

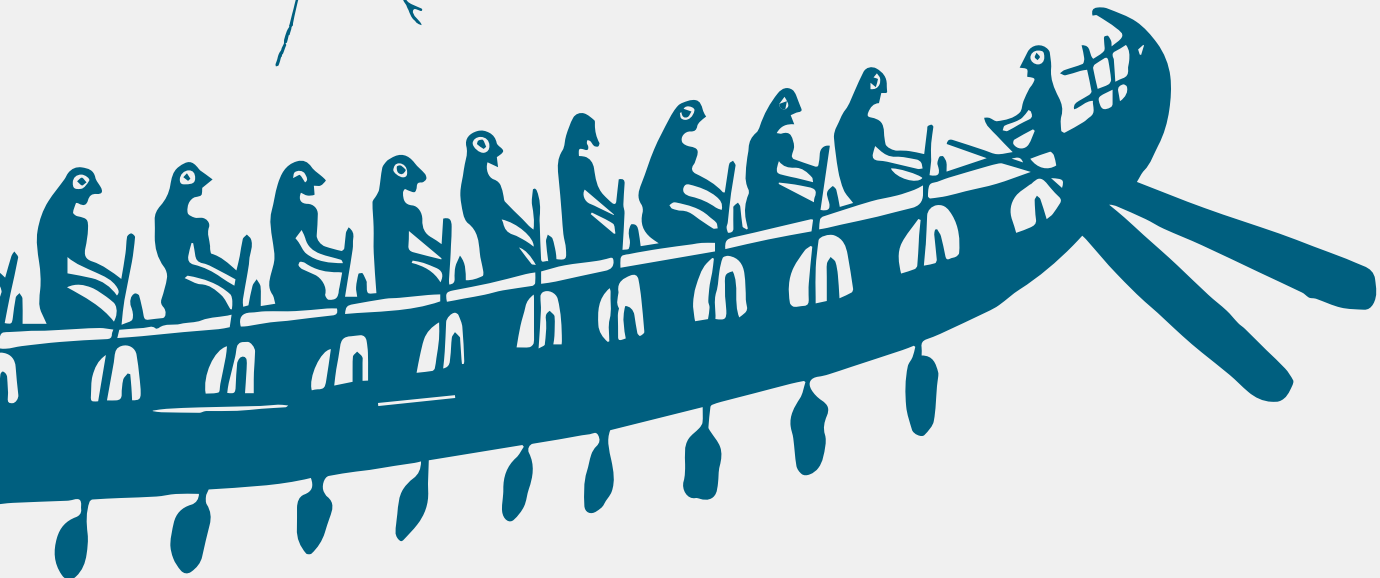
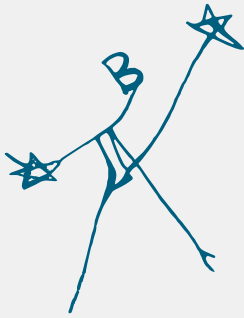
EUBOICA II

Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West

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

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

Volume 1



Napoli 2020



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ABBREVIATIONS

Above sea-level: above s.l.; Anno Domini: AD; and so forth: etc.; Before Christ: BC; bibliography: bibl.; catalogue: cat.; centimeter/s: cm; century/ies: cent.; chap./chaps.: chapter/chapters; circa/approximately: ca.; column/s: col./cols.; compare: cf.; *et alii*/and other people: *et al.*; diameter: diam.; dimensions: dim.; Doctor: Dr; especially: esp.; exterior: ext.; fascicule: fasc.; figure/s: fig./figs.; following/s: f./ff.; fragment/s: fr./frs.; for example: e.g.; gram/s: gm; height: h.; in other words: i.e.; interior: int.; inventory: inv.; kilometer/s: km; length: ln.; line/s: l./ll.; maximum: max.; meter/s: m; millimeter/s: mm; minimum: min.; namely: viz.; new series/nuova serie etc.: n.s.; number/s: no./nos.; original edition: orig. ed.; plate/s: pl./pls.; preserved: pres.; Professor: Prof.; reprint: repr.; series/serie: s.; sub voce: s.v.; supplement: suppl.; thick: th.; tomb/s: T./TT.; English/Italian translation: Eng./It. tr.; volume/s: vol./vols.; weight: wt.; which means: scil.; width: wd.

Abbreviations of periodicals and works of reference are those recommended for use in the *American Journal of Archaeology* with supplements in the *Année Philologique*.

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THE EARLY PHASES IN THE ARTEMISION AT AMARYNTHOS IN EUBOEA, GREECE

Samuel Verdan, Thierry Theurillat, Tobias Krapf, Daniela Greger, Karl Reber

INTRODUCTION

The origin of cults and their role for the development of Greek *poleis* have been discussed at length by archaeologists and historians. The ancient city of Eretria is a case study on these issues due to the well-preserved domestic and religious contexts from the Early Iron Age (EIA¹). Indeed, the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros is among the earliest cult places established within a settlement where the evolution of architecture and rituals over time can be apprehended thanks to the detailed study of structures and finds². The Greek *polis* however, far from being defined by the limits of its urban centre, was first and foremost a community of citizens occupying a territory. As such, the political and religious institutions of the Eretrians were forged in distinct places through the interactions of different social groups. In this long-term process, extra-urban sanctuaries played a significant role in the shaping of community and its territory³. Yet until now little was known about the shrines of the Eretrians. Recent discoveries made in the Eretrian *chora* provide new insights into this matter (Fig. 1)⁴.

¹ Abbreviations of periods are as follows: E = Early; M = Middle; L = Late; BA = Bronze Age; EH = Early Helladic; MH = Middle Helladic; LH = Late Helladic; SM = Submycenaean; EIA = Early Iron Age; PG = Protogeometric; SPG = Subprotogeometric; MG = Middle Geometric; LG = Late Geometric; EA = Early Archaic. Neolithic, Helladic, Mycenaean, Geometric, Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic and Roman are not abbreviated.

² *Eretria XIV* and *XXII*.

³ POLIGNAC 1995; MALKIN 1996; MORGAN 2003; LEMOS – TSINGARIDA 2019; DUPLOUY 2019.

⁴ See the contribution of A. Chatzidimitriou in this volume on the sanctuary of Apollo Delios at Zarakes; on the sanctuary of Apollo Tamynaios near Avlonari, see KNOEPFLER – ACKERMANN 2012. Generally, see HUBER 2017, 62-64.

In particular, the region of Amarynthos, located 11 km east of Eretria, had been celebrated in ancient sources as the place of the sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia, the “High-goddess of the Euboeans”⁵. Yet, despite its regional fame and prominence, the location of the Artemision had long eluded archaeological identification. Since 2003, however, a large-scale field project carried out by the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece (ESAG) in collaboration with the Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea (EAE) has brought to light a monumental complex at the foot of Paleoekklisies Hill, few kilometres east of the modern town of Amarynthos (Fig. 2). This site was formally identified as the *hieron* of Artemis Amarysia in 2017 thanks to the discovery of inscriptions⁶. The exploration of the sanctuary is underway in order to locate the main buildings, but archaeological evidence already shows a dense and probably uninterrupted occupation of the site from LBA to the Late Roman period.

In its heyday in the Hellenistic period, the sanctuary was centred on a vast courtyard lined by porticoes on the northern and eastern sides (Fig. 3)⁷. It housed several votive monuments and important public documents displayed in this *epiphanestatos topos*⁸. According to inscriptions and ancient sources, Artemis occupied a central role in the Eretrian pantheon in the resolution of external conflicts and civil strife⁹. The goddess’ pre-eminence at the core

⁵ NILSSON 1906, 238.

⁶ *AntK* 2018.

⁷ For a recent overview, see FACHARD *et al.* 2017; *CRAI* 2018, 847-879; REBER *et al.* 2018 and 2019.

⁸ *CRAI* 2018, 883-892.

⁹ The central role of Artemis in the wars of “annihilation” be-

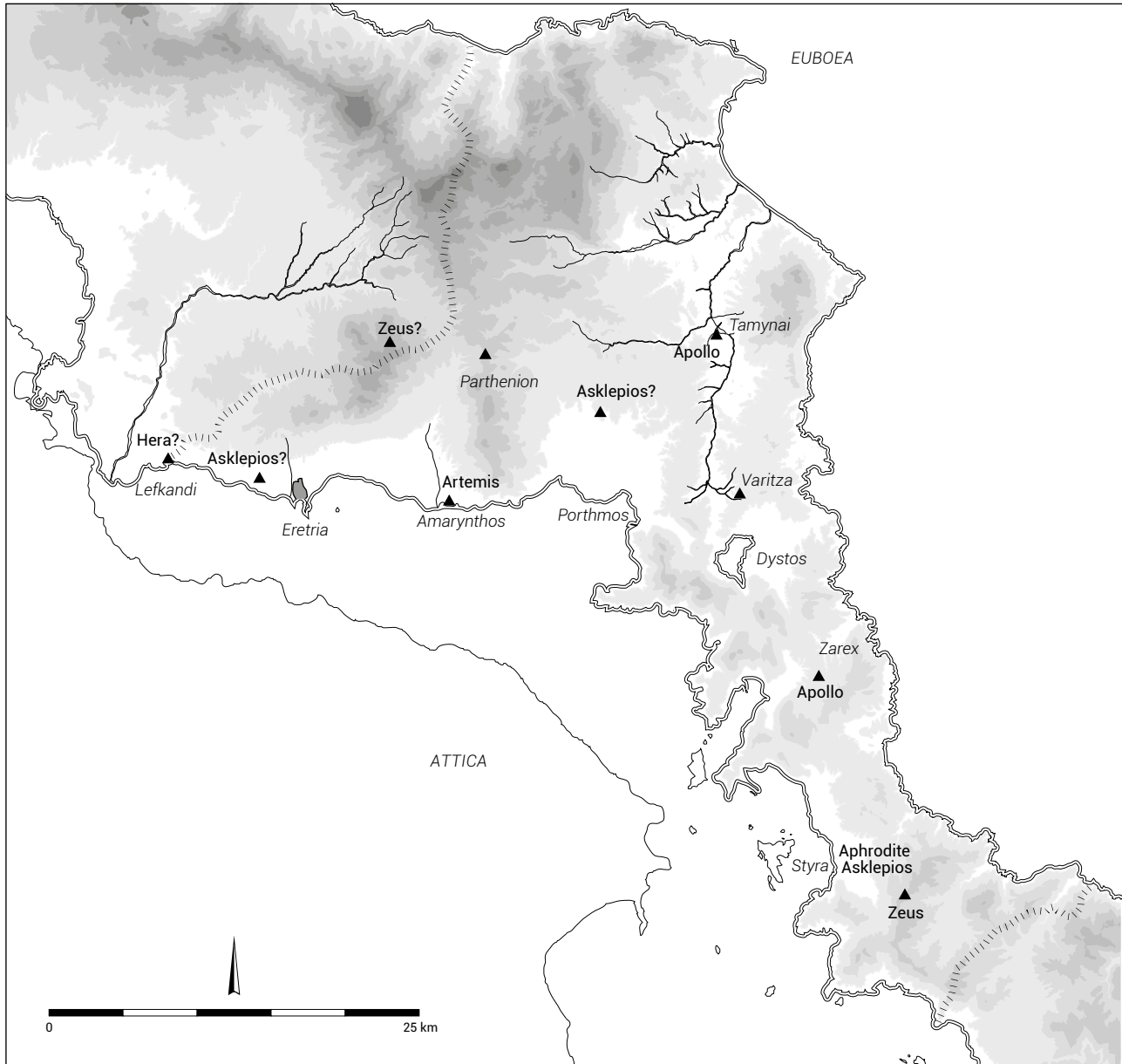


Fig. 1. The *chora* of Eretria with the location of the known extra-urban sanctuaries (S. Fachard)

of the *polis*' territory and civic institutions was epitomized each year during the festival of the Artemisia, which was attended by the citizens of the four

tween two *poleis* (ELLINGER 2009) is evidenced by an agreement between Eretria and Chalkis banning the use of missiles that was displayed on a stele in the Artemision (STRABO X, 1, 12; see also POLYBIUS XIII, 3, 2-4 and Archilochus fr. 3). This reference has often been associated with the so-called Lelantine war between Eretria and Chalkis (see now FACHARD – VERDAN, forthcoming). More treaties between Eretria and other *poleis* of Euboea are known from the sanctuary, such as the recently discovered *sympolitēia* between Eretria and Styra (CRAI 2018, 917-920). Artemis was also first among the gods to be summoned after the social struggles of the 4th century BC, which were ended by the restoration of democracy in Eretria in 341 BC (KNOEPFLER 2004).

poleis of Euboea, and beyond¹⁰. It involved a military parade composed by the tribes (later replaced by a *pyrrhiche*), musical and athletic contests organized by the demes, and sacrifices of sheep and cattle selected by the districts¹¹.

The prominence of the extra-urban sanctuary of Amarynthos was the outcome of a long process in which the Eretrians ended up exercising control over a vast territory, one of the largest of the Greek World. The Artemision surely played a pivotal role

¹⁰ On the Artemisia, see KNOEPFLER 1988.

¹¹ CRAI 2018, 942-944. On the civic organization of Eretria, see most recently FACHARD 2019.



Fig. 2. Situation of the Artemision of Amarynthos and Eretria in Central Euboea



Fig. 3. Plan of the Artemision of Amarynthos with its porticoed courtyard during the Hellenistic period. East stoa (1), ashlar building (4), north stoa (5), temple (6), *oikoi* (7, 8, 12, 13), sacred well (10), altar (11)

in this regard, acting as a middle ground to resolve disputes and forge a collective identity. However, the hierarchy and nature of sites in central Euboea during the early centuries of the first millennium BC was much different, with Lefkandi and Amarynthos in the forefront while Eretria was still in the making. How and when did Amarynthos emerge as an eminent place of cult? The aim of this paper is to present the earliest phases of occupation on the site of the sanctuary and discuss the emergence of the cult at Amarynthos in relation to the development of the Eretrian *polis*.

1. THE LANDSCAPE DYNAMICS

Paleoekklisies Hill, which dominates the sanctuary, forms a coastal eminence occupying the eastern edge of the drainage basin of the Sarandapotamos river, probably called Erasinos in Antiquity¹². The 250 × 150 m promontory offers an unobstructed view over the Euboean Gulf. The alluvial lowland where the sanctuary developed is nowadays planted with orchards and in some places densely built with country houses. This stretch of land used to be called *Ta Marmara* in recent times, a sound indication of the presence of ancient marbles. However, there were neither archaeological remains nor finds visible on the surface, between the foot of Paleoekklisies and the modern riverbed. This is partly due to the extensive reuse of ancient blocks since Antiquity, as attested by numerous *spolia* in the churches of the vicinity, but also to significant changes in the landscape.

In order to map the paleoenvironment, its dynamics and impact on human occupation through time, an interdisciplinary project was recently carried out at major archaeological sites along the Euripos (Aulis, Lefkandi, Eretria and Amarynthos), which revealed the typical features of a coastal wetland ecosystem (Fig. 4)¹³. From the end of the Neo-

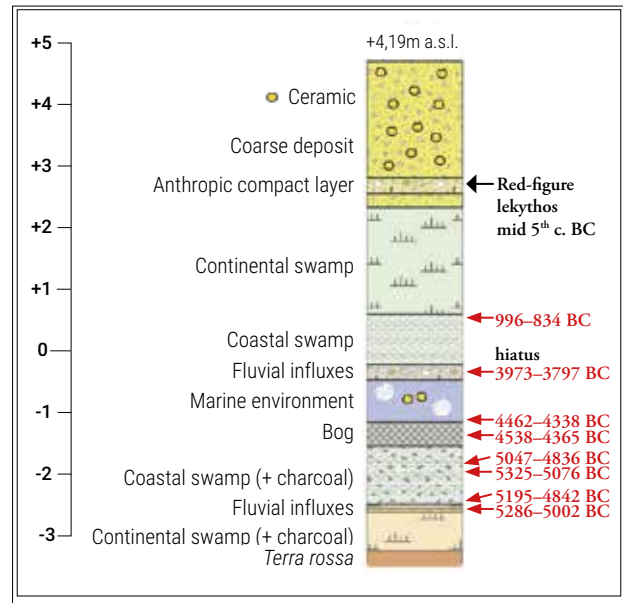


Fig. 4. Chronostratigraphic core profile A5 (adapted from GHILARDI 2018, fig. 5)

lithic, a fully marine environment prevailed until the deltaic progradation of the nearby Sarandapotamos river confined the marine bay around c. 2600-2400 BC. The expansion of alluvial deposits at the beginning of the BA, as evidenced at both Amarynthos and Eretria, was partly due to an increasing anthropic pressure on slopes and a change to a warmer and more humid climate. During most of the BA period, the area was occupied by a brackish lagoon, which evolved into a continental swamp during the EIA due to intense alluvial deposits. According to the geomorphological study, the BA site was a coastal tell with a sheltered anchorage on either side, a topographical feature typical of several BA sites, such as Lefkandi (Fig. 5) or Drosia on the opposite coast¹⁴.

The wetland retreat and anthropic backfilling, as evidenced in several cores (Fig. 4), allowed the extension of the sanctuary during the Classical period in the littoral plain, between coastal marshes to the west, a rugged promontory to the east, and the seashore to the south. Such a wetland ecosystem is shared by several sanctuaries of Artemis along the Euboean Gulf, at Aulis (Artemis Aulideia), Brau-

¹² KNOEPFLER 1988, 404.

¹³ The 2011-2014 project was directed by M. Ghilardi (CNRS-CEREGE) and associated the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece and the British School at Athens. At Amarynthos, a series of 6 boreholes was drilled in the plain west of Paleoekklisies; sediments were analysed, molluscs and microfauna identified, and 22 samples from plant debris and mollusc remains from the cores dated with C14. See GHILARDI *et al.* 2012 and 2018.

¹⁴ That Paleoekklisies might have been a promontory at some point in its history is echoed by Stephanus of Byzantium's qualification of Amarynthos as νῆσος Εὐβοίας, for the word is sometimes used for the compound χερσόνησος, meaning the peninsula (KNOEPFLER 1988, 404).



Fig. 5. Amarynthos (left) and Lefkandi (right); pictures taken in the 1960s by the archaeologists of the BSA during the survey of prehistoric Euboea (SACKETT *et al.* 1966, pls. 17a and 14b)

ron (Artemis Brauronia), Halai (Artemis Tauropolos), Myrrhinous (Artemis Kolainis), and Istiaia, northern Euboea (Artemis Proseoa) and is reminiscent of the “havens of Euripus” mentioned by Callimachus in the Hymn to Artemis¹⁵. The Artemision’s location in marshland on the eastern edge of the Eretrian plain bordered by a rugged coastline (the modern “Kaki Skala”) fits the general typology of the goddess’ sanctuaries in the *eschatia*.

2. THE BRONZE AGE OCCUPATION

The earliest excavated structures on Paleoeckklisies Hill date to the EH II phase¹⁶, but the site might have already been occupied at the end of the Neolithic period¹⁷. The aforementioned drillings actually suggest human activity in the area as early as the LN¹⁸. By EH II, the Euboean Gulf was dotted with coastal settlements. West of the modern village of Amarynthos, at a distance of only 3 km from Paleoeckklisies, EBA pottery has been found on another low elevation¹⁹, while further west is located the EH settlement of Magoula²⁰. During the EH pe-

riod, Lefkandi²¹ and the coastal site of Eretria were also established²². Trade relations with the Cyclades and other regions flourished, as best attested at the site of Manika, north of Chalkis²³. The discovery of EH building remains in a private plot east of Paleoeckklisies (Fig. 6)²⁴ indicates a thriving settlement that already spread by the third millennium BC beyond the confines of the coastal hill.

While a nucleation of sites can be clearly seen during the MH on both sides of the Euboean Gulf²⁵, the situation does not appear to have changed much at Paleoeckklisies, where MH buildings have been excavated both on the hill itself²⁶ and some 100 m to the northwest, at the edge of the prehistoric bay²⁷. In fact, it seems that by the MH period Amarynthos became the main site of the large coastal plain alongside Lefkandi. At Eretria, the EH site was abandoned, and the inhabitants returned to the small plateau on the summit of the acropolis.

Within the limits of the later sanctuary of Artemis, on the western side of the hill, the earliest excavated layer dates to the shaft grave period, at the transition of the MH to LH, investigated at a depth of 3.5 m below the modern surface in a stratigraphic trench between the East Stoa 1 and the modern road

¹⁵ III, 188: λιμένες γε μὲν Εὐρίπιοιο; see also KNOEPFLER 1988, BRULÉ 1993 and KOWALZIG 2018.

¹⁶ PARLAMA 1979.

¹⁷ SACKETT *et al.* 1966, 65; SAMPSON 1980b, 90.

¹⁸ A peak of charcoal and few terracotta fragments in deep strata might be related to a human occupation and deforestation in the LN, whereas spores of the coprophilous type found in pollen analysis indicate the presence of herbivores and possibly pastoral activities (GHILARDI *et al.* 2018, 110-112 and fig. 12).

¹⁹ SAMPSON 1980a, 183.

²⁰ SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1988-1989, 101-104.

²¹ POPHAM – SACKETT 1968, 5-6.

²² The EH coastal settlement replaced an earlier small site on the top of the acropolis hill. MÜLLER CELKA *et al.* 2011, 47.

²³ SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1991.

²⁴ On this excavation by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea in 2009, see KALAMARA 2015, 157 fig. 11.

²⁵ KRAPP 2017.

²⁶ SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1988-1989, 96.

²⁷ On the 2006 excavation of the Patavalis plot, see *AntK 2007* and KRAPP 2011.

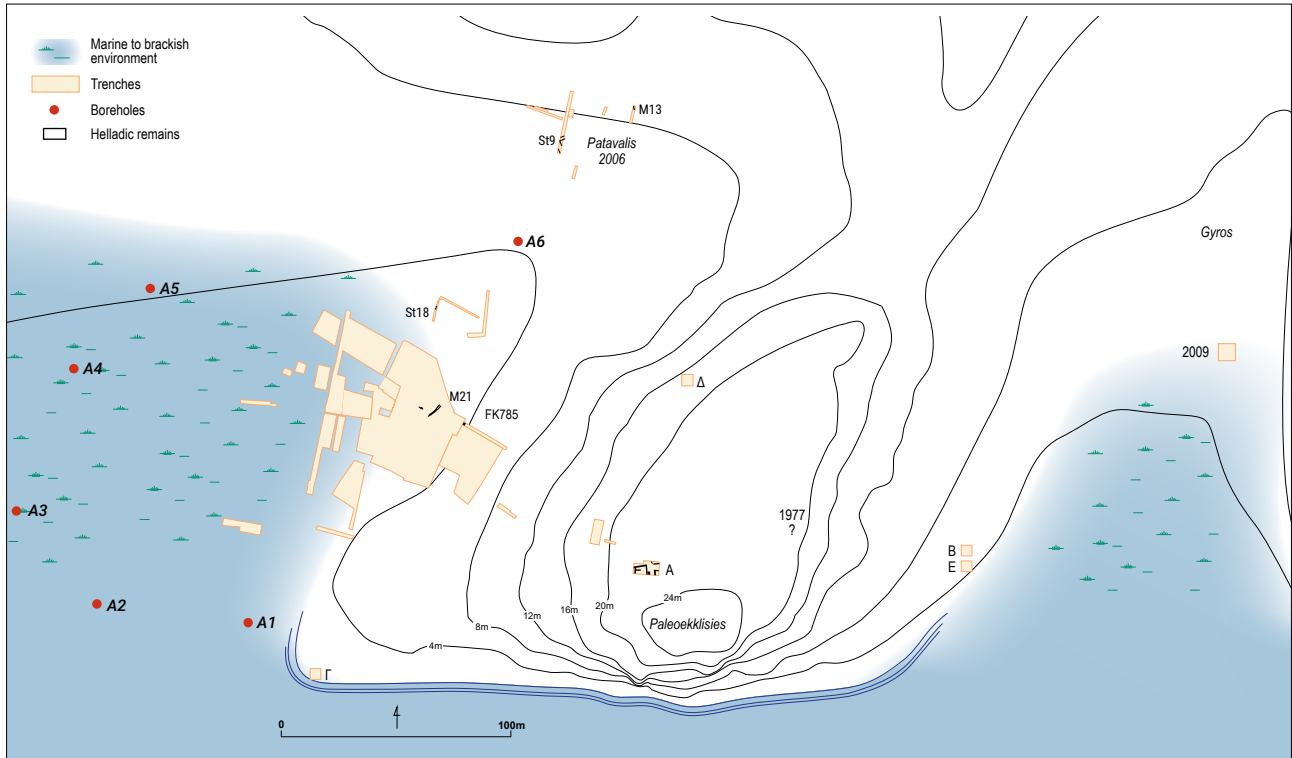


Fig. 6. Helladic remains at Amarynthos - Paleoeckklisies

along the hillside (Fig. 6, FK784). In contrast to the finds from the MH II building in Patavalis plot, the sherds are heavily worn due to their deposition under the ground water level. Buff coloured fabrics prevail while grey minyan is almost absent. The shapes compare well to the later MH layer of the acropolis of Eretria²⁸. Two large kraters with typical hawk's beak rims are illustrated here (**cat. 1-2**), one of which bears traces of matt painted decoration, probably belonging to the mainland polychrome ware. The upper layers produced the first Mycenaean shapes as well (**cat. 3**). Unlike Eretria, early Mycenaean pottery is present at Amarynthos, as indicated by the LH IIA shallow cup of **cat. 4**, a LH IIA Vapheio cup (**cat. 5**) as well as another one of LH IIB date today in the Museum Collection of the British School at Athens²⁹ and a LH IIB small (probably ring-handled) cup (**cat. 6**). Additionally, a tomb containing a LH II alabastron was recently excavated east of Paleoeckklisies³⁰.

Mycenaean remains have been found on the top



Fig. 7. Wheel-made bull terracotta figurine T7125 (Mycenaean)

of the hill³¹, while a Mycenaean layer might exist in the Kokkalas plot; however, excavations did not proceed further in 2007³². Mycenaean fragments of all LH sub-phases from LH II onwards (**cat. 4-18**) have been identified in the dense slope deposits during the excavation of the sector of the Hellenistic

²⁸ KRAPF 2015.

²⁹ KRAPF 2011, 152 fig. 8.32.

³⁰ KALAMARA 2015, 157.

³¹ SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1988-1989.

³² Vases nos. 35 and 37 in KRAPF 2011. *AntK 2008*, 156. On the MG I/SPG IIIa child tomb found in the same plot, see below.



Fig. 8. Wheel-made bull terracotta figurine T5161 (Mycenaean)

building 4 (and to a lesser degree down to the Stoa 1). They contained several thousands of BA sherds along with obsidian tools, leaving no doubt about the continuous Mycenaean occupation of the site down to at least LH IIIC Middle, as the sherds collected by the BSA survey in the 1960s already indicated³³. Characteristic specimens of the palatial period are for instance the LH IIIA2 deep bowl with whorl-shell motif (**cat. 7**) and a LH IIIB1 Zygouries type kylix (**cat. 9**).

The discovery of the Artemision of Amarynthos at Paleoekklisies makes the identification of this prehistoric site with the toponym *a-ma-ru-to*, recorded on a Linear-B tablet from the palace of Thebes, very plausible³⁴. This may imply, in return, Theban control over parts of Euboea. Like other sites along the Euboean Gulf, in particular Lefkandi, Amarynthos flourished during the LH IIIC period after the collapse of the palaces, which can be described as a period of renewed independence. Many sherds can be attributed to this period, finding good parallels both at Lefkandi and Perati³⁵, such as deep bowls (**cat. 11-13**), a stirrup jar with dotted stacked triangles (**cat. 17**), a closed vessel decorated with the elaborate circle motif (**cat. 15**), a krater with crowded decoration of close style inspiration (**cat. 18**) and two more kraters (**cat. 14** and **16**). Two chariot/horse scenes of the pictorial style are known from the British survey³⁶ and a new fragment probably depicting a warrior was found in 2019. They are part of a rich tradition of this style along the Euboean Gulf during the LH IIIC period³⁷. Another

important artefact retrieved from the slope deposits in 2019 is the head of a wheelmade bull figurine (Fig. 7), which is very similar to LH IIIC examples from Phylakopi³⁸. A second probably Mycenaean wheelmade bull figurine from the fill of the Roman well 10 (Fig. 8)³⁹ and a head of a Mycenaean human wheelmade figurine⁴⁰ are indicative of cult activity at the site already by the end of the BA. There is, however, no evidence for an uninterrupted link to the later sanctuary⁴¹. A small number of fragmentary quadruped, Psi and Phi figurines have also been discovered⁴², but unlike the wheelmade figurines, they are very common in Mycenaean contexts, be they domestic or religious.

During LH IIIC, as the silting of the coastal swamp proceeded, a massive wall (M21) following the line of the slope was built in the zone later occupied by the East Stoa 1 (Fig. 9). A few late Mycenaean fragments and especially a monochrome deep bowl with a reserved band inside the rim and re-

³⁸ T7125, 1684-1. Head of a wheelmade bull figurine. Muzzle and horns modeled on the “outflaring rim” of the cylindrical wheelmade head and neck of the figurine, opening on the top, eyes attached below the missing muzzle. Hard fired clay, pale brown (2.5Y 7/3), quite numerous dark inclusions up to 2 mm, surface slightly burnished, dark brown lustrous painted decoration. Width of the horns as broken 9 cm, diameter of the neck 3.8 cm, preserved height 6.4 cm. Cf. GUGGISBERG 1996, pls. 26.8 and 28.1-2.

³⁹ T6151, 802-180. Head of a wheelmade bull figurine. Massive head with pierced eyes and mouth. Hard fired fine clay, pale brown (10YR 6/3), some calcareous inclusions up to 2 mm, surface slightly burnished, red brown painted decoration. Width of the horns as broken 6.6 cm, height of the head 5.7 cm.

⁴⁰ T5436, 315-1. Head of a Mycenaean human figurine. Plastic indication for the nose and eyes, three shallow perforations on the nose, incised mouth, traces of paint around the eyes and on top of head. Height 3.8 cm.

⁴¹ Except the tradition of bull figurines (see below), but their number is too low for indicating any connection between the LBA and EIA. For two 12th-11th century BC handmade bull figurines at Lefkandi see LEMOS 2017.

⁴² Psi-Idol: FACHARD *et al.* 2017, 173 fig. 135. Quadrupeds: KRAPF 2011, 152 fig. 8.30-31.

³³ SACKETT *et al.* 1966, 65-66 and 104.

³⁴ TH Of 25 in ARAVANTINOS 1987.

³⁵ For references see the catalogue.

³⁶ SACKETT *et al.* 1966, 103 fig. 28 nos. 66-67 and BAERISWYL 2020.

³⁷ CROWEL 2006.

served space underneath the handles (**cat. 22**) suggest a construction date around LH IIIC Middle. Most other fragments, such as kylikes and ring bases that could belong to similar bowls, are monochrome as well (**cat. 19-21**). The 80 cm-wide wall probably served as a boundary line at least until the end of the PG, and maybe even later (see below). The structure, preserved in two courses, is sealed by a thick layer of reddish clay, which might be related to the destruction of the mudbrick superstructure. This is the earliest built structure so far uncovered in the area of the later sanctuary and attests to the gradual movement of activities towards this zone, as well as a constant concern with the stability of the slopes⁴³. The link between this structure and the settlement on the hill is an issue to be investigated in further excavations⁴⁴.

3. THE PROTOGEOMETRIC TO EARLY ARCHAIC REMAINS AND FINDS

Protogeometric and Subprotogeometric

The importance of Amarnthos in LH IIIC fits in the dynamism of the Euboean Gulf area in the post-palatial period. The following period, however, is far less conspicuous and only recently started emerging out of the dark. In the survey carried out by the British School in the 1960s, a single “Proto-geometric” sherd was recorded from Paleoeckklisies⁴⁵, whereas no EIA levels were identified in the trenches opened in the late 1980s on the hill⁴⁶. The only clear evidence for an occupation at this period came from three PG vases found intact east of the hill and probably belonging to a funerary context (see below).

The fieldwork initiated in 2006 has significantly changed this picture, with the discovery of EIA re-



Fig. 9. Dry stone wall M21 (Mycenaean to SPG)

mains and pottery in the deepest trenches, under a 2-meter-thick layer of colluvium and anthropic fill (Fig. 10)⁴⁷. Yet, with less than 15% of the excavated area reaching pre-Classical layers, our understanding of the EIA occupation remains fragmentary.

PG and SPG pottery is frequently attested in the slope deposits at the foot of the Paleoeckklisies Hill. However, due to the fragmentary state of the material and the slow evolution of the pottery style during this period, sound evidence for the entire sequence is still lacking, as secure chronological markers for the EPG have not yet been identified, and the same is true for the SM style. For the time being, the earliest pieces span broadly from EPG to MPG⁴⁸. The current gap in the pottery sequence for the very beginning of the EIA is likely to be solved in the future. Indeed, the long period of use of the wall M21 (see above), probably built during LH IIIC

⁴³ A micromorphological project lead by the Wiener Laboratory of the American School of Classical Studies currently investigates the deposits that indicate both episodes of natural sedimentation and erosion as well as human activity. Building 4 functioned at least partially as retaining wall.

⁴⁴ A first test trench was opened in 2019 at the western edge of the summit, but it has not yet been excavated below the medieval layer (*AntK* 2020).

⁴⁵ SACKETT *et al.* 1966, 65-66 and pl. 16c; the sherd may date to the SPG as well.

⁴⁶ SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1988-1989, 104; SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1992, 238.

⁴⁷ See BLANDIN 2008 and 2011 on the finds from the first two field seasons.

⁴⁸ BLANDIN 2008, 184 and pl. 28.2-3; BLANDIN 2011, 814-815 and 826, figs. 3-4.

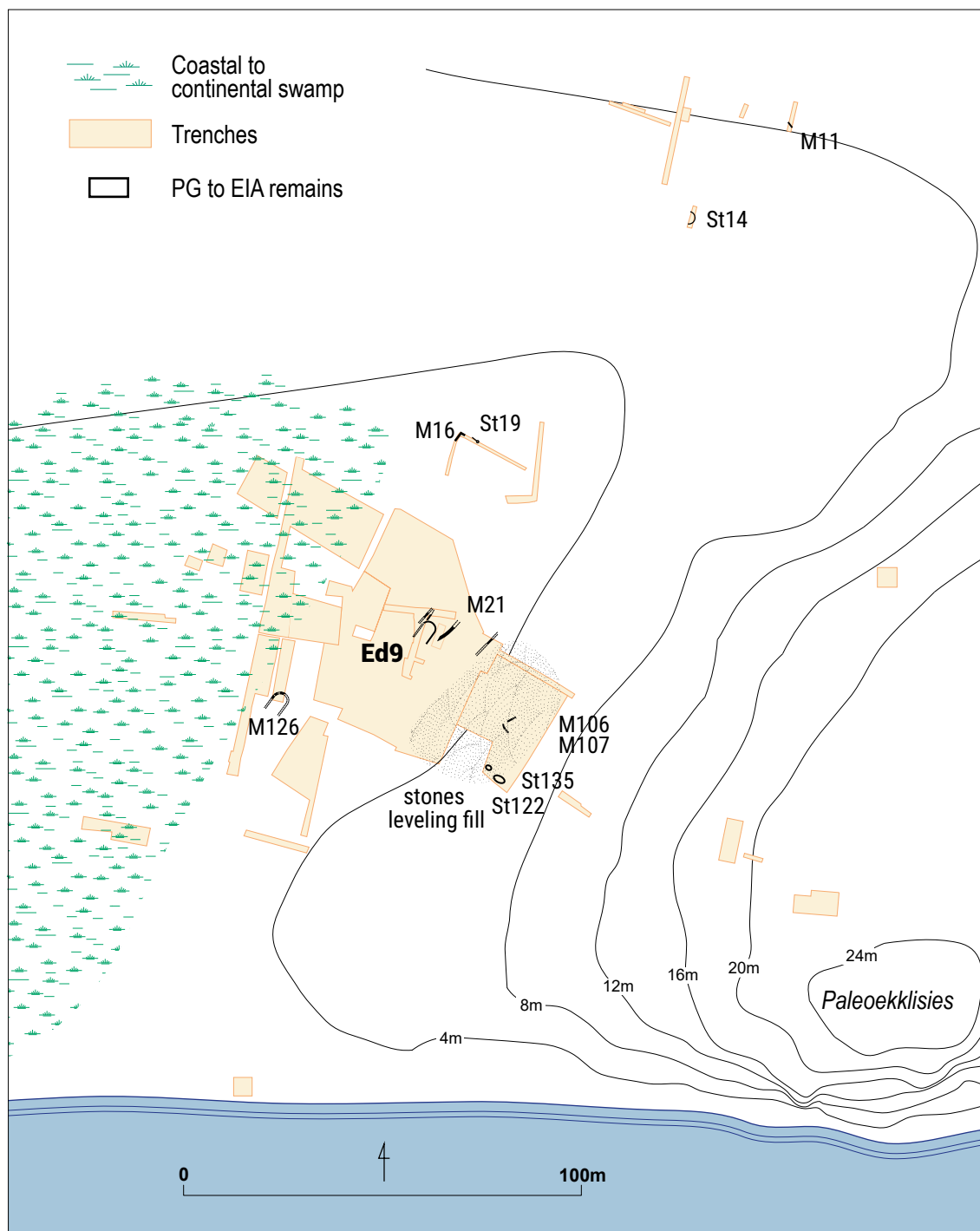


Fig. 10. PG and Geometric remains at Amarynthos - Paleoekklisies

Middle and still in use in the PG period, suggests a steady occupation of the site⁴⁹.

So far, this wall is the only built structure that can tentatively be associated with the PG-SPG occupation. Other finds relate to the funerary sphere: the

⁴⁹ Sherds found in connection with wall M21 date to the PG-early SPG: see *cat.* 23-29.

discovery of an EPG-MPG jug and two cups at the place called Gyros, some 200 m northeast of Paleoekklisies, provides evidence for a burial ground in the area (Fig. 11)⁵⁰. Northwest of the hill, a MG I/

⁵⁰ SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1988-1989, pl. 38. A Mycenaean burial was recently excavated in the same region, see KALAMARA 2015, 157 and above. On burial customs in Eretria, see *Eretria XVII* and BLANDIN 2008, 187-188 in relation to the burial at Ama-

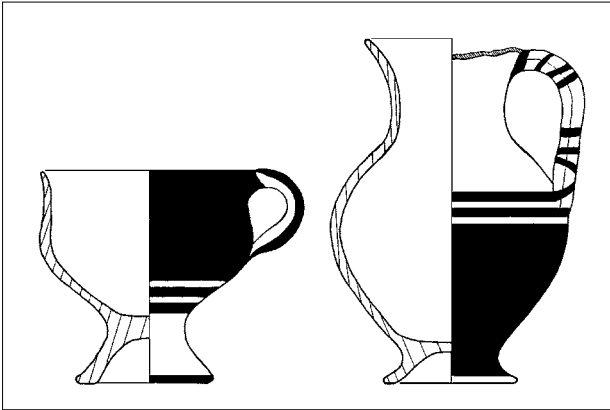


Fig. 11. Stray finds from Gyros, northeast of Paleoekklisies (EPG-MPG)

SPG IIIa inhumation of a child (less than 2 years old) in a shaft grave with three covering slate slabs was unearthed (Fig. 12)⁵¹. The following offerings were deposited at the feet of the deceased and along his legs: two pendent semi-circle skyphoi, a monochrome cup, a monochrome plate and a kalathos with hanging holes, two Attic pyxides with lids, a monochrome feeding bottle and a miniature cooking pot with stand in coarse ware. The exiguity of the trench did not allow to ascertain whether the grave is isolated or part of a larger necropolis.

The PG and SPG remains and finds downhill contrast with the quasi absence of surface finds from these periods and the negative evidence in trial trenches on top of Paleoekklisies. This might suggest that the promontory was not settled after the end of the BA, which seems however unlikely on two accounts: first, there is plentiful evidence in the plain as well as in the slope deposits; second, it would be at odds with what happens at the same period in the neighbouring site of Lefkandi, where the EIA occupation on the tell is now well documented (see below). It cannot, therefore, be ruled out that EIA levels on top of the hill have been obliterated by later activities, such as the reuse of stones as building material in the later sanctuary. As an alternative hypothesis, the relocation of the dwelling downhill might have been triggered by the existence of an early cult place uphill.

rynthos. On child graves at Lefkandi, see *Lefkandi I*, 203-205.

⁵¹ LÉDERREY 2008; a wall also dated to the EIA was excavated few meters west of the shaft grave (M16, cf. *AntK 2008*, 155).

Late Geometric

Clear-cut evidence for the LG occupation has been found at the location of the later sanctuary. A small apsidal building (Fig. 10, Ed9, ~5.50×4.00m), oriented parallel to the slope and opening to the south, is erected some 2 m west of the earlier wall M21. As the construction and occupation layers in the building have not been excavated yet, its precise chronology remains uncertain. However, the stratigraphy suggests a date in the LG, and a heap of LG II pottery deposited nearby may tentatively be associated with its period of use (see **cat. 30-37**). The area might have been densely built during the LG period, as evidenced by two stretches of walls (M93 and M118) running parallel to the west of building 9, but later constructions have left few remains intact. A second apsidal building of uncertain date was partially unearthed some 40 m southwest, under the foundation of a Classical edifice (Fig. 10, M126), whereas stretches of walls were discovered in a deep trench east near the foot of the hill (Fig. 10, M106-107). Further excavations are needed to clarify the plan of the sector, as well as the chronology and function of the buildings.

Early Archaic

A crucial architectural achievement occurs at the end of the 7th century BC with the construction of two monumental edifices (Figs. 13-14, Ed3 and Ed6), which will be discussed below. The decades that span from the early to late 7th century BC are poorly known, in part due to the limited exploration of the deep strata. Yet a handful of remains and finds can be attributed to this phase, some of which are clearly related to cultic activities⁵².

Two limestone bases were discovered along the external facing of the eastern wall of building 3, probably designed to support wooden posts (Fig. 15, St21 and Fig. 16, St136)⁵³. As the top of the stones lies just under the base of the wall and would therefore not have effectively protected the wood from rainwater, their belonging to Ed3 is not ascertained. They may have been part of an earlier construction.

⁵² For a selection of vases coming from the central sector and dating to this phase, see **cat. 38-44**.

⁵³ Since excavations have not reached this level all around the building, other similar bases might be brought to light in the future.



Fig. 12. Child grave St19, plan and finds (MG I/SPG IIIa)

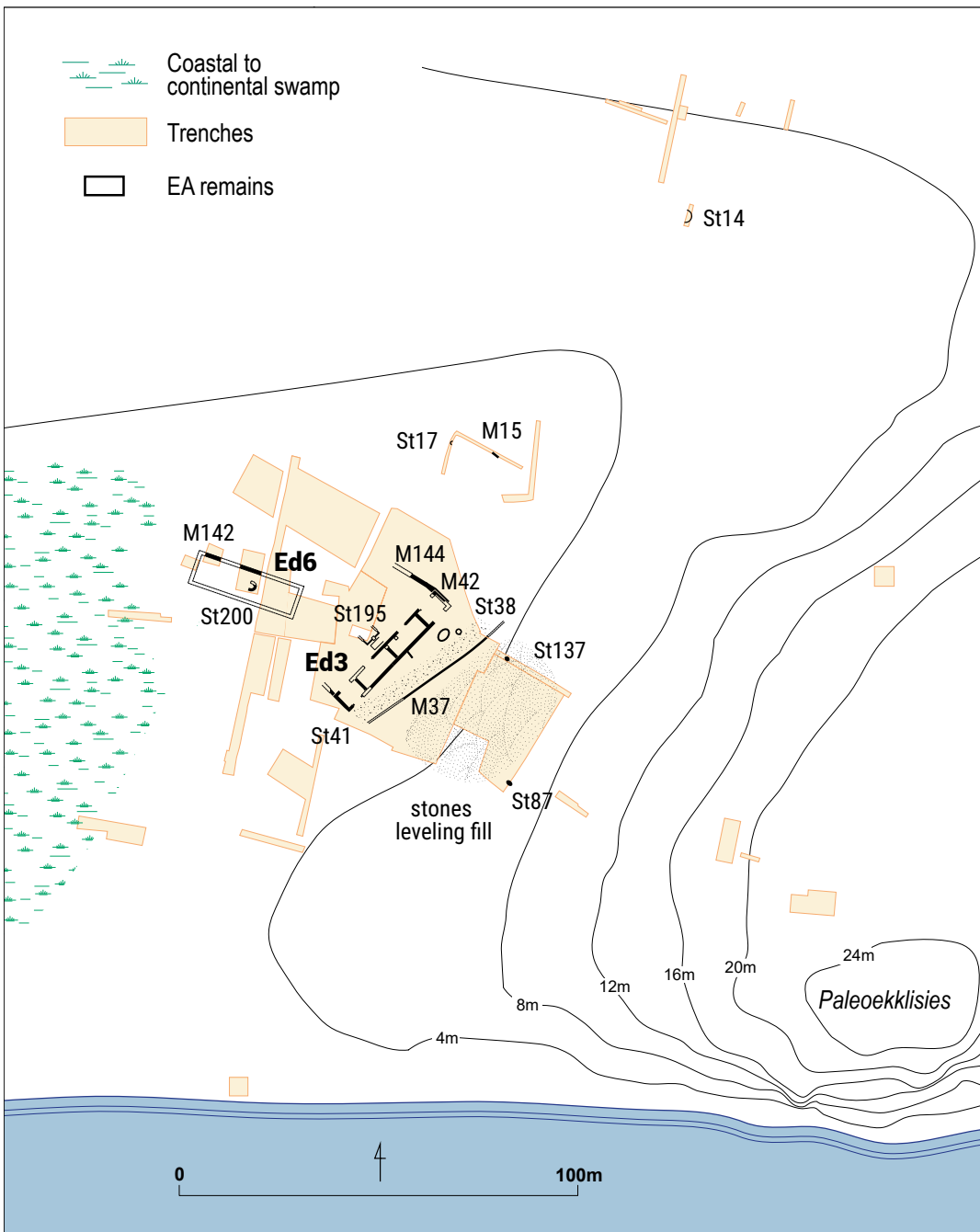


Fig. 13. EA remains at Amarynthos - Paleoekklisies



Fig. 14. Drone view of the eastern stoa with earlier remains (2019)



Fig. 15. Limestone base under east wall of edifice 3 (St21)



Fig. 16. Limestone base under the east wall of edifice 3 (St136)



Fig. 17. Seated terracotta figurine (T5052) found next to base St21

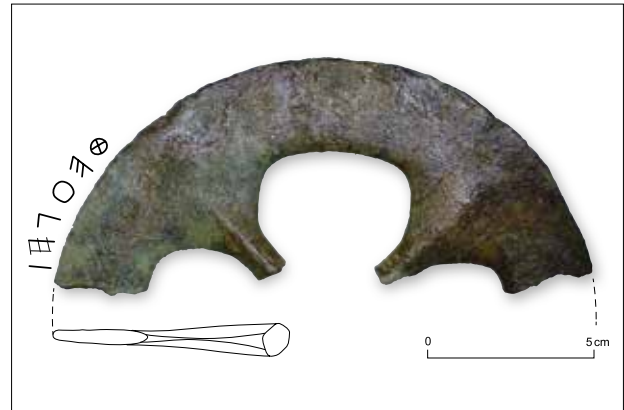


Fig. 19. Inscribed miniature bronze wheel (early 7th century BC)

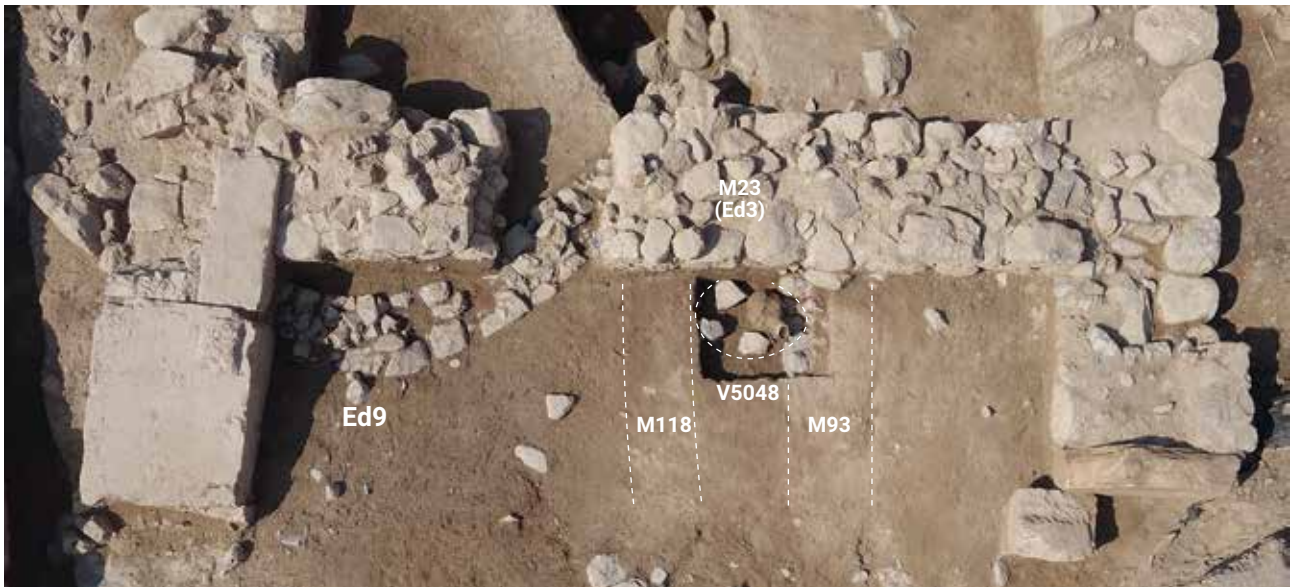


Fig. 18. Location of the deposit containing a complete LG II oenochoe (V5048, cat. 43)

Next to one of these bases, a small seated terracotta figurine was found, most probably a votive offering (Fig. 17).

A complete LG oenochoe (**cat. 43**) was buried at the base of the northern wall of building 3 in a shallow pit which partially overlaps a LG wall (M93, Fig. 18)⁵⁴. In terms of stratigraphy, the deposit is situated above the LG level and just under the foundations of edifice 3. The intact trefoil jug exhibits signs of wear, which might suggest a long period of use. However, if interpreted as a foundation deposit for the monumental building 3, the vase would have

been passed down for almost a century before being buried. The deposit of this jug might also be related to a votive offering made during the early 7th century BC or to a burial.

Further east, a narrow and deep pit (Fig. 14, St38) yielded pottery dating to the first half of the 7th century BC (including the foot of a high-neck jug **cat. 71**), three terracotta balls, two terracotta figurines of quadrupeds, a piece of a shell with incised decoration, and part of an inscribed bronze wheel. The latter bears four letters written from right to left, ΘΕΟΥΓ-, probably the name of the dedicant

⁵⁴ *AntK* 2019, 147 and fig. 3, and CHEZEAUX 2020.

Θεογείτων or Θεόγνητος (Fig. 19)⁵⁵. The content of the pit cannot be interpreted as a primary votive deposit, due to the small quantity, the high fragmentation and the heterogeneity of the material found inside. Nevertheless, several finds can be associated with rituals and provide evidence for the activities carried out in the sanctuary at this early phase (for more such material, see below).

The monumentalization of the sacred space in the Archaic period

A rectangular edifice (Ed3, ca. 38.0×5.6 m), oriented parallel to the hillslope, was erected above the LG building 9. Its massive 80-to-90 cm-wide walls are preserved on two irregular courses, with a double facing made of large blocks of limestone retaining a fill of rubble (Figs. 20-21). The masonry presents various qualities of stones and dressing – roughly cut limestone and fine-grained limestone ashlar blocks –, which might be interpreted as repairs and could testify to the long period of use of the building. Later structures have extensively disturbed the area; as a consequence, floor levels within the building are only preserved in a limited area, and no undisturbed construction layer has been excavated yet, which makes the chronology of the building difficult to secure. Based on this limited evidence, its construction can be provisionally placed in the last quarter of the 7th century BC⁵⁶.

Our understanding of the overall plan and internal organization of the edifice has significantly evolved since its discovery in 2012. It was then interpreted as an elongated building *in antis* with an axial entrance from the northeast through a shallow porch, reminiscent of the monumental EIA public buildings discovered throughout Greece, at Eretria, Samos or Kalapodi, to name but a few⁵⁷. The recent field season brought to light new evidence suggesting a different and more complex layout (Fig. 22).

It is an elongated building with two rooms at

⁵⁵ B1801 (*AntK 2015*, 146). Bronze wheel offerings are not uncommon in sanctuaries, either as *pars pro toto* or belonging to wheeled tripods. See also de FUJIK 2015.

⁵⁶ A handful of sherds of locally produced pottery found under a disturbed floor/construction level can be dated toward the end of the 7th / beginning of the 6th century BC (**cat. 45-49**), whereas two fragments of Ionian cups found in/under the walls of Ed3 belong to types appearing in 3rd third quarter of the 7th century BC (**cat. 50-51**).

⁵⁷ MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997 and 2017a.

each end featuring large gates for access to the sanctuary (Fig. 20, St170/191 and St215/216). Their architectural layout is partially known as the remains were disturbed by later constructions, but they can be tentatively reconstructed as double doorways for pedestrian and carriages access⁵⁸. These monumental gates flanked an elongated space divided in two spacious rooms of similar size (ca. 10.2×4.0 m) which were opened onto the sacred space. They have not been extensively excavated and their exact function is not yet ascertained. No destruction layer has been observed in or around the building. Either it was carefully cleaned and dismantled after its abandonment or the related strata were obliterated by later constructions.

The surroundings of building 3 are only known to a limited extent. At its north and south ends, two stretches of wall oriented toward the west (M144 and M146) can be interpreted as part of the peribolos. A shallow pool made of large Corinthian tiles (St195) directly to the west suggests that water-related activities took place in front of the building. To the east, a 5 m-wide gravel roadway (Figs. 14 and 20, St41) runs alongside the building, edged by a long wall (Figs. 14 and 20, M37) serving as a boundary. Further east, the space between the roadway and the hillslope is levelled with a dense layer of stones, probably originating from the destruction of earlier constructions uphill (houses, terrace walls, fortification?). Limited soundings in this 35 m broad and flat esplanade have yielded scattered finds dating from BA to EA (for examples of LG to EA pottery, see **cat. 52-62**). The esplanade might have served as a burial ground for infants, as suggested by the discovery of two enchytrisms (Figs. 23-24)⁵⁹.

⁵⁸ The southeast gate (St170) preserves two rectangular limestone bases with sockets for wooden posts of a 2.5 m wide doorway. A massive fine-grained limestone ashlar block adjacent to the south (St173, 1.0×0.8×0.45 m) probably served as a threshold for a narrow door. An identical ashlar block (St174) attests to the existence of a symmetric entrance at the northeast end of the building, which was dismantled when the foundations of the Hellenistic Stoa (1) were built. On Archaic doors, see BÜSING-KOLBE 1978, 75-79, and more generally GUGGISBERG 2013 on entranceways in Greek sanctuaries. Double doorways for pedestrian and carriage access are attested later in Classical and Hellenistic houses in Eretria and Olynth; see references and discussion in *Eretria X*, 120-121.

⁵⁹ A coarse ware pithos (St137) yielded the remains of a newborn baby together with an amber bead; a fineware painted amphora (St87) contained the remains of a nearly full-term infant

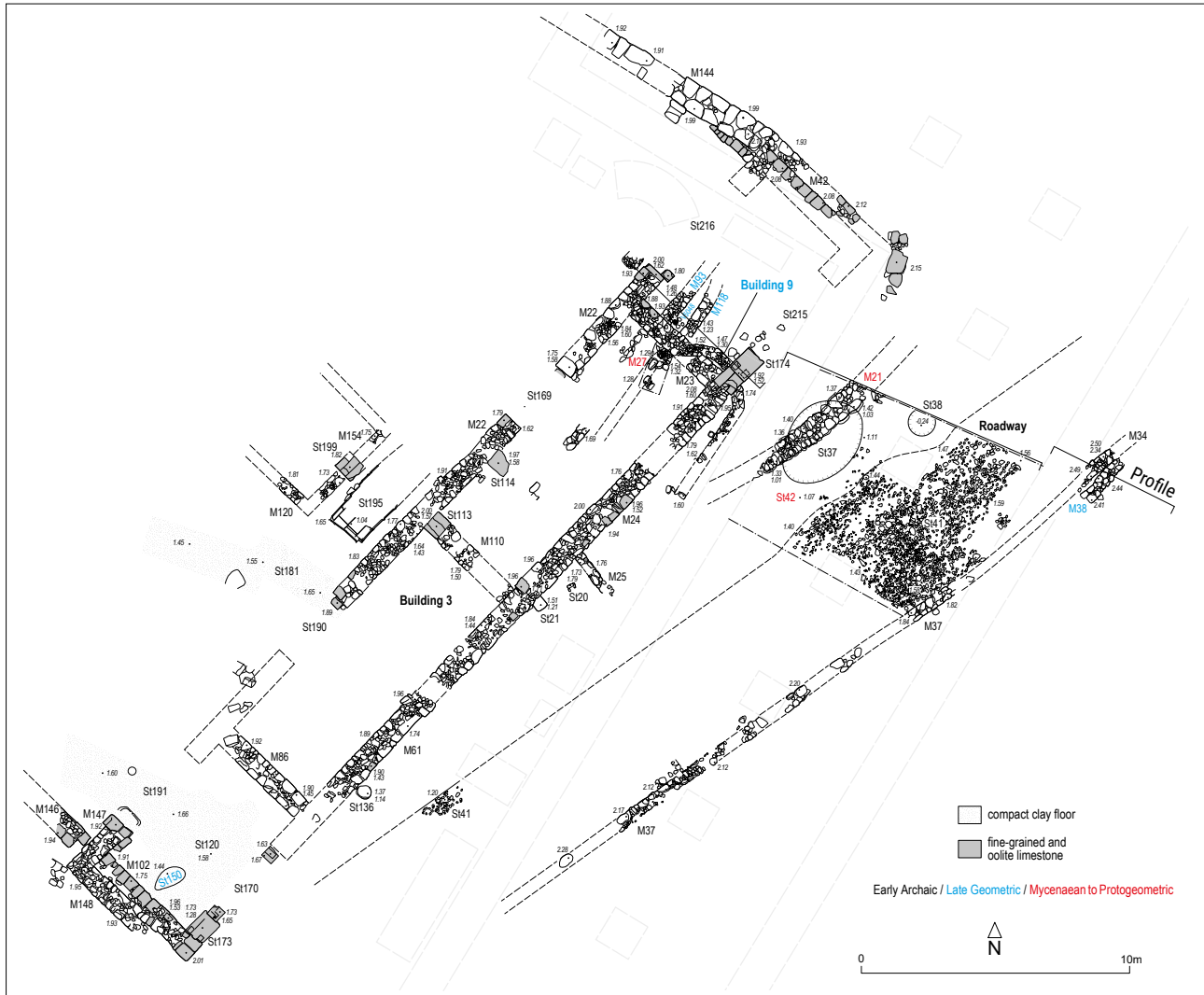


Fig. 20. Sector of edifice 3, plan of the EA (black), Late Geometric (blue) and Mycenaean to Protogeometric (red) remains

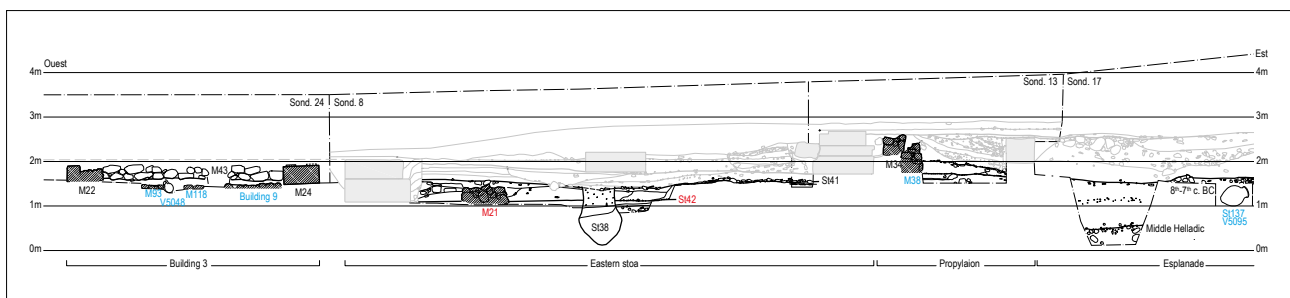


Fig. 21. Profile through the pre-Classical remains

Edifice 3 stood as the east boundary of the sanctuary, controlling the access from the surrounding land into the enclosed sacred space. This Archaic

(see Fig. 13 for the location of the burials). Infant cemeteries and the cult of Artemis have a close relationship, as attested in Astypalaia (MICHALAKI-KOLLIA 2010). See also on the Artemision of Amarnthos SEMENZATO – VERDAN – THEURILLAT 2020.

gate-building features an original plan with no exact parallel in Greek architecture⁶⁰. It does, howev-

⁶⁰ The first example which comes to mind is the sanctuary of Apollo at Despotiko, with its sacred courtyard bordered by porticoes and various buildings (KOURAYOS 2012). See also OHNESORG 2013 on the western gate of the sanctuary of Dionysus at Yria on Naxos and more generally HULEK 2019, 227-228.

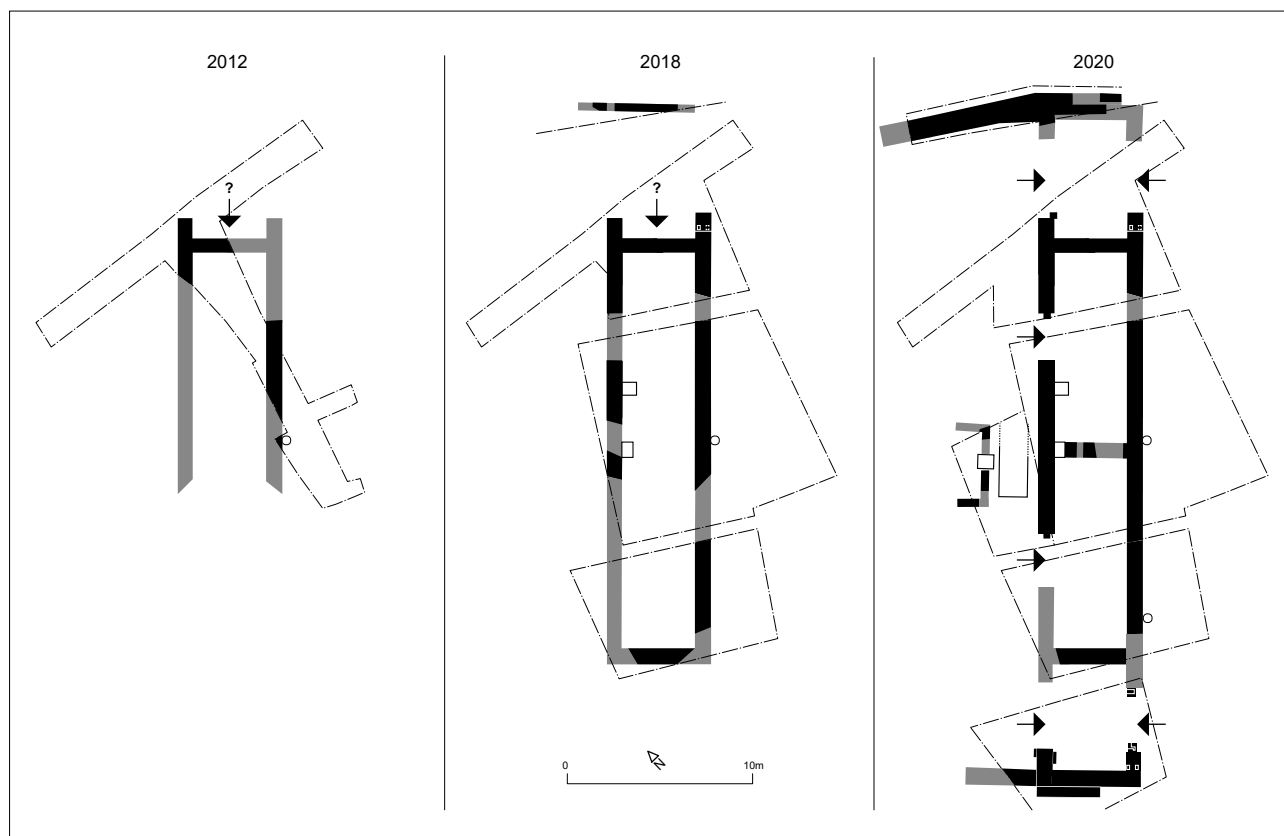


Fig. 22. The successive excavation phases of the EA edifice 3, with changing interpretations of its layout

er, exhibits similarities with the large winged portico (1) erected on the same spot some three centuries later: both monumentalized the eastern limit of the *temenos* and controlled access to the sanctuary; they offered a large assembly space opened onto the sacred courtyard with a water supply close by⁶¹. Such spatial permanence is remarkable but finds close parallel in one of the main buildings of the Artemision, which recent discoveries designate as a temple (Ed6).

The existence of a large east-west oriented building (Ed6) located in the centre of the sacred space has been known since 2017⁶². It was tentatively dated to the beginning of the Classical period and identified as a temple, on the ground of its plan with an axial colonnade (30.5×10.8 m) and its orientation toward a massive foundation interpreted as an altar

⁶¹ An underground well (10) accessible by two opposing flights of stairs offered a source of water in front of the Hell Eastern stoa (*AntK 2018*, 133-135). The discovery of 160 coins on the stairs and in the well suggests that the structure might have had a ritual function.

⁶² *AntK 2018*, 134.



Fig. 23. Pithos re-used for pot burial (enchytrism) St137 (8th-7th century BC)

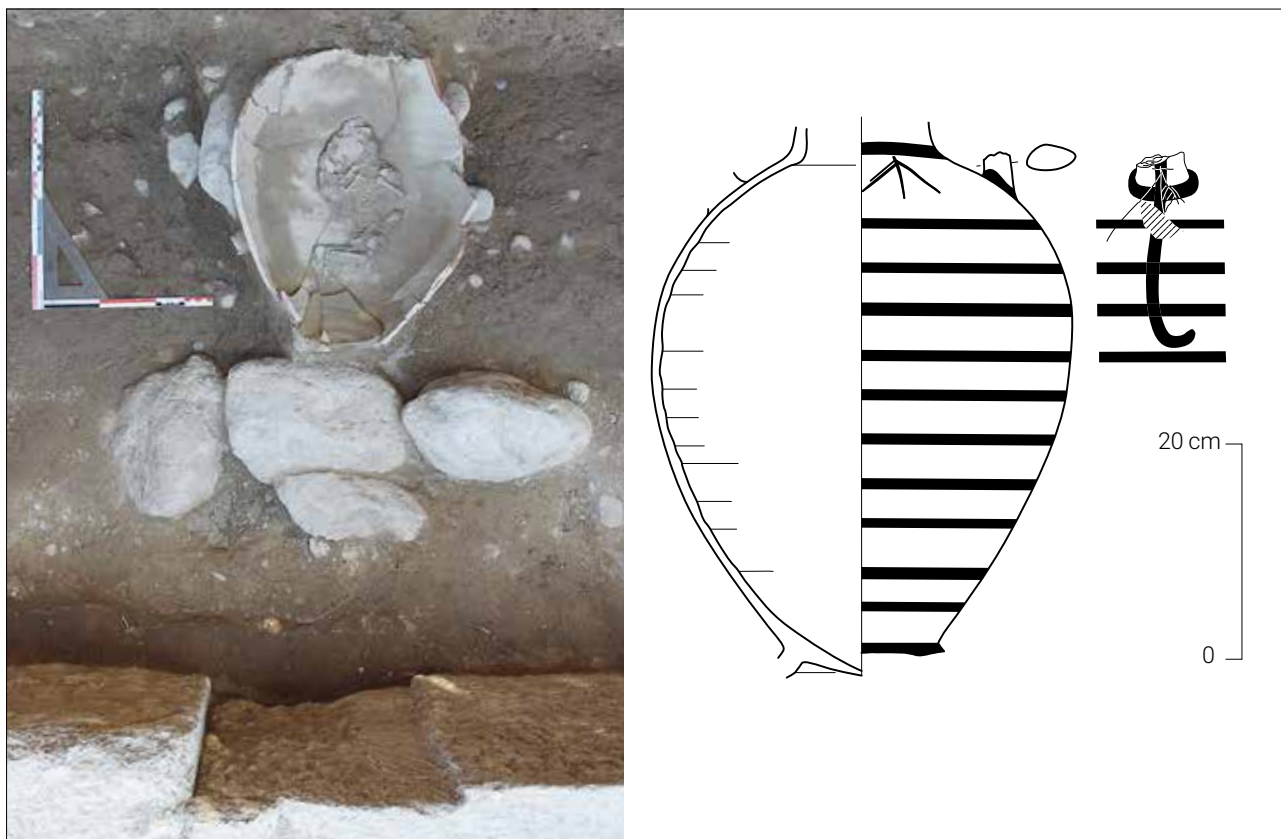


Fig. 24. Pot burial (enchrytism) in a transport amphora (St87) dug at the foot of the hillslope and found behind the rear wall of edifice 4 (7th century BC)

(11)⁶³. Excavations in 2020 added compelling evidence for the identification of this building.

A limited trench along its north wall brought to light two superimposed stretches of wall, suggesting the existence of two successive constructions (Fig. 25). The earliest (M142) consists of mudbrick on top of a rubble limestone socle while the upper foundations (M74) are made of large blocks of conglomerate.

A rich deposit was found inside the building (Fig. 25). It yielded Attic black figured vases, locally produced high-neck jugs and miniature hydrias (two shapes already well attested in the sanctuary, see below), bronze vessels, terracotta figurines of the so-called “pappas” type, spindle whorls, seals, pearls, and other pieces of jewellery made of different materials⁶⁴. The vases, which were intact when deposited, mainly date to the last quarter of the

6th century BC. The offerings were seemingly lying under a floor level and were probably collected and deposited in this specific place on a special occasion when building 6 was rebuilt.

A curve-shaped hearth (Fig. 26, St200, ca. 1.90 m in diameter) was partly excavated at the centre of the building. It probably belongs to the first phase of Ed6. The fireplace is made of an accumulation of thin layers of red clay and ashes, enclosed by mudbrick on top of a stone foundation. No artefact was retrieved from the interior of the hearth except for a silver ring and two lead sheets, but ongoing analysis of the sediment and macro-remains at the Wiener Laboratory in Athens might give more insights about its function. Given its size, setting and location inside building 6, it was certainly an important focal point for cultic activities.

The aforementioned discoveries strongly support the interpretation of Ed6 as a temple. The chronology of its successive phases of construction and use is not yet ascertained, but it might have been erected around the same time as Ed3, testifying to

⁶³ *AntK 2019*, 148-149; *AntK 2020*, 107-110.

⁶⁴ At the time of writing these lines, the finds from the votive deposit have not yet been properly restored and studied; they are therefore not included in the catalogue at the end of this paper.



Fig. 25. Votive deposit inside building 6 (late 6th century BC)

the monumentalization of the sanctuary in the Archaic period.

The EA architectural layout of the sacred area and its boundaries – the temple, the eastern gate-building, the road alongside bordered by a wall and the rear esplanade – are spatial markers that were perpetuated throughout the development of the sanctuary (Fig. 27). A Classical road replaced the Archaic one; at the beginning of the 4th c. BC, a small building (2) was installed above the Classical road, which was later succeeded by a long portico with one or possibly two back entrances (1), monumentalizing the boundary between the rear esplanade and the sacred courtyard.

Late Geometric and Early Archaic pottery

LG and EA pottery provides a sound indicator for links between Amarynthos and Eretria at the time of the sanctuary's development. The evidence remains limited, since the finds mainly come from later levels, filling layers and natural deposits; large assemblages coming from specific stratified contexts (buildings, pits, etc.) are still missing. Consequently, we will not try to give a comprehensive



Fig. 26. Curve-shaped hearth (St200) inside building 6 (7th-6th century BC)

view of the material here. Instead, we will first give a general comment on the quality and style of the “local” productions, and then make more specific remarks on a selection of vases interesting for their function.

As expected, most of the fine painted ware fits well in the range of local productions of Central Euboea, as known from Chalkis, Lefkandi, Eretria, as well as Oropos⁶⁵. Broadly speaking, the fabrics cor-

⁶⁵ KERSCHNER – LEMOS 2014.

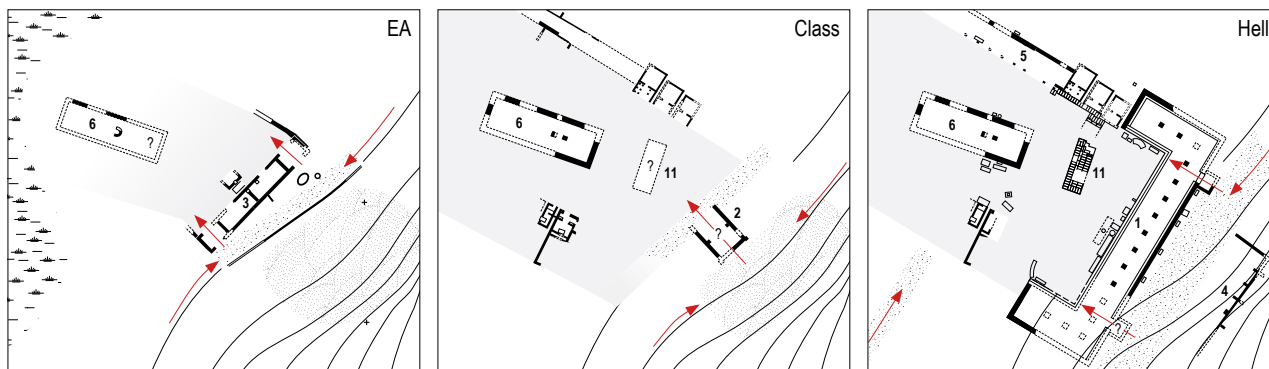


Fig. 27. Development of the Artemision from the EA to the Classical and Hellenistic periods

respond to those observed in Eretria. Among other technical characteristics, mention shall be made of the recurrent presence of a creamy slip, typical of the Euboean LG production⁶⁶. On a few large vases (kraters, **cat. 55-57**), the slip is of very good quality. It is the sign of a high standard pottery, intended to be used in special occasions⁶⁷. The same white slip is also used to paint motifs on a dark ground, producing a “bichrome style” frequent in the Eretrian productions of the LG II period (**cat. 34, 36, 44**)⁶⁸. Another feature, typical of the 7th century BC pottery in Eretria, is attested in Amarynthos: a “polychrome style”, combining red and white paint applied on dark glaze (**cat. 45-46, 58, 62**)⁶⁹.

As for the morphological and stylistic repertoire, most vases also fall within the standard Euboean production. Most distinctive are the large skyphoi with concentric circles on the lip (**cat. 31**)⁷⁰, and a series of local imitations of the Corinthian kotyle decorated with various motifs (chevrons, soldier-birds: **cat. 40, 52**). Except for the ubiquitous birds (see **cat. 32-33, 43, 64**), figured motifs are rare on LG pieces: the best-preserved occurrence found to date is a horse painted in a metope on

the upper part of a krater (**cat. 55**)⁷¹. The animal frequently appears on vases, where it illustrates an important occupation and prerogative of Euboean elite: horse breeding⁷². In a similar composition, a later krater bears what seems to be a lion, providing an orientalising touch to its decoration (**cat. 59**). This is one of the rare occurrences where orientalising features are observed in the material found so far. Last, an elaborated scene may be reconstructed from a small sherd belonging to a LG II closed vessel (**cat. 36**). The body of the vase is likely decorated with a battle scene, of which only the head of a warrior wearing a crested helmet is preserved. The shoulder also bears a complex scene, though difficult to identify (maybe lying human bodies?). The general composition is reminiscent of a richly decorated amphora found in a funerary context in Paros⁷³. Most of the EA pieces are decorated with simple motifs in the Geometric tradition, as it is the rule for the main bulk of the Euboean production at that time⁷⁴.

Unsurprisingly, LG to EA pottery from Amarynthos closely matches finds from Eretria, thus testifying to the tight links between the two sites. Future discoveries will hopefully contribute to refine this pattern: in particular, the “pan-Euboean” dimension of the sanctuary might be evidenced by pottery produced beyond Central Euboea⁷⁵.

⁶⁶ ALOUPI – KOUROU 2007; *Eretria XX*, 24-25, with further references.

⁶⁷ Like the famous Cesnola krater in the Metropolitan Museum (COLDSTREAM 1971, pl. 1a), or vases from the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria (see for instance *Eretria XXII*, cat. 162, 193-195, 205-207, 210-212, 214-215, etc.).

⁶⁸ *Eretria XX*, 25 and 109-110.

⁶⁹ This style seems to appear around the middle of the 7th century and is still in use in the 6th century BC. BOARDMAN 1952, 7 and 20; CHARALAMBIDOU 2017, 125-126.

⁷⁰ Typical of the LG I style: *Eretria XX*, 84. See also a slightly later version with a dotted net on the lip and a meander on the body (**cat. 53**).

⁷¹ Most probably a grazing horse: see *Eretria XX*, pl. 69, cat. 338. The same motif may appear on the fragment of a small closed vase (see **cat. 42**).

⁷² SIMON – VERDAN 2014 and DUPLOUY 2019, 166-176.

⁷³ ZAFIROPOULOU 2000, figs. 7-8.

⁷⁴ CHARALAMBIDOU 2017, 123-125.

⁷⁵ It is premature to tackle this issue, as well as to comment on pottery produced outside Euboea, which is attested in the cata-

The most common shapes in fine painted ware pertain to the drinking equipment, such as the ubiquitous small open vessels (cups, skyphoi and kotylai), large mixing vases (kraters and dinoi), and pouring vessels (jugs of various kinds). Beside this usual repertoire, two shapes deserve a special mention, as they point to cultic activities: the high-neck jug and the miniature hydria (**cat. 63-72**). Both belong to the most idiosyncratic pottery with ritual functions that has been identified in Eretrian sanctuaries. They have been discovered in especially high numbers in a sacrificial area located north of the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros⁷⁶, but appear in other religious places in Eretria as well: the Athenaion on the top of the Eretrian acropolis, the sanctuary of Apollo itself, and the area of the Heron close to the West Gate⁷⁷. The presence of such shapes in Amarynthos provides significant evidence for the ritual activities that took place there at an early phase. It closely connects the Artemision with the Eretrian places of cult, in particular with the sacrificial area, possibly dedicated to Artemis, as hypothesised by S. Huber⁷⁸. Fragments of high-neck jugs found in Amarynthos are mainly high conical feet, a distinctive feature of this shape (**cat. 70-72**), as well as a fragmentary neck with figurative imagery: it represents the lower part of the garment of a presumably female figure (**cat. 69**), and finds close parallels in the scenes painted on the Eretrian jugs.

The chronology of these specific vases is of importance. The miniature hydria already appears in the LG period. It is not always easy to date with accuracy, because of its plain decoration and the slow evolution of its morphology. However, a few examples in Amarynthos can be securely dated to the LG period (**cat. 63-65**). They are among the earliest evidence of cultic activities onsite. The high-neck jug appears in the Eretrian (and Euboean) repertoire in the 7th century BC⁷⁹. Some examples from Amarynthos are evidence for rituals carried out during

the EA, before the construction of edifice 3, while others may be contemporary with the monumental edifice.

In addition to the high-neck jug and miniature hydria, a third characteristic vase of the Eretrian repertoire of the EA period deserves to be mentioned: the pithoid amphora (**cat. 44, 62**). This shoulder-handled shape has an ovoid body, a large and high cylindrical neck and usually a conical pedestal. The early examples are covered with linear motifs, mainly vertical wavy bands, whereas later ones bear figurative imagery in orientalisising style. On the neck of a series of these amphorae, female figures appear, similar to those painted on the aforementioned high-neck jugs. Both shapes are connected through this iconography. The best preserved pithoid amphorae have been discovered in Eretrian cemeteries, where they were used as containers for the remains of young children (enchytrisms). Consequently, the shape is usually considered as having an essentially, or exclusively, funerary purpose⁸⁰. This interpretation must however be reappraised, since such amphorae are also found outside of cemeteries⁸¹. The fragments found in Amarynthos could be related to disturbed enchytrism burials, an inhumation practice attested in the area⁸², or they might have had a function in the sanctuary itself, for instance as offerings. In any case, the presence of this shape strengthens the links between ritual practices carried out in Amarynthos and Eretria.

Late Geometric and Early Archaic small finds and inscriptions

Several small objects that can be interpreted as votive offerings have been recovered from the levelling layers on the eastern esplanade: a miniature lead votive (Fig. 28)⁸³; a bronze bull discovered at

logue by imports from Athens (**cat. 60**), Corinth (**cat. 61**) and probably Ionia (**cat. 50-51**).

⁷⁶ Eretria XIV, 48-63, pl. 14-28 and 66-100.

⁷⁷ HUBER 2013.

⁷⁸ Eretria XIV, 149-156.

⁷⁹ Eretria XIV, 63. The shape has forerunners of the Geometric period, but a coherent series of Geometric high-neck jugs has not been identified in Eretria yet.

⁸⁰ BOARDMAN 1952; RITSONIS 1997 and 2005; most recently CHARALAMBIDOU 2018.

⁸¹ In Eretria, many fragments have been identified in the Archaic material of the Heron area. Some pieces have been found on the Xeropolis tell in Lefkandi (*Lefkandi I*, 71 and pl. 57, 309-317), and in a residential/workshop area in Oropos (CHARALAMBIDOU 2017, 141, fig. 14.21). For further discussion of the case, see VERDAN 2015b.

⁸² See above on the enchytrisms found in the eastern sector of the excavation.

⁸³ This object in form of a rectangular barred panel with a stem (Δ6799, l. 2.5 cm; h. 2.6 cm) can be related to Laconian lead vo-

the foot of the hill, at the edge of a 1-m-deep pit (St122) filled with stones (Fig. 29)⁸⁴; a scaraboid seal in serpentine from the “Lyre Player Group” (Fig. 30)⁸⁵. More conspicuous are the “Argive” bronze shields, of which a dozen fragments have been recovered so far (Fig. 31)⁸⁶. Their precise chronology in the 7th century BC or later is under study.

The votive character of some finds is further manifested by inscriptions, such as the one on the bronze wheel already mentioned (Fig. 19). The early use of writing in the Artemision is also attested by several graffiti on pottery, such as a votive inscription ending with a cursing formula against thieves written after firing on the handle of a coarse ware pot (Fig. 32)⁸⁷. The three lines inscribed in a false boustrophedon reads as follows: Πλειστίπ[μ’ ανέθεκε |]σχῶι: ἡό(ς) δ’ | ἄ(ν) με κλέ[φσει... The dedicant bears a name suited for an Eretrian aristocrat, probably *Pleistippos*, “wealthy-in-horses” or “greatest *hippeis*”⁸⁸. The identity of the deity the offering was made to remains unknown, but the epiclesis ending in “σχῶς” – a likely inversion for “ἡσῶς”⁸⁹ – points toward an archer god or hero, as

tives (BOSS 2000). See also SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1992, 241 for lead votives from a deposit near the Artemision of Amarnthos.

⁸⁴ The small bronze bull (B2101, l. 7.1 cm; h. 4.8 cm) finds good parallels in a votive deposit from the end of the 8th century BC discovered at Peī Dokou, not far from Chalkis (KALAMARA *et al.* 2015, 30-33 and PAPAVALIOU 1912). See GREGER 2020.

⁸⁵ *AntK 2016*, 99-100 (M1561, l. 1.7 cm, w. 1.4 cm, h. 1 cm). The seal is pierced lengthwise; it displays a man standing on the left, dressed in a lined loincloth and holding a lyre, and on the right a bird facing him. In the Aegean world, this type of object is dated from the late 8th and 7th centuries BC and is mainly found in religious and funeral contexts. In Eretria, two “Lyre Player Group” seals have been discovered in the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros and four in the North sacrificial area (*Eretria XIV*, 91-92). See more generally on this group of seals AMBROSINI 2018.

⁸⁶ B1866 was recovered from a fill layer just above the EA roadway (St41). Other fragments of shields come mostly from contexts disturbed by the construction of the Hellenistic stoa.

⁸⁷ V4774. The object was found in front of edifice 3 in a context disturbed by the foundation trench of the Hellenistic stoa. The ostentatious dedicatory inscription contrasts with the inconspicuous appearance of the coarseware pot which bears it, although its content might have been of value.

⁸⁸ SIMON – VERDAN 2014.

⁸⁹ In early inscriptions, the sound “xi” is transcribed in the Euboean alphabet by the letters ΧΣ, or sometimes ΣΧ, as in the inscription ΣΧΕΝΙ from Methoni (BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 365-366). About the closed windows-like letter form of the xi, inherited of the Semitic samek and attested in an abecedaria from Eretria but never used by Euboeans to transcribe the sound “ks”, see KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, 60 and the appendix by R. WACHTER, 85-86.

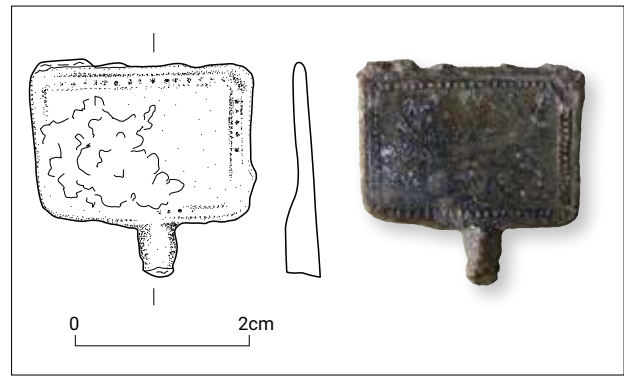


Fig. 28. Miniature lead votive (Archaic)



Fig. 29. Bronze bull figurine (late 8th-early 7th century BC)

epitomized by the famous bronze statuette from Thebes dedicated by Mantiklos to Apollo *Argyrotoxos* (“of the silver-bow”). We will never know what shall occur to the thief, but he would probably be blinded, as evidenced by the 7th century BC imprecations on the *Tataie* lekythos from Cumae and the *Akesandros* cup from Methoni⁹⁰.

A LG monochrome cup with a hatched pattern on the handle and two letters on the wall written after firing (**cat. 30**) is reminiscent of several inscribed drinking cups discovered in the sanctuary of Apollo at Eretria and corresponds to the early practice of writing during communal banqueting⁹¹. Another Archaic graffito written before firing on a tile from

⁹⁰ BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 334-338. Worth noting is the absence of the final *nu* in the formula ἡό(ς) δ’ ἄ(ν) με, which finds an interesting echo in the Nestor cup, where the *nu* was added at a later stage. For a LG graffito from Eretria displaying the formula ἡε δ’ ἄν (ME10697), see reference in KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, 80.

⁹¹ V5121, cf. KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005 and more generally WECOWSKI 2014.



Fig. 30. "Lyre-player group" seal (late 8th-7th century BC)

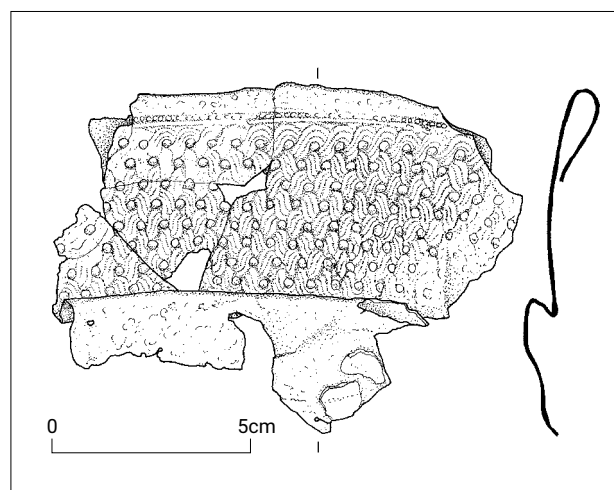


Fig. 31. Fragments of a bronze "Argive shield" (Archaic)

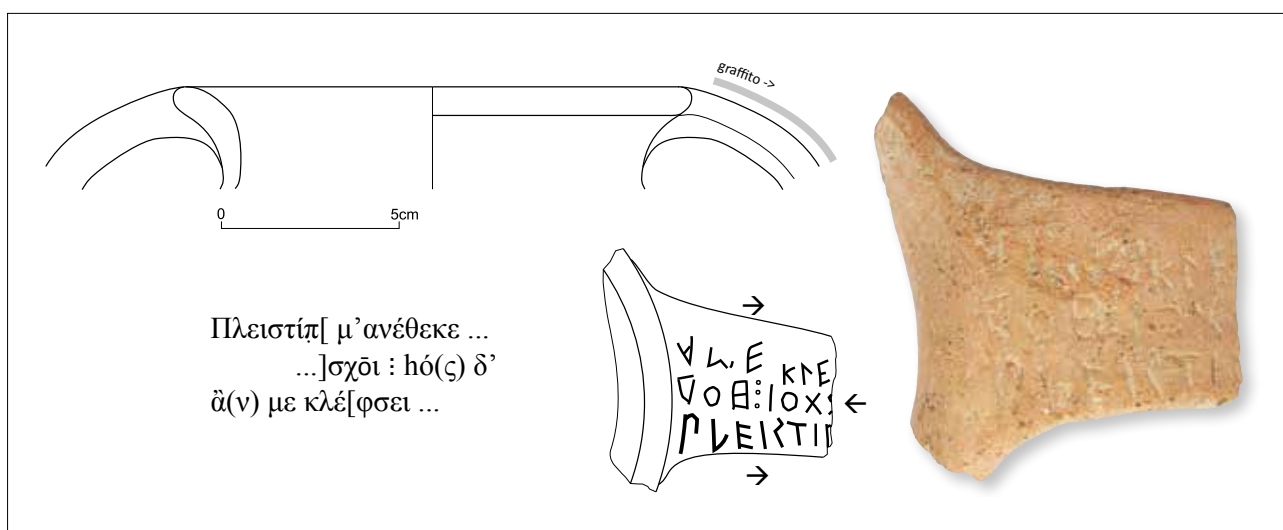


Fig. 32. Graffito on a coarseware jug (7th century BC)

right to left reads]KPETEΠ[, probably for *akroterion* (Fig. 33)⁹².

Together with distinctive shapes of pottery closely linked to ritual practices, such as the aforementioned high-neck jugs and miniature *hydriai*, these offerings testify to the existence of a cult at least from the LG onward.

4. THE ORIGIN OF THE ARTEMISION AT AMARYNTHOS AND THE GENESIS OF THE ERETRIAN *POLIS*

The evidence presented so far is fragmentary and provisional. Nevertheless, this should not pre-

vent us from tackling the current issues and from suggesting tentative interpretations in order to stimulate future research: what changes occurred from BA to EIA and what kind of continuity is attested? Are the genesis of the *polis* of Eretria and the emergence of the sanctuary at Amarynthos related? How did the cult develop in the Artemision?

The Bronze Age to Iron Age transition

A reappraisal of the transition between the BA and the EIA is needed to discuss the possible prehistoric origin of the cult and to set Amarynthos in the regional settlement dynamics of this crucial period. To the usual question of "hiatus or continuity?", the discoveries made so far do not allow to give a decisive answer (see above). What is at stake, however,

⁹² V4924, cf. *AntK* 2016, 99-100.

goes beyond the material evidence for a continuous occupation on the site, as Amarynthos was no doubt affected by the deep socio-political transformations that characterize the period⁹³. For the time being, we are mainly looking at a pottery sequence, but the real interest lies in the signs of long-term cultural change and permanence.

At the regional scale, Lefkandi provides a case study which may help clarify what happened at Amarynthos. The whole pottery sequence from LBA to EIA is attested there, though the results of the first excavations gave a contrasted situation: there is a gap in the stratigraphic sequence after the LH IIIC in the settlement on Xeropolis, whereas the cemeteries start with SM graves. Pottery is the only comparable evidence, with very distinct assemblages from one period to the other, because of the different contexts of provenance. The excavators hypothesised some form of continuity, with the possible arrival of newcomers⁹⁴. Recent excavations on the tell, however, have brought to light LH structures still in use in the beginning of the EIA, thus providing a real stratigraphic continuity⁹⁵. The question about the composition of the community (indigenous and/or exogenous) remains open. The BA to EIA transition at Amarynthos fits the general pattern observed at Lefkandi, with a likely uninterrupted occupation, together with several changes in the spatial organisation of the area. The relationship between the two sites during the EIA is also a matter that requires further investigation. In this paper, however, we shall rather address the question of the rise of Eretria and its impact on the development of Amarynthos.

Amarynthos and the rise of the Eretrian polis

Before commenting on the relationship between the two sites, a few “myths” shall be discarded concerning the “birth” of Eretria in the Geometric period: there is no *ex nihilo* foundation in the 8th century BC, and most probably no massive popula-

⁹³ See for instance CRIELAARD 2006 and LEMOS 2012 and 2014b. Even if a short-term hiatus was identified at Amarynthos, it would not necessarily imply a complete break in the occupation, for the site could have been abandoned for a while before being re-occupied by the same group of people.

⁹⁴ *Lefkandi I*, 284-5, 355-6. See also CRIELAARD 2006, 284-285.

⁹⁵ LEMOS 2012, 23-24 and LEMOS 2019.

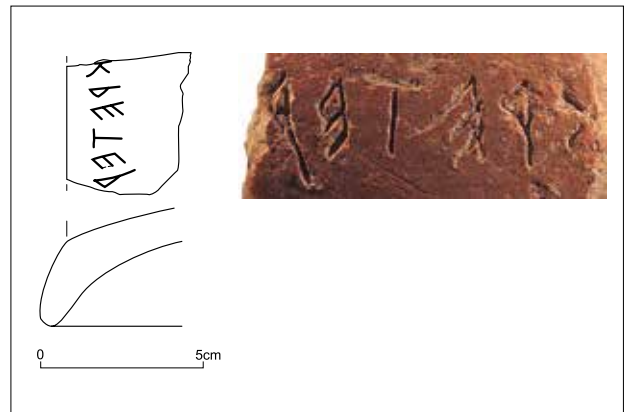


Fig. 33. Graffito on a tile (Archaic)

tion transfer from one single site to another. We rather assume that the process was progressive, with Eretria exerting a growing attraction on the surrounding communities⁹⁶. In this respect, the attempts to locate an “Old Eretria” (*Palaia Eretria*) at Lefkandi, Amarynthos or elsewhere, following Strabo’s account (IX, 2, 6-7 and X, 1, 10), are pointless⁹⁷. These terms refer more likely to the acropolis of Eretria itself, corresponding to an urban deme called *Astypalaia*⁹⁸.

In Eretria, after a LH IIIC occupation attested on the acropolis⁹⁹, not very conspicuous altogether, the site seems to be abandoned. PG finds are extremely rare¹⁰⁰ and there is no evidence of a regular occupation, let alone a continuity during the LH to PG transition. Important though sporadic discoveries date back to the middle of the 9th century BC (SPG II / EG II). They come from various places, but all belong to funerary contexts¹⁰¹. Traces of the

⁹⁶ For an overview on that matter, see *Eretria XVII*, vol. I, 155-162; *Eretria XXII*, 174-175; VERDAN 2015a, 183-184.

⁹⁷ Strabo’s mention of *Palaia Eretria* has fuelled a large debate. Various locations have been proposed: Lefkandi (SACKETT *et al.* 1966, 68; AUBERSON – SCHEFOLD 1972, 18-19; AUBERSON 1975; COLDSTREAM 2003, 197; BÉRARD 1978, 93, n. 25), Magoula (BOARDMAN 1957, 22-24), and Amarynthos (BOARDMAN 1957, 23-24; BAKHUIZEN 1976, 78-82).

⁹⁸ As proposed by KNOEPFLER 1981, 301, n. 79. See also FACHARD – VERDAN, forthcoming. For an Eretrian deme named *Astypalaia*, see KNOEPFLER 1997, 363.

⁹⁹ FRIEDEMANN 1995, MÜLLER CELKA 2010.

¹⁰⁰ The most distinctive one is a fragment of an Attic LPG skyphos (*Eretria XXII*, pl. 60, cat. 19; PAPADOPOULOS 2015, 20). See also THEMELIS 1969 and 1970.

¹⁰¹ Burnt fragments of a large Attic amphora in the West Quarter; a whole Attic amphoriskos from O.T.740; a cremation grave containing a monumental krater and a sword, as well as scattered sherds in the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros (*Eretria XVII*,

related settlement have not been found yet. However, the evidence is strong enough to point to the existence of a community with its own elite and access to valuable pottery imports from Attica. At that time, Eretria was definitely smaller than Lefkandi and probably more modest than Amarynthos, living in the shadow of its two neighbours. This situation changes in the following century.

Eretria starts booming toward the end of MG II as evidenced by the development of nuclei of habitation scattered in the deltaic plain¹⁰². Interestingly, this period is not well represented in the material so far retrieved at Amarynthos, and the same seems to be true at Lefkandi¹⁰³. At Oropos, evidence of the MG II occupation remains also scarce¹⁰⁴. This pattern may result to a certain extent from the stylistic evolution of the local pottery or from the state of research, but it could also be interpreted as evidence of the negative effects that Eretria's growth had on the demography of neighbouring sites during this period¹⁰⁵.

In the LG, while Eretria keeps a steady pace of development, evidence grows stronger again in Amarynthos. The conspicuousness of the site at that time might be related to the development of the sanctuary (see below).

The shifting importance of Lefkandi, Eretria and Amarynthos during EIA certainly had multiple causes. Among them, environmental factors probably played a significant role, within a general context of dynamic changes of the coastal landscape as described above. At the beginning of the EIA, Eretria is not the most suitable place to settle: the deltaic plain is occupied by brackish marshes whereas

the "acropolis" has no direct access to the sea¹⁰⁶. This is in contrast with the topography of Lefkandi and Amarynthos, two seashore promontories flanked by a double bay offering a sheltered anchorage¹⁰⁷.

Later on, the wetlands tended to be dried up by the alluvial dynamics and the progradation of the delta, resulting in a larger space available for the settlement to expand¹⁰⁸. The site was then close enough to the seashore, allowing for the development of a proper harbour zone. In comparison, the "old" tells of Lefkandi and Amarynthos only offered a limited space for the community to grow further¹⁰⁹, whereas the shallow bays were gradually filled in by alluvial deposits and became less suitable for anchorage¹¹⁰. Summing up, an extensive dwelling area, an easy access to a naturally sheltered harbour, and a high rocky outcrop with commanding view on the Euboean Gulf and its coastal regions were key factors that contributed to the attractiveness of Eretria in the Geometric period. Beyond these environmental factors, the intense settlement dynamics and remodelling of Euboean communities during the EIA both homeland and abroad throughout the Mediterranean were also no doubt triggered and exacerbated by competitions and antagonisms between different groups of people. Such is the natural and historical background against which the origin(s) of the Artemision shall be discussed.

The development of the Artemision in the Geometric and Early Archaic periods

The foundation of a sanctuary is a complex process whose origin and motives are difficult to disentangle. When can the earliest evidence of cult be traced? Which are the divinities honoured at the outset? What are the ritual practices carried out and

vol. I, 157-162; *Eretria XX*, cat. 357; *Eretria XXII*, 66-72 and 175-178; see also VERDAN 2015a, 183-184).

¹⁰² Evidence summarised in *Eretria XVII*, vol. I, 162-164.

¹⁰³ *Lefkandi I*, 293 (see also *Eretria XX*, 106). The picture may change, however, with the results of the new excavations (see for instance LEMOS 2015, 171, n. 54).

¹⁰⁴ A gap in the occupation between the SPG and the LG has first been hypothesised (MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1998, 188-191 and 2007b, 29), before the discovery of a MG grave, and the identification of a few sherds of the same period in the settlement (MAZARAKIS AINIAN – VLACHOU 2014, 95-97).

¹⁰⁵ Lefkandi, Amarynthos and Oropos are the main sites for which we can try pinpointing the phenomenon. However, other communities of smaller size might have been affected by Eretria's growing attraction (*Eretria XVII*, vol. I, 161; BLANDIN 2008, 189-190). Concerning the different pottery facies in Lefkandi and Eretria for the MG II period, see *Eretria XX*, 105-106 and KENZELMANN-PFYFFER 2011.

¹⁰⁶ A similar assessment was already made by BOARDMAN 1957, 23. For a recent overview of the topographic evolution of the site, see VERDAN *et al.* 2020.

¹⁰⁷ For Amarynthos, see above. For Lefkandi, see DAVIDSON *et al.* 2010; LEMOS 2012, 22-23. See also GHILARDI *et al.* 2016, 158.

¹⁰⁸ GHILARDI *et al.* 2016. Marshes are attested east and south of the city in historical times and subsist until nowadays although in limited areas. The inhabitants took protective measures against frequent flooding episodes of the seasonal river, see VERDAN *et al.* 2020.

¹⁰⁹ LEMOS 2015, 171.

¹¹⁰ MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2017b, 30-31.

by whom? How is the sanctuary embedded in the geographical, political and mythological landscape of the *polis*? These are questions that can rarely be answered, all the more about the Artemision of Amarynthos, where excavations have barely scratched the deep strata and for which ancient sources are fragmentary and indirectly relevant for the periods under study. It is however not premature to discuss some of these key issues and replace them in the current debates about the place of sanctuaries in the genesis of the Greek *polis*.

It is tempting to hypothesize the roots of a cult at Amarynthos in earlier religious practices carried out in the extensive Bronze Age settlement attested on top of the hill and around the prehistoric bay. In this respect, the discovery of Mycenaean wheel-made figurines in the slope deposits is indicative of a cult activity at that time¹¹¹, but these finds are few and not clearly related to the development of the later sanctuary. Current research shows that permanence of cult places across BA and EIA was an uncommon phenomenon in the Aegean. While a great many sanctuaries were abandoned at the end of the Mycenaean period, a sharp rise of their number did not occur before the mid-8th century BC¹¹². Further excavations at Amarynthos might yield Mycenaean and PG offerings or religious structures to substantiate such an ancient filiation. Nevertheless, the prominence of the BA site at Paleoeckklisies, the probably enduring occupation after the 11th century BC throughout the EIA, and the likely movement of some of its inhabitants to Eretria in the 9th-8th century BC are key factors to explain why one of the main sanctuaries of the Eretrians was located there, on the eastern edge of their hinterland. The Artemision was obviously not founded in a *vacuum* but in a place charged with a long history and settled by a living community, as it was also the case at Brauron, for example¹¹³.

The earliest evidence related to religious practices carried out after the BA onsite are ritual vases (high-neck jugs and miniature hydriai) and votive offerings which can be dated to the end of the 8th -

early 7th century BC. The absence of evidence for earlier centuries is partly dependent of the current state of research but can also stem from the very nature of the ritual practices, which might leave extremely faint traces on the archaeological record. The exact setting of the LG religious activities remains unknown: were the LG apsidal houses such as building 9 part of a larger dwelling or already a sacred space? The same question has arisen at Eretria in relation to the early phases of the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros. The place was already marked in the 9th century BC by the presence of a high-status group, as evidenced by SPG II *pyra* with a sword and a monumental krater¹¹⁴. According to Verdan's interpretation, the space was organized in the first half of the 8th century BC in two distinct areas with, on one side, a *hieron* centred on an altar and including two apsidal buildings and, on the other side, a dwelling plot¹¹⁵. Layers of ashes with burnt bones together with drinking vessels and offerings buried in pits attest to the practices of sacrifices and banquets. Around the last quarter of the 8th century BC, the *hieron* was extended and earlier sacral and domestic buildings were dismantled to allow for the construction of a monumental building oriented towards the altar¹¹⁶. In the Artemision of Amarynthos, the first clear architectural evidence for a sacred space is the monumental edifice 3 built at the end of the 7th century BC, which marked the eastern limit of the precinct and shaped the organization of the *hieron* in the following centuries.

Although tenuous, the evidence gathered so far contributes nonetheless to shed light on the early ritual practices carried out onsite and the identity of the attendants. The identity of the deity originally worshipped in the sanctuary is not ascertained, but the characteristics of votives and rituals find close parallels in other Artemisia and fits the goddess' prerogatives, while other deities might have been associated since the outset¹¹⁷. Ritual vases, such as

¹¹⁴ *Eretria XXII*, 68-72 and 176-177.

¹¹⁵ *Eretria XXII*, 178-185.

¹¹⁶ *Eretria XXII*, 201-204. According to MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997, there was no clear distinction in the early stage of the *polis* between the sacred and domestic spheres, when the ruler's dwelling accommodated both public and religious functions.

¹¹⁷ Artemis' mother and brother, Apollo and Leto, were also worshipped according to later inscriptions, as well as other deities and heroes, such as the nymph Archô or the hunter Narkittos, son

¹¹¹ See above part. 2 and Figs. 7-8.

¹¹² KOTSONAS 2017, 58-60 and HAYSOM 2020; for a different appreciation of the continuity of cult, see also COSMOPOULOS 2016 and EDER 2019.

¹¹³ COSMOPOULOS 2016, 258-259.

miniature hydriai and high-neck jugs, are indicative of various practices carried out in the early phases of the cult, such as libation, purification or votive offering¹¹⁸. The presence of several EIA infant burials could be related to a dwelling in the vicinity but could also be explained by the role of Artemis as protector of childbirth¹¹⁹. The bronze shields are clearly connected with warfare and recall the ritualized contests or procession in arms attested by later sources¹²⁰. Evidence for the practice of sacrifices is so far lacking in the pre-Classical periods, but banqueting is attested by the whole repertoire of pottery for the service and consumption of wine for the periods under study.

CONCLUSION

Forthcoming excavations will undoubtedly expand our knowledge of the genesis and development of the sanctuary, which must be assessed on the long-term and within a regional level of social, political and religious interactions in Central Euboea and beyond. At this stage, no conclusive assumption can be made concerning the beginning of cult practices on this site. Likewise, the nature of the Mycenaean and EIA structures and finds remains to be determined. The place of Artemis and the role of other deities associated at Amarynthos also need to be cautiously examined over the long history of the sanctuary in order to trace patterns of permanence and transformation of the religious practices. Despite these pressing issues, evidence gathered in the course of ten excavation seasons provides significant avenues for further reflection. Current research already renders the Artemision at Amarynthos particularly appealing as a case study to better under-

stand the LBA to EIA transition in Euboea (in association with Lefkandi) and the role of the sanctuary in the development of the Eretrian *polis*.

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to the Greek archaeological authorities, in particular the Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea under the direction of Angeliki Simosi, and to the Swiss National Science Foundation for their continued support. The ongoing excavation in the Artemision of Amarynthos is a collaboration between the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece and the Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea. The project is co-directed by Karl Reber and Amalia Karapaschalidou and since July 2021 by Sylvian Fachard and Angeliki Simosi.

Catalogue of pottery (Pls. 1-6)

Late MBA/ early LBA pottery from the stratigraphic trench (Pl. 1)

1. 780_c02. Krater. Rim diam. 28 cm. Hawk's beak rim. Inside traces of a horizontal band, no traces of paint on the worn exterior. Hard clay; very pale brown (10YR 7/4) where original surface preserved; calcareous inclusions. For "hawk's beak rims" incl. further bibliography see MATHIOUDAKI 2010, 626.
2. 785_c01. Krater. Rim diam. 34 cm. Hawk's beak rim. Hard semi-fine clay; light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4); small dark inclusions; slightly larger calcareous inclusions of normally 0.1 cm but up to 0.4 cm; original surface not preserved.
3. 780_c01. Cup. Rim diam. 13 cm. Everted rim. Monochrome interior and exterior. Hard fine clay; brownish yellow (10YR 6/6); red paint.

LBA pottery from the slope deposits (Pl. 1)

4. 272_c01. Shallow cup; rim and upper body. Rim diam. 13 cm. Everted rim. Interior: narrow band on rim. Exterior: lip band and tangent or framed spiral (FM 46) below. Very hard clay; light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4); surface pink (7.5YR 7/4); reddish brown paint. LH IIA.
5. 513_c08. Vapheio cup (FS 224), lower body and base. Base diam. 9 cm. Flat base. Interior: unpainted. Exterior: rippling (FM 78). Hard fine clay; very pale brown (10YR 7/4); well smoothed outer surface; dark brown paint. LH IIA.
6. 742_c01, V4986. Cup, ring handled (?) (FS 237). Rim diam. 7.5 cm, height 2.5 cm. Shallow with down sloping rim and raised concave base. Barred rim. Banded decoration on interior and exterior. Very hard clay; light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4); few calcareous inclusions smaller than 0.1 cm and few tiny black inclu-

of Amarynthos. See *AntK 2019*, 152 and KNOEPFLER 2010 and 2019.

¹¹⁸ *Eretria XIV*.

¹¹⁹ On the link between Artemis and Eileithyia, attested in Eretria by an inscription, see KNOEPFLER 1990, 126-127. See SEMENZATO – VERDAN – THEURILLAT 2020 on the association of Artemis with childbirth and early childhood in the sanctuary of Amarynthos. Numerous terracotta figurines representing young girls and boys, as well as an inscribed base mentioning the bronze statue that Astylla's parents erected to their daughter (*AntK 2019*, 151) attest to the lasting importance of this aspect of worship in the later phase of the Artemision.

¹²⁰ See above note 9.

- sions; very pale brown unpolished surface (10YR 7/4); reddish brown paint. LH IIB. Cf. MOUNTJOY 1986, 46 fig. 52.
7. 266_c01. Deep bowl, rim and upper body. Rim diam. 18 cm. Interior: pair of bands on rim. Exterior: narrow rim band, whorl-shell (FM 23) below. Very hard fine clay; very pale brown (10YR 7/4); red paint. LH IIIA2.
8. 938_c01. Low stem and foot. Foot diam. 6.5 cm. Shallow dome underneath. Banded decoration. Very hard clay; light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4); grey inclusions up to 0.1 cm; very pale brown surface (10YR 7/4); red paint.
9. 513_c01. Kylix (FS 258A). Stem diam. 2.5 cm. Zygouries type; whorl-shell (FM 23) terminations preserved only on one side. Hard clay; few dark inclusions smaller than 0.1 cm; pale brown surface (2.5Y 7/3); heavily worn but once well smoothed; red paint. LH IIIB1.
10. 590_c02. Deep bowl, rim and upper body. Rim diam. 15 cm. Group A. Slightly flaring rim. Interior: monochrome. Exterior: narrow lip band, antithetic spiral (FM 50). Hard semi-fine clay; light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4); few dark inclusions up to 0.1 cm; one larger angular inclusion that is visible on the surface; well smoothed very pale brown outer surface (10YR 7/4); dark brown to black paint. LH IIIC Early-Middle.
11. 1131_c01. Deep bowl, rim and upper body. Rim diam. 16 cm. Group A. Flaring rim. Interior: monochrome. Exterior: triglyph and half-rosette (FS 74). Very hard clay; yellowish brown (10YR 5/4, surface slightly lighter); fine with tiny mica and other inclusions, slightly porous; reddish brown paint. LH IIIC Early-Middle. For motif incl. the central vertical zig-zag cf. *Lefkandi IV*, 158 fig. 2.9.7 and IAKOVIDIS 1969, pl. 115β.783.
12. 738_c02. Deep bowl, rim and upper body. Rim diam. 16 cm. Group A. Chipped flaring rim. Interior: monochrome. Exterior: narrow lip band, barred streamer (FM 62) below. Hard clay; fine with few tiny dark inclusions; very pale brown surface (10YR 7/4, break slightly darker); black paint. LH IIIC Early-Middle.
13. 738_c01. Deep bowl, upper body. Height 5.3 cm. Interior: monochrome. Exterior: panelled pattern of elaborate semicircle (FM 43) with opposed joining semicircles (FM 42) fill. Very hard fine clay; surface light yellowish brown (2.5Y 6/3); black paint. LH IIIC Early-Middle. For filling motif see *Lefkandi IV*, pl. 53.12.
14. 1204_c04. Open shape, upper body. Max. belly diam. 28-30 cm. Interior: monochrome with a reserved band. Exterior: elaborate streamer (FM 62)? with stacked arcs fill (FM 44). Very hard fine clay; surface pale brown (10YR 6/3); black paint. LH IIIC Early-Middle.
15. 513_c51. Closed shape. Diam. 24 cm. Elaborate circle (FM 41) with dotted outline, barred perimeter and concentric semicircles fill; part of fringed motif preserved. Hard clay; yellowish brown (10YR 5/4); fine with few voids up to 0.1 cm; surface light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4); reddish brown to black paint. LH IIIC Middle-Late. Cf. Perati (IAKOVIDIS 1969, 122 fig. 110).
16. 430_c01. Krater (FS 282), rim and upper body. Rim diam. 33 cm. Flat-topped everted rim. Interior: monochrome. Exterior: wide lip band; panelled pattern (FM 75) with joining semicircles (FM 42) and concentric arcs (FM 44). Very hard clay; pale brown (10YR 6/3); semi-fine with small white inclusions (rarely up to 0.1 cm); reddish brown paint. LH IIIC Early-Middle.
17. 624_c38. Stirrup jar, shoulder and transition to false neck. 8×5.5 cm. Dotted stacked triangles (FM 61A), bordering band below. Very hard clay; tiny white and black inclusions; outer surface light yellowish to yellowish brown (10YR 6/4 to 5/4); inner surface light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4); black paint. LH IIIC Middle. Cf. *Lefkandi IV*, 205 fig. 2.32.5 and pl. 56Ac.
18. 1020_c03. Krater (FS 282), upper body. Max. belly diam. 34 cm, wall thickness 0.8-1 cm. Interior: monochrome. Exterior: panelled pattern of checkerboard (FM 56) on the right and combination of multiple stem (FM 19), multiple arcs (FM 44) and auxiliary rosette (FM 17) on the left. Very hard clay; light yellowish brown (2.5Y 6/3); semi-fine slightly porous with calcareous inclusions up to 0.3 cm, normally small but in some cases up to 0.3 cm large dark grey to black inclusions; surface pale brown (2.5Y 7/3); dark brown paint. LH IIIC Middle. For checkerboard motif on kraters see *Lefkandi IV*, pl. 39.16 and pl. 54.11-12.

LBA pottery associated with wall M21 (Pl. 1)

19. 1066_c01. Kylix. Stem diam. 2.3 cm. Partly preserved foot with shallow dome underneath. Monochrome. Hard clay; light yellowish brown (2.5Y 6/4); clearly darker border zones in the fracture at the foot); fine with few tiny inclusions; one calcareous inclusion of 0.2 cm in the stem; underside pale brown (2.5Y 7/4); reddish brown to brown paint.
20. 372_c03. Kylix. Stem diam. 2.4 cm. Spreading foot with dome underneath. Monochrome. Heavily worn. Hard clay; light yellowish brown (2.5Y 6/4); fine with few tiny inclusions; red paint.
21. 1160_c02. Open shape. Base. diam. 6 cm. Ring base. Monochrome. Hard clay; brown (7.5YR 5/4); fine with few tiny dark inclusions; one void of 0.3 cm; underside light brown (7.5YR 6/3); dark brown to almost black paint.
22. 372_c01, V5090. Deep bowl (FS 285). Two non-joining parts, both handles preserved. Rim diam. 17 cm. Monochrome with reserved band inside the rim and reserved space underneath the handles. Hard clay; reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6); some red and white (calcareous) inclusions up to 0.3 cm; matt reddish brown flaky paint. LH IIIC Middle. Cf. MOUNTJOY 1986, 178 fig. 230.3. Reserved bands on the interior occur from *Lefkandi* phase 2 (*Lefkandi IV*, 188).

PG-SPG associated with wall M21 (Pl. 2)

23. 1063_c04. Cup. Max. diam. 10 cm. Zigzag on the rim; monochrome body. Hard clay, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6); some tiny white inclusions, few grey inclusions up to 1 mm and tiny red inclusions; glossy paint, dark red-brown to orange-brown. Cf. *Lefkandi II.1*, pl. 9, 36-38 (MPG); *Lefkandi I*, pl. 13b and pl. 30 (LPG), pl. 15 and pl. 31 (SPG).
24. 1065_c01. Skyphos. Max. diam. 15 cm. Rim painted; on the body, concentric circles (8) enclosing a solid hourglass. Hard clay, light reddish brown (5YR 6/4); small white and reddish inclusions; matt paint, orange-brown. Cf. *Lefkandi II.1*, pl. 11, 145-146 (MPG).
25. 189_c01. Skyphos. Rim diam. 17 cm. Rim painted; concentric circles on the body. Hard clay, light reddish brown (5YR 6/4); few tiny white inclusions and few mica; matt paint, dark to light brown; smoothed surface. Cf. *Lefkandi II.1*, pl. 11, 145-154 (MPG).
26. 1063_c03. Skyphos. Rim diam. 14 cm. Rim painted; pendant semi-circles (min. 10) on the body. Hard clay, reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6); few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, dark brown; smoothed surface. Cf. *Lefkandi I*, pl. 31, 5-7 (SPG); KEARSLEY 1989, 17, fig. 3e (Chalkis), 23, fig. 7 (Delos).
27. 368_c03. Skyphos. Rim diam. 14 cm. Rim painted; pendant semi-circles on the body. Hard clay, reddish brown (5YR 6/6); few tiny white and grey inclusions; matt paint, orange-brown, worn. KEARSLEY 1989, 85, fig. 34 (type 1). Profile: cf. *Lefkandi II.1*, pl. 48, 155 (MPG); LEMOS 2014a, 50, fig. 17 (LPG) and fig. 19 (MPG?).
28. 206_c02. Hydria or belly handled amphora. Rim diam. 13 cm. Monochrome, with horizontal zigzag in reserved band on the neck. Hard clay, yellowish red (5YR 5/6); glossy paint, black-brown, flaky. Dec.: Cf. *Lefkandi I*, pl. 132, P13.1 and P13.8 (SPG I).
29. 1160_c01. Closed shape, shoulder with mastos. Max. diam. 20 cm. Concentric semi-circles, vertical dotted lines and horizontal lines on the shoulder. Soft clay, yellowish red (5YR 5/8); few white (calcareous) inclusions up to 3 mm, few mica; matt paint light orange-brown, flaky. Dec.: *Lefkandi I*, pl. 172, T7.1 and T7.3 (LGP), pl. 191, TP4.1 (LPG); *Lefkandi III*, pl. 47, T44.5 (LPG).

LG pottery related to Ed9 (Pl. 2)

30. 1693_c04, V5121. Cup. Rim diam. 11 cm. Monochrome with reserved band on the rim. Lines in added white on handle. Incised marks on the handle and the body. Hard clay, yellowish brown (7.5YR 6/6); few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, dark brown.
31. 1693_c01. Skyphos. Rim diam. 16 cm. Concentric circles on the rim; on the body, quartered and dotted lozenge in metope. Soft clay, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6); few tiny white inclusions; light white slip, heavily worn; matt paint, orange red, worn.

32. 1663_c01. Crater, body fragment. Max. diam. 32 cm. Bird in metope, with quartered lozenge and dot rosette as filling motifs. Hard clay, pinkish brown (7.5YR 7/4); some large white calcareous inclusions, few grey inclusions; matt paint, light brown.
33. 1693_c02. Crater, body fragment. Max. diam. 32 cm. Bird in metope, hatched triangle as filling motif. Soft clay, yellowish to reddish brown (5YR 5/6-5YR 5/3); very few large white inclusions; light white slip, almost faded; matt paint, light to dark brown.
34. 1693_c03. Crater, body fragment. Max. diam. 52 cm. Groups of vertical lines alternating with bands bearing wavy lines in added white; large horizontal band with two interlaced wavy lines in added white. Rather soft clay, reddish-yellowish brown (5YR 6/6); very few mica; matt paint, light brown to black-brown. Cf. *Eretria XX*, pl. 69, 339. LG II.
35. 1606_c01. Miniature hydria or jug, neck fragment. Height 7 cm. Vertical meander flanking a metope with unidentified motif; linked dots around the base of the neck. Very hard clay (overfired), very dark grey (GLEYS 1/3N); few small white inclusions; yellowish slip; matt paint, orange-brown to black-brown. Shape and dec.: Cf. COLDSTREAM 1971, pl. 1b-c.
36. 1528_c01. Jug, shoulder fragment. Max. diam. 13.5 cm. Figured scene on the upper body, of which only the head of a helmeted warrior is preserved; on the shoulder, figured scene painted in added white: animals, lying human bodies (?), quartered lozenges and net of lozenges as filling motifs. Hard clay, reddish-yellowish brown (7.5YR 6/6); very few tiny grey and white inclusions; light creamy slip; matt paint, black-brown paint.
37. 1669_c01. Amphora. Rim diam. 18 cm. Rim and handle painted; two preserved vertical wavy bands on the neck. Hard clay, yellowish-reddish brown (5YR 5/6); some large white inclusions, some small grey and few red inclusions; matt paint, brown-red, worn. Cf. *Eretria XX*, pl. 72, 354; CHARALAMBIDOU 2017, 128, fig. 14.8. Euboean "SOS" (?).

Central sector, LG-EA (Pl. 3)

38. 1122_c01, V5050. Cup. Rim diam. 9.5 cm, height 6 cm. Monochrome. Rather hard clay, buff; very few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, grey-brown, worn.
39. 1122_c02, V5049. Jug. Base diam. 6 cm. Monochrome. Rather hard clay, buff; very few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, grey-brown, worn (quality similar to **cat. 38**). Cf. *Eretria XX*, pl. 32, 126; *Eretria XXII*, pl. 78, 171 (LG II).
40. 1215_c01. Kotyle. Rim diam. 15 cm. Two files of soldier birds and horizontal lines on the body. Soft clay, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6); very few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, light brown, worn; very light slip, white. Cf. BOARDMAN 1957, pl. 2b (Al Mina); COLDSTREAM 2008, pl. 41h (= *Pithekoussai I*, pl. 248, 23); COLDSTREAM 1995, 262, fig. 4, 91 (LG II).

41. 243_c01, V5089. Kotyle. Rim diam. 15 cm. Upper part of the body painted, with reserved hourglass (?) close to the handle attachment, solid upward rays on the lower body. Rather soft clay, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6); few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, brown, worn. Imitation of EPC-MPC.
42. 1143_c02. Aryballos or lekythos, shoulder fragment. Max. diam. 8 cm. Scribbles as filling ornaments and horse (?) with vegetal volute pattern between the legs. Hard clay, light brown (7.5YR 6/4); some tiny white inclusions; matt paint, dark brown, worn. Cf. *Pithekoussai I*, pl. 175, 622.6 (Euboean LG II).
43. 1241-1, V5048. Trefoil jug. Height 36 cm. Panel on the neck with affronted birds and swastikas as filling motifs; monochrome zone on the shoulder; horizontal lines on the body. Hard clay, light reddish brown (2.5YR 6/6-5YR 6/4); very few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, black-brown, flaky and worn; traces of white slip. LG II.
44. 228_c05. Pithoid amphora, rim and neck fragment. Rim diam. 20 cm. Rim painted with horizontal wavy line in added white, horizontal lines and vertical wavy bands on the neck. Rather soft clay, very pale brown (10YR 7/4); very few tiny grey inclusions and few mica; matt paint, dark brown, worn. Cf. COLDSTREAM 2008, pl. 41e; *Eretria XX*, pl. 73, 355 and pl. 75B (LG II).

Pottery related to Ed3 (Pl. 4)

45. 1526_c02. Skyphos, rim fragment. Rim diam. 20 cm. Horizontal red band between white lines (polychrome style). Hard clay, light reddish brown (2.5YR 7/4), very fine red and with inclusions; matt paint, orange-brown; red-violet band.
46. 1525_c02. Krateriskos, rim fragment. Rim diam. 20 cm. Horizontal red band between white lines (polychrome style). Very hard clay (overfired), reddish brown (2.5YR 5/4), very fine; matt paint, black-brown (int.), orange-brown (ext.); red band, worn.
47. 1526_c04. Krateriskos. Rim diam. 31 cm. Horizontal bands on the rim, separated by lines in added white; on the upper body, panel of thick sigmas (or vertical wavy bands?) crossed by a horizontal line in added white. Rather hard clay, pinkish brown (5YR 7/3), very fine; matt paint, black-brown.
48. 1526_c06. Krateriskos, body fragment. Max. diam. 21 cm. In added white: swastikas alternating with dot rosettes, between horizontal lines. Very hard clay, light yellowish brown (10R 6/4), very fine; matt paint, red-orange.
49. 1525_c03. Large open shape. Rim diam. 30 cm. Decoration heavily worn (horizontal bands in polychrome style?). Hard clay, pale red brown (2.5YR 6/2), very fine; glossy paint, black (int.), matt paint, orange-brown to black-brown (ext.), worn.
50. 1191_c01. Ionian cup, body fragment. Max. diam. 14 cm. Monochrome with reserved band. Hard clay,

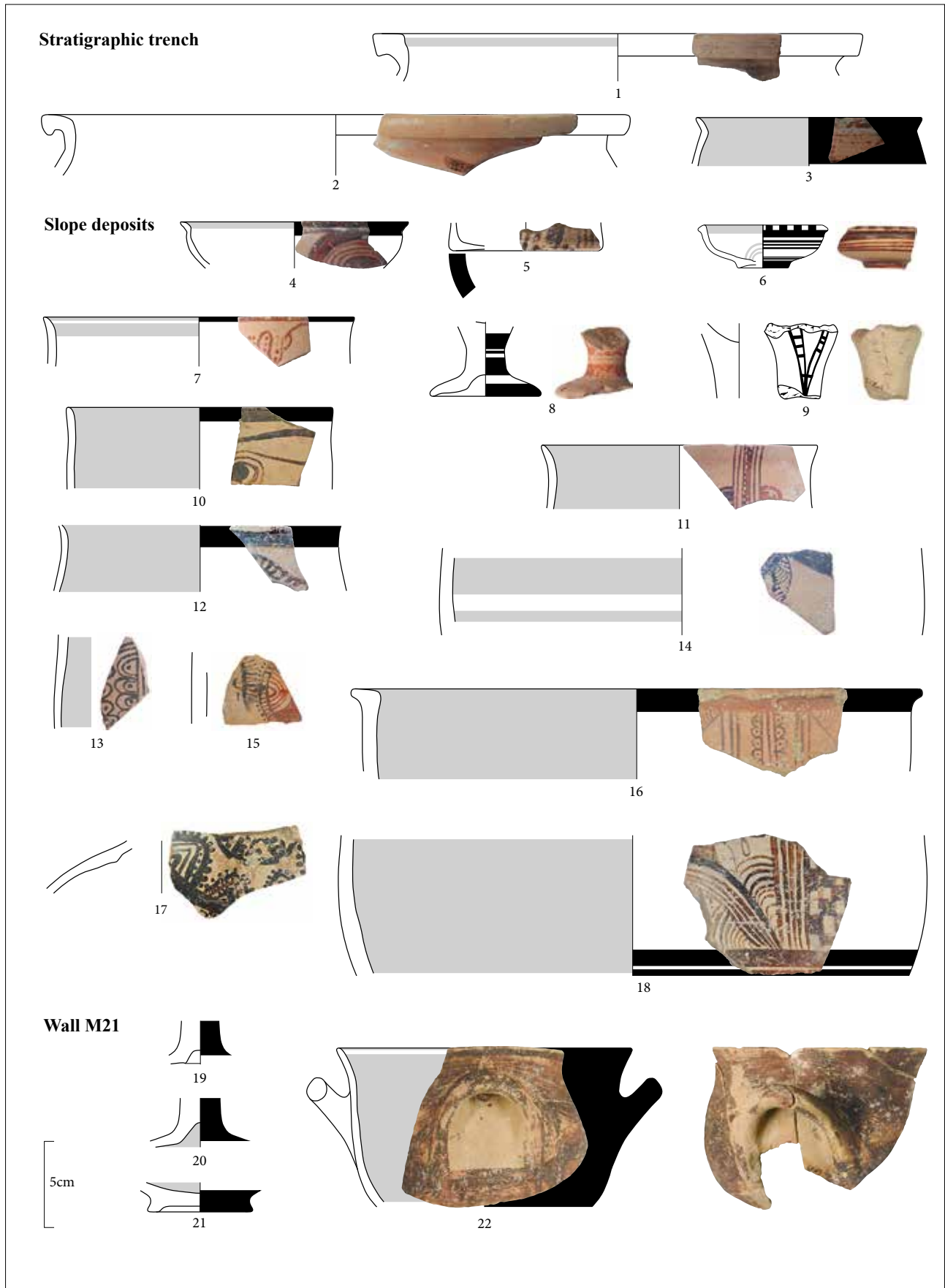
light red (2.5YR 6/8); very few tiny white inclusions; glossy paint, black. Cf. SCHLOTZHAUER 2001, pl. 18-19, nr. 98-100 (660/650-630/620 BC).

51. 1141_c01. Ionian cup. Rim diam. 13 cm. Monochrome. Rather soft clay, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6); few tiny white inclusions, very few mica; glossy paint, dark brown, worn. Cf. SCHLOTZHAUER 2001, pl. 29, nr. 161 (660/650-600/590 BC).

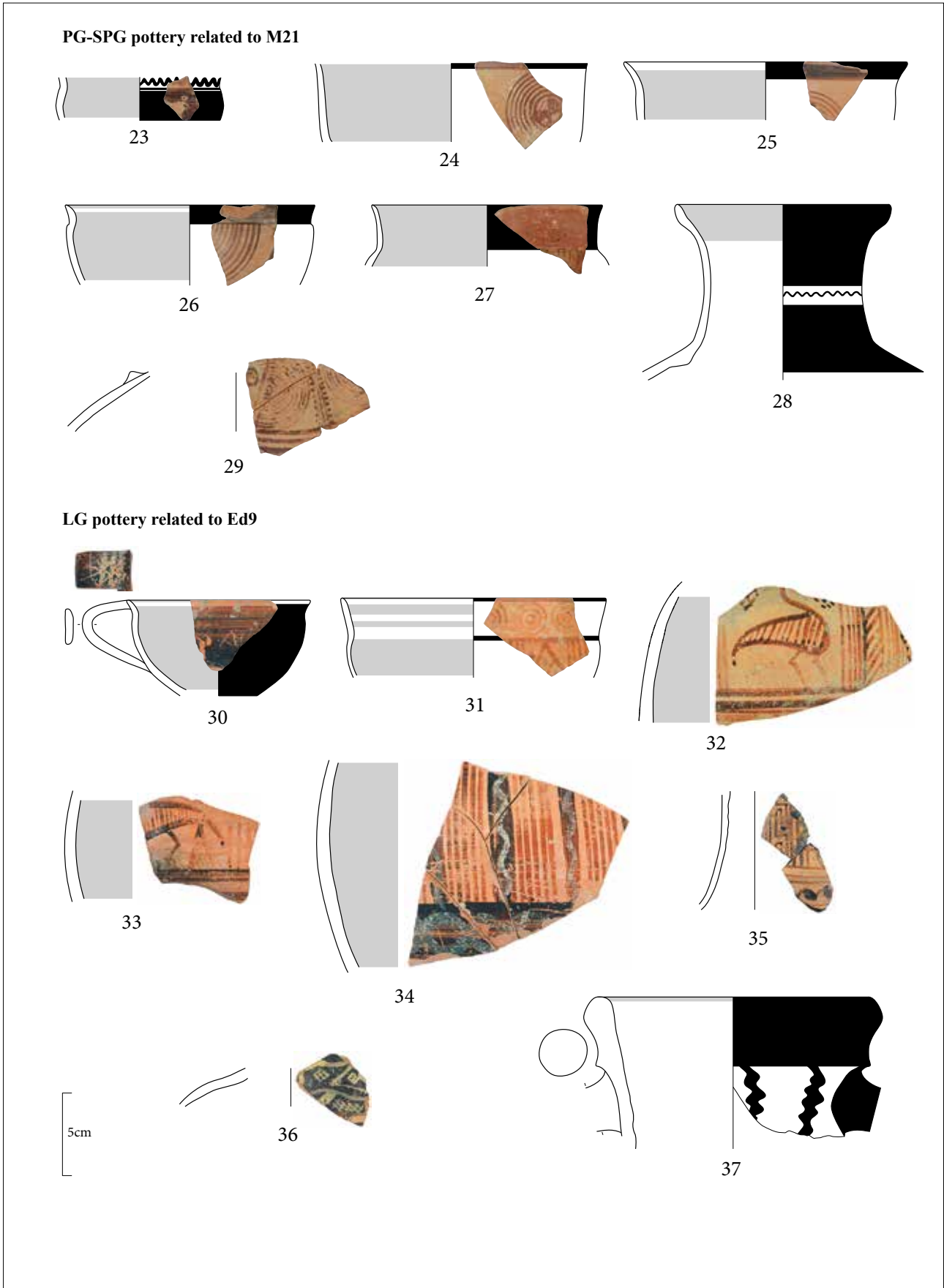
East sector, LG-EA (Pls. 4-5)

52. 569_c03. Kotyle. Rim diam. 15 cm. Panel of degenerated chevrons or soldier birds (?), solid double axe in lateral metope, lower body monochrome. Hard clay, light brown (7.5YR 6/4); very few tiny white inclusions; glossy paint, brown, slightly flaky. Local imitation of EPC kotyle.
53. 569_c02. Skyphos or kantharos. Rim diam. 23.5 cm, height 15.5 cm. Net of dotted lozenges on the rim; hatched meander in panel on the body, horizontal lines on lower body. Hard clay, reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6), very few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, orange-brown, with very fine mica. Cf. *Eretria XX*, pl. 65, 319 (LG II); *Lefkandi I*, pl. 45, 81 (LG II).
54. 1020_c02, V5056. Kalyx skyphos, with double handles. Rim diam. 28 cm. On the rim, groups of vertical wavy lines between horizontal lines, two rows; main decoration between handles not preserved, horizontal lines and painted zone on lower body. Hard clay, light pink; some white inclusions up to 2 mm; matt paint, brown-grey, flaky. Cf. DESCOEUDRES 1976, pl. 5, FK194.5; CHARALAMBIDOU 2007, 282-283, fig. 2-3. First half of 7th c. BC.
55. 576_c01, V4974. Krater. Rim diam. 30 cm. Horizontal band on the rim; on the body, horse with vegetal motif between the legs and zigzag above the back. Hard clay, reddish yellow to light brown (5YR 6/6-7.5YR 6/4); very few tiny white and grey inclusions; glossy paint, dark brown; creamy slip. Dec.: Cf. *Eretria XX*, pl. 36, 147 and pl. 61, 296; *Eretria XXII*, pl. 83, 210-211. Shape and dec.: Cf. *Eretria XX*, pl. 61, 291 and pl. 69, 338 (LG I-II).
56. 1081_c09. Krater. Rim diam. ca. 30 cm. On the rim, vertical dashes between horizontal lines; cross-hatched hourglass (?) on the body. Hard clay, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6); few grey inclusions up to 1 mm; glossy paint, orange-brown, on thick creamy slip. Dec. of the rim: Cf. *Eretria XX*, pl. 26, 105; *Lefkandi I*, pl. 52, 233, 235. LG II.
57. 1020_c01. Krater, body fragment. Max. diam. 26 cm. Dotted circle enclosing a dotted Maltese cross. Hard clay, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6), very fine; matt paint, orange-brown, flaky; creamy slip, worn. Cf. *Eretria XXII*, pl. 83, 212. LG.
58. 1081_c08. Open shape (kalyx skyphos?), body fragment. Max. diam. 21 cm. Horizontal red bands framed by white lines (polychrome style). Hard clay, reddish yellow (5YR 7/6-5YR 6/6); few red inclusions up to 1

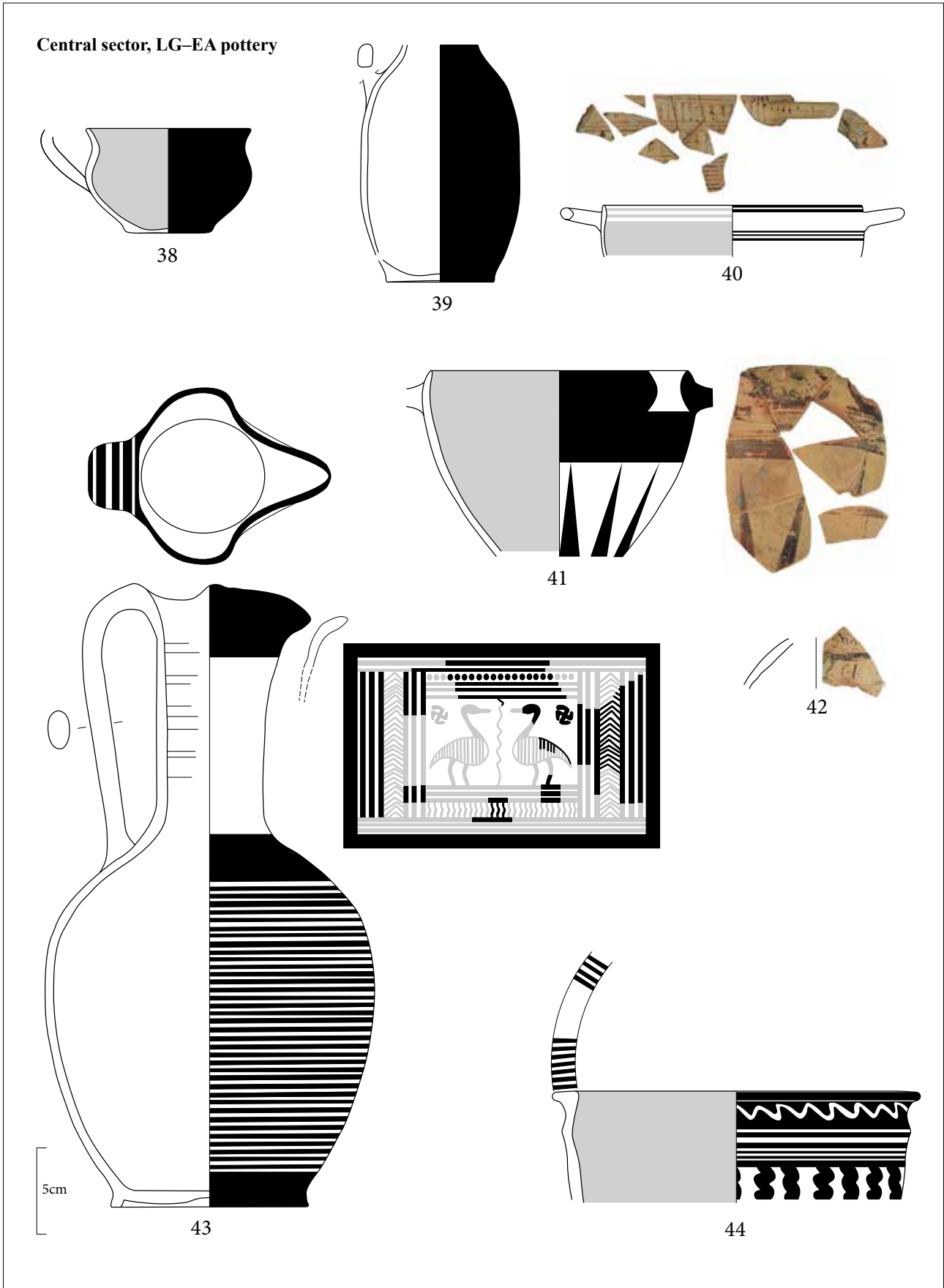
- mm; glossy paint, light orange-brown; violet-red bands. Mid-7th c. BC.
- 59.** 1081_c07. Krater, rim fragment with pouring spout. Rim diam. 25 cm. Head of a lion (?). Hard clay, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6); few tiny white inclusions and few fine mica; matt paint, orange-brown. Lion with a dotted muzzle: Cf. RITSONIS 1997, 88, fig. 18.
- 60.** 1086_c02. Small closed shape, body fragment. Max. diam. 12 cm. Bird in metope, horizontal lines, gear pattern. Hard clay, reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6-5YR 7/6); some reddish grey and white inclusions up to 1 mm; glossy paint, black-brown. Cf. COLDSTREAM 2008, pl. 9k. Attic LG I.
- 61.** 1081_c14. Aryballos, body. Base diam. 2 cm. Horizontal lines and bands. Hard clay, very pale brown (10YR 8/4), very fine; glossy paint, light orange-brown (lines) to dark brown (bands); smoothed surface. MPC.
- 62.** 1086_c01. Pithoid amphora (?), neck fragment. Neck diam. ca. 20 cm. Strokes or sigmas, horizontal red band framed by white lines (polychrome style). Hard clay, light brown (7.5YR 6/4); some white and grey inclusions up to 1 mm; glossy paint, black-brown glaze; violet red band. Cf. RITSONIS 1997, 85, fig. 12. Mid-7th c. BC.
- Ritual vases, LG-EA miniature hydriai and high-neck jugs (Pl. 6)**
- 63.** 1067_c03. Miniature hydria, neck and handle attachment. Neck diam. ca. 5 cm. Unidentifiable motif (maybe back of the neck and head of a bird). Hard clay, light yellowish brown to reddish yellow (10YR 6/4-5YR 6/6); few white inclusions up to 1 mm, very few mica; glossy paint, black-brown.
- 64.** 1199_c02. Miniature hydria (?), neck fragment. Neck diam. ca. 5 cm. Horizontal lines, line of cross-hatched triangles with dotted lozenges as filling motifs, file of birds. Soft clay, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6); few tiny white and red inclusions; matt paint, dark brown, worn; thick yellowish slip, worn. Dec.: Cf. *Eretria XIV*, pl. 66, H3. LG.
- 65.** 997_c02. Miniature hydria, fragment of neck. Height 3.1 cm. Tangential elongated blobs between horizontal lines. Hard clay, reddish yellow (5YR 7/6); few white (calcareous and quartz) inclusions up to 3 mm; glossy paint, dark brown, slightly flaked. Cf. *Eretria XIV*, pl. 66, H1, H3, and pl. 77, H163; HUBER 2013, pl. VII D. LG.
- 66.** 1143_c01. Miniature hydria. Neck diam. 8 cm. Horizontal wavy bands on neck and body, separated by horizontal lines. Hard clay, very pale brown (10YR 7/4), few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, brown, heavily worn. Cf. *Eretria XIV*, pl. 77, H162. LG.
- 67.** 1086_c08. Miniature hydria or small high-neck jug, fragment of neck and shoulder. Neck diam. 8.5 cm. Horizontal wavy bands on neck and body, separated by horizontal lines. Rather soft clay, pale brown to reddish yellow (10YR 6/3-5YR 7/6); very few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, grey-brown, worn.
- 68.** 1028_c01. Miniature hydria, body fragment. Max. diam. 8 cm. Horizontal wavy band between lines, horizontal bands. Hard clay, reddish yellow to light red (7.5YR 6/6-2.5YR 6/8); very few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, dark brown, worn. Cf. **cat. 66**.
- 69.** 206_c01, V5017. High-neck jug, neck. Max. diam. 10.5 cm. Standing feminine figure, upper part of the garment painted, lower part reserved; one foot visible between the skirt and horizontal line; vertical wavy band (?) on the left. Soft clay, reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6); some red inclusions up to 1 mm, some tiny white inclusions and mica; matt paint, light red-brown, worn; trace of very light white slip. Cf. *Eretria XIV*, pl. 25-26, C10 and C16 (7th c. BC). See also BOARDMAN 1952, pl. 6 (amphorae) and pl. 7, C12 (high-neck jug).
- 70.** 1123_c04. High-neck jug, lower part of the body and pedestal. Diam. 8 cm (body-pedestal junction). All painted with horizontal lines in added white. Soft clay, buff pink (7.5YR 7/4); few tiny white and grey inclusions; matt paint, light brown.
- 71.** 374_c03. High-neck jug (?), pedestal. Diam. 12 cm (pedestal, bottom). Group of horizontal lines between painted zones. Soft clay, buff pink (7.5YR 7/4); very few tiny white inclusions, large amount of fine mica; matt paint, black-brown, worn.
- 72.** 1091_c01. High-neck jug, lower part of the pedestal. Diam. 15 cm. Red horizontal band (probably framed by white lines, entirely worn). Soft clay, reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6); very few tiny white inclusions; matt paint, black-brown; violet-red band. Cf. *Eretria XIV*, pl. 90, C21, and pl. 93, C35.



Pl. 1. Selection of BA pottery (by contexts)

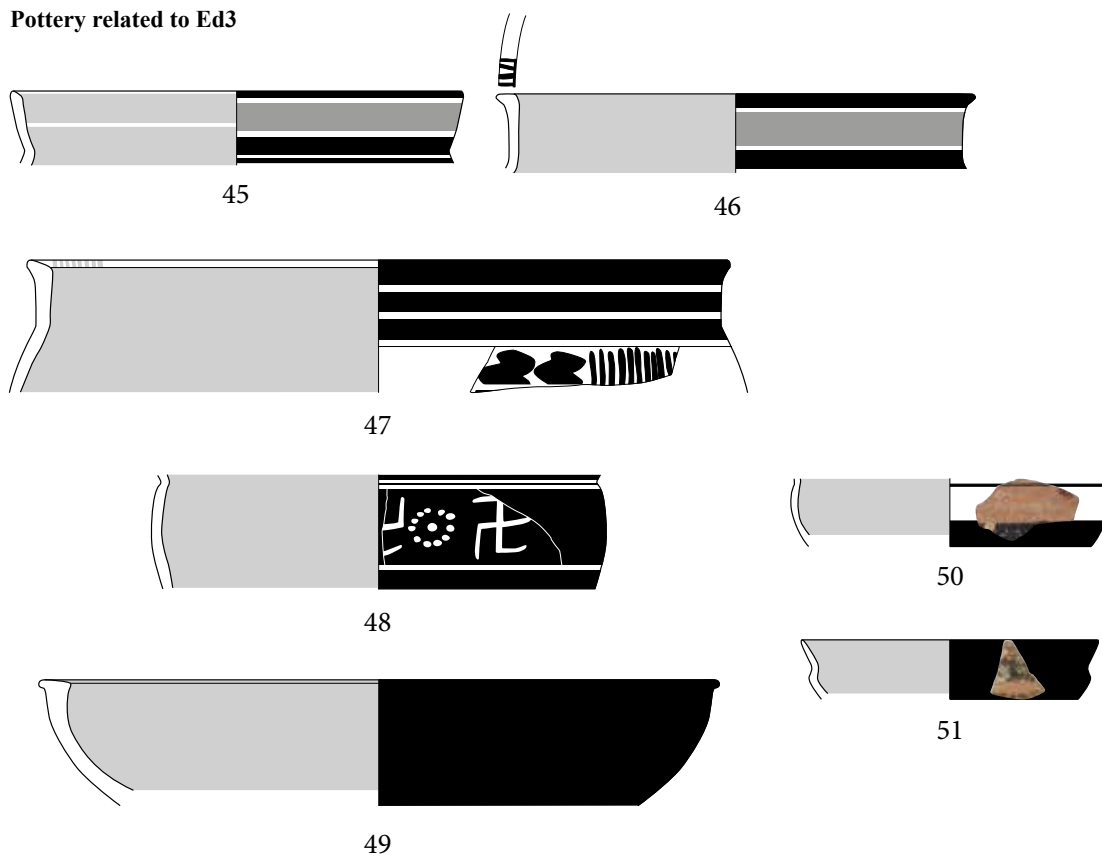


Pl. 2. Selection of PG to LG pottery (by contexts)

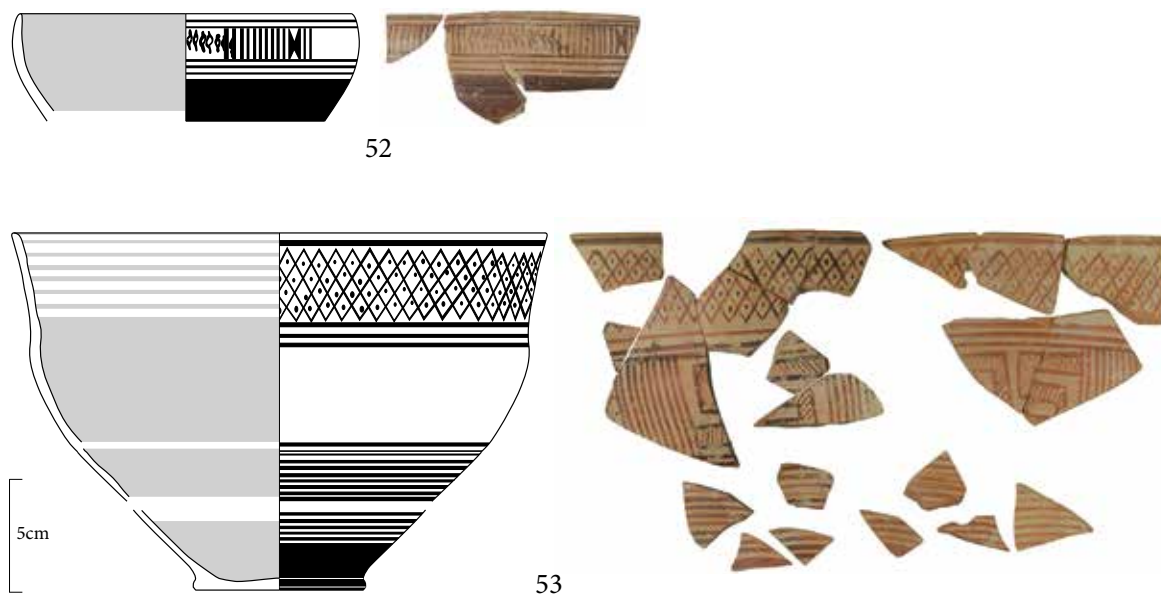


Pl. 3. Selection of LG to EA pottery (by contexts)

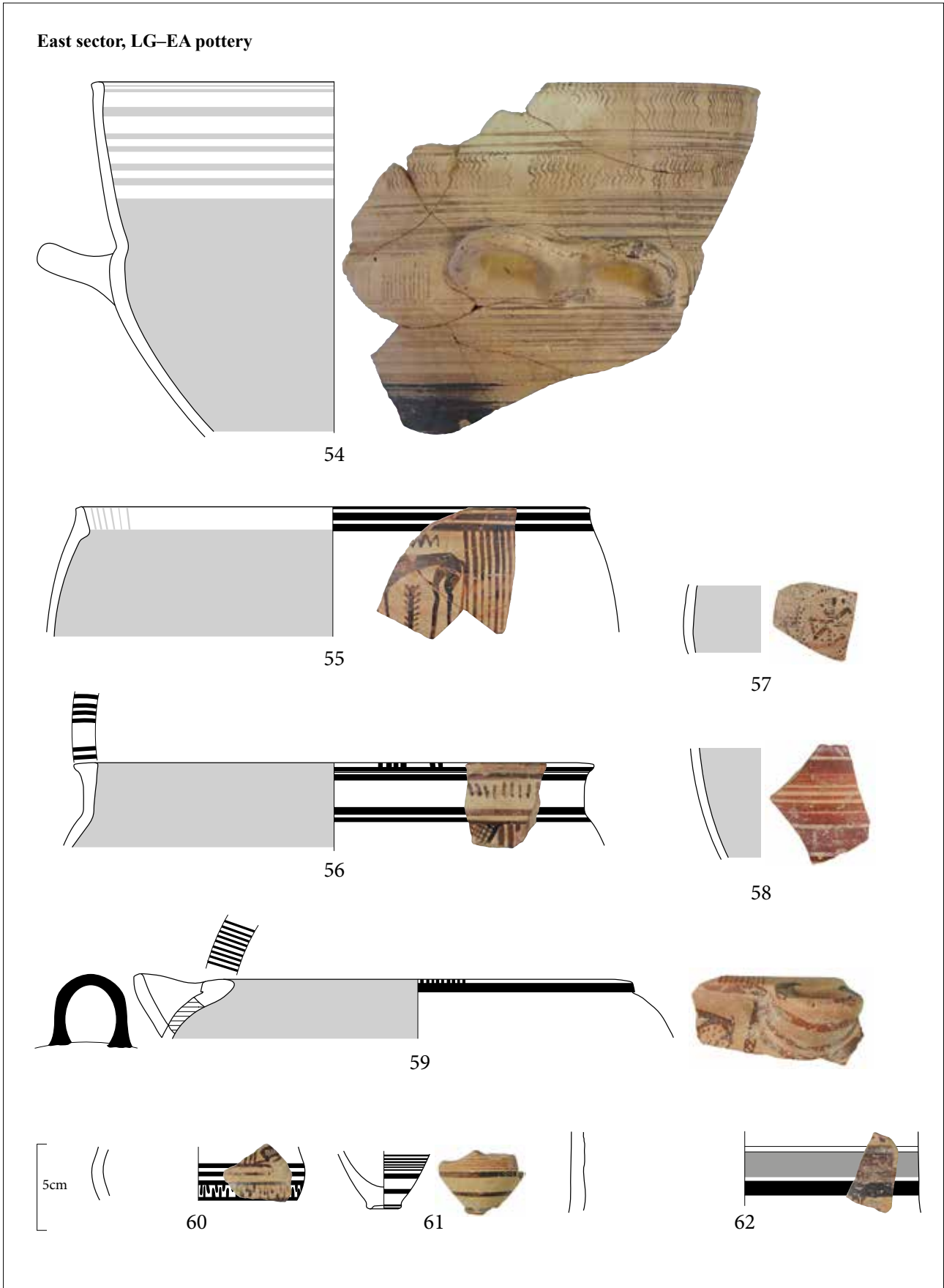
Pottery related to Ed3



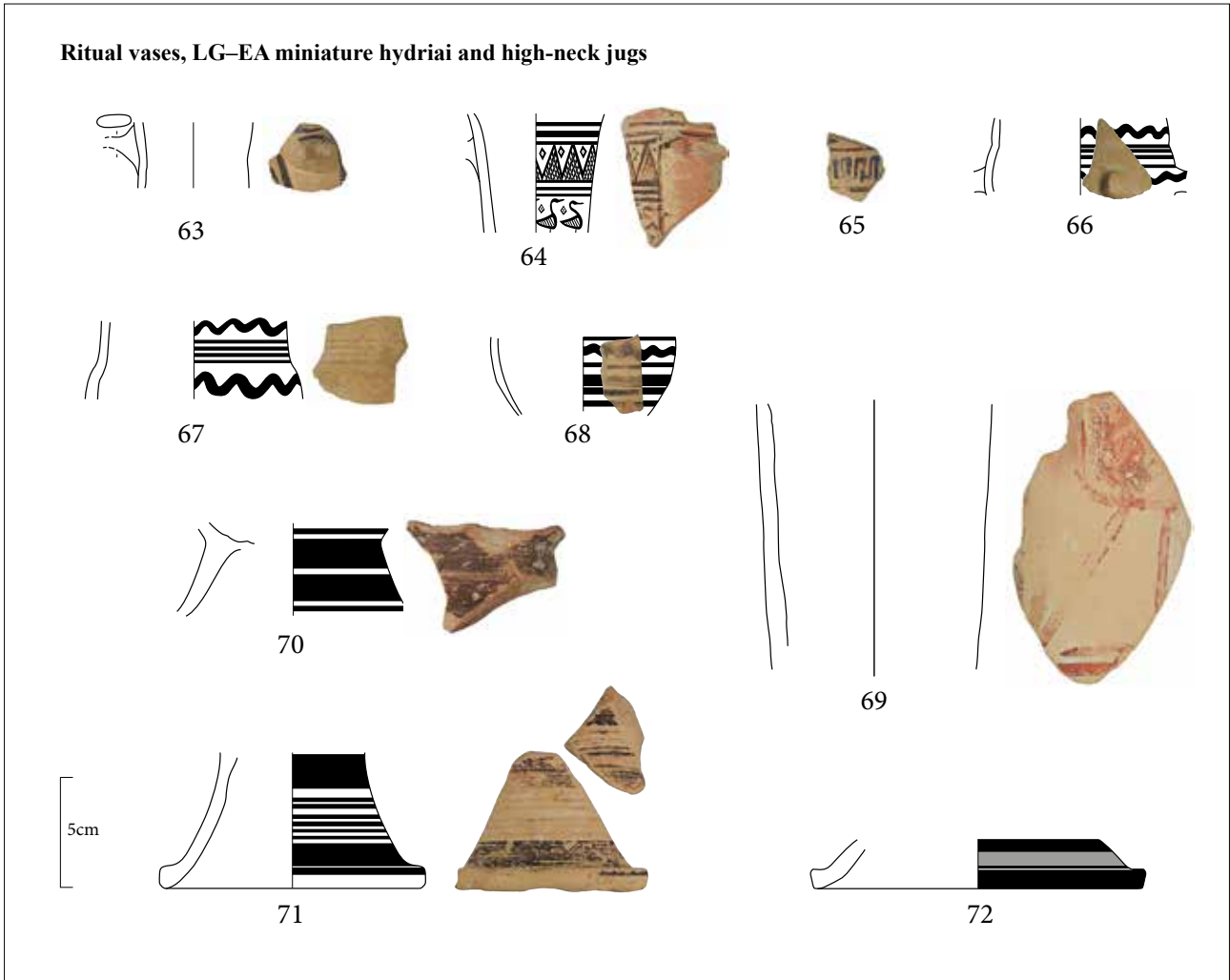
East sector, LG-EA pottery



Pl. 4. Selection of LG to EA pottery (by contexts)



Pl. 5. Selection of LG to EA pottery (by contexts)



Pl. 6. Selection of LG to EA pottery (by contexts)

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