.

83. Bakalakis and Sakellariou 1981, fig. Ic1.

84. Sampson 2002a, fig. 95.670.

85. Sampson 2002b, fig. 12.

86. Sampson 2008, fig. 39.1397, Middle Neolithic but also LNIB; see fig. 97.1810.

87. Pantelidou-Gofa 1993, figs. 4.30, 4.63, 7.2-94 8.2-23, 10.2-107, 26; Vitelli 2007, figs. 193.a, 193.b, also a LN II example: fig. 95.h.

88. Derin 2012, fig. 5 left; even a small vase from Beycesultan (Parzinger 1993, fig. 164.11), or from Vinca (Parzinger 1993, figs. 46.9-46.10, 19.20).

89. Sampson ([1985]1988), figs. 3-5; Sampson 1987, fig. 51.

90. Sampson ([1985]1988), table 1.

91. Sampson 1984, 240, 248.

92. Sampson ([1985]1988), 259, for the presence of white-on-dark painted pottery in mainland Greek sites; for references, Sampson 1981, 120.

93. Coleman 1992, 257, 260.

94. Coleman 1992, 260; Sampson 2002a, 155-156.

95. For the coexistence of Saliagos elements with 'FN traits' or for the longer duration of the Saliagos cultural phase, see Mavridis 2009; 2010, 21; Forthcoming; Mavridis and Tankosić 2016a; also Zachos 1996, 129-130. It seems that it is not a stage characterizing only the late 6th and the early 5th millennia; Tomkins 2007, table 1.1.

colithic Era.⁹⁶ Chronological fluctuations have been observed from the study of material from Saliagos,⁹⁷ Grotta,⁹⁸ Akrotiri,⁹⁹ the Antiparos Cave¹⁰⁰ and other sites.

Relatively recent field research in western Anatolia provides evidence of close connections between the so-called 'Middle Chalcolithic' of that region and the Aegean LN.¹⁰¹ It is a tradition that stretches from the Troad to Lycia with common elements in the material culture such as rounded and flaring rim bowls, open shapes with horned and tab handles, pattern burnish and *pointillé* decoration as well as white-on-dark painted pottery.¹⁰² Red paint may represent another connection between sites such as Saliagos¹⁰³ and Gulpinar in the Troad.¹⁰⁴ This tradition is present not only on the eastern Aegean islands but also in the Cyclades and beyond, while links to the Balkans are not insignificant (for example horn handles).¹⁰⁵ Connections mainly between the eastern Aegean islands and western Anatolia are also evident even later, between for example Beycesultan, Emborio VII-VI and Tigani IV.¹⁰⁶

Radiocarbon dates from the Agia Triada Cave point towards a range from the late 6th to approximately the middle of the 5th millennium.¹⁰⁷ Further documentation is necessary to determine whether this evidence corresponds to the chronological range of use of the white-on-dark ware in the Aegean. Radiocarbon dates from various sites in western Anatolia provide dates for a horizon of dark-faced pottery ranging from c.5300 to 4370 BC.¹⁰⁸ Different sub-periods of this tradition may therefore be present in both areas.

It has been suggested that the LN Saliagos culture represents the western end of an Anatolian sphere of influence, rather than one derived from the Greek mainland, with Naxos and Amorgos being the most likely points of entry, since a notable south-eastern Cycladic focus to the current distribution has been proposed.¹⁰⁹ Zachos reports that the closest affinities for the earliest material at the Zas Cave are found in western Anatolia and the eastern Aegean rather than in mainland Greece, indicating that the first colonists came from the East.¹¹⁰ Other scholars point out that the peopling of the islands from the direction of mainland Greece appears likely and could have happened before the Neolithic.¹¹¹ Based on pottery typology, many scholars have debated the question of whether the pottery from the site of Saliagos derives from a transformation of elements originating in mainland Greece, or whether it is a case of a local tradition with few external influences.¹¹² It seems that Saliagos pottery represents a combination of the technological/cultural tradition of the dark-faced pottery of south-eastern Europe with the great variety of decorative elements attested in matt-painted pottery of mainland Greece. Other scholars associate the pottery of the same settlement with that of the Larisa culture of mainland Greece; however, the absence of close similarities leads to the recognition of the Saliagos culture as a local phe-

96. Zachos 1996, 129-130; 2001.

97. Evans and Renfrew 1968, 37.

98. Hatjianastasiou 1988, 20.

99. Sotirakopoulou 1999, 90.

100. Mavridis 2010.

101. See for example Gabriel 2014 and Takaoğlu 2006, 289. Also Benzi 2008, figs. 2-3; Hood 1981/1982, 225, pls. 33d, 40d; Sampson 1984, figs. 2-3; Sotirakopoulou 2008, 535.

102. Takaoğlu and Özdemir, Forthcoming.

103. Evans and Renfrew 1968, 42.

104. Takaoğlu and Özdemir, Forthcoming.

105. Thiessen 1993, 210.

106. For the gap between the Middle and Late Chalcolithic, see Tuncel and Şahoğlu, Forthcoming.

107. See Mavridis 2009; 2010; Forthcoming; Mavridis and Tankosić 2016a.

108. See for example Utta-Gabriel 2014.

109. Broodbank 1999, 32.

110. Zachos 1994, 103.

111. Sampson 2002a, 159.

112. Otto 1976, 139.

nomenon.¹¹³ Several studies find parallels between the material remains of the Saliagos culture and the south-eastern Aegean,¹¹⁴ Euboea,¹¹⁵ Attica and other regions.¹¹⁶ The opinion has also been expressed that a parallel evolution occurred in different regions, taking on different dimensions in each case.¹¹⁷

The new material from Karystos adds to this debate since it represents a new centre lying between the islands and the mainland. Perhaps the south-eastern focus of the Saliagos culture needs to be re-investigated, especially due to the wide distribution of the Middle Chalcolithic tradition in western Anatolia. It is important to consider this in the wider context of the Balkan Karanovo III and early Vinča cultures and the dark-faced pottery traditions in western Anatolia.¹¹⁸

113. Coleman 1974, 333.

114. Sampson 1984, 239-240, 245; 1987, 62-63, 116.

115. Broodbank 1992, 341; Keller 1985; Keller and Cullen 1992, 341; Sampson 2002a, 161.

116. Broodbank 1992, 341; 1999; 2000, 138-140; Davis 2001, 702; Sampson 2002a, 159; Zachos 1994, 99-104.

117. Sampson 1987, 40.

118. Efe 2000, 175; Erdoğan 2013, 8; Özdögan 1993; Utta-Gabriel 2014; Şahoğlu and Tuncel 2014; Takaoğlu 2006, 301. See Mee et al. 2014 for a recent discussion concerning the Middle/Late Neolithic transition in mainland Greece.

Bibliography

- Aslanis, I. (1992) *Η Προϊστορία της Μακεδονίας. Η Νεολιθική Εποχή*. Athens: Kardamitsa.
- Bakalakis, G. and A. Sakellariou (1981) *Paradimi*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Benzi, M. (2008) 'A Forgotten Island: Kalymnos in the Neolithic Period'. In *Proceedings of the International Conference: The Aegean in the Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age*, edited by H. Erkanal, H. Hauptmann, V. Şahoğlu and R. Tuncel, 85-108. Ankara: Ankara University Press.
- Bonga, L. (2013) *Late Neolithic Pottery from Mainland Greece, ca. 5,300-4,300 B.C.* PhD thesis. Temple University, USA.
- Broodbank, C. (1992) 'Colonization and Culture in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Cyclades'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 96, 341.
- Broodbank, C. (1999) 'Colonization and Configuration in the Insular Neolithic of the Aegean'. In *Neolithic Society in Greece*, edited by P. Halstead, 15-41. Sheffield: University of Sheffield.
- Broodbank, C. (2000) *An Archaeology of the Early Cyclades*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coleman, J. (1974) 'The Chronology and Interconnections of the Cycladic Islands in the Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 78, 333-343.
- Coleman, J. (1977) 'Kephala: A Late Neolithic Settlement and Cemetery'. Vol. 1 of *Keos*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Coleman, J. (1992) 'Greece, the Aegean and Cyprus'. In *Chronologies in the Old World Archaeology*, Vol. 1, edited by W. Enrich, 247-288. Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Cullen, T., L. E. Talalay, D. R. Keller, E. Karimali and W. R. Farrand (2013) *The Prehistory of the Paximadhi Peninsula, Euboea*. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press.
- Davis, J. (2001) 'Review of Aegean Prehistory I: The Islands of the Aegean'. In *Aegean Prehistory. A review*, edited by T. Cullen, 19-76. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.
- Derin, Z. (2012) 'Yeşilova Höyük'. In Vol. 4 of *The Neolithic in Turkey*, edited by M. Özdoğan, N. Başgelen and P. Kuniholm, 177-94. Istanbul: Archaeology and Art Publications.
- Douzougli, A. (1998) *Άρια Αργολίδας*. Athens: TAP.
- Dova, A. (1997) 'Μύρινα Λήμνου. Οι Αρχαιότερες Φάσεις του Προϊστορικού Οικισμού'. In *Η Πολιόχνη και η Πρώιμη Εποχή του Χαλκού στο Αιγαίο*, edited by C. Doulas and V. La Rosa, 282-297. Athens: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene.
- Efe, T. (2000) 'Recent Investigations in Inland NW Anatolia and its Contribution to Early Balkan-Anatolian Connections'. In Vol. III of *Karanovo: Beiträge zum Neolithikum in Südosteuropa Österreichisch-Bulgarische Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Karanovo 3*, edited by S. Hiller and V. Nikolov, 171-183. Vienna: Phoibos.
- Erdoğu, B. (2013) 'A Neolithic Settlement on the Aegean Island of Gökçeada'. In Vol. 5 of *The Neolithic in Turkey*, edited by M. Özdoğan, N. Başgelen and P. Kuniholm, 1-33. Istanbul: Archaeology and Art Publications.
- Evans, J. and C. Renfrew (1968) *Excavations at Saliagos near Antiparos*. Athens: British School of Archaeology at Athens.
- Felsch, R. C. S. (1988) *Das Kastro Tigani. Die spätneolithische und chalkolithische Siedlung*. Bonn: In Kommission bei R. Habelt.
- Gallis, K. (1987) 'Die stratigraphische Einordnung der Larissa-Kultur: Eine Richtigsstellung'. *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 62, 147-162.
- Grammenos, D. and S. Kotsos (2004) Vol. II of *Σωστικές Ανασκαφές στο Νεολιθικό Οικισμό Σταυρούπολης Θεσσαλονίκης*. Thessaloniki: Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Βορείου Ελλάδος.
- Hatjianastasiou, O. (1988) 'A Late Neolithic Settlement at Grotta, Naxos'. In *Problems in Greek Prehistory*, edited by E. French and K. Wardle, 11-20. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.
- Hauptmann, H. (1981) 'Das späte Neolithikum und das Chalkolithikum'. Vol. III of *Die deutschen Ausgrabungen auf der Otzaki Magula in Thessalien*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag.
- Hauptmann, H. and V. Milojcic (1969) *Die Funde der Frühen Dimini Zeit aus der Arapi Magula in Thessalien*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag GMBH.

- Holmberg, E. (1964) 'The Appearance of Neolithic Black Burnished Ware in Mainland Greece'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 68, 343-348.
- Hood, S. (1981/1982) *Excavations in Chios 1938-1955: Prehistoric Emporio and Ayio Gala I-II*. Oxford: British School at Athens.
- Karali, L., F. Mavridis and L. Kormazopoulou (2005) 'Cultural Landscapes During the Late and Final Neolithic of the Aegean: A Case Study from Leontari Cave, Mt. Hymettos, Athens, Greece'. *Antiquity* 79(303), article #79005 (<http://antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/mavridis/>).
- Karali, L., F. Mavridis and L. Kormazopoulou (2006) 'Ένα Ορεινό και Πετρώδες Περιβάλλον: Προκαταρκτικά Στοιχεία για την Έρευνα των Ετών 2003-2005 στο Σπήλαιο Λεονταρίου Υμηττού Αττικής'. *Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών* 39, 31-43.
- Karali, L., F. Mavridis and D. Lambropoulos (Forthcoming) 'Lion's Cave on Mt. Hymettos, Attica: Figurines, structures and material culture associations'. In *Proceedings of the International Conference Communities in Transition: The Circum-Aegean Later Neolithic Stages (4500-3000 BC)*, edited by S. Dietz, F. Mavridis, Ž. Tankosić and T. Takaoglou. Athens: Danish Institute at Athens.
- Karantzali, E. (1996) *Le Bronze Ancien dans les Cyclades et en Crète: Les Relations Entre les Deux Régions - Influence de la Grèce Continentale*. Oxford: BAR International Series 631.
- Karkanas P. and G. Stratouli (2008) 'Neolithic Lime Plastered Floors in Drakaina Cave, Kephallonia Island, Western Greece: Evidence of the Significance of the Site'. *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens* 103, 27-41.
- Keller, D. (1985) 'Archaeological Survey in Southern Euboea, Greece. A reconstruction of Human Activity from Neolithic Through the Byzantine Period'. PhD thesis. Indiana University, USA.
- Keller, D. and T. Cullen (1992) 'Prehistoric Occupation of the Paximadhi Peninsula, S. Euboea'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 96, 341.
- Kylikoglou, V. and Y. Maniatis (1993) 'Technological Study of Neolithic Ceramics from Tharrounia and Psachna, Euboea'. In *Σκοτεινή Θαρρουνίων*, edited by A. Sampson, 438-441. Athens: Department of Palaeoanthropology-Speleology.
- Lavezzi, C. (1978) 'Prehistoric Investigations in Corinth'. *Hesperia* 47, 402-451.
- Letsch, J. and W. Knoll (1983) 'Mineralogy and Technology of the Early Ceramics of Thessaly'. *Neues Jahrbuch für Mineralogie* 147(2), 109-146.
- Lichardus, J. and I. K. Iliev (2000) 'Das frühe und mittlere Neolithikum an der unteren Tundža (Südostbulgarien). Ein Beitrag zu den chronologischen und kulturellen Beziehungen'. In Vol. III of *Karanovo: Beiträge zum Neolithikum in Südosteuropa Österreichisch-Bulgarische Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Karanovo 3*, edited by S. Hiller and V. Nikolov, 75-108. Vienna: Phoibos.
- Mari, A. (2001) 'Η Νεολιθική Εποχή στο Σαρωνικό. Μαρτυρίες για τη Χρήση του Σπηλαιού του Ευρυπίδη στη Σαλαμίνα με Βάση την Κεραμική της Νεότερης και Τελικής Νεολιθικής'. PhD thesis. University of Thessaloniki, Greece.
- Mavridis, F. (2006) 'The Neolithic Site of Pangali, Mt Varassova, Aetolias and the Late Neolithic Ib Phase in the Aegean: Social Transformations and Changing Ideologies'. In Vol. I(II) of *Chalkis Aetolias: The Prehistoric Phases [The Neolithic remains at Pangali]*, edited by S. Dietz and I. Moschos, 117-139, 222-229. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Mavridis, F. (2008) 'Pottery of the Late Neolithic With Painted and Burnished Decoration from the Cave of Youra, Northern Sporades, Greece'. In Vol. I of *The Cyclops Cave on the Island of Youra, Greece. Mesolithic and Neolithic Networks in the Northern Aegean Basin, Intra Site Analysis, Local Industries and Regional Site Distribution*, edited by A. Sampson, 111-122. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press.
- Mavridis, F. (2009) 'Ένα Αρχιπέλαγος Πολιτισμών: Η Νεολιθική Περίοδος στα Νησιά του Αιγαίου. Αρχαιολογικά Δεδομένα, Θεωρία, Ερμηνεία'. PhD thesis. University of Athens, Greece.
- Mavridis, F. (2010) 'Antiparos Cave Salvage Excavations. The Prehistoric Pottery and Small Finds'. *Aegean Archaeology* 9, 7-34.
- Mavridis, F. (2014) 'Τα Σπήλαια ως Χώροι Ανθρώπινου Δράσης. Ερμηνεύοντας το Ρόλο και τη Σημασία τους στο Ευρύτερο Πολιτισμικό Περιβάλλον της Νεότερης Νεολιθικής Περιόδου'. In *4th International Conference on*

- Archaeological Research of Thessaly and Central Greece, 2009-2010*, edited by A. Mazarakis-Ainan, 599-610. Volos: University of Thessaly.
- Mavridis, F. (Forthcoming) 'Η Νεότερη Νεολιθική Περίοδος στις Κυκλάδες. Στοιχεία για τη Χρονολόγηση και τη Συνέχεια του Πολιτισμικού Φαινομένου όπως προκύπτουν από την Έρευνα στο Πλαίσιο Προστασίας και Ανάδειξης Αρχαιολογικών Χώρων με Έμφαση στα Σπήλαια'. In *Διεθνές Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο, Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στα Νησιά του Αιγαίου, November 2013*. Rhodes.
- Mavridis, F., J. T. Jensen and L. Kormazopoulou (2013) 'Introduction. Stable Places and Changing Perceptions: Cave Archaeology in Greece'. In *Stable Places and Changing Perceptions: Cave Archaeology in Greece*, edited by F. Mavridis and J. T. Jensen, 1-17. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Mavridis, F. and Ž. Tankosić (2009) 'The Agia Triada Cave, Southern Euboea. Finds and Implications of the Earliest Human Habitation in the Area (A Preliminary Report)'. *Mediterranean Archaeometry and Archaeology* 9(2), 47-59.
- Mavridis, F. and Ž. Tankosić (2013) 'Σπήλαιο Αγίας Τριάδας Καρύστου, Νότια Εύβοια. Η Έρευνα των Ετών 2007-2008'. In *3rd International Conference on Archaeological Research of Thessaly and Central Greece, 2006-2008*, edited by A. Mazarakis Ainan, 901-914. Volos: University of Thessaly.
- Mavridis, F. and Ž. Tankosić (2016a) 'The Later Neolithic Stages in Central-Southern Greece Based on the Evidence from the Excavations at the Agia Triada Cave, Southern Euboea'. In *The Human Face of Radiocarbon: Reassessing Chronology in Prehistoric Greece and Bulgaria, 5000-2000 cal. BC*, edited by Z. Tsirtsoni, 419-438. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée.
- Mavridis, F. and Ž. Tankosić (2016b) 'Early Bronze Age Burial Deposits at the Ayia Triada Cave at Karystos, Euboea: Tentative Interpretations'. *Hesperia* 85(2), 207-242.
- Mee, C., B. Cavanagh and J. Renard (2014) 'The Middle-Late Neolithic Transition at Kouphovouno'. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 109, 65-95.
- Otto, B. (1976) 'The Ornamental Motifs of the Cycladic Neolithic and Early Bronze Age'. In *Art and Culture of the Cyclades in the Third Millennium BC*, edited by J. Thimme, 139-141. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Özdögan, M. (1993) 'Vinca and Anatolia: A New Look at a Very Old Problem'. *Anatolica* 19, 173-193.
- Pantelidou-Gofa, M. (1993) *Η Νεολιθική Νέα Μάκρη. Η Κεραμική*. Athens: Archaeological Society of Athens.
- Pantelidou-Gofa, M. (2005) *Τσέπι Μαραθώνος. Το Πρωτοελλαδικό Νεκροταφείο*. Athens: Archaeological Society of Athens.
- Parzinger, H. (1993) *Studien zur Chronologie und Kulturgeschichte der Jungstein-Kupfer-und Frühbronzezeit zwischen Karpathen und Mittlerem Taurus*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Phillip von Zabern.
- Phelps, W. (1975) 'The Neolithic Pottery Sequence in Southern Greece'. PhD thesis. University of London, UK.
- Phelps, W. (2004) *The Neolithic Pottery Sequence in Southern Greece*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- Rambach, J. (2000) 'Die Frühe Bronzezeit, Grab- und Siedlungsbefunde'. Vol. I of *Kykladen*. Bonn: Habelt, R.
- Şahoğlu, V. and R. Tuncel (2014) 'New Insights into the Late Chalcolithic of Western Anatolia: A View from Bakla Tepe, İzmir'. In *Western Anatolia Before Troy. Proto-Urbanization in the 4th Millennium BC?*, edited by B. Horejs and M. Mehofer, 65-82. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.
- Sampson, A. (1975) 'Η Νεολιθική Κεραμική της Βάρκας Ψαχνών'. *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* 114, 67-76.
- Sampson, A. (1977) 'Ανασκαφή στον Προϊστορικό Οικισμό της Βάρκας Ψαχνών'. *Αρχείο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 21, 5-60.
- Sampson, A. (1981) *Η Νεολιθική και Πρωτο-Ελλαδική Ι στην Εύβοια*. Athens.
- Sampson, A. (1984) 'The Neolithic of the Dodecanese and the Aegean Neolithic'. *Annual of the British School of Athens* 79, 239-249.
- Sampson, A. ([1985]1988) 'Η Νεολιθική στο Χώρο του Αιγαίου'. *Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών* 18, 255-268.
- Sampson, A. (1987) *Η Νεολιθική Περίοδος στα Δωδεκάνησα*. Athens: YPPO-TAP.
- Sampson, A., ed. (1993) *Skoteini, Tharrounia: the Cave, the Settlement and the Cemetery*. Athens: Department of Palaeoanthropology-Speleology.
- Sampson, A. (2002a) *The Neolithic Settlement at Ftelia, Mykonos*. Rhodes. Rhodes: University of the Aegean.
- Sampson, A. (2002b) 'Τρεις Νέες Θέσεις της Αρχαιότερης Νεολιθικής στην Εύβοια'. *Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών* 29-31, 79-94.
- Sampson, A. (2008) *The Sarakenos Cave, at Akraiphnion, Boeotia, Greece*. Athens

- Sotirakopoulou, P. (1999) *Ακρωτήρι Θήρας. Η Νεολιθική και η Πρώιμη Εποχή του Χαλκού επί τη Βάσει της Κεραμικής*. Athens: Archaeological Society of Athens.
- Sotirakopoulou, P. (2008) 'Akrotiri, Thera: The Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Phases in Light of Recent Excavations at the Site'. In *Horizon. Ορίζων: A Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades*, edited by N. Brodie, J. Doole, G. Gavalas and C. Renfrew, 121-134. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Stratouli, G. (2005) 'Symbolic Behaviour at Places of Social Activity Beyond the Domestic Area in the Ionian Neolithic'. *Documenta Praehistorica* 32, 123-132.
- Takaoğlu, T. (2006) 'The Late Neolithic in the Eastern Aegean. Excavations at Gulpınar in the Troad'. *Hesperia* 75, 289-315.
- Takaoğlu, T. and A. Özdemir (Forthcoming) 'The Middle Chalcolithic Period in the Troad: A New Look from Gulpınar'. In *Proceedings of the International Conference Communities in Transition: The Circum-Aegean Later Neolithic Stages (4500-3000 BC)*, edited by S. Dietz, F. Mavridis, Ž. Tankosić and T. Takaoğlu. Athens: Danish Institute at Athens.
- Tankosić, Ž. and M. Chidiroglou (2010) 'The Karystian Kampos Survey Project: Methods and Preliminary Results'. *Mediterranean Archaeometry and Archaeology* 10(3), 11-17.
- Tankosić, Ž. and M. Katsianis (Forthcoming) 'Cycladic or Mainland? The Prehistoric Landscapes of Southern Euboea'. In *Communities, Landscapes, and Interaction in Neolithic Greece. Proceedings of International Conference, Rethymno 29-30 May 2015*, edited by A. Sarris, E. Kalogirou, T. Kalayci, & L. Karimali. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Televantou, C. (2006) 'Προϊστορική Άνδρος'. In *Γενέθλιον, Αναμνηστικός Τόμος για τη Συμπλήρωση Είκοσι Χρόνων Λειτουργίας του Μουσείου Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης*, 1-15. Athens: Museum of Cycladic Art.
- Thiessen, L. (1993) 'New Insights in Balkan-Anatolian Connections in the Late Chalcolithic: Old Evidence from the Turkish Black Sea littoral'. *Anatolian Studies* 63, 207-237.
- Tomkins, P. (2007) 'Neolithic: Strata IX-VIII, VII-VIB, VIA-V, IIIB, IIIA, IIB, IIA, and IC groups'. In *Knossos Pottery Handbook, Neolithic and Bronze Age (Minoan)*, edited by N. Momigliano, 9-48. London: British School at Athens.
- Touchais, G. (1981) *L'Antre Corycien*. Athens: Ecole Française d'Athènes.
- Tuncel, R. and V. Şahoğlu (Forthcoming) 'The Chalcolithic of Coastal Western Anatolia: A View from Liman Tepe, Izmir'. In *Proceedings of the International Conference: Communities in Transition: The Circum-Aegean Later Neolithic Stages (4500-3000 BC)*, edited by S. Dietz, F. Mavridis, Ž. Tankosić and T. Takaoğlu. Athens: Danish Institute at Athens.
- Utta-Gabriel, U. (2014) 'Die Keramik der troadischen Fundorte Kumtepe IA, Beşik-Sivritepe und Çıplak Köyü im Kontext ihrer überregionalen Vergleichsfunde'. In Vol. I of *Troia 1987-2012: Grabungen und Forschungen - Forschungsgeschichte, Methoden und Landschaft*, edited by E. Pernicka, C. B. Rose and P. Jablonka, 990-1057. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GMBH.
- Vitelli, K. D. (1999) 'The Later Neolithic Ceramic Phases 3 to 5'. Vol. 2 of *Francthi Neolithic Pottery*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Vitelli, K. D. (2007) 'The Neolithic Pottery from Lerna'. Vol. V of *Lerna: A Preclassical Site in the Argolid*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Weinberg, S. (1937) 'Remains from Prehistoric Corinth'. *Hesperia* 6, 487-524.
- Weinberg, S. (1962) 'Excavations at Prehistoric Elateia, 1959'. *Hesperia* 31, 172-196.
- Zachos, K. (1987) 'Νάξος Σπήλαιο Ζα'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 42(B2), 694-700.
- Zachos, K. (1994) 'Αρχαιολογικές Έρευνες στο Σπήλαιο του Ζα Νάξου'. In *Πρακτικά Α' Πανελληνίου Συνεδρίου 'Η Νάξος δια μέσου των Αιώνων*, edited by I. Proponas and S. Psarras, 99-113. Athens.
- Zachos, K. (1996) 'Κυκλάδες'. In *Νεολιθικός Πολιτισμός στην Ελλάδα*, edited by G. Papathanasopoulos, 129-130. Athens: Museum of Cycladic Art.
- Zachos, K. (2001) 'Αρχαιολογικές Έρευνες στο Σπήλαιο Ζα, Νάξου'. In *Η Συμβολή του Υπουργείου Αιγαίου στην Έρευνα και Ανάδειξη του Πολιτισμού του Αρχιπελάγους*, 86-87. Athens: Ministry of the Aegean.

Table 1 a

Trench 8	W-O-D	BL/GR BUR	BURNISHED	SM/SCO	TOTAL	
LAYER						
3			1		1	
4B			1		1	
6	1				1	
7			1		1	
8				1	1	
9	1				1	
9B	2				2	
10	1				1	
11			3	3	6	
12	3	1	1		5	
13	2	1	5	1	9	
14			1		1	
L 7 AND L 13			1		1	
L 13 AND L 14		1			1	
15			1		1	
UNIT 9	1		1		2	
16	3		1		4	
18				1	1	
Unid.		1			1	
TOTAL	14	4	17	6	41	

Table 1 b

Trench 9	W-O-D	BURNISHED	SM/SCO	TOTAL
LAYER				
11	2	4	3	9
12	1	1		2
23			1	1
TOTAL	3	5	4	12

Table 1 c

Trench 4	W-O-D	BURNISHED	SM/SCO	TOTAL
LAYER				
2			1	1
8		1		1
14				0
19		3	2	5
20		1		1
23	2	1		3
TOTAL	2	6	3	11

Table 1 d

Trench 2	W-O-D	BL/GR BUR	BURNISHED	SM/SCO	PLASTIC	TOTAL
LAYER						
1	1					1
2	2		1	1		4
3			1			1
4	1		1			2
5	7		1			8
6	2		1			3
6B	3	1			1	5
TOTAL	16	1	5	1	1	24

Table 1 e

Trench 3	W-O-D	BL/GR BUR	BURN.	SM/SCO	PLASTIC	MAT-PAINT.	TOTAL
LAYER							
UNIT 2				1		1	2
3			1				1
3/ UNIT 5		1	1	1			3
2, 3/4A			1				1
4	2						2
4A	8		3		1		12
4B	7						7
4/5B	1						1
4B/5B	5						5
5			1				1
5/ UNIT 5				1			1
UNIT 5		1		1			2
5B	1		1				2
6	5						5
6/ UNIT 5	1						1
8	1						1
TOTAL	31	2	8	4	1	1	47

Table 1 a-e. Distribution of pottery per trench/units/layers.

Sample n°	Nature	Provenance	Lab code	BP value	Calibrated date (95,4%)
S26/4	charcoal	Trench 4, Layer 6	Lyon-7637/SacA-22598	5060 ± 50	3966-3710
S33	charcoal	Trench 4, Layer 10	DEM-2095	5115 ± 30	3980-3800
S26/3	charcoal	Trench 3, Layer 4	Lyon-7201/SacA-20363	5635 ± 35	4539-4367
S34	charcoal	Trench 4, Layer 13	Lyon-7636/SacA-22597	5645 ± 50	4579-4360
S31	charcoal	Trench 4, Layer 9	DEM-2096	5344 ± 39	4270-4040
S41	charcoal	Trench 4, Layer 19	DEM-2097	5844 ± 71	4850-4520
S26	charcoal	Trench 2, Layer 6	DEM-1841	6278 ± 25	5310-5210

Table 2. Radiocarbon dates from the Neolithic layers (after Mavridis and Tankosic 2016a).

Table 3 a

WARE/SHAPE	OPEN SHAPE							CARINATED		CLOSE SHAPE				SPECIAL SHAPE		TOTAL
	ROUNDED BOWL	CONICAL BOWL	EVERTED RIM BOWL	FLARING RIM BOWL	TAB RIM BOWL	OPEN UNID	S-PROFILE	CLOSE	SHOULDER	CLOSE /OPEN MOUTHED	SHOULDER	NECK	CLOSE UNID	SCOOP	UNID	
W-O-D	8 (5.6%)	18 (12.6%)	7 (4.9%)	1 (0.7%)		26 (18.2%)	2 (1.4%)	1 (0.7%)		3 (2.1%)		3 (2.1%)	1 (0.7%)			70 (49.0%)
BL/GR BURN			1 (0.7%)					1 (0.7%)	3 (2.1%)		1 (0.7%)					6 (4.2%)
BUNRISHED	6 (4.2%)	14 (9.8%)	2 (1.4%)		1 (0.7%)	7 (4.9%)	2 (1.4%)	5 (3.5%)	2 (1.4%)	4 (2.8%)		2 (1.4%)				45 (31.5%)
SM/SCO	2 (1.4%)	1 (0.7%)	1 (0.7%)		1 (0.7%)	5 (3.5%)				2 (1.4%)		1 (0.7%)	3 (2.1%)	1 (0.7%)	1 (0.7%)	18 (12.6%)
PLD/IND		1 (0.7%)								1 (0.7%)						2 (1.4%)
MAT-P?													1 (0.7%)			1 (0.7%)
TOTAL	16 (11.2%)	34 (23.8%)	11 (7.7%)	1 (0.7%)	2 (1.4%)	38 (26.6%)	4 (2.8%)	7 (4.9%)	5 (3.5%)	10 (7%)	1 (0.7%)	6 (4.2%)	5 (3.5%)	1 (0.7%)	1 (0.7%)	142 (100.0%)

Table 3 b

WARE/PRT OF POT	RIM	RIM/NECK	RIM/MECK/BASE/HANDLE	NECK	RIM/BODY/HANDLE	RIM/LUG	RIM/BODY/BASE	BASE	BASE/LUG/BODY	HANDLE	HANDLE/BODY	LUG	BODY FRGM	TOTAL
W-O-D	31	1		2	1			2				1	32	70
BL/GR BURN	4											1	1	6
BUNRISHED	28	2	1			3		1	2	2		6		45
SM/SCO	4	1					1	2		1		8	1	18
PLD/IND	1										1			2
MAT-P?													1	1
TOTAL	68	4	1	2	1	3	1	5	2	3	1	16	35	142

Table 3 a, b. Shapes, wares and preserved parts.

		Clay Body			Surface				
Sample	Ware	Calcium	Vitrification	Chemical characteristics	Calcium	Vitrification	Chemical characteristics	Differences clay body-surface	Comments
KUM/5/01	Crusted/ open	calc ~4%		Al/17 Si/54 Fe/10 Mg/3 P/4	noncalc.		Al/19 Si/59 Fe/~10 Mg/3	Surf. Decr.: Ca, P. Incr.: Si, Al.	Red crust does not different. Notably in composition
SAL/1/01	Crusted clos crusted	noncalc		Al/23 Si/55 Fe/8	noncalc	More vitrified (layer<10µm)	Al/21 Si/48 Fe/17 K/5	Surf. Incr. : Fe, K Surf. Decr.: Si, Al.	Incr. percentages in red crust: Fe(13), K(5) και Ca (7)
SAL/2/01	Crusted/ open	calc ~13%		Al/16 Si/47 Fe/13 K/4	noncalc (curved surface contains ~10)	More vitrified (layer<10µm)	Al/18 Si/60 Fe/9 K/~5	Surf. Incr.: Al, K, Si Surf. Decr.: Ca, Fe.	Red crust rich in Fe (42-48)
SAL/12/01	Real paint/ open	calc ~10%		Al/22 Si/53 Fe/4	calc (6-8)		Al/23 Si/53 Fe/7 K/3	Surf. slightly incr.: Al, K, Fe Surf. decr.: Ca.	Red surf. rich in Fe (35), K(6), the white one in Ca (20-49)
TIG/02/17	White on dark	calc	T~900- 1000oC	Al/11 Si/61 Fe/8 K/2 Ca/11	lowcalc		Al/20 Si/58 Fe/6 K/3 Ca/3	Surf. high Al and low Ca.	Slip. Paint calc.
SAL/3/01	White painted/ closed	noncalc	T~750~800oC	Al/24 Si/57 Fe/6-8 K>3 Ca<1	noncalc	More vitrified (layer<5µm)	Al/22 Si/55 Fe/6 K>3 Ca/3	In surf. slightly incr.:Ca while decr.: Al but still remains high. K>3 in clay body and surf.	mechan. Calc. paint.
SAL/4/01	White painted/ red burn. surf	noncalc	Incomplete vitrification	Al/11 Si/78 K>4	noncalc	More vitrified (layer<5µm)	Al/20 Si/61 Fe/6 K>3	Surf. incr.:Στην επιAl, Fe and decr.: Si	High Al =>very well burn.
SAL/5/01	White painted/ closed/ coarse	lowcalc	Extens. vitrification T~800-900oC	Al/22 Si/56 Fe/7,76 K>3	noncalc	More vitrified (layer<8µm)	Al/21 Si/57 Fe/8 Mg/4 K>3	Al high in surf. and body. In surf. incr. Mg and decr. Ca.	mech.slip
SAL/7/01	White painted/ closed/ coarse	lowcalc	Extens. vitrification T~800- 900oCC	Al/21 Si/57 Fe/7 K/3	noncalc	More vitrified (layer<10µm)	Al/18 Si/50 Fe/18 K/3	Al high in surf. and body. Surf. incr. Fe and decr. Si, Ca.	mech.slip
SAL/8/01	White painted/ closed	calc ~5%	Extens. vitrification T~800-900oC	Al/21 Si/54 Fe/9	noncalc	More vitrified (layer<30µm)	Al/18 Si/65 Fe/6	Al high in surf. and body. Surf. Incr. Si and decr. Fe, Ca and slightly Al.	Slip. Paint calc.
SAL/23/01	White painted/ closed	noncalc	T~800- 900oC	Al/18 Si/58 Fe/9 K/3 Ca/3	noncalc		Al~18 Si/64 Fe/5 Ca/4	Al high in surf. and body. Surf. incr. Στην Si while slightly decr. of Fe.	surf. mechan. Ασβεστιούχα βαφή

Em/02/12	<i>White on dark.</i>	high calc	Incomplete vitrification	Al/16,22 Si/56,88	low calc	More vitrified (layer~10µm)	Al/19 Si/58 Fe/6 K/5	Surf. incr.:Al, Fe, K, Na , Si and decr. Ca.Mg>2 in body and surf.	surf low calc=>slip
Em/02/15	<i>White on dark.</i>	noncalc	Incomplete vitrification T~700-800	Al/24 Si/52 Fe/10 K/4	noncalc		Al/19 Si/59 Fe/9 K/4	Surf. decr.:Al, Fe while incr. Of Si. Mg>2 in body and surf.	mechan.
Em/02/16	<i>White on dark</i>	high calc	Extens. vitrification T~900- 1000oC	Al/19 Si/52 Fe/5-9 K/3	low calc		Al/20 Si/63 Fe/3	Surf. incr.: Al, K, Na , Si and decr: Ca και Fe.	slip
Em/02/21	<i>White on dark or Pattern burnished?</i>	noncalc	Extens. vitrification T~900- 1000oC	Al/19 Si/63 Fe/9-11 K/3	noncalc		Al/20 Si/58 Fe/3	Surf. slight Incr.: Al, K, Na and decr.: Si, Fe.	
Em/02/22	<i>Pattern burnished or White on dark ?</i>	noncalc	T~800oC	Al/19 Si/56 Fe/13 K/3	noncalc		Si/60 Fe/8	Surf. slightly Incr.: Si, K, Na and decr.: Fe.	

Table 4. Examples of technological analysis of white on dark and other neolithic wares from Aegean sites [Kylikoglou and Whitebread in Mavridis 2009]. Table translated and modified by the author. (Kum=Kumelo Cave, Sal.=Saliagos, Tig.=Tigani, Em.=Emborio). Neolithic pottery islands project.

Figures



Figure 1:
The Agia Triada Cave, southern Euboea.

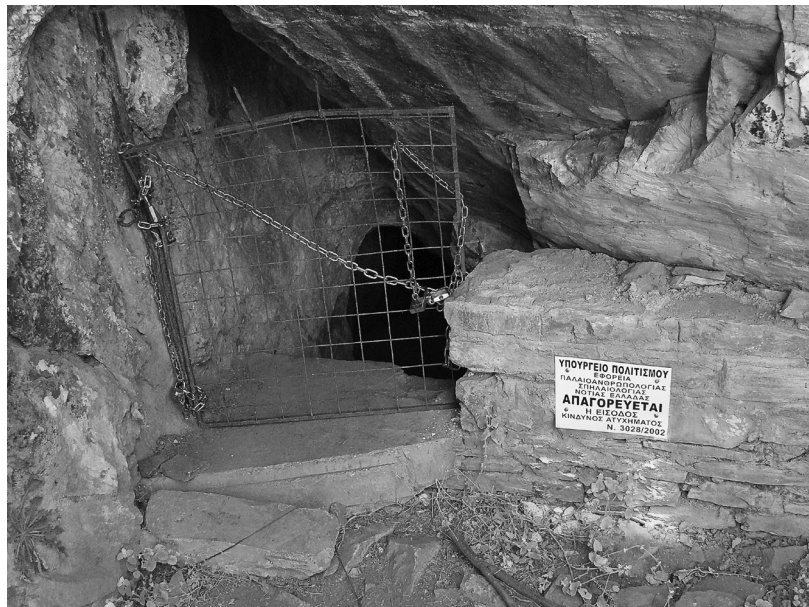


Figure 2:
The entrance of the cave.

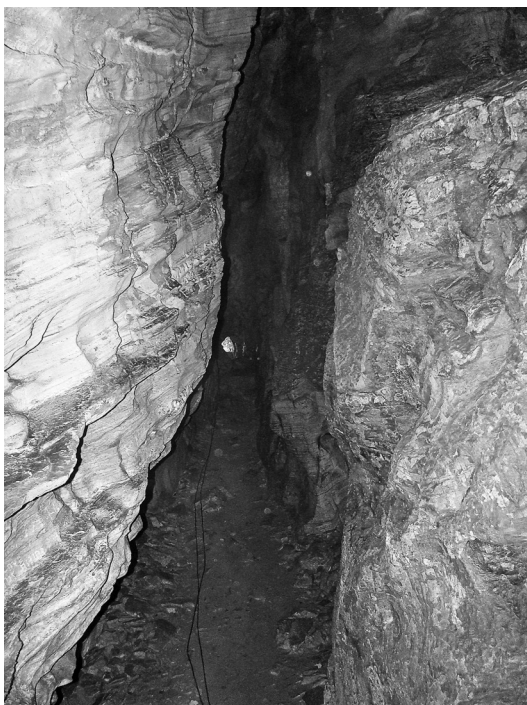


Figure 3:
The main corridor.

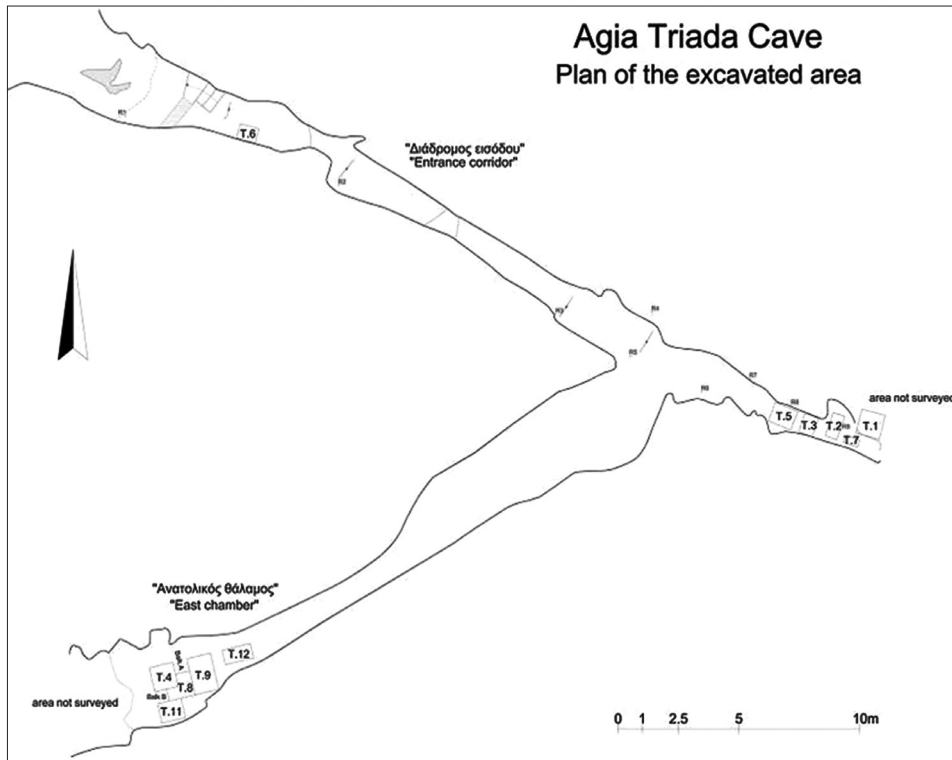
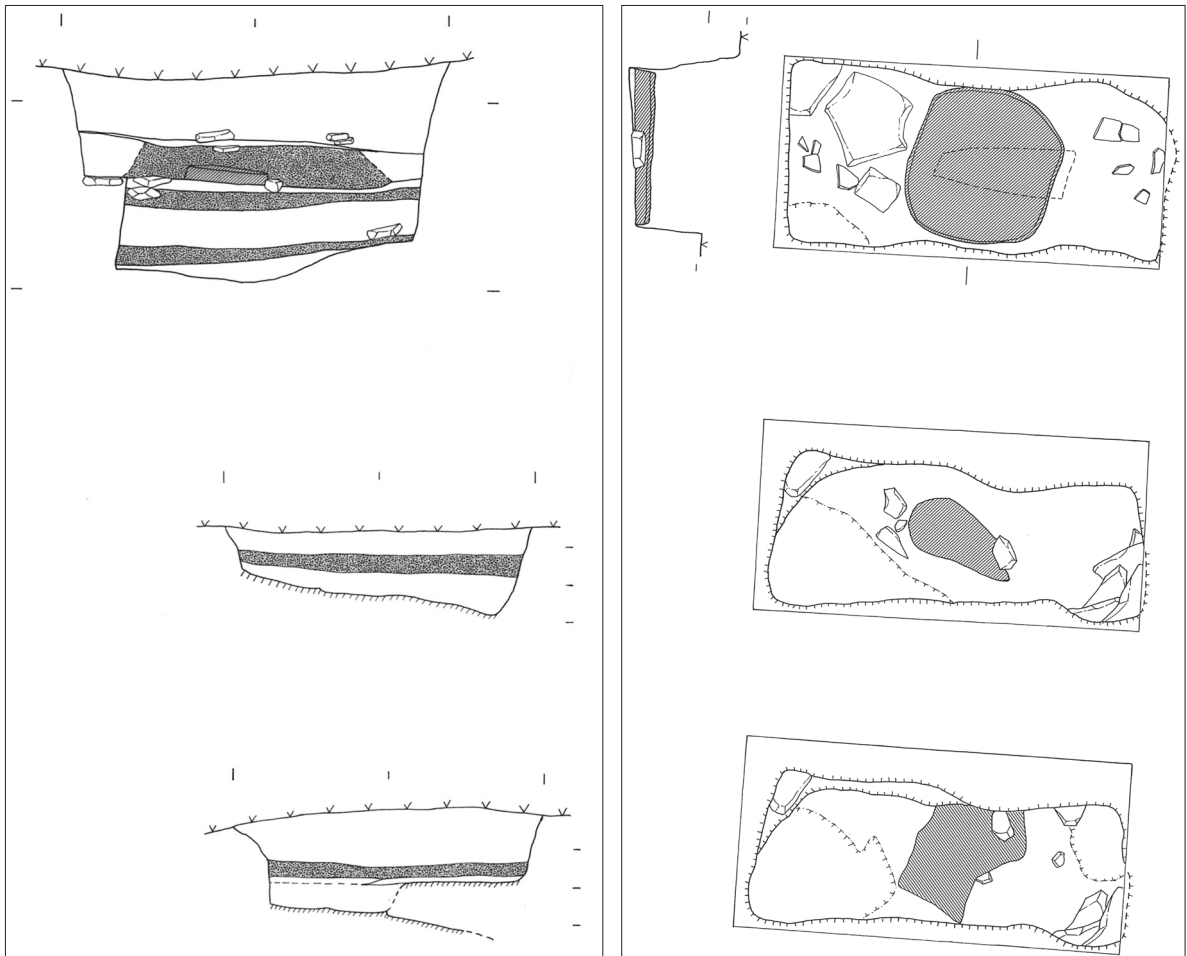
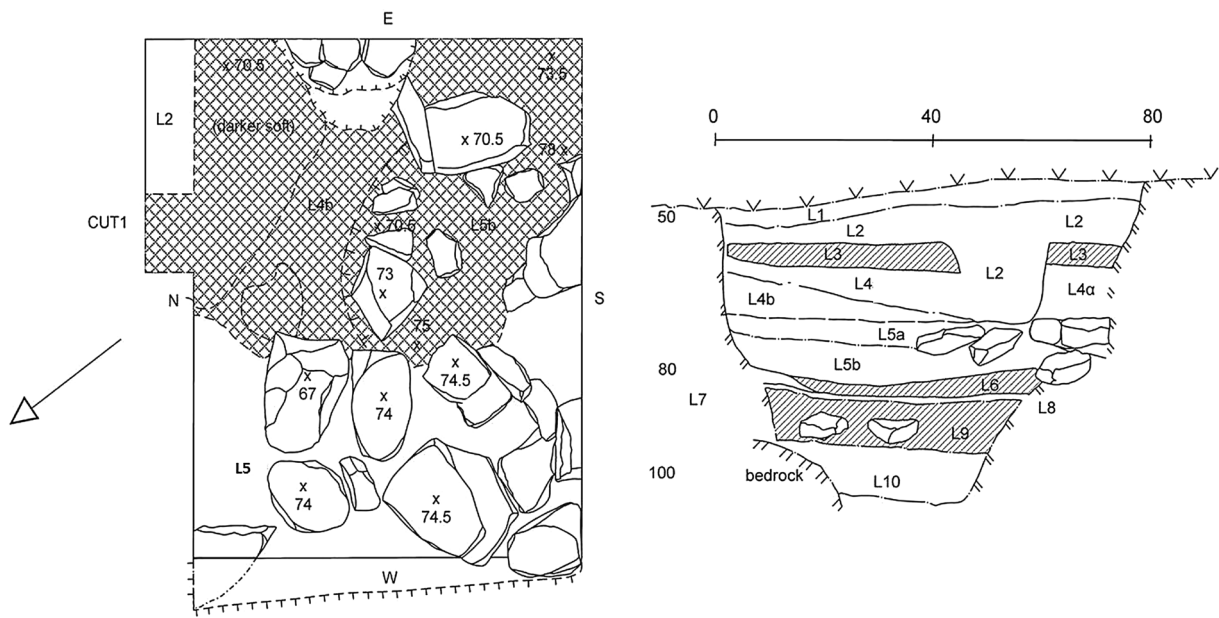


Figure 4.
Plan of the
main corridor
and the east
chamber with
the excavation
trenches.



Figures 5 a, b. Trench 2 (stratigraphy north profile and feature) (1:10) (main corridor).



Figures. 6a, b. Trench 3 (stratigraphy east profile and plan 1:10) (main corridor).

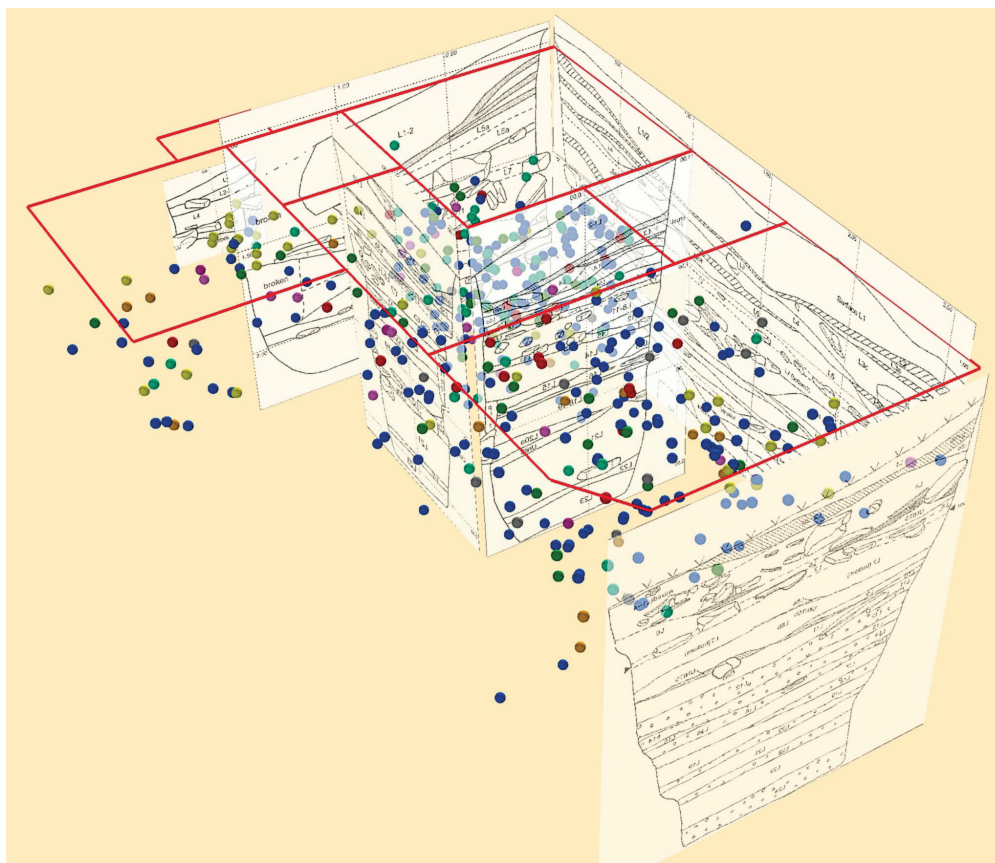
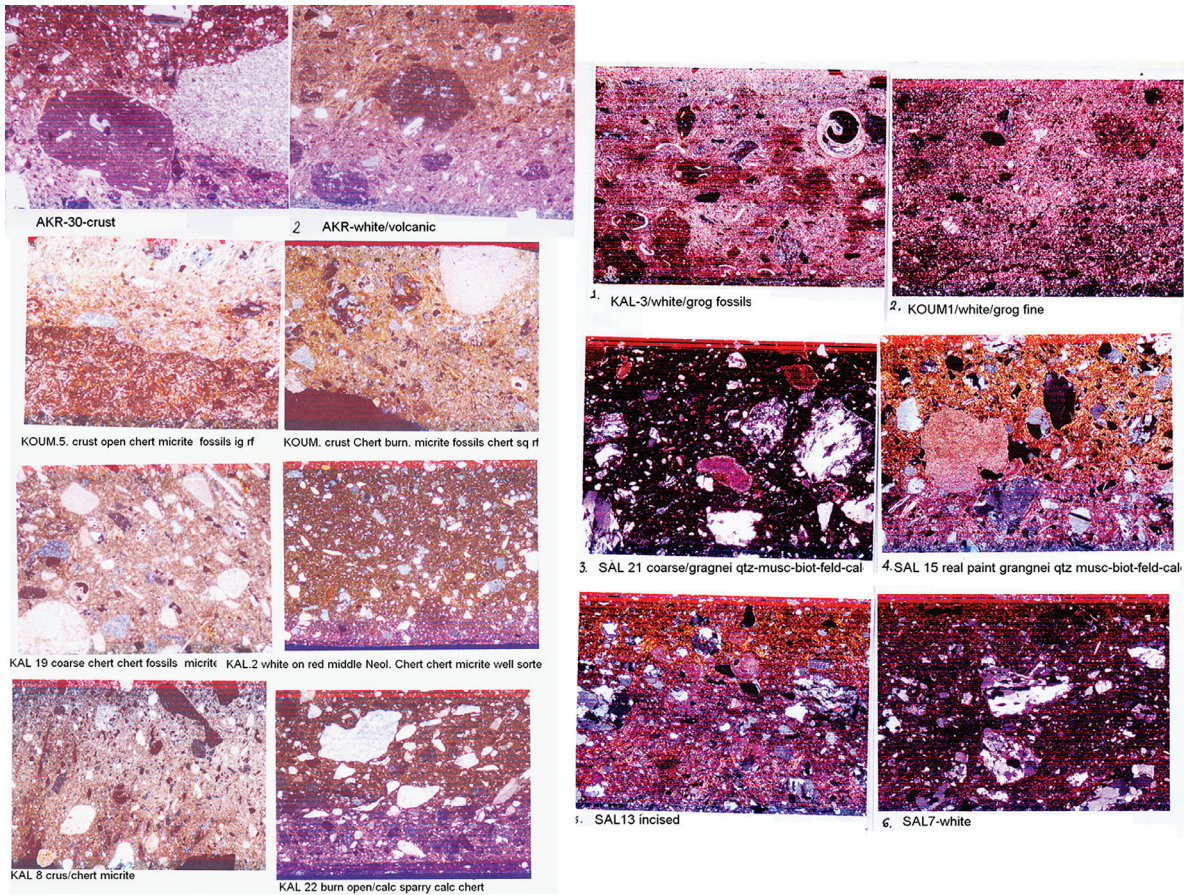
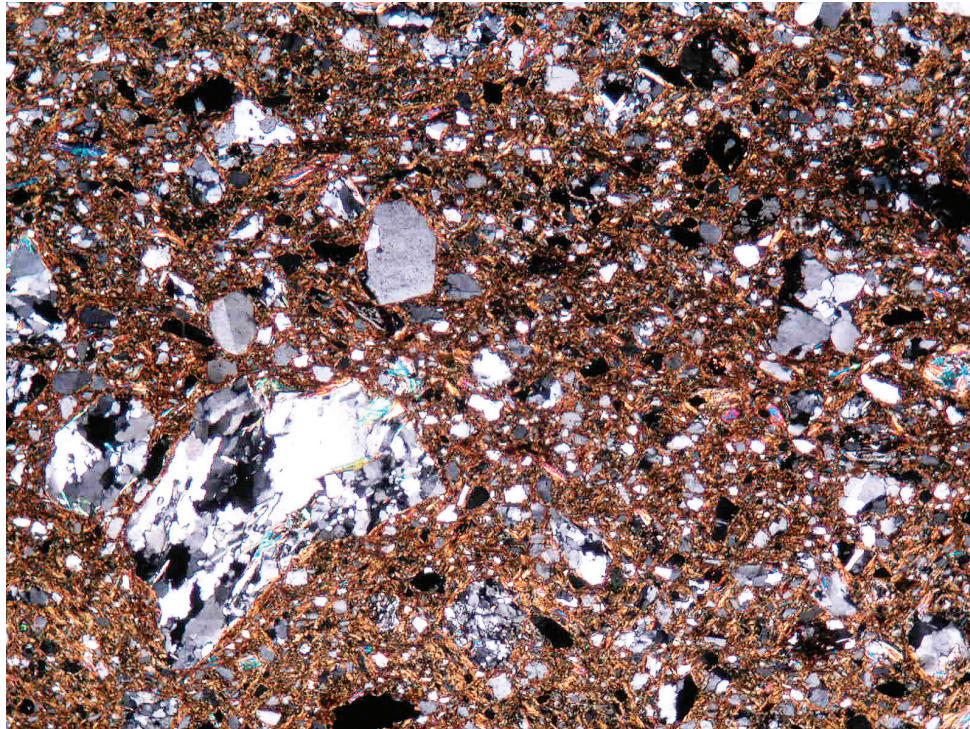
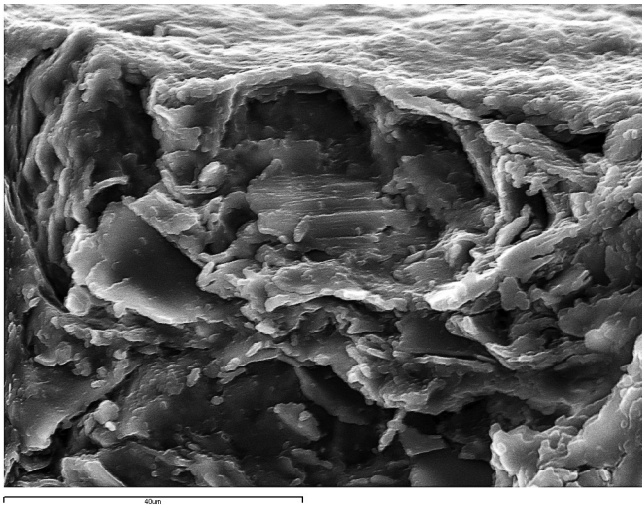


Figure. 7. Stratigraphy and distribution of finds (East Chamber). Author M. Katsianis.



Figures 8a-b. Characteristic examples of petrographic analysis of white-on-dark and other wares from the Agia Triada Cave and other Aegean sites (Koumelo, Kalythies, Akrotiri, Saliagos). Whitbread and Kylikoglou in Mavridis 2009. Neolithic pottery islands project.



a

Figures. 9a-b. Characteristic examples of white-on-dark and red-crusted real paint sherds in the stereomicroscope from Agia Triada and other Aegean sites (Akrotiri, Saliagos). Whitbread and Kylikoglou in Mavridis 2009 and Mavridis, Forthcoming. Neolithic pottery islands project.



b

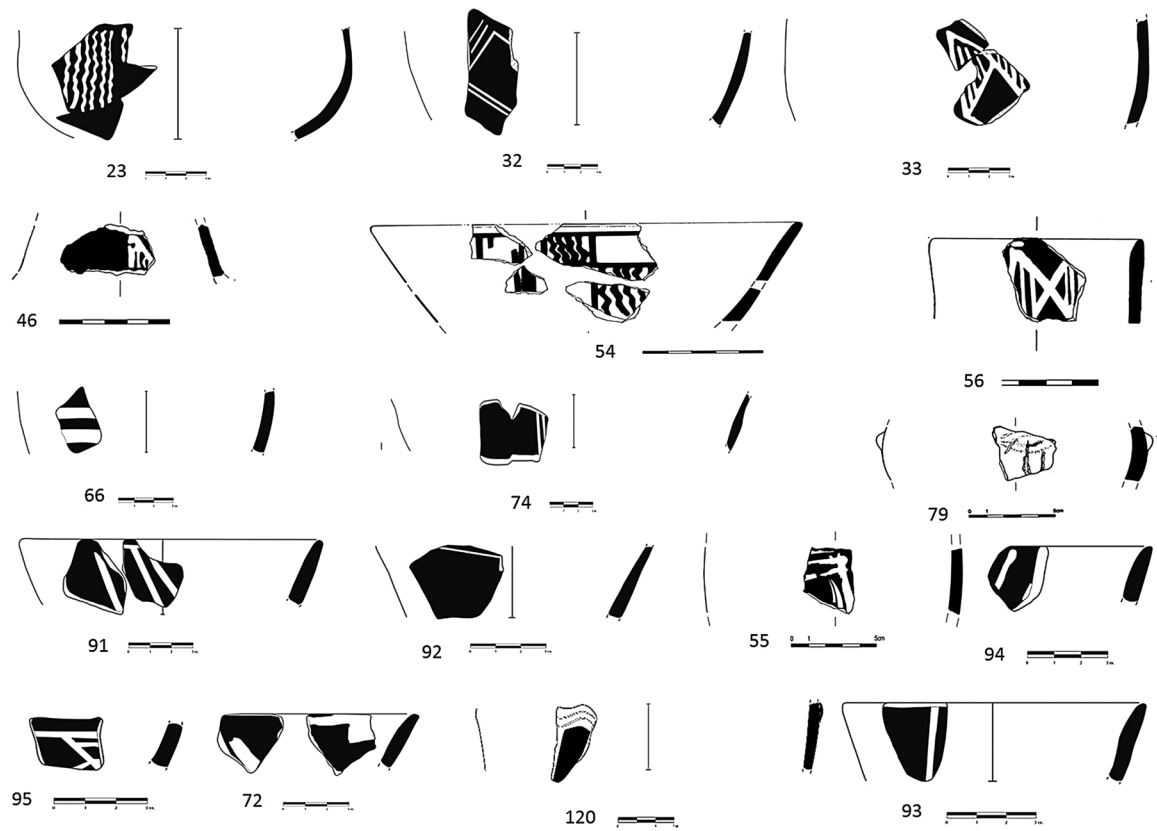


Figure 10. Pottery from Trench 3: layers 4-4b, 5b.

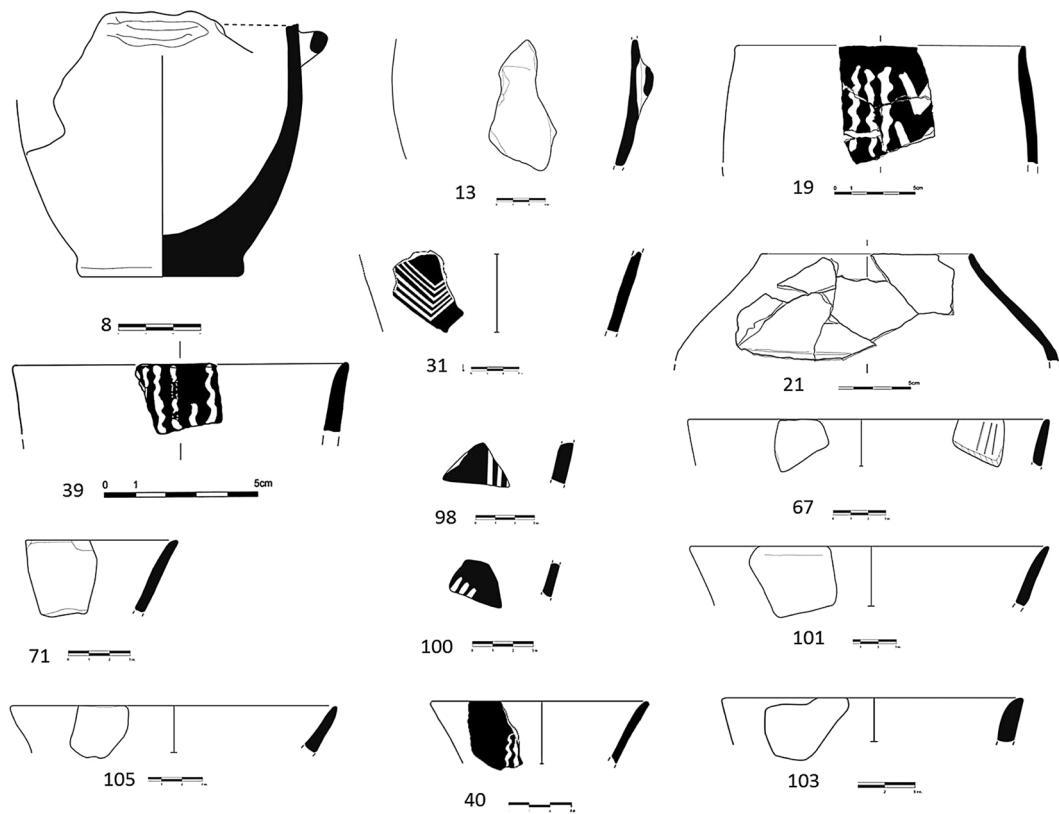


Figure 11. Pottery from Trench 3: layers 3-U1, 4a.

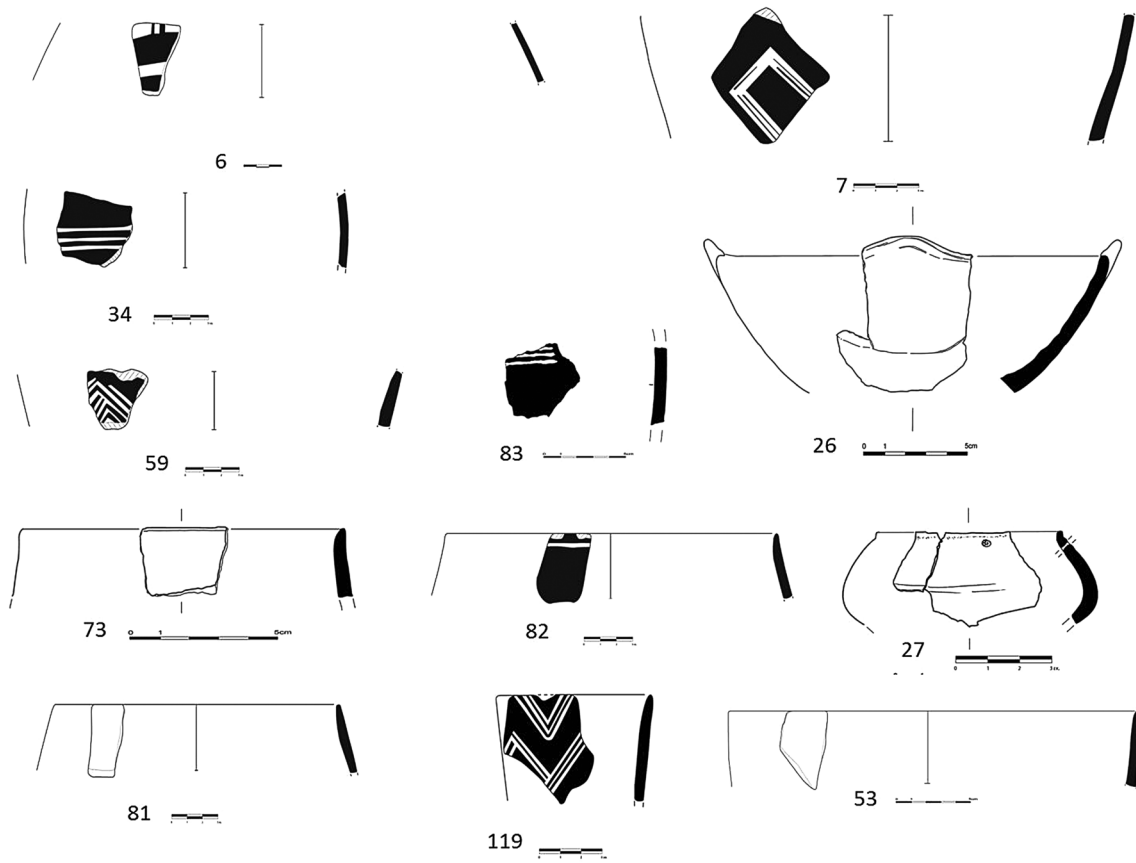


Figure 12. Pottery from Trench 3: layers 5, 6, U5.

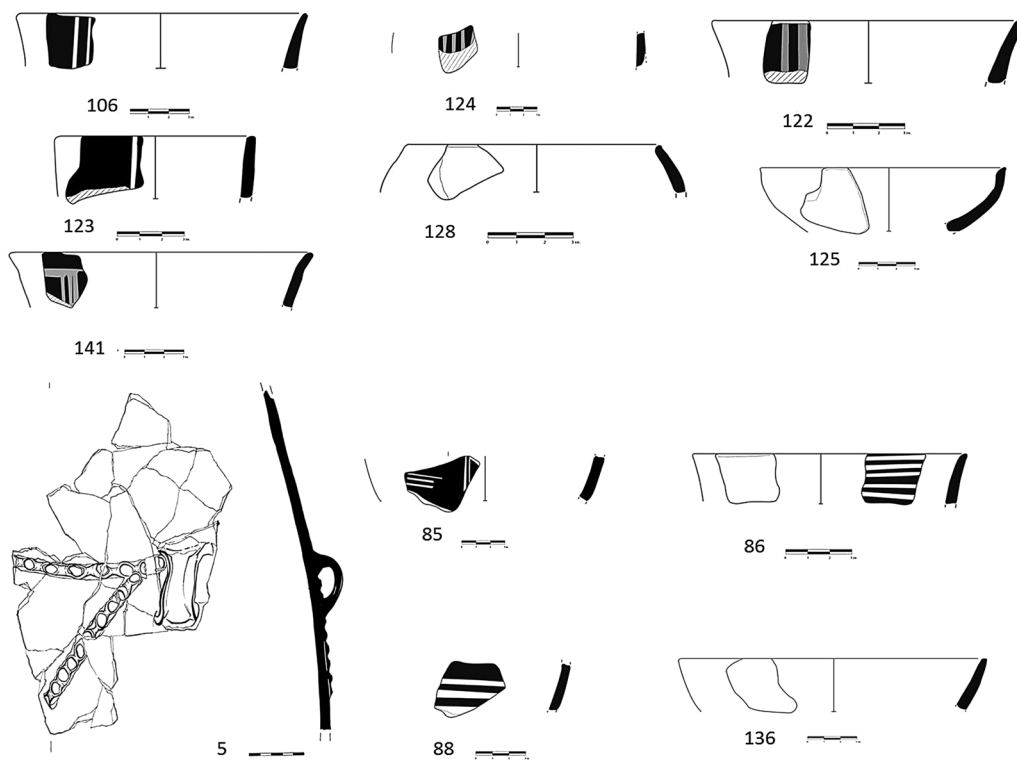


Figure 13. Pottery from Trench 2: layers 6-6b (upper), Trench 2, layer 2 (lower).

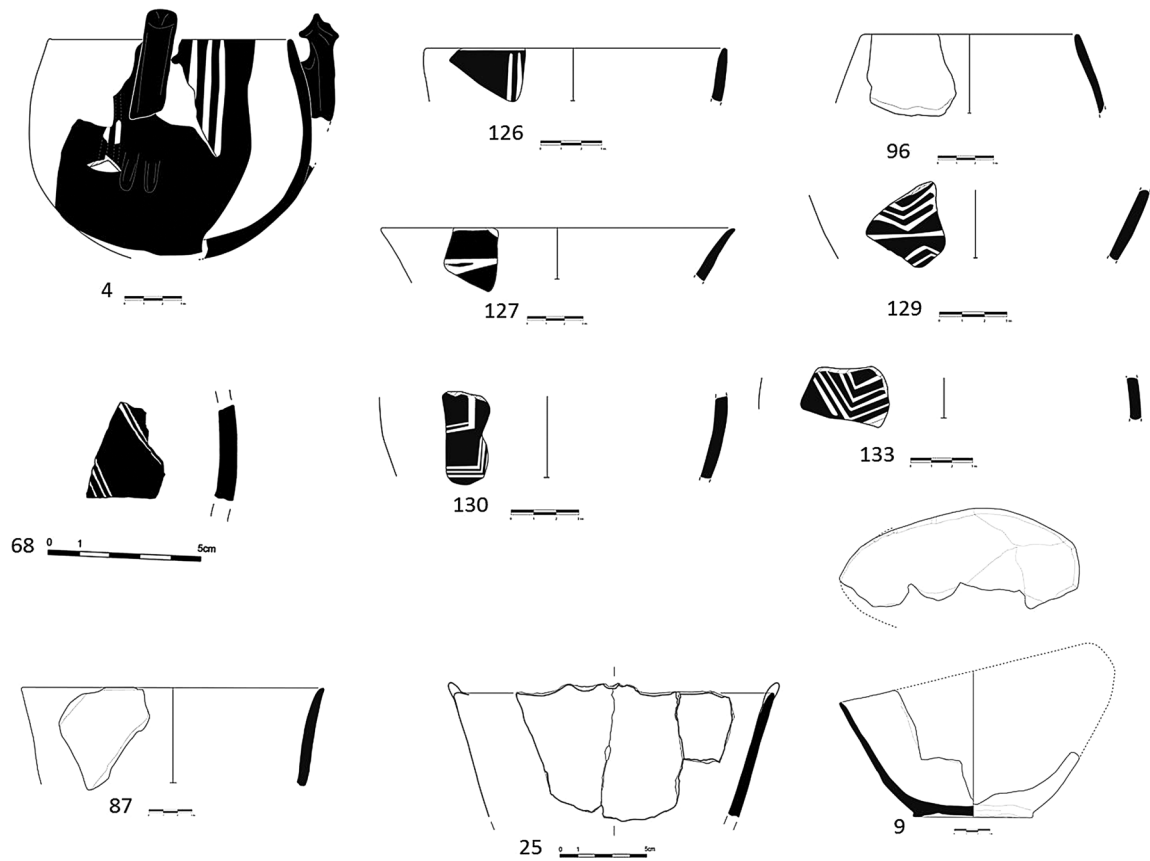


Figure 14. Pottery from Trench 2: layer 5 (upper), layer 4 (87), Trench 3, layer 8 (68), Trench 3 U2 (9, 25).

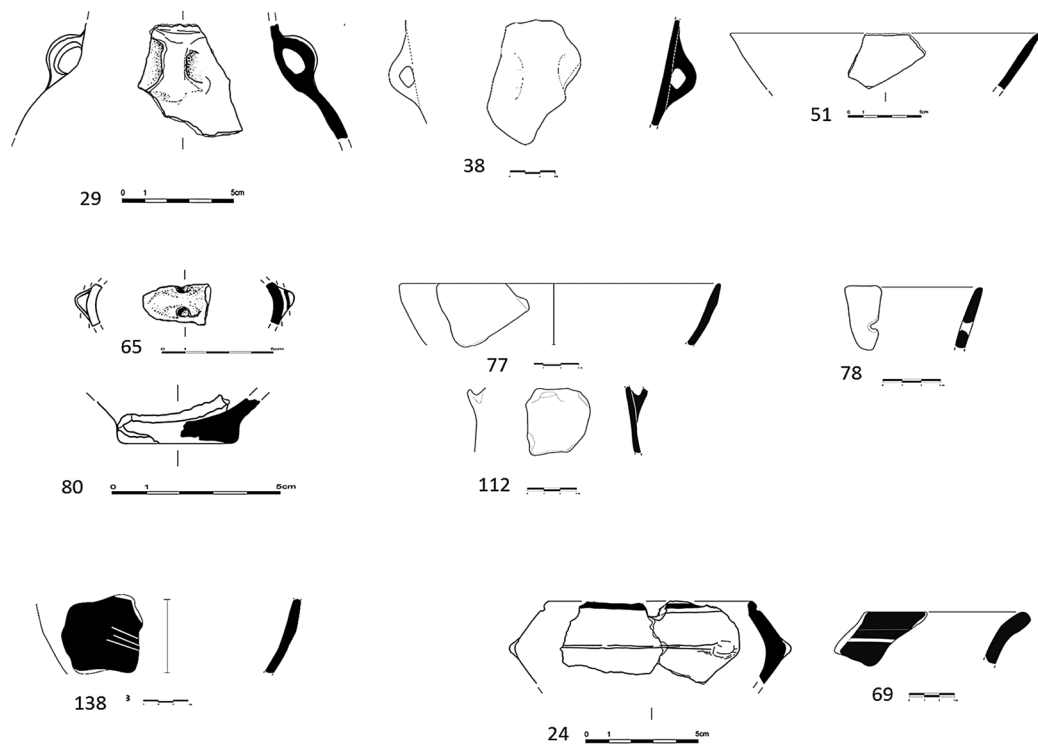


Figure 15. Pottery from Trench 4: layer 2 (29), layer 8 (38), layer 20 (51), layer 19 (65, 77, 78, 80, 112), layer 23 (24, 69, 138).

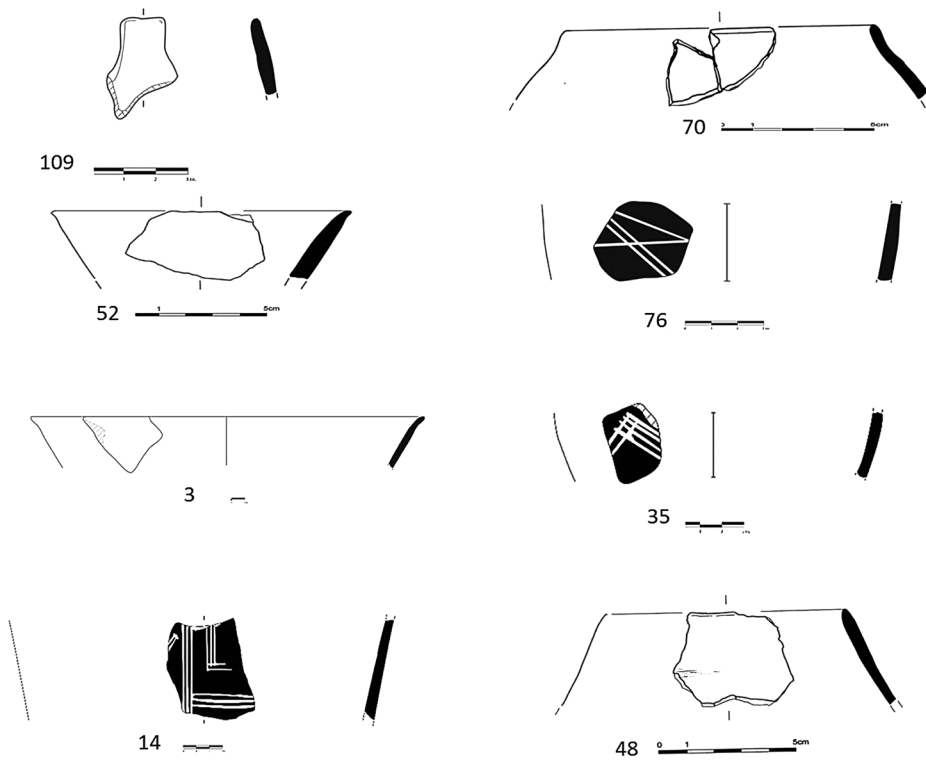


Figure 16. Pottery from Trench 8: layer 3 (109), layer 4b (70), U9 (52, 76), layer 6 (35), layer 7 (14, 48), Trench 8 cleaning of profile (3).

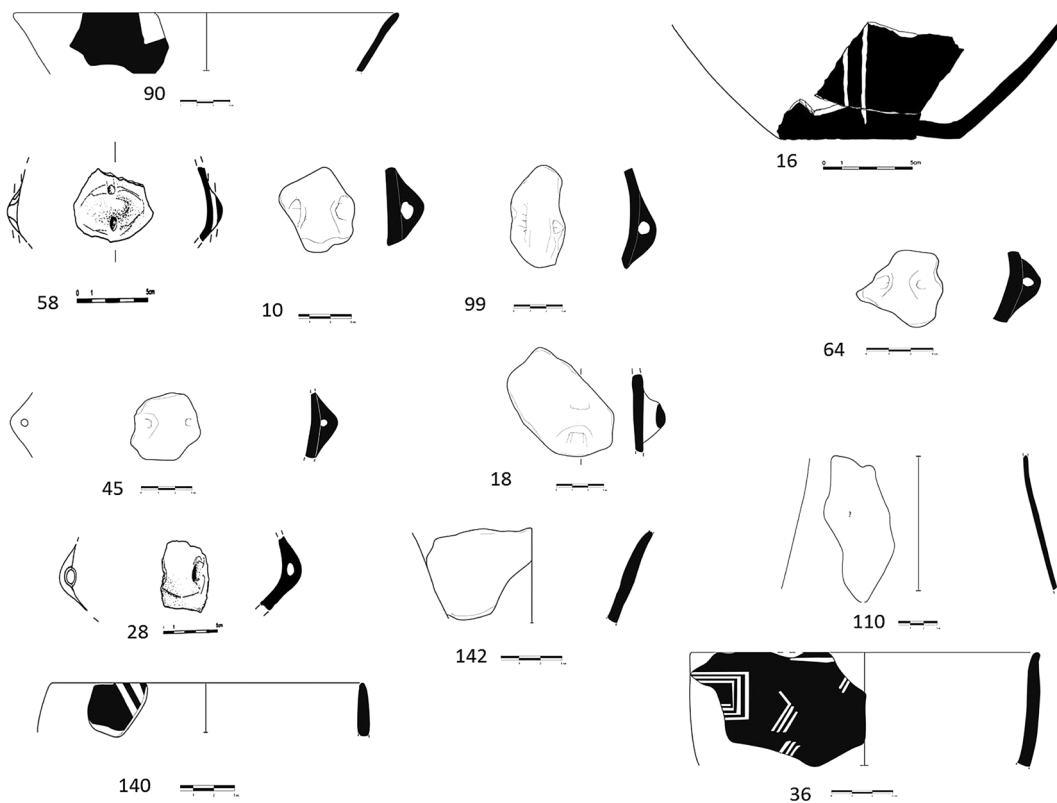


Figure 17. Pottery from Trench 8: layer 9 (90), layer 10 (16), layer 11 (10, 18, 45, 58, 64, 99), layer 12 (28, 36, 110, 142, 140).

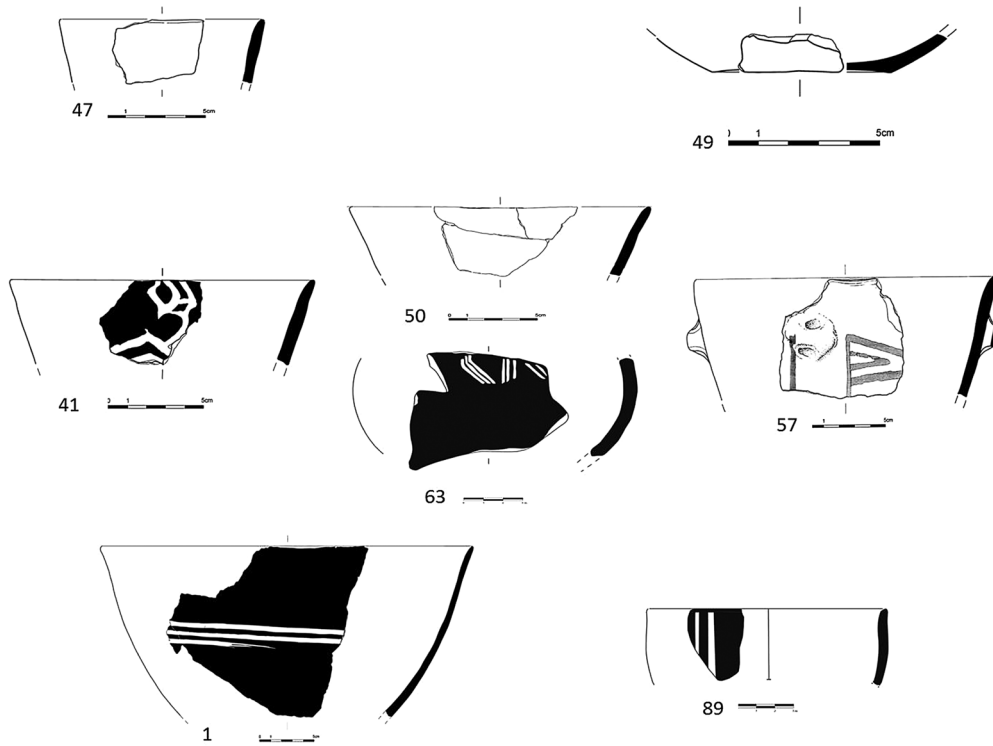


Figure 18. Pottery from Trench 8: layer 14 (47), layer 15 (49), layer 16 (41, 50, 57, 63), layer 9B (1, 8, 9).

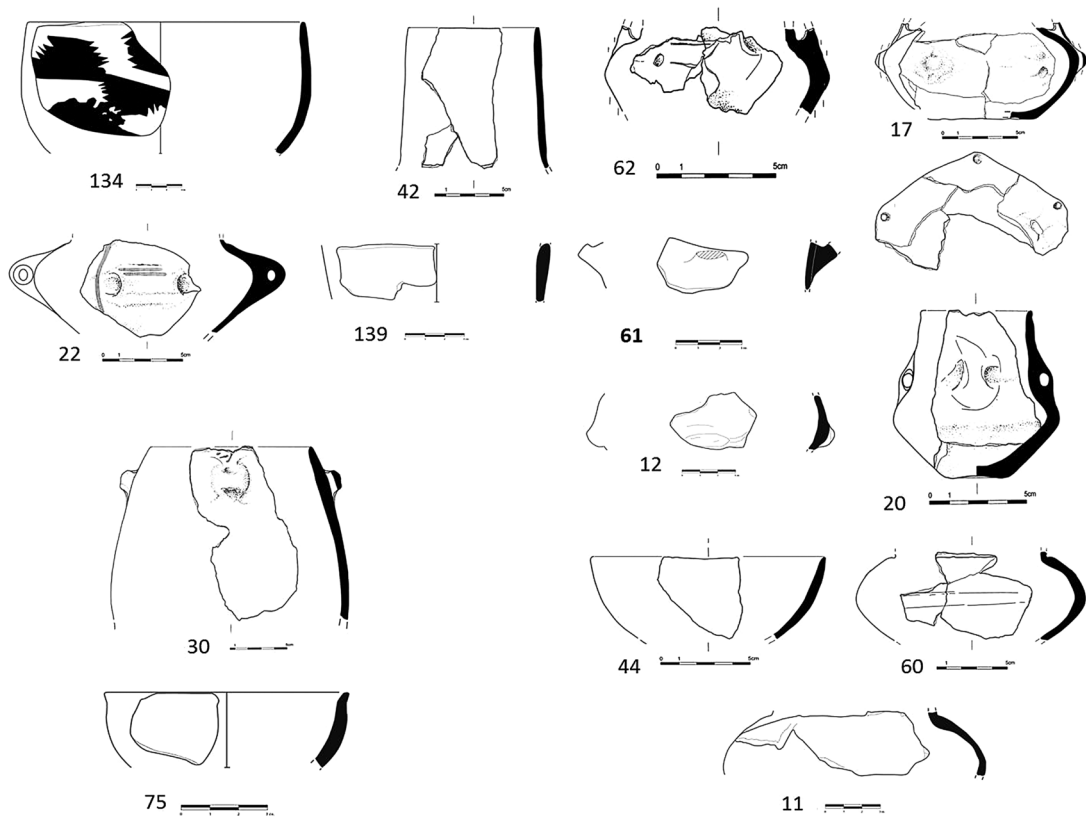


Figure 19. Pottery from Trench 8: layer 13 (11, 12, 17, 20, 22, 139, 61, 42, 44, 60, 61), layer 8-U5b (30, 75).

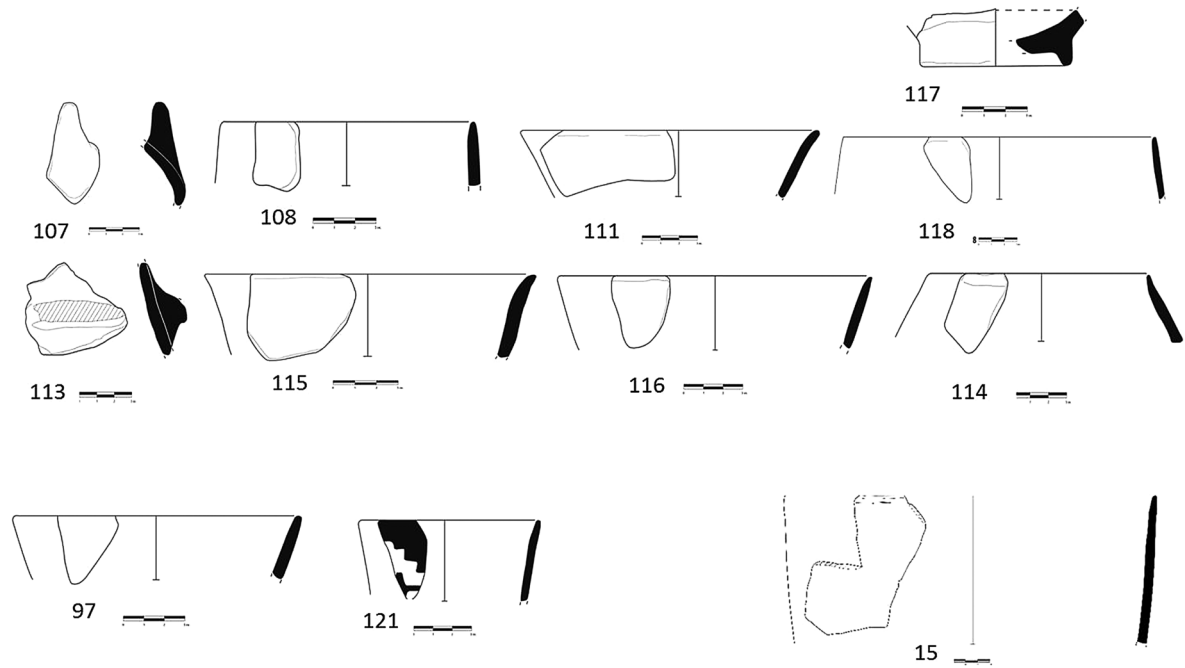


Figure 20. Pottery from Trench 9: layer 11 (107, 108, 111, 113-118), layer 12 (97, 121), layer 23 (15).

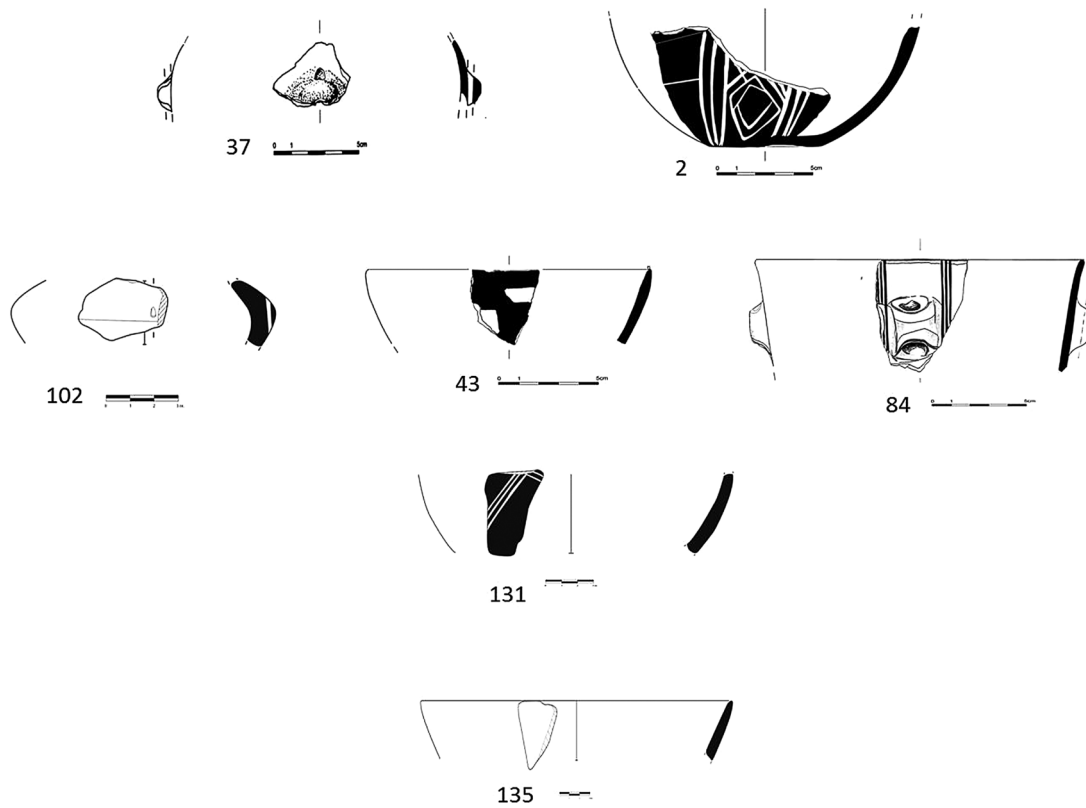


Figure 21. Surface finds.

The northernmost Cycladic island?

Insularity and the case of prehistoric southern Euboea (the Karystia)

Žarko TANKOSIĆ

Περίληψη

Το παρόν άρθρο χρησιμοποιώντας ως μελέτη περίπτωσης την περιοχή της Νότιας Εύβοιας (γνωστή και ως Καρυστία) διερευνά εν συντομία τις έννοιες των κοινωνικά ορισμένων ορίων, την κατασκευή κοινωνικό-πολιτικών οντοτήτων, και τον καθορισμό συλλογικών και ατομικών ταυτοτήτων στο Προϊστορικό Αιγαίο. Αναμφίβολα, οι εγγενείς περιορισμοί που διέπουν το αρχαιολογικό αρχείο, καθιστούν συχνά δύσκολη την μελέτη αυτών των αντικειμένων. Ωστόσο, η προσπάθεια διερεύνησης αυτών των όψεων της κοινωνικής ζωής, όχι μόνο δεν είναι αδύνατη, αλλά θα μπορούσε να είναι και εξαιρετικά εποικοδομητική, λόγω της βαρύνουσας επιρροής που ασκούν οι παραπάνω έννοιες, στον τρόπο που προσεγγίζουμε τα αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα και διαμορφώνουμε τις ερμηνείες του παρελθόντος. Αφετηρία του άρθρου αποτελεί ο προσδιορισμός και η ερμηνεία της Καρυστίας, για την οποία υποστηρίζω πως θα πρέπει να ιδωθεί αυτοδίκαια ως ‘νησί’, τουλάχιστον σε ότι αφορά την ένταξη της στην ευρύτερη ζώνη των Κυκλάδων. Μετα την διεξοδική αναφορά στα κριτήρια νησιωτικότητας που χαρακτηρίζουν το παράδειγμα της Καρυστίας, το άρθρο συνεχίζει με την διερεύνηση των τρόπων με τους οποίους η νησιωτικότητα και τα θαλάσσια δίκτυα επικοινωνίας διαμόρφωσαν τις ατομικές και συλλογικές ταυτότητες των προϊστορικών Καρυστίων και πως επηρέασαν την κοινωνικό-πολιτική ζωή και τους θεσμούς τους.

*Introduction*¹

The Karystia is a section of the southern portion of the second largest Aegean island, Euboea. Although the basic meaning of the word ‘Karystia’ is ‘area around Karystos’, its borders are ephemeral. As an entity, its boundaries are dependent on our perceptions and which criteria are used to define it. The map in Figure 1 shows at least three Karystias: the largest is defined by the regional-political division of the Greek State that includes almost all of the southern half of Euboea;² there is a slightly smaller Karystia defined colloquially by at least some of the people living in the Karystia today that places the boundary of the Karystia at the Dystos Plain/Lake, whence central Euboea begins; finally, there is the

1. Many people and institutions have supported my work in southern Euboea over the years, and I thank them all here. I particularly wish to thank my friends and co-editors, Fanis Mavridis and the late Maria Kosma, for their help, the E. A. Schrader Endowment Fund from Indiana University for its long-term financial support of my research, Donald Keller and the Southern Euboea Exploration Project (SEEP), as well as the Norwegian Institute at Athens and the Ephorate of Antiquities for Euboea. All errors in this paper remain my own.

2. This division was abolished in the 2006 reforms.

possible boundary of the Karystia that would coincide with the city limits of the Classical *polis* of Karystos, somewhere south of the modern town of Styra.

One point from the map in Fig. 1 is apparent: how one defines spatial boundaries depends on the set of criteria one chooses to apply, e.g. socio-economic connectedness, geomorphological features or historical data. The question is, how applicable are all these Euboean geographical divisions in prehistoric contexts? I think that the prehistoric Karystia was defined somewhat differently to how we usually consider it today, in our world of ubiquitous roads, roadmaps, GPS navigation and Google Earth, all of which (in one form or another) provide a bird's-eye view of the terrain that was almost completely absent in prehistory. Even during the more recent past, in comparison to prehistory at least, i.e. during Roman or Hellenistic times, there were organized, state-sponsored road networks and well-established, ever-present pack animals such as donkeys and horses, all of which were either completely absent during the Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age (EBA), the periods under discussion here, or were very scarce.

The 'Karystian island'

Although the Karystia is part of an island, the island in question—Euboea—is very large; in fact, it is the second largest in Greece after Crete. Euboea encompasses 3680 km², which is several times larger than Kea (128 km²) or Andros (380 km²), its closest Cycladic neighbours. Of this 3680 km², the Karystia, as defined here, takes up only the very small southernmost portion, less than 7% of the area of the entire island. Therefore, although Euboea taken as a whole is an island, the Karystia as part of a larger landmass, is not. Moreover, the insularity of the whole of Euboea is often contested not only because of the size of the island but also because of its proximity to the mainland. Over the course of its long north-west to south-east extension, Euboea is almost never more than 15 km away from the nearest mainland coast and, at the town of Chalkida is separated only by a narrow c.40-m-wide channel. Hence, to treat the Karystia as an island in its own right, we should provide empirical support rather than assume its 'insular credentials'.

The definition of an island is not as simple as it seems.³ Although the most common image of an island is of a small piece of land surrounded by water,⁴ this is not always the case. There are places that are effectively insular although they are not surrounded by water, such as inhabited portions of Antarctica, desert oases or isolated mountain valleys. Even Classical Greece provides an analogy, with its numerous *poleis* with local identities, laws, dialects and customs that formed, at least partly, because of the effective separation of these *poleis* from other areas caused by the difficult-to-pass terrain.

I define the Karystia as the area south of the large and difficult-to-pass mountain ranges of Ochi, Gresmi, Giannitsi-Figias, Pyrgos and Koukouvayia.⁵ The Karystia defined in such a way includes the Paximadi and Bouros-Kastri Peninsulas, the area around the modern town of Marmari, the Karystian Plain (Kampos), the southern slopes and summit of Mount Ochi, and the Katsaronio Plain north of Lykorema and west of Ochi. The mountain ranges located north of this area effectively disconnect it from the rest of Euboea, as far as prehistoric overland traffic is concerned. The same is valid for the mountainous portion of southern Euboea between the Ochi and the Cape Kafireas to the north-east.

These mountainous barriers, although they do not represent a completely impassable obstacle, make land-based communication between the Karystia and the rest of the island difficult. In the winter

3. e.g. Broodbank 2000, 16-21.

4. Also the most basic dictionary definition of an island ("1: a tract of land surrounded by water and smaller than a continent;" from Merriam-Webster Dictionary iPhone application accessed on September 4, 2016).

5. For additional elaboration see Tankosić and Katsianis, Forthcoming.

months the mountains and the existing passes are covered with snow, making them even more of a challenge for land-based communication. Pack animals such as donkeys were probably more easily available to post-prehistoric inhabitants of the Karystia than they were to prehistoric inhabitants. Although a systematic study of faunal remains from Final Neolithic (FN)/EBA Karystian contexts is lacking, most of the osteological material I inspected belongs to smaller ovicaprids. It is, therefore, safe to assume that land transport depended largely on human portage. Under such conditions land distances would appear greater than they really are. Hence, during the time periods under discussion here, I think that this narrower definition, which is essentially based on the ease of access and overland communication, is more pertinent.

On all other sides the Karystia is bounded by water. To the west of the Karystia lies the southern end of the Euboean Channel. The Euboean Channel is at its widest between the Karystia and Attica and, combined with currents and often strong winds, it creates there a much more significant obstacle to travel than elsewhere along its roughly north-west to south-east extent. With this in mind, in prehistoric times it was probably easier to reach central Euboea from the Karystia by boat than by land.

From the perspective of geomorphology, geology and vegetation, the Karystia also differs from the rest of Euboea. It shares the same geological composition with the closest Cycladic islands of Andros and Kea and with south-eastern Attica.⁶ Most of the Karystian landscape resembles more its Cycladic counterparts in its arid appearance dominated by *phrygana* than it does the *paysage* of the areas immediately north of its surrounding mountain ranges, which is much richer in terms of water and, as a result, vegetation.

The Karystia is an island in phenomenological and sensory terms, too. The mountains surrounding it form a visual barrier for the people who live in the Karystia, as they block not only passage but also create an impenetrable horizon to the north. Contrary to this, the view to the south is mostly uninhibited (depending on the vantage point and meteorological conditions) and on clear days stretches as far into the Cycladic islands as Kythnos and Tinos and, from higher vantage points, even further afield. This results in a particular psychological effect:⁷ one feels one's back is turned to the north and that one is facing the south.

Therefore, given the means of transport suitable for traversing the relatively short stretches of open sea between the Karystia and its immediate island/coastal neighbours, it would have been easier and faster for the prehistoric population of the Karystia to maintain relations with the islanders to the south than with other Euboean co-inhabitants to the north. This is not to say that some form of overland contact between southern and central Euboea did not exist; however, its frequency is difficult to assess with the evidence at hand.

Support for the separation of the southern Karystia from the rest of Euboea is also found in the archaeological data. Based on currently available evidence, the earliest habitation in the Karystia can be dated to the later Neolithic,⁸ which is akin to the situation in the Cyclades, where earlier habitation seems to have been only intermittently present.⁹ The evidence for human habitation in the central parts of Euboea stretches back at least a millennium earlier, to the beginning of the Neolithic period, making the rest of Euboea, indeed, more similar in this respect to the Greek mainland.¹⁰

6. De Paepe 1982.

7. Affecting this author, at least.

8. e.g. Mavridis and Tankosić 2009, 52-53; 2016b.

9. Evans and Renfrew 1968; Sampson 2008.

10. Sampson 2006, 145-146.

Karystian insular identities

Why is establishing the Karystia's insularity important? The prehistoric Aegean, especially during the EBA and, if finds from Strofilas on Andros¹¹ are anything to go by, during the FN as well, was a space inhabited by very thoroughly entangled communities and individuals. Goods, people and ideas changed place frequently and in different contexts. It is more than likely that networks based on kinship, friendship, commercial interest, raw material acquisition, piracy, prestige and all kinds of other grounds criss-crossed the Aegean. It is unlikely, however, that this web of interactions removed local identities and affiliations. It may have shaped them and influenced them to incorporate the cosmopolitanism of frequent contacts but, in prehistory, as is very much the case today in many if not most places in the world, we are first and foremost locals of a particular place and then everything else. Thus, for the Karystia to participate as a full member of an inter-island network and for it to be examined against other similar participants, it must be demonstrated that it is in fact an island or at least an 'island'. Of course, it would be erroneous to think of prehistoric Aegean maritime interactions as an islands-only club. It involved both island and coastal communities directly¹² as well as many landlocked areas indirectly.¹³ Still, insular identities are often different, even in the modern world and even in those cases where islands in question are very large, from those possessed by individuals/communities inhabiting terrestrial landscapes.

Identity is a personal matter. Even in cases when we can speak of a collective identity (e.g. group, communal or national), we are still dealing with a group of individuals who chose to identify with a specific set of values or the shared history of a larger group. The 'choice' of identity is not always conscious: most of the time identification with a group is acquired subliminally during childhood and adolescent development and socialization. Identities can also be ascribed.¹⁴ Above all, identity is multi-layered and we should, in fact, speak of personal identities rather than *an* identity.

One individual can identify with more than one group of people or set of values and common myths and histories, and on different levels. Which of those levels is more important can also vary and depends on many factors. These different levels of individual identity are in fact bases for imagined (e.g. religion) or real (e.g. village, family group) communities to which one individual can choose to belong. The structure of these different identities can be altered and perceived differently based on gender, sex and age group, and the importance of each of them for an individual depends on the social context and can vary widely from one individual to another, even individuals within the same group.¹⁵ With each of those identities, an individual chooses to belong to a certain *community* that has its own internal rules, regardless of how implicit or ephemeral. The 'community' defined in this way is not necessarily a 'natural' community, i.e. it is not always a physically bounded entity, such as a settlement or a household.¹⁶ According to Gerritsen, 'communities are constructed through social interaction and agency'.¹⁷

I argue here that the FN/EB Karystians had the choice of identifying with at least four 'communities' defined in this way: (1) as members of a kin-based group or lineage, (2) as members of a settlement-based community, (3) as inhabitants of a region (i.e. the Karystia), and (4) as participants in one (or more) of the Aegean interaction networks.

The expression of identity can take many forms that are not necessarily articulated in materially (and consequently, archaeologically) observable ways. Therefore, for example, participation in a kin-

11. e.g. Televantou 2001; 2008.

12. e.g. Pantelidou-Gkofa 2005; Tzavella-Evjen 1984; 1985.

13. For example, through the acquisitions of objects made from raw materials not found in the Aegean islands and coastal areas (e.g. honey flint).

14. Insoll 2007, 4.

15. e.g. Brumfiel 1998.

16. cf. Gerritsen 2004, 145-146.

17. Gerritsen 2004, 145, referring to Canuto and Yaeger 2000, 5-9.

ship- and settlement-based community may not leave any traces, as it is usually a given and is reaffirmed by everyday interactions with other members of that community as well as being mutually implicitly acknowledged by all of its members. The need to express this type of identity in more material and observable ways can arise when there is the need to emphasize it in opposition to something else. Although no archaeological correlates point to the existence of kinship- or settlement-based communal identity in the Karystia, I think we can presume it since it seems to be virtually ubiquitous among human societies.¹⁸

How many communities of this type existed in the Karystia is difficult to tell, however. There are at least four (Akri Rozos, Pelagitissa, Plakari, Agios Georgios; Fig. 3) substantial habitation sites dating to the FN, EBA or both,¹⁹ with the caveat that most of the eastern half of the Karystia has been subject to very little detailed research. These sites are different in size but share the common feature that they were likely not inhabited by only one extended family or a kinship group. Hence, some form of location-based (i.e. non-kinship-based) communal identity could have existed in some of them.

Some tentative evidence, however, supports the existence of a regional identity in the FN and EBA Karystia.²⁰ Unlike the previous two instances, this type of community cannot simply be assumed, since people sharing the same region can identify with different regional or supra-regional communities. The regional identities, when they exist, 'do not come about automatically through co-residence, but ... are constructed through social practices taking place in shared localities.'²¹

In the Karystian case, the evidence in question is, admittedly, *argumentum ex silentio*. Within a restricted region such as the Karystia, if inhabitants of a particular settlement wished to express their separate identity from inhabitants of (an)other settlement(s) in the same area (i.e. if they wished to contest the regional community), one of the ways they would likely do it is through the style of the material culture, which is one of the vehicles for the visual expression of separateness. There is currently no evidence for any kind of stylistic differentiation of material culture within the Karystia. During both the FN and the EBA the style of the material culture, primarily expressed in pottery, remains uniform throughout the area.²²

Moreover, other tentative signs of the existence of a regional community based on shared resources can be glimpsed from the lack of habitation in the Karystian Plain or the Kampos. It is known that 'the inhabited landscape can be one of the elements constituting one's identity.'²³ For example, based on data from a recent survey project in the Kampos as well as data from D. Keller's dissertation survey in southern Euboea,²⁴ I argue that the Karystian Plain, as a large section of agriculturally suitable land in southern Euboea, was deliberately left free of substantial habitation during the FN/EB phases to maximize the agricultural yields from one of the most productive types of soil in the area.²⁵ This indicates a regional cooperation based on resource-sharing that would enforce the sense of community. Of course, this raises a number of different questions with regards to land ownership, political organization, property rights and so on, which are a topic for a separate paper.²⁶

18. e.g. Feldman 1990, and references therein.

19. Agios Georgios, Akri Rozos, Pelagitissa and Plakari.

20. The issue is moot for preceding and succeeding chronological phases, at least at this stage of research. Late Neolithic is at the moment only evidenced at one site in the area (the Agia Triada Cave), which does not seem to have been a habitation site (Mavridis and Tankosić 2009; 2016a; 2016b). Only one Middle Bronze Age site is known in the Karystia (Agios Nikolaos), although this is clearly a small settlement (Tankosić and Mathioudaki 2011). Finally, no known Late Bronze Age sites exist in the Karystia.

21. Gerritsen 2004, 147.

22. Tankosić 2011, 105-131.

23. Gerritsen 2004, 147.

24. Keller 1985.

25. Tankosić 2011; Forthcoming.

26. See Relaki and Catapoti 2013 for a recent discussion of these and related issues.

A word of caution is needed, however. It is possible to have outward material expressions of belonging to or separation from another group that do not survive in the archaeologically observable record, e.g. in cloth designs, symbols made of or on perishable materials (e.g. banners, shields made of animal skins, wooden totems), symbolism painted on leather or on the human body, specific attire or a particular way of wearing the common attire. This symbolism can also be expressed in the landscape in ways that are difficult to notice or interpret or that can be ambiguous. For example, the site of Akri Rozos appears to have been fortified with a wall containing semicircular bastions, which are a common type of fortification in the Aegean during both the FN and the EBA.²⁷ Although one of the purposes of this wall was certainly defensive, it is unclear from whom this wall was defending the inhabitants. It is possible that the site represents a settlement in a state of conflict with one or more of the other major communities in the Karystia (all of them currently without evidence for fortification). At the same time, Akri Rozos is coastal and well positioned to control and participate in maritime interactions, especially in those that went through the southern section of the Euboean Channel. As such, it could have been exposed to the detrimental aspects of that interaction, such as piracy and occasional raids. Even without the fortification walls, the site's very location was surely chosen with defence in mind, as it is founded on a promontory surrounded by sea on three sides and connected to the rest of the Karystia only by a narrow isthmus. Potentially telling is the fact that the extant section of the wall stands above a part of the site that is difficult to access even in its natural form (unlike at Strofilas, for example), indicating perhaps that the wall's purpose transcends mere defence.

Similar reasoning can be applied when arguing for the Karystians' membership in the community of individuals involved in the Aegean interaction networks. If Karystians wished to contest the identity-based community founded upon interaction networks,²⁸ they might have expressed that in an overtly stylistic manner, clearly advertising their distinctiveness and an identity separate from other participants in the same interaction networks. Notwithstanding chronological differences, the material during both the FN and the EBA is stylistically uniform throughout the Karystia and more or less identical to that found in the adjacent Aegean regions, particularly in Attica, central Euboea and on Kea. Evidence from the Ayia Triada Cave also suggests contacts with the central Cycladic zone (e.g. Syros²⁹), increasing the geographical extent of the Karystian interaction sphere.³⁰ Based solely on the stylistic similarity of the extant material culture, I suggest that, on one level at least, the people from the Karystia identified themselves as part of a larger community based on interaction and on connections and personal/communal relationships established in the process. The record shows no attempt to emphasize local versus any wider regional identity by the people of the Karystia. On the contrary, the material culture is deliberately made in a way that openly and outwardly emphasizes participation in a common cultural circle.

This state of affairs could have come to an end at the very end of the EBA, during a phase of Anatolianizing stylistic influence in the central and western Aegean usually termed *Kastri* or *Lefkandi I* phase.³¹ Currently there is no evidence in the Karystia (as I define it here) to demonstrate the existence of this phase, usually defined by characteristic pottery shapes, which are either imported or made of local clays. An incidence of sudden depopulation cannot be entirely discounted since, as was the case in the rest of the Cyclades, the following EB III phase is also completely absent from the Karystia. I

27. The site is not excavated and surface finds consist of both FN and EBA material. Hence, it is difficult to date the walls with any degree of certainty; see Cullen et al. 2013, 62-67; Talalay et al., this volume.

28. Or, indeed, display their participation in a different interaction network, such as one not involving the Cycladic islands.

29. Rambach 2000.

30. Mavridis and Tankosić 2016a.

31. e.g. Renfrew 2010, 89; Rutter 1984; Wilson 1999, 95-97.

think, however, that a more likely explanation lies in the domain of the social, namely in the processes involving the acceptance or rejection of new interaction paradigms and networks and with them the associated material culture. There is no evidence for a cataclysmic event that would have wiped out the entire thriving Karystian EB II community nor a clear reason for widespread abandonment and a mass exodus of any kind.³² It is tempting to view, on the other hand, the lack of Kastri/Lefkandi I shapes in the area as a result of the agency of local actors deciding to persist in using and maintaining the networks of their predecessors, as well as the social institutions associated with them and the supralocal communities which they had made, rather than give in to novelty and (social) disruption. Therefore, I think that the Karystia continued to be inhabited during at least a part of the final EB phase without its population accepting the novel shapes and social customs that likely went with them.³³

Conclusions

A salient characteristic of Karystian identities on all observable levels is their inclusiveness. What the extant material culture tells us, in my opinion, is that people living in the Karystia emphasized their participation and membership in layered, embedded and identity-based communities rather than their separateness from them. The deliberate and careful reproduction of shared style and symbolism shows that. I think that this strongly indicates that to the producers and users of this material culture, easily recognizable participation and membership in a wider community was an important goal. The community that was based on maritime interactions, at least, was almost pan-Aegean in character, including at least some of the Cycladic islands and the coastal areas of southern and central Greece. It lasted, it seems, from the FN until at least the end of the EBA II, when some differentiation in interaction networks and identity-based communities can be noted in the form of the difference between areas that have incorporated the Kastri/Lefkandi I shapes into their pottery repertoire and those, like the Karystia, that did not. Finally, the Karystia follows the Cyclades in one other important matter: the EB III material³⁴ is completely absent from southern Euboea, a feature that has still not been satisfactorily explained, not only in relation to the Karystia but also to in the Cycladic Aegean as a whole.³⁵

To summarize, there are many characteristics that connect prehistoric Karystia more with the Cycladic islands to the south than with the rest of Euboea to the north or the Greek mainland to the west. Geomorphologically and climatologically, the area is more akin to the neighbouring Cycladic islands. The same is true of vegetation and the Karystia's general appearance. Separation and insularity (broadly defined), as part of the definition of what an island is, are also relevant, since the sea borders the Karystia on three of its sides and rugged mountains separate it from the rest of Euboea to the north. In sensory terms, anywhere in the Karystia one always feels as if once faces the south (Cyclades) with a wall of mountains (primarily Ochi) blocking the horizon to the north. Speaking in archaeological terms, although many details are still fuzzy despite years of research, the Karystia 'behaves' more like the Cyclades than mainland Greece. Based on the current state of research, the area does not seem to

32. This is another *argumentum ex silentio* since no EBA cemeteries have to date been found in the Karystia, excluding the Ayia Triada Cave, which seems to have been a very special case (Mavridis and Tankosić 2016a). The few excavated sites there exhibit no large-scale destruction associated with the end of EB II. A reliable series of radiocarbon dates from excavated EBA habitation sites would go a long way towards resolving this issue.

33. The common Kastri/Lefkandi I shapes—depos cup, wheelmade plates, one-handed tankards, bell cups and lentoid jugs (e.g. Rutter 1979, figs. 1 and 4; Wilson 1999, 95)—are usually understood to represent a drinking assemblage, indicating a change in consumption of (possibly alcoholic) liquids associated with new customs of social interaction.

34. Rutter 1995.

35. e.g. Broodbank 2000, 320-349.

have been settled until the LN or later.³⁶ Stylistically, the FN and EBA material culture combines elements of both Cycladic and Helladic cultural circles, which is not uncommon for the northern Cycladic islands (e.g. Kea and Andros), exhibiting strong connections to both. Moreover, some features of the material culture, as glimpsed from the very limited number of EBA burials from the Karystia, indicate even deeper connections to the central Cycladic circle.³⁷ Finally, the Karystia also follows Cycladic trends when it comes to the end of the EBA: the last phase (EB III) is completely absent with only one identified Middle Bronze Age settlement in the entire region.³⁸

The importance of the Karystian case for our general understanding of how prehistoric individual and group identities are formed and expressed should not be underestimated. Perceived insularity, even in modern times and with practically continental-sized entities (e.g. the British Isles, Australia or Taiwan), is an important formative factor for the identity of the people inhabiting them. This insular identity was likely much more easily propagated and maintained at a time when settlements were small and information exchange was personal and frequent. After all, insularity is, above all, a matter of perception.

Viewing prehistoric communities as a collection of overlapping and entangled heterarchical identities, rather than as only equilocal groups of people, changes also our perspective on the social dynamics of prehistoric societies. Instead of limited geographically bounded groups of people trying to assert their separateness against other similar groups, we now have individuals who are part of both their local group and wider social entities with little spatial limitation. This perspective fits better the Aegean FN/EBA archaeological evidence, which indicates a world of profoundly connected people over (what were for those times) significant distances—signalling their inclusion rather than separation through their material culture. Communities based on locality still existed and people, of course, inhabited a place (or more than one, perhaps) during their lifetimes and felt as belonging to a specific place. That is, however, only a part of the story. To come closer to understanding the driving forces behind and consequences of prehistoric maritime interactions, we need to account for as many of these overlapping communities as possible and include them in our explanatory models.

36. So far, LN material has only been found at one location—the Ayia Triada Cave—which was an unlikely habitation site. Research focused on establishing the origins of the Karystian founder population (if possible, since Neolithic skeletal remains are completely absent) would undoubtedly yield interesting results and also shed some light on the cultural connections of their successors. See also Tankosić and Katsianis, *Forthcoming* for a possible explanation for the origin of the LN material in the Karystia.

37. Mavridis and Tankosić 2016a.

38. Tankosić and Mathioudaki 2011.

Bibliography

- Broodbank, C. (2000) *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brumfiel, E. M. (1998) 'The Multiple Identities of Aztec Craft Specialists'. *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 8(1), 145-152.
- Canuto, M. A. and J. Yaeger, eds. (2000) *The Archaeology of Communities: A New World Perspective*. New York: Routledge.
- Cullen, T., L. E. Talalay, D. R. Keller, E. Karimali, and W. R. Farrand (2013) *The Prehistory of the Paximadhi Peninsula, Euboea*. Philadelphia: INSTAP Prehistory Monographs.
- Evans, J. D. and C. Renfrew (1968) *Excavations at Saliagos near Antiparos*. Athens: The British School of Archaeology at Athens.
- Feldman, R. (1990) 'Settlement-Identity: Psychological Bonds with Home Places in a Mobile Society'. *Environment and Behavior* 22(2), 183-229.
- Gerritsen, F. (2004) 'Archaeological Perspectives on Local Communities'. In *A Companion to Archaeology*, edited by J. Bintliff, 141-151. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Insoll, T., ed. (2007) *Archaeologies of Identities: a Reader*. New York: Routledge.
- Keller, D. R. (1985) 'Archaeological Survey in Southern Euboea, Greece: A Reconstruction of Human Activity from Neolithic Times through the Byzantine Period'. PhD thesis. Indiana University, USA.
- Mavridis, F. and Ž. Tankosić (2009) 'The Ayia Triadha Cave, Southern Euboea: Finds and Implications of the Earliest Human Habitation in the Area (Preliminary Report)'. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 9(2), 47-59.
- Mavridis, F. and Ž. Tankosić (2016a) 'Early Bronze Age Burial Deposits at the Ayia Triada Cave at Karystos, Euboea: Tentative Interpretations'. *Hesperia* 85(2), 207-242.
- Mavridis, F. and Ž. Tankosić (2016b) 'The Later Neolithic Stages in Central-Southern Greece Based on the Evidence from the Excavations at the Ayia Triada Cave, Southern Euboea'. In *The Human Face of Radiocarbon: Reassessing Chronology in Prehistoric Greece and Bulgaria, 5000-2000 cal BC*, edited by Z. Tsirtsoni, 419-436. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée.
- De Paepe, P. (1982) 'A Petrological Examination of Final Neolithic Pottery from Thorikos and Karystos'. In Vol. 5 of *Miscellanea Graeca: Studies in South Attica I*, 69-81.
- Pantelidou-Gkofa, M. (2005) *Τσέπι Μαραθώνα*. Athens: Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία.
- Rambach, J. (2000) 'Kykladen I: Die Frühe Bronzezeit Grab- und Siedlungsbefunde'. Vol. 33 of *Beiträge für Frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie des Mittelmeer-Kulturraumes*. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GMBH.
- Relaki, M. and D. Catapoti, eds. (2013) *An Archaeology of Land Ownership*. New York: Routledge.
- Renfrew, C. (2010) 'Cyclades'. In *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean*, edited by E. H. Cline, 83-95. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rutter, J. B. (1979) *Ceramic Change in the Aegean Early Bronze Age: The Kastri Group, Lefkandi I, and Lerna IV: A Theory Concerning the Origin of Early Helladic III Ceramics*. Los Angeles: Institute of Archaeology, University of California.
- Rutter, J. B. (1984) 'The "Early Cycladic III Gap": what it is and how to go about filling it without making it go away'. In *The Prehistoric Cyclades: Contributions to a Workshop on Cycladic Chronology*, edited by J. A. MacGillivray and R. L. N. Barber, 95-107. Edinburgh: Department of Classical Archaeology, University of Edinburgh.
- Rutter, J. B. (1995) 'The Pottery of Lerna IV'. Vol. III of *Lerna: A Preclassical Site in the Argolid: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Sampson, A. (2006) *Η προϊστορία του Αιγαίου: Παλαιολιθική-Μεσολιθική-Νεολιθική*. Athens: Atrapos.
- Sampson, A. (2008) 'The Mesolithic Settlement and Cemetery of Maroulas on Kythnos'. In *Horizon: A Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades*, edited by N. Brodie, J. Doole, G. Gavalas, and C. Renfrew, 13-17. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Tankosić, Ž. (2011) 'Southern Euboea – Northern Cyclades: An Integrated Analysis of Final Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Interactions'. PhD thesis. Indiana University at Bloomington, USA.

- Tankosić, Ž. (Forthcoming) 'Land Management in the Final Neolithic/Early Bronze Age Aegean? Some Tantalizing Indications from Southern Euboea'. In *Communities in Transition: The Circum-Aegean Area in the 5th and 4th Millennia BC*, edited by S. Dietz, F. Mavridis, Ž. Tankosić and T. Takaoglu. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Tankosić, Ž. and M. Katsianis (Forthcoming) 'Cycladic or Mainland? The Prehistoric Landscapes of Southern Euboea'. In *Communities, Landscapes, and Interaction in Neolithic Greece. Proceedings of International Conference, Rethymno 29-30 May 2015*, edited by A. Sarris, E. Kalogiropoulou, T. Kalayci, and L. Karimali. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Tankosić, Ž. and I. Mathioudaki (2011) 'The Finds from the Prehistoric Site of Ayios Nikolaos Mylon, Southern Euboea, Greece'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 106(1), 99-140.
- Televantou, C. A. (2001) 'Ανδρος από τους Νεολιθικούς στους Πρωτοκυκλαδικούς οικισμούς'. In *The Early Bronze Age in the Cyclades in the Light of Recent Research at Settlement Sites*, edited by M. E. Marthari, 7-32. Athens: Ministry of Culture, 21st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities.
- Televantou, C. A. (2008) 'Strofilas—A Neolithic Settlement on Andros'. In *Ορίζων: A Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades, 25-28 March, 2004*, edited by N. Brodie, J. Doole, G. Gavalas and C. Renfrew, 43-53. Cambridge: Macdonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Tzavella-Evjen, H. (1984) *Λιθαρές*. Athens: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων.
- Tzavella-Evjen, H. (1985) *Lithares: An Early Bronze Age Settlement in Boeotia*. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press.
- Wilson, D. E. (1999) 'The Pottery and Small Finds'. In Vol. IX(1) of *Keos [Ayia Irini: Periods I-III. The Neolithic and Early Bronze Age settlements]*. Mainz am Rhine: P. von Zabern.

Figures

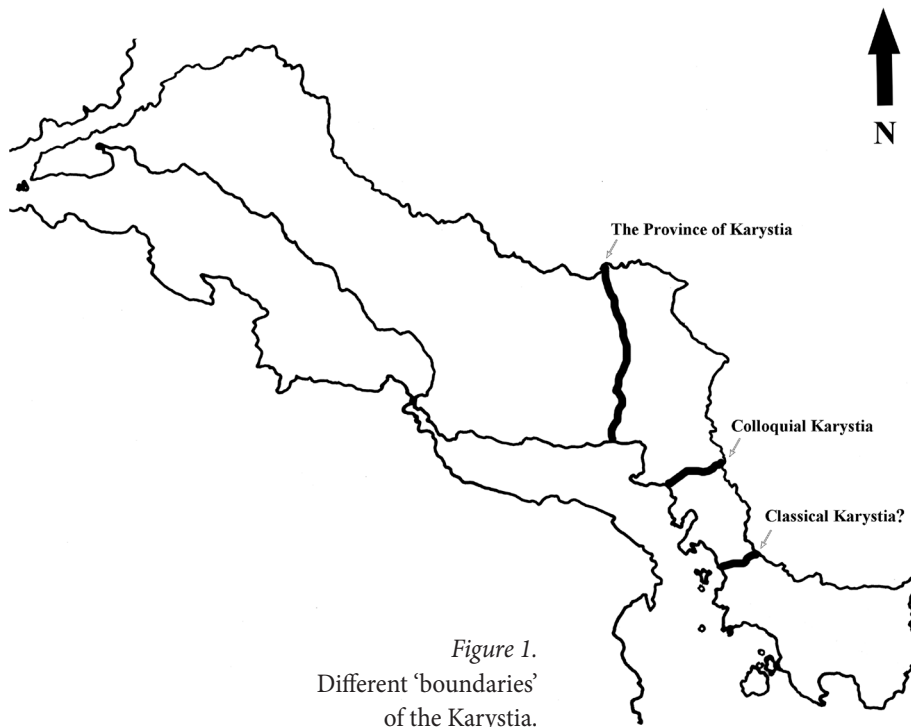


Figure 1.
Different 'boundaries'
of the Karystia.

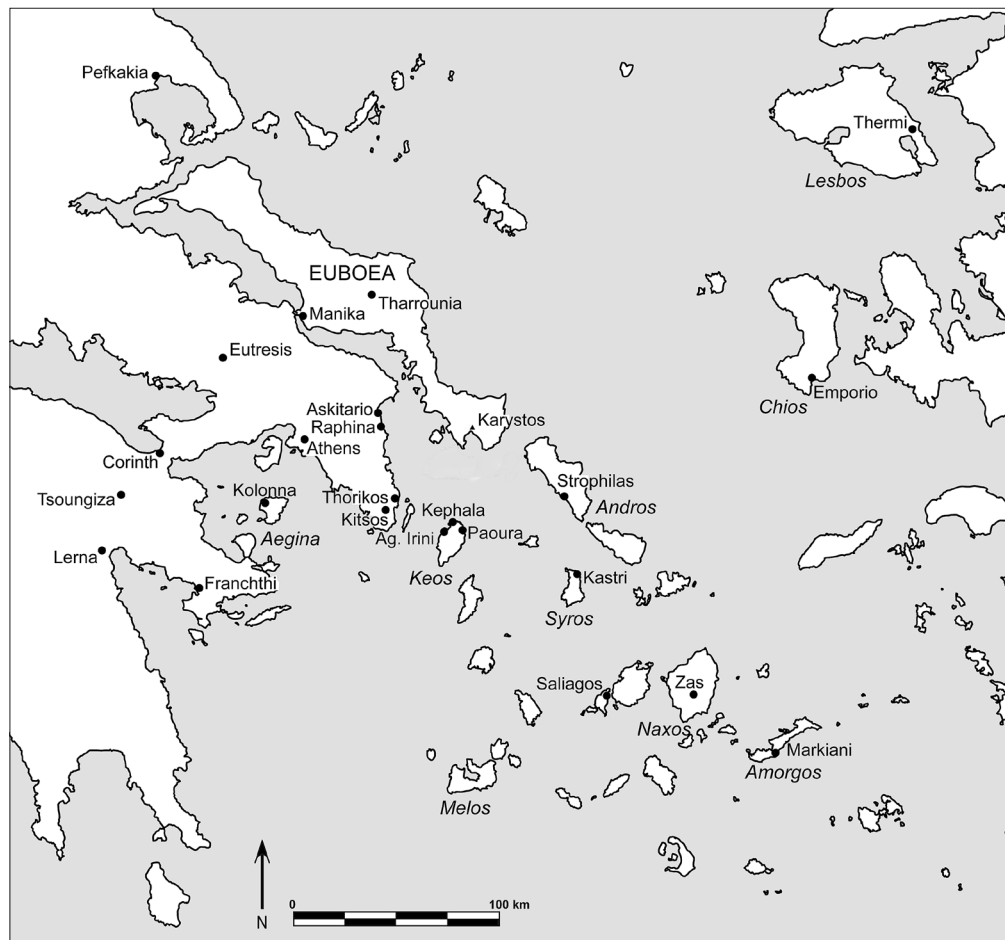


Figure 2.
Karystia and
Euboea in their
geographical
context.
Adapted from
Cullet et al.
2013, fig. 1.

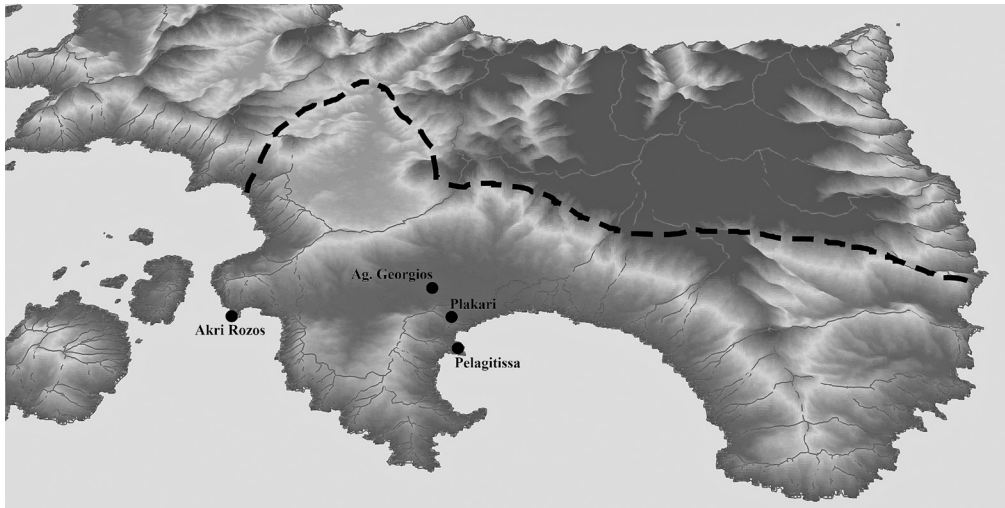


Figure 3. Possible boundaries of the prehistoric Karystia.



Figure 4. An example of the Karystian landscape.



Figure 5. View from the Karystia to the south.

Euboean connections with Attica and Kea: A view from Final Neolithic and late Early Bronze Age II pottery

Margarita NAZOU

Περίληψη

Το άρθρο διερευνά τις σχέσεις ανάμεσα στην Κεντρική και τη Νότια Εύβοια, την Ανατολική Αττική και τη Βόρεια Κέα σε δύο χρονολογικές περιόδους: την Τελική Νεολιθική (περίπου 4100-3100 π.Χ.) και την ύστερη Πρωτοελλαδική II (περίπου 2450/2350-2200/2150 π.Χ.). Το πρώτο μέρος αναφέρεται στις στενές ομοιότητες στην κεραμική της Τελικής Νεολιθικής από ανασκαφές στην Κεντρική και τη Νότια Εύβοια (Θαρρουνία και Πλακαρή), στην Ανατολική Αττική (σπήλαιο του Κίτσου, Κόντρα Γκλιάτε και Θορικός) και στη Βόρεια Κέα (Κεφάλα και Αγία Ειρήνη). Οι κεραμείς αυτών των κοινοτήτων χρησιμοποιούσαν παρόμοιες συνταγές για τους πηλούς τους με προσμείξεις από τοπικά υλικά, και παρήγαγαν τα ίδια σχήματα. Οι κοινές κεραμικές τεχνολογίες μπορούν να ερμηνευτούν ως ενδείξεις για την ύπαρξη ναυτιλίας και επαφών ανάμεσα στις κοινότητες της Εύβοιας, της Ανατολικής Αττικής και των Βόρειων Κυκλάδων. Το δεύτερο μέρος του άρθρου αναφέρεται στην κεραμική από την Κεντρική Εύβοια (Μάνικα και Λευκαντί), την Ανατολική Αττική (Θορικός) και τη Βόρεια Κέα (Αγία Ειρήνη) στην ύστερη Πρωτοελλαδική II. Σε αυτήν την περίοδο συνυπάρχουν τα σχήματα της λεγόμενης «ομάδας Λευκαντί I - Καστρί» με κεραμική της Πρωτοελλαδικής II. Μπορούμε να αναγνωρίσουμε μια διαφορετική δυναμική σε σχέση με την Τελική Νεολιθική. Τα νέα έθιμα πόσης από τη δυτική Ανατολία και οι νέες τεχνολογίες, όπως ο κεραμικός τροχός, που κατά πάσα πιθανότητα μεταδίδονται μέσω θαλάσσιων οδών, διεισδύουν στην Ευβοϊκή κεραμική παραγωγή. Η ερμηνεία των δεδομένων από την Τελική Νεολιθική δείχνει τη συμμετοχή των κοινοτήτων της Καρυστίας σε ένα δίκτυο επαφών και ανταλλαγών μέσω θαλάσσης με τους γείτονές τους. Μία χιλιετία αργότερα, στο τέλος της Πρωτοελλαδικής II, η Εύβοια έχει γίνει ένας σημαντικός κόμβος σε εμπορικά δίκτυα μεγάλης εμβέλειας.

Introduction

Archaeological work undertaken in Euboea has demonstrated that the northern and central parts of the island were settled by the Early Neolithic (c.6540-5950).¹ However, the southern part of the island, the Karystia, was settled much later, in the Late Neolithic (c.5300-4100 BC).² The Karystian Kampos, an area with great potential for agricultural use that could have attracted Neolithic farmers, was recently surveyed by Tankosić and Chidiroglou, but no evidence earlier than the Late Neolithic

1. Sampson 1981, 50-79. It should be noted that Sampson's Early Neolithic I is contemporaneous with the Thessalian Early Neolithic, whereas his Early Neolithic II phase is contemporaneous with the Thessalian Middle Neolithic (see Alram-Stern 1996, 117-118). For the absolute chronology of the Early Neolithic, see Perlès 2001, 109-110.

2. Cullen et al. 2013; Mavridis and Tankosić 2009; Sampson 1981, 92-93.

was discovered.³ It therefore seems that the Karystia was in many ways functioning as an island within Euboea, since it was ‘colonized’ together with other marginal landscapes, such as mountainous areas, in the late stages of the Neolithic.⁴ This phenomenon may be associated with a shift from spring-fed to rain-fed agriculture and a greater emphasis on a seasonal, pastoral economy.⁵

The next period, the Early Bronze Age (EB) (c.3100-2000 BC) is well attested on Euboea.⁶ In contrast to other Aegean regions, where the transition from the Final Neolithic (FN) to EB I is unclear, Sampson’s important survey work has documented a significant increase in the number of sites during his FN II and EB I phases,⁷ which most likely reflects settlement dispersal into small farmsteads and hamlets along with a population increase. The EB II (c.2650-2200/2150 BC) seems to be a flourishing period. The evidence from Manika is impressive, and the settlement seems to achieve an enormous size of 50-80 ha,⁸ though it is not clear whether it was continuously occupied. The late phase of EB II (c.2450-2200/2150 BC) has been recognized at the site of Lefkandi, where pottery types associated with eating and drinking with strong similarities to types known from western Anatolia have been excavated.⁹ These pottery types also occur at Manika.¹⁰

In this paper the connections between central and southern Euboea, eastern Attica and northern Kea during the FN and the late EB II are investigated using archaeological ceramics as a source of evidence. The study of excavated ceramics from these areas, which are connected through short maritime journeys, can provide important insights into ceramic production, consumption and exchange. The study has two main aims: to identify local and imported ceramic styles and to establish how local pottery-making traditions are affected by broader changes in ceramic technology and/or the reorganization of social and economic networks in the prehistoric Aegean.

The two time periods under consideration, the end of the Neolithic, which is also known as the FN (c.4100-3100 BC), and the late phase of the EB II (c.2450-2200/2150 BC) have been selected because there is sufficient data for inter-site comparisons of ceramic assemblages, which then allow for the reconstruction of patterns of prehistoric interaction. For each period the ceramic styles (fabrics, forms and surface treatments/decorations) excavated from several sites on Euboea, eastern Attica and Kea are discussed (Fig. 1). The ceramic data on stylistic similarities and differences are interpreted in terms of the extent and nature of the relationships among Euboean, eastern Attic and Keian communities.¹¹ Intercommunity interactions in each period may relate to several socio-economic phenomena, such as inter-village marriages, trade and exchange, piracy and warfare. It should be emphasized that ceramic production, consumption and exchange are only one aspect of prehistoric economic and social relationships, which were most likely complex and formed and transformed through several types of material culture. Still, of all the archaeological materials dated to these periods, pottery is the most abundant and best-preserved type, and it occurs at all excavated sites, thus providing considerable research potential for inter-site and interregional comparisons.

3. Tankosić and Chidiroglou 2010.

4. See Tankosić, this volume.

5. Demoule and Perlès 1993, 399.

6. The Early Bronze Age is subdivided into three periods: EB I (c.3100-2650 BC), EB II (c.2650-2200/2150) and EB III (2200/2150-2000 BC). Absolute dates for the Early Bronze Age used in this paper derive from Manning 1995.

7. Sampson 1981, 23.

8. Sampson 1988, 9.

9. French 1968, 8.

10. Sampson 1985, 243-261; 1988, 64-68.

11. The assumption that each ceramic assemblage is the product of a specific community can be criticized methodologically: the ceramic assemblages under examination could have been the product of one or several potters used by one or several residential groups. The term ‘community’ is used here to describe a ‘meso’ scale of analysis between the ‘individual’ and the ‘region’ (on the concept of the ‘meso’ scale, see Knappett 2011, 98-111).

The Final Neolithic

The FN dates roughly to the 4th millennium BC (c.4100-3100 BC). It should be noted that there is some controversy in the literature on naming this period. Renfrew, based on the work of Phelps on ceramic typology and the data from absolute chronology, coined the term 'Final Neolithic' to describe the 4th millennium BC.¹² Sampson has disagreed with the term 'Final' and suggested an alternative chronological scheme.¹³ This paper uses Renfrew's terminology, which is convenient for analysing the dataset of the study.

The pottery from seven FN sites is considered in this paper: Tharrounia in central Euboea,¹⁴ Plakari in the Karystia,¹⁵ the Kitsos Cave,¹⁶ Kontra Gliate¹⁷ and Thorikos¹⁸ in eastern Attica, and Kephala¹⁹ and Ayia Irini²⁰ on Kea (Fig. 1). These sites have produced significant quantities of FN pottery, and have been published to a level of detail which permits inter-assemblage comparisons.

The data on ceramic fabrics from all case-studies indicates local production of the bulk of the assemblages; some imported pottery has also been identified. At Plakari, Kontra Gliate, Thorikos, Kephala and Ayia Irini, the examination of ceramic fabrics establishes that most of the pottery is produced from the local red-brown clays, which contain rock and mineral inclusions that are common in local geologies, such as schist, limestone and/or marble, quartzite and silver mica.²¹ At the Kitsos Cave, as well as the local micaceous silver fabric, the petrographic study of Courtois has identified calcite-tempered and volcanic fabrics, which are most likely imports to the site,²² but imports which are not from very far away. A volcanic fabric has also been identified at Kontra Gliate, and may be an Aeginetan import.²³ There is no evidence from the literature on Tharrounia for locally produced and imported fabrics.²⁴ To conclude, the current evidence on FN ceramic fabrics from these sites seems to indicate shared technologies. Ceramic exchange seems to be limited, as imports are low in quantity (less than 5%) in most assemblages.²⁵

Further insights into ceramic production during the FN are provided by the study of form repertoires. The same ceramic shapes are produced across Euboea, Attica and the northern Cyclades (Fig. 2).

12. Renfrew 1972, 68.

13. Sampson 2006, 244-247.

14. Mari 1993, 135-151; Sampson 1993, 126-134, 152-189.

15. Cullen et al. 2013, 21-42; Keller 1982.

16. Karali 1981; Lambert 1981.

17. Nazou 2014, 88-190.

18. Nazou 2014, 191-260; Spitaels 1982.

19. Coleman 1977.

20. Wilson 1999, 6-19.

21. For the Plakari macroscopic fabrics, see Cullen et al. 2013, 27-28; for Kontra Gliate and Thorikos, see Nazou 2014, 299; for Kephala, see Coleman 1977, 9. A petrographic study of the small FN assemblage on Thorikos square 153c5 and of the Plakari assemblage has been conducted by De Paepe (1982), who identified the presence of metamorphic rocks in the pottery of both sites, but is reluctant to argue for local production owing to the widespread distribution of these rocks in the Attic-Cycladic Massif. Since there are no major differences in local geologies of the Karystia, eastern Attica and Kea, one would need a technological study which combined ceramic petrography and chemical analysis to distinguish possible differences in clay sources, processing and firing.

22. Courtois 1981, 385 and Nazou 2014, 271-275. The calcite-tempered fabric could have been produced somewhere in south-eastern Attica, whereas the volcanic fabric is most likely an import from nearby Plaka (even though a provenance from Aegina cannot be excluded).

23. Nazou 2014, 173-174.

24. Kilkoglou and Maniatis (1993, 438-440 and table 1) report that non-calcareous clays were used for the production of FN pattern burnished pottery, but do not provide any further information on local and imported fabrics. Non-calcareous clays were also used at Thorikos and Plakari (De Paepe 1982, 72, 74).

25. Nazou 2014, 299, table 80. The only exception is the Kitsos Cave, where there is an unusually high quantity of imported pottery.

Moreover, there are striking similarities in the execution of most forms and form parts.²⁶ Such close similarities in form repertoires most likely indicate shared technologies among the potters of the Karystia, eastern Attica and Kea. The most likely explanation for this phenomenon is the interaction of these communities through inter-village marriages, since pottery making is a cultural tradition which is usually diffused through learning within a family or an extended family.²⁷

The study of surface treatments and decorations provides similar results,²⁸ strengthening the argument for strong stylistic similarities among the ceramic assemblages. The main decorated ware, the pattern burnished, occurs at Plakari, Kontra Gliate, Thorikos and Kephala in association with local fabrics.²⁹ This suggests local production, but the small variations in the execution of decoration motifs most likely indicate non-standardized production among these communities.

Therefore, the data on FN pottery production in the Karystia, eastern Attica and Kea indicate the existence of shared ceramic technologies. This is most likely associated with active maritime links between these areas. As we have seen, pottery exchange is limited, but there is strong evidence for the transfer of technological knowledge and shared cultural traditions.

The late phase of the Early Bronze Age II (Lefkandi I-Kastri group)

A millennium later, during the late EB II period, different dynamics can be recognized among the communities of Euboea, eastern Attica and Kea. In this period long-range maritime interaction between the southern Aegean and western Anatolia affected ceramic production. At sites of this period, excavations have yielded the standard EB II ceramic repertoire of tableware forms (bowls, jugs and sauceboats) and transport and storage vessels of various shapes and sizes.³⁰ However, excavations at Lefkandi have also yielded a different group of tableware forms that has received considerable research attention. This pottery group was named the 'Lefkandi I-Kastri group' after the sites where this pottery was first excavated.

When French first reported the earliest pottery from Lefkandi, he highlighted its uniqueness and importance.³¹ The most distinctive characteristic was the presence, for the first time in the Aegean, of wheelmade pottery, which co-occurred with handmade pottery. Moreover, the closest form parallels for this pottery were reported from western Anatolia, from sites such as Troy II. These stylistic connections were indicative of cultural interactions of Aegean and western Anatolian communities; however, their precise nature still eludes us.

Earlier approaches have considered this group evidence for invasions and/or migrations.³² Further research has considerably improved our knowledge of this group. Most researchers are now agreed that this pottery dates to the end of EB II, namely around 2450-2200/2150 BC. Moreover, the specific set of tableware shapes of the Lefkandi I-Kastri group (Fig. 3) may indicate the adoption of Anatolian drinking customs, and a proliferating ideology which was in competition with existing structures.³³ The shapes of the group seem to be inspired by metal prototypes, as metal vessel shapes may have in-

26. The most cited examples are the lugs of the so-called 'elephant head' type, the pedestalled bases and the rolled rims.

27. For examples of ethnoarchaeological studies that have demonstrated this, see Arnold 1989; Crown 1999; Deal 1998.

28. Nazou 2014, 301-303.

29. Nazou 2014, 301-302.

30. Manika, especially, has produced a wide repertoire of EB II ceramic shapes; see Sampson 1985, 142, drawings 34, 145, drawing 35.

31. French 1968, 8.

32. Doumas 1988. In support of the theory of migrations, Nafplioti (2009) has argued that some of the individuals buried at Manika were migrants from western Anatolia.

33. Broodbank 2000, 316.

fluenced ceramic aesthetics.³⁴ It is interesting that not all pottery types of the Lefkandi I-Kastri group co-occur at all sites,³⁵ a fact that could partially be attributed to sample size and preservation differences, but may also be indicative of local preferences for specific shapes. At sites such as Kolonna on Aegina and Koropi in eastern Attica the local EB II and 'Anatolian' traditions seem to have merged, resulting in the creation of hybrid forms with clear 'metallic' influences.³⁶

The role of Euboean communities in the process of the adoption of the potter's wheel in the Aegean and as an important exporter of the 'Anatolian' forms to other areas such as Attica and Kea has become clearer in the last decade. The 'Anatolian' forms are very well represented in Euboea, at the very large site of Manika near Chalkida³⁷ and in the earliest phase of occupation at Lefkandi, Lefkandi phase I (Fig. 4).³⁸ Unfortunately, there is not enough information on local and imported fabrics from Manika to allow us to establish whether the shapes are locally made or imported. French's description of the Lefkandi I fabric as 'uniform with fine cores, even firing and of light colour (i.e. buff, pale brown and pale red)' raises the possibility for local production, since this fabric is macroscopically similar to the later local Buff Plain fabric of later periods at Lefkandi.³⁹

At Ayia Irini on Kea, five shapes of the group are represented,⁴⁰ and the Mine 3 assemblage from Thorikos yielded three shapes⁴¹ (Fig. 4). Wilson reports that all the forms of the group at Ayia Irini III are reproduced in the local Keian red-brown clays except for the wheelmade plate.⁴² Even though further investigation of this data through petrographic analysis still needs to be conducted, the current evidence suggests that Keian potters at Ayia Irini III did not use the ceramic wheel, as opposed to the Lefkandi I potters. The same may be true for Thorikos.⁴³

Therefore, in the late phase of the Early Bronze Age II the potters of Lefkandi had learnt to use the potter's wheel, most likely through direct contact with potters from other regions who had mastered this technology. The impact of the use of the potter's wheel in the late EB II was surely very important in the *longue durée* of Aegean prehistoric technology. However, a question arises as to whether wheel-made pottery was valued more than handmade pottery at this stage. The 'Anatolian' tableware forms of the Lefkandi I-Kastri group were skeuomorphs, most likely valued because of their aesthetic association with metal vessels and within the social context of feasting⁴⁴ and consumption. There is as yet no data to indicate that the Euboean wheelmade bowls were imported to Attica and Kea because the technology of their manufacture was appreciated; it seems more likely that they were imported with the rest of the Anatolian forms as tableware sets. Still, the settlements of Manika and Lefkandi, strategically located on promontories of the southern Euboean Gulf seem to have enjoyed privileged access to new technologies and ideologies. Lefkandi, especially, can be highlighted as a production centre of wheel-made pottery in this period and as an exporter of ceramics to Kea and eastern Attica.

34. Nakou 2007, 228.

35. Rutter 1979, 5-7.

36. Rutter 2012, 73-79.

37. Sampson 1985, 243-261; 1988, 64-68.

38. French 1968, 8.

39. French 1968, 8; Spencer 2010, 672-673.

40. Wilson 1999, 94-101.

41. Nazou 2014, 230-231.

42. Wilson 1999, 92-93, table 3:3.

43. At Thorikos Mine 3, the single example of a wheelmade plate is of a light brown fabric, which is most likely imported (see Nazou 2014, 230).

44. Pullen 2013.

Conclusions

The ceramic evidence discussed above indicates that prehistoric pottery-producing communities living on Euboea participated in short- and long-range maritime networks. A coastal network of maritime interaction between the communities of southern Euboea, eastern Attica and Kea was in action as early as the end of the Neolithic period. Ceramic technologies were shared during this period, but pottery exchange among settlements was limited. The social context of this network may have been inter-village marriages, undertaken in order to broaden gene pools⁴⁵ and form social alliances. One millennium later, at the end of EB II, ceramic imports become increasingly visible in the archaeological record; the data suggests that the settlement of Lefkandi was exporting pottery to the Cycladic island of Kea and perhaps to Thorikos in eastern Attica. The potters of Lefkandi learned to use the potter's wheel, a technological innovation transmitted through long-distance maritime networks along with new tableware forms and cultural customs.

45. The need for inter-village marriages in order to broaden gene pools and its implications for Early Cycladic maritime interaction and ideology has been discussed by Broodbank (2000, 87-89, 253). It is interesting that Stravopodi's (1993) study of the human bones from the Tharrounia Cave and cemetery has yielded evidence for endogamy during the Late and Final Neolithic.

Bibliography

- Alram-Stern, E. (1996) 'Das Neolithikum in Griechenland mit Ausnahme von Kreta und Zypern'. Vol. 2 of *Die Ägäische Frühzeit [Forschungsbericht 1975-1993]*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Arnold, D. (1989) 'Patterns of learning, residence, and descent among potters in Ticul, Yucat'an, Mexico'. In *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*, edited by S. Shennan, 174-184. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Broodbank, C. (2000) *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coleman, J. (1977) 'Kephala: A Late Neolithic Settlement and Cemetery'. Vol. I of *Keos*. Princeton; New Jersey: American School of Classical Studies.
- Courtois, L.-C. (1981) 'Étude physico-chimique de la céramique'. In *La grotte préhistorique de Kitsos (Attique)*, edited by N. Lambert, 373-389. Paris: École Française d'Athènes.
- Crown, P. (1999) 'Socialization in American Southwest Pottery Decoration'. In *Pottery and people: a dynamic interaction*, edited by J. Skibo and G. Feinman, 25-43. Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press.
- Cullen, T., L. E. Talalay, D. R. Keller, L. Karamali and W. R. Farrandy (2013) *The prehistory of the Paximadi Peninsula, Euboea*. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press.
- Deal, M. (1998) *Pottery Ethnoarchaeology in the Central Maya Highlands*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- Demoule, J.-P. and C. Perlès (1993) 'The Greek Neolithic: A New Review'. *Journal of World Prehistory* 7(4), 355-466.
- Doumas, C. (1988) 'Early Bronze Age in the Cyclades: Continuity or Discontinuity?'. In *Problems in Greek Prehistory*, edited by E. French and K. Wardle, 21-29. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.
- French, D. (1968) 'The pottery'. In *Excavations at Lefkandi, Euboea, 1964-1966*, edited by M. Popham and H. Sackett. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Karali, L. (1981) 'Céramique grossière'. In *La grotte préhistorique de Kitsos (Attique)*, edited by N. Lambert, 349-371. Paris: École Française d'Athènes.
- Keller, D. (1982) 'Final Neolithic pottery from Plakari, Karystos'. In Vol. 1 of *Studies in South Attica*, edited by P. Spitaels, 47-67. Ghent: Belgian Archaeological Mission in Greece.
- Kilikoglou, V. and Y. Maniatis (1993) 'Technological study of Neolithic ceramics from Tharrounia and Psachna'. In *Σκοτεινή Θαρρουνίων: το σπήλαιο, ο οικισμός και το νεκροταφείο*, edited by A. Sampson, 438-441. Athens: Έκδοση του συγγραφέως.
- Knappett, C. (2011) *An archaeology of Interaction. Network Perspectives on Material Culture and Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lambert, N. (1981) 'La céramique Néolithique'. In *La grotte préhistorique de Kitsos (Attique)*, edited by N. Lambert, 275-347. Paris: École Française d'Athènes.
- Manning, S. (1995) *The absolute chronology of the Aegean Early Bronze Age. Archaeology, Radiocarbon and History*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Mari, A. (1993) 'Άγγεία με στιλβωτή διακόσμηση'. In *Σκοτεινή Θαρρουνίων: το σπήλαιο, ο οικισμός και το νεκροταφείο*, edited by A. Sampson, 135-151. Athens: Έκδοση του συγγραφέως.
- Mavridis, F. and Ž. Tankosić (2009) 'The Ayia Triadha Cave, Southern Euboea: finds and implications of the earliest human habitation in the area (a preliminary report)'. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 9(2), 47-59.
- Nafplioti, A. 2009. 'Early Bronze Age Manika on Euboea (Greece): A "colony" or not? Evidence from strontium isotope ratio ($^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$) analysis'. *Geochimica et Cosmochimica Acta* 73(13), Suppl. 1, A925.
- Nakou, G. (2007) 'Absent presences: Metal vessels in the Aegean'. In *Metallurgy in the Bronze Age Aegean*, edited by P. Day and R. Doonan, 224-244. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Nazou, M. (2014) 'Defining the regional characteristics of Final Neolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery in Attica'. PhD thesis. University College London, UK.
- De Paepe, P. (1982) 'A Petrological Examination of Final Neolithic Pottery from Thorikos and Karystos'. In Vol. 5 of *Miscellanea Graeca: Studies in South Attica I*, 69-81.

- Perlès, C. (2001) *The Early Neolithic in Greece: the first farming communities in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pullen, D. (2013) 'Minding the Gap: Bridging the gaps in cultural change within the Early Bronze Age Aegean.' *American Journal of Archaeology* 117, 545-553.
- Renfrew, C. (1972) *The Emergence of Civilisation: the Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium BC*. London: Methuen.
- Rutter, J. (1979) *Ceramic Change in the Aegean Early Bronze Age (UCLA Institute of Archaeology Occasional Paper 5)*. Los Angeles: UCLA Institute of Archaeology.
- Rutter, J. (2012) 'Migrant drinking assemblages in Aegean Bronze Age settings'. In *Materiality and Social Practice: Transformative Capacities of Cultural Encounters*, edited by J. Maran and P. Stockhammer, 73-88. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Sampson, A. (1981) *Η Νεολιθική και η Πρωτοελλαδική Ι στην Εύβοια*. Athens: Εταιρεία Ευβοϊκών Σπουδών.
- Sampson, A. (1985) Vol. I of *Μάνικα: Μια πρωτοελλαδική πόλη στη Χαλκίδα*. Athens: Εταιρεία Ευβοϊκών Σπουδών.
- Sampson, A. (1988) Vol. II of *Μάνικα: ο Πρωτοελλαδικός οικισμός και το νεκροταφείο*. Athens: Δήμος Χαλκιδέων.
- Sampson, A. (1993) *Σκοτεινή Θαρρουνίων: το σπήλαιο, ο οικισμός και το νεκροταφείο*. Athens: Έκδοση του συγγραφέως.
- Sampson, A. (2006) *Η Προϊστορία του Αιγαίου: Παλαιολιθική-Μεσολιθική-Νεολιθική*. Athens: Ατραπός.
- Spencer, L. (2010) 'The regional specialisation of ceramic production in the EH III through MH II Period'. In *MESOHELLADIKΑ – ΜΕΣΟΕΛΛΑΔΙΚΑ. La Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen – Η ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα στη Μέση Εποχή του Χαλκού – The Greek Mainland in the Middle Bronze Age*, edited by A. Philippa-Touchais, G. Touchais, S. Voutsaki and J. Wright, 669-681. Athens: École Française d'Athènes.
- Spitaels, P. (1982) 'Final Neolithic Pottery from Thorikos'. In Vol. 5 of *Miscellanea Graeca: Studies in South Attica I*, edited by P. Spitaels, 9-45. Ghent: Belgian Archaeological Mission in Greece.
- Stravopodi, E. (1993) 'An anthropological assessment of the human findings from the Cave and the Cemetery'. In *Σκοτεινή Θαρρουνίων: το σπήλαιο, ο οικισμός και το νεκροταφείο*, edited by A. Sampson, 378-391. Athens: Έκδοση του συγγραφέως.
- Tankosić, Ž. and M. Chidiroglou (2010) 'The Karystian Kampos Survey Project: Methods And Preliminary Results'. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 10(3), 14-15.
- Wilson, D. (1999) 'The Pottery and Small Finds'. In Vol. IX(1) of *Keos [Ayia Irini: Periods I-III. The Neolithic and Early Bronze Age settlements]*. Mainz am Rhine: P. von Zabern.

Figures



Figure 1. Geographical location of ceramic assemblages used as case-studies:
 1) Manika,
 2) Lefkandi, 3) Tharrounia,
 4) Plakari, 5) Kontra Gliate,
 6) Kitsos Cave, 7) Thorikos,
 8) Ayia Irini, 9) Kephala.

								
Tharrounia	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Plakari	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Kontra Gliate	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Thorikos	x	x	x			x		x
Kitsos	x	x			x	x		x
Kephala	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
Ayia Irini	x	x	x	x	x	x		x

Figure 2. Table indicating the presence and absence of eight Final Neolithic forms (bowl, pithos, hole-mouth jar, necked jar, collared jar, cheese pot, pan and scoop) in the case-studies (Data from Mari 1993, 137-138; Nazou 2014, 300, table 81; Sampson 1993, 110-116; Wilson 1999, 6-19).

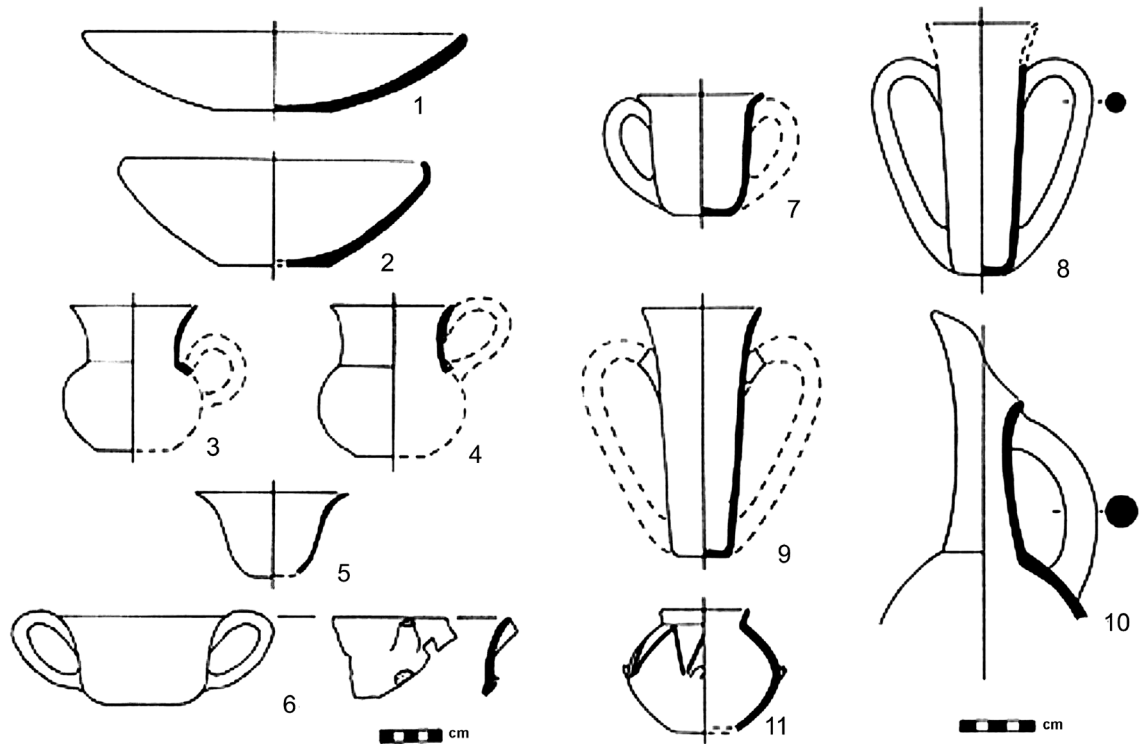


Figure 3. The most characteristic shapes of the Lefkandi I-Kastri group (After Rutter 1979, figs. 1, 2):
 1-2) wheelmade plate or shallow bowl, 3) shoulder-handled tankard, 4) neck-handled tankard,
 5-7) bell-shaped cup, 8-9) depas cup, 10) lentoid jug with cutaway spout, 11) incised pyxis.

	Lefkandi I	Manika	Ayia Irini III	Thorikos
Wheelmade plate	X	X	X	X
Neck-handled tankard	X	X	X	X
Shoulder-handled tankard	X		X	
Bell-shaped cup	X	X	X	
Depas cup			X	X
Lentoid jug with cutaway spout	X	X	X	

Figure 4. Table indicating the presence and absence of the 'Anatolian' shapes in the case-studies
 (Data after Wilson 1999, 97-100).

**Στα ίχνη του τεχνίτη:
Αναζητώντας τεχνολογική παράδοση και ατομικό στυλ σε σύνολα
οψιανού από ευβοϊκές θέσεις της πρώιμης Εποχής του Χαλκού**

Άννα ΚΑΡΑΜΠΙΑΤΣΩΛΗ

Abstract

Euboea has a pivotal role both as the consumer and producer and in the movement of Melian obsidian in the networks on the mainland Greece during the Bronze Age. The large number of sheltered coastal sites along the gulf of Euboea allow us: a) to reconstruct the structure of the technical activities related to chipped stone tool production, that reached its peak during this phase of Aegean prehistory, and b) to follow the traces of the craftsman, the person behind the production procedure, who at the same time used the acquired knowledge and employed technical solutions chosen, following a personal style.

Εισαγωγή - Προβληματισμός

Το χάσμα ανάμεσα στο αντικείμενο που βρέθηκε στην ανασκαφή ή στην επιφανειακή έρευνα και τον άνθρωπο που το δημιούργησε κάποιες χιλιετίες πριν, είναι για τον ερευνητή της προϊστορίας δυσπρόσιτη περιοχή, αλλά και μεγάλη πρόκληση.

Ποια προσωπικά ίχνη άφησαν οι προϊστορικοί τεχνίτες στα αντικείμενα που δημιούργησαν μέσα στο χώρο και το χρόνο; Τι ρόλο έπαιζαν μέσα στις κοινότητές τους; Πώς συνδέονται μέσα στα γεωγραφικά δίκτυα, πώς η γνώση τους αναπαράγεται και μετασχηματίζεται; Ποιες μεθοδολογίες διαθέτουμε σήμερα για να ταυτίσουμε τους ανθρώπους πίσω από τα υλικά κατάλοιπά τους; Είναι συχνά ερωτήματα που απασχολούν όσους προσπαθούν να προσεγγίσουν τους προϊστορικούς τεχνίτες.¹ Αναπόφευκτα, αναζητώντας απαντήσεις, η έρευνα οδηγείται στην ανασύνθεση της τεχνικής διαδικασίας της παραγωγής που συνδέει το άτομο, τον τεχνίτη, με το αντικείμενο που τελικά δημιούργησε (τεχνίτης – τεχνική, παραγωγική διαδικασία – ζητούμενα προϊόντα, αντικείμενα) (Εικ.1).

Στην περίπτωση της λαξεμένης λιθοτεχνίας από οψιανό αυτή η τεχνική διαδικασία παραγωγής είναι πια σχετικά αποκωδικοποιημένη, μετά από τα δεδομένα της μελέτης ανασκαφικού και επιφανειακού υλικού αρκετών πρωτοελλαδικών αιγαιακών θέσεων² και την ανάπτυξη πειραματικών μεθοδολογιών που έχουν εφαρμοστεί στον λίθο τα τελευταία 30 χρόνια³ επιτρέποντας την βιωματική προσέγγιση και ανασύνθεση των τεχνικών διαδικασιών (Εικ 2).

1. Πχ. Costin 1991; Costin and Hagstrum 1995; Hartenberger and Runnels 2001; Roux 1989, 1990, 1992, 2003; Torrence 1986; Καρίμαλη και Καραμπατσώλη 2010.

2. Carter 2003, 2004; Kardulias 1992; Kardulias and Runnels 1995; Runnels 1985; Μουνδρέα - Αγραφιώτη, προς δημ.

3. Πχ. Binder et Gassin 1988; Pelegrin 1984, 1988; Perlès 1994; Tixier 1984.

Είναι αλήθεια πως οι τεχνίτες και η τεχνική παραγωγή του οψιανού απασχόλησαν ιδιαίτερα όσους ερεύνησαν οικισμούς της αιγαιακής πρώιμης Χαλκοκρατίας (Εικ 3).⁴ Γιατί δόθηκε τόση σημασία στον οψιανό, στα σενάρια της διάδοσής του από τη νήσο Μήλο (τα Νύχια και το Δεμενεγάκι) και της παραγωγής του, τη στιγμή που ο χαλκός ήταν το νεωτερικό στοιχείο της εποχής - με εργαλεία βέβαια διαφορετικών χρήσεων και τυπολογιών;⁵ Γιατί κορυφώνεται το ενδιαφέρον της διερεύνησης της τεχνικής αυτής δραστηριότητας;

Η πιο απλή απάντηση είναι γιατί ο τεχνίτης του οψιανού άφησε στην Πρωτοελλαδική II Εποχή πολλά ίχνη, στίγματα της δουλειάς του, πολλά απορρίμματα της τεχνικής δραστηριότητάς του που επέτρεψαν τη συζήτηση εννοιών, όπως *τεχνική εξειδίκευση, τυποποίηση, αποδοτικότητα, εργαστήρια, εμπόριο* - έννοιες σύνθετες που συνδέονται με τις εξίσου σύνθετες δομές κοινωνικής οργάνωσης που συναντώνται αναμφισβήτητα την περίοδο αυτή.⁶

Τι ισχύει όμως σήμερα μετά από τόσα χρόνια ερευνών στην τεχνολογία του λίθου; Πώς οι έννοιες αυτές ορίστηκαν τις προηγούμενες δεκαετίες και πώς επαναπροσδιορίζονται σήμερα⁷ υπό το φως νέων μεθόδων μελέτης;

Τα μοντέλα της δεκαετίας του '80 και ο στόχος της τεχνολογικής ανάλυσης που εφαρμόσαμε

Στη δεκαετία του '80, από την πρωτοπόρα μελέτη της R. Torrence⁸ και εξής και λόγω του οικονομικού προσανατολισμού στη αρχαιολογική ερμηνεία, η *τεχνική εξειδίκευση* προσδιορίστηκε:

1. με οικονομικά και μετρικά κριτήρια, όπως η τυποποίηση (*standardization*), ο βαθμός απόδοσης (*efficiency*) και η ποσότητα (*quantity*) της παραγωγής,
2. με χωροταξικά κριτήρια, όπως είναι η κατανομή του υλικού στο χώρο (*spatial distribution*) και
3. με την έννοια της κατοχής εξειδικευμένης τεχνογνωσίας από τον τεχνίτη (*know-how/ skill*).⁹

Τα μοντέλα που εφαρμόστηκαν με αυτό τον προσανατολισμό απέτυχαν να αναγνωρίσουν την ύπαρξη της τεχνικής εξειδίκευσης, καθώς την υπολόγιζαν με έμφαση στα οικονομικά / μετρικά κριτήρια. Έτσι, ενώ αναγνωρίστηκε από την Torrence ότι επρόκειτο για ικανότατους τεχνίτες (*that these must have been 'skilled and careful workers'*), η ίδια δήλωνε με απογοήτευση ότι δεν αποδεικνυόταν μια αυτοματοποιημένη βιοτεχνικού τύπου παραγωγή που θα ταίριαζε περισσότερο με το κοινωνικό και οικονομικό πλαίσιο της περιόδου.

Τα τελευταία χρόνια εξετάσαμε μια σειρά συνόλων οψιανού από αρκετές θέσεις της κεντρικής ηπειρωτικής Ελλάδας (Εικ. 3), πραγματοποιώντας λεπτομερή τεχνολογική ανάλυση που βασίστηκε στην *ανασύσταση της αλυσίδας της παραγωγής* και στην ανίχνευση των τεχνικών, μεθόδων και επιλογών του τεχνίτη.¹⁰ Ανάμεσα στις θέσεις μελέτης προεξέχοντα ρόλο και σημασία είχε ο οικισμός της Μάνικας στην Εύβοια.¹¹

Στη μελέτη μας επιχειρήσαμε επίσης να εξετάσουμε τις παραμέτρους της *τεχνικής εξειδίκευσης*, ξεκινώντας από την *τυποποίηση*, από το αν δηλαδή η λιθοτεχνία οψιανού παρουσιάζει στην πρώιμη Εποχή του Χαλκού επαναλαμβανόμενα, πανομοιότυπα χαρακτηριστικά.

4. Πχ. Blegen 1928; Goldman 1931; Mylonas 1959; Κακαβογιάννη 1993; Σάμψων 1985.

5. Δες για τη μεταλλουργία πχ. Day and Doonan 2007 (Sheffield Round Table volume); Karimali 2008; Nakou 1995.

6. Πχ. Hägg, and Konsola 1986; Κόνσολα 1984.

7. Δες Karabatsoli 2016.

8. Torrence 1986.

9. βλ. Costin 1991; Hartenberger and Runnels 2001; Torrence 1986.

10. Hartenberger and Runnels 2001; Karabatsoli 1997; Karabatsoli 2011; Pelegrin 1990; Pelegrin et al. 1988; Perlès 1994; Tixier et al. 1996; Καρίμαλη και Καραμπατσώλη 2010.

11. Σάμψων 1985; Σαπουνά - Σακελλαράκη 1991.

Παρατηρήσεις και Συμπεράσματα της τεχνολογικής μας ανάλυσης

Τα μετρικά κριτήρια που είχαν χρησιμοποιηθεί ως τώρα στην αναζήτηση της τεχνικής εξειδίκευσης, όπως αναγνώριση τυποποιημένων διαστάσεων λεπίδων και φολίδων ή αυστηρά τυποποιημένων μεθόδων κατεργασίας (*standardized dimensions of blades and flakes i.e. coefficient of variation, Standard Deviation of blade and flake width and thickness*), θεωρούμε ότι μέσα από το πρίσμα μιας λεπτομερούς τεχνολογικής ανάλυσης μοιάζουν ανεπαρκή να την προσδιορίσουν.

A. Τυποποίηση. Στη δική μας έρευνα διαπιστώσαμε ότι η *τυποποίηση* στη λιθοτεχνία οψιανού παρουσιάζει τα ακόλουθα τεχνολογικά χαρακτηριστικά:

1. Όσον αφορά στην ακολουθία των φάσεων, η κατεργασία των πυρήνων για απόσπαση λεπίδων με πίεση - που είναι και ο βασικός στόχος της - έχει ένα σταθερό ρυθμό: αποφλοίωση του πυρήνα, προετοιμασία και απόσπαση των γωνιωδών λεπίδων, κύρια φάση απόσπασης σε μέτωπα, ανανέωση επιπέδων, εγκατάλειψη πυρήνων σε μορφή πεπλατυσμένη (τύπου *plat*) (Εικ 4).

Στον οικισμό της Μάνικας το στάδιο της προετοιμασίας των πυρήνων για την απόσπαση είναι σταθερά πολύ προσεγμένο, σε βαθμό που να μην χρειάζεται ιδιαίτερα στη συνέχεια η ανανέωση των επιφανειών. Όμως ποικίλουν ο αριθμός και η θέση των ακμών, καθώς επίσης και τα μέτωπα απόσπασης λεπίδων: είναι συνήθως ένα, αλλά κάποιες φορές είναι δύο παράλληλα μεταξύ τους και πολύ σπάνια τέσσερα (Εικ. 5 και Εικ. 6). Θεωρούμε ότι τέτοιες διαφοροποιήσεις δεν υποδεικνύουν έλλειψη τυποποίησης, αλλά ευχέρεια από την πλευρά του τεχνίτη να προσαρμόζει τις επαναλαμβανόμενες μεθόδους του στις ιδιαιτερότητες της πρώτης ύλης.

2. Τυποποίηση μαρτυρούν και τα τεχνομορφολογικά χαρακτηριστικά των φολίδων προετοιμασίας των ακμών του πυρήνα. Χαρακτηριστική είναι η περίπτωση 3000 περίπου φολίδων που βρέθηκαν συγκεντρωμένες (Εικ 7) στην άκρη ενός δαπέδου οικίας στη Μάνικα, αλλά και ανάλογα σύνολα (μικρότερης κλίμακας) από επιφανειακές έρευνες.¹² Προέρχονταν στην συντριπτική τους πλειοψηφία από τη προετοιμασία πυρήνων για απόσπαση λεπίδων (Εικ. 8) και παρουσίαζαν τέτοια ομοιομορφία ανά ομάδες (Εικ. 9), ώστε να αναρωτιέται κανείς πόσο οργανωμένη δομή μπορεί να έχει η διαδικασία προετοιμασίας για να υπάρχουν τόσο ομοιόμορφα μορφολογικά απορρίμματα από διαφορετικά επεισόδια παραγωγής.¹³ Την ίδια ομοιομορφία και συμμετρία παρουσιάζουν και οι γωνιώδεις λεπίδες (Εικ. 10), οι οποίες, ενώ στην ουσία αποτελούν απορρίμματα της τεχνικής δραστηριότητας, είναι εξαιρετικά φροντισμένες ώστε να διασφαλίσουν στη συνέχεια επιτυχημένη απόσπαση λεπίδων.

3. Τυποποίηση παρουσιάζουν επίσης τα τελικά προϊόντα (Εικ 11). Είναι γνωστή η κανονικότητα και συμμετρία που παρουσιάζουν οι λεπίδες της Πρωτοελλαδικής II Εποχής. Οι προηγούμενες μελέτες αμφισβήτησαν το βαθμό τυποποίησής τους ως προς τα μετρικά τους χαρακτηριστικά (πλάτος και πάχος). Κατά τη γνώμη μας οι αποκλίσεις που παρατηρούνται είναι αναμενόμενες στους κόλπους μιας παραγωγής όπου, ανάλογα με τις χρηστικές ανάγκες του οικισμού, ο τεχνίτης ωθείται στη χρήση εναλλακτικών λύσεων (π.χ. προετοιμασία πυρήνων με τρόπο ώστε να προκύψουν πιο στενές και μακριές λεπίδες όπως οι πυρήνες από τη στρωματογραφική έρευνα στο οικόπεδο Ζούση (Εικ 12), ή η κατεργασία ενίοτε μικρογραφικών πυρήνων για απόκτηση πολύ μικρών λεπίδων (Εικ. 12, κάτω).

Τυποποίηση με αυτή την έννοια παρατηρείται και στον πολύ δύσκολο στην κατεργασία χονδρόκοκκο πράσινο ντόπιο πυριτόλιθο, που αν και παράγεται σε πολύ περιορισμένη ποσότητα, τα προϊόντα, απορρίμματα και λεπίδες, παρουσιάζουν τα ίδια ακριβώς τεχνομορφολογικά χαρακτηριστικά με τον οψιανό.¹⁴

12. Σάμψων 1985, 75 και προσωπική παρατήρηση.

13. Karabatsoli 1997, 319.

14. Karabatsoli 1997, 214, 323; Ματζάνας 2000.

Με αυτές τις τεχνολογικές παρατηρήσεις θέλουμε να επισημάνουμε ότι η οργάνωση της παραγωγής στην Πρωτοελλαδική περίοδο βασίζεται σε σταθερούς τεχνολογικούς κανόνες, αλλά δεν είναι τυποποιημένη με μετρικούς, μηχανιστικούς όρους. Πρόκειται για μια δυναμική τεχνική δραστηριότητα κατά τη διάρκεια της οποίας ο τεχνίτης, σε διαρκή διαλεκτική σχέση με το υλικό του, εφαρμόζει την τεχνογνωσία και εμπειρία του σε κάθε βήμα υπακούοντας στο σχήμα του κάθε φορά διαφορετικού κομματιού πρώτης ύλης, στις χρηστικές ανάγκες της κοινότητάς του, αλλά και στον προσωπικό του τρόπο εργασίας (στυλ).

Β. Αποδοτικότητα. Αναζητώντας τη δεύτερη παράμετρο της τεχνικής εξειδίκευσης, την *αποδοτικότητα* (*efficiency*) της παραγωγής, νομίζουμε πως κι αυτή πρέπει να αναθεωρηθεί με ανάλογο τρόπο. Προφανώς μια παραγωγή είναι αποδοτική όταν ο τεχνίτης είναι σε θέση με έξυπνη στρατηγική να παράγει τα ζητούμενα προϊόντα κάνοντας ταυτόχρονα οικονομία στην πρώτη ύλη, στην ενέργεια που ξοδεύει και στον πολύτιμο χρόνο του. Ακόμη κι αν η προμήθεια του υλικού και η τεχνική παραγωγή πραγματοποιούνται από δύο διαφορετικές ομάδες ανθρώπων, συνδέονται άμεσα και καθορίζονται από τη μεταφορά και χρήση μιας πρώτης ύλης που έχει μία και μόνο προέλευση και μάλιστα νησιωτική. Η προμήθειά της προϋποθέτει μια οργανωμένη επιχείρηση πολλών ημερών που λαμβάνεται υπόψη στη λειτουργία μιας οργανωμένης παραγωγής. Σε αυτή την οργανωμένη παραγωγή εξυπακούεται ότι όσο πιο ικανός είναι ο τεχνίτης (σε τεχνική και στρατηγική), τόσο περιορίζονται στο ελάχιστο τα τεχνικά λάθη, τα ατυχήματα, οι άστοχες επιλογές και η άσκοπη κατανάλωση του υλικού. Πράγματι, στις θέσεις μελέτης κάτω από το 3% του υλικού παρουσιάζει σφάλματα ή ατυχήματα κατά την κατεργασία.¹⁵

Γ. Χωροταξική κατανομή. Όσον αφορά στο επόμενο κριτήριο της εξειδίκευσης, τη *χωροταξική κατανομή* του υλικού, είναι αλήθεια ότι αρχικά αποκομίζει κανείς μια ασαφή εικόνα από τα ανασκαφικά δεδομένα, αφού σε όλους σχεδόν τους πρωτοελλαδικούς οικισμούς συναντώνται σε μικρές ποσότητες λεπίδες χρησιμοποιημένες μαζί με υποπροϊόντα της τεχνικής διαδικασίας, γεγονός που καθιστά δύσκολη τη διάκριση αμιγώς οριοθετημένων χώρων κατεργασίας.¹⁶ Όμως, μια πιο αναλυτική μελέτη δείχνει ότι στους περισσότερους πρωτοελλαδικούς οικισμούς *επεισόδια* κατεργασίας (δηλαδή αποδεδειγμένη επιτόπια κατεργασία, με υλικό που συγκολλάται και ανήκει στην ίδια αλυσίδα παραγωγής) συναντώνται στις ακόλουθες περιπτώσεις: σε δάπεδα κατοίκησης, σε αυλές,¹⁷ σε πηγάδια – ορύγματα,¹⁸ σε αποθέτες, ή έξω από τους οικισμούς ως απορρίμματα.

Εθνολογικά παράλληλα και αρχαιολογικές παρατηρήσεις¹⁹ συγκλίνουν στο ότι η δραστηριότητα επεξεργασίας του οψιανού δεν μπορεί να είναι πλήρους καθημερινής απασχόλησης ακόμη κι αν στοχεύει σε μια ευρεία παραγωγή. Σε αυτή την οπτική φαίνεται αναμενόμενο οι χώροι να απέχουν από την εικόνα του ιδεώδους εργαστηρίου, να είναι πολυλειτουργικοί και να καθαρίζονται συχνά από τα κοφτερά απομεινάρια της τεχνικής διαδικασίας.²⁰ Όμως, είναι τόσο εύγλωττες, όπου συναντώνται, οι μεγάλες συγκεντρώσεις οψιανού στους πρωτοελλαδικούς οικισμούς²¹ που αντισταθμίζουν την σχετική χωροταξική ασάφεια. Πρόκειται για σύνολα δευτερογενούς απόθεσης πιθανόν από την τελευταία

15. Karabatsoli 1997.

16. Αμιγώς εργαστηρικός χώρος έχει αναφερθεί μόνο στην περίπτωση των Μαλλίων Κρήτης, Van Effemterre et Van Efferterre 1969.

17. Από λιθόστρωτο – αυλή προέρχεται σύνολο με επεισόδια κατεργασίας από τη Μάνικα (οικ. Τσότσου, Σάμψου 1985, 95), αλλά και από το Κορωπί (Κακαβογιάννη 1993), προσωπική παρατήρηση.

18. Χαρακτηριστικό το σύνολο από ορύγμα (οικ. Τσότσου, Μάνικα) που περιλάμβανε μόνο 'ελαττωματικά' κομμάτια με λάθη και ατυχήματα που συνέβησαν κατά την κατεργασία, πιθανώς στο λιθόστρωτο που αναφέρεται πιο πάνω (Karabatsoli 1997, 204).

19. Binder et Gassin 1988; Pelegrin 1988; Roux 1989, 1990, 1992.

20. Costin 1991; Evely 1993; Torrence 1986.

21. Πχ. τα μεγάλα σύνολα οψιανού από ορύγματα ΠΕ θέσης στο Κορωπί Αττικής (Κακαβογιάννη 1993), προσωπική παρατήρηση.

φάση ζωής των οικισμών. Περικλείοντας συνεχή και διαδοχικά επεισόδια κατεργασίας επιτρέπουν να κατανοήσουμε ποιες είναι οι επαναλαμβανόμενες τεχνικές στρατηγικές που ξεκινούν από μια κοινή τεχνολογική παράδοση και ποιες οι διαφοροποιήσεις που παραπέμπουν σε προσωπικές επιλογές διαχείρισης. Τέλος, οι συγκολλήσεις επιτρέπουν τη βιωματική ανασύσταση ενός επεισοδίου της τεχνικής διαδικασίας, βήμα – βήμα. Κάποιες φορές ένα επεισόδιο κατεργασίας συναντάται με άλλο επεισόδιο κάποιας άλλης χρονικής στιγμής κι ίσως κάποιου άλλου τεχνίτη στον ίδιο σωρό απορριμμάτων. Στον σωρό αυτό χάνεται μεν η ακριβής προέλευση και η ακριβής χρονολόγηση του υλικού, αλλά μένει αποτυπωμένη η φρεσκάδα των αλληλένδετων ενεργειών του τεχνίτη/ τεχνιτών.

Από όλα τα παραπάνω προκύπτει ότι αναζητώντας την τεχνική εξειδίκευση του τεχνίτη της Πρωτοελλαδικής Εποχής, όσο κι αν επιβάλλεται να συνεξετάζει κανείς μετρικά, ποσοτικά και χωροταξικά δεδομένα, αναπόφευκτα πάντα επιστρέφει στην *τεχνογνωσία* και *τεχνική αρτιότητα* του τεχνίτη. Καμιά ανάλυση δεν φέρνει πιο κοντά στα ίχνη του από τη διερεύνηση όχι μόνο των απαιτούμενων κινητικών και χειροπρακτικών δεξιοτήτων του, αλλά και των στρατηγικών που ακολουθεί και των επιλογών που κάνει σε κάθε βήμα της τεχνικής διαδικασίας²².

Σύγχρονες αρχαιολογικές θεωρίες εξάλλου, που εξετάζουν την τεχνολογία, στρέφουν την προσοχή και το ενδιαφέρον της έρευνας (*theories of agency*) από τα κοινωνικά και περιβαλλοντικά δεδομένα στο ίδιο το άτομο που ενεργεί – κάνει επιλογές και δρα - και στην ομάδα στην οποία ανήκει (δες π.χ. Dobres 2000).

Η Εύβοια και ο ρόλος της στον ευρύτερο προβληματισμό

Συσχετίζοντας την τεχνική εξειδίκευση και την παραγωγή οψιανού στην Εύβοια με τις ευρύτερες διεργασίες στον ορίζοντα της Πρωτοελλαδικής Εποχής, θα συνοψίσουμε στα εξής: η Εύβοια, με την ιδιαίτερη γεωγραφική θέση της, διαδραμάτισε σημαντικό ρόλο στην ευρεία διάδοση του οψιανού κατά την Πρωτοελλαδική Εποχή. Η εγγύτητά της τόσο με τις πηγές του οψιανού στη Μήλο όσο και με τον κορμό της ηπειρωτικής Ελλάδας, αλλά και η ασφαλής διακίνηση που μπορούσαν να προσφέρουν τα στενά περάσματα του ευβοϊκού στα φορτία της πρώτης ύλης, την κατέστησαν κομβική.²³ Ο οικισμός της Μάνικας δεν πρέπει να είναι ο μόνος που εμπλέκεται σε ευρεία παραγωγή και διακίνηση. Παλαιότερες επιφανειακές έρευνες στο νησί δείχνουν ότι σε όλο το μήκος της Εύβοιας, κυρίως στον κεντρικό και νότιο κορμό της και τις δυτικές ακτές, υπήρξαν οικισμοί που ανήκαν στα γεωγραφικά δίκτυα διακίνησης του οψιανού.²⁴ Είναι γενικότερα αποδεκτό ότι κατά την Πρωτοελλαδική Εποχή υπάρχουν κεντρικοί οικισμοί²⁵ που παράγουν και διακινούν, παράλληλα με τους πιο απομακρυσμένους και λιγότερο εμπλεκόμενους στις ανταλλαγές προϊόντων που λαμβάνουν μόνο αυτά που χρειάζονται. Θέσεις με ευρεία παραγωγή όπως η Μάνικα μπορούν να διακινήσουν εκτός από λεπίδες, προετοιμασμένους πυρήνες, αλλά και φυσικούς κονδύλους σε οικισμούς που είναι μακριά από τη Μήλο, όπως για παράδειγμα τα Πευκάκια του Βόλου, ή σε οικισμούς με χαρακτήρα πιο ηπειρωτικό που παρουσιάζουν όμως ευρεία παραγωγή σε οψιανό, όπως οι Λιθαρές της Βοιωτίας.²⁶ Στις κεντρικές αυτές θέσεις οι τεχνίτες είναι σημαντικοί όχι μόνο γιατί παράγουν εργαλεία πολύ χρήσιμα για την καθημερινή ζωή των ανθρώπων εφαρμόζοντας την εξειδικευμένη γνώση που κατέχουν *λίγοι*, αλλά γιατί επιπλέον διακινούν πρώτη ύλη, εργαλεία ή ακόμη την ίδια την τεχνογνωσία τους.

22. Δες Karabatsoli 2016.

23. Karabatsoli 2011, 687; Σάμψων 1988; Σαπουνά – Σακελλαράκη 1991.

24. Jacobsen 1964; Sackett et al. 1967; Σάμψων 1985, 95.

25. Carter 2003; Carter 2002; Carter and Ydo 1996; Hartenberger and Runnels 2001; Karabatsoli 1997; Karabatsoli 2011; Kardulias 1992; Kardulias and Runnels 1995; Runnels 1985; Runnels et al. 1995; Μουνδρέα - Αγραφιώτη, προς δημ.

26. Για την παραγωγή και διακίνηση του οψιανού στις θέσεις αυτές βλ. Karabatsoli 1997, 296 -297; Karabatsoli 2011, 687.

Προβληματισμός για το μέλλον της έρευνας

Σε γενικές γραμμές στην ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα τα δίκτυα του οψιανού διακόπτονται κατά την Μεσοελλαδική περίοδο ή ακριβέστερα, μετασχηματίζονται ακολουθώντας τους νέους μεσοελλαδικούς οικισμούς. Και παρόλο που σε αυτούς τους τελευταίους είναι πολύ πιο περιορισμένη η χρήση του οψιανού και παράλληλη με του πυριτόλιθου, η ισχυρή τεχνολογική παράδοση δεν έχει καθόλου χαθεί για να μεταβιβαστεί εκ νέου σε υστεροελλαδικούς οικισμούς και πάλι με νέα δικτύωση.²⁷

Τα ίχνη των τεχνιτών του οψιανού χρειάζεται επομένως να ακολουθηθούν και έξω από την μικροκλίμακα των οικισμών, σε ευρύτερους συσχετισμούς, να εμπλουτιστούν με νέα ανασκαφικά και επιφανειακά δεδομένα ευρύτερης έκτασης. Τόσο η εξαιρετική τεχνογνωσία αυτών των τεχνιτών (μίγμα τεχνολογικής παράδοσης και εξελιγμένης ατομικής δεξιότητας), όσο και η μεγάλη απόσταση που διένυσαν στο χώρο και στο χρόνο της αιγαιακής Εποχής του Χαλκού, το επιβάλλουν.

27. Karabatsoli, προς δημ.; Kardulias and Runnels 1995; Parkinson and Cherry 2010.

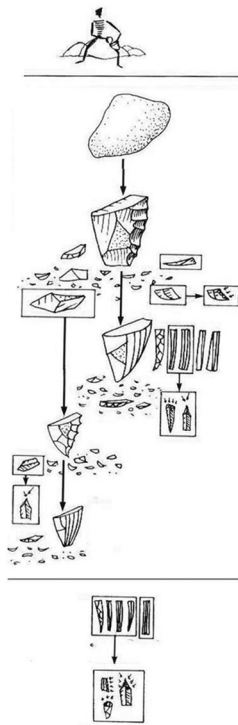
Βιβλιογραφία

- Κακαβογιάννη, Ο. (1993) 'Οι έρευνες στον ΠΕ οικισμό στο Κορωπί Αττικής.' Στο *Wace and Blegen: Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Aegean Bronze Age*, επιμέλεια C. Zerner, P. Zerner και J. Winder, 165-167. Αθήνα: Η Αμερικανική Σχολή Κλασικών Σπουδών στην Αθήνα.
- Καρίμαλη, Α. και Α. Καραμπατσώλη (2010) 'Λιθοτεχνίες λαξεμένου λίθου από οψιανό και πυριτόλιθο στο Αιγαίο και στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της Μεσογείου: σύγχρονες αρχαιολογικές προσεγγίσεις.' Στο *Αρχαιολογικά: αρχαιολογικές, αρχαιομετρικές και πολιτισμικές προσεγγίσεις*, επιμέλεια Ι. Λυριτζής και Ν. Ζαχαριάς, 319-364. Αθήνα: Παπαζήση.
- Κόνσολα, Ντ. (1984) *Η πρώιμη αστικοποίηση στους πρωτοελλαδικούς οικισμούς. Συστηματική ανάλυση των χαρακτηριστικών της*. Αθήνα.
- Ματζάνας, Χ. (2000) 'Τρόποι πρόσκτησης και κατάτμησης πυριτικών πετρωμάτων κατά την Πρώιμη Χαλκοκρατία.' *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 55(Μελέτες), 1-22.
- Μουνδρέα-Αγραφιώτη, Α. (Προς δημ.) *Οι λιθοτεχνίες του Λέπρεου*.
- Σάμψων Α. (1985) *Μάνικα. Μια Πρωτοελλαδική Πόλη στη Χαλκίδα*. Αθήνα: Εταιρεία Ευβοϊκών Σπουδών.
- Σάμψων Α. (1988) 'Ο πρωτοελλαδικός Οικισμός και το Νεκροταφείο'. Τόμ. ΙΙ *Μάνικα*. Αθήνα: Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία.
- Σαπουνά-Σακελλαράκη, Ε. (1991) 'Μάνικα Χαλκίδας. Στρωματογραφική έρευνα στον οικισμό (Οικόπεδο Ζούση)'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 41(Μελέται), 101-270.
- *
- Binder, D. and B. Gassin (1988) 'Le débitage chasséen après chauffe: technologie et traces d'utilisation.' In *Industries lithiques: tracéologie et technologie*, edited by S. Beyries, 93-125. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Blegen, C. W. (1928) *Zygouries: a prehistoric settlement in the valley of Cleonae*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Carter, T. (2003) 'The chipped and ground stone.' In Vol. 4 of *Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen [The Asea Valley Survey]*, edited by J. Forsen and B. Forsen, 129-157.
- Carter, T. (2002) 'A Second Report on the Chipped Stone from Geraki (1999-2001 seasons)'. In Vol. 10 of *Pharos [Geraki. An acropolis site in Lakonia. Preliminary report on the eighth season (2002)]*, 33-43.
- Carter, T. and M. Ydo (1996) 'The chipped and ground stone.' In Vol. II of *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape: The Laconia Survey [Archaeological Data]*, edited by W. Cavanagh, J. Crowwel, R. W. V. Catling and G. Shipley, 141-182. Athens: British School at Athens.
- Costin, C. L. (1991) 'Craft specialization: issues in defining, documenting and explaining the organization of production.' In Vol. 3 of *Archaeological Method and Theory*, edited by M. B. Schiffer, 1-56. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- Costin, C. L. and M. B. Hagstrum (1995) 'Standardization, Labor Investment, Skill and the Organization of Ceramic Production in Late Prehispanic Highland Peru.' *American Antiquity* 60, 619-639.
- Day P. and R. Doonan, eds. (2007) 'Metallurgy in the Early Bronze Age Aegean.' Vol. 3 of *Sheffield Centre for Aegean archaeology Round Table*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Dobres, M-A. (2000) *Technology and Social Agency: Outlining a Practice Framework for Archaeology*. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.
- Evely, R. D. G. (1993) 'Minoan crafts: tools and techniques. An introduction.' Vol. 92(1) of *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*. Gothenburg: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Goldman H. (1931) *Excavations at Eutresis in Boeotia*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hägg, R. and D. Konsola (1986) 'Early Helladic architecture and urbanisation.' Vol. 76 of *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*. Gothenburg: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Hartenberger, B. and C. Runnels (2001) 'The organization of flaked stone production at Bronze Age Lerna.' *Hesperia* 70, 255-283.
- Jacobsen T. (1964) 'Prehistoric Euboea.' PhD thesis. University of Pennsylvania, USA.

- Karabatsoli, A. (1997) 'La production de l'industrie lithique taillée en Grèce centrale pendant le Bronze Ancien (Litharès, Manika, Nemée, Pefkakia)'. PhD thesis. Université de Paris X, France.
- Karabatsoli, A. (2011) 'The chipped stone industry'. In Vol. 1 of *Nemea Valley Archaeological Project [The Early Bronze Age village on Tsoungiza hill, Ancient Nemea, Greece]*, edited by D. Pullen, 661-691. Athens: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Karabatsoli, A. (2016) 'Early Bronze Age chipped stone technology on the Greek mainland. A re-examination of the material and theoretical parameters of production.' In *Lithics past and present. Perspectives on chipped stone studies in Greece*, edited by P. Elefanti, N. Andreasen, P.N. Kardulias and G. Marshall. Vol. 144 of *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, 111-120. Uppsala: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Karabatsoli, A. (In press) 'The chipped stone'. In Vol. 2 of *Nemea Valley Archaeological Project [The Middle and Late Bronze Age village on Tsoungiza hill, Ancient Nemea, Greece]*, edited by J. Wright and M. Dabney. Athens: American School of Classical Studies.
- Kardulias, P. N. (1992) 'The ecology of Bronze Age flaked stone production in Southern Greece: evidence from Agios Stefanos and the Southern Argolid'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 96, 421-442.
- Kardulias, P. N. and C. Runnels (1995) 'The lithic artifacts: flaked stone and other non-flaked lithics'. In 'The Pre-historic and Early Iron Age pottery and lithic artefacts'. Vol. 1 of *Artifact and Assemblage: The finds from a regional survey of the Southern Argolid, Greece*, edited by C. Runnels, D. Pullen and S. Langdon, 74-139. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Karimali, E. (2008) 'Lithic and Metal Tools in the Bronze Age Aegean'. In *Aegean Metallurgy in the Bronze Age*, edited by I. Tzachilli, 315-325. Athens: Ta Pragmata Publications.
- Mylonas, G. (1959) *Aghios Kosmas: An Early Bronze Age settlement and cemetery in Attica*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Nakou, G. (1995) 'The Cutting Edge: A New Look at Early Aegean Metallurgy'. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 8, 1-32.
- Parkinson, W. and J. Cherry (2010) 'Lithics and landscapes. A Messenian perspective.' In *Pylos regional archaeological project. Part VII. Hesperia* 79, 1, 1-51.
- Pelegrin, J. (1984) 'Systèmes expérimentaux d'immobilisation du nucléus pour le débitage par pression'. In Vol. 2 of *Préhistoire de la pierre taillée [Economie du débitage lumineux]*, edited by CREP, 105-116. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pelegrin, J. (1988) 'Débitage expérimental par pression "Du plus petit au plus grand"'. In Vol. 25 of *Journée d'Études Technologiques en Préhistoire*, edited by J. Tixier, 37-52. Paris: Editions du CNRS.
- Pelegrin, J. (1990) 'Prehistoric lithic technology: some aspects of research'. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 9(1), 116-125.
- Pelegrin, J., C. Karlin and P. Bodu (1988) 'Chaînes opératoires: un outil pour le préhistorien'. In *Journée d'Études Technologiques en Préhistoire*, edited by J. Tixier, 55-62. Paris: Editions du CNRS.
- Perlès, C. (1994) *Les industries lithiques taillées de Tharrounia*. Paris: Université X, Laboratoire de Préhistoire.
- Roux, V. (1989) 'Preliminary study of specialized craftsmen and their socio-economic status'. In *South Asian Archaeology 1985*, edited by K. Friefelt and P. Sorensen, 265-270. London: Curzon Press.
- Roux, V. (1990) 'The Psychological analysis of technical activities: a contribution to the study of craft specialization'. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 9(1), 142-153.
- Roux, V. (1992) 'Peut-on interpréter les activités techniques préhistoriques en termes de durée d'apprentissage? Apport de l'ethnologie et de la psychologie aux études technologiques'. In *25 ans d'études technologiques en préhistoire. Bilan et perspectives, XI^e rencontres internationales d'archéologie et d'histoire d'Antibes, Actes des rencontres 18-19-20 octobre 1990*, 47-56. Juan-les-Pins: Association pour la promotion et la diffusion des connaissances archéologiques.
- Roux, V. (2003) 'Ceramic standardization and intensity of production: quantifying degrees of specialization'. *American Antiquity* 68(4), 768-782.
- Runnels, C. N. (1985) 'The Bronze-Age flaked-stone industries from Lerna: a preliminary report'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 54, 357-391.
- Runnels, C., D. Pullen and S. Langdon (1995) 'The Prehistoric and Early Iron Age pottery and lithic artefacts.'

- Vol. 1 of *Artifact and Assemblage: The finds from a regional survey of the Southern Argolid, Greece*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Runnels, C., D. Pullen and S. Langdon (1995) 'The Prehistoric and Early Iron Age pottery and lithic artefacts'. Vol. 1 of *Artifact and Assemblage: the finds from a regional survey of the Southern Argolid, Greece*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Sackett H. L., V. Hankey, R. J. Howell, T. W. Jacobsen and M. R. Popham (1967) 'Prehistoric Euboea: Contributions toward a Survey'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 61, 33-112.
- Tixier, J. (1984) 'Le débitage par pression'. In Vol. 2 of *Préhistoire de la Pierre Taillée [Economie du débitage lumineux]*, edited by CREP, 57-70. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tixier, J., M-L. Inizan and H. Roche (1996) Vol. 4 of *Préhistoire de la Pierre Taillée*. Paris: CREP.
- Torrence, R. (1986) *Production and exchange of stone tools. Prehistoric obsidian in the Aegean*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Effenterre, H. and M. Van Effenterre (1969) 'L'atelier des tailleurs d'obsidienne'. In Vol. 1 of *Études crétoises [Fouilles Exécutées à Mallia, Le Centre Politique, L'Agora (1960-1966)]*, t. XVII, 7-21. Paris: École Française d'Athènes.

Εικόνες



τεχνίτης

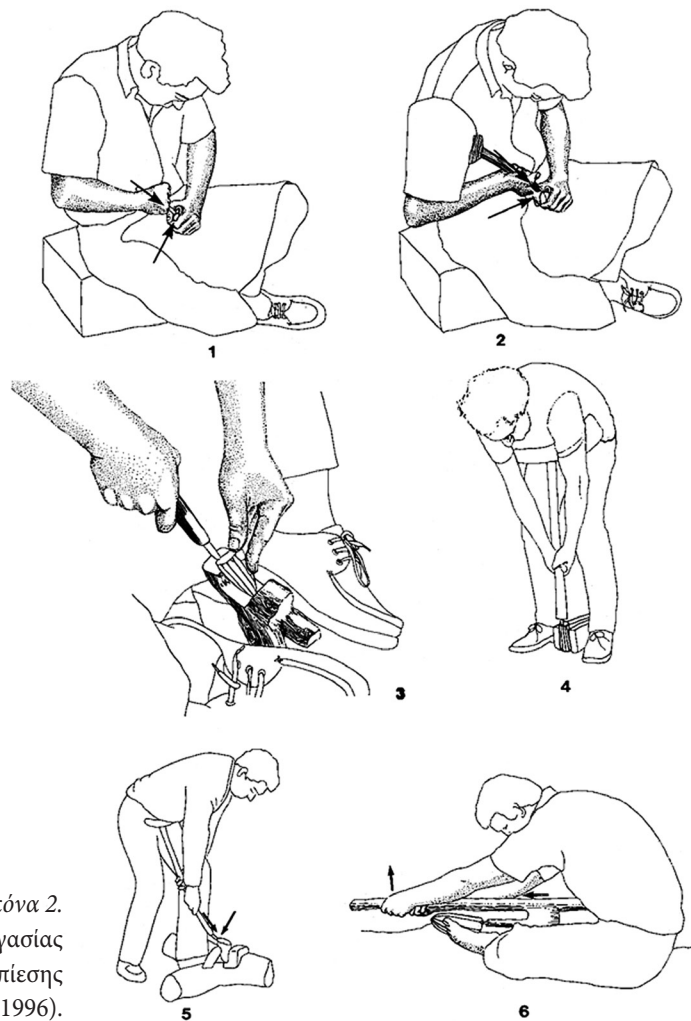


τεχνική διαδικασία



ζητούμενα προϊόντα

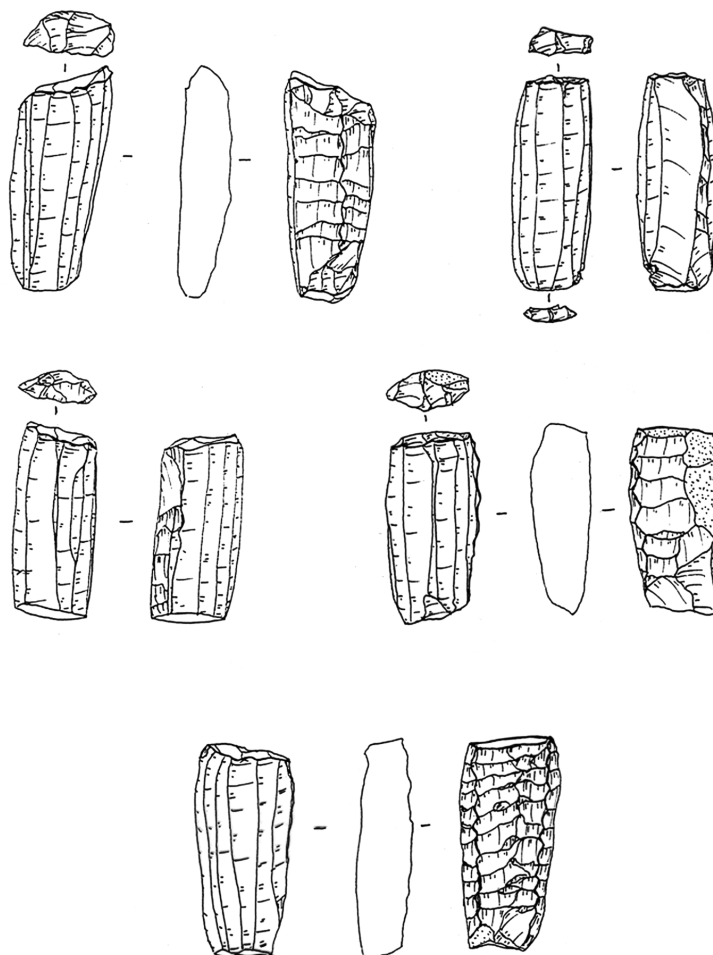
Εικόνα 1. Σχεδιαστική αναπαράσταση.



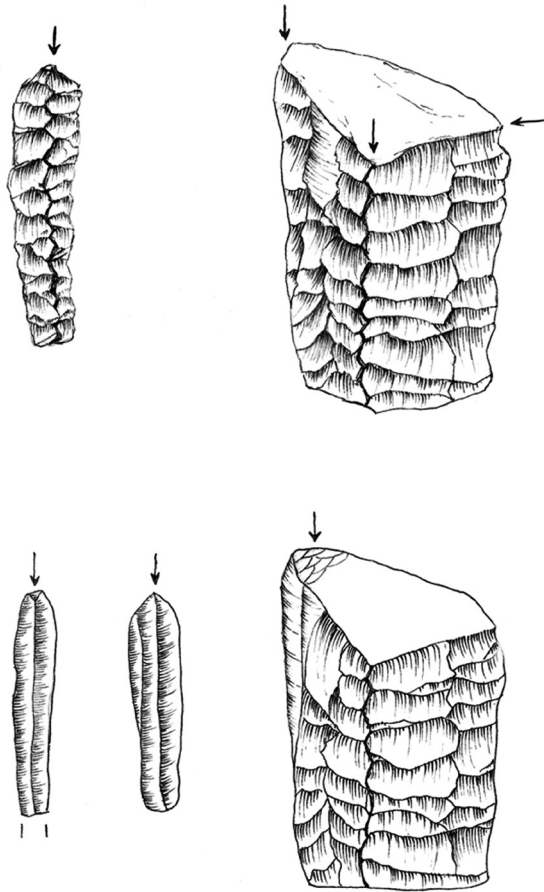
Εικόνα 2.
Σύγχρονες πειραματικές μέθοδοι κατεργασίας
οψιανού με την τεχνική της πίεσης
(Tixier et al. 1996).



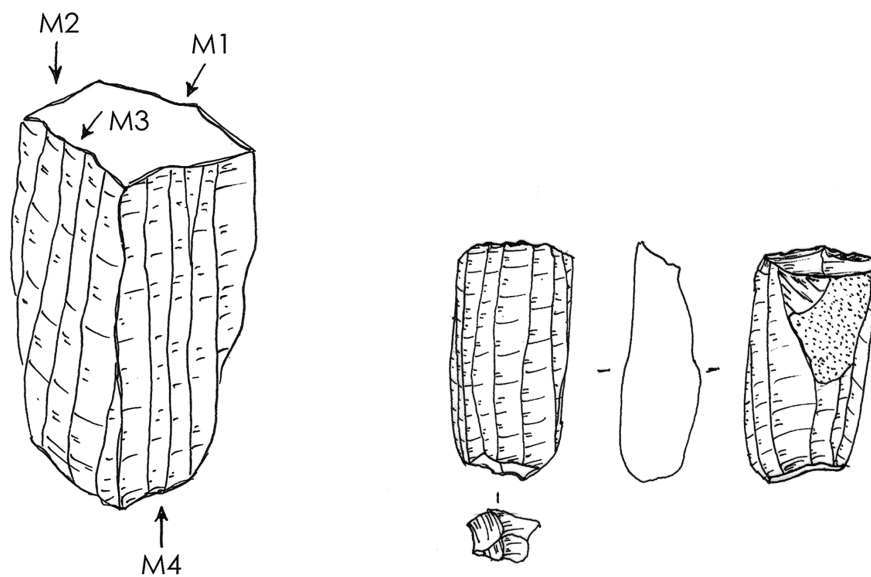
Εικόνα 3. Χάρτης της Ηπειρωτικής Ελλάδας όπου σημειώνονται οι θέσεις μελέτης (με κουκίδα), καθώς και άλλες σημαντικές θέσεις της ΠΕ εποχής.



Εικόνα 4. Πύρηνες σε φάση εγκατάλειψης (πεπλατυσμένης μορφής) από τη Μάνικα.



Εικόνα 5. Πάνω: Σχεδιαστική αναπαράσταση πύρηνα με 3 ακμές και απόσπαση της πρόσθιας
Κάτω: Μετά την απόσπαση της πρόσθιας ξεκινά η απόσπαση λεπίδων σε ένα μέτωπο.



Εικόνα 6. Αριστερά: σχεδιαστική αναπαράσταση πύρηνα με 4 μέτωπα;
Δεξιά: Πύρηνας σε φάση εγκατάλειψης στον οποίο έχουν παρατηρηθεί 4 μέτωπα.

A 3D spatial approach to post-excavation study, as exemplified at the Agia Triada Cave, Karystos

Markos KATSIANIS

Fanis MAVRIDIS

Žarko TANKOSIĆ

Spyros TSIPIDIS

Abstract

Η εργασία συνοψίζει τα αποτελέσματα της προσπάθειας αναβάθμισης ενός συμβατικού ανασκαφικού αρχείου με τη χρήση τεχνολογιών Γεωγραφικών Συστημάτων Πληροφοριών (ΓΣΠ), με στόχο τη διαχείριση των δεδομένων, την υποστήριξη της στρωματογραφικής ανάλυσης και την οπτική διερεύνηση της χωρικής κατανομής των ευρημάτων στις τρεις διαστάσεις (3Δ). Το ανασκαφικό πρόγραμμα στο σπήλαιο της Αγίας Τριάδας, στη Νότια Εύβοια, λειτούργησε ως περίπτωση εφαρμογής όπου επιχειρήθηκε η ενσωμάτωση διαφόρων τύπων ανασκαφικών δεδομένων (καταχωρίσεις ανασκαφικού ημερολογίου, σχέδια, κατάλογοι ευρημάτων, φωτογραφίες) σε ένα συνεκτικό σύνολο δεδομένων για 3Δ ΓΣΠ. Ο συνδυασμός όλων των τεκμηρίων σε ένα ενιαίο ψηφιακό αρχείο συντέλεσε στην αρτιότερη διαχείριση, την πρόσβαση και την αντιπαραβολή των πληροφοριών. Η χωρική αναπαράσταση στις τρεις διαστάσεις και η οπτική διερεύνηση των δεδομένων συνέβαλε στη συγκρότηση ενός χρήσιμου αναλυτικού μέσου για την τρέχουσα μετα-ανασκαφική μελέτη που επέτρεψε την καλύτερη κατανόηση των πολύπλοκων στρωματογραφικών και ταφονομικών συνθηκών εντός του σπηλαίου. Σε αυτό το πλαίσιο, η χρήση της ψηφιακής τεχνολογίας για την αναδιάρθρωση παλαιότερων ή συμβατικών συλλογών δεδομένων σε νέα συγκρίσιμα ψηφιακά αρχεία μπορεί να συμβάλλει σημαντικά τόσο στην ενδο-ανασκαφική όσο και στην περιφερειακή αρχαιολογική έρευνα.

Introduction¹

In recent years, advances in spatial technologies have led to the development of applications that provide new impetus for intra-site documentation. Major problems of the past such as data capture and three-dimensional (3D) spatial representation have undergone noticeable developments, allowing for the broader application of spatial technologies in excavation fieldwork.² Following earlier efforts in integrating Geographic Information Systems (GIS) with excavation fieldwork practices, we focused on

1. This research was made possible by a grant provided by the Institute of Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP). The authors would also like to express their gratitude to the Stavros Niarchos Foundation and the Edward A. Schrader Endowment Fund at Indiana University for their financial support of the Agia Triada excavations.

2. McCoy and Ladefoged 2009.

expanding these methodologies to include the digitization of conventional excavation archives.³ GIS are tools that combine database management and spatial representation, emphasizing visual examination and quantitative analytic techniques. In this respect, they can be used in the identification and exploration of complex spatial patterns to reveal associations that may otherwise remain undetectable.⁴

The Agia Triada Cave excavation project in southern Euboea (Fig. 1) provided an interesting opportunity to assay these methodologies in the context of cave archaeological research. Caves are bounded spaces with particular conditions which differentiate them from other archaeological sites. In relation to our project, the most significant of these conditions were: the topography of the cave and its constraints for the human use of space in the past, the confines of the excavation layout, the taphonomic conditions with respect to the frequently waterlogged environmental settings and, last but not least, the attested complexities in the stratigraphic sequence within a cave.⁵

The research project attempted to integrate several categories of data (journal entries, plans and sections, finds and samples, etc.) from the excavation of the Agia Triada Cave in Karystos into a cohesive system that would support data management, stratigraphic analysis and the visual exploration of artefact spatial patterning in 3D. This process targeted the augmentation of an essentially partly paper, partly digital, excavation archive, and its correlation with specialist data, using GIS to produce new information and aid ongoing post-excavation study. 3D data representation was emphasized, as it can provide a better understanding of the stratigraphic sequence and the spatial relationships between structures and artefact categories.

The excavation

The cave of Agia Triada is located in the vicinity of Karystos, southern Euboea (Fig. 2). The excavation has been conducted by the Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology-Speleology with the co-operation of the Southern Euboea Exploration Project, operating under the aegis of the Canadian Institute in Greece. The cave is shaped by several hundred metres of passages and chambers and contains water, mainly in the deepest parts. The site has provided the earliest thus-far-attested traces of human presence in the wider area of southern Euboea.⁶ Unlike at other cave sites of the same period, only limited occupation evidence has been identified near the entrance. The main passage, a narrow, dark, steep corridor, branches after about 30 m, and two small chambers open up to the south and east. The eastern chamber, which is reachable through a second 20-m long passage, where an area of c.5 m² was excavated down to a depth of 2.5 m, became the focus of research between 2008 and 2010.⁷

Archaeological material dates to three main chronological periods: Late Neolithic I (LN I), Late Neolithic II (LN II)/Final Neolithic (FN), and Early Bronze Age II (EBA II).⁸ As far as the latter phase is concerned, in the preliminary reports, public presentations, as well as more detailed studies organized by phase,⁹ it was indicated that, within the uppermost layers and below a thin layer of stalagmitic crust (Layer 3), skeletal remains mixed with animal bones were encountered (Layer 4).¹⁰ Within the

3. Katsianis et al. 2008; Tshipidis et al. 2012.

4. Nigro et al. (2003) in one of the first working examples of intra-site GIS in a cave context demonstrated their efficiency in the representation and analysis of fossil, artefact and geological data.

5. See, for example, Bailey and Galanidou 2009; Karkanias 2013.

6. Mavridis, this volume; Mavridis and Tankosić 2009.

7. Mavridis and Tankosić 2009; 2012.

8. The material together with the stratigraphic sequence is under study for final publication. All results are therefore preliminary.

9. Mavridis 2014; Mavridis and Tankosić 2009; 2012; 2016a; 2016b; Mavridis et al. 2010.

10. Mavridis and Tankosić 2009; 2012; 2016a.

same layer, but just below the human and animal remains, were exceptionally large quantities of EB II pottery together with other finds. This deposit was followed by a layer rich in carbonized organic material (Layer 5b). This layer was mainly detected around the centre part of the chamber area and was circumscribed in most directions by a layer with similar composition but less evidence of burning (Layer 5a). Despite the strong indications of activities related to inhumation and mortuary rituals, further clarifications were necessary in order to establish a rigorous sequence of the events that resulted in the attested stratigraphic record.¹¹ The examination of potential spatial data patterning may offer a better understanding of the observed situation and enrich suggested interpretations.

Methodology

A necessary first step in every digital modelling project is the study of all available documentation, in order to identify the particularities of the excavation methodology and the recording procedure. In the case of Agia Triada's East Chamber, the excavation was undertaken in several small trenches of c.1 x 1 m, owing to the confined layout of the chamber. Control baulks were removed during the last season to reveal extended profiles of the excavation area and retrieve the remaining artefacts located within the baulks.

Excavation proceeded by following and demarcating distinct cultural layers. A journal was kept with observations about each excavation context. X and Y measurements were taken manually from the sides of each trench, and a theodolite provided depth readings. Record drawings were prepared at regular intervals on graph paper by hand. These included a set of depth measurements for each surface drawn, and the location and depth of corresponding findspots were also noted. A digital camera was used to document the excavation process, whereas most finds were individually photographed *in situ*. Flotation, dating and micro-morphological samples were systematically collected to be used in the study of formation processes. All journal information was entered into a word processor and all coordinates were transcribed to a spreadsheet every evening. A digital catalogue was also employed for photos and drawings. At the end of each season, stratigraphic section drawings were sketched on graph paper using manual measurements.

The data modelling procedure and the ensuing analysis were performed on ArcGIS by ESRI, as it combines a robust database structure (Geodatabase), advanced geoprocessing tools and a working visualization environment (ArcScene) supporting spatial data investigation in 3D. During the modelling process, different programmes were also employed for editing the geometry of complex features, such as SketchUp.

Initially, it was necessary to transcribe original documentation into appropriate data structures. All information contained on paper (journal information, finds catalogues and photo lists) was digitized and stored in tables within a database, so this information could be linked to each spatial entity. Individual tables were created with information about the excavation and the section layers (Munsell colour values, texture, notes, etc.), finds (type, material, notes, etc.) and samples (contents, type). Separate tables were created for the drawings and the photographs of layers and finds that contain information about the date of creation, the subject, etc. All images were imported in a Binary Large Object Field (BLOB) within each table and can be used to display the image of each entry within the system.

The spatial data modelling procedure was initiated through the reconstruction of the chamber floor elevation prior to investigation, using data from the post-excavation topographic survey, in order

11. See Mavridis and Tankosić 2016a.

that the context for situating the base point (datum) and the outlines of the excavation trenches could be generated (Fig. 3). Recent advances in 3D imaging technology, such as laser scanning or computer vision techniques, can be used in such situations for accurate 3D reconstructions of the chamber's internal terrain, including the ceiling relief.¹²

Next, each plan drawing was scanned, scaled and correctly positioned according to the local grid established within the cave. Depth measurements included on the drawings and in the excavation diary were used to generate Digital Terrain Models (DTMs) representing the terrain relief for each drawing. Each drawing can be draped over its corresponding DTM and visualized in 3D. Likewise, for each section drawing a Triangulated Irregular Network (TIN) structure was calculated which reproduced the vertical extent of each excavation section. Through this process, original documentation media were combined and used on a scale of 1:1 to represent the topography of a trench during the successive excavation stages and the recorded vertical stratigraphy. In both cases, plan and section drawings can be used as a background to digitize excavation material (e.g. slabs or pottery as 3D lines and stratigraphic deposits as 3D polygons) and link the material to database records.

Portable finds and samples were visualized as 3D point data on the basis of their recorded XYZ coordinates. Each point corresponded to an artefact record in the database with descriptive information (e.g. artefact type) and linked to its corresponding photos. Proportionately, point representation of flotation samples indicates the centre of the soil collection.

Using the coordinates measured at the corners and at the centre of each context, all excavation layers were modelled in 3D as multipatch objects.¹³ These were also linked to records in the database containing descriptive information extracted from the journals. Despite their schematic appearance, these objects can be used effectively to depict variability summarized on layer level (e.g. soil texture values).

Consequently, the entire digitization procedure resulted in a rich spatial dataset that allows for the interactive investigation of the archaeological record within a digital surrogate of the physical excavation settings (Fig. 4).

Procedure results and data visualization

Data integration within a single cartographic background facilitates the simultaneous or selective visualization of all excavation features within their original spatial contexts, thus permitting a more interactive post-excavation investigation of the recorded evidence.

For example, the combined 3D display of drawings recording the same layer interface in separate trenches and different excavation seasons allows for their unification. 3D navigation, change of viewing angle and adjustment of focus can further support their inspection in relation to the stratigraphic sections. The ability to collate the extent of each layer with the section and plan drawings provides a direct way of assessing the success of locating and documenting the interface between different layers and allows for the timely detection of documentation inconsistencies, which in turn allows for potential bias to be taken into consideration.

The addition of further excavation data, such as the small finds recorded, facilitates their examination in their proper spatial setting and encourages the immediate visual assessment of their spatial relationships. Using definition queries, different themes can further be limited on demand to those instances that meet specific spatial, temporal and thematic constraints: e.g. display the finds of all

12. See, for example, Puchol et al. 2013.

13. See ESRI 2008, 1: 'Multipatch: a 3D geometry used to represent the outer surface, or shell, of features that occupy a discrete area or volume in three-dimensional space'.

trenches that belong to Layer 4. The spatial variation of different attributes, such as soil Munsell colour for excavation layers and material type for finds, can subsequently be explored through typical data classification methods (Fig. 5).

On-screen selection and object identification provide direct access to descriptive information and related documentation material, such as detailed drawings or pictures (Fig. 6a). In addition, queries can be performed that select all features corresponding to certain criteria: e.g. retrieve all samples from layers with sandy soil texture. Finally, basic 3D spatial operations can be executed to calculate distance or locate intersections between entities: e.g. select all artefacts within a distance of 0.20 m from a metal object or those that intersect with Layer 3 (Fig. 6b).

All these facilities support an essential stage of visual data investigation for potential patterning that can be assessed with formal confirmatory spatial statistics. Excavation data can be approached in an inductive manner, and enhanced displays can be used to inform specialized material studies.

Post-excavation analysis

The Agia Triada 3D GIS dataset has been used to validate the preliminary interpretation of the EBA phase of the site and locate data patterns as well as topics for further investigation. An important aspect of every attempt to interpret an excavation context as an occupation or activity surface is to assess post-depositional disturbance and sediment accumulation processes. To this end, the study of the spatial characteristics of the excavated assemblage can provide important taphonomic evidence of active post-depositional processes. The definition of an occupation surface should be based on the restricted vertical concentration of artefacts, the abundance of refits, the absence of mixing or intrusions and the presence of non-random artefact distributions.¹⁴ With regard to the EBA deposits, the interpretation of a relatively ephemeral episode of burial practices involving specific actions that left their traces in the cave, as proposed in the preliminary report,¹⁵ seems to be substantiated by the spatial investigation of the excavation data.

The digitization of excavation features and bulk inclusions (such as slabs, layered concentrations of pottery or bones) from the plan drawings has facilitated the improved visual inspection of all excavated material. All deposits that belong to this phase are concentrated within a restricted vertical area stretching between 10 and 20 cm in the entire space. As seen in the profiles, these deposits exhibit a gentle slope from the north-west corner towards the south and the centre of the chamber. In the whole area of Layers 3 and 4, human bones are generally located higher than the pottery material, whereas organic material samples are found below the pottery (Layer 5b) and in accordance with the proposed stratification (Fig. 7). Post-depositional activity or later disturbance seems to be relatively low, as there are no posterior artefacts found in contexts that are earlier than Layer 3 and no anterior artefacts in contexts later than Layer 6.

Unlike other data types, human and animal bone material exhibits a significant degree of disarticulation and seems to be concentrated in distinct clusters found at the edges of the chamber or in between schist slabs. In this respect, horizontal or vertical movement seems relatively small and should be related to low-energy taphonomic conditions present in the cave, mainly soil settling and water-solution accumulation, which do not seem to have affected data distribution considerably.¹⁶ Data examination indicates that although pottery underneath the slabs is attested, skeletal remains are gen-

14. Dibble et al. 1997.

15. Mavridis and Tankosić 2009; 2012; 2016a.

16. Mavridis and Tankosić 2016a.

erally lacking. Accordingly, the orientation and linear placement of these slabs may indicate that these rocks were placed intentionally to divide the burial area into distinct zones (Fig. 8). Taking into account the fact that the upper part of the slabs and many of the bones were embedded in the stalagmitic crust, it seems that the human remains were left exposed on the surface. That being the case, the large slab located immediately in front of the chamber entrance¹⁷ may have been placed there deliberately as an obstruction to deter interference from scavengers.¹⁸ In any case, the completion of the skeletal assessment will provide evidence for possible refits between different areas, allowing us to establish a firmer relation between the slabs and the skeletal remains.

The best candidate for study through point-based distributions is the lithic material, which comprises chiefly obsidian blades and flakes. In total, 72 artefacts were recovered in the EBA deposits. The bulk of the material comes from Layer 4 (47 objects). As shown in Fig. 9, most material is located within a very tight vertical boundary (c.4 cm) following the pottery distribution. The largest cluster is located on the NW outskirts of the excavated area at the interface between L5a and L5b, where the presence of pottery and bones is rather low. The cluster contains artefacts belonging to both Layer 4 and Layer 5b, although this may be the result of soil settling. Smaller clusters can be discerned mostly on the outskirts of the excavation area and not in direct relation with the spatial arrangement of the skeletal material. This situation may be indicative of actions related to the deliberate spreading of the material before the inhumations.

As more information from specialized studies is integrated into the system (e.g. ceramic, palaeobotanical and skeletal analyses), a formal spatial analysis that will assess the scale of clustering intensity and second-order interactions with other material¹⁹ may aid our understanding of the activities that took place within the cave.

Conclusion

To sum up, the integration of non-digital data in GIS can greatly enhance post-excavation study and direct the investigation of specific research questions. As can be seen from the case of Agia Triada, moving from a conventional archive to a 3D digital environment can be a complex, but also rewarding, process. 3D representation facilitates better comprehension of excavation space and artefact spatial relations. The unification of data that were recorded and stored separately allows for their better management and comparison. During this process, a series of data-recording shortcomings can also be detected and corrected, which allows for the avoidance of unnecessary bias. A series of visualization techniques involving classification, identification and querying in 3D can lead almost intuitively to different and more informed interpretations of a given dataset, which can be verified by formal spatial statistics.

It should be noted of course that GIS cannot change the way a site is excavated. They can, however, maximize the potential of the collected data for answering questions concerning human socio-spatial behaviour. In this regard, spatial technologies can provide a key mechanism in non-digital data reuse and reinvestigation, as well as data comparison between excavations distant in space or time, thus giving new impetus to intra-site and regional research.

17. See above, Fig. 4.

18. See, for example, Dowd et al. 2006, 17.

19. See Bevan et al. 2013.

Bibliography

- Bailey, G. N. and N. Galanidou (2009) 'Caves, Palimpsests and Dwelling Spaces: Examples from the Upper Palaeolithic of Southeast Europe'. *World Archaeology* 41(2), 215-241.
- Bevan, A., E. Crem, X. Li and A. Palmisano (2013) 'Intensities, Interactions, and Uncertainties: Some New Approaches to Archaeological Distributions'. In *Computational Approaches to Archaeological Spaces*, edited by A. Bevan and M. Lake, 27-52. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Dibble, H. L., P. G. Chase, S. P. McPherron and A. Tuffreau (1997) 'Testing the Reality of a "Living Floor" with Archaeological Data'. *American Antiquity* 62(4), 629-651.
- Dowd, M., L. Fibiger and L. G. Lynch (2006) 'The Human Remains from Irish Caves Project'. *Archaeology Ireland* 20(3), 16-19.
- ESRI (2008) *The Multipatch Geometry Type*. <https://www.esri.com/library/whitepapers/pdfs/multipatch-geometry-type.pdf>. Accessed 11 May, 2015.
- Karkanias, P. (2013) 'Cave Sediment Studies in Greece: A Contextual Approach to the Archaeological Record. In *Stable Places-Changing Perceptions: Cave Archaeology in Greece*, edited by F. Mavridis and J. T. Jensen, 73-82. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Katsianis, M., S. Tshipidis, K. Kotsakis and A. Koussoulakou (2008) 'A 3D Digital Workflow for Archaeological Intra-Site Research Using GIS'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 35(3), 655-667.
- Mavridis, F. (2014) 'Τα Σπήλαια ως Χώροι Ανθρώπινης Δράσης: Μία Απόπειρα Διερεύνησης της Σημασίας τους στο Ευρύτερο Πολιτισμικό Περιβάλλον των Τελευταίων Φάσεων της Νεολιθικής περιόδου'. In *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας 4*, edited by A. Mazarakis-Ainan, 599-610. Volos: Idea&Typos.
- Mavridis, F. and Ž. Tankosić (2009) 'The Agia Triada Cave, Southern Euboea Finds and Implications of the Earliest Human Habitation in the Area (A Preliminary Report)'. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 9(2), 47-59.
- Mavridis, F. and Ž. Tankosić (2012) 'Σπήλαιο Αγίας Τριάδας Καρύστου. Οι Έρευνες των ετών 2007-2008'. *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας 3*, 901-914. Volos: Idea&Typos.
- Mavridis, F. and Ž. Tankosić (2016a) 'The Formation of the Early Bronze Age Burial Deposits at the Agia Triada cave, Karystos, Euboea: Tentative Interpretations'. *Hesperia* 85(2), 207-243.
- Mavridis, F. and Tankosić, Ž. (2016b) 'The Later Neolithic Stages in Central-Southern Greece Based on the Evidence from the Excavations at the Agia Triada Cave, Southern Euboea'. In *The human face of radiocarbon: reassessing chronology in prehistoric Greece and Bulgaria, 5000-2000 cal. BC*, edited by Z. Tsirtsoni, 419-436. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée.
- Mavridis F., Ž. Tankosić and D. Yamaguchi (2010) 'The Neolithic Culture in the Southern Euboea from the Excavation at the Agia Triadha Cave'. *Journal of Prehistory and Archaeology* V, 1005-1022.
- McCoy, M. D. and T. N. Ladefoged (2009) 'New Developments in the Use of Spatial Technology in Archaeology'. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 17(3), 263-295.
- Nigro, J. D., P. S. Ungar, D. J. de Ruiter and L. R. Berger (2003) 'Developing a Geographic Information System (GIS) for Mapping and Analysing Fossil Deposits at Swartkrans, Gauteng Province, South Africa'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 30, 317-324.
- Puchol, O. G., S. B. McClureb, J. B. Senabrec, F. C. Villac and V. Porcelli (2013) 'Increasing contextual information by merging existing archaeological data with state of the art laser scanning in the prehistoric funerary deposit of Pastora Cave, Eastern Spain'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 40(3), 1593-1601.
- Tshipidis, S., M. Katsianis, K. Kotsakis and A. Koussoulakou (2012) 'Digital Technology and Archaeological Excavation: A New Approach to Documenting and Interpreting Archaeological Data Using GIS'. In *Proceedings of the 2nd Conference on Archaeological Research and New Technologies, Kalamata 21-23/10/2010*, edited by N. Zaharias, 49-55. Kalamata: Laboratory of Archaeometry, Department of History, Archeology and Cultural Resources Management, University of Peloponnese.

Figures

Figure 1.
Cave location in relation to wider Karystos region. Map composition based on satellite imagery DZB1206-500031L005001 distributed by LP DAAC, USGS/EROS Center.

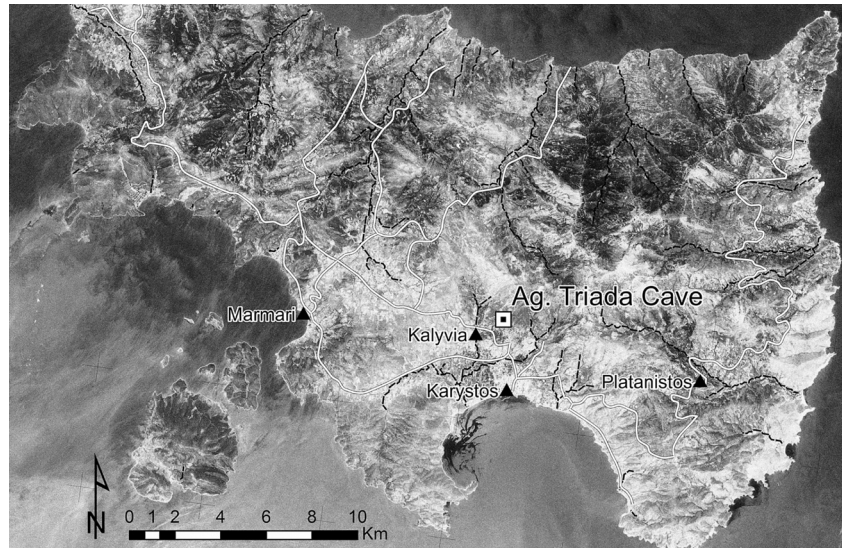


Figure 2.
The entrance, the east corridor and the east chamber of the cave.

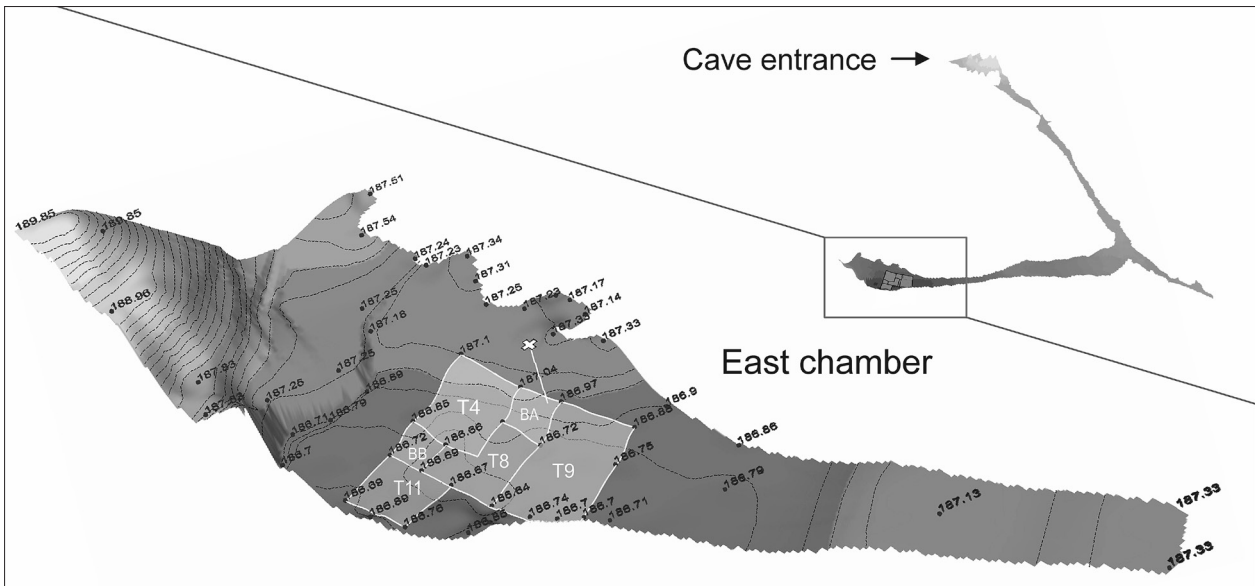


Figure 3. Cave layout and chamber floor relief showing the location of excavation trenches. Survey points by T. Chadzitheodorou (Ministry of Culture and Sports). The excavation base point (datum) marked in Fig. 2 is indicated with a white cross.

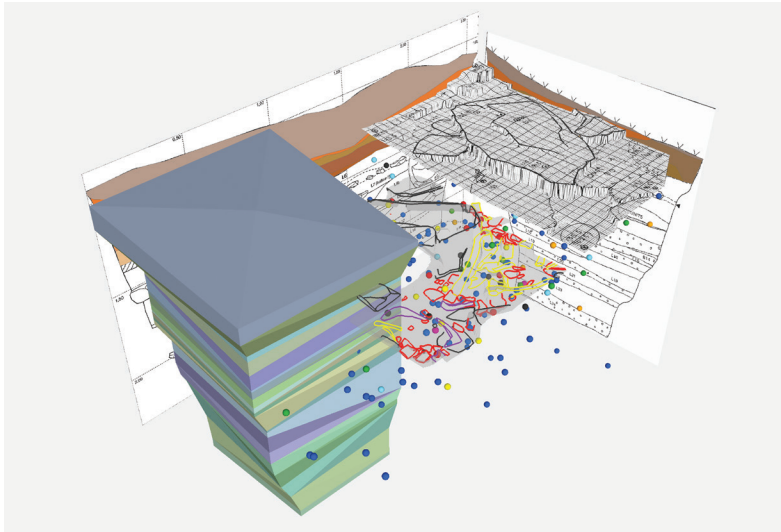


Figure 4. Sample of digitized features in the excavated area. Excavation units are displayed as multipatch objects, finds as 3D points, stratigraphic sections and plan drawings as scaled surfaces. Individual section layers are depicted as 3D polygons. Excavation features and bulk material are depicted as 3D lines draped on top of plan surfaces.

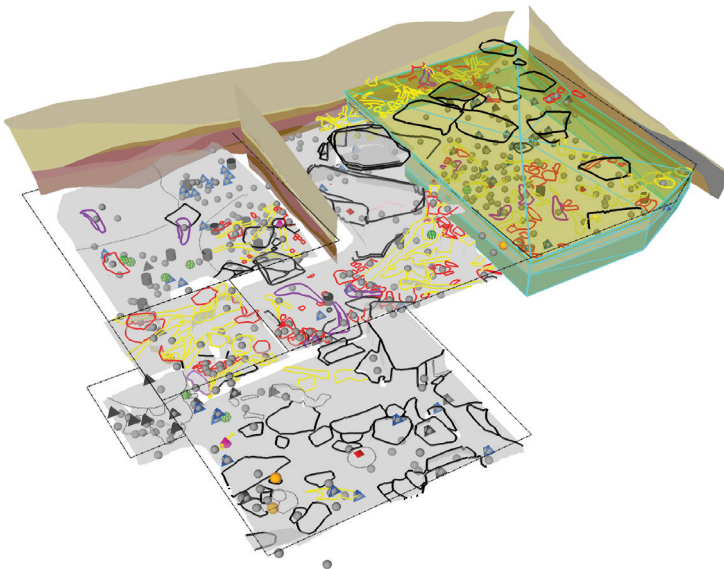


Figure 5. Combined display of excavation data: Geometry of layers 3-5 from Trench 9 shown as transparency, Layers 1-5 as derived from the section drawings, finds from Layer 4 classified by artefact type and excavation features digitized from separate plan drawings and classified by type.

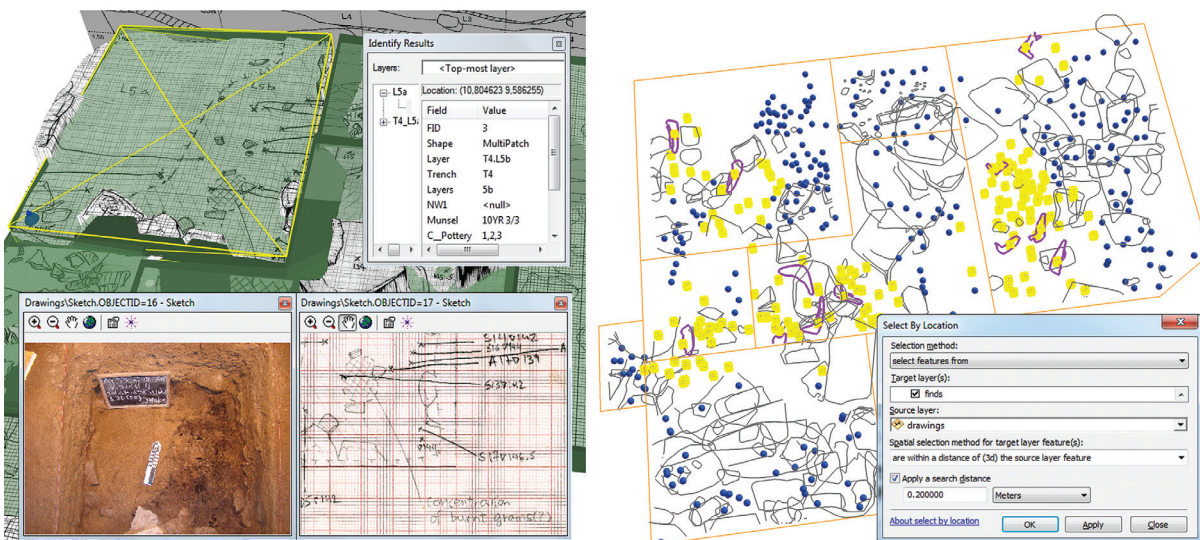


Figure 6. On-screen selection of excavation layer with attribute data and related documents (a). Selection of all finds within a 3D distance of 0.20 m from the locations of mandibles marked with thicker purple line. Slabs are indicated with a thin grey line (b).

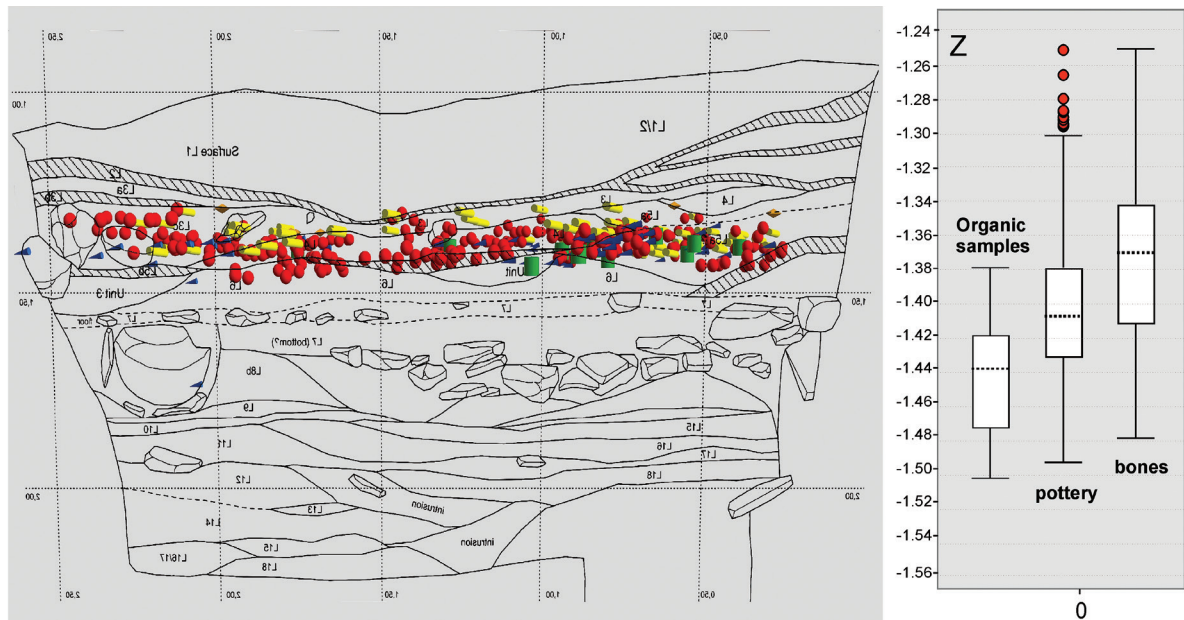


Figure 7. Vertical display of EBA material shown as points. Pottery (in red) is located largely below human skeletal material (in yellow), as is clear from the collation in the stratigraphic section (shown in transparency from N).

Most samples of carbonized organic material (in green) are present at even lower levels.

Boxplot to the right illustrates clustering along the Z-axis for each artefact class.

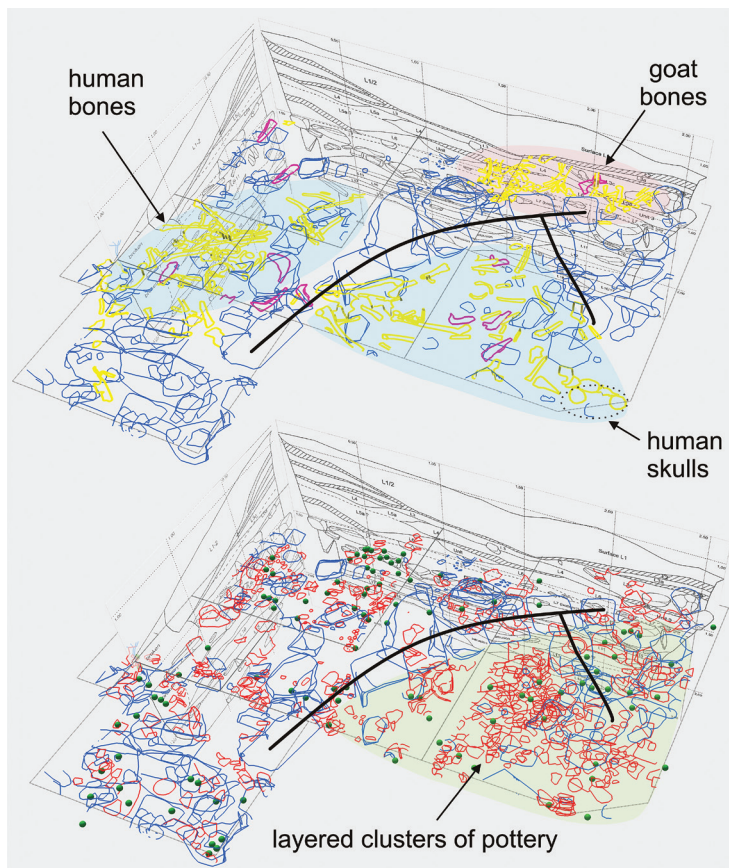


Figure 8. Artefact distribution patterns in the entire EBA phase. Red: pottery, yellow: bones, pink: mandibles, blue: stones. Green points mark locations of individual artefacts. Spatial arrangement of slabs indicated with a thick black line.

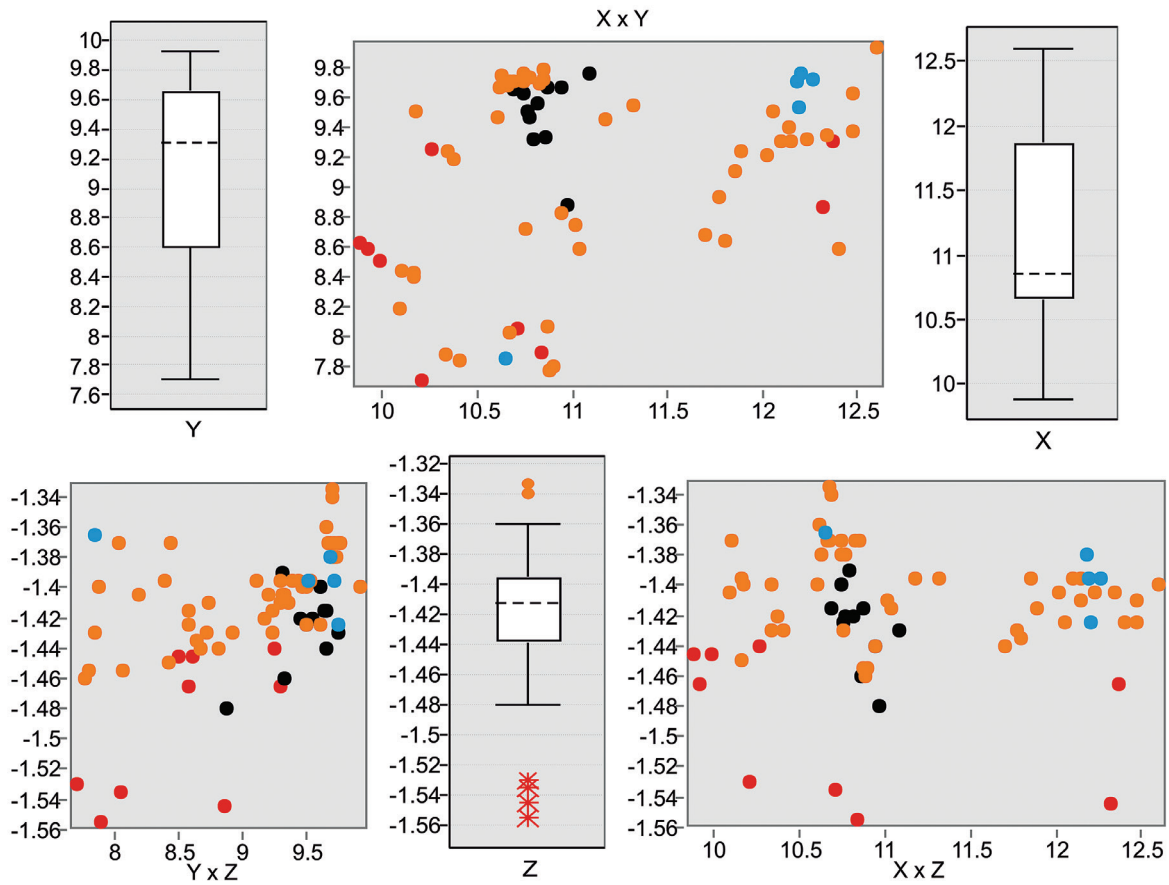


Figure 9. Cross-sections of the EBA phase along all axes (X, Y, Z) with the projection of all chipped stone and respective boxplots depicting concentrations in each axis. Artefacts are colour marked according to layer (blue: L3, orange: L4, red L5a, black L5b).

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

Tobias KRAPF

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, Kalogerovrysi, 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 Paleoecklisies**: 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.

Bibliography

- Charalambidou, X., E. Kiriati, N. Müller, M. Georgakopoulou, S. Müller Celka and T. Krapf (2016) 'Eretrian Ceramic Products through Time: Investigating the Early History of a Greek Metropolis'. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 7, 530-535.
- Cosmopoulos, M. B. (1998) 'Forschungen im Gebiet von Oropos: Die vorgeschichtliche Besiedlung'. *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 7, 52-68.
- Delley, G. (2003) 'La prospection érétrienne: Les trouvailles préhistoriques. Premiers résultats et perspectives'. In Vol. I of *Proceedings of Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, Volos 27-2 to 2-3-2003*, edited by A. Mazarakis-Ainan, 945-954. Volos: University of Thessaly.
- Dickinson, O. T. P. K. (1977) *The Origins of Mycenaean Civilisation*. Gothenburg: Aströms.
- Dimakopoulou-Papantoniou, K. (1984) 'Λόφος Γλύφα ή Βλίχα'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 32, 98-101.
- Fachard, S. (2007) 'Les fortifications de l'acropole: sondage dans le secteur de la tour nord'. *Antike Kunst* 50, 129-134.
- Fachard, S. (2012) 'La Défense du Territoire: Étude de la 'Chôra' Érétrienne et de ses Fortifications'. Vol. 21 of *Eretria*. Athens: Ecole Suisse d'Archéologie en Grèce.
- Fachard, S. and K. Boukaras (2011) 'Campagne de sondages à Kotylaion (La Cuppa-Vrysi)'. *Antike Kunst* 54, 129-134.
- Friedemann, P. (1995) 'Nouvelles données sur la préhistoire d'Érétrie: L'apport des investigations 1994 sur l'acropole'. *Antike Kunst* 38, 108-118.
- Ghilardi, M., S. Fachard, K. Pavlopoulos, D. Psomiadis, C. Collana, A. Bicket, Y. Crest, A. Bonneau, D. Delange-Sabatier, A. R. Knodell and T. Theurillat (2013) 'Reconstructing Mid- to Recent Holocene Paleoenvironments in the Vicinity of the Ancient Amarynthos (Euboea Island, Greece)'. *Geodinamica Acta*, 1-13.
- Hankey, V. (1952) 'Late Helladic Tombs at Chalkis'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 47, 49-95.
- Hope Simpson, R. and O. T. P. K. Dickinson. (1979) Vol. 1 of *A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age, The Mainland and Islands*. Gothenburg: Aströms.
- Howell, R. J. (1973). 'The Origins of the Middle Helladic Culture'. In *Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean. Archaeological and Linguistic Problems in Greek Prehistory*, 73-106. London: Duckworth.
- Huber, S. (2007) 'Un mystère résolu: Athéna sur l'acropole d'Érétrie'. *Antike Kunst* 50, 120-129.
- Huber, S. (2008) 'Fouilles dans le sanctuaire d'Athéna sur l'acropole d'Érétrie'. *Antike Kunst* 51, 148-153.
- Huber, S. (2015) 'L'Athénaion sur le plateau sommital de l'acropole'. *Antike Kunst* 58, 132-134.
- Jacobsen, T. W. (1964) 'Prehistoric Euboea'. PhD thesis. University of Pennsylvania, USA.
- Kalamara, P. (2015) 'Αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα του νομού Ευβοίας 2009-2013'. In Vol. Γ of *Αρχαιολογικές Συμβολές, Βοιωτία & Ευβοία*, 151-164, edited by S. Oikonomou. Athens: Museum of Cycladic Art.
- Knoepfler, D. (1988) 'Sur les traces de l'Artémision d'Amarynthos près d'Érétrie'. *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Paris)* 132(2), 382-421.
- Knoepfler, D., A. Karapaschalidou, T. Krapf, T. Theurillat and D. Ackermann (2016) 'Amarynthos 2015'. *Antike Kunst* 59.
- Krapf, T. (2011) 'Amarynthos in der Bronzezeit. Der Wissensstand nach den Schweizer Grabungen 2006 und 2007'. *Antike Kunst* 54, 127-133.
- Krapf, T. (2015) 'Ερέτρια και Αμάρυνθος: δύο γειτονικοί αλλά διαφορετικοί οικισμοί της Μέσης Εποχής του Χαλκού στην Εύβοια'. In Vol. 4 of *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας*, 681-696. Volos: Ministry of Culture; University of Thessaly.
- Krapf, T. (In press) 'Regionality in the Middle Helladic Period: Replacing Attica in its Wider Context'. In *Proceedings of the conference 'Athens and Attica in prehistory'*.
- Maran, J. (1992) 'Die Mittlere Bronzezeit'. Vol. III of *Die deutschen Ausgrabungen auf der Pevkakia-Magula in Thessalien*. Bonn: Dr Rudolf Habelt.
- Mountjoy, P. (1999) *Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery*. Rahden: Marie Leidorf.
- Müller, S. (1985) 'Des néolithiques aux Mycéniens'. *Les dossiers histoire et archéologie* 94(May), 12-16.

- Müller, S. (1996) 'Fouille de l'acropole d'Érétrie en 1995'. *Antike Kunst* 39, 107-111.
- Müller Celka, S. (2010) 'L'occupation d'Érétrie (Eubée) à l'Helladique Moyen'. In *Mesohelladika, The Greek Mainland in the Middle Bronze Age, Actes du colloque international organisé par l'École française d'Athènes, en collaboration avec l'American School of Classical Studies at Athens et le Netherlands Institute in Athens, Athènes, 8-12 mars 2006*, 269-279. Paris: De Boccard.
- Müller Celka, S., T. Krapf and S. Verdan (2013) 'La céramique helladique du sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros à Érétrie (Eubée)'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 135, 21-61.
- Nikolopoulos, V. (2004) *Αιδηψός*. Athens: Ministry of Culture.
- Nikolopoulos, V. (2015). 'Η προϊστορική εποχή της Ευβοίας'. In Vol. Γ of *Αρχαιολογικές Συμβολές, Βοιωτία & Ευβοία*, edited by S. Oikonomou, 165-183. Athens: Museum of Cycladic Art.
- Papavasileiou, G. A. (1910) *Πέρι των εν Εύβοια αρχαίων ταφών*. Athens: Sakellariou.
- Parlama, L. (1979) 'Μικρή ανασκαφική έρευνα στον προϊστορικό λόφο της Αμάρυνθου (Εύβοια)'. *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 12: 3-14.
- Parlama, L., M. Theochari, S. Bonatsos, C. Romanou and I. Manos (2010) Παλαμάρι Σκύρου: η πόλη της Μέσης Χαλκοκρατίας. In *Mesohelladika, The Greek Mainland in the Middle Bronze Age, Actes du colloque international organisé par l'École française d'Athènes, en collaboration avec l'American School of Classical Studies at Athens et le Netherlands Institute in Athens, Athènes, 8-12 mars 2006*, 281-289. Paris: De Boccard.
- Pavúk, P. and B. Horejs (2012) Vol. III of *Sammlung Fritz Schachermeyer. Mittel- und spätbronzezeitliche Keramik Griechenlands*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Phialon, L. (2011) *L'émergence de la civilisation mycénienne en Grèce centrale*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Popham, M. R. and L. H. Sackett (1968) *Excavations at Lefkandi, Euboea 1964-1966*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Sackett, L. H., V. Hankey, R. J. Howell, T. W. Jacobsen and M. R. Popham (1966) 'Prehistoric Euboea: Contributions toward a Survey'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 61, 33-112.
- Sampson, A. (1975) 'Μεσοελλαδικός συνοικισμός παρά το Πελέκι Μαντουδίου'. *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 8, 28-36.
- Sampson, A. (1976) 'Το προϊστορικό σπήλαιον Σκοτεινή παρα τα Θαρούνια Ευβοίας'. *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 9, 44-56.
- Sampson, A. (1979) 'Κήρινθος, Πελέκι'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 29(1973-1974), 485-487.
- Sampson, A. (1980) 'Προϊστορικές θέσεις και οικισμοί στην Εύβοια'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 23, 91-249.
- Sampson, A. (1987) 'Ένας μεσοελλαδικός οικισμός στην Αιδηψό και παρατηρήσεις πάνω στη ΜΕ περίοδο της Εύβοιας'. *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 20, 172-183.
- Sampson, A. (1989a) 'Επισήμανση αρχαιολογικών θέσεων στην Εύβοια'. *Άνθρωπος. Όργανο της Ανθρωπολογικής Εταιρείας Ελλάδος* 3(1988-1989), 163-181.
- Sampson, A. (1989b) 'Κουμπί Αιδηψού'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 38(1983), 141.
- Sampson, A. (1992) 'Λουτρά Αιδηψού, θέση Κουμπί'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 42(1987), 200-202.
- Sampson, A. (1993) *Καλογεροβρύση, Ένας οικισμός της Πρώιμης και Μέσης Χαλκοκρατίας στα Φύλλα της Εύβοιας*. Athens: Department of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology.
- Sampson, A. (2007) *Προϊστορική αρχαιολογία της Μεσόγειου*. Athens: Kardamitsa.
- Sapouna-Sakellarakis, E. (1988) 'Ο προϊστορικός Τύμβος «του Σαλαγανέα» (Λιθοσώρος) στις άκτες της Βοιωτίας'. *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 21, 77-90.
- Sapouna-Sakellarakis, E. (1989) 'Έρευνα στην προϊστορική Αμάρυνθο και στην Μαγούλα Ερέτριας'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 28(1988-1989), 91-104.
- Sapouna-Sakellarakis, E. (1992) 'Μαγούλα, Αμάρυνθος, Γλύφα'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 42(1987), 210-213.
- Sapouna-Sakellarakis, E. (1993) 'Τύμβος Σαλαγανέα' and 'Γλύφα'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 43(1988), 103.
- Sapouna-Sakellarakis, E. (1995) 'A Middle Helladic Tomb Complex at Xeropolis (Lefkandi)'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 90, 41-54.
- Sapouna-Sakellarakis, E. (1998) 'Geometric Kyme, The Excavation at Viglatouri, Kyme, on Euboea'. In *Euboica, L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Napoli 13-16 novembre 1996*, 59-104. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard.

- Schachermeyer, F. (1962) 'Forschungsbericht über die Ausgrabungen und Neufunde zur ägäischen Frühzeit 1957-1960'. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 105-382.
- Spencer, L. (2010) 'The Regional Specialisation of Ceramic Production in the EH III through MH II Period'. In *Mesohelladika, The Greek Mainland in the Middle Bronze Age, Actes du colloque international organisé par l'École française d'Athènes, en collaboration avec l'American School of Classical Studies at Athens et le Netherlands Institute in Athens, Athènes, 8-12 mars 2006*, 669-681. Paris: De Boccard.
- Spyropoulos, T. G. and J. Chadwick (1975) *Minos supplement 4 [The Thebes Tablets II]*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca.
- Tankosić, Ž. and I. Mathioudaki (2009) 'Agios Nikolaos Mylon: Some Speculations on the Bronze Age of Southern Euboea'. In *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερέας Ελλάδας 2, 2006, Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης, Βόλος 16.3 – 19.3.2006*, 941-949. Volos: Ministry of Culture; University of Thessaly.
- Tankosić, Ž. and I. Mathioudaki (2011) 'The Finds from the Prehistoric Site of Ayios Nikolaos Mylon, Southern Euboea, Greece'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 106, 99-140.
- Theocharis, D. P. (1959) 'Εκ της προϊστορίας της Εύβοιας και της Σκύρου'. *Αρχαίον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 6, 279-328.
- Theurillat, T. and S. Fachard (2007) 'Campagne de fouilles à Amarynthos'. *Antike Kunst* 50, 135-139.

Figures

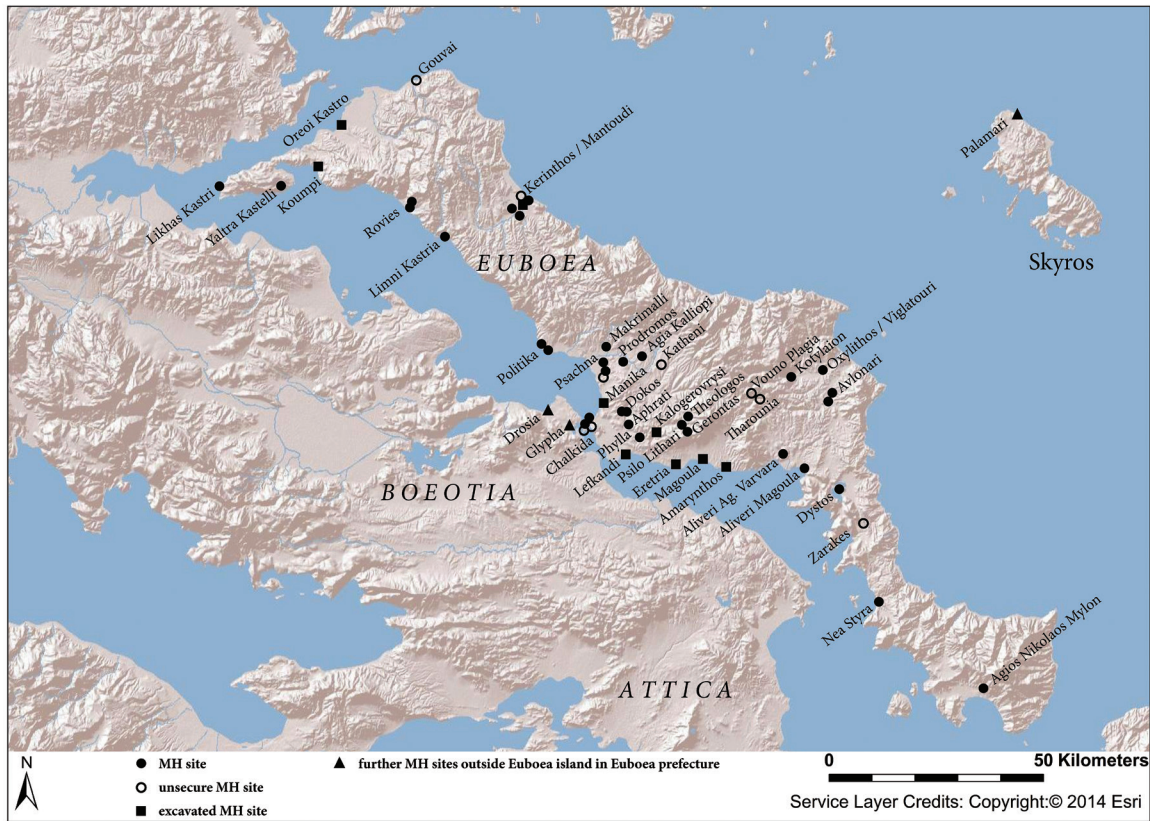


Figure 1. Map of the MH sites of Euboea.



Figure 2.
Lefkandi Xeropolis.

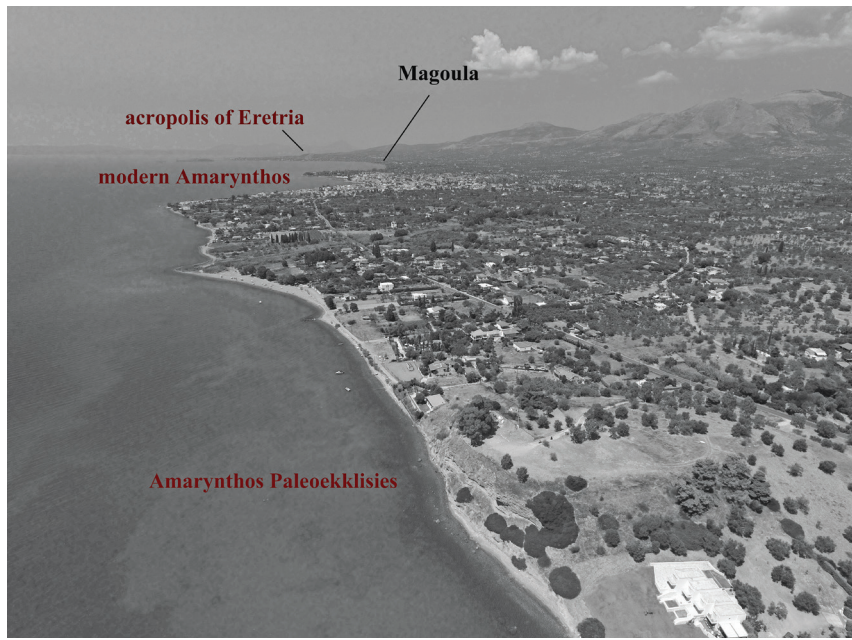


Figure 3.
Aerial view from
Amarynthos Paleoekklisies
westwards, towards Eretria
(photo ESAG, by V. Festau
and A. Görtz, assisted by
T. Krapf).



Figure 4.
Salganea at Drosia.



Figure 5.
Gerontas hill, seen from the south.

Gaps in the record: The missing LH I-II and IIIB phases on Euboea

Margaretha KRAMER-HAJOS

Περίληψη

Αυτό το άρθρο εξετάζει δύο περιόδους της Ύστερης Εποχής του Χαλκού, για τις οποίες τα στοιχεία από την Εύβοια είναι περιορισμένα: τις πρώιμες φάσεις της Μυκηναϊκής περιόδου (Ύστερη Ελλαδική [ΥΕ] I-II) και την ΥΕ IIIB περίοδο, σύγχρονη με την άνθιση των μυκηναϊκών ανακτόρων στις Μυκήνες, την Πύλο και, πιο κοντά στην Εύβοια, την Θήβα.¹

Χρησιμοποιώ το θεωρητικό πλαίσιο της αρνητικής αρχαιολογίας (*negative archaeology*) καθώς και πτυχές της θεωρίας των δικτύων για να αξιολογήσω αυτά τα κενά και να προτείνω μία εξήγηση σχετικά με την έλλειψη υλικού από αυτές τις περιόδους. Υποστηρίζω ότι το κενό κατά την ΥΕ I-II περίοδο δεν αντανakλά την έλλειψη θέσεων κατοίκησης κατά τον 16^ο-15^ο αιώνα π.Χ., αλλά απλώς την έλλειψη αναγνωρίσιμου Πρώιμου Μυκηναϊκού υλικού. Αυτή η έλλειψη μπορεί να εξηγηθεί εάν υποθέσουμε ότι τα δίκτυα ήταν περιοριστικά. Το κενό κατά την ΥΕ IIIB περίοδο, από την άλλη μεριά, φαίνεται να αντανakλά προσωρινή μείωση ή έλλειψη θέσεων κατοίκησης. Υποστηρίζω ότι το κενό αυτό είναι απόρροια της περιθωριοποίησης της Εύβοιας από τα Μυκηναϊκά ανάκτορα της Θήβας και του Ορχομενού κατά την ΥΕ IIIB περίοδο, η οποία προέκυψε από την προσπάθεια των ανακτόρων να μονοπωλήσουν τις εμπορικές οδούς. Αυτό συμπεριελάμβανε την επανευθυγράμμιση των υπαρχόντων δικτύων που έπληξαν τις παράκτιες θέσεις στην Εύβοια. Το γεγονός ότι οι ελίτ στην Εύβοια αποκατέστησαν το παράκτιο δίκτυο μετά την κατάρρευση των ανακτόρων υποδεικνύεται από ένα εικονογραφικό 'ύφος, το οποίο είναι κοινό και στις δύο πλευρές του κόλπου. Η έμφαση στην απεικόνιση πλοίων υποδεικνύει περαιτέρω ότι τα πλοία ήταν ταυτόχρονα μία ενοποιητική δύναμη για τις ελίτ της Εύβοιας μετά την κατάρρευση των ανακτόρων και μέσο ανάκαμψης.

Introduction

Site-distribution maps of Euboea exhibit a pattern that is shared with other regions on the Greek mainland. For the Middle Helladic (MH) period, no fewer than 37 sites (and one possible site), concentrated in but certainly not limited to the central part of Euboea, suggest dense, widespread settlement. For the Late Helladic (LH) I-IIA period (16th-15th century BC), the numbers drop to six certain and

1. I thank Žarko Tankosić for inviting me to speak at the conference, and the organizing committee for their hospitality and a great conference. Ideas expressed in this paper have benefited from correspondence and conversations with Alex Knodell. I am grateful to Jerry Rutter for reading and commenting upon a draft of this paper and to the anonymous reviewer who pointed out some gaps in my argument. Any errors of fact or interpretation are my responsibility. My research was funded by the Edward A. Schrader Archaeological Endowment Fund of the Program in Classical Archaeology at Indiana University. At the conference I limited my talk to the LH IIIB period. I welcome the opportunity to expand to the LH I-II 'gap' in my printed contribution.

three possible sites, all of which continue from the MH (Fig. 1). Only LH III once again exhibits a healthy settlement distribution, with 28 certain and three possible sites.² Thus, the density of MH sites along the Euboean Gulf is between three and six times higher than that of LH I-IIA sites, and only in LH III do we find a number of sites comparable to that in the Middle Bronze Age (MBA). Even accounting for the shorter duration (about two centuries, rather than four) of LH I-II compared to MH, there are far fewer sites in LH I-II than one might expect. These maps suggest that Euboea was virtually deserted in the Early Mycenaean period.

Another oddity occurs in the 13th century BC. As early as 1966, Sackett and colleagues noted ‘a rather unexpected scarcity of normal IIIB among the sherds collected’;³ this scarcity was in fact so pronounced that they suggested that perhaps some bowls with monochrome interior ought to be dated to LH IIIB, rather than LH IIIC, necessitating the suggestion that this typical IIIC feature started early in Euboea.⁴ Now, almost half a century later, the picture of an LH IIIB hiatus, or at least decline, endures.⁵

I argue in this contribution that, although the reasons for these two absences are very different, both might be explained using aspects of network theory.

The LH I-II gap

We are of course all familiar with the cautious dictum that the ‘absence of evidence does not constitute evidence of absence’.⁶ This ‘denial’ of the value of absence of evidence allowed Sackett and his colleagues to assume continuity of habitation between the MH and LH III periods at most sites, even if there were no sherds to prove this.⁷ I think their assumption is correct, but at the same time, we cannot so easily dismiss the absence of LH I-II sherds.

It is unlikely that a real lack of settlements underlies the scarcity of finds. If that were the case, we should either assume a general regional decline, or a regional change to more nucleated settlement patterns. Although the latter is conceivable to some extent, the sheer scale of the process, in which about three out of four settlements would have transferred their entire population to a single existing settlement, makes this scenario highly unlikely, especially since many of these same sites once again exhibit evidence for habitation in LH IIIA.⁸ A general decline is unlikely as well: if instead of focusing on the number of sites we focus on the nature of finds, we find no evidence for LH I-II decline or contraction. In contrast, whereas there are few if any indications of an elite class among the abundant MH sites, this changes in the LH I-II period. This results in an odd discrepancy between number of sites and evidence for elite culture in the MH and LH I-II period (Fig. 2).

Evidence for emerging elites at the dawn of the Mycenaean era is found at Lefkandi and Chalkis. Remains of a built chamber tomb at Lefkandi suggest precocious development of this region in the

2. Data from Phialon 2011, maps 2, 5 and 7. Including LH IIB, there are nine certain and four possible sites: Phialon 2011, map 4.

3. Sackett et al. 1966, 104.

4. Sackett et al. 1966, 105.

5. See e.g. Evely 2006, 111.

6. Especially for Euboea, with its poor publication record for many sites, this is a valid concern. Standard works for students of Mycenaean Euboea are still the 1966 survey report by Sackett et al., Hankey’s 1952 publication of the material from tombs at Chalkis, and preliminary reports and turn-of-the-century excavation monographs such as Papavasileios 1910. Only Lefkandi has been excavated and published fully according to modern standards (see Evely 2006 for the Mycenaean periods). In addition, Mountjoy’s magisterial *Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery* from 1999 forms a welcome synthesis in 34 pages, a whopping 15 of which deal with LH IIIC-Sub-Mycenaean material.

7. Sackett et al. 1966, 99-102.

8. Using the settlement numbers mentioned in the Introduction: at least 37 MH and at most 9 LH I-IIA settlements.

Early Mycenaean period.⁹ Built chamber tombs are characteristic of early Mycenaean civilization in southern Greece, where they often predate tholos tombs and rock-cut chamber tombs.¹⁰ In central Greece, the earliest examples, dating to the MH-LH I transition, are located at Lefkandi and Dramesi, both located on the south Euboean Gulf coast, opposite each other, close to the narrowest point of the strait, suggesting that the new fashion of burial in built chamber tombs spread via the maritime route of the Euboean Gulf. The tomb at Lefkandi is similar to the Mycenaean Tomb IV at Vrana in Attica, and Tomb Rho in Grave Circle B at Mycenae.¹¹

Another indication of precocious development on Euboea is the cemetery at Chalkis-Trypa. The earliest rock-cut chamber tombs at Chalkis-Trypa date to the end of LH I or LH IIA and are thus contemporary with or only slightly later than the earliest known chamber tomb at Thebes.¹² Chamber tombs are typical Mycenaean tomb forms, and the tombs at Chalkis continue into LH III. They are rich: Hankey catalogues beads and other ornaments of gold, amber, agate, amethyst, lead and rock-crystal, as well as bronze tools and weapons.¹³ Although most of the richer finds may belong to LH III (many tombs were looted in antiquity, and they were published almost half a century after excavation, making it impossible in most cases to assign grave goods to specific burials), even the earliest burials contain for example a bronze arrowhead (Tomb I) or an ovoid rhyton (Tomb V).¹⁴ The latter has cultic connotations; as for the former, the deposition of a bronze object—no matter how small—suggests ample access to this material (or one would expect it to be recycled). Therefore, both are suggestive of an early elite presence. In this respect, the tombs are similar to contemporary tombs in Thebes or in the Argolid, which also contain weapons, rhyta and other elite vessels, though on a much grander scale, and it seems reasonable to assume that Chalkis was one of several strong and flourishing centres in Early Mycenaean central Euboea.

Thus, there is evidence for emerging elites, partaking in typical Mycenaean burial forms and in conspicuous consumption, like their peers in the Argolid and Boeotia. This elite competition and investment in prominent tombs seems unlikely at a time of severe decline. Instead of a society in crisis, it seems to be a flourishing society in which leaders emerge within sites, and some sites gain prominence and thus archaeological visibility. Thus, explanations taking the lack of LH I-II material at face value are unsatisfactory.

More convincing explanations for the scarcity of LH I-II material are rooted in survey mechanics and the limitations of the method. Almost all sites with an apparent habitation gap in LH I-II are sites known only from survey, suggesting that the method of investigation is at least partially to blame.¹⁵ Rutter has pointed out that certain periods—LH I and II among them—tend to be consistently underrepresented in survey material, whether because these sherds do not survive as well as sherds from other periods, or are not so easily recognizable, or because these periods are very short and therefore produced little material to begin with.¹⁶ Bintliff and his colleagues went as far as to suggest, based on their survey data from Boeotia, that entire periods remain ‘hidden’ from us and coined the ‘hidden landscape’ phrase.¹⁷ Their explanation for this was twofold: first, they demonstrated that certain peri-

9. Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1995. She dates the construction of the tomb to the MH period based on the Grey, Yellow and Red Minyan pottery. However, the rounded profiles of some of the Grey Minyan sherds seem more similar to LH I than to MH profiles (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1995, 51, fig. 6, nos. 6-10).

10. Papadimitriou 2001, 166.

11. Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1995, 46-47.

12. *Ay. Anna T. 2*, dated to LH I, very similar in dimensions to Mycenae T. 518: Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 60 and 67; Dickinson 1977, 63-64.

13. Hankey 1952.

14. Hankey 1952, 94 (arrowhead); 61-62, no. 401 (rhyton).

15. A case in point is Aidespos-Koumbi. The survey by Sackett and his colleagues did not find any LH I-II material for this site, whereas recent excavations have recovered LH I and II strata (Whitley 2002-2003, 48).

16. Rutter 1983.

17. Bintliff and Snodgrass 1999.

ods tend to produce sherds that disintegrate easily or, even if they do not disintegrate, are barely recognizable as sherds; secondly, they pointed out that settlement patterns varied in different periods so that periods in which settlement was nucleated tend to be more easily recognizable, producing a clear 'on' or 'off' pattern, whereas periods in which settlement was dispersed are less recognizable in the survey record, producing varying shades of grey on the survey map.

The combination of Rutter's and Bintliff's factors goes a long way toward explaining the ubiquity of MH sites on the maps: MH Grey Minyan ware is hard fired and virtually indestructible; it is also immediately recognizable, and represents the preferred fine ware for about four centuries. In the Early Mycenaean period, on the other hand, most vessels continued to be made in the MH traditions: in excavated assemblages from central Greece, quantities of Grey Minyan, matt-painted and polychrome matt-painted, as well as burnished, pale, unpainted pottery greatly outnumber lustrous painted pottery.¹⁸ In surveys, it is the lustrous pottery that is most easily recognizable as certainly LH I-IIA (as opposed to possibly MH), even in the case of small, featureless sherds; small body sherds, such as one is apt to encounter in surface surveys, of vessels that are rooted in MH traditions, can easily be misattributed to the MH period. In addition, the LH I-II periods together last about half as long as the MH period.

The problem of difficult-to-attribute sherds has been taken up more recently by Schon. Analysing the numbers of ceramics collected in the Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey, Schon concludes that if only those sherds that are securely datable are taken into account, LH I-IIA shows a pronounced 'dip' in numbers, consistent with the observed scarcity of this period elsewhere. However, if sherds that *may* date to this period are included, there is, in contrast, a great increase from MH figures, almost equal to the LH III peak:¹⁹ although *certain* evidence for LH I-IIA suggests scarce settlement, the *possible* evidence suggests instead dense settlement. When Schon corrects for, respectively, duration of each period and relative proportions of securely dated finds, the LH I-IIA numbers are not as impressive as when he uses the uncorrected method, but still surpass those for the MH.²⁰

A real scarcity of sherds thus underlies the virtual absence of sites from the Early Mycenaean period; however, this is not a case of a scarcity of sherds belonging to the time period, but rather a scarcity of sherds of a certain ware that are immediately recognizable as belonging to that time period. If the picture is extended to include a proportion of all those unpainted sherds that *might* be LH I-IIA, the number of LH I-IIA sites is more in accordance with our expectations. This suggests that in the LH I-II period there is a divergence of sites, during which some sites gain prominence and are represented by characteristic Early Mycenaean assemblages, whereas the vast majority of sites retain an essentially MH character and are therefore 'missed' in surface surveys. An example from Euboea is Aidepsos-Koumbi, where an LH I phase was recognized by 'at least one pot that resembles matt painted ware'.²¹ Had but a fragment of this vessel been found in a surface survey, it might easily have been attributed to the MH phase. This site, therefore, on the basis of present evidence (which is, admittedly, preliminary), was inhabited in LH I without producing or importing that marker of Early Mycenaean culture, lustrous ware. In addition, Hankey notes that some pots from the tombs at Chalkis-Trypa 'look and feel like Minyan', and that the fabric of many LH I-II vessels is 'in the Minyan technique': even at sites where lustrous ware is attested, much of the pottery retains its MH character.²² Another example is Attica, where, with the exception of coastal Thorikos, most sites retained a strong MH character well into the LH period.²³ Contrary to what our maps suggest, we should thus not imagine an empty countryside

18. Mountjoy 1993, 33.

19. Schon 2011, 235-236, figs. 2 and 3.

20. Schon 2011, 238, figs. 6 and 7.

21. Whitley 2002-2003, 48.

22. Hankey 1952, 54; see also Mountjoy 1993, 33.

23. The same was argued by Pavúk 2012.

in the Early Mycenaean period, but a densely populated one, where most sites, however, continued to look as they had for centuries.

Why and how did this happen? The competition between emerging Early Mycenaean elites grew organically out of the MH societies when the mainlanders increased contact with Crete. This contact privileged coastal sites: Thorikos, Lefkandi, Dramesi, Chalkis and Mitrou are all coastal sites near the Euboean Gulf where Early Mycenaean elites emerged;²⁴ a maritime network connected these sites to Crete and the southern mainland.

The Cretan ties of Chalkis in LH I-II are visible in the pottery from these tombs. Cretan shapes are represented by a bridge-spouted jug and by an LH IIA squat jug; the latter is equally rare in Boeotia and Euboea, but common in the Peloponnese.²⁵ An LH IIA stirrup jar in palatial style is of a fabric which suggests it may have been imported from Laconia or Kythera; an LH IIA deep cup is decorated with scale pattern and a monochrome interior, in Minoan fashion, suggesting Minoan influence.²⁶ An alabastron seems to be an imitation of an alabaster vase.²⁷ This suggests, as does the earlier built tomb at Lefkandi, that LH I-IIA Chalkis was part of a network with ties to the south, and given the lack of strong parallels with contemporary pottery from Thebes, it seems reasonable to assume that the network's links used the maritime route of the Euboean Gulf.

In the same way as the aforementioned Cretan influences, the lustrous ware—essentially a Minoan-Mycenaean hybrid—too, is limited to a number of important centres. On Euboea, the earliest lustrous ware is dated to LH I-II at Lefkandi, the site of the early built tomb.²⁸ LH IIA lustrous ware is known from Amarynthos, Chalkis, Manika and Aidepsos-Koumbi, where sherds decorated with figure-of-eight shields were recovered.²⁹

I suggest that a possible reason for the sparse distribution of lustrous ware is that it, and the technological know-how of how to create it (since, from the beginning, much of it was locally made), travelled only between peer-polities of emerging elites.³⁰ The peer-polity interaction between the emerging elites created a small world, in which geographically remote sites were in contact with each other directly or via very few intermediaries that functioned as hubs in the network (Fig. 3b). These long-distance contacts ('weak ties' in network jargon) allowed the introduction of new forms of material culture to spread quickly over large distances.³¹ These elite indicators did not spread to neighbouring sites because the elite network was closed and actively exclusionary. The emerging elites had a vested interest in circulating prestige goods, including Minoanizing pottery, only among themselves during this early stage of status creation.³²

Since most sites were completely unaffected by the (elite) exchanges taking place between the

24. Thorikos: Laffineur 2010. Dramesi: Blegen 1949. Mitrou: Van de Moortel and Zahou 2005. Of course not all Early Mycenaean sites were coastal; however, the number of Early Mycenaean sites on the Euboean Gulf coast of Euboea is disproportionate compared to the MH (see Fig. 1).

25. For the bridge-spouted jug, see Hankey 1952, 55, no. 539; for the squat jug, see Hankey 1952, no. 539, pl. 24.

26. For the stirrup jar, see Mountjoy 1999, 695 and 698. For the deep cup, see Hankey 1952, no. 544, pl. 20.

27. Hankey 1952, 54, no. 402A.

28. Evely 2006, 91; Sackett et al. 1966, 100, fig. 25, nos. 2, 5, 6 and 7.

29. Amarynthos: Sackett et al. 1966, 100, fig. 25, no. 4. Chalkis: Hankey 1952. Manika: Sackett et al. 1966, pl. 13d (a shallow cup with hatched loop). Aidepsos-Koumbi: Whitley 2002-2003, 48.

30. I think it likely that Minoanizing lustrous pottery had strong elite connotations in the Early Mycenaean period since the shapes are mostly related to drinking (jugs; Vapheio Cups: Kramer-Hajos and O'Neill 2008, 198; Mountjoy 1993, 33-34), which is associated with elites (see e.g. Treherne 1995). Therefore I assume here that Early Mycenaean sites with lustrous ware were locations of emerging elites.

31. For the concept of 'weak ties', see Granovetter 1973. The 'strength of weak ties' is a concept that emphasizes the impact of long-distance ties that are not shared with neighbouring nodes: occasional long-distance contacts facilitate the introduction of new ideas whereas frequent interaction with neighbours rarely leads to something new.

32. Voutsaki 1995; 1997. This is also visible, for example, in the distribution of Early Mycenaean Vapheio cups, as I have argued elsewhere (Kramer-Hajos, Forthcoming). The irregular dispersion of these drinking cups suggests they (or perhaps rather, the knowledge of their form) travelled from hub to hub, bypassing most nodes (sites) in the network.

hubs, they are, as far as the material record is concerned, barely distinguishable from MH sites. These sites were far from isolated: in fact, the similarity of Grey Minyan shapes, for example, suggests that they were connected with each other in a dense mesh, influenced by their nearest neighbours, but did not form part of the elite network. These non-elite networks must have been already in place in the MH and can be visualized as Baran's 'distributed' type (Fig. 3a).³³ They are characterized by many strong ties, providing a relatively stable, consolidated common culture with similar types of pottery, burial customs and architecture in large regions and over a substantial period of time; changes travel slowly in these distributed networks. As there are no large differences between settlements in terms of status, so, too, is there an absence of status differentiation within the settlement.³⁴

This then provides not only an explanation for the virtual discrepancy between the density of MH and LH IIIA sites, on the one hand, and the scarcity of LH I-II sites on the other, but it also explains why traditional MH wares continued to be so common throughout the Early Mycenaean period. Only at a small minority of settlements would we notice the winds of change, with emerging elites engaging in displays of status by using new forms of pottery, 'exotic' goods such as seal stones, and warrior implements, representative of their far-flung contacts with the southern mainland, the Cyclades and Crete. These are the cultural forms that we recognize as Mycenaean: initially, Mycenaean culture was limited to elites,³⁵ who managed to assimilate the new culture by engaging in exchange with their peers. In other words, it was the exploitation of networks that allowed for the creation of Mycenaean culture; as Parkinson and Galaty suggested,³⁶ an increase in trade (in other words, intensification in long-distance relations, or an increase in weak ties) allowed for the emergence of Mycenaean society, rather than the other way around. The active manipulation of networks was absolutely essential in the elite Mycenaean identity-forming process, as it would be much later, in LH IIIB, for the palatial elites at Thebes.

During LH IIIA, Mycenaean cultural markers—especially pottery, but also tombs—were to be found throughout the island. This spread suggests that the early elite centres now functioned as hubs in the local networks as well. The smaller sites realigned their ties to these hubs (via preferential attachment) and characteristic traits of the Mycenaean culture now dispersed quickly throughout the hinterland (Fig. 3c). Thus, in LH IIIA a 'Mycenaean identity' encompassed not just a few elites but most or all inhabitants of most or all sites.

Euboea on the margin: The LH IIIB gap

The second gap that demands our attention occurs in LH IIIB. In this case an explanation based on survey mechanics does not hold water: LH IIIB ceramics are durable, easy to recognize and typically abundantly present since they did not suffer competition from other contemporary wares. An absence of LH IIIB material thus seems to indicate a real decline.

How meaningful is the LH IIIB decline? In order to make the case that this absence of evidence is, indeed, important and needs explanation, I turn to the theoretical framework of 'negative archaeology'. 'Negative archaeology' maintains that the absence of material is as important as the presence, if the absence is contained spatially and temporarily. This model has been successfully applied to the Late Bronze Age (LBA) Cyclades,³⁷ with which Euboea has some commonalities.

33. Baran 1964.

34. cf. Voutsaki 2010, 88-91. Networks tend to repeat themselves, in a fractal-like manner, on different scales (cf. Malkin 2011, 45).

35. See also Feuer 2011, 515.

36. Parkinson and Galaty 2007, 123.

37. Earle 2012.

Chronologically, Euboea flourished during both the Prepalatial and the Postpalatial periods: the early built chamber tomb at Lefkandi and rich LH I-III A tombs at Chalkis suggest that this region was potentially of great importance, and the flourishing of Lefkandi and Amarynthos in LH IIIC suggest that the LH IIIB period is an anomaly in the island's prehistory. Both the Prepalatial and the Postpalatial finds suggest, moreover, that the Euboean coasts functioned in a network of coastal sites following the orientation of the Euboean Gulf and owed their prominence to their location on this major maritime route.

Spatially, too, Euboea is in a special position. It lacks the sort of finds that typify high Mycenaean culture on the mainland: figural frescoes, monumental architecture, Linear B tablets, exotic imports or sealings. Some of these can again be explained by the simple fact that without palatial administration, there is no need for these. Yet, Euboean elites, so up-to-date in the Early Mycenaean period, seem to have lost all contact with the elite cultural norms and values by the LH IIIA2-B period. Earle has observed that something similar (though more pronounced) happened in the Cyclades, and he ascribes it in part to a Mycenaean marginalization of the role of the Cycladic islanders.³⁸ I will argue along similar lines here.

Returning to the tombs at Chalkis-Trypa, we may start approximating the processes that led to a marginalization of Euboea. We have seen how in LH IIA pottery exhibited strong influences from the south, suggesting that Chalkis was part of a network with ties to the southern Aegean in the Early Mycenaean period. Given the lack of strong parallels with contemporary pottery from Thebes,³⁹ it seems reasonable to assume that the network's links used the maritime route of the Euboean Gulf. LH I-II pottery from Mitrou suggests it was part of the same network;⁴⁰ given the location of Chalkis on the Euripos it is likely that Chalkis was a node with ties both to the south-east and the north-west.

As early as LH IIB we find, however, more similarities with pottery from Boeotia: most notably a tall version of the straight-sided alabastron. The foliate bands in zones correspond to a similar LH IIB alabastron from Thebes.⁴¹ This connection with Boeotia becomes more clearly visible in LH IIIA2, when giant alabastera appear in Chalkis. They are at least 20 cm high, with a maximum diameter of about 28 cm, in contrast to the usual average height of 6-9 cm.⁴² They are found elsewhere in Boeotia, Achaia and Elis; they have not been found in Attica, the eastern Peloponnese or Thessaly (Fig. 4).⁴³ Their local production attests to the spread of a fashion in pottery making rather than to the movement of actual pots. Their distribution suggests a major east-west overland network, cutting through the maritime network of the Euboean Gulf. Coinciding with this increasing mainland influence is a diminishing quantity of material from Chalkis, suggesting that the reorientation of the network was not limited to a pottery network, but rather that the observed reorientation of the pottery network is a symptom of a broader, social-political reorientation.⁴⁴ This culminates in the LH IIIB decline of Chalkis and other coastal sites along the Euboean Gulf.

At the same time that Chalkis seems to decline, Thebes experienced a meteoric rise in prominence. What seems to be happening in network terms is that the increasingly important hub of Thebes co-opted existing links, growing exponentially. In the process, this led to a reorientation of pre-existing networks, from a roughly north-west to south-east coastal network to one with an east-west orientation which was essentially land based, like the palace itself. This new network cut through and largely replaced the old coastal network, as is visible in the Chalkidian pottery, which now exhibits strong par-

38. Earle 2012.

39. Sackett et al. 1966, 104.

40. Kramer-Hajos and O'Neill 2008, 198-202.

41. Mountjoy 1999, 653, no. 28.

42. Mountjoy 1990, 257.

43. Mountjoy 1990, 257.

44. Linear B tablets (referring to the economic-political realm) as well as the distribution of LH IIIB fortifications (part of the social-political landscape) likewise suggest an east-west overland network with Thebes at its centre (Kramer-Hajos 2016, 110-112).

allels with Thebes rather than with the Argolid or the Euboean Gulf sites. Simply put, one may imagine that Chalkis declined since it found itself increasingly on the margin of the Theban network, rather than a central node in the coastal network: its connectivity was decreased since it no longer functioned as a conduit between north and south but became the terminal station to the east for Thebes (Fig. 3d).

The 'hoards' of high-status exotic prestige goods found at the Theban workshops or in storage, versus the virtually complete absence of any such goods elsewhere in LH IIIB Boeotia, suggest that the Theban *wanax* attempted to monopolize imports for elite consumption in his polity.⁴⁵ A monopoly on exotic imports (in network terms: a monopoly on weak ties) obviously required control over the maritime traffic coming through the Euboean Gulf, and it seems highly likely that by LH IIIB Theban economic or even political control would have extended to Chalkis in order to make this possible.

It is likely that the absence of elite culture was keenly felt in an area where elites competed before the rise of Thebes brought an end to the competition. This is suggested by the revival of the LH IIIC period. Finds at Lefkandi, especially, but also at, for example, nearby Amarynthos, suggest the existence of healthy settlements partaking in a regional *koine* but also in international trade and exchange. An emphasis on ships, hunting, and warrior activities in the repertoire of pictorial kraters suggests that the LH IIIC elites promoted a self-image of a warrior aristocracy, a feature they shared with mainland sites along the north Euboean Gulf such as Kynos. These images also suggest that the Euboean elites restored the coastal interaction network after the collapse of the palaces. Ships, which are so prominent on some of these kraters, suggest moreover that ships were both a unifying force for Euboean elites after the collapse of the palaces and a means of recovery.

Conclusions

I have argued here that the general absence of LH I-II material is caused by the limited spread of recognizable Mycenaean material culture, which in turn reflects the closed, exclusionary character of the Early Mycenaean elite peer-polity networks. This has several ramifications: for one, rather than imagining a deserted landscape in LH I-II, we should imagine dense settlement. Moreover, this reconstruction suggests that Early Mycenaean culture is essentially an elite culture, which was not shared with the vast majority of people even within a settlement. This strengthens the idea of Mycenaean culture basically overlying an MH substratum as a rather thin veneer, at least in the Early Mycenaean period.

I have explained the LH IIIB anomaly as the result of a reorientation of maritime networks with a centre of gravity in the southern Aegean to land-based networks with Thebes at the centre. If Euboean sites such as Chalkis were on a pathway to become more than merely regional centres, that development was cut short by the reorientation of the networks in which Chalkis participated, effectively aborting a process of increasing stratification and complexity. The absence of a significant body of LH IIIB material is not coincidental: it is highly significant, as it was shared with other 'marginal' parts of the LBA Aegean and sheds light on the politics of Mycenaean palatial elites.

45. Burns 2010, 136; Cline 1994.

Bibliography

- Baran, P. (1964) *Memorandum RM-3420-PR, On Distributed Communications: I. Introduction to Distributed Communications Networks*. Santa Monica: The RAND Corporation.
- Bintliff, H. and A. Snodgrass (1999) 'The Hidden Landscape of Prehistoric Greece'. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 12(2), 139-168.
- Blegen, C. (1949) 'Hyria'. *Hesperia Supplement 8 [Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear]*, 39-42.
- Burns, B. (2010) *Mycenaean Greece, Mediterranean Commerce, and the Formation of Identity*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Cavanagh, W. and C. Mee (1998) 'A Private Place: Death in Prehistoric Greece'. Vol. 125 of *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*. Gothenburg: Paul Åström Förlag.
- Cline, E. (1994) *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Dickinson, O. (1977) 'The Origins of Mycenaean Civilisation'. Vol. 49 of *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*. Gothenburg: Paul Åström Förlag.
- Earle, J. (2012) 'A Cycladic Perspective on Mycenaean Long-Distance Exchanges'. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 25, 3-25.
- Evely, D. (2006) 'The Bronze Age: The Late Helladic IIIC Settlement at Xeropolis'. Vol. IV of *Lefkandi*. London: The British School at Athens.
- Feuer, B. (2011) 'Being Mycenaean: A View from the Periphery'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 115, 507-536.
- Granovetter, M. (1973) 'The Strength of Weak Ties'. *American Journal of Sociology* 78, 1360-1380.
- Hankey, V. (1952) 'Late Helladic Tombs at Khalkis'. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 47, 49-95.
- Kramer-Hajos, M. (Forthcoming) 'Social-Political Networks of the Late Bronze Age Euboean Gulf: The Ceramic Evidence'. In *Inland, Mainland, Coastland & Hinterland: Ceramic Perspectives on Connectivity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by J. Hilditch, A. Kotsonas, Beestman-Kruijshaar, M. Revello-Lami, S. Rückl and S. Ximeri. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Kramer-Hajos, M. (2016) *Mycenaean Greece and the Aegean World: Palace and Province in the Late Bronze Age*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kramer-Hajos, M. and K. O'Neill (2008) 'The Bronze Age Site of Mitrou in East Lokris: Finds from the 1988-1989 Surface Survey'. *Hesperia* 77, 163-250
- Laffineur, R. (2010) 'Thorikos'. In *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean (ca. 3000-1000 BC)*, edited by E. Cline, 712-721. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Malkin, I. (2011) *A small Greek world. Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mountjoy, P. (1990) 'Regional Mycenaean Pottery'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 85, 245-270.
- Mountjoy, P. (1993) *Mycenaean Pottery: An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology.
- Mountjoy, P. (1999) *Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery*. Rahden: M. Leidorf.
- Papadimitriou, N. (2001) *Built Chamber Tombs of Middle and Late Bronze Age Date in Mainland Greece and the Islands*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Papavasileios, G. (1910) *Περί των εν Ευβοία αρχαίων τάφων*. Athens: P. D. Sakellariou.
- Parkinson, W. and M. Galaty (2007) 'Secondary States in Perspective: An Integrated Approach to State Formation in the Prehistoric Aegean'. *American Anthropologist* 109, 113-129.
- Pavúk, P. (2012) 'Survival of Middle Helladic Traditions into the Early Late Bronze Age of Central Greece'. Presented at The 4th Archaeological Meeting of Thessaly and Central Greece, 2009-2011, Volos, 16 March 2012.
- Phialon, L. (2011) *L'émergence de la civilisation Mycénienne en Grèce centrale*. Leuven-Liège: Peeters.
- Rutter, J. (1983) 'Some Thoughts on the Analysis of Ceramic Data Generated by Site Surveys'. In *Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean*, edited by D. Keller and D. Rupp, 137-142. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Sackett, H., V. Howell, R. J. Jacobsen and M. R. Popham (1966) 'Prehistoric Euboea: Contributions Toward a Survey'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 61, 33-112.

- Sapouna-Sakellarakis, E. (1995) 'A Middle Helladic Tomb Complex at Xeropolis (Lefkandi)'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 90, 41-54.
- Schon, R. (2011) 'Vox clamantis in campo: Further Thoughts on Ceramics and Site Survey'. In *Our Cups Are Full: Pottery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age. Papers Presented to Jeremy B. Rutter on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, edited by W. Gauß, M. Lindblom, R. A. K. Smith and J. C. Wright, 231-241. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Treherne, P. (1995) 'The Warrior's Beauty: The Masculine Body and Self-Identity in Bronze-Age Europe'. *Journal of European Archaeology* 3, 105-144.
- Van de Moortel, A. and E. Zahou (2005) '2004 Excavations at Mitrou, East Lokris'. *Aegean Archaeology* 7, 39-48.
- Voutsaki, S. (1995) 'Social and Political Processes in the Mycenaean Argolid: The Evidence From the Mortuary Practices'. In *Politeia: Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 5th International Aegean Conference, University of Heidelberg, Archäologisches Institut, 10-13 April 1994*, edited by R. Laffineur and W-D. Niemeier, 55-66. Liège; Austin: Université de Liège; University of Texas at Austin.
- Voutsaki, S. (1997) 'The Creation of Value and Prestige in the Aegean Late Bronze Age'. *Journal of European Archaeology* 5, 34-52.
- Voutsaki, S. (2010) 'From the Kinship Economy to the Palatial Economy: The Argolid in the Second Millennium BC'. In *Political Economies of the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by D. Pullen, 86-111. Oxford; Oakville: Oxbow Books.
- Whitley, J. (2002-2003) 'Archaeology in Greece 2002-2003'. *Archaeological Reports* 49, 1-88.

Figures



Figure 1. Map of Euboea and central Greece. Circles indicate MH sites, squares LH I-IIA sites. Possible sites in outline. For central Greece, only major sites that are mentioned in the text are indicated.

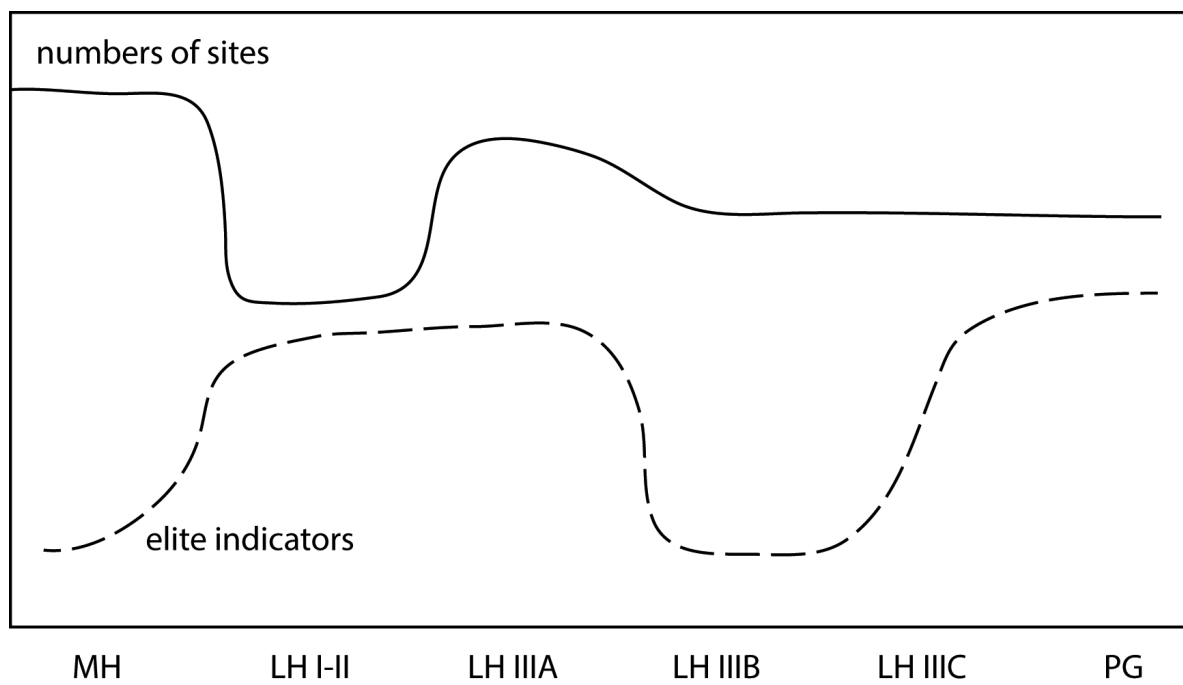


Figure 2. Schematic representation of patterns of site density and presence of elite indicators.

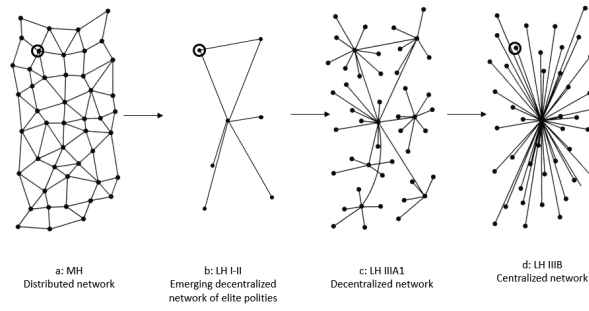


Figure 3. Schematic representations of socio-political network dynamics along the Euboean Gulf; Chalkis depicted as the circled node, Thebes as the centrally placed node. (Depictions of network types adapted from Baran 1964, 2, fig.1).

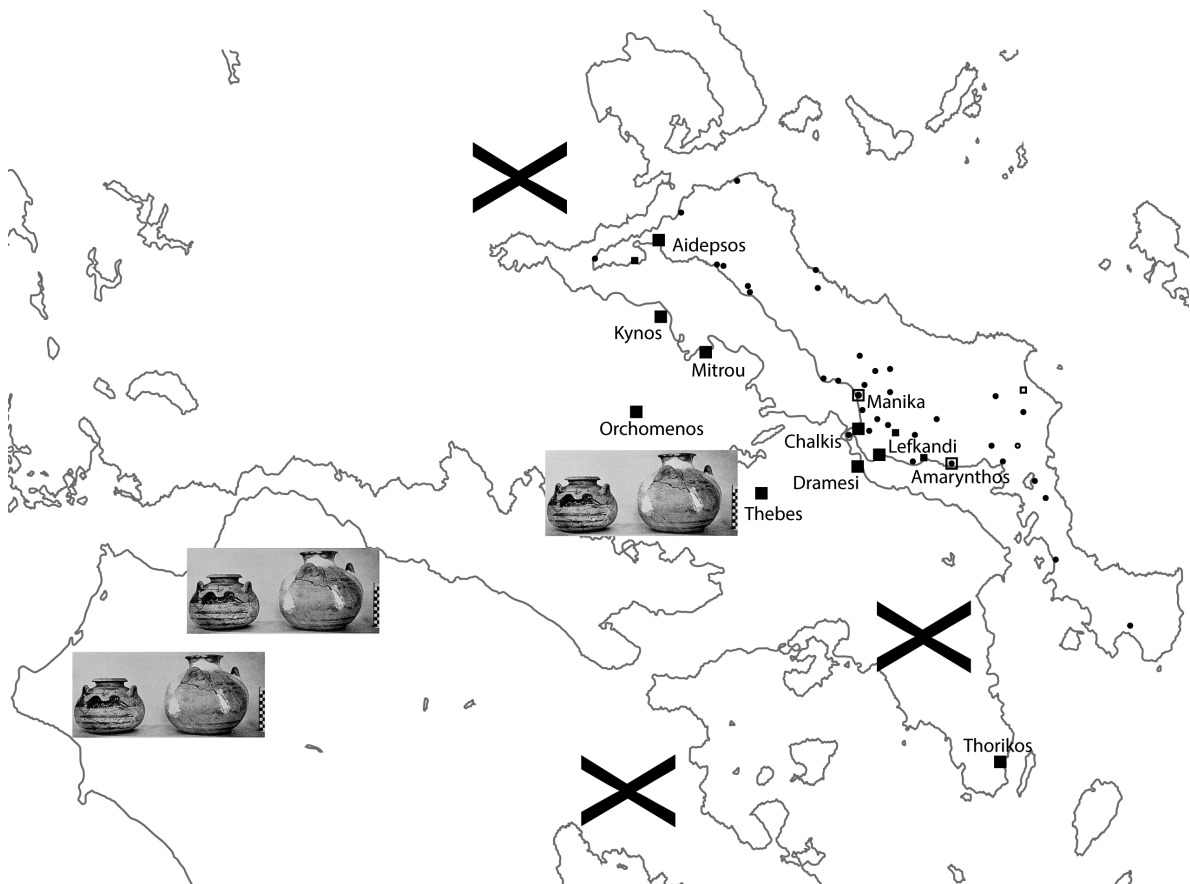


Figure 4. Distribution of large and giant alabastra in LH IIIA2. (Photo of large and giant alabastra from Hankey 1952, nos. 486 and 541, pl. 19).

Evboean connections with eastern Boeotia: Ceramics and synchronisms between Lefkandi and ancient Eleon

Trevor VAN DAMME

Περίληψη

Στο πλαίσιο ενός προγράμματος συνεργασίας μεταξύ του Καναδικού Αρχαιολογικού Ινστιτούτου και της Θ' Εφορείας Προϊστορικών & Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων πραγματοποιούνται ανασκαφικές εργασίες ακριβώς έξω από το σύγχρονο χωριό Αρμά που έχει ταυτιστεί με την αρχαϊκή / κλασική *κώμη* του Ελαιώνα και το κέντρο της Ύστερης Εποχής του Χαλκού που αναφέρεται ως e-re-o-ni.¹ Αν και η συνολική έκταση που έχει ανασκαφτεί ως σήμερα δεν είναι μεγάλη, έχουν ήδη προκύψει σημαντικά ευρήματα που αναδεικνύουν τον κομβικό ρόλο του Ελαιώνα στα εμπορικά δίκτυα κατά την Ύστερη Εποχή του Χαλκού. Σύμφωνα με προκαταρκτικές και συνεχιζόμενες μελέτες της κεραμικής στον Ελαιώνα σε αυτό το άρθρο παρουσιάζεται και συζητάται μια σαφώς καθορισμένη απόθεση, σύγχρονη με τη φάση Ιβ στο Λευκαντί. Αυτή η απόθεση επισημαίνει τις στενές τεχνολογικές σχέσεις ανάμεσα στον Ελαιώνα και το Λευκαντί και υποδηλώνει ότι οι δύο θέσεις αποτελούσαν τμήματα ενός ευρύτερου δικτύου θέσεων της ανατολικής Βοιωτίας και της δυτικής Εύβοιας που όχι μόνο επιβίωσαν από την καταστροφή της θηβαϊκής ηγεμονίας αλλά άνθισαν σε όλη τη διάρκεια της Υστεροελλαδικής ΙΙΙΓ περιόδου.

Introduction

Since 2007, the Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project (EBAP), a *synergasia* between the 9th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and the Canadian Institute in Greece, has investigated the acropolis identified with the ancient site of Eleon, located on the outskirts of the modern town of Arma.² The first phase of this project consisted of a regional survey, designed to analyse diachronic patterns of land use within the region.³ This research demonstrates that Eleon was an important set-

1. I would like to thank the directors of the Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project, Vassilis Aravantinos, Brendan Burke, Bryan Burns and Alexandra Charami for allowing me to study and present this material. Further thanks to Brendan Burke and Bartek Lis for reading drafts of this research at various stages and offering feedback, and to Tina Ross for preparing the figures. Any errors or omissions that remain are my own. This research was undertaken with the help of a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada doctoral fellowship.

2. Ulrichs (1840, 79-80) was the first to argue for the identification of the acropolis outside Arma (Dhritsa) with ancient Eleon, an identification that was supported by Frazer (1913, 65) based on geographical considerations. More recently, Fossey (1988, 94-95) has reconsidered the testimonia and their usefulness. While the identification with ancient Eleon remains circumstantial, the richness of the Late Helladic occupation combined with its appearance as a Boeotian toponym in the *Iliad* (2.500; 10.266) and the Linear B tablets from Thebes (Ft 140.5 and X 155.1) continues to suggest that this identification is correct. The site of ancient Eleon was known as late as Strabo (9.2.12; 9.2.14), but the lack of evidence for Hellenistic and Roman occupation suggests that it was largely abandoned by this time. It is likely significant that Pausanias never mentions the site, despite passing nearby.

3. The Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project Survey (2007-2010) was directed by Vassilis Aravantinos, Brendan Burke, Bryan Burns and Susan Lupack.

tlement in east Boeotia during the Late Bronze Age. While the earliest ceramic finds uncovered by the survey date to the Early Bronze Age, the first significant settlement likely took place in the Middle Bronze Age. Results obtained thus far suggest a period of abandonment from the Late Helladic (LH) IIIC Late until the Late Geometric period, followed by a reuse of the acropolis in the 8th century BC that lasted until sometime in the 4th century BC.⁴ Since 2011, the focus of EBAP has shifted to the excavation of the ancient acropolis.⁵ These excavations have uncovered the remains of a significant destruction level of the LH IIIC period. This paper considers the destruction deposit and suggests a preliminary date for it by comparing the numerous vessels found associated with the destruction with those found in the significant LH IIIC deposits at Lefkandi, as well as other sites when necessary.⁶ In particular, the focus is on the increasing regionalization observed in the ceramics of the LH IIIC Early period, which demonstrates the emergence of a strong stylistic *koine* between Eleon and Lefkandi.

The site

Although the excavated area of ancient Eleon remains relatively small thus far, comprising a total of 100 m² in the settlement proper and 200 m² in the area of the ancient gate at the close of the 2012 season, it has produced an abundant amount of stratified ceramic material dating from the Early Helladic to the LH IIIC periods. Excavation has focused on three sectors of the site grid: the north-west (NW), the south-west (SW) and the south-east (SE) or Gate sectors.⁷ Thus far, the burnt destruction deposit has only been identified in the NW sector. Within the NW sector, a series of rooms has been identified that seem to form part of one or more domestic structures. At least three distinct phases of construction are documented in the architecture of this area, most clearly demonstrated by the wall running east-west across the central part of trench NW B2c and into NW B2d (Fig. 1), which is clearly formed from three individually constructed, but abutting, parallel walls. Preliminary analysis of the ceramics has thus far focused on the large room in the eastern part of the NW sector, which yielded well-preserved destruction deposits of the LHIIIC period. Although the same destruction deposit has been observed in all the rooms located in the NW sector, the assignment of ceramics from these other rooms is made more difficult on account of anthropogenic and biological disturbances, chiefly medieval pitting activities and rodent burrows. The appearance of this destruction level across the sector does, however, tentatively suggest a *terminus ante quem* for the preserved architectural remains in the LH IIIC period.

The destruction deposit

The destruction level is easy to identify since all the vessels found within it exhibit moderate to severe levels of blackening. In several cases sherds forming a single vessel display differential levels of blackening, demonstrating that they broke either immediately prior to, or in the early stages of the fire. Other vessels preserve distinctive rings of ash near their bases, demonstrating that they were positioned *in situ* on the earth floor of the room at the time of the destruction. In total, 16 complete or almost

4. Preliminary publication of the survey results can be found in Aravantinos et al. 2007; 2009; 2013. The final publication of the survey of the acropolis is now available (Aravantinos et al. 2016)

5. The Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project Excavation in 2011 was co-directed by Vassilis Aravantinos, Brendan Burke and Bryan Burns. Since 2012 the project has been co-directed by Alexandra Charami, Brendan Burke and Bryan Burns.

6. Due to the preliminary nature of this study, statistical analysis of the entire assemblage, including sherd material, could not be included in this publication.

7. Preliminary results from the 2011 and 2012 seasons of excavation are available: Aravantinos et al. 2011; Burke, et al. 2013.

complete profiles have been reconstructed from the deposit located within the room. It is important to note, however, that the excavation of the room remains incomplete since its walls extend into the baulk to the west and to the south. Despite this, the concentration of vessels already uncovered attests to the functionality of the room as a domestic kitchen. In this regard, the assemblage is similar in character to the domestic assemblages documented at the LH IIIC settlement at Lefkandi, which consist of fine decorated tablewares, and large decorated closed shapes for serving, pouring and storing liquids.⁸ In addition, cooking pots, a bath/*asaminthos* and a dipper jug suggest facilities for storing and preparing wet or dry foodstuffs—although no obvious carbonized remains have yet been documented.⁹

The function of this room as a domestic kitchen is further emphasized by its internal features and the findspots of the preserved vessels within. A large hearth, measuring 0.88 x 1.25 m along its maximum axes, was uncovered in the southern part of the room. The construction of the hearth follows the usual LH IIIC form, with a layer of large sherds and tile fragments forming the foundation for a rather thick (max. 0.07 m) accumulation of clay and ash, attesting to its repeated use as the platform for a moderate-sized fire.¹⁰ The size of this hearth would seem to prevent the reconstruction of a second storey over the room. The vessels found at a higher level within the destruction deposit (one hydria [P0255], two jugs [P0026 and P0253], and the lone kalathos [P0254]) should therefore be assigned to high shelving along the walls, or some form of storage space within the rafters. The position of the bath/*asaminthos* on a common axis with the hearth indicates that there was an intentional relationship between the two features. This is supported by the considerable quantity of earth that had built up around the base of the bath, which means that the original surface on which both the bath and hearth were laid several centimetres below floor level at the time of destruction, suggesting the continuous functioning of this space over a considerable period of time.¹¹

The discovery of the dipper jug (P0027) *in situ* at the western end of the bath suggests that it was located for convenient use, for scraping out whatever was stored within. Support for this hypothesis is provided by the scratch marks visible on the rim and body of the dipper jug.¹² Whether this bath held liquid or dry goods remains unknown, but a bathing function, a function that has not entirely been ruled out at Lefkandi for a bath found *in situ* in Room 11 of the Phase 1b destruction, does appear to be ruled out at ancient Eleon in favour of a storage function.¹³ Although it is tempting to link the three kylikes (P0009, P0010 and P0243) that were found crushed within the bath with its final function, the discovery of additional joins from loci outside the basin suggests that they are more likely to have fallen into the basin from an adjacent shelf along the wall to the north.¹⁴

The remaining vessels were stored neatly in a row along the north wall of the room. The sequence of the vessels from the north-western corner to the east was as follows: a two-handled cooking pot (P0024), a jug with branch motif on the shoulder (P0015), three deep bowls (P0001, P0025 and P0032)

8. See Evely 2006 for a complete listing of finds and their interpretation.

9. Flotation samples taken from the destruction level have yet to be fully analysed and may yet reveal traces of foodstuffs not identified during the excavation.

10. Evely 2006, 18. A detailed description of the sherd hearth found in Room 11 indicates a similar structure and duration of use to the Eleon hearth (Evely 2006, 14-16). Similar hearths are a feature of the LH IIIC period at Mycenae as well (French 2011, 33).

11. Current indications from our 2013 season suggest that an earlier LH IIIC deposit containing mendable unburnt ceramics may be contemporary with this initial phase of construction. Further analysis of these finds is in progress.

12. I would like to thank Bartek Lis for this observation. Lis (2014) more fully explores this phenomenon and what it can reveal about the use and function of Mycenaean vessels.

13. Evely 2006, 150, 220.

14. Blegen and Rawson (1966, 185-189) suggest a bathing function for the Pylos example. It is striking that kylikes and baths seem to occur in relation to each other, but the evidence from ancient Eleon does not favour the bathing hypothesis. The evidence from Eleon does not, however, rule out a function related to the mixing of wine, although given the likely capacity of the bath, this seems somewhat excessive for domestic use. One suggestion is that the bath in Room 11 of the Phase 1b destruction could have served to store water (Evely 2006, 220). This may ultimately prove to be the most likely function for the bath at ancient Eleon as well.

and a one-handed cooking pot (P0028) (Fig. 1). The heavily fragmented nature of two of the three deep bowls makes it conceivable that they too were stored on a shelf above, but their position alongside the wall is also appropriate with them being *in situ*. Their fragmentary condition may simply be a product of the intense heat of the destruction and the collapse of the wall to the north, which was found in a rather fragmentary state of preservation itself (perhaps the product of later stone robbing?). It is notable that an equal number of deep bowls and kylikes was discovered within the room and in close spatial proximity, indicating that these may have been employed simultaneously in sets by the inhabitants of the house during dining activities. This follows the conventional logic that kylikes are functionally suited to the consumption of liquid beverages such as wine and could also have acted as deep bowls for serving various porridges, gruels or stews.¹⁵

Dating the destruction

Stylistically, all the vessels from the destruction layer can be readily assigned to the LH IIIC period (Fig. 2). Comparison with the well-documented pottery from Lefkandi suggests numerous parallels with the Phase 1b destruction levels that have produced an abundance of mendable vessels. For the most part, the fine ware shapes found at ancient Eleon are decorated with simple linear or monochrome designs that can be noted across the Greek mainland during LH IIIC Early. The ubiquitous use of monochrome interiors (with the exception of the kalathos [P0254]), highlights the advanced nature of this LH IIIC Early deposit. While many of these traits could also be assigned to Lefkandi Phase 1a, the appearance of a thick-thin-thick banding on the shoulder of one jug (P0015) from Eleon is a feature that only occurs at Lefkandi, beginning in Phase 1b.¹⁶ Additionally, the dipper jug is popular in Phase 1a and 1b, before quickly being abandoned in Phase 2a.¹⁷ Furthermore, the decoration of the kalathos, with linear banding on the interior and the exterior, also suggests a more advanced stage of LH IIIC Early or even a date early in LH IIIC Middle. At Lefkandi, the earliest kalathoi documented were either monochrome or decorated with a dotted rim, with more complex systems of banding only occurring in Phase 2a, and then in conjunction with more elaborate designs on the interior.¹⁸ The closest parallels for the kalathos from ancient Eleon, however, are the kalathoi from Phase II at Perati.¹⁹ This phase overlaps with the last half of the Lefkandi 1b phase, suggesting that the destruction level at Eleon likely precedes that at Lefkandi by a generation or less. An additional parallel is found in a tomb from Pellana in Laconia, which Penelope Mountjoy and Katie Demakopoulou likewise assign to LH IIIC Middle, again suggesting that the Eleon destruction must belong to the most advanced stage of LH IIIC Early.²⁰

While it is possible that the Eleon destruction was contemporary with the Lefkandi Phase 1b destruction, certain features suggest that the Eleon destruction may have occurred a generation or so earlier than the Lefkandi Phase 1b destruction. First and foremost, we should note the complete lack of LH IIIC Middle features in the assemblage from Eleon (most notable is the lack of elaborate decoration on the rim and interior of the kalathos from Eleon). Secondly, the presence of a carinated cup (P0246), which at Lefkandi is associated with Phase 1a deposits, but is lacking in the Phase 1b destruction deposits, suggests the Eleon destruction should have occurred some time earlier. The carinated cup, however, may not be the most

15. Tournavitou 1992, 198-200. As Lis (2014, 11) demonstrates, wear patterns on the interiors of deep bowls are consistent with some sort of utensil being used to scrape out the contents.

16. Evely 2006, 199.

17. Evely 2006, 204-205.

18. Evely 2006, 195.

19. Iakovides 1969/1970, 79c.412, figs. 81c.433, 81.c.437, 84d.244, 114e.767 and 123c.855.

20. Demakopoulou 2007, 165, fig. 18; Mountjoy 1999, 293, no. 242, fig. 100.

reliable indicator of date, as this shape continues to be continuously well documented at Tiryns and Mycenae, and the shape reappears at Lefkandi in Phase 2a. More important for dating the destruction is the presence of three deep bowls with three different decorative schemes (linear, monochrome, and triglyph with antithetic spiral), since in the Lefkandi Phase 1b almost all of the complete or near-complete deep bowls consisted of those which were monochrome and those which were not were linear.²¹ It seems likely therefore that the destruction at Eleon took place prior to the proliferation of monochrome deep bowls, which occurred towards the end of Lefkandi Phase 1b. The deep bowl with triglyph and antithetic spirals is likely to be particularly important in this regard. It is perhaps notable that these bowls do not reappear at Mycenae until the Tower phase (equivalent to an advanced stage of LH IIIC Early) after the LH IIIB2 destructions.²² This seems to be the case at Lefkandi as well, since the earliest relatively complete example was found in a Phase 1a/b deposit in Alleyway 1 (although with a double rim band on the exterior instead of a medium band), and two other fragmentary examples (one with added white) were found in Phase 1b deposits.²³ Taken together, the diagnostic features present at ancient Eleon suggest a destruction date located within the Lefkandi Phase 1b, but perhaps a generation before the great destruction deposits. This would be equivalent to the incipient part of Phase II at Perati and the Tower phase at Mycenae. It is perhaps best equated with Jeremy Rutter's Phase 3 (see Table 1).²⁴ Although the Eleon destruction deposit exhibits some similarities with the following LH IIIC Middle period, these are equally consistent with an advanced LH IIIC Early date, when one might expect to find some incipient LH IIIC Middle shapes and styles.

Ancient Eleon	Lefkandi [Euboea]	Mycenae [Argolid]	Perati [Attica]	Rutter 1977	Mountjoy 1999	Absolute chronology
		?		1	Transitional	1200 BC
	1a	Early		2	LH IIIC Early	1190
NW Fire Destruction	1b	Tower	I	3		1170
	2a	Developed	II	4 Early	LH IIIC Middle	1150
		Advanced		4 Late		1130
	2b		III		LH IIIC Late	
	3	Final		5 Early		1100>
	Chaliothis					
	Skoubris Cemetery	<present?>		5 late	Sub-Mycenaeen	1080

Table 1: Comparative ceramic chronologies of LH IIIC.²⁵

21. Evely 2006, 188.

22. French 2011, 68-69.

23. For the ambiguous context of this find, see Evely 2006, 35, 145. For illustrations, see Evely 2006, 28, P5 (panel with antithetic spiral), 191, fig. 2.22.1, pl. 55.11 (with added white); Mountjoy 1986, 150, fig. 189.2 (double rim band).

24. Rutter 1977, 2-3.

25. Modified from Mountjoy 1999, 39, table II.

Conclusions

The overall character of the deposit strikingly resembles that of the LH IIIC material from Lefkandi. Distinct features, such as the thick-thin-thick banding on the upper shoulder of closed vessels, and the unusual branch motif on P0015, thus far only found at Lefkandi, highlight close stylistic affinities that are likely indicative of close relations between these centres in the Postpalatial period.²⁶ Additionally, the appearance of the dipper jug, a shape only otherwise attested at Lefkandi, emphasizes the stylistic *koine* existing between these two sites in the LH IIIC Early. Although it remains unknown whether any of the pottery from the destruction deposit was actually manufactured at Lefkandi, an unpublished study of Mycenaean pottery from central and northern Greece undertaken by Selina White at the University of Bradford indicates that some sherds analysed from ancient Eleon were traced to Euboea and some sherds from Euboea to an east Boeotian group.²⁷ As a result of her analysis, White concludes by observing that ‘there was considerable contact with, and trade between, Euboea and Boeotia in the Late Bronze Age.’²⁸ Unfortunately, the chronological resolution of this study prevent it from demonstrating whether there was any change in ceramic distribution networks between the LH IIIB2 and LH IIIC Early phases, following the collapse of the palatial node located at Thebes.²⁹ Further research is thus necessary to answer this question. Nevertheless, the stylistic evidence from ancient Eleon highlights that during the LH IIIC Early period east Boeotia and Euboea were enmeshed in a regional network that facilitated the movement of goods, ideas and the people who transported them. This highlights the important role of the Euboean Gulf as a conduit rather than a barrier.³⁰ Mycenaean ceramics in Boeotia remain understudied, however, and with the exception of Mountjoy’s publication of unstudied material from several secondary sites, few publications have considered the regional character of Boeotian pottery in the Late Bronze Age.³¹ In this regard, the presentation of this deposit represents a small contribution towards a better understanding of Postpalatial networks in the Late Bronze Age Aegean.

The Pottery³²

Conical kylikes [FS 274]

P0009 Height (H) (maximum): 18.5 cm, diameter (D) (rim): 15.0, diameter (base): 6.5

Linear banded bowl on exterior with monochrome interior. Stem and foot monochrome

P0010 H (max.): 18.8, D (rim): 16.0, D (base): 6.6

Thin lip band on exterior of bowl with monochrome interior. Lower bowl, stem and foot monochrome

26. Evely 2006, 146.

27. White 1981, esp. 191, 209.

28. White 1981, 221.

29. It remains unclear how much of an impact the LH IIIB destruction of the palace at Thebes had on the settlement. While little evidence for the LH IIIC period is known outside a few tombs excavated by Keramopoulos on the Kolonaki hill south of the Kadmeia (Symeonoglou 1985, 60, 248-249), the fragmentary but significant deposits published by Andrikou (2006) suggest that the settlement continued uninterrupted.

30. As highlighted most recently by Knodell 2013.

31. Mountjoy 1983. Little pottery has been fully published from Boeotia. Beyond Mountjoy’s synthesis, the only well-published material comes from the site of Thebes. Theban publications are those of Andrikou 2006; Dakouri-Hild 2001; Symeonoglou 1973. The forthcoming publication of Keramopoulos’ excavation of the House of Kadmos by Dakouri-Hild promises to add significantly to this dataset, and will include the results of recent Neutron Activation Analysis. All measurements in the catalogue are in centimeters, unless otherwise specified.

32. All dimensions given in centimetres. Only fully preserved dimensions are recorded. In the case of vessels heavily distorted by fire, the variability of rim diameters has been noted as a range. A small number of vessels have yet to be restored, but their identification is secure.

P0243 H (max.): n/a, D (rim): 14.0, D (base): 6.4

Thin lip band on exterior of bowl with monochrome interior. Lower bowl, stem and foot monochrome

Evely 2006, 143, fig. 2.3.7; 185, figs. 2.3.8, 2.17.1 and 2.17.5, pl. 27.3

Deep bowls [FS 285]

P0001 H (max.): 13.3, D (rim): 15.9-16.9, D (base): 5.4

Triglyph [FM 75] with antithetic spirals [FM 50]

P0025 H (max.): 11.9, D (rim): 15.5-16.5, D (base): n/a

Linear with monochrome interior

P0032 H (max.): 11.9, D (rim): 15.5, D (base): 5.3

Monochrome

Triglyph with antithetic spirals: Evely 2006, 191, fig. 2.22.1, pl. 55.10, 55.11; Mountjoy 1986, 150, fig. 189.2; 1999, 600, no. 481, fig. 223.481. Linear with monochrome interior: Evely 2006, 186, fig. 2.16.7; 139, fig. 2.1.12, 2.1.14; Mountjoy 1983, 30, fig. 10.215, pl. 4c. Monochrome: Evely 2006, pl. 17.7, pl. 26.2; 189, fig. 2.20.4, pl. 27.1

Kalathos [FS 291]

P0254 H (max.): 14.5, D (rim): 33.0, D (base): 12.0

Linear banded interior and exterior

Iakovides 1969/1970, and figs. 79c.412, 81c.433, 81c.437, 84d.244, 114e.767 and 123c.855; Mountjoy 1999, 293, no. 242, fig. 100.242

Carinated cup [FS 240]

P0246 H (max.): n/a, D (rim): 17.0, D (base): n/a

Monochrome

Evely 2006, 183, fig. 2.16.10; 139, fig. 2.1.1-2.1.5

Jugs [FS 106/107]

P0015 H (max.): 30.0, D (rim): 11.7, D (base): 9.3

Thick-thin-thick banding with branch motif

P0026 H (max.): 26.4, D (rim): 11.5, D (base): 8.2

Linear banded

P0253 Unrestored

Linear banded and badly burnt

Thick-thin-thick banding with branch motif: Evely 2006, pl. 18.1. Linear banded: Evely 2006, 140, fig. 2.2.6

Hydria [FS 128]

P0255 H (max.): 39.0, D (rim): 14.6, D (base): 12.0

Linear banded with tassel motif [FM 72]

Evely 2006, pl. 19.3-19.5

Dipper jug

P0027 H (max.): 19.6, D (rim): 13.9, D (base): 7.6

Undecorated

Evely 2006, 149, fig. 2.5.2; 205, fig. 2.32.1, pl. 21.7 and fig. 2.32.2.

One-handled cooking pot [FS 65]

P0028 Unrestored

Undecorated

Evely 2006, 208, fig. 2.33.3, 2.33.4

Two-handled cooking pot [FS 66]

P0024 Unrestored

Undecorated

Evely 2006, 209, fig. 2.34.3

Bath/asaminthos [FS 1]

NC³³ Unrestored

Undecorated

Evely 2006, 213, fig. 2.38.3

33. Not yet catalogued.

Bibliography

- Andrikou, E. (2006) 'The Late Helladic III Pottery'. In Vol. II(2) of *Thèbes: Fouilles de la Cadmée [Les Tablettes en Linéaire B de la Odos Pelopidou. Le Contexte Archéologique. La Céramique de la Odos Pelopidou et la Chronologie du Linéaire B]*, 11-180, edited by E. Andrikou, V. L. Aravantinos, L. Godart, A. Sacconi and J. Vroom. Pisa; Rome: Instituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali.
- Aravantinos, V., B. Burke, B. Burns and S. Lupack (2007) 'Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project 2007'. *Teiresias: A Review and Bibliography of Boiotian Studies* 37(2), 25-27.
- Aravantinos, V., B. Burke, B. Burns and S. Lupack (2009) 'The Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project 2009 Report'. *Teiresias: A Review and Bibliography of Boiotian Studies* 39(2), 11-15.
- Aravantinos, V., B. Burke, B. Burns and S. Lupack (2011) 'Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project 2011: Excavations at Ancient Eleon'. *Teiresias: A Review and Bibliography of Boiotian Studies* 41(2A) 26-38.
- Aravantinos, V., B. Burke, B. Burns, I. Fappas and S. Lupack (2013) 'The Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project, 2007-2009'. In *Proceedings of the 3rd Archaeological Meeting of Thessaly and Central Greece 2006-2008. Prehistory to the Contemporary Period, Volos 12-15 March, 2009*, edited by A. Mazarakis-Ainian and A. Doulgeri-Intziesoglou, 1059-1064. Volos: University of Thessaly.
- Aravantinos, V., B. Burke, B. Burns, Y. Fappas, S. Lupack, and C. Mackay (2016) 'Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project 2007-2010: The Intensive Surface Survey–Eleon'. *Mouseion* 13(2), 293-357.
- Blegen, C. and M. Rawson, eds. (1966) 'The Buildings and Their Contents'. Vol. 1 of *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Burke, B., B. Burns and A. Charami (2013) 'Excavations at ancient Eleon in Eastern Boeotia 2011-2013'. *Teiresias: A Review and Bibliography of Boiotian Studies* 43(2), 9-25.
- Dakouri-Hild, A. (2001) 'The House of Kadmos in Mycenaean Thebes Reconsidered: Architecture, Chronology and Context'. *The Annual of the British School of Archaeology* 96, 81-122.
- Demakopoulou, K. (2007) 'Laconia and Arcadia in LH III C Middle: Pottery and Other Finds'. In *LH III C Chronology and Synchronisms II: LH III C Middle. Proceedings of the International Workshop held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences at Vienna, October 29th and 30th, 2004*, edited by S. Deger-Jalkotzy and M. Zavadil, 161-174. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Evely, D. (2006) 'The Bronze Age: The Late Helladic IIIC Settlement at Xeropolis'. Vol. IV of *Lefkandi*. London: The British School at Athens.
- Fossey, J. (1988) *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia*. Chicago: Ares Publishers.
- Frazer, J. (1913) Vol. 4 of *Description of Greece*. London: Macmillan and Co.
- French, E., ed. (2011) *Well Built Mycenae: The Helleno-British Excavations Within the Citadel at Mycenae. Fascicule 16/17: The Post-Palatial Levels*. Oxford and Oakville: Oxbow Books.
- Iakovides, S. (1969/1970) *Περατή. Το Νεκροταφείον*. Athens: Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία.
- Knodell, A. (2013) 'Small-World Networks and Mediterranean Dynamics in the Euboean Gulf: An Archaeology of Complexity in Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Greece'. PhD thesis. Brown University, USA.
- Lis, B. (2014) 'Let's Start from (a) Scratch: New Ways of Looking at Vessels' Function'. *Archeologia: rocznik Instytutu Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk* 61, 7-14.
- Mountjoy, P. (1983) 'Mycenaean Pottery from Orchomenos, Eutresis and other Boeotian Sites'. Vol. V of *Orchomenos*. Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Mountjoy, P. (1986) *Mycenaean Decorated Pottery: A Guide to Identification*. Gothenburg: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Mountjoy, P. (1999) *Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery*. Rahden and Westfalen: Leidorf.
- Rutter, J. (1977) 'Late Helladic IIIC Pottery and Some Historical Implications'. In *Symposium on the Dark Ages of Greece*, edited by E. N. Davis, 1-20. New York: Hunter College.
- Symeonoglou, S. (1973) 'Kadmeia I: Mycenaean Finds from Thebes, Greece. Excavation at 14 Oedipus St'. In Vol. XXXV of *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*. Gothenburg: Paul Åström Förlag.
- Symeonoglou, S. (1985) *The Topography of Thebes: From Bronze Age to Modern Times*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Tournavitou, I. (1992) 'Practical Use and Social Function: A Neglected Aspect of Mycenaean Pottery.' *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 87, 181-210.
- Ulrichs, H. (1840) *Reisen Und Forschungen In Griechenland*. Bremen: Johann Georg Heyse.
- White, S. (1981) *The Provenance of Bronze Age Pottery from Central and Eastern Greece*. PhD thesis. University of Bradford, UK.

Figures

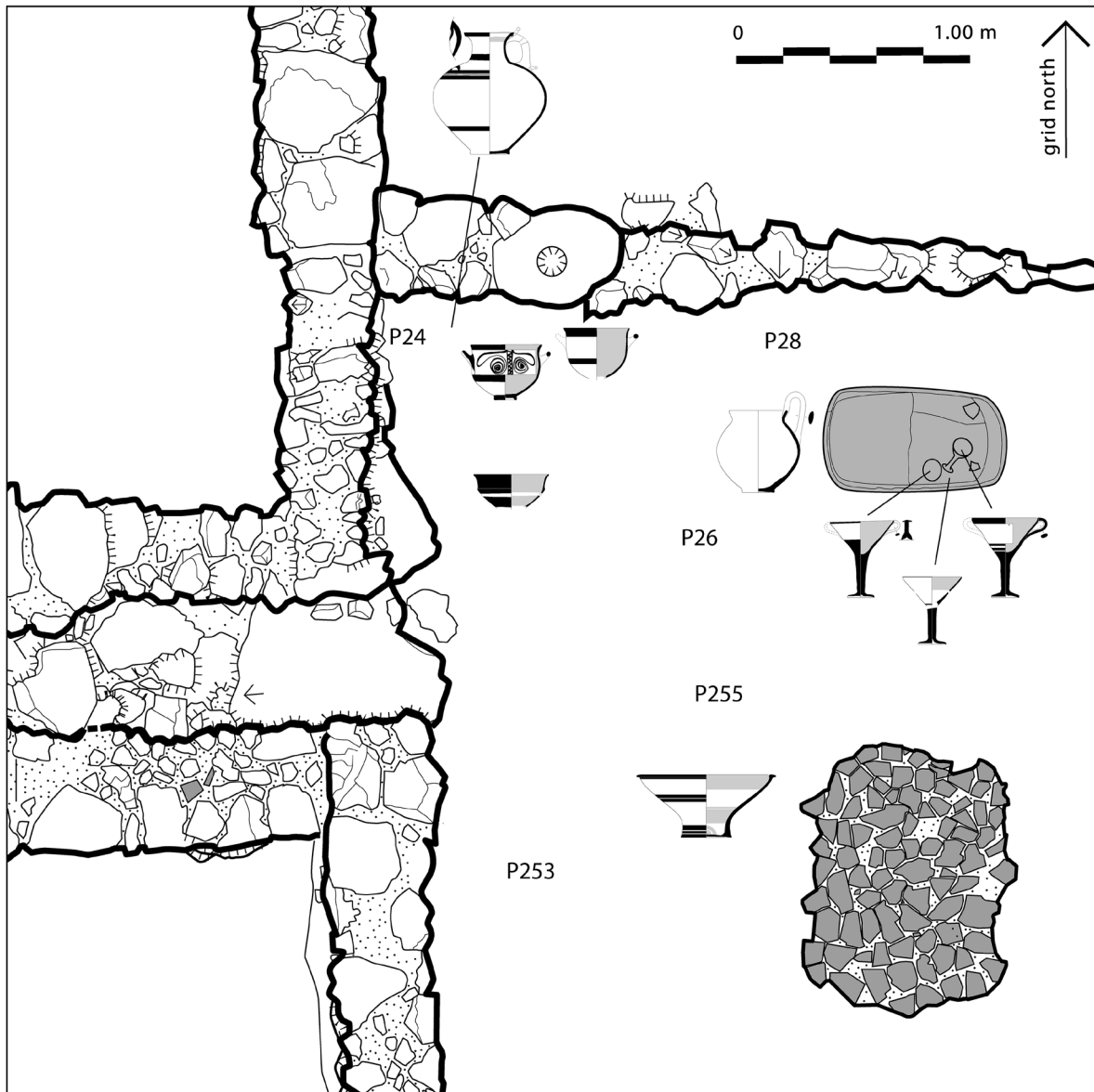


Figure 1. Plan of trench NW B2d with findspots of pots and features from the destruction deposit marked (T. Ross and G. Bianco).

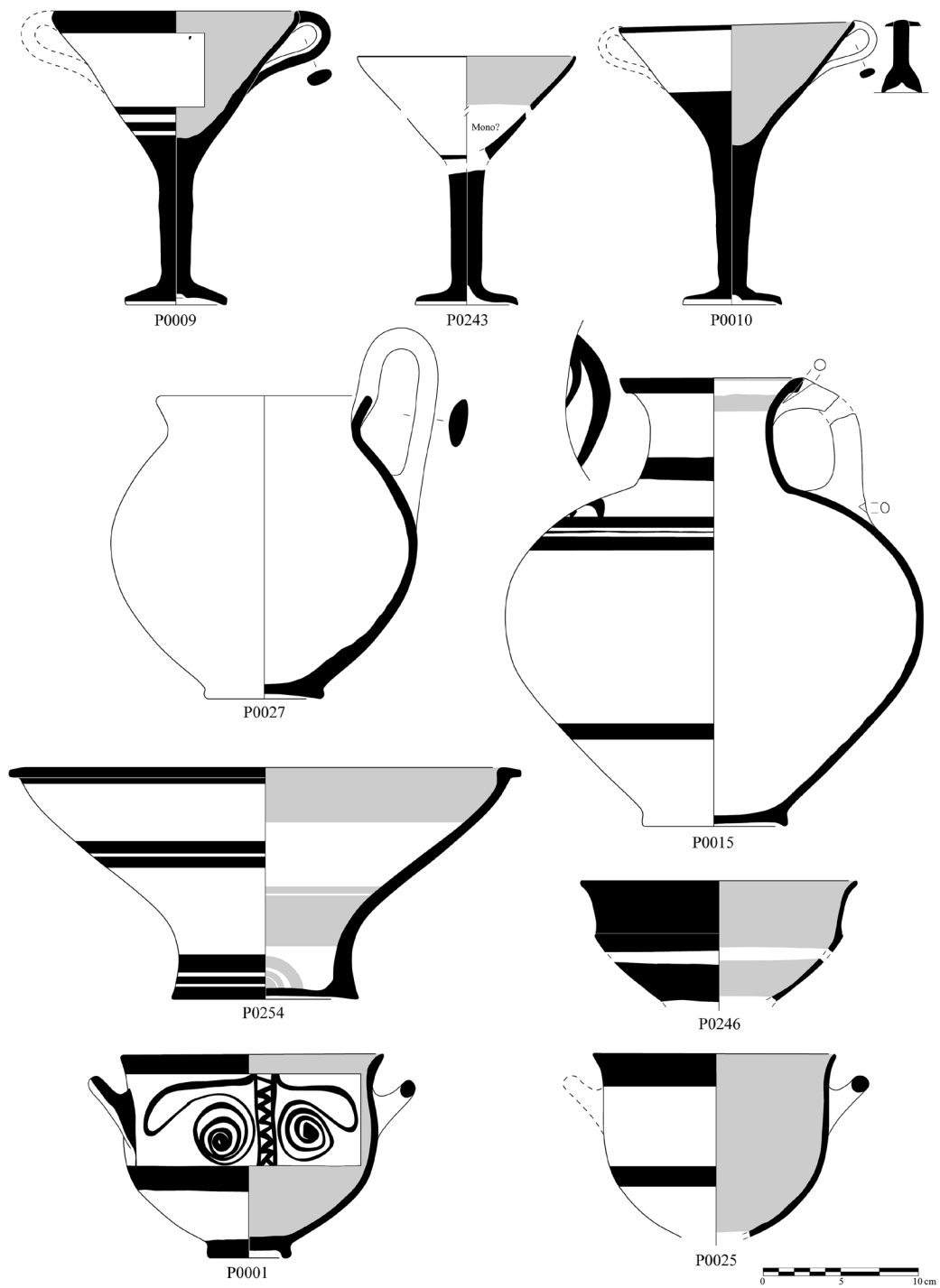


Figure 2. A selection of vases from the NW B2d destruction deposit (T. Ross).

Archaeomagnetic dating: Examples from Euboea-Attica and the missing link between the central Greek mainland and the islands

Despina KONDOPOULOU

Philippe LANOS

Ted EVANS

Evdokia TEMA

Elina AIDONA

Emanuela DE MARCO

Περίληψη

Ο αρχαιομαγνητισμός αποτελεί έναν κλάδο που συνδυάζει τη γεωφυσική με την αρχαιολογία και έχει διάφορες εφαρμογές, με πιο γνωστή τη χρονολόγηση θέσεων μέσω της μελέτης του γεωμαγνητικού πεδίου του παρελθόντος, όπως καταγράφεται στους ψημένους πηλούς που περιέχουν οξείδια του σιδήρου. Αφού θερμανθούν σε υψηλές θερμοκρασίες και στη συνέχεια ψυχθούν, αυτά τα οξείδια καταγράφουν την διεύθυνση και την ένταση του μαγνητικού πεδίου της γης στον τόπο και χρόνο της διαδικασίας. Αυτή η πληροφορία μπορεί να ανακτηθεί και έχει διπλή εφαρμογή: (1) εάν η χρονολόγηση του υλικού που μελετήθηκε βασίζεται σε ανεξάρτητες μεθόδους, τα αποτελέσματα μπορούν να χρησιμοποιηθούν ως σημεία αναφοράς για τη δημιουργία ή Καμπύλων Αιώνιας Μεταβολής (Secular Variation Curves (SVCs)) για την περιοχή, (2) εάν το υλικό είναι αβέβαιης χρονολόγησης, τότε αυτές οι καμπύλες, όταν είναι διαθέσιμες, μπορούν να χρησιμοποιηθούν για τη χρονολόγησή του, με μικρό κόστος και βαθμό φθοράς.

Η συστηματική έρευνα στην Ελλάδα κατά τις δύο τελευταίες δεκαετίες έχει προσφέρει σημαντικά δεδομένα και αρκούντως προσδιορισμένες SVC, οι οποίες ωστόσο έχουν ακόμη αρκετά κενά. Η άνιση κατανομή των μελετημένων θέσεων είναι συχνά ένα πρόβλημα που χρειάζεται επίλυση. Η μελέτη στις περιοχές της κεντρικής Ελλάδας, της Εύβοιας και των νησιών είναι ελλιπής και είναι αναγκαίο να καλυφθούν τα κενά αυτά. Δημοσιευμένα αποτελέσματα από προηγούμενες μελέτες στην ευρύτερη περιοχή προέρχονται από τον Evans¹, ο οποίος μελέτησε δύο κλιβάνους αμφίβολης χρονολόγησης από την Ερέτρια και την Αυλίδα. Με τη χρήση των προσφάτως ενημερωμένων SVC για την Ελλάδα, σε συνδυασμό με αυτές των Βαλκανίων και της Ευρώπης, στην παρούσα εργασία προχωρήσαμε στη χρονολόγηση των δύο αυτών θέσεων, με αποτέλεσμα ηλικίες που συγκλίνουν με τις προτεινόμενες αρχαιολογικές σε έναν ικανοποιητικό βαθμό. Νέα αποτελέσματα επακριβώς χρονολογημένου υλικού δημοσιεύθηκαν για τη Νεολιθική Θεσσαλία², ωστόσο μία συνέχεια μεταξύ της νοτίου Ελλάδος, των νησιών και της κεντρικής Ελλάδος πρέπει να δημιουργηθεί στο προσεχές μέλλον.

1. Evans 2006.

2. Aidona and Kondopoulou 2012; Fanjat et al. 2013.

Introduction³

Nowadays, it is well known that the Earth is surrounded by a magnetic field, which acts as a natural shield against solar and cosmic radiation. The origin of this field lies in the Earth's outer, liquid core, and its properties have numerous applications in various disciplines.

Earth sciences interact considerably in studies in this field, intersecting through geomagnetism, and expanding also towards the study of the magnetic field of other planets.

Archaeomagnetism is a branch of geomagnetism which combines magnetic methods with archaeology in order to determine geomagnetic field elements (the angles of inclination and declination, and the strength or intensity) in historic and prehistoric times. This method is based on two fundamental principles:

1) Several archaeological artefacts (usually baked clay products) contain small quantities of magnetic minerals which can record the direction and the intensity of the geomagnetic field under certain conditions, such as, for example, the heating of the material at least to 500°- 600°C. During the cooling procedure, a thermal remanent magnetization is acquired, with the direction oriented parallel to that of the ambient Earth's magnetic field at that place and time.

2) The direction and the intensity of the geomagnetic field are not stable but change continuously chronologically and geographically.

By comparing the archaeomagnetic direction and intensity registered by an archaeological artefact with well-established reference curves (SVCs) for the same area, it is possible to determine the age of the studied structure. By the inverse procedure, well-dated by independent methods such as ¹⁴C or Thermoluminescence/Optical Luminescence, artefacts can be used for the construction of the reference curves for a certain geographical area. Archaeological structures or artefacts that can be used for an archaeomagnetic investigation are mainly kilns, bricks, tiles, ceramics and generally all clay structures that have been heated in antiquity to high temperatures and subsequently cooled.

Systematic archaeomagnetic studies in Greece were initiated around the 1980s and provided abundant archaeointensity and fewer directional data, which allowed for the construction of reference SVCs for Greece.⁴

Apart from the local reference curves, which are built using data from a certain country or geographical area, e.g. Greek, Bulgarian, French, nowadays reference curves are also calculated through regional and global geomagnetic field modelling.

Over the last ten years several compilations and models have been published which describe the geomagnetic field variations on a global scale.⁵ In some of them, sediment datasets have been tentatively used. Of these models, Korte et al.⁶ suggest that the ARCH3K.1 (only archaeomagnetic data) global model is the most appropriate for Europe for the last 3000 years. For older times, the CALS7K.2 global model that covers the past 7000 years, from 5000 BC to AD 1950, is mostly used.⁷

An intermediate approach between global models and local SVCs is the calculation of regional mod-

3. Over the almost 20 years of our archaeomagnetic research in Greece we have been guided and assisted by several people and teams. We mention particularly the Ephorates of northern Greece and Thessaly, whose contribution has been decisive, the Department of History and Archaeology at Aristotle University, the French School in Athens and the INSTAP Centre. S. Müller-Celka provided important information and bibliography about the archaeological context of the Eretria kiln. We further thank the Norwegian Institute at Athens, and the Ephorate of Antiquities for Euboea for organizing this scientific conference, their hospitality and the opportunity to disseminate our results. An anonymous reviewer is also acknowledged for comments and suggestions.

4. Evans 2006; De Marco 2007; De Marco et al. 2008 and references therein. See also Aidona and Kondopoulou 2012; Fanjat et al. 2013; De Marco et al. 2014; Spatharas et al. 2011; Tema et al. 2012 and references therein.

5. Donadini et al. 2009; Genevey et al. 2008; Korte and Constable 2005.

6. Korte et al. 2009.

7. Korte and Constable 2005.

els. Pavón-Carrasco et al. proposed a regional archaeomagnetic model, the SCHA.DIF.3K that calculates the geomagnetic field variations in Europe for the last 3000 years, modelling together the three geomagnetic field elements.⁸ In order to extend this model's predictions backwards in time, Pavón-Carrasco et al. have proposed the SCHA.DIF.8K regional model, which is based on a selected compilation of both sedimentary and archaeomagnetic data and predicts the geomagnetic field variations from 6000 BC to 1000 BC.⁹

Recently, Tema and Kondopoulou monitored the secular variation of the geomagnetic field in the southern Balkan Peninsula and provided a complete pattern for the regional field evolution over the last 8000 years.¹⁰ Nevertheless, and in spite of the above multiple achievements, building accurate SVCs on a local (country-wide) scale remains an important target. The improvement of the Greek reference curves for declinations and inclinations depends on the availability of adequate, well-dated archaeological materials, since their geographic and temporal distribution present important gaps, e.g. in central Greece and the islands of the eastern Aegean, but also in western Turkey, such data are almost totally missing (Fig. 1).

In the present study we attempt to date, based on the existing reference curves, two structures from the broader area of Euboea/eastern Attica, which were previously studied by Evans¹¹ but had a disputable archaeological age. The potential and the limitations of the method are discussed by presenting the archaeomagnetic dating of a Neolithic settlement in central Thessaly, where an accurate ¹⁴C age is available, making a comparison of the two results possible.

The archaeomagnetic method is promising, and improvements are being made in order to provide the archaeological community with a sensitive and low-cost dating tool. These improvements are mostly related to the accuracy of the existing reference curves, and therefore the acquisition of new data remains an important target.

Methodology

The geomagnetic field can be described as a vector defined at each specific place for a specific time.

The archaeomagnetic method deals with the definition of the three elements of the geomagnetic field vector (the angles of declination [D], inclination [I] and intensity [F]). In order to define the direction of the field (D, I), the studied material has to be *in situ*, a requirement which is not necessary for the calculation of the intensity. Sampling of *in situ* structures includes orientation with a magnetic and sun compass, and measurement of the dip with an inclinometer, and is followed by sample preparation in the laboratory in order to obtain cylinders of standard dimensions of 2.5 x 2.2 cm.

Measuring the 'archaeodirection' involves several steps, such as the initial measurement of the natural remanent magnetization, subsequent magnetic cleaning of possible secondary components, tests for the stability of the recorded magnetization and the calculation of the statistical mean direction. The dating of the structure based on the above elements is the final step and is performed by comparing the experimentally determined direction with a reference SV curve. In order to obtain the optimum dating, the calculation of the archaeointensity plays an important role. This calculation is related to a specific laboratory procedure, involving numerous heating/cooling cycles and the continuous monitoring of mineralogical transformations that are likely to severely reduce the experiment's success. For the two cases presented here, the archaeointensity value has not been calculated and dating is performed based only on the directional results.

8. Pavón-Carrasco et al. 2009.

9. Pavón-Carrasco et al. 2010.

10. Tema and Kondopoulou 2011.

11. Evans 2006.

Data

Eretria

This pottery kiln was excavated at Eretria, within the Bouratza plot, in the early 1980s and was restored and preserved in the museum's courtyard. It is an important finding of updraft combustion with a well-preserved *eschara* of about 95 cm in diameter. The kiln was found within an Early Bronze Age (EBA) II-III stratum, but in a disturbed context, in contact with a seemingly non-disturbed burial of Geometric date, and the excavator suggested an earlier age for the kiln.¹² According to recent archaeological information, the excavation record is more compatible with an Early Helladic (EH) III date—c.2300-2100 BC—although a later date is not to be completely ruled out.¹³ Sampling was undertaken in 1992 and measurements reported by Evans¹⁴ are as follows:

Inclination and declination reduced to Athens (lat.=37.96°; long.=23.79°):

Site	Lat. (°)	Long. (°)	I site (°)	D site (°)	I Athens (°)	D Athens (°)	K/sI	N	α_{95} (°)
Eretria	38.44	23.79	58.0	0.6	57.6	0.6	406	5	3.1

Table 1: Inclination and declination (Eretria) reduced to Athens (lat.=37.96°; long.=23.79°).

Avlis

This ceramic kiln was unearthed in the late 1950s within a broader sector which included a temple dedicated to Artemis, built in the 5th century BC, but with Hellenistic and Roman rebuilding phases. The pear-shaped kiln with internal dimensions of 3 x 1.80 m lies within an important building with traces of clay processing. Several artefacts used for domestic purposes found inside the kiln were dated to the Roman period by early excavators, although an earlier phase has also been suggested. Non-fired whole pots were found within the firing chamber, implying that the kiln was abandoned before a firing happened.¹⁵ In the following campaigns of 1960 and 1961, further evidence for the existence of an important potter's workshop was found. Numerous sherds dated to Hellenistic times, together with coins of the same period, better define the chronological use of the workshop.¹⁶ Sampling was also undertaken by Evans in 1992 and the results reported by the author in 2006 are as follows:

Site	Lat. (°)	Long. (°)	I site (°)	D site (°)	I Athens (°)	D Athens (°)	K/sI	N	α_{95} (°)
Avlis	38.50	23.67	62.5	353.1	62.1	353.2	226	6	4.5

Table 2: Inclination and declination (Avlis) reduced to Athens (lat.=37.96°; long.=23.79°).

On the basis of the above results, the dating of the two structures was recently performed using the Bayesian approach.¹⁷ For the Eretria kiln, this dating was modified in the present contribution to fit the new archaeological information, and is displayed in Fig. 2.

12. Krause 1981, 83-84; 1982, 158-160.

13. Müller-Celka 2010, and pers. comm. 2014.

14. Evans 2006.

15. Threpsiadis 1959.

16. Threpsiadis 1961.

17. De Marco et al. 2014.

Since the inclination and declination are acquired at the same time, during the last firing of the kiln, we can combine them to obtain the final dating rectangles plotted. Rectangles plotted onto the posterior density represent the highest posterior density (HPD) intervals at a 95% confidence level. The probabilities of each of the intervals are: [-2179; -1992] at 7%; [-1670; -1513] at 16%; [-1187; -734] at 10% [-190; 35] at 6% and [461; 1349] at 51%. The true dating solution is in one of these intervals. Evans¹⁸ suggested that ‘this kiln ceased operation in Late Helladic I/II times (~1500 BC)’, and this restriction was taken into account by De Marco et al.¹⁹ Therefore, the last two options were rejected, since the site was abandoned at the beginning of the 2nd century BC. The next interval [-1187; -734] could be compatible with the excavation information only if ‘weight’ is put on the possible installation of the kiln at a period contemporaneous or post-dating the necropolis of the Geometric age. The period [-1670; -1513] is very unlikely since the Bouratza plot did not provide a single sherd from this period. Considering the recent input about the archaeological context, as cited above, we adapted the choice of the time period covering our dating procedure. The best-fitting result indicates a shift to an earlier interval [-2179; -1992]. This, nevertheless, should be confirmed by an independent method, either thermoluminescence (TL) or optically stimulated luminescence (OSL), since the previously suggested dating by De Marco et al. cannot be rejected on the basis of statistics.²⁰

For the Avlis kiln, the dating is displayed in Fig. 3. The probabilities of each of the dating intervals are: [-2180; -2103] at 1%; [-1592; -1115] at 35%; [-978; -281] at 52% and [726; 1074] at 7%. The true dating solution is in one of these intervals. Taking into account the archaeological information assuming a Hellenistic or at least ‘post-Classical’ date for its use, it is suggested that the kiln was used for the last time during the interval [-978; -281]. In this case, archaeomagnetism cannot be more precise because of a ‘plateau’ effect (little variation) in the inclination curve between 1500 and 400 BC, which seriously reduces the effectiveness of the dating.

In order to further investigate the possibilities of the method, we repeated the dating of these two structures using the regional reference curves: first, that proposed for the Balkans by Tema and Kondopoulou²¹ and second, that proposed for Europe by Pavón-Carasco et al.²² For easier comparison we chose the same time intervals for both, which are compatible with the archaeological constraint, [-1000; -5900] for Eretria and [-1000; 1000] for Avlis.

Using the Balkan SV curve, we obtained several time spans for Eretria, two of which are likely to be retained (Fig. 4a). One indicates an age between 2415 BC and 2023 BC and the second one between 1628 BC and 1239 BC. Given the archaeological context, the first one (2415 BC-2023 BC) is favoured by us. On the other hand, dating with the SCH.DIF.8K geomagnetic field model (Fig. 4b) results in a much wider dating interval (2790 BC-1172 BC), but includes the period recently supported by archaeologists. These results demonstrate that the regional reference curves for time periods earlier than 1000 BC are not detailed enough for dating purposes, and all need new data from the periods before that age.

For the site of Avlis, the dating results from the Greek and Balkan SV curves are comparable—(978 BC-281 BC) and (699 BC-248 BC), respectively (Fig. 5)—though the Balkan dating reduces the time span by almost 250 years. If we observe all probabilities in Fig. 3 and Fig. 5a, we notice that none lies within 248 BC to AD 621. Therefore, on the basis of this model, the kiln’s last use could not be dated to Roman times.

On the other hand, the SCHA.DIF.3K model in Fig. 5b results in a date of 492 BC-59 BC. This is narrower by 400 years than the one obtained by the Greek curves and fits in a satisfactory way with

18. Evans 2006, 94.

19. De Marco et al. 2014

20. De Marco et al. 2014.

21. Tema and Kondopoulou 2011.

22. Pavón-Carasco et al. 2010.

the dating suggested by the Balkan curves, though the present one gives an age which has shifted to later (younger) chronological periods. It is noteworthy that again in this model, no probability appears between 59 BC and AD 528. Thus, we can safely exclude a clear Roman age for this kiln and suggest that its last use was during the Hellenistic or possibly the beginning of Roman times. The fact that during 600-100 BC the declination of the Earth's magnetic field exhibits very small variations and is mainly characterized by stable values for more than five centuries, could have affected the dating. We claim that the very uncertain age for the Avlis kiln is now better constrained by situating it chronologically before the Roman period. The excavation information provided by Threpsiadis converges with this result.²³ In such cases, the calculation of the archaeointensity can provide a decisive contribution. Unfortunately, both samplings cited above were performed long ago and no available material exists any more.

Discussion/conclusions

The archaeomagnetic method has continuously developed over the last decade, and applications, both geophysical and archaeological, are now being established. Nevertheless, there is still ground for further improvements, and a demonstration of the potential and limitations is provided in this contribution. To start from the first step of such a study—the sampling—the two sites presented here were sampled more than 20 years ago, under severe restrictions. Hence, the quantity of the material did not allow for the study of the full geomagnetic vector, since it was not possible to perform archaeointensity experiments. At the same time, there was little or no interaction with archaeologists, leading to uncertain dating constraints. The next step for successful dating would be the establishment of more precise reference curves and, to achieve this, the use of well-dated material by independent methods is crucial.

The conclusions to which this presentation points are as follows: the archaeomagnetic dating of the Eretria kiln suggests that with the present state of knowledge and quality of the reference curves it is impossible to firmly posit the best time span for the last use of this kiln. The earlier age favoured by the archaeologists 2300-2100 BC is likely, but the interval 1187-734 BC cannot be excluded.

For Avlis, the contribution of archaeomagnetism is more substantial, since it leads to a better definition of the kiln's last use, and the more recent Roman period is excluded in terms of the kiln's functioning. There is a time period in which all three datings overlap, between 492 BC and 281 BC. This includes Hellenistic times, as supported by archaeological findings. Given that there is evidence of an abrupt interruption in its use, we may suggest that a violent event was responsible, occurring at the latest around 59 BC.

It is clear that there is much more to be undertaken in our discipline, but for improvements to be made the contribution of the archaeological community is of paramount importance. As an example, we cite the result of a similar dating for two Neolithic structures in central Thessaly (at Vassili): these were sampled with the guidance of the excavator (G. Toufexis) and his team, who allowed us to take a considerable amount of material, leading to a successful study and dating.

The dating of the studied Neolithic site was performed using the Bulgarian reference curves of the full geomagnetic vector (declination, inclination, intensity), which almost cover the last eight millennia.²⁴ The archaeomagnetic dating for Vassili was calculated at 4970-4680 BC at a 95% confidence level. According to archaeological information and ¹⁴C dating of the same structures, their expected age is estimated at c.4750 BC, and thus the archaeomagnetic dating converges very well with this independent-

23. Threpsiadis 1961.

24. Kovacheva et al. 2009.

ly calculated age.²⁵ The result from this Neolithic site in Thessaly is the only one to be published for this period, but also for the broader area of central Greece. It is clear that there is an important 'missing link' between the islands of southern Greece, which have provided numerous archaeomagnetic directional results, and central Greece, which lacks such data. Satisfactory coverage also exists further to the north. Our target is to fill this gap with the support of the archaeological community, Greek and foreign, which has been active in the area for many decades.

25. Fanjat et al. 2013.

Bibliography

- Aidona, E. and D. Kondopoulou (2012) 'First archaeomagnetic results and dating of Neolithic structures in northern Greece'. *Studia Geophysica et Geodaetica* 56, 827-844: doi:10.1007/s11200-011-9006-8.
- De Marco, E. (2007) 'Complete magnetic and archaeomagnetic measurements in archaeological sites: contribution to the SVC for Greece'. PhD thesis. Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece.
- De Marco, E., V. Spatharas, M. Gómez-Paccard, A. Chauvin and D. Kondopoulou (2008) 'New archaeointensity results from archaeological sites and variation of the geomagnetic field intensity for the last 7 millennia in Greece'. *Physics and Chemistry of the Earth* 33, 578-595.
- De Marco, E., E. Tema, P. Lanos and D. Kondopoulou (2014) 'An updated catalogue of Greek archaeomagnetic data for the last 4500 years and a directional secular variation curve'. *Studia Geophysica et Geodaetica* 58, 121-147.
- Donadini, F., M. Korte and C. G. Constable (2009) 'Geomagnetic field for 0-3 ka: 1. New data sets for global modelling'. *Geochemistry, Geophysics, Geosystems (G³)* 10, Q06007: doi:10.1029/2008GC002295.
- Evans, M. E. (2006) 'Archaeomagnetic investigations in Greece and their bearing on geomagnetic secular variation'. *Physics of the Earth and Planetary Interiors* 159, 90-95: doi:10.1016/j.pepi.2006.06.005
- Fanjat, G., E. Aidona, D. Kondopoulou, P. Camps, C. Rathossi and T. Poidras (2013) 'Archaeointensities in Greece during the Neolithic period: New insights into material selection and secular variation curve'. *Physics of the Earth and Planetary Interiors* 159, 29-42: doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pepi.2012.10.011.
- Genevey, A., Y. Gallet, C. Constable, M. Korte and G. Hulot (2008) 'ArcheoInt: An upgraded compilation of geomagnetic field intensity data for the past ten millennia and its application to recovery of the past dipole moment'. *Geochemistry, Geophysics, Geosystems (G³)* 9, Q04038: doi: 10.1029/2007GC001881.
- Korte, M. and C. G. Constable (2005) 'Continuous geomagnetic field models for the past 7 millennia: 2.CALS7K'. *Geochemistry, Geophysics, Geosystems (G³)* 6, Q02H16: doi: 10.1029/2004GC000801.
- Korte, M., F. Donadini and C. G. Constable (2009) 'Geomagnetic field for 0–3 ka: 2. A new series of time-varying global models'. *Geochemistry, Geophysics, Geosystems (G³)* 10, Q06008: doi:10.1029/2008GC002297.
- Kovacheva, M., Y. Boyadziev, M. Kostadinova-Avramova, N. Jordanova and F. Donadini (2009) 'Updated archaeomagnetic data set of the past 8 millennia from the Sofia laboratory, Bulgaria'. *Geochemistry, Geophysics, Geosystems (G³)* 10, Q05002: doi: 10.1029/2008GC002347.
- Krause, C. (1981) 'Eretria: Ausgrabungen 1979-1980'. *Antike Kunst* 24, 83-84.
- Krause, C. (1982) 'Eretria: Ausgrabungen 1981'. *Antike Kunst* 25,158-160.
- Lanos, P. (2004) 'Bayesian inference of calibration curves: application to archaeomagnetism'. In *Tools for Constructing Chronologies, Crossing Disciplinary Boundaries*, edited by C. E. Buck and A. R. Millard, 43-82. London: Springer-Verlag.
- Müller-Celka, S. (2010) 'Avant la cité'. In *Cité sous Terre. Des archéologues Suisses explorent la cité grecque d'Érétrie*, edited by C. M. Prouvot, 50-55, 86-88. Gollion: Infolio editions.
- Pavón-Carrasco, F. J., M. L. Osete and J. M. Torta (2010) 'Regional modelling of the geomagnetic field in Europe from 6000 BC to 1000 BC'. *Geochemistry, Geophysics, Geosystems (G³)* 11, Q11008: doi: 10.1029/2010GC003197.
- Pavón-Carrasco, F. J., M. L. Osete, J. M. Torta and L. R. Gaya-Piqué (2009) 'A regional archaeomagnetic model for Europe for the last 3000 years, SCHA.DIF.3K: applications to archaeomagnetic dating'. *Geochemistry, Geophysics, Geosystems (G³)* 10(3), Q03013: doi:10.1029/2008GC002244.
- Spatharas, V., D. Kondopoulou, E. Aidona and K. Eftimiadis (2011) 'New magnetic mineralogy and archaeointensity results from Greek kilns and baked clays'. *Studia Geophysica et Geodaetica* 55, 131-157.
- Tema, E. and D. Kondopoulou (2011) 'Secular variation of the Earth's magnetic field in the Balkan region during the last eight millennia based on archaeomagnetic data'. *Geophysical Journal International* 186, 603-614: doi: 10.1111/j.1365-246X.2011.05088.x.
- Tema, E., M. Gómez-Paccard, D. Kondopoulou and Y. Almar. (2012) 'Intensity of the Earth's magnetic field in Greece during the last five millennia: New data from Greek pottery'. *Physics of the Earth and Planetary Interiors* 202-203, 14-26: doi:10.1016/j.pepi.2012.01.12.
- Threpsiadis, I. (1959) 'Ανασκαφαί Αυλίδος'. *Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 1959, 26-33.
- Threpsiadis, I. (1961) 'Ανασκαφαί Αυλίδος'. *Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 1961, 39-44.

Figures

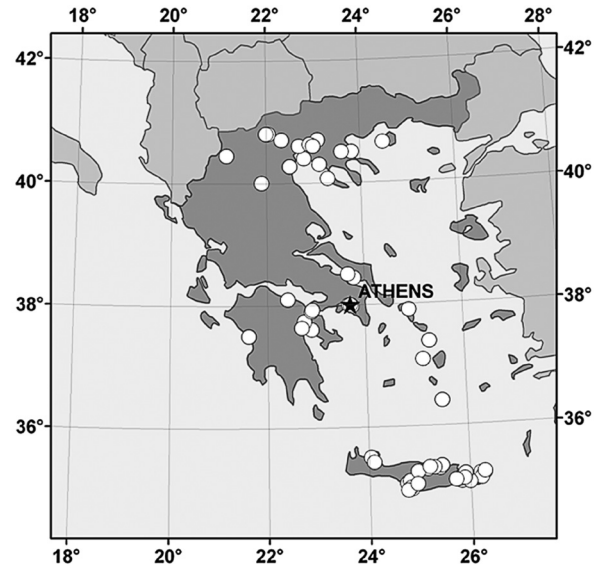


Figure 1.
Geographic distribution of the Greek archaeological sites with available directional data (De Marco et al. 2014).

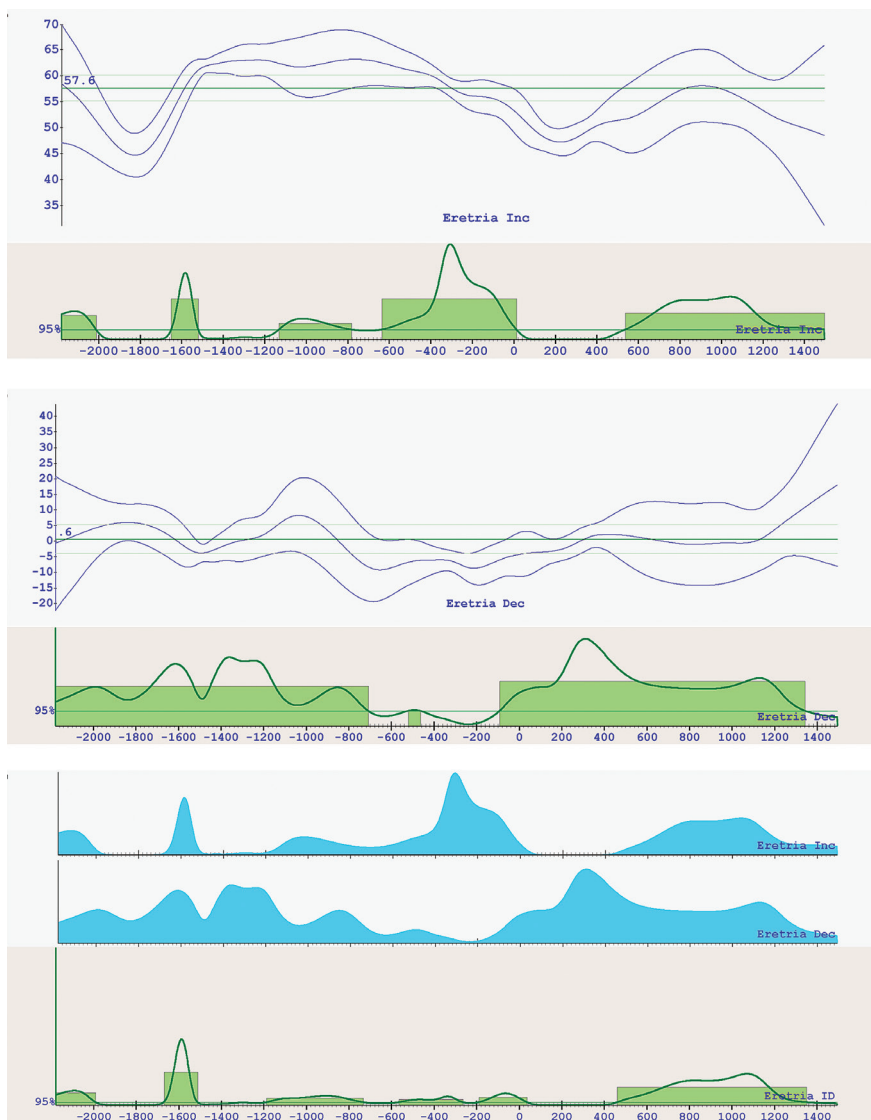


Figure 2.
Dating results obtained for the Eretria kiln with the Greek reference SV curve (Adapted from De Marco et al. 2014).

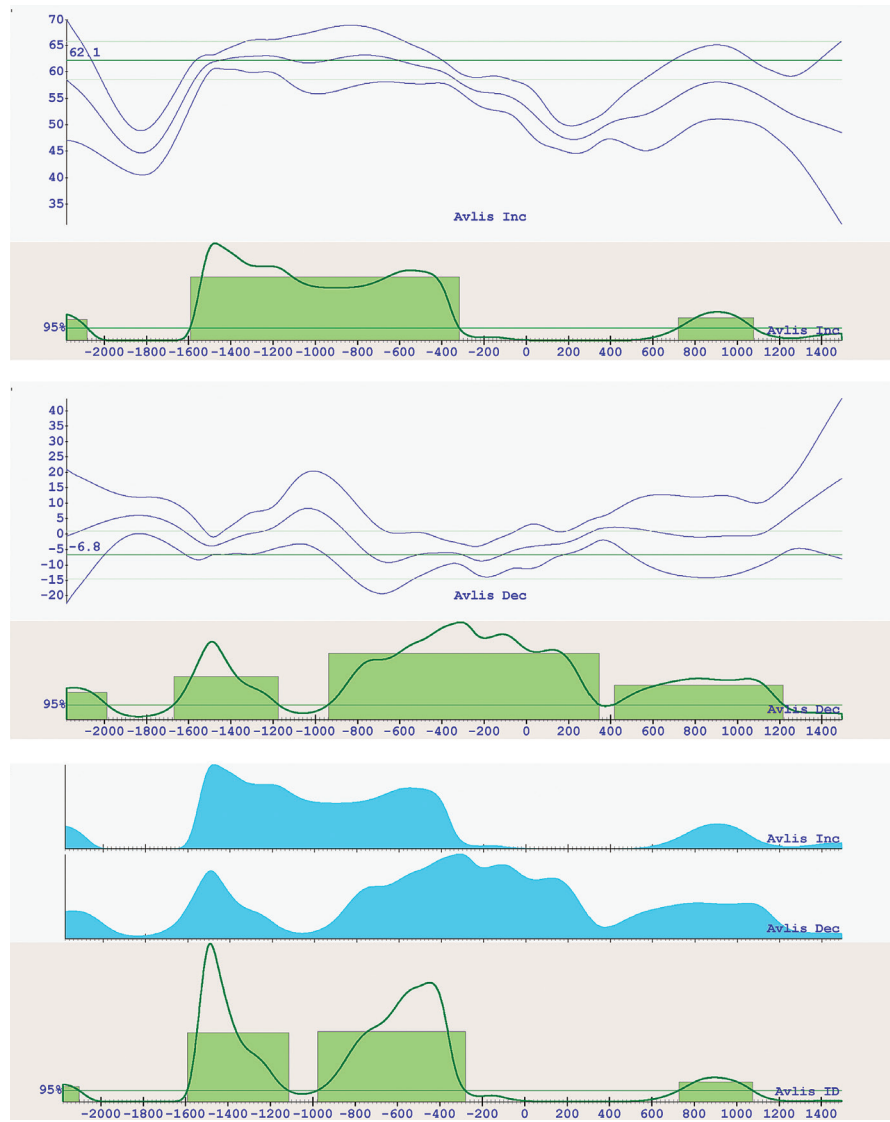


Figure 3. Dating results obtained for the Avlis kiln with the Greek reference SV curve (De Marco et al. 2014).

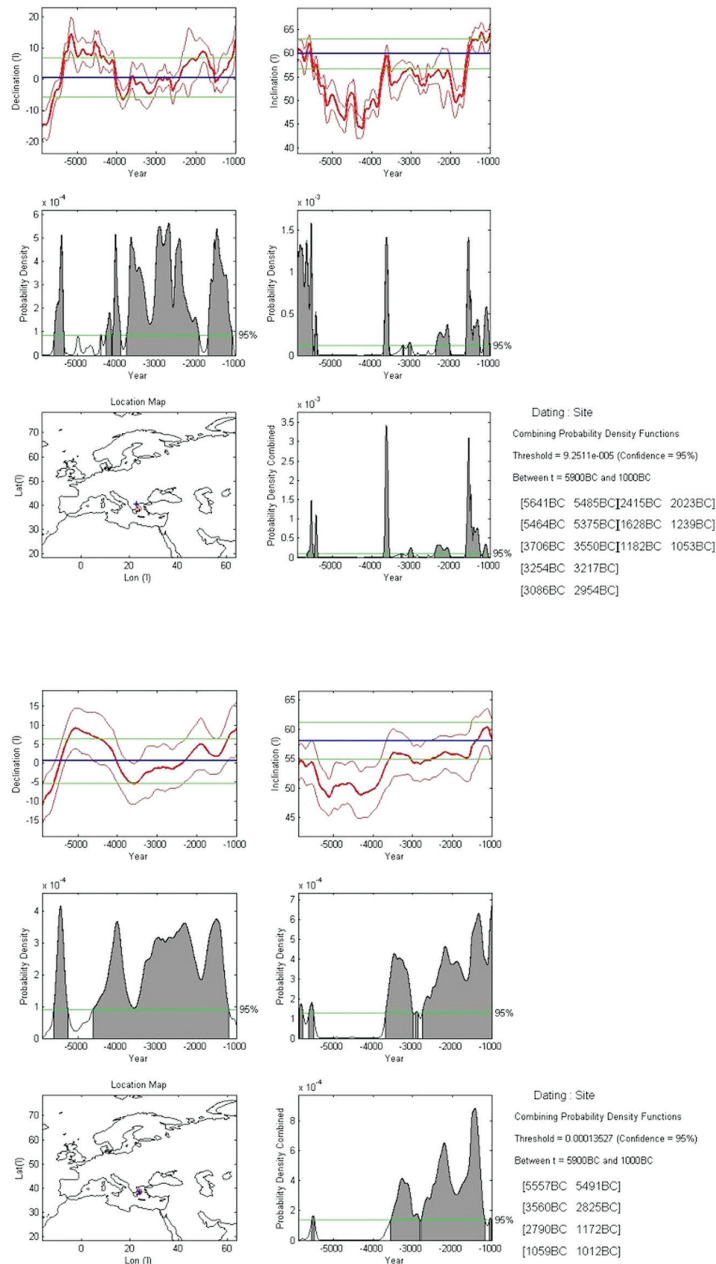


Figure 4. Dating of the Eretria kiln with the Balkan and European Regional reference curves.

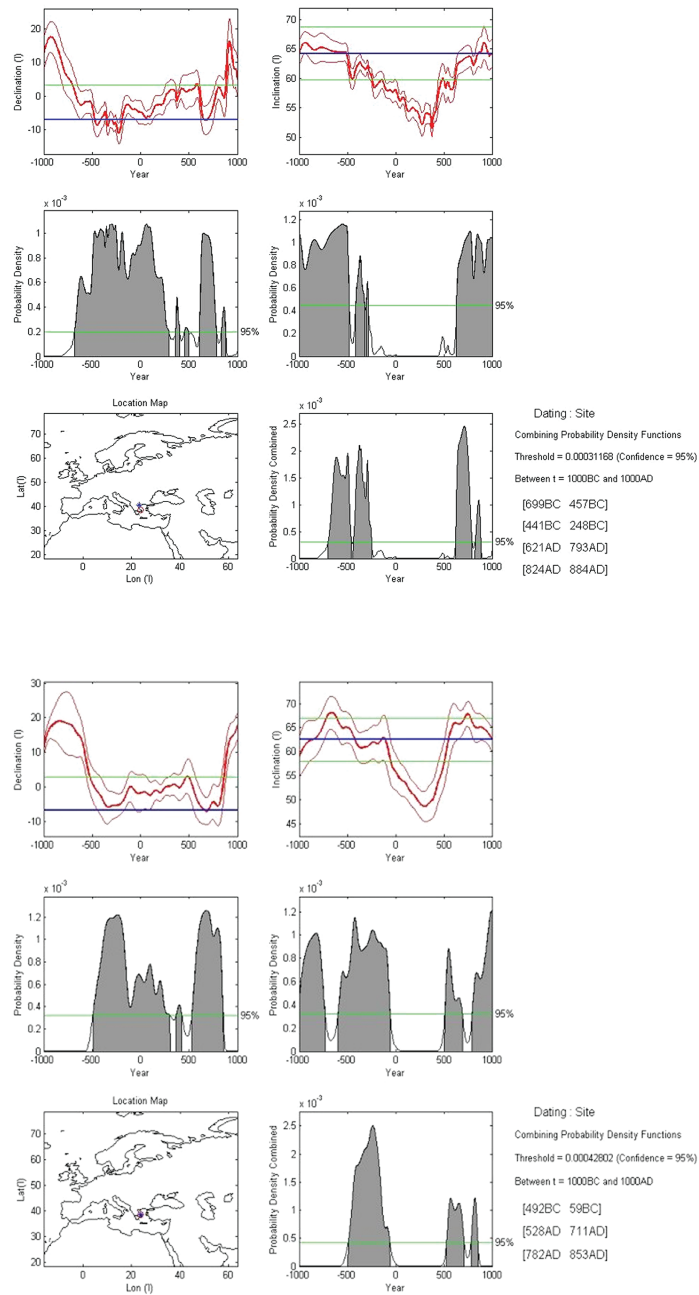


Figure 5. Dating of the Avlis kiln with the Balkan and European regional reference curves.

A conduit between two worlds: Geography and connectivity in the Euboean Gulf

Alex R. KNODELL

Since Euboea lies parallel to the whole of the coast from Sounion to Thessaly, with the exception of the ends on either side, I would connect my description of the island to the areas around it.

– Strabo 10.1.1

Περίληψη

Σε αυτό το άρθρο εξετάζεται ο ευβοϊκός κόλπος ως ένας σημαντικός αγωγός δια μέσω του οποίου σταδιακά δημιουργήθηκαν ποικίλες ανθρώπινες αλληλεπιδράσεις. Κατά καιρούς η θαλάσσια λωρίδα του ευβοϊκού κόλπου λειτουργούσε ως φράγμα μεταξύ του νησιού και της απέναντι ηπειρωτικής χώρας, αν και πολύ πιο συχνά ως ζεύξη που συνέδεε τις ακτές που βρίσκονταν εκατέρωθεν του καθώς και το βόρειο με το νότιο Αιγαίο. Από αυτό το σημείο έχουν γίνει συνδέσεις με πολύ πιο μακρινές ακτές, από την ανατολική Μεσόγειο μέχρι το βόρειο Αιγαίο και την Τυρρηνική θάλασσα. Ο ρόλος της γεωγραφικής θέσης στη μοναδική ιστορική τροχιά των περιοχών που περιβάλλουν τον ευβοϊκό κόλπο είναι αναμφισβήτητος, αν και είναι κάτι περισσότερο από αυτό καθώς αποτελεί μια σημαντική θαλάσσια διαδρομή. Ο ίδιος ο κόλπος ολόένα και περισσότερο αναγνωρίζεται ως μια ενωτική περιφερειακή οντότητα. Μέχρι τώρα σε λίγες μελέτες έχει εξεταστεί ουσιαστικά η σημασία της γεωγραφικής του θέσης – ιδίως μέσω πρακτικών, φαινομενολογικών και εννοιολογικών αλληλεπιδράσεων με αυτόν. Σκοπός αυτού του άρθρου είναι να διερευνήσει τα σημεία που διασταυρώνονται η ξηρά, η θάλασσα και οι ανθρώπινες κοινωνίες. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο μπορούν να προκύψουν σχέσεις μεταξύ της γεωγραφικής θέσης και της κινητικότητας ιδιαίτερα με τη μελέτη των χερσαίων και των θαλάσσιων διαδρομών καθώς και των στρατηγικά τοποθετημένων κόμβων και πόρων που συνδέουν αυτά τα θαλάσσια και χερσαία δίκτυα. Σε αυτή η μελέτη χρησιμοποιήθηκαν Γεωγραφικά Συστήματα Πληροφοριών (GIS) και αρχαιολογικά οικιστικά μοντέλα προκειμένου να αποδειχτεί το πώς η γεωγραφική θέση λειτουργεί τόσο ως χώρισμα όσο και ως ζεύξη ιστορικών περιοχών και μικροοικοθέσεων σε ολόκληρο τον Ευβοϊκό κόλπο. Ιδιαίτερη έμφαση δόθηκε στην Ύστερη εποχή του Χαλκού (ΥΕΧ) και στην πρώιμη εποχή του Σιδήρου (ΠΕΣ), όταν στον κόλπο σημειωνόταν έντονη δραστηριότητα με εκτεταμένες επιπτώσεις που εκτείνονταν πολύ πέρα από τις ακτές του.¹

Introduction

As a geographical entity, the Euboean Gulf is a strait that runs between the island of Euboea and the Greek mainland, but its shores touch upon several regions that are generally treated separately (Fig. 1). These regions include Attica, Boeotia, East Lokris, Thessaly and Euboea (which itself may be

1. This paper is an outgrowth of my PhD dissertation from Brown University (Knodell 2013). The scope and goals of this paper are different, focusing on geography, networks and the applicability of this framework, and this short article can only summarize some of the larger points that are treated in greater detail in the PhD thesis, to which I would refer readers for further details and explication of some arguments found here in summary form.

divided into several parts on historical or geographical grounds).² As a waterway, the Euboean Gulf, too, is often split into its northern and southern parts, and disconnected from the other bodies of water into which it flows. Yet, even as geographical designations are used to atomize these entities and their study, they might also be called upon to bring together the sites, territories and regions surrounding this body of water. This paper is largely concerned with the ability of geography, especially maritime geography, to guide social interactions, though these of course also depend on historical, socio-cultural circumstances. Like many of the papers in this volume, and like Strabo, I want to view Euboea in its larger context, in this case with respect to its immediate neighbours.

To that end, this paper is divided into three parts. I begin by discussing the role of the natural environment –specifically the maritime entity of the Euboean Gulf– in human mobility. I then turn to a means of connecting places and modelling complex interactions through network theory. Finally, I turn to the case of the Late Bronze Age (LBA) and Early Iron Age (EIA) Euboean Gulf to examine how shifting conceptions of territory, settlement and interaction impacted the social changes that occurred during this transformative period (Table 1). While this paper focuses on certain aspects of a much broader study, it nonetheless highlights the utility of diachronic approaches to network thinking, in particular in certain types of natural environments that lend themselves to interaction and mobility. The specific case discussed here concerns the LBA and EIA, but this framework has much wider relevance for the long-term history of the Euboean Gulf, an area which has served as an important maritime conduit as long as sailors have plied the shores of the Aegean.

Cultural Period	Ceramic Period	Approximate Dates BCE
Palatial Bronze Age (c.1400-1200)	Late Helladic III A1 (LH IIIA1)	1420/1410-1390/1370
	Late Helladic III A2 (LH IIIA2)	1390/1370-1330/1315
	Late Helladic III B (LH IIIB)	1330/1315-1210/1200
Postpalatial Bronze Age (c.1200-1050)	Late Helladic III C (LH IIIC)	1210/1200-1070/1040
	Early	1210/1220-1170/1160
	Middle	1170/1160-1100
	Late	1100-1070/1040
Prehistoric Iron Age (c.1050-800)	Early Protogeometric (EPG)	1070/1040-1000
	Middle Protogeometric (MPG)	1000-950
	Late Protogeometric (LPG)	950-900
	Early Geometric (EG) / Sub-Protogeometric (SPG)	900-850
	Middle Geometric I (MG I) / Sub-Protogeometric (SPG)	850-800
Protohistoric Iron Age (c.800-700/650)	Middle Geometric II (MG II)	800-750
	Late Geometric (LG)	750-700 (or 650?)

Table 1.1 Chronology for the LBA and EIA Aegean.³

2. e.g. Sackett et al. 1966.

3. For dates up to LH III B, see Manning (2010, 23, table 2.2); from the end of LH III B to EPG, see Weniger and Jung (2009, 416, fig. 14), though I have amended this to conflate LH III C Developed and LH III C Advanced into LH III C Mid-

Geographical conduits and maritime conductors

There is no question that ever since Braudel,⁴ the Mediterranean has been increasingly considered a coherent unit of study and that the sea (in abstract terms) plays a critical role in culture change and connectivity; this has even given rise to a ‘new thalassology’.⁵ The role of the sea and other maritime units in the long-term development of human societies is well evidenced by the explosion of recent academic and popular interest in large-scale maritime history.⁶ While such maritime histories are admirable and have quite significantly energized academic and popular interest in ‘big history’, there has been considerably less interest in tackling similar themes on smaller scales, or indeed on multiple scales. We might ask, therefore, how particular maritime circumstances within the Mediterranean fit into local, regional and trans-Mediterranean dynamics of human societies. The Euboean Gulf is an ideal locale for such an examination.

Several recent excavations and surveys attest to the importance of the regions surrounding the Euboean Gulf, especially in the Bronze and Iron Ages.⁷ As our knowledge of this period grows, so too does our recognition of the significance of the area, especially in relation to the late prehistory and early history of the Mediterranean as a whole. Yet few studies in this macro-region have critically examined the importance of geography as it relates to mobility, in order to consider the practical and conceptual interactions between the physical environment and human communities dwelling within it.

After an overreliance on environmentally driven approaches to archaeology in the 1960s and 1970s, this topic became somewhat unfashionable in the following decades.⁸ At the same time, however, a total rejection of environmental impacts on human activities and decision-making processes is simply not tenable. In the parlance of much contemporary archaeological theory, we might ask what agency geography, landscape and environment have in social interactions. For if we are to discuss the agency of art, idols and, more generally, materials or ‘things’,⁹ we must also include the mountains, trees, rivers, springs and sea, which were all personified and animated almost ubiquitously in the ancient world.¹⁰ So whether we consider the role of the environment in terms of agency, impact, influence or something else, it is inescapable and ever present, though this is no way the same as determinative.

Concerning the importance of the sea, Braudel¹¹ argued for a certain Mediterranean unity, a point which Horden and Purcell¹² contradicted and expanded upon, arguing that it is precisely the diversity, or disunity, of the Mediterranean that unifies it in terms of connectivity between communities. The lands surrounding the Mediterranean, and the Euboean Gulf within it, are characterized by heterogeneous sets of micro-regions, where variability, rather than uniformity, is the ecological rule. In this way, no individual micro-region was self-sufficient, and distinct places relied heavily on neighbours and connections farther afield. Many of the most basic facts of life, then, such as subsistence, marriage

dle, and I have included Sub-Mycenaean in LH III C Late (see Papadopoulos et al. 2011 for problems with Sub-Mycenaean as an independent phase); for MPG to LG see Dickinson (2006, 23, fig. 1.1) and Coldstream ([1977]2003², 435, fig. 128); for a possible extension of the Late Geometric period into the 7th century, see Papadopoulos (2003, 146; Forthcoming). See also recent work by Toffolo et al. (2013) for a summary of chronological debate within the EIA and new radiocarbon dates that largely confirm this chronology. For the non-traditional division of Prehistoric Iron Age and Protohistoric Iron Age—a designation based on socio-cultural change, rather than ceramic styles—see Knodell (2013, 28-34).

4. Braudel 1972.

5. Horden and Purcell 2006.

6. Abulafia 2010; Broodbank 2013; Norwich 2006; Paine 2013.

7. For a summary of recent fieldwork, see Lemos 2012.

8. Thomas 2012².

9. Gell 1998; Hodder 2012; Knappett 2012²; Latour 2005; Olsen et al. 2012; Witmore 2007.

10. See e.g. Horden and Purcell 2000, 403-423 on relationships between religion and the physical environment.

11. Braudel 1972.

12. Horden and Purcell 2000.

and, in general, survival, depend on interaction between micro-regions—in terms of both movement and socialization.

This resource diversification is especially relevant for the agricultural and construction needs of complex societies. By comparing current land use with landscape types suitable for particular uses of the land, we can begin to get a sense of resource distribution and regional patterning. GIS provides excellent tools for this, in which digital elevation models can be used to generate the distribution of slopes suitable for agriculture, where slopes of under 5% are considered plains, 5-10% undulated, 10-20% hilly, and over 20% extreme (Fig. 2a). This corresponds with current patterns of agricultural land on plains and some undulated areas, as well as forests over certain elevations and in certain hilly and extreme slopes (Fig. 2b).

So, while most construction and agricultural activity could have operated on a local or regional basis, even this very basic type of resource procurement necessitated movement within the landscape and encounters between communities. This trend is exaggerated further by the unequal distribution of minerals—especially metals—across the earth's surface, which serves as an impetus for interactions on an entirely different geographical scale, at times encompassing the entire Mediterranean, where rich metal deposits in south-western Spain, Sardinia, western Italy, the northern Aegean and Cyprus, among other places, have a particular capacity to connect.¹³ Also, a brief consideration of a *chaîne opératoire*¹⁴ for metal or ceramic production—involving raw material and fuel procurement, preparation of materials, primary and secondary production, circulation/exchange, consumption and deposition—highlights the wide range of scales on which such seemingly basic economic routines took place.

But how are connections between such geographies made? What are the land routes and sea routes through which interactions flow? Archaeologists are making increasing strides towards taking into account the practicalities of movement and distance, often through the use of GIS and other approaches rooted in spatial sciences.¹⁵ One particular approach of both practical and heuristic use is to model land routes based on the relative cost of passage across the landscape.¹⁶ While GIS has the ability to model exact paths between two routes, the degree to which these correspond with actual ancient pathways can rarely be known with certainty, except where there are actual road remains. However, a general 'cost surface' provides a projection of corridors through the landscape, where certain areas are more passable or favourable for traffic than others, shown here on a spectrum from green to red (Fig. 3).¹⁷ By rendering least cost paths as a surface, rather than a specifically defined vector route, we are better positioned to evaluate a range of options from a broader regional perspective—a methodology perhaps more in line with how individuals actually encounter landscapes. Perceptions change, of course, in the presence of known paths or built roads, which when known tend to fall within the corridors rendered by the cost surface. This provides a baseline model for the relative cost of passage for a human walking across a landscape. However, it does not (and cannot) account for variables such as vegetation cover or individual preferences on the part of travellers; nor does it model other forms of travel or transport, such as by horse, donkey or wheeled cart, though comparison between several types of cost surfaces could be a fruitful direction for future research. These caveats aside, the model is an extremely useful heuristic tool for evaluating the significance of archaeological settlement patterns and land-based mobility and interaction.

13. e.g. Kassianidou and Knapp 2005.

14. See Leroi-Gourhan 1964, with recent discussions in Dobres 2000; Miller 2007.

15. e.g. Bevan 2010; Bevan and Conolly 2013; Bevan and Lake, 2013; Conolly and Lake 2006.

16. e.g. Conolly and Lake 2006; Doyle et al. 2012; Siart et al. 2008.

17. This cost surface was created by modelling the relative cost of passage across a landscape, based originally on an ASTER 30-metre resolution digital elevation model (DEM). This elevation data is then combined with a study of the relative effort required to walk uphill or downhill at different slopes (Minetti et al. 2002). In order to simulate a bidirectional cost path, the values of walking uphill and downhill are added together, then used to reclassify a slope model derived from the DEM in GIS. The result gives the relative cost of passage across the landscape.

Sea routes are more difficult to model, owing to the number of variables that must be accounted for in their rendering (wind, currents, vessel type), as well as the dramatic degree to which these factors can themselves vary, based on time of year and individual weather patterns. A general sense of dominant paths, however, can be derived from studies of currents and wind direction, as in the work of Agouridis and Papageorgiou.¹⁸ Such approaches have then been successfully combined with the distribution of imports and other aspects of material culture to examine trade in the eastern Mediterranean.¹⁹ The Euboean Gulf is of particular relevance as a bidirectional path, where movement can occur relatively easily, going either way. It also affords a distinct advantage for groups that are able to control certain parts of it, for example at particular anchorages or ‘choke points’ such as the Euripos (Fig. 1). In sum, then, the Euboean Gulf was significant for as long as seafaring was practised, as a conduit that linked the north and south Aegean, as well as Euboea and the parallel coast of the mainland. Sea routes going through it, and land routes going towards and around it influenced the creation of particular nodes of interaction, often at or near places of anchorage on the coast or intersections of land routes. While these geographical conditions do not necessarily *explain* the types of interaction and social dynamics that occur over time, they do *contextualize* them in meaningful, even critical, ways.

From geography to connectivity: Mapping network models

An explanatory framework that incorporates relational elements into geographical analysis can be found in aspects of network theory. Networks are increasingly used as analytical and interpretative frameworks in archaeology and ancient history.²⁰ Well-known examples can be seen in the work of Broodbank in the Early Bronze Age Cyclades,²¹ in Knappett’s work with respect to Minoan Crete,²² and Malkin’s work on Archaic Greek expansion throughout the Mediterranean.²³ Most recently, Tartaron has brought network thinking to the Mycenaean coastal worlds of the Saronic Gulf.²⁴ My own research has worked to apply aspects of network theory to the Euboean Gulf to examine social interactions in a multi-scalar and diachronic framework.²⁵ One very productive use of network theory lies in the application of certain types of network analysis to model interactions, and then using principles concerning network behaviours to explain and interpret social change over time. Such an approach thus falls somewhere between the ‘hard’ science of networks²⁶ and what might be thought of as ‘softer’ conceptual applications of network thinking.²⁷

Four principles in particular stand out, which are found as common network behaviours in a variety of situations ranging from connections between neurons to links between Hollywood actors.²⁸ These are scale-free network growth, centrality, the small-worlds concept and the strength of weak ties (Fig. 4). Viewed together and applied to particular historical or archaeological circumstances, these can help explain interactions on multiple scales, ranging from the local, to the regional, to the trans-Mediterranean. Scale-free network growth essentially describes the rich-get-richer phenomenon, which

18. Agouridis 1997; Papageorgiou 2008.

19. Burns 2010; Sauvage 2012.

20. e.g. Knappett 2011; 2013; Knappett et al. 2008; Malkin 2003; 2011; Malkin et al. 2007.

21. Broodbank 2000.

22. Knappett 2008; 2011.

23. Malkin 2011.

24. Tartaron 2013.

25. Knodell 2013.

26. e.g. Knappett et al. 2008.

27. e.g. Malkin 2011.

28. For a general overview of network theory see, e.g., Barabási 2002.

means that places which are well connected are likely to become better connected, at least until some radical change results in dramatic reorganization.²⁹ In highly centralized networks there are few hubs, through which all interactions must go (in this graph—on the top right—there is one). This means that much control over interaction resides in a single hub, which can thus be very powerful and efficient. However, the entire system is left vulnerable to collapse—if the central hub is compromised, inhibited or removed, the whole network breaks down.³⁰ Much more common are decentralized networks, where hubs emerge in many different places. Distributed networks have no hubs. They are relatively stable, though not particularly effective in moving people, ideas or things from one side to the other—there must be many stops along the way.

A small world is a type of network where most nodes are connected to their nearest neighbours, but certain links exist which connect other small worlds to each other.³¹ A concept that operates within small-world networks is the strength of weak ties.³² While interactions between near neighbours are likely to be more frequent (or stronger) than less frequent, often longer-distance interactions between other small-world networks—that is, the weak ties—can be particularly significant. Such weak ties serve to introduce new ideas, materials or goods, and can be made exclusive to particular sects of society. If we consider the small worlds of the Euboean Gulf, changes in centrality are extremely important for how societies operate locally and regionally, and changes in weak ties—especially access to them—are relevant for interregional, long-distance and intercultural interactions. These come together when the small worlds that operate locally and regionally are joined by weak ties.

As an analytical method, I use Proximal Point Analysis (PPA) to create networks based on the settlement patterns of the regions surrounding the Euboean Gulf in the LBA and EIA (Fig. 5).³³ This analysis assumes connections between each site represented in the settlement pattern and a minimum of its three nearest neighbours, in order to extrapolate likely interactions as a baseline for analysis. This assumption is made based on the predilection towards connectivity exhibited in Mediterranean environments, where microecological variability necessitates a certain amount of interaction to sustain human societies. Moreover, we are dealing with mostly small communities, where interaction is further necessitated by economic practices, such as craft and agricultural production and exchange, as well as social purposes, such as exogamy and more general intercommunity socialization.

Such networks can then be considered together with geographical circumstances and known aspects of material, visual and textual culture, in particular with respect to how they change over time. The network principles outlined above, when viewed in light of this model of macro-regional interaction and archaeological evidence, wield great explanatory power when examining the drastic social changes that occurred in the Euboean Gulf in the late 2nd and early 1st millennia BCE. So, while networks do not provide a definite formula with a clear answer, they offer useful interpretative frameworks that are certainly relevant in this period, and might also be usefully applied to others.

Modelling transitions: From Bronze Age to Iron Age

The Mycenaean Palatial period differed dramatically from what came before and after it in central Greece. Rapid shifts in power dynamics at major centres, such as Orchomenos and Thebes, can

29. Barabási and Albert 1999.

30. Baran 1964.

31. Watts and Strogatz 1998.

32. Granovetter 1973.

33. For previous applications of PPA to archaeological research see, e.g., Broodbank 2000; Terrell 1977.

be characterized as state-formation processes and marked intensifications in social complexity.³⁴ Networks became highly centralized around these centres, as evidenced by material changes in the form of an expansion of settlement across the landscape, as well as monumental building and exclusivity in the consumption of foreign exotica at particular centres. The Linear B archives from Thebes clarify the picture further, indicating that this was the main centre for agricultural consumption in Boeotia.³⁵ While imports and exotica are not in the domain of the tablets, the archaeological record indicates that these too were focused on the palace,³⁶ and must have arrived from the eastern Mediterranean via the Euboean Gulf. A regional centralization of consumption and labour at the locations of the palaces is thus clear; at the same time, ties between palaces are evident in the shared 'package' of palatial architecture, administrative texts and elite material culture. More mundane, everyday networks tied together smaller-scale settlements, but the centrality of the palaces—both geographically and in network terms—remains evident even when evaluating a PPA of the palatial settlement pattern (Fig. 5a).

The territories of Mycenaean states are hard to define, though network perspectives are helpful in terms of seeing how places connect. In the Euboean Gulf, there were certainly places that were outside the control of the Mycenaean palaces, whose hegemonic aims, I argue, were rather strictly regional. For example, I do not believe that Euboea was under the direct control of Thebes, despite the appearance of Karystos and Amarynthos in the Theban Linear B documents. Like Palaima,³⁷ I recognize that this signifies contact and perhaps influence, but I have a minimalist view concerning a Theban hegemony applying to Euboea. The Linear B archives at Thebes (and elsewhere) lend themselves naturally to network approaches, as places that are mentioned in a hierarchical relationship to Thebes tend to be much closer, located in southern Boeotia.³⁸ The greater network distance to Euboea suggests that both this and geographical distance were quite important for Mycenaean palaces. On its own this argument is plausible, but is better supported by the diachronic perspective adopted here.

It appears that Euboea and parts of the mainland in the northern Euboean Gulf were very much outside palatial influence, precisely because of what happened when the palaces went away. The palatial collapse was near total, largely because of what made the palaces successful in the short term—the high degree of centralization, especially with respect to political geography. But as areas under palatial control fell into disarray, a power vacuum was filled by regions such as east Lokris and central Euboea.

The Postpalatial, LH IIIC settlement pattern is very different from the pattern in the Palatial period, which resulted in major shifts in the network model of inter-site interaction (Fig. 5b). This reorganization is oriented very strongly towards the Euboean Gulf. The distribution of archaeological sites shifts overwhelmingly towards the coast, something which can be noted especially in the largest and most influential settlements such as Lefkandi and Kynos.³⁹ This is supported by the iconographic revival of LH IIIC middle, in which imagery of seafaring, often violent, surged markedly after being nearly absent in the Palatial period.⁴⁰ These sites and others, such as Perati⁴¹ in the southern Euboean Gulf, seem to co-opt long-distance ties to the eastern Mediterranean, likely because the Euboean Gulf remained an important destination as a major sea route through the Aegean, despite the palatial collapse. Recent work on the quantification of Postpalatial imports by Murray has shown that the trend

34. Knodell 2013, 131-136; Phialon 2011.

35. Aravantinos et al. 2001; Del Frio 2009.

36. Dakouri-Hild 2010.

37. Palaima 2011.

38. Del Frio 2009.

39. Dakoronia 2003; 2009; Evely 2006.

40. Dakoronia 1990; Thomatos 2006; Wachsmann 1998.

41. Iakovidis 1980; 2003a; 2003b.

for coastal living is reflected to an even greater extent in terms of long-distance connections, especially in the Euboean Gulf.⁴²

The Postpalatial shift in the regional politics of power—and the networks that connected settlements throughout the region—continued into the Prehistoric Iron Age, when further reorganization occurs. Numbers of sites increase, and the coastal emphasis is not as profound, though is still very much present in places such as central Euboea. Lefkandi, in particular, exhibits marked growth in socio-political complexity, with major inequalities represented in the burials of the famous Toumba Building⁴³ and Toumba Cemetery.⁴⁴ Lefkandi also has clear ties to Athens in terms of its ceramic imports and influences, as well as the wider Aegean world in the form of an Euboean *koine* that Lemos argues encompasses the central and southern Euboean Gulf, as well as Skyros and certain parts of the Cyclades, with some influences extending into Macedonia.⁴⁵ While the exact nature of this *koine* is debatable, it is at the very least indicative of mobile materials, technologies and ideas, in which central Euboea—and thus the Euboean Gulf—played a major role.

The shift from the Postpalatial Bronze Age to Prehistoric Iron Age settlement pattern (Fig. 5c) is noteworthy, in that the consequent reorganization of the regional network model would seem to reflect a more outward-looking Athens and Attica. This expansion seems to reflect on the one hand a broad consolidation within Attica, demonstrated by the growth of Athens and a pattern of re-centralization, and on the other an expansion of Attic interaction on the macro-regional level; there is no question that Attic Protogeometric is the most widespread and influential pottery style of this period, followed closely by Euboean Protogeometric.⁴⁶

Finally, the wealthy cemeteries of Lefkandi, Athens, Thessaly and East Lokris exhibit connections to the eastern Mediterranean, again quantified in recent work by Murray.⁴⁷ This work also shows that such connections were the exception, rather than the rule for EIA Greece, highlighting the importance of the Euboean Gulf and places well connected to it; the Argolic Gulf and Crete are the only regions besides those included in this study to have significant imports, and the trend within the Euboean Gulf macro-region is again very coastal. Import trends are roughly paralleled by export trends from Euboea and Athens, which are known from the relatively widely distributed findspots of Attic and Euboean pottery in Cyprus and the Levant.⁴⁸

In a way, the Euboean Gulf and Mediterranean as a whole were well primed for what happened next—a coincident explosion of both settlement and seafaring, which caused major shifts in mobility on local, regional and trans-Mediterranean scales. The massive intensification of settlement in the 8th-century (Protohistoric Iron Age) landscape no doubt resulted in a certain amount of crowding (Fig. 5d). This crowding had important consequences for mobility between communities. As a simple matter of proxemics, necessary interactions cover shorter distances and are likely to have occurred more frequently, resulting in either conflict or the reinforcement of social ties. This change would also have affected conceptions of geography. Networks, too, would have shifted, becoming much more intensive, and in some cases more localized, or closed, as is the case in East Lokris. To some extent, this can help to explain the regionalization seen in the Late Geometric period in the form of regionally distinct pottery styles⁴⁹ and epichoric alphabets.⁵⁰ Such shifts may also be re-

42. Murray 2013, 314.

43. Catling and Lemos 1990; Popham et al. 1993.

44. Popham and Lemos 1996.

45. Lemos 2002, 213.

46. Coldstream [1977]2003²; Lemos 2002; Snodgrass [1971]2000.

47. Murray 2013, 351.

48. Lemos 2002, 229.

49. Coldstream 1983.

50. Jeffery [1961]1989.

flected in semi-legendary accounts of early Greece, concerning the consolidation of Attica and the Lelantine War.

In network terms, there was a tightening of small worlds, which resulted in new trends in material culture and societal practices. Coincident with the emergence of regionally specific pottery styles and alphabets, new types of religious practice emerged in the form of tomb cult, hero cult and non-urban sanctuaries⁵¹—these are memory-driven, group-formation practices linked to specific parts of an increasingly crowded landscape. Regional sanctuaries such as Kalapodi also continued as places of meditation within and between regions; some of these would evolve into Panhellenic sanctuaries, although not in the Euboean Gulf—a point that would be of great consequence for the future.

Long-distance interactions can also benefit from some rethinking in network terms. The Euboean Gulf was clearly a place of great importance in the 8th-century Mediterranean. Chalkis and Eretria are well known as the points of origin for some of the earliest Greek settlements overseas, first at Pithekoussai, then several other places in western Italy, Sicily, Kerkyra and the northern Aegean.⁵² To the east, Euboea certainly was a place of interface with Phoenician traders from the Prehistoric Iron Age, as indicated by the impressive finds at Lefkandi. The region also appears to be of great significance for the earliest adaptation of the Phoenician script into the Greek alphabet. Of the 15 earliest (8th-century) findspots of alphabetic inscriptions in Greece, five are located in the regions surrounding the Euboean Gulf (Lefkandi, Eretria, Oropos, Kalapodi, Athens) and a further three are located in places with close ties to Euboea (Pithekoussai, Methone, Al Mina). Moreover, multiple inscriptions have been found at several of these sites.⁵³ The rapid diffusion of this innovation throughout the Greek-speaking world (and beyond) was followed quickly by the development of regional variants in the form of epichoric scripts, which as noted above has a parallel trend in decorated pottery.

The combination of long-distance interactions, serving here as weak ties linking the small worlds of the Euboean Gulf to the wider Mediterranean, served to both globalize and localize Greek society in the face of an increasingly connected world. The settlement networks seen in Fig. 5d aid in the explanation of other social phenomena, as well as demonstrating the role of physical and relational geography in the highly dynamic Euboean Gulf in the LBA and EIA.

Conclusions and implications

In this brief paper I have sought to summarize how settlement networks operate within the macro-region of the Euboean Gulf to impact seemingly divergent social phenomena. In particular, I have argued that the geopolitics of the Palatial period were left fragile by the centralized nature of the social networks operating in this particular region. This allowed for the emergence of other locales, other centres, precisely in the regions that had not been affected greatly by the Mycenaean palaces. In the following Iron Age, political and settlement networks continued to shift, and can shed light on the wide variety of social and technological innovations of this period. The transition into the Postpalatial period set the tone for the centuries that followed, in which a rapid change towards greater coastal mobility resulted in the Euboean Gulf generally outpacing the rest of the Greek world, in trends parallel to the course of the eastern Mediterranean. In the 8th century, however, a tipping point was reached as settlement pattern shifts redrew the parameters of local and regional interactions and some groups (Euboeans especially) followed their Phoenician associates westwards. Such changes in the character

51. Antonaccio 1995; Knodell 2013, 300-304; de Polignac 1995; Snodgrass 1980, 37-38.

52. Knodell 2013, 290-300.

53. See Knodell 2013, 305-315 for a full discussion with tables and references.

and scale of physical mobility had far-reaching consequences, which coincided quite profoundly with a more conceptual cultural shift—a media revolution involving a new semiotic system in the form of an alphabetic script and a return to figural art.⁵⁴

Modelling nearest neighbour networks using a proximal point analysis is most valuable when undertaken diachronically and in combination with other cultural and geographical information, as well as explanatory concepts derived from network theory. Such a synthetic, interpretative and explanatory approach has been particularly informative in this specific case, but can also be applied to other periods and places. As this contribution demonstrates, Euboea has a long history as a strategic location, in particular at Euripos. Indeed, even when Euboea was subsumed by larger political entities this significance remained part of greater Macedonian, Roman, Byzantine, Venetian, Ottoman or Greek governmental entities. Thus, with respect to long-term regional history, the two worlds of the island and mainland are in some ways separate, but at the same time inextricably intertwined by the history, politics and interactions that link the small worlds surrounding the Euboean Gulf.

54. See Knodell 2013, 304-321 for a full discussion of this media revolution.

Bibliography

- Abulafia, D. (2010) *The Great Sea*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Agouridis, C. (1997) 'Sea Routes and Navigation in the Third Millennium Aegean.' *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 16(1), 1-24.
- Antonaccio, C. M. (1995) *An Archaeology of Ancestors: Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Early Greece*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Aravantinos, V., L. Godart and A. Sacconi, eds. (2001) 'Les tablettes en Linéaire B de la Odos Pelopidou, édition et commentaire.' Vol. I of *Thèbes: Fouilles de la Cadmée*. Rome: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali.
- Barabási, A-L. (2002) *Linked: The New Science of Networks*. Cambridge: Perseus Publishing.
- Barabási, A-L. and R. Albert (1999) 'Emergence of Scaling in Random Networks.' *Science* 286, 509-512.
- Baran, P. (1964) 'On Distributed Communications Networks.' *IEEE Transactions on Communications Systems* 12(1), 1-9.
- Bevan, A. (2010) 'Political Geography and Palatial Crete.' *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 23(1), 27-54.
- Bevan, A. and J. Conolly (2013) *Mediterranean Islands, Fragile Communities and Persistent Landscapes: Antikythera in Long-term Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bevan, A. and M. Lake, eds. (2013) *Computational Approaches to Archaeological Spaces*. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Braudel, F. (1972) *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Broodbank, C. (2000) *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Broodbank, C. (2013) *The Making of the Middle Sea: A History of the Mediterranean from the Beginning to the Emergence of the Classical World*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Burns, B. (2010) *Mycenaean Greece, Mediterranean Commerce, and the Formation of Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Catling, R. W. V. and I. S. Lemos (1990) 'The Protogeometric Building at Toumba [Part 1: The Pottery]'. Vol. II of *Lefkandi*. London: British School at Athens.
- Coldstream, J. N. ([1977]2003²) *Geometric Greece: 900-700 BC*. New York: Routledge.
- Coldstream, J. N. (1983) 'The Meaning of Regional Styles in the Eighth Century BC'. In *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B.C.: Tradition and Innovation, Proceedings of the Second International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 1-5 June, 1981*, edited by R. Hägg, 17-25. Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 4^o 30. Stockholm: Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen.
- Conolly, J. and M. Lake (2006) *Geographical Information Systems in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dakoronia, F. (1990) 'War-Ships on Sherds of LH III C Kraters from Kynos'. In *2nd International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity, Delphi, 27, 28, 29 August 1987: Proceedings*, edited by H. E. Tzalas, 117-122. Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.
- Dakoronia, F. (2003) 'The Transition from Late Helladic III C to The Early Iron Age at Kynos'. In *LH III C Chronology and Synchronisms: Proceedings of the International Workshop Held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences at Vienna, May 7th and 8th, 2001*, edited by S. Deger-Jalkotzy and M. Zavadil, 37-51. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Dakoronia, F. (2009) 'Kynos' Pace to the Early Iron Age'. In *LH III C Chronology and Synchronisms III, LH III C Late and the Transition to the Early Iron Age: Proceedings of the International Workshop Held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences at Vienna, February 23rd and 24th, 2007*, edited by S. Deger-Jalkotzy and A. E. Bächle, 61-76. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Dakouri-Hild, A. (2010) 'Thebes'. In *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean*, edited by E. H. Cline, 690-711. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Del Frio, M. (2009) 'The Geographical Names in the Linear B Texts from Thebes.' *Pasiphae* 3, 41-68.
- De Polignac, F. (1995) *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State* [trans. J. Lloyd]. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Dickinson, O. (2006) *The Aegean from Bronze Age to Iron Age: Continuity and Change between the Twelfth and Eighth Centuries BC*. New York: Routledge.
- Dobres, M. (2000) *Technology and Social Agency: Outlining a Practice Framework for Archaeology*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Doyle, J. A., T. G. Garrison and S. D. Houston (2012) 'Watchful Realms: Integrating GIS Analysis and Political History in the Southern Maya Lowlands'. *Antiquity* 86, 792-807.
- Evely, D., ed. (2006) 'The Bronze Age: The Late Helladic IIIC Settlement at Xeropolis'. Vol. IV of *Lefkandi*. London: The British School at Athens.
- Gell, A. (1998) *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Granovetter, M. S. (1973) 'The Strength of Weak Ties'. *American Journal of Sociology* 78(6), 1360-1380.
- Hodder, I. (2012) *Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationship Between People and Things*. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Horden, P. and N. Purcell (2000) *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Horden, P. and N. Purcell (2006) 'The Mediterranean and "the New Thalassology"'. *American Historical Review* 111(3), 722-740.
- Iakovidis, S. (1980) *Excavations of the Necropolis at Perati*. Los Angeles: Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Iakovidis, S. (2003a) 'Late Helladic IIIC at Perati'. In *LH III C Chronology and Synchronisms: Proceedings of the International Workshop Held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences at Vienna, May 7th and 8th, 2001*, edited by S. Deger-Jalkotzy and M. Zavadil, 125-130. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Iakovidis, S. (2003b) 'Late Mycenaean Perati and the Levant'. In Vol. II of *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C. Proceedings of the SCIEEM 2000 - EuroConference, Haindorf, 2nd of May - 7th of May 2001*, edited by M. Bietak and H. Hunger, 501-511. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Jeffery, L.H. ([1961]1989) *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece: A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries B.C.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kassianidou, V. and A. B. Knapp (2005) 'Archaeometallurgy in the Mediterranean: The Social Context of Mining, Technology and Trade'. In *The Archaeology of Mediterranean Prehistory*, edited by E. Blake and A. B. Knapp, 215-251. Malden: Blackwell.
- Knappett, C. (2008) 'The Neglected Networks of Material Agency: Artefacts, Pictures and Texts'. In *Material Agency: Towards a Non-Anthropocentric Approach*, edited by C. Knappett and L. Malafouris, 139-156. New York: Springer.
- Knappett, C. (2011) *An Archaeology of Interaction: Network Perspectives on Material Culture and Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Knappett, C. (2012²) 'Materiality'. In *Archaeological Theory Today*, edited by I. Hodder, 188-207. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Knappett, C., ed. (2013) *Network Analysis in Archaeology: New Approaches to Regional Interaction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Knappett, C., T. Evans and R. Rivers (2008) 'Modelling Maritime Interaction in the Aegean Bronze Age'. *Antiquity* 82, 1009-1024.
- Knodell, A. R. (2013) 'Small-World Networks and Mediterranean Dynamics in the Euboean Gulf: An Archaeology of Complexity in Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Greece'. PhD thesis. Brown University, USA.
- Latour, B. (2005) *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lemos, I. S. (2002) *The Protoegeometric Aegean: The Archaeology of the Late Eleventh and Tenth Centuries BC*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lemos, I. S. (2012) 'Euboea and Central Greece in the Post-Palatial and Early Greek Periods'. *Archaeological Reports* 58, 19-27.
- Leroi-Gourhan, A. (1964) *Le Geste et la Parole*. Paris: A. Michel.

- Malkin, I. (2003) 'Networks and the Emergence of Greek Identity'. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18(2), 56-74.
- Malkin, I. (2011) *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Malkin, I., C. Constantakopoulou and K. Panagopoulou (2007) 'Preface: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean'. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 22(1), 1-9.
- Manning, S. (2010) 'Chronology and Terminology'. In *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean*, edited by E. Cline, 11-28. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Miller, H. (2007) *Archaeological Approaches to Technology*. Burlington: Academic Press.
- Minetti, A. E., C. Moia, G. S. Roi, D. Susta and G. Ferretti (2002) 'Energy Cost of Walking and Running at Extreme Uphill and Downhill Slopes'. *Journal of Applied Physiology* 93, 1039-1046.
- Murray, S. C. (2013) 'Trade, Imports, and Society in Early Greece: 1300-900 B.C.E'. PhD thesis. Stanford University, USA.
- Norwich, J. J. (2006) *The Middle Sea: A History of the Mediterranean*. New York: Doubleday.
- Olsen, B., M. Shanks, T. Webmore and C. Witmore (2012) *Archaeology: The Discipline of Things*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Paine, L. (2013) *The Sea and Civilization: A Maritime History of the World*. New York: Knopf.
- Palaima, T. (2011) 'Euboea, Athens, Thebes and Kadmos: The Implications of the Linear B References'. In *Euboea and Athens: Proceedings of a Colloquium in Memory of Malcolm B. Wallace. Athens, 26-27 June 2009*, edited by D. W. Rupp and J. E. Tomlinson, 53-75. Athens: Canadian Institute in Greece.
- Papadopoulos, J. K. (2003) 'Ceramicus Redivivus: The Early Iron Age Potters' Field in the Area of the Classical Athenian Agora'. *Hesperia Supplement* 31.
- Papadopoulos, J. K. (2014) 'Greece in the Early Iron Age: Mobility, Commodities, Politics and Literacy'. In *The Cambridge Prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean*, edited by A. Bernard Knapp and P. van Dommelen, 178-195. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Papadopoulos, J. K., B. N. Damiata and J. M. Marston (2011) 'Once More with Feeling: Jeremy Rutter's Plea for the Abandonment of the Term Submycenaean Revisited'. In *Our Cups are Full: Pottery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age: Papers Presented to Jeremy B. Rutter on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, edited by W. Gauß, M. Lindblom, R. Angus K. Smith and J. C. Wright, 187-202. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Papageorgiou, D. (2008) 'The Marine Environment and its Influence on Seafaring and Maritime Routes in the Prehistoric Aegean'. *European Journal of Archaeology* 11(2-3), 199-222.
- Phialon, L. (2011) *L'émergence de la civilisation mycénienne en Grèce centrale*. Liège: Peeters.
- Popham, M. R., P. G. Calligas and L. Hugh Sackett, eds. (1993) 'The Protogeometric Building at Toumba. Part 2: The Excavation, Architecture and Finds'. Vol. II of *Lefkandi*. London: The British School at Athens.
- Popham, M. R. and I. Lemos (1996) 'The Toumba Cemetery [Plates]'. Vol. III of *Lefkandi*. London: The British School at Athens.
- Sackett, L. H., V. Hankey, R. J. Howell, T. W. Jacobsen and M. R. Popham (1966) 'Prehistoric Euboea: Contributions toward a Survey'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 61, 33-112.
- Sauvage, C. (2012) 'Routes maritimes et systèmes d'échanges internationaux: Au Bronze Récent en Méditerranée orientale'. Vol. 61 of *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée*. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée.
- Siart, C., B. Eitel and D. Panagiotopoulos (2008) 'Investigation of Past Archaeological Landscapes Using Remote Sensing and GIS: A Multi-Method Case Study from Mount Ida, Crete'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 35, 2918-2926.
- Snodgrass, A. ([1971]2000) *The Dark Age of Greece*. New York: Routledge.
- Snodgrass, A. (1980) *Archaic Greece: The Age of Experiment*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Tartaron, T. (2013) *Maritime Networks in the Mycenaean World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Terrell, J. (1977) *Human Biogeography in the Solomon Islands*. Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History.
- Thomas, J. (2012) 'Archaeologies of Place and Landscape'. In *Archaeological Theory Today*, edited by I. Hodder, 167-187. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Thomatos, M. (2006) *The Final Revival of the Aegean Bronze Age: A Case Study of the Argolid, Corinthia, Attica, Euboea, the Cyclades and the Dodecanese during LH IIIC Middle*. Oxford: Archaeopress.

- Toffolo, M. B., A. Fantalkin, I. S. Lemos, R. C. S. Felsch, W-D Niemeier, G. D. R. Sanders, I. Finkelstein and E. Boaretto (2013) 'Towards an Absolute Chronology for the Aegean Iron Age: New Radiocarbon Dates from Lefkandi, Kalapodi and Corinth'. *PLOS ONE* 8(2), e83117: doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0083117.
- Wachsmann, S. (1998) *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press.
- Watts, D. J. and S. H. Strogatz (1998) 'Collective Dynamics of "Small-World" Networks'. *Nature* 393(6684), 440-442.
- Weniger, B. and R. Jung (2009) 'Absolute Chronology of the End of the Aegean Bronze Age'. In *LH III C Chronology and Synchronisms III: LH III C Late and the Transition to the Early Iron Age. Proceedings of the International Workshop Held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences at Vienna, February 23rd and 24th, 2007*, edited by S. Deger-Jalkotzy and A. E. Bächle, 373-416. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Witmore, C. L. (2007) 'Symmetrical Archaeology: Excerpts of a Manifesto'. *World Archaeology* 39(4), 546-562.

Figures

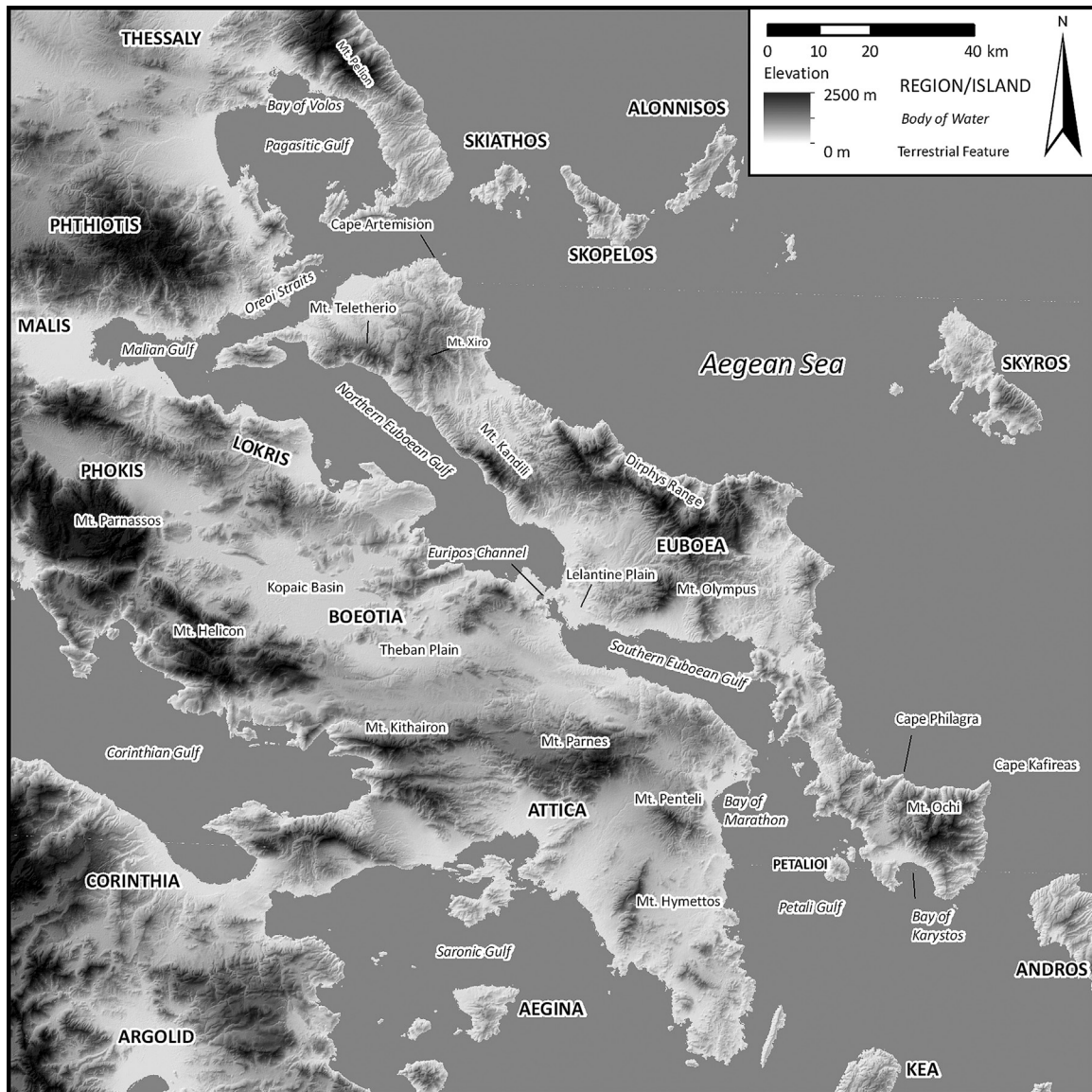


Figure 1. Geography of the Euboean Gulf and surrounding regions (Knodell 2013, 348, fig. 4.1).

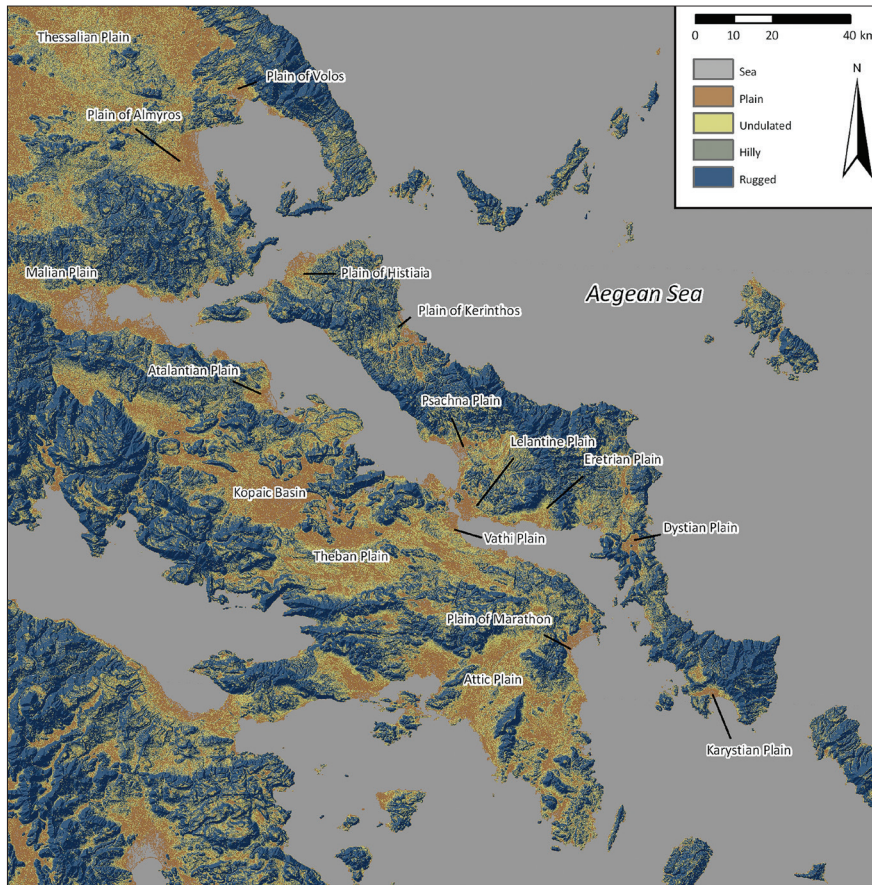
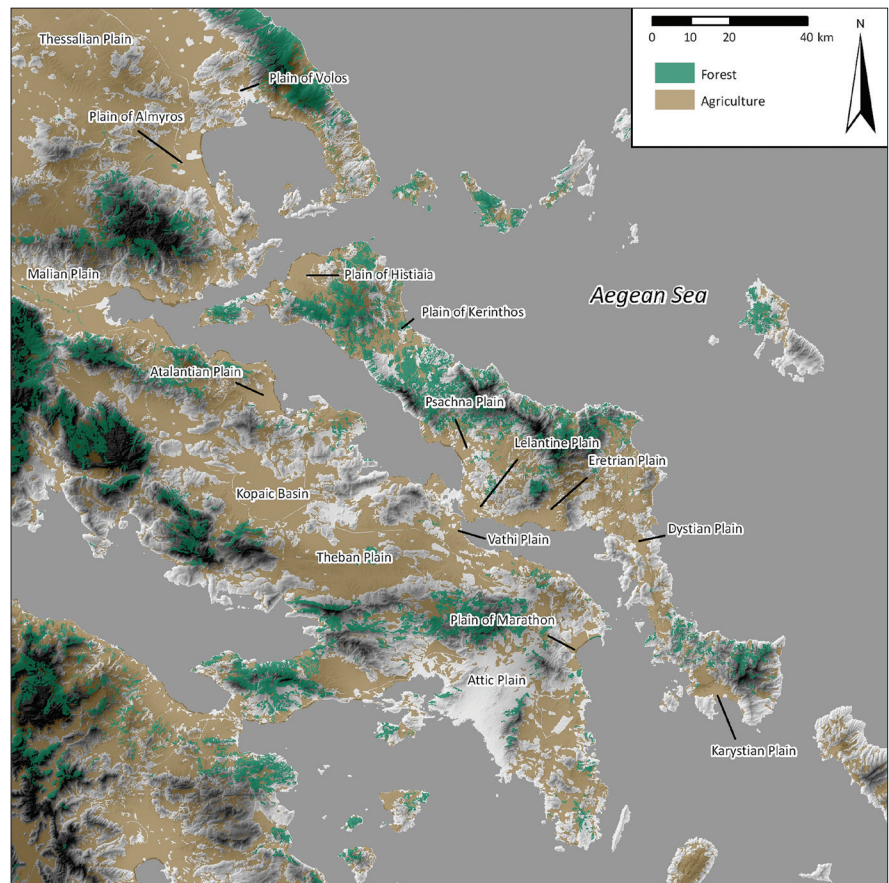


Figure 2. Landscape characterization of central Greece: (a) slope-based model of landscape type; and (b) modern land use (see Knodell 2013, 363-364, figs. 4.17 and 4.18).



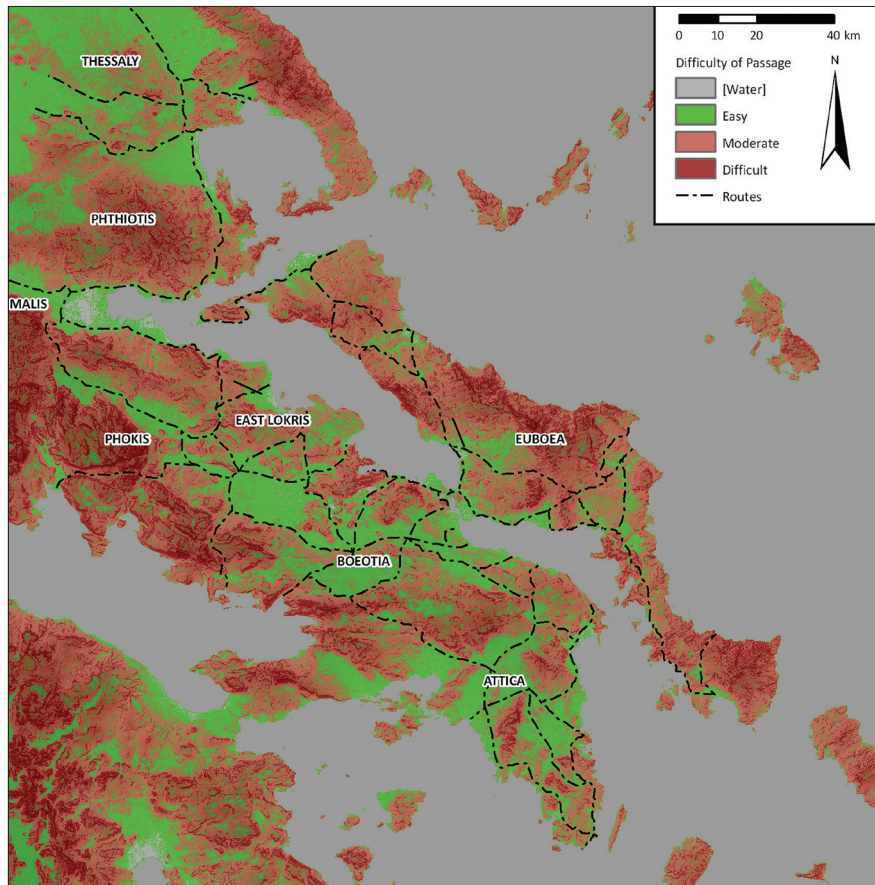


Figure 3. Transportation corridors through regions surrounding the Euboean Gulf, indicating cost of passage across the landscape and major land routes (Knodel 2013, 353, fig. 4.7).

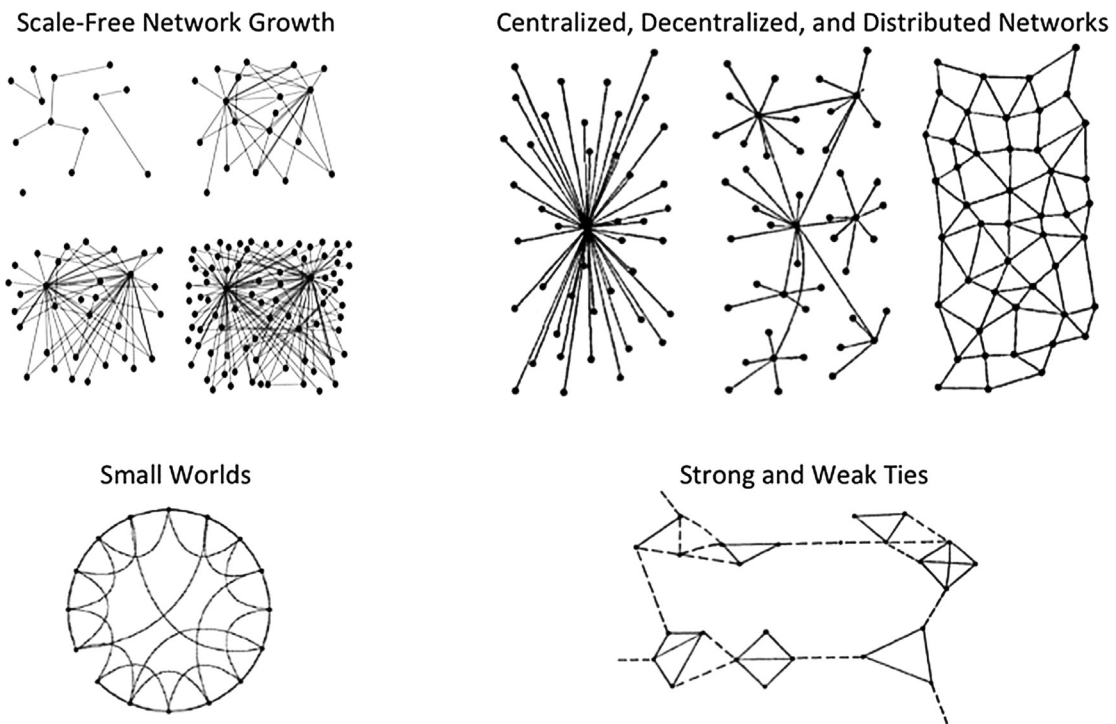
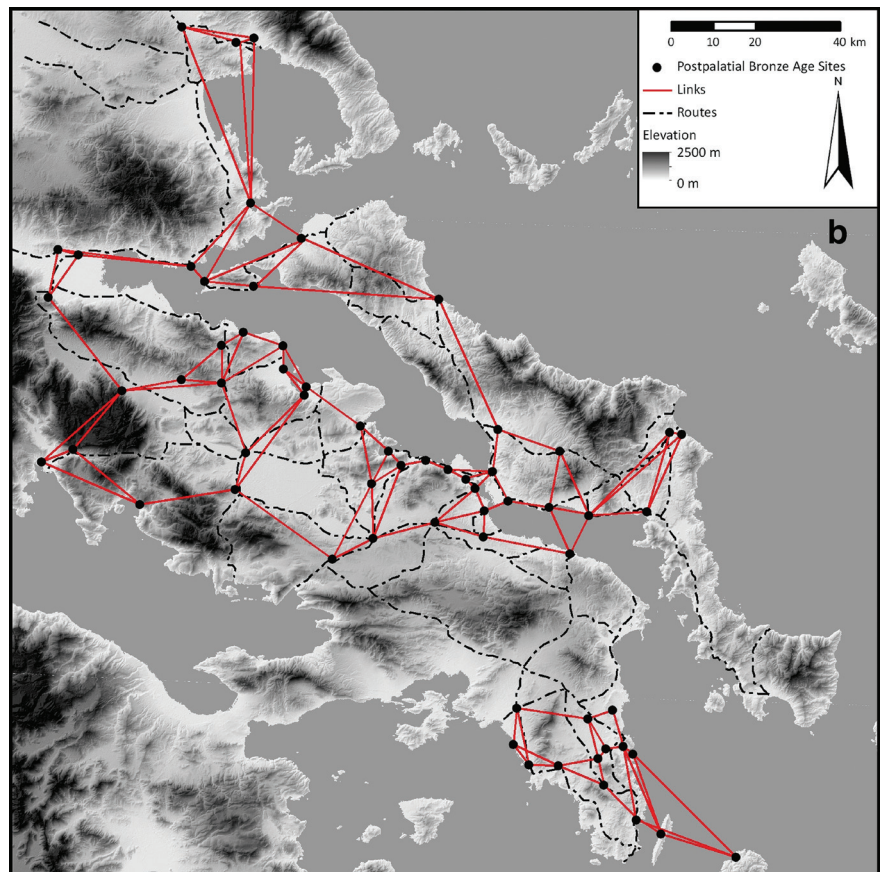
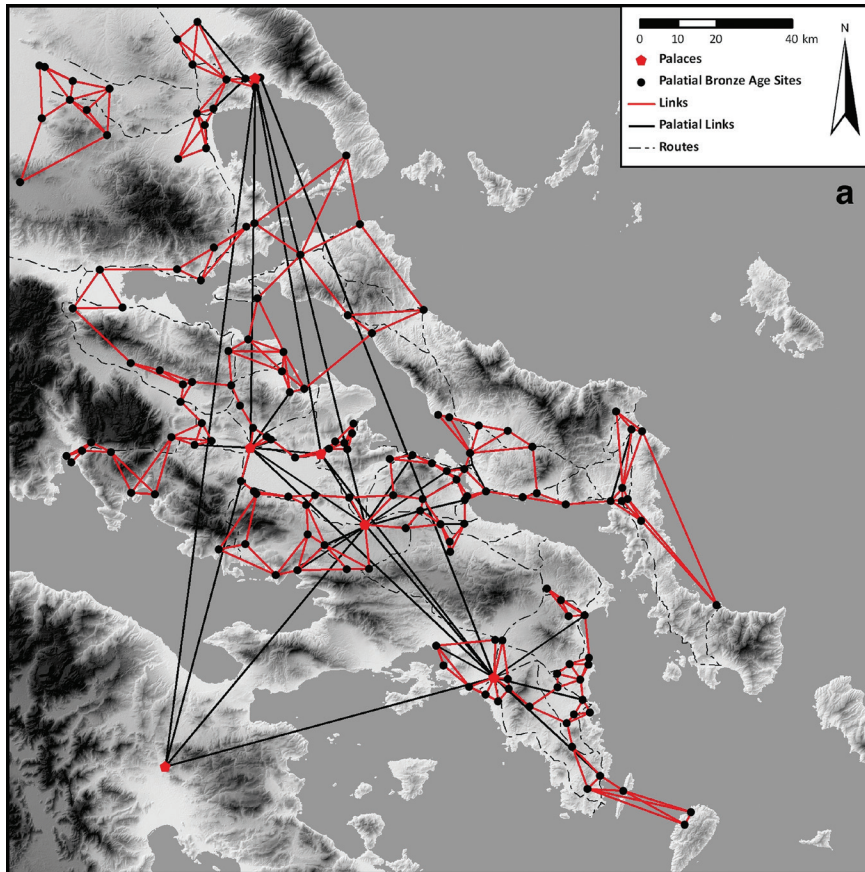


Figure 4. Models of concepts derived from network theory discussed in this paper.



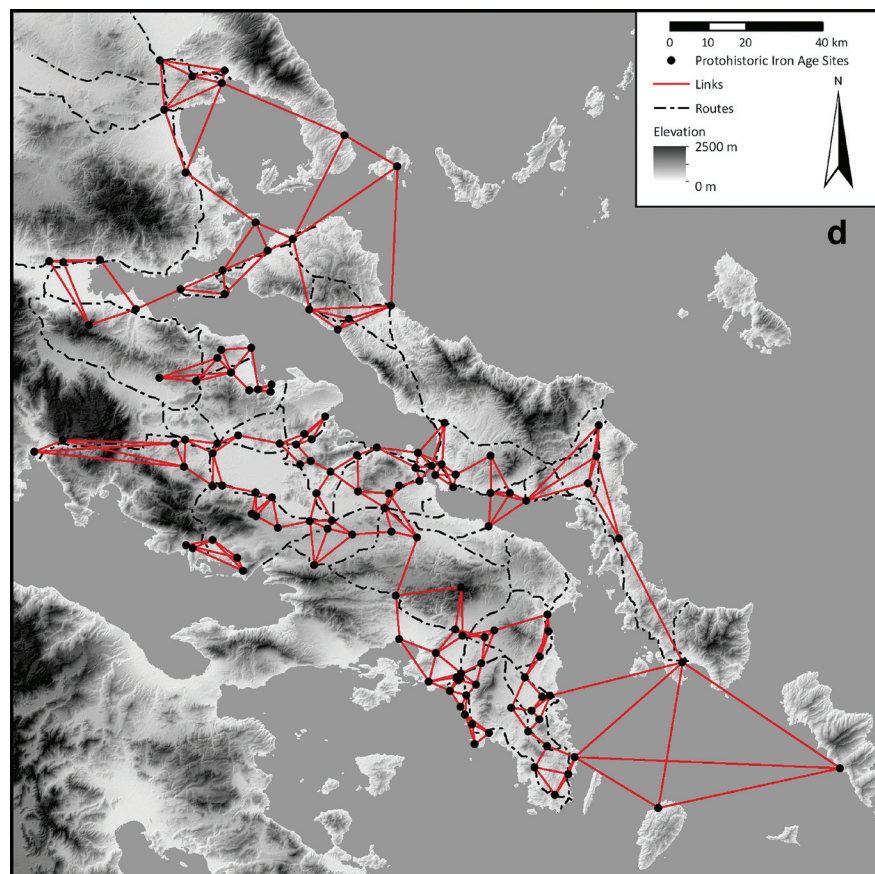
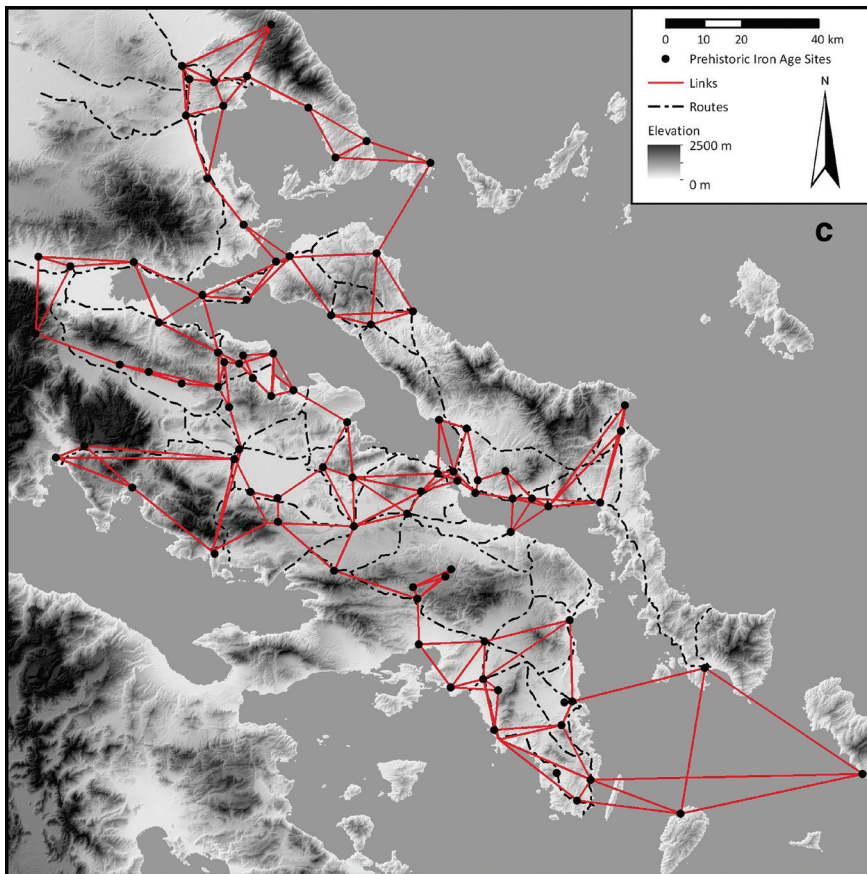


Figure 5. Nearest neighbour networks showing sites and modelled connections for the Palatial Bronze Age (a), Postpalatial Bronze Age (b), Prehistoric Iron Age (c), and Protohistoric Iron Age (d) (see Knodell 2013, 370, 376, 383, 397, figs 5.5, 6.3, 7.3, 8.4).

Euboeans in the Far West? New data and interpretations

Adolfo J. DOMÍNGUEZ

Περίληψη

Τα τελευταία χρόνια νέα υλικά πιθανής ευβοϊκής καταγωγής έχουν βρεθεί στην Ιβηρική Χερσόνησο, κάποια από τα οποία παραμένουν αδημοσίευτα.¹ Χρονολογούνται ανάμεσα στο δεύτερο μισό του 9ου αιώνα π.Χ. και το πρώτο μισό του 8ου αιώνα π.Χ.· πρόκειται για το αρχαιότερο ελληνικό υλικό που έχει βρεθεί στη δυτική Μεσόγειο και στις ακτές του Ατλαντικού Ωκεανού μέχρι σήμερα. Ενώ πολλοί επιστήμονες έχουν προτείνει ότι οι Φοίνικες έφεραν αυτά τα υλικά στη μακρινή Δύση, σκοπός μου σε αυτό το άρθρο είναι να συνηγορήσω υπέρ της πρώιμης μεσολάβησης ναυτικών από την Εύβοια για τη μεταφορά αυτής της κεραμικής. Συνδυάζοντας διαφορετικά αποδεικτικά στοιχεία, τόσο φιλολογικά όσο και αρχαιολογικά, θα εντοπίσουμε παλαιά ευβοϊκά συμφέροντα στην κεντρική και δυτική Μεσόγειο πριν από την ίδρυση των πρώτων αποικιών. Στη συνέχεια θα επιχειρήσουμε να αποδείξουμε πως η πρωιμότερη ευβοϊκή ναυσιπλοΐα μπορεί να γίνει κατανοητή μέσα σε ένα πλαίσιο στο οποίο η συνεργασία με τους Φοίνικες ίσως να αποτελούσε τον κανόνα, καθώς φαίνεται να πιστοποιείται κατά τους πρώτους αποικισμούς τόσο τους ευβοϊκούς όσο και τους Φοινικικούς.

Introduction

From at least the 10th century BC, some centres in Euboea such as Lefkandi were in contact with the Near East, as the archaeological evidence clearly demonstrates.² These contacts increased during the 9th century BC, and by the 8th century BC trade between Euboea and other parts of the Mediterranean had reached its apogee. Finds of Greek pottery dating to these centuries from different sites in the Near East have been widely published and studied, and I shall not consider them further here.³ Of all those places, Al Mina seems to have been one of the sites where the presence of Greek pottery, particularly of Euboean origin, is most remarkable,⁴ and recent Neutron Activation Analysis has confirmed this beyond doubt.⁵ Contrary to the claims of certain scholars who think that an emphasis on Euboean activities tends to detract from the enterprises of people from other parts of Greece or non-Greek peoples, especially the Phoenicians,⁶ we suggest that the archaeological evidence confirms an Euboean presence in the Mediterranean throughout the Geometric period (and even during the Pro-

1. This paper has been written as part of Research Projects HAR2011-25443 and HAR2014-53885, subsidized by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness.

2. Sherratt and Sherratt 1993, 365.

3. Luke 2003, 31-44.

4. Boardman 1999, 135-161; 2002, 315-331; Luke 2003, 25-28.

5. Kerschner 2014, 157-167; Vacek 2014, 141-156.

6. Papadopoulos 1997, 191-219; 2011, 113-133.

togeometric).⁷ However, it should be noted that this does not imply that other peoples, including the Phoenicians, were not involved in important maritime and commercial enterprises too.

Indeed, it may be wise to escape the ‘insidious tendency to identify pots with people’⁸ and accept that an Euboean vase may have been transported by anyone. But by whom? Within the Greek world of the Early Iron Age (EIA), there were not many candidates capable of transporting Euboean pottery as well as other products. We must disregard, of course, the Corinthians, whose territories of interest do not always coincide with those explored by the Euboeans and who, usually, brought with them their own pottery.⁹

Some authors exhibit certain discomfort when they observe, for example, that the Geometric pottery of Crete, an area with significant Near Eastern connections, ‘is rarely found outside the island’; and explain it as follows: ‘Cretan pottery was not as attractive as that of other regions.’¹⁰ Aside from the high degree of subjectivity that is involved in the issue of ancient ‘taste’, is it not easier to explain the absence of Cretan pottery overseas by suggesting that the Cretans were not those who sailed from their island—that, rather, they received in their ports the foreign vessels? Euboeans, who seem to have been good sailors, would have loaded their ships with their own pottery. As for non-Greeks, Phoenicians ‘may’ have transported Euboean pottery and ‘may’ have appreciated Attic and Euboean painted pottery (although not everyone agrees on this¹¹). However, we may question whether this ‘appreciation’ was for the pottery itself or, conversely, for what it represented, if it is true that, as some authors have suggested, a (good) part of Greek pottery found at Phoenician sites may have served as ‘initiatory gifts’ or the like.¹²

Some current trends cast doubt on the idea that ‘traders from the producing centres were especially active in overseas exchange, as argued most frequently for the Euboeans.’¹³ However, it is difficult to find, for the period between the late 9th and the first half of the 8th century BC, other candidates (aside from the Euboeans) who could have transported Euboean pottery along with other products that we cannot identify (iron?, textiles?¹⁴). The ubiquitous Phoenicians do not solve the issue, especially if we remember that in Italy there are Euboean-type productions that were locally made by potters from Euboea who were established there (as discussed later in this article)—which is further proof of Euboean interest in establishing commercial relationships with different Mediterranean regions.

In this paper, consequently, I will concentrate mainly on the period between the late 9th and the first half of the 8th century BC, which seems to have been the period when trading activities and the beginning of colonization were closely related in the Euboean world.

As was the case with other centres that emerged over the course of the 8th century, there can be little doubt that Al Mina, situated at the mouth of the River Orontes, clearly had a commercial function. Although it should be pointed out that Boardman has recently restudied and re-evaluated the information gathered by Woolley, and that he argues in favour of a definite Euboean presence in the region during the 8th century,¹⁵ it should also be mentioned that this information has often been inaccurately interpreted,¹⁶ mainly because many scholars have interpreted Al Mina as a true Greek ‘colony’, rather than what it actually was: a place next to the sea where Greek merchants were authorized to trade and establish the necessary infrastructures for their activity. It was, undoubtedly, a precursor of

7. Crielaard 2006, 271-297; Lemos 2002, 212-217.

8. Dickinson 2006, 199.

9. Kourou 1994, 27-53.

10. Dickinson 2006, 218.

11. Cook 1959, 122.

12. Luke 2003, 52.

13. Dickinson 2006, 218.

14. Sherratt and Sherratt 1993, 365.

15. Boardman 2002a, 315-331.

16. Graham 1986, 51-65; Perreault 1993, 59-83.

what would in due course become known as an emporion.¹⁷ I do not believe it too extreme to say that the Greeks were being integrated into an economic system, the roots of which were undoubtedly of Oriental origin.

In addition to Al Mina, the presence of Greek pottery in other Oriental locations is also proof of commercial contacts which do not imply, in any way, that Greek political domain extended to Levantine territories. Most of the pottery, as in the case of Al Mina, was clearly of Euboean origin, which would suggest that the Euboeans were directly involved in trading products from the Aegean or central Mediterranean to the Orient.

Leaving aside Euboean activity in the Aegean, the presence of Euboeans in the central Mediterranean also seems to have been important from at least the beginning of the 8th century. Euboean-type pottery has appeared at several locations in Sardinia,¹⁸ Sicily,¹⁹ and along the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy,²⁰ and is sometimes dated to before the founding of the first Greek establishment in Pithecussae, which is usually said to be around 770 BC on account of Middle Geometric (MG) II sherds found in a deposit in the acropolis.²¹ It should be noted, however, that these sherds represent a small percentage of the total quantity of pottery found in it thus far.²² On many of the central Mediterranean locations the Euboeans cooperated or competed with Greeks of other origins (from Corinth, the Cyclades?) and doubtless with Phoenicians and, less probably, with northern Syrians, who perhaps were not good sailors.²³ Late Geometric (LG) Greek pottery of various types (but largely of Pithecussan origin) has been found in Phoenician centres in Sardinia, such as Sulcis,²⁴ and its discovery in Carthage itself²⁵ indicates that this is a much more complex field than was outlined some time ago by those who have defended the exclusive monopoly of the Phoenicians or the Euboeans.²⁶ The reality was much more complex: as well as Pithecussae being populated by peoples of diverse origins, Euboean representatives of certain commercial and artisan interests would also have been present, at least since MG II, among the Sardinians of Sant'Imbenia, the Etruscans of Veii, Caere, Tarquinia or Pontecagnano or, later, among the Phoenicians of Sulcis or Carthage. The presence of Euboeans among so many different peoples resembles the situation in the Aegean and the Levant previously mentioned.

The Euboeans' presence still further to the west is even more difficult to determine although recent new findings and interpretations are providing information that builds on the knowledge we already have regarding the territories mentioned. This is the case, for example, with the abundance of toponyms that extend throughout the Mediterranean, including to its western reaches and areas on the Atlantic, which share the ending *-oussa*. Research of a philological nature demonstrates that these names may have originated in Euboean circles at fairly remote times—in any case earlier than the seafaring expeditions which came later, such as the Phocaeen expedition.²⁷ Similarly, studies of certain toponyms found on the north African coast suggest that ancient Euboean explorations to those regions were undertaken before (or at the same time as) Phoenician settlements.²⁸

Another line of investigation has consisted of analysing the different mythical traditions that had taken hold in the Far West in early times: for instance, the tradition, described by Aristotle (Frag. 678

17. Luke 2003, 64.

18. Rendeli 2005, 92-97; Ridgway 1997, 50-52.

19. Voza 1982, 169-171; 1986, 543-562.

20. Peserico 1995, 425-439; Ridgway 1998, 311-322.

21. Ridgway 1992, 87-88.

22. Coldstream 1995b, 251-267.

23. Domínguez 2003, 19-59; Ridgway 2004, 15-33.

24. Bartoloni et al. 1988, 73-119; Tronchetti 2003, 162-163.

25. Kourou 2002, 89-114; Vegas 1998, 133-145.

26. Mermati 2009-2012, 97-118.

27. García 1996, 105-124.

28. Antonelli 2006, 7-26; Boardman 2006, 195-200; Gras 2000, 39-48; Lane Fox 2008, 136-139.

Rose), according to which the Pillars of Herakles were formerly known as the Pillars of Briareus. The fact that Briareus may be linked to traditions of Euboean origin allows us to suggest early Euboean exploration of the territories where the Mediterranean meets the ocean;²⁹ in like manner, the geographic vision of Hesiod, a figure closely linked to the Euboean world, would correspond with the news that he would have heard from Euboean explorers.

The issue with these data (until a few years ago) was that archaeological confirmation of Euboean presence in such westerly territories was lacking, and the few objects of Greek origin predating the 6th century were usually attributed to the Phoenician presence.³⁰ Over many years, the aforementioned pottery found at Sant'Imbenia, in north-western Sardinia, were the westernmost Euboean objects known. The situation, however, has gradually changed and, with time, we may see an increase in the number of objects of Euboean origin, or objects which are a consequence of Euboean trading, being discovered.

Euboean Pottery in the Iberian Peninsula

What follows is a rapid overview of the main objects known to us. One important location is present-day Huelva, located on the Atlantic coast in the south-west of the Iberian Peninsula. We are already familiar with a fragment possibly from a krater or a pyxis made in Attica, dated to the MG II, as well as two fragments of Euboean skyphoi, one featuring a bird within a metope dated to the LG.³¹ These items were found without context, making their cultural ascription hard to assess. Nevertheless, during the systematic recovery in 1998 of the contents of a site adjacent to the ancient coastline (Méndez Núñez Street/Monjas Square), a total of 33 fragments of Greek pottery were found with a large quantity of Phoenician and local ceramic pieces. These belong to two clearly defined groups: 1) 15 Euboean pendent semicircle plates and two Euboean pendent semicircle skyphoi (Fig. 1); and 2) two kantharoi, two skyphoi and one trefoil-mouth jug, which were considered to be Attic (Fig. 2). The chronologies assigned by the authors to ceramic wares described as Attic and Euboean pottery differ considerably.³²

The pendent semicircle skyphoi have been attributed to Kearsley's type 6,³³ and dated to the Sub-Protogeometric (SPG) III (equivalent to the Attic MG I-II), whereas finds from Eretria indicate that these were still in use during the LG.³⁴ In the case of the Huelva plates, on the basis of their typology, it has been suggested that their chronology is in the SPG I-II period (c.900-850 BC). Attic ceramic ware has been dated to the MG II period (800-760 BC).³⁵ The discoverers of these pieces favour early chronologies, in the Greek Protogeometric and Geometric periods,³⁶ but this has been strongly contested in recent times;³⁷ indeed, some authors have even expressed doubts about the high chronologies attributed by excavators to the finds as a whole, as the chronology was assigned on the basis of a few Phoenician ceramic pieces which may be older (although this has not been securely demonstrated).³⁸ Moreover, these ceramic pieces were found during the process of clearing the site for building; thus, their stratigraphic position cannot be ascertained, and it is possible that several different levels have become mixed.

29. López 2004, 1-42.

30. Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, 88, with criticism, which I accept in light of new evidence, in Lane Fox 2008, 413.

31. Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, 10, 12.

32. González de Canales et al. 2004, 82-94.

33. González de Canales et al. 2004, 86-87; however, Gilboa et al. 2008, 171 consider them type 5; Kearsley 1989, 99-104.

34. Verdan et al. 2008, 82.

35. González de Canales et al. 2006, 19.

36. Brandherm 2008, 93-106.

37. Kourou 2008, 305-364; Pappa 2012, 2-38; Toffolo et al. 2013, 1-11.

38. Gilboa 2013, 320-322; Gilboa et al. 2008, 168-173.

In any event, according to Nitsche's periodization,³⁹ and based on their rims, it is true that some of the plates may be older than others (SPG I-II). However, the majority seem to belong to a late stage in their production, based on the evidence of the rims and the fact that the pendent semicircles overlap—a feature generally, but not always, characteristic of later production.⁴⁰ The handles, both single and double, have also been considered a dating criterion (single handles being older and double handles a later design),⁴¹ but this is not always true either.⁴² In any case, these are a new type of vessel for which, for the moment, there are but few definite contexts that allow a generally valid typological serialization to be established.⁴³ Furthermore, it is also possible that these forms were manufactured at numerous workshops within Euboea itself, which is something that authors such as Coldstream have interpreted as a response to local demand, in Cyprus and the Levant, positing that this type of vessel was not particularly common in the Greek repertoire.⁴⁴ This form, however, was also present in Euboea throughout its long period of use and in different contexts; this challenges this statement, which has been accepted with little criticism by many authors.⁴⁵

Indeed, during the period of extensive use of this form in Lefkandi, from the SPG I-III period,⁴⁶ the morphology of plates underwent multiple variations owing to the length of time over which they remained in use. In Eretria, later forms are represented, and, although it is not known with certainty until what point they were produced, it is likely that they were manufactured until the beginning of the LG.⁴⁷ Consequently, rather than the general timeline proposed by the authors who published the discoveries at Huelva (first half of the 9th century BC), we find that it is more reasonable to assign a more advanced chronology to those Euboean pieces, i.e. sometime between the end of the 9th century and the first half of the 8th century BC, thus allowing for the possibility of some fragments being older, although this is not certain.⁴⁸ To that same chronology belongs, it seems, most of the plates of this class that have been found in Cyprus and the Levant.⁴⁹ Both the pendent semicircle plates and skyphoi appear to be of Euboean production, despite the existence of imitations originating from different circles. However, as Coldstream has pointed out, with regard to pendent semicircle skyphoi, in some instances these have been ascribed to Cycladic workshops without objective supporting data.⁵⁰

Recently, and likewise in Huelva (3 Concepción Street), three fragments consisting of two skyphoi rims and one oinochoe have been found. These are possibly of Euboean origin, and were found in a level situated beneath the water table; their chronology seems to belong to MG II—that is, sometime in the first half of the 8th century BC—meaning that they are of the same date as other objects found in the same deposit (which was not excavated adequately either).⁵¹ One of the skyphoi seems to be a 'Black cup'.⁵²

Along with those items featuring pendent semicircles (skyphoi and plates) from the excavation at the Méndez Núñez/Monjas Square site, other fragments were also found, corresponding to two kantharoi and two skyphoi, seemingly Attic, as well as further fragments of at least three other vessels of

39. Nitsche 1986-1987.

40. Nitsche 1986-1987, 38.

41. Courbin 1982, 193-204; Popham et al. 1982, 232.

42. Coldstream 1995a, 193; Coldstream and Bikai 1988, 39.

43. Gilboa et al. 2008, 172.

44. Coldstream 1995c; 2008²; Coldstream and Bikai 1988, 39.

45. González de Canales et al. 2006, 19.

46. Popham and Lemos 1996, pls. 102-103; Popham and Sackett 1979, 341.

47. Andreiomenou 1986, 105-106; Verdán et al. 2008, 70.

48. Gilboa et al. 2008, 171-172.

49. Verdán 2013, 68.

50. Coldstream 1995c, 202.

51. González de Canales et al., *Forthcoming*.

52. Kourou 2005, 502-504.

one of these forms.⁵³ All of these fragments are decorated with the meander and meander-hook motifs that are so common on Attic pottery from the early Geometric period;⁵⁴ this became established as almost the sole decoration for drinking vessels during the EG II and the MG I periods, and reached its peak during the MG II period, despite the appearance of other decorative motifs.⁵⁵ The meander motif appears on other Geometric wares outside Athens, a situation no doubt related to the influence of this city. One of the two types of cup found at Huelva, the kantharos with high handles, is an Attic innovation of the MG II period⁵⁶ which was quickly adopted, in that same period, in Euboea and the Cyclades.⁵⁷ In Eretria, both this form and skyphoi have been identified, with decorations consisting basically of meander motifs. Two of the Huelva pieces, one kantharos (Fig. 1b) and one skyphos,⁵⁸ display what appears to be a metope with an eight-pointed star in the top right-hand corner, and in the case of the kantharos, to the left-hand side of the panel with the meander. Other very similar examples from Eretria, decorated with meanders and, in some cases, with figurative metopes (especially birds) have been published recently, and these have been dated to between the MG II and the LG I periods.⁵⁹ Naturally, without a study of the clays used, it is difficult to assert that we are in the presence of Euboean pieces; however, it is often the case that the clay used in Euboean pottery is indistinguishable from that of Attic origin,⁶⁰ as Neutron Activation Analysis has shown.⁶¹ A skyphos fragment known since 1984, which was found without context at 9 Puerto Street (Fig. 3),⁶² whose Euboean ascription has not been questioned (owing principally to the bird in the portion of metope that is preserved), may also belong to this group.⁶³ At the time of its discovery, it was assigned a date in the LG due to its isolated nature and the lack of evidence for situating it in the MG II period; we believe it is now possible to date it with the rest of similar pieces to a transitional period between the MG II and the LG periods.

At last, this group of Greek pieces from the MG II period can be related to the first such piece found: a krater (or pyxis) from the MG II period, which was discovered devoid of context on Palos Street, in Huelva.⁶⁴ The grounds for classifying it as Attic are quite reasonable: parallels can be drawn, in particular with the krater-pyxis A514 at the Louvre,⁶⁵ which would also explain the uncertainty regarding the exact form of this piece (a krater according to some, but a pyxis according to others).⁶⁶

An interesting collection of pieces (skyphoi, kantharoi, oinochoai), which were intended as drinking vessels, is concentrated in Huelva. These are clearly of Euboean origin, and were with others that may very well be Euboean, and a large vessel (krater or pyxis) made in Attica, all of which date to the MG II period, although some of the pendent semicircle plates (but not the majority) may be a little earlier. It has been insisted upon with some frequency that these products usually appear to be associated with Cyprus or the Levant and, therefore, must have been brought to the West by the Phoenicians on complicated itineraries, circuits and carriers, while the possibility that the last might have been Greek is ignored.⁶⁷ In such cases, we sometimes fail to notice that it is in Euboea itself (both at Lefkandi and Er-

53. González de Canales et al. 2004, 82-85.

54. Coldstream 2008², 12.

55. Coldstream 2008², 15, 19, 23-24.

56. Coldstream 2008², 22-23; Coulié 2013, 41.

57. Coldstream 2008², 168.

58. González de Canales et al. 2004, pl. XVIII, 2-3.

59. Verdan et al. 2008, nos. 18, 19, 61 (kantharoi), 58, 59, 60, 163, 214 (skyphoi).

60. Boardman 1952, 2; Popham and Sackett 1979, 40; Huber 2003, 46-47.

61. Verdan et al. 2014, 71-90.

62. Fernández 1984, 34-36.

63. Cabrera 1988-1989, 44-45.

64. Del Amo 1976, 40-42.

65. Rouillard 1977, 397-399; on the krater in the Louvre, see Coulié 2013, 42-45.

66. Cabrera 1988-1989, 44 (pyxis); Coldstream 1982, 369; Shefton 1982, 342, n. 11 (krater).

67. Cabrera 1988-1989, 45-47; Shefton 1982, 343.

tria) that all of these products are found represented at the same time: Euboean pottery of Sub-Proto-geometric tradition, Euboean imitations of Attic products of the MG II period and genuine Attic vases of the same period. Furthermore, it has now been demonstrated that in Euboea, pottery in the Euboean tradition and pottery imitating Attic Geometric designs were both made at the same workshops, and perhaps by the same potters: they were of the ‘same clay, [had the] same painting and same firing’.⁶⁸ Recent Neutron Activation Analysis has shown that these two types of pottery were constructed using the same clay, which was quarried in the area of Phylla in Euboea.⁶⁹ Kenzelmann Pfyffer made a valuable observation to the effect that, in Euboean centres, ‘Subprotogeometric and Atticizing ceramics appear side by side in every kind of context (ritual, funeral, and domestic)’⁷⁰ exactly as is the case in Huelva, as we know today.

Likewise, in Euboea, objects imported from Athens were already looked upon by the Euboeans as luxury goods. It follows, therefore, that when distributing their own ceramic wares to other lands, they would have reserved the same position for Attic products, as suggested by the presence of a great krater or pyxis in Huelva, the ‘monumental vase’⁷¹ status of which would have rendered it an ideal ‘goodwill gift’;⁷² this may have arrived in the hands of a Phoenician, but equally in those of a Greek. To all this we may add the recent study by Boardman, who asks who the real recipients were of the Greek cups which have appeared outside Greece, in non-Greek contexts, and which were imitated in those places.⁷³

Although the ways in which Greek and—more precisely—Euboean seafarers arrived are not easily discernible,⁷⁴ it is often forgotten that the Homeric poems allude to joint ventures between a Greek (Odysseus characterized as a Cretan warrior and shipping enthusiast) and a Phoenician who, in the words of Odysseus, ‘set me on a seafaring ship bound for Libya, having given lying counsel to the end that I should convey a cargo with him’ (*Od.*, 14.285-14.300). As Sherratt and Sherratt have put it, ‘the Aegean must have seen a considerable density of traffic, in which both indigenous and eastern seamen participated without apparent rivalry’.⁷⁵

Further recent archaeological data reinforces the possibility of an Euboean presence in the Far West. We refer to the discovery of a scaraboid seal of the Lyre-Player Group, found under one of the walls of the sanctuary identified in the scientifically excavated levels at the Méndez Núñez Street/Monjas Square site in Huelva.⁷⁶ It appears to represent ‘a hunting scene with a passing lion and an ungulate’, and strong parallels can be established with other seals of this type, as the publishers have pointed out, including specimens found in Pithekoussai.⁷⁷ At this time, this is the westernmost specimen of this kind, as is the case with the Euboean ceramic wares mentioned earlier and which were discovered on the same site, albeit at lower levels.

With regard to these items, the main debate is centred equally on their place of manufacture (Cilicia-northern Syria, Rhodes, in some cases by emigrant artisans) and on those responsible for their distribution (Phoenicians, Euboeans), for which there is abundant bibliography but little unanimity. To this mix we must add that the stones from which they are made, although precise analyses have not yet been undertaken, do not appear in all cases to be of Eastern origin, which to some would indicate

68. Kenzelmann Pfyffer 2011, 142.

69. Verdan et al. 2014, 73.

70. Kenzelmann Pfyffer 2011, 143.

71. Coldstream 1982, 369.

72. Cabrera 1988-1989, 46.

73. Boardman 2002b, 1-16; 2004, 149-162.

74. Domínguez 2013b, 16-17.

75. Sherratt and Sherratt 1993, 367.

76. Osuna et al. 2001, 177-188.

77. Serrano et al. 2012, 279-288.

local production.⁷⁸ For the moment, the locations at which the highest numbers have been found are Pithekoussai (nearly 100)⁷⁹ and Rhodes (some 45 from all three cities).⁸⁰ Their abundant presence in tombs at Pithekoussai, dated to the LG, would seem to confirm the chronology for the majority of these items as belonging to the second half of the 8th century BC. No one has suggested Pithekoussai as the manufacturing centre for these items, despite the fact that the highest number of these has been found here, while it has, on some occasions, been postulated that Rhodes was such a centre.⁸¹ We must not, however, overlook the relation of these objects with western Semitic glyptography⁸² or the fact that the Adana Museum has a notable quantity of these seals (35 specimens) made from a type of stone (serpentine in a range of tones) found naturally in the area.⁸³ For some, this is decisive proof of their origin in the region between Cilicia and Zincirli (Sam'al), on the other side of Mount Amanus;⁸⁴ and others have also reached this conclusion following different criteria.⁸⁵ Access to the Mediterranean from the whole of this region leads through the Amuq Valley and the lower reaches of the Orontes, reaching the sea at Al Mina. The lyre that gives its name to the entire group has been identified as a string instrument of Aegean origin, which later gave rise to the *phorminx*,⁸⁶ and a relationship with the story of Kinyras has been convincingly suggested.⁸⁷

Since the paper by Winter⁸⁸ in which the Phoenician origin of these pieces is upheld by arguments that are poorly grounded (which some researchers have followed),⁸⁹ no specimens other than those already known at the time have been discovered on Phoenician soil. It is becoming difficult to blame their absence on the 'scarcity of excavations at the major centres'; although further pieces may yet appear in Phoenicia, and in other places, the distribution maps⁹⁰ for the moment exhibit a great void throughout the north of Africa, in Sardinia, in Sicily and, up until recently, on the Iberian Peninsula. Thus, it is difficult to posit that it was the Phoenicians who distributed these seals across the Mediterranean, owing to their almost total absence from this territory (something which has been observed for some time now⁹¹); it should be noted that this has not been taken into account by those who defend the distribution of such objects throughout the Mediterranean by the Phoenicians. Moreover, in Eretria six of these objects are known and a further two have been identified in Lefkandi,⁹² which, in conjunction with other considerations, would allow us to suggest the possibility of Greek, and in particular Euboean, carriers.⁹³

Furthermore, the seal found at Huelva and those found in Eretria were discovered in cult-related areas. This is opposed to the situation in Pithekoussai, where they appear primarily in tombs. This may have interesting implications for this community's dynamic,⁹⁴ which would in no way necessarily affect their use by other Euboeans in other places. In any case, we should also keep in mind that, as in other cases, their presence in Huelva, a commercial centre established by the Phoenicians which was opened

78. Giovanelli 2008, 73-86.

79. Boardman 1990, 1-17; Buchner and Boardman 1966, 1-62; Buchner and Ridgway 1993, *passim*.

80. Rizzo 2007, 33-88.

81. Rizzo 2008-2009, 105-138.

82. Parayre 1993, 27-51.

83. Poncy et al. 2001, 9-38.

84. Lane Fox 2008, 107-108.

85. Parayre 1993, 36.

86. Scardina 2010, 67-72.

87. Franklin 2015, 405-418.

88. Winter 1995, 262, 267.

89. Among the more recent: Hodos 2006, 67; Serrano et al. 2012, 281-282.

90. The most recent, including the finding of Huelva, in Serrano et al. 2012, 286.

91. Boardman 1994, 95-100.

92. Huber 1998, 114-118; 2003, 91-92.

93. Huber 1998, 132; 2003, 171-172.

94. Ridgway 2000, 235-243.

up to Mediterranean trade, would have occurred within the general framework that was gradually taking hold; in this framework, ‘Greeks and Phoenicians moved westwards together in small groups developing new and fruitful markets.’⁹⁵

The progression of archaeological works has also led to the discovery of other Greek ceramic wares, possibly of similar traditions, at other sites in the south of the Iberian Peninsula. First, the case of the Phoenician sanctuary at El Carambolo (Camas, province of Seville). During recent digs at this site (2001–2005), ‘a fragment of the lip of a *skyphos*, probably Attic, from the Middle Geometric II with parallels at the tomb 450.23 of Amathus, in Cyprus’ was discovered, in a pit for ritual debris (Fig. 4).⁹⁶ The vase found in Cyprus, to which the El Carambolo piece has been compared, was considered Attic by Coldstream⁹⁷ (although at the time of its appearance the same author believed it could be a ‘*skyphos attique ou atticisant du Géométrique moyen II*’).⁹⁸ A further two *skyphoi* discovered in another tomb on Amathus (tomb number 443) were, likewise, initially considered Euboean and later, Attic.⁹⁹ In any case, we are not concerned here with the ascription of the *skyphoi* from Amathus,¹⁰⁰ which were used by the excavators at El Carambolo as a parallel for theirs, nor with the uncertainty regarding their origin, and that of others like them, in Attica or in Euboea.

The characteristic feature of the small fragment found at El Carambolo is the rim decorated with a row of dots—a motif found on Attic ceramic ware, especially *skyphoi*, from the MG I to the LG periods.¹⁰¹ Similarly, and owing to Attic influence, this decorative motif also appears on Attic and Atticizing vessels from Eretria, especially *skyphoi*, *kantharoi* and *kraters*.¹⁰² The El Carambolo piece appears to be covered with a light slip, on which the motifs are painted—apparently a feature of Euboean pottery.¹⁰³ Therefore, although we cannot be completely certain until further analyses are undertaken, we believe this piece should be considered Euboean rather than Attic. Chronologically speaking, it should be dated to the transition period between MG II and LG I, as this is the period in which the closest parallels from Eretria are situated.

Lastly, and also as a consequence of recent archaeological activities, further examples of Geometric ceramic ware have been found at the La Rebanadilla site (province of Málaga), on the right bank of the River Guadalhorce. At that location, in the first urban phase of this Phoenician centre (phase III), which was established towards the end of the 9th century BC, and together with materials of diverse origins (local, Phoenician, Sardinian, etc.), ‘several Greek *skyphoi* from the Middle Geometric II, located in phases IV and III’ have been found.¹⁰⁴ Of this Greek pottery, only two drawings and three photographs corresponding to two items have been published (Fig. 5). One of these items is a large *skyphos* fragment decorated with a meander-hook motif, of a type very similar to those mentioned for Huelva, and with the same chronology (MG II). The authors do not propose a definite ascription but, based on the published photograph, there seems little doubt of its Euboean ascription.¹⁰⁵ Its colour is lighter than the similar Huelva specimens, but in the latter case the darker colour is due to having been buried in dark grey loam for a long period of time.¹⁰⁶ No context is given for this piece (Fig. 5a).

Several photographs and a drawing of the second vase have been published. Clearly, in this case,

95. Kearsley 1995, 81.

96. Fernández and Rodríguez 2007, 204–205.

97. Coldstream 1995c, 207.

98. Karageorghis 1987, 700.

99. Coldstream 1995c, 207, fig. 5.

100. Lemos and Hatcher 1991, 197–208.

101. Coldstream 2008², 19, 24, 50.

102. Verdán et al. 2008, nos. 8, 18, 24, 28, 60, 66, 101, 133, 185, 220, 228, 234 (Euboean), 11 (Attic?).

103. Boardman 1952, 2; Coldstream 2008², 190.

104. Sánchez et al. 2012, 75.

105. Prof. Irene Lemos, through the photographs and the drawings, has also suggested an Euboean origin.

106. Arancibia et al. 2011, 131, fig. 12; Sánchez et al. 2012, 75, fig. 12.

the piece is a skyphos with a chevron design and it is almost whole. Under the rim, a panel with chevrons angled to the right, which become straight lines near the handles and reach as far as the horizontal bands framing them, indicate that this piece dates to the MG II period (Fig. 5b).¹⁰⁷ Its Euboean ascription also seems evident, with clear parallels in Eretria¹⁰⁸ and, above all, in Italy, where these are fairly frequent finds at, among others, Veii, Cerveteri, Pontecagnano¹⁰⁹ and Pithekoussai itself during the MG II period.¹¹⁰ In addition to the above, this vase exhibits many signs of repairs performed in antiquity, which without doubt reflect the importance of the piece. It should also be noted that the room in which it stood is thought to have had a religious or cult function.¹¹¹

The two Thapsos cups found at the Phoenician site of La Fonteta (Guardamar del Segura, province of Alicante) made of the greenish clay typical of this type of pottery, correspond to a wholly different setting, and date to LG. To these we can add a third fragment of pottery rim, which belongs to the same type but is made of different clay,¹¹² suggesting that this is an imitation. However, the fragment is too small to ascertain whether this potsherd could be an Euboean imitation of the Corinthian form.

At other Phoenician sites, such as Toscanos, the oldest Greek fine pottery found thus far is also of Corinthian origin (LG and EPC; late 8th–first quarter of the 7th century BC); as for the transport amphorae of this same chronology, they are described, generically, as east Greek, with some samples specifically coming from Samos or Chios.¹¹³ It is not within the scope of this article to examine why Toscanos did not produce Euboean pottery (either MG II or LG). It should be noted, however, that at Carthage Greek imports begin with LG Euboean sherds, as well as LG Pithecussan pottery,¹¹⁴ while in nearby Utica MG II Euboean pottery has been found and the excavators have suggested that ‘la présence de groupe eubéens en cohabitation avec ces Orientaux n’est en fait un phénomène à écarter.’¹¹⁵

Conclusions

The broad overview provided here, demonstrating the existence of undoubtedly Euboean materials as well as others that are probably also Euboean (despite these having been initially classified as Attic), indicates that these materials arrived on the Iberian Peninsula during the first half of the 8th century BC, with some continuity over the following decades. This tells us nothing, though, of who took them there. However, in addition to the arguments put forward at the start of this paper (mythical traditions, toponymy, etc.) we must underscore the close links between many of the Euboean materials found in Italy, where it is almost certain that Euboean potters made Euboean-style wares locally, and those found on the Iberian Peninsula.

I believe that we can in fact speak of an Euboean commercial network, with many points connecting different commercial routes and different interests and relationships which were multilateral rather than just two-directional. Without doubt, the centres of Euboea played an outstanding role in developing and maintaining this network: Eretria, which underwent considerable growth in the

107. Sánchez et al. 2012, 75, figs. 12 and 17.

108. Verdan et al. 2008, 76–78, nos. 10, 57, 164, 216.

109. Boitani 2005, 319–332; D’Agostino 1999, 11–24; Descoedres and Kearsley, 1983, 9–53; Kourou 2005, 497–515; Rizzo 2004, 333–378.

110. Coldstream 1995b, 261.

111. Sánchez et al. 2012, 79, 83.

112. García 2011, 531, fig. 1, pl. I.

113. Docter 2001, 63–88.

114. Docter 2001, 66; Vegas 1998, 133–145.

115. Jerbania and Redissi 2014, 196.

8th century BC,¹¹⁶ Xeropolis, before it disappeared at the end of the same century¹¹⁷ and, of course, Chalcis.¹¹⁸ However, on the other hand, we cannot underestimate the importance of other points of the network, such as Al Mina and, in particular, Pithecussae, whose connections with different points on the Tyrrhenian Sea, and Sardinia and Carthage have been pointed out on numerous occasions. It appears that different places which developed as a consequence of Euboean enterprises soon developed their own interests in contact with the local environments to which they were related. We do not know enough of the emerging Greek *poleis* of the 8th century to claim that there was strong state control in the development of overseas activities, as seems to have been the case in later times.¹¹⁹ However, it is clear that there were wealthy aristocrats who accumulated wealth and power and whose ways of life and burial customs—the latter visible in the archaeological record—demonstrate they were very concerned with the ideological justification of their own social status.

It was these aristocrats who, in expeditions sponsored by themselves or jointly with partners (including Greeks of other origins, such as Cycladic Greeks and Phoenicians),¹²⁰ explored territories increasingly distant from their points of departure.¹²¹ Although objects may have been used both by Greeks and Phoenicians alike, this does not rule out that Greeks were the carriers of ceramic wares and other objects (e.g. seals of the Lyre-Player Group) which they were accustomed to using and, at times, that they put some of those items at the places of cult they accessed on their travels. We must not forget that the greater part of the Euboean ceramic wares analysed herein were discovered in contexts of a religious nature, in Huelva, and at El Carambolo and La Rebanadilla. If these ceramic wares are thought fit for offerings at the sanctuaries in Euboea, as demonstrated in the case of Eretria or Plakari, near Karystos,¹²² it follows that they were considered fit for foreign sanctuaries. The case of the La Rebanadilla skyphos, which was repaired in ancient times, provides evidence of the appreciation shown towards this object, which possibly continued long after it was deposited at a cult area within the Phoenician settlement. We cannot know, at present, who deposited these objects—whether they were Greeks, Phoenicians or natives—but any of these three options is possible. This is a matter that deserves to be explored beyond the specific concerns of this paper.

I believe that the pieces we have analysed here serve as further proof of the Euboeans' early interest in the westernmost Mediterranean territories before the second half of the 8th century BC, at which time a considerable flow of peoples from Euboea and other locations took place towards Italy and Sicily, giving rise to the beginning of what has been called, not without recent controversy, the 'Greek colonization'. In addition to the aforementioned objects, the footprint of those early voyages remains in all the mythical traditions and the ancient Euboean-rooted toponymy which has only recently been considered a useful means of recovering the Euboeans' earliest voyages to the Far West.

Finally, the evidence discussed here allows us to distinguish between an initial series of ventures to set up a trade network in which Euboeans participated, perhaps jointly with other peoples, and subsequent colonization. It is neither surprising nor the result of coincidence that it was easier to establish colonies on the basis of information gathered from previous expeditions, which sometimes led to the establishment of trade posts, or that this process was started by the Euboeans and the Corinthians, whom we have not mentioned here. It is also reasonable to suppose that it would be in the territories that the Euboeans frequented most intensely, on the Italian Peninsula and Sicily, that they would be-

116. Krause 1981, 175-186; Walker 2004, 99-108.

117. Popham and Sackett 1979, 362-369.

118. Bakhuizen 1985.

119. Domínguez 2000, 507-513.

120. Fletcher 2008, 104-114.

121. Domínguez 2013a, 419-427.

122. Chidiroglou 2003-2004, 69-80; Crielaard et al. 2011-2012, 83-106.

come established whenever the necessary conditions occurred. Conversely, in the regions they visited sporadically, a trail was left of mythical traditions or vague toponymy, which was sometimes confusing, even for the Greeks who followed, but not a real memory. This trail would explain why, centuries after the Euboeans frequented the coasts of the Iberian Peninsula in the 8th century, both the Samians and the Phocaeans claimed the role of 'discoverers' of those lands: the old voyages undertaken by the Euboeans towards the end of the 9th century and during the first half of the 8th century had been forgotten.

Recent archaeological finds that have been ascribed to production centres and provided with realistic chronologies illustrate the expeditions of Euboean explorers, and these expeditions, increasingly towards westerly regions, have been well documented in all other Mediterranean territories, several generations prior to the first colonial settlements.

Bibliography

- Andreiomenou, A. K. (1986) 'Keramik aus Eretria. II: Attisch-Mittelgeometrisch II und Euboiisch-"Subproto-geometrisch" III'. *Athenische Mitteilungen* 101, 97-111.
- Antonelli, L. (2006) 'Da Tarsis a Tartesso. Riflessioni sulla presenza greca oltre Gibilterra durante l'età arcaica'. *Gerión* 24, 7-26.
- Arancibia, A., L. Galindo, M. Juzgado, M. Dumas and V. M. Sánchez (2011) 'Aportaciones de las últimas intervenciones a la arqueología fenicia de la Bahía de Málaga'. In *Fenicios en Tartessos: nuevas perspectivas*, edited by M. Álvarez, 128-149. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Bakhuizen, S. C. (1985) *Studies in the topography of Chalcis on Euboea. A discussion of the sources*. Leiden: Brill.
- Bartoloni, P., P. Bernardini and C. Tronchetti (1988) 'S. Antioco, area del Cronicario (campagne di scavo 1983-86)'. *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 16, 73-119.
- Boardman, J. (1952) 'Pottery from Eretria'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 47, 1-48.
- Boardman, J. (1990) 'The Lyre-Player Group of seals: an encore'. *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1-17.
- Boardman, J. (1994) 'Orientalia and Orientals on Ischia'. *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli: Sezione di Archeologia e Storia Antica* 1, 95-100.
- Boardman, J. (1999) 'The excavated history of Al Mina'. In *Ancient Greeks West and East*, edited by G. R. Tsetskhladze, 135-161. Leiden: Brill.
- Boardman, J. (2002a) 'Al Mina: the study of a site'. *Ancient West & East* 1(2), 315-331.
- Boardman, J. (2002b) 'Greeks and Syria: Pots and People'. In *Greek Settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea*, edited by G. R. Tsetskhladze and A. M. Snodgrass, 1-16. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Boardman, J. (2004) 'Copies of pottery: by and for whom?'. In *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean. Papers in Honour of Brian Shefton*, edited by K. Lomas, 149-162. Leiden: Brill.
- Boardman, J. (2006) 'Early Euboean Settlements in the Carthage Area'. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 25, 195-200.
- Boitani, F. (2005) 'Le più antiche ceramiche greche e di tipo greco a Veio'. In *Oriente e Occidente: Metodi di discipline a confronto. Riflessioni sulla cronologia dell'Età del Ferro in Italia*, edited by G. Bartoloni and F. Delpino, 319-332. Pisa; Rome: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali.
- Brandherm, D. (2008) 'Vasos a debate. La cronología del Geométrico griego y las primeras colonizaciones en Occidente'. In *Contacto cultural entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico (siglos XII-VIII a.n.e.)*. *La precolonización a debate*, edited by S. Celestino, N. Rafel and X. L. Armada, 93-106. Madrid: CSIC.
- Buchner, G. and J. Boardman (1966) 'Seals from Ischia and the Lyre-Player Group'. *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 81, 1-62.
- Buchner, G. and D. Ridgway (1993) *Pithekoussai I. La necropoli: tombe 1-723 scavate dal 1952 al 1961*. Rome: G. Bretschneider.
- Cabrera, P. (1988-1989) 'El comercio foceo en Huelva: cronología y fisonomía'. *Huelva Arqueológica* 10-11(3), 41-100.
- Chidioglou, M. A. (2003-2004) 'Η Κάρυστος κατά τους πρώιμους ιστορικούς χρόνους. Πορίσματα της ανασκαφικής έρευνας στην Πλακαρή'. *Αρχείο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 35, 69-80.
- Coldstream, J. N. (1982) 'Discussion to Shefton 1982'. In *Phönizier im Westen*, edited by H. G. Niemeyer, 369. Mainz: P. von Zabern.
- Coldstream, J. N. (1995a) 'Amathus Tomb NW 194: The Greek pottery imports'. *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus*, 187-198.
- Coldstream, J. N. (1995b) 'Euboean Geometric Imports from the Acropolis of Pithekoussai'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 90, 251-267.
- Coldstream, J. N. (1995c) 'Greek Geometric and Archaic Imports from the tombs of Amathus-II'. *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus*, 199-214.
- Coldstream, J. N. (2008²) *Greek Geometric Pottery. A survey of ten local styles and their chronology*. Bristol: Phoenix Press.

- Coldstream, J. N. and P. M. Bikai (1988) 'Early Greek Pottery at Tyre and Cyprus: Some preliminary comparisons'. *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus*, 35-44.
- Cook, R. M. (1959) 'Die Bedeutung der bemalten Keramik für den griechischen Handel'. *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 74, 114-123.
- Coulié, A. (2013) *La céramique grecque aux époques Géométrique et orientalisante (XIe-VIe siècle av. J.-C.)*. Paris: Picard.
- Courbin, P. (1982) 'Une assiette cycladique à Ras el-Bassit'. In *Archéologie au Levant, recueil à la mémoire de Roger Saidah*, 193-204. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient.
- Crielaard, J. P. (2006) 'Basileis at Sea: Elites and external contacts in the Euboean Gulf region from the end of the Bronze Age to the beginning of the Iron Age'. In *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*, edited by S. Deger-Jalkotzy and I. S. Lemos, 271-297. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Crielaard, J. P., F. Songu, M. Chidioglou and M. Kosma (2011-2012) 'The Plakari Archaeological Project. Project Outline and Preliminary Report on the First Field Season (2010)'. *Pharos* 18, 83-106.
- D'Agostino, B. (1999) 'La ceramica greca e di tipo greco dalle necropoli della I Età del Ferro di Pontecagnano'. In *Prima di Pithecusa. I più antichi materiali greci del golfo di Salerno* edited by Gianni Bailo Modesti and Patricia Gastaldi, 11-24. Rome: Arte Tipografica.
- del Amo, M. (1976) 'Restos materiales de la población romana de Onuba'. *Huelva Arqueológica* 2, 13-118.
- Descoedres, J. P. and R. Kearsley (1983) 'Greek Pottery at Veii: another look'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 78, 9-53.
- Dickinson, O. (2006) *The Aegean from Bronze Age to Iron Age. Continuity and change between the twelfth and eighth centuries BC*. London: Routledge.
- Docter, R. F. (2001) 'East Greek fine wares and transport amphorae of the 8th-5th century BC from Carthage and Toscanos'. In *Ceràmiques Jònies d'època arcaica: Centres de producció i comercialització al Mediterrani Occidental*, edited by P. Cabrera and M. Santos, 63-88. Barcelona: Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya.
- Domínguez, A. J. (2000) 'Phocaeans and other Ionians in Western Mediterranean'. In *Die Ägäis und das Westliche Mittelmeer. Beziehungen und Wechselwirkungen 8. bis 5. Jh. v.Chr.*, edited by F. Krinzinger, 507-513. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Domínguez, A. J. (2003) 'Fenicios y griegos en Occidente. Modelos de asentamiento e interacción'. In *Contactos en el extremo de la oikouménē. Los griegos en Occidente y sus relaciones con los fenicios. XVII Jornadas de Arqueología Fenicio-Púnica*, edited by B. Costa and J. H. Fernández, 19-59. Ibiza: Museo Arqueológico de Ibiza y Formentera.
- Domínguez, A. J. (2013a) 'Fenicios y griegos en el Mediterráneo occidental en el s. VIII a.C.'. In Vol. I of *Fenicios e púnicos, por terra e mar*, edited by A. M. Arruda, 419-427. Lisbon: Universidade de Lisboa.
- Domínguez, A. J. (2013b) 'Los primeros griegos en la Península Ibérica (s. IX-VI a.C.): mitos, probabilidades, certezas'. In *El Oriente griego en la Península Ibérica. Epigrafía e Historia*, edited by M. P. de Hoz and G. Mora, 11-42. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia.
- Domínguez, A. J. and C. Sánchez (2001) *Greek Pottery from the Iberian Peninsula. Archaic and Classical Periods*. Leiden: Brill.
- Fernández, J. (1984) *La presencia griega arcaica en Huelva*. Huelva: Diputación Provincial de Huelva.
- Fernández, Á. and A. Rodríguez (2007) *Tartessos desvelado. La colonización fenicia del Suroeste peninsular y el origen y ocaso de Tartessos*. Córdoba: Almuzara.
- Fletcher, R. N. (2008) *Patterns of Imports in Iron Age Italy*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Franklin, J. C. 2015. 'Theios Aoidos. A New Reading of the Lyre-Player Group of Seals'. In *Πολυφóρβη Γαίη. Mélanges de littérature et linguistique offerts à Françoise Létoublon*, edited by F. dell'Oro and O. Lagacherie, 405-418.
- García, J. L. (1996) 'Nombres griegos en -OUSSA en el Mediterráneo Occidental. Análisis lingüístico e histórico'. *Complutum* 7, 105-124.
- García, J. M. (2011) 'Las cerámicas griegas'. In Vol. I of *La Fonteta. Excavaciones de 1996-2002 en la colonia fenicia de la actual desembocadura del río Segura, Guardamar del Segura (Alicante)*, edited by A. González, 531-560. Alicante: Universidad de Alicante.

- Gilboa, A. (2013) 'À-propos Huelva: A reassessment of 'Early' Phoenicians in the West'. In *Tarteso. El Emporio del metal*, edited by J. M. Campos and J. Alvar, 311-342. Córdoba: Almuzara.
- Gilboa, A., I. Sharon and E. Boaretto (2008) 'Tel Dor and the chronology of Phoenician "pre-colonisation" stages'. In *Beyond the Homeland: Markers in Phoenician Chronology*, edited by C. Sagona, 113-204. Leuven: Peeters.
- Giovanelli, E. (2008) 'Un inedito del Lyre Player Group da Tarquinia. Alcune considerazioni'. *Aristonothos* 3, 73-86.
- González de Canales, F., L. Serrano and J. Llopart (2004) *El emporio fenicio precolonial de Huelva (ca. 900-770 a.C.)*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva.
- González de Canales, F., L. Serrano and J. Llopart (2006) 'The Pre-colonial Phoenician Emporium of Huelva, ca. 900-770 B.C.'. *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 81, 13-29.
- González de Canales, F., L. Serrano, J. Llopart, M. García, J. Ramon, A. J. Domínguez and A. Montano (Forthcoming) 'Archaeological finds in the deepest anthropogenic stratum at 3 Concepción Street, in the city of Huelva, Spain'. *Ancient West and East* 16.
- Graham, J. A. (1986) 'The historical interpretation of Al-Mina'. *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne* 12, 51-65.
- Gras, M. (2000) 'I Greci e la periferia africana in età arcaica'. *Hesperia* 10, 39-48.
- Hodos, T. (2006) *Local Responses to Colonization in the Iron Age Mediterranean*. London: Routledge.
- Huber, S. (1998) 'Érétrie et la Méditerranée à la lumière des trouvailles provenant d'une aire sacrificielle au Nord du Sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros'. In *Euboica. L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*, edited by M. Bats and B. d'Agostino, 109-133. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard and Istituto Universitario Orientale.
- Huber, S. (2003) 'L'Aire sacrificielle au nord du Sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros. Un rituel des époques géométrique et archaïque'. Vol. XIV of *Eretria*. Gollion: Infolio editions.
- Jerbania, I. B. and T. Redissi (2014) 'Utique et la Méditerranée centrale à la fin du IXe s. av. J.-C.: les enseignements de la céramique grecque géométrique'. *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 42, 177-204.
- Karageorghis, V. (1987) 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1986'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 111, 663-733.
- Kearsley, R. A. (1989) *The pendent semi-circle skyphos. A study of its development and chronology and an examination of it as evidence for Euboean activity at Al Mina*. London: Institute of Classical Studies.
- Kearsley, R. A. (1995) 'The Greek Geometric wares from Al Mina levels 10-8 and associated pottery'. *Mediterranean Archaeology* 8, 7-81.
- Kenzelmann Pfyffer, A. (2011) 'Attic Influences on Euboean Potters in the Geometric Period'. In *Euboea and Athens. Proceedings of a Colloquium in Memory of Malcolm B. Wallace*, edited by D. W. Rupp and J. E. Tomlinson, 135-147. Athens: The Canadian Institute in Greece.
- Kerschner, M. (2014) 'Euboean or Levantine? Neutron Activation Analysis of Pendent Semicircle Skyphoi from Al Mina'. In *Archaeometric Analyses of Euboean and Euboean Related Pottery: New Results and their Interpretations*, edited by M. Kerschner and I. S. Lemos, 157-167. Vienna: Österreichische Archäologische Institut.
- Kourou, N. (1994) 'Corinthian Wares and the West'. In *Ancient and Traditional Ceramics. Céramiques anciennes et traditionnelles*, edited by T. Hackens, 27-53. Brussels: PACT.
- Kourou, N. (2002) 'Phéniciens, Chypriotes, Eubéens et la fondation de Carthage'. In *Actes du colloque international 'Le temps des royaumes de Chypre, XIII-IV s. av. J.C.'. Hommage à Marguerite Yon*, 89-114. Paris: De Boccard.
- Kourou, N. (2005) 'Early Iron Age Greek Imports in Italy. A comparative approach to a case study'. In *Oriente e Occidente: Metodi di discipline a confronto. Riflessioni sulla cronologia dell'Età del Ferro in Italia*, edited by G. Bartoloni and F. Delpino, 497-515. Pisa; Rome: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali.
- Kourou, N. (2008) 'The evidence for the Aegean'. In *Beyond the Homeland: Markers in Phoenician Chronology*, edited by C. Sagona, 305-364. Leuven: Peeters.
- Krause, C. (1981) 'Zur städtebaulichen Entwicklung Eretrias'. *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente* 59, 175-186.
- Lane Fox, R. (2008) *Travelling Heroes. Greeks and their Myths in the Epic Age of Homer*. London: Penguin Books.
- Lemos, I. S. (2002) *The Protogeometric Aegean. The Archaeology of the Late Eleventh and Tenth Centuries BC*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Lemos, I. S. and H. Hatcher (1991) 'Early Greek vases in Cyprus: Euboean and Attic.' *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 10, 197-208.
- López, F. (2004) 'Crono y Briareo en el umbral del Océano. Un recorrido por la historia mítica de los viajes al confín del Occidente hasta los albores de la civilización.' In *La navegación fenicia. Tecnología naval y derroteros*, edited by V. Peña, A. Mederos and C. G. Wagner, 1-42. Madrid: *Centro de Estudios Fenicios y Púnicos*.
- Luke, J. (2003) *Ports of Trade, Al Mina and Geometric Greek Pottery in the Levant*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Mermati, F. (2009-2012) 'The Mediterranean distribution of Pithekoussan-Cumaean pottery in the Archaic period.' *Accordia Research Papers* 12, 97-118.
- Nitsche, A. (1986-1987) 'Bemerkungen zu Chronologie und Herkunft der protogeometrischen Importkeramik von Tyros.' *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* 13-14, 7-49.
- Osuna, M., J. Bedia and A. M. Domínguez (2001) 'El santuario protohistórico hallado en la calle Méndez Núñez (Huelva)'. In *Ceràmiques Jònies d'època arcaica: Centres de producció i comercialització al Mediterrani Occidental*, edited by P. Cabrera and M. Santos, 177-188. Barcelona: Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya.
- Papadopoulos, J. K. (1997) 'Phantom Euboians.' *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 10, 191-219.
- Papadopoulos, J. K. (2011) "'Phantom Euboians" - A Decade On'. In *Euboea and Athens. Proceedings of a Colloquium in Memory of Malcolm B. Wallace*, edited by D. W. Rupp and J. E. Tomlinson, 113-133. Athens: The Canadian Institute in Greece.
- Pappa, E. (2012) 'Framing some aspects of the Early Iron Age "Chronological Mess": Aegean synchronisms with the West and their significance for the Greek Geometric Series.' *Kubaba* 3, 2-38.
- Parayre, D. (1993) 'A propos des sceaux ouest-sémitiques: le rôle de l'iconographie dans l'attribution d'un sceau à un aire culturelle ou à un atelier.' In *Studies in the Iconography of Northwest Semitic Inscribed Seals*, edited by B. Sass and C. Uehlinger, 27-51. Fribourg; Göttingen: University Press Fribourg; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Perreault, J. Y. (1993) 'Les emporia grecs du Levant: mythe ou réalité?'. In *L'Emporion*, edited by A. Bresson and P. Rouillard, 1-13. Paris: De Boccard.
- Peserico, A. (1995) 'Griechische Trinkgefäße in mitteltürrhenischen Italien. Ein Beispiel Kultureller Rezeption.' *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 425-439.
- Poncy, H., O. Casabonne, J. De Vos, M. Egermeyer, R. Lebrun and A. Lemaire (2001) 'Sceaux du musée d'Adana. Groupe du 'Joueur de lyre' (VIIIe siècle av. J.-C) - Sceaux en verre et cachets anépigraphes d'époque achéménide - Scarabéides inscrits - Scarabées et sceaux égyptisants.' *Anatolia Antiqua* 9, 9-38.
- Popham, M. R. and I. S. Lemos (1996) 'The Early Iron Age cemetery at Toumba: the excavations of 1981 to 1994'. Vol. III of *Lefkandi*. London: British School of Archeology at Athens.
- Popham, M. R. and L. H. Sackett (1979) 'The Iron Age. The Settlements. The Cemeteries'. Vol. I of *Lefkandi*. London: British School of Archeology at Athens.
- Popham, M. R., E. Touloupa and L. H. Sackett (1982) 'Further excavation of the Toumba Cemetery at Lefkandi, 1981'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 77, 213-248.
- Rendeli, M. (2005) 'La Sardegna e gli Eubei'. In *Il Mediterraneo di Herakles. Studi e ricerche*, edited by P. Bernardini and R. Zucca, 91-124. Rome: Carocci.
- Ridgway, D. (1992) *The First Western Greeks*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ridgway, D. (1997) 'Nota sui frammenti di skyphoi euboici geometrici'. In *Phoinikes B Shrdn. I Fenici in Sardegna*, edited by P. Bernardini, R. D'Oriano and P. G. Spanu, 50-52. Oristano: Ed. S'Alvure.
- Ridgway, D. (1998) 'L'Eubea e l'Occidente: nuovi spunti sulle rotte dei metalli'. In *Euboica. L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*, edited by M. Bats and B. d'Agostino, 311-322. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard and Istituto Universitario Orientale.
- Ridgway, D. (2000) 'Seals, Scarabs and People in Pithekoussai I'. In *Periplous. Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology presented to Sir John Boardman*, edited by G. R. Tsetschkladze, A. J. N. W. Prag and A. M. Snodgrass, 235-243. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Ridgway, D. (2004) 'Euboians and Others along the Tyrrhenian seaboard in the 8th century B.C.'. In *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean. Papers in Honour of Brian Shefton*, edited by K. Lomas, 15-33. Leiden: Brill.
- Rizzo, M. A. (2004) 'Ceramica greca e di tipo greco da Cerveteri'. In *Oriente e Occidente: Metodi de discipline a*

- confronto. *Riflessioni sulla cronologia dell'Età del Ferro in Italia*, edited by G. Bartoloni and F. Delpino, 333-378. Pisa; Rome: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali.
- Rizzo, M. A. (2007) 'I sigilli del Gruppo del Suonatore di Lira dalla stipe dell'Athenaion di Jalisos (Rodi)'. *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente* 89, 33-88.
- Rizzo, M. A. (2008-2009) 'I sigilli del Gruppo del Suonatore di Lira in Etruria e nell'Agro Falisco'. *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli: Sezione di Archeologia e Storia Antica* 15-16, 105-138.
- Rouillard, P. (1977) 'Fragmentos griegos de estilo geométrico y de estilo corintio medio en Huelva'. *Huelva Arqueológica* 3, 397-401.
- Sánchez, V. M., L. Galindo, M. Juzgado and M. Dumas (2012) 'El asentamiento fenicio de La Rebanadilla a finales del siglo IX a.C.'. In *Diez años de arqueología fenicia en la provincia de Málaga (2001-2010)*. *María del Mar Escalante Aguilar in memoriam* edited by E. García, 67-85. Seville: Junta de Andalucía.
- Scardina, P. (2010) 'I sigilli del Lyre Player Group. Tracce di archeologia musicale tra l'Etruria e il Mediterraneo orientale'. In *La Musica in Etruria*, edited by M. Carrese, E. Li Castro and M. Martinelli, 67-72. Tarquinia: Comune di Tarquinia.
- Serrano, L., F. G. de Canales, J. Llombart and A. Montano (2012) 'Scaraboid seal of the "Lyre-Player Group" at the Huelva Museum'. In *Actas do V Encontro de Arqueologia do Sudoeste Peninsular*, edited by M. M. M. de Deus, 279-288. Almodovar: Municipio de Almodovar.
- Shefton, B. B. (1982) 'Greeks and Greek Imports in the South of the Iberian Peninsula. The Archaeological Evidence'. In *Phönizier im Westen*, edited by H. G. Niemeyer, 337-370. Mainz: P. von Zabern.
- Sherratt, S. and A. Sherratt (1993) 'The growth of the Mediterranean economy in the early first millenium B.C. Ancient Trade: New Perspectives'. *World Archaeology* 24, 365.
- Toffolo, M. B., A. Fantalkin, I. S. Lemos, R. C. S. Felsch, W-D. Niemeier, G. D. R. Sanders, I. Finkelstein and E. Boaretto (2013) 'Towards an Absolute Chronology for the Aegean Iron Age: New Radiocarbon Dates from Lefkandi, Kalapodi and Corinth'. 8(2), e83117: doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0083117.
- Tronchetti, C. (2003) 'Sardinia and the Greek world from the 8th to the 6th c. BC'. In *Sea Routes... From Sidon to Huelva. Interconnections in the Mediterranean 16th-6th c. BC*, edited by N. C. Stamplidis, 162-163. Athens: Greek Ministry of Culture; Hellenic Cultural Organization.
- Vacek, A. (2014) 'Euboean Imports at Al Mina in the Light of Recent Studies on the Pottery Finds from Woolley's Excavation'. In *Archaeometric Analyses of Euboean and Euboean Related Pottery: New Results and their Interpretations*, edited by M. Kerschner and I. S. Lemos, 141-156. Vienna: Österreichische Archäologische Institut.
- Vegas, M. (1998) 'La cerámica de importación en Cartago durante el periodo arcaico'. In *Cartago Fenicio-púnica. Las excavaciones alemanas en Cartago 1975-1997*, edited by M. Vegas, 133-145. Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra.
- Verdan, S. (2013) 'Le sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros à l'époque géométrique'. Vol. XXII of *Eretria*. Gollion: Infolio editions.
- Verdan, S., A. K. Pfyffer and C. Léderrey (2008) 'Céramique Géométrique d'Érétrie'. Vol. XX of *Eretria*. Gollion: Infolio editions.
- Verdan, S., A. K. Pfyffer and T. Theurillat (2014) "'Euboean" Pottery from Early Iron Age Eretria in the Light of the Neutron Activation Analysis'. In *Archaeometric Analyses of Euboean and Euboean Related Pottery: New Results and their Interpretations*, edited by M. Kerschner and I. S. Lemos, 71-90. Vienna: Österreichische Archäologische Institut.
- Voza, G. (1982) 'Bilancio degli scavi a Siracusa sulla terraferma'. *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente* 60, 165-167.
- Voza, G. (1986) 'I contatti precoloniali col mondo greco'. In *Sikanie. Storia e Civiltà della Sicilia Greca*, edited by G. P. Carratelli, 543-562. Milan: Garzanti.
- Walker, K. G. (2004) *Archaic Eretria. A political and social history from the earliest times to 490 BC*. London: Routledge.
- Winter, I. J. (1995) 'Homer's Phoenicians: History, Ethnography, or Literary Trope? [A Perspective on Early Orientalism]'. In *The Ages of Homer. A tribute to E. T. Vermeule*, edited by J. B. Carter and S. P. Morris, 247-271. Austin: University of Texas Press.

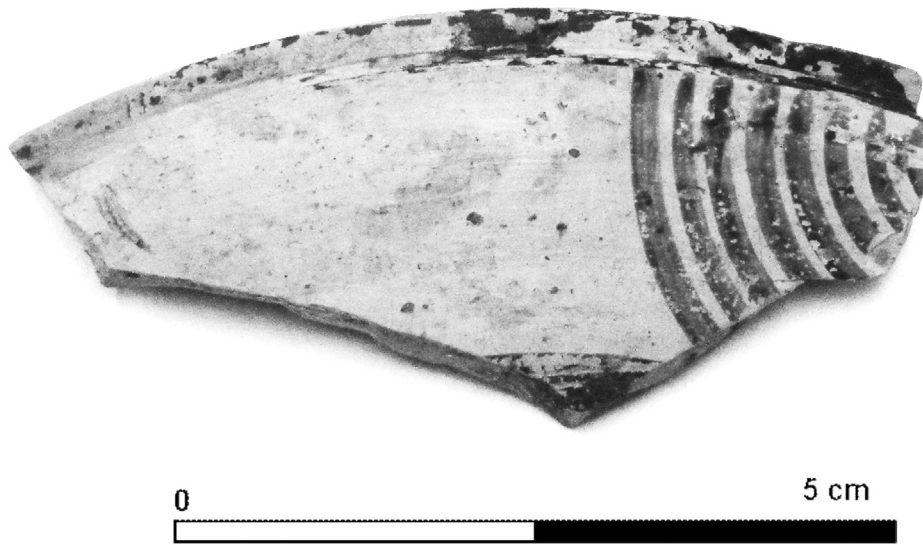
Figures

Figure 1. Pendent semicircle plate of Euboean origin. Huelva, Méndez Núñez/Monjas Square site. (Photo: author).

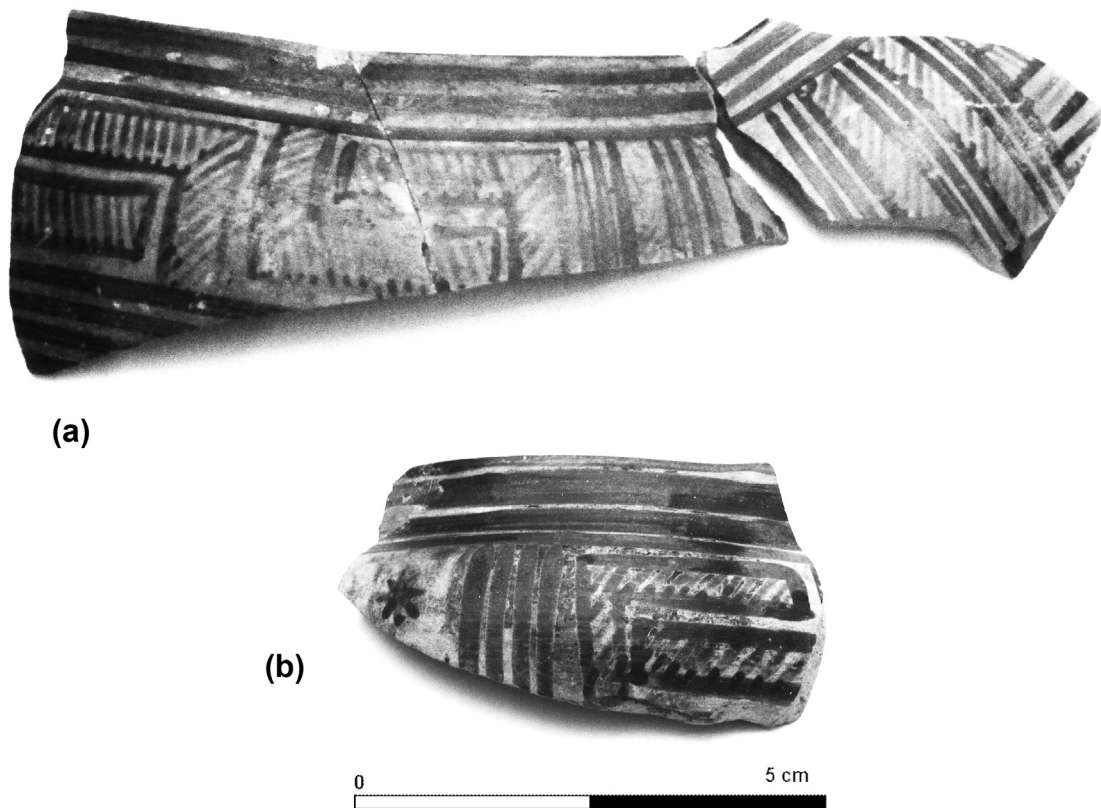


Figure 2. Fragments belonging to two kantharoi with decorations of Atticizing type. Huelva, Méndez Núñez/Monjas Square site. (Photo: author).

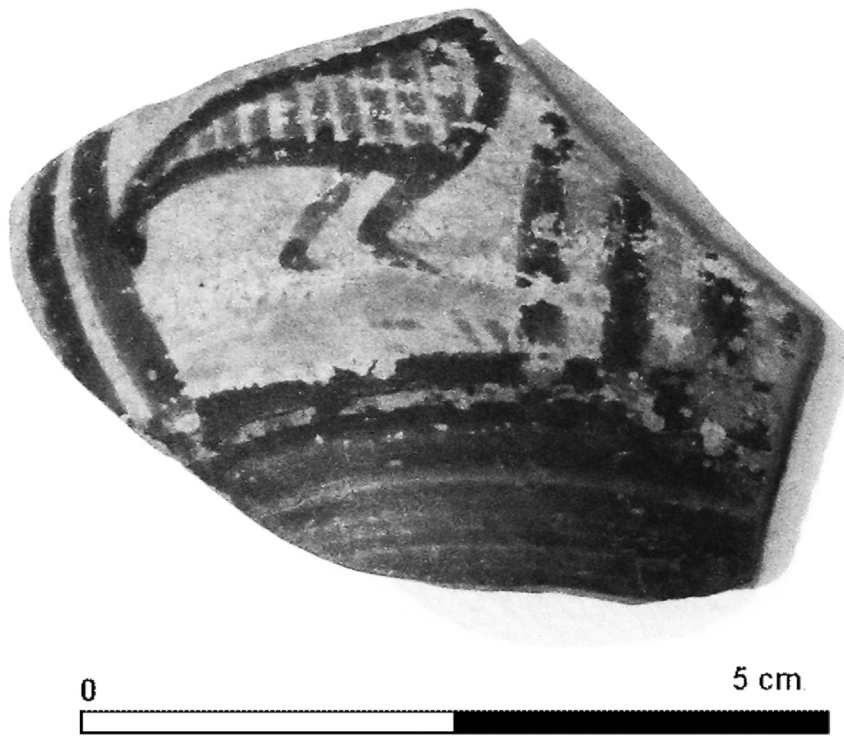


Figure 3. Fragment of skyphos of Euboean type. Huelva, 9 Puerto Street site. (Photo: author).

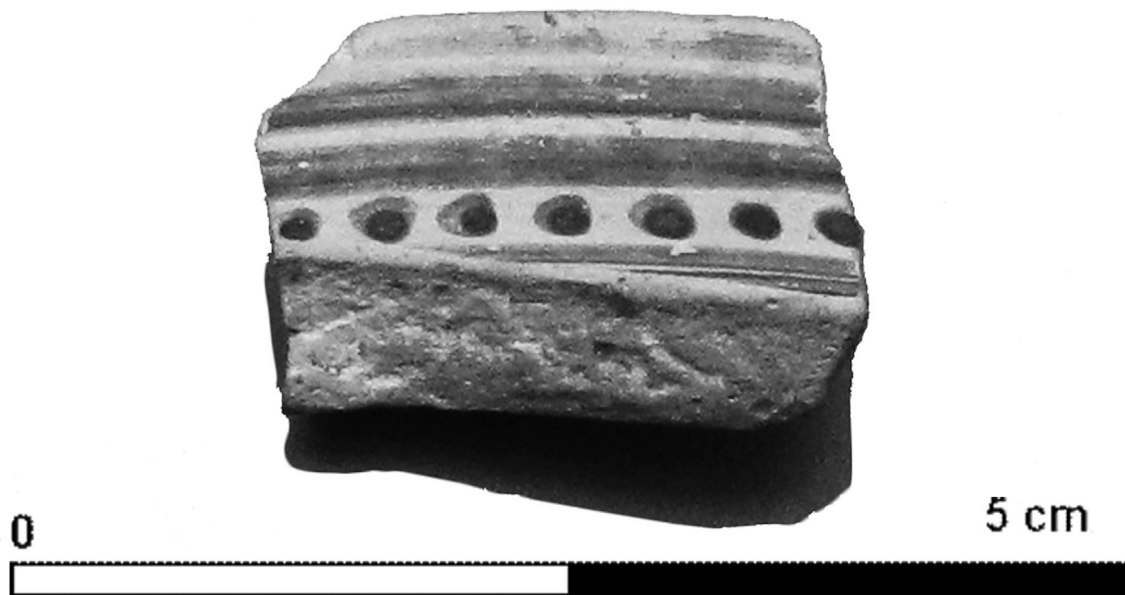


Figure 4. Fragment of skyphos. El Carambolo (province of Seville). (Photo: author).



Figure 5. Fragment of two skyphoi. La Rebanadilla (province of Málaga). Photo: Sánchez et al. 2012).

Greek Geometric incised coarse ware, Euboea, and its connections to central Italy

Orlando CERASUOLO

Περίληψη

Η ευβοϊκή εγχάρακτη κεραμική, γνωστή από τον 19ο αιώνα αναγνωρίστηκε από τον Boardman ως ξεχωριστή κατηγορία μόλις το 1952. Από τότε έχουν δημοσιευτεί αρκετά άρθρα για ταφικά και οικιστικά σύνολα με εγχάρακτη χονδροειδή κεραμική τόσο από την Εύβοια όσο και από άλλες περιοχές του ελλαδικού χώρου.

Σε αυτό το άρθρο γίνεται μια γενική παρουσίαση των κύριων μορφολογικών χαρακτηριστικών - τεχνική, χρονολόγηση, τυπολογία και ρυθμός - της ελληνικής εγχάρακτης χονδροειδούς κεραμικής της Γεωμετρικής περιόδου.

Η κεραμική με εγχάρακτη διακόσμηση αντιπροσωπεύει ένα μικρό ποσοστό χονδροειδών αντικειμένων· τα τελευταία αποτελούν το 30–40% του συνόλου των κεραμικών ευρημάτων τα οποία είναι κυρίως διακοσμημένα με περίτεχνη γραπτή διακόσμηση. Η εγχάρακτη κεραμική ξεχωρίζει για τη διακόσμησή της, για παράδειγμα με διακοσμητικά μοτίβα με εγχαράξεις που γίνονταν με χτένι, μοτίβα με διαγραμμισμένα τρίγωνα και σβάστικες. Οι απαρχές της τοποθετούνται χρονολογικά στην Ύστερη Πρωτογεωμετρική περίοδο ενώ γνώρισε σημαντική ανάπτυξη από τη Μέση Γεωμετρική ΙΙ έως την Ύστερη Γεωμετρική περίοδο. Κεραμική με παρόμοια διακόσμηση βρέθηκε στην Εύβοια καθώς επίσης και στην Αθήνα και στη νότια Αττική, στον Ωροπό, στη Χαλκιδική και στις Κυκλάδες, καθώς και σε άλλα μέρη του ελλαδικού χώρου.

Μια συγκριτική ανάλυση της εγχάρακτης κεραμικής αποκαλύπτει κάποιες απροσδόκητες σχέσεις (τεχνική, διακόσμηση και σχήματα) με την κεραμική του 8ου–7ου αι. π.Χ. (Εποχή του Σιδήρου) από την Ιταλία, μια εποχή που υπήρχαν σημαντικές επαφές μεταξύ Ελλάδας και κεντρικής Ιταλίας.

Τα νέα επιπλέον στοιχεία που προέκυψαν από τη μελέτη της εγχάρακτης κεραμικής στηρίζουν τη θεωρία των ισχυρών αμοιβαίων επαφών μεταξύ της Εύβοιας και της κεντρικής Ιταλίας.

Introduction¹

During the Protogeometric (PG) and the Geometric periods, fine painted pottery was the main ceramic produced in Greece. As a matter of fact, only a small percentage of the ceramic objects found in

1. Special thanks to the organizers of the conference for having proposed a fascinating topic about a crucial island in the Greek world and for their invitation to participate. The research presented here began in 2012 at the Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene (SAIA), thanks to a postdoctoral fellowship issued by the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (Clelia Laviosa), within the framework of a broader ongoing research project that I am developing, devoted to the contacts between the central and eastern Mediterranean (see Cerasuolo 2011-2012). I would like also to thank the director Emanuele Greco, and all the

tombs, settlements and sanctuaries is actually handmade coarse ware. The incised pottery is a specific coarse ware sub-class made up of a relatively few items,² a good percentage of which come from Euboea.

The Euboean incised pottery, known since the 19th century, was recognized as a class of evidence by Boardman only in 1952.³ The most distinctive aspect of this pottery is the decoration, i.e. the use of the comb drawing groups of incisions, the motifs with hatched triangles, and swastikas. The local production of incised pottery has been proven by Neutron Activation Analyses undertaken on pot sherds found at the Sanctuary of Apollo at Eretria.⁴ Although the Euboean incised pottery exhibits all the characteristics of a coherent production, it is useful to consider it in conjunction with other incised coarse ware made in Attica, the Cyclades and Chalkidiki, as this allows for some interesting comparisons.

The brief outline presented in this article should be considered a preliminary report of ongoing research which aims to bring up some discussion points and provide a general overview of the tradition of incising coarse ware pottery in the Greek world during the Geometric period. Some additional considerations will be provided, highlighting some elements that could shed new light on the connections between Greece and the central Tyrrhenian area in terms of coarse ware production.

Technique, decoration and shapes

The incised pottery is handmade using a rough, grainy clay.⁵ The decoration, which was always etched before firing, was made with a single stylus or a multi-pointed comb (Fig. 1).⁶ Both implements were used to create continuous (straight or wavy) or broken lines and geometric patterns. The combs, a rather common decorative tool in Euboea and Attica, had up to seven points, the more common being those with two, three and four points. During the MPG, they were rarely employed to decorate vessels,⁷ but their use extended throughout the whole LG. Sometimes the incisions were filled with a coloured paste⁸ that emphasized the decoration; occasionally, plastic nipples and ribbons completed the ornamentation of the vases.

The incised pottery includes several types of vessels (Fig. 2), with very few comparisons among

staff and my colleagues at SAIA, for having facilitated and enriched my research in immeasurable ways. I would also like to thank Jean-Sebastian Gros (British School at Athens), who was very helpful in making available to my study his doctoral thesis (Gros 2007a) devoted to coarse ware in central Greece: his excellent work has been very helpful and stimulating. Furthermore, many thanks to Eleni Zosi of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, Maria Kosma of the 11th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Amalia G. Kakissis at the British School at Athens, Géraldine Delley, Jean-Paul Descoedres, Jean-Robert Gisler, Tobias Krapf and Claude Léderrey from the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece, for their help in searching for information about the incised vases published by Boardman in 1952. Finally, I discussed some of the arguments presented in this paper with Giovanna Bagnasco Gianni, Gilda Bartoloni, Enrico Giovanelli, Nota Kourou, Annette Rathje, Jacopo Tabolli and Vicki Vlachou. They all gave me valuable suggestions and help that greatly improved my research. Finally, I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for the useful suggestions. The following abbreviations have been used in the text: SM, Sub-Mycenaean; PG, Protogeometric; EG, Early Geometric; MG, Middle Geometric; MPG, Middle Protogeometric; LG, Late Geometric; SPG, Sub-Protogeometric. Other abbreviations belong to frequently cited works, which are listed in the Bibliography. 2. For a provisional list of the known evidence, refer to the List of Vases at the end of the paper.

3. Boardman 1952, 11, fig. 16.

4. Verdan et al. 2014, 75, samples ERET40-42. It is not clear how the results of these analyses can be representative of the entire Euboean production of coarse ware.

5. Gros 2006 and 2007b.

6. The incised pottery should not be confused with so-called 'Argive Monochrome', which is not incised but decorated by impression using a cog (Kourou 1987; 1988). The incised decoration on coarse ware pottery is not considered the origin of the incisions on painted fine ware; in fact, as Cook (2013, 48) writes, 'the systematic use of incision [on painted pottery] probably came from the engraving of metalwork, a process introduced into Greece from the East'.

7. Sometimes on fine ware, e.g. Lemos 2002, 83-84 (Black Slip ware) and 94-96 (the Fine Incised ware, which is handmade).

8. Bouzek 1974, 6; Lemos 2002, 96.

the coeval typology of the fine painted ware. Among the large vases, there are the handleless jars and pithoi—by far the most common incised pots—sometimes with stemmed foot or tripod foot (d-l, q-t), the amphorae (m) and the jars with two horizontal handles (o). The small vases exhibit a greater variety of shapes: lids, bowls (a-c, p), jugs (u-v, often called ‘pots’), ‘lip-amphorae’ (w-y⁹) and the spouted bucket-amphora (aa) are all attested by several specimens, whereas other types are very rare, such as the small multi-storeyed oinochoe/aryballos (z) and the hydria (bb).

Chronology of incised pottery and find contexts

The incised decoration on pottery appeared during the Neolithic period, but was rarely used until the Sub-Mycenaean period. This technique spread out at the beginning of the 1st millennium BC, namely during the Protogeometric and Geometric periods. Even though this class will need a more in-depth analysis and we await forthcoming publications, some initial considerations about the chronological development of the incised pottery can be put forward.¹⁰

Early examples of incised pottery can be recognized in the so-called ‘incised ware’ (Fig. 3),¹¹ represented by ‘dolls’ (a), globular pyxides (b), bowls (c-d, I), cooking pots (e), and some other specimens such as the kalathos (h), pitcher (f), feeder (g), small tripod jars (j-k), suspended vase (l) and some multifaceted spindle whorls (m). This type of pottery has been found mostly in relation to pyres of wealthy female cremation burials in Attica and Euboea, dating from the Late PG to the EG period.¹² Decorative motifs of the incised ware are limited and quite characteristic: zig-zags, groups of lines with lateral notches, and circle stamps.

To a later stage, dating back to the MG, belong several examples of incised pottery found in the necropoleis on the island of Naxos.¹³ These are mostly large tripod pithoi, decorated with a complex series of geometric motifs incised by a single point (Fig. 3n-p); the hatched triangles, repeated many times, represent the most common motive. Some small jugs and amphorae also present few, limited incisions (Fig. 3q-r). During the MG II, some incised decorations continued to be applied also in Eretria, but these were very simple and their presence limited to conical bowls (e.g. Fig. 2a).

Between the late MG and especially the LG, a major development in incised decoration, with the first use of the comb, occurred in Euboea and Attica (Fig. 2).¹⁴ As a matter of fact, most of the incised pottery currently published belongs to this period, and notably almost all the incised jugs. Even if some evidence suggests the evolution of the decorative patterns within these phases, it is not possible to present an in-depth analysis here. Finally, the production of incised coarse ware seems to cease during the 7th century BC.

Little can be said about the find contexts of the incised pottery. Most of the time incised vases are documented in tombs rather than in other contexts, such as sanctuaries, wells and other contexts related to settlement; however, the more ancient discoveries often have no precise provenience. For Euboea, a general overview of the edited volumes from the *Eretria* series published by the Swiss expedition

9. With the label ‘lip amphora’, I refer to a specific type of amphora with a trefoil mouth, sometimes also called a ‘spouted kados’.

10. Some preliminary considerations on the chronology of incised pottery can be found in Joung 1939, 198-199; *Agora* VIII, 27; and Young 1942, 52-53.

11. Bouzek 1974; Lemos 2002, 94-96; Martelli 2009.

12. In particular, the bowls seem to be limited to the late PG, as testified by their inclusion in tomb 48 of the Kerameikos and the Rich Lady Grave of the Agora cemetery (Bouzek 1974, 11-12).

13. Kourou 1999, 25, 82-83, n. 59, pl. 52 (MG I); Charalambidou 2008-2009 (MG II).

14. The relation between comb and multiple brush to decorate vases remains to be analysed. For the multiple brush, see Papadopoulos et al. 1998.

allows us to assess about 65% of finds coming from tombs; for Attica it is close to 60%, but published data are not very precise.

For at least nine cases, in Attica and Euboea, incised pithoi were used for *enchytrismos*, which likely belonged to infants.¹⁵ Some of the larger vases were used as urns, while others, due to their unusual typology, seem to have had specific functions, perhaps ritual, as for example the 'lip-amphorae' (Fig. 2w-y) and the spouted bucket-amphora (Fig. 2aa).

Quantitative patterns and the geographical distribution of the incised pottery

In the first stage of my research I visited dozens of large and small museums and collected all the available published data on incised pottery from the modern territory of Greece. The database includes 42 sites, but unfortunately the extent of the unpublished data is uncertain.

For fine ware and coarse ware, academic publications do not provide the same level of documentation and analysis; data are often incomplete also because of the selective collection of finds during early excavations.

The available data is summarized in Table 1, demonstrating the presence of coarse ware and incised pottery in central Greece, from the Sub-Mycenaean to the Geometric period. Of the 42 sites considered, 20 are from Euboea and 15 from Attica. Although the survey of the archaeological evidence is not complete yet, three major trends during this period seem to be evidenced by the available data:

1. an increase over time in the sites where coarse ware (both incised and plain) was used;
2. the progressive growth of the quantity of sites with incised pottery;
3. the increasing ratio of coarse ware versus fine ware (although coarse ware only rarely exceeds 30% of the whole ceramic assemblage), which may be associated with a similar increase in incised pottery versus plain coarse ware.

The current state of research does not permit us to link such trends to the fortune of the incised pottery or the well-known general rise in settlement numbers during the PG and LG.¹⁶

15. Eretria, Hygeionomeion tomb 3 and Maison aux Mosaiques tomb 2; Oropos, central quarter tomb IV; Athens, Kerameikos South tombs 53, 65, 66 and Dipylon tomb X, tum. B; Phaleron, tomb 29. Also Mende, tomb 6. Sources can be found in the List of Vases.

16. Morris 1987, 156-167.

area	site	SM	PG	EG-MG	LG				
Lo	Kynos	X							
Be	Kalapodi	X	X		60				
At	Athens	3	15	x	4	16	X		
Lo	Atalante		35						
Eg	Kardiani		X						
Eg	Rhénée		X						
Th	Palia-Iolkos		15	X					
EG	Cos		x	X					
Eu	Chalcis		X	X		x			
Eg	Naxos		X	X	X	X	x		
Eu	Lefkandi		5	X	5	X	x	X	
Eu	Oropos		X	X	12	x	36	X	
Eg	Minoa			X					
Lo	Tragana			X					
Lo	Akraiphia			X	x				
Th	Halos			X		X			
Eg	Xomburgo			x		X	x		
Eu	Xeropolis			X	X	X	x		
Pel	Argo			x	X	x	X		
Eu	Eretria			X	X	22	X		
Eg	Zagora			X	X	x	x		
At	Kiapha Thiti					3			
Foc	Delphi					X			
Eg	Paros-Koukounaries					X			
Eg	Hypsili					X			
At	Anavyssos					1	X		
At	Eleusis					x	30		
At	Tourkovouni					x	X		
At	Merenda					x	x		
Calc	Mende					x	x		
At	Markopoulo de Mesogee					x	x		
At	Phaleron					x	x		
	<i>n° of sites</i>	3	0	11	5	14	8	23	15

Table 1: Quantification of coarse ware (italic) and incised pottery (bold) in Greece. Where no exact number of vases is given, 'x' = 'very few vases or sherds' and 'X' = 'several vases'. See also the List of Vases.¹⁷

As usual, the purely numerical analysis fails to describe the complexity of the phenomenon, though this represents a first approach to the scatter evidence I collected. It is therefore relevant to consider also the geographical distribution of the finds (Fig. 4); it is clear that distribution is concentrated in Euboea, Locris, Attica and the Cyclades, while further presence can be noted on Kos, and at Mende in Chalkidiki.

Types of motifs

There is no complete overlap between the decorative motifs engraved on coarse ware and the painted patterns of the fine pottery. The catalogue of the decorative motifs is rather limited, as is that

17. Data from Gros 2007a with additions.

of pattern combinations;¹⁸ more complex decorative motifs are very unusual. The incisions are located mainly on the rim and the neck (especially on the lower part, where nipples can also be found), and also on the shoulder, but very rarely on the belly or the base.

Zig-zag and wavy lines are the prevalent motifs, followed by rows of triangles and herringbone, and circular stamps. Most of the specific motifs, such as combed lines with hatches (Fig. 1c), rows of single points between lines, and hatched lozenges, can also be found in Attica, but rows of triangles are absent. Simple meanders are known from Attica but also from Naxos. In Euboea there are crosses incised on the external surface of the bases of some vases. Most of the motifs, such as the wavy line or the zig-zag, appeared during the Middle and Late PG phases. The incised swastika, which sometimes obsessively covers the vases (see Fig. 1b-c), emerged only at the end of the 8th century, and appears much more frequently on the incised pottery than on the painted type.¹⁹ The 'simple meander' (e.g. Fig. 2t-u) also has few comparisons in painted pottery.²⁰

There are very few other figurative representations. In a fragment from Xomburgo, studied by Gros,²¹ a deer or a snake can possibly be recognized. Another vase from Naxos is very important since it depicts two animals, likely two birds, above the incised image of a ship.²² Another ship is possibly represented in a problematic image from Anavyssos (Fig. 1c). Another frieze which is difficult to analyse is from a small amphora from the Agora (Fig. 2w).²³

Only in one case is there a schematic representation of human beings. On the neck of a pithos from Eretria there is a frieze with two pairs of individuals, between wavy vertical lines (Figs. 2l and 5a). The scene is duplicated and separated on each side by a vertical herringbone motif, likely a floral representation.²⁴ Each couple consists of different human figures, perhaps to represent a man and a woman. It is hard to provide an interpretation for the vertical wavy lines: they could represent snakes, water or floral motifs. The few humans incised on coarse ware do not have close comparisons on fine pottery. In fact, the oldest painted human figure on Greek pottery is that from Lefkandi which dates back to the MPG.²⁵ Later, it appears on the MG krater from tomb 43 of the Kerameikos,²⁶ together with another vase from Fortetza;²⁷ after LG human figures become very common.²⁸ While the MPG humans from Lefkandi are of peculiar stylization, the typical figures of LG have the characteristic silhouette

18. Gros 2007a, 135, fig. 3 gives the incidence of the various decorative motifs at the site of Oropos.

19. A quick look at *GGP* and *GG* shows that the swastika can be seen during SPG at Marmariani (*GG*, fig. 8h) and Lefkandi (*GG*, fig. 116, dating to SPG II); only one time in Late PG at Lefkandi; one time in EG I in Attica (*GGP*, pl. 1k); ten times in LG, in Attic style (*GGP*, pl. 9h-i; 9m; 10g; 10h; 10k; 14a; 15e; 15m), Argive style (*GGP*, pl. 26) and Thessalian style (*GGP*, pl. 33c).

20. For example *GGP*, pl. 2h and pl. 59d-h.

21. Gros 2007a, 140, fig. 6.

22. The vase is exhibited in the Museum of Naxos, but is unpublished. The decoration occupies most of the neck, where Geometric motifs define a panel with the boat. On the right, the tapered prow and the keel can be seen; on the left, there is the rudder. A series of vertical lines above the deck may indicate the ranked soldiers. This ship is almost identical to those which were painted on vases since the MG and became more common during the LG (Boffa 2006). The same type of vessel, surmounted by a pair of birds, is incised over the catch-holder of a pin from Boeotia (*GG*, fig. 66a). A close comparison for the scene is painted on a pithos at the Eretria Museum.

23. Reber 1991, pl. 10.5.

24. Boardman 1952, 11, n. 2, fig. 16c (preserved height 0.44 m) indicates that the object was at that time in the Eretria Museum; however, despite several searches in the museum storerooms (and also in the National Museum of Athens) it has not been possible so far to find this interesting vase and take new photos or complete drawings. No one from the current Eretria Swiss expedition seems to have ever seen this vase. Also, there is no other documentation at the editorial office or archives of the British School at Athens. The same is true also for the other incised vases published by Boardman 1952.

25. Lemos 2002, 66, pl. 23.11.

26. A mourning woman (*GGP*, 20-21, dating to MG I); see also the pitcher (?) from Kerameikos (*GGP*, 27-28, dating to MG II).

27. *GG*, 366, fig. 119.

28. For the Attic style see *GGP*, 37-41 and 43-44 (LG I); 56, 58, 62, 66, 69, 72-73, 75-77, 79, 81-82 (LG II). For the Argive style see *GGP*, 129 (LG I) and 136-141, 143, 145-146 (LG II). For the Melian style see *GGP*, 184 (LG II).

body, with triangular structure, that has little in common with the incisions from Eretria. Even looking at other classes of objects, such as at an MG engraved pin from Lefkandi,²⁹ no good comparison can be found. The interpretation and origin of the incised frieze from Eretria remain an open question; however, some working hypotheses about the origin of its style will be provided at the end of this paper.

Stylistic groups

An analysis of the associations within each pottery type allows for the identification of some syntactic patterns which are more frequent on the incised pottery and, more importantly, a few local varieties. This is especially true for the three better-documented areas corresponding to Naxos, Euboea and Attica,³⁰ in each of which different techniques and decorative motifs, as well as specific associations between decoration and shape, can be noted. A first attempt to sketch some local styles can help in defining the character of the Euboean production.

Incised pottery from Naxos consists mainly of large jars, with a tripod foot; and, as far as I know, these are always without handles. The incisions are exclusively single lines (the comb is not used), sometimes associated with circular stamps.³¹ Among the motifs are bands of upward triangles, herringbone, as well as rare motifs such as the ship and the two birds.

In Attica, the incised vases are mainly small, but a great variety of shapes is attested. They are mostly found in Athens, but also at other sites in Attica (e.g. Eleusis, Anavyssos, and Phaleron). There are hemispherical bowls, jugs, lip-amphorae, spout-amphorae, one hydria and one multi-storeyed oinochoe/aryballos.³² There is also an exceptional piece: a jar with high foot (Fig. 2t).³³ The incisions were made with the two-point comb and, especially, with a single point. Among the most common motifs, there are crosshatched bands, wavy line bands, oblique-notched lines, simple meanders, hatched lozenges, swastikas, and also panels on the neck, which are framed but empty. More complex, perhaps narrative, representations, such as those in Figs. 1c and 2x, are very rare.

In Euboea conical bowls together with many large vessels (jars and pithoi, sometimes with handles) have been noted. The latter have a developed neck, quite often on a stemmed openwork foot. Many pithoi have a distinct neck, an unusual feature in coarse ware. This group also includes a vase from Oropos³⁴ and another from Mende in Chalkidiki³⁵ (Fig. 2o), both areas closely related to Euboea.³⁶ The three- to seven-point comb is mostly used, as well as the cog. On the shoulders of the vases, swastikas and down-pointing triangles are very popular, but also crosses and rows of empty or hatched triangles; in contrast, ribbons are very rare. There is also a unique representation of humans on Fig. 5a, incised on a vase that very likely formed part of a burial, if it did not act as the actual urn.

These three styles exhibit relevant differences but share common shapes and motifs. Closer links can be established between Euboea, the Cyclades and Chalkidiki.³⁷ This group is characterized by a preference for large pots, on a stemmed openwork or tripod foot, and by the presence of more complex figures and scenes (humans and animals). In Attica small jugs and spouts prevail; some motifs seem to link Attic style with Naxos.

29. GG, 42, fig. 19a-b.

30. Other incised pottery with different styles are known from other parts of Greece, e.g. Argos (Waldstein 1905, pl. 50).

31. Circular stamps can be found also in Attica and Euboea.

32. Simantoni-Bournia 2011.

33. Brückner and Pernice 1893, 119, fig. 12.

34. Vlachou 2007, fig. 7b.

35. Moschonisioti 1998, 235, fig. 12.

36. Kourou 2012.

37. On the broader links between Euboea, Naxos and Chalkidiki see Kourou 1998; 2012.

Euboean incised pottery and incised pottery from central Italy

A study of Greek incised pottery must consider a broad geographic area and time frame, as well as an analysis of potential influences and models. Different incised productions can be found for example in the Bronze Age coarse ware of central Europe,³⁸ Cyprus³⁹ and the Near East.⁴⁰ A complete account and discussion is beyond the scope of my current research. Nonetheless, I deem it relevant to set up a comparison with the mid-Tyrrhenian area, namely Etruria and Latium Vetus.

Connections between Greece and the mid-Tyrrhenian area are clearly proven by the Greek imported pottery. In this area the oldest imports appeared in the MG and LG periods (at Tarquinii, Caere and Veii in Etruria; Rome, Ficana and Cures in Latium Vetus) and are mostly of Euboean production.⁴¹ During the second half of the 8th century BC, imports greatly increased. Alongside the Euboean component, Corinthian, Attic and the Cycladic imports also rose. These initial contacts led to several changes among the Etruscan and Latin communities: a significant boost in the development of the proto-urban centres, but also the adoption of broader cultural models (e.g. the adoption of writing, a new method of banqueting, a heroic funerary ideology and a new mode of aristocratic living).⁴²

By nature, contacts have a degree of reciprocity. As counterparts of these Greek imports and cultural influences, few Italic objects have been identified in the Greek world.⁴³ A number of metal objects, likely to be considered valuable offerings, came especially from the major Panhellenic sanctuaries: for example, a horse-bit of 'Vetulonia type' belonging to the 8th century BC, together with a Villanovan-type crested helmets at Olympia; the Villanovan shields at Olympia, Samos, Dodona and Delphi; many Italic fibulae types; or a Villanovan bronze belt, now in Paris, which is believed to come from Euboea itself.⁴⁴ The Villanovan-style pottery can be found not only all over Campania, where Greek and Etruscan colonies were neighbours, but also on the island of the Euboean colony of Pithekoussai itself.⁴⁵ Therefore, the 8th-7th century represents a phase of intense connections between central Italy and the Greek world, especially Euboea.

The Iron Age coarse ware of Etruria is characterized by complex incised decorations, the so-called 'Villanovan style', which were mostly used on funerary objects, especially the cinerary urns⁴⁶ (Fig. 5e, g-i). It should be noted that, since the end of the Bronze Age (11th-10th century BC), in Etruria this decoration was applied using a comb. Similar incised pottery is produced in the area of Latium Vetus, at Crustumerium and Fidene; however, in these areas the use of a single-pointed tool was preferred (Fig. 5f, j-k).⁴⁷ These incised productions are common during the 9th century and decline throughout the first half of the 8th century BC.

Some of the incised patterns considered typical of Etruscan pottery are comparable to those on Greek incised pottery: zig-zags, bands of triangles, simple meanders, and, above all, the swastikas, often within metopes. Furthermore, some comparisons between pottery types from Etruria and Greece highlight the possible connections between the two productions, though not all comparisons are

38. I refer mainly to the incised tradition of the Hallstatt culture.

39. Cypriot Red and Black Polished Ware, dating to c. 2300-1650 BC, are often incised with a single point (Barlow 1989).

40. e.g. the Syrian incised pottery dating back to the Early and Middle Bronze Age (Holland 2006, 347-378).

41. There were in fact many different components alongside the Euboean: Bagnasco 2008; Bartoloni 2005; 2013, 91-92; d'Agostino 2006; Kourou 2005.

42. For an outlook of the Villanovan culture see Bartoloni 2013. The Greek influence determined also the adoption of Hellenic types of pottery into the local funerary and ritual customs: Bagnasco 2008.

43. For the earliest Etruscan objects found in the Greek world, see Gran-Aymerich and MacIntosh Turfa 2013.

44. Gran-Aymerich and MacIntosh Turfa 2013, 377, fig. 19.4.

45. Pacciarelli 2011; Cerasuolo 2016 and Forthcoming.

46. For a general recent study about the Villanovan incised pottery, see De Angelis 2001 and 2004.

47. See, for example, the incised pottery from Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992).

equally satisfactory. Among the bowls, there are similarities in the conical shape, in the handles and in the decoration of the outer surface. Among the closed shapes, in addition to some vague parallels between jugs and bucket/situlae, there are significant similarities in the arrangement of the decoration. There is a general preference for the upper part of the vase, with neck and shoulder occupied by incised geometric motifs, but also nipples.

The intriguing neck-jar with human frieze from Eretria has a good comparison in an urn from Cerveteri (Fig. 5g), with a similar shape, nipples and incisions on the shoulder. The neck of the Etruscan vases is usually undecorated, but similar vessels dating back to the Final Bronze Age exhibit many complex decorative motifs on this part of the vessel (Fig. 5c-d).

Conclusions

To sum up, similarities between local Greek incised pottery and the Iron Age incised pottery from the mid-Tyrrhenian area can be found in relation to: a) the crafting technique (handmade); b) the decoration techniques (incision, use of both comb and single-point tools); c) some of the pottery types; d) the arrangement of the decoration; and, e) some of the decorative motifs (triangles, swastikas, human figures). Similarities are not limited to the formal aspects (shapes and decorations), but sometimes they are also functional.⁴⁸

From a chronological point of view, the Italic incised vases are usually earlier by one or two generations. Only the comparison between the amphora with openwork foot from Eretria (Fig. 2m) and the one from Bisenzio (Fig. 5l),⁴⁹ is consistent in date. Nonetheless, there is a contemporaneity between the last production of incised pottery in the mid-Tyrrhenian area (early-mid 8th century BC) and the initial stage of the efflorescence of the Greek incised pottery. Significantly, this period also coincides with the first Greek imports in Etruria.

My thesis is that the evidence discussed above suggests that at least the use of the comb to engrave decoration could have been transmitted from Etruria to Euboea during the early 8th century. It is not easy to say if this took place as a transmission of techniques and tools among craftsmen or due to the actual moving of Etrusco-Latin people to Euboea, since both are plausible but not necessary. Therefore, together with the Italic metal objects discussed above, it seems plausible to consider some aspects of the incised pottery as a reflection of Greek contacts with central Italy. The little overlap in the incised motifs of the coarse ware and the decorative motifs of the painted Euboean fine wares could be an argument for itinerant potters from Etruria who travelled to Euboea, perhaps during the LG period.

The frieze with humans on the vessel from Eretria, which does not find easy comparisons in Greek art—neither in decoration nor form—also constitutes a further element which stresses the connections between these two worlds. These types of human representations are very close to the human figures commonly incised in Etruria and Latium Vetus during the Iron Age (Fig. 5b), where typical features are the extreme simplification and the clear-cut angular lines of the body. The strong link between human representation and cinerary urns is repeated also on some hut-shaped urns from Tarquini (Fig. 5e) and Osteria dell'Osa (Fig. 5f). When compared with the frieze from Eretria, the Etruscan figures seem to represent a good and very intriguing parallel.

* * *

48. The similarity between the rare multifaceted spindle whorls published by Bouzek 1974, 16 (here Fig. 3m) and those common in central Italy is also interesting.

49. The vase has been found in the necropolis of Olmo Bello at Bisenzio and its chronology is 8th-early 7th century BC (local phases Iron Age 2-Early Orientalizing; Paribeni 1928).

List of Vases⁵⁰

A. Euboea

Eretria

- Hygeinomanteion, *enchytrismoi* (Boardman 1952, 11, fig. 16; *Eretria* XVII): one jar and four openwork stemmed jars (Fig. 2f, g, i-j, l)
 - Hygeinomanteion, K. Kourouniotis excavation, tomb 3 (Kourounithis 1903, 25-29, fig. 10; *Eretria* XVII): jar with openwork stemmed foot (Fig. 2k)
 - Hygeinomanteion, K. Kourouniotis excavation, pyres (*Eretria* XVII): conical bowl and aryballos
 - Eratonymou (Andreiomenou 1981, 219, fig. 70): sherd (Fig. 1d)
 - Eratonymou, tomb 3 (*Eretria* XVII; Gros 2007a, n. 26): one bowl and two plates (Figs. 1a, 2a-c)
 - Maison aux Mosaiques, tomb 1 (*Eretria* XVII): amphora with openwork stemmed foot (Fig. 2m)
 - Maison aux Mosaiques, tomb 2 (*Eretria* XVII): jar with openwork stemmed foot (Fig. 2h)
 - Apollo Daphnephoros (*Eretria* XIV, pl. 33; Gros 2007a, n. 34, 36): sherds (Fig. 1d), two bowls and a plate. See also *Eretria* XXII and Verdan et al. 2014
 - C/7 207.1 (*Eretria* XVII; Gros 2007a, n. 37; Reber 1987, 2, 23-34): plate
 - SW Gate (s.2), tomb 1,I (*Eretria* XVII): tripod jar (Fig. 2n)
 - OT29beta, tomb 11,I (*Eretria* XVII): jar (Fig. 2e)
 - Town workshop, west quarter (Léderrey 2007, 267-273, figs. 1-8): several sherds
 - (Reber 1987, 2, 23-34): plates
- Some sherds with simple incisions are also in *Eretria* XX.

Lefkandi-Xeropolis

- (Gros 2007a, n. 152; Popham and Sackett 1980, 72-73, pl. 41, 58-59, 61): one jar, several sherds

Oropos

- O.S.K. (Gros 2007a, n. 38, 207): plate, handle
- Tomb 4 (Gros 2007a, n. 255; Vlachou 2007): tripod jar

B. Attica

Athens

- Dipylon, tomb X, mound B (Brückner and Pernice, 1893, 73-191; 1893, 119, fig. 12, pl. VIII): jar, with tall foot (Figs. 1b and 2t)
- Agora, tombs and well (Burr 1933, 598-599, figs. 64-66, 69: n. 225-228): jug and other sherds (Fig. 2u)
- Agora (Young 1939, 110, 122, 137-138, 189-190, 199, figs. 77, 87, 94, 139-140: n. B4, B51, B82, C157-C159, C161-C164): several sherds and a lamp (fig. 87.B51)
- Agora (Brann 1960, 414, fig. 8, pl. 92; Gros 2007a, n. 254): jar with tall foot
- Agora, wells (*Agora* VIII, 1962, 27, 54-55, pl. 11, 101, pl. 40: no. 198 and 199; 607; 612-617; Brann 1961; Gros 2007a, n. 146-147, 149-151, 179-180, 215; Reber 1991): two lip-amphorae, five jugs, a bowl and several sherds (Fig. 2p, v-w)
- Kerameikos, tombs 53, 65, 66, 98 (Gros 2007a, n. 148, 242; *Kerameikos* V.1, 1954, 139, 248, 255-256, 271, 282, pl. 154-157): two jugs, one hydria, one tripod pithos, and other vases (Fig. 2q, bb)

Phaleron

- Tomb 29 (Young 1942, 30-32, figs. 12, 52-53): jar (Fig. 2.5).

50. This is the first attempt to provide a comprehensive list of vases with incised decoration. It includes published vases and unpublished items, to the best of my knowledge. It cannot be considered in any way conclusive, and I am certain it will be enlarged as the study of this specific class of pottery continues.

Eleusis

- Necropolis *panarchaia*, inhumation (Αρχ. Εφ. 1898, 29-122, pl. 3.9; Gros 2007a, n. 153): jar (Fig. 2r)

Anavyssos

- Tombs within mounds (Gros 2007a, n. 175-177; Kastriotis and Philadelphous 1911, 124-125, figs. 24-29, 126, no. 10): two amphorae, one spouted bucket-amphora, one multi-storeyed oinochoe/aryballos (the last also in Simantoni-Bournia 2011) (Figs. 1c, 2x-aa)

Merenda

- Tomb 19 (Gros 2007a, n. 166; Xagorari-Gleissner, 2005, 70, pl. 32c): small jug

Markopoulo in Mesogea

- (Kakavogianni 1983, 62, pl. 30c; Gros 2007a, n. 178): one-spouted bucket amphora

Tourkovouni

- (Gros 2007a, 133; Lauter 1985, 95, 106-107)

C. Chalkidiki*Mende*

- Coastal necropolis, tomb 6 (Vokotopoulou 1989, 414-415, 418, fig. 14; Moschonisioti 1998, 235, fig. 12): jar with horizontal handles and openwork stemmed foot (Figs. 1e, 2o)

D. Cyclades*Naxos*

- Enclosure 6 (Charalambidou 2008-2009, fig. 6a-b, d): amphora, jug and tripod jar (Fig. 3n, q-r)
- Enclosure 10 (Charalambidou 2011, fig. 6g-h): tripod jar (Fig. 3o)
- Enclosure (Charalambidou 2011, fig. 6i-l): tripod jar (Fig. 3p)
- Gymnasium tomb C-1937 (Karouzou 1937, 118, fig. 5; Kourou 1999, n. 59-60, 25, 82-84, 154-155, pl. 25): tripod jar and sherd

At least five other tripod jars, including the one with the incised boat, are exhibited in the Naxos Museum.

Zagora

- Unit H23 (Cambitoglou et al. 1988, 187, pl. 191c-d; Gros 2007a, n. 58, 208-210): bowls, handle

Xomburgo

- (Gros 2007a, n. 211-212, 264-265, 267 and fig. 6): sherds

Abbreviations

- Agora VIII = Brann, E. T. H. (1962) 'Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery: Mid 8th to Late 7th Century B.C.'. Vol. VIII of *The Athenian Agora*. Princeton; New Jersey: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Eretria XIV = Huber, S. (2006) *L'Aire sacrificielle au nord du Sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros. Un rituel des époques géométrique et archaïque*. Gollion: Infolio editions.
- Eretria XVII = Blandin, B. (2007) *Les pratiques funéraires d'époque géométrique à Erétrie. Espace des vivants, demeures des morts*. Gollion: Infolio editions.
- Eretria XX = Verdan, S., A. K. Pfyffer and C. Léderrey (2008) *Céramique géométrique d'Erétrie*. Gollion: Infolio editions.
- Eretria XXII = Verdan S. (2013) *The Sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros in the Geometric period*. Gollion: Infolio editions.
- GG = Coldstream, J. N. (2003) *Geometric Greece, 900-700 BC*. New York: Routledge.
- GGP = Coldstream, J. N. (2008) *Greek Geometric Pottery. A survey of ten local styles and their chronology*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Kerameikos V = von Kübler K. (1954) 'Die Nekropole des 10. bis 8. Jahrhunderts.' Vol. 1 of *Kerameikos: ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.

Bibliography

- Andreiomenou, A. K. (1981) 'Αψιδωτά οικοδομήματα και κεραμική του 8ου και 7ου π.Χ. αι. εν Ερετρία'. *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente* 59, 187-236.
- Bagnasco Gianni, G. (2008) 'A Project of Greek Colonisation from Sicily to Etruria? The Role of Tarquinia'. *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente* 84(II, 6, I), 481-489.
- Barlow, J. A. (1989) 'New Light on Red Polished Ware'. In *Cypriot ceramics: reading the prehistoric record*, edited by J. A. Barrow, D. L. Bolger and B. Kling, 51-58. Ephrata: Science Press.
- Bartoloni, G. (2005) 'Inizi della colonizzazione nel centro Italia'. In *Magna Graecia. Archeologia di un sapere*, edited by S. Settis and C. Parra, 345-359. Milan: Hoepli.
- Bartoloni, G. (2013) 'The Villanovan culture: at the beginning of Etruscan history'. In *The Etruscan world*, edited by J. MacIntosh Turfa, 79-98. New York: Routledge.
- Bietti Sestieri, A. M., ed. (1992) *La necropoli laziale di Osteria dell'Osa*. Rome: Edizioni Quasar.
- Boardman, J. (1952) 'Pottery from Eretria'. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 47, 1-48.
- Boffa, G. (2006) 'EPETMA KAI ΠΤΕΡΑ. Osservazioni sull'immaginario della nave in età geometrica'. *La Parola del Passato* 346, 41-68.
- Bouzek, J. (1974) *The Attic dark age incised ware*. Prague: Narodni Muzeum.
- Brann, E. (1960) 'Late Geometric Grave Groups from the Athenian Agora'. *Hesperia* 29(4), 402-416.
- Brann, E. (1961) 'Late Geometric Well Groups from the Athenian Agora'. *Hesperia* 30(2), 93-146.
- Brückner, A. and E. Pernice (1893) 'Ein attischer Friedhof'. *Athenische Mitteilungen* 18, 73-191.
- Burr, D. (1933) 'A Geometric House and a Proto-Attic Votive Deposit'. *Hesperia* 2, 542-640.
- Cambitoglou, A., J. J. Coulton, A. Birchall and J. R. Green (1988) Vol. II of *Zagora [Excavation of a Geometric Town on the Island of Andros, Greece]*. Athens: Athens Archaeological Society.
- Cerasuolo, O. (2011-2012) 'Le Borse di Perfezionamento alla SAIA'. *Notiziario Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene* X, 19.
- Cerasuolo, O. (2016) 'The Orientalizing Period at Caere-Cultural and Material Connections'. In Vol. 1 of *Cities of the Etruscans [Caere - an Etruscan city]*, edited by N. de Grummond and L. Pieraccini, 27-40. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Cerasuolo, O. (Forthcoming) 'Local, Import and Imitation Pottery at Cerveteri. New Perspectives on Early Etruscan Connectivity in Italy and in the Eastern Mediterranean'. In *Island, Mainland, Coastland & Hinterland. Ceramic perspectives on connectivity in the ancient Mediterranean*, edited by J. Hilditch and A. Kotsonas.

- Charalambidou, X. (2008-2009) 'The pottery from the Early Iron Age necropolis of Tsikalario on Naxos: preliminary observations'. *Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica* 15-16, 57-69.
- Charalambidou, X. (2011) 'Quantitative analysis of the pottery from the Early Iron Age necropolis of Tsikalario on Naxos'. In *Early Iron Age Pottery: A Quantitative Approach*, edited by S. Verdan, T. Theurillat and A. Kenzelmann Pfyffer, 139-147. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Cook, R. M. (2013) *Greek Painted Pottery*. New York: Routledge.
- D'Agostino, B. (2006) 'I primi Greci in Etruria'. In *Tarquinia e le civiltà del Mediterraneo*, edited by M. B. Jovino, 335-346. Milan: Cisalpino.
- De Angelis, D. (2001) *La ceramica decorata di stile 'villanoviano' in Etruria meridionale*. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino.
- De Angelis, D. (2004) 'Classificazione, analisi e cronologia della ceramica decorata di stile villanoviano in Etruria Meridionale'. In *Atti del VI Incontro di Studi di Preistoria e Protostoria in Etruria*, edited by Nuccia Negroni Catacchio, 339-349. Milan: Centro Studi di Preistoria.
- Gran-Aymerich, J. and J. MacIntosh Turfa (2013) 'Etruscan goods in the Mediterranean world and beyond'. In *The Etruscan world*, edited by J. MacIntosh Turfa, 373-425. New York: Routledge.
- Gros, J.-S. (2006) 'Quelques remarques sur la céramique grossière eubéenne au début de l'âge du fer'. In *1ο Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδα, Παν/μιο Θεσσαλίας*, 959-971. Volos: University Press.
- Gros, J.-S. (2007a) 'La ceramique commune en Grece centrale au debut de l'age du fer (ca. 1100-675 avant J.-C.): typologies, production, circulation, consommation'. PhD thesis. University of Thessaly, Greece.
- Gros, J.-S. (2007b) 'Oropos. Quantification de la céramique, méthode et premiers résultats pour la céramique à pâte grossière'. In *Oropos and Euboea in the Early Iron Age*, edited by A. Mazarakis Ainian, 255-270. Volos: University Press.
- Holland, T. A., ed. (2006) 'Archaeology of the Bronze Age, Hellenistic, and Roman Remains at an Ancient Town on the Euphrates River'. Vol. 2 of *Excavations at Tell Es-Sweyhat, Syria*. Ann Arbor: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Kakavogianni, O. (1983) 'Μαρκόπουλο Μεσογείων, Οδός Παπαβασιλείου 30 (οικόπεδο Αν. Γιαννάκη)'. *Αρχαιολογικό Δελτίο* 38B, 61-62.
- Karouzou, Ch. (1937) 'Ανασκαφαί εν Νάξω'. *Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 1937, 115-122.
- Kastriotis, P. and A. Philiadelphous (1911) 'Ανασκαφή Ανάβυσσου'. *Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 1911, 124-125.
- Kourou, N. (1987) 'À propos de quelques ateliers de céramique fine, non-tournée du type "Argien Monochrome"'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 111(1), 31-53.
- Kourou, N. (1988) 'Handmade Pottery and Trade. The Case of the Argive Monochrome Ware'. In *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*, edited by J. Christiansen and T. Melander, 314-324. Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet.
- Kourou, N. (1998) 'Euboea and Naxos in the Late Geometric Period: the Cesnola Style'. In *Euboica. L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*, edited by M. Bats and B. d'Agostino, 167-177. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard; Istituto Universale Orientale.
- Kourou, N. (1999) *Ανασκαφές Νάξου: το νότιο νεκροταφείο της Νάξου κατά τη Γεωμετρική Περίοδο: έρευνες των ετών 1931-1939*. Athens: Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία.
- Kourou, N. (2005) 'Early Iron Age Greek Imports in Italy. A comparative approach to a case study'. In *Oriente e Occidente: Metodi e Disciplina a Confronto, riflessioni sulla cronologia dell'età del ferro italiana. Mediterranea, Quaderni di Archeologia Etrusco-Italica I-2004*, edited by G. Bartoloni and F. Delpino, 497-515. Rome: Fabrizio Serra Editore.
- Kourou, N. (2012) 'L'Orizzonte Euboico nell'Egeo ed I primi rapporti con l'Occidente'. In *Alle Origini della Magna Grecia. Mobilità migrazioni fondazioni. Atti del Cinquantesimo Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia*, 161-188. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia.
- Kourounithis, K. (1903) 'Αngeia Eretrias'. *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς*, 1-38.
- Lauter, H. (1985) 'Der Kultplatz auf dem Turkovuni'. Vol. 1 of *Attische Forschungen. Mitteilungen Des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*. Berlin: Mann.

- Léderrey, C. (2007) 'Handmade Fine ware from the West Quarter of Eretria and its context'. In *Oropos and Euboea in the Early Iron Age*, edited by A. Mazarakis Ainian, 267-274. Volos: University of Thessaly Press.
- Lemos, I. (2002) *The Protoegeometric Aegean: The Archaeology of the Late Eleventh and Tenth Centuries B.C.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Martelli, I. (2009) 'Women Go Further: Understanding the Handmade Globular Pyxis from Protoegeometric Greece to Southern Italy'. In *ATHANASIA The Earthly world, the Celestial world and the Underworld in the Mediterranean from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age*, edited by N. C. Stampolidis, A. Kanta and A. Giannikouri, 323-336. Herakleion: University of Crete.
- Morris, I. (1987) *Burial and Ancient Society. The Rise of the Greek City-State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moschonisioti, S. (1998) 'Excavation at ancient Mende'. In *Euboica. L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*, edited by M. Bats and B. d'Agostino, 255-271. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard; Istituto Universale Orientale.
- Pacciarelli, M. (2011) 'Giorgio Buchner e l'archeologia preistorica delle isole tirreniche'. In *dopo giorgio Buchner. Studi e ricerche su pithekoussai*, edited by C. Gialanella and P. Giovanni Guzzo, 43-56. Pozzuoli: Naus Edizioni.
- Papadopoulos, J. K., J. F. Vedder and T. Schreiber (1998) 'Drawing Circles: Experimental Archaeology and the Pivoted Multiple Brush'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 102(3), 507-529.
- Paribeni, R. (1928) 'Capodimonte. Ritrovamento di tombe arcaiche'. *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, 434-467.
- Popham M. R. and H. Sackett, eds. (1980) 'The Iron Age. The Settlement. The Cemeteries'. Vol.1 of *Lefkandi*. Oxford: Thames and Hudson.
- Reber, K. (1987) 'Zu vier handgemachten, rizverzierten Tellern aus Eretria'. *Ανθρωπολογικά και αρχαιολογικά χρονικά* 1987(2), 23-34.
- Reber, K. (1991) *Untersuchungen zur handgemachten Keramik Griechenlands in der submykenischen, protoegeometrischen und der geometrischen Zeit*. Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Simantoni-Bournia, E. (2011) 'Multi-storeyed vases of the Geometric period'. In *The Dark Age revisited*, edited by A. Mazarakis Ainian, 971-982. Volos: University of Thessaly Press.
- Vlachou, V. (2007) 'Oropos: the Infant and Child Inhumations from the Settlement (late 8th-early 7th centuries BC)'. In *Oropos and Euboea in the Early Iron Age*, edited by A. Mazarakis Ainian, 213-240. Volos: University of Thessaly Press.
- Verdan, S., A. Kenzelmann Pfyffer and T. Theurillat (2014) "'Euboean" Pottery from Early Iron Age Eretria in the Light of the Neutron Activation Analysis'. In *Archaeometric Analyses of Euboean and Euboean Related Pottery: New Results and their Interpretations*, edited by M. Kerschner and I. S. Lemos, 71-90. Vienna: Österreichischen Archäologisches Institut.
- Vokotopoulou, I. (1989) 'Ανασκαφή Μένδης'. *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη* 3 (1989), 409-423.
- Waldstein, C. (1905) *The Argive Heraeum, Vol. 2: Terra-cotta figurines, terra-cotta reliefs, vases, vase fragments, bronzes, engraved stones, gems and ivories, coins, Egyptian or Graeco-Egyptian objects*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company.
- Xagorari-Gleissner, M. (2005) *Die geometrische Nekropole von Merenda: die Funde aus der Grabung von I. Papadimitriou, 1960-61*. Dettelbach: J. H. Röhl.
- Young, R. S. (1939) 'Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora'. *Hesperia Supplement* 2.
- Young, R. S. (1942) 'Graves from the Phaleron Cemetery'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 46, 30-32.

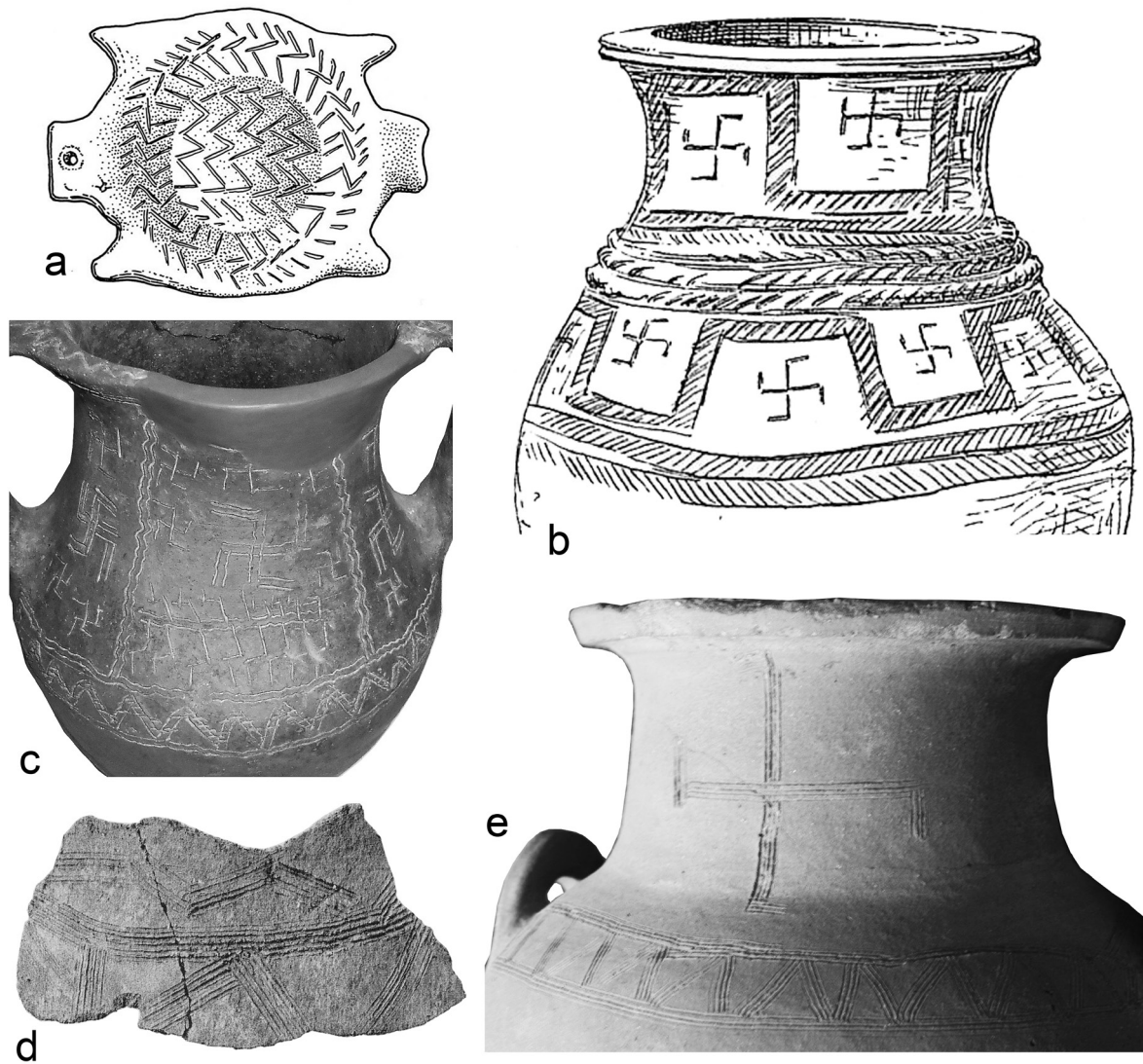
Figures

Figure 1: Different types of decoration: a. single-point incisions; b. single-point incisions and ribbons; c. single-point and two-point comb incisions; d. six-point comb incisions; e. four-point comb incisions.

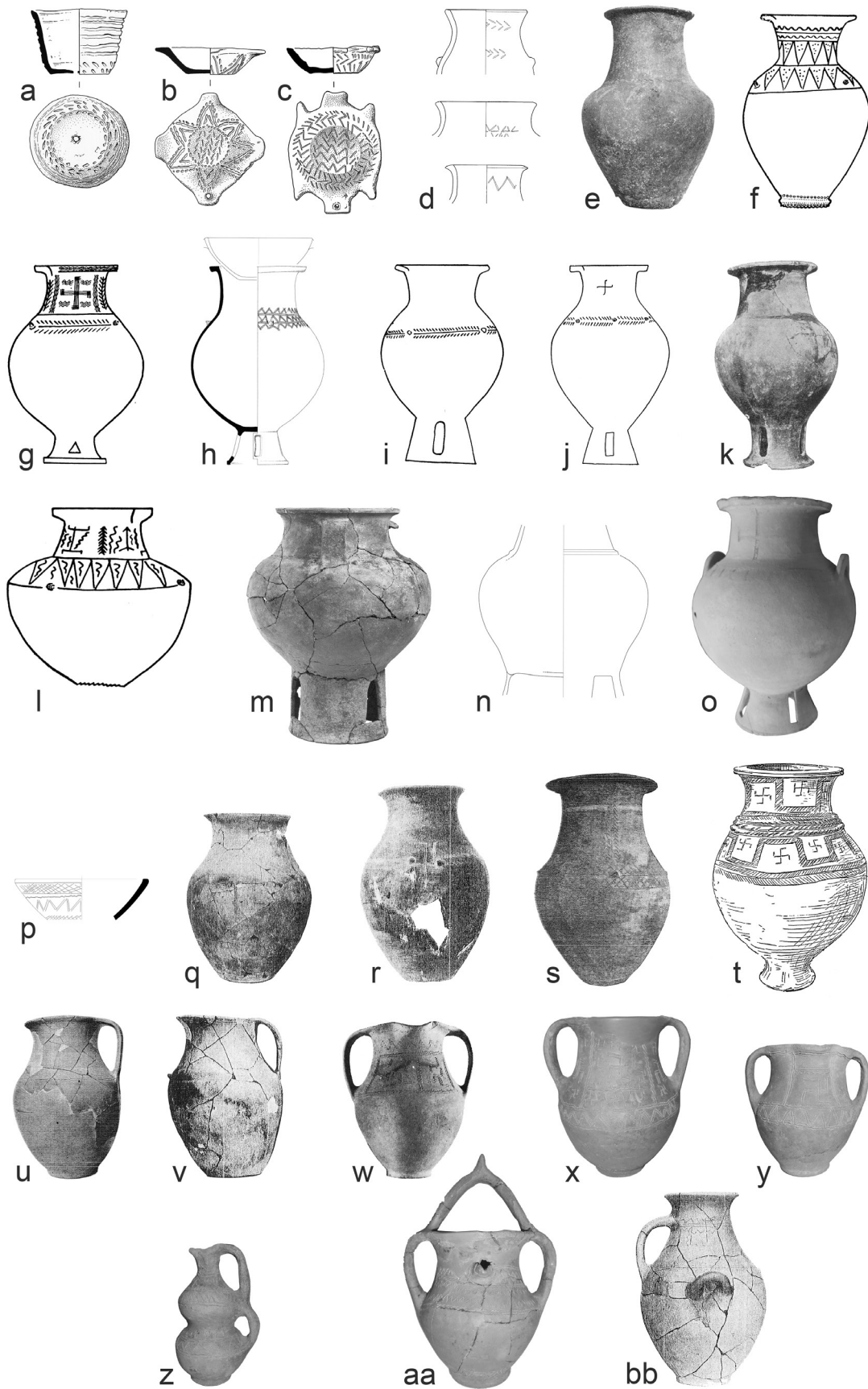


Figure 2: Illustrative typology of incised pottery from Euboea (a-o) and Attica (p-bb) (each vase is cited in the List of Vases at the end of this paper).

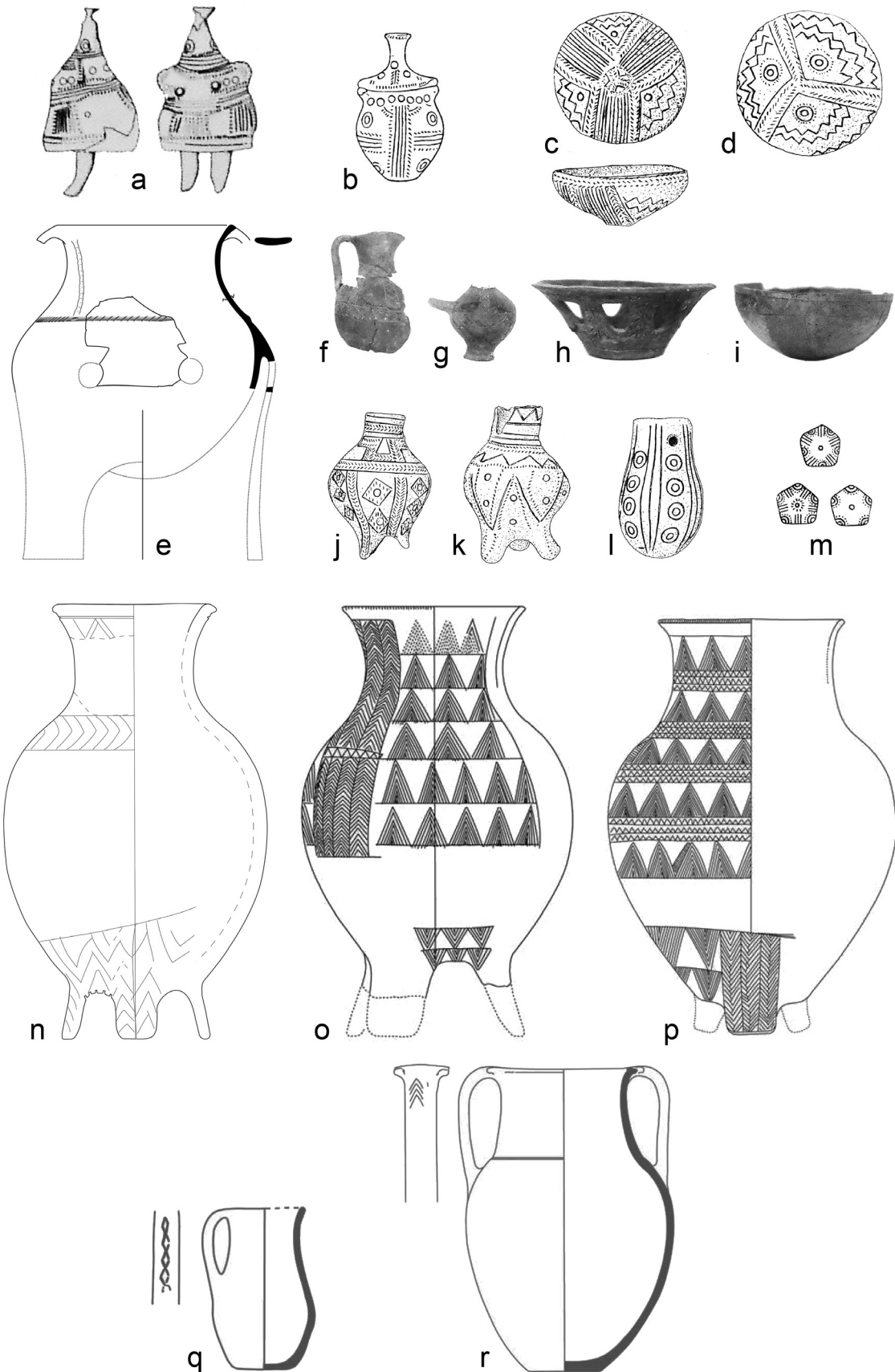


Figure 3: Illustrative typology of the Late PG to EG incised ware (a-m); and a selection of MG II incised pottery from Naxos, the necropolis of Tsikalario (n-r).

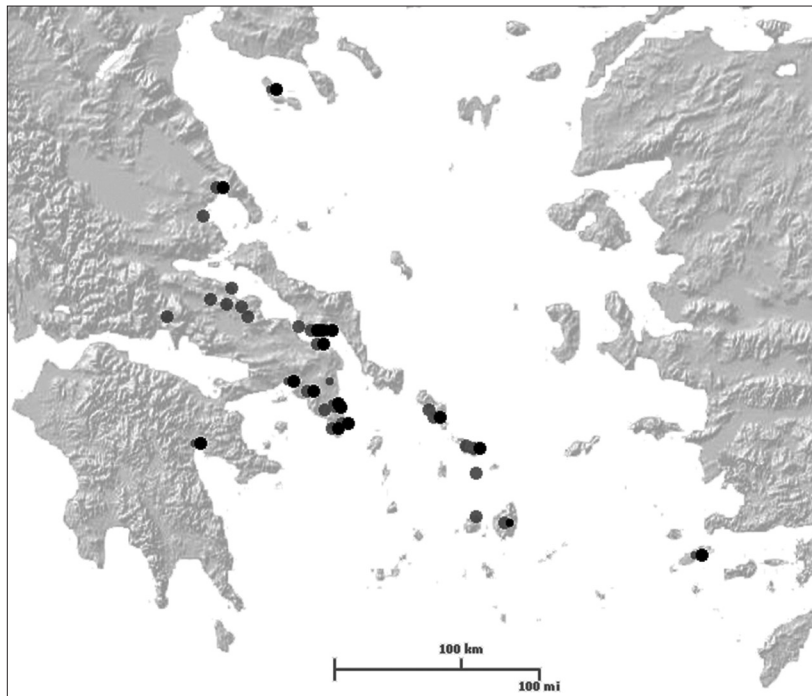


Figure 4:
Distribution of coarse ware pottery (grey) and incised pottery (black); see also Table 1.

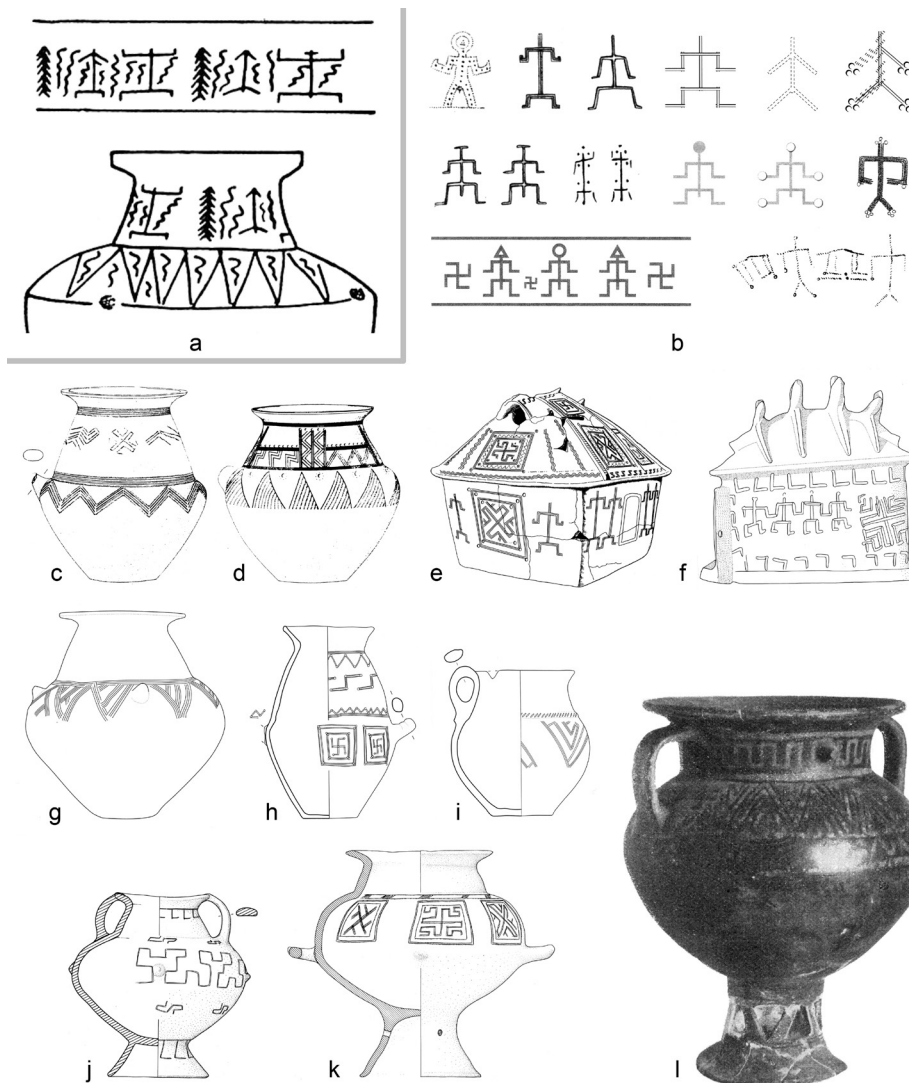


Figure 5:
Detail of the frieze with humans from Eretria (a) and a selection of mid-Tyrrhenian pottery: human figures incised on the Etruscan Villanovan pottery (b); Final Bronze Age cinerary urns (c-d); hut-shaped cinerary urns (e-f); Iron Age pottery from southern Etruria (g-i); Iron Age pottery from Latium Vetus (j-k); amphora with stemmed openwork foot (l).

The pottery from the sacrificial refuse area in Plakari-Karystos: A first assessment

Xenia CHARALAMBIDOU

Περίληψη

Κατά τη διάρκεια των ανασκαφικών εργασιών που πραγματοποιήθηκαν από το 2011 έως και το 2013 στον λόφο Πλακαρής στην Κάρυστο (Εύβοια) από το Πανεπιστήμιο του Άμστερνταμ (VU University Amsterdam) και την ΙΑ Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων, ήρθε στο φως ένας ανοιχτός βόθρος που συνδέεται με τις πρώιμες τελετουργικές δραστηριότητες στην Πλακαρή. Η ανασκαφή του βόθρου απέδωσε σημαντική ποσότητα οστράκων αποκαλύπτοντας μεγάλη ποικιλία αγγείων που παρέχουν πολύτιμες πληροφορίες για τη χρονολόγηση πρώιμων λατρευτικών συνηθειών στην Πλακαρή και την κατανόηση της κατανάλωσης σε αυτό το λατρευτικό κέντρο κατά την πρώιμη φάση χρήσης του. Σε αυτό το άρθρο παρουσιάζονται παρατηρήσεις σε θέματα που αφορούν α) στην προέλευση της κεραμικής του βόθρου (που προέρχεται κυρίως από την Εύβοια και την Αττική και σπανιότερα από πιο μακρινές περιοχές όπως τα δυτικά παράλια της Μικράς Ασίας) που υποδεικνύει την τοπική και τη διαπεριφεριακή σημασία του ιερού της Πλακαρής κατά την πρώιμη φάση λειτουργίας του και β) στους πιθανούς τρόπους κατανάλωσης της κεραμικής κάνοντας αναφορά σε διάφορες μορφές λατρευτικών εκδηλώσεων και συγκρίνοντας με άλλες λατρευτικές θέσεις της Εύβοιας. Τα παραπάνω ερωτήματα απευθύνονται στην πλειοψηφία της κεραμικής που προέρχεται από τον βόθρο και χρονολογείται από την Πρώιμη Εποχή Σιδήρου καθώς επίσης και σε κάποιες μεταγενέστερες προσφορές από το ίδιο πλαίσιο που παρέχουν επιπλέον στοιχεία για την κατανάλωση καθώς και για τις συνηθειες απόθεσης.

Introduction

The hill site of Plakari lies in close proximity to the Karystian coast and c. 2.5 km west of modern-day Karystos in southern Euboea.¹ Recent excavations at the site, under the direction of Professor J. P. Crielaard of VU University Amsterdam, in collaboration with the 11th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (ΙΑ' ΕΡΚΑ), have uncovered architectural remains and numerous material finds,

1. I would like to thank Professor Jan Paul Crielaard for entrusting me with the study and publication of the Early Iron Age and Archaic ceramic material from the recent excavations at Plakari as well as my colleagues from the Plakari Archaeological Project: Filiz Songu, Maria Chidiroglou and the late Maria Kosma. Special thanks are also due to Bert Brouwenstijn, Edwin de Vries, Jaap Fokkema, Birgit Konnemann, Alline Sinke and all the students who assisted with museum work at the Karystos Museum. I would also like to thank Jan Paul Crielaard, Maaïke Groot, Jean-Sébastien Gros, Sandrine Huber, Michael Kerschner, Evangelia Kiriatzi, Antonis Kotsonas, John Papadopoulos, Nota Kourou, Irene Lemos, Cathy Morgan, Eva Simantoni-Bournia and Samuel Verdan for fruitful discussions and comments on this article.

indicating that the site was used for cult activities for a long time, ranging from the Early Iron Age to the late Classical period.

The focus of the present paper is the large open-air refuse area at the site, which presents the earliest evidence for cult activity at Plakari and comprises the most prodigious and important body of Early Iron Age and Archaic cult evidence from the site so far. More specifically, a large deposit of material, located on the south slope of the summit of the hill, along the southern limits of Terrace 1, was excavated during the 2011-2013 excavation seasons (Fig. 1). This deposit was divided and excavated in three parts (Trench 1a-c) in order to observe the stratigraphy in the sections of trenches. Together, these three parts covered an area 83.4 m².

The 2011-2013 excavations revealed large quantities of broken pottery—mainly from the Early Iron Age and the Archaic period—as well as animal bones, botanical remains and metal, stone and terracotta finds (such as pendants, bronze sheets, rings, pins/nails, fibulae, knives/blades, figurine fragments, beads and bird and siren perfume vases).² Most of these finds were found within a thick layer of gravel (c.20-60 cm thick).

During earlier visits to the site (by Donald Keller who led the Southern Euboea Exploration Project), noteworthy finds were also collected from this deposit, including pottery dated to the Early Iron Age, jewellery (such as a possible Sub-Mycenaean bronze dress pin), terracotta figurines (including a bull figurine) and bronze horse figurines. A ‘Macedonian bronze’ pendant in the form of a juglet, which was discovered on the surface of the modern road, may have been dislodged from this deposit by erosion.³

The character of the abovementioned finds strongly suggests that this deposit was, originally, an open-air sacrificial refuse area.⁴ The excavation records have established that this refuse area had been dug against a terrace wall (TW1), suggesting that this was a free-standing *temenos* wall.⁵

The pottery from Trench 1

During the 2011-2013 excavation seasons,⁶ Trench 1 yielded a sizable dataset composed of about 32,300 sherds. This assemblage consists of both fine and coarse wares. The pieces date mostly to the Early Iron Age and the Archaic period. A peak in deposition can be noted during the Middle Geometric (MG) and Late Geometric (LG) periods. The earliest fragments date from the Protogeometric (PG) period; the latest fragments, of which there are very few, date to the Classical period.

The range of shapes represented in this pottery assemblage is outlined below. For the needs of this preliminary article, vessel shapes will be presented primarily according to their possible function in order that a discussion of consumption practices can follow.⁷ The largest assemblages of pottery are comprised

2. Crielaard et al. 2013, 37-40, 49-50; 2014, 3-7, 17-21; Crielaard 2015, 196-199; Crielaard, In press. See also Crielaard and Songu, this volume.

3. Crielaard et al. 2011, 100-103; Crielaard 2015, 197-198; Crielaard and Songu, this volume; Cullen et al. 2013, 22; Keller 1985, 105-106; Paspalas 2014, 532-533. Besides these chance finds, excavations by D. Keller, H. Sackett and S. Koob on behalf of the IA' EPKA also took place further down the hill in 1979 (Chidiroglou 2003-2004, 69-71; Crielaard et al. 2011, 89-90; Cullen et al. 2013, 21-22).

4. Crielaard et al. 2011, 89; 2013, 37; 2014, 3, 7; Crielaard, In press. See also Crielaard and Songu, this volume.

5. Crielaard et al. 2013, 39.

6. In 2014, no excavations were conducted in Trench 1 but a small assemblage of sherds was collected during surface cleaning.

7. My ongoing study of the pottery found in the Early Iron Age-Archaic contexts at Plakari hill from the most recent excavations at the site takes a number of factors into consideration: production, consumption and deposition. In analysing these various dimensions together, I aim to encompass a broad perspective of the life cycle of the ceramic wares at the site (on the life-cycle approach to ceramic studies in archaeology, see, for example, Lawall and Lund 2011; Peña 2007). Detailed macroscopic study (examples of macroscopic fabric descriptions are presented in this paper) will also be combined with petrographic and chemical analyses. Quantification of the pottery is conducted also in order to create a thorough picture of

of Euboean wares, probably both local (Karystian) and wares from central Euboean centres, as well as imports from Attica. Far fewer imports come from other regions such as Corinth and eastern Greece.

Fine wares

The main categories of fine wares, the vast majority of which are wheelmade and date mostly to the Early Iron Age and early Archaic period (i.e. the 7th century BC), are outlined as follows:⁸

A) Drinking vessels⁹—mainly skyphoi of different sizes (Fig. 2), kantharoi (Fig. 3a-b and possibly c) and one-handled cups (Fig. 3d-e). These three open shapes predominate, whereas kotylai¹⁰ (Fig. 3f) are very rare;

B) Mixing vessels—krater bowls and kraters¹¹ (Fig. 4a-b);

C) 'Bowls' (Fig. 4c-d);

D) Large closed vessels, probably hydriai and/or amphorae (Fig. 5a);¹²

E) Pouring vessels (Fig. 5c-e)—both fast-pouring and slow-pouring vessels, such as oinochoai, jugs and aryballoi;¹³

F) Pyxides (Fig. 5f) as well as a few lids (Fig. 5g), some of which may be related to pyxides. Categories B-F appear in much smaller numbers than the drinking vessels.

The earliest (PG) fragments represent a rather small proportion of the entire assemblage but, nonetheless, they provide important evidence because they can suggest that the site was used for cult activities from such an early date (see below). In many cases, the only preserved part of the deposited PG pottery is the conical feet, which often belong to open vessels.¹⁴ Among other PG examples (fragments are preserved), there is an Euboean pendent semicircle (PSC) skyphos that can be dated to the Late Protogeometric period (LPG)¹⁵ (Fig. 2a) on account of its tall rim (1.5 cm) and its decorative features (non-intersecting semicircles), an LPG zig-zag cup¹⁶ (Fig. 3d), and a PG krater-bowl or a large skyphos,¹⁷ decorated with concentric circles on the body (a most popular decorative scheme on such vessels) (Fig. 4a¹⁸).

The PSC skyphoi, which are a hallmark of Euboean pottery production, with a long period of use from the LPG to the Geometric period,¹⁹ are evident in the deposit.²⁰ Such vessels in Trench 1 belong

the dataset and to estimate the range and percentages of vessel shapes and types in connection to their periods of use. Quantification variables that are related to depositional practices in the cult assemblage are also estimated (cf. Strack 2011, 45).

8. Representative examples of each category are provided in Figs. 2-5.

9. The possible function of the 'drinking vessel' category will be discussed at greater length below.

10. Regarding the rarity of kotylai from Plakari, compare Kaiser et al. 2011, 35.

11. A few of the mixing vessels might be louteria but their spouts are not preserved, and thus even these are called kraters here.

12. These vessel fragments are, for the most part, from the belly of the vessel and, as a result, it is often difficult to say with certainty whether they come from hydriai or amphorae.

13. Definitions of the terms 'fast-pouring' and 'slow-pouring' vessels in Kotsonas 2008.

14. The conical foot disappears at the beginning of the Sub-Protogeometric (SPG) period (I thank Professor I. Lemos for this information). A cup with conical foot, which has been dated to the Early or Middle Protogeometric period, was also found among the chance finds from the deposit: Crielaard et al. 2011, 101, fig. 13a.

15. See Lemos 2002, 45, who also notes that the LPG version corresponds to Kearsley's Type 1.

16. See Lemos 2002, 30-33.

17. As its size (see below) might be closer to the sizes of the kraters, I present it, for the time being, with the kraters.

18. Regarding PG krater-bowls, see Lemos 2002, 46-48. As indicated in Lemos (2002, 46): 'the term crater-bowl is used to describe open vases of a size midway between a skyphos and a crater with a lip diameter of 20-30cm.' The diameter of the Plakari vessel inv. no 3101 is c.24 cm.

19. On PSC skyphoi, see Coldstream 2008, 51-57, 310-313; Desborough 1952, 180-194; Kearsley 1989; Lemos 2002, 44-46; Popham et al. 1980, 299-302.

20. To demonstrate some variations in fabric characteristics observed macroscopically in PSC skyphoi from Plakari, I present descriptions of three PSC skyphoi from Trench 1. The colour (described by Munsell Colour Chart 2000) of the clay

to different phases of the development of PSC skyphos. In addition to the LPG skyphos in Fig. 2a, there are later examples such as the skyphos in Fig. 2b,²¹ which finds similarities with Kearsley 1989, type 5, dated to the MG period (825/800-750 BC).²²

MG/SPG III and LG ceramic wares are well represented in Trench 1. Different vase types are included: MG-LG I skyphoi and probably kantharoi²³ with meander patterns, including MG II-LG I vessels with meander-hooks (Fig. 2c-d).²⁴ Chevron skyphoi (Fig. 2e), which became widespread in the second half of the MG, are also evident in Plakari. This well-known MG-LG I class was widely circulated in precolonial contexts as well as in early colonial contexts in the West and was produced in many workshops.²⁵

Other well-known MG types that also appear in Trench 1 are the skyphoi with zig-zag decoration, exemplified by the (possible MG I) deep skyphos in Fig. 2f; we can note the rather small reserved panel between the handles, in which multiple zig-zags are depicted, framed by vertical and horizontal lines.²⁶ Many joining pieces of this skyphos are preserved—a relatively uncommon state of affairs among the typically more fragmentary material from the refuse area; the skyphos also preserves a hole in its lip, an indication of a repair made in antiquity.

The metopal system of decoration, which is evident from LG I onwards,²⁷ and variations in the vertical linear decoration on the body of vessels appear on many LG I-II drinking vessels from Plakari. Such examples are the drinking vessel in Fig. 3c that has a chain of dotted lozenges on its rim and lozenges and rosettes amidst groups of vertical lines on the body, or the drinking vessel in Fig. 2h that has thin horizontal bands on the rim and a leaf-like ornament with single outline on the body amidst groups of vertical lines.²⁸ Both vessels as well as other wares with the same fabric characteristics will be further examined in order to determine whether they can be considered of local (Karystian) provenance.²⁹ The drinking vessel

in the core is reddish yellow (5YR 7/6) or between pink (5YR 7/4) and reddish yellow (5YR 7/6) or light red (closer to 2.5YR 6/8). The fabric has very few, mainly white (\pm dark), small inclusions, rounded to sub-rounded; there is a small to very small quantity of silver mica. The frequency and size of inclusions is as follows (Matthew et al. 1991, 240): frequency 3; size 0.5-1.0. Slip ranges from thin to rather thick; its colour is pinkish white (7.5YR 8/2) or closer to pink (closer to 7.5YR 8/3). Glaze ranges in colour from black (5YR 2.5/1) to yellowish red (5YR 5/6) or from reddish brown (2.5YR 4/4) to red (closer to 10R 5/8) or from very dark grey (5YR 3/1) to red (2.5YR 5/6). PSC skyphoi samples from Trench 1 will be included in the Plakari petrographic and chemical analyses to help identify their centre(s) of production. They will also be compared with PSC wares (skyphoi and plates) found in Eretria. The samples from Eretria are currently being analysed at the Fitch Laboratory by Evangelia Kiriati, Noémi S. Müller and the author of this article (see below); further comparisons will be made upon Kerschner and Lemos's (2014) chemical analysis.

21. On this fragment, only part of the PSC decoration is preserved.

22. Kearsley 1989, 99-101 and 128 (on the absolute chronology of the type). See also parallels in Eretria and Lefkandi, e.g. Popham et al. 1980, pl. 109, no. 59a 3 (SPGIII) and Verdan 2013, 9, pl. 62, no. 44.

23. On account of the fragmentary state of preservation of many drinking vessels, there are instances in which a clear distinction between a skyphos and a kantharos is difficult because of the similarities in the profiles of many skyphoi and kantharoi; compare also with Verdan 2013, Vol. II, 10 (nos. 71, 83), 11 (nos. 106, 109, 114), 12 (no. 124), etc., where similar difficulties appear with the analysis of the ceramic assemblage from the Apollo Daphnephoros sanctuary.

24. Coldstream 2008, 50 and 170 regarding the debased development of the motif in LG I.

25. Regarding their date, centres of production and further comments on chevron skyphoi, see, for example, Coldstream 1963, 202; 1986, 327; 1988, 40; 2008, 24, 95-96, 123, 170, etc.; Descoeudres and Kearsley 1983, 11-32; Kourou 1994, 290; 1999, 54-56; Ridgway 1979, 113-127; Savage 1989, 151. According to Descoeudres and Kearsley (1983), chevron skyphoi mainly date to the MG II-LG I periods (with the exception of the 'proto-chevron skyphoi' from the late 9th century BC).

26. For this type of decoration, see e.g. Kourou 1999, 58 with examples that date mainly to the MG I period. Skyphos inv. no. 2449 from Plakari finds parallels in Verdan 2013, 11, no. 97 (98128-1), pl. 69.

27. Coldstream 2008, 50.

28. cf. Coldstream 2008, 88.

29. Such vessels sometimes present a range in clay colour, e.g. in the case of the drinking vessel inv. no. 2201 in Fig. 2h: the colour ranges from very pale brown (10YR 8/3) to light reddish brown (2.5YR 7/4) on the external surface, the core and the internal surface colour ranges from light reddish brown (2.5YR 7/4) to light red (2.5YR 7/6). Their fabric(s) typically have very few, mainly white (\pm dark), small, rounded to sub-rounded/sub-angular inclusions (frequency and size of inclusions: 2-5%) and, characteristically, a higher quantity of silver mica than is usual in wares from central Euboean centres. A rather

in Fig. 2g with metopal decoration may be an import and has close parallels with Attic LG I skyphoi.³⁰

Two innovations of (Attic) LG II³¹ are represented in Trench 1: the lipless kantharos (Fig. 3b) and pieces of a skyphos/-oi of the Attic Birdseed workshop (Fig. 2i).³² It is noteworthy that products of the Attic Birdseed workshop circulated to an extent in Euboean sanctuaries; another example has been found in the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria.³³

Many fragments of MG-LG closed wares come from pouring vessels (Fig. 5c-e). Notable among the MG-LG closed vessels are a small number of pyxides, such as the 'standard pyxis'³⁴ shown in Fig. 5f, which has a combination of meander pattern and dotted tangential concentric circles³⁵ on its external surface.³⁶

The ceramic assemblage from Trench 1 also illustrates the difficulties in tracing the developments of certain shapes during the 7th century, especially those shapes with either monochrome or linear decoration.³⁷ The development of monochrome one-handed cups, a prevalent shape in Trench 1 (often preserved only in fragments), which were used for cult activities in Plakari in the Early Iron Age and probably at least until the 7th century BC, fall within this category.

The absence of vases decorated with elaborate figural scenes should be noted in Trench 1, especially since such vessels occur in other Euboean cult contexts, such as the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria.³⁸ Thus far, the figural representations that have been found in Trench 1 are restricted mostly to a few drinking vessels with bird metopes—among them a fragment from an East Greek early bird bowl (Fig. 3g).³⁹ Rather exceptional, in terms of its figural decoration, is an LG IIb oinochoe by the Workshop of Athens 897 that comes from another context in Plakari, Terrace 2 (Trench 2d), where evidence of cult activities has been discovered (see below). The pouring vessel is decorated with a zone of coursing hounds, a common figural scene for this Attic workshop.⁴⁰

Late Archaic pottery is represented in Trench 1 in significantly smaller numbers. Found among this smaller body of late Archaic ceramic material was a noteworthy assemblage of fine Corinthian and Corinthianizing vessels that includes oil/perfume containers, such as alabstra and aryballoi (among

thin layer of slip can be noted in a significant number of such examples, and a rather matt glaze. Samples from these vessels are also included in the sampling list for the future petrographic and chemical analyses; the possibility that these are wares of local (Karystian) production will be investigated.

30. Jarosch-Reinholdt 2009, 158, 294, pl. 54, nos. 649-650.

31. Coldstream 2008, 86-87: the lipless kantharos and the shallow 'birdseed' skyphos with flaring rim reached their apex in LG IIa, but survived into LG IIb in debased form.

32. Coldstream 2003, 339, K91, pl. 44 and 345, A343, pl. 52; 2008, 86-87 (according to Coldstream LG IIa and LG IIb) and Boardman 1998, 27, fig. 73 regarding conical shallow 'birdseed' skyphoi.

33. Verdan 2013, 15, no. 234, pl. 86 and Verdan et al. 2008, 123, no. 141, pl. 34.

34. Bohlen 1988, 27ff.

35. See Coldstream 2008, 24 for the motif of tangential circles.

36. Very recently another fragment (not indicated in the drawing) from this pyxis has been joined and depicts the full motif of tangential concentric circles; it also preserves part of the ring base.

37. For this matter, especially in Euboean products, see Charalambidou 2011; In press b.

38. Verdan 2013, 99-102.

39. As Dr Kerschner kindly suggested, this fragment probably comes from an early bird bowl (possibly type I-II in his typology, although type III cannot be excluded completely, nor the possibility that this is a late bird kotyle). For the types of bird bowls according to Kerschner's typology: Kerschner 1995, 16-19. Regarding the production of such bird bowls of the 'standard fabric' (provenance group B) that were produced in Teos, according to the results of chemical analysis, see Akurgal et al. 2002, 66.

40. Regarding this workshop and the Painter of Athens 897, see more recently: Besios et al. 2012, 60, 80-81; Coldstream 2008, 77-81; Kourou 2002, 53-54; Jarosch-Reinholdt 2009, 135; Rombos 1988, 508-515 (most authors include bibliography on this important workshop with the wide distribution and imitation of its wares). This vessel, as well as other Early Iron Age-Archaic finds from the Plakari hill assemblages (in connection to Plakari Trench 1 pottery), will be presented in a subsequent paper by the author.

these were round aryballoi,⁴¹ for example an aryballos with quatrefoil pattern;⁴² Fig. 6a). Miniature vessels, such as diminutive kotylai (Fig. 6b), also served as votive offerings.⁴³ A late Archaic date for the vessels described above is in accordance with the dating for other finds from Trench 1: for instance, two 6th-century BC oil flasks in the shape of a bird and siren, respectively.⁴⁴ Both the pottery and the aforementioned ceramic finds indicate that cult activities continued in the late Archaic period. This also becomes more evident when one examines the Archaic ceramic finds associated with cult installations from Terrace 2 at Plakari hill, which were excavated during the 2013 season (see below).

Finally, only a small number of sherds can be dated to the Classical period. Among these pieces are bases from drinking vessels that were found in both the top soil layer of Trench 1 (the layer closer to the surface) and in the gravel layer, usually with Early Iron Age and Archaic pottery wares.

Thus far, about five or six of the fine pottery fragments from Trench 1 bear graffiti (efforts to identify more fragments bearing graffiti continue), such as the graffito found on the external surface of a base of a drinking vessel (Fig. 6c). This sherd was found among Early Iron Age and Archaic finds in the top soil, and thus its date, judging also from the small size of the sherd and the fact that it preserved no distinctive profile, is difficult to establish; however, it may be among the earliest graffiti from Plakari hill (most come from the Classical Building A in Terrace 2, discussed below).

Coarse wares

Among the coarse wares,⁴⁵ cooking pots are common, and some preserve blackened surfaces as a result of being used over fire (Fig. 7), while bulk storage vessel fragments appear occasionally. The majority of the Early Iron Age and early Archaic coarse pottery from Trench 1 is handmade. Both smoothed ware and burnished ware⁴⁶ appear in the assemblage. Many vessel fragments preserve incised decoration (see Fig. 8a-h), while I have identified one example with impressed motifs.⁴⁷

The coarse wares with incised decoration⁴⁸ in Trench 1 can often be associated with closed vessels of various sizes (Fig. 8a-e).⁴⁹ Some fragments may also come from open vessel forms.⁵⁰ Parts of handles and feet/stands, often with incised motifs or lines, are typically found (Fig. 8f-h) alongside pieces that might have been lids. The fact that some of the Plakari coarse fragments belonged to vessels of small dimensions suggests that at least some were votive offerings.

Aside from the abovementioned finds at Plakari, coarse vessels with incised decoration from Euboea (cf. 'Euboean incised pottery'⁵¹) chiefly come from Eretria, mainly from funerary and cult contexts.⁵²

41. Amyx 1988, 440-443 (with reference to their time span: Early Corinthian to Late Corinthian I, approximately between 625 and 550 BC).

42. Amyx 1988, 443 (their time span ranges from Early and Middle Corinthian to the beginning of the 5th century BC). See also Blegen et al. 1964, 114; Schaeffer et al. 1997, 52-53, 56-57; Stillwell and Benson 1984, 92, and references therein.

43. cf. miniature Corinthian kotylai dating from the early to the late third quarter of the 6th century BC: Blegen et al. 1964, 106 (under 'miniature pattern skyphoi'); Boardman and Hayes 1966, 26; Pemberton 1989, 174, no. 561 pl. 52 (see also Pemberton 1989, 65).

44. Crielaard et al. 2014, 4, fig. 3.

45. Representative examples of coarse vessels are provided in Figs. 7-8.

46. Some burnished wares from Plakari find parallels in burnished wares from the Zagora settlement on Andros, for example from the MG pits and other MG levelling fills of the settlement (B. McLoughlin, pers. comm.).

47. Impressed decoration is also known from Eretria; see e.g. Boardman 1952, fig. 16b.

48. Among the macroscopically identified coarse fabrics from Trench 1, those that include coarse wares with incised decoration usually have red or light red clay in the core (for example 5YR 5/6, 5/8, 6/8, 2.5YR 7/4), a little lighter surface colour, silver mica and mainly white as well as dark (metamorphic?), rounded/sub-rounded to angular inclusions.

49. Fragments in Fig. 8a and b probably come from the same vessel.

50. cf. Reber 1987; Popham and Lemos 1996, pls. 38, 38.13-16 and 108, 38.13 and 14 (Tomb 38; SPG II-IIIa).

51. Boardman 1952; Cerasuolo, this volume.

52. On coarse vessels with incised decoration in funerary contexts: Boardman 1952, 13, fig. 16. Regarding cult contexts,

There are instances among the Plakari fragments, especially when part of the vessel profile is preserved (Fig. 8a-b and c), when one can note some similarities with the shapes of the larger Euboean closed pots. Thus far we have been able to compare their shape to coarse Eretrian pithoi/jars and amphorae (many of which have a stemmed foot), which were mostly found in burial contexts.⁵³ In other cases, fragments of feet/stands find certain analogies in cooking pots on stands, such as those from the Lefkandi Toumba Cemetery.⁵⁴ Many similarities in the incised motifs and vessel profiles (in forms such as that shown in Fig. 8a-b—at Zagora these are of larger dimensions—as well as in types of handles, stands and lids with incised decoration) can be noted in MG-LG incised coarse wares from the Zagora settlement on Andros.⁵⁵ These similarities indicate close connections between southern Euboea and Andros, where incised coarse ware was used for various purposes.

As in the case of the fine wares, petrographic and chemical analyses of the coarse wares are planned to identify their centres of production and their technology. In light of questions regarding the provenance of coarse wares found at Plakari, it is interesting to note that the geology of southern Euboea deviates from the geology of central Euboea (viz. Eretria), as has been noted in the ongoing petrographic and chemical analyses of Bronze Age and Iron Age ceramic material from Eretria being conducted at the Fitch Laboratory of the British School at Athens by E. Kiriati, N. Müller and the author of this article.⁵⁶ Southern Euboea, as well as eastern Attica and the north-western Cyclades, contains greenschist and/or blueschist facies metamorphic rocks, indicating an origin in the central Aegean Blueschist Unit;⁵⁷ these metamorphic rocks are not attested in central Euboea, e.g. in the vicinity of Eretria. This feature may prove useful in discerning the provenance of coarse fabrics found at Plakari.

Evidence from Trench 1 for feasting and other cult activities

Ongoing study of the ceramics from the Trench 1 refuse area shows that this trench contains a significant quantity of painted fine wares, most of which fall within the category of ‘drinking vessels’ and date mainly to the Early Iron Age and early Archaic period. Such vessels could have been used for various purposes: ritual/sacrificial feasting (including drinking and probably eating) and perhaps also for libations. Desborough and Coldstream, and more recently Morgan, Kerschner and Papadopoulos have argued that pots such as skyphoi, a common vessel category in Trench 1, are likely to have been multi-purpose vessels used for drinking, eating and mixing, unlike cups which, on account of their limited capacity, are mostly related to drinking.⁵⁸ The presence of kantharoi in Trench 1 is also noteworthy: the kantharos with high strap handles, introduced in the MG II period, is a shape that has only recently been recognized by Marek Wecowski as a form that was created in order to embellish elite drinking occasions.⁵⁹ The presence of kantharoi in cult contexts is evident again on Euboea at

so far published vessels come from the Apollo Daphnephoros sanctuary and the Northern Sacrificial Area in Eretria, and they belong to different vessel forms: Huber 2003, pl. 33; Verdan 2013, pl. 74, nos. 144 and 145 (from LG I context), pl. 77, no. 163 (from LG I-LG II context), pl. 78, no. 172 (from LG I-LG II context), pl. 84, nos. 218-219 (from LG I-LG II context).

53. Boardman 1952, 13, fig. 16; Blandin 2007, pls. 119-120, 133-134, 137-138, 168; Kourouniotis 1903, 25-26, fig. 10.

54. Lemos 2014a, 47-48, fig. 14; Popham and Lemos 1996, pl. 84, pl. 121, a-b (Tomb 80; SPGII/IIIa).

55. Cambitoglou et al. 1988, Vol. I, 186-188; Gros 2007, pl. 63 (Zagora 1351 and Zagora 1353). I would also like to thank B. McLoughlin for sharing information on the unpublished coarse wares from Zagora.

56. The project ‘The Ceramic Industry of Eretria’, undertaken by the Fitch Laboratory of the British School at Athens, in collaboration with the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece, aims to shed further light on Eretria’s role in the context of local and regional networks through a diachronic investigation of Eretrian pottery production (see Charalambidou et al. 2016).

57. Katzir et al. 2000.

58. Coldstream 1988, 39; 1998, 354; Desborough 1952, 77; Kerschner 2011, 24, who argues that skyphoi could have been used mainly for eating; Morgan 1999, 323; Papadopoulos 2015, 9.

59. Wecowski 2014, 287-288.

the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros and the Northern Sacrificial Area in various assemblages.⁶⁰ I mention, specifically, the discovery of drinking vessels (skyphoi and kantharoi) in Building 1, the so-called ‘Daphnephoreion’, which is thought to have been a banqueting hall for housing elite feasts, while the ceramic material from Building 150, interpreted as an elite dining hall, includes drinking vessels (skyphoi, kantharoi and kotylai) together with other banqueting vases, such as kraters and pouring vessels.⁶¹

Mixing bowls such as kraters (some large skyphoi could also have served as kraters) and pouring vessels, as well as transport/storage vessels, are noticeably fewer than drinking vessels in Trench 1; a possible explanation could have been that these categories were shared by several members of the cult community.⁶² Furthermore, drinking vessels were more easily left behind as ‘commemorative’ objects of the ritual meals or offerings, whereas the larger vases were probably reused for many occasions. Pyxides (only a few have been found in the Plakari refuse area) are typically thought to have been used to store precious items,⁶³ and in a cult context personal ornaments may be viewed as dedications to the deity. Nonetheless, other functions for the pyxides cannot be excluded.⁶⁴

In Trench 1, coarse wares, dated mainly to the Early Iron Age and early Archaic period, include cooking pots, which provide valuable information concerning food preparation, sacrificial meals and ritual dining, all of which were facets of the cult activities performed at the site. This evidence is, in turn, examined in conjunction with the study of the faunal remains from Plakari undertaken by Dr Maaike Groot.⁶⁵ Groot argues that adult sheep and goats were the preferred animals for sacrifice in Trench 1 in Plakari, with cattle and pigs being sacrificed in smaller numbers. A rather small percentage of the bones were burned—mostly bones from specific parts of the animals, i.e. the femur and tail, which were considered the ‘god’s portion’. The majority of the bones, however, were found unburnt, indicating that most of the meat for the sacrificial meals was prepared by stewing. The 40 iron knives discovered within Trench 1 could have been used for butchering the animals. The presence of cooking pots in Trench 1 is compatible with Groot’s results, i.e. that the meat of the sacrificed animals was usually stewed in these vessels. Positive comparisons can be drawn with other Early Iron Age cult contexts as, for example, the Artemision in Ephesos where Kerschner emphasizes the importance of cooking pots as indicators that cooking was a part of the rituals of Artemis during the Early Iron Age. On the basis of the animal bone analysis, he argues that the meat of the sacrificed animals was typically stewed and not roasted on the spit.⁶⁶

In Plakari, feasting was carried out in a context separate from Trench 1, but the vessels and other remnants of these activities were then deposited in the refuse area. Crielaard has pointed out areas on the Plakari hill where cult activities were performed. Evidence mainly for the Archaic and Classical periods—but also the LG IIB oinochoe by the Workshop of Athens 897 (see above)—comes from the flat part of the hill (Terrace 2), north of Trench 1, where various phases of cult installations have been excavated.⁶⁷ On the same terrace, above the sacrificial refuse area, a rectangular building (Building A) was uncovered. Its period of use dates from the late 5th to the third quarter of the 4th century BC, and it has been tentatively identified as a *hestiatorion* based on the form of the building and the items found

60. Huber 2003, Vol. II, 32-35; Verdan 2013, Vol. I, especially 209.

61. Verdan 2013, Vol. I, 199-211, Vol. II, 74-75, pl. 68, nos. 77-79 (Building 1) and pls. 94 (no. 321ff.)-97 (Building 150); cf. Wecowski 2014, 184-185.

62. cf. Kerschner 2011, 24; Morgan 2011, especially 15.

63. Kotsonas 2008, 142 with bibliography.

64. cf. the diverse functions of pyxides found, for example, in funerary contexts (Charalambidou 2010-2012, 161).

65. Groot 2014.

66. Kerschner 2011, 24.

67. A description of these cult installations in Crielaard et al. 2014, 13-15; Crielaard, In press; Crielaard and Songu, this volume.

within.⁶⁸ Chidiroglou suggests that two pots with the letters *AII*, as well as a sherd found in Plakari with the graffito *AP*, can indicate the specific deity or deities who were venerated on the Plakari hill: Apollo and possibly Artemis.⁶⁹ The location of the Trench 1 sacrificial refuse area, so close to that of the *hestiatorion*, cannot be coincidental: all the evidence combined reveals a history of feasting activities on the western part of the hill.

Feasting was an important component of Early Iron Age cult activities in sanctuaries, and evidence for it, from various cult contexts in the Greek world, is increasing rapidly.⁷⁰ For example, tableware assemblages with high percentages of drinking vessels appear at the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria,⁷¹ the sanctuary of Herakles at Thebes,⁷² the sanctuary of Dionysos at Hyria on Naxos,⁷³ the sanctuary of Apollo and Artemis at Kalapodi,⁷⁴ the Poseidon sanctuary at Isthmia,⁷⁵ the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia (the Pelopion excavations⁷⁶) and the Artemision at Ephesos,⁷⁷ etc.

In Trench 1, the range of vessel shapes in combination with the presence of faunal remains and iron knives indicate that animal sacrifices and sacrificial feasting, probably in the form of communal meals, were among the focal points of the cult activities on the Plakari hill.⁷⁸ Furthermore, the discovery of votive items such as personal ornaments made of various materials, terracotta figurines and fine and coarse vases of small dimensions⁷⁹ in Trench 1 clearly indicates a range of cult activities. Jewellery dedications discovered in Trench 1 suggest that men and women participated in Plakari cult practices. It is likely that a significant portion of the abovementioned activities were connected to maturation rites.⁸⁰

Recording the depositional history of the Trench 1 assemblage is vital for identifying sequences of events within the sanctuary. To this end, the quantification of this ceramic assemblage, which I am currently undertaking, will help us to interpret a series of matters integral to the manners of deposition. Preliminary observations indicate that many of the sherds are in a good state of preservation and, coupled with a high degree of brokenness, this indicates that the pottery from Trench 1 is likely to have been intentionally broken—a situation that is compatible with intentional breakage practices in other cult contexts.⁸¹ Simantoni-Bournia, referring to the sanctuary of Hyria on Naxos, notes that most of the drinking vessels there were intentionally broken to prevent their desecration by further use.⁸² Dabney, Halstead and Thomas have argued, albeit for an earlier period (the Mycenaean era), that for symbolic

68. Crielaard et al. 2013, 43-47; 2014, 8-11; Crielaard 2015, 194-195; Crielaard, In press; Crielaard and Songu, this volume.

69. Chidiroglou 2014, 60. See also Crielaard et al. 2013, 47; 2014, 17; Crielaard, In press; Crielaard and Songu, this volume.

70. Feasting with drinking and cooking vessels appears not only in sanctuaries but in other cult sites as well, such as in a number of edifices in Attica discussed in van den Eijnde and Laughy, In press: the Areopagos Oval Building, the oval building on the northern summit of Tourkovouni, the 'Sacred House' at the Academy, the so-called 'Sacred House' at Eleusis, etc. These structures in Attica date from the LG period onwards, and in all of them the focal point of the activities seems to have been banqueting; in some of these cases the banquets have been more tentatively associated with the commemoration of the dead. Feasting with a high representation of drinking vessels was also performed in various areas of the Aegean at platforms connected to the cult of the dead (Hägg 1983; Kourou 2015, 93-101).

71. Verdán 2013.

72. Aravantinos, In press.

73. See especially in Simantoni-Bournia 1999; 2002; Lambrinouidakis 2002.

74. Jacob-Felsch 1996; Kaiser et al. 2011; Strack 2011.

75. Morgan 1999; 2011.

76. Eder 2006; 2011.

77. See especially Kerschner 1997; 2011.

78. See also Charalambidou, In press a; In press b; Crielaard et al. 2013, 54; 2014, 16; Crielaard 2015, 196; In press.

79. Crielaard et al. 2013, table I, examples in figs. 3-4; Crielaard, In press. For fine and coarse vases of small dimensions, also see above in this article.

80. See also Crielaard et al. 2014, 17; Crielaard, In press.

81. e.g. Eder 2011, 62 (Pelopion in Olympia); Huber 2003 (Northern Sacrificial Area in Eretria); 2015 (sanctuary of Athena in Eretria); Kyrieleis 2006, 16-17, 44; Simantoni-Bournia 2002, 277 (Hyria); Strack 2011, 45 (Kalapodi).

82. Simantoni-Bournia 2002, 277.

as well as practical reasons, debris from significant ceremonies was often destroyed, displayed or buried rather than merely left discarded on the ground.⁸³

In all, systematic research at cult sites on Euboea, especially Eretria and Karystos, makes comparisons between these contexts possible. The similarities and differences between the sanctuary at Plakari, the Apollo Daphnephoros sanctuary and the Northern Sacrificial Area in Eretria gradually become clearer and more meaningful; even at this early stage of research at Plakari some provisional comparisons can be made. The Trench 1 ceramic assemblage bears some similarities to the material from the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros, where tableware, including drinking vessels, predominates. Certain vessel types from Plakari can be compared to those from the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros, such as 'bowls', one-handled cups, skyphoi and kantharoi. Other types represented in the sanctuary of Apollo, such as the LG drinking vessels (skyphoi and kantharoi) with concentric circles on the external perimeter of the lip ('concentric circles group'),⁸⁴ have not been found so far at Plakari. Archaic miniature hydriai and jugs with tall neck, which are common in the ceramic assemblage of the Northern Sacrificial Area⁸⁵ and indicate cult activities related to water, are also missing from Trench 1.

This evidence, in addition to the fact that Attic imports are frequent in Plakari and that affinities with Andros are strong, indicates that central and southern Euboea had certain distinct cultural features that were imposed by their geography and close proximity to different regions (see also above).⁸⁶

Cult activities seem to have taken place on the western part of the Plakari hill for an extensive period of time, from the Protogeometric to the Archaic and the Classical periods. The presence of early ceramic material in the Trench 1 refuse area connected to cult activities is of great significance because this can mean that Plakari was amongst the earliest cult sites on Euboea during the Early Iron Age.⁸⁷ At Eretria, the first phase of the Apollo sanctuary dates from MG II to the beginning of LG I.⁸⁸ The Northern Sacrificial Area was probably established over the course of the LG period.⁸⁹ Cult activities on the acropolis of Eretria associated with a sanctuary dedicated to Athena date to no earlier than the 7th century BC.⁹⁰ Early Iron Age and Archaic sanctuaries from Chalkis have not yet been found—with the exception of a possible votive deposit uncovered in Pei (Lithosoros near Chalkis) which might date to the LG II b—Archaic period and which was associated with Athena (?).⁹¹ To the south, closer to Karystos, the cult site dedicated to Apollo Delios at Zarakes was probably established in the LG period.⁹²

Moreover, the cult site at Plakari hill constitutes the earliest evidence of cult activities in Karystia when compared to other Karystian sanctuaries in the Kampos and the Paximadi Peninsula (including a sanctuary located near the eastern end of the Plakari ridge).⁹³

83. Dabney et al. 2004, 205.

84. Verdan 2013.

85. Huber 2003 (cf. also Kourou 2011, 128). Of the Northern Sacrificial Area, 42 m² has been explored so far, while the sanctuary continues further north (S. Huber, pers. comm.).

86. cf. Charalambidou, In press a; In press b.

87. Material remains dating from the Final Neolithic were also discovered on the Plakari hill during the 1979 (Chidiroglou 2003-2004, 70), 2012 (Crielaard et al. 2014, 6) and 2014 excavation seasons, indicating an earlier and different phase of occupation at the site.

88. Early Helladic II finds from the area of the Apollo sanctuary belong also to a different phase of occupation, while the discovery of a SPG tomb (Tb20) in the sanctuary space suggests the existence of a funeral area at that time (Müller Celka et al. 2013; Verdan 2013, Vol. II, 8).

89. The exploration of the area is not complete (see above). According to Verdan 2013, 224, the Northern Sacrificial Area may have been founded during phase II of the Apollo Daphnephoros sanctuary.

90. Huber 2007; 2008; 2015. Evidence of human occupation on the acropolis of Eretria dates at least as early as the Final Neolithic/EH I period (Müller Celka et al. 2013, especially 41).

91. Papavasileiou 1891, 612; 1906, 168; Sackett et al. 1966, 57. It is reported that the deposit may be associated with an Athena shrine, based on an inscription published by Papavasileiou 1891.

92. Chatzidimitriou 2003-2004.

93. Crielaard et al. 2013, 54-55; Keller 1985; Keller and Hom 2010, 3-5; Tankosić and Chidiroglou 2010.

As regards other types of cult on Euboea, Lefkandi holds chronological primacy since three circular structures/platforms—which were connected to ancestor/hero cult and which were used for ritual dining and feasting that date successively from the LH III to the EPG period—were identified in the vicinity of the settlement in Region II at Xeropolis.⁹⁴ Another example comes from Viglatouri (Kyme), which faces the Aegean Sea: Building A (or Oval Building) is dated to the MG II period and has a platform located inside the structure (in addition to other stone platforms discovered in the settlement). It was identified as a cult building; it is considered ‘a *heroon*-sanctuary in honour of the dead men who had been heroised.’⁹⁵

Concluding remarks

The Plakari sanctuary was intensively used in Karystia during the first half of the 1st millennium BC, and in periods of great historical importance, such as the 8th century BC, a time which is marked by the Greek colonization phenomenon; in this context, we should note the key role the Euboeans played in these processes in the Mediterranean. For the first time, a cult context dating from the beginning of the Early Iron Age is being studied in Karystos, thus making comparisons with other Early Iron Age cult sites on Euboea and the Aegean possible.

Southern Euboea was a region of significance, and it was situated at an important intersection in this period: the crossroads of the Aegean Sea and the Euboean Gulf. The range of imports found in Plakari attest to it being part of external connection networks. In addition to the local southern Euboean material, imports came from central Euboean, Attic, Corinthian, East Greek and other ceramic workshops. Apart from the pottery, we can also add some imported metal and terracotta items from East Greece and the northern Aegean.⁹⁶

Furthermore, Early Iron Age and Archaic Plakari offers significant insights regarding consumption in an Euboean cult context and reveals a detailed picture of the range of ritual activities performed at the site. Evidence demonstrates that animal sacrifices and sacrificial feasting were among the focal points of cult practices on the Plakari hill.

The information we can gain as regards the provenance of the Plakari material record, as well as consumption and deposition practices in this sanctuary, establish it as an important site in the Aegean, with a wealth of evidence to offer the archaeological world.

94. Lemos 2010, 135; 2014b, 175.

95. Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1996-1997, 61-62; 1998, 61-68 (cf. Kourou 2015, 96).

96. Crielaard, In press; see also above in this article and Crielaard and Songu, this volume.

Bibliography

- Akurgal, M., M. Kerschner, H. Mommsen and W-D. Niemeier (2002) *Töpferzentren der Ostägäis: Archäometrische und archäologische Untersuchungen zur mykenischen, geometrischen und archaischen Keramik aus Fundorten in Westkleinasien*. Vienna: Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes.
- Amyx, D. A. (1988) *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Aravantinos, V. (In press) 'The Sanctuaries of Herakles and Apollo Ismenios at Thebes: new evidence'. In *Interpreting the Seventh Century BC: Tradition and Innovation*, edited by X. Charalambidou and C. Morgan. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Besios, M., G. Z. Tzifopoulos and A. Kotsonas (2012) *Μεθώνη Πεiriάς I: Επιγραφές, χαράγματα και εμπορικά σύμβολα στην υστερογεωμετρική και αρχαϊκή κεραμική από το 'Υπόγειο'*. Thessaloniki: Institute of Modern Greek Studies.
- Blandin, B. (2007) 'Fouilles et recherches: Les pratiques funéraires d'époque géométrique à Éréttrie, Espace des vivants, demeures des mortes'. Vol. XVII of *Eretria*. Gollion: Infolio editions.
- Blegen, C. W., H. Palmer and R. Young (1964) 'The North Cemetery'. Vol. XIII of *Corinth*. Princeton, New Jersey: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Boardman, J. (1952) 'Pottery from Eretria'. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 47, 1-48.
- Boardman, J. (1998) *Early Greek Vase Painting*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Boardman, J. and J. Hayes (1966) *Excavations at Tocra 1963-1965, The Archaic Deposits*. London: The British School of Archaeology at Athens; Thames and Hudson.
- Bohen, B. (1988) 'Die geometrischen Pyxiden'. Vol. XIII of *Kerameikos*. Berlin; New York: W. de Gruyter.
- Cambitoglou, A., A. Birchall, J. J. Coulton and J. R. Green (1988) *Excavation of a geometric town on the island of Andros. Excavation season 1969; study season 1969-1970*. Vol. II (1) of *Zagora*. Athens: Archaeological Society of Athens.
- Charalambidou, X. (2010-2012) 'Κεραμικά ευρήματα από τη νεκρόπολη του Τσικαλαριού στη Νάξο: παρατηρήσεις σχετικά με το ταφικό περιβάλλον και τη χρήση των ευρημάτων'. *Αρχαιογνωσία* 16, 149-186.
- Charalambidou, X. (2011) 'Developments on Euboea and at Oropos at the end of the "Dark Ages" (ca. 700 to the mid-7th century BC)'. In *The 'Dark Ages' Revisited, Acts of an International Symposium in Memory of William D. Coulson, University of Thessaly, Volos, 14-17 June, 2007*, edited by A. Mazarakis Ainian, 831-855. Volos: Publications of the University of Volos.
- Charalambidou, X. (In press a) 'Viewing Euboea in relation to its colonies and relevant sites in Northern Greece and Italy'. In *Regional Stories Towards a New Perception of the Early Greek World, Acts of an International Symposium in honour of Professor Jan Bouzek, Volos 18-21 June, 2015*, edited by A. Mazarakis Ainian, A. Alexandridou and X. Charalambidou. Volos: University of Thessaly Press.
- Charalambidou, X. (In press b) 'Euboea and the Euboean Gulf region: pottery in context'. In *Interpreting the Seventh Century BC: Tradition and Innovation*, edited by X. Charalambidou and C. Morgan. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Charalambidou, X., E. Kyriatzi, N. S. Müller, M. Georgakopoulou, S. Müller Celka and T. Krapf. (2016) 'Eretrian ceramic products through time: Investigating the early history of a Greek metropolis'. In *Interdisciplinary studies of ancient materials from the Mediterranean*, edited by M. Dikomitou-Eliadou and V. Kassianidou. *Journal of Archaeological Science, Reports* 7, 530-535.
- Chatzidimitriou, A. (2003-2004) 'Ανασκαφικά δεδομένα και πορίσματα από την αρχαιολογική έρευνα στους Ζάρακες Καρυστίας'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 35, 53-68.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2003-2004) 'Η Κάρυστος κατά τους πρώιμους ιστορικούς χρόνους: Πορίσματα της ανασκαφικής έρευνας στην Πλακαρή'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 35, 69-80.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2014) 'Classical and Late Classical pottery from the sanctuary at Plakari, Karystos. First Report'. *Pharos* 20(2), 53-77.
- Coldstream, J. N. (1963) 'The Chronology of the Attic Geometric Vases'. *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 199-204.
- Coldstream, J. N. (1986) 'Kition and Amathus: Some Reflections on their Westward Links during the Early Iron Age'. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident'*,

- Nicosia, 8-14 September, 1985, edited by V. Karageorghis, Nicosia, 321-329. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- Coldstream, J. N. (1988) 'Early Greek Pottery in Tyre and Cyprus: Some Preliminary Comparisons'. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 2, 35-44.
- Coldstream, J. N. (1995) 'Greek Geometric and Archaic Imports from the tombs of Amathus-II'. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, 199-214.
- Coldstream, J. N. (1998) 'The first exchanges between Euboeans and Phoenicians: Who took the initiative?'. In *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition. Thirteenth to Early Tenth Century BCE. Papers of the First International Symposium held by the Philip and Muriel Berman Center for Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, April 1995. In honour of Professor T. Dothan*, edited by S. Gitin, A. Mazar and E. Stern, 353-360. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Coldstream, J. N. (2003) 'The BSA's Geometric Collection: Kynosarges et alia'. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 98, 331-346.
- Coldstream, J. N. (2008²) *Greek Geometric Pottery, A Survey of Ten Local Styles and their Chronology*. Exeter: Bristol Phoenix Press.
- Crielaard, J. P. (2015) 'The Iron Age Sanctuary and Settlement at Karystos-Plakari'. In *Zagora in Context. Settlements and Intercommunal Links in the Geometric Period (900-700 BC). Proceedings of the Conference held by the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens and the Athens Archaeological Society, Athens, 20-22 May, 2012*, edited by J-P. Descoeudres and S. A. Paspalas, 191-200. Sydney: University of Sydney.
- Crielaard, J. P. (In press) 'The Early Iron Age Sanctuary of Karystos-Plakari and its wider context'. In *Regional Stories Towards a New Perception of the Early Greek World, Acts of an International Symposium in honour of Professor Jan Bouzek, Volos 18-21 June, 2015*, edited by A. Mazarakis Ainian, A. Alexandridou and X. Charalambidou. Volos: University of Thessaly Press.
- Crielaard, J. P., F. Songu, M. Chidiroglou and M. Kosma (2011) 'The Plakari Archaeological Project. Project outline and preliminary report on the first field season (2010)'. *Pharos* 18(2), 83-106.
- Crielaard, J. P., E. Barbetsea, X. Charalambidou, M. Chidiroglou, M. Groenhuijzen, M. Kosma and F. Songu (2013) 'The Plakari Archaeological Project: Preliminary report on the second field season (2011)'. *Pharos* 19(2), 35-56.
- Crielaard, J. P., X. Charalambidou, M. Chidiroglou, M. Kosma and F. Songu (2014) 'The Plakari Archaeological Project: Preliminary report on the third field season (2012)'. *Pharos* 20(2), 1-24.
- Cullen, T., L. Talalay, D. Keller, L. Karimali and W. R. Farrand (2013) *The Prehistory of the Paximadhi Peninsula, Euboea*. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press.
- Dabney, M. K., P. Halstead and P. Thomas (2004) 'Mycenaean Feasting on Tsoungiza at Ancient Nemea'. *Hesperia* 73, 197-215.
- Desborough, V. R. d'A. (1952) *Protogeometric Pottery*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Descoeudres, J-P. and R. Kearsley (1983) 'Greek Pottery at Veii: another look'. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 78, 9-53.
- Eder, B. (2006) 'Die spätbronze- und früheisenzeitliche Keramik'. Vol. XXXI of *Olympische Forschungen: Anfänge und Frühzeit des Heiligtums von Olympia: Die Ausgrabungen am Pelopion 1987-1996*, edited by H. Kyrieleis, 141-246. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Eder, B. (2011) 'The Early Iron Age sanctuary at Olympia: counting sherds from the Pelopion excavations (1987-1996)'. In *Early Iron Age Pottery: A quantitative approach. Proceedings of the International Round Table organized by the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece (Athens, November 28-30, 2008)*, edited by S. Verdan, T. Theurillat and A. Kenzelmann Pfyffer, 61-65. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Groot, M. (2014) 'Burned offerings and sacrificial meals in Geometric and Archaic Karystos. Faunal remains from Plakari (2011-2012)'. *Pharos* 20(2), 25-52.
- Gros, J-S. (2007) 'La céramique commune en Grèce centrale au début de l'Âge du Fer (ca. 1100-675 avant J.-C.). Typologies, Production, Circulation, Consommation'. PhD thesis. Université Montpellier III-Paul Valéry and University of Thessaly, France and Greece.
- Hägg, R. (1983) 'Funerary Meals in the Geometric Necropolis at Asine?'. In *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth*

- Century BC. *Tradition and Innovation, Proceedings of the Second International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 1-5 June, 1981*, edited by R. Hägg, 189-193. Stockholm: P. Åström.
- Huber, S. (2003) 'L'Aire sacrificielle au nord du Sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros'. Vol. XIV(II) of *Eretria*. Gollion: Infolio editions.
- Huber, S. (2007) 'Un mystère résolu: Athéna sur l'acropole d'Erétrie'. *Antike Kunst* 50, 120-129.
- Huber, S. (2008) 'Fouilles dans le sanctuaire d'Athéna sur l'acropole d'Erétrie'. *Antike Kunst* 51, 148-153.
- Huber, S. (2015) 'L'Athénaion sur le plateau sommital de l'acropole'. *Antike Kunst* 58, 132-136.
- Jacob-Felsch, M. (1996) 'Die spätmykenische bis frühprotogeometrische Keramik'. In Vol. I of *Kalapodi. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen im Heiligtum der Artemis und des Apollon von Hyampolis in der antiken Phokis*, edited by R. C. S. Felsch, 1-213. Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern.
- Jarosch-Reinholdt, V. (2009) 'Die Geometrische Keramik von Kap Kolonna'. Vol. IV of *Forschungen und Ergebnisse [Ägina-Kolonna]*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Kaiser, I., L. C. Rizzotto and S. Strack (2011) 'Development of a ceramic cultic assemblage analyzing pottery from Late Helladic IIIC through Late Geometric Kalapodi'. In *Early Iron Age Pottery: A quantitative approach. Proceedings of the International Round Table organized by the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece (Athens, November 28-30, 2008)*, edited by S. Verdan, T. Theurillat and A. Kenzelmann Pfyffer, 29-44. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Katzir, Y., A. Matthews, Z. Garfunkel, B. W. Evans (2000) 'Origin, HP/LT metamorphism and cooling of ophiolitic mélanges in southern Evia (NW Cyclades), Greece'. *Journal of metamorphic Geology* 18(6), 699-718.
- Kearsley, R. (1989) *The pendent semi-circle skyphos. A study of its development and chronology and an examination of it as evidence for Euboean activity at Al Mina*. London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies.
- Keller, D. R. (1985) *Archaeological Survey in Southern Euboea, Greece. A Reconstruction of Human Activity from Neolithic Times Through the Byzantine Period*. PhD thesis. Indiana University, USA.
- Keller, D. R. and E. Hom (2010) 'Ancient land routes on the Paximadhi Peninsula, Karystos, Euboea'. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 10(3), 1-9.
- Kerschner, M. (1995) *Die ostgriechischen Vogelschalen und Verwandtes. Studien zu Chronologie und Verbreitung der ostgriechischen Keramik*. PhD thesis. Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Germany.
- Kerschner, M. (1997) 'Ein stratifizierter Opferkomplex des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. aus dem Artemision von Ephesos'. *Jahreshefte der Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien, Beiblatt* 66, 85-226.
- Kerschner, M. (2011) 'Approaching aspects of cult practice and ethnicity in Early Iron Age Ephesos using quantitative analysis of a Protogeometric deposit from the Artemision'. In *Early Iron Age Pottery: A quantitative approach. Proceedings of the International Round Table organized by the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece (Athens, November 28-30, 2008)*, edited by S. Verdan, T. Theurillat and A. Kenzelmann Pfyffer, 19-27. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Kerschner, M. and I. S. Lemos, eds. (2014) *Archaeometric Analyses of Euboean and Euboean Related Pottery: New Results and their Interpretations. Proceedings of the Round Table Conference held at the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Athens, 15 and 16 April 2011*. Vol. XV of *Ergänzungshefte zu den Jahresheften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes*. Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut.
- Kotsonas, A. (2008) *The Archaeology of Tomb A1K1 of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna, The Early Iron Age Pottery*. Athens: Publications of the University of Crete.
- Kourou, N. (1994) 'Η Ναξιακή Παρουσία στο Αιγαίο και την Μεσόγειο κατά την Γεωμετρική Εποχή'. In *Η Νάξος διά μέσου των αιώνων, Πρακτικά του Α' Πανελληνίου Συνεδρίου, Φιλώτι 3 - 6 Σεπτεμβρίου 1992*, edited by I. Prombonas and S. Psarras, 263-311. Athens.
- Kourou, N. (1999). *Ανασκαφές Νάξου, το Νότιο Νεκροταφείο της Νάξου κατά τη Γεωμετρική Περίοδο. Έρευνες ετών 1931-1939*. Athens: The Archaeological Society at Athens.
- Kourou, N. (2002) *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum Greece. Athens, National Museum, Fascicule V: Attic and Atticizing amphorae of the Protogeometric and Geometric periods*. Athens: Academy of Athens, KEA Publications.
- Kourou, N. (2011) 'Ταμύνα Ερετρικής και "Χθόνια λουτρά". Με αφορμή δύο πρωτογεωμετρικές υδρίσκες από το Αλιβέρι Ευβοίας'. In *Ταξιδεύοντας στην Κλασική Ελλάδα. Τόμος προς τιμήν του Καθηγητή Πέτρου Θέμελη*, edited by P. Valavanis, 119-134. Αθήνα: Εταιρεία Μεσσηνιακών Αρχαιολογικών Σπουδών.

- Kourou, N. (2015) 'Early Iron Age Mortuary Contexts in the Cyclades. Pots, Function and Symbolism'. In *Pots, Workshops and Early Iron Age Society: Function and Role of Ceramics in Early Greece*, edited by V. Vlachou, 83-105. Brussels: CReA-Patrimoine.
- Kourouniotis, K. (1903) 'Αγγελία Ερέτριας'. *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς*, 1-38.
- Kyrieleis, H. (2006) *Anfänge und Frühzeit des Heiligtums von Olympia: Die Ausgrabungen am Pelopion 1987-1996*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Lambrinoudakis, V. K. (2002) 'Rites de consécration des temples à Naxos'. In *Rites et cultes dans le monde antique. Actes de la table ronde du LIMC, Villa Kérylos, Beaulieu sur Mer, les 8 et 9 Juin 2001, Cahiers de la villa Kérylos, 12*, edited by J. Leclant and J-C. Balty, 1-19. Paris: Diffusion de Boccard.
- Langdon, S. H. (2008) *Art and Identity in Dark Age Greece 1100-700 B.C.E.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lawall, M. and Lund, J., eds. (2011) *Pottery in the Archaeological Record: Greece and Beyond, Acts of the International Colloquium held at the Danish and Canadian Institutes in Athens, June 20-22, 2008*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Lemos, I. S. (2002) *The Protogeometric Aegean. The Archaeology of the Late Eleventh and Tenth Centuries BC*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lemos, I. S. (2010) 'The Excavations at Lefkandi – Xeropolis (2003-08)'. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 53, 134-135.
- Lemos, I. S. (2014a) 'Pottery from Lefkandi of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age in the Light of the Neutron Activation Analyses'. In *Archaeometric Analyses of Euboean and Euboean Related Pottery: New Results and their Interpretations. Proceedings of the Round Table Conference held at the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Athens, 15 and 16 April 2011*, edited by M. Kerschner and I. S. Lemos, 37-58. Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut.
- Lemos, I. S. (2014b) 'Communities in Transformation. An Archaeological Survey from the 12th to the 9th century BC'. *Pharos* 20(1), 163-194.
- Luce, Jean-Marc. (2011) 'L'aire du pilier des rhodiens à Delphes essai de quantification du mobilier'. In *Early Iron Age Pottery: A quantitative approach. Proceedings of the International Round Table organized by the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece (Athens, November 28-30, 2008)*, edited by S. Verdan, T. Theurillat and A. Kenzelmann Pfyffer, 67-75. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Matthew, A. J., A. J. Woods and C. Oliver (1991) 'Spots before the Eyes: New Comparison Charts for Visual Percentage Estimation in Archaeological Material'. In *Recent Developments in Ceramic Petrology*, Vol. 81 of British Museum Occasional Paper, edited by A. Middleton and I. Freestone, 211-263. London: British Museum.
- Morgan, C. (1999) 'The Late Bronze Age Settlement and the Early Iron Age Sanctuary'. Vol. VIII of *Isthmia*. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Morgan, C. (2011) 'Isthmia and beyond. How can quantification help the analysis of EIA sanctuary deposits?'. In *Early Iron Age Pottery: A quantitative approach. Proceedings of the International Round Table organized by the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece (Athens, November 28-30, 2008)*, edited by S. Verdan, T. Theurillat and A. Kenzelmann Pfyffer, 11-18. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Müller Celka, S., T. Krapf and S. Verdan (2013) 'La céramique helladique du sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros à Éréttrie (Eubée)'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 135, 21-61.
- Papadopoulos, J. K. (2015) 'The Charitonidis Class: A group of large Athenian Late Protogeometric skyphoi'. *Opuscula* 8, 7-26.
- Papavasileiou, G. A. (1891) 'Περί της εν Ευβοίας πόλεως Χαλκίδος'. *Αθηνᾶ*, 607.
- Papavasileiou, G. A. (1906) 'Ανασκαφή εν Χαλκίδι'. *Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, 167-168.
- Paspalas, S. A. (2014) 'A "Macedonian Bronze" Juglet from Zagora, Andros'. In *ΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ. Essays on Greek Pottery and Iconography in Honour of Professor Michalis Tiverios*, edited by P. Valavanis and E. Manakidou, 527-539. Thessaloniki: Studio Press.
- Pemberton, E. G. (1989) 'The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. The Greek Pottery'. Vol. XVIII(1) of *Corinth*. Princeton; New Jersey: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

- Peña, J. T. (2007) *Roman Pottery in the Archaeological Record*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Popham, M. R. and I. S. Lemos (1996) 'The Toumba Cemetery, The excavations of 1981, 1984, 1986 and 1992-4'. Vol. III of *Lefkandi*. Athens: The British School at Athens.
- Popham, M. R., L. H. Sackett and P.G. Themelis, eds. (1980) 'The Iron Age, The Settlement, The Cemeteries'. Vol. I of *Lefkandi*. London: The British School at Athens.
- Reber, K. (1987) 'Zu vier handgemachten, ritzverzierten Tellern aus Eretria'. *Ανθρωπολογικά και Αρχαιολογικά Χρονικά* 2, 23-34.
- Ridgway, D. (1979) "'Cycladic cups" at Veii'. In *Italy before the Romans. The Iron Age, Orientalizing and Etruscan periods*, edited by D. Ridgway and F. R. Ridgway, 113-127. London: Academic Press.
- Rombos, T. (1988) *The iconography of Attic Late Geometric II pottery*. Jonsered: Paul Åstrom
- Sackett, L. H., V. Hankey, R. J. Howell, T. W. Jacobsen and M. R. Popham. (1966) 'Prehistoric Euboea: Contributions toward a survey'. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 61, 33-112.
- Sapouna-Sakellaraki, E. (1996-1997) 'Γεωμετρική Κύμη. Η ανασκαφή στο Βιγλατούρι Οξυλίθου'. *Αρχείο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών*, 59-64.
- Sapouna-Sakellaraki, E. (1998) 'Geometric Kyme. The excavation at Viglatouri, Kyme, on Euboea'. In *Euboica. L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Chalcidica e in Occidente. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Napoli 13-16 novembre 1996*, edited by M. Bats and B. d'Agostino, 59-104. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard.
- Savage, J. (1989) 'Corinthian and Corinthianizing Pottery in the University of Queensland'. *Mediterranean Archaeology* 2, 147-201.
- Schaeffer, J. S., N. H. Ramage and C. H. Greenewalt (1997) 'The Corinthian, Attic and Laconian Pottery from Sardis'. Vol. 10 of *Archaeological Exploration of Sardis Monographs*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Simantoni-Bournia, E. (1999) 'Les premières phases du sanctuaire d' Hyria-Naxos d' après les objets retrouvés'. *Revue Archéologique* 1, 209-219.
- Simantoni-Bournia, E. (2002) 'The early phases of the Hyria Sanctuary on Naxos. An overview of the pottery'. In *Excavating Classical Culture: Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Greece, Oxford, Somerville College, 23-27 March 2001*, edited by M. Stamatopoulou and M. Yeroulanou, 269-280. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Stillwell, A. N. and J. L. Benson. (1984) 'The Potter's Quarter. The Pottery'. Vol XV(III) of *Corinth*. Princeton; New Jersey: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Strack, S. (2011) "'Erfahrungsbericht" of application of different quantitative methods at Kalapodi'. In *Early Iron Age Pottery: A quantitative approach. Proceedings of the International Round Table organized by the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece (Athens, November 28-30, 2008)*, edited by S. Verdan, T. Theurillat and A. Kenzelmann Pfyffer, 45-60. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Tankosić, Ž and M. Chidiroglou (2010) 'The Karystian Kampos Survey Project: Methods and Preliminary Results'. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 10(3), 11-17.
- van den Eijnde, F. and M. Laughy (In press) 'The Areopagos Oval Building Reconsidered'. In *Regional Stories Towards a New Perception of the Early Greek World, Acts of an International Symposium in honour of Professor Jan Bouzek, Volos 18-21 June, 2015*, edited by A. Mazarakis Ainian, A. Alexandridou and X. Charalambidou. Volos: University of Thessaly Press.
- Verdan, S., A. Kenzelmann Pfyffer and C. Léderrey (2008) 'Fouilles et recherches: Céramique géométrique d'Éretrie'. Vol. XX of *Eretria*. Gollion: Infolio editions.
- Verdan, S. (2013) 'Fouilles et recherches: Le sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros à l'époque géométrique'. Vol. XXII(I and II) of *Eretria*. Gollion: Infolio editions.
- Verdan, S. (2015) 'Geometric Eretria: Some Thoughts on Old Data'. In *Zagora in Context. Settlements and Intercommunal Links in the Geometric Period (900-700 BC). Proceedings of the Conference held by the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens and the Athens Archaeological Society, Athens, 20-22 May, 2012*, edited by J.-P. Descoeudres and S. A. Paspalas, 181-189. Sydney: University of Sydney.
- Wecowski, M. (2014) *The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Figures

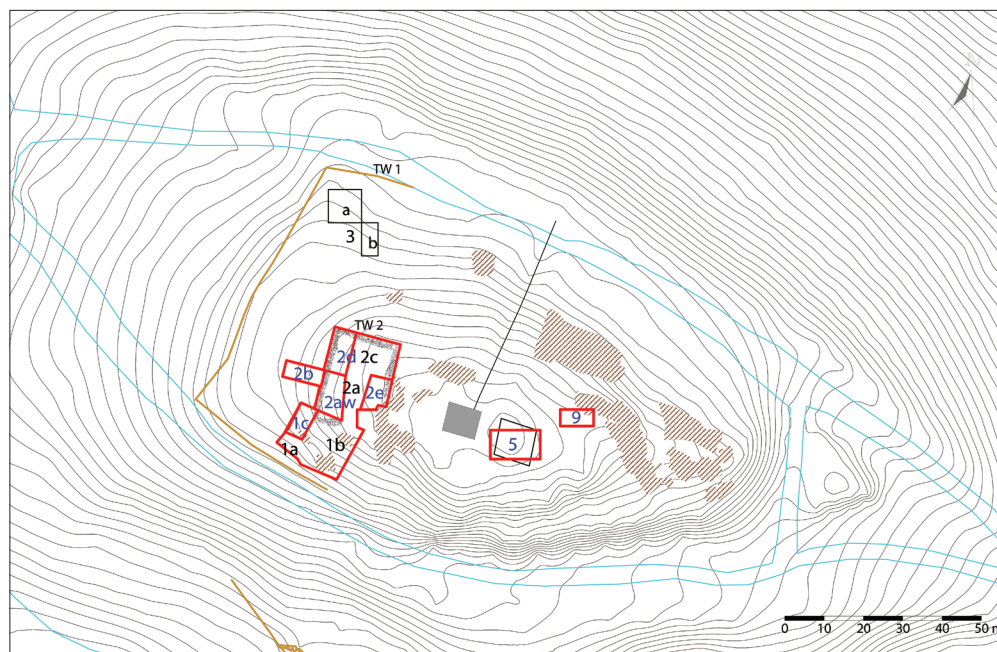


Figure 1: Plan of the Plakari hill excavation trenches with Trench 1a-c indicated (drawing by Jaap Fokkema).

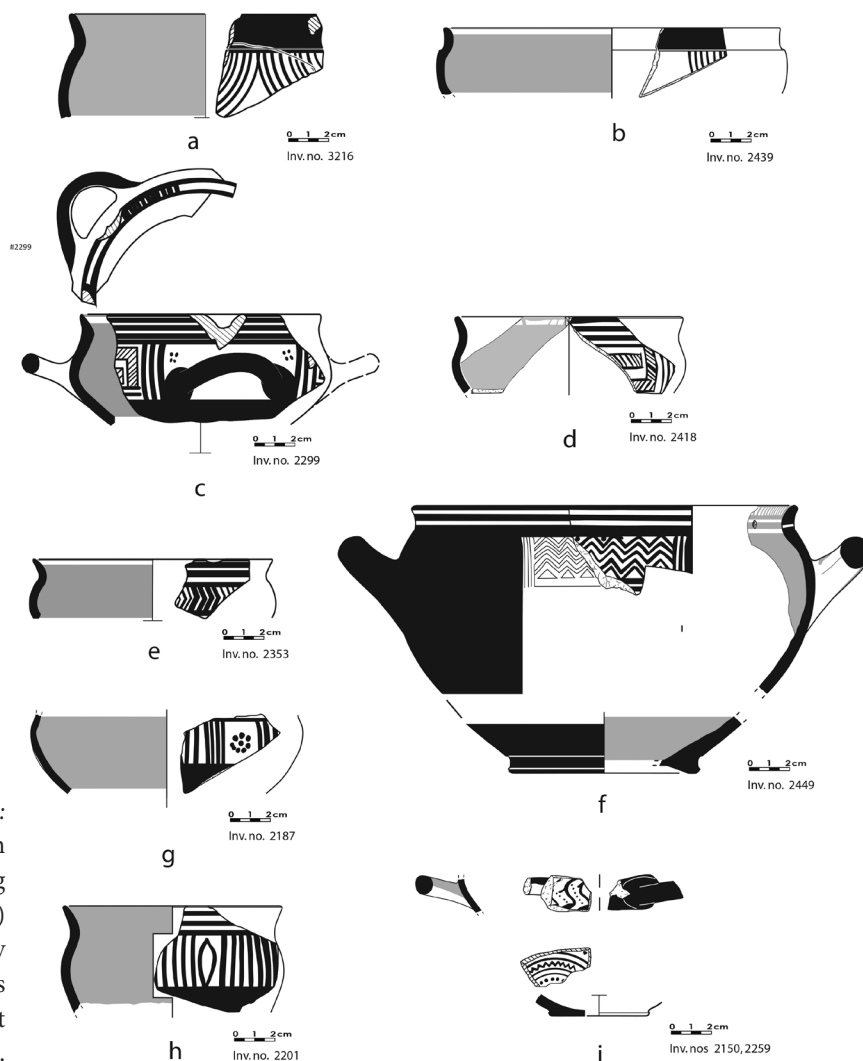


Figure 2: Plakari Trench 1: fine drinking vessels (skyphoi) (drawings by Edwin de Vries and Birgit Konnemann).

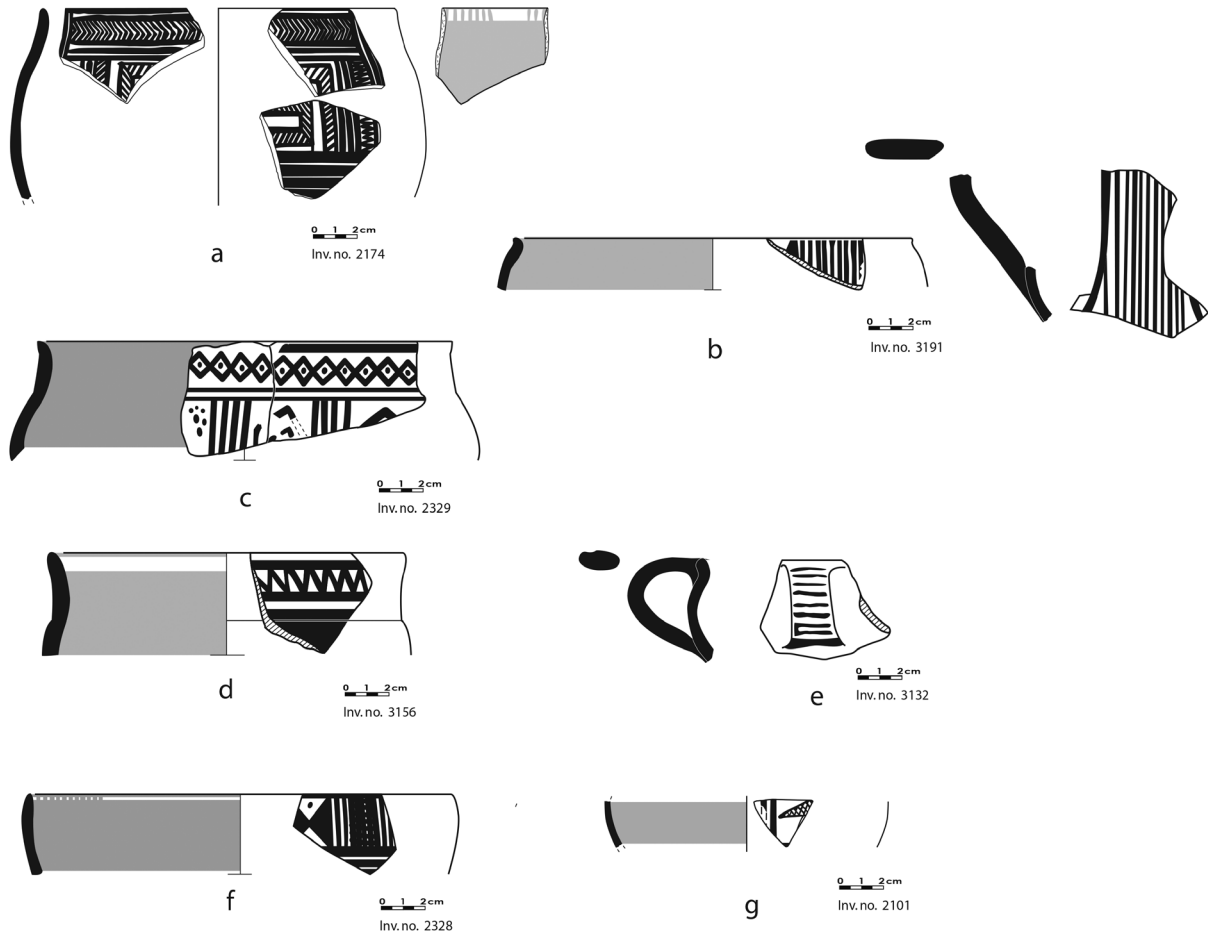


Figure 3: Plakari Trench 1: fine drinking vessels (kantharoi [a, b and possibly c], one-handed cups [d, e], kotyle [f], two-handed bird bowl [g]) (drawings by Edwin de Vries and Birgit Konnemann).

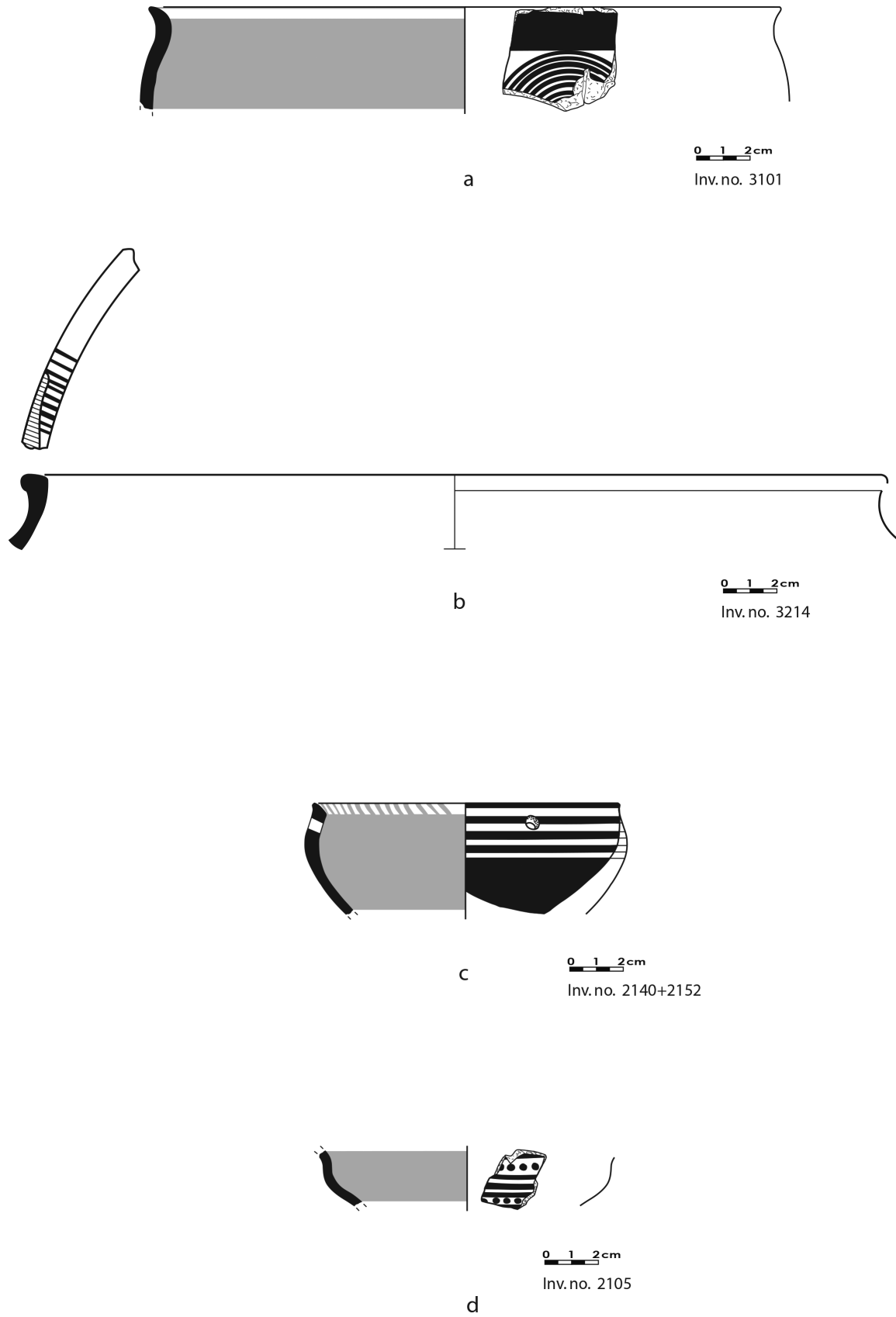


Figure 4: Plakari Trench 1: krater-bowl or large skyphos (a) and krater (b), 'bowls' (c, d) (drawings by Edwin de Vries and Birgit Konnemann).

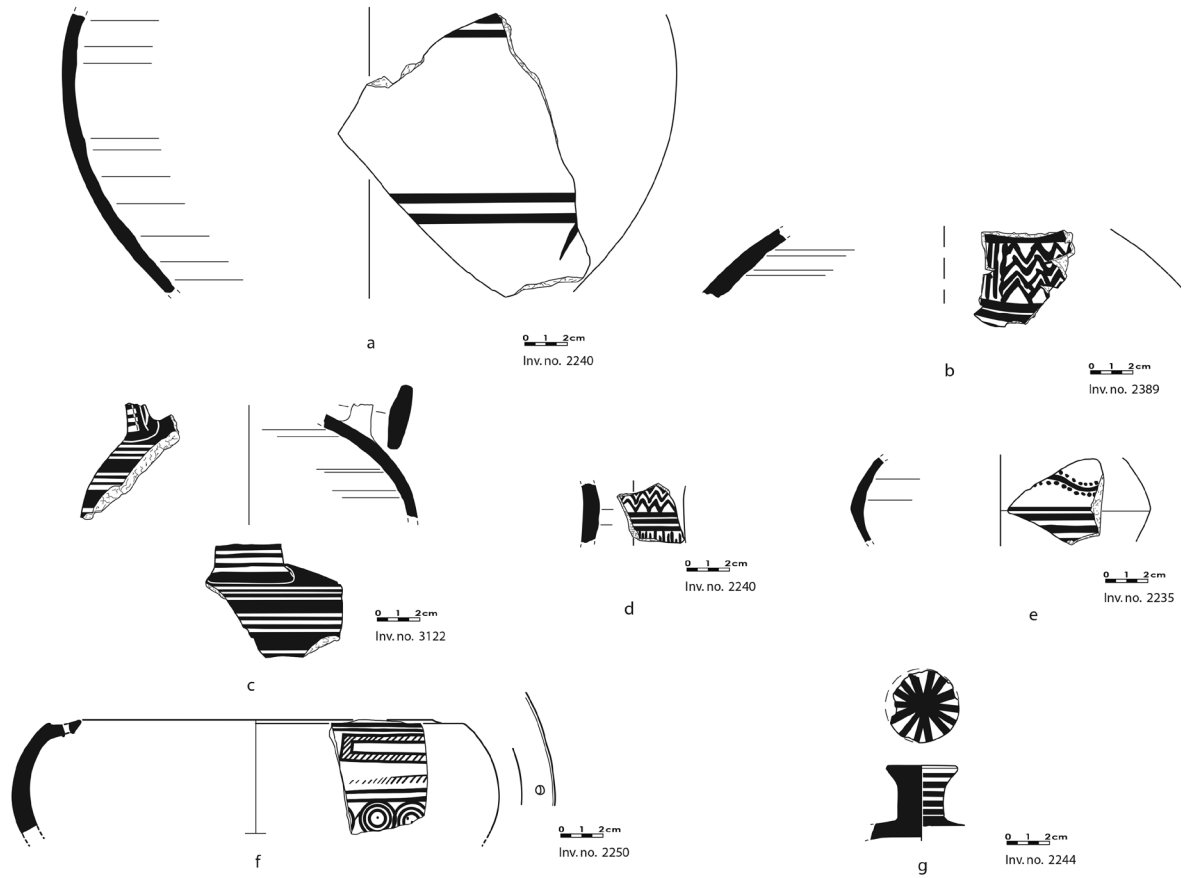


Figure 5: Plakari Trench 1: fine closed vessels (drawings by Edwin de Vries and Birgit Konnemann).

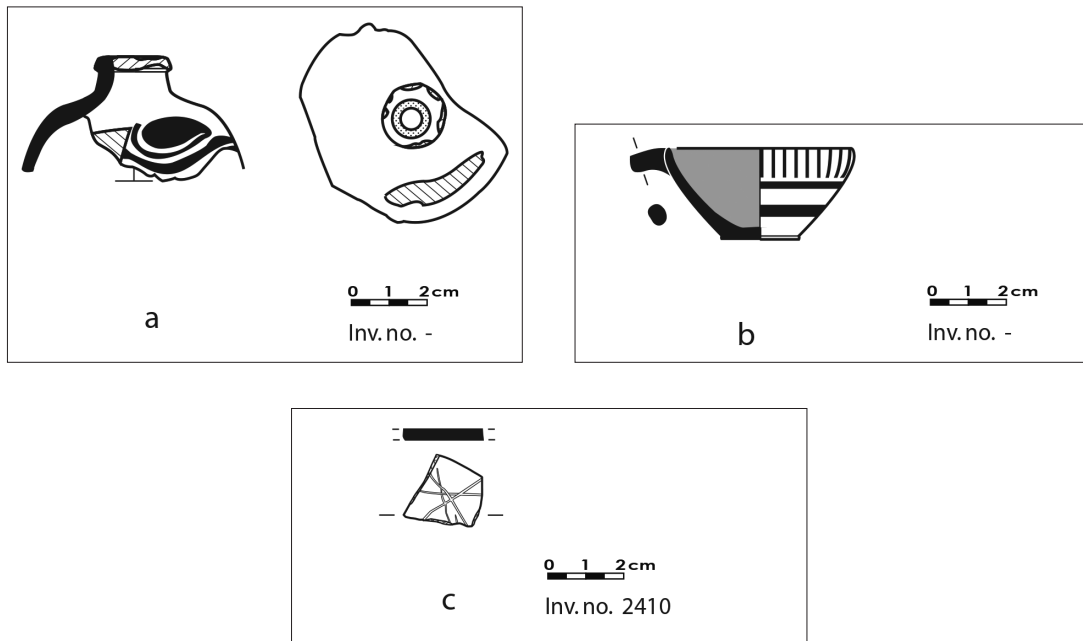


Figure 6: Plakari Trench 1: aryballos (a), miniature kotyle (b) and a base of a drinking vessel with graffito (c) (drawings by Edwin de Vries and Birgit Konnemann).



Figure 7: Plakari Trench 1: coarse cooking pots (a-c) presenting blackened surfaces as a result of being used over a fire (photograph by Xenia Charalambidou, edited by Bert Brouwenstijn).

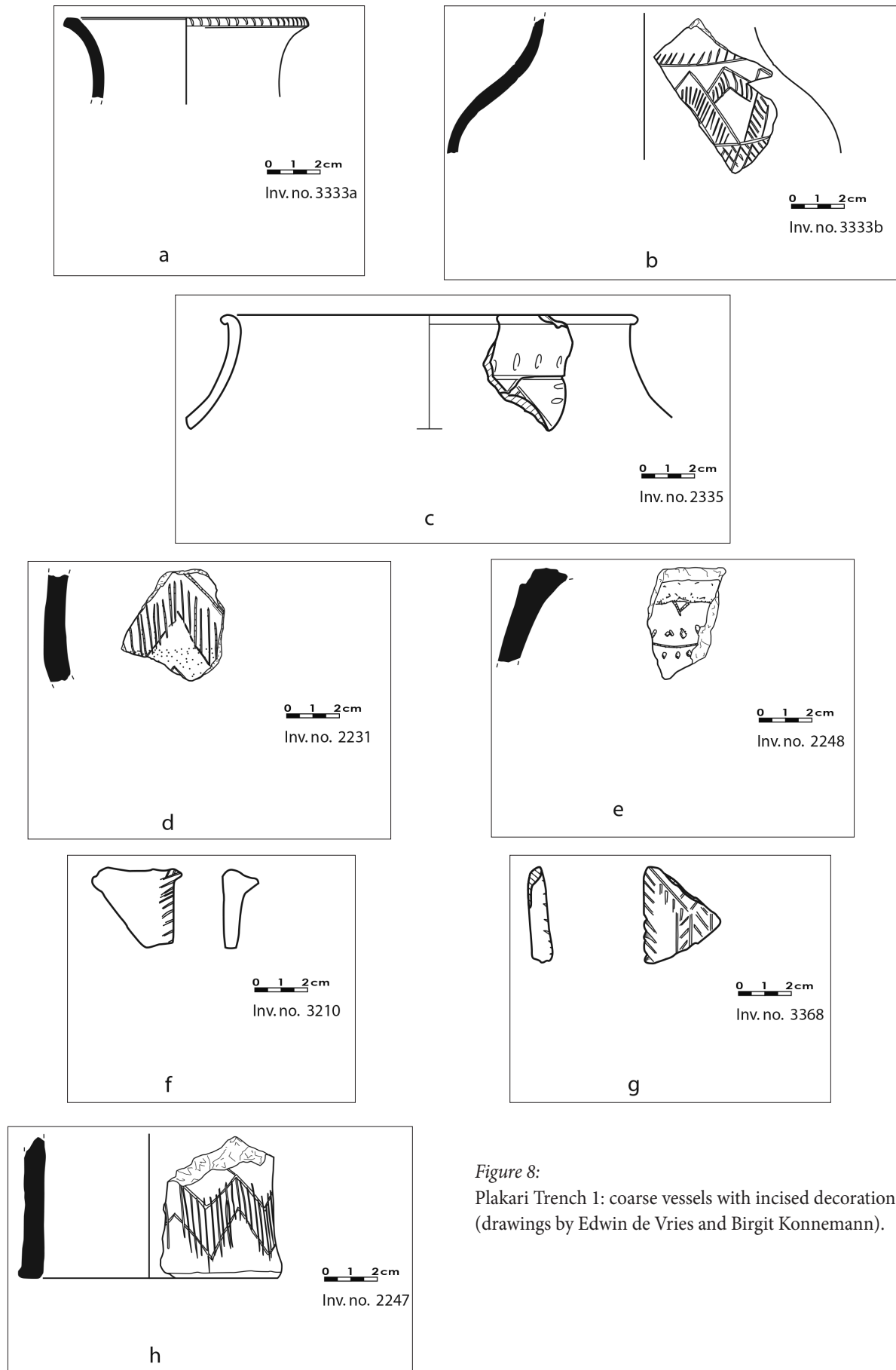


Figure 8:
Plakari Trench 1: coarse vessels with incised decoration
(drawings by Edwin de Vries and Birgit Konnemann).

Connectivity and insularity in 1st-millennium southern Euboea: The evidence from the sanctuary of Karystos-Plakari

Jan Paul CRIELAARD
Filiz SONGU

Περίληψη

Από το 2010 στη θέση Πλακαρή της νότιας Εύβοιας κοντά στην Κάρυστο πραγματοποιείται συστηματική αρχαιολογική έρευνα. Το πρόγραμμα είναι μια συνεργασία του Πανεπιστημίου του Άμστερνταμ (VU) με την Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Εύβοιας. Στον λόφο της Πλακαρής βρισκόταν ένας λατρευτικός χώρος που ιδρύθηκε κατά την Υπομυκηναϊκή ή την πρώιμη Πρωτογεωμετρική περίοδο. Οι λατρευτικές δραστηριότητες στη θέση εντάθηκαν κατά τη Μέση Γεωμετρική II και Ύστερη Γεωμετρική περίοδο. Μια δεύτερη σημαντική φάση του λατρευτικού χώρου χρονολογείται στην Κλασική περίοδο – ιδιαίτερα στον 4ο αιώνα π.Χ. – όταν ένα μικρό κτήριο για θυσιαστικές τελετουργίες (κτήριο Α) οικοδομήθηκε σε ένα από τα άνθηρά του.

Σε αυτό το άρθρο γίνεται μια επισκόπηση των αποτελεσμάτων των εργασιών που έχουν πραγματοποιηθεί ως τώρα στον λόφο της Πλακαρής και μια προσπάθεια να ενταχτούν αυτά τα αποτελέσματα στο ευρύτερο γεωγραφικό και ιστορικό πλαίσιο. Σχετικά με τη λειτουργία της Πλακαρής σε διαφορετικά επίπεδα (τοπικό και περιφερειακό) και τη μεταβολή της θέσης της με την πάροδο των χρόνων, θα εστιάσουμε στις πληροφορίες που μπορούμε να πάρουμε από τα ευρήματα. Κατά την πρώιμη εποχή του Σιδήρου η Πλακαρή είχε ανεπτυγμένους δεσμούς με την κεντρική Εύβοια, την ενδοχώρα της Αττικής και τον νησιωτικό κόσμο συμπεριλαμβανομένων των δυτικών παραλίων της Μικράς Ασίας. Ιστορικές πηγές αναφέρουν ότι κατά τη διάρκεια του 5ου αιώνα η Καρυστία υπέφερε πολύ από την εγγύτητά της με την ισχυρή, γειτονική Αθήνα. Όταν κατά τον 4ο αιώνα ξεκίνησε μια περίοδος ανάκαμψης, ο λατρευτικός χώρος στον λόφο της Πλακαρής ανακατασκευάστηκε, αλλά διάφορα στοιχεία του σχεδίου του υποδηλώνουν ότι οι Καρυστινοί που χρησιμοποίησαν τη θέση ενδιαφέρονταν περισσότερο για το παρελθόν παρά για τον κόσμο γύρω τους.

Introduction

Much of what we know today about southern Euboea during the 1st millennium BC, we owe to archaeological surveys that have been carried out by Dr Donald Keller and others since 1979.¹ On the basis of these surveys, we have been able to reconstruct a general outline of human occupation, settlement pat-

1. Cullen et al. 2013; Keller 1985; Keller and Hom 2010; Keller and Wallace 1986; 1990; Tankosić and Chidiroglou 2010; Wallace et al. 2006; Wickens 2011.

terns and land use in the Karystia from the Final Neolithic onwards.² In this paper, we present and discuss the first results from our excavations at the site of Karystos-Plakari on the north-west coast of the Bay of Karystos (Fig. 1). The aim is to situate our findings in a wider regional context and against a background of more general archaeological and historical developments that can be reconstructed on the basis of survey data, historical information and archaeological finds from other sites in the area. The focus is on the period from the end of the Bronze Age to the end of the Classical period. More specifically, we attempt to highlight the site's functioning on different scales—namely local, regional and supra-regional—and to identify its changing position through time. Our observations are based on the outcomes of four field-work seasons (2010-2013), which means that they should be considered to be of a preliminary nature.³

Three factors in particular affected the *longue durée* of connectivity and insularity⁴ in the Karystia. Firstly, the Karystia forms a micro-region that is naturally defined by the slopes of Mount Ochi and the hilly Paximadi Peninsula. The alluvial plain known as the Kambos and the foothills of Mount Ochi provide fertile and well-watered areas for agriculture and horticulture. Additional natural resources included timber, metals and marble.⁵ Secondly, the geology, landscape, climate and vegetation link the Karystia with the Cycladic islands rather than with the rest of Euboea. The Mount Ochi massif, which cuts the Karystia off from the rest of the island, makes the Karystia an island within an island, naturally oriented towards the sea and the islands to its south.⁶ Thirdly, the Karystia is located at an important crossroads between the Aegean archipelago—where island-hopping involves a variety of sea routes—and the Euboean Gulf, which forms a secluded passageway for ships, streamlining maritime traffic to central and northern Greece.⁷

Late Bronze Age

We pick up our story during the Late Bronze Age, when the Euboean Gulf may be viewed as a peripheral region which possibly fell within the sphere of influence of the palace of Thebes.⁸ Linear B

2. For prehistoric Karystia, see e.g. Cullen et al. 2011; 2013; Tankosić and Mathioudaki 2011.

3. The fieldwork that has been carried out since 2010 at Karystos-Plakari is a *synergasia* between VU University Amsterdam and the 11th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities. It entails systematic excavations on the Plakari hilltop, geoarchaeological investigations in the area immediately around the site, as well as zooarchaeological and archaeobotanical research. Much progress has been made thanks to the excellent collaboration with the late Maria Kosma, who acted as joint field director, and our colleagues Maria Chidiroglou and Xenia Charalambidou (all of whom presented papers at this conference), the former director of the 11th Ephorate Mrs Amalia Karapaschalidou, and its present director Dr Paraskevi Kalamara, and thanks to the hard work of students at VU University. We are especially grateful to the Faculty of Humanities of VU University Amsterdam, and the Institute for Aegean Prehistory, Philadelphia, for their financial support. For preliminary reports, see Crielaard et al. 2011-2012; 2013; 2014. Maps were made by Jaap Fokkema, and line drawings and photographs by Bert Brouwenstijn.

4. Over the course of the last decade, a vast amount of literature has appeared on Mediterranean connectivity and networks, insularity, island and coastal archaeology, etc.: see e.g. Abulafia 2011; Berg 2010; Broodbank 2000; 2013; Constantakopoulou 2007; Harris 2005; Hodos 2006; Horden and Purcell 2000; Knappett 2013; Knapp 2007; Knapp and Blake 2005; Lätsch 2005; Malkin 2011; Malkin et al. 2009; Morris 2003; Rainbird 2007; Tartaron 2013 Van Dommelen and Knapp 2010.

5. Middle Helladic metallurgical installations at Ayios Nikolaos Mylon: Keller 1985, 128-129, 276-278; Tankosić and Mathioudaki 2011, 134-135. Mining installations from the Late Archaic period onwards: Keller 1985, 192-193. According to R. Jones (in: Popham et al. 1980, 464) gold was found at the island's southern tip. Metal installations at Archampolis: Panagopolou 1995. In antiquity, Euboea was probably quite wooded: Calligas 1990, 79 (with n. 14, for references to timber). Karystian marble: Chidiroglou 2010; Sutherland and Sutherland 2002.

6. Cullen et al. 2013, 109. Also Kolodny 1974, 105; Picard 1979, 210. For more general observations on isolation and connectivity of the Aegean islands, see Constantakopoulou 2007, 3-5, 20-28.

7. Contacts between Karystia, Cyclades and eastern Attica go back to the Neolithic and Early Helladic period: Chidiroglou 2009, 86; Cullen et al. 2013, 104. The use of the Euboean Gulf as a safe passageway to regions more to the north probably goes back to the same period; see Crielaard 2006, 273, n. 6.

8. See Aravantinos et al. 2001, 355-357, with Fossey 1988, 66, 233-243, 257-261; Kramer-Hajos 2008 and elsewhere in this volume.

documents from the Theban palace mention consignments of livestock coming in from *ka-ru-to*,⁹ which is commonly identified as Karystos. However, the Karystia has thus far not yielded any Mycenaean remains, with the exception of a handful of Late Helladic (LH) IIA to IIIA fragments that Donald Keller picked up at the Middle Bronze Age hilltop site of Ayios Nikolaos Mylon.¹⁰ Thus, the identification of *ka-ru-to* with Karystos may be regarded as doubtful.¹¹ Indeed, the extreme paucity of archaeological finds suggests that southern Euboea was uninhabited during the Palatial and Postpalatial Late Bronze Age.

In contrast to many other regions in Greece, the Postpalatial period was a flourishing era for the Euboean Gulf region and some of the larger Cycladic islands—notably Paros and Naxos. A considerable number of coastal localities, especially, continued to be occupied. Iconographic evidence suggests that the region was involved in a number of important innovations in ship construction and design.¹² We find that during the transition from Late Helladic IIIC to the Protogeometric period, occupation in the Euboean Gulf region was interrupted at a considerable number of sites; at the same time, the number of occupied sites and the site density remained largely the same.¹³ During LH IIIC virtually no new sites became occupied, but this started to change in the Protogeometric period, when we witness the start of considerable mobility at both a regional and an interregional level.¹⁴ According to later traditions, Dryopes—who originally lived in the Sperchios Valley in eastern Thessaly—had settled in southern Euboea and on the island of Kythnos. However, one should be cautious about linking this later information to much earlier archaeological data.¹⁵

Early Iron Age and Archaic period

It is in the Early Protogeometric period that the Karystia was settled again, as can be inferred from the earliest Iron Age finds recovered at Plakari. If we are to assume that the region virtually lacked Late Bronze Age habitation, we have to surmise that the new settlement was created *ab ovo* in a virtually empty land, which means that it can almost be considered an act of colonization. The period when southern Euboea was ‘colonized’ concurs with a phase during which Euboeans from the central part of the island intensified contacts with various places in the archipelago and settled in the northern Aegean.¹⁶ In about the same period—the 10th and 9th centuries—new settlements seem to have been founded in the Sporades and Cyclades.¹⁷ What probably attracted settlers to the site of Plakari was a low ridge of schist stone (maximum elevation 85 masl) that provided access to both the sea and the fertile Kambos Plain. In this period, this ridge possibly formed a headland that jutted into the sea. The Livadaki inlet to its south-west is well positioned to have served as a sheltered harbour.¹⁸ The hilltop of-

9. Killen 1994, 71-72 (TH Wu 55.β); Piteros et al. 1990, 153-154.

10. Tankosić and Mathioudaki 2011, 135-136: four fragments of kylix stems and one krater rim, broadly datable to late LH IIA to LH IIIA.

11. See also Palaima 2011, esp. 54, 69, 72-73; further Cullen et al. 2013, 103-104.

12. Crielaard 2000, 59; 2006, 278-280, both with further references.

13. Crielaard 2006, 277-278, with fig. 14.1b and c.

14. Archaeological evidence: Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, 16-17. Later literary traditions: Calligas 1988-1989; 1992; Fossey 1988, 428-430; Mazarakis Ainain 2001, 149—all with refs. Both types of evidence should be treated with caution: see Crielaard 2006, 285-286 (Lefkandi); 2009 (Ionian migration).

15. Hdt. 8.43 (esp. Styra); also Hdt. I. 146.1-2: Dryopes among ‘Ionian’ migrants in Asia Minor. Cautionary remarks: Hall 1997, 74-76; 2002, 69.

16. Lemos 2002, 211-222; Tiverios 2008, 6-17.

17. Skiathos-Kephala: Mazarakis Ainian 2012, 59. Andros: Lemos 2002, 207. Amorgos-Minoa and Arkessini: Lemos 2002, 147; Mermoz 2010, 163, 459-461, 470. Paros-Oikonomos: Mermoz 2010, 455, 458, 475. Melos: Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982, 42-45.

18. See Barbetsea and Groenhuizen in Crielaard et al. 2013, 50-54.

fers an excellent view of both the Karystos Plain and the Bay of Karystos and some of the neighbouring Cycladic islands. As incoming ships first had to traverse the entire Bay of Karystos, it would have been virtually impossible to approach Plakari unnoticed.¹⁹ Thus, Plakari is a naturally defensible site, as well as being ideally suited for both trade and piracy.

The earliest Iron Age material from Plakari consists of Early and Middle Protogeometric pottery and a bronze dress pin that may even date to the Sub-Mycenaean period (Fig. 3c). They are part of a large, open-air *apothē* or, as we prefer to call it, a sacrificial refuse area that was located on the south slope of the hilltop (Fig. 2: area south of architecture). A considerable proportion of this area (83.4 m² in total) was excavated between 2011 and 2013. The yield was more than 32,000 pottery fragments—mostly painted fine wares related to the consumption of drinks and food—over 26,000 fragments of animal bones, and some 475 small finds.²⁰ The chronological range of the pottery suggests that this material can be connected to cultic activities spanning the period from the 10th to the mid-6th century BC, with a peak in the deposition of ceramics during the Middle and Late Geometric period.²¹ The huge quantities of broken pottery suggest that during the Geometric period the hilltop was used for large-scale or frequent sacrificial feasting, accompanied by animal sacrifices and the consumption of meat, as indicated by the discovery of iron knives and large quantities of animal bones. Sheep dominates the bone assemblage, followed at some distance by cattle and pig. Of the animal bone fragments, 18% have been burnt. One interesting finding is the overrepresentation of burnt femur and tailbone fragments, which fits exactly with what literary and iconographic sources tell us about ‘the god’s portion.’ The much larger percentage of unburnt bones suggests that most of the meat was cooked before consumption, probably by those attending the sacrifices.²² The small finds include terracotta figurines of humans and animals (bulls and horses) and, especially, personal ornaments of bronze, iron and gold (Figs. 3 and 4). These personal ornaments, along with terracotta pyxides, may be considered donations from women, perhaps as part of possibly premarital life-cycle rituals.

The Sub-Mycenaean dress pin and Protogeometric pottery indicate that the earliest human activity attested for the Iron Age was cultic in nature. Plakari clearly ranks among the earliest cult sites in the Aegean, but because the area around the hilltop has received scant attention from archaeologists, we do not know whether it began as an isolated, regional cult place or whether it catered for a nearby local settlement right from the start. Chance finds from the area west of the hilltop, which were discovered in 2009, include a spheric element of a bronze dress pin, a gold finger ring and a gold mushroom-shaped earring decorated with zig-zags that has a good parallel in pieces from Lefkandi-Toumba tomb 51 (SPG I, c.900-875 BC).²³ The presence of a large worked stone slab, found a short distance to the east and obviously pushed aside by a bulldozer during the construction of a road, may indicate that tombs were present in the area. If the gold and bronze items originate from a destroyed tomb, this can be taken as an indication that at least from the early 10th century onwards people lived (and died) on the flanks of the Plakari hilltop, and probably used the hilltop as an acropolis and cult centre. Until a late stage in the Archaic period, Plakari seems to be the only habitation site in the Karystia that is large enough to be referred to as a major settlement.²⁴ Surface finds indicate that during the 8th to 5th century, a settle-

19. Crielaard et al. 2011-2012, 88-89, with fig. 6.

20. Crielaard et al. 2013, 37-40; 2014, 3-7, with table 1.

21. Dr Xenia Charalambidou presents a more detailed analysis of this ceramic assemblage in her paper elsewhere in this volume.

22. Preliminary conclusions of Dr Maaïke Groot (VU University), who analysed the zooarchaeological material found during the 2011 and 2012 campaigns; see Groot 2014.

23. cf. Lemos 2002, 127, n. 182; Popham and Lemos 1996, pl. 58: 23-24.

24. More sporadic Geometric finds: possible Geometric sherd at Zoodochos Pigi on the eastern side of the bay (Keller 1985, 187-188), grave 25 of the Papachatzi plot (NW of the modern town) containing LG Euboean-Cycladic skyphos (Chidiroglou 2011, 161, n. 73), architectural remains and burnt pottery of the Geometric period (connected to burial rites?) found

ment of considerable size existed to the north-east of the hill, near the mouth of the Rigia River.²⁵ On the southern, sea side of the hill, the 11th Ephorate excavated several plots with remains of buildings, burials and an area possibly used for cult purposes, dating to the Geometric period and later.²⁶ All in all, it is most likely that this is the site of Archaic Karystos.

Returning to the cult site on the Plakari hilltop, it is likely that during the Protogeometric and Geometric periods the cultic rituals took place on the flat part (the later Terrace 2) immediately north of the sacrificial refuse area and west of the summit, although the earliest architectural remains in this area are somewhat later in date. A long wall running north-south on Terrace 2, and a rectangular stone feature—presumably an altar or offering table—to its south (see Fig. 2: features in dark grey) have not yet been dated precisely, but might be attributed to the Geometric period. An aryballos dating to the third quarter of the 7th century provides a *terminus ante quem* for the rectangular stone feature.²⁷ At some point, presumably during the 6th century BC, the area was enclosed by a peribolos wall (Fig. 2: medium grey walls) made of local schist stone. The space between the western section of the peribolos wall and the earlier ('dark grey') wall was later filled in with large stones. In the southern section, a semicircular stone feature was constructed on top of this fill (Fig. 2: feature west of dark grey wall). This construction served as an altar, as indicated by burnt material found inside and next to this structure. Around the structure lay a number of iron knives, a large iron spear, a terracotta rattle, a bronze phiale *mesomphalos* and a bronze horse figurine,²⁸ suggesting that this was the focal point for a variety of rituals. To the north a series of surfaces were found, again with clear traces of burning. Broken pottery and animal bones show that this area was used for sacrifices and ritual eating and drinking from the late 6th to early 4th century BC.

Imported objects indicate that during the Early Iron Age and Archaic period this open-air sanctuary was part of regional and supra-regional networks, either by way of members of Plakari's community or by way of outsiders visiting the sanctuary. In addition to a host of locally produced ceramics, there is pottery imported from central Euboea, Attica, the Cyclades and the eastern Aegean.²⁹ Small finds of foreign origin include two stone scarabs (one is of Egyptian or Levantine origin, but of Middle Bronze date), a fibula of east Greek origin, bronze beads and a so-called 'jug stopper' (Fig. 3h)³⁰ from the northern Aegean, and fragments of Archaic figurines and bird and siren perfume vases of terracotta from the eastern Aegean. That the site was part of regional or supra-regional networks is also indicated by the story of the Hyperborean gifts that reached Delos after being passed on by cities along the Euboean Gulf, including Karystos (Hdt. 4.33), and the fact that presumably already during the Archaic period the Karystians had an *oikos* or treasury in the Apollo sanctuary on Delos that functioned as the centre of a nesiotic cult network.³¹ To judge from the finds at Plakari, during the later 6th and 5th centuries cultic activity seems to have diminished although good-quality Attic black-figure vases still found their way to the sanctuary.

during salvage excavations north of Palaiochora in the Kokkaloi area, and Geometric sherds discovered by the 23rd Byzantine Ephorate during the construction of the modern road in the area outside the outer surrounding wall of the medieval Castello Rosso.

25. Future excavations in the Rigia River area could corroborate or refute this assumption.

26. Chidioglou 2003-2004, 71-75.

27. Crielaard et al. 2014, 14, fig. 9b: ovoid Protocorinthian aryballos belonging to Neeft's Taranto-Vienna-Thebes (TAV-IETHE) type, dated by him between c.650 and 625 BC; see Neeft 1987, 212-214, 341-342, with fig. 123 for a close parallel.

28. Crielaard et al. 2014, 3-16. Iron knives: see e.g. Crielaard et al. 2013, 43, fig. 3d.

29. See contribution by Charalambidou, this volume.

30. Courtesy of Donald Keller.

31. Constantakopoulou 2007, 52-53. As the author argues, during this period Delos was for island communities an arena for competition and the display of piety and power (Constantakopoulou 2007, 49, 53-58).

Late Archaic and Classical periods

The scarce written sources pertaining to Karystos provide a picture of an independent, medium-sized *polis*³² that flourished during the Archaic period, minted its own coins³³ and provided an Olympian victor in 520 BC.³⁴ Epigraphic and archaeological testimony indicate that during the Classical period the main civic nucleus was situated on the other site of the Karystos Plain at Kokaloi-Palaiochora, south of the medieval Castel Rosso. Graves found in between Palaiochora and the modern town of Karystos could suggest that this settlement shift started as early as the Late Archaic period.³⁵ In addition, Karystos may have experienced a period of decline during the late 6th and 5th centuries. Karystos's distant neighbours Eretria and Athens were partly responsible for this.³⁶ As early as during the late 6th century, Eretria's maritime power extended up to the Petalioi islands situated off the south-west end of Euboea, while towards the end of the 5th century the demos of the Styrians was incorporated into the Eretrian *chora*.³⁷ Moreover, between 490 and 469 BC the city and its territory must have suffered from a series of attacks by Persian and Greek forces, possibly followed by the settlement of Athenian *klerouchoi* in the Karystia. In 480, the Karystians nevertheless dedicated a bronze ox at Delphi as an expression of their gratitude to Apollo because the end of the hostilities meant they could once again cultivate their lands. Karystos contributed 12 talents to the Athenian League in 454/453 BC, indicating that city had not been completely destroyed economically.³⁸ On the other hand, it is also clear that Karystos's strategic location probably did not harmonize with Athens' aspirations of establishing an island empire in the Aegean.³⁹ All this also seems to be reflected in our finds from the Plakari sanctuary, whose importance appears to wane in this period. This might be related to the shift in habitation from Plakari to Palaiochora, as well as more generally with the fact that Karystos went through a phase of crisis and relative isolation.

During the Late Classical period, Karystos and the Karystia began to flourish again. In the early 4th century BC, the cult at Plakari was revitalized. The area of Terrace 2 was levelled. Some of the material taken from the levelled rock was used for the construction of a small, rectangular building in the north-east corner of the Archaic peribolos (Building A).⁴⁰ This building measures approximately 4.6 x 5.6 m (Fig. 2: light grey walls). The area to its south functioned as a forecourt, containing three schist-made cists or bins, a stone platform, and several low division or retaining walls. The small building was probably destroyed by fire in c.325/320 BC and subsequently collapsed. As a result, a large part of the building's contents were found in an excellent state of preservation. It contained two pyrotechnical features (a hearth in the centre of the building and a small oven-like feature close to the entrance), but for the rest storage seem to have been the most important function of the building. A series of fine limestone slabs were uncovered against its northern wall, serving as low tables or shelves.⁴¹ Next to and on top of these slabs was a considerable amount of local, plain and black-glazed pottery that had been used for preparing and consuming food and beverages. Lamps suggest that eating and drinking took

32. Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 71, 1321; also Chapman and Schneider 1993, 39.

33. Keller 1985, 194-195; Tsourti 2006, 188.

34. Chidiroglou 2009, 86-88.

35. Chatzidimitriou 2006; Chidiroglou 2011; 2013. cf. the settlement history of Kephala and 'Palaiskiathos': Mazarakis Ainian 2012, 58.

36. Wallace and Figueira 2011.

37. Chidiroglou 2009, 84-85; Constantakopoulou 2007, 218-219; also Van Wees 2010.

38. Chidiroglou 2009, 88-89; Constantakopoulou 2007, 76-77.

39. Constantakopoulou 2007, 66-75, 257-260.

40. Crielaard et al. 2013, 40-47; 2014, 7-15.

41. Crielaard et al. 2013, 44, fig. 6. cf. inventory of kitchen of house 1B in Eretria's west quarter (first half 2nd century BC), consisting of (intact) pottery amidst stone slabs; Kaltsas et al. 2010, 142, fig. 2.

place at night.⁴² The building's inventory also included bronze items: for example, fibulae, a miniature wheel, and bronze and iron furnishings for doors or furniture.⁴³ Some of the terracotta vases bear graffiti, including monograms (e.g. AII > Apollo?; see Fig. 5)⁴⁴ and the name of the goddess Nikē written on a local, one-handled bowl that can be dated to the late 5th century on the basis of Athenian parallels.⁴⁵ Maria Chidioglou—who is responsible for the study and publication of the pottery from Building A—suggests that the Nikē inscription could be connected to either a religious contest or a military victory won in the final decades of the 5th century, for instance in Karystos's struggles to free itself from the Athenian yoke.⁴⁶ Another possibility is that the inscription refers to a victory in some sort of sympotic contest.⁴⁷ One of the most remarkable finds from Building A is a bronze collar.⁴⁸ This extremely rare object can be identified as a piece of Thraco-Macedonian armour known as a *peritrachilion*.⁴⁹ As was the case with some of the pottery from the building, it was inscribed with the letters hēta and iota (H and I), which are common abbreviations of *hi(eron)* and *hi(eros)*.⁵⁰ Although the two black-glazed cups and the handleless bowl ('salt cellar') inscribed in the same manner may be considered tableware belonging to the inventory of the sanctuary, it is more likely that the *peritrachilion* was declared *hi(eron)* in its capacity of being a dedication.

Part of a large building was excavated at some distance north of Building A. It provided storage for a large number of containers: two rooms yielded a total of almost 5500 amphora fragments (weighing over 70 kg) attributable to the second half of the 4th century BC.⁵¹ Although this could indicate that the building had a commercial function, the fact that it was located within the perimeter of *temenos* wall TW1 may be taken as an indication that it was somehow related to the sanctuary and was roughly contemporary with Building A. If the building dates to the same period as the pottery, we may assume that during the Late Classical period building activities continued and that the Plakari hilltop underwent some very substantial rearrangements in architectural layout.

With the rise in importance of the new civic centre located at Palaiochora, it is likely that the cultic landscape was also redefined. In the 4th century, new peripheral sanctuaries were established, including the 'Dragon House' on the summit of Mount Ochi, which in effect might have been a cult site for Zeus and Hera.⁵² Building A at Plakari dates to this same phase; its pottery finds parallels in that of the 'Dragon House'.⁵³ It is of interest that Building A displays some Archaizing features. First of all, in contrast to many contemporary buildings in the region, instead of stone blocks, slabs of local schist were employed; the fact that terracotta roof tiles were not found at the site may indicate that a kind of covering was used that possibly linked in with earlier traditions. In the courtyard to its south, cists made of schist stone slabs and a stone platform (see Fig. 2: centre of plan) were found that are reminiscent of similar installations in, for instance, 8th-century Zagora or 6th-century Ipsili, both on Andros. Secondly, the building housed a number of finds that predate the rest of the find assemblage, including a *lēkythos* of the early 5th century, a terracotta statuette in the shape of an Archaic *korē* of the mid-6th century, and the lower part of a Late Protocorinthian conical oinochoe of the mid-7th century. It seems

42. Chidioglou 2014; Crielaard et al. 2013, 47, fig. 11b.

43. Crielaard et al. 2013, 47, fig. 11a and c.

44. On the Karystian pantheon, see Chidioglou, this volume.

45. Crielaard et al. 2013, 45, fig. 8

46. Chidioglou 2014, 61-62.

47. cf. Wecowski 2014, 52-53.

48. Crielaard et al. 2013, 46, fig. 10.

49. cf. Phaklaris 1985; also Archibald 1985. Most of the examples found in Macedonia date to the second and third quarters of the 4th century BC (Phaklaris 1985, 13), which also fits our context.

50. See Chidioglou 2014, 59.

51. Crielaard et al. 2013, 48-49, with fig. 12.

52. Hunt 2006; Reber 2001. Dating: Liritzis et al. 2010.

53. Chidioglou 2009, 89, fig. 133; 2014; Hunt 2006.

that these objects—possibly retrieved at the site—had been deposited on purpose. It is also remarkable that, despite meticulous sieving, not a single coin was retrieved.

The rituals related to ceremonial dining that were performed inside and outside the building formed a continuation of early practices, but now also involved a roofed space. The ‘antiques’ found in association with the building may have functioned to emphasize the continuity of the cult, and the Archaizing elements in the way the building was constructed may have conveyed a similar message. In contrast to the earlier setting of the cult in the open air, the presence of a relatively small building could indicate that the cult now involved a group of worshippers that was more limited in size and perhaps also in character. However, in order to be able to draw firmer conclusions about the later history of the sanctuary we must await the excavation of a larger part of the site.⁵⁴

This small group of worshippers, who apparently were also drinking companions, might have included members of an elite with an interest in military matters. The abovementioned bronze *peritrachilion* was a piece of armour worn over a cuirass by cavalrymen.⁵⁵ If the object was indeed a dedication, the question arises as to whether it was put on display in Building A as someone’s personal piece of armour or as a spoil of war. As already mentioned, the type of object originated in northern Greece. From the mid-4th century onwards, Philip II of Macedon tried to bring Euboea within his sphere of influence. For quite some time, pro-Macedonian and pro-Athenian parties struggled for power in the main Euboean cities, although Karystos seemed to have remained allied to Athens.⁵⁶ Karystos also fought on the Athenian side in the (lost) battle of Krannon in Thessaly in 322 BC (Diod. Sic. 18.11; Paus. 1.25.4), after which southern Greece came firmly under Macedonian hegemony.⁵⁷ If Karystos’s sympathies were with the Athenians rather than the Macedonians, the suggestion that the collar was booty seems more likely.

As far as we can judge from the part of the hilltop that we have excavated, human occupation of this part of the site seems to have waned at the end of the Late Classical or the very beginning of the Hellenistic period. The only later remains that we have excavated are of a much later date and seem to belong to a provisionally made structure. The finds it contained were a fragment of an Ottoman tobacco pipe and an Ottoman coin from the late 18th or early 19th century AD, which allows us to speculate that this was an outpost or lookout for the Ottomans, who were based much further inland at the medieval castle of Castel Rosso.⁵⁸

Conclusions

To return to our initial goal—that is, to identify Plakari’s changing position over time and define its functioning on local, regional and supra-regional scales—we may conclude that the findings from Karystos-Plakari can be linked to a long-term history spanning almost a millennium, during which sometimes connectivity and sometimes insularity prevailed.⁵⁹ Karystos’s strong point—its favourable location at a crossroads of maritime seaways—also constituted its weak spot, as powerful neighbours with maritime ambitions within the region tried to curtail its independence. On a local scale, the site figured in a reshuffling of the civic and sacred landscape that took place between the 6th and the 4th century BC. It seems that when the Karystia recovered from the setbacks of the 5th century, it became

54. The excavation of Terrace 1 to the west and north of the hilltop is scheduled for 2014 and 2015.

55. See description of Alexander’s outfit during the battle of Gaugamela in Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 32.5.

56. Cawkwell 1978.

57. Chapman and Schneider 1993, 35-40.

58. cf. Chapman and Schneider 1993, chapters 12-14.

59. cf. Knapp 2007.

rather inward-oriented. The construction of megalithic structures known as ‘Dragon Houses’ is a basically southern Euboean phenomenon, which has virtually no parallel in the rest of the Aegean. At the same time, the canonical, peripteral Greek temple seems to have been a rare occurrence in southern Euboea,⁶⁰ including at Plakari where in the 4th century an elite subset of the population chose to restyle the sanctuary but at the same time felt comfortable wining and dining in and around what must have appeared a small, old-fashioned shed.

60. An early Ionian temple with a colonnade must have existed in Platanistos, located some 10 km east of Karystos as the crow flies. See Papavasileiou 1908.

Bibliography

- Abulafia, D. (2011) *The Great Sea. A Human History of the Mediterranean*. London: Allen Lane.
- Aravantinos, V. L., L. Godart and A. Sacconi (2001) 'Les tablettes en linéaire B de la Odos Pelopidou. Édition et commentaire'. Vol. I of *Thèbes, Fouilles de la Cadmée*: Pisa and Rome: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali.
- Archibald, Z. H. (1985) 'The Gold Pectoral from Vergina and its Connections'. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 4(2), 165-185.
- Berg, I. (2010) 'Re-capturing the Sea. The Past and Future of "Island Archaeology" in Greece'. *Shima: The International Journal of Research into Island Cultures* 4, 16-26.
- Broodbank, C. (2000) *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Broodbank, C. (2013) *The Making of the Middle Sea. A History of the Mediterranean from the Beginning to the Emergence of the Classical world*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Calligas, P. G. (1988-1989) 'Η πρώιμη αρχαία Χαλκίδα'. *Ανθρωπολογικά και Αρχαιολογικά Χρονικά* 3, 88-105.
- Calligas, P. G. (1990) 'Early Euboean Shipbuilding'. In Vol. II of *Tropis: Proceedings of the 2nd International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity, Delphi, 1987*, edited by H. Tzalas, 77-83. Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.
- Cawkwell, G. L. (1978) 'Euboea in the late 340's'. *Phoenix* 34(1), 46-67.
- Chapman, W. P. and R. M. H. Schneider (1993) *Karystos: City-State and Country Town*. Baltimore: Uptown Press.
- Chatzidimitriou, A. (2006) 'New Excavation Data from Ancient Karystos'. In *Antiquities of Karystia/Αρχαιότητες της Καρυστίας*, edited by M. Chidiroglou and A. Chatzidimitriou, 52-91. Karystos: Publications Kosmos.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2003-2004) 'Η Κάρυστος κατά τους πρώιμους ιστορικούς χρόνους: Πορίσματα της ανασκαφικής έρευνας στην Πλακαρή'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 35, 69-80.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2009) 'South Karystia'. In *Archaeology: Euboea & Central Greece*, edited by A. G. Vlachopoulos, 84-91. Athens: Melissa.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2010) 'Karystian Marble Trade in the Roman Mediterranean Region. An Overview of Old and New Data'. *Bollettino di Archeologia on line I [Volume Speciale]* 48-56. http://www.bollettinodiarcheologiaonline.beniculturali.it/documenti/generale/6_CHIDIROGLOU.pdf. Accessed 7 May, 2013.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2011) 'Attic Black-Figure Vases from the Ancient Cemeteries of Karystos'. In *Euboea and Athens. Proceedings of a Colloquium in Memory of Malcolm B. Wallace. Athens, June 2009*, edited by D. W. Rupp and J. E. Tomlinson, 149-170. Athens: The Canadian Institute in Greece.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2013) 'Ancient Cemetery Sites on Euboea. An Overview of Old and New Data'. In *Griechische Grabbezirke klassischer Zeit. Normen und Regionalismen. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums am Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Abteilung Athen, 20-21. November 2009 [Athenaia 6]*, edited by K. Sporn, 69-82. Munich: Hirmer Verlag.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2014) 'Classical and Late Classical Pottery from the Sanctuary at Plakari, Karystos. First report'. *Pharos* 20(2), 53-77.
- Constantakopoulou, C. (2007) *The Dance of the Islands: Insularity, Networks, the Athenian Empire, and the Aegean World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Crielaard, J. P. (2000) 'Homeric and Mycenaean Long-distance Contacts: Discrepancies in the Evidence'. *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 75, 51-63.
- Crielaard, J. P. (2006) 'Basileis at Sea: Elites and External Contacts in the Euboian Gulf Region from the End of the Bronze Age to the Beginning of the Iron Age'. In *Ancient Greece: from the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*, edited by S. Deger-Jalkotzy and I. S. Lemos, 271-297. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Crielaard, J. P. (2009) 'The Ionians in the Archaic period: Shifting Identities in a Changing World'. In *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity: The Role of Power and Tradition*, edited by T. M. J. Derks and N. G. A. M. Roymans, 37-84. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Crielaard, J. P., E. Barbetsea, X. Charalambidou, M. Chidiroglou, M. R. Groenhuijzen, M. Kosma and F. Songu (2013) 'The Plakari Archaeological Project. Preliminary Report on the Second Field Season (2011)'. *Pharos* 19(2), 35-56.

- Crielaard, J. P., X. Charalambidou, M. Chidiroglou, M. Kosma and F. Songu (2014) 'The Plakari Archaeological Project. Preliminary Report on the Third Field Season (2012)'. *Pharos* 20(2), 1-24.
- Crielaard, J. P., F. Songu, M. Chidiroglou and M. Kosma (2011-2012) 'The Plakari Archaeological Project. Project Outline and Preliminary Report on the First Field Season (2010)'. *Pharos* 18(2), 83-106.
- Cullen, T., L. Talalay and Ž. Tankosić (2011) 'The Emerging Prehistory of Southern Euboea'. In *Euboea and Athens. Proceedings of a Colloquium in Memory of Malcolm B. Wallace. Athens, June 2009*, edited by D. W. Rupp and J. E. Tomlinson, 29-51. Athens: The Canadian Institute in Greece.
- Cullen, T., L. Talalay, D. R. Keller, L. Karimali and W. R. Farrand (2013) *The Prehistory of the Paximadhi Peninsula, Euboea*. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press.
- Deger-Jalkotzy, S. (1994) 'The Post-Palatial period of Greece: an Aegean Prelude to the 11th Century B.C. in Cyprus'. In *Proceedings of the International Symposium 'Cyprus in the 11th Century B.C.', Nicosia, 1993*, edited by V. Karageorghis, 11-30. Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation.
- Fossey, J. M. (1988) *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia*. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- Groot, M. (2014) 'Burned Offerings and Sacrificial Meals at Geometric and Archaic Karystos. Faunal remains from Plakari (2011-2012)'. *Pharos* 20(2), 25-52.
- Hall, J. M. (1997) *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, J. M. (2002) *Hellenicity. Between Ethnicity and Culture*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Hansen, M. H. and T. H. Nielsen, eds. (2004) *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harris, W., ed. (2005) *Rethinking the Mediterranean*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hodos, T. (2006) *Local Responses to Colonization in the Iron Age Mediterranean*. London: Routledge.
- Horden, P. and N. Purcell (2000) *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History*. Malden and Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hunt, G. R. (2006) 'Foundation Rituals and the Culture of Building in Ancient Greece'. PhD thesis. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USA.
- Kaltsas, N., S. Fachard, A. Psalti and M. Giannopoulou, eds. (2010) *Ερέτρια. Ματιές σε μια αρχαία πόλη. Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, 27 Απριλίου-24 Αυγούστου 2010*. Athens: Ελβετική Αρχαιολογική Σχολή στην Αθήνα/Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Τουρισμού/Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο.
- Keller, D. R. (1985) 'Archaeological Survey in Southern Euboea, Greece: A Reconstruction of Human Activity from Neolithic Times through the Byzantine period'. PhD thesis. Indiana University, USA.
- Keller, D. R. and E. Hom (2010) 'Ancient Land Routes on the Paximadhi Peninsula, Karystos, Euboea'. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 10(3), 1-9.
- Keller, D. R. and M. B. Wallace (1986) 'The Canadian Karystia Project'. *Echos du Monde Classique/Classical Views* 30(2), 155-159.
- Keller, D. R. and M. B. Wallace (1990) 'Pre-modern Land Routes in Southern Euboea'. *Echos du Monde Classique/Classical Views* 34(9), 195-199.
- Killen, J. T. (1994) 'Thebes Sealings, Knossos Tablets and Mycenaean State Banquets'. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 39(1), 67-84.
- Knapp, A. B. (2007) 'Insularity and Island Identity in the Prehistoric Mediterranean'. In *Mediterranean Crossroads*, edited by S. Antoniadou and A. Pace, 37-62. Athens: Pierides Foundation.
- Knapp, B. and E. Blake (2005) 'Prehistory in the Mediterranean: the Connecting and Corrupting Sea'. In *The Archaeology of Mediterranean Prehistory*, edited by E. Blake and A. Bernard Knapp, 1-23. Malden and Oxford: Blackwell.
- Knappett, C., ed. (2013) *Network Analysis in Archaeology. New Approaches to Regional Interaction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kolodny, E. Y. (1974) *La population des îles de la Grèce. Essai de géographie insulaire en Méditerranée orientale*. Aix-en-Provence: Édisud.
- Kramer-Hajos, M. T. (2008) *Beyond the Palace: Mycenaean East Lokris*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Lätsch, F. (2005) *Insularität und Gesellschaft in der Antike. Untersuchungen zur Auswirkung der Insellage auf die Gesellschaftsentwicklung*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

- Lemos, I. (2002) *The Protogeometric Aegean. The Archaeology of the Late Eleventh and Tenth Centuries BC*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Liritzis, I., S. G. Polymeris and N. Zacharias (2010) 'Surface Luminescence Dating of "Dragon Houses" and Armena Gate at Styra (Euboea, Greece)'. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 10(3), 65-81.
- Malkin, I. (2011) *A Small Greek World. Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Malkin, I., C. Constantakopoulou and K. Panagopoulou, eds. (2009) *Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Mazarakis Ainian, A. (2001) 'From Huts to Houses in Early Iron Age Greece'. In *From Huts to Houses. Transformations of Ancient Societies. Proceedings of an International Seminar Organized by the Norwegian and Swedish Institutes in Rome, 1997*, edited by J. Rasmus Brandt and L. Karlsson, 139-161. Stockholm: P. Aströms Förlag.
- Mazarakis Ainian, A. (2012) 'Euboean Mobility Towards the North: New Evidence from the Sporades'. In *Cyprus and the Aegean in the Early Iron Age. The Legacy of Nicolas Coldstream*, edited by M. Iacovou, 53-75. Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation.
- Mermoz, J. (2010) 'La vie religieuse des Cyclades de l'HR IIIC à la fin de la période Archaique'. PhD thesis. Université Lumière Lyon 2, France.
- Morris, I. (2003) 'Mediterraneanization'. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18, 30-55.
- Neef, C. W. (1987) *Protocorinthian Subgeometric aryballoi*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum.
- Palaima, T. G. (2011) 'Euboea, Athens, Thebes and Kadmos: The Implications of the Linear B References'. In *Euboea and Athens. Proceedings of a Colloquium in Memory of Malcolm B. Wallace. Athens, June 2009*, edited by D. W. Rupp and J. E. Tomlinson, 53-75. Athens: The Canadian Institute in Greece.
- Panagopoulou, M. (1995) *Αρχάμπολη*. Athens.
- Papavasileiou, G. A. (1908) 'Ανασκαφαι εν Ευβοια'. *Πρακτικά της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 25, 101-111.
- Phaklaris, P. (1985) 'Περιτραχήλιον'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 40, 1-16.
- Picard, O. (1979) *Chalcis et la confédération Eubéenne*. Paris: École française d'Athènes.
- Piteros, C., J-P. Olivier and J. L. Melena (1990) 'Les inscriptions en Linéaire B des nodules de Thèbes (1982): La fouille, les documents, les possibilités d'interprétation'. *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* 114, 103-184.
- Popham, M. R. and I. S. Lemos (1996) 'The Toumba cemetery. The excavations of 1981, 1984, 1986 and 1992-4. [Plates]'. Vol. III of *Lefkandi*. Athens: The British School of Archaeology at Athens.
- Popham, M. R., L. H. Sackett and P. G. Themelis (1980) 'The Iron Age Settlement. The Cemeteries. [Text]'. Vol. I of *Lefkandi*. Athens: The British School of Archaeology at Athens.
- Rainbird, P. (2007) *The Archaeology of Islands*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Reber, K. (2001) 'Σκέπην τινά ποιμένων ή βουκόλων. Zur Verbreitung und Funktion der euböischen Drachenhäuser'. In *Zona archeologica. Festschrift für H.P. Isler zum 60.Geburtstag*, edited by S. Buzzi, D. Käch and E. Kistler, 339-351. Bonn: Habelt Verlag.
- Renfrew, C. and M. Wagstaff, eds. (1982) *An Island Polity: The Archaeology of Exploitation in Melos*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sutherland, J. and A. Sutherland (2002) 'Roman Marble Quarrying Near Karystos, Southern Euboea'. *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 3(4), 251-259.
- Tankosić, Ž. and M. Chidiroglou (2010) 'The Karystian Kampos Survey Project: Methods and Preliminary Results'. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 10(3), 11-17.
- Tankosić, Ž. and I. Mathioudaki (2011) 'The Finds from the Prehistoric Site of Ayios Nikolaos Mylon, Southern Euboea, Greece'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 106, 99-140.
- Tartaron, T. (2013) *Maritime Networks in the Mycenaean World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tiverios, M. (2008) 'Greek Colonisation of the Northern Aegean'. In Vol. II of *Greek Colonisation. An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas*, edited by G. R. Tsatskheladze, 1-154. Leiden: Brill.
- Tsourtis, E. (2006) 'The Ancient Mint of Karystos in the Light of the Economic Development of the City'. In *Antiquities of Karystia/Αρχαιότητες της Καρυστίας*, edited by M. Chidiroglou and A. Chatzidimitriou, 188-211. Karystos: Publications Kosmos.
- Van Dommelen, P. and A. Bernard Knapp, eds. (2010) *Material Connections in the Ancient Mediterranean. Mobility, Materiality and Identity*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

- Van Wees, H. (2010) 'Those Who Sail are to Receive a Wage: Naval Warfare and Finance in Archaic Eretria'. In *New Perspectives on Ancient Warfare*, edited by G. G. Fagan and M. Trundle, 205-226. Leiden: Brill.
- Wallace, M., D. R. Keller, J. Wickens and R. Lambertson (2006) 'The Southern Euboea Exploration Project: 25 Years of Archaeological Research'. In *Antiquities of Karystia/Αρχαιότητες της Καρυστίας*, edited by M. Chidiroglou and A. Chatzidimitriou, 19-49. Karystos: Publications Kosmos.
- Wallace, M. B. and T. J. Figueira (2011) 'Athens and Euboea in the Fifth Century: Toward a New Synthesis'. In *Euboea and Athens. Proceedings of a Colloquium in Memory of Malcolm B. Wallace. Athens, June 2009*, edited by D. W. Rupp and J. E. Tomlinson, 233-259. Athens: The Canadian Institute in Greece.
- Wecowski, M. (2014) *The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wickens, J. (2011) 'Survey of the Bouros-Kastri Peninsula in the Southern Karystia, Euboea'. In *Euboea and Athens. Proceedings of a Colloquium in Memory of Malcolm B. Wallace. Athens, June 2009*, edited by D. W. Rupp and J. E. Tomlinson, 77-93. Athens: The Canadian Institute in Greece.

Figures

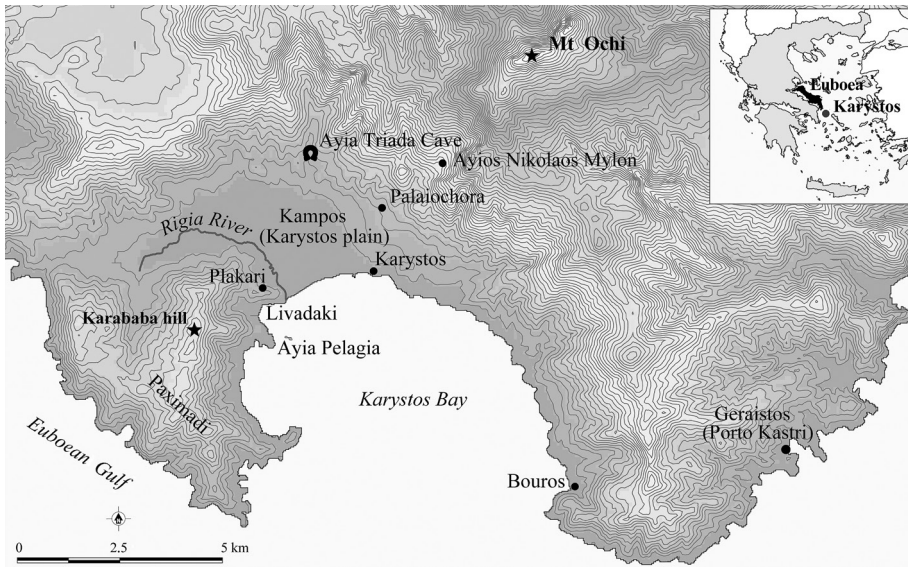


Figure 1:
Map of the Karystia with
place names mentioned
in the text.



Figure 2:
General plan
of sanctuary
on Terrace 2.

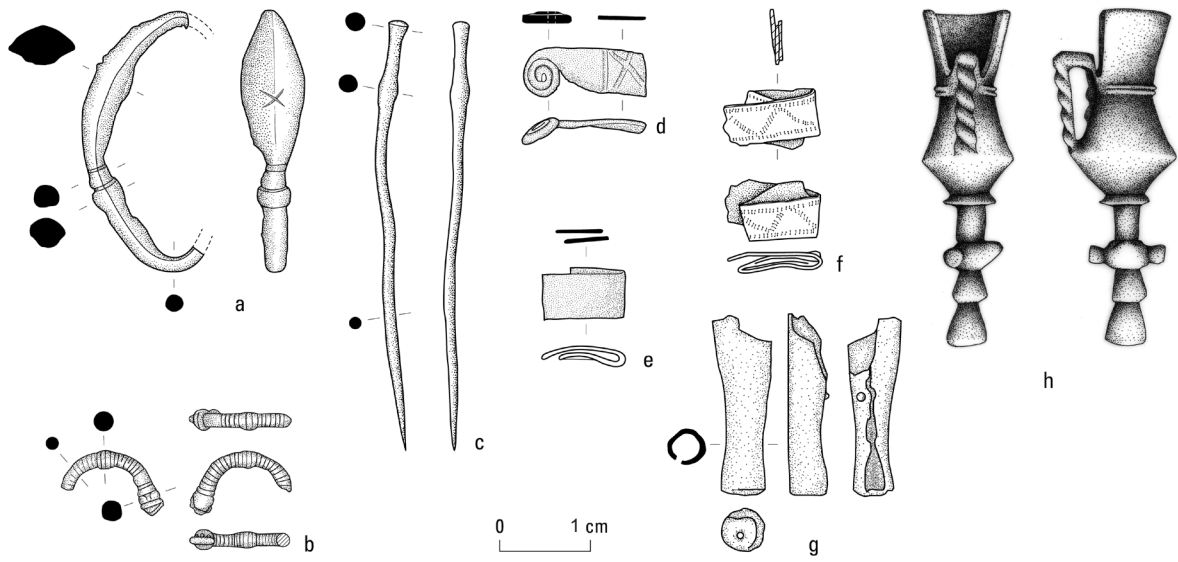


Figure 3: Bronze items from sacrificial refuse area.

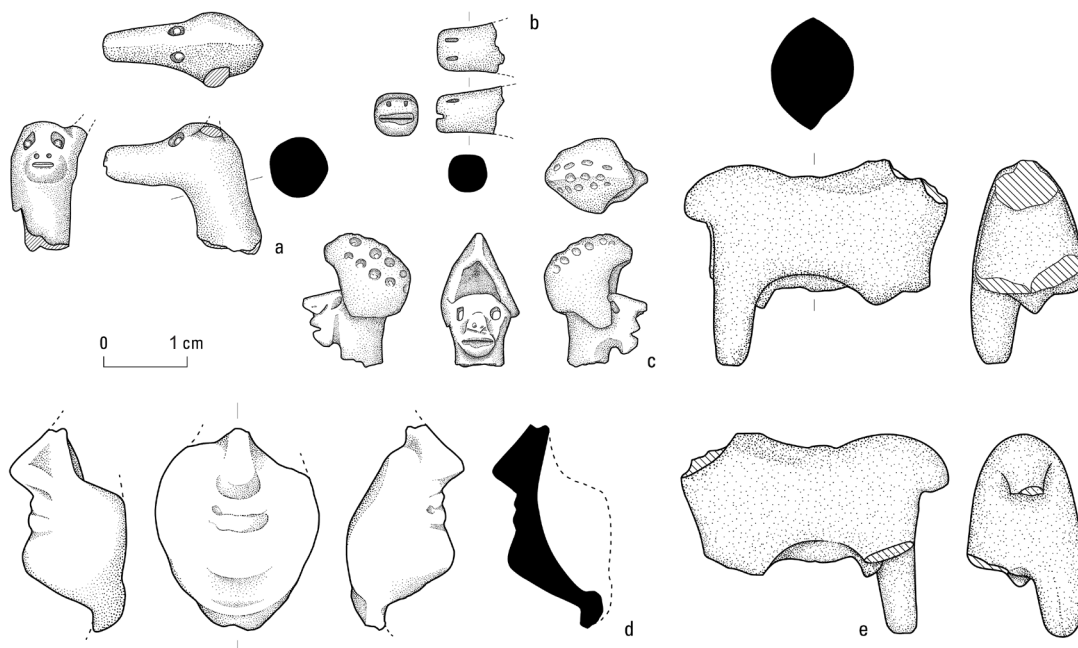


Figure 4: Terracotta figurines from sacrificial refuse area (a-c, e) and forecourt of Building A (d).

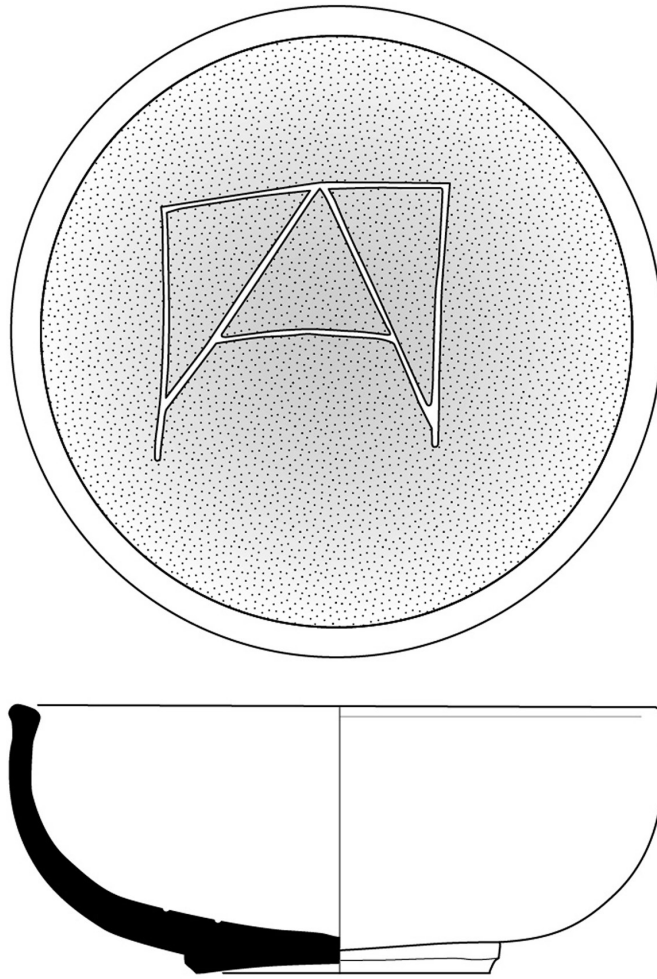


Figure 5: Drinking cup from Building A, inscribed with monogram AII.

To see or not to see: A study in maritime visibility

Ruben B. BRUGGE

Περίληψη

Η Ελλάδα είναι άρρηκτα συνδεδεμένη με τη θάλασσα που την περιβάλλει και οι θαλάσσιες μετακινήσεις έπαιζαν ανέκαθεν σημαντικό ρόλο στην ιστορία της. Το ίδιο ισχύει και στην περίπτωση της Εύβοιας, καθώς η γεωγραφική της θέση εν μέσω μυριάδων θαλάσσιων διαδρομών, συνέβαλε σημαντικά στην κοινωνική και οικονομική ανάπτυξη του νησιού. Ωστόσο τα θαλάσσια ταξίδια δεν ήταν ακριβώς ένα εγχείρημα χωρίς κινδύνους. Μία από τις βασικότερες και σημαντικότερες αποφάσεις που έπρεπε να πάρει ο θαλασσοπόρος ήταν η πορεία του πλοίου. Τόσο η πλεύση κοντά στις ακτές όσο και αφήφηση των ανοιχτών θαλασσών ενέχουν τους δικούς τους κινδύνους και ο καθορισμός λανθασμένης πορείας θα μπορούσε να θέσει σε κίνδυνο τη ζωή του πληρώματος. Υπάρχουν πολλοί λόγοι να πιστεύουμε ότι η ορατότητα πρέπει να ήταν σημαντικός παράγοντας στη διαδικασία λήψης αποφάσεων, καθώς σημεία αναφοράς όπως βουνά και ακρωτήρια χρησιμοποιούνταν ως σταθερά σημεία πλοήγησης. Το ερώτημα που γεννάται είναι η απόσταση από την οποία ήταν ορατά αυτά τα εμφανή σημεία. Παραδόξως μέχρι σήμερα οι αρχαιολογικές έρευνες δεν έχουν δώσει μεγάλη προσοχή στο θέμα του οπτικού πεδίου πάνω από τη θάλασσα και οποιεσδήποτε προτάσεις σχετικά με αυτό το θέμα συνήθως βασίζονται σε ξεπερασμένα, συχνά εσφαλμένα δεδομένα. Η συνεργασία που επιδιώχτηκε με εμπειρογνώμονα της ατμοσφαιρικής οπτικής τελικά οδήγησε σε μια καλύτερη κατανόηση της ορατότητας στη θάλασσα. Στο παρόν άρθρο παρουσιάζεται η λειτουργία του μοντέλου που χρησιμοποιήθηκε καθώς και τα αποτελέσματά του τα οποία θα εφαρμοστούν σε κάποιες από τις διαδρομές που περνούν από την Εύβοια προκειμένου να εξηγήσουμε με παραδείγματα τη σημασία της ορατότητας στη θαλάσσια πλοήγηση.

Introduction

The study of islands has changed greatly over the last few decades.¹ It was but 40 years ago that John Evans introduced the anthropological concept of island biogeographies to the field of archaeology.² His notion of islands as semi-isolated laboratories emphasized the dividing rather than the connecting character of the surrounding seas and was highly influential in many subsequent studies.³ Those days seem long past. Contemporary studies highlight the connectedness and openness of the Mediterranean insular world, and differ so greatly from past research that one can safely speak of a

1. This research was carried out as part of my Research Master's programme at Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, under the supervision of Prof. J. P. Crielaard. I should like to thank him for his support and guidance. The comments of the anonymous reviewer have also been most helpful.

2. Evans 1973.

3. Boomert and Bright 2007, 6-7.

paradigm shift.⁴ The connecting qualities now credited to island societies mirror Plato's oft-cited conception of the Mediterranean Sea as a mere frog pond, one that was traversed with great ease by the people who inhabited its terrene borders.⁵

The prevailing interpretation of a closely interconnected Mediterranean in ancient times is not one that needs to be challenged. The island of Euboea is a prime example of an island that benefited greatly from its location *vis-à-vis* the sea, favourably situated as it is between the mainland and the Aegean islands.⁶ However, the facilitating qualities of the Aegean maritime environment are sometimes stressed to the point that the region is reconstructed as something of a seaman's utopia.⁷ While we should not underestimate the human ability to adapt, we should remember that risk was an inherent part of any serious sea journey. It is enlightening in that respect that the ancient Greeks perceived the sea as a perilous place with the potential to permanently take away both people and things.⁸

Besides the human factor, which includes such elements as the skill of a navigator or shipwright, the natural environment in all its facets obviously played a major role in seafaring. Winds and other weather conditions, sight, currents and tides, geographical conditions, and the presence of places for anchorage, mooring or shelter all played roles.⁹ Most of these elements have been extensively studied elsewhere and fall outside the scope of this article.¹⁰ Strikingly, however, there is one aspect that has not yet received much attention in archaeological circles, namely the study of maximum visibility at sea, even though there is much evidence to suggest that visibility played an important role in navigating the Aegean in antiquity.

Maritime visibility is the subject of this article. I aim to demonstrate that its usual treatment is incomplete and that the way maximum visibility is normally depicted is overly simplified and does not conform to real-world situations. I first give an overview of the subject, and then present an exploratory study in this specific field, using a method that differs from the one-dimensional way in which this subject is usually treated. A combination of ancient written sources, archaeology, contemporary seamanship and advanced computer models were employed to create a visibility model that takes the various human environmental factors into account.

The area of focus is broad and can roughly be defined as the Aegean in post-Mycenaean and pre-Classical times, a period when seagoing vessels were still relatively small and a maritime infrastructure (port facilities, lighthouses, etc.) had not been fully developed. Although the research is inherently fundamental, I exemplify its results by means of a well-known passage from Homer's *Odyssey* that mentions a journey from Lesbos to the sanctuary of Geraistos, located at the south-eastern end of Euboea. My findings are, however, relevant to the entire Mediterranean.

Navigation and visibility

The process of maritime navigation can be described as guiding a vessel from its point of origin to its destination. In an era without navigational tools, it was mainly the maritime environment itself that guided the navigator.¹¹ The smell of algae in the water, sightings of birds or the rise of a characteristic

4. Morris 2003, 31-32.

5. Pl. *Phd.* 109b.

6. Crielaard 2006.

7. e.g. Berg 2007.

8. Lindenlauf 2004, 421.

9. See Morton 2001 for an in-depth analysis.

10. Tartaron 2013 provides a concise synopsis with references.

11. The earliest evidence for the use of the sounding lead and line in Greece dates to the 5th century BC. See Oleson 2008, 124.

wind all helped navigators to gauge their position in a familiar world.¹² Most important of all was sight. Pilotage, the act of progressing according to visible, familiar waypoints, is likely the oldest and surest way of finding one's waterway.¹³ The Greek coastal landscape is exceptionally well suited to this.

The Aegean is littered with islands, the terrain of which is in sharp relief. Their number and proximity led Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell to state that 'mutual visibility is at the heart of the navigational conception of the Mediterranean'.¹⁴ They are not alone in connecting coastal visibility with maritime navigation. Fernand Braudel, in his seminal work on the Mediterranean, declared that a visible coastline is the navigator's surest compass.¹⁵ That the significance of coastal visibility is not a mere modern invention becomes clear when one turns to ancient literature.

Sailing manuals appeared in Greece from the 6th century BC onwards.¹⁶ Although only a few remains of these have survived, much information is latently present in almost all literature dealing with sea travel, including Strabo's *Geography* and Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.¹⁷ Numerous times in these works, landmarks are mentioned together with an adjective, such as the Homeric notions of 'high-sloped Mimas' (*Od.* 3.171) and 'the great rocks of Gyrai' (*Od.* 4.500). Strabo describes how Leuke Akte ('white headland') was the first landmark one passed when sailing from Sounion to Euboea (Strab. 9.1.22).

The fact that geographical features visible from the sea were mentioned in conjunction with sea journeys, and were given names to distinguish them from each other, indicates that these points were important for maritime navigation. In addition, these landmarks were often connected with stories about events that had transpired here in the historical or mythical past, which indicates that many locations were laden with meaning. The great rocks of Gyrai were where Aias met his demise on his return journey from Troy (Hom. *Od.* 4.499-4.509). The point to be emphasized here is that it does not matter whether Aias was fictitious or real, or whether he perished at that precise location, but rather that, by connecting this landmark with such a catastrophic event, the great rocks of Gyrai became a dangerous place that was best avoided.

If indeed the observability of landmarks was of substantial importance for navigation, it is logical to ask from what distance these landmarks could be seen, as the visibility distance could at times have influenced the route that was eventually chosen. Contemporary archaeological literature seems rather conclusive in this respect. Jamie Morton mentions that 'many Greek promontories and islands could be seen from ships fifty, or even one hundred miles away'.¹⁸ Horden and Purcell state that 'there are only relatively restricted zones where, in the clearest weather, sailors will find themselves out of sight of land'.¹⁹ The Aegean region again seems an ideal place for sailing, a place where navigational issues do not exist, owing to a plenitude of clear sight and ever-visible landmarks.

This notion is also reflected in the maps that accompany the texts. Fig. 1 shows a visibility map as presented in Thomas Tartaron's recent study of Mycenaean maritime networks.²⁰ The area surrounding Euboea, or indeed the whole Aegean, is depicted as a region where land is always in sight. An identical map was used in Cyprian Broodbank's study of the prehistoric Cyclades.²¹ These are but two examples; going through both recent and considerably older literature, however, it becomes apparent that the same map is reproduced in virtually all archaeological publications that touch upon the subject of maritime visibility.

12. For an example of an ethnographic study on navigation, see Lewis 1972 on finding land in the Pacific.

13. McGrail 1991, 86.

14. Horden and Purcell 2000, 393.

15. Braudel 1972, 106.

16. Morton 2001, 180, n. 48.

17. Morton 2001, 180-181.

18. Morton 2001, 144.

19. Horden and Purcell 2000, 126.

20. Tartaron 2013, 109, fig. 4.9.

21. Broodbank 2000, 40, fig. 4.

Strangely enough, none of these authors mentions the way this map was created. One of the first to explain the process underlying the creation of the visibility zones was the German scholar Wilhelm Schüle.²² He states that the distance to a point on the horizon can be calculated using the following formula:

Distance to point on horizon in kilometres = $3.8 \cdot \sqrt{(\text{point height in metres})}$,

or:

$$d = 3.8 \cdot \sqrt{(h)}$$

To illustrate: Mt Ochi, the tallest mountain (1397 m) on southern Euboea, would theoretically be visible from a distance of $3.8 \cdot \sqrt{(1397)} \approx 142$ kilometres.²³ The process is, of course, reversible: anyone standing on Mt Ochi would be able to see equally far, with lines of sight extending as far as Chios and Naxos.

Schüle is not the original author of the visibility map. For that, we have to go back as far as 1901. German cartographer Henkel, who wanted to create a map demonstrating the extent of visibility in the Mediterranean, used a pair of compasses to draw circles around the prominent mountains on the mainland and the islands.²⁴ The diameter of the circles was governed by the formula provided above. In other words, the circle around Mt Ochi denoting its visibility would have a radius of 142 km. By applying the same calculation to all of the main peaks in the Mediterranean basin, he created a map showing a great many interlocking circles, with the encircled areas being those that had at least one landmark in sight.²⁵ Fig. 2 shows both the preparatory and the completed map, which is identical to the maps that are still used nowadays.

In the pre-digital era in which Henkel worked, the idea behind his research was sound and the resulting map is very clear. More than a century later, common GIS software packages, such as ArcGIS, still use an adapted version of this formula to create a viewshed and, admittedly, it works fine for short-distance viewshed analyses on land. However, compared to land-based studies where the view of the horizon is often obstructed by the undulating Greek landscape, viewing distances rapidly increase when dealing with maritime environments. This becomes problematic when other factors that gradually reduce visibility over distance are left out of the equation. One basic example will exemplify the problem of using a formula that takes into account only an object's height and its distance from the observer.

The example is drawn from ongoing fieldwork by VU University Amsterdam at Karystos-Plakari, a site located on a coastal hill of approximately 90 masl, overlooking the Bay of Karystos and the open sea further to the south.²⁶ Fig. 3 shows a viewshed from Plakari. Islands as far as Naxos (some 140 km away) are supposedly in view of anyone standing on its summit. Fig. 4a shows a photo taken from that same point, looking in a southerly direction. Several islands are in view, although faraway places such as Naxos are not. Even Fig. 4a is not the norm, though, as just as often the view from Plakari looks like Fig. 4b. Apparently, the computer-based model conflicts with the real-world situation. Not only is the maximum visibility distance grossly exaggerated in the former, but there is a variability in the viewing distance that is simply not accounted for.

This point is corroborated by a field study carried out in July and August of the years 2011-2014. The maximum viewing distance from Plakari was gauged systematically by looking at the visibility of islands situated towards it south. Observations were recorded multiple times a day, starting at sunrise and ending at sunset. The one point that stood out is that the maximum visibility varied greatly,

22. Schüle 1980, 17.

23. For a more elaborate treatment on visibility to and from southern Euboea, see Tankosić 2011, 69-72.

24. Henkel 1901, 284-285.

25. Henkel 1901, pl. 21.

26. See Crielaard and Songu, this volume.

even over the course of just one day. Morning and evening were comparatively clear, whereas a haze relatively often obstructed visibility in the afternoon. It was possible for the nearby island of Kea to be clearly visible during the morning hours but hidden in haze half a day later, only to reappear during the evening hours. Naxos was never in sight.

In relation to this variety in maximum visibility stands an assertion by Christos Agouridis, who recounts how contemporary fishermen know exactly how often and when cases of extreme visibility occurred during their lifetime, indicating their rarity.²⁷ In other words, the aforementioned formula allows one to create a map denoting a utopian situation in which visibility is unobstructed. However, the actual, average maximum viewing distance is more likely to fall somewhere between the conditions pictured in the two photos, which also became apparent during our visibility assessment. In addition, we should probably also allow for seasonal variability.

Two things can be inferred from these photos and our observations in the field: long-distance visibility is exaggerated in literature, regardless of the method used to measure it; and visibility is not a static given, but a flexible and very complicated variable that requires further investigation. The example of Kea appearing and disappearing over the course of a single day is illuminating in this respect.

Visibility reviewed

A start has been made at developing a new model of visibility in the Aegean region, in collaboration with Prof. J. P. Crielaard, professor at VU University Amsterdam, and Prof. A. M. J. van Eijk, an atmospheric optics expert working for the Netherlands Organization for Applied Scientific Research.²⁸ This article presents the preliminary, non-technical results.²⁹

Visibility itself is a loosely defined concept ('the distance one can see') and is most often described in a qualitative way. We opted for a quantitative approach. Visual range is defined here as the point at which the contrast between the target and its background drops beneath the 2% threshold at which the human eye can detect a difference in contrast.³⁰ Contrast is a factor that is measurable, making it well suited to computer modelling.

An increase in distance between observer and his/her viewing target results in a decrease in contrast. This is caused primarily by the presence of molecules and aerosols in the atmosphere, small particles that scatter and absorb light. By estimating the number of particles in the atmosphere, the decrease in contrast over a given distance can be calculated, leading to a maximum visibility for those parameters.

In the case of molecules, only those that are naturally present and would have filled the atmosphere in ancient times (i.e. oxygen, carbon dioxide and water molecules) are incorporated in the analysis. In contrast to molecules stand aerosols, which are defined as a suspension of solid or liquid particles in a gas. There are many aerosols, ranging from volcanic ash and carbon particles from fires, to sea salt and pollen. We opted for a conservative approach and again only included natural aerosols, leaving out the carbon particles from burning. These have a huge impact on visibility, but it is hard to estimate the amount of wood burning that would have taken place in the period dealt with here. The quantity of natural aerosols is comparatively much easier to assess, based on the situation today.

27. Agouridis 1997, 17.

28. See <https://www.tno.nl/en/about-tno/>.

29. This section is primarily based on personal communication with Prof. Van Eijk, to whom I am greatly indebted. The final outcomes are based on a computer model that was created and run by him. See Van Eijk et al. 2011 for an introduction to the EOSTAR model.

30. Ogburn 2006, 406.

The quantity of both molecules and aerosols in the atmosphere depends greatly on the weather, particularly wind speed and temperature. For example, when the wind picks up, the amount of sea salt in the lower atmosphere gradually increases, resulting in reduced visibility. Another example is the dust storms that carry sands from northern Africa across the Mediterranean Sea.

In order for the model to run, historical weather data from the European Centre for Medium-Range Weather Forecasts were acquired. The dataset includes factors such as wind speed and air temperature, and covers measurements that were taken four times per day over the course of three years. The implicit assumption is that contemporary weather can be compared to weather conditions in ancient times. This follows the general agreement that weather patterns have not changed much since then.³¹

Using the input and variables as specified above, our model comes up with a year-round average visibility of roughly 30(!) km, a figure that matches fairly well with the aforementioned observations from the Plakari hilltop. No doubt there are seasonal variations and even variations over the course of a day; yet, the general conclusion has to be that actual visibility is far removed from the unhindered views presented in most research studies.

Does it matter? In some cases, it just might. Book 3 of the *Odyssey* contains a well-known passage in which Nestor relates how part of the Greek army has arrived on the island of Lesbos in the aftermath of the Trojan War (*Od.* 3.168-3.175). Wanting to return home as soon as possible, they ponder which of two possible routes to take. One leads via the Cyclades, passing south of the island of Chios.³² The alternative is much shorter, crossing the open seas directly towards the south-east coast of Euboea. An unspecified, divine omen leads the heroes to opt for the latter and they arrive, after a day's journey, safely at the sanctuary of Geraistos.

What led them to choose the open sea route over the Cycladic route? The former is much shorter and seems the logical choice, but apparently there was room for doubt. This may lie in the fact that Euboea's eastern side was well known for its inhospitable coastline in ancient times, as is the case even now. A correct approach was crucial in order to avoid the feared Hollows of Euboea, and a navigational error would almost certainly have led to shipwreck.³³ It was for the navigator to judge whether the army's wish to return home as quickly as possible outweighed this danger. For that, he would have had to base his decision on the maritime conditions at that particular moment.

Winds were of no concern. It is explicitly mentioned that a favourable northerly wind accompanied the heroes during this part of their journey. Nor was there a need for stopovers at harbours. They wanted to get home as soon as possible and did not wish to make any detours. Lastly, factors such as currents or geographical conditions could not have been decisive in this specific decision-making process, since they were static and do not change on a day-to-day basis. If a current had prevented them from taking one of the routes, that route would not have been an option in the first place.³⁴

Under these circumstances, I propose that it was the prospect of good visibility that won them over, something that is best illustrated graphically. Fig. 5 shows a map of the Aegean. The aforementioned 'average visibility' is presented here as a white area that extends 30 km from all coastlines. Anyone in this belt would, on most days, have land in sight. The grey areas, on the other hand, represent zones within which land is generally not visible on the horizon. The broken line shows the route taken by the Greek army.

31. Agouridis 1997, 2.

32. The remainder of this route is unclear. See Malkin and Fichman 1987 for a discussion of the possibilities.

33. 'Hollows of Euboea' is the name given to the north-eastern coastline of southern Euboea, which consists only of cliffs. Many are the tales of naval disasters in this region. In 2005, an underwater survey of part of this area by a team of Canadian and Greek researchers discovered a cluster of anchors of varying dates close to Cape Kaphireas as well as shipwrecked cargo dating to the Roman period: Rupp 2006, 215.

34. There are, of course, many more factors that influence sea travel. An extensive overview falls outside the scope of this article.

As can be noted, the route to Geraistos took the fleet through an area that in some places is devoid of landmarks. Anyone sailing here ran the risk of having to rely on other, less precise means of navigation, resulting in a loss of direction. As explained earlier, this could be highly dangerous. The interplay between prevailing strong winds and currents meant that a wrong approach would lead ships to certain disaster at the foot of Euboea's unforgiving cliffs. Conversely, if visibility was excellent, Mt Ochi functioned as a long-distance beacon that helped the helmsman steer the correct course, thus greatly decreasing the risk for all involved.

Conclusion

In general terms, I have demonstrated that maritime visibility is a rather overlooked niche in the study of the ancient Aegean. Contemporary research stresses the interconnectedness of its inhabitants, blessed as they were with a landscape that facilitated maritime journeys in almost every way. Henkel's age-old visibility map of the Mediterranean is often used to illustrate the fact that navigation was an easy task, owing to the abundance of ever-visible landmarks.

Its creator, however, sounds less sure of the accuracy of his map when he writes: 'Freilich fehlt das Material darüber, wie weit die praktische Sichtweite mit der theoretischen übereinstimmt. Vielleicht wäre diese Karte geeignet, zu Beobachtungen darüber anzuregen.'³⁵ This study is meant as an initial impetus to do just that. Observations in the field and the first runs of the advanced EOSTAR model show that one should indeed be careful not to take Henkel's map as the norm.

If we want to improve our models of long-distance visibility, more needs to be done. current model outputs one number for the whole year, neglecting seasonal and daily variations. Skies are often more clear in winter, resulting in an increased viewing distance, which has repercussions for the model's average output. Fluctuations can be great, even over the course of a single day. There are often much better views during calm mornings and evenings than in the afternoon. The position of the sun also plays a role: when it sets, the contrast of any landmass lying between an observer and the sun increases, greatly improving the visibility of that landmass. One can also think of the light of the moon and stars, as the mariners of old were no strangers to night sailing.³⁶ We hope to eventually generate a set of detailed visibility maps of the Aegean that can be used to substantiate any claims regarding long-distance visibility.

The case-study presented above demonstrates the importance of taking visibility into account. It remains to be studied how we can integrate our findings into larger models. Although they might not change our general views of interconnectivity in the Mediterranean, they will surely lead to a more in-depth understanding of ancient seafaring.

35. Henkel 1901, 285, n. 1.

36. Agouridis 1997, 17.

Bibliography

- Agouridis, C. (1997) 'Sea Routes and Navigation in the Third Millennium Aegean.' *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 16(1), 1-24.
- Berg, I. (2007) 'Aegean Bronze Age Seascapes: A Case Study in Movement, Contact and Interaction.' In *Mediterranean Crossroads*, edited by S. Antoniadou and A. Pace, 387-414. Athens: Pierides Foundation.
- Boomert, A. and A. J. Bright (2007) 'Island Archaeology: In Search of a New Horizon.' *Island Studies Journal* 2(1), 3-26.
- Braudel, F. P. (1972) Vol. II of *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip*. London: Collins.
- Broodbank, C. (2000) *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Crielaard, J. P. (2006) 'Basileis at Sea: Elites and External Contacts in the Euboean Gulf Region from the End of the Bronze Age to the Beginning of the Iron Age.' In *Ancient Greece from the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*, edited by S. Deger-Jalkotzy and I. S. Lemos, 271-297. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Evans, J. D. (1973) 'Islands as Laboratories for the Study of Culture Process.' In *The Explanation of Culture Change: Models in Prehistory*, edited by C. Renfrew, 517-520. London: Duckworth.
- Henkel, L. (1901) 'Die Grenze der Sichtbarkeit des Landes auf dem Meere.' In *Dr. A. Petermanns Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt* 47, 284-285.
- Horden, P. and N. Purcell (2000) *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lewis, D. (1972) *We, the Navigators: The Ancient Art of Landfinding in the Pacific*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- Lindenlauf, A. (2004) 'The Sea as a Place of No Return in Ancient Greece.' *World Archaeology* 35(3), 416-433.
- Malkin, I. and A. Fichman (1987) 'Homer, Odyssey III.153-85: A Maritime Commentary.' *Mediterranean Historical Review* 2(2), 250-258.
- McGrail, S. (1991) 'Early Sea Voyages.' *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 20(2), 85-93.
- Morris, I. (2003) 'Mediterraneanization.' *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18(2), 30-55.
- Morton, J. (2001) *The Role of the Physical Environment in Ancient Greek Seafaring*. Leiden; Boston: Brill.
- Ogburn, D. E. (2006) 'Assessing the Level of Visibility of Cultural Objects in Past Landscapes.' *Journal of Archaeological Science* 33(3), 405-413.
- Oleson, J. P. (2008) 'Testing the Waters: The Role of Sounding Weights in Ancient Mediterranean Navigation.' In *The Maritime World of Ancient Rome*, edited by R. L. Hohlfelder, 119-176. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Rupp, D. W. (2006) 'The Fieldwork of the Canadian Institute in Greece, 2005.' *Mouseion* III(6), 203-217.
- Schüle, W. (1980) *Orce und Galera. Zwei Siedlungen aus dem 3. bis 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. im Südosten der Iberischen Halbinsel*. Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern.
- Tankosić, Ž. (2011) 'Southern Euboea-Northern Cyclades: An Integrated Analysis of Final Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Interactions.' PhD thesis. Indiana University, USA.
- Tartaron, T. F. (2013) *Maritime Networks in the Mycenaean World*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Eijk, A. M. J., M. A. C. Degache, D.-J. de Lange, S. M. Hammel and D. S. Tsintikidis (2010) 'EOSTAR Pro: A Flexible Extensive Library to Assess EO Sensor Performance.' In Vol. XIII of *Optics in Atmospheric Propagation and Adaptive Systems [20-21 September 2010, Toulouse, France]*, edited by K. Stein and J. D. Gonglewski, 782804-1-782804-8. Bellingham: SPIE.

Figures

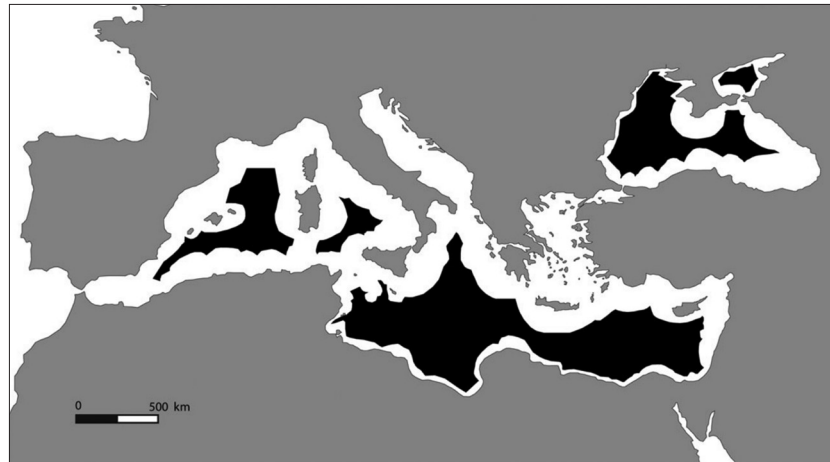


Figure 1:
Visibility in the Mediterranean
(After Tartaron 2013, 109, fig. 4.9).

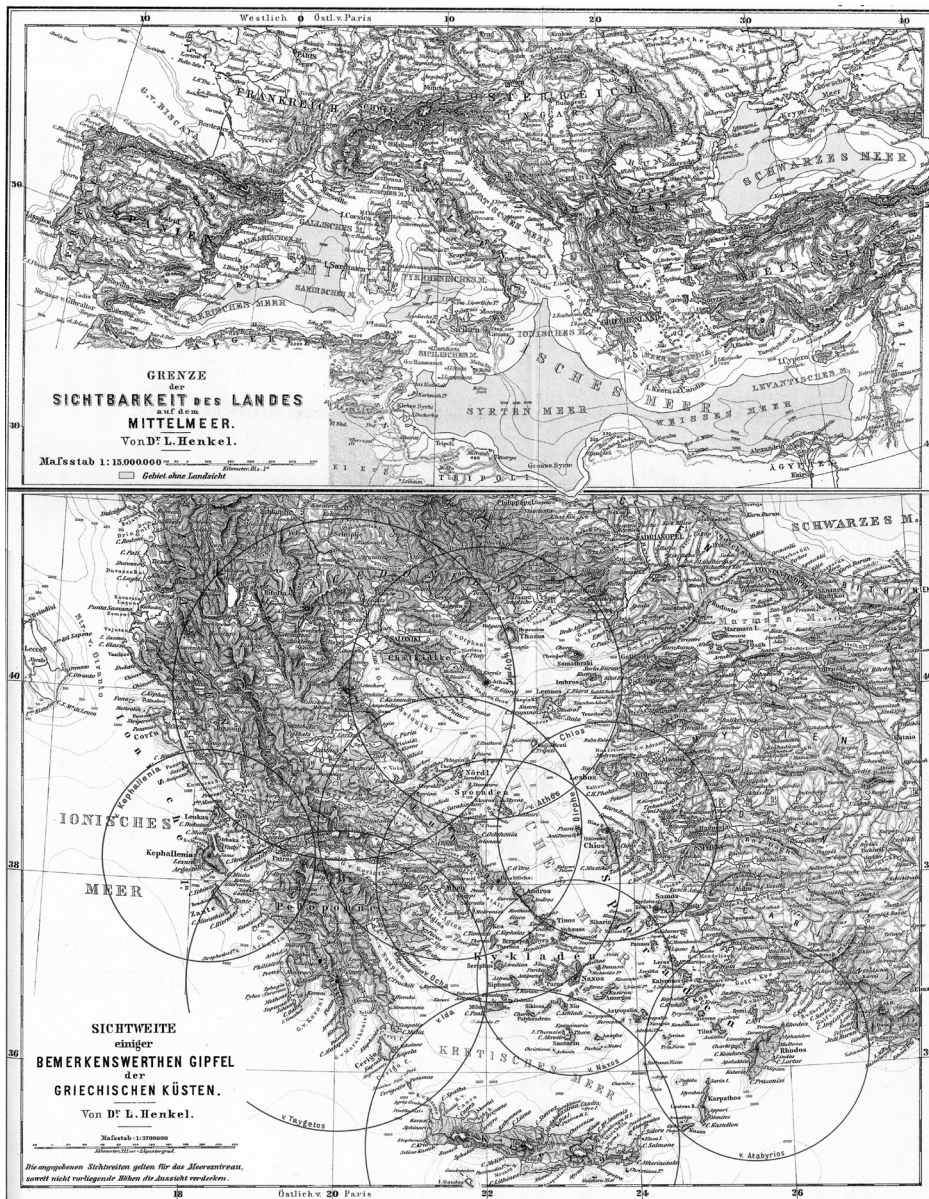


Figure 2: Visibility in the Mediterranean (After Henkel 1901, pl. 21).

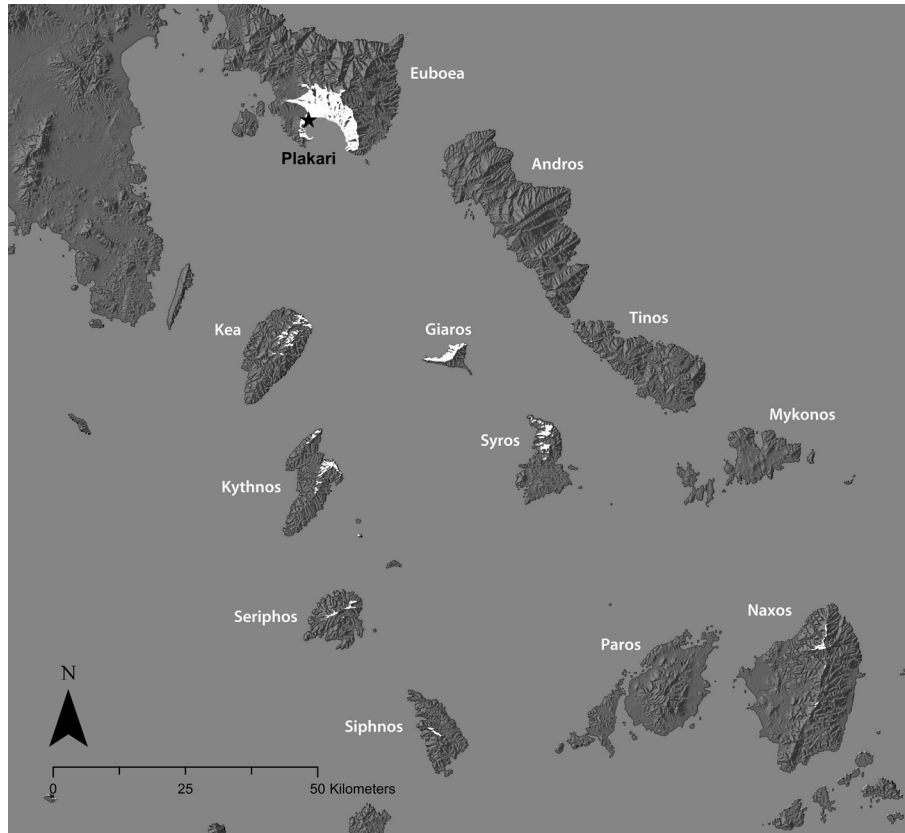


Figure 3: Viewshed from Plakari with visible areas in white.



Figure 4: Southward view from Plakari hilltop toward the islands of Kea, Kythnos and Seriphos.

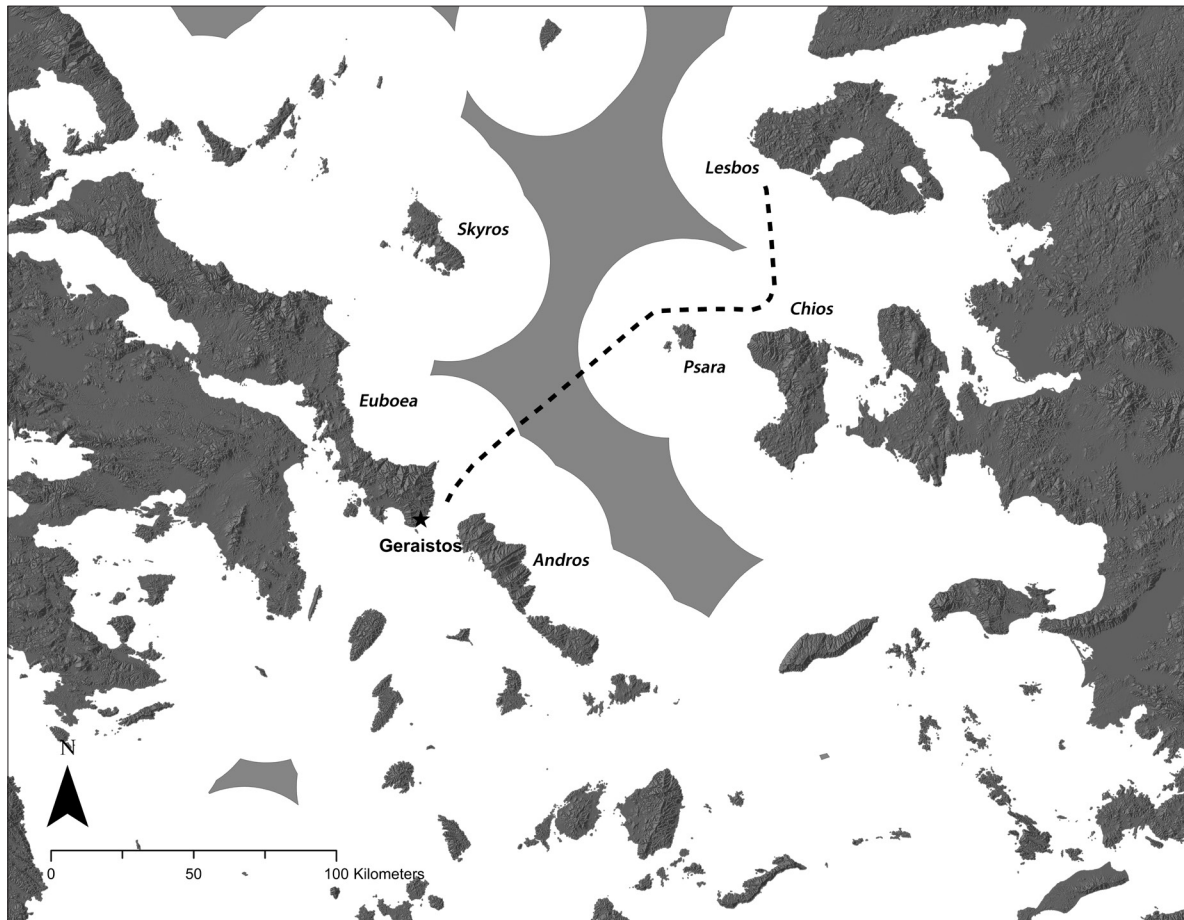


Figure 5: Average visibility map. The broken line represents the sea route from Lesbos to Southern Euboea as described by Homer (Od. 3.168-175).

Ανάγλυφη κεραμική από τους Ζάρακες Καρυστίας¹

Αθηνά ΧΑΤΖΗΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ

Abstract

This paper aims to present the relief pottery fragments found in Zarakes, in the region of modern Karystia in Central-Southern Euboea. Building remains of several construction phases dating from the Late Geometric to the Late Roman period were found during salvage excavations at this site. Among other finds, an inscription on a relief pithos fragment of the mid-7th century BC, decorated with a repeating motif of centaurs, supports the identification of this site as a sanctuary that functioned since the Archaic period.

The relief pottery from Zarakes can be organized into two small groups. The first group consists of pottery fragments decorated with simple guilloche bands, formed by cylindrical seals. The guilloche was a particularly popular motif of the Naxian workshop in the 7th and 6th centuries BC. Rows of guilloche in relief often covered the secondary zones of Naxian pots. Two fragments from Zarakes depicting part of larger scenes, in relief, are dated to the second half of the 7th century BC and belong to the second group. One of these fragments belongs to a circular clay plaque decorated with two animals confronting each other. Based on the way their legs are represented, they may be identified as a wild boar and a lion. On another sherd a representation of a warrior with a horse is preserved, a motif which helps us interpret the iconographic context of this composition.

The frequent use of cylindrical seals for decorating relief pottery made of local clay from Zarakes indicates the existence of at least one flourishing pottery workshop that was active in the 7th century BC, in this region. This workshop may have been run by local or even travelling potters that catered to the market demands of the area as well as those of the sanctuary at Zarakes.

Εισαγωγή

Ο οικισμός Ζαράκων Καρυστίας του Δήμου Κύμης-Αλιβερίου βρίσκεται στο νότιο τμήμα της Εύβοιας στο σημείο όπου το νησί σχηματίζει, σύμφωνα με την περιγραφή του Πλούταρχου,² ‘βραχύ διάζωμα’ και περιβρέχεται από τις θάλασσες του Αλμυροποτάμου και των Ζαράκων. Το 1997, τρία

1. Θερμές ευχαριστίες οφείλω στην ομότιμη καθηγήτρια του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών Εύα Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά για τις καίριες παρατηρήσεις της στο κείμενο, καθώς και στη συνάδελφο Μαρία Χιδίρογλου για την πολύπλευρη βοήθειά της. Ευχαριστίες επίσης οφείλω στον συνάδελφο Κώστα Μπουκάρα και στις αρχαιοφύλακες του Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Ερετρίας Σταυρούλα Παρίση και Ελένη Ταχριτζόγλου για διάφορες διευκολύνσεις κατά τη μελέτη του υλικού. Η σχεδίαση της ανάγλυφης κεραμικής οφείλεται στην συνάδελφο Ξένια Χαραλαμπίδου και πραγματοποιήθηκε με την ευγενή χορηγία του Ιδρύματος Ψύχα.

2. Πλούταρχος, *Φωκίων*, 13.7: ‘Ἐκ τούτου τὸν τε Πλούταρχον ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς Ἐρετρίας, καὶ Ζάρητρα φρούριον ἐλὼν ἐπικαιρότατον, ἢ μάλιστα συνελαύνεται τὸ πλάτος εἰς βραχὺ διάζωμα τῆς νήσου σφιγγομένης ἐκατέρωθεν ταῖς θαλάσσαις,...

χιλιόμετρα νότια του οικισμού των Ζαράκων, έναντι και περίξ του ναϊδρίου της Ζωοδόχου Πηγής, αποκαλύφθηκαν με αφορμή τη διάνοιξη της παρακαμπτηρίου οδού Ζαράκων-Αλμυροποτάμου εκτεταμένα λείψανα κτηρίων, σε επάλληλες οικοδομικές φάσεις που χρονολογικά εκτείνονται από τους Ύστερους Γεωμετρικούς (ΥΓ) μέχρι τους Ύστερους Ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους.³ Από τα κτηριακά λείψανα ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει η αποκάλυψη της θεμελίωσης ενός επιμήκους, αψιδωτού το πιθανότερο κτηρίου, με κυκλικές οπές κατά μήκος της μακράς δυτικής πλευράς του, που προορίζονταν για την ένθεση ξύλινων υποστηριγμάτων. Αυτά ενδεχομένως να χρησιμοποιούνταν, λόγω και της μικρής απόστασής τους από τον εξωτερικό τοίχο, για την στήριξη της οροφής του κτηρίου,⁴ το οποίο σύμφωνα με την κεραμική χρονολογείται στους ΥΓ χρόνους.⁵

Η λειτουργία του χώρου ως ιερού

Την ταύτιση του χώρου με ιερό τεκμηριώνει ένα θραύσμα από ενεπίγραφο ανάγλυφο πίθο, των μέσων του 7ου αι. π.Χ., στο οποίο απεικονίζεται το επαναλαμβανόμενο μοτίβο ενός Κενταύρου, που βαδίζει προς τα δεξιά, κρατώντας κορμό δένδρου (Εικ. 1α-β).⁶ Στην επόμενη ζώνη του θραύσματος αποδίδεται εγχάρακτη αναθηματική επιγραφή, στην οποία αναγράφεται η λέξη *ιερός* και μνημονεύεται το όνομα του αναθέτη, όπως θα δούμε και παρακάτω.⁷

Τη συνεχή χρήση του χώρου ως τόπου λατρείας επιβεβαιώνει η εύρεση ενεπίγραφων λουτηρίων και κρατήρων του 6ου αι. π.Χ., καθώς και θραυσμάτων μελαμβαφών σκύφων με αναθηματικές επιγραφές του 5ου και 4ου αι. π.Χ. με τη συντομογραφική απόδοση της λέξης *ιερός*.⁸ Τη θεότητα στην οποία ήταν αφιερωμένο το ιερό κατά τους Κλασικούς τουλάχιστον χρόνους, πληροφορούμαστε από ένα χάλκινο σταθμίο του 4ου αι. π.Χ. με την επιγραφή *Απόλλωνος Δηλίο*.⁹ Ο εντοπισμός ενός τόπου λατρείας αφιερωμένου στον Δήλιο Απόλλωνα, σε συνδυασμό με την αναφορά του Ηροδότου ότι οι υπερβόρειες προσφορές για τον Απόλλωνα διέρχονταν από πόλεις της Εύβοιας καθιστά πιθανή την εκδοχή ο αρχαίος δήμος των Ζαράκων να περιλαμβάνονταν ανάμεσα στις ευβοϊκές πόλεις, από τις οποίες διερχόταν η πομπή και οι δημότες του να συμμετείχαν σε μια λατρευτική τελετή προς τιμήν του θεού.¹⁰

Ομάδες ανάγλυφης κεραμικής

Από τα πολυπληθή και ποικίλα ευρήματα που βρέθηκαν στην ανασκαφή θα μας απασχολήσουν δύο μικρές ομάδες πήλινων θραυσμάτων με ανάγλυφη διακόσμηση, που φυλάσσονται στο Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Ερετρίας.¹¹ Σύμφωνα με την απλή μακροσκοπική εξέταση του υλικού, έχει χρησιμοποιηθεί χονδρόκοκκος πηλός, πορτοκαλέρυθρος έως καστανέρυθρος. Ειδικότερα, ο πηλός παρουσιάζει διαφοροποιήσεις όχι μόνο ως προς το χρώμα, αλλά και ως προς την περιεκτικότητα, το μέγεθος και

3. Για την ανασκαφή βλ. Huber 1999, 793-794, εικ. 154; Χατζηδημητρίου 1997, 407-409, σχέδ. 3, πίν.159γ-159ε; 1998, 368-370; 2003-2004, 53-68; 2015, 265-277.

4. Huber 1999, 793, εικ. 154; Χατζηδημητρίου 1997, 407, σχέδ. 3, πίν. 159γ; 2003-2004, 56, εικ. 4; 2015, 266-267, εικ. 3α, 4.

5. Χατζηδημητρίου 2003-2004, 61, εικ. 12; 2015, 267, εικ. 5. Για παρόμοια κεραμική από την Ερέτρια, πρβλ. Verdan et al. 2008, 121, αριθ. 96, πίν. 24; 121, αριθ. 98, πίν. 25; 123, αρ.117, πίν. 30; 130, αριθ. 316, πίν. 65.

6. Ερέτρια, Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, αριθ. ευρ. 18687. Ματθαίου 2004-2009, 541-544; Χατζηδημητρίου 2003-2004, 58, εικ. 5; 2004, 181-196; 2015, 267-269, 273-277, εικ. 7α-β.

7. Ματθαίου 2004-2009, 541-544 (ειδικ. σελ. 543).

8. Χατζηδημητρίου 2004-2009, 523- 529, αριθ. 2-3, 5-14, εικ. 2-3, 5-14; 2015, 272.

9. Χατζηδημητρίου 2006, 1077-1092.

10. Χατζηδημητρίου 2006, 1082-1085; 2015, 273-277.

11. Χατζηδημητρίου 2003-2004, 61; 2015, 269-271, εικ. 9-11.

τη σύσταση των εγκλεισμάτων.¹² Οι διαφοροποιήσεις αυτές ενδεχομένως να οφείλονται και στη μίξη πηλών, μια πρακτική που πρέπει να εφαρμοζόταν συχνά στην αρχαιότητα, όπως και στα σύγχρονα παραδοσιακά κεραμικά εργαστήρια.¹³

Πρώτη ομάδα

Στην πρώτη ομάδα ανήκουν τέσσερα θραύσματα αγγείων (αριθ. κατ. Α1-Α4), πιθανότατα πίθων, εκ των οποίων τα τρία διακοσμούνται με ζώνη επιπεδόγλυφου απλού πλοχμού αποτελούμενου από δύο ομάδες τριών ανάγλυφων κυματοειδών γραμμών που πλέκονται γύρω από 'οφθαλμούς' (Εικ. 2-5).¹⁴

Ειδικότερα, το θραύσμα Α1 ανήκει σε χείλος αγγείου, που φέρει κάτω από τη διακοσμημένη ζώνη του πλοχμού σχοινοειδή διακόσμηση (Εικ. 2, Σχ. 1), ενώ στο θραύσμα Α2 (Εικ. 3, Σχ. 2) η ζώνη του πλοχμού πλαισιώνεται επάνω και κάτω με σχοινοειδές κόσμημα.¹⁵ Από τη μελέτη αυτών των θραυσμάτων διαπιστώνεται ότι ο απλός πλοχμός χρησιμοποιούταν στους Ζάρακες για τη διακόσμηση οριζόντιων ζωνών, σε αντίθεση με τη Νάξο, την κατεχοχίτη περιοχή διάδοσής του, όπου το μοτίβο αυτό εμφανίζεται μόνο ως διακόσμηση κατακόρυφων ταινιών, που όριζαν σε μετόπες τις ζώνες της κοιλιάς του αγγείου.¹⁶

Σε άλλες περιοχές, όπως στην Κόρινθο,¹⁷ την Αττική,¹⁸ και τη βόρεια Εύβοια,¹⁹ ο απλός πλοχμός απαντά σπάνια, σε οριζόντια συνήθως ζώνη, στοιχείο που θα μπορούσε να θεωρηθεί ως εξελικτική φάση στη χρήση αυτού του μοτίβου. Καθώς δε τα ανάγλυφα θραύσματα από τους Ζάρακες βρέθηκαν σε διαταραγμένα στρώματα, η χρονολόγηση των παράλληλων από τη Νάξο από τα μέσα του 7ου μέχρι τα μέσα του 6ου αι. π.Χ.,²⁰ επιτρέπει την ένταξη και της ανάγλυφης κεραμικής από τους Ζάρακες μέσα στο ίδιο χρονολογικό πλαίσιο.

Εξίσου δημοφιλές ήταν και το μοτίβο του διπλού και τριπλού πλοχμού στην ανάγλυφη κεραμική

12. Ως αντίστοιχες περιπτώσεις χρήσης πηλού με περιεκτικότητα σε εγκλείσματα (ασβεστικά, χαλαζιακά ή άλλης σύνθεσης) για την παραγωγή πίθων και άλλων αγγείων, αναφέρουμε ενδεικτικά τα εργαστήρια του Ωρωπού (Mazarakis Ainian & Vlachou 2014, 96), της Ερέτριας (McLoughlin 2002, 101), της Νάξου (Κούρου 1999, 82, 85-87; McLoughlin 2002, 100-101; Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1990, 45) και της Ζαγοράς στην Άνδρο (McLoughlin 2002, 38, 48, 56-57, 66; McLoughlin 2011, 871) στα οποία η περιεκτικότητα εγκλεισμάτων διαφοροποιείται ανάλογα με το είδος της διακόσμησης αλλά και το τμήμα του αγγείου, βλ. McLoughlin 2002, 66. Τέλος, η διαφορετική σύσταση, βάσει χημικών αναλύσεων, δειγμάτων αρχαϊκής κεραμικής από την Ερέτρια και την Αττική αποδεικνύει τη χρήση τοπικών πηλών και σε αυτά τα εργαστήρια, βλ. Stern & Descoedres 1977, 73-85. Τη λειτουργία ενός τοπικού κεραμικού εργαστηρίου και στην Κάρυστο κατά τον 6ο αι. π.Χ. τεκμηριώνει η εύρεση ενός ταφικού πιθαμφορέα, φτιαγμένου από κίτρινο νοτιοευβοϊκό πηλό, βλ. Χιδίρογλου 2015.

13. Ειδικότερα ο Papadopoulos 2003, 20, σημειώνει ότι κατά την εφαρμογή χημικών αναλύσεων δεν θα πρέπει να παραβλέπεται η ενδεχόμενη μίξη πηλών: "Potters often mix these clays in order to achieve better consistency, an ethnographic fact usually overlooked in many chemical analyses of ancient pottery. Consequently, an overly detailed chemical or elemental analysis of ancient pottery may well obscure or complicate the issue of provenance rather than solve it." Για τη μίξη πηλών στα σύγχρονα παραδοσιακά εργαστήρια, βλ. Βαλαβάνης 1990, 35-36.

14. Για την προέλευση του μοτίβου του απλού πλοχμού, βλ. Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1990, 92.

15. Σύμφωνα με τη Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1998, 490, το σχοινοειδές κόσμημα έχει συνεχή παρουσία από τους Προϊστορικούς χρόνους μέχρι και τη σημερινή εποχή και κατά συνέπεια δεν μπορεί να χρησιμοποιηθεί ως χρονολογικό κριτήριο. Για την ανάγλυφη σχοινοειδή διακόσμηση σε πίθους από τη Ζαγορά της Άνδρου, βλ. McLoughlin 2011, 871-872, 875.

16. Βλ. π.χ. Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1990, 92-93, αριθ. Κ22, Κ23, Κ24, Κ38-Κ40, Κ69. Όμοια και σε ανάγλυφο πίθο της Θήρας (650-640 π.Χ.) το μοτίβο του απλού πλοχμού χρησιμοποιείται ως κάθετη διακοσμητική ζώνη μετόπης, με τη διαφορά ότι έχει αποδοθεί με την τεχνική της μήτρας, βλ. Kontoleon 1958, 132 κ.ε., πίν. 101-103; Μανακίδου 1994, 289, αριθ. κατ. ΙΙΙ. 85, πίν. 4α.

17. Στην Περαχώρα σημειώνεται η παρουσία πλακιδίου με πλοχμό, βλ. Payne & Dunbabin 1962, τ. ΙΙ, 238, αριθ. 2275, πίν. 79.

18. Για σχετικά παραδείγματα, βλ. Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1990, 92, σημ. 461.

19. Από το Καστέλλι Γιάλτρων της βόρειας Εύβοιας προέρχεται ανάγλυφο θραύσμα διακοσμημένο με το μοτίβο του απλού πλοχμού· το πιθανότερο είναι να πρόκειται για εισαγωγή (Sackett et al. 1966, 37-38, σημ. 24, πίν. 9d).

20. Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1990, 92-93.

της Σίφνου²¹ και της Νάξου.²² Αντίθετα τα παραδείγματα ανάγλυφης κεραμικής διακοσμημένης με διπλό πλοχμό από την Αττική²³ και την Εύβοια²⁴ είναι λιγοστά.

Τέλος, το μοτίβο των δύο ομόκεντρων κύκλων (Α4-Εικ. 5, Σχ. 4), πλαισιωμένων από ισάριθμες επάλληλες έλικες, που κοσμεί δύο μη συνανήκοντα θραύσματα από χείλος αγγείου, δεν είναι γνωστό στην ανάγλυφη κεραμική, τουλάχιστον των γειτονικών εργαστηρίων. Το πιθανότερο όμως είναι να οφείλει την έμπνευσή του στο μοτίβο των ομόκεντρων κύκλων της ΥΓ ευβοϊκής κεραμικής.²⁵

Η ανάγλυφη διακόσμηση της κεραμικής από τους Ζάρακες έχει αποτυπωθεί με κυλινδρική σφραγίδα, η οποία προοριζόταν για την απόδοση πολυπλοκότερων διακοσμητικών θεμάτων και επαναλαμβανόμενων μορφών.²⁶ Με την ίδια τεχνική, η οποία δεν είναι ιδιαίτερα διαδεδομένη στην Εύβοια, έχουν διακοσμηθεί θραύσματα από τη βόρεια Εύβοια,²⁷ καθώς και ορισμένα από την Κάρυστο.²⁸ Στην Ερέτρια αντίθετα, η εφαρμογή της χειροποίητης τεχνικής και της τεχνικής της μήτρας φανερώνει επαφές με το τηνιακό εργαστήριο.²⁹

Αναζητώντας τα πλησιέστερα στους Ζάρακες εργαστήρια παραγωγής ανάγλυφων πίθων διακοσμημένων με κυλινδρική σφραγίδα, οδηγούμαστε στα κυκλαδικά εργαστήρια, στα οποία όμως η χρήση της κυλινδρικής σφραγίδας περιοριζόταν στην απόδοση των δευτερευόντων διακοσμητικών θεμάτων.³⁰ Αντίθετα στην περιοχή της ΝΑ Αττικής και πιο συγκεκριμένα στα Λεγρενά και τον Θορικό η χρήση σφραγίδας τεκμηριώνεται κατά την απόδοση τόσο της δευτερεύουσας, όσο και της κύριας διακόσμησης.³¹

21. Πετρόχειλος 2005, 78; Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 2000, 372, 375-376, εικ.1-7.

22. Για το μοτίβο του σύνθετου πλοχμού στη Νάξο, βλ. Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1990, 93-96.

23. Από τον Θορικό προέρχονται θραύσματα πίθου με διπλό (475-450 π.Χ.), βλ. Helsen 1970-1971, 166, εικ. 86; Vanhove 2006, 81, αριθ. 136, εικ. 286, και με τριπλό πλοχμό (Helsen 1970-1971, 163-165, εικ. 84-85). Ακόμη, στα Λεγρενά βρέθηκε πίθος διακοσμημένος με τριπλό πλοχμό (β' τέταρτο του 5ου αι. π.Χ.), βλ. Helsen 1970-1971, 159-160; Καλλιπολίτης & Πετράκος 1963, 44-45, σχ. 1, πίν. 48β.

24. Από τη Λιβάδα της βόρειας Εύβοιας προέρχεται ανάγλυφο θραύσμα διακοσμημένο με το μοτίβο του σύνθετου πλοχμού (Σαπουνά-Σακελλαράκη 1994-1995, 136, φωτ. 69, σχέδ. 26γ). Ακόμη σε επιφανειακή έρευνα του Καναδικού Ινστιτούτου στον Άγιο Ιωάννη Καρύστου περισυλλέχθηκε θραύσμα ανάγλυφου πίθου διακοσμημένο με διπλό πλοχμό και ψευδόσπειρα (Keller 1985, 130, εικ. 74; Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1990, 96, σημ. 484.)

25. Βλ. π.χ. Soueref 1998, 234, εικ. 6, 236, 14-15; Verdan et al. 2008, 121, αριθ. 96, πίν. 24, αριθ. 98, πίν. 25, 123, αριθ. 117, πίν. 30, 130, αριθ. 316, πίν. 65.

26. Για την παρουσία του απλού και σύνθετου πλοχμού ως διακοσμητικού μοτίβου ανάγλυφων πίθων, βλ. Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1990, 92-93, αριθ. Κ37-Κ40, πίν. 16. Για τη χρήση κυλινδρικής σφραγίδας στη διακόσμηση ανάγλυφων αγγείων, βλ. Coulié 2000, 107-135; Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1987-1988, 175-189; 1990, 47.

27. Βλ. παραπάνω σημ. 19, 24.

28. Σε ιερό που εντοπίστηκε στον Κάμπο (θέση Βουνό) Καρύστου βρέθηκε θραύσμα από ανάγλυφο πλακίδιο με οπή ανάρτησης στο άνω δεξιό άκρο του, διακοσμημένο με την τεχνική της επίπεδης σφραγίδας. Σε αυτό αποδίδεται το μπροστινό τμήμα δύο αλόγων σε έντονο καλπασμό που το πιθανότερο είναι να ανήκει σε άρμα (Keller 1985, 114, εικ. 57). Σε ένα δεύτερο θραύσμα ανάγλυφου πλακιδίου από τον Προφήτη Ηλία Μαρμαρίου διακρίνεται το πίσω τμήμα αλόγου εκτελεσμένο με την ίδια τεχνική. Τέλος, στο Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Καρύστου εκτίθενται θραύσματα πίθων και αγγείων του 6ου και 5ου αι. π.Χ. από τη Φιλάγγρα του Δήμου Μαρμαρίου, διακοσμημένα ως επί το πλείστον με την τεχνική της κυλινδρικής σφραγίδας, βλ. Χιδίρογλου 2012, 866, εικ. 7-10.

29. Από την Ερέτρια προέρχεται ανάγλυφος πίθος των αρχών του 7ου αι. π.Χ. (ME 16620-21), ο οποίος διακοσμείται με δύο επάλληλες ανάγλυφες ζώνες. Στην επάνω ζώνη αποδίδεται μάχη μεταξύ πολεμιστών με οκτώσχημες ασπίδες και στην κάτω επτά νεκροί που κατασπαράσσονται από όρνεα. Για τη διακόσμηση του πίθου έχει χρησιμοποιηθεί η χειροποίητη τεχνική, ενώ οι ανάγλυφες μορφές του παρουσιάζουν τεχνοτροπικές ομοιότητες με αντίστοιχα έργα του τηνιακού εργαστηρίου (Themelis 2006, 95-106, όπου αναλυτική βιβλιογραφία). Ακόμη σε κυκλικό θραύσμα από λακωνική κεραμίδα κατασκευασμένο με την τεχνική της μήτρας του πρώιμου 6ου αι. π.Χ., που βρέθηκε σε βόθρο νότια του ηρώου στην Ερέτρια, απεικονίζεται μορφή αλόγου που βαδίζει προς τα αριστερά. Κάτω από το άλογο διακρίνεται μεγάλο ψάρι, πιθανότατα τόνος, με κατεύθυνση προς τα δεξιά. Η εφαρμογή της τεχνικής της μήτρας που χρησιμοποιείται για τη διακόσμηση των κυκλαδικών πίθων και η τεχνοτροπία της παράστασης πιθανολογούν την αναγνώριση ενός εισηγμένου κυκλαδικού έργου (Bérard 1969, 77-78, πίν. 36,3; Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1990, 102).

30. Βλ. παραπάνω σημ. 16.

31. Helsen 1970-1971, 155-171.

Δεύτερη ομάδα

Στη δεύτερη ομάδα ανήκουν δύο θραύσματα με εικονιστικές παραστάσεις (Α5-Α6), αποτυπωμένες με επίπεδη σφραγίδα. Το θραύσμα Α5 (Εικ. 6, Σχ. 5) ανήκει σε πήλινη κυκλοτερή πλάκα, διακοσμημένη με δύο αντωπά ζώα. Η διαμόρφωση του πέλματος του δεξιού ζώου, που σώζεται αποσπασματικά, με τα τρία μεγάλα ανάγλυφα τριγωνικά νύχια συνηγορούν στην αναγνώριση ενός αρπακτικού όντος, το πιθανότερο ενός λιονταριού, το οποίο όμως έχει αποδοθεί με αδέξιο τρόπο.³² Από το αριστερό ζώο σώζονται μόνο τα τέσσερα άκρα των ποδιών του που απολήγουν σε σπλές πίσω από τις οποίες εξέχει το σησαμοειδές οστόν. Το ανατομικό αυτό χαρακτηριστικό οδηγεί στην πιθανή αναγνώριση ταύρου, αιγάγρου, ελαφιού ή κάπρου, τα οποία στην αγγειογραφία του 7ου αι. π.Χ. εικονίζονται αντιμέτωπα με λιοντάρι.³³ Ωστόσο το εικονογραφικό θέμα λιονταριού αντωπού με κάπρο, απαντά με μεγαλύτερη συχνότητα στην πρώιμη εικονογραφία, ενώ η ισότιμη δυναμική παρουσία των δύο αυτών ζώων ανάγει την καταγωγή της στα ομηρικά έπη.³⁴ Ένα πήλινο θραύσμα πίνακα από τον Τάραντα με παράσταση κάπρου αντιμέτωπου με λιοντάρι αποτυπωμένη με επίπεδη σφραγίδα, χρονολογείται στον ύστερο 7ο και στις αρχές του 6ου αι. π.Χ. και προσεγγίζει, τουλάχιστον εικονογραφικά και τεχνοτροπικά, αυτό των Ζαράκων.³⁵

Στο θραύσμα του αγγείου Α6 (Εικ. 7, Σχ. 6) αποδίδεται επιπεδόγλυφη εικονιστική παράσταση, σωζόμενη αποσπασματικά και σε εξαιρετικά κακή διατήρηση. Αριστερά διακρίνεται μορφή, μικρού μεγέθους, ενώ δεξιότερα πολεμιστής και το οπίσθιο τμήμα αλόγου επάνω από τη ράχη του οποίου ξεπροβάλλει το μπροστινό μέρος ενός ζώου.

Από τη μικρής κλίμακας μορφή που εικονίζεται να κινείται προς τα δεξιά διακρίνεται αμυδρά το ένα σκέλος και το ένα χέρι σε προβολή, στο οποίο πιθανότατα κρατά ξίφος. Η ταύτιση του αντικειμένου με ξίφος επιτυγχάνεται λόγω της χαρακτηριστικής λέπτυνσης που σχηματίζεται μεταξύ του μύκητα και της λεπίδας. Το ξίφος αποδίδεται με την πλατιά επιμήκη λεπίδα του προς τα επάνω, της οποία όμως δεν διασώζεται η απόληξη. Από μια συγκριτική παραβολή των ξιφών στην ανάγλυφη κεραμική του 7ου αι. π.Χ., διαπιστώνουμε ότι έφεραν μύκητα, κυρτό ή σχήματος ημισελήνου, παρόμοιο με αυτόν των Ζαράκων. Χαρακτηριστικά παραδείγματα αποτελούν το ξίφος του Περσέα σε πίθο από τη Θήβα (675-650 π.Χ.)³⁶ και αυτά με τη μακριά πλατιά λεπίδα που κρατούν οι πολεμιστές στις σκηνές της άλωσης της Τροίας στον περίφημο πίθο της Μυκόνου (β' τέταρτο 7ου αι. π.Χ.)³⁷

Η μορφή αριστερά, λόγω του μικρού μεγέθους της, θα μπορούσε να ταυτιστεί με παιδί. Ωστόσο η απουσία, απ' όσο τουλάχιστον γνωρίζω, παιδιών με ξίφος από την πρώιμη αγγειογραφία,³⁸ σε συνδυασμό με την παρουσία μορφών σε μικρότερη κλίμακα ήδη από την Ύστερη Γεωμετρική περίοδο, καθιστούν πιθανότερη την απεικόνιση μιας ενήλικης μορφής.³⁹

32. Για την τυπολογία των λιονταριών στην ανάγλυφη κεραμική, βλ. Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1990, 66-68.

33. Κάπρος-λιοντάρι (Amyx 1988, πίν. 52.1, 54.1, 77.1; Kübler 1970, 490, αριθ. κατ. 92, πίν. 77; Payne & Dunbabin 1962, αριθ. 203, πίν. 8.8; Walter 1968, 113, αριθ. 377, πίν. 66-68, εικ. 33d;), ταύρος-λιοντάρι (Payne & Dunbabin 1962, αριθ. 2305, πίν. 92), αίγαγρος-λιοντάρι (Payne & Dunbabin 1962, αριθ. 2438). Για την παρουσία αντωπών ζώων στη μηλιακή αγγειογραφία, βλ. Ζαφειροπούλου 1985, 46-52 κ.ε.

34. Οδύσσεια, λ, στ. 610-611 (Hampe 1952, 32; Δεσποίνη 2000, 289).

35. Βόννη, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, αριθ. ευρ. D 25876 (Dierichs 1993, 39, εικ. 6; Hübinger & Menninger 2007, 165-166, αριθ. 96).

36. Παρίσι, Μουσείο Λούβρου, αριθ. ευρ. CA 795, βλ. LIMC IV (1988), s.v. Gorgo, Gorgones 312, αριθ. 290* (I. Krauskopf); Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1990, 105-106, εικ. 28γ; LIMC VII (1994), s.v. Perseus, 339, αριθ. 117 (L.J. Roccas).

37. Μύκονος, Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, αριθ. ευρ. M 2240 (Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 77-85, εικ. 120, 127-131, 138; Benda-Weber 2008, 39-46; Ebbinghaus 2005, 51-72; Ervin 1963, 37-75, πίν. 22, 23a-b, 26a-b, 27a, 28b; Ervin-Caskey 1980, 33-36).

38. Στην ανάγλυφη κεραμική της Τήνου η απεικόνιση μιας παιδικής μορφής σε θραύσμα πίθου (Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Τήνου, αριθ. ευρ. Β5) έχει συνδεθεί με το επεισόδιο αποχαιρετισμού του Αμφιάραου, παρουσία των παιδιών του (Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 106-107, πίν. 62, εικ. 151).

39. Βλ. π.χ. α) Πολεμιστές κάτω από άλογα αρμάτων σε κρατήρα της ΥΓ περιόδου από την Ζαγορά της Άνδρου (Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Άνδρου, αριθ. ευρ. 416), βλ. Cambitoglou 1988, 206-207, πίν. 199.

Ο πολεμιστής στο ανάγλυφο των Ζαράκων αποδίδεται στραμμένος προς τα δεξιά κρατώντας με το εκτεινόμενο προς τα πίσω χέρι, μικρό τμήμα του οποίου διακρίνεται (Εικ. 7, Σχ. 6), δόρυ με πλατύ στείλειο και φυλλόσχημη αιχμή,⁴⁰ και με το άλλο κυκλική οπλιτική ασπίδα, τον κοινότερο τύπο στην εικονογραφία του 7ου αι. π.Χ.⁴¹ Η αδέξια αποδοσμένη ωοειδής ασπίδα καλύπτει πλήρως τον κορμό του, καθώς κάτω από αυτήν διακρίνεται μόνο το σταθερό σκέλος του και πολύ αμυδρότερα το προβλλόμενο. Φορά κράνος, ενδεχομένως κορινθιακό, πίσω από το οποίο διαγράφεται το περίγραμμα του χαμηλού λόφου και η άκρη της ιππουρίδας.⁴² Μέσα από το κράνος προβάλλει η μεγάλη μυτερή μύτη του πολεμιστή, το μοναδικό σωζόμενο φυσιογνωμικό χαρακτηριστικό του, σε αντιστοιχία με τις μορφές πολεμιστών στους ανάγλυφους πίθους του τηνιακού εργαστηρίου.⁴³

Επάνω από τη ράχη του αλόγου ξεπροβάλλει το μπροστινό τμήμα ενός σκύλου, που κινείται ορμητικά προς το μέρος του πολεμιστή, ένα εξαιρετικά σπάνιο αν όχι μοναδικό στην εικονογραφία θέμα.⁴⁴ Το εικονογραφικό μοτίβο σκύλου σε καλπάζουσα κίνηση ίσως οφείλει την έμπνευσή του στη συνεπτυγμένη μορφή του κυνηγιού λαγού από σκύλο, στην οποία παραλείπεται το θήραμα.⁴⁵ Η συγκεκριμένη σύνθεση, εκτυλισσόμενη συνήθως κάτω από σκηνές ιπποδρομίας ή αρματοδρομίας θα εξελιχθεί σε ένα αγαπημένο εικονογραφικό θέμα κατά τον 7ο αι. π.Χ.⁴⁶ Στην παράσταση των Ζαράκων η εμφάνιση του σκύλου θα μπορούσε να εκληφθεί ως προσπάθεια κάλυψης του κενού (*horror vacui*), σε αναλογία με άλλα εικονογραφικά παράλληλα. Ενδεικτικά αναφέρουμε τον πίθο των Ζαράκων, στον οποίο ο καλλιτέχνης τοποθέτησε κάτω από τον κορμό των Κενταύρων ανεστραμμένο λαγό, κύριο θήραμά τους και σύμβολο ταχύτητας.⁴⁷

Μπροστά από τον πολεμιστή και σε άμεση σχεδόν επαφή με αυτόν διακρίνονται αμυδρά τα πίσω σκέλη και η ουρά ενός αλόγου που αποδίδεται σε μικρότερη κλίμακα και σε ψηλότερο επίπεδο σε σχέση με αυτόν. Χωρίς αμφιβολία η αποσπασματική και κακή διατήρηση του αναγλύφου δυσχεραίνει την αναγνώριση του θέματος. Ωστόσο, η απόδοση του πολεμιστή και του αλόγου με αυτόν τον τρόπο γεννά ερωτηματικά για τις προθέσεις του τεχνίτη, εφόσον στην αρχαϊκή ανάγλυφη εικονογραφία οι πολεμιστές απαντούν συνήθως ως αποβάτες επάνω σε δίφρο άρματος ή κατά την επιβίβασή τους σε

β) Μορφή κάτω από τα σκέλη οπλίτη σε πρωτοαττικό κωνικό υποστατό κοντά στον Ζ. του Πολύφημου στο Βερολίνο, Staatliche Museen, αριθ. ευρ. A 40: CVA Berlin 1 (D.2), πίν. 28-29 (R. Eilmann & K. Gebauer), βλ. Morris 1984, 73, εικ. 18. γ) Ίματιοφόρες μορφές με δόρατα κάτω από ιππέα σε μελανόμορφο πινάκιο (540 π.Χ.) στη Χαϊδελβέργη, Universität Heidelberg. Archäologisches Institut, αριθ. ευρ. 68/2: CVA Heidelberg. Universität 4 (D. 31), πίν. 164. 1-4 (H. Gropengiesser), βλ. Hampe und Mitarbeiter 1971, 30-31, αριθ. 52, πίν. 33.

40. Πρβλ. δόρυ με πλατύ στείλειο που κρατά πολεμιστής σε υστερογεωμετρικό αγγείο από την Αμοργό στην Καρλσρούη, Badisches Landesmuseum (Marangou 1983, 121-122, εικ. 2).

41. Snodgrass 1964, 61-67. Πρβλ. Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1990, 75, αριθ. K17.

42. Για το κορινθιακό κράνος, βλ. Kunze 1961, 56-128; Snodgrass 1964, 20-28. Για πολεμιστές με κορινθιακό κράνος σε ανάγλυφους πίθους, βλ. Miller 1987, 278-279, αριθ. 4, πίν. 51α (β' μισό 7ου αι. π.Χ.); Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1990, 74-75. Για πολεμιστές με κρητικού τύπου κράνη σε ανάγλυφους πίθους, βλ. Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 101-105, πίν. 58, εικ. 142. Για πολεμιστές με κορινθιακό κράνος σε λακωνικό κρατήρα των αρχών του 6ου αι. π.Χ., πρβλ. Moustaka 2004, 57, εικ. 4, πίν. 13, έγχρ. πίν. III.2, IV. 1-2.

43. Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 101-105, πίν. 58, εικ. 142. 106-107, πίν. 61, εικ. 148-149 (650-600 π.Χ.). Οι μορφές πολεμιστών αποτελούν ένα σύνθετο θέμα στην αρχαϊκή αγγειογραφία στην οποία αποδίδονται σε πομπή στραμμένοι προς τα δεξιά ή προς τα αριστερά, κρατώντας κυκλική ασπίδα, βλ. π.χ. Morris 1984, πίν. 8, 11, 17, 18, 21, 24; Moustaka 2004, 57-60, εικ. 2-4, πίν. 13.1, έγχρ. πίν. III-IV; Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 101-105, πίν. 58, εικ. 142.

44. Πρβλ. το αρπακτικό ζώο που κινείται επιθετικά επάνω από τη ράχη αλόγου σε σαμιακό ΥΓ κάρναρο (Σάμος, Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, αριθ. ευρ. K 805) και μοιάζει περισσότερο με σκύλο παρά με λιοντάρι ή άλλο ζώο (Boardman 2001, εικ. 144; Eilmann 1933, 97-102, εικ. 40; Δεσποίνη 2000, 284, σημ. 37).

45. Για την καταγωγή του συγκεκριμένου θέματος από την πρωτοκορινθιακή αγγειογραφία, βλ. Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1987-1988, 175-181.

46. Για το κυνήγι λαγού από σκύλους, βλ. Salviat 1983a, 185-190, εικ. 1-2, 5; 1983b, 215, εικ. 23; Σκιλάρντι 1975, 142-143. Για σκηνές αρματοδρομίας κάτω από τις οποίες εκτυλίσσεται κυνήγι λαγού από σκύλο, βλ. Weinberg 1954, 121, πίν. 27b. Για τη σύμφυση του θέματος, βλ. Coulié 2000, 116-123, εικ. 16-23, 32.7-8.

47. Χατζηδημητρίου 2004, 188-189.

αυτό, και σπανιότερα ως έφιπποι.⁴⁸ Θα μπορούσαμε λοιπόν να εικάσουμε, με κάθε επιφύλαξη βέβαια, ότι και σε αυτήν την παράσταση πρόθεση του τεχνίτη ήταν να αποδώσει την αναχώρηση ενός πολεμιστή αποβάτη σε άρμα σε απομίμηση άλλων παραστάσεων της ανάγλυφης κεραμικής των Κυκλάδων και άλλων περιοχών.⁴⁹ Αξίζει ωστόσο να επισημανθεί ότι μολονότι οι πολεμιστές αποτελούσαν ένα προσφιλές θέμα στην ανάγλυφη κεραμική των Κυκλάδων, εντούτοις η σύνθεση του συγκεκριμένου αναγλύφου απέχει τεχνοτροπικά και στιλιστικά από τις δημιουργίες των γειτονικών εργαστηρίων.⁵⁰

Η αποτύπωση άλλωστε των εικονιστικών στοιχείων του αναγλύφου με τόσο άτεχνο και πρόχειρο τρόπο φανερώνουν έναν άπειρο κεραμέα, που ίσως πειραματιζόταν με την τεχνική της σφράγισης χωρίς να έχει προηγουμένως σχεδιάσει το σύνολο της εικονιστικής σύνθεσης. Η παρ' ολίγον δε επικάλυψη του πολεμιστή και του αλόγου μαρτυρεί τη χρήση διαφορετικών σφραγίδων για την απόδοση του οπλίτη, που αποδίδεται σε ψηλότερο ανάγλυφο, καθώς και των υπολοίπων μορφών.

Ο ανάγλυφος πίθος με την εικονιστική παράσταση Κενταύρων και το ανάγλυφο θραύσμα Α6

Επιχειρώντας μια χρονολογική προσέγγιση του ανάγλυφου θραύσματος (Α6) εύλογο είναι να στραφούμε στον αναθηματικό πίθο από την ίδια ανασκαφή (Εικ. 1α-β) καθώς αποτελεί το μοναδικό συγκριτικό υλικό.⁵¹ Ειδικότερα, στον πίθο των Ζαράκων γίνεται χρήση κυλινδρικής σφραγίδας για την ανάπτυξη του επαναλαμβανόμενου εικονογραφικού μοτίβου του Κενταύρου σε ζωφόρο, ενώ στο ανάγλυφο που πραγματευόμαστε έχουν αποτυπωθεί με επίπεδη σφραγίδα μεμονωμένα επεισόδια χωρίς αφηγηματική ροή. Η αντιπαραβολή μάλιστα των δύο παραπάνω έργων οδηγεί στην αναγνώριση δύο διαφορετικών τεχνιτών οι οποίοι, αν και βρίσκονταν στο ίδιο εργασιακό περιβάλλον, σφράγισαν κυριολεκτικά και μεταφορικά ο καθένας με τη δική του σφραγίδα τη δημιουργία του.

Όσον αφορά στο πλάσιμο των μορφών, ενώ ο κορμός του Κενταύρου χαρακτηρίζεται από ραδιονότητα και κομψότητα συγκρινόμενος με τις βαρύτερες σωματικές αναλογίες του πολεμιστή, εμφανείς είναι οι ομοιότητες στη διαμόρφωση των ανατομικών λεπτομερειών των σκελών των δύο μορφών· το γαστροκνήμιο του πολεμιστή είναι μεν πιο γεροδεμένο από αυτό του Κενταύρου, αλλά η καμπύλη γραμμή για τη μετάβαση από την κνήμη στον μηρό, καθώς και η σχεδίαση του γονάτου αποδίδονται με όμοιο τρόπο.

Τα πλησιέστερα παράλληλα στην τεχνική και θεματολογία του πίθου των Ζαράκων απαντούν σε έργα της κορινθιακής ανάγλυφης κεραμικής από το Ηραίο του Άργους. Πρόκειται για θραύσματα ανάγλυφων πίθων των μέσων του 7ου αι. π.Χ., διακοσμημένα με κυλινδρική σφραγίδα στα οποία αποδίδεται γυμνός γενειοφόρος τοξότης, πιθανότατα Ηρακλής, αντιμέτωπος με Κένταυρο.⁵² Η σωματική διάπλαση του ανθρώπινου πρόσθιου κορμού του μιξογενούς όντος παραπέμπει στις ανάλογες μορφές του πίθου των Ζαράκων, ενώ συγχρόνως το πλάσιμο των ποδιών τόσο του Ηρακλή όσο και του Κε-

48. Βλ. π.χ. ανάγλυφο πίθο με ζωφόρο έφιππων πολεμιστών στη Βοστώνη, Museum of Fine Arts, αριθ. ευρ. 99.506 (Ervin-Caskey 1976, εικ. 24, πίν. 6).

49. Βλ. π.χ. α) Θραύσματα ανάγλυφων πίθων από τη Νάξο (Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Νάξου, αριθ. ευρ. 1611, 1613), βλ. Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1990, 27, αριθ. Κ19, πίν. 10 (β' τέταρτο 7ου αι. π.Χ.). 28-29, αριθ. Κ22, πίν. 12γ (γ' τέταρτο 7ου αι. π.Χ.). β) Όστρακο ανάγλυφου πίθου από τη Σπάρτη (Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Σπάρτης, αριθ. ευρ. 520), βλ. Μανακίδου 1994, 289, αριθ. 89, πίν. 4β (τέλη 7ου αι. π.Χ.). γ) Ανάγλυφο πίθο από τη Θήρα (Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Θήρας, χωρίς αριθ. ευρ.), βλ. Μανακίδου 1994, 289, αριθ. 85, πίν. 4α (650/640 π.Χ.).

50. Για τη διαφορετική απόδοση των πολεμιστών σε ανάγλυφους πίθους των κυκλαδίτικων εργαστηρίων, πρβλ. Ervin-Caskey 1976, εικ. 15-16, πίν. 3, εικ. 18, 32, πίν. 4, εικ. 22, πίν. 6, εικ. 28-29, πίν. 8. Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1990, αριθ. Κ19, πίν. 10, αριθ. Κ20, πίν. 11, αριθ. Κ22, πίν. 12. Για τον ανάγλυφο πίθο της Μυκόνου, βλ. παραπάνω σημ. 37.

51. Βλ. παραπάνω σημ. 6.

52. Αθήνα, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, αριθ. ευρ. 14209 (Anderson 1987, 79, 141, αριθ. Co12-14; Waldstein 1902-1905, 181, πίν. 63, αριθ.1-3; Weinberg 1954, 116-117, πίν. 26a-d; Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1990, 47, σημ. 21; Χατζήδημητρίου 2004, 192-193, πίν. 39α-β).

νταύρου πλησιάζει κατά πολύ αυτό του πολεμιστή στο ανάγλυφο των Ζαράκων. Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τα παραπάνω στοιχεία και ειδικότερα την εφαρμογή της τεχνικής της σφραγίδας στα παραπάνω έργα και τη χρονολόγησή τους στα μέσα του 7ου αι. π.Χ., θα μπορούσαμε να εντάξουμε και το ανάγλυφο των Ζαράκων στην ίδια χρονολογική περίοδο.

Η σύλληψη του εικονογραφικού θέματος των Κενταύρων για την διακόσμηση του πίθου θα μπορούσε να αναζητηθεί στο θεματολόγιο της κορινθιακής ανάγλυφης κεραμικής, αλλά και στις μυθολογικές παραδόσεις που συνδέονται με την περιοχή των Ζαράκων. Από το ποίημα *Αλεξάνδρα* του χαλκιδέου ποιητή Λυκόφρονος, που έζησε τον 3ο αι. π.Χ., πληροφορούμαστε ότι ο Ζάραξ ήταν όρος της Εύβοιας και ότι το όνομά του προέρχεται από κάποιον επώνυμο ήρωα, γιο του Καρύστου.⁵³ Από τα ίδια σχόλια αντλούμε την πληροφορία ότι ο Χείρων ήταν πατέρας του Καρύστου «Ζάρηξ Καρύστου ἐστὶ τοῦ Χείρωνος».⁵⁴ Με δεδομένο λοιπόν τους δεσμούς συγγενείας μεταξύ του Χείωνα, του Καρύστου και του Ζάρακα δεν μπορούμε να αποκλείσουμε την πιθανότητα ο καλλιτέχνης του πίθου να άντλησε την έμπνευση του θέματος από τον τοπικό μύθο.⁵⁵ Η παρουσία άλλωστε του Χείωνα στην αγγειογραφία ως κυνηγού με κύριο θήραμά του τον λαγό,⁵⁶ σε συνδυασμό με την σφράγιση του συγκεκριμένου ζώου κάτω από τα σκέλη των Κενταύρων, καθιστά ελκυστική την διατύπωση της παραπάνω εκδοχής.

Κάτω από την ανάγλυφη ζωφόρο με τους Κένταυρους αποδίδεται χαραγμένη επιγραφή αναθηματικού χαρακτήρα, όπως προκύπτει από την αναγραφή της λέξης *ιερός* (Εικ. 1α, Σχέδιο 7).⁵⁷ Η αποσπασματική διατήρηση της επιγραφής καθιστά δυσχερή την αποκατάσταση του ονόματος του θεού στον οποίο ήταν αφιερωμένος ο πίθος, καθώς και του αναθέτη. Εξίσου αβέβαιη θεωρείται και η άγνωση του ονόματος *Πα(μ)φυλάτες*, που ακολουθεί το κύριο όνομα και σύμφωνα με τον μελετητή της επιγραφής πρόκειται για αμάρτυρο αρσενικό όνομα, το οποίο δηλώνει την καταγωγή από ορισμένο τόπο.⁵⁸ Ο συγκεκριμένος αναθέτης όχι μόνο επέλεξε να αναθέσει στη λατρευόμενη θεότητα των Ζαράκων τον πίθο, αλλά και να περιγράψει στην αφιερωματική επιγραφή με το ρήμα *σφαλάσσειν*-που ερμηνεύεται ως *τέμνειν* ή *κεντεῖν*-την τεχνική που εφάρμοζε για την καλύτερη στερέωση του επίθετου πηλού επάνω στο αγγείο.⁵⁹ Σύμφωνα με την επιγραφή ο τεχνίτης χάρασε κατά διαστήματα το τμήμα του αγγείου στο οποίο επρόκειτο να επιτεθεί η πρόσθετη ζώνη πηλού.⁶⁰ Από την ερμηνεία της παραπάνω επιγραφής συνάγεται ότι ο κεραμέας που χάραξε την επιγραφή στον πίθο ήταν συγχρόνως και ο αναθέτης του.

Παρατηρήσεις και συμπεράσματα

Η υιοθέτηση και εφαρμογή της τεχνικής της σφραγίδας για τη διακόσμηση της ανάγλυφης κεραμικής από τους Ζάρακες, που απαντά σπάνια στην υπόλοιπη Εύβοια, συνηγορεί στη λειτουργία ενός ή περισσότερων κεραμικών εργαστηρίων στην περιοχή τουλάχιστον κατά τον 7ο αι. π.Χ. Σε αυτά

53. Λυκόφρονος, *Αλεξάνδρα*, στ. 373 ([επιμ. L. Mascialino, 1964): «Ὀφέλτα καὶ μύχουρε χοιράδων Ζάραξ...» και Σχόλια στον Λυκόφρονα, *Αλεξάνδρα*, στ. 373 (εκδ. G. Kinkel 1880). Στο *Etymologicon Magnum*, στ. 408, 9-11 [εκδ. T. Gaisford 1962] αναφέρεται: «Ζάραξ καὶ Ὀφέλτα, ὄρη Εὐβοίας, περὶ ἃ γέγονε τὰ ναυάγια τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ζάραξ δὲ ὠνόμασται ἀπὸ Ζάρακος τοῦ Πετραίου υἱοῦ Καρύστου». Βλ. Χατζηδημητρίου 2015, 269.

54. Σχόλια στον Λυκόφρονα, στ. 580.

55. Gantz 1993, 144-147, 163; Grimal 1991, λήμμα *Χείρων*, 700-701.

56. Βλ. π.χ. LIMC III (1986), s.v. *Cheiron*, 239, αριθ. 17, 240, αριθ. 42, 241, αριθ. 47, 246, αριθ. 100 (M. Gisler-Huwiler); Χατζηδημητρίου 2004, 188-189.

57. Ματθαίου 2004-2009, 541-544 (ειδικ. σελ. 543).

58. Κατά τον Ματθαίου 2004-2009, 542, το τοπωνύμιο θα είχε τη μορφή *Παμφύλη*.

59. Σύμφωνα με τον Ματθαίου 2004-2009, 543, ο ρηματικός τύπος *ἐσπάλασε* χρησιμοποιείται αντί των συνηθών ρημάτων *ἐποίει* ή *ἔγραψε*.

60. Ματθαίου 2004-2009, 543; Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1990, 47.

θα δραστηριοποιούνταν ντόπιοι ή περιοδεύοντες κεραμείς, όπως ο ξενικής καταγωγής κεραμέας του πίθου.

Ο εντοπισμός κοντά στους Ζάρακες της θέσης *Καθούμενο*, απ' όπου οι κάτοικοι του σύγχρονου οικισμού προμηθεύονταν μέχρι και πρόσφατα την πρώτη ύλη για την κατασκευή των παραδοσιακών κεραμικών σκευών τους, δεν αποκλείει την εκμετάλλευση των συγκεκριμένων αργιλικών κοιτασμάτων και κατά την αρχαιότητα.⁶¹ Η αξιοποίηση δε των κατά τόπους αργιλοφόρων κοιτασμάτων οφειλόταν κατά κύριο λόγο και στις δυσχέρειες που αντιμετώπιζαν οι κεραμείς κατά τη μεταφορά της πρώτης ύλης από απομακρυσμένες περιοχές.

Ο τρόπος διάδοσης της κυλινδρικής και επίπεδης τεχνικής της σφραγίδας στους κεραμείς των Ζαράκων παραμένει ασαφής. Ωστόσο η απόκτηση της τεχνογνωσίας από τα γειτονικά κυκλαδίτικα εργαστήρια, με τα οποία οι κάτοικοι της νότιας Εύβοιας διατηρούσαν στενούς εμπορικούς και πολιτιστικούς δεσμούς ήδη από την Εποχή του Σιδήρου, παραμένει η πιθανότερη εκδοχή.⁶² Εξίσου πιθανή θα μπορούσε να θεωρηθεί και η διάδοση της τεχνικής της κυλινδρικής σφραγίδας μέσω της περιοχής της Κορίνθου, όπου η τεχνική αυτή εφαρμόστηκε για την αποτύπωση όχι μόνο των δευτερευουσών διακοσμητικών ζωνών, όπως ίσχυε στα κυκλαδίτικα εργαστήρια, αλλά και των κύριων εικονιστικών συνθέσεων.⁶³ Το γεγονός δηλαδή ότι η κυλινδρική σφραγίδα έπρεπε να μην υπερβαίνει ένα συγκεκριμένο ύψος για να είναι εύχρηστη, επέβαλε στους κορινθίους τεχνίτες να πειραματίζονται με μικρογραφικές-σε σχέση με το μέγεθος των πίθων-συνθέσεις, των οποίων τα πρότυπα μπορούν να αναζητηθούν στις μικκυλογραφικές αποδόσεις της πρωτοκορινθιακής αγγειογραφίας.⁶⁴ Εντούτοις, οι ενδείξεις για την ύπαρξη σχέσεων μεταξύ των δύο περιοχών αυτών ελάχιστες.⁶⁵

Αναπάντητο επίσης παραμένει το ερώτημα για τον τόπο κατασκευής των σφραγίδων που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν για την δημιουργία των αναγλύφων· εφόσον δεν έχουν εντοπιστεί κατάλοιπα σφραγίδων στον χώρο της ανασκαφής δεν γνωρίζουμε εάν αυτές κατασκευάστηκαν επί τόπου ή τις έφεραν μαζί τους κεραμείς από άλλες περιοχές, στις οποίες είχε αναπτυχθεί η σχετική τεχνική.⁶⁶

Η ανάγλυφη κεραμική από τους Ζάρακες αποτελεί ένα μικρό μέρος της κεραμικής παραγωγής του τόπου, η οποία προοριζόταν να καλύψει τις ανάγκες του αγοραστικού κοινού, στην πλειονότητά του προσκυνητές του ιερού όπως προκύπτει και από την παραγωγή ενεπίγραφων κεραμικών σκευών λατρευτικής χρήσης.⁶⁷ Η χρονολόγησή τους κατά τον 6ο αι. π.Χ. σε συνδυασμό και με τα ευρήματα κεραμικής των ΥΓ χρόνων,⁶⁸ συνηγορούν στην οργάνωση των κεραμικών εργαστηρίων των Ζαράκων ήδη από την Ύστερη Εποχή του Σιδήρου και τη συνεχή λειτουργία τους τουλάχιστον για τρεις αιώνες, παράλληλα και σε άμεση σύνδεση με το ιερό.⁶⁹

61. Η πληροφορία οφείλεται στον κάτοικο της περιοχής κ. Παναγιώτη Ράπτη, τον οποίο και ευχαριστώ θερμά. Η χρήση τοπικού πηλού για την παραγωγή των κεραμικών προϊόντων στους Ζάρακες προκύπτει μόνο μακροσκοπικά, ενώ η χρήση τοπικών πηλών σε διάφορα γειτονικά κεραμικά εργαστήρια τεκμηριώνεται τόσο από μακροσκοπικές, όσο και από εργαστηριακές αναλύσεις σε δείγματα πηλών, βλ. παραπάνω σημ. 12-13.

62. Βλ. Crielaard 2012, 197, 200; McLoughlin 2002, 93-95.

63. Για τη χρήση κυλινδρικής σφραγίδας στη διακόσμηση της ανάγλυφης κορινθιακής κεραμικής, βλ. Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1987-88, 175-189.

64. Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1987-1988, 187. Μια ακόμη περιοχή όπου πιθανόν διαδόθηκε η τεχνική της κυλινδρικής σφραγίδας μέσω Κορίνθου είναι η περιοχή των Λεγρενών και του Θορικού, όπου και έχει βρεθεί κεραμική κατασκευασμένη με τη συγκεκριμένη τεχνική. Ωστόσο, ασαφή παραμένουν τα χρονικά όρια λειτουργίας του εργαστηρίου, βλ. παραπάνω σημ. 23.

65. Το μοναδικό δείγμα κορινθιάζουσας κεραμικής από τους Ζάρακες είναι μία κοτύλη των μέσων του 7ου αι. π.Χ., βλ. Χατζηδημητρίου 2003-2004, 61, εικ. 13. Για την παρουσία κορινθιακής και κορινθιάζουσας κεραμικής κατά την Αρχαϊκή περίοδο στην Εύβοια και ειδικότερα στην Ερέτρια και την Κάρυστο, βλ. Χιδίρογλου 2015. Βλ. παραπάνω και σημ. 12.

66. Οι σφραγίδες που χρησιμοποιούνταν για την διακόσμηση των πίθων ήταν φτιαγμένες από λίθο, πηλό ή ξύλο, που ήταν και το συνηθέστερο υλικό, βλ. Stokes 1905-1906, 71-72; Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1987-1988, 187-188; 1990, 47.

67. Βλ. παραπάνω σημ. 8.

68. Βλ. παραπάνω σημ. 5.

69. Η ύπαρξη κεραμικών, κοροπλαστικών και μεταλλουργικών εργαστηρίων κοντά σε ιερά για την εξυπηρέτηση των

Η παρουσίαση της λιγοστής ανάγλυφης κεραμικής από τους Ζάρακες δεν προσφέρεται για την αποκατάσταση μιας συνολικής εικόνας της παραγωγικής δραστηριότητας των κεραμικών εργαστηρίων των Ζαράκων κατά τους Αρχαίους χρόνους. Εντούτοις, οι ταπεινές αλλά μοναδικές αυτές δημιουργίες δεν παύουν να αποτελούν αδιάψευστους μάρτυρες για τη λειτουργία ενός ιδιαίτερου εργαστηρίου ανάγλυφης κεραμικής στη νότια Εύβοια.

Ελπίζουμε ότι η περαιτέρω έρευνα και μελέτη τόσο της ανάγλυφης όσο και της λοιπής τοπικής κεραμικής των Ζαράκων, σε συνδυασμό με τις εργαστηριακές αναλύσεις, θα συμβάλουν σημαντικά στην ανασύνθεση και κατανόηση του τρόπου οργάνωσης των τοπικών κεραμικών εργαστηρίων σε συνάρτηση με την λειτουργία του ιερού και την εξυπηρέτηση των λατρευτικών αναγκών των προσκυνητών του.

Κατάλογος ανάγλυφης κεραμικής⁷⁰

A1. ME 18726+18802. Θραύσμα από το χείλος ανάγλυφου πίθου, συγκολλημένο από τέσσερα συνανήκοντα τμήματα. Διακοσμείται με ζώνη επιπεδόγλυφου απλού πλοχμού και σχοινοειδές κόσμημα. Χρήση κυλινδρικής σφραγίδας. (Εικ. 2 - Σχέδιο 1).

Μέγ. σωζ. ύψος: 0,085 μ. / μήκος: 0,175 μ. / πάχος: 0,018 μ. / ύψος διάκοσμης ζώνης: 0,038 μ. / ύψος αναγλύφου: 0,002 μ. Πηλός πορτοκαλόχρωμος (Munsell 5YR, 6/6 reddish yellow) με εγκλείσματα κυρίως λευκά, που εντοπίζονται ως επί το πλείστον στη ζώνη της ανάγλυφης διακόσμησης.

A2. ME 18806. Θραύσμα ανάγλυφου πίθου. Διακοσμείται με ζώνη επιπεδόγλυφου απλού πλοχμού και σχοινοειδές κόσμημα επάνω και κάτω. Χρήση κυλινδρικής σφραγίδας. (Εικ. 3 - Σχέδιο 2).

Ύψος: 0,10 μ. / μήκος: 0,154 μ. / πάχος: 0,019 μ. / ύψος διάκοσμης ζώνης: 0,042 μ. / ύψος αναγλύφου: 0,002 μ. Πηλός πορτοκαλέρυθρος (Munsell 2.5YR, 5/6 red) με τεφρό πυρήνα και μεγάλη περιεκτικότητα σε κοκκώδη και μεγαλύτερου μεγέθους, κυρίως λευκά, εγκλείσματα.

A3. ME 18808. Θραύσμα από χείλος ανάγλυφου πίθου. Διακοσμείται με ζώνη επιπεδόγλυφου απλού πλοχμού. Χρήση κυλινδρικής σφραγίδας. (Εικ. 4 - Σχέδιο 3).

Ύψος: 0,072 μ. / μήκος: 0,061 μ. / πάχος: 0,018 μ. / ύψος διάκοσμης ζώνης: 0,033 μ. / ύψος αναγλύφου: 0,002 μ. Πηλός πορτοκαλέρυθρος (Munsell 5YR, 6/6 reddish yellow) με ελάχιστα εγκλείσματα.

A4. ME 18858+18883. Δύο μη συνανήκοντα θραύσματα από χείλος αγγείου. Διακοσμούνται με δύο ομόκεντρους κύκλους, πλαισιωμένους από δύο επάλληλες έλικες, που συνδέονται με τις αντίστοιχες του επόμενου μοτίβου. Χρήση κυλινδρικής σφραγίδας. (Εικ. 5 - Σχέδιο 4).

α) **18858:** Ύψος: 0,036 μ. / μήκος: 0,065 μ. / πάχος: 0,018 μ. / ύψος αναγλύφου: 0,001 μ.

β) **18883:** Ύψος: 0,036 μ. / μήκος: 0,071 μ. / πάχος: 0,021 μ. / ύψος διάκοσμης ζώνης: 0,033 μ. / ύψος αναγλύφου: 0,001 μ. Πηλός κοκκινωπός (Munsell 10R, 5/6 red) με ελάχιστα κυρίως λευκά εγκλείσματα.

A5. ME 18923. Θραύσμα από πήλινη κυκλοτερή πλάκα με ανάγλυφη εικονιστική παράσταση δύο αντωπών ζώνων. Χρήση επίπεδης σφραγίδας. (Εικ. 6 - Σχέδιο 5).

Ύψος: 0,079 μ. / μήκος: 0,13 μ. / διάμ. πλακιδίου: 0,26 μ. / πάχος: 0,014 μ. / σωζ. ύψος διάκοσμης ζώνης: 0,045 μ. / ύψος αναγλύφου: 0,003 μ.

Πηλός κοκκινωπός (Munsell 2.5YR, 4/6 reddish) με μικρή περιεκτικότητα σε λευκά κυρίως εγκλείσματα.

A6. ME 18871. Θραύσμα αγγείου με ανάγλυφη εικονιστική παράσταση. Χρήση επίπεδης σφραγίδας (Εικ. 7 - Σχέδιο 6).

Ύψος: 0,108 μ. / μήκος: 0,097 μ. / πάχος: 0,013 μ. / ύψος διάκοσμης ζώνης: 0,081 μ. / ύψος αναγλύφου: 0,002 μ. Πηλός ερυθροκάστανος έως κοκκινωπός (Munsell 2.5YR, 4/4 - 4/6 reddish) με μεγάλη περιεκτικότητα σε κοκκώδη και μεγαλύτερου μεγέθους λευκά και σκούρα εγκλείσματα.

λατρευτικών αναγκών τους, τεκμηριώνεται στην Κόρινθο, στην Περαχώρα και σε άλλες περιοχές, βλ. Merker 2003, 238; Payne & Dunbabin 1962, 529.

70. ME: Μουσείο Ερέτριας.

Βιβλιογραφία

- Βαλαβάνης, Π. (1990) 'Ένα αρχαίο εργαστήριο στην εποχή μας'. *Αρχαιολογία* 36, 31-41.
- Δεσποίνη, Α. (2000) 'Ελάσματα Σίνδου με ζωφόρο ζώων'. Στο *Μύρτος. Μελέτες στη μνήμη της Ιουλίας Βοκοτοπούλου*, επιμέλεια Π. Αδάμ-Βελένη, 277-304. Θεσσαλονίκη: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού; Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης.
- Ζαφειροπούλου, Φ. (1985) *Προβλήματα της μηλιακής αγγειογραφίας*. Αθήνα: Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας.
- Καλλιπολίτης, Β. και Β. Πετράκος (1963) 'Αθήναι-Αττική'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 18(Β1 Χρονικά), 44-45.
- Κούρου, Ν. (1999) *Το Νότιο Νεκροταφείο της Νάξου*. Αθήνα: Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας.
- Μανακίδου, Π. Ε. (1994) *Παραστάσεις με άρματα (8^{ος}-5^{ος} αι. π.Χ.). Παρατηρήσεις στην εικονογραφία τους*. Θεσσαλονίκη: Ενυάλειο Κληροδότημα στη μνήμη Λάμπρου Ενυάλη.
- Ματθαίου, Α. Π. (2004-2009) 'Θραύσμα ενεπίγραφου πίθου από τους Ζάρακες Καρυστίας'. *HOROS* 17-21, 541-544.
- Πετρόχειλος, Ν. (2005) 'Ανάγλυφη κεραμική ιστορικών χρόνων'. Στον Τόμ. Α' *Πρακτικά Β' Διεθνούς Σιφναϊκού Συμποσίου, Εις Μνήμην Νικολάου Βερνίκου-Ευγενίδη, Σίφνος 27-30 Ιουνίου 2002*, 71-86. Αθήνα: Σύνδεσμος Σιφναϊκών Μελετών.
- Σαπουνά-Σακελλαράκη, Έ. (1994-1995) 'Ανασκαφή στο Καστρί Λιχάδας Ευβοίας'. *Αρχείο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 31, 101-137.
- Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά, Ε. (1987-1988) 'Επίδραση της πρωτοκορινθιακής και κορινθιακής αγγειογραφίας στην ανάγλυφη κεραμική'. Στο *Πρακτικά Γ' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών 1985*, 175-189. Αθήνα: Εταιρεία Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών.
- Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά, Ε. (1990) *Ανασκαφές Νάξου. Οι ανάγλυφοι πίθοι*. Αθήνα: Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας.
- Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά, Ε. (1998) 'Πίθοι των ιστορικών χρόνων με εγχάρκτη διακόσμηση από την ΝΑ Κέα'. Στο *Κέα-Κύθνος: Ιστορία και Αρχαιολογία. Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου, Κέα-Κύθνος, 22-25 Ιουνίου 1994*, επιμέλεια Λ. Γ. Μενδώνη και Α. Ι. Μαζαράκη Αινιάν, 487-516. Αθήνα: Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών; Κέντρο Ελληνικής και Ρωμαϊκής Αρχαιότητας.
- Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά, Ε. (2000) 'Από την αγγειοπλαστική παραγωγή της αρχαίας Σίφνου'. Στον Τόμ. Α' *Αρχαίοι Χρόνοι [Πρακτικά Α' Διεθνούς Σιφναϊκού Συμποσίου, Σίφνος 25-28 Ιουνίου 1998]*, 371-395. Αθήνα: Εταιρεία Σιφναϊκών Μελετών .
- Σκιλάρντι, Δ. (1975) 'Ανασκαφή παρά τα Μακρά Τείχη και η οινοχόη του Ταύρου'. *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς*, 66-149.
- Χατζηδημητρίου, Α. (1997) 'Ζάρακες'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 52(Χρονικά), 407-409.
- Χατζηδημητρίου, Α. (1998) 'Ζάρακες'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 53(Χρονικά), 368-370.
- Χατζηδημητρίου, Α. (2003-2004) 'Ανασκαφικά δεδομένα και πορίσματα από την αρχαιολογική έρευνα στους Ζάρακες Καρυστίας'. *Αρχείο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 35, 53-68.
- Χατζηδημητρίου, Α. (2004) 'Θραύσμα ανάγλυφου πίθου από τους Ζάρακες Καρυστίας'. *Αρχαιογνωσία* 12, 181-196.
- Χατζηδημητρίου, Α. (2004-2009) 'Ενεπίγραφα όστρακα από τους Ζάρακες Καρυστίας'. *HOROS* 17-21, 521-540.
- Χατζηδημητρίου, Α. (2006) 'Χάλκινο ενεπίγραφο σταθμίο από τους Ζάρακες Καρυστίας'. Στον Τόμ. ΙΙ *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας [Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Βόλος 27.2-2.3.2003)]*, επιμέλεια Α. Μαζαράκη Αινιάν, 1077-1092. Βόλος: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Τουρισμού; Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας.
- Χατζηδημητρίου, Α. (2015) 'Τα πορίσματα από την αρχαιολογική έρευνα στους Ζάρακες Καρυστίας'. Στον Τόμ. Α' *Αρχαιολογικές Συμβολές: Βοιωτία και Εύβοια*, επιμέλεια Σ. Οικονόμου, 265-282. Αθήνα: Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης.
- Χιδίρογλου, Μ. (2012) 'Φιλάγρα Μαρμαρίου. Μία οχυρή θέση κλασικών έως ελληνιστικών χρόνων στη νοτιο-

ανατολική Εύβοια. Στον Τόμ. II 3ο Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Βόλος, 12.3-15.3. 2009), επιμέλεια Α. Μαζαράκη Αινιάν, 863-874. Βόλος: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Τουρισμού; Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας.

Χιδίρογλου, Μ. (2015) 'Συμβολή στη μελέτη της κεραμικής αρχαϊκών χρόνων από την Εύβοια. Συνοπτική παρουσίαση της έρευνας'. Στον Τόμ. II 4ο Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης (Βόλος 15.3-18.3. 2012), επιμέλεια Α. Μαζαράκη Αινιάν, 627-638. Βόλος: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Τουρισμού; Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας.

*

Ahlberg-Cornell, G. (1992) *Myth and Epos in Early Greek Art. Representation and Interpretation*. Jonsered: P. Astrom.

Amyx, D. A. (1988) *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period*. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Anderson, L. H. (1987) *Relief Pithoi from the Archaic Period of Greek Art*. Ann Arbor: UMI.

Benda-Weber, I. (2008) 'Die Relieffamphora von Mykonos: Ein Beitrag zur Trachtenkunde des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.'. *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 77, 39-46.

Bérard, C. (1969) 'Note sur la fouille au sud de l'hérôon'. *Antike Kunst* 12, 74-79.

Boardman, J. (2001) *Πρώμη ελληνική αγγειογραφία* [trans. L. Bournias]. Athens: Kardamitsa Publications.

Cambitoglou, A., A. Birchall, J. J. Coulton and J. R. Green (1988) Vol. II(1) of *Zagora [Excavation of a geometric town on the island of Andros. Excavation season 1969; study season 1969-1970]*. Athens: Archaeological Society of Athens.

Coulié, A. (2000) 'Les vases à reliefs thasiens de l'époque archaïque'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 124, 99-160.

Crielaard, J. P. (2012) 'The Iron Age Sanctuary and Settlement at Karystos-Plakari'. In Vol. 25 of *Mediterranean Archaeology [Zagora in Context. Settlements and Intercommunal Links in the Geometric Period (900-700 BC). Proceedings of the Conference held by the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens and the Athens Archaeological Society, Athens, 20-22 May 2012]*, edited by J-P. Descoeudres and S. A. Paspalas, 191-200. Sydney: University of Sydney.

Les Cyclades (1983) *Les Cyclades matériaux pour une étude de géographie historique. Table ronde réunie à l'Université de Dijon les 11, 12, 13 mars 1982*. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

Dierichs, A. (1993) 'Ein Terrakottarelieff mit Sphinx und Greif'. In Vol. 1 of *Studia varia from the J. Paul Getty Museum*, 33-54. Malibu: The J. Paul Getty Museum.

Ebbinghaus, S. (2005) 'Protector of the City, or the Art of Storage in Early Greece'. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 125, 51-72.

Eilmann, R. (1933) 'Frühe griechische Keramik im Samischen Heraion'. *Athenische Mitteilungen* 58, 47-145.

Ervin, M. (1963) 'A relief pithos from Mykonos'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 18(Μελέτες), 37-75.

Ervin-Caskey, M. (1976) 'Notes on Relief Pithoi of the Tenian-Boiotian Group'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 80, 19-41.

Ervin-Caskey, M. (1980) 'Echion on the Mykonos Pithos. The Fulfillment of Prophecy'. *Στήλη. Τόμος εις μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος*, edited by G. Kanellou, 33-36. Αθήνα.

Gantz, T. (1993) *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary Artistic Sources*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Grimal, P. (1991) *Λεξικό της Ελληνικής και Ρωμαϊκής*. Thessaloniki: University Studio Press.

Hampe, R. (1952) *Die Gleichnisse Homers und die Bildkunst seiner Zeit*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Hampe, R. (1971) *Neuerwerbungen 1957-1970: Katalog der Sammlung antiker Kleinkunst*. Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern.

Helsen, A. (1970-1971) 'A Relief-Decorated Basin'. In Vol. VII of *Thorikos*, 155-171. Ghent: Comité des Fouilles Belges en Grèce.

Huber, S. (1999) 'Chronique des fouilles en Grèce en 1998'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 123(2), 793-794.

- Hübinger, U. and M. Menninger (2007) *Terrakotten der Westgriechen im Akademischen Kunstmuseum der Universität Bonn*. Rahden: Leidorf.
- Kaltsas, N., S. Fachard, A. Psalti and M. Giannopoulou, eds. (2004) *Eretria: A Guide to the Ancient City* [trans. S. Rendall]. Gollion: École Suisse d'Archéologie en Grèce.
- Keller, D. (1985) *Archaeological Survey in Southern Euboea, Greece: A Reconstruction of Human Activity from Neolithic Times through the Byzantine Period*. University of Indiana: Ann Arbor Michigan.
- Kerschner, M. and I. S. Lemos, eds. (2014) *Archaeometric Analyses of Euboean and Euboean Related Pottery: New Results and their Interpretations*. Vienna: Österreichischen Archäologisches Institut.
- Kontoleon, N. (1958) 'Theräisches'. *Athenische Mitteilungen* 73, 117-139.
- Kübler, K. (1970) 'Die Nekropole des späten 8. bis frühen 6. Jahrhunderts. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen'. Vol. VI(2) of *Kerameikos*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Kunze, E. (1961) 'Korinthische Helme'. In Vol. VII of *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, 56-128. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Marangou, L. (1983) 'Découvertes récentes à Amorgos'. In *Les Cyclades matériaux pour une étude de géographie historique. Table ronde réunie à l'Université de Dijon les 11, 12, 13 mars 1982*, 121-129. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- Mazarakis Ainian, A. and V. Vlachou (2014) 'Archaeometric Analysis of Early Iron Age Pottery Samples from Oropos: Local or Euboean Production?'. In *Archaeometric Analyses of Euboean and Euboean Related Pottery: New Results and their Interpretations*, edited by M. Kerschner and I. S. Lemos, 95-107. Vienna: Österreichischen Archäologisches Institut.
- McLoughlin, B. (2002) *Searching for the Potter's Intention: The Pithos Makers of Zagora*. Master's thesis. University of Sydney, Australia.
- McLoughlin, B. (2011) 'The Pithos Makers at Zagora: Ceramic Technology and Function in an Agricultural Settlement Context'. In *The 'Dark Ages' revisited: Acts of an International symposium in memory of William D.E. Coulson*, edited by A. M. Ainian, 869-884. Volos: University of Thessaly Press.
- Merker, G. S. (2003) 'Corinthian Terracotta Figurines. The Development of an Industry'. In *Corinth: The Centenary, 1896-1996*, edited by C. K. Williams and N. Bookidis, 233-245. Athens: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Miller, S. G. (1987) 'Archaic Relief Wares from the Nemea Area'. In *Φιλία Έπη εις Γεώργιον Ε. Μυλωνάν*, 266-284. Athens: Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία.
- Morris, S. P. (1984) *The Black and White Style. Athens and Aigina in the Orientalizing Period*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Moustaka, A. (2004) 'Neue lakonische Kratere aus dem samischen Heraion'. *Athenische Mitteilungen* 119, 55-66.
- Papadopoulos, J. K. (2003) 'Ceramicus redivivus: the early Iron Age potters' field in the area of the Classical Athenian Agora'. *Hesperia Supplement* 31.
- Payne, H. and T. J. Dunbabin (1962) *Perachora. The Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Sackett, L. H., V. Hankey, R. J. Howell, T. W. Jacobsen and M. R. Popham Sackett (1966) 'Prehistoric Euboea: Contributions toward a Survey'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 61, 33-112.
- Salviat, F. (1983a) 'La céramique thasienne orientalisante et l'origine des vases "méliens"'. In *Les Cyclades matériaux pour une étude de géographie historique. Table ronde réunie à l'Université de Dijon les 11, 12, 13 mars 1982*, 185-190. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- Salviat, F. (1983b) 'Plats creux insulaires à décor orientalisant à Thasos'. In *Les Cyclades matériaux pour une étude de géographie historique. Table ronde réunie à l'Université de Dijon les 11, 12, 13 mars 1982*, 201-216. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- Simantoni-Bournia, E. (2004) *La céramique grecque à reliefs: Ateliers insulaires du 7^e au 6^e siècle avant J.-C.* Geneva: Librairie Droz.
- Snodgrass, A. (1964) *Early Greek Armour and Weapons: from the end of the Bronze Age to 600 B.C.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Soueref, K. (1998) 'Eubei lungo la costa della Grecia settentrionale. Nuovi elementi'. In *EUBOICA. L'Eubea e*

- la presenza Euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente: Atti del convegno Internazionale di Napoli 13-16 novembre 1996*, edited by M. Bats and B. d'Agostino, 229-242. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard.
- Stern, W. B. and J-P. Descoedres (1977) 'X-Ray Fluorescence Analysis of Archaic Greek Pottery'. *Archaeometry* 19, 73-85.
- Stokes, J. L. (1905-1906) 'Stamped Pithos-Fragments from Cameiros'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 12, 71-79.
- Themelis, P. (2006) 'A relief pithos from Eretria: iconography and interpretation'. In *ΓΕΝΕΘΛΙΟΝ. Αναμνηστικός τόμος για την συμπλήρωση είκοσι χρόνων λειτουργίας του Μουσείου Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης*, edited by N. Stam-polidi, 95-106. Athens: Goulandris Foundation; Museum of Cycladic Art.
- Vanhove, D. (2006) 'Graffiti - Dipinti - Stamps'. Vol. III of *Thorikos*. Paris; Leuven: Peeters.
- Verdan, S., A. K. Pfyffer and C. Léderrey (2008) 'Céramique géométrique d'Érétrie'. Vol. XX of *Eretria*. Infolio editions: Gollion.
- Waldstein, C. (1902-1905) Vol. II of *The Argive Heraeum*. Boston; New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
- Walter, H. (1968) 'Frühe samische Gefässe'. Vol. V of *Samos*. Bonn: R. Habelt.
- Weinberg, S. S. (1954) 'Corinthian Relief Ware: Pre-Hellenistic Period'. *Hesperia* 23, 109-137.

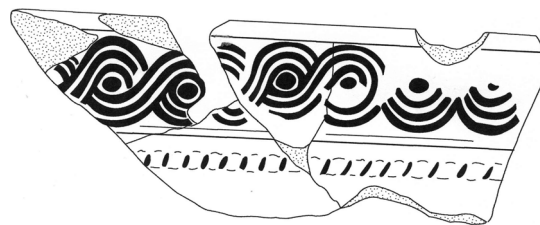
Εικόνες



Εικόνα 1: ΜΕ 18687: Θραύσμα ανάγλυφου ενεπίγραφου πίθου με παράσταση Κενταύρων.



Εικόνα 1α: ΜΕ 18687: Λεπτομέρεια του ανάγλυφου πίθου, στον οποίο διακρίνεται η επιγραφή *ιερός*.



Εικόνα 2-Σχέδιο 1 (A1): ΜΕ 18726+18802: Θραύσμα από χείλος ανάγλυφου πίθου, διακοσμημένο με ζώνη απλού πλοχμού και σχοινοειδές κόσμημα.



Εικόνα 3-Σχέδιο 2 (A2): ΜΕ 18806: Θραύσμα ανάγλυφου πίθου, διακοσμημένο με ζώνη απλού πλοχμού και σχοινοειδές κόσμημα.



Εικόνα 4-Σχέδιο 3 (A3): ΜΕ 18808: Θραύσμα από χείλος ανάγλυφου πίθου, διακοσμημένο με ζώνη απλού πλοχμού.



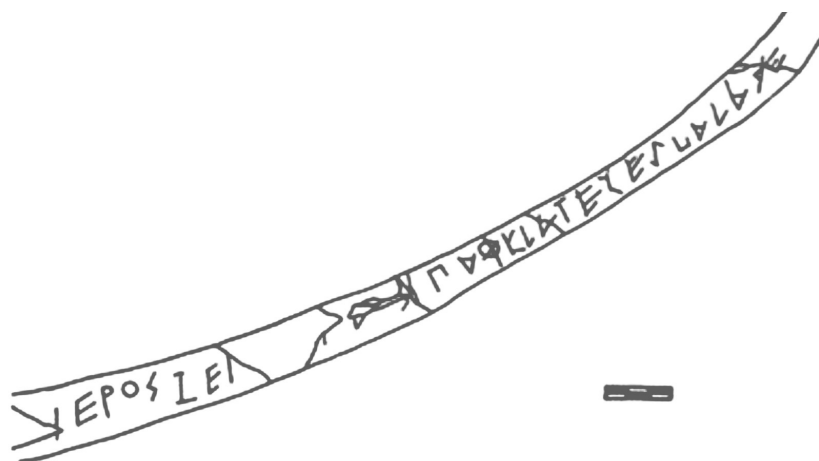
Εικόνα 5-Σχέδιο 4 (A4): ΜΕ 18858+18883: Θραύσματα από χείλος αγγείου, διακοσμημένα με το μοτίβο των ομόκεντρων κύκλων.



Εικόνα 6-Σχέδιο 5 (A5): ΜΕ 18923: Θραύσμα από πήλινη κυκλωτήρη πλάκα με ανάγλυφη παράσταση δύο αντιμέτωπων ζώων.



Εικόνα 7-Σχέδιο 6 (A6): ΜΕ 18871: Θραύσμα αγγείου με ανάγλυφη παράσταση πολεμιστή.



Σχέδιο 7: Αναθηματική επιγραφή χαραγμένη στο θραύσμα πίθου ΜΕ 18687 (εικόνες 1-1α).

Karystos revisited: Interaction networks of an Aegean island polity (sources and finds)

Maria CHIDIROGLOU

Περίληψη

Οι αρχαιολογικές πληροφορίες για τη νότια Εύβοια ήταν μέχρι πρόσφατα αρκετά περιορισμένες. Το 1852 ο Έλληνας διπλωμάτης και αρχαιολόγος από την Κωνσταντινούπολη Αλέξανδρος Ρίζος Ραγκαβής που είχε τολμήσει μια δια ξηράς επίσκεψη στη νότια Εύβοια από τη Χαλκίδα σκέφτηκε ότι κάποια από τα σωζόμενα αρχαία αρχιτεκτονικά κατάλοιπα στα Στύρα, την Κάρυστο και την Αρχάμπολη καθώς και μαρτυρίες σχετικές με τη λατρεία συνδέονταν με πληθυσμούς Δρυοπικής¹ καταγωγής. Περισσότερο από έναν αιώνα αργότερα, το 1972, ο Denis Knoepfler μελέτησε μορφές των λατρευτικών σχέσεων μεταξύ της Ερέτριας και της Καρύστου, παραπονούμενος για το γεγονός ότι το καρυστινό πάνθεο παρέμενε σε μεγάλο βαθμό άγνωστο (*le panthéon carystien échappant en grande partie à notre connaissance*)².

Από το τελευταίο τέταρτο του 20ού αιώνα μια σειρά επιφανειακών ερευνών, μελέτες των παλαιών ευρημάτων και πρόσφατες σωστικές εργασίες στην πόλη της Καρύστου και την καρυστία χώρα έχουν αποδώσει αρκετά νέα δεδομένα και έχουν τονίσει την ανάγκη για μια πιο εκσυγχρονισμένη έρευνα σχεδόν όλων των ζητημάτων της νότιας Εύβοιας. Στις φιλολογικές και επιγραφικές πηγές υπάρχουν άφθονες πληροφορίες σχετικά με τους θεούς που λατρεύτηκαν στην Κάρυστο, κυρίως για τον Απόλλωνα, την Άρτεμη και τον Ποσειδώνα. Άλλοι θεοί και θεές, όπως ο Δίας, η Αθηνά, η Αφροδίτη και η Κυβέλη απαντώνται σε γλυπτά, νομίσματα και ευρήματα κοροπλαστικής παλιά (ορισμένα από τα οποία είναι αδημοσίευτα) και νέα. Τα νέα ευρήματα επιβεβαιώνουν ή ανατρέπουν παλιές απόψεις, παρουσιάζουν καινούργια δεδομένα και μας δίνουν τη δυνατότητα να σκεφτούμε κάποιες από τις μεθόδους αξιοποίησης τόσο του λατρευτικού όσο και του οικονομικού τοπίου, καθώς και τα συστήματα διαχείρισης των πόρων που ενδεχομένως είχαν χρησιμοποιήσει οι αρχαίοι πληθυσμοί. Κατά τις συστηματικές επιφανειακές έρευνες, την πρώτη από τις οποίες πραγματοποίησε ο Donald Keller τη δεκαετία του 1980, εντοπίστηκε και χαρτογραφήθηκε μεγάλος αριθμός αρχαίων καταλοίπων στην περιοχή γύρω από τον κόλπο της Καρύστου και πλέον είναι δυνατή μια προκαταρκτική προσπάθεια για μια πρώτη αποκατάσταση του αρχαίου λατρευτικού τοπίου.³

Επιγραμματικά, με αυτό το άρθρο επιχειρείται μια φρέσκια ματιά στα παλιά και νέα δεδομένα σχετικά με τις θεότητες και τους ήρωες που λατρεύτηκαν στην αρχαία πόλη-κράτος της Καρύστου από τη Γεωμετρική μέχρι τη Ρωμαϊκή Αυτοκρατορική περίοδο, σύμφωνα με τις πληροφορίες που θα συγκεντρωθούν από την μελέτη των ευρημάτων της Καρύστου που βρίσκονται στο Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Καρύστου και στο Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Αθηνών. Επίσης το άρθρο περιλαμβάνει

1. Rangabé 1852, 31, 39, 45.

2. Knoepfler 1972, 292.

3. Keller 1985.

έναν μικρό αριθμό ευρημάτων από την Κάρυστο, σήμερα σε άλλα μουσεία της Ελλάδας ή του εξωτερικού, καθώς και επιγραφές που σχετίζονται με την πόλη και έχουν βρεθεί στη Δήλο, στους Δελφούς και στην περιοχή του Αιγαίου.

Introduction

Of the cities attested in our sources, four formed the core of Euboean political power in antiquity: Chalkis and Eretria in the centre of the island, Karystos in the south and Histiaia-Oreos in the north (Fig. 1).⁴ Research on Euboean sites began in the early 19th century with a number of scholarly visitors travelling to the island.⁵ Excavations were first undertaken in Eretria and its surrounding region near the end of the 19th century by C. Tsountas, K. Kourouniotis, G. Papavassileiou and the American School of Classical Studies in Athens and were continued by the Greek Archaeological Service, and the Swiss and the British Archaeological Schools.⁶ In other parts of the island, surveys and salvage excavations by the Greek Archaeological Service and various foreign archaeological schools began in the early 1960s.⁷ Little information on archaeological remains in the region of Karystos, the main city-state of southern Euboea, had been gathered before the 1980s. Beginning in the late 1990s, a number of research projects have been undertaken in this region and many new finds brought to light as a result.⁸ Based on literary and epigraphic references and taking into consideration new data, we will seek to trace political and economic affiliations of the city-state of Karystos, as these are attested in the cultic and other networks in which Karystos participated from the Archaic to the Early Roman Imperial period.⁹

From a methodological point of view, this paper attempts a reconnaissance of the ancient city of Karystos through the lens of its network connections in Euboea as well as beyond its immediate surroundings, in the Aegean. Connectivity and isolation, both found in the cultic and political agenda of ancient Karystos, are just two of a large number of lenses one can use to explore aspects of life in an ancient city through the study of relevant finds. It is well known that cult is connected to *polis* identity since the religious and the political sphere were never quite separated in the ancient Greek world.¹⁰ In developed city-states or in *poleis* under the rule of a dominant power, cult remained linked to politics, as well as to trade.¹¹ Ever since their emergence in the Early Archaic period, Greek *poleis* sought to establish various systems of values, such as religious, economic and political. An attempt to trace religious relations between ancient cities, through the study of literary and epigraphic data, leads

4. Bakhuizen and Kreulen 1976; Boardman 1957, 1-29; Cawkwell 1978, 42-67; Day 1951, 209-235; Fousaras 1964, 5-135; Geyer 1903; Hansen and Nielsen, s.v. Euboea, 643-663; Walker 2004.

5. e.g. visitors to southern Euboea: Girard 1851; 1852; Hawkins 1820; Rangabé 1852; Ross 1851, 25-32; Ulrichs 1842; 1863; Welcker 1850; 1856.

6. Synopsis in Ducrey et al. 2004, 64-65; Gex 1993, 12-13. See also Chidiroglou 2012, chapter I.

7. Reports on excavations, surveys and finds: see the *ArchDelt* series 16 to 56-59 (1960 to 2001-2004). Sackett et al. 1966, 33-112.

8. Survey and excavation projects in: Crielaard et al. 2012, 83-106; 2013, 35-56; Cullen et al. 2013; Keller 1985; Moutsopoulos 1982; Panagopoulou 1995; Tankosić and Chidiroglou 2010, 11-17; Wickens 2007. Overview until 2005, see Chidiroglou 2012.

9. For a thorough study of religious responses to the Mediterranean environment, including periods of institutional change, see Collar 2009, 144-157; Horden and Purcell 2000, 401-460; Malkin 2011, 20-21, 25-48, 205-224, passim (also on the Euboean colonization network in which Karystos is not attested to have participated, unless we dubiously claim that ancient references to 'colonists from Euboea' may have also included Karystos, as well as Chalkis and Eretria); Malkin et al. 2011; Rutherford 2009, 24-38. For a sociological approach to ancient religion(s), see also Durkheim ([1915]2008). Lucien Febvre and Fernand Braudel, representatives of the *Annales* School, are important figures in studies of sociological historiography of the Mediterranean. See also Abulafia 2011.

10. Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 295-322; 2000, 38-55. Also, see, for instance, Laidlaw 1933, 45.

11. See, for instance, Wickersham 1991, 16-31.

therefore to the discovery of more tangible networks, such as networks of trade and finance, politics and diplomacy. The religion of any given region interacts with its economy, principles, ideas, myths and traditions, which transcend space.¹² *Polis* institutions such as *proxenies*, *koinon* and amphictyonic representations, together with civic dedications in Panhellenic sanctuaries, can be useful in tracing extended networks of connectivity. Shrines located or testified can in theory be united to form a network that constitutes a landscape of an ancient city and makes this fragmented micro-region meaningful.¹³ These data, together with testimonia on the political and economic bonding systems (in the form of reciprocal and *xyngeneia* ties), which the *polis* participated in, help us move towards a better reconnaissance of a given polity.

Early cults and foundation myths

Karystos is mentioned in the ‘Catalogue of Ships’ in the *Iliad*.¹⁴ The city is also connected through myth, literary sources and epigraphic finds to the early cult networks of Apollo in the Aegean region, Miletos¹⁵ and Delphi.¹⁶ According to the literary sources, the early inhabitants of Karystos were Dryopes, a population group that is also related to Apollonian mythic contexts. Dryopian kings who insulted Apollo at Delphi are killed by Herakles in myths that also refer to feasting and to an early local economy based on cattle. In these myths emphasis is placed on what is represented as a non-civilized or unlawful community group about to be chastised by the hero. Theft of cattle, feasts and itinerancy are often the main *topoi* and motifs of these stories.¹⁷ Myths of origin and descent are important in tracing *polis* identities and connection networks that are based on religion.¹⁸ Although many of these references to a Dryopian community with its errant kings are late, they indicate, together with other finds,¹⁹ that a locus of an early agrarian, cattle-raising community existed in southern Euboea. This locus may have been in the form of small, dispersed settlements, such as *komai* or hamlets,²⁰ the building remains of which have been located during recent surveys.²¹ Epigraphic and architectural finds in Kokkaloi and Palaiochora to the north of the modern town and to the south of the medieval Castel Rosso, indicate that a main civic, administrative, political and religious centre existed in this area from the Early Classical to the Late Hellenistic period (Fig. 2).²²

12. See Horden and Purcell 2000, 401-460. This ‘kaleidoscopic’ approach to the study of cult and the *polis* based on literary and epigraphical evidence, as well as finds, is explored in Sourvinou-Inwood 2007, 357-389.

13. Horden and Purcell 2000, 422.

14. *Iliad* 2.539.

15. Conon, *FGrHist* 26, F 1.44. Nicolaus of Damascus, *FGrHist* 90, F 52, 53. P. Oxy. 2508, line 6. Phot. 140 a. See also: Chapman et al. 1993, 17.

16. Testimonies and related finds summarized in Chidiroglou 1996-1997, 176-179.

17. Dryopes: Diodorus Siculus 4.37; Herodotos 8.46.4 and 8.43.1; Thucydides 7.57.4. Dryopian Kings Phylas, Laogoras, Theiodamas: Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautika* 1.1207-1.1220; Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis* 3.160-161; *Aetia* 6; Diodorus Siculus 4.37.1-2; Mnaseas Patreus, *FGrHist*, 4, F 131 a; Pseudo-Apollodorus 2.6.7. For Hylas, see also Antoninus Liberalis, *Metamorphoses*, 26. Sources and myths connected to Dryopes are collected in Fourgous 1989, 5-32. Theft of cattle as a typical myth motif and Herakles: Burkert 1997, 130-132. The rest of the large Euboean city-states, such as Eretria and Chalkis, claimed Ionian origin, as did the Athenians: Euripides, *Ion* 1575-1588; Thucydides 7.57.4.

18. Smith 1999, 15. cf. Athenian Ionianism and its ties of *xyngeneia* (claimed origin or colonial-type bonds) with Chalkis, Eretria and Styra, in Fragoulaki 2013, 214-220.

19. For instance, Karystos is mentioned in Linear B tablets from Thebes: Aravantinos 1987, 33-40.

20. In the Karystian *chora*, habitation loci, such as Kyrnos, Orchomenos and Geraistos, are attested by the sources: Kyrnos: Herodotos 9.105. Orchomenos: Strabo 9.2.42. For Geraistos, see among many other literary references: *Odysees* 3.176-3.179; Thucydides 3.3.5. For a synopsis of sources and finds, see Chidiroglou 2009, 1085-1105.

21. e.g. Keller 1985, 153-157; Keller and Schneider 2011, 96-105, figs. 1 and 2. Apart from the main *poleis*, over 100 nucleated settlements are attested for the whole of Euboea: see Hansen and Nielsen 2004, s.v. Euboea, 644-647.

22. Decrees of the Karystian demos found in Palaiochora: *IG* XII.9.2, 7-9, 17, 18. Finds from Kokkaloi, Palaiochora,

An early sanctuary was located on the Plakari hill to the west of the modern town. Recent research at this site has demonstrated that cultic activities which were performed there, such as ritual meals, span from the 10th to the late 4th century BC.²³ A fragmentary stele containing religious regulations of the 4th century BC with mention of a contest (ἀγών) was found built in a sheep-shed at this site in the mid-1980s.²⁴ An *apothetes* with Protogeometric to Late Geometric finds and a building complex in use from the Early Archaic to the Late Classical period are some of the main features of the site. A number of black-glazed and plain vases of the 5th and 4th centuries BC came to light in one excavated building. Some had graffiti, such as HI,²⁵ often interpreted as $\text{HI}(\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu)$ or $\text{HI}(\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma)$, i.e. 'sacred'.²⁶ This type of graffiti, together with other excavation data, helps us confirm cultic activities at Plakari. Other graffiti on vases from Plakari, such as the ligature AΠ²⁷ (Fig. 3) can be interpreted in various ways. Given the context, one possible interpretation would be that the abbreviation AP stands for Apollo Ἄπ(όλλωνος)—Ἀρ(όλλο's)—as the deity that received *ex-votos* and libations at this site.²⁸ In the same context, a clay fragment bearing the incised letters AR from Plakari could perhaps indicate that both Apollo and Artemis were worshipped in this sanctuary. Other restorations of these abbreviated graffiti, such as owners' or dedicators' names could, however, also be valid.²⁹

The existence of a cult site or sites dedicated to Apollo, in both his Delian and Pythian form, as well as to Artemis, is attested for many periods in Karystos.³⁰ One tale that stands on the limit between myth and historical reality is useful in exploring this cult. According to Herodotos, Karystos is one of the cities on the route of the mythic Hyperborean people making offerings to Apollo on Delos. Following this itinerary, Karystos is situated after Scythia, the Adriatic, Dodona and the Maliaic Bay, and it is followed by Tenos.³¹ This story of offerings to the Delian Apollo from some northern region, together with another of this god's sojourns in the north in winter, is found in a number of ancient sources.³² Although it has been suggested that the offerings were first fruits, swan eggs, honey or amber beads, their true nature remains unknown.³³ The tale is considered to incorporate ancient pilgrimage as well as trade routes, and apparently includes one stopover in southern Euboea. A later version of this tale which

Castel Rosso and Drymonia include walls *in situ*, marble column capitals and bases, fragments of sculpture and sherds in Karystos Museum, overviewed in: Keller 1985, 123-125, 127-128, 131-148, 201-202, 205 (including cited Byzantine chapels inv. nos. 92, 93, 96-98 in Palaiochora built almost entirely of ancient blocks). See also Chidiroglou 2012, chapter II.

23. Crielaard et al. 2012, 83-106.

24. Keller 1985, 104-105, no. 41, fig. 39. Keller and Schneider 2011, 98, fig. 3a-b. *SEG* LVI, 1037.

25. The graffito HI is found on the black-glazed handleless bowl (salt cellar) MK 2531, of the last quarter of the 5th century BC, on the black-glazed base fragments of cup MK 2573 and possibly on the fragmentary black-glazed cup MK 1968, both of the Classical period, as well as on a bronze collar that may represent a piece of armour. All were found in the same square building at Plakari, which was probably used for the preparation and consumption of ritual meals, i.e. it was a *hestiatorion*. Chidiroglou 2014, 57, 59, 67, fig. 2: 12; Crielaard et al. 2013, 40-47.

26. cf. for instance, for Euboea, Chatzidimitriou 2004-2009, 525, 526, 532, figs. and drawings 5, 7, 20 (sherds of black-glazed pots with the graffiti HI, H and IE found in a sanctuary of Apollo Delios in Zarakes in central Euboea).

27. The graffito AΠ or ΠA, as a ligature, was inscribed on the small, black-glazed, two-handled, stemless cup MK 1914 and on the black-glazed handleless bowl MK 1915. Based on their Attic and local parallels, the cup is dated from the second quarter of the 5th to the end of this century and the bowl also in the 5th century BC. See Chidiroglou 2014, 56-60, 63, 66, figs. 2: 8, 10.

28. For the abbreviation Ἄπ(όλλωνος), cf. *SEG* XXXI, 776.

29. Sherd from Plakari with graffito AR: Ἄρ[τεμῖς] or Ἄρ[τέμιδος]: Chidiroglou 2005, 79, n. 43. This graffito can be reconstructed in various other ways, as for instance: [K]ἀρ[ύστος] or [K]αρ[ύστου].

30. Inscribed statue base of the 1st century AD from Karystos with dedication to Apollo and Artemis: *IG* XII 9, 14. Overviews of relevant data in: Chidiroglou 1996-1997, 176-179; Chatzidimitriou 2006, 1082-1088. Constantakopoulou 2007, 52-53.

31. Herodotos 4.33.2.

32. Other sources: Cicero, *De natura deorum* 3.23; Diodorus Siculus 2.47; Mela 3.5; Pausanias 5.7.8; Pindar, *Pythian* 10.30; Strabo 15.1.57; Virgil, *Georgics* 3.196. See also Bouzek 2000, 57-62; Homolle 1890, 500-501; Laidlaw 1933, 40-45, 53-54; Tréheux 1953, 758-774; De Santerre-Gallet 1958, 165-173.

33. Pausanias 1.31.2; Tréheux 1953, 764-766.

includes the Athenian colony of Sinope and a partial route change, so as to reach the Attic harbour of Prasiai, probably contained aspects of Athenian political propaganda related to its trade expansion.³⁴

An *oikos* of the Karystians, a female *neokoros*, Karystian *hieragogoi*, *theoroi* and *lampades* are epigraphically attested in Delos from the late 4th to the 2nd century BC, as are other cult and political connections between the two *poleis*.³⁵ The city of Karystos, as well as a number of its citizens, received loans from the sanctuary of Apollo at Delos in the early to mid-4th century and around the mid-2nd century BC.³⁶ Cases like these that combine religious aspects with economic issues are useful indicators of the close relations trade and cult had in antiquity.³⁷

Cultic geography of a rural polis

As well as origins and identities, ancient cult is also closely connected to geography. Previous research has acknowledged that the geography of religion is meaningful in definitions of various micro-regions, in tracing relations between them and the outside world.³⁸ In ancient Greece, city and *chora* landscapes, including areas with manifest resource output or those situated within limits or borders, are often consecrated to deities with appropriate military, civic, maritime or agricultural character.

A large number of sites were found during surveys and salvage work in the Karystian *chora*³⁹—that is, the hinterland that belonged to the ancient city-state of Karystos.⁴⁰ As part of Euboea and the Aegean world, the Karystian region corresponds to the typical Mediterranean environmental resource base: it has the Mediterranean triad of crops such as wheat, vines and olives.⁴¹ Fishing and animal husbandry are some of the main occupations of its inhabitants, together with quarrying local stones, even today.⁴²

Sanctuaries dedicated to Poseidon, Dionysos, probably Demeter and Kore, and to Herakles are epigraphically attested for ancient Karystos, and Zeus appears on coins of the local mint.⁴³ With the exception of the cultic site of Poseidon Geraistios, located in modern Kastri, and maybe of Apollo at Plakari, the locations of the other deities remain unknown or can only be hypothesized on the basis of chance finds. Worship of Cybele, Hermes and Isis is only sporadically attested, but it is likely that these cults were practised.⁴⁴ A surface find from Paximadi, the western peninsula of the Karystos Bay, attests

34. Mineur 1984, 227; Parke 1967, 285-286.

35. *Oikos* of Karystians at Delos: *IG XI 2*, 144, A.1, 88 (shortly before 301 BC); *IG XI 2*, 145, 9-10 (302 BC); *IG XI 2*, 287, A.1, 78 (250 BC); *ID 1401*, e.1, 10 (after 166 BC). See also Chapman et al. 1993, 4; De Santerre-Gallet 1958, 298. Karystian *neokoros*: *IG XI 2*, 287, A.1, 78. Karystian *hieragogoi*: *ID Comptes 291*, b.1, 8 (shortly after 248 BC). Karystian *theoroi* and *lampades*: *IG XI 2*, 287 A.1, 73 (250 BC). Davis 1937, 109; Laidlaw 1933, 49; Tréheux 1953, 771, 772; Vallois 1944, 63, n. 4, 423. For Karystios and Geryllos used as personal names for Delian residents, see Vial 1984, 270, 289, 298, 310-312. For theoric networks, see Rutherford 2009, 24-38.

36. *IG II 814*. *ID 98*. *IG II² 1635* and Roberts and Gardner 1905, 122; *ID 104* (28). *IG XII 9*, 159. Laidlaw 1933, 79; Reger 1994, 60, 160-161. Tod 1985, 72-82, no. 125.

37. See, for instance, Strabo 10.5.4.

38. Horden and Purcell 2000, 406-407.

39. The Karystian *chora* is bordered by coastline on all sides, apart from the north-west. For this border between the Karystian territory and the ancient demos of Styra, which was incorporated into the Eretrian territory in the late 5th to early 4th century BC, see Knoepfler 1971, 223-244; Reber 2002, 40-53. See also Hansen and Nielsen 2004, s.v. Euboea, 658.

40. Catalogues of sites in: Chidiroglou 2012; Keller 1985; Tankosić and Chidiroglou 2010; Wickens 2007.

41. See Horden and Purcell 2000, 45-49, 77-122; Morley 2007, 17-34.

42. Ancient sources mention Karystian cereal, fish and marbles. Cereal: Theophrastus, *Historia Plantarum*, 8.4. Fish: Athenaios 7.68, 295c, 302a, 304d. Marble quarries, see e.g. Strabo 10.1.6.

43. Cult attested in inscriptions from Karystos: Poseidon: *IG XII 9*, 44; Jacobsen and Smith 1968, 184-199. See also Schumacher 1993, 62-87. Dionysos: *IG XII 9*, 20. Demeter or Kore or other female deity: *IG XII 9*, 25. Herakles: *IG XII 9*, 15. Cult of Zeus and possibly of Hera attested on bronze coins of the Karystian mint: Tsourti 2006, 202-203, figs. 23 and 24.

44. Cybele: Chidiroglou 2006, 1058-1059, 1065-1066, fig. 2. Also, a small marble *naiskos* of Cybele is in Karystos Museum: Chidiroglou 2012, chapter IV. Isis and Hermes: *IG XII 9 Suppl.* 530; Chatzidimitriou 1999, 226; Gager 1992, 86, no. 19,

to the worship of Pan.⁴⁵ The local founding heroes Cheiron and Karystos⁴⁶ as well as the heroized local Olympic victor Glaukos⁴⁷ are most likely to have had shrines of their own. Also, a feast in honour of Aristonikos, a local ball-player who campaigned with Alexander the Great, would have been held at a shrine to this athlete. Aristonikos may have also acted as a political agent, as an interpretation of a much-restored inscription would have him.⁴⁸

A number of offerings were dedicated by the *polis* of Karystos and by some of its citizens to sanctuaries in other regions, such as to the sanctuary of Apollo in Delos around the mid-2nd century BC and to that in Delphi in the 4th-3rd century BC.⁴⁹ Votives by Karystians are also attested from the late 4th to late 3rd century BC in inventories of the sanctuary of the healing god Amphiaraos at Oropos.⁵⁰ Around 479 BC, at the end of the Persian Wars, the city of Karystos dedicated a bronze bull at Delphi in thanksgiving for having regained the freedom to cultivate their land,⁵¹ and two crowns in the Athenian Acropolis were inventoried in 370/369 BC and 368/367 BC.⁵² Dedications by a *polis* to an outside sanctuary of fame are often connected to periods of economic regrowth, to victories, or even to periods of political unrest.

Cult attested inside the urban space is best connected to *polis* identity in the form of community bonding. Priests of Dionysos, from an elite Karystian *genos*, are attested in two inscriptions of the 2nd century AD.⁵³ The cult was, however, established earlier in Karystos, as another fragmentary inscription of the late 4th-early 3rd century BC proves.⁵⁴ Based on survey results, a sanctuary of this god could be located in the well-watered site of Drymonia—that is, the western section of Palaiochora—at a short distance from excavated cemeteries of the Archaic and Classical periods.⁵⁵ In the later inscription the god's epithet—Demoteles (good and resourceful for the people)—points to civic qualities, such as the welfare of the local community that was attributed to Dionysos in Karystos. Dionysos was, therefore, connected in this case to contexts closely related to the local *polis* and its communal identity. Based on local myths, the worship of this god in southern Euboea also contained elements of his chthonic aspect and powers of epiphany.⁵⁶ Other cults were certainly located in the urban area, as chance finds indicate.⁵⁷

Sources and inscriptional finds also offer data for the Karystian *chora* or rural space.⁵⁸ In the Kar-

fig. 11; Guarducci 1978, 248-249; Robert 1936, 17-18, no. 13, pl. 8; Wallace 1972, 304, no. 49. Isolated examples of theophoric names connected to Mithras and Serapis are attested in Karystos and its region and they do not constitute proof of local cults: *IG XII 9*, 33 (of uncertain date); Wallace 1972, 305, no. 54. *IG XII 9*, 11 (mid-2nd century AD, with provenance from Karystos disputed; Cairns 2001, 121-136).

45. Keller 1985, 102, 269-270, fig. 35 (bronze Pan figurine dated at the end of the 4th century BC).

46. *Scholia ad Lycophron* 580. *Hellenic Anthology* 14.68.

47. Pausanias, 6.10.1-3. Simonides, frag. 23 Diehl (8 Bergk). Rose 1933, 165-167.

48. Athenaios 1.19 a. *IG XII 9*, 207, 41. *IG II²* 385 A+B. *SEG XXI*, 341. Dow 1963, 77-92.

49. Dedications by Karystians at Delos: *ID* 1416, 1417, 1452. *Aparchai* offered by Karystians and other Euboeans to the Delphic sanctuary: *CID II*, 1, 4, 24, 120. *FD III* 5, 3, 92.

50. Dedications by Karystians in the Amphiareion at Oropos: *IG VII* 303. Petrakos 1997, 313, 324, 394. *SEG XXXI*, 445.

51. Bronze bull at Delphi: Pausanias 10.16.6. The base of this dedication was identified in Delphi: Gauer 1968, 111-115.

52. *IG II²* 1425, lines 123-124. In this period of Theban ascendancy, the Euboean cities were allied to Thebes and Athens: Xenophon, *Hellenika* 6.5.23. *CAH VI²*, 188-189.

53. 1) *IG XII 9*, 20 (MK 83). *SEG LVI*, 1036. See also Bursian 1856, 34; Girard 1878, 275-276, no. 2; Papavasileiou 1910, 101-102, no. 29; Young 1930, 10. The relocation of the inscribed stone and its subsequent transfer to Karystos Museum was accomplished by A. Choremis: see Choremis 1971, 261, no. 3; Wallace 1972, 299-300, no. 32. 2) *IG XII 9*, 21 (the word Dionysos is a reconstruction). See also Wallace 1972, 296, no. 18.

54. Wallace 1972, 312, no. 3 (MK 26).

55. This hypothetical site identification is briefly outlined in Chidiroglou 2011, 154-155.

56. *Dionysos Demoteles*: *IG XII 9*, 20. For a contextual interpretation of *Demoteles* as an epithet of a god or goddess, see Pirenne-Delforge 2005, 55-68. Cave with *xoanon* of Dionysos in southern Euboea: Pausanias, 2.23.1.

57. An inscribed block of local schist stone with the word *hieron* was found *in situ* in a garden in Palaiochora: Chidiroglou 2012, chapter III.

58. For the Karystian *chora* and Styra at its north-eastern border, see Hansen and Nielsen 2004, s.v. Euboea, 658; Knoepfler 1971, 223-244; Reber 2002, 40-53.

ystian cultic geography the sanctuary and refugee resort of Poseidon Geraistios at Kastri, to the east of Karystos, was an important sacred site. This ancient harbour site of Geraistos has been securely located at Kastri on the basis of epigraphic finds.⁵⁹ The sanctuary is probably located at or near the small promontory in this location (Fig. 4).⁶⁰ The first mention of this long-lived sanctuary appears in the *Odyssey* and many later sources refer to it.⁶¹ Its official character and fame were renowned among the island polities of the Aegean, as is demonstrated by the dissemination of the theophoric names that developed out of the god's epithet.⁶² The feast of Geraistia was celebrated in Geraistos.⁶³ A cult of Artemis with the rare epithet Bolosia is also attested in Geraistos.⁶⁴ Coastal cultic sites were included in the Karystian religious topography and they corroborate the maritime orientation of Karystian interests.

Cultic sites are, however, also found further inland. Building remains of a sanctuary of the 5th century BC, which was probably dedicated to Athena, are located in Platanistos to the north of Kastri (Fig. 5).⁶⁵ The plan to construct an imposing building of this type in honour of the patron deity of Athens has been theoretically connected to the ways Athenian expansionist politics sought to manifest themselves in southern Euboea,⁶⁶ although a local interest in investing in a religious site in Platanistos, a natural plateau near woodland, cannot be dismissed. Also, a cult of Aphrodite is attested by an inscription of the 5th century BC found in Platanistos.⁶⁷ An ancient sacred site is located on the top of Mount Ochi, where Zeus and Hera may have been worshipped and the so-called 'Dragon House' was also constructed.⁶⁸

Outside the limits of their city-state, Karystians are known to have participated in the feast of Artemis Amarynthia at her temple, which was located somewhere in Amarynthos in the Eretrian *chora*.⁶⁹ Participation in feasts that transcend the boundaries of one city-state empowers group solidarity, especially in times of political unrest.⁷⁰ A typical pan-Euboean platform of solidarity for the *poleis* of the island is the formation of the Euboean *Koinon*, with coin types shared by all cities, including Karystos.⁷¹ The occasional use of a long year of 384 days with an inserted month of 30 days is attested in the Karystian calendar for the period from the late 4th to the 2nd century BC.⁷² The insertion of a month into the local calendar may be attributed to the task of the Karystian *archons* to organize participation of Karystos in pan-Euboean feasts, such as the Artemisia in Amarynthos and the feast of Dionysia-Demetria, which were celebrated in Eretria, Chalkis, Oreos and Karystos in rotating order.⁷³

59. *IG XII 9*, 44. Jacobson and Smith 1968, 184-199; *SEG XLIV*, 710.

60. For a synopsis of data, see Schumacher 1993, 62-87; Chidiroglou 2009, 1085-1105.

61. Aristophanes, *Knights* 561; Arrian, *Anabasis*, 2.1.2; Demosthenes 4.34; Euripides, *Cyclops* 295; Euripides, *Orestes* 990-994; *Odyssey* 3.177-3.179; Livy 31.45.10; Lucian, *Jupiter trageodeus* 25; *Scholia ad Pindar, Olympian* 13.159 b; Strabo 10.1.2, 7; Thucydides 3.3.5; Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 3.4.4; Stephanus Byzantios, s.v. Γεραιστόρ.

62. Chidiroglou 2012, chapter III. The word *Geraistios*, Poseidon's proonym in Karystia, comes from *geras*, prize of honour, so a more general interpretation of some of the theophoric names is also possible.

63. *Scholia ad Pindar Olympian* 3.159. Ringwood 1929, 386.

64. *IG XII 9*, 1258; Prokopios, *De Bellis*, 8.22.27-9; Wallace 1972, 332-334.

65. Goette 2000, 399-403; 2007, 284. *Inscriptions in situ*: 1) Rangabé 1852, 46. *IG XII 9*, 42 and 2) Goette 2007, 287-288, fig. 4.

66. Goette 2007, 288.

67. *IG XII 9*, 43; Bursian 1856, 36-37; Jeffery [1961]1990, 89, no. 28; Wallace 1972, 302. Another inscription preserving only the word *hieros* was found in the same region: *IG XII 9*, 49.

68. Baumeister 1864, 29-30; Hawkins 1820, 285-293; Lolling 1989, 421-426; Moutsopoulos 1982, 281-325; Powell 1899, 31-32; Rangabé 1852, 34-35; Ross 1851, 30-31; Sackett et al. 1966, 81, no. 91; Ulrichs 1842, 5-11; 1863, 252-259; Welcker 1850, 376-392; 1856, 611-617. See also: Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1989, 29-31.

69. Livy 35.38.3; Knoepfler 1972, 283-301.

70. Chankowski 2005, 192-196.

71. *IG XII 9*, 898, 899 B; Wallace 1972, 227, 230-233; Picard 1979.

72. *IG XII 9*, 8; Paspaliotis 1856, 267-269; Papavasileiou 1910, 102-103, no. 30; Wallace 1972, 269, 292, 313-314, no. 8.

73. *IG XII 9*, 207. *SEG XXXIV*, 896; Aneziri 2007, 80-81. The feast of Δημήτριά(ι)α, as it is spelled on the inscription, was joined to a most probably older feast of Dionysia. These Demetria were celebrated in honour of the Macedonian king Demetrius Poliorketes.

Cult and politics—an astygeiton and his neighbours

Karystos maintained political, trade and religious bonds with the other large Euboean cities, chiefly with Eretria, its friendly city-neighbour according to Herodotos.⁷⁴ For the greater part of the 5th and 4th centuries BC, when Karystos was a member of the First and the Second Athenian League, and until the signing of separate peace treaties of the Euboean cities with Athens in 357/356 BC, the city must have been under democratic rule (Fig. 6). A more-or-less temporary change to oligarchy probably occurred when a number of Karystians participated in the oligarchic coup that took place in Athens in 411 BC.⁷⁵ During the late 5th to early 4th century BC, Karystos, as was the case with many other Greek cities, was drawn for brief periods into the sphere of Spartan and Theban dominance, which in the second half of the 4th century BC was followed by the expansion of Macedonia.⁷⁶

With regard to local administration and politics, a Karystian *boule* is attested from the Late Classical to the Hellenistic period.⁷⁷ *Archon* and other officials' names are attested in decrees and coins of the city.⁷⁸ The controversial existence of the official body of *probouloi* in Karystos has been suggested (doubtfully) for both the Roman and earlier periods.⁷⁹ The political, military, trade and religious bonds of Karystos with Athens involved many aspects of ancient city life. One example of this relation is the large number of funerary stelai and columns of Karystians⁸⁰ who were buried in Athens as *xenoi* or metics. These tombstones date from the Late Classical period to the end of Hellenistic times.⁸¹ A few stelai of Karystian *xenoi* of Hellenistic to Roman Imperial date have been also found in Eretria, Kos and Cyprus.⁸²

Aegean and mainland trade networks

Aside from cultic connections, ancient cities formed multiple political and economic bonds with other city-states, such as those attested in proxeny decrees.⁸³ Greek *proxenoi* represented their city of origin in political, military, trade, entertainment and religious activities in host cities.⁸⁴ Stelai with honorary or proxeny decrees were set up in important sanctuaries of the city conferring the honours and other stelai in the city of the honoured person.⁸⁵ The honours were usually diplomatic immunity, exemption from taxes, and safety during war.⁸⁶ Decrees issued by Greek cities with honours conferred on Karystian *proxenoi* can be used to investigate the political, trade and cult networks in which the city

74. Herodotos 6.99.2.

75. Karystos in the Tribute Lists: *IG* I³ 259, 262-265, 269-271, 279, 280, 71, 289, 100. See Hansen and Nielsen 2004, s.v. Euboeia, 658. Participation of Karystian soldiers in the oligarchic coup in 411 BC: Thucydides 8.69.3. See also Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 1058-1060. Meiggs 1972, 569; Wallace 1972, 190.

76. Karystos allied to Sparta in 405 BC: Pausanias 10.9.10. Euboean cities allied to Thebes from 371 to 362/361 BC: Xenophon, *Hellenika* 6.5.23. Karystos allied to Athens in the Lamian War in 323-322 BC: e.g. Pausanias, 1.25.4; Diodorus Siculus 28.11.2 and 17.8. See also: Wallace 1972, 59-69, 259-266.

77. A Karystian *boule* is mentioned for instance in the inscriptions: *IG* XII 9, 17. *IG* XII *Suppl.* 174.

78. Karystian *archons* are mentioned, for instance, in the inscriptions: *IG* XII 9, 7-9. *IG* XII 9 *Suppl.* 174, 7, 11. *SEG* XXV, 1041. *SEG* LVI, 516. For *archons'* names on coins, see for instance Waggoner 1980, 5. Synopsis in: Chidiroglou 2012, chapter III.vi.

79. *IG* XII 9, 2 and 11; Cairns 2001, 121-136.

80. For an overview on ethnics as *polis* identity, see Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 58-69.

81. Overviews of these finds: Osborne and Byrne 1996, 115-119. See also Chidiroglou 2012, chapter III, B.V.a.

82. Funerary stones of Karystians in Eretria: *IG* XII 9, 254 (ethnicity? partly reconstructed), *IG* XII 9, 793, 823; Karaschalidou 1985, 111, fig. 8. In Kos: Segre 2007, EF 345. In Cyprus: Mitford 1950, 44, 22.

83. Mack 2015. See also: Marek 1984, 333-337, 339-343, 350-351, 355, 357-367, 371-374, 376-377.

84. Gauthier 1972, 17-33; Mack 2015; Marek 1984, 333-391.

85. See, for instance, Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 98-102.

86. See, for instance, Herodotos 1.69.3-1.70.1 and 6.21.1-2; Euripides, *Elektra* 394-395, 404-405. Gauthier 1972, 21-23.

of Karystos was involved. Most Karystian *proxenoi* (Fig. 7, nos. 1-17) are in decrees that date from the late 3rd to the 1st century BC, a period of Macedonian dominion and Athenian resistance to their rule, and, as of the mid-2nd century BC, of Roman ascendancy in Greece.

The city of Athens represented a major centre in the political affiliation network of Karystos in all periods.⁸⁷ The Karystian *proxenoi* mentioned in Athenian decrees of the Late Classical and Hellenistic times are the largest group. The political activities of the Karystian *proxenoi* Timosthenes I and II cover the period from the end of the 4th to the third quarter of the 3rd century BC. Timosthenes I was honoured as *proxenos* and *synedros* of the Athenians in 306/305 BC. He appears to have offered help to the Athenians during the Lamian (323-322 BC) or the Four-Year War (315-311 BC), as well as during the campaign of the Macedonian Kassandros in Attica.⁸⁸ Timosthenes' homonymous great-grandson or grandson was honoured by the Athenians in similar fashion in 229/228 BC.⁸⁹ The Karystian Prytanis, son of Astykleides, a peripatetic philosopher from the School of Aristotle and law-giver to the Arcadian Megalopolis, is another political figure who was honoured by the Athenians with a proxeny decree in 226/225 BC.⁹⁰ The Karystian Eunomos, son of Kephesios, was honoured as *proxenos* by the demos of Eretria in the early 3rd century BC⁹¹ (Fig. 8) and between 240 and 180 BC six Karystian *proxenoi* were honoured by the city of Oropos, situated on the mainland coast opposite Eretria.⁹²

In the Cyclades, the Karystian Ainesias, son of Epainetos, was honoured as *proxenos* of Ios in the 4th century BC.⁹³ Three Karystians were honoured as *proxenoi* of Delos during the first half of the 3rd century BC.⁹⁴ The city of Karthaia on Kea honoured six local men who sailed to Karystos after 273 BC, apparently on some business involving both cities.⁹⁵ Kimolos issued a decree that honoured the Karystian Charianthos as a foreign judge assigned by a Macedonian king (Antigonos Gonatas or Antigonos Doson) to solve private disputes in this island, in the years 250-221 BC.⁹⁶ According to the inscription, the stele was erected in the sanctuary of Poseidon Geraistios in southern Euboea and a second one in that of Athena Polias in Kimolos.⁹⁷ Andros honoured an unknown number of Karystian men in the early 2nd century BC probably for similar reasons.⁹⁸

In the north-eastern Aegean, two Karystian men, probably brothers, named [M]antis and [..] ophron, sons of Aristokrates, were honoured as *proxenoi* of the city of Eressos in Lesbos, in the 3rd century BC.⁹⁹ Karystian *proxenoi* or mercenaries or slaves are mentioned in a partly preserved decree of Chios dated to the 3rd century BC.¹⁰⁰

Some cities of the Greek mainland may be added to this list. A proxeny decree dated to 277/276 or 275/274 referring to honours given to a Karystian or Cyrenean Diok[les], son of Socrates, was found

87. One of the earliest is an Athenian decree honouring a *naukleros* or sea-merchant named Pythophanes of the city of ---tion, dated in the late 5th-early 4th century BC: *IG* II² 12. *IG* I³ 98. *SEG* III, 71. *IG* XII 9, 150, 116; Monceaux 1886, 322; Reed 2003, 125, no. 48, n. 74; Walbank 1978, 389-390. The city ethnicity, however, of the honoured person is better reconstructed as that of Φαιστίων, instead of Καρυστίων: Meiggs and Lewis [1969]1988, 80. See also Wallace 1972, 216-217, n. 34.

88. *IG* II² 467 = *SIG*³ 327; *IG* XII *Suppl.* 200, 1.

89. *IG* II² 832 = *Syll.*³ 496.

90. *IG* II² 443 and Tracy 1990, 52-53; *IG* XII 9 *Suppl.* 200-201, no. 2; *SEG* XXV, 106; Woodhead 1997, no. 224, pl. 23.

91. *IG* XII 9, 211; Knoepfler 2001, 212-218, no. XII. See also Chapman et al. 1993, 48, 82; Geyer 1930, 177; Rhodes and Lewis 1997, 247.

92. *IG* VII 239-240, 242, 284, 324, 391; Petrakos 1997, nos. 60, 122, 124, 150, 157, 189, figs. 8, 34, 57, 66, pls. 10, 11.

93. *IG* XII 5, 2, B.1.

94. *IG* XI 4, 516, 605, 673. *IG* XII, pp. 159-160. *SEG* III, 653. Laidlaw 1933, 142.

95. *IG* XII 5, 1, 537.

96. Two fragments of this decree have been found: *IG* XII 9, 44 and Jacobsen and Smith 1968, 184-199; *SEG* XLIV, 710.

97. The discovery of the stele in Kastri to the east of Karystos therefore led to the confirmation of the identification of this site as the ancient *polisma* of Geraistos.

98. *IG* XII *Suppl.* 248; Petrocheilos 2010, 90-93, no. 26.

99. *IG* XII *Suppl.* 127; *SEG* XXVI, 919; Hodot 1990, 299, ERE 017; Cairns 2001, 132.

100. *SGDI* 5691; *InscrChios* 51; Sarikakis 1986, 121-131; 1998, 198-199; Vanseveren 1937, 325-332, no. 6.

partly preserved on a corner stone of the Treasure of Cyrene in Delphi.¹⁰¹ In 146 BC Karystos, along with Eretria, was able to claim membership in the Delphic Amphictyony, a typical cult network that incorporated financial transactions in the form of first-fruit donations.¹⁰² Two Karystians, Aristophilos and Amphikles, acted as foreign judges in a Thessalian city, possibly Larissa or Kranon, and were honoured by it in the late 2nd-1st century BC.¹⁰³ In the 3rd century BC the remote city of Stratos in Acarnania honoured as *proxenoi* the Karystians Pedieus, son of Hippokles and Aristippos, son of Ari[stokr]ates.¹⁰⁴ The Karystian Philopolis, son of Telestos, is mentioned among others in an inscribed catalogue of *proxenoi* and loan guarantors from Thermon in Aetolia, dated to 262-236 BC.¹⁰⁵ In the Peloponnese, an Eretrian and a Karystian named Kossos were *proxenoi* of Laconian Geronthrai a little after 195 BC.¹⁰⁶ A fragmentary inscription from Messene dated to the late 2nd-early 1st century BC is considered to mention honours given by the city of Karystos to local judges.¹⁰⁷

In Asia Minor, the city of Alabanda honoured Karystian men in the 1st century BC or the 2nd century AD.¹⁰⁸ A mention in the inscription of similar laws (συγγενικά δίκαια) shared by Alabanda and Karystos corroborates cultic as well as polity-organizational bonds between them.¹⁰⁹ In the same inscription, Karystos is referred to as πατρὶς Καρυστίων ('homeland of the Karystians'), a not-uncommon term that underscores civic unity in ancient population groups.¹¹⁰ A decree of the Roman Senate honouring the Karystian Polystratos, son of Polyarkos, together with two other men that helped Rome at sea campaigns during the Italian war in 78 BC is the latest of the honorary decrees that mention Karystians.¹¹¹

Karystios is found as a personal name in Athens and Delos¹¹² and as both personal name and patronym on inscriptions of the 2nd-1st century BC from the city of Maroneia in Thrace.¹¹³ Demosthenes refers to a Karystian Nausikrates who, with an Athenian, loaned money to two men from Phaselis in south Asia Minor and invested around the mid-4th century BC in a ship with a cargo of wine that would sail from a port of Athens to the harbour of Mende or that of Skione in the Chalcidice Peninsula in Macedonia, or, if the Phaselitan sea merchants were so willing, to sail as far as Pontic Borysthena in the Black Sea.¹¹⁴ Mentions of Karystian traders in locations far away from Euboea and central Greece offer insights into the extent of the commercial connections of Karystos.

Some inscriptions also indicate occasions when relations among island populations were far from peaceful. An inscription from the Cycladic island of Tenos with a mention of Karystos is interesting in the context of piracy, which was a common phenomenon in island and coastal regions during many

101. *FD III 3*, 161 (Delphi Museum 3877) and Bousquet 1940, 80, 88 (Bousquet maintained that *sans trop de peine*, he read Karystian as the ethnicity preserved on the stone).

102. *FD III 1*, 578 (2954, 2955, 2958) and Bousquet 1940, 113-120 (6384). At an earlier period Eretria, Chalkis, Histiaia were also connected through their citizens to Delphic networking systems, see: *CID IV 121, 122* (end of 4th-early 3rd century BC). Ager 1996, 480-482, no. 166.

103. *IG XII Suppl.* 201, 3 (Archaeological Museum of Larissa inv. no. 15); *SEG LIII*, 539. Ager 1996, 517, no. 15; Béquignon 1935, 71-73, no. 4; Crowther 2006, 33, 38 (n. 31), 41, 46 (A4); McDevitt 1970, 46, no. 338.

104. *IG IX 1*, 443, 444; *IG IX 1²*, 2, 392.

105. *IG IX 1²*, 1, 17; *IG XII 9*, p. 202.

106. *IG V 1*, 4; *SEG XI*, 911; *SEG III*, 321; Ager 1996, 223-226, no. 81.

107. *IG V 1*, 1428 and Addenda p. 311; Knoepfler 2001, 414.

108. *IG XII 9*, 4; Wallace 1972, 306-307; Wilhelm 1901, 147-158. See also Ager 1996, 517, no. 15.

109. Curty 1995, 65-67, no. 31; Wilhelm 1901, 152.

110. Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 1308-1309.

111. *IGUR I 1*; *IG XIV 951*; *CIL I² 588*; Rostovtzeff [1941]1998, 748-749.

112. *LGPN I*, 107, 253; *LGPN II*, 256; Regier 1994, 62; Vial 1984, 145, 213, 246, 270-272, stemma XXIII, 289, 298, 309, 334-335.

113. Loukopoulou et al. 2005, E212, line 46; Parissaki 2007, 72-73.

114. Demosthenes 35.10; Migeotte 2007, 154, 166; Osborne and Byrne 1996, 117, no. 2736.

periods.¹¹⁵ The Tenian Kalliphantos, son of Kalliphon and resident of Karystos, is honoured for having saved a group of his compatriots who were also residing in Karystos from some danger. Kalliphantos was honoured by Tenos probably in the last quarter of the 3rd century BC.¹¹⁶ Another incident involving a Karystian *proxenos* is from a time of unrest. A Karystian *proxenos* of Athens was, according to pseudo-Demosthenes, killed by the Macedonians in the episodes of war in 342 BC.¹¹⁷

As we have seen, proxeny decrees and other epigraphic and literary sources constitute a virtual map of the diplomatic, political and trade relations that a city-state was involved in during a particular period. In the case of Karystos, our map is focused mainly on the Aegean, with Attica and the Cyclades as its major components during the 3rd century BC. As for sites in mainland Greece, Karystos had a long-standing relationship with the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi and with other mainland sites in the 2nd century BC— a period mainly of Macedonian dominance in central Greece.

Sources also contain references to Karystian mercenaries and slaves on Chios, Rhodes and Cyprus in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, to citizenship rights that a number of Karystians earned in Miletos in the late 3rd century BC, and to Karystian contractors in sanctuary projects in Athens, Delos and Delphi in the 4th and early 3rd centuries BC.¹¹⁸ All these references indicate types of social and group mobility often present in developed Greek city-states during the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods. Occasionally, as in the case of Karystos, this mobility evolved in connection to a cultic context meaningful for the city, as regards origins or another bonding system. Mobility and connectivity may be also related to a Panhellenic cultic centre. Relations between *poleis* were usually sanctioned by rituals, such as libations, sacrifices, oaths and other forms of bonding.

Karystos in the Roman Mediterranean

The commercial role of Karystos was elevated during the Roman Imperial period, when intensive and systematic exploitation of the quarry complexes of ‘Karystia lithos’ by Roman Imperial delegates, officials and tradesmen (*negotiatores*) who worked together with local freedmen in southern Euboea was set in progress.¹¹⁹ A cult of Herakles is attested for Karystos from the 4th century BC to the 2nd century AD. A Roman Imperial inscribed slab found in Drymonia, mentions, according to one reconstruction, a *heroon* to Herakles, constructed by Damokleia of Pheidippos at her father’s expense.¹²⁰ Herakles is represented on coins of the Karystian mint from the 4th to the 1st century BC¹²¹ (Fig. 9 a, b). Theophoric names associated with this hero are found in local funerary stelai of the late 4th to the early 3rd centuries BC, as well as on a later one of a Karystian *xenos*.¹²² A small dedicatory or decorative relief in Karystos Museum (MK 5) with a representation of reclining Herakles as *symposiast*, in the

115. For an overview on the subject of ancient piracy, see: De Souza 1999.

116. *IG XII 9*, 6 (dated in the 1st century BC). Bielman 1994, 224–226, no. 66 (dated to the last quarter of the 3rd century BC).

117. Pseudo-Demosthenes, 7.38. See also Gauthier 1985, 134–149; Pritchett 1974, 125.

118. A Karystian is mentioned in Plautus, *Pseudolus*, 725–730. In the late 4th and 3rd centuries BC, Karystian mercenaries are epigraphically attested in Athens, Rhodes and Cyprus and mercenaries or slaves in Chios: *IG II² 1956*; *InscrChios 51*; Maiuri and Jacopi 1932, 169; Yon 2004, 2073. At some time after 229 BC, a Karystian Menestratos served in the fortress of Rhamnous on the coast of Attica opposite Euboea: *SEG XLIII*, 36; Petrakos 1999, 30. Karystians earned citizenship rights in Miletos in 216/215 BC: *InscrMiletos 129*, 144. Karystian contractors are attested as having worked on a number of construction projects: In Athens: *IG II² 1669* (after the mid-4th century BC). In Delos: *IG XI 2*, 156, 161 (shortly before 282 and in 278 BC). In Delphi: *CID II 79 A* (in 334/333 BC).

119. Overviews of quarry sites and relevant data in Lambraki 1980, 31–62. See also Chidiroglou 2010, 48–56.

120. *IG XII 9*, 15.

121. Kraay 1976, 234–235; Kroll and Walker 1993, 214, no. 636. Gold Karystian drachma with head of Herakles: Jones 1980, 28–32.

122. Ἡρακλείδης in *IG XII 9*, 30. Ἡρακλ--- in *IG XII 9*, 47. See also Chapman et al. 1993, 85. A Karystian, daughter of one Ἡρακλείδης, was resident in Athens in the 1st century AD: *IG II² 8985*.

company of a partly preserved satyr, dates to the first half of the 2nd century BC. The relief belongs to a well-known and widely distributed sculptural type, derivative of the statue of Herakles Epitrapezios by Lysippos. Its best parallels are identical, albeit larger, reliefs in Eleusis and Delos, indicating artistic networking.¹²³

A much later find is a sacred niche with an inscribed Latin dedication to Herakles by the centurion T. Sergius Longus. The niche is located in the area of a quarry complex to the north of Karystos and it is dated to the first half of the 2nd century AD.¹²⁴ This find serves as an indication of the popularity of the hero's cult among the mixed Italian and Greek men employed in the quarries during the Roman Imperial period.¹²⁵ Worship of Herakles, a popular hero, albeit a hero adverse to Dryopes, according to the mythological tradition, survived for a long period in the Karystia. In the Roman Imperial period, cult politics helped transform this hero into a symbol of human toil appropriate for *epiklesis* in the local Imperial marble quarries, but also elsewhere as well.¹²⁶

During the Roman period, Chalkis, like other Greek cities, is known to have celebrated the periodic festival of Romaea and participated in that of Caesareia-Sebasteia, festivals established by Rome, which sought to promote Roman political and religious propaganda. The similar involvement of Karystos in this type of festival networking cannot be excluded.¹²⁷

Conclusions

In this paper I have attempted to demonstrate that Karystos, as one of the main Euboean city-states, participated in a number of religious, political and trade networks that expanded over a large part of the Aegean region, but centred on Athens and Delos, as well as on Delphi in mainland Greece. As is often the case, many of the religious ties and routes coincided with the economic ones. A kaleidoscopic viewing of such religious and pragmatic networking is possible, as we saw, depending on the criteria we use in attempts to trace aspects of *polis* identity. Some of the ways to view and study materialistic evidence could focus either on the microcosm of Karystian *polis*-autonomy, as indicated for instance in the local worship of Dionysos Demoteles or of Poseidon Geraistios and the local Geraistia feast. On the other hand, one could focus on a wider view, such as the Euboean *poleis'* attempts at some form of unity. In the case of Karystos, these attempts are represented by the participation of this city in the Euboean *koinon* and in Pan-Euboean feasts. Major Euboean cities participated in local feasts such as the Artemisia at Amarnythos or the rotating celebration of Dionysia-Demetrieia.

Sacred places were created at conspicuous locations in southern Euboea. Two of these, at Plakari and Kastri, were identified at coastal sites that are connected to navigation networks, and one, at Platanistos, in the mountainous hinterland. The same Panhellenic deities are shown to have been incorporated in introvert as well as extrovert *polis* contexts. One could also analyse data based on Athenian, Macedonian or Roman Imperialistic politics or even on popular cult dissemination in the Mediterranean, such as that of Herakles which is present at the Imperial Roman quarries in Karystos, with relevant cultic testimonia.

As a matter of fact, the geographic location of Karystos, a coastal city with agricultural, cattle,

123. cf. Scharmer 1971, 1-51; Wolf 1998, 49-64, figs. 1-3. See Chidiroglou 2003, 26-28; 2012, chapter IV.

124. *CIL* III *Suppl.* II 12286.

125. See, for example, on Hymenaeus Thamyrianus, epigraphically attested freedman and *lapicidinis Carystiis* of the 1st century BC: Hirt 2010, 157-159.

126. cf. the cult of Herakles in quarries in Thasos: Waelkens et al. 1988, 115.

127. Inscribed stele, possibly but not certainly from Karystos, in the Epigraphic Museum (EM 11551) with mention of Hadrian's priest, dated in 140-160 AD: *IG* XII 9, 11; *IG* XII 9, *Suppl.* 174, 11; *SEG* LVI, 516. But see Cairns 2001, 121-136. Feasts of Romaea and Caesareia Sebasteia for Chalkis: *IG* XII 9, 899, 946; Ringwood 1929, 390.

stone and ore resources, part of a large island situated between the Greek mainland and the Aegean, best explains the role Karystos played in antiquity. The city's cultic connections also underscore its realpolitik. Karystos remained for long periods of time an ally of Athens, and sought to affiliate itself with the occasional dominant religious and group-bonding networks of all periods. This is proved by its connection to Apollo in his many variable forms during the Archaic period and, as of the 5th century BC, to Athens, Delos and the Cyclades, as well as Delphi. Karystian loyalty to Macedon is also expressed through participation in cult, feasts, as well as in judicial and proxeny networking. In Roman Imperial times, extensive quarrying of the local marble made the region more conspicuous in Mediterranean trade networks and markets. Roman supervising officials together with local elite groups played key roles in this process. The study of extant testimonia in combination with old and recent archaeological finds has helped us sketch the dynamic and multilayered picture of the cultic and political connections of Karystos from the early 5th century BC to the Roman Imperial period. Cases of religious adjustment, such as a Karystian long year, and instances of long-lived channels of connectivity, such as with Delos, are indicative of some of the communal and political aspirations of this *polis*. Nevertheless, the fact that the literary sources seem to outweigh archaeological finds (so far) proves that the archaeological research of Karystos through systematic excavation has only begun.

Abbreviations

- ArchDelt* = *Archaiologikon Deltion*
CAH = *Cambridge Ancient History*
CID II = Bousquet, J. (1989) *Les Comptes du quatrième et du troisième siècle*, Paris.
CID IV = Lefèvre, F., D. Laroche, and O. Masson (2002) *Documents Amphictyoniques*, Paris.
CIL I² = Lommatzsch, E. (1918) *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum, Inscriptiones Latinae Antiquissimae ad C. Caesaris mortem*, Berlin.
CIL III = Mommsen, T. (1873) *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, Vol. 3, Parts 1-2, *Inscriptiones Asiae, provinciarum Europae Graecarum, Illyrici Latinae*, Berlin.
CIL III Suppl. = Hirschfeld, O. and A. von Domaszewski (1889-1902) *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum, Inscriptionum Orientis et Illyrici latinarum supplementum*, Berlin.
FD III 1 = Bourguet, É. (1929) *Fouilles de Delphes, III, Épigraphie Fasc. 1, Épigraphie, Inscriptions de l'entrée du sanctuaire au trésor des Athéniens*, Paris.
FD III 3 = Daux, G. and A. Salać (1932-1943) *Fouilles de Delphes, III, Épigraphie Fasc. 3, Vols. 1-2, Inscriptions depuis le trésor des Athéniens jusqu'aux bases de Gélon*, Paris.
FD III 5 = Bourguet, É. (1932) *Fouilles de Delphes, III, Épigraphie Fasc. 5, Les Comptes du IV^e siècle*, Paris [Replaced by *CID II* (1989)].
FGrHist = *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*
ID = Coupry, J. (1972) *Inscriptions de Délos Vol. 7 [2], nos. 89-104 (33)*, Paris.
ID Comptes = Durrbach, F. (1926) *Inscriptions de Délos, Comptes des Hiéropes (nos. 290-371)*, Paris.
ID = Durrbach, F. and P. Roussel (1935) *Inscriptions de Délos, (nos 1400-1496)*, Paris.
IG I³ = Lewis, D. (1981) *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores, I, Decreta et Tabulae Magistratuum*, Berlin.
IG II = Koehler, U. (1877-1895) *Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis quae est inter Euclidis annum et Augusti tempora*, Parts I-V, Berlin.
IG II² = Kirchner, I. (1927) *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores. Tabulas Magistratuum, Catalogos Nominum, Instrumenta Iuris Privati*, Berlin.
IG V 1 = Kolbe, W. (1913) *Inscriptiones Graecae, V,1. Inscriptiones Laconiae et Messeniae*, Berlin.
IG VII = Dittenberger, W. (1892) *Inscriptiones Graecae, VII. Inscriptiones Megaridis, Oropiae, Boeotiae*, Berlin.
IG IX 1 = Dittenberger, W. (1897) *Inscriptiones Graecae IX 1. Inscriptiones Phocidis, Locridis, Aetoliae, Acarnaniae, insularum maris Ionii*, Berlin.
IG IX 1² = Klaffenbach, G. (1932-1968) *Inscriptiones Graecae IX,1. 2nd edn.*, Berlin 1932-1968: Fasc. 1, *Inscriptiones Aetoliae* (1932); fasc. 2, *Inscriptiones Acarnaniae* (1957); fasc. 3, *Inscriptiones Locridis occidentalis* (1968).
IG XI 2 = Durrbach, F. (1912) *Inscriptiones Graecae, XI.2*. Berlin.
IG XI 4 = Roussel, P. (1914) *Inscriptiones Graecae, XI. Inscriptiones Deli*, fasc. 4, Nos. 510-1349, Berlin.
IG XII 5 = von Gaertringen Hiller, F. (1903-1909) *Inscriptiones Graecae XII, 5. Inscriptiones Cycladum*, 2 vols.: Ios, Sikinos, Naxos, Paros, OIiaros, Siphnos, Seriphos, Kythnos, Keos, Gyaros, Syros, Andros and Tenos, Berlin.
IG XII 9 = Ziebarth, E. (1915) *Inscriptiones Graecae, XII 9*. Berlin.
IG XII Suppl. = Ziebarth, E. (1939) *Inscriptiones Graecae, XII 9, Supplementum*, Berlin.
IG XIV = Kaibel, G. (1890) *Inscriptiones Graecae, XIV. Inscriptiones Siciliae et Italiae, additis Galliae, Hispaniae, Britanniae, Germaniae inscriptionibus*, Berlin.
IGUR = Moretti, L. (1968-1990) *Inscriptiones Graecae urbis Romae*, vols. 1-4, Rome.
InscrChios = McCabe, D. F. (1991[1986]) *Chios Inscriptions. Texts and List. The Princeton Project on the Inscriptions of Anatolia, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey* (1986). Packard Humanities Institute.
InscrMiletos = McCabe, D. F. (1991 [1984]) *Miletos Inscriptions. Texts and List. The Princeton Project on the*

- Inscriptions of Anatolia, The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey 1984. Packard Humanities Institute.*
- LGPN I = Fraser, P. M., E. Matthews, M. J. Osborne, and S. G. Byrne (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, I, The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica*, Oxford, 1987.
- LGPN II = Fraser P. M., Matthews E., Osborne M. J., Byrne S. G., eds. (1994) *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, II, Attica*, Oxford.
- MK = Archaeological Museum of Karystos, (inv. no.)
- OpArch = *Opuscula Archaeologica*, Lund.
- SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
- SGDI = Collitz, H., A. Bezzenger, and F. Bechtel (1884-1915) *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften, I-IV*, Gottingen.
- SIG³ = Dittenberger, W. (1915-1924) *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*, 3rd ed., 4 vols. Leipzig.
- Syll.³ = Dittenberger, W., F. von Gaertringen Hiller, J. Kirchner, H. R. Pomtow, and E. Ziebarth (1915-1924) *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*, 3rd edn., 4 vols., Leipzig.

Bibliography

- Abulafia, D. (2011) *The Great Sea: a human history of the Mediterranean*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ager, S. L. (1996) *Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek world, 337-90 B.C.* Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press.
- Aneziri, S. (2007) 'The Organisation of Music Contests in the Hellenistic Period and Artists' Participation. An Attempt at Classification'. In *The Greek Theatre and Festivals*, edited by P. Wilson, 67-84. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aravantinos, V. L. (1987) 'Mycenaean place-names from Thebes: The new evidence'. *Minos* 20-22 and 33-40.
- Bakhuizen, S. C. and R. Kreulen (1976) *Chalkis in Euboea. Iron and Chalcidians abroad*. Leiden: Brill.
- Baumeister, A. (1864) *Topographische Skizze der Insel Euboea*. Lübeck.
- Béquinon, Y. (1935) 'Études thessaliennes: 4. Fragment de décret pour des juges de Karystos'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 59, 71-73.
- Bielman, A. (1994) *Retour à la liberté. Libération et sauvetage des prisonniers en Grèce ancienne. Recueil d'inscriptions honorant des sauveteurs et analyse critique*. Lausanne: Université de Lausanne.
- Boardman, J. (1957) 'Early Euboean pottery and history'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 52, 1-30.
- Bousquet, J. (1940) 'Inscriptions de Delphes II'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 64, 76-120.
- Bouzek, J. (2000) 'Apollon Hyperboréen, le héros solaire et l'âme humaine'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplement* 38 [*Αγαθός δαίμων, Mythes et Cultes. Études d'iconographie en l'Honneur de Lilly Kahil*], 57-62.
- Burkert, W. (1997²) *Ελληνική μυθολογία και τελετουργία. Δομή και ιστορία* [trans. E. Andreadi]. Athens: Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης.
- Bursian, C. (1856) *Questionum Euboicarum Capita Selecta*. Lipsiae: Breitkopfii et Haertelii.
- Cairns, F. (2001) 'IG XII.9 11: An inscription of Karystos?'. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 134, 121-136.
- Cawkwell, G. L. (1978) 'Euboea in the late 340's'. *Phoenix* 32, 42-67.
- Chankowski, A. S. (2005) 'Processions et cérémonies d'accueil: une image de la cité de la basse époque hellénistique?'. In *Citoyenneté et Participation a la basse époque hellénistique, Actes de la table ronde des 22 et 23 mai 2004, Paris, BNF*, edited by P. Fröhlich and C. Müller, 185-206. Geneva: Droz.
- Chapman, W. P., R. M. Schneider and H. Schneider, eds. (1993) *Karystos: City-state and Country Town*. Baltimore: Uptown Press.
- Chatzidimitriou, A. (1999) 'Μολύβδινο ανάγλυφο έλασμα με παράσταση Ηρακλή. Η χρήση του μολύβδου στην Εύβοια'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 54, 215-228.
- Chatzidimitriou, A. (2004-2009) 'Ενεπίγραφα όστρακα από τους Ζάρακες Καρυστίας'. *Horos* 17-21, 521-540.

- Chatzidimitriou, A. (2006) 'Χάλκινο ενεπίγραφο σταθμίο από τους Ζάρακες Καρυστίας'. In Vol. I of *Proceedings of Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, Volos 27-2 to 2-3-2003*, 1077-1092. Thessaly: University of Thessaly & Greek Ministry of Culture.
- Chidiroglou, M. (1996-1997) 'Οι λατρείες της αρχαίας Καρύστου'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 32, 175-191.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2003) 'Ανάγλυφο ανακεκλιμένου Ηρακλή από την Κάρυστο'. In *Πρακτικά Ημερίδας εις μνήμην Αγγελου Χωρέμη, Chalkis 22-6-2003*. Chalkis.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2005) 'Η Κάρυστος κατά τους πρώτους ιστορικούς χρόνους: Πορίσματα της ανασκαφικής έρευνας στην Πλακαρή'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 35, 69-80.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2006) 'Κοροπλαστική από την Κάρυστο Ευβοίας. Στοιχεία για την κοινωνική και θρησκευτική ζωή μέσα από τη μελέτη ταφικών συνόλων πήλινων ειδωλίων'. In Vol. I of *Proceedings of Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, Volos 27-2 to 2-3-2003*, 1057-1076. Thessaly: University of Thessaly & Greek Ministry of Culture.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2009) 'Γεραίστιοί τε καταφυγαί. Ευριπίδης, Κύκλωψ, 295. Γεραίστος Καρυστίας. Τα πρώτα πορίσματα των ανασκαφών'. In Vol. 2 of *Proceedings of Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, Volos, 16 to 19-3-2006*, 1085-1105. Thessaly: University of Thessaly & Greek Ministry of Culture.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2010) 'Karystian marble trade in Roman Mediterranean region. An overview of old and new data'. *Bollettino di Archeologia online* I, 48-56.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2011) 'Attic Black Figure Vases from the Ancient Cemeteries of Karystos'. In *Euboea and Athens: Proceedings of a Colloquium in Memory of Malcolm B. Wallace, Athens 26-27 June, 2009*, edited by D. W. Rupp and J. E. Tomlinson, 149-170. Publications of the Canadian Institute in Greece.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2012) 'Ancient Karystia. A Contribution to the History and Archaeology of the Region from the Geometric to the Roman Imperial Period'. PhD thesis. University of Athens, Greece.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2014) 'Classical and late Classical pottery from the sanctuary at Plakari, Karystos: First Report'. *Pharos* 20(2), 53-77.
- Choremis, A. K. (1971) 'Κάρυστος'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 26, 261-263.
- Collar, A. (2009) 'Network Theory and Religious Innovation'. In *Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean*, edited by I. Malkin, C. Constantakopoulou and K. Panagopoulou, 144-157. Oxon; New York: Routledge.
- Constantakopoulou, C. (2007) *The Dance of the Islands: Insularity, Networks, the Athenian Empire and the Aegean World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Crielaard, J. P., F. Songu, M. Chidiroglou and M. Kosma (2012) 'The Plakari Archaeological Project, Project outline and preliminary report of the first field season (2010)'. *Pharos* 18(2), 83-106.
- Crielaard, J. P., E. Barbetsea, X. Charalambidou, M. Chidiroglou, M. Groenhuijzen, M. Kosma and F. Songu (2013) 'The Plakari Archaeological Project, Preliminary report of the second field season (2011)'. *Pharos* 19(2), 35-56.
- Crowther, C. (2006) 'Foreign judges in Thessaly in the Hellenistic Period: A second century phenomenon?' In *Inscriptions and History of Thessaly. New Evidence. Proceedings of the International Symposium in honor of Professor Christian Habicht, Volos 7 to 8-4-2006*, edited by G. A. Pikoulas, 31-48. Volos: University of Thessaly.
- Cullen, T., L. Karimali, D. R. Keller, L. E. Talalay and W. R. Ferrand (2013) *The Prehistory of the Paximadi Peninsula, Euboea*. Philadelphia: INSTAP.
- Curty, O. (1995) *Les parentés légendaires entre cités grecques: catalogue raisonné des inscriptions contenant le terme syngeneia et analyse critique*. Geneva: Droz.
- Davis, P. H. (1937) 'The Accounts of the Theatre on Delos, Summary of paper presented at the 38th General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 41, 109.
- Day, J. (1951) 'The Value of Dio Chrysostom's Euboean Discourse for the Economic Historian'. In *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honour of Allan Chester Johnson*, edited by P. R. Coleman Norton, 209-235. Princeton; New Jersey: Books for Library Press.
- Dow, S. (1963) 'The Athenian Honors for Aristonikos of Karystos, "Alexander's ΣΦΑΙΡΙΣΤΗΣ"'. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 67, 77-92.
- Ducrey, P., S. Verdan, G. Delley, D. Knoepfler, B. Demierre Prikhodkhine, F. Pajor, J.-P. Descoedres, S. Schmid, S. Fachard (2004) *Ερέτρια, Οδηγός της αρχαίας πόλης*. Fribourg: Swiss School of Archaeology at Athens.

- Durkheim, É. ([1915]2008) *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Fourgous, D. (1989) 'Les Dryopes: Peuple sauvage ou divin?' *Metis* 4, 5-32.
- Fousaras, G. (1964) 'Η ιστορία της αρχαίας Εύβοιας του J. Girard'. *Αρχαίο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 11, 5-135.
- Fragoulaki, M. (2013) *Kinship in Thucydides. Intercommunal Ties and Historical Narrative*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gager, J. G. (1992) *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gauer, W. (1968) 'Weihgeschenke aus den Perserkriegen'. Vol. 2 of *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*. Tübingen: E. Wasmuth.
- Gauthier, P. (1972) *Symbola. Les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques*. Nancy: Université de Nancy II.
- Gauthier, P. (1985) 'Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplement* 12.
- Gex, K. (1993) 'Rotfigurige und weissgrundige Keramik'. Vol. IX of *Eretria [Ausgrabungen und Forschungen]*. Lausanne: Editions Payot.
- Geyer, F. (1903) 'Bis zum peloponnesischen Krieg'. Vol. I of *Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euboa*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
- Geyer, F. (1930) 'Euboa in den Wirren der Diadochenzeit'. *Philologus* 85, 175-191.
- Girard, J. (1851) 'Mémoire sur l'île d'Eubée'. Vol. 2 of *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.
- Girard, J. (1852) *Mémoire sur l'île d'Eubée*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.
- Girard, P. F. (1878) 'Inscriptions d'Eubée'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 2, 275-279.
- Goette, H. R. (2000) 'Parian Marble in Southern Euboea'. In *Παρία Λίθος, Λατομεία, μάρμαρο και εργαστήρια γλυπτικής*, edited by D. U. Schilardi and D. Katsonopoulou, 399-403. Paros; Athens: The Paros and Cyclades Institute of Archaeology.
- Goette, H. R. (2007) 'Lolling in Elliniko bei Platanistos (Karystia)'. In *Historische Landeskunde und Epigraphik in Griechenland, Akten des Symposiums veranstaltet aus Anlaß des 100. Todestages von H. G. Lolling (1848-1894), Athen, 28-30.9.1994*, edited by K. Fittschen, 283-291. Münster: Scriptorium.
- Guarducci, M. (1978) Vol. IV of *Epigrafia Greca*. Rome: Instituto poligrafico dello stato.
- Hansen, M. H. and T. H. Nielsen (2004) *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis, An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hawkins, J. (1820) 'An account of the Discovery of a very Ancient Temple on Mount Ocha, in Euboea'. In *Travels in Various Countries of the East*, edited by R. Walpole, 285-293. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orne, and Brown.
- Hirt, A. M. (2010) *Imperial Mines and Quarries in the Roman World. Organizational Aspects, 27 BC – AD 235*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hodot, R. (1990) *Le dialecte éolien d'Asie. La langue d'inscriptions VIIe s.a.C. – IVe s.p.C.*, Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations.
- Homolle, T. (1890) 'Comptes et inventaires des temples déliens en l'année 279 av. J.C.'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 14, 389-511.
- Horden, P. and N. Purcell (2000) *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Jacobsen, T. W. and P. M. Smith (1968) 'Two Kimolian dikast decrees from Geraistos in Euboa'. *Hesperia* 37, 184-199.
- Jeffery, L. H. ([1961]1990) *The local scripts of Archaic Greece, A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and its Development from the eighth to the fifth centuries B.C.*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jones, M. J. R. (1980) 'The date of the gold drachma of Carystus'. *Numismatic Chronicle* 1980, 28-32.
- Karapaschalidou, A. (1985) 'Τάφοι στους Αμπελώνες Ερέτριας'. *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 18, 105-114.
- Keller, D. R. (1985) *Archaeological Survey in Southern Euboea, Greece: A Reconstruction of Human Activity from Neolithic Times through the Byzantine Period*. PhD thesis. University of Indiana, USA.
- Keller, D. and R. Schneider (2011) 'The Classical-Hellenistic period at the Palio Pithari Farm Site and the Cape Mnima Emborio Site in the Context of Contemporary Sites and Findspots on the Paximadi Peninsula'. In *Euboea and Athens: Proceedings of a Colloquium in Memory of Malcolm B. Wallace, Athens 26-27 June 2009*, edited by D. W. Rupp and J. E. Tomlinson, 95-111. Athens: Publications of the Canadian Institute in Greece

- Knoepfler, D. (1971) 'La date d'annexion de Styra par Eretrie.' *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 95, 223-244.
- Knoepfler, D. (1972) 'Carystos et les Artémisia d'Amarnthos.' *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 96, 283-301.
- Knoepfler, D. (2001) 'Décrets érétriens de proxénie et de citoyenneté, Eretria'. Vol. XI of *Ausgrabungen und Forschungen*. Lausanne: Payot.
- Kraay, C. M. (1976) *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*. London: Methuen.
- Kroll, J. H. and A. S. Walker (1993) 'The Greek Coins'. Vol. XXVI of *The Athenian Agora*. Princeton; New Jersey: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Laidlaw, W. A. (1933) *A History of Delos*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lambraki, A. (1980) 'Le cipolin de la Karystie. Contribution à l'étude des marbres de la Grèce exploités aux époques romaine et paléochrétienne.' *Revue Archéologique* 1, 31-62.
- Lolling, H. G. (1989) *Reisenotizen aus Griechenland 1876 und 1877*. Berlin: D. Reimer.
- Loukopoulou, L. D., M. G. Parissaki, S. Psoma and A. Zournatzi (2005) *Επιγραφές της Θράκης του Αιγαίου μεταξύ των ποταμών Νέστου και Έβρου (Νομοί Ξάνθης, Ροδόπης και Έβρου)*. Athens: Εθνικόν Ίδρυμα Ερευνών.
- Mack, W. (2015) *Proxeny and Polis. Institutional Networks in the Ancient Greek World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Maiuri, A. and G. Jacopi (1932) *Monumenti di Scultura del Museo Archeologico di Rodi*, Vol. 2 of *Clara Rhodos*. Rhodes: Istituto storico-archeologico.
- Malkin, I. (2011) *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Malkin, I., C. Constantakopoulou and K. Panagopoulou, eds. (2009) *Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean*. London: Routledge.
- Malkin, I., C. Constantakopoulou and K. Panagopoulou, eds. (2011) *Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean*. London: Routledge.
- Marek, C. (1984) *Die Proxenie*. Frankfurt: P. Lang, cop.
- McDevitt, A. S. (1970) *Inscriptions from Thessaly. An analytical handlist and bibliography*. Hildesheim: Olms.
- Meiggs, R. (1972) *The Athenian Empire*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Meiggs, R. and D. Lewis ([1969]1988) *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the end of the fifth century BC*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Migeotte, L. (2007) *Η οικονομία των ελληνικών πόλεων. Από την αρχαϊκή περίοδο μέχρι τους πρώιμους αυτοκρατορικούς χρόνους* [trans. M. Papathomopoulos]. Athens: Papadimas.
- Mineur, W. H. (1984) 'Callimachus, Hymn to Delos.' *Mnemosyne Supplement* 83.
- Mitford, T. B. (1950) 'New Inscriptions from Roman Cyprus.' *Opuscula Archaeologica* 6, 1-95.
- Monceaux, P. (1886) *Les proxénies grecques*. Paris: E. Thorin.
- Morley, N. (2007) *Trade in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moutsopoulos, N. K. (1982) 'Τα Δρακόσπιτα της ΝΔ Εύβοιας.' *Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα Πολυτεχνικής Σχολής, Η΄, Τμήμα Αρχιτεκτόνων*. Thessaloniki: University of Thessaloniki.
- Osborne, M. J. and S. G. Byrne (1996) *The Foreign Residents of Athens. An Annex to the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names: Attica*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Panagopoulou, M. (1995) *Αρχάμπολη*. Athens.
- Papasiotis, G. (1856) 'Drei griechische Inschriften.' *Archäologische Zeitung* 267-270.
- Papavasileiou, G. A. (1910) *Περί τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τάφων*. Athens.
- Parissak, M. G. (2007) 'Prosopography and Onomastikon of Aegean Thrace'. Vol. 49 of *Meletemata*. Athens: Ινστιτούτο Ελληνικής και Ρωμαϊκής Αρχαιότητας (ΚΕΡΑ)/Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών (ΕΙΕ).
- Parke, H. W. (1967) *The Oracles of Zeus, Dodona - Olympia - Ammon*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Petrakos, B. (1999) Vol. II of *Ο Δήμος του Ραμνούντος, Σύνοψη των Ανασκαφών και των Ερευνών (1813-1998)*. Athens: Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία.
- Petrakos, V. Ch. (1997) 'Οί ἐπιγραφαι τοῦ Ὁρωποῦ'. Vol. 170 of *Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας*. Athens: Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία.
- Petrocheilos, N. (2010) 'Συμβολή στην ιστορία και προσωπογραφία της αρχαίας Ἀνδρου. Επιγραφικές και φιλολογικές μαρτυρίες'. Vol. 42 of *Andriaka Chronika*. Andros: Kaireios Vivliothiki.

- Picard, O. (1979) *Chalkis et la confédération eubéenne*. Paris: École française d'Athènes.
- Pirenne-Delforge, V. (2005) 'La cité, les demotèle hiera et les prêtres'. *Kernos Supplement* 15, 55-68.
- Powell, B. (1899) 'Trips in Euboea'. Unpublished papers, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 24-32.
- Pritchett, W. K. (1974) Vol. II of *The Greek States at War*. Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Rangabé, A. (1852) *Mémoire sur la partie Méridionale de l'île d'Eubée, Mémoires présentées par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belle - Lettres, 1^e Série*. Paris: Les belles lettres.
- Reber, K. (2002) 'Die Südgrenze des Territoriums von Eretria (Euböa)'. *Antike Kunst* 45, 40-53.
- Reed, C. M. (2003) *Maritime Traders in the ancient Greek world*. Cambridge, UK; New York, USA: Cambridge University Press.
- Reger, G. (1994) *Regionalism and Change in the Economy of Independent Delos, 314-167 B.C.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rhodes, P. J. and D. M. Lewis (1997) *The Decrees of the Greek States*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ringwood, I. (1929) 'Local Festivals of Euboea, chiefly from Inscriptional Evidence'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 33, 385-392.
- Robert, L. (1936) Vol. I of *Collection Froehner [Inscriptions grecques]*. Paris: Editions des Bibliothèques nationales.
- Roberts, E. S. and E. A. Gardner (1905) 'The Inscriptions of Attica'. Vol. II of *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rose, H. J. (1933) 'Simonides and Glaukos'. *The Classical Review* 47, 165-167.
- Ross, L. (1851) Vol. II of *Wanderungen in Griechenland im Gefolge des Königs Otto und der Königin Amalie*. Halle.
- Rostovtzeff, M. ([1941]1998) Vols. I-III of *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rutherford, I. (2009) 'Network Theory and Theoric Networks'. In *Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean*, edited by I. Malkin, C. Constantakopoulou and K. Panagopoulou, 24-38. Oxon; New York: Routledge.
- Sackett, H. L., V. Hankey, R. J. Howell, T. W. Jacobsen and M. R. Popham (1966) 'Prehistoric Euboea: Contributions towards a survey'. *Annual of the British school at Athens* 61, 33-112.
- De Santerre Gallet, H. (1958) *Délos primitive et archaïque*. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- Sapouna-Sakellarakis, E. (1989) 'The Dragon Houses of Mount Ohi'. *The Athenian October*, 29-31.
- Sarikakis, T. (1986) 'Commercial relations between Chios and other Greek cities in antiquity'. In *Chios: A Conference at the Homereion*, edited by J. Boardman and C. Vaphopoulou-Richardson, 121-131. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sarikakis, T. C. (1998) *H Xios στην αρχαιότητα*. Athens: Εκδόσεις Εριφύλη.
- Scharmer, H. (1971) 'Der gelagerte Herakles'. In Vol. 124 of *Winckelmannsprogramm der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, 1-51. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Schumacher, R. W. M. (1993) 'Three related sanctuaries of Poseidon: Geraistos, Kalaureia, Tainaron'. In *Greek Sanctuaries - New Approaches*, edited by N. Marinatos and R. Hägg, 62-87. London; New York: Routledge.
- Segre, M. (2007) 'Iscrizioni di Cos'. Vol. VI(2) of *Monografie della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Smith, A. D. (1999) *Myths and Memories of the Nation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (1990) 'What is Polis Religion?'. In *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander*, edited by O. Murray and S. Price, 295-322. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (2000) 'Further Aspects of Polis Religion'. In *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion*, edited by R. Buxton, 38-55. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (2007) 'Τι είναι θρησκεία της πόλεως?'. In *Η αρχαία ελληνική πόλις από τον Όμηρο ως την εποχή του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου* [trans. S. Kaparis and I. Kralli], edited by O. Murray and S. Price, 357-389. Athens: Εκδόσεις Πατάκη.
- De Souza, P. (1999) *Piracy in the Graeco Roman World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tankosić, Ž. and M. Chidiroglou (2010) 'The Karystian Kampos Survey Project: Methods and Preliminary Results'. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 10, 11-17.
- Tod, M. N. (1985) Vols. I and II of *Greek historical inscriptions: From the sixth century B.C. to the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C.* Chicago: Ares.

- Tracy, S. V. (1990) Vols. I and II of *Attic Letter-Cutters of the 229 to 86 B.C.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Tréheux, J. (1953) 'La réalité historique des offrandes hyperboréennes'. In Vol. II of *Studies presented to D.M. Robinson*, edited by G. Mylonas and D. Raymond. 758-774. St. Louis, Missouri: Washington University.
- Tsourti, E. (2006) 'The ancient mint of Karystos in the light of the economic development of the city'. In *Antiquities of Karystia*, edited by M. Chidirolou and A. Chatzidimitriou, 187-211. Karystos: Kosmos.
- Ulrichs, H. N. (1842) 'Intorno il tempio di Giunona sul monte Ocha vicino a Carystos'. *Annali dell' Istituto di Correspondenza Archeologica* 14, 5-11.
- Ulrichs, H. N. (1863) 'Über den Tempel der Juno auf dem Berge Ocha bei Carystos'. In *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland 2*, 252-259. Bonn: Friedrich Gottlieb Welker.
- Vallois, R. (1944) *L'architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos jusqu'à l'éviction des Déliens (166 av. J.C.), I*. Paris: E. de Bocard.
- Vanseveren, J. (1937) 'Inscriptions d'Amorgos et de Chios'. *Revue de Philologie* 63, 313-347.
- Vial, C. (1984) 'Délos indépendante (314-167 avant J.C.). Étude d'une communauté civique et ses institutions'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplement X*.
- Waelkens, M., P. de Paepe and L. Moens (1988) 'Patterns of extraction and production in the white marble quarries of the Mediterranean: History, present problems and prospects'. In *Ancient marble quarrying and trade: Papers from a Colloquium held at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, San Antonio, Texas, December 1986*, edited by J. Clayton Fant, 81-116. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Waggoner, N. M. (1980) Coins from the W.P. Wallace Collection, *American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes* 25, 1-15.
- Walbank, M. B. (1978) *Athenian Proxeny of the Fifth Century B.C.* Toronto; Sarasota: Samuel Stevens.
- Walker, K. G. (2004) *Archaic Eretria, A political and social history from the earliest times to 490 BC*. London: Routledge.
- Wallace, M. B. (1972) 'The History of Karystos from the sixth to the fourth centuries BC'. PhD thesis. University of Toronto, Canada.
- Welcker, F. G. (1850) 'Der kleine Tempel auf der Spitze des Berges Ocha in Euböa'. *Kleine Schriften III*, 376-392.
- Welcker, F. G. (1856) 'Andre uralte Tempel auf der Ochagebirge'. *Rheinisches Museum* 10, 611-617.
- Wickens, J. (2007) *SEEP. Karystos East Bay Survey. Catalogue of sites and findspots from archaeological survey of peninsula forming eastern side of Karystos Bay (Metochi, Bouros, Kastri, Livadi, Platanistos region)*. Unpublished report on file at the Ephorate of Antiquities for Euboea, Chalkida.
- Wickersham, J. M. (1991) 'Myth and Identity in the Archaic Polis'. In *Myth and the Polis*, edited by D. C. Pozzi and J. M. Wickersham, 16-31. Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press.
- Wilhelm, A. (1901) 'Δύο ψηφίσματα Ἀλαβανδέων'. *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* 1901, 147-158.
- Wolf, S. (1998) 'Unter dem Einfluss des Dionysos, Zu einem hellenistischen Weihrelief an Herakles'. *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 113, 49-90.
- Woodhead, A. G. (1997) 'Inscriptions: The decrees'. Vol. XVI of *The Athenian Agora*. Princeton, New Jersey: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Yon, M. (2004) 'Kition dans les textes. Testimonia littéraires et épigraphiques et Corpus des inscriptions'. Vol. V of *Kition-Bamboula*. Paris: Études et Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Young, R. S. (1930) 'A short description of South Euboea'. *Unpublished papers, American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1-30.

Figures



Figure 1:
Map of Euboea and east Attica, with sites mentioned in text.

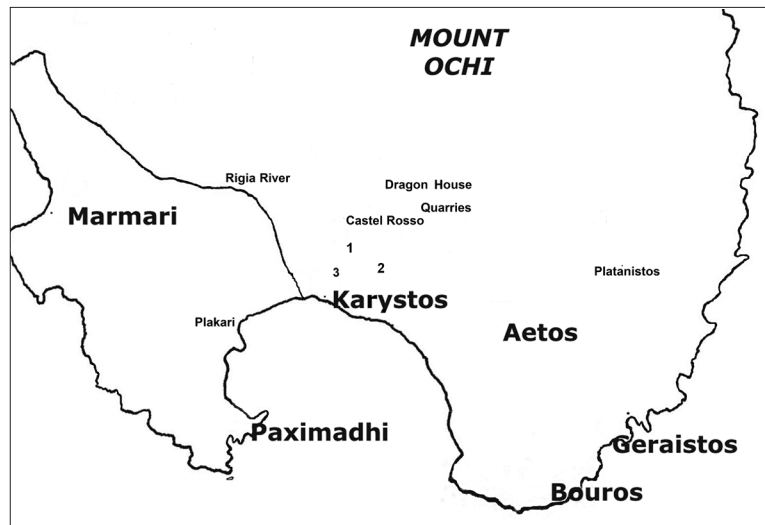


Figure 2:
Map of southern Euboea with sites mentioned in text. 1: Kokkaloi, 2: Palaiochora, 3: Drymonia.



Figure 3:
Black-glazed handleless bowl inv. no. MK 1915 with ΑΠ -Αο(ollo)- graffito, from Plakari (Archaeological Museum of Karystos).



Figure 4:
Kastri at Platanistos
(ancient Geraistos),
view of the bay from
the north.



Figure 5:
Platanistos. Building
remains of a sanctuary,
probably of Athena.



Figure 6:
Athenian League
Tribute fragment with
mention of Karystos
(Epigraphical Museum
in Athens).



Figure 7:
Distribution map of Karystian proxeny network in the Greek mainland, the Aegean region and Asia Minor.
1: Athens, 2: Oropos, 3: Eretria, 4: Delos, 5: Ios, 6: Kea, 7: Andros, 8: Tenos, 9: Lesbos, 10: Chios, 11: Delphi, 12: Larissa or Krannon, 13: Stratos, 14: Thermos, 15: Geronthrai, 16: Messene, 17: Alabanda, 18: Kimolos.



Figure 8:
Eretrian stele with decree in honour of the Karystian Eunomos, photographed when found.



Figure 9 a, b:
Gold Karystian drachma (obverse, reverse).
Numismatic Museum, Athens.



**Τα επιτάφια μνημεία της Εύβοιας ως μαρτυρίες των επαφών
με την ηπειρωτική και τη νησιωτική Ελλάδα.
Η περίπτωση των στηλών με παράσταση κρατήρα.**

Χρυσάνθη ΤΣΟΥΛΗ

Abstract

In this paper I confine myself to a short overview of the Euboean funerary markers (*semata*) of the Classical and Early Hellenistic periods, demonstrating their close affinity to Attic funerary iconography and typology and highlighting their particularities, and I focus on two grave stelae from Eretria that represent a volute krater as either the main theme or as a part of their decoration. The aim of this article is to present an almost unknown type of grave marker, the marble volute krater, carved either in relief or in the round, as well as to trace its diffusion in mainland Greece and the Greek islands. An attempt will also be made to trace Euboea's role in the spread of this rare type of funerary monument.

Εισαγωγή: τα ευβοϊκά επιτάφια μνημεία

Η γλυπτική της Εύβοιας κατά την Κλασική περίοδο είναι άρρηκτα συνδεδεμένη με αυτήν της Αθήνας, όπως άλλωστε και η πολιτική της ιστορία.¹ Η παραγωγή επιτάφιων έργων παρουσιάζει προφανείς εικονογραφικές εξαρτήσεις από τα αττικά μνημεία,² η ακτινοβολία των οποίων έφτασε στα τέλη του 5ου αι. π.Χ., μετά την παύση των εργασιών στην αθηναϊκή Ακρόπολη και τη διασπορά των καλλιτεχνών, μέχρι τη Μακεδονία, τη Θράκη και τον Εύξεινο Πόντο στο Βορρά και τα νησιά του Αιγαίου και τις μικρασιατικές ακτές στην Ανατολή. Παράλληλα όμως, η γεωγραφική εγγύτητα, οι εμπορικές και κατ' επέκταση πολιτισμικές επαφές του νησιού με τη Βοιωτία άφησαν τα ίχνη τους σε επιμέρους εικονογραφικά σχήματα της ευβοϊκής παραγωγής, ενώ η εμφάνιση της νέας δύναμης, της Μακεδονίας, μετά τα μέσα του 4ου αι. π.Χ., και η εμπλοκή της στη διακυβέρνηση των πόλεων του νησιού επηρέασε επίσης μέχρι ένα βαθμό, την εικόνα των ταφικών μνημείων.³ Η γλώσσα της έκφρασης, ιδιαίτερα στα πρώιμα ευβοϊκά έργα, παραμένει πιστή στην ιωνική παράδοση,⁴ όπως δηλώνει η ευαισθησία και η απαλότητα στο πλάσιμο των επιφανειών.

Το θεματολόγιο των ευβοϊκών επιτύμβιων στηλών αναπαράγει σχήματα γνωστά από την αττική τέχνη, όπως τον νέο αθλητή ή κυνηγό με στλεγγίδα, αρύβαλλο και πτηνό στο χέρι, που συνοδεύεται κατά

1. Βλ. ενδεικτικά πρόσφατα Knoepfler 2010α, 82-3.

2. Möbius 1968, 52; Δεσπίνης 2002, 225.

3. Huguenot 2008, 236-246, ιδίως 240-243.

4. Clairmont 1993, τ. I, 258, αριθ. 1201 (για στήλη Καρύστου αριθ. 730 EAM); Fuchs 1966, 49 (για γλυπτό αριθ. 33 Μ. Χαλκίδος); Χιδίρογλου 2012, 565 (για στήλη αριθ. 84 Μ. Καρύστου).

περίπτωση από κυνηγετικό σκύλο ή δούλο,⁵ θέμα γνωστό τόσο στην αττική παραγωγή,⁶ όσο και σε αυτή της Βοιωτίας και της βόρειας Ελλάδας.⁷ Δημοφιλές σε ολόκληρο τον ελλαδικό χώρο είναι το θέμα της νεαρής ή παιδικής μορφής που παίζει με το αγαπημένο της σκυλάκι, στο οποίο τείνει πτηνό,⁸ όπως και αυτό της καθιστής δέσποινας στο περιβάλλον του οίκου, κατά κανόνα με κάποια θεραπαίνιδα.⁹ Οι ομοιότητες με τις αττικές στήλες είναι εμφανείς όχι μόνο στο μοτίβο αλλά και στη τεχνοτροπία των παραστάσεων.¹⁰ Το θέμα της καθισμένης γυναίκας που συνοδεύεται από μια όρθια γυναικεία μορφή, πιθανότατα κάποια συγγενή,¹¹ ενίοτε στη σκηνή της δεξίωσης, μπορεί να εμπλουτισθεί και από μια τρίτη μορφή, όπως στη στήλη από τους Ωρεούς¹² με τη γυναικεία μορφή που φέρει καλάθο και το μικρό παιδί που καταφεύγει στην αγκαλιά της μητέρας του, θέμα γνωστό από το αττικό ρεπερτόριο, το οποίο μπορεί να παρουσιάζεται αυτούσιο¹³ ή με χωριστά τα επιμέρους μοτίβα.¹⁴ Οι στήλες με ανθεμωτή επίστεψη και δύο ρόδακες στον κορμό, τύπος ευρέως διαδεδομένος υπό την αττική επίδραση σε ολόκληρο τον ελλαδικό χώρο, από τη Μακεδονία και τη Θεσσαλία μέχρι τα νησιά του Αιγαίου,¹⁵ είναι δημοφιλείς και στην Εύβοια,¹⁶ παρουσιάζουν όμως συχνά αποκλίσεις από τα αττικά πρότυπα σε επιμέρους εικονογραφικά μοτίβα.¹⁷

Στην Εύβοια έχουν διατηρηθεί και αγάλματα γυναικείων μορφών, αδρά ή συνοπτικά επεξεργασμένα στην οπίσθια όψη τους, τα οποία προορίζονταν να ανιδρυθούν μέσα σε μεγάλους επιτύμβιους ναϊσκούς του τύπου που είναι γνωστός από τους πλούσιους αττικούς περιβόλους του τελευταίου τετάρτου του 4ου αι. π.Χ., από τους οποίους άλλωστε παρουσιάζουν εμφανείς εικονογραφικές εξαρτήσεις.¹⁸ Πέρα από αυτά όμως, στη Χαλκίδα διατηρούνται και επιτάφια αγάλματα γυναικείων μορφών σε σχήματα γνωστά μόνο από ανάγλυφα αττικά ή αττικίζοντα έργα, όπως η καθισμένη σε δίφρο με καλάθο μεγαλοπρεπής δέσποινα¹⁹ ή η γονατισμένη θεραπαίνιδα που θα έδενε τα σανδάλια της κυρίας

5. Clairmont 1993, αριθ. 1154 (Ιστιαία ή Πιάτρα), 1201 (Κάρυστος), 1826 (μόνο ο δούλος, Ερέτρια), 1348 (Φύλλα).

6. Clairmont 1993, αριθ. 693, 788, 1081, 1191, 1221, 1227, 1278, 1289, 1342, 1391-1392, 1415 (η μορφή μόνη της ή με σκύλο), αριθ. 1762, 1781, 1790, 1795-1796, 1810, 1841, 1850, 1854-1856, 1875, 1879-1881, 1930, 1935-1937 κ.ά. (με δούλο).

7. Schild-Xenidou 2008, αριθ. 71, 77-78, 87-88 (Βοιωτία); Κωνσταντινίδης 2007-2009, αριθ. 13, 30 (Μακεδονία).

8. Clairmont 1993, αριθ. 787 (από το Αλιβέρι, κατά τον Clairmont από την Ερέτρια), 693 (Πέλλα), 777-980 (Αττική, με λίγα αττικίζοντα έργα από άλλες περιοχές); Schild-Xenidou 2008, αριθ. 127 (Βοιωτία).

9. Σαπουνά-Σακελλαράκη 1995α, 81 εικ. 47 (πιθανώς από Χαλκίδα, αριθ. 9 Μ. Χαλκίδος); Clairmont 1993, αριθ. 2150-2152, 2186-2187, 2202, 2208, 2219, 2223α, 2241 κ.ά. (Αττική); Schild-Xenidou 2008, αριθ. 34, 49, 53 (Βοιωτία). Για αττικές στήλες νεανίδων, κατά κανόνα ιστάμενων, με κάποια θεραπαίνιδα, όπως στη στήλη από την Ερέτρια (Clairmont 1993, αριθ. 1769), βλ. Clairmont 1993, αριθ. 1757, 1761, 1768, 1772, 1783, 1797, 1814 κ.α.

10. Πρβλ. ενδεικτικά τις αττικές στήλες Clairmont 1993, αριθ. 1191 και 2151 με τις αντίστοιχες ευβοϊκές Clairmont 1993, αριθ. 1201 και αριθ. 9 Μ. Χαλκίδος, ό.π. σημ. 9.

11. Clairmont 1993, αριθ. 2429α (Ερέτρια). Βλ. ενδεικτικά για παράλληλα τις αττικές στήλες, Clairmont 1993, αριθ. 2051, 2196, 2240, 2291b, 2311d, 2328, 2332α, 2426 κ.ά. και τις αντίστοιχες από τη Μακεδονία, Κωνσταντινίδης 2007-2009, αριθ. 20 και 23.

12. Clairmont 1993, αριθ. 2871.

13. Πρβλ. τις αττικές στήλες Clairmont 1993, αριθ. 2724, 2726, 2748, 2750, 2772, 2846b, 2850-2851, 2878 κ.α. (μητέρα - παιδί σε αγκαλιά - όρθια δεύτερη μορφή).

14. Για αττικές στήλες με παιδιά που καταφεύγει στην αγκαλιά της μητέρας του, βλ. Clairmont 1993, αριθ. 1696, 1700, ενώ ιδιαίτερης καλλιτεχνικής αξίας είναι και η στήλη από την Πύδνα (Kostoglou-Despini 1988, 180-186, πίν. 50-51), καθώς και οι βοιωτικές στήλες Schild-Xenidou 2008, αριθ. 92, 105 και 113. Για τη θεραπαίνιδα που φέρνει καλάθο στην κυρία της βλ. ενδεικτικά την αττική στήλη Clairmont 1993, αριθ. 2335.

15. Την εμφάνιση και τεχνοτροπική εξέλιξη αυτού του τύπου της στήλης (Palmettenstele) σε ολόκληρο τον ελλαδικό χώρο πραγματεύτηκε διεξοδικά ο Η. Möbius (1968). Από την πρόσφατη έρευνα, βλ. Hildebrandt 2006, 38-50, παράρτημα 2, διάγραμμα I (για την Αττική των κλασικών χρόνων).

16. Möbius 1968, πίν. 42b, 43a; Χιδίρογλου 2012, 564-65, αριθ. Δ7. Βλ. και την ανθεμωτή επίστεψη με περιστέρια στο Μ. Χαλκίδας, Vedder 1985, αριθ. 18a.

17. Βλ. χαρακτηριστικά τον ρόδακα στον κρόταφο της στήλης Möbius 1968, 52, σημ. 8 εικ. 42b. Η Χιδίρογλου (2012, 565, σημ. 2515) σημειώνει ότι τα ευβοϊκά ανθέμια φαίνεται να έχουν επηρεαστεί από αττικά, βοιωτικά και κυκλαδικά πρότυπα.

18. Schmaltz 2001, 293-299, εικ. 1, 3; Δεσπίνης 2002, 216, 225, όπου γίνεται σύγκριση ανάμεσα στα αγάλματα αριθ. 13 και 972 του Μ. Χαλκίδος (Δεσπίνης 2002, 216, εικ. 15-16 και 225, εικ. 25) με αττικά αγάλματα από τη Βραυρώνα και την Αθήνα (Δεσπίνης 2002, 216, εικ. 17-19 και 225, εικ. 14 αντίστοιχα).

19. Fuchs 1966, 32-49; Δεσπίνης 2002, 225; Κωνσταντινίδης 1953-1954, 30-40. Για την περίπτωση να απεικονίζεται

της,²⁰ τύπος που παραδίδεται σε ένα ακόμα άγαλμα στην αθηναϊκή αποικία της Αμφίπολης.²¹ Χωρίς να παραβλέπουμε τον παράγοντα τύχη, που οδήγησε πιθανόν στην μη εύρεση ανάλογων περιόπτων έργων από την Αττική, δεν μπορούμε να μην επισημάνουμε την απόδοση θεμάτων σε μνημειακό μέγεθος στην Εύβοια ήδη γνωστών στην Αττική αλλά μόνο σε ανάγλυφα έργα. Καινοτόμο για την ευβοϊκή παραγωγή είναι το βάθρο επιτάφιου αγγείου από την Κάρυστο με ανάγλυφη παράσταση γυμνών αθλητών και κυνηγών,²² καθώς και το σύμπλεγμα ληκύθου με εραλδικούς γρύπες από την Ερέτρια του β' μισού του 4ου αι. π.Χ.,²³ το οποίο αποτελούσε πιθανότατα επίθημα κάποιου επιτάφιου μνημείου. Οι περίοπτες λήκυθοι είναι τύπος σήματος που επιχωριάζει στην Αττική, ενώ σε αττικές στήλες του ύστερου 5ου-πρώιμου 4ου αι. π.Χ. απαντά ο τύπος της λουτροφόρου πλαισιωμένος από αντωπές Σφίγγες και σε μεμονωμένο παράδειγμα από γρύπες που φέρουν ληκύθους.²⁴ Η στενή σχέση της ευβοϊκής με την αττική επιτάφια τέχνη τεκμηριώνεται και από την εύρεση στη Μάνικα της Χαλκίδας μαρμάρινων αγγείων του δεύτερου μισού του 4ου αι. π.Χ. στον τύπο του λέβητα,²⁵ τύπο που απαντά κατ' εξοχήν στην Αττική,²⁶ φαίνεται δε να ήταν γνωστός και στην Κάρυστο, όπως προκύπτει από την ανεύρεση σε τάφο της Καρύστιας χώρας προτομών γρυπών που θα προσαρμόζονταν σε ανάλογο μνημείο.²⁷ Γνωστοί είναι άλλωστε στην Εύβοια και άλλοι τύποι επιτάφιων σημάτων δημοφιλών στην Αττική, όπως αγάλματα λεόντων, σκύλων και ταύρων.²⁸

Στήλες από την Ερέτρια με παράσταση ελικωτού κρατήρα

Η στήλη που αποτελεί το κύριο θέμα της παρούσας ανακοίνωσης είναι αυτή του Πανταύχου, γιού του Θεοδώρου, που βρέθηκε στη δυτική νεκρόπολη της Ερέτριας και χρονολογείται στο τελευταίο τέταρτο του 4ου αι. π.Χ. (Εικ. 1).²⁹ Ο κορμός της κοσμεύεται με δύο ρόδακες, ενώ η επίστεψη φέρει παράσταση κερατιζόντων τράγων πάνω από ελικωτό κρατήρα. Το μοτίβο των κερατιζόντων τράγων είναι γνωστό μόνο από επιστέψεις αττικών επιτύμβιων μνημείων του δεύτερου μισού του 4ου αι. π.Χ., είτε περιόπτων είτε ανάγλυφων στην τοξωτή απόληξη των στηλών, όπως στη στήλη της Ερέτριας, μεμονω-

χθόνια θεότητα, πιθανότατα η Δήμητρα, βλ. Κωνσταντίνου 1953-1954, 33-38; Σαπουνά-Σακελλαράκη 1995α, 53. Κάλαθος κάτω από το κάθισμα της κύριας μορφής απεικονίζεται και στο λεγόμενο ανάγλυφο της Λευκοθέας (Friis-Johansen 1951, 143, εικ. 74). Για απεικονίσεις γυναικείων μορφών με κάλαθο κάτω από την έδρα του καθίσματος τους σε αττικά επιτύμβια, βλ. Clairmont 1993, αριθ. 120, 247, 1246, 1691, 1986, 2650, 2829, 2948. Για την προβληματική του θέματος των γυναικείων μορφών που αναπαρίστανται στα αττικά επιτύμβια με κάλαθο και σπανιότερα να γνέθουν και την κοινωνική θέση τους, βλ. πρόσφατα Kosmopoulou 2001, 300-302, αριθ. W1-5; Stears 2001, 107-114.

20. Simon και Andriomenou 1970, 27-28, πίν. 10-11. Πρβλ. τη στήλη με παράσταση πεδίου του γ' τετάρτου του 4^{ου} αι. π.Χ. από τη Χαλκίδα [Rangabé 1852, 197-201. IG XII.9 αριθ. 1012] και τις αττικές στήλες, Clairmont 1993, αριθ. 3370, 3372c.

21. Δαμάσκος 2013, 42, αριθ. 10, εικ. 24-27.

22. Αριθ. 4 Μ. Καρύστου. Χιδίρογλου 2012, 563-564, αριθ. Δ6, με ανάλυση των παραλλήλων του σε αττικά έργα.

23. Mercklin 1926, 106-107, παρένθ. πίν. III, 1; Schmaltz 1970, 12 σημ. 7; Vedder 1985, 97, 131, 133, αριθ. T42; Woysch-Méautis 1982, αριθ. 383, πίν. 63.

24. Kokula 1984, αριθ. G1, G4, G10, G16, G23 (με σφίγγες), G9 (με γρύπες).

25. Vedder 1985, αριθ. G14-16, G36-37.

26. Για μαρμάρινων λέβητες, βλ. Mercklin 1926, 98-116; Sakowski 1998, 61-82.

27. Chidiroglou 2013, 77, εικ. 7-8.

28. Vedder 1985, 291 αριθ. T40 (άγαλμα σκύλου από Νέα Λάμψακο), αριθ. T61 (άγαλμα ταύρου από τους Ωρεούς); Σαπουνά-Σακελλαράκη 1995α, 46 (άγαλμα λέοντος από το Βασιλικό); 1995β, 72 (άγαλμα λέοντος στο Μ. Ερέτριας). Γενικά για επιτάφια αγάλματα ζώων της Κλασικής περιόδου, βλ. Vedder 1985, 78-87, 115-119 (λέων), 119-121 (σκύλος), 121-125 (ταύρος); Vermeule 1972, 49-59. Ειδικότερα για λέοντες από ολόκληρο τον ελλαδικό χώρο, βλ. Mertens-Horn 1986, 1-61; Willemssen 1959, *σποράδην*. Για ταύρους, βλ. πρόσφατα Polojiorgi 2004, 239-259. Για σκύλους Vermeule and Kersburg 1968, 95-99 (με κατάλογο των έργων).

29. Αριθ. 626 Μ. Ερέτριας, Gaunt 2006, αριθ. 128 (β' μισό 4ου αι. π.Χ.); Knoepfler 1976, 271, εικ. 2, 273, σημ. 38-40; Vedder 1985, 94-95, 150-51, αριθ. A20 (δ' τέταρτο 4ου αι. π.Χ.); Woysch-Méautis 1982, αριθ. 347, πίν. 58. Η επιγραφή είναι η IG XII.9 αριθ. 715.

μένων ή πάνω από ανάγλυφο κάρθαρο ή ανθεμωτά κοσμήματα.³⁰ Μία μόνο στήλη με ανάλογη επίστεψη έχει βρεθεί στη Βοιωτία³¹ ένα ακόμα ανάγλυφο σύμπλεγμα κερατιζόντων τράγων πάνω από από την αετωματική επίστεψη ναόσχημης στήλης στην Αμφίπολη θεωρείται ότι έχει δεχθεί την επίδραση κάποιου γλύπτη από την Αττική.³² Οι επιστέψεις αυτές έχουν ερμηνευτεί ως μια συντεταγμένη μορφή των μελών του διονυσιακού θιάσου καθώς και ως σύμβολο του ίδιου του Διονύσου,³³ θεότητας με χθόνια υπόσταση. Οι εσχατολογικές αντιλήψεις που σχετίζονται με τον μυστηριακό, όσο και ελπιδοφόρο κόσμο του Διονύσου, οδήγησαν στην ευρεία χρήση της διονυσιακής θεματογραφίας στον διάκοσμο νεκρικών μνημείων εν γένει. Ο συσχετισμός με τον Διόνυσο και με άτομα που συνδέονται με αυτόν ως μέλη του ιερατείου ή των θρησκευτικών θιάσων του, όπως έχει υποστηρίξει η έρευνα για την ομάδα αυτή των μνημείων, ενισχύεται από τα ονομαστικά στοιχεία κάποιων από τα ενεπίγραφα μνημεία, όπως από την αττική στήλη του Διονυσίου από το Ικάριον.³⁴ Η στήλη του Πανταύχου διαφοροποιείται από τις υπόλοιπες ως προς την απεικόνιση ελικωτού κρατήρα και όχι κανθάρου στην επίστεψη. Και σε άλλα μνημεία με ταφική χρήση εντούτοις, απαντά ο κρατήρας ανάμεσα σε εραλδικά ζώα ή φανταστικά όντα που συμβολίζουν τη δύναμη της φύσης και σχετίζονται με τον Διόνυσο, όπως ο γραπτός κρατήρας ανάμεσα σε λεοπάρδαλη και γρύπα στην κλίνη του μακεδονικού τάφου της Ποτίδαιας και ο κρατήρας ανάμεσα σε γρύπες σε μαρμάρινο θρόνο από την Κω και σε στήλη από τη Δημητριάδα.³⁵

Εάν η χρήση του κρατήρα στην προαναφερθείσα στήλη μπορεί να θεωρηθεί συμβολική, δεν υπάρχει αμφιβολία ότι ο απεικονιζόμενος κρατήρας στη στήλη του Ευθυδήμου, πιθανότατα επίσης από την Ερέτρια,³⁶ επέχει θέση επιτάφιου μνημείου (Εικ. 2). Η πρωτότυπη ως προς τη θεματογραφία στήλη φέρει ανθεμωτή επίστεψη και παράσταση ελικωτού κρατήρα με αετούς στην κάτω πρόσφυση των λαβών. Το αγγείο φέρει στην κοιλιά ανάγλυφη σκηνή δεξίωσης ανάμεσα σε καθισμένο γενειοφόρο και ιστάμενη νεαρή ανδρική μορφή, παρουσία και τρίτης ανδρικής μορφής. Ο τύπος του ανθεμίου με τα φλογόσχημα πέταλα που ξεπηδούν από οριζόντιες, σιγμοειδείς έλικες ανήκει στον πρωιμότερο τύπο των αττικών ανθεμίων, του τελευταίου τετάρτου του 5ου αι. π.Χ., που έχει θεωρηθεί ιωνικής έμπνευσης,³⁷ παραλλάσσει όμως ως προς το μοτίβο του κεντρικού άνθους, ενώ το περίγραμμα της επίστεψης τύπου Ω με τα πλευρικά ημιανθήμια κατεβάζουν τη χρονολόγηση στη μετάβαση στον 4ο αι. π.Χ., χρονολόγηση με την οποία συνάδει η -ιδιαίτερα φθαρμένη- παράσταση στην κοιλιά του αγγείου, όπως προκύπτει από συγκρίσεις με ανάλογες παραστάσεις σε αττικές ληκύθους.³⁸ Ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει η χάραξη στο βάθος της παράστασης και παράλληλα με τον ώμο του αγγείου του ονόματος της μορφής στα δεξιά [..Ο]ΔΑΜΑΣ(;), φαινόμενο επίσης γνωστό από παραστάσεις σε ληκύθους.

30. Vedder 1985, αριθ. Α1, Α3, Α26, Α28 (τράγοι σε ανθεμωτή επίστεψη), αριθ. Α5-Α8, Α25 (τράγοι πάνω από ανάγλυφο κάρθαρο), αριθ. Τ14, Τ43, Τ80 (σύμπλεγμα περίοπτων τράγων, όμοια και τα αδημοσίευστα αγάλματα τράγων αριθ. Γ.3773 και Θ.4 στο ΕΑΜ). Διεξοδική πραγμάτευση του θέματος γίνεται και στον Kraus 1954-1955, 109-124, ενώ για τη συνέχεια του στη ρωμαϊκή τέχνη, βλ. Börker 1973, 286-292.

31. Knoepfler 1976, 270-76; Vedder 1985, αριθ. Α13 (τράγοι σε ανθεμωτή επίστεψη). Προέρχεται από το Κριεκούκι (αρχαίες Ερυθρές) στη Βοιωτία.

32. Vedder 1985, 61, σημ. 314; Λαζαρίδης 1979, 79, πίν. 56.2.

33. Vedder 1985, 151; Woysch-Méautis 1982, 68-69.

34. Vedder 1985, αριθ. Α8.

35. Βλ. αντίστοιχα Σισμανίδης 1997, 56-57, πίν. 24β-γ (κλίνη Ποτίδαιας); Neumann 1965, 151, σημ. 34, πίν. 59.2 (θρόνος Κω); Αρβανιτόπουλος 1909, 174, αριθ. 24 (στήλη Δημητριάδος). Κρατήρας ανάμεσα σε κερατιζόντες τράγους απεικονίζεται και ως δευτερεύον θέμα στη στενή πλευρά της θήκης ή στο τύμπανο του αετώματος του καλύμματος ρωμαϊκών σαρκοφάγων· βλ. ενδεικτικά Koch and Sichtermann 1982, 430 αριθ. 9, 433 αριθ. 60, 439 αριθ. 26.

36. Αριθ. 1104 Μ. Ερέτριας, παλαιότερα αριθ. 17 Μ. Χαλκίδος. Προέρχεται από δωρεά (κ. Κεφαλά). Barr-Sharrar 2008, 83-84 (όπου αναφέρεται λανθασμένα ότι φυλάσσεται στο ΕΑΜ); Clairmont 1993, αριθ. 3335; Gaunt 2006, αριθ. 129; Kokula 1984, 37 κ.ε.; Lohmann 1979, 140; Möbius 1968, 52, σημ. 53, πίν. 42α; Schleiffenbaum 1991, 203, αριθ. D72; Vedder 1985, αριθ. L12.

37. Vedder 1985, 49, εικ. 11, τύπος 1Β 'ionischem Stile entsprechend'. Πρβλ. τη στήλη από τον Πειραιά [Möbius 1968, 20, 106, πίν. 7α (420-400 π.Χ.)] και από την Αγορά της Αθήνας [Hildebrandt 2006, 333-334, αριθ. 230 (410-400 π.Χ.)].

38. Vedder 1985, 50, σημ. 188. Πρβλ. Schmaltz 1970, αριθ. Α39, πίν. 17. Την ίδια χρονολόγηση προτείνει και ο Clairmont [(1993, αριθ. 3335)].

Η θέση του λίθινου ελικωτού κρατήρα ανάμεσα στους άλλους τύπους επιτάφων αγγείων

Η ταφική χρήση του κρατήρα

Η απεικόνιση εικονιστικών σκηνών στο σώμα αγγείων, αποδοσμένων ανάγλυφα σε επιτύμβιες στήλες, είναι φαινόμενο ιδιαίτερα σπάνιο, όχι όμως μοναδικό. Με εξαίρεση την πολυάριθμη ομάδα των αττικών ληκύθων και των λουτροφόρων που κοσμούνται με ανάγλυφες παραστάσεις,³⁹ είναι γνωστά μεμονωμένα μόνο παραδείγματα και άλλων τύπων λίθινων αγγείων που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν ως επιτάφια σήματα, ελεύθερα ανιδρυμένα ή αποδοσμένα ανάγλυφα σε στήλες, ενίοτε με κάποια παράσταση στο σώμα, όπως ο παναθηναϊκός αμφορέας,⁴⁰ η υδρία,⁴¹ η οινοχόη ή χους,⁴² ο κάνθαρος,⁴³ ο σκύφος⁴⁴ κ.ά. Η απεικόνιση του κρατήρα, όμως, ως μεμονωμένο θέμα στήλης και με ανάγλυφη παράσταση στο σώμα του αγγείου είναι μοναδική. Δύο επιτύμβιες στήλες με ανάγλυφο, ακόσμητο κρατήρα με ελικωτές λαβές απαντούν στην Κω (Εικ. 3),⁴⁵ όπου σώζονται και οκτώ περίοπτοι μαρμάρινοι ελικωτοί κρατήρες⁴⁶ με κεφαλές υδρόβιων πτηνών στην κάτω πρόσφυση των λαβών. Μία ακόμα αδημοσίευτη στήλη με κρατήρα ίδιου τύπου φυλάσσεται στον υπαίθριο χώρο του Μουσείου του Αγδίν, ενώ περίοπτος μαρμάρινος κρατήρας εκτίθεται και στο Μουσείο Νισύρου.⁴⁷ Οι επιγραφικές και φιλολογικές μαρτυρίες επιβεβαιώνουν ότι ο τύπος αυτός του αγγείου ήταν γνωστός και σε άλλες περιοχές του ανατολικοϊωνικού χώρου,⁴⁸ καθώς και οι απεικονίσεις του σε νεκρόδειπνα, όπου σποραδικά αποδίδο-

39. Για τις ληκύθους, βλ. Schmaltz 1970. Για τις λουτροφόρους, Kokula 1984. Για μεμονωμένα παραδείγματα σε περιοχές εκτός Αττικής ή Σαλαμίνας, υπό αττική επίδραση ωστόσο ή σε αθηναϊκές κληρουχίες, βλ. Clairmont 1993, αριθ. 2420b (Ιμβρος); Δαμάσκος 2013, 147, αριθ. 149, εικ. 360 (Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Καβάλας, άγνωστης προέλευσης); Kokula 1984, 109, 205, αριθ. H20 (Επίδαυρος), L3 (Θεσσαλία), O49, A168 (Λήμνος), B13 (Αίγινα), H29 (Ερέτρια), O52 (Σμύρνη); Σαατσόγλου-Παλιαδέλη 1984, 240-241, αριθ. 63, πίν. 75 (Βεργίνα); IG XII 6,1, αριθ. 268-269 (Σάμος).

40. Τέσσερα είναι τα γνωστά περίοπτα αγγεία του τύπου, ένα από την επίστεψη του κυκλικού ταφικού μνημείου παρά τον τρίτο όρο του Κεραμεικού (Valavanis 1999, 189, 193), δύο με ανάγλυφες παραστάσεις από ταφικό περίβολο στον Μαθαθώνα (Clairmont 1993, αριθ. 4781-4782; Valavanis 2000, 89-97, εικ. 1-2) και ένα ακόμα ακόσμητο, που έγινε γνωστό πολύ πρόσφατα, εντοχισμένο σε σύγχρονο κτίριο στην περιοχή της Ρωμαϊκής Αγοράς της Αθήνας (Σούρλας 2013, 158, εικ. 10). Για απεικονίσεις αυτού του τύπου αγγείου, ανάγλυφες συνήθως αλλά και γραπτές, βλ. Valavanis 2001, 161-173 και ιδιαίτερα για τα ελληνιστικά χρόνια, Τσούλη 2013, 343-346.

41. Στους πρόποδες του Ολύμπου είχε ανιδρυθεί κίονας με λίθινη υδρία με τα οστά του Ορφέα (*Παυσανίας* IX, 30, 7), ενώ λίθινη υδρία σήμαινε και τον τάφο της εταιρας Λαΐδος στον Πηγειό (*Αθήναιος* XIII, 589B). Μαρμάρινες υδρίες έχουν βρεθεί στην μεγάλη Τούμπα της Βεργίνας (Σαατσόγλου-Παλιαδέλη 1984, 241-246, αριθ. 64-67) και μία αποσπασματικά σωζόμενη φυλάσσεται στο Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Άνδρου (Παλαιοκρασσά 1980, 31, αριθ. 44, πίν. ΙΣΤδ). Μία μαρμάρινη υδρία με ανάγλυφη παράσταση προέρχεται από τον Πειραιά (Clairmont 1993, αριθ. 1887) και μία ακόμη, του 4ου ή πρώιμου 3ου αι. π.Χ., από τους Επιζεφύριους Λοκρούς (Foti 1969, 155, πίν. 10 κάτω).

42. Στο Μουσείο Πειραιώς και στο Μουσείο του Λούβρου φυλάσσεται από μία μαρμάρινη οινοχόη με ανάγλυφη εικονιστική παράσταση (Clairmont 1993, αριθ. 4410 και Thönges-Stringaris 1965, αριθ. 151 αντίστοιχα). Ανάγλυφη χους και λουτροφόρος απεικονίζονται από κοινού σε στήλη από τον Πειραιά (Möbius 1968, 28, πίν. 13b), ενώ γραπτή οινοχόη απεικονίζεται σε στήλη από την Αμφίπολη (Lazaridis 1984, 189-193).

43. Ανάγλυφοι κάνθαροι απεικονίζονται σε μεμονωμένα παραδείγματα στηλών του ανατολικοϊωνικού χώρου (Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, αριθ. 2259-2262), της Πελοποννήσου (στήλη από την Ήλιδα, Τριάντη 1978, 78, πίν. 22γ), και στηλών και κυβολίθων της Βοιωτίας (Fraser and Rönne 1957, 73, σημ. 23; Δεσπίνης 1963, 64, με σημ. 5). Συμπαγείς λίθινοι κάνθαροι είναι ιδιαίτερα προσφιλείς ως πρόσθετες επιστέψεις του κεντρικού ακρωτηρίου αετωματικών στηλών στη Μεσσήνη (Θέμελης 1989, 105, 107, πίν. 87β, 90γ; 1998, 122, πίν. 62β).

44. Για περίοπτο ενεπίγραφο μνημείο με ανάγλυφο στεφάνι κισσού από τη Ρόδο, βλ. Fraser 1977, 68, σημ. 389, πίν. 115a-c. Για ανάγλυφα σε επιτάφια μνημεία παραδείγματα, βλ. Berges 1986, αριθ. 76 (βωμός Κνίδου); Firatli 1964, αριθ. 194 (στήλη Βυζαντίου); Fraser 1977, 39, σημ. 217, εικ. 106a-c (βάσεις από Αλικαρνασό); Rousset 2010, 154-55, αριθ. 8, εικ. 33 (βωμός Λυκίας).

45. Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, αριθ. 2263, 2264 (Εικ. 3). Βλ. και πρόσφατα Τσούλη 2013, 347-348, αριθ. κατ. 462-463.

46. Τσούλη 2013, αριθ. κατ. 1160-1167 και κεφ. V.K, όπου και αναλυτική πραγμάτευση όλων των ανάγλυφων και περίοπτων λίθινων κρατήρων του ελλαδικού χώρου που έχουν εντοπιστεί από την ίδια και αναφέρονται στη συνέχεια. Τα μνημεία αυτά σύντομα θα δημοσιευθούν από την γράφουσα σε ξεχωριστό άρθρο.

47. Αριθ. 1310 Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Νισύρου, Μπαϊράμη 2011, 351, αριθ. 24.

48. Για φιλολογικές μαρτυρίες, βλ. ενδεικτικά Barr-Sharrar 2008, 74, 86. Αξιοσημείωτη είναι η αναφορά στους καταλόγους απογραφής των θησαυροφυλακίων των ιερών της Δήλου από τα τέλη του 3ου αι. π.Χ. μέχρι και τα τέλη του 2ου αι. π.Χ. σε περισσότερους από 200 μετάλλινους κρατήρες, εκ των οποίων αρκετοί έφεραν από τοῦ ὠτὸς ἑκατέρου χηνίσκου, τις

νται και οι χαρακτηριστικές λαβές με κεφαλές κύκνων, όπως σε υστεροελληνιστικό παράδειγμα από τη Σάμο.⁴⁹

Στην ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα ο επιτάφιος λίθινος ελικωτός κρατήρας είναι γνωστός σχεδόν αποκλειστικά στη Μακεδονία, με μεμονωμένα παραδείγματα από τη δυτική νεκρόπολη της Πύδνας (Εικ. 4),⁵⁰ από τη στενόμακρη Τούμπα της Βεργίνας,⁵¹ που χρονολογούνται με βάση τα ανασκαφικά ευρήματα μετά τα μέσα του 4ου αι. π.Χ., καθώς και από ένα αδημοσίευτο πρόσφατο εύρημα της Αμφίπολης.⁵² Οι κρατήρες αυτοί φέρουν γλωσσώτο κόσμημα στο σώμα, οι δύο τελευταίοι και σύνθετο πλοχμό στον ώμο όπως η στήλη του Πανταύχου. Όμοιο διάκοσμο φέρει και ένας κρατήρας από τη Βέροια⁵³ καθώς και ένας ιδιαίτερα μνημειακού μεγέθους από τα Μέγαρα.⁵⁴ Στη νότια Ελλάδα ο τύπος δεν απαντά, φαινόμενο που συνάδει και με τα δεδομένα των κτερισμάτων στους τάφους, όπου ο ελικωτός κρατήρας απουσιάζει τόσο από την Αττική όσο και από την Πελοπόννησο, με ελάχιστες εξαιρέσεις.⁵⁵ Εντοπίσαμε μόνο ένα αδημοσίευτο μνημείο στο Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, άγνωστης προέλευσης, ενώ στην Πελοπόννησο απαντά σε μεμονωμένα παραδείγματα ο λίθινος κιονωτός κρατήρας.⁵⁶

Ιδιαίτερα δημοφιλής για ταφική χρήση είναι ο ελικωτός κρατήρας στην Κάτω Ιταλία και τη Σικελία. Ο τύπος απαντά σε πηλό ως κτέρισμα, τεφροδόχο⁵⁷ αλλά και ως σήμα του τάφου,⁵⁸ σε χαλκό ως κτέρισμα και τεφροδόχο⁵⁹ και σε λίθο ως επιτάφιο μνημείο, με σωζόμενα έξι παραδείγματα από τοπικό ασβεστόλιθο στο Μουσείο του Τάραντα (Εικ. 5),⁶⁰ ένα τουλάχιστον στο Μεταπόντιο⁶¹ και ένα στην Καμάρινα.⁶² Στην απουλική αγγειογραφία άλλωστε, ο ελικωτός κρατήρας αποτελεί τον δημοφιλέστερο τύπο αγγείου του 4ου αι. π.Χ. με διάκοσμο της κατηγορίας 'σκηνή επίσκεψης σε τάφο', ενώ σποραδικά απεικονίζεται και ο ίδιος ως επιτύμβιο μνημείο σε αγγεία με τέτοιο θεματολόγιο.⁶³

χαρακτηριστικές κεφαλές υδρόβιων πτηνών (Dürnbach κ.α. éd. 1926 αριθ. 363, 366, 371, 372, 385, 439, 442-43, 457, 468, 1400, 1410, 1428-30, 1433, 1441, 1443, 1450).

49. Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, αριθ. 1992.

50. Αριθ. 7820 Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Δίου. Εντοπίστηκε στην κοινότητα Μακρυγιάλου, Tsigarida 2011, 529, αριθ. 329; Μπέσιος 2010, 209 με εικόνα.

51. Βλ. μνεία σε Σαατσόγλου-Παλιαδέλη 2006, 757, εικ. 3; Σαατσόγλου-Παλιαδέλη και Κυριάκου 2006, 763; Κυριάκου 2008, 39, εικ. 19. Δημοσίευση σε Κυριάκου 2013, 211-245, εικ. 2-8.

52. Μνεία σε Ignatiadou 2014, 49, σημ. 61, πίν. VII.2.

53. Ο κρατήρας αυτός προέρχεται από τη νεκρόπολη της Βέροιας και είναι αδημοσίευτος. Μνεία σε Τσούλη 2013, 244.

54. Αδημοσίευτος. Αριθ. 94 Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Μεγάρων. Μνεία σε Τσούλη 2013, 244, πίν. 93; Ignatiadou 2014, 49, πίν. VII.4.

55. Barr-Sharrar 2008, 63, σημ. 61 (Αττική). Για ολιγάριθμες εξαιρέσεις από την Πελοπόννησο, βλ. Schleiffenbaum 1991, 100, 119, 146, Tab. 5a.

56. Πρόκειται για δύο αδημοσίευτους περίοπτους κρατήρες από το Άργος. Μνεία στον πρώτο γίνεται σε Παπαχριστοδούλου 1969, 108, πίν. 87α; Τσούλη 2013, 245, σημ. 1221-1222. Ανάγλυφος κιονωτός κρατήρας απεικονίζεται σε μία στήλη από την Επίδαυρο (Προσκυνητοπούλου 2011, αριθ. Σ3, 265-269, ιδίως 269, εικ. 44), ενώ ανάλογα αγγεία απεικονίζονται σε ανάγλυφα σε βράχους κάτω από την Ακρόπολη του Άργους, ενίοτε με την παρουσία και φιδιού, βλ. Vollgraff 1951, 336-339.

57. Στη Μεγάλη Ελλάδα ο ελικωτός κρατήρας αποτελεί τον δημοφιλέστερο τύπο τεφροδόχου αγγείου (Barr-Sharrar 2008, 182, σημ. 34), ενώ στη Σικελία το ποσοστό των τεφροδόχων κρατήρων ανέρχεται στο 95% του συνολικού αριθμού των ευρεθέντων στις νεκροπόλεις κρατήρων (La Genièvre 1987, 271-272).

58. Carter 1998, 116, 117, σημ. 6; Lippolis 1994, 112; Steingraber 2000, 104, σημ. 728, 733.

59. Barr-Sharrar 2008, 48-49, αριθ. 2 και 5. Από τις περιοχές αυτές προέρχονται λίγοι ακόμα μεταλλικοί κρατήρες του τύπου (Barr-Sharrar 2008, αριθ. 1 και 4), των οποίων όμως δεν γνωρίζουμε τον ακριβή τόπο εύρεσης.

60. Ο επιβλητικότερος όλων είναι ένας μεγάλος κρατήρας με συμφυές κωνικό πώμα, ύψους 0,91 μ. Μνεία σε Lippolis 1994, 112, εικ. 77; Dell' Aglio and Zingariello 2010, 67 με εικόνα. Οι υπόλοιποι, που είναι αδημοσίευτοι, φέρουν είτε συμφυές πώμα είτε ευρεία κοιλότητα στην άνω, επίπεδη επιφάνεια του χείλους, βλ. Τσούλη 2013, 245-246, σημ. 1227-1232, πίν. 96-98.

61. Lohmann 1979, 140 σημ. 1149; Schleiffenbaum 1991, 94, σημ. 219 "Grabungsmagazin von Metaront". Υπάρχει αναφορά σε έναν ακόμα ελικωτό κρατήρα από τη νεκρόπολη που φυλάσσεται κοντά στο ιερό του Απόλλωνα, βλ. Silvestrelli 2014, 138 σημ. 47.

62. Lanza 1975, 41-42, εικ. 1-2, όπου το μνημείο αποκαθίσταται ανεστραμμένο ως 'cippus σε μορφή κώνου πεύκης'. Για λίθινους καλυκωτούς κρατήρες από την ίδια περιοχή βλ. Lanza 1975, 43-45, εικ. 3-7 (αναφέρονται ως cippi).

63. Lohmann 1979, 139-141, αριθ. Α 69/Α πίν. 50.3, αριθ. Α633/Β, Α637/Β πίν. 51.1; Schleiffenbaum 1991, 211, σημ. 589-592.

Τυπολογία του ελικωτού κρατήρα – εικονογραφικές μαρτυρίες και πρότυπα

Ο τύπος του ελικωτού κρατήρα⁶⁴ με τις σύνθετες λαβές, με τοξωτό κάτω τμήμα που απολήγει σε κεφαλές κύκνων και ελικωτό άνω τμήμα με επικρεμάμενες έλικες που επικάθεται στο χείλος του αγγείου, σε συνδυασμό με το κυρτό χείλος με υποκείμενο λέσβιο κυμάτιο και τη βαθμιδωτή βάση, ανάγεται σε πρότυπα του 5ου αι. π.Χ. που δημιουργήθηκαν πρώτα σε χαλκό.⁶⁵ Ο τόπος εύρεσης των χάλκινων κρατήρων του είδους, στις περιπτώσεις που είναι γνωστές, εντοπίζεται στη βόρεια Ελλάδα, με πλέον γνωστό τον κρατήρα του Δερβενίου Α, και στην Κάτω Ιταλία.⁶⁶ Στη συνέχεια, η παραγωγή του τύπου αυτού ονομαζόμενου τύπου Α, απαντά σε πηλό στην Αττική⁶⁷ χωρίς όμως τις κεφαλές κύκνων στην κάτω πρόσφυση των λαβών και τις επικρεμάμενες έλικες.⁶⁸ Τα στοιχεία αυτά των χάλκινων κρατήρων εμφανίζονται, εντούτοις, στα κεραμικά εργαστήρια της Κάτω Ιταλίας, ιδιαίτερα της Απουλίας, όπου ο τύπος γνώρισε μεγάλη άνθηση από τα τέλη του 5ου μέχρι και το γ' τέταρτο του 4ου αι. π.Χ.,⁶⁹ μετά και την οριστική παύση παραγωγής του τύπου στην Αττική γύρω στα 380 π.Χ. Ο τύπος εμφανίζεται σε συντεταγμένη μορφή και σε νομίσματα, κυρίως οιοπαραγωγών περιοχών του ελλαδικού χώρου, όπως η Νάξος, η Μένδη και η Κέρκυρα,⁷⁰ καθώς και σε ενσφράγιστες λαβές αμφορέων, ιδιαίτερα από τη Θάσο.⁷¹

Τα παλαιότερα, με ασφάλεια χρονολογημένα, λίθινα περίοπτα δείγματα του ελικωτού κρατήρα, είναι αυτά της Μακεδονίας. Χρονολογούνται βάσει των συννευρημάτων τους μετά τα μέσα του 4ου αι. π.Χ., δίνοντας έτσι το προβάδισμα στην Ερέτρια με τη στήλη του Ευθυδήμου του πρώιμου 4ου αι. π.Χ. Το άμεσο πρότυπο του κρατήρα της συγκεκριμένης στήλης δεν είναι εύκολο να εντοπισθεί. Πρόκειται πιθανότατα για κάποιο έργο τορευτικής, ανάλογο με τους μεταλλινούς κρατήρες που ενέπνευσαν τον οπισθότυπο των αργυρών στατήρων της γειτονικής Θήβας των μέσων του 5ου αι. π.Χ. αλλά και του κοινού των Βοιωτών του 4ου αι. π.Χ.,⁷² καθώς και των νομισμάτων της οιοπαραγωγού Μένδης, αποικίας της Ερέτριας, του ύστερου 5ου-α' μισού του 4ου αι. π.Χ.,⁷³ όπως και των ενσφράγιστων λαβών θασιακών αμφορέων, οι οποίοι εξαγονταν σε μεγάλο αριθμό στην Ερέτρια.⁷⁴ Οι λαβές με κάτω πρόσφυση σε μορφή αετού με ανοιγμένες πτέρυγες δεν έχουν, απ' όσο γνωρίζουμε, ακριβές παράλληλο. Σε μεταλλινούς κρατήρες είναι γνωστές λαβές που απολήγουν σε μορφή φιδιών, Μέδουσας, ακόμα και

64. Για τον ελικωτό κρατήρα, τις χρήσεις και την εξέλιξη του, βλ. Gaunt 2006; Hitzl 1982; La Genière 2014; Schleiffenbaum 1991.

65. Schleiffenbaum 1991, 73-76, η οποία τοποθετεί την έναρξη παραγωγής του τύπου μετά το 430 π.Χ.; Barr-Sharrar 2008, 48 κ.ε., ιδίως 55-56, όπου η παραγωγή των χάλκινων έργων εντοπίζεται από το β' τέταρτο του 5ου αι. π.Χ., με βάση επιγραφή ενός εξ αυτών και απεικονίσεις σε βοιωτικά νομίσματα. Την εμφάνιση του τύπου στο β' τέταρτο του 5ου αι. π.Χ. υιοθετεί και ο Gaunt (2006, 362).

66. Barr-Sharrar 2008, 48-54. Για την προέλευση του τύπου δεν υπάρχει ομοφωνία. Ο Pfrommer (1983, 247-250) θεωρεί ότι ο τύπος δημιουργήθηκε στον Τάραντα και η Barr-Sharrar (2008, 48) στην Αττική. Ο Gaunt (2006, 364-365) υποστηρίζει ότι μπορεί να υπήρχαν εργαστήρια και στις δύο περιοχές, δεδομένης της δημοτικότητας του τύπου στα απουλικά ερυθρόμορφα αγγεία.

67. Για τον αττικό ερυθρόμορφο κρατήρα του τύπου, βλ. Barr-Sharrar 2008, 62-66; Schleiffenbaum 1991, 80.

68. Για εξαιρέσεις, βλ. Barr-Sharrar 2008, 69, εικ. 68; Gaunt 2006, 364, σημ. 66; Schleiffenbaum 1991, 76.

69. Για τους ερυθρόμορφους απουλικούς ελικωτούς κρατήρες, βλ. Barr-Sharrar 2008, 71-72; Gaunt 2006, 335-340, 365-367, όπου και λίγα παραδείγματα από την Ποσειδωνία και την Ετρουρία; Schleiffenbaum 1991, 80-87.

70. Franke and Marathaki 1999, 106, αριθ. 93 (Κέρκυρα), 106, αριθ. 92 (Μένδη); Gaunt 2006, αριθ. 144a-b (Μένδη). Η Νάξος, η οποία συνδέεται στενά με το μύθο του Διονύσου, εξέδωσε τον 2ο αι. π.Χ. σειρά αργυρών δραχμών, των λεγόμενων 'κρατηροφόρων' με ανάγλυφο κρατήρα, Franke and Marathaki 1999, 108, αριθ. 94.

71. Garland and Blondé 2004, 131, σημ. 45, όπου σημειώνεται ότι ο ελικωτός κρατήρας αποτελεί το συχνότερα εμφανιζόμενο σχήμα κρατήρα ως σύμβολο ενσφράγιστων θασιακών λαβών αμφορέων, απαριθμεί δε 65 παραδείγματα.

72. Barr-Sharrar 2008, 56, εικ. 58-59 (νομίσματα 5ου αι. π.Χ.); Herworth 1998, 61 κ.ε. (νομίσματα 4ου αι. π.Χ.). Η Θήβα θεωρούνταν πατρίδα του Διονύσου.

73. Για τη Μένδη, βλ. ανωτέρω σημ. 70.

74. Garland 1999, 103, αριθ. 54; Huguenot 2008, 245. Αξίζει να σημειωθεί ότι στην Ερέτρια έχουν βρεθεί σποραδικά και άλλα αγγεία πόσης που αντιγράφουν μακεδονικά μέταλλινα αγγεία, βλ. Huguenot 2008, 246.

ανθρώπινων μορφών, όπως στον κρατήρα Δερβένι Β.⁷⁵ Στο ΕΑΜ διατηρείται, εντούτοις, παρεμφερής μορφολογικά χάλκινος αετός από την Πέλλα,⁷⁶ πιθανότατα προσάρτημα λαβής ή σκεύους.

Επίλογος

Η επιλογή του κρατήρα ως επιτάφιου σήματος οφείλεται στη χρήση του στα ταφικά έθιμα και τις μεταθανάτιες τελετουργίες, καθώς αποτελεί το κατεξοχήν αγγείο μίξης του κρασιού με το νερό για το τελετουργικό συμπόσιο προς τιμήν του νεκρού, ενώ χρησιμοποιείται και για χοές, καθώς και άλλες τελετουργίες πάνω από τον τάφο. Ο πρωτεύων ρόλος του στις λατρευτικές πρακτικές προς τιμήν ηρώων, αλλά και στις ταφικές πρακτικές και μάλιστα, σε ορισμένες τουλάχιστον περιοχές, προς τιμήν ηρωοποιημένων νεκρών, τεκμηριώνεται από κάποια ανάγλυφα στην Κάτω Ιταλία, στον Τάραντα και στο Άργος⁷⁷ με απεικόνιση ιππέα ή πολεμιστή που σπένδει δίπλα σε κρατήρα με φίδι. Η σύνδεση του συγκεκριμένου τύπου αγγείου με μνημένους στις μυστηριακές τελετές του Διονύσου ή με μέλη θρησκευτικών θιάσων με ορφικο-διονυσιακές αντιλήψεις και πίστη στη μεταθανάτια ζωή, που έχει προταθεί για κάποια άλλα αγγεία του τύπου, όπως για τους τεφροδόχους μεταλλινούς κρατήρες του Δερβενίου,⁷⁸ δεν μπορεί να τεκμηριωθεί για τις δύο ευβοϊκές στήλες, καθώς τα ανασκαφικά συμφραζόμενα λείπουν και τα ονομαστικά στοιχεία των επιγραφών τους δεν προσφέρουν τις σχετικές ενδείξεις.⁷⁹ Θα ήταν εντούτοις δελεαστικός ένας τέτοιος συσχετισμός, δεδομένης της δημοτικότητας της εορτής των Διονυσίων στην πόλη της Ερέτριας κατά τον 4ο και 3ο αι. π.Χ.⁸⁰

Εάν η διάδοση του θέματος του ελικωτού κρατήρα πραγματοποιήθηκε μέσω του εμπορίου πήλινων αλλά και μεταλλινων αγγείων του είδους, μέσω απεικονίσεών του σε νομίσματα ή μέσω περιπλανώμενων γλυπτών είναι ένα ερώτημα στο οποίο δεν μπορεί να δοθεί με βεβαιότητα κάποια απάντηση. Τα ίχνη που άφησε στο πέρασμά του το σπάνιο εικονογραφικό θέμα του ανάγλυφου ή περίοπτου ελικωτού κρατήρα στην ταφική τέχνη μιλούν με τον πιο εύγλωττο τρόπο για τη σημασία της Εύβοιας ως το δυτικό άκρο της 'γέφυρας' μεταξύ των δύο ακτών του Αιγαίου, ως έναν σημαντικό σταθμό του δικτύου εμπορικών αλλά και πολιτισμικών ανταλλαγών μεταξύ του νησιωτικοϊωνικού κόσμου, της ηπειρωτικής και της Μεγάλης Ελλάδας.

75. Βλ. ενδεικτικά Barr-Sharrar 2008, 59-61, σημ. 48, εικ. 60 (φίδια και Μέδουσα), 85-88, 89, σημ. 81 (ανθρώπινες μορφές); Gaunt 2006, 341-345.

76. Oikonomos 1926, 84-85, πίν. X.

77. Βλ. ανάγλυφο από ηρώο στη νεκρόπολη του Τάραντα με πολεμιστή που σπένδει δίπλα σε δέντρο με φίδι και ελικωτό κρατήρα (Schleiffenbaum 1991, αριθ. D 150). Γραπτή απεικόνιση έφιππου ιππέα δίπλα σε καλυκωτό κρατήρα σε τάφο του γ' τετάρτου του 4ου αι. π.Χ. στην Ποσειδωνία (Pugliese Carratelli 1990, 331, εικ. 505). Βραχογραφία κάτω από την Ακρόπολη του Άργους με ιππέα δίπλα σε κιονωτό κρατήρα με φίδι (Vollgraaf 1951, 337, εικ. 1). Χαρακτηριστική για το συσχετισμό του κρατήρα με τον αφηρωισμό των νεκρών είναι η εύρεση στην Καμάρινα χτιστών κατασκευών για προσφορές και χοές ή βωμών πάνω από τεφροδόχους κρατήρες, βλ. La Ginière 1987, 275.

78. Barr-Sharrar 2008, 180-182; Ιγνατιάδου 2011, 146.

79. Το μόνα ασφαλή στοιχεία που μας προσφέρουν οι επιγραφές των στηλών αυτών είναι ότι ο Πάνταυχος, ο νεκρός της πρώτης στήλης, πρέπει να είχε καταγωγή από τη Θεσσαλία ή τη Μακεδονία, όπου το όνομα είναι αρκετά κοινό, σε αντίθεση με την Εύβοια, όπου απαντά άπαξ, βλ. Knoepfner 1976, 273, σημ. 38-39; Robert 1963, 76, σημ. 7.

80. Βλ. ομοσπονδιακό νόμο, θρησκευτικό κανονισμό και εργολαβία πρόσληψης των διονυσιακών τεχνιτών που θα απασχολούνταν στον εορτασμό των Διονυσίων στις ευβοϊκές πόλεις, μεταξύ των οποίων και στην Ερέτρια (IG XII.9, αριθ. 207; Aneziri 2007, 80-81; Κουρουνηώτης 1911, 1-9, αριθ. 1)· επίσης την επιγραφικά μαρτυρημένη σύνδεση του εορτασμού των Διονυσίων στην Ερέτρια με πολιτικό-στρατιωτικό γεγονός του πρώιμου 3ου αι. π.Χ. (Knoepfner 2010β, 281-283; 2014, ιδίως 73-90).

Βιβλιογραφία

- Αρβανιτόπουλος, Α. (1909) 'Περιγραφή των γραπτών στηλών Παγασών εν τω Αθανασακείω Μουσείω Βόλου'. Τόμ. 1 *Θεσσαλικά Μνημεία*. Αθήνα: Εστία.
- Δαμάσκος, Δ. (2013) *Κατάλογος Γλυπτών του Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Καβάλας*. Θεσσαλονίκη: Δημοσιεύματα Αρχαιολογικού Ινστιτούτου Μακεδονικών Σπουδών.
- Δεσπίνης, Γ. (1963) 'Τράπεζαι επιτύμβιοι'. *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* 1963, 46-68.
- Δεσπίνης, Γ. (2002) 'Αττικοί επιτύμβιοι ναΐσκοι του 4ου αι. π.Χ.: μια πρώτη προσέγγιση'. Στο *Αρχαία Ελληνική Γλυπτική. Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του γλύπτη Στέλιου Τριάντη, Μουσείο Μπενάκη 1^ο Παράρτημα*, επιμέλεια Δ. Δαμάσκου, 209-231. Αθήνα: Μουσείο Μπενάκη.
- Θέμελης, Π. (1989) 'Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης'. *Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, 63-122.
- Θέμελης, Π. (1998) 'Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης'. *Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, 89-126.
- Ιγνατιάδου, Δ. (2011) 'Ο κρατήρ του Διονύσου και του επέκεινα'. Στο *Το δώρο του Διονύσου. Μυθολογία του κρασιού στην κεντρική Ιταλία (Molise) και τη βόρεια Ελλάδα (Μακεδονία)*, επιμέλεια Π. Αδάμ-Βελένη, 146-151. Θεσσαλονίκη: Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Θεσσαλονίκης.
- Κουρουγιώτης Κ. (1911) 'Ερετρικά έπιγραφαί'. *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* 1911, 1-38.
- Κυριάκου, Α. (2008) *Η Στενόμακρη Τούμπα της Βεργίνας. Ταφικές πρακτικές στη Μακεδονία του 4ου αι. π.Χ.* Θεσσαλονίκη: Σφακιανάκη.
- Κυριάκου, Α. (2013) 'Συνθέτοντας την εικόνα ενός ταφικού μνημείου: η βιογραφία του μαρμάρινου κρατήρα από τη Στενόμακρη Τούμπα της Βεργίνας'. Στο *Πρακτικά Α' Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου της Ημαθίας. Ιστορία - Αρχαιολογία - Τέχνη - Λαογραφία, Βέροια 29 Σεπτεμβρίου - 3 Οκτωβρίου 2010*, 211-245. Βέροια: Εταιρεία Μελετών Ιστορίας και Πολιτισμού Ν. Ημαθίας.
- Κωνσταντινίδης, Π. (2007-2009) 'Κλασικά επιτύμβια ανάγλυφα από τη Μακεδονία'. *Αρχαιογνωσία* 15, 253-314.
- Κωνσταντίνου, Ι. (1953-1954) 'Άγαλμα καθηήμενης θεάς'. Στον Τόμ. II *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς, Εις μνήμην Γεωργίου Π. Οικονόμου*, 30-40.
- Λαζαρίδης, Δ. (1979) 'Ανασκαφές και έρευνες Αμφιπόλεως'. *Πρακτικά της εν Αθηναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, 71-79.
- Μπαϊράμη, Κ. (2011) 'Ταφικός κιονωτός κρατήρας'. Στο *Άγωνα Γραμμή. Ένα αρχαιολογικό ταξίδι στο Καστελλόριζο, τη Σύμη, τη Χάλκη και τη Νίσυρο, Κατάλογος Έκθεσης στο Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης*, επιμέλεια Ν. Σταμπολίδη, Γ. Τασούλα και Μ. Φιλήμονος-Τσοποτού, 351. Αθήνα: Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης; Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Τουρισμού.
- Μπέσιος, Μ. (2010) *Πιερίδων Στέφανος: Πύδνα, Μεθώνη και οι αρχαιότητες της Β. Πιερίας*, Κατερίνη: Εκδόσεις Α.Φ.Ε.
- Παλαιοκρασσά, Λ. (1980) 'Τα αρχαία γλυπτά της Συλλογής στη Χώρα της Άνδρου'. *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς*, 18-32.
- Παπαχριστοδούλου, Ι. (1969) 'Αρχαιότητες και μνημεία Αργολιδοκορινθίας. Αργολίς'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 108(II.1 Χρονικά), 104-111.
- Προσκυνητοπούλου, Ρ. (2011) *Αρχαία Επίδαυρος. Εικόνες μιας αργολικής πόλης από την Προϊστορική Εποχή έως την Ύστερη Αρχαιότητα*. Αθήνα: ΤΑΠΑ.
- Σαατσόγλου-Παλιαδέλη, Χ. (1984) 'Τα επιτάφια μνημεία από τη Μεγάλη Τούμπα της Βεργίνας'. Τόμ. 50 *Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής*. Θεσσαλονίκη: Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης.
- Σαατσόγλου-Παλιαδέλη, Χ. (2006) 'Βεργίνα 2003-2006. Τα πεπραγμένα της Πανεπιστημιακής Ανασκαφής στις Αιγές'. Τόμ. 20 *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη*, 752-758. Θεσσαλονίκη: Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Θεσσαλονίκης.
- Σαατσόγλου-Παλιαδέλη, Χ. και Α. Κυριάκου (2006) 'Ανασκαφή στο ανάκτορο και το νεκροταφείο των Αιγών'. Τόμ. 20 *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη*, 759-766. Θεσσαλονίκη: Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Θεσσαλονίκης.
- Σαπουνά-Σακελλαράκη, Έ. (1995α) *Χαλκίς. Ιστορία - Τοπογραφία και Μουσείο*. Αθήνα: ΤΑΠΑ
- Σαπουνά-Σακελλαράκη, Έ. (1995β) *Ερέτρια. Χώρος και Μουσείο*. Αθήνα: ΤΑΠΑ
- Σισμανίδης, Κ. (1997) *Κλίνες και κλινοειδείς κατασκευές των Μακεδονικών Τάφων*. Αθήνα: ΤΑΠΑ.

- Σούρλας, Δ. (2013) 'Πρόσφατες αρχαιολογικές έρευνες στη Ρωμαϊκή Αγορά, στη Βιβλιοθήκη του Αδριανού και τις όμορες περιοχές'. Τόμ. Β *Αρχαιολογικές συμβολές. Α' και Γ' Εφορείες Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων*, επιμέλεια Σ. Οικονόμου και Μ. Δόγκα-Τόλη, 148-168. Αθήνα: Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης.
- Τριάντη, Ι. (1978) 'Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων Ολυμπίας'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 33(Β1 Χρονικά), 77-78.
- Τσούλη, Χ. (2013) 'Ταφικά και επιτάφια μνημεία της Κω. Συμβολή στην μελέτη της τυπολογίας και της εικονογραφίας των επιτάφιων μνημείων των ελληνιστικών και ρωμαϊκών χρόνων'. Διδακτορική διατριβή. Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο, Αθηνών, Ελλάδα. <http://thesis.ekt.gr/thesisBookReader/id/33274#page/1/mode/2up>.
- Χιδιρογλου, Μ. (2012) 'Η αρχαία Καρυστία. Συμβολή στην ιστορία και αρχαιολογία της περιοχής από τη γεωμετρική έως την αυτοκρατορική εποχή'. Διδακτορική διατριβή. Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, Ελλάδα. <http://thesis.ekt.gr/thesisBookReader/id/29516#page/1/mode/2up>.

*

- Aneziri, S. (2007) 'The Organisation of Music Contests in the Hellenistic Period and Artists' Participation. An Attempt at Classification'. In *The Greek Theatre and Festivals: documentary studies*, edited by P. Wilson, 67-84. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Barr-Sharrar, B. (2008) *The Derveni Krater: masterpiece of classical Greek metalwork*, Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Berges, D. (1986) *Hellenistische Rundaltäre Kleinasiens*. Friburg: D. Berges.
- Börker, C. (1973) 'Neuattisches und Pergamenisches an den Ara Pacis Ranken'. *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 88, 283-317.
- Carter, J. C. (1998) 'The Necropoleis'. Vol. 1 of *The Chora of Metaponto*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2013) 'Ancient cemetery sites on Euboea. An overview of old and new data'. In *Griechische Grabbezirke klassischer Zeit: Normen und regionalismen. Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums am Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Abteilung Athen 20-21. November 2009*, edited by K. Sporn, 69-82. Munich: Hirmer Verlag.
- Clairmont, C. (1993) *Classical Attic Tombstones*. Kilchberg: Akanthus.
- Dell'Aglio, A. and A. Zingariello (2010) *MARTA. Il Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Taranto*. Taranto: Scorpione Editrice.
- Dürnbach, F. P., Roussel, M. Launey, A. Plassart and J. Couprie, eds. (1926) Vols. I-III of *Inscriptions de Délos*. Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres; Fonds d'épigraphie grecque.
- Firatli, N. (1964) *Les Stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romain*. Paris: A. Maisonneuve.
- Foti, G. (1969) 'L'attività archeologica in Calabria'. In *La Magna Grecia e Roma nell'età arcaica. Atti dell'ottavo convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 6-11 ottobre 1968*, 153-162. Naples: L'Arte Tipografica.
- Franke, P. and I. Marathaki (1999) *Wine and coins in Ancient Greece*. Athens: Hatzimichali Estate.
- Fraser, P. (1977) *Rhodian Funerary Monuments*. Oxford/New York: Clarendon Press.
- Fraser, P. M. and T. Rönne (1957) *Boeotian and West Greek Tombstones*. Lund: Gleerup.
- Friis-Johansen, K. (1951) *The Attic Grave-Reliefs of the Classical Period*. Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard.
- Fuchs, W. (1966) 'Zur Rekonstruktion einer weiblichen Sitzstatue in Chalkis'. *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 8, 32-49.
- Garlan, Y. (1999) 'Les timbres amphoriques de Thasos I. Timbres protothasiens et thasiens anciens'. Vol. XVIII of *Études thasiennes*. Athens: École française d'Athènes.
- Garlan, Y. and F. Blondé (2004) 'Les représentations des vases sur les timbres amphoriques thasiens'. In *Transport Amphorae and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean. Acts of the Colloquium at the Danish Institut in Athens, September 26-29, 2002*, edited by J. Eiring and J. Lund, 123-136. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Gaunt, J. (2006) *The Attic Volute-Krater*. Ann Arbor: U.M.I.
- de la Genière, J. (1987) 'Les usages du cratère'. *Revue des études anciennes* 89 (3), 271-277.
- de la Genière, J., ed. (2014) *Le cratère à volutes. Destinations d'un vase de prestige entre Grecs et non-Grecs. Actes du Colloque international du Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Paris, 26-27 octobre 2012*. Paris: de Boccard.

- Hepworth, R. (1998) 'The 4th c. BC Magistrate Coinage of the Boeotian Confederacy'. *Νομισματικά Χρονικά* 17, 61-89.
- Hildebrandt, F. (2006) *Die attischen Namenstelen. Untersuchungen zu Stelen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Berlin: Frank & Timme.
- Hitzl, K. (1982) *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Volutenkraters von den frühesten Anfängen bis zur Ausprägung des kanonischen Stils in der attisch schwarzfigurigen Vasenmalerei.* Frankfurt am Main: Lang.
- Huguenot, C. (2008) 'La Tombe aux Érotés et la Tombe d' Amarynthos. Architecture funéraire et présence macédonienne en Grèce Central'. Vol. XIX of *Eretria*. Gollion: Infolio éditions.
- Ignatiadou, D. (2014) 'The Symbolic krater'. In *Le cratère à volutes. Destinations d'un vase de prestige entre Grecs et non-Grecs. Actes du Colloque international du Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Paris, 26-27 octobre 2012*, edited by J. de la Genière, 43-59. Paris: de Boccard.
- Knoepfler, D. (1976) 'Autour d'une stèle "megarienne"'. In *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne et d'archéologie offerts à Paul Collart*, edited by P. Ducrey, C. Bérard and C. Dunant, 270-276. Lausanne: Bibliothèque historique vaudoise.
- Knoepfler, D. (2010α) 'Η πόλη μέσα στην ιστορία'. In *Ερέτρια. Ματιές σε μια αρχαία πόλη. Κατάλογος έκθεσης στο Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, 27 Απριλίου – 24 Αυγούστου 2010*, edited by N. Kaltsas, S. Fachard, A. Psalti and M. Giannopoulou, 76-87. Athens: Kapon publications.
- Knoepfler, D. (2010β) 'Δύο μεγάλες ερετριακές γιορτές: τα Αρτεμίσια και τα Διονύσια'. In *Ερέτρια. Ματιές σε μια αρχαία πόλη. Κατάλογος έκθεσης στο Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, 27 Απριλίου – 24 Αυγούστου 2010*, edited by N. Kaltsas, S. Fachard, A. Psalti and M. Giannopoulou, 277-283. Athens: Kapon publications.
- Knoepfler, D. (2014) 'ΕΧΘΟΝΔΕ ΤΑΣ ΒΟΙΩΤΙΑΣ: The Expansion of the Boeotian koinon towards Central Euboea in the Early Third Century BC'. In *The Epigraphy and History of Boeotia. New Finds, New Perspectives*, edited by N. Papazarkadas, 68-94. Leiden: Brill.
- Koch, G. and H. Sichtermann (1982) *Römische Sarkophage. Handbuch der Archäologie*, Munich: C. H. Beck.
- Kokula, G. (1984) *Marmorlutrophoren*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- Kosmopoulou, A. (2001) "'Working women": Female Professionals on Classical Attic Gravestones'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 96, 281-319.
- Kostoglou-Despini, A. (1988) 'Eine Grabstele aus Pydna'. In *Kanon. Festschrift E. Berger zum 60. Geburtstag am 26. Februar 1988 gewidmet*, edited by M. Schmidt, 180-186. Basel: Vereinigung der Freunde Antiker Kunst.
- Kraus, T. (1954-1955) 'Antithetische Böcke'. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 69-70, 109-124.
- Lanza, M. T. (1975) 'Tre nuovi cippi della necropoli di Camarina'. *Sicilia Archeologica* 8, 39-46.
- Lazaridis, D. (1984) 'Une nouvelle stèle peinte d'Amphipolis'. In *Hommages à Lucien Lerat*, edited by H. Walter, 189-193. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Lippolis, E. (1994) 'La tipologia dei semata'. In *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Taranto, III: 1. Taranto, la necropoli: aspetti e problemi della documentazione archeologica tra VII e I sec. a.C.*, edited by E. Lippolis, 109-120. Taranto: La Colomba.
- Lohmann, H. (1979) 'Grabmäler auf Unteritalischen Vasen'. Vol. 7 of *Archäologische Forschungen*. Berlin: Mann.
- Von Mercklin, E. (1926) 'Marmorne Grabvasen mit Greifenprotomen'. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 51, 98-116.
- Mertens-Horn, M. (1986) 'Studien zu griechischen Löwenbildern'. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 93, 1-61.
- Möbius, H. (1968) *Die Ornamente der griechischen Grabstelen klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit*. Munich: W. Fink.
- Neumann, G. (1965) 'Ein frühhellenistisches Golddiadem aus Kreta'. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 80, 143-151.
- Oikonomos, G. (1926) 'Bronzen von Pella'. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 51, 75-97.
- Pfrommer, M. (1983) 'Italien – Makedonien – Kleinasien. Interdependenzen spätklassischer und frühhellenistischer Toreutik'. *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 98, 235-285.

- Pfuhl, E. and H. Möbius (1977-1979) Vols. I and II of *Die ostgriechische Grabreliefs*. Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern.
- Polojiorghi, M. (2004) 'Stiere und Löwen in der attischen Grabkunst'. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 119, 239-259.
- Pugliese Carratelli, G., ed. (1990) *Magna Grecia. Arte e artigianato*. Milan: Electa.
- Rangabé, A. R. (1852) 'Mémoire sur la Partie Méridionale de l'Île d' Eubée'. In Vol. 1(III) of *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de l'Institut de France*, 197-239. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.
- Robert, L. (1963) 'Review on Peter Fraser, The inscriptions on stone. Samothrace 2.1'. *Gnomon* 35, 50-79.
- Rousset, D. (2010) 'De Lycie en Cabalide. La convention entre les Lyciens et Termessos près d'Oinoanda'. Vol. 10 of *Fouilles de Xanthos*. Geneva: Librairie Droz.
- Sakowski, A. (1998) 'Darstellungen von Greiffenkesseln'. *Bulletin antieke beschaving. Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology* 73, 61-82.
- Schild-Xenidou, V. (2008) 'Corpus der boiotischen Grab- und Weihreliefs des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.'. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* Beih. 20.
- Schleiffenbaum, H. E. (1991) *Der griechischer Volutenkrater: Form, Funktion und Sinngehalt eines antiken Prunkgefäßes*. Frankfurt am Mainz; Bern: P. Lang.
- Schmaltz, B. (1970) *Untersuchungen zu den attischen Marmorlekythen*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- Schmaltz, B. (2001) 'Spätclassische Grabreliefs und der frühe Hellenismus'. In *Άγαλμα. Μελέτες για την αρχαία πλαστική προς τιμήν του Γιώργου Δεσπίνη*, edited by D. Pantermali, M. Tiberiou and E. Boutura, 293-301. Thessaloniki: Ministry of Culture; Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.
- Silvestrelli, F. (2014) 'I crateri a volute a Metaponto: I dati della chora'. In *Le cratère à volutes. Destinations d'un vase de prestige entre Grecs et non-Grecs. Actes du Colloque international du Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Paris, 26-27 octobre 2012*, edited by J. de la Genière, 133-146. Paris: de Boccard
- Simon, E. and A. Andriomenou (1970) 'Grabplastiken aus Chalkis'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 25(1 Μελέτες), 26-28.
- Stears, K. (2001) 'Spinning women'. In *Les pierres de l'offrande: autour de l'œuvre de Christoph W. Clairmont*, edited by G. Hoffmann and A. Lezzi-Hafter, 107-114. Zurich: Akanthus.
- Steingraber, S. (2000) *Arpi – Apulien – Makedonien. Studien zum Unteritalischen Grabwesen in hellenistischer Zeit*. Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern.
- Thönges-Stringaris, R. (1965) 'Das griechische Totenmahl'. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 80, 1-99.
- Tsigarida, E-B. (2011) 'Cratère à volutes'. In *Au royaume d'Alexandre. La Macédoine antique, Catalogue de l'exposition organisée au Musée du Louvre du 13 octobre 2011 au 16 janvier 2012*, edited by S. Descamps-Lequime and K. Charatzopoulou, 529. Paris: Somogy.
- Valavanis, P. (1999) 'Das stolze runde Denkmal. Bemerkungen zum Grabmonument am dritten Horos'. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 114, 185-205.
- Valavanis, P. (2000) 'Thoughts on two Marble Panathenaic Amphorae from Marathon'. *Eirene: Studia Graeca et Latina* 36, 89-97.
- Valavanis, P. (2001) 'Panathenäische Amphoren auf Monumenten spätclassischer, hellenistischer und römischer Zeit'. In *Panathenäika. Symposium zu den Panathenäischen Preiseamphoren, Rauischholzhausen 25.11-29.11.1998*, edited by M. Bentz and N. Eschbach, 161-173. Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern.
- Vedder, U. (1985) *Untersuchungen zur plastischen Ausstattung attischen Grabanlagen des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* Frankfurt am Main; New York: P. Lang.
- Vermeule, C. (1972) 'Greek funerary animals, 450-300 BC'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 76, 49-59.
- Vermeule, C. and P. von Kersburg (1968) 'The Basel dog: a vindication'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 72, 95-101.
- Vollgraff, W. (1951) 'Inhumation en terre sacrée dans l'antiquité (à propos d' une inscription d' Argos)'. *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 14(2), 315-396.
- Willemsen, F. (1959) 'Die Löwenkopf-wasserspeier vom Dach des Zeustempels'. Vol. IV of *Olympische Forschungen*. Berlin: W. De Gruyter.
- Woysch-Méautis, D. (1982) *La représentation des animaux et des êtres fabuleux sur les monuments funéraires grecs de l'époque archaïque à la fin du IVe siècle av. J.-C.*, Lausanne: Bibliothèque historique vaudoise.

Εικόνες



Εικόνα 1:
 Η στήλη του Πανταύχου.
 Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Ερέτριας αριθ. 626.



Εικόνα 2:
 Η στήλη του Ευθυδήμου. Αρχαιολογικό
 Μουσείο Ερέτριας αριθ. 1104.



Εικόνα 3:
Επιτύμβια στήλη από το Λινοπότη,
Κως, Κάστρο της Νερατζιάς.



Εικόνα 4:
Επιτάφιος κρατήρας από την Πύδνα.
Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Δίου αριθ. 7820.



Εικόνα 5:
Επιτάφιος κρατήρας από τον Τάραντα.
Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Τάραντα αριθ. 33330.

(Οι λήψεις είναι της γράφουσας)

Η οχύρωση της Χαλκίδας. Η ανασκαφή στον χώρο ανέγερσης του Νέου Γενικού Νοσοκομείου¹

Μαρία ΚΟΣΜΑ[†]
Γιάννης ΧΑΙΠΕΤΑΚΗΣ

Abstract

In 2012-2014, research resumed on the eastern limit of the construction site of the new General Hospital of Chalkis, and a section of defensive wall was uncovered. Research was centred on the area that stretches to the north foothills of Vathrovouni and is widely known as *Pedio Volis* ('Shooting Range') because it was used by the army as a firing range for decades. To the north of this hill extends a lower crest, 90 m high, known by the name *Kalogritsa*, on the low slopes of which a section of the city and the defensive wall were excavated. Sections of domestic remains and the defensive wall were partly visible and had already been located in the 1970s during surface exploration. However, since the area was the property of the Greek Army, excavations could only be launched after the construction of the new General Hospital was approved. One of the issues which puzzled the researchers of the topography of the ancient city more than anything else—whether the *asty* was enclosed by a defensive wall or not—was resolved by the latest archaeological research. In the documents of ancient authors, such as Aeneas Tacticus, Heraclides Criticus, Strabo and Titus Livius, the existence of a defensive enclosure is clearly recorded. The wall that was recently discovered forms part of the urban fortification of the ancient city. Regardless of what the research does not take into account (e.g. whether the entire headland was fortified or not), the latest archaeological evidence attests to the existence of at least one section with north-south orientation that encloses the city from the east, taking advantage of the geomorphological features of Vathrovouni.

Εισαγωγή

Για μια πόλη με μεγάλο αρχαιολογικό ενδιαφέρον όπως η Χαλκίδα, αλλά ταυτόχρονα με αδιάκοπη κατοίκηση, άναρχη δόμηση και αδυναμία προστασίας της μεσαιωνικής και νεώτερης αρχιτεκτονικής της φυσιογνωμίας, η ανακάλυψη και διατήρηση της οχύρωσής της που ανάγεται στην Κλασική και Ελληνιστική περίοδο, αποτελεί αναμφίβολα σταθμό στην ιστορία της έρευνας της περιοχής. Μια Χαλκίδα γνωστή για τη δράση της κατά τον δεύτερο αποικισμό, νικήτρια αλλά βαριά πληγωμένη μετά τον Δηλάντιο πόλεμο, συχνά άθυρμα των Αθηναίων, των Μακεδόνων και των Ρωμαίων και ουσιαστικά άφανής σήμερα με αποσπασματικά, ελάχιστα ορατά λείψανα.

1. Ευχαριστίες εκφράζονται στο επιστημονικό και εργατοτεχνικό προσωπικό για την άψογη συνεργασία κατά τη διάρκεια του έργου (2012-2015). Συγκεκριμένα στους αρχαιολόγους και φοιτητές αρχαιολογίας Κ. Δαμηλάτη, Α. Λέων, R. Van Doorslaer, στους αρχιτέκτονες και σχεδιαστές Α. Νακάση, Γ. Δαλακούρα, Ε. Μπροζιούτη, και στους εργατοτεχνίτες Ζ. Καρβελά, Θ. Αλία, Α. Κοντάκη και Ο. Καραθανάση.

Τα νέα αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα

Η έναρξη των εργασιών κατασκευής του νέου Γενικού Νοσοκομείου της Χαλκίδας το 2012 στην περιοχή που εκτείνεται βόρεια του ορεινού συμπλέγματος του Βαθροβουνίου, στα ανατολικά της σύγχρονης πόλης, στάθηκε η αφορμή για την αποκάλυψη τμήματος του τείχους της αρχαίας πόλης. Τμήμα της πορείας του τείχους ήταν εν μέρει ορατό και είχε εντοπιστεί ήδη από τη δεκαετία του 1980, κατά τη διάρκεια επιφανειακών ερευνών,² καθώς όμως η συγκεκριμένη περιοχή βρισκόταν στην κυριότητα του ελληνικού στρατού και για δεκαετίες λειτουργούσε ως πεδίο βολής,³ η πραγματοποίηση ανασκαφικής έρευνας στην περιοχή κατέστη δυνατή μόνο μετά την έγκριση της ανέγερσης του νοσοκομείου.

Η έρευνα επικεντρώθηκε στα βόρεια του χαμηλού λόφου της Καλογρίτσας, που βρίσκεται στα δυτικά-βορειοδυτικά του όρους Βαθροβουνίου. Αποκαλύφτηκε τμήμα οχύρωσης με κατεύθυνση Β-Ν, που παρακολουθείται σε μήκος 380 μέτρων, ακολουθώντας το φυσικό ανάγλυφο των πρανών του λόφου της Καλογρίτσας (Εικ. 1). Τμήματά του είναι είτε κατεστραμμένα είτε δεν σώζονται σε καλή κατάσταση, ενώ διαπιστώθηκε ότι η πορεία του συνεχίζεται τόσο προς τα βόρεια όσο και προς τα νότια, εκτός των ορίων του χώρου ανέγερσης του νοσοκομείου. Στα νότια, όπως διαπιστώνεται από τις ορατές λιθοπλίνθους, καταλήγει στο πλάτωμα που διαμορφώνεται στην κορυφή του λόφου της Καλογρίτσας, καθιστώντας σαφές ότι οχυρώνει τον συγκεκριμένο λόφο.

Το ανασκαμμένο τμήμα του τείχους παρουσιάζει δύο χρονολογικές φάσεις. Η πρώτη διατηρείται αποσπασματικά στον νότιο τομέα της ανασκαφής, όπου δύο σκέλη του τείχους συγκλίνουν σε αμβλεία γωνία (Εικ. 2, 3). Στο βόρειο σκέλος, που τοποθετείται σε επίπεδη έκταση, το τείχος διατηρείται σε αρκετά καλή κατάσταση, έχει πλάτος 1,90 μ., είναι κατασκευασμένο κατά την έμπλεκτο τεχνική και συνίσταται από ορθογωνισμένους ασβεστόλιθους. Στο νότιο σκέλος το τείχος σώζεται στο ύψος των θεμελιών και αποτελείται από μικρά αυτόνομα τμήματα που δίνουν την εντύπωση οδοντώσεων (Εικ. 4). Αυτή η κατασκευαστική λεπτομέρεια πιθανόν να σχετίζεται με την ανωφέρεια του εδάφους, καθώς και με λόγους στατικότητας για την αποφυγή της κατάρρευσης ολόκληρου του τείχους σε περίπτωση επίθεσης.

Για τη χρονολόγηση αυτής της φάσης στοιχεία προέρχονται από το νεκροταφείο που εντοπίστηκε έξω από το τείχος, μικρό μόνο τμήμα του οποίου έχει ερευνηθεί. Στο νότιο σκέλος ερευνήθηκαν έξι τάφοι που χρονολογούνται στο δεύτερο μισό του 5ου αι. π.Χ., ενώ στο βόρειο σκέλος αποκαλύφτηκε μια μεγάλη συγκέντρωση τεθραυσμένων αγγείων και ειδωλίων μέσα σε παχύ στρώμα καύσης που ενδεχομένως συνδέεται με έναν χώρο του νεκροταφείου, όπου τελούνταν εναγισμοί, στοιχείο που ενισχύεται και από την παντελή έλλειψη οστών. Το χρονολογικό πλαίσιο της τελευταίας αυτής θέσης είναι ευρύτερο καθώς μεγάλος αριθμός μελανόμορφων και μελανόγραφων ληκυθίων ανάγεται στο πρώτο μισό του 5ου αι. π.Χ. ενώ κάποια τμήματα ερυθρόμορφων αγγείων, κυρίως πυξιδών και αρυβαλλοειδών ληκυθίων χρονολογούνται στο τέλος του 5ου αι. π.Χ. Θεωρείται βέβαιο ότι το νεκροταφείο και το τείχος συνθέτουν ένα σύνολο, καθώς η χωροθέτηση του πρώτου στα πρανή της Καλογρίτσας θα σχετιζόταν με μια οικιστική εγκατάσταση στην περιοχή. Όπως προκύπτει λοιπόν από τη χρονολόγηση της κεραμικής, το τείχος στην περιοχή της Καλογρίτσας θα πρέπει να υπήρχε σε όλη σχεδόν τη διάρκεια του 5ου αι. π.Χ.

Τα τέλη του 6ου και ο 5ος αι. π.Χ. είναι μια ταραχώδης περίοδος για τη Χαλκίδα, όπως μαρτυρούν και οι γραπτές πηγές. Το 506 π.Χ., ύστερα από την ήττα των Βοιωτών και των Χαλκιδέων από τους Αθηναίους, 4000 Αθηναίοι κληρούχοι εγκαθίστανται στη Χαλκίδα. Μισό αιώνα αργότερα, το 446 π.Χ., μετά την ήττα των Αθηναίων στην Κορώνεια της Βοιωτίας, οι Χαλκιδείς εξεγείρονται ξανά. Ωστόσο, η Αθήνα καταστέλλει την εξέγερση και εγκαθιστά 2000 κληρούχους στην πόλη. Μέσα σε αυτό το χρονικό πλαίσιο θα πρέπει να τοποθετηθεί και η κατασκευή του οχυρωματικού περιβόλου, ίσως και υπό την

2. Σάμψων 1986, 29, 56-57, εικ. 9-10; Σαπουνά-Σακελλαράκη 1987, 207-208.

3. Παπαρηγορίου 1953, 22, 131, 134.

εποπτεία των Αθηναίων, όπως συμβαίνει και σε άλλες περιπτώσεις, για παράδειγμα στην Σκύρο⁴ και τα Μέγαρα,⁵ όπου οι Αθηναίοι ενισχύουν τα οχυρωματικά έργα άλλων πόλεων για να εξασφαλίσουν τα συμφέροντά τους. Είναι γνωστή άλλωστε, η μέριμνα των Αθηναίων για την προστασία της Εύβοιας και κατ' επέκταση των όσων της προσέφερε.⁶ Σε κάθε περίπτωση, η ολοκλήρωση της ανασκαφής και η μελέτη των ευρημάτων της θα προσδιορίσουν σαφέστερα το χρονολογικό πλαίσιο της κατασκευής της φάσης αυτής.

Οι γνώσεις μας για τη Χαλκίδα του 5ου αι. π.Χ. είναι αρκετά περιορισμένες. Η συνεχής κατοίκηση στο πέρασμα των αιώνων προκάλεσε την καταστροφή των οικοδομικών καταλοίπων της κλασικής πόλης, με αποτέλεσμα τα αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα να είναι αποσπασματικά. Όπως όμως αποδεικνύεται από τα ευρήματα των σωστικών ανασκαφών, η πόλη των Κλασικών χρόνων θα πρέπει να εκτεινόταν στην περιοχή βόρεια του Αγίου Στεφάνου, ανάμεσα στον Άγιο Ιωάννη και τις Εργατικές Κατοικίες. Μεμονωμένοι τάφοι ή μικρές συστάδες τάφων της εποχής, που έχουν εντοπιστεί σε διάφορες θέσεις σε όλη την έκταση της χερσονήσου της Χαλκίδας, συνηγορούν υπέρ της ύπαρξης και μικρότερων εγκαταστάσεων.⁷ Πέντε μεγάλα πώρινα κιονόκρανα δωρικού ρυθμού των αρχών του 5ου αι. π.Χ. που εντοπίστηκαν κοντά στον Εύριπο, στην περιοχή του σημερινού Βούρκου, και σχετίζονται πιθανώς με ναό αφιερωμένο στη λατρεία του Ολύμπιου Δία⁸ αποδεικνύουν ότι ήδη από τις αρχές του αιώνα την πόλη κοσμούσαν δημόσια κτήρια.⁹ Λείψανα άλλων κτηρίων που τους αποδίδεται δημόσια χρήση έχουν εντοπιστεί στις Εργατικές κατοικίες, τα Δύο Δένδρα και το Πέι Δοκού.¹⁰

Η δεύτερη κατασκευαστική φάση του τείχους, είναι καλύτερα διατηρημένη, όχι όμως σε όλο το μήκος των 380 μέτρων. Σε αυτή τη φάση, μετασκευάζεται και διαπλατύνεται¹¹ το τμήμα του τείχους του 5ου αι. π.Χ., ενώ στη συμβολή των δύο σκελών του προβάλλει ένας μεγάλος τετράγωνος πύργος (Εικ. 2, 3). Για την πλήρωση του τείχους χρησιμοποιούνται πλίνθοι.¹² Η εύρεση στο ύψος της θεμελίωσης του πλίνθινου γεισίματος ενός μικρού λάκκου, διανοιγμένου στο σταθερό έδαφος, που περιείχε θαλάσσια βότσαλα και ένα σφοντύλι, υποδηλώνει κάποια τελετουργική χρήση, και είναι δυνατόν να ταυτιστεί με μια απόθεση θεμελίωσης ή εγκαινίου. Παρά το γεγονός ότι οι αποθέσεις θεμελίωσης δεν είναι συνηθισμένες στα τείχη των πόλεων, το παράδειγμα της Χαλκίδας δεν είναι το μοναδικό. Αντίστοιχο παράδειγμα έχει εντοπιστεί στα τείχη του 4ου αι. π.Χ. στη Γέλα της Σικελίας,¹³ ενώ ο Πausanias αναφέρει ότι ο Αλκάθοος, μυθικός βασιλιάς των Μεγάρων, πριν από την ανέγερση του τείχους της πόλης θυσίασε στους Προδομείς θεούς.¹⁴

Από αυτή τη φάση έχουν διατηρηθεί τέσσερις τετράγωνοι πύργοι με μήκος πλευράς 7 μ., πλήρεις

4. Δέφνερ 1925-1926, 165-167.

5. Ζορίδης 1985, 236.

6. Moreno 2007, 126-140.

7. Αποθέτες κεραμικής που εντοπίστηκαν στη συμβολή των οδών Δηλαντίων-Κραταιμένων και στη Βροντού, συνηγορούν σε θέσεις εγκατάστασης. Τάφοι έχουν εντοπιστεί στις θέσεις Πλάτωμα, Κακή Κεφαλή, Λιανή Άμμος, Βροντού, Αλάτσατα, Ταψί Βρύση και Πειραική-Πατραϊκή, Αγία Μαρίνα. Ενδεικτικά, Ανδρειωμένου 1972, 178-179; Σάμψων 1976 α, 138; 1986, 44.

8. Σάμψων 1976 β, 17; IG I³ 40.

9. Επίσης, μια πυραμιδόσχημη βάση αναθήματος με την επιγραφή *Εὔφειμος ἀνέθεκεν* προέρχεται από την περιοχή του Αγίου Ιωάννου και χρονολογείται γύρω στο 500 π.Χ., Παπαβασιλείου 1891, 610; Jeffery 1961, 83.

10. Παπαβασιλείου 1891, 612; Σάμψων 1976β, 17.

11. Lawrence 1979, 447, σημ. 10.

12. Το τείχος πληροῦται σε μια έκταση πλάτους 1 μ., κάθε πλίνθος έχει πάχος 0,08-0,10 μ. Για ανάλογα παραδείγματα, βλ. Jameson 1969, 320, πιν. 84; Krause 1972, 26, πιν. 36, 70. Το πλίνθινο γέμισμα στο τείχος της Χαλκίδας δεν εφάπτεται της εσωτερικής όψης των λίθων της εξωτερικής παρειάς του τείχους, αλλά μεσολαβούν λιθάρια, μέσα σε καστανό χρώμα. Ανάλογο είναι το παράδειγμα της Αρκαδικής Γόρτυνας, όπου συσσωρευση λίθοι εν είδει τοιχίου συσσωρεύτηκαν πίσω από τις εσωτερικές παρειάς του τείχους για τη βελτίωση της εσωτερικής συνεκτικότητάς του και τη μείωση της εξωτερικής πίεσης, Maher 2012, 471, εικ. 7.22

13. Hunt 2006, 99, 108.

14. Pausanias I 42.1.

στο εσωτερικό τους (Εικ. 1). Οι πύργοι προβάλλουν 7μ. από την παρειά του τείχους, προκειμένου να εξοικονομηθεί χώρος για την ανάπτυξη των πολιορκητικών μηχανών και να προστατευτούν τα μεσοπύργια διαστήματα που κυμαίνονται από 41,50 έως 54 μ. Η κατάσταση διατήρησης των δύο μεσαίων πύργων είναι αποσπασματική. Ο νοτιότερος εδράζεται επάνω στα στρώματα καύσης (εναγισμούς) της πρώτης φάσης, ενώ ο βορειότερος είναι ο καλύτερα διατηρημένος σε ύψος δύο δόμων.

Στον βόρειο τομέα το τείχος έχει πλάτος 3,30 μ. και ύψος 1,50 μ., και είναι κατασκευασμένο κατά την έμπλεκτο τεχνική (Εικ. 5). Το σύστημα δόμησης που έχει χρησιμοποιηθεί είναι το ισόδομο τραπεζιόσημο. Ένα πολύ ενδιαφέρον κατασκευαστικό στοιχείο αποτελεί ο αγωγός ομβρίων υδάτων που το διαπερνά εγκάρσια (Εικ. 6). Έχει πλάτος 0,92 μ. και ύψος περίπου 0,90 μ. ενώ πλησίον του στομίου του υπάρχει τραπεζιόσημος λίθος ο οποίος διαιρεί το άνοιγμά του στα δύο. Τέτοιου είδους ανοίγματα¹⁵ στο ύψος των θεμελίων των τειχών απαντώνται συχνά στις οχυρώσεις και σχετίζονται είτε με την απομάκρυνση των ομβρίων υδάτων, είτε με τη διευθέτηση ρεμάτων, αν είναι περισσότερα ή μεγαλύτερα. Για την αποτροπή εισόδου εισβολέων από αυτά τα ανοίγματα τοποθετούνται είτε μεταλλικά κικκλιδώματα που ονομάζονται οβελίσκοι,¹⁶ είτε λίθινοι παραστάτες.

Πιθανολογείται ότι η ανωδομή του τείχους τόσο της δεύτερης όσο και της πρώτης οικοδομικής φάσης ήταν πλίνθινη. Η απουσία λιθοπλίνθων στην γύρω περιοχή και το σχεδόν ενιαίο σωζόμενο ύψος του τείχους, αποτελούν δεδομένα που συνηγορούν σε αυτή τη θεωρία. Αν και μεγάλα τμήματα του τείχους έχουν καταστραφεί, παρόλα αυτά, οι αδιατάρακτες επιχώσεις εκατέρωθεν του βόρειου τομέα, που έφταναν ή και ξεπερνούσαν το ένα με ενάμισι μέτρο, δεν απέδωσαν καμία πεσμένη λιθόπλινθο. Η χρήση ωμών πλίνθων στην κατασκευή των οχυρωματικών περιβόλων είναι συχνή τόσο κατά την Κλασική όσο και κατά την Ελληνιστική περίοδο.¹⁷ Αν και θεωρείται ότι οι πλίνθοι είναι πιο ανθεκτικές στον πολιορκητικό κριό,¹⁸ από τον 4ο αι. π.Χ. επικρατούν οχυρώσεις εξ ολοκλήρου λίθινες, που αναμφίβολα σχετίζονται και με το βάρος των πολιορκητικών μηχανών που έπρεπε να υποβαστάξουν. Η προτίμηση του ενός υλικού από το άλλο σχετίζεται άμεσα με τη θέση τείχισης, καθώς σε μέρη επίπεδα ή πεδινά και με άφθονα νερά χρησιμοποιούνται πλίνθοι, ενώ αντίθετα σε μέρη βραχώδη, όπου σε μικρή απόσταση υπάρχει η δυνατότητα εξόρυξης λίθων, η κατασκευή είναι εξ ολοκλήρου λίθινη.¹⁹ Η επιλογή της πλίνθινης ανωδομής στο τείχος της Καλογρίτσας, σε μια περιοχή με καλής ποιότητας λίθο, θα πρέπει να ερμηνευτεί διττά. Είτε λόγω βιασύνης²⁰, καθώς μια τέτοια κατασκευή ήταν πιο γρήγορη από την αντίστοιχη λίθινη, είτε επειδή το τμήμα του τείχους που ήρθε στο φως συνιστά πολύ μικρό τμήμα της συνολικής οχύρωσης, η οποία, οικοδομημένη κυρίως στο πεδινό τμήμα της Χαλκίδας, έφερε πλίνθινη ανωδομή, στοιχείο που τηρήθηκε σε όλο της το μήκος.

Από την έως τώρα μελέτη της κεραμικής φαίνεται πιθανή η χρονολόγηση της οχύρωσης στο δεύτερο μισό του 4ου αι. π.Χ., γεγονός που ενισχύεται από τις ιστορικές πηγές. Οι γνώσεις μας για την πόλη του 4ου αι. π.Χ., συγκριτικά με αυτές του 5ου αι. π.Χ., είναι πιο πλούσιες. Σε αυτό συμβάλλουν κατά πολύ οι αρχαίοι συγγραφείς που κάνουν λόγο για την ύπαρξη τείχους. Ο Αινείας ο Τακτικός (IV.1-4) περιγράφει πώς ένας προδότης κατάφερε να ανοίξει μία από τις πύλες του τείχους της πόλης της Χαλκίδας, έτσι ώστε να εισέλθει ο εχθρός. Ο Bakhuizen, Ολλανδός ερευνητής που ασχολήθηκε συστηματικά με την τοπογραφία της αρχαίας Χαλκίδας, τοποθετεί το περιστατικό στα 357 π.Χ.²¹ Πιο

15. Lawrence 1979, 270-272. Ακριβή παράλληλα στην Αθήνα, Αλεξανδρή 1976, 27-29, πιν. 32 γ, 33 α-β, και το Καλλίηρο Καρδίτσας, Ιντζεσίλογλου 2009, 60, εικ. 4-5. Στο ύψος των θεμελίων ή λίγο πιο πάνω από αυτά υπάρχουν και απλές λίθινες υδροροές σε οχυρώσεις (Adam 1982, πιν. 68-71, 162-163, εικ. 15; Ζορίδης 1985, 225, εικ. 4-5) και σε προτειχίσματα (Φιλήμονος-Τσοποτού 2004, 113).

16. Lawrence 1979, 271.

17. Winter 1971, 71-72.

18. Winter 1971, 72.

19. Winter 1971, 72-73.

20. Winter 1971, 73.

21. Bakhuizen 1985, 13.

καθοριστική είναι, ωστόσο, η μαρτυρία του Στράβωνα (10.1.8), ο οποίος αναφέρει ότι μετά την καταστροφή της Θήβας από τον Αλέξανδρο το 335 π.Χ., οι Μακεδόνες αντιλαμβανόμενοι τη στρατηγική θέση της Χαλκίδας επέκτειναν τον περίβολο της πόλης συμπεριλαμβάνοντας τον Κάνηθο και τον Εύριπο. Μέσα από το συγκεκριμένο χωρίο του Στράβωνα καθίσταται σαφής η ύπαρξη ενός προγενέστερου περιβόλου που επεκτείνεται αυτή την εποχή. Ο Bakhuizen, ερμηνεύοντας εσφαλμένα ένα χωρίο του Διόδωρου του Σικελιώτη (XV 30.2 και 5) που ουσιαστικά αναφέρεται στην επικράτεια της Ιστιαίας, υποστηρίζει ότι ο προγενέστερος περίβολος στον οποίο αναφέρεται ο Στράβωνας θα πρέπει να κατασκευάστηκε από τον Αθηναίο στρατηγό Χαβρία, το 378-377 π.Χ. Με τα πρόσφατα στοιχεία όμως είναι δυνατή μία νέα ανάγνωση του χωρίου του Διόδωρου του Σικελιώτη και ο αναφερόμενος προγενέστερος περίβολος προτείνεται να ταυτιστεί με το τείχος του 5ου αι. π.Χ. Συμπερασματικά, είναι βάσιμο να υποθεθεί ότι η μετασκευή του τείχους συνδέεται με την κατάληψη της πόλης από τους Μακεδόνες, στο δεύτερο μισό του 4ου αι. π.Χ.²²

Η αποκάλυψη προτειχίσματος, το οποίο σχετίζεται με τη ελληνιστική φάση της οχύρωσης,²³ παρέχει κάποια πρόσθετα δεδομένα. Στον νότιο τομέα πρόκειται για ένα λεπτό τοίχιο, πλάτους 0,55-0,65 μ. και σωζόμενου ύψους 0,65 μ., που ακολουθεί παράλληλα την πορεία του τείχους με κατεύθυνση Δ-Α, απέχοντας από αυτό (στην ελληνιστική φάση) 6,00-6,50μ. (Εικ. 3). Είναι κατασκευασμένο από τοπικούς ασβεστόλιθους αδρά επεξεργασμένους, και αργούς λίθους. Στο χαμηλότερο σημείο έχει μορφή αναλήμματος καθώς στα νότιά του ο βράχος εμφανίζεται αρκετά ψηλότερα από ότι στα βόρεια του. Ο χώρος ανάμεσα στον βράχο και το προτείχισμα πληρούται με λιθάρια και χώμα, ενώ τόσο η κεραμική όσο και ένας αργυρός στατήρας του Βοιωτικού Κοινού κοπής 379-338 π.Χ. ενισχύουν την χρονολόγηση του στην ίδια περίοδο με την ελληνιστική φάση του τείχους. Εντύπωση προκαλεί η κάμψη του προτειχίσματος στην ανατολική απόληξή του προς τα βορειοανατολικά, ενσωματώνοντας και μη καταστρέφοντας τους τάφους του 5ου αι. π.Χ. Πέρα από το γεγονός ότι ενδεχομένως να υπήρχε σήμανση για το νεκροταφείο, οπότε και δεν καταστράφηκε,²⁴ πιο πιθανή φαίνεται η ύπαρξη ενός ακόμα πύργου στην θέση αυτή, που επέβαλε και την αλλαγή πορείας του προτειχίσματος. Σε μια τέτοια περίπτωση το μεσοπύργιο διάστημα υπολογίζεται στα 45 με 50 μ.

Το προτείχισμα που αποκαλύφτηκε μπροστά στον νοτιότερο και τον βορειότερο πύργο είναι διαφορετικής κατασκευής (Εικ. 2, 5).²⁵ Μπροστά στον νοτιότερο πύργο, και σε απόσταση 7,30-7,50μ. από αυτόν, φτάνει σε πλάτος τα 1,10-1,20μ. και σωζόμενο ύψος 0,70μ. Μπροστά από τον βορειότερο πύργο, και σε απόσταση 8μ. από αυτόν, αποτελείται από δύο σκέλη, σωζόμενου μήκους 5,40μ. το νότιο και 12,40μ. το βόρειο, που εφάπτονται δημιουργώντας αμβλεία γωνία. Έχει πλάτος 1,05-1,10μ. και σώζεται σε ύψος 0,80μ. Στην εσωτερική πλευρά του βόρειου σκέλους φέρει κτιστή αντηρίδα, μήκους 0,60μ. και πλάτους 0,80μ.²⁶ Και στις δύο περιπτώσεις είναι κατασκευασμένο από αδρά επεξεργασμένους λίθους ασβεστόλιθου, τμήματα πωρόλιθου, άφθονα τμήματα κεράμων, και οικοδομικό υλικό σε δεύτερη χρήση όπως τμήματα βάσης βάρθρου και αρράβδωτων κιόνων.

Η κατασκευή της δεύτερης φάσης του προτειχίσματος συνδέεται με τα ιστορικά γεγονότα των Ελληνιστικών χρόνων, καθώς προς τα μέσα του 3ου αι. π.Χ. παρατηρούνται τροποποιήσεις. Συγκεκριμένα, εσωτερικά του τείχους και σε όλο το σωζόμενο μήκος του ερευνήθηκε ένα εκτεταμένο στρώμα καταστροφής που περιλάμβανε μεγάλη ποσότητα κεραμικής.²⁷ Αυτό το στρώμα κάλυψε και τον αγω-

22. Fittschen 1999, 49-51.

23. Winter 1971, 273.

24. Από τον καθαρισμό του περιβάλλοντος χώρου των τάφων προκύπτουν στοιχεία και για κατεστραμμένες ταφές. Ακέραια αντικείμενα, όπως ειδώλιο περιστεριού, και τμήματα πίθων από πιθανό εγχυτρισμό, συνηγορούν στην υπόθεση καταστροφής τμήματος του νεκροταφείου.

25. Είναι βέβαιο ότι το προτείχισμα θα ακολουθούσε ολόκληρο το μήκος του τείχους αλλά διατηρήθηκε μόνο όπου οι επιχώσεις ήταν μεγαλύτερες, όπως άλλωστε και τα αντίστοιχα τμήματα του τείχους.

26. Ανάλογες αντηρίδες έχουν αναγνωριστεί στο προτείχισμα των Μεγάρων (Ζορίδης 1985, 230).

27. Για συζήτηση του θέματος βλ. Χαιρετάκης υπό εκδ.

γό ομβρίων υδάτων με αποτέλεσμα ο τελευταίος να χάσει τον ρόλο του, και το επίπεδο κατοίκησης να ανέβει κατά ένα περίπου μέτρο. Το στρώμα καταστροφής περιλαμβάνει μικρή ποσότητα κεραμικής Γεωμετρικών και Κλασικών χρόνων, και αρκετά μεγάλη ποσότητα κεραμικής ύστερων Κλασικών-πρώμων Ελληνιστικών χρόνων που φτάνει ως και τις αρχές του δεύτερου τέταρτου του 3ου αι. π.Χ. Φαίνεται λογικό επομένως, το στρώμα αυτό να συνδέεται με μια καταστροφή της πόλης ίσως και του τείχους, που οδήγησε σε επισκευή των τειχών αμέσως μετά. Περιπτώσεις απορριμματικών αποθέσεων έχουν εντοπιστεί και στη γειτονική Ερέτρια, και σχετίζονται με καταστροφές της πόλης την περίοδο του Χρεμωνιδείου πολέμου στα 267-262/1 π.Χ.²⁸ Για την Χαλκίδα δεν έχουν δημοσιευτεί ανάλογα σύνολα που να σχετίζονται με βίαιες καταστροφές αυτής της περιόδου. Η Χαλκίδα εκδίωξε τη μακεδονική φρουρά για ένα μικρό χρονικό διάστημα και υπήρξε ελεύθερη από το 274/73 έως το 268/7 π.Χ., οπότε και επανήλθε στη μακεδονική κυριαρχία.²⁹ Προφανώς αυτή η επανένταξη δεν ήταν ομαλή και επήλθε μετά από πολεμική σύγκρουση. Επομένως η δεύτερη φάση του προτειχίσματος κατασκευάζεται μετά την επιδιόρθωσή του τείχους και την κατάργηση του αγωγού.

Ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει και το σημείο ένωσης των δύο τμημάτων του προτειχίσματος στον νότιο τομέα (Εικ. 3). Συγκεκριμένα το προτείχιμα μπροστά από τον νότιο πύργο έχει πορεία παράλληλη προς την ανατολική πλευρά του πύργου, δηλαδή Β-Ν, και στη συνέχεια κάμπτεται ώστε να ακολουθήσει την πορεία του τείχους με προσανατολισμό Δ-Α. Φαίνεται πως την περίοδο της επισκευής σε αυτό το σημείο της κάμψης διατηρούνταν ανέπαφη η πρώτη φάση του προτειχίσματος. Τα δύο τμήματα ωστόσο δεν συναρμόζονται.³⁰ Το κενό ανάμεσά τους, πλάτους 3,50μ., έρχεται να κλείσει ένας νέος, κάθετος και στα δύο τμήματα, τοίχος σωζόμενου μήκους 0,86μ. και πάχους 0,90 μ., όμοιος κατασκευαστικά με τη δεύτερη οικοδομική φάση του προτειχίσματος. Ίσως, λοιπόν, δεν είναι άστοχο να υποστηριχτεί η ύπαρξη ενός ανοίγματος στο σημείο αυτό. Σε αυτό το άνοιγμα θα οδηγούσε άλλωστε ο δρόμος, ο οποίος διαμέσου των Βαθροβουνίων, θα ερχόταν από την Ερέτρια,³¹ και θα συνέχιζε, μέσα από μια πύλη του τείχους, στην πόλη.

Νέα δεδομένα και νέοι προβληματισμοί

Οι νέες αυτές ανακαλύψεις προσφέρουν έδαφος για μια σειρά συζητήσεων.³² Τα δεδομένα από τις επιφανειακές έρευνες και την πρόσφατη ανασκαφή επιβεβαιώνουν την ύπαρξη ενός αμυντικού δικτύου που συνίσταται από τέσσερις οχυρώσεις, την οχύρωση στο Βαθροβούνι, την Καλογρίτσα, τον Εύριπο και την οχύρωση στις βοιωτικές ακτές (Καραπαμπάς). Ο Παπαβασιλείου, θεμελιωτής των ερευνών για την αρχαία Χαλκίδα, υποστήριξε ότι στο Βαθροβούνι βρισκόταν η ακρόπολη της πόλης,³³ άποψη με την οποία συντάσσεται η πλειονότητα των μελετητών.³⁴ Στην κορυφή του ορεινού αυτού όγκου, ύψους 189μ., είναι ακόμα ορατά, κυρίως στη νοτιοανατολική πλευρά του, λείψανα πολυγωνικής οχύρωσης, χωρίς ωστόσο να είναι ακόμα δυνατή η ακριβής χρονολογική τεκμηρίωσή τους.³⁵ Η οχύρωση της Καλογρίτσας περιλαμβάνει τμήμα του αστικού ιστού της πόλης με οικίες, ιερό και οδικό δίκτυο.³⁶ Στο πλάτωμα της κορυφής διατηρείται επίσης ένα κατώφλι λαξευμένο στον βράχο, το οποίο

28. Schmid 2000, 361-363, σημ. 15-16.

29. Knoepfler 1995, 144-148; Piccard 1979, 270-271; Παννακόπουλος 2012, 7.

30. Καθώς το τμήμα αυτό είναι πολύ κατεστραμμένο από επεμβάσεις του στρατού και τα δύο τμήματα του προτειχίσματος διατηρούνται σε αποσπασματική κατάσταση.

31. Κοσμά 2015, 215-216.

32. Κοσμά 2015.

33. Παπαβασιλείου 1891, 608.

34. Βρανόπουλος 2000, 179; Σάμψων 1976 β, 19.

35. Fachard 2012, 297; Βρανόπουλος 2000, 179-180; Κοσμά 2015, 216.

36. Καραπασχαλίδου 2004-2009, 42, 44.

ο Παπαβασιλείου είχε αποδώσει σε ναό της Αθηνάς. Ο Εύριπος οχυρώνεται πρώτη φορά σύμφωνα με τον Διόδωρο το Σικελιώτη (28.13, 47.3-7), το 410 π.Χ., στο πλαίσιο της κοινής προσπάθειας Χαλκιδέων και Βοιωτών να αντιμετωπίσουν την επίθεση των Αθηναίων. Τότε κατασκευάζεται ένας πύργος στην κάθε πλευρά και τοποθετείται ξύλινη γέφυρα. Μετά το 335 π.Χ., σύμφωνα με τον Στράβωνα (10.1.8), ο Εύριπος περιλαμβάνεται στην οχύρωση της πόλης. Στις βοιωτικές ακτές, στη θέση που καταλαμβάνει σήμερα το φρούριο του Καραμπαμπά, λαξευμένες στο βράχο τάφροι, οδήγησαν τον Bakhuizen στην διατύπωση της άποψης ότι και αυτή η περιοχή ήταν οχυρωμένη.³⁷

Οι αρχαίες πηγές αναφέρουν ότι η πόλη της Χαλκίδας ήταν τειχισμένη τον 4ο και τον 3ο αι. π.Χ. Ο Ηρακλείδης ο Κρητικός³⁸ αναφέρει ότι το μήκος της περιμέτρου των οχυρώσεων της Χαλκίδας ξεπερνούσε τα 13 χιλιόμετρα. Ο Παπαβασιλείου καταγράφει λείψανα σκέλους του τείχους στην περιοχή της Αρέθουσας, χαμένα πια, και υποστηρίζει ότι η περιοχή που εκτείνεται από τη Λιανή Άμμο έως τον Εύριπο πιθανόν περιλαμβανόταν στον περίβολο. Μια τέτοια ερμηνεία βρίσκει αντιστοιχία στις αναφορές του Λίβιου (31.23,1-3 και 35.38.7) ότι η πόλη ήταν τειχισμένη το 200 π.Χ., όταν καταστράφηκε από τους Ρωμαίους. Δυστυχώς όμως τα αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα που θα υποστηρίξουν την ύπαρξη αυτού του οχυρωματικού περιβόλου απουσιάζουν, καθώς οι έρευνες που έχουν πραγματοποιηθεί από την ΙΑ' ΕΠΚΑ όλα αυτά τα χρόνια δεν έχουν αποδώσει κάποιο τμήμα τείχους.

Είναι σαφές ότι η εξαιρετικά καίρια γεωγραφική θέση της πόλης της Χαλκίδας, σημείο συνάντησης θαλάσσιων και χερσαίων δρόμων, αποτέλεσε σε όλη τη διάρκεια της ιστορικής της διαδρομής τον παράγοντα εκείνο που καθόρισε την τύχη της. Η ανάγκη ελέγχου όλων αυτών των περασμάτων ερμηνεύει το πυκνό δίκτυο οχυρώσεων που παρατηρείται διαχρονικά όχι μόνο στη χερσόνησο της Χαλκίδας αλλά και στις απέναντι βοιωτικές ακτές. Δυστυχώς η ανακάλυψη και η διατήρηση των οχυρώσεων τόσο της αρχαίας πόλης όσο και της πόλης των μεταγενέστερων χρόνων έχει καταστή πολύ δύσκολη τόσο εξαιτίας φυσικών όσο και ανθρωπογενών παραγόντων. Ανασκάπτοντας, τεκμηριώνοντας και αναδεικνύοντας το τμήμα του τείχους που ήρθε πρόσφατα στο φως στο πλαίσιο του Εθνικού Στρατηγικού Πλαισίου Αναφοράς (ΕΣΠΑ), ευελπιστούμε στην έναρξη μιας νέας εποχής έρευνας για την τοπογραφία και τις οχυρώσεις της αρχαίας πόλης της Χαλκίδας.

37. Bakhuizen 1985, 39 κ.ε. Στα πρηνή του λόφου του Καραμπαμπά συστάδα λαξευμένων στον φυσικό βράχο τάφων ενισχύει την ύπαρξη εγκατάστασης στην περιοχή.

38. *Περί τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι πόλεων* 1.26-30.

Βιβλιογραφία

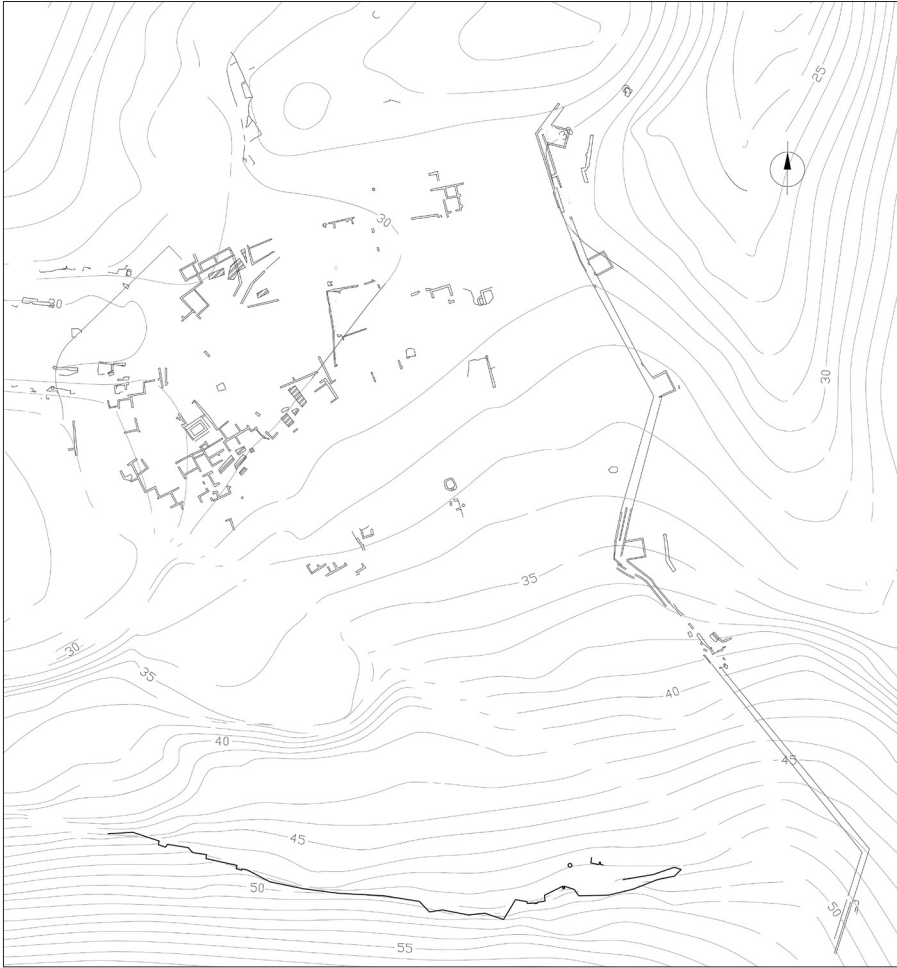
- Αλεξανδρή, Ό. (1976) 'Αθήνα'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 31, 24-61.
- Ανδρειωμένου, Α. (1972) 'Έρευνα και τυχαία εύρηματα έν τή πόλει καί τή έπαρχία Χαλκίδος'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 27(A1), 171-184.
- Βρανόπουλος, Ε. (2000). *Ιστορία της Εύβοιας*. Αθήνα: Εκδ. Πελασγός.
- Παννακόπουλος, Ν. (2012) *Θεσμοί και λειτουργία των πόλεων της Εύβοιας κατά τους ελληνοιστικούς και τους αυτοκρατορικούς χρόνους*. Θεσσαλονίκη: University Press.
- Δέφνερ, Μ. (1925-1926) 'Η άρχαία όχύρωσις τής πόλεως Σκύρου'. *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς*, 138-167.
- Ζορίδης, Π. (1985) 'Τα αρχαία τείχη των Μεγάρων'. *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς*, 217-236.
- Ιντζεσίλογλου, Μ. Γ. (2009) "Καλλίθηρα" Η οργάνωση του αστικού χώρου ενός αρχαίου οικισμού'. *Αρχαιολογία* 112, 58-66.
- Καραπαχαλίδου, Α. (2004-2009) 'Όρος Ιερού-Όρος Ιερό'. *Αρχαιολογικά Χρονικά* 6, 41-44.
- Κοσμά, Μ. (2015) 'Η τοπογραφία της αρχαίας Χαλκίδας υπό το πρίσμα της πρόσφατης έρευνας'. Στον Τόμ. Γ *Αρχαιολογικές Συμβολές: Βοιωτία και Εύβοια, Εφορείες Αρχαιοτήτων Βοιωτίας και Εύβοιας*, επιμέλεια Σ. Οικονόμου, 209-220. Αθήνα: Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης.
- Παπαβασιλείου, Γ. Α. (1891) 'Περί τής έν Εύβοία πόλεως Χαλκίδος'. *Αθηνά*, 607-615.
- Παπαγρηγορίου, Ι. Β. (1953) *Η σημερινή Χαλκίς*. Χαλκίδα: Πανευβοϊκόν Βήμα.
- Σάμψων, Α. (1976α) 'Χαλκίδα'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 31(B1), 131-160.
- Σάμψων, Α. (1976β) *Συμβολή στην τοπογραφία της αρχαίας Χαλκίδας. Από τους προϊστορικούς χρόνους μέχρι το τέλος της ρωμαϊκής περιόδου*. Χαλκίδα: Εταιρεία Ευβοϊκών Σπουδών.
- Σάμψων, Α. (1986) 'Αρχαία Χαλκίδα, Τοπογραφία-Ρυμοτομία'. *Αρχαιολογικά Χρονικά* 1, 7-66.
- Σαπουνά-Σακελλαράκη, Έ. (1987) *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 42(B1), 200-214.
- Φιλήμονος-Τσοποτού, Μ. (2004) 'Η Ελληνιστική Οχύρωση της Ρόδου'. Τόμ. Ι *Ρόδος*. Αθήνα: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού; Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων.
- Χαιρετάκης, Γ. (Υπό έκδοση) 'Μια άγνωστη καταστροφή της Χαλκίδας κατά τους πρώιμους ελληνοιστικούς χρόνους. Τα στοιχεία από την ανασκαφή του οχυρωματικού περιβόλου της πόλης'. *5^ο Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας 2012-2014, Από τους Προϊστορικούς στους Νεώτερους Χρόνους*, 26/02-1/3/2015. Βόλος: Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας.

*

- Adam, J-P. (1982) *L'Architecture militaire grecque*. Paris: Picard.
- Bakhuizen, S. C. (1972) 'The two citadels of Chalcis on Euboea'. *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 1, 134-145.
- Bakhuizen, S. C. (1985) 'Studies in the topography of Chalcis on Euboea. A discussion of the sources'. Vol. 1 of *Chalcidian Studies*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Fachard, S. (2012) 'La défense du territoire: Étude de la "chôra" érétrienne et de ses fortifications'. Vol. 21 of *Eretria*. Athens: Ecole Suisse d'Archéologie en Grèce.
- Fittschen, K. (1999) 'Ο Μέγας Αλέξανδρος στη Βοιωτία'. In *Διεθνές Συνέδριο Αλέξανδρος ο Μέγας: από τη Μακεδονία στη Οικουμένη, Βέροια 27-31/5/1998*, edited by P. Kalogerakou, 49-60. Veria: Νομαρχιακή αυτοδιοίκηση Ημαθίας.
- Hunt, G. R. (2006) 'Foundation rituals and the culture of building in ancient Greece'. PhD thesis. University of North Carolina, USA.
- Jameson, M. H. (1969) 'Excavations at Porto Cheli and vicinity, Preliminary report I: Halieis, 1962-1968'. *Hesperia* 38, 311-342.
- Jeffery, L. H. (1961) *The local scripts of Archaic Greece, A study of the origin of the Greek alphabet and its development from the eighth to the fifth centuries B.C.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Knoepfler, D. (1995) 'Les relations des cités eubéennes avec Antigone Gonatas et la chronologie delphique au début de l'époque étolienne'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 119, 137-159.
- Krause, C. (1972) 'Das Westtor. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1964-1968'. Vol. IV of *Eretria*. Berne: Franke Verlag.

- Lawrence, A. W. (1979) *Greek Aims in Fortification*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Maher, M. P. (2012) 'The Fortifications of Arcadian Poleis in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods'. PhD thesis. University of British Columbia, Vancouver.
- Moreno, A. (2007) *Feeding the democracy: the Athenian grain supply in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Picard, O. (1979) *Chalcis et la confédération eubéenne: Etude de numismatique et d'histoire (IV^e -I^{er} siècle)*. Paris: De Boccard.
- Schmidt, S. G. (2000) 'A group of Early Hellenistic pottery from a well in Eretria'. In *Ε' Επιστημονική Συνάντηση για την Ελληνιστική Κεραμική, Πρακτικά*, 361-372. Athens: Archaeological Receipts Fund.
- Winter, F. E. (1971) *Greek fortifications*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

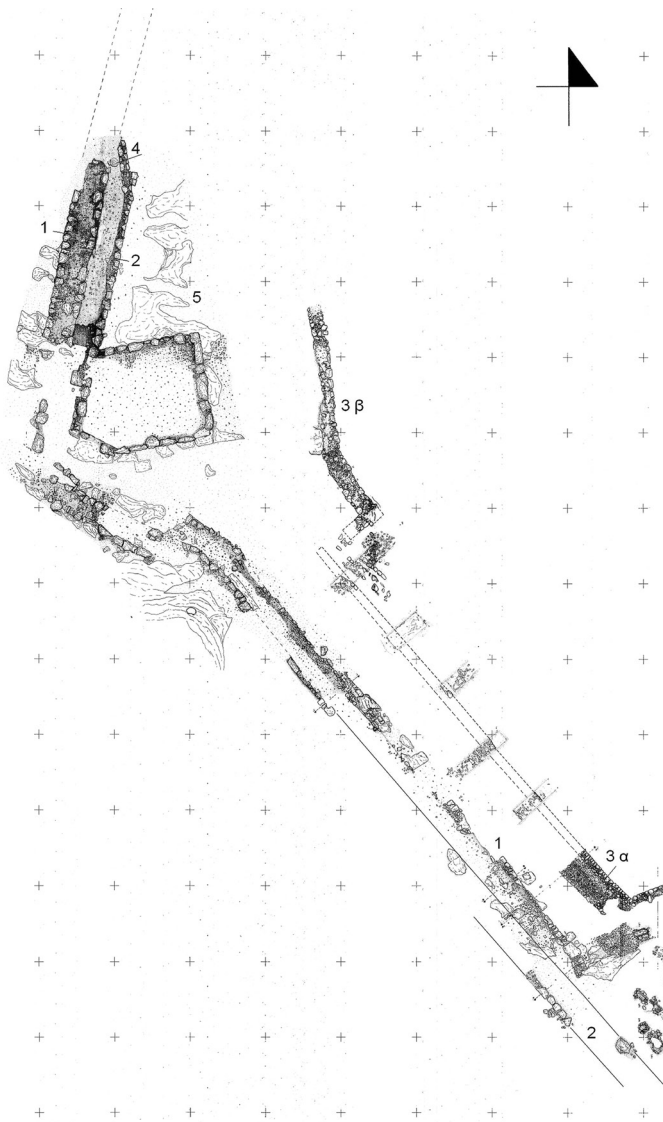
Εικόνες



Εικόνα 1:
Χαλκίδα, χώρος
ανέγερσης του νέου
Γενικού Νοσοκομείου.
Τοπογραφικό
διάγραμμα με τμήμα
της αρχαίας πόλης
στα πρανή του λόφου
της Καλογρίτσας.



Εικόνα 2:
Νότιος τομέας
της ανασκαφής.



Εικόνα 3:
 Νότιος τομέας της ανασκαφής.
 Δηλώνονται η πρώτη κατασκευαστική φάση του τείχους (1), η δεύτερη κατασκευαστική φάση του τείχους (2), η πρώτη και η δεύτερη κατασκευαστική φάση του προτειχίσματος (3 α, β), η θέση του «εγκαινίου» (4) και το νεκροταφείο (5).



Εικόνα 4:
 Νότιος τομέας της ανασκαφής.
 Πρώτη κατασκευαστική φάση του τείχους.



Εικόνα 5: Βόρειος τομέας της ανασκαφής.



Εικόνα 6: Βόρειος τομέας της ανασκαφής. Ο αγωγός απορροής όμβριων υδάτων.

Ο υδάτινος κόσμος της Ερέτριας: Τα λουτρά της αρχαίας πόλης: παλιά και νέα δεδομένα

Σοφία ΚΑΤΣΑΛΗ
Γαρυφαλλιά ΒΟΥΖΑΡΑ

Abstract

During the excavation conducted for the new water supply in Eretria, a new *loutron* was discovered in 2010. This new find, located near the agora of ancient Eretria, is north of the tholos monument (Eunomou Kifisiou road, O.T. 706). The *loutron* was found thanks to a mosaic made with natural stone, situated in the centre of its floor. The *loutron* is also surrounded by nine *loutyres*, which were found in situ, and it was designed to serve maximum of twenty people. Some pottery was found at the site, as well as a Hellenistic bronze coin. The *loutron* was probably constructed between the end of the 4th century and the middle of the 3rd century BC.

Εισαγωγή

Στον ελληνικό κόσμο η φιλοσοφική σκέψη του Θαλή τοποθετεί το νερό στο κέντρο της ζωής, όλα πηγάζουν από αυτό.¹ Στο συμβολικό επίπεδο αναγνωρίζονται στο νερό εξαγνιστικές και καθαρτήριοις δυνάμεις, στο κοινωνικό επίπεδο εξασφαλίζει τον καθαρό του σώματος και την ευεξία. Αποτελεί διαβατήριο μέσω καθώς η επαφή με το υγρό στοιχείο και κυρίως η εμβάπτιση, σηματοδοτεί το πέρασμα από μια κατάσταση σε μία άλλη, προετοιμάζει διά του καθαρισμού του σώματος και της ψυχής για την εισαγωγή σε μία νέα ιδιότητα, αφού προηγείται των σημαντικότερων διαβατήριων τελετών -ενηλικίωση, γάμος, θάνατος.² Το λουτρό συνδέεται με την οικιακή δραστηριότητα σε κατοικίες και ανάκτορα, με τη δημόσια υγιεινή σε παραποτάμιες θέσεις, πηγές, κρήνες και βαλανεία, με εκπαιδευτικές και κοινωνικές τελετουργίες σε γυμνάσια και τέλος με θρησκευτικές τελετουργίες και θεραπευτικές διαδικασίες σε ιερά και ασκληπεία.

Το λουτρό στην πρώιμη αρχαιότητα

Η επαναλαμβανόμενη διαδικασία του λουτρού από τους προϊστορικούς ακόμα χρόνους, ανεξαρτήτως των σκοπιμοτήτων που υπηρετεί, οδήγησε στη θεσμοποίηση της τέχνης της βαλανευτικής, με ορατά αποτελέσματα στη χωρική υπόσταση του λουτρού.³ Ως ένα βαθμό θα μπορούσε να υποστηριχθεί ότι η ποικιλία και διαφοροποίηση των τόπων άσκησης της βαλανευτικής, αντικατοπτρίζει αλλαγές στο κοινωνικό ή και συμβολικό επίπεδο.

1. Wassenhoven 2008, 51.

2. Wassenhoven 2008, 53-57.

3. Wassenhoven 2008, 47-50.

Ανασκαφικά δεδομένα για την ιστορία του λουτρού έχουμε από τη μινωική Κρήτη—δεξαμενές καθαρών, τα μυκηναϊκά ανάκτορα—ασάμινθοι, ενώ λιγότερες ενδείξεις έχουμε από τη γεωμετρική και αρχαϊκή περίοδο-οι οικίες της Σμύρνης του 7ου αι. π.Χ. Αργότερα την Κλασική-Ελληνιστική εποχή, παραδείγματα λουτρών υπάρχουν στις επαύλεις της Δήλου, στην Όλυνθο και την Ερέτρια.

Η έρευνα αποκτά σαφή στοιχεία για τη χωρικότητα του λουτρού στην Κλασική εποχή με τα πρώτα λουτρά: το βαλανείο του Διπύλου στην Αθήνα, το ιερό της Αφαίας στην Αίγινα και το λουτρό οικίας στους Δελφούς. Έτσι τα βαλανεία και τα λουτρά των ιερών του 5ου αι. π.Χ. αποτελούν την πρώτη κτιριακή έκφραση του λουτρού.

Τα ελληνικά λουτρά είναι απλά και λειτουργικά. Η κάτοψη τους αποτελείται από ορθογώνιους, ακανόνιστου σχήματος ή κυκλικής κάτοψης χώρους, τις θόλους, που εξοικονομούν χώρο και δημιουργούν ενότητα και οργάνωση. Ο τύπος αυτός του κυκλικού χώρου είναι πιθανό να προέρχεται από τα φυσικά σπήλαια με πηγές και να αντλεί συμβολικές αναφορές από αυτούς τους αρχετυπικούς χώρους, όπως τα πρώιμα λουτρά, που είναι κτισμένα σε φυσικά σπήλαια, τα λουτρά της Γόρτυνας⁴ και του Πειραιά.⁵

Το λουτρό στην πόλη της Ερέτριας

Η πόλη της Ερέτριας (Εικ. 1) είναι άρρηκτα συνδεδεμένη με το υγρό στοιχείο· δεν είναι μόνο μία παραθαλάσσια πόλη, αλλά η χωροθέτησή της εξαρτήθηκε σε μεγάλο βαθμό από τον χείμαρρο που τη διέρρεε στα δυτικά, και την ελώδη περιοχή στα ΝΑ.

Άτυποι χώροι λουτρού

Φυσικοί τόποι

Το βέβαιο είναι ότι ένα τέτοιο υδάτινο περιβάλλον, προσφέρει πολλές δυνατότητες λουτρού στο ύπαιθρο-σε πηγές, ποταμούς, θάλασσα, όπως παραδίδεται ότι συνέβαινε στην αρχαιότητα και από την σχετική εικονογραφία, ενώ, ως τόπος λουτρού χρησιμοποιείται συχνά και η δημόσια κρήνη, η πρώτη φάση της οποίας χρονολογείται την Αρχαϊκή εποχή.

Δημόσια κρήνη

Η δημόσια κρήνη της Ερέτριας⁶ βρίσκεται στην αγορά της πόλης πολύ κοντά στο νέο λουτρό της αγοράς. Την τροφοδοτούσε με νερό ο κεντρικός αγωγός, που έχει εντοπιστεί σε πολλά σημεία της πόλης και αποτελεί τεχνολογικό επίτευγμα, που τεκμηριώνει ένα οργανωμένο σύστημα ύδρευσης της πόλης ήδη από τον 4ο αι. π.Χ. Εκτός από τους παραπάνω άτυπους χώρους λουτρού, τα αρχαιολογικά ευρήματα αποδεικνύουν την τέλεση λουτρού εντός των οικιών.⁷

Τυπικοί χώροι λουτρού

Οικιακά λουτρά

Στην Ερέτρια έχει επιβεβαιωθεί ανασκαφικά από την Ελβετική Αρχαιολογική Σχολή η ύπαρξη λουτρών σε ελληνιστικές οικίες της πόλης, στην οικία με τα ψηφιδωτά και στις οικίες της Δυτικής Συνοικίας (οικία 1, 2 και οικία 4). Το λουτρό τελείται κυρίως σε χώρους εξοπολισμένους με πήλινους λουτήρες (ασάμινθους).

4. Ginouves 1962, pl. LII – LV.

5. Yegül 1992, fig. 28.

6. Auberson and Schefold 1973, 123.

7. Reber 2010, 125

Γυμνάσιο

Στη δημόσια σφαίρα, η πρακτική του λουτρού, βρίσκει χωρική υπόσταση αρχικά στις λουτρικές εγκαταστάσεις του Γυμνασίου. Στο χώρο άθλησης των νέων ανδρών το λουτρό, αποτελεί απαραίτητο στάδιο στην αποθεραπεία των αθλητών.

Το Γυμνάσιο της Ερέτριας, βρίσκεται στα δυτικά ριζά του λόφου της ακρόπολης. Η κατασκευή του ανάγεται στα τέλη του 4ου αι. π.Χ. και αποτελείται από την περίστυλη παλαίστρα με του βοηθητικούς χώρους στα βόρεια, όπως ακριβώς περιγράφεται από τον Βιτρούβιο.⁸ Σε αυτή τη φάση, τις λουτρικές ανάγκες των αθλητών εξυπηρετεί η αίθουσα Β-С. Η ορθογώνιας κάτοψης αίθουσα, βρίσκεται στο ανατολικό τμήμα του συγκροτήματος και το δάπεδό της καλύπτει μωσαϊκό δάπεδο κατασκευασμένο με μικρές ψηφίδες ασβεστόλιθου. Το δάπεδο χρονολογείται κατασκευαστικά στην πρώιμη φάση του Γυμνασίου, τέλη 4ου-3ου αι. π.Χ. Κατά μήκος του ανατολικού τοίχου του δωματίου ήταν τοποθετημένοι επτά λουτήρες κατασκευασμένοι από ασβεστολιθικούς μονόλιθους. Σώζεται επίσης ο λαξευμένος σε ασβεστόλιθο αγωγός παροχής νερού, το οποίο θα διοχετευόταν στους λουτήρες μέσω υδρορροών, οι οποίες όμως δε σώζονται. Στο χώρο του λουτρού οι αθλητές με τοπικές ψυχρές λούσεις απομάκρυναν από το σώμα τους τον ιδρώτα, τη σκόνη και το λάδι απάλειψης.

Στη δεύτερη φάση λειτουργίας του, κατά την ανακαίνιση του συγκροτήματος προστίθενται νέες λουτρικές παροχές. Η αίθουσα С, αποκόπτεται από το νότιο τμήμα της αίθουσας Β-С, με την κατασκευή θυρέου τοίχου, αχρηστεύοντας τη χρήση του έκτου λουτήρα, ενώ ο έβδομος εξακολουθεί να λειτουργεί. Παράλληλα κατασκευάζεται ακριβώς νότια, ο χώρος D, τη νότια πλευρά του οποίου καταλαμβάνουν τρεις ωοειδείς ποδονιπτήρες. Ο χώρος καλύπτεται με ψηφιδωτό βοτσαλωτό δάπεδο, που στο κέντρο φέρει ρόδακα, τον οποίο περιβάλλουν τα σύμβολα της παλαίστρας-κλαδί φοίνικα, σπλεγίδα, τρίαίνα και ίσως γράμματα του αλφάβητου. Την ίδια περίοδο στο βόρειο τμήμα του Γυμνασίου διαμορφώνεται η μεγάλη ωοειδής αίθουσα G, κατασκευασμένη από πωρόλιθους και λαξευμένη εν μέρει στο φυσικό βράχο. Το δάπεδο καλυμμένο από πήλινες πλάκες φέρει στο κέντρο του τα υπολείμματα εστίας. Πρόκειται επομένως για την αίθουσα εφίδρωσης, η οποία συναντάται συχνά σε συγκροτήματα αθλητικών εγκαταστάσεων.

Λουτρό Λιμανιού

Παρά τη σημαίνουσα θέση του Γυμνασίου και κατ' επέκταση των λουτρικών του εγκαταστάσεων στην αρχαία ελληνική κοινωνία, οι αθλητές κυρίως φαίνεται ότι μπορούν να μετέχουν των διαδικασιών του. Η μεγάλη μερίδα της κοινωνίας, άνδρες και γυναίκες κάνει χρήση των οικιακών ή των δημοσίων λουτρών. Ένα τέτοιου είδους λουτρικό συγκρότημα ανασκάφηκε από τους αρχαιολόγους Κ. Κουρουνήτη το 1900 και Β. Πετράκο το 1961 για λογαριασμό της Ελληνικής Αρχαιολογικής Υπηρεσίας, κοντά στο λιμάνι.⁹

Τα λουτρά του λιμανιού αποτελούνταν από δύο θόλους διαμέτρου 5,70 μ, που διέθεταν η καθεμία από εικοσιένα καθιστούς λουτήρες σε παράταξη κατά μήκος του τοίχου. Η πλάτη του καθίσματος ακουμπούσε στον τοίχο, ενώ το τμήμα των ποδιών ήταν στενότερο. Επίσης, το δάπεδο των λουτρών καλύπτεται από ψηφιδωτό για λόγους στεγανοποίησης. Η ύπαρξη δύο θόλων και μάλιστα ίδιου μεγέθους, υποδηλώνει μάλλον το διαχωρισμό των φύλων.¹⁰ Στην είσοδο της θόλου R1, οι μαύρες ψηφίδες του δαπέδου, σχηματίζουν σε συνδυασμό τα γράμματα AN, τα πρώτα γράμματα της λέξης 'άνδρεις', δηλώνοντας ίσως ότι πρόκειται για την αίθουσα που προορίζεται για τους άντρες, σε αντιδιαστολή με την αίθουσα R2, που προοριζόταν μάλλον για τις γυναίκες.¹¹

Περιμετρικά του κυκλικού χώρου βρέθηκε πήλινος αγωγός. Στην ανατολική πλευρά του βορει-

8. Nielsen 1993, 10-12.

9. Auberson and Schefold 1973, 168-171.

10. Ginouves 1962, 197.

11. Ginouves 1962, 198.

ότερου κυκλικού χώρου υπήρχε ο χώρος E, που ίσως ήταν ο χώρος του ψυχρού λουτρού. Το δάπεδο καλύπτεται με ασβεστολιθικές πλάκες, οι οποίες βυθίζονται προς τα ΒΔ, όπου υπάρχει αποχέτευση. Επιπλέον ο Ginouves,¹² αναγνωρίζει στο χώρο D τα υπολείμματα ενός χώρου θέρμανσης.

Τα λουτρά αυτά χρονολογούνται, όχι με βεβαιότητα, μετά την κατεδάφιση του παράκτιου τείχους γύρω στο 300 π.Χ. (τέλη 4ου αι.-3ος αι. π.Χ.), ενώ οι Auberson και Schefold¹³ τα χρονολογούν τον 2ο αι. π.Χ., λόγω της στυλιστικής ομοιότητας του ψηφιδωτού με το νεώτερο ψηφιδωτό του Γυμνασίου. Ο Hoffmann¹⁴ τα χρονολογεί το 2ο αι. π.Χ. και ίσως λίγο νωρίτερα, ενώ ο Ginouves¹⁵ τοποθετεί την πρώτη φάση κατασκευής τους τον 4ο αι. π.Χ. και τη δεύτερη φάση στο τέλος του 3ου αι. π.Χ.

Το λουτρό της Αγοράς

Στο πλαίσιο παρακολούθησης του έργου του Δήμου Ερέτριας 'Αντικατάσταση του δικτύου ύδρευσης της Ερέτριας' από τη ΙΑ' ΕΠΚΑ (2010) αποκαλύφθηκε ένα νέο λουτρό (Εικ. 2, 3). Βρίσκεται βόρεια της θόλου κοντά στην περιοχή της αγοράς, επί της οδού Ευνόμου Κηφισίου (Ο.Τ. 706).

Αποκαλύφθηκε κυκλικής κάτοψης ψηφιδωτό δάπεδο, σε βάθος 0,77-0,50 μ. Είναι κατασκευασμένο από μικρά φυσικά βότσαλα (μεγέθους 2-3 εκ.), που σχηματίζουν στο κέντρο εξάφυλλο ρόδακα, με λευκά πέταλα σε μπλε φόντο, που περιβάλλεται από δύο ομόκεντρες ζώνες χρώματος μπλε και λευκού.

Περιμετρικά του βοτσαλωτού δαπέδου είναι τοποθετημένοι ακτινωτά από το κέντρο, πήλινοι επίπεδοι λουτήρες, (πλάτους 0,50-0,60 μ στην πλευρά που βρίσκεται στην περιφέρεια του ημικύκλιου και 0,38-0,45 μ στην εφαπτόμενη του δαπέδου πλευρά). Στο στενό τμήμα τους υπάρχει ομφαλός λαξευμένος σε ασβεστόλιθο, διαμέτρου 0,30 μ και βάθους 0,10 μ. Χωρίζονται μεταξύ τους με βραχίονες κατασκευασμένους με πηλό και κεράμους (διαστάσεων 0,70 μ επί 0,20 μ). Έχουν αποκαλυφθεί εννέα λεκάνες, από τις οποίες οι έξι διατηρούν στη θέση τους τον ομφαλό (Εικ. 4). Με βάση το σχέδιο, το λουτρό εξυπηρετούσε 20 άτομα. Εντοπίστηκε επίσης, πήλινος αγωγός απορροής υδάτων. Πιθανόν αποκαλύφθηκε είσοδος στη ΝΑ πλευρά της κατασκευής, που ορίζεται από τα κατάλοιπα δύο λίθινων τοίχων. Εξωτερικά της κυκλικής αίθουσας στο ΝΔ τμήμα της υπήρχε πηγάδι. Το δυτικό τμήμα της κατασκευής έχει καταστραφεί μερικώς, ενώ διαπιστώθηκε ότι το ψηφιδωτό δάπεδο συνεχιζόταν δυτικότερα κάτω από το πεζοδρόμιο. Δεν κατέστη δυνατή η συνέχιση της ανασκαφής, λόγω του πυκνού οικοδομικού ιστού και του υψηλού υδροφόρου ορίζοντα. Οι αρχαιότητες αποτυπώθηκαν, συντηρήθηκαν και καταχώθηκαν.

Παράλληλα κυκλικά λουτρά έχουν βρεθεί στην Ελευσίνα, στο Κίτιον της Κύπρου και στο Αλιβέρι.¹⁶ Το λουτρό της αγοράς, με βάση τα αρχαιολογικά ευρήματα χρονολογείται στα τέλη του 5ου-αρχές 4ου αι. π.Χ. Συλλέχθηκε λιγοστή κεραμική, που περιλαμβάνει όστρακα Υστεροκλασικής και Ελληνιστικής εποχής. Πάνω ακριβώς από το δάπεδο, συλλέχθηκε χάλκινο νόμισμα με παράσταση ολόσωμου χοίρου που κατευθύνεται προς τα δεξιά, στον εμπροσθότυπο, ενώ η κακή διατήρηση του οπισθότυπου δεν επιτρέπει την αναγνώριση της παράστασης. Το νόμισμα δεν είναι ευβοϊκό, η παράσταση παραπέμπει σε ελευσινιακά νομίσματα από την Αγορά της Αθήνας¹⁷ που χρονολογούνται από τα μέσα του 4ου ως τα μέσα του 3ου αι. π.Χ. Στον οπισθότυπο τους τα παραπάνω νομίσματα, φέρουν παράσταση του Τριπτόλεμου που οδηγεί φτερωτό άρμα.

12. Ginouves 1962, 207.

13. Auberson κ.α. 1973, 170

14. Hoffman 1999, 32

15. Ginouves 1962, 206-207

16. Χατζηδημητρίου 2000, 17-26.

17. Kroll and Walker 1993, 27.

Συμπεράσματα

Χρονολόγηση

Η Ερέτρια αποτελεί ευτυχές παράδειγμα αρχαίας πόλης που διασώζει ιδιωτικά λουτρά σε οικίες της Ελληνιστικής εποχής, ενώ παράλληλα λειτουργούν τα δύο βαλανεία σε δύο ιδιαίτερα σημαντικές οικιστικές ζώνες, την αγορά της αρχαίας πόλης και την περιοχή του λιμανιού.

Το λουτρό της αγοράς προηγείται του λουτρού του λιμανιού. Το πρώιμο ψηφιδωτό και η κεραμική από τον χώρο τοποθετούν τη χρήση του ήδη στις αρχές του 4ου αι. π.Χ., ενώ η εύρεση του νομίματος ακριβώς πάνω στο ψηφιδωτό, τοποθετεί ένα *terminus ante quem* για τη χρήση του στις αρχές του 3ου αι. π.Χ.

Την ίδια περίοδο, τέλος 4ου αι. π.Χ. σύμφωνα με τον Knoepfler¹⁸ εγκαταλείπεται το εσωτερικό τείχος του λιμανιού, πάνω στο οποίο θεμελιώθηκε τμήμα του λουτρού. Στην ίδια φάση τοποθετεί και ο Ginpunes τη χρήση των λουτήρων με τη μορφή πήλινης επίπεδης λεκάνης, οι οποίοι στα μέσα περίπου του 3ου αι. π.Χ. μετατράπηκαν σε πυέλους με την προσθήκη οφθαλμού, και τότε γίνεται η μετάβαση από το ολόσωμο λουτρό στο λουτρό διά καταιονήσεως.¹⁹ Στο τέλος του 3ου αι. π.Χ. χρονολογεί το λουτρό ο ανασκαφέας του Κουρουνιώτης,²⁰ ενώ την ίδια περίοδο χρονολογείται και το ψηφιδωτό της βόρειας οικίας του Ισείου, με το οποίο τα ψηφιδωτά των λουτρών του λιμανιού έχουν το ίδιο διακοσμιακό μοτίβο.

Πολιτισμικό περιβάλλον

Λουτρά και κοινωνία

Η εύρεση του λουτρού της Αγοράς, έρχεται να αναδείξει τη σημασία του λουτρού στην αρχαιότητα. Η διαδοχική και ίσως παράλληλη λειτουργία των δύο λουτρικών χώρων στο κέντρο της πόλης, αποδυναμώνει τη διαδεδομένη αντίληψη ότι τα δημόσια λουτρά είναι υποβαθμισμένα στη κοινωνική συνείδηση, κυρίως γιατί επισκιάστηκαν από το κύρος του Γυμνασίου.

Έχει υποστηριχθεί από σύγχρονους μελετητές²¹ ότι οι λουτρικές εγκαταστάσεις του Γυμνασίου (Εικ. 5) δημιούργησαν το φορμαλιστικό και ιδεολογικό πλαίσιο για την συγκρότηση των δημόσιων λουτρών καθώς οι λουτρικές του εγκαταστάσεις προηγούνται των δημοσίων λουτρών. Το παραπάνω επιχείρημα δεν επιβεβαιώνεται, τουλάχιστον στην περίπτωση της Ερέτριας, όπου το λουτρό της Αγοράς είναι σύγχρονο αν όχι πρωϊότερο του Γυμνασίου, και οι δύο τύποι λουτρικών εγκαταστάσεων χρησιμοποιούνται παράλληλα, μέχρι τη Ρωμαϊκή κατάκτηση.

Άλλωστε ο ρόλος των παραπάνω λουτρικών εγκαταστάσεων είναι διαφορετικός. Το λουτρό του Γυμνασίου αποτελεί τμήμα του θεσμού στη χωρική υπόσταση του οποίου λειτουργεί και έχει ως αντικειμενικό σκοπό τον καθαρισμό των αθλητών. Από την άλλη τα ομαδικά λουτρά λειτουργούν ως αυτόνομος θεσμός, που εξυπηρετεί ποικίλες σκοπιμότητες του πληθυσμού (υγιεινή, αναψυχή, θεραπεία κα). Επομένως δεν προκύπτει ο αποκλεισμός ή η εξέλιξη του ενός θεσμού από τον άλλο.

Τα λουτρά στην Ελληνιστική Ερέτρια

Η κατασκευή και η λειτουργία των λουτρών αρχικά αφορούσε την εξυπηρέτηση των αναγκών της καθημερινότητας των πολιτών. Από την ύστερη Κλασική περίοδο και κυρίως κατά την Ελληνι-

18. Auberson and Schefold 1973, 168.

19. Auberson and Schefold 1973, 169.

20. Auberson and Schefold 1973, 167.

21. Wassenhoven 2008, 56-58; Yegul 1992, 21-23.

στική εποχή, συντελείται η μετάβαση από την καθαρά χρηστική λειτουργία των λουτρών σε θεσμικό κέντρο,²² καθώς τα λουτρά λειτουργούν υπό το καθεστώς της δημόσιας αρχής.²³

Η ύστερη κλασική-ελληνιστική πόλη της Ερέτριας, κυριαρχείται από τη δράση του φιλοσόφου Μενεδήμου (322-267 π.Χ.).²⁴ Κατά την αρχηγία του, η πόλη προβάλλεται ακμάζουσα και δραστήρια. Σε αυτό το κοινωνικό περιβάλλον οικονομικής και πολιτιστικής ευημερίας, που αποτυπώνεται στα μεγάλα δημόσια έργα όπως η κατασκευή νέου θεάτρου, και η αποξήρανση του έλους από το Χαιρεφάνη τοποθετείται η σύγχρονη λειτουργία των δύο λουτρικών συγκροτημάτων στο εμπορικό κέντρο της αρχαίας πόλης. Η θέση των λουτρών στο αρχαίο λιμάνι και στο όριο της αρχαίας αγοράς, παράλληλα με τη χρήση των ιδιωτικών οικιακών λουτρών, αντανακλά τον πλούτο της πόλης και τη μέριμνα της πολιτείας για την υγιεινή και αναψυχή των πολιτών και των επισκεπτών.

Ρωμαϊκή συνέχεια

Η εδραίωση του θεσμού των λουτρών είχε ως αποτέλεσμα τη συνεχή και αμετάβλητη λειτουργία τους, ακόμα και μετά τη ρωμαϊκή κατάκτηση. Μετά τον 2ο αι. π.Χ. δεν κατασκευάζονται ελληνικού τύπου βαλανεία, συνεχίζει η λειτουργία των παλαιότερων ενώ τα νέα ιδρύονται σύμφωνα με τις απαιτήσεις της ρωμαϊκής τεχνολογίας.

Ενώ ο θεσμός του Γυμνασίου συνεχίζει τη δράση του μέχρι τα μέσα του 2ου αι. μ.Χ., τα δημόσια λουτρά εγκαθίστανται σε άλλο τύπο χωρικής υπόστασης, που καλύπτει τις διαφορετικές ανάγκες του νέου κοινωνικού περιβάλλοντος. Ωστόσο η ρωμαϊκή διείσδυση στην ελληνική κοινωνία παρά τις τεχνολογικές καινοτομίες, που επέφερε στη θέρμανση και την υδροδότηση, δεν κατόρθωσε να μεταβάλει ουσιαστικά την χωρική υπόσταση των λουτρών στον ελλαδικό χώρο, ούτε το πνεύμα συλλογικότητας και επικοινωνίας που τα χαρακτηρίζει.

Τα νέα ευρήματα των ανασκαφών της Ελβετικής Αρχαιολογικής Σχολής (2009-2014),²⁵ στην Ερέτρια, αποκάλυψαν λουτρικό συγκρότημα των ρωμαϊκών χρόνων (2ος-3ος αι. μ.Χ.), πλήρως εξοπλισμένο με υπόκαυστο και χώρους θερμού και ψυχρού λουτρού. Η έκταση του συγκροτήματος, σαφώς μικρότερη σε σχέση με τις μνημειώδεις 'θέρμες' της Ρώμης, εναρμονίζεται με το πνεύμα και τις ανάγκες της κοινωνίας της Ερέτριας κατά τους Αυτοκρατορικούς χρόνους.

22. Wassenhoven 2008, 68.

23. Nielsen 1993, 7.

24. Ducrey κ.α. 2004, 37-39.

25. Reber κ.α. 2013, 91-100.

Βιβλιογραφία

Χατζηδημητρίου, Α. (2000) *Αλιβέρι. Συμβολή στην αρχαιολογική έρευνα της περιοχής*. Αθήνα: Ιδιωτική έκδοση.

*

Auberson P. and C. Schefold (1973) *Ερέτρια: Αρχαιολογικός Οδηγός*. Αθήνα: Γενική Διεύθυνσις Αρχαιοτήτων και Αναστηλώσεως.

Ducrey, P., S. Fachard, D. Knoepfler, T. Theurillat, D. Wagner and A. Zannis (2004) *Ερέτρια: Οδηγός της αρχαίας πόλης*. Αθήνα: Ελβετική Αρχαιολογική Σχολή στην Ελλάδα.

Ginouves, R. (1962) *Balaneutikè: recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque*. Paris: E. de Boccard.

Hoffmann, M. (1999) *Griechische Bäder*. Munich: Tuduv-Verlagsgesellschaft.

Kroll, J. H. and A. S. Walker (1993) 'The Greek Coins'. Vol. XXVI of *The Athenian Agora*. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Nielsen, I. (1993) *Thermae et Balnea: The architecture and cultural history of Roman public baths*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.

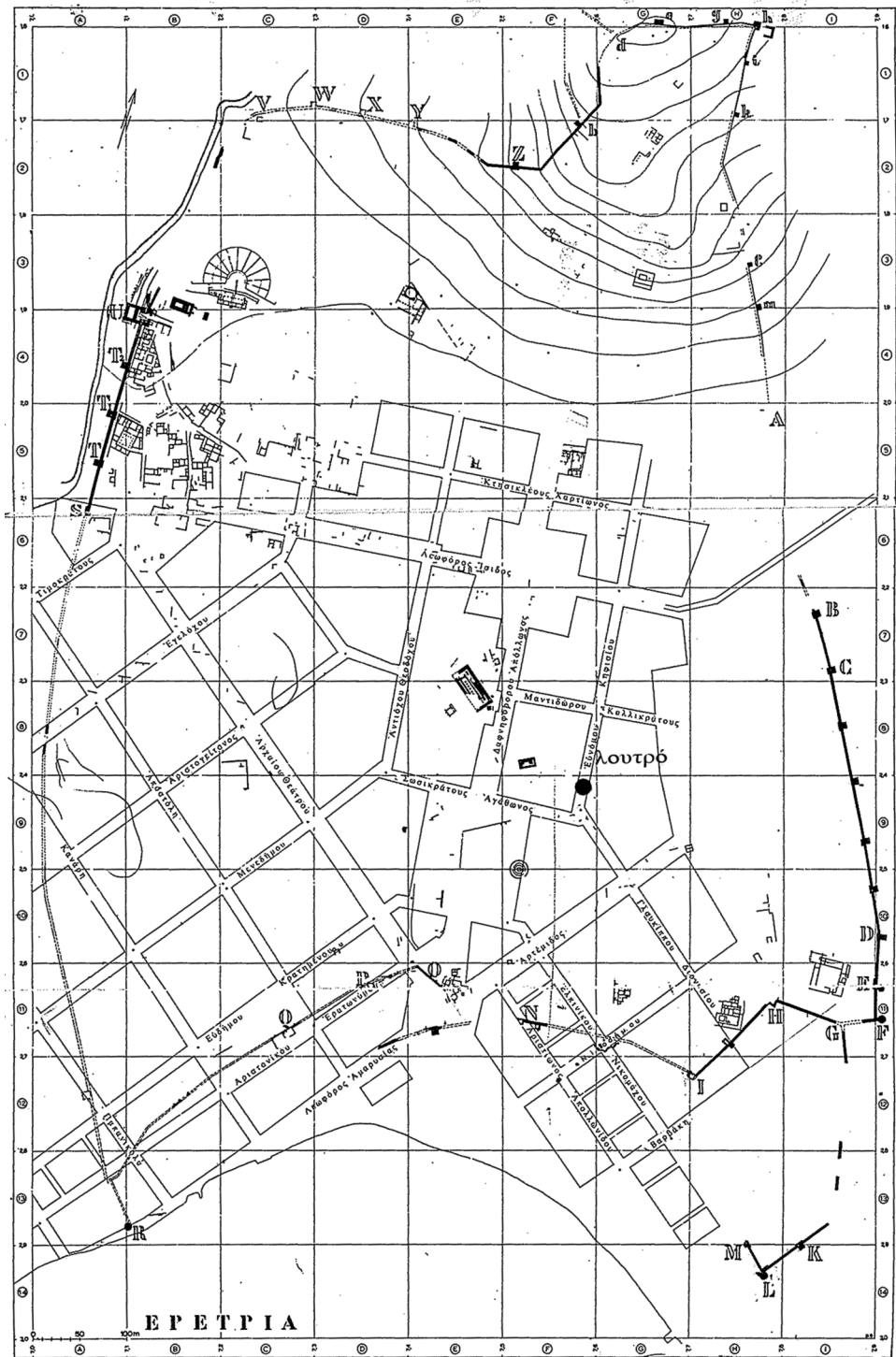
Reber, K. (2010) 'Οι οικίες της Ερέτριας'. Στο *Ερέτρια. Ματιές σε μια αρχαία πόλη*, επιμέλεια Ν. Καλτσάς, S. Fachard, Α. Ψάλτη, και Μ. Γιαννοπούλου, 121-126. Αθήνα: Ελβετική Αρχαιολογική Σχολή στην Ελλάδα.

Reber, K., S. Fachard, K. Boukaras, T. Theurillat, B. Dubosson, G. Ackermann, M. Duret and R. Tettamanti (2013) 'Aktivitäten der Schweizerischen Archäologischen Schule in Griechenland 2010'. *Antike Kunst* 56(1), 91-100.

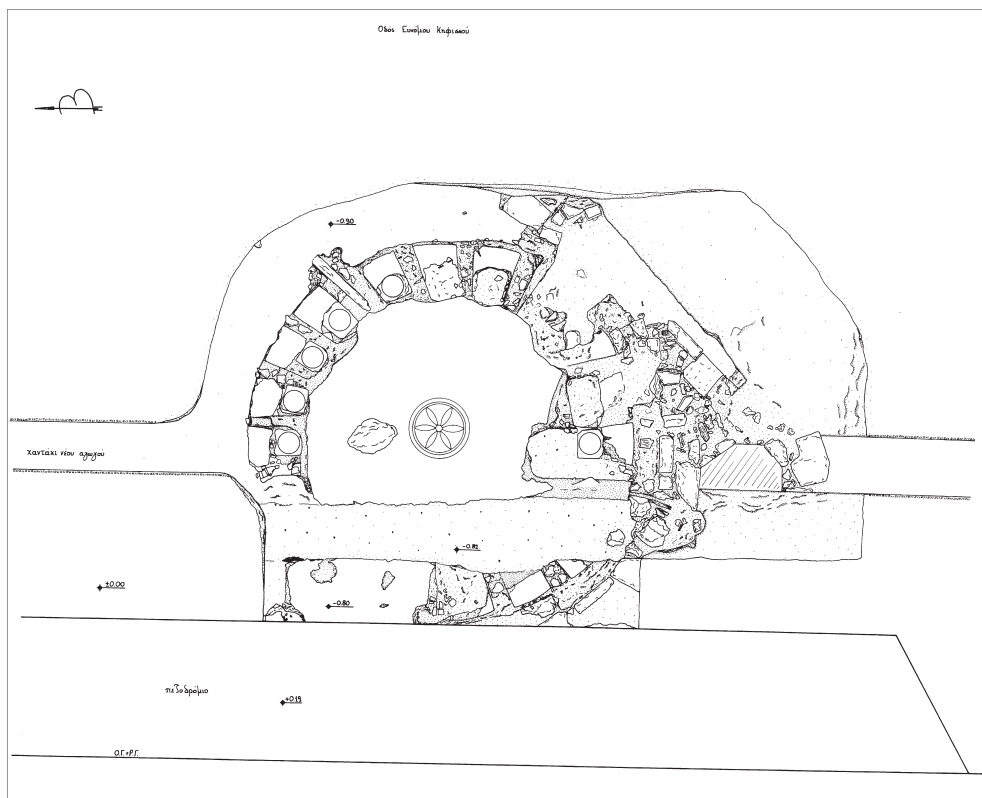
Wassenhoven, E.-M. (2008) 'Ιδιωτική αρχιτεκτονική στην ελληνιστική Ελλάδα και το ζήτημα της κληρονομιάς της στον ρωμαϊκό κόσμο: η περίπτωση του λουτρού'. Διδακτορική διατριβή. Εθνικό Μετσόβιο Πολυτεχνείο.

Yegül, F. K. (1992) *Baths and bathing in classical antiquity*. New York: Architectural History Foundation.

Εικόνες



Εικόνα 1: Ερέτρια. Τοπογραφική αποτύπωση του σύγχρονου πολεοδομικού σχεδίου της Ερέτριας σε σχέση με τα σημαντικότερα αρχαία μνημεία. Με μαύρη κουκίδα σημειώνεται η θέση του λουτρού της Αγοράς (Auberson and Schefold 1973, 225, εικ. 34).



Εικόνα 2: Κάτοψη του λουτρού της Αγοράς της Αρχαίας Ερέτριας. (Σχέδιο Γ. Θεοδοσίου.)



Εικόνα 3: Αποψη του κυκλικού λουτρού της Αγοράς της Αρχαίας Ερέτριας από ΒΑ.



Εικόνα 4: Άποψη των κυκλικών αιθουσών των λουτρών του λιμανιού της Αρχαίας Ερέτριας από ΝΔ.



Εικόνα 5: Άποψη του Άνω Γυμνασίου της Αρχαίας Ερέτριας από Ν. Διακρίνεται η κυκλική αίθουσα εφίδρωσης στα δυτικά, και το δωμάτιο του λουτρού στα ανατολικά.

Euboean cults and myths outside Euboea: Poseidon and Briareos/Aigaion

Giovanni BOFFA
Barbara LEONE

Περίληψη

Αυτό το άρθρο επικεντρώνεται στους ευβοϊκούς μύθους και λατρείες και έχει σκοπό να ερμηνεύσει καλύτερα δύο ενδιαφέροντα στοιχεία σχετικά με ένα κεντρικό / περιφερειακό θέμα: Ποσειδώνας και Βριάρεως.¹ Εμφανίζονται στενά συνδεδεμένοι με τις θαλάσσιες διαδρομές που ξεκινούσαν από τρία σημαντικά κέντρα της Εύβοιας (Ερέτρια, Χαλκίδα και Κάρυστο) για τις κοντινές ή μακρινές ακτές της Μεσογείου κατά τη Γεωμετρική και Αρχαϊκή περίοδο. Θα προσπαθήσουμε να καταδείξουμε το πώς οι λατρείες των αποικιστών μπορούν να παρέχουν πληροφορίες σχετικά με τις άγνωστες λατρευτικές συνήθειες των μητροπόλεών τους, οι οποίες επίσης άλλαξαν εξαιτίας των νέων συνθηκών που συνάντησαν οι αποικιστές στο εξωτερικό. Επιπλέον, μια ανάλυση των δεδομένων θα καταδείξει τη σημασία της Χαλκίδας στη διάδοση των μύθων όπως του Βριάρεω / Αιγαίωνα και θα τονίσει τη σημασία της περαιτέρω διερεύνησης του ρόλου της Καρύστου.

Introduction

Cults and myths have often been read as markers of Greek presence abroad, in many regions of the ancient Mediterranean. A particular version of a mythical tale, a peculiar epithet of a god or a specific feature of a hero can, indeed, provide potential clues about the presence of Greeks outside Greece and, at the same time, elements which help us identify the provenance of said Greeks, especially in light of two key concepts: 1) myths, obviously, do not travel on their own but with people or, to some extent, with decorated pottery;² 2) deities and heroes are always related to the local culture of different Greek communities, and they are also usually a result of the complex work of defining and elaborating their mythical universe, a basic element of the construction of their identity.³

Therefore, surveys of myths have often supported the analysis of Greek movements in the Mediterranean, with particular reference to complex phenomena such as the *apoikiai* and, in general, the so-called 'long-distance travels'. Quite often such surveys have followed studies of the most active

1. It is our great pleasure to thank the Scientific Committee and the Organizing and Editorial Committee for accepting our paper proposal and for welcoming us.

2. For some useful remarks, see Hall 2007; Neils 2007; Osborne 2013.

3. See, for example, Hall 2000, 40-49; O'Cleirigh et al. 2000 (especially part seven: 'Identity of Hero and Community'); Wickersham 1991. A very helpful case-study, focusing on Corcyra, is developed in Antonetti 2001.

Greek component within the ‘Mediterranean web’⁴ from the 10th to the 8th century BC, namely the Euboeans.⁵ In the present study we want to focus on some observations about two significant mythical elements related to Euboea and to the wide and complex picture of Euboean maritime travels in the early Archaic period: Poseidon and Briareos/Aigaion. They are related to some of the main routes followed by Euboeans on the sea: towards the northern Aegean (Pieria, Chalkidike, Thrace), the Near East (north Syria, Phoenicia) and the Far West (along the Tunisian coast, Carthage and, finally, to the Straits of Gibraltar). Moreover, for several reasons, they appear relevant within the culture of Euboean centres as well. Our paper will illustrate the first results of a larger work, still in progress, which aims to provide an overall picture of the Euboean mythical presence abroad, taking into account places where literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources allow us to detect different types of Euboean presence or interest.

Poseidon

Sometimes, while cults and myths spread from the motherland to the new communities abroad, we find ourselves going backwards, when the evidence from the colonies compels us to dig deeper into our knowledge of their mother cities. This is the case, for instance, with Poseidon.

Poseidon has never been seen as a conspicuous deity in the Euboean pantheon, in which the two children of Leto (Apollo and Artemis) have always been the main actors, mostly because of their well-known shrines in Eretria and its *chora* and the role of Apollo Archegetes in Sicily.

Nevertheless, as Knoepfler has underlined, Poseidon would be expected to have a significant place among the island’s cults since Euboea:

dans son ensemble, réunit toutes les conditions requises pour l’expansion de ce culte: une longue façade maritime très propice à la navigation, avec des nombreux ports et plusieurs caps (en particulier sur le tronçon érétrien de la route), un sol certes relativement stable, mais nullement à l’abri des séismes, voire de terrible raz de marée, et enfin un relief et des cultures favorable à l’élevage du cheval.⁶

A strong incentive to study this cult in Euboea comes from an Eretrian foundation in the northern Aegean, Mende, which is on the Pallene Peninsula. In the early 1990s, the late J. Vokotopoulou discovered a sanctuary of Poseidon on Cape Poseidi, 4 km from the settlement; this sanctuary is also attested by epigraphic data.⁷ A remarkable inscription dated to the late 6th century BC defines the god [--- γ]α[ι]ῶχε κυανοχαῖτ[α ---],⁸ which refers to Poseidon as a chthonic deity, related to earthquakes (in Homer he is not only γαιήοχος, but also ἐννοσίγαιος⁹), and recalls the words of Polyphemus: κλύθι, Ποσειδάων, γαιήοχε, κυανοχαῖτα (Hom. *Od.* IX, 528).¹⁰ On the other hand, an altar of the 4th century

4. The expression is quoted in Crielaard 1998. A good synthesis on human mobility within the ancient Mediterranean and the main related issues is Gras 1995.

5. Among the main examples are Antonelli 1995a; 1995b; Braccesi 2010; Debiasi 2008; Lane Fox 2008; Valenza Mele 1977; 1979; Rossignoli 2004.

6. Knoepfler 2000, 337.

7. *SEG* XLIII, 428.

8. *SEG* XLV, 776; Vokotopoulou 1992, 446.

9. The chthonic nature of the cult at Poseidi is attested by the presence of clay channels which were used to enable the libations to penetrate the earth (Moschonissioti 1998, 265).

10. Hesychius gives the following definition (s.v. γαιήοχος): ὁ τὴν γῆν συνέχων, ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὀχοῦμενος ἢ ὁ ἵππικός, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀχήμασιν <ῆ> ἄρμασι χαιρών. Λάκωνες. According to Chantraine (1968, 219) it derives from the Indo-European root *wegh*, ‘to shake’. The Doric form—with alpha—is attested by Pindar (*Ol.* I, 25; *Pyth.* IV, 33), in Aeschylus (*Sept.* 310) and in Pausanias (III, 20, 2-9; III, 21, 8-9; VII, 21, 7). The Ionic form is found in Homer, (*Il.* XIII, 43, 59, 83; XV, 174, 201, 222;

BC was dedicated to Poseidon Pontios,¹¹ an epithet clearly related to the world of the sea.¹² These epithets are rarely attested; nevertheless, these two facets of Poseidon are equally attested in Euboea, where the god is strictly related to both water and earth, as we shall see below.

Yet, in another Euboean *apoikia*, Chalkidian in this case, we find a *Poseideion*. According to Hesiod¹³ a shrine for Poseidon was founded by the god's son Orion near Zankle, in Sicily: Orion—the poet says—founded the *temenos tou Poseidonos* and then went to live in Euboea. According to Pausanias (IX, 20, 3) his burial was in Tanagra, Boeotia, and there, in front of Euripos, he was worshipped. Strabo says he is Boeotian (IX, 2, 12) but that he was raised at Oreos, in the north of Euboea (X, 1, 4) where, as pointed out by Knoepfler,¹⁴ he could have been worshipped. Interestingly, we may note a tribe called *Oreonidis* in Eretria.¹⁵

What about Euboea then? The record shows that Poseidon was worshipped in several Euboean communities: in Aigai, as attested by Homer (*Il.* XIII, 21), who does not mention more than the toponym. However, Strabo, quoting his verses in book VIII (7, 4), thinks this should be identified with the town in Euboea and not that in Achaëa. Moreover, in book IX, the geographer provides us with a location for this Aigai, opposite Larimna and Halai in Boeotia, and adds that here there was a *tou Poseidonos hieron tou Aigaiou*.¹⁶ Hesychius adds: *s.v.* Αἰγαί· νῆσος πρὸς τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ, ἱερόν Ποσειδῶνος. Aigai has not been located with certainty, but it was probably near modern Limni. It was a deme of Chalkis, as attested in a Delphic proxeny decree dated to the end of 4th or the beginning of the 3rd century BC. Moving southwards, in the *chora* of Karystos, precisely at Cape Geraistos, the harbour of the town, on the eastern shore of Euboea, inscriptions also attest to the presence of a shrine of Poseidon.¹⁷ Yet in the *Odyssey* (III, 176-179), many bulls were sacrificed there to Poseidon in order to thank him for the safe voyage. From the Athenian tribute lists, we know a *Posideion*, probably located at the northern tip of the island (it paid the *phoros* in 425/424),¹⁸ was a deme of Histiaia in the 2nd century BC.¹⁹ Hesychius, furthermore, mentions an *epiclesis* of Poseidon, 'Euripios', strictly related to the River Euripos.²⁰ Indeed, in later sources Abas, the eponym of the Abantes, was the son of Poseidon and Arethousa.²¹ Otherwise, literary sources never mention or even hint at the presence of Poseidon's cult in the main Euboean cities, Chalkis and Eretria, and inscriptions do not add as much information as we might hope. Denis Knoepfler has examined three inscriptions that are probably related to the cult of Poseidon in Eretria.²² The first piece of evidence is two fragments of a marble plaque, probably part of an altar,

XX, 34; *Od.* I, 68; III, 55; VIII, 322, 350), in *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 186-187—attesting the cult in Onchestos—and to Poseidon himself, in Hesiod (*Theog.* 15), in the Orphic hymns (XVII, 1) and again in Pausanias (VII, 21, 8). As for inscriptions, this *epiclesis* is extremely rare; indeed, the Ionic form is attested only four times, once in Attica where it referred to Erechtheus (*IG* II, 3538; 5058)—who was worshipped as a chthonic deity. The Doric form is to be found in Poseidi and in Sparta (*IG* V, I, 213).

11. *SEG* XLVII, 939.

12. Poseidon in the *Iliad* is not only the earth-shaker, but the lord of the sea as well (XV, 190). The epithet 'Pontios' is ever rarer than the former. Few literary sources attest it; we find it in the Homeric Hymn to Poseidon (line 3), in a fragment by Eupolis (Fr. 140 Kock), in Euripides (*Hipp.* 44-45; *Rhes.* 188)—though the tragic poet uses it for Ares as well (*IA* 765)—while in the Orphic hymns this epithet is used for Zeus (63, 16). On the other hand, epigraphic data concerning this particular definition of Poseidon come only from Poseidi and Elateia, in Phokis (*CIG* VII, 3, 119).

13. Fr. 149 Merkelbach-West *apud* Diod. Sic. IV, 85.

14. Knoepfler 1998, 107.

15. *IG* XII, 9, 191A.41.

16. The possible connection between the cult of Poseidon at Aigai and the *epiclesis* Aigaios found in Homer is not accepted by Knoepfler (2000, 338).

17. *IG* XII, 9, 44; *SEG* 27, 608.

18. *IG* I³ 71.11.91-92.

19. *IG* XII.9 1189, XII, ll.20, 28, 39. See Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 656, *s.v.* Histiaia/Oreos.

20. Hsch. *s.v.* Εὐρίπιος· Ποσειδῶν.

21. Aristocr. *FGrHist* 591 F 7 *apud* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀβαντίς.

22. cf. Knoepfler 2000, 340-349.

found reused in the shrine of Apollo Daphnephoros.²³ On the plaque, Amphitrites is mentioned.²⁴ The nymph was most certainly worshipped in the sanctuary of Poseidon, as attested elsewhere, for instance in Corinth and in the Cyclades.²⁵ In Eretria, a few sanctuaries have been discovered, but the deities they were dedicated to have not yet been identified. In one of these shrines, located near the harbour of the town, three bull figurines have been found; the animal is strictly related to the cults of both Zeus and Poseidon. The second inscription examined by Knoepfler is a boundary stone dated to the 4th century BC, with the name of Naustolos, probably a maritime hero.²⁶ The third inscription²⁷ is a stele of the κοινόν τῶν ὀγδοιστῶν, celebrating the cult of a deity each eighth day of the month, which was, indeed, the day dedicated to Poseidon. However, the most interesting information concerns the calendar of Eretria, Chalkis and a few of their colonies: months *Hippion* in Chalkis,²⁸ Eretria²⁹ and Olinthus³⁰ are attested—while in Rhegion we find the form *Hippios*.³¹ Since this month is not attested elsewhere, Robertson has labelled it an ‘Euboean month-name’.³² It is clear that it is related to the role of Poseidon as lord of the horses, as he is defined in line 5 of the Homeric Hymn to Poseidon (ἵππων τε δμητῆρ’ ἔμεναι σωτῆρά τε νηῶν). According to Massimo Osanna, this epithet referred to the invention of the cavalry by the god and, therefore, represents his connection to the earth.³³ Robertson, on the other hand, thinks that both the bull and the horse, which is sacred to Poseidon, represent the ‘watery element’.³⁴ This connotation is not surprising since the aristocracies of both Chalkis and Eretria were named *hippobotai* and *hippeis*. Moreover, it is possible that in Karystos there was another month named after the god, *Posideon*, which is actually frequent in Ionian *poleis*.³⁵ This was related to a winter festival in honour of this deity, and it matches December/January, when the year started.³⁶ We recently found out that this spot in the Eretrian calendar was occupied by the month *Daphnephorion*, which may have taken the place of the Ionian *Posideon*.³⁷

Briareos/Aigaion

The earliest information about Briareos/Aigaion comes from Homer and Hesiod. In the *Iliad* Thetis summons him and all the Hekatoncheires on Olympus to help Zeus who had been imprisoned by Hera, Poseidon and Athena. Briareos, Homer says, is so called by gods whereas humans call him Ai-

23. SEG L, 874.

24. The Nereid was the bride of Poseidon according to Hesiod (*Theog.* 930); other authors speak of their bond (Ath. XI, 5; Pind. *Ol.* VI, 104; Plut. *De soll. an.* 36).

25. On the Isthmus, the cult of Amphitrites had already begun in the 7th century BC (*IG* IV, 219 and 246) and was still active in the 2nd century AD, when Pausanias (II, 1, 6) saw a statue of the Nereid beside that of Poseidon inside the temple. As for the Cyclades, we have evidence of the presence of the nymph on Syros (*IG* XII, 672), on Tinos (for instance *IG* XII, 5, 739; 800; 809; *IG* XII, Suppl. 304; 305; 307; 321, 322, 323) and on Naxos, where Poseidon would have kidnapped her (Eust. *Od.* III, 91).

26. *IG* XII, 9, 256.

27. SEG L, 876.

28. *IG* XII, 9, 207.

29. *IG* XI, 4, 1065b.

30. Robinson 1938, 51, n. 5.

31. The same toponym, Πήγγιον, is related to the function of Poseidon as an ‘h’ deity; cf. Helly 1987, 144.

32. Robertson 1984, 9.

33. Osanna 1996, 114.

34. Robertson 2005, 91.

35. cf. Trümper 1997, 39-120.

36. According to Knoepfler (1989, 39-40) the Euboean calendar started during winter as in Boeotia and the Cyclades (*contra* Hatzopoulos 1988, 75). Proof of that would be the renewal of the mandate of the appointment of hieromnemons for the Amphictyonic League that occurred in the spring for Euboeans, Boeotians and Dorians.

37. Voutiras and Sismanidis 2007, 265-266.

gaion, and he is stronger than his father.³⁸ It is not easy to understand who is the father being named by the poet: some scholars suggest Poseidon, but there is no solid evidence to support this idea.³⁹

Hesiod and Eumelus are the first authors to relate Briareos' family. The poet from Ascra says, referring only to Briareos, that Ouranos and Gaia were his parents, and Kottos and Gyges his brothers. The three brothers are named Hekatoncheires because they have 100 arms and 50 heads, powerful strength and huge bodies.⁴⁰ The Hekatoncheires aided Zeus in the fight against the Titans.⁴¹ The Corinthian Eumelus, a poet of the Early Archaic period (end of the 8th-early 7th century BC),⁴² tells a different version: Briareos was the son of Gaia and Pontus and the Hekatoncheires fought with the Titans against Zeus.⁴³

The duality attested by Homer is the main characteristic of Briareos/Aigaion in Greek literary sources, and it is not simple to explain. It is logical and realistic to think of a fusion of two entities: 'the strong one', Briareos, referring to the strength due to his 100 arms, and the sea-god, Aigaion, perhaps belonging to pre-Greek tradition.⁴⁴

Greek literary sources allow us to detect some peculiarities and specializations of these two deities. Briareos is directly related to metalworking within a tradition preserved by Callimachus, who relates him to the Giants and positions him under the volcano *Aitne*, in Sicily, a place strictly connected to the colonial Euboean presence; here Briareos works with the pincers of Hephaestus.⁴⁵ Furthermore, a papyrus from Oxyrinchus tells us that 'the first to use metal armour was Briareos, whilst previously men protected their bodies with animal skins'. Before this passage, the papyrus refers to the invention of weapons, which is attributed, as some say, to the Cyclopes in a cave in Euboea called *Teuchion*.⁴⁶ This event is attested also by a fragment of Ister.⁴⁷ Immediately after, the text of Ister informs us about another theory concerning the *πρώτος εὔρετης* of bronze arms and armour, referring to the Curetes of Euboea. This text appears to be related, significantly, to a passage of the *Iliad* that refers to a bird called Chalkis, by gods, and Kymindis, by men.⁴⁸

Aigaion, on the other hand, is mainly connected to the sea. We have seen the link with Thetis in Homer; Eumelus, in the cited text, says he lives ἐν τῇ θαλάσση. According to Archemacus, an Euboean author, Aigaion is the first user of a *longa nave*.⁴⁹ He is also connected, in several ways, to Poseidon (Briareos married the daughter of Poseidon, Kymopoleia.⁵⁰ Moreover, he was defeated by Poseidon in Propontis, where there is, near the mouth of the River Ryndakos, a place named 'the grave of Aigaion'⁵¹), to the Aigaion Sea and to both of them.

The link between Briareos/Aigaion and Euboea is also dual because there are two cities of the island to which they are connected: Chalkis and Karystos, as recalled in a late but important passage of Solinus (an author from the 3rd century AD)—*Briareo enim rem divinam Carystii faciunt, sicut Aegaeoni Chalcidienses: nam omnis ferme Euboea Titanum fuit regnum*.⁵² Following other sources, it is

38. Achilles relates the event in Hom. *Il.* 394-404.

39. On this matter, see Fowler 1988; Kirk 1985, 95.

40. Hes. *Theog.* 147-153.

41. Hes. *Theog.* 713-735.

42. Debiassi 2003, 153. See also de Fidio 1991, 233-263; Janko 1982, 231-233.

43. Eum. f. 2 Kinkel (*apud Schol. Ap. Rhod.* I, 1165).

44. On this matter, see Fowler 1988.

45. Callim. H. IV, 141-147.

46. *P.Oxy.* X 1241 col. IV.

47. Ister f 55 Müller (*apud Schol. Il.* X 439).

48. Hom. *Il.* XIV, 286-291. Both elements are related to metalworking. See Blakely 2006, 93; Mele 1981.

49. Archem. *FGrHist* 424 F5 (*apud Plin. H. N.* VII, 207).

50. Hes. *Theog.* 817-819.

51. *Ap. Rhod.* I, 1165.

52. Solin. XI, 16.

possible to suggest that Solinus misunderstood the matter. Karystos, in fact, was connected mainly to Aigaion: the city was called also Aigaia by the *dynastes* Aigaion (another interesting element), who also gave his name to the Aigaion (Aegean) Sea.⁵³ Briareos, on the other hand, as we have seen, is related to metalworking, a specific Chalkidian skill,⁵⁴ and to the Chalkidian area of Sicily; thus he would seem more appropriate to Chalkis. Moreover, the connection with Euboea is clear on two other occasions: a *scholium* of the already cited text of Apollonius, which describes the escape of Briareos from Euboea to Phrygia,⁵⁵ and an entry of Hesychius, which informs us about Titanis Euboea, a daughter of Briareos.

Briareos, Aigaion and Briareos/Aigaion are, therefore, complex mythical elements, perceived by Greeks certainly as *proteroi theoi*⁵⁶ and also related to the fundamental conflicts thanks to which Zeus Olympios established his order.⁵⁷ However, Briareos and Aigaion are perceived also as *protoi euretai*, inventors of important technologies. They are strongly connected to Euboea and with local traditions of the two main centres of the island, similarly to what happens for Giants, Cyclopes and Titans (due to constraints of space, we cannot examine this last point in detail here).⁵⁸

Briareos is an Euboean mythical element that we can find also outside Euboea, not only in Sicily, as we have already noted,⁵⁹ but also in the Far West, at the Straits of Gibraltar. At least two authors, Aristotle⁶⁰ and Parthenius,⁶¹ tell us that the stelai of Herakles were first called stelai of Briareos. Three different studies of Michel Gras⁶² have analysed this, situating it in relation to three elements: 1) the Euboean materials found at Huelva, the emporion in southern Spain related to the mining zone later called Tartessos by the Greeks,⁶³ 2) the sources that tell us about Pithekoussai, the Naxikai islands, Hippou Akre on the Tunisian shores, on which Santo Mazzarino already focused many years ago,⁶⁴ and 3) the Euboean presence at Carthago (the 'Carthaginian connection' between the Campanian Pithekoussai and the colony of Tyre, brought into focus by Docter and Niemeyer⁶⁵). Also, Moroccan shores may have preserved some toponyms of plausible Euboean origins, such as Pontion, Kephesias and Kotes.⁶⁶ According to Gras, the Euboeans followed the Phoenicians along the southern Mediterranean route, from the shores of the Near East to those of the Far West.

Conclusions

Our brief summary permits us to make some concluding remarks. Regarding Poseidon and his cult, as underlined above, the periphery provides us with information concerning the core. Of course,

53. Steph. Byz. s.v. Κάρυστος; *Schol. Ap Rhod.* I, 1165. In a passage of Hesychius, Aigai is instead an island near Euboea where a sanctuary of Poseidon is situated (Hsch. s.v. Αιγαί). The Aigaion Sea, Briareos and Poseidon are associated in Hsch. s.v. Αιγαίων.

54. See Mele 1981.

55. *Schol. Ap. Rhod.* I, 1165. The source recalls the late opinion of Lucius Tarrheius.

56. The definition goes back to Hesiod, with reference to the Titans (*Theog.* 424; *RE* XXXIII, 1, s.v. πρότεροι θεοί).

57. They tend to be confused sometimes, by ancient authors, with similar primordial elements as Giants, Cyclopes and Titans. See Debiasi 2004, 86.

58. Hsch. s.v. Τιτανίδα.

59. At Mount Aitne is attested also the presence of another primordial element: Typhaeus (Pind. *Pyth.* I, 16-20). Aesch. *PV* 366-372.

60. Arist. Fr. 678 Rose (*apud* Ael. *VH* V, 3).

61. Parth. Fr. 31 Maineke (*apud* Schol. Dionys. Per. 456).

62. Gras 1990; 1992; 2000. See also López Pardo 2004.

63. Aubet 2002a; 2002b; Fernández Jurado 2002.

64. Mazzarino 1947, 116-117; 263-267. Gras was followed by Antonelli 1997; 2006; and Debiasi 2004; 2008. The main sources are Hecat. *FGHist* 1 F 343 (*apud* Steph. Byz. s.v. Κύβος); Ps. Scyl. 111; Steph. Byz. s.v. Πιθήκων κόλπος; Solin. XXVIII.

65. Docter and Niemeyer 1994.

66. Ps. Scyl. 112.

we have noted that the features of the cult in Mende and in Eretria may not match perfectly, but this should not surprise us. As highlighted by de Polignac,⁶⁷ the cults of their metropolis could be modified by settlers due to the new *status* of colonizers; therefore, the functions of a particular deity may have become more articulated. Moreover, there is a very large part of Euboea about which we still know very little, and Poseidon could well have been worshipped in this part.

The presence of Briareos in the Far West is probably due to the maritime activity of the Chalkidians. This allows us to highlight the importance of Chalkis within the relationship between the Euboean context and the Mediterranean web of long-distance contacts and trades. This role, at present, does not emerge clearly from the archaeological data, contrary to what happens in the case of Lefkandi and Eretria.⁶⁸ The presence of Briareos has multiple meanings, but it was mainly used to connote an uncharted territory. In a similar manner, we can read the use of the name Pithekoussai (as shown by Torelli and Cerchiai⁶⁹) as a mythical mark for a liminal environment. Due to the double link with metalworking and with the sea and his primordial nature, Briareos appears particularly suitable to connote the Tartessian area from the Chalkidian point of view.

Karystos, by virtue of the connection with Aigaia, Aigaion/Briareos, the Aigaion Sea (though we had no time to dwell on the elusive relationship among Karystos, Geraistos and Poseidon), serves as a kind of convergence point of mythical and religious elements connected with the sea.

67. de Polignac 1998, 1-4.

68. Huber 1998.

69. Cerchiai 1996; Torelli 1994.

Abbreviations

- FGrHisto = *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*
 IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*
 SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*

Bibliography

- Antonelli, L. (1995a) 'Sulle navi degli Eubei. Immaginario mitico e traffici di età arcaica.' *Hesperia* 5, 11-24.
- Antonelli, L. (1995b) 'Le localizzazioni della Nékyia di Odisseo. Un itinerario sulle tracce degli Eubei.' *Hesperia* 5, 203-222.
- Antonelli, L. (1997) 'I Greci oltre Gibilterra. Rappresentazioni mitiche dell'estremo Occidente e navigazioni commerciali nello spazio atlantico fra VIII e IV secolo a.C.' *Hesperia* 8.
- Antonelli, L. (2006) 'Da Taršiš a Tartesso. Riflessioni sulla presenza greca oltre Gibilterra durante l'età arcaica.' *Gerión* 24(1), 7-26.
- Antonetti, C. (2001) 'Corcira e l'area ionica in epoca arcaica: l'autorappresentazione in chiave mitologica.' In Vol. 21 of *Monografie del Centro Ricerche di Documentazione sull'Antichità Classica [Identità e valori. Fattori di aggregazione e fattori di crisi nell'esperienza politica antica]*, edited by A. Barzanò, G. Zecchini and F. L. Gattinoni, 11-21. Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider.
- Aubet Semmler, M. E. (2002a) 'Some Questions Regarding the Tartessian Orientalizing Period'. In *The Phoenicians in Spain: An Archaeological Review of the eighth-sixth centuries B.C.E.*, edited by M. R. Bierling and S. Gitin, 199-224. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Aubet Semmler, M. E. (2002b) 'The Phoenician Impact on Tartessos: Spheres of Interaction'. In *The Phoenicians in Spain: An Archaeological Review of the eighth-sixth centuries B.C.E.*, edited by M. R. Bierling and S. Gitin, 225-240. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Blakely, S. (2006) *Myth, Ritual and Metallurgy in Ancient Greece and Recent Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Braccesi, L. (2010) *L'invenzione della geografia omerica*. Rome: Laterza.
- Cerchiai, L. (1996) 'Le scimmie, i Giganti e Tifeo: appunti sui nomi di Ischia.' In Vol. II of *L'incidenza dell'antico. Studi in memoria di Ettore Lepore*, edited by L. Breglia Pulci Doria, 141-50. Naples: Luciano Editore.
- Chantraine, P. (1968) *Dictionnaire étimologique de la langue grecque*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Crielaard, J. P. (1998) 'Surfing on the Mediterranean Web: Cypriot long-distance communications during the eleventh and tenth centuries B.C.'. In *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete, 16th-6th c. B.C. Proceedings of the International Symposium, Rethymnon, 13-16 May 1997*, edited by V. Karageorghis and N. Stampolidis, 61-80. Nicosia; Athens: University of Crete; A.G. Leventis Foundation.
- Debiasi, A. (2003) "'Geografia adriatica dell'Odissea": il codificatore.' *Hesperia* 17, 153-158.
- Debiasi, A. (2004) 'L'epica perduta. Eumelo, il Ciclo, l'occidente.' *Hesperia* 20.
- Debiasi, A. (2008) 'Esiodo e l'occidente.' *Hesperia* 24.
- Debiasi, A. (2010) 'Orione al Peloro.' *Hesperia* 26, 9-27.
- de Fidio, P. (1991) 'Un modello di mythistorie. Asopia ed Efirea nei Korinthiaká di Eumelo.' In *Geografia storica della Grecia antica: tradizioni e problemi*, edited by F. Prontera, 233-263. Rome: Laterza.
- de Polignac, F. (1998) 'Divinités régionales et divinités communautaires dans les cités archaïques.' *Kernos Supplement* 8, 23-34.
- Docter, R. and H. G. Niemeyer (1994) 'Pithekoussai: the Carthaginian Connection on the Archaeological Evidence of Euboeo-Phoenician Partnership in the 8th and 7th Centuries B.C.'. In *APOIKIA. I più antichi insediamenti greci in Occidente: funzioni e modi dell'organizzazione politica e sociale. Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner*, edited by B. d'Agostino and D. Ridgway, 101-115. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale.
- Fernández Jurado, J. (2002) 'The Tartessian Economy: Mining and Metallurgy'. In *The Phoenicians in Spain: An*

- Archaeological Review of the eighth-sixth centuries B.C.E.*, edited by M. R. Bierling and S. Gitin, 241-262. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Fowler, R. L. (1988) 'AIF- in Early Greek Language and Myth'. *Phoenix* 42(2), 95-113.
- Gras, M. (1990) 'Les Eubéens et la Tunisie'. *Bulletin des travaux de l'Institut national d'archéologie et d'art de Tunis: Comptes rendus* 5, 87-93.
- Gras, M. (1992) 'La mémoire de Lixus. De la fondation de Lixus aux premiers rapports entre Grecs et Phéniciens en Afrique du Nord'. In *Lixus. Actes du colloque organisé par l'Institut des sciences de l'archéologie et du patrimoine de Rabat avec le concours de l'École française de Rome (Larache, 8-11 novembre 1989)*, edited by C. Raymond, 27-44. Rome: École française.
- Gras, M. (1995) *La Méditerranée archaïque*. Paris: Armand Colin Éditeur.
- Gras, M. (2000) 'I Greci e la periferia Africana in età arcaica'. *Hesperia* 10, 39-48.
- Hall, J. (2000) *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, J. (2007) 'Politics and Greek Myth'. In *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Mythology*, edited by R. D. Woodard, 331-354. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hansen Mogens, H. and T. H. Nielsen, eds. (2004) *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hatzopoulos, M. (1988) 'Actes de vente de la Chalcidique centrale'. Vol. 6 of *Meletemata*. Athens: Centre de recherches de l'antiquité grecque et romaine, Fondation nationale de la recherche scientifique.
- Helly, B. (1987) 'La Grèce antique face aux phénomènes sismiques'. *PACT* 18(3), 143-160.
- Huber, S. (1998) 'Érétrie et la Méditerranée à la lumière des trouvailles provenant d'une aire sacrificielle au Nord du Sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros'. In *L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*, edited by M. Bats and B. d'Agostino, 109-133. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard; Istituto Universale Orientale.
- Janko, R. (1982) *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns. Diachronic Development in Epic Diction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kirk, G. S. (1985) Vol. I of *The Iliad: a Commentary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Knoepfler, D. (1989) 'Le calendrier des Chalcidiens de Thrace'. *Journal des Savants* 28, 23-59.
- Knoepfler, D. (1998) 'Le héros Narkittos et le système tribal d'Érétrie'. In *L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*, edited by M. Bats and B. d'Agostino, 105-108. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard; Istituto Universale Orientale.
- Knoepfler, D. (2000) 'Poseidon a Mende: un culte éretrien?' In *Myrtos: mneme Iulias Bokotopulu*, 335-349. Thessaloniki: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού.
- Lane Fox, R. (2008) *Travelling Heroes. Greeks and Their Myths in the Epic Age of Homer*. London: Penguin Books.
- López Pardo, F. (2004) 'Crono y Briareo en el umbral del Océano. Un recorrido por la historia mítica de los viajes al confín del Occidente hasta los albores de la colonización'. In *La navegación fenicia tecnología naval y derroteros. Encuentro entre marinos, arqueólogos e historiadores*, edited by V. Peña, C. G. Wagner and A. Mederos, 1-42. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Fenicios y Púnicos.
- Mazzarino, S. (1947) *Tra Oriente e Occidente. Ricerche di storia greca arcaica*. Florence: La Nuova Italia.
- Mele, A. (1981) 'I Ciclopi, Calcodonte e la metallurgia calcidese'. In Vol. VI of *Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard [Nouvelle contribution à l'étude de la société et de la colonisation eubéennes]*, 9-33. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard.
- Moschonissioti, S. (1998) 'Excavations at Mende'. In *L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*, edited by M. Bats and B. d'Agostino, 255-271. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard; Istituto Universale Orientale.
- Neils, J. (2007) 'Myth and Greek Art: Creating a Visual Language'. In *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Mythology*, edited by R. D. Woodard, 286-304. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- O'Cleirigh, P., R. A. Barrell and J. M. Bell (2000) *An introduction to Greek mythology: story, symbols, and culture*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Osanna, M. (1996) *Santuari e culti dell'Acaia antica*. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane.
- Osborne, R. (2013) 'What Travelled with Greek Pottery?' In *Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean*, edited by I. Malkin, C. Constantakopoulou and K. Panagopoulou, 83-93. New York: Routledge.
- Robertson, N. (1984) 'Poseidon's Festival at the Winter Solstice'. *Classical Quarterly* 34, 1-16.
- Robertson, N. (2005) 'Sacrifice to the Sea'. In *Greek sacrificial Ritual, Olympian and Chthonian. Proceedings of*

- the Sixth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult*, edited by R. Hägg and B. Alroth, 85-96. Stockholm: Åströms Förlag.
- Robinson, D. M. (1938) 'Inscriptions from Macedonia.' *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 19, 43-76.
- Rossignoli, B. (2004) *L'Adriatico greco. Culti e miti minori*. Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider.
- Torelli, M. (1994) 'L'immaginario greco dell'Oltremare. La lekythos eponima del Pittore della Megeira, Pausania I, 23, 5-6 e Pitecusa.' In *L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*, edited by M. Bats and B. d'Agostino, 117-131. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard; Istituto Universale Orientale.
- Trümpy, C. (1997) *Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen und Monatsfolgen*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Valenza Mele, N. (1977) 'Hera ed Apollo nelle colonie euboiche d'Occidente.' *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité* 89(2), 493-524.
- Valenza Mele, N. (1979) 'Eracle euboico a Cuma, La Gigantomachia e la via Heraclea.' In Vol. V of *Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard [Reserches sur les cultes grecs et l'occident 1]*, 19-51. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard.
- Vokotopoulou, J. (1992) 'Ποσειδι 1992.' In *To αρχαιολογικό έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη* 6, 443-450.
- Voutiras, E. and K. Sismanidis (2007) 'ΔΙΚΑΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΣΥΝΑΛΛΑΓΑΙ: Μια νέα επιγραφή από τη Δίκαια αποικία της Ερετρίας.' In *Ancient Macedonia VII. Macedonia from the Iron Age to the death of Philip II. Papers read at the seventh international Symposium held in Thessaloniki, October 14-18, 2002*, 253-274. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies.
- Wickersham, J. M. (1991) 'Myth and Identity in the Archaic Polis.' In *Myth and the Polis*, edited by D. C. Pozzi and J. M. Wickersham, 16-31. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

***Η λατρεία της Κυβέλης στην Εύβοια.
Μία νέα θεώρηση του θρησκευολογικού περιεχομένου της Μητέρας
των Θεών και η συμβολή της Ερέτριας σε αυτή***

Συλβάννα ΚΑΤΣΑΟΥΝΟΥ

Abstract

A silver plaque from Eretria, published by Karl Reber in 1983, depicts the Mother of the Gods accompanied by two figures of uncertain identity. This is one of the several iconographic parallels of Cybele's representation supplemented with figures on her Attic naiskoi which have already been studied as a separate group of reliefs in my doctoral thesis. One of the purposes of this research was the identification of those figures and the definition of their iconographic context. The proposed interpretation is mainly based on the syncretism between Cybele and Demeter attested at several sites in which the specific iconographic type is found. Even though the creation of this iconographic type is due to Athenian artistic inspirations, it quickly spread to other regions where cults of Demeter are attested. One of the Greek regions that have provided evidence of the syncretism of the two goddesses is Euboea. More specifically, Eretria, where the votive relief under consideration originates from, is a site that can be recognized as one of the greatest cultic centers of Demeter Thesmophoros. It is noteworthy that this particular cult is connected to the deities I identified on Cybele's attendants illustrated on the Attic naiskoi and their parallels. My discussion of this particular relief and its iconographic implications will clarify the connections between the two deities in Euboea. The island emerges as one of the places that support the interpretation of Cybele's attendants creating growing concerns about the content of the most debated cult. In addition, the presentation of two identical votive reliefs from Macedonia and Thrace will emphasize the peculiarity of this representation, and raise questions about the causes of its diffusion in Euboea and the above mentioned areas, thus clarifying the circumstances of the expansion of Cybele's cult on the island and how that was determined by its close relations with Athens.

Εισαγωγή

Η Εύβοια υπήρξε ανέκαθεν ένα από τα σημαντικότερα γεωγραφικά τμήματα του Ελλαδικού χώρου. Ως νησί εντυπωσιάζει με το μέγεθος και την ιδιαιτερότητα του σχήματός της, εκπλήσσει με την ποικιλία της γεωλογικής της μορφολογίας και έλκει την προσοχή με τη σπουδαιότητα της γεωγραφικής της θέσης. Αυτά είναι και τα χαρακτηριστικά στα οποία αντνακλώνται τα αίτια όχι μόνο της δικής της ευμάρειας αλλά και του σημαντικού ιστορικά ρόλου που αυτή διαδραμάτισε στη γενικότερη οικονομική, κοινωνική, πολιτική και πολιτιστική πορεία της αρχαίας Ελλάδας.

Η νήσος παρουσιάζει ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον και από θρησκευολογικής άποψης. Όλες σχεδόν οι λατρείες ελληνικών και ξένων θεοτήτων μαρτυρούνται στις σπουδαιότερες πόλεις και οικισμούς από

τη Γεωμετρική έως και την ύστερη Ρωμαϊκή εποχή. Μία από τις σημαντικότερες λατρείες υπήρξε εκείνη της εξελληνισμένης Μητέρας των Θεών, Κυβέλης. Η λατρεία της πιστοποιείται στην Εύβοια από τα Ελληνιστικά χρόνια κυρίως μέσα από κινητά ευρήματα καθώς ύπαρξη ιερού δεν έχει επιβεβαιωθεί μέσα από αρχιτεκτονικά κατάλοιπα. Στην Χαλκίδα και την Ιστιαία, τους Ωρεούς, και την Κάρυστο ανακαλύφθηκαν μαρμάρινοι ναΐσκοι και αγαλμάτια που εικονίζουν τη θεά ένθρονη με τον σταθερό συνοδό της, το λιοντάρι, στους μηρούς της ή στο πλάι του θρόνου της, και προέρχονται κυρίως από ιδιωτικές οικίες.¹

Η ερμηνεία ενός αττικού εικονογραφικού τύπου της Μητέρας των θεών και η σύνδεσή της με τη διάδοσή του στην Εύβοια

Ιδιαίτερη, ωστόσο, μας αποκαλύπτει η παρουσία της Κυβέλης στην Ερέτρια, τη δεύτερη σημαντική και ανταγωνίστρια της Χαλκίδας ευβοϊκή πόλη.² Μαρμάρινοι ναΐσκοι προερχόμενοι από ρωμαϊκές οικίες, εικονίζουν την Κυβέλη στον συνήθη τύπο της ένθρονης με λιοντάρι στους μηρούς της ή στο πλάι του θρόνου της, ενώ ένα αγαλμάτιο αναθηματικό της Μητέρας των Θεών προέρχεται από το Ισείον, το ιερό της Ίσιδας.³

Ανάμεσα στα σημαντικά δείγματα της λατρείας της ξεχωρίζει ένα αργυρό ανάγλυφο που προέρχεται από τον χώρο της δυτικής πύλης του τείχους της Ερέτριας.⁴ (Εικ. 1) Το ανάγλυφο αυτό, που δημοσιεύθηκε από τον Κ. Reber το 1983, χρονολογείται στην περίοδο μεταξύ του 4^{ου} και 3^{ου} αι. π.Χ.⁵ Εικονίζει την καθιστή μορφή της Κυβέλης μέσα σε έναν ναΐσκο με ιωνικούς κίονες να πλαισιώνεται από δύο μορφές. Στα δεξιά της στέκεται μία κόρη που κρατεί μία δάδα με το δεξί της χέρι και στα αριστερά της ένας γυμνός νεανίας σε μέγεθος πολύ μικρότερο από αυτό της θεάς και της δαδούχου κόρης. Ο Κ. Reber συμπληρώνει μία οινοχόη στο δεξί του χέρι.⁶

Το εν λόγω ανάγλυφο αποτελεί ένα από τα πολυάριθμα εικονογραφικά παράλληλα της παράστασης της Κυβέλης με συμπληρωματικές μορφές στους αττικής προέλευσης ναΐσκους.⁷ Οι αττικοί ναΐσκοι της Μητέρας των Θεών, που απεικονίζουν την Κυβέλη ένθρονη μέσα στην κόγχη τους με τη συνοδεία ενός νεανία, μιας δαδούχου κόρης και του Πανός έχουν βρεθεί σε ανασκαφές στην Αρχαία Αγορά της Αθήνας, στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της Ακρόπολης, στους αττικούς δήμους του Πειραιά, της Φλύας και των Αχαρνών και στα Μέγαρα. (Εικ. 2) Η πλειοψηφία τους εικονίζει μόνο τον νεανία και τη δαδούχο στις παραστάδες των ναΐσκων και προέρχεται από την Αθήνα, ενώ γνωρίζουν διάδοση και σε άλλες περιοχές, όπως διαπιστώνεται από μεμονωμένα παραδείγματα από την Πέλλα, την Καρδίτσα, τη Θήβα, την Πάτρα, την Άνδρο, την Αμφίπολη, την Κυρήνη, την Παμφυλία, την Έφεσο και την

1. Για τη Χαλκίδα, βλ. Σαπουνά-Σακελλαράκη 1995α, 54; Vermaseren 1982, 121-123 (Μουσείο Χαλκίδας αρ. 4155, 28, 56). Επίσης, αγαλμάτιο Κυβέλης προέκυψε κατά τις σωστικές ανασκαφές που διενεργήθηκαν σε ιδιωτικό οικόπεδο. Χρονολογείται στους πρώιμους Ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους. Από τον ίδιο χώρο προέρχεται και η επιγραφή *ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΗ ΦΑΝΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΔΩΡΟΝ ΣΥΡΙΑ ΘΕΩΙ*, αφιερωματική της Συριακής θεότητας, η λατρεία της οποίας υπήρξε ιδιαίτερα προσφιλής στα ρωμαϊκά χρόνια, βλ. Σάμψων 1986, 34, εικ.15. Η Συρία θεά ταυτίζεται με την Κυβέλη, όπως και η Ίσιδα, βλ. σχετικά, Καραπαχαλίδου 1987, 173-174. Για τους Ωρεούς, βλ. Vermaseren 1982, αρ. 406. Για την Κάρυστο, βλ. Χιδίρογλου 2008, 90, εικ.135 (το συγκεκριμένο αγαλμάτιο χρονολογείται στα τέλη του 4^{ου} ή στις αρχές του 3^{ου} αι. π.Χ. και προέρχεται από τη νεκρόπολη της αρχαίας Καρύστου).

2. Γενικά για την Αρχαία Ερέτρια, βλ. Ducrey και Ψάλτη 2008, 70-77; Σαπουνά-Σακελλαράκη 1995β.

3. Vermaseren 1982, 121-122, αρ. 403^a και 400.

4. Ερέτρια, Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Δ222.

5. Reber 1983, 77-83, εικ.1, πιν.21, 1. 2.

6. Reber 1983, 77-78, εικ.1.

7. Οι αττικοί ναΐσκοι της Κυβέλης με συμπληρωματικές μορφές έχουν μελετηθεί ως ξεχωριστή ομάδα αναγλύφων στη διδακτορική διατριβή της συγγραφέως, βλ. υποσημ. 8. Για την πολύτιμη συμβολή της στην ολοκλήρωση της διδακτορικής μου διατριβής θα ήθελα να ευχαριστήσω και από αυτή τη θέση την επιβλέπουσα καθηγήτριά μου κ. Ισμήνη Τριάντη.

ποντική Διονυσόπολη.⁸ Από αυτούς οι περισσότεροι χρονολογούνται στο β' μισό του 4^{ου} αι. π.Χ. και προέρχονται πιθανώς από οικίες με εξαίρεση κάποιους από την Αγορά της Αθήνας και τον Πειραιά που πιθανώς είχαν ανατεθεί στα Μητρώα τους. Η παράσταση αυτή δημιουργία της αθηναϊκής καλλιτεχνικής έμπνευσης δημιουργεί προβληματισμούς ως προς την ταύτιση των συμπληρωματικών μορφών της εικονιζόμενης θεάς καθώς και της συνολικής ερμηνείας της συγκεκριμένης εικονογραφίας.

Ο εικονογραφικός αυτός τύπος, δηλαδή η παράσταση της Κυβέλης που συμπληρώνεται από τις μορφές του νεανία και της δαδούχου κόρης, συναντάται και σε μία σειρά αναγλύφων από διάφορες περιοχές με τα πρωϊμότερα να χρονολογούνται στις αρχές του 4^{ου} αι. π.Χ. όπως ένα ανάγλυφο από τον Πειραιά,⁹ ένα αργυρό πώμα πυξίδας από την Όλυνθο¹⁰ καθώς και ένα χρυσό περίαπτο άγνωστης προέλευσης.¹¹ Αξιομνημόνευτα, ωστόσο, είναι δύο εικονογραφικά παράλληλα της τριάδας Κυβέλης-νεανία-δαδούχου, κυρίως λόγω της ομοιότητάς τους με το αργυρό ανάγλυφο από την Ερέτρια. Πρόκειται για ένα χάλκινο ανάγλυφο από τη Θεσσαλονίκη Ρωμαϊκών χρόνων¹² (Εικ. 3) και ένα επίχρυσο πλακίδιο από τη Μεσημβρία της Θράκης του τέλους του 4^{ου} ή των αρχών του 3^{ου} αι. π.Χ.¹³ (Εικ. 4) Στα πλακίδια από τη Θεσσαλονίκη και τη Μεσημβρία η ένθρονη Κυβέλη συνοδεύεται από τη δαδούχο κόρη και έναν νεανία αποδοσμένο σε μικρότερο μέγεθος από αυτή και τη θεά, όπως ακριβώς και στο ανάγλυφο από την Ερέτρια. Χαρακτηριστική ομοιότητα αποτελεί, επίσης, και το σκήπτρο που έχει τοποθετηθεί στο δεξί χέρι της Κυβέλης και στα τρία ανάγλυφα. Η τελευταία αυτή λεπτομέρεια σπανίως συναντάται στις παραστάσεις της Μητέρας των Θεών, καθώς στερεότυπο της απεικόνισής της αποτελεί το τύμπανο στο αριστερό χέρι της και η φιάλη στο δεξί που επαναλαμβάνεται στην πλειοψηφία των ναϊσκων και των άλλων αναγλύφων της θεάς με ή χωρίς συμπληρωματικές μορφές. Η διαφοροποίηση αυτή που ενώνει τα παραπάνω ανάγλυφα συναντάται και στους διπλούς ναϊσκους της Κυβέλης,¹⁴ όπου η μορφή της θεάς επαναλαμβάνεται στις κόγχες των δύο σύμφυτων ναϊσκων με τη διαφορά ότι η αριστερή μορφή κρατεί το σκήπτρο στο αριστερό χέρι αντί του τυμπάνου που κρατεί η δεξιά μορφή στο αντίστοιχο χέρι. Το σκήπτρο αποτελεί το κατεξοχήν χαρακτηριστικό σύμβολο της θεάς Δήμητρας, με την οποία η φρυγική Κυβέλη συγχωνεύθηκε μέσα στο πλαίσιο του εξελληνισμού της και της σταδιακής ενσωμάτωσής της στην παραδοσιακή θρησκεία των Αρχαίων Ελλήνων.¹⁵ Πιθανότατα, λοιπόν, τα τρία αυτά ανάγλυφα απεικονίζουν τη Μητέρα των Θεών εξομοιωμένη με την ολύμπια θεά φέρουσα στοιχεία που υπαινίσσονται έναν συγκρητισμό χαρακτηριστικό κυρίως της Ελληνιστικής εποχής. Στοιχείο που επιβεβαιώνει αυτόν τον συσχετισμό είναι και το γεγονός ότι το επίχρυσο πλακίδιο από τη Μεσημβρία προέρχεται από το ιερό της Δήμητρας εντός του τειχισμένου οικισμού.

Για την κατανόηση της εν λόγω εικονογραφίας και της σχέσης των παραπάνω αναγλύφων επιβάλλεται να συζητηθεί το πρόβλημα του προσδιορισμού της ταυτότητας των συνοδευτικών μορφών της Κυβέλης στους αττικούς ναϊσκους και τα εικονογραφικά παράλληλά τους. Ο τρόπος ή η αιτία της σύνδεσης των μορφών αυτών με τη μεγάλη Μητέρα δεν είναι, πιστεύω, ανεξάρτητος από τις περιοχές προέλευσης του ιδιαίτερου αυτού εικονογραφικού τύπου, ενώ καταδεικνύει και τη σχέση ορισμένων από τους τόπους, μεταξύ αυτών και η Εύβοια, με την Αθήνα που είναι η πατρίδα του εικονογραφικού συνδυασμού Κυβέλης, νεανία και δαδούχου κόρης. Κύριος άξονας της ερμηνείας τους θεωρώ ότι αποτελεί η συγχώνευση της Κυβέλης με τη Δήμητρα.

8. Βλ. Κατσαούνου 2012, 44-78, όπου και σχετική βιβλιογραφία.

9. Βερολίνο, Staatliche Museen SK 106, βλ. Vermaseren 1982, αρ. 310.

10. Θεσσαλονίκη, Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο 28.401, βλ. Naumann 1983, αρ. 524.

11. Αθήνα, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, (Συλλογή Σταθάτου), βλ. Naumann 1983, αρ. 525.

12. Λυών, Musee des Beaux Arts, E24, βλ. Picard 1957, 59, εικ. 1.

13. Κομοτηνή, Αρχ. Μουσείο 1589, βλ. Βαβρίτσας 1973, πιν. 92α.

14. Οι διπλοί ναϊσκοί επιχωριάζουν στην Αθήνα και την Αττική (Πειραιάς και Ελευσίνα), ενώ εντοπίζονται και λίγοι στη Δήλο, την Ισθμία, τους Δελφούς, την Τροιζήνα και την Κέρκυρα, βλ. σχετικά Vermaseren 1982, αρ. 62, 90, 172, 183, 193, 238, 239, 241, 328, 341, 454, 478, 521; Vermaseren 1989, αρ. 314; Vermaseren 1977, αρ. 14, 21 και 142.

15. Για τη λατρεία της Κυβέλης, βλ. Borgeaud 2001 και Parker 1996, 160-198.

Η ταύτιση των δύο αυτών μορφών στους αττικούς ναΐσκους της Κυβέλης είναι εξαιρετικά δύσκολη καθώς κανένα από τα συνοδευτικά αντικείμενά τους δεν αποτελεί αδιάψευστο τεκμήριο για την ασφαλή αναγνώρισή τους. Η κόρη κρατεί από μία όρθια δάδα σε κάθε χέρι και φορεί ζωσμένο πέπλο με απόπτυγμα στους περισσότερους ναΐσκους, ενώ στους υπόλοιπους χιτώνα και ιμάτιο. Ο νεανίας εικονίζεται ενδεδυμένος με χιτωνίσκο και χλαμύδα, αγένειος με κοντή κόμη να κρατεί στην πλειοψηφία των περιπτώσεων οινόχρη με το δεξί χέρι. Σε ελάχιστα παραδείγματα κρατεί κηρύκειο ή φορεί πέτασο, που είναι και τα μόνα διαγνωστικά στοιχεία για την ταυτοποίησή του με τον θεό Ερμή.¹⁶ Από τη σύγχρονη έρευνα έχουν προταθεί ερμηνείες χωρίς να αναπτύσσεται συγκεκριμένη επιχειρηματολογία, σύμφωνα με τις οποίες ο νεανίας μπορεί να είναι ένας Ερμής Ψυχοπομπός, ένας Ερμής-Καδμίλος ή ένας Ερμής Ηγεμόνιος, και η δαδούχος η Περσεφόνη ή η Εκάτη. Επίσης, έχει διατυπωθεί η άποψη ότι πρόκειται για δαίμονες, απλούς λατρευτές, υπηρέτες ή ιερούργους της μητρικής λατρείας.¹⁷ Τα εικονογραφικά παράλληλα των ναΐσκων, στα οποία αναγνωρίζεται ο Ερμής προσανατολίζουν την ταύτιση του νεανία με τον θεό, η οποία μπορεί να υποστηριχθεί πιστεύω και από τη λατρεία του Ερμή Φλυησίου στον αρχαίο δήμο της Φλύας, το σημερινό Χαλάνδρι, όπου αυτός συνδέεται με τη λατρεία της συγχωνευμένης Δήμητρας-Κυβέλης.¹⁸ Η προέλευση ενός ναΐσκου με συμπληρωματικές μορφές¹⁹ από τον εν λόγω αττικό δήμο καθώς και η ομοιότητα της παράστασής του με αυτή των ταυροβολικών βωμών της Φλύας²⁰ ενισχύει αυτόν τον συσχετισμό. Η κύρια όψη των τελευταίων εικονίζει σύμφωνα με την ερμηνεία του μελετητή τους Ι. Λουκά, τις μορφές των ένθρονων θεοτήτων Δήμητρας-Κυβέλης και Κόρης που πλαισιώνονται από δύο δαδοφόρους μορφές, τον Ερμή και την Εκάτη. Ο Ερμής συνδέεται στενά με τους Λυκομίδες, το ιερατικό γένος της Δήμητρας, και ιδιαίτερα με το γένος των Κηρύκων, οι οποίοι ανήγαγαν την καταγωγή τους στον θεό.²¹ Έτσι, αναγνωρίζοντας στον νεανία των ναΐσκων τον κήρυκα των θεών Ερμή μπορεί να υποτεθεί πως η αθηναϊκή καταγωγή του γένους αυτού δεν είναι άσχετη με το γεγονός ότι οι περισσότεροι ναΐσκοι προέρχονται από την Αθήνα. Η συνύπαρξη των συμπληρωματικών μορφών με τη Μητέρα των Θεών στους αττικούς ναΐσκους μπορεί να εξηγηθεί αν θεωρηθεί υπό το πρίσμα της θεοκρασίας της Κυβέλης με τη Δήμητρα, οι μαρτυρίες της οποίας είναι πολυάριθμες.²² Ο εξελληνισμός της λατρείας της φρυγικής Κυβέλης εξυπηρετήθηκε από την προσκόλληση σε αυτή θεοτήτων του ελληνικού πανθέου, που υπαγορεύθηκε και από τον συγκεκριμένο συγκρητισμό. Μορφές, όπως ο Ερμής, η Εκάτη και ο Παν σχετίζονται και μεταξύ τους κυρίως με τον ελευσίνιο κύκλο, ως πρόσωπα κλειδιά, ενώ προσαρμόζονται κατάλληλα μέσα από τις ιδιότητές τους και με τις λειτουργίες της Μητέρας των Θεών.

Το κηρύκειο του Ερμή εξηγείται και μέσα από την ιδιότητά του ως 'Διός Αγγέλου' στον ελευσίνιο μύθο. Η οινόχρη, που κρατεί, ίσως προσθέτει και άλλες παραμέτρους στην ερμηνεία του ρόλου του μέσα στο συγκεκριμένο εικονογραφικό πλαίσιο. Αν και του προσάπτεται υπηρετική ιδιότητα ως οινόχου των θεών η λειτουργία του με το σκεύος αυτό επεκτείνεται στη σπονδή και συνδέεται με τη φιάλη της θεάς. Η δαδούχος είναι πιθανότερο να ταυτίζεται με την Εκάτη και όχι με την Περσεφόνη, καθώς η Κόρη θεωρώ

16. Όπως σε τρεις ναΐσκους από την Αθήνα (Εθνικό Μουσείο 1554) και την Ακρόπολη (Μ. Ακρόπολης 2695). Για βιβλιογραφία, βλ. παραπάνω, υποσημ. 8.

17. Οι κυριότερες από αυτές έχουν διατυπωθεί από τους Conze 1880; Naumann 1983 και Güntner 1994.

18. Βλ. σχετικά, Λουκάς 1988, 84.

19. Πειραιάς, Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, αρ. ευρ. 3691

20. Αθήνα, Εθνικό Μουσείο, αρ. ευρ. 1746 και 1747.

21. Ο Θεμιστοκλής, που ανοικοδόμησε το Τελεστήριο στη Φλύα μετέφερε πιθανώς στη θεά Δήμητρα στοιχεία της φρυγικής Μητέρας με τη λατρεία της οποίας ήταν πιθανότατα εξοικειωμένος λόγω της σύνδεσής του οίκου του με τη Θράκη, περιοχή στην οποία η Κυβέλη ήταν γνωστή ήδη από τους αρχαίους χρόνους. Επιπλέον, απόγονοι του κατείχαν σε μεταγενέστερες εποχές το αξίωμα του δαδούχου, που προερχόταν από το γένος των Κηρύκων, στενά συνδεδεμένου με αυτό των Λυκομιδών, στα Ελευσίνια Μυστήρια. Βλ. σχετικά, Λουκάς 1988, 63-86. Είναι αξιοσημείωτο ότι πολλοί από αυτούς ανήκαν στον δήμο Αχαρνών, από όπου προέρχεται ένας ακόμη ναΐσκος με συμπληρωματικές μορφές. Για τον ναΐσκο από τις Αχαρνές, βλ. Πλάτωνος-Γιώτα 2004, 261, αρ. 4.

22. Βλ. Κατσαούνου 2012, 254-269.

ότι αποτελεί το υποκρυπτόμενο νόημα της παράστασης των ναϊσκων κι έτσι δε μπορεί να τοποθετηθεί σε δευτερεύουσα θέση, όπως αυτή της παραστάδας. Αντίθετα η Εκάτη και ο Ερμής ως προτύλαιο αποτελούν τις χθόνιες εκείνες θεότητες και προπόλους της συγχωνευμένης Μητέρας, όπως και ο Παν, που τελούν παράλληλα και χρέη ιερουργών. Επίσης, η νύξη της ταύτισης της δαδούχου κόρης με την Αρτέμιδα σε κάποια από τα εικονογραφικά παράλληλα οδηγεί έτι περισσότερο στη συγχωνευμένη μαζί της Εκάτη, όπως στο προαναφερθέν περίαπτο του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου, σε ένα εκμαγείο στο Μουσείο του Καΐρου,²³ όπου διακρίνεται φαρέτρα πίσω από τον ώμο της δαδούχου κόρης, καθώς και σε ένα από τα ανάγλυφα της κόγχης ΙΧ στο βραχώδες ιερό της Μητέρας στις Άκρες της Σικελίας,²⁴ όπου τη δαδούχο συνοδεύει σκύλος, ζώο συμβολικό τόσο της Εκάτης όσο και της Αρτέμιδος.

Η εικονογραφία των αττικών ναϊσκων της Κυβέλης με συμπληρωματικές μορφές χρειάζεται, επίσης, να συνεξεταστεί με μία κατηγορία αναγλύφων, στα οποία εντοπίζονται στοιχεία, που επιβεβαιώνουν σύμφωνα με τα παραπάνω τη συγχώνευση της Κυβέλης και της Δήμητρας, προσφέροντας έρεισμα για την ταύτιση των συμπληρωματικών μορφών με τον Ερμή και την Εκάτη. Πρόκειται για δύο ανάγλυφα από την Αρχαία Αγορά της Αθήνας και ένα από την Ακρόπολη,²⁵ όπου εικονίζεται η ελευσίνια τριάδα, δηλαδή, η Δήμητρα, η Κόρη και ένας χλαμυδοφόρος νεανίας, που κρατεί τον Πλούτο, κέρας Αμαλθείας και ένα δυσδιάκριτο αντικείμενο στο δεξί του χέρι, που έχει ερμηνευθεί είτε ως κοντή δάδα είτε ως ρυτό. (Εικ. 5) Οι ερμηνείες που έχουν προταθεί από την έρευνα για τον εν λόγω νεανία είναι ότι μπορεί να εικονίζεται ο Ίακχος, ο Ευβουλεύς ή ο Τριπτόλεμος.²⁶ Αυτή η θεική τριάδα βρίσκεται κατά την άποψη της γράφουσας το παράλληλό της στην αττική τριάδα των ναϊσκων της Κυβέλης και ειδικά σε αυτούς, όπου ο νεανίας-Ερμής κρατεί επίμηκες αντικείμενο, που πιθανώς είναι δάδα, όπως σε δύο από τον Πειραιά²⁷ και σε έναν από την Αθήνα, όπου κρατεί μία ανάποδα.²⁸ Επιπλέον, μπορούν να διαπιστωθούν ομοιότητες μεταξύ του θεού Ερμή και καθεμιάς από τις παραπάνω μορφές, που συνδέονται με τον ελευσίνιο κύκλο. Συγκεκριμένα, ο Τριπτόλεμος φέρει την ιδιότητα του ειρηνοποιού. Ο Ερμής με την ιδιότητα του ειρηνευτή κήρυκα λατρεύτηκε εντατικά στην Αθήνα κατά τον Πελοποννησιακό Πόλεμο. Ο Τριπτόλεμος διαδραματίζει τον ίδιο σωτήριο ρόλο με τον Ερμή στην ορφική εκδοχή του μύθου της αρπαγής της Κόρης αναφορικά με την πληροφόρηση της Δήμητρας σχετικά με το γεγονός.²⁹ Ο Ίακχος είναι μυσταγωγός στην ελευσίνια λατρεία, διαδραματίζοντας και αυτός πιθανώς κάποιο ρόλο στα Μικρά Μυστήρια, αφού και αυτός, όπως και ο Ερμής, εμφανίζεται σε σκηνές δηλωτικές των Μυστηρίων με τον Ηρακλή και τους Διόσκουρους.³⁰ Ως εναγώνιος ο Ερμής, επειδή συντροφεύει τους μύστες στο ταξίδι τους, αναφέρεται σε μια επιγραφή από την Ελευσίνα μαζί με τον Ίακχο και τον Τριπτόλεμο.³¹ Ο Ευβουλεύς εικονίζεται στην αγγειογραφία να κρατεί δάδες συνοδεύοντας την Κόρη κατά την επιστροφή της στη Μητέρα της επιτελώντας τον ίδιο ρόλο με τον Ερμή. Σε μια λήκυθο από την Απολλωνία με θέμα την επιστροφή της Κόρης είναι παρόντες ο Ευβουλεύς και ο Ερμής.³² Ο Κ. Clinton θεωρεί την προσθήκη του Ερμή στη σκηνή αυτή ως συμβολισμό ανάμεικτο της Ανόδου και Καθόδου της Κόρης συνδέοντάς τον με τα Θεσμοφόρια.³³ Και γενικά η παρουσία του Ερμή και της Εκάτης σε σκηνές με θέμα την αποστολή του Τριπτολέμου, την απαγωγή και επιστροφή της Κόρης, στις οποίες παρίσταται και ο Παν, συνδέεται πράγματι με τα Θεσμοφόρια.³⁴ Ίσως δεν είναι συμπτω-

23. Egyptian Antiquities Museum 26.6.20.5, βλ. Picard 1957, 41-42, πιν. V.

24. Brea 1956, 96-111.

25. Μ.Αγοράς S1251, S1646 και Μ.Ακρόπολης 2661, αντιστοιχώς.

26. Πιγγιάτογλου 2001, 211-216.

27. Πειραιάς, Αρχ. Μουσείο, αρ. ευρ. 3691 και 98.

28. Αθήνα, Εθνικό Μουσείο, αρ. ευρ. 1544.

29. Αριστ. Παναθ. 105.11.

30. Βλ. Parker 2005, 328-367.

31. IG I³, 5. Αριστοφ. Θεσ. 295.

32. Μ. Σόφιας, Αρχ.Μουσείο 7721.

33. Clinton 1992, 71, εικ. 26-28.

34. Βλ. επίσης, Λεβέντη 1994-95, 93-94. Σχέση του θεού Ερμή με τα Θεσμοφόρια προκύπτει επίσης και από τα πήλινα

ματικό και το γεγονός ότι ναΐσκοι της Κυβέλης με συμπληρωματικές μορφές καθώς και τα εξωαττικά παράλληλά τους εντοπίζονται σε περιοχές, ανάμεσά τους και η Ερέτρια, όπου μαρτυρείται λατρεία της θεομοφόρου Δήμητρας.³⁵ Έτσι, η ταύτιση των συμπληρωματικών μορφών με τις συγκεκριμένες θεότητες ενισχύεται μέσω της σύνδεσής τους με τη Δήμητρα, η οποία συγχωνεύεται με την Κυβέλη.

Ο παραλληλισμός της τριάδας των αττικών ναΐσκων με την ελευσίνα τριάδα υπαγορεύεται και από την πολιτική σκοπιμότητα της Αθήνας τον 4^ο αι. π. Χ., εποχή κατά την οποία η κυριαρχία της είχε κλονιστεί και η πόλη προπαγάνδιζε τον πρωταγωνιστικό της ρόλο στην πρόοδο και την ανάπτυξη με τον σφετερισμό του ελευσίνιου μύθου και τον διαχωρισμό του ιερού της Δήμητρας από τις ελευσίνιες ρίζες του. Π.χ. ο Ξενοφών αποκαλεί τον Τριπτόλεμο 'ημέτερο πρόγονο'.³⁶ Μέσα σε αυτό το πλαίσιο ο Ερμής και η Εκάτη αποτελούν ίσως την αθηναϊκή εκδοχή για τον ελευσίνιο μύθο, ομοιάζοντας τόσο με μορφές του ελευσίνιου κύκλου και απαρτίζοντας μία αντίστοιχη τριάδα με τη συγχωνευμένη Κυβέλη-Δήμητρα. Τον 4^ο αι. σημειώνεται ανάπτυξη του αθηναϊκού εμπορίου με τον Εύξεινο Πόντο, όπου μαρτυρείται έντονη λατρεία της Δήμητρας. Η προέλευση τριών από τα πιο χαρακτηριστικά παράλληλα των ναΐσκων της Κυβέλης από τις περιοχές Νυμφαίο, Παντικάπαιο και Ολβία, όπου αναγνωρίζεται με βεβαιότητα ο Ερμής, δεν είναι ίσως τυχαία.³⁷

Το γεγονός ότι ο Εύξεινος Πόντος και η Κυρήνη, που προσφέρει έναν ακόμη ναΐσκο με συμπληρωματικές μορφές, υπήρξαν περιοχές από όπου προμηθεύονταν οι Αθηναίοι τα σιτηρά τους και στις οποίες μαρτυρείται λατρεία της Θεομοφόρου Δήμητρος δεν μπορεί να παραβλεφθεί.³⁸ Ανάλογη είναι και η περίπτωση της Εύβοιας, η οποία παρείχε σιτάρι στην Αθήνα με το Θεομοφόριο της Ερέτριας³⁹ να υπογραμμίζει τη θρησκευτική εξάρτηση των Ευβοέων από τη Θεομόφορο Δήμητρα. Ναΐσκοι και ανάγλυφα από αυτές τις περιοχές εικονίζουν τη συγχωνευμένη Κυβέλη-Δήμητρα να συνοδεύεται από τον Ερμή και την Εκάτη, οι οποίοι σχετίζονται, όπως ήδη αναφέρθηκε, με τα Θεομοφόρια. Στο σημείο αυτό αξίζει να αναφερθεί ότι η Ερέτρια προσφέρει μία από τις ελάχιστες μαρτυρίες συσχετισμού της Κυβέλης με την Εκάτη. Πρόκειται για ένα πήλινο ειδώλιο που αναπαριστά μία γυναικεία μορφή να κρατεί τύμπανο στο αριστερό χέρι πάνω σε άρμα που το σύρουν κύνες, ζώα συμβολικά της Εκάτης.⁴⁰

Είναι χαρακτηριστικό, λοιπόν, ότι ανάμεσα στις περιοχές προέλευσης παραστάσεων, όπου ο νεανίας ταυτίζεται με τον Ερμή λόγω των προσδιοριστικών του συμβόλων και συγκεκριμένα του κηρυκείου και του πετάσου, συγκαταλέγεται μία από τις σημαντικότερες ευβοϊκές αποικίες στη Χαλκιδική, η Όλυνθος,⁴¹ από την οποία προέρχεται ένα από τα πρωιμότερα παράλληλα της αττικής τριάδας. Ενώ ο θεός Ερμής μπορεί να αναγνωρισθεί πάλι στο επίχρυσο πλακίδιο από τη Μεσημβρία της Θράκης

ειδώλια νεανικών ανδρικών μορφών που βρέθηκαν στο θεομοφόριο της Πέλλας και διατηρούν εικονογραφικά στοιχεία που πλησιάζουν τις απεικονίσεις του Ερμή, όπως το ειδώλιο με αρ. κατ. 198/167. Βλ. σχετικά Ακαμάτη-Λιλιμπάκη 1996, 63.

35. Πρόκειται για τις περιοχές Μίλητος (Στέφανος Βυζάντιος, λ.Μίλητος), Ερυθρές (Buresch 1982), Μυσία (Syll³ 1219), Παντικάπαιο (Λεβέντη 2010, 111-136), Κυρήνη (Goodchild 1971), Σικελία (Price 1978, 190-191), Τροιζήνα (Παυσανίας II 32,8), Ερέτρια (Metzger 1985), Σάμος (Yannouli 2004), Αμφίπολη (Λαζαρίδης 1997), Πέλλα (Λιλιμπάκη-Ακαμάτη 1996), Θάσος (Müller 1996), Θήβα (Παυσ. IX, 6, 5. 16, 5), Αθήνα (Thompson 1936, 156-192), Πειραιάς (CIA II 2, 1059), Μέγαρο (Παυσ. I 40, 6. 39,5. 42, 6) κ.α.

36. Ξεν. Ελλ. 6, 3, 6. Σχετικά με την αθηναϊκή προπαγάνδα, βλ. Tiverios 1997, 167-171.

37. Εξάλλου, ο συσχετισμός του Ερμή με τη θεά Δήμητρα στο πλαίσιο της θεοκρασίας της με την Κυβέλη προκύπτει και από ένα ανάγλυφο με τη διπλή απεικόνιση της τελευταίας, άγνωστης προέλευσης (Αθήνα, Εθνικό Μουσείο, αρ. ευρ. 3862), όπου τοποθετημένος δίπλα στη συγχωνευμένη Κυβέλη-Δήμητρα αντιδιαστέλλεται στη θέση του φρύγα πάρεδρου θεού της Άττιος, που στέκεται δίπλα στη φρυγική θεά. Για το ανάγλυφο, βλ. Vermaseren 1989, αρ. 368.

38. Για την Κυρήνη, βλ. επίσης, Rhodes και Osborne 2003, 486-493. Για τον ναΐσκο από την Κυρήνη, βλ. παραπάνω, υποσημ. 8.

39. Metzger 1985.

40. Vermaseren 1982, αρ. 403, 122. Επιπλέον, στο Θεομοφόριο της Ερέτριας μπορεί να διαπιστωθεί κάποιος συσχετισμός μεταξύ της Δήμητρας και της Κυβέλης μέσα από τα πήλινα ειδώλια γυναικών που εικονίζονται να κρατούν μουσικά όργανα, τύμπανα, αυλούς, κιθάρες και φόρμιγγες, τα οποία εκτός από την εορτή των Θεομοφορίων συνδέονται και με την φρυγική οργιαστική λατρεία της Μητέρας των Θεών. Βλ. σχετικά, Metzger 1985, 24.

41. Χαλκιδείς και Ερετριείς είχαν αποικίσει τη Χαλκιδική και τη Μακεδονία από τον 7^ο αι. π.Χ., βλ. σχετικά, Σαπουνά-Σακελλαράκη 1995α, 12.

από τον πέτασο που κρέμεται στην πλάτη του, στοιχείο που υποβοηθά και την ταύτιση του νεανία στο ανάλογο ανάγλυφο από την Ερέτρια. Το ανάγλυφο από τη Θεσσαλονίκη που απομακρύνεται χρονολογικά από αυτό της Ερέτριας και της Μεσημβρίας, πιθανώς αποτελεί μεταγενέστερη επιρροή μίας εκ των δύο πόλεων. Η επίδραση της ευβοϊκής πόλης ενδεχομένως οφείλεται στη φιλομακεδονική πολιτική της και κατά τους Ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους, αλλά πιθανότατα και στον συγκρητισμό των δύο θεοτήτων που είναι ιδιαίτερα έντονος στη Μακεδονία κατά την περίοδο αυτή.

Η θεοκρασία της Κυβέλης και της Δήμητρας, όπως έχει ήδη αναφερθεί, αποτελεί αθηναϊκό δημιούργημα και παρατηρείται ότι αυτή εντοπίζεται σε περιοχές αττικής επιρροής, όπως η Εύβοια, η Μεσημβρία και η Αμφίπολη, από όπου επίσης προέρχεται ένας ναΐσκος Κυβέλης με συμπληρωματικές μορφές. Στον αποικισμό της Ολύμπου συμμετείχαν και Αθηναίοι. Η Αμφίπολη ιδρύθηκε από τους Αθηναίους το 437/6 π.Χ., ενώ και εδώ είχε ανιδρυνθεί από τον 5^ο ήδη αι. Θεσμοφόριο.⁴² Η Μεσημβρία, αποικία της Σαμοθράκης τον 7^ο αι. π.Χ., διατηρούσε έντονες επαφές κυρίως εμπορικές με τους Αθηναίους όπως προκύπτει από την εισηγμένη κεραμική της Αττικής. Η πολιτική επιρροή της Αθήνας στην περιοχή αποτελούσε αδιαμφισβήτητο γεγονός που προοδευτικά μειωνόταν.⁴³

Η Ερέτρια συγκεκριμένα αποτελεί μία από τις περιοχές η οποία όχι μόνο προσφέρει έρεισμα για την ερμηνεία των συνοδευτικών μορφών της Μητέρας μέσω του συγκρητισμού με τη Δήμητρα, αλλά και επιβεβαιώνει τους λόγους διάδοσης της εικονογραφίας αυτής μέσω της αθηναϊκής επιρροής. Δεν είναι τυχαίο, εξάλλου, ότι ναΐσκοι Κυβέλης με συμπληρωματικές μορφές εντοπίζονται και στη γειτονική Βοιωτία⁴⁴ με την οποία η Εύβοια συνδεόταν.⁴⁵ Οι στενές σχέσεις της Εύβοιας με την Αθήνα μαρτυρούνται ήδη από την Αρχαϊκή εποχή και κυρίως της Αθήνας με την Ερέτρια, η οποία περισσότερο από τις άλλες ευβοϊκές πόλεις διατηρούσε έντονους δεσμούς με το κλεινόν άστυ.⁴⁶ Οι ιδιαίτερες σχέσεις μεταξύ των δύο πόλεων συμπεραίνονται και από το γεγονός ότι στην Ακρόπολή τους οι Ερετριείς είχαν ιδρύσει ιερό αφιερωμένο στη θεά Αθηνά κατά την Αρχαϊκή περίοδο.⁴⁷ Ήδη τον 5^ο αι. π.Χ. είχε εγκατασταθεί αθηναϊκή κληρουχία στην Ερέτρια,⁴⁸ η οποία συμμετείχε στην Α' και Β' αθηναϊκή συμ-

42. Λαζαρίδης 1997, 16 και 28-29.

43. Τσατσοπούλου-Καλούδη 2001, 27.

44. Πρόκειται για δύο ναΐσκους από τη Θήβα και το χωριό Καραντάς (Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Θήβας, αρ. ευρ.151 και αρ. ευρ. 86, αντιστοιχώς).

45. Με τη γειτονική Βοιωτία η Εύβοια διατηρεί μία ασταθή σχέση. Ενώ συντάσσεται με τη Θήβα, μετά την ήττα της τελευταίας στη Μαντίνεια επανέρχεται στην αθηναϊκή συμμαχία. Οι σχέσεις της Εύβοιας με τη Βοιωτία χαρακτηρίζονται από πολυετή εχθρικήτητα και πιθανότατα συνδέονται με την εποχή του 10^{ου} και 9^{ου} αι. π.Χ. που καθόρισε την ευβοϊκή μυθολογία. Ο μύθος θέλει τον Ηρακλή να εκδικείται τον Ευβοέα δυνάστη Λύκο που εξεστράτευσε εναντίον της Θήβας. Ενώ με τον θηβαϊκό ήρωα συνδέονται και άλλοι άρχοντες της Εύβοιας όπως ο Πυραΐχμης. Βλ. σχετικά, Καλλιγιάς 1986, 107.

46. Συγκεκριμένα μεταξύ Ερέτριας και Αθήνας σημειώνονται μέσα στον 6^ο αι. π.Χ. σχέσεις φιλικές αφού η Ερέτρια διάκειται φιλικά προς την τυραννία του Πεισίστρατου, ο οποίος και καταφεύγει στην ευβοϊκή πόλη κατά την περίοδο εξορίας του από την Αθήνα. Οι στενές σχέσεις Ερέτριας και Αθήνας αντανακλώνται και στην Αμαζονομαχία των εναείων παραστάσεων του ναού του Δαφνηφόρου Απόλλωνος, στις οποίες πρωταγωνιστούν η Αθηνά και ο Θησέας, βλ. σχετικά, Σαπουνά-Σακελλαράκη 1995β, 13.

47. Ducrey και Ψάλτη 2008, 74. Βλ. επίσης, Huber 2007, 120-129.

48. Για την εγκαθίδρυση αθηναϊκής κληρουχίας στην Ερέτρια και τις ιδιαίτερες σχέσεις της ευβοϊκής πόλης με τους Αθηναίους, βλ. Green και Sinclair 1970, 515-527. Γενικά για τις αθηναϊκές κληρουχίες στην Εύβοια, βλ. Χιδιρογλου 2006, 127-131, όπου αναφέρεται ότι κατά τη διάρκεια των ανασκαφών στην περιοχή της Καρύστου προέκυψε σημαντικό υλικό αττικής προέλευσης από ταφές. Το γεγονός αυτό αποκαλύπτει τις στενές σχέσεις Εύβοιας και Αθήνας καθώς επίσης πληροφορεί μέσω των εικονογραφικών μαρτυριών για τα ήθη και τις λατρείες, όπως αυτές του Διονύσου, της Δήμητρας και της Αθηνάς επιβεβαιώνοντας τις εμπορικές σχέσεις μεταξύ Αθήνας και Καρύστου, βλ. επίσης και Wallace κ.α. 2006 (19-49), όπου τονίζεται ότι η εγκαθίδρυση Αθηναίων κληρούχων κατά τα μέσα του 5^{ου} αι. π.Χ. εικάζεται από την ανακάλυψη λειψάνων αγροικιών στην περιοχή Παξιμάδι της νότιας Εύβοιας με ομοιομερή κατανομή. Η έρευνα σε μια αγροικία του τέλους του 5^{ου} ή του πρώιμου 4^{ου} αι. απέδωσε ευρήματα ανάμεσα στα οποία συγκαταλέγονται και θραύσματα αθηναϊκής μελαμπαφούς κεραμικής. Αν και δεν αποδεικνύεται η εκεί εγκατάσταση Αθηναίων κληρούχων είναι δελεαστική η υπόθεση ότι πιθανώς Καρύστιοι αναγκάστηκαν να μετακινηθούν σε αυτή την μη προνομιά από περιβαλλοντικής άποψης περιοχή με τις πιο εύφορες εκτάσεις να έχουν περιέλθει στην κατοχή Αθηναίων.

μαχία.⁴⁹ Η εγγύτητά του στην Αττική αποτέλεσε την κύρια αιτία που το νησί ενεπλάκη στον Πελοποννησιακό πόλεμο ταγμένη στο πλευρό της Αθήνας. Αλλά οι σχέσεις Εύβοιας και Αθήνας συνεχίζονται και στον 4^ο αιώνα.⁵⁰

Επίλογος

Τέλος, πρέπει να τονιστεί ότι η εισδοχή της λατρείας της Κυβέλης στην Αθήνα σχετίζεται με τους Περσικούς πολέμους. Η καταστροφή του ναού της Μητέρας των θεών Κυβήβης στις Σάρδεις στις αρχές του 5^{ου} αι.π.Χ. έμελλε να γίνει η αφορμή ενός πολέμου ορόσημου για την αρχαία ελληνική ιστορία. Αποστέλλοντας βοήθεια στους επαναστατημένους Ίωνες η Αθήνα και η Ερέτρια προκάλεσαν την περσική εκστρατεία εναντίον των ελληνικών πόλεων. Επομένως, η έμμεση συμβολή της Εύβοιας στην εισαγωγή αυτής της λατρείας αποκτά ιδιαίτερη σημασία.

Φθάνοντας στην Αθήνα το 491 π.Χ. η περσική πρεσβεία απαίτησε «γην και ύδωρ» στο όνομα της παντοδύναμης Κυβήβης, γνωστής στους Ίωνες και τους Αθηναίους ως Μεγάλης Μητέρας. Αργότερα, όμως, και μέσα στα πλαίσια της ειρήνης του Καλλία (450-448 π.Χ.) οι Αθηναίοι, που αναδεικνύονται ανάμεσα σε όλους τους Έλληνες ως η νέα δύναμη, άρχισαν να επανεξετάζουν τα κοινά πολιτιστικά στοιχεία με την ισχυρή αυτοκρατορία της Εγγύς Ανατολής. Το πρώτο βήμα ήταν η αναγνώριση της Μητέρας των θεών, που την αποδέχθηκαν ως δική τους. Ο χαρακτήρας αυτής της θεάς προσαρμοζόταν με τη νέα τάξη πραγμάτων, στην οποία πρωταγωνιστούσε η κυρίαρχη πλέον Αθήνα. Εξυπηρετούσε, δηλαδή, την ιδέα της αθηναϊκής κυριαρχίας μεταξύ των Ελλήνων σε αναλογία με την εξουσία των Φρυγών, των Λυδών και των Περσών βασιλέων, που υπέκειντο στην προστασία της Μητέρας.⁵¹ Ο συγκρητισμός της φρυγικής-λυδικής Κυβέλης με τη Δήμητρα είχε συντελεστεί ήδη την περίοδο εκείνη, κατά την οποία η λατρεία μίας ξένης θεότητας αρχικά απορρίπτεται από τους Αθηναίους για να γίνει αργότερα αποδεκτή στο β' μισό του 5^{ου} αι. π.Χ. ως ένδειξη συμφιλίωσης με μία θεά που εξασφαλίζει και νομιμοποιεί την κυριαρχία όπως αυτή συμβολιζόταν μέσα στο θρησκευτικό πλαίσιο της περσικής αυτοκρατορίας.

49. Για τις σχέσεις Εύβοιας και Αθήνας, βλ. επίσης, Reber 2001, 449-460; Reber 2002, 40-53; Βρανόπουλος 1972, 9-14, 15; Βρανόπουλος 1986, 71-78. Χαρακτηριστική για τις στενές σχέσεις μεταξύ Εύβοιας και Αθήνας είναι η αναφορά του Πausanias (I, 31, 4-5), ο οποίος περιγράφοντας την αττική εορτή των Αμαρυσίων τονίζει ότι οι Αθηναίοι την γιορτάζουν με την ίδια επισημότητα όπως οι Ευβοείς, οι οποίοι τιμούν την Αρτέμιδα Αμαρυσία στην περιοχή Αμάρυνθο. Βλ. σχετικά και Sarouna- Sakellarakis 1992, 236.

50. Το 394 π.Χ. η Ερέτρια και η Αθήνα συνάπτουν συνθήκη. Το β' μισό του 4^{ου} αι. π.Χ. πρωταγωνιστούν οι επαφές και οι συγκρούσεις με το μακεδονικό κράτος του Φιλίππου Β'. Κατά το έτος 349 η Ερέτρια εξεγείρεται εναντίον της φιλομακεδονικής πλευράς και μαζί με τη Χαλκίδα αιτείται την αθηναϊκή βοήθεια. Με τη μάχη της Χαιρώνειας το 338 π.Χ. εγκαινιάζεται η εποχή της περιέλευσης της Εύβοιας στη μακεδονική κυριαρχία. Βλ. σχετικά, Βρανόπουλος 1972, 9-15.

51. Munn 2006, 322-3.

Βιβλιογραφία

- Βαβρίτσας, Α. Κ. (1973) 'Ανασκαφή Μεσημβρίας Θράκης'. *Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, 70-82.
- Βρανόπουλος, Ε. (1972) *Ελληνιστική Χαλκίς: συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν των ελληνιστικών χρόνων της Χαλκίδος*. Αθήνα: Τυπογραφείον Πανταζίνας Δ. Σπανόπουλου.
- Βρανόπουλος, Ε. (1986) 'Η συμβολή της Εύβοιας στην οικονομικοκοινωνική εξέλιξη του αρχαίου κόσμου'. *Ανθρωπολογικά και Αρχαιολογικά Χρονικά* I, 71-78.
- Καλλιγιάς, Γ. (1986) 'Ευβοϊκοί μύθοι'. *Ανθρωπολογικά και Αρχαιολογικά Χρονικά* I, 103-108.
- Καραπασαλιδίου, Α. (1987) 'Ενεπίγραφος βωμίσκος από τη Χαλκίδα'. *Ανθρωπολογικά και Αρχαιολογικά Χρονικά* II, 173-174.
- Κατσαούνου, Σ. (2012) 'Συμπληρωματικές μορφές στους αττικούς ναϊσκους της Κυβέλης'. Διδακτορική διατριβή. Πανεπιστήμιο Ιωαννίνων, Ελλάδα .
- Λαζαρίδης, Δ. (1997) *Αμφίπολις*. Αθήνα: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων.
- Λεβέντη, Ι. (1994-95) 'Περσεφόνη και Εκάτη στην Τεγέα'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 49-50(Α' Μελέτες), 83-96.
- Λεβέντη Ι. (2010) 'Η ελευσινιακή λατρεία στην περιφέρεια του ελληνικού κόσμου: το αναθηματικό ανάγλυφο από το Παντικάπαιο'. Στο *ιερά και λατρείες της Δήμητρας στον αρχαίο ελληνικό κόσμο: Πρακτικά Επιστημονικού Συμποσίου, Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας, Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας και Κοινωνικής Ανθρωπολογίας, Βόλος, 4-5 Ιουνίου 2005*, επιμέλεια Ι. Λεβέντη και Χ. Μητσοπούλου, 111-136. Βόλος: Εργαστήριο Αρχαιολογίας Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλίας; Τμήμα ΙΑΚΑ.
- Λιλιμπάκη-Ακαμάτη, Μ. (1996) *Το Θεσμοφόριο της Πέλλας*. Αθήνα: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων.
- Λουκάς, Ι. (1988) *Η Ρέα-Κυβέλη και οι γονιμικές λατρείες της Φλύας*. Χαλάνδρι: Αετοπούλειο Πολιτιστικό Κέντρο Δήμου Χαλανδρίου.
- Πιγγιάτογλου, Σ. (2001) 'Οι ελευσινιακές θεότητες σε ομάδα αναγλύφων των Αθηνών'. Στο *Άγαλμα. Μελέτες για την αρχαία πλαστική προς τιμήν Γ.Δεσπίνη*, επιμέλεια Δ. Τσιαφάκη, 211-221. Θεσσαλονίκη: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού Αριστοτέλειο; Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης.
- Πλάτωνος-Γιώτα, Μ. (2004) *Αχαρναί: Ιστορική και τοπογραφική επισκόπηση των Αχαρνών, των γειτονικών δήμων και των οχυρώσεων της Πάρνηθας*. Αχαρναί: Δήμος Αχαρνών.
- Σάμψων, Α. (1986) 'Αρχαία Χαλκίδα. Τοπογραφία-Ρυμοτομία'. *Ανθρωπολογικά και Αρχαιολογικά Χρονικά* I, 7-66.
- Σαπουνά-Σακελλαράκη, Έ. (1995α) *Χαλκίς. Ιστορία-Τοπογραφία και Μουσείο*. Αθήνα: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων.
- Σαπουνά-Σακελλαράκη, Έ. (1995β) *Ερέτρια. Χώρος και Μουσείο*. Αθήνα: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων.
- Τσατσοπούλου-Καλούδη, Π. (2001) *Μεσημβρία-Ζώνη*. Αθήνα: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων.
- Χιδίρογλου, Μ. (2006) 'Η Κάρυστος κατά την αρχαϊκή έως την υστεροκλασική περίοδο (6^{ος}-4^{ος} π.Χ.). Πορίσματα από τις σωστικές ανασκαφές'. Στο *Αρχαιότητες της Καρυστίας*, επιμέλεια Μ. Χιδίρογλου και Α. Χατζηδημητρίου, 104-169. Κάρυστος: Κόσμος.
- Χιδίρογλου, Μ. (2008) 'Νότια Καρυστία'. Στο *Αρχαιολογία. Εύβοια και Στερεά Ελλάδα*, επιμέλεια Α. Γ. Βλαχόπουλος, 84-91. Αθήνα: Μέλισσα.

*

- Borgeaud, P. (2001) *Η Μητέρα των θεών. Από την Κυβέλη στην Παρθένο Μαρία* [trans. A. Karastathi and M. Kardamitsa]. Athens: Kardamitsa Publications.
- Brea, B. (1956) *Akrai*. Catania: Cartotecnica.
- Buresch, K. (1982) 'Die Sibyllinische Quellgrotte in Erythrae'. *Athenische Mitteilungen* 17, 16-36.
- Clinton, K. (1992) *Myth and Cult. The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries*. Stockholm: Swedish Institute at Athens.

- Conze, A. (1880) 'Hermes-Kadmilos.' *Archaeologische Zeitung* 38, 1-10.
- Ducrey, P. and A. Ψάλτη (2008) 'Ερέτρια.' *Αρχαιολογία. Εύβοια και Στερεά Ελλάδα*, edited by A. G. Vlachopoulos, 70-77. Athens: Melissa.
- Goodchild, R. G. (1971) *Kyrene und Apollonia*. Zurich: Raggi Verlag.
- Green J. R. and R. K. Sinclair (1970) 'Athenians in Eretria.' *Historia* 19, 515-527.
- Güntner, G. (1994) *Göttervereine und Götterversammlungen auf attischen Weihreliefs: Untersuchungen zur Typologie und Bedeutung*. Würzburg: K. Triltsch.
- Huber, S. (2007) 'Un Mystère résolu: Athena sur L' Acropole d' Eretrie.' *Antike Kunst* 50, 120-129.
- Metzger, I. R. (1985) 'Das Thesmophorion von Eretria. Funde und Befunde eines Heiligtums.' Vol. 7 of *Eretria*. Bern: Francke.
- Müller, A. (1996) 'Les terres cuites votives du Thesmophorion: de l'atelier au sanctuaire.' Vol. 17 of *Études Thasiennes*. Paris: De Boccard.
- Munn, M. H. (2006) *The Mother of the Gods, Athens, and the Tyranny of Asia: A Study of Sovereignty in Ancient Religion*. Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Naumann, F. (1983) 'Die Ikonographie der Kybele in der phrygischen und der griechischen Kunst.' Vol. 28 of *Istanbuler Mitteilungen Beiheft*. Tübingen: Wasmuth.
- Parker, R. (1996) *Athenian Religion: A History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Parker, R. (2005) *Polytheism and Society at Athens*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Picard, C. (1957) 'Sur un "naiskos" inedit de Cybèle au Musée du Caire.' *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 49, 41-65.
- Price, T-H. (1978) *Kourotrophos. Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities*. Leiden: Brill.
- Reber, K. (1983) 'Ein silbernes Kybelerelief aus Eretria.' *Antike Kunst* 26, 77-83.
- Reber, K. (2001) 'Unbekanntes Euböa. Auf Griechenlands Zweitgrosster Insel warten archaologische Statuen auf ihre Erforschung.' *Antike Welt* 32, 449-460.
- Reber, K. (2002) 'Die Sudgrenze des Territoriums von Eretria (Euböa).' *Antike Kunst* 45, 40-53.
- Rhodes, P. J. and R. Osborne (2003) *Greek historical inscriptions, 404-323 BC*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sapouna-Sakellarakis, E. (1992) 'Un dépôt de temple et le sanctuaire d'Artemis Amarysia en Eubée.' *Kernos* 5, 235-263.
- Thompson, H. A. (1936) 'The Pnyx Thesmophorion.' *Hesperia*, 156-192.
- Tiverios, M. (1997) 'Eleusinian Iconography.' In *Greek Offerings. Essays on Greek Art in honour of J. Boardman*, edited by O. Palagia, 167-171. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Vermaseren, Maarten J. (1977) Vol. VII of *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Vermaseren, Maarten J. (1982) Vol. II of *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Vermaseren, Maarten J. (1989) Vol. VI of *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Wallace, M., D. Keller, J. Wickens and R. Lamberton (2006) 'Το επιστημονικό διερευνητικό πρόγραμμα της Νότιας Εύβοιας: 25 χρόνια αρχαιολογικής έρευνας.' In *Αρχαιότητες της Καρυστίας*, edited by M. Chidiroglou and A. Chatzidimitriou, 19-49. Karystos: Κόσμος.
- Yannouli, V. (2004) *Les sanctuaires de Cybèle dans la ville de Samos*. Paris: Diffusion de Boccard.

Εικόνες



Εικόνα 1. Επάργυρο πλακίδιο από την Ερέτρια.
Ερέτρια, Αρχ.Μουσείο, Δ222.
(Reber 1983, πιν. 21).



Εικόνα 2. Μαρμάρινος ναΐσκος Κυβέλης
από την Αθήνα. Αθήνα, Εθνικό Μουσείο
3538. (Φωτ. της συγγραφέως. © Υπουργείο
Πολιτισμού και Αθλητισμού. ΤΑΠΑ)



Εικόνα 3. Χάλκινο ανάγλυφο από τη Θεσσαλονίκη.
Λυών, Musée des Beaux Arts 28.401
(Vermaseren 1989, πιν. XLIII, αρ.198).



Εικόνα 4. Επίχρυσο πλακίδιο από την Αρχαία Ζώνη της Θράκης. Κομοτηνή, Αρχ. Μουσείο 1589. Φωτ. ευγενική παραχώρηση Μουσείου Κομοτηνής).



Εικόνα 5. Αναθηματικό ανάγλυφο από την Αρχαία Αγορά της Αθήνας. Αθήνα, Μουσείο Αγοράς S1251 (Πινγιάτογλου 2001, εικ.1).

Η Αρέθουσα, ο Ποσειδώνας και η Ήρα. Ανάλυση και ερμηνεία ενός χαλκιδικού μύθου

Manuel ARJONA-PEREZ

Abstract

On the basis of a fragment of the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, we can infer that during the Archaic period (or perhaps even earlier) the Chalcidians wove a myth in which the main protagonists were Poseidon, Hera and a young mortal named Arethousa. According to this myth, Poseidon had intercourse with Arethousa at the Euripus and then abandoned her. Hera took mercy on Arethousa and transformed her into a spring. A comparative study with other similar Greek myths allows us to suggest that the Chalcidian tradition served several functions. First, the myth justified the name which was given to the most important spring of Chalcis. Indeed, a good number of ancient writers mention a spring called Arethousa in Chalcis; this spring was said to be sacred. Secondly, the Chalcidian myth can be also considered an ‘initiation myth’, for it seems to refer to the different phases of the vertical process of integrating a young woman into society after her sexual maturation. Thirdly, the myth possibly reflects and justifies the existence of a cult of Hera, Poseidon and Arethousa at Chalcis. Moreover, the myth can be construed as evidence supporting the celebration of rites of passage under the supervision of the heroine Arethousa in the place where the homonymous spring flowed.

Εισαγωγή

Σε ελληνιστικό πάπυρο που ανήκει στη συλλογή του Πανεπιστημίου του Μίσιγκαν (P. Michigan, αριθ. κατ. 1447), σώζεται αποσπασματικά μια αναφορά σε έργο του Ησιόδου όπου γίνεται λόγος για την ένωση της Αρέθουσας με έναν εραστή της στις ακτές του Ευρίπου, καθώς και για τη μετέπειτα μεταμόρφωση της νεαρής από την Ήρα. Το σπάραγμα προσείλκυσε το ενδιαφέρον των R. Merkelbach και M. L. West, οι οποίοι, βασισμένοι στο περιεχόμενο του κειμένου, αμφισβήτησαν την ησιόδεια πατρότητα του αποσπάσματος και τελικά αναγνώρισαν σε αυτό τμήμα του ψευδοησιόδειου έργου *Γυναικών Κατάλογος*. Οι δυο μελετητές εξέδωσαν το κείμενο του παπύρου με τις εξής συμπληρώσεις.¹

Ἀρέθουσα θυγάτηρ μὲν Ὑπέρ[ο]υ, Π[ο]σειδῶνι δὲ συν]ελθοῦσα κατὰ τὸν Βοϊκὸν Εὐρεῖον [εἰς κρήνην] ἠλλάγη ἐν Χ[αλκίδι] ὑπὸ [τῆς] Ἥρας, ὡς Ἡσιόδος ἱστορε[ῖ]

Προτού εντρυφήσουμε στην ανάλυση του μύθου, θα επισημάνουμε ότι η ταύτιση που προτείνουν οι Merkelbach και West μάς επιτρέπει να αναγάγουμε την παράδοση που μαρτυρείται από τον πάπυρο στην Αρχαϊκή περίοδο ή και νωρίτερα ακόμη.

1. Solmsen κ.ά. 1990, 171 (fr. 188A).

Η ανάλυση του μύθου

Στο ψευδοησιόδειο, λοιπόν, απόσπασμα η Αρέθουσα αναφέρεται ως κόρη του Ύπερου, χωρίς να διευκρινίζεται ωστόσο αν αυτός ήταν ο Φεραίος που μνημονεύει ο Φερεκύδης ή ο Τροϊζήνιος για τον οποίο κάνει λόγο ο Πausanίας.² Κατά την αρχαιότητα διατύπωναν και άλλες, εναλλακτικές θεωρίες για τη γενεαλογία της Αρέθουσας, καθώς κατά τα λεγόμενα του Έφορου, η νεαρή υπήρξε θυγατέρα του Άβαντα,³ ενώ κατά το Υγίνο, γεννήτοράς της ήταν ο Νηρέας.⁴ Πάρα τις διαφορές τους, οι συγγραφείς συμφωνούν στο ότι η Αρέθουσα γεννήθηκε θνητή.

Στον ελληνιστικό πάπυρο αναφέρεται ακόμη ότι η Αρέθουσα συνενυρέθηκε στις ακτές του Ευρίπου με κάποιον του οποίου το όνομα σώζεται αποσπασματικά, αν και είναι εμφανές ότι αρχίζει με το γράμμα 'Π' και περιέχει τον δίφθογγο 'ει'. Η αποκατάσταση του χάσματος με το όνομα του Ποσειδώνα, που δέχονται οι Merkelbach και West, φαίνεται η πλέον βάσιμη. Επιπλέον, ο Στέφανος ο Βυζάντιος παραδίδει ότι η Αρέθουσα συνενυρέθηκε με τον θεό της θάλασσας και ότι καρπός της ένωσής τους υπήρξε ο Άβαντας.⁵ Ο Ησύχιος μάλιστα επισημαίνει ότι ο Ποσειδώνας έφερε την προσωνομία Ευρίπιος.⁶

Είναι αξιοπρόσεκτο ότι η Αρέθουσα, αφού ενώθηκε με τον Ποσειδώνα, μεταμορφώθηκε από την Ήρα. Τούτο συνέβη στη Χαλκίδα. Ένα χάσμα στον ελληνιστικό πάπυρο μάς εμποδίζει να προσδιορίσουμε με απόλυτη βεβαιότητα τη νέα μορφή της Αρέθουσας σύμφωνα με τον *Γυναικών Κατάλογο*. Οι μαρτυρίες του Ευριπίδη, του Ποσειδώνιου, του Ηρακλείδη και του Αθήναιου σχετικά με την ύπαρξη μιας κρήνης με το όνομα Αρέθουσα στην πόλη, μας παρέχουν τη δυνατότητα να συμπληρώσουμε το κενό.⁷ Πιθανολογείται ακόμη ότι ο Πλούταρχος, ο Αιλιανός και ο Πορφύριος έκαναν επίσης λόγο για τη χαλκιδική κρήνη, καθώς στις αφηγήσεις τους διακρίνουμε πολλές ομοιότητες με όσα παραδίδει ο Αθήναιος.⁸ Στις παραπάνω μαρτυρίες πρέπει μάλλον να προσθέσουμε—όπως πράττει και η πλειονότητα των ερευνητών—έναν χρησμό του δελφικού μαντείου.⁹ Από τους προαναφερόμενους συγγραφείς μαθαίνουμε ότι το νερό που έρρεε στην κρήνη Αρέθουσα ήταν δροσερό και υγιεινό, πλην όμως υφάλμυρο.

Τα αίτια που ώθησαν την Ήρα να μεταμορφώσει την Αρέθουσα δεν διευκρινίζονται στο παπυρικό απόσπασμα. Ωστόσο η σύγκριση με άλλους μύθους μάς ωθεί στο να διατυπώσουμε δύο εναλλακτικές θεωρίες: είτε να αποδώσουμε τη μεταμόρφωση σε οργισμένη παρόρμηση της θεάς εξαιτίας της προσβολής στο πρόσωπό της είτε (στον αντίποδα της πρώτης) να τη θεωρήσουμε πράξη ελέους της κόρης του Κρόνου ενόψει της αντιξοότητας που επρόκειτο να αντιμετωπίσει η νεαρή Αρέθουσα. Στην πρώτη περίπτωση οφείλουμε να απορρίψουμε την υπόθεση ότι αιτία της προσβολής ήταν κάποια απιστία του Δία, μια και η Αρέθουσα παρουσιάζεται στο ψευδοησιόδειο απόσπασμα ως ερωμένη του Ποσειδώνα και όχι ως ερωμένη του βασιλιά των θεών. Μπορούμε άραγε να υποθέσουμε ότι η Αρέθουσα ξεστόμιζε κάτι που προκάλεσε την οργή της Ήρας; Ποικίλοι μύθοι μάς μιλούν για γυναίκες που συνέκριναν τον εαυτό τους με την Ήρα και κατέληξαν να γίνουν στόχοι της μήνης της.¹⁰ Ωστόσο, στο βαθμό που γνωρίζουμε, η Ήρα σπανίως κατέφευγε στη μεταμόρφωση ως τρόπο τιμωρίας των θυμάτων της.¹¹

2. Πausanίας, 2, 30, 8; Φερεκύδης, *FGrH* 3, F 101.

3. Έφορος, *FGrH* 70, F 24(33) (= Στέφανος ο Βυζάντιος, λήμμα 'Αθήναι').

4. Υγίνο, *Μύθοι*, 157.

5. Στέφανος ο Βυζάντιος, λήμμα 'Άβαντίς'. Ο Στέφανος ο Βυζάντιος βασίστηκε ίσως στον Αριστοκράτη από τη Σπάρτη.

6. Ησύχιος, λήμμα 'Ευρίπιος'.

7. Αθήναιος, *Δειπνοσοφιστές*, 8, 331e; Ευριπίδης, *Ιφιγένεια εν Αυλίδι*, 169-170; Ποσειδώνιος, *PFr* F231= *FGrH* 87, F 87 (76).

8. Αιλιανός, *Περί ζώων ιδιότητος*, 8, 4; Πλούταρχος, *Πότερα των ζώων φρονιμότερα*, 23 [= *Ηθικά*, 976a]; Πορφύριος, *Περί αποχής εμψύχων*, 3, 5.

9. Fontenrose 1978, 276-278 (n. 26); Parke and Wormell, 1956, τ. I, 82-83, τ. II, 1-2, αριθ. 1.

10. Αναφέρουμε, ως παραδείγματα, τη Σίδη (βλ. (Ψευδο)Απολλόδωρος, *Βιβλιοθήκη*, 1, 4, 3) και την Αηδόνα (βλ. Αντωνίνος Λιβεράλις, 11).

11. Γνωρίζουμε μόνο δυο παραδόσεις που θέλουν την Ήρα να μεταμορφώνει θνητές - και στις δυο περιπτώσεις αφορούν σε ερωμένες του Δία. Πρόκειται, ωστόσο, για παραλλαγές μύθων, οι πιο διαδεδομένες εκδοχές των οποίων απέδιδαν τις μεταμορφώσεις σε άλλες θεότητες. Πράγματι, ο Αισχύλος (*Ικέτιδες*, 299-301) και ο Πausanίας (1, 25, 1) ισχυρίζονται

Κατά κανόνα, έπαιρνε την εκδίκησή της προκαλώντας στις γυναίκες κρίσεις μανίας που κατέληγαν στον θάνατό τους. Συνεπώς, φαίνεται πιο εύλογη η πιθανότητα η Ήρα να έδειξε συμπόνια για την Αρέθουσα και ενόψει της αντιξοότητας που αντιμετώπιζε η νεαρή να αποφάσισε τη μεταμόρφωσή της σε κρήνη. Πράγματι, κατά τη γνώμη μας η μεταμόρφωση μιας θνητής σε δροσερή και υγιεινή κρήνη προσιδιάζει περισσότερο σε πράξη ελέους παρά σε πράξη εκδίκησης. Ας σημειωθεί ότι η Ήρα ενδέχεται να θεωρήθηκε προστάτιδα των εγκαταλειμμένων γυναικών κατά την αρχαιότητα, μια ιδιότητα που αντικατοπτρίζεται και στον μύθο της Μήδειας.¹² Άλλωστε, η Ήρα λατρευόταν στην αρχαία Στύμφαλο με την επίκληση *Χήρα*, ως η διαζευγμένη σύζυγος του Δία.¹³

Ο Αθήναιος ισχυρίζεται ότι στην κρήνη Αρέθουσα κολυμπούσαν χέλια με αργυρά και χρυσά ενώτια. Οι περισσότεροι από όσους επισκέπτονταν την κρήνη τάιζαν τα χέλια με σπλάχνα ζώων, τα οποία είχαν προηγουμένως θυσιαστεί σε θρησκευτικές τελετές. Η μαρτυρία του Αθήναιου υποδεικνύει ότι οι προσκυνητές προσέφεραν στα χέλια τα μέρη εκείνα των σφάγιων που κατά κανόνα προορίζονταν για τους θεούς. Οι επισκέπτες τα τάιζαν επίσης με ‘τυρούς χλωρούς’.¹⁴ Ο Αιλιανός επιβεβαιώνει ότι τα χέλια της κρήνης θεωρούνταν ιερά.¹⁵

Οι πληροφορίες που διαθέτουμε σχετικά με την τοποθεσία της κρήνης Αρέθουσας (σε έναν παραθαλάσσιο οικισμό όπως η Χαλκίδα) και τα χαρακτηριστικά του νερού που έρρεε από αυτή (δροσερό και υγιεινό αν και γλυφό)¹⁶ ταιριάζουν με τους υδροβιότοπους που προτιμούν τα χέλια. Τα ευρύαλα αυτά διάδρομα ψάρια γεννιούνται στη θάλασσα, αναπτύσσονται σε ποτάμια, λίμνες και υδάτινες λεκάνες και όταν φτάνουν σε ηλικία ωριμότητας (9 έως 18 ετών για τα θηλυκά) μεταναστεύουν εκ νέου στη θάλασσα για να αναπαραχθούν, να ωτοκήσουν και να πεθάνουν. Δεν διαθέτουμε άλλες μαρτυρίες σχετικά με την παρουσία χελιών σε ευβοϊκά ύδατα, αλλά πολυάριθμοι συγγραφείς κάνουν λόγο για την αφθονία τους στη γειτονική Βοιωτία, και κυρίως στη λίμνη Κωπαΐδα.¹⁷ Μάλιστα ο Αθήναιος αναφέρει ότι οι Βοιωτοί θυσίαζαν σε θρησκευτικές τελετές¹⁸ τα χέλια της λίμνης Κωπαΐδας που είχαν μεγάλο μέγεθος.

Ερμηνεία

Ας επιστρέψουμε όμως στη Χαλκίδα και στην ερμηνεία των πληροφοριών που μπορούμε να αντλήσουμε από το ψευδοησιόδειο απόσπασμα. Φαίνεται λοιπόν ότι στην περιοχή της Χαλκίδας πλάστηκε κατά τη διάρκεια των Αρχαϊκών χρόνων αν όχι νωρίτερα, ένας μύθος που αιτιολογούσε την απόδοση της ονομασίας της πιο γνωστής κρήνης της πόλης στο όνομα μιας νεαρής. Η ετυμολογία της λέξης ‘Αρέθουσα’ φαίνεται να έχει σχέση με το ρήμα ‘άρδω’, δηλαδή ποτίζω, δροσιζώ, ακόμη και αναζωογονώ, οπότε και η Αρέθουσα θα ήταν η Άρδουσα, η ‘ποτίζουσα’.

ότι η Ήρα μεταμόρφωσε την Ιώ σε αγελάδα. Ωστόσο ο συγγραφέας (ή οι συγγραφείς) του έργου *Γυναικών Καταλόγος* (βλ. Solmsen κ.ά. 1990, 148-149 (fr. 124)), ο Βακχυλίδης (βλ. Irigoien κ.ά. 1993, Dithyrambe V (c.16), 17 κ.ε.), και ο (Ψευδο)Απολλόδωρος (*Βιβλιοθήκη*, 2, 1, 3) θεωρούν ότι ο Δίας ήταν αυτός που μεταμόρφωσε τη νεαρή. Επιπροσθέτως, ο Καλλιμαχος (βλ. Pfeiffer 1949, fr. 632 (385) και ο Πausanias (1, 25, 1 και 8, 3, 6) αναφέρουν ότι η Ήρα μεταμόρφωσε την Καλλιτώ σε άρκτο. Ωστόσο, ο Ερατοσθένης (*Καταστερισμός*, 1) και ο (Ψευδο)Απολλόδωρος (*Βιβλιοθήκη*, 1, 4, 3) θεωρούν ότι την Καλλιτώ τη μεταμόρφωσαν η Άρτεμη και ο Δίας.

12. Ο Ρούσσο, 1986, 98) επίσης θεωρεί τη Νεφέλη προστατευόμενη της Ήρας.

13. Βλ. Πausanias, 8, 22, 2. Σε αυτή την περίπτωση, η λέξη ‘χήρα’ σήμαινε ‘ή μετά γάμον μη συνοικοῦσα άνδρι, ή τόν άνδρα στερηθεῖσα γυνή’, όπως μαρτυρείται από σχετικό λήμμα του Ησύχιου, βλ. Jost 1985, 359-360.

14. Αθήναιος, *Δειπνοσοφιστές*, 8, 331e-f.

15. Αιλιανός, *Περί ζώων ιδιότητος*, 8, 4.

16. Ευριπίδης, *Ιφιγένεια εν Αυλίδι*, 169-170; Ηρακλείδης, 1, 27.

17. Αθήναιος, *Δειπνοσοφιστές*, 4, 135c-d; 7, 295c, 297c-d, 298f, 299b, 300c και 304a; 8, 359b; Αριστοφάνης, *Αχαρνείς* 881, 889, 962; *Λυσιστράτη*, 36, 702.

18. Αθήναιος, *Δειπνοσοφιστές*, 7, 297c-d.

Εκτός αυτού, σύμφωνα με την παράδοση θα μπορούσε ίσως ο Εύριπος να υπήρξε περιοχή υπό την κυριαρχία του Ποσειδώνα, καθώς ο θεός την επέλεξε ως ασφαλή τόπο για να μεταφέρει την Αρέθουσα και να συννευρεθεί μαζί της.

Η ίδια παράδοση απέδιδε στην Ήρα τη δημιουργία της πιο φημισμένης κρήνης της πόλης. Σύμφωνα με αυτή την υπόθεση θα μπορούσαμε να βγάλουμε το συμπέρασμα ότι η θεά έχαιρε ιδιαίτερης αναγνώρισης από τους Χαλκιδείς.

Επιπλέον στην ευβοϊκή παράδοση που πρωταγωνιστεί η Αρέθουσα, εντοπίζουμε κάποια στοιχεία που απαντούν επανειλημμένα στους λεγόμενους διαβατήριους μύθους.¹⁹ Υπενθυμίζουμε ότι σε αυτούς τους μύθους διακρίνονται τρία βασικά στάδια:

- α) Η απομάκρυνση του νεαρού ήρωα ή της νεαρής ηρωίδας από την ζωή της κοινότητας.
- β) Ένα μεσοδιάστημα κατά το οποίο ο ήρωας ή η ηρωίδα αποκτά καινούργιες γνώσεις, ωστόσο έρχεται αντιμέτωπος/η με αντιξοότητες.
- γ) Τέλος επιτελείται η επανένταξη του ήρωα ή της ηρωίδας στην κοινωνία με μια καινούργια μορφή.

Στη χαλκιδική παράδοση που μας απασχολεί εδώ, γίνεται λόγος για την απομάκρυνση της νεαρής Αρέθουσας από τον πατρικό οίκο. Ακολουθεί η προσωρινή περιθωριοποίηση και ο αποκλεισμός της, ένα ενδιάμεσο διάστημα κατά το οποίο η νεαρή οδηγείται μακριά από την κοινωνία, σε μια μεθοριακή περιοχή τον Εύριπο, έναν τόπο δηλαδή που βρίσκεται ανάμεσα στην Εύβοια, τη Βοιωτία και τη θάλασσα. Την περίοδο του αποκλεισμού της η Αρέθουσα μαθαίνει υπό την καθοδήγηση ενός ενήλικου, στην προκειμένη περίπτωση του Ποσειδώνα, τα καθήκοντα της ώριμης πλέον γυναίκας και συζύγου και παράλληλα αποκτά ερωτική ζωή καθώς ο θεός και η θνητή συννευρίζονται. Το στάδιο της περιθωριοποίησης της Αρέθουσας περιλαμβάνει ωστόσο και περιόδους δοκιμασίας και δυσκολιών. Φαίνεται ότι η νεαρή εγκαταλείπεται από τον θεό της θάλασσας μετά τη συνένευσή τους. Τέλος, επέρχεται η επανένταξη της Αρέθουσας στην κοινωνία, όχι πλέον σε οικογενειακό κύκλο, καθώς καταλήγει στη Χαλκίδα.

Σύμφωνα μάλιστα με την χαλκιδική παράδοση που μνημονεύεται στο ψευδοησιόδειο απόσπασμα, η επανένταξη της Αρέθουσας γίνεται με νέα μορφή: η συμπονετική Ήρα την μεταμορφώνει σε κρήνη. Σύμφωνα με μια άλλη παράδοση, που προαναφέρθηκε, η Αρέθουσα δεν μεταμορφώνεται, αποκτά ωστόσο από τον Ποσειδώνα τον Άβαντα, τον επώνυμο ήρωα και γενάρχη των Αβάντων. Είτε με τον έναν είτε με τον άλλο τρόπο, η Αρέθουσα συμμετέχει στην κοινωνία την οποία εντάσσεται: η συνεισφορά της είναι είτε η παροχή νερού στους Χαλκιδείς είτε η γέννηση ενός από τους σημαντικότερους ήρωες της Εύβοιας.

Στο μύθο της Αρέθουσας καταφαίνεται εξίσου η σημασία του μεθοριακού και του συνοριακού στοιχείου από κοινού με το υβριδικό, μικτό στοιχείο. Η ένωση δυο διαφορετικών φύσεων –του θεού Ποσειδώνα και της θνητής Αρέθουσας– συντελείται στον Εύριπο, χώρο οριακό και παράλληλα χώρο επαφής ανάμεσα σε διαφορετικές, αν και γειτνιάζουσες, γεωγραφικές ενότητες: τη Βοιωτία και την Εύβοια. Μετά από την συνένευση ακολουθεί ο χωρισμός των δυο προσώπων και η ριζική μεταμόρφωση της θνητής σε κρήνη, γεγονός που παρουσιάζεται ως ύστατη λύση σε μία κρίσιμη στιγμή, αλλά ταυτόχρονα και ως λυσιτελής τρόπος ένταξης της Αρέθουσας σε μια κοινωνία, που δεν είναι ωστόσο η πατρογονική της. Ένα ακόμη αξιοσημείωτο στοιχείο είναι ότι το νερό που έρρεε από την κρήνη διέθετε μια ιδιαιτερότητα η οποία προέκυπτε από τη σύζευξη δύο ετερογενών χαρακτηριστικών: δηλαδή, αν και πόσιμο η γέυση του ήταν γλυφή. Τα χέλια, τα ιερά ψάρια που κολυμπούσαν στα ύδατα της κρήνης, ανήκουν επίσης σε ένα είδος ζώου το οποίο μπορεί να ζει σε διαφορετικά περιβάλλοντα (τόσο σε θαλασσινό όσο και σε γλυκό νερό) και μεταναστεύει προκειμένου να εξασφαλιστεί η αλληλοδιαδοχή των γενεών.

19. Βλ. Graf 2003, passim, με πλούσια σχετική βιβλιογραφία.

Επίλογος

Εν κατακλείδι, ο μύθος της Αρέθουσας εκπληρώνει ποικίλους σκοπούς. Αφενός αιτιολογεί το όνομα της κρήνης και αφετέρου υποδηλώνει τα στάδια της διαδικασίας ένταξης των ανήλικων κοριτσιών στην κοινωνία ύστερα από την ερωτική τους ωρίμανση. Τέλος, η παράδοση ενδέχεται να αντικατοπτρίζει και να δικαιολογεί την λατρεία της Ήρας και του Ποσειδώνα στη Χαλκίδα και ίσως την τέλεση εορτών, διαβατήριων τελετουργιών και ιεροπραξιών προς τιμήν της ίδιας της Αρέθουσας στον χώρο της ομώνυμης κρήνης.

Βιβλιογραφία

Ρούσσοι, Ε. Ν. (1986) 'Ἡ Ἥρα τιμωρός και προστάτισσα. Ανάλυση και σχόλια'. Στον Τόμ. 1 *Ελληνική Μυθολογία [Οι Θεοί]*, επιμέλεια Ι. Θ. Κακριδή, 94-98. Αθήνα: Εκδοτική Αθηνών.

*

Fontenrose, J. (1978) *The Delphic Oracle. Its Responses and Operations with a Catalogue of Responses*. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press.

Graf, F. (2003) 'Initiation. A concept with a troubled history'. In *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives: New Critical Perspectives*, edited by D. B. Dodd and C. A. Faraone, 3-24. London; New York: Routledge.

Irigoin, D. and L. Bardollet (1993) *Bacchylide, Dithyrambes. Épinicies. Fragments*. Paris: Société d'édition Les Belles Lettres/Association Guillaume Budé.

Jost, M. (1985) 'Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie'. Vol. IX of *Études Péloponnésiennes*. Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin.

Parke, H. W. and D. E. W. Wormell (1956) 'The History'. Vol. 1(II) of *The Delphic Oracle*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Pfeiffer, R. (1949) 'Fragmenta'. Vol. 1 of *Callimachus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Solmsen, M., R. Merkelbach and M. L. West (1990) *Hesiodi. Theogonia. Opera et Dies. Scutum. Fragmenta Selecta. Editio tertia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Proud to be Euboeans: The Chalcidians of Thrace

Selene E. PSOMA

Περίληψη

Οι Χαλκιδείς της Θράκης, όπως αναφέρονται στην αρχαία γραμματεία και τις επιγραφές, ήταν Ευβοείς άποικοι στη χερσόνησο της Χαλκιδικής που ζούσαν σε μικρές πόλεις στο μυχό του κόλπου της Τορώνης και στη Σιθωνία. Η Όλυνθος παραδόθηκε στους Χαλκιδείς το 479 και εκείνοι αργότερα δημιούργησαν το ισχυρό κοινό των Χαλκιδέων. Οι δεσμοί τους με τη μητρόπολη τεκμαίρονται από το ημερολόγιο τους, την ονοματολογία, το χαλκιδικό αλφάβητο, το ακροφωνικό σύστημα αρίθμησης, καθώς επίσης και από τη νομισματοκοπία. Αυτό το άρθρο εξετάζει όλα τα στοιχεία δίνοντας ιδιαίτερη έμφαση στη νομισματοκοπία.

Introduction

The ties between Euboean Chalcis and the Chalcidians of Thrace are mentioned by both Aristotle and authors of later date.¹ Aristotle, who was born a Chalcidian of Thrace and died in Chalcis, mentions that the Chalcidians of Thrace asked Androdamas of Rhegion to become their lawgiver (*nomothetes*).² Rhegion was also a Chalcidian colony, and it was quite common for a colony to ask for lawgivers from one of its sister cities. Another story that Aristotle relates will be discussed at length later. According to Polybius, the Chalcidians of Thrace were colonists of both Athens and Chalcis, and the main opponent to Philip II in Thrace.³ Strabo noted that Eretria founded the cities of Pallene and Athos whereas Chalcis founded those near Olynthus.⁴ The foundation of these colonies took place when the *Hippobotai* were ruling Chalcis, and the men who led the colonists were among the noblest of their cities. Plutarch mentions the struggle between Chalcidians and Andrians over the foundation of Akanthos in the 7th century BC.⁵

1. Herakleides: *FHG* II 222, fr. 31; D. H. *Amm.* 5; Lib. *Arg. D.* 1.

2. Arist. *Pol.* 1274b: ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Ἀνδροδάμας Ῥηγίνος νομοθέτης Χαλκιδεῦσι τοῖς ἐπὶ Θράκης, οὐ τὰ περὶ τε τὰ φονικά καὶ τὰς ἐπικλήρους ἐστίν.

3. Polyb. 9.28: Ὅτι μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὴν Μακεδόνων δυναστείαν ἀρχὴν συνέβη γεγονέναι τοῖς Ἕλλησι δουλείας, οὐδ' ἄλλως εἰπεῖν οὐδένα πέπεισμαι τολμήσαι· σκοπεῖν δ' οὕτως ἔξεστιν. ἦν τι σύστημα τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης Ἑλλήνων, οὓς ἀπώκισαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς, ὧν μέγιστον εἶχε πρόσχημα καὶ δύναμιν ἢ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων πόλις. ταύτην ἐξανδραποδισάμενος Φίλιππος καὶ παράδειγμα ποιήσας οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης πόλεων ἐγένετο κύριος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Θετταλοῦς ὑφ' αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατο διὰ τὸν φόβον.

4. Strab. 10.1.8: Ἐρέτρια μὲν γὰρ συνώκισε τὰς περὶ Παλλήνην καὶ τὸν Ἄθω πόλεις, ἡ δὲ Χαλκὶς τὰς ὑπὸ Ὀλύνθω, ἃς Φίλιππος διελυμήνατο. καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας δὲ καὶ Σικελίας πολλὰ χωρία Χαλκιδέων ἐστίν· ἐστάλησαν δὲ αἱ ἀποικίαι αὐταί, καθάπερ εἶρηκεν Ἀριστοτέλης, ἠνίκα ἢ τῶν Ἱπποβοτῶν καλουμένη ἐπεκράτει πολιτεία· προσέστησαν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τιμημάτων ἄνδρες ἀριστοκρατικῶς ἄρχοντες.

5. Plut. *Mor.* 298.A.3-B.6: “Τίς ἢ περὶ Θράκην † Ἄραοῦ ἀκτὴ;” Ἄνδριοι καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς πλεύσαντες εἰς Θράκην οἰκίσεως ἕνεκα Σάνην μὲν πόλιν ἐκ προδοσίας κοινῇ παρέλαβον, τὴν δ' Ἄκανθον ἐκλειοπένας τοὺς βαρβάρους πυνθανόμενοι δύο κατασκόπους ἔπεμψαν. ὡς δὲ τῇ πόλει προσιόντες παντὰ πασι πεφευγότας ἤσθάνοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, ὁ μὲν Χαλκιδικός

What the literary sources report is further supported by epigraphic evidence. The Chalcidians shared with their metropolis its dialect, alphabet, calendar and the acrophonic system. New onomastic evidence also points to the close ties between Euboea and the Chalcidic Peninsula. This evidence will be addressed in detail. The earliest inscriptions from the *polismata* of the Chalcidians of Thrace were written in the Euboean alphabet. These are: (a) a dedication from Sarte mentioning *archontes*,⁶ (b) the legend ΣΤΑΤΕΡ ΜΑΧΟΝ on a coin that has been attributed to Sermylia,⁷ and (c) the legend ΧΑΛΚ of the earliest series of the silver coinage of the Chalcidians of Thrace.⁸ Evidence for the Ionic dialect of Olynthus and the Chalcidians of Thrace is found in a number of inscriptions dated to the first half of the 4th century BC. These relate to (a) the treaty between the Chalcidians of Thrace and King Amyntas III of Macedonia,⁹ (b) the treaty with the Illyrian king Grabos,¹⁰ (c) the treaty between the Chalcidians of Thrace and Philip II,¹¹ and (d) a number of sales, all of which are dated to the last decade of the Chalcidic League.¹²

The sales also provide information about the calendar in use in the cities of the Chalcidians of Thrace. This includes the following months: Ἰππιῶν, Πανθεῶν, Ἀπατουριῶν, Ληναίων, Ἄρτεμισιῶν, Ταργηλιῶν, Ἡραιῶν, Βουφονιῶν and Δημητριῶν.¹³ These were the months of the metropolis.¹⁴ A recently published *diallage* from Dikaia, an Eretrian colony situated not far from Olynthus, provides evidence on Anthesterion and Lenaion, which are also attested at Eretria, and the month Δαφνηφοριῶν.¹⁵ This was the month of the *Daphnephoria*, honouring Apollo, who was worshipped as Daphnephoros in Eretria.¹⁶ The acrophonic system of the Chalcidians of Thrace also links them to their metropolis, Chalcis. The aforementioned sales demonstrate that the drachma was expressed by the letter Δ, ten drachmas with the letter Χ, 100 drachmas with 8 and 1000 with Ψ.¹⁷

The *onomastikon* of the cities of the Chalcidians also reveals the ties with Euboea.¹⁸ Knoepfler's thorough study of the personal names attested in the Chalcidian cities, from Olynthus and Torone to Aphytis and, more recently, Dikaia, has proven beyond doubt that the local *onomastikon* is effectively Euboean. The ties between colony and mother city are also demonstrated by the use of the Euboean standard for some of the earliest coinages of the Chalcidic Peninsula.¹⁹ The same standard was used in the Chalcidian colonies in Sicily.²⁰ The heaviest coin was a stater of 17.2 g, which was divided into sixths, twelfths, twenty-fourths, etc. The earliest silver coins of the Chalcidians of Thrace were sixths of the Euboean standard, whereas Sermylia issued staters on this same standard, bearing the inscription ΣΤΑΤΕΡ.²¹

προεξέδραμεν ὡς καταληψόμενος τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσι τὴν πόλιν, ὁ δ' Ἄνδριος οὐ συνεξανύτων ἠκόντισε τὸ δόρυ, καὶ ταῖς πύλαις ἐμπαρέντος † μετὰ βολῆς Ἀνδρίων ἔφη παισὶν αἰχμῇ προκατειλήφθαι τὴν πόλιν. ἐκ τούτου διαφορᾶς γενομένης, ἄνευ πολέμου συνέβησαν Ἐρυθραίοις καὶ Σαμίοις καὶ Παρίοις χρῆσασθαι περὶ πάντων δικασταῖς. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ μὲν Ἐρυθραῖοι καὶ οἱ Σάμιοι τὴν ψήφον Ἀνδρίοις ἤνεγκαν, οἱ δὲ Πάριοι Χαλκιδεῦσιν, ἀρὰς ἔθεντο περὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον οἱ Ἄνδριοι κατ' αὐτῶν μῆτε δοῦναι γυναῖκα Παρίοις μῆτε λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσηγόρευσαν “ἀκτὴν † Ἀραίνου”, πρότερον ὀνομαζομένην Δράκοντος. f]

6. Papangelos 2007, 718, 722-723, figs. 2 and 3.

7. Psoma 2001b, 13-44.

8. See Psoma 2001a, 253-261.

9. Hatzopoulos 1996, no. 1.

10. Robinson 1938, 43-47. cf. *SEG* 37 (1987) 567.

11. Hatzopoulos 1996, no. 3.

12. For these sales, see Game 2009, nos. 13-38.

13. For the Chalcidian calendar, see Hatzopoulos 1988, 65-66; Knoepfler 1989, 23-59; 1990, 99-115; Trümpy 1997, 39-49, 284.

14. From Chalcis we have Thargelion and Olympion, and from Eretria Anthesterion, Apatourion, Heraion and Hippion.

15. Voutyras and Sismanidis 2007, 253-274. Also, cf. Knoepfler 2007, 117, n. 164.

16. *IG* XII 9, 191.10, 49; 210-26-9.

17. Graham 1969, 347-358.

18. Knoepfler 2007, 87-119.

19. Psoma 2000, 25-36.

20. See Psoma 2016, 98.

21. See Psoma 2001b, 13-44.

We should briefly recall that archaeological evidence corroborates literary sources and epigraphic evidence, and thus we can easily explain Herodotus' two passages (7.185; 8.126-8.127) mentioning the *Chalkidikon genos*.²² The use of the term *genos* points to a common origin of colonists living in small coastal *polismata* until 432 BC. This common origin played a significant role in the success of the federal state that the Chalcidians of Thrace founded at the suggestion of Perdikkas II.²³ During this period of intense military preparations and the massive revolt of the cities of the western part of the main body of the Chalcidic Peninsula and Sithonia, the common Euboean origin and the relation with the metropolis were further revealed by the choice of coin types of Olynthus and later of the Chalcidian League.²⁴

Olynthus, the most important of the cities of the Chalcidians, continued to issue its silver coins with the prancing horse on the obverse and the eagle holding a snake on the reverse.²⁵ These were the types of silver *hektai* on the Euboean standard that were struck c.450 BC and had the letters XALK of the Euboean alphabet on the four corners of the incuse square on the reverse (Fig. 1).²⁶ The new series with the name of Olynthus had the first four letters of the city's ethnic, OΛΥΝ, with the arrangement of the series in the name of the Chalcidians of Thrace (Fig. 2).²⁷

To explain the horse found on these coins, one should remember that Chalcis was the city of the *Hippobotai*²⁸ and that horses are commonly depicted on Greek coinage issued in Thrace, an area where wild horses still live today.²⁹ The forepart of a bridled horse occurs on the obverse of silver coins of 3.6 g (drachms) from the Gerakini hoard,³⁰ issued by an unidentified city of this same area during the last decades of the 6th century BC.³¹ We should recall the horse of the light tetrobols of Alexander I and Perdikkas II, and also the rider on the heavy tetrobols of both kings and the horse on the half-stater of Sermylia.³² A horse and his rider are also depicted on the two series of the silver coins of Sermylia.³³ On the obverse of a silver coin of Potidaia, we find Poseidon Hippios riding his horse.³⁴ We can thus suggest that there was some kind of iconographic *koine* in the wider area and that the horse was a popular type in this same area.

22. Hdt. 7.185: Πεζοῦ δὲ τὸν Θρηκίικες παρείχοντο καὶ Παίονες καὶ Ἑορδοὶ καὶ Βοττιαῖοι καὶ τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος καὶ Βρύγοι καὶ Πίερες καὶ Μακεδόνες καὶ Περραβοὶ καὶ Ἐνιήνες καὶ Δόλοπες καὶ Μάγνητες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ ὅσοι τῆς Θρηκίικης τὴν παραλίην νέμονται, τούτων τῶν ἔθνέων τριήκοντα μυριάδας δοκέω γενέσθαι; 8.126-8.127: Οἱ γὰρ Ποτειδαῖηται, ὡς βασιλεὺς παρεξελθάκεε καὶ ὁ ναυτικὸς τοῖσι Πέρσησι οἰχώκεε φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀπέστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τὴν Παλλήνην ἔχοντες· Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Ποτειδαίαν· Ὑποπτεύσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ ταύτην ἐπολιόρκεε· εἶχον δὲ αὐτὴν Βοττιαῖοι οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Θερμαίου κόλπου ἐξαναστάντες ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων· Ἐπεὶ δὲ σφεας εἶλε πολιορκέων, κατέσφαξε ἐξαγαγῶν ἐς λίμνην, τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδιδοὶ Κριτοβούλῳ Ἐρωναίῳ ἐπιτροπεύειν καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει· καὶ οὕτω Ὀλυνθον Χαλκιδέες ἔσχον. For the archaeological evidence, see Tiverios 2008.

23. Thuc. 1.58.2.

24. For the types of Olynthus, see Psoma, Forthcoming.

25. For the date of these coins, see *Olynthus* IX 296-298.

26. For these very rare coins, see Psoma 2001a, 253-261.

27. *Olynthus* IX 294, no. 10 and pl. XXXIV, no. 10. For Robinson-Clement, this is the latest silver of Olynthus; *Olynthus* IX 296. I believe that the shape of the incuse square on the reverse points to a place for this coinage at the beginning of the series.

28. Hdt. 5.77. The clerouchs remained there until the Median Wars: see Hdt. 6.100. According to Plutarch (*Vit. Per.* 23.3-23.4), the Athenians expelled the *Hippobotai* once more in 446/5 BC. cf. Claud. Ael. *VH* 6.1. There is no mention of the *Hippobotai* in *IG* I³ 40.

29. See Gaebler 1935, pl. XII 1-11 (Bisaltai), XXI 1-8 (Sermylia), XXVI 31-8, XXVII 1-7 ('Unbestimmte'), XXVIII 1-7 (Mosses)

30. *CH* VIII 37.

31. *CH* VIII 79, pl. IV, no. 2.

32. For these Macedonian kings, see Raymond 1953 and *SNG* Alpha Bank 5-14 (heavy tetrobols), 21-26, 48, 106-126, (heavy tetrobols), 26-27, 49-53, 57-58, 75-76, 82-105 (light tetrobols), 15, 28-44, 54, 59-71, 77-81, 127-134 (small silver fractions). For Sermylia, see Gaebler 1935, 106-107, pl. II 6 (free horse).

33. Psoma 2001b, 13-44.

34. See Alexander 1953, 210-217.

The eagle grasping a snake on the reverse is a clear reference to an omen of Zeus, and at the same time is also the most ancient and significant type of the coinage of Chalcis (Fig. 3).³⁵ It is connected at Chalcis with the cult of Zeus Olympios, which was the most prominent in this city, as all significant documents had to be published in his sanctuary.³⁶ Ὀλυμπίων was the name of a month in Chalcis.³⁷

As the coinage in the name of the Chalcidians was on the Euboean-Attic standard with a weight of 2.9 g,³⁸ and Olynthian silver had a weight of 2.4 g,³⁹ the sharing of the obverse created confusion and thus the prancing horse was very soon abandoned. The new obverse type of Olynthus, with a bridled horse and an Ionic column, was adopted to denote that this coinage was issued on a different standard (Fig. 4).⁴⁰

I explain these types in connection with Olynthus' metropolis, Chalcis, elsewhere, but I summarize here my conclusions. The bridled horse is a clear reference to cavalry. The military skills of the *Chalkidike hippos* were related to the triumph of the mother city during the Lelantine (?) War.⁴¹ These same skills were often mentioned by Thucydides for the years following the revolt of the Chalcidians, in 432 BC. The intervention of the Chalcidian cavalry was decisive at the battle of Spartolos (2.79.3-2.79.6), during the second campaign of Perdikkas II and Brasidas against Arrabaios of Lynkestos (4.124.1), and in the battle of Amphipolis (5.10.9-5.10.10). Xenophon, who described the three-year war conducted by Sparta and its allies against the Chalcidians of Thrace, also stressed the skills of the Chalcidian cavalry: they attacked the Lacedaemonians and the Boeotians, killed the Lacedaemonian hipparch and attacked the cavalry of Teleutias (*Hell.* 5.2.41); at the beginning of the following spring the Chalcidian cavalry attacked Apollonia (5.3.1), the peltasts of Tlemonides, killed Tlemonides (*Hell.* 5.3.3) and also Teleutias, the brother of King Agesilaos (*HG* 5.3.6). After the end of the war, the Chalcidian cavalry participated in the military expedition of King Agesilaus against Thebes in 378 BC (*HG* 5.4.54). Lathenes and Euthykrates were federal hipparchs,⁴² and their betrayal to Philip II brought about the capture of Olynthus and the dissolution of the Chalcidian League.⁴³

The column with Ionic capital is a funeral monument.⁴⁴ Funeral columns of large size were used during the Archaic and the Early Classical periods to mark burials.⁴⁵ This use may be linked back to references to men as columns that support homes in Archaic Greek poetry.⁴⁶ Archilochos, when praising two Naxian brothers, Megatimus and Aristophon, calls them 'Naxos' tall columns.⁴⁷ For Pindar, Hector was 'Troy's unconquerable, immovable column',⁴⁸ while Agamemnon was called by Clytaemnestra (Aesch. Ag. 897-898) the 'grounded pillar of a high roof'. Iphigenia says in *Iphigenia in Tauris* (42-58)

35. Kraay 1976, 90, pl. 15, no. 264. For one specimen in the Asyut hoard, see Price and Waggoner 1975, 54-56, no. 253, pl. XIV.

36. *IG I³* 40 l. 35, 61-62.

37. For a month with the name Olympion at Chalcis, see *IG XII* 9, 900b ll. 1-2. For Zeus at Chalcis, see Plut. *Vit. Thes.* 16; Thgn. 894. All evidence in Bakhuizen 1985, 89.

38. For these coins, see Raymond 1953, 197-200; see also Psoma 2001a, 251-263.

39. For Perdikkas II and his help to Potidaea and the cities that revolted, see Thuc. 1.57-1.62.

40. Only one obverse die is known from this second series of Olynthus and this die is linked with the second series that depicted a bridled horse and an Ionic column on the obverse. *Olynthus IX* 294-297, nos. 1-9, pl. XXXIV, nos. 1-9.

41. See Parker 1997, 145-147.

42. D. 8.40; 19.265 and 267; 341; Synesios, Letter XCV in Hercher 1873, 696; D.S. 16.53.2.

43. Psoma 2001a, 247 n. 484.

44. In the ancient world, we find funerary, votive, trophy and honorary columns. See the list of monuments of different groups in Bakhuizen 1976, 43-48. Honorary columns date from the Roman period, and votive columns were in shrines and presented vessels, sphinxes or statues on top of them. We know of trophy columns from Marathon, Cape Kynosoura of Salamis and Delphi. These were all associated with very significant events in Greek history.

45. See Guarducci 1967-1978, 129, 165-166.

46. Jordan-Ruwe 1995, 8.

47. Diehl 1949-1952, Epigr. 16.

48. Pind. *Ol.* 2.78-82. Snell 1964, 11.

that ‘sons are the pillars of the house.’ Some well-known examples of pillars and columns marking graves during the Archaic period are those of Xenares at Corcyra,⁴⁹ of Aristandros at Assos,⁵⁰ of Praxiteles and of Damotimos at Troizen.⁵¹ Similar monuments come from the Teian colony of Abdera.⁵² The funerary epigram on the capital of the column for Xenares from Corcyra is written in Homeric style, and describes in Homeric terms the monument it adorns.⁵³ Tumuli adorned with vertical markers (stele on a tumulus) were, in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, devices used to ensure that the deceased man’s inextinguishable glory (*asbeston kleos*) would not be forgotten.⁵⁴

The funeral column combined with the horse on the obverse of the coins of Olynthus points to a dead cavalryman. During a period in which numismatic types of cities of the same area such as Dikaia (Fig. 5), Aineia (Fig. 6), Skione (Fig. 7) and Potidaea (Fig. 8) refer to the mother city, Olynthus also turned to its metropolis for this new obverse type, as she had already done before with the reverse type and the previous obverse type. Thus, the new obverse type might refer to an episode connected to Chalcis. We learn from Plutarch’s *Amatorius* (760e-761b) that there was a big column (*megas kion*) in the agora of Chalcis: ‘the column was a sepulchral monument for a foreign horseman who had come to assistance of Chalcis in a war and who had subsequently died in battle.’⁵⁵ What follows below is the story of Cleomachus reported by Plutarch (*Amat.* 760e-761b).

Cleomachus came to help the Chalcidians when the Lelantine War against the Eretrians was at its height. The Chalcidian infantry was thought to have considerable strength, but they found it difficult to resist the enemy cavalry. Accordingly, his allies requested Cleomachus, a man of splendid courage, to be the first to charge his horse. His beloved was there and Cleomachus asked him if he was going to witness the battle. The youth said that he was, embraced Cleomachus tenderly, and put on his helmet for him. Filled with ardour, Cleomachus assembled the bravest of the Thesalians about himself, made a fine charge, and fell upon the enemy with such vigour that their cavalry was thrown into confusion and was thoroughly routed. When subsequently their hoplites also fled, the Chalcidians had a decisive victory. It was, however, Cleomachus’ bad fortune to be killed in the battle. The Chalcidians point out his tomb in the market-place with the great pillar standing on to this day. Formerly they had frowned in pederasty, but now they accepted it and honoured it more than others did. Now Aristotle says that the circumstances of Cleomachus’ death in victorious battle with the Eretrians were different and that the lover embraced by his friend was one of the Chalcidians from Thrace sent as an ally to the Chalcidians of Euboea. This, he says, is the reason for the Chalcidian popular song:

‘Ye lads of grace and sprung from worthy stock,
Grudge not to have men converse with your beauty:
In cities of Chalcis, Love, looser of limbs,
Thrives side by side with courage.’⁵⁶

When Plutarch visited Chalcis, the Chalcidians still pointed out his tomb in the marketplace with

49. *IG IX* 1² 881.

50. *IAssos* 1.

51. *IG IV* 800 and 801. For pictures see Jeffery 1990², pl. 70, no. 10 (Aristandros) and pl. 32 nos. 2, 3 for Troizen.

52. *IThrAeg* E031 for Anaxidikos, the son of Nymphis, E032 for Artemisie daughter of Nymphodoros (capital of brown poros), and E035 for Pythagoras (?), son of Semagoras (?).

53. For the epigram, see *CEG* 146. For the Homeric hexameter, see McGowan 1995, 617, 618 with n. 18.

54. See previous note.

55. Backhuizen 1976, 43.

56. Minar et al., trans. 1969.

the great column standing on it.⁵⁷ According to Aristotle,⁵⁸ the cavalryman was one of the Chalcidians from Thrace who had been sent as an ally to the mother city.⁵⁹ Thus, Aristotle connected the victory of Chalcis with the Chalcidians of Thrace. The participation of the colonists in this (Lelantine?) war⁶⁰ saved their mother city. This victory created a further link between Chalcis and the *Chalkidikon genos* of Thrace. It was commemorated at Chalcis by the burial of the dead cavalry commander within the city, in the agora, thus turning him into a hero, and also with the erection of the big column on top of it.⁶¹ Aristotle was connected to both the Chalcidians of Thrace and Chalcis. His father was from Stagira, a city-member of the Chalcidian League during the 4th century BC,⁶² and his mother was a descendant of one of the earliest colonists from Chalcis in Euboea.⁶³

By adopting the eagle grasping a snake of the metropolis, Olynthus followed the tradition of colonies and mother cities having common numismatic iconography. Colonies sometimes adopted types of their metropolis: Abdera and Teos shared the griffin and the Corinthian colonies in western Greece, and Corinth shared Pegasus and Athena's head.⁶⁴ This tradition was also followed, as I have already stressed, by neighbouring Dikaia,⁶⁵ which issued its silver coinage with the numismatic types of its mother city, Eretria.⁶⁶ In other cases, legendary founders were depicted, as is the case with Aineia and Skione with Aeneas and Protesilaos.⁶⁷ However, Olynthus' choice of the *meḡas kion* of Chalcis, a monument of the metropolis referring to a glorious episode of its history and the colony's contribution provided by the dead hero, is somewhat original. In this case we should note not only the adoption of the type of the metropolis (eagle grasping a snake), but more significantly the depiction of a monument of the agora of the metropolis, the *meḡas kion*, which was related to the colony and thus strengthened and stressed the links between mother city and colony.

After the foundation of the Chalcidian League, c. 432 BC, the most significant Greek power in Thrace until the reign of Philip II,⁶⁸ the Chalcidians chose types related to Apollo for their federal coinage: his head for the obverse, and kithara, tripod or laurel branch for the reverse.⁶⁹ Apollo and types related to him were found in his two sanctuaries, at Delos and Delphi,⁷⁰ and in a number of cities. The adoption of types related to this god needs no explanation as far as Delos and Delphi were concerned. The other places where similar types were adopted were Sybaris, Kroton and Kaulonia towards the west,⁷¹ Zakynthos, off the coast of Elis, and Kolophon in Ionia.⁷²

Sybaris and Kroton were Achaean colonies whereas Kaulonia was a colony of Kroton.⁷³ Accord-

57. For other evidence about Plutarch's visit to Chalcis: Bakhuizen 1976, 43. See also Bakhuizen 1985, 84-86.

58. It might be that this was the local historian Aristoteles of Chalcis: Winckelmann 1836, 187. *contra* Hubert 1938, 367; *FGHist* (423) 244, 251

59. The information provided by Aristotle derives either from his *Erotikos* or the *Politeia* of the Chalcidians. For *Erotikos* see Laurenti 1987, band 2, 560-562. For the *Politeia* of the Chalcidians, see Heitz 1869, 295.

60. Bakhuizen 1976, 44. For this episode in the context of the Lelantine War, see Parker 1997, 145-147.

61. For the significance of the burial in the agora, see Thuc. 5.11.1 and Gomme 1945-1951, 654-646.

62. For Stageira as a member of the Chalcidian League, see Zahnrt 1971; Psoma 2001; Flensted-Jensen 2004.

63. D. H. *Amm.* 5.

64. Kraay 1976, 82-85, 86-87 (Corinth and colonies), 35 (Teos and Abdera).

65. For the location of Dikaia, see Psoma 2011a, 479-489. For the origin of the Chalcidians of Thrace, see Knoepfler 2007, 87-119, with all previous bibliography.

66. For the history of Dikaia, see Zahnrt 1971; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 826-827, no. 568.

67. For these coins, see Gaebler 1935, 20-21, pl. V 33-36 (Aineia), 57-59, pl. 16-21 and 24-27 (Dikaia). For Skione, see Jenkins 1990, 58 and pls. 92-93. For Potidaea, see Alexander 1953, 210-217.

68. For the relations between Macedonia and the Chalcidian League, see Psoma 2011b, 113-135.

69. For the types of the coinage of the Chalcidians, see Psoma 2001a, 17.

70. For the coinage of Delos, see Hackens 1973, 209-226. For Delphi, see Svoronos 1896, 5-54.

71. For these coinages, see Rutter 2012, 128-141.

72. For the coinage of Kolophon, see Milne 1941.

73. For Sybaris see Antiochos of Syracuse *FGHist* 555 F 12, who calls it an Achaean colony, and Arist. *Pol.* 1303a29, who describes it as a colony of Troizenians and Achaeans. Ps. Skymnos 360 and Euseb. *Chron.* 91b report foundation dates in

ing to Thucydides (2.66), Zakynthos was also a colony of the Achaeans.⁷⁴ The founder of this city was Zakynthos, son of Dardanos, from Psophis in Arcadia (Paus. 8.24.3).⁷⁵ There is information about a temple of Apollo,⁷⁶ and another of Aphrodite with statues of Aphrodite and her son Aeneias.⁷⁷ The silver coinage of this city, the drachms and smaller fractions, was issued with the type of a tripod and later Apollo.⁷⁸ Apollo's sister, Artemis, was worshipped in Zakynthos with the obscure *epiklesis* Opitais.⁷⁹ The *chora* of the Ionian city of Kolophon contained Klaros and the well-known Apollo's sanctuary.⁸⁰ The god's head and his kithara were adopted for the two-sided silver coinage of the city during the 460s. The Chalcidians followed them and adopted types related to Apollo from the late 430s/early 420s. One recalls that Athens was among the first to introduce the head of Athena on the obverse and a symbol referring directly to the goddess on the reverse on the two-sided silver coinage.

Thus, in all previously mentioned cases cities that were colonial foundations adopted types related to Apollo because Apollo Archegetes was the god of the colonists. The adoption of these types by the Chalcidians reveals once more their identity as colonists and their strong links with their mother city.⁸¹ Calendar, cults, dialect, the acrophonic system and the alphabet arrived in the area with the colonists and were shared by colony and mother city. However, the request to Rhegion for a *nomothetes*, the introduction of coin types that reproduced monuments of the metropolis and referred to the glorious common past of both, and finally the adoption of coin types relating directly to the god of the colonists reveal a great deal about the pride the Chalcidians of Thrace had in their Euboean metropolis, Chalcis.

721/720 BC and 709/708 BC, respectively. For Kroton see Hdt. 8.47 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.59.3 for the foundation date in 709/8 BC. For Kaulonia see Strab. 6.1.10; Paus. 6.3.12; Ps-Skymnos 318-319; St.B. 147.9-147.10. For these cities, see Fischer Hansen et al. 2004, nos. 55 (Kaulonia), 56 (Kroton), 70 (Sybaris).

74. For Zakynthos, see Gehrke and Wirbelauer 2004, 374-375, no. 141.

75. Psophis was the name of the acropolis of Zakynthos: Paus. 8.24.3, repeated by Steph. Byz. 705.4.

76. Plut. *Dio* 23.3 (r357).

77. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.50.3.

78. Kraay 1976, 96.

79. *IG IX 1²* 1731. cf. *SEG XIV* 481: the dedication of a citizen of Zakynthos in Artemis Opitais found in the walls of Neapolis in the Thasian Peraia. For this *epiklesis*, see Schmidt *RE XVIII*.1.689. For a relation of Opitais and Oupis, see Schmidt *RE XVIII*.1.689 based on Wide 1893, 127 n. 9. For Opis *vel* Oupis, see Ambühl 2007.

80. Plut. *Dio* 23.3 (r357).

81. For Apollo and the colonists, see Malkin 1987, *passim*.

Abbreviations

- CEG = Hansen, P. A., ed. (1983) *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca: Saeculorum VIII-V A. Chr. N.*, Texte und Kommentare, vol. 1. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- CH = *Coin Hoards I-X* (1975-2011)
- FGrHist = Jacoby, F., ed. (1923-) *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*. Amsterdam: Brill Academic Publishers.
- FHG = *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*
- IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*
- IThrAeg = Loukopoulou, L. D., M. G. Parissaki, S. Psoma and A. Zournatzi (2005) *Σύνταγμα Επιγραφών της Θράκης του Αιγαίου*, Athens: Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity.
- Olynthus IX = Robinson, D. M. and A. Clement (1938) *Excavations at Olynthus*. Vol. IX. *The Chalcidic Mint and the Excavation Coins Found in 1928-1934*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins' Press.
- RE = *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Neue Bearbeitung*, begonnen von G. Wissowa (1894-1978)
- SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
- SNG = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*

Bibliography

- Alexander, J. A. (1953) 'The Coinage of Potidaea'. In *Studies presented to David Moore Robinson on His Seventieth Birthday*, edited by G. E. Mylonas and D. Raymond, 210-217. Saint Louis: Washington University Press.
- Ambühl, A. (2007) 'Ἦπις, Οὐπίς'. In *Brill's Encyclopedia of the Ancient World*, edited by H. Cancik and H. Schneider. <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/epis-upis-e832190>. Accessed December 4, 2016.
- Bakhuizen, S. C. (1976) 'Ο Μέγας Κίων. The Monument for Kleomachos at Chalcis-in-Euboea'. In Vol. 6 of *Scripta Archaeologica Groningana: Festoen. Opgerdragen aan A.N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta bij haar zeventiger verjaardag*, edited by J. S. Boersma, 43-48. Groningen: Bussum.
- Bakhuizen, S. C. (1985) *Studies in the topography of Chalcis on Euboea: a discussion of the sources*. Leiden: Brill.
- Diehl, E. (1949-1952) *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Fischer Hansen, T., T. H. Nielsen and C. Ampolo (2004) 'Italia and Kampania'. In *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, edited by M. H. Hansen and T. H. Nielsen, 249-320. Copenhagen: OUP.
- Flensted-Jensen, P. (2004) 'Thrace from Axios to Strymon'. In *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, edited by H. Hansen and T. H. Nielsen, 810-853. Copenhagen: OUP.
- Gaebler, H. (1935) Vol. III(2) of *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Game, J. (2009) *Actes de vente dans le monde grec: témoignages épigraphiques des ventes immobilières*. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen.
- Gehrke, H.-J. and E. Wirbelauer (2004) 'Akarnania and Adjacent Areas'. In *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, edited by M. H. Hansen and Th. H. Nielsen, 351-374. Copenhagen: OUP.
- Gomme, A. W. (1945-1951) *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Graham, A. J. (1969) 'X=10'. *Phoenix* 23, 347-358.
- Guarducci, M. (1967-1978) Vol. III of *Epigrafia greca*. Bologna: Casa editrice Prof. Riccardo Patron.
- Hackens, T. (1973) 'Le monnayage de Délos a l'époque archaïque'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplement* 1, 209-226.
- Hatzopoulos, M. B. (1988) *Actes de vente de la Chalcidique centrale*. Athens: De Boccard.
- Hatzopoulos, M. B. (1996) *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings. A Historical and Epigraphic Study*. Athens: De Boccard.
- Heitz, A. (1869) *Fragmenta Aristotelis*. Paris: A. F. Didot.
- Hercher, R. (1873) *Epistolographi Graeci*. Paris: A. F. Didot.

- Hubert, C. (1938) *Plutarchi moralia*, Vol. IV. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Jeffery, L. H. (1990²) *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece: A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries B.C.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Jenkins, K. G. (1990) *Ancient Greek Coins*. London: Seaby.
- Jordan-Ruwe, M. (1995) 'Das Säulenmonument. Zur Geschichte der erhöhten Aufstellung antiker Porträtstatuen'. Vol. 19 of *Asia Minor Studies: Forschungsstelle Asia Minor im Seminar für Alte Geschichte der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster*. Bonn: R. Habelt.
- Knoepfler, D. (1989) 'Le calendrier des Chalcidiens de Thrace: essai de mise au point sur la liste et l'ordre des mois eubéens'. *Journal des Savants* 1(1) 23-59.
- Knoepfler, D. (1990) 'The Calendar of Olynthus and the Origin of the Chalcidians of Thrace'. In *Greek Colonists and Native Populations: Proceedings of the First Australian Congress for Classical Archaeology held in Honour of Prof A. D. Trendell*, edited by P. Descoeudres, 99-115. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Knoepfler, D. (2007) 'Was there an Anthroponymy of Euboian Origin in the Chalkido-Eretrian Colonies of the West and Thrace?'. In Vol. 148 of the *Proceedings of the British Academy: Old and New Worlds in Greek Onomastics*, edited by E. Matthews, 87-119. London: British Academy.
- Kraay, C. M. (1976) *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*. London: Methuen.
- Laurenti, R. (1987) 'Aristotele: I frammenti dei dialoghi'. Vol. VIII-IX(1-2) of *Filosofi antichi*. Naples: Loffredo.
- Malkin, I. (1987) *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*. New York: Brill.
- McGowan, E. P. (1995) 'Tomb Marker and Turning Post. Funerary Columns in the Archaic Period'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 99, 615-632.
- Milne, J. G. (1941) 'Kolophon and its Coinage: a Study'. Vol. 96 of *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*. New York: American Numismatic Society.
- Minar, E. L., F. H. Sandbach, and W. C. Helmbold, trans. (1969) *Plutarch, Moralia IX*. Loeb Classical Library 425. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Papagelos, I. A. (2007) 'Η Σάρπη της Σιθωνίας'. In Vol. VII of *Ancient Macedonia: Macedonia from the Iron Age to the Death of Philip II. Papers read at the Seventh International Symposium held in Thessaloniki, October 14-18, 2002*, no editor, 715-726. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies.
- Parker, V. (1997) 'Untersuchungen zum Lelantischen Krieg und verwandten Problemen der frühgriechischen Geschichte'. Vol. 109 of *Historia Einzelschriften*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Price, M. J. and N. Waggoner (1975) *Archaic Greek Coinage: the Asyut Hoard*. London: Vecchii.
- Psoma, S. (2000) 'Σταθμητικοί κανόνες στην Χαλκιδική κατά τον 5^ο και 4^ο αι. π.Χ.'. *Οβολός* 4, 25-36.
- Psoma, S. (2001a). *Olynthe et les Chalcidiens de Thrace: Études de Numismatique et d'Histoire*. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Psoma, S. (2001b) 'ΣΤΑΤΕΡ ΜΑΧΟΝ'. *Numismatic Chronicle* 20, 13-44.
- Psoma, S. (2011a) 'Dikaia, colonie d'Éretrie en Chalcidique: entre Perdikkas III de Macédoine et la Ligue Chalcidienne'. In *Philologos Dionysios, Mélanges offerts au professeur Denis Knoepfler: Recueil de travaux publiés par la faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de l'Université de Neuchâtel*, edited by N. Badoud, 479-89. Geneva: Librairie Droz.
- Psoma, S. (2011b) 'The Kingdom of Macedonia and the Chalcidic League'. In *Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedonia, Studies in the Archaeology and History of Ancient Macedon, 650 B.C.-300 A.D.*, edited by R. Lane Fox, 113-135. Leiden: Brill.
- Psoma, S. (2016) 'Choosing and Changing Monetary Standards in the Greek World during the Archaic and the Classical periods'. In *The Ancient Greek Economy. Markets, Households and City-states*, edited by E. M. Harris, D. M. Lewis and M. Woolmer, 90-115. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Psoma, S. (Forthcoming) 'From the Odrysian Sparadokos to Olynthos: Remarks on Iconography'. In *ΤΥΠΟΙ. Les monnaies grecques et leurs images. Nobles émetteurs, humbles destinataires, Actes du colloque international 26-28 septembre 2012*, edited by P. P. Iossif, F. de Callataÿ and R. Veymiers. Paris.
- Raymond, D. (1953) 'Northern Horses in Coins at Olynthus'. In Vol. II of *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson on his Seventieth Birthday*, edited by G. E. Mylonas and D. Raymond, 197-200. St. Louis: Washington University.
- Robinson, D. M. (1938) 'Inscriptions from Macedonia 1938'. *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 69, 43-47.

- Rutter, N. K. (2012) 'The Coinage of Italy'. In *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*, edited by W. E. Metcalf, 128-141. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schmidt, J. (1939) 'Opitais'. In Vol. XVIII of *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Neue Bearbeitung*, edited by G. Wissowa, col. 689. Stuttgart. J. B. Metzler.
- Snell, B. (1964⁴) *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Svoronos, J. N. (1896) 'Νομισματική τῶν Δελφῶν'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 20, 5-54.
- Tiverios, M. (2008) 'Greek Colonization in the Northern Aegean'. In Vol. II of *An Account of Greek Colonies and the other Settlements overseas*, edited by G. M. Tsetschladze, 1-154. Leiden-Boston: Brill.
- Trümpy, C. (1997) *Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen und Monatsfolgen*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter.
- Voutyras, E. and K. Sismanidis (2007) 'Δικαιοπολιτῶν συναλλαγαι. Μια νέα επιγραφή από την Δίκαια, αποικία της Ερέτριας'. In Vol. VII of *Ancient Macedonia: Macedonia from the Iron Age to the Death of Philip II. Papers read at the Seventh International Symposium held in Thessaloniki, October 14-18, 2002*, no editor, 253-274. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies.
- Wide, S. (1893) *Lakonische Kulte*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Winckelmann, A. G. (1836) 'Continens Eroticum et Eroticas narrationes Plutarchi'. Vol. I of *Opera moralia selecta ad codices emendavit Augustus Guilelmus Winckelmann*. Zürich: Fr. Schulthess.
- Zahrnt, M. (1971) 'Olynth und die Chalkidier. Untersuchungen zur Staatenbildung auf der Chalkidischen Halbinsel im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr'. Vol. 14 of *Vestigia*. Munich: C. H. Beck.

Figures



Figure 1 (a and b):
Hekte of the Chalcideans
of Thrace (Euboic standard),
SNG ANS 467: 2.63 G, 6 h.



Figure 2 (a and b):
Tetrobol of Olynthos
(Milesian standard, 1st series),
SNG ANS 466: 2.13 g, 3 h.



Figure 3 (a and b):
Tetrobol of Olynthos
(Milesian standard,
2nd series), SNG ANS
464: 2.425 g, 4 h.



Figure 4:
Stater of Chalkis
(Attic standard): Gorny &
Mosch Giessener
Münzhandlung Auction 215,
13 October 2013, 830: 17.20 g.



Figure 5:
Drachm of Eretria (Attic
standard), same types as
Dikaia: Dorotheum 22
May 2013 Auction, 17.



Figure 6:
Stater of Aineia (Attic standard),
SNG ANS 67: 15.90 g (chisel cut).



Figure 7:
Skione. Silver stater of Eu-
boean-Attic standard 16.33
g, ex Auktion Hess-Divo,
321, 25/ 10/ 2012, lot 89.



Figure 8:
Stater of Potidaea
(Euboean-Attic),
SNG ANS 687: 17. 26 G.

Ancient Greek coin hoards: Insights into the history of Euboea

Mairi GKIKAKI

Περίληψη

Είναι γνωστή η σημασία των νομισματικών θησαυρών στην ερμηνεία αρχαιολογικών δεδομένων. Στοιχεία όπως η αξία, το σημείο και η χρονολογία απόκρυψης ακόμα και η κατάσταση διατήρησης συμβάλλουν σημαντικά στην καλύτερη κατανόηση της ιστορίας των χώρων και της πορείας των ανθρώπων.

Στην περίπτωση της Εύβοιας γίνεται αναφορά σε πέντε θησαυρούς, οι οποίοι ανήκουν στους ύστερους Κλασσικούς και Ελληνιστικούς Χρόνους. Ο καθένας είναι ξεχωριστός αφού άλλοτε η ερμηνεία τους έρχεται να επιβεβαιώσει τα γνωστά από τις πηγές γεγονότα μεγάλης κλίμακας ενώ άλλοτε ανακύπτουν ερωτηματικά και οι θησαυροί αναδεικνύονται ως πρωτογενείς ιστορικές πηγές.

Πρωϊμότερος χρονολογικά είναι ο θησαυρός στον ανδρώνα της οικίας II της Ερέτριας. Σε αντίθεση με τον πλούτο της οικίας ο θησαυρός είναι ταπεινός: μισή αργυρή δραχμή Χαλκίδας (338-308 π.Χ) και εικοσιένα χαλκά του Κοινού των Ευβοέων (298/7-286/5 BC). Τα νομίσματα τα οποία αντιπροσωπεύουν κοπές αποδεκτές για συναλλαγές εντός τη πόλης της Ερέτριας φέρουν επιπλέον σημάδια φθοράς λόγω μακράς κυκλοφορίας.

Εντυπωσιακός είναι αντίθετα ο θησαυρός που ήρθε στο φως στα λείψανα της Ελληνιστικής οικία που ανασκάφηκε στο οικόπεδο Ποδαρά στην Ερέτρια. Πρόκειται για έναν διπλό θησαυρό αργυρών νομισμάτων με διεθνή σύνθεση. Διπλός γιατί αποτελείται από δύο υποσύνολα: το ένα σε φθαρτό πούγκι και το άλλο σε μικρό αγγείο. Διεθνής η σύνθεση γιατί εκτός του Κοινού των Ευβοέων έχουμε αθηναϊκές κοπές και αρκετές των πρώτων διαδόχων. Με βάση την υστερότερη χρονολογικά κοπή ο θησαυρός απεκρύβει λίγο πριν τα μέσα του 3ου αι. π.Χ. Η απόκρυψη θα μπορούσε να σχετίζεται με τον Χρεμωνίδειο Πόλεμο ή ίσως με τον σφετεριστή Αλέξανδρο, γιου του Κρατερού, του οποίου το μέρος είχε την ατυχία να πάρει η Ερέτρια.

Αν και οι δύο θησαυροί είναι περίπου σύγχρονοι και βρέθηκαν σε οικίες της εύπορης τάξης εντούτοις δείχνουν την ανασφάλεια του πληθυσμού λόγω συνεχών πολιτικών αναταραχών στα μέσα του 3ου αι. π.Χ.

Σε τάφο στο Βασιλικό Χαλκίδας εντοπίστηκαν 49 χαλκά νομίσματα, όλα κοπές Χαλκίδας. Το σύνολο είναι εξαιρετικά ομοιογενές αφού όλα ανήκουν στην ίδια έκδοση. Ο θησαυρός μαρτυρεί οπωσδήποτε την πίστη ότι ο νεκρός θα μπορούσε να κάνει χρήση του ποσού στην μετά θάνατον ζωή.

Η ίδια ομοιογένεια παρατηρείται και στον θησαυρό στο ιερό της Ίσιδας στην Ερέτρια. Πρόκειται για 352 χαλκά νομίσματα, όλα κοπές Ερέτριας που βρέθηκαν στο σηκό του ναού, βεβαιώνουν ότι τα ιερά λειτουργούσαν στην αρχαιότητα και ως τράπεζες. Είναι γνωστό δηλαδή ότι ποσά «καταθέτονταν» στα ιερά με σκοπό την καλύτερη φύλαξη αλλά και ότι τα ιερά δάνειζαν τις πόλεις. Οι δύο θησαυροί που χρονολογούνται λίγο μετά τη λεηλασία της Ερέτριας από τους Ρωμαίους το 198 π.Χ. φανερώνουν τη γρήγορη ανάκαμψη της τοπικής οικονομίας.

Ο θησαυρός των 1300 νομισμάτων βρέθηκε τυχαία πολύ κοντά στην Ακρόπολη των Ωρεών. Πε-

ρειίχε κοπές των δύο τελευταίων Μακεδόνων Βασιλέων: Φιλίππου Ε' και Περσέα. Το εύρημα ζωντανεύει την μαρτυρία του Πλουτάρχου για τη συντριβή του Ρωμαϊκού στόλου από τις δυνάμεις του Περσέα. Τα χρήματα, που αποτελούν μέρους του στρατιωτικού ταμείου, προορίζονταν για την αγορά προμηθειών για τον μακεδονικό στόλο στην αγορά των Ωρεών. Μαρτυρούν τον πλούτο μιας μεγάλης δύναμης, που εκείνη την εποχή έδινε μάχη για την ύπαρξη της.

Introduction

The importance of coin finds for interpreting archaeological data is well known. In particular, the study of hoards can provide valuable information for the history of the region in which they were found. In the case of Euboea, the excavated coin hoards mirror the upheavals in the history of the island in the last centuries BC.

Coin hoards constitute complex finds and require a threefold analysis.¹ First is the traditional approach. It is the numismatist's duty to define the primary context, i.e. to establish the minting authority as well as the social and political environment from which the coins originated.

The use and reuse of the coins for purposes of transactions are acknowledged as the secondary context. Their acceptance or denial in the markets, the reconstruction of trade routes, the possible forms of payment, whether the coins belonged to a treasury or savings, the question of devaluation or inflation, and even the reuse of coins as jewels or their withdrawal from the market are valuable pieces of information. These are issues that help reconstruct the 'life history' of the coins.

The tertiary context is closely connected to the 'historical moment' of the deposition. The question of how the coins were deposited and the reconstruction of the circumstances that led to the burial of a coin hoard are nevertheless the most neglected, since coin hoards usually reach scholarly publication deprived of any information regarding their original findspots. On the other hand, deposition is something that can be examined using a traditional archaeological perspective. Questions concerning intentional deposition or fortuitous loss and the characteristics of the place at the time of concealment are classification categories that can be treated as the starting point for further research. Furthermore, since coins are considered one of the most reliable archaeological categories, the reconstruction of the 'historical time and place' is a further step forward in the fundamental effort of discovering the 'meaning' and interpreting situations in a given place at a given time.

All three contexts are interrelated and demand the close cooperation of numismatists and archaeologists. The examination of the deposition circumstances is unthinkable without concrete knowledge of the hoards' composition and the coins' minting authorities. Furthermore, the purpose of hoarding is often clearly revealed when the special character of the findspot—harbour, fortress, shrine—is also taken into consideration. On the other hand, incongruous phenomena such as the hoarding of Classical bronze coins along with Late Roman ones or the discovery of Byzantine coins in mediaeval coin hoards in northern Europe present themselves as the most intriguing ones.

The combined study of the above parameters provides the researcher with the possibility of distinguishing some fundamental social categories for the coin hoards and examining them 'in context'.² Thus, it is possible to distinguish hoards as savings. People used to save money along with other valuable objects, often for more than one generation in order to secure or improve their financial status. The discovery of these hoards can sometimes be related to times of crisis: revolts in a city, wars, the threats of military actions and looting, raids, battles and sudden destructions. The unexpected changes that

1. For the theoretical premises of studying coin hoards in 'contexts': Myrberg 2009, 157-158.

2. Evgenidou and Tselekas 2010, 9-11.

occurred in the lives of the people made it impossible for them to return and claim their hidden treasures. Hoards were dedicated to the gods since early times, and capital was accumulated in shrines. An important aspect of ancient money is its function as capital, not unlike today. Therefore, hoards could have constituted in their beginnings a public treasury or a private fortune. They could have belonged to merchants, soldiers and travellers, and were transferred from one city to another for the purchase of goods or for the payment of rents, loans or simply travel expenses. Hoards are not uncommon in funerary contexts. Since the height of the Classical period Charon's obol was given to the dead in order that he or she could pay the necessary price for the journey to the underworld. In parallel with this practice, the deposit of smaller or larger sums of money along with the deceased was not unusual.

Hellenistic coin hoards in Euboea

A large number of coin hoards are known from Euboea. Especially during the last few decades, our knowledge has been enriched by numerous well-recorded coin hoards. The present study will focus on five hoards, which are all dated to the Hellenistic period: (1) the hoard found in the wall of Andron f in House II in Eretria,³ (2) the double hoard excavated in 1981 in Eretria by Petros Kalligas (CH 8.281 and 8.282), (3) the Vassiliko hoard in c.1965, (4) the Iseion Hoard (IGCH 221) excavated by Nikolaos Papadakis in 1914 in Eretria, and (5) the Oreos hoard in 1902 (IGCH 232).

Let us begin with the oldest coin hoard under discussion: the hoard found in the eastern wall of Andron f of House II during excavations conducted by the Swiss School.⁴ This imposing residence with a surface area of 1200 m² was first built in the Late Classical period. In the late 4th century BC the house was subject to changes and was divided into two apartments: the former north and east tracts were separated from the rest of the house and transformed into an individual residence with its own bath and kitchen.⁵ The hoard was originally hidden in the bricks of the eastern wall of the andron and was found resting on the stone socle (Fig. 1).

The hoard contained one half drachma of Chalkis and 21 bronzes of the Euboean Koinon. The half drachma is dated to between 338 and 308 BC, and the bronzes to between 298/7 and 286/5 BC. All the coins were very worn and had therefore circulated for an extended period of time before their concealment.⁶ As is well known, bronze coins were accepted for transactions only within the limits of power of the issuing authority.⁷ These facts demonstrate the narrow spectrum of their owner's activities. According to the available archaeological data, House II of Eretria was still occupied in the 3rd century BC. There are no traces of a violent destruction. It is nevertheless certain that by the early 2nd century BC the house was not inhabited anymore and had been abandoned, since no pottery of the time was discovered.⁸ The unknown owner of the coins probably felt insecure, but we can only speculate as to the reason(s) that he or she was unable to return to claim the money. It is tempting, though, to relate the concealment of the hoard to the outbreak of the Chremonidean War.⁹

The turmoil the inhabitants of Eretria endured in the aftermath of the Chremonidean War can be traced in the double-hoard find that came to light during salvage excavations conducted by P. Kalli-

3. Brunner 1998, 251, 261.

4. Brunner 1998, 251.

5. Reber 1998, 94-110.

6. Brunner 1998, 260-261 n. 65-86.

7. For acceptance and circulation of bronze coinage within the boundaries of a city: Penna 2006, 55-59, especially 59; Psoma 2009, 9, with bibliographic references.

8. Reber 1998, 111-112.

9. Picard 1979, 267-278.

gas in Zoi Podara's plot in 1981.¹⁰ The excavator's report tells us of two lots that were found on top of each other. The above one contained 101 silver pieces which were probably kept in a small pouch of perishable material (hoard 1a). Beneath it a second hoard was found (hoard 1b). This hoard contained 117 silver pieces and was in a considerably better state of preservation, since it was kept in a small pot that prevented oxidation. Careful analysis of the archaeological data demonstrated that the hoards were hidden very near the wall of what used to be a well-built private house and beneath the floor that was, in all probability, made of wood. The owner, so as not to attract attention, had deliberately used a humble pot that had already been damaged in antiquity.¹¹ The house stood in the west part of the city not far from House II, which we have just discussed.

Both hoards in Podara's plot are of Attic weight standard: the majority of the coins are drachmas of the Euboean Koinon.¹² Next to these were Athenian tetradrachms of the Pi style, posthumous drachmas of Alexander the Great and the early Diadochs.¹³ A tetradrachm of Antiochus I Soter in the pot (Fig. 2) and a tetradrachm of Antiochus II Theos (Fig. 3) in the hoard placed on top represent the latest chronological issues. Antiochus I's tetradrachm belongs to the Apollo on omphalos type and indicates that the closure of the hoard was possibly 280 BC.¹⁴ The tetradrachm of the upper hoard is of the seated Heracles type; it was minted in Cyme and is of later date, possibly an issue of Antiochus II's sole reign (261-246 BC).¹⁵

The close proximity of the two hoards suggests that they were hidden almost simultaneously, with slight precedence given to the underlying hoard. The hoards of Podara's plot can hardly be considered as saving hoards since large denominations are almost absent. Their burial could suggest a feeling of insecurity, probably due to the upheavals of the Chremonidean War and the rivalry between the great powers of the time for domination in southern Greece. The Macedonians eventually regained Eretria, and that could have caused all their political opponents to flee.¹⁶ In the late 350s BC, Eretria joined Alexander the usurper king and son of Krateros. Antigonos Gonatas was relentless in asserting his authority around 245 BC.¹⁷ The important Eretria 1937 hoard (IGCH 175), which contained some 476 coins, is independently dated around 245 BC on account of the Ptolemaic issues it contained. Thus, the find has been associated with the old king's violent reaction and Eretria's fall.¹⁸

The excavator proposed c.270-260 BC as the time of deposition of the double Eretria hoard.¹⁹ However, the assignment of the seated Heracles type to the sole reign of Antiochus II provides us with 261 BC as a *terminus post quem*. It has been considered that the western part of the city suffered serious losses after Antigonos Gonatas' recapture, even before the final destruction by the Romans in 198 BC.²⁰ These unfortunate circumstances in the middle of the century could therefore account for the deposition of the double hoard in Eretria.

The fact that coin hoards reflect the financial status of the owners is best exemplified if one com-

10. Kalligas 1983, 113-114. The excavation was carried out in Zoi Podara's plot at the corner of Aristogeitonos and Filoxenou Street.

11. Drawing and photos of the pot: Kalligas 1983, 114, fig. 2, pl. 44a-b.

12. The 'upper' hoard contained 101 coins, 78 of which were of the Euboean Koinon. The 'lower' hoard contained 117 coins, 93 of which were of the Euboean Koinon.

13. Due to the corrosion, the exact classification of the Pi-style tetradrachms is almost impossible, but some of them belong to Pi II and some to Pi III-V. On the Pi style and dating between 353-c.290 BC: Kroll 2011a; 2011b, 4-6.

14. Oikonomides-Karamessini 1983, 145-146, no. 117. cf. Houghton and Lorber 2002, 379, fig. (3)d. The double hoard is stored in Eretria's archaeological museum and was re-examined by the author in December 2013.

15. Oikonomides-Karamessini 1983, 141, no. 101. cf. Houghton and Lorber 2002, 503.

16. Picard 1979, 265-271; Reber 1998, 151. On the military operations in general: Will 1979, 221-228.

17. Picard 1979, 272-274.

18. Picard 1979, 153-163.

19. Kalligas 1983, 121.

20. Kalligas 1983, 124; Reber 1998, 151-153.

pares these two hoards with the previously mentioned hoard from House II. The double hoard in Podara's plot indicates a rich owner, perhaps a merchant with contacts on the Asia Minor coast, since a significant part of the coins were minted there. The total amount concealed was 263 drachmas in silver, which was a considerable amount of money. Some indication as to the value of this sum of money can be provided through two approximately contemporary parallels: 30 drachmas were granted to each ambassador as travel allowance according to an Athenian decree, dated probably to the second quarter of the 3rd century BC.²¹ In another case, ten drachmas was the wage of the inscriber who had to inscribe an honorary decree for a religious official in the mid-3rd century BC.²² On the other hand, the 'purse' found in House II reflects the issues that at the time circulated in the agora of the city. The hoard was concealed while the house was still in use; but the secret was obviously forgotten, and the coins were finally buried under the debris.

The case of coin hoards deposited in graves is interesting. In Vassiliko, a hoard of 49 bronzes of Chalkis was found in a grave.²³ The coins are all attributed to the 53rd series of Chalkis, with a facing Hera head on the obverse and an eagle fighting a snake on the reverse. It has been suggested that the type of metal used for the coins deposited in a grave reflects the social status of its owner.²⁴ The Vassiliko hoard quite probably reflects the coinage used for the everyday transactions in the city.

The concealment of the Vassiliko hoard can be dated to the early 2nd century. In Greek Macedonia, some 40 funerary treasures have been recorded by Ioannis Touratsoglou. In Macedonia the practice can be dated as early as the late 5th century or the first half of the 4th century BC.²⁵ The largest of these hoards contain some 100 pieces, while the average is around 30.²⁶ The practice exceeds by far the purpose of Charon's obol. These hoards bear testimony to the belief that the dead could make use of the money to satisfy their needs in the afterlife just as when they were alive. The hoards also bear testimony to the high degree of monetization in the transactions within a city.

The presence of the hoard of 352 bronzes inside the Isis temple in Eretria (IGCH 221) instructs us on the operation of sanctuaries as banks during antiquity. The coins were discovered in a pot hidden in the earth in the south-west corner of the cella, behind the pedestal that held the cult statues.²⁷

The majority of the coins inventoried are Eretrian issues from the period 194-191 BC, which were minted in order to support the Seleucid presence on the island. Indeed, some of these Eretrian examples are so fresh and well preserved that they could not have circulated for long. Perhaps they were safely put away by the personnel of the sanctuary as a reaction to Antiochus' abandonment of his headquarters in Chalkis.²⁸

Indicative of the function of the hoard is the almost absolute absence of foreign coinage and the abundance of local bronze coinage. If the city and the sanctuary were pillaged by the Romans in 198 BC, the votive bears witness to the quick recovery of the local economy (which is also otherwise attested).²⁹

The deposition of sums of money in sanctuaries is a very old tradition. The most famous case is the pot hoard of 19 electron coins in the Artemision of Ephesos, discovered very near the central base.³⁰ In the temple of Hera in Perachora four coins of Argos came to light under the base of the cult statue of

21. *IG II² 525 + 675 cd + SEG XXXIV 72. 4-7*: Loomis 2001, 217, cat. no. 27.

22. *IG II² 1247.27-31*: Loomis 2001, 156, cat. no. 221.

23. Picard 1979, 89, 315.

24. Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2006, 97.

25. Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2006, 95: hoards in Amphipolis and Gazoros.

26. Touratsoglou 1993, 48-55.

27. Papadakis 1915, 120.

28. The historical setting: Picard 1979, 287-290.

29. For traces of recovery in the city of Eretria in general: *École suisse d'archéologie en Grèce* 2010, 80.

30. Le Rider 2001, 59.

Hera Akraia. They formed a foundation deposit.³¹ Money was offered to the sanctuaries for safekeeping; security was the paramount reason. Sanctuaries could also provide loans either to individuals or to cities. It has been pointed out that not all sanctuaries could provide loans because the majority of the dedications were of precious objects and not money. It is not clear whether the available capital was derived from the foundation capital or from the sacred treasury.³² Cases of borrowers who had difficulties in paying off the loans are also known.³³

The Oreos hoard was found by chance, by workers digging a well in the early 20th century in a field east of modern-day Kastro, which can possibly be identified with the acropolis of ancient Oreos.³⁴ This important hoard of 1300 silver coins fell victim to the greed of the people who were lucky enough to discover it.³⁵ Therefore, nothing is known on the possible ancient remains *in situ* or its exact context. Nevertheless, some conclusions can be derived, if all three categories—issuing authority, use and historical moment—are taken into consideration.

It should be noted that the number of coins contained is especially elevated, and thus the estimated sum could hardly have been possessed by only one individual.³⁶ The hoard contained issues of the last two Macedonian kings—Philip V and Perseus—and their allies, most prominent among them the Rhodians. The site played a key role in the pursuits of the Macedonian kings. Histiaia, later named Oreos, was an important trading station along the sea and land routes that connected the Kingdom of Macedonia with southern Greece.³⁷ Iōannēs Svoronos, who published the hoard, related the find to the defeat of the Roman fleet.³⁸ As Plutarch narrates, the Romans were unexpectedly attacked in the straits of Oreos and their fleet ravaged by Perseus' forces in late autumn of 171 BC (*Vit. Aem.* 9). It is indeed possible that this small fortune originated from Perseus' military treasury and was destined for purchasing commodities and provisions for Perseus and his allies in the market of Histiaia/Oreos.³⁹ The sum is relatively small if compared with the information provided by ancient authors concerning the costs of war in Hellenistic times. So, for example, in the spring of 218 BC the salaries of Philip's 6000 soldiers and 1200 mercenaries amounted to 17 talents per month (Polyb. V 1, 11-12).

Conclusions

To sum up, the Hellenistic hoards discussed above offer valuable historical information. The hoards found in Eretrian houses can be associated with the upheavals of the 3rd century BC and the Chremoneidean War in particular. This is the case of the hoard of Andron f in House II and also of the double hoard excavated in Podara's plot. Although there are pronounced differences between them—bronze, local issues for the former, silver issues of the Attic weight standard and of various mints for the latter—both finds attest to the feeling of insecurity and to the unfortunate fate of the persons associated with

31. Payne 1940, 108-109.

32. Chankowski 2005, 69-75.

33. Migeotte 1988, 202-203.

34. Hansen and Nielsen 2004, no. 372, *s.v.* Histiaia/Oreos, 656-658, especially 657-658.

35. IGCH 232; Svoronos 1902, 318-328. 646 coins were inventoried by I. Svoronos.

36. For comparison material: Davesne and Le Rider 1980, 343-344.

37. Kalcyk 1998, *s.v.* Histiaia, 632-633; Picard 1979, 256-258. For the names Histiaia/Oreos: Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 656, no. 372.

38. Interpretation also accepted by Franke 1957, 39.

39. For the economics of the Hellenistic armies: Chanotis 2005, 115-140, especially 115-116 and 137-140; Couvenhes 2006, 397-435, especially 429-435; and as far as the general setting of war expenditure is concerned: de Callatay 2000, 337-355. Robert 1951, 189-190 agrees on the dating but proposes an altogether different interpretation: the find constituted the capital of a travelling merchant with connections to King Perseus and the Rhodians, an opinion also shared by Picard 1979, 291, 313.

them. Although in both cases findspots were houses of people from the middle- and upper-classes, the two hoards are worlds apart. Perhaps this has to do with their different purposes and 'use contexts'. The hoards from the early 2nd century BC—the funeral one near Chalkis and the Eretrian one deposited in the Iseion—convey the impression of a certain prosperity and stability. In both cases money was deposited safely and no deviation from original purpose is noticeable. On the other hand the military treasury found near the acropolis of Oreoi is illustrative of a great power of the time. The sum was meant to cover war expenditures after successful naval operations. It stands for the wealth of one of the greater powers of the time, which was struggling to exist.

Abbreviations

- CH = Coin hoard
 IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*
 IGCH = Thompson, M., O. Mørkholm, and C. M. Kraay (1973) *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*. New York: American Numismatic Society.
 SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*

Bibliography

- Brunner, M. (1998) 'Die Münzen.' In Vol. X of *Eretria [Ausgrabungen und Forschungen. Die klassischen und hellenistischen Wohnhäuser im Westquartier]*, edited by K. Reber, M. von Brunner, E. Kassapoglou, I. R. Metzger, P. Mottet and E. Schönenberger, 248-264. Lausanne: Editions Payot.
- Chaniotis, A. (2005) *War in the Hellenistic World. A Social and Cultural History*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Chankowski, V. (2005) 'Techniques financières, influences, performances dans les activités bancaires des sanctuaires grecques.' *Topoi* 12-13(1), 69-93.
- Chryssanthaki-Nagle, K. (2006) 'La monnaie funéraire dans les nécropoles de Macédoine.' In *Rois, cités nécropoles: Institutions, rites et monuments en Macédoine*, edited by A-M. Guimier-Sorbets, M. B. Hatzopoulos and Y. Morizot, 89-103. Athens: Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity; National Hellenic Research Foundation.
- Couvenhes, J-C. (2006) 'La place de l'armée dans l'économie hellénistique: quelques considérations sur la condition matérielle et financière du soldat et son usage dans les marchés.' In Vol. 7 of *Entretiens d'archéologie et d'histoire de Saint-Bertrand-de Comminges [Approches de l'économie hellénistique]*, 397-435. Paris: Diffusion de Boccard.
- Davesne, A. and G. Le Rider (1980) Vol. 2 of *Gülñar: le trésor de Meydancikkale, Cilicie Trachée*. Instabul: Institut Français d'études anatoliennes.
- de Callatay, F. (2000) 'Guerres et monnayages à l'époque hellénistique. Essai de mise en perspective suivi d'une annexe sur le monnayage des Mithridate VI Eupator.' In Vol. 5 of *Entretiens d'archéologie et d'histoire de Saint-Bertrand-de Comminges [La guerre dans les économies antiques]*, 337-364. Paris: Diffusion de Boccard.
- École suisse d'archéologie en Grèce (2010) *Cité sous terre: Des archéologues Suisses explorent la cité grecque d'Érétrie*. Lausanne: École suisse d'archéologie en Grèce.
- Evgenidou, D. and P. Tselekas (2010) 'Found underneath a tree root ...' *Ancient Greek Coin Hoards in the Numismatic Museum*. Athens: Numismatic Museum.
- Franke, P. R. (1957) 'Zur Finanzpolitik des makedonischen Königs Perseus während des Krieges mit Rom (171-169 v. Chr.)'. *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 8, 31-50.
- Hansen, M. Herman and T. H. Nielsen (2004) *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Houghton, A. and C. Lorber (2002) 'A comprehensive Catalogue. Seleucus I through Antiochus III'. Vol. 1 of *Seleucid Coins*. New York: The American Numismatic Society.
- Kalcyk, H. (1998) <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/der-neue-pauly>
- Kalligas, P. G. (1983) 'Ανασκαφή στην Ερέτρια 1981'. *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* 122, 106-136.
- Kroll, J. H. (2011a) 'The Reminting of Athenian Silver Coinage, 353 BC'. *Hesperia* 80, 229-259.
- Kroll, J. H. (2011b) 'Athenian Tetradrachm Coinage of the first half of the fourth century BC'. *Revue Belge de Numismatique* 157, 3-26.
- Le Rider, G. (2001) *La naissance de la monnaie: Pratiques Monétaires de l'Orient ancien*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Loomis, W. T. (2001) *Wages, Welfare Costs and Inflation in Classical Athens*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Migeotte, L. (1988) 'Sur les rapports financiers entre le sanctuaire et la Cité de Locres.' In *Comptes et Inventaires*

- dans la Cité Grecque. Actes du colloque international d'épigraphie tenu à Neuchâtel du 23 au 26 septembre 1986 en l'honneur de Jacques Tréheux*, 191-203. Neuchâtel: Faculté des Lettres.
- Myrberg, N. (2009) 'The social identity of coin hoards: an example of theory and practice in the space between numismatics and archaeology'. In Vol. I of *Coins in Context [New Perspectives for the interpretation of coin finds. Colloquium Frankfurt a. M. October 25-27 (2007)]*, edited by H-M von Kaennel and F. Kemmers, 157-171. Mainz: P. von Zabern.
- Oikonomides-Karamessini, M. (1983) 'Δύο νομισματικοί θησαυροί από την ανασκαφή στην Ερέτρια, 1981'. *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς*, 137-147.
- Papadakis, N. (1915) 'Ανασκαφή Ισείου εν Ερετρία'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 1, 115-190.
- Payne, H. (1940) *Perachora: The sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia. Excavations of the British School of Archaeology at Athens 1930-1933*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Penna, V. (2006) *Chalkous for everyday dealings. The unknown world of Bronze Coinage*. Athens: Benaki Museum.
- Picard, O. (1979) *Chalcis et la Confédération Eubéenne: Etude de Numismatique et d'Histoire*. Athens: Ecole Française d'Athènes.
- Psoma, S. (2009) 'Τασιτάρχιας και τούσιθους ([Arist.], Oec. 1351B): Bronze currencies and cash allowances in Mainland Greece, Thrace and the Kingdom of Macedonia'. *Revue Belge de Numismatique et de sigillographie* 155, 3-38.
- Reber, K. (1998) 'Die klassischen und hellenistischen Wohnhäuser im Westquartier mit Beiträgen von M. Brunner, E. Kassapoglou, I. R. Metzger, P. Mottet, E. Schönenberger'. Vol. X of *Eretria [Ausgrabungen und Forschungen]*. Lausanne: Editions Payot.
- Robert, L. (1951) 'Circulation des Monnaies d'Histièe'. In *Etudes de Numismatique Grecque*, edited by L. Robert, 179-216. Paris: Collège de France.
- Svoronos, I. N. (1902) 'Θησαυρός Νομισμάτων εξ Ωρεού της Ευβοίας'. *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique* 5, 318-328.
- Touratsoglou, I. (1993) *Η Νομισματική Κυκλοφορία στην Αρχαία Μακεδονία (περ. 200 π. Χ. – 268-286 μ. Χ.) Η μαρτυρία των Θησαυρών*. Athens: Bibliotheca of the Hellenic Numismatic Society.
- Will, E. (1979) Vol. 1 of *Histoire Politique du Monde Hellénistique (330-30 av. J.-C.)*. Nancy: Université de Nancy.

Figures



Figure 1:
The andron in House II. On the stone socle of its walls, a small hoard of the first half of the 3rd century BC was excavated (photo editing: Matthias Demel).



Figure 2: AR tetradrachm. Antiochus I Soter (after 280 but no later than 261 BC). Mint: Seleucia on the Tigris. From hoard 1b (in the pot), found in Podara's plot in Eretria in 1981 (photo editing: Matthias Demel).



Figure 3: AR tetradrachm. Antiochus II Theos (sole reign: 261-246 BC). Mint: Cyme. From hoard 1a, found in Podara's plot in Eretria in 1981 (photo editing: Matthias Demel).

Situating the Paximadi towers in the Classical and Roman landscapes

Rebecca M. SEIFRIED

Περίληψη

Προηγούμενες έρευνες στο ακρωτήρι της Παξιμάδας στη νότια Εύβοια έχουν αποκαλύψει περισσότερες από 150 θέσεις που κατοικούνταν από την Προϊστορική μέχρι τη Σύγχρονη Εποχή. Αυτό το άρθρο επικεντρώνεται κυρίως στην Κλασική, Ελληνιστική και Ρωμαϊκή περίοδο, χονδρικά μεταξύ του 480 π.Χ και 500 μ.Χ., όταν οι κάτοικοι χρησιμοποιούσαν περίπου είκοσι πύργους που βρίσκονταν διάσπαρτοι στο ακρωτήριο. Αναγνωρίζοντας το γεγονός ότι τα αρχαιολογικά στοιχεία δεν μπορούν να απομονωθούν, στόχος του παρόντος άρθρου είναι να στηριχτεί πάνω σε προηγούμενες έρευνες προκειμένου να ‘τοποθετήσει’ αυτούς τους πύργους στο ευρύτερο οικιστικό τους πλαίσιο. Χρησιμοποιήθηκαν εργαλεία διάφορων λογισμικών πακέτων Συστημάτων Γεωγραφικών Πληροφοριών (GIS) για να γίνουν μετρήσεις σε πιθανές φυσικές και ορατές συνδέσεις μεταξύ των πύργων της Παξιμάδας και άλλων θέσεων χωρίς πύργους. Σε αυτό το άρθρο παρουσιάζονται τα αποτελέσματα της μεθόδου διάδοσης σε ζεύξη οπτικής επαφής (line of sight [LOS] analysis) και αλγόριθμοι Ανάλυσης Συμφορτερης Διαδρομής (least cost path [LCP] analysis) προκειμένου να αποδειχτούν οι διασυνδέσεις που μπορεί να υπήρχαν από την Κλασική και Ρωμαϊκή περίοδο στο ακρωτήρι της Παξιμάδας. Τα αποτελέσματα πλαισιώνονται από μια συζήτηση για τις ευρύτερες αλληλεπιδράσεις ανάμεσα στις πόλεις της Καρύστου και της Αθήνας.

Introduction¹

The inspiration for this paper came while working with data first gathered by the Southern Euboea Exploration Project (SEEP) on the Paximadi Peninsula, just south-west of modern-day Karystos (Fig. 1). Between 1984 and 1988, SEEP completed an intensive, systematic survey of the Paximadi Peninsula, with team members walking in 10-metre transects to collect diagnostic artefacts. The team revisited all the sites that Donald Keller identified during his dissertation research from 1979 to 1981, and it surveyed the western part of the peninsula for the first time.² By the end of its last season, the team had identified 162 sites in an area of about 22 km².

Judging by the inventoried and catalogued artefacts, almost two-fifths of the recorded sites can be dated to the Classical period and a quarter to the Roman period, with a smaller number for all other

1. This project would not have been possible without the support and guidance of Don Keller and the SEEP team, Bill Parkinson, Wayne Lee and Chelsea Gardner. I would like to extend special thanks to Žarko Tankosić and the other members of the organizing committee for their invitation to participate in the dialogue about Euboea and its archaeological past.

2. For Keller's dissertation research, see Keller 1985. For more information on the SEEP survey, see Keller 1983; Keller and Schneider 2011; Keller and Wallace 1988; Talalay et al. 2005; Wallace et al. 2006.

periods between the Late Neolithic and Early Modern periods. The types of sites are varied, with 25 being classified as towers, nine as sanctuaries, six as blockhouses, 23 as farms and many more as buildings, quarries, military stations or simply artefact scatters (Fig. 2).

The Paximadi tower sites are an intriguing case-study on their own, as they illustrate the multi-functionality of sites located in rural and marginal environments.³ They differ from other Greek towers in several respects, the most notable of which is their smaller dimensions and poorly preserved schist architecture, which rarely reaches higher than three courses.⁴ They also have an unusually high density, despite being situated in a landscape of relatively unproductive agricultural land.⁵ With 18 towers dated to the Classical period, their density is almost 0.82 per km²—much higher than in other parts of Greece.⁶ Also interesting is the fact that they appear to have served many different functions: they were both defensive and agricultural in nature.⁷ Their thick walls, impressive views of the coast, location along ancient roads and the strong intervisibility network (particularly in the Classical period) would have provided important defensive advantages. At the same time, others are located near terraced fields or threshing floors, and they are associated with an agrarian, residential artefact profile, including millstones, storage vessels, drinking vessels and fine ware ceramics.

One of the questions inspired by the multi-functionality of the towers is the degree to which they were connected with other, contemporaneous sites. Could people living nearby use them to see any other sites? Could they easily travel between different sites and, if not, which routes would have been easier than others? More importantly, what significance do these patterns have for our interpretations of Euboean archaeology, and for the role of Euboea in the broader Aegean world?

This paper uses geospatial analysis to address these questions as they relate to the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods on Paximadi. The results indicate that the broader cultural landscape of the Karystia and Attica provides an important context for understanding the spatial patterns presented here. Although the results are preliminary, this paper demonstrates the importance of geospatial analysis for gaining new insights into archaeological survey data.

In order to contextualize the Paximadi towers within their broader cultural landscape, the SEEP pottery, various other finds and survey databases were first synthesized and used to assign standardized chronological dates to each of the sites, based on the number of tentative or securely dated artefacts recovered during survey.⁸ The proposed dates should not be considered definitive, but they are a step in the right direction. According to this system, 64 of the SEEP sites date to the Classical period, 21 to the Hellenistic period and 32 to the Roman period. When looking at the percentages, the site types do not change much throughout this 1000-year period. Approximately one-quarter of the settlements in each period are towers, and about one-tenth are sanctuaries. The most notable changes are a significant decline in the number of identified farms and the disuse of blockhouses in the Roman period (see Fig. 2).

3. See Seifried and Parkinson 2014.

4. Circular towers average 6.7 m in diameter, and quadrangular towers average 5 m per side.

5. Brock writes, for example, 'Agriculture does not seem likely to have been an important element in Karystian prosperity, for although her territory is quite extensive, much of it is mountainous, the cultivable areas are limited and the soil not usually deep' (Brock 1996, 362). According to Kayster and Thompson (1964, maps 103-104), the Karystia is drier than other parts of Greece, averaging between 400 and 600 mm of rainfall and less than 50 days of rainfall each year. Karystos also has a higher aridity index than other cities in modern Greece (Diamantopoulos et al. 1994, table 2).

6. See Cherry et al. 1991; Seifried and Parkinson 2014, n. 56; Young 1956a.

7. Seifried and Parkinson 2014.

8. Tentative dates were assigned to sites with only one securely dated artefact, or to those with multiple artefacts with questionable dates. These artefacts include those catalogued and analysed at the Karystos Archaeological Museum, as well as inventoried finds listed in the survey database that were not collected. Artefacts with overly broad date ranges were not taken into account.

Geospatial analyses

Two types of geospatial analysis—line of sight (LOS) and least cost path (LCP)—were conducted to assess the ease with which residents of the Paximadi Peninsula could communicate with one another visually and travel physically across the landscape.⁹ LOS analysis allows researchers to identify the potential visual interconnections between contemporaneous sites in the past or, in other words, to identify whether people standing in these locations could see one another. One of the variables that can be defined is the standing height of the observers at each site—an important factor since standing atop a multi-storey tower would grant a broader scope of view than would standing on the ground. However, the degradation of the Paximadi structures makes it impossible to estimate their former height, and so the observer height was defined as a standard 2 m for all sites.¹⁰

LCP analysis allows users to quantify the ease of moving through a particular landscape and visualize the easiest routes for pedestrians to use. In turn, these routes can be used to assess the likelihood that people actually did travel between sites on a regular basis. One of the potential issues with LCP is that any number of variables can be input as limiting factors. Soil type, vegetation class, wind direction and visibility can all be factored into the toolset. For this particular case-study, a leaner assessment based solely on slope was used, such that the easier slopes would be preferred.¹¹ This analysis also assumes that a shorter cost path is more desirable than a longer one. Finally, the results are somewhat dependent upon the source location (i.e. the point from which the routes are determined). When a settlement near modern-day Karystos is chosen, the least cost paths for the Classical period settlements follow the eastern coastline and are divided from those in the west; these routes also demonstrate how important boats would have been for travelling between sites (Fig. 3). When calculated from a starting point in the mountains, the paths appear more dendritic and connected. It is important, therefore, to consider these together. It certainly would have been possible for a traveller to walk over the mountains, following one of these latter cost paths, but the tool suggests it would have been easier to walk around the mountains to the north. The Paximadi is not large in area—at most 5 km across—but the mountains that run along its spine would certainly have posed a challenge to travellers on foot.

It is important to note that both of these analyses can be problematic if misapplied.¹² The fact that people can see or travel easily to another settlement does not necessarily mean that there was a real communicative network in place. Illustrating the complexity of real-life interaction, Tankosić writes: ‘proximity and distance are often not physical, but cultural categories ... the choice of one location over another can simply be a matter of aesthetic or other type of personal preference’.¹³ These caveats in mind, the results of these analyses nevertheless give insights into broader interaction patterns in Euboea, Attica and beyond.

9. The geospatial analyses were conducted using Esri’s ArcGIS 10.1 software and a 5-m digital elevation model, which was derived from 20-m contour lines provided by SEEP.

10. There is certainly a possibility that the towers were multi-storeyed, thereby increasing the amount of land within view of the site. However, because there are no standing towers on Paximadi, it is not possible to compare the relationship between tower height and wall width, and thereby extrapolate tower height based on wall fall (see Young 1956b, 135).

11. The ‘cost path’ toolset in ArcGIS allows users to quantify the ease of moving through a particular landscape, but the ‘path distance’ toolset takes the process one step further, using a digital elevation model to calculate the actual surface distance that one must travel when walking over hills and through valleys. For this case-study, the second toolset was used.

12. For limitations of LCP algorithms included in basic GIS software, see Conolly and Lake 2006, 252–257; Llobera et al. 2011, 849. For issues concerning LOS, see Llobera 2003, 29; Wheatley and Gillings 2000, 2–14.

13. Tankosić 2011, 99–100.

Paximadi in the Classical period

The SEEP survey identified approximately 64 sites dating to the Classical period, which is the period of densest inhabitation of the Paximadi. The LOS analysis clearly demonstrates a rich network of visual interconnection, with the potential to communicate quickly from one side of the peninsula to the other through several key points along the central ridge. Figure 4 illustrates the potential inter-visibility lines connecting both securely dated settlements and those that are only tentatively dated to the Classical period. The results of the LCP analysis also hint at a dense network of interconnection (see Fig. 3). Common routes connect several clusters of settlements in the west, such that it would have been relatively easy to transport goods or information to a number of sites with minimal effort. In the later Hellenistic and Roman periods, this network is severed, and the eastern and western halves are no longer connected to the same degree.

What is most interesting about the deterioration of this rich Classical period network is the context in which it was first established. Early in the Classical period, Attica and southern Euboea were plagued by military conflict, e.g. the battles at Marathon (490 BC) and Salamis (480 BC). Karystos itself was attacked in 490 BC by the Persian army, and its residents were forced to join the army and fight their fellow Greeks.¹⁴ This treachery was dearly repaid following Persian defeat, when Greeks laid waste to the city and forced it to pay an indemnity.¹⁵ Athens soon turned its attention to the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BC), which depleted its resources and probably left little funding and manpower to devote to defences at home along the Euboean Gulf. The strategic importance of this body of water cannot be understated. It was one of the main paths taken by the Persian fleet during its attacks on Attica, and if it avoided that stretch of water, the fleet followed the eastern coast of Euboea instead.

As these military contests continued, Athens quickly gained military and political power, expanding its sphere of influence to the island of Euboea. In contrast with other Euboean cities, Karystos appears to have maintained a close relationship with Athens throughout this period. Following its defeat in a war with Athens, it was forced to join the Delian League; it did not, however, defect from the league in 446 BC along with the other Euboean cleruchies.¹⁶ Karystos later participated in the Second Athenian League (378/377-355 BC), and it also supported Athens in the Lamian War (322 BC), a further indication of the close tie between the two cities.¹⁷ Some scholars have explained this relationship by suggesting that a cleruchy was founded in Karystos in the 5th century, along with Chalkis and other cities in the region; however, it should be kept in mind that this hypothesis has yet to be proven one way or another.¹⁸ These cleruchies were essential strategic establishments for Athens; by granting land to citizens in exchange for military service, Athens managed to reduce population pressure in the city itself while simultaneously increasing its economic and military power.

The high density of Classical towers on Paximadi and the rich potential for a communication network may lend support to the hypothesis that Athens' military and political expansion involved the establishment of a cleruchy in the Karystia. Athens would have needed to defend the Euboean Gulf and the seaways around southern Euboea to protect its trade routes, despite having very limited resources available to devote to such an effort.¹⁹ The Karystia would have been an ideal location for establishing a population of soldier-farmers, and the Paximadi in particular was perfectly situated in order to spot

14. Hdt. 6.99.2 and 8.66.2. For more on the Persian attacks between 490-480 BC, see Keller 1985, 195-199.

15. Hdt. 8.112.2 and 8.121.1; Keller 1985, 199-200.

16. Hdt. 9.105 and Thuc. 1.114.2.

17. Diod. Sic. 18.11.2 and Paus. 1.25.4.

18. For further discussion of the possible cleruchy in the Karystia, see Brock 1996; Erxleben 1975; Figueira 1991; Keller 1985; Wallace 1972. Excavations undertaken in Paximadi to test this hypothesis proved inconclusive: see Keller and Schneider 2011, 100.

19. Keller 1985, 203.

enemy fleets advancing from around the eastern shore of Euboea. Messages could be relayed back to Karystos from the peninsula, across the bay to the eastern Bouros-Kastri Peninsula, or across the mountains to the western coast of Paximadi.²⁰ Settlements that served this purpose are known from elsewhere along the Euboean Gulf, including the fortified settlement of Ramnous. A similar role may have been fulfilled by Paximadi, particularly if visual contact could be made with the Attic mainland. Of course, there may be alternative explanations for the high density of Classical period towers on Paximadi, and further research is needed to explore this unusual case-study.²¹ In particular, it may prove useful to compare Paximadi to other parts of Euboea, such as the territory of Eretria.²²

Paximadi in the Hellenistic and Roman periods

In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the key sites located atop the mountain ridge no longer appear to have been in use (Fig. 5), and as a result the visual network linking the eastern and western coastlines was severed. The results of the LCP analysis also demonstrate how isolated these settlements were. While it would have been possible to climb the mountains that separate the two halves, it also would have been more difficult to travel back and forth or to maintain visual contact than in the Classical period.

The settlement abandonment in the Hellenistic period may be tied to the disintegration of Athenian power following its defeat in the Lamian War (322 BC) and the series of occupations and invasions of Attica that followed. For several hundred years, this part of the world was relatively unimportant owing to its lack of natural resources and military power, and it continued to be politically powerless when Achaia became a Roman province—although Karystos itself was relatively prosperous during this time.²³ It seems that Attica's continued military losses and lack of power, resources and money are linked in some way with the dissolution of communicative networks and settlements on Paximadi during the Hellenistic period.

Although more settlements were in use during the Roman period—some of which were reused Classical period sites, and others which were new—the possibility of interconnection was still much weaker than in the Classical period. Peace and stability had returned to Attica and Euboea, and the defence of Athens was simply not a priority for the imperial administrators. More important for contextualizing these results is the reformation of the land tenure system that occurred throughout many parts of Greece during this period, with the consolidation of small farms into large estates, the intensification of agricultural production and the resulting population nucleation in urban centres.²⁴ What we see in the Karystia may reflect these changes, with fewer, but larger, settlements shifted to the Kampos rather than the hilly Paximadi Peninsula. The continued lack of dense settlement and the limited potential for quick or easy communication likely reflects the military and agricultural priorities of the Roman Empire.

Conclusion

In conclusion, geospatial analyses such as LOS and LCP are useful tools for analysing archaeological survey data, given their ability to reveal the interconnections that may have existed between settle-

20. Gardner and Seifried 2014.

21. For a broader study of this nature, see Gardner and Seifried 2016.

22. For more information on the Classical and Hellenistic towers in Eretria, see Fachard 2012.

23. See Keller 1985, 214-215.

24. e.g. Alcock 1989, 30-33.

ments in the past. In turn, these patterns can help us to understand changing spheres of power, routes taken (or not taken) by invading armies, the distribution of ancient *poleis* and even more—all of which are subjects for future research. The towers of Paximadi did not exist in a vacuum, and their use and abandonment are tied to the cultural landscape of the Karystia, as well as to Attica beyond its shores.

Bibliography

- Alcock, S. E. (1989) 'Roman Imperialism in the Greek Landscape'. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 2, 5-34.
- Brock, R. (1996) 'The Tribute of Karystos'. *Echos du Monde Classique* 15(3), 357-370.
- Cherry, J. F., J. L. Davis and E. Mantzourani (1991) 'The Towers of Northwest Keos'. In *Landscape Archaeology as Long-term History: Northern Keos in the Cycladic Islands from Earliest Settlement until Modern Times*, edited by J. F. Cherry, J. L. Davis and E. Mantzourani, 285-298. Los Angeles: UCLA Institute of Archaeology.
- Conolly, J. and M. Lake (2006) *Geographical Information Systems in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Diamantopoulos, J., S. A. Pirintsos, N. S. Margaris and G. P. Stamou (1994) 'Variation in Greek Phrygana Vegetation in Relation to Soil and Climate'. *Journal of Vegetation Science* 5, 355-360.
- Erxleben, E. (1975) 'Die Kleruchien auf Euböa und Lesbos und die Methoden der attischen Herrschaft im 5. Jh'. *Klio* 57, 83-100.
- Fachard, S. (2012) 'La Défense du Territoire: Étude de la 'Chôra' Érétrienne et de ses Fortifications'. Vol. 21 of *Eretria*. Athens: Ecole Suisse d'Archéologie en Grèce.
- Figueira, T. J. (1991) *Athens and Aigina in the Age of Imperial Colonization*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.
- Gardner, C. A. M. and R. M. Seifried (2014) 'Asking New Questions of Old(er) Data: A Case Study from Southern Euboea'. *Archaeological Institute of America 115th Annual Meeting Abstracts* 37, 114-115.
- Gardner, C. A. M. and R. M. Seifried (2016) 'Euboean Towers and Aegean Powers: Insights into the Karystia's Role in the Ancient World'. *Journal of Greek Archaeology* 1:149-176.
- Kayster, B. and K. Thompson (1964) *Economic and Social Atlas of Greece*. Athens: National Statistical Service of Greece, Centre of Economic Research, Social Sciences Center of Athens.
- Keller, D. R. (1983) 'Southern Euboea Exploration Project'. In *Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Area*, edited by D. R. Keller and D. W. Rupp, 231-232. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Keller, D. R. (1985) 'Archaeological Survey in Southern Euboea, Greece: A Reconstruction of Human Activity from Neolithic Times through the Byzantine Period'. PhD thesis. Indiana University, USA.
- Keller, D. and R. Schneider (2011) 'The Classical-Hellenistic Period at the Palio Pithari Farm Site and the Cape Mnima Emborio Site in the Context of Contemporary Sites and Findspots on the Paximadi Peninsula'. In *Euboea and Athens: Proceedings of a Colloquium in Memory of Malcolm B. Wallace, Athens, 26-27 June, 2009*, edited by J. E. Tomlinson and D. W. Rupp, 95-111. Athens: The Canadian Institute in Greece.
- Keller, D. R. and M. B. Wallace (1988) 'The Canadian Karystia Project: Two Classical Farmsteads'. *Echos du Monde Classique* 32, 151-157.
- Llobera, M. (2003) 'Extending GIS-Based Visual Analysis: The Concept of Visualscapes'. *International Journal of Geographical Information Science* 17(1), 25-48.
- Llobera, M., P. Fábrega-Álvarez and C. Parcero-Oubiña (2011) 'Order in Movement: A GIS Approach to Accessibility'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 38, 843-851.
- Seifried, R. M. and W. A. Parkinson (2014) 'Towers on the Paximadi Peninsula, Greece'. *Hesperia* 83, 277-313.
- Talalay, L. E., T. Cullen, D. R. Keller and E. Karimali (2005) 'Prehistoric Occupation in Southern Euboea: An Overview'. In *Ancient Greece at the Turn of the Millennium: Recent Work and Future Perspectives*, edited by N. M. Kennell and Jonathan E. Tomlinson, 21-44. Athens: Canadian Archaeological Institute at Athens.
- Tankosić, Ž. (2011) 'Southern Euboea - Northern Cyclades: An Integrated Analysis of Final Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Interactions'. PhD thesis. Indiana University, USA.
- Wallace, M. (1972) 'The History of Karystos from the Sixth to the Fourth Centuries B.C.'. PhD thesis. University of Toronto, Canada.
- Wallace, M., D. Keller, J. Wickens and R. Lamberton (2006) 'The Southern Euboea Exploration Project: 25 Years of Archaeological Research'. In *Antiquities of Karystia*, edited by M. Chidiroglou and A. Chatzidimitriou, 18-49. Karystos: Publications Kosmos.

- Wheatley, D. and M. Gillings (2000) 'Vision, Perception and GIS: Developing Enriched Approaches to the Study of Archaeological Visibility'. In *Beyond the Map: Archaeology and Spatial Technologies*, edited by G. Lock, 1-27. Washington DC: IOS Press.
- Young, J. H. (1956a) 'Ancient Towers on the Island of Siphnos.' *American Journal of Archaeology* 60(1), 51-55.
- Young, J. H. (1956b) 'Studies in South Attica: Country Estates at Sounion.' *Hesperia* 25(2), 122-146.

Figures

Figure 1:
Southern Euboea and the Paximadi Peninsula. Elevation data from ASTER GDEM (courtesy METI and NASA).

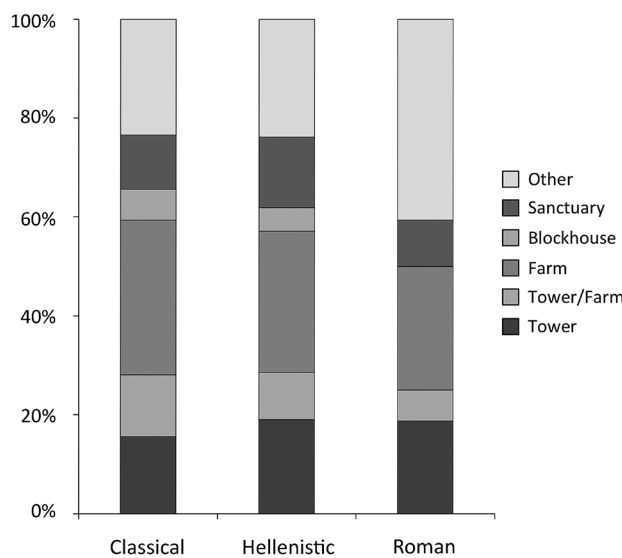
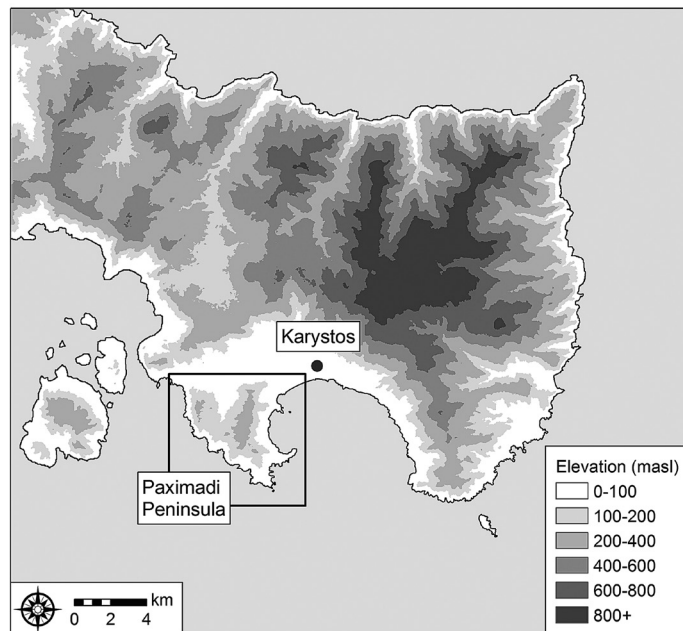
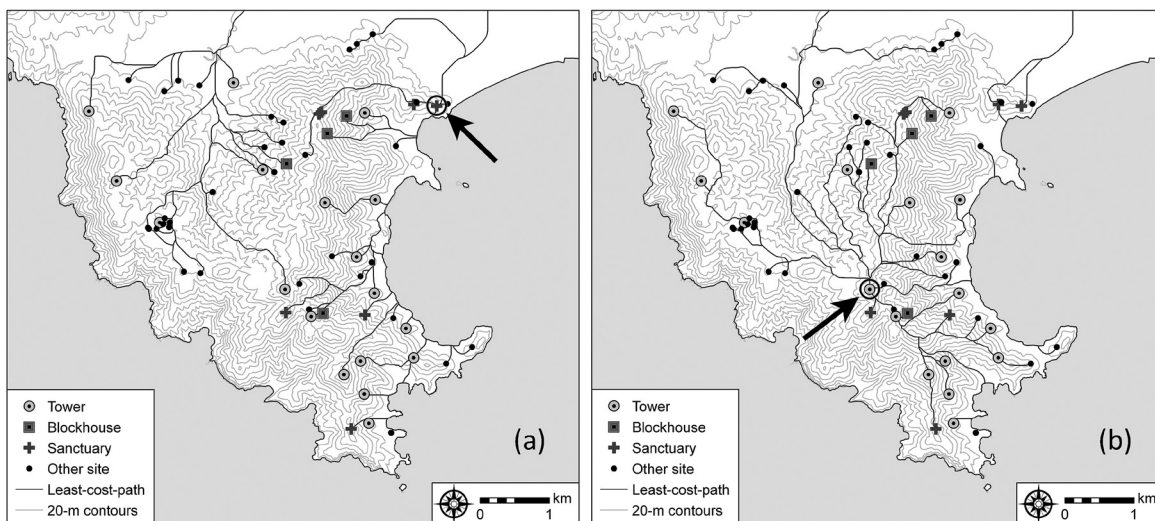


Figure 2:
Percentage of site types identified by SEEP which date to the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Figure 3:
Least cost path results for the Classical period: (a) from findspot 80C19, (b) from findspot 80C41.



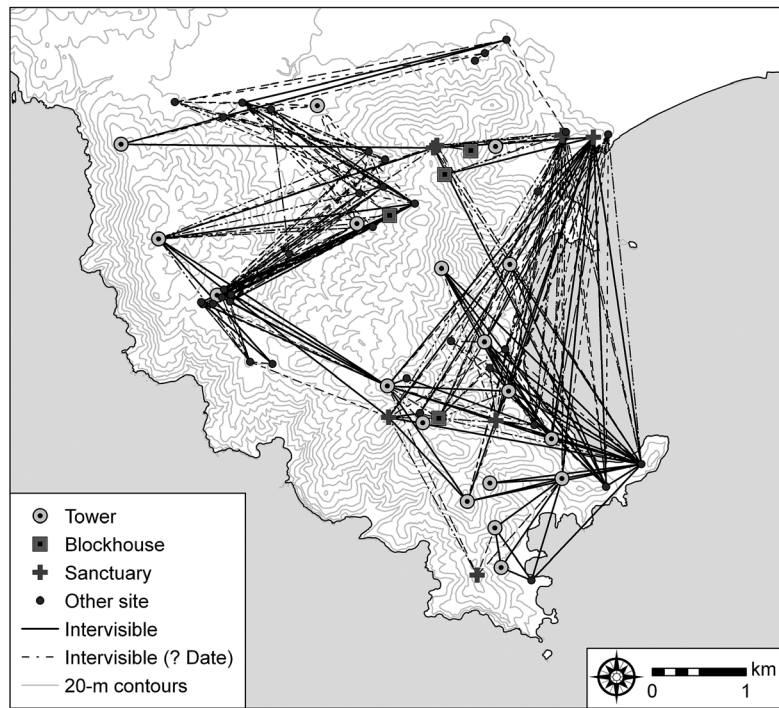


Figure 4: Line of sight results for the Classical period.

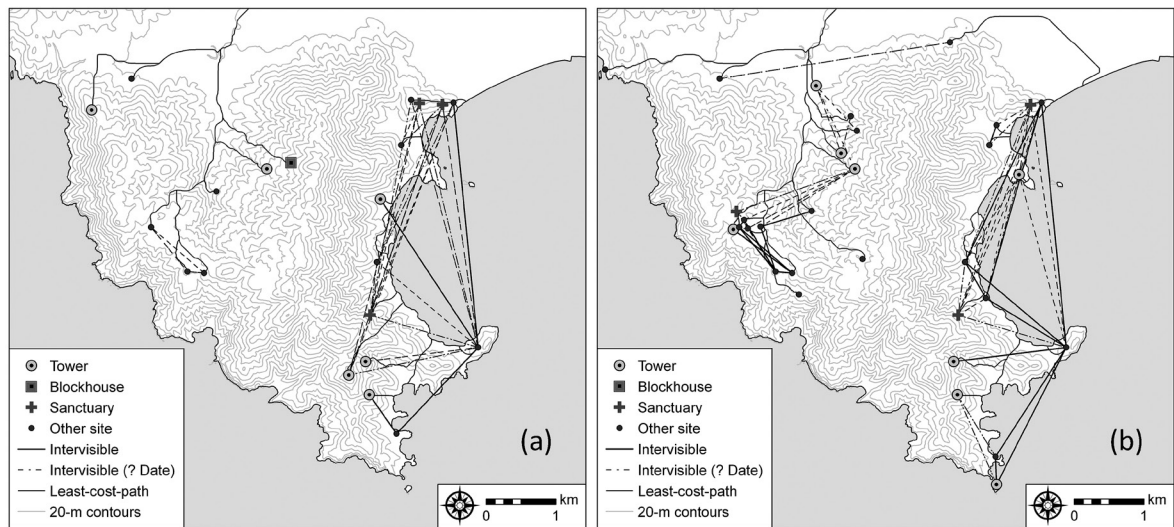


Figure 5: Least cost path and line of sight results for the (a) Hellenistic and (b) Roman periods.

***A half-carved marble vessel (Tsoukali)
from the ancient quarries of Myloi, Karystos in southern Euboea:
A contribution to the study of the use of Karystian marble
for vase carving in antiquity***

Eirene POUPAKI
Maria CHIDIROGLOU

Περίληψη

Τα αρχαία λατομεία που παρήγαγαν καρύστια λίθο (*marmor Carystium*) στα Στύρα και την Κάρυστο Ευβοίας έχουν ερευνηθεί σε ικανοποιητικό βαθμό. Μελέτες γι' αυτές τις θέσεις δημοσιεύτηκαν για πρώτη φορά τον 19ο αιώνα οι οποίες αφορούσαν στην τοπογραφία των λατομείων, καθώς και σε αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη που λαξύνονταν σε αυτές τις θέσεις, όπως κίονες, πλίνθοι και βάθρα ή βάσεις. Επαρκώς έχει διερευνηθεί επίσης και το δίκτυο διακίνησης του καρύστιου μαρμάρου *cipollino* σε όλη τη Μεσόγειο κατά τη Ρωμαϊκή Αυτοκρατορική περίοδο και σε μεταγενέστερες περιόδους. Ωστόσο, ορισμένα στοιχεία για αυτά τα λατομεία καθώς και η παραγωγή τους παραμένουν άγνωστα και δεν έχει ακόμα πραγματοποιηθεί συστηματική διερεύνηση των προϊόντων των εργαστηρίων λιθοξοϊκής, με βάση τα αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη και τα άλλα λίθινα τέχνηρα που βρίσκονται εγκατεσπαρμένα σε θέσεις αρχαίας εξόρυξης στη νότια Εύβοια. Το ημίεργο μαρμάρينو αγγείο, γνωστό ως «Τσουκάλι», βρίσκεται κατά χώρα (*in situ*) στο αρχαίο λατομείο των Μύλων βόρεια της Καρύστου. Αποτελεί ένα σπάνιο τέχνηρα λατομείου που απαιτεί περαιτέρω έρευνα. Είναι μονολιθικό από πράσινο καρύστιο μάρμαρο *cipollino* με δύο ορθογώνιες λαβές. Έχει χαρακτηριστεί ως λεκάνη για την εμφάνιση των μεταλλικών εργαλείων των λατόμων ή περιρραντήριο (*labrum*), αλλά καθώς πρόκειται για μοναδικό εύρημα, η χρήση του οποίου έχει επαρκώς μελετηθεί θα παρουσιαστούν μερικές σκέψεις σχετικά με την αρχική του χρήση. Η μελέτη μας βασίζεται στην έρευνα του λατομείου όπου βρίσκεται μέχρι σήμερα το ημίεργο αγγείο και στην εξέταση της τυπολογίας και των παράλληλων έργων μέσα από την έρευνα της σχετικής βιβλιογραφίας. Το άρθρο αυτό συνοδεύεται από ένα σύντομο κατάλογο αγγείων που λαξεύτηκαν σε πράσινο καρύστιο μάρμαρο *cipollino* που καταρτίστηκε ύστερα από ενδελεχή έρευνα της σχετικής βιβλιογραφίας, συμπεριλαμβανομένων μερικών αδημοσίευτων θραυσμάτων, με την ελπίδα ότι αυτός ο προκαταρκτικός κατάλογος θα συμβάλει στη μελέτη μιας άγνωστης πτυχής της παραγωγής των αρχαίων εργαστηρίων λιθοξοϊκής της Καρύστου.

Introduction¹

One of the most noteworthy ancient quarries in Greece lies at the foot of Mount Ochi in southern Euboea. It extends over a large area to the north/north-east of the village of Myloi and is adjacent to the nearby quarry groups at the sites of Kyliandroi-Platanitses and Panagia.² Karystian marble, Καρυστία λίθος (post-medieval and modern name: ‘cipollino’), geologically identified as a rock of the serpentine group of marbles, has long been extracted there. Its exploitation presumably dates back to the Classical period,³ but the first systematic attempts to quarry large monoliths were connected to projects undertaken by wealthy rulers of the Late Hellenistic period.⁴ Karystian marble became famous during the Roman Imperial period, when legal ownership of the quarries passed to the emperor.⁵ It was being exported in the Mediterranean region, even as rubble, since the Roman Republican period.⁶ Blocks and columns of Karystian marble, along with quarried marbles from other regions, were stored in special deposits of the empire (*stationes marmorum*).⁷ During the Roman Imperial period, architectural items carved in Karystian marble, such as columns, blocks and other forms of building material, were distributed throughout the Mediterranean region.⁸ Some limited use of Karystian marble is also attested in the Byzantine era. Despite the widespread tendency to recycle architectural members (*spolia*) during the Byzantine period, some limited extraction of monolithic columns did occur at the quarries of Karystos in the Renaissance period and in the period of Ottoman dominion in Greece, right up until modern times, as evidenced by relevant finds and distribution data.

1. We are especially indebted to the Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea, most of all to our prematurely departed colleague, Maria Kosma, for the permission to restudy the vase. We also want to thank Aspasia Drigopoulou for the drawing of the vase and Yannis Tsipas for the weeding of the area around the vase, in order to examine it in detail. Finally, many thanks are owed to Nikolas Dimakis, who revised our English text, and Athena Chadjidimitriou and Prof. Stavros Mamaloukos for their generous advice.

2. Bruno 1998, 327-332; Chidiroglou 2009, 76; 2010a; 2010b; Dodge 1984, 91-93; Dworakowska 1983, 23, 49, 53, 64, 69, 131; Hankey 1965, 53-59; Higgins and Higgins 1996, 86; Kokkorou-Alevras et al. 2010, 28-29; Koželj and Wurch-Koželj 1995, 17-31; Lambraki 1980, 51-56; Lazzarini 2007, 183-203; Lazzarini et al. 1995, 161-169; Papageorgakis 1964, 262-278; Pensabene 1998, 311-326; Zappas 1981-1982, 248-251.

3. Chidiroglou 2010a, 50. This date is based upon the attested tool marks and the applied quarrying methods, as well as the recent findings from the whole region of the ancient Karystia: Chidiroglou 2010b.

4. Dodge 1984, 72.

5. Generally speaking, the organization of quarries and marble trade in the Roman Empire was due to Tiberius (see Dodge 1984, 70; Kokkorou-Alevras et al. 2010, 62-63, with citations to ancient sources). Freedmen were often employed as supervisors in the quarries; see for instance Hymenaeus Thamyrianus, a *lapicidinis Carystiis*, a *dispensator*, responsible for the Karystian quarries in the mid-1st century AD: Hirt 2010, 157-159, n. 264. According to the inscriptions from the Myloi quarries (*IG XII.9*, 32, 33, 35; *CIL III.2*, 12286; *CIL III* 563) it can be claimed that the systematization of this quarry group probably took place in the 2nd century AD. For instance, Karystian cipollino architectural items were used in the Harbour of Lechaion in Corinth in the 2nd century AD: Shaw 1969, 71. The Karystian quarries were valued by the Romans: Hirt 2010, 28-29, with main period of extraction to order from AD 133 to 161: Hirt 2010, 170-171.

6. Pliny (*NH XXXVI.6*, 48) mentions Mamurra, one of Caesar’s engineers in Gaul, as the first exporter of Karystian marble (Dworakowska 1983, 23). In addition, early cipollino use has been detected in Kos (in the central *thermai* complex, close to Casa Romana, and in the stoa of the harbour: Poupaki 2012, 177-178) and in various sites in Asia Minor. Cipollino used for an inscribed artefact (2nd century AD) was also discovered in Bucklersbury House in Walbrook (Museum of London, no. 18498). The distribution range of Karystian cipollino has been studied by many scholars (Chidiroglou 2010a; Dodge 1988, 220, fig. 5; Lazzarini 2007, 115, fig. 22; Sutherland 2013), but there are still many sites to be added.

7. Rough blocks from the Karystian quarries have been discovered in the Forum Romanum, in the harbour Marmorata of the Tiber and in Ostia (Bruzza 1870, 519-520; Dworakowska 1983, 69, n. 234-235; Legrand 1889, 519-520).

8. Papageorgakis 1964, 267. See, for instance, rectangular cipollino tubes: Barbier de Montault 1870, 450, no. 69; Morcelli et al. 1869, 14, no. 69.

The quarry

The quarry at Myloi consists of several impressive vertical quarry fronts, single spaced (like chambers) or in groups. Step-like extraction signs are attested in many areas as a result of the organized manner of extraction. Large piles of marble chips, small stones, blocks abandoned *in situ* and many blocks and columns, semi-detached from the rock bed, provide ample evidence to reconstruct the exact series of tasks that took place in each of the ancient quarries.⁹ Among the most noteworthy quarry marks preserved in the sites are the quarrying channels around the imprints of the detached blocks and the series of point marks that often replaced the use of wedges (pointillé technique,¹⁰ most probably dating to the Archaic period). The use of wedges for the final detachment of a marble block from the rock bed remained a common practice for a long period of time in the quarry at Myloi, as the number and types of the extant rectangular, trapezoidal or cuneiform wedge-holes testify.¹¹ Few quarry fronts preserve traces of the quarry pick, known as τύκος (modern Greek πικούνι), a heavy iron tool with a wooden handle and curved pointed edges. The quarrymen's use of τύκος or τυπίδα or κροταφίδα¹² in the deep channels surrounding the semi-extracted blocks left traces on the quarry fronts. These traces are in the form of engraved parallel and oblique or horizontal lines usually in a fish-bone pattern ('a *festoni* technique' which generally dates from the 3rd century AD onwards).¹³ On the visible parts of the rock-faces, series of engraved, vertical, parallel, short lines (*hastes*) have been also noted. They can be interpreted as numbering signs, which would have been part of an inventorying system for the extracted blocks or those which were ready to be moved.¹⁴ Sledge paths bordered by pole-holes have been preserved in all quarrying areas. These traces comprise important, albeit still largely unrecorded, evidence on networks of quarry transport roads and paths in southern Euboea.¹⁵ To the north-east of the Myloi quarry group, on another plateau of Mount Ochi, a rectangular building that had probably been in use from the Late Classical to the Roman Imperial period, which is known as the Ochi Dragon House (δρακόσπιτο Όχης), has been variously interpreted. The building has been thought to represent lodging for the quarry workers or for the officers who supervised the quarries, or an ancient shepherds' hut that was used mainly in the summer, or even a shrine where the quarrymen worshipped their divine protectors.¹⁶ Cult practices in the area of the Karystian quarries are corroborated by the existence of an inscribed rectangular votive niche carved on a quarry face at the Kylindroi site. A Latin dedicatory inscription to Herakles by the Roman centurion Sergius Longus (AD 132) is preserved on the base of the niche.¹⁷ Niches carved in rock and connected to cult are not uncommon in southern Euboea.¹⁸

9. Papageorgakis 1964, 266.

10. Chidioglou 2010a, 50.

11. Papageorgakis 1964, 266; and authors' remark.

12. Orlandos 1994, 118-120.

13. Quarry fronts with 'a *festoni* technique' and related oblique striations due to the quarry pick are found to the north of the stone vase 'Tsoukali' in Karystos and to north-west of the curved cut of the rock, where the block for the vase had probably been extracted.

14. Similar engraved symbols have been noted in the ancient quarries of Avlemonas on Kythera (Tsaravopoulos 1987-2003, 207-208) and in the quarry at Aformous, Apollonas on Naxos (Kokkorou-Alevras et al. 2013, 118, fig. 19). The above-mentioned quarry front at Myloi bears five similar inscribed *hastes*.

15. Quarry road networks have been recorded in the region of Styra: Vanhove 1996.

16. Carpenter and Boyd 1976; 1977; Koželj and Wurch-Koželj 1995, 27-29; Moutsopoulos 1982; Reber 2010.

17. *CIL* III, 12286 (Schaubert); Chidioglou 2009, 76; Hirt 2010, 170-171; Mosser 2003, 270, no. 210; Richier 2004, 326, no. 271. According to the inscription, the dedicator of the niche, which probably had a statue inside, was the centurion of the Legio XXI Primigenia and XV Apollinaris: Hirt 2010, 170-171, n. 10. There are more inscriptions in the quarry: 'E', 'IA', 'MEOEDE' and 'NE'. The last two date to the 5th century AD: Lambraki 1980, 51. There are also inscribed Christian crosses and ten *hastes*: Lambraki 1980, 51.

18. See for instance: Chidioglou 2012; Crielaard et al., 2012, 91, fig. 11; Keller 1985, 105-106, no. 42, fig. 51; Lambraki 1980, 41-43, figs. 7b, 8.

'Tsoukali' vessel

Several half-finished architectural items and other artefacts remain *in situ* in the quarry groups at Kyllindroi and Myloi, such as 14 columns in the former, carved of the same block as their capitals and bases,¹⁹ one capital,²⁰ and a big vessel with two protruding cubic handles (cat. no. 1) in the latter. This vessel, known to the locals as τσουκάλι (cooking pot), is the main subject of our contribution (Fig. 1).²¹

The dimensions are as follows: external diameter 1.69 m, internal diameter 1.86 m, depth 0.50 m, bottom thickness 0.30 m, height 0.96-1.00 m, handle dimensions 0.61 x 0.64 m and 0.63 x 0.63 m respectively, and handle height above rim 0.19 m. The stone vase at Myloi is shaped like a basin, with two square handles protruding from the flat projecting rim and reaching to the bottom. The vessel is quite shallow and its internal walls are slightly convex, whereas its external walls are curved. On its bottom surface, the letters Z and H, the number XXXX and five *hastes* IIIII (Fig. 2)²² have been carelessly incised, as graffiti. Similar quarrying signs can be also noted on an unfinished cipollino basin from Ostia (cat. no. 6). The internal surface of the vase in Karystos preserves the marks of a bow drill, which was probably used for the removal of the 'nucleus' of the marble block, whereas point chisel marks in horizontal series have been noted on its external surfaces.

Evidence regarding the use of the 'Tsoukali' vase is offered by its location in the quarry: the big basin is located in a prominent place on the central plateau of the quarry, on the top of a hill at the end of the modern road, which traverses the modern village of Myloi. After a thorough survey of the surrounding area, a quarry sledge path has been noted close to the vase, on a higher level. The sledge path was bordered by pole-holes, two of which have been preserved. The poles bearing the ropes which held the extracted blocks to be transported were inserted into these sockets (Fig. 3). To the north of the plateau, there is a grooved rock-cut, which was probably the exact spot where the block for the vase was extracted (Fig. 4). Transporting that immense block to the central plateau of the quarry must have represented quite a challenge to the quarrymen, not only because of its shape and weight but also because of the steep slope below its extraction spot: if the workers miscalculated, the extracted block could have fallen into the ravine. Its transport was achieved using solid straps, which were fastened around the block and pulled by the workers or a special machine (crane²³). The straps were probably held tight by being inserted through special holes on the quarry's front. One of these holes can be seen today to the west of the extraction spot (Fig. 5). Similar holes cut into quarry fronts have been also recorded in other ancient quarries (e.g. on the rock-face next to the half-worked kouros in the Archaic Apollonas quarry of Naxos and in quarries on Thasos). After all these difficulties, the block for the vessel was transferred to the central plateau and was probably carved there. Its final location point offered a panoramic view of the Karystos Bay and the hill on which the Castello Rosso was erected in the medieval period. After the necessary small-scale removal of the vegetation from the area around the 'Tsoukali' vase, we readily understood that this vessel was placed on stone slabs, which probably belong to the original pavement of the plateau.

19. Dimensions of 14 columns: length range: 11.20-11.90 m, diameter range: 0.80-1.30 m: Chidiroglou 2009, 76; Hankey 1965, 58. See also Lambraki 1980, 54; Papageorgakis 1964, 266; Pensabene 1998, 311-315.

20. Dimensions: 0.95 x 0.95 m, diameter: 0.90 m, height: 0.46 m (Lambraki 1980, 51).

21. The production of oversized basins at the ancient quarry sites is also attested in many other Roman quarries, e.g. in Moria on Lesbos (Ambrogi 2005, nos. 97-99), in Dokimeion (Ambrogi 2005, nos. 134-136) and in the Egyptian caves of the quarrying site Mons Claudianus (Ambrogi 2005, nos. 29-30). Two more semi-carved basins of cipollino have been found in Ostia (Ambrogi 2005, no. 87) and in Rome (Ambrogi 2005, no. 89). A half-finished basin of smaller dimensions carved in local reddish breccia comes from a cave quarry at Eretria, in Euboea (Ambrogi 2005, no. 113).

22. cf. graffiti mentioning Zeus in southern Euboea: *IG XII.9.53*, 54; Fachard 2005; Fachard 2006; Moutsopoulos 1982, 341-345, pls. 96, 97, 99, fig. 56. There are also inscribed Christian crosses and ten *hastes*: Lambraki 1980, 51.

23. Orlandos 1994, 107-112.

The form of the vase is quite distinctive (Fig. 6). The huge unfinished vase with the two handles was previously identified as a metallurgical basin that contained water for the cooling of the quarrying tools after repairs over the fire.²⁴ More recently, it was identified as a Roman *perirrhanterion* (*labrum*),²⁵ similar to the ones found in Perge or Aphrodisias in Asia Minor, which were oversized like the Karystian example. Water containers known as *perirrhanteria*, *labra*, *louteria*, craters or phialai were also used in church courtyards for ablutions during Byzantine times in Christian cult (e.g. the container from Ephesos' basilica), but they were different in shape from the 'Tsoukali' vessel. *Perirrhanteria* were usually manufactured with a central raised dome (omphalos) in the centre of the interior and were handleless. Some were also used as fountains (*fontanae*) in later periods. This is the case for a basin of Karystian marble in the *caldarium* of the Forum Baths in Herculaneum²⁶ which was used as a fountain, with a narrow pipe adapted in the middle of its omphalos.

In the Roman period, there was a marked preference of members of the elite for coloured marbles. This fashion led to the consequent expansion of the quarrying and trade of the Karystian cipollino marble that was used for columns and architectural blocks. It appears that this marble was also used for the construction of minor objects, such as vases, as can be testified by the number of the *perirrhanteria* of the attached catalogue. The green to grey colour of the Karystian marble may have been preferred by its buyers on the grounds of various ancient symbolic perceptions, such as a colour metaphor for water and the relevant religious connotations.

A second cipollino vase of a size smaller than the 'Tsoukali' vessel was observed by T. Zappas, in the same quarry,²⁷ but it proved difficult to relocate. As a matter of fact, different types of vases must have been carved from Karystian marble, albeit this is a subject that has not yet been researched. We present here some previously unpublished fragments of *louteria* or *perirrhanteria* from Kos (cat. nos. 16-17)²⁸ and Athens (cat. nos. 14-15, Fig. 7a-b)²⁹ and a part of a table from Athens (cat. no. 13, Fig. 8);³⁰ together with other parallels, these demonstrate that cipollino vases were not uncommon at least from Roman times to Late Antiquity. Among others, an example of an incomplete cipollino *labrum* in a marble deposit on the bank of the Tiber (cat. no. 8) in Rome proves that exportation of incomplete or half-worked cipollino vases was not uncommon. The earliest use of this marble for basins, found in the ancient marble workshops on Delos, has been noted by A. Ambrogi³¹ as dating to the 1st century BC (cat. no. 2). The use of cipollino for the construction of table/basin column supports (*hypostata*),³² is also well documented. Of these supports, an unfinished example from Ostia³³ proves that these artefacts were purchased by Roman traders or stockyard agents in a rough state, as were the basins. From the Late Hellenistic period onwards, the general taste for decorative elements of coloured marbles in the interior of buildings prompted the marble worker to use cipollino slabs for wall revetments and floor paving. A

24. Koželj 1988, 38, fig. 16a.

25. Ambrogi 2005, no. 83.

26. Maiuri 1970, 37.

27. Zappas 1981-1982, 251, fig. 6.

28. The first *perirrhanterium* fragment was found during the salvage excavation of a Late Roman/Early Byzantine mansion in the city of Kos (Tsocha property), to the east of Casa Romana, while the provenance of the other fragment is unknown.

29. Cat. no. 13: 0.14 x 0.55 x 0.11 x 0.07 x 0.11 x 0.09 m, wall thickness: 0.022-0.035 m. Fragment of the body. Well-smoothed surfaces, covered with mortars. Cat. no. 14: preserved height: 0.09 m, wall thickness: 0.03/0.035 m. Fragment of the rim and the body. Well-smoothed surfaces, covered with mortars. Flat rim. Two circular sockets for the insertion of metallic joints.

30. Dimensions: estimated rim diameter: 0.455 m, rim thickness: 0.025 m, bottom thickness: 0.015 m. Roughly carved. Stepped rim. Base ring on the bottom external surface.

31. Ambrogi 2005, no. 69.

32. e.g. one unfluted column support from Casa Romana on Kos, three from Herculaneum (Ambrogi 2005, nos. 59-61), three from Pompeii (Ambrogi 2005, nos. 62-64), five from Ostia (Ambrogi 2005, nos. 65-69) and one in the Vatican (Ambrogi 2005, no. 70).

33. Ambrogi 2005, no. 69.

typical instance demonstrating this tendency is a rather rare type of aquarium in the form of a Roman amphitheatre model, paved with small cipollino slabs, that had been constructed on a mosaic floor in the Roman villa, excavated in the 1990s, in the area of the site of Palaiochora at Karystos.³⁴

The shape of the ‘Tsoukali’ vessel, with its outward, flat and projecting rim and handles, is reminiscent of the Neo-Attic craters,³⁵ which were carved in Pentelic marble and dominated the Athenian marble workshops between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD. Its general form however is different: the ‘Tsoukali’ vessel is shallower, and its profile curved instead of articulated. Moreover, handles, such as those of the ‘Tsoukali’ vase are not usually found on *perirrhantaria*, as far as we can judge from the published examples. Handles are not usually found on stone metallurgical basins either, although such basins are often found in quarrying sites.³⁶ The closest parallels of *labra* with handles below the rim are three examples carved in Phrygian marble (*pavonazzetto*), which were found in a shipwreck at Punta Sciffo.³⁷ Marble utilitarian vases, such as the washbasin of the 1st century BC from the *nymphaeum* of the Shepherd Villa in Stabii (Antiquarium Stabiano, no. 63894),³⁸ are closer in form to the half-finished ‘Tsoukali’ vase. The Stabii vase was fixed on a column support and resembles a huge cylix. Even after its final refinement in the quarry in antiquity, the plain handles of the ‘Tsoukali’ vase could have remained compact, in a fashion similar to the handles of the marble crater with the oval rim in the yard of Izmir/Smyrna Archaeological Museum in Konak and unlike the Stabii washbasin.³⁹ The globular, squat body of the ‘Tsoukali’ vase resembles that of the Stabii vase. Its dimensions (1.00 m high; rim diameter 2.00 m) are close to those of the Stabii vase, too. Certain affinities can be also noted on *canthari aquarii* sometimes found in front of entrances of Christian churches. The general shape of these *canthari* derives from the homonymous typical drinking cup of the Classical period, and they are often noted in the literature of the 5th and 6th centuries AD.⁴⁰

The form of the ‘Tsoukali’ vase has a parallel in a small half-finished Athenian marble bowl (New Acropolis Museum, no. M1915; Figs. 9-10).⁴¹ In a fashion similar to the ‘Tsoukali’ vase, the handles of this vase do not interrupt the surface of the rim. The vase was found in a well that had been filled with waste products during the Late Roman period, and its type may be derived from the Neo-Attic marble workshops, installations of which were recently excavated in the Makrygiannis plot, to the south of the Acropolis.

The use of the vessel

The prominent location of the ‘Tsoukali’ vase in the quarry at Karystos and its visual contact with most of the quarrying areas in the complex leads us to make some suggestions on the original use of the

34. Chidirolou 2012.

35. Grassinger 1991, nos. 1, 8, 17, 18, 22, 41, 44, 53, 58.

36. The only *perirrhantaria* with handles of smaller dimensions are those published by Ambrogi 2005 (nos. 129, 147).

37. Bartoli 2008, 203-205, nos. Lab.1-3.

38. Bonifacio et al. 2001, 167, no. 261. For close parallels: Van Den Hoek and Herrmann 2013, 33-34, fig. 5, n. 93-94.

39. Unpublished.

40. Van Den Hoek and Herrmann 2013, 17-22.

41. New Acropolis Museum, no. M1915AB. Unpublished. It was found in a Late Roman well discovered between the ‘Acropolis’ and ‘Sygrou-Fix’ metro stations during the construction of the Athenian metro. Dimensions: height: 0.115 m, diameter of rim: 0.82 m, diameter of bottom: 0.685 m, width of handles: 0.13 m. White thin-grained Pentelic marble. Two joined fragments of a semi-finished bowl. Part of the bowl is missing. Calyx-like external outline. Outward rim. Convex upper rim surface. Concave inner walls. Slightly convex bottom surface. Compact handles, carved on opposite ends of the rim, just above it and reaching the centre of the bottom. Bow-drill traces on the internal surfaces, point chisel marks on the handles and tooth chisel marks on the external surfaces of the bowl, except on the upper surface of the rim which was smoothed with a gouge.

vessel. After a careful examination of its surfaces, no mistakes in carving were noted; the vase therefore did not remain in the quarry due to a failure in its carving. Though it seems plausible that either the order or the purchase of the vase was cancelled some time before it was finished and the vase remained in the quarry. In this case, its use as a quarry water basin for the cooling down of tools cannot be rejected.⁴²

After the initial identification of the ‘Tsoukali’ vase as a fountain basin by A. Lambraki, we pondered the claim first proposed by A. Ambrogi, who identified this vase as *labrum-perirrhaterium*.⁴³ The main reason for our disagreement with the latter suggestion is the type of the vase, which is not identical to the published *perirrhaterium* types.⁴⁴ It seems reasonable to assume that the vase would have been useful in the quarry, if it had been used as a *louterion*, i.e. a washing basin, a vessel form which generally follows the same typology as the *perirrhaterium*. One could assert that the quarrymen, having completed their difficult task, needed some quick refreshment from the heat—relief that could have been obtained by their sprinkling the water from the basin on themselves.⁴⁵ If we accept this rather doubtful assumption, the bathing workmen would have been visible from the surrounding areas and subjected to their colleagues’ observation and comments. Moreover, there are no known parallels for such constructions in other quarrying areas.

According to recent research,⁴⁶ the terminology for water vessels carved in the Late Republican and Roman Imperial periods is fluid, especially for vases that resemble craters. The use of the term *cantharus* in the Late Roman literary sources for basins often modified into fountains in church *atria* is often translated in Greek as χυτρόκαυλος. This name, a compound of *chytra*-pot and *kaulos*-spout, echoes this semi-globular vase shape, with handles shaped like ears. All the above conclusions on the carved marble vases of types similar to the ‘Tsoukali’ vase provide hints on the appropriate terminology for this category of vessels. In fact, its size and its form correspond to the use of small cooking pots called in the ancient literature χύτραι, λοπάδαι or κάκαβοι, terms affiliated with χυτρόκαυλος. A smaller-scale vessel—like a big mortar (ὄλμος) without handles—can be noted on a terracotta figurine of the early 5th century BC found in a grave at Rhitsona (now in the Archaeological Museum of Thebes), which depicts a man grating cheese in it.⁴⁷ The term κάκαβος has been cited by Athenaeus as referring to a big—presently undocumented—cooking vessel of the ancient Karystians.⁴⁸ The term reminds us of the basin known as κότταβος in the ancient sources, which lent its name to a famous game played in Greek and Etruscan banquets in the 5th and 4th centuries BC⁴⁹ that is often depicted on red-figure pottery.⁵⁰ Should we perhaps accept that the ancient use of that vessel is reflected in the modern term τσουκάλι used by the Karystians, as well as generally in (pre-)modern Greek language nowadays? The lack of firm archaeological evidence prevents such a conclusion. Preparing a meal in a stone vessel is not practical, and this way of cooking is not attested in antiquity, primarily because it would have been extremely difficult to put such a large stone vessel on the fire in order to prepare a warm meal. The big stone vessels were, on the contrary, appropriate for mixing or crushing fruits and condiments (ὄλμοι),

42. See n. 21.

43. Lambraki 1980, 53, fig. 17; Ambrogi 2005, no. 83.

44. Poupaki 2001-2002, 281-288 (with earlier literature).

45. Poupaki 2001-2002, 275-280 (with earlier literature).

46. Van Den Hoek and Herrmann 2013, 35, n. 97.

47. Burrows and Ure 1907/1908, 296-297, fig. 21. A similar terracotta figurine is in Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and this big vessel for grated cheese has a handle: Borrows and Ure 1907/1908, 296, fig. 20. See also: Aravantinos 2010, 213; Demakopoulou and Konsola 1995, 60, pl. 31.

48. Ath. IV 169 e-f (Καρύστου θρέμμα, γηγενής, ζέων.; κάκαβον λέγω), IV 28 a-b.

49. See for example, http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/1911_Encyclop%C3%A6dia_Britannica/Cottabus, last modified 10 January, 2014.

50. E.g. on a red-figure pelike in Berlin from Tarkynia (CVA Berlin, III, pl. 100). For this game see, for instance: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0063:id=cottabos-cn> Last modified 11 January, 2014. For an overview of Greek symposia and their games, see Wecowski 2013.

as well as for mixing water and flour for kneading bread and related goods (κάρδοποι). The vessel's shape does not allow us to ascertain if it was put to such use.⁵¹ On the other hand, stone models of vessels and other large objects are known as dedications to sanctuaries. These votives primarily served as objects that commemorated an event closely related to the stone model or as artefacts that would underscore the special status of an individual or a community.⁵² On a final note, one cannot rule out the possibility that the special shape of the 'Tsoukali' vase was a result of a misconception on the quarrymen's part of an order of a typical Roman pot, such as a *labrum*, and this was their attempt to relate the quarried object to local utilitarian types of vases. As a result of one of the reasons presented above or some other contingency, the 'Tsoukali' vase remained in the quarry.

The 'Tsoukali' vase in cultic context

The worship of Herakles in ancient quarries, a space where human power and endurance were constantly challenged, is testified in many regions.⁵³ In the area of the Karystian quarries at Myloi, this cult is confirmed by epigraphic evidence found at a short distance from the site of the vessel, as we have noted.⁵⁴ Most of the ancient cultic practices, such as those performed in the cult of Herakles did not necessarily take place in a roofed building: they could also have been performed in the open air,⁵⁵ as was the case for other deities, too. For example, no built shrine in honour of this hero-god had been erected on Thasos before the 5th century BC, but his cult was already active by that time.⁵⁶ Furthermore, Herakles is represented in certain reliefs and vase paintings standing in front of his shrine, a four-columned, unroofed monument (*Säulenbau*)⁵⁷.⁵⁸ On a marble relief from Eretria,⁵⁹ Herakles is depicted standing in front of an unroofed building and a circular *eschara*, while a priest holds the knife for the sacrifice and the sacrificial steer that was dedicated to the god.

Meat consumption was paramount in many sanctuaries during feasts and rituals honouring Herakles⁶⁰ (Paus. 2.10.1). The sources testify that in rituals to Herakles, as for other chthonic deities, the

51. See Poupaki 2001-2002.

52. For instance, a votive stone ship is attested by the sources to have been dedicated in a sanctuary of Poseidon in Geraistos, in southern Euboea: Procop. *Goth.* IV, 22, 27. *IG XII.9*, 1258.

53. During the 4th century BC, the quarries of Eleusinian black stone were included in the Sanctuary of Herakles' domain on the Akris hill, at Eleusis, where the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore was located: Clinton 2005, 94. The cult of Herakles is also attested in the Asopos Roman quarries in Laconia (Kokkorou-Alevras et al. 2009) and other quarrying sites of Laconia (e.g. Vatheia tou Mouzi: Tsouli 2014, 762, fig. 3), in the Roman quarries at Kourtzi, Mytilene, in Lesbos (Charitonidis 1961/62, 263) and in the quarries of Thasos (Waelkens et al. 1988, 115), etc. A votive niche, similar to the one at Myloi, is also mentioned in the quarries at Styra: Lambraki 1980, 41-43, figs. 7b, 8.

54. *CIL III*, 12286 (Schaubert); Chidioglou 2009, 76; Hirt 2010, 170-171; Mosser 2003, 270, no. 210; Richier 2004, 326, no. 271.

55. For instance on Thasos (Larson 2007, 184-186) and at the Asopos quarry (Kokkorou-Alevras et al. 2009, 173).

56. Larson 2007, 184.

57. Van Straten 1995, 89.

58. On a relief in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (no. 96696: Caskey 1925, no. 47) a crater appears on that shrine echoing Euripides (*HF* 1328-1333), who mentions that Herakles is honoured in Attica with sacrifices and a stone monument.

59. Eretria Archaeological Museum, no. 631: Mitropoulou 1976, 28, fig. 7; Themelis 1982, 173, pl. 107β; *LIMC*, IV, s.v. *Herakles*, no. 1379 (Boardman 1988). cf. also the niches at Plakari, Karystos: n. 18.

60. In Antimacheia on Kos the cult of Herakles Diomedonteios is epigraphically attested in a sacred law of the late 4th century BC. In Herakles' cult that was founded by Diomedon on Kos, two ceremonies took place, underscoring the double cultic role of Herakles as a hero-god, ἥρωας θεός (Pind. *Nem.* 3.22): on the first day they sacrificed on an altar as for the Olympian Gods (θεῖν), and on the second day, during the sacrifice known as δλόκαυστα, the sacrificed animal was totally burnt over the altar (ἀρήν καυτός) of the hero (*LS* 151; Bosnakis 2013, 224, n. 36; Bouraselis 2000, 55, n. 134; Farnell 1921, 122; Georgoudi 1998, 311-312; Herzog 1928, no. 10; Paton and Hicks 1899, no. 36; Segre 1993, ED 149, 22-39; Sherwin-White 1978, 364-365; Stafford 2010, 234, n. 18; Vollkomer 1988, 85; Zarraftis 2005, 20-21), as in Sicyon (Ekroth 2008b; Guthrie 1950, 238; Stafford 2010, 232-233) and on Thasos, from the Archaic period onwards (Farnell 1921, 122; Georgoudi 1998, 311).

male worshippers⁶¹ consumed part of the sacrificed animal (ἐναγίζειν). Herodotus (2.44) mentions the construction of two different shrines as the best way to worship Herakles: one for offering sacrifices to him and another for ἐναγισμούς.⁶² In sacrifices to Herakles the victim was a goat, lamb or steer.⁶³ Often, the blood of the animal was collected in a special vessel, the σφάγειον, and it was poured over the altar after the sacrifice.⁶⁴ This means that the σφάγειον should be easy to carry and therefore the 'Tsoukali' vase could not have had such a use.

A very interesting scene of θυσιαστική εὐωχία ('sacrificial feast'),⁶⁵ which took place after the sacrifice, is depicted on the Ionic hydria 'Ricci' (540 BC) in the Villa Giulia in Rome.⁶⁶ The sacrificed animal is cut into portions on a table. The meat was cooked over the fire, either by grilling after being penetrated by skewers (ὄβελοι) or it was boiled in a big marmite, a *lebes*, from which one of the cult personnel with the aid of a big fork, the κρεάγρα, grasped pieces of meat for distribution. A similar vase is depicted in a mythical scene on an Apulian *dinos*, attributed to the Dareios painter, in the Metropolitan Museum of New York.⁶⁷ The scene represents preparations for the sacrifice of Herakles by Bousiris. The slaves are depicted pouring water carried in amphorae to a *lebes* set over a fire in order to cook the hero himself after he is killed as their sacrificial victim—a plan that eventually goes awry.⁶⁸

Intestines and the best parts of the sacrificed animal were examined (σπλαγχνοσκοπία), and the edible parts were cooked over the altar, or laid on tables⁶⁹ and offered raw to the gods and the priest, together with non-blood offerings, during the communal meal called τραπεζώματα.⁷⁰ The cooked meat of the sacrificed animal was distributed to a small number of worshippers, probably those responsible for the feast. Typical items in the shrines of Herakles on Thasos, apart from the altars, are the τράπεζαι, for the 'restraining of sacrificial victims',⁷¹ and the κλίνας, for the adorers to use during ritual meals.⁷² Ekroth considered that in these rituals, 'the meat was displayed for everyone to see. If raw, it was placed on a table at the altar. If cooked, it was presented on the θεοξενία table surrounded with other food-stuffs.'⁷³

61. The cult practices in honour of Herakles mainly involved men, who were inspired by his courage, bravery and physical strength. Also for the same reasons, adolescent men worshipped Herakles before their military exercises or during their training in gymnasia and related places: Burkert 1993, 438.

62. In the first ceremony the sacrificed animal was smoked over the fire set on the altar, so that the smoke (κνίσα) could reach the residence of the gods in the sky and bring them pleasure and satisfaction (Ekroth 2008b, 88-89).

63. Before the animal was slaughtered, its head was held downwards above a pit in the ground (the sewer or the grid-dle) so that the animal's blood would be collected there and the chthonic hypostasis of the hero would be satisfied. During ceremonies in honour of the Olympian gods, the head of the animal was held looking towards the sky and its blood fell on the altar: Farnell 1921, 155.

64. Ekroth 2002, 245-247; Van Straten 1995, 49.

65. Ekroth 2008b.

66. Herda 2011, 61, n. 19 (with earlier bibliography); Ricci 1946-1948.

67. No. 1984.11.7.

68. Von Bothmer 1984-1985, 6; Brinkmann 2003, 175-176.

69. A special stone artefact like a τράπεζα with short rim has been also found in an open-air shrine of the chthonian deity (Kybele) at Loryma in Karia: Held 2010, 362, fig. 9.

70. Ekroth 2008a; 2008b, 98-99; 2011.

71. Ekroth 2008b, 98, n. 66.

72. It must be added that close architectural resemblances have been noted between the ancient rural buildings known as δρακόσπιτα (Dragon Houses) in Euboea and fortifications in Karia, in Asia Minor. The Euboean Dragon Houses have been also interpreted as lodgings for Karian slaves, who worked in the quarries (Carpenter and Boyd 1976; 1977). This theory relies on Herodotus, who informs us that Darius brought Karian slaves to Euboea during his campaign to Greece and that these people helped Xerxes during the sea and land battles in Euboea (Carpenter and Boyd 1977, 211, with quotations from ancient writers). However, this connection of the Euboean Dragon Houses to foreign constructors remains only hypothetical and is in contrast to the attested long use of these buildings throughout the Late Classical to Roman periods.

73. Ekroth 2008b, 100. Elsewhere, Ekroth (2002, 16) notes: 'three kinds of rituals were used in hero-cults: (1) animal sacrifice in which the blood was poured out, the meat was destroyed and no meal was included in the ritual, (2) the presentation of a table with food offerings, such as cakes, vegetables, fruit and cooked meat, and (3) animal sacrifice in which the hero's portion was burnt on an altar, while the rest of the meat was eaten by the worshippers.'

Conclusions

A close examination of the ‘Tsoukali’ vase brings to mind images of pre-modern and modern large cooking pots, in which portions of meat were served. Evidence relating to a number of sacrificial items that were indispensable during hero-cult practices is offered by the inscriptions, in which various culinary vessels are named.⁷⁴ Should we suggest that the cooked meat of sacrificial victims could have been served or displayed in a vessel like the one at ‘Tsoukali’ before being distributed to the worshippers, i.e. the quarrymen? Or on another cultic level, would it be possible to interpret the ‘Tsoukali’ stone vase as a large votive model of a cooking pot or basin? In this case the stone model would echo real cooking vessels that were used for the preparation of large-scale, perhaps also communal, meals. The stone pot based securely on a plateau a few metres away from its extraction spot appears as if it remained in use in the quarries, even if it was originally ordered for transport. On the other hand, there is no good epigraphic or other archaeological evidence to support the confinement of the stone vase to a strictly cultic use. The brief reference to the ceremonial practice taking place during Herakles’ cult elsewhere does not necessarily mean that there was a close connection between the half-finished vase from the Myloi quarries and the feasts in honour of this hero-god. Nevertheless, the protector god of this quarry group was Herakles, as testified by the 2nd-century AD inscribed votive niche in the vicinity of these quarries. It is probable that the meat portions of the sacrificed animal were cooked in a metallic or a ceramic vessel (possibly a *lebes*) or grilled with the aid of ὀβελοί over a fire set on an altar in the open-air shrine of the god, which can only hypothetically be located in the area of the ‘Tsoukali’ vase. The inscribed letters Z and H may constitute abbreviations to Zeus and Herakles, but they could also be interpreted as the results of a quarrymen’s random scratching or pastime, without any special meaning. Based on known parallels, the numbers XXXX and IIIII inscribed inside the vase could be interpreted as quarrying notes, meaning either the number of the blocks to be extracted⁷⁵ or the workers’ shifts. If we accept that the ‘Tsoukali’ vase was a ritual or votive vessel, then these numbers could refer to the portions of meat of the sacrificed animal, a practice often mentioned in the *Ἱεροὶ Νόμοι*. Finally, one cannot exclude a possible practical function for the stone vessel in the quarrying area, such as its occasional or regular use as a large basin or vessel filled with water by and for the craftsmen for cooling.⁷⁶

The type and the shape of the ‘Tsoukali’ vase maintain the basic principles of popular cooking vessels used in the preparation of religious and communal meals. Large cooking pots are attested for various regions, including Karystos, home of the large cooking pot named *kakavos*, as we have noted. In all suggested interpretations, we find common ground in the fact that large cooking vessels emphasize aspects of community bonding through participation in communal feasts, rituals or other organized group tasks. As shown above, the shape of the ‘Tsoukali’ vase, as well as other traits, is influenced by the Neo-Attic tradition, the presence of which in Euboea is attested by other archaeological data.⁷⁷ During the Roman period, similar vases in varying sizes and of local cipollino marble were manufactured and exported (see catalogue below). Finally, the multifaceted and complex use of this intriguing stone vase, the ‘Tsoukali’, should not be dismissed since the evidence suggests that the reuse of good-quality stone in southern Euboea, as is the case elsewhere in Greece, was a frequent occurrence in the ancient world and into modern times.

74. e.g. χύτρ[αι], κάδοι χαλκοί, σφαγεῖα καὶ χερό[νιπτρα -] (*IG II² 1416*); κρατήρ στρογγύλος, χύτρα, κότταβος, γαστροπτίς (*IG II² 1638*).

75. See n. 14.

76. The ‘Tsoukali’ vessel is nowadays a rather good depository for rain water, lasting from winter until the end of spring.

77. e.g. funerary relief from Eretria depicting a sculptor carving a marble crater: Karanastasi 2010.

Catalogue of vases in Karystian marble (cipollino)

1. 'Tsoukali' half-carved vessel

Karystos, Myloi quarry (*in situ*). GPS 38°2' 16'' 24° 26' 26''

1st century BC-1st century AD

Ambrogi 2005, no. 83; Kozelj 1988, 38, fig. 16a; Lambraki 1980, 53; Papageorgakis 1964, 266

2. Museo Barracco - *labrum*

Rome, Museo Barracco. From a Roman building in the site of 'Palazzetto Farnesina ai Baullari'

1st century BC

Ambrogi 2005, no. 91 (with additional literature); Cavalieri 2000, no. 24

3. Herculaneum - *labrum* on a column support

Forum Baths. In an apse of the *apodyterium* (*in situ*)

Caesarian or Julio-Claudian period

Ambrogi 2005, no. 84 (with additional literature); Cavalieri 2000, no. 21; Maiuri 1970, 37

4. Herculaneum - fountain *labrum*

Suburban Baths. In the atrium of *caldarium* (*in situ*)

Augustan period

Ambrogi 2005, no. 85 (with additional literature); Cavalieri 2000, no. 22

5. Ostia - *labrum*

Ancient street of Vigili, probably transferred from neighbouring baths or from Poseidon Baths

Tiberian or Claudian period

Ambrogi 2005, no. 86 (with additional literature)

6. Ostia - half-carved *labrum* with signs of quarrying

Atrium of the Roman villa in the site of Porta Marina (*in situ*)

Mid-Imperial period

Ambrogi 2005, no. 87

7. Ostia - *labrum*

Thermopolium on Artemis Street

First half of the 2nd century AD

Ambrogi 2005, no. 88

8. Rome - half-carved *labrum*

Rome. Antiquarium del Celio. Probably from the marble deposits on the borders of the Tiber

Undetermined date

Ambrogi 2005, no. 89

9. Villa Albani - *labrum*

Rome. Villa Albani, no. 114. Unknown origin (used as fountain basin in 'Loggia del Bigliardo', Rome)

Undetermined date

Ambrogi 2005, no. 91 (with additional literature); Cavalieri 2000, no. 23; Morcelli et al. 1869, 21, no. 114

10. *Labrum* in Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus
Rome, Janiculum Hill. Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus (*in situ?*)
Undetermined date (2nd-3rd century AD?)
Calzini Gyzens 1996, 279, n. 11

11. Ny Carlsberg - basin
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek (Copenhagen). Unknown origin; bought in Cyprus
3rd-4th century AD
Ambrogi 1995, no. AII16 (with additional literature)

12. Piazza Nicosia - basin
Rome. Piazza Nicosia. Unknown origin
3rd-4th century AD
Ambrogi 1995, no. AI10 (with additional literature)

13. Fragment of a round table (Fig. 8)
New Acropolis Museum, no. M203. Athens, Makrygiannis plot, mid-Byzantine grave-ossuary (‘χώρος 3’)
Late Roman
Unpublished

14. Fragment of a basin (Fig. 7b)
New Acropolis Museum, no. M1140. Athens, Makrygiannis plot, from the central drain of Late Roman road ‘οδός 2’
Late Roman
Unpublished

15. Fragment of a basin (Fig. 7a)
New Acropolis Museum, no. M529. Athens, Makrygiannis plot, from a modern layer
Late Roman
Unpublished

16. Fragment of a basin
Kos Archaeological Museum, without inv. no. From the Late Roman/Early Byzantine mansion on M. Tsocha’s property (to the east of Casa Romana)
Late Roman
Unpublished

17. Three fragments of a basin
Medieval Castle of Kos (archaeological deposit), without inv. no. Unknown origin
Late Roman (?)
Unpublished

18. *Labrum* from Florence
Florence. Giardino di Boboli. Fontana del Carciofo. Unknown origin
Undetermined date
Cavaliere 2000, no. 20

Bibliography

- Ambrogi, A. (1995) 'Vasche di età Romana in Marmi Bianchi e Colorati'. *Studia Archeologica* 79. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Ambrogi, A. (2005) 'Labra di età Romana in Marmi Bianchi e Colorati'. *Studia Archeologica* 136. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Aravantinos, V. (2010) *The Archaeological Museum of Thebes*. Athens: John S. Latsis Public Benefit Foundation EFG; Eurobank Ergasias S.A.-Olkos.
- Barbier de Montault, X. (1870) *Musées et Galleries de Rome. Catalogue général de tous les objets d'art qui y sont exposés*. Rome: J. Spithover.
- Bartoli, D. G. (2008) 'Marble Transport in the Time of Severans: A New Analysis of the Punta Scifo a Shipwreck at Croton, Italy'. PhD thesis. Texas A&M University, USA.
- Boardman, J. (1988) 'Trade in Greek Decorated Pottery'. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 7(1), 27-33.
- Bonifacio, G., A. M. Sodo, G. C. Ascione, eds. (2001) *In Stabiano. Cultura e Archeologia da Stabiae: la Città e il Territorio tra l'Età Arcaica e l'Età Romana. Catalogo della Mostra (4 novembre 2000 - 31 gennaio 2001)*. Castellammare di Stabia: N. Longobardi.
- Bosnakis, D. (2013) 'Από τον Αθηναϊκό Κεραμεικό στην Κω. Ένας Αμφορέας από τον Κύκλο του Ζωγράφου του Αντιμένους με Παράσταση του Ηρακλή'. In *ΔΙΝΗΕΣΣΑ. Τιμητικός τόμος για την Κατερίνα Ρωμιοπούλου*, edited by P. Adam-Veleni and K. Tzanavari, 219-225. Thessaloniki: Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki.
- Von Bothmer, D. (1984-1985) 'Greek and Roman Art'. *Notable Acquisitions (Metropolitan Museum of Art) 1984-1985*, 6-7.
- Bouraselis, K. (2000) *Kos between Hellenism and Rome. Studies on the Political, Institutional and Social History of Kos from ca. the middle 2nd century BC until late Antiquity*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.
- Brinkmann, V. (2003) 'Herakles totet den ägyptischen König Busiris'. In *Herakles - Herkules*, edited by R. Wünsche, 175-176. Munich: Staatliche Antikensammlungen München.
- Bruno, M. (1998) 'Su un Fusto Colossale di Cipollino sopra le Cave di Kyliindroi nel distretto di Myloi'. In Vol. II of *Marmi antichi [Cave e Tecnica di Lavorazione, Provenienze e Distribuzione]*, edited by P. Pensabene, 327-332. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Bruzza, L. M. (1870) 'Iscrizioni dei Marmi Grezzi'. *Annali 1a Cirrispondenza Archeologica* 42, 106-204.
- Burkert, W. (1993) *Αρχαία ελληνική θρησκεία. Αρχαϊκή και κλασσική εποχή* [trans. N. Bezantakos]. Athens: Kardamitsa Editions.
- Burrows, R. and P. Ure (1907/1908) 'Excavations at Rhitsona in Boeotia'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 14, 226-318.
- Calzini Gyzens, J. (1996) 'La localization du Temple de Jupiter Héliopolitain au Janicule'. In *Orientalia Sacra urbis Romae: Dolichena et heliopolitana*, edited by G. M. Bellelli and U. Bianchi, 277-288. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Carpenter, J. and D. Boyd (1976) 'The Dragon Houses of Southern Euboea'. *Archaeology* 29, 250-257.
- Carpenter, J. and D. Boyd (1977) 'Dragon Houses, Euboea, Attika, Karia'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 81(2), 179-215.
- Caskey, L. D. (1925) *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Cavalieri, M. (2000) 'Fontane Circolari in Marmi Colorati nel Mondo Romano: Diffusione ed Impiego'. *Aurea Parma* LXXXIV(III), 417-438.
- Charitonidis, S. (1961/1962) 'Λέσβος, Μυτιλήνη'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 17(Β' Χρονικά), 261-263.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2009) 'New Data on the Ancient Quarries in Southern Euboea, Greece'. In *ΛΕΥΚΟΣ ΛΙΘΟΣ. Marbre et Autres Roches de la Méditerranée: Études Interdisciplinaires. Actes du VIIIe Colloque International de l'ASMOSIA 2006, Aix-en Provence 12-18 Juin 2006*, edited by J. Philippe, 73-91. Aix-en-Provence: Maisonneuve & Larose.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2010a) 'Karystian Marble Trade in the Roman Mediterranean Region: An Overview of Old

- and New data.' *Bollettino di Archeologia on line I [Volume speciale/Poster Session 7]*, 48-56. http://www.bollettinodiarcheologiaonline.beniculturali.it/documenti/generale/6_CHIDIROGLOU.pdf. Accessed 10 January, 2014.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2010b) 'The Archaeological Research in the Region of the Modern Municipality of Styra: Old and New Finds.' *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 10(3), 19-28.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2012) 'Η Αρχαία Καρυστία. Συμβολή στην Ιστορία και Αρχαιολογία της περιοχής από τη Γεωμετρική έως και την Αυτοκρατορική εποχή'. PhD thesis. University of Athens, Greece.
- Clinton, K. (2005) *Eleusis. The inscriptions of Stone. Documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme*. Athens: Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία.
- Crielaard, J. P., F. Songu, M. Chidiroglou and M. Kosma (2012) 'The Plakari Archaeological Project. Project Outline and Preliminary Report of the First Field Season (2010)'. *Pharos* 18(2), 83-106.
- Demakopoulou, K. and D. Konsola (1995) *Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο της Θήβας. Οδηγός*. Athens: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων.
- Dodge, H. (1984) 'Building Materials and Techniques in the Eastern Mediterranean from the Hellenistic to the 4th century AD'. PhD thesis. University of Newcastle upon Tyne, UK.
- Dodge, H. (1988) 'Palmyra and the Roman Marble Trade. Evidence from the Baths of Diokletian.' *Levant* XX, 215-230.
- Dworakowska, A. (1983) *Quarries in Roman Provinces*. Wrocław: Ossolineum.
- Ekroth, G. (2002) 'The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic periods.' *Kernos Supplement* 12.
- Ekroth, G. (2008a) 'Meat, Man and God. On the Division of the Animal Victim at Greek sacrifices'. In *Μικρός Ιερομνήμων. Μελέτες εις Μνήμην του Michael H. Jameson*, edited by A. Matthaiou and I. Polinskaya, 259-290. Athens: Ελληνική Επιγραφική Εταιρεία.
- Ekroth, G. (2008b) 'Burnt, Cooked or Raw: Divine and Human Culinary Desires at Greek Animal Sacrifice'. In Vol. 15 of *Performances Intercultural Studies on Ritual, Play and Theatre 15 [Transformations in Sacrificial Practices. From Antiquity to Modern Times] Proceedings of an International Colloquium. Heidelberg, 12-14 July, 2006*, edited by E. Stavrianopoulou, A. Michaels and C. Ambos, 87-111. Berlin: Transaction Publishers.
- Ekroth, G. (2011) 'Meat for the Gods'. *Kernos Supplement* 26, 15-41.
- Fachard, S. (2005) 'Trois Sites de l'Érétriade Méridionale: Aghios Nikolaos, Tsakaioi, Myrtia'. *Antike Kunst* 48, 114-123.
- Fachard, S. (2006) 'Les Forteresses de l'Érétriade: Prospections, Relevés et Études'. *Antike Kunst* 49, 87-95.
- Farnell, L. R. (1921) *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Georgoudi, S. (1998) 'Héraclès dans les Pratiques Sacrificielles des Cités'. In *Kernos Supplément* 7, 301-317.
- Grassinger, D. (1991) 'Römische Marmorkrater'. Vol. XVIII of *Monumenta Artis Romanae*. Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern.
- Guthrie, W. K. C. (1950) *The Greeks and their Gods*. London: Methuen.
- Hankey, V. (1965) 'A Marble Quarry at Karystos'. *Bulletin du Musée du Beyrouth* 18, 53-59.
- Held, W. (2010) 'Die Heiligtümer und Kulte von Loryma'. In *Hellenistic Karia. Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Hellenistic Karia. Oxford, 29 June-2 July, 2006*, edited by D. Van Bremen and J-M. Carbon, 355-377. Talence: Ausonius Édition.
- Herda, A. (2011) 'How to Run a State Cult: The Organization of the Cult of Apollo Delphinios in Miletus'. In *Current Approaches to Religion in ancient Greece, Papers presented at a Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 17-19 April, 2008*, edited by J. Wallensten and M. Haysom, 57-93. Stockholm: Swedish Institute at Athens.
- Herzog, R. (1928) *Heilige Gesetze von Kos*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Higgins, M. and R. Higgins (1996) *A Geological Companion to Greece and the Aegean*, London: Duckworth.
- Hirt, A. M. (2010) *Imperial Mines and Quarries in the Roman World: Organizational Aspects 27 BC-AD 235*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- IG XII.9 = Ziebarth E. (1915) *Inscriptiones Graecae: Inscriptiones Euboeae insulae*, XII.9. Berlin 1915.

- Karanastasi, P. (2010) 'Η επιτύμβια στήλη του Μεγιστοκλή'. In *Ερέτρια. Ματιές σε μια αρχαία πόλη*, edited by N. Kaltsas, S. Fachard, A. Psalti and M. Giannopoulou, 353. Athens: Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece.
- Keller, D. (1985) *Archaeological Survey in Southern Euboea, Greece: A reconstruction of human activity from Neolithic times through the Byzantine period*. PhD thesis. Indiana University, USA.
- Kokkorou-Alevras, G., A. Chatziconstantinou, A. Efstathopoulos, E. Zavvou, N. Themis, K. Kopanias and E. Poupaki (2009) 'Ancient Quarries in Laconia'. In *Sparta and Laconia. From Pre-History to Pre-Modern. Proceedings of the Conference held in Sparta by the B.S.A., the University of Nottingham, the E'E.P.C.A. and the 5th E.B.A. 17-20 March, 2005*, edited by W. Cavanagh, C. Gallou and M. Georgiadis, 169-180. London: British School at Athens.
- Kokkorou-Alevras, G., E. Poupaki and A. Efstathopoulos (2010) *Αρχαία Ελληνικά Λατομεία*. Athens: Πολιτιστικό Ίδρυμα Ομίλου Πειραιώς.
- Kokkorou-Alevras, G., E. Poupaki and A. Efstathopoulos (2013) 'Αρχαίο Λατομείο Μαρμάρου στον Απόλλωνα της Νάξου'. In *Πρακτικά Δ' Πανελληνίου Συνεδρίου με θέμα 'Η Νάξος διά μέσου των αιώνων'* (Κωμιακή, 4-7 Σεπτεμβρίου 2008), edited by I. Promponas and E. S. Psarras, 109-126. Athens: Δήμος Νάξου και Μικρών Κυκλάδων.
- Koželj, T. (1988) 'Les Carrières des Époques Grecque, Romaine et Byzantine: Techniques et Organisation'. In *Ancient Marble, Quarrying and Trade. Papers from a Colloquium held at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, San Antonio, Texas, December, 1986*, edited by C. Fant, 3-79. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Koželj, T. and M. Wurch-Koželj (1995) 'Dragon-houses of Southern Euboea: Military Guard-places of the Quarries'. In *The Study of Marble and Other Stones in Antiquity. ASMOSIA III Athens: Transactions of the 3rd International Symposium of the Association for the Study of Marble and other Stones in antiquity*, edited by Y. Maniatis, N. Herz and Y. Basiakos Yannis, 17-31. London: Archetype.
- Lambraki, A. (1980) 'Le Cipolin de la Karystie. Contribution à l'Étude des Marbres de la Grèce exploités aux Époques Romaine et Paléochrétienne'. *Révue Archéologique* 1, 51-56.
- Larson, J. (2007) *Ancient Greek Cults. A Guide*. New York: Routledge.
- Lazzarini, L. (2007) 'Note sulle Cave di Marmo usate per Statuarie Greca Arcaica'. In *I Greci in Adriatico nell' Età dei Kouroi. Quaderni di Archeologia nelle Marche XIII*, edited by M. Luni, 221-237. Urbino: Quattroventi.
- Lazzarini, L., U. Masi and P. Tucci (1995) 'Petrographic and Geochemical Features of the Carystian marble, "Cipollino verde", from the ancient quarries of Southern Euboea (Greece)'. In *The Study of Marble and Other Stones in Antiquity. ASMOSIA III Athens: Transactions of the 3rd International Symposium of the Association for the Study of Marble and other Stones in antiquity*, edited by Y. Maniatis, N. Herz and Y. Bassiakos, 161-169. London: Archetype.
- Legrand, P-E. (1889) 'Deux inscriptions latines de Carystos'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 13, 519-523.
- Maiuri, A. (1970) *Herculaneum*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico Dello Stato, Libreria Dello Stato.
- Mitropoulou, E. (1976) *Five Contributions to the Problems of Greek reliefs*. Athens: Εκδόσεις Πύλη.
- Morcelli, S. A., C. Fea and E. Q. Visconti (1869) *Description de la Villa Albani aujourd'hui Torlonia*. Rome: Imprimerie Salviucci.
- Mosser, M. (2003) 'Die Steindenkmäler des Legio XV Apollinaris'. Vol. 5 of *Wiener Archäologische Studien*. Vienna: Phoibos.
- Moutsopoulos, N. (1982) 'Τα δρακόσπιτα της ΝΔ Εύβοιας: Συμβολή στην Αρχιτεκτονική, την Τυπολογία και τη Μορφολογία τους'. *Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα της Πολυτεχνικής Σχολής. Τμήμα Αρχιτεκτόνων. Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης Η'* (1978-1980), 263-479.
- Orlandos, A. (1994) *Τα Υλικά Δομής των Αρχαίων Ελλήνων και οι Τρόποι Εφαρμογής αυτών κατά τους Συγγραφείς, τας Επιγραφάς και τα Μνημεία*. Athens: Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας.
- Parapeorgakis, I. (1964) 'Συμβολή εις την Γνώσιν των εις την Αρχαίαν Ελλάδα χρησιμοποιηθέντων Μαρμάρων και των Λατομείων αυτών. II. Τα Αρχαία Λατομεία του Καρυστίου Μαρμάρου'. *Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών* 39, 262-278
- Parapeorgakis, I. (1967) 'Τα εις την Μαρμαρικήν Τέχνην Χρήσιμα Πετρώματα της Ελλάδος'. *Γεωλογικά Χρονικά των Ελληνικών Χωρών* 18, 193-270.
- Paton, W. R. and E. L. Hicks (1899) *The Inscriptions of Cos*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Pensabene, P. (1998) 'Le Colonne Sbozzate di Cipollino nei Distretti di Myloi e di Aetos (Karystos)'. In Vol. II of *Marmi antichi [Cave e Tecnica di Lavorazione, Provenienze e Distribuzione]*, edited by P. Pensabene, 311-326. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Roupaki, E. (2001-2002) 'Λίθινα Λουτήρια, Περιρραντήρια και Κάρδοποι της Κλασικής Αρχαιότητας'. *Αρχαιολογία* 11, 273-306.
- Roupaki, E. (2012) 'Κωακοί λίθοι και κωακή λιθοξοΐα. Η Χρήση των Λίθων της Κω στην Αρχιτεκτονική, Γλυπτική και Κατασκευή Επιτύμβιων, Ενεπίγραφων Μνημείων και Τέχνηργων. Αρχαϊκή-Παλαιοχριστιανική περίοδος. Η Σημασία της για την Οικονομία του Νησιού'. PhD thesis. University of Athens, Greece.
- Reber, K. (2010) 'The Dragon Houses of Styra: Topography, Architecture and Function'. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 10(3), 53-61.
- Ricci, G. (1946-1948) 'Una hydria da Caere'. *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene*: 24-26 and 47-57.
- Richier, O. (2004) 'Centuriones ad Rhenum. Les Centurions légionnaires des armes romaines du Rhin'. *Gallia Romana* 6. Paris: De Boccard.
- Segre, M. (1993) 'Iscrizioni di Cos. 1. Testo'. Vol. VI of *Monografie della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente*, edited by D. P. Delmouzu and M. A. Rizzo. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Shaw, J. (1969) 'A Foundation in the Inner Harbor at Lechaum'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 73(3), 370-372.
- Sherwin-White, S. (1978) 'Ancient Cos. An historical study from the Dorian settlement to the Imperial Period'. *Hypomnemata. Untersuchungen zur Antike und zu ihrem Nachleben* 51. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Stafford, E. (2010) 'Herakles between Gods and Heroes'. In *The Gods of Ancient Greece. Identities and Transformations*, edited by J. Bremmer and A. Erskine, 228-244. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Sutherland, J. (2013) *Karystian Cipollino Marble. Its Export from Euboea and Distribution*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Sutherland, J. and A. Sutherland (2002) 'Roman Marble Quarrying near Karystos Southern Euboea'. *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 3, 254-256.
- Themelis, P. G. (1982) 'Ανασκαφή στην Ερέτρια'. *Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, 163-180.
- Tsaravopoulos, A. (1987-2003) 'Κυθηραϊκά Νέα'. *HOPOS* 14-16, 207-211.
- Tsouli, M. (2014) 'New Evidence on ancient Quarrying Activity at the Mani Peninsula'. In *Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone. ASMOSIA X Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference of ASMOSIA. Association for the Study of Marble & Other Stones In Antiquity. Rome 21-26 May, 2012*, edited by P. Pensabene and E. Gasparini, 823-830. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Van Den Hoek, A. and J. J. Herrmann (2013) 'Paulinus of Nola, Courtyards and Canthari: a Second Look'. In *Pottery, Pavements, and Paradise: Iconographic and Textual Studies on Late Antiquity*, edited by A. Van Den Hoek and J. J. Herrmann, 9-64. Leiden: Brill.
- Vanhove, D. (1996) *Roman Marble Quarries in Southern Euboea and the associated Road Systems*. Leiden: Brill.
- Van Straten, F. T. (1995) *Hiera Kala. Images of Ancient Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece*. Leiden: Brill.
- Vollkomer, R. (1988) *Herakles in the Art of Classical Greece*. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.
- Waelkens, M., P. De Paepe and L. Moens (1988) 'Patterns of Extraction and Production in the White Marble Quarries of the Mediterranean: History, Present Problems and Prospects'. In *Ancient Marble, Quarrying and Trade. Papers from a Colloquium held at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, San Antonio, Texas, December, 1986*, edited by J. C. Fant, 81-116. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Wecowski, M. (2013) *The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Zappas, T. (1981-1982) 'Η Καρύστια και Στύρια Λίθος. Αρχαία λατομεία και μάρμαρα'. *Αρχαία Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 24, 143-275.
- Zarraftis, I. (2005) *Κώια. Α' τόμος (Γεωγραφικά-Ιστορικά)*. Κος: Ιπποκράτειος Δημοτική Βιβλιοθήκη Κω.

Figures



Figure 1:
Half-carved cipollino vase in Myloi
quarry ('Tsoukali'). Photo
M. Chidioglou and E. Poupaki.

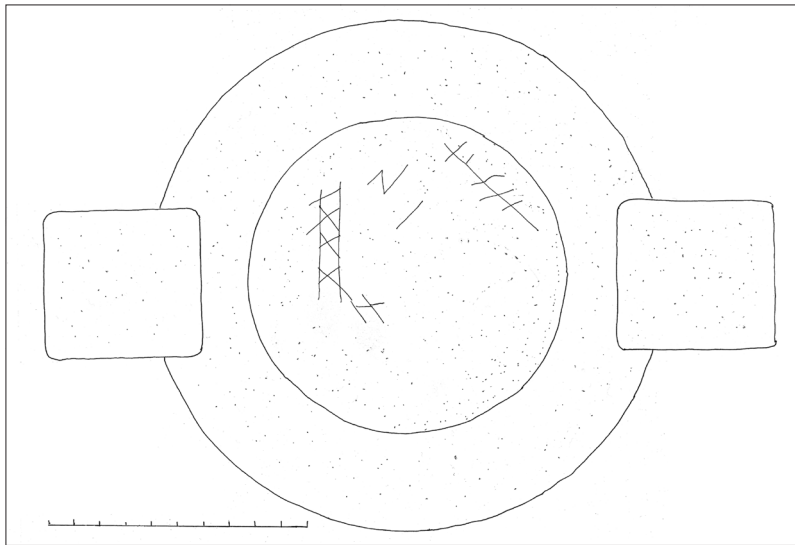


Figure 2:
Upper side of the half-carved vase.
Drawing E. Poupaki.



Figure 3:
Pole-holes close to the half-carved
vase. Photo M. Chidioglou and
E. Poupaki.



Figure 4:
Curved rock-cut for the detachment
of the block used for the ‘Tsoukali’ vase.
Photo M. Chidiroglou and E. Poupaki.



Figure 5:
Hole in the rock-face for the insertion
of the straps used for the transfer of the
marble block. Photo
M. Chidiroglou and E. Poupaki.

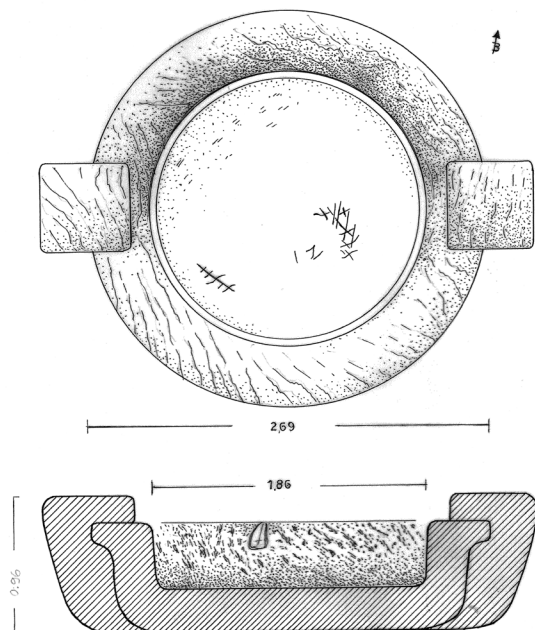
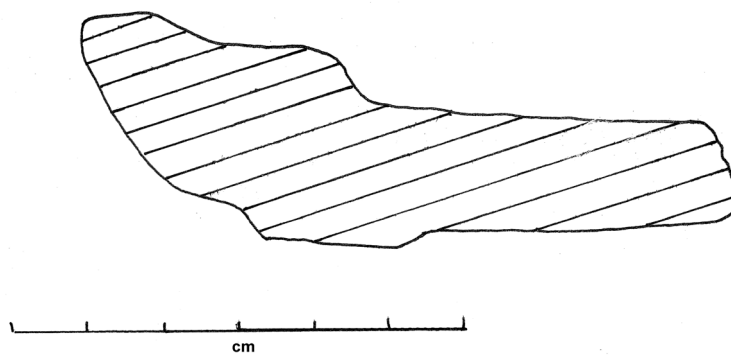
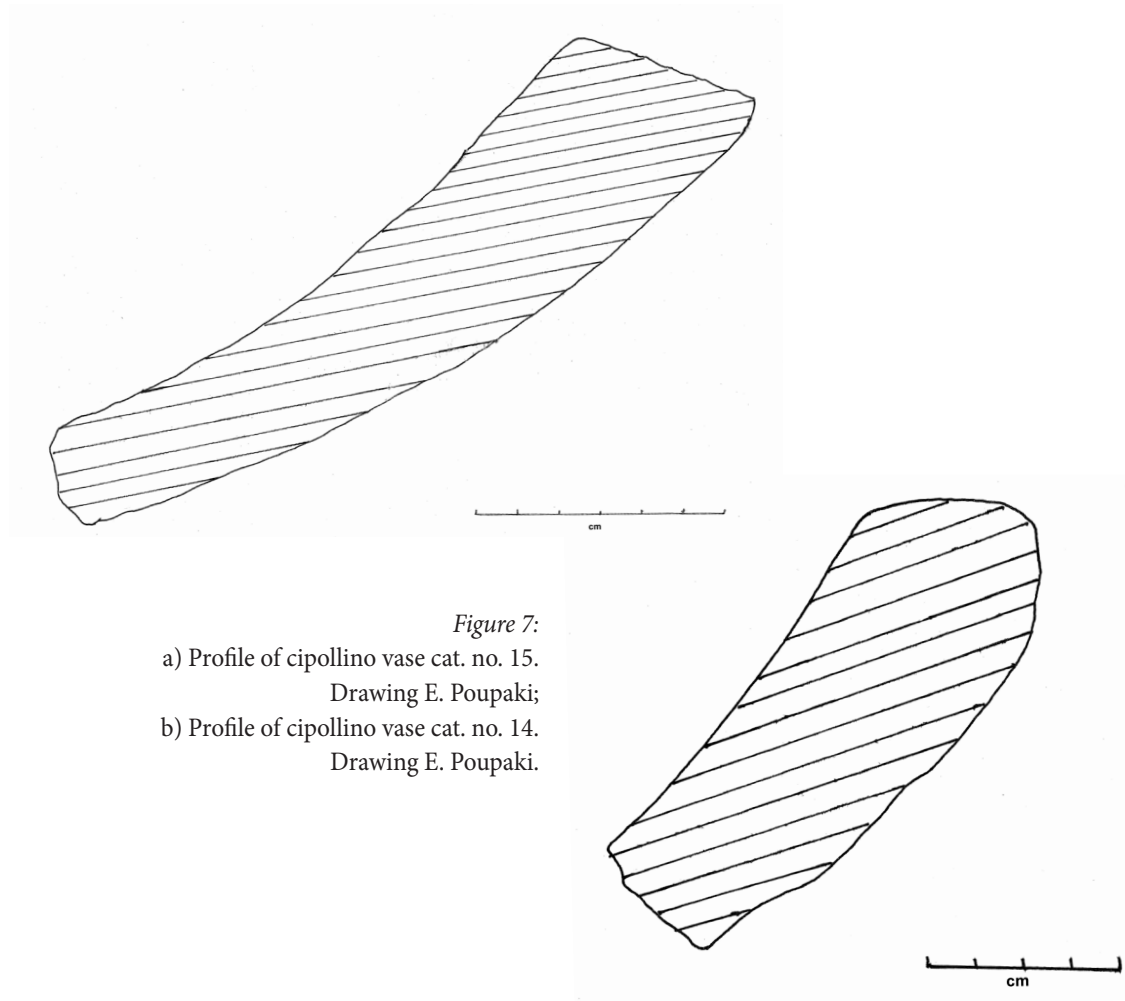


Figure 6:
Half-carved cipollino vase (‘Tsoukali’) at Myloi quarry.
Drawing A. Drigopoulou.



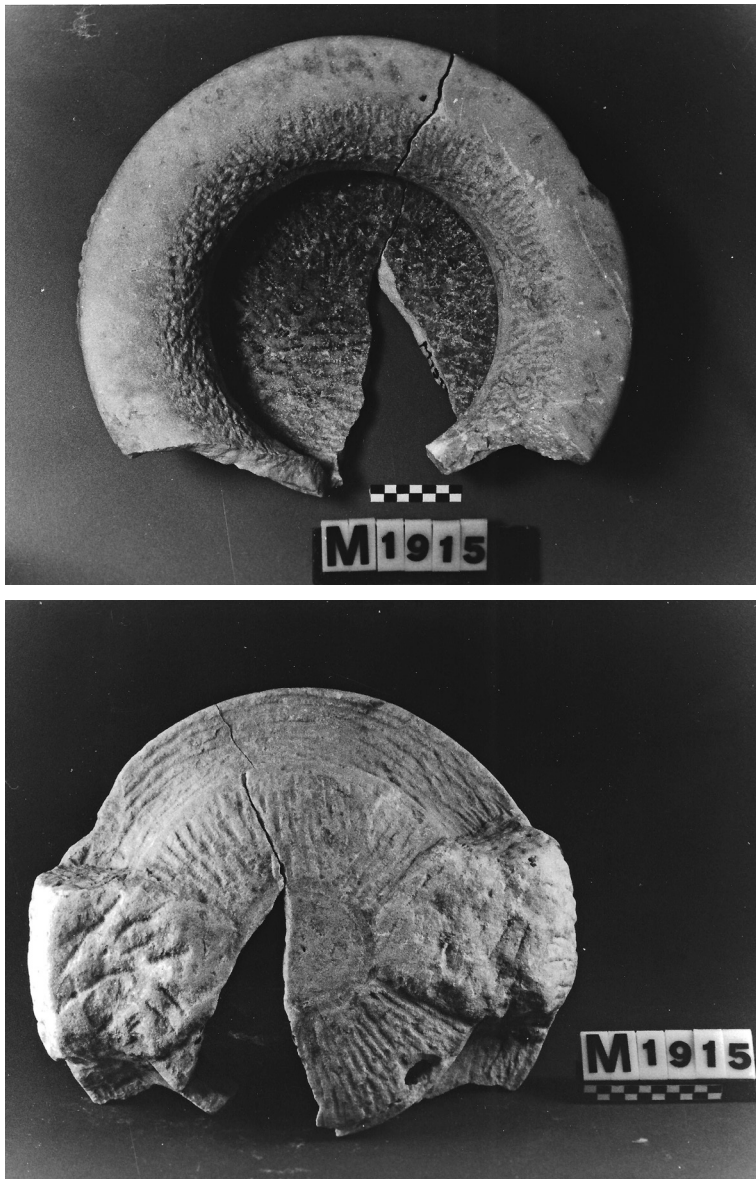


Figure 9:
Upper and bottom side of
the half-carved marble vase
from Athens.
Photo N. Antoniadis.

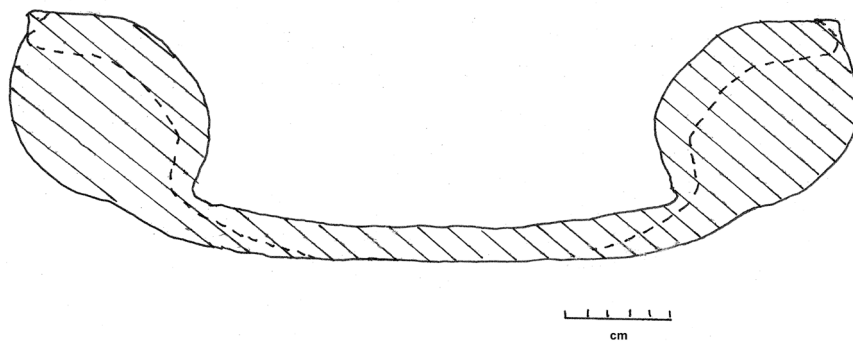


Figure 10: Profile of the half-carved marble vase from Athens. Drawing E. Poupaki.

A GIS exploratory analysis of farmsteads: A case-study of the Karystian farmsteads on the Paximadi Peninsula

Maeve McHUGH

Περίληψη

Αυτό το άρθρο προέκυψε από την έρευνά μου σχετικά με τον ρόλο και τη λειτουργία των αγροικιών στη γεωργία κατά την Κλασική-Ελληνιστική περίοδο (450-250 π.Χ).¹ Η προβληματική ταυτοποίηση των αγροτικών θέσεων που διστακτικά ταυτίζονται με αγροικίες έχει οδηγήσει κάποιους ερευνητές να απορρίψουν την ύπαρξη αγροτικών θέσεων που θα μπορούσαν να έχουν διάφορες λειτουργίες (εργασία, αποθήκευση, επεξεργασία) για όσους ασχολούνταν με την γεωργία.² Σε αυτό το άρθρο θα παρουσιαστούν οι αγροτικές θέσεις που προσδιορίζονται ως αγροικίες στην επιφανειακή έρευνα στην Κάρυστο³ προκειμένου να πραγματοποιηθεί μια διερευνητική ανάλυση της χωρικής κινητικότητας μεταξύ των αγροικιών και των αστικών κέντρων με σκοπό την κατανόηση του πως η προσβασιμότητα στις αγροικίες διευκόλυνε τους αγροτικούς τους ρόλους. Θα ξεκινήσω με μια σύντομη επισκόπηση βασισμένη στο ρόλο της τυπολογίας των αγροτικών θέσεων που προτείνονται στην έρευνά μου και τις προκλήσεις που συνδέονται με την εφαρμογή αυτής της τυπολογίας στις θέσεις που βρίσκονται στο ακρωτήριο της Παξιμάδας. Στη συνέχεια θα χρησιμοποιηθούν αλγόριθμοι Ανάλυσης Συμφορότερης Διαδρομής (LCP - Least Cost Path Analysis) για να διερευνηθεί το εύρος των επαφών που είχαν αυτές οι γεωργικές θέσεις με μεγαλύτερα αστικά κέντρα. Τα συμπεράσματα αυτής της ανάλυσης θα καταδείξουν πόσο προσιτό και συνδεδεμένο ήταν το γεωργικό τοπίο με την αγροτική παραγωγή καθώς επίσης και τις οικονομικές επιπτώσεις σε σχέση με τη διακίνηση των αγαθών στις αγορές.

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to carry out an exploratory study on the viability of applying GIS (Geographical Information Systems) modelling, specifically spatial mobility analysis, to the farmstead sites identified in the original survey of the Paximadi Peninsula.⁴ This study is inspired by Keller and Hom's 2010 paper in which the authors noted a number of ancient route ways connecting sites in the Paximadi Peninsula. In the article the authors comment:

1. I wish to extend my thanks to Dr Donald Keller for very kindly providing the data which allowed this analysis to happen. My thanks also to the School of Classics, UCD, and the Head of School Prof. T. Urbainczyk, who provided funding to attend the conference, Ms. J. Doyle for reading previous drafts of this paper, and the peer reviewers whose comments have greatly improved this paper.

2. Pettegrew 2001; see responses by Bintliff et al. 2002; Foxhall 2002; Osborne 2002; Pettegrew 2002.

3. Keller 1985.

4. Keller 1985; 1989; Keller and Wallace 1988.

The analysis of routes can provide insight into the distribution of population centres as well as areas of economic activity. It can also widen our understanding of the reasons for communication (trade, social contacts, religious activities, political relations, and boundaries).⁵

In this paper I compare the sections of ancient route ways identified by the author to the least cost paths generated using the GIS programme ArcGIS 10.⁶ Least cost paths model routes across the landscape based on the path of least resistance. This is achieved using the elevation data acquired from an ASTERv2 DEM and generating routes between two points. It is worthwhile here, therefore, to compare the existing ancient routes against those which trace the most cost-effective path through the landscape. Additionally, a cost distance analysis will measure the time cost (measured in minutes) to travel through the landscape. These analyses could potentially provide insight into the reasons behind the positioning of roads and sites: i.e. for ease of access to particular parts of the landscape for agricultural purposes. Similar studies have been carried out in the Boeotia survey area, and interesting results concerning the accessibility of sites in the Classical agricultural landscape have emerged.⁷

The archaeological data and GIS analyses

Before GIS analyses can be undertaken it is necessary to provide a context for this discussion and to outline what is meant by the term 'farmstead'. For the purposes of this paper, a farmstead is defined as a rural site which could support either year-round or temporary occupation by a free or slave-labour force engaged in agricultural activity either for subsistence or economic gain. For Lin Foxhall, 'the modern archaeological notion of a farmstead may well be an alien intrusion in terms of classical Greek thought, primarily because there is no ancient Greek word for "farmstead" in a joined up American or European sense.'⁸ The fact that there is not an ancient Greek word for a farmstead does not necessarily mean that they did not exist, primarily because the Greeks classified real property differently from our modern way of so doing.⁹ To explain further, real property was made up of its individual elements, meaning that an *oikia* (house) could be found in the city as well as the countryside, and that it could be further defined by including additional information about the type of land or structures associated with it. Therefore, it is not sufficient to dismiss the existence of farmsteads solely because of issues pertaining to ancient and modern nomenclature. The difficulty in correctly naming these types of rural sites and structures is symptomatic of the challenging nature of research into ancient Greek farming. The issue of farmsteads is a complex one, and there need not be one single explanation for all farms and their systems.¹⁰ It is important not to get bogged down in the debates concerning the terminology used to describe these rural sites, and it is not as simple as identifying the evidence on the principle of 'one size fits all'.

There is a need for new, specific criteria constructed from the accumulated findings of previous archaeological research, since it is irrefutable, based on the archaeological and textual evidence, that people worked on, moved through and lived in the countryside. Therefore, the development and application of criteria for farmsteads helps us to reconstruct how farmers used rural sites for agricultural industry.

5. Keller and Hom 2010, 2.

6. For a discussion on the applicability of GIS technology to the archaeological record, see Connolly and Lake 2006; Van Leusen 1999; Wheatley and Gillings 2001.

7. Howard 2007, 111-125; Farinetti 2011.

8. Foxhall 2002, 216; cf. Lohmann 1992; see Osborne 1992.

9. See discussion in Pritchett and Pippin 1956; Finley 1951; Lambert 1997.

10. Pečírka 1973, 114.

Over the course of my research, I have developed a role-based typology¹¹ of rural agricultural sites based on the available archaeological data of sites identified in landscape survey as ‘farmsteads’. In doing so, I have classified them according to their structure types, locations, ceramics and evidence for agricultural activity.¹² In brief, I have identified three types of rural site which could have supported domestic and/or industrial activity connected to agriculture. I term the three site classes ‘simple rural sites’, ‘installations’ and ‘tower complexes’. Furthermore, within each site class I argue that it is possible to recognize a scalable range of activity on sites from single-use sites to sites which supported a full range of domestic and agricultural activity. Fig. 1 broadly illustrates the variety of site functions within each site class.

The activity of each site class falls within a continuum ranging from a purely agricultural function, indicated by the presence of an installation used in the processing of raw materials (threshing floors, *trapetum*, lever presses), to a primarily domestic ceramic signature with little or no evidence of agricultural activity. The results of my analyses of farmstead sites have indicated that it is highly probable that there was a broad spectrum of different types of structures and sites engaged in agricultural activity with regional variations throughout the Greek world. Significantly, this spectrum is dependent on a series of regional variables, including the topography of the landscape, socio-political regimes and the wealth of the farmer.¹³ In an attempt to understand how agricultural industry was realized, it is necessary to generate models of the agricultural landscape based on the accessibility to and from each site class and the nearest urban centre, using GIS. In the context of this research, it is important to stress that the findings from GIS analysis are not complete owing to the incomplete state of the archaeological record and the crude nature of the basic data available for analysis. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is not to provide solutions, but to further question the available data in a meaningful way in an attempt to model the agricultural activity in the landscape.

The final publication of the survey and excavation material from Karystia has not yet been completed.¹⁴ Therefore it is not possible to make statements about the nature of habitation or activity at the individual sites based on the available published ceramic material. This means that it is difficult at present to distinguish variations in site use based on the ceramic types and quantities found there. Nevertheless, the published material as it stands does suggest that the ceramics from these sites are compatible with the ‘ceramic signature’ identified in other farmsteads.¹⁵ Further in-depth analysis will no doubt shed light on the different functions of these sites, but as of yet an informed discussion of activities in individual farmsteads remains an impossibility. Nevertheless, the sheer quantity of visible structural remains in this area indicates that an analysis of the ceramics will add to our understanding of an already fascinating example of an ancient agricultural landscape.

Mobility in the agricultural landscape of the Paximadi Peninsula

Fig. 2 locates the agricultural sites, settlements and ancient route ways identified by Keller and Hom used in this paper, with the addition of the GIS-generated least cost paths. The map shows a large section of ancient route way extending from the ancient site of Kourmali northwards, possibly towards Karystos, and other traces of road are indicated in the centre of the peninsula and to the south. For this

11. Farmstead typologies have been created previously for individual areas and particular site types (towers) such as Keos (Mondoni 1994, 156); see discussion of farmstead classification in Stewart 2013; 2014.

12. This classification and its applicability to the archaeological record is discussed in greater detail in the monograph *The Ancient Greek Farmstead* (McHugh 2017).

13. See discussions in Jameson 1992, 135; Lohmann 1992, 58; Pečírka 1973, 114.

14. See Keller and Hom 2010; Keller and Schneider 2009; Langridge-Noti 2004.

15. Langridge-Noti 2004, 487–494; see discussion in Pettegrew 2001; Whitelaw 1998, 231ff; Winther-Jacobson 2010.

study the sites of Kourmali, Karystos and C27 located within the peninsula could have functioned as a central place for the storage and/or sale of agricultural produce.¹⁶ In this model, therefore, these sites are assigned a role as nodal points in the landscape. Given the importance placed on these three sites within the peninsula, it is possible to assume that these sites were accessible to and from each other via roads. By generating least cost paths between these three nodal points a comparison to the available ancient evidence can be undertaken. As illustrated in Fig. 2, the least cost paths do not exactly mirror the noted ancient roads. There are some similarities between the ancient routes and the least cost paths, particularly leading from Kourmali and from site C27. This of course is not definitive proof that the rest of the cost path follows the ancient route. However, the positioning of sites, especially along the east and north of the peninsula, does suggest that there may have been a road network which made these sites accessible. Even if the least cost paths and the ancient routes are not comparable at all to the GIS outputs, this may simply indicate that factors other than ease of access were at play for site location.

Crucially, the ability to move produce through the countryside quickly and easily increases the economic viability of agricultural industry; indeed, even farmers engaged in cultivation for subsistence purposes need to engage with markets periodically.¹⁷ In terms of this analysis, it is important to take into account the movement of people walking to/from the city and countryside, but also the movement of animals carrying loads of agricultural produce and raw materials. By generating cost distance maps it is possible to investigate the cost, in time, for moving across the landscape and to visualize these estimates on a map. In addition to this, these estimates can then be compared to benchmark parameters for the kinds of load, speed and transport for ancient Greek and Roman contexts, as listed in Table 1.

Type of transport	Speed (km/h)	Load (kg)
Human pedestrian	4-5	n/a
Human porter	2.5-3	30-60
Pack donkey	2.5	60-100

Table 1: List of performance estimates.¹⁸

Fig. 3 illustrates the amount of effort, measured in 30-minute increments, it takes to move across the peninsula from Karystos. In this instance the map illustrates that it was possible to move through the landscape within a relatively reasonable time frame. For example, let us assume a scenario where agricultural produce needs to be moved from the farmsteads in the south of the peninsula to the markets at Karystos. The map illustrates that it would take approximately 60-90 minutes for a pedestrian travelling at 5 km/h to travel between these farms and Karystos. For a pack donkey carrying approximately 60-100 kg, we should double this time. In terms of this model, these results imply that mobility in the landscape was feasible within reasonable time frames and that the countryside and the sites could be accessed from urban centres and vice versa. Importantly, in terms of agriculture, we can model the amount of time needed to travel to sites which provide clear evidence for agricultural processing in the form of presses or threshing floors, and nodal points such as Kourmali, Karystos and site C27. These tentative conclusions suggest that with additional analyses insightful results can be obtained. Further study, particularly a comparison of the ceramic data with the results from the GIS analyses, may provide valuable insight not only regarding the role of ancient farmsteads and the nature of habitation in the sites, but also trade and communication between these sites, Euboea and beyond.

16. Keller and Hom 2010, 6.

17. Davies 1998, 244-248; Foxhall and Forbes 1996, 76; de Ligt and de Neeve 1988, 401.

18. Bevan 2013.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to carry out an exploratory GIS analysis of mobility in the agricultural landscape of the Paximadi Peninsula. In doing so I highlighted that both the archaeological and digital data are crude and, therefore, the results are somewhat limited, particularly concerning the different types of activity these rural sites might have supported. However, in carrying out a least cost path- and cost distance analysis it was possible to ask a series of questions of the existing data. The aim of the analyses was to fill in the landscape by understanding the ease with which people and produce moved between cities, rural sites and installations. By modelling the agricultural landscape using cost distance, it is possible to suggest that movement through the countryside could be achieved in reasonable times. Furthermore, the model suggests that the position of sites is relative to the position of the main routes to each city. This has important implications for trade and the movement of goods in the landscape. Finally, the model highlights that there was connectivity in the countryside via roads which connected farmstead sites with villages and larger towns. The implications of this for agriculture in the region are that farming was an organized physically and visually connected activity, with those farming the land making conscious choices about how they worked and moved through the landscape. This result has direct and significant implications concerning the economic objectives of the farmers and the fundamental role farmstead sites played as centres for storage, processing and occupation.

Bibliography

- Bevan, A. (2013) 'Travel and interaction in the Greek and Roman world. A review of some computational modelling approaches'. In *Digital Classicist*, edited by S. Mahoney and S. Dunn. London: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Bintliff, J., E. Farinetti, P. Howard, K. Sarri and K. Sbonias (2002) 'Classical Farms, Hidden Prehistoric Landscapes and Greek Rural Survey: A Response and an update'. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 15(2), 259-265.
- Connolly, J. and M. Lake (2006) *Geographical Information Systems in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davies, J. K. (1998) 'Ancient Economies: Models and Muddles'. In *Trade, Traders, and the Ancient City*, edited by H. Parkins and C. Smith, 225-257. London: Routledge.
- De Ligt, L. and P. de Neeve (1988) 'Ancient Periodic Markets: festivals and fairs'. *Athenaeum*, 391-416.
- Farinetti, E. (2011) *Boeotian Landscapes: A GIS-based Study for the Reconstruction and Interpretation of the Archaeological Datasets*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Finley, M. (1951) *Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens 500-200 BCL: The Horos Inscriptions*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Foxhall, L. (2002) 'Colouring in the countryside. Response to David K. Pettegrew "Chasing the Classical Farmstead"'. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 14(2), 216-222.
- Foxhall, L. and H. Forbes (1996) 'Ethnoarchaeology and Storage in the Mediterranean Beyond Risk and Survival'. In *Food in Antiquity*, edited by J. Wilkins, D. Harvey and M. Dobson, 69-86. Exeter: Exeter University Press.
- Howard, P. (2007) 'Spatial Analysis of Boeotia Field Walking Survey Data'. In *Testing the Hinterland: the work of the Boeotia survey (1989-1991) in the southern approaches to the city of Thespiai*, edited by J. Bintliff, P. Howard and A. M. Snodgrass, 111-128. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Jameson, M. (1992) 'Agricultural labour in ancient Greece'. In *Agriculture in Ancient Greece: Proceedings of the Seventh International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens*, edited by B. Wells, 135-147. Stockholm: Swedish Institute at Athens.
- Keller, D. (1985) *Archaeological Survey in Southern Euboea, Greece: A reconstruction of human activity from Neolithic times through the Byzantine period*. PhD thesis. Indiana University, USA.
- Keller, D. (1989) 'Classical Greek Agricultural Sites: The Karystian Evidence'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 93, 275.
- Keller, D. and E. Hom (2010) 'Ancient Land Routes on the Paximadhi Peninsula, Karystos, Euboea'. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 10(3), 1-9.
- Keller, D. and R. Schneider (2009) 'The Classical-Hellenistic period at the Palio Pithari farm site and the Cape Mnima Emborio site in the context of contemporary sites and findspots on the Paximadi Peninsula'. In *Euboea and Athens: Proceedings of a Colloquium in memory of Malcolm B. Wallace*, edited by D. Rupp and J. Tomlinson, 95-113. Athens: Canadian Institute in Greece.
- Keller, D. and M. Wallace (1988) 'The Canadian Karystia Project: Two Classical Farmsteads'. *Echoes du monde Classique* 32, 151-157.
- Lambert, S. (1997) *Rationes Centesimarum: Sale of public land in Lykourgan Athens*. Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben.
- Langridge-Noti, E. (2004) 'Hellenistic pottery from two southern Euboian excavations'. In *ΣΤ' Επιστημονική συνάντηση για την ελληνιστική κεραμική: προβλήματα χρονολόγησης, κλειστά σύνολα – εργαστήρια, Volos, 17-23 April, 2000*, edited by D. Zapheirou and M. Kazakou, 487-494. Athens: YPPO-TAP.
- Lohmann, H. (1992) 'Agriculture and country life in Classical Athens'. In *Agriculture in Ancient Greece. Proceedings of the Seventh International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens*, edited by B. Wells, 29-58. Stockholm: Swedish Institute at Athens.
- McHugh, M. (2017) *The Ancient Greek Farmstead*. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Mendonni, G. (1994) 'The Organisation of the Countryside in Kea'. In *Structures rurales et sociétés antiques: actes du colloque de Corfou, 14-16 mai 1992*, edited by P. Doukelles and L. Mendoni, 147-162. Paris: Belles Lettres.
- Osborne, R. (1992) 'Is it a Farm? The definition of farmsteads and settlements in ancient Greece'. In *Agriculture in*

- Ancient Greece. Proceedings of the Seventh International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens*, edited by B. Wells, 21-28. Stockholm: Swedish Institute at Athens.
- Osborne, R. (2002) 'Counting the Cost. Comments on David K. Pettegrew, "Chasing the Classical Farmstead"'. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 14(2), 212-216.
- Pečírka, J. (1973) 'Homestead farms in Classical and Hellenistic Hellas'. In *Problemes de la terre en Grece ancienne*, edited by M. Finley, 113-147. Paris: Mouton & Co.
- Pettegrew, D. (2001) 'Chasing the Classical Farmstead: Assessing the Formation and Signature of Rural Settlement in Greek Landscape Archaeology'. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 14(2), 189-209.
- Pettegrew, D. (2002) 'Counting and Colouring Classical Farms: A response to Osborne, Foxhall and Bintliff et al.'. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 15(2), 267-273.
- Pritchett, W. and A. Pippin (1956) 'The Attica Stelai: Part II'. *Hesperia* 25(3), 178-328.
- Stewart, D. (2013) *Reading the landscape of the Rural Peloponnese: Landscape Change and Regional Variation in an Early 'Provincial' Setting*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Stewart, D. (2014) 'Rural sites in Roman Greece'. *Archaeological Reports* 60, 117-132.
- Van Leusen, P. M. (1999) 'Viewshed and cost surface analysis using GIS (cartographic modelling in a cell-based GIS II)'. In *New Techniques for Old Time-CAA98- Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology*, edited by J. A. Barcelo, I. Briz and A. Vila, 215-223. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Wheatley, D. and M. Gillings (2001) *Spatial Technology and Archaeology*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Whitelaw, T. (1998) 'Colonisation and competition in the polis of Koressos: the development of settlements in North-West Keos from the Archaic to the late Roman periods'. In *Kea-Kythnos: History and Archaeology*, edited by L. Mendoni and A. Mazarakis-Ainian, 227-257. Athens: National Hellenic Research Centre.
- Winther-Jacobsen, K. (2010) 'The Classical Farmstead Revisited. Activity Differentiations based on a "Ceramic Use Typology"'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 105, 269-290.

Figures

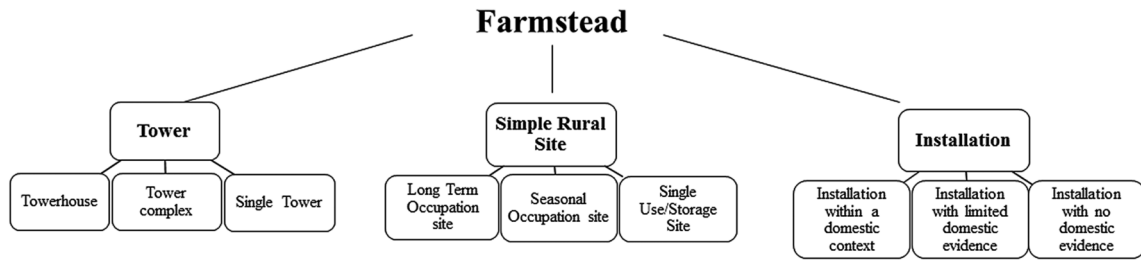


Figure 1: Variety of site types that can be used for agricultural industry.

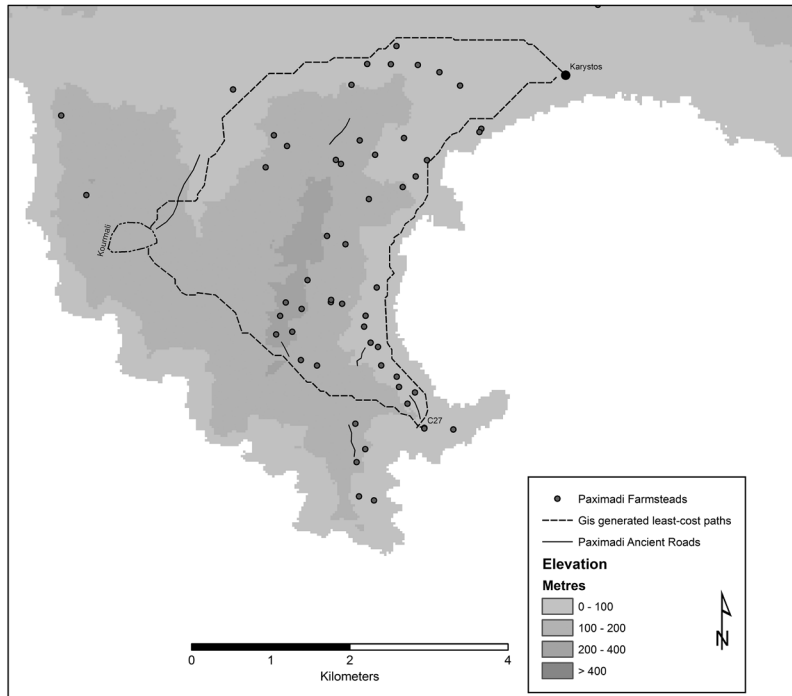


Figure 2:

Location of rural sites with GIS-generated least cost paths and known ancient routes.

My thanks to Dr Donald Keller for providing me with a recent map of Classical-Hellenistic agricultural sites, urban centres and ancient roads. The data was used to generate the maps in this paper.

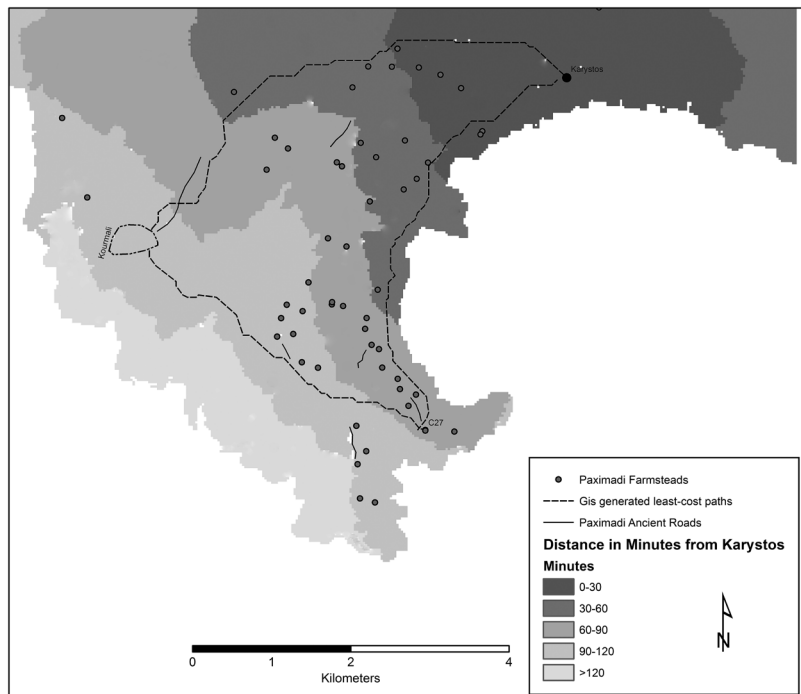


Figure 3:

Cost distance in minutes from Karystos, Paximadi Peninsula.

**Η κεντρική Εύβοια στο τέλος της Αρχαιότητας.
Ένα σύνολο αγγείων από τον υστερορωμαϊκό και πρωτοβυζαντινό
οικισμό στις εγκαταστάσεις της ΔΕΗ Αλιβερίου**

Εύη ΝΤΑΦΗ

Abstract

During the expansion works for the ΔΕΗ thermal power plant on the coast of Aliveri in the 1990s and 2000s, archaeological excavations were conducted under the supervision of the former ΙΑ' Ephorate of Classical and Prehistorical Antiquities. During these excavations, parts of a settlement, which evidently prospered during the Early Byzantine period, were revealed. Baths, parts of houses and a cemetery were brought to light, with finds dating to the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods (4th-7th century). A number of plain and table wares were recorded, including jugs, mugs, lamps, cooking pots and red-slipped fine wares. These pottery finds mainly represent facets of the daily life of the residents.

The provenance of the pottery seems to vary greatly, and thus it testifies to interactions and communication with the rest of Euboea and the Aegean as well as with parts of the broader Eastern Roman Empire. A sea route through the Aegean that connected the provinces with the empire's capital passed near Central and Eastern Euboea, and it is likely that the Aliveri harbour was used as an interim trading station, which contributed to the growth and prosperity of the town during a period of relative peace.

Εισαγωγή

Το Αλιβέρι είναι μια παράκτια πόλη στο νότιο Ευβοϊκό κόλπο, ανατολικά της Αμαρύνθου και απέναντι από τους Αγίους Αποστόλους. Εκεί υπάρχουν βιομηχανικές εγκαταστάσεις καθώς και η ατμοηλεκτρική μονάδα παραγωγής ηλεκτρικής ενέργειας της ΔΕΗ, οι εγκαταστάσεις της οποίας δεσπόζουν στην περιοχή του κόλπου του Καράβου. Η παράλια αυτή περιοχή πιθανότατα ταυτίζεται με τη θέση Πορθμός, που για πρώτη φορά αναφέρεται τον 4ο αι. π.Χ. από τον Δημοσθένη ως οχυρωμένη θέση.¹ Η επισκοπή του Πορθμού, η οποία αναφέρεται για πρώτη φορά στην Ε' Οικουμενική Σύνοδο το 553 μ.Χ., υπαγόταν στη Μητρόπολη Κορίνθου, ενώ στα Μεσοβυζαντινά χρόνια υπαγόταν στη Μητρόπολη Αθηνών.²

1. Μετά την επικράτηση της Μακεδονίας στην Εύβοια, ο Πορθμός καταστράφηκε το 341 π.Χ. από 5.000 στρατιώτες σταλμένους από τον Φίλιππο με αρχηγό τον Ιππόνικο. Βλ. Δημοσθ. Δ' Φιλιπικός [8]: πάλιν ταῦτ' ἀμελούμεν' ἰδὼν καὶ οὐδεμίαν βοήθειαν τυγχάνοντα παρ' ἡμῶν κατέσκαπτε Πορθμόν, καὶ τυραννίδ' ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπετείχισεν ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ. Μτφρ. Γαληνός, 1940.

2. Σχετικά με την Επισκοπή Πορθμού και βιβλιογραφία βλ. J. Koder, *Negroponte* Wien 1973, 133 κ.εξ., όπως και *Tabula Imperii Byzantini, I*, [TIB I], Wien 1976, s.v. «Porthmos», σ. 246. Επίσης στον παρόντα τόμο βλ. Μιχάλαγα, Δ., Σύντομη συμβολή στην εκκλησιαστική ιστορία της Εύβοιας.

Οι αρχαιολογικές έρευνες στην κεντρική Εύβοια

Οι πρώτες αρχαιολογικές έρευνες στην περιοχή έγιναν στις αρχές του 20ου αι. και τα μέχρι σήμερα ευρήματα μαρτυρούν κατοίκηση από τους προϊστορικούς ήδη χρόνους.³ Από τη Ρωμαϊκή περίοδο χαρακτηριστική είναι η λειτουργία αρχαίου λατομείου μαρμάρου βόρεια της οδού Βέλους - Αλιβερίου και κάποιες διάσπαρτες ταφές, όπως στη θέση Πλάτωμα, όπου βρέθηκε υστερορωμαϊκός τάφος λαξευμένος στο βράχο. Στον ΑΗΣ αποκαλύφθηκε σημαντικό τμήμα μεγάλου παραθαλάσσιου οικισμού (Εικ. 1), ο οποίος υπέστη μεγάλη έκτασης καταστροφή κατά τη σύγχρονη εποχή. Συγκεκριμένα ήρθαν στο φως λείψανα που σχετίζονται με εμπορικές και βιοτεχνικές δραστηριότητες. Χαρακτηριστική είναι η αποκάλυψη δύο λουτρικών συγκροτημάτων. Το ένα από αυτά στην περιοχή του ρέματος, που χρονολογείται στην Ελληνιστική περίοδο, είναι κυκλικής κάτοψης. Στο βόρειο, νότιο και κεντρικό τμήμα της ανασκαφής ερευνήθηκαν συστάδες τάφων της Ελληνιστικής και Ρωμαϊκής Εποχής (Εικ. 2) που απέδωσαν ενδιαφέροντα ευρήματα κεραμικής, ορισμένα από τα οποία παρουσιάζονται στο παρόν άρθρο. Τα αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη χριστιανικών οικοδομημάτων της περιοχής, τα παλαιοχριστιανικά λυχνάρια που βρέθηκαν σε ταφές, ένα θραύσμα από το *διάταγμα περί τιμών* του Διοκλητιανού του 301 μ.Χ. και βέβαια το παλαιοχριστιανικό λουτρό στις εγκαταστάσεις της ΔΕΗ (Εικ. 3, Εικ. 4), παρέχουν στοιχεία για τη λειτουργία του οικισμού κατά τη διάρκεια της Ύστερης Αρχαιότητας και των πρώιμων Βυζαντινών χρόνων. Επιπλέον, επάνω στον χαμηλό λοφίσκο όπου υψώνεται ο ενετικός πύργος του Καράβου σε κοντινή απόσταση από το παλαιοχριστιανικό λουτρό και στην παράκτια ζώνη του ΑΗΣ, βρέθηκαν επιτύμβιες στήλες των Κλασικών και Ρωμαϊκών χρόνων, αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη της Παλαιοχριστιανικής Εποχής, κατάλοιπα βυζαντινού κτηρίου, κεραμική των Κλασικών, Ρωμαϊκών και Βυζαντινών χρόνων, ενώ στη λιθοδομή του μεσαιωνικού πύργου είναι ενσωματωμένα τμήματα παλαιότερων αρχιτεκτονικών μελών.⁴ Στην ευρύτερη περιοχή έχουν επισημανθεί πολλά λείψανα οχυρώσεων, όπως το Ριζόκαστρο, τα οποία μαρτυρούν ότι ο Πορθμός αποτελούσε μέρος του δικτύου οχυρώσεων και πύργων της μεσαιωνικής Εύβοιας (Εικ. 5, Εικ. 6).⁵

Λουτρό

Το παλαιοχριστιανικό λουτρό (Εικ. 3, Εικ. 4), το οποίο ανασκάφτηκε τη δεκαετία του '90,⁶ ήταν σε χρήση, βάσει της χρονολόγησης των κινητών ευρημάτων, από τον 4ο μέχρι και τον 7ο αι. μ. Χ., ενώ υπάρχουν και ευρήματα από μεταγενέστερες περιόδους.⁷

Τα λυχνάρια χρονολογούνται από τον 3ο έως τον 4ο αι. με χαρακτηριστικό ένα παράδειγμα κορινθιακού λυχναριού (Λ16, Εικ. 7α). Στο λουτρό βρέθηκαν επίσης λύχνοι της Ύστερης Αρχαιότητας, που παράγονταν κυρίως τον 5ο αι. σε θέσεις όπως η Κόρινθος και η Αθήνα (Λ11 και Λ3, Εικ. 7β, 7γ). Κάποια δείγματα ανήκουν σε μικρασιατικούς τύπους του 6ου αι. (Λ5, Εικ. 7δ). Επίσης βρέθηκαν μερικά φθαρμένα δείγματα του 'Αιγαιακού' τύπου (Λ14, Εικ. 7ε), εργαστήριο παραγωγής του οποίου έχει

3. Παπαβασιλείου 1910· Ανδρειωμένου 1979, σ. 463 – 484, σχετικά με τα ευρήματα των σωστικών ανασκαφών στην Ερέτρια και τα επιγραφικά ευρήματα από την Αμάρυνθο· Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1992, 63-65 για την Εύβοια κατά τους Παλαιοχριστιανικούς και Βυζαντινούς χρόνους· Χατζηδημητρίου 2000, για μια σύντομη παρουσίαση της περιοχής και της ιστορικής και αρχαιολογικής έρευνας.

4. Σε ανασκαφή που διενεργήθηκε το 2010 από την τότε αρμόδια 23η ΕΒΑ στο εσωτερικό του «Πύργου του Καράβου» που υψώνεται ανάμεσα στις ψικαμίνους των εγκαταστάσεων της ΔΕΗ, αποκαλύφθηκε ανάμεσα σε άλλα κεραμική Πρωτοβυζαντινών χρόνων και υπολείμματα τοίχου οικοδομήματος προγενέστερου του πύργου· σχετικά με παλαιότερες εργασίες στον πύργο βλ. Λαζαρίδης 1961-1962, 157.

5. Βλ. Koder 1973, *Negroponte*, κείμενο και χάρτης; Koder et al. 1976; Σκούρας 2003, 39-42.

6. Για την παρουσίαση της ανασκαφής του λουτρού βλ. Χατζηδημητρίου 2000, 15-29. Για επιπλέον μελέτη βλ. Αγγέλη, Το παλαιοχριστιανικό λουτρό στον Α.Η.Σ. Αλιβερίου – Μελέτη στερέωσης και αποκατάστασης, στην παρούσα δημοσίευση.

7. Για τη δημοσίευση της κεραμικής βλ. Ντάφη και Σκαρτσή 2015, 709-718.

πρόσφατα εντοπιστεί στη Νάξο.⁸ Σημαντικές είναι οι απομιμήσεις αφρικανικών λύχνων (Λ15, Λ1, Λ2 Εικ. 8α, 8β, 8γ). Αυτοί παράγονταν σε διάφορα μέρη της Ελλάδας, μεταξύ των οποίων η Κόρινθος, η Αθήνα, οι Δελφοί και η Δημητριάδα. Στις πόλεις αυτές γινόταν τοπική παραλλαγή Αφρικανικών τύπων λυχναριών της κεντρικής Ελλάδας.⁹

Στους λεγόμενους φωκαϊκούς τύπους κεραμικής με ερυθρό επίχρισμα περιλαμβάνονται βαθιά πινάκια, που παράγονταν στις ακτές της Μικράς Ασίας.¹⁰ Με εξαίρεση ένα δείγμα του πρώτου μισού του 5ου αι. που ανήκει στον τύπο *Phocaeian Form 2, Type A*,¹¹ τα υπόλοιπα φωκαϊκά αγγεία ανήκουν σε δύο βασικές κατηγορίες: στον τύπο 3 κατά Hayes¹² (Σ18, Σ20, Εικ. 9α, 9β), που χαρακτηρίζεται από κάθετο χείλος και τα παραδείγματά μας χρονολογούνται από το τέλος του 5ου αι. ως τα μέσα του 6ου αι. μ.Χ. (με παραλλαγές μέχρι και τα μέσα του 7ου αι. μ.Χ.) και στον τύπο 10, ο οποίος χρονολογείται από τον ύστερο 6ο μέχρι και μετά τα μέσα του 7ου αι. μ.Χ. (Σ10, Σ3, Εικ. 9γ, 9δ).¹³ Οι βορειοαφρικανικοί τύποι κεραμικής με ερυθρό επίχρισμα παράγονταν στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της Καρχηδόνας και ήταν δημοφιλείς σε ολόκληρη τη Μεσόγειο.¹⁴ Στο Αλιβέρι έχουμε λίγα δείγματα που χρονολογούνται από τα μέσα του 4ου αι. ως το πρώτο τέταρτο του 5ου αι. (Σ14, Εικ. 10α). Η επόμενη φάση περιλαμβάνει την κεραμική που χρονολογείται από τα μέσα του 6ου ως το τέλος του 7ου αι. Η πλειοψηφία των ευρημάτων ανήκει σε δύο τύπους μεγάλων, ρηχών πινακίων -104 και 105 κατά Hayes- (Σ17, Σ9, Εικ. 10β, 10γ), ενώ μερικά όστρακα ανήκουν στον λιγότερο συνηθισμένο τύπο 99 που χρονολογείται στα 580-620 μ.Χ. (Σ27, Εικ. 10δ).¹⁵

Η πλειοψηφία των αμφορέων προέρχεται από το Αιγαίο, χωρίς να λείπουν και οι εισαγωγές. Από τον 4ο αιώνα, έχουμε έναν τύπο που πιθανόν προέρχεται από τη Μαύρη θάλασσα ή το Αιγαίο (Α8, Εικ. 11α) και από τον 5ο αι. λίγα δείγματα του αμφορέα '*Samos Cistern Type*' που παραγόταν στη Σάμο και στις ακτές της Μ. Ασίας (Α13, Εικ. 11β. Α17, Εικ. 11γ).¹⁶ Από τον 6ο και 7ο αι. έχουμε σε αφθονία τον γνωστό τύπο LRA2 με σφαιρικό σώμα (Α9, Εικ. 12α). Οι αμφορείς του 5ου-7ου αι., προέρχονται από την περιοχή της Παλαιστίνης (Α12, Εικ. 12β και Α18, Εικ. 12γ) και τη βόρεια Αφρική (μικρή σπαθεία Α1, Εικ. 12δ).

Ανάμεσα στα μαγειρικά σκεύη, οι χύτρες αποτελούν το κύριο εύρημα και χωρίζονται χρονολογικά σε δυο ομάδες: στην πρώτη ομάδα ανήκουν οι αιγαιακές του 4ου-5ου αι. με λεπτά τοιχώματα και μικρές λαβές (Μ7, Εικ. 13α)¹⁷ και στη δεύτερη αυτές του 6ου-7ου αι. με μεγαλύτερες ημικυκλικές λαβές και χαρακτηριστικό πηλό με προσμίξεις (Μ1, Μ2, Μ5, Μ6, Μ4, Μ3: Εικ. 13β, 13γ, 13δ, 13ε, 13στ', 13ζ). Η δεύτερη ομάδα περιλαμβάνει ένα σύνολο με ομοειδή χαρακτηριστικά και με παράλληλα στην Κωνσταντινούπολη, στο ναυάγιο του Yassi Ada (Μ2, Εικ. 13γ), στα Πάταρα της Λυκίας (Μ6, Εικ. 13ε) και στην Curyta Balbi της Ρώμης¹⁸ (Μ1, Μ4, Μ5, Εικ. 13β, 13στ', 13δ). Λόγω του μεγάλου αριθμού ευρημάτων του τελευταίου τύπου με τον χαρακτηριστικό πηλό (2,5YR 5-6/8 με μέτριες-μεγάλες ασβεστικές προσμίξεις και μικρότερες καστανές) στο Αλιβέρι, θα μπορούσε ίσως να υποθέσει κανείς την ύπαρξη και τοπικής παραγωγής στην ευρύτερη περιοχή. Ένα τέτοιο συμπέρασμα βέβαια προϋποθέτει επιπλέον μελέτη του πηλού για τον εντοπισμό του εργαστηρίου.

Από τα υπόλοιπα ευρήματα του λουτρού, ξεχωρίζουν τα όστρακα τριφυλλόστομης οινοχόης (Ο2,

8. Bournias 2014, 787-798.

9. Σχετικά με πρόσφατο εντοπισμό εργαστηρίου και συζήτηση για τον τύπο βλ. Πετρίδης 2010.

10. Hayes 1972, 325 ff; Hayes 1980.

11. Hayes 1972, 327-329, εικ. 66. 2.

12. Hayes 1972, 331-338 για τον τύπο 3 και 343-345.

13. Hayes 1972, 343-345 για τον τύπο 10.

14. Hayes 1972, 13 κ.ε.

15. Hayes 1972, 155 για τύπο 99 και 157-169 για τύπους 103, 104, 105.

16. Arthur 1990, 281-296.

17. Βλ. για παράδειγμα Eiwanger 1981, IV πιν.56.

18. Βλ. κατάλογο για τη σχετική βιβλιογραφία.

Εικ. 14α, 14β), χαρακτηριστική της περιόδου μεταξύ του 5ου και του 7ου αι., και ένα θραύσμα οينوχόης με εγχάρακτη διακόσμηση, χαρακτηριστική από τον 4ο-6ο αι. (Ο4, Εικ. 14γ). Βρέθηκαν επίσης λίγα στηρίγματα αμφορέων ή άλλων μεγάλων αγγείων, που υποδεικνύουν και αποθηκευτική χρήση του χώρου (Κ1, Εικ. 15α), καθώς και μερικά όστρακα από κυψέλες (Κ7, Εικ. 15β).

Νεκροταφείο

Το νεκροταφείο (Εικ. 2), στα βορειοδυτικά του λουτρού και του μεσαιωνικού πύργου, υπήρχε ήδη από τους Αρχαίους χρόνους και συνέχισε να είναι σε χρήση μέχρι τον 7ο αι. Από τη Ρωμαϊκή και Υστερορωμαϊκή περίοδο βρέθηκαν κιβωτιόσχημες κτερισμένες ταφές με κεραμικά ευρήματα, όπως τα χυτρίδια αριθ. 33 και αριθ. 39 (Εικ. 16α, 16β). Ο Hayes κατατάσσει παρόμοια μαγειρικά σκεύη από την Κόρινθο του 6ου αι. μ.Χ. στην κατηγορία των τοπικά παραγόμενων αγγείων. Χαρακτηριστική στο πρώτο αγγείο (αριθ. 33) είναι η πυκνή μίκα. Η κούπα αριθ. 40 (Εικ. 16γ), η οποία βρέθηκε μέσα στο δεύτερο χυτρίδιο (αριθ. 39) θυμίζει παραδείγματα του τύπου 136 από την Τυνησία κατά Hayes, μόνο όμως ως προς το σχήμα και όχι ως προς τον πηλό και την κατεργασία. Ανάλογα αγγεία έχουν βρεθεί στη Βεγγάζη της Λιβύης και χρονολογούνται στον 6ο-2ο αι. μ.Χ. Τέλος, στην ίδια χρονολογική περίοδο κατατάσσεται και το κύπελλο με αριθ. 36, (Εικ. 16δ), το οποίο βρέθηκε σε εγχυτρισμό μέσα σε πίθο. Σύμφωνα με τα ευρήματα της Αγοράς των Αθηνών μπορεί να χρονολογηθεί στο τέλος του 2ου αι. Στην επόμενη φάση ανήκουν λακκοειδείς ταφές των Παλαιοχριστιανικών χρόνων, (Εικ. 4ε), οι οποίες απέδωσαν χαρακτηριστικά ευρήματα του 4ου και 5ου αι. μ.Χ., η πλειονότητα των οποίων είναι κλειστά αγγεία, όπως οينوχόες. Η οينوχόη με αριθ. 45 (Εικ. 17α), έχει παράλληλα στην Αγορά των Αθηνών που χρονολογούνται από τον 3ο ως τον 5ο αι.μ.Χ.

Η οينوχόη με αριθ. 27 (Εικ. 17β) φέρει στον λαιμό χαρακτηριστική διακόσμηση από επάλληλες οριζόντιες ραβδώσεις με τροχό. Χρονολογείται στον 4ο αι. σύμφωνα με παράλληλα από την Αγορά των Αθηνών, από την Αρχαία Κόρινθο και από την Καλλιθέα Θηβών, όπου υπάρχει μεγάλη ομοιότητα και στον πηλό.¹⁹

Στην ίδια ταφή, η πρόχους με ευρύ, σφαιρικό σώμα αριθ. 30 (Εικ. 17γ) έχει παράλληλα που χρονολογούνται στον 4ο και 5ο αι., από την Αγορά των Αθηνών, από την ανασκαφή στο οικόπεδο Μακρυγιάννη και από το γειτονικό φρέαρ 20 με χαρακτηριστικό αθηναϊκό πηλό ερυθρού χρώματος. Επίσης παράλληλα της ίδιας περιόδου υπάρχουν στο Άργος. Ωστόσο παρόμοιο σχήμα έχουν και αγγεία από το Άργος που χρονολογούνται στις αρχές του 6ου αι. καθώς και από το Εμπορείο της Χίου σε τμήμα της οχύρωσης που ήταν σε χρήση τον 7^ο αι..²⁰

Η οينوχόη με αριθ. 42 (Εικ. 17δ) βρέθηκε επίσης σε λακκοειδή ταφή με επιμελημένη ορθογωνισμένη κατασκευή χωρίς καλυπτήρια πλάκα. Ενώ τυπολογικά θυμίζει αγγεία του 4ου και 5ου αι. από την Αθήνα και τη Θεσσαλονίκη, φέρει την ίδια κτενωτή διακόσμηση με οينوχόη του 6ου-7ου αι. μ.Χ. από τη γειτονική Σταμάτα στη βόρεια Αττική.

Στην ίδια ταφή βρέθηκε οينوχόη μικρών διαστάσεων αριθ. 35 (Εικ. 17ε). Μεγάλη ομοιότητα παρατηρείται με μια σειρά από οينوχόες του 6ου αι. από το Δήλιον της Βοιωτίας,²¹ ενώ ο τύπος απαντάται και στα ευρήματα της Ελεύθερνας της Κρήτης από τον 5ο ως τον 7ο αι. μ.Χ.

Τέλος βρέθηκε οينوχόη με αριθ. 29 (Εικ. 17στ') με αχλαδόσχημο σώμα που φέρει κάθετες εγχάραιες. Παράλληλα αυτού του τύπου υπάρχουν στην Αθήνα (Αγορά, Κεραμεικός) και στην Ανάβυσσο Αττικής και χρονολογούνται από τον 4ο αι., σύμφωνα με δημοσίευση της Αγοράς.²²

19. Καλλιθέα Θηβών, βλ. Αραβαντινός 1983, πιν. 64.

20. Άργος: Pierart and Halmann 1980, 466· Εμπορείο Χίου: Ballance et al. 1989, 100-102.

21. Δήλιον Βοιωτίας, Χαμηλάκη 2010, 600-601.

22. Robinson 1959, πιν. 33, M360.

Το λυχνάρι με αριθ. 41 (Εικ. 18α-γ) βρέθηκε δίπλα στο κυκλικού σχήματος ελληνιστικό λουτρό και φέρει έντονα ίχνη καύσης. Χαρακτηριστική είναι η ψηλή βάση από καλούπι, ενώ δεν σώζεται υπογραφή καθώς απουσιάζει το κάτω τμήμα της. Το σχήμα και η διακόσμηση παραπέμπουν σε αττικό λυχνάρι του 5ου-6ου αι. από τον Κεραμεικό με υπογραφή εργαστηρίου 'ΧΙΟΝΗΣ', το οποίο χρονολογείται στο δεύτερο μισό του 5ου αι.²³ Όμοια επίσης μορφή αλλά όχι ψηλή βάση έχουν λυχνάρια από την αγορά της Αθήνας με υπογραφή 'Κ'.

Η τελευταία φάση χρήσης του νεκροταφείου αντιπροσωπεύεται από αγγεία, κυρίως οινοχόες, που χρονολογούνται στον 6ο και 7ο αι.

Η μικρή οινοχόη αριθ. 34 (Εικ. 19α) με το κωνικό στόμιο έχει μεγάλες ομοιότητες (εκτός από το κόσμημα) με μια οινοχόη από την Πιτάνη της Σπάρτης που φέρει πλαστικό δακτύλιο στο λαιμό. Άλλα παράλληλα υπάρχουν στην Κόρινθο, την Αθήνα, την Αίγινα, το Άργος, την Κρήτη, την Κνωσό και την Ελεύθερνα. Συνήθως αυτός ο τύπος χρονολογείται στον 6ο αι. Την ίδια περίοδο χρονολογείται και η μικρή οινοχόη με αριθ. 38 (Εικ. 19β, 19γ). Παρόμοιο αγγείο βρέθηκε στο Άργος, ενώ ανάλογες οινοχόες απαντούν συχνά στην Αθήνα και την Ελεύθερνα. Τον 6ο αιώνα επίσης, με παράλληλο από την Αγορά των Αθηνών, χρονολογείται και η οινοχόη με αριθ. 28 (Εικ. 19δ), της οποίας σώζονται χωριστά από το σώμα ο στενός λαιμός και το υψηλό στόμιο. Η οινοχόη αριθ. 26 (Εικ. 20α) με χαρακτηριστική προχόη φέρει τρεις οριζόντιες εγχαράξεις και έχει παράλληλο στην Κνωσό, που χρονολογείται από τον 6ο αι. έως τα 620-640.

Το μυροδοχείο αριθ. 37 (Εικ. 20β), με ραδινό σώμα και ραβδώσεις, ανήκει στον τύπο των ύστερων μυροδοχείων που χρονολογούνται γενικά στον 6ο αι. αλλά και στις αρχές του 7ου και αποτελούν συνήθη ευρήματα στον ελλαδικό χώρο.

Γενικές παρατηρήσεις

Συμπερασματικά, η κεραμική από το νεκροταφείο και το παλαιοχριστιανικό λουτρό δείχνει να χωρίζεται σε τρεις ομάδες, που ταυτίζονται πιθανότατα με τις φάσεις χρήσης των χώρων:

A) Πρώτα η ρωμαϊκή φάση, η οποία αντιπροσωπεύεται στο νεκροταφείο από αγγεία όπως χυτρίδια και κύπελλα που προέρχονται από κιβωτιόσχημους τάφους και έχουν ανάλογα στην Κόρινθο και στην Αθήνα.

B) Στη συνέχεια έχουμε ευρήματα που χρονολογούνται κυρίως στον 4ο και 5ο αι. μ.Χ. Αυτά από το νεκροταφείο προέρχονται από λακκοειδείς ταφές. Στο λουτρό συναντάμε λυχνάρια αττικού, κορινθιακού και μικρασιατικού τύπου και βορειοαφρικανικές σιγιλλάτες, ενώ στο νεκροταφείο έχουμε κυρίως κλειστά σχήματα που χαρακτηρίζονται από την ομοιότητά τους με αγγεία που έχουν εντοπιστεί στη Βοιωτία και την Αττική. Οι μεγάλες ομοιότητες με ευρήματα της βόρειας Αττικής, οι ακτές της οποίας βρίσκονται σε μικρή απόσταση από το Αλιβέρι, υποδεικνύουν επικοινωνία των αττικών λιμανιών του νότιου Ευβοϊκού με τον κόλπο του Αλιβερίου. Χαρακτηριστική είναι η ιδιαίτερη παραλλαγή του λυχναριού αριθ. 41 που βρέθηκε στο νεκροταφείο, με χαρακτηριστικά αττικού εργαστηρίου, που σε συνδυασμό με τις απομιμήσεις βορειοαφρικανικών λυχναριών που βρέθηκαν στο λουτρό δείχνει την κινητικότητα των εργαστηρίων της κεντρικής Ελλάδας και τη διάδοση των τύπων που κατασκεύαζαν.

Γ) Η τελευταία φάση χρήσης του νεκροταφείου και του λουτρού κατά τον 6ο και 7ο αι. μ.Χ. είναι σε συνέχεια με την προηγούμενη, καθώς παρατηρείται χρονολογικά μια αλληλουχία των τύπων της κεραμικής. Στο λουτρό έχουμε δείγματα εισαγωγών αφρικανικών αμοφορέων, βορειοαφρικανικών επιτραπέζιων αγγείων αλλά και Αιγαιακή κεραμική που αντιπροσωπεύεται τόσο από ευρύσωμους αμοφορείς του τύπου LRA2 όσο από χαρακτηριστικά μαγειρικά σκεύη. Στο νεκροταφείο συναντάμε κυρίως

23. Karivieri 1996, 224, αρ. 210, πιν. 18.

κλειστά αγγεία, οινοχόες με σφαιρικό σώμα, τριφυλλόσχημες προχοές, καθώς και ένα μυροδοχείο, χαρακτηριστικό διαχρονικά ταφικό αγγείο. Οι μεγάλες ομοιότητες με αγγεία από την Στερεά Ελλάδα, την Πελοπόννησο και την Κρήτη υποδεικνύουν αυξημένη επικοινωνία με αυτές τις περιοχές αλλά ενδεχομένως και στενότερες σχέσεις, όπως υποδεικνύει το παράδειγμα της οινοχόης με αριθ. 42, που πιθανόν να σχετίζεται με εργαστήρια στην τη βόρεια Αττική.

Όσον αφορά στα χαρακτηριστικά των αγγείων από τους δύο αυτούς χώρους είναι ο διαχωρισμός τους σε δύο κατηγορίες: α) στα αγγεία που ακολουθούν σε γενικές γραμμές τη ρωμαϊκή παράδοση και φτάνουν έως τον 5ο αι., και β) στα ευρήματα που χρονολογούνται κυρίως στον 6ο και 7ο αι. και φέρουν χαρακτηριστικά βυζαντινής κεραμικής.

Η Παλαιοχριστιανική περίοδος εκπροσωπείται κυρίως από κεραμική του 6ου αι., μια εποχή ακμής στον Αιγαιακό χώρο. Η χρονολόγηση αρκετών ευρημάτων μετά τις αρχές του 7ου αιώνα υποδεικνύει ότι έντονη δραστηριότητα του οικισμού στις συναλλαγές και στην επικοινωνία τόσο με κοντινές όσο και με πιο μακρινές περιοχές της αυτοκρατορίας. Πρόκειται για παράκτιο κέντρο που διατηρεί τη ζωτικότητα του σε μια εποχή έναρξης μεγάλων δυσκολιών που χαρακτηρίζεται γενικότερα από ασυνέχεια στην κατοίκηση των αρχαίων παράκτιων πόλεως της Εύβοιας, όπως και των νησιωτικών περιοχών του Αιγαίου.²⁴

Κατάλογος

Λυχνάρια

Λουτρό

Λ1. Λυχνάρι βορειοαφρικανικού τύπου (Εικ. 8β). Μήκ.12,3 / υψ:6,1. Πηλός: ωχρορόδινος ανοιχτός (5YR 7/6), επίχρισμα καστανέρυθρο (10R-2,5YR 4/4). Διακόσμηση από κλάδο και πτηνό στο δίσκο. Eiwanger 1981, II, πίν. 74.II.510-514. Από την Αγορά Robinson 1959, αρ. 292-Πετρίδης 2010, 87: εικ.5. 6ος αι. μ.Χ.

Λ2. Λυχνάρι βορειοαφρικανικού τύπου (Εικ. 8γ). Μήκ.8,6 / σώζ.ύψ.3,8 / διάμ.χείλ.5. Πηλός μαλακός, ρόδινος ανοιχτός (2,5YR 6/6) επίχρισμα (7,5YR 7/4). Διακόσμηση από γεωμετρικά μοτίβα στο χέιλος. Απομίμηση βορειοαφρικανικού λύχνου, βιβλιογραφία όπως Λ1. 6ος αι. μ.Χ.

Λ3. Λυχνάρι υστεροαττικό (Εικ. 7γ). Σώζ.ύψ.6 / ύψ.περ.3,9 / διάμ.χείλ.6,6. Πηλός: αρκετές μικρές λευκές προσμίξεις. Ωχρορόδινος (7,5YR 7/6), ίχνη καύσης έντονα. Αθηναϊκό εργαστήριο: Karivieri 1996, πίν.18:187 και πίν. 17:183 5YR 6/4 Perlzweig 1961, πίν. 32:1918. β' μισό 5ου αι. μ.Χ.

Λ4. Λυχνάρι Ύστερης Αρχαιότητας. (Εικ. 7στ') Μήκ.9,6 / διάμ.χείλ.7,2. Πηλός: κακοψημένος, πολλά μικρά λευκά εγκλείσματα, ρόδινος ανοιχτός (2,5-5YR 6/6-7,5 YR 7/6). Karivieri 1996, 214-237 πίν. 17-21. Μέσα 5ου-μέσα 6ου αι. μ.Χ.

Λ5. Λυχνάρι μικρασιατικό (Εικ. 7δ). Μήκ.8,8 / διάμ.χείλ.7,1. Πηλός: λίγες λευκές προσμίξεις, ρόδινος ανοιχτός (2,5YR 6/6-5/6). Broneer 1930, 114, πίν. 20: 1413, 1415: Μικρασιατικός Τύπος XXIX, Ομάδα 3 Perlzweig 1961, πίν. 32: 1960 Karivieri 1996, 214-237, πίν. 17-21. 6ος αι. μ.Χ.

Λ11. Λυχνάρι ελληνικό (Εικ. 7β). Σώζ.μήκ.6,3 / σώζ.πλ.4. Πηλός: καστανέρυθρος ανοιχτός (5YR 5-6/8). Τύπος XXVIII κατά Broneer. Κεραμικός και Κόρινθος: Karivieri 1996, 214-237 πίν. 17-21 Perlzweig 1961, 1960 πίν. 32. Ύστερος 4ος αι. - β' μισό 5ου αι. μ.Χ.

Λ14. Λυχνάρι 'Αιγαιακό' (Εικ. 7ε). Μήκ.8,2. / ύψ.2,6 / πλ.7. Πηλός: κακοψημένος, πολλά εγκλείσματα και μίκα. Ρόδινος (5YR-7,5 YR 6/6). Abadie-Reynal και Sadini 1992, 78, πίν. 11, L 59 Γερούση (2010) 225 Bournias 2014. 6ος αι. μ.Χ.

Λ15. Λυχνάρι βορειοαφρικανικού τύπου (Εικ. 8α). Μήκ.6,2. / ύψ.4. Πηλός: Πολλή μίκα, πορτοκαλί -

24. Για τα νησιά στη Βυζαντινή περίοδο βλ. Malamut 1988, κεφ. VII, Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, στην παρούσα έκδοση.

καστανός. Σταυρός στο δίσκο με κουκίδες στις κεραίες και κλάδος στο χείλος. Όμοιο στη Δημητριάδα, Eiwanger 1981, πίν.74: Π510-514 στους Δελφούς; Πετρίδης 2007, 49 εικ.4 επάνω δεξιά. 6ος αι. μ.Χ.

Λ16. Λυχνάρι κορινθιακό (Εικ. 7α). Σώζ.ύψ.4,5 / σώζ.πλ.4,6. Πηλός: ωχροκίτρινος (10YR 7/4) κορινθιακός. Karivieri 1996, 62-78 αλλά και idem, 214-237 πίν. 17-21 Perlzweig 1961, 154 πίν. 31. 3ος-4ος αι. μ.Χ.

Νεκροταφείο

41. Λυχνάρι υστεροαττικό (Εικ. 18 α-γ). Σώζ.ύψ. 6,2 / διάμ.7 / μήκ.10. Ψηλή βάση, κυκλικό χείλος που διακοσμείται με ρόδακα. Ίχνη καύσης. Δεν σώζεται ο πυθμένας. Πηλός: πολλές μικρές λευκές προσμίξεις, καστανός (2,5-5 YR 5/6). Από την Αθήνα: Perlzweig 1961 Κ161.4 με υπογραφή «Κ» από το νεκροταφείο του Κεραμεικού, Karivieri 1996, 224, αρ. 210, πίν. 18 με υπογραφή «ΧΙΟΝΗΣ». Β' μισό του 5ου αι.μ.Χ.

Επιτραπέζια κεραμική με ερυθρό επίχρισμα

Λουτρό

Σ3. Βαθύ πινάκιο (Εικ. 9δ). Υπολογ.διάμ.χείλ.28. Πηλός: καστανέρυθρος (2,5 YR 5/8) επίχρισμα καστανορόδινο σκούρο (10 R 5/8). Φωκαϊκό Form 10A κατά Hayes 1972, 343-5 εικ. 71:6 από Κόρινθο -από την Ελεύθερα: Vogt 2000, 61-64, εικ. 11:4. Ύστερος 6ος-πρώιμος 7ος αι.μ.Χ.

Σ9. Ρηχό πινάκιο (Εικ. 10γ). Υπολογ.διάμ.χείλ.31. Πηλός: καστανέρυθρος (2,5 YR 5/8) και επίχρισμα ερυθρό ανοιχτό (2,5 YR 6/8). Hayes 1972, 165-69 εικ. 31:7, Αφρικανικό ARS Form 105. Περ. 610 μ.Χ.

Σ10. Βαθύ πινάκιο (Εικ. 9γ). Υπολογ.διάμ.χείλ.32. Πηλός: καστανέρυθρος ανοιχτός (2,5 YR 6/8). Hayes 1972, 333-7 εικ. 69:25, Φωκαϊκό, Form 3: Type B από Αθήνα Vogt 2000 εικ. 9:11. Α' τέταρτο βου αι. μ.Χ.

Σ14. Πινάκιο (Εικ. 10α). 2,8X3,5. Πηλός: καστανέρυθρος ανοιχτός (2,5 YR 6/8). Ενσφράγιση διακόσμηση από κλάδο φοίνικα. Κατά Hayes 1972, 231 εικ. 39:9ε Αφρικανικό ARS πιθανόν 62Α: παρόμοιο επίσης Hayes 1972, 78-83 τύπος ARS 53, περ. 350-430 μ.Χ.

Σ17. Ρηχό πινάκιο (Εικ. 10β). Υπολογ.διάμ.χείλ. περ. 33. Πηλός: καστανός - ερυθρωπός (2,5 YR 5/6), επίχρισμα καστανέρυθρο (2,5 YR 5/8). Hayes 1972, 164-6 εικ. 30 αφρικανικό ARS Form 104 Β ή C Vogt 2000, 51-52 I/3. Περίπου 570-625 μ.Χ.

Σ18. Βαθύ πινάκιο (Εικ. 9α). Υπολογ.διάμ.χείλ. περ. 22. Πηλός: καστανέρυθρος ανοιχτός (2,5 YR 6/8). Hayes 1972, 323-372, εικ. 67:4 Φωκαϊκό, Form 3, Type F από Αθήνα. Περίπου 525-550 μ.Χ.

Σ20. Βαθύ πινάκιο (Εικ. 9β). Ύψ.7,2 / Υπολογ.διάμ.χείλ. περ. 30-35. Πηλός: καστανέρυθρος ανοιχτός (2,5 YR 6/8), επίχρισμα (2,5 YR 5/4). Hayes 1972, 333-7 εικ. 68:16, Φωκαϊκό, Form 3 Type E από Αθήνα. Τέλη 5ου-αρχές 6ου αι. μ.Χ.

Σ27. Ρηχό πινάκιο (Εικ. 10δ). Υπολογ. διάμ. χείλ. περ. 18-20. Πηλός: ωχρο-καστανορόδινος (5 YR 6/6), επίχρισμα ερυθρό - καστανέρυθρο (10R 5/8 ή 2,5 YR 5/8). Hayes 1972, 155, εικ. 28:22, αφρικανικό ARS Form 99 C, από Αθήνα. Περ. 580-620 μ.Χ.

Αμφορείς

Λουτρό

Α1. Σπαθεία (Εικ. 12δ). Ύψ.10,2 / έξ.διάμ.χείλ.6,3 / εσ.διάμ.χείλ.4,5 / ύψ.λαβ.5,5. Πηλός: ανοιχτός ερυθρός (2,5YR6/8) και ωχροκάστανος ανοιχτός στην εξωτερική επιφάνεια (10YR7/4). Keay 1984 XXVI Riley 1979 LRA8a, 226, εικ. 92:362-4 Bass και Van Doornick 1982. Μέσα 6ου-μέσα 7ου αι. μ.Χ.

Α8. Αμφορέας (Εικ. 11α) Ύψ.9,2 / σωζ.διάμ.14,8. Riley 1979 188-189, τύπος Benghazi Mid Roman Amphora 5, 3ος-4ος αι. μ.Χ.

Α9. Αμφορέας σφαιρικός (Εικ. 12α). Ύψ.19 / πλ.17,2 / ύψ.λαβ.12. Riley 1979, 217-9, σφαιρικός αμφορέας τύπου LRA2 Pieri 2005. 6ος αι. μ.Χ.

A12. Αμφορέας LRA6 (Εικ. 12β). Ύψ.11,5 / πλ.10,6 / ύψ.λαβ:8,9. Πηλός: Σκληρός με μικρά λευκά εγκλείσματα. Ωχροροδίνο (5YR 5/6). Riley 1979 εικ. 82: D357, τύπος LRA6, 224. 5ος-6ος αι. μ.Χ.

A13. «Σαμιακός» αμφορέας (Εικ. 11β). Ύψ.9 / διάμ.λαιμ.9. Samos Cistern Type, βλ. Arthur 1990. Από τη Θάσο, βλ. Abadie-Reynal και Sodini 1992, 344-345 από την Αθήνα, Robinson 1959, M273. 4ος-6ος αι.μ.Χ.

A18. Αμφορέας LRA6 (Εικ. 12γ). Σώζ.ύψ.8 / σωζ.πλ.13,5 / μήκ.λαβ.8 / πλ.λαβ.3. Riley 1979, παράλληλα όπως A12, Τύπος LRA6. 5ος-6ος αι. μ.Χ.

Μαγειρικά

Νεκροταφείο

33. Χυτρίδιο (Εικ. 16α). Ύψ.12,1 / διάμ.βάσ.5,3 / διάμ.χείλ.10,1 / πλ.λαβ. 2,1. Επίπεδη βάση και ταινιωτές λαβές. Πηλός με πάρα πολλή μίκα και ίχνη καύσης, χρώμα δυσδιάκριτο. Βλ. Hayes 1973, 467, πίν. 80: 238,239. Περίπου 6ος αι. μ.Χ.

39. Χυτρίδιο (Εικ. 16β). Ύψ.12,6 / ύψ.λαιμ.2,5 / διάμ.χείλ.10 / διάμ.βάσ.5. Μικρές λαβές. Δυο εγχαράξεις στο σώμα που σχηματίζουν «X». Πηλός ερυθρωπός γκριζός (5YR 5/2). Παράλληλα και χρονολόγηση βλ. αρ. 33.

Λουτρό

M1. Χύτρα (Εικ. 13β). Ύψ.5,9 / διάμ.χείλ. περ. 20 / πλ.λαβ.3,1. Πλατιά ταινιωτή λαβή, σχεδόν ευθύ χείλος. Πηλός: λευκές προσμίξεις, καστανέρυθρος (2,5YR 5/8). Από την κεντρική Ιταλία, βλ. Ricci 1998 εικ.3:8. Από το YassiAda, βλ. Bass and Van Doornick 1982, 178, P60. 6ος-7ος αι.μ.Χ.

M2. Χύτρα (Εικ. 13γ). Ύψ.12,6 / διάμ.15,3 / διάμ.χείλ.13. Σχετικά χονδρά τοιχώματα, δεν σώζονται οι λαβές. Πηλός: λίγες λευκές προσμίξεις, λίγη μίκα, καστανέρυθρος (2,5YR 5/8). Παράλληλα στο Yassi Ada: Bass and Van Doornick 1982, 177, εικ. 8-15 και 8-17:P47 - P48. Α' μισό 7ου αι. μ.Χ.

M4. Χύτρα (Εικ. 13στ'). Ύψ.7,2 / διάμ.χείλ. περ. 20-22 / πλ.λαβ.2,7. Πηλός: πολλές λευκές και λίγες καστανέρυθρες προσμίξεις, καστανέρυθρος ανοιχτός (2,5 YR 6/8) Για παράλληλα και χρονολόγηση, βλ. χύτρα M1.

M5. Χύτρα (Εικ. 13δ). Ύψ.6 / διάμ.χείλ. περ.13 / πλ.λαβ.2,5. Επάλληλες οριζόντιες εγχαράξεις. Πηλός: πολλές λευκές και λίγες ερυθρές προσμίξεις, καστανέρυθρος ανοιχτός (2,5 YR 6/8). Για παράλληλα και χρονολόγηση, βλ. χύτρα M1.

M6. Χύτρα (Εικ. 13ε). Ύψ.5 / εσωτ.διαμ.χείλ.28 / πλ.λαβ.4. Εγχάρκτη διακόσμηση με ζιγκ-ζαγκ. Πηλός: λευκές προσμίξεις, ωχρός – καστανέρυθρος (2,5YR 6-5/6). Παράλληλο στη διακόσμηση στη Λυκία, Taner Korkut 2007 εικ. 5, αρ. 27. 6ος-7ος αι. μ.Χ.

M7. Αιγαιακή χύτρα (Εικ. 13α). Ύψ.7,2 / διάμ.χείλ. περ. 24. Αιγαιακός τύπος. Πηλός: λευκές προσμίξεις, ανοιχτός ρόδινο (2,5 YR 7/6). Από Κνωσό, βλ. Hayes 1983, 123, εικ. 5:56-57. Θάσος: Abadie-Reynal και Sodini 1992, 40, CC34, και Δημητριάδα: Eiwanger 1981, IV πιν.56. 4ος-5ος αι. μ.Χ.

Οινοχόες, Πρόχοι, Λάγυνοι

Λουτρό

O2. Οινοχόη (Εικ. 14α, 14β). Σωζ.διάμ.χείλ.7. Σώζεται μόνο το τριφυλλόσχημο στόμιο. Παράλληλα από την Κρήτη, την Αθήνα και την Κόρινθο. Vogt (2000), 145: 1,3,4. 5ος-7ος αι. μ.Χ.

O4. Όστρακο οινοχόης (Εικ. 14γ). 5,5X3 εκ. Διακόσμηση τύπου «Gauged Ware». Ελεύθερα: Vogt 2000, 139: 9 Αθήνα, Robinson 1959. 6ος αι. μ.Χ.

Νεκροταφείο

26. Οινοχόη (Εικ. 20α). Ύψ.13,9 / διάμ.βάσ.5,5 / διάμ.σώμ. περ.9,5 / πλ.λαβ.1,9. Ταινιωτή λαβή και τριφυλλόσχημη προχόη. Διακόσμηση από οριζόντιες εγχαράξεις. Πηλός: Αρκετά υπόλευκα εγκλείσματα,

ανοιχτός ερυθρός (2,5 YR 6/6-5/6). Παράλληλο στην Κνωσό, Hayes 2001, Cistern Group B31, εικ. 7 από αποθήκη που χρονολογείται έως τα 620-640 μ.Χ.

27. Οινοχόη (Εικ. 17β). Ύψ.12,9 / διάμ.βάσ.5 / διάμ.σώμ. περ.8,8 / μέγ.διάμ.χείλ.4,1 / πλ.λαβ.1,5. Σφαιρικό σώμα, ψηλό στόμιο. Επάλληλες οριζόντιες ραβδώσεις και δύο αυλακώσεις στο λαιμό. Πηλός: Λεπτόκοκκος, λίγα λευκά εγκλείσματα. Πυρήνας: ερυθρός - καστανέρυθρος (2,5 YR 5/8). Επιφάνεια: ανοιχτός ωχρορόδιος (7,5 YR 7/4). Αθήνα: Robinson 1959, L44· Κόρινθος: Σκαρμούτσου 2010, ΑΕΚ 170 εικ. 11α, Σχ. 22 Καλλιθέα Θηβών: Αραβαντινός 1989, πίν. 64. 4ος αι. μ.Χ.

28. Οινοχόη (Εικ. 19δ). Ύψ.σώμ.20,2 / διάμ.σώμ.9,7 / διάμ.βάσ.6,9 / διάμ.χείλ. περ.4 / διάμ.λαιμ. περ. 3. Σφαιρικό σώμα και ευρεία δακτυλιόσχημη βάση. Σώζονται χωριστά ο στενός λαιμός και το υψηλό στόμιο. Οριζόντια εγχάραξη στη βάση του λαιμού. Πηλός: τραχύς, με αποφλοιώσεις, λευκές προσμίξεις. Καστανέρυθρος - μπεζ (5YR 6/6). Αθήνα: Robinson 1959, πίν. 33: M362. 6ος αι.μ.Χ.

29. Οινοχόη (Εικ. 17στ'). Μέγ.σώζ.ύψ.13 / διάμ.σώμ.12 / διάμ.βάσ.5,8. Κάθετες εγχαράξεις στο σώμα και ταινιωτή λαβή. Ραβδώσεις οριζόντιες διατρέχουν το σώμα. Πηλός: Πολλά λευκά εγκλείσματα. Ωχροκίτρινος - ρόδιος (7,5 YR 8/4) στο κατώτερο τμήμα, πορτοκαλί - καστανός άνω. Πυρήνας: ανοιχτός ερυθρός - πορτοκαλί (2,5 YR 6/8). Αθήνα, βλ. Robinson 1959, πίν. 33, M360 Τζαβέλλα 2010, 654, τάφος IV, εικ. 5β: A9435a. Επίσης Τσοφοπούλου - Χαλκιά 2003, εικ. 1:5. 6ος-αρχές 7ου αι. μ.Χ.

30. Πρόχους (Εικ. 17γ). Διάμ.σώμ.13,5 / διάμ.βάσ.8,7 / σώζ.ύψ.12 / διάμ.χείλ. περ.8 / πλ.λαβ.3,8. Ευρύ, σφαιρικό σώμα, ταινιωτή λαβή και ευρύ χείλος. Σώζονται χωριστά τμήματα του λαιμού και του χείλους. Πηλός: Μαλακός πηλός, λίγες λευκές προσμίξεις, ελάχιστη μίκα. Ερυθρωπός μπεζ (5YR 6/6). Αθήνα: Robinson 1959 πίν. 40, Π10563, M321· Μανώλη 2010 637, εικ. 42:4857· Άργος: Pierart και Halmann (1980), 466, A38, πιν.IV, ομάδα Α' στη Χίο: Balance et al 1989, 100-13, εικ. 32:182. Τέλη 5ου-πρώιμος 6ος αι. μ.Χ.

34. Οινοχόη (Εικ. 19α). Ύψ.12,8 / διάμ.βάσ.6 / διάμ.σώμ. περ.9,3 / διάμ.χείλ.5,2 / πλ.λαβ.2,4. Σώμα πεπιεσμένο σφαιρικό, πλατιά λαβή και κωνικό στόμιο. Διακόσμηση από τρεις κυματοειδείς εγχαράξεις. Πηλός: Ελάχιστα μικρά λευκά εγκλείσματα, λίγη μίκα. Ανοιχτός ωχρορόδιος (7,5 YR 7/4). Άργος: Οικονομού 2003 40-41, αρ. 62, εικ. 90 Αθήνα: Robinson 1959, 121-22, πίν. 35: N8· Κνωσός και Ελεύθερνα: Yangaki 2005, 153-4, εικ. 32c. 5ος-6ος αι. μ.Χ.

35. Οινοχόη (Εικ. 17ε). Ύψ.12,2 / διάμ.βάσ.5,1 / διάμ.σώμ. περ.10 / διάμ.χείλ.5,4. Αμφικωνικό σώμα, κωνικό στόμιο, δακτυλιόσχημη βάση. Επάλληλες οριζόντιες ραβδώσεις στο λαιμό. Πηλός: Πορώδης μαλακός, μίκα, λίγα λευκά εγκλείσματα. Ανοιχτός ερυθρός (2,5 YR 6/6). Δήλιον Βοιωτίας: Χαμηλάκη 2010, 600-601: ΜΣΧ 3498, 3502· Ελεύθερνα, Yangaki 2005, 153-4, εικ. 45d. 6ος αι. μ.Χ.

38. Οινοχόη (Εικ. 19β, 19γ). Ύψ.14,3 / διάμ.σώμ.9,6 / ύψ.λαβ.8,2 / πλ.λαβ.2,6. Πλατιά ταινιωτή λαβή και κωνικό στόμιο. Στην επίπεδη βάση διακρίνεται τμήμα εγχάραξης, ίσως επιγραφής. Πολλές ραβδώσεις. Πηλός: Πολλές προσμίξεις. Καστανέρυθρος σκούρος (2,5 YR 4/6-4/8). Άργος: Οικονομού 2003, 42, αρ. 60 εικ. 91· Κρήτη, Αθήνα και Κόρινθος: Vogt 2000, 145: 1,3,4. Τέλη 6ου αι. μ.Χ.

42. Οινοχόη (Εικ. 17δ). Σώζ.ύψ.10,1 / διάμ.βάσ.5 / διάμ.σώμ. περ.11. Σφαιρικό σώμα και γένεση μικρής λαβής. Οριζόντιες κυματοειδείς εγχαράξεις σε δύο ζώνες. Πηλός: Σκληρός, από κεραμιδί (5YR 5/8) ως μπεζ-ρόδιος (5YR 7/6). Αθήνα: Robinson 1959, πίν. 30: M292· Σταμάτα Αττικής: Τσοφοπούλου - Χαλκιά 2003, εικ. 1:4. Πρώιμος 5ος-αρχές 7ου αι. μ.Χ.

45. Οινοχόη (Εικ. 17α). Σώζ.ύψ.9,5 / διάμ.βάσ.5,5 / διάμ.σώμ. περ.11,5. Δακτυλιόσχημη βάση. Οριζόντιες ραβδώσεις και εγχαράξεις. Πηλός: Αποφλοιώσεις, λεπτόκοκκος με άφθονη ασημόχρωμη μίκα. Ερυθρωπός μπεζ (5YR 6/6). Αθήνα: Robinson 1959, πίν. 30, M291. Πρώιμος 5ος αι.μ.Χ.

Κούπες, κύπελλα

Νεκροταφείο

36. Μόνωτο κύπελλο (Εικ. 16δ). Ύψ.10,6 / διάμ.βάσ.4,6 / διάμ.χείλ.7,6 / πλ.λαβ.1,5.

Επίπεδη βάση και οριζόντιες ραβδώσεις. Στο λαιμό εγχάραξη. Πηλός: Λίγες λευκές προσμίξεις. Καστανό-νέρυθρος ανοιχτός (2,5 YR 7/8) με ίχνη από κόκκινο βερνίκι (2,5 YR 4/8). Αγορά Αθηνών: Robinson 1959, M80. Ύστερος 2ος αι. μ.Χ.

40. Κούπα ή κύπελλο (Εικ. 16γ). Ύψ.10,1 / διάμ. περ.13 / διάμ.βάσ.5,2. Έξω νεύον χείλος και δακτυλιόσχημη βάση. Πηλός: μαλακός και λείος, λίγα μικρά λευκά εγκλείσματα. Καστανός – πορτοκαλί ανοιχτός (7,5 YR 6/4). Hayes 1972 180-181 πίν. III:d, ARS Form 136.2, μόνο ως προς το σχήμα: Riley 1979, ER Plain Wares 801-804. 1ος-2ος αι. μ.Χ.

Μυροδοχείο

Νεκροταφείο

37. Ατρακτόσχημο μυροδοχείο (Εικ. 20β). Ύψ.20 / διάμ.βάσ.3 / διάμ.χείλ.2,7 / διάμ.σώμ.8,4. Ραβδώσεις στο σώμα. Πηλός: Λίγη μίκα και ανοίγματα από εγκλείσματα. Καστανορόδινος ανοιχτός (5 YR 6/4). Lochner et al. 2005, 650-1. 6ος αι.μ.Χ.

Διάφορα

Λουτρό

K1. Στήριγμα αγγείου (Εικ. 15α). Ύψ.7,5. Τμήμα αμφίκιουλου στηρίγματος αμφορέα. Vogt 2000, 199:3.

K7. Κυψέλη (Εικ. 15β). 6,2X3,7. Όστρακο κυψέλης, εγχαράξεις στην εσωτερική πλευρά.

Βιβλιογραφία

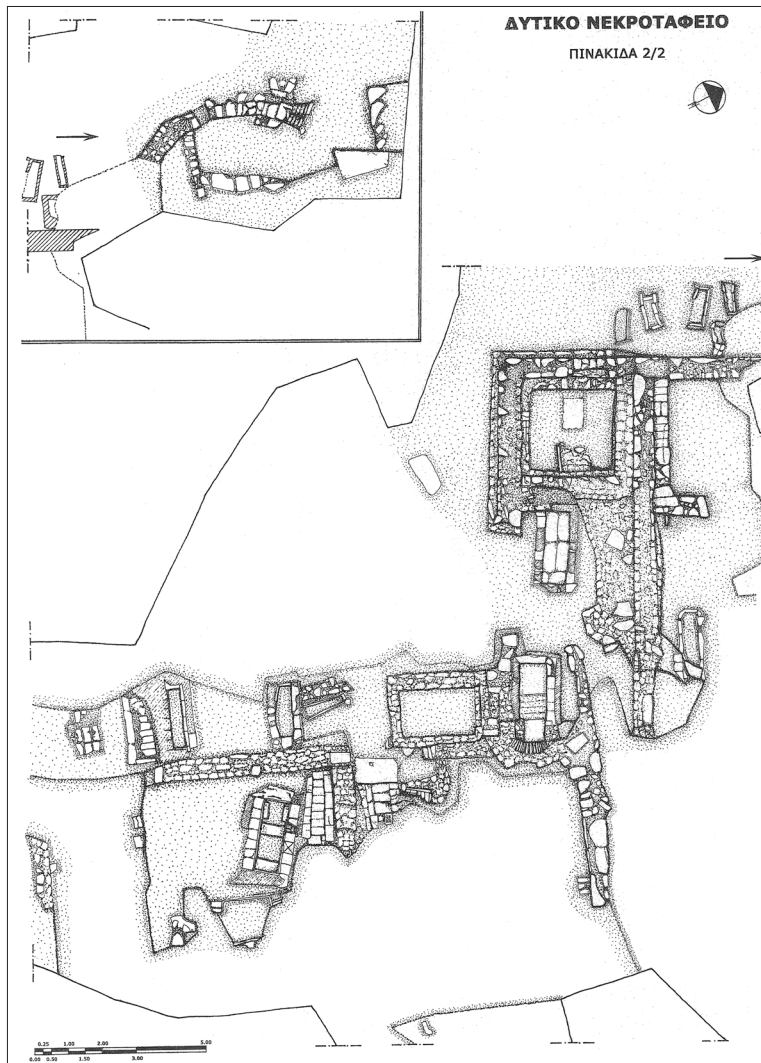
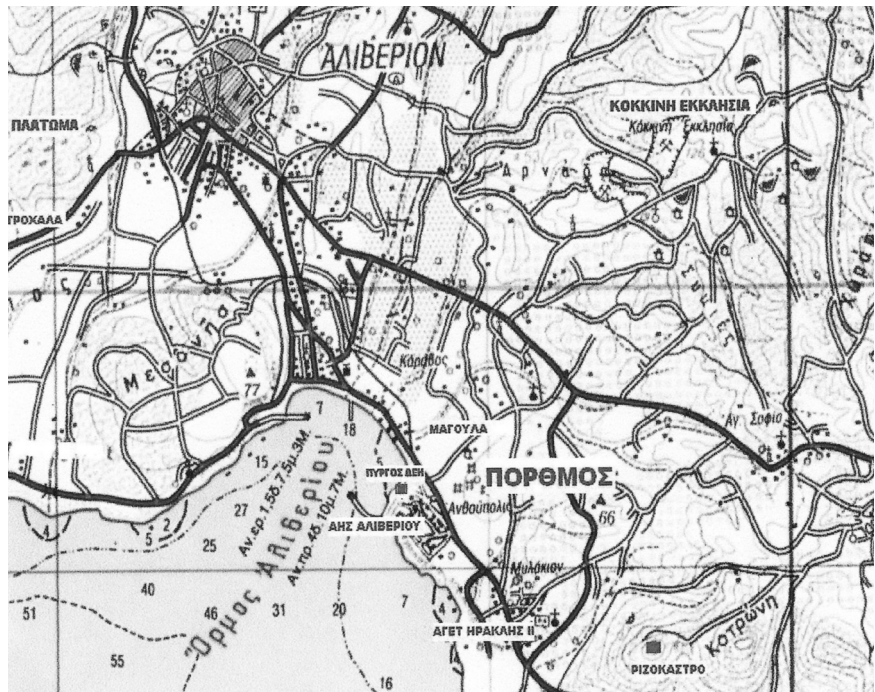
- Ανδρειωμένου, Α. (1979) 'Αρχαιότητες και μνημεία Ευβοίας. Ανασκαφικά Έρευναι' *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 29(Β' 2 Χρονικά), 463-484.
- Αραβαντινός, Β. (1989) 'Χρονικά'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 38(Β' 1 Χρονικά), 134.
- Γαληνός, Α. (1940) *Δημοσθένους Φιλιππικοί Γ' - Δ' . Αρχαίον κείμενον, αναλύσεις, μετάφρασις, σημειώσεις*. Αθήνα: Πάπυρος.
- Γερούση, Ε. (2010) 'Λυχνάρια από το νεκροταφείο της Ύστερης Αρχαιότητας και των Πρωτοβυζαντινών χρόνων στην Περίσσα Θήρας'. Στο *Κεραμική της Ύστερης Αρχαιότητας από τον ελλαδικό χώρο (3ος-7ος αι. μ.Χ.)*, επιμέλεια Μ. Δ. Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή και Ν. Κουσουλάκου, 217-231. Θεσσαλονίκη: Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Μακεδονικών και Θρακικών Σπουδών.
- Γκίνη-Τσοφοπούλου, Ε. και Ε. Χαλκιά (2003) 'Ταφική παλαιοχριστιανική κεραμική από την Αττική: Οι περιπτώσεις της Σταμάτας και της Αναβύσσου'. Στο *7ο Διεθνές συνέδριο Μεσαιωνικής Κεραμικής της Μεσογείου*, επιμέλεια Μ. Χαράλαμπος, 755-758. Αθήνα: Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία.
- Μανώλη, Ε. (2010) 'Κεραμική από το Φρέαρ 20 της υστερορωμαϊκής/ παλαιοχριστιανικής "Οικίας Α'" στο οικόπεδο Μακρυγιάννη στην Αθήνα'. Στο *Κεραμική της Ύστερης Αρχαιότητας από τον ελλαδικό χώρο (3-7ος αιώνας μ.Χ.)*, επιμέλεια Μ. Δ. Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή και Ν. Κουσουλάκου, 633-648. Θεσσαλονίκη: Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Μακεδονικών και Θρακικών Σπουδών.
- Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή, Δ. και Ν. Κουσουλάκου, επιμ. (2010) *Κεραμική της Ύστερης Αρχαιότητας από τον ελλαδικό χώρο (3ος-7ος αι. μ.Χ.)*, Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης, Θεσσαλονίκη 12-16 Νοεμβρίου 2006, 386-401. Θεσσαλονίκη: Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Μακεδονικών και Θρακικών Σπουδών.
- Ντάφη, Ε. και Σ. Σκαρτσή (2015) 'Βυζαντινή κεραμική από τις ανασκαφές στις εγκαταστάσεις του ατμοηλεκτρικού σταθμού (ΑΗΣ) της ΔΕΗ Αλιβερίου στην Εύβοια'. Στον Τόμ. ΙΙ *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας 4, 2012, Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης, Βόλος 15.3 - 18.3.2012*, 709-718. Θεσσαλία: Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας.
- Παπαβασιλείου, Γ. (1910) *Περί των εν Ευβοία αρχαίων τάφων*. Αθήνα: Π. Δ. Σακελλαρίου.
- Πετρίδης, Π. (2010) 'Ρωμαϊκά και πρωτοβυζαντινά εργαστήρια κεραμικής στον ελλαδικό χώρο'. Στο *Κεραμική της Ύστερης Αρχαιότητας από τον ελλαδικό χώρο (3ος-7ος αι. μ.Χ.)*, επιμέλεια Δ. Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή και Ν. Κουσουλάκου, 81-96. Θεσσαλονίκη: Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Μακεδονικών και Θρακικών Σπουδών.
- Σκαρμούτσου, Κ. (2010) 'Κεραμική από παλαιοχριστιανικό νεκροταφείο περιοχής Κρανείου - Αρχαίας Κορίνθου'. Στο *Κεραμική της Ύστερης Αρχαιότητας από τον ελλαδικό χώρο (3ος-7ος αι. μ.Χ.)*, επιμέλεια Δ. Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή και Ν. Κουσουλάκου, 712-742. Θεσσαλονίκη: Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Μακεδονικών και Θρακικών Σπουδών.
- Σκούρας, Θ. (2003) *Ακροπόλεις - Κάστρα - Πύργοι της Εύβοιας και αποδελτίωση 82 μεσαιωνικών χαρτών*. Χαλκίδα: Νομαρχιακή Αυτοδιοίκηση Ευβοίας.
- Τζαβέλλα, Έ. (2010) 'Κεραμική από αθηναϊκούς τάφους του τέλους της Αρχαιότητας και οι μαρτυρίες της για τον 7ο αι. στην Αττική'. Στο *Κεραμική της Ύστερης Αρχαιότητας από τον ελλαδικό χώρο (3ος-7ος αι. μ.Χ.)*, επιμέλεια Δ. Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή και Ν. Κουσουλάκου, 649-670. Θεσσαλονίκη: Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Μακεδονικών και Θρακικών Σπουδών.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. (1992) 'Αρχαιολογικά Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Εύβοιας (Ιστορικό πλαίσιο - Μνημεία - Προβλήματα και αιτήματα)'. *Αρχαιολογία και Τέχνες* 42, 63-75.
- Χαμηλάκη, Κ. (2010) 'Ταφικά σύνολα υστερορωμαϊκών χρόνων από νεκροταφείο στο Δήλιον Βοιωτίας. Πρώτες παρατηρήσεις'. Στο *Κεραμική της Ύστερης Αρχαιότητας από τον ελλαδικό χώρο (3ος-7ος αι. μ.Χ.)*, επιμέλεια Δ. Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή Δήμητρα και Ν. Κουσουλάκου, 580-609. Θεσσαλονίκη: Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Μακεδονικών και Θρακικών Σπουδών.
- Χατζηδημητρίου, Α. (2000). *Αλιβέρι- Συμβολή στην αρχαιολογική έρευνα της περιοχής*. Αθήνα: Ιδιωτική έκδοση.

- Abadie-Reynal, C. and J. P. Sodini (1992) 'La céramique paléochrétienne de Thasos (Aliki, Delkos, fouilles anciennes)'. Vol. XIII of *Études Thasiennes*. Athens: École Française d'Athènes. Paris: Boccard.
- Arthur, P. (1990) 'Anfore dall' alto Adriatico e il problema del Samos Cistern Type'. *Aquileia Nostra* 61, 281-296.
- Ballance, M., S. Hood and S. Corbett (1989) *Byzantine Emporio: Excavations at Chios 1952-55*. London: British School at Athens; Thames & Hudson.
- Bass, G. F. and F. H. van Doornick, Jr. (1982) 'A Seventh Century Byzantine Shipwreck'. Vol. 1 of *Yassi Ada*. Texas: A & M University Press.
- Bournias, L. (2014) 'Roman and Early Byzantine lamps from the island of Naxos in the Cyclades'. In Vol. 4 of *Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean: a market without frontiers*, edited by N. Poulou Papadimitriou, E. Nodarou and V. Kilikoglou, 787-798. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Broneer, O. (1930) 'Terracotta Lamps'. Vol. IV(II) of *Corinth*. Massachusetts: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Eiwanger, J. (1981) 'Keramik und Kleinfunde aus der Damokratia-Basilika in Demetrias'. Vol. IV of *Demetrias*. Bonn: Habelt.
- Hayes, J. W. (1972) *Late Roman Pottery*. London: British School at Rome.
- Hayes, J. W. (1973) 'Roman Pottery from the south Stoa at Corinth'. *Hesperia* 42, 416-470.
- Hayes, J. W. (1980) *A Supplement to Late Roman Pottery*. London: British School at Rome.
- Hayes, J. W. (1983) 'The Villa Dionysos Excavations, Knossos: The Pottery'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 78, 97-179.
- Hayes, J. W. (2001) 'Early Christian pottery from Knossos: the 1978-1981 finds from the Knossos Medical Faculty site'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 96, 431-454.
- Karivieri, A. (1996) *The Athenian Lamp Industry in Late Antiquity*. Helsinki: Finnish Institute at Athens.
- Keay, S. J. (1984) *Late Roman Amphorae in the Western Mediterranean. A typology and economic study: the Catalan evidence*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Koder, J. (1973) *Negroponte: Untersuchungen zur Topographie und Siedlungsgeschichte der Insel Euboia während der Zeit der Venezianerherrschaft*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Koder, J. and F. Hild (1976) 'Hellas und Thessalia'. Vol. 1 of *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Lochner, S., R. Sauer and R. Linke (2005) 'Late Roman Unguentaria? A contribution to early Byzantine wares from the view of Ephesus'. In Vol. 1 of *Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean. Archaeology and Archaeometry*, edited by G. Esparraguera, J. Buxeda i Garrigós and M. A. Cau Ontiveros, 647-654. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Malamut, E. (1988) 'Les îles de l'Empire byzantin, VIIIe-XIIe siècles'. Vol. 8 of *Byzantina Sorbonensia*. Paris: Université de Paris I-Panthéon-Sorbonne.
- Oikonomou-Laniado, A. (2003) *Argos Paléochrétienne. Contribution à l'étude du Péloponnèse Byzantine*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Perlzweig, J. (1961) 'Lamps of the Roman Period'. Vol. VII of *The Athenian Agora*. Princeton, N. J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Petridis, P. (2007) 'Relations between Pottery Workshops in the Greek Mainland during the Byzantine Period'. In Vol. 7 of *Byzas [Çanak, Late Antique and Medieval Pottery in Mediterranean Archaeological Contexts]*, edited by A. B. Böhlendorf-Aslan, A. O. Uysal and J. Witte-Orr, 43-54. Istanbul: Yayinlari.
- Piérart, M. and J. P. Halmann (1980) 'Céramique romaine et medievale (fouilles de l' agora)'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplement* 6.
- Pieri, D. (2005) *Le commerce du vinoriental à l'époque byzantine (Ve-VIIe siècles): le témoignage des amphores en Gaule*. Beirut: Institut Francais du Proche-Orient.
- Ricci, M. (1998) 'La ceramica comune dal contesto di VII della Crypta Balbi'. Vol. I of *Ceramica in Italia: VI-VII secolo*, edited by L. Sagui, 351-382. Firenze: All' insegna del giglio.
- Riley, J. A. (1979) 'The coarse pottery from Benghazi'. In Vol. 5(II) of *Supplements to Libya Antiqua [Excavations at Sidi Khrebish, Benghazi (Berenice)]*, edited by J. A. Lloyd, 91-497. Tripoli: Department of Antiquities.

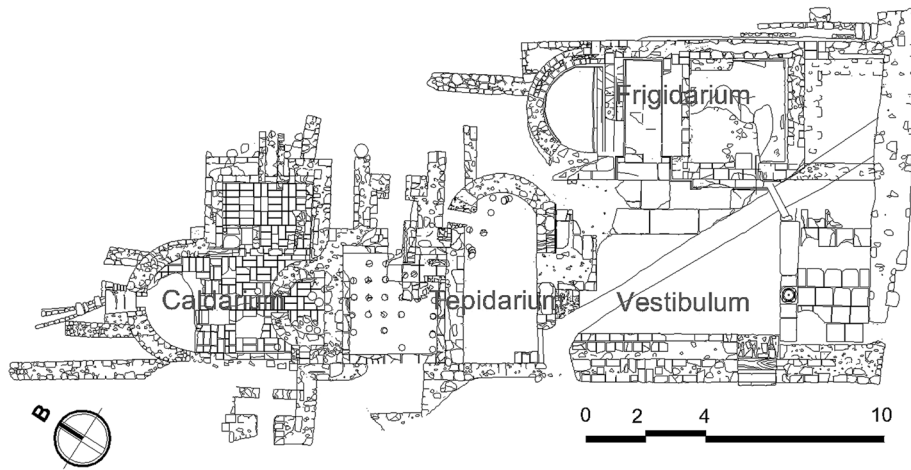
- Robinson, Henry S. (1959) 'Pottery of the Roman Period: Chronology'. In Vol. 5 of *The Athenian Agora*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Taner, K. (2007) 'Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Keramik aus Patara'. In Vol. 7 of *Byzas [Çanak, Late Antique and Medieval Pottery in Mediterranean Archaeological Contexts]*, edited by A. B. Böhlendorf-Aslan, A. O. Uysal and J. Witte-Orr, 147-168. Istanbul: Yayinlari.
- Vogt, C. (2000) 'The Early Byzantine Pottery'. In Vol. I(II) of *Πρωτοβυζαντινή Ελεύθερνα*, edited by Th. Petros, 37- 201. Rethymnon: The University of Crete.
- Yangaki, A. (2005) *Lacéramique des IVe-VIIe siècles ap. J.-C. d'Eleutherna*. Athens: Publications of the University of Crete.

Εικόνες

Εικόνα 1:
Χάρτης της περιοχής
του Αλιβερίου (Φαράντος,
Χαράλαμπος, (2010)
Πράξεις του Δημοτικού
Συμβουλίου του Δήμου
Δυστίων Ευβοίας 1856-1859
Αθήνα).

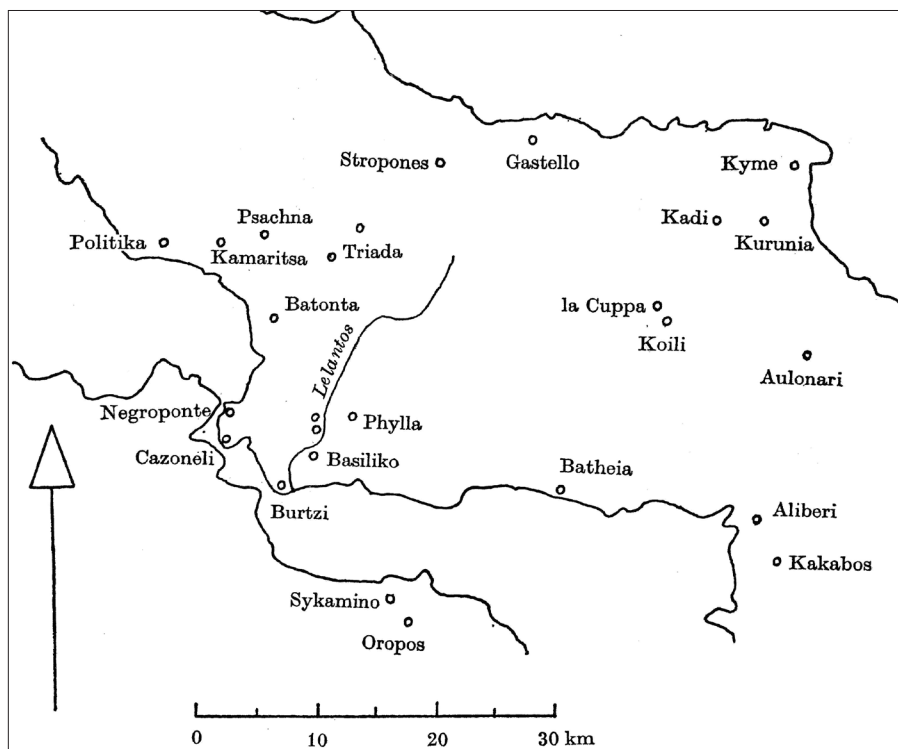
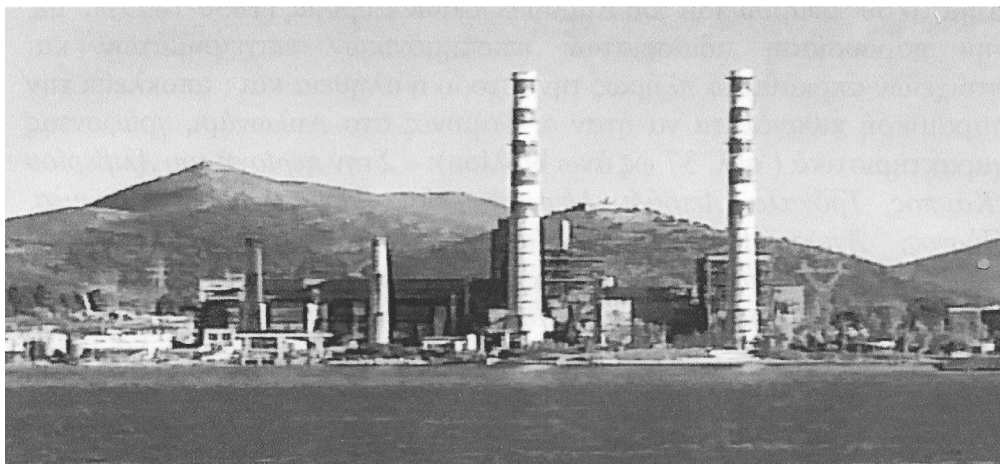


Εικόνα 2:
Τμήμα του νεκροταφείου στην
περιοχή του κυκλικού ελληνιστικού
λουτρού στις εγκαταστάσεις
του ΑΗΣ Αλιβερίου (Εφορεία
Αρχαιοτήτων Εύβοιας).



Εικόνα 3:
Το παλαιοχριστιανικό λουτρό στις εγκαταστάσεις της ΔΕΗ στο Αλιβέρι. Κάτοψη των χώρων (Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Εύβοιας).

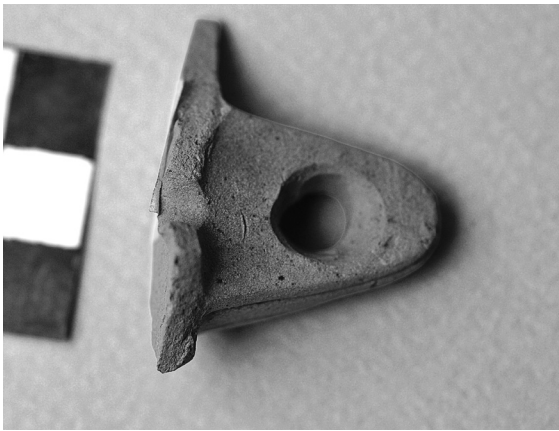
Εικόνα 4:
ΑΗΣ Αλιβερίου 1952. Φωτογραφία από τη θάλασσα του Καράβου, με τον ενετικό πύργο να διακρίνεται ανάμεσα σε δύο υψικαμίνους· στο βάθος το Ριζόκαστρο. (Έκδοση για τον Στρατηγικό Σχεδιασμό Δήμου Κύμης-Αλιβερίου 2012-2014).



Εικόνα 5:
Χάρτης της κεντρικής Εύβοιας κατά την Ενετική περίοδο με σήμανση οχυρώσεων (Koder 1973, 96: εικ. 6).



Εικόνα 6:
Το παλαιοχριστιανικό
λουτρό στις εγκαταστάσεις
της ΔΕΗ στο Αλιβέρι
(σε πρώτο πλάνο το
αποδυτήριο και
το frigidarium)
(Φωτογραφία λουτρού:
Ελίνα Αγγέλη,
αρχιτέκτων-μηχανικός).



α



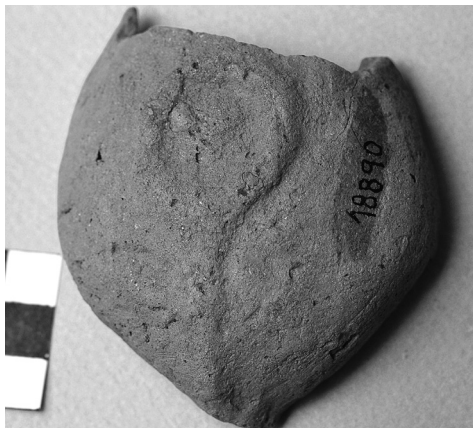
β



γ



δ



ε



στ

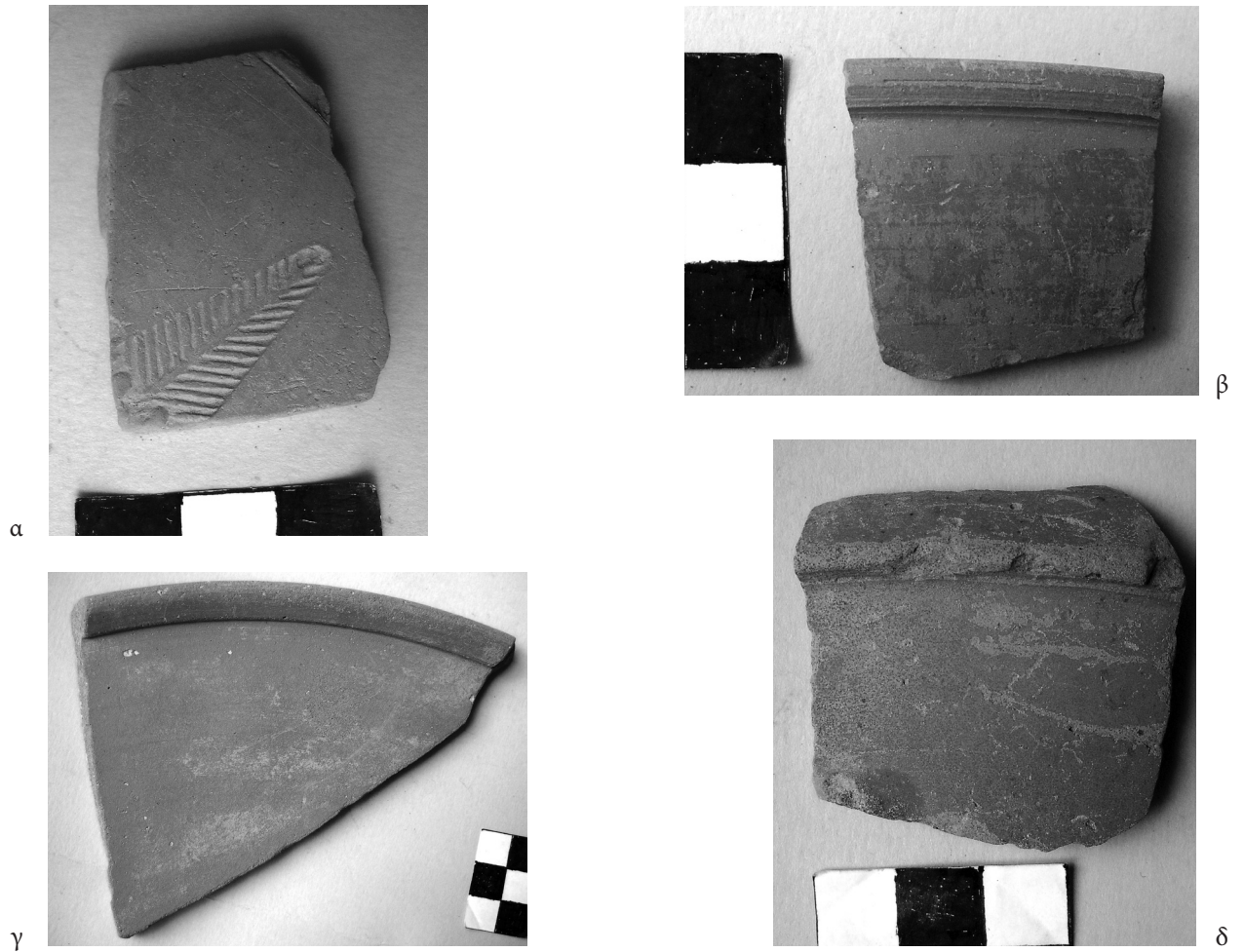
Εικόνα 7: Αλιβέρι, λουτρό στις εγκαταστάσεις της ΔΕΗ. 7α-7στ' Λυχνάρια διαφόρων τύπων.



Εικόνα 8:
Αλιβέρι, λουτρό στις εγκαταστάσεις της ΔΕΗ. 8α-8γ:
βορειοαφρικανικά λυχνάρια.



Εικόνα 9: Αλιβέρι, λουτρό στις εγκαταστάσεις της ΔΕΗ. 9α-9δ: Φωκαϊκά πινάκια.



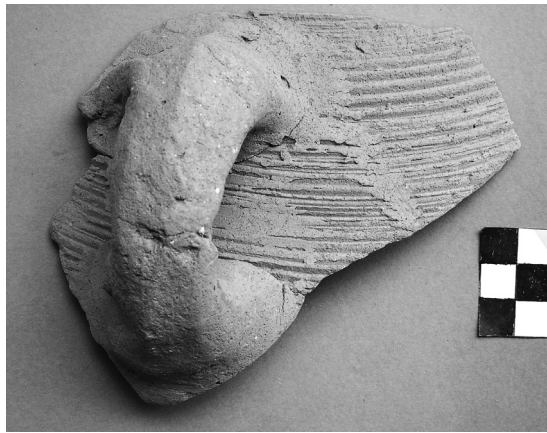
Εικόνα 10: Αλιβέρι, λουτρό στις εγκαταστάσεις της ΔΕΗ. 10α-10δ: βορειοαφρικανικά όστρακα.



Εικόνα 11:
Αλιβέρι, λουτρό στις εγκαταστάσεις της ΔΕΗ. 11α-11γ:
υστερορωμαϊκοί αμφορείς.



α



β



γ

Εικόνα 12:

Αλιβέρι, λουτρό στις εγκαταστάσεις της ΔΕΗ. 12α: Σφαιρικός Αιγαιακός αμφορέας, 12β -12γ: Παλεστινιακός αμφορέας τύπου LRA6 12δ: αμφορέας τύπου σπαθείας.



α



β

Εικόνα 13:
Αλιβέρι, λουτρό στις εγκαταστάσεις της ΔΕΗ.
13α-13β: μαγειρικά σκεύη.



γ



δ



ε

Εικόνα 13:
Αλιβέρι,
λουτρό στις
εγκαταστάσεις
της ΔΕΗ.
13γ-13ζ:
μαγειρικά σκεύη.



ζ



α



γ



β

Εικόνα 14:
Αλιβέρι, λουτρό στις εγκαταστάσεις της ΔΕΗ.
14α-14γ: οινοχόες.



α

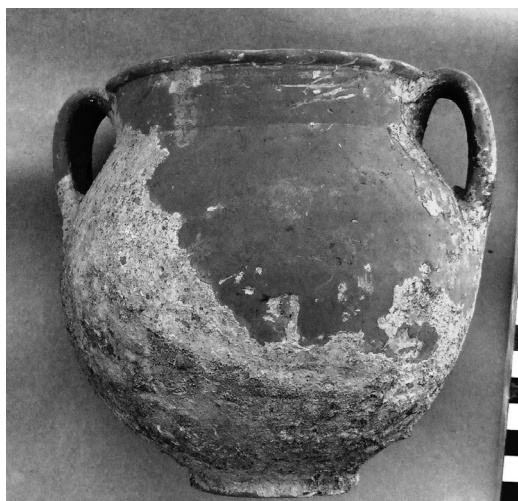


β

Εικόνα 15:
Αλιβέρι, λουτρό στις εγκαταστάσεις της ΔΕΗ.
15α: στήριγμα αγγείου και 15β: όστρακο κυπέλης.



α



β



γ

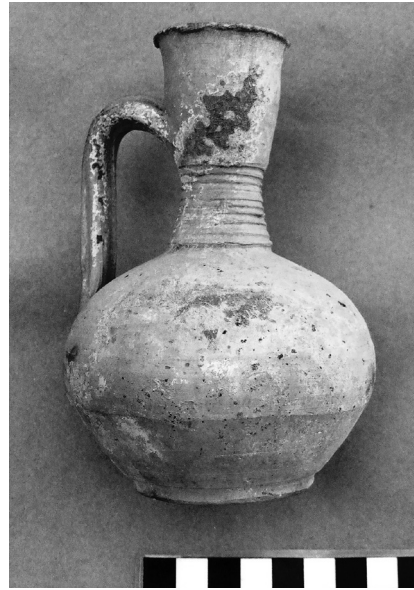


δ

Εικόνα 16: Αλιβέρι, εγκαταστάσεις της ΔΕΗ, υστερορρωμαϊκό και παλαιοχριστιανικό νεκροταφείο.
16α-16β: Μαγειρικά σκεύη. 16γ-16δ: κύπελλα της Υστερορρωμαϊκής περιόδου.



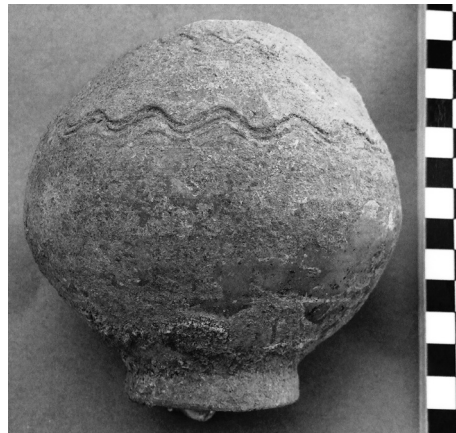
α



β



γ



δ



ε



στ

Εικόνα 17: Αλιβέρι, εγκαταστάσεις της ΔΕΗ, υστερορρωμαϊκό και παλαιοχριστιανικό νεκροταφείο.
17α-17στ': οινοχόες και πρόχοι του 4ου-6ου αι.



α

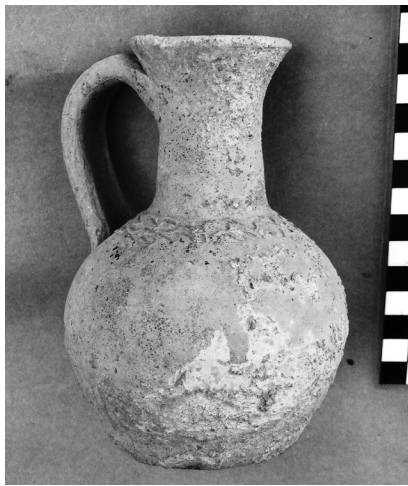


β

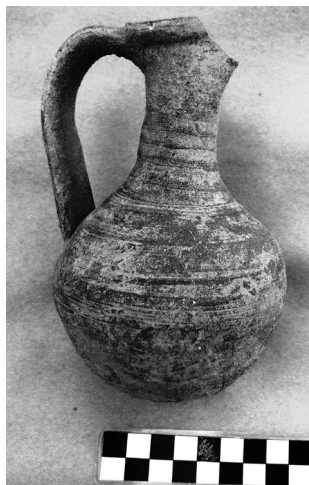


γ

Εικόνα 18:
Αλιβέρι, εγκαταστάσεις της ΔΕΗ,
υστερορωμαϊκό και παλαιοχριστιανικό νεκροταφείο.
18α-18γ: Λύχνος.



α



β

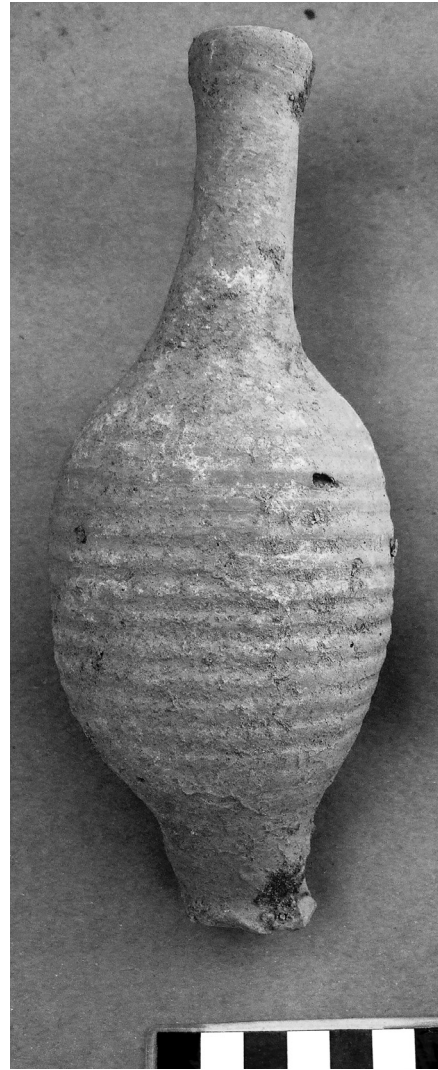
Εικόνα. 19:
Αλιβέρι, εγκαταστάσεις
της ΔΕΗ, υστερορωμαϊκό και
παλαιοχριστιανικό νεκροταφείο.
19α-19δ: οινοχόες του 5ου-7ου αι.



γ



δ



Εικόνα. 20:
Αλιβέρι, εγκαταστάσεις της ΔΕΗ,
υστερορωμαϊκό και παλαιοχριστιανικό νεκροταφείο.
20α: οινόχη 6ου-7ου αι. 20β: μυροδοχείο 6ου αι.

Μελέτη στερέωσης και αποκατάστασης του παλαιοχριστιανικού λουτρού στον Α.Η.Σ. Αλιβερίου

Ελένη-Αθηνά ΑΓΓΕΛΗ

Abstract

The Early Christian bath complex in Aliveri is situated chronologically in the 4th century and remained in use until the 7th century. The rooms are arranged along a 30-metre-long axis, with a north-west to south-east orientation. It is a typical *balaneion* (*balneum*), composed of a *vestibulum*, *frigidarium*, *tepidarium* and *caldarium*. The hot areas were heated through the commonly used underground system of ducts, the *hypocausts*.

The complex is built of a composite type of rubble masonry with brick courses, bonded with lime mortar, resembling the Roman *opus incertum mixtum*. As usual, however, the walls were covered by large slabs of *marmor caristium*. The same material is used for floor covering, along with large clay tiles in some rooms. A mosaic has been found on the *vestibulum* floor, with black marble fragments against a white background, depicting a swirling ivy sprout.

There is a clear need for conservation to halt the corrosion of the materials and prevent further destruction of the monument's ruins. The conservation project proposes to: a) repair the vegetation that invades the ruins, b) repair the masonry and conservation of the materials, c) restore the structural elements destroyed by the water supply pipes, d) conserve the floors and fill them in with contemporary materials, e) construct a visitors' route, with information stands, and f) study the conformation of the context and the surrounding area.

Εισαγωγή

Το Αλιβέρι, κτισμένο αμφιθεατρικά πάνω σε λόφους, σε απόσταση 52 χλμ. ΝΑ της Χαλκίδας, αποτελεί σημαντική βιομηχανική κωμόπολη του νομού Ευβοίας. Στον Κάραβο, επίνειο του Αλιβερίου, έχουν έλθει στο φως πλούσια αρχαιολογικά ευρήματα.¹

Η ευρύτερη περιοχή του Αλιβερίου παρουσιάζει μεγάλο αρχαιολογικό ενδιαφέρον, με ευρήματα που χρονολογούνται από τους Προϊστορικούς μέχρι τους Ύστερους Ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους.² Η χρονολόγηση του υπό μελέτη λουτρικού συγκροτήματος στην Παλαιοχριστιανική Εποχή (4ος αι. μ.Χ.) και η λειτουργία του έως τον 7ο αι. μ.Χ., οπότε και διακόπτεται, μαρτυρά την ύπαρξη οικιστικής ανάπτυξης ανάλογης με εκείνη της Χαλκίδας, της Ερέτριας, της Αιδηψού και της Καρύστου, περιοχές όπου έχουν εντοπιστεί μέχρι σήμερα λουτρικές εγκαταστάσεις των Ρωμαϊκών χρόνων. Στα νεώτερα χρόνια, κυρί-

1. Χατζηδημητρίου 2000, 30-34.

2. Χατζηδημητρίου 2000, 35-39.

ως κατά τα έτη 1950-1980, η ύπαρξη κοιτασμάτων λιγνίτη στην περιοχή οδήγησε στη δημιουργία του πρώτου ατμοηλεκτρικού σταθμού (Α.Η.Σ.) παραγωγής ηλεκτρικού ρεύματος, από τη ΔΕΗ.

Η υπό μελέτη λουτρική εγκατάσταση αποκαλύφθηκε κατά την ανασκαφική έρευνα που διενεργήθηκε την περίοδο 1995-1997 στο χώρο του ΑΗΣ Αλιβερίου από την αρχαιολόγο Α. Χατζηδημητρίου, με αφορμή τις εργασίες επέκτασης του Διοικητηρίου. Κατά την απομάκρυνση των επιχωματώσεων, διαπιστώθηκε ότι πάνω από τα οικοδομικά λείψανα της λουτρικής εγκατάστασης διερχόταν το κεντρικό δίκτυο υδροδότησης του εργοστασίου, το οποίο και απομακρύνθηκε το 1997, μετά από υπόδειξη της Αρχαιολογικής Υπηρεσίας (ΙΑ' ΕΠΚΑ).³

Την τρέχουσα χρονική περίοδο, στο εργοστάσιο κατασκευάζεται νέα μονάδα παραγωγής ηλεκτρικής ενέργειας με φυσικό αέριο. Λόγω της μεγάλης ιστορικής και αρχιτεκτονικής αξίας των αρχαίων κτισμάτων που εντοπίζονται στα όρια των εγκαταστάσεών του, αποφασίστηκε, σε συνεργασία με την ΙΑ' Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων και την 23^η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων, η συντήρηση, αποκατάσταση και ανάδειξή τους, καθώς και η δημιουργία μικρού μουσειακού χώρου για τη φύλαξη και έκθεση των κινητών ευρημάτων που προέρχονται από τον χώρο του ΑΗΣ.

Τεκμηρίωση

Η αποκαλυφθείσα λουτρική εγκατάσταση ανήκει τυπολογικά στον εν σειρά τύπο και οι χώροι της εκτείνονται παρατακτικά σε έναν άξονα μήκους 30,00 μ., με προσανατολισμό ΒΔ-ΝΑ. Το φυσικό, βραχώδες έδαφος παρουσιάζει αρκετή κλίση προς τα ΒΔ, περίπου 7%. Το μικρό μέγεθος του κτηρίου δηλώνει πως πρόκειται για ένα βαλανείο, το οποίο περιλαμβάνει τους βασικούς χώρους ενός λουτρού, δηλαδή το αποδυτήριο (*vestibulum*) και τους χώρους του ψυχρού (*frigidarium*), του χλιαρού (*tepidarium*) και του θερμού λουτρού (*caldarium*) (Εικ. 1).⁴

Η αίθουσα του αποδυτηρίου έχει διαστάσεις 7,00Χ5,00 μ. και στη νοτιοανατολική γωνία της ανοίγεται η είσοδος του συγκροτήματος, πλάτους 1,50 μ. Κατά μήκος της νότιας και τμήματος της δυτικής πλευράς του υπάρχει χαμηλό κτιστό θρανίο, ενώ ένα δεύτερο θρανίο μικρών διαστάσεων βρίσκεται στη βόρεια πλευρά του. Τα θρανία αυτά ενδεχομένως να χρησιμοποιούνταν ως πάγκοι, πάνω στους οποίους αναπαύονταν ή τοποθετούσαν τα ρούχα τους οι λουόμενοι προτού προχωρήσουν στους υπόλοιπους χώρους του λουτρού (Εικ. 1, 2).

Στην νοτιοανατολική πλευρά του αποδυτηρίου βρίσκεται αίθουσα διαστάσεων 5,50Χ3,00 μ. ανοιχτή προς αυτό εν είδει στοάς, με λίθινο στυλοβάτη, πάνω στον οποίο εδράζεται σε δεύτερη χρήση βάση ιωνικού κίονα πάνω σε δωρικό κιονόκρανο. Στα βόρεια η στοά εφάπτεται με έναν χώρο διαστάσεων 2,50Χ3,50 μ. Από τον ενδιάμεσο τους τοίχο σώζονται μόνο ίχνη της βάσης του με αποτέλεσμα σήμερα, εκ πρώτης όψεως, να δίνεται η εντύπωση ενός ενιαίου χώρου. Στις δυο πλευρές του, τη βόρεια και την ανατολική, διαφαίνονται τα ίχνη θρανίου, καθώς όμως ο χώρος δεν έχει ανασκαφεί ως το επίπεδο του δαπέδου δεν μπορούμε να είμαστε σίγουροι για τη χρήση του (Εικ. 2).

Δυτικά του χώρου αυτού και κατά μήκος της βόρειας πλευράς του αποδυτηρίου βρίσκονται οι χώροι του ψυχρού λουτρού, στους οποίους η πρόσβαση από το αποδυτήριο γινόταν από έναν διάδρομο, διαστάσεων 2,00Χ4,15 μ. με κτιστά θρανία κατά μήκος των μακρών πλευρών του. Εκατέρωθεν του διαδρόμου βρίσκονται οι λουτήρες, ένας αψιδωτός στα ΒΔ, ακτίνας 1,50 μ. με θρανίο και οπή απορροής του νερού και ένας μεγαλύτερος, σχεδόν τετράγωνος διαστάσεων 3,30Χ3,50 μ., στα ΝΑ,

3. Χατζηδημητρίου 2000, 15-17.

4. Βρούβα 2005, 28-36, 147-148. Ανάλογα με το μέγεθός τους οι λουτρικές εγκαταστάσεις διακρίνονταν στις Θέρμες (*Thermae*) και τα Βαλανεία (*Balnea*). Θέρμες ονομάζονταν τα μεγάλα αυτοκρατορικά λουτρικά συγκροτήματα, των οποίων οι χώροι αναπτύσσονταν στις πλευρές ενός κεντρικού άξονα και περικλείονταν από έναν περίβολο, μέσα στον οποίο βρίσκονταν οι βοηθητικές εγκαταστάσεις.

πιθανόν πσίνα, με κτιστά θρανία και στις δυο παρειές του για να κάθονται οι λουόμενοι αλλά και για να διευκολύνεται η είσοδος τους μέσα στον λουτήρα. Η ασίδα του πρώτου λουτήρα εξωτερικά έχει εγκιβωτιστεί σε μεταγενέστερη φάση, σε τοιχοποιία που σχηματίζει γωνία, ενώ ένα δεύτερο τμήμα τοίχου προς βορράν, της ίδιας κατασκευαστικής φάσης, δηλώνει αλλαγή του περιγράμματος του κτηρίου σε κάποια χρονική στιγμή (Εικ. 2).

Το πλάτος της τοιχοποιίας σε όλο το συγκρότημα κυμαίνεται από 55 έως 75 εκ. και είναι κατασκευασμένη από λιθοδομή μικτής κατασκευής. Θυμίζει το ρωμαϊκό *opus incertum mixtum*, δηλαδή φτιαγμένη με αργούς λίθους, ασβεστοκονίαμα και παρεμβολή οριζόντιων σειρών πλίνθων.⁵ Σύμφωνα με αυτό το πρότυπο, κάποιες γωνίες των τοίχων καθώς και οι απολήξεις τους στις παρειές των ανοιγμάτων είναι κατασκευασμένες εξ ολοκλήρου από πλίνθους, που συνέχιζαν προφανώς προς τα πάνω σχηματίζοντας το τόξο του ανοίγματος.

Στο αποδυτήριο και το *frigidarium* η εσωτερική παρειά των τοίχων ήταν επενδεδυμένη με μεγάλες πλάκες από καρύστιο λίθο⁶, πάνω σε παχύ στρώμα κονιάματος εν είδει ορθομαρμάρωσης. Για την σφράγιση των αρμών, κυρίως στους λουτήρες, υπήρχε τελική επίστρωση από λευκό επίχρισμα με υδραυλικές ιδιότητες. Στον ημικυκλικό λουτήρα οι τοιχοποιίες σώζονται σε ικανοποιητικό ύψος—1,50 μ.—το ίδιο και η ορθομαρμάρωση με το επίχρισμά της. Στους υπόλοιπους τοίχους και τα θρανία σώζονται σε ύψος μόλις μερικών εκατοστών ή και μόνο η βάση τους στο δάπεδο. Όσον αφορά στο υπόστρωμα των πλακών και στους δυο λουτήρες του *frigidarium* το κονίαμα έχει μεγάλο πάχος, που στον ορθογωνικό λουτήρα φτάνει και τα 10 εκ. για την καλύτερη υγρομόνωση της τοιχοποιίας, λόγω της συνεχούς επαφής με νερό. Στις υπόλοιπες τοιχοποιίες το πάχος του κυμαίνεται από 3-5 εκ. (Εικ. 3). Όσον αφορά στις επιστρώσεις των δαπέδων, αυτές ποικίλουν ανάλογα με τη χρήση του χώρου. Στο δάπεδό του αποδυτηρίου αποκαλύφθηκαν τμήματα ψηφιδωτού με μαύρες ψηφίδες σε λευκό βάθος. Το ψηφιδωτό διακοσμείται με ελισσόμενο βλαστό από τον οποίο εκφύονται κισσόφυλλα, ένα μοτίβο ιδιαίτερα δημοφιλές κατά τον 5ο και 6ο αι. μ.Χ.⁷ Τα υπόλοιπα δάπεδα του αποδυτηρίου και του *frigidarium* ήταν επιστρωμένα με μεγάλες σχιστολιθικές πλάκες ορθογωνικού σχήματος, από καρύστιο λίθο επίσης, μεγάλο τμήμα των οποίων έχει απομακρυνθεί (Εικ. 3). Στη στοά, πέραν του λίθινου στυλοβάτη, το δάπεδο διαφοροποιείται και είναι επιστρωμένο με κεραμικές πλάκες διαστάσεων 55X60 εκ., που φέρουν πλοχμοειδείς διακοσμήσεις, τοποθετημένες με όχι ιδιαίτερα επιμελημένη διάταξη. Το δάπεδο του βοηθητικού χώρου που εφάπτεται της στοάς δεν έχει αποκαλυφτεί ακόμα.

Όσον αφορά στα κτιστά θρανία που βρίσκονται μέσα ή στην παρειά των λουτήρων συνεχίζεται η ορθομαρμάρωση στην άνω και την κατακόρυφη πλευρά τους. Στο χαμηλό και μεγαλύτερου πλάτους θρανίο του αποδυτηρίου η τελική επιφάνεια επιστρώνεται με πήλινες ορθογωνικές πλάκες.

Από ένα άνοιγμα πλάτους 1,00 μ. κοντά στο μέσο του δυτικού τοίχου του αποδυτηρίου, γινόταν η είσοδος στους θερμούς χώρους του λουτρού που αποτελούνται από τρεις αίθουσες, μία του *tepidarium*

5. Adam 1994, 202-203; Πάχτα 2004, 27. Μια από τις μεγάλες καινοτομίες της ρωμαϊκής αρχιτεκτονικής στην κατασκευαστική τεχνολογία είναι το ρωμαϊκό σκυρόδεμα, η κατασκευή δηλαδή τοίχων με την τεχνική του *opus caementicium*, κατά την οποία ο τεχνίτης έμπηγε με το χέρι πέτρες στο μέγεθος γροθιάς (*caementa*) μέσα σε κονίαμα που περιείχε ποζολάνη (μια ηφαιστειακή γαία που αύξανε την αντοχή του και του έδινε υδραυλικές ιδιότητες) για να δημιουργήσει μια συμπαγή μάζα. Ο πυρήνας αυτός της τοιχοποιίας επενδυόταν ταυτόχρονα με πιο επιμελημένες προσόψεις από λίθους ή πλίνθους, δημιουργώντας έτσι μια μονολιθική κατασκευή. Οι δυο βασικοί τύποι προσόψεων, το *opus incertum* και το *opus reticulatum* εξελίχθηκαν ανά τους αιώνες σε διάφορες παραλλαγές. Μία από αυτές, που εφαρμόστηκε μετά τον 1ο και 2ο αι. μ.Χ. ήταν και το *opus incertum mixtum*, πάνω στο οποίο βασίστηκε και η βυζαντινή οικοδομική (π.χ. παλαιοχριστιανικά τείχη της Νικόπολης, συγκρότημα Γαλερίου στη Θεσσαλονίκη).

6. Ο καρύστιος λίθος (*marmor caristium*) είναι είδος μαρμάρου από την περιοχή της Καρύστου με μεγάλη εφαρμογή κατά την Παλαιοχριστιανική περίοδο. Είχε χρώμα πρασινόλευκο με κυματοειδείς φλέβες, για τον λόγο αυτόν ονομάζεται και *cipollino* (το κρεμμύδι στα ιταλικά). Λόγω της μεγάλης σχιστότητάς του ήταν ακατάλληλος για την αγαλματοποιία, βρήκε όμως μεγάλη εφαρμογή στην κατασκευή αρχιτεκτονικών μελών και επενδύσεων από τους Ρωμαίους (ναός του Αντωνίνου και της Φαουστίνας στο foro romano της Ρώμης, βιβλιοθήκη Αδριανού στην Αθήνα).

7. Χατζηδημητρίου 2000, 17-18.

και δύο του *caldarium*. Η χωροθέτησή τους στο βορειοδυτικό τμήμα του συγκροτήματος έρχεται σε αντίθεση με τη συνήθη θέση τους στα νοτιοδυτικά των ψυχρών χώρων για καλύτερο ηλιασμό. Η τυπολογία τους έχει ως εξής: οι κεντρικές αίθουσες είναι περίπου ιδίων διαστάσεων και οι νότιες παρειές τους είναι συννευθιακές. Εκατέρωθεν του άξονα τους (ανατολή-δύση), αλλά και στην τρίτη πλευρά της τελευταίας εν σειρά αίθουσας, διατάσσονται λουτήρες με κάτοψη ημικυκλική (αψιδωτή) ή ορθογωνική (Εικ. 2). Οι τοιχοποιίες είναι και εδώ κατασκευασμένες με μικτό τρόπο τύπου *opus incertum mixtum*, εκτός από ορισμένα σημεία όπου επικρατεί η οπτοπλινθοδομή. Οι χώροι θερμαίνονταν με το σύστημα των υποκαύστων, που σώζονται μέχρι το ύψος των κιονίσκων τους, καθώς το δάπεδό τους έχει καταρρεύσει.⁸ Οι κιονίσκοι αποτελούνται από κυκλικές πλίνθους, διαμέτρου 24 έως 25 εκ. και μέγιστου πάχους 4 εκ. με παχύ συνδετικό κονίαμα ανάμεσά τους και φέρουν διακοσμήσεις με κυματοειδείς αυλακώσεις για την καλύτερη πρόσφυση του κονιάματος (Εικ. 4).

Στα *praefurnia*, οι παρειές είναι κατασκευασμένες εξ ολοκλήρου από πλίνθους, καθώς επρόκειτο για μικρούς θολοσκεπείς θαλάμους μέγιστου ανοίγματος 40 εκ., η ανωδομή των οποίων δεν σώζεται. Η πυρά άναβε κατευθείαν στο πάτωμα, χωρίς σχάρα, δικαιολογώντας την ύπαρξη άφθονης τέφρας πάνω στις πλάκες. Στο δάπεδο των περισσοτέρων από αυτά έχουν διασωθεί κυκλοτεροί λίθοι από τραχίτη που μάλλον ταυτίζονται με λίθους *πυρομάχιους*, οι οποίοι χρησιμοποιούνταν ενίοτε για την πρόχειρη στήριξη των λεβήτων.⁹ Εξωτερικά, φέρουν χτιστό δίαυλο από τοιχάρια, για την μεγιστοποίηση του ελκτικού ρεύματος των θερμών αερίων. Χαρακτηριστικό στοιχείο αποτελούν κάποιοι μεταγενέστεροι τοίχοι, όπως μαρτυρούν οι ενώσεις στις τοιχοποιίες εκατέρωθεν των *praefurnia*, αποσπασματικά σωζόμενοι. προφανώς για λόγους προστασίας της πυράς. Δεν αποκλείεται δε, οι περιοχές αυτές, σε δεδομένη στιγμή ή σταδιακά, να κλείστηκαν με περιμετρικό τοίχο πιθανόν και να στεγάστηκαν, αλλάζοντας τη βόρεια και δυτική όψη των θερμών χώρων και επομένως το περίγραμμα όλου του συγκροτήματος.

Ο πρώτος χώρος μετά την είσοδο από το αποδυτήριο είναι το *tepidarium*, μια επιμήκης αψιδωτή αίθουσα διαστάσεων 2,50X5,70 μ.¹⁰ Στην ΒΔ άκρη της αψίδας της βρίσκεται το *praefurnium*, ενώ σε κοντινή απόσταση διατηρούνται επτά κιονίσκοι της υπόκαυσης, οι οποίοι εδράζονται επ' ευθείας πάνω στον φυσικό βράχο. Δύο εξ αυτών διατηρούνται σε καλή κατάσταση και σε αρκετό ύψος, αποτελούμενοι από οκτώ κυκλικές πλίνθους.

Δυτικότερα ξεκινούν οι χώροι του *caldarium* (Εικ. 2). Η εύρεση *tegulae mammatae*, κατά τη διάρκεια της ανασκαφικής έρευνας, μαρτυρά πως το *caldarium* θερμαίνονταν τόσο από τα υπόκαυστα όσο και από την θέρμανση των τοίχων. Η πρώτη αίθουσα, εσωτερικών διαστάσεων 3,50X3,90 μ., φέρει δύο λουτήρες εκατέρωθέν της, έναν ατομικό προς βορράν, διαστάσεων 1,35X0,80 μ. και έναν δεύτερο μεγαλύτερο προς νότο, διαστάσεων περίπου 1,65X1,10 μ., αποσπασματικά σωζόμενο και με ασαφές περίγραμμα.

Ένας τρίτος αψιδωτός λουτήρας στα δυτικά της αίθουσας, ακτίνας 1,25 μ., είναι σαφώς μεταγενέστερος, αφού καταλαμβάνει χώρο από την επόμενη αίθουσα του *caldarium* και δεν υπάρχει συναρμογή της τοιχοποιίας του με την προϋπάρχουσα. Επίσης η διάταξή του με την κόγχη προσανατολισμένη προς την πρώτη αίθουσα, παρόλο που βρίσκεται στην δεύτερη, δηλώνει ότι προσαρτήθηκε στην πρώτη.

Στο μέσο της βόρειας πλευράς της κεντρικής πρώτης αίθουσας σχηματίζεται το *praefurnium*, με

8. Adam 1994, 550-551; Βρούβα 2005, 153-158, 259. Τα υπόκαυστα λειτουργούσαν ως εξής: το δάπεδο του λουτρού (*suspensura*) στηριζόταν πάνω σε στυλίσκους (*pilae*) και ο κενός αυτός χώρος θερμαινόταν από έναν φούρνο (προπνίγειο, *praefurnium*). Ο θερμός αέρας κυκλοφορούσε, όχι μόνο κάτω από το δάπεδο, αλλά και εσωτερικά των τοίχων, με κοίλους πηλοσωλήνες (*tubuli*) ή με πήλινες πλάκες με αποστάτες (*tegulae mammatae*).

9. Χατζηδημητρίου 2000, 15-17

10. Βρούβα 2005, 231-232. Το *tepidarium* ή αλλιώς *cella media* (μέσος οίκος), ήταν συνήθως αψιδωτός χώρος, μικρότερος τόσο από το *frigidarium* όσο και από το *caldarium* και χρησίμευε για την ομαλή μετάβαση των λουομένων από τους θερμούς στους ψυχρούς χώρους και αντιστρόφως.

καπνοδόχο διαστάσεων 17X25 εκ., κατασκευασμένη με πλίνθους στο πάχος του τοίχου. Η ιδιομορφία στην υπόκαυση του χώρου αυτού έγκειται στο ότι το πήλινο δάπεδο του υπογείου θαλάμου της διαμορφώνεται ελαφρώς υπερυψωμένο, εδράζεται δηλαδή πάνω σε συστάδα χαμηλών κιονίσκων, αποτελούμενων από δύο κυκλικές πλίνθους και περιμετρική πατούρα στους τοίχους, πλάτους μιας πλίνθου, ίδιου ύψους. Το γεγονός στόχευε κατά πάσα πιθανότητα στην αντιμετώπιση των προβλημάτων διαρροών και υπερχειλίσις ή στην εξασφάλιση καλύτερης θερμομόνωσης (Εικ. 5).

Εδώ επίσης σώζεται μικρό τμήμα του δαπέδου της υπόκαυσης με *bipedales*, που εδράζονται πάνω στους χαμηλούς κιονίσκους.¹¹ Πάνω σε αυτό εδράζονταν προφανώς οι κιονίσκοι που έφεραν τη *suspensura*.¹² Παρατηρείται εδώ όπως και σε άλλα σημεία του *caldarium* όπως θα φανεί στη συνέχεια, η αντικατάσταση κάποιων κιονίσκων με τοίχους από δρομική οπτοπλινθοδομή παράλληλα κατασκευασμένους, με αξονική απόσταση επίσης 60 εκ. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο μεγάλωνε η επιφάνεια έδρασης των *bipedales* πάνω στους τοίχους και ενισχυόταν η αντοχή σε βάρος. Μια άλλη πιθανότητα είναι να ενώνονταν στην απόληξη μεταξύ τους με ημικυλινδρικές καμάρες, δημιουργώντας μια αψιδωτή επιφάνεια. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο υπήρχε η δυνατότητα αντοχής μεγαλύτερου υπερκείμενου βάρους από την προηγούμενη λύση.

Η δεύτερη αίθουσα του *caldarium* που έχει διαστάσεις 3,50X4,50 μ. φέρει δύο ορθογωνικούς λουτήρες εκατέρωθεν της και έναν αψιδωτό προς τα δυτικά, που αποτελούσε σε αυτή τη φάση το άκρο του κτηριακού συγκροτήματος. Το δάπεδο του θαλάμου της υπόκαυσης, πλην του νότιου λουτήρα που δε σώζεται, είναι επιστρωμένο με ορθογώνιες κεραμικές πλάκες διαστάσεων 44-45X21-22 εκ., δηλαδή μισού *sequipedale*. Φέρουν και αυτές κυματοειδείς αυλακώσεις και η διάταξή τους δεν είναι ιδιαίτερα επιμελημένη. Σώζονται μόνο δύο κυκλικές πλίνθοι, ενώ στην ΝΔ γωνία του θαλάμου, σε επαφή με τον αψιδωτό λουτήρα, το δάπεδο υπερυψώνεται σε κάποια σημεία στο ύψος μιας πλίνθου (Εικ. 6).

Ο δυτικός αψιδωτός λουτήρας έχει ακτίνα 1,60 μ. και στην κορυφή της αψίδας του υπάρχει *praefurnium*, μήκους 1,35 μ. που στεγαζόταν με τέσσερις μεγάλους εργαζόμενους λίθους, εκ των οποίων οι τρεις βρίσκονται στη θέση τους. Η τοιχοποιία του διαφοροποιείται από τις υπόλοιπες, καθώς το κατώτερο τμήμα της είναι κατασκευασμένο σχεδόν εξ ολοκλήρου από πλίνθους, ενώ το ανώτερο με μικτό τρόπο. Το δάπεδό του είναι κεραμικό όπως των υποκαύστων της κεντρικής αίθουσας, κατεστραμμένο όμως στο μεγαλύτερο τμήμα του. Στο εξωτερικό στόμιο του *praefurnium* και στο ίδιο ύψος με το δάπεδό του ξεκινάει λίθινος αγωγός απορροής, γεγονός που συνηγορεί στην άποψη ότι το δάπεδο του θαλάμου υπόκαυσης ήταν ελαφρώς υπερυψωμένο προκειμένου να αντιμετωπιστεί το πρόβλημα των υπερχειλίσεων και των διαρροών. Ανατολικά της λουτρικής εγκατάστασης και σε μικρή απόσταση από αυτήν (3,30 μ.), αποκαλύφθηκαν τα λείψανα κτηριακού συγκροτήματος (κτήριο Β'), το οποίο συνεχίζεται κάτω από τις εγκαταστάσεις του εργοστασίου της ΔΕΗ. Η ημιτελής ανασκαφική έρευνα στο νότιο άκρο του λουτρού, καθιστά ασαφή τη χρήση του, αλλά και οποιονδήποτε πιθανό συσχετισμό των δύο κτισμάτων. Αποκαλύφθηκαν τρεις (ή τέσσερις) αίθουσες σωζόμενες σε χαμηλό ύψος. Οι τοιχοποιίες τους είναι από μεγάλους, χαμηλού ύψους λίθους, ισχυρό κονίαμα και παρεμβολή πλίνθων αλλά σε μικρότερο ποσοστό απ' ό,τι στο λουτρό, γεγονός που υποδηλώνει μάλλον μεταγενέστερη περίοδο χρήσης.

Στη δυτικότερη αίθουσα υπάρχει χαμηλά στην τοιχοποιία θυρίδα διαστάσεων 42X53 εκ., από την οποία ξεκινάει λιθόκτιστος αγωγός απορροής υδάτων, σωζόμενου μήκους 10,5 μ. και πλάτους 55-65

11. Adam 1994, 293; Βρούβα 2005, 117. Οι διαστάσεις των πλίνθων (*tegulae*) στη Ρωμαϊκή Εποχή ήταν τυποποιημένες, σύμφωνα με τον ρωμαϊκό πόδα (=29,64 εκ.). Έτσι υπήρχαν: *bipedales* (59,2X59,2 εκ.), *sequipedales* (44,4X44,4 εκ.) και *bessales* (19,7X19,7 εκ.). Επομένως, οι αποστάσεις των κιονίσκων (μετρημένες από το κέντρο τους) ήταν σχεδόν πάντα 60X60 εκ.

12. Βρούβα 2005, 156. Η *suspensura*, συνολικού πάχους περίπου ενός ποδός, αποτελούνταν από τις τετράγωνες πλάκες (*bipedales*), πάνω στις οποίες κατασκευαζόταν ένα στρώμα από ισχυρό υδραυλικό κονίαμα (20-40 εκ.) με τριμμένο κεραμίδι και αμμοχάλικο ως αδρανές, καλυμμένο από ένα λεπτό στρώμα ασβεστιτικού κονιάματος ως υπόστρωμα για την τελική επίστρωση του δαπέδου με *opus signinum*, κεραμικές πλάκες ή μωσαϊκό.

εκ. εξωτερικά και 25-30 εκ. εσωτερικά. Είναι κτισμένοι από αργούς λίθους και πλίνθους συνδεδεμένους με υδραυλικό κονίαμα, επιστρωμένοι εσωτερικά με πήλινες πλάκες. Ο αγωγός ακολουθεί τη φυσική κλίση του εδάφους και καταλήγει χαμηλότερα, στη βόρεια γωνία του *frigidarium*. Παράλληλα και σε επαφή με τον εξωτερικό τοίχο του βοηθητικού χώρου και της πισίνας του *frigidarium*, σώζεται και ένας δεύτερος αγωγός ιδίου τύπου μήκους 4,60 μ. Ξεκινάει από τη ΝΑ γωνία του λουτρού, όπου η ανασκαφική έρευνα δεν έχει ολοκληρωθεί, επομένως και στην περίπτωση αυτή δεν μπορούμε να γνωρίζουμε τη λειτουργία του.

Κατάσταση διατήρησης – παθολογία

Η υπό εξέταση λουτρική εγκατάσταση σώζεται σε μορφή ερειπίων με το ύψος των τοίχων να κυμαίνεται μεταξύ 10 εκ.-1,50 μ. Το γεγονός της απευθείας έδρασής τους πάνω στο ανάγλυφο του φυσικού βράχου χωρίς θεμελίωση, συντέινει σε εκτεταμένες καταρρεύσεις. Καταστροφική ήταν, όπως ήδη επισημάνθηκε, και η τοποθέτηση του κεντρικού δικτύου ύδρευσης του εργοστασίου πάνω από τα οικοδομικά λείψανα, κατά τη δεκαετία του 1950. Αν και οι σωληνώσεις απομακρύνθηκαν το 1997, η κύρια αύλακά τους είναι ακόμη εμφανής· διέρχεται διαγωνίως από τη μέση του νότιου τοίχου του βοηθητικού χώρου, συνεχίζει στον στυλοβάτη της στοάς, διασχίζει το αποδυτήριο και καταλήγει στη δυτική γωνία του. Κατά τα άλλα, η δομοστατική κατάσταση είναι η συνηθισμένη για μνημεία τέτοιου είδους. Συγκεκριμένα, παρατηρούνται:

- Μετατοπίσεις και μικρής κλίμακας απόκλιση από την κατακόρυφο, λόγω αποσάθρωσης του συνδεδετικού υλικού και πιθανόν σεισμικών δονήσεων.
- Καταρρεύσεις μικρών τμημάτων τοίχων και κιονίσκων των υποκαύστων.
- Ετοιμορροπίες λίθων και πλίνθων λόγω αποσάθρωσης του συνδεδετικού υλικού.

Η πλειονότητα των προβλημάτων του κτηρίου, ωστόσο, είναι οικοδομικής φύσεως, ως αποτέλεσμα της φυσικής γήρανσης των υλικών και των επιβαρυνμένων περιβαλλοντικών συνθηκών. Τα σημαντικότερα αίτια φθοράς του μνημείου είναι τα εξής:

- Τα ορυκτολογικά χαρακτηριστικά του καρύστιου λίθου: μεγάλη σχιστότητα και πολύ χαμηλές αντοχές στους ατμοσφαιρικούς ρύπους.
- Η προέλευση και η τεχνολογία κατασκευής των κεραμικών στοιχείων: ψαθυρό υλικό με χαμηλό όριο θραύσης.
- Η θέση του μνημείου εντός βιομηχανικής περιοχής: Οι ατμοσφαιρικοί ρύποι—CO₂, SO₂, NO₃—καταστρέφουν τα υλικά δόμησης, σχηματίζοντας επιφανειακές κρούστες στους λίθους, αποσπώντας τα ιστορικά κονιάματα και δημιουργώντας άλατα στις επιφάνειες των κεραμικών.
- Η θέση του μνημείου σε παραθαλάσσιο περιβάλλον: τα άλατα—κυρίως NaCl και Na₂SO₄—προσβάλλουν τα υλικά σε ακτίνα 15 χλμ. από τη θάλασσα.
- Το νερό: ανερχόμενη και κατερχόμενη υγρασία, καθώς και μεταφορά σταγονιδίων απ' ευθείας από τη θάλασσα.
- Βιολογικοί παράγοντες: μύκητες, λειχήνες, εκτεταμένη χαμηλή βλάστηση.

Πιο αναλυτικά, οι άνω παρείες των τοιχοποιιών εμφανίζονται αποδιοργανωμένες, με υπολείμματα σαθρού κονιάματος και θραυσμένων υλικών, με ετοιμορροπίες αποκολλημένων λίθων και πλίνθων, καθώς και με ανάπτυξη μικροοργανισμών - βρύων, λειχήνων - και χαμηλής βλάστησης. Οι πλευρικές επιφάνειές τους παρουσιάζουν εκτεταμένα σημεία με επιφανειακές κρούστες και μικροοργανισμούς. Συγκεκριμένα, παρατηρούνται λευκές και κιτρινόχρωμες κρούστες στους λίθους δομής, εκτεταμένες θραύσεις, αποφλοιώσεις και κατά τόπους συγκέντρωση αλάτων στις πλάκες επένδυσης από καρύστιο λίθο, μικρορηγματώσεις, κρυστάλλωση, εκτεταμένες εξανθήσεις αλάτων και μαύρες ανθρακικές

κρούστες στις πλίνθους. Αντίστοιχη είναι η κατάσταση στα κονιάματα των αρμών και τα επιχρίσματα. Επισημαίνεται ότι στα κατεστραμμένα σημεία από τη διάνοιξη της αύλακας ύδρευσης έχει γίνει συμπλήρωση με σύγχρονες συμπαγείς πλίνθους με συνδετικό κονίαμα από κοινό τσιμέντο, υλικά εντελώς βλαβερά και ασύμβατα με την αισθητική του μνημείου.

Τα δάπεδα σε όλη την έκταση του λουτρού εμφανίζουν μεγάλες φθορές. Συγκεκριμένα:

- Το ψηφιδωτό δάπεδο του αποδυτηρίου βρίσκεται σε πολύ κακή κατάσταση, καθώς μεγάλο τμήμα του καταστράφηκε από την αύλακα του παλαιού δικτύου ύδρευσης, ενώ η επιφάνειά του είναι καλυμμένη από σκληρή γκρίζα κρούστα πυριτικών αλάτων - τσιμεντιτική κρούστα.
- Τα δάπεδα από μεγάλες πλάκες καρύστιου λίθου, παρουσιάζουν μεγάλη απώλεια υλικού, ανάπτυξη χαμηλής βλάστησης και εκτεταμένες θραύσεις και ρηγματώσεις. Σε πολλά σημεία, πάνω στο κονίαμα του υποστρώματος είναι εμφανή τα ίχνη των πλακών που λείπουν.
- Τα κεραμικά δάπεδα (στοά αποδυτηρίου, υπόκαυστα) παρουσιάζουν επίσης απώλεια υλικού, κατά τόπους αποφλοιώσεις, ρωγμές μικρού ή μεγάλου μεγέθους, θραύσεις, πλήρη αποσύνθεση του υλικού σε ορισμένα σημεία σε επίπεδο τριμμάτων, καθώς και ανάπτυξη λειχήνων και χαμηλής βλάστησης στους αρμούς.
- Τα πώρινα στοιχεία που εντοπίζονται τόσο στο λουτρό, όσο και στο διπλανό κτηριακό συγκρότημα παρουσιάζουν αρκετά ανάγλυφη κυψέλωση, με εκτεταμένη ανάπτυξη μικροοργανισμών στους πόρους τους.

Πρόταση αποκατάστασης

Η πρόταση συντήρησης και αποκατάστασης της λουτρικής εγκατάστασης προβλέπει σε γενικές γραμμές τη συντήρηση και θωράκιση του μνημείου έναντι του χρόνου καθώς και τη σήμανση και ανάδειξη του ως αρχαιολογικού χώρου.

Όσον αφορά στις τοιχοποιίες, θα στερεωθούν και θα διατηρηθούν στο ύψος που σώζονται, ενώ θα γίνουν κατά τόπους συμπληρώσεις με νέους λίθους, μόνο σε σημεία απαραίτητα για την στατική τους επάρκεια. Εκτεταμένη συμπλήρωση και αποκατάσταση της αρχικής μορφής κρίνεται απαραίτητη να γίνει στα δύο σημεία των τοιχοποιιών που καταστράφηκαν από τη διάνοιξη της αύλακας ύδρευσης. Στο πρώτο, στη δυτική γωνία του αποδυτηρίου στη μεσοτοιχία με το *tepidarium*, προτείνεται η καθαίρεση της νεώτερης συμπλήρωσης και η κατασκευή τμήματος τοιχοποιίας και θρανίου, περίπου στο ίδιο ύψος με τα υφιστάμενα, με αργολιθοδομή ίδιας τεχνοτροπίας, με μικρή υποχώρηση (0,5 εκ.) του κονιάματος της νέας τοιχοποιίας, ενώ θα παρεμβάλλεται και φύλλο μολύβδου μεταξύ παλαιάς και νέας για το διαχωρισμό των δύο τμημάτων. Στο δεύτερο σημείο, στη δυτική γωνία του αποδυτηρίου στη μεσοτοιχία με το *frigidarium*, προτείνεται η στερέωση της συμβολής των τοίχων ως έχει και η αποκατάσταση της ευθείας του στυλοβάτη ως τη γωνία με μικρό αναλημματικό τοίχο από λευκό σκυρόδεμα, με την παρεμβολή φύλλου μολύβδου και τελική επίστρωση με τσιμεντοκονία, γαιώδους απόχρωσης.

Για τον καθαρισμό των δομικών υλικών προτείνεται ένας συνδυασμός επιλεγμένων μηχανικών μεθόδων (νυστεριού, ξέστρου, υπερήχων) και ελεγχόμενων ήπιων χημικών μέσων (Perhydrol, Desogen, όξινο ανθρακικό αμμώνιο), αφού προηγηθεί προστερέωση των πιο ευπαθών τμημάτων των λίθων, των πλίνθων και των επιχρισμάτων. Θα ακολουθήσει εκρίζωση των φυτών και εξουδετέρωση του ριζικού τους συστήματος. Προτείνεται η αποψίλωση των ανώτερων φυτών, όπως λχ. της συκιάς στο κατώφλι της εισόδου, χωρίς προσπάθεια εκρίζωσης που μπορεί να προκαλέσει βλάβη στο δομικό υλικό. Στη συνέχεια, θα γίνει απομάκρυνση των σαθρών κονιαμάτων της άνω επιφάνειας των τοίχων με φύσημα και πλύσιμο.

Μετά τον καθαρισμό θα ακολουθήσει η στερέωση και αποκατάσταση των όψεων των τοιχοποιιών

(άνω και πλευρικών), καθώς και η κατά το δυνατόν θωράκισή τους. Ως βασική αρχή θεωρούμε ότι η άνω επιφάνεια των τοιχίων συντηρείται ως έχει, χωρίς προσθήκες καθ' ύψος. Εξαιρέση αποτελούν περιπτώσεις λίθων που έχουν πέσει αλλά σώζονται με σαφήνεια τα ίχνη έδρασής τους τους οποίους και επανατοποθετούμε. Ιδιαίτερη προσοχή επίσης θα δοθεί στην προστασία των εξωτερικών επιφανειών αλλά και του πυρήνα τους, από τα όμβρια ύδατα, με την δημιουργία κατάλληλων κλίσεων και καμπυλότητας στο κονιάμα των αρμών τόσο των πλάγιων όψεων όσο και της απόληξης, ώστε τα νερά να γλιστρούν και να απομακρύνονται από τον τοίχο χωρίς να λιμνάζουν και να τον φθείρουν.

Η σύνθεση του κονιάματος αποκατάστασης για το αρμολόγημα θα προκύψει από την ανάλυση των δειγμάτων, τα οποία θα ληφθούν από τα ιστορικά κονιάματα του μνημείου. Ενδεικτικά, για τη συνδυαστική ύλη του κονιάματος, θα μπορούσε να δοκιμασθεί υδράσβεστος και υδραυλική άσβεστος, η χρήση των οποίων παρουσιάζει ικανοποιητικές μηχανικές αντοχές. Τα αδρανή και τα πρόσθετα υλικά, για να παρουσιάζουν ικανοποιητική συμβατότητα με το ιστορικό κονιάμα, θα πρέπει να έχουν παρεμφερείς φυσικοχημικές και μηχανικές ιδιότητες με τα αυθεντικά υλικά και να προέρχονται αν είναι δυνατόν από το ίδιο λατομείο.

Όσον αφορά στην συγκόλληση των θραυσμάτων και την πλήρωση ασυνεχειών στις πλάκες καρύστιου λίθου στις επενδύσεις των τοίχων, προτείνεται η χρήση λευκού τσιμεντού στο οποίο θα έχουν προστεθεί αδρανή υλικά, όπως σκόνη του ίδιου του λίθου. Αντίστοιχα, για την συγκόλληση των θραυσμάτων των πλίνθων προτείνεται να δοκιμαστούν ακρυλικές ρητίνες, κατά προτίμηση πιλοτικά το Paraloid B72, στο οποίο για αισθητική ομοιομορφία θα έχει προστεθεί σκόνη από το ιστορικό υλικό ή κεραμάλευρο. Για την τελική στερέωση των λίθινων επιφανειών προτείνονται ψεκάσμοι με αιώρημα υδροξειδίου του ασβεστίου με προσθήκη 6% ανθρακικού ασβεστίου, ενώ για τις περιοχές με πλινθοδομή αντίστοιχο αιώρημα κεραμάλευρου 6%.

Για το σύνολο του μνημείου προτείνεται, για λόγους αισθητικής αποκατάστασης και οριοθέτησης των χώρων αλλά και για την αποτροπή ανάπτυξης νέας βλάστησης, η συμπλήρωση των δαπέδων στις περιοχές όπου οι πλάκες απουσιάζουν. Επισημαίνεται ότι σε όλες τις περιπτώσεις, το ποσοστό της συμπλήρωσης δεν θα ξεπερνά αυτό του αυθεντικού υλικού. Η συμπλήρωση θα γίνει με επιστροφή των κενών περιοχών με τσιμεντοκονία κατάλληλης γαιώδους απόχρωσης, κοινής για όλα τα δάπεδα - λίθινα, πλίνθινα και ψηφιδωτά. Το σκεπτικό της κοινής απόχρωσης, η οποία θα αποφασιστεί μετά από τον καθαρισμό των δαπέδων και όχι διαφορετικής ανάλογα με το υλικό που γειτνιάζει, βασίζεται στην επιθυμία να αποδοθούν τα τμήματα αυτά με πιο ουδέτερο τρόπο, που να δηλώνει την σύγχρονη επέμβαση χωρίς διάθεση μίμησης του αυθεντικού υλικού. Με μια πρώτη εκτίμηση, μια γήινη απόχρωση του μπεζ-γκρι θα ταίριαζε με όλα τα υλικά, χωρίς έντονες αντιθέσεις.

Θα πραγματοποιηθεί μόνο καθαρισμός και στερέωσή των πολύ αποσπασματικά σωζόμενων λίθινων δαπέδων του *frigidarium* καθώς και συντήρηση και στερέωση του κονιάματος του υποστρώματός τους, που σώζει ίχνη των πλακών. Τέλος, για τα δάπεδα του *tepidarium* και της πρώτης αίθουσας του *caldarium*, όπου οι κιονίσκοι των υποκαύστων εδράζονται απ' ευθείας πάνω στον φυσικό βράχο, προτείνεται η επιστροφή τους με τρίμμα βράχου, με την παρεμβολή γεωφάσματος, έτσι ώστε να αποφευχθεί η εκ νέου ανάπτυξη της βλάστησης. Σημειώνεται ότι η προέλευση και το χρώμα του νέου υλικού θα είναι συμβατά με το βραχώδες έδαφος. Για τον καθαρισμό των λίθων και των πλίνθων των δαπέδων από τη βλάστηση, τους μικροοργανισμούς και τις επιφανειακές κρούστες, ισχύουν οι διαδικασίες που προαναφέρθηκαν για τις τοιχοποιίες.

Βασικός στόχος ωστόσο, μετά τη συντήρηση και τον καθαρισμό του μνημείου, είναι η αισθητική αναβάθμισή του, με την εξυγίανση του περιβάλλοντος χώρου, καθώς και η λειτουργική αξιοποίηση και σήμανσή του ως αρχαιολογικού χώρου. Σε αυτό το πλαίσιο προτείνεται αρχικά η δημιουργία πορείας επισκεπτών, με ενδιάμεσες στάσεις πληροφόρησης.

Η χάραξη της πορείας επισκεπτών έγινε αρχικά με βάση την απόφαση να μην επιτρέπεται στους επισκέπτες η είσοδος στο εσωτερικό του μνημείου, λόγω ευπάθειας των υλικών των δαπέδων. Έπρεπε,

επομένως, η περιήγηση να γίνεται εξωτερικά, γεγονός αρκετά δύσκολο, αφού ο περιμετρικός ελεύθερος χώρος είναι αρκετά περιορισμένος. Επιπλέον, η περιήγηση έπρεπε να ξεκινάει από τον νότιο αναλημματικό τοίχο, όπου σταθμεύουν τα οχήματα και είναι το μοναδικό διαμορφωμένο σημείο προσέγγισης του αρχαιολογικού χώρου. Ταυτόχρονα, έπρεπε να ληφθούν υπ' όψιν τα σημεία ενδιαφέροντος, αλλά και το ανάγλυφο του μνημείου, δηλαδή σημεία μπροστά σε χαμηλές τοιχοποιίες, με καλή θέαση και εποπτεία του μνημείου. Αποφασίστηκε, τέλος, η πορεία αυτή να μη συμπεριλάβει το κτήριο Β', προς το παρόν τουλάχιστον, αφού δεν έχει ολοκληρωθεί η ανασκαφική έρευνα στην περιοχή αυτή. Με βάση αυτές τις παραμέτρους, σχεδιάστηκε μια πορεία που συμπεριέλαβε και τις δυο διαμορφωμένες πλευρές του μνημείου, αποτελούμενη από ευθύγραμμα τμήματα, που ακολουθεί κατά μεγάλο τμήμα της το περίγραμμα του λουτρού (Εικ. 7, 8, 9). Ως στάσεις ενημέρωσης επιλέχθηκαν τα εξής πέντε σημεία, με τη σειρά που αναφέρονται:

1^η: Το μέσο περίπου του αναλημματικού τοίχου της νότιας πλευράς. Λόγω υψομετρικής διαφοράς (περίπου 1,20 μ.) υπάρχει καλή επόπτευση του λουτρού και είναι ιδανικό σημείο για την κατανόηση της διάταξης των χώρων του.

2^η: Το κράσπεδο της δυτικής πλευράς, μπροστά από το *tepidarium*.

3^η: Το δυτικό άκρο της αψίδας του *caldarium*, μετά τη σκάλα καθόδου στον αρχαιολογικό χώρο. Λόγω της απουσίας τοίχων στο σημείο αυτό, υπάρχει καλή θέαση των υποκαύστων.

4^η: Το ανατολικό άκρο της ίδιας αψίδας. Κι εδώ, λόγω χαμηλού ύψους της τοιχοποιίας, μπορεί κανείς να δει εκτός από τα υπόκαυστα, το *praefurnium* του ανατολικού λουτήρα και τους ογκόλιθους στη βάση της τοιχοποιίας.

5^η: Ο εξωτερικός τοίχος του *frigidarium*, στο ύψος περίπου της πισίνας. Στο σημείο αυτό η τοιχοποιία χαμηλώνει αισθητά – ενώ αμέσως πριν έχει ύψος 1,5 μ.– και υπάρχει καλή θέαση των χώρων του *frigidarium*.

Ο διάδρομος της πορείας θα κατασκευαστεί από πλάκα γαρμπιλωτού τσιμεντοκονιάματος, απόχρωσης κοντινής με αυτή του εδάφους για την ελάχιστη οπτική όχληση γύρω από το μνημείο. Θα έχει πάχος 10-12 εκ., πλάτος 1,0 μ. και θα ακολουθεί το φυσικό ανάγλυφο.¹³

Οι στάσεις ενημέρωσης θα κατασκευαστούν από πλαίσια γαλβανισμένης σχάρας, αποτελούμενης από κάθετες λάμες και εγκάρσιες ράβδους, σχηματίζοντας ορθογωνικούς βρόγχους. Πρόκειται για ένα υλικό ανθεκτικό, ουδέτερου χρώματος και 'ελαφρύ' οπτικά, καθώς είναι διάτρητο· για τους ίδιους λόγους θα τοποθετηθεί και ως κιγκλίδωμα στους αναλημματικούς τοίχους. Όσα από τα πλαίσια αυτά θα εδράζονται στο φυσικό έδαφος, θα πατούν σε υπόστρωμα από σκυρόδεμα για να μην αναπτύσσεται βλάστηση και θα είναι ομοεπίπεδα με τον υπόλοιπο διάδρομο.

Στο πρόσθιο μέρος της κάθε στάσης, θα στηρίζεται κατακόρυφο πλαίσιο, από γαλβανισμένη σχάρα επίσης, που θα φέρει την πινακίδα ενημέρωσης. Θα αποτελείται από φύλλο γαλβανισμένης λαμαρίνας πάχους 5 χλστ., διαστάσεων 70X50 εκ. και κλίσης 30°, πάνω στο οποίο θα βιδώνεται η εκτύπωση σε φύλλο αλουμινίου, διαστάσεων 65X45 χλστ. με ανοξείδωτους αποστάτες. Τέλος, από γαλβανισμένη σχάρα θα κατασκευαστεί και τμήμα του διαδρόμου που διέρχεται πάνω από τον λίθινο αγωγό, έτσι ώστε να μείνει ανέπαφος και να είναι ταυτόχρονα ορατό αυτό το τμήμα του.

Όσον αφορά στην εξυγίανση και διαμόρφωση του περιβάλλοντα χώρου, επιθυμία ήταν η δημιουργία ενός ενιαίου, ήσυχου βόθρου πίσω από το μνημείο προς τη μεριά των αναλημματικών τοίχων. Η εικόνα που παρουσιάζεται αυτή τη στιγμή είναι ιδιαίτερα επιβαρυντική για την αισθητική και ιστορική αξία του μνημείου, με διάφορα υλικά επένδυσης, ακαλαίσθητα κιγκλιδώματα, αναρτημένες σωληνώσεις αλλά και αυτοκίνητα παρκαρισμένα σε επαφή με το νότιο άκρο του αρχαιολογικού χώρου.

Έπρεπε επομένως να επιλεγεί μια λύση που θα λειτουργούσε και ως κιγκλίδωμα και ως επένδυση

13. Αντίστοιχου τύπου διάδρομοι επισκεπτών κατασκευάστηκαν στην ακρόπολη των Μυκηνών (Παπαθανασόπουλος 2006, 235-250).

των τοίχων αυτών. Τα πλαίσια γαλβανισμένης σχάρας με ορθογωνικούς βρόγχους που προαναφέρθηκαν και τελικά επιλέχθηκαν είναι απλά, γραμμικά, μεγάλης αντοχής και λογικού κόστους, που δεν χρειάζονται ιδιαίτερη συντήρηση. Οι πολύ λεπτές διατομές του και το γεγονός ότι είναι διάτρητο, με ματ υφή και γήινη απόχρωση, το καθιστούν ένα σύγχρονο υλικό που δεν ανταγωνίζεται την αισθητική του ιστορικού κτηρίου. Τοποθετούμενο δε στην εξωτερική παρειά της τοιχοποιίας, σε απόσταση λίγων εκατοστών, μπορεί να λειτουργήσει και ως κάλυψη των σωληνώσεων του τοίχου και ως κιγκλίδωμα, δημιουργώντας έναν ενιαίο, ελαφρύ σε όψη, καμβά πάνω στον οποίο θα προβάλλεται το μνημείο. Θα καλύψει όλο το μήκος του νότιου αναλημματικού τοίχου μέχρι την σκάλα ανόδου από τον διάδρομο επίσκεψης, καθώς και την περιοχή του δυτικού αναλημματικού τοίχου ανάμεσα στη δεύτερη στάση και την σκάλα καθόδου στον αρχαιολογικό χώρο, όπου και υπάρχει αρκετή υψομετρική διαφορά με το κάτω επίπεδο. Οι σκάλες ανόδου και καθόδου είναι επίσης κατασκευασμένες από το ίδιο υλικό.

Οι σωληνώσεις που βρίσκονται τοποθετημένες στο αυλάκι γύρω από την νότια και δυτική παρειά του κτίσματος θα καλυφθούν με χαλίκι. Τα υπάρχοντα φωτιστικά σώματα θα αντικατασταθούν με νέα, συμβατής αισθητικής με αυτής των κιγκλιδωμάτων και των στάσεων ενημέρωσης. Τέλος, θα απαγορευτεί η στάθμευση των οχημάτων στον νότιο αναλημματικό τοίχο και στην περίμετρο του αρχαιολογικού χώρου.

Βιβλιογραφία

- Αθανασούλης, Δ. (1998) 'Λουτρική εγκατάσταση στην Κοκκινόραχη Σπάρτης'. Τόμ. II *Πρακτικά του Ε' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών, Άργος-Ναύπλιο 6-10 Σεπτεμβρίου 1995*. Αθήνα: Εταιρεία Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών.
- Βρούβα, Α. (2005) 'Τα ρωμαϊκά λουτρά στην Ελλάδα'. Μεταπτυχιακή διατριβή ειδίκευσης. Πανεπιστήμιο Πατρών, Ελλάδα.
- Γούναρης, Γ. (1990) *Το βαλανείο και τα βόρεια προσκτίσματα του οκταγώνου των Φιλίππων*. Αθήνα: Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας.
- Κορωνάιος, Α. και Γ. Πουλάκος (2004) Τόμ. 4 *Τεχνικά υλικά*. Αθήνα: Ε.Μ.Π.
- Λαμπροπούλου, Ά. και Α. Μουτζάλη (2003) 'Πρωτοβυζαντινό λουτρό στην Πάτρα: Τεκμήρια για την επιβίωση της πόλης κατά τους σκοτεινούς χρόνους'. *Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα* 16, 315-356.
- Μπούρας, Χ. (1994) Τόμ. Β' *Ιστορία της Αρχιτεκτονικής*. Αθήνα: Μέλισσα.
- Παπαθανασόπουλος, Γ. (2006) 'Το έργο της Επιτροπής Συντήρησης, Στερέωσης και Ανάδειξης των Μνημείων της Ακροπόλεως των Μυκηνών και του ευρύτερου περιβάλλοντος χώρου'. Στο *Το έργο των Επιστημονικών Επιτροπών Αναστήλωσης, Συντήρησης και Ανάδειξης Μνημείων, 6 Μαΐου 2006, Θεσσαλονίκη*, 235-249. Αθήνα: ΥΠ.ΠΟ.- Τ.Δ.Π.Ε.Α.Ε.
- Πάχτα, Β. (2004) 'Μελέτη εξέλιξης τεχνολογίας κονιαμάτων'. Διδακτορική διατριβή. Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, Ελλάδα.
- Σκούρας, Θ. (1975) 'Όχυρώσεις στην Εύβοια'. Στον Τόμ. Κ' *Αρχαία Ευβοϊκών Μελετών*, 327-400. Αθήνα: Εταιρεία Ευβοϊκών Σπουδών.
- Χατζηδημητρίου, Α. (2000) *Αλιβέρι: Συμβολή στην αρχαιολογική έρευνα της περιοχής*. Αθήνα: Ιδιωτική Έκδοση.
- Χρυσοστόμου, Π. και Φ. Κεφαλλονίτου (2001) *Νικόπολις*. Αθήνα: ΥΠ.ΠΟ.-Τ.Α.Π.Α.

*

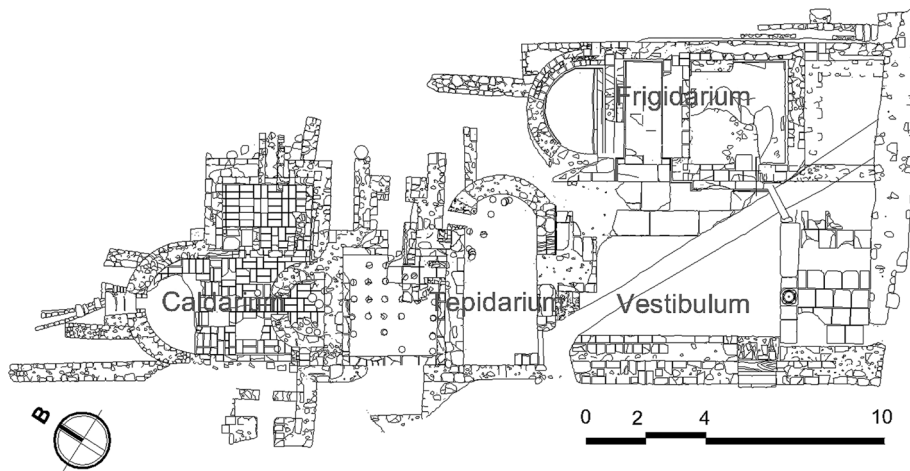
Adam, J-P. (1994) *Roman Building: Materials and Techniques*. London: B. T. Batsford Ltd.

Lock, P. and G. Sanders (1996) *The archaeology of Medieval Greece*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Εικόνες



Εικόνα 1: Νότια άποψη του λουτρού. Σε πρώτο πλάνο το αποδυτήριο και το frigidarium.



Εικόνα 2:
Η κάτοψη
του λουτρικού
συγκροτήματος.



Εικόνα 3: Οι χώροι του frigidarium.
Διακρίνεται η επένδυση του ημικυκλικού λουτήρα και των δαπέδων με καρύστιο λίθο.



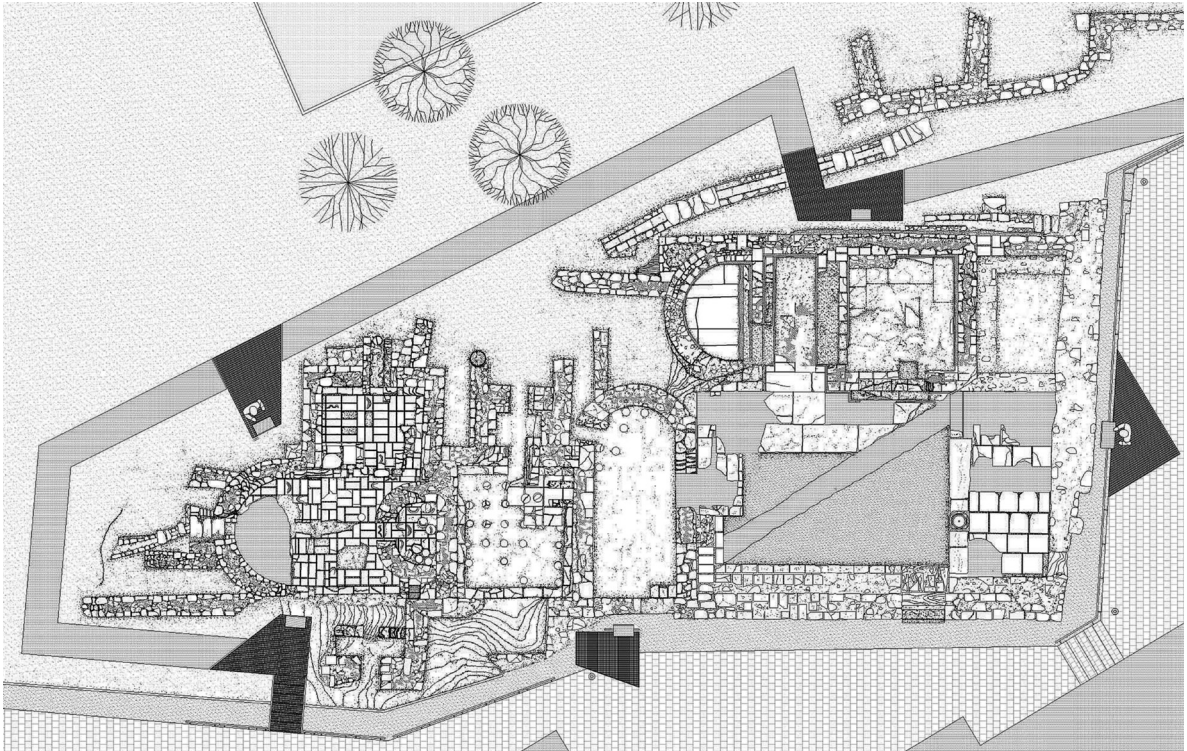
Εικόνα 4: Τα υπόκαυστα του tepidarium.



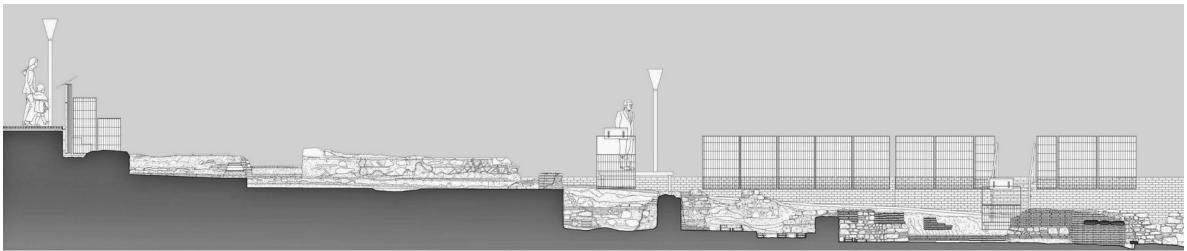
Εικόνα 5: Τα υπόκαυστα στην πρώτη αίθουσα του caldarium.



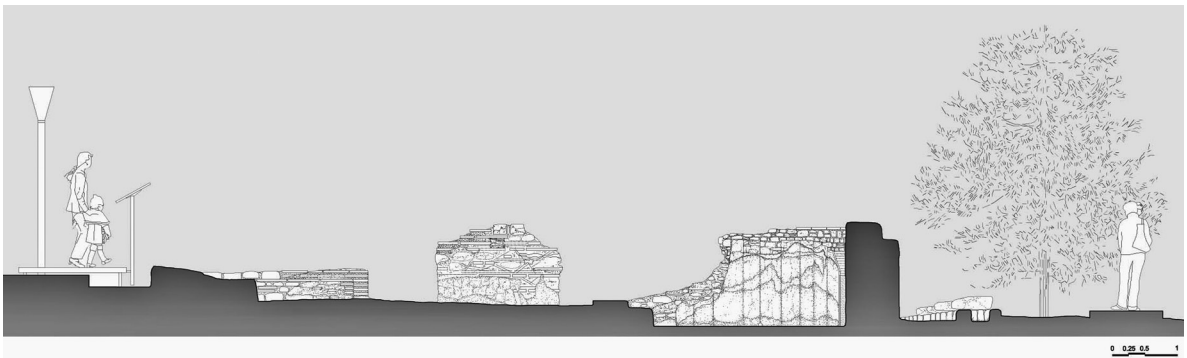
Εικόνα 6:
Ο δυτικός αψιδωτός
λουτήρας της
δεύτερης αίθουσας
του caldarium.



Εικόνα 7: Πρόταση αποκατάστασης, κάτοψη.
Εικονίζεται η περιμετρική διαδρομή των επισκεπτών με τις στάσεις πληροφόρησης.



Εικόνα 8: Πρόταση αποκατάστασης, διαμήκης τομή.
Εικονίζονται η πρώτη και δεύτερη στάση πληροφόρησης.



Εικόνα 9: Πρόταση αποκατάστασης, εγκάρσια τομή.
Εικονίζεται η δεύτερη στάση πληροφόρησης, οι χώροι του αποδυτηρίου και του frigidarium.

Η μεσοβυζαντινή γλυπτική στην Εύβοια: επισημάνσεις και ερωτήματα¹

Γιώργος ΠΑΛΛΗΣ

Abstract

In Euboea a significant number of high-quality works of architectural sculpture are preserved, which have been dated to the Middle Byzantine era (9th-12th century). These have only been partially studied, but this material forms a geographical whole which is useful for commenting on issues such as the circulation of stylistic trends, the mobility of marble masons and the existence (or not) of local workshops.

The biggest proportion of Euboean Middle Byzantine sculpture consists of spolia of unknown provenance. Many of them have been recently exhibited in the collection of Karambabas Castle, Chalkis, while others remain dispersed all around the island. There are also a few valuable cases of sculptures from monuments, such as Aghios Loukas at Aliveri, Perivleptos of Politika, the two churches of Attali, Aghia Triada Kriezoti and Taxiarches at Karystos, which preserve the data of their archaeological context.

An overview of this material shows that Euboean sculpture is directly connected to the productions of neighbouring Eastern and Central Greece, where two significant centres of this type of art flourished, Thebes and Athens. The productions of Euboea represented the most important stylistic trends, and Euboea hosted some of the most outstanding regional sculpture workshops of the era, such as the so-called 'Theban Workshop' which executed the marble decoration of Panaghia Skripou at Orchomenos (873/4) and the one that worked for the Katholikon of Hosios Loukas monastery and its dependencies (first decades of the 11th century). This close relationship means that the movement of artists between the coasts of the island and continental Greece was continuous.

Some local peculiarities, concerning the preference for certain techniques are of great interest: there are cases of exceptional—for the standards of a provincial area—representations of rare subjects and of high quality. However, these special features do not provide us with evidence sufficient to support the theory that in Euboea local workshops were also active; an answer to this question depends on the progress of the study of the unpublished material that has been found on the island.

Εισαγωγή

Η Εύβοια συγκαταλέγεται στις περιοχές εκείνες που διασώζουν μεγάλο αριθμό και υψηλής ποιότητας έργα αρχιτεκτονικής γλυπτικής της Μεσοβυζαντινής περιόδου. Αν και αποσπασματικά γνωστό

1. Εκφράζω θερμές ευχαριστίες προς την τότε 23η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων για τη χορήγηση άδειας δημοσίευσης του αναγλύφου από το Ωρολόγι, στους φίλους συναδέλφους Γ. Βαξεβάνη, Α. Κωνσταντινίδου, Ν. Παπατζίκο και Κ. Τσάκα, για τη βοήθειά τους σε βιβλιογραφικά και πρακτικά ζητήματα, και στον Δ. Παπά για τη διάθεση στοιχείων από την αδημοσίευτη μεταπτυχιακή διπλωματική εργασία του με θέμα τους μεσοβυζαντινούς ναούς της Εύβοιας.

και άνισα δημοσιευμένο, το υλικό αυτό δηλώνει την άνθηση που γνώρισε η συγκεκριμένη τέχνη στο νησί και, καθώς συγκροτεί ένα κλειστό γεωγραφικό σύνολο, προσφέρεται για παρατηρήσεις επάνω σε ζητήματα όπως η εκλογή και διάδοση των διακοσμητικών θεμάτων και των τεχνοτροπικών ρευμάτων στη γλυπτική, η κίνηση των μαρμαράδων και των συνεργείων τους και η παρουσία ή μη τοπικών εργαστηρίων.

Το υλικό γλυπτικής από την Εύβοια

Η μεσοβυζαντινή γλυπτική είναι άρρηκτα συνδεδεμένη με την εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική, καθώς προορίζεται σχεδόν αποκλειστικά για ναούς, καλύπτοντας ανάγκες δομικές, διακοσμητικές αλλά και λειτουργικές. Στην τελευταία κατηγορία ανήκουν τα ανάγλυφα τέμπλα που διαχωρίζουν τον κυρίως ναό από το ιερό βήμα, τα οποία αποτελούν τα σημαντικότερα έργα της τέχνης αυτού του είδους και συγκέντρωναν την προσοχή των παραγγελιοδοτών και των τεχνιτών. Τα ευβοϊκά μνημεία από τα οποία έχουν διατηρηθεί ανάγλυφα τέμπλα, έστω με φθορές και απώλειες, είναι μόλις έξι. Κατά χρονολογική σειρά εντοπίζονται, στον Άγιο Λουκά στο Αλιβέρι (Εικ. 1),² στο καθολικό της Περιβλέπτου των Πολιτικών,³ στους ναούς του Αγίου Νικολάου και των Εισοδίων της Θεοτόκου στην Άτταλη,⁴ στην ερειπωμένη Αγία Τριάδα του Κριεζώτη κοντά στα Ψαχνά⁵ και, στο όριο της περιόδου, στον Ταξιάρχη της Καρύστου.⁶ Σε όλα τα παραπάνω μνημεία ο γλυπτός διάκοσμος συμπληρωνόταν και με άλλα έργα (όπως πλαίσια θυρών, κιονόκρανα κιονίσκων και κίωνων, ψευδοσαρκοφάγους), από τα οποία σώζονται κατά περίπτωση σημαντικά δείγματα.⁷

Στο νησί είναι όμως άφθονο το διάσπαρτο υλικό, αποτελούμενο από κάθε είδους συλήματα (*spolia*), προερχόμενα από κτίσματα των οποίων συνήθως αγνοούμε τη θέση και τη μορφή. Πολλά είχαν συγκεντρωθεί παλαιότερα στο Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο της Χαλκίδας και το Τζαμί της πόλης,⁸ από τα οποία ένα μεγάλο μέρος εκτίθεται σήμερα στη Συλλογή του Κάστρου του Καραμπάμπα.⁹ Πολυάριθμα είναι όσα παραμένουν εντοιχισμένα σε μεταγενέστερους ναούς (Εικ. 2).¹⁰ Παρόλο που τα γλυπτά αυτά είναι απογυμνωμένα από την αρχαιολογική πληροφορία του συνόλου για το οποίο δημιουργήθηκαν, η σημασία τους είναι προφανής, καθώς συμπληρώνουν την εικόνα της καλλιέργειας της μαρμαρογλυπτικής στην περιοχή και παρέχουν τεκμήρια για τα θέματα και την τεχνοτροπία της.

2. Grabar 1976, 60-61, αρ. 45, πίν. XXVII-XXIX; Μπούρα 1980, 97, εικ. 157, 102, 108, 113, εικ. 188, 120; Ορλάνδος 1951α, 132-138, εικ. 1-5; Στίκας 1970, 17-23, εικ. 2-15.

3. Λιάπης 1971, 33-34, πίν. 13-17; Μπούρα 1980, 102, 113, εικ. 190, 120; Μπούρας 1988-89; Ορλάνδος 1937, 178-180, 183-184, εικ. 4-6 και 8-9.

4. Γεωργοπούλου 1972, 60-61, εικ. 3-4; Γεωργοπούλου-Μελαδίνη 1972, 369-370, σχ. 4-5, πίν. 310α-γ; Κατσελάκη και Τσιομπίκου στον παρόντα τόμο; Μπούρα 1980, 97, 102, εικ. 173, 113-114, εικ. 189, 120; Πέτρου και Ανδρούδης 2003, 1170-1172, εικ. 10-12.

5. Grabar 1976, 151, αρ. 158, πίν. CXXXIIb; Μπούρα 1980, 97; Μπούρας και Μπούρα 2002, 144, εικ. 151, 494; Ορλάνδος 1939-1940α, 11-14, εικ. 8-13. Το 1972 τα περισσότερα ανάγλυφα μέλη που σώζονταν στον ερειπωμένο ναό μεταφέρθηκαν στο παρεκκλήσι της Αγίας Καλλιόπης (Γεωργοπούλου-Μελαδίνη 1972, 370).

6. Μουτσόπουλος 1961, 230; Μπούρας και Μπούρα 2002, 139, εικ. 143-145.

7. Γλυπτός αρχιτεκτονικός διάκοσμος, διατηρούμενος εν μέρει στην αρχική του θέση, σώζεται και στο μικρό ναό του Αγίου Ανδρέα στους Παραμερίτες, όπου όμως δεν έχουν διατηρηθεί στοιχεία τέμπλου (Μαμαλούκος 1994, 185-187, πίν. 103-104).

8. Grabar 1976, 67-68, αρ. 60, και 110, αρ. 99, πίν. LXXXVc; Κουνουπιώτου-Μανωλέσσου 2008; Μπούρας και Μπούρα 2002, 145-146, εικ. 152, 471-472, 543 γ, 552, 554, 557.

9. Η δημοσίευση ενός αναλυτικού καταλόγου της Συλλογής θα φωτίσει πολλά ζητήματα της ευβοϊκής γλυπτικής.

10. Σημειώνουμε τα σημαντικότερα δημοσιεύματα όπου συγκεντρώνεται τέτοιο υλικό και έργα ευρύτερου ενδιαφέροντος στα οποία απαντούν αξιοσημείωτα γλυπτά: Καναρί 2003, 40, πίν. 11α; Γιαννόπουλος 1924; Γκιολές 1998-2000, 27-28, εικ. 29-31, 42; Κακαβάς 2009, 894, εικ. 10; Λιάπης 1966-67; 1971, 19-23, εικ. 1-2, πίν. 4-5, 47-49, πίν. 18β; Μπούρας και Μπούρα 2002, 136-137; Φαράντος 1980, 377, πίν. 27α; 1981-82, 284, 293, 294-295, πίν. 7β, 22β, 23β, 24α-β, 25α; 1994-1995, 245-246, πίν. 7-11.

Τεχνοτροπικές τάσεις, τεχνικές και τοπικές ιδιαιτερότητες

Κάνοντας μια επισκόπηση του παραπάνω υλικού, παρατηρούμε πρώτα ότι στην Εύβοια η παραγωγή υπήρξε αδιάκοπη και αντιπροσωπευτική των κύριων τάσεων της μεσοβυζαντινής γλυπτικής, όπως αναπτύχθηκε στη νότια Ελλάδα από τον 9ο ως το 12ο αιώνα. Αρχικά απαντούν δείγματα της τεχνοτροπίας του εργαστηρίου που φιλοτέχνησε τον πλουσιότατο και ακριβώς χρονολογημένο γλυπτό διάκοσμο του Αγίου Γρηγορίου στη Θήβα (872/3)¹¹ και της Παναγίας Σκριπούς στον Ορχομενό (873/4).¹² Έπονται χρονικά ανάγλυφα που εντάσσονται στον λεγόμενο ζωόμορφο ρυθμό που εμφανίζεται δυναμικά από τον 10ο αι., εμπνεόμενος σε σημαντικό βαθμό από θέματα υφασμάτων της εποχής.¹³ Στις αρχές του 11ου αι., τα γλυπτά του Αγίου Λουκά στο Αλιβέρι (1014) και του αρχικού καθολικού της μονής της Περιβλέπτου στα Πολιτικά μεταφέρουν στο νησί αυτούσια στοιχεία της τεχνοτροπίας και της υψηλής ποιότητας του διακόσμου του νέου καθολικού της μονής του Οσίου Λουκά στη Βοιωτία, στην οποία ανήκαν ως μετόχια.¹⁴ Το ίδιο διάστημα φιλοτεχνούνται και τα συγγενικά γλυπτά των δύο ναών της Άτταλης. Προς τα τέλη του 12ου αι., κατατάσσεται ο μαρμάρινος διάκοσμος της Αγίας Τριάδας του Κριεζώτη, έργο ιδιαίτερα ικανών μαρμαράδων. Τα εντελώς διαφορετικής ποιότητας γλυπτά του Ταξιάρχη στην Κάρυστο παρουσιάζουν ενδείξεις χρονολόγησης λίγο μετά από τη λατινική κατάκτηση και πιθανώς συνιστούν την ύστατη παρουσία της βυζαντινής τεχνοτροπίας μαρμαρογλυπτικής στο νησί.

Στα ευβοϊκά γλυπτά παρατηρούμε τεχνικές και θέματα κοινά στην παραγωγή της εποχής στο νοτιοελλαδικό χώρο, τα οποία δεν θα επαναλάβουμε εδώ. Μέσα σε αυτό το γενικό πλαίσιο ξεχωρίζουν ωστόσο ορισμένες ιδιαιτερότητες και επιλογές που χρήζουν σχολιασμού. Αρχίζοντας από τις τεχνικές, αξιοσημείωτη είναι η χρήση του διάτρητου αναγλύφου στο περίτεχνο θύρωμα του καθολικού της Περιβλέπτου Πολιτικών, μια τεχνική που φτάνει στο αποκορύφωμά της κατά τα τέλη του 12ου αι. και επιζητά, σύμφωνα με τον Χαράλαμπο Μπούρα, να αναβιώσει παλαιοχριστιανικά και ιουστινιάνεια πρότυπα.¹⁵ Στο θύρωμα της Περιβλέπτου το διάτρητο αποδίδεται με εσώγλυφη λάξευση, που απαιτεί πολύ αναπτυγμένη τεχνική δεξιότητα, και συνδυάζεται με χαμηλό και έξεργο ανάγλυφο, σε μια σύνθεση που μπορεί να χαρακτηριστεί ως πρωτότυπη. Ασυνήθιστη μπορεί επίσης να χαρακτηριστεί η έκταση της εφαρμογής του επιπεδόγλυφου στο τέμπλο και σε άλλα αρχιτεκτονικά γλυπτά της Αγίας Τριάδας του Κριεζώτη (Εικ. 3).¹⁶ Η τεχνική αυτή δημιουργούσε ιδιαίτερα ζωηρό αποτέλεσμα όταν το βάθος των σχεδίων πληρωνόταν με χρωματιστή κηρομαστίχη, η αντίθεση της οποίας με το λευκό του μαρμάρου ανεδείκνυε τα διακοσμητικά θέματα.¹⁷ Στην περίπτωση της Αγίας Τριάδας δεν μπορούμε να είμαστε απολύτως βέβαιοι για τη χρήση κηρομαστίχης, αφού λόγω της πολύχρονης έκθεσης των έργων στην ύπαιθρο έχει χαθεί κάθε πιθανό ίχνος της. Αν όντως υπήρχε, όπως υποδεικνύει η επεξεργασία του βάθους πολλών συνθέσεων, το αποτέλεσμα θα μπορούσε να συγκριθεί ως προς την έκταση και την ποιότητα μόνο με εκείνο του άριστα διατηρούμενου τέμπλου της Επισκοπής Σαντορίνης, που τελευταία τοποθετείται στα τέλη του 11ου αι.¹⁸

Ως προς τα διακοσμητικά θέματα, παρατηρούμε ότι στη γλυπτική της Εύβοιας είναι έντονη η παρουσία των κουφικών και ψευδοκουφικών γραμμάτων, που εισάγονται στο νοτιοελλαδικό χώρο με τον διάκοσμο της εκκλησίας της Παναγίας στη μονή του Οσίου Λουκά, που χρονολογείται περί το

11. Papalexandrou 1998, 220-221, εικ. 91-92; Σωτηρίου 1924.

12. Megaw 1966; Papalexandrou 1998, 156-233, εικ. 53-90; Σωτηρίου 1931, 140-153, εικ. 18-36.

13. Ο όρος, που οφείλεται στη Λ. Μπούρα (Μπούρα 1982), προσδιορίζει τη μεγάλη διάδοση της απεικόνισης ζώων στη γλυπτική, μόνων ή σε συμπλέγματα με συμβολικό νόημα.

14. Grabar 1976, 55-60, πίν. XXI-XXVI; Schultz and Barnsley 1901, 27-33, πίν. 12-14, 22-23 και 28-29; Στίκας 1970, σποραδικά.

15. Μπούρας 2008.

16. Για την τεχνική αυτή εξακολουθεί να διατηρεί την αξία του το παλαιό σχετικό άρθρο του Α. Ευγγόπουλου (Ευγγόπουλος 1917)· για μια πιο πρόσφατη, σύντομη θεώρηση, βλ. Μπούρας και Μπούρα 2002, 568-569.

17. Το καλύτερα διατηρημένο στην Εύβοια δείγμα αυτής της τεχνικής είναι το επιστύλιο του τέμπλου της Περιβλέπτου των Πολιτικών, εν μέρει καλυμμένο από τη ζωγραφική του μεταγενέστερου κτιστού τέμπλου (Μπούρας 1988-1989, εικ. 2).

18. Barsanti and Pedone 2005; Ασλανίδης 2015, 112; Ορλάνδος 1951β, 190-198, εικ. 6-12.

961, και του καθολικού της ίδιας μονής, που ιδρύθηκε λίγο πριν από το 1014.¹⁹ Σε αυτό ήταν ασφαλώς καθοριστική η άμεση εξάρτηση των δύο προαναφερόμενων ναών του νησιού από τη συγκεκριμένη μονή,²⁰ που δεν λειτούργησε απλά ως πρότυπο, αλλά μερίμνησε η ίδια για την κτηριακή και καλλιτεχνική αρτιότητα των μετοχίων της, αποστέλλοντας σε αυτά τεχνίτες.

Αξιοσημείωτη είναι επίσης η μίμηση, με την αισθητική της Μεσοβυζαντινής περιόδου, ενός παλαιοχριστιανικού θωρακίου στην Περίβλεπτο των Πολιτικών.²¹ Το μεσοβυζαντινό έργο εμπνέεται από έναν πολύ διαδεδομένο τύπο θωρακίων του 5ου-6ου αι., με χριστόγραμμα εντός στεφάνου πλαισιωμένου από δύο μεγάλους σταυρούς. Η επιλογή αυτή έχει και πάλι την αφετηρία της στο γλυπτό διάκοσμο του καθολικού της μονής του Οσίου Λουκά,²² όπου περιλαμβάνονται θωράκια τα οποία αναπαραγάγουν παλαιοχριστιανικά πρότυπα με το ύφος των αρχών του 11ου αι.²³ Αναβιώσεις αυτού του είδους χαρακτηρίζουν κυρίως τη γλυπτική της Κωνσταντινούπολης, όπως διαπιστώνουμε για παράδειγμα στο διάκοσμο του καθολικού της μονής Βατοπεδίου στο Άγιο Όρος (τέλη 10ου - αρχές 11ου αι.), που σύμφωνα με πολλές ενδείξεις αποδίδεται σε τεχνίτες από την πρωτεύουσα.²⁴

Η έντονη παρουσία ποικίλων ζώων ως διακοσμητικού θέματος αποτυπώνεται στο πρόσφατο άρθρο της Ε. Κουνουπιώτου-Μανωλέσσου για γλυπτά της συλλογής του Τζαμιού με αυτή τη θεματολογία.²⁵ Από τα μυθολογικά όντα ξεχωρίζει η σφίγγα με δύο σώματα και μία μετωπική κεφαλή σε επίθημα από τη Χαλκίδα,²⁶ καθώς και η ιδιαίτερα σπάνια απεικόνιση άρπυιας σε κιονόκρανο του Αγίου Ανδρέα στους Παραμερίτες (Εικ. 4).²⁷ Τα δισώματα όντα με μία κεφαλή απαντούν συχνά στη σύγχρονη ρωμαϊκή γλυπτική της Δύσης,²⁸ σε αντίθεση με τη βυζαντινή, όπου σπανίζουν. Η άρπυια επίσης συναντάται συχνά σε δυτικά διακοσμητικά γλυπτά,²⁹ ενώ στη βυζαντινή γλυπτική είναι γνωστό μόνο ένα ακόμη παράδειγμα από τον Μυστρά.³⁰ Η επιλογή αυτών των θεμάτων στα δύο ευβοϊκά έργα προϋποθέτει ότι οι μαρμαράδες που τα φιλοτέχνησαν είχαν γνώση εξεζητημένων θεμάτων της κοσμικής τέχνης ή της σύγχρονης δυτικής λιθογλυπτικής· είναι ίσως πιθανό ότι οι εμπορικές σχέσεις του Ευρίπου με τη Δύση και η παρουσία βενετικής παροικίας στην πόλη ήδη πριν από το 1204³¹ έφεραν την Εύβοια σε κάποια, περιορισμένη έστω, επαφή με στοιχεία της δυτικής τέχνης.

Η απεικόνιση της ανθρώπινης μορφής

Η απεικόνιση της ανθρώπινης μορφής δεν είναι γενικά συχνή στη μεσοβυζαντινή γλυπτική και περιορίζεται κυρίως σε εικόνες του Χριστού, της Θεοτόκου και άλλων ιερών μορφών και λιγότερο σε μυθικά πρόσωπα ή ηγεμόνες. Στην Αγία Παρασκευή της Χαλκίδας σώζεται ανάγλυφη απεικόνιση της Θεοτόκου στον τύπο της δεομένης, σε προτομή.³² Το μικρό ύψος της καθιστά πιθανότερη

19. Για μια πρόσφατη θεώρηση του θέματος, με σύνοψη της παλαιότερης βιβλιογραφίας, βλ. Μπούρας 2013.

20. Μπούρα 1980, 120.

21. Μπούρας 1988-89, 55, εικ. 5.

22. Μπούρας 1988-89, 58.

23. Grabar 1976, 55, πίν. XXIb και d; Schultz και Barnsley 1901, 25, πίν. 14C-D; Στίκας 1970, πίν. 107 και 115.

24. Παζαράς 2001, 101-102 και σποραδικά.

25. Κουνουπιώτου-Μανωλέσσου 2008.

26. Κουνουπιώτου-Μανωλέσσου 2008, 222-223, εικ. 1 (όπου η παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία).

27. Μαμαλούκος 1994, 186, πίν. 104.16; Μπούρας και Μπούρα 2002, 564-565.

28. Βλ. ενδεικτικά Rupprecht 1984, 94, 127, 132, πίν. 99, 230, 249; Świechowski and Rizzi 1982, 67 αρ. 210, 170-171 αρ. 803, 183 αρ. 884, 213-214 αρ. 1093.

29. Świechowski and Rizzi 1982, 41 αρ. 44, 50 αρ. 100, 209 αρ. 1060.

30. Μπούρας και Μπούρα 2002, 564. Σημειώνεται ότι ο Α. Ευγγόπουλος δεν δέχεται την ταύτιση των ανθρωποκέφαλων πτηνών με άρπυιες ή σφίγγες και υποστηρίζει ότι η παρουσία τους στη βυζαντινή τέχνη έχει ανατολική προέλευση (Ευγγόπουλος 1930).

31. Για τη Χαλκίδα ως κέντρο του βενετικού εμπορίου πριν και μετά από το 1204 βλ. Jacoby 2004; Μοσχονάς 2006.

32. Sodini 1995, 299, εικ. 5; Λιάπης 1971, 96, πίν. 48; Ευγγόπουλος 1927. Για τον τύπο της Θεοτόκου Δεομένης στη γλυπτική, βλ. Λοβέρδου-Τσιγαρίδα 2000, 239-241, εικ. 186-188, όπου αναλυτική βιβλιογραφία.

την προέλευσή της από τύμπανο υπέρθυρου, επιστύλιο τέμπλου ή ταφικό αρκοσόλιο-η πιθανότητα να αποτελούσε αυτόνομη μαρμάρινη εικόνα δείχνει πολύ αδύναμη. Παλαιότερα είχε αποδοθεί στην Παλαιοχριστιανική περίοδο, αλλά τόσο η απόδοση της μορφής, όσο και ο τύπος των ανθεμίων που κοσμούν το κάτω μέρος της, συνηγορούν υπέρ μιας αναχρονολόγησης στον 12ο-13ο αι. Στη συλλογή του Καραμπάμπα εκτέθηκε πρόσφατα μία από τις λιγοστές γλυπτές απεικονίσεις της μυθιστορηματικής Ανάλυσης του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου, με τη μορφή βυζαντινού ηγεμόνα που οδηγεί άρμα με δύο γρύπες.³³ Παραστάσεις του ίδιου θέματος στη μεσοβυζαντινή γλυπτική έχουν σωθεί στην Κωνσταντινούπολη,³⁴ στο Άγιον Όρος,³⁵ στη Θήβα³⁶ και στη Βενετία.³⁷

Ένα άλλο ανάγλυφο με εικονιστικό θέμα βρίσκεται εντοιχισμένο στον κοιμητηριακό ναό του Αγίου Γεωργίου στο χωριό Ωρολόγι, κοντά στο Αυλωνάρι, και είναι γνωστό μόνο από μια σύντομη μνεία του Χ. Φαράντου, ο οποίος το επεσήμανε.³⁸ Πρόκειται για δύο συνανήκοντα τεμάχια ανάγλυφης πλάκας, που αναγνωρίζεται με βάση το σχήμα και τις διαστάσεις της ως ψευδοσαρκοφάγος (Εικ. 5). Η όψη της κοσμείται με σειρά τόξων, στα οποία εικονίζονται από αριστερά ένας πτερωτός λέων, ζεύγος παγωνιών εκατέρωθεν αναβρυτηρίου και παράσταση δύο ανθρώπων μορφών που κρατούν μεγάλο αγγείο και πιθανόν το γεμίζουν. Η παράσταση αυτή, που είναι μοναδική απ' όσο γνωρίζω στη βυζαντινή μαρμαρογλυπτική, ίσως συνδέεται με την εικονογραφία του θαύματος του εν Κανά Γάμου, το σωτηριολογικό νόημα του οποίου θα δικαιολογούσε την παρουσία της σε ένα ταφικό μνημείο. Τεχνοτροπικά το ανάγλυφο παρουσιάζει στοιχεία που το τοποθετούν ανάμεσα στον 11ο και τον 13ο αι.³⁹

Οι σχέσεις με τα περιφερειακά κέντρα της γλυπτικής

Η γενικευμένη ανωνυμία που καλύπτει την εργασία των βυζαντινών μαρμαράδων ισχύει και στην περίπτωση της Εύβοιας, όπου μέσω τεχνοτροπικών συσχετισμών αναζητούνται τα ίχνη της παρουσίας συγκεκριμένων συνεργείων που δραστηριοποιήθηκαν εντός και εκτός του νησιού. Η μόνη απολύτως βέβαιη περίπτωση είναι αυτή των ναών του Αλιβερίου και της Περιβλέπτου, όπου έχει αναγνωριστεί η εργασία τεχνιτών που φιλοτέχνησαν γλυπτά του καθολικού της μονής του Οσίου Λουκά. Έχοντας υπόψη και τα δεδομένα από τον κατεστραμμένο ναό της βοιωτικής Αντίκυρας,⁴⁰ συμπεραίνουμε ότι η μονή ανέθετε σε μαρμαρογλύπτες που εργάστηκαν για το καθολικό της να λαξεύσουν τα απαραίτητα για τα μετόχια της γλυπτά.

Οι σχέσεις που ανιχνεύονται μεταξύ της Εύβοιας και της Φθιώτιδας στα τέλη του 12ου αιώνα, σε γλυπτά αφενός της Αγίας Τριάδας Κριεζώτη αφετέρου της κατεστραμμένης σήμερα μονής των Αλεπόσπιτων κοντά στη Λαμία⁴¹ και ορισμένων ακόμη έργων στην ίδια περιοχή,⁴² υποδεικνύουν την κίνηση τεχνιτών μεταξύ των ακτών του βόρειου Ευβοϊκού κόλπου, κάτι το αναμενόμενο, λόγω της γεωγραφικής γειννίας. Η προτίμηση προς το επιπεδόγλυφο, που διακρίνει πολλά έργα αυτής της ενότητας, θα μπορούσε να θεωρηθεί ως ένδειξη ιδιαίτερης προτίμησης και επίδοσης ενός εργαστηρίου στη συγκεκριμένη τεχνική.⁴³

33. Gani 2013.

34. Firatlı 1990, 40 αρ. 76; Ορλάνδος 1954-1955.

35. Παζαράς 1997, 242 αρ. 6.6.

36. Ορλάνδος 1939-1940β, 134-136, εικ. 17.

37. Hempel and Julier 1979, 29, αρ. 61.

38. Φαράντος 1981-1982, 294-295, πίν. 24β.

39. Πάλλης προς δημ. α.

40. Στίκας 1970, 235-238, εικ. 121-126.

41. Βογιατζής 2006; Πάλλης 2003-2009.

42. Πάλλης 2010-2011, 430-431, 435, εικ. 11.

43. Πρόσφατα (2013) βρέθηκε σε ακίνητο ιδιώτη στα Πολιτικά της Εύβοιας και περισυνηλέγη από την 23η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων μία ομάδα γλυπτών που συνδέεται στενά με την τεχνοτροπία εκείνων της Αγίας Τριάδας Κριεζώ-

Αναμενόμενη πρέπει επίσης να θεωρείται η δραστηριοποίηση μαρμαράδων από τις γειτονικές πόλεις της Θήβας και της Αθήνας, τα μεγαλύτερα κέντρα της μαρμαρογλυπτικής στην ανατολική Στερεά Ελλάδα κατά την Μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο. Ως προς αυτή δεν μπορούμε όμως προς το παρόν να σχολιάσουμε κάτι περισσότερο, καθώς λείπουν οι δημοσιεύσεις εκείνες του υλικού, και από τις δύο πλευρές, που θα επέτρεπαν την αναγνώριση εργαστηρίων ή και τεχνιτών.⁴⁴

Παρατηρήσεις και ερωτήματα

Σύμφωνα λοιπόν με τα δεδομένα που έχουμε στη διάθεσή μας, φαίνεται ότι στο πεδίο της μαρμαρογλυπτικής η Εύβοια ήταν στενά εξαρτημένη από την ανατολική Στερεά Ελλάδα και ιδιαίτερα από τη Βοιωτία. Διέθετε όμως και δική της παραγωγή; Αν υπήρχαν τοπικά εργαστήρια, αυτά θα πρέπει να βρίσκονταν στον Εύριπο, το διοικητικό και οικονομικό κέντρο⁴⁵ του νησιού.⁴⁶ Η εικόνα για την καλλιέργεια της γλυπτικής στην πόλη είναι όμως ασαφής, καθώς το σωζόμενο από αυτήν υλικό αποτελείται αποκλειστικά από συλήματα και παραμένει σε μεγάλο ποσοστό αδημοσίευτο.⁴⁷ Η ζήτηση θα ήταν τόση ώστε να συντηρούνται τοπικά εργαστήρια, τη στιγμή μάλιστα που η παραγωγή άνθιζε στις γειτονικές Θήβα και Αθήνα; Η απάντηση είναι μάλλον καταφατική, όπως δείχνει η περίπτωση του Αγίου Ανδρέα στους Παραμερίτες, όπου ο πλούτος και η επιμέλεια των ανάγλυφων και μη αρχιτεκτονικών μελών–ακόμη πιθανώς και κορμών κίωνων–που λαξεύτηκαν ειδικά γι' αυτόν τον ναό έρχονται σε αντίθεση με το μικρό μέγεθος και τη λιτή κατά τ' άλλα οικοδομική του. Ως προς την πρώτη ύλη, φαίνεται ότι κυριαρχεί η επαναχρησιμοποίηση παλαιότερων μαρμάρων, κατ' αποκλειστικότητα λευκών: τα πολύχρωμα ευβοϊκά μάρμαρα της Χαλκίδας, της Ερέτριας και της Καρύστου δεν χρησιμοποιούνται πλέον και δεν γίνεται εξόρυξή τους.⁴⁸ Τα χρωματιστά πετρώματα δεν είναι εξάλλου κατάλληλα για τη γλυπτική.

Αν και το ζήτημα της ύπαρξης ή μη τοπικών εργαστηρίων μαρμαρογλυπτικής στη μεσοβυζαντινή Εύβοια παραμένει προς το παρόν ανοικτό, βέβαιο είναι ότι το νησί κατέχει ξεχωριστή θέση στην παραγωγή του νοτιοελλαδικού χώρου, χάρη στην υψηλή ποιότητα των περισσότερων από τα σύνολα τα οποία έχουν σωθεί σε αυτό και στην παρουσία ορισμένων σπάνιων και εξεζητημένων διακοσμητικών θεμάτων, που ίσως μαρτυρούν ακόμη και δειλές επιδράσεις από τη Δύση.

τη, αν και δεν πρόκειται για έργα του ίδιου συνεργείου, με έντονη τη χρήση του επιπεδόγλυφου (ευχαριστώ τον αρχαιολόγο της Εφορείας Αρχαιοτήτων Εύβοιας Γ. Βαξεβάνη για τη σχετική υπόδειξη). Το νέο αυτό στοιχείο ενισχύει την περίπτωση ύπαρξης ειδικευμένου στην επιπεδογλυφία εργαστηρίου.

44. Για τη γλυπτική της Θήβας έχει υποστηριχθεί πρόσφατα διδακτορική διατριβή από την αρχαιολόγο της Εφορείας Αρχαιοπωλείων και Ιδιωτικών Συλλογών Ε. Μανωλέσσου, που δεν έχει δημοσιευθεί ακόμη· μία καλή εικόνα της παραγωγής της πόλης εξακολουθεί να δίνει το σχετικό παλιό άρθρο του Α. Ορλάνδου (Ορλάνδος 1939-1940β). Αντίστοιχα για την παραγωγή της Αθήνας μια γενική εικόνα, ελλείπει ειδικής μονογραφίας, προσφέρει ο κατάλογος των γλυπτών του Βυζαντινού και Χριστιανού Μουσείου, τα περισσότερα από τα οποία προέρχονται από την πόλη (Σκλάβου-Μαυροειδή 1999).

45. Τα περιφερειακά ελλαδικά εργαστήρια μαρμαρογλυπτικής δραστηριοποιούνται κατά τη Μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο στα κατά τόπους διοικητικά και οικονομικά κέντρα, όπως η Θήβα, η Αθήνα και η Κόρινθος. Η παραγωγή βασίζεται στην ανακύκλωση παλαιότερου υλικού και η λατόμευση νέου μαρμάρου γίνεται μόνον περιστασιακά και σε πολύ μικρή κλίμακα. Η πρακτική της πρώτης, επιτόπιας κατεργασίας του υλικού στα λατομεία έχει εγκαταλειφθεί. Αναλυτικά για τα παραπάνω βλ. Sodini 2006, 234-248.

46. Για τον βυζαντινό Εύριπο βλ. Koder and Hild 1976, 156-158; Kontogiannis 2012; Σκαρτσή και Βαξεβάνης στον παρόντα τόμο; Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1990.

47. Μεσοβυζαντινά γλυπτά από τη Χαλκίδα δημοσιεύονται από τον Ν. Γιαννόπουλο και, πιο πρόσφατα, από την Ε. Κουνουπιώτου-Μανωλέσσου, μαζί με έργα άγνωστης προέλευσης (Γιαννόπουλος 1924; Κουνουπιώτου-Μανωλέσσου 2008). Κατά τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες έχουν εντοπιστεί πολυάριθμα νέα δείγματα στην εντός των τειχών μεσαιωνική πόλη και το προάστιο, για τα οποία διαθέτουμε πολύ συνοπτικές επί το πλείστον μνείες στο Αρχαιολογικό Δελτίο.

48. Τα μάρμαρα της Χαλκίδας και της Καρύστου ήταν ιδιαίτερα δημοφιλή μέχρι και την Παλαιохριστιανική περίοδο (Sodini 2006, 228, με αναλυτική βιβλιογραφία).

Βιβλιογραφία

- Ασλανίδης, Κ. (2015) 'Επανεξέταση της αρχιτεκτονικής του ναού της Επισκοπής Σαντορίνης'. Στο *Αφιέρωμα στον ακαδημαϊκό Παναγιώτη Λ. Βοκοτόπουλο*, επιμέλεια Β. Κατσαρός και Α. Τούρτα, 107-114. Αθήνα: εκδόσεις Καπόν.
- Βογιατζής, Σ. (2006) 'Ο γλυπτός διάκοσμος του ναού Μεταμορφώσεως του Σωτήρος στα Αλεπόσπιτα Λαμίας'. *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* Δ'27, 101-114.
- Γεωργοπούλου, Μ. (1972) 'Άγιος Νικόλαος Άτταλης Ευβοίας'. *Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών* 5, 57-63.
- Γεωργοπούλου-Μελαδίνη, Μ. (1972) 'Μεσαιωνικά μνημεία Ευβοίας'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 27(Β'Χρονικά), 364-373.
- Γιαννόπουλος, Ν. (1924) 'Χριστιανικά και βυζαντινά γλυπτά Χαλκίδος'. *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* Β'(1), 88-119.
- Γκιολές, Ν. (1998-2000) 'Ο χριστιανικός Ωρεός στη βόρεια Εύβοια. Ιστορία και αρχαιολογικά κατάλοιπα'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 33, 5-48.
- Κακαβάς, Γ. (2009) 'Αρχαιολογικές επισημάνσεις στην Εύβοια κατά το έτος 2006'. *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας* 3, 889-900.
- Κουνουπιώτου-Μανωλέσσου, Ε. (2008) 'Μεσοβυζαντινά γλυπτά με ζώα από τη Συλλογή γλυπτών στο Τζαμί της Χαλκίδας'. *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* Δ' 29, 221-232.
- Λιάπης, Ι. (1966-1967) 'Χριστιανικά γλυπτά εκ της Μονής του Αγίου Ιωάννου Καλυβίτου Ευβοίας'. *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών* 35, 196-201, πίν. Α'-Δ'.
- Λιάπης, Ι. αρχιμανδρίτης (1971) *Μεσαιωνικά μνημεία Ευβοίας*. Αθήνα.
- Λοβέρδου-Τσιγαρίδα, Κ. (2000) 'Η Θεοτόκος στη γλυπτική'. Στο *Μήτηρ Θεού. Απεικονίσεις της Παναγίας στη βυζαντινή τέχνη*, επιμέλεια Μ. Βασιλάκη, 237-249, εικ. 184-194. Αθήνα: Μουσείο Μπενάκη.
- Μαμαλούκος, Σ. (1994) 'Ο ναός του Αγίου Ανδρέα στους Παραμερίτες Ευβοίας'. Στο *Θυμίαμα στη μνήμη της Λασκαρίνας Μπούρα*, 181-187, πίν. 95-104. Αθήνα: Μουσείο Μπενάκη.
- Μοσχονάς, Ν. (2006) 'Εύριπος, κέντρο βενετικού εμπορίου'. Στο *Βενετία - Εύβοια, Από τον Έγριπο στο Νεγροπόντε. Πρακτικά Διεθνούς συνεδρίου (Χαλκίδα, 12-14 Νοεμβρίου 2004)*, επιμέλεια Χ. Μαλτέζου και Χ. Παπακώστα, 157-171. Βενετία; Αθήνα: Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Σπουδών Βενετίας; Εταιρεία Ευβοϊκών Σπουδών.
- Μουτσόπουλος, Ν. (1961) 'Ο Ταξιάρχης των Καλυβίων παρά την Κάρυστον'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 8, 204-248.
- Μπούρα, Λ. (1980) 'Ο γλυπτός διάκοσμος του ναού της Παναγίας στο μοναστήρι του Οσίου Λουκά'. Τόμ. 95 *Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*. Αθήνα: Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας.
- Μπούρα, Λ. (1982) 'Το Δέντρο της Ζωής στη μεσοβυζαντινή ελλαδική γλυπτική'. Στο *Δεύτερο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης (Αθήνα, 9, 10 και 11 Απριλίου 1982)*, 66-67. Αθήνα: Χριστιανική Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία.
- Μπούρας, Χ. (1988-89) 'Παρατηρήσεις στο καθολικό της μονής της Θεοτόκου "Περιβλέπτου" στα Πολιτικά Ευβοίας'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 28, 53-62.
- Μπούρας, Χ. και Λ. Μπούρα (2002) *Η Ελλαδική Ναοδομία κατά τον 12ο αιώνα*. Αθήνα: Εμπορική Τράπεζα της Ελλάδος.
- Μπούρας, Χ. (2008) 'Διάτρητα μαρμάρινα μεσοβυζαντινά γλυπτά στην Ελλάδα'. Στο *La sculpture byzantine, VIIe-XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des antiquités byzantines et l'École française d'Athènes (6-8 septembre 2000)*, επιμέλεια C. Pennas και C. Vanderheyde, 469-485. Αθήνα: École française d'Athènes.
- Μπούρας, Χ. (2013) 'Τα τοπικά και τα χρονικά όρια του ψευδοκουφικού διακόσμου'. *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* Δ' 34, 25-32.
- Ευγγόπουλος, Α. (1917) 'Επιπεδογλυφία'. *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς*, 72-77.
- Ευγγόπουλος, Α. (1927) 'Το τέμπλον της Αγίας Παρασκευής εν Χαλκίδι'. *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* Β'4, 67-73.

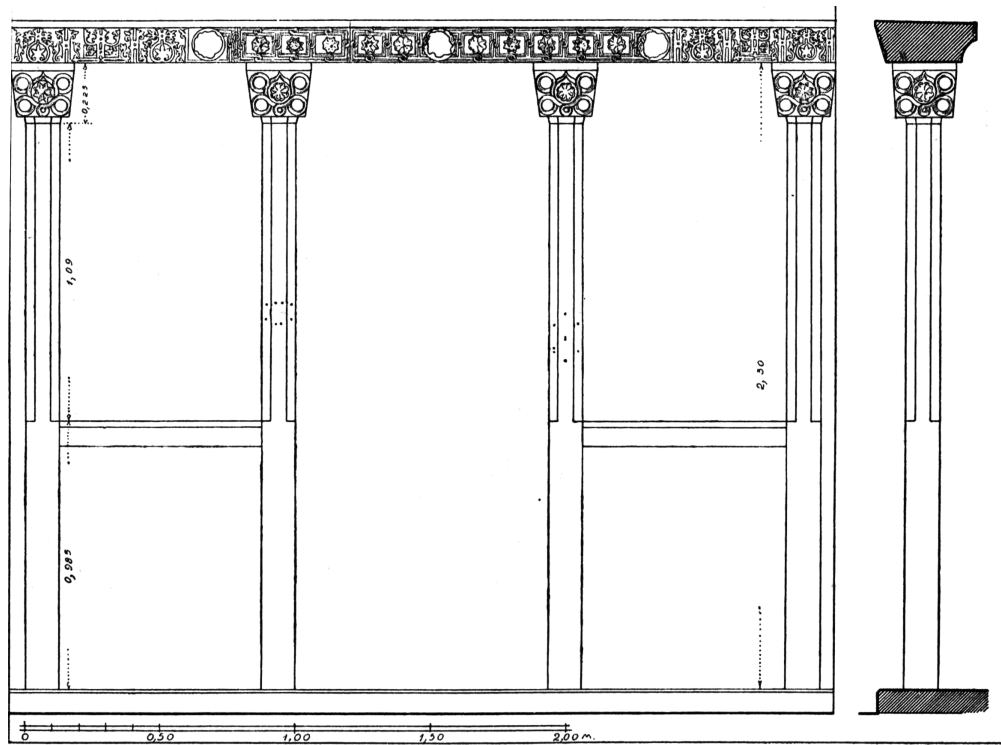
- Ευγγόπουλος, Α. (1930) 'Πήλινον βυζαντινόν θυμιατήριον'. *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς*, 127-140.
- Ορλάνδος, Α. (1937) 'Η Περίβλεπτος των Πολιτικών της Ευβοίας'. *Αρχεῖον των Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων της Ελλάδος* 3, 175-184.
- Ορλάνδος, Α. (1939-1940α) 'Η Αγία Τριάς του Κριεζώτη'. *Αρχεῖον των Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων της Ελλάδος* 5, 3-16.
- Ορλάνδος, Α. (1939-1940β) 'Γλυπτά του Μουσείου Θηβῶν'. *Αρχεῖον των Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων της Ελλάδος* 5, 119-143.
- Ορλάνδος, Α. (1951α) 'Το παρά το Αλιβέρι μετόχιον του Οσίου Λουκά Φωκίδος'. *Αρχεῖον των Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων της Ελλάδος* 7, 131-145.
- Ορλάνδος, Α. (1951β) 'Η Πισκοπή της Σαντορήνης'. *Αρχεῖον των Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων της Ελλάδος* 7, 178-214.
- Ορλάνδος, Α. (1954-1955) 'Νέον ανάγλυφον της Αναλήψεως του Αλεξάνδρου'. *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς Φιλοσοφικής Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνῶν* 5, 281-289.
- Παζαράς, Θ. (1997) 'Βυζαντινά γλυπτά'. Στο *Θησαυροὶ του Αγίου Όρους. Κατάλογος Ἐκθεσης*. Θεσσαλονίκη: Υπουργεῖο Πολιτισμοῦ, Μουσεῖο Βυζαντινοῦ Πολιτισμοῦ.
- Παζαράς, Θ. (2001) *Τα βυζαντινά γλυπτά του καθολικοῦ της μονῆς Βατοπεδίου*. Θεσσαλονίκη: University Studio Press.
- Πάλλης, Γ. (2003-2009) 'Ο βυζαντινός ναός στα Αλεπόσπιτα της Φθιώτιδας. Νέα δείγματα αρχιτεκτονικῶν μελῶν και γλυπτῶν ἀπὸ τον διάκοσμό του'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 58-64 (Α' Μελέτες), 423-446.
- Πάλλης, Γ. (Προς δημ. α) 'Η βυζαντινὴ ψευδοσαρκοφάγος ἀπὸ το Ωρολόγι της Εὐβοίας και ο εικονιστικὸς διάκοσμός της'. Στο *Ἡρως κτίστης. Μελέτες αφιερωμένες στον Χαράλαμπο Μπούρα*.
- Πάλλης, Γ. (2010-2011) 'Νέα αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη και γλυπτά της μέσης και ὕστερης βυζαντινῆς περιόδου ἀπὸ τη Φθιώτιδα και παρατηρήσεις σε δημοσιευμένα'. *Αρχαιολογικὸ Δελτίο* 65-66 (Α' Μελέτες), 419-436.
- Πέτρου, Δ. και Π. Ανδρούδης (2003) 'Οι βυζαντινοὶ ναοὶ του Αγίου Νικολάου και των Εισοδίων της Θεοτόκου στην Ἄταλη Εὐβοίας'. *Αρχαιολογικὸ Ἔργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας* 1, 1165-1184.
- Σκλάβου-Μαυροειδῆ, Μ. (1999) *Γλυπτά του Βυζαντινοῦ Μουσείου Αθηνῶν. Κατάλογος*. Αθήνα: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικῶν Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων.
- Στίκας, Ε. (1970) 'Το Οικοδομικόν Χρονικόν της Μονῆς Οσίου Λουκά Φωκίδος'. Τόμ. 65 *Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικῆς Εταιρείας*. Αθήνα: Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικὴ Εταιρεία.
- Σωτηρίου, Γ. (1924) 'Ο εν Θήβαις βυζαντινός ναός Γρηγορίου του Θεολόγου'. *Αρχαιολογικὴ Εφημερίς*, 1-26.
- Σωτηρίου, Μ. (1931) 'Ο ναός της Σκριπούς Βοιωτίας'. *Αρχαιολογικὴ Εφημερίς*, 119-157.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. (1990) 'Χριστιανικὴ και μεσαιωνικὴ Χαλκίδα: ανασκόπηση της νεώτερης αρχαιολογικῆς ἐρευνας'. Στο *Διεθνὲς Επιστημονικὸ Συνέδριο Ἡ πόλη της Χαλκίδας* (*Χαλκίδα, 24-27 Σεπτεμβρίου 1987*), 163-228. Αθήνα: Εταιρεία Ευβοϊκῶν Σπουδῶν.
- Φαράντος, Χ. (1980) 'Βυζαντινές και μεταβυζαντινές εκκλησίες στις περιοχές των χωριῶν: Αλιβέρι, Κατάκαλος, Βελούσια, Ἄγ. Λουκάς, Παραμερίτες, Θαρούνια, Κρεμαστός, Ὄριο, Μουρτάρι, Οχτωνιά, Αυλωνάρι, Ἄγ. Γεώργιος και Αχλαδερῆ της Ν. Εὐβοίας'. *Αρχεῖον Ευβοϊκῶν Μελετῶν* 23, 323-380.
- Φαράντος, Χ. (1981-1982) 'Βυζαντινές και μεταβυζαντινές εκκλησίες στις περιοχές των χωριῶν: Δάφνη, Περιβόλια, Ἄγ. Γεώργιος, Ἄγ. Θέκλα, Ωρολόγι και Οχτωνιά της Ν. Εὐβοίας'. *Αρχεῖον Ευβοϊκῶν Μελετῶν* 24, 277-312.
- Φαράντος, Χ. (1994-1995) 'Χριστιανικά μνημεία στα χωριά Παννίτσι και Πόθι της Νότιας Εὐβοίας'. *Αρχεῖον Ευβοϊκῶν Μελετῶν* 31, 227-248.

*

- Barsanti, C. and S. Pedone (2005) 'Una nota sulla scultura ad incrostazione e il tempion della Panaghia Episcopi di Santorini'. In *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Sodini. Travaux et Mémoires* 15, edited by F. Baratte, V. Deroche, C. Joliet-Levy, B. Pitarakis, 407-425. Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance.
- Firath, N. (1990) *La sculpture byzantine figurée au Musée Archéologique d'Istanbul. Catalogue revu et présenté par C. Metzger, A. Pralong et J.-P. Sodini*. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve.
- Gani, P. (2013) 'Marble Plaque with the Ascension of Alexander the Great'. In *Heaven and Earth. Art of Byzantium from Greek Collections, Exhibition Catalogue*, edited by A. Drandaki, D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi and A. Tourta, 199. Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; The Benaki Museum.

- Grabar, A. (1976) *Sculptures byzantines du Moyen Âge II (XIe - XIVe siècle)*. Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard.
- Hempel, G. and J. Julier (1979) 'Katalog der Skulpturen'. In *Die Skulpturen von San Marco in Venedig. Die figürlichen skulpturen der Außenfassaden bis zum 14. Jahrhundert*, edited by W. Wolters, 17-57. Berlin: Deutsches Studienzentrum in Venedig.
- Jacoby, D. (2004) 'The demographic evolution of Euboea under Latin rule, 1205-1470'. In *The Greek Islands and the Sea. Proceedings of the First International Colloquium held at the Hellenic Institute, Royal Holloway, University of London (21-22 September 2001)*, edited by J. Chrysostomides, C. Dendrinos and J. Harris, 131-179. Camberley: Porphyrogenitus.
- Kanari, T. (2003) 'Les Peintures du Catholicon du Monastère de Galataki en Eubée, 1586. Le Narthex et la Chapelle de Saint-Jean-le-Précurseur'. Vol. 8 of *Τετράδια Βυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης*. Athens: Christian Archaeological Society.
- Koder, J. and F. Hild (1976) 'Hellas und Thessalia'. Vol. 1 of *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Kontogiannis, N. (2012) 'Euripos - Negroponte - Eğriboz: Material Culture and Historic Topography of Chalkis from Byzantium to the End of Ottoman Rule'. *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 62, 29-56.
- Megaw, A. (1966) 'The Skripou Screen'. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 61, 1-32.
- Papalexandrou, A. (1998) 'The Church of the Virgin of Skripou: Architecture, Sculpture and Inscriptions in Ninth-Century Byzantium'. PhD thesis. Princeton University, USA.
- Rupprecht, B. (1984) *Romanische Skulptur in Frankreich*. Munich: Hirmer Verlag.
- Schultz, R. and S. Barnsley (1901) *The Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris, in Phocis, and the Dependent Monastery of Saint Nicolas in the Fields, near Skripou, in Boeotia*. London: Macmillan and Co.
- Sodini, J.-P. (1995) 'La sculpture médio-byzantine: la marbre en ersatz et tel qu'en lui-même'. In *Constantinople and its Hinterland. Papers from the Twenty-seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies (Oxford, April 1993)*, edited by C. Mango and G. Dagron, 289-311. Cambridge: Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies.
- Sodini, J.-P. (2006) 'Η χρήση μαρμάρου και πέτρας (7ος-15ος αιώνας)'. Από *Οικονομική Ιστορία του Βυζαντίου*, edited by A. E. Laiou, 223-248. Athens: National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation.
- Świechowski, Z. and A. Rizzi (1982) *Romanische Reliefs von venezianischen Fassaden*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Εικόνες



Εικόνα 1:

Αναπαράσταση του τέμπλου
του Αγίου Λουκά στο Αλιβέρι
(Ορλάνδος 1951α,
εικ. 1).



Εικόνα 2:

Θωράκιο τέμπλου στον Άγιο Ιωάννη
τον Καλυβίτη στα Ψαχνά (Δ. Παπάς).



Εικόνα 3: Κοσμήτης θυρώματος από την Αγία Τριάδα Κριεζώτη (23η ΕΒΑ).



Εικόνα 4:
Κιονόκρανο στον
Άγιο Ανδρέα στους
Παραμερίτες
(Μαμαλούκος 1994,
πίν. 104, εικ. 16).



Εικόνα 5: Ανάγλυφη πλάκα ψευδοσαρκοφάγου στον Άγιο Γεώργιο στο Ωρολόγι.

***Μεσοβυζαντινή μαρμαρογλυπτική στην Εύβοια:
ο γλυπτός διάκοσμος των ναών των Εισοδίων της Θεοτόκου
και του Αγίου Νικολάου στην Άτταλη***

Ανδρομάχη ΚΑΤΣΕΛΑΚΗ
Ελένη ΤΣΙΟΜΠΙΚΟΥ

Abstract

At the foot of the massif of Dirfys, at the center of the village of Attali and in close proximity to each other, lie the churches of the Presentation of Mary and St. Nicholas, two important, large and similar in dimensions Middle Byzantine monuments of central Euboea. The temples' architecture seems to follow the transitional type with a cruciform based topped by a dome, which are well known in Greece. They can be dated to the late 10th or early 11th century AD. Since 2010 the two monuments, of which the first has the surviving central nave, while the second one is in ruins, have been included in the Operational Programme 'Thessaly-Central Greece-Epirus 2007-2013.'

From the rich original marble decoration from both churches, a number of whole or partial fragments not exceeding 197 have been identified. Before 2011, only 109 of these fragments were known. Recent restoration and reconstruction works in both churches yielded the rest of them. The 197 recovered parts, many of which join, consist a unified whole, the relief decoration of the two monuments. The largest number of the surviving parts comes from the iconostasis of the sanctuary and of the side apses (παραβήματα). Namely, they are part of the thorakia, architraves, pilasters/jambs, small pillars, eight-sided columns, while in the assemblage we also find semi-columns, capitals, as well as parts that belong to the masonry and the openings of the two churches, respectively. Many of these elements bear decoration in two techniques, which are often combined in the same member harmoniously: the bas-relief, high and low, and the embossing. Their themes, mostly floral and geometric, are frequently found on the repertoire of artistic production of the workshops in Attica, Boeotia and Euboea in this period. The sculptures of the churches in Attali, sculptured with great care and technique, provide an excellent example of high sculpture from the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century, the study of which will contribute to our improved understanding and broader knowledge about the middle Byzantine sculpture in the region. Mainly, however, this will contribute to the general understanding and the proper documentation and large-scale restoration of the original appearance of these two central Euboean monuments.

Εισαγωγή

Στις δυτικές παρυφές του ορεινού όγκου της Δίρφυς, στο κέντρο του οικισμού της Άτταλης, βρίσκονται σε απόσταση περίπου 50μ. μεταξύ τους οι ναοί του Αγίου Νικολάου και των Εισοδίων της Θεοτόκου, δύο σημαντικά μεσοβυζαντινά μνημεία της κεντρικής Εύβοιας.¹ Οι ναοί της Άτταλης, με ίδια κάτοψη και όμοιες σχεδόν διαστάσεις (ναός Αγίου Νικολάου: 14,25μ.Χ11,2μ., ναός Εισοδίων Θεοτόκου: 14,5μ.Χ11,8μ.) αποτελούν τα πρωιμότερα από τα λιγοστά ευβοϊκά δείγματα του σταυροειδούς εγγεγραμμένου με τρούλο τύπου. Ανήκουν στην παραλλαγή με συνεπτυγμένο το δυτικό τους σκέλος, που θεωρείται εξέλιξη του μεταβατικού τύπου.² Στα ανατολικά τους καταλήγουν σε τρεις πεντάπλευρες εξωτερικά αψίδες, ενώ στα δυτικά σε νάρθηκα, στο βόρειο άκρο του οποίου υπάρχει αρκοσόλιο με χαμηλό πλίνθινο τόξο. Στον ναό του Αγίου Νικολάου προσαρτήθηκε αργότερα εξωνάρθηκας.

Ο ναός του Αγίου Νικολάου σχεδόν ερειπωμένος, σώζεται σε ύψος 2,5μ., με εξαίρεση τον βορειοδυτικό πεσσό ο οποίος υψώνεται στα 6,5μ.

Σε καλύτερη σχετικά κατάσταση διατηρείται ο ναός των Εισοδίων της Θεοτόκου, του οποίου ωστόσο η αρχική μορφή έχει αλλοιωθεί από τις επεμβάσεις τις οποίες υπέστη στο πέρασμα των αιώνων. Το κεντρικό κλίτος, το μόνο σχεδόν ακέραιο, διαμορφώθηκε σταδιακά σε μονόχωρο ναό με δίριχτη στέγη. Στους νεότερους χρόνους, για τις λειτουργικές του ανάγκες χτίστηκαν με δομικό υλικό και από τα δύο μνημεία, τέμπλο στο κεντρικό κλίτος³ και τράπεζες με τη μορφήεδράνου στις κόγχες του ιερού και του διακονικού. Τα δύο πλαϊνά κλίτη και ο νάρθηκας σώζονται σε ημερειπιώδη κατάσταση και έχουν μέγιστο ύψος 2,30 μ.

Ο γλυπτός διάκοσμος των δύο ναών

Ο γλυπτός μαρμαρίνος διάκοσμος των δύο ναών της Άτταλης παρουσιάζει εξαιρετικό ενδιαφέρον⁴ μέχρι τις αρχές του 2007 ήταν γνωστά 109 μέλη του είτε βρίσκονταν στο βόρειο ακάλυπτο κλίτος του ναού των Εισοδίων, είτε ήταν εντοιχισμένα στο κτιστό τέμπλο και στην τοιχοποιία του (Εικ. 1). Με δεδομένες τις δυσμενείς συνθήκες φύλαξης και διατήρησης των πρώτων, το προσωπικό της τότε αρμόδιας 23ης Εφορείας Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων αρχικά μερίμνησε για τη μεταφορά τους σε αποθήκες, στη συνέχεια τεκμηρίωσε φωτογραφικά και κατέγραψε το σύνολο των γλυπτών και ξεκίνησε τη συστηματική συντήρησή τους στα εργαστήρια της Εφορείας.⁵

1. Koder 1973, 183; Koder and Hild 1976, 129-130; Γεωργοπούλου 1972α, 57-63; 1972β, 368-370; Πέτρου και Ανδρούδης 2006, 1165-1177; Σκούρας 1998, 80-81. Το 1972 πραγματοποιήθηκαν περιορισμένες εργασίες και στα δύο μνημεία από την τότε αρμόδια 1η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων (Γεωργοπούλου 1972α, 57-63; 1972β, 368-370). Μετά από συστηματικές ενέργειες της νεοσύστατης τότε 23ης Εφορείας Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων, το 2009 τα δύο ευβοϊκά μνημεία εντάχθηκαν στο Γ' Επιχειρησιακό Πρόγραμμα 'Θεσσαλίας-Στερεάς Ελλάδας- Ηπείρου 2007-2013'. Από τα τέλη του 2010 και έως το καλοκαίρι του 2014, σε εφαρμογή της εγκεκριμένης μελέτης αποκατάστασης η οποία εκπονήθηκε το 2002 από τον αρχιτέκτονα Π. Ανδρούδη, υλοποιήθηκε το έργο 'Στερέωση και Αποκατάσταση Ναών Άτταλης Εύβοιας' με υπεύθυνες αρχαιολόγους τις γράφουσες. Στο έργο απασχολήθηκαν επίσης η αρχιτέκτων Ε. Κατσάλη, ο συντηρητής αρχαιοτήτων Δ. Καραμουζάς και οι ειδικευμένοι τεχνίτες Θ. Κατσιρούμπας, Δ. Κατσαρής, Σ. Αγγέλου και Β. Παπαγεωργίου. Οι εργασίες αφορούσαν στο αρμολόγημα και τη στερέωση της τοιχοποιίας των ναών, στην αποκατάσταση των δαπέδων τους, στην αντικατάσταση και την ανακεράμωση της ξύλινης στέγης του ναού των Εισοδίων, και στη συνολική ανάδειξη και απόδοση των ατταλικών μνημείων στο κοινό. Αναλυτικά για τις εργασίες βλ. Καλαμαρά κ.ά. προς δημ.

2. Βοκοτόπουλος 1975, 148 και ιδιαίτερα στην υποσημ. 2; Μαμαλούκος και Πινάτση 2007, 78-80; Πέτρου και Ανδρούδης 2006, 1166-1168.

3. Πέτρου και Ανδρούδης 2006, εικ. 7.

4. Πέτρου και Ανδρούδης 2006, 1170-1173.

5. Τη συντήρησή τους ανέλαβαν εξειδικευμένοι συντηρητές λίθου της Εφορείας, αρχικά η Μ. Κοτσάμπαση και στη συνέχεια ο Δ. Καραμουζάς.

Το 2012 και το 2013,⁶ και ενώ οι εργασίες αποκατάστασης των ναών ήταν σε εξέλιξη, μετά από εισήγηση που κατέθεσαν οι γράφουσες, πραγματοποιήθηκε η αποδόμηση των νεωτερικών κτιστών στοιχείων του ιερού του ναού των Εισοδίων της Θεοτόκου, δηλαδή του τέμπλου και της τράπεζας αντίστοιχα, οπότε αποκαλύφθηκαν εξήντα τέσσερα ακόμη γλυπτά μέλη. Επιπλέον, κατά τη διάρκεια των εργασιών στους δύο ναούς, ήρθαν στο φως άλλα 20 θραύσματα,⁷ με αποτέλεσμα ο συνολικός αριθμός της συλλογής γλυπτών της Άτταλης να ανέρχεται σήμερα στα 197 μέλη.

Τέλος, πρέπει να αναφερθούν δύο κιονόκρανα τέμπλου, τα οποία μας είναι γνωστά μόνον από φωτογραφίες παλαιότερων δημοσιεύσεων, και δυστυχώς δεν έχουν έως τώρα εντοπιστεί.⁸

Όπως έχει επισημάνει ο Θ. Παζαράς 'τα διαφράγματα αποτελούν το πιο χαρακτηριστικό και απαραίτητο στοιχείο του αρχιτεκτονικού διακόσμου του βυζαντινού ναού',⁹ για το λόγο αυτό τα περισσότερα, συγκεκριμένα 116 γλυπτά μέλη της συλλογής της Άτταλης, προέρχονται από τα έξι τέμπλα των δύο ιερών και των τεσσάρων παραβημάτων των δύο ναών· πρόκειται δηλαδή για τμήματα επιστυλίων, κιονοκράνων, οκτάπλευρων κιονίσκων, πεσίσκων, παραστάδων, θωρακίων, καθώς και βάσεων και επιστέψεων αυτών—34 ανήκουν σε αμφικιονίσκους, επιθήματα και κιονίσκους, ενώ στη συλλογή περιλαμβάνονται επίσης μία λεκάνη, πιθανόν αγιασμού, και 24 τμήματα από τις έξι τράπεζες. Η κακή κατάσταση διατήρησης 19 θραυσμάτων, τα οποία ωστόσο διατηρούν ίχνη λάξευσης, δεν επιτρέπει την ακριβή ταύτισή τους. Πρόσφατα, πέντε μαρμάρινα θραύσματα αναγνωρίστηκαν ως τμήματα των πλακών των δαπέδων των ναών.

Μετά την αύξηση στο διπλάσιο του αριθμού των μελών του αρχικού γλυπτού διακόσμου των δύο ναών κατά τις τελευταίες εργασίες,¹⁰ σε συνδυασμό με τα λιγοστά, αλλά σημαντικά νέα δεδομένα που προέκυψαν κατά τη συστηματική και ενδελεχή μελέτη των δύο μνημείων και διευρύνοντας την έρευνα των Πέτρου και Ανδρούδη,¹¹ επιχειρείται πλέον μια συνολική ανασύσταση των τέμπλων των ναών της Άτταλης (Εικ. 2). Τη μελέτη δυσχεραίνουν αφενός η ερειπιώδης μορφή των μνημείων, με αποτέλεσμα την οριστική απώλεια κρίσιμων αρχιτεκτονικών ενδείξεων, όπως τα σημεία πάκτωσης των τέμπλων στους παρακείμενους τοίχους στον Άγιο Νικόλαο, και αφετέρου η απόλυτη ταύτιση τόσο των διαστάσεων όσο και των απολαξεύσεων των στυλοβατών στα δύο κεντρικά κλίτη και στα τέσσερα παραβήματα (Εικ. 3). Κατά συνέπεια, αν και είναι δυνατή με σχετική βεβαιότητα η ανασύνθεση ολόκληρων γλυπτών στοιχείων, όπως επιστυλίων και θωρακίων, και η συναρμογή κάποιων άλλων, δεν υπάρχουν εκείνα τα ασφαλή τεκμήρια που θα μας επέτρεπαν την ακριβή χωροθέτησή τους.

Στη συλλογή της Άτταλης περιλαμβάνονται είκοσι ένα τμήματα επιστυλίων. Η συναρμογή τους και η παρατήρηση των διάκενων των εγκοπών τους, σε αντιστοιχία με αυτών στους στυλοβάτες, επιτρέπουν τη μερική ανασύνθεση των πέντε από τα έξι επιστύλια των δύο ναών και συγκεκριμένα των δύο από τα κεντρικά διάκενα, και των τριών από τα τέσσερα παραβήματα.

Μετά από συγκολλήσεις προέκυψε το επιστύλιο του ενός κεντρικού ανοίγματος, στο οποίο συνανήκουν τέσσερα μαρμάρινα τμήματα, που συναρμόζουν ανά δύο και αντιστοιχούν στα άκρα του (αριθ. 45, 74, 86, 155) (Εικ. 4).¹² Από το δεύτερο κεντρικό επιστύλιο σώζονται τρία θραύσματα (αριθ. 66, 82, 178), που αντιστοιχούν στο τμήμα που εκτείνεται από το νότιο άκρο του επιστυλίου έως περίπου το μέσον της Ωραίας Πύλης (Εικ. 5).

Το μοναδικό επιστύλιο που έχει πλήρως αποκατασταθεί, έχει συνολικό μήκος 2,5μ., διάσταση που

6. Βλ. παραπάνω υποσημ. 1.

7. Συγκεκριμένα βρέθηκαν ενσωματωμένα στην τοιχοποιία, στο δάπεδο και σε τάφο στο ναό των Εισοδίων, ενώ ορισμένα εντοπίστηκαν στην επίχωση στο εσωτερικό του νάρθηκα του ναού του Αγίου Νικολάου.

8. Γεωργοπούλου 1972α, εικ. 3-4; Σκούρας 1998, πίν. 52 αντίστοιχα. Βλ. παρακάτω.

9. Παζαράς 1995, 15.

10. Βλ. παραπάνω υποσημ. 1.

11. Πέτρου και Ανδρούδη 2006, 1165-1183.

12. Οι αριθμοί καταγραφής αναγράφονται όχι με αύξουσα σειρά, αλλά σύμφωνα με τη θέση συναρμογής τους.

αντιστοιχεί σε διάστυλο παραβήματος (αριθ. 88, 87, 107, 91, 162, 90).¹³ Τρία θραύσματα (αριθ. 61, 55, 89) μπορούν πλέον με ασφάλεια να ταυτιστούν με το βόρειο τμήμα πλάγιου επιστυλίου, το οποίο ήταν σμιλεμένο σε δύο ανισομεγέθεις μαρμαρίνους λίθους, μήκους 1,72μ. και 0,70μ. αντίστοιχα, από τους οποίους ο μεγαλύτερος έχει πλήρως αποκατασταθεί. Τέλος, από το τρίτο πλάγιο επιστύλιο σώζεται μόνο το κεντρικό του τμήμα (αριθ. 80) (Εικ. 6).

Μετά από μετρήσεις και επιτόπια παρατήρηση διαπιστώνεται ότι δύο ακόμα συγκολλούμενα μικρά μέλη (αριθ. 104, 108) καθώς και ένα τρίτο (αριθ. 34), προέρχονται από τη νότια άκρη ενός από τα τρία επιστύλια παραβήματος που δε σώζονται ακέραια. Τέλος, το μικρών διαστάσεων μέλος (αριθ. 179) ανήκει στο βόρειο σκέλος του ενός από τα δύο πλάγια επιστύλια, των οποίων το αντίστοιχο τμήμα δεν έχει ακόμη ταυτιστεί.

Στην επόμενη ζώνη ήταν τοποθετημένα τα μέλη που έφεραν τον θριγικό. Σύμφωνα με τις μετρήσεις αλλά και την πρόταση των Πέτρου και Ανδρούδη,¹⁴ τα φέροντα στοιχεία στα δύο κεντρικά κλίτη οργανώνονται με τρόπο πιο σύνθετο, με αποτέλεσμα να διαφοροποιούνται από αυτά στα πλάγια (Εικ. 2). Πράγματι, κάθε επιστύλιο κεντρικού διάκενου εδραζόταν σε τέσσερα κιονόκρανα και ισάριθμους κιονίσκους, οι οποίοι ήταν τοποθετημένοι στα μέσα αλλά και στα άκρα των ανοιγμάτων. Τα αντίστοιχα μέλη στα πλάγια κλίτη είχαν απλή μορφή, αφού εδώ δύο μόνο κιονίσκοι με συμφυές κιονόκρανο στο μέσο έφεραν τα επιστύλια (Εικ. 2).

Από τα οκτώ συνολικά κιονόκρανα γνωστά μέχρι πρόσφατα ήταν μόνο δύο. Το πρώτο, κουλοροπουραμιδοειδές, είχε αποκαλυφθεί κατά τις εργασίες αποχωμάτωσης του ιερού βήματος του Αγίου Νικολάου, που πραγματοποίησε η Μ. Γεωργοπούλου στα τέλη της δεκαετίας του 1960 και τις αρχές της δεκαετίας του 1970,¹⁵ ενώ το δεύτερο έγινε γνωστό από τη δημοσίευση του Θ. Σκούρα το 1998.¹⁶ Δυστυχώς το 2007, οπότε η Εφορεία έκανε τις πρώτες σωστικές ενέργειες περισυλλογής των γλυπτών μελών που βρίσκονταν ελεύθερα στο χώρο¹⁷ κανένα από τα δύο δεν εντοπίστηκε, με αποτέλεσμα να θεωρούνται σήμερα οριστικά χαμένα.¹⁸ Η ανακάλυψη, επομένως, ενός τρίτου κιονοκράνου κατά τις εργασίες αποδόμησης της νεωτερικής Αγίας Τράπεζας στο ναό των Εισοδίων το 2013, αποκτά ξεχωριστή σημασία, καθώς το εύρημα αυτό αποτελεί πλέον το μοναδικό σωζόμενο μάρτυρα της σειράς των κιονοκράνων (Εικ. 7).

Στη συλλογή μας περιλαμβάνονται επίσης 44 τμήματα κιονίσκων τέμπλου, η συναρμογή των οποίων δεν έχει ολοκληρωθεί (Εικ. 8). Συνολικά στους δύο ναούς υπήρχαν 16 κιονίσκοι, όλοι οκτάπλευρης διατομής και πιθανόν μονολιθικοί. Από αυτούς οι οκτώ του κεντρικού κλίτους είναι λίγο πιο επιμελημένοι, καθώς το ανώτερο τμήμα τους κοσμεί ανάγλυφη ταινία. Η σύνδεσή τους με τα κιονόκρανα επιτυγχάνεται με μεταλλικούς συνδέσμους που εισέρχονταν και στα δύο μέλη. Αντίθετα, οι οκτώ κιονίσκοι των τεσσάρων παραβημάτων είναι ακόσμητοι με συμφυές κιονόκρανο (Εικ. 7).

Η χωροθέτηση στα τέμπλα έξι οκτάπλευρων κιονίσκων συμφυών με υποκείμενους πεσσίσκους, πρακτική που εξασφάλιζε τη σταθερότητα του φράγματος, παραμένει προβληματική για τους εξής λόγους: Καταρχήν, οι ορθογώνιες εγκοπές των στυλοβατών των δύο ναών στις οποίες αντιστοιχούν είναι μόνον τέσσερις. Επιπλέον, έχουν ήδη εντοπιστεί εννέα πεσσίσκοι με συμφυείς τους ορθογώνιας

13. Το επιστύλιο ήταν αρχικά κατασκευασμένο από μονόλιθο. Τα έξι συνανήκοντα μέρη του εντοπίστηκαν όλα στη διάλυση του νεωτερικού τέμπλου.

14. Πέτρου και Ανδρούδης 2006, εικ. 11, 12.

15. Γεωργοπούλου 1972α, εικ. 3, 4.

16. Σκούρας 1998, πίν. 52α.

17. Διορισμένη στην τότε νεοσύστατη 23η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων, η πρώτη από τις γράφουσες πραγματοποίησε αυτοψία στα δύο μνημεία τον Φεβρουάριο του 2007, οπότε διαπίστωσε την κακή κατάσταση διατήρησης των γλυπτών μελών στο βόρειο κλίτος του ναού των Εισοδίων. Αμέσως η Εφορεία, υπό την επίβλεψή της, προχώρησε στην μεταφορά τους σε αρχαιολογικές αποθήκες (βλ. παραπάνω σ. 2).

18. Βλ. σχετ. Σκούρας 1998, 80-81, όπου αναφέρεται μάλιστα και η ύπαρξη ενεπίγραφης πλάκας, πιθανόν κτητορικής επιγραφής, η οποία επίσης αγνοείται.

διατομής σταθμούς των βημοθύρων, οι οποίοι ενίοτε απολήγουν σε επίμηλα. Η απουσία, τέλος, άλλων απολαξέψεων στα σωζόμενα δάπεδα των δύο ναών δε μας επιτρέπει να διατυπώσουμε κάποια άποψη σχετική με τη χρήση τους.

Τα μετακίονια διαστήματα έφραζαν θωράκια τα οποία σύμφωνα με τις διαστάσεις τους μπορούν να διακριθούν σε δύο κατηγορίες: τα πλατιά προορίζονταν για τα ανοίγματα του κεντρικού κλίτους, ενώ τα στενά γι' αυτά των πλαγίων κλιτών (Εικ. 2). Τα δεδομένα που έχουν προκύψει από τις εργασίες συντήρησης μας επιτρέπουν να ανασυνθέσουμε ικανοποιητικά τα τέσσερα μεγάλα θωράκια των κεντρικών ανοιγμάτων, καθώς και τα τέσσερα στενομήκη από τα οκτώ των παραβημάτων. Τέσσερα επιμήκη τμήματα της συλλογής με τραπεζίωση διατομή (αριθ. 39, 43, 71, 181) μπορούν να ταυτιστούν με βάσεις θωρακίων, ενώ το μέλος με αριθ. 72, ανάλογης διατομής, θεωρείται επίστεψη θωρακίου. Στην υπόθεσή μας συνηγορεί ο άξονας του επαναλαμβανόμενου διακοσμητικού μοτίβου στη λοξότμητη όψη του.

Συμπερασματικά, σε δομή και οργάνωση τα φράγματα των δύο ναών της Άτταλης ακολουθούν την τυπολογία της μεσοβυζαντινής λιθογλυπτικής, τόσο στη σύλληψη και τη δομή όσο και στην κατασκευή τους.¹⁹ Πρόκειται για τριμερή ευθύγραμμα τέμπλα με τα κεντρικά ανοίγματα μεγαλύτερα και πιο σύνθετα, ενώ τα πλαϊνά απλούστερα και στενομήκη, τακτική που απαντά και σε γειτονικά μνημεία της περιοχής, όπως στον Άγιο Λουκά στον ομώνυμο οικισμό²⁰ και στην Αγία Τριάδα του Κριεζώτη κοντά στα Ψαχνά.²¹ Εδώ πρέπει να σημειωθεί ότι πέντε στυλοβάτες, με εξαίρεση αυτόν στην πρόθεση του Αγίου Νικολάου, βρέθηκαν κατά χώρα οπότε επανατοποθετήθηκαν στο πλαίσιο αποκατάστασης των δαπέδων των δύο ναών.²²

Τον γλυπτό διάκοσμο των δύο ναών συμπλήρωναν ανάγλυφα επιθήματα, από τα όποια έχουν βρεθεί τέσσερα (αριθ. 56, 96, 161, 166) (Εικ. 8).

Τεχνικές διακόσμησης

Τα περισσότερα από τα γλυπτά είναι σμιλεμένα σε λευκό μάρμαρο με λίγες φλεβώσεις, του οποίου η προέλευση δεν έχει εντοπιστεί. Σχεδόν όλα φέρουν διάκοσμο, για την απόδοση του οποίου έχει κυρίως χρησιμοποιηθεί η τεχνική του χαμηλού ανάγλυφου. Η επιπεδόγλυφη τεχνική έχει εφαρμοσθεί σε μικρή έκταση κυρίως για την απόδοση των ψευδοκουφικών μοτίβων (Εικ. 4). Με έξεργη τεχνική αποδίδονται κυρίως τα κομβία, ένσταυρα ή ανθεμωτά, που προσδίδουν πλαστικότητα και τοποθετούνται συχνότερα στη λοξότμητη πλευρά των επιστυλίων, προκειμένου να τονίσουν το κέντρο του διακοσμητικού μοτίβου τόσο αυτής της όψης όσο και της επιφάνειας του θριγκού (Εικ. 4, 5, 7). Και οι τρεις τεχνικές, μεμονωμένες ή σε συνδυασμό²³, εφαρμόζονται με επιμέλεια και δεξιοτεχνία. Στις λοξότμητες επιφάνειες των επιστυλίων, σε ένα περιθύρωμα και σε ένα θωράκιο παραβήματος διαπιστώνεται και η χρήση τρυπανιού για την ένθεση διακοσμητικών στοιχείων από υαλόμαζα ή λίθο (Εικ. 4, 6, 11). Τέλος, στον ένα τύπο κουφικών μοτίβων η έλλειψη επεξεργασίας του βάθους υποδηλώνει την ένθεση κηρομαστίχης (Εικ. 4).

19. Βλέπε πρόχειρα το τέμπλο από τον κατεστραμμένο σήμερα ναό του Αγίου Λουκά (1014), μετόχι της περιώνυμης μονής, σύμφωνα με την πρόταση αποκατάστασης του Ορλάνδου (Ορλάνδος 1951, εικ. 1, 4), το επίσης κατεστραμμένο τέμπλο του κοιμητηριακού ναού της Μεγίστης Λαύρας, σύμφωνα με την πρόταση αποκατάστασης του Ανδρούδη (Ανδρούδης 2008, 263-265, εικ. 6), αλλά και αργότερα το τέμπλο στον ναό του Ταξιάρχη Λοκρίδας το οποίο πρόσφατα αναχρονολογήθηκε (Συθιακάκη-Κριτσιμάλλη 2006, εικ. 1, 2, όπου και η παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία).

20. Ορλάνδος 1951, 136, εικ. 4, όπου και άλλα παραδείγματα.

21. Ορλάνδος 1939-1940, 114, εικ. 11.

22. Καλαμαρά κ.ά. προς δημ.

23. Ο συνδυασμός διαφόρων τεχνικών στο ίδιο γλυπτό μέλος απαντά και σε άλλα σύνολα της Εύβοιας, όπως στον Άγιο Λουκά (Ορλάνδος 1951, εικ. 2, 3), στον Άγιο Γεώργιο Γυμνού (Σκούρας 1998, πίν. 96γ), στην Παναγία Περιβλέπτου στα Πολιτικά (Μπούρας 1988-1989, φωτ. 2- 3; Σκούρας 1998, πίν. 177γ), στον Άγιο Ιωάννη στα Πολιτικά (Σκούρας 1998, πίν. 180γ), κι αλλού.

Διακοσμητικά θέματα

Τα διακοσμητικά θέματα, αναβιώσεις των προηγούμενων αιώνων, είναι κυρίως φυτικά και γεωμετρικά, ευρέως διαδεδομένα στο ρεπερτόριο της μεσοβυζαντινής γλυπτικής, αλλά και σύμβολα όπως ο σταυρός και το χρίσμα. Η πληθώρα ωστόσο των μεταξύ τους συνδυασμών προσδίδει μια αίσθηση πρωτοτυπίας στο τελικό αποτέλεσμα και φανεώνει τη συνθετική ικανότητα των λιθοξόνων.

Χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα αποτελεί η σύνθεση στην κάτω όψη τμημάτων δύο επιστυλίων από την Ωραία Πύλη κεντρικού κλίτους. Πρόκειται για ορθογώνιο διάχωρο το οποίο κομβώνεται με ρόμβο, μοτίβο που εμφανίζεται από το 10ο αι. και απαντά σταθερά σε όλο τον 11ο αι.²⁴ Στο πρώτο επιστύλιο (αριθ. 45), στο εσωτερικό του ρόμβου εγγράφεται ισοσκελής σταυρός,²⁵ με πεπλατυσμένες τις κεραιές,²⁶ ενώ τα κενά πληρούνται με σχηματοποιημένα ανθεωτά κοσμήματα. Εξωτερικά, φύλλα άκανθας που απολήγουν σε ημίφυλλα καλύπτουν τα τέσσερα γωνιαία τμήματα. Με παρόμοιο τρόπο είναι φιλοτεχνημένο το μοτίβο και στο δεύτερο κεντρικό επιστύλιο (αριθ. 82), με μόνη διαφορά ότι εδώ ο ταινιωτός σταυρός είναι αγκυρωτός (Εικ. 5).²⁷ Ανάλογη διάταξη των επιμέρους θεμάτων βρίσκουμε σε επιστύλια στη μονή του Οσίου Λουκά αλλά και σε δύο τμήματα στο Μουσείο της Κιουτάχειας (10ος-11ος αι.).²⁸

Ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει ο διάκοσμος της κάτω όψης τριών τμημάτων επιστυλίου (αριθ. 66, 74²⁹, 86), που βρισκόταν επάνω από τα θωράκια κεντρικού κλίτους (Εικ. 4). Σε ορθογώνιο διάχωρο κομβώνονται σε οριζόντια διάταξη τρεις ανισομεγέθεις μεταξύ τους κύκλοι, ο κεντρικός πολύ μεγαλύτερος. Στα δύο τμήματα το εσωτερικό του κεντρικού κύκλου πληρούται με πολύφυλλο ρόδακα, ενώ στο τρίτο είναι λαξευμένο εξάκτινο χρίσμα, θέμα γνωστό από την παλαιοχριστιανική τέχνη.³⁰ Και στις δύο περιπτώσεις οι τέσσερις εξωτερικές γωνίες γεμίζουν με ισάριθμα ανθεωτά κοσμήματα με λογχοειδή απόληξη. Απλοποιημένη εκδοχή της σύνθεσης, με παράλειψη των πλάγιων μικρών κύκλων, βρίσκουμε σε δόμο με ανάγλυφο διάκοσμο στην Επισκοπή Άνω Βόλου.³¹

Ιδιαίτερη και μάλλον σπάνια είναι η τριμερής σύνθεση που απαντά στο κεντρικό τμήμα των πλάγιων επιστυλίων (αριθ. 80, 87, 89) (Εικ. 6). Το κεντρικό τετράγωνο διάχωρο καταλαμβάνει έξεργος δίσκος με εγχάρακτο οκτάκτινο χρίσμα, ενώ στα δύο πλάγια παριστάνονται αυτοτελή ακανθόφυλλα σε σχήμα S, μοτίβο που χρησιμοποιείται από τα Παλαιοχριστιανικά χρόνια, για παράδειγμα σε θωρά-

24. Μηλίτση 2008, 435.

25. Το μοτίβο του ρόμβου να περικλείει σταυρό απαντά στη διακόσμηση θωρακίων ήδη από τα Παλαιοχριστιανικά χρόνια, όπως για παράδειγμα στο τέμπλο της Καταπολιανής στην Πάρο (Μητσάνη 2006, 85, εικ. 1, 5, 7, 19, όπου κι άλλα παραδείγματα). Γενικά για το θέμα βλ. Πάλλας 1950, 233-249.

26. Αυτός ο τύπος σταυρού είναι γνωστός από τα Παλαιοχριστιανικά χρόνια και παραμένει σε χρήση και τα επόμενα χρόνια, βλ. πρόχειρα Σκλάβου-Μαυροειδή 1999, αριθ. 22, 53, 74, 103, 154, 202. Απαντά επίσης σε θωράκιο από τη μονή Πετράκη, σήμερα στο Βυζαντινό και Χριστιανικό Μουσείο (τέλη 10ου-αρχές 11ου αι.) (Κωνσταντίνος κ.ά. 2004, αριθ. 29). Σταυρό με πεπλατυσμένα άκρα εντοπίζουμε σε ένα ακόμη γλυπτό της συλλογής της Άτταλης (αριθ. 29).

27. Ο αγκυρωτός σταυρός, γνωστός από τους πρώτους χριστιανικούς χρόνους, όπως ενδεικτικά αναφέρουμε επίθημα από τη Ρωμαϊκή Αγορά της Αθήνας, σήμερα στο Βυζαντινό και Χριστιανικό Μουσείο (5ος αι.) (Σκλάβου-Μαυροειδή 1999, αριθ. 56, όπου κι άλλα παραδείγματα), απαντά συχνά σε γλυπτά του 10ου και 11ου αι., για παράδειγμα σε θωράκιο από τον Άγιο Ιωάννη στην Έφεσο (10ος αι.) (Büyükkolancı 2008, 77, αριθ. 8), σε αθηναϊκό υπέρθυρο άγνωστης προέλευσης (10ος αι.) και σε σαρκοφάγο από τη βιβλιοθήκη του Αδριανού, και τα δύο σήμερα στο Βυζαντινό και Χριστιανικό Μουσείο (11ος αι.) (Σκλάβου-Μαυροειδή 1999, αριθ. 138 και 202 αντίστοιχα), σε κιονόκρανο στον Άγιο Νικόλαο στα Καμπιά (Μπούρα 1980, εικ. 112) και σε επιστύλιο σε δεύτερη χρήση, σήμερα στον Άγιο Δημήτριο στις Χαϊχούτες Ζια Ασφεντιού της Κω (11ος αι.) (Μηλίτση 2008, 433, εικ. 4).

28. Υαζίν 2008, εικ. 19, 20. Βλ. επίσης στην παρούσα μελέτη εικ. 10, 14.

29. Τα επιστύλια με αριθ. 66 και 74 προέρχονται από τον Άγιο Νικόλαο, σύμφωνα και με την ανασκαφέα (Γεωργοπούλου 1972α, 61).

30. Βλ. ενδεικτικά Σκλάβου-Μαυροειδή 1999, αριθ. 30, 71. Χρίσμα κοσμεί επίσης τη μία όψη αμφίγλυφης πλάκας στη συλλογή γλυπτών της Χαλκίδας (αριθ.180) (αδημοσίευτη). Συχνότερα την εποχή αυτή το χρίσμα κοσμεί θωράκια (Σκλάβου-Μαυροειδή 1992, 544-547; Στουφή-Πουλημένου 1999, 104-105).

31. Ανδρούδης και Κοντογιαννοπούλου 2004, 43, εικ. 9.

κιο στην κοιμητηριακή βασιλική του Δίου.³² Αυτή η τριμερής σύνθεση άλλοτε παραμένει αυτοτελής, και άλλοτε, όπως στο επιστύλιο αριθ. 87 επαναλαμβάνεται, οπότε τα δύο διαδοχικά S είναι αντικριστά σχηματίζοντας καρδιόσχημο μοτίβο. Παρόμοιο είναι το διακοσμητικό μοτίβο σε μεταγενέστερο επίθημα στο Βυζαντινό και Χριστιανικό Μουσείο (12ος αι.).³³ Ο βλαστός αυτού του τύπου απαντά και στη στενή επιφάνεια του επιστυλίου αριθ. 74 να πλαισιώνει έξεργο ακανθωτό ρόδακα (Εικ. 4).

Πιο απλή και συνηθισμένη είναι η θεματολογία στις λοξότμητες στενές επιφάνειες των επιστυλίων. Διαδοχικά τοξύλλια που στηρίζονται σε διπλούς κιονίσκους και πλαισιώνουν φυτικά μοτίβα κοσμούν δύο τουλάχιστον τμήματα επιστυλίων (αριθ. 74, 82) (Εικ. 4, 5). Το θέμα που καθιερώνεται τον 10ο αι. στη Μικρά Ασία,³⁴ γνωρίζει στη συνέχεια ευρεία διάδοση στα μνημεία του ελλαδικού χώρου, όπως για παράδειγμα σε ένα μέλος από τον ναό της Θεοτόκου στα Κάτω Λιόσια, σήμερα στο Βυζαντινό και Χριστιανικό Μουσείο (τέλη 10ου - αρχές 11ου αι.)³⁵ και σε ένα στον ναό της Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου στη Μακρυνίτσα Πηλίου.³⁶ Ανάλογο μοτίβο εντοπίζουμε σε επιστύλιο εντοιχισμένο στον δυτικό τοίχο της Παναγίας Περιβλέπτου στα Πολιτικά³⁷ και σε μικρό τμήμα επιστυλίου από την Παλαιολογία Καρύστου, σήμερα στο Μουσείο της πόλης.³⁸

Επίσης κοινό και σχετικά απλοποιημένο είναι το μοτίβο με το πεντάφυλλο αντίστροφο ανθέμιο³⁹ που κοσμεί αρκετά μέλη επιστυλίων της ευβοϊκής συλλογής (αριθ. 72, 88, 90, 91, 108).⁴⁰ Το θέμα απαντά συχνά σε έργα του 10ου και του 11ου αι., όπως ενδεικτικά στα επιθήματα της εκκλησίας της Παναγίας στη μονή του Οσίου Λουκά,⁴¹ αλλά και στο ομώνυμο μετόχι της μονής στην Εύβοια.⁴² Στις περιπτώσεις όμως αυτές είναι πιο περίπλοκο και σύνθετο καθώς το μοτίβο έχει καρδιόσχημο πλαίσιο, ενώ στην Άτταλη ατέρμονες συμπλεκόμενες δισχιδείς, ισομερείς ταινίες χωρίς κόμβους περικλείουν τα ανθέμια, όπως σε τμήμα επιστυλίου (αριθ. 98M) από οικόπεδο επί της οδού Κακαρά στη Χαλκίδα (9ος-10ος αι.),⁴³ σήμερα στη συλλογή της Χαλκίδας, σε τμήμα από τον Άγιο Λουκά Ευβοίας,⁴⁴ σε ένα από τη γειτονική μονή Σαγματά,⁴⁵ σε πολλά γλυπτά μέλη στην αθωνική μονή Βατοπεδίου,⁴⁶ σε επιστύλιο από τη μονή Σαράβαρη (11ος αι.) σήμερα στη μονή Ιβήρων,⁴⁷ σε κάθετο μέλος περιθωρώματος από το χώρο του Ωρολογίου του Κυρρήστου (12ος αι.)⁴⁸ και σε τμήμα επιστυλίου, άγνωστης προέλευσης (12ος αι.),⁴⁹ και τα δύο τελευταία στο Βυζαντινό και Χριστιανικό Μουσείο.

Ψευδοκουφικά και ορθά πολύφυλλα ανθέμια σε ανατολίζοντα πλαίσια συμπληρώνουν το εικαστικό ρεπερτόριο με το οποίο κοσμείται η στενή όψη των επιστυλίων της Άτταλης. Στα κουφικά μπορούμε να διακρίνουμε δύο τουλάχιστον τύπους. Ο πρώτος, που απαντά σε επτά μέλη τοποθετημένα σε πλάγια κλί-

32. Στουφή-Πουλημένου 1999, 102, εικ. 121, όπου και η παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία.

33. Κωνσταντίνος κ.ά. 2004, αριθ. 46.

34. Σκλάβου-Μαυροειδή 1999, 119, όπου και η σχετική βιβλιογραφία.

35. Σκλάβου-Μαυροειδή 1999, αριθ. 158, όπου και η προηγούμενη βιβλιογραφία και συγκεντρωμένα άλλα παραδείγματα. Σκλάβου-Μαυροειδή 2008, 289, εικ. 4.

36. Ανδρούδης και Κοντογιαννοπούλου 2004, 41, εικ. 2.

37. Μπούρας 1988-1989, 55, 58, σχ. 1, φωτ. 2, 3.

38. Πρόκειται για αδημοσίετο τμήμα επιστυλίου με διαστάσεις 32X28X17εκ.

39. Για την προέλευση του θέματος και σχετικά παραδείγματα βλ. Μπούρα 1980, 65-66. Για τη διάδοση του μοτίβου στη γλυπτική του ελλαδικού χώρου βλ. επίσης Vanderheyde 2005, 116 όπου συγκεντρωμένα παραδείγματα.

40. Τρίφυλλο ανθέμιο απαντά μεμονωμένο και στο επίθημα με αριθ. 166 της συλλογής. Όμοιο αδημοσίετο επίθημα (αριθ. 68) φυλάσσεται στις αποθήκες της Εφορείας στη Χαλκίδα.

41. Μπούρα 1980, εικ. 92-95.

42. Ορλάνδος 1951, εικ. 2.

43. Αδημοσίετο.

44. Σκούρας 1998, πίν. 30ζ. Εδώ η ταινία του πλαισίου είναι μονομερής και εκφύεται από το ανθέμιο, ενώ κάθε μοτίβο είναι αυτοτελές.

45. Βογιατζής 2000, πίν. 133.

46. Παζαράς 2001, εικ. 33-36, 101 κ.ο.κ.

47. Ανδρούδης 2008, 267, εικ. 11α-β

48. Κωνσταντίνος κ.ά. 2004, αριθ. 47.

49. Σκλάβου-Μαυροειδή 1999, αριθ. 219.

τη (αριθ. 55, 80, 87, 88, 107, 108, 162) αποτελείται από δύο ανάγλυφα εναλλασσόμενα διαδοχικά μοτίβα (Εικ. 6) και παρουσιάζει μεγάλη συνάφεια με τον κοσμήτη του ιερού και με θωράκια από την εκκλησία της Παναγίας στη μονή Οσίου Λουκά⁵⁰, καθώς και με ένα θωράκιο από την Αθήνα, σήμερα στο Βυζαντινό και Χριστιανικό Μουσείο (10ος αι.).⁵¹ Ο δεύτερος εφαρμόζεται σε πέντε τμήματα από κεντρικό διάκενο με εξαίρεση τον αριθ. 89 (αριθ. 66, 74, 86, 89, 155) (Εικ. 4).⁵² Το μοτίβο αυτό που αποδίδεται με επιπεδόγλυφη τεχνική, ιδιαίτερα περίτεχνο και επιμελημένο, παρουσιάζει σημαντική αναλογία με μια διακοσμητική ταινία που περιβάλλει δύο θωράκια παραθύρων στην ανατολική όψη του καθολικού της μονής του Οσίου Λουκά,⁵³ αλλά και με ανάλογα που εντοπίζονται σε γειτονικά μνημεία, όπως στο τέμπλο της Παναγίας Περιβλέπτου στα Πολιτικά⁵⁴ και σε επιστύλιο στον Άγιο Λουκά στον ομώνυμο οικισμό.⁵⁵ Κουφικά μοτίβα απαντούν σε γλυπτά μέλη και άλλων μνημείων της ευρύτερης περιοχής, όπως σε ένα επιστύλιο από την Αγία Τριάδα Αυλίδας (11ος αι.), σήμερα στη συλλογή της Χαλκίδας (αριθ. 896),⁵⁶ στον Άγιο Γεώργιο Γυμνού και στον Άγιο Ιωάννη Πολιτικών.⁵⁷

Κοινότυπος είναι ο διάκοσμος των θωρακίων στα κεντρικά κλίτη (Εικ. 9). Η όλη σύνθεση με πλέγμα από τριπλή, ανισομερή ταινία που σχηματίζει ρόμβο, εγγεγραμμένο σε ορθογώνιο και συμπληρωματικούς κύκλους στις τέσσερις γωνίες με πολύφυλλους ρόδακες στο εσωτερικό τους, γνωστή ήδη από τους Παλαιохριστιανικούς χρόνους,⁵⁸ επανέρχεται και απαντά συχνά σε μνημεία του ελλαδικού χώρου κατά τον 10ο και τον 11ο αι.⁵⁹ Τα θωράκια της συλλογής μας παρουσιάζουν ομοιότητες με αυτά στην εκκλησία της Παναγίας στη μονή του Οσίου Λουκά,⁶⁰ στη γειτονική μονή Περιβλέπτου στα Πολιτικά⁶¹ και στον Άγιο Γεώργιο Γυμνού.⁶² Ωστόσο η σύνθεση στην Άτταλη είναι σχετικά απλούστερη, αφού τόσο ο κεντρικός κύκλος με τον κοιλόκυρτο ρόδακα στο εσωτερικό, όσο και οι γωνιαίοι, δεν κομβώνονται με τον ρόμβο και το ορθογώνιο αντίστοιχα, αλλά εφάπτονται.⁶³ Ανάλογα παραδείγματα εντοπίζουμε σε τμήμα θωρακίου (αριθ. 571) στη συλλογή γλυπτών της Χαλκίδας (10ος-11ος αι.), σε σειρά αθηναϊκών θωρακίων από τη Συλλογή Θησείου και την Ακρόπολη, σήμερα στο Βυζαντινό και Χριστιανικό Μουσείο που χρονολογούνται από τον 9ο έως τον 11ο αι.⁶⁴, σε αυτό από τη μονή Πετράκη (11ος αι.)⁶⁵ στο ίδιο Μουσείο, στα θωράκια που κοσμούν το τέμπλο του ναού της Παναγίας Κρήνας στη Χίο⁶⁶ και πρόσφατα συνδέθηκαν με τα νησιά των Κυκλάδων και τη Μικρά Ασία (τέλη 10ου - αρχές 11ου αι.),⁶⁷ σε ένα στη μονή Βατοπεδίου,⁶⁸ καθώς και σε ένα σε δεύτερη χρήση στην Παναγία Κυπαρισσιώτισσα στην Κω (τέλη 10ου - αρχές 11ου αι.).⁶⁹

50. Μπούρα 1980, εικ. 183, 165 και 166 αντίστοιχα.

51. Σκλάβου-Μαυροειδή 1999, αριθ. 149.

52. Μπούρα 1980, 102, εικ. 190.

53. Μπούρα 1980, 99-102, εικ. 171-172 όπου κι άλλα παραδείγματα.

54. Μπούρας 1988-1989, 55, σχ. 2, φωτ. 2.

55. Μπούρα 1980, 102, εικ. 189 και 188 αντίστοιχα.

56. Δημοσίευτο.

57. Σκούρας 1998, πίν. 96γ και 180γ αντίστοιχα.

58. Σκλάβου-Μαυροειδή 1992, 543-547.

59. Για παραδείγματα βλ. ενδεικτικά Μηλίτση 2008, 430, ιδιαίτερα υποσημ. 50, 51; Σκλάβου-Μαυροειδή 1999, αριθ. 149, 179, 180.

60. Μπούρα 1980, 98-100, εικ. 165, 166, σχ. 3 όπου κι άλλα παραδείγματα.

61. Μπούρας 1988-1989, 55, φωτ. 4; Ορλάνδος 1937, εικ. 4.

62. Σκούρας 1998, πίν. 97ε.

63. Στην ίδια, αλλά σχετικά απλοποιημένη αντίληψη, είναι και μια σειρά θωρακίων σε ναούς της Κωνσταντινούπολης, τα οποία χρονολογούνται το 10^ο -11^ο αι., για παράδειγμα θωράκιο, σήμερα στο Μητροπολιτικό Μουσείο της Νέας Υόρκης, όπου οι γωνιαίοι κύκλοι ούτε κομβώνονται, ούτε εφάπτονται με τον ρόμβο ή το ορθογώνιο πλαίσιο (Evans and Wixon 1997, αριθ. 3), όπου η προηγούμενη βιβλιογραφία συγκεντρωμένα και άλλα παραδείγματα).

64. Δημητρακοπούλου-Σκυλογιάννη 1985-86, 166-169, 171-172, εικ. 16, 21, 24, 26, 27.

65. Κωνσταντίνος κ.ά. 2004, αριθ. 28; Σκλάβου-Μαυροειδή 1999, αριθ. 180.

66. Μπούρας 1980-1981, 165-180.

67. Πέννας 2008, 452, εικ. 2, 3.

68. Παζαράς 2001, 36, 47, 100, 101.

69. Μηλίτση 2008, 430-432, εικ. 3.

Πρωτότυπη σε σύλληψη και οργάνωση είναι και η σύνθεση σε τρία στενομήκη θωράκια παραβημάτων, εκ των οποίων τα δύο σώζονται ακέραια (αριθ. 46, 79) (Εικ. 10).⁷⁰ Έξι ταινιωτοί κύκλοι, ανά τρεις σε οριζόντια διάταξη στο ανώτερο και κατώτερο τμήμα του θωρακίου, κομβώνονται με έναν μεγαλύτερο στο κέντρο, στο εσωτερικό του οποίου εγγράφονται άλλοι τέσσερις σε σταυρωτή διάταξη καθώς και ένα τετράγωνο. Το κεντρικό απλοποιημένο πλέγμα απαντά σε θωράκιο εντοιχισμένο στον δυτικό τοίχο της μονής Καρυών στην Αχλαδερή Ευβοίας.⁷¹ Παρόμοιος είναι ο διάκοσμος σε δύο θωράκια από ναούς του Αμαρουσίου, το πρώτο εντοιχισμένο στην Αγία Τράπεζα του μεταβυζαντινού ναού των Αγίων Ασωμάτων (10ος αι.),⁷² και το δεύτερο χαμένο σήμερα, από την Παναγία Νερατζιώτισσα⁷³ καθώς στη σύνθεση κυριαρχεί η συμπλοκή τετραγώνων και κύκλων με ρόδακες στο εσωτερικό τους.

Ιδιαίτερα περίτεχνος είναι και ο δεύτερος τύπος στενού θωρακίου (Εικ. 11). Μετά από συνένωση πολλών θραυσμάτων προέκυψε ταινιωτό μοτίβο που εγγράφεται σε διπλό ταινιωτό ορθογώνιο πλαίσιο, και χαρακτηρίζεται από τη συμπλοκή τετραγώνων και κύκλων. Πρόκειται ουσιαστικά για σύνθεση με τρεις κύκλους σε κάθετο άξονα, από τους οποίους ο μεσαίος είναι μεγαλύτερος. Στο εσωτερικό του κομβώνεται με τετράγωνο το οποίο επίσης κομβώνεται εσωτερικά με μικρότερο κύκλο. Ρόδακες διαφόρων τύπων πληρούν τους μικρούς κύκλους, ενώ τα γωνιαία τμήματα γεμίζουν με σχηματοποιημένο παχύφυλλο ελικοειδή βλαστό σε σχήμα S, που απολήγει σε τριμερές άνθος. Ο πολύπλοκος συνδυασμός γεωμετρικών σχημάτων στο θωράκιο της Άτταλης βρίσκει αναλογίες σε έργα αθηναϊκών εργαστηρίων, όπως στο εντυπωσιακό θωράκιο από τη μονή Πετράκη (τέλη 10ου - αρχές 11ου αι.),⁷⁴ σε θωράκιο από τη Μικρά Ασία, στο θωράκιο από τον Άγιο Ιωάννη στην Έφεσο (11ος αι.),⁷⁵ ενώ η επεξεργασία και απόδοση των φύλλων του βλαστού με την κεντρική λάξευση απαντά σε θωράκιο από το ναό της Θεοτόκου στα Κάτω Λιόσια.⁷⁶ Τα θωράκια αυτά σήμερα φυλάσσονται στο Βυζαντινό και Χριστιανικό Μουσείο.

Ποικιλία διαπιστώνεται και στην απόδοση δύο πολύ κοινών και αγαπητών μοτίβων, του σταυρού και του ρόδακα. Εκτός από τον αγκυρωτό σταυρό και τον σταυρό με πεπλατυσμένα άκρα που ήδη αναφέραμε, στη συλλογή της Άτταλης απαντούν, σπάνια, ο σταυρός τύπου Μάλτας, κυρίως στα επιθήματα (αριθ. 56, 96, 161)⁷⁷ και ο φυλλοφόρος σταυρός,⁷⁸ όλοι σε διάφορες παραλλαγές. Ο τελευταίος, που διακρίνεται σε επίθημα τρούλου (αριθ. 29) (Εικ. 12), παρά την αδρή απόδοσή του και την κάπως βιαστική εκτέλεσή του, ακολουθεί στη μορφολογία αυτόν σε επίθημα στην εκκλησία της Παναγίας στη μονή Οσίου Λουκά.⁷⁹ Τέλος, ο αγκυρωτός σταυρός αποδίδεται με διαφορετικές τεχνικές, είτε επιπεδόγλυφα είτε ανάγλυφα, όπως και σε κιονόκρανο στον Άγιο Ανδρέα στους Παραμερίτες.⁸⁰

Μεγάλη ποικιλία διαπιστώνεται και στην απόδοση των ροδάκων, διάφοροι γνωστοί τύποι των οποίων όχι σπάνια συνδυάζονται στο ίδιο γλυπτό, όπως για παράδειγμα στα πλατιά θωράκια της Ωραιάς Πύλης (Εικ. 9). Πολύφυλλοι με κοίλο βάθος στα πέταλα, και πολύφυλλοι αστεροειδείς των οποίων τα πέταλα με τις κοίλες νευρώσεις εναλλάσσονται με σταγονοειδή, τοποθετούνται ανά δύο

70. Τα θραύσματα με αριθ. 102 και 105 με διάκοσμο αυτού του τύπου συγκολλούνται, ενώ ένα τρίτο (αριθ. 173) δεν είναι δυνατό να συσχετισθεί.

71. Φαράντος 1980, πίν. 27α.

72. Πάλλης 2008, 306-307, εικ. 2 όπου και η παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία.

73. Πάλλης 2008, 307, εικ. 3 όπου και η παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία.

74. Κωνσταντίος κ.ά. 2004, αριθ. 29.

75. Bùyükkolanci 2008, 78, αριθ. 10.

76. Σκλάβου-Μαυροειδή 1999, αριθ. 91.

77. Ανάλογο παράδειγμα απαντά και σε θωράκιο από τον Άγιο Λουκά Ευβοίας (Ορλάνδος 1951, εικ. 4).

78. Ο φυλλοφόρος σταυρός απαντά ήδη από τα Παλαιοχριστιανικά χρόνια ως διακοσμητικό θέμα ποικίλων γλυπτών μελών, και παραμένει σταθερά σε χρήση τους επόμενους αιώνες (Σκλάβου-Μαυροειδή 1999, 53, 127, 140, 152, 153, 165, 183, 202 κ.ο.κ.). Για την εξέλιξη του θέματος και την ποικιλία παραλλαγών βλ. ενδεικτικά Μπούρα 1980, 30-31, σχ. 7. Για το θέμα βλ. Flemming 1969. Βλ. επίσης «Kreuz», *Realexikon zur byzantinische Kunst V* (1995) 1-284.

79. Μπούρα 1980, εικ. 132.

80. Φαράντος 1980, 346-347, πίν. 12. Για τον ναό βλ. επίσης Μαμαλούκος 1994, 181-187. Για το κιονόκρανο βλ. Μαμαλούκος ό.π., 186, πίν. 104, εικ. 16.

όμοιοι χιαστί. Η πρακτική αυτή, κοινή στη μεσοβυζαντινή γλυπτική, απαντά και σε άλλα ευβοϊκά μνημεία, όπως σε ένα θωράκιο άγνωστης προέλευσης που βρίσκεται στον αύλειο χώρο της εκκλησίας της Κοίμησης της Θεοτόκου Βλαχιάς και σε θωράκια στον Άγιο Νικόλαο στα Φύλλα.⁸¹

Πιο ιδιαίτεροι είναι οι ομφαλωτοί ρόδακες που κοσμούν κυρίως τα κιονόκρανα. Το μοναδικό σωζόμενο κιονόκρανο της συλλογής καθώς και τα δύο γνωστά μόνο από φωτογραφίες,⁸² αποτελούν τυπικό παράδειγμα κιονοκράνων με 'κομβία',⁸³ καθώς κάθε όψη τους εκτός από τους ρόδακες κοσμείται με αστεροειδές κόσμημα ή ακανθοειδές ανθέμιο, όλα σε λυρόσχημο πλαίσιο από τριπλή ταινία (Εικ. 7). Τα παλαιότερα γνωστά δείγματα αυτού του διακοσμητικού τύπου κολουροπυραμιδοειδούς κιονοκράνου εντοπίζονται στην εκκλησία της Παναγίας στη μονή του Οσίου Λουκά⁸⁴ και φαίνεται ότι αποτέλεσαν το πρότυπο για μια σειρά κιονοκράνων που κατασκευάζονταν την εποχή αυτή κυρίως στον ελλαδικό χώρο, όπως στη Μακρυνίτσα, στην Αθήνα και στον Μυστρά.⁸⁵ Ιδιαίτερα διαδεδομένος ήταν ο τύπος και στην Εύβοια, όπου εκτός από την Άτταλη, απαντά στον Άγιο Λουκά Ευβοίας (1014)⁸⁶ και στην Αγία Τριάδα Κριεζώτη.⁸⁷

Τέλος, η διακόσμηση των περσίσκων με διπλό βαθμιδωτό πλαίσιο και καμπυλούμενες προς τα μέσα τις στενές πλευρές, αποτελεί κοινό τόπο στον ελλαδικό χώρο (Εικ. 8).⁸⁸

Επίλογος

Τα γλυπτά από τους ναούς του Αγίου Νικολάου και των Εισοδίων της Θεοτόκου στην Άτταλη, λαξευμένα με επιμέλεια και υψηλή τεχνική, αποτελούν ένα εξαιρετικό δείγμα γλυπτικής τέχνης του τέλους του 10ου αι. και των αρχών του 11ου, το οποίο εντάσσεται στην καλλιτεχνική παραγωγή των εργαστηρίων της Αττικής, της Βοιωτίας και της Εύβοιας.

Η ομοιογένεια του διακόσμου, η ποικιλία στην εφαρμογή τεχνικών αλλά και ο συνδυασμός γνωστών θεμάτων, φανερώνουν επιδέξιους μαρμαρογλύπτες τόσο στο επίπεδο της τεχνικής όσο και της σύνθεσης. Εικονογραφικά η προσήλωση σε γεωμετρικά και φυτικά μοτίβα και η επιβίωση παλααιοχριστιανικών τύπων δημιουργούν μια αίσθηση αρχαιότητας, η οποία ωστόσο συνδυάζεται αρμονικά με τις νέες τάσεις, όπως αυτές καθιερώνονται στην εκκλησία της Παναγίας στη μονή του Οσίου Λουκά και γνωρίζουν στη συνέχεια ευρεία διάδοση μέσω των εικονογραφημένων χειρογράφων και των πολύτιμων υφασμάτων. Πράγματι, ψευδοκουφικά, ανατολίζοντα στυλιζαρισμένα θέματα και ένθετα υλικά πλουτίζουν και ανανεώνουν το εικαστικό ρεπερτόριο των λιθοξόνων της εποχής και δίνουν μια δημιουργική πνοή στην τέχνη της μεσοβυζαντινής γλυπτικής. Ιδιαίτερα στα γλυπτά της Άτταλης, η μεγάλη ποικιλία πολύπλοκων συμπλεγμάτων, συχνά πρωτότυπων, που διέπονται ωστόσο από μια ενιαία κεντρική σύλληψη, αποκαλύπτει την ευρηματικότητα, τη σχεδιαστική άνεση αλλά και τη βαθιά γνώση των προτύπων που διέθεταν οι τεχνίτες που εργάστηκαν επί τόπου για την κατασκευή τους. Οι συνθέσεις, οργανωμένες με συμμετρία διακρίνονται για το καθαρό σχέδιο και την επιμονή στη λεπτομέρεια. Τα μοτίβα, ακόμα και τα ατέρμονα, έχουν εσωτερικό ρυθμό και ακρίβεια, σμιλεύονται με επιμέλεια και δεξιοτεχνία. Το τελικό αποτέλεσμα, εκλεπτυσμένο και συνάμα εντυπωσιακό και πολυ-

81. Σκούρας 1998, εικ. 69α και 202δ, αντίστοιχα.

82. Βλ. παραπάνω.

83. Grabar 1976, 56.

84. Μπούρα 1980, 96-98, εικ. 156, 158, όπου αναλύεται η προέλευση του τύπου.

85. Μπούρα 1980, 97, εικ. 159 και 160 αντίστοιχα. Στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της Αθήνας ένα ακόμη κιονόκρανο αυτού του τύπου είχε εντοπιστεί στη χαμένη σήμερα συλλογή γλυπτών από το Μαρούσι, το οποίο πρόσφατα χρονολογήθηκε στον 10^ο-11^ο αι. (Πάλλης 2008, 310, εικ. 5 κάτω σειρά στο κέντρο, όπου και η προηγούμενη βιβλιογραφία).

86. Μπούρα 1980, 97, εικ. 157; Ορλάνδος 1951, 133 εικ. 2.

87. Μπούρα 1980, 97, εικ. 158; Ορλάνδος 1939-1940, 113, εικ. 10.

88. Ενδεικτικά σημειώνουμε το καθολικό της μονής του Οσίου Λουκά (Μπούρας 2001, εικ. 67).

τελές, ενδεικτικό υψηλής χορηγίας, δε φτάνει στην εκζήτηση, αλλά αποπνέει μια αίσθηση λιτότητας και σαφήνειας. Άλλωστε, τα γλυπτά της Άτταλης ομοιάζουν με έργα της ίδιας εποχής που παράγονται στην Αθήνα, τα οποία παρά την πρόσληψη νεωτερικών στοιχείων, διατηρούν έντονες τις επιδράσεις από το κλασικό τους παρελθόν.

Παράλληλα, η λεπτή εκτέλεση, η τέλεια λείανση του στιλπνού μαρμάρου στις πλατιές ενιαίες επιφάνειες, τα κοφτά περιγράμματα των περίτεχνων θεμάτων που αναδεικνύονται στον λείο κάμπο και η άψογη επεξεργασία του υλικού επιβεβαιώνουν την άρτια τεχνική των τεχνιτών της Άτταλης.

Στον απόηχο της μεγάλης τέχνης της περιώνυμης μονής του Οσίου Λουκά, της οποίας πιθανόν οι ναοί της Άτταλης να ήταν μετόχια, αλλά και των αθηναϊκών εργαστηρίων, οι λιθοξόοι της Εύβοιας συνεχίζουν με συνέπεια και σεβασμό τη μεγάλη γλυπτική παράδοση του ελλαδικού χώρου, δημιουργώντας ένα σύνολο υψηλής καλλιτεχνικής ποιότητας που διέπεται από καλαισθησία και κομψότητα.

Βιβλιογραφία

- Ανδρούδης, Π. και Μ. Κοντογιαννοπούλου (2004) 'Βυζαντινά γλυπτά του 10ου - 12ου αιώνα σε ναούς του Πηλίου'. *En Bólw* 12, 40-43.
- Ανδρούδης, Π. (2008) 'Γύρω από κάποια μεσοβυζαντινά γλυπτά του Αγίου Όρους'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplement* 49, 263-283.
- Βογιατζής, Σ. (2000) 'Ο γλυπτός διάκοσμος της μονής Σαγματά στη Βοιωτία'. *Αρχαιολογικό Δελτίον* 51-52 (Α' Μελέτες), 304-332.
- Βοκοτόπουλος, Π. (1975) *Η εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική εις την Δυτικήν Στερεάν Ελλάδα και την Ήπειρον από τον τέλος του 7ου μέχρι του τέλος του 10ου αιώνας*. Θεσσαλονίκη: Κέντρο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών.
- Γεωργοπούλου, Μ. (1972α) 'Άγιος Νικόλαος Άτταλης Εύβοιας'. *Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών*, 57-63.
- Γεωργοπούλου, Μ. (1972β) 'Άτταλη, Ναός Αγίου Νικολάου - Ναός Εισοδίων Θεοτόκου'. *Αρχαιολογικό Δελτίον* 27(Β' Χρονικά), 368-370.
- Δημητρακοπούλου-Σκυλογιάννη, Ν. (1985-1986) 'Ανάγλυφα θωράκια από το Βυζαντινό και Χριστιανικό Μουσείο'. *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* ΙΓ', 157-173.
- Καλαμαρά, Π., Κατσελάκη, Α., Ε. Κατσάλη, Ε. Τσιομπίκου, Δ. Καραμούζας (Υπό έκδοση) 'Οι εργασίες αποκατάστασης των ναών της Άτταλης στην Εύβοια'. Στο *Πρακτικά του 5ου Αρχαιολογικού Έργου Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, Βόλος 26.2-1.3, 2015*. Βόλος: Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας.
- Κωνσταντίος, Δ., Τ.Π. Σκώττη, Α. Λαζαρίδου, Ν. Σκυλογιάννη-Δημητρακοπούλου, Α. Κατσελάκη, Κ. Καλαφάτη, Ε. Χαλκιά, Μ. Μπορμπουδάκη, Ε. Παπασταύρου, Α. Μπεκιάρης επιμ. (2004) *Ο Κόσμος του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου*. Αθήνα: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού-Βυζαντινό; Χριστιανικό Μουσείο.
- Μαμαλούκος, Σ. (1994) 'Ο Άγιος Ανδρέας στους Παραμερίτες Ευβοίας'. Στον Τόμ. *Ι Θυμίαμα στη μνήμη της Λασκαρίνας Μπούρα*, 181-187. Αθήνα: Μουσείο Μπενάκη.
- Μαμαλούκος, Σ. και Χ. Πινάτση (2007) 'Συμπληρωματικά στοιχεία για το καθολικό της μονής Περιβλέπτου στα Πολιτικά Εύβοιας'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* ΛΖ', 71-82.
- Μηλίτση, Ε. (2008) 'Τμήματα μεσοβυζαντινών τέμπλων από την Κω'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplement* 49, 421-445.
- Μητσάνη, Α. (2006) 'Το παλαιοχριστιανικό τέμπλο της Καταπολιανής Πάρου'. *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* ΚΖ', 75-89.
- Μπούρα, Λ. 1980. *Ο γλυπτός διάκοσμος του ναού της Παναγίας στο μοναστήρι του Οσίου Λουκά*. Αθήνα: Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας.
- Μπούρας, Χ. (1980-1981) 'Το τέμπλο της Παναγίας Κρήνας και η χρονολόγησή της'. *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* Ι', 165-179.
- Μπούρας, Χ. (1988-1989) 'Παρατηρήσεις στο καθολικό της μονής της Θεοτόκου "Περιβλέπτου" στα Πολιτικά Ευβοίας'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* ΚΗ', 53-62.
- Μπούρας, Χ. (2001) *Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή αρχιτεκτονική στην Ελλάδα*. Αθήνα: Μέλισσα.
- Ορλάνδος, Α. (1937) 'Η Περιβλεπτος των Πολιτικών της Εύβοιας'. *Αρχείον των Βυζαντινών Μνημείων της Ελλάδος* Γ', 175-184.
- Ορλάνδος, Α. (1939-1940) 'Η Αγία Τριάς Κριεζώτη'. *Αρχείον των Βυζαντινών Μνημείων της Ελλάδος* Ε', 119-141.
- Ορλάνδος, Α. (1951) 'Το παρά το Αλιβέρι μετόχιον του Οσίου Λουκά Φωκίδος'. *Αρχείον των Βυζαντινών Μνημείων της Ελλάδος* Ζ', 131-145.
- Παζαράς, Θ. (1995) 'Το μαρμαρίνο τέμπλο του καθολικού της μονής Βατοπεδίου'. *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* Η', 15-31.
- Παζαράς, Θ. (2001) *Τα βυζαντινά γλυπτά του καθολικού της Μονής Βατοπαιδίου*. Θεσσαλονίκη: University Studio Press.
- Πάλλας, Δ. (1950) 'Παλαιοχριστιανικά θωράκια μετά ρόμβου'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 74, 233-249.
- Πάλλης, Γ. (2008) 'Sporia γλυπτών από την περιοχή Αμαρουσίου Αττικής'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplement* 49, 303-315.

- Πέννας, Χ. (2008) 'Νέα στοιχεία αποκατάστασης και ερμηνείας του τέμπλου της Παναγίας Κρήνας στη Χίο'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplement* 49, 447-465.
- Πέτρου, Δ. και Π. Ανδρούδης (2006) 'Οι βυζαντινοί ναοί του Αγίου Νικολάου και των Εισοδίων της Θεοτόκου στην Άτταλη Εύβοιας'. Στο *1ο Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης I, Μάρτιος 27- Απρίλιος 2, 2003*, επιμέλεια Α. Μαζαράκης Αινιάν, 1165-1177. Βόλος: Εργαστήριο Αρχαιολογίας Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλίας; Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού.
- Σκλάβου-Μαυροειδή, Μ. (1992) 'Δύο θέματα της παλαιοχριστιανικής γλυπτικής τον 11ο αιώνα'. Στον Τόμ. 2 *Ευφρόσυνον. Αφιέρωμα στον Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη* [Δημοσιεύματα του Αρχαιολογικού Δελτίου 46], επιμέλεια Ε. Κυπραίου, 543-548. Αθήνα; Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων.
- Σκλάβου-Μαυροειδή, Μ. (1999) *Γλυπτά του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου Αθηνών*. Αθήνα: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού; Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων.
- Σκλάβου-Μαυροειδή, Μ. (2008) 'Στοιχεία του γλυπτού διακόσμου ναών της Αθήνας τον 10ο αιώνα'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplement* 49, 287-301.
- Σκούρας, Θ. (1998) *Χριστιανικά μνημεία της Εύβοιας*. Χαλκίδα.
- Στουφή-Πουλημένου, Ι. (1999) *Το Φράγμα του Ιερού Βήματος στα παλαιοχριστιανικά μνημεία της Ελλάδος: μελέτη αρχαιολογική και λειτουργική*. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Κληροδοτήματος Βασιλικής Δ. Μωραΐτου.
- Συθιακάκη-Κριτσιμάλλη, Β. (2006) 'Νεότερες παρατηρήσεις για το μαρμάρινο τέμπλο του Ταξιάρχη Λοκρίδας'. *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας ΚΖ*, 125-134.
- Φαράντος, Χ. (1980) 'Βυζαντινές και μεταβυζαντινές εκκλησίες στις περιοχές των χωριών: Αλιβέρι, Κατακαλός, Βελούσια, Άγιος Λουκάς, Παραμερίτες, Θαρούνια, Κρεμαστός, Οριό, Μουρτάρι, Οχτωνιά, Αυλωνάρι, Άγιος Γεώργιος και Αχλαδερή της Νότιας Εύβοιας'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών ΚΓ*, 323-380.

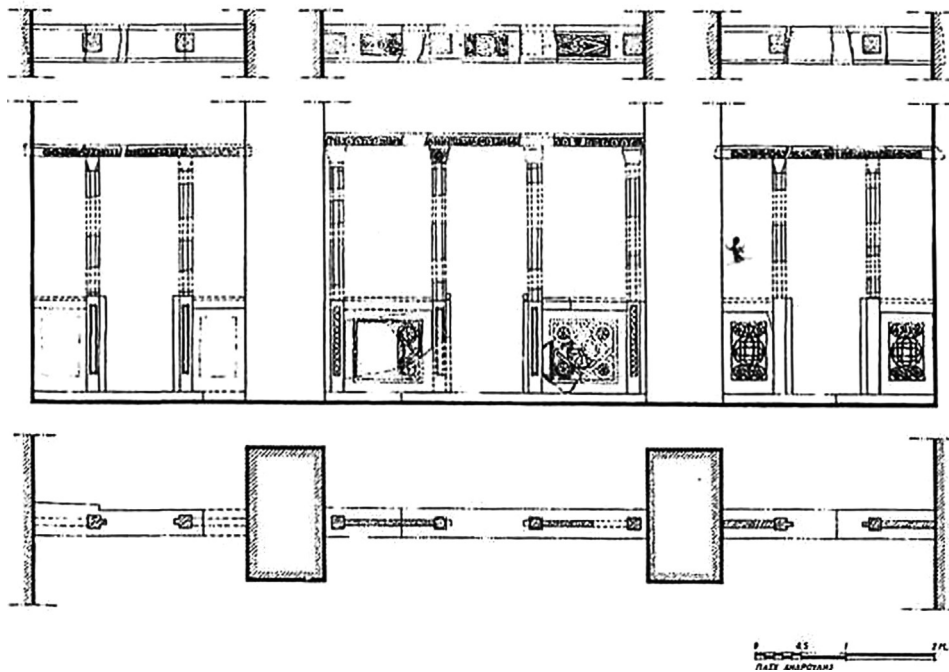
*

- Büyükkolancı, M. (2008) 'Exemples des plaques de parapet provenant de Saint Jean à Éphèse'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplement* 49, 71-79.
- Evans, H. and W. Wixson, eds. (1997) *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era. A.D. 843-1261*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Flemming, J. (1969) 'Kreuz und Pflanzenornament'. *Byzantinoslavica* 1, 88-115.
- Grabar, A. (1976) Vol. II of *Sculptures byzantines du moyen age (XIe-XIVe siecle)*. Paris: Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques 12.
- Koder, J. (1973) *Negroponte. Untersuchungen zur Topographie und Siedlungsgeschichte der Insel Euboia während der Zeit der Venezianerherrschaft*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Koder, J. and F. Hild (1976) 'Hellas und Thessalia'. Vol. I. of *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Restle, M. (1991) 'Kreuz'. *Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst*, Bd. V, 1-284.
- Vanderheyde, C. (2005) 'Sculpture architecturale byzantine dans le thème de Nikopolis, du Xe au début du XIIIe siècle'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplement* 45.
- Yalçın, A.-B. (2008) 'Le sculpturemediobizantine di Yalvaç'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplement* 49, 139-159.

Εικόνες



Εικόνα 1: Άτταλη. Τμήμα πεσσίσκου εντοιχισμένου στην κόγχη του ιερού του ναού των Εισοδίων της Θεοτόκου.



Εικόνα 2: Άτταλη. Σχέδιο πρότασης αποκατάστασης τέμπλου από τον Π. Ανδρούδη.



Εικόνα 3: Άτταλη. Σχεδιαστική αποτύπωσης σωζόμενων insitu στυλοβατών τέμπλων ναού Εισοδίων Θεοτόκου (Ευχαριστούμε για το σχέδιο την αρχιτέκτονα μηχανικό της ΕΦΑ Ευβοίας Ευρυδίκη Κατσάλη).



Εικόνα 4:
Άτταλη. Τμήμα
επιστυλίου.



Εικόνα 5:
Άτταλη. Τμήμα
επιστυλίου.



Εικόνα 6:
Άτταλη. Τμήμα
επιστυλίου.



Εικόνα 7:
Άτταλη. Κιονόκρανο.



Εικόνα 8:
Άτταλη. Οκτάπλευρος
κιονίσκος, πεσσίσκος,
παραστάδα.



Εικόνα 9:
Άτταλη.
Αποκατάσταση θωρακίου
κεντρικού διάκενου.



Εικόνα 10:
Άτταλη. Θωράκιο στενού διάκενου.



Εικόνα 11:
Άτταλη. Αποκατάσταση θωρακίου στενού διάκενου.



Εικόνα 12: Άτταλη. Επίθημα τρούλου.

The settlements of the Middle and Late Byzantine period in Euboea

Pari KALAMARA

Abstract

Η διερεύνηση του θέματος των οικισμών της μέσης και ύστερης βυζαντινής περιόδου στην Εύβοια (από τα μέσα του 7ου αιώνα έως και το 1470: οθωμανική κατάληψη) ξεκίνησε από τη διαπίστωση ότι τα σωζόμενα στο πεδίο σαφώς οικιστικού χαρακτήρα κατάλοιπα είναι περιορισμένα (κυρίως πύργοι) και μεταξύ τους απομακρυσμένα, ενώ απουσιάζουν σχετικές συνθετικές μελέτες για την Εύβοια που συνεκτιμούν τεκμηριωμένα αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα και γραπτές πηγές. Η χωροθέτηση των οικιστικών πυρήνων, ο χρόνος δημιουργίας τους, η ταυτότητά τους (πόλεις-κάστρα, οχυρωμένοι οικισμοί, ατείχιστοι αγροτικοί οικισμοί κ.λπ.) καθώς και οι μεταξύ τους σχέσεις θεωρούνται ιδιαίτερα σημαντικά για την κατανόηση της ιστορίας του νησιού και του ρόλου του κατά τη μεσαιωνική περίοδο, λόγω και της σημασίας που το δίκτυο των πόλεων και των οικισμών είχε διαχρονικά στο Βυζάντιο για τον καθορισμό της επικράτειάς του και τον έλεγχο αυτής πολιτικά, στρατιωτικά και οικονομικά. Συνοψίζοντας τα δεδομένα παρατηρούνται τα ακόλουθα: Οι οικισμοί, πόλεις-κάστρα, οχυρωμένα πολιίσματα και «χωρία», εντοπίζονται κατεξοχήν στις εύφορες περιοχές, σε παράλιες θέσεις που εξυπηρετούν και τη δια θαλάσσης επικοινωνία, όπως είναι η Κάρυστος, το Αλιβέρι, η Βάθεια κ.λπ., ή σε πεδιάδες ή οροπέδια της ενδοχώρας, όπως στις περιπτώσεις της περιοχής του Λίλλαντα ή της Δίρφυς, αλλά και στη ζώνη Αυλωναρίου – Κύμης. Εμφανής είναι, με βάση βέβαια τα έως σήμερα δεδομένα της έρευνας, η πυκνότητα των οικισμών στην κεντρική και νότια Εύβοια.

Συνολικά σημειώνονται 25 οχυρωμένοι οικισμοί. Εξ αυτών, περίπου οι μισοί εμφανίζονται για πρώτη φορά στην ύστερη βυζαντινή περίοδο, όπως τα κάστρα Κλεισούρας, Μαντουκό, Argalia, Γιάλτρων (Β. Εύβοια), Ριζόκαστρο, Λεχρές, Φύλλων (Κ. Εύβοια), Castello Rosso, Καστρί – Γεραιστός (Ν. Εύβοια). Άλλα συνιστούν αρχαίες οχυρώσεις με μεσαιωνική φάση χρήσης, όπως η Δραγγονάρα – La Cypria (Κ. Εύβοια), η Φιλάγρα και τα Άρμενα (Ν. Εύβοια). Πολλά είναι βέβαια τα ερωτήματα που παραμένουν. Σε ποια χρονική στιγμή της μεσαιωνικής περιόδου χρησιμοποιούνται εκ νέου; Οι θέσεις είχαν πλέον χαρακτήρα οχυρωμένου οικισμού; Η όποια κατοίκηση καταλαμβάνει το σύνολο ή μέρος της αρχαίας θέσης;

Σε κάποιες από αυτές τις οχυρωμένες θέσεις, οι όποιες οικιστικές εγκαταστάσεις –ερείπια κτισμάτων, εκκλησιών, δεξαμενών—εντοπίζονται εντός της οχύρωσης. Σε άλλες περιπτώσεις, τα μνημεία ή / και άλλα ιστορικά δεδομένα παρέχουν ενδείξεις για σημαντική οικιστική δραστηριότητα, και μάλιστα όχι συνεκτική, πρωτίστως έξω από τα τείχη, στην ευρύτερη περιοχή του κάστρου. Στην τελευταία περίπτωση το οχυρό ήταν πρωτίστως έδρα του τοπικού άρχοντα και θα συνιστούσε σημείο αναφοράς μίας ευρύτερης οικιστικής ζώνης, λειτουργώντας ενδεχομένως και ως καταφύγιο του πληθυσμού σε δύσκολες ώρες.

Ιδιαίτερη βέβαια θέση στο δίκτυο των οχυρωμένων οικισμών του νησιού κατέχει καταρχήν η Χαλκίδα. Η Χαλκίδα – Εύριπος – Negroponte συνιστά διαχρονικά το μεγαλύτερο οικιστικό κέντρο της Εύβοιας, το μόνο που με βεβαιότητα διαθέτει και κατά τη μεσαιωνική περίοδο αναπτυγμένο αστικό

χαρακτήρα και στο οποίο μπορεί, χωρίς ενδοιασμούς, να αποδοθεί ο όρος «πόλη - κάστρο». Ακολουθούν σε σπουδαιότητα οι πόλεις που φιλοξενούν τις πέντε επισκοπές του νησιού (Ευρίπου, Πορθμού, Αυλώνος, Ωρεών, Καρύστου), οι οποίες διαδραματίζουν, επίσης, έναν ιδιαίτερο διοικητικό ρόλο σε ευρύτερη περιοχή, αλλά δεν φαίνεται να είναι οργανωμένες χωροταξικά με τον ίδιο τρόπο. Ιδιαίτερη αναφορά αρμόζει να γίνει και σε άλλα οχυρωμένα πολιίσματα όπου έδρευαν επίσης—πέραν της Χαλκίδας, της Καρύστου και των Ωρεών—φράγκοι ηγεμόνες ή αξιωματούχοι της βενετικής διοίκησης, και τα οποία κατά συνέπεια διαδραμάτισαν σημαντικό διοικητικό ρόλο κατά την περίοδο της φραγκοκρατίας. Σε αυτές συγκαταλέγονται η Κλεισούρα, η Κούπα, το Ποτήρι και τα Φύλλα. Φυσικά, κατά την περίοδο αυτή στη διοικητική αναδιοργάνωση του νησιού και στον έλεγχο της υπαίθρου μετείχαν όλες οι οχυρώσεις—ακόμη και οι μεμονωμένοι πύργοι, καθώς αυτές συσχετίζονταν απόλυτα με το φεουδαλικό σύστημα που είχε επιβληθεί με την έλευση των Λατίνων στην Ανατολή. Ωστόσο, δεν έχουν απαντηθεί με συγκεκριμένο τρόπο ούτε τα θέματα της σχέσης των επιμέρους οχυρώσεων μεταξύ τους.

Η Εύβοια φαίνεται να γνωρίζει ιδιαίτερη οικιστική ανάπτυξη κατά την περίοδο της φραγκοκρατίας, ενώ η βυζαντινή περίοδος δημιουργεί περισσότερα ερωτηματικά. Για το δίκτυο πόλεων και πολισμάτων κατά τη βυζαντινή περίοδο ελάχιστα μπορούμε να υποθέσουμε.

Introduction

The importance of the network of cities and settlements held by Byzantium through the ages is the reason this subject was chosen for the current paper. This network defined the Byzantine domain and indeed helped Byzantium maintain political, military and financial control. Another reason for this paper is the absence of other such synthetic studies for Euboea. I would like to stress from the start that this study is not the conclusion, but is rather the beginning of my research.¹ Essentially, this present work is concerned with phrasing the main questions and determining the methodology which we can use to approach this topic.

The main goal of this study is to examine the settlements on the island of Euboea during the Middle and Late Byzantine period, i.e. the period between the middle of the 7th century and 15th century CE (1470: the Ottoman conquest). Specifically, in this study an effort has been made to undertake the following:

- a) Determine the populated areas of the island during this period and, if possible, the density of the settlements.
- b) Determine the nature of these settlements (for example their role in administration, defence and economy) and also their morphological features and lifespans.
- c) Examine the relationships between different kinds of settlements.
- d) Investigate the changes that may have occurred in residential and spatial organization after the Frankish conquest.

As the basis for my research I have used the following sources of information:

1. Existing bibliography, which consists mainly of the few synthetic works on the topography of the island, fortifications, settlements and churches or monasteries. The works of Johannes

1. I presented this study at the international scientific conference 'An Island Between Two Worlds: The Archaeology of Euboea from Prehistoric to Byzantine Times' (Eretria, July 12-14, 2013). In this present expanded version, it was also presented as a lecture at the Department of Classical Archeology in Merton College of the University of Oxford, as part of a seminar dedicated to Euboea. I would like to express my gratitude to M. Aslanides for his support in translating the text into English.

Koder and Friedrich Hild,² Dimitri Triantafyllopoulos,³ Charalambos Farandos,⁴ Elizabeth Malamut,⁵ Donald Keller⁶ and Theodoros Skouras⁷ were invaluable. (Skouras has truly been a revelation to me; his essays based on local research and his meticulous listing of collected information stand as points of reference to anyone tackling the matter.) My own local research on Euboea, which was limited and not strictly related to this particular study, but mostly to other administrative issues, has also provided additional information.

2. Primary sources, mainly the first Ottoman records, cartographic information and surviving monuments. The records, however, are not exhaustive, at least in this phase of the research. I have used the existing cartographic information, both ancient and modern, pertaining to the issue.⁸ By posing new questions, I accessed useful information and I also attempted to create new maps,⁹ as a basis for debate, examination and, possibly, as a means of reaching conclusions. As for primary sources, my main guide for drawing conclusions was the archaeological remains,¹⁰ which were examined in tangent with the rest of the data.

Before I conclude this concise summary of methodological matters, it should be pointed out that the existing studies have not resulted in uniform results, either because they pose completely different types of questions or because they use different kinds of sources and theoretical frameworks. Skouras, for example, notes down every kind of fortification he comes across in the field and tries, subsequently, to link it with positions referenced in the written sources. However, his dating should be checked. Malamut, on the other hand, who is studying the central part of the Byzantine period, based her conclusions chiefly on written sources, though her work also involved a survey of relevant publications for those monuments that confirm the sources. In fact, she points out, explicitly, the issues with using sources that often provide incomplete or contradictory information while frequently mentioning medieval Euboea using anachronisms, e.g. by referring to Chalkis, instead of Euripos.¹¹ The correlation of written sources and archaeological evidence has been proven to be extremely difficult, if not impossible. An excellent recording of almost all the data has been undertaken by Koder and Hild, and Koder's work examined the matter in more detail as far as the geographical data of Euboea under Frankish rule is concerned. Nonetheless, it still draws on archaeological evidence supplied by bibliography, without independent field research in most cases. Certain issues in Koder's study are pointed out by Triantafyllopoulos who, like many of the researchers aiming to undertake a synthetic approach to the issue, focuses on attempting to identify location names and archaeological remains. One example of the problems that have arisen is that Triantafyllopoulos accepts the existence of medieval castles at Pili and Ahmed Aga,¹² the castles which Koder does not mention. Moreover, other castles referred to by

2. Koder and Hild 1976.

3. Triantafyllopoulos 1974, 209-258; 1990, 165-170; 1992, 63-75.

4. Farandos 1980, 323-380, pls. 1-32.

5. Malamut 1988, Vol. I, 221-227 and Vols. I and II *passim*.

6. Keller 1985.

7. Skouras 1975, 327-400; 2003.

8. An examination of different maps allows us to note the wide variety of ways used to present information, which depend on the issues set out by the cartographer and the goals of each piece of research. The problem of contradictions and shortages of the available primary sources was pointed out by Malamut 1988, 182.

9. This is yet another opportunity to thank Christos Petropoulos, topographer and engineer, for his cooperation in the creation of the maps; without his help this study would not have been realized.

10. Recorded here (and under examination) are mainly fortifications that are, in all probability, related to settlement units. I refer, selectively, to medieval towers and note only that they coexist with more relevant data, as there is no indisputable way of asserting that their existence is associated with the development of residential centres. The presence of non-monastic churches is also taken into consideration, especially in relation to the assumption that there has been cohesive settlement in a certain area.

11. Malamut 1988, 181-182.

12. Triantafyllopoulos 1974, 233.

name in written sources, such as Graspilea and Acalia, remain ‘ghosts,’ and are the subject of different interpretations by researchers.¹³ Dealing with medieval settlements involves, first of all, looking for cities and castles in the territory of Euboea. After attempting, first, to document those fortifications that enclosed and/or are related, in many ways, to settlement remains, it was observed that there is no homogeneity among the fortifications in terms of their function or their relationship to the settlement or settlements to which they refer. Moreover, only a small number of the fortifications were created during the period in question, whereas others are older but were still in use in medieval times.

A prominent position in the network of fortified medieval settlements on the island is, of course, occupied by Chalkis, Byzantine Euripos—one of the bigger (if not the biggest) Euboean residential centres through the ages.¹⁴ The city of Euripos evolved where the centre of modern Chalkis is presently located. The ancient city of Chalkis was situated elsewhere, around the area of Agios Stefanos, Agios Ioannis and the new hospital (where a large part of the ancient wall was revealed recently¹⁵). In fact, during the Byzantine period, the city moved closer to the Euripos Strait. The first mention of Byzantine Euripos, as a bishop’s seat, relates to 867, when the bishop of Euripos took part in a synod.¹⁶ Around 880, when the town was under siege by the Emir of Tarsus, Osman, there is the first mention of the city walls,¹⁷ which obviously predate the siege. Euripos is the only settlement of the island that definitely maintains a developed urban character during the medieval era (it was the seat of administrative and ecclesiastical authorities, commercial activity and was even densely populated); the term ‘city-castle’ can be attributed to it, without reservation.¹⁸ The development of the medieval settlement seems to have occurred in tangent with the construction of the walls by the Byzantines,¹⁹ and, according to the aforementioned written sources, these walls cannot post-date the mid-9th century.²⁰ We have access to more information on the city under Frankish and Venetian rule, on its inhabitants and how life in it was organized, although very few monuments from this period remain today: namely, the church of Agia Paraskevi and the secular, probably administrative, building known as ‘the mansion of Bailo’. We can discern two medieval sub-periods. During the first, the city was ruled by the Lombards, while during the second the Venetians became the only rulers of the city and the island. The Venetians had, during the time of coexistence, resided in a distinct part of the castle, which was separated by a special enclosure from the Lombard quarter. At that time, Negroponte emerged as one of the most powerful ports in the Mediterranean. The Venetians had even established an arsenal in the city.²¹ Outside the walls lay the suburbs, which are mentioned in the sources and are attested by recent excavations (although we do not yet know their size and their exact position). The urban enclosure was repaired almost certainly on a number of occasions or even adjusted to meet the needs of the inhabitants.

13. Triantafyllopoulos 1992, 68.

14. Kalamara et al. 2015; see Kalamara et al. 2015 for a concise approach to the history of the city.

15. Kosma and Chairidakis 2015, 8-24.

16. Kontogiannis 2012, 2, 3.

17. Kontogiannis 2012, 4, n. 14.

18. Adler, 1907, 10; Malamut 1988, 221-222 and 289-290. For the city of Venetian Negroponte and Byzantine Euripos, see Koder 1973, 69-99 and Kontogiannis 2012, 10-29, in which all previous bibliography is referenced.

19. Parts of the walls of the Castle of Chalkis are visible at only a small number of locations in the city: in the Infantry School, the part that houses the Folklore Museum of the city (Skalkotta and Mordechai Frizis St), close to the fire department (M. Frizi St) and in the basement of the Chamber of Commerce (Venizelou St). However, previous rescue excavations have revealed many parts of the medieval fortification, which makes an accurate reconstruction of its course possible. cf. Kontogiannis 2012, 5 and n. 16.

20. Many chronologies for the construction of the walls from the 6th century to the Frankish-Venetian period have been suggested (cf. Koder 1973, 71-77; Kontogiannis 2012, 5-6 and n. 16 and 17). Kontogiannis’s study, however, which examines archaeological remains synthetically, convincingly argues that the wall was constructed in a single chronological phase—the Byzantine phase. He bases his conclusions mainly on its masonry, and discusses the development of the city from the 10th to the 12th century.

21. Jacoby 1981, 169-201.

What other fortifications on Euboea are known from this period and can be related to specific settlements? Moving south, along the shores of the Euboean Gulf but remaining close to Chalkis, we can trace many fortified installations in the region of the Lelantine Plain, and it seems that there several settlements developed. Specifically, the Castle of Fylla (Fig. 1) dominates the area; this was a conquest of the knight Likarios in 1279-1280, and it dates to the era of Frankish rule.²² Adjacent, on the fertile grounds next to the Lilas River, stand the so-called 'twin towers' and the tower of Vasiliko.²³ The Castle of Fylla does not belong to the category of the city-castle, which was common in Byzantium, but rather to the type of castle-residence of a ruler, which was widely known in the feudal Occident. In addition, and also connected to the feudal system, are the numerous single towers, dating to the same period, in the Euboean countryside.²⁴ These were the seat and residence of the feudal lord of the nearby area. On the beach of the wider area of the Lelantine Plain, there are also some remnants of a sea tower-fortress, known as Bourtzi.²⁵ This region is marked on nearly all of the old naval maps as *Lilant*, *Lilanto* or *Tianto*,²⁶ and the written sources refer also to the *potamarcho de Lilanto*, after 1204.²⁷ Koder,²⁸ based on written sources and archaeological data, suggests that there was a castle in the area—the castle of Fylla—and a village (*casale*), which he situates in modern Vasiliko, around the existing tower.²⁹ However, in my opinion, the castle of Fylla cannot be considered a city-castle, owing to its size and the buildings standing inside it.³⁰ Habitation in the area most probably developed as one or two wall-less nuclei in the plain—and in the village of Vasiliko—whereas the castle, the seat of the local ruler, could have functioned as a refuge in hard times. The economy of these settlements would have been mainly agricultural. Recently, in the region of the modern village of Fylla, an agricultural unit for the production of wine has been discovered.³¹ It is interesting to note that currently known archaeological remains of the medieval era indicate intense habitation in the area during the Late Byzantine period. Skouras classifies as medieval the fortification in Afrati,³² which he identifies with the castle Lechres (*Leriche*); however, additional fieldwork is required to verify this claim. Highly enlightening for a discussion on the dispersal of the settlements are two Ottoman records from 1474, immediately after the seizure of the island by the Turks. In these records, the following four villages are reported in the vicinity of the Lilas River: Afrati (with 33 houses), Vasiliko (17 houses), Fylla (18 houses) and Zokoz (6 houses), the last of which has still not been identified today.³³

Communication between the largest city of the island, Euripos, and this particular region that represents its immediate countryside, was established by the 10th century, as we learn from an inscription,

22. Koder and Hild 1976, 242.

23. Angeli and Stylianou 2012, 41-48; Georgopoulou-Verra 1975, 171; Skouras 2003, 47, 109.

24. Triantafyllopoulos 1992.

25. Koder 1973, 96; Skouras does not mention Bourtzi, but he refers to another ruined medieval tower on the plain of Lefkandi near the seashore, which I was unable to locate during my surveys in the area. cf. Skouras 2003, 76.

26. Koder 1973, 30, 31, 95-97, 101, 102.

27. Koder 1973, 102, n. 202 and Koder and Hild 1976, 202-203.

28. Koder 1973, 102.

29. The information, provided in a text from 1420, suggests that there was a tower in the centre of the village of Lilanto, which Dimitris Triantafyllopoulos associated with the village of Vasiliko; Triantafyllopoulos notes the tower that still stands at its centre (1974, 231). From 2006 to 2010 the tower was restored by the 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities (EBA) with co-funding from the 3rd Community Support Framework (CSF).

30. Koder 1973, 96-97.

31. During a rescue excavation conducted by the archaeologist Penny Gani (July-September 2010) on the plot of I. Pappageorgiou, on the right-hand side of Mytikas St in the settlement of Fylla, a wine press and storage rooms were discovered. This agricultural settlement has been dated to the Middle and Late Byzantine era based on its ceramics, but earlier use of the area could not be ruled out.

32. Skouras 1975, 340: he mentions that within the castle many ruins of buildings can be found, and outside it there is the ruined Byzantine church of Agios Vasileios. Also, close to the castle, at the site called Petralona, there are heaps of ruins from an abandoned village. cf. also Malamut 1988, 225.

33. Balta 1989, 121.

which is now lost, that mentions the *protospatharios* Theophylaktos, who implemented the repair of the seaside road towards southern and central Euboea.³⁴ Furthermore, the close relationship between this region and Chalkis is well evidenced by the fact that the city's water supply was, for centuries, assured, thanks to the springs in the mountains near Steni and the aqueducts that passed through the region of the Lilas River. More precisely, the aqueduct traversed the villages of Pissona, where there is also a Frankish tower, and of Pournos, as well as alongside the hill of the 'twin towers'.³⁵ The fertile ground of Psahna to the north was also vital to Negroponte. The medieval, possibly even Late Byzantine, wall-less settlement of Politika is located there,³⁶ at the centre of which a Frankish tower still stands³⁷ and, close by, the mid-Byzantine church of Panagia Perivleptos (from the 11th century) is located.³⁸ The site is invariably marked on all the early naval maps as *Politica*, *Polirica*, close to the sites of *Holorita* (*Hollorita*, *Colochita*, *Colochit*) and *Il Troco* (*Il trocco*, *tronco*, *Il trodo*),³⁹ which are situated on inland hills; in contrast, Politika is depicted as situated on the shore. Politika is also included in the group of villages in the area recorded in Early Ottoman registers, as is Psahna (Ipsahna), Kontodespoti, Agia Triada and others, all of which hosted up to 50 families.⁴⁰ It has been suggested that *Holorita* should be identified with the fortification (remnants of walls and cisterns) in Kontodespoti (Fig. 2) and that *Il Trocco* was situated close to the modern-day village of Vatonta,⁴¹ although there are no remains of fortifications in the area.

The isolated towers—such as that situated in Politika—in the modern-day villages of Kamaritsa (south-east of Psahna), Fyges, near Triada, Stropones, as well as in the area between Lamari and Kymi, mark wall-less settlements and/or basic roads.⁴² Consequently, only the settlement in Kontodespoti could be considered a fortified settlement, and clarification of its character and its function requires additional research. The relationship between the city—the urban space—and the surrounding countryside, both of which constitute a uniform financial and institutional entity, has been emphasized for Byzantium,⁴³ and it seems to be applicable to the case of Euripos-Negroponte, although recent research has raised questions about whether the distinction between networks of cities (networks of *civitates/urbes*) and their vital spaces in the countryside (their *territoria*) can generally apply to the medieval era.⁴⁴

The next residential site further south is Vatheia (this is the older name that co-exists with the official modern name 'Amarynthos'), and ancient Eretria was abandoned during this period. Remnants of a wall, possibly of the Late Byzantine period, have been reported as located at the site of Paleohora, a small hill on the shore of the Euboean Gulf, where two small churches of the same period still stand.⁴⁵ The region is marked on most of the naval maps with the name *Vathia*, *Uathia* or *Vatia*,⁴⁶ which should

34. Koder 1973, 40; Kontogiannis 2012, 10; Malamut 1988, 222; Ross and Schmeller 1837, 158 and 159; Triantafyllopoulos 1970, 194.

35. Regarding the transportation of water from the region of Steni to the city: 1. For antiquity see Kalamara, 2015, 153-154; Reber and Schmid 2000, 359-387; 2. For the medieval period, and especially for the aqueduct known as 'Kamares', see Kalamara et al. 2015, 4-5, 66-67, 72; Koder 1973, 88-90; Kontogiannis 2012, 35-36, fig. 15.

36. Koder 1973, 97, 100-101; Koder and Hild 1976, 245.

37. The monument was restored by the 23rd EBA with co-funding from the 3rd CSF, during the period 2011-2014.

38. Bouras 1990, 52, 53; 1988-1989, 53-62; Mamaloukos and Pinatsi 2007, 71-82. The Diocese of Chalkis restored the monument, under the supervision of the 23rd EBA of Euboea, during the period 2011-2015.

39. Koder 1973, 30, 31.

40. Balta 1989, 124, 125.

41. Koder 1973, 97, 100, 101; Koder and Hild 1976, 172, 173 (*Holorita*), 280 (*Varonda*). Skouras 2003 (*Vatontas*), 94 (*Politika*), 107 (*Figes*), 118-119 (fortifications in the area of Psahna).

42. Koder 1973, 97-98.

43. Bouras 2014, 5-12.

44. Veikou 2014, 159-206. This ambiguity in the distinction between city and country is evident throughout Euboea, as well as in relation to the principal urban centre of Euripos/Negroponte, during the period under examination.

45. Koder (1973, 103) and Koder and Hild (1976, 132) mention the remains of a wall, but I was unable to locate these when I inspected the area. At the top of the hill of Paleohora, there are two churches: of the Metamorphosis of the Saviour and of the Assumption.

46. Koder 1973, 30-31, 102-103; Koder and Hild 1976, 132. The place name is used for the first time in 1209, in a citation

be identified with the name of the medieval settlement. The ruins, which are conserved, are not enough to prove the existence of a seaside settlement, which would have developed, in all probability, not only within but also outside the walls, as far as we can conclude on the basis of archaeological evidence.⁴⁷ Moreover, a document from 1438 mentions that 80 houses located outside the walls of the castle had been destroyed.⁴⁸ In late 15th-century Ottoman registers (1474) the city-castle of Vatheia is recorded as having 30 houses, and as many as 11 villages are described as being situated in the wider area, among which the most prominent, owing to their size, were Gymno (a Frankish tower and the church of Saint George from the 13th-14th century⁴⁹ still remain), Achladeri, Agios Giannis and Prinos.⁵⁰

Further south, and marked on the old naval maps, are the sites of *Portimo*, *Protimo* and in one case *Olivero/Ulivero*,⁵¹ which should be linked with Porthmos, the ancient Eretrian municipality, which was a residential site in the medieval period and also a diocesan seat⁵² from the 4th to the 16th century, as well as with the modern city of Aliveri. In the region of Aliveri and at the seaside spot of Karavos, the existence of a settlement (dating from the Neolithic to the Copper Age, as well as from the Archaic period to the Early Byzantine era⁵³) has been confirmed by recent excavations. On the same spot a tower, which still stands today, was built later, during Frankish rule.

However, it is difficult to determine how the residential nuclei were organized during the period under discussion here. On a hill, some distance from the shore, stands a relatively small medieval castle with a rectangular floor plan, known as Rizokastro, where donjon, cisterns and other ruined buildings can be found.⁵⁴ Yet another medieval monument, the church of Panagitsa (1393), exists in the modern town of Aliveri.⁵⁵ In an inland and currently non-urban area there is the so-called 'Kokkinoklisia', also dating to the period of Frankish rule. Furthermore, in the wider region of Aliveri, close to the modern-day village of Agios Loukas,⁵⁶ in the early 11th century the *metochi* of the convent of Osios Loukas was built, with the same name as the convent.⁵⁷ This is the earliest indication of activity in the area during the mid-Byzantine period. The dispersal of Byzantine-period monuments (Fig. 7) suggests that the existence of a cohesive settlement is less likely than habitation in a multitude of small non-fortified nuclei. Taking into account the fertile soil of the region, we suggest that these settlements would have to have been agricultural in nature. Rizokastro (Fig. 6) and the isolated tower would have taken part in the defence and administrative control of the area, as well as in the protection/support of its inhabitants during difficult times.

that Vatheia is subject to the Diocese of Athens (Malamut 1988, 223).

47. During the excavation of a nearby ancient sanctuary, conducted by the Swiss Archaeological School and the Ephorate of Antiquities for Euboea, a large quantity of Late Byzantine table ware was found at the foot of the hill, to the north. Also, approximately 2 km north of the coastline the church of Panagitsa is located (built in 1311).

48. Koder 1973, 103, n. 205; Sathas 1882, 447.

49. Koder and Hild 1976, 168.

50. Balta 1989, 123-124.

51. Koder 1973, 30, 31; Koder and Hild 1976, 120, 121, 246; Skouras 1975, 335-337; 2003, 28, 29, 39-42.

52. Malamut 1988, 225, 343, 344; Koder 1973, 66, 133-135.

53. The extended rescue excavation of the 11th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (EPCA) was conducted while the construction of the new electric power station in Karavos (Aliveri) and the project 'Installation of Gas Pipeline' were underway (for research in the area, cf. Kalamara 2015, 158, in which previous bibliography can also be found). As for the residential remains, it should be noted, diachronically speaking, that there is a small lateral movement of the settlement to the south and, at the same time, a partial layering of different phases. The existence of a city from the mid-Byzantine period onwards is not supported by the archaeological findings; hence Malamut's comment (cf. Malamut 1988, 225) can be considered as valid only for the Early Byzantine period, during which the city life of late antiquity continues.

54. Koder 1973, 105.

55. Triantafyllopoulos 1992, 68.

56. In the Early Ottoman records from 1474 (Balta 1989, 121), the village of Agios Loukas is referred to as a large town, and the same records never mention Aliveri; nor is any settlement in the area by the sea, where the ancient city developed in antiquity, mentioned.

57. Koder and Hild 1976, 205; Malamut 1988, 226, 227, in which previous bibliography can be found; Triantafyllopoulos 1992, 65.

Moving south towards Styra, crossing a mountainous area, we reach the castle of Armenon (Armeno, Armena, Larmeno) situated on Kliosi (Figs. 8, 9), at the site called Ai Nikolas, above modern-day Styra.⁵⁸ On the basis of archaeological evidence and the 14th-century written sources, we can posit that the castle is medieval in date,⁵⁹ provided that it can be identified with *Castello dell' Armena* (*Armene, Larmane, Larmani, Larmena, Larmenie*), as marked on the charts.⁶⁰ Imposing ruins of a Classical (4th-century) acropolis still stand at the same location. The medieval castle features two fortified enclosures, which protected the upper and the lower town, respectively. The external enclosure is reinforced on the east side with two triangular towers. Residential ruins are found all over, alongside ceramics from the Byzantine period (a more detailed study is needed for more accurate conclusions). On the lower level of the medieval castle, almost in the middle of the terrace occupied by the habitations, there is the Church of the Virgin Mary (12th-13th century) and a subterranean spring. Outside the walls, there is a second church, a cave church of Saint Nicholas. To arrive at this large and important fortified settlement, one must pass through an ancient marble quarry.

In the wider area of the castle, on a nearby hill, where other quarries have also been found, a group of megalithic houses is located (site of Pali Lakka). It has been claimed that these megalithic structures, which should be associated with the needs of social groups dealing with agriculture and stock-breeding, were also inhabited during the period under discussion here. In addition, according to Skouras, a Frankish tower that is now completely ruined stood close to the sea, inside the modern-day village of Styra.⁶¹ It is interesting to point out that early Ottoman registers record a large village (or a small town, κώμη) in the area, named Istura.⁶²

Even further to the south are medieval fortifications that are associated with the city of Karystos. The city of Karystos was the centre of South Euboea through the ages, and was reported as the seat of a diocese by Synekdimos of Hierokles (6th century); it continued to play a key role during the medieval period, also. Reported in the sources as κωμόπολη (a small city), the Byzantine city was a populous and important commercial centre, mostly because of the position it held, which allowed it to exert control over maritime routes to and from the Euboean Gulf and to the Aegean islands.⁶³ Medieval Karystos developed at the location of the ancient and Roman city, on the plain of Palaiochora, where surveys and rescue excavations of recent decades have brought to light fragmentary remains from the Byzantine period.⁶⁴ In the Late Byzantine era and the Frankish period, the city moved to the hill overlooking the Bay of Karystos, above the modern-day city. At that time, between 1205 and 1276, *Castello Rosso*⁶⁵ was

58. Skouras 2003, 103-104. The author attributes the name of Ai-Nicholas to the cave-church of the saint situated there. According to Malamut (1988, 224), the castle dates to the 12th century, but this dating has not yet been fully documented.

59. Skouras 2003, 103 and 104; previous bibliography can be found here.

60. For the discussion on the identification of the castle of Styra with the castle of Armena (now a widely accepted hypothesis, with which I concur), cf. Koder 1973, 123-124. This discussion was initiated mainly by the frequent coexistence of both places/names in old maps (cf. Koder 1973, 30-34).

61. Skouras 2003, 104. According to the Skouras, this is how the double name in old maps should be interpreted, taking into account the fact that the names *Stura, Astura, Styra, Lastura* would be attributed to the tower. In my opinion, however, the way old maps marked positions has to be viewed from a nautical point of view—something that does not require the marking of all fortifications or even the basic ones. At the same time, those that marked ports or, because they were visible from the sea, functioned as a compass for the sailors and were marked. In any case, in the area of Aliveri, on the site of Karavos, the site of the ancient city that was not visible in the medieval period, where there was a Frankish tower and a spot for mooring, the name *Portimo* is marked. The tower and the castle of Styra must be examined as parts of a system which protected, controlled and managed the area, at least during the Late Byzantine period.

62. Balta 1989, 121.

63. Jaubert 1975, 295; Lambros 1879, 206; Malamut 1988, 222.

64. I refer especially to the findings, mostly ceramic wares, from rescue excavations in the area (studied by my colleague Eleni Tsiompikou, who excavated them and is currently studying them) as well as the church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour (12th century) and the church of Saint Mark in the Monteffoli estate (Frankish period).

65. Tsiompikou 2012, 551, 552, in which previous bibliography related to the history of the fortification can also be found.

built on top of the hill by the Lombard rulers of the region (Fig 10), of the House of Dalle Carceri; this is described in the written sources. The castle consists of the acropolis (donjon), which is surrounded by an internal wall and would have been the seat of the administration. The second fortified wall with towers protected the core of the medieval city; this part of the fortification has been attributed, with certainty, to the Lombard rulers. Today, a third fortified wall surrounds the part of the settlement that developed below, at the foot of the hill, but we cannot confirm, under the present conditions of research, when that wall was built for the first time; in its present form it goes back to the years of the Greek Revolution.⁶⁶ Taking all this into account, a typical inland city-castle developed in Karystos, yet it was not very far from the shore. Water was supplied to the castle via cisterns and an aqueduct. The aqueduct can be dated to antiquity, although it was repaired by the Venetians.⁶⁷ A small six-sided, two-storey fortress, Bourtzi (Fig. 11), that rises from the beach of modern-day Karystos and has been dated to the late 14th century,⁶⁸ would have completed the fortifications of the city. It is considered a part of a bigger seaside fort, which would have protected the settlement connected to the port, at the location of the modern-day city.⁶⁹ We cannot currently determine whether during that period other wall-less settlements, villages, had been constructed on the periphery of Karystos, as happened later, during the Ottoman period, when the villages that survive today were founded. However, recently in the village of Myloi, next to the main church and integrated into a later chapel of Saint Ioannis Prodromos, the eastern part of an older church with an outer semicircular niche built with stone masonry and covered externally with strong coating, was found; this could be dated to the Frankish period. Such a find is evidence of human activity at the location of the modern-day settlement, and it could also be indicative of habitation at this location.

In the wider region of the Karystia, Filagra⁷⁰ is another ancient fortified settlement which has been described as having had a significant medieval phase. Located on the shore of the Aegean, it has been variously identified with the *Castello Termopile* or *Metropille* and also with the city of *Anemopylae*, on the basis of Late Byzantine written sources, as well as with the location marked as *Silosa*, *Silopha*, *Silofia*, *Philasia* on early maps.⁷¹ In the bibliography pertaining to the medieval period, there is only scattered information on the existence of ruins of a church and a cistern located among unidentified remnants of walls. The ruinous state of the remains and the absence of systematic surveys mean we cannot extract conclusions on the organization of this fortified medieval settlement or the purpose it served. After a visit to Filagra, I believe that the castle itself is of ancient date and that only a large above-the-ground cistern and some adjoining buildings can be dated to the medieval period with any certainty. As for the two churches within the castle, it is difficult to substantiate the dating of their construction because of the extensive modern interferences that have altered their architectural features.

At the site of Hellenikon of Platanistos,⁷² east of Karystos on the way to Cavo Doro, there is an imposing ancient fortified enclosure, which, according to Skouras, was reused during the Frankish period and was linked to the castle of Anemopylae.⁷³ The author has taken into account a local tradition concerning the name of the site, and some archaeological evidence which is referred to in the bibliography

66. For the form and the construction phases of the castle, cf. Tsiompikou 2012, 552-559.

67. Koder 1973, 119.

68. Androudis 2010-2012, 35-63, figs. 1-32; Stai 2012, 507-516,

69. Koder 1973, 120-121.

70. Koder 1973, 123; Skouras 2003, 55-56; Triantafyllopoulos 1974, 258.

71. Koder 1973, 30, 31, 123; Skouras (2003, 56, 91-94, 97-99, 101) is opposed to identifying Filagra with Anemopylae, which he locates at Platanistos, where there is an ancient fortification that was reused during the Frankish period, or with Silosa, which he places over the village Koila/Ekali, where, again, an ancient fort stands. He also mentions, albeit without sufficient documentation, that the latter was also used in medieval times.

72. Skouras 2003, 91-94.

73. Koder and Hild 1976, 244; in a document from 1252 the monastery of Saint Elias of Platanistos is mentioned; Skouras 2003, 91-94.

(e.g. Frankish weapons and sculptures).⁷⁴ Having personally surveyed the area in the summer of 2016, I would not consider this to be a fortified settlement, even if the Byzantine church of Saint Constantine, built with ancient material, is located on the terrace formed by the ancient wall. Besides, no characteristic ceramics of the medieval period have been found at this spot. Thus, additional research needs to be undertaken if we are to reach a definite conclusion.

Based on the masonry of the fortification enclosures and on the building remains inside them, the castle of Kastri, located at the 'entrance' of the Koutsonisi peninsula, close to ancient Geraistos, as well as the fortified settlement on the island of Buffalo, can also be considered medieval.⁷⁵ The Kastri castle, of trapezoid shape (Fig. 12), is probably from the Frankish period, and it has preserved remnants of the fortification, adjacent to the houses of the modern village that now surround the church of Zoodochos Pigi. The enclosure was constructed using mainly unworked stones, small parts of tiles and mortar. The settlement on the island of Buffalo has a fortified wall, probably with towers, that surrounds the rock. Within the wall many ruins of buildings and at least two Byzantine churches can be noted.

It is important at this point to stress the absence of Frankish towers in the region of the Karystia,⁷⁶ given the fact that this may mean a difference in the model of residential organization and administration from that of the rest of Euboea. Of course, it is not yet possible to reach full and definite conclusions on the model of residential organization of the region, as the research of the written sources, not to mention fieldwork, is still incomplete. This is demonstrated in an excellent manner in the field survey of the Karystia directed by Donald Keller (supported by Indiana University and, later, by the Canadian Institute in Greece). This research has emphasized that outside and around the great urban centre of Karystos, throughout the Byzantine period (4th century to 15th century) non-fortified settlements were scattered throughout the area, and that these were likely concerned with agricultural or marine activities.⁷⁷ It is important to point out that we are left mainly with sherds from these settlements, and only rarely do we find architectural remains, e.g. foundations of small churches or rural settlements. This observation leads us to the hypothesis that similar residential data are expected in other parts of the island; however, their localization and evaluation requires exhaustive field research, which is yet to be undertaken.

Moving back to central Euboea, to the fertile region of Avlonari and Kymi, castles are located on both the seaside and in the mainland. The term *Valona*, *Valonis*, *Lalona*, *Avlonari* is reported on old maps, referring to the city which was its namesake; this was the seat of a diocese from at least the 9th century.⁷⁸ The exact position of the city is a matter of some dispute, and it has previously been claimed that the city could be found near modern Avlonari. In Chania, there is the significant church of Agios Dimitrios, near the village of Episkopi (called this because of the name of the modern settlement, which in Greek means 'diocese') close to Koupa castle, which was important in the region.⁷⁹ In the 15th century, two military commanders are reported in the region (Capitanei Avalone). One was based at *La Cupa*, *Cuppa*, *Cupna*, *Cupha*, a castle to the north-west of the village of Vrysi in Dragonara.⁸⁰ The

74. Papavasileiou 1907-1908, 101-113.

75. Skouras 2003, 53, 54; Geraistos: After surveying the area, I remark that Skouras's information on this site is rather confused and confusing; 84-86 (Buffalo island). The two other fortified settlements that he describes in the area of Cavo Doro, near the villages Zaharia (fort Kiza) and Thymi (fort Kathara), respectively (Skouras 2003, 63-65), both of which are surrounded by fortified walls made of local schist without connective mortar, cannot be dated without further archaeological research, and so I do not include them on the maps; Koder and Hild 1976, 185 'castle/ancient Geraistos'; Koder 1973, 30, 31. It is interesting to note that Porto Buffalo is marked only in Coronelli's map.

76. The three towers that Skouras mentions, which are said to have existed earlier (based on personal memories of the elderly or local traditions), in Styra, Marmari and Aetos (2003, 38-39, 81-82, 104) are not sufficiently well documented.

77. Keller 1985, 229-235, figs. 14, 58-60, 77, 80, 87, 96, 98.

78. Koder 1973, 30, 31, 104, 133-138; Malamut 1988, 344.

79. Koder 1973, 106.

80. Koder 1973, 30, 31, 103-106; Koder and Hild 1976, 140; Skouras 2003, 52, 53.

other was based at the castle of *Potiri*, which possibly can be identified with the *P. Potres* on the maps.⁸¹ It lies on a hill south-east of Avlonari and the outer wall, remnants of towers, cisterns, a church and ruins of buildings are all preserved. A small fortification also exists near the village of Koili.⁸² Another small fort from the Venetian period was possibly situated on a hill overlooking the plain of Dystos, where there are remnants of an ancient acropolis and a Frankish tower, although only scant evidence survives today; it is marked on the maps of Coronelli.⁸³ In addition, on the Aegean shore, the existence of forts has been proven at three locations: a) above Kymi—on the maps it is referred to as *Chimi*, *Porto Chimi*;⁸⁴ b) at Oktonia, close to the village of Alonia, there is an ancient castle, with a possible medieval habitation;⁸⁵ and c) at Potamia, the site of *Platari*, *Flatari* is mentioned on the maps.⁸⁶

This central region of the island, where the most fertile land is located, was richly populated during the Late Byzantine or the Frankish period on Euboea, as the wealth of extant archaeological evidence clearly demonstrates. In order to obtain a complete overview of the residential pattern present here, not including the castles mentioned above, we are recording the sites at which the existence of wall-less settlements has been proven, either through references in the written sources or based on ecclesiastical (non-monastic) monuments found there.⁸⁷ Those are medieval settlements located in the modern villages of Aliveri (Panagitsa, 1939), Agios Loukas (Agios Dimitrios in Kotsika, late 14th-early 15th century),⁸⁸ Gavallas, Tharrounia (Agios Nikolaos),⁸⁹ Makrychori (Agios Dimitrios, Kokkinoklisia, late 14th century or 1303?),⁹⁰ Agia Thekla (Agia Thekla, late 13th-early 14th century),⁹¹ Avlonari (Agios Dimitrios, late 13th century),⁹² Pyrgi (Metamorphosi Sotiros, 1296 or 1310), Orio (Gennesio Prodromou, 14th century),⁹³ Spilies (Odigitria, 1311), Oxyolithos (Koimisis Theotokou,⁹⁴ late 13th century; Agios Nikolaos Ritzanon, 1304; Agia Anna,⁹⁵ 1310 or 1370), Platana. We can note that there are 11 residential sites in total⁹⁶ which are not surrounded by a defensive wall and where small churches with murals from the Late Byzantine period have been found.⁹⁷ This picture of many small villages is also

81. Koder 1973, 30, 31, 103, 107, 108 (the author relates a former discussion about the position of the castle, which some scholars locate at Ochtonia); Koder and Hild 1976, 247; Skouras 2003, 44, 45; Triantafyllopoulos 1974, 220, n. 21 (he proposes that *P. Potres* be identified with *Porto Petres*—i.e. the Petries Gulf—an opinion I myself share, as this is the only sheltered harbour on the eastern coast of Euboea).

82. Koder 1973, 106; Koder and Hild 1976, 189, 190. According to the authors, it probably belonged to Cuppa.

83. Koder 1973, 105; Skouras 2003, 59, 60. I do not mark this fort on the map, as its existence is not sufficiently proven by archaeological remains.

84. Koder 1973, 30, 31, 106-107; Koder and Hild 1976, 196; Skouras 2003, 75.

85. Koder 1973, 107-108; Koder and Hild 1976, 226; Skouras 2003, 87, 88 (Skouras identifies it with *Graspilea* from older maps).

86. Koder 1973, 30, 31; Skouras 2003, 94, 95 (ancient fortification in use during the medieval age, according to the author). Additional field research is necessary to document the history of the castle.

87. Here I specifically refer to the churches that have been wall-painted between 1270 and 1310. During the short phase of Byzantine rule in Euboea groups of members of the local society financed many of them. For the painted churches of the period, cf. Triantafyllopoulos 1992, 68, in which the author points out that the flourishing of mural painting takes place between the years 1270-1310, during the short phase of Byzantine rule in Euboea; Emmanouel 1992, 76-80; Farandos 1980, 326, n. 10 and 327, n. 12; Kalogeropoulos 1936; Koder 1973, 163, 164.

88. Farandos 1980, 333-335.

89. Farandos (1980, 347-349) dates the church to the 16th century, pointing out, however, that close by, at the site called *Pyrgos*, there are the remains of a settlement (among them the remains of a tower, too) that could be dated even to the 13th century.

90. Emmanouel 1991; Farandos 1980, 326, 330-332.

91. Koumoussi 1987.

92. Farandos 1980, 368-370.

93. Farandos 1980, 351-353.

94. Emmanuel 1991.

95. Kakavas 2006, 267-289.

96. Koder 1973, 104: the author mentions that by the middle of the 15th century in *Dirfys* (the area in question) there were 25 villages.

97. For the Byzantine churches of the area of Aliveri-Kymi; cf. Emmanouel 1992, 76-80; Farandos 1980; Triantafyl-

supported by the Early Ottoman records from the 15th century in all of the abovementioned areas.⁹⁸ Some questions are raised: What was the relation between these wall-less settlements and the existing castles in their area? What castle had the authority over which villages? Was a castle the point of reference at times of danger?

A little to the north, in the mountains of Dirfys, we can also note that wall-less agricultural settlements, villages, developed during the Late Byzantine era. Their existence is indicated once more by the decorated churches from the period in the modern villages of Kathenoi, Vounoi, Loutsas and Steni.⁹⁹ The early Ottoman registers support this: they refer to a great number of villages in the area, the names of which are the same or sound like those in use today.¹⁰⁰ A fortified town has not been found here, possibly owing to the fact that it is difficult to access the area and also the mountainous terrain.

Turning towards northern Euboea, I will now analyse the evidence, starting from Euripos/Negroponte and moving northwards, along the shores of the Euboean Gulf. In the mountainous area of Klimaki or Derveni, the city-castle of Kleisoura (or Sidirokastro)¹⁰¹ is located. It was built by the Franks in the early 13th century and was the seat of one of the *tercieri*. After 1385 it passed into Venetian control, like all castles on Euboea. The castle of Kleisoura, which represents the 'entrance' to northern Euboea, preserves a large part of wall, churches, houses, cistern, etc. Next, on the right side of the road that leads to Mantoudi, on the hill which is now called Palaiohora, the existence of a fortification with many towers and a church inside, was mentioned by the traveller Buchon; it was here that he found numerous sculptured architectural pieces. Although remains of a castle at this location have not yet been found, it should be identified with the position *Mandugo* from the old naval maps.¹⁰² On the Aegean coast, in the area of Agia Anna, a location called *Acalia* or *Argalia* is marked on the old maps, which probably should be identified with a castle in the area, cited in a written source from 1277; today only remains of a tower are visible there.¹⁰³ The existence of a castle in the area where modern Limni stands, or *Limene*, *Limine*, *Limne*, *Limen*, *Limint*,¹⁰⁴ as marked on the old maps, is a puzzle for researchers. Medieval written sources suggest the existence of an unfortified settlement/port in this area, and there is an ongoing debate concerning whether the remains of fortifications located nearby, at a location called Kastria, were in use during the period we are examining in this present piece.¹⁰⁵ A village is also recorded here, immediately following the occupation of Euboea by the Ottomans.¹⁰⁶

At the northern end of the island, long-term habitation, starting in antiquity and continuing during the Middle and Late Byzantine period, is documented at Oreoi and Aidipsos. Settlements from the period of Frankish rule are found at Lihada (an area that was also inhabited in the Late Roman period) and at Yaltra: sites marked on the old maps are e.g. *Loreo*, *L'Oreo*, *Soreus*, *Orioz*, *Lipso*, *Adepsos*, *Dypso*, *Dipso*, *Lisos*, *Talitada*, *Litada*, *Litar* and *Litad*.¹⁰⁷ At Oreoi (Fig. 3), which was a diocesan seat from the 8th century to 1204 and the location of *Castel del Rio* according to medieval texts, remains of the walls of the city-castle of the same name are preserved; until the 19th century, square towers of the fortification as well as a church inside it were visible. The city most likely extended beyond the walls.¹⁰⁸ From

lopoulos 1992, 68, where the author points out that the flourishing of mural painting takes place between the years 1270-1310, during the short phase of Byzantine rule in Euboea.

98. Balta 1989, 121 (Lilandi), 123 (Monodri, Vasya), 124, 125 (Agalyos).

99. cf. n. 98 above.

100. Balta 1989, 124, 125.

101. Koder 1973, 116, 117; Koder and Hild 1976, 255, 256; Skouras 2003, 35, 36.

102. Koder 1973, 30, 31.

103. Koder 1973, 111, 112, 116; Koder and Hild 1976, 106; Skouras 2003, 36, 37.

104. Koder 1973, 30, 31, 114.

105. Koder and Hild 1976, 203; Skouras 2003, 77; Triantafyllopoulos 1974, 235, 236.

106. Balta 1989, 125.

107. Koder 1973, 30, 31, 109-113.

108. Koder 1973, 110, 111; Koder and Hild 1976, 228; Skouras 2003, 120, 121. The tombs and foundations of a church

medieval Aidipsos, a walled settlement located on a hill over the modern-day city, almost nothing is preserved.¹⁰⁹ In the area of Lihada, Kastri of Lihada, a fortified town on an elevated area in the north-west of the modern city, and a small fort with donjon in the east of the city, are referenced in the literature.¹¹⁰ According to Skouras, walls of the fortification and a cistern are the only surviving remains of Kastri, both of which he dates to Classical antiquity, owing to the size of the fortified area. Additional research is needed to confirm this assertion. From the second fortified site a small fort survives, which is of substantial height, as well as a part of the long walls of a rectangular tower (donjon) that stands at the north-west end of the fort (Fig. 4). A fortified enclosure that begins from the tower, which is in bad condition today, surrounded a large area to the north of the tower, where traces of habitation have been found. The position of the fort makes it ideal for controlling the marine passageway at the north end of the Euboean Gulf. Inside and around the fort, a large quantity of tableware pottery from the Late Byzantine period has been found, which suggests that the settlement was organized inside as well as outside the walls.

Finally, remains of a medieval fortification that could be identified with the castle of *Lalutra*, as it is referred to in written sources, are preserved inside the modern village of Gialtra (Fig 5).¹¹¹ This settlement, like Aidipsos, had hot springs. These fortified settlements were administratively and ecclesiastically dependent on the city of Oreoi.

Summary and conclusions

In summarizing the evidence provided by the fortified sites and attempting to extract some preliminary conclusions about the residential organization of Euboea during the Middle Byzantine and the Frankish periods, the following should be pointed out.

The settlements, city-castles, fortified towns and ‘villages’ are located mainly in fertile areas. These may be coastal sites that participated in maritime communication (e.g. Karystos, Aliveri or Vatheia) or could be located on flatlands or plateaus of the inland zone, as is the case for the Lilantine Plain, the region of Dirfys or the zone of Avlonari-Kymi.¹¹² Some peculiarities may be observed in the mountainous and barren landscape of the Karystia. We can posit that there is a concentration of settlements in central and southern Euboea, on the basis of up-to-date research data.¹¹³

In total, 27 fortified settlements can be noted on Euboea and, on the basis of their size and function, they can be considered cities-castles or fortified towns; nine are situated in northern Euboea (Map 1), twelve in central Euboea (Map 2), and six in southern Euboea (Map 3). Approximately half of them appear for the first time in the Late Byzantine period, as is the case with the castles of Kleisoura, Mantouko, Argalia, Gialtron, and probably the small fort of Lichada (northern Euboea), Rizokastro, Lehres and Fylla (central Euboea), Castello Rosso and Kastri-Geraistos (southern Euboea). Others are ancient fortifications, with a phase of use during the period under discussion in this paper, according to the aforementioned modern synthetic studies and my own surveys. Kastria-Limne (northern Euboea), Draggonara-La Cuppa (central Euboea), Filagra and Armena (south Euboea) are some of these. This view, however, still requires further confirmation from in-depth archaeological research. For instance,

are probably connected with the suburb, the settlement outside of the castle walls (Chatzidakis 1960, 157, 158; Lazarides 1967, 260; Triantafyllopoulos 1974, 236, 237).

109. Koder 1973, 112.

110. Koder 1973, 112, 113; Koder and Hild 1976, 204, 205; Skouras 2003, 78, 79. It is worth noting that during a survey in the area conducted in August 2015, I was only able to locate the fort from the Frankish period.

111. Koder 1973, 112; Koder and Hild 1976, 164; Skouras 2003, 54, 55.

112. cf. also Malamut 1988, 270-272.

113. Triantafyllopoulos 1992, 67.

if the existence of medieval remains is mentioned in a source, this does not necessarily mean there was extensive use of earlier sites, as medieval ruins may be of limited extent or/and of special character, as we have noted in the case of the ancient castle of Filagra, where medieval remains are limited. Even if isolated archaeological remains from the medieval period were located in these areas and recognized as such, many questions still remain. For example, at what point during the medieval period do the earlier remains begin to be reused (if, of course, habitation was ever interrupted)? Could the quality of fortified settlement be ascribed to the earlier phases? Has the habitation taken the place of an ancient site? These questions are only a few but illustrate the number of issues that are impossible to resolve without further archaeological research on the ground.

At several of these fortified sites, the residential installations (e.g. houses, churches, cisterns), whenever they exist, are located within the fortification,¹¹⁴ as is the case, for example, with the castles of Armena, Filagra, and Kastri in southern Euboea. Elsewhere, the settlement extends outside the walls, as in the Castello Rosso in Karystos, the fort of Lichada and Palaiochora in Vatheia. In yet other cases, e.g. in the wider regions of Fylla, Rizokastro/Porthmos, castle Potiri/Avlonari, the monuments and/or other historical evidence suggest significant, but not cohesive, residential activity, mainly outside the walls. In the last case, the castle could have been the seat of the local ruler, but it was also a point of reference for a broader residential zone, as well as a refuge for the population at a time of danger. A prominent place in the network of fortified settlements was apparently occupied by Chalkis. Chalkis-Euripos-Negroponte was, throughout the ages, the biggest residential centre in Euboea, and the only one that in all certainty developed urban characteristics during the medieval period. Chalkis is the only one which we can call a 'city-castle' without hesitation.

Next in terms of prominence were the cities that hosted the five ecclesiastic dioceses of the island (Euripos, Porthmos, Avlonas, Oreoi and Karystos). These cities served a special administrative role within their broader region, but their fortifications do not have common features. Karystos and Oreoi, both surviving ancient cities, appear to have stronger characteristics of an urban centre preserved, and habitation there was organized around the focal point of a city-castle. In contrast, in Aliveri and Avlonari habitation was not consistent and the settlements in these areas were first and foremost, if not exclusively, agricultural.

In addition to Chalkis, Karystos and Oreoi, we should also mention other fortified towns, seats of Frankish rulers or officials of the Venetian administration. These include Kleisoura, Koupa, Potiri and Fylla, and these played a crucial administrative role in the Frankish period. It is only natural, during this period, that all fortifications, even the isolated towers, participated in the administrative reorganization of the island, as they would have been closely linked to the feudal system that was imposed upon the arrival of the Latins in the East. For the administrative organization of the large Euboean territory, a legal system called 'Assizi of Romania' was used. It had been already implemented in the 13th century by the Lombards and it still existed in 1390, when the island was under the control of the Venetians.¹¹⁵ Taking into account that the fiefs of the island may have been public, ecclesiastical or private, it would be fruitful to examine the relationship of residential units with the fiefs, in light of the fact that socio-economic classes were largely defined by their relation to the land.

For the moment, there is no adequate answer to the question of the relationship between the fortifications. For example, should we consider castle Koili, which according to Koder belongs to La Cuppa, a separate residential centre? Which of the castles and during which periods truly worked as a network? Triantafyllopoulos¹¹⁶ speaks of 'the island of the fortifications'; and recognizes a variety

114. Of course, the absence of extensive field research cannot rule out the development of residential units outside them.

115. Papadia-Lala 2006, 30-32.

116. Triantafyllopoulos 1992, 67, 68.

of types, categorizing according to function: fortified cities, independent forts, simple towers, watch-towers, etc., without providing any specific data. In any case, there has not been a systematic study of any of them, except for Chalkis and, perhaps, Karystos. Euboea appears to experience an intense residential development during Frankish rule, but the Byzantine period raises more questions. Where are the many cities that Kinnamos¹¹⁷ (12th century) refers to? It is interesting to point out that some cities during the Middle Byzantine period continued to grow in place of the old urban centres, as is the case for example with Karystos and Oreoi. Elsewhere there was a change of place (as is observable at the castle of Euripos) or abandonment (as in Eretria and Porthmos-Aliveri). It is possible that the history of every area during that early period was formed under different conditions, and that there was subsequently a different framework for the growth of various areas during the Frankish period. For the network of cities and towns during the Byzantine period, there is very little that we can assume.¹¹⁸ This brief tour around the fortifications of Euboea leaves many questions for further researchers to answer. To conclude, I cannot stress enough the fact that, to 'feed' and support further study of medieval settlements (fortified or not) on Euboea, systematic field research and surveys of the castles are absolutely necessary, in order that they can be securely dated and catalogued (using their typology), and the networks of communication and their relations investigated. The use of GIS-based technology could also be especially helpful to this end.

117. Malamut 1988, 272 and n. 22.

118. Malamut 1988, 287-290: the author puts forward an interesting proposal on the recording of different types of settlements/cities from the Byzantine period and their ranking. Equally interesting is the theoretical framework proposed by M. Veikou in a recent study (2014, 160-170), and this could possibly be applied to the study of medieval Euboea.

Bibliography

- Adler, M. N. (1907) 'The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela'. *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 16(3), 453-473.
- Androudis, P. (2010-2012) 'Το επιθαλάσσιο οχυρό «Μπούρτζι» της Καρύστου στην Εύβοια. Συμβολή στη μελέτη της ιστορίας και της αρχιτεκτονικής του'. *Αρχαίο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 39, 35-63.
- Angeli, A. and E. Stylianos (2012) 'Αποκατάσταση του μεσαιωνικού πύργου στο Βασιλικό Ευβοίας'. In *Η Οχυρωματική Αρχιτεκτονική στο Αιγαίο και ο Μεσαιωνικός Οικισμός Αναβάτου Χίου (Χίος, 26-28/9/2008), Πρακτικά*, edited by A. Kavnadia, 41-48. Chios: AlphaPi Books.
- Balta, E. (1989) *L'Eubée à la fin du XVe siècle: économie et population: les registres de l'année 1474*. Αθήνα: Αρχαίο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών.
- Bouras, C. (1988-1989) 'Παρατηρήσεις στο καθολικό της Μονής της Θεοτόκου "Περιβλέπτου" στα Πολιτικά Ευβοίας'. *Αρχαίο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 28, 53-62.
- Bouras, C. (1990) 'Περί την χρονολόγηση του Καθολικού της Περιβλέπτου στα Πολιτικά Ευβοίας'. Presented at the *Δέκατο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης. Πρόγραμμα και περιλήψεις Εισηγήσεων και Ανακοινώσεων*, Αθήνα, 18-20 May 1990.
- Bouras, C. (2014) 'Μεσοβυζαντινές και υστεροβυζαντινές πόλεις από τη σκοπιά της πολεοδομίας και της αρχιτεκτονικής'. In *Οι βυζαντινές πόλεις. 8ος -15ος αιώνας*, edited by T. Κιουσοπούλου, 1-14. Rethymno: Crete University Press.
- Chatzidakis, M. (1960) 'Εύβοια'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 16 (Χρονικά), 157-158.
- Emmanouel, M. (1991) *Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Δημητρίου στο Μακρυχώρι και της Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου στον Οξύλιθο της Εύβοιας*. Athens: Εταιρεία Ευβοϊκών Μελετών.
- Emmanouel, M. (1992) 'Η μνημειακή ζωγραφική στην Εύβοια κατά την περίοδο της Φραγκοκρατίας'. *Αρχαιολογία* 42, 76-80.
- Farandos, C. (1980) 'Βυζαντινές και μεταβυζαντινές εκκλησίες στις περιοχές των χωριών: Αλιβέρι, Κατακαλός, Βελούσια, Αγ. Λουκάς, Παραμερίτες, Θαρούνια, Κρεμαστός, Οριό, Μουρτάρι, Οχτωνιά, Αυλωνάρι, Αγ. Γεώργιος και Αχλαδερή της ν. Εύβοιας'. *Αρχαίο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 23, 323-380, pls. 1-32.
- Georgoroulou-Verra, M. (1975) 'Βυζαντινά και μεσαιωνικά Ευβοίας'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 30(B Χρονικά), 171-174.
- Jacoby, D. (1981) 'Les gens de mer dans la marine de guerre vénitienne de la mer Egée aux XIVe et XVe siècles'. In *Le Genti del Mare Mediterraneo*, edited by R. Rosalba, 198. Naples: L. Pironti.
- Jaubert, A. (1999) *Géographie d'Edrisi traduite de l'arabe en français d'après deux manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi et accompagnée de notes*. Paris 1836-40 [trans. A. Nef and H. Bresc]. Paris: La Première Géographie de l'Occident.
- Kakavas, G. (2006) 'Τάσεις της μνημειακής ζωγραφικής στην Εύβοια το 14ο αιώνα. Η περίπτωση της Αγίας Άννας στον Οξύλιθο'. In *Βενετία-Εύβοια: Από τον Έγριπο στο Νεγροπόντε/Venezia-Eubea. Da Egridro a Negroponte. Atti del convegno internazionale (Chalkida, 12-14 November 2004)*, edited by C. Maltezos and C. Papakosta, 267-289. Venice; Athens: Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies in Venice.
- Kalamara, P. (2015) 'Αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα του νομού Ευβοίας, 2009-2013'. In *Αρχαιολογικές Συμβολές, Τόμος Γ: Βοιωτία & Εύβοια, Εφορείες Αρχαιοτήτων Βοιωτίας & Εύβοιας*, edited by S. Oikonomou, 151-164. Athens: Museum of Cycladic Art.
- Kalamara, P., M. Kosma, K. Boukaras and Y. Chairetakis (2015) *The city of Chalkis. Chalkis - Euripus - Negroponte - Egriboz*. Athens: Ministry of Culture and Sports; Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea.
- Kalogeropoulos, N. D. (1936) 'Παλαιοχριστιανικά και Βυζαντινά μνημεία και τέχνη εν Ευβοία'. *Αρχαίο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 2, 26-42.
- Keller, D. R. (1985) 'Archaeological Survey in Southern Euboea, Greece: A reconstruction of human activity from Neolithic Times through the Byzantine Period'. PhD thesis. Indiana University, USA.
- Koder, J. (1973) *Negroponte: Untersuchungen zur Topographie und Siedlungsgeschichte der Insel Euboea während der Zeit der Venezianerherrschaft*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Koder, J. and F. Hild (1976) 'Hellas und Thessalia'. Vol. 1 of *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

- Kontogiannis, N. D. (2012) 'Euripos-Negroponte-Egriboz: Material culture and historical topography of Chalkis from Byzantium to the end of the Ottoman rule'. *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 62, 29-56.
- Kosma, M. and Y. Chairidakis (2015) 'The find. The excavation at the site of the new General Hospital of Chalkis'. In *The City of Chalkis. Chalkis - Euripos - Negroponte - Egriboz*, edited by P. Kalamara, M. Kosma, K. Boukaras and Y. Chairidakis, 8-24. Athens: Ministry of Culture and Sports, Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea.
- Koumoussi, A. (1987) *Les peintures murales de la Transfiguration de Pyrgi et de Sainte Thècle en Eubée*. Athens: University of Athens.
- Lambros, S. (1879) Vol. I of *Μικ. Ακομινάτου Σωζόμενα*. Athens.
- Lazarides, D. (1967) 'Αρχαιότητες και Μνημεία Ευβοίας-Σκύρου'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 22(Χρονικά), 260.
- Malamut, E. (1988) Vols. 1-3 of *Les îles de l'empire Byzantine, VIIIe-XIe siècles*. Paris Université de Paris I-Panthéon-Sorbonne.
- Mamaloukos, S. and C. Pinatsi (2007) 'Συμπληρωματικά στοιχεία για το καθολικό της μονής Περιβλέπτου στα Πολτικά Εύβοιας'. *Αρχείο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 37, 71-82.
- Papadia-Lala, A. (2006) 'Κοινωνική οργάνωση και αστική κοινότητα στην Εύβοια κατά τη βενετική περίοδο (1390-1470)'. In *Βενετία-Εύβοια: Από τον Έγριπο στο Νεγροπόντε/Venezia-Eubea. Da Egripos a Negroponte. Atti del convegno internazionale (Chalkida, 12-14 November 2004)*, edited by C. Maltezou and C. Papakosta, 27-40. Venice; Athens: Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies in Venice.
- Papavasileiou, G. (1907-1908) 'Ανασκαφάι εν Ευβοία'. *Πρακτικά Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 1907-1908, 114-119.
- Reber, K. and S. G. Schmid (2000) 'Zur Wasserversorgung von Chalkis (Euboea) I. Die Wasserleitung von Ano Kambia nach Kato Steni'. *Athenische Mitteilungen* 115, 359-387.
- Ross, L. and J. A. Schmeller (1837) *Urkunden zur Geschichte Griechenlands im Mittelalter*. Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Sathas, K. N. (1882) Vol. III of *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge*. Paris: A. Coromilas.
- Skouras, T. (1975) 'Οχυρώσεις στην Εύβοια (Μερικές λύσεις στα τοπογραφικά τους προβλήματα)'. *Αρχείο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 20, 327-400.
- Skouras, T. (2003) *Ακροπόλεις - κάστρα - πύργοι της Εύβοιας*. Χαλκίδα: Νομαρχιακή Αυτοδιοίκηση Ευβοίας.
- Stai, M. (2012) 'Το Μπούρτζι της Καρύστου - Αποτύπωση, πρόταση αποκατάστασης και νέας χρήσης'. In *Η Οχυρωματική Αρχιτεκτονική στο Αιγαίο και ο Μεσαιωνικός Οικισμός Αναβάτου Χίου (Χίος, 26-28/9/2008), Πρακτικά*, edited by A. Kanvadia, 507-516. Chios: AlphaPi Books.
- Triantafyllopoulos, D. D. (1970) 'Η μεσαιωνική Χαλκίδα και τα μνημεία της (σχεδιασμο αρχαιολογικής βιβλιογραφίας)'. *Αρχείο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 16, 183-204.
- Triantafyllopoulos, D. D. (1974) 'Τοπογραφικά προβλήματα της μεσαιωνικής Εύβοιας [Johannes Koder, "Negroponte", Wien 1973]'. *Αρχείο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 19, 209-258.
- Triantafyllopoulos, D. D. (1990) 'Χριστιανική και μεσαιωνική Χαλκίδα: ανασκόπηση της νεώτερης αρχαιολογικής έρευνας'. In *Διεθνές Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο 'Η πόλη της Χαλκίδας', Chalkis, September 24-27, 1987*, 163-228. Athens: Society of Euboean Studies.
- Triantafyllopoulos, D. D. (1992) 'Αρχαιολογικά Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Εύβοιας (Ιστορικό πλαίσιο - Μνημεία - Προβλήματα και αιτήματα)'. *Αρχαιολογία* 42, 63-75.
- Tsiompikou, H. (2012) 'Castello Rosso Καρύστου. Το Κάστρο και ο οικισμός: τα νέα στοιχεία της έρευνας'. In *Η Οχυρωματική Αρχιτεκτονική στο Αιγαίο και ο Μεσαιωνικός Οικισμός Αναβάτου Χίου (Χίος, 26-28/9/2008), Πρακτικά*, edited by A. Kanvadia, 549-560. Chios: AlphaPi Books.
- Veikou, M. (2014) 'Byzantine Histories, Settlement Stories: Kastrá "Isles of Refuges" and "Unspecified Settlements" as In-Between or Third Spaces. Preliminary Remarks on Aspects of Byzantine Settlement in Greece (6th - 10th c.)'. In *Οι βυζαντινές πόλεις. 8ος -15ος αιώνας*, edited by T. Kiousopoulou, 159-206. Rethymno: Crete University Press.

Figures



Figure 1:
Castle of Fylla

Figure 2:
Fortification in Kontodespoti,
near Psahna.



Figure 3:
Topographical plan of the region of Aliveri,
where the medieval monuments or/ and sites
are marked.



Figure 4:
Rizokastro, in the region of Aliveri.
View of the interior.



Figure 5:
Castle of Armenon, Styra.
View of the internal fortification
wall, which protected
the “upper town”



Figure 6: Castle of Armenon,
Styra. View of the external, eastern
fortification wall, which protected
the “lower town”. It is enhanced
with triangular towers.



Figure 7:
Castello Rosso,
Karystos



Figure 8:
Bourtzi,
Karystos



Figure 9:
Castle of Geraistos



Figure 10:
Castle of Oreoi

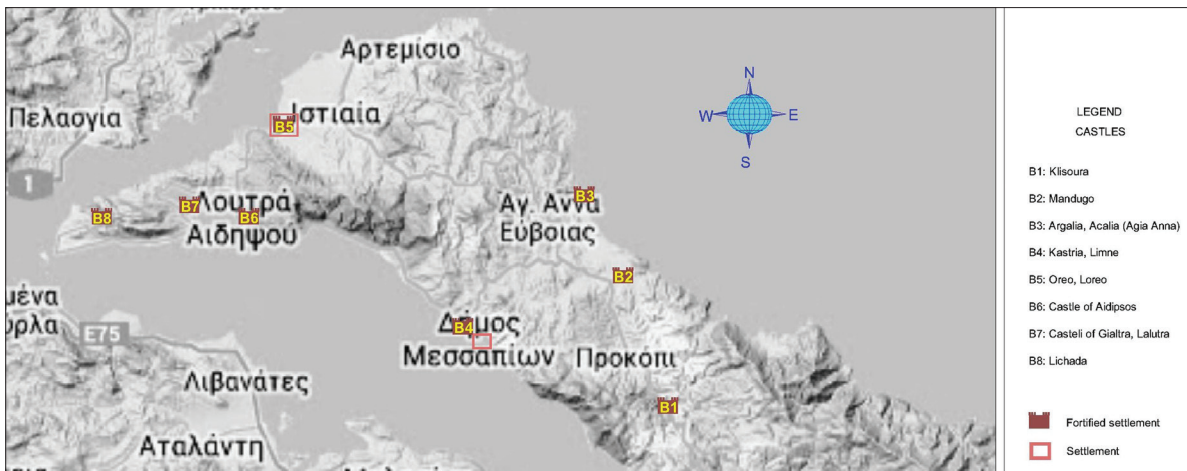


Figure 11:
Castle of Lichada



Figure 12:
Fortification wall
in the modern village
of Gialtra.

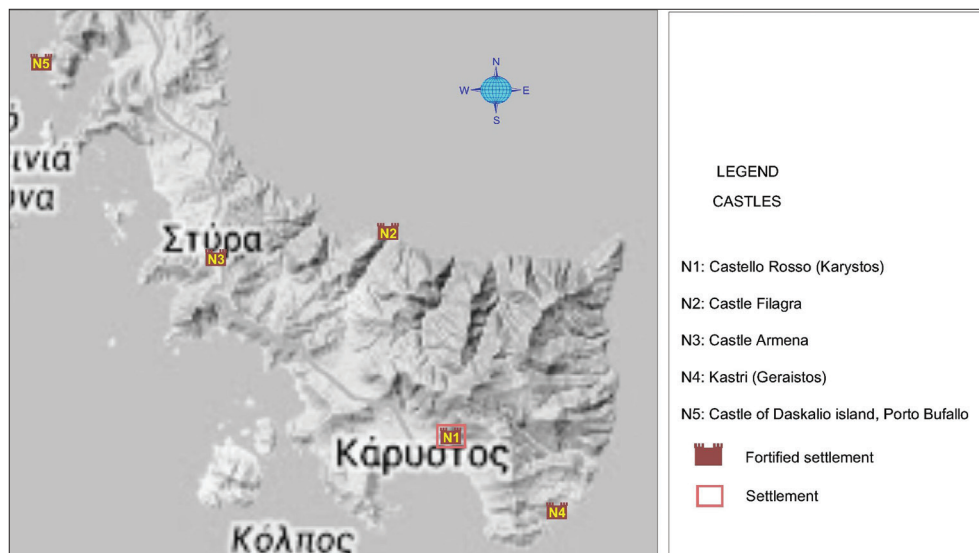
Maps



Map 1. North Euboea.



Map 2. Central Euboea.



Map 3. South Euboea.

A short overview of the history of the Church on Euboea (Negroponte)

Despoina Stef. MICHALAGA

Abstract

Άγνωστη παραμένει η ακριβής χρονολογία του εκχριστιανισμού της Εύβοιας, ενώ ήδη από τον 4^ο αι. μαρτυρείται επίσκοπος Βοίας υποκείμενος στη Μητρόπολη Κορίνθου. Οι διαφορετικές ονομασίες των επισκόπων, αρχιεπισκόπων ή μητροπολιτών του νησιού (*Βοίας, Ευρίπου, Ευβοίας, Χαλκίδος*) και των υποκειμένων επισκοπών (*Ωρεών, Πορθμού, Καρύστου, Αυλώνας, Αιδηψού*), καθώς και η θέση τους στα Εκκλησιαστικά Τακτικά, οδηγούν συχνά σε σύγχυση τους ερευνητές της τοπικής ιστορίας. Η ύπαρξη Λατινικής Εκκλησίας παράλληλα, μετά το 1204, οι υποκείμενες στη λατινική Μητρόπολη Αθηνών, λατινικές επισκοπές του νησιού (*Ευρίπου, Ωρεών, Αυλώνας, Καρύστου*) ή ο διττός ρόλος του λατίνου πατριάρχη Κωνσταντινουπόλεως - επισκόπου Negroponte και η συνύπαρξη Ελλήνων, Φράγκων, Βενετών, δημιουργεί νέους προβληματισμούς. Η θρησκευτική κατάσταση της Εύβοιας, τουλάχιστον έως την κατάληψή της από τους Οθωμανούς, το 1470, παραμένει στο ημίφως και χρειάζεται να αναδειχθούν περισσότερο, όπως και να συστηματοποιηθούν, οι πολύπλοκες εκκλησιαστικές σχέσεις, που δημιουργήθηκαν στο νησί.

Introduction

Although the precise date of the Christianization of the island of Euboea is not known,¹ it is possible that the message of Christianity was preached on the island at the time of Apostle Paul and his successors. This is a plausible assumption, based on the location of Euboea in the vicinity of Thebes² and Athens, where there is evidence of early apostolic preaching, and also based on the existence of a Jewish community and probably of a synagogue in the city of Chalcis.³

The structure of the Church establishment

Demand for an authentic apostolic succession was the reason behind the composition of episcopal lists. Another matter of importance was the order of precedence of the ecclesiastical sees, which was laid down in the so-called '*Notitiae Episcopatumum*' or *Taktika*. The whole structure of the Church establishment was based depends on these documents, which for historical purposes constitute a unique source, as they contain geographical and historical data from many centuries. They are also important

1. Themelis 1956, 9-11, 16-26.

2. Konstantinides 1983, 19-24.

3. Fornis 1954, 59-60; Gritsopoulos 1964a, 998; Lambropoulou and Tsiknakis 2008, 13; Themelis 1956, 8-9. For the Jewish presence in Euboea, see also Koder 1973, 86-88, 94-95, 179-181; Moschonas 2006, 160-161.

for the history and evolution of the sees of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, regarding their order of precedence and jurisdiction, as they reflect every change that took place from the 5th century to the time of the Ottoman Empire. Their contribution to the evolution of the administrative structure of the Church, as well as to the canons of the councils and the provisions of imperial legislation, is also undeniable.⁴

Christianity in the Greek Peninsula developed around the big urban centres, Thessalonica, Nicopolis of Epirus, Corinth⁵ and Gortys on Crete, where Paul's preaching had quite an impact.⁶ The bishop of Corinth rose above the other bishops for three reasons: his city was the capital of the Roman province; he possessed a powerful apostolic tradition; and he was entitled—under the authority of the Pauline epistles—to deal with matters of heresy and to keep the peace in the Christian Church in the whole Greek area.⁷

The administrative structure of the Church in the Greek Peninsula followed closely that of the civil division. Under the Roman Empire, from the time of Augustus, the province of Achaia had been separated from that of Macedonia. Achaia as a province included the Peloponnese and part of central Greece. After Diocletian's reformation, the number of the provinces was raised, and they were grouped together in larger entities called *dioeceses*. The fifth such *dioecesis* of Moesia, or eastern Illyricum, comprised the provinces of Achaia, Thessaly, Macedonia, Epirus (together with the Ionian islands) and Crete (with the rest of the islands). Southern Greece continued to be governed as before by a proconsul, and by the time of the Tetrarchy the whole *dioecesis* fell to the portion of Galerius Caesar. When Constantine became monarch he rearranged the division of the Roman Empire into prefectures, establishing three for the Western Empire and two for the Eastern Empire.⁸ Eastern Illyricum belonged to the Western Roman Empire and, upon the civil division, the ecclesiastical division was modelled sometime between the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th centuries. All the churches of the Greek Peninsula were grouped together and placed under the West.

Initially, the area of eastern Illyricum comprised the ecclesiastical dioceses of: a) Macedonia, with Thessalonica as its metropolis; b) Thessaly, with Larissa; c) Achaia, with Corinth, including the diocese of Athens and the sees of the island of Euboea: Chalcis (Χαλκίδος), Karystos⁹ (Καρύστου) and Porthmos¹⁰ (Πορθμού); d) Epirus, with Nicopolis as metropolis; and e) Crete, with Gortys.¹¹ Until the Second Ecumenical Council (in 381) all metropolitan sees were independent. Every metropolitan see was autocephalous and presided over the local synod. From 395 onwards, the prefecture of Illyricum (*Praefectura Praetorio per Illyricum*) had its capital in Thessalonica, and accordingly its bishop, as archbishop of Illyricum, held the office of a head of the Church, similar to that of the Patriarch of Alexandria.¹² According to the Synecdemus of Hierocles (527-535), 'the province of Greece, namely Achaia, included 79 cities under a proconsul' (η επαρχία Ελλάδος ἡγουν Αχαΐας, υπό ανθύπατον πόλεις οθ'). Among these are listed the island of Euboea as a whole (νήσος Εύβοια), and particularly Aedipsos (Άδεψος), Chalcis on the island of Euboea (Χαλκίς, νήσος Ευβοίας), Porthmos (Πορθμός), Karystos (Κάρυστος) and Athens, the metropolis of Attica.¹³ After the 4th century, the moral authority¹⁴ of the Pope of Rome in eastern Illyricum began to be transformed into supervisory power, and this change became permanent until

4. Konidaris 1934, 1.

5. The city of Athens delayed accepting the new religion; for this reason a long time later, probably in the first half of the 9th century, and also because of the increase of the number of bishops in Greece, it was elevated to a metropolis.

6. Konidaris 2011, A', 440.

7. Konidaris 2011, A', 441.

8. Koder and Hild 1976, 50-51.

9. Koder and Hild 1976, 183-184.

10. Now Aliveri; see Koder and Hild 1976, 120-121, 246.

11. Koder and Hild 1976, 79; Konidaris 2011, A', 441-443.

12. Koder and Hild 1976, 80; Konidaris 2011, A', 503-504, 506-509.

13. Koder 1973, 65-66; Koder and Hild 1976, 52-54, 80-81; Konidaris 1967-1968, 260; 2011, A', 515-516.

14. Konidaris 2011, A', 523.

the provinces passed under the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Roman authority over eastern Illyricum is the reason for the lack of written records concerning Greek metropolises in the lists of the East, and particularly in the *Notitiae* of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.¹⁵ With the civil administration of the region being dependent on the Western Roman Empire, the Church of eastern Illyricum was governed similarly by Rome, through a *vicarius* residing in Thessalonica (*Vicariatum Thessalonicensis*).¹⁶ Gradual alienation between East and West, and the acknowledged precept that the boundaries of ecclesiastical jurisdictions had to coincide with those of the civil divisions, led to the adoption of *ad hoc* measures, which meant that the archbishop of Thessalonica was entrusted with even wider authority and weightier tasks. These provisional arrangements led to the final solution, provided in 733 by Emperor Leon III the Isaurian. Reacting to the disorder caused by the issue of the icons, the emperor detached the churches of eastern Illyricum and the churches of southern Italy from Rome, placing them under the patriarch of Constantinople.¹⁷ In this way, and from that time, the Greek area was unified; shortly after that even the most inaccessible fringes of the Greek peninsula were Christianized.¹⁸

Concerning the island of Euboea, there is an early mention of a similarly titled bishopric there ('of Euboea', Εὐβοίας¹⁹); it is probably the same as that attested later, during the 9th century, which was named after its capital city 'of Chalcis' (Χαλκίδος²⁰). The two names denote often the same thing, as Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus confirms in his *De Thematibus*,²¹ and Stephanus of Byzantium in his *Ethnica*.²² The name of a diocese of Euripus²³ (Εὐρίπου²⁴) is attested for the first time in 869,²⁵ and appears later, denoting different entities: a diocese, an archdiocese or a metropolis.

Equally important is the fact that when the 'church of Euboea' is mentioned in the sources, it does not denote the area of the island as a whole, since there were other lesser bishoprics on the island.

The diocese of Euboea was initially a suffragant of the metropolis of Corinth, and through this it came under the archbishop of Thessalonica until the transfer of the churches of eastern Illyricum from Rome to Constantinople.²⁶

From the 9th century onwards,²⁷ the bishopric titled 'of Euripus' (Εὐρίπου)²⁸ was a suffragant of the metropolis of Athens, as were the other bishoprics of the island, Oreioi,²⁹ Karystos,³⁰ Porthmos³¹ and Avlon,³² which shared the same history in the ecclesiastical establishment. Later, with the appoint-

15. Koder and Hild 1976, 54-57; Konidaris 1934, 64; 2011, A', 517; Konstantinides 1968, 114, n. 223.

16. Konidaris 2011, A', 525-529.

17. Koder and Hild 1976, 57-58; Konidaris 2011, A', 535-536.

18. Konidaris 1934, 45; Konstantinides 1983, 115.

19. Atesis 1975, 291-296; Gritsopoulos 1964a, 998-999. Bibliography is noted in Anastasiou 1979, 133.

20. Bibliography is noted in Anastasiou 1979, 386.

21. Και νήσον την Εύβοιαν, ην τινες Χάλκιν ή Χαλκίδα επονομάζουσιν.

22. Η δε Εύβοια νήσός εστι περιφανεστάτη της Ελλάδος, η λεγομένη Εύριπος.

23. Koder and Hild 1976, 156-158.

24. Gritsopoulos 1964b, 1071-1072; Themelis 1952a, 9-59. Bibliography is noted in Anastasiou 1979, 135-136. See also the bishop's list in Mystakides 1936, 171-173.

25. In the face of Euripus Theodore I. See Themelis 1951, 436.

26. Atesis 1975, 292; Konidaris 2011, A', 443, 515-516, 519-520, 522.

27. According to others, it happened during the end of the 7th or at the beginning of the 8th century. See Atesis 1975, 292.

28. For the name see Koder 1973, 63.

29. For the bishopric of Oreoi, αρχαίας πόλεως της Ευβοίας παρά την σημερινήν Ιστιαίαν, bibliography is noted in Anastasiou 1979, 398; Gioles 1998-2000, 7-8, 25-27, 29-37, 46-48; Koder and Hild 1976, 228; Themelis 1952b, 604-617; 1953a, 64-69. See also the bishop's list in Atesis 1975, 300; Mystakides 1936, 234.

30. Bibliography is noted in Anastasiou 1979, 181; Themelis 1955, 436-438, 548-583. See also the bishop's list in Atesis 1975, 106-107; Fedalto 1988, 494-495.

31. For the bishopric of Porthmos, πόλη της Δ. ακτής της Ευβοίας απέναντι του Ωρωπού, bibliography is noted in Anastasiou 1979, 305; Themelis 1953b, 618-625. See also the bishop's list in Atesis 1975, 301.

32. For the bishopric of Avlon, σημερινόν Αυλωνάρι νοτίως της Κύμης, bibliography is noted in Anastasiou 1979, 68; Koder and Hild 1976, 130-131; Themelis 1953b, 625-626; 1954, 88-90. See also the bishop's list in Atesis 1975, 301; Fedalto 1988, 494.

ment of a primate (*protos*) among the island's bishoprics, the see of Euripus was given precedence over the others, and its bishop³³ took the title *protepiscopeos* ('head bishop'). The bishopric of Aedipsos (Εδέψου)³⁴ seems at first (early in the 9th century) to hold eighth place among the 39 suffragants of the metropolitan of Athens, although later it disappears from the sources. A puzzling piece of evidence comes from the documents of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (787), where the see of Oreoi (Ωρωού, Ωρειού, Ωρεού) appears as a suffragant of the bishop of Cephalonia, together with the see of Porthmos;³⁵ the fact is explained by assuming confusion in the acts of the council. The fact is that the bishopric of Oreoi was established before the 5th century, and was initially under the metropolis of Corinth, later under Athens and finally, from the 13th century onwards, under the metropolis of Euripus.³⁶

The see of Euripus was detached from the metropolis of Athens and upgraded to metropolis in the second half of the 13th century, and all of the other sees of the island were suffragants.³⁷

Notitiae Episcopatum

It is now possible to reconstruct the history of the Euboean bishoprics by following the course of the lists that set the order of precedence of the bishops.³⁸ In the 'list of Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis Cyprus' (Επιφανίου αρχιεπισκόπου Κύπρου έκθεσις) (*Notitia* 1), dated to the early 7th century, there is no reference to a see of the island, no doubt because it did not belong to the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.³⁹

In a later list, recording 'the precedence of bishops' sees' (προκαθέδρας μητροπολιτών) (*Notitia* 2), composed between the middle of the 8th century and the first quarter of the 9th, the following archbishops appear: of Crete, in the diocese of the islands; Corinth (Κορίνθου), in the diocese of Peloponnese (επαρχία Πελοποννήσου); Sicily, in the diocese of the islands; and Thessalonica (Θεσσαλονίκης), in the diocese of Illyricum Primum of Macedonia (επαρχία Ιλλυρικού α' Μακεδονίας). There follows a brief notice of 'the others' (και οι λοιποί), where the 'diocese of Greece' (επαρχία Ελλάδος) comes 44th in rank, under the metropolitan of Athens.⁴⁰

Soon after, in a 'precedence list' (τάξιν προκαθεδρίας, *Notitia* 3) of the early 9th century, a metropolitan of 'Athens in the diocese of Greece' appears in 48th place among the metropolitans of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, although further on the same diocese is placed 44th, with the metropolis of Athens at its head. The bishop of Aedipsos (Εδέψου, Αδηψος-Εκεψος) is 8th in rank, of Porthmos (Πορτίνου, Πορθμός) 9th, of Karystos (Καποίας, Καρυστίας-Κάρυστος) 10th, of Avlon (Ολας, Εύβοια - Αυλώνας) 24th, and of Euripus (Επίας, Ε<υρι>πίας) 25th.⁴¹

In other *taktika* of the middle of the 9th century (*Notitia* 4, *Notitia* 5) the metropolitan of 'Athens in the diocese of Greece' is mentioned among those metropolitans and suffragant bishops who 'were detached from the Roman administration, and were at that time under the See of Constantinople' (αποσπασθέντες εκ της ρωμαϊκής διοικήσεως, νυν δε τελούντες υπό τον θρόνον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, μητροπολίται και οι υφ' εαυτούς όντες επίσκοποι⁴²).

33. Themelis 1952a, 16.

34. Bibliography is noted in Anastasiou 1979, 34; Atesis 1975, 301; Themelis 1954, 90-94.

35. Darrouzès 1981, 245.

36. Atesis 1975, 300.

37. Atesis 1975, 292.

38. Also Themelis 1952a, 16-21. Koder 1973, 133-134 is superseded by Darrouzès 1981, see below.

39. Darrouzès 1981, 204-213.

40. Darrouzès 1981, 216-217; Koder 1973, 66.

41. Darrouzès 1981, 231, 243-244.

42. Darrouzès 1981, 261, 265.

To the 9th century belongs the 'list of names of the holy metropolitans' (τάξεις ονομάτων των οσίων μητροπολιτών) (*Notitia* 6), on which the metropolitan of Athens is among those placed under Rome.⁴³

In another *taktikon* ascribed to Patriarch Nikolaos (Νικολάου πατριάρχου του παλαιού) (*Notitia* 7), dated to the 10th century, Athens is placed among the metropolises of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, 28th in rank. To this metropolis belong ten bishoprics, with that of Euripus (Ευρίπου) coming 1st, while Oreoi (Ωρεού) is 5th, Karystos (Καρύστου) 7th, Porthmos (Πορθμού) 8th, and Avlon (Αυλώνας) 9th.⁴⁴

In the 'list of suffragant metropolises' (τάξιν των υποκειμένων μητροπόλεων) (*Notitia* 8), also of the end of the 10th century, 'Athens in the diocese of Greece' appears, holding the same place (28th).⁴⁵

Similarly, in the next list, the so-called 'New *Taktika*' (*Notitia* 9) from the time of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, 'Athens in Greece' keeps the same rank; under its metropolitan is the bishop of Euripus (ο Ευρίπου) 1st in rank, the bishop of Oreoi (ο Ωρεού, Ωραίου) 5th, that of Karystos (ο Καρύστου) 7th, that of Porthmos (ο Πορθμού) 8th, and that of Avlon (ο Αυλώνας) 9th.⁴⁶

The same order is kept in the *taktikon* of the time of Emperor John Tsimiskes (*Notitia* 10), and in another *taktikon* of the 10th-11th century (*Notitia* 11).

Similarly, in lists composed shortly before the Fourth Crusade (*Notitia* 12⁴⁷), even during Frankish-Venetian domination,⁴⁸ 'Athens of Greece' keeps its rank (28th or 29th), with 12 suffragants (*Notitia* 13).⁴⁹

A list (*Notitia* 14) was composed in the middle of the 12th century by Neilos Doxapatris (σύγγραμμα Νείλου του Δοξαπατρή), and there 'Athens of Greece' has 10 suffragants and is 28th in rank.⁵⁰

Much later, during the reign of Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, on the 'list of metropolises' (τάξιν των μητροπόλεων, *Notitia* 15), Athens remains 28th in the order of precedence.⁵¹ It is believed that this was the time when the emperor, aiming to reinforce Orthodox presence on the island of Euboea, detached the diocese of Euripus from the metropolis of Athens and upgraded it to archdiocese or metropolis with the rest of the sees of the island coming under it.

In a later text mistakenly attributed to Emperor Leo VI the Wise (υποτύπωσιν ... του ... Λέοντος του Σοφού) (*Notitia* 16), but really of the 14th century, there is no mention of the island of Euboea.⁵²

In a subsequent list, however, called 'of the Emperor Andronicus II Palaiologos' (έκθεσιν ... του ... Ανδρονίκου Παλαιολόγου του γέροντος) (*Notitia* 17 and 18), of the 14th century, the metropolitan of Athens is downgraded to 35th in rank. An accompanying explanatory note states that, 'he was formerly 28th in order, though now relegated to the 35th'. Exactly the same thing happened to the bishop of Euripus (Ευρίπου), who is now placed 109th, according to a similar notice (ωσαύτως και αυτή, νβ' ούσα, ρθ' γέγονεν).⁵³

Surprisingly, in the next list, under the name of Emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos (έκθεσιν του ... Ανδρονίκου τρίτου του Παλαιολόγου) (*Notitia* 19), the metropolitan of Athens appears again in his proper place (28th), but the bishop of Euripus is absent.⁵⁴

The same is repeated in the so-called '*Taktikon* on [ecclesiastical] order' (περί της τάξεως) (*Noti-*

43. Εισίν οι υπό την Δύσιν και ο Αθηνών. Darrouzès 1981, 268.

44. Darrouzès 1981, 272, 283.

45. Αι Αθήναι, επαρχία Ελλάδος ο Αθηνών. Darrouzès 1981, 291.

46. Darrouzès 1981, 302.

47. Darrouzès 1981, 324, 343, 349.

48. Fedalto 1974, 77.

49. Darrouzès 1981, 361. As recorded in different manuscripts.

50. Darrouzès 1981, 375.

51. Darrouzès 1981, 381. In the same period, η Ευρίπος is also shown in 52nd place or even in the 102nd as an archbishopric or a metropolis, although the record is considered falsified. Darrouzès 1981, 383.

52. Darrouzès 1981, 388.

53. Darrouzès 1981, 396, 401, 406-407.

54. Darrouzès 1981, 412.

tia 20), from the beginning of the 15th century, where only 'the metropolitan of Athens and of all of Greece' appears, as expected, ranked 28th.⁵⁵

According to the *taktika*, the metropolis of Euripus reappears after the Fall of Constantinople (1453). An 'order of precedence' (τάξιν προκαθεδρίας) (*Notitia* 21) from the end of 15th century situates Athens (αι Αθήναι) 21st and Euripus (η Εύριπος) 48th, with the added note that the metropolitan of Euripus in Euboea governed these suffragants; Oreoi, Karystos, Porthmos, Avlon and Kanalia (ότι ο Ευρίπου της Ευβοίας έχει ταύτας: των Ωρεών, του Καρύστου, του Πορθμού, του Αυλώνος και του Καναλιών).⁵⁶ The see of Κανάλια⁵⁷ appears some time after the reconquest of Constantinople by Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, although these suffragants previously appeared as a suffragant of the metropolitan of Thebes in Boeotia. After the fall of Constantinople to the Turks (1453), the metropolitan of Euripus was accorded the title *hypertimos* ('egregious') and *exarchos* ('legate') of the whole island (του υπερτίμου και εξάρχου πάσης Ευβοίας)⁵⁸ and by the end of the 17th century had been relegated to 45th in rank.⁵⁹ There are occasional references concerning the see of Euripus during Frankish and Venetian domination, implying that it was upgraded to archdiocese, which if true would mean that it became an independent see without suffragants, subject immediately to the authority of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. This conjecture, however, is false, and probably originates from a misunderstanding of the Latin sources, which use lightly the term *arcivescovo* to refer to a metropolitan

Orthodox hierarchy⁶⁰

Initially, as mentioned above, the church of Achaëa included southern Greece, with the metropolis of Corinth first in seniority. Subject under Corinth was a bishop of Voëa (<Ευ>Βοίας) named Marcus, who accompanied Bishops Pistus of Athens and Cleonicus of Thebes to take part in the First Ecumenical Council (325) of Nicaëa.

A bishop of Euboea Anatolius (Ευβοίας Ανατόλιος) took part, along with Zoilus of Andros, in a council in Alexandria (362) which was convened by Athanasius the Great against Arianism.

To the above are added often a bishop of Chalcis named Apriggus (Απρίγγιος Χαλκίδος), who took part in the Third Ecumenical Council (431) of Ephesus, and likewise the bishops of Chalcis Iamblichus (Ιάμβλιχος Χαλκίδος) and Romulus (Ρωμύλος Χαλκίδος), who both participated in the Fourth Ecumenical Council (451) of Chalcedon. All of them are mistakenly placed as coming from Chalcis in Euboea, but they were in fact bishops of Chalkis in Syria (Qinnasrin), belonging to the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Antioch.

A Bishop Constantine of Chalcis (Κωνσταντίνος επίσκοπος Χαλκίδος) participated, together with the bishop of Athens, Athanasius and of Karystos, Cyriacus, at a local council in Corinth (458) which was convened by Peter of Corinth, to confirm the decisions of the Fourth Ecumenical Council.

There is a questionable reference to a Bishop Dometius in the acts of the Fifth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (553).

A John of Euboea is placed to Chalcis around the year 744. He was a scholar of notable works⁶¹ and defender of the icons, and for this reason he is often confused with John of Damascus.

55. Darrouzès 1981, 417.

56. Darrouzès 1981, 419-421; Koder 1973, 66.

57. Bibliography is noted in Anastasiou 1979, 177; Themelis 1954, 95-99. Older reference, as *Κανάλων*, see in Darrouzès 1981, 366.

58. Themelis 1952a, 19.

59. Ο Ευρίπου πάσης Ευβοίας Καλλινικός. See in Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1889, 471.

60. See Atesis 1975, 292-293; Fedalto 1988, 497-498.

61. *Joannis Monachus et Presbyterus Euboeae*. See his works, ed. PG 96, cols. 1451 – 1460, 1459 – 1500, 1501 – 1508.

In the council convened in Constantinople to condemn Photius in 869-870, numbered the Eighth Ecumenical Council by the Latin Church, a bishop of Euripus, Theodore I,⁶² participated and signed its documents; a seal inscribed 'of Theodore, bishop of Chalcis' (Θεοδόρο επισκόπο Χαλκίδος) possibly belongs to him.

Ten years later (in 879), a new council in Constantinople restored Photius. In its acts, Theophylaktos the bishop of Euripus is recorded as 'consenting' (Θεοφύλακτος Ευρίπου ως συγκατατεθείς επίσκοπος).

In a seal dated to the 10th century the name of a Lucas, bishop of Euripus, can be noted. He may be identified as one of those bishops who are mentioned in the *Synodicon* of the Church of Greece, alongside the abovementioned bishops, John of Euboea, Michael of Oreoi and Leon of Porthmos.⁶³

George, primate (*protepiskopos*) of Euripus, ordered a codex (εξ επιμελείας Γεωργίου του Θεοφιλεστάτου αρχιερέως και πρωτεπισκόπου Ευρίπου) with the works of John Chrysostom in 943.

In a letter by Michael Psellos, an anonymous reference is made to a former bishop of Euripus who had retired to the monastery of Artigenes.

A letter by an anonymous bishop of Euripus discussing illicit marriage (αθεμιτογαμίας) was read among other treatises, including those written by the metropolitans of Athens and Thebes, at a council convened by the ecumenical patriarch Eustratios Garidas (1081-1084) in Constantinople. It is possible to identify him with a certain Constantine whose name can be read on a seal of that era (11th-12th century).

A sentence by the ecumenical patriarch Michael III (1169-1177), dated to 1170, refers anonymously to a bishop of Chalcis, but this has nothing to do with Chalcis in Euboea: it is a suffragant bishopric of Heraclea in Propontis (Sea of Marmara).

Valsam or Varlaam of Euripus is well known for his dispute with the erudite metropolitan of New Patrai, Euthymios Malakes. Euthymios, using strong language, accused Valsam of being greedy, gathering and hiding wheat in his own barns, and treating his clerks harshly. By order of the ecumenical patriarch Basil II (1183-1187), the scholar metropolitan of Athens Michael Choniates, in whose jurisdiction Euripus lay, assumed the task of resolving the situation in 1184-1185. First, he invited both disputants to Athens and later went himself to Chalcis. Valsam was forced to confess his guilt, but Euthymios was not satisfied with Michael's reconciliation efforts.

Later, in a letter of Michael Choniates (1195) to the monk Loukianos, abbot of the Studios Monastery in Constantinople, we read of the candidacy of Loukianos for the see of Euripus.

Another known figure is Theodore II,⁶⁴ who was bishop of Euripus during the Frankish occupation. Wishing to remain in his see, he accepted the Latin doctrine in 1206.⁶⁵ In 1208, Berardus, the Latin archbishop of Athens, considered his profession unsatisfactory, put him under suspension and tried to nominate another to the see. Pope Innocent III asked that Theodore not be disturbed again. From the correspondence of Michael Choniates we learn both of Theodore's and of Demetrius of Karystos' superficial confessions of faith to the Latin Church.⁶⁶

After the abolition of the Orthodox establishment on Euboea, the pastoral care of the Orthodox population devolved to the immediately senior metropolitan of Athens; repeatedly, bishops neglected to present themselves in their diocese, preferring to reside in Constantinople, especially after its reconquest.⁶⁷

The scholar Anthimus, metropolitan of Athens and Euripus and president of Crete (Άνθιμος Μητροπολίτης Αθηνών και Ευρίπου και Πρόεδρος Κρήτης), possibly dated in the period between 1339

62. Themelis 1951, 434-437.

63. Themelis 1952b, 614.

64. Koder 1973, 134-135; Themelis 1951, 437-445.

65. Foscolos 2010, 345.

66. Koder 1973, 137; Koder and Hild 1976, 83; Papadakis and Meyendorff 2003, 310-311; Savvides 1981-1982, 321.

67. Koder and Hild 1976, 84.

and 1366. As immediately senior prelate, he assumed also the pastoral care of the Orthodox people of the island under Latin occupation. After the suppression of the revolt of Saint Titus in Crete by the Venetian authorities, Emperor John V Palaiologos asked for Anthimus to be transferred to Crete, to reinforce the Orthodox bishoprics which were headless there. For his anti-Latin and anti-Venetian activity, Anthimus was imprisoned and died in Crete in 1371.⁶⁸

In 1365, by decision of the synod of the ecumenical patriarch Philotheos (2nd patriarchate 1364-1376), Neophytos was sent to Athens as patriarchal procurator, to take care of the affairs of the metropolises of Athens and Euripus (ἔτι τε και της Ευρίπου), until a new metropolitan be duly appointed.

By *pittakion* ('letter') of 1395, the ecumenical patriarch Antonius IV (2nd patriarchate 1391-1397), informed the inhabitants of Euboea, especially the *protopapas* and the other clerics, that 'there was no other senior archpriest for them but the metropolitan of Athens'. This happened because Makarios of Athens, who had been accused of collusion with the Ottomans, did not live in Athens. For that reason the people of Euboea stopped memorizing his name and Makarios replied by anathematizing them. The people appealed to the patriarch, only to receive the patriarchal answer.

The last bishop before the Ottoman occupation was the metropolitan of Euripus Lazarus (ο ταπεινός μητροπολίτης Ευρίπου Λάζαρος), who apparently resided in Constantinople, probably as a regular member of the synod, for in October 1474 he signed a synodical act of acquittal of Symeon I and of his recognition as ecumenical patriarch (1st patriarchate 1472-1475).⁶⁹

Latin hierarchy—Latin bishoprics

That which followed the fall of Constantinople to the armies of the Fourth Crusade (1204) is well known. The island of Euboea, belonging at that time to the *theme* of Hellas, passed first to the rule of the Franks and then to Venetian rule (definitively from 1258 and with hereditary rights from 1391).⁷⁰ The ecclesiastical policy followed on the island by the Venetians was the standard one imposed on Venetian colonies in the East, which was closely connected to the commercial and financial interests of Venice.⁷¹ Ruling over a heterodox population, Venice tried to control the Orthodox in their performance of religious duties, and for that reason incidents of oppression of the Orthodox clergy were not infrequent.⁷² Measures consisted mainly of the abolition of the Orthodox hierarchy and the assignment of the pastoral care of the inhabitants to *protopapades*⁷³ and protocantors trusted by the Venetians.⁷⁴ The Latin Church in Euboea claimed for itself the right to rule the area both spiritually and economically, as the sole lawful administrator of church property, which had passed to it by right of conquest.

The renegade Theodore II of Euripus continued to govern the diocese of the island, after he pledged faith to the Latin Church. The Latin bishopric of Euboea, called bishopric of Negroponte (Nigripontensis⁷⁵),⁷⁶ became suffragant of the Latin metropolis of Athens,⁷⁷ when Bernard was archbishop there.⁷⁸

68. Themelis 1982, 38-41; Tomadakis 1952, 70-74; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012b, 322.

69. Koder 1973, 134.

70. Koder and Hild 1976, 68-78; Mastrodimitris 1984-1985, 421-422 for relative bibliography; Moschonas 2006, 159; Savvides 1981-1982, 313-320 for relative bibliography.

71. Mastrodimitris 1984-1985, 432; 2006, 120-121.

72. Karydes 2010, 312; Savvides 1981-1982, 321-323.

73. Foscolos 2010, 338; Karydes 2010, 297, 298, 300; Themelis 1952a, 17, n. 4.

74. Thiriet and Wirth 1963, 297-302.

75. Also called *Nigripontis*. Eubel 1913/1968², 367; Fedalto 1976, 176-177; Thiriet and Wirth 1963, 302-303. As *Episcopatus Aegripontis*, see Koder 1973, 64.

76. Bibliography is noted in Anastasiou 1979, 268; Fedalto 1976, 176-177.

77. Fedalto 1974, 74.

78. Eubel 1913/1968², 114; Fedalto 1976, 52.

The established view is that Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) subjected the sees of Euripus, Karystos, Avlon and Oreoi to the jurisdiction of Athens.⁷⁹

A new, but validly disputed, bishopric is mentioned in 1209 on the island, called *Zarconensis* (Ζάρκων, Ζορκόνης),⁸⁰ which was also suffragant of Bernard of Athens.

In 1222, when Conrad was archbishop of Athens,⁸¹ Pope Honorius III (1216-1227) united all the sees of Karystos (*Calistensis*, *Caristensis*),⁸² Avlon (*Abilonensis*, *Abelonensis*),⁸³ and Oreoi (*Loretensis*)⁸⁴ under the see of Negroponte.⁸⁵ Soon after, in 1224, the union of Oreoi was recalled.⁸⁶

After the reconquest of Constantinople by the Byzantines of Nicaea (1261), the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, by then only a titular holder, sought refuge in Negroponte,⁸⁷ a sign of the political importance of the island.⁸⁸ In 1314, Pope Clement V (1305-1314) joined the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople to the diocese of Negroponte 'in perpetuity'.⁸⁹ From then on, until the Ottoman conquest of the island (1470), the titular Latin patriarch had his seat in Chalcis, with all the rights and duties pertaining to his double office (as bishop-patriarch).⁹⁰ The Latin titular patriarchs of Constantinople (*Constantinopolitanus*)⁹¹ did not reside for the most part in their see, not even caring to set foot on the island. Their representatives were governing church affairs and looking after their property, endowed simultaneously with spiritual and secular authority.

An important issue during this period (1261-1470) was the property of the Latin Patriarchate.⁹² Of its estates two manors are known, *villa Prino* (possibly in the area of Pournos village) and *quoddam castellum Castro Valla* (lands in the area of Kalimeriani), a portion no doubt of an extensive landed property on the island. The revenues of the Latin patriarchate in Euboea, mainly from rented property, were important for covering its basic needs, although complaints for mismanagement arose at times.⁹³

During the Frankish-Venetian occupation of Euboea (1205-1470), spiritual duties were performed by the Latin bishops,⁹⁴ but unfortunately the list of Latin prelates presents significant gaps.

The names of bishops, successors of Theodore the renegade, appear only after 1222. There is mention of a John in 1223-1224, and of an anonymous procurator, an archbishop of Thessalonica, in 1233. John, from a mendicant order, when elected, was already destined for the Holy See.⁹⁵ There is a subsequent mention of a certain someone P,⁹⁶ who was transferred from the diocese of Negroponte to the archdiocese of Athens.

By 1313 Galterus, who had made himself independent from the Latin patriarch of Constantinople and the archbishop of Athens in 1296-1297, had stayed away from his see for three years. He is to be

79. Eubel 1913/1968², 543; Eubel 1914/1968², 284; Foscolos 2010, 345; Gioles 1998-2000, 34; Koder 1973, 66, 124-125, 135-136; Themelis 1952a, 17, 28; 1952b, 610; 1955, 550.

80. For the bishopric of Zarkon, εις το σημερινον χωριον Ζάρκα, bibliography is noted in Anastasiou 1979, 141; Koder 1973, 66, 135; Themelis 1954, 94-95.

81. Eubel 1913/1968², 114; Fedalto 1976, 52.

82. Fedalto 1976, 69.

83. The bishopric of Avlon (*Abilonensis*, *Abelonensis*, *Abinonensis*, *Avalonensis*, *Avelensis*, *Ebelonensis*) is often confused with the bishopric of *Avalonensis*, a suffragant of the archbishopric of Durres. See Eubel 1913/1968², 65; 1914, 77; Fedalto 1976, 25-26. See also Koder 1973, 106, 136-137.

84. Also called *Reonensis*. Eubel 1913/1968², 419; Fedalto 1976, 141-142; Koder 1973, 135-136.

85. Fedalto 1974, 77; 1976, 25, 69, 141, 176; Gioles 1998-2000, 34; Themelis 1952a, 17, 29; 1952b, 610; 1955, 550.

86. Fedalto 1976, 176.

87. Foscolos 2010, 339; MacKay 2006, 126; Maltezou 2006, 18; Mastrodimitris 2006, 119; Papadia-Lala 2006, 28.

88. Moschonas 2006, 170-171.

89. Fedalto 1976, 176; Foscolos 2010, 345; Koder 1973, 138.

90. Koder 1973, 138; Mastrodimitris 1984-1985, 433; 2006, 121; Themelis 1952a, 29-30.

91. Eubel 1913/1968², 206-207; 1914, 135; Fedalto 1976, 91-92.

92. Mastrodimitris 1984-1985, 431; 2006, 119-124.

93. Mastrodimitris 1984-1985, 434-435 for relative bibliography; 2006, 122-124.

94. Eubel 1913/1968², 367; Fedalto 1976, 176-177.

95. In its influence, the sculpted decoration of the church of Saint Paraskevi of Chalcis may also be attributed to him. Delinikolas and Vemi 2006, 250-251.

96. Fedalto 1974, 78.

identified probably with Walter, a prelate who signed a procuratorial document together with Archbishop Thomas of Davlia and other Franks (1305). In 1307 he put the life of Patriarch Athanasius of Alexandria at risk, when the patriarch allowed himself to become involved in dogmatic controversy; Patriarch Athanasius was then saved just in time by taking refuge in Thebes.⁹⁷

Nicolas, archbishop of Thebes, was elected Latin patriarch of Constantinople, and thus bishop of Negroponte, in 1308. His successor in 1332 was a cardinal (or maybe his name was Cardinal) who was a descendant of the noble Venetian family of Morosini. These two were signatories of three documents (dated 26 July, 1326; 24 April, 1324; and 11 June, 1334) drafted in the patriarchal palace of Negroponte;⁹⁸ this is proof of their actual presence on the island.⁹⁹

The last two significant names connected with Negroponte are the two apostates, the former Orthodox metropolitans Isidore of Kiev and Bessarion of Nicaea, who both signed the acts of the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-1439); they were honoured with the title of cardinal and later were named titular patriarchs of Constantinople, without ever setting foot in Chalcis.¹⁰⁰

Orthodox bishoprics

I now present a concise assemblage of what is known about the other Orthodox bishoprics of Euboea.

First in order of precedence came Oreoi;¹⁰¹ its bishop Theophilus, who has already been mentioned, participated in the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (451).

Philetus or Philip of Oreoi (*Ωρεού*) signed the acts of the Seventh Council of Nicaea (787).

In the acts of the council of 879 in Constantinople, which restored Photius, appears a certain Basil, bishop of 'Oreianites' (*Ωρειαντών*), but his association with Oreoi is doubtful.

A lead seal from the second half of the 10th century belonged to 'Constantine, bishop of Oreoi' (*Κωνσταντίνω επισκόπω Ωρεού*).

Another seal, dated to the 12th century, bears the inscription 'Seal of Michael bishop of Oreoi' (*+Σφραγίς Μιχαήλ Ωρεών επισκόπου*).

Another seal, bearing the same inscription, is dated from 1204 to the 14th century, or more precisely between 1268 and 1380, and possibly concerns another bishop with the same name.

From the see of Karystos,¹⁰² Bishop Cyriacus is known. He took part in a local council in Corinth (458), to confirm the decisions of the Fourth Ecumenical Council.

Next to Cyriacus was Joel of Karystos, about whom we have no further information, sat.

The presence of Demetrius Vardanes in the bishop's seat of Karystos at the time of the Frankish conquest is implied by a letter from Michael Choniates, metropolitan of Athens. Together with Theodore of Euripus, Demetrius of Karystos was forced to confess faith to the Latin Church. Demetrius' son George Vardanes later became metropolitan of Corfu (1219-c.1238).

At the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553) Theodore of Porthmos¹⁰³ and Soter of Avlon¹⁰⁴ participated. Leon of Porthmos took part in the Seventh Ecumenical Council (787).¹⁰⁵

A reference about one Theodore in the see of Avlon (1208) is doubtful, as is also the reference about a bishop of Aedipsos¹⁰⁶ from the mid-8th century.

97. Konidaris 2011, B', 159.

98. Triantaphyllopoulos 1970, 200-201.

99. Foscolos 2010, 339; Mastrodimitris 1984-1985, 433; 2006, 122.

100. Foscolos 2010, 345; Mastrodimitris 1984-1985, 429, 431, 433; 2006, 122, 123-124.

101. Atesis 1975, 300; Fedalto 1988, 516; Gioles 1998-2000, 8, 25-27, 35-36; Themelis 1952b, 605, 607, 608, 611-614.

102. Atesis 1975, 107; Fedalto 1988, 494-495; Themelis 1955, 437, 439, 548, 554-556.

103. Atesis 1975, 301; Fedalto 1988, 521; Themelis 1953b, 623-624.

104. Atesis 1975, 301; Fedalto 1988, 494; Themelis 1954, 90.

105. See also Koder 1973, 135.

106. Atesis 1975, 301.

Important ecclesiastical men

Important figures of the Church originated from Euboea, for example Theophylact of Ohrid (Θεοφύλακτος Αχρίδος), the scholar¹⁰⁷ archbishop of Bulgaria (Chalcis in 1030-1055; died Thessalonica c.1126), who became a saint honoured in the Slavic calendar (31 December).¹⁰⁸ Gerasimos of Sinai,¹⁰⁹ who was also from Euripus (Γεράσιμος Σιναΐτης ο ἐξ Ευρίπου) (Euboea, middle of 13th century, died Thessalonica before 1325-1326), may have been of French origin, as he was a relative¹¹⁰ of the family of Bonifacio dalle Carceri da Verona, lord of Karystos. Gerasimos was one of the students of Gregorius and his missionary activity took place in central and southern Greece, whence he must have originated. Benefiting from his local ties and mother tongue (Greek, particularly the local dialect), he preached to the Orthodox population of the Frankish-held areas who were suffering the oppression of foreign occupation, admonishing them to return to the Orthodox dogma, teaching also silence and devotional prayer to the monks. Gerasimos's student was his compatriot Joseph from Euboea¹¹¹ (Ιωσήφ ο Ευβοεύς) (14th century).

The island of Euboea served as a place of refuge to saints of the Orthodox Church, some of whom ended their lives there. Among them was Saint Christodoulos¹¹² (Χριστόδουλος ο εν Πάτμω) (died at Limni, 16.3.1093), the founder of the monastery of Saint John the Evangelist in Patmos, who had composed his will and its codicil in Euboea. Christodoulos' relic was taken from Limni (on 21 October) to the monastery of Patmos and translated. Numerous saints preached in Euboea, such as Saint Nikon¹¹³ (Νίκων ο 'Μετανοείτε') who performed miracles during his stay on the island. Nikolas from Sicily¹¹⁴ (Νικόλαος ο Σικελιώτης) retired to the island, where he also established a monastery named Netakos or Etakos (*Νέτακος-Ετακος*). Among those who led an ascetic life were Saint Euthymius,¹¹⁵ the monk and stylite (Ευθύμιος ο οσιώτατος μοναχός και ασκητής ο λάμπας εν πόλει Ευβοίας), Daniel¹¹⁶ of the monastery of Kalynvites (Δανιήλ ο οσιώτατος μοναχός και ασκητής ο στυλίτης ο εν τη Ευβοία πόλει μονής του Καλυβίτου ασκήσας) and Saint Savas the younger in Athos¹¹⁷ (Σάββας ο νέος ο εν τω Άθω), who remained there for two years. Around the 11th century Saint Gregory came from Mistra to Oreoi,¹¹⁸ Strongyle of the Likhades islands (όσιος Γρηγόριος ο εν τη Στρογγύλη των Λιχάδων), before he retired for good to the lonely islet of Strongyle.

Relationships

The geographical location of Euboea was a major reason for many outstanding personalities to visit it. Among these personalities were emperors such as Constantine the Great (324-337) and Theodosius

107. Works of Theophylact of Ohrid ed. PG 123-126.

108. Themelis 1982, 30-33.

109. Gonis 1982, 1119-1142; Themelis 1982, 41-44; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012b, 322.

110. Bonifacio dalle Carceri da Verona, sovereign of Gardiki and Aegina (1294), became lord of Karystos after his wedding (1296) to Agnese de Cicon (heir of Karystos), and bailo of the duchy of Athens (1308-1309). His children were Marulla, lady of Karystos and Aegina (1317-1326), and Tommaso, pretender of Karystos (1317) and sovereign of Armeni (1324-1326). Fousaras 1962, 132, 136, 139, 144; Koder 1973, 52; Koder and Hild 1976, 125.

111. Themelis 1982, 45-46; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012b, 322.

112. Themelis 1954, 97-98; 1982, 18-22; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012b, 322.

113. Themelis 1982, 15-18; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012b, 322.

114. Themelis 1982, 22-26; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012b, 322.

115. Koder 1973, 146; Themelis 1982, 33-35; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012b, 322.

116. Koder 1973, 146; Themelis 1952b, 614; 1982, 35-37; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012b, 322.

117. Themelis 1982, 46-49; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012b, 322.

118. Gioles 1998-2000, 26; Themelis 1982, 26-30; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012b, 322.

the Great (379-395);¹¹⁹ John VIII Palaiologos (1425-1448) also visited during his travels to and from the Council of Ferrara-Florence.¹²⁰ The reception accorded by the Latins to the imperial delegation and the Orthodox clergy upon their arrival from Constantinople was a token of good intentions. Another reason for this reception was that the presence of an ecumenical patriarch and his retinue would have had to be dealt with diplomatically, keeping the possible union of the churches in mind. The emperor, however, chose to remain off Chalcis, to avoid his movement being misunderstood by the Orthodox of the island. When the imperial delegation returned from Italy at the beginning of 1440, after the Union Agreement, the Latin and Orthodox clergy undertook a joint procession and celebrated Mass together in a Latin church, with a prominent cleric, the metropolitan of Mytilene, officiating.¹²¹ The Orthodox clergy of Euboea was greatly vexed: problems arose mainly from the rapaciousness of the Latins, and they believed that these problems would be aggravated after the union. That was a sign that the Orthodox population was in favour of those who were against the union, and this fact explains the flourishing at that time of local church iconography which enhanced people's loyalty to Orthodox dogma.¹²²

Information on the relations between the two dogma faiths is provided in the letters of the scholar metropolitan of Athens, Michael Choniates (1182-1222). He had property in Euboea, had visited the island and had formed his own opinion of the political, social and ecclesiastical affairs going on there.¹²³

Under Venetian rule, there is evidence of the well-known 'religious tolerance' on the part of the Venetians. The sources reveal that the Orthodox Church, though deprived of bishops, enjoyed special privileges.¹²⁴ Economic prosperity is also evident for the whole island, which became a hub of commerce.¹²⁵ There is also abundant information on the Venetian church of Saint Mark in the centre of the city.¹²⁶ Close by was the convent of the Dominicans, who took shelter in Chalcis after the Byzantine reconquest of Constantinople.¹²⁷ Most probably their church was the present church of Saint Paraskevi.¹²⁸

Conclusions

The Ottoman occupation (1470) was a catalyst¹²⁹ for the Latin Church of Euboea, which fell into ruins. The Latin habitants of the island abandoned their possessions and took shelter in other areas under Latin rule.¹³⁰ Those who were Orthodox were placed again under the Ecumenical Patriarchate, which had already extracted privileges from the sultan. A new Orthodox prelate was appointed for the island with the title of metropolitan of Euripus, who could reside in his see and assume pastoral care of the Christians.

119. Themelis 1954, 93.

120. Koder 1973, 58, 111; Mastrodimitris 1962, 168-176.

121. It is about Dorotheos of Mytilene (1422-1444). Atesis 1975, 192.

122. Triantaphyllopoulos 2012a, 152-153.

123. Chatzecostas 1959, 182-193; Themelis 1955, 556.

124. Apostolopoulos 2010, 327; Karydes 2010, 296; Maltezou 2006, 21; Thiriet and Wirth 1963, 297-298.

125. Moschonas 2006, 157-171.

126. Delinikolas and Vemi 2006, 258-263; Koder 1973, 90-91; Maltezou 2006, 18; Moschonas 2006, 158.

127. Foscolos 2010, 345; Koder 1973, 139-140; Koder and Hild 1976, 88; MacKay 2006, 126-131.

128. See MacKay 2006, 137-152. See also Delinikolas and Vemi 2006, 229-266 where there are references to the palace of the Bailo of Venice. Also Koder 1973, 79, 92-93.

129. For the Ottoman occupation, see Antzolello 1989, 19-31; Koder 1973, 60-62; Mastrodimitris 1960, 157-161. Was also mourned in the Latin Christian world: Moschonas 2006, 171.

130. A characteristic case is that of two women, Beatrice Venier and Polissena Premarin, who, after the Ottoman conquest fled to Venice, where they joined the original core of the monastery of Saint Sepolcro in the city. Tassini 1879, 274. However, this did not happen with the Orthodox citizens, as is evidenced in the written sources: Koutmanis 2006, 204.

Abbreviations

PG = Migne, J.-P., ed. (1857-1886) Vols. 1-162 of *Patrologia Graeca*, Paris: J. P. Migne's Imprimerie Catholique.

Bibliography

- Anastasiou, I. E. (1979) 'Βιβλιογραφία των επισκοπικών καταλόγων του Πατριαρχείου της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως και της Εκκλησίας της Ελλάδος.' Vol. 22(25) of *Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα Θεολογικής Σχολής*. Thessaloniki: Aristotle University.
- Antzolello, J.-M. (1989) *Ένας Ενετός του 15^{ου} αιώνα στην αυλή του Μεγάλου Τούρκου*, [trans. D. Delyolanes]. Athens: Stochastis.
- Apostolopoulos, D. G. (2010) 'Πατριαρχείο Κωνσταντινουπόλεως και βενετοκρατούμενος ελληνισμός.' In Vol. A' of *Βενετοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα. Προσεγγίζοντας την ιστορία της*, edited by C. Maltezos, 327-336. Venice; Athens: Greek Institute of Byzantine and Postbyzantine Studies.
- Atesis, B. G. (1975) *Επισκοπικοί κατάλογοι της Εκκλησίας της Ελλάδος απ' αρχής μέχρι σήμερα*. Athens: Ekklesiastikos Faros.
- Chatzecostas, G. D. A. (1959) 'Η Χαλκίς κατά τον 12ον αιώνα (Βάσει της μαρτυρίας Μιχαήλ Ακομινάτου)'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 6, 180-193.
- Darrouzès, A. A. (1981) *Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Texte critique, introduction et notes*. Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines.
- Delinikolas, N. D. and V. Vemi (2006) 'Η Αγία Παρασκευή Χαλκίδας. Ένα βενετικό πρόγραμμα ανοικοδόμησης το 13ο αιώνα.' In *Βενετία – Εύβοια, από τον Έγριπο στο Νεγροπόντε, Chalcis, 12-14 November, 2004*, edited by C. A. Maltezos and C. E. Papacosta, 229-266. Venice; Athens: Greek Institute of Byzantine and Postbyzantine Studies, and Society of Euboean Studies.
- Eubel, C. ([1913]1968²) *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevii sive Summorum Pontificum, S. R. E. Cardinalium, Ecclesiarum Antistitum: Series ab anno 1198 usque ab annum 1431 perducta*. Monasterii; Padua: Il Messaggero di S. Antonio.
- Eubel, C. ([1914]1968²) *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevii sive Summorum Pontificum, S. R. E. Cardinalium, Ecclesiarum Antistitum: Series ab anno 1431 usque ab annum 1503 perducta*. Monasterii; Padua: Il Messaggero di S. Antonio.
- Fedalto, G. (1974) 'La Chiesa Latina di Atene e la sua provincia ecclesiastica, 1204-1456'. *Thesaurismata* 11, 73-88.
- Fedalto, G. (1976) 'La Chiesa Latina in Oriente'. Vol. II of *Hierarchia Latina Orientis*. Verona: Casa Editrice Mazziiana.
- Fedalto, G. (1988) 'Patriarchatus Constantinopolitanus'. Vol. I of *Hierarchia Latina Orientis*. Padua: Edizioni Messaggero.
- Fornis, B. (1954) 'Ιστορία της Ισραηλιτικής κοινότητας Χαλκίδος'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 3, 59-63.
- Foscolos, M. (2010) 'Η οργάνωση της καθολικής εκκλησίας.' In Vol. A' of *Βενετοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα. Προσεγγίζοντας την ιστορία της*, edited by C. Maltezos, 337-354. Venice; Athens: Greek Institute of Byzantine and Postbyzantine Studies.
- Fousaras, G. I. (1962) 'Οι δυνάστες της Εύβοιας στα χρόνια της Φραγκοκρατίας'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 9, 130-151.
- Gioles, N. (1998-2000) 'Ο χριστιανικός Ωρεός στη βόρεια Εύβοια. Ιστορία και αρχαιολογικά κατάλοιπα'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 33, 5-48.
- Gonis, D. B. (1982) 'Τεράσιμος Σιναΐτης ο εξ Ευρίπου, ιεραπόστολος της Ελλάδος κατά τους χρόνους της Φραγκοκρατίας'. *ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑ* 53, 1119-1142.
- Gritsopoulos, T. A. (1964a) 'Εύβοια'. *Θρησκευτική και Ηθική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια* 5, 997-999.
- Gritsopoulos, T. A. (1964b) 'Ευρίπου, Μητρόπολις'. *Θρησκευτική και Ηθική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια* 5, 1071-1072.
- Karydes, S. (2010) 'Οργάνωση της Ορθόδοξης εκκλησίας.' In Vol. A' of *Βενετοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα. Προσεγγίζοντας την ιστορία της*, edited by C. Maltezos, 295-326. Venice; Athens: Greek Institute of Byzantine and Postbyzantine Studies.

- Koder, J. (1973) *Negroponte. Untersuchungen zur Topographie und Siedlungsgeschichte der Insel Euböia während der Zeit der Venezianerherrschaft*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Koder, J. and F. Hild (1976) 'Hellas und Thessalia'. Vol. 1 of *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Konidaris, G. I. (1934) 'Αι Μητροπόλεις και Αρχιεπισκοπαί του Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου και η "Τάξις" αυτών'. Vol. 1(1) of *Συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν των «Τακτικών» και του Πατριαρχείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως από του 4/5 μέχρι του 10 αιώνος, επί τη βάσει του Τακτικού του Παρισινού κώδικος 1555Α*. Athens: Chronika.
- Konidaris, G. I. (1967-1968) 'Die neue in parallelen Tabellenausgabe der Not. Episcopatum, und die Echtheit der Not. D. Cod. Paris. 1555A. Kommunikation im XIII Byzant. Kongress in Oxford, gehalten am 7 Sept. 1966'. In Vol. 4 of *Χαριστήριον εις Αναστάσιον Κ. Ορλάνδον*, 247-264 and tables I-II.
- Konidaris, G. I. (2011) Vols. A and B of *Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία της Ελλάδος από της ιδρύσεως των Εκκλησιών αυτής υπό του Αποστόλου Παύλου μέχρι σήμερα*. Athens: Grigoris.
- Konstantinides, E. I. (1983) *Συμβολαί εις την έρευναν της ιστορίας των εν Ελλάδι επισκοπών*. Athens: Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών.
- Konstantinides, E. I. (1968) *Συμβολή εις την εκκλησιαστικήν ιστορίαν της Δωδεκανήσου*. Athens: Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών.
- Koutmanis, S. (2006) 'Ευβοείς στη Βενετία, 15ος-17ος αι.'. In *Βενετία – Εύβοια, από τον Έγριπο στο Νεγροπόντε, Chalcis, 12-14 November 2004*, edited by C. A. Maltezu and C. E. Papacosta, 203-216. Venice; Athens: Greek Institute of Byzantine and Postbyzantine Studies, and Society of Euboean Studies.
- Lambropoulou, A. and K. Tsiknakis (2008) 'Εισαγωγή'. In *Η Εβραϊκή παρουσία στον ελληνικό χώρο (4^{ος}-19^{ος} αι.)*, edited by A. Lambropoulou and K. Tsiknakis, 13-16. Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation and Institute for Byzantine Research.
- MacKay, P. A. (2006) 'St. Mary of the Dominicans: The Monastery of the Fratres Praedicatores in Negropont'. In *Βενετία – Εύβοια, από τον Έγριπο στο Νεγροπόντε, Chalcis, 12-14 November 2004*, edited by C. A. Maltezu and C. E. Papacosta, 125-156. Venice; Athens: Greek Institute of Byzantine and Postbyzantine Studies, and Society of Euboean Studies.
- Maltezu, C. A. (2006) 'Γιατί μία συνάντηση για το Νεγροπόντε'. In *Βενετία – Εύβοια, από τον Έγριπο στο Νεγροπόντε, Chalcis, 12-14 November 2004*, edited by C. A. Maltezu and C. E. Papacosta, 17-24. Venice; Athens: Greek Institute of Byzantine and Postbyzantine Studies, and Society of Euboean Studies.
- Mastrodimitris, P. D. (1960) 'Η Άλωσις της Χαλκίδος από τον Μωάμεθ τον Β' (το έτος 1470) (κατά τον Βαρβερινόν Κώδικα 111)'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 7, 157-161.
- Mastrodimitris, P. D. (1962) 'Αυτοκρατορικοί προσεγγίσεις εις την Εύβοιαν κατά την εποχήν της Συνόδου της Φλωρεντίας'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 9, 168-176.
- Mastrodimitris, P. D. (1984-1985) 'Έκθεση ερευνών για την βενετοκρατούμενη Εύβοια (1215-1470)'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 26, 421-436.
- Mastrodimitris, P. D. (2004) 'Νοταριακά έγγραφα από την Εύβοια (Negroponte) που συντάχθηκαν κατά την περίοδο της Βενετοκρατίας (1215-1466)'. In Vol. B of *Η Ελλάδα των νησιών από τη Φραγκοκρατία ως σήμερα: Ιστορία και κοινωνία, Πρακτικά του Β' Ευρωπαϊκού Συνεδρίου Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών, Ρέθυμνο, 10-12 Μαΐου 2002*, edited by A. Argyriou, 63-101. Athens: Ellinika Grammata.
- Mastrodimitris, P. D. (2006) 'Το Λατινικό Πατριαρχείο στην Εύβοια (Negroponte) και τα εκεί κτήματά του'. In *Βενετία – Εύβοια, από τον Έγριπο στο Νεγροπόντε, Chalcis, 12-14 November 2004*, edited by C. A. Maltezu and C. E. Papacosta, 119-124. Venice; Athens: Greek Institute of Byzantine and Postbyzantine Studies, and Society of Euboean Studies.
- Moschonas, N. G. (2006) 'Έυριπος, κέντρο βενετικού εμπορίου'. In *Βενετία – Εύβοια, από τον Έγριπο στο Νεγροπόντε, Chalcis, 12-14 November 2004*, edited by C. A. Maltezu and C. E. Papacosta, 157-171. Venice and Athens: Greek Institute of Byzantine and Postbyzantine Studies, and Society of Euboean Studies.
- Mystakides, B. A. (1936) 'Επισκοπικοί Κατάλογοι'. *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών* 12, 139-238.
- Papadakis, A. and J. Meyendorff (2003) *Η χριστιανική Ανατολή και η άνοδος του Παπισμού. Η Εκκλησία από το 1071 ως το 1453* [trans. S. Efthimiades]. Athens: MIET.
- Rapadia-Lala, A. (2006) 'Κοινωνική οργάνωση και αστική κοινότητα στην Εύβοια κατά τη βενετική περίοδο

- (1390-1470). In *Βενετία – Εύβοια, από τον Έγριπο στο Νεγροπόντε, Chalcis, 12-14 November, 2004*, edited by C. A. Maltezos and C. E. Papacosta, 27-40. Venice and Athens: Greek Institute of Byzantine and Postbyzantine Studies, and Society of Euboean Studies.
- Papadopoulos-Kerameus, A. (1889) 'Τακτικόν των Ορθοδόξων Εκκλησιών της Ανατολής και κατάλογος αρχιερέων ακμασάντων εν αταίς μεταξύ του ΙΖ' και ΙΗ' αιώνας'. *Δελτίον της Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδος* 3, 468-478.
- Savvides, A. G. K. (1981-1982) 'Η Εύβοια κατά τα τέλη του ΙΒ' - αρχές του ΙΓ' αι. μ.Χ.'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 24, 313-323.
- Tassini, G. (1879) 'Iscrizioni dell'ex chiesa e monastero del S. Sepolcro in Venezia'. *Archivio Veneto* XVII(II), 274-300.
- Themelis, C. (1951) 'Δύο Θεόδωροι επίσκοποι Ευρίπου'. *ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑ* 22, 434-445.
- Themelis, C. (1952a) *Η Ιερά Μητρόπολις Ευρίπου δια μέσου των αιώνων*. Athens.
- Themelis, C. (1952b) 'Η επισκοπή Ωρεών'. *ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑ* 23, 604-617.
- Themelis, C. (1953a) 'Η επισκοπή Ωρεών'. *ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑ* 24, 64-69.
- Themelis, C. (1953b) 'Αι επισκοπαί Πορθμού, Αυλώνος, Αιδηψού, Ζάρκων και Καναλιών'. *ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑ* 24, 617-626.
- Themelis, C. (1954) 'Αι επισκοπαί Πορθμού, Αυλώνος, Αιδηψού, Ζάρκων και Καναλιών'. *ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑ* 25, 88-99.
- Themelis, C. (1955) 'Η Ιερά Μητρόπολις Καρύστου δια μέσου των αιώνων'. *ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑ* 26, 436-440 and 548-583.
- Themelis, C. (1956) 'Αρχαί και διάδοσις του χριστιανισμού εν Ευβοία'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 4, 3-30.
- Themelis, C. (1965) 'Ευβοϊκή Μοναστηριολογία'. *Αρχείο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 12, 99-164.
- Themelis, C. (1982) 'Ευβοϊκή Αγιολογία'. *ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑ* 63, 346-416.
- Thiriet, F. and P. Wirth (1963) 'La politique religieuse de Venise à Négrepont à la fin du XIVe siècle'. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 56, 297-303.
- Tomadakis, N. B. (1952) 'Ορθόδοξοι αρχιερείς εν Κρήτη επί Ενετοκρατίας'. *Ορθοδοξία* 27, 63-75.
- Triantaphyllopoulos, D. D. (1970) 'Η μεσαιωνική Χαλκίδα και τα μνημεία της. (Σχεδιάγραμμα αρχαιολογικής βιβλιογραφίας)'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 16, 183-204.
- Triantaphyllopoulos, D. D. (2012a) 'Ζητήματα ερμηνείας της ζωγραφικής στη Μεταμόρφωση στο Πυργί Αυλωνίου. Όψεις της Λατινοκρατούμενης Εύβοιας'. *Deltion of the Christian Archaeological Society* 33, 141-154.
- Triantaphyllopoulos, D. D. (2012b) 'Εύβοια. Χριστιανικά μνημεία'. *Great Orthodox Christian Encyclopedia* 7, 321-324.

Tables**A**

Orthodox hierarchy of the diocese - archdiocese - metropolis of Euboea - Chalcis - Euripus

<i>Μάρκος</i> (Mark)	325
<i>Ανατόλιος</i> (Anatolius)	362
<i>Κωνσταντίνος</i> (Constantine)	458
<i>Δομέτιος</i> (Dometius)	553
<i>Ιωάννης</i> (John)	744
<i>Θεόδωρος Α'</i> (Theodore)	869
<i>Θεοφύλακτος</i> (Theophylactus)	879
<i>Λουκάς</i> (Lucas)	10th century
<i>Γεώργιος</i> (George)	943
<i>Κωνσταντίνος</i> (Constantine)	between 11th and 12th centuries
Anonymous	1018-1078
Anonymous	1081-1084
<i>Βαλσάμ</i> (Valsam) or <i>Βαρλαάμ</i> (Varlaam)	second half of 12th century
<i>Θεόδωρος Β'</i> (Theodore II)	1205
<i>Άνθιμος Α'</i> (Anthimus the Confessor)	1339-1366
<i>Νεόφυτος Α'</i> (Neophytos patriarchal procurator)	1365
<i>Μακάριος of Athens</i> (Makarios of Athens)	1394-1404
<i>Λάζαρος</i> (Lazarus)	1474/1475

B

Latin hierarchy

NIGRIPONTENSIS (*Nigripontis*)

<i>Θεόδωρος Β'</i> (Theodore II)	1208-1222
<i>Joannes</i>	1223-1224
Anonymous, archbishop of Thessalonica	1233
(reference)	1235
(reference)	1237
(reference)	1245
(reference)	1250
(reference)	1252
(reference)	1262-1264
(reference)	1266
<i>P.</i> later archbishop of Athens	1268
<i>Joannes</i>	1272-1274
<i>Galterus</i>	1291-1314

CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS

<i>Nicolaus</i> , archbishop of Thebes	1308
<i>Cardinalis Mauroceno</i>	1332
<i>Gotius</i>	1335
<i>Rolandus de Ast</i>	1339
<i>Henricus de Ast</i>	1339-1345

<i>Stephanus</i> (de Pinu)	1346
<i>Guilelmus</i> (Pusterla)	1346-1361, 1361-1364
s. <i>Petrus</i> (de Thomas), archbishop of Crete	1364-1366
<i>Paulus</i> , archbishop of Thebes, procurator of Patras	1366-1367
<i>Ugolinus</i> (Malabranca) <i>de Urbeveteri</i>	1371-1373
<i>Jacobus</i> de Itro, archbishop of Hydruntum (Otranto)	1376-1378
<i>Guilelmus</i>	1379
<i>Paulus Paleologus Tagaris</i>	1380
<i>Angelus Corarius</i>	1390-1405
<i>Ludovicus</i> , archbishop of Mytilene	1405
<i>Alfonsus</i>	1408
<i>Joannes de Contareno</i>	1409
<i>Franciscus Lando</i>	1409-1411
<i>Joannes de Ruppescicca</i>	1412-1423
<i>Joannes de Contareno</i>	1424
<i>Isidorus Kiowiensis</i>	1459-1463
<i>Bessarion Trapezuntinus</i>	1463-1472

ABELONENSIS (*Abilonensis, Abelonensis, Abinonensis, Avalonensis, Avelensis, Ebelonensis*)

Anonymous	1210-1211
(mention)	1215
<i>Nicolaus</i> , episcopus Vallonensis	1303-1304
<i>Albertus</i> , episcopus Avalonensis	1304
<i>Iacobus de Venetiis</i> , bishop of Vallona	1337-1345
<i>Petrus</i> , episcopus Valonen[ensis]	1354-1362
<i>Guilelmus</i>	
<i>Goswinus de Lubecke</i>	1359
<i>Franciscus</i>	
<i>Nicolaus de Boleslavia</i>	1390
<i>Ioannes Rafanelli</i>	1425-1434
<i>Guilelmus Aucupis</i>	1437
<i>Guilelmus le Bas</i>	1463

CARISTENSIS

-------	--

LORETENSIS (*Reonensis*)

Anonymous	1222-1224
Anonymous	1308
<i>Simon de Bonomia</i>	1332

ZARCONENSIS

-------	--

C

Orthodox bishops of Euboea

ΑΙΔΗΨΟΥ (AEDIPSOS)		
	Anonymous	mid-8th century
ΑΥΛΩΝΟΣ (AVLON)		
	Σωτήρ (Soter)	553
	Θεόδωρος (Theodore)	1208
ΚΑΝΑΛΙΩΝ (KANALIA)		

ΚΑΡΥΣΤΟΥ (KARYSTOS)		
	Κυριακός (Cyriacus)	458
	Ιωήλ (Joel)	(458?)
	Δημήτριος Βαρδάνης (Demetrius Vardanis)	c.1204
ΩΡΕΩΝ (OREOI)		
	Θεόφιλος (Theophilus)	451
	Φιλητός (Philetus) or Φίλιππος (Philip)	787
	Βασίλειος (Basil)	879
	Κωνσταντίνος (Constantine)	second half of 10th century
	Μιχαήλ (Michael)	12th century
	Μιχαήλ (Michael)	13th century
ΠΟΡΘΜΟΥ (PORTHMOS)		
	Θεόδωρος (Theodore)	553
	Λέων (Leo)	787

Δίκτυο βυζαντινών ναών στην κεντρική Εύβοια: Σχεδιάζοντας μια πολιτιστική διαδρομή στα ίχνη των Ελλήνων αρχόντων της Λατινοκρατίας¹

Ευρυδίκη ΚΑΤΣΑΛΗ
Αλεξάνδρα ΚΩΣΤΑΡΕΛΛΗ

Abstract

The island of Euboea has been subject to a substandard level of cultural heritage management. Cultural routes are an important tool as far as cultural management is concerned. The aim of this article is to present a proposal concerning a cultural route in Central Euboea, and the central aspect is a group of Late Byzantine churches with similar architectural and artistic characteristics.

The main route includes five sites of interest, each one of them focused on a Byzantine church. The route can easily embrace some optional visits to a group of monuments with similar characteristics. Following the main road from Chalkis to Kymi, the route leads us at Agios Dimitrios in Makrihori. The Church of the Dormition of the Virgin in Spelies follows, and the next visit is the village of Oxilithos, at Agios Nikolaos Ritzanon. The fourth stop is at the Church of the Metamorphosis of Christ in Pyrgi and the trail ends at Agios Dimitrios in Hania Avlonariou.

The information derived from the architecture, frescoes and inscriptions of these churches contributes to our knowledge concerning sponsors in the region of Central Euboea in the early 14th century. Through the evidence provided by this group of monuments, the visitor understands that artistic and building activity on the island was still vigorous in the early 14th century and thus can easily conceive the socio-cultural 'scenery' of this era.

As a conclusion, the proposed cultural tour could become a beneficial tool for the culture management of Euboea. The main objective of the plan is to create a pole of attraction for 'cultural visitors' through the proposed network, thus leading to general touristic development in the region. The expansion of the proposed route is dominated by factors concerning the visitors, such as the available time, and their age, knowledge and interests, and can work as a case study for framing other similar routes in Euboea.

Εισαγωγή

Ο πολιτιστικός τουρισμός κατατάσσεται στις λεγόμενες ήπιες ή εναλλακτικές μορφές τουρισμού. Αποτελεί νέα, καινοτόμο οπτική για τον σύγχρονο τουρισμό, εντάσσεται στο πλαίσιο ανάπτυξης της

1. Θερμές ευχαριστίες οφείλουμε στους συναδέλφους μας από τις πρώην 23η ΕΒΑ και ΙΑ' ΕΠΚΑ, οι οποίοι στάθηκαν δίπλα μας στην πορεία αυτής της ερευνητικής διαδρομής. Ιδιαίτερα ευχαριστούμε τους συντηρητές αρχαιοτήτων Σ. Καρνέζο και Α. Γιαννακόπουλο για την φωτογραφία της επιγραφής από τον ναό της Αγίας Άννας Οξυλίθου. Θα θέλαμε επίσης να ευχαριστήσουμε την κα Μ. Χατζηνικολάου, εμπειρογνώμονα σε θέματα τουρισμού και συνεργάτιδα του 'Διαζώματος', για την ενθάρρυνσή της και για τις πολύτιμες συμβουλές της στην πορεία της σύνταξης αυτού του άρθρου.

πολιτιστικής επιχειρηματικότητας² και έχει στόχο την προβολή ορισμένων χαρακτηριστικών του πολιτιστικού αποθέματος μιας περιοχής. Διαθέτει διευρυμένες δυνατότητες, καθώς παρέχει τον συνδυασμό δεδομένων, που μπορούν να αντληθούν από τις αρχαιότητες και το φυσικό περιβάλλον μιας περιοχής. Ο συνδυασμός αυτός έχει ως αποτέλεσμα τη δημιουργία ενός προϊόντος που μπορεί να αξιοποιηθεί όλο τον χρόνο. Βασική προϋπόθεση για την αποτελεσματικότητα του όλου εγχειρήματος είναι οι σαφείς στόχοι, ώστε να προκύψουν επαρκώς τεκμηριωμένα, αυθεντικά προϊόντα ευέλικτης μορφής, τα οποία δεν θα απευθύνονται μόνο σε Έλληνες.

Τα τελευταία χρόνια δίνεται έμφαση στον πολιτιστικό τουρισμό, όχι μόνο στην Ελλάδα αλλά και στην Ευρώπη,³ με βασικό στόχο την αξιοποίηση του πολιτιστικού αποθέματος.⁴ Στο πλαίσιο της διεύρυνσης της έννοιας της πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς εντάσσεται και η κατηγορία των πολιτιστικών διαδρομών, οι οποίες αποτελούν ουσιαστικό εργαλείο διαχείρισής της.⁵ Δεν αναπαράγουν τα στερεότυπα του μαζικού τουρισμού, αλλά ερμηνεύουν πολιτιστικά το τοπίο που διατρέχουν, αξιοποιώντας επιλεγμένους θεματικούς άξονες, σχετιζόμενους με την ιστορία και την τέχνη της κάθε περιοχής.

Στην προκειμένη περίπτωση η Εύβοια, αν και προσφέρεται για τη χάραξη ποικίλων θεματικών «πολιτιστικών δικτύων», παρουσιάζει έλλειμμα πολιτιστικής διαχείρισης.⁶ Στόχος του παρόντος άρθρου είναι η παρουσίαση μιας πρότασης για τη χάραξη μιας πολιτιστικής διαδρομής με θεματικό άξονα επιλεγμένους υστεροβυζαντινούς ναούς της κεντρικής Εύβοιας, μιας περιοχής με μεγάλη πυκνότητα ναών, σε αντίθεση με την υπόλοιπη Εύβοια.⁷ Για τη διαμόρφωση της προτεινόμενης διαδρομής, η οποία έχει διττό χαρακτήρα καθώς απευθύνεται τόσο στον επισκέπτη με ιστορικά-αρχαιολογικά ενδιαφέροντα, όσο και στον επισκέπτη-προσκυνητή, ελήφθησαν υπόψη οι παρακάτω παράμετροι:

- α. Η χωρική συγκέντρωση σημαντικού αριθμού υστεροβυζαντινών ναών συγκεκριμένου αρχιτεκτονικού τύπου.
- β. Οι σωζόμενες κτητορικές επιγραφές σε αρκετούς από τους ναούς.
- γ. Ο ζωγραφικός τους διάκοσμος και τα εργαστήρια των ζωγράφων που δραστηριοποιούνται στην περιοχή.
- δ. Η μέχρι σήμερα διατήρηση των τοπιολογικών, φυσιογραφικών στοιχείων στην περιοχή.

Πρόκειται για μνημεία γενικά γνωστά στην επιστημονική κοινότητα, ωστόσο για την απόκτηση μιας άλλης οπτικής σχετικά με αυτά, απαιτείται κίνητρο ακόμα και για έναν επισκέπτη με ειδικές γνώσεις.

Η προτεινόμενη οδική διαδρομή

Η προτεινόμενη οδική διαδρομή, η οποία περιλαμβάνει πέντε σημεία-στάσεις, μπορεί να επεκταθεί με ορισμένες προαιρετικές επισκέψεις και να πραγματοποιηθεί μέσα σε μία ημέρα (Εικ. 1). Ειδικότερα, ξεκινώντας από την Χαλκίδα με κατεύθυνση προς την Αμάρυνθο, στο δρόμο προς την Άνω Βάθεια συναντάται ο πρώτος προαιρετικός σταθμός, η Παναγίτσα Άνω Βάθειας. Σε απόσταση 27 χλμ. ακολουθεί ο πρώτος από τους βασικούς σταθμούς, ο Άγιος Δημήτριος στο Μακρυχώρι. Η δεύτερη

2. Συκκά 2013.

3. Υπάρχει το Ευρωπαϊκό Ινστιτούτο Πολιτιστικών Διαδρομών (Institut Européen des Itinéraires Culturels Européen des Itinéraires) με έδρα το Λουξεμβούργο http://www.culture-routes.lu/rhp/fo_index.php?/τελευταία τροποποίηση Μάϊος 5, 2013. Βλ. επίσης Παππής 2002, 5-14.

4. Ενδεικτικά αναφέρονται: η Ενοποίηση Αρχαιολογικών Χώρων, το Κάστρον Περίπλους, Ενετοί και Ιωαννίτες Ιππότες, Δίκτυα Οχυρωματικής Αρχιτεκτονικής. Πειραματική Ενέργεια Archi-Med. *Ενοποίηση Αρχαιολογικών Χώρων, το Κάστρον Περίπλους, Ενετοί και Ιωαννίτες Ιππότες, Δίκτυα Οχυρωματικής Αρχιτεκτονικής, Πειραματική Ενέργεια Archi-Med.*

5. Γενικά για τις πολιτιστικές διαδρομές βλ. Αυγερινού-Κολώνια 1995, 104-111; 2009, 3-8.

6. Καραβασίλη και Μικελάκης 1999, 86, όπου η μεταξύ άλλων αναφερόμενη διαδρομή με τίτλο «Βυζαντινές εκκλησίες και Μεσαιωνικά κάστρα», είναι γενική και όχι ιδιαίτερα ελκυστική.

7. Πρόκειται για στοιχείο το οποίο έρχεται σε αντίθεση με τη σπανιότητά τους στην υπόλοιπη Εύβοια βλ. Παππάς 2004-2005, 108-111; Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1992, 68-69.

στάση σε απόσταση μόλις 14 χλμ. προτείνεται να γίνει στην Παναγία στις Σπηλιές, και η επόμενη στον Οξύλιθο και συγκεκριμένα στον Άγιο Νικόλαο Ριτζάνων. Στον Οξύλιθο, για να ολοκληρωθούν οι προαιρετικές επισκέψεις, μπορεί να γίνει μία ακόμη στάση στο ναό της Αγίας Άννας. Στον ίδιο οικισμό διατηρείται και ο ναός της Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου, από τα τέλη του 13ου αι., στον οποίο έχουν πρόσφατα πραγματοποιηθεί εργασίες αποκατάστασης καθώς και εργασίες συντήρησης του τοιχογραφικού του διακόσμου.⁸ Σε απόσταση 9 χλμ. ακολουθεί η στάση στη Μεταμόρφωση στο Πυργί και η διαδρομή καταλήγει μετά από λίγα λεπτά στον επιβλητικό Άγιο Δημήτριο στα Χάνια Αυλωναρίου.

Πρώτος θεματικός άξονας: Ο σταυρεπίστεγος αρχιτεκτονικός τύπος

Βασικό κοινό χαρακτηριστικό των συγκεκριμένων μνημείων, άμεσα αντιληπτό από τον επισκέπτη, είναι ο αρχιτεκτονικός τους τύπος. Ανήκουν όλα στον τύπο του σταυρεπίστεγου,⁹ εκτός από τον μονόχωρο καμαροσκέπαστο ναό της Αγίας Άννας στον Οξύλιθο (Εικ. 2 και 3).¹⁰ Ωστόσο, με αφορμή την προαιρετική επίσκεψη στην Αγία Άννα Οξύλιθου μπορεί να γίνει λόγος για τα δεδομένα που μας παρέχει ο συγκεκριμένος αυτός αρχιτεκτονικός τύπος,¹¹ στον οποίο εντάσσονται ναοί συνήθως μικρών διαστάσεων και είναι δημοφιλής σε διάφορες περιοχές.¹² Για την εξάπλωσή του κατά την εποχή της Λατινοκρατίας έχουν διατυπωθεί διάφορες απόψεις: ότι ο τύπος γνώρισε πλατιά διάδοση είτε λόγω περιορισμένων οικονομικών δυνατοτήτων των εντόπιων είτε λόγω έλλειψης της απαιτούμενης πείρας από πλευράς των τεχνιτών είτε λόγω του ότι ανταποκρινόταν στο πνεύμα των κρατούντων Λατίνων, οι οποίοι δεν θα έφεραν αντίρρηση για έναν «ουδέτερο» αρχιτεκτονικό τύπο.¹³

Στην κεντρική Εύβοια διαπιστώνεται η παρουσία πολλών σταυρεπίστεγων ναών στα τέλη του 13ου αι. και στις αρχές του 14ου αι.¹⁴ Οι περισσότεροι σταυρεπίστεγοι ανήκουν στην κατηγορία Α1 και εντοπίζονται σε τρεις γεωγραφικές ενότητες (Εικ. 4). Οι περιοχές αυτές κατά φθίνουσα σε αριθμό ναών σειρά είναι η περιοχή Κύμης - Αυλωναρίου, η περιοχή Αμαρύνθου - Αλιβερίου και τέλος μικρό-

8. Αν και πρόκειται για σταυρεπίστεγο ναό, δεν έχει περιληφθεί στη διαδρομή καθώς σε αυτόν δε διατηρείται κτητορική επιγραφή. Ωστόσο, μπορεί κανείς εύκολα να τον επισκεφτεί καθώς βρίσκεται σε κεντρικό σημείο του οικισμού. Βλ. κυρίως Velmans 1977, 198; Εμμανουήλ 1991; Λιάπης 1971, 108-114; Παππάς 2004-2005, 86-88; Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 2012, 146; Φουστέρης 2006, 76-79.

9. Γενικά για την αρχιτεκτονική των μνημείων που συμπεριλαμβάνονται στην εν λόγω διαδρομή βλ. Παναγίτσα Άννα Βάθειας; Küpper 1990, σποραδικά και ειδικότερα 132, 133, 136; Ορλάνδος 1951, 112-113 εικ. 2; Παππάς 2004-2005, 95-96. Άγιος Δημήτριος στο Μακρυχώρι: Koder 1973, 163; Küpper 1990, σποραδικά και ειδικότερα 132; Εμμανουήλ 1991, 27-31; Παππάς 2004-2005, 90-92; Φουστέρης 2006, 73. Παναγία στις Σπηλιές: Emmanuel 1990, 451; Küpper 1990, σποραδικά και ειδικότερα 132-134, 136; Λιάπης 1971, 124-126 εικ. 30-31; Παππάς 2004-2005, 94; Φουστέρης 2006, 80. Άγιος Νικόλαος Οξύλιθου: Küpper 1990, σποραδικά και ειδικότερα 132, 134-136; Λιάπης 1971, 105-106 εικ. 24, 25; Παππάς 2004-2005, 92-93. Μεταμόρφωση του Σωτήρος Πυργίου: Koumoussi 1987, 13; Küpper 1990, σποραδικά και ειδικότερα 80-82, 85, 132, 134-136; Γεωργοπούλου-Βέρρα, 1977, 11; Λιάπης 1971, 131-131 εικ. 32; Φουστέρης 2006, 59. Άγιος Δημήτριος στα Χάνια Αυλωναρίου: Küpper 1990, σποραδικά και ειδικότερα 98, 134, 136; Κατσάλη 2015, 719-728; Παππάς 2004-2005, 77-82; Φαράντος 1980, 368-370; Φουστέρης 2006, 67-68. Ειδικότερα σχετικά με τη χρονολόγηση ανέγερσης των συγκεκριμένων μνημείων βλ. παρακάτω σημ. 18.

10. Για τον ναό βλ. Emmanuel 1991, 193-194; Κακαβάς 2006, 268-269; Λιάπης 1971, 102-103 εικ. 22-23; Παππάς 2004-2005, 93. Βλ. και παρακάτω σημ. 17. Τοιχογραφημένα μνημεία, τα οποία ανήκουν στον ίδιο αρχιτεκτονικό τύπο στην Εύβοια, είναι η Κοίμηση της Θεοτόκου στο Αλιβέρι (1393) και ο Άγιος Νικόλαος στον Πύργο (τρία στρώματα, από το 1250/75 έως 1310). Εμμανουήλ 1992, 77.

11. Γενικά για τον τύπο βλ. Γκιολές 1992, 62-63 με βιβλιογραφία; Γκράτζιου 2010, 93-107; Δημητροκάλλης 2000, 42-51; Μπούρας 1994, 40.

12. Ενδεικτικά: Κρήτη (Γκράτζιου 2010, 93-107), Μάνη (Δρανδάκης 1995, 21), Κυκλάδες και Δωδεκάνησα (Κατσιώτη 1996-1997, 271).

13. Μαστορόπουλος 2004-05, 355. Η Γκράτζιου (2010, 108, 123-125) διαφωνεί με την άποψη ότι η ανέγερση πολλών μικρών μονόχωρων εκκλησιών στην Κρήτη αντανάκλα τις περιορισμένες οικονομικές δυνατότητες των εντόπιων.

14. Küpper 1990, σποραδικά και ειδικότερα 132-134; Εμμανουήλ 1992, 77; Παππάς 2004-2005, 108; Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1992, 68; 2012, 141.

τερος αριθμός ναών εντοπίζεται στην περιοχή Στενής - Καθενών. Από τις τρεις αυτές ενότητες επελέγησαν οι περιοχές Κύμης - Αυλωναρίου και Αμαρύνθου - Αλιβερίου γιατί συνδυάζουν δύο θεματικούς πυλώνες της διαδρομής, δηλαδή σταυρεπίστεγους ναούς με κτητορικές επιγραφές.

Βασικό στοιχείο της τεκμηρίωσης αυτής της διαδρομής συνιστά η κατανόηση του σταυρεπίστεγου αρχιτεκτονικού τύπου, δημιούργημα του 13ου αιώνα. Αρχικά ο σταυρεπίστεγος ναός κατατασσόταν στις βασιλικές,¹⁵ ενώ αργότερα θεωρήθηκε ξεχωριστός αρχιτεκτονικός τύπος και τα εντοπισμένα παραδείγματά του κατατάχτηκαν σε κατηγορίες¹⁶. Σκόπιμο είναι να τονιστεί ότι δεν μπορεί να προσδιοριστεί με ακρίβεια η καταγωγή του σταυρεπίστεγου ναού.¹⁷

Σημαντικό στοιχείο αποτελεί το γεγονός ότι οι σταυρεπίστεγοι ναοί που περιλαμβάνονται στη διαδρομή εντάσσονται στα πρώιμα δείγματα, ενώ ο Άγιος Δημήτριος στο Αυλωνάρι αποτελεί μετασκευή παλαιότερου ναού σε σταυρεπίστεγο και τοποθετείται χρονολογικά στην περίοδο ανέγερσης των υπόλοιπων ναών¹⁸. Ωστόσο ο σταυρεπίστεγος τύπος, ο οποίος κατά κανόνα υιοθετείται σε επαρχιακά μνημεία, παραμένει αρκετά δημοφιλής στο νησί και επί Τουρκοκρατίας.¹⁹

Αναλογικά με το πλήθος των σταυρεπίστεγων ναών στην Εύβοια, η απουσία τρουλαίων ναών

15. Millet 1916/1974, 48 -53.

16. Αρχική κατάταξη: Ευαγγελίδης 1931, 270. Συστηματική κατάταξη: Ορλάνδος 1935, 41-52. Πρόταση για ένα σύστημα τυπολογικής κατάταξης: Δωρής 1991, 45-46. Για τον σταυρεπίστεγο αρχιτεκτονικό τύπο βλ. επίσης: Küpper 1990; Επιτροπής 2010, 141-152; Φουστέρης 2006, 3-5, 183-185. Ειδικά για την κατανομή των σταυρεπίστεγων ναών στην Εύβοια βλ. Koder 1973, 159-164, 162 (χάρτης); Παππάς 2004-2005, 108-110; Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1992, 68; 2012, 141 σημ. 1, 142 σημ. 14 με βιβλιογραφία. Σχετικά με άλλα μνημεία αυτού του τύπου στην Εύβοια βλ. ενδεικτικά Δημητροκάλλης 1963, 52-75; 1964, 31-37; 1983, 271-280; 1998-2000, 49-62; Φαράντος 1983, 289-306; 1984-1985, 373-390.

17. Για την καταγωγή του σταυρεπίστεγου αρχιτεκτονικού τύπου βλ. κυρίως Küpper 1990; Millet 1916/1974, 48-53; Δημητροκάλλης 1966, 187-211; Ορλάνδος 1935, 41-52. Πιο πρόσφατα: Cιγρίτς 2010, 566, όπου η γένεση του τύπου τοποθετείται στο Δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου. Για τα σταυρεπίστεγα μνημεία του Δεσποτάτου βλ. Καπώνης 2005, κυρίως 172-196. Ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει και ο συσχετισμός της προέλευσης του τύπου στην Κρήτη με την ιδιαίτερη διάδοση που γνωρίζει η μονόχωρη καμαροσκέπαστη βασιλική με προεξέχον χαμηλό εγκάρσιο κλίτος στο νησί. Βλ. σχετικά Επιτροπής 2010, 142 κ.ε.

18. Ειδικότερα, η ανέγερση της Παναγίτσας Άνω Βάθειας (Κοίμηση της Θεοτόκου) μπορεί να χρονολογηθεί, σύμφωνα με εγχάρκτη επιγραφή, στα 1311 (Εμμανουήλ 1991, 30; Μπούρας 2001, 196; Παππάς 2004-2005, 96 και σημ.711 όπου βιβλιογραφία για πρωιμότερη χρονολόγηση του μνημείου, η οποία όμως δεν ισχύει; Σκούρας 1998, 72, όπου ο ναός περιλαμβάνεται στους ναούς της Αμαρύνθου και όχι σε αυτούς της Άνω Βάθειας).

Η ανέγερση του Αγίου Δημητρίου στο Μακρυχώρι μπορεί να τοποθετηθεί λίγο πριν την εικονογράφηση του, το 1303, (Εμμανουήλ 1991, 27-31; Παππάς 2004-2005, 92, 108). Γενικά για τον ναό και ειδικότερα για τον τοιχογραφικό διάκοσμό του βλ. Emmanuel 1991, 194; Koder 1973, 161; Velmans 1977, 197; Εμμανουήλ 1991, 33 κ.ε.; 1992, 199; Παππάς 2004-2005, 80; Σκούρας 1998, 141; Φουστέρης 2006, 73-75.

Έτος ανέγερσης της Παναγίας στις Σπηλιές, σύμφωνα με την κτητορική επιγραφή, είναι το 1311 (Velmans 1968, 191; 1977, 198-199; Λιάπης 1971, 122, 129; Παππάς 2004-2005, 94, 108). Γενικά για τον ναό και ειδικότερα για τη ζωγραφική του βλ. Emmanuel 1990, 451-467; 1991, 193 εκ. 5; Velmans 1968, 204-225; Λιάπης 1971, 124-129; Παππάς 2004-2005, 94; Σκούρας 1998, 168-169.

Η ανέγερση του Αγίου Νικολάου Ριτζάνων πρέπει να έγινε λίγο πριν την τοιχογράφηση του, το 1304 (Koder 1973, 161; Παππάς 2004-2005, 93, 108. Για το ναό και ειδικότερα για τη ζωγραφική σε αυτόν βλ. Emmanuel 1991, 193; Velmans 1977, 198; Εμμανουήλ 1992, 79; Λιάπης 1971, 105-107; Σκούρας 1998, 152-153).

Η Αγία Άννα Οξυλίθου πρέπει να κτίστηκε στις αρχές του 14ου αι. οπότε και χρονολογείται η πρώτη φάση τοιχογράφησης της (Λιάπης 1971, 101-104; Παππάς 2004-2005, 93; Βλ. και παραπάνω σημ. 10). Γενικά για τον ναό και ειδικότερα για τις τοιχογραφίες του βλ. Emmanuel 1991, 194; Εμμανουήλ 1992, 80; κυρίως Κακαβάς 2006, 267-289; Σκούρας 1998, 153.

Ο ναός της Μεταμόρφωσης στο Πυργί, πρέπει να κτίστηκε στα τέλη του 13ου αι. βλ. Emmanuel 1991, 189-190, 193; Γεωργοπούλου-Βέρρα, 1977, 11; Εμμανουήλ 1992, 77-79 σποραδικά; Λιάπης 1971, 115; Παππάς 2004-2005, 108; Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 2012, 142; Φουστέρης 2006, 59. Γενικά για τον ναό και ειδικότερα για τη ζωγραφική του βλ. Koumoussi 1987, 31- 145, 231- 262 κ.ε.; Velmans 1968, 193-204; 1977, 198; Λιάπης 1971, 130-133; Σκούρας 1998, 165; Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 2012, 141-154; Φουστέρης 2006, 59-61.

Ο Άγιος Δημήτριος στα Χάνια Αυλωναρίου πρέπει να απέκτησε την σημερινή του μορφή γύρω στα τέλη του 13ου αι. βλ. Bouras 1995, 585-589; Koder 1973, 163; Κατσάλη 2015, 719-728; Παππάς 2004-2005, 79-80; Φουστέρης 2006, 67. Γενικά για τον ναό και ειδικότερα για το ζωγραφικό διάκοσμό του βλ. Emmanuel 1991, 187-188, 193; Εμμανουήλ 1992, 77-79 σποραδικά; Κατσελάκη 2015, 729-740; Σκούρας 1998, 81-82; Φαράντος 1980, 368-370; Φουστέρης 2006, 68-72, πίν. 21-23.

Γενικά για την αρχιτεκτονική των συγκεκριμένων μνημείων βλ. παραπάνω σημ. 9.

19. Σκούρας 1998, 23.

με το εμβληματικό για τη βυζαντινή αρχιτεκτονική και την ορθοδοξία αρχιτεκτονικό στοιχείο του τρούλου προκαλεί απορία.²⁰ Η παρουσία σταυρεπίστεγων ναών αυτή την περίοδο, αφενός δηλώνει τις κατασκευαστικές ευκολίες έναντι των τρουλαίων ναών και αφετέρου υποδηλώνει τη δράση τοπικών συντεχνιών,²¹ στοιχεία που είχαν ως αποτέλεσμα τη δημιουργία μιας τάσης στην ανέγερση ναών όπως υποδηλώνουν αντίστοιχα δεδομένα και από άλλες λατινοκρατούμενες περιοχές.²²

Δεύτερος θεματικός άξονας: Οι κτητορικές επιγραφές

Όσον αφορά στο δεύτερο θεματικό άξονα της διαδρομής σημειώνεται ότι στα μνημεία που περιλαμβάνονται στη διαδρομή, εκτός του ναού της Παναγίτσας στην Άνω Βάθεια και του Αγίου Δημητρίου στα Χάνια Αυλωναρίου, σώζονται κτητορικές επιγραφές. Το τελευταίο μνημείο επελέγη ως τέρμα της διαδρομής, παρόλο που δε διατηρεί κάποια κτητορική επιγραφή, γιατί είναι ένα σημαντικό μνημείο, η ανέγερση του οποίου αναμφίβολα οφείλεται στη χορηγία σημαίνουσας προσωπικότητας, η οποία θεωρείται ότι συνδέεται με τη στρατιωτική διοίκηση της περιοχής.²³ Επομένως, το θέμα της χορηγίας, αναδεικνύεται σε θεμελιώδες στοιχείο τεκμηρίωσης της διαδρομής. Η συγκριτική ανάλυση των επιγραφών με την παρατήρηση, καθώς οι περισσότερες από αυτές διατηρούνται σε καλή κατάσταση και βρίσκονται σε εμφανή σημεία, παρέχει τη δυνατότητα ποικίλων διαπιστώσεων. Πρόκειται για επιγραφές που αφορούν σε περιπτώσεις ατομικών και συλλογικών χορηγιών. Συγκεκριμένα, στον Άγιο Νικόλαο Ριτζάνων,²⁴ στη Μεταμόρφωση στο Πυργί,²⁵ και στην Αγία Άννα στον Οξύλιθο²⁶ έχουμε συλλογικές χορηγίες. Η περίπτωση του Αγίου Δημητρίου στο Μακρυχώρι καθώς και της Παναγίας στις Σπηλιές αφορούν σε ατομικές χορηγίες (Εικ. 5). Το ίδιο πιθανόν ισχύει και για τον ναό στα Χάνια Αυλωναρίου. Τα παραδείγματα συλλογικής χορηγίας δύο ή περισσότερων πιστών είναι πολλά και διάσπαρτα.²⁷ Εντοπίζονται πλήθος παραδειγμάτων και εκτός Εύβοιας, ενώ επισημαίνεται η διαχρονικότη-

20. Η απουσία τρούλου έχει επηρεάσει το εικονογραφικό πρόγραμμα των τοιχογραφημένων ευβοϊκών μνημείων. Εμμανουήλ 1992, 78. Για τη διάταξη του εικονογραφικού προγράμματος στους σταυρεπίστεγους ναούς βλ. Φουστέρης 2006, και ειδικότερα για την επίδραση της απουσίας τρούλου στη συγκρότηση του εικονογραφικού προγράμματος σε αυτούς βλ. κυρίως 15, 183-187, 234, 237-238, 241, 243; Küpper 1990, 152.

21. Σύμφωνα με τον Δ. Τριανταφυλλόπουλο (1992, 68) τα μνημεία της κεντρικής Εύβοιας σχετίζονται περισσότερο με τα μνημεία της Αττικής, σε αντίθεση με αυτά της βόρειας Εύβοιας, που σχετίζονται με τα μνημεία της Θεσσαλίας και της Μακεδονίας και παρουσιάζουν λιγότερες δυτικές επιδράσεις.

22. Σε λατινοκρατούμενες περιοχές, όπως στην Κρήτη, υποχωρούν οι τρουλαίοι ναοί. Βλ. Γκράτζιου, 2010, κυρίως 222. Στην Νάξο (Κάππας 2008, 119) όλα τα παραδείγματα του σταυροειδούς εγγεγραμμένου τετράστυλου τοποθετούνται στη μέση Βυζαντινή περίοδο.

23. Αυτό συνάγεται από το εικονογραφικό πρόγραμμα, στο οποίο εντοπίζεται έντονη παρουσία στρατιωτικών αγίων. Εμμανουήλ 1992, 78.

24. Η επιγραφή στον Άγιο Νικόλαο Ριτζάνων Οξύλιθου έχει ως εξής: † ANE[KE]/ NHCTH O ΘΙΟ/C/ KE ΠANCEY/ ΤΟC ΝΑΟC ΟΥ/ΤΟC ΤΟΥ ΕΝΑΓΙ(ΟΙC)/ ΠΑΤΡΟC ΗΜΩΝ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΠΑ/ΡΑ ΧΗΝΔΡΟΜΗ/C KE ΕΞΟΔΟΥ ΛΕ/ ΟΤΟC ΤΟΥ ΑΥΒΕΛ/ΛΑ KE ΤΗ<C>ΧΗΝΒΙΟΥ/ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΗΡΗΝΗC KE/ ΤΟΥ ΥΙ(ΟΥ) ΑΥΤΟΥ ΔΗΜ[Η]ΤΡΙ/ΟΥ ΑΜΑ ΧΗΝΒΙΩ/ KE ΤΑΙΚΝΟΙC/ ΕΤΟΥC CΤΩΙΒ/ (ΙΝΔ) β (6812=1304) (Koder 1973, 166-167 αριθ. 10, από όπου και η μεταγραφή που υιοθετείται εδώ; Λιάπης 1971, 107, πιν. 61α).

25. Η επιγραφή από τη Μεταμόρφωση του Σωτήρος στο Πυργί έχει ως εξής: [ΑΝΗΓΕΡΘΗ Ο ΘΕΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ] ΠΑΝC[ΕΠ] ΤΟC ΝΑΟC ΟΥΤΟ(C) ΤΟΥ Κ(ΥΡΙΟ)Υ Κ(ΑΙ) Θ(ΕΟ)Υ Κ(ΑΙ) C(ΩΤΗ)Ρ(ΟC)/ [ΔΙΑ CΥΝΔΡΟΜΗC Κ(ΑΙ) ΕΞΟΔΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΔΟΥΛΩΝ] ΤΟΥ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ ΚΑΛΗC Τ(Η)C ΜΕΛΗΔ(Ο)ΝΗ [ΚΑΙ]/ [Τ]ΩΝ ΤΕΚΝΩ[Ν ΑΥΤΗC ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΙΕΡΕΟC ΑΜΑ CΥΜΒΙΟ] Κ(ΑΙ) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΑΜΑ CΥΜΒΙΟ Κ(ΑΙ)/ [ΤΕΚ]ΝΗC [ΑΥΤΩΝ Ε]Ν ΕΤΕΙ ρω[ιη:δ:] (1296 ή 1310/11) [C] ΥΝ(?)ΕΠΛΗΡΩΘ[Η] ΜΗΝ(Ι) CΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΩ/ ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΩΝΟC Θ + ΚΘ' ΗΜΕΡΑ CΑΒΒΑΤΩ - ΞΙΒ. Kalopissi-Verti, 1992, αριθ.31, 83-84; Koumoussi 1987, 13, 15; Γεωργοπούλου-Βέρρα 1977, 10; Παππάς 2004-2005, 85 σημ. 624. Εδώ χρησιμοποιείται (χωρίς τη στίξη) η μεταγραφή από: Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 2012, 142.

26. Η επιγραφή στην Αγία Άννα στον Οξύλιθο έχει ως εξής: ΒΑΡΒΑΡΑC, ΜΑΡΙΝΑC, ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΙΑC ΑΜΑ CΙΝΒΙΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΗΚΕΤΩΝ ΕΤΟΥC CΤΩΟΗ (1370). Κακαβάς 2006, 272 σημ. 13 με την παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία, από όπου και η μεταγραφή, που παρατίθεται; Λιάπης 1971, 106.

27. Σε πολλούς ναούς της Κρήτης (14ου-15ου αι.) διατηρούνται ανάλογες αφιερωματικές επιγραφές. Μακροσκελείς αφιερωματικές επιγραφές με μνεία πολλών δωρητών συναντώνται σε ναύδρια της Μάνης. Αντίστοιχα παραδείγματα εντο-

τα της συγκεκριμένης συνήθειας. Οι επιγραφές που αφορούν σε ατομικές χορηγίες είναι κατά κανόνα περιορισμένες. Η αναφορά του ονόματος του Πανσεβεστάτου Μιχαήλ του Ταμισά στην κτητορική επιγραφή στον Άγιο Δημήτριο στο Μακρυχώρι μας παραδίδει επιπλέον τον τίτλο του, ο οποίος αφορά σε επίσημο αξίωμα διοικητικής φύσεως,²⁸ επομένως ο κτήτορας του συγκεκριμένου ναού αποτελούσε εξέχουσα προσωπικότητα της περιοχής. Αντίστοιχες παρατηρήσεις μπορούν να γίνουν και για τον Μιχαήλ Παχωμέρη, κτήτορα της Παναγίας στις Σπηλιές (Εικ. 6), αν και στην επιγραφή δεν περιλαμβάνεται κάποιος τίτλος ή κάποιο προσδιοριστικό.²⁹

Πα την ταυτότητα των υπόλοιπων χορηγών θα μπορούσε να σημειωθεί ότι ένας εξ αυτών, ο Γεώργιος Ιερέας,³⁰ τέκνο της Καλής της Μελιδόνη, στο ναό της Μεταμόρφωσης στο Πυργί προέρχεται από την εκκλησιαστική ιεραρχία, (Εικόνα 7). Στους παραπάνω ναούς δεν εντοπίζεται κάποιο πορτραίτο αφιερωτή. Ωστόσο η παρουσία ναών με κτητορικές επιγραφές, που αφορούν σε συλλογικές και ατομικές χορηγίες, στις οποίες περιλαμβάνεται και τιτλούχος στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της κεντρικής Εύβοιας στις αρχές του 14ου αι., κάνουν ιδιαίτερα ελκυστική την υπόθεση ύπαρξης ενός ευκατάστατου πυρήνα ορθόδοξων οικογενειών στην περιοχή. Γενικά, η επώνυμη αναφορά ενός ικανού αριθμού χορηγών χωρίς τίτλους και υψηλή κοινωνική θέση στις αφιερωματικές επιγραφές των ναών σε ολόκληρο τον βυζαντινό κόσμο, υποδεικνύει μια εξέλιξη η οποία μπορεί να συσχετιστεί με τον κατακερματισμό της βυζαντινής αυτοκρατορίας και τη μείωση της συγκεντρωτικής αυτοκρατορικής εξουσίας της Κωνσταντινούπολης· στην περίπτωση της Εύβοιας σχετίζεται με την αποκοπή του νησιού από την πολιτική και πολιτιστική επιρροή της εξαιτίας της λατινικής κατάκτησης.

Μελετώντας συνολικά τις επιγραφές των συγκεκριμένων μνημείων διαπιστώνεται η ανώτερη κοινωνική θέση των ανδρών, καθώς προτάσσεται πάντα το όνομα του συζύγου, ενώ το όνομα της συμβίας συχνά δεν αναφέρεται. Ωστόσο και η γυναίκα κατέχει τη δική της σταθερή θέση στην κοινωνία της εποχής.³¹ Έτσι, το όνομα της Καλής της Μελιδόνη, πιθανόν χήρας καθώς δεν αναφέρεται όνομα συζύγου, προηγείται στην επιγραφή στη Μεταμόρφωση στο Πυργί και μέσα στο Ιερό εικονίζεται η μορφή της προστάτιδας αγίας της, της αγίας Καλλιόπης (:).³² Σημειώνεται ότι η απεικόνιση αγίας στο χώρο του Ιερού, ξεφεύγει από το καθιερωμένο εικονογραφικό πρόγραμμα αυτής της εποχής.³³ Αντιστοίχως και η γυναίκες που αναφέρουν τα ονόματά τους χωρίς άλλο προσδιοριστικό παρά μόνο αυτό των ικετών, αν και τα προτάσσουν από αυτά των συζύγων τους, δεν επιθυμούν να αυτοπροβληθούν αλλά απλά να ικετεύσουν για την απόκτηση τέκνων στην Αγία Άννα, επώνυμη αγία του ναού στον Οξύλιθο, όπου εντοπίζεται η συγκεκριμένη επιγραφή.³⁴

Η ιδιαιτερότητα της περίπτωσης της Παναγίτσας στην Άνω Βάθεια εντοπίζεται στο ότι η εγχάρα-

πίζονται και στην Κύπρο (Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 35-37). Στη Ρόδο έχει σωθεί μία μόνο μαρτυρία συλλογικής προσφοράς (Χριστοφοράκη 2000, 464). Αρκετές περιπτώσεις συλλογικής χορηγίας αφορούν σε τοιχογράφηση ναών του τέλους του 13ου έως τις αρχές του 14ου αι. στη Νάξο (Πα ναξιακά μνημεία 13ου αι. βλ. Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 25, 35, 37, 41 αριθ. 34, 35, 36, 37, 38 και 14ου αι. βλ. Kostarelli in press, αντίστοιχα).

28. Η επιγραφή από τον Άγιο Δημήτριο στο Μακρυχώρι έχει ως εξής: ANE/KENE/KENHCTH/ Ο ΘΙΟC KE/ ΠΑΝCΕΥΠΤ/OC ΝΑOC ΟΥΤOC/ ΠΑΡΑCΥΝΔΡΟΜ/HC (ΚΑΙ) ΕΞΟΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ Π/ΑΝCΕΒΕCΤΑΤΟΥ ΜΗΧ/ΑΗΛ ΤΟΥ ΤΑΜΗCΑ (ΚΑΙ) ΤΗ(С) CΗΝΒΙ/ΟΥ ΑΥ(ΤΟΥ) ΗΡΙΝΗC· ΕΤΟΥ(С) CΤΩΙΑ+ (6811=1302/3). Εμμανουήλ 1991, 31 σημ. 58 όπου οι παλαιότερες μεταγραφές της επιγραφής και η σχετική βιβλιογραφία. Εμμανουήλ 1992, 77.

29. Η επιγραφή από την Παναγία στις Σπηλιές έχει ως εξής: Βόρειο τμήμα: ΑΝΗΓΕΡΘΗ Ο ΘΕΙ(OC) Κ(ΑΙ) ΠΑΝCΕ- ΠΤ(OC) ΝΑ(OC) ΤΗ(С) ΥΠΕΡΕΥΛΟΓΗΜΕΝ(ΗC) ΔΕCΠΟΙΝ(ΗC) ΗΜΩΝ Τ(ΗC) ΟΔΗΓΗΤ[ΡΙΑC...]. Νότιο τμήμα: Δ]Ι Ε[Ε]ΟΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΧΩΜΕΡ[Η Α]ΜΑ CΥΜΒΙ(Ω) (ΚΑΙ) ΤΕΚΝ(ΟΙC) Κ[...]. ΤΟΥ ΕΤΟΥCCTΩΙΘ [...]. Koder 1973, 176 αριθ. 12.

30. Από επιγραφή στην Κοίμηση της Θεοτόκου στο Αλιβέρι (1393) προέρχεται το όνομα του χορηγού ιερέως Σταματίου. Εμμανουήλ 1992, 77; 2003-2004, 169.

31. Πα τη θέση της γυναίκας στη βυζαντινή κοινωνία βλ. Laiou 1982, 249 κ.ε. 260.

32. Gerstel 2006, 152.

33. Ωστόσο αντίστοιχες περιπτώσεις εντοπίζονται και αλλού. Ενδεικτικά: Κωσταρέλλη 2013, 149 σημ. 849 με σχετικά παραδείγματα; Μουρίκη 1975, 52.

34. Κακαβάς 2006, 272.

κτη επιγραφή,³⁵ όπου αναφέρεται μόνο μία χρονολογία,³⁶ θεωρείται ότι ταυτίζεται με την ημερομηνία ανέγερσης του ναού.³⁷

Η ύπαρξη ευκατάστατων χορηγών στην Εύβοια ήταν λογικό να οδηγήσει στην ανάπτυξη του εντόπιου καλλιτεχνικού δυναμικού ήδη από τον 13ο αι. και στη μετάκληση ζωγράφων από άλλες περιοχές κατά τον 14ο αι.,³⁸ στοιχεία που επιβεβαιώνονται από τις πηγές.³⁹ Η μετακίνηση καλλιτεχνών από την Εύβοια πρέπει να θεωρείται δεδομένη και κατά τον 14ο αι.⁴⁰ Ωστόσο, δεν υπάρχουν άλλα στοιχεία για την ταυτότητα των ζωγράφων που δραστηριοποιήθηκαν στην περιοχή, ενώ αιγιματική παραμένει η υπογραφή Ε.Ι.Β. στη Μεταμόρφωση στο Πυργί.⁴¹ Επομένως στρεφόμενοι στην πολύτιμη μαρτυρία του γραπτού διακόσμου των μνημείων, διαπιστώνουμε την ύπαρξη καλλιτεχνικών εργαστηρίων, στην παραγωγή των οποίων μπορούν να προσγραφούν τα συγκεκριμένα σύνολα, τα οποία παρουσιάζουν ποικιλία στην ποιότητα.⁴²

Η επιλογή εικονογραφικών θεμάτων, όπως ο Παλαιός των Ημερών στο μέτωπο της αψίδας, η Φιλοξενία σε περίοπτη θέση⁴³ και ο Μελισμός στην αψίδα, μαρτυρά τη θεολογική κατάρτιση των χορηγών και των ζωγράφων, αλλά και μια πρακτική ήπια αντίσταση του εντόπιου ορθόδοξου πληθυσμού απέναντι στο καθολικό δόγμα.⁴⁴ Ιδιαίτερη θέση στα ευβοϊκά μνημεία κατέχουν οι στρατιωτικοί άγιοι, γεγονός το οποίο ενδεχομένως οφείλεται στις προτιμήσεις των κλητόρων.⁴⁵ Η επιλεκτική επισήμανση δυτικών κυρίως εικονογραφικών στοιχείων έχει ως στόχο να εισάγει ευρύτερα τον επισκέπτη στις εξωτερικές επιδράσεις που δέχεται η τέχνη σε συγκεκριμένο ιστορικό πλαίσιο. Η μνημειακή ζωγραφι-

35. Της εγγάρκτης χρονολογίας από την Παναγίτσα Άνω Βάθειας ΕΤ(ΟΥΣ), ΣΤΩΙΘ' (6819=1311) προηγείται η επίσης εγγάρκτη επιγραφή: ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΗΣ, η οποία πρέπει να είναι μεταγενέστερη από τη χρονολογία (Ορλάνδος 1951, 119-120). Ωστόσο ο J. Koder (1973, 167 αριθ. 13) μεταγράφει τα συγκεκριμένα χαράγματα ως ενιαία επιγραφή.

36. Χαράγματα εντοπίζονται και αλλού, όπως στην Εύβοια τα αδημοσίευστα χαράγματα επί των τοιχογραφιών στον ναό της Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου (Παναγίτσας) στο Αλιβέρι και στο καθολικό της Μονής του Αγίου Νικολάου Γαλατάκη (Δούκουρης 2009, 82), αλλά και σε άλλες περιοχές (ενδεικτικά: Ορλάνδος 1939-40, 90-92).

37. Koder 1973, 167; Παππάς 2004-2005, 96. Σημειώνεται ωστόσο ότι στην αυτοψία που διενεργήθηκε τον Μάιο του 2013 η συγκεκριμένη επιγραφή δεν εντοπίστηκε.

38. Πρόκειται για τους Κρήτες Θεόδωρο Γραϊκό (Greco) και Νικόδημο Καλόγηρο (Calogero), που μετακαλούνται το 1316 στο νησί για να ζωγραφίσουν. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1992, 69.

39. Μαρτυρείται σε επιστολή του Μητροπολίτη Ναυπάκτου Ιωάννη Απόκαυκου, ο οποίος ζητά από «τον Τρνίκην κυρ Ευθύμιον» (1218) να πείσει τον ζωγράφο Νικόλαο από την Εύβοια να μεταβεί στη Ναύπακτο προκειμένου να διακοσμήσει τον ναό της Παναγίας, αφού ο ζωγράφος Επιφάνιος από τη Θήβα αρνήθηκε να αναλάβει τη συγκεκριμένη δουλειά. Παννούλης 2010, 207 σημ. 1298 με βιβλιογραφία; Εμμανουήλ 1992, 76.

40. Αυτό συνάγεται και από τη διαπιστωμένη συγγένεια μεταξύ του ζωγραφικού διακόσμου της Αγίας Άννας Οξυλίθου με αυτόν στον Άγιο Δημήτριο κοντά στο χωριό Κουνουπίτσα Μεθάνων, 14ος αι. Mitsani 2000, 237-243, εικ. 6-10; Κακαβάς 2006, 287.

41. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1992, 68.

42. Στην Εύβοια εντοπίζονται ναοί, στη ζωγραφική των οποίων διαπιστώνεται η προσήλωση στην κομνηνεία παράδοση με επιδράσεις και από τη σύγχρονη ογκηρή τεχνολογία (Μεταμόρφωση στο Πυργί (1296), βλ. Velmans 1968, 192-204); Γεωργοπούλου-Βέρρα 1977, 9-38; Καλοπίση-Βέρτη 1999, 78), αλλά και ορισμένα σύνολα, όπου ακολουθείται η τυπική επαρχιακή εκδοχή, στο πλαίσιο της οποίας τα υστεροκομνηνεία πρότυπα συμφύρονται με παλαιολόγια στοιχεία (Άγιος Δημήτριος στο Μακρυχώρι, (1302/3), Άγιος Νικόλαος Ριζάνων (1304), Άγιος Δημήτριος στο Αυλωνάρι (περίπου 1300), βλ. Εμμανουήλ-Γερούση 1984-85, 391-420; Εμμανουήλ 1991; Καλοπίση-Βέρτη 1999, 79; Κατσελάκη 2015, 734) ή αποτελούν απλοποιημένη επαρχιακή τάση της παλαιολόγιας τέχνης (τμήματα του διακόσμου της Οδηγήτριας στις Σπηλιές (1311), βλ. Emmanuel 1990, 466-467; Velmans 1968, 204-225, β' στρώμα Αγίας Θέκλας (τέλη 13ου αι.) και γ' στρώμα Αγίου Νικολάου στον Πύργο (περίπου 1300), βλ. Koumoussi 1987, 247 κ.ε.; Εμμανουήλ 1991, 224-225; Εμμανουήλ-Γερούση 1984-85, 402 κ.ε. Απαντούν βέβαια και σύνολα, που ξεφεύγουν από τη συντηρητική τάση, πλούσια σε αρχαϊσμούς (Εμμανουήλ 1991, σποραδικά; Emmanuel 1991, 194-195) με κύρια χαρακτηριστικά τα ογκώδη σώματα, την πλούσια πτυχολογία, την πλαστικότητα και την εκφραστικότητα των προσώπων (τμήμα τοιχογραφιών του ναού της Οδηγήτριας στις Σπηλιές (1311), βλ. Emmanuel 1990, 451-467 και 465-466; Καλοπίση-Βέρτη 1999, 79). Για εργαστήρια στη δραστηριότητα των οποίων προσγράφεται η ζωγραφική των ξεταζόμενων μνημείων και των υπόλοιπων σύγχρονων τοιχογραφημένων ναών στην Εύβοια βλ. Εμμανουήλ 1991, σποραδικά και κυρίως 222-225; 1992, 79-80; Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1992, 68.

43. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 2012, 145-152. Βλ. επίσης Εμμανουήλ 1992, 77; Φουστέρης 2006, 60 (Μεταμόρφωση στο Πυργί), 73-74 (Άγιος Δημήτριος στο Μακρυχώρι), 81 (Παναγία στις Σπηλιές).

44. Για το θέμα βλ. γενικά Γκιολές 2004, 271-281. Ειδικά για την Εύβοια βλ. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 2012, 141-154.

45. Εμμανουήλ 1992, 79.

κή ελάχιστα έχει επηρεαστεί από τη δυτική τέχνη αν και η περιοχή βρισκόταν κάτω από τη Λατινική κυριαρχία,⁴⁶ φαινόμενο το οποίο κατά κανόνα απαντά και στις υπόλοιπες λατινοκρατούμενες περιοχές αυτή την περίοδο.⁴⁷

Το σύντομο διάστημα της βυζαντινής κατοχής του νησιού από τον Μιχαήλ Η΄ Παλαιολόγο (1259-1282), πρέπει να δημιούργησε ένα αίσθημα αισιοδοξίας στους ντόπιους.⁴⁸ Επιπλέον επισημαίνεται ότι η επισκοπή Αυλώνος,⁴⁹ όπου ανήκαν τα εξεταζόμενα μνημεία, υπαγόταν στον Λατίνο Αρχιεπίσκοπο Αθηνών, γεγονός το οποίο είχε ως αποτέλεσμα μεγαλύτερη άνεση στην έκφραση.⁵⁰ Πιθανότατα η τοιχογράφηση ναών στον απόηχο αυτής της βραχείας περιόδου ανεξαρτησίας, κυρίως στην κεντρική Εύβοια,⁵¹ έχει χαρακτήρα αντίστασης κατά των Λατίνων.⁵²

Ο επισκέπτης λοιπόν, μέσα από τις μαρτυρίες που προσφέρει το συγκεκριμένο δίκτυο ναών, μπορεί να αντιληφθεί ότι η οικοδομική και καλλιτεχνική δραστηριότητα στο νησί παρέμενε ακμαία στις αρχές του 14ου αι. και καλείται να ανασυνθέσει με αδρές γραμμές το κοινωνικό-πολιτιστικό σκηνικό της εποχής, στο οποίο πρωταγωνιστικούς ρόλους κατείχαν οι χορηγοί, οι άρχοντες ή οι απλοί άνθρωποι της υπαίθρου, οι οποίοι δαπάνησαν χρήματα για την κατασκευή και την τοιχογράφηση των συγκεκριμένων ναών.

Η υλοποίηση

Μετά την ανάλυση των δύο βασικών θεματικών αξόνων της διαδρομής δηλαδή σταυρεπίστεγος τύπος και χορηγία, πρέπει να αναφερθούμε στα στάδια υλοποίησης αυτής της ιδέας. Στο πρώτο στάδιο εντάσσεται η δημιουργία διαδικτυακής πλατφόρμας, η οποία θα περιλαμβάνει το σχεδιασμό της διαδρομής. Θα διαρθρώνεται σε αρκετά επίπεδα ώστε να καλύπτει τις απαιτήσεις των χρηστών ανάλογα με τα ενδιαφέροντα, το γνωστικό επίπεδο και την ηλικία τους. Οι χρήστες της εφαρμογής θα έχουν τη δυνατότητα να προσεγγίσουν τα δεδομένα εύκολα, πριν τη διαδρομή ή και μετά, μέσα από χάρτες, πίνακες, σχέδια, φωτογραφίες, video, ηχητικά αρχεία, κείμενα (π.χ. ιστορικά στοιχεία, περιγραφή κατάστασης διατήρησης, βιβλιογραφία), μηχανή αναζήτησης, γλωσσάρι.⁵³

Στόχος αυτής της προσέγγισης είναι ο εμπλουτισμός του δικτυακού τόπου με νέα δεδομένα όχι μόνο για τα ήδη τεκμηριωμένα μνημεία αλλά για το σύνολο των μνημείων της περιοχής. Η εφαρμογή αυτή με τον συνεχή εμπλουτισμό της μπορεί να εξελιχθεί σε μια εικονική περιήγηση στην εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική και ζωγραφική της κεντρικής Εύβοιας του 14ου αι. Αν και δεν φιλοδοξεί να εξαντλήσει το σύνολο των διαθέσιμων πληροφοριών για τα μνημεία, αναμφίβολα θα δημιουργήσει την υποδομή για τη σύνθεση πολιτιστικών διαδρομών. Πρόκειται για διαδραστικό μέσο, καθώς ο χρήστης μπορεί να διαμορφώσει μόνος του διαδρομές. Μπορεί επίσης να αποτελέσει αφορμή για τη δημιουργία ομάδας φίλων των συγκεκριμένων μνημείων με ποικίλες δραστηριότητες⁵⁴ και να αξιοποιηθεί από

46. Emmanuel 1990, σποραδικά; Velmans 1968, 204-225; Εμμανουήλ 1991, σποραδικά; 1992, 79-80 με παραδείγματα. Παππάς 2004-2005, 94; Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 2012, 141-154.

47. Ενδεικτικά: Δωδεκάνησα (Κατσιώτη 1996-97, 286, 297), Νάξος (Κωσταρέλλη 2013, 111-113; Μητσάνη 2000, 118-120), Πελοπόννησος (Καλοπίση-Βέρτη 2007, 70 σημ. 40), Κρήτη (Παπαδάκη-Ökland 1992, 491-514).

48. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1992, 68. Για τα ιστορικά στοιχεία αυτής της περιόδου βλ. πρόχειρα Ράπτης 2004.

49. Για την επανασύσταση της επισκοπής Αυλώνος βλ. πρόχειρα Παππάς 2004-2005, 109.

50. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 2012, 153.

51. Κατά τον 13ο και 14ο αι. τοιχογραφούνται έντεκα μνημεία στην Εύβοια, τα οποία κυρίως βρίσκονται στο κεντρικό τμήμα του νησιού. Εμμανουήλ 1992, 76.

52. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1992, 69.

53. Για ανάλογες διαδικτυακές εφαρμογές διαχείρισης πολιτιστικών αγαθών βλ. ενδεικτικά: Περιλήψεις των ανακοινώσεων του International Workshop on Virtual Archaeology Museums & Cultural Tourism (VAMCT), 25-28 September, 2013, Delft.

54. Ενδεικτικά: σχολικές εκπαιδευτικές δράσεις, ταινίες μικρού μήκους, διαγωνισμοί φωτογραφίας.

ευπαθείς ομάδες τουρισμού (ΑΜΕΑ, ομάδες από αναμορφωτήρια, γηροκομεία, νοσοκομεία, θεραπευτικές κοινότητες), καθώς πρόκειται για μνημεία εύκολα προσβάσιμα.

Ένα ακόμα στάδιο σχεδιασμού είναι η δημιουργία εφαρμογής για κινητά τηλέφωνα, που θα παρέχει πληροφορίες στους χρήστες της, εφαρμογή που θα καθιστούσε τη στρατηγική προώθησης και καθορισμού της ταυτότητας της περιοχής (*marketing & branding*) πρωτοπόρα για τα ελληνικά δεδομένα.

Ουσιαστικής σημασίας για την πραγματοποίηση της συγκεκριμένης τουριστικής μελέτης, την ολοκλήρωση της οποίας συμπληρώνουν τα δύο προαναφερθέντα στάδια εφαρμογής, αποτελεί η υλοποίηση της τουριστικής διαδρομής στο φυσικό χώρο. Στόχος μας είναι μετά την πλήρη τεκμηρίωση, η εποπτεία, προώθηση και οργάνωση όλων των απαιτούμενων διαδικασιών προκειμένου η μελέτη αυτή να αποτελέσει ένα πιστοποιημένο εργαλείο ανάπτυξης πολιτιστικού τουρισμού για το νομό της Εύβοιας.

Επίλογος

Στο πλαίσιο του παρόντος άρθρου παρουσιάζεται τμήμα της πραγματοποιηθείσας έρευνας με σκοπό την τεκμηρίωση της εν λόγω διαδρομής, η προώθηση της οποίας θα συμβάλει στην ανάδειξη του συγκεκριμένου δικτύου μνημείων σε πόλο έλξης «πολιτιστικών επισκεπτών». Ενδεικτικά παραθέτουμε ορισμένα από τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας που πραγματοποιήθηκε σε ομάδα 25 ατόμων, τα οποία επισκέφθηκαν τα συγκεκριμένα μνημεία και συμπλήρωσαν σχετικά ερωτηματολόγια (Εικ. 8-10).

Ας επιτρέψουμε λοιπόν στις πολιτιστικές διαδρομές να μας οδηγήσουν σε ένα ταξίδι με κυριότερους σταθμούς την προστασία και τον σεβασμό προς τα μνημεία και το φυσικό περιβάλλον που τα πλαισιώνει.

Βιβλιογραφία

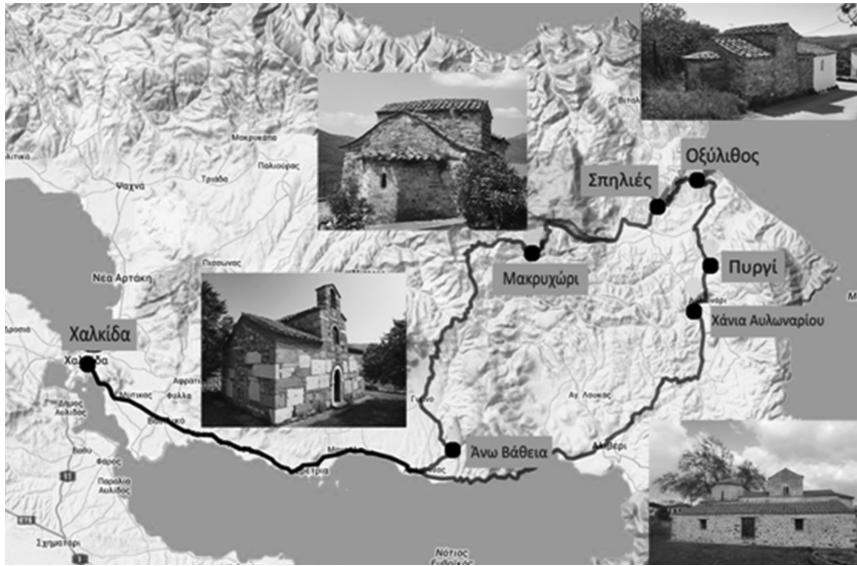
- Αυγερινού-Κολώνια, Σ. (1995) 'Πολιτιστικές τουριστικές διαδρομές: δρόμοι διαλόγου και ανάπτυξης'. *Σύγχρονα θέματα* 55, 104-111.
- Αυγερινού-Κολώνια, Σ. (2009) 'Πολιτιστικές διαδρομές: Μία πρόταση για την μελέτη και την ανάδειξη της πολυπλευρης πολιτιστικής πραγματικότητας'. Στο *Πορεία, Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Διονύση Ζήβα*, επιμέλεια Μ. Ε. Γραφάκου, Μ. Αδάμη-Καρδαμίτση και Ε. Μαΐστρου, 16-37. Αθήνα: Εξάντας.
- Γεωργοπούλου-Βέρρα, Μ. (1977) 'Τοιχογραφίες του τέλους του 13ου αι. στην Εύβοια. Ο Σωτήρας στο Πυργί και η Αγία Θέκλα'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 32(Α' Μελέτες), 9-38.
- Γιαννούλης, Δ. (2010) *Οι τοιχογραφίες των Βυζαντινών Μνημείων της Άρτας κατά την περίοδο του Δεσποτάτου της Ηπείρου*. Ιωάννινα: Εκδόσεις Εταιρείας Ηπειρωτικών Μελετών.
- Γκιολές, Ν. (1992) *Βυζαντινή Ναοδομία (600-1204)*. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Καρδαμίτσα.
- Γκιολές, Ν. (2004) 'Εικονογραφικά θέματα στη Βυζαντινή Τέχνη εμπνευσμένα από την αντιπαράθεση και τα σχίσματα των δύο Εκκλησιών'. Στο *ΘΩΡΑΚΙΟΝ, Αφιέρωμα στην Μνήμη του Παύλου Λαζαρίδη*, 263-284. Αθήνα: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού.
- Γκράτζιου, Ο. (2010) *Η Κρήτη στην Ύστερη Μεσαιωνική Εποχή. Η μαρτυρία της εκκλησιαστικής αρχιτεκτονικής*. Ηράκλειο: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης.
- Δημητροκάλλης, Γ. (1963) 'Ο βυζαντινός ναός της Αγίας Θέκλας Εύβοιας'. *Τεχνικά Χρονικά* Ιούνιος, 52-75.
- Δημητροκάλλης, Γ. (1964) 'Ο Άγιος Γεώργιος Γυμνού Ευβοίας'. *Τεχνικά Χρονικά* Μάρτιος, 31-37.
- Δημητροκάλλης, Γ. (1966) 'Η καταγωγή των σταυρεπίστεγων ναών'. Στον Τόμ. Β *Χαριστήριον εις Αν. Ορλάνδον*, 263-284. Αθήνα: Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία.
- Δημητροκάλλης, Γ. (1983) 'Ο σταυρεπίστεγος ναός του Προδρόμου στην Τσούκα Μαντουδίου'. *Archäologisch epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn* 25, 271-280.
- Δημητροκάλλης, Γ. (1998-2000) 'Ο σταυρεπίστεγος ναός της Αγίας Τρίτης Καθενών Εύβοιας'. *Archäologisch epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn* 33, 49-62.
- Δημητροκάλλης, Γ. (2000) *Βυζαντινή Ναοδομία στην Νάξο*. Καθημερινή/Επτά Ημέρες. (13.2.1997).
- Δούκουρης, Β. (2009) *Ιερά Μονή Αγίου Νικολάου Γαλατάκη Β. Εύβοιας*. Λίμνη: Έκδοση Ιεράς Μονής Αγίου Νικολάου Γαλατάκη.
- Δωρής, Μ. (1991) 'Πρόταση για την τυπολογία των σταυρεπίστεγων ναών και τους αντίστοιχους συμβολισμούς'. Στο *11ο Συμπόσιο βυζαντινής και μεταβυζαντινής αρχαιολογίας και τέχνης*, 45-46. Αθήνα: Χριστιανική Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία.
- Δρανδάκης, Ν. (1995) *Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες της Μέσα Μάνης*. Αθήνα: Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία.
- Εμμανουήλ, Μ. (1991) *Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Δημητρίου στο Μακρυχώρι και της Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου στον Οξύλιθο της Εύβοιας*. Αθήνα: Έκδοση Εταιρείας Ευβοϊκών Σπουδών.
- Εμμανουήλ, Μ. (1992) 'Η μνημειακή ζωγραφική στην Εύβοια κατά την περίοδο της Φραγκοκρατίας'. *Αρχαιολογία* 42, 76-80.
- Εμμανουήλ, Μ. (2003-2004) 'Ο ναός της Θεοτόκου στο Αλιβέρι'. *Αρχείο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών ΛΕ'*, 167-187.
- Εμμανουήλ-Γερούση, Μ. (1984-1985) 'Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου στον Πύργο Ευβοίας'. *Αρχείο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 26, 391-420.
- Επιτροπάκης, Π. (2010) 'Μονόχωρες καμαροσκέπαστες βασιλικές με εγκάρσιο κλίτος: ιδιόρρυθμοι "σταυρεπίστεγοι" της πρώιμης Ενετοκρατίας στην Κρήτη'. Στο *Ανταπόδοση. Μελέτες Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης προς τιμήν της καθηγήτριας Ε. Δεληγιάννη-Δωρής*, 141-152. Αθήνα: Βιβλιοτεχνία Ο.Ε.
- Ευαγγελίδης, Δ. (1931) 'Βυζαντινά μνημεία της Ηπείρου, (Κωστανιανη, Σταυρεπίστεγοι εκκλησiai της Ουζντίνας)'. *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά* 6, 258-276.
- Κακαβάς, Γ. (2006) 'Τάσεις της μνημειακής ζωγραφικής στην Εύβοια τον 14ο αι. Η περίπτωση της Αγίας Άννας στον Οξύλιθο'. Στο *Βενετία-Εύβοια. Από τον Έγριπο στο Νεγροπόντε. Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου (Χαλκίδα 2004)*, επιμέλεια Χ. Α. Μαλτέζου και Χ. Ε. Παπακώστα, 267-289. Βενετία; Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Σπουδών Βενετίας; Εταιρεία Ευβοϊκών Σπουδών.
- Καλοπίση-Βέρτη, Σ. (1999) 'Τάσεις της μνημειακής ζωγραφικής περί το 1300 στον ελλαδικό και νησιωτικό χώρο'. Στο *Ο Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος και η εποχή του*, επιμέλεια Κ. Νικολάου, 63-90. Αθήνα: Έκδοση ΙΒΕ/ΕΙΕ.

- Καλοπίση-Βέρτη, Σ. (2007) 'Επιπτώσεις της Δ' Σταυροφορίας στη μνημειακή ζωγραφική της Πελοποννήσου και της Ανατολικής Στερεάς Ελλάδας έως τα τέλη του 13ου αι.'. Στο *Η Βυζαντινή Τέχνη μετά την Τέταρτη Σταυροφορία. Η Τέταρτη Σταυροφορία και οι Επιπτώσεις της. Διεθνές Συνέδριο, Αθήνα 2004, Ακαδημία Αθηνών. Κέντρο Έρευνας της Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Τέχνης*, επιμέλεια Π. Βοκοτοπούλου, 63-88. Αθήνα: Ακαδημία Αθηνών.
- Κάππας, Μ. (2008) 'Η εφαρμογή του σταυροειδούς εγγεγραμμένου στη Μέση και Ύστερη Βυζαντινή περίοδο. Το παράδειγμα του Απλού Τετρακιδίου/Τετράστουλου'. Διδακτορική διατριβή. Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, Ελλάδα.
- Καπώνης, Ν. (2005) Τόμ. Α' και Β' 'Η ναοδομική αρχιτεκτονική του Δεσποτάτου της Ηπείρου την περίοδο της δυναστείας των Κομνηνών Αγγέλων (1204-1318)'. Διδακτορική διατριβή. Πανεπιστήμιο Ιωαννίνων, Ελλάδα.
- Καραβασίλη, Μ. και Ε. Μικελάκης (1999) 'Πολιτιστικές διαδρομές. Προς μία ερμηνευτική του "πολιτιστικού τοπίου" με αναπτυξιακή προοπτική'. *Αρχαιολογία και Τέχνες* 71, 82-86.
- Κατσάλη, Ε. (2015) 'Συμβολή στη μελέτη της αρχιτεκτονικής του ναού του Αγίου Δημητρίου στα Χάνια Αυλωναρίου'. Στον Τόμ. II *Πρακτικά 4^{ου} Αρχαιολογικού Έργου Θεσσαλίας και Ελλάδας, 2009-2011. Από τους Προϊστορικούς στους Νεώτερους χρόνους. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης (Βόλος 15-18 Μαρτίου 2012)*, 719-728. Βόλος: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Τουρισμού; Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας.
- Κατσελάκη, Α. (2015) 'Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Δημητρίου στα Χάνια Αυλωναρίου'. Στον Τόμ. II *Πρακτικά 4^{ου} Αρχαιολογικού Έργου Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, 2009-2011. Από τους Προϊστορικούς στους Νεώτερους χρόνους. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης (Βόλος 15-18 Μαρτίου 2012)*, 729-740. Βόλος: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Τουρισμού; Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας.
- Κατσιώτη, Α. (1996-1997) 'Επισκόπηση της μνημειακής ζωγραφικής του 13ου αι. στα Δωδεκάνησα'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 51-52(Α'Μελέτες), 267-300.
- Κωσταρέλλη, Α. (2013) 'Η Μνημειακή ζωγραφική το 14ο αιώνα στη Νάξο: Τα ακριβώς χρονολογημένα μνημεία'. Διδακτορική διατριβή. Πανεπιστήμιο Ιωαννίνων, Ελλάδα.
- Λιάπης, Ι. Α. (1971) *Μεσαιωνικά Μνημεία Εύβοιας*. Αθήνα: Εργοστάσιο Γραφικών Τεχνών της Α.Ε. 'Εκδοτική Ελλάδος'.
- Μαστορόπουλος, Γ. (2004-2005) 'Ναοί και Μονύδρια της Χώρας Νάξου κατά την εποχή του Αγίου Νικοδήμου του Αγιορείτη'. Στον Τόμ. 19 *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Κυκλαδικών Μελετών [Πρακτικά Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου: Άγιος Νικόδημος ο Αγιορείτης ο Νάξιος. 250 χρόνια από την γέννησή του, (Νάξος 2000)]*, 345-402. Αθήνα: Εταιρεία Κυκλαδικών Μελετών.
- Μητσάνη, Α. (2000) 'Η μνημειακή ζωγραφική στις Κυκλάδες κατά το 13ο αι.'. *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* Δ' 21, 93-122.
- Μουρίκη, Ν. (1975) *Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου στην Πλάτσα Μάνης*. Αθήνα: Έκδοση για την πεντηκονταετηρίδα της Τράπεζας Αττικής. Αθήνα: Έκδοση της Τραπεζικής Αττικής.
- Μπούρας, Χ. (1994) *Ιστορία της Αρχιτεκτονικής. Αρχιτεκτονική στο Βυζάντιο, το Ισλάμ και την Δυτική Ευρώπη κατά τον Μεσαίωνα*. Αθήνα: Μέλισσα.
- Μπούρας, Χ. (2001) *Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή αρχιτεκτονική στην Ελλάδα*. Αθήνα: Μέλισσα.
- Ορλάνδος, Α. (1935) 'Οι σταυρεπίστεγοι ναοί της Ελλάδος'. *Αρχείον Βυζαντινών Μνημείων της Ελλάδος* Α', 41-52.
- Ορλάνδος, Α. (1939-1940) 'Η Μονή του Οσίου Μελετίου και τα παραλάρια αυτής'. *Αρχείον Βυζαντινών Μνημείων της Ελλάδος* Ε', 90-92.
- Ορλάνδος, Α. (1951) 'Σταυρεπίστεγοι ναοί Βάθειας Εύβοιας'. *Αρχείον Βυζαντινών Μνημείων της Ελλάδος* Ζ', 111-130.
- Παπαδάκη-Ökland, Σ. (1992) 'Δυτικότροπες τοιχογραφίες του 14ου αι. στην Κρήτη. Η άλλη όψη μίας αμφίδρομης σχέσης'. Στον Τόμ. 2 *ΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΟΝ, Αφιέρωμα στον Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη*, 491-514. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Ταμείου Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων.
- Παππάς, Δ. (2004-2005) 'Βυζαντινή ναοδομία στην Εύβοια'. Διπλωματική εργασία. Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, Ελλάδα.
- Παππής, Χ. (2002) *Το Πρόγραμμα 'Πολιτιστικές Διαδρομές' του ομώνυμου Ινστιτούτου του Συμβουλίου της Ευρώ-*

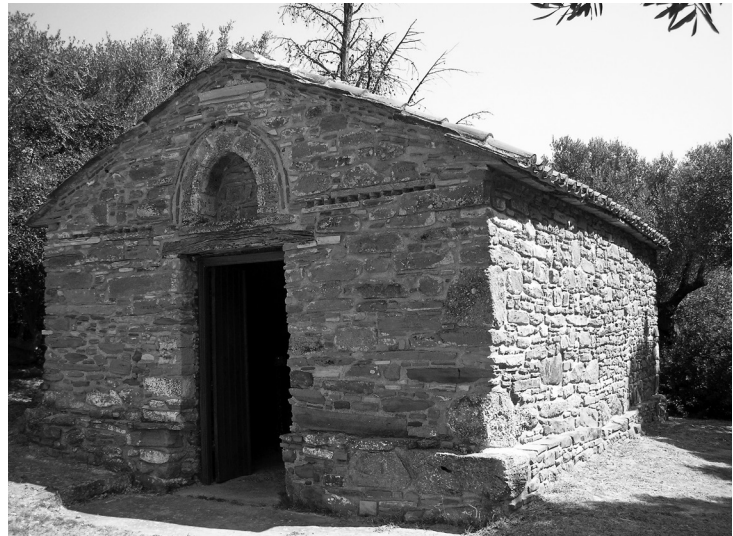
- πης: *Η διαμόρφωση των Στόχων και η Οργάνωση για την Εφαρμογή τους*. Αθήνα: Εθνικό Κέντρο Δημόσιας Διοίκησης, Εθνική Σχολή Δημόσιας Διοίκησης, ΙΓ' Εκπαιδευτική Σειρά, Τμήμα Γενικής Διοίκησης. http://www.ekdd.gr/ekdda/files/ergasies_esdd/13/2/445.pdf. Πρόσβαση Οκτώβριος 13, 2013.
- Ράπτης, Β. (2004) *Η Βενετοκρατούμενη Εύβοια (13ος-14ος αι.)*. Διπλωματική εργασία. Πανεπιστήμιο Ιωαννίνων, Ελλάδα.
- Σκούρας, Θ. (1998) *Χριστιανικά μνημεία Εύβοιας*. Χαλκίδα: Εκδόσεις 'Σύγχρονος Τύπος Α.Ε.'
- Συκκά, Γ. (2013) 'Το νέο μοντέλο του πολιτισμού. Πολιτιστική επιχειρηματικότητα και συνδυασμός εκπαίδευσης - ψυχαγωγίας θα χαρακτηρίζει την περίοδο 2014-2020'. *Εφημερίδα Καθημερινή*. http://news.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/_w_articles_civ_2_29/06/2013_525003. Πρόσβαση Ιούλιο 4, 2013.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. (1992) 'Αρχαιολογικά Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Εύβοιας (Ιστορικό πλαίσιο-Μνημεία-Προβλήματα και αιτήματα)'. *Αρχαιολογία* 42, 63-75.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. (2012) 'Ζητήματα ερμηνείας της ζωγραφικής στη μεταμόρφωση στο Πυργί Αυλωναρίου. Όψεις της Λατινοκρατούμενης Εύβοιας'. *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* Δ'(33), 141-154.
- Φαράντος, Χ. (1980) 'Βυζαντινές και μεταβυζαντινές εκκλησίες στις περιοχές των χωριών: Αλιβέρι, Κατακαλός, Βελούσια, Άγ. Λουκάς, Παραμερίτες, Θαρούνια, Κρεμαστός, Όριο, Μουρτάρι, Οχτωνιά, Αυλωνάρι, Άγ. Γεώργιος και Αχλαδερή της Ν. Εύβοιας'. *Archäologisch epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn* 23, 323-380.
- Φαράντος, Χ. (1983) 'Δύο άγνωστοι σταυρεπίστεγοι ναοί στις περιοχές των χωριών: Αχλαδερή και Αγ. Δημήτριος της Νότιας Εύβοιας'. *Archäologisch epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn* 25, 289-306.
- Φαράντος, Χ. (1984-1985) 'Δύο σταυρεπίστεγοι ναοί στις περιοχές των χωριών: Μετόχι και Λενωσαίοι της Νότιας Εύβοιας'. *Archäologisch epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn* 26, 373-390.
- Φουστέρης, Γ. (2006) 'Εικονογραφικά προγράμματα σε βυζαντινούς σταυρεπίστεγους ναούς'. Διδακτορική διατριβή. Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, Ελλάδα.
- Χριστοφοράκη, Ι. (2000) 'Χορηγικές μαρτυρίες στους ναούς της μεσαιωνικής Ρόδου (1204-1522)'. Στον Τόμ. Β ΡΟΔΟΣ 2.400 χρόνια. Η πόλη της Ρόδου από την ίδρυσή της μέχρι την κατάληψη από τους Τούρκους (1523), 449-464. Αθήνα: Στέγη Γραμμάτων και Τεχνών Δωδεκανήσου.
- *
- Bouras, C. (1995) 'A Chance Classical Revival in Byzantine Greece'. In *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-historical studies in honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, edited by C. Moss and K. Kiefer, 585-589. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ćurčić, S. (2010) *Architecture in the Balkans from Diocletian to Süleyman the Magnificent*. Yale: Yale University Press.
- Emmanuel, M. (1990) 'Die Fresken der Muttergottes-Hodegetria Kirche in Spelies auf der Insel Euböia (1311). Bemerkungen zu Ikonographie und Stil'. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83, 451-467.
- Emmanuel, M. (1991) 'La peinture byzantine de l'île d'Eubée en Grèce au XIIIe siècle'. *Corci di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 38, 185-196.
- Gerstel, S. (2006) 'An alternative view of the Late Byzantine sanctuary screen. Appendix: solid masonry temple'. In *Thresholds of the sacred: architectural, art historical, liturgical, and theological perspectives on religious screens, East and West*, edited by S. E. J. Gerstel, 134-161. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.
- 'Institut Européen des Itinéraires Culturels'. Culture Routes. http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?/. Last accessed May 5, 2013.
- Kalopissi-Verti, S. (1992) *Dedicatory inscriptions and Donor portraits in the thirteenth-century churches of Greece*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Koder, J. (1973) 'Negroponte. Untersuchungen zur Topographie und Siedlungsgeschichte der Insel Euböia während der Zeit der Venezianerherrschaft'. Vol. I of *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Kostarelli, A. (In press) 'The Sponsorship on the island of Naxos. The evidence of churches' inscriptions of 14th-century painted decorations'. *International Scientific Conference, The institution of Sponsorship-From ancient to modern times, Thessaloniki 7-8 February, 2014*.

- Koumoussi, A. (1987) *Les peintures murales de la Transfiguration de Pyrgi et de Saint Thècle en Eubée, (Rapports avec l'art occidental)*. Athens: Université de Paris I; Pantheon; Sorbonne.
- Küpper, H. M. (1990) Vols. I and II of *Der Bautypus der griechischen Dachtranseptkirche*. Amsterdam: Verlag Adolf M. Hakkert.
- Laiou, A. (1982) 'The Role of Women in Byzantine Society'. *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32(1), 233-260.
- Millet, G. ([1916]1974) *L'école grecque dans l'Architecture Byzantine*. Paris; London: Variorum Reprints.
- Mitsani, A. (2000) 'Provincial Byzantine Wallpaintings on Methana'. In *Byzantinische-Malerei. Bildprogramme – Ikonographie – Stil. Symposium in Marburg, 1997*, edited by G. Koch, 227-244. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.
- Velmans, T. (1968) 'Deux églises byzantines du début du XIV^e siècle en Eubée'. *Cahiers Archéologiques* 18, 192-225.
- Velmans, T. (1977) Vol. I of *Peinture murale à la fin du Moyen Âge*, edited by A. Grabar and J. Hubert. Paris: Éditions Klincksieck.

Εικόνες



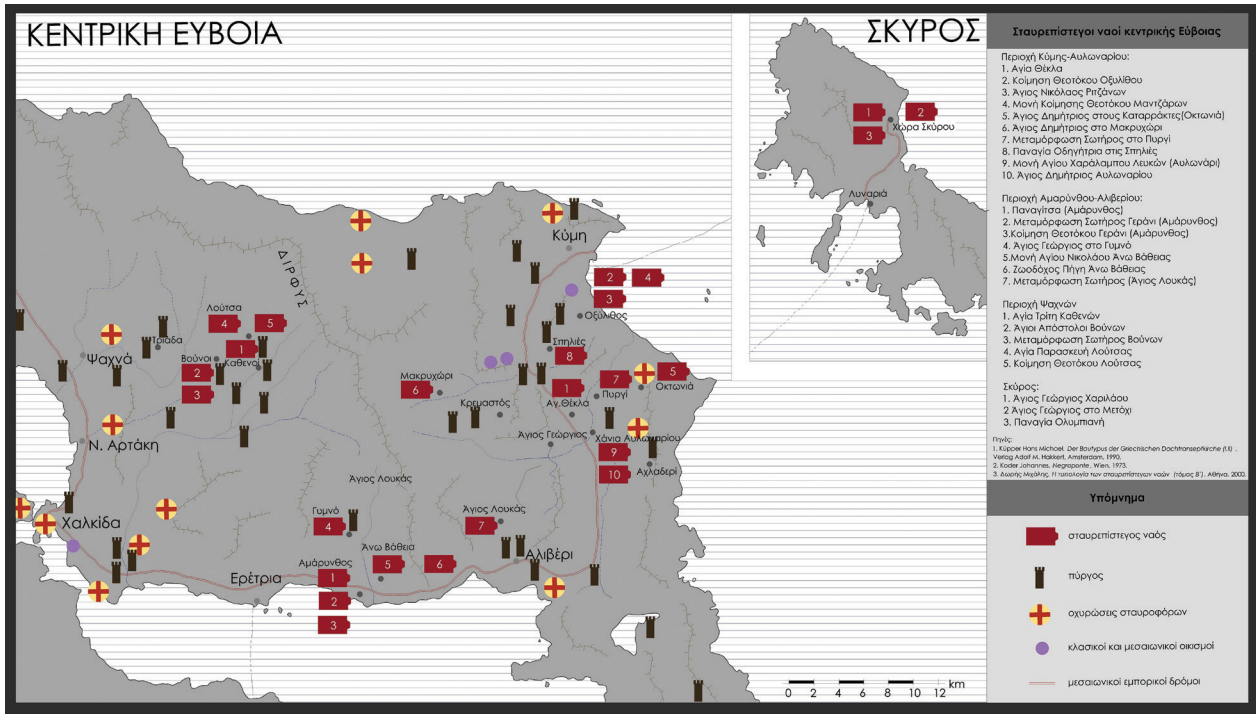
Εικόνα 1.
Χάρτης προτεινόμενης
διαδρομής.



Εικόνα 2.
Άποψη του ναού
Αγίας Άννας
Οξύλιθου.



Εικόνα 3.
Επιγραφή στο ναό
της Αγίας Άννας
Οξύλιθου.



Εικόνα 4. Χάρτης σταυρεπίστεγων ναών κεντρικής Εύβοιας.



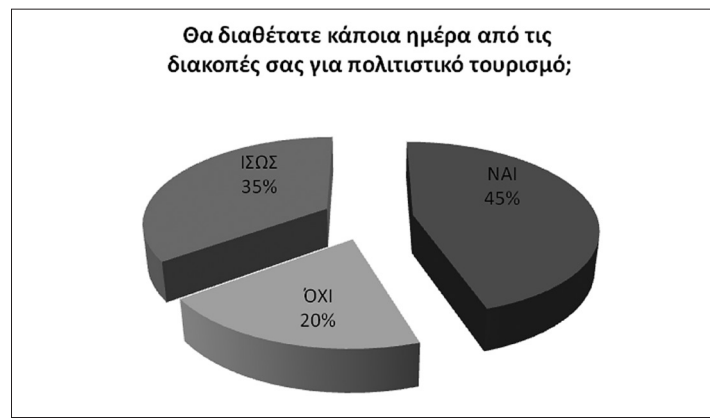
Εικόνα 5. Άποψη του ναού Παναγίας στις Σπηλιές.



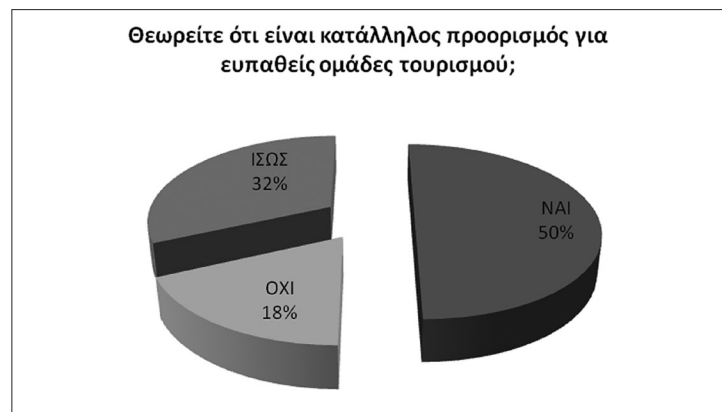
Εικόνα 6. Θέση επιγραφής στο ναό της Παναγίας στις Σπηλιές.



Εικόνα 7.
Άποψη του ναού Μεταμόρφωσης Σωτήρος
στο Πυργί.



Εικόνες 8-10.
Απεικόνιση αποτελεσμάτων
έρευνας σε ομάδα επισκεπτών.



Η Χαλκίδα κατά τους Μεσοβυζαντινούς χρόνους και την Εποχή της Λατινοκρατίας: η μαρτυρία της κεραμικής (9ος–15ος αι.)¹

Στεφανία Σ. ΣΚΑΡΤΣΗ
Γιάννης ΒΑΞΕΒΑΝΗΣ

Abstract

This paper discusses the pottery from various rescue excavations in Chalcis, on the basis of some selected examples, which are presented according to type and provenance (local and imported), taking into account the recently published results of a chemical analysis (of sherds and tripod stilts). The pottery of the period, following the relocation of the city in the area next to the Euripos Channel (9th–11th century), includes some whitewares from Constantinople (Plain Glazed and Polychrome), many unglazed incised wares (which bear abstract motifs or animal figures) and some unglazed jugs with gouged decoration. In the 12th–early 13th century, the locally produced glazed wares (slip-painted, green-and-brown painted, fine sgraffito, painted sgraffito, incised sgraffito/Aegean ware, Champlevé), which were widely distributed around the Mediterranean, reflect the role of Chalcis as the main port of Hellas and as a focal point of an organized maritime network within the Byzantine Empire and beyond. Despite the changed conditions after 1204, these wares continued to be produced well into the 13th century, and new types also soon started to be produced (such as sgraffito with concentric circles and partially glazed wares). In this period, during which Negroponte became a major crossroads of the Venetian maritime network in the East, various wares were also imported from East and West (Syrian and Cypriot pottery, *protomaiolica* and *R.M.R.* from South Italy, Archaic Maiolica, ‘roulette’ ware, *San Bartolo*, *graffita arcaica* and *graffita rinascimentale* from Central and Northern Italy, Spanish pottery), as well as from important centres in Northern Greece (such as Thessaloniki and Serres). The coexistence of local and imported wares and the relatively small number of Western ceramics may indicate the smooth adjustment of the city to the new socio-political conditions, as well as the importance of the Byzantine tradition and of local production in the area.

Εισαγωγή

Η Χαλκίδα αποτέλεσε ισχυρό και σημαντικό κέντρο της Εύβοιας ήδη από τους Αρχαίους χρόνους λόγω της καίριας γεωγραφικής της θέσης στο κέντρο του νησιού, ανάμεσα στην ηπειρωτική και τη νησιωτική Ελλάδα και επάνω στους μεγάλους θαλάσσιους δρόμους που ένωναν την ανατολική με

1. Θα θέλαμε να ευχαριστήσουμε την κα Παρή Καλαμαρά, διευθύντρια της Εφορείας Αρχαιοτήτων Εύβοιας για τη δυνατότητα μελέτης του υλικού που παρουσιάζεται στο άρθρο καθώς και τον συνάδελφο κο Νικόλαο Κοντογιάννη, για τις χρήσιμες συμβουλές του στην τελική διαμόρφωση αυτής της μελέτης.

τη δυτική Μεσόγειο. Ήδη τον 9ο αι. η πόλη είχε μεταφερθεί από τις πλαγιές του Βαθροβουνίου στην περιοχή του πορθμού του Ευρίπου, στη θέση που καταλαμβάνει η σύγχρονη πόλη.² Εκεί διαμορφώνεται πλέον ένας αστικός πυρήνας που προστατεύεται από ισχυρά τείχη με πύργους και τάφρο, ενώ ο *Εύριπος*, όπως μετονομάζεται η πόλη κατά τους Βυζαντινούς χρόνους, λειτουργεί ως ναυτική βάση του θέματος της Ελλάδος με έδρα τη Θήβα.³ Ενδεικτικό της ακμής και του εμπορικού ενδιαφέροντος που είχε αποκτήσει ο Εύριπος ήδη από τα τέλη του 11ου αι. είναι ότι περιλαμβάνεται στις πόλεις εκείνες που ο αυτοκράτορας Αλέξιος Α΄ Κομνηνός παραχώρησε το 1082 δασμολογικά προνόμια στους Βενετούς.⁴ Τη δημογραφική και οικονομική άνθηση μαρτυρεί μέσα από τις επιστολές του ο αρχιεπίσκοπος της Αθήνας Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτης στα τέλη του 12ου αι. (περ. 1181-1204).⁵ Λίγο αργότερα, στις αρχές του 13ου αι., ο φράγκος χρονικογράφος Γοδεφρείδος Βιλλεαρδουίνος εκφράζει τον θαυμασμό του για την πόλη.⁶

Μετά το 1204, η Εύβοια αποτελεί πλέον κοινή κτήση των Φράγκων και των Βενετών, με τη δύναμη των τελευταίων σταδιακά να ενισχύεται και το *Negroponte*, όπως μετονομάζεται η πόλη, να περιέρχεται τελικά στην άμεση κυριαρχία τους το 1390. Υπό τον έλεγχο των Βενετών θα παραμείνει μέχρι και το 1470, οπότε κατακτάται από τον Μωάμεθ Β΄ τον Πορθητή μετά από πιεστική πολιορκία. Όλη αυτήν την περίοδο η Χαλκίδα γνωρίζει μεγάλη οικονομική άνθηση και αναδεικνύεται σε έναν από τους σημαντικότερους σταθμούς διαμετακομιστικού εμπορίου στο Αιγαίο. Αποτελεί μάλιστα, ιδιαίτερα μετά το 1261, το διοικητικό και θρησκευτικό κέντρο των Βενετών, οπότε εγκαθίσταται στην πόλη ο Λατίνος πατριάρχης της Κωνσταντινούπολης. Οι οχυρώσεις της πόλης ενισχύονται και ιδρύονται κοσμικά και εκκλησιαστικά κτήρια, από τα οποία ελάχιστα διατηρούνται σήμερα, με σημαντικότερο από αυτά το ναό της Αγίας Παρασκευής, που δεσπόζει κοντά στο νότιο λιμάνι.⁷

Αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα

Οι γνώσεις μας για τη μεσαιωνική πόλη και την τοπογραφία της, πέρα από τις ιστορικές πηγές, βασίζονται στις σωστικές ανασκαφές που έχουν διενεργηθεί από τη δεκαετία του 1970 και εξής είτε στο *Κάστρο* (δηλαδή εντός των τειχών), είτε σπανιότερα στην περιοχή του Προαστίου (στο *Βούργο* σύμφωνα με τις πηγές) που εκτεινόταν εκτός των τειχών.⁸ Η κεραμική που έχει συγκεντρωθεί από αυτές τις ανασκαφές καλύπτει ένα ευρύ χρονολογικό φάσμα, από τους Μεσοβυζαντινούς χρόνους μέχρι την Οθωμανική περίοδο και τον 19ο αι.

Σκοπός της παρούσας μελέτης είναι να συγκεντρώσει και να παρουσιάσει συνοπτικά μέσα από επιλεγμένα παραδείγματα την κεραμική που έχει συγκεντρωθεί από τις μέχρι σήμερα σωστικές ανασκαφές, εξετάζοντας παράλληλα τις πληροφορίες που μπορούν να προσφέρουν για τον ρόλο και την εξέλιξη της πόλης κατά τους Μεσοβυζαντινούς χρόνους και κατά την περίοδο της Λατινοκρατίας. Όσον αφορά στην κεραμική που προέρχεται από το εντός των τειχών τμήμα της πόλης, παρουσιάζονται κυρίως ευρήματα παλαιότερων ανασκαφών, οι οποίες έφεραν στο φως διάφορα οικιστικά κατάλοιπα αλλά και εκτεταμένα τμήματα των ίδιων των τειχών. Συγκεκριμένα περιλαμβάνονται ευρήματα των ανασκαφών στην

2. Για τον προβληματισμό σχετικά με την τοπογραφία της μεσαιωνικής Χαλκίδας και το χρόνο μεταφοράς της βλ. Kontogiannis 2012, 30-32; Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1990, 174 κ.ε.

3. Koder and Hild 1976, 156. Για τη Χαλκίδα κατά τη Μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο βλ. ενδεικτικά, Kontogiannis 2012, 30-35; Σαββίδης 1981-1982; Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1990, 180 κ.ε.

4. Kontogiannis 2012, 30 (όπου και η σχετική βιβλιογραφία).

5. Σαββίδης 1981-1982, 315-316.

6. Σαββίδης 1981-1982, 316.

7. Για την περίοδο αυτή βλ. ενδεικτικά, Koder 1973; Kontogiannis 2012, 35-46; Παπαδία-Λάλα 2006; Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1990, 172, 186-187, 197-200; 2010, 20-27, όπου συγκεντρώνεται και η σχετική βιβλιογραφία για τις οχυρώσεις και τα μνημεία της περιόδου.

8. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1990. Βλ. επίσης, Kontogiannis 2012, όπου συγκεντρώνονται οι διαθέσιμες ιστορικές πληροφορίες και τα στοιχεία των μέχρι σήμερα σωστικών ανασκαφών.

πλατεία Αγίας Βαρβάρας (οικόπεδο ΙΚΑ),⁹ στην οδό Μαρδοχαίου Φριζή (οικόπεδο σταθμού ΚΤΕΛ),¹⁰ στη συμβολή των οδών Αγγελή Γοβιού και Φαβιέρου (οικόπεδο Μάτσα),¹¹ καθώς επίσης και ευρήματα από τις οδούς Χαρώνδα, Βασιλείου, Βαρατάση, Καλογεροπούλου, Ανδρούτσου και Βουδούρη¹² όπου τη δεκαετία του 1990 έγιναν εργασίες κατασκευής του αποχετευτικού και υδρευτικού δικτύου της πόλης. Τέλος, περιλαμβάνονται και ευρήματα της πιο πρόσφατης ανασκαφής στη συμβολή των οδών Ερωτοκρίτου, Ολύνθου και Σκαλκώτα (οικόπεδο Τουλίτση και Λούμου-Λουμάκη), όπου αποκαλύφθηκαν οικιστικά κατάλοιπα και αποθέτες με κεραμική των Μεσοβυζαντινών κυρίως χρόνων.¹³

Από την εκτός των τειχών περιοχή παρουσιάζονται ευρήματα παλαιότερων ανασκαφών, οι οποίες έφεραν στο φως κυρίως μεμονωμένους τάφους και τμήματα νεκροταφείων (ανασκαφές στη συμβολή των οδών Ωρίωνος και Σταμούλη, οικόπεδο Πάτσαλη,¹⁴ και στην οδό Ελευθερίου Βενιζέλου, οικόπεδα Εύδη¹⁵ και Αγροτικής Τράπεζας¹⁶). Επίσης περιλαμβάνονται κάποια ευρήματα από τις ανασκαφές της δεκαετίας του 2000, κατά τη διάρκεια των οποίων ήρθαν στο φως κατάλοιπα εργαστηριακών συγκροτημάτων της Μεσοβυζαντινής περιόδου (οδός Ωρίωνος, οικόπεδο Χρ. Δημαρέλου-Δεληβοριά), καθώς και αποθέτες απορριμμάτων με κεραμική κυρίως από την περίοδο της Λατινοκρατίας (οδός Μητροπόλεως, οικόπεδο ΑΤΤΟΝ Ο.Ε.).¹⁷

Στην παρούσα μελέτη έχουν ληφθεί υπ' όψιν τα αποτελέσματα των πρόσφατων χημικών αναλύσεων δειγμάτων κεραμικής, σύμφωνα με τα οποία διαπιστώθηκε σημαντική παραγωγή κεραμικής στη Χαλκίδα τουλάχιστον από τον 10ο μέχρι τον 14ο αι.¹⁸

Κεραμική Μεσοβυζαντινής περιόδου

Μερικά δείγματα που ξεχωρίζουν για την ποιότητα και την ποικιλία του διακόσμου τους ανήκουν στην περίοδο των πρώτων αιώνων μετά τη μεταφορά της πόλης στην περιοχή του πορθμού του Ευρίπου (9ος-11ος αι.). Καταρχάς αρκετά συχνή είναι η παρουσία κεραμικών από λευκό πηλό, η προέλευση των οποίων έχει συνδεθεί με την περιοχή της Κωνσταντινούπολης. Γενικά, διάφοροι τύποι αγγείων από λευκό πηλό καλύπτουν ένα ευρύ χρονολογικό φάσμα, που εκτείνεται από τον 7ο μέχρι και το 13ο αι.¹⁹ Στη Χαλκίδα έχουν βρεθεί αρκετά όστρακα αγγείων με εφύαλωση πράσινου ή

9. Γεωργοπούλου-Μελαδίνη 1973-4, 499-507.

10. Παπαδάκης 1975.

11. Γεωργοπούλου-Μελαδίνη 1972, 367-68.

12. Σαπουνά-Σακελλαράκη 1996, 287-288. Όσον αφορά στην οδό Βουδούρη, τη σημερινή παραλιακή οδό της πόλης, οι εργασίες που παραμένουν αδημοσίευτες, διενεργήθηκαν μία δεκαετία περίπου νωρίτερα (τα ευρήματα φυλάσσονται στην αποθήκη της Εφορείας Αρχαιοτήτων Εύβοιας).

13. Γερούση 2009, 477-479 (Γιάννης Βαξεβάνης). Βλ. επίσης, Γερούση-Μπεντερμάχερ 2012, 74.

14. Γεωργοπούλου-Μελαδίνη 1973, 315-316.

15. Γεωργοπούλου-Μελαδίνη 1973, 314.

16. Μανωλέσσου κ.ά. 1982, 79-80.

17. Για την ανασκαφή στην οδό Ωρίωνος βλ. Γερούση 2007, 601-603 (Γιάννης Βαξεβάνης). Βλ. επίσης, Γερούση-Μπεντερμάχερ 2012, 73-74. Η λεπτομερής μελέτη της ανασκαφής και των ευρημάτων της οδού Ωρίωνος είναι υπό εξέλιξη και πρόκειται να δημοσιευτεί από τη Joanita Vroom και τους συνεργάτες της.

18. Waksman κ.ά. 2014, 379-422. Οι χημικές αναλύσεις βασίστηκαν σε δείγματα εφυαλωμένων κεραμικών, τριποδίσκων όπτησης και ημιτελών αγγείων προερχόμενων από σωστικές ανασκαφές στη Χαλκίδα και τη Θήβα, τα οποία χρονολογούνται κυρίως μεταξύ του 12ου και του 14ου αι. Όσον αφορά στη Χαλκίδα, τα δείγματα προέρχονται από ανασκαφές εντός και εκτός των τειχών της πόλης: στις οδούς Μητροπόλεως (οικόπεδο ΑΤΤΟΝ Ο.Ε.), Μπαλαλαίων (οικόπεδο Γ. Χάνου), Ελ. Βενιζέλου (οικόπεδο Επιμελητηρίου), στη συμβολή των οδών Ερωτοκρίτου, Ολύνθου και Σκαλκώτα (οικόπεδο Τουλίτση και Λούμου-Λουμάκη), στην πλατεία Αγίας Βαρβάρας (οικόπεδο ΙΚΑ), καθώς επίσης και από τις εκσκαφές της ΔΕΥΑΧ στην οδό Βάκη και την οδό Χαρώνδα. Με βάση τα αποτελέσματα των χημικών αναλύσεων, στη Χαλκίδα υπήρχε σημαντική τοπική παραγωγή ήδη τον 12ο αι., ενώ στη Θήβα ξεκινά κατά τη διάρκεια του 13ου αι. Η παραγωγή αγγείων χωρίς εφύαλωση ξεκινά στη Χαλκίδα κατά τον 10ο-11ο αι. (βλ. Waksman κ.ά. 2016).

19. Βλ. κυρίως, Hayes 1992, 12-40.

κιτρινωπού χρώματος (Εικ. 1α), ορισμένα από τα οποία φέρουν ανάγλυφη διακόσμηση με γεωμετρικά μοτίβα ή αναπαραστάσεις ζώων σε κεντρικό μετάλλιο (*glazed white ware II*).²⁰ Ανασκαφές σε διάφορες περιοχές, κυρίως στην Κωνσταντινούπολη και την Κόρινθο,²¹ έχουν αποδείξει τη μακροβιότητα αυτού του τύπου, ο οποίος εμφανίζεται κατά τον 9ο αι. και συνεχίζει μέχρι τα τέλη του 11ου αι. Επίσης, στο υλικό της Χαλκίδας περιλαμβάνονται αρκετά όστρακα που ανήκουν στη γραπτή πολύχρωμη κεραμική (*polychrome ware*),²² η οποία κυμαίνεται χρονολογικά μεταξύ του 10ου και του 11ου έως τις αρχές του 12ου αι. και ξεχωρίζει για τον υψηλής ποιότητας διάκοσμο της (Εικ. 1β-γ).²³ Τα κεραμικά από λευκό πηλό γνώρισαν μεγάλη διάδοση σε ολόκληρη τη Μεσόγειο και δείγματά τους έχουν βρεθεί σε πολλές περιοχές του ελλαδικού χώρου.²⁴ Κάποια ωραία δείγματα είναι γνωστά και από τη γειτονική Θήβα.²⁵

Εντυπωσιακά για τη διακόσμησή τους αλλά και για τη συχνότητα με την οποία απαντούν στα πρωιμότερα στρώματα της Χαλκίδας είναι τα αγγεία χωρίς εφυάλωση, που φέρουν εγχάρακτο διάκοσμο με φυτικά και αφηρημένα ελικοειδή μοτίβα ή μορφές ζώων (*unglazed incised ware*). Αυτόν τον διάκοσμο φέρουν άφθονα όστρακα λαγηνίων (Εικ. 2α-γ), ενώ σπανιότερα απαντάται και σε άλλα σχήματα αγγείων (Εικ. 2δ). Η εγχάρακτη κεραμική αυτής της κατηγορίας, που παραγόταν και στη Χαλκίδα, έχει εντοπιστεί και σε άλλες περιοχές του ελλαδικού χώρου, όπως στη Θεσσαλονίκη, τη νοτιοδυτική Πελοπόννησο, τη γειτονική Βοιωτία, την ανατολική Φωκίδα, και έχει χρονολογηθεί μεταξύ του 10ου και του 11ου ή τις αρχές του 12ου αι.²⁶ Στην Εύβοια εντοπίστηκε και στο λιμάνι του Καραβού στο Αλιβέρι.²⁷

Στην ίδια περίπου περίοδο τοποθετείται ένας ακόμη τύπος χωρίς εφυάλωση, που απαντά όμως σπάνια στη Χαλκίδα. Μικρά κλειστά αγγεία φέρουν στο σώμα κάθετες αδρές αυλακώσεις επάνω σε γυμνό πηλό, χωρίς επίχρισμα (Εικ. 2ε). Κεραμικά αυτού του τύπου (*fine orange - red burnished ware*) έχουν βρεθεί και στη γειτονική Βοιωτία, ενώ παρόμοια αγγεία είναι γνωστά και από διάφορες άλλες περιοχές της Μεσογείου, όπως την Κωνσταντινούπολη, τη Χερσόνα, την Έφεσο, την Αλβανία, την νότια Ιταλία (Οτράντο) και έχουν χρονολογηθεί μεταξύ του 9ου και του 11ου αι.²⁸

Το μεγαλύτερο μέρος μεσοβυζαντινής κεραμικής που έχει βρεθεί στις μέχρι σήμερα ανασκαφές ανήκει στην επόμενη περίοδο (12ος έως περίπου μέσα 13ου αι.), οπότε υπήρχε η σημαντικότερη τοπική παραγωγή της Χαλκίδας.²⁹ Άφθονα είναι τα δείγματα εφυαλωμένων διακοσμημένων κεραμικών, που ανήκουν σε πολύ γνωστούς και ευρύτατα διαδεδομένους τύπους, η χρονολόγηση των οποίων καλύπτει την περίοδο από τα μέσα περίπου του 12ου μέχρι τουλάχιστον τα μέσα του 13ου αι.³⁰: γραπτά με πράσινο και καστανό χρώμα (*green-and-brown painted ware*), γραπτά με επίχρισμα (*slip-painted*

20. Για ένα χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα βλ. Γεωργοπούλου-Μελαδίνη 1973-4, 503, πίν. 322δ (ανασκαφή πλατείας Αγίας Βαρβάρας, οικόπεδο ΙΚΑ).

21. Hayes 1992, 18-29 (Κωνσταντινούπολη); Sanders 2000, 163-164 (Κόρινθος).

22. Hayes 1992, 35-37; Sanders 2000, 164-165; Sanders 2001.

23. Για ένα χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα βλ. Γεωργοπούλου-Μελαδίνη 1973-4, 503, πίν. 322στ (ανασκαφή πλατείας Αγίας Βαρβάρας, οικόπεδο ΙΚΑ).

24. Βλ. σχετικά, Vroom 2003, 60 και 147-150 (με βιβλιογραφία).

25. Κοιλιάκου 2012.

26. Γενικά για τον τύπο αυτό και τα παραδείγματα από τη Βοιωτία βλ. Vroom 2003, 145-147 (όπου αναφέρεται ως πιθανό κέντρο παραγωγής του τύπου η περιοχή της Βοιωτίας). Για τη Θήβα βλ. Κοιλιάκου και Γαλάνη-Κρίκου 1993, 86, σχ. 8. Για την ανατολική Φωκίδα βλ. Armstrong 1989, αριθ. 24, εικ. 14, πίν. 9. Για τη Θεσσαλονίκη βλ. ενδεικτικά, Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή, επιμ., 1999, 17, εικ. 1.

27. Ντάφη και Σκαρτσή 2015, 711, εικ. 7θ.

28. Γενικά για τον τύπο αυτό, τη διάδοση και τα παραδείγματα από τη Βοιωτία βλ. Vroom 2003, 145 (όπου και η σχετική βιβλιογραφία). Επίσης, Κοιλιάκου κ.ά. 1995, 81, σχ. 10, 83, σχ. 15 και πίν. 35β (ειδικά για τη Θήβα) και Hayes 1992, 50, εικ. 18, αριθ. 1-6 (ειδικά για την Κωνσταντινούπολη).

29. Βλ. σχετικά Waksman κ.ά. 2014, 379-422, όπου χρησιμοποιείται ο όρος 'Κύρια Μεσοβυζαντινή Παραγωγή' ('Main Middle Byzantine Production', 'MBP').

30. Στην περίοδο αυτή έχουν χρονολογηθεί και οι αντίστοιχοι τύποι κεραμικής που έχουν βρεθεί στις ανασκαφές της Κορίνθου. Βλ. κυρίως, Sanders 1999, 161-162; 2000, 163, πίν. 3; 2003, εικ. 23.2, πίν. 23.3. Βλ. και παρακάτω, σημ. 47.

ware), λεπτεγχάρακτα (*fine sgraffito ware*), λεπτεγχάρακτα γραπτά (*painted sgraffito ware*), αδρεγχάρακτα (*incised sgraffito* ή *Aegean ware*) και επιπεδόγλυφα (*Champlevé ware*).³¹ Η μεγάλη διάδοση και η εμπορική αξία αυτών των τύπων κεραμικής τεκμηριώνεται από την παρουσία τους σε πολλές περιοχές της Μεσογείου, από τη Χερσόνα, την Κύπρο και τη Μέση Ανατολή, μέχρι την Ιταλία και τη νότια Γαλλία,³² καθώς και σε φορτία ναυαγίων που έχουν εντοπιστεί στο Αιγαίο, όπως αυτά της Αλοννήσου και του Καστελλόριζου, αλλά και της Καβαλλιανής στον νότιο Ευβοϊκό κόλπο.³³ Όσον αφορά στην κεντρική Ελλάδα, οι τύποι αυτοί έχουν βρεθεί σε μεγάλες ποσότητες τόσο στη Θήβα και στην ύπαιθρο της Βοιωτίας και της ανατολικής Φωκίδας, όσο και στην Εύβοια (στην ενδοχώρα και τα παράλια της).³⁴ Γνωστό κέντρο παραγωγής κεραμικής στην ευρύτερη περιοχή αποτελεί η Κόρινθος,³⁵ ωστόσο οι πρόσφατες αναλύσεις πηλού από τη Χαλκίδα απέδειξαν ότι τα κεραμικά αυτών των τύπων που έχουν βρεθεί σε διάφορες ανασκαφές στην πόλη καθώς και στη Θήβα ανήκουν στην τοπική παραγωγή και κατασκευάζονταν, όπως και στην αρχαιότητα, από πηλό προερχόμενο από την περιοχή του Δηλάντιου πεδίου, που βρίσκεται σε κοντινή απόσταση στα νοτιανατολικά της Χαλκίδας. Επιπλέον, οι χημικές αναλύσεις έδειξαν κοινή προέλευση των δειγμάτων από τη Χαλκίδα με αντίστοιχα δείγματα προερχόμενα από ανασκαφές σε διάφορες περιοχές της Μεσογείου και της Μαύρης Θάλασσας, ερμηνεύοντας έτσι τη μεγάλη διάδοση των προϊόντων των εργαστηρίων της Χαλκίδας και τη σημασία του λιμανιού της ως εμπορικού κόμβου της Μεσογείου ήδη από τον 12ο αι.³⁶

Από τις παραπάνω κατηγορίες της τοπικής παραγωγής της Χαλκίδας ξεχωρίζει για την αφθονία με την οποία απαντάται στις ανασκαφές η κεραμική με πράσινο και καστανό χρώμα, η οποία είναι γενικότερα πολύ κοινή, κυρίως στον κεντρικό και νότιο ελλαδικό χώρο.³⁷ Τα περισσότερα δείγματα που έχουν βρεθεί στη Χαλκίδα ανήκουν σε ανοικτά αγγεία, που φέρουν δικτυωτό διάκοσμο ή κυκλικά και γραμμικά μοτίβα κάτω από λεπτή διάφανη εφυάλωση και ανήκουν, σύμφωνα με την κατάταξη του υλικού της Κόρινθου,³⁸ στις ομάδες II (Εικ. 3στ-ζ) και III (Εικ. 3ε, η).³⁹

Η γραπτή με επίχρισμα κεραμική περιλαμβάνει ανοικτά συνήθως αγγεία, και σπανιότερα κλειστά, τα οποία φέρουν διάκοσμο με λευκό επίχρισμα και καλύπτονται από στιλπνή υποκίτρινη ή άχρωμη εφυάλωση. Σε λίγες μόνο περιπτώσεις η εφυάλωση έχει πρασινωπό ή σκούρο καστανό χρώμα (Εικ. 3α-β).⁴⁰

Αφθονία και μεγάλη διακοσμητική ποικιλία παρουσιάζουν τα εφυαλωμένα αγγεία με εγχάρακτο διάκοσμο: λεπτεγχάρακτα (Εικ. 3γ), λεπτεγχάρακτα γραπτά (Εικ. 3δ), αδρεγχάρακτα (Εικ. 4α-γ, στ-

31. Η ορολογία που χρησιμοποιείται στη διεθνή βιβλιογραφία για αυτούς τους τύπους κεραμικής βασίζεται σε μεγάλο βαθμό στη μελέτη του υλικού της Κόρινθου από τον Morgan (1942). Για τους ελληνικούς όρους βλ. Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή κ.ά. 1999; επιμ., 1999.

32. Σχετικά με τη διάδοση των τύπων αυτών βλ. Vroom 2003; Waksman και von Wartburg 2006.

33. Για τα ναυάγια της Αλοννήσου και του Καστελλόριζου βλ. ενδεικτικά, Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή, επιμ., 1999, 122-157. Για το ναυάγιο της Καβαλλιανής βλ. Κουτσοφλάκης κ.ά. 2012, 57-58, εικ. 24.

34. Για κάποια παραδείγματα από τη Θήβα βλ. Armstrong 1993; Κοιλάκου και Γαλάνη-Κρίκου 1993, 86, σχ. 9-11, 88, σχ. 14, πίν. 32γ-ε; Κοιλάκου κ.ά. 1995, πίν. 36β. Γενικότερα για τη Βοιωτία, βλ. Vroom 2003, 145-64. Για την Ανατολική Φωκίδα βλ. Armstrong 1989. Για παραδείγματα από άλλες περιοχές της Εύβοιας βλ. Ντάφη και Σκαρτσή 2015, 710-711, εικ. 6 και 7α-η (από το λιμάνι του Καράβου στο Αλιβέρι); Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή, επιμ., 1999, 32, αριθ. 11, 42, αριθ. 26 (από το Αφράτι).

35. Σχετικά με τις έρευνες και τις χημικές αναλύσεις πηλού για τον εντοπισμό των κέντρων παραγωγής των τύπων αυτών βλ. Waksman and von Wartburg 2006. Για την τοπική παραγωγή της Κόρινθου βλ. κυρίως, Sanders 1999.

36. Waksman κ.ά. 2014, 414. Βλ. και παραπάνω σημ. 18.

37. Για τη διαδοχή του τύπου βλ. Vroom 2003, 151-152 (με βιβλιογραφία).

38. Morgan 1942, 72-83; Sanders 2000, πίν. 3; 2003, εικ. 23.2.

39. Για μερικά ακόμη παραδείγματα από τη Χαλκίδα βλ. Γεωργοπούλου-Μελαδίνη 1973-4, 503, πίν. 323στ (ανασκαφή πλατείας Αγίας Βαρβάρας, οικόπεδο ΙΚΑ); Παπαδάκης 1975, 294-304, 296, εικ. 11-12 (ανασκαφή οδού Μαρδοχαίου Φριζή, οικόπεδο ΚΤΕΛ).

40. Για μερικά ακόμη παραδείγματα από τη Χαλκίδα βλ. Γεωργοπούλου-Μελαδίνη 1973-4, 503, πίν. 323α-δ (ανασκαφή πλατείας Αγίας Βαρβάρας, οικόπεδο ΙΚΑ).

ιδ) και επιπεδόγλυφα (Εικ. 4δ-ε).⁴¹ Τα διακοσμητικά θέματα οργανώνονται σε ταινίες που ορίζονται από ομόκεντρους κύκλους ή απλώνονται ελεύθερα στο φόντο και περιλαμβάνουν διάφορα φυτικά και σπειροειδή κοσμήματα, ψευδοκουφικά μοτίβα, ανθρώπινες ή ζωικές μορφές, από τις οποίες ξεχωρίζει για τη συχνότητά του ο λαγός (Εικ. 4δ-ε). Επίσης ξεχωρίζουν ορισμένα μονόχρωμα ανοικτά αγγεία (με εφυάλωση πράσινου χρώματος) που φέρουν στον πυθμένα εγχάρακτο σταυρό (Εικ. 4α-β), παράλληλα των οποίων βρίσκουμε στη Θήβα και στην Αρχαία Αγορά της Αθήνας.⁴²

Αξίζει να σημειωθεί ότι στην ίδια περίπου περίοδο με τις παραπάνω κατηγορίες εφυαλωμένης κεραμικής (περίπου β' μισό 12ου - αρχές 13ου αι.) ανήκει και ένας τύπος αμφορέα, περισσότερο γνωστός ως *Günseñin* III,⁴³ ο οποίος επίσης κατασκευαζόταν στη Χαλκίδα.⁴⁴ Έχει επίμηκες ατρακτοειδές σώμα, ψηλό στενό λαιμό, υπερυψωμένες χοντρές λαβές και εξωτερικά φέρει αυλακώσεις. Ο τύπος παρουσιάζει μεγάλη διάδοση στη Μεσόγειο,⁴⁵ αντίστοιχη με αυτήν των προαναφερόμενων κατηγοριών εφυαλωμένης κεραμικής με διάκοσμο. Όσον αφορά στις κοντινές στη Χαλκίδα περιοχές, δείγματα του τύπου έχουν βρεθεί στο λιμάνι της Ανθηδόνας στη βόρεια πλευρά του Ευβοϊκού κόλπου, στο λιμάνι του Καραβού στο Αλιβέρι, καθώς και στο ναυάγιο στα Πορτολάφια στον νότιο Ευβοϊκό κόλπο.⁴⁶

Κεραμική κατά την περίοδο της Λατινοκρατίας

Μετά το 1204, κατά την περίοδο δηλαδή που ακολουθεί τη λατινική κατάκτηση της Εύβοιας, δεν παρατηρείται κάποια σημαντική τομή στην κεραμική της Χαλκίδας. Μάλιστα για μεγάλο διάστημα κατά τον 13ο αι. διαπιστώνεται αδιάσπαστη συνέχεια στην παραγωγή και τη χρήση των προαναφερόμενων γραπτών και εγχάρακτων εφυαλωμένων αγγείων.⁴⁷ Ανάμεσα στα αδρεγγχάρακτα αγγεία της περιόδου αυτής⁴⁸ ξεχωρίζουν λίγες κούπες διακοσμημένες στο εσωτερικό τους με προσωπεία (Εικ. 5β).⁴⁹ Μια άλλη ομάδα από μονόχρωμες κούπες (με κιτρινωπή εφυάλωση) διακοσμείται επίσης με προσωπεία, τα οποία όμως είναι ανάγλυφα και τοποθετούνται στο κέντρο του πυθμένα των αγγείων,

41. Πολλά δείγματα εγχάρακτης εφυαλωμένης κεραμικής περιλαμβάνονται και σε παλαιότερες δημοσιεύσεις ανασκαφών στη Χαλκίδα [Γεωργοπούλου-Μελαδίνη 1973, 314, πίν. 270 (ανασκαφή οδού Ελ. Βενιζέλου, οικόπεδο Εύδη); 1973-4, 503-504, πίν. 322γ και ε, 324-326, 327α-γ, ε-στ, 328α (ανασκαφή πλατείας Αγίας Βαρβάρας, οικόπεδο ΙΚΑ); Παπαδάκης 1975, 295-296, εικ. 4-10, 13 (ανασκαφή οδού Μαρδοχαίου Φριζή, οικόπεδο ΚΤΕΛ)].

42. Για τα παραδείγματα από τη Θήβα βλ. Γκίνη-Τσοφοπούλου κ.ά. 2001-2004, εικ. 31; Φαράκλας 1968, 216, πίν. 163γ. Για ένα παράδειγμα από την Αρχαία Αγορά της Αθήνας βλ. Waagé 1933, εικ. 7m.

43. Για τον τύπο αυτό βλ. Günseñin 1989, 271-273, εικ. 8-10; Hayes 1992, 76, εικ. 26.10 (ο τελευταίος προτείνει ότι ο τύπος αυτός παραγόταν και στην κεντρική Ελλάδα); Μπακιρτζής 1989, 80, πίν. 20.

44. Πρόσφατες χημικές αναλύσεις πηλού απέδειξαν την τοπική παραγωγή αμφορέων αυτού του τύπου (Waksman κ.ά. 2016). Αφθονα παραδείγματα έχουν βρεθεί τόσο σε παλαιότερες ανασκαφές (όπως στην οδό Μαρδοχαίου Φριζή, οικόπεδο ΚΤΕΛ), όσο και σε πρόσφατες (όπως στην οδό Ωρίωνος, οικόπεδο Χρ. Δημαρέλου-Δεληβοριά και στη συμβολή των οδών Ερωτοκρίτου, Ολύθνου και Σκαλκώτα, οικόπεδο Τουλίτση & Λούμου-Λουμάκη). Για τις δύο τελευταίες ανασκαφές βλ. παραπάνω, σημ. 13 και 17.

45. Για τα παραδείγματα από τη Βοιωτία και για τη διάδοση του τύπου βλ. Vroom 2003, 153-155 (με βιβλιογραφία).

46. Schläger κ.ά. 1968, 89, εικ. 90 (Ανθηδόνα); Κουτσουφλάκης κ.ά. 2012, 53-54, εικ. 20 (ναυάγιο στα Πορτολάφια); Ντάφη και Σκαρτσή 2015, 711 (Αλιβέρι).

47. Σύμφωνα με τη χρονολόγηση του υλικού της Κορίνθου (Sanders 1999, 161-162; 2000, 163, πίν. 3; 2003, εικ. 23.2, πίν. 23.3), αλλά και τις ενδείξεις των ανασκαφών των οδών Μητροπόλεως (οικόπεδο ΑΤΤΟΝ Ο.Ε.) και Μπαλαλαίων (οικόπεδο Γ. Χάνου) στη Χαλκίδα (Waksman κ.ά. 2014, 416), οι ίδιοι τύποι γραπτών και εγχάρακτων αγγείων της Μεσοβυζαντινής περιόδου συνεχίζονται για μεγάλο διάστημα κατά τον 13ο αι.

48. Βλ. για παράδειγμα τα αδρεγγχάρακτα αγγεία της Εικ. 4ζ-ιδ, τα αντίστοιχα παραδείγματα των οποίων από την Κορίνθο (Stillwell MacKay 2003, 406, εικ. 24.3, C-1977-3 και 4) και από τη Θήβα (Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή, επιμ., 1999, 54-55, αριθ. 43 και 55) έχουν χρονολογηθεί στο α' μισό του 13ου αι.

49. Παρόμοια είναι τα αγγεία με προσωπεία που παράγονταν στην Πάφο κατά τον 13ο αι. (Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή 1996, πίν. XI, αριθ. 60). Βλ. σχετικά και François 1999, 112, πίν. 13, αριθ. 299-301. Ανάλογης αντίληψης προσωπεία είναι γνωστά και από την Κόρινθο, εκεί όμως διακοσμούν λεπτεγγχάρακτα αγγεία (Morgan 1942, πίν. XLI.k).

σηματίζοντας ένα είδος κομβίου.⁵⁰ Ακριβή παράλληλα των τελευταίων έχουν βρεθεί στη γειτονική Θήβα.⁵¹ Σε ένα από τα καλύτερα παραδείγματα της Χαλκίδας το προσωπίο στον πυθμένα της κούπας περιβάλλεται από εγχάρακτες μορφές πτηνών (Εικ. 5α).

Κατά το β' μισό του 13ου και τον 14ο αι. η τοπική παραγωγή στη Χαλκίδα συνεχίζεται αδιάσπαστη. Ένας νέος τύπος που αρχίζει να παράγεται αυτήν περίοδο ανήκει στη μεγάλη και πολυσυζητημένη κατηγορία της εγχάρακτης εφυαλωμένης κεραμικής με ομόκεντρους κύκλους. Οι έρευνες και χημικές αναλύσεις των τελευταίων δεκαετιών έχουν δείξει ότι στην κατηγορία αυτή που γνώρισε μεγάλη διάδοση στη Μεσόγειο περιλαμβάνονται πολλές επιμέρους ομάδες, κεραμική των οποίων παράγονταν σε διάφορα κέντρα της εποχής, όπως για παράδειγμα στην Πέργαμο, την Κύπρο, την Κωνσταντινούπολη, τη βόρεια Ιταλία, τη Θεσσαλονίκη, τη Σπάρτη και τη Θήβα.⁵² Στη Χαλκίδα άφθονα είναι τα παραδείγματα του τύπου με μονόχρωμη πορτοκαλί (Εικ. 5γ-δ) ή πράσινη εφύαλωση, καθώς και της παραλλαγής με προσθήκη πράσινου ή καφέ χρώματος (Εικ. 5ε).⁵³

Στην τοπική παραγωγή της Χαλκίδας κατά τον 13ο - αρχές του 14ου αι. ανήκει επίσης μια ομάδα αγγείων με ρόδινο επίχρισμα που κοσμούνται κατά τόπους με κηλίδες πράσινης εφύαλωσης ενώ από την υπόλοιπη επιφάνειά τους απουσιάζει εντελώς η εφύαλωση (Εικ. 5στ-η).⁵⁴ Η κατηγορία αυτή εμφανίζεται σε μεγάλες ποσότητες στη Χαλκίδα και περιλαμβάνει κυρίως κούπες διαφόρων σχημάτων, αρκετούς στατούς λύχνους και λίγα σκεύη για αρτύματα (Εικ. 5ζ). Οι κούπες αυτές είναι πανομοιότυπες με άλλα αγγεία ως προς τον πηλό, το σχήμα και το επίχρισμα, τα οποία όμως είναι πλήρως εφυαλωμένα στο εσωτερικό τους.⁵⁵

Γενικά, κατά τον 13ο-14ο αι., περίοδο κατά την οποία κάνουν την εμφάνισή τους τοπικά εργαστήρια σε διάφορες περιοχές της πρώην Βυζαντινής Αυτοκρατορίας,⁵⁶ η κεραμική της Χαλκίδας είναι πλούσια σε τύπους που ακολουθούν τη βυζαντινή παράδοση ως προς την τεχνική και τη διακόσμηση, χωρίς να είναι δυνατόν με βάση τα μέχρι σήμερα δεδομένα, να εξακριβωθεί εάν ανήκουν όλοι στην τοπική παραγωγή ή αποτελούν εισαγωγές από άλλα κέντρα παραγωγής. Ορισμένα παραδείγματα εγχάρακτης κεραμικής που φέρουν αφηρημένο γραμμικό ή φυτικό διάκοσμο εμπλουτισμένο με πράσινο χρώμα, παρουσιάζουν αναλογίες με αγγεία από την Κόρινθο που έχουν χρονολογηθεί στα μέσα περίπου του 13ου αι. (Εικ. 5θ).⁵⁷ Πολλά είναι τα δείγματα των απλών εγχάρακτων (Εικ. 6α) και έγχρωμων εγχάρακτων αγγείων, που τοποθετούνται στον 14ο αι.⁵⁸ Στα γραπτά αγγεία ο διάκοσμος εμφανίζεται γενικά απλοποιημένος, με κυρίαρχο το πράσινο χρώμα, που μερικές φορές εναλλάσσεται με καστανό

50. Για μερικά παραδείγματα από τη Χαλκίδα βλ. Γεωργοπούλου-Μελαδίνη 1973-4, 504, πίν. 325στ (ανασκαφή πλατείας Αγίας Βαρβάρας, οικόπεδο ΙΚΑ). Ένα ακόμη δείγμα από την ανασκαφή στην οδό Ελ. Βενιζέλου (οικόπεδο Επιμελητηρίου) συμπεριλήφθηκε στις πρόσφατες χημικές αναλύσεις που έδειξαν ότι ανήκει στην τοπική παραγωγή (Waksman κ.ά. 2014, 406, αριθ.κατ. 77, εικ. 10:h).

51. Για ένα ενδεικτικό παράδειγμα εφυαλωμένης κούπας με εγχάρακτο προσωπίο στον πυθμένα από τη Θήβα βλ. Κοιλιάκου και Παντελίδου-Αλεξιάδου 2005, 430, εικ. 3.

52. Η βιβλιογραφία για την κατηγορία αυτή (που απαντά συχνά και με τους όρους 'Zeuxippus Family', 'Zeuxippus Imitations', 'Zeuxippus Derivatives', 'Zeuxippus Subtypes', 'Sgraffito with Concentric Circles') είναι μεγάλη. Βλ. σχετικά, Vroom 2003, 164-165, όπου συγκεντρώνεται και η σχετική βιβλιογραφία. Επιπλέον, για τον εντοπισμό των διαφόρων επιμέρους ομάδων και των κέντρων παραγωγής τους βλ. Waksman και François 2004-2005. Για την παραγωγή αγγείων της κατηγορίας αυτής στη Κωνσταντινούπολη βλ. Waksman κ.ά. 2009. Για την παραγωγή τους στη Χαλκίδα και τη Θήβα βλ. Waksman κ.ά. 2014, 414-415.

53. Για μερικά ακόμη παραδείγματα της δεύτερης αυτής παραλλαγής από τη Χαλκίδα βλ. Γεωργοπούλου-Μελαδίνη 1973-4, 508, πίν. 327δ (ανασκαφή πλατείας Αγίας Βαρβάρας, οικόπεδο ΙΚΑ).

54. Αγγεία της ίδιας περιόδου με εφύαλωση μόνο κατά τόπους είναι γνωστά και από την Κόρινθο (Stillwell MacKay 2003, 412-413, εικ. 24.7).

55. Waksman κ.ά. 2014, 403, αριθ.κατ. 53-58, 404-405, αριθ.κατ. 67-68, 414, εικ. 6:a-e, 7:a-c ('Plain and Partially Glazed Wares').

56. Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή 2003, 64.

57. Stilwell-Mackay 2003, 411, εικ. 24.6, C-76-11a-d.

58. Για μερικά ακόμη παραδείγματα απλών και έγχρωμων εγχάρακτων αγγείων του 14ου αι. που έχουν βρεθεί στη Χαλκίδα βλ. Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή, επιμ., 1999, 83, αριθ. 91 και 87-88, αριθ. 98 και 100.

(Εικ. 6β-δ). Απλοποιημένος και σχηματοποιημένος είναι επίσης ο διάκοσμος ορισμένων γραπτών με επίχρυσμα αγγείων, που χρονολογούνται στον 13ο αι. (Εικ. 6ε-στ).⁵⁹ Άφθονα σε όλο το διάστημα από τον 13ο έως τον 15ο αι. είναι και τα απλά εφυαλωμένα αγγεία διαφόρων σχημάτων, που καλύπτονται από κίτρινη, πράσινη ή και καφέ εφύαλωση.⁶⁰ Ωστόσο η μεγαλύτερη ποσότητα κεραμικής της περιόδου αποτελείται από όστρακα αγγείων χωρίς εφύαλωση,⁶¹ και αρκετά όστρακα κλειστών αγγείων με κτενωτή διακόσμηση.⁶²

Η εισηγμένη κεραμική της περιόδου παρουσιάζει μεγάλη ποικιλία ως προς την προέλευση και τους τύπους. Ένας νέος χαρακτηριστικός τύπος του 13ου αι., που αριθμεί λίγα δείγματα στη Χαλκίδα, ως προς τη διακόσμηση σχετίζεται με την κατηγορία II της κεραμικής του Ζευξίππου (Εικ. 7α-β),⁶³ η οποία παλαιότερα είχε συνδεθεί με την Κωνσταντινούπολη, ωστόσο τα κέντρα παραγωγής της δεν έχουν ακόμη μέχρι σήμερα αποσαφηνιστεί.⁶⁴

Όσον αφορά στη μεγάλη κατηγορία της εγχάρακτης κεραμικής με ομόκεντρους κύκλους, εκτός από τους προαναφερόμενους τύπους που μπορούν να συνδεθούν με την παραγωγή της Χαλκίδας (Εικ. 5γ-ε),⁶⁵ ανάμεσα στο εξεταζόμενο υλικό έχει εντοπιστεί και ένα δείγμα άγνωστης προέλευσης, που έχει φτάσει στη Χαλκίδα από κάποιο άλλο κέντρο στο πλαίσιο εμπορικών συναλλαγών.⁶⁶ Επιπλέον, μέρος αυτής της κατηγορίας κεραμικής πιθανόν προέρχεται από τη Θεσσαλονίκη.

Γενικά, μια αρκετά μεγάλη ποσότητα εγχάρακτων αγγείων που έχουν βρεθεί στη Χαλκίδα και χρονολογούνται στο β' μισό του 13ου και τον 14ο αι. μπορούν να αποδοθούν σε εργαστήρια της Θεσσαλονίκης.⁶⁷ Τα προϊόντα των εργαστηρίων αυτών είναι συνήθως απλά εγχάρακτα, συνδυάζουν τη λεπτή, την αδρή χάραξη και την επιπεδόγλυφη τεχνική, ενώ καλύπτονται από κίτρινη ή πορτοκαλοκίτρινη εφύαλωση. Σπανιότερα η εγχάρακτη διακόσμηση εμπλουτίζεται με πράσινο χρώμα. Στο θεματολόγιο της διακόσμησης κυριαρχούν οι ομόκεντροι κύκλοι, οι ρόδακες και τα σχηματοποιημένα φυτικά μοτίβα, ενώ χαρακτηριστικές είναι και διαγραμμίσεις στα επιμέρους διακοσμητικά θέματα (Εικ. 7γ-ε).⁶⁸ Στη Χαλκίδα απαντώνται επίσης, αν και με μικρότερη συχνότητα, αγγεία που φέρουν τα χαρακτηριστικά των εργαστηρίων των Σερρών από τη ίδια περίπου περίοδο. Πρόκειται κυρίως για κούπες με εγχάρακτο διάκοσμο, ο οποίος εμπλουτίζεται με πινελιές από ζηρά χρώματα, όπως το κίτρινο, το καστανό και το πράσινο (Εικ. 7στ-ζ).⁶⁹ Γενικότερα, αρκετά από τα εγχάρακτα αγγεία που έχουν βρεθεί

59. Ενδεικτικά, παρόμοιο με το αγγείο της Εικ. 6ε είναι ένα δείγμα του 13ου αι. από τη Σπάρτη (Sanders 1993, 263, πίν. 24, αριθ. 12), ενώ παρόμοια με αυτό της Εικ. 6στ είναι κάποια αγγεία της ίδιας περιόδου που έχουν συνδεθεί με την παραγωγή της Θράκης (Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή και Ζήκος, επιμ., 2007, 82-82, αριθ. 84-86 και 104, αριθ. 104).

60. Για την απλή εφυαλωμένη κεραμική της περιόδου βλ. κυρίως François 1995, 110-111, série III.

61. Ανασκαφές και επιφανειακές έρευνες έχουν δείξει ότι αυτήν την περίοδο το ποσοστό των εφυαλωμένων κεραμικών αυξάνεται κατά πολύ σε σχέση με τη Μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο, χωρίς ωστόσο να ξεπερνά το 20%-30% περίπου του συνόλου των κεραμικών ευρημάτων. Βλ. σχετικά, Sanders 2000, 166 (για την Κόρινθο); Vroom 2003, 233 (για τη Βοιωτία).

62. Για παρόμοια παραδείγματα της περιόδου αυτής βλ. Vionis κ.ά. 2010, 439, εικ. 10.

63. Για ένα παρόμοιο παράδειγμα από τη γειτονική Θήβα βλ. Κοιλάκου και Γαλάνη-Κρίκου 1993, 90, σχ. 18.

64. Η κεραμική του Ζευξίππου εντοπίστηκε για πρώτη φορά στην Κωνσταντινούπολη από τον Megaw, ο οποίος διέκρινε δύο βασικές κατηγορίες: την πρώτη ('κατηγορία I'), που διακοσμείται με ομόκεντρους εγχάρακτους κύκλους και καλύπτεται με εφύαλωση στιλπνή άχρωμη ή ανοιχτού πράσινου ('Ia'), σκούρου πορτοκαλί ('Ib') ή σκούρου πράσινου ('Ic'), και μια δεύτερη ('κατηγορία II'), που φέρει πλουσιότερο και περισσότερο επιμελημένο εγχάρακτο διάκοσμο εμπλουτισμένο με πινελιές καστανοκίτρινου ή πράσινου χρώματος (Megaw 1968; Megaw 1989). Σχετικά με τα πρόσφατα συμπεράσματα για την κεραμική του Ζευξίππου βλ. κυρίως, Waksman και François 2004-2005.

65. Βλ. παραπάνω, σημ. 52.

66. Στην ανασκαφή της οδού Μητροπόλεως (οικόπεδο ΑΤΤΟΝ Ο.Ε.) βρέθηκε ένα όστρακο της κατηγορίας αυτής που συνδέθηκε με την ομάδα του ναυαγίου του Novy Svet στην Κριμαία, η προέλευση της οποίας παραμένει άγνωστη (Waksman κ.ά. 2014, 403, αριθ.κατ. 52, εικ.13d, 415). Για το ναύαγιο του Novy Svet βλ. Waksman και Teslenko 2010.

67. Για τα κεραμικά προϊόντα των εργαστηρίων της Θεσσαλονίκης και τα χαρακτηριστικά τους βλ. κυρίως, Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή, επιμ., 1999, 188-221; 2003, 53-57.

68. Για μερικά ακόμη παραδείγματα από τη Χαλκίδα βλ. Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή 1999, επιμ., 77-78, αριθ. 79-81.

69. Για τα αγγεία της παραγωγής των Σερρών βλ. Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1992; Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή, επιμ., 1999, 222-242; 2003, 57-58.

στη Χαλκίδα συνδέονται με τύπους κοινούς στον βόρειο ελλαδικό χώρο ή στις περιοχές της άμεσης επιρροής της Κωνσταντινούπολης (Εικ. 8α),⁷⁰ οι οποίοι είναι λιγότερο συνηθισμένοι στην κεντρική και νότια Ελλάδα.⁷¹ Σημειώνεται ότι παρόμοιο φαινόμενο παρατηρείται επίσης στο Αλιβέρι,⁷² πιθανόν και στη βόρεια Εύβοια.⁷³

Στην κεραμική που συνεχίζει τη βυζαντινή παράδοση ως προς την τεχνική και τη διακόσμηση ανήκουν και τα προϊόντα των εργαστηρίων της Κύπρου, τα οποία γενικά σπανίζουν στον ελλαδικό χώρο.⁷⁴ Για το λόγο αυτό ιδιαίτερα ενδιαφέρον είναι στη Χαλκίδα ένα ανοικτό αγγείο, που διακοσμείται με εγχάρακτο διαγραμμισμένο μέταλλο στο πυθμένα και προέρχεται από τα εργαστήρια της Πάφου με χρονολόγηση στον 13ο αι. (Εικ. 8β).⁷⁵

Από τον ευρύτερο χώρο της ανατολικής Μεσογείου έχουν φτάσει στη Χαλκίδα και στη γειτονική Θήβα λίγα κεραμικά από την ισλαμική Ανατολή.⁷⁶ Χαρακτηριστικό δείγμα αποτελεί ένα συριακό ανοικτό αγγείο του 14ου αι., που φέρει λευκό επίχρυσμα και ακτινωτό διάκοσμο με μπλε και μαύρο χρώμα στο εσωτερικό και κάθετες μπλε γραμμές στο εξωτερικό (Εικ. 8γ).⁷⁷

Χαρακτηριστική είναι την περίοδο της Λατινοκρατίας η εισηγμένη κεραμική από τη Δύση. Με βάση κυρίως τη μελέτη του υλικού από τις ανασκαφές της Κορίνθου, θεωρείται ότι τα ιταλικά κεραμικά εμφανίζονται στον ελλαδικό χώρο γύρω στο β' τέταρτο του 13ου αι., αλλά πληθαίνουν μετά τα μέσα του αιώνα.⁷⁸ Τα περισσότερα δείγματα έχουν βρεθεί σε λατινοκρατούμενες περιοχές, κυρίως στην Πελοπόννησο, και η διάδοσή τους συνδέεται κυρίως με τους τόπους εγκατάστασης λατινικού πληθυσμού μετά την Δ' Σταυροφορία καθώς και με την ενίσχυση των εμπορικών επαφών με την Ιταλία.⁷⁹ Όσον αφορά στη Χαλκίδα, η ιταλική κεραμική αντιστοιχεί σε μικρές αναλογικά ποσότητες σε σχέση με τα αγγεία βυζαντινής παράδοσης, όπως συμβαίνει αντίστοιχα και στις γειτονικές Βοιωτία και Αθήνα.⁸⁰ Ωστόσο, παρόλο τον μικρό σχετικά αριθμό δειγμάτων ιταλικής κεραμικής στο εξεταζόμενο υλικό, παρατηρείται ποικιλία ως προς την προέλευση και τους τύπους. Τα πρωιμότερα παραδείγματα προέρχονται από τη νότια Ιταλία και ανήκουν στον τύπο των πρωτομαγιόλικων (*protomaiolica*) της παραγωγής του Μπρίντζι.⁸¹ Περιλαμβάνουν κυρίως ανοικτά, σπανιότερα κλειστά αγγεία που φέρουν

70. Για ένα δείγμα παρόμοιο με το αγγείο της Εικ. 8α βλ. Μιχαηλίδου 2000, 418, 425, εικ. 163α-β, αριθ. 1 (Ρόδος).

71. Για τη διάδοση των προϊόντων των εργαστηρίων της Θεσσαλονίκης και των Σερρών βλ. Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή 2003, 53 και 58 (αντίστοιχα). Λίγα ευρήματα από τον κεντρικό και νότιο ελλαδικό χώρο έχουν αποδοθεί μέχρι σήμερα στα εργαστήρια της Θεσσαλονίκης [Stillwell Mackay 2003, 415, εικ. 24.10 (Κόρινθος); Vroom 2003, 165-166, εικ. 6.27 και 6.43, w18.1-3 (Βοιωτία); Παγκάκη 2012, 61-69, αριθ. 62-72 (Ακροναυπλία)], καθώς επίσης στα εργαστήρια των Σερρών [Stillwell Mackay 2003, 415, εικ. 24.9 (Κόρινθος)].

72. Πρόκειται για τα ευρήματα από την ανασκαφή στο εσωτερικό του μεσαιωνικού πύργου στο λιμάνι του Καράβου (Ντάφη και Σκαρτσή 2015, 712, εικ. 8 και 9α-β). Βλ. επίσης, Γερούση-Μπεντερμάχερ 2012, 76, εικ. 11, όπου δημοσιεύονται μερικά ακόμη κεραμικά από την ίδια ανασκαφή.

73. Αγγεία που σχετίζονται με την κεραμική του βόρειου ελλαδικού χώρου ή της Θεσσαλονίκης αναγνωρίζονται μεταξύ των δημοσιευμένων ευρημάτων από το κάστρο των Ωρεών (Σάμπων 1973-4, 487, πίν. 317γ).

74. Στον ελλαδικό χώρο κυπριακή κεραμική σε αρκετά μεγάλη ποσότητα είναι γνωστή μόνο από τη Ρόδο, με δείγματα που χρονολογούνται στον 14ο-15ο αιώνα (Μιχαηλίδου 2000, 418-420 και 426, πίν. 163ε-στ και 164α-δ).

75. Για ένα ανάλογο παράδειγμα από την Πάφο βλ. Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή 1996, 206-209, πίν. VIII, αριθ. 37.

76. Γενικά για την ισλαμική κεραμική και τη διασπορά της βλ. François 1997, 388-392. Για τη Θήβα βλ. ενδεικτικά, Γκίνη-Τσοφοπούλου κ.ά. 2001-4, 42.

77. Για ένα παράδειγμα ανάλογο με αυτό της Χαλκίδας βλ. François 1999, 25-26, πίν. 2, αριθ. 39.

78. Οι ανασκαφές στην Κόρινθο έχουν δείξει ότι τα πρώτα παραδείγματα πρωτομαγιόλικων εμφανίζονται κατά τη δεκαετία του 1220, αλλά η κεραμική αυτή γίνεται κοινή μαζί με διάφορους άλλους τύπους ιταλικής κεραμικής ('R.M.R.', αρχαϊκή μαγιόλικα, κεραμική του Βένετο), από τις δεκαετίες του 1260-1270 και μετά (βλ. κυρίως, Stillwell MacKay 2003, 405, 413-414, όπου δίδονται και οι σχετικές παραπομπές των δημοσιεύσεων από το υλικό της Κορίνθου).

79. Για την άποψη αυτή και για τη διασπορά των διαφόρων ειδών ιταλικής κεραμικής μεταξύ του 13ου και του 15ου αι. στον ελλαδικό χώρο βλ. κυρίως, François 1997, 392-400.

80. Για τη μικρή ποσότητα ιταλικής κεραμικής αυτής της περιόδου στην Αθήνα και τη Βοιωτία σε σύγκριση με την Πελοπόννησο βλ. κυρίως, Mackay 2001; Skartsis 2012, 90-91.

81. Το μεγαλύτερο μέρος των πρωτομαγιόλικων που έχουν βρεθεί στον ελλαδικό χώρο και γενικότερα στην ανατολική Μεσόγειο ανήκει στην παραγωγή της περιοχής του Σαλέντο της Απουλίας και ειδικότερα του Μπρίντζι (βλ. κυρίως Riavez

διάκοσμο σκούρου καφέ και μπλε χρώματος (Εικ. 9α-β). Σπανιότερη είναι στη Χαλκίδα η πολύχρωμη κεραμική της νότιας Ιταλίας (*R.M.R.*).⁸² Χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα αποτελεί μια κούπα του 14ου αι., που διακοσμείται με το λεγόμενο 'μοτίβο του Τάραντα', σε σκούρο καφέ και κόκκινο χρώμα (Εικ. 9γ).⁸³

Όσον αφορά στις εισαγωγές από την περιοχή της βόρειας και κεντρικής Ιταλίας περιλαμβάνονται καταρχάς λίγα δείγματα ανοικτών και κλειστών αρχαϊκών μαγιόλικων (*maiolica arcaica*), που φέρουν γραπτό διάκοσμο στα συνήθη κατά τον 13ο-14ο αι. χρώματα, δηλαδή σε σκούρο καφέ και πράσινο (Εικ. 9δ). Η κεραμική αυτή, απαντάται γενικά στις ίδιες περιοχές του ελλαδικού χώρου με αυτήν της νότιας Ιταλίας.⁸⁴ Στην Εύβοια, δείγματα αρχαϊκών μαγιόλικων και πρωτομαγιόλικων έχουν βρεθεί και στον πύργο του Καραβού, στο Αλιβέρι.⁸⁵

Στις πρωιμότερες εισαγωγές από την περιοχή της Βενετίας ανήκουν μερικά χαρακτηριστικά δείγματα της κεραμικής του Βένετο (*roulette* ή *Veneto ware*), που χρονολογούνται στα τέλη του 13ου - αρχές του 14ου αι.⁸⁶ Πρόκειται για ανοικτά αγγεία που καλύπτονται με στιλπνή εφυάλωση καφέ χρώματος και φέρουν εξωτερικά γύρω από το χείλος, χαρακτηριστική εμπιέστη διακόσμηση (Εικ. 10β).⁸⁷ Στη Χαλκίδα υπάρχουν και λίγα δείγματα του περίπου σύγχρονου τύπου *San Bartolo*, τα οποία φέρουν την ίδια εμπιέστη διακόσμηση εξωτερικά, αλλά διακοσμούνται και στο εσωτερικό με εγχάρακτα φυτικά ή γεωμετρικά μοτίβα που εμπλουτίζονται με πράσινο χρώμα (Εικ. 10α).⁸⁸ Η παρουσία του τελευταίου αυτού τύπου παρουσιάζει ενδιαφέρον, δεδομένου ότι στον ελλαδικό χώρο μέχρι σήμερα λίγα δείγματα έχουν αναγνωριστεί.⁸⁹

Η βενετική κεραμική συνεχίζεται στη Χαλκίδα μέχρι το τέλος της περιόδου της Βενετοκρατίας (1470). Μερικά όστρακα ανήκουν στη εγχάρακτη κεραμική της κοιλάδας του Πάδου (*graffita arcaica padana*), η παραγωγή της οποίας ξεκινά στα τέλη του 14ου αι. και συνεχίζεται και κατά τον 15ο αι. (Εικ. 9ε-στ).⁹⁰ Πολλά δείγματα του τύπου έχουν βρεθεί στην Πελοπόννησο, αλλά και σε άλλες λατινοκρατούμενες περιοχές του ελλαδικού χώρου,⁹¹ συμπεριλαμβανομένης και της γειτονικής Βοιωτίας.⁹² Στα τελευταία χρόνια της Βενετοκρατίας τοποθετείται ένα εντυπωσιακό δείγμα της αναγεννησιακής εγχάρακτης κεραμικής της Βενετίας (*graffita rinascimentale*).⁹³ Ανήκει στην ομάδα αγγείων που διακοσμούνται στον πυθμένα με στηθαίες μορφές κατά κρόταφο, μπροστά από έναν 'κλειστό κήπο' (*hortus conclusus*) και διάστικτο ουρανό (Εικ. 10γ).⁹⁴ Οι απεικονίσεις αυτές δεν αποδίδουν συγκεκρι-

2000, 444-445).

82. Η κεραμική '*R.M.R.*' παραγόταν σε διάφορα μέρη της νότιας Ιταλίας (Απουλία, Βασιλικάτα, Καμπανία, Καλαβρία) και η περίοδος ακμής της τοποθετείται μεταξύ του β' μισού του 13ου και του τέλους του 14ου αι. (βλ. σχετικά, D' Amico 2005, 66; Dufournier κ.ά.1986).

83. Το 'μοτίβο του Τάραντα' διαμορφώνεται με κεντρικό δακτύλιο που διαιρείται σε δύο τμήματα, καθένα από τα οποία φέρει τεθλασμένη γραμμή (σε διάφορες παραλλαγές). Ο συγκεκριμένος τύπος κεραμικής '*R.M.R.*' προέρχεται από την περιοχή του Taranta - Torre di Mare της νότιας Ιταλίας (βλ. σχετικά, Dufournier κ.ά.1986, 257, εικ. 5). Στην Ελλάδα έχει βρεθεί σε διάφορα μέρη της Πελοποννήσου, όπως στο Άργος, την Πάτρα, το Χλεμούτσι και τη Γλαρέντζα (Skartsis 2012, 49, όπου και η σχετική βιβλιογραφία).

84. Γενικά για τον τύπο των αρχαϊκών μαγιόλικων, που παραγόταν σε διάφορα κέντρα της κεντρικής και βόρειας Ιταλίας από τον 13ο αι. και μετά, καθώς και για τη διασπορά του βλ. François 1997, 392-400, εικ.1; Skartsis 2012, 44-46.

85. Ντάφη και Σκαρτσή 2015, 712, εικ. 9ι-ια.

86. Για παραδείγματα της κεραμικής του Βένετο από την Κόρινθο και τη χρονολόγησή τους, βλ. κυρίως Stillwell Mac-kay 2003, 414, σημ. 68; Williams και Zervos 1992, 151-155.

87. Gelichi 1986.

88. Gelichi 1986; Saccardo 1993, 214-232.

89. Για την παρουσία του τύπου '*San Bartolo*' στην Κρήτη και την Ακροναυπλία βλ. Παγκάκη 2012, 117-119. Με τον τύπο αυτό έχει συνδεθεί και ένα αγγείο από την Πάτρα (Τουμαζής κ.ά., επιμ., 2005, 204, αριθ. 94).

90. Για την κεραμική αυτή και τη χρονολόγησή της βλ. D' Amico 2005, 65; Gelichi 1986; Nepoti 1992, 317-324, εικ. 13-15.

91. Για τα δείγματα της εγχάρακτης κεραμικής της κοιλάδας του Πάδου που έχουν βρεθεί στον ελλαδικό χώρο βλ. François 1997; Skartsis 2012, 54-55 (με βιβλιογραφία).

92. Vroom 2003, 170-173.

93. D' Amico 2005, 66; Nepoti 1992, 330-338, εικ. 19-24.

94. Για ένα παράδειγμα του τύπου από τη Θήβα βλ. Κοιλάκου κ.ά.1995, πίν. 36γ.

μένα πρόσωπα, αλλά αποτελούν απλές διακοσμητικές φιγούρες με χαρακτηριστικά ωστόσο ενδύματα και κομμώσεις της εποχής.⁹⁵

Τέλος, στην εισηγμένη από τη Δύση κεραμική περιλαμβάνονται και ελάχιστα δείγματα ισπανικών αγγείων (Εικ. 10δ),⁹⁶ τα οποία διακοσμούνται με βαθυγάλανο ή και με χρυσό χρώμα και χρονολογούνται στα τέλη 14ου - αρχές 15ου αι.⁹⁷ Σημειώνεται ότι ορισμένα όστρακα ισπανικών αγγείων έχουν εντοπιστεί και στο Αλιβέρι της Εύβοιας.⁹⁸ Η παρουσία και διάδοση της ισπανικής κεραμικής στον ελλαδικό χώρο έχει συνδεθεί με τη δραστηριότητα Ισπανών εμπόρων και κυρίως με τις καταλανικές επιδρομές και την κατάληψη του Δουκάτου των Αθηνών το 1311.⁹⁹

Συμπεράσματα

Τα πρώτα δείγματα κεραμικής από τις ανασκαφές της Χαλκίδας χρονολογούνται από τον 9ο αι. και εξής, συμπληρώνοντας τις περιορισμένες μαρτυρίες που διαθέτουμε για την πόλη κατά αυτή την περίοδο και ειδικότερα για τη μεταφορά της από την περιοχή του Βαθροβουνίου στην περιοχή του πορθμού του Ευρίπου.¹⁰⁰ Τους πρώτους αιώνες της Μεσοβυζαντινής περιόδου (9ος-11ος αι.) τα δείγματα των εισηγμένων από την Κωνσταντινούπολη πολυτελών κεραμικών από λευκό πηλό, έστω και περιορισμένων σε αριθμό, φανερώνουν τις επαφές της Χαλκίδας με την πρωτεύουσα. Παράλληλα, η κεραμική των πρώτων αυτών αιώνων παρουσιάζει αναλογίες με εκείνη άλλων μεγάλων αστικών κέντρων του ελλαδικού χώρου, όπως για παράδειγμα της Θήβας, της πρωτεύουσας του θέματος της Ελλάδος, αλλά και της Κορίνθου. Η Χαλκίδα φαίνεται ότι ήδη από αυτή την περίοδο ήταν ενταγμένη σε ένα ευρύτερο δίκτυο οικονομικών και εμπορικών επαφών, που πέρα από την ίδια την Κωνσταντινούπολη, περιελάμβανε και άλλα μεγάλα περιφερειακά κέντρα των γειτονικών σε αυτήν περιοχών του ελλαδικού χώρου.¹⁰¹

Η πλειονότητα των ευρημάτων από τις ανασκαφές της Χαλκίδας ανήκει στην επόμενη περίοδο (12ος και αρχές 13ου αι.). Είναι η περίοδος στην οποία τοποθετείται η μεγάλη ανάπτυξη των τοπικών εργαστηρίων κεραμικής, τα οποία παρήγαγαν σε μεγάλες ποσότητες αγγεία όλων των γνωστών και διαδεδομένων τύπων (γραπτά με επίχρυσμα, γραπτά με πράσινο και καστανό χρώμα, λεπτεγχάρακτα, αδρεγχάρακτα, επιπεδόγλυφα). Η ποιότητα, η ποικιλία και η μεγάλη ποσότητα της διακοσμημένης αυτής κεραμικής επιβεβαιώνει εξάλλου τη μεγάλη δημογραφική και οικονομική ανάπτυξη της πόλης, ήδη από τον 12ο αι.,¹⁰² προσδίδοντάς της μάλιστα εξέχουσα θέση στο εμπορικό δίκτυο της εποχής, δεδομένου ότι τα κεραμικά των εργαστηρίων της διακινούνταν σε ολόκληρη την ανατολική Μεσόγειο και σε περιοχές της Μαύρης Θάλασσας.¹⁰³

Από τη σύγκριση της κεραμικής της Χαλκίδας με αυτή των άλλων μεγάλων αστικών κέντρων του κεντρικού ελλαδικού χώρου ξεχωρίζει η κεραμική της Θήβας καθώς παρουσιάζει στενή συνάφεια με

95. Μιχαηλίδου 1994-5, 197-206 και κυρίως πίν. 49γ, αριθ. 3, όπου απεικονίζεται ανδρική μορφή παρόμοια με αυτήν του αγγείου της Χαλκίδας.

96. Βλ. και Γεωργοπούλου-Μελαδίνη 1973-4, 504, όπου αναφέρονται δύο παραδείγματα από την ανασκαφή στην πλατεία της Αγίας Βαρβάρας (οικόπεδο ΙΚΑ).

97. Για την ισπανική κεραμική, βλ. ενδεικτικά François 1995, 113, série VIII.

98. Ντάφη και Σκαρτσή 2015, 712, εικ. 9ιβ-ιγ.

99. Gregory 1993, 304; François 1997, 401.

100. Βλ. παραπάνω, σημ. 2.

101. Για τους χερσαίους δρόμους που ένωναν την Κωνσταντινούπολη και τη βόρεια Ελλάδα με την κεντρική Ελλάδα και την Πελοπόννησο βλ. Avramea 2010, 134 κ.ε.; Koder 2005, 96-98. Σχετικά με τη σημασία τους στην ανάπτυξη της οικονομικής ζωής της κεντρικής Ελλάδας βλ. επίσης Γερολυμάτου 1997, 101, σημ. 19.

102. Σχετικά με τις ιστορικές πηγές για την οικονομική και εμπορική ακμή της Χαλκίδας κατά την περίοδο πριν τη λατινική κατάκτηση βλ. Σαββίδης 1981-2, 315, σημ. 4; Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1990, 172.

103. Waksman κ.ά. 2014, 415-416.

αυτήν της Χαλκίδας σε όλη τη διάρκεια της Μεσοβυζαντινής περιόδου. Οι ομοιότητες της κεραμικής είναι αναμενόμενες, δεδομένου ότι η Χαλκίδα λειτούργησε ως λιμάνι και ναυτική βάση του θέματος της Ελλάδας, διατηρώντας στενές σχέσεις με τη Θήβα.¹⁰⁴ Η Θήβα, βρισκόμενη σε κομβικό σημείο του σημαντικότερου χερσαίου οδικού άξονα που συνέδεε τη Θεσσαλονίκη και την Κωνσταντινούπολη με τις περιοχές της κεντρικής Ελλάδας, με την Πελοπόννησο και με τη Δύση, στη μέση ενός εύφορου κάμπου, στήριζε την ανάπτυξη της στην πλούσια αγροκτηνοτροφική της παραγωγή, και κυρίως στα περίφημα μεταξωτά υφάσματα που παράγονταν στα εργαστήρια της πόλης.¹⁰⁵ Ενδεικτικό των σχέσεων που είχαν αναπτυχθεί ανάμεσα στις δύο πόλεις είναι ότι η Θήβα για τις ανάγκες της βαφής των μεταξωτών υφασμάτων έφερνε πορφύρα και από τη Χαλκίδα.¹⁰⁶ Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, δεδομένης και της καίριας γεωγραφικής θέσης της Χαλκίδας επάνω στους μεγάλους θαλάσσιους εμπορικούς δρόμους της Μεσογείου, φαίνεται πως λειτούργησε όχι μόνο ως βασικό λιμάνι, αλλά και ως σημαντικό κέντρο παραγωγής και διακίνησης κεραμικής.¹⁰⁷

Μετά το 1204, παρ' όλες τις σημαντικές αλλαγές στις πολιτικές, οικονομικές και κοινωνικές συνθήκες που επέφερε η λατινική κατάκτηση, παρατηρείται αδιάσπαστη συνέχεια στην παραγωγή και χρήση των ίδιων τύπων γραπτής και εγχάρακτης κεραμικής της Μεσοβυζαντινής περιόδου, που συνεχίζεται για μεγάλο διάστημα κατά τον 13ο αι. Το γεγονός αυτό, αλλά και η συνύπαρξη κεραμικής βυζαντινής παράδοσης με αγγεία εισηγμένα από τη Δύση, υποδηλώνει, από τη μια μεριά την ομαλή προσαρμογή της πόλης στις νέες πολιτικές συνθήκες και από την άλλη την ένταξή της στο εμπορικό δίκτυο των κυρίαρχών της. Η εισαγωγή κεραμικής από την Ιταλία από το β' μισό του 13ου αι. και μετά συνδέεται με τη σταδιακή επικράτηση των Βενετών στην Εύβοια και την ένταξη του λιμανιού της Χαλκίδας στο βενετικό εμπορικό δίκτυο. Το εμπόριο της Γαληνοτάτης θεωρείται άλλωστε ο βασικός παράγοντας για τη διακίνηση των κεραμικών προϊόντων των ιταλικών εργαστηρίων στην ανατολική Μεσόγειο.¹⁰⁸ Ωστόσο, στα εργαστήρια της Χαλκίδας ξεκινά η παραγωγή και νέων τύπων κεραμικής που ακολουθούν τη βυζαντινή παράδοση και είναι σύμφωνοι με τις εξελίξεις της εποχής ως προς την τυπολογία των αγγείων και τον τρόπο απόδοσης του διακόσμου (χαρακτηριστική για παράδειγμα, είναι η παραγωγή εγχάρακτων εφυσωμένων αγγείων με ομόκεντρους κύκλους).

Γενικότερα, σε όλη την περίοδο της Λατινοκρατίας στη Χαλκίδα κυριαρχεί η κεραμική βυζαντινής παράδοσης, ενώ η εισηγμένη από την Δύση κεραμική απαντά σε μικρές αναλογικά ποσότητες. Ομοίως περιορισμένα σε αριθμό είναι τα ιταλικά αγγεία και στις κοντινές στη Χαλκίδα περιοχές του Δουκάτου των Αθηνών.¹⁰⁹ Αυτή η διαπίστωση που έρχεται σε αντίθεση με την κεραμική άλλων λατινοκρατούμενων περιοχών του ελλαδικού χώρου, όπως για παράδειγμα των περιοχών που ανήκαν στο Πριγκηπάτο της Αχαιάς (Κόρινθος, Ίσθμια, Χλεμούτσι, Γλαρέντζα κλπ., όπου από τα τέλη του 13ου αι. κυριαρχεί η κεραμική της Ιταλίας),¹¹⁰ μπορεί να απηχεί ως ένα βαθμό, τις διαφορετικές πολιτικές, οικονομικές και κοινωνικές συνθήκες που διαμορφώθηκαν σε καθεμιά από τις περιοχές του ελλαδικού χώρου μετά την Δ' Σταυροφορία.

Στη Χαλκίδα, εκτός από τα προϊόντα των τοπικών εργαστηρίων, αξιοσημείωτη είναι η παρουσία κεραμικών που συνδέονται με την παραγωγή της βόρειας Ελλάδας, και κυρίως των μεγάλων και

104. Koder and Hild 1976, 102; Γερολυμάτου 1997, 109, σημ. 55.

105. Γερολυμάτου 1997; Κοιλάκου 2004. Γενικότερα για την ακμή της Θήβας κατά τη Μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο βλ. τελευταία, Κοιλάκου 2013. Για την παραγωγή μεταξωτών υφασμάτων στο Βυζάντιο βλ. Dagron 2010, 107 κ.ε.; Muthesius 2010, 249-278, όπου και η παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία.

106. Koder and Hild 1976, 104. Σχετικά με την παραγωγή της πορφύρας και τα κέντρα παραγωγής και διακίνησής της βλ. Jacoby 1991-92, 456 εξ., 481-482.

107. Σημειώνεται ότι κατά τις χημικές αναλύσεις του πηλού των κεραμικών της Θήβας δεν εντοπίστηκαν στοιχεία τοπικής παραγωγής πριν από τον 13ο αι. (Waksman κ.ά. 2014, 415).

108. Βλ. κυρίως, François 1997, 399-400.

109. Βλ. παραπάνω, σημ. 80.

110. Βλ. σχετικά, François 1997, 396-397; Skartsis 2012, 90-91.

σημαντικών κέντρων, της Θεσσαλονίκης και των Σερρών. Επιβεβαιώνονται έτσι οι στενές εμπορικές σχέσεις που είχαν αναπτυχθεί ανάμεσα στη Χαλκίδα και τις περιοχές του βόρειου ελλαδικού χώρου και κυρίως με τη Θεσσαλονίκη, ιδιαίτερα κατά τη διάρκεια του 14ου αι., οπότε η τελευταία εντάχθηκε στο εμπορικό δίκτυο των Βενετών λόγω της σπουδαιότητας της ως μεγάλο λιμάνι και σημαντικό παραγωγικό κέντρο.¹¹¹ Μέσα από το πλούσιο αρχαικό υλικό της εποχής πληροφορούμαστε για τα εμπορεύματα που μεταφέρονταν στη Χαλκίδα από τη Θεσσαλονίκη και τη Μακεδονία και από εκεί επανεξάγονταν προς τη Δύση, ή το αντίστροφο.¹¹² Για παράδειγμα, από τη Μακεδονία μεταφερόταν στη Δύση διαμέσου της Χαλκίδας ξυλεία, ενώ από τη Δύση εισάγονταν στη Μακεδονία, πάλι με ενδιάμεσο σταθμό τη Χαλκίδα, μάλλινα υφάσματα.¹¹³ Επίσης, στα τέλη του 14ου αι. εισάγονταν στη Θεσσαλονίκη σιτηρά και αλεύρι από την Εύβοια.¹¹⁴

Γενικά, η εισηγμένη κεραμική των χρόνων της Λατινοκρατίας, με την ποικιλία που παρουσιάζει ως προς την προέλευσή της, προσθέτει τη δική της μαρτυρία για τη σημαντική θέση που κατείχε η Χαλκίδα στο εμπορικό δίκτυο της Μεσογείου, ως ένα από τα μεγαλύτερα διαμετακομιστικά λιμάνια της Βενετίας,¹¹⁵ επιβεβαιώνοντας τις επαφές που είχε η πόλη με τα μεγάλα εμπορικά κέντρα της εποχής: από τη Θεσσαλονίκη και τις Σέρρες στα βόρεια, την Κύπρο και τη Συρία στα ανατολικά, μέχρι την Ισπανία και τις διάφορες περιοχές της ιταλικής χερσονήσου στα δυτικά. Η παρουσία λίγων δειγμάτων κεραμικής από την Ισπανία και κυρίως από την ισλαμική Ανατολή και την Κύπρο, ασφαλώς δεν αποτελεί ισχυρή ένδειξη για την ύπαρξη συστηματικού εμπορίου με αυτές τις περιοχές, αντανακλά ωστόσο τη σπουδαιότητα του λιμανιού του Negoronte και την ένταξή του σε ένα ευρύτατο δίκτυο εμπορικών και πολιτιστικών επαφών υπό την κυριαρχία της θαλασσοκράτειρας Βενετίας.

Ο πλούτος και η ποικιλία της κεραμικής που έχει έρθει στο φως κατά τη διάρκεια των παλαιότερων και πιο πρόσφατων ανασκαφών στη Χαλκίδα αντικατοπτρίζει την οικονομική ευμάρεια της πόλης και τις επαφές της με μεγάλα κέντρα της βυζαντινής αυτοκρατορίας και -από τον 13ο αι. και μετά- της Ανατολής και της Δύσης. Με τις εξελίξεις στη μελέτη της κεραμικής των τελευταίων δεκαετιών, μας δίνεται η δυνατότητα να προσεγγίσουμε σε ικανοποιητικό βαθμό και να ερμηνεύσουμε τις πληροφορίες που μπορεί να προσφέρει η κεραμική της Χαλκίδας, οι οποίες σε συνδυασμό με τις ιστορικές πηγές, μαρτυρούν την άνθηση που γνώρισε η πόλη στους Μεσαιωνικούς χρόνους και την αναδεικνύουν σε ένα ιδιαίτερα σημαντικό εμπορικό και παραγωγικό κέντρο της Μεσογείου.

111. Thiriet 1952.

112. Thiriet 1952, 327-328, 330. Βλ. και Lane 1963, 188-189.

113. Μοσχονάς 2006, 164.

114. Koumanoudi 2002, 249, 271, αριθ. 5, και παράρτημα Α2, 64-69.

115. Βλ. Koder 1973, 85-86. Για τις διαδρομές και τους σταθμούς των βενετικών πλοίων, βλ. επίσης Koder 2005, 102-105; Αβραμέα 2010, 156, 166-167.

Βιβλιογραφία

- Αβραμέα, Α. (2010) 'Χερσαίες και θαλάσσιες επικοινωνίες (4ος-15ος αιώνας)'. Στον Τόμ. Α' *Οικονομική Ιστορία του Βυζαντίου από τον 7ο έως τον 15ο αιώνα*, 125-167. Αθήνα: Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης.
- Γερολυμάτου, Μ. (1997) 'Η Θήβα κέντρο εμπορίου και επικοινωνιών τον 12ο αι.'. *Σύμμεικτα* 11, 102-105.
- Γερολυμάτου, Μ. (2008) *Αγορές, έμποροι και εμπόριο στο Βυζάντιο (9ος-12ος αι.)*. Αθήνα: Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών; Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών.
- Γερούση, Ε. (2007) '23η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 62(Β'1), 590-620.
- Γερούση, Ε. (2009) '23η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 64(Β'1), 477-512.
- Γερούση-Μπεντερμάχερ, Ε. (2012) '23η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων'. Στο *2000-2010 από το ανασκαφικό έργο των Εφορειών Αρχαιοτήτων*, επιμέλεια Μ. Ανδρεαδάκη-Βλαζάκη, 73-78. Αθήνα: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων.
- Γεωργοπούλου-Μελαδίνη, Μ. (1972) 'Μεσαιωνικά Μνημεία Ευβοίας'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 27(Β'2), 364-373.
- Γεωργοπούλου-Μελαδίνη, Μ. (1973) 'Μεσαιωνικά Μνημεία Ευβοίας'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 28(Β'1), 311-317.
- Γεωργοπούλου-Μελαδίνη, Μ. (1973-1974) 'Μεσαιωνικά Μνημεία Ευβοίας'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 29(Β'2), 499-512.
- Γιαγκάκη, Α. (2012) 'Έφυλαωμένη κεραμική από τη θέση 'Άγιοι Θεόδωροι' στην Ακροναυπλία (11ος-17ος αι.)'. Τόμ. 7 *Ερευνητική Βιβλιοθήκη*. Αθήνα: Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών; Ινστιτούτο Ιστορικών Ερευνών.
- Γκίνη-Τσοφοπούλου, Ε., Χ. Κοιλάκου, Κ. Καραθανάση, Δ. Πέτρου και Γ. Κακαβάς (2001-2004) '1η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον [Στερεά Ελλάδα-Θεσσαλία]* 56-59(Β'2), 15-68.
- Κοιλάκου, Χ. (2004) 'Βιοτεχνικές εγκαταστάσεις βυζαντινής εποχής στη Θήβα'. Στο *Αρχαιολογικά τεκμήρια βιοτεχνικών εγκαταστάσεων κατά τη βυζαντινή εποχή, 5ος-15ος αιώνας. Ειδικό θέμα του 22ου Συμποσίου Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης*, Αθήνα, 17-18 Μαΐου 2002, 221-239. Αθήνα: Πολιτιστικό Ίδρυμα Ομίλου Πειραιώς.
- Κοιλάκου, Χ. (2012) 'Κεραμική με λευκό πηλό από ανασκαφές στη Θήβα'. *Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 33, 305-312.
- Κοιλάκου, Χ. και Μ. Γαλάνη-Κρίκου (1993) '1η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 48(Β'1), 75-93.
- Κοιλάκου, Χ., Ε. Γκίνη-Τσοφοπούλου και Μ. Γαλάνη-Κρίκου (1995) '1η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 50(Β'1), 69-90.
- Κοιλάκου, Χ. και Α. Παντελίδου-Αλεξιάδου (2005) '1η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 60(Β'1), 427-440.
- Κουτσουφλάκης, Γ., Ξ. Αργύρη, Χ. Παπαδοπούλου και Γ. Σαπουντζής (2012) 'Υποβρύχια αναγνωριστική έρευνα στο Νότιο Ευβοϊκό (2006-2008)'. *Ενάλια* 11, 40-69.
- Μανωλέσσου, Ε., Ν. Δεληνικόλας, Μ. Λάζαρη, Χ. Κοιλάκου, Β. Παπαδοπούλου, Α. Κουρέντα-Ραπτάκη και Κ. Σκαρμούτσου (1982) '1η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 37(Β'1), 79-80.
- Μιχαηλίδου, Μ. (1994-1995) 'Ανδρικές και γυναικείες μορφές σε μεσαιωνικά αγγεία της Ρόδου'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 49-50(Α'), 195-210.
- Μιχαηλίδου, Μ. (2000) 'Έισηγμένη κεραμική στη Ρόδο στα χρόνια της Ιπποτοκρατίας (1309-1522)'. Στον Τόμ. Β' *Ρόδος 2.400 χρόνια. Η πόλη της Ρόδου από την ίδρυσή της μέχρι την κατάληψη από τους Τούρκους (1523)*, *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου, Ρόδος, 24-29 Οκτωβρίου 1993*, 417-428. Αθήνα: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού, ΚΒ' Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων, 4η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων.
- Μοσχονάς, Ν. Γ. (2006) 'Έυριπος, κέντρο βενετικού εμπορίου'. Στο *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου, Βενετία - Εύβοια, από τον Έγριπο στο Νεγροπόντε, Χαλκίδα, 12-14 Νοεμβρίου 2004*, επιμέλεια Χρύσα Μαλτέζου και Χριστίνα Παπακάστα, 157-171. Βενετία; Αθήνα: Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Σπουδών Βενετίας; Εταιρεία Ευβοϊκών Σπουδών.
- Μπακιρτζής, Χ. (1989) *Βυζαντινά τσουκαλολάγνα. Συμβολή στη μελέτη ονομασιών, σχημάτων και χρήσεων πυρίμαχων μαγειρικών σκευών, μεταφορικών και αποθηκευτικών δοχείων*. Αθήνα: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων.

- Ντάφη, Ε. Χ. και Σ. Σ. Σκαρτσή (2015) 'Βυζαντινή κεραμική από τις ανασκαφές στις εγκαταστάσεις του ατμοηλεκτρικού σταθμού (ΑΗΣ) της ΔΕΗ Αλιβερίου, στην Εύβοια (4ος-18ος αι.)'. Τόμ. ΙΙ 4ο Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, Βόλος, 15-18 Μαρτίου 2012 [Πρακτικά], 709-718. Βόλος: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού, Παιδείας και Θρησκευμάτων; Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας.
- Παπαδάκης, Ν. (1975) 'Το μεσαιωνικό τείχος της Χαλκίδας'. *Αρχείο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 20, 277-317.
- Παπαδία-Λάλα, Α. (2006) 'Κοινωνική οργάνωση και αστική κοινότητα στην Εύβοια κατά τη Βενετική περίοδο (1390-1470)'. Στο *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου, Βενετία - Εύβοια, από τον Έγριπο στο Νεγροπόντε, Χαλκίδα, 12-14 Νοεμβρίου 2004*, επιμέλεια Χ. Μαλτέζου και Χ. Παπακώστα, 27-40. Αθήνα: Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Σπουδών Βενετίας; Εταιρεία Ευβοϊκών Σπουδών.
- Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή, Δ. (1996) *Μεσαιωνική εφυαλωμένη κεραμική της Κύπρου. Τα εργαστήρια Πάφου και Λαπήθου*. Θεσσαλονίκη: Ίδρυμα Α. Γ. Λεβέντη.
- Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή, Δ., επιμ. (1999) *Βυζαντινά εφυαλωμένα κεραμικά. Η τέχνη των εγχάρακτων*. Αθήνα: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων.
- Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή, Δ. (2003) 'Εργαστήρια εφυαλωμένης κεραμικής στο βυζαντινό κόσμο'. Στο *7ο Διεθνές Συνέδριο Μεσαιωνικής Κεραμικής της Μεσογείου, Θεσσαλονίκη, 11-16 Οκτωβρίου 1999 (Πρακτικά)*, επιμέλεια Χ. Μπακιρτζής, 45-66. Αθήνα: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων.
- Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή, Δ., Φ. Μαυρικού και Χ. Μπακιρτζής (1999) *Βυζαντινή κεραμική στο Μουσείο Μπενάκη*. Αθήνα: Μουσείο Μπενάκη.
- Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή, Δ. και Ν. Ζήκος, επιμ. (2007) *Εφυαλωμένη κεραμική υστεροβυζαντινών χρόνων από τη Θράκη. Απόπειρα ανάγνωσης ανασκαφικών ευρημάτων*. Θεσσαλονίκη: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού; 12η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων; Μορφωτικός Όμιλος Κομοτηνής.
- Σαββίδης, Α. Γ. Κ. (1981-1982) 'Η Εύβοια κατά τα τέλη του ΙΒ' - αρχές του ΙΓ' αι. μ.Χ.'. *Αρχείο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 24, 313-323.
- Σάμψων, Α. (1973-1974) 'Αρχαιότητες και μνημεία Ευβοίας'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 29(Β'2), 461-494.
- Σαπουνά-Σακελλαράκη, Έ. (1996) 'ΙΑ' Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 51(Β'1), 287-309.
- Τουμαζής, Γ., Α. Pace, Μ. Rosaria Belgiorno και Σ. Αντωνιάδου, επιμ. (2005) *Σταυροφορίες: Μύθος και Πραγματικότητα*. Κύπρος: Ίδρυμα Πιερίδη.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. (1990) 'Χριστιανική και μεσαιωνική Χαλκίδα: ανασκόπηση της νεώτερης αρχαιολογικής έρευνας'. Στο *Διεθνές Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο 'Η πόλη της Χαλκίδας'*. Χαλκίδα, 24-27 Σεπτεμβρίου 1987, 165-170. Αθήνα: Εταιρεία Ευβοϊκών Σπουδών.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. (2010) 'Κωπηλατώντας ανάδρομα στον χρόνο: Εικόνες από το μεσαιωνικό και νεώτερο Νεγροπόντε'. Στο *Χαρακτικά της Εύβοιας. Διαδρομή στο χρόνο. Από τη συλλογή του Ιωάννη Κ. Καράκωστα*, 9-38. Αθήνα: Μουσείον της πόλεως των Αθηνών, Ίδρυμα Βούρου-Ευταξία.
- Φαράκλας, Ν. (1968) 'Αρχαιότητες και μνημεία Βοιωτίας'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 23(Β'1), 207-224.

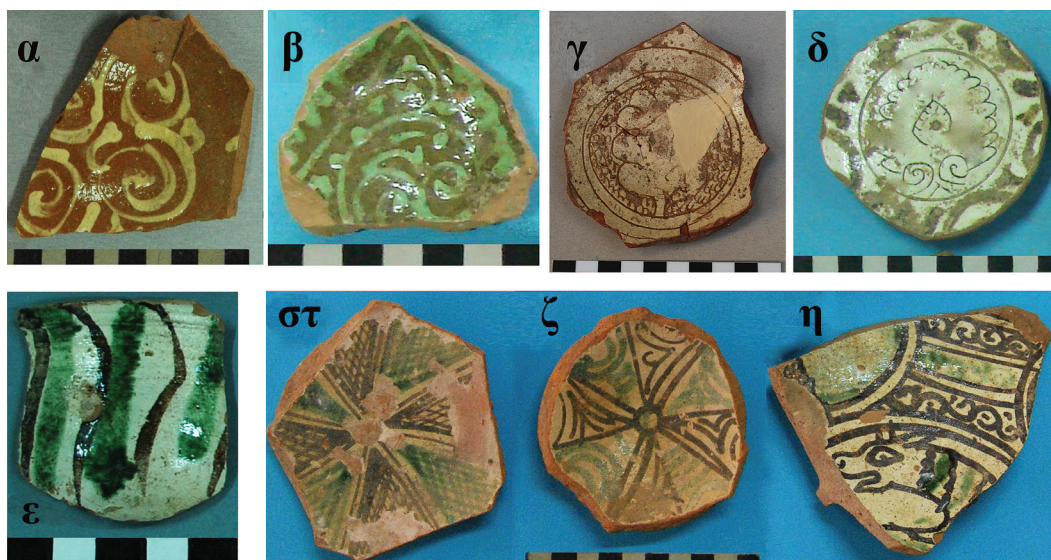
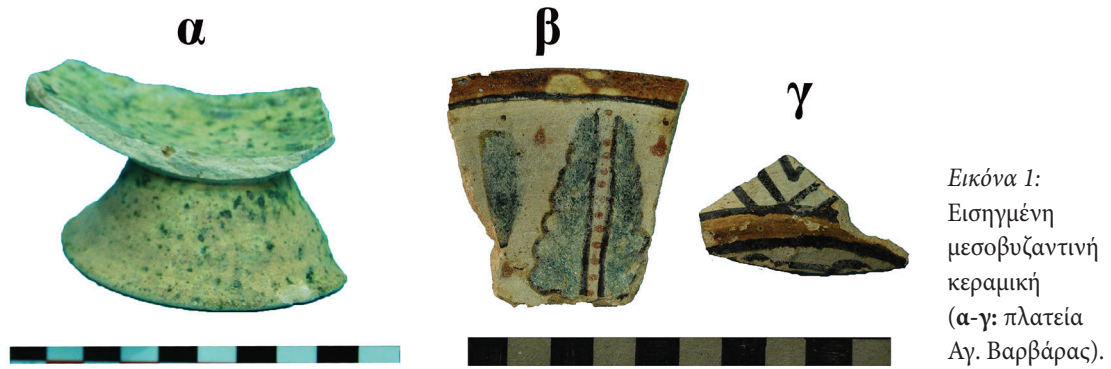
*

- Armstrong, P. (1989) 'Some Byzantine and Later Settlements in Eastern Phokis'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 84, 1-47.
- Armstrong, P. (1993) 'Byzantine Thebes: Excavations on the Kadmeia, 1980'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 88, 295-335.
- Dagron, G. (2010) 'Η αστική οικονομία από τον 7ο έως τον 12ο αιώνα'. In Vol. B of *Οικονομική Ιστορία του Βυζαντίου, από τον 7ο έως τον 15ο αιώνα*, 43-140. Athens: National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation.
- D'Amico, E. (2005) 'The excavation of UTS 161. The pottery'. In *Stari Bar: The Archaeological Project 2004. Preliminary Report*, edited by S. Gelichi and M. Guštin, 61-74. Firenze: Insegna del Giglio.
- D'Amico, E. (2006) 'A Hypothesis of Apulian Pottery Consumption'. In *The Archaeology of an Abandoned Town: The 2005 Project in Stari Bar*, edited by S. Gelichi, 55-82. Firenze: Insegna del Giglio.
- Dufournier, D., A-M. Flambard and G. Noyé (1986) 'A propos de céramique 'RMR': problèmes de définition et de classement, problèmes de répartition'. In *La ceramica medievale nel Mediterraneo occidentale. Atti del III Congresso internazionale Siena - Faenza 1984*, 251-277. Firenze: Insegna del Giglio.

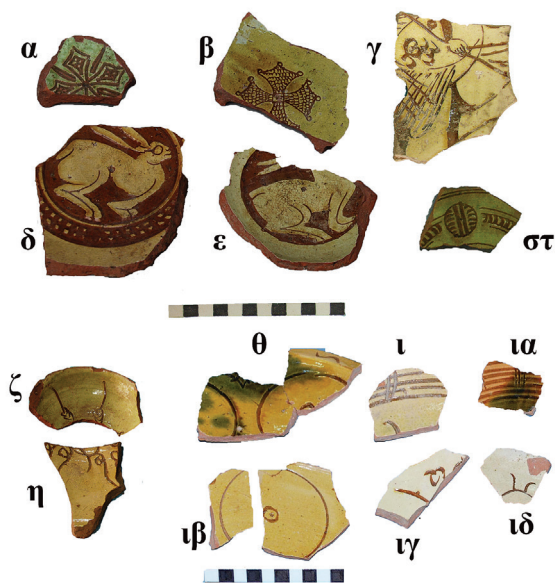
- François, V. (1995) 'La céramique byzantine à Thasos.' Vol. XVI of *Études Thassiennes*. Athens: École Française d'Athènes.
- François, V. (1997) 'Céramiques importés à Byzance: une quasi-absence.' *Byzantinoslavica* LVIII(2), 387-404.
- François, V. (1999) 'Céramiques médiévales à Alexandrie: contribution à l'histoire économique de la ville.' Vol. 2 of *Études Alexandrines*. Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Gelichi, S. (1986) 'La ceramica ingubbiata medievale nell' Italia nord-orientale.' In *La ceramica medievale nel Mediterraneo occidentale. Atti del III Congresso internazionale Siena - Faenza 1984*, 366-405. Firenze: Insegna del Giglio.
- Gregory, T. E. (1993) 'Local and Imported Medieval Pottery from Isthmia.' In *La ceramica nel mondo bizantino tra XI e XV secolo e I suoi rapporti con l'Italia*, edited by S. Gelichi, 283-306. Firenze: Insegna del Giglio.
- Günsenin, N. (1989) 'Recherches sur les amphores byzantines dans les musées turcs.' *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplement [Recherches sur la céramique Byzantine]* XVIII, 267-276.
- Hayes, J. W. (1992) 'The Pottery.' Vol. 2 of *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Jacoby, D. (1991-1992) 'Silk in Western Byzantium Before the Fourth Crusade.' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84/85, 452-500.
- Koder, J. (1973) *Negroponte. Untersuchungen zur Topographie und Siedlungsgeschichte der Insel Euboia während der Zeit der Venezianerherrschaft*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Koder, J. (2005) *Το Βυζάντιο ως χώρος. Εισαγωγή στην Ιστορική Γεωγραφία της Ανατολικής Μεσογείου στη βυζαντινή εποχή* [trans. D. Stathakopoulos]. Thessaloniki: Vani Publications.
- Koder, J. and F. Hild (1976) 'Hellas und Thessalia.' Vol. 1 of *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Koilakou, C. (2013) 'Byzantine Thebes.' In *Heaven and Earth. Cities and Countryside in Byzantine Greece*, edited by J. Albani and E. Chalkia, 180-191. Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture; The Benaki Museum.
- Kontogiannis, N. D. (2012) 'Euripos – Negroponte – Eğriboz: Material Culture and Historical Topography of Chalcis from Byzantium to the End of the Ottoman Rule.' *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 62, 29-56.
- Koumanoudi, M. (2002) 'Contra deum, Jus et Justitiam. The Trial of Bartolomeo Querini, Bailo and Capitano of Negroponte (14th c.).' In *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII-XV secolo). Atti del Colloquio Internazionale, Venezia, 1-2 dicembre 2000*, edited by C. A. Maltezos and P. Schreiner, 235-287. Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia.
- Lane, F. C. (1963) 'Venetian Merchant Galleys, 1300-1334: Private and Commercial Operation.' *Speculum* 38, 179-205.
- MacKay, C. (2001) 'Protomaiolica in Frankish Athens.' *Hesperia* 70(2), 178-179.
- Megaw, A. H. S. (1968) 'Zeuxippus Ware.' *Annual of the British School at Athens* 63, 67-88.
- Megaw, A. H. S. (1989) 'Zeuxippus Ware Again.' *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Supplement [Recherches sur la céramique byzantine]* XVIII, 259-266.
- Michailidou, M. (1993) 'Ceramica veneziana dalla città medievale di Rodi (1309-1522). Nota preliminare.' In *La ceramica nel mondo bizantino tra XI e XV secolo e I suoi rapporti con l'Italia*, edited by S. Gelichi, 333-339. Firenze: Insegna del Giglio.
- Morgan, C. H. (1942) 'The Byzantine Pottery.' Vol. XI of *Corinth*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Muthesius, A. (2010) 'Η παραγωγή μεταξωτών υφασμάτων: Μέθοδοι – αργαλειοί – τεχνικές όψεις.' In Vol. A of *Οικονομική Ιστορία του Βυζαντίου, από τον 7ο έως τον 15ο αιώνα*, 249-278. Athens: National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation.
- Nepoti, S. (1992) 'Le ceramiche a Ferrara nel Rinascimento: i reperti da corso della Giovecca.' In *Ferrara prima e dopo il Castello*, edited by S. Gelichi, 289-365. Ferrara: Spazio libri editori.
- Papanikola-Bakirtzis, D. (1992) 'Serres: A Glazed Pottery Production Centre During the Late Byzantine Period.' In *Ceramic Art from Byzantine Serres*, edited by D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis, E. Dauterman Maguire and H. Maguire, 21-35. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

- Riavez, P. (2000) 'Atlit – protomaiolica. Ceramiche italiane nel Mediterraneo orientale'. In *Atti del II Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale, Brescia, 28 settembre - 1 ottobre 2000*, 444-450. Firenze: Società degli Archeologi Medievisti Italiani.
- Saccardo, F. (1993) 'Contesti medievali nella Laguna e prime produzioni graffite veneziane'. In *La ceramica nel mondo bizantino tra XI e XV secolo e I suoi rapporti con l'Italia*, edited by S. Gelichi, 201-239. Firenze: Insegna del Giglio.
- Sanders, G. D. R. (1993) 'Excavations at Sparta: The Roman Stoa, 1988-91. Preliminary Report, part 1 (c) Medieval Pottery'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 88, 251-286.
- Sanders, G. D. R. (1999) 'Παραγωγή των εργαστηρίων της Κορίνθου'. In *Βυζαντινά εφυλαγμένα κεραμικά. Η τέχνη των εγχάρακτων*, edited by D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, 159-164. Athens: Archaeological Receipts Fund.
- Sanders, G. D. R. (2000) 'New Relative and Absolute Chronologies for 9th to 13th century Glazed Wares at Corinth: Methodology and Conclusions'. In *Byzanz als Raum. Zu Methoden und Inhalten der historischen Geographie des Östlichen Mittelmeerraumes*, edited by K. Belke, F. Hild, J. Koder and P. Soustal, 153-173. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Sanders, G. D. R. (2001) 'Byzantine Polychrome Pottery'. In *Mosaic. Festschrift for A.H.S. Megaw*, edited by J. Herrin, M. Mullett and C. Otten-Froux, 89-103. London: King College.
- Sanders, G. D. R. (2003) 'Recent Developments in the Chronology of Byzantine Corinth'. In *Corinth, The Centenary: 1896 - 1996*, edited by C. K. Williams II and N. Bookidis, 385-399. Athens: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Schläger, H., D. J. Blackman and J. Schäfer (1968) 'Der Hafen von Anthedon mit Beiträgen zur Topographie und Geschichte der Stadt'. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 83, 21-98.
- Skartsis, S. S. (2012) *Chlemoutsi Castle (Clermont, Castel Tornese), NW Peloponnese. Its pottery and its Relations with the west (13th-early 19th centuries)*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Stillwell MacKay, T. (2003) 'Pottery of the Frankish Period'. In Vol. XX of *Corinth, The Centenary: 1896 - 1996*, edited by C. K. Williams II and N. Bookidis, 401-422. Athens: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Thiriet, F. (1952) 'Les Vénitiens à Thessalonique dans la première moitié du XIVe siècle'. *Byzantion* 22, 323-332.
- Vionis, A. K., J. Poblome, B. De Cupere and M. Waelkens (2010) 'A Middle-Late Byzantine Pottery Assemblage from Sagalassos: Typo-Chronology and Sociocultural Interpretation'. *Hesperia* 79, 423-464.
- Vroom, J. (2003) *After Antiquity. Ceramics and Society in the Aegean from the 7th to the 20th Century A.C.: a Case Study from Boeotia, Central Greece*. Leiden: Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University.
- Waagé, F. O. (1933) 'Excavations in the Athenian Agora. The Roman and Byzantine Pottery'. *Hesperia* 2, 279-328.
- Waksman, S. Y. and V. François (2004-2005) 'Vers une redéfinition typologique et analytique des céramiques byzantines du type Zeuxippus Ware'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 128-129(2.1), 629-724.
- Waksman, S. Y. and M-L. von Wartburg (2006) "'Fine-Sgraffito Ware", "Aegean Ware" and other Wares: New Evidence for a Major Production of Byzantine Ceramics'. *Report of the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus*, 369-388.
- Waksman, S. Y., N. Erhan and S. Eskalen (2009) 'Les ateliers de céramiques de Sirkeci (Istanbul). Résultats de la campagne 2008'. *Anatolia Antiqua* 17, 457-467.
- Waksman, S. Y. and I. Teslenko (2010) "'Novy Svet Ware" an Exceptional Cargo of Glazed Wares from a 13th-Century Shipwreck near Sudak (Crimea, Ukraine). Morphological Typology and Laboratory Investigations'. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 39(2), 357-375.
- Waksman, S. Y., N. D. Kontogiannis, S. S. Skartsis and G. Vaxevanis (2014) 'The Main "Middle Byzantine Production" and Pottery Manufacture in Thebes and Chalcis'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 109, 379-422.
- Waksman, S. Y., S. S. Skartsis, N. D. Kontogiannis, E. P. Todorova, G. Vaxevanis (2016) 'Investigating the origins of two main types of Middle and Late Byzantine amphorae'. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2016.12.008>.
- Williams II, C. K. and O. H. Zervos (1992) 'Frankish Corinth: 1991'. *Hesperia* 61, 133-191.

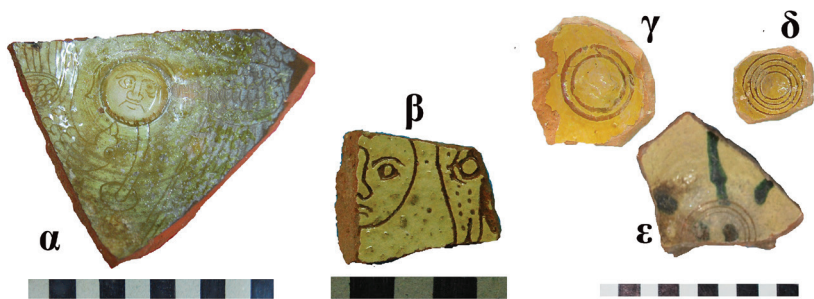
Εικόνες



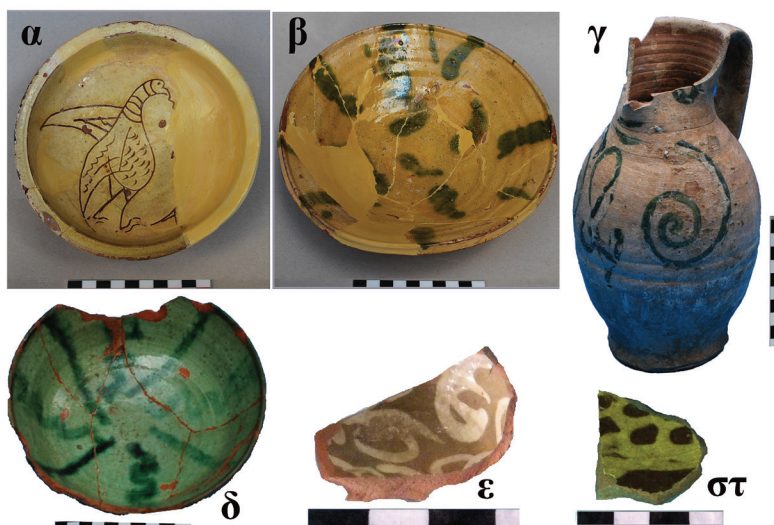
Εικόνα 3: Μεσοβυζαντινή εφυαλωμένη κεραμική
(α, στ-η: πλατεία Αγ. Βαρβάρας, β, δ: οδός Χαρώνδα, γ, ε: οδός Μητροπόλεως).



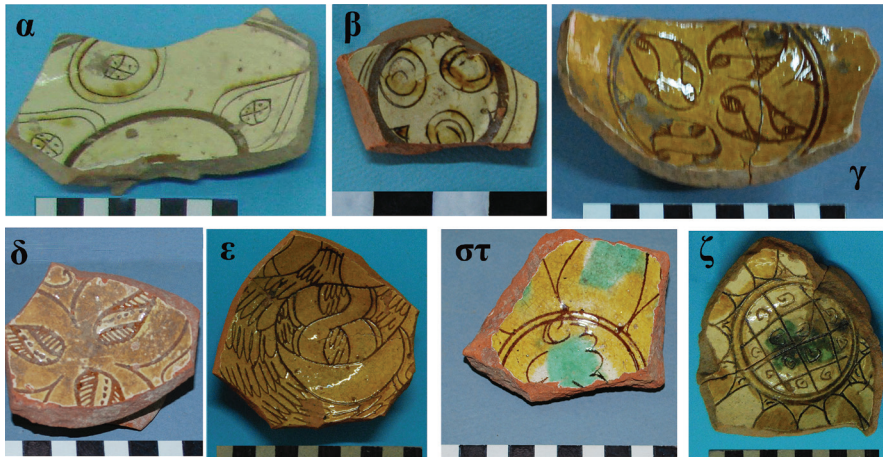
Εικόνα 4:
Μεσοβυζαντινή εφυαλωμένη κεραμική
(α-β, δ-ε: οδός Ωρίωνος, γ: οδός
Βασιλείου, στ: οδός Ελ. Βενιζέλου,
οικόπεδο Ξύδη, ζ-η: οδός Μ. Φριζή,
θ-ιδ: οδός Μητροπόλεως).



Εικόνα 5:
Κεραμική από την περίοδο
της Λατινοκρατίας
(α: χωρίς ενδείξεις, β: οδός Ελ.
Βενιζέλου, οικόπεδο
Αγροτικής Τράπεζας,
γ-δ: οδός Ανδρούτσου,
ε-θ: οδός Μητροπόλεως).



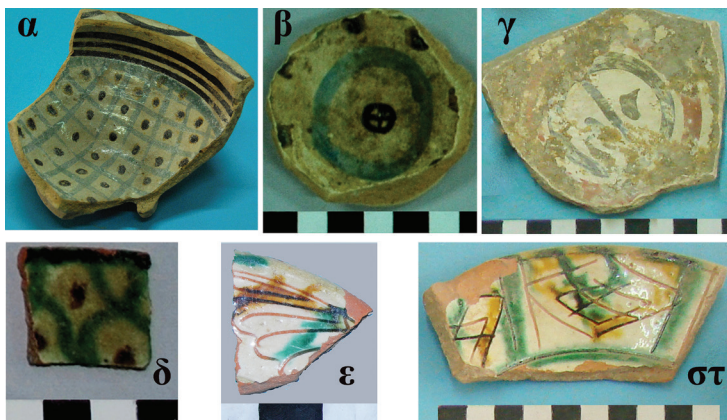
Εικόνα 6:
Κεραμική από την περίοδο
της Λατινοκρατίας
(α-δ, στ: οδός Μητροπόλεως,
ε: πλατεία
Αγ. Βαρβάρας).



Εικόνα 7:
Εισηγμένη κεραμική
της περιόδου
της Λατινοκρατίας
(α: οδός Βαρατάση,
β: οδός Μ. Φριζή,
γ-δ, στ: οδός Μητροπόλεως,
ε: οδός Ελ. Βενιζέλου,
οικόπεδο Αγροτικής
Τράπεζας,
ζ: οδός Α. Γοβιού &
Φαβιέρου).



Εικόνα 8:
Εισηγμένη κεραμική
της περιόδου
της Λατινοκρατίας
(α: οδός Βουδούρη,
β-γ: οδός Μητροπόλεως).



Εικόνα 9:
Εισηγμένη κεραμική της περιόδου
της Λατινοκρατίας (α: οδός Ωρίωνος
& Σταμούλη, β, δ: οδός Μητροπόλεως,
γ: οδός Καλογεροπούλου,
ε: οδός Μ. Φριζή,
στ: οδός Ανδρούτσου).



Εικόνα 10:
Εισηγμένη κεραμική
της περιόδου
της Λατινοκρατίας
(α-γ: οδός Μητροπόλεως,
δ: οδός Βασιλείου).



The Rizokastro near Aliveri, Euboea, in the context of Frankish castle architecture in Greece

Stavros MAMALOUKOS

Περίληψη

Σκοπός της μελέτης είναι μια προσπάθεια προσέγγισης της οικοδομικής ιστορίας και της αρχιτεκτονικής ενός ελάχιστα γνωστού αλλά σημαντικού μνημείου της Φραγκοκρατίας στην Εύβοια, του Ριζόκαστρου που βρίσκεται κοντά στο χωριό Μηλάκι κοντά στο Αλιβέρι. Από τα διαθέσιμα ως τώρα στοιχεία φαίνεται ότι το Ριζόκαστρο ήταν η καθέδρα ενός τυπικού μεσαιωνικού φέουδου, η οποία περιελάμβανε ένα οχυρό, που χρησίμευε ως κατοικία του φεουδάρχη και των ανθρώπων του και ως χώρος αποθήκευσης των αγροτικών προϊόντων, και, αφ ετέρου, ένα μικρό οικισμό, στον οποίο κατοικούσαν οι πάροικοι / καλλιεργητές του. Το Ριζόκαστρο, ακολουθώντας τον κανόνα για τα φράγκικα φεουδαρχικά κάστρα στην Ελλάδα, είναι ένα σχετικά μικρών διαστάσεων κάστρο-κατοικία με έντονα οχυρωματικά χαρακτηριστικά, στοιχειωδώς εξοπλισμένο σε χώρους και ανέσεις και με κατασκευή αδρή, απλή και ανεπιτήδευτη. Το οχυρό ανήκει στον τύπο των φεουδαρχικών κάστρων με περίβολο και κεντρικό πύργο («enceinte et tour maîtresse»), ο οποίος επικρατούσε στην Ευρώπη κατά τον 11ο, το 12ο και τον 13ο αιώνα. Στην περίπτωση του Ριζόκαστρου ο κεντρικός πύργος («tour maîtresse», «donjon») φαίνεται ότι ήταν ενταγμένος στον περίβολο, ο οποίος δεν ήταν ενισχυμένος με πύργους, όπως συχνά συνέβαινε στα πρώιμα φεουδαρχικά κάστρα. Μια ακριβής χρονολόγηση των δύο ή τριών οικοδομικών φάσεων του Ριζόκαστρου είναι, υπό τις παρούσες συνθήκες, δύσκολη. Με βάση τα τυπολογικά στοιχεία αλλά και τη χαρακτηριστικά αδρή και, ίσως, κάπως βεβιασμένη, κατασκευή του, η πρώτη οικοδομική φάση του οχυρού θα μπορούσε να αναχθεί στον πρώιμο 13ο αιώνα. Οι τελευταίες οικοδομικές φάσεις του κάστρου μπορούν να χρονολογηθούν στον όψιμο 13ο ή στον 14ο αιώνα.

Introduction

The survey, documentation, study and consequent publication of monographs on individual monuments of a given spatio-temporal context are indisputably a prerequisite for the systematic study of the art and architecture of such a context. In such a way, this study can be correlated with both art and architecture, but also with human activity in general in this particular time period and region. Frankish monuments in Greece have long been studied by researchers, mostly historians, but also architects and archaeologists, in the context of efforts to interpret the art and architecture of this important time period.¹

1. Below is a list of the most important studies on Frankish monuments in the region of modern Greece: Andrews [1953]2006, 195; Athanasoulis 2013; 2006; Bintliff 2012; Bon 1937; 1966; 1969; Bouras 1989; 2001; Carpenter and Bon 1936; Cooper et al. 2002; Georgopoulou 2001; Gerola 1905-1932; Gerstel 2001; 2013; Gerstel et al. 2003; Grossman 2004; 2005; Kappas 2007; Kitsiki-Panagopoulos 1979; Kourelis 2003; 2005; Lock 1986; Lock and Sanders 1996; Louvi-Kizi 2003-2004; Mamaloukos 2012b; Traquair 1905-1906; 1906-1907; 1923; Williams 2003.

These studies, despite their occasional interpretative shortcomings (several issues have been left unanswered and the subject is often clouded by ideological predispositions), have contributed decisively to the documentation and, in some cases, to an initial interpretation of the numerous Frankish monuments surviving today in central Greece, the Peloponnese and the Greek isles. Undoubtedly, though, more work needs to be done to attain a certain level of systematic study of most monuments.² It is imperative that this work consists of a methodical architectural survey, to the extent that it is possible, which includes both detailed measurement survey and reconstruction drawings, necessarily combined in most cases with additional archaeological research. Only through such a systematic survey, a study of unknown or previously overlooked monuments, as well as a revision of already known and studied monuments based on important recent discoveries will it be possible to interpret these buildings and then proceed to a study of the art and architecture of the period in general. The following study of a little-known, but significant, Frankish monument of Euboea, the Rizokastro near the village of Milaki in the vicinity of Aliveri, should be firmly situated in this context.

Bibliography and history

The Rizokastro near Aliveri has often received mention in various studies of the medieval monuments of Euboea.³ Still, most of these studies are mainly preoccupied with the identification of the monument, and at best they only include a short description, some photos and rough, inaccurate sketches.⁴ The following paper attempts to study the monument's construction history and its architecture based on a study, as far as is possible under current circumstances,⁵ of the remains of its structures and further study of their typological, construction and morphological characteristics.

Almost nothing is known of Rizokastro's medieval history. Koder and Hild have identified the castle with that mentioned in sources as Castle Protimo.⁶ During the Ottoman period the castle lost its importance as a fortress. Still, the castle played some role during the Greek War of Independence: the Greek insurgents under Nikolaos Krieziotis occupied it and used it as a stronghold and a detention centre for Turkish prisoners of war until November 1823 when, following the battle of Aliveri, the castle was captured by Omer Pasha.⁷ In the years following the Greek War of Independence the castle was completely deserted and left to fall into ruin.

Rizokastro is built on a steep, conical hill towering over the south side of the Aliveri Plain, near the village of Milaki (Fig. 1). Its position is truly imposing, as the castle overlooks the plain extending to the north, the passages to the south, and the nearby coastline, where the factories of Aliveri stand today.

The castle's ground-plan is trapezoid, with average dimensions of 46 x 30 m, occupying an area of roughly 1200 m² (Fig. 2). At the centre of the fort stands a tower (Figs. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11), with a rectangular plan, the exterior dimensions of which are 7.10 x 7.60 m, and maximum surviving height of which is approximately 11 m. The imposing structure today retains its north and west sides almost intact, as well

2. On the lack of documentation of Frankish castles in the Morea, see Athanasoulis 2013, 140.

3. Farantos 2010, 67 and n. 190, 89; Koder 1973, 105, pls. 35-37; Koder and Hild 1976, 246; Lazaridis 1961-1962, 17, dr. 2, pl. 168γ; Liapis 1971, 154-155, fig. 39 and pl. 156β; Lock 1996, 117; Skouras 1975, 335-337, figs. 8-9; Skouras 2003, 39-40; Vasilatos 1992, 29-30.

4. Lazarides publishes a rough sketch of the castle (1961-1962, drawing 2), while Liapis publishes an axonometric drawing, based on the previously mentioned plan drawing from Lazarides (1971, fig. 39).

5. This study is based on two visits to the castle, on February 22 and April 13, 2011, at which time the monument was photographed systematically and surveyed in a concise manner. The results of this study were presented in a simplified manner in Mamaloukos 2011.

6. See mainly Koder 1973, 105, pls. 35-37; Koder and Hild 1976, 246.

7. On the history of the castle during the Greek War of Independence, see Farantos 2010, 67, 89.

as the greatest part of its south side and north corner, and finally the lower parts of its east side. The tower initially had two floors, and a 50-cm-wide crenellated parapet at the top, which still partly survives on the north, west and east sides. The ground floor was divided into two rooms by a 55-cm-wide wall, which is structurally unconnected to the exterior walls. Access to the interior of the tower was via an 80-cm-wide doorway, which is now almost destroyed, on the east wall. Light entered through three lighting slits carved in all of the other walls. On the upper floor, there appears to have been just a single space. The three surviving walls of the upper floor have two windows each, with rectangular stone frames. The tower walls, 90 cm wide on the ground floor and 70 cm on the upper floor, were built using local rubble limestone, of medium and, rarely, large size, together with small flat stones and bricks placed horizontally or slanted in the joints. A relatively weak lime mortar was used in this masonry. The upper level had a wooden floor that consisted of ten beams (15 x 15 cm) made of roughly hewn tree trunks. Based on surviving elements, one cannot say with certainty that the tower had either a pitched timber roof or a flat roof.

Of the walls that form the enclosure of the castle (Figs. 2, 3, 7, 8), those of the north and west sides are preserved in a better condition. Of the wall of the south side only its western portion is preserved. The east wall is mostly destroyed. The west wall extends almost straight for about 42 m. It is 1.20-1.30 m wide at the base, and 90 cm wide higher up. Along the wall, and adjoining it, there are the ruins of three, or maybe even four, ground-floor buildings, divided into two groups by a wall that extends from their east side all the way to the south-west corner of the tower (Figs. 2, 5, 8). The southern buildings are found on a lower level. The northern group of buildings consists of two spaces, each one with a barrel-vaulted basement that would have been used as a cistern. The southernmost of these two spaces is a large hall, 5.50 x 17.00 m, which was accessible from the courtyard through a wide and well-built doorway that is now half-destroyed (Fig. 12). Within the east wall of this building, to the right of this doorway, there is a narrow, steep staircase. The north wall of the castle is 26.75 m long. For about 9.95 m, its eastern part diverges from the straight line of the rest of the wall. The western portion of the wall is 1.20 m wide at the base, and 90 cm wide higher up. The eastern portion of the wall consists of two parts, of which only the 65-cm-wide external part survives. The internal, 80-cm-wide part was initially the wall of a separate building that was later enclosed within the castle courtyard. The east wall, of which about 35 m survive, diverged towards the west, starting at about 21 m from the northernmost end. Here also the walls were made up of two parts: an internal and an external part. The latter, with a width ranging from 35 to 80 cm, was obviously added to the internal part at a later date. At 9.50 m away from the point of divergence, the wall turned almost 90° to the east, incorporating an older, thinner wall. Finally, at a distance of about 3 m from the corner of the west wall, the southern part of the east wall starts; today, this wall survives in few places, and is in a very poor state of preservation.

The outer walls of the castle as well as the walls of the rest of the buildings were built using local rubble limestone, of medium and, occasionally, large size, together with small, flat stones and bricks placed horizontally or slanted in the joints. A lime mortar of variable strength was used in this masonry. The masonry was initially pointed, and the joints were quite wide. The pointing varied in several parts of the edifice. One must note an important differentiation between the form of the tower openings, the integral frames of which were constructed using rough-hewn limestone, and the only partially surviving but still recognizable doorway on the west wing, the integral frame of which is constructed with carefully cut stones. The vaults covering the cisterns were made of flat rubble limestone with plenty of mortar. The main hall had a wooden floor. It was made of large wooden beams, spaced roughly 1 m apart. The roofs of the other castle buildings were also undoubtedly made of timber. Their exact form is unknown.

A small unfortified settlement extended outside the castle walls, to its south and west sides, consisting of small humble houses whose average dimensions were 4 x 4-5 m, made of drywall rubble masonry, with timber roofs (Fig. 9).

Construction history

Attempting to reconstruct the form of the castle before it was deserted poses several difficulties since the archaeological research that would elucidate certain key issues has not yet been carried out. Moreover, some of the remaining ruins are covered in vegetation and rubble, further obstructing adequate study. Based on available data, it is nonetheless possible to make a first attempt at reconstructing the castle complex (Fig. 10), and to develop several working hypotheses on its layout and function. It is evident that the castle had two main fortified enclosures. The inner enclosure occupied the northern and larger part of the castle, and had a relatively spacious courtyard. The south side of this courtyard was enclosed by a wall, which incorporated the tower. The gate to this courtyard appears to have been at the corner next to the south-east side of this tower. The west, north and possibly also east sides of this courtyard were lined with one- or two-storeyed buildings, adjoined to the perimeter walls. The building along the west wall was undoubtedly the main hall of the castle. The aforementioned narrow staircase within its east wall must have led to some kind of rampart on the level of its roof cornice.

To the south of this inner, main enclosure there must have been a second, outer enclosure that had secondary functions and would also have served as a first line of defence. Reconstructing this enclosure is nigh impossible, as all of its south side has been completely destroyed. It seems that this enclosure had a narrow L-shaped courtyard, along the west side of which there was an accessory building that probably served as a stable or guard quarters. The gate to this outer enclosure must have been at the recessed corner formed by the ruined but still discernible wall. It is also possible that a barbican existed in front of this gate.

A first study of the successive building phases and the morphological and construction elements of the various buildings reveals that Rizokastro's final form emerged through a series of successive modifications, additions and restorations, which can be grouped into two or three construction periods. Thus, it seems that first the tower and some accessory buildings (such as the initially isolated north-east building) were erected, together with a weak enclosure wall. Then, the more heavily fortified walls were added, incorporating the first wall. At the same time, or later on, the rest of the castle buildings, such as the main wall on the west wing, were erected or drastically modified. For the time being, it is not possible to chronologically correlate the adjacent settlement with the building phases of the castle.

Discussion and conclusions

As was already mentioned, available sources offer no evidence that could elucidate the castle's history or assist in dating its structures. Hence, any efforts to discern its initial function and its construction history must be based solely on the study of the buildings themselves, as well as on comparisons with similar structures, the function and dating of which is already known.

Available evidence leads to the conclusion that Rizokastro in Milaki near Aliveri was the stronghold of a typical medieval fief, which included a fortified feudal residence for the feudal lord and his men that served also as storage space for the fief's agricultural production, as fortification against any enemies, as a symbol of his power, as a means of displaying his social standing, and as a small settlement where his tenants lived. There are several examples of such settlements corresponding to the introduction of Western-style feudalism in the East during Frankish rule in Greece.⁸ Some of these settlements included relatively small castles with strong walls, which were often further fortified with

8. Bintliff 2012, 419-423. Examples of such structures in Frankish occupied Morea have been catalogued and partly studied by K. Kourelis (Kourelis 2002a; 2002b; 2003).

towers, and usually (but not always) a larger keep inside, free-standing or incorporated into the walls. Others had just a simple tower, surrounded by a fortified courtyard. Sometimes the settlement outside the castle was unfortified and other times it was fortified by an obviously weaker wall than that of the castle itself. It is difficult to categorize these settlements with respect to their use and function, or their date, as a systematic study based on methodical archaeological research has not yet been carried out.

Rizokastro follows the norm for Frankish feudal castles in Greece,⁹ being a relatively small castle-residence which was heavily fortified but which had only rudimentary accessory buildings and amenities that were constructed in a rough, simple and ingenious way. The castle belongs to the type of feudal castles with a courtyard and a central tower (*enceinte et tour maîtresse*), which dominated in Europe during the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries, after which time a new type of castle with concentric courtyards ('concentric castle' or 'double-skin castle'), developed in the Middle East during the second half of the 12th century, was gradually adopted.¹⁰ In the case of Rizokastro (Fig. 10), the central tower (*tour maîtresse, donjon*) was incorporated into the courtyard, which lacked other fortification towers, as was the usual practice in early feudal castles.

The construction of a castle in phases is very frequent. This is due not only to rapidly changing conditions and requirements: often, even when there is a master plan from the beginning, it is realized gradually, in order to address the most urgent defensive needs of the place and the castle itself as fast as possible. A similar case is the Mila castle in Messinia, where the towers, which were notably heightened later on, were erected before the curtain walls, even though there is conclusive evidence that the construction of both was planned from the very start.¹¹

In the first construction phase, it appears that the central tower was the main, if not the only, residence of the feudal lord (Fig. 11), something also frequently found in the Frankish feudal castles in the Morea.¹² The large number and size of windows in the upper-level hall were obviously meant to improve living conditions in the tower, at the expense of fortification of course. This particular element, which is not found in later isolated medieval towers in Euboea that also served as residences,¹³ renders this particular building a kind of a tower-house, with somewhat limited defensive potential.

It is difficult to accurately date the various construction phases of Rizokastro under the current circumstances. Based on its typology and the characteristically rough, and somewhat hurried, construction, the first phase could be situated in the early 13th century, the era at the beginning of Frankish feudal settlement in Euboea. A date in the 14th century, suggested by Johannes Koder,¹⁴ based on historical evidence, may better correspond to the later construction phases of the castle, judging from the construction of the south walls and the form of the doorway of the main hall (Fig. 12), which is identical to the type of doorways with integral frames, encountered in late 13th- and 14th-century buildings in the greater area.¹⁵ It is also impossible to date the adjacent settlement owing to the lack of systematic archaeological research. Still, it is probable that its inhabitants settled next to the castle soon after it was built.

As is evident from the above analysis, Rizokastro is undoubtedly a significant monument of Frankish military architecture in Greece. Further systematic study based on *in situ* archaeological research, and a comparison with similar examples, will add much to the study of Frankish architecture in Greece.

9. Particularly on the Frankish castles in Morea, cf. Athanasoulis 2013, 140.

10. On the development of feudal castles in Europe, see Brown 1985; Mesqui 1991; O'Neil 1977. See also Kennedy 1994, mainly 21-97.

11. Kappas and Mamaloukos 2011.

12. See Athanasoulis 2013, 140; Kourelis 2003, 421-422.

13. On the towers of Euboea, see Lock 1996.

14. Koder 1973, 105.

15. Mamaloukos 2012a, 23-24.

Bibliography

- Andrews, K. ([1953]2006) *Castles of the Morea*. Princeton, New Jersey: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Athanasoulis, D. (2006) 'Η ναοδομία στην Επισκοπή Ωλένης κατά την μέση και την ύστερη βυζαντινή περίοδο'. PhD thesis. Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece.
- Athanasoulis, D. (2013) 'Triangle of Power. Building Projects in the Metropolitan Area of the Crusader Principality of Morea'. In *Viewing the Morea. Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese*, edited by S. Gerstel, 111-151. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.
- Bintliff, J. (2012) *The Complete Archaeology of Greece: From Hunter-Gatherers to the 20th Century A.D.* Oxford; New York: Willow-Blackwell.
- Bon, A. (1937) 'Forteresses médiévales de la Grèce Centrale'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 61, 136-208.
- Bon, A. (1966) 'Monuments d' art byzantin et d'art occidental dans le Péloponnèse au XIIIe siècle'. Vol. 3 of *Χαριστήριον εις Αναστάσιον Κ. Ορλάνδον*, 86-93 and pl. XXV-XXVII. Athens: Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία.
- Bon, A. (1969) *La Morée franque. Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la Principauté d' Achaïe (1205-1430)*. Paris: De Boccard.
- Bouras, C. (1989) 'Επανεξέταση του λεγόμενου Αγιολέου κοντά στην Μεθώνη'. *Φίλια Έπη εις Γ. Ε. Μυλωνά*, 302-322. Athens: Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία.
- Bouras, C. (2001) 'The Impact of Frankish Architecture on Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Architecture'. In *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, edited by A. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh, 247-262. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.
- Brown, A. R. (1985) *Castles*. Bucks: Shire Publications Ltd.
- Carpenter, R. and A. Bon. (1936) 'The Defenses of Acrocorinth and the Lower Town'. Vol. III(2) of *Corinth*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Cooper, F. A. and K. Kourelis (2002) *Houses of the Morea, Vernacular Architecture of the Northwest Peloponnesos/ Σπίτια του Μορέα, Παραδοσιακή Αρχιτεκτονική της Βορειοδυτικής Πελοποννήσου (1205-1955)*. Athens: Melissa.
- Coulson, M. (2002) 'The Church of Merbaka. Cultural Diversity and Integration in the 13th Century Peloponnese'. PhD thesis. Courtauld Institute of Art, UK.
- Farantos, C. (2010). *Πράξεις του Δημοτικού Συμβουλίου του Δήμου Δυστίων Ευβοίας (1856-1859)*. Athens: Εταιρεία Εύβοϊκών Σπουδών.
- Georgopoulou, M. (2001) *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies. Architecture and Urbanism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gerola, G. (1905-1932) *Monumenti Veneti nell' isola di Creta*. Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti.
- Gerstel, S. (2001) 'Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea'. In *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, edited by A. Laiou and R. Parviz Mottahedeh, 263-285. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.
- Gerstel, S., ed. (2013) *Viewing the Morea. Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese*. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.
- Gerstel, S, M. Munn, H. E. Grossman, E. Barnes, A. H. Rohn and M. Kiel (2003) 'A Late Medieval Settlement at Panakton'. *Hesperia* 72, 147-234.
- Grossman, H. (2004) 'Building Identity: Architecture as Evidence of Cultural Interaction Between Latins and Byzantines in Medieval Greece'. PhD thesis. University of Pennsylvania, USA.
- Grossman, H. (2005) 'Syncretism Made Concrete: The Case for a Hybrid Moreote Architecture in Post-Fourth Crusade Greece'. In *Archaeology in Architecture: Studies in Honour of Cecil L. Striker*, edited by J. J. Emerick and D. M. Deliyannis, 65-74. Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern.
- Kappas, M. (2007) 'Οι Φράγκοι στη Μεσσηνία (1204-1460)'. In *Μεσσηνία. Τόπος - Χρόνος - Άνθρωποι*, edited by N. Chaidemenos and E. Traiou, 138-163. Athens: Militos.
- Kappas, M. and S. Mamaloukos (2011) 'Κάστρα-κατοικίες στο πριγκιπάτο της Αχαΐας. Δύο μεσσηνιακά παραδείγματα'. In *Διεθνές Συνέδριο: Οχυρωματική αρχιτεκτονική στην Πελοπόννησο (5^{ος}-15^{ος} αιώνας)/ International Conference: Defensive Architecture in the Peloponnese (5th-15th century), Περίληψεις/Abstracts, Corinth Canal, September 30-October 2, 2011*, 43-44. Corinth.

- Kennedy, H. (1994) *Crusader Castles*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kitsiki-Panagopoulos, B. (1979) *Cistercian and Mendicant Monasteries in Medieval Greece*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Koder, J. (1973) 'Negroponte'. Vol. 1 of *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Tabula Imperii Byzantini*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Koder, J. and F. Hild (1976) 'Hellas und Thessalia'. Vol. 1 of *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Kourelis, K. (2002a) 'Medieval Settlements/ Μεσαιωνικοί οικισμοί'. In *Houses of the Morea, Vernacular Architecture of the Northwest Peloponnesos/Σπίτια του Μορέα, Παραδοσιακή Αρχιτεκτονική της Βορειοδυτικής Πελοποννήσου (1205-1955)*, edited by F. A. Cooper and K. Kourelis, 52-61. Athens: Melissa.
- Kourelis, K. (2002b) 'Catalogue of Citadels/Κατάλογος Κάστρων'. In *Houses of the Morea, Vernacular Architecture of the Northwest Peloponnesos/Σπίτια του Μορέα, Παραδοσιακή Αρχιτεκτονική της Βορειοδυτικής Πελοποννήσου (1205-1955)*, edited by F. A. Cooper and K. Kourelis, 61-127. Athens: Melissa.
- Kourelis, K. (2003) 'Monuments of Rural Archaeology: Medieval Settlements in the Northwestern Peloponnese'. PhD thesis. University of Pennsylvania, USA.
- Kourelis, K. (2005) 'The Rural House in the Medieval Peloponnese. An Archaeological Reassessment of Byzantine Domestic Architecture'. In *Archaeology in Architecture: Studies in Honour of Cecil L. Striker*, edited by J. J. Emerick and D. M. Deliyannis, 119-128. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Lazaridis, P. (1961-1962) 'Μεσαιωνικά Ευβοίας, Αλιβέριον'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 17(B) 17, σχεδ. 2, pl. 168.γ.
- Liapis, I. (1971). *Μεσαιωνικά Μνημεία Ευβοίας*. Athens: Έκδοσις Ιεράς Μητροπόλεως Χαλκίδος.
- Lock, P. (1986) 'The Frankish Towers of Central Greece'. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 81, 101-123.
- Lock, P. (1996) 'The Towers of Euboea: Lombard or Venetian, agrarian or strategic'. In *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece*, edited by P. Lock and G. D. R. Sanders, 107-122. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Lock, P. and G. D. R. Sanders, eds. (1996) *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Louvi-Kizi, A. (2003-2004) 'Η Παντάνασσα της Γερούμνας. Ένα μνημείο των Ιωαννιτών ιπποτών'. *Σύμμεικτα* 16, 357-378.
- Mamaloukos, S. (2011) 'Παρατηρήσεις στην Αρχιτεκτονική του Ριζόκαστρου στο Αλιβέρι'. Presented at the conference *Το Αλιβέρι. Ιστορία-Αρχαιότητες-Πολιτιστικό περιβάλλον* Aliveri, 16 April 2011.
- Mamaloukos, S. (2012a) 'Παρατηρήσεις στην οικοδομική ιστορία και την αρχιτεκτονική των οχυρώσεων του Κάστρου της Λιβαδειάς'. *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 4/33, 7-20.
- Mamaloukos, S. (2012b) 'Observations on the Doors and Windows in Byzantine Architecture'. In *Masons at Work: Architecture and Construction in the Pre-Modern World*, edited by R. Ousterhout, R. Holod, L. Haselberger and A. Thourson Jones, 1-38. Philadelphia: Center for Ancient Studies, University of Pennsylvania. <http://www.sas.upenn.edu/ancient/masons/mamaloukos.pdf>, accessed November 25, 2016.
- Mesqui, J. (1991) Vol. 1 of *Châteaux et enceintes de la France médiévale. De la défense à la résidence [Les organes de la défense]*. Paris: Picard.
- O'Neil, B. (1977) *Castles. An introduction to the castles of England and Wales*. London: HMSO.
- Skouras, T. (1975) 'Οχυρώσεις στην Εύβοια (Μερικές λύσεις στα τοπογραφικά τους προβλήματα)'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 20, 327-400.
- Skouras, T. (2003) *Ακροπόλεις-Κάστρα-Πύργοι της Εύβοιας και η αποδελτίωση 82 μεσαιωνικών χαρτών*. Chalkida.
- Traquair, R. (1905-1906) 'Laconia. I. The Mediaeval fortresses'. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 12, 258-276.
- Traquair, R. (1906-1907) 'Medieval Fortresses of the North-Western Peloponnesus'. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 13, 268-284.
- Traquair, R. (1923) 'Frankish Architecture in Greece'. *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 31(2), 33-50; 31(3), 73-86.
- Vasilatos, N. (1992) *Κάστρα και πύργοι της Εύβοιας*. Athens: Balder.
- Williams, C. K. II. (2003) 'Frankish Corinth: An Overview'. In Vol. 20 of *Corinth [The Centenary: 1896-1996]*, edited by C. K. Williams II and N. Bookidis, 423-434. Athens: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Figures

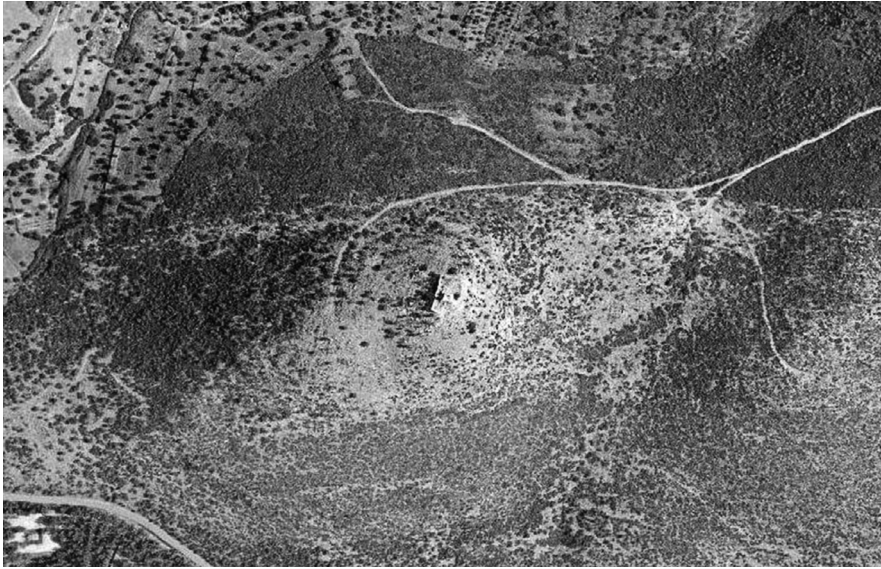


Figure 1:
Rizokastro, aerial view
(Ktimatologio AE).

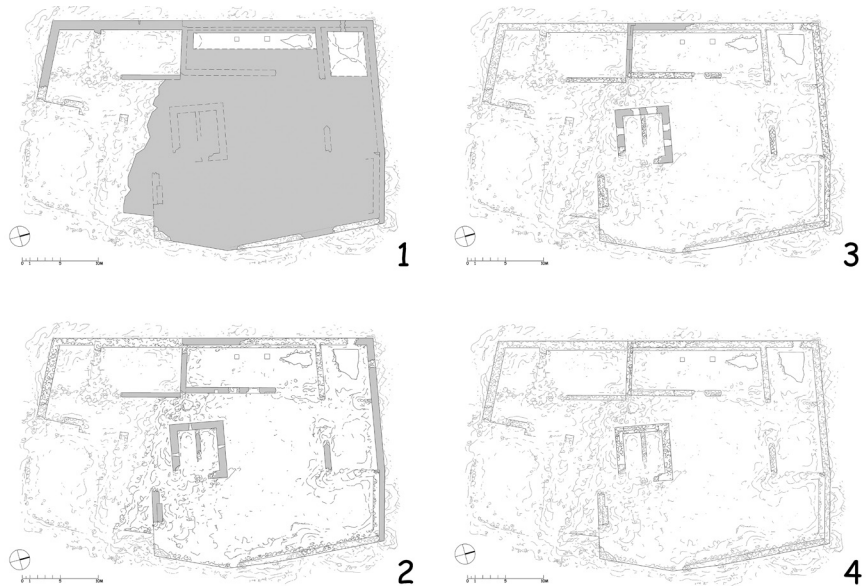


Figure 2:
Rizokastro, castle. Plans
from sketch survey
(February-April 2011):
1) level 1, 2) level 2,
3) level 3, 4) level 4.



Figure 3:
Rizokastro, castle.
General view from
the west (February 2011).



Figure 4: Rizokastro, castle. View of the interior from the outer enclosure towards the north-east (February 2011).



Figure 6: Rizokastro, castle. View of the tower from the south-east (February 2011).



Figure 5:
Rizokastro, castle. View of the interior from the great hall towards the south-east (February 2011).

Figure 7:
Rizokastro, castle. View of the interior from the tower towards the north (February 2011).





Figure 8:
Rizokastro, castle.
View of the interior
from the tower towards
the south-west
(February 2011).



Figure 9:
Rizokastro, settlement.
Partial view from the east
(February 2011).



Figure 10:
Rizokastro, castle.
Plans. Reconstruction:
1) level 1, 2) level 2,
3) level 3, 4) level 4.
A) barbican, B) outer courtyard, C) stables (?), D) cisterns, E) inner courtyard, F) tower, G) great hall, H) residences and warehouses.

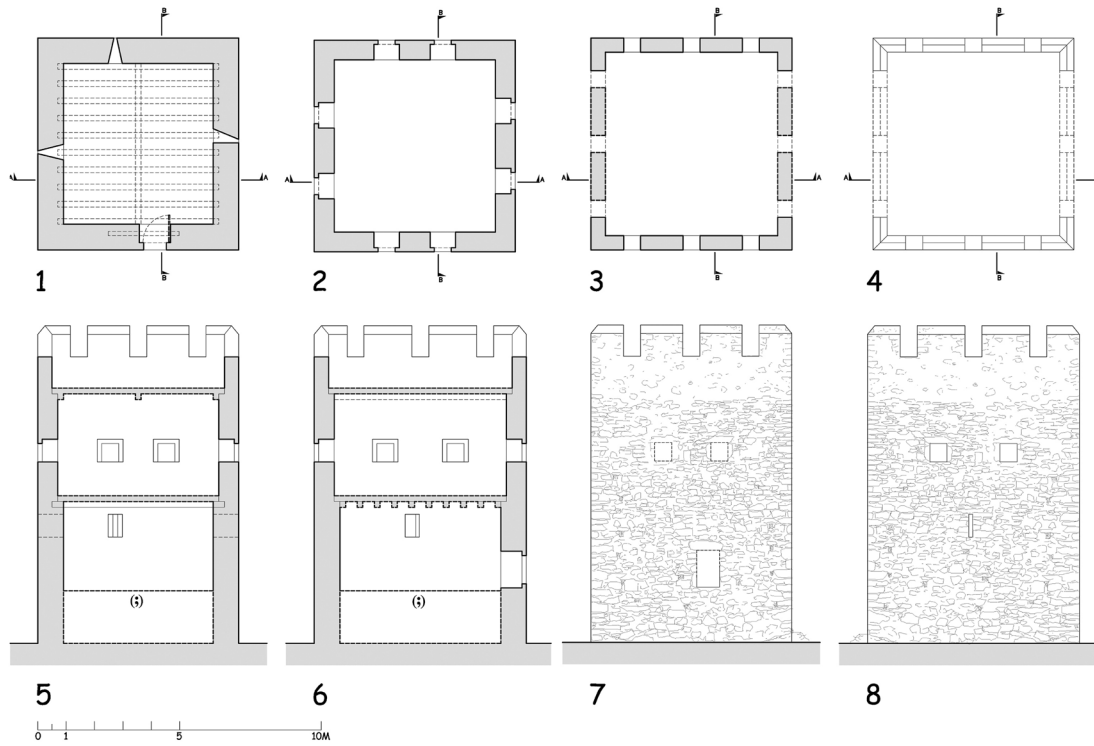


Figure 11: Rizokastro, castle. Tower, reconstruction: 1) plan 1, 2) plan 2, 3) plan 3, 4) plan 4, 5) section AA, 6) section BB, 7) east elevation, 8) north elevation.

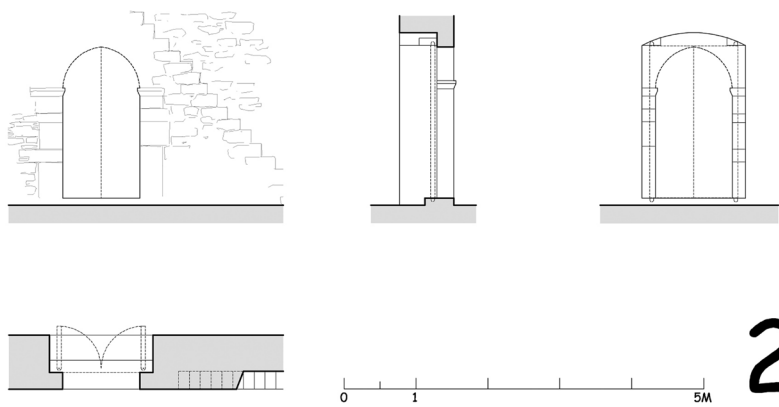
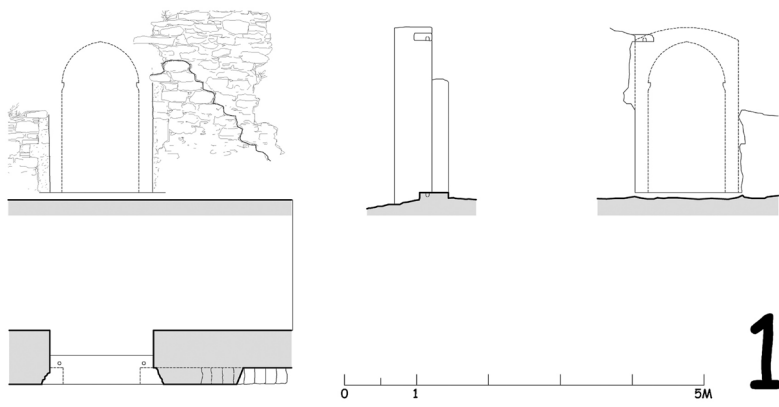


Figure 12:
Rizokastro, castle.
The door of the great hall.
1) Survey (February 2011),
2) Reconstruction.

The medieval towers of Euboea: Their dimension as domestic and landscape phenomena

Chrystalla LOIZOU

Περίληψη

Οι μεσαιωνικοί πύργοι αποτελούν κυρίαρχο διαχρονικό στοιχείο του τοπίου της Εύβοιας. Η πυκνότητα κατανομής τους είναι αξιοσημείωτη σε περιοχές με γόνιμη καλλιεργήσιμη γη.¹ Η σημασία τους δεν έγκειται μόνο στον αριθμό τους αλλά και στο γεγονός ότι η κατασκευή τους θυμίζει την πρακτική του encastellation ή *incastellamento* της Δυτικής Ευρώπης. Οι πύργοι αποτέλεσαν το ορόσημο του δυτικού φεουδαρχικού συστήματος, το οποίο οι Λατίνοι εισήγαγαν στην Εύβοια ή στο Βασίλειο του Νεγρεπόντε μετά την κατάκτηση του νησιού το 1205 από τον Βονιφάτιο τον Μονφερατικό. Στο παρόν άρθρο υποστηρίζεται ότι οι πύργοι αποτελούσαν το διοικητικό κέντρο μίας φεουδαρχικής ιδιοκτησίας και συμβόλιζαν την συγκέντρωση των νομοθετικών, των δικαστικών και των εκτελεστικών αρμοδιοτήτων της περιοχής στο πρόσωπο του φεουδάρχη. Τελευταίο αλλά όχι λιγότερο σημαντικό είναι το ότι οι πύργοι χρησιμοποιούνταν ως μόνιμη ή εποχιακή οικία του φεουδάρχη με δύο έως τρεις διαφορετικούς ορόφους για τη στέγαση των καθημερινών οικιακών και κοινωνικών δραστηριοτήτων των ενοίκων.

Introduction

Since antiquity, many diverse civilizations have developed in Euboea, owing to the advantageous and strategic location of the island in the Aegean Sea. The conquest of Constantinople by the Latins of the Fourth Crusade, and the subsequent distribution of the Byzantine territories amongst the winners, meant that the island remained under Latin domination for a long period of time, from as early as AD 1204. In the spring of 1205, Euboea was captured by Boniface of Montferrat, Latin king of Thessaloniki, who divided the island into three fiefs, the so-called ‘triarchies’. Each fief consisted of one-third of the island, which was granted to a Veronese baron, the so-called ‘triarch’. The seat of administration of the northern part of Euboea was located at Oreoi, the central part at Chalkis and the southern part at Karystos. Nevertheless, Chalkis or Negroponte² also served as the capital city of the whole island.³

1. This paper is based on my Master’s thesis which was undertaken in the Interdepartmental Postgraduate Programme in Byzantine Studies at the University of Cyprus. I am grateful to Assistant Professor Athansios K. Vionis, my tutor for this thesis, who supervised my research and shared his invaluable experience and knowledge regarding methodological approaches to the study of Byzantine rural landscape, the built environment and the use of domestic space.

2. The island of Euboea and the city of Chalkis were called ‘Negroponte’ by the Latins. This term is a corruption of the word ‘Evrivos’—pronounced ‘Egripos’, which eventually became ‘Negripo’ by a false separation in the expression ἐς τὸν Ἐγριπον. The version ‘Negroponte’ is also mentioned at the bridge of Chalkis linking the island with central Greece. Bury 1886, 313; Koder 1973, 63-64.

3. Bury 1886, 312-314; Jacoby 1971, 185; 2003, 132.

During the following period, Euboea experienced a period of demographic prosperity. Its crucial location in the middle of trade routes in the Aegean rendered the island one of the principal trading ports for Venetian ships. In 1261, Chalkis also enjoyed privileged treatment as seat of the expelled titular Latin Patriarch of Constantinople. Until the 14th century, Venice had been able to extend, through purchases and conquests of fortresses, its direct domination over a large part of the island. Furthermore, Venice took advantage of the internal disputes among the triarchies, annexed the island to her authority, and ensured the promise of servitude and the payment of annual contributions by the local population. Nevertheless, the Latin occupation of the island ended with the conquest of Chalkis by the Ottoman Turks in 1470 and subsequently with the first Venetian-Turkish War in 1479.⁴

During the period of Latin occupation, the rulers of Euboea established the Western feudal system—as they were accustomed to in their respective countries of origin—in order to organize the exploitation of the extensive rural landscape of the island. They divided the countryside of Euboea into a number of fiefs, which were given out to Latin nobles for agriculture and economic exploitation. This new administrative system was supported by the remaining Greek *archontes* (the local elite), who penetrated gradually into the feudal Latin network and had a vested interest in the continuity of the agrarian economy.⁵ The Latin rulers also imported and materialized a fundamental part of the Western feudal system—the idea of the feudal tower. This is attested by the remains of 55 single isolated towers in the countryside of Euboea (Fig. 1), dated to the period of Latin rule (1205-1470).⁶

Most of the towers were built in areas with extensive fertile agricultural land. With that in mind, this paper will focus on examining the medieval towers of Euboea in the context of the imported Western political and economic system. My aim is to describe and discuss the number of distinct architectural components in surviving towers with reference to their function as residences. Furthermore, the geographical distribution of the towers in the landscape will also be explored, in order to recognize the spatial relationship between the tower and the available surrounding land. On the basis of the towers' integration in the landscape, I will investigate whether they were a fundamental component of the feudal system, as symbols of the feudal status of their owners, and served a more administrative and storage purpose rather than a military function. Finally, one also needs to consider whether this large-scale construction of towers in the Euboean countryside is actually reminiscent of the Western European practice of encastellation or *incastellamento*.

The feudal tower in Western Europe and in the Crusader states

Towers were amongst the most visible features of the medieval landscape in the West, especially in areas where changes were marked by the transition to feudalism. As of the 10th century, feudalism was established and expanded in Western Europe. Its basic principle was the control and economic exploitation of the land by local aristocracy, which subsequently granted privileges and distributed the parcels of land to peasants in exchange for their services. Different versions of this infrastructure have been identified throughout Europe. However, the fundamental concepts of feudalism remain essentially the same. The feudal society was based on the control of the land, as specific territories (the fiefs) were connected with the specific rights of the lord and the specific duties of the peasants towards the lord. Thus,

4. Bury 1886, 309-352; 1887, 194-213; 1888, 91-117; Koder 1973, 43-62; Lock 1995, 150-151.

5. Jacoby 2001, 198-200; 2003, 134-137; Lock 1995, 284-290; Longnon 1969, 252.

6. For an overview on research of the medieval towers of Euboea, see Koder 1973; Koder and Hild 1976; Triantaphyllopoulos 1974; Skouras 2003. In 1996, Peter Lock published an article, 'The towers of Euboea: Lombard or Venetian, agrarian or strategic'. In this article, Lock recorded the locations of the surviving medieval towers of Euboea and the significant internal and external architectural features.

the relationship between lord and peasants developed within the bounded space of the fief, dictating the necessity for a firm local power centre, whence the lords would rule over their domain region.⁷

These power centres in the landscape of the feudal kingdoms of Normandy and England were the nucleated settlements, fortified by feudal lords. This process—the so-called ‘encastellation’—took place in mainland Europe between the 10th and the 13th centuries.⁸ The most common type of such fortified settlements was the motte-and-bailey castle—a fortification with a wooden tower built on an artificial mound (the so-called ‘motte’) accompanied by an enclosed courtyard (bailey) and surrounded by a ditch and a wooden palisade. After the late 11th century, the wooden tower was replaced by a stone one, providing long-term security to their owners.⁹

At the end of the 11th century, a similar process, *incastellamento*, took place in the Italian peninsula. The fortified nucleated settlements were transformed into the *castelli*. In order to serve both as a defensive site and a residential area, the powerful local lords integrated a tower into the *castelli*. These settlements were usually located on hilltops and consisted of two distinctive parts. The first part, the summit of the hill, served as the residential area for the feudal lord and there was a small castle, a *rocca*, which was fortified and consisted of several buildings, such as a ‘palace’ (reception room), and usually a tower. The second part, the *burgus*, served as the residential area for the peasants; they often built their houses against the curtain wall.¹⁰

In Normandy, England and the Italian Peninsula, the stone tower served multiple purposes: as administrative centre of the fief, as the symbol of feudal authority, and as a symbol of the lord’s status (achieved by signifying his legislative, juridical and financial rule over the fief).¹¹ It also served as a self-contained residence for the wealthy lord and his family, where the social and daily life of the occupants was accommodated over several floors.¹² This tower-house included a hall and a number of ‘private’ chambers. More specifically, the ground floor served as the storage room whereas the upper floors were the main living quarters, with a reception room, kitchen and sleeping areas. Other special features, such as a latrine, a fireplace and windows for natural light were to be found on different floors, facilitating the essential daily activities of the residents. However, such a tower-house was not intended to withstand a siege; rather, it served purely defensive purposes. Built features such as crenulated battlements, machicolation and slit windows on the lower levels protected the owners in case of a minor attack.¹³

The feudal system and, as a result, the tower itself, was introduced by the Crusaders in the Levant and Greece as a means to more effectively control the conquered countryside. The local population, who had a different political organization and social structures, could be managed alongside the conquerors. More specifically, the Franks established themselves in the rural territories in the Levant, and constructed walled complexes in the centre of villages or on a prominent hill above them. The focal point of these building complexes¹⁴ was the hall house¹⁵ or the tower,¹⁶ sometimes both, and these were used as the feudal lord’s principal residence.¹⁷ On the contrary, the countryside in central Greece was

7. For an overview on feudalism, see Bloch 1989; Ganshof 1996; Hansson 2009, 437-438; Nicholas 2000; Poly and Bournazel 1991; Reynolds 1996.

8. Bartlett 1993, 65-70.

9. Grossman 2005, 56-57; De Vries and Smith 1992, 202, 209-211.

10. Francovich and Hodges 2003, 99-102.

11. Duby 1991, 57-59.

12. Three, four or five floors connected by winding stairs.

13. O’Sullivan and Downey 2009, 34-35; Sherlock 2010, 118; De Vries and Smith 1992, 220-222.

14. According to the ground-plan, there were two types of farm complexes: (1) courtyard-attached farmhouses, and (2) courtyard buildings. In both types, a number of vaulted structures served as storage, stabling and shelters.

15. A large elongated structure with a ground floor and upper floor which were simply vaulted; Pringle 1997, 11-13.

16. A square or nearly square structure with a ground floor and upper floor, usually barrel vaulted or groin vaulted; Pringle 1997, 6-7.

17. Boas 1999, 68-74; Ellenblum 2003.

divided into several fiefs, which were usually distributed among a large number of minor lords. The ruling centres of those fiefs were usually tall towers constructed either within an already existing village or in close proximity to it. The tower functioned both as a residence of the lord himself (or possibly of his bailiff and some men at arms), as well as an administration and storage centre of the fief.¹⁸

In addition, towers were also constructed in northern Greece, in the wider fertile agricultural region of Macedonia, and date to between the 14th and 16th centuries.¹⁹ An analysis of the tower's architectural features reveals the domestic dimension of these buildings, which provided a relatively safe residential place for prolonged periods of time.²⁰ Towers may have been located as part of a fortified complex or within existing nucleated settlements and founded by monks, high officials, soldiers, members of the military aristocracy and local feudal lords, who possibly resided in them. They also functioned as landmarks, symbolizing the status and privilege of owners, and as observation posts which served to protect monastic and private estates.

The case of Euboea: The tower as a residential structure

The towers of Euboea were free-standing constructions. They were not attached to other buildings of any kind, such as defensive walls or other structures. They were tall and massive rectangular buildings with an average height of between 15 and 18 m. These towers were built with local and reused stones and mortar (a mixture of mortar and crushed ceramics).²¹ This construction method resulted in the towers' organic integration into the surrounding physical landscape. It also created the illusion that they were strong and compact buildings. However, the thickness of the walls indicates that such towers were able to withstand only minor attacks (Fig. 2).

The feudal classes of Euboea may have chosen to build such structures because of the ideological association of this particular architectural form with the imported Western feudal system. As mentioned above, the tower was identified as a symbol of the feudal lord's power in Western Europe as early as the 10th century. It comprised a landmark of the fief and signified the legislative, judicial and executive powers of the lord.²² A second construction incentive was probably an attempt by the Latin aristocracy to differentiate themselves from the local population and preserve their self-identity by projecting social and cultural superiority.²³ A third incentive was the erection of a multi-level building that would offer enough space to accommodate daily household activities, similar to residential towers in the West.²⁴

The tower structure was divided into three major parts: the lower part, i.e. the ground floor; the middle part consisting of two or three floors; and the upper part, formed by a platform with crenellation. The two or three storeys of the tower's middle part provided sufficient space for accommodating the residents' daily activities. According to Peter Lock, the towers of central Greece, Attica and Euboea fall into two categories: (1) 'Type A' towers, which have three floors above ground level; and (2) 'Type B' towers, which have two floors above ground level.²⁵

In Euboea, 'Type A' towers, such as those in Phylla, Gymno and Triada, had their entrance on the second floor whereas 'Type B' towers, such as those in Basiliko, Belousia, Tracheli (Fig. 3) and Politika,

18. Bintliff 1996, 5-6; Jacoby 1989; Langdon 1995, 475-503; Lee 2003, 91-104; Lock 1986, 101-123; 1989, 129-145.

19. Bogdanović 2012; Ćurčić and Hadjistryphonos 1997.

20. Existence of a latrine, cistern, fireplace and storage area.

21. Lock 1986, 104.

22. Duby 1991, 57-59.

23. Hansson 2009, 442.

24. O'Sullivan and Downey 2009, 34-35; De Vries and Smith 1992, 218-222.

25. Lock 1986, 105.

had their entrance on the first floor.²⁶ Thus, during the initial phase of the towers, the location of the entrance approximately 4-5 m above ground meant it was not easy to access the tower.²⁷ This position is justified by security reasons, but it was not very practical for the storage of goods. In contrast to the Crusader states in the Levant, mainland Greece was not extensively settled by Frankish colonists and, thus, it is probable that the feudal aristocracy intended to create an illusion of impregnability.²⁸ Access to the tower was provided by a fixed wooden staircase or a portable ladder. As suggested from the cobbled area extending beneath the entrance of the towers, such as at Basiliko, Politika and Kadi, there must have been a small platform supporting a permanent or portable staircase, which facilitated access into the towers.²⁹

The floor on which the main entrance was located constituted the reception room, where the feudal lord or his representative received guests and vassals in order to convene, deliberate and adjudicate the disputes of the region.³⁰ This floor was a multi-purpose area, and it could have been used both as a dining hall and as a kitchen (perhaps indicated by the presence of a fireplace).³¹ It is noteworthy that 'Type A' towers had an additional storey, the first floor, where dining and cooking activities could be accommodated.³² Nevertheless, irrespective of the tower's typological classification, all the unnecessary household items were removed during the night and were probably stored in chests, in order to provide extra floor space for sleeping.³³

The second (or the third floor, depending on the type of tower) served as the 'private' chamber of the feudal lord and his family. These chambers were located on the uppermost levels of the tower. A ladder between the first and second storey (or between the second and third storey) demarcated public and private space.³⁴ The architectural structure of this floor indicates the co-existence and combination of various household activities. More specifically, it must have been on this floor that the residents could prepare their daily meals³⁵ and dine. There was also a latrine which served the personal hygiene needs of the residents.³⁶ The latrine was probably a small timber or stone construction with a hole in the centre extending to the outer wall of the tower. During an attack, the hole could also have been used as a machicolation, allowing the defenders to throw stones and hot oil or water on the attackers.³⁷ During the night, this storey could also have been used as a dormitory.

A common feature of tower-houses in Western Europe was the integration of a minor chapel into the private chambers of the lord; this chapel served as a private place of worship.³⁸ Similar arrangements have also been identified in towers in the Levant.³⁹ As to the medieval towers in Greece, the sole example of such a worship area is the oratory in the tower of Basiliko. More specifically, there is a recess on the eastern wall of the third floor, with a fresco depicting the Virgin with Christ surrounded by angels, with a small oil lamp suspended by an extant metal rivet on the wooden lintel above the niche.⁴⁰

26. Lock 1996, 113-117.

27. As the architectural remains of the towers suggest, entrances at ground level belong to a later phase, and date to the post-medieval period. They were likely constructed by shepherds.

28. Boas 1999, 62; Jacoby 1989, 211-221.

29. Lock 1986, 105.

30. There are examples of Western medieval towers, where an internal staircase provided access to the 'hall', in which the owners received their guests and probably dined. Dixon 1992, 93.

31. Provided that there was a fireplace in the tower of Tracheli.

32. Such as the towers in Triada, Phylla and Gymno.

33. Oikonomides 1990, 209-210.

34. Sherlock 2010, 135-137.

35. Provided that there was a fireplace, as in the towers in Basiliko and Belousia.

36. Towers of Basiliko, Politika, Tracheli and Phylla.

37. Coulson 2003, 319-320; Sherlock 2010, 137-135.

38. De Vries and Smith 1992, 221.

39. Boas 2006, 150-153.

40. It should be noted that the tower at Basiliko in Euboea is now open to visitors, following the restoration works

The ground floor was used as the tower's main storage area, where part of the local agricultural production was stored for trade and future consumption. As already mentioned above, there was no entrance to this level through the ground floor. The ground floor was accessed via an internal wooden staircase or ladder through the first floor. Furthermore, the lack of cisterns in the surviving examples of medieval towers suggests that they could not have been used as places of refuge. However, the ground floor⁴¹ may have been divided into two separate levels via the insertion of a wooden floor, providing extra storage space, as well as niches set into the walls, wooden shelves and storage pits, as recorded in the towers of Attica and Boeotia.⁴²

The top level, the third and highest part of the tower, was crowned by crenellation. This is a common feature of the towers of Euboea. This construction created an illusion of military strength and symbolized the feudal lord's authority. Behind this crenellation, which had a bifurcate end—the so-called 'swallowtail'—there was a wall-walk where residents or the tower guards would have had a panoramic view over the surrounding territory.⁴³

The top level of the tower was barrel vaulted and had a square opening that provided access to the crenellation.⁴⁴ It is noteworthy that, in the towers in Avlonari, Skouderi, Steni and Phiges, the roof of the ground floor was also barrel vaulted, with a different axis from the top vault providing lateral stability to the structure.⁴⁵ In general, the floors were made of timber and were supported by projections on the surrounding walls. Access between the various floors was provided by a fixed or removable wooden staircase, the lower part of which lay on the lower floor, and the upper part of which was fixed to a square opening at the corner of the floor above it.⁴⁶

As the architectural remains of the towers suggest, the levels above the ground floor were not divided into separate areas by partition walls, as was the case with some towers in Attica⁴⁷ and the Levant.⁴⁸ On the contrary, it appears that every room comprised a single multi-functional unit. However, there is the possibility that some of the destroyed towers might have had such dividing walls. Moreover, the internal facade of the walls was not covered with plaster or any kind of decoration, such as figural paintings or plasterwork, which was a common practice in the towers of the West and the Levant.⁴⁹ Given the Western practices, it is more likely that the residents covered the walls with tapestry or pieces of cloth in order to keep the tower's internal areas warm during the cold winter months.⁵⁰

Lighting and the ventilation in rooms were provided by small openings on the walls (Fig. 4). Loop-holes, in the form of narrow slits, were located on the first floor.⁵¹ This practice indicates that the residents of the towers wanted to 'hide' behind the towers' solid surfaces from the prying eyes of the local population, obviously for reasons of security. Small windows were opened on the second and third floors only, probably because of the floors' safe distance from ground level. These were rectangular openings, which were frequently framed with different types of arches on the top; wooden shutters and iron bars were integrated into the openings in order to protect those inside from intruders. These open-

carried out by the 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities. It also houses an audiovisual exhibition that provides information about the feudal towers of Western Europe, which seem to have served as a model for those in Euboea.

41. The partial collapse of the towers and the occasional use by shepherds of the remaining available space on the ground floor as animal pens meant that accessing the interior of some of the towers for recording purposes was impossible.

42. Langdon 1995, 480-490; Lee 2003, 96-97; Lock 1986, 104, 106, 113-116; 1989, 138.

43. Lee 2003, 95; Lock 1986, 106.

44. Lock 1986, 105.

45. Lazaridis 1967, 296; Lock 1986, 105-106; 1996, 114.

46. Lock 1986, 106.

47. For example, the towers of Ninoi and Varnava; Lee 2003, 96-97.

48. For example, Al-Burj al Ahmar and Khirbat Madd ad-Dair; Pringle 1986, 37-38.

49. Evidence for internal plasterwork is found only in the Beza Pirgos. Lock 1996, 112-113.

50. Boas 2010, 66; Lee 2003, 94.

51. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the tower of Haliartos in Boeotia had loopholes on the ground floor. Lock 1986, 113.

ings provided sufficient light for the residents' daily activities. Furthermore, a small number of gaps, which were created after the removal of the scaffolding, were not sealed, thus providing an additional means of ventilation and limiting the degree of humidity at the same time.⁵²

Situating the tower within its broader landscape

Despite their relevant simplicity in terms of construction, the towers were embedded within and dominated over the landscape of Euboea. Most of them were located in the fertile regions of the island, close to places of no particular strategic importance, and away from the main road network. As a consequence, the location of towers does not reflect or otherwise indicate the construction plan of a central state authority or a military invasion early warning network.⁵³

The island of Euboea has a particular terrain, with plains and steep mountain ranges, low hills and rocky mountain slopes steeply descending into the sea. Thus, considering Euboea's terrain, the island can be divided into three distinct parts: (1) northern, (2) central, and (3) southern Euboea. It is noteworthy that these parts greatly overlap with the three-part division of the island suggested by Boniface of Montferrat, thus indicating the important role of geography in his arrangement.⁵⁴ Central Euboea is distinguished by the remarkable density of towers; this may be explained by the existence of extensive fertile plains, valleys and rolling hills, which were ideal for agricultural exploitation. Similar terrain characteristics can be found in the northern part of the island, but the number of the towers in that part is significantly lower. On the contrary, the rocky landscape of the southern part prevented the widespread practice of tower-building.⁵⁵

The site for the construction of a tower was selected accordingly, in order to ensure the uninterrupted supply of basic goods such as water, timber, building materials and fertile land.⁵⁶ Another very important factor for the selection of a tower's location was extensive visibility over the territory of a fief. The reason that the tower usually occupied the highest point of a region was to take advantage of the respective area's terrain (Fig. 5). This practice ensured better visibility and, at the same time, indicated social and economic status, similar to the case of the feudal towers in the West.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, several towers had probably been assigned the symbolic role as boundary points of the fiefs, as they were even located on plains or on inaccessible mountainous or natural defensive sites.

As has been confirmed by a reference in the Registers of the Venetian Senate, the construction of a tower within a fief could be undertaken by private initiative. Two characteristic examples may be noted. According to the first, dated September 1420, the Greek nobleman Marcolino Agapito⁵⁸ maintained that he was the owner of the tower located in the fief of the Lilanto region, which was leased from the Venetian Commune.⁵⁹ According to the second reference, dated to February 1361, the tower of Guglielmo Sanudo was given to the Venetians as security for the financial support granted by the latter for necessary repairs to the tower, which was used for the storage of the local production and was to be returned to Guglielmo Sanudo after the repayment of Venetian financial aid.⁶⁰

52. Boas 2010, 58-60; Lock 1986, 104.

53. Lock 1996, 110.

54. Bury 1886, 312-314; Jacoby 1971, 185; 2003, 132.

55. Koder and Hild 1976, 156-158; Lock 1996, 111-118.

56. Lock 1986, 108.

57. Duby 1991, 57-59; De Vries and Smith 1992, 218-219.

58. As suggested by his Greek surname, the local Greek *archontes* had been integrated into the feudal class, which held the fiefs. Jacoby 1971, 204.

59. Jacoby 2003, 136; Koder and Hild 1976, 202-203; Sathas 1882, 216, n. 776.

60. Lock 1996, 108; Thiriet 1958, 97, n. 371.

Furthermore, the limited visibility between towers, as well as between the towers and the other fortifications of the island, does not suggest that they were used as internal parts of an organized defence system. The fact that the towers had no real military function is probably the main reason the Venetians limited the issuing of licenses and loans. However, visibility between towers in some areas came as a result of the division of a larger area into a significant number of fiefs. The distance of less than 250 m between two towers⁶¹ may be explained either by the descendants' practice of building houses close to their parents' residence⁶² or by the passing of ownership of the towers on the basis of intra-family inheritance.⁶³

The majority of the medieval towers on Euboea appear to have constituted the administrative centre of the fief, serving as fixed control points of the assigned farmland, the settlements and the population living within its boundaries.⁶⁴ This 'colonization'-like process and the economic exploitation of the territories after the Latin dominion may very well reflect the transplantation of the Western encastellation or *incastellamento* practices. As in Normandy, England and in the Italian peninsula, the towers of Euboea were dispersed throughout the countryside and served as economic centres and symbols of feudal power.

It must be noted that the towers which were erected close to coastal areas, such as the tower in Nesiotissa, Kurnos and Moni Sotiros,⁶⁵ had probably been assigned the role of 'watchtowers' over the Gulf of Euboea and the ships sailing across the Aegean. In the case of the coastal tower of Aliveri-Matsoukela, which was built in the ancient harbour of Aliveri, its function should be viewed in the context of the site's location.⁶⁶ This tower was probably a customs house that also provided a sort of protection, as did the coast tower of Livadostra in Boeotia.⁶⁷ This suggestion is given extra weight by the fact that the entrance to the tower is located on the second floor, contrary to the 'type' of the tower.⁶⁸ Thus, the ordinary use of the tower's areas changed, with the reception room 'moving' to the second floor, while the distinct private chamber was abolished.

Generally, the towers constituted the central point of a fief, dominating their surrounding agricultural land and their dependent settlements. In the Crusader states of the Levant, towers were constructed as part of fortified complexes in the centre of villages or on a hill above it. In central Greece, towers were constructed within existing nucleated settlement or at a short distance from them. However, the identification of such settlements in the landscape of Euboea is a rather difficult task, considering the establishment of modern settlements, the limited archaeological excavations or field survey projects, and, last but not least, vegetation and ground visibility at the respective sites.

The surviving Ottoman fiscal records of 1474 offer relevant evidence with regard to the settlements of Euboea. Tax censuses record 124 settlements and their households four years after the Ottoman conquest, thus indirectly providing information related to the last decades of Venetian rule. According to this textual source, it seems that villages such as Basiliko, Phylla, Avlonari, Tracheli, Tharrounia, Koili, Kipoi, Kadi, Gymno, Achladeri, Bounoi, Kathenoi, Triada, Kastela, Politika, Beza (Daphnousa), Pharakla and Rovies existed even before the Ottoman conquest.⁶⁹ The settlements of Avlonari, Politika, Pissonas, Rovies, Triada and Phylla existed since the Middle Byzantine period, whereas the settlements

61. As happened between the towers of Phylla, Skounderi and Koili.

62. A practice followed until the early 20th century. Sigalos 2004, 65-66; Vionis 2006, 787.

63. Lock 1996, 107, 115, 117.

64. Lock 1996, 110-111.

65. Lock 1996, 111, 118; Triantaphyllopoulos 1974, 237, 239.

66. Koder 1973, 104, 164; Koder and Hild 1976, 120-121; Lock 1996, 117.

67. Lock 1986, 108-109.

68. The tower of Aliveri-Matsoukela belongs to 'Type B' and should have the entrance on the first floor.

69. Balta 1989, 121-127, table 1.

of Basiliko, Bounoi, Tharrounia and Kipoi were established after the erection of the towers.⁷⁰ In the case of Marcolino Agapito, the tower that he claimed to own was located in the middle of the village (*turris in medio dicti casalis*)⁷¹ and, according to Johannes Koder, this village is Basiliko.⁷²

If we accept the view that during the Byzantine period an average household consisted of four individuals, then a family would need 3.5 ha of farmland in order to survive.⁷³ It is thus possible to estimate the average population of each settlement in relation to the location of the associated tower. To test this hypothesis, 18 sites⁷⁴ were selected. The selection criteria were threefold: (1) the concentration of a significant number of towers in the region, (2) the surrounding agricultural land, and (3) the fief's boundaries as they can be identified on the basis of the territory's relief. The approximate results indicate that the average size of a fief was 175 ha. In that case, the number of households needed for the agricultural exploitation of the area would be 50—in other words, 200 individuals. Taking into account the total number of towers in the countryside of Euboea, then, the estimated population living in rural areas of the island would be approximately 11,000 people. David Jacoby, based on the size of the urban space of Negroponte, assumed that the city's population ranged from 12,600 to 14,500 people.⁷⁵ Consequently, it appears that almost half of the island's population was living in the countryside, whereas the rest lived in the city of Negroponte.

Conclusion

The countryside of Euboea was dominated by a large number of towers, which were constructed between the 13th and 15th centuries. This is a phenomenon similar to the Western European practice of encastellation or *incastellamento*. These striking landmarks, stemming from the Western feudal system, formed free-standing structures. The towers served as residences for the local feudal lord and functioned as administrative and agricultural centres of the fief. The tower also symbolized the social and economic standing of its owners in the feudal hierarchy, and marked his rule over the fief's territory.

A closer examination of the tower's architectural features reveals that the ground floor served as storage space for local agrarian production, while the other floors were used as a permanent or temporary residence for the owner and his family. In addition to this, the total floor space available, and the existence of latrines and fireplaces, rendered the tower a comfortable residential area. This latter point, together with the lack of military architectural features such as a cistern and thick walls, indicates that the towers of Euboea were primarily used as residential structures rather than military constructions.

As a final note, I would like to put forward some suggestions for further research concerning the medieval towers of Euboea. It is absolutely necessary to carry out targeted excavations in order to uncover remaining structures and associated small finds, while systematic field surveys around these towers would contribute to our understanding of the relationship between the structures and their surrounding territories. Furthermore, research on archival sources and other historical documents will provide us with information about the organization of feudal possession, the commercial networks and also important insights into the relationship between the local peasants and the feudal lords.

70. Triantaphyllopoulos 1992, 67-68.

71. Sathas 1882, 216, n. 776.

72. Koder 1973, 102; Triantaphyllopoulos 1974, 231.

73. Laiou 1977, 225-266.

74. The selected sites are Basilika, Mandanika (Daphne), Pharakla, Tsouka, Avlonari, Tharrounia, Gides, Bounoi, Triada, Koili, Pissonas, Basiliko, Politika, Kamaritsa, Phiges, Dystos, Styra and Zarka. The size (in hectares) of each site was calculated using Google Earth and the application of Google Maps Area Calculator.

75. Jacoby 2003, 167-171.

Bibliography

- Balta, E. (1989) *L' Eubée à la Fin du XVe Siècle Économie et Population: Les Registres de l' Année 1474*. Athens: Society of Euboean Studies.
- Bartlett, R. (1993) *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Civilization and Cultural Change 950-1350*. London: Penguin Books.
- Bintliff, J. L. (1996) 'Frankish Countryside in Central Greece: The Evidence from the Archaeological Field Survey'. In *Archaeology of Medieval Greece*, edited by P. Lock and G. D. R. Sanders, 1-18. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Bloch, M. (1989) *Feudal Society* [trans. L. A. Manyon]. London; New York: Routledge.
- Boas, A. J. (1999) *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East*. London: Routledge.
- Boas, A. J. (2006) *Archaeology of the Military Orders: A Survey of the Urban Centres, Rural Settlements and Castles of the Military Orders in the Latin East (c. 1120-1291)*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Boas, A. J. (2010) *Domestic Settings: Sources on Domestic Architecture and Day-to-Day Activities in the Crusader States*. Leiden: Brill.
- Bogdanović, J. (2012) 'Life in a Late Byzantine Tower: Examples from Northern Greece'. In *Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and its Decoration: Studies in Honor of Slobodan Ćurčić*, edited by M. J. Johnson, R. Outterhout and A. Papalexandrou, 187-202. Surrey; Burlington: Ashgate.
- Bury, J. B. (1886) 'The Lombards and Venetians in Euboea (1205-1303)'. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 7, 309-352.
- Bury, J. B. (1887) 'The Lombards and Venetians in Euboea (1303-1340)'. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 8, 194-213.
- Bury, J. B. (1888) 'The Lombards and Venetians in Euboea (1340-1470)'. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 9, 91-117.
- Coulson, C. (2003) *Castles in Medieval Society. Fortresses in England, France and Ireland in the Central Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ćurčić, S. and E. Hadjistryphonos (1997) *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans 1300-1500 and its Preservation*. Thessaloniki: AIMOS.
- De Vries, K. and R. D. Smith (1992) *Medieval Military Technology*. Ontario: Broadview.
- Dixon, P. (1992) 'From Hall to Tower: The Change in Seigneurial Houses in the Anglo-Scottish Border after c.1250'. In Vol. IV of *Thirteenth Century England: Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference 1991*, edited by P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd, 85-107. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.
- Duby, G. (1991) *France in the Middle Ages 987-1460: From Hugh Capet to Joan of Arc*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ellenblum, R. (2003) *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Francovich, R. and R. Hodges (2003) *Villa to Village: The Transformation of the Roman Countryside in Italy c. 400-1000*. London: Duckworth.
- Ganshof, F. L. (1996) *Feudalism*. Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press in association with the Medieval Academy of America.
- Grossman, G. U. (2005) *Castelli Medievali d'Europa*. Milano: Jaca Book.
- Hansson, M. (2009) 'The Medieval Aristocracy and the Social Use of Space'. In *Reflections: 50 Years of Medieval Archaeology 1957-2007*, edited by R. Gilchrist and A. Reynolds, 435-452. London: Maney.
- Jacoby, D. (1971) *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale. Les 'Assises de Romanie': Sources, application et diffusion*. Paris: Mouton.
- Jacoby, D. (1989) 'Social Evolution in Latin Greece'. In Vol. VI of *A History of the Crusades: The Impact of the Crusades in Europe*, edited by K. M. Setton, 175-221. Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Jacoby, D. (2001) 'Changing Economic Patterns in Latin Romania: the Impact of the West'. In *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, edited by A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh, 197-233. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.
- Jacoby, D. (2003) 'The Demographic Evolution of Euboea under Latin Rule, 1205-1470'. In *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, edited by J. Herrin, C. Dendrinos, E. Harvalia-Cook and J. Harris, 131-179. London: Ashgate.
- Koder, J. (1973) *Negroponte: Untersuchungen zur Topographie und Siedlungsgeschichte der Insel Euboea während der Zeit der Venezianerherrschaft*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

- Koder, J. and F. Hild (1976) 'Hellas und Thessalia'. Vol. 1 of *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Laiou, A. E. (1977) *Peasant society in the late Byzantine Empire: a social and demographic study*. Princeton University Press.
- Langdon, M. K. (1995) 'The Mortared Towers of Central Greece: an Attic Supplement'. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 90, 475-503.
- Lazaridis, P. (1967) 'Βυζαντινά και Μεσαιωνικά Εύβοιας'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 20 Β' 1, 288.
- Lee, J. (2003) 'The Frankish tower in Attica: An examination of its feudal character and its relationship with the Attic landscape'. PhD thesis. Leiden University, The Netherlands.
- Lock, P. (1986) 'The Frankish Towers of Central Greece'. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 81, 101-123.
- Lock, P. (1989) 'The Medieval Towers of Greece: a Problem in Chronology and Function'. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4(1), 129-145.
- Lock, P. (1995) *The Franks in the Aegean 1204-1500*. London; New York: Longman.
- Lock, P. (1996) 'The Towers of Euboea: Lombard or Venetian, Agrarian or Strategic'. In *The Archaeology of Medieval*, edited by P. Lock and G. D. R. Sanders, 109-126. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Longnon, J. (1969) 'The Frankish states in Greece, 1204-1311'. In Vol. 2 of *A History of the Crusades: The Later Crusades, 1189-1311*, edited by K. M. Setton, 235-276. Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Nicholas, D. (2000) *Η Εξέλιξη του Μεσαιωνικού Κόσμου: Κοινωνία, Διακυβέρνηση και Σκέψη στην Ευρώπη, 312-1500* [trans. M. Tzantzi]. Athens: Morfotikon Idryma Ethnikis Trapezis.
- Oikonomides, N. (1990) 'The Contents of the Byzantine House from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Century'. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44, 205-214.
- O'Sullivan, M. and L. Downey (2009) 'Tower-Houses and Associated Farming Systems'. *Archaeology Ireland* 23(2), 34-37.
- Poly, J-P. and E. Bournazel (1991) *The Feudal Transformation: 900-1200* [trans. C. Higgitt]. New York: Holmes and Meier.
- Pringle, D. (1986) *The Red Tower (al-Burj al-Ahmar): Settlement in the Plain of Sharon at the Time of the Crusaders and Mamluks A.D. 1099-1516*. London: British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.
- Pringle, D. (1997) *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: An Archaeological Gazetteer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Reynolds, S. (1996) *Fiefs and Vassals: the Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted*. Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press.
- Sathas, K. N. (1882) *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Âge publiés sous les Auspices de la Chambre des Députés de Grèce*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Cie.
- Sherlock, R. (2010) 'The Evolution of the Irish Tower-House as a Domestic Space'. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 111C, 115-140.
- Sigalos, E. (2004) *Housing in Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Skouras, T. I. (2003) *Ακροπόλεις-Κάστρα Πύργοι της Εύβοιας και Αποδελτίωση 82 Μεσαιωνικών Χαρτών*. Chalkis: Prefecture of Euboea.
- Thiriet, F. (1958) Vol. 1 of *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*. Paris-La Haye: Mouton.
- Triantaphyllopoulos, D. D. (1974) 'Τοπογραφικά Προβλήματα της Μεσαιωνικής Εύβοιας'. *Αρχείο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* ΙΘ, 209-258.
- Triantaphyllopoulos, D. D. (1992) 'Αρχαιολογικά Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Εύβοιας'. *Αρχαιολογία* 42, 63-75.
- Vionis, A. K. (2006) 'The Archaeology of Ottoman Villages in Central Greece: Ceramics, Housing and Everyday Life in Post-Medieval Rural Boeotia'. In *Studies in Honor of Hayat Erkanal: Cultural Reflections*, edited by A. Erkanal-Öktü, E. Özgen, S. Günel, T. A. Ökse and H. Tekin, 784-800. Istanbul: Homer Kitabevi.

Figures

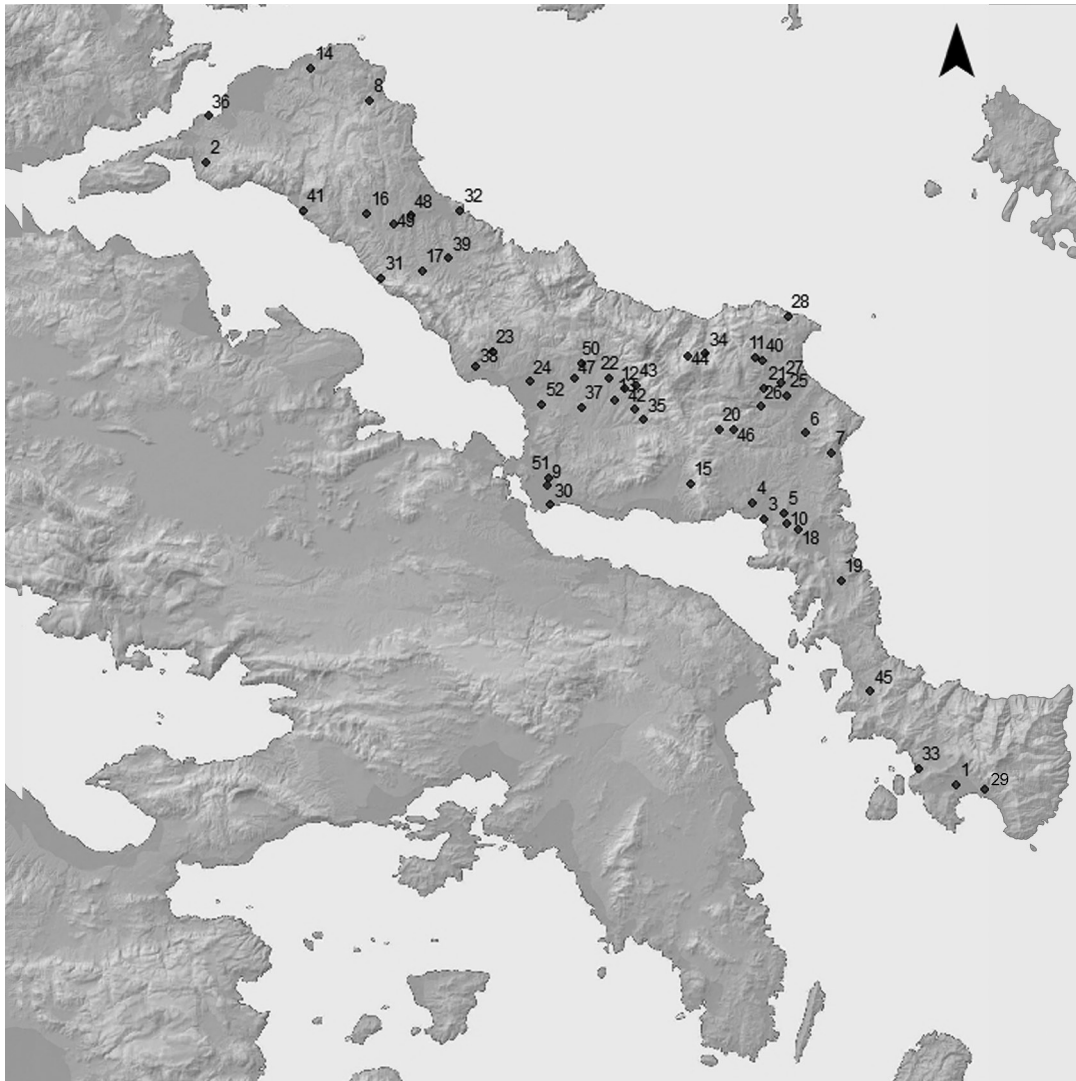


Figure 1: Distribution of Medieval towers in Euboea
(data source provided by Lock 1996, drawing by N. Kyriakou and author)

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| 1) Aetos-Bigla | 14) Gouves | 27) Kourounia | 40) Pirgos |
| 2) Ayia Paraskevi | 15) Gymno, | 28) Moni Sotiros | 41) Rovies |
| 3) Aliveri-Matsoukela | 16) Daphne | 29) Kurnos | 42) Skounderi |
| 4) Aliveri-Trochala | 17) Daphnousa-Beza | 30) Leukandi | 43) Steni |
| 5) Aliveri-Rizokastro | 18) Dystos | 31) Moni Galataki | 44) Stropones |
| 6) Avlonari | 19) Zarka | 32) Mantoudi | 45) Styra |
| 7) Achladeri | 20) Tharrounia | 33) Marmari | 46) Tracheli |
| 8) Basilika | 21) Kadi | 34) Metochi | 47) Triada, |
| 9) Basiliko | 22) Kathenoi | 35) Mistros | 48) Tsouka |
| 10) Belousia | 23) Kamaritsa | 36) Nessiotissa | 49) Pharakla |
| 11) Bitala | 24) Kastella | 37) Pissonas | 50) Phiges |
| 12) Bounoi | 25) Kipoi | 38) Politika, | 51) Phylla (2 towers) |
| 13) Gides | 26) Koili (2 towers) | 39) Prokopi | 52) Psachna (3 towers) |



Figure 2:
View of the tower at Basiliko, Euboea. South and east faces (by the author).



Figure 3:
View of the tower at Tracheli, Euboea. South and east faces (by the author).



Figure 4:
View of the south tower at Phylla, Euboea.
South face (by the author).



Figure 5: View of the towers at Phylla from the south (by the author).

Νέα στοιχεία για την αστική αρχιτεκτονική στη βενετσιάνικη Χαλκίδα. Το παράδειγμα του κτηρίου Βαΐλου

Γιώργος ΚΟΥΡΜΑΔΑΣ
Παναγιώτα ΤΑΞΙΑΡΧΗ

Abstract

The so-called 'House of the Bailo' at Chalkis is situated in the centre of the once-walled city, opposite the basilica of Agia Paraskevi, and is the only other extant building from medieval *Negroponte*. It remains to be seen whether this building was in any way connected to the presence of the Venetian *bailo*, the appointed head of the Venetian colony. The southern part of the building, as it stands today, corresponds to the original Venetian wing, whereas the remainder is an Ottoman extension. The Venetian part features an arched *loggia* on the ground floor, some remnants of a first-floor wooden construction and a complete set of wooden beams and corbels, which once supported either a second floor or a roof terrace. Ongoing restoration work has greatly increased our knowledge of the structure. It appears to be an amalgamation of local construction techniques, such as the wooden lacings reinforcing the masonry at five distinct levels, and imported Venetian design and craftsmanship, as evidenced by the pointed arches of the *loggia* and the form of the floors. These have been identified as 'Venetian Gothic floor' constructions, which feature prominently in 14th- and 15th-century Venetian examples, such as the *Palazzo Ducale*. Each of the Gothic floors was coffered underneath. The corbels that support the beams bear a resemblance to those employed in the roof of Agia Paraskevi, albeit smaller. The evaluation of further information stemming from archaeological research carried out within the framework of the restoration works, as well as dendrochronological data, is set to further enhance our fragmentary knowledge of the building.

Εισαγωγή

Ο βυζαντινός *Εύριπος*, δηλαδή η Χαλκίδα, αλλά και ολόκληρη η Εύβοια καταλαμβάνονται το 1204 από τους Φράγκους. Το *Negroponte*, όπως ονομάζεται πλέον η πόλη, αποτελεί μία από τις πρωτεύουσες των τριών τριτημορίων στα οποία χωρίζεται η Εύβοια και παραχωρείται σε Λομβαρδούς αριστοκράτες, υποτελείς στο Πριγκιπάτο της Αχαΐας.¹ Με την καίρια γεωγραφική θέση του στο κέντρο του Αιγαίου, συνιστά σταυροδρόμι χερσαίων και θαλάσσιων εμπορικών οδών, καθώς συνδέει τη Βενετία, την Κρήτη και τη νότια Ελλάδα με τη Μαύρη Θάλασσα και την Κωνσταντινούπολη.² Λίγο αργότερα η οχυρωμένη πόλη, το *Κάστρο*, χωρίζεται σε συνοικίες. Μεταξύ αυτών, η συνοικία των Λομ-

1. Koder 1973, 44-62.

2. Kontogiannis 2012, 35-36.

βαρδών τοποθετείται στην περιοχή του ναού της Αγίας Παρασκευής, ο οποίος ταυτίζεται με τον ναό των Δομηνικανών μοναχών.³ Στην πλατεία που διαμορφώνεται μεταξύ του ναού και της λεγόμενης οικίας Βαΐλου, τοποθετείται το διοικητικό, οικονομικό και θρησκευτικό κέντρο, το οποίο διέσχιζε ο κύριος οδικός άξονας της πόλης, η *Ruga Maistra*.⁴ Το 1256, μετά από διαμάχες, οι τριτημόριοι θέτουν εαυτούς υπό την κυριαρχία της Βενετίας. Στο εξής αναγνωρίζεται η ύπαρξη μιας ξεχωριστής ενετικής συνοικίας με κέντρο της την πλατεία του Αγίου Μάρκου όπου βρισκόταν ο ομώνυμος ναός, καθώς και εμπορικές εγκαταστάσεις (*fondaco*). Η θέση του ναού ταυτίζεται, από ορισμένους μελετητές,⁵ με τη θέση στην οποία οικοδομήθηκε αργότερα το τέμενος του *Emir Zade*, στη σημερινή δηλαδή πλατεία Πεσότων Οπλιτών ή πλατεία Τζαμιού.

Κτήριο Βαΐλου

Το κτήριο που υψώνεται απέναντι από τη βασιλική της Αγίας Παρασκευής, έχει καθιερωθεί στη συλλογική μνήμη ως *σπίτι του βαΐλη*,⁶ η έδρα δηλαδή του Ενετού διοικητή του *Negroponte* (Εικ. 1). Η οικοδόμηση ειδικού κτηρίου ως διοικητηρίου επιβεβαιώνεται μόνο μετά το 1390, οπότε η Βενετία απέκτησε τον πλήρη και άμεσο έλεγχο ολόκληρου του νησιού και της πόλης.⁷ Η ταύτιση ωστόσο του εν λόγω κτηρίου με το ενετικό διοικητήριο⁸ αμφισβητείται σήμερα, καθώς αυτό θα ήταν πιο πιθανό να βρίσκεται στην πλατεία του Αγίου Μάρκου,⁹ όπου αρχικά περιοριζόταν η συνοικία των Βενετών. Το κτήριο έχει ερμηνευτεί και ως το μέγαρο του Λατίνου Πατριάρχη της Κωνσταντινούπολης,¹⁰ που εγκαταστάθηκε στη Χαλκίδα μετά το 1261, ερμηνεία η οποία επίσης δεν τεκμηριώνεται επαρκώς. Ωστόσο, παρά το γεγονός ότι η χρήση του κτηρίου δεν έχει αποσαφηνιστεί ακόμη, η τυπολογία, αλλά και τα μορφολογικά χαρακτηριστικά του, συνηγορούν υπέρ του δημόσιου χαρακτήρα της αρχικής τουλάχιστον χρήσης του.

Το κτήριο, στη μορφή που έχει διασωθεί, διατηρεί στοιχεία από τρεις ιστορικές φάσεις και περισσότερες περιστασιακές οικοδομικές επεμβάσεις.

Η διάρροφη νότια πτέρυγα του, που συνιστά μέρος μόνο του αρχικού κτηρίου και σώζεται μέχρι σήμερα, αντιστοιχεί στην Ενετική περίοδο, η οθωμανική φάση βρίσκεται σε επαφή με την ενετική πτέρυγα, και στα βόρεια αυτής τέλος, οι νεοκλασικές μετασκευές του 19ου αιώνα εντοπίζονται στο εσωτερικό, καθώς και στην πρόσοψη του μνημείου.

Στο ισόγειο του ενετικού κτηρίου βρίσκεται η *loggia*, μια αίθουσα στη βόρεια πλευρά της οποίας υπάρχει μια γοτθική τοξοστοιχία με τρία συνεχόμενα οξυκόρυφα τόξα (Εικ. 2). Το ανατολικό και δυτικό άκρο της τοξοστοιχίας εδράζονται σε δύο υφαψίδια, συμφυή με τους αντίστοιχους τοίχους. Στις ενδιάμεσες θέσεις, τα τόξα εδράζονται σε δύο αρράβδωτους κίονες με παλαιοχριστιανικά κιονόκρανα κορινθιακού ρυθμού. Στο νότιο άκρο του δυτικού τοίχου της αίθουσας του ισόγειου υπάρχει μία τοξωτή θύρα (βλ. παρακάτω), η οποία θα έδινε πρόσβαση σε έναν ή περισσότερους χώρους που θα υπήρχαν στο δυτικό τμήμα του κτηρίου, από το οποίο σήμερα δε σώζεται τίποτα. Η θύρα εισόδου στον όροφο βρίσκεται στο βόρειο άκρο του δυτικού τοίχου και οδηγεί σε μια ενιαία αίθουσα ακριβώς πάνω από τη *loggia*.

Το αρχικό μέγεθος και η διάρθρωση του κτηρίου δεν μας είναι πλήρως γνωστά. Από παλαιότε-

3. Kontogiannis 2012, 43-44; Mackay 2006, 125-126; Δεληνικόλας και Βέμη 2006, 250-252.

4. Kontogiannis 2012, 42, fig.1; Δεληνικόλας και Βέμη 2006, 259. Ο κύριος αυτός ενετικός οδικός άξονας ταυτίζεται με τη σημερινή οδό Σταμάτη.

5. Jacoby 2002, 152-170; Koder 1973, 90-91.

6. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1970, 201; 1974, 209-258, ειδικά 254; 2007, 1113-1139, ειδικά 1128.

7. Jacoby 2002, 172-181.

8. Δεληνικόλας και Βέμη 2006, 262; Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1970, 200-201; 1974, 209-258; 2007, 1113-1139.

9. Jacoby 2002, 171; Koder 1973, 90.

10. Koder 1973, 92.

ρους μελετητές έχουν παρατηρηθεί τα εξής: α) η τοξοστοιχία της *loggia* είναι συνευθειακή με το νότιο τοίχο της Αγίας Παρασκευής,¹¹ β) ο στυλοβάτης της τοξοστοιχίας και τα δύο ενετικά κατώφλια (βλ. παρακάτω) βρίσκονται στην ίδια περίπου στάθμη με την πλατεία της Αγίας Παρασκευής της Ενετικής περιόδου, δηλαδή περίπου 1,5 μ. χαμηλότερα από το σημερινό επίπεδο,¹² γ) το κτήριο συνεχιζόταν προς τα δυτικά και τα βόρεια,¹³ και δ) έχοντας κάτοψη σχήματος Γ ή Π, πιθανώς να αποτελούσε τμήμα μιας ενιαίας διαμόρφωσης της πλατείας.¹⁴

Στο πλαίσιο των εργασιών αποκατάστασης του μνημείου που εκτελούνται από το Δεκέμβριο του 2010 με ορίζοντα ολοκλήρωσης το τέλος του 2014 και αποσκοπούν αφενός στη στερεώσή του και αφετέρου στην παράδοσή του στο κοινό, κατέστη δυνατό να διατυπωθούν νέες θεωρίες, αλλά και συμπεράσματα που αφορούν στην ιστορία του κτηρίου και τα μορφολογικά του χαρακτηριστικά. Καθώς οι εργασίες είναι ακόμα σε εξέλιξη και το υλικό δεν έχει μελετηθεί πλήρως, η παρούσα ανακοίνωση έχει εκ των πραγμάτων χαρακτήρα αποσπασματικό και προσωρινό.

Στοιχεία Οικοδομικής

Μετά την καθαίρεση των νεώτερων επιχρισμάτων και κατασκευών, καθώς και τη διενέργεια δοκιμαστικών τομών στις τοιχοποιίες, έγινε εφικτή η ανάλυση της οικοδομικής του κτηρίου.

Οι τοιχοποιίες είναι δομημένες από αδρά πελεκητούς πλακοειδείς λίθους συνδεδεμένους μεταξύ τους με ασβεστοκονίαμα, ενώ τεμάχια κεραμίδων, τα *τσιβίκια*, ενσφηνώνονται στα μικρά κενά ανάμεσα στους λίθους. Οι δύο παρειές των τοίχων αλληλοσυμπλέκονται με διάτονους λίθους και το μεταξύ τους κενό πληρούται με ασβεστοκονίαμα και μικρούς λίθους. Στο εσωτερικό των τοίχων διατηρούνται σε καλή κατάσταση οι ξυλοδεσιές μεγάλων διατομών (από 9X9 εκ. ως και 12X19 εκ.), οι οποίες κρύβονται πίσω από λίθινες πλάκες μικρού πάχους, μιμούμενες την εκατέρωθεν λιθοδομή (Εικ. 3).¹⁵ Οι ξυλοδεσιές είναι δρύινες και δένουν το ενετικό κτήριο περιμετρικά σε πέντε στάθμες (Εικ. 4). Η κατώτερη ταυτίζεται με το πρέκι των ανοιγμάτων των τριών τοίχων του ισογείου, πλην της *loggia* όπου διακόπτεται, η δεύτερη αντιστοιχεί στο επίπεδο έδρασης των φουρουσιών του πατώματος του ορόφου και η τρίτη παρεμβάλλεται ανάμεσα στα φουρούσια και τις δοκούς του πατώματος. Η τέταρτη στάθμη αντιστοιχεί στα πρέκια των ανοιγμάτων του ορόφου και τέλος, στην πέμπτη ξυλοδεσιά εδράζονται τα φουρούσια της οροφής. Οι ξυλοδεσιές της πρώτης, δεύτερης και τέταρτης στάθμης είναι διπλές και συνδέονται μεταξύ τους με εγκάρσια μικρά ξύλινα στοιχεία, τις *κλάπες*, ενώ η τρίτη και η πέμπτη είναι μονές και στο μέσον περίπου του πάχους του τοίχου.

Η κατώτερη ξυλοδεσιά, όπως προαναφέρθηκε, δεν είναι συνεχής, καθώς διακόπτεται από τα τρία τόξα της *loggia*. Ωστόσο, στον κατώτερο θολίτη κάθε εσωράχιου της τοξοστοιχίας παρατηρούνται από τρεις αβαθείς τετράγωνες οπές, εκ των οποίων οι δύο ακραίες, διατομής περίπου 8,5X8,5 εκ., σφραγίζονται επιμελώς με κονίαμα και πλίνθους, ενώ οι μεσαίες, διατομής περίπου 10X12,5 εκ., είναι ανοιχτές (Εικ. 5). Οι μεν ακραίες θα χρησιμοποιήθηκαν για την προσωρινή στήριξη του κατασκευαστικού ξυλότυπου των τόξων, ενώ οι κεντρικές για την τοποθέτηση θλιπτήρων. Η ύπαρξη θλιπτήρων σε αυτήν τη θέση μπορεί να ερμηνευτεί ως μια απόπειρα ολοκλήρωσης του συστήματος ξυλοδεσιών σε αυτή τη στάθμη στην ανοιχτή πλευρά της *loggia*. Τόσο οι εν λόγω θλιπτήρες, όσο και οι στηρίξεις του ξυλότυπου, θα τοποθετήθηκαν κατά τη διάρκεια της κατασκευής των τόξων. Μετά την ολοκλήρωσή

11. Δεληνικόλας 1984, 5-7.

12. Αντωνιάδης και Τσάκα 2008, 12; Δεληνικόλας 1984, 7-8.

13. Δεληνικόλας και Βέμη 2006, 255.

14. Δεληνικόλας 1984, 10-11; Δεληνικόλας και Βέμη 2006, 255.

15. Στην κατανόηση της οικοδομικής του κτηρίου και ιδιαίτερος του συστήματος των ξυλοδεσιών καθοριστική υπήρξε η βοήθεια της λέκτορος Ε. Τσακανίκα.

τους, ο ξυλότυπος θα αφαιρέθηκε με τη βοήθεια σφηνών και οι οπές στήριξης του θα σφραγίστηκαν, προκειμένου όλο το εσωράχιο να λάβει ενιαίο επίχρισμα. Αντίθετα, οι θλιπτήρες θα παρέμειναν ως μόνιμο στοιχείο της κατασκευής, το οποίο, όμως, στη συνέχεια απωλέσθηκε.¹⁶

Αρχιτεκτονικά στοιχεία ισογείου

Στο πλαίσιο του παρόντος έργου αποκατάστασης κατέστη δυνατό να διερευνηθούν και να γίνουν περισσότερο κατανοητά κάποια στοιχεία που αφορούν στην αρχιτεκτονική μορφή του ισογείου.

Στην εσωτερική όψη του δυτικού τοίχου ήταν εμφανές, ήδη πριν την έναρξη των εργασιών αποκατάστασης, ένα τοιχισμένο άνοιγμα με οξυκόρυφο πώρινο τοξωτό περιθύρωμα. Μετά την απόφραξη του και την καθαίρεση των νεώτερων επιχρισμάτων, διαπιστώθηκε ότι η εξωτερική όψη αυτής της θύρας διαμορφώνεται με ένα ακόμη πώρινο τόξο, σε ψηλότερη θέση από το εσωτερικό (Εικ. 6). Το κενό μεταξύ των δύο τόξων φράσσεται με αργούς λίθους και κονίαμα, ενώ στο σημείο αυτό είναι ορατή η ξυλοδεσιά της πρώτης στάθμης, γεγονός δυσερμήνευτο. Στη νοτιοδυτική γωνία, η ξυλοδεσιά συνδέεται με την αντίστοιχη του νότιου τοίχου, επιβεβαιώνοντας έτσι, ότι οι δύο τοίχοι ανήκουν στην ίδια κατασκευαστική φάση.

Τη μορφή του τοξωτού ανοίγματος συμπλήρωσε η αποκάλυψη του μαρμάρινου κατώφλιού του, στο οποίο έχουν λαξευτεί δύο τετράγωνης διατομής τόρμοι και δύο κυκλικοί στροφείς (Εικ. 6). Από τα λαξεύματα στο κατώφλι, αλλά και από τα στοιχεία που διασώζονται στον νότιο σταθμό, είναι δυνατό να αναγνωριστούν δύο κατασκευαστικές φάσεις. Στην αρχική το άνοιγμα θα ήταν στενότερο, με πλάτος 1,55 μ. και θα περιοριζόταν μεταξύ του νότιου σταθμού με την αδιατάρακτη τοιχοδομή και του σημείου που σώζεται μόνο ο κατώτερος λίθος του αρχικού βόρειου σταθμού. Το θύρωμα θα επιστεγαζόταν με το υπερυψωμένο τόξο της εξωτερικής (δυτικής) παρειάς του τοίχου, ενώ στους δύο τετράγωνης διατομής τόρμους θα είχε προσαρτηθεί το ξύλινο πλαίσιο της θύρας. Τα ξύλινα θυρόφυλλα θα άνοιγαν προς τα δυτικά, όπως υποδηλώνει η λαξευμένη στο κατώφλι προεξοχή. Σε μεταγενέστερη φάση, το άνοιγμα διευρύνθηκε προς βορρά, όπως διαπιστώνεται από τη διαταραγμένη τοιχοποιία του βόρειου σταθμού, και απέκτησε πλάτος 1,80 μ. Τότε θα κατασκευάστηκε το πώρινο τοξωτό περιθύρωμα της ανατολικής (εσωτερικής) παρειάς και θα διανοίχτηκαν οι δύο κυκλικοί στροφείς για την προσάρτηση των νέων θυρόφυλλων.

Ο δυτικός ενετικός τοίχος συνέχιζε προς βορρά, καθώς διασώζεται το όριο κατάρρευσης του, όπως και ένα ασύνδετο κατάλοιπό του στον αύλειο χώρο του ισογείου. Στον αύλειο χώρο είχε ανασκαφεί κατά το παρελθόν ένα δεύτερο κατώφλι, σε συνευθειακή θέση ως προς τον προηγούμενο τοίχο και στο ίδιο περίπου βάθος με το κατώφλι του τοξωτού ανοίγματος που αναλύθηκε προηγουμένως. Επομένως, επιβεβαιώνεται η παρατήρηση των προηγούμενων μελετητών του μνημείου, ότι πρόκειται για δύο κατώφλια θυρών, που ανοίγονταν στον ίδιο (δυτικό) ενετικό τοίχο, παρά το γεγονός ότι σήμερα αυτός ο συσχετισμός δεν είναι εμφανής.¹⁷ Το βόρειο κατώφλι σώζει ποικίλα λαξεύματα, η ενδελεχής μελέτη των οποίων θα οδηγήσει σε ασφαλή συμπεράσματα για τη μορφή της θύρας σε διαφορετικές οικοδομικές φάσεις και ιστορικές περιόδους.

Η μορφή του ισογείου συμπληρώθηκε με τα νέα στοιχεία που προέκυψαν από την ανασκαφή στο εσωτερικό της *loggia* (Εικ. 7). Από μια πρώτη θεώρηση συνάγεται ότι στην αρχική φάση το κτήριο θα είχε υπόγειο με οροφή από φθαρτά υλικά, πιθανόν ξύλα, η οποία στηριζόταν σε αναχίλωμα, μια προεξοχή δηλαδή στους περιμετρικούς τοίχους. Μετά την προσωρινή εγκατάλειψη του κτηρίου και μερική επίχωση του υπογείου, κατασκευάστηκε την περίοδο της Τουρκοκρατίας μια σειρά χώρων, οι

16. Η ερμηνεία αυτή προέκυψε μετά από γόνιμη συζήτηση με τον καθηγητή Μ. Κορρέ, τον οποίο και ευχαριστούμε.

17. Αντωνιάδης και Τσάκα 2008, 13.

οποίοι πιθανόν εξυπηρετούσαν τις αποθηκευτικές ανάγκες της κατοικίας. Η ανασκαφή απέδωσε πλήθος ευρημάτων αντιπροσωπευτικών από όλες τις φάσεις χρήσης του μνημείου, η μελέτη των οποίων θα οδηγήσει σε ασφαλέστερα συμπεράσματα αναφορικά με την ιστορία του.¹⁸

Αρχιτεκτονικά στοιχεία ορόφου

Κατά τις εργασίες αποκατάστασης στον όροφο του μνημείου ήρθαν στο φως συμπληρωματικά στοιχεία για την επέκταση του κτηρίου προς δυσμάς όχι μόνο στο ισόγειο, αλλά και στον όροφο. Ενώ παλαιότερα ήταν εμφανές, ότι στο επίπεδο του ισογείου ο νότιος ενετικός τοίχος προεκτεινόταν προς τα δυτικά πέραν του περιγράμματος της *loggia*, η αποκάλυψη δύο νέων στοιχείων επιβεβαιώνει ότι η προέκταση αυτή αφορούσε και τον όροφο. Αναφέρουμε επιγραμματικά το αποκομμένο άκρο της ξυλοδεσιάς της τέταρτης στάθμης και τα κατάλοιπα ενός ακόμα οξυκόρυφου ανοίγματος στον ίδιο τοίχο, στη στάθμη του ορόφου.

Μετά την καθαίρεση των νεώτερων επιχρισμάτων και προσθηκών, νέα στοιχεία προέκυψαν και για τη μεγάλη ενετική αίθουσα του ορόφου. Στην αίθουσα οδηγούν τρεις θύρες: μία στον δυτικό τοίχο, της οποίας αποκαλύφθηκε το μαρμάρινο επιχρισμένο κατώφλι, και δύο στο βόρειο. Η παρουσία κατασκευαστικών αρμών εκατέρωθεν των σημερινών σταθμών των δύο θυρών του βόρειου τοίχου οδηγεί στο συμπέρασμα, ότι το πλάτος των ανοιγμάτων ήταν αρχικά ευρύτερο (2,15μ.) και σε κάποια μεταγενέστερη φάση αυτό περιορίστηκε με την οικοδόμηση νέων σταθμών. Η αναπαράσταση της βόρειας όψης του βόρειου ενετικού τοίχου δείχνει ότι τα ανοίγματα αυτά ήταν συμμετρικά τοποθετημένα ως προς τον άξονα της *loggia*, ενισχύοντας την παλαιότερη πεποίθηση ότι πρόκειται για αρχικά ανοίγματα (Εικ. 4).¹⁹ Το μεγάλο τους εύρος αφήνει περιθώριο για διάφορες υποθέσεις σχετικά με την αρχική τους μορφή και λειτουργία στο συγκεκριμένο σημείο του κτηρίου.

Οροφές

Το σημαντικότερο, ίσως, νέο στοιχείο που προέκυψε από τις πρόσφατες εργασίες είναι η αναπαράσταση της οροφής του ισογείου της ενετικής πτέρυγας. Το πάτωμα της ενιαίας αίθουσας του ορόφου εδραζόταν σε 21 ξύλινες δοκούς, διατομής 15Χ20εκ. (Εικ. 8α). Λόγω της τραπεζοειδούς κάτοψης του κτηρίου και προκειμένου οι δοκοί να τοποθετηθούν παράλληλα μεταξύ τους και κατά το δυνατόν κάθετα στους διαμήκεις τοίχους εφαρμόστηκε μια ειδική διάταξη. Οι δύο ακραίες δοκοί τοποθετήθηκαν σε επαφή με τους στενούς τοίχους. Στη συνέχεια προσαρμόστηκαν δύο επιπλέον δοκοί, οι οποίες στον μεν νότιο τοίχο έρχονταν σε επαφή με τις ακραίες, ενώ στο βόρειο, προκειμένου να διορθωθεί η κάτοψη από τραπέζιο σε ορθογώνιο παραλληλόγραμμο, προέκυψε ένα ενδιάμεσο κενό περί τα 30 εκ., όσο δηλαδή είναι και τα υπόλοιπα μεσοδόκια διαστήματα. Κάτω από τα δύο άκρα της κάθε δοκού υπήρχαν ξυλόγλυπτα φουρούσια, ίδιας διατομής με τις δοκούς, πακτωμένα στην τοιχοποιία. Ο νότιος τοίχος αριθμούσε συνολικά 19 φουρούσια, αφού οι ακραίες δοκοί εδράζονταν απευθείας στον τοίχο χωρίς φουρούσι, ενώ ο βόρειος αριθμούσε 21, όσα και οι δοκοί. Σήμερα σώζονται *in situ* μόνο δύο δοκοί και δύο φουρούσια: η ανατολικότερη δοκός με το βόρειο φουρούσι της (Εικ. 9α) και η δωδέκατη δοκός από τα ανατολικά με το νότιο φουρούσι της (Εικ. 9β). Η τελευταία μάλιστα, αποκαλύφθηκε ακέραιη μετά την καθαίρεση ενός μεταγενέστερου τοίχου στον οποίο είχε ενσωματωθεί. Οι υπόλοιπες

18. Το σημαντικότερο εύρημα συνιστά ένα σύνολο χάλκινων χρηστικών αντικειμένων, κάποια εκ των οποίων σχετίζονται με φαρμακευτική χρήση (ένα είδος *θησαυρού*), τα οποία τοποθετήθηκαν εσκεμμένα σε αυτή τη θέση, πιθανόν τις παραμονές της πολιορκίας του Μοροζίνι.

19. Δεληνικόλας 1984, 7.

19 δοκοί με τα αντίστοιχα φουρούσια τους αποκόπηκαν κάποια στιγμή στο παρελθόν. Σήμερα διατηρείται μόνο το τμήμα που βρίσκεται μέσα στην τοιχοποιία του νότιου τοίχου, ενώ από το βόρειο τοίχο σώζονται μόνο οι δοκοθήκες τους. Η λεπτομερής αποτύπωση και μελέτη των παραπάνω στοιχείων οδήγησε σε μια τεκμηριωμένη αναπαράσταση του ενετικού πατώματος του ορόφου, η οποία αναλύεται παρακάτω (Εικ. 10).

Πρόκειται για μια σύνθετη κατασκευή, η οποία εξυπηρετούσε τόσο λειτουργικούς όσο και αισθητικούς σκοπούς (Εικ. 11). Η εσωτερική ξυλοδεσιά της δεύτερης στάθμης διέτρεχε τις μακρές πλευρές της αίθουσας κάτω από τα φουρούσια, ενώ η όψη της διαμορφωνόταν με κυμάτιο που εξείχε από τον τοίχο. Έτσι το ξύλινο αυτό στοιχείο αφενός χρησίμευε για τη στήριξη των φουρουσιών στην τοιχοποιία και αφετέρου είχε διακοσμητικό ρόλο. Ένα μικρό τμήμα αυτού του κοσμήτη σώθηκε *in situ* κάτω από το φουρούσι της δωδέκατης δοκού (Εικ 9β). Οι δοκοί δεν εδράζονταν απευθείας στα φουρούσια, καθώς μεταξύ των δύο αυτών στοιχείων μεσολαβούσε ένα κενό 5 με 8 εκ. Το κενό αυτό, το οποίο δεν ήταν ορατό, προέκυψε από την παρεμβολή της τρίτης ξυλοδεσιάς και εξυπηρετούσε την τοποθέτηση μιας διακοσμητικής φατνωματικής κατασκευής στη στάθμη των φουρουσιών.²⁰ Επιπλέον, στο κενό ανάμεσα στο άκρο του φουρουσιού και την υπερκείμενη δοκό ήταν τοποθετημένος ένας δεύτερος ανάγλυφος κοσμήτης, με ημικυκλική διατομή διαμέτρου 6 εκ. Η εμπρόσθια όψη του έχει ελικοειδή μορφή, η οποία ταυτίζεται με γνωστά ενετικά πρότυπα (Sala del Piovego στο Palazzo Ducale, Ca' Foscari και αλλού). Τμήμα του κοσμήτη αυτού αποκαλύφθηκε ενσωματωμένο σε δεύτερη χρήση στο πάτωμα του οθωμανικού ορόφου (Εικ 10).

Άλλο ένα στοιχείο που συμπληρώνει τη μορφή της οροφής και σώζεται σε όλα τα δοκάρια που προέρχονται από το πάτωμα του ορόφου και τα αντίστοιχα φουρούσια, είναι η ύπαρξη λοξών γλυφών στις δύο κατακόρυφες πλευρές τους (Εικ. 9, 11). Στις γλυφές αυτές θα προσαρτούνταν ξύλινα ορθογώνια παραλληλόγραμμα στοιχεία, οι *καθρέφτες* ή *pettenelle*, που αποσκοπούσαν στο κλείσιμο των διαστημάτων ανάμεσα στα φουρούσια και ανάμεσα στις δοκούς. Τέλος, προσαρτημένα πάνω στα δύο φουρούσια βρέθηκαν πηχάκια, οι διαστάσεις, η μορφή και η θέση των οποίων οδηγούν στην ταύτισή τους με ένα πολύ διαδεδομένο στοιχείο των ενετικών πατωμάτων της περιόδου, τα αρμοκάλυπτρα ή *cantinelle* (Εικ. 9α, 11, 12). Αυτά τοποθετούνταν τόσο παράλληλα με τους αρμούς του σανιδώματος, όσο και κάθετα σε αυτούς, σχηματίζοντας έτσι διακοσμητικά φατνώματα διαστάσεων περίπου 30X30 εκ. με κορνίζα πλάτους 5 εκ. (Εικ. 10). Παράλληλα, εξυπηρετούσαν δύο πρακτικούς σκοπούς: να προστατεύουν το υπερκείμενο πάτωμα από τη σκόνη και να μη φεγγίζουν οι αρμοί του πατώματος από το ισόγειο. Η ύπαρξη παρόμοιας οροφής, χρονολογημένης στα 1340 περίπου, απαντάται κάτω από το πάτωμα της *Αίθουσας του Μεγάλου Συμβουλίου* στο *Palazzo Ducale* της Βενετίας.²¹

Σε αντίθεση με την αποσπασματικά σωζόμενη οροφή του ισογείου, η μεγάλη ενιαία αίθουσα του ορόφου διατηρεί και τις 17 ξύλινες δοκούς με τα φουρούσια τους, όλα ελαφρώς μεγαλύτερης διατομής (17X22 εκ.) ως προς αυτά της υποκείμενης στάθμης (Εικ. 8β). Εδώ τα φουρούσια βρίσκονται σε επαφή με τις δοκούς και είναι προσαρτημένα σε αυτές χωρίς να μεσολαβεί το κενό που παρατηρήθηκε στην οροφή του ισογείου (Εικ. 13). Η επιτόπια εξέταση της άνω επιφάνειας των σωζόμενων δοκών επιβεβαίωσε την παρατήρηση του αρχιτέκτονα Ν. Δεληνικόλα²² ότι στην άνω επιφάνεια των δοκών διασώζονται μικρές εγκοπές (5X1,5 εκ.), σε ζεύγη, ανά διαστήματα περίπου 40 εκ. Στις εγκοπές αυτές θα στερεώνονταν οι εγκάρσιες προς τις δοκούς *cantinelle*, προκειμένου το σανίδωμα του πατώματος να εφαρμόσει απευθείας πάνω στις δοκούς και επιπλέον να διαμορφωθούν τα φατνώματα. Οι δύο ενετι-

20. Το κενό αυτό είχε αποδοθεί από τον αρχιτέκτονα Ν. Δεληνικόλα σε κατασκευαστικό σφάλμα, συνδεδεμένο με την εφαρμογή μιας εισαγόμενης τεχνικής από εντόπιο συνεργείο τεχνιτών, καθώς είχε συσχετιστεί τόσο με την οροφή του ναού της Αγίας Παρασκευής, με την οποία υπάρχουν πολλές ομοιότητες, όσο και με την οροφή του ορόφου του κτηρίου Βαΐλου, όπου οι δοκοί εδράζονται απευθείας επάνω στα φουρούσια.

21. Piana 2000, 73-74, fig. 1.

22. Μήνυμα ηλεκτρονικού ταχυδρομείου στις 18-7-2012.

κές οροφές του κτηρίου Βαΐλου παρουσιάζουν πολλές κατασκευαστικές και μορφολογικές ομοιότητες με τη στέγη του ναού της Αγίας Παρασκευής, που βρίσκεται απέναντι του.²³

Κατά τον ύστερο Μεσαίωνα στη Βενετία τα πατώματα αυτού του τύπου κατασκευάζονται αποκλειστικά με δύο τρόπους (Εικ. 14). Στον πρώτο, πρωιμότερο και ευρύτερα διαδεδομένο κατά το διάστημα 1300-1425 τρόπο, οι *cantinelle* καρφώνονται απευθείας στις άνω επιφάνειες των δοκών. Οι εγκάρσιες προς τις δοκούς είναι συνεχείς, ενώ οι παράλληλες τοποθετούνται σε τμήματα ανάμεσά τους. Στη συνέχεια, ένα μονό σανίδωμα καρφώνεται πάνω στις *cantinelle*. Το μειονέκτημα αυτής της μεθόδου είναι η κακή έδραση του σανιδώματος στις δοκούς, εφόσον παρεμβάλλονται οι *cantinelle*. Το πρόβλημα αυτό από το 1400 περίπου οδήγησε σε μια καινοτομία: στην τοποθέτηση των *cantinelle* μέσα σε εγκοπές στις άνω ακμές των δοκών. Αυτός είναι και ο δεύτερος τρόπος κατασκευής, ο οποίος συνυπήρχε για κάποιο διάστημα με τον πρώτο και κυριάρχησε περίπου ως το 1550.²⁴

Όσον αφορά στο υπό μελέτη κτήριο της Χαλκίδας, είμαστε σε θέση να παρατηρήσουμε ότι το πάτωμα του πρώτου ορόφου κατασκευάστηκε με την πρώτη μέθοδο (Εικ. 14α). Το συμπέρασμα αυτό συνάγεται από το γεγονός ότι δεν υπάρχουν εγκοπές. Επίσης, στην άνω επιφάνεια των σωζόμενων δοκών εντοπίστηκαν θέσεις ηλώσεων. Εκείνες που βρίσκονται στο μέσον του πλάτους των δοκών θα μπορούσαν να αντιστοιχούν στις θέσεις των σανίδων του πατώματος, ενώ εκείνες που είναι πολύ κοντά στις ακμές, στις θέσεις των παράλληλων προς τις δοκούς *cantinelle*. Από την άλλη, η ύπαρξη εγκοπών στις άνω ακμές των δοκών της ανώτερης στάθμης, της οροφής δηλαδή του ορόφου, υποδεικνύει την εφαρμογή της δεύτερης μεθόδου (Εικ. 14β). Με τη δενδροχρονολόγηση των δειγμάτων θα αποδειχτεί τελικά αν οι διαφορετικοί τρόποι κατασκευής, που εφαρμόστηκαν στις δύο στάθμες των πατωμάτων του κτηρίου Βαΐλου, αντιστοιχούν και σε διαφορετικές οικοδομικές φάσεις.

Αξίζει να επισημανθεί ένα ακόμη στοιχείο που εγείρει προβληματισμό σχετικά με την κατακόρυφη επέκταση του κτηρίου και τον τρόπο κάλυψής του. Στη νοτιοδυτική γωνία της οροφής του ορόφου οι δοκοί είναι με τέτοιο τρόπο διευθετημένες, ώστε να σχηματίζεται ένα άνοιγμα (Εικ. 8β). Από τις τρεις δυτικότερες δοκούς, οι οποίες κανονικά θα ενέπιπταν στο περίγραμμα του ανοίγματος, η δυτικότερη εκτρέπεται της πορείας της και ενσωματώνεται στον δυτικό τοίχο σε αυτό το σημείο, η μεσαία είναι σκόπιμα κομμένη και το ελεύθερο άκρο της στηρίζεται με ένα μικρό ξύλινο πρόβολο, ενώ η ανατολικότερη έχει πελεκηθεί απομειώνοντας τη διατομή της στο νότιο άκρο της. Έτσι διαμορφώνεται ένα άνοιγμα στην οροφή, διαστάσεων 1,72Χ0,70 μ., το οποίο, με τη βοήθεια μιας φορητής κλίμακας, θα οδηγούσε σε ένα δώμα, σε ένα δεύτερο όροφο ή στο εσωτερικό μιας στέγης.

Τέλος, κατά τη διάρκεια των εργασιών αποκαλύφθηκαν διάφορα ξύλινα στοιχεία που προέρχονται από το αρχικό ενετικό κτήριο και τοποθετήθηκαν σε άλλη θέση κατά τις μετασκευές του κτηρίου. Από αυτά, ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζουν ορισμένες δοκοί μικρής διατομής με ξυλόγλυπτη απόληξη, η οποία προσομοιάζει στα φουρούσια των πατωμάτων. Σε συνδυασμό με κάποιες άλλες μεγαλύτερες δοκούς με εγκοπές, στις οποίες ταιριάζουν οι διατομές των μικρότερων αυτών δοκών, θεωρείται πιθανό να προέρχονται από κάποια κατασκευή σε πρόβολο. Αυτή θα μπορούσε να είναι είτε εξώστης είτε κάποιο προστέγασμα, πιθανόν στο βόρειο τοίχο του ορόφου, όπου βρίσκονται οι δύο ενετικές θύρες. Η λεπτομερής αποτύπωση και μελέτη του υλικού θα δώσει πιθανότατα απάντηση και σε αυτό το ερώτημα.

23. Η δενδροχρονολογική ανάλυση των δειγμάτων πραγματοποιήθηκε από την Dr. Ol. Piniatelli το 2006, στο πλαίσιο του διεθνούς προγράμματος για την αποκατάσταση της στέγης της Αγίας Παρασκευής, που διεξήχθη από το ΕΜΠ και την 1η ΕΒΑ σε συνεργασία με το Πανεπιστήμιο του Τορίνο και την Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων της Βενετίας. Ως *terminus post quem* για την υλοτόμηση της ξυλείας, από την οποία προέρχονται οι δοκοί της στέγης του ναού, προσδιορίστηκε το έτος 1306.

24. Menichelli και Schappin 2011, 120-123, fig. 5-14.

Συμπεράσματα

Ανακεφαλαιώνοντας, μπορούμε να διατυπώσουμε το συμπέρασμα ότι το υπό μελέτη κτήριο συνιστά ένα δημόσιο οικοδόμημα της ενετοκρατούμενης Χαλκίδας. Η γοθτική αρχιτεκτονική ορολογία που χρησιμοποιήθηκε στη *loggia* και τα πατώματα, χρησιμοποιείται την ίδια περίπου εποχή, σε σημαίνοντα κτήρια της μητρόπολης, όπως στο *Παλάτι των Δόγηδων*. Έτσι, ενισχύεται η πεποίθησή μας ότι πρόκειται για ένα κτήριο άμεσα συνδεδεμένο με την ενετική διοίκηση του *Negroponte*. Η εισαγόμενη αρχιτεκτονική του προσαρμόστηκε στη ντόπια οικοδομική παράδοση, όπως υποδηλώνει η ύπαρξη ενός εξελιγμένου συστήματος ξυλοδεσιών, οδηγώντας σε ένα υβριδικό αποτέλεσμα. Από τα νέα στοιχεία επιβεβαιώνεται ότι το αρχικό κτήριο επεκτεινόταν στα δυτικά και βόρεια του σωζόμενου τμήματος, χωρίς, ωστόσο, να είμαστε βέβαιοι για την κάτοψή του, ενώ δημιουργούνται και ερωτήματα σχετικά με την ύπαρξη ή μη ορόφου και τον τρόπο στέγασης του κτηρίου με επίπεδο δώμα ή στέγη. Προσβλέπουμε ότι με την ολοκλήρωση των εργασιών, τη μελέτη των διαθέσιμων στοιχείων και την προσθήκη νέων, όπως για παράδειγμα με τη δενδροχρονολογική εξέταση της ξυλείας, θα έχουμε πιο ολοκληρωμένη εικόνα του κτηρίου και της ιστορίας του.

Βιβλιογραφία

- Αντωνιάδης, Η. και Α. Τσάκα (2008) *Μελέτη αποκατάστασης του ενετικού κτηρίου Βαΐλου στη Χαλκίδα της Ευβοίας*. Αθήνα: Διεύθυνση Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων.
- Δεληνικόλας, Ν. και Β. Βέμη (2006) 'Η Αγία Παρασκευή της Χαλκίδας. Ένα βενετικό πρόγραμμα ανοικοδόμησης το 13ο αιώνα'. Από *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου. Βενετία – Εύβοια. Από τον Έγριπο στο Νεγροπόντε, Χαλκίδα 12-14 Νοεμβρίου 2004*, 229-266, πιν. 1-8. Αθήνα: Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Μεταβυζαντινών Σπουδών Βενετίας; Εταιρεία Ευβοϊκών Σπουδών.
- Δεληνικόλας, Ν. (1984) *Το σπίτι του Βαΐλη στη Χαλκίδα. Αρχιτεκτονική ανάλυση, ιστορική τάυτιση*. Αθήνα: ΕΒΕ.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. (1970) 'Η Μεσαιωνική Χαλκίδα και τα μνημεία της'. *Αρχείο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών ΙΣΤ'*, 183-204.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. (1974) 'Τοπογραφικά προβλήματα της μεσαιωνικής Εύβοιας (J. Koder, *Negroponte, Wien 1973*)'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 19, 209-258.
- Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δ. (2007) 'Euboeae fragmenta archaeologica medii et infimi aevi, I, (Χαλκίδα - Μονή Γαλατάκη - Μαντούδι)'. Στο *Ευκαρπίας έπαινος. Αφιέρωμα στον Καθηγητή Παναγιώτη Δ. Μαστροδημήτρη*, 1113-1139. Αθήνα: Πορεία.

*

- Jacoby, D. (2002) 'La consolidation de la domination de Venice dans la ville de Néropont, 1205-1390). Un aspect de sa politique coloniale'. *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII-XV secolo)*, edited by C. Maltezos and P. Schreiner, 151-187. Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia; Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani.
- Koder, J. (1973) *Negroponte: Untersuchungen zur Topographie und Siedlungsgeschichte der Insel Euboea während der Zeit der Venezianerherrschaft*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Kontogiannis, N. (2012) 'Euripos-Negroponte-Egriboz: Material culture and historical topography of Chalkis from Byzantium to the end of the Ottoman Rule'. *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 62, 29-56.
- Mackay, P. (2006) 'St Mary of the Dominicans: The Monastery of the Fratres Praedicatorum in Negropont'. In *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου. Βενετία – Εύβοια. Από τον Έγριπο στο Νεγροπόντε, Χαλκίδα 12-14 Νοεμβρίου 2004*, 125-156, figs. 1-8. Athens: Hellenic Institute for Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies in Venice; Society of Euboean Studies.
- Mackay, P. (2011) 'New Light on Negropont'. Washington: University of Washington. http://home.um.edu.mt/medinst/mmhn/pierre_mckay.pdf. Last accessed December 29, 2016.
- Menichelli, C. and L. Scappin (2011) 'I solai lignei a Venezia'. In *Venezia, Forme della costruzione-Forme del dissenso*, edited by F. Doglioni and G. M. Roberti, 111-130. Venice: Libreria Cluva.
- Piana, M. (2000) 'La carpenteria veneziana lignea dei secoli XIV-XV'. In *L'Architettura Gotica Veneziana. Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studio, Novembre 27-29, 1996*, 73-81. Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti.

Εικόνες

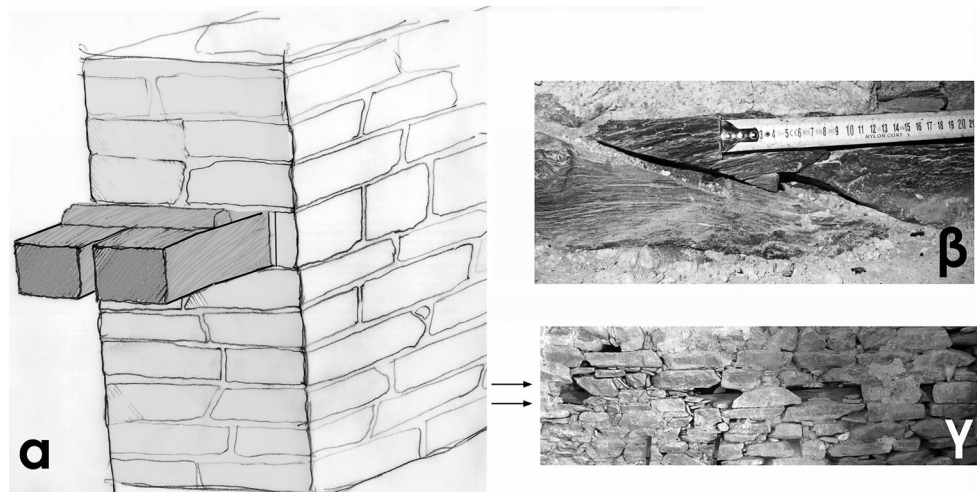


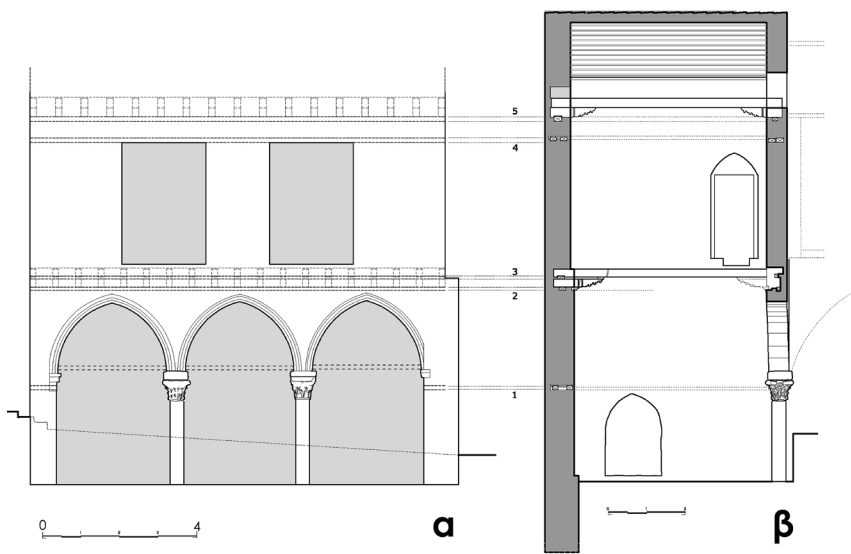
Εικόνα 1:
Η ανατολική όψη του κτηρίου
με παραδοσιακή νεοκλασική μορφή.



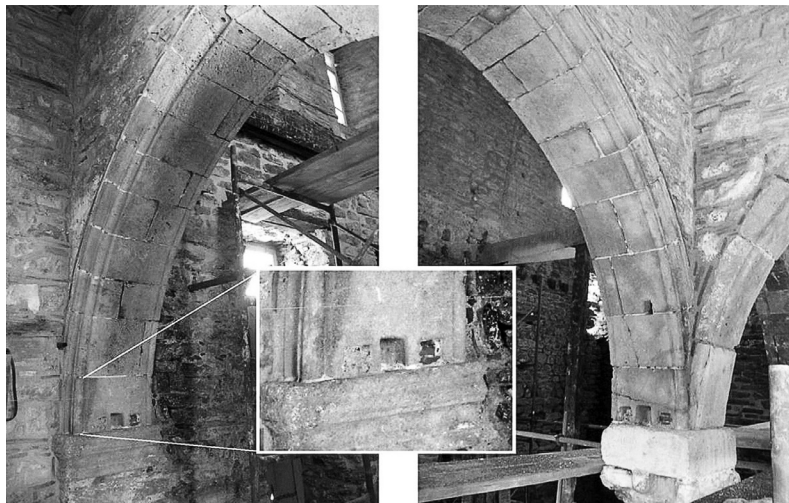
Εικόνα 2:
Άποψη του
εσωτερικού του
κτηρίου με την ενετική
loggia και τα εγκάρσια
οθωμανικά τόξα.

Εικόνα 3:
α) Αξονομετρικό
σκαρίφημα τομής της
ενετικής τοιχοποιίας
με τις ενσωματωμένες
ξυλοδεσιές. β) Σύνδεση
«κεραυνός» ξυλοδεσιάς
πρώτης στάθμης.
γ) Ξυλοδεσιά πρώτης
στάθμης με κάποιες
από τις πλάκες
απόκρυψής της.





Εικόνα 4:
 α) Αναπαράσταση της βόρειας όψης της ενετικής πτέρυγας, με τη *loggia* στο ισόγειο και το αρχικό περίγραμμα των ανοιγμάτων στον όροφο. Σημειώνονται οι στάθμες των ξυλοδεσιών και των πατωμάτων.
 β) Εγκάρσια τομή της ενετικής πτέρυγας προς τα δυτικά. Διακρίνονται οι ξυλοδεσιές στο εσωτερικό της τοιχοποιίας (η στέγαση της πτέρυγας είναι σύγχρονη).

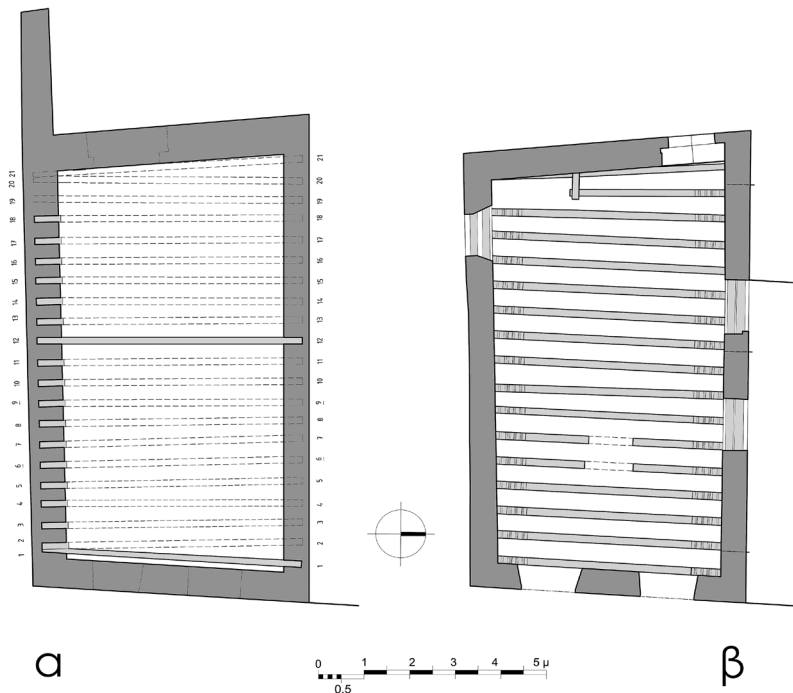


Εικόνα 5:
 Τα εσωράχια του ανατολικότερου ενετικού τόξου με τις οπές στήριξης του ξυλοτύπου και του θλιπτήρα.

Εικόνα 6:
 Το τοξωτό θύρωμα του δυτικού ενετικού τοίχου του ισογείου. Το υπερυψωμένο περιθώρωμα και οι τόρμοι για τη στήριξη του θυρώματος (α) ανήκουν στην α' κατασκευαστική φάση, ενώ το χαμηλό περιθώρωμα με τους τετράγωνους στροφείς (β) ανήκει στη β' φάση.



Εικόνα 7:
Άποψη της ανασκαφής
στο εσωτερικό
της ενετικής πτέρυγας.

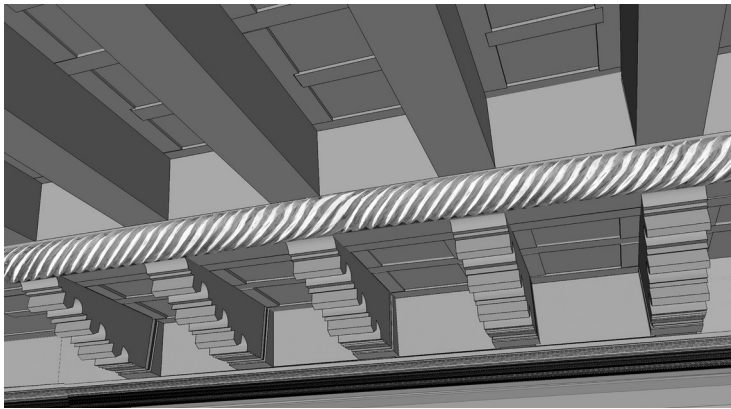


Εικόνα 8:

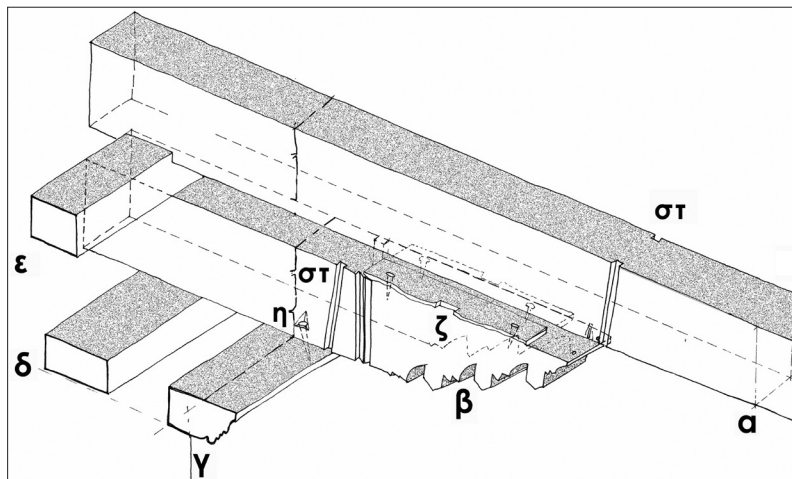
α) Κάτοψη της ενετικής αίθουσας στο επίπεδο των δοκών του πατώματος του ορόφου. Διακρίνονται τα σωζόμενα κατάλοιπα των δοκών στο εσωτερικό του τοίχου και οι δύο in situ δοκοί. Οι θέσεις των υπολοίπων καταδεικνύονται από τις δοκοθήκες που διατηρούνται στο πάχος της τοιχοποιίας. β) Άνοψη της ενετικής αίθουσας στον όροφο, με τις in situ σωζόμενες δοκούς και τα φουρούσια. Διακρίνεται το άνοιγμα της ΝΔ γωνίας, το οποίο θα χρησίμευε για την τοποθέτηση φορητής κλίμακας.



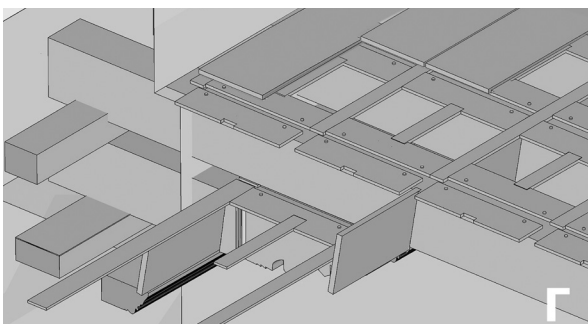
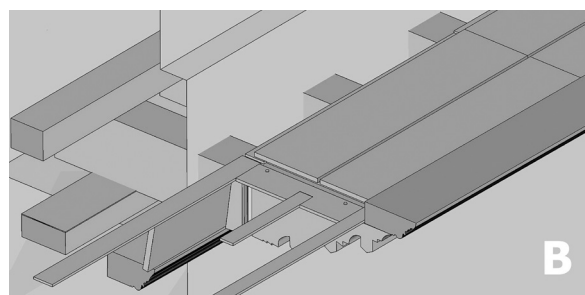
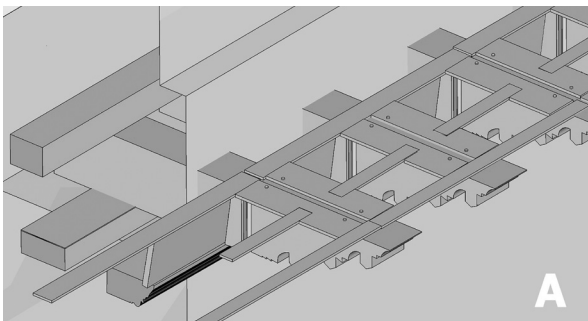
Εικόνα 9: α) Το βόρειο φουρούσι της ανατολικότερης δοκού του πατώματος του ορόφου. Διακρίνονται οι *cantinelle* ανάμεσα στο φουρούσι και τη δοκό. β) Το νότιο φουρούσι της κεντρικής δοκού του πατώματος του ορόφου. Διακρίνεται το μοναδικό σωζόμενο τμήμα του κοσμητή όπου εδράζεται το φουρούσι.



Εικόνα 10:
Προοπτική αναπαράσταση της οροφής που διαμορφωνόταν κάτω από το ενετικό πάτωμα του ορόφου με τα φατνώματα, τους κοσμήτες και τα φουρούσια.



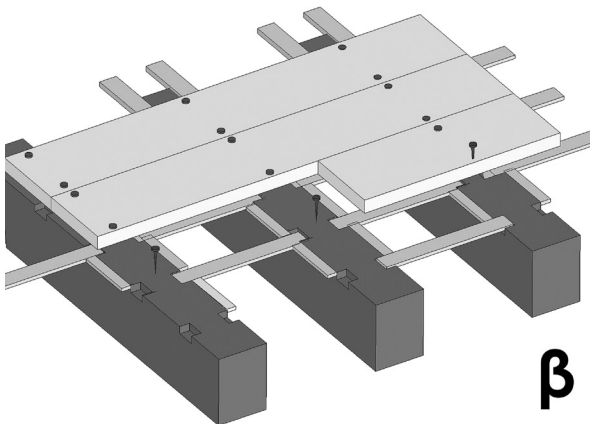
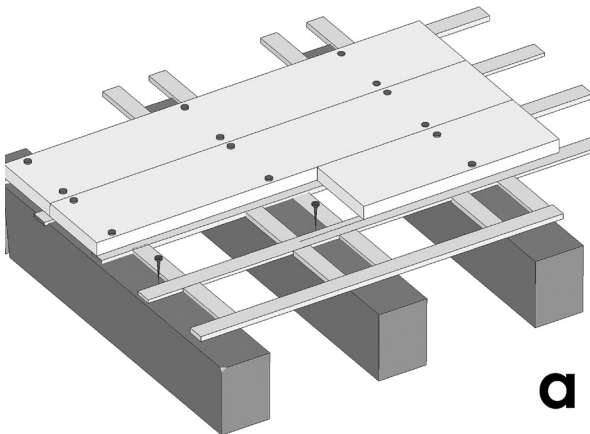
Εικόνα 11: Αποτύπωση των σωζόμενων υπολειμμάτων του ενετικού πατώματος (νότιο άκρο 12^{ης} δοκού από ανατολικά, με το φουρούσι της και τις ξυλοδεσιές έδρασής τους) α. δοκός β. φουρούσι γ. ξυλόγλυπτος κοσμήτης - ξυλοδεσιά δ. εσωτερική ξυλοδεσιά έδρασης φουρουσιού ε. εσωτερική ξυλοδεσιά ανάμεσα στο φουρούσι και τη δοκό στ. γλυφές για τοποθέτηση *pettenelle* ζ. υπολείμματα *cantinelle* παράλληλα προς τις δοκούς η. τριγωνική γλυφή για πλάγια ήλωση φουρουσιού με ξυλοδεσιά.



Εικόνα 12:
Η αναπαράσταση του πατώματος σε τρία στάδια: α. Τοποθέτηση *cantinelle* πάνω από τα φουρούσια και *pettenelle* στο κενό μεταξύ των φουρουσιών. β. Τοποθέτηση σανιδώματος και σπειροειδούς κοσμήτη πριν την τοποθέτηση των δοκών, για την ολοκλήρωση των φατνωμάτων στο επίπεδο των φουρουσιών. γ. Τοποθέτηση δοκών, *pettenelle* ανάμεσα στις δοκούς και *cantinelle* και εν τέλει του σανιδώματος του πατώματος.



Εικόνα 13: Φουρούσι και δοκός της ανώτερης στάθμης (οροφής του ορόφου), όπου τα δύο ξύλινα στοιχεία είναι σε επαφή.



Εικόνα 14: Οι δύο τρόποι τοποθέτησης *cantinelle* και *sanidómato* στα «γοθτικά πατώματα» κατά Menichelli και Scarrin (ανασχεδιασμός).

Mapping Frankish Euboea: Tracing the depiction of the island through the portolan charts and early maps from the 13th to 17th century

Andrew BLACKLER

Περίληψη

Η Ύστερη Μεσαιωνική περίοδος, περίοδος κατά την οποία η Εύβοια βρισκόταν υπό την κατοχή των Σταυροφόρων και των Βενετών και εκτείνεται χρονικά από το 1205 μέχρι το 1470, φαντάζει τόσο συναρπαστικά κοντινή αλλά ταυτόχρονα τόσο απογοητευτικά μακρινή. Αν και τα μνημεία αυτής της περιόδου είναι άφθονα στο νησί, κάτι που δεν ισχύει για την Κλασική περίοδο, υπάρχουν λίγες γραπτές μαρτυρίες που μπορούν να μας καθοδηγήσουν.

Ωστόσο μπορούμε να χρησιμοποιήσουμε μια πηγή που δεν είναι διαθέσιμη στους ερευνητές της Κλασικής περιόδου. Η Ύστερη Μεσαιωνική περίοδος ήταν μια εποχή κατά την οποία αναγεννήθηκαν οι πρωτοεμφανιζόμενοι 'πορτολανικοί' ναυτικοί χάρτες και τα πρώιμα διαγράμματα. Η εφεύρεση της πυξίδας και η εξέλιξη του αστρολάβου που χρησιμοποιούσαν οι ναυτικοί βοήθησαν να σχεδιαστούν πιο ακριβείς χάρτες, ενώ με την ανάπτυξη της τυπογραφίας κατά τον 15ο αιώνα έγινε δυνατή η αναπαραγωγή των χαρτών σε μεγάλο αριθμό αντιτύπων και η ευρεία κυκλοφορία τους σε όλον τον κόσμο.

Αυτό το άρθρο που στηρίχτηκε στις μελέτες του Koder¹ και του Τριανταφυλλόπουλου² καθώς και σε πιο πρόσφατες δημοσιεύσεις σχετικά με τη χαρτογράφηση της Ελλάδας, αποτελεί μέρος της έρευνάς μου για την τοπογραφία του νησιού κατά τη διάρκεια αυτής της περιόδου. Παρουσιάζει την εξέλιξη των χαρτών της Εύβοιας μέχρι το τέλος του 17ου αιώνα και διερευνά τα στοιχεία που δύνανται ή όχι να προσδώσουν πληροφορίες σχετικά με την τοπογραφία της περιόδου.

Οι ιστορικοί δικαίως επικρίνουν την ακρίβεια των έντυπων χαρτών της Μεσογείου του 16ου και 17ου αιώνα. Είναι ποικίλης ποιότητας και πολλοί έχουν δημιουργηθεί από χαρτογράφους σχεδόν δύο αιώνες μετά την προσάρτηση του νησιού στην Οθωμανική Αυτοκρατορία το 1470 – από χαρτογράφους που πολλές φορές είχαν λίγες ξεκάθαρες γνώσεις σχετικά με το νησί. Από την άλλη μεριά όμως οι μέχρι τότε αναξιοποίητοι 'πορτολανικοί' χάρτες και τα πρώιμα νησολόγια *isolarii* του 14ου και του 15ου αιώνα, ως απευθείας μαρτυρίες είναι όχι μόνο ακριβείς αλλά μπορούν να μας δώσουν και πολύτιμες πληροφορίες για τη ζωή εκείνης της περιόδου.

Introduction

Forty years have passed since Johannes Koder and Demetrios Triantaphyllopoulos provided the foundations in the early 1970s for the study of the topography of Euboea during the Frankish era, and

1. Koder 1973.

2. Triantaphyllopoulos 1974.

many of their conclusions were based on an interpretation of the maps of the period. But much has changed in the world of cartography since then. Many maps previously in private hands have come into the public domain, and those in museums and libraries are now much more accessible.³ In fact, so many printed maps are now in circulation that Zacharakis' latest catalogue of printed maps of Greece,⁴ which originally included just 707 maps in 1974, now includes no less than 3908.

I will briefly discuss the issues and problems surrounding the use of the 16th- and 17th-century printed maps, and then, looking at some examples, demonstrate how we can utilize the much earlier portolan charts and maps from the 14th and 15th centuries to enhance our knowledge of the Frankish and Venetian periods.

The accuracy of early maps

Historians, quite rightly, have been dismissive of the value of the early printed maps as accurate historical documents. Many of the maps produced appear to have been destined not for practical use, but rather for the salons and walls of Italian high society, where artistic content not accuracy was the key selling factor. To make matters worse, intense competition between publishers forced them to cut corners.⁵ First-hand survey, too, was almost out of the question. Apart from the cost, the island was enemy-held territory,⁶ at least for the Italian cartographers, after its annexation by the Ottomans in 1470.

The result was that for 200 years after the production of the first printed map in 1477 there appears to have been not an improvement but, practically, a deterioration in the quality of the maps produced of the Aegean area, and Euboea in particular—a development sometimes referred to in cartographic circles as the 'Darwinian fallacy'.⁷ A multitude of coastlines of the island were drawn, we may even say invented, as publishers vied to produce 'new' cartographic interpretations, which invariably they were not. Rather, each compounded the mistakes of his predecessor.

A small number of maps, fortunately, are more accurate. These all have a remarkable similarity in terms of their coastline, and it can be noted that they form a family, having their roots in a master map from the 15th century, the analysis of which I will return to later.⁸ But even they have significant copying and interpretation errors. These range from simple copying mistakes such as treating a 't' as an 'l', to placing a town in the wrong position or even importing places onto the island, which are actually on the mainland opposite. Apparent spelling mistakes are rife although it is often difficult to distinguish error from linguistic differences or diachronic change. It would, however, be wrong to dismiss these maps outright without first understanding their provenance, the pedigree of the cartographers who produced them, and the rationale for their production. Two examples illustrate this.

In the early 16th century, Benedetto Bordone⁹ popularized the island chart tradition first invented by Cristoforo Buondelmonti in 1420, giving it the name *isolario*. Yet, although Bordone may be known

3. When Theodoros Skouras published in 2003 the results of his lifetime's work, cataloguing the Classical and medieval fortresses and towers of Euboea, he referred to 82 maps, most, apparently, from the Karakostas collection (this is now on display in the old Ottoman mosque in Chalkida). George Tolia's publication of the 1656 maps in the Samourka collection in 2008 was also a major landmark.

4. Zacharakis 2009.

5. Academic interest, too, during the 16th century seems to have been focused on an apparently blinkered reinterpretation of the rediscovered Ptolemaic maps of the 2nd century AD and not on developing, or at the very least exploiting, a proven cartographic tradition such as the portolan charts.

6. For a general history of Latin Greece, see Lock 1995. The most detailed history of the island of Euboea during this period still remains that by Bury, published in a series of three articles in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* from 1886 to 1888.

7. Campbell 1994.

8. The map referred to here is that by Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti, produced c.1485.

9. Bordone 1528.

to archaeologists as a cartographer, this was not his only profession. He was, as art historians inform us, one of the most respected miniaturists and illuminators in Venice in the early 16th century.¹⁰ As such, we are the victims of our own attempts to categorize and pigeon-hole. Looking at him in this light, we should first understand the map he was copying (or the cartographer who created it) and not attempt to criticize his work except in artistic terms.

At the other extreme is the work of Vincenzo Coronelli from the late 17th century. His maps of Euboea are poor and exhibit considerable inaccuracy. Yet in 1685, just after the beginning of the 1684-1688 Turko-Venetian War, he was appointed cosmographer of the Venetian Republic. As such he was part of the military-administrative machine directing the Venetian War efforts and must have been privy to considerable information gathered by Venetian spies and engineers. From these sources he would have assembled the details to prepare his studies of the fortress of Negroponte. Given this background, we must not dismiss his work outright but, looking beyond his errors, try to identify those points that are original in his maps.

For our purposes, the printed maps of the 16th and 17th centuries, however, also have one final, fundamental problem. The first was only produced in 1477, after the Frankish-Venetian period, which spanned 265 years. Those by Coronelli, for instance, are up to 450 years out of date. They cannot by any means be considered contemporary, and much of their new information appears to have more relevance to the Ottoman rather than to the Frankish period.

The portolan charts

Fortunately, however, good, hitherto-unrecognized sources do exist from the 14th and 15th centuries, which provided the foundations for the printed maps. The earliest of these were the portolan charts. These were the tools of the trade for professional mariners, who depended for their livelihood and even their very lives on the accuracy of their charts. Unsurprisingly, few have survived the damp conditions and rigorous use on board ships. They are also generally small scale although they do exhibit significant detail.

One of the earliest, a portolan chart of the Aegean by Pietro Vesconte produced in 1313, at first glance appears worthy of little interest for our purposes. Its scale of c.1:3,000,000 reduces most Aegean islands to little more than unidentifiable shapes. Fortunately, however, both Crete and Euboea, as prized Venetian possessions, are highlighted, and significant settlement and coastline features are noted.

When the section around Euboea is magnified and enhanced slightly (Fig. 1), we find a map remarkable for its accuracy, which, even with its small scale, withstands comparison to any of the 17th or even 18th century.

The compass bearings of the shoreline are generally accurate, something which is not true for even the best 16th- and 17th-century maps. The proportions are also close to reality, although the north-western section is too wide, whilst the south-eastern tail needs to be expanded. Places are named in their correct positions, with *Nig[ro]po[n]t* (Chalkida)¹¹ as an important regional town being noted in red on the original chart—a defining feature of the portolan tradition.

The regional towns of *oreo* (Orei), *velona* (Avlonari), *caristo* (Karystos) and *castri* (Kastri) are correctly positioned, although the bay of the last is somewhat over-emphasized. The detail, too, opposite *ratiza* (Kammena Vourla?) in the north-west, around modern-day Lichada and Aidipsos, is also very

10. Armstrong 1996, 65-92.

11. Hereafter the contemporary name is written in italics, followed by the modern name in brackets.

good: even the small islands just off the cape are noted. By amalgamating data from a number of such portolans we can produce a map of Euboea for the 14th century that is not only contemporary but, if this Vesconte portolan is representative, also accurate.¹²

The isolario tradition

In the early 15th century, the first relatively large-scale map of the island¹² was developed, with the invention of the island chart (or *isolario*) format by Cristoforo Buondelmonti in 1420 (Fig. 2).¹³ His map appears decidedly amateurish by comparison with that of Vesconte, produced a century earlier. It is oriented to fit the page—note the direction of north is actually towards the south-west—and thus looks alien to our modern view. Yet, it is actually slightly more accurate than it appears at first glance.

Following the portolan tradition, he writes the island's capital in red ink, and notes both its Byzantine and Frankish/Venetian names *egrippo sive nigroponte*. Graphics in the shape of a castle with two turrets are shown for what appear to be the fortress of Castello Rosso at *caristo* (Karystos), the fortress of *oreo* (Orei) and possibly the castle of *Rizocastro* or *Protimo* (Aliveri), although the latter could also be *velona* (Avlonari) as per Vesconte's portolan chart (Fig. 1).

The coastline, although stylized, is recognizable. If capes are treated as stops on a subway map, it is easy to find one's way around. The bays of Petries, Almiropotamos and Aliveri in the south, and Aidipsos in the north are easily recognizable. But Buondelmonti was no seasoned navigator. He treats the shoreline as a passenger on board a ship might, not understanding the significant change in bearing between the south-eastern cape Kymē coast and the north-eastern Kymē-Pondiconisi coastline. Clearly, too, he was aided by a portolan chart, since he continues the portolan traditions of using red colour for important regional towns, points for headlands and concave lines for the bays, and his treatment of the towns marks the first tentative steps towards the use of symbols on maps.

The value of Buondelmonti's *isolario* lies, however, not in this map, which really adds little to our knowledge, but in its popularity. It was hand-copied for nearly 100 years, even after the introduction of printed maps in 1477. There are 64 known copies in existence and three versions of the written text;¹⁴ most importantly for us, many copyists gave their own interpretation of the map of Euboea. For instance, a copy dated c.1470 has significant changes.¹⁵ *Rizocastro* (if that is what it was) has disappeared, and symbols for two new towns (or towers) to the south of Karystos have been introduced. The relative sizes of *Athene* (Athens) and *Thebe* (Thebes) in relation to *Negroponte* (Chalkida) have also changed. In the 1420 map, *Negroponte* (Chalkida) was relatively small compared to the first two, but now both have diminished in size sufficiently for *Negroponte* (Chalkida) to be the largest city on the map.

The isolario of Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti

Fifteen years later, in 1485, Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti, thought to be a Venetian captain, published a new survey of the Aegean (Fig. 3). He claimed to have visited the islands no less than 15 times, meas-

12. The identification and deciphering of the surviving portolans, pursuant to the preparation of such a map, is a prime focus of my thesis (I am registered at the Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies at the University of Birmingham, UK).

13. Travelling around the Aegean with a copy of the 2nd-century Ptolemaic maps, which had been recently rediscovered and translated into Latin, he prepared what was in essence a 15th-century travel guide to the islands of the Aegean, containing not only a map but also a simple description in slightly stilted prose of each island.

14. Turner 1987, 11-28.

15. Buondelmonte 1465-1475.

uring them, as he writes, with ‘compass and divider’. For the first time we see a map of Euboea that is recognizably modern.¹⁶ Drawn to a scale of approximately 1:1,000,000 and using sophisticated symbols, he was able to include considerably more detail than either the early portolan charts or Buondelmonti.

It has a modern northerly orientation with compass points. Rivers are shown in blue in symbolic form excluding, interestingly, a number that dry up in the summer such as the Lilas just to the east of *Negroponte* (Chalkida). A number of shoals, too, around the coastline, which can be verified even today, have been noted by ‘+ + +’ symbols.

Settlements are depicted in various sizes, with one, two or three towers, possibly reflecting their importance. *Valona* (or *Velona*, probably modern-day Avlonari), known to be the main administrative centre in central Euboea,¹⁷ is second in size only to *Negroponte* (Chalkida), although slightly smaller than *Thebe* on the mainland. Their geographical position is also hinted at by positioning certain ones on a symbolic hill. This makes the castle of Castel Rosso above *Caristo* (Karystos), for instance, easily recognizable.

The map’s delineation of the coastline, whilst generally reflecting the shape of the island, does, however, exhibit some problems. The Aegean seaboard suffers from the same problem as that of Buondelmonti’s and is drawn incorrectly as an approximate straight line running north-west to south-east.¹⁸ Bays tend to be over-emphasized, and the area around *Negroponte* is much larger proportionately compared to the rest of the island. This latter point may have been deliberate. Sonetti’s potential customers were very much members of the upper echelons of Venetian society. He thus emphasized certain features in the way that modern tourist maps might, and, in so doing, also helped mariners navigate the approaches to *Negroponte* which, with its ever-changing currents and fickle winds, would have been a dangerous passage even for the best of navigators sailing the relatively unsophisticated ships of the era.

Despite these drawbacks, Sonetti’s map is a milestone in the cartographic representation of the island, so much so that it was copied and re-copied again and again over the following 200 years. It was not until the French and British naval charts of the late 18th century that anything more accurate was drawn up.

A detailed analysis of the settlements noted is not the subject of this paper, but one feature is worthy of mention. Sonetti provides alternative names for a number of towns. Thus, for Thebes he notes *Stives Su Tebe*, both the medieval and Classical names. He provides similarly *eretria dita chochies*—‘Eretria called Chochies’. This gives us an invaluable cross reference, and confirms the previously unrecognized name of *cochies*, which is to be found in a portolan chart by Vesconte dated 1320. It is also reconfirmed in the mid-16th century by the cartographer, Battista Agnese,¹⁹ again with the spelling *chochies*. We therefore have in 1320, albeit under another name, what appears to be the earliest non-Classical reference to Eretria.²⁰

Reviewing this map and the two copies of that by Buondelmonti we can also draw one final tentative conclusion. During the period since Buondelmonti first surveyed the island, the treatment of *Negroponte* changed radically. Initially, in 1420 it was simply another town. By 1470 it had grown larger

16. His work is a synthesis of Buondelmonti’s *isolario* (he gained the sobriquet ‘Sonetti’ for transforming Buondelmonti’s prose into verse) and a portolan chart, a copy of which he must also have owned. It is a hand-drawn map with a green wash colouring and symbols in red, blue and black.

17. Marino Sanudo in the early 13th century writes that Licarios, when he invaded Euboea at the head of a Byzantine army in the 1270s, fortified the castle ‘*Della Cuppa in la Vallona*’ (Papadopoulou 2000, 137). It was also one of the bishoprics of Euboea noted by Pope Innocent III, who writes *Episcopatum . . . Abelonensem, Zorconensem, Caristiensem* (Bury 1886, Inn. Ep. xi. 256). *Abelona* appears to have been the original Latin spelling, which was corrupted over time into *Avelona* and *Velona*.

18. This, coupled with the lack of place names on this coast, may indicate that he never personally sailed the whole length of the Aegean coast, but drew his information from elsewhere or simply interpreted it as best he could.

19. Agnese 1555.

20. Over a century prior to that by Ciriaco of Ancona in 1436 (Ducrey 2004, 55).

than Athens and Thebes, and in Sonetti's final 1485 map it dwarfed both of them. In a reprint of the same map in 1532 the draftsman, for whatever reason, even omitted Athens altogether!

This limited cartographic evidence thus reflects the metamorphosis of Negroponte over 70 years during the late 15th century, at least in cartographic terms, into the most important city in the region, whilst Thebes has been relegated to a secondary role, and Athens was fast becoming little more than a small country town. This same treatment was to be continued on nearly all the relatively accurate maps of the 16th and 17th centuries.

The reality, however, was somewhat different. With the annexation of *Negroponte* by the Ottomans and the establishment of their administrative and naval base there, the strategic importance of the city was clearly enhanced, just as that of Thebes was reduced. Both Athens and Thebes, however, remained important economic centres.²¹ We must therefore look beyond this.

It may be chance that *Negroponte* and its environs were over-emphasized by Sonetti for cartographic reasons, but more likely this was one of perception. The fall of *Negroponte* became a *cause célèbre* throughout Western Europe in the 1470s and galvanized states to take the Ottoman threat seriously. The new printing presses developed in the immediate aftermath of *Negroponte's* annexation were quickly put to use decrying its fall.²²

A more sinister rationale might also be suggested. Sonetti claimed to have journeyed around the Aegean no less than 15 times, an expensive undertaking on the whim of writing a book of island charts accompanied by descriptions in rhyming verse.²³ We know that the *Dieci*, the secretive Committee of Ten of the Venetian Republic, had ordered maps to be drawn up of the Venetian possessions some years before.²⁴ The preparation of such a work would have been a considerable propaganda achievement. Can we therefore conclude that Sonetti's work was possibly sponsored by the state?

Conclusions

It is not the intent of this paper to analyse such scenarios in depth, but to demonstrate with these few examples that, at least as regards the late medieval topography of Euboea, there is still much to be gleaned from detailed analysis of hitherto unrecognized contemporary maps of the Frankish and Venetian era. We should not be bemused by the deluge of low-quality 16th- and 17th-century printed maps produced by the desk cartographers of the time, as even these can sometimes provide nuggets of valuable information. Not only do the manuscript charts and maps of the 14th and 15th centuries provide an accurate topographical record within the constraints of the technology of the time, but they can also help us better understand the economic and geopolitical developments in the region during this period.

21. Machiel Kiel has demonstrated using Ottoman population statistics and household taxation records that substantial economic growth occurred during the period in both Attica (total households: for 1395, the figure is 1000; for 1506, 1600; and for 1570, 3200) and Boeotia (household numbers for 16 villages: for 1466, the figure is 584; for 1506, 843; and for 1570, the figure is 1591) (Kiel 1987 and 1997). John Bintliff, outlining the results of survey in Boeotia, also notes an improvement in the quality of pottery finds in this period, another indicator of increased prosperity (Bintliff 2012).

22. Meserve 2006, 440-480.

23. He actually obtained his sobriquet 'Sonetti' for just this very reason. Much of his travel was most likely undertaken as a passenger or member of the crew, thus slightly reducing the impact of his claim.

24. MacKay 2011. These maps have never been identified but could potentially have been a source for Sonetti, even if he himself had not been active in their preparation.

Bibliography

- Agnese, B. (1555) *Map of Aegean P/12 folio 14, Venice*. Greenwich (London): National Maritime Museum.
- Armstrong, L. (1996) 'Benedetto Bordon, "Miniator", and Cartography in Early Sixteenth-Century Venice'. *Imago Mundi* 48, 65-92.
- Bintliff, J. (2012) *The Complete Archaeology of Greece: From Hunter-Gatherers to the 20th Century A.D.*. Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell
- Bordone, B. (1528) *Libro de Benedetto Bordone, nel qual si ragiona de tutte l'isole del mondo. Venice: Per N. d'Ar-
istotile detto Zoppino, Venice*. London: The British Library.
- Buondelmonti, C. (c.1420) 'Euboea and Athens'. In *Tractatus de insulio archipelagi, Venice*. Greenwich (London): National Maritime Museum.
- Buondelmonte, C. (1465-1475) 'Euboia olim Nigroponte nunc'. In *Liber Insularum Arcipelagi [Document carto-
graphique manuscrit], Venice*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
- Bury, J. B. (1886) 'The Lombards and Venetians in Euboea (1205-1470)'. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 7, 309-352.
- Bury, J. B. (1887) 'The Lombards and Venetians in Euboea (1205-1470)'. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 8, 194-213.
- Bury, J. B. (1888) 'The Lombards and Venetians in Euboea (1205-1470)'. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 9, 91-117.
- Campbell, T. (1994) *Cyprus: The reliability of early maps*. Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus.
- Dalli Sonetti, B. (c.1485) *Negroponte P/21(55), Venice*. Greenwich (London): National Maritime Museum.
- Dalli Sonetti, B. (1532) *Al Diuo cinquecento cinque e diece tre cinque a do mil nulla tre e do vn cento nulla, questa
opra dar più cha altri lecce, Venice*. London: British Library.
- Ducrey, P. (2004) *Eretria: a guide to the ancient city*. Fribourg: École suisse d'archéologie en Grèce.
- Kiel, M. (1987) 'Population growth and food production in 16th century Athens and Attica according to the
Ottoman Tahrir Defters'. In *Comité International d'études Pré-Ottomanes et Ottomanes*, edited by J.-L. Bac-
que-Grammont and R. van Donzel, 115-133. Istanbul, Paris, Leiden. Divit Press
- Kiel, M. (1997) 'The Rise and Decline of Turkish Boeotia'. In *Recent Developments in the History and archaeology
of Central Greece*, edited by J. Bintliff, 315-358. Oxford: Archaeopress
- Koder, J. (1973) *Negroponte: Untersuchungen und Siedlungsgeschichte der Insel Euboa während der Zeit der
Venezianerherrschaft*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Lock, P. (1995) *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204-1500*. London: Longman.
- MacKay, P. (2011) 'The Dieci call for maps in 1460'. <http://hdl.handle.net/1773/23893>. Accessed 27 January, 2016.
- Meserve, M. (2006) 'News from Negroponte: politics, popular opinion, and information exchange in the first
decade of the Italian press'. *Renaissance Quarterly* 59(2), 440-480.
- Papadopoulou, E. (2000) *Μαρίνος Σανούδος Τορσέλλο, Ιστορία της Ρωμανίας; εισαγωγή, έκδοση-μετάφραση, σχό-
λια*. Athens: Institute of Historical Research, Department of Byzantine Studies.
- Skouras, T. I. (2003) *Ακροπόλεις - κάστρα - πύργοι της Εύβοιας*. Chalkida: Nomarchiaki Avtodioikisi Euboias.
- Tolias, G. (2008) *Ιστορία της Χαρτογραφίας του Ελληνικού Χώρου 1420-1800*. Athens: Institute of Historical
Research.
- Triantaphyllopoulos, D. (1974) 'Τοπογραφικά προβλήματα της Μεσαιωνικής Εύβοιας'. *Archeion Euboikon Mele-
ton* 19, 209-258.
- Turner, H. L. (1987) 'Christopher Buondelmonti and the Isolario'. *Terrae Incognitae* 19, 11-28.
- Vesconte, P. (1313) *Atlas nautique de la mer Méditerranée et de la mer Noire/Petrus Vesconte de Janua fecit istas
tabulas anno dni MCCCXIII, Genoa*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Vesconte, P. (1320) *Portolan*. Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica.
- Zacharakis, C. G. (2009) *A Catalogue of printed maps of Greece 1477-1800*. Athens: Sylvia Ioannou Foundation.

Figures

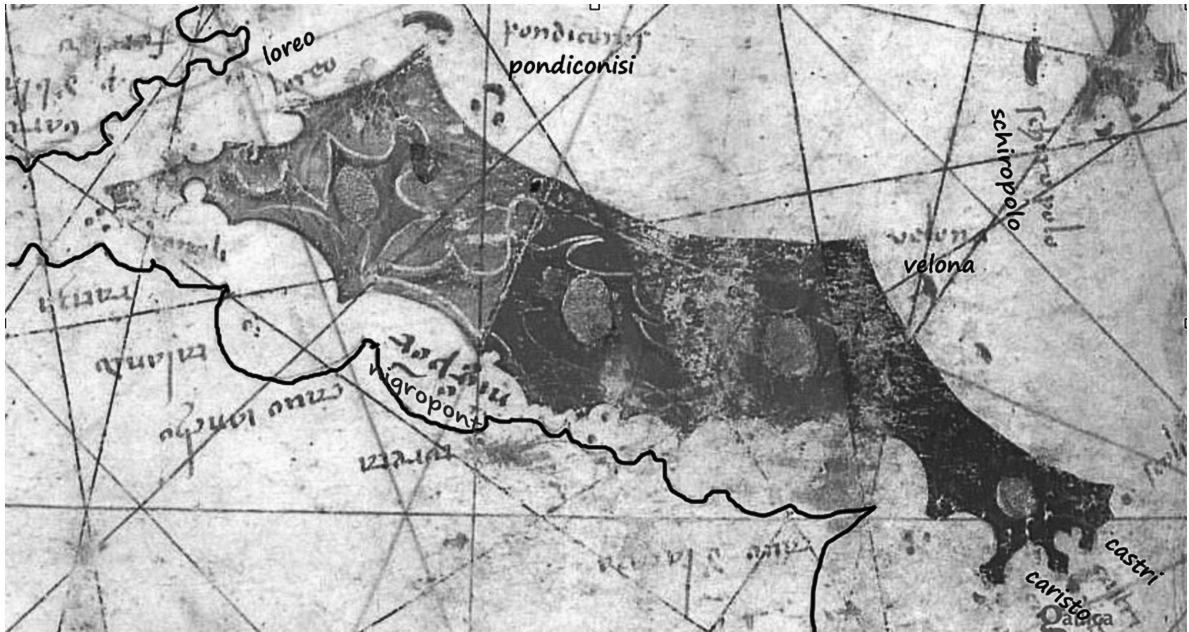


Figure 1: Vesconte (1313), part of portolan chart of the eastern Mediterranean.
In Fig. 1, place names have been annotated next to the original and the coastline of mainland Greece has been enhanced to facilitate comprehension.



Figure 2:
Buondelmonti, island chart of Euboea (1420?).

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS / ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣΗΓΗΤΩΝ

Aidona, Elina

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

Arjona-Perez, Manuel

University of Thessaly

Blackler, Andrew

Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, University of Birmingham

Boffa, Giovanni

Università del Salento

Brugge, Ruben

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

Cerasuolo, Orlando

Italian School of Archaeology at Athens

Charalambidou, Xenia

British School at Athens

Chidioglou, Maria

National Archaeological Museum

Crielaard, Jan Paul

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

Cullen, Tracey

Hesperia, American School of Classical Studies at Athens

DeMarco, Emanuela

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

Domínguez, Adolfo J.

Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

Evans, Ted

University of Alberta

Gkikaki, Mairi

University of Warwick

Kalamara, Pari

Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea

Katsianis, Markos

University of Thessaloniki

Keller, Donald

American Center for Oriental Research

Knodell, Alex
Carleton College

Kontopoulou, Despina
Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

Kramer-Hajos, Margaretha
Dartmouth College

Krapf, Tobias
University of Basel

Lanos, Philippe
CNRS, Université Bordeaux-Montaigne et Université Rennes 1

Leone, Barbara
Università del Salento

Loizou, Chrystalla
University of Cyprus

Mamaloukos, Stavros
University of Patras

Mastrogiannopoulou, Vagia
Ephorate of Antiquities of East Attica

Mavridis, Fanis
Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology

McHugh, Maeve
University College Dublin

Michalaga, Despoina Stef.
National and Kapodistrian University of Athens

Nazou, Margarita
Aegis Research Group, Université Catholique de Louvain - INCAL/CEMA

Poupaki, Eirene
Directorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports

Psoma, Selene E.
National and Kapodistrian University of Athens

Sampson, Adamantios
University of the Aegean at Rhodes

Seifried, Rebecca
University of Chicago

Songu, Filiz
Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

Talalay, Lauren
University of Michigan

Tankosić, Žarko
Norwegian Institute at Athens/Indiana University

Tema, Evdokia
Università degli studi di Torino
Tsipidis, Spyros
Independent Researcher
Van Damme, Trevor
University of California, Los Angeles

* * *

Αγγέλη, Ελένη-Αθηνά
Ανεξάρτητος Ερευνητής
Βαξεβάνης, Γιάννης
Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Εύβοιας
Βουζαρά, Γαρυφαλλιά
Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Εύβοιας
Καραμπατσώλη, Άννα
Ανεξάρτητος Ερευνητής
Κοσμά, Μαρία[†]
Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Βοιωτίας
Κατσάλη, Ευρυδίκη
Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Εύβοιας
Κατσάλη, Σοφία
Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Εύβοιας
Κατσαούνου, Σουλβάνα
Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Αθηνών
Κατσελάκη, Ανδρομάχη
Διεύθυνση Μουσείων, Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Αθλητισμού
Κουρμαδάς, Γιώργιος
Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Εύβοιας
Κωσταρέλλη, Αλεξάνδρα
Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Εύβοιας
Ντάφη, Εύη
Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Τρικάλων
Πάλλης, Γεώργιος
Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών
Σκάρτση, Στεφανία
Διεύθυνση Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων, Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Αθλητισμού
Ταξιάρχη, Παναγιώτα
Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Εύβοιας
Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, Δημήτριος
Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου
Τσιομπίκου, Ελένη
Αρχαιολόγος πρώην 23^η ΕΒΑ/ Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Εύβοιας

Τσούλη, Χρυσάνθη
Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο

Χαιρετάκης, Γιάννης
Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Εύβοιας

Χατζηδημητρίου, Αθηνά
*Διεύθυνση Διαχείρισης Εθνικού Αρχείου Μνημείων, Τεκμηρίωσης και Προστασίας Πολιτιστικών
Αγαθών, Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Αθλητισμού*

