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THE PRESENCE OF EUBOEANS IN THE NORTH HELLADIC REGION AND THE MYTHS OF HERACLES[1]

Abstract: *Recent excavations carried out in Chalcidice and at the head of the Thermaic Gulf have revealed that the Euboeans played a leading role in these areas, during the first and second Greek colonization. This is also attested by written evidence. The prominent position enjoyed by Heracles in northern Greece, which is confirmed not only by the written sources but also by the relevant representations on monuments found in this region, must be mainly due to the Euboeans. It is difficult, however, to deal with issues relevant to the formation and dissemination of these myths of Heracles and reach definite conclusions. As is well known, the Greeks often created myths in order to legitimize their conquests and territorial claims.*

Keywords: *Greek colonisation; myths of Heracles; Euboeans; northern Aegean; myths and political propaganda*

In the last decades excavations in various parts of the north Helladic region, especially at sites alongside the Thermaic gulf and the Chalcidice peninsula, considerably strengthened the view of those scholars who hold that the Euboeans must have been the earliest and, at the same time, the most important power in the colonisation of this geographical area

[1] A first version of this paper was presented in the international archaeological congress: *Η Εύβοια κατά την αρχαιότητα. Όψεις του δημόσιου και ιδιωτικού βίου* [*Euboea in antiquity. Aspects of public and private life*] held in Chalcis, Euboea, from 7 to 10 of October 2004. I would like to thank Katia Mantelī for translating the Greek text into English and Dīmītra Terzopoulou for assisting me in various ways.

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(see Tiverios 2008, 1ff; cf. Abete 2008 and Tiverios 2007, 1ff). The present paper is relevant to this subject as well and represents my contribution to the honorary volume for my dear friend Professor Ewdoksia Papuci-Władyka, an undertaking conceived and completed by her friends, colleagues and students.

The surviving written sources are not very enlightening as to when the Euboeans first settled in Chalcidice. Certain of them, nonetheless, allow us to infer that the first Euboeans reached Chalcidice at a time when colonisations were conducted by tribes and nations, preceding the emergence of city-states. As is well known, one colonisation that was carried out by nations, by tribes, was the so-called first Greek colonisation, in which the Ionians had played a leading role (Kontoleōn 1963, 14ff). It is commonly believed that the 'Ionian' colonisation began towards the end of the 11th century BC (Sakellariou 1958, 307ff). On the basis of the ancient written sources and the findings of recent excavations, however, we cannot exclude the possibility that Greeks of the south had settled in the north Helladic region from an even earlier period. There is ancient written evidence suggesting that, after the end of the Trojan War, the Abantes of Euboea wandered also around Macedonia (Kontoleōn 1963, 13ff, 20; for the Abantes, see Sakellariou 1958, especially 199ff). They even founded a city there and called it Εὔβοια (Euboea) (Strabo 10.449).[2] Other ancient writers mention that heroes of the Trojan War, such as Aeneas and Akamas (or Demophon), after the fall of Troy, wandered around these northern lands as well (Tiverios 2008, 11). In fact, two cities of the region, Aeneia and Scione, struck coins depicting the heads of Aeneas and Protesilaus respectively, as early as the Archaic period (Zahrnt 1971, 27, 143f., 234f.; Tiverios 2008, 11). In view of all this, it comes as no surprise that various Mycenaean finds are being brought to light in the north Helladic region, among which pottery predominates. The earliest known Mycenaean pottery in northern Greece was found at Torone, colony of the Chalcidians, and dates to the Late Helladic I-II (Tiverios 2008, 11 and note 55 bibliography).[3]

[2] It should be noted that there are ancient cities, both in the north Helladic region and on Euboea, with the same names, see Kalleris 1988, 300, note 3.

[3] According to Koukoulī-Chysanthakī (1992, 723, notes 84 and 734) the discovery of Mycenaean figurines at Agios Mamas bears witness to the presence of a Mycenaean settlement in Chalcidice (cf. Jung 2003, 219 and note 75: 'because it is known that Mycenaean figurines did not circulate as objects of trade' and Kilian 1990, 449, 452, 455). Other scholars, however, argue that figurines were imported. See Renfrew 1985, 209, 262, 276ff and sporadically below. A number of scholars maintain that 'even if figurines of Mycenaean type ... actually served as votives at sanctuaries or as domestic amulets of protection,

Of the numerous recent excavations carried out in northern Greece and mainly in Chalcidice, I will focus on the one conducted by the late J. Vokotopoulou at Mende, the well-known colony of the Eretrians, and especially on its extra-urban sanctuary located at Poseidi (Moschonissioti 1998, 260ff and note 55: bibliography). The reason being, that this particular excavation yielded firm evidence for the presence of an early Greek settlement, more specifically Euboean, in these parts. Excavations at the sanctuary have revealed that we are dealing here already from the 12th century BC with the appearance of Greek cult practices and rituals, with sacrifices and, from a later time on, *symposia*, which continued down to the Hellenistic period; while the 10th century marked the erection of an apsidal temple of remarkable dimensions, one of the oldest, if not the oldest known in the entire ancient Greek world (Moschonissioti 1998, 265ff; cf. Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 43f., 308 and Lemos 2002, 148, 207, 214f., 221f.). Excavational data confirm a long and uninterrupted Greek presence at Poseidi. It may not be mere coincidence that the god worshipped here had been Poseidon, the principal deity of the Ionians and the tutelary god of the first Greek colonisation, as well as the *genarch* of Euboeans themselves Abas, the hero the Abantes were named after, was son of Arethousa and Poseidon (Steph. Byz. *S.v.* Ἀβαντίς), a god who, according, at least, to Strabo (8.7.4 [C386]) had his palace on the island of Euboea itself and more specifically at Aegae, hence he took on the epithet Aegaeus.[4] The modern name of the site Poseidi in Chalcidice could be a survival since in antiquity there had been places with the name Poseidion, even on Euboea itself.[5]

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this does not necessarily confirm the presence of groups of Mycenaeans from southern Greece' here. See Jung 2003, 219ff. On the basis of the evidence currently available, we can argue that Creto-Mycenaean figurines, at least in most cases, had circulated among people who shared similar religious beliefs.

[4] Since antiquity there has been confusion about the location of Aegae, the city where Poseidon's palace was situated. According to Homer (*Il.* 13.20-21), the site of Aegae is probably implied to have been located on Euboea, which is just four steps away from Samothrace. For a relevant discussion, see Bakhuizen 1985, 125ff (he does not accept that there was a city on Euboea bearing the name Aegae). Cf. also Kalligas 1986, 105f. For the cult of Poseidon at Chalcis and generally on Euboea, see also, Bakhuizen 1985, 87, 125f., similarly in the area of Karystia, see Chidiroglou 1996-1997, 184ff.

[5] For the relation of the cult of Poseidon at Poseidi with Euboea, see Knoepfler 2000, 335ff and especially 337ff. It should be noted that, except for the name Poseidion, the name Pallene also occurs on Euboea. See e.g. inscription Ziebarth 1915, no. 1189 (Pleket and Stroud 1984, no. 909), where Poseidion and Pallene are cited as names of demes of Histiaia. For the demes of Histiaia, see also, Cairns 1984, 143f. A cult of Athena *Pallenis* has been

In light of the aforementioned evidence, we could argue that Greeks of the south and especially Ionians from Euboea settled in Chalcidice immediately after the Trojan War and, at the latest, during the first Greek colonisation. It is worth remembering here Thucydides' words (1.12): 'Even after the Trojan War, Hellas was still engaged in removing and settling, and thus could not attain to the quiet which must precede growth. The late return of the Hellenes from Ilium caused many revolutions, and factions ensued almost everywhere; and it was the citizens thus driven into exile who founded the cities ... so that much had to be done and many years had to elapse before Hellas could attain to a durable tranquillity undisturbed by removals, and could begin to send out colonies. ... All these places were founded subsequently to the war with Troy.'[6]

The Ionians and especially the Euboeans must have comprised the most numerous and active population group that had been established already from the 12th-11th centuries BC in Chalcidice and probably in areas of the nearby Thermaic gulf. This conclusion satisfactorily explains not only why the region was named after Chalkis, but also why Euboean pottery is predominant among all the Protogeometric and Geometric ceramic groups found in these northern parts.[7]

From the written sources (Plut. *Quaest. Graec*. 11 [293A-B]) we know that in 733 BC (or 709 BC) Eretrian colonists founded the city of Methone on the coast of Pieria;[8] and probably in the second half of the 8th century BC another Eretrian colony must have been founded, named Dikaia, which was possibly located along the coastline of the Thermaic gulf.[9] A gulf, which, according to Eudoxus of Rhodes, might have been bearing the revealing name Chalcis (Steph. Byz. *S.v*. Χαλκίς). The presence of Euboeans during

attested at Chalcis. See Bakhuizen 1985, 89. It should also be remembered that the name of Arethousa, the famous spring of Chalcis, occurs as the name of a city in Chalcidice, in the vicinity of 'the plain of Syleus'. See further below p. 102-103. Cf. Ziebarth 1915, 148-149, and above note 2.

[6] Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, trans. R. Crawley, London 1903.

[7] For example, the well-known 'protogeometric' *skyphoi* with pendent semicircles, the direct or indirect connection of which with Euboea has not been disputed, have been found at a great number of sites. See Tiverios 2008, 6ff. Also see, note 13 below.

[8] For Methone, see recently Tzifopoulos 2012.

[9] For a discussion relevant to the identification of its location, see Tiverios 2008, 24ff, and Voutiras 2008, 782ff. Cf. Fachard 2010, 67. The argument that this colony was founded in around 470 BC (Voutiras 2008, 782) seems to me very unlikely. There is no available evidence (philological or epigraphic) nor any archaeological indication for any type of Euboean colonial activities after the end of the Persian Wars.

the 8th century BC has also been attested by the finds of a small-scale excavation in an ancient settlement near modern Anchialos, in Thessaloniki prefecture, and close to the Gallikos river bed (Tiverios 2009, 397ff and especially 402f.; for this excavation, with full bibliography on the topic, see Gimatzidis 2010). Their presence is indeed confirmed by the abundant imported Euboean Geometric pottery being uncovered here (Pl. 1: 1). It is likely that this archaeological site, which may probably be identified as ancient Sindos, was an Euboean *emporion*, a trading post, owing to the large quantities of local wares that were found together with the imported Euboean pottery. The presence of 'Macedonian Geometric pottery' along with 'Macedonian Iron Age pottery' on Euboea itself is also indicative of Macedonia's close relations with Euboea (Tiverios 2008, 9).

We believe that the interest of the Euboeans was attracted in this area chiefly by the gold in the Gallikos river, which was called Echedoros ('having gifts') in antiquity. And we have already suggested elsewhere that part of the gold found at Lefkandi or Eretria had probably derived from this river, which had such a meaningful ancient name (Hoefer 1905, 1908; Tiverios 1998, 248f.; cf. Lemos 2001, 217). The local cult of the Echedorian Nymphs, transmitted to us by the ancient literature (Hsch. *S.v.* Ἐχεδωρίδες), is revealing. Revealing also is the tradition according to which, Heracles battled against the local leader, Kyknos, son of Ares and Pyrene, by this gold-bearing river (Apollod. *Bibl*. 2.5.11). Heracles was a hero especially popular to the Euboeans (Altherr-Charon and Lasserre 1981, 30ff; Bakhuizen 1985, 21, 75, 90; Kalligas 1986, 106f.; Themelīs 1987, 118ff and especially 122ff; Chidiroglou 1996-1997, 190; Chatzīdīmītriou 1999, 218f.). Therefore, it is quite possible that this mythological episode reflects the local resistance the Euboeans encountered in their efforts to settle in the area and exploit the gold. It is also likely that the origin of other myths which took place in these areas and have as their protagonist Heracles, could be attributed to the Euboeans as well i.e. the myth that presents the hero killing Alkyoneus, the tyrant of Pallene, and then entrusting Poteidaea and its surrounding area to Sithon, son of Poseidon (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.6.1),[10] or another myth in which Heracles assigned to Aristomachos, son of Sithon, the guardianship of the area of Torone (Bickermann and Sykutris 1928, 9: *Speusippus Letter* 7); while there also is a tradition that Olynthus, the *eponymous* hero of Olynthus, was Heracles' son (Ath. 8.334e).

[10] Bickermann and Sykutris 1928, 9: *Speusippus Letter* 6. See also, Frazer 1967, 43, note 3, 44-45, note 1, and Mallios 2011, 280ff. Sithon is also referred to as the son of Ares. See Mallios 2011, 64.

According to written sources, Heracles, in the region of modern northern Greece, killed the remaining of Ares' and Pyrene's children. These were Diomedes, the well-known king of Thrace, with his man-eating horses and Lykaon, the king of Crestonians (Eur. *Alc*. 501-504; Apollod. *Bibl*. 2.5.8; Frazer 1967, 200ff, notes 1 and 2; cf. Mallios 2011, 64). Much more renowned is the aforementioned episode with Heracles and the Giant Alkyoneus. As is known, one of the locations mentioned as the site where that clash had taken place, either as part of the Gigantomachy or as an independent episode, is Pallene, where the ancient writers place the Phlegraean fields (Frazer 1967, 43, note 3),[11] an area known for its strong seismic activity. It seems very likely that the Euboeans played a leading part in the creation of this myth. It may be no mere coincidence that Phlegraean fields occur also in the Bay of Naples, in Campania, in yet another region where the Euboeans had a strong presence, the earliest Greek one in the West. It is well known that this region is frequently shaken by earthquakes too, which explains why it was also believed to have been the site of the, much acclaimed by many, battle between the gods and the giants. But we could also presume, on the basis of existing indications, the participation of the Euboeans in the formation of yet another myth of Heracles, enacted in Chalcidice. It is about the episode relating to the conflict of the hero with Syleus, the vine grower, which took place east of the lake Bolbe, in an area where ancient writers place 'the plain of Syleus' (Bickermann and Sykutris 1928, 14 and note 1, 26f.; Mallios 2011, 280f., 283ff).[12] Quite typical is that the brother of villainous Syleus is righteous Dikaios, possibly the *eponymous* hero of the Eretrian Dikaia, whom this region had been bequeathed to (Bickermann and Sykutris 1928, 14 and note 1, 26f.). Close to 'the plain of Syleus' another city was situated, which bore a name directly connecting it with Euboea. That was the city of Arethousa, referred to in relation with the end of Euripides' life.[13] Arethousa was also the name of a famous spring in Chalcis (Moutsopoulos 1995, 58; for its location, see Sampsōn 1986, 27, 50, 57) while that had been the name of Poseidon's wife, who gave birth to his son, Abas, the *genarch* of Euboeans, as above noted.

[11] According to Steph. Byz. (*S.v*. Phlegra), Phlegra was the old name of Pallene.

[12] For the 'plain of Syleus', see Müller 1987, 218 and Moutsopoulos 1995, 4f., note 7. It should be remembered that the ancient literature (Conon, *Narr*. 20) provides us information about conflicts between the Chalcidians and the neighbouring Bisaltians, the 'across Pallene living' people.

[13] Moutsopoulos 1995, 53ff. It should be noted that N. Moutsopoulos has uncovered in that area 'Euboean' protogeometric *skyphoi* decorated with concentric semicircles.

The presence of Heracles at the head of the Thermaic Gulf and in Chalcidice, a presence, in our view, prompted by the active role of the Euboeans, is also attested by the few, at any rate, archaic mythological scenes appearing on 'local' ceramic creations. For instance, the well-known episode of Heracles with Bousiris (Robinson 1933, 69-70, pl. 46: 23; Laurens 1986, 149, no. 8) is depicted on a black-figure vase, found in the excavations of Olynthus and dating to *c*. 540 BC (Pl. 1: 2). This vase, which seems to be influenced by the Attic Kerameikos, may have been manufactured in Chalcidice or even on Thasos, where the production of black-figure vases has been confirmed and many of them show a clear Attic influence (Coulié 2002, especially 173ff, 208ff, 223f., 236f.; for this vase, see Tiverios, 2012, 177). Of particular interest is another find. Recent excavations at Stageira, carried out by Kostas Sismanidīs have brought to light a clay mould with clear Ionian traits in the rendering of its representation, dated to *c*. 530 BC (Sismanidīs 1991 [1994], 321, 330, fig. 10; Sismanidīs 1996 [1997], 287; Sismanidīs 2003, 79f., 81, fig. 84.) (Pl. 2: 1). Two naked heroes are shown in conflict, one of whom must be Heracles. His identification is confirmed by the quiver and the scabbard with sword hanging across his shoulders, and principally by the rendering of his bearded head. His short and bushy hair, fleshy face and round eye are all typical features of the hero's representations during the archaic period. With his left hand Heracles seizes (on the cast [Pl. 2: 2]) his opponent by the neck, while with his right hand tries to pull a ram towards him, which without doubt must have belonged to his rival.[14] The latter is unarmed and reaches out his right hand[15] for the beard of Heracles obviously in a gesture of supplication. It is rather difficult to interpret this scene as it lacks close parallels. There are some Thasian relief *pithoi* decorated with the scene of the dispute between Heracles and Apollo over the possession of the Delphic tripod, where the hero hauls a male goat (Tiverios 2006, 80, fig. 4, 81f. and note 72: relevant bibliography). A similar theme could therefore probably be suggested for the mould from Stageira. On the mould, however, no tripod is depicted nor Heracles pulls a goat, but a ram instead and, above all, he seizes his opponent by the neck. This detail weakens, to a great extent, the possibility of identifying the latter, who obviously finds himself in a disadvantaged position, with Apollo.

[14] On the mould (Pl. 3: 1) Heracles moves from right to left and with his right hand grasps his opponent, while with his left hand he hauls the ram.

[15] On the mould (Pl. 3: 1) this hand is the left one.

Based on written evidence, we propose that the composition on the clay mould from Stageira may represent Heracles fighting with Antagoras, as attested, among others, by Plutarch (*Quaest*. *Graec*. 58 [304c-e]; Tümpel 1894, 2337). This episode, which took place on Kos, has not yet been identified in the available iconographic tradition. Returning from Troy, the hero chased by Hera was shipwrecked on Kos. Being exhausted, he demanded from Antagoras, a distinguished shepherd of the island, a ram to still his hunger. Antagoras refused and as a result they were engaged in a long fight. The interesting aspect of this story lies in that as Antagoras' brother a certain Chalcodon (or Chalcon)[16] is mentioned, and Chalcodon was also called the son of Abas, *genarch* of Euboeans, and father of Elephenor, who had led the Euboeans in the Trojan expedition (Escher 1899a, 2094f., no. 2). There is indeed a number of indications that allow us to trace relations between Euboea and Kos (Escher 1899a, 2096, no. 4) while, according to some written evidence, Heracles, after his adventure on Kos, in which a Thracian woman had unexpectedly been involved (Plut. *Quaest*. *Graec*. 58 [304d]; Farnell 1921, 160ff), reached Chalcidice and came into combat with Alkyoneus (Apollod. *Bibl*. 2.7.1; Fraser 1967, 247 notes 5 and 6; Kakridīs 1986, 86). If the above interpretation of the scene is correct, then the presence of its protagonists in 'Euboean-held' Chalcidice is well justified.

In fact, sufficient indications do exist to support that the Euboeans played a leading role in the formation and dissemination of stories relevant to Heracles' activities in the areas of the Thermaic gulf and Chalcidice.[17] However, in the north Helladic region there appear mythological episodes featuring Heracles, in whose formation contributed populations other than the Euboeans, such as Macedonians, Parians-Thasians and Phoenicians, among whom Heracles was a prominent figure.[18] To Parians-Thasians may, for instance, be attributed the episode related to Heracles slaying

[16] See Escher 1899a, 2096, no. 4 and Escher 1899b, 2096, no. 7. Indeed, according to some written sources Chalcodon wounded Heracles. See Apollod. *Bibl*. 2.7.1.

[17] It should be noted here that, according to some written sources, obviously of later date, Macedonia and Imathia in particular, had been the land of action of another of Heracles' opponents, Imathion, who was the *eponymous* hero of the area. See Kakridīs 1986, 87.

[18] For the Macedonian myths of Heracles, see Mallios 2011, especially 267ff; for the relation of Heracles with the Parians-Thasians and Phoenicians, see Tiverios 2006, 80ff.

the sons of Proteus, Polygonus and Telegonus, which took place at Torone (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.9).[19]

It is difficult to approach, even with a small degree of certainty, issues relevant to the period when all of the above discussed myths were created and disseminated. It is, however, well known that through myths ancient Greeks aimed, among other things, at legitimising their conquests and territorial claims. In these cases, as it has already been pointed out, they often adopted relevant myths as historic facts (Gotteland 2001, 299f.). One characteristic example of this state of affairs is how the historian Antipatros of Magnesia attempted to legitimize the claims of Philip II on the region mainly by portraying him as Heracles' descendant, and by extension heir, based on exactly this type of myths pertaining to Heracles' activities in northern Greece, whose origin must be attributed to the Euboeans (Mallios 2011, 278ff; for Heracles *Patroos* of Macedonians see also Iliadou 1998, especially 82ff). Although this reasoning might seem childish to us, it was considered very valid indeed by the Greeks of the 4th century BC, for whom, as noted by E. Bickermann (Bickermann and Sykutris 1928, 42): '*... der Mythos noch die ideelle Grundlage ihres ganzen Daseins war*'[20], while, according to quite a few sources of written evidence myth often played an important role in diplomatic negotiations on ownership rights (Bickermann and Sykutris 1928, 44; Mallios 2011, especially 284ff). On this topic very characteristic as well as enlightening are the comments of Bickermann (Bickermann and Sykutris 1928, 27f.): '*Die Griechen fasten die territoriale Hoheit als eine Form des Bodeneigentum auf, so dass auch die völkerrechtlichen Gebietsstreitigkeiten als ein Eigentumsprozess geführt wurden. Es war aber ein Postulat des griechischen Bodenrechtes, dass die Usucapio kein Erwerbstitel für die Immobilien bilden kann. Ein Possesor musste also imstande sein, gegebenenfalls den rechtmässigen Eigentumserwerb nachzuweisen. Ein Gewaltakt kann aber das Recht nicht begründen, die Eroberung an sich wurde also nicht als Rechtstitel aufgefasst, wenn sie nicht als Vergeltung, als eine Repressalie erschien. Der eigenmächtige Übergriff am Gute des Gewalttäters und seiner Stammgenossen zur Vergeltung für das erlittene Unrecht entsprach bekanntlich auch sonst den griechischen Völkerrechtsanschauungen. Wenn also Antipatros hervorhebt, dass Syleus, der Fremde seinem Weinberg zu bearbeiten*

[19] Mallios 2011, 282ff. Some sources cite someone called Tmolus in the place of Polygonus. Other sources place the relevant myth not at Torone but at Pallene. See Bickermann and Sykutris 1928, 15 and note 2.

[20] '…myth still served as ideological basis of their whole being'.

zwang, und Neleus, … , ὑβρισταί waren, und Hippokoon und Alkyoneus κακοῦργοι και παράνομοι, so sind das keineswegs Sprachfloskeln, sondern notwendige Glieder des Beweises, Grundlagen des herakleidischen Eigentumsrechtes.'[21]

The fact that we are presented today with a great number of variants for the Greek myths and their genealogical elements is the result of them being easily adjustable, according to emerging political conditions and expediencies they wished to promote. It is difficult to discern the original core of all these myths or the real facts leading to their creation, as well as to cast aside any later interventions by poets and mythographers, who each time, among other things, advanced various territorial claims, political expediencies and diverse propagandas. Quite a few of the aforementioned myths had, in all probability, been formed immediately after the first colonists set foot on these northern parts, others, however, appeared later, such as those created through the 'Macedonian' propaganda (Mallios 2011, 97ff, 179ff). In order to define a terminus regarding the earliest appearance of these myths, it is necessary to date not only the monuments that depict relevant scenes, but the relevant written sources as well.

[21] 'Greeks regarded territorial' sovereignty as a form of real property and, therefore, land ownership disputes, even those with relevance to international law, were decided upon as civil law cases. An axiom, though, of Greek law on ownership was that titles to real property could not be attested on the basis of adverse possession. The possessor probably ought to be able to provide proof of legal acquisition of his assets. In other words, the law could not justify an act of violence. In consequence, acquisition by conquest did not sustain legitimacy of possession, unless it was presented as counteraction, as a kind of retaliation measures. *Ipso jure* interference in the property of the violator and his descendants was also in accordance, as it is well known, with the principles of international law, because it was regarded as a retaliatory measure against a preceding unjust action. When, then, Antipatros stresses that Syleus, who forced passing strangers to work in his vineyards, and Neleus, …, were ὑβρισταί (excessively proud) and Ippokoon and Halkyoneas κακοῦργοι (villains) and παράνομοι (outlaws), his words are not just a figure of speech, but, instead, stand for crucial evidence, for essential notions of the estate law of Heracleides.' Trans. Katia Mantelī.

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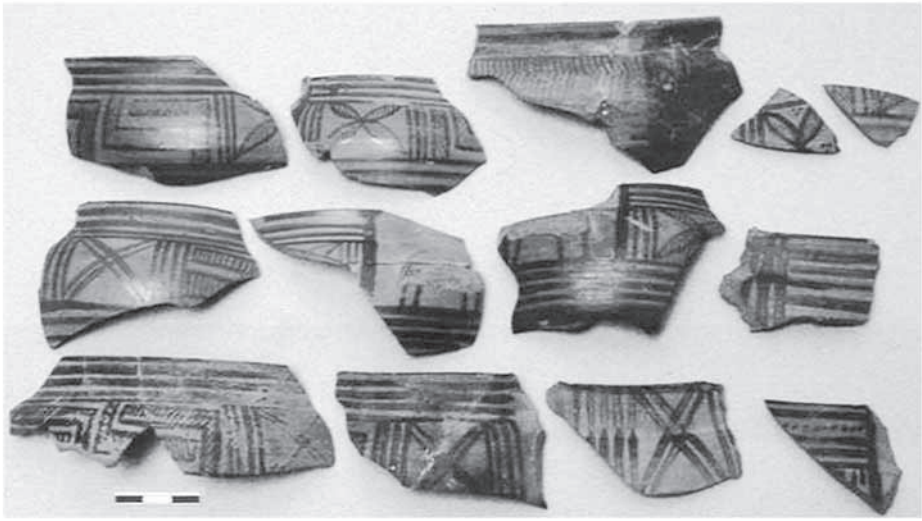

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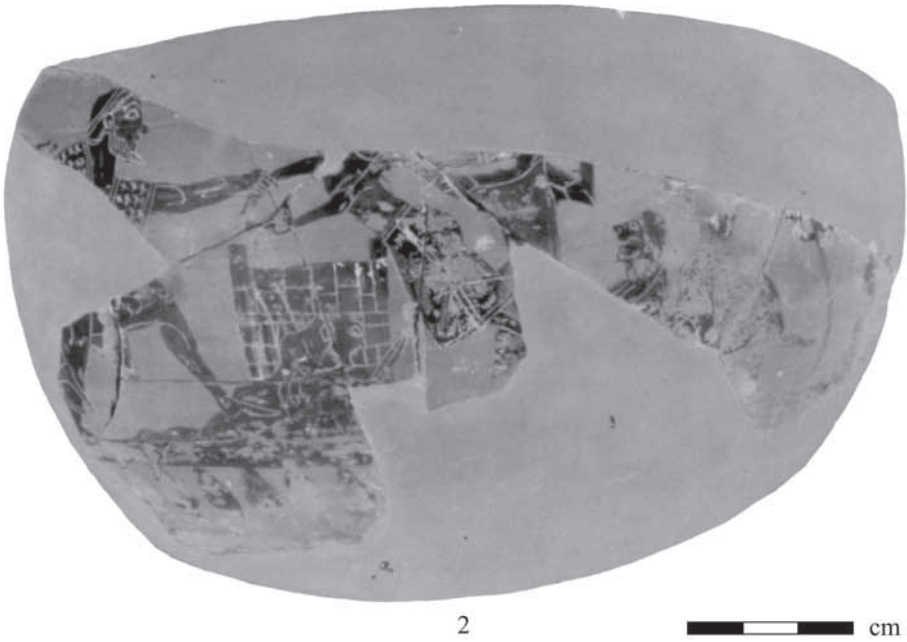

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Pl. 1. 1 – Fragments of 'Euboean' geometric *skyphoi* from the ancient settlement of Anchialos-Sindos, Thessaloniki, found in the Cast Museum of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Photo by the Archive of the Cast Museum of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

2 – Black-figure vase depicting Heracles battling against Bousiris, found in the Archaeological Museum of Polygyros. Photo by the Archive of the 16th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (Thessaloniki)

1 2

Pl. 2. 1 – Clay mould from Stageira, which depicts the conflict of Heracles with a hero (Antagoras?), found in the Archaeological Museum of Polygyros. Reproduced from Sismanidīs 2003, 81, fig. 84
2 – The cast of the mould depicted in Pl. 2: 1. Photo by K. Sismanidīs