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**THE LELANTINE WAR AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ERE-
TRIA AND CHALKIS IN THE ARCHAIC AGE**

Specialty 07.00.03 – General History

STRUCTURAL ABSTRACT

of the thesis for a degree of candidate of historical sciences

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The **relevance of research** is linked to the expansion of the source base, allowing to pay more attention to the history of poleis, which previously attracted less attention of researchers. The problems of the relationship between Eretria and Chalcis have caused a lively debate in historiography in recent decades. At the same time, the solution to the issue of relations between the Euboean poleis affect the reconstruction of the history of archaic Greece in general.

The Lelantine war is understood by many researchers as an event that influenced the history of archaic Greece. Thus, another important issue raised in the paper is the level of influence of the leading poleis of the archaic period on the entire system of inter-poleis relations. It leads to the question about the integrity, consistency of archaic Greece as a peculiar kind of political organization.

Current state of the studies on the research topic. I consider the first period in the history of academic study of the Ancient Euboea as the period from the first third of the 19th century to the 40s of the 20th century. This period is characterized by narrow source base which was at the disposal of researchers. It was limited by the fragmentary Greek narrative tradition about Euboea and solitary epigraphic monuments. In the nineteenth century, the Euboean history is reflected in a very limited way in the classical generalizing works of G. Grote, K.J. Beloch, A. Holm and M. Dunker. Special works on the history of Euboea are also appearing. In particular, articles by K. Fr. Hermann, J. Bury, and M.I. Mandes. It was M.I. Mandes who was the first to express doubts about the prevailing interpretation of the Lelantine War as of a conflict that involved the whole Greece.

The activity of the researchers dealing with the history of Euboea and the Lelantine war increases in the beginning of XX century,. The first monograph devoted to the history and topography of the island is a book by F. Geyer. The publication of articles also continues. P. Gardner criticizes 19th century theories about Sybaris and Croton taking part in Lelantine War, as well as A.R. Burn and D.W. Bradeen formulate the concept of all-Greek trade war. D.W. Bradeen is the author

of the first PhD thesis on the history of Euboea, which, however, has never been published.

The second period in the research of the poleis of Euboea goes back to the late 1940s - early 1950s and is characterized by the increased research interest in the history of the island and by the considerable amount of archeological materials brought by the excavations of the Euboean settlements of Eretria and Lefkandi as well as of the Middle Eastern settlements where export of island goods was found. Among the major works of that time I may note articles and monographs by J. Boardman, M. Popham, I. Lemos, A. Mazarakis Ainian, D. Knopfler, S.C. Bakhuizen, S. Huber, K. Walker.

By the mid-twentieth century the dominant view in historiography was that the Lelantine War was a long-term conflict between all Greeks, caused by commercial interests of rival poleis or land hunger. Cautious explanations of the hypothetical nature of that knowledge have allowed scholars to link the Lelantine War with other military confrontations of the archaic time. The monograph by V. Parker is worth emphasizing as it is the only book devoted to the history of the Lelantine War. The American researcher, who published this work in Germany, considers all aspects of the problem and considers Lelantine War a collision of two major coalitions of poleis.

A number of scholars of the second half of the twentieth century tend to deny the originality of the Lelantine War, or its all-Greek character. Among these scholars are D. Fehling, J. Hall, and X. Charalambidou. The works of N. Bershadsky although differ from them. The researcher sees a mythological construct in the Lelantine War, where the wars of legendary ancestors of the Euboean population – the Curetes and Abantes make the central part.

In recent years there has also been a renaissance of the idea of the aristocratic, chivalrous character of the Lelantine War, supported by K. Tausend and H. Tumans. The idea is that the Lelantine War was a form of representation of the aristocracy, which imitated the Homeric ethics of behavior and Homeric methods of

warfare. The Lelantine War was fought by a cohort of noble Greeks who sought to consolidate their position and achieve glory through military exploits.

Research source base consists of narrative, archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic sources. The ancient time is rather poorly reflected in the sources, especially in the narrative tradition. There are no historical works from that period.

Among the narrative sources some fragments of the epic poets Homer and Hesiod, the lyricists Archilochus and Theognis of Megara are valuable for this study. Other poetic works provide valuable information about mode of combat (Tyrtaeus), the values of aristocracy in ancient time (Alcaeus), and political processes inherent in this period of Greek history (Solon). The works of Herodotus and Thucydides, which provide valuable information about the Lelantine War and its participants are also important. Aristotle's *Politics* gives an overview of the political organization of Eretria and Chalkis. The writings of Roman time's authors play the secondary role but are also considered. Titus Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus give some details about the Euboean colonization of Italy; Plutarch gives information on the participation of Thessalian cavalry and the cities of Northern Aegean in the Lelantine war. Finally, Strabo's *Geography* gives a description of the geography and natural resources of the island.

Archaeological sources play a crucial role. The excavations of Lefkandi settlement, carried out by English archaeologists in the second half of the twentieth century, are deeply important for the reconstruction of the Euboea's early ancient history. The second archaeological site under study is Eretria, which has been regularly excavated by Swiss archaeologists since 1960s.

Numismatic and epigraphic materials play an auxiliary role in the study. Euboean coins and their comparison with coins from other centers are of value mainly for the analysis of the relations of Eretria and Chalkis with other poleis of Greece. Epigraphic data are valuable for studying the adaptation of the alphabet and the spread of the political influence of the Euboeans.

The **research object** is the inter-poleis relations in Greece in the ancient time. The **research subject** is the relations between the Euboean poleis of Eretria and Chalcis in the context of the Lelantine War's problem.

Research goal is to determine the character and content of Lelantine War.

The achievement of the indicated goal requires solving several research objectives:

1. To evaluate the development of Euboean poleis in geometric and early ancient time (IX–VIII centuries B.C.);
2. To reveal the dynamics of relations between Eretria and Chalcis before the Lelantine war;
3. To determine the character, timing and participants of the war;
4. To reveal the results of Lelantine War and its place in the historical processes of archaic Greece.

Chronologically the work covers the ancient time – 8th-6th centuries B.C. As the lower boundary I take the foundation of Eretria, which occurred, according to archaeological estimates, in the early eighth century B.C. The upper boundary is the beginning of the Greco-Persian wars, which significantly changed the fate of the Euboean poleis. **Geographically** the work covers the territory of the Euboea as well as Italy, the Near East and Northern Aegean – areas in which the presence of the Eretrians and Chalcidians can be traced archaeologically.

Theoretical and methodological foundations of the research. The main theoretical approach of the thesis is based on the concept of Archaic Greece as a key period in the formation of the classical Greek polis. Historical-philological methods, methods of "history of concepts" and interdisciplinary approach are also used.

Scientific novelty of the research lies in the fact that it is the first comprehensive study that is focused on the relations between Eretria and Chalcis in the Archaic Age. The work substantiates the concept of the Lelantine War as a long-term local conflict which periodically involved other poleis of archaic Greece.

New considerations are made on a number of specific but not insignificant problems in the thesis. The influence of Lelantine War on the history of archaic Greece is reconsidered.

The main statements for thesis defense:

1) At the beginning of the Archaic period, the Euboean poleis experienced a flourishing period, manifested in extensive trade relations, colonization initiatives and cultural innovations. In particular, the Euboeans played a role in the adaptation and dissemination of the Greek alphabet.

2) The Lelantine War was a long term local military conflict involving contingents from other poleis. The hypothesis of an all-Greek war grew out of the difficulty of interpreting Thucydides' text (I. 15).

3) Chronologically, the Lelantine War covered the period from the eighth till sixth centuries B.C. In addition to the Euboean poleis, Samos and Thessaly on the side of Chalcis and Miletus on the side of Eretria took part in the war. Corinth was another participant, but it is impossible to say on whose side it was.

4) Judging from the fact that the Chalcidians possessed the Lelantine valley at the end of the 6th century BC, Chalcis was the most likely victor of the Lelantine War.

5) The influence of the Lelantine War on Greek history of the Archaic Age is exaggerated in historiography. I can make no connection between the Lelantine War and Archaic trade and colonization. Nor does it have any special significance in the development of Greek military affairs.

6) The tradition of the throwing weapons' prohibition in the Lelantine War is on a par with the accounts of other ritualized battles in ancient Greece. It was formed under the influence of a particular event of the war between Eretrians and Chalcidians. However, there is no reason to consider the whole conflict a knightly imitation of the heroes of Homer's poems.

7) In this connection, the very validity of the term "Lelantine War" seems debatable. The term is not specific to the ancient tradition, which did not know a

clear definition of this war, and appeared for the first time in modern historiography. At present, the term "Lelantine War" refers to a long period of confrontation between the Euboean polities, which lasted several centuries.

Practical significance of the work. The results of the research can be used in the courses on the history of the ancient world, the history of ancient Greece, the historiography of antiquity, the history of international relations in the ancient world, the history of military affairs of ancient civilizations, the history of Greek colonization, the political, social and economic development of the archaic polis, and the history and archaeology of Euboea. The materials and conclusions of the thesis may prove useful for further researches on the history of Archaic Greece and the development of the Greek polis.

Research approbation. The results of the study were presented by the author at the chair meeting of the Department of General History of Krasnoyarsk State Pedagogical University named after V.P. Astafyev in 2015 and at the chair meeting of the Department of General History of Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration in 2019. Many ideas of the thesis were presented in more than twenty talks at conferences, round tables and colloquia at the regional, national and international level. The content of the thesis was published in a series of academic articles; among them four papers were published in peer-reviewed scholarly journals, recommended by the Russian Higher Attestation Commission, and two of them in an edition included in the Web of Science list.

Research structure. According to the stated goal and objectives, the thesis consists of an introduction, four chapters, a conclusion, a list of sources and references list consisting of 333 items, a list of abbreviations and four appendices.

The **introduction** gives a general characteristic of the research, defines the relevance, the research object and subject, the goal and objectives of the study, describes the source base, the methodology of research, reviews the state of the stud-

ies on the research topic, formulates the main statements for thesis defense and provides an approbation of research.

In the **first chapter** "Euboea's Poleis at the Beginning of Archaic Time" are considered the natural and geographical characteristics of Euboea, the problems of the settlement process on the island and the foundation of the Euboean poleis. The first paragraph "Geographical and natural characteristics of the Euboea" is devoted to the geography of the island, its natural resources and the activity of its inhabitants.

In the second paragraph "The Development of the Euboean poleis and the problem of the Euboean koine" the data of the ancient tradition and the archaeological materials about the formation of the Euboean poleis are analyzed. At the turn of the 9th-8th century B.C. there are three major settlements on the island: the declining settlement of Xeropolis/Lefkandi, which has reasons to connect with the so-called "Old Eretria", Chalcis, which cannot be studied archaeologically, and Eretria, founded around that time. At the same time there is no reason to assume the presence of the "Euboean koine", a certain association of Cycladic settlements around the Euboean poleis.

The **second chapter** "Euboean colonization and the problem of relations between Eretria and Chalcis before the Lelantine War" reconstructs the relations between Eretria and Chalkis at the beginning of the Archaic Age. In the first paragraph "Relations between Eretria and Chalcis until the Lelantine War" Strabo's message about the peaceful relations between the Euboean poleis in Archaic Age is analyzed.

The second paragraph "Euboean colonization in Italy and Sicily" is devoted to the analysis of the tradition of the Euboean colonies and the circumstances of their foundation. Based on the analysis of the narrative tradition, I argue that the joint colonization of Italy by Eretria and Chalceda is unproven.

The third paragraph, "Euboeans in the East and in Aegean", analyzes the archaeological evidence for the presence of Euboeans in other regions of trade and

colonization. Here I find no convincing evidence of Eretria's and Chalcis' collaboration in colonization ventures.

The **third chapter** "The Lelantine War" considers the main aspects of the conflict, such as the nature of the war, timing, participants, and the historicity of the tradition on the prohibition of throwing weapons. The first paragraph, "The Problem of the Lelantine War's Nature", is devoted to the analysis of the main arguments that support the hypothesis of the all-Greek war. The main argument is based on a rather complicated sentence of Thucydides (I. 15. 3). In my opinion it does not imply the splitting of the whole Greek world into two coalitions. This understanding fits better both in the context of the beginning of Thucydides' work and in the general context of the Archaic Age's beginning. I cannot find evidence of an all-Greek war in other narrative tradition and archaeological materials either.

The second paragraph "Causes of the War" is devoted to elucidating the circumstances which prompted the Euboean poleis to engage in a military clash. The theory of the agrarian causes of the war between Eretria and Chalcis is supported. The participation of the allies in the war was more likely not because of commercial interests, but of political contacts and of the aristocracy's hospitality ties.

The third paragraph "Date of the Lelantine War" is devoted to determining the chronological framework of the war. The available sources are insufficient to determine the exact dates of the conflict, but it is possible to speak confidently about the period between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C. The first date is based on the life of Hesiod, who, according to tradition, was a contemporary of the Lelantine War (Hes. Erg. 650–659). The second date is related to a fragment by Theognis (Theogn. 891–894) about the war in Euboea and a report by Herodotus (Herod. V. 74–77) about the expedition of the Athenians to Euboea in the late 6th century B.C. The length of the chronological framework can be explained by the local and long-term nature of the war.

The fourth paragraph "The Problem of the Allies of the Euboean Poleis" is devoted to the definition of the participants in the Lelantine War. We should con-

sider as participants only those poleis which are directly reported by the narrative tradition. These include Miletus and Samos (Herod. V. 99. 1), Thessaly (Plut. Amat. Narr. 17 = Mor. 760e–761b), Corinth (Theogn. 891–894). The approach of modern scholars, who try to add participants in the war based on the narrative tradition about inter-poleis relationship does not seem justified. The participation of allies in the war was probably limited to small groups of warriors. There is no reason to believe that the allies were present in Euboea throughout the war. Rather, we can speak of ad hoc acts of assistance.

The fifth paragraph "The problem of the historicity of the ban on throwing weapons" is devoted to the ways of fighting in the Lelantine war. There is no reason to connect the message of Strabo (Strabo. X. 1. 12) about the prohibition to use thrown weapons with the work of Archilochus about the battles on Euboea (Arch. fr. 3 Diel³), as well as no reason to refuse the message of Strabo in historicity. Apparently, the geographer himself did not understand the tradition of the prohibition. However, Strabo's message is poorly consistent with the archaeological materials: there are both the images of archers in the Euboean vase-paintings, and the fact that arrowheads were common accompanying equipment in the burials of the Euboean aristocracy. This contradiction can be explained by the temporary nature of the prohibition. In this case, Strabo's message can be connected with the tradition of ritualized battles mentioned by ancient authors (Strabo. XIII. 1. 38 = 599–600; Diog. Laert. I. 74; Herod. I. 82).

Chapter Four, "The Results of the Lelantine War and Its Place in the History of the Archaic Era", deals with the problem of the results and consequences of the war, as well as its place in the history of Greek military affairs.

The first paragraph, "Results of the Lelantine War," is devoted to determining the outcome of the conflict. The available sources (Amat. Narr. XVII = Mor. 761a; Herod. V. 74–77) give solid grounds to consider Chalkis as the winner of the war. Unfortunately, we cannot use the message of Aeneas Tacticus (Aen. Tact. 4. 1–4) to determine the results of the conflict because of its unclear chronological

context. However, the victory of Chalkis can hardly be regarded as final, since we have no information about any event that would end the war. It is likely that only a change in the political situation and the Greek-Persian wars that broke out put an end to the conflict of the Euboean polities.

The second paragraph "The Significance of the Lelantine War in the History of Archaic Greece" determines the way Euboean poleis' conflict affected the political life of Hellas and the development of its military affairs. It may be agreed that the war had an impact on the decline of the Euboean poleis in trade with the Middle East. However, the impact of the war on Greek colonization seems doubtful. The special place of the Lelantine War in the evolution of Greek military affairs is questionable. The fragmentary narrative tradition does not dwell on descriptions of any innovations in Hellenic military affairs which appeared during the Lelantine War, and their reconstruction on the basis of circumstantial data seems speculative.

Finally, the **conclusion** formulates the main findings obtained as a result of the research.

The **appendices** are divided into four main parts. The first section is devoted to the maps of Euboea. The second section is devoted to Euboean numismatics. The third section is devoted to epigraphic materials. The fourth section contains a table of the Euboean colonies, indicating their metropolises and time of foundation.

The following works are published on the basis of the thesis

Publications in the periodicals recommended by Higher Attestation Commission of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation:

1. Zaytsev D.V. Euboean Colonization of Italy in the context of the problem of relationships between Eretria and Chalkis before Lelantine war // Belgorod State University Scientific Bulletin. History, Political science. 2015. Vol. 36. № 19 (216). P. 5–11. [Эвбейская колонизация Италии в контексте проблемы взаимоотношений Эретрии и Халкиды до Лелантской войны] (in Russian)

2. Zaytsev D.V. On the nature of the Lelantine war // Journal of Ancient History. 2016. №1 (76). P. 5–21. [К вопросу о характере Лелантской войны] (in Russian)

3. Zaytsev D.V. On the problem of timing of the Lelantine war // Vestnik of Lobachevsky University of Nizhni Novgorod. 2016. №1. P. 34–41. [К проблеме датировки Лелантской войны] (in Russian)

4. Aleksandrova O.I., Zaytsev D.V. Athens and Eretria: on the formation of inter-polis relations in Archaic Greece // The new historical bulletin. 2019. №4 (62). P. 76–93. [Афины и Эретрия: о становлении межполисных отношений в архаической Греции] (in Russian)

Other publications

5. Zaytsev D.V. Vase painting on the island of Euboea as a social and cultural phenomenon // History of world civilizations: cultural events as a reflection of social processes. Krasnoyarsk, 2012. P. 16–25. [Вазовая живопись на острове Евбея как общественно-культурное явление] (in Russian)

6. Zaytsev D.V. Contacts of the Euboean poleis with the Middle East in the concept of J. Boardman // Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Issues of History and Historiography. Ed. by S.B. Krikh and L.R. Rotermel. Vol. III. Omsk, 2014. P. 91–94. [Контакты эвбейских полисов с Ближним Востоком в концепции Дж. Бордмена] (in Russian)

7. Zaytsev D.V. Lelantine war: problems of terminology // History of world civilizations: war and society. Ed. by E.S. Meer. Krasnoyarsk, 2015. P. 139–147. [Лелантская война: проблемы терминологии] (in Russian)

8. Zaytsev D.V. Strabo and the problem of relationship between Eretria and Chalkis before the Lelantine war // Mnemon. Investigations and Publications on the History of Ancient World. Ed. by Ed. Frolov. Vol. 15. St.Petersburg, 2015. P. 25–33. [Страбон и проблема взаимоотношений Эретрии и Халкиды накануне Лелантской войны] (in Russian)

9. Zaytsev D.V. The first Athenian cleruchy on Euboea and the results of Lelantine war // Social and political processes in the history of world civilizations. Ed. by D.V. Grigoryev. Krasnoyarsk, 2015. P. 7–15. [Первая афинская клерухия на Эвбее и проблема итогов Лелантской войны] (in Russian)
10. Zaytsev D.V. Lelantine war and aristocracy of Eretria // History of world civilizations: perception, image, representation of power. Ed. by E.S. Meer. Krasnoyarsk, 2016. P. 179–193. [Лелантская война и аристократия Эретрии] (in Russian)
11. Zaytsev D.V. On the origin and sphere of activity of Archilochus // Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Issues of History and Historiography. Vol. IV. Omsk, 2016. P. 48–53. [К вопросу о происхождении и сфере деятельности Архилоха] (in Russian)
12. Zaytsev D.V. The Lelantine war and the problem of the origin of the Greek phalanx // Pskov Military Historical Bulletin. 2016. №2. P. 66–71. [Лелантская война и проблема происхождения греческой фаланги] (in Russian)
13. Zaytsev D.V. On the allies of the Euboean poleis in the Lelantine war // ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΝΤΑΕΤΙΑ. Studies in ancient history and culture. Collection dedicated to the anniversary of I.E. Surikov. Ed. by O.L. Gabelko, A.V. Makhlayuk, A.A. Sinitsyn. St. Petersburg, 2018. P. 50–53. [О союзниках эвбейских полисов в Лелантской войне] (in Russian)