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EUBOEAN GULF

Author(s): Alexander Mazarakis Ainian

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THE DOMESTIC AND SACRED SPACE OF ZAGORA IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SOUTH EUBOEAN GULF*

Alexander Mazarakis Ainian

The excavations at Zagora on Andros were pioneering, since in the late 1960s to early 70s practically nothing was known about the organization of settlements of the Geometric period.¹ Due to its excellent state of preservation and the extent of the excavation, Zagora became a 'paradigm' of a Geometric settlement not only for the Cyclades but for the Early Greek world in general,² despite the fact that its extraordinary urban planning has not found any exact parallel up to the present day.³ On the other hand, for almost three decades, since the mid-1980s, intensive excavations at Skala Oropou (ancient Oropos, identified with Homeric Graia, mentioned in the *Iliad* II 498) have brought to light not only the most extensive but also one of the best preserved mainland settlements of the Late Geometric (LG) period.⁴ It is fortunate that both sites were abandoned quite early, Zagora already around 700 BC, Oropos/Graia by the end of the Archaic period (though the majority of the 8th-century habitation quarters were abandoned in the early 7th century) and therefore have been preserved in an excellent state. In addition to this, the highly important Euboean settlements of Xeropolis/Lefkandi and Eretria, which have been intensively investigated over the past decades, largely contribute to the composition of a coherent picture of the settlement patterns in the wider area of the south Euboean Gulf (**fig. 1**).

* I sincerely thank the organizers, Professor Alexander Cambitoglou and Dr Stavros Paspalas, for inviting me to participate in this stimulating conference. Furthermore, I wish to express my great esteem for Professor Cambitoglou's pioneering excavations at Zagora and his related studies which, combined with the superb drawings by Dr Jim Coulton, became a principal and long-lasting inspiration for my own research.

Note the following abbreviation used in addition to the usual ones:

AETHSE A. Mazarakis Ainian (ed.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης Βόλος 27.2–2.3.2003*, 2 vols. (2006)

¹ H. Drerup, *Griechische Baukunst in geometrischer Zeit*. ArchHom II Kap. O (1969) was the first synthesis, which was also able to take into account the preliminary reports of the excavations at Zagora. For a compilation of the evidence from the Cyclades, see A. Gounaris, 'Έρευνες οικιστικής των Πρωτογεωμετρικών—Γεωμετρικών Κυκλάδων και τα ζητούμενα της Κυκλαδικής Πρωτοϊστορίας', in: N. Stampolidis (ed.), *Φως Κυκλαδικόν—τιμητικός τόμος στη μνήμη του Νίκου Ζαφειρόπουλου* (1999) 96–113.

² Basic bibliography: A. Cambitoglou *et al.*, *Zagora 1. Excavation of a Geometric Town on the Island of Andros. Excavation Season 1967; Study Season 1968–69*. Australian Academy of the Humanities Monogr. 2 (1971); A. Cambitoglou *et al.*, *Zagora 2. Excavation of a Geometric Town on the Island of Andros. Excavation Season 1969; Study Season 1969–1970* (1988); A. Cambitoglou, *Archaeological Museum of Andros. Guide to the Finds from*

the Excavations of the Geometric Town at Zagora (1981).

³ A detailed publication of the important contemporary site of Hypsele on Andros might however diminish this impression. See Ch. Televantou, *Άνδρος. Η αρχαία πόλη της Ύψηλης* (2008).

⁴ A. Mazarakis Ainian, 'Oropos in the Early Iron Age', in: M. Bats-B. d'Agostino (eds.), *Euboica. L'Euboea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente. Atti del convegno internazionale di Napoli, 13–16 novembre 1996*. CJB 16/AION ArchStoriaAnt Quad. 12 (1998) 179–215; id., 'Recent Excavations at Oropos, Northern Attica', in: M. Stamatopoulou–M. Yeroulanou (eds.), *Excavating Classical Culture. Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Greece*. BAR Int. Ser. 1031 (2002) 149–78; id., 'Les fouilles d'Oropos et la fonction des périboles dans les agglomérations du début de l'Age du Fer', in: J.-M. Luce (ed.), *Habitat et urbanisme dans le monde grec de la fin des palais mycéniens à la prise de Milet (494 av. J.-C.): table ronde internationale organisée à Toulouse les 9–10 mars 2001*. Pallas 58 (2002) 183–227; id., 'Ο Ωρωπός κατά τους Πρώιμους Ιστορικούς Χρόνους', in: N. Stampolidis–A. Giannikouri (eds.), *Το Αιγαίο στην Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου. Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου, Ρόδος 1–4 Νοεμβρίου 2002* (2004) 369–89; id., 'I primi Greci d'Occidente? Scavi nella Graia Omerica (Oropos)', AION ArchStAnt 13–14, 2006–2007, 81–110. See also various papers in: A. Mazarakis Ainian (ed.), *Oropos and Euboea in the Early Iron Age. Acts of an International Round Table, University of Thessaly, June 18–20, 2004* (2007). On the history of the excavation: see id., 'Ένδον σκάπτε. The Tale of an Excavation', *ibid.* 21–59, with detailed bibliographical references.

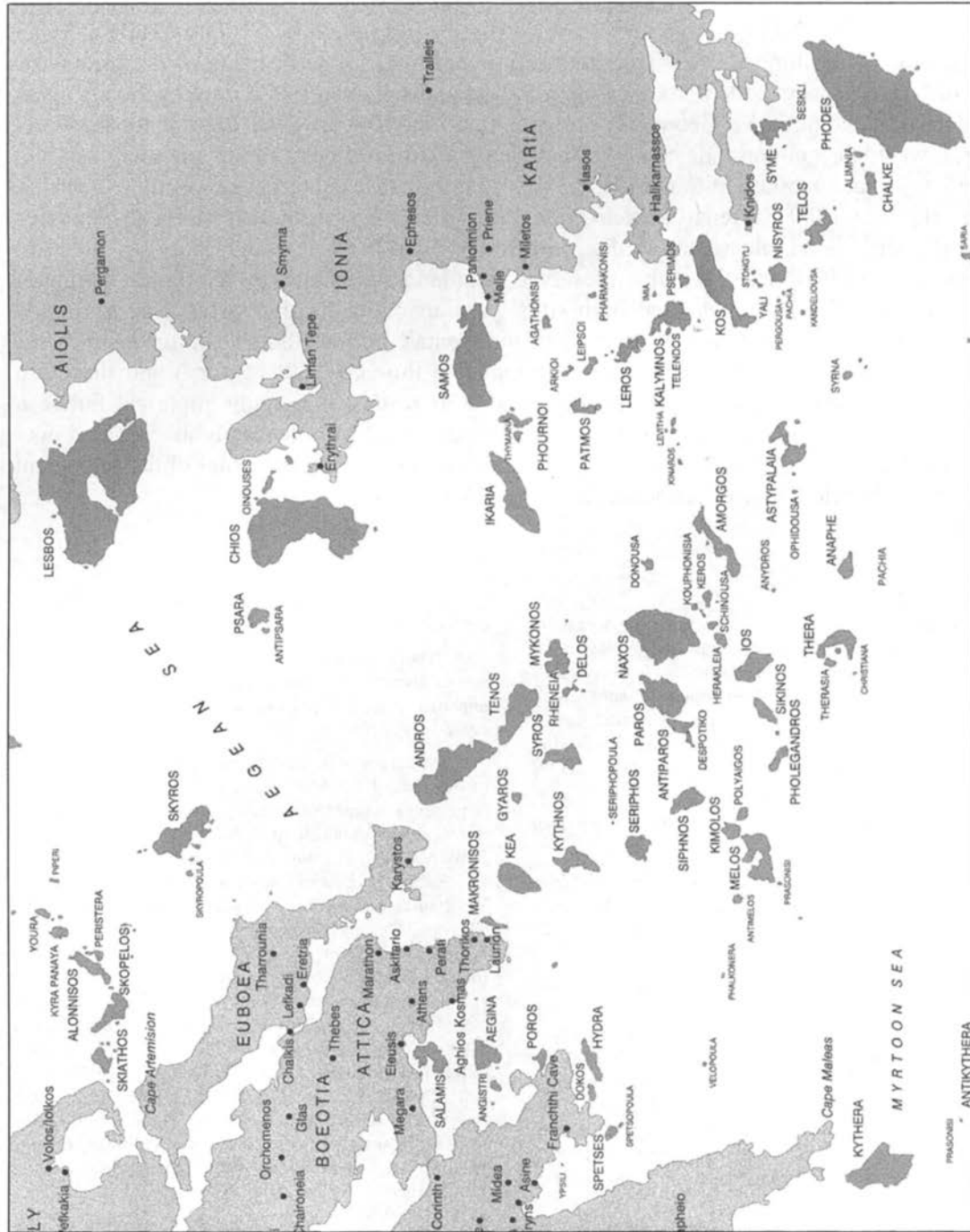


Figure 1. Map of the South Euboean Gulf and the Cyclades (after Viachopoulos [ed.], *Archaeology. Aegean Islands* [2006] map p. 13).

In this paper I focus on the LG phase of the settlements of Zagora, Oropos, and Eretria. Unfortunately, the upper levels of the settlement of Xeropolis/Lefkandi, before its abandonment around 700 BC, have greatly suffered owing to erosion, rendering any useful comparisons for the time being difficult, if not hazardous. I will argue that despite the apparent differences in the architecture and the urbanism of the above-mentioned sites, all three of them appear to follow a basic common model, which seems to correspond to a similar (though not necessarily identical) type of social structure.

THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD

At first sight these approximately contemporary settlements have little, if anything, in common. The site of Oropos (**fig. 2**), located on the marshy delta estuary of the Asopos river, on the border between Attica and Boeotia,⁵ is dominated by free-standing curvilinear buildings (mostly oval, apsidal, and circular) which are surrounded by peribolos walls.

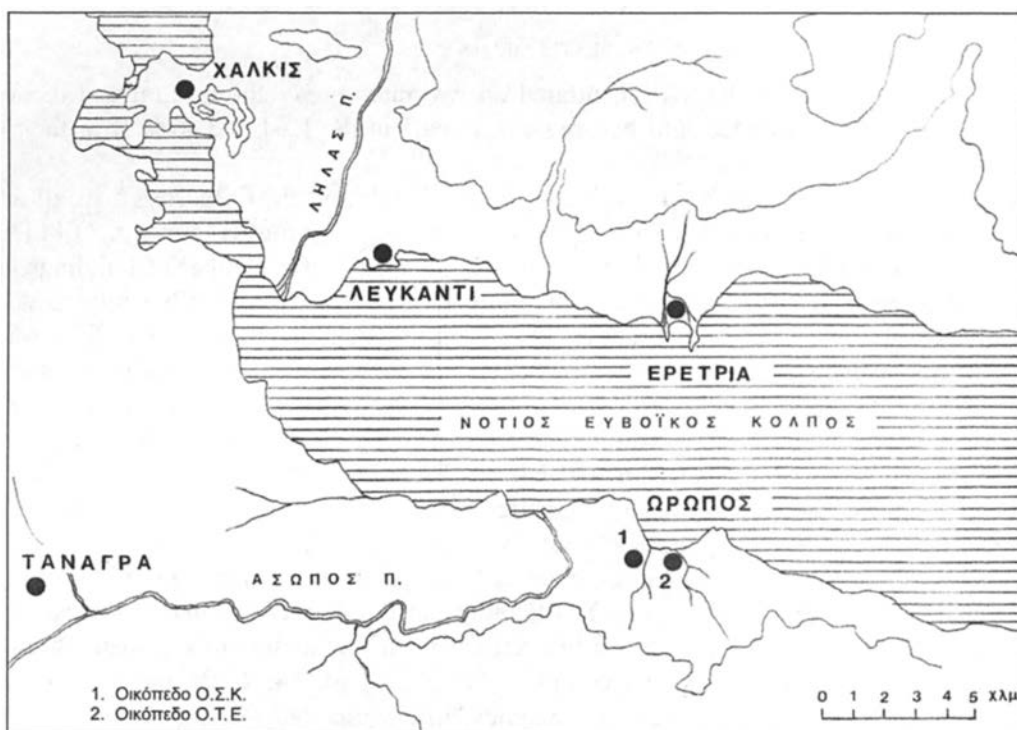


Figure 2. Map of the area of Oropos during the Early Iron Age (drawing by the author).

A similar setting can be imagined to have existed at Eretria, lying immediately opposite Oropos (see *infra*, **fig. 1** on p. 182).⁶ The case of Xeropolis/Lefkandi is slightly different: the overall layout appears not to have differed much from what we observe in the former two sites, though the space was restricted to a promontory (which may be characterized also as a

⁵ Concerning the geology of the area, see P. James–M. Kousoulakou–M. Arjona Pérez, ‘An Unstill Landscape. Reconstruction of Environmental Change at Oropos’, in Mazarakis Ainian (ed.) *op. cit.* 61–75; K. Gaki–Papanastassiou–A. B. Cundy–H. Maroukian, ‘Fluvial versus Tectonic Controls on the Late Holocene Geomorphic and Sedimentary Evolution of a Small Mediterranean Fan Delta System’, *The Journal of Geology* 119/2, 2011, 221–34

(I thank Thierry Theurillat for bringing this article to my attention).

⁶ C. Krause, ‘Zur städtebaulichen Entwicklung Eretrias’, *AntK* 25, 1982, 137–44; *id.*, ‘Remarques sur la structure et l’évolution de l’espace urbain d’Erétrie’, in *Architecture et société de l’archaïsme grec à la fin de la République romaine: actes du Colloque international organisé par le CNRS, Rome 2–4 décembre 1980* (1983) 64–73.

tell, as its present height is partly due to the superimposed occupational levels accumulated since the prehistoric period)⁷ with two protected harbours on either side of an isthmus, thus quite similar to Zagora (see **fig. 1** on p. 160). Indeed, the latter, located on an abrupt rocky promontory on the south-western coast of Andros, consists of rectangular agglutinated units sharing party walls and clustered around courtyards (see **fig. 1** on p. 2). Their roofs were presumably flat while those of Oropos, Eretria, and Xeropolis/Lefkandi were no doubt pitched, made of straw or reeds. Moreover, the materials used for the construction of the houses in the two areas greatly differ: at Zagora, walls were constructed entirely of stones, while on either side of the Euboean Gulf they consisted of mud bricks set upon a low stone socle.

Despite these obvious differences in urban planning, and architectural forms, and construction materials, a number of characteristics shared by the settlements of the south Euboean Gulf and Zagora and the individual features of their units point towards a similar social organization. I have presented this topic elsewhere and wish to develop it here further.⁸

THE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SETTLEMENTS

The excavations at Oropos have concentrated on two main areas, the Central and the West Quarters, the latter subdivided into two regions, Area I in the East and Area II in the West (**fig. 3**).

Supplementary work has been conducted in the South and East Quarters.⁹ In all areas investigated the organization of the domestic quarters is roughly similar. Oikoi, i.e. households which I have also called ‘compounds,’ consisting of a number of buildings, as a rule oriented towards the south in order to avoid the north winds, are usually enclosed within a peribolos wall. The functions of the buildings within each enclosure varied; they served purposes such as habitation units, areas for communal activities, and cult practices (at either household or communal level), locales of artisanal and pastoral activities, as well as for storage.¹⁰ This model of social organization, which was first detected and explored in the area of the Central Quarter in the mid-80s and late 90s (**figs. 4–5; pl. 14: 1**), was subsequently confirmed by the discoveries in the West Quarter between 1999 and 2003 (Area I, **fig. 6**) and 2007–2011 (Area II, **fig. 7**). To date at least six independent oikoi have been revealed, each comprising a number of successive architectural phases: in the Central Quarter, within the main rectangular peribolos, Buildings ΣΤ-ΙΕ represent a single compound (#1), seemingly one of the most important within the entire settlement; a few metres to the west, Buildings Α and Β/Γ doubtless form a second complex, #2 (**fig. 5; pl. 14: 1**). In the West Quarter (Area I) the edifices ΙΘ-ΛΑ belong to yet another large compound, #3 (**fig. 6**), characterized by the rather small dimension of its buildings, though the construction details of a number of them denote that a considerable effort was made to differentiate certain buildings from others by the careful treatment of their masonry (as is the case for Building ΙΗ). Still in the West Quarter (Area II) (**fig. 7**), Buildings ΛΒ and ΛΓ probably represent a fourth entity (#4). The spacious superimposed oval buildings ΛΔ/ΛΕ/ΛΣΤ further west (**pl. 14: 2**) seem to be

⁷ D. A. Davidson *et al.*, ‘Tell formation processes as indicated from geoarchaeological and geochemical investigations at Xeropolis, Euboea, Greece’, *JASc* 37, 2010, 1564–71.

⁸ For the most recent summary, see A. Mazarakis Ainian, ‘The Form and Structure of Euboean Society in the Early Iron Age Based on Some Recent Research’, in *Alle origini della Magna Grecia: mobilità, migrazioni, fondazioni*. Atti L CMGr (2012) 73–99.

⁹ For a basic bibliography, see *supra* n. 4.

¹⁰ For artisanal activities at Oropos, see R. C. P. Doonan–A. Mazarakis Ainian, ‘Forging Identity in Early Iron Age Greece: Implications of the Metalworking Evidence from Oropos’, in Mazarakis Ainian (ed.) *op. cit.* (n. 4) 361–78; A. Mazarakis Ainian, ‘Des quartiers spécialisés d’artisans à l’époque géométrique?’, in: A. Esposito–G. M. Sanidas (eds.), «Quartiers» artisanaux en Grèce ancienne: une perspective méditerranéenne (2012) 125–54.

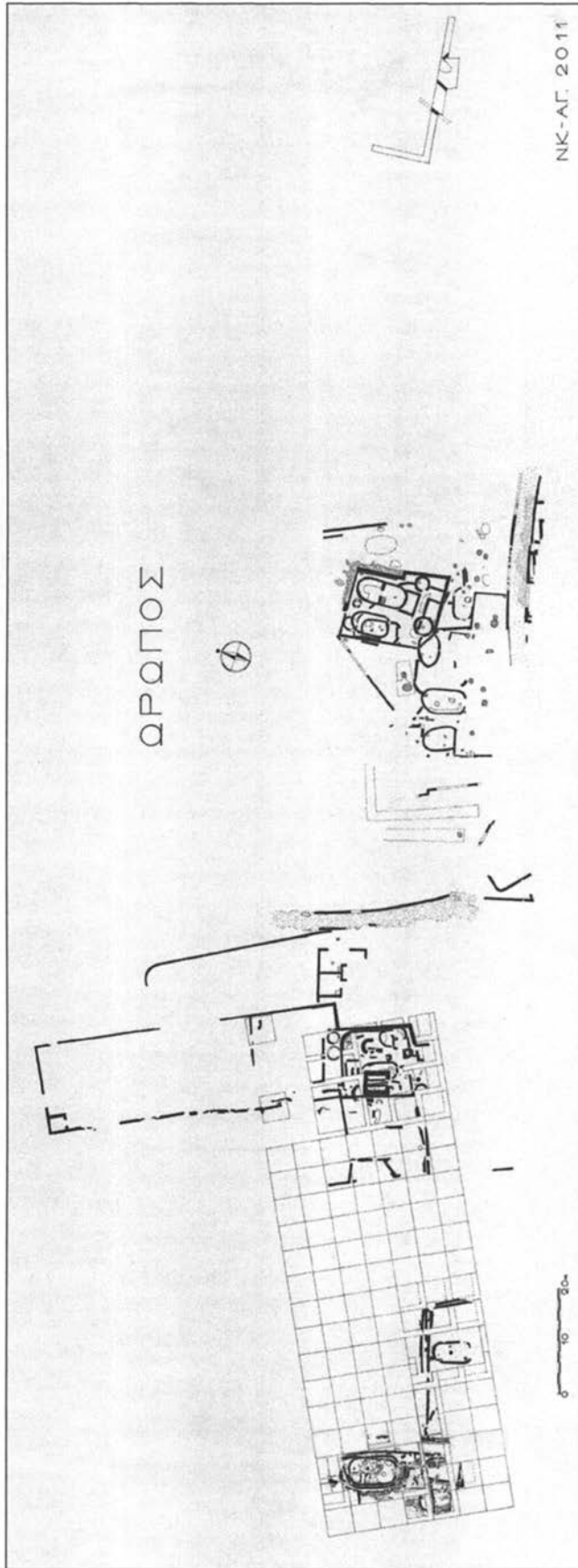


Figure 3. Topographical plan of Oropos (A. Gounaris).

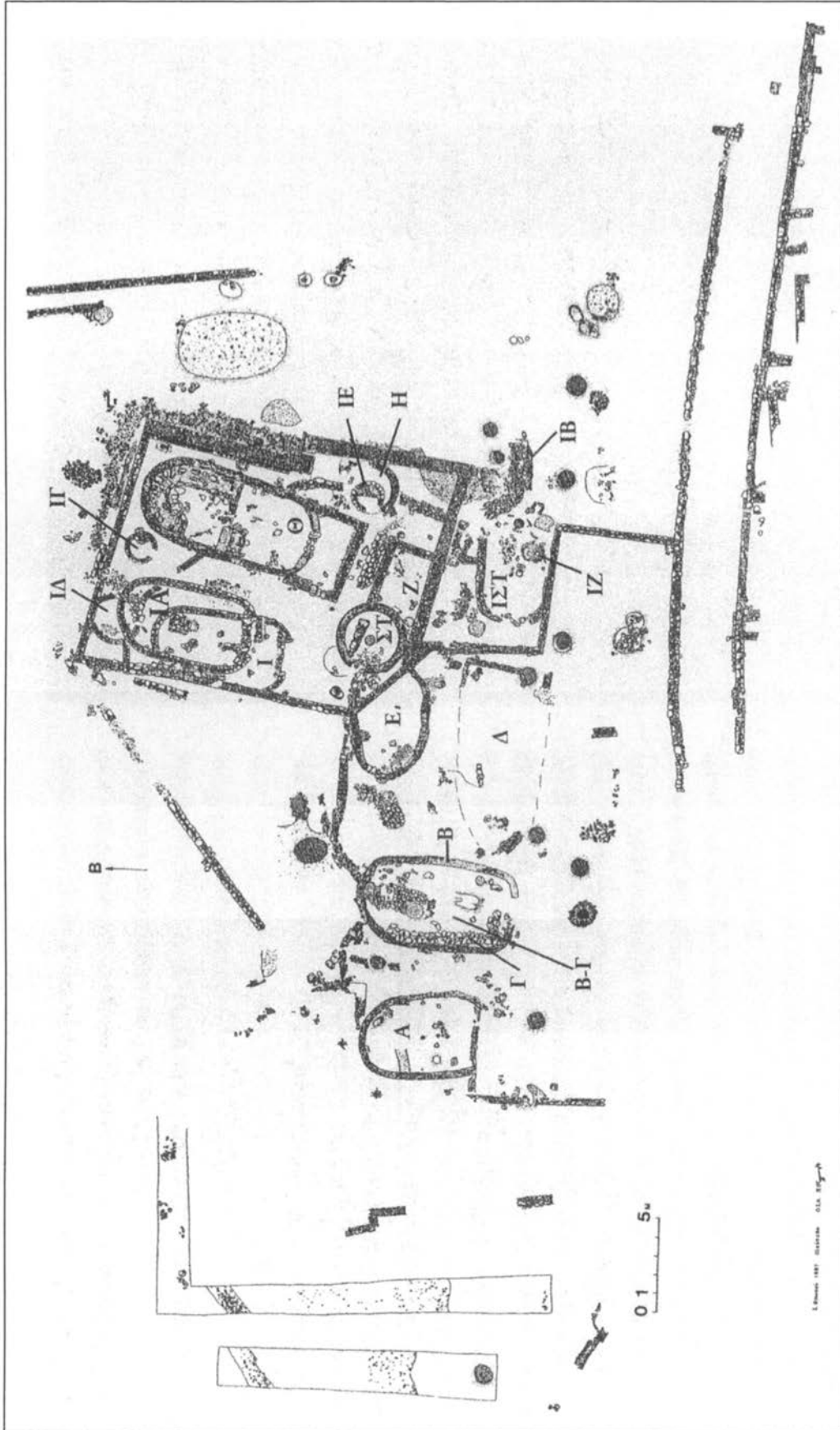


Figure 4. Oropos. Central Quarter (N. Kalliontzis).

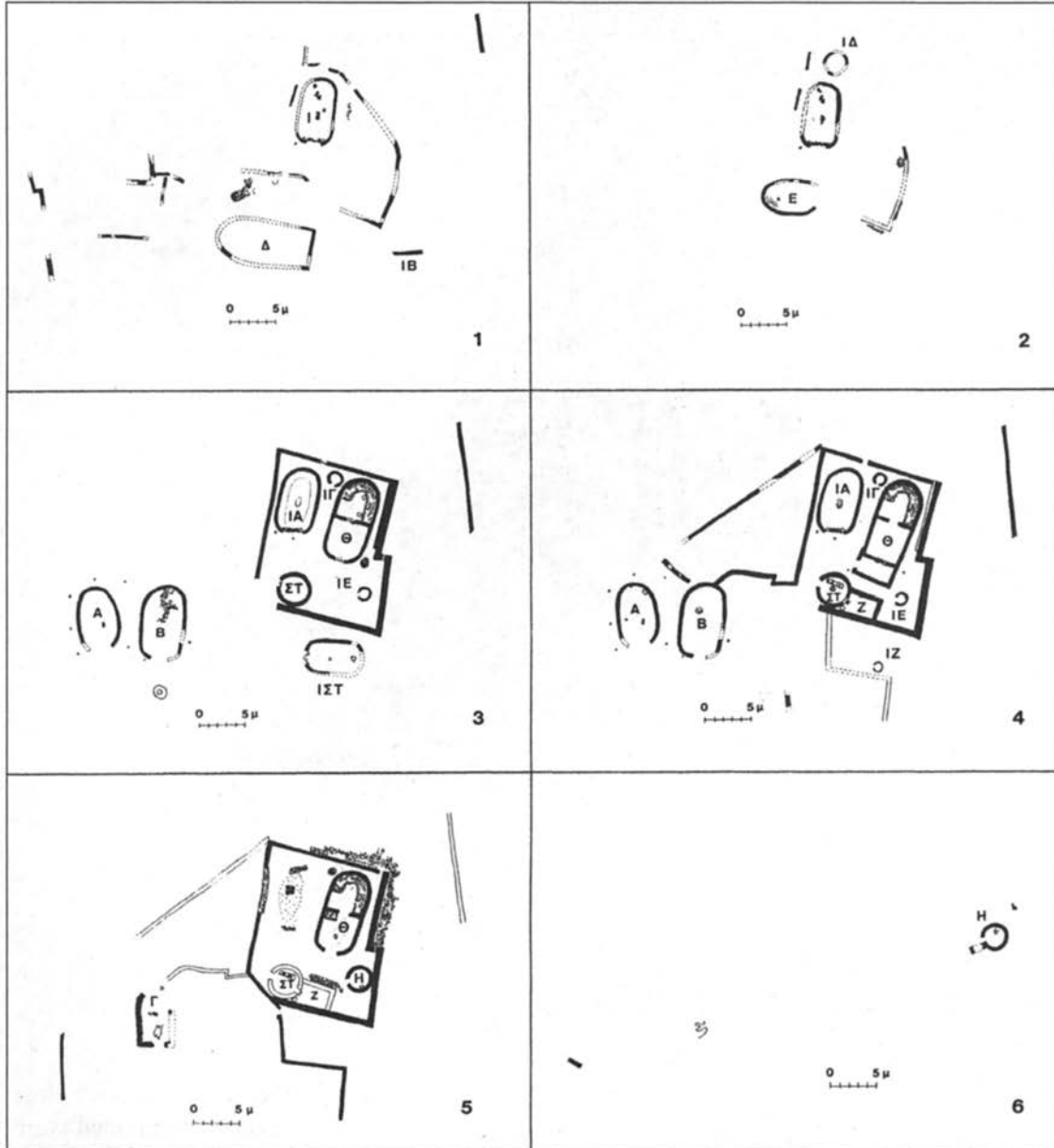


Figure 5. Oropos, Central Quarter, architectural phases (drawing by the author).

related with buildings ΛΘ and M/MA further south:¹¹ this is doubtless a complex (#5) which equalled in importance that of the Central Quarter. Finally, there are a number of structures which cannot be easily assigned to a specific group. Between the later complex #5 and ΛΒ-ΛΓ (#4), a single curved wall, ΛΖ, may be assigned to a building which could belong to a further compound that has not been investigated yet, while it is not certain whether buildings E and ΙΣΤ in the Central Quarter should be associated with the second phase of Building I (# 1) (fig. 5). Interestingly, in the latter area, both buildings are oriented E/W, while all the

¹¹ Building ΛΘ may have originally belonged to another compound, since peribolos wall T169 seems to separate this edifice from the oval buildings immediately to the north. Nevertheless, by the end of the Geometric period, when ΛΘ

was apparently no longer standing, buildings M and MA were built over the peribolos wall, and the two areas appear to have been united.

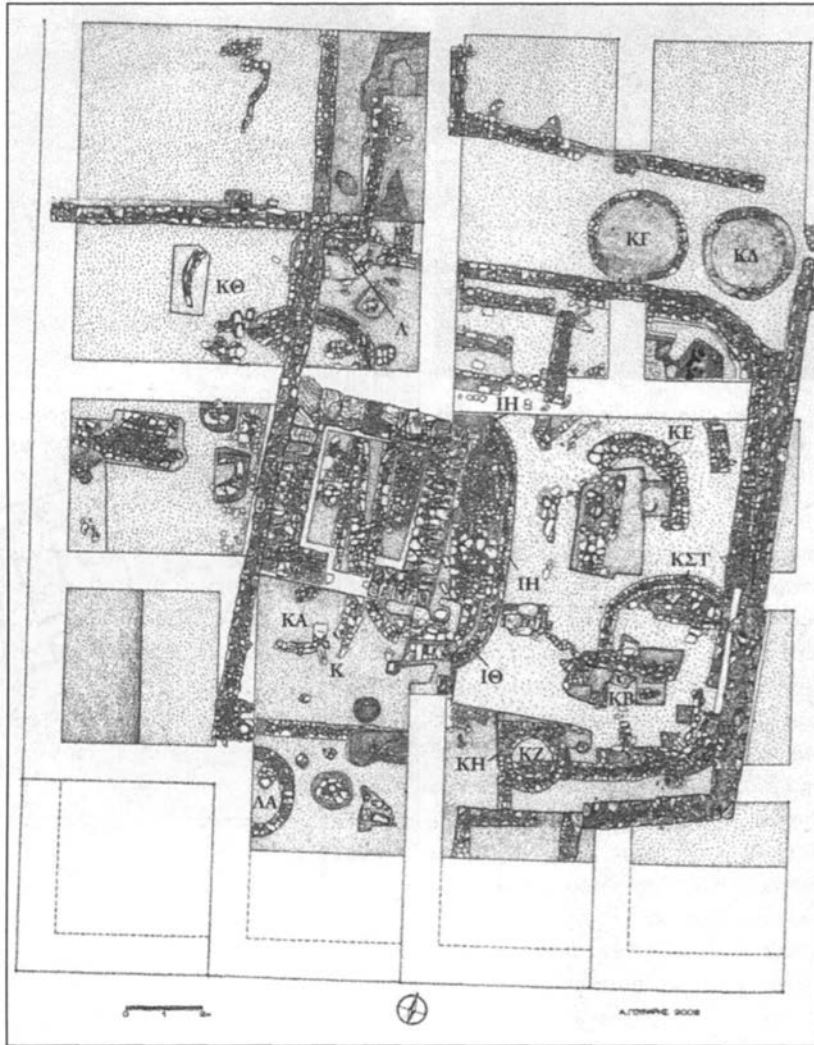


Figure 6. Oropos. Plan of Area I of West Quarter (A. Gounaris).

remaining elongated edifices follow the usual N/S orientation observed at Oropos (cf. below regarding Ed150 at Eretria). It should be emphasized that all the buildings mentioned were not in use simultaneously and that six main architectural phases were identified, dated between c.760 and 690 BC.¹²

I have extensively argued that the same model of organization characterizes Eretria (and most probably Xeropolis/Lefkandi), opposite Oropos on the Euboean coast of the gulf.¹³ Geometric Eretria was apparently closely related to Andros, perhaps even in control of certain of its coastal sites; this hypothesis is assumed due to Strabo's claim that the Eretrians were in control of the Andrians, Tenians, Keians, and other island communities (X 448) and is more

¹² On the Geometric pottery and the absolute dates, see V. Vlachou, *Γεωμετρικός Ωρωπός. Η τροχήλατη κεραμική και οι φάσεις της εγκατάστασης*. Unpub. PhD thesis, University of Athens (2010).

¹³ See *supra* n. 4 and A. Mazarakis Ainian, 'Ερέτρια: Αρχιτεκτονική, Πολεοδομία και Κοινωνική Οργάνωση

κατά τους Γεωμετρικούς Χρόνους', in AETHSE 1.11 2003 [2006] 955–77. Concerning Xeropolis/Lefkandi, see I. S. Lemos, 'Recent Archaeological Work on Xeropolis, Lefkandi: a Preliminary Report', in Mazarakis Ainian (ed.) *op. cit.* (n. 4) 123–33; ead., 'Lefkandi in Euboea: ricerche recenti', in *Cuma. Atti XLVIII CMGr* (2008) 11–35.

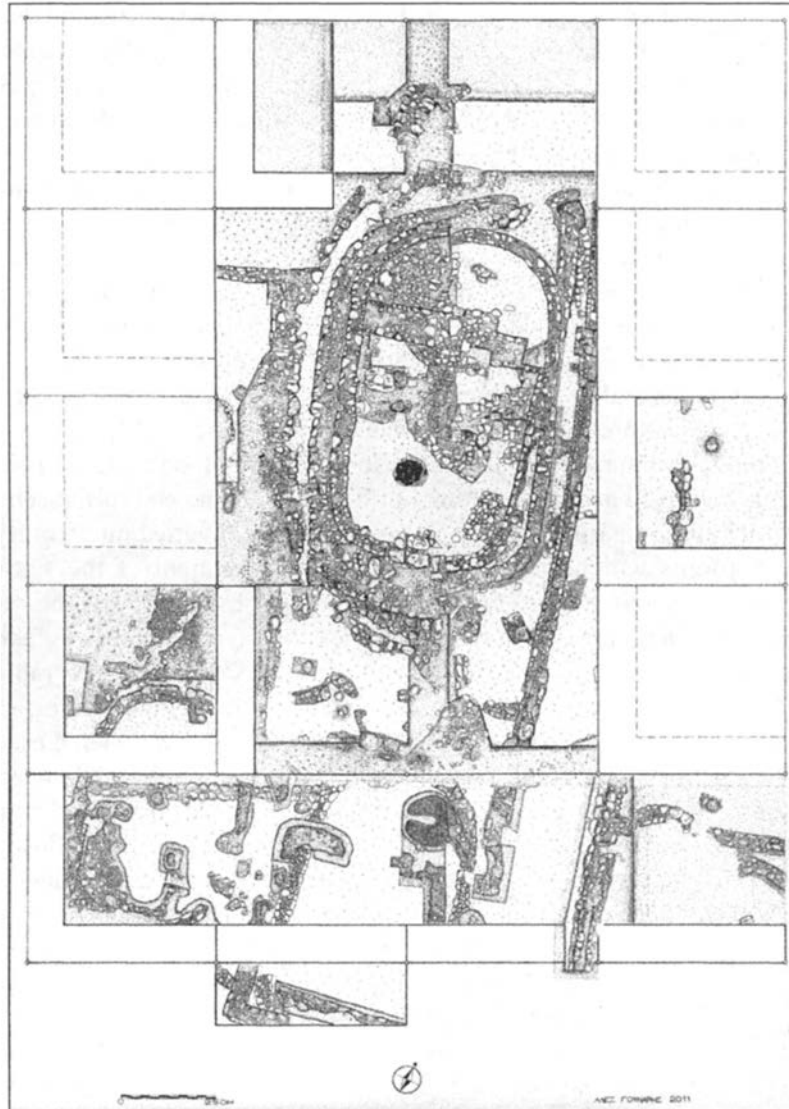


Figure 7. Oropos. Plan of Area II of West Quarter (A. Gounaris).

or less supported by the presence of comparatively numerous Euboean imported ceramic finds at Zagora and Hypsele,¹⁴ and by the possible existence of travelling potters between these islands.¹⁵ Eretria, however, was apparently also if not in control at least in close and good terms with Oropos during the Geometric and Early Archaic periods.¹⁶ We will return

¹⁴ J.-P. Descœudres, 'Zagora auf der Insel Andros—eine eretrische Kolonie?', *AntK* 16, 1973, 87–8; J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece, 900–700 B.C.* (2003) 199; C. Televantou, 'Andros: L'antico insediamento di Ipsili', in: E. Lanzillota–D. Schilardi (eds.), *Le Cicladi ed il mondo Egeo. Seminario internazionale di studi. Roma, 19–21 novembre 1992* (1996) 79–100; ead. op. cit. (n. 4) 25, 37. Nevertheless, at both sites, Cycladic, Corinthian, and Attic imports are well represented among the material. See also V. Vlachou's paper in this volume.

¹⁵ B. McLoughlin, 'The Pithos Makers at Zagora: Ceramic

Technology and Function in an Agricultural Settlement Context', in: A. Mazarakis Ainian (ed.), *The "Dark Ages" Revisited. Acts of an International Symposium in Memory of William D. E. Coulson, University of Thessaly, Volos, 14–17 June 2007* (2011) 913–28, esp. 916.

¹⁶ D. Knoepfler, 'Oropos, colonie d'Érètrie', *Histoire et archéologie. Les Dossiers* 94, 1985, 50–5; id., 'Oropodoros: anthroponomy, geography, history', in: S. Hornblower–E. Matthews (eds.), *Greek Personal Names. Their Value as Evidence. ProcBritAc* 104 (2000) 94–6; Mazarakis Ainian art. cit. (n. 5, 1998) 210–14.

to Eretria below while discussing the relationship between sacred, civic, and domestic space. Here it will suffice to note that the general model during the Middle Geometric (MG) II and LG periods (*c.*800–700 BC) is similar to that described above for Oropos, with *oikoi* consisting of a number of curvilinear huts built of perishable materials and surrounded by enclosure walls, that were constantly repaired.

Zagora on the other hand consists—as we already noted—of rectangular houses, as was common in the Cyclades, of the ‘courtyard’ type, sharing a common ‘spine wall’ (**fig. 2** on p. 8). This last characteristic is similar to that of Early Archaic settlements, such as Vroulia on Rhodes and Azoria in East Crete.¹⁷ It has even been argued that beneath the structured orthogonal grid urban planning of Zagora lies a complex application of mathematical or even astronomical calculations—a view which has not received widespread approval.¹⁸ As at Oropos and Eretria, several architectural phases can be detected within the 8th century (at least seven are attested in area J and three major phases in area D/H).¹⁹ The houses in the earlier stages of the 8th century were, as a rule, elongated with the rooms set in a row, usually oriented in such a way as to avoid the strong north winds; by the end of the century, with the addition of several new compartments, they were gradually converted into ‘courtyard houses’, comprising more rooms which, shortly before the abandonment of the settlement, were segmented into less spacious rooms (see **fig. 3** on p. 9).²⁰ In some way, the multi-structure *oikoi* of Oropos and Eretria correspond to the complex ‘courtyard houses’ of Zagora.

Worth remarking is that the household units of Area D/H at Zagora radiate from the common spine walls, forming clusters that open onto free spaces. The extent of the excavation does not allow us, for the time being, to determine whether these open spaces were as extensive as the central one attested between Areas D/H and J, which may have functioned as a place for gatherings, i.e. an early agora, or formed streets and narrow passages (sometimes irregular squares open to the sky) separating quarters and allowing access to the individual units, as seems to have been the case at the neighbouring and contemporary settlement of Hypsele²¹ and other Cycladic settlements of the same period, such as Ayios Andreas on Siphnos,²² or the summit of the acropolis of Koukounaries on Paros.²³

Our understanding of the exact layout of the settlements of Zagora, Oropos, and Eretria is partly hampered by the circumstances of their respective excavation: large unexcavated areas of the settlements remain to be explored (for instance, only a tenth of Zagora has been excavated), while at Eretria subsequent building activity further complicates the picture. These unexcavated or partly investigated areas represent gaps in our knowledge since they do not allow us to grasp the precise organization of space between the various habitation units or quarters. Nevertheless, it seems that we are entitled to speak at Zagora and Eretria

¹⁷ See K. F. Kinch, *Fouilles de Vroulia, Rhodes* (1914), respectively D. Haggis in this volume.

¹⁸ A. Coucouzeli, ‘From Tribe to State in the Greek Early Iron Age: the Archaeological Evidence from Lefkandi and Zagora’, in: Stampolidis–Giannikouri (eds.) *op. cit.* (n. 4) 461–80; ead., ‘From Megaron to Oikos at Zagora’, in: R. Westgate–N. Fisher–J. Whitley (eds.), *Building Communities. House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond. Proceedings of a Conference held at Cardiff University, 17–21 April 2001*. BSA Studies 15 (2007) 169–82. For responses to Coucouzeli’s proposal, see A. P. Gounaris in this volume.

¹⁹ See <http://www.aai.chass.usyd.edu.au/Zagora/>

²⁰ Cambitoglou *et al.*, *Zagora 2* (cit. n. 2) pl. 11; Guide (cit. n. 2) fig. 9.

²¹ Ch. Televantou, ‘Η Άνδρος κατά την Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου’, in: Stampolidis–Giannikouri (eds.) *op. cit.* (n. 4) 421–6; ead. *op. cit.* (n. 3).

²² Ch. Televantou, ‘Ακρόπολη Αγίου Αντρέα Σίφνου. Οι πρόσφατες έρευνες’, in: Πρακτικά Γ’ Διεθνούς Σιφναϊκού Συμποσίου, Σίφνος 29 Ιουνίου–2 Ιουλίου 2006 (2009) 23–34, esp. 28–9.

²³ D. Schilardi, ‘The Decline of the Geometric Settlement of Koukounaries at Paros’, in: R. Hägg (ed.), *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B.C.: Tradition and Innovation. Proceedings of the Second International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 1–5 June 1981* (1983) 175–7; id., ‘The Emergence of Paros the Capital’, in: Luce (ed.) *op. cit.* (n. 4) 229–40; id. *supra* 89–105 [eds.].

of ‘habitation clusters’, separated from one another by free spaces rather than streets. Unless new excavations reverse the picture this seems quite obvious for Zagora where one observes the clear separation in space but also in size and complexity of the houses between areas D/H and J and E/F respectively. At Oropos and Eretria this kind of organization of space is evident too, despite the fact that large areas remain unexplored, since, as noted above, we are dealing with individual free-standing units forming groups which represent autonomous *oikoi*, often separated from one another by *peribolos* walls. The passages and free spaces between these enclosed spaces are however not well defined due to various limitations of the excavations at both sites.

At Oropos two complexes, the Central Quarter and Area II at the West Quarter, include more spacious buildings than Area I at the West Quarter. It is noteworthy that these two compounds which belonged to the élite (Buildings Θ1-3 and ΛΔ/ΛΕ/ΛΣΤ, respectively, stand out from the surrounding buildings) occupy the periphery and not the centre of the settlement. It should be noted here that it seems that all quarters were founded at the same period, though the presence of a handful of Protogeometric to MG sherds in Area I of the West Quarter could imply that the original core of the settlement may have been situated somewhere nearby. Likewise, the quarters of the élite at Eretria were probably located in the periphery of the inhabited area as well, notably the regions of the so-called *Heroon* by the West Gate and that of the sanctuary of Apollo (**fig. 1** on p. 182). Indeed, the latter was located in the 8th century near the eastern limits of the inhabited area, which, however, by the Classical period, as the city had greatly expanded, occupied the *polis* centre. At Zagora, on the other hand, the members of the élite seem to have shared the central quarter of the settlement. In all three cases, however, we have the impression that a number of families were competing with one another within the community: at Eretria and Oropos, two of the most powerful families were living far away from each other, at the extremities of the inhabited areas and in the former site we have also evidence for this through the wealthy burials of the surroundings (those of the ‘*heroon*’ and those within the area of the future sanctuary of Apollo and the neighbouring agora).²⁴

It is important to try to visualize how the built space evolved during the 8th century both at Oropos and Zagora. In the first case, the floor levels were renewed several times, but in every case apparently more often than once in every generation; houses were usually rebuilt, often reusing or partly resting on the foundations of the earlier ones (see also below). This means that the destruction of the buildings down to their stone socle was at some point probably intentional and not due to some violent destruction.²⁵ It is probable that the need to reconstruct the dwellings was due to their ephemeral character (mud bricks and roof of perishable materials which decayed quickly) in combination with the damp environment in which they were located, which often suffered from floods. On the other hand, the stone-built rooms of Zagora, a site which probably suffered from a shortage of water, as all the Cycladic islands still do today, resisted better in time, and this inevitably led to a different kind of architectural development, the core of the original structure remained standing in place and each addition was incorporated into the pre-existing structure.

²⁴ ‘Heroon’: C. Bérard, Eretria III. L’Héron à la porte de l’Ouest (1970). Sanctuary of Apollo: B. Blandin, ‘Une tombe du IXe siècle av. J.-C. à Erétrie’, *AntK* 43, 2000, 134–45. Area of Agora: N. Psalti, ‘Νέα τοπογραφικά δεδομένα για την πλατεία Αγοράς της Ερέτριας: Η ανασκαφή του οικοπέδου Αν. Αλεξάνδρη’, in *AETHSE* 1.11, 2003 [2006] 1010–38; ead., ‘Νέος εικονιστικός κρατήρας από

τη Γεωμετρική Ερέτρια. Ο κρατήρας των μελαινωῶν ἵππων’, in Mazarakis Ainian (ed.) *op. cit.* (n. 16) 873–90. In general, see B. Blandin, Eretria XVII. Les pratiques funéraires d’époque géométrique à Erétrie. Espace des vivants, demeures des morts (2007).

²⁵ Some buildings were almost completely dismantled, such as KB in the West Quarter (Area I).

Indeed there exist major differences in the geographical-topographical setting of the settlements under discussion. At Oropos and Eretria the courses of the seasonal rivers played a vital role in the shaping of the ‘urban’ layout, while at Zagora no such constraints influenced the development of the settlement. A further major difference is that Zagora was established on a promontory the area of which was restricted and therefore was destined to be abandoned once the settlement expanded and reached its greatest point of prosperity and peak. The setting is in that respect much closer to that of Xeropolis/Lefkandi, which also occupied a promontory that gradually developed into a ‘tell’ since the site has a much longer history than Zagora.²⁶ It may not be coincidental that both Zagora and Xeropolis/Lefkandi did not accept intramural child burials within the inhabited restricted space, while Oropos and Eretria did, as space there was presumably much more loosely organized and less confined.²⁷ Indeed, both Xeropolis/Lefkandi and Zagora had well defined limits, both by their topographical setting on promontories but also by the presence of monumental walls, which at least in the case of Zagora certainly had a defensive character.²⁸ Both sites, however, were abandoned around 700 BC perhaps for the same reasons: the lack of space for further expansion and the need for more accessible harbours. Vathy Limenari on the tiny island of Donousa may have suffered from similar problems, leading to its abandonment some generations earlier.²⁹ At Xeropolis/Lefkandi the two bays had probably gradually silted by that time,³⁰ those of Zagora were difficult to access from the settlement and could no longer satisfy the needs of a rising *polis*. These were perhaps the main reasons for abandoning both sites in favour of others. The act of synoecism and the founding of colonies, in which both the Euboeans (including the Graians as I have argued elsewhere³¹) and the Andrians³² were active in the late 8th and early 7th centuries was doubtless also responsible for this major shift in the occupational history of their respective landscape. Whether the Lelantine War also played some role in this reordering of settlement patterns in the Aegean remains a possibility.³³ Nevertheless, in many cases it was probably advancements achieved by the thriving settlements of the late 8th century BC that led to the decision of their abandonment and not their impoverishment or general decline. Other settlements which had difficulties in developing into *poleis* due to the topographical constraints (for instance Hypsele on Andros, Ayios Andreas on Siphnos, or Kephala on

²⁶ Davidson *et al.* art. cit. (n. 7); D. Evely (ed.), Lefkandi IV. The Bronze Age: The Late Helladic IIIC Settlement at Xeropolis. BSA Suppl. 39 (2006); M. R. Popham–L. H. Sackett–P. Themelis (eds.), Lefkandi I. The Iron Age. BSA Suppl. 11 (1979–1980); I. S. Lemos, ‘Recent Archaeological Work on Xeropolis, Lefkandi: a Preliminary Report’, in Mazarakis Ainian (ed.) op. cit. (n. 4) 123–33.

²⁷ A. Mazarakis Ainian, ‘Buried Among the Living in Early Iron Age Greece: Some Thoughts’, in: G. Bartoloni *et al.* (eds.), *Sepolti tra i vivi—Buried among the living. Evidenza ed interpretazione di contesti funerari in abitato. Atti del convegno internazionale, Roma 26–29 aprile 2006*, Scienze dell’Antichità 14.1 (2008) 365–98; id., ‘Tombs d’enfants à l’intérieur d’habitats au début de l’Age du Fer dans le monde grec’, in: A.-M. Guimier-Sorbets–Y. Morizot (eds.), *L’Enfant et la mort dans l’Antiquité, I. Nouvelles recherches dans les nécropoles grecques. Le signalement des tombes d’enfants. Actes de la table ronde internationale organisée à Athènes, Ecole française d’Athènes, 29–30 mai 2008* (2010) 67–95. See also V. Vlachou, ‘Oropos: The Infant and Child Inhumations from the Settlement (Late 8th—Early 7th Centuries B.C.)’, in Mazarakis Ainian (ed.) op. cit. (n. 4)

213–32; Blandin op. cit. (n. 24).

²⁸ On Zagora, see *supra* n. 2. On Xeropolis/Lefkandi (dating however in LH IIIC): I. S. Lemos, ‘Lefkandi auf Euböa. Licht in den dunklen Jahrhunderten’, in: C. Hattler (ed.), *Zeit der Helden. Die ‘dunklen Jahrhunderte’ Griechenlands 1200–700 v. Chr.*, Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe (2009) 180–9; ead. art. cit. (n. 13, 2008) 11–35. In general, see R. Frederiksen, *Greek City Walls of the Archaic Period, 900–480 BC* (2011) catalogue.

²⁹ Ph. Zapheirou, ‘Ο Γεωμετρικός οικισμός Δονούσας’, in *‘Ίδρυμα Ν Γουλανδρή Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης, Διαλέξεις*, 1986–1989 (1990) 43–54.

³⁰ See Davidson *et al.* loc. cit. (n. 7).

³¹ Loc. cit. (n. 4, 2006–2007).

³² Various papers in: A. Balkas (ed.), *Άνδρος και Χαλκιδική. Πρακτικά Συμποσίου, Άνδρος 23 Αυγούστου 1997. Ανδριακά Χρονικά 29* (1998).

³³ V. Parker, *Untersuchungen zum Lelantischen Krieg und verwandten Problemen der frühgriechischen Geschichte. Historia Einzelschriften 109* (1997) *passim*.

Skiathos)³⁴ continued to be inhabited, though all gradually declined during the Archaic and Classical periods and were finally abandoned in favour of another site, usually the nearest *polis*.

Oropos and Eretria seem to conform to what Donald Haggis has called ‘dynamic settlement structures’, while Zagora (and to a lesser degree Xeropolis/Lefkandi) matches better the category termed ‘static’.³⁵ Based on what has been argued above, we could equate ‘static’ with ‘nucleated’ and ‘dynamic’ with ‘dispersed’: the former as opposed to the latter had little chance of developing into *poleis*.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SACRED, CIVIC, AND DOMESTIC SPACE

At first sight the cult places and cult activities attested to at these sites also seem to differ considerably.³⁶ Was this indeed the case? Leaving aside the possibility that this first impression may be due to the circumstances of the excavations, a closer comparison leads to some interesting observations. At Zagora there seems to be a ‘communal’ sanctuary located within the main central open-air space of the plateau, which may have functioned as a meeting place of the community, a primitive ‘agora’ (**fig. 2** on p. 8). A similar interpretation has been suggested for the LG temple at Hypsele, next to which there was a hypaethral enclosed area with three rows of stone seats on the northern side which the excavator has interpreted as a ‘hall for gatherings’ or ‘agora’ (see **pl. 13**).³⁷ The focus of the cult at Zagora, the built altar, was not situated towards the centre of the free space but at its northern extremity, less than ten metres away from the most important complex of the settlement, Unit H19 and its dependencies (H22–23, H28–29, and courtyard H21), usually identified with the house of one of the most prominent individuals of Zagora. On the other hand, it seems that the houses in the NW part of area J were very close to the altar as well (about eight metres). One wonders how ‘communal’ this sanctuary was and who were the worshippers. Did it serve the entire community from the beginning or only a selection of the population? Its position, linking—as it does—the free space around the altar with Unit H19 etc., rather than with the dwellings of area J, suggests that the open-air cult area originally served only the members of the élite who occupied the cluster of spacious dwellings in area D/H. Moreover, the presence of two sections of a possible temenos wall,³⁸ the exact line and date of which are unfortunately unknown, could imply a restriction of the cult area from a section of the community (with a possible entrance situated just south of Room H23?).

This situation may be compared with what has been observed at Eretria in the area of the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros, between 800 and 700 BC (phases I and II: see **fig. 3** on p. 185). It is not possible to draw comparisons without discussing the interpretation recently presented by Samuel Verdan.³⁹ Here, the presence of a free ‘communal’ space, as at Zagora, cannot be proven, though it is worth noting that the agora in the Classical period was located not very far to the south of the sanctuary, which may not be a mere coincidence. The circular

³⁴ A. Mazarakis Ainian, ‘Euboean Mobility Towards the North: New Evidence from the Sporades’, in: M. Iacovou (ed.), *Cyprus and the Aegean in the Early Iron Age. The Legacy of Nicolas Coldstream. An Archaeological Workshop in Memory of Professor N. J. Coldstream*. Archaeological Research Unit, University of Cyprus, 13 December 2010 (2012) 53–75.

³⁵ D. Haggis, ‘Destruction and the Formation of Static and Dynamic Settlement Structures in the Aegean’, in: J. Driessen (ed.), *Destruction. Archaeological, Philological and Historical Perspectives* (2013) 63–87.

³⁶ In general on Early Iron Age sanctuaries in the

Cyclades, see A. Gounaris, ‘Cult places in the Cyclades during the Protogeometric and Geometric periods: their contribution in interpreting the rise of the Cycladic *poleis*’, in: M. Yeroulanou–M. Stamatopoulou (eds.), *Architecture and Archaeology in the Cyclades. Papers in honour of J. J. Coulton*, BAR Int. Ser. 1455 (2005) 13–68.

³⁷ Televantou op. cit. (n. 3) 46, 49. The structure, however, is smaller than the temple and would be better identified as a civic building, such as a *bouleuterion* or *prytaneion*.

³⁸ Cambitoglou op. cit. (n. 2, 1981) fig. 11.

³⁹ Eretria XXII. Le Sanctuaire d’Apollon Daphnéphoros à l’époque géométrique (2013) 173–240 pls. 7, 8, 10.

altar (St12) was placed in a decentralized position towards the east of the main group of buildings, Ed1, 150, and 9. Peribolos wall M107 which previously had been considered to belong to a predecessor of the *hekatompedon* Ed2 seems to separate the area of the altar from this complex of buildings. Verdan's hypothesis that Ed5 further to the north was also part of the same *oikos* in Phase I is probably wrong, as peribolos wall M8 creates a barrier between this edifice and those further to the south.⁴⁰ According to Verdan, apsidal Ed150, located some fifteen metres to the west of the altar and oriented towards it, would have served for ritual drinking in relation to the cult.⁴¹ However, the presence of several 'hearths' in the open air at a distance of some ten metres to the north of the altar and the vast area further north which was seemingly free of constructions in Phase I (and still in Phase IIa) are indications that the activities associated with the cult area were centred both towards the north and the west.⁴² While I would agree that Ed150 served for communal drinking sessions (a large Attic MG II krater placed on a mud-brick base against the centre of the apse being the focus of these activities), the argument that it could not have served also as a habitation is circular and far-fetched: indeed, the early date of the altar is not well documented and the intentional orientation of Ed150 towards it is conjectural. At Oropos too, buildings situated to the south side of a peribolos are sometimes oriented east/west instead of north/south which was the norm (cf. Buildings E and ΙΣΤ in the Central Quarter). The conclusion that Ed1 at Eretria (the so-called Daphnephoreion) was no longer standing in Phase IIa is not based on secure stratigraphical evidence: at Oropos it has been possible to prove that sometimes the stone socle was no longer visible as floor levels and living horizons would rise, but the mud-brick superstructure still stood undamaged.⁴³ In other cases, as in Ed150 at Eretria, or Buildings Θ, Β/Γ, ΙΘ/ΙΗ, ΛΔ/ΛΕ, Μ/ΜΑ at Oropos, a new stone socle would be built exactly on top of the earlier one in order to remedy this problem (this is not as extraordinary as considered by Verdan), or a new edifice of similar dimensions and plan would partly overlap the earlier foundations (as in the cases of I-IA and K-KA).

The separation between sacred and profane areas/buildings until the construction of the *hekatompedon* (Ed2) in phase IIb seems non-existent. Indeed, one has difficulties also in understanding the function of Ed17 (the so-called bronzesmith's workshop)⁴⁴ and perhaps of another elusive structure a few metres to its south (M16).⁴⁵ The most probable explanation for the function of Ed150 is that originally it served as an élite dwelling as well as a formal dining hall associated both with the sacrifices performed around the round altar St12 and the regular drinking gatherings of the members of the élite living in the surrounding area.

⁴⁰ The gap observed in Wall M8 should be interpreted as a water channel, as common at Oropos (for instance in the NE corner of the monumental peribolos in the Central Quarter), rather than as an indication for the presence of an entrance. Nevertheless, even if this gap represents a door opening connecting the two areas, it would not necessarily mean that the two enclosures belonged to one single unit. The presence of the large stone in the second phase of the same wall (M72) probably denotes the existence of an entrance here in Phase II; by that time Ed9 was no longer standing, and an enclosure wall (M10) separated the area occupied by Ed150, Ed2, and the altar (St12).

⁴¹ Verdan op. cit. 180 argues that 'en raison de sa dépendance vis-à-vis l'autel [*sic*, eds.], nous ne croyons pas que l'édifice 150 soit une demeure, mais plutôt qu'il est un lieu de réunion. Sa vocation communautaire se déduit aussi du fait qu'il ne s'ouvre pas sur une cour délimitée par des murs, ... mais sur une zone de passage ...'

⁴² Verdan *ibid.* 49–50, 60.

⁴³ This is, for instance, the case with buildings ΛΘ and ΜΑ in Area II of the West Quarter. In the former case the peribolos wall T169 abuts against the exterior face of the mud-brick superstructure, while the level of its foundation stands higher than the upper surface of the stone socle of the oval building ΛΘ. Likewise, in the case of the oval building ΜΑ, the pebbled courtyard area in front of ΛΕ follows the contours of its apse, but at a level much higher than its stone socle.

⁴⁴ S. Huber, 'Un atelier de bronzier dans le sanctuaire d'Apollon à Erétrie?', *AntK* 34, 1991, 137–54.

⁴⁵ According to S. Huber, Eretria XIV. L'aire sacrificielle au nord du sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros. Un rituel des époques géométrique et archaïque (2003) 24, wall M16 would have belonged to a building, while Verdan op. cit. 54 prefers to consider it as a peribolos wall.

When, however, the *hekatompedon* (Ed2) was constructed, in the free space where previously open-air ritual meals would have been taken, the function of Ed150 quickly became obsolete. Indeed, these activities were now probably held inside the new monumental building which doubtless involved larger groups of participants combined with the dedication and display of offerings, rendering the small apsidal building useless and leading to its abandonment. What remains still unexplained is the fact that not long after, the *hekatompedon* was also destroyed, probably by fire, but no building appears to have been built in the area for the next 50 years, before the construction of the rectangular *hekatompedon* around the middle of the 7th century BC,⁴⁶ while cult activities were intensified in the area of the sanctuary of Artemis (?) immediately to the north.⁴⁷

At Oropos no ‘communal’ cult place has been detected so far, but cult activities are clearly attested in relation to the main compounds which were seemingly associated with the élite. In the Central Quarter (#1) the cult seems to have been performed in the circular Building ΣΤ, while ritual drinking and eating was presumably held inside Building Θ. In Area II of the West Quarter (#5), cult activities were perhaps centred to the south of buildings ΛΔ/ΛΕ and Μ/ΜΑ, while the main edifice (ΛΔ/ΛΕ) could have had a role similar to that of Building Θ. In Area I of the West Quarter (#3) no clear evidence for the existence of a cult area within or near the compound was noted. A round structure in front of buildings Κ-ΚΑ and ΙΘ, which could be interpreted as an altar due to its raised cylindrical form, seems to belong to the later period of use of the quarter, when habitation was gradually shifting away from the area. A similar conversion of an area previously inhabited by the élite into a communal place of cult is observed at the so-called *Heroon* at the Central Quarter (centred around a low rectangular altar, a possible cenotaph, XXIV, and a raised circular platform, XXXVI). In that respect, the *Heroon* by the West Gate at Eretria is indicative of a similar pattern (élite necropolis at the fringes of a quarter inhabited by members of the élite, transformed in the early 7th century into a heroic cult).⁴⁸

Therefore, at all three sites, the areas devoted to cult activities, originally by specific groups of the community ended up in the 7th century in becoming cult places of the entire community. At Eretria, each élite group succeeded at the turn from the 8th to the 7th century BC in giving a ‘public’ character to previously rather restricted cult activities, in the *Heroon* by the West Gate on one hand and in the sanctuary of Apollo on the other. At Oropos, similar attempts to appropriate élite family cults by the rising *polis* seem to have been unsuccessful: the cults attested in relation to the two main compounds either failed to develop and were soon abandoned (‘*Heroon*’ in the Central Quarter) or remained rather unimportant during the Archaic period (Building ΛΕ in the West Quarter). The reason for this is not well understood, though it may have something to do with the overall complex fate of the settlement, its temporary displacement and its final abandonment before its consolidation (see below). At Zagora on the other hand, the cult at the sanctuary which was probably managed by the members of the élite probably acquired a more ‘public’ character when the site was abandoned and its inhabitants moved to Palaeopolis (see below).

THE POST-GEOMETRIC PERIOD

At Oropos the urban character of the site changed drastically after *c.* 700 BC.⁴⁹ The Central Quarter was abandoned with the exception of Building Θ3, and the new cult area to its west

⁴⁶ P. Auberson, Eretria I. Le Temple d’Apollon Daphnéphoros (1968).

⁴⁷ Huber op. cit.

⁴⁸ Bérard op. cit. (n. 24); Blandin op. cit. (n. 24) 35–58.

⁴⁹ In general on the Archaic period at Oropos and the pottery, see X. Charalampidou, Ωρωπός και Εύβοια κατά την αρχαϊκή εποχή (700 π.Χ.—αρχές του 5^{ου} αι. π.Χ.). Η μελέτη της τροχίλατης κεραμεικής και των στρωματογραφικών δεδομένων από τον Ωρωπό.

probably focused around the cenotaph of a ‘hero’ who may have perished at sea. The cult assemblage brings to one’s mind the *mnema* of Narcissus the Eretrian, mentioned by Strabo (IX 2: 10).⁵⁰ Despite the fact that an association of a specific cult with the ‘*Heroon*’ of Oropos is not possible, since the area was abandoned by the end of the first quarter of the 7th century, the establishment of a hero cult around the *mnema* (cenotaph XXIV) is noteworthy. The focus of habitation appears to have shifted now towards the south.⁵¹ A grid of streets meeting more or less at right angles seems to have been planned and partly implemented in the West Quarter and to the south of the Central Quarter, the ‘South Quarter’ (fig. 3). Much of the space between the squares formed by the walls bordering the sides of the streets was left free of any constructions, perhaps in the view of a future building project, which, however, was never accomplished, since this site was abandoned at the end of the Archaic period due to disastrous inundations. This planning reminds us of what was the norm in the first western *apoikiai*, in the setting up of which the inhabitants of Graia presumably had a share.⁵² One structure, however, the ‘Monumental Peribolos’, measuring 57 by 16.70 m, was erected in the area previously occupied by the compound of the West Quarter-Area I (fig. 3, middle). This was undoubtedly a communal structure, basically open to the sky, with two roofed check points at the north and south extremities, next to the entrances. The structure may have been either a provisional military camp built for the needs of a conflict (the Lelantine War?),⁵³ or a simple enclosure for animals,⁵⁴ or, as Emanuel Greco has argued, an Agora.⁵⁵ When this construction was abandoned, a rectangular house (?) of the *pastas* type was built over its SE corner towards the turn from the 7th to the 6th century BC.⁵⁶ The plan of the building is comparable to earlier Attic examples,⁵⁷ and not to the ‘courtyard house’ model applied earlier at Zagora. Whether this was a wealthy isolated dwelling or a civic building (a *prytaneion*?) is difficult to determine. A few edifices, like the large oval building ΛΔ/ΛΕ continued to stand practically unchanged throughout the Archaic period, though incorporated within the new grid street plan, in which some rectangular structures were now built (such as the square building ΛΘ). Whether the old oval edifice ΛΔ changed function is difficult to establish but its use seems to have been if not sacred at least civic: it was piously preserved and repaired on several occasions, protected with strong walls against the risk of floods, and received libations as foundation sacrifices twice, while in the small pebbled courtyard in front of it a few miniature *kotylai* were found.⁵⁸ It may not be coincidental that the small oval edifice M, excavated in 2011 a few metres to the south of ΛΔ/ΛΕ, was probably the focus of some religious ceremonies at some point as well (pl. 15): indeed, here a pebbled platform,

Unpub. PhD thesis, University of Athens (2008); ead., ‘Developments in Euboea and Oropos at the End of the Dark Ages’, in Mazarakis Ainian (ed.) op. cit. (n. 16) 831–56.

⁵⁰ D. Knoepfler, *La partie de Narcisse* (2010) 73–100.

⁵¹ A. Mazarakis Ainian, ‘*Ανασκαφή Σκάλας Ωρωπού*’, *Prakt* 2003, 9–17.

⁵² A. Mazarakis Ainian, ‘Architecture and Social Structure in Early Iron Age Greece’, in Westgate–Fisher–Whitley (eds.) op. cit. (n. 18) 157–68. For the role of the Graians in the colonization movement, see also M. Sakellariou, ‘*Quelques questions relatives à la colonisation eubéenne en Occident*’, in *Gli Eubei in Occidente, Atti XVIII CMGr* (1979) 9–36.

⁵³ A. Mazarakis Ainian, ‘Recent Excavations at Oropos, Northern Attica’, in Stamatopoulou–Yeroulanou (eds.) op. cit. (n. 4) 174–8.

⁵⁴ *Od.* VI 266–7; VIII 5, 109. See also F. Longo, ‘*Λ’αγορή*

di Omero. Rappresentazione poetica e documentazione archeologica’, *AION ArchStAnt* 31, 2009, 199–223, esp. 210–1.

⁵⁵ E. Greco, ‘Agora e Zeus Agoraios’, in: D. Morandi Bonacossi *et al.* (eds.), *Tra Oriente e Occidente: studi in onore di E. di Filippo Balestrazzi* (2006) 327–35, esp. 331–2.

⁵⁶ A. Mazarakis Ainian, ‘*Ανασκαφή Σκάλας Ωρωπού*’ (1985–87, 1996), *Prakt* 1996, 28–33.

⁵⁷ Cp., e.g., A. Mazarakis Ainian, *From Rulers’ Dwellings to Temples. Architecture, Religion and Society in Early Iron Age Greece (1100–700 B.C.)*, *SIMA* 121 (1997) 150–2 (so-called Sacred House at Eleusis), 254 (subgeometric house on the Velatouri hill in Thorikos).

⁵⁸ Excavated between 2008 and 2010: see A. Mazarakis Ainian, ‘*Ανασκαφή Σκάλας Ωρωπού*’, *Prakt* 2008, 7–22; *Prakt* 2009, 29–40; *Prakt* 2010, 9–18; id., ‘*Σκάλα Ωρωπού*’, *Ergon* 2011, 14–7.

measuring c.2 x 1 m, was uncovered alongside the west side of the interior, upon which numerous vessels had been intentionally smashed, while a few intact small closed vessels were found at the southern extremity of the raised structure. An area for libations occupied the NW corner of the platform.⁵⁹

Zagora on the other hand was peacefully abandoned around 700 BC. The reasons here were probably the act of synoecism (the later capital of the island, at modern Palaeopolis, lies a few kilometres to the north),⁶⁰ though we cannot exclude the possibility that a portion of the population left in the search of new promising lands in the Chalcidice peninsula.⁶¹ Interestingly, the case of the settlement at Hypsele, to the north of Palaeopolis, provides a rather rare case of a Geometric ‘nucleated’ settlement which continued to be inhabited into the Archaic period. Here too, however, the Geometric settlement was more extensive and prosperous than that of the following periods, during which it diminished in size and was contained within the fortified upper plateau.⁶² At Hypsele the cult of Demeter (?) apparently grew in importance in the Archaic period, while the settlement was declining.⁶³ Likewise, the cult of Athena (?) continued at Zagora throughout the Archaic and Classical periods, despite the fact that the site had been deserted. During the mid-6th century we observe in both sites building activities, with the major rearrangement of the temple at Hypsele and the construction of the temple at Zagora, together with the repair of the gate of the fortification wall which was apparently in a ruined state. This preservation of the memory of the place through the persistence of cult activities may be compared with several well known cases, such as Koukounaries on Paros⁶⁴ or Emporio on Chios,⁶⁵ and also in a broader and looser sense with what seems to have happened at Oropos (‘*Heroon*’ of the Central Quarter and especially Building ΛΔ of West Quarter-Area II). Likewise, at Eretria, the habitation quarters of the élite were abandoned around 700 BC in order to make way to the ‘*Heroon*’ and the various buildings associated with it, and the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros with the new *hekatompedon* temple, displaced the residents of the area elsewhere.⁶⁶

CONCLUSION

Let us return to our original remark at the beginning of this paper, i.e. that Oropos, Eretria, and Zagora have at first sight little in common. Indeed, we should not expect to equate Zagora with the coastal settlements of the south Euboean Gulf. The culture of the Cycladic islands was always endowed with its own characteristics,⁶⁷ while the Oropia and Euboea

⁵⁹ A. Mazarakis Ainian, ‘Σκάλα Ὀρωποῦ’, *Ergon* 2011, 14–7.

⁶⁰ L. Palaiokrass–Kopitsa (ed.), *Παλαιόπολη Ἀνδρου. Εἴκοσι χρόνια ανασταφικῆς ἔρευνας* (2007); ead., ‘*Η αρχαία πόλη της Ἀνδρου*’, in Balkas (ed.) op. cit. (n. 32) 57–78.

⁶¹ See *ibid.*, with various articles on the Andrian colonies.

⁶² Ch. Televantou, ‘Ἀνδρος. Το ιερό της Ὑψηλῆς’, in Stampolidis (ed.) op. cit. (n. 2) 132–9. Televantou (op. cit. [n. 3] 25) mentions however that Hypsele may have been partly destroyed by an earthquake around 700 BC but thereafter continued to be inhabited. If such an earthquake did indeed occur, one would expect to find traces of it at Zagora, too.

⁶³ Televantou *loc. cit.*

⁶⁴ See *supra* n. 23 and D. U. Schilardi, ‘The temple of Athena at Koukounaries. Observations on the cult of Athena on Paros’, in: R. Hägg–N. Marinatos–G. Nordquist (eds.), *Early*

Greek Cult Practice. Proceedings of the fifth international symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26–29 June 1986 (1988) 41–8.

⁶⁵ J. Boardman, *Excavations in Chios 1952–1955*. *Greek Emporio*, BSA Suppl. 6 (1967) 5–31.

⁶⁶ For a brief overview of Eretria in the post-Geometric era, see J.-P. Descœudres, ‘L’essor de la cité: l’époque archaïque’, in *aavv.*, *Erétrie. Guide de la cité* (2004) 27–8, for a more detailed account, X. Charalambidou, ‘*Συμβολή στην τοπογραφία της Ερέτριας των αρχαϊκών χρόνων*’, in *AETHSE* 1, II, 2003 [2006] 993–1018.

⁶⁷ See, for instance, C. Broodbank, *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades* (2000); P. Brun, *Les archipels égéens dans l’Antiquité grecque (V^e–II^e siècles av. notre ère)* (1996); Chr. Constantakopoulou, *The Dance of the Islands: Insularity, Networks, the Athenian Empire and the Aegean World* (2007); J.-M. Kowalski, *Navigation et géographie dans l’antiquité Gréco-Romaine* (2012); I. Malkin, *A Small Greek World. Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean* (2011).

were much more open to mainland influences. The above analysis, however, demonstrates that beyond the differences observed in material culture, the three settlements share a number of features due to the fact that their communities did not differ much in their social and political organization and in their religious behaviour. One of the reasons for this was probably that both the Euboeans—to whom we should add the Graioi—and the Andrians were active in maritime travels in the Aegean during the Geometric and Early Archaic periods, both in the trade routes which linked them to the East Mediterranean and the Aegean, but even more in their common interests towards the north-west Aegean, as they would have used the same sea-routes, notably the Euboean Gulf.⁶⁸ Further research is needed in order to understand the differences and similarities of Zagora with Hypsele, or with other Cycladic settlements, but this research lies beyond the scope of this paper.

⁶⁸ Concerning the Euboean colonies in the Thermaic Gulf and the Chalcidice, see S. Moschonissiotti, 'Excavations at Ancient Mende', in Bats-d'Agostino (eds.) *op. cit.* (n. 4) 255–71; M. Bessios–Y. Tzifopoulos–A. Kotsonas, *Μεθώνη Πιερίας*, I. Επιγραφές, χαράγματα και εμπορικά σύμβολα στη Γεωμετρική και Αρχαϊκή κεραμική από

το 'Υπόγειο' της Μεθώνης Πιερίας στη Μακεδονία (2012); also A. Kotsonas *infra* 243–57 [eds.]. Concerning the Andrian colonies in the Chalcidice peninsula, see now the contribution to these Proceedings by M. Tiverios, *infra* 273–81 (with refs. to earlier lit.; [eds.]).



1. Oropos. Aerial photo of Central Quarter (photo K. Mazarakis Ainian).



2. Oropos. View of buildings ΛΔ/ΛΕ/ΛΣΤ from N (photo by the author).



1. Oropos. West Quarter, Area II. View of platform in building M (photo by the author).



2. Smashed vases (photo by the author).