

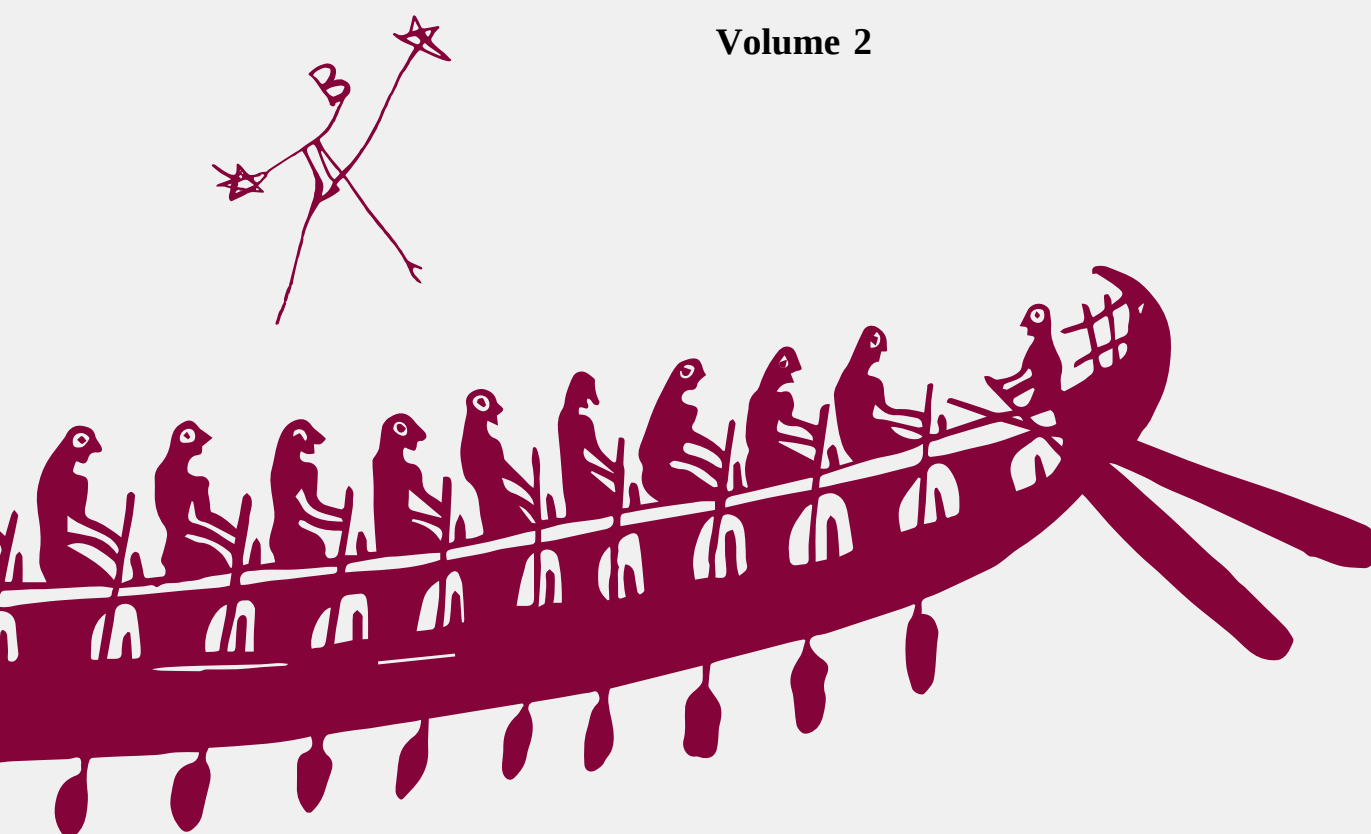
EUBOICA II

Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West

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

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro, Matteo D'Acunto and Federica Iannone

Volume 2



Napoli 2021

UNIVERSITÀ DI NAPOLI L'ORIENTALE
DIPARTIMENTO DI ASIA AFRICA E MEDITERRANEO



AION

ANNALI DI ARCHEOLOGIA
E STORIA ANTICA

Nuova Serie | 28



2021 | Napoli

ANNALI
DI ARCHEOLOGIA
E STORIA ANTICA

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Volume 2


UniorPress
Napoli 2021

ISSN 1127-7130

Abbreviazione della rivista: *AIONArchStAnt*

Quarta di copertina: Pithekoussai (Ischia), T. 500, sigillo del Lyre Player Group
(rielaborazione grafica UniorPress)

Sovracopertina: nave dipinta sul cratere corinzio del LG nel Royal Ontario Museum di Toronto,
inv. C.199 (disegno S. Verdan); e costellazione incisa su un cratere del LG di fabbrica pitecusana,
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ABBREVIATIONS

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

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

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PREFACE TO VOLUME II

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro, Matteo D'Acunto

This second volume concludes the publication of the proceedings of the conference *Pithekoussai and Euboea, between East and West* held in Lacco Ameno (Ischia, Naples) May 14-17, 2018. While the first book was devoted to Greece (Euboea, Boeotia, North Aegean, Northern Greece) and the Eastern (Levant and Cyprus) and Central-Western (Sardinia, Spain and Tunisia) Mediterranean, the second focuses on Italy (Pithekoussai, Cumae, Magna Graecia and Sicily). It is thus intended to provide a picture, hopefully as complete as possible, of current archaeological knowledge, which will help to better focus on the importance and influence of the Euboean component in the early stages of Greek colonization, as well as in the earlier so-called “pre-colonial” phase.

The time that has elapsed since the publication of the first volume due to editorial complications, as well as more general contingencies, has led to the contributions presented at the 2018 conference being updated with the most recent findings and to the inclusion of new contributions. While not initially planned, these are relevant, in our opinion, to the topics discussed. In fact, in the run-up to publication, we have deemed it appropriate to give space to some novelties that have emerged concerning Pithekoussai with the revisiting of the context of the so-called Tomb 168 (T.E. Cinquantaquattro and B. d'Agostino); Cumae with the data that have emerged from the most recent excavation campaigns (M. D'Acunto *et al.*, together with A.C. Cassio on the question of the origin of writing and M. Botto on Phoenician and Sardinian trade in 8th century BC Campania); Aeolian Cumae (L.A. Scatozza Höricht).

At the conclusion of this work, we feel it is our duty to emphasize how important the involvement of several parties was for the success of the Conference and the publication of the two tomes. Our deepest gratitude goes to the “Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio” for the Metropolitan area of Naples of the Ministry of Culture. This institute, by taking charge of the protection and enhancement of cultural heritage and the landscape, has strengthened its activities through its relationship with universities and research institutions, and at the same time, has believed in the need for the involvement of local communities. This endeavor would not have been possible without the University of Naples “L'Orientale”, which has ingrained in its tradition research and studies on the earliest phases of Greek colonization in the West and which has taken responsibility for the publication of the Proceedings. We would also like to express gratitude to the Municipal Administration of Lacco Ameno, which has understood how our archaeological heritage can constitute, together with natural resources, a central element for the growth of the territory, in which it is necessary to believe and invest concretely.

In addition to the thanks already expressed in the introduction to the first volume, we are also extremely grateful to the new “Soprintendente” for the Metropolitan area of Naples, Mariano Nuzzo, who has ensured continuity in research activities and ongoing collaborations. We would like to thank once again Maria Luisa Tardugno, an archaeologist who carries out her onerous task with competence and passion. We are grateful to the two Magnificent Rectors of the University of Na-

ples “L’Orientale”, Elda Morlicchio and Roberto Tottoli, and to the two Directors of the Department of “Asia, Africa e Mediterraneo”, Michele Bernardini and Andrea Manzo, who have succeeded each other in recent years, firstly for their support of the conference and secondly for the publication of the proceedings in the departmental journal *AION Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica*.

We would also like to thank all the authors who responded with great enthusiasm, commitment and critical spirit to the challenge of conceiving a new publication, reflecting the many new developments and reading perspectives which have enriched our knowledge of Euboea and the Euboean phenomenon, since the 1998 edition of the *Euboica* volume.

As at the conference, the conclusions have been drawn by Carmine Ampolo and Catherine Morgan. We are especially grateful to them for summing up the many aspects, realities, and problems that are interwoven in *Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West*.

We would also like to thank Mariano Cinque (University of Napoli L’Orientale, UniorPress) for

his excellent work on the page layout of the volume and for his constant support, as well as Chiara Improta, Cristiana Merluzzo and Francesco Nitti for their careful and tireless work during the publication process, in particular in improving images of several contributions.

We would like to mention that the publication of the second volume would not have been possible without the careful editorial work of Federica Iannone and the proofreading of the English by the latter and by Gina Di Muro. Our heartfelt thanks go to them.

Finally, we would like to remember, on behalf of all the scholars who participated in the conference and the publication of *Euboica II*, Marco Rendeli, who left us on 15 November 2022: he contributed so much to renew our interpretation of the Euboean phenomenon, from a broader, Mediterranean perspective, and in a system of peer relations, which saw Phoenician, Sardinian, Etruscan and indigenous groups in the different regions bordering the Mediterranean as co-players.



Pithekoussai (Ischia, Lacco Ameno), the site from northwest: the acropolis of Monte di Vico and the bay of San Montano, on the background the Procida channel with the islet of Vivara, and left Cape Misenum and behind Mount Vesuvius (photo: courtesy of © Gianni Mattera)

EUBOEAN COLONIAL MEMORIES. MEDITERRANEAN MOBILITY, LITERARY TRADITIONS AND SOCIAL MEMORY

Maurizio Giangiulio

The main purpose of this study is to understand written sources as cultural artefacts involved in the processes of construction and reformulation of social memory. A close analysis of the stratification of traditional material still discernible in the literary record may enable us to identify the complex dynamics of living tradition. Thus, we may be able to examine a rather extraordinary case in which an Archaic social memory, rooted deep in the Mediterranean mobility of the 8th and 7th centuries, was to some extent kept alive across centuries thanks to its transformations.

1. CONSTRUCTIONS. THE PRIMACY OF CUMAE

Let us begin with the origins of Zancle and Rhegium. In the second half of the 5th century, the historians Thucydides and Antiochus of Syracuse provided a clear image of the beginnings of both cities. We are told that a first settlement was established in Zancle, following the arrival of pirates from Cumae – the colony founded by the Chalcidians in Campania. It was only later that a real colonial foundation was established by a larger group of settlers guided by two oecists, a Cumaean and a Chalcidian, who came from Chalcis and the rest of Euboea, and proceeded to allocate land¹. The foundation of Rhegium happened at a later time when,

according to Antiochus², Zancle summoned new settlers from Chalcis and provided them with an oecist.

As is obvious, we are dealing with a body of specific colonial memories rooted in Mediterranean mobility, in histories of the colonial origins and especially in narratives centred on the oecists. Such memories were significant to the local communities in which they were the object of social communication and tradition; in other words, they had a “social surface” in the sense of social anthropology, which means that they belonged to a group and were held to be true by it³. In this respect it is important to note that the social surface of such colonial memories is not generically Euboean-Chalcidian but specifically Cumaean. Cumae is the true protagonist: the oldest foundation and the mother-city of Zancle. Cumae not only played the starring role in the region of the Tyrrhenian Sea, having an interest in the area of the Strait of Messina, but it also enjoyed naval and colonial power thanks to a privileged connection with Euboea. This is clearly a primacy which, one might infer, was perceived ever since the Archaic period

¹ THUC. VI 4.5: Ζάγκλη δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Κύμης τῆς ἐν Ὀπικίᾳ Χαλκιδικῆς πόλεως ληστῶν ἀφικομένων ὤκισθη, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Εὐβοίας πλῆθος ἐλθὼν ζυγκατενεύμαντο τὴν γῆν· καὶ οἰκιστὰι Περίηρης καὶ Κραταιμένης ἐγένοντο αὐτῆς, ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ Κύμης, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος.

² ANTIOCH. *FGrHist* 555 F 9 ap. STRABO VI 1.6 C 257, 13-16 (see also N. Luraghi's edition and commentary of the fragments in *Brill's New Jacoby*): κτίσμα δ' ἐστὶ τὸ Ῥήγιον Χαλκιδέων, οὓς κατὰ χρησμόν δεκατευθέντας τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι δι' ἀφορίαν ὕστερον ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀποικῆσαι δεῦρὸ φασι παραλαβόντας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν οἰκοθεν· ὥς δ' Ἀντίοχος φησι, Ζαγκλαῖοι μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς Χαλκιδέας, καὶ οἰκιστὴν Ἀντίμνηστον συνέστησαν.

³ For the notion of “social surface”, see VANSINA 1985, 94 and 216 note 1, who was following in the footsteps of the French historian and Africanist Henri Moniot (1933-2017); as regards the current use of the notion by historians of ancient Greece, reference to LURAGHI 2001, 135, 137, 159 and note 54, 286, 298, 308 is recommended.

as an absolute ‘precedence’ in chronological terms and, therefore, symbolically, also indicative of an undisputed pre-eminence.

It is therefore reasonable to assume that we are confronted with the historiographical echoes of an Archaic tradition that did not simply originate in Cumae but was focused on Cumae, its identity and its primacy, so much so that it can be regarded as a truly “Cumaeo-centric” tradition.

The chronology of this tradition is uncertain. Given the details, Thucydides and Antiochus most probably did not invent it. It almost certainly antedated the conquest of Zancle by Anaxilas of Rhegium in 490/89 BC and the foundation of Messina⁴, which must have considerably weakened Chalcidian memories. It is likely, then, that this tradition belongs to the 6th century. It must also date back to before the times of Aristodemus of Cumae, as his tyranny took on a dimension which appears more Campanian and mid-Tyrrhenian than maritime, in other words, more terrestrial than naval. We might also ask whether such a tradition is even older than that and rooted in the 7th century. It must be borne in mind that it clearly asserts the primacy of Cumae in the Tyrrhenian sea but does not eliminate its connection with the distant Euboea, while, at the same time, any reference to Pithecusae is absent. All things considered, we should give a positive answer to such a question. Even more so because this tradition places Cumae in a coastal and maritime context which can be seen as a “landscape of memory” recalling Odysseus’ adventures in the Tyrrhenian area⁵. Admittedly, the routes and maritime context are the same both in the Cumaean tradition and in the Tyrrhenian landscape of the *Odyssey*.

As is widely known, in 1884 Wilamowitz highlighted the connection of the Tyrrhenian setting of Odysseus’ adventures to Euboean-Chalcidian navigations⁶, and nowadays it is not easy to find scholars who would reject this link. More particularly, it

is important to point out that the Tyrrhenian Odyssean landscape was dotted with a number of references to Cumae, its territory, the native Ausones, and also its war effort against the Etruscans in Latium. These references were integral to the stories about Odysseus at Avernus⁷; about the burials of Baius (the eponym of Baiae) and of Misenus – who were both close to Odysseus – in the area of Misenum⁸. The same holds true for the traditions concerning Auson as one of the sons of Odysseus⁹, and eventually for those related to the foundation, by the children and grandchildren of Odysseus (and at times of Circe), of settlements in Latium such as Ardea, Tusculum and Praeneste, which will ally with Cumae in the battle of Aricia¹⁰.

Bearing this in mind, we can probably argue that the notion of the maritime primacy of Cumae in the literary tradition and the Odyssean connotation of the Tyrrhenian world, from the Cumaeen Gulf to Latium, are interrelated. Both narratives entertain the idea of a Cumaean primacy and can be considered cultural artefacts that interpret the spatial, ethnic and cultural horizon of the historical experience of Cumae. They are rooted in that experience and do not simply relate to a generic Euboean colonial context. Even though a colonial role is attributed to Chalcis, Eretria is absent; in the case of Zancle, a generic reference is made to “the rest of Euboea”, but only after Chalcis is mentioned. In short, Chalcidian Cumae and its activity in the Tyrrhenian Sea take centre stage. It is highly significant that in this cultural memory of Cumae – a memory that creates a collective identity – we find no trace of Pithecusae, nor of the islands in the Gulf of Naples and the events in which they were involved.

It is as if the theme of Cumae’s primacy had conspired to “remove” Pithecusae: the construction of Cumaean cultural memory, ever since the 7th century, had given Cumae the starring role, expressly to the detriment of Pithecusae¹¹.

⁷ EPHOR. 70 F 134.

⁸ For the literary evidence, see MELE 2014, 86 notes 366-367.

⁹ MELE 2014, 62 note 202; 86 notes 368-369.

¹⁰ See CATO, *orig.* II 28 Chassignet; DION. HAL. V 61.3. The sources on the foundation stories of Ardea, Tusculum and Praeneste are collected in MELE 2014, 52 notes 95-97.

¹¹ Needless to say, archaeological evidence supports quite the opposite picture, as D’AGOSTINO 2008 and D’AGOSTINO 2011 masterly show; see also, most recently, MORRIS 2016.

⁴ See THUC. VI 4.6 (cf. PAUS. IV 23.6-8, however patchy and misleading).

⁵ For a thorough theoretical approach to geographies of memory in general and to the specific notion of “landscape of memory”, see MAUS 2015.

⁶ WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF 1884, 169-170.

2. RECONFIGURATIONS: INSULAR PERSPECTIVE AND ERETRIAN PERSPECTIVE

And yet, in the literary record, we find traces of a representation of the Campanian colonial origins, which is quite different from the one we have so far discussed. Before moving to a close textual analysis, it is useful to highlight the features of this alternative view of the dawn of the Greek colonisation in the Tyrrhenian Sea. Cumae does not appear here as the absolute protagonist because the main and most important role is attributed to the islands, with Pithecusae in the first place. Maritime mobility is still relevant, but the focus shifts from the large scale of the Tyrrhenian Sea as presented in the Cumean tradition – from Cumae to Zancle, to a smaller scale of local mobility, which involves the Gulf of Naples, Pithecusae, and the Campanian mainland. As to the long-distance Mediterranean mobility, it takes on a different shape also because the Eretrians are present alongside the Chalcidians. Let us go into detail.

The most important source is to be found in some verses of a hexameter Sibylline oracle reported by Phlegon of Tralles¹². In it, we find a depiction, in the form of prophecy, of the foundation of Cumae, which developed – as aptly shown by Luisa Breglia – in Cumean sacerdotal environments of Greek culture in the first century BC, probably no later than the time of Sulla. However, its content can be traced back to the Classical age. The oracle shows that the inhabitants of the islands, «who are the counterpart (of the mainland)», are destined to settle «with violence and not with deceit» in the place which, from that moment on, would be Cumae and devote the city to the worship of Hera. From all the evidence, it appears that the origins of Cumae are alluded to and the original settlement is presented as the result of the strong initiative of the islands of the Gulf: the decisive role played by Pithecusae is crystal clear. An image not too far different is given in a passage by Livy where, in the context of the second Samnite

War, the foundation of Cumae is mentioned¹³. The Euboeans from Chalcis, to whom Neapolis owed its origin, had a fleet that came from afar and ruled the sea; they first landed on the islands (Aenaria and Pithecusae) and settled there, then they bravely moved to Cumae. The Cumean origins in the passage by Livy do offer an insular perspective in which the role of Pithecusae is eminent. The historical relevance of this reference to Pithecusae is reinforced by a series of factual elements: in this case, the tradition echoed by Livy is well-informed and local knowledge can still be recognized¹⁴; Pithecusae had been instrumental to the foundation of Neapolis (STRABO, V 4.7 C 246); later on, after the Syracusan garrison installed following the naval battle of Cumae left Pithecusae, Neapolis extended its control over it (STRABO, V 4.9 C 248), and thereafter, from the 3rd to the 1st centuries BC, the island played a significant role for Neapolis and its economy¹⁵.

We may now make a firm point. While the just mentioned Sibylline oracle ultimately involves typical aspects of the traditions of Cumean origin, behind Livy and the annalistic tradition we can arguably recognise a Neapolitan tradition. Neapolis, in turn, must have inherited key elements of the Cumean cultural memory from the early moment when a group of Cumeans, after the conquest of the city by the Campanians around 421 BC, were welcomed as Neapolitan citizens (DIOD. SIC. XII 76.4). This cultural memory was kept alive for centuries, at least as far as its constitutive core is concerned. This is suggested by the re-emergence of key aspects in much later periods: deep in the age of Domitian, Statius' representation of the origins of Cumae and Neapolis, which combined erudition and knowledge of aspects of the local tradition, still granted the Euboean fleet a role¹⁶.

¹³ VIII 22.4-5 [...] *Palaepolis fuit haud procul inde, [5] ubi nunc Neapolis sita est; duabus urbibus populus idem habitabat. Cumis erant oriundi; Cumani Chalcide Euboica originem trahunt. Classe, qua advecti ab domo fuerant, multum in ora maris quod accolunt potuere, primo [in] insulas Aenariam et Pithecusas egressi, deinde in continentem ausi sedes transferre*. See OAKLEY 1998, 628-637.

¹⁴ As LEPORE 1968, 228 ff. acutely remarked.

¹⁵ See LEPORE 1968, 248 ff.

¹⁶ See STAT. *Silv.* IV 8, 45-46 (Abantia classis).

¹² PHLEGON, *Mir.* X 53-56 STRAMAGLIA (2011, 42-43, 507-510) = *FGrHist* 257 F 36 X B, 53-56. On Phlegon's oracle, DIELS 1890 still is essential reading (see esp. 98-99); see also BREGLIA PULCI DORIA 1983, especially 31-32, on vv. 53-56). For a helpful introduction, see HANSEN 1996.

In short, it appears that for a long time, from the 5th century BC to the early Principate, some key aspects of a version of the earliest phase of Greek colonisation emphasising the role of Pithecusae and its primacy over Cumae remained in circulation.

We should also keep in mind that this view of the colonial origins has another peculiarity, namely some references to Eretria. One can be read in a well-known page of Strabo's *Geography* concerning the history of Pithecusae¹⁷. There are reasons to believe that such a reference to Eretria had already been made well before Strabo's source in this section, Timaeus of Tauromenium, who in turn possibly encountered it through written rather than oral sources. An echo of the colonial role of Eretria with regard to the foundation of Cumae is also found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus¹⁸, who drew both from the "antiquarian" literature on *ktiseis* and *origines*, and the historian Timaeus¹⁹, and also most probably made use of Hyperochus' *Kymaika* (possibly the same work as the so-called "*Chronicle of Cumae*" postulated by A. Alföldi), which was still steeped in Cumaean lore²⁰, even though hardly earlier than the late 4th/early 3rd centuries BC.

To this, we may add another glimpse of the Eretrian role in the narratives of the foundation of Cumae, which is found in the *Histories* written by the Campanian Velleius Paterculus at the time of Tiberius. The text offers a passage on the origins of Cumae in which it was Demeter who took on the role of the deity leading the settlers²¹. Velleius adopted a narration that reshaped a story of the origins of the Athenian Gephyraei, focused on their arrival in At-

tica from Tanagra²². This story needs to be understood in light of the connections of Athens with Oropos and the area of Tanagra/Graia, to which Eretria was also closely linked in the Archaic age.²³ One may thus suspect that Velleius Paterculus' narrative entailed an account of the foundation of Cumae, which featured Demeter instead of Hera, and which stressed Demeter's Euboean-Boeotian (and Attic) roots. If this were the case, this foundation myth could not have formed before Cumaean Demeter was perceived as similar to the Athenian one, and therefore only after the arrival of the Athenians and their *strategos* Diotimos in Neapolis, in the very late 450s according to Alfonso Mele,²⁴ but possibly after the foundation of Thurii.

Ultimately, we would be faced with memories of the Campanian colonial origins no older than the 5th century, influenced both by the Athenian perspective, and the Cumaean and Neapolitan religious culture, and yet still capable of preserving echoes of ancient connections between Cumae/Pithecusae and Eretria (which dated back to the 8th century).

In the light of what we have observed so far, we should assume that the elements of the tradition in which Eretria plays a role are integral to a representation of the early colonization in Campania, aiming to set aside the previous perspective centred on Cumae and instead to give space to Pithecusae.

It should be emphasised that in the 5th century, Pithecusae regained its importance for Neapolis after the Syracusans left the island when the tyrant Hieron died in 466 BC and, as already noted, maintained it until the first century BC. Eretrian memories may have passed into the Neapolitan tradition from Pithecusae, so that the Euboean regional past was perceived as both Eretrian and Chalcidian, both with reference to Pithecusae and to Cumae.

Although the emphasis on Eretria in the traditions concerning the Campanian colonial origins may appear to be slight, this is a mistaken impres-

¹⁷ V 4.9 C 248: Πιθηκούσας δὲ Ἐρετριεῖς ᾤκισαν καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς.

¹⁸ *Ant. Rom.* VII 3.1 ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξηκοστῆς καὶ τετάρτης ὀλυμπιάδος ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Μιλτιάδου Κύμην τὴν ἐν Ὀπικοῖς Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν, ἣν Ἐρετριεῖς τε καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς ἔκτισαν.

¹⁹ CHRIST 1905, 69-72 is still useful.

²⁰ As lucidly argued by MELE 2014, 113.

²¹ VELL. PAT. 1.4.1-2: *Athenienses in Euboea Chalcida et Eretriam colonis occupavere, Lacedaemonii in Asia Magnesiam. Nec multo post Chalcidenses orti, ut praediximus, Atticis Hippocle et Megasthene ducibus Cumas in Italia condiderunt. Huius classis cursum esse directum alii columbae antecedentis volatu ferunt, alii nocturno aeris sono, qualis Cerealibus sacris cieri solet. 2 Pars horum civium magno post intervallo Neapolim condidit. Utriusque urbis eximia semper in Romanos fides facit eas nobilitate atque amoenitate sua dignissimas. Sed illis diligentior ritus patrii mansit custodia, Cumanos Osca mutavit vicinia. Vires autem veteres earum urbium hodieque magnitudo ostentat moenium.*

²² Such a story has to be reconstructed from Byzantine *Etymologica* and the information going back to Alexandrian grammars, such as Didymus (Chalcenterus), they preserve: see esp. *Et. Gud.* 248 (= DID. fr. 49 Schmidt); *Et. Magn.* Ἀχαΐα s.v.

²³ See HDT. V 57.1; ARIST. fr. 618 Gigon; STRABO IX 2.10 C 404; for further evidence, see MELE 1979, 36 note 9.

²⁴ MELE 2014, 180-188.

sion. The references to Eretria are too precise to be thought of as random coincidences. Let us consider the Neapolitan phratries. As it is known, they are extremely conservative environments, even from a linguistic point of view. In fact, both the meticulous antiquarian erudition that surfaces in Statius' work and the epigraphic record bear witness to names of phratries and other details that most probably represent aspects of the Cumaean milieu of Eretrian origin. Here we may just name two significant examples related to two phratries. One is that of the Eunostidai²⁵, whose eponymous hero Eunostus was originally from Tanagra²⁶, a fact that is explainable, again, only in the light of contiguity and connections between the area of Tanagra/Graia and Eretria. The other phratry is that of the Eumel(e)idai, whose eponymous was Eumelus, who had a cult of civic importance in Neapolis²⁷. Now, Eumelus, as the nephew of Pheres, was firmly rooted not only in Pherae in Thessaly and in the area overlooking the Gulf of Pagasae, to which Eretria was linked, but also in Tamyna/ae, in the Eretrian territory, where Eumelus' father (Admetus) had erected the temple of Apollo²⁸. It is true that also the mythical founder of Aeolian Cyme had allegedly descended from Eumelus, but all in all, the presence of Eumelus in Campanian Cumae, is part of an intricate network of connections not only with Thessaly, but also

with Tanagra and Eretria, and should not be simply regarded as the result of the alleged presence of settlers coming from Aeolic Cyme.

As regards the Eretrian presence, it is also of crucial importance that the epigraphic record available to us strengthens the evidential value of the genealogical lore and the mythical-religious traditions of Cumae and Neapolis discussed so far. Admittedly, the re-examination of the oldest known Euboean inscriptions and the analysis of others recently discovered in Methoni (Pieria) reveal – as Richard Janko has cleverly shown – the incisive presence of Eretrians in Pithecusae and the strong Eretrian influence both on the Etruscan and Roman alphabets²⁹. Therefore, the role of Eretria in the origins of Pithecusae and Cumae and in the 8th-century history of the Tyrrhenian world has strong historical roots, even though it was retrieved only later from the local cultural memory.

We may now go back to the colonial memories from which we started. We can say that, on the one hand, we are faced with an obvious weakening, in the 5th century, of 'Cumaeo-centric' traditions relating to the Tyrrhenian area in the Archaic age and, on the other, with the development – not entirely unrelated to the Athenian intrusions which generally characterise the whole relationship of Athens with Chalcis, Eretria and Euboea – of a fairly different representation of the colonial origins. In this case, the focus was on the Gulf of Neapolis, and the origins of Cumae were set in a context in which Pithecusae played an important role; the naval power was not so much of Cumae as of Pithecusae. This representation recovered ancient historical elements dating back to the establishment of Cumae, but at the same time, had a noticeably flexible nature, as proved by the numerous existing reformulations. In particular, various religious cultures left their mark on the memory of the origins of Cumae so that Hera, Apollo and Demeter alternate in the role of central deity. This is possibly due to the fact that stimuli of different priestly and social environments were intermittently received over a long period time which spans from the 5th century to the age of Domitian.

²⁵ See IG XIV 83 = MIRANDA, *Iscr. gr. Napoli*, II no. 137; CIL VI 1851 = ILS II 6188 a-c = MIRANDA, *Iscr. gr. Napoli*, I no. 45.

²⁶ PLUT. *QG* 40 = *mor.* 300D-301A. As Wilamowitz wrote in 1886 «In Kymes tochterstadt Neapel heisst eine phyle 'Ευνοστίδαι, wie schon Ignarra erkannt hat, nach dem tanagraeischen Dämon Εὔνοστος» (WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF 1886, 110). The name of the Neapolitan phratry has hardly anything to do with the Athenian *kome* (in the area of Aphidna) 'Ευνοστίδαι (see ALESHIRE – LAMBERT 2003, 83 note to line 57), as rather implausibly surmised by RAGONE 2003, 56 note 61.

²⁷ Phratry of the Eumeleidai: IG XIV 715 = MIRANDA, *Iscr. gr. Napoli*, I no. 2; IG XIV 748 = MIRANDA, *Iscr. gr. Napoli*, I no. 52; Eumelus *theos patroos*: IG XIV 715; the cult implied by such a title was of importance for the phratry, but if *patroos* did not simply mean *phratris* it was also significant at a civic level (see GIANGIULIO 1986, 152-153), as confirmed by Eumelus' crucial role in the stories about the origins of Cumae in STAT. *Silv.* IV 8, 47-49 and consequently of Neapolis as a foundation of Cumae. MELE 2014, 57 aptly emphasises the founder's status of Eumelus in Statius' passage.

²⁸ On Ταμύνα/Ταμύναι, see STRABO X 1.10 C 448; STEPH. BYZ. T 14 (IV 252 Billerbeck), where it is called *polis Eretrias*; for Apollo's cult, see STRABO X 1.10 (city sacred to the god; his temple founded by Admetus); HARP. τ 3; SUID. τ 66 (the sanctuary); IG XII 9, 97-99 (dedications to the god); IG XII 9, 91.2 (*Tamynaia* in honour of the god).

²⁹ JANKO 2017.

At this point, we have to deal with the problem of evaluating that tradition which praises Cumae in Campania as “the earliest colony in Sicily and Italy” and attributes its foundation both to Chalcidians and “Cumaeans”, as Strabo wrote³⁰. Such a tradition, which is already found in the *Periodos to Nicomedes* in the 2nd century BC (“Pseudo-Scymnus”)³¹, perhaps was known to Ephorus, but its original nucleus should be much older and linked to the local memories if we consider the reference to the oecists of the colony³². The religious-ritual nature of the memory relating to the founders, and its significance for civic identity, provide enough proof of its local Cumaean nature. It appears clear that Strabo was referring to Aeolic Cyme in Asia Minor, especially because he did not know of any other city bearing such a name except the Campanian one³³. This is especially true since the alleged Euboean Cumae, only mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium³⁴, has been regarded by many as a kind of historical-topographical “phantom”, for which it is difficult to find a place in the history of Euboea and Aegean in the Protogeometric and Geometric periods³⁵.

As regards this account of the foundation of Campanian Cumae by Chalcidians and Cumaeans from Asia Minor, it is important to note that Eretria is conspicuously absent, especially because it does not seem fit to think that in Strabo’s passage Aeolic Cyme simply implies Eretria, as if the presence of Eretrian aspects and elements in Pithecusae and Naples could be explained by the role of Aeolic Cyme. Eretria and Aeolic Cumae, actually, seem to

belong to two different levels of colonial memory. As we have seen, the tradition we may define as “insular-Pithecusae-Eretrian” arose only in the 5th century. In contrast, the tradition which refers to the founding role of Aeolic Cyme must be earlier, although it was formally proposed in a more recent period. It preserves the memory of the oecists and highlights the primacy of Cumae in the West. So, it is likely that we are faced with that aspect of “Cumaeo-centric” memory we have previously discussed, which possibly dates back to the 7th century and tends to put aside Eretria’s role in the events. Concerning the role attributed to Aeolic Cyme in the foundation, then, one could assume that it might be accepted, but it does not necessarily need to be understood in formal terms, i.e. taking Strabo’s text literally and thinking of an agreement under which the colony took its name from Aeolic Cyme, but yet Chalcis was still considered the motherland. A purely artificial construction of these details is very likely, and the story certainly cannot reflect what exactly happened in the 8th century. However, it is unlikely that such a tradition does not imply an Aeolian presence at the origins of Cumae in Campania.

If this is the case, it should be said that both Chalcidians and Eretrians from Euboea, and Aeolian Cyme contributed to the origins of Campanian Cumae. Thus, the analysis of the stratification of colonial memories suggests that the Pithecusan-Cumaeon colonial context has multiple complementary origins, becoming, therefore, more complex than it is usually believed. Accordingly, we would be faced with a case in which cultural memory, and more specifically the memory of 8th-century Mediterranean mobility, is at the same time strongly plastic, homeostatic and liable both to construction and deconstruction but also capable of referencing facts which date back centuries earlier.

Before making some concluding remarks on the nature and features of the memorial dynamics under consideration, it is worth emphasising that a close relationship links these memorial dynamics to the city communities. In contrast, colonial memories with a generic Chalcidian “social surface” in Vansina’s sense are virtually non-existent; in other words, one would hardly find memories and traditions held

³⁰ STRABO V 4.4 C 243.

³¹ The text of vv. 236-40 has been convincingly established by RAGONE 2003, 26-52: Μετὰ δὲ Λατίνους ἔστιν ἐν Ὀπικοῖς πόλις / τῆς λεγομένης λίμνης Ἀόρνος πλησίον / Κύμη, πρότερον ἦν Χαλκιδεῖς ἀπώκισαν, / εἴτ’ Αἰολεῖς μάλιστα τ’ εὐανδρομένη / κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν δὲ κειμένη Κύμη πόλις (240 κατὰ ... Ἀσίαν Κύμη κειμένη D *Par. suppl. gr.* 443; Κύμη <ποτέ> κειμένη BERNHARDY 1850, 8). Marcotte’s text is unreliable here.

³² Ἰπποκλῆς ὁ Κυμαῖος καὶ Μεγασθένης ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς (Strabo V 4.4 C 243).

³³ See MELE 1979, 28 and notes 7-9.

³⁴ K 261 (v. Κύμη, III p. 146.5 Billerbeck).

³⁵ See especially BRODERSEN 2001 (but already BAKHUIZEN 1985, 123 was on the same track); for a helpful brief discussion, see also RAGONE 2003, 54-55 and notes 54-56. Quite recently, however, Cassio and d’Agostino have argued that an ancient Euboean Cumae could well be located in the area of the modern East-Euboean settlement of Kumi in light of both the phonetics of the toponym and the Mycenaean and Early Iron Age archaeological finds in the area (see CASSIO 2020 and D’AGOSTINO 2020).

to be true by – and meaningful to – the Chalcidian colonies. “Ethnical” Chalcidian forms of identity and organisation are not documented, and *genos Chalkidikon* is a generic expression which does not necessarily refer to a concrete group structured on an ethnical basis³⁶. Chalcidian memories, in this sense, cannot be traced either among the Euboean colonies of the northern Aegean or the Siceliot ones.

The case of Chalcidian colonies in Sicily is interesting because any possible interpretation of an original common identity is highly problematic. In a first phase, after the foundations, it is likely that the settlers fashioned a self-identification as settlers of Chalcis, which could also help make sense of the original Cycladic component of Naxos. The awareness of some Chalcidian *commonalities*, like the weight system and probably the calendar, as well as the local script and the dialect, may also have contributed to this process. Even the cult of *Apollon Archegetes* may have brought about a web of interrelations among the Chalcidian colonies. Still, all this does not necessarily imply the consciousness of an original shared origin, and in any case, if such consciousness was already there, how salient was it? It is also important to note here that to safely assume such a consciousness, it is not enough to conjecture an initial planning of the colonial undertaking that would be inherent in the oecistic role of Thoucles (a role that is documented in the case of Naxos and Lentini, but not in the case of Catania)³⁷, nor to speculate on a supposed overall organisation of the colonial expedition by Chalcis. The relationships among *poleis* in the 7th–6th centuries should be considered as dictated by geographical contiguity and by interactions, even competitive, between different centres (peer-polity interaction). Ultimately, in the world of Chalcidian colonies in Sicily, colonial memories do not precisely refer to Mediterranean mobility and do not have a wider social surface than that of the different cities. The political and demographical transformations, which affect that world, contribute to weakening those memories and, unlike what happens in the Cumaean-Neapolitan case, undermine any possibility of future developments.

3. CLOSING NOTES: DYNAMICS OF COLONIAL MEMORY

In conclusion, it is very important, both from a methodological and a historical point of view, that such a rich heritage of colonial memories remained vital and was preserved for a long period of time from the 7th century BC to the 1st century AD, thanks to their transformations and overlapping. This is a rather unusual phenomenon, which probably points to the presence of very strong incentives in support of memorial continuity, which, although marked by later transformations, reworkings and intentional recoveries in later times, is still particularly noteworthy.

Another significant feature of the colonial memories we are discussing is their stratification. As we have seen, we are faced with a layering of different memorial levels in the context of a complex process in which chronologically earlier levels lose significance (for example, in the living tradition of the 5th century, the “Cumaean-centric” element had lost ground and relevance, even though it resurfaced in the historiography, from Antiochus of Syracuse to Thucydides) in favour of more recent levels. At the same time, the latter were, in some cases, capable of recovering elements of the tradition belonging to more ancient periods and even to the most remote colonial origins (it is the case, for example, of the colonial role played by Eretria, or the significance of the figure of Eumelus).

In all the different levels of memory, constructive dynamics appear to have been at work. These, however, while inventing nothing *ex-nihilo*, did not mechanically reproduce the past.

Rather, they shaped the past through representations dealing directly with the key points of collective identities (precedence and primacy; *origines urbis*; relations with the surrounding spatial and social context). For this reason, these representations are part of a memory which, since it is strictly linked to collective identity, must be defined as social and cultural. Thus, we are faced with the secular continuity of memory, its stratification, and its constructiveness and plasticity.

It should also be noted the extent to which the sacred dimension considerably contributed to all these characteristic features. A link can be found between the formulation and transmission of memory and the context of the cult of the founders, Hera, De-

³⁶ On all this, see GIANGIULIO 2020.

³⁷ THUC. VI 3.1 and 3 is decisive in this regard.

meter and Eumelus. In addition, and it is especially relevant, we can glimpse at the social environments where memory is grounded: the anti-tyrannical Cumaeian élite and the cult of Hera, female priesthoods of Demeter from the 5th century to the Roman age, the priestly environments in general, the social world of phratries, first Cumaeian and then Neapolitan.

Given the extraordinary continuity in Campania from Cumae to Neapolis right up to the imperial age of Greek culture and language, the very existence of socio-cultural milieus of this kind, which

provided social memory with meaningful reference points, allows us to understand how much and why the cultural memory that refers to Pithecusae, Cumae and Neapolis has a constructive character while, at the same time, it preserves information dating back to the Archaic period. However, to what extent all this happens is a matter that can only be solved by identifying the stratification of memories in the course of the centuries.

Only if we manage to form an idea of what memory reconstructs, we will be able to discern what memory preserves.

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INTERPRETATIVE MODELS OF EUBOEAN COLONIZATION AND IMPACTS ON THE INDIGENOUS WORLD*

Luca Cerchiai

Through a synthesis of research already published, this account outlines the development, the “vocations” and the crisis experienced by Pithekoussai within the structure of relations, mobility and exchanges occurring in the area of the central-western Mediterranean from at least the first half of the 9th century BC.

The first section is dedicated to investigating the network of relations linking Campania to Sicily, Sardinia, the Iberian Peninsula and to North Africa. The second more closely enquires into the foundation of Pithekoussai, around the middle of the 8th century BC, placing the event within the broader dynamic of similar colonial foundation processes, which at that same time are taking place in the western Mediterranean under Phoenician impetus and with the consent of local communities.

1. BEFORE PITHEKOUSSAI: WIDE OPEN SEAS

1.1. *Routes and reception conditions*

The foundation of Pithekoussai took place at the end of a long period of mobility and exchanges that involved the entire Mediterranean basin. This phenomenon underwent a decisive intensification in the second half of the 9th century: mainly due to the initiative of a highly variegated eastern and, in particular, Phoenician component. The full scope of this is now emerging thanks to the continuous accumulation of new discoveries, provided by important scientific contributions¹.

We can use the ideas behind a recent synthesis by Gilboa in which the mobility exhibited by «migrating traders, and prospectors, of residents, shipping agents and immigrant artisans» was outlined in what appears to be «the first serious dispersal of Phoenicians on their Mediterranean diasporas», which caused both the transfer of «a significant number of people for commercial (and others) ends» and the development of «new settlements, some of them of long duration, with long-term impact on their cultural environments – a phenomenon that has a profound cultural effect on Europe and North Africa»². To get a closer comprehension of what this phenomenon means in real and concrete terms, it is necessary to integrate the picture offered by archaeology with what is known of ancient navigation by sea.

As P. Arnaud has emphasized³, and S. Santocchini Gerg too for Sardinia⁴, we have to consider the capability of the ships themselves apropos their structure in relation to the distances, seasons and sailing times, as dictated by winds and currents, with the mariners forever attempting to improve their knowledge of routes while seeking safer passages. In this context, Arnaud’s observations on critical sea-lanes regarding both the Strait of Messina and the Strait of Bonifacio are also very interesting⁵. We must also consider the ancient perceptions of the sea – its size, remoteness and its unknown dangers: thus, according to G. Cerri, for

*I wish to thank Bruno d’Agostino, Patrizia Gastaldi, Michel Gras and Marco Rendeli for the discussions, suggestions and bibliographical suggestions.

¹ See RAMON TORRES 2009; GILBOA 2013; BERNARDINI 2016; D’AGOSTINO 2017.

² GILBOA 2013, 326-328.

³ ARNAUD 2004, 2012.

⁴ SANTOCCHINI GERG 2014, 217-232.

⁵ ARNAUD 2012, 133-142; MILLETTI 2012, 243.

Greeks, until the 8th century at least, the Ocean began at the Sicilian Channel⁶, while, according to P. Bartoloni, the Phoenician name of the island of Giglio was *Aiglim*, that is “wave island”⁷.

The evaluation of these data serves to involve particular matters of mobility, circuits, routes and agents of exchange, especially with regard to fundamental aspects such as time and distance. Here we find two perspectives that exist in the scholarly debate⁸: one is the tendency to describe long-haul traffic to the West as the result of a programmed campaign of dissemination that privileges the active role of Tyre with some co-operation from Cyprus⁹; the other, based on the concept of *diaspora*, emphasizes the autonomy and the “private” motivation of crews and merchants, analysing the dynamics of exchange and permanence of presence inherent in the notion of the *emporium*.

M. Gras recently commented on these concepts: he stressed the importance of the earlier Phoenician initiatives, proposing to attribute the definition of “*pre-emporium*” to the coastal communities originally from Tyre in Sicily and Sardinia¹⁰. With such early contacts the relationship between the local communities and the arriving mariners is of obvious interest and importance¹¹.

M. Botto outlined the existence of two routes to the West, emphasizing the role carried out by the islands of Cyprus and Crete (Kommos) in assisting and participating in the ventures¹². A southern route heads towards southern Sicily, from where it continues either towards the Lower Tyrrhenian Sea through the Strait or, by way of the Sicilian Channel, towards the Gulf of Tunis or southern Sardinia.

Sardinia plays a vital role in the connections es-

tablished with both the Iberian peninsula and the Tyrrhenian sphere, redistributing objects from both east and west to the Italian peninsula from a very early era: a route, along the east coast, reaches the Tiber Valley; a second one touches the Gulf of Oristano, reaches Sant’Imbenia, and goes on westwards towards the Balearic Islands and Spain, or it may proceed, perhaps through Corsica, towards the island of Elba and northern Etruria¹³. A northern route also flanks this Tyrrhenian circuit reaching the Ionian coasts of Calabria through Cythera, Corfu and the Otranto Channel.

On these routes, the Euboeans play an important role and, as already pointed out, the indigenous communities are equally involved in the trading system¹⁴.

One should recall here the situations in the Huelva, Rebanadilla (Phase IV), Sant’Imbenia and Utica settlements. Greek and Phoenician imported ceramics are accompanied, between the 9th and 8th centuries BC, by specimens of Sardinian and Iberian production and by materials imported from the Tyrrhenian area, including the impasto potteries found in Huelva and Utica¹⁵. These contexts also document evidence of mobility in the discovery of Nuragic and Tartessic ceramics; they have no exchange value and are used by the non-native components integrated into the Phoenician circuits¹⁶.

1.2. The metals trade

What are the reasons that promote and lie behind this complex web of movements?

Researchers have highlighted the Phoenician trade in metals, entailing both the acquisition of raw materials and the arrival of technology through the immigration of craftsmen¹⁷: key matters that illustrate the crucial role played in this activity by districts rich in mineral resources or at least as nodal points in the metal supply chains. We have,

⁶ CERRI 2013.

⁷ BARTOLONI 2002, 251-252; very interesting also are BERNARDINI 2009 and RENDELI 2012.

⁸ BERNARDINI 1993.

⁹ BOTTO 2008, 128, 145; BERNARDINI 2009, 89-90; RAMON TORRES 2009, 497-498; GILBOA 2013, 327-328; RENDELI 2017, 1672.

¹⁰ GRAS 2018a, 26; 2018b; RENDELI 2007; DRAGO TROCCOLI 2009, 252 for Latium.

¹¹ GRAS 2018a, 26; RENDELI 2012, 201-202 and RENDELI *et al.* 2017, 142-143 for Sant’Imbenia; DRAGO TROCCOLI 2009, for Latium.

¹² BOTTO 2008, 129-32, 147; 2011, 157, 162; 2012, 52-53; for Sardinia also MILLETTI 2012, 243-246.

¹³ MILLETTI 2012, note 5.

¹⁴ D’AGOSTINO 2008; KOUROU 2010; on the nature of Euboean frequentations: D’AGOSTINO 2017, note 50.

¹⁵ Huelva: GONZALES DE CANALES *et al.* 2006; La Rebanadilla: SANCHEZ *et al.* 2012; Utica: LOPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2016. On the chronology of the beginning of the settlements the debate is still open, being connected to the stratigraphic position of the most ancient Greek ceramics (MG II) and to its absolute chronology: BOTTO 2005 and GARCÍA ALONSO 2016.

¹⁶ BOTTO 2013b; D’AGOSTINO 2017, 402-403.

¹⁷ For the emblematic case of Sant’Imbenia: RENDELI 2018, 197-198.

for example, the Huelva, Rebanadilla, Sardinia and northern Etruria circuits – where the Phoenician name of the island of Elba is *Aitalim*, “*island of the slag hills*”¹⁸ – and Torre Galli in the lower Tyrrhenian Sea¹⁹. We should note that this interpretation requires the existence of developed communities which can bring into being the best conditions for conducting such exchanges through the control of resources, techniques and means of production. New research is leading us in this direction, and in this case we are referring to the work in Sardinia, starting from that carried out in Sant’Imbenia and Oristano²⁰.

P. Bernardini postulated a model akin to the “gateway community” for Orosei and Posada, linked to a hinterland rich in mineral resources²¹. This concept is also applied by M. Botto to the promontory of Nora, thought to be a “market place” under the protection of a temple, dedicated to exchanges between local communities and easterners: a hypothesis which assists in the dating to the 9th century of the Phoenician inscription on the Nora stele dedicated to the Cypriot god Pumay²². Sanctuaries play an important role in the connection and intermediation between local populations and foreign people²³: the early development in indigenous cult areas of a local bronze production linked to Phoenician craftsmen is significant here²⁴.

As Bernardini emphasized, merchants are a component in the exchange circuits integrating long-distance traffic and «short and medium-range routes managed by local communities»²⁵.

Accordingly, we must emphasize the deep relationships existing between Sardinia and Etruria, especially in the northern regional sector: a strong

network involving the mobility of craftsmen and exogamous marriages, in addition to trade. A. Milletti recently reiterated that, at the present state of research, documentation essentially proves «the inclusion of Nuragic individuals in the Villanovan territories», not the opposite way about. The scholar emphasizes, at the same time, the limitations of archaeological evidence in that it cannot focus on the incidence of factors that cannot be materially documented, such as perishable goods and rights of way. So, Milletti points out that good navigation practice would have involved the necessity to integrate locals in the crews²⁶.

The recent discovery of a Villanovan settlement on the island of Tavolara²⁷ is an important indication of the reciprocity of relations: it concerns «the large gulf enclosed by the promontories of Capo Figari and Capo Coda Cavallo» where, around the middle of the 8th century BC, the settlement of Olbia developed²⁸.

In the Villanovan maritime perspective, Pontecagnano plays an important role²⁹. Many bronze artefacts of Nuragic production are concentrated here and, as we will see, so too are early examples of valuable eastern imported goods³⁰.

It is necessary to emphasize the importance of the relationships between Sardinian metallurgy and northern Etruria, documented since the middle of the 9th century in relation to the exploitation of minerals other than iron³¹.

In this regard, Populonia, takes a central role³²: in a recent study with Milletti, V. Acconcia emphasized how Populonia incorporates and re-elaborates «Nuragic bronze types, probably thanks to the arrival of Sardinian craftsmen»³³. Populonia was also a collector of manufactured goods directly imported from Sardinia.

¹⁸ BARTOLONI 2002, in note 7; 2010.

¹⁹ E.g. GONZALES DE CANALES *et al.* 2006, 26; BOTTO 2016, 79-80 (Huelva); ARANCIBIA ROMÁN - FERNÁNDEZ RODRÍGUEZ 2012, 51 (La Rebanadilla); BARTOLONI 2010 (Sardinia); ACCONCIA-MILLETTI 2015 e ZIFFERERO 2017 (Etruria); PACCIARELLI 1999, 61-62, 101 (Torre Galli).

²⁰ RENDELI 2018. RENDELI 2012, 201, with regard to the Nurra district, evoked a «nuragic organisation of the coast». RENDELI *et al.* 2017, 125; GARAU 2015.

²¹ BERNARDINI 2016, 24; SANCIO 2010.

²² BOTTO 2008, 131.

²³ RENDELI 2017, 1671, D’AGOSTINO 2017, 403 (Huelva).

²⁴ BERNARDINI – BOTTO 2010, 35.

²⁵ BERNARDINI 2016, 13.

²⁶ MILLETTI 2012, 223, 228-37, 232-33; an updated synthesis in IAlA 2017.

²⁷ DI GENNARO 2019.

²⁸ BERNARDINI 2016, 24; on Olbia note 103.

²⁹ DRAGO TROCCOLI 2009, 257. Impasto potteries found in Utica have been referred to at Pontecagnano, too: LOPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2016, 79-80.

³⁰ GASTALDI 1994; LO SCHIAVO 1994; D’AGOSTINO 2017.

³¹ MILLETTI 2012, 209-25.

³² MILLETTI 2012, 226, 233.

³³ ACCONCIA – MILLETTI 2015, 241.

Here we should remember M. Botto's idea about a barrier imposed by Sardinian communities on the Phoenician merchants' expansion in the metalliferous sector of northern Etruria³⁴: according to P. Bernardini, this was «un'entente cordiale» to realize «an integrated mercantile reality»³⁵.

In Campania, equally significant are the finds from Pontecagnano: some Iron Age burials (Phase Ib) included “plumed wares” from Sicily, also used as an urn (T. 174)³⁶; P. Gastaldi attributed some important inhumations with weapons and greaves to Oenotrian warriors of Torre Galli integrated with the Villanovan community (TT. 180, 889): the scholar, in fact, underlines the «interest of the Villanovan community in integrating ... a component involved in the exchange of iron objects»³⁷.

1.3 The wine trade

Commercial exchanges are not limited to mineral resources but concern other surpluses produced by those local communities that have grown beyond the level of a subsistence economy: in particular, those primary products linked to agriculture and livestock farming and secondary ones produced when these are transformed into foodstuffs essential for supplying groups engaged in long-term travel and sojourns³⁸.

The wine trade plays a special role here.

Consuming wine as a social event in the western Mediterranean was a habit established before Greek colonization: M. Botto emphasized the early development of the *vinifera vitis* and the use of wine in the Iberian Peninsula, Sardinia and the Italian peninsula. He identifies the existence of a quantum leap in its production, with comparable socio-cultural effects, occurring at the beginning of the Iron Age in order to meet the Phoenician demand³⁹. He outlines, at the transition to the first millennium, a framework of shared knowledge in wine cultivation and production between Sardinia and the Iberian peninsula. The scholar also highlights, from the second half of the 9th century, a

Phoenician contribution that promotes «a social consumption of wine according to ceremonials consolidated in the Near-Eastern palaces, precociously adapted to the needs of the indigenous western élites»⁴⁰.

In this chronological and cultural context, the consumption of Sardinian wine is exemplified by amphorae and askoid jugs. The former, hand-worked or wheel-made, is a form born from the merging of local ceramic tradition and the Levantine, which implies a collaboration between craftsmen of different origins⁴¹: thanks to archaeometric studies⁴² we can argue that they are produced, not only in Sant'Imbenia, but also in other parts of the island⁴³. This documents the massive development of wine production, destined for trade⁴⁴.

Researchers have repeatedly stressed how amphorae and askoid jugs represent an integrated package in circulation with a wide distribution from the Tyrrhenian coasts to the Atlantic shores⁴⁵. This is in fact a truly functional piece of equipment: a drinking kit⁴⁶ used in the ceremonial consumption of wine, emblematically illustrated by the votive bronze of the sanctuary of Monte Sirai, probably from the end of the 8th century, representing a man with an askoid pitcher⁴⁷ (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Monte Sirai: votive bronze (after RAFANELLI – SPAZIANI – COLMAYER 2011)

³⁴ BOTTO 2012, 57; MILLETTI 2012, 247-248.

³⁵ BERNARDINI 2016, 17-19.

³⁶ CERCHIAI 2013, 140-141.

³⁷ GASTALDI 1998, 171.

³⁸ DRAGO TROCCOLI 2009, 252.

³⁹ BOTTO 2013b; 2016, in particular 54.

⁴⁰ BOTTO 2016, 88; another precious component is spices, as evidenced by the exceptional discovery in the area of the square of Sant'Imbenia: an *olla* containing a large quantity of *Sylibum marianum* used for ceremonial purposes or, rather, for medical use: RENDELI 2018, 193-94.

⁴¹ OGGIANO 2000; BERNARDINI 2016, 19-22.

⁴² DE ROSA – GARAU 2016; RENDELI *et al.* 2017, 126-41; RENDELI 2018, 198.

⁴³ BERNARDINI 2016, 22, note 78.

⁴⁴ BOTTO 2016, 87.

⁴⁵ BOTTO 2016, p. 88-89; for Tyrrhenian area: MILLETTI 2012, 153-195.

⁴⁶ RENDELI *et al.* 2017, 141; 2018, 198.

⁴⁷ BERNARDINI – BOTTO 2010, 51-54; BOTTO 2016, 89-91.

According to P. Bernardini, this set documents the diffusion of «an indigenous model that joins with the Phoenician *marzeah*, the Greek symposium, the Villanovan practices linked to wine»⁴⁸. At the same time, F. Delpino stresses the early introduction, in Tarquinia, of crater-shaped vessels inspired by Greek forms that could refer to a Greek way of consuming wine⁴⁹. The tomb contexts concerned are still datable in the last decades of the 9th century BC (Phase IB/IC).

1.4. Chronology

The lower Tyrrhenian region appears integrated into this complex circuit of mobility and exchanges open to Eastern and Greek components from at least the mid-9th century BC. The Late Cypriot bronze cauldron of tomb 1/2005 in Capua is an illustration of this: it was found in the necropolis of “Nuovo Mattatoio”, in an extraordinary male cremation tomb, dated by G. Melandri at the end of Phase A1 of the local sequence. It neatly demonstrates the level of the components involved in interaction processes⁵⁰.

A fragment of a Levantine cauldron has been found in Pontecagnano (tomb 683); it can be dated in the IB phase of the local sequence⁵¹. M. Botto suggests that here a western production can be detected; he associates its arrival in Pontecagnano to «the traffic networks with Etruria and the Lower Tyrrhenian developed first by the Sardinians and then by the Phoenicians»⁵². Botto also highlights the early presence of *Orientalia* in the Calabrian necropolis of Torre Galli, based on the important publication by M. Pacciarelli.

Both scholars stress the impact of the eastern merchants' activities. They mainly refer to the presence, already in the Iron Age burials (Phase IA), of Levantine and Nilotic scarabs, oriental and Aegean ornaments, ivory coatings and, in particular, of Cypriot and Levantine bronze ceremonial vases such as the “Domed cups” and the “Tulip cups”⁵³.

From between the second half of the 9th and the mid 8th century BC, scarabs and “Domed cups” are also attested in the Sibaritide. F. Quondam's works explore these matters, where he also emphasizes the appearance of Aegean bronze tripod-lebetes in the grave goods⁵⁴: the appearance of such material on the Ionian coast indicates the operation of the northern route mentioned above, which connects the eastern Mediterranean to the peninsula through the Strait of Otranto.

The Greek presence on the Tyrrhenian side is archaeologically less documented before the MG II horizon⁵⁵. This lack of material items, as B. D'Agostino argues, shows that the interest of the Greeks was directed, with particular regard in Etruria, to «marginal utility deriving from contacts and trade with local populations» rather than by the search for metals⁵⁶.

Perhaps the most significant advance is detailed in a recent study by R. Cantilena. She demonstrates how the balance weight found in the Mezzavia “industrial” quarter at Pithekoussai, corresponding to a Euboean-Attic stater, can be considered the result of an innovation elaborated in a Euboean area of influence between the second half of the 9th century and the first half of the 8th century BC. This invention allowed merchants to work in both the “Mesopotamian” and “Microasiatic” shekels⁵⁷.

We might recall the earlier observations on the introduction of vase shapes recalling the crater into the Villanovan graves at Tarquinia, including the remarks by L. Drago Troccoli about technological innovations in the impasto repertoire documented in *Latium* and at *Veii* at the end of the 9th to the beginning of the 8th centuries BC. The scholar links the application of a slip to the ceramic body and the beginning of the “Red Impasto ware” to the coexistence and collaboration between Levantine and Greek craftsmen, already present in the local communities before the earliest imports of Euboean pottery⁵⁸. Within this framework, one may place the famous and controversial inscription on the

⁴⁸ BERNARDINI 2016, 25.

⁴⁹ DELPINO 2012, 192-195.

⁵⁰ MELANDRI – SIRANO 2016, 21-13; for the Cypriot production of the cauldron, cf. D'AGOSTINO 2011b, 73 note 3, and D'AGOSTINO 2017, 407.

⁵¹ GASTALDI 1998, 88-89 no. 13, 167.

⁵² BOTTO 2011, 169; SCIACCA 2010; MILETTI 2012, 221-222.

⁵³ BOTTO 2008, 129-30; 2011, 158-162; PACCIARELLI 1999, 59-61; SCIACCA 2010.

⁵⁴ QUONDAM 2014, 23-28.

⁵⁵ KOUROU 2005; D'AGOSTINO 2006.

⁵⁶ D'AGOSTINO 2017, 401, 404, 409.

⁵⁷ CANTILENA 2010.

⁵⁸ DRAGO TROCCOLI 2009, 250-252; 2012; BOTTO 2012, 57-59.

flask of tomb 482 of the Osteria dell'Osa necropolis, dated about 770 BC (Phase IIB2). G. Colonna proposed that we should recognize in this sequence a Latin text with the prescription *ni lue* / "don't unleash me" with the meaning of "don't take me away" or something similar⁵⁹. This is a hypothesis broadly accepted by E. Benelli and V. Bellelli, who came up with the interpretation of "don't empty"⁶⁰.

The inscription documents a very early transmission and, if the hypothesis of a Latin text is accepted, a more important redevelopment of the Greek alphabet in the Tyrrhenian area at the time of the pre-colonial Euboean relationships.

The possibility of such an early dating is supported by dates given to clear-cut comparanda; the latter concern, for example, the short inscription on the ossuary of tomb 21 Benacci Caprara in Bologna⁶¹, and above all, on the Greek side, an *ostrakon* found in the sanctuary of Apollo *Daphnephoros* in Eretria and dated, on a stratigraphical basis, to the Middle Geometric⁶².

With regard to the inscribed vase of tomb 482, it is still important to remember D. Ridgway's proposal taken up by L. Drago Troccoli. Both of them consider it a local imitation of foreign items, the use of which suggests an early knowledge of the Greek funerary rituals⁶³.

1.5 The intermediary role of women

The "Domed cups" in funerary contexts older than the foundation of Pithekoussai are attested at other crucial points of the Tyrrhenian route: in tomb 4870 of Pontecagnano (Phase II) which yielded a scarab similar to that found in the even older tomb 67 of Torre Galli (Fig. 2)⁶⁴ and in the tomb 4 of Cumae, where it is associated with a bronze tripod-lebes and a pair of Nuragic buttons⁶⁵ (Fig. 3).

We can add to these contexts the most recent tomb 200 found in Capua: the tomb goes back to the third quarter of the 8th century and in it, a "Domed cup" is associated with amulets and orna-

ments of oriental origin; they include a pendant with a solar disk topped by a rising moon representation, which is perhaps a fertility talisman⁶⁶.

The participation of the Sardinian world in this circuit of exchange is proved by the dissemination of a type of bronze cup with small globular appendices on the handles ("*a globetti*"); this shape was defined by L. Drago Troccoli as «a true example of a chain reworking of Levantine and Cypriot models revisited by Sardinian artisans and then transmitted to the Italian peninsula»⁶⁷.

These cups are to be found along the Tyrrhenian and Ionian coasts: and, in particular, a specimen of this type was used for the restoration of a Phoenician cup in the S1 tomb of Francavilla, dated by M. Botto at the end of the 9th century BC and compared with the specimen found in the necropolis of Poggio della Guardia in Vetulonia⁶⁸ (Fig. 4).

The data thus integrates and confirms the picture outlined by L. Drago Troccoli: «the Levantines and then the Euboeans, before the colonial foundations, have exploited the experiences and participation of merchants, craftsmen, and members of the élites of the Nuragic communities»⁶⁹.

In this combined framework we emphasize another point on which the scholars agree: the acquisition and exhibition of *Orientalia* by local communities takes place under circumstances that tend to favour the female gender and, especially, prestigious women with whom a cultic role in their society can be recognized. This is true for instance in the case reported by M. Pacciarelli at Torre Galli: the necropolis is organized by households and exhibits the existence of wide inequalities documenting the emergence of social classes⁷⁰; within this, prestige indicators such as the "Domed cups" occur exclusively in female tombs, often accompanied by a knife. Pacciarelli connects this pairing to a sacrificial practice, assuming that «the cup could perform functions of offering / libation of liquids connected to the rite ... (blood of the victims? ritual libation of drugs or drinks?)»⁷¹.

⁵⁹ COLONNA 2005.

⁶⁰ BELLELLI – BENELLI 2018, 23-27.

⁶¹ COLONNA 2005, 481.

⁶² KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, 52, 75 no. 64; VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT 2012, 179, 180 no. 3.

⁶³ DRAGO TROCCOLI 2009, 267-272; 2012.

⁶⁴ D'AGOSTINO – GASTALDI 1988, 67-68, 222-23 (R. PIRELLI); PACCIARELLI 1999, 58-59, 160; BOTTO 2011, 157-158.

⁶⁵ CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008; CRISCUOLO 2011; GRECO 2014.

⁶⁶ D'AGOSTINO 2011a; BOTTO 2011, 166-168.

⁶⁷ BOTTO 2011, 138-41; 2012, 57 and bibl.; DRAGO TROCCOLI 2009, 257-263.

⁶⁸ BOTTO 2008, 138; 2011, 163-164.

⁶⁹ DRAGO TROCCOLI 2012, 1092.

⁷⁰ PACCIARELLI 1999, 96-98.

⁷¹ PACCIARELLI 1999, 59-60.



Fig. 2. Torre Galli, tomb 67: scarab (after PACCARELLI 1999, fig. 67)

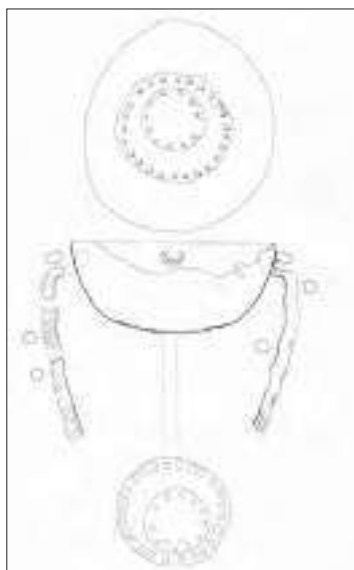


Fig. 3. Cumae, tomb 4 Osta: bronze tripod-lebes (after CRISCUOLO 2011)



Fig. 4. Francavilla, tomb S1: Phoenician cup (after BOTTO 2011)

F. Quondam found a similar concentration of “exotic” and ceremonial metal artefacts in female tombs of the indigenous necropolis in Sibaritide (Francavilla, Torre del Mordillo)⁷²; the same propensity is also documented for the above-mentioned tomb 683 of Pontecagnano and tomb 4 Osta of Cumae. Another indicator to the same end is the presence of the bronze cup with globular appendices on handles (“*a globetti*”) in exceptional women’s graves (or a double burial in the case of the tomb 10 of Poggio delle Granate in Populonia)⁷³. M. Botto associates this cup-type with fertility and procreation rituals to ensure the continuance of the lineage within emerging groups of Iron Age communities⁷⁴. We emphasize again that the propensity to mark cultic abilities exercised by prestigious female figures through the persistent presence of imported artefacts characterizes the indigenous tradition beyond its relations with the Eastern world. Maybe the most important case is that of the double female tomb “*dei Bronzetti Sardi*” in Vulci, bearing the famous bronze figurine and miniature furniture⁷⁵ (Fig. 5); we can

add to it the mainly female association of Sardinian products, such as askoid jugs, daggers, miniature vessels, and miniature reproductions of pilgrim flasks. They are interpreted by M. Milletti as being imbued with symbolism concerning fertility⁷⁶. These facts highlight, for the indigenous communities, the importance assumed by restricted élite groups in guiding the management of relations with non-native elements. These groups display active flexibility, adapting aspects of their own traditions so as to manipulate the innovations generated by interaction with different cultures, especially in relation to the dynamics of gender roles.



Fig. 5. Vulci, “Tomba dei Bronzetti Sardi”: bronze figurine (after IAlA 2017)

⁷² QUONDAM 2014, 34-36.

⁷³ BOTTO 2012, 138, note 68.

⁷⁴ BOTTO 2012, 140-144; DRAGO TROCCOLI 2009, 263.

⁷⁵ ARANCIO – MORETTI SGUBINI – PELLEGRINI 2010. The authors hypothesize that the cremated adult had a role connected to the magical-religious sphere: this hypothesis even more interesting if we accept the suggestion of a possible Campanian origin of the deceased (from Pontecagnano).

⁷⁶ MILLETTI 2012, 230-231.

2. PITHEKOUSSAI

2.1 *The birth of permanent settlements in the central-western Mediterranean area*

The dynamics of mobility, contact and exchange underlie and make possible the productive and cultural conditions for the development of the first Greek and Phoenician secure settlements in the central-western Mediterranean area, from the African coasts to the Iberian Peninsula, from Tyrrhenian Italy to Sardinia: it is a process that grows with time, developing out of the previous arrangements and leading to the formation of centralized communities, founded on a more rigid political domination and control⁷⁷.

It must be emphasized that the foundation of Pithekoussai is part of the wider process which takes place in a phase prior to the real Greek colonial movement, between the end of the 9th century and the middle of the 8th century BC⁷⁸.

In this time span, the dates given to settlement foundations remain variable because of the only approximate congruencies between the different chronological and cultural timelines and because of the continuous development of research and new data which must be taken into consideration. In this regard, we should remember that the date of the foundation of Carthage is still open to discussion, between the historical tradition that establishes it towards the end of the 9th century BC and archaeological sources that place it, according to the received chronology of the oldest Greek ceramics there, to the first half of the 8th century BC⁷⁹. One should have in mind the clarifications on *Carthage Phénicienne* in the book by M. Gras, P. Rouillard and J. Teixidor, published in 1989⁸⁰. It is also important to emphasize the discussion between relative archaeological chronologies and absolute radiometric chronologies developed by M. Botto and, more recently, by E. García Alfonso⁸¹.

While acknowledging the profound differences in their political status, it is important to enumerate the characteristics which are shared by Pithekoussai, Carthage, La Rebanadilla (Phase III) and

Motya and Sulky, the oldest Phoenician colonies in Sicily and Sardinia.

The first aspect concerns the relationship with the indigenous communities; the new foundations are inserted within pre-existing settlement systems and involve their acceptance by local communities. This key point of interpretation, suggested earlier for Pithekoussai⁸², has been recently restated regarding La Rebanadilla⁸³ and also for Sardinia by M. Rendeli⁸⁴. It was then specifically employed for Sulky by E. Pompianu and by A. Unali⁸⁵ and it has also been used with reference to the Phoenician settlements of the Gulf of Oristano by E. Garau⁸⁶.

The founding of Motya on the other hand, seems to happen after a hiatus of about a century⁸⁷: the best analogy here, albeit typical also for its ambiguity, is that of the foundation of Carthage by Elissa (Giustino XVIII, 4-6).

The second element is the feature of “open communities” in the new settlements whereby the Greek and Phoenician components coexist with both the indigenous and other non-native inhabitants⁸⁸. This is a well-known fact for Pithekoussai and also documented for all other sites: while integration between Greeks and Phoenicians has been at the focus of many analyses⁸⁹, we must emphasize the impact of their relationship upon the local component, as documented, for example, in the ceramic repertoire of the new foundations, by the use of indigenous shapes, connected to the kitchen and sometimes reused as cinerary urns (Sulky and Motya)⁹⁰. Thus, we

⁸² CERCHIAI 2014.

⁸³ SÁNCHEZ *et al.* 2012.

⁸⁴ I refer to the report mentioned by the scholar in this conference.

⁸⁵ POMPIANU – UNALI 2016.

⁸⁶ GARAU 2015, in particular 304.

⁸⁷ NIGRO – SPAGNOLI 2017, 4.

⁸⁸ E.g. BOTTO 2004-2005, 24, who recalls, following the studies of K. Mansel, the presence in Carthage of indigenous elements from Andalusia and Sardinia.

⁸⁹ Suffice it to recall the case of the Euboean ceramics of Carthage, made with local clays (KOUROU 2002, 95-96; KOUROU 2010, 177) and the not dissimilar situation at Sulky where, next to the well-known Pithekoussan stamnos used as an urn, are vases of the Phoenician type with late-Geometric decoration (see, for example, RENDELI 2006). To an older chronological horizon (MG II / LG I) belong the Euboean dishes with pendant semicircles produced as table ceramics for the Phoenicians: a synthesis of which is given in D'AGOSTINO 2017, 403.

⁹⁰ Carthage: MANSEL 1999 and MANSEL 2007, consolidated by comparison with the Utica context: LOPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2016, 80-

⁷⁷ RENDELI 2007, 239-241.

⁷⁸ RENDELI 2007, 241: «the anomaly of Pithekoussai is not unique».

⁷⁹ KOUROU 2002; D'AGOSTINO 2017, 404.

⁸⁰ GRAS – ROUILLARD – TEIXIDOR 1989, 198-238.

⁸¹ BOTTO 2005, 586-88; GARCÍA ALFONSO 2016, 20-21.

can explain the relations linking the new settlements: the natural ones between Carthage and the Phoenician communities and those concerning Pithekoussai⁹¹.

In the case of Pithekoussai, the units of weight and capacity used in the Euboean settlement have great significance; they emphasize the existence of measuring systems shared with the Eastern component present in order to facilitate trade. With this goes the already mentioned weight of Mezzavia. We can also remember F. Durando's studies about the metrology of the transport amphorae from the San Montano necropolis and the Aramaic graffito *kln* on the body of the "Euboean" amphora of tomb 575. Here G. Garbini's interpretation must be mentioned too: he interprets it as "double", with reference to a graffito measure of capacity on the handle⁹².

2.2 Exportation of *technai*

The new settlements stimulated the cycle of interaction, production and trade, which was initiated in the previous period, turning it into a quantum jump. Pithekoussai plays a formidable role in the development and cooperation with indigenous communities from Etruria to Ionian Calabria. This occurred against the background of previous experience and especially favoured the acquisition of raw materials, the production of valuable goods and, according to B. d'Agostino's model, the export of *technai*, both in the form of manufactured goods and through the mobility of craftsmen⁹³. The "vocation" of Pithekoussai is based on the structural relationship with indigenous communities as an element of continuity but, at the same time, it introduces an innovative transformation in the productive and cultural tissues of these communities. Here the leap forward is especially clear with regard to high-value craft activities such as iron

working and wine production. With regard to the former, V. Acconcia emphasized that in reference to the extraction of iron on Elba there is a lack of «clear data of direct and intensive access by the Populonian community ... in the initial phase of its development». She adds that starting from the 8th century we have «the first indications of the circulation of hematite, in particular in relation to Pithekoussai» and, according to Acconcia, «the relationship with the Euboeans was a determining factor for the beginning of the exploitation of iron oxide deposits»⁹⁴.

A similar reasoning can also be made concerning the wine trade.

The existence of a Pithekoussan wine is documented by the local production of eastern-type amphorae, in particular, those of type A seen in the earlier chronological levels⁹⁵.

C. Sourisseau has recently pondered on the circulation of Ischian wine, emphasizing how, in the current state of knowledge, we can outline «une diffusion du produit... limitée par une capacité de production excédentaire elle-même très restreinte», and, conversely, the supremacy of other communities in the wine trade in the western Mediterranean⁹⁶: this is a significant fact and apropos Ischia suggests production for local-consumption. We will return to this later.

An important contribution to this theme comes from the results achieved in the study of the dispersal of vine varieties through genetic analysis. A. Science and O. Failla valued «the genetic "borders" that separate the Latin viticulture from the Greek one on the island of Ischia, or that of the Etruscan enclave of Capua»⁹⁷.

This analysis, on the one hand, emphasizes the possibility that this type of cultivation was introduced to Ischia by Greeks, much in accordance with the tradition of Pithekoussan *phytalie* as handed down by the sources⁹⁸; on the other hand, it also confirms the hypothesis of Sourisseau about the emergence of «une viticulture indigène auto-suffisante»⁹⁹. There was strong competition in the Tyrrhenian area regarding wine: Rendeli ar-

81; La Rebanadilla: SÁNCHEZ *et al.* 2012, 69, 71; Motya: NIGRO – SPAGNOLI 2017, 101; Sulky: BOTTO 2013a, 164-171 on «mixed families»; POMPIANU – UNALI 2016.

⁹¹ Eg. BOTTO 2011, 169.

⁹² DURANDO 1989 and, on the inscription of amphora in tomb 575, AMADASI GUZZO 1987, 23-24, no. 10. The Semitic inscription *kplš* found in the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros in Etruria was placed alongside the Pithekoussan inscription: KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, 52, 76 no. 66; VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT 2012, 179, 183 no. 7: the authors put forward the hypothesis that it could be the Phoenician transcription of a Greek term.

⁹³ D'AGOSTINO 1994; 2017, 409.

⁹⁴ ACCONCIA – MILLETTI 2015, 241-242, with CORRETTI 2017.

⁹⁵ PETACCO 2003.

⁹⁶ SOURISSEAU 2009, 149-173 (quote on page 165).

⁹⁷ SCIENZA – FAILLA 2016 (quote on page 32).

⁹⁸ MELE 2014, 9-12.

⁹⁹ See note 96.

gues that Sant’Imbenia wine saw an increase in production and export at the time of the Phoenician colonies¹⁰⁰. According to M. Botto, Phoenician colonial settlement in Sardinia involves the cultivation of the vine in specific areas of the coastal territory. He also insists on the role of Sulky to whom he attributes «a planned territorial control ... articulated on hierarchically structured settlements»¹⁰¹. Here we can mention, with reference to a more recent phase of history, the site of Pani Loriga as a producer and exporter of wine¹⁰².

In Botto’s reconstruction, Sulky assumes a central and independent role in the diffusion of Sardinian wine in Italy. In this aspect, a synchrony with the Olbian development around the midpoint of the 8th century is observable: this occurred thanks to Olbia’s fortunate geographic location in the middle of the Tyrrhenian coastline¹⁰³. Botto attributed to Sulky «an early production of amphorae also destined for export», and the elaboration of «an amphora type functional to the transport of wine, whose export represented an important aspect of the colony’s economy»¹⁰⁴.

According to Botto, the numerous amphorae found in the Latium centres are imported from Sulky while the oldest Etruscan amphorae¹⁰⁵ are derived from Mediterranean Phoenician prototypes. This agrees with Sourisseau’s opinion regarding the prominent role of Sardinian wine production compared to that of Pithekoussai.

Mention should be made of the settlement of San Rocchino in Versilia studied by M. Bonamici. Here an amphora from Sulky is associated with a “Sant’Imbenia”-type example and others from Pithekoussai, in a context that is characterized by the presence of metalworking traces¹⁰⁶: significant documentation about «imbrication des trafics qui lient les communautés latiales et villanoviennes, de Sardaigne, de Sicilie occidentale et du monde phénico-punique de Méditerranée centrale, avec aux marges de cet espace, la petite communauté de Pithécusses»¹⁰⁷.

2.3 Wine consumption at the intersection between East and West – the role of craftsmen

Wine continues to be a privileged good because it is at the centre of ceremonial consumption reserved for promoting solidarity between élites regardless of their ethnic origins: sharing a drink promotes inebriation and it creates a multicultural community of consumers, both restricted and privileged, and, through the network of hospitable relations, develops the conditions for the transmission/elaboration of new cultural models¹⁰⁸. In this regard, we must mention the conclusion of a study by O. Murray dedicated in 1994 to Nestor’s Cup (tomb168, S. Montano): «perhaps the origins of western lyric are to be found on Ischia [...], where the Greeks first heard the new strains of a Phoenician poetry of love and of pleasure in the context of the first western symposion»¹⁰⁹. As is well known, Murray assigns the introduction of the reclining symposium into the West to the cultural interaction in an open environment between co-existing Greeks and Phoenicians, perhaps at Pithekoussai itself¹¹⁰. Murray’s reconstruction, emphasizing the dynamics of mediation, recalls the cultural contribution of the eastern component, according to a dialectic confirmed by archaeological documentation. M. Botto has, in fact, upgraded the role played between the second half of the 8th century and the first half of the 7th century BC by Phoenician centres in Sardinia with regard to the introduction in the Tyrrhenian area of a «real ceremonial connected with the consumption of wine»¹¹¹, as is also indicated by the circulation of precious banquet sets imported from the east. They show shapes connected with the preparation of scented drinks, such as the tripod-bowl, which is used to grind the aromatic substances that are to be added to the wine, and the “ribbed bowl” used to help collect sediments at the bottom¹¹². In this context, the Phoenician centres of the central Mediterranean such as Sulky and Carthage played a part. Thanks to the import of items and the arrival of workers too, a model of drink consumption is also imposed, which connotes the new “luxury” of the

¹⁰⁰ RENDELI 2018, 198.

¹⁰¹ BOTTO 2013a, 171.

¹⁰² BOTTO 2014, 94-96.

¹⁰³ D’ORIANO 2010.

¹⁰⁴ BOTTO 2013a, 170-171.

¹⁰⁵ BOTTO 2012, 67-69. Also GRAS 1985, 287-323.

¹⁰⁶ BONAMICI 2006.

¹⁰⁷ SOURISSEAU 2009, 163.

¹⁰⁸ RENDELI 2007, 236.

¹⁰⁹ MURRAY 1994, 54.

¹¹⁰ MURRAY 2009.

¹¹¹ BOTTO 2016, 91.

¹¹² BOTTO 2012, 63-66; 2016, 91-93.



Fig. 6. Nineveh, North Palace: the “banquet under the Pergola” (after MATTHIAE 1998)

Tyrrhenian élites long accustomed to consuming wine: it is the regal model of the “banquet under the Pergola”, as in the well-known relief of the North Palace in Nineveh where Assurbanipal drinks on his *kline*, in the usual posture of the Greek reclining symposium (Fig. 6). We can therefore say that the introduction of a new style in wine consumption, somewhere between a banquet and symposium, is transmitted by Greek and Phoenician mediation starting from the second half of the 8th century BC.

An item that portrays the complexity of the imagery linked to the ceremonial rituals of wine, and to the meeting between East and West, is the Montevetrano scarab. It can be dated in the third quarter of the 8th century BC and it shows a scene of a dance similar to a *komos* around a large oriental amphora from which the main character drinks from a long straw that acts as a filter¹¹³ (Fig. 7). O. Murray suggests it is the representation of *marzeah*, a practice of commensality mentioned in the texts of the Near East and compared to the Greek symposium, which is best described by the prophet Amos who talks about the way to drink lying down (AMOS, 6, 4-7)¹¹⁴. The acquisition of the banquet and symposium kits and their cultural models of consumption by indigenous groups originates in the importation of wine and services connected to it. However, it is soon



Fig. 7. Monte Vetrano: scarab (photo Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio di Salerno e Avellino)

given a local twist through the integration of craftsmen who enrich local communities with their own stock of skills and technical innovations, thus improving the existing situation¹¹⁵.

In the same way, we must consider a small series of vases connected to the “Cesnola Style” attested to Pithekoussai¹¹⁶. N. Kourou pointed out that the Cesnola Style is neither a painter nor a workshop but a form of “LG partial *koine*”. Her opinion has interesting repercussions on our analysis because pots that may be attributed to the “Cesnola style” and connected to the consumption of wine, are attested along a wide coastal route,

¹¹³ CERCHIAI – NAVA 2009.

¹¹⁴ MURRAY 2009, 64-65. From Montevetrano, perhaps the *emporion* of the Etruscan city of Pontecagnano, also comes the “bull bowl” of north Syrian production from the female tomb 74: CERCHIAI *et al.* 2012-2013, 93-95 (M. Parasole).

¹¹⁵ See note 58.

¹¹⁶ COLDSTREAM 1994; KOUROU 1998.

from Vulci to Francavilla¹¹⁷. These specimens testify to the use of both a Greek form, such as the crater (attested in Pescia Romana¹¹⁸ (Fig. 8) and perhaps in Francavilla¹¹⁹), and of shapes belonging to indigenous traditions, such as the Pontecagnano globular olla (tomb 3892)¹²⁰ (Fig. 9) and the exceptional olla-crater with handles “*a piattello*” found in S. Marzano sul Sarno (tomb 928)¹²¹ (Figs. 10-11); these products exemplify how craftsmen were able to identify and satisfy the requests of specific clients in local communities.

Concerning the Pescia Romana and Francavilla craters and the olla from Pontecagnano, the most reasonable hypothesis for them is that of production *in situ* by Greek craftsmen. As regards the olla-crater from San Marzano, it is thought that it is a Pithekoussan production. Whatever the case, it is evident that the crucial intermediate role was played by craftsmen and the interaction was initiated by local input, which, in the case of the S. Marzano olla-crater, also involves the absorption of an iconographic repertoire based on an oriental tradition.

The wide-ranging circulation of craftsmen behind the “Cesnola Style” is not an isolated case and, in this regard, it is sufficient to recall, regarding southern Italy, the well-known case of the Italo-geometric production of Canale-Ianchina¹²².

We must also emphasize that in addition to the mobility of craftsmen due to the mediation of Pithekoussai, we can identify contemporary contributions of a distinct cultural matrix: for example, the Italo-geometric “*scodelle*” decorated with concentric circles found in Pontecagnano and Francavilla. According to N. Kourou, they show a “Cypro-Italian connection”¹²³.



Fig. 8. Pescia Romana: “Cesnola Style” crater (after CVA Grosseto, Museo Archeologico della Maremma 1)

2.4 The middle ground and the crisis of Pithekoussai

The circulation of craftsmen allows us to consider the wider theme of mobility. In my view, the formation of a permanent settlement of Greeks in Pithekoussai and later, in Cumae, creates a network that also includes the Villanova site in Pontecagnano, which is able to exert a strong attraction, especially amongst the Italic “peripheries”.

The archaeological indicators permit a sketchy reconstruction of the mobility of individuals and groups that start from the Campanian Plain and go on to cover the centre of Italy, the Ofanto Valley, and the territories of Daunia and Oenotria¹²⁴.

To embody the nature of this complex system, we used the notion of the *Middle Ground* which defines a space of mediation and negotiation between ethnically distinct communities based on an unstable and transitory equilibrium, eventually destined to be replaced by the emergence of dominant political formations. In this plural world,

¹¹⁷ See D’AGOSTINO 2017, 405-406.

¹¹⁸ CVA Grosseto, Museo Archeologico della Maremma 1 (Italia 62), Roma 1986, 21-24, pls. 20, 1-2 – 21, 1-3, fig. 16 (O. PAOLETTI).

¹¹⁹ JAKOBSEN – MITTICA – HANDBERG 2009, 212-13 (G. P. MITTICA).

¹²⁰ DE NATALE 1992, 125-126 (L. CERCHIAI); BAULO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2009, 66 (S. DE NATALE).

¹²¹ GRECO – MERMATI 2006.

¹²² MERCURI 2004; GUZZO 2004-2005.

¹²³ KOUROU 2005, 506; RIZZO 2005, 339-344.

¹²⁴ CERCHIAI 2014.

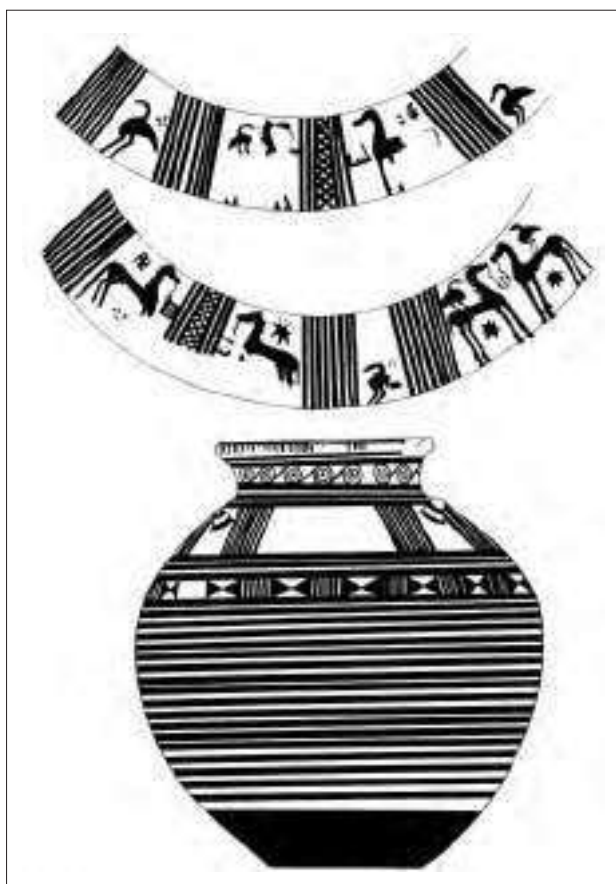


Fig. 9. Pontecagnano, tomb 3892: italo-geometric olla (after BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 1999)

Pithekoussai plays a crucial role due to its nature as an open community, marked by a strong propensity to integration and exchange: its status is not very different from the contemporary centres of Sulky and Motya, with which it shares its island status¹²⁵.

A factor of competition and potential contrast is introduced by the Greek settlement of Cumae¹²⁶, whose importance has been augmented by recent excavations in the urban area. The way that the chronological sequences of Cumae and Pithekoussai converge here deserves attention.

According to the stratigraphic sequence elucidated in the excavations directed by M. D'Acunto, the oldest documentation of the Greek presence in Cumae is witnessed by layers and hearths with LG I/II material. This phase is replaced at the transition between the 8th and 7th centuries BC (LG II/EPC) by a large infill that D'Acunto considers as an act

¹²⁵ D'AGOSTINO 2008, 186.

¹²⁶ It is useful to cite the effective definition of D'AGOSTINO 2008, 172: complementary phenomena, not very distant in time, but functionally distinct.



Fig. 10. S. Marzano sul Sarno, tomb 928: italo-geometric olla (photo Carmine Pellegrino)

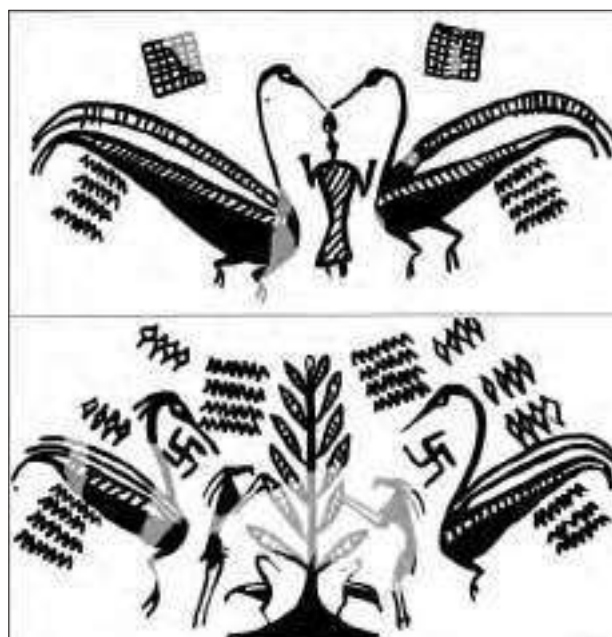


Fig. 11. S. Marzano sul Sarno, tomb 928: italo-geometric olla, figured scenes (after GRECO – MERIATI 2006)

of land reclamation, and on which the first structures of the urban system are set¹²⁷. Accordingly, the scholar emphasizes both the “turning point” in the process of urban consolidation at the LG II horizon, and the existence of an “earlier Cumae”

¹²⁷ D'ACUNTO 2017, 298-305.

dating back to the passage between MG II/LG I¹²⁸: he shares the opinion formulated at the time by B. d'Agostino¹²⁹. This reconstruction, supported by a rigorous reading of the stratigraphy, does indeed concern only a border sector of the ancient town, but we must still emphasize that the break the reclamation represents is that of a genuine public-scale work connected to colonial planning.

At the beginning of the 7th century BC Pithekoussai went through a deep crisis, as is indicated by the contraction of the necropolis¹³⁰, by the disruption both of the Mezzavia quarter and of the settlement at Punta Chiarito, which was not rebuilt after the calamity they suffered¹³¹.

The archaeological documentation shows, therefore, that in the decades at the turn of the 8th century, a discontinuity occurs that produces opposite effects in the two settlements: the beginning of the urban planning of Cumae corresponds to the break-up of Pithekoussai. For these reasons, we can assume that the two phenomena are interdependent and that Cumae's *ktisis* correlates to

Pithekoussai's downsizing. This hypothesis is supported by historical tradition: in the well-known Strabo text (V, 4, 9 [C 247]), the Chalcidians and Eretrians, prosperous by *eukarpia kai dia ta chryseia*, leave the island because of a *stasis*. Since Strabo conflates the two points, he could have been indicating that the cause of the *stasis* is to be found in the *eutychia* of a thriving community, perceived by Cumaeans as a threat to be reduced.

Merging these elements and including the debate on the status of the settlement too, Pithekoussai could be considered as a "*polis* of the Middle Ground"¹³², one which develops an open and plural connectivity, in no way comparable to the strategy of territorial control and political discrimination on which *apoikia* is based. From this perspective, it is not surprising that the expiration of the Middle Ground in Campania lies, according to the archaeological documentation, at the transition between the 8th and 7th centuries BC, that is to say, at the conclusion of the first phase of Pithekoussai's long history¹³³.

¹²⁸ D'ACUNTO 2017, 306.

¹²⁹ D'AGOSTINO 2008, 187-94.

¹³⁰ Also confirmed by the data that can be obtained from the 1965-67 excavations of the necropolis: CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-13; 2014.

¹³¹ RIDGWAY 1992, 105-12 (Mezzavia); GIALANELLA 1994 (Punta Chiarito).

¹³² On Pithekoussai as a *polis*: GRECO 1994; MELE 2014, 1-39.

¹³³ CERCHIAI 2014, 238.

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PITHEKOUSSAI, NECROPOLIS OF SAN MONTANO (EXCAVATIONS 1965-1967). STRATIGRAPHY, FUNERARY REPRESENTATION AND INTERCULTURAL DYNAMICS*

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro

On August 23, 1965, after a break of about four years, Giorgio Buchner recorded in his notebooks that the investigation of the necropolis of Pithekoussai had been resumed. The intent was to dig a trench cutting perpendicularly across the valley of San Montano in order to determine the extension of the necropolis. About 723 burials had already been investigated here between 1952 and 1961 and published in the book *Pithekoussai I*, which Giorgio Buchner authored together with David Ridgway¹. The new trench (Fig. 1) was only 70 m away from the previously area and extended over a surface of ca. 450 sq. m. The excavation went on for two years, until 1967. It then broke off, to be later resumed, in several campaigns, until 1982.

The present essay will deal with the funerary sector investigated between 1965 and 1967, which is still essentially unpublished. Thanks to their accuracy – not a given, considering the time when the in-

vestigation was carried out – the excavation records have retained all their informative potential to this day². The photographic documentation bears witness to the logistic difficulties and the complexity of the excavation, due to the depth of accumulated soil – the burials lay -7/-8 m underground – and the density of the burials. The difficulties were compounded by the volcanic nature of the area, where rises in soil temperature had seriously compromised the preservation of the materials and skeletal remains.

Underneath the modern alluvial strata, Buchner – who was a careful observer of natural phenomena and their impact on human occupation of the Phlegraean islands – had detected a level which he identified as a deposit formed in the second half of the 2nd century AD as a consequence of a violent earthquake with its epicenter at sea, followed by a tsunami. This event was clearly recognizable in the geological sedimentation and the deep cracks left in the ground³.

* For our ongoing valuable discussions on the unpublished necropolis of Pithekoussai, I am grateful to B. d'Agostino, L. Cerchiai, M. D'Acunto, C. Pellegrino, M. Cuozzo. For support in reviewing the finds I thank F. Nitti, who is carrying out his Ph.D. at the University of Salerno on the San Montano necropolis. I also thank F. Poole (Museo Egizio, Turin) for a preliminary assessment of the scarabs on display in the exhibition *Pithekoussai work in progress*, organized concomitantly with the conference *Pithekoussai e l'Eubea tra Oriente e Occidente* (Lacco Ameno, 14-17 May 2018) at the Museo di Villa Arbusto (Lacco Ameno). The anticipation of data from the ongoing anthropological study are courtesy of L. Bondioli, M. Gigante and A. Sperduti. The English text of this article was translated from the original Italian by F. Poole.

¹ On the excavations carried out at San Montano from 1967 onward, cf. *Pithekoussai I*, 28. At the time, the "Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Napoli" was headed by Alfonso De Franciscis. The investigation, carried out on the property of duke L.S. Camerini, was made possible by funding by the University Museum of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia.

² Cf. CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013 and 2014. The tests on the skeletal remains were carried out by the Anthropology Laboratory of the "Luigi Pigorini" Museum in Rome: cf. GIGANTE – BONDIOLI – SPERDUTI 2012-2013 and GIGANTE *et al.*'s contribution in the present volume, which includes a table overview of the burials cited here. In view of the future publication of the cemetery, C. Pellegrino revised and digitized the excavation plans at the "Mario Napoli" archaeology laboratory of the Università degli Studi di Salerno. The Soprintendenza di Napoli provided preliminary descriptions of the finds, produced by N. Manzi under the supervision of C. Gialanella. The excavation photographs are by G. Buchner (Archivi della Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l'area metropolitana di Napoli). The abbreviations used here are: **CT**: tumulus cremation; **T**: inhumation tomb; **E**: *enchytrismos*; **M**: male; **F**: Female; **Und.**: undetermined sex; **Ad**: adult; **I**: Infant; **C**: Child; **n.g.g.**: no grave goods.

³ *Pithekoussai I*, 30-31: These cracks were clearly visible in the sector excavated between 1952 and 1961. In the excavation journal, the geological deposit formed as a consequence of these phenomena is designated as *lavavino*.

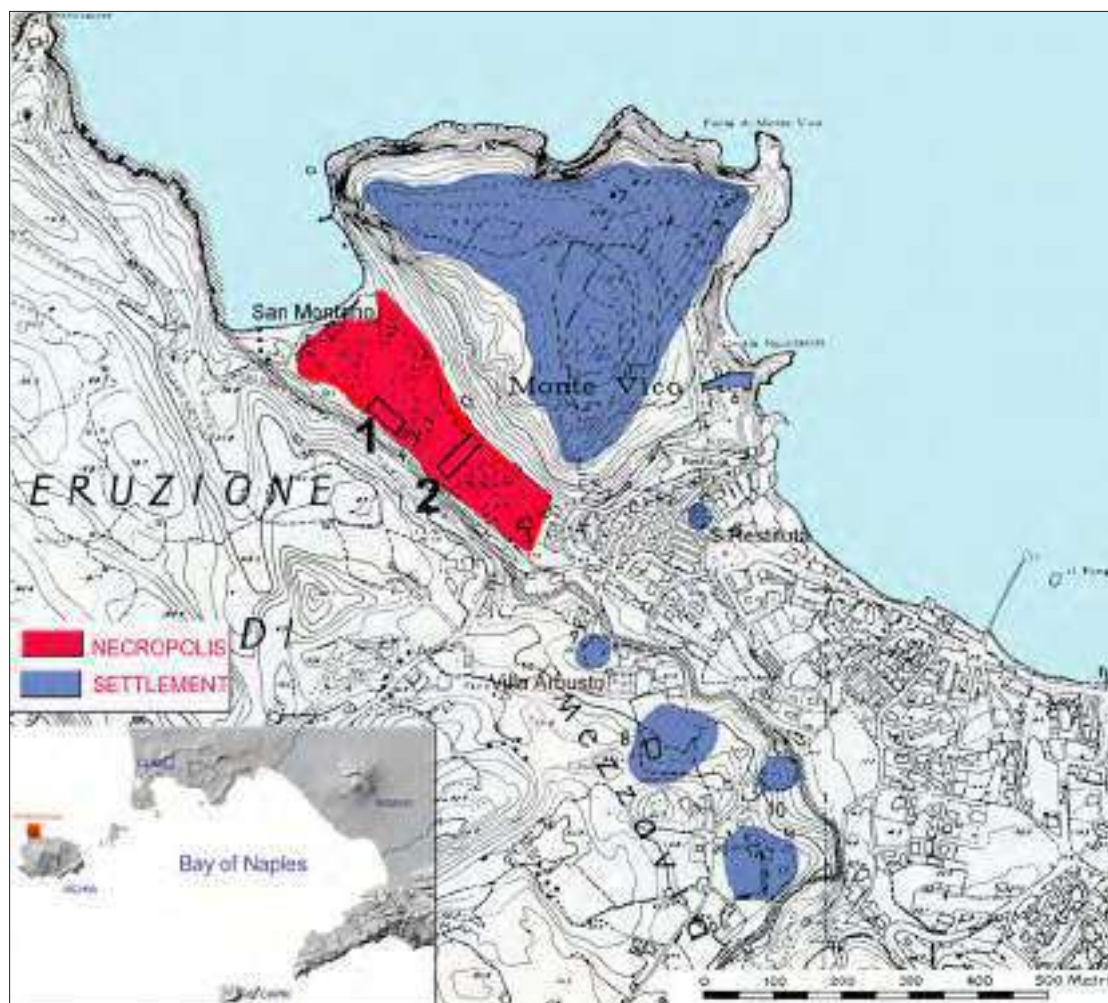


Fig. 1. Lacco Ameno, Ischia, Necropolis of San Montano: 1. Excavations 1952-1961; 2. Excavations 1965-1982 (redrafting from *Pithekoussai I*)

The deposit covered terracing walls of the Roman period (Fig. 2), which in their turn overlay the use levels of the necropolis, dated from the mid-8th century BC to the Hellenistic-Roman period (Fig. 3).

The investigation went on by successive trenches and, within each, by homogeneous investigation levels. The consequence of this approach is that stratigraphic relations between burials cannot always be determined. This working method is clearly reflected by the excavation plans (Figs. 4-5), which were hence evidently drawn at the time. Except in a few cases, no indications are provided about the stratigraphic relations between tumulus cremations and inhumation tombs, as these are recorded on separate plans. These relations must hence be deduced from notes in the excavation journals, when such notes exist, by superimposing the two plans, by comparing relative eleva-

tions – which are always accurately recorded – and, finally, from the chronology of grave goods⁴.

The density of burials varies over the long time span during which the necropolis was used. Out of a total of ca. 300 graves, 87% of the sample (261) date from LG I-II/MPC, so from the mid-8th to the early 7th century BC.

As I showed in two earlier publications, in this burial ground all age classes are fully represent-

⁴ The graphical documentation was produced by Fritz Gehrke. In it, the position of the graves is recorded in three general plans, corresponding to different levels of the excavation: “Ziegel Plan”, “Stein Plan” (the tumulus level) and “Graben plan” (the fossa-grave level). In addition to these, there were some intermediate plans, and plans of most of the fossa graves. Cf. CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013, pl. C, where the excavation plans are superimposed.



Fig. 2. San Montano, 1965-1967. The terracings of Roman period



Fig. 3. The cremation tumulus 771 below the roman layers

ed⁵. In substance, the evidence confirms the already observed trend to use different burial methods and grave-good types (Fig. 6). Cremation is reserved, as a rule, for young and mature adults of both sexes⁶; it involved the secondary deposition of the cremated bones – along with the other remains of the funeral pyre (the so-called “black-earth lens”) and the grave goods, when present – in a hollow dug in the ground, which was later covered with a stone tumulus (CT). The so-called “Tomb of Nestor’s cup” is no exception, as its attribution to a child/adolescent has been called into question by recent studies of the skeletal remains⁷.

Inhumation in a pit (T) was usually used for infants, children or adolescents. *Enchytrismos* burials (E) were preferably used for infants. A particular case is the inhumation of adult individuals, generally without grave goods and sometimes in a

contracted position. Buchner suggested that these may be exponents of servile social classes. Several scholars have stressed their importance as evidence of the inclusion of allogeous elements in the Pithekoussan community⁸. With respect to the interpretive framework set forth by Buchner⁹, which has proved its validity to this day, the cemetery excavated between 1965 and 1967 offers several opportunities for further investigation. Most notably, it is possible to distinguish, within the earliest occupation phase, dating from LG I, a dense relative stratigraphy, with cremation tumuli rapidly overlapping. New clues for research present themselves when we make the most of the contextual data, analyzing the topography of the necropolis, the mode of formation of burial clusters, the choice of burial ritual, grave-good associations, and the distribution of specific artifact categories. From all this, we can derive significant knowledge about the social organization and cultural composition of the Pithekoussan community, as well as its relations with Latial-Etruscan and Campanian communities.

⁵ Cf. note 2.

⁶ In only one case, in CT 916, cremated bones attributed to a child aged 1 to 5 years were found, along with those of a woman aged >20 years; cf. GIGANTE *et al.* in this volume, Tab. 2.

⁷ On CT 168 and the results of the anthropological investigations, see GIGANTE *et al.* 2021 with previous bibliography and *infra*, T. CINQUANTAQUATTRO – B. D’AGOSTINO’s contribution, 267-273. In the first publication of the burial, G. Buchner himself had assumed that the finds came from several disturbed burials (BUCHNER – RUSSO 1955) and many scholars, among them V. Nizzo, had pointed out some aporias in the chronology of the materials (NIZZO 2007, 33 ff.).

⁸ BUCHNER 1975, 71-72; BUCHNER 1982, 279; CERCHIAI 1997; 2014, 232 ff. On the graves lacking grave goods, cf. *infra*, 75 ff.

⁹ BUCHNER 1975, 1981, 1982.

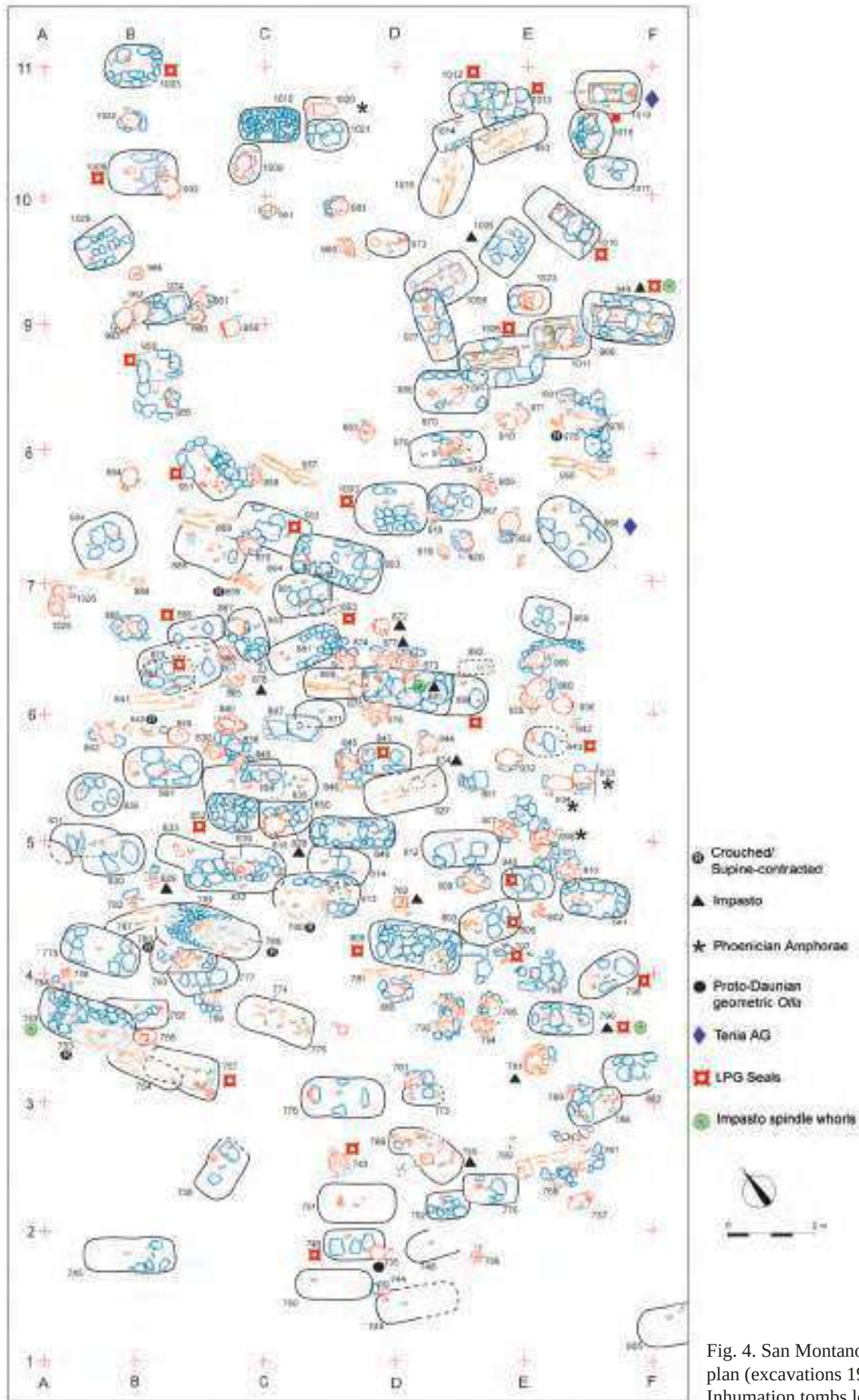


Fig. 4. San Montano. Necropolis plan (excavations 1965-1967). Inhumation tombs level

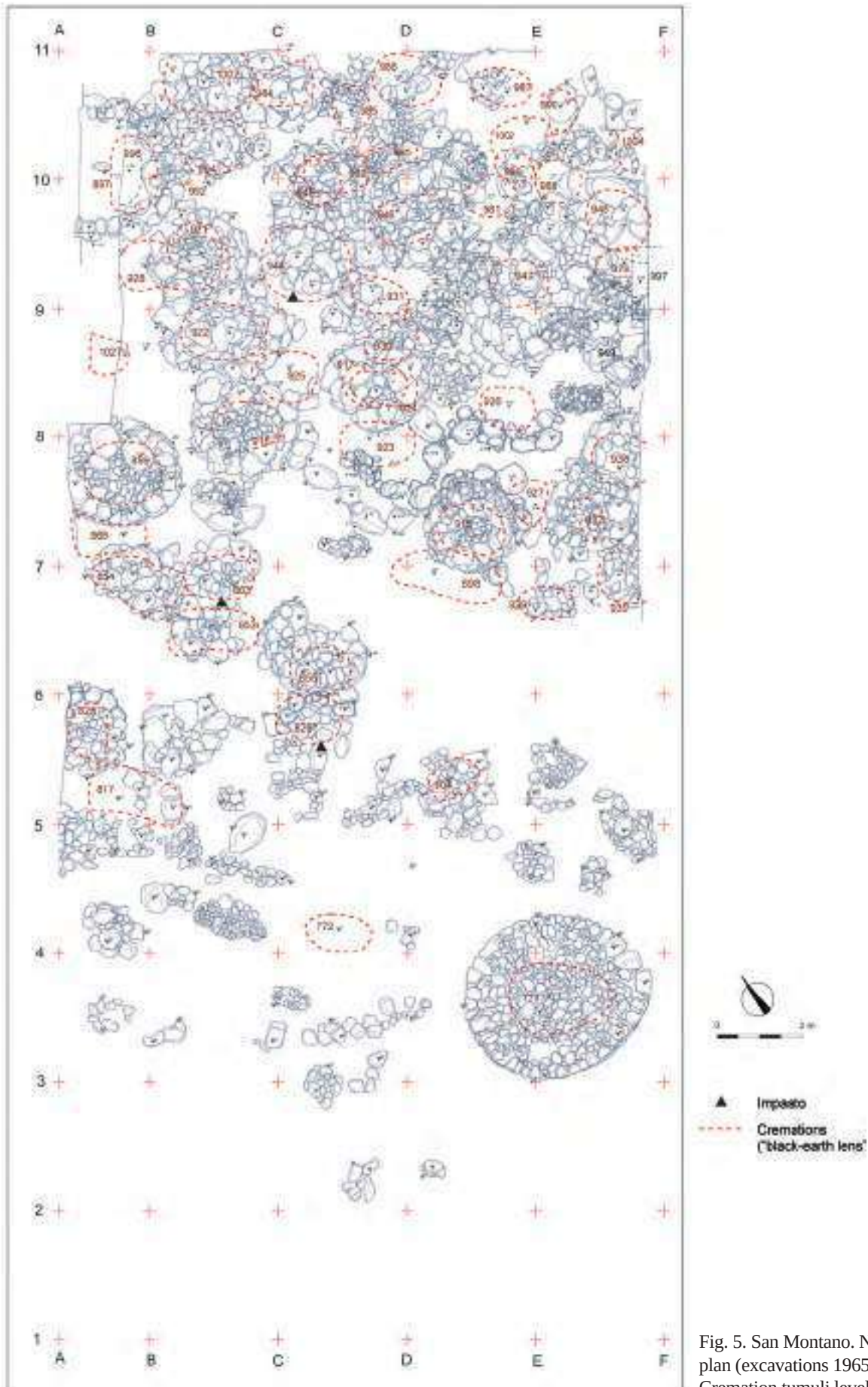


Fig. 5. San Montano. Necropolis plan (excavations 1965-1967). Cremation tumuli level

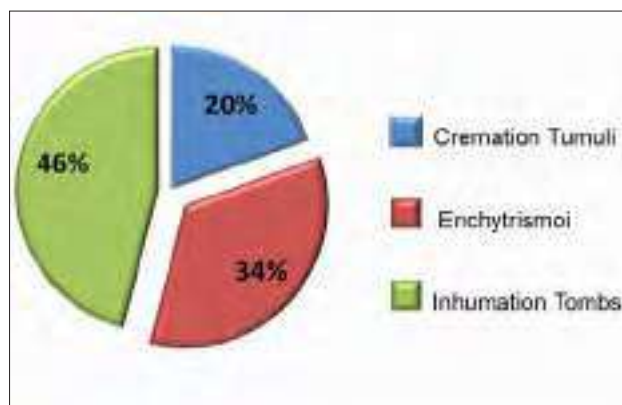


Fig. 6. San Montano, excavations 1965-1967. Burial ritual: CT = Cremation Tumulus; E = Enchytrismos; T = Inhumation fossa Tomb

Impasto vases, in particular, confirm themselves to be possible ethnic markers (Figs. 7-10). Specific shapes, such as two-handled bowls (T. 755) and some types of small amphora (T. 834, T. 1005), of one-handled cup (T. 1005, T. 790) and of mug (i.e. “boccale”) (T. 829) derive from Capua or from the Fossa Grave Culture sites of northcentral Campania. They thus may be evidence not only of trade, but also of migration from the mainland. These wares occur in significant quantities in children’s burials, sometimes within burial plots where *impasto* spindle whorls appear as gender markers in female burials¹⁰. The use for some *enchytrismoi* of impasto pithoi classifiable within the ceramic repertoires of indigenous communities of the Iron Age may be interpreted along similar lines¹¹.

Furthermore, some vases bear witness to hybridization of the colonial Greek and indigenous pottery traditions, a counterpoint of sorts to the decoration of local shapes with motifs and subjects from the Euboean repertoire at indigenous sites, such as at Pontecagnano and in the Sarno river valley. Both the circulation of Pithekoussan wares on the mainland and hybrid products such as these are evidence of phenomena like those that Luca Cerchiai, drawing on a model formulated by I. Malkin, cites as examples of the so-called “Middle Ground”¹².

¹⁰ CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2014, 269 ff., fig. 6.

¹¹ CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2014, 275 ff., figs. 16-18: E 872 (globular *olla* with three bosses on the shoulder); E 762 and E 791 (cylindrical pithos with finger-impressed cordon).

¹² CERCHIAI 2014.

Another phenomenon that has significant implications is the occurrence of *impasto* pottery of Latial-Etruscan types in female cremation burials – specifically, tomb 944, on which I will return later, and tombs 826 and 863. These burials lie in the middle of the cemetery, in a plot bordered to the north by a grave-free strip and which must have extended beyond the western limit of the excavation trench¹³. Although the anthropological evidence is ambiguous, it is quite likely that CT burials 826 (age > 20 years) and, possibly, 863 (ca. 20-40 years) belonged to women, based on the ornaments they contained. In both cremations, the only whole vase is a small *impasto* amphora with an impressed spiral decoration (Fig. 11). The presence of silver ornaments and the use of cremation indicate that the individuals buried here stood high in the social hierarchy. It is likely that they were allogeous women, possibly come to Ischia by way of matrimonial exchange. In a community open to contacts, such as the Pithekoussan one, marriage was only one of several possible mechanisms of social inclusion¹⁴. Imported goods, besides allowing us to trace trade routes and networks, can thus be evidence of mobility consequent on relations between social elites in a multicultural context encompassing, along with the Greek colonists, both Orientals and Italic people from Daunia, Oenotria, the Campanian world and the Tyrrhenian area.

Here I will not dwell on these aspects, on which new light will hopefully be shed by still ongoing physical anthropology testing (notably of strontium isotopes – ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr). I will turn instead to the themes of stratigraphy and the composition of the necropolis. These give us a glimpse, in the context of this culturally composite community, of a much stronger social segmentation than has been hypothesized so far.

¹³ A Latial-Etruscan small amphora is attested in *Pithekoussai I*, 198-199, CT 159.3, pl. 61; on CT 826 and CT 863, cf. CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2014, 268 ff., figs. 3-4; on CT 944, cf. BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1983.

¹⁴ On matrimonial exchanges, cf. COLDSTREAM 1993; on mobility involving Pithekoussai and relations with the indigenous world, cf. KELLEY 2012; CERCHIAI 2014; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2014. Regarding the relations between Greeks and natives, some scholars hold completely different, “revisionist” views of colonization, as does, for example, DONNELAN 2016. For a critique of this approach, which has developed particularly in Anglo-Saxon scholarly milieus, cf. GRECO – LOMBARDO 2010.



Fig. 7. San Montano, excavations 1965-1967. T. 755: *impasto* two-handled bowl



Fig. 8. San Montano, excavations 1965-1967. T. 1005: grave goods



Fig. 9. San Montano, excavations 1965-1967. T. 834: small *impasto* amphora



Fig. 10. San Montano, excavations 1965-1967. T. 829: *impasto* mug

Unlike the southern sector – where a single large tumulus of the LG II (CT 771), accurately built with a circle of stones at its base and particularly well preserved, stands in isolation (Figs. 3, 5) – the north sector is densely occupied by cremation tu-

muli. These burials provide useful evidence for the definition of the first use phases of the necropolis and are exemplary of the way the cemetery's fabric developed over time.



Fig. 11. San Montano, excavations 1965-1967. Cremation tumuli; grave goods from CT 863 (A) and CT 826 (B)

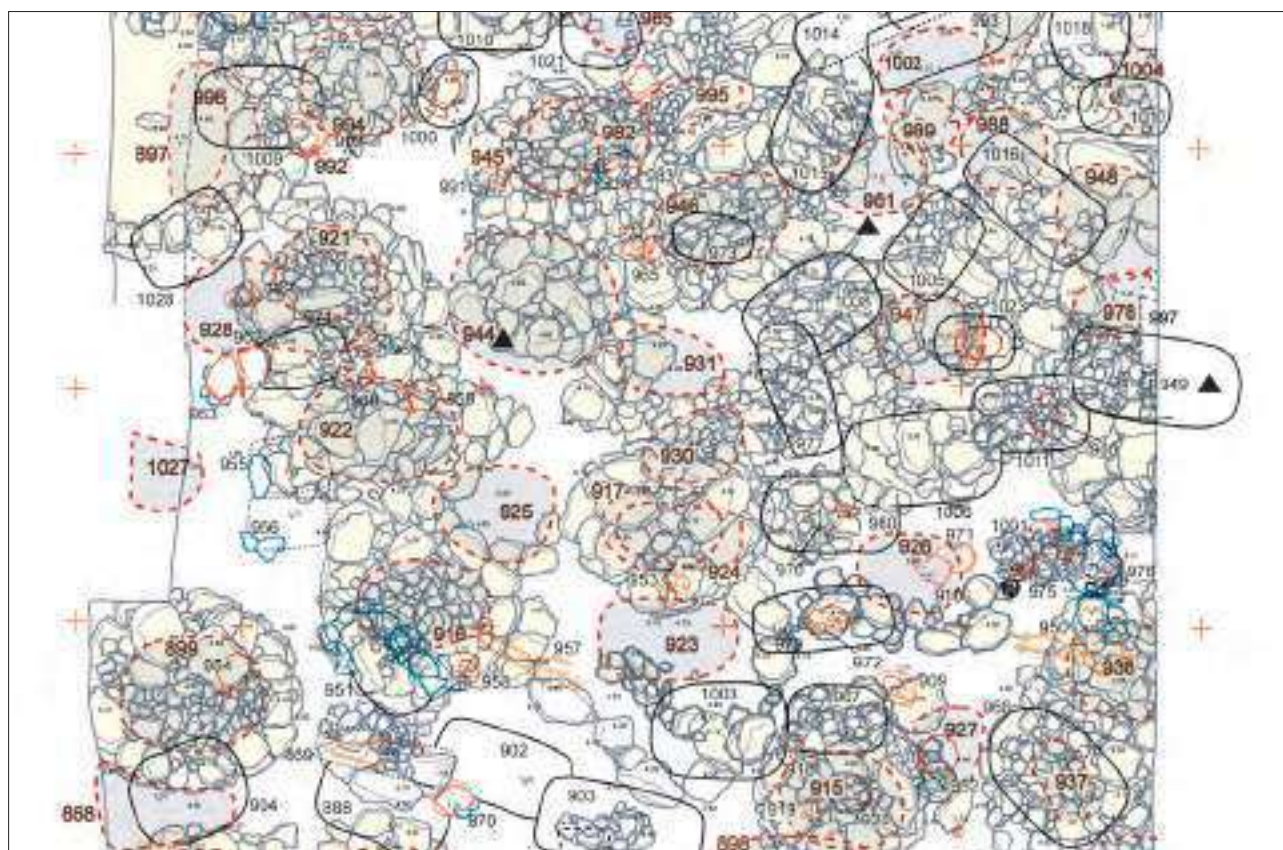


Fig. 12. San Montano, excavations 1965-1967, Sectors 7-10. Overlaying cremation tumuli on the inhumation tombs

THE CLUSTER OF CREMATION TUMULI 944, 945 AND 946

As early as 1983, Buchner and Ridgway drew attention to the cluster formed by cremations **944**, **945**, and **946**. In it, the levels of the bases of the tumuli clearly revealed the chronological sequence of the

burials and how they had clustered together (Figs. 12-14)¹⁵. The tumuli of CT **931** and **917** (Figs. 15, 16), the most recent in the sequence, were attributed to the same cluster – and hence to the same family group.

¹⁵ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1983.



Fig. 13. San Montano, excavations 1965-1967. Cremation tumuli 944-947 before the excavation (photo by G. Buchner)



Fig. 14. San Montano, excavations 1965-1967. Cremation 944-947 after the removal of the tumuli (photo by G. Buchner)

The fact that the cremations overlay one another and that earth layers could be made out between them had led the two scholars to suppose that the burial plots had been reassigned over time. They thus distinguished at least two independent use levels of this area.

Buchner and Ridgway regarded **CT 944** to be of a female on the basis of gender indicators such as hair spirals, leech fibulae and necklace beads. Along with a local Late Geometric oinochoe, this grave contained three types of imported vase: a small spiral amphora of a Latial-Etruscan type, two Corinthian skyphoi of the Thapsos panel-type, and an Oriental aryballos (Fig. 18). Recent tests on the skeletal remains have distinguished two cremated individuals, aged ca. 20-40 years. One (**944A**), averagely preserved, has been recognized as a woman¹⁶. The second (**944B**), poorly preserved, is a male. It is commonly held that the cremations were carried out in a specific area of the necropolis set aside for the funeral pyres, whose exact location is unknown. We therefore cannot rule out that the presence of two individuals in **CT 944** resulted from a confusion of the bones during the *ossilegium* from the funeral pyre in a spot where several cremations had been carried out successively. However, we must necessarily also consider the alternative hypothesis that this was a double burial. Isotope analysis seems to confirm that the woman was allogeous¹⁷, a

hypothesis Buchner and Ridgway had already put forward based on the grave goods.

In line with the trend to clustering observable in this sector of the necropolis, **CT 944** abuts cremation **945**. The anthropological tests assign it to an adult individual of undefinable gender, older than 20 years. It yielded a Late Geometric oinochoe and an *impasto* chytra. It overlays an earlier cremation, lacking grave goods, **CT 982**, underneath which was *enchytrismos* burial E 983. Adjoining **CT 982** was another poorly preserved cremation, **CT 995**, also lacking grave goods¹⁸.

Cremation 945 – underneath whose SW edge was E 991 – abutted **CT 946**, already identified by Buchner and Ridgway as male due to the absence of grave goods. The osteological tests attributed it, with some uncertainty, to a male adult older than 40 years. To the East was another cremation, **CT 981** (male, 20-40 years), whose tumulus was not preserved, possibly because it was destroyed when tumulus 946 was built. The latter covered three inhumations: E 965, T. 1015 (F, 30-40 years) with no grave goods, and T. 973 of an infant (aged 2-3); this last one contained, scattered at the bottom of the pit, to the right of the head, sherds of an imported Corinthian kotyle of the “Aetos 666”, broken in ancient times¹⁹.

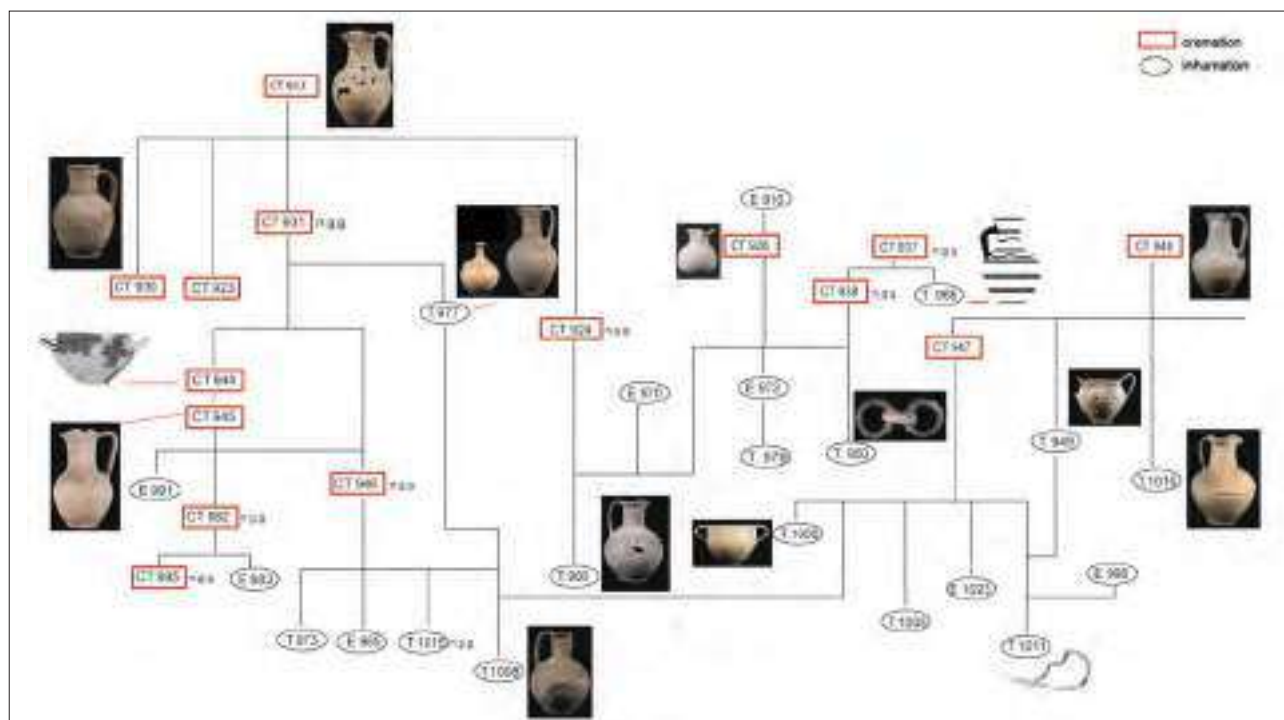
of Hesperia People: An Anthropological And Isotopic Study of Bio-Cultural Identities and Human Mobility in the Pithekoussai Necropolis (Ischia Island, Eight Century BCE-Roman Period) – Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2019.

¹⁸ **CT 982**, adult M (?) >30 years; **CT 995**: UND individual, 20-40 years old.

¹⁹ **BUCHNER** – **RIDGWAY** 1983, 3-4; the circumstances of its discovery are described in the excavation journal.

¹⁶ **GIGANTE** – **BONDIOLI** – **SPERDUTI** 2012-2013, 62 ff., table 2-4 and *infra*, Tab. 2.

¹⁷ The results of the tests on the strontium isotopes are presented by M. Gigante in his PhD thesis entitled *Bioarchaeology*



We are thus looking at five cremations at least (CT 944, 945, 946, 982, 995) following one another through time. The earliest ones, CT 995 and 982, lack grave goods. The latest one, CT 944, dated to LG I, has Corinthian skyphoi of the Thapsos with panel type as chronological markers.

The southern edge of the tumulus CT **946**, for example, overlaps one of the earliest burials in the necropolis, which is also covered by tumulus CT 947 and T. **977** (Fig. 17). The burial in question is T. **1008**, whose occupant has been identified as a child aged 1 to 3. The grave goods include ornaments: two scarabs and two bronze fibulae, one of the “Sicilian” type, the other with a bifid serpentine elbow arch and a spring (Fig. 19). Among the tombs published in *Pithekoussai I*, the only Sicilian fibula – a marker of phases IB-II in the chronological sequences of Capua and Pontecagnano – is a sporadic find²⁰. The second type,

490 (IB-IIA). The “Sicilian” fibula is attested at Cumae: GABRICI 1913, pl. XXIII, 1-2,5; pl. XXIV, 1,3. Cf. *Pontecagnano III.1*, type 320 E1 b, phase I B; for Capua, cf. MELANDRI 2011, 343, type 132V2, pl. LV, phases IB - II.

²² *Pithekoussai I*, 398, tomb 353.3 (inhumation), pl. 128.

²⁴ Very similar oinochoai, in decoration as well as shape, come from two inhumation graves published in *Pithekoussai I*: T. 490, no. 1 (TGI), pl. 145, and T. 491, no. 1, pl. 146, which also yielded an “elbow fibula” with a spring. MERMATI 2012, type A1, 137 ff.

²⁰ *Pithekoussai I*, SP 14, pl. 259: NIZZO 2007, type A10 N1, matching LO SCHIAVO 2010, class XLI, type 347, 702-13, pls. 473-

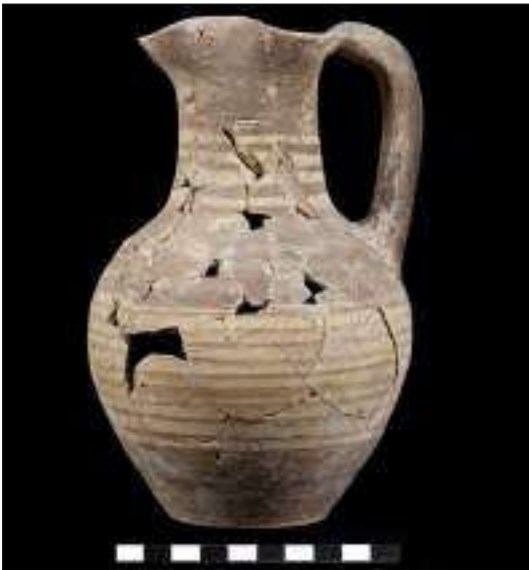


Fig. 16. CT 917: LG oinochoe



Fig. 17. T. 977: grave goods



Fig. 18. CT 944: grave goods (from BUCHNER – RIDGWAY1983)



Fig. 19. T. 1008: grave goods



Fig. 20. Cremation tumuli 916, 917, 921, 922 (photo by G. Buchner)

On the basis of the above-described stratigraphical sequence and of parallels, the assemblage can be dated to an early stage of LG I, around the middle of the 8th century BC²⁵.

Northwest of the cluster are two burials – probably belonging to another plot extending beyond the northern limit of the excavation – which have yielded two of the most famous figured vases from Pithekoussai (Figs. 4-5). They are tumulus 984, which yielded the well-known bottle-shaped vase with a depiction of the Moirai, and, west of tumulus 945, *enchytrismos* 1000, which employed as an urn the figured amphora with “the lion dreaming of its prey”²⁶.

THE CLUSTER OF TUMULI 916, 921, 922, 925, 928, AND INHUMATION 951

An adjacent tumulus cluster (Figs. 12, 20) is especially interesting. One of its earliest cremation burials, 925²⁷, contained a single-bird cup with a central metope graced with a bird silhouette and horizontal lines in the strip between the handles (Figs. 21-22). The type occurs at Chalcis and Eretria²⁸. The closest parallels for the decoration are found on a specimen from Tarquinia (T. 174 in the necropolis of Selciatello di sopra) and specimens from Naxos in Sicily²⁹. A second specimen of the

²⁵ On the earliest attestations at Pithekoussai, datable to the transition from MG II to LG I, cf. RIDGWAY 1981. Some sporadic materials from the necropolis and the Gosetti dump on Monte Vico allegedly belong to the same horizon. On the chronology of the necropolis, cf. also NOUZZO 2007, 83-84, with earlier literature.

²⁶ D’AGOSTINO 1999. A kantharos in fragments lies next to the amphora.

²⁷ In the excavation journal, Buchner reports that CT 925 underlay cremations 916 and 922. The anthropological tests assign the burial to a woman aged ca. 15-20 years.

²⁸ Cf. COLDSTREAM 1982, 24 ff., who thinks the cups with birds – which he regards as Euboean or imitations thereof – begin as early as MG II and continue in LG I; COLDSTREAM 2004, 41-43. For examples from Eretria, cf. *Eretria XX*, 79-80, note 385; 124, no. 167, pl. 41; 128, no. 273, pl. 59. For the shape and date of the skyphos, cf. *Eretria XX*, 82-83, 109, type SK5, pl. 89.

²⁹ On the specimens from Pithekoussai, cf. D’AGOSTINO 1992, 54, fig. 1. For the specimen from Tarquinia cf. COLDSTREAM 1982,



Fig. 21. CT 925: grave goods



Fig. 22. CT 925: "single-bird" cup detail



Fig. 23. CT 1004: "single-bird" cup fragment

same type, but made differently, was found among the sherds from tumulus cremation **1004** (Fig. 23)³⁰. On this one, the bird's body is filled in with hatching.

The northern side of tumulus 916 overlies CT 922 (Fig. 24), which is regarded as earlier and is partly incorporated in CT 921³¹. The latter burial yielded an oinochoe with white-on-black decoration³², two silver leech fibulae, and two silver hair

rings with traces of gilding (Fig. 25). Cremation 922 covered the just-discussed CT 925, whose tumulus was completely destroyed.

Underneath tumuli 916 and 922 were two fossa graves, T. 955 and T. 956, the former overlapping the latter (Fig. 26)³³, which yielded, as a dating element, a kantharos of the Ithaca type (LG II).

Underneath tumulus **916** was fossa grave **951**, attributed to a child of 5-6 years, whose sex could not be determined³⁴. The pottery included an entirely varnished hemispheric kotyle, laid upside down, and an oinochoe with a bifid handle and an

26, fig. 1 c. On Naxos in Sicily, cf. LENTINI 1998, 380-381, figs. 15-16. Cf. KOUROU 2004, 504.

³⁰ MERMATI 2012, 104, type M2, Tav. XXIII.

³¹ In CT 916, the anthropological tests have distinguished two cremated individuals: a woman aged > 20 years and an I/B of 1-5 years; cf. *supra*, note 6. CT 921 is ascribed to a F individual aged > 40 years.

³² On this class and its occurrence at Pithekoussai, cf. CUOZZO 2006. Cf. *Pithekoussai I*, 466-467, T. 469.1, pl. 138 (LG I). For the low neck and ovoid body of the oinochoe, cf. *Eretria XX*, 99, 131, no. 347, pl. 71 (LG II).

³³ T. 955 contained a child of ca. 4-6 years and T. 956 a child of ca. 1-3 years.

³⁴ CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013, 40 ff., figs 5.2, 9.1-2; GIGANTE – BONDIOLI – SPERDUTI 2012-2013, 66, table 6.

ovoid body, decorated with a horse tied to manger and vertical lines connected by high and thin “Ss” on the body, rendered in outline (Fig. 27). This burial stands out for the presence in its assemblage of an ardisia disk (120 grams) of uncertain purpose³⁵ (a tool’s flywheel?) and two bronze spearheads (73 and 47 grams), intentionally cut (Fig. 28), on which I will return in my conclusions. At breast level was an oriental seal showing a striding lion, mounted in a silver pendant (Fig. 29). The lion wears an apron of sorts. On its back is a slanted leaf and behind it angular inscribed motifs connected by a vertical dash³⁶. The “dragon-with-spring”-type fibula and the kotyle type suggest a date in LG I, not contradicted by the elongated shape of the oinochoe, which has a parallel at Pithekoussai in a specimen regarded as a local product from T. 593, dated to LG I³⁷. The closest parallels for the peculiar shape of the oinochoe and its decoration of horizontal lines/bands on the body under a row of vertical dashes connected by high and thin “Ss” can be found at Delos³⁸.

T. 951, in its turn, covered *enchytrismos* 958 to the east, which yielded no dating elements.

THE CLUSTER OF TUMULI 947, 948, 978, AND FOSSA GRAVE 949

Looking at the adjacent cremation tumuli from the same perspective, once again we observe a dense sequence of burials, in a sector that was disturbed in the Hellenistic-Roman period by two monumental cist tombs, TT. 997 and 998 (Fig. 30).

³⁵ A parallel can be found at Oropos (diam. cm 7.5), bearing an inscription: cf. MAZARAKIS AINIAN – MATTHAIU 1999; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2002, 157, fig. 4b. On the interpretation of pierced stone disks as fishing weights or door knockers, cf. VALAVANIS 2017. Another parallel comes from the sanctuary of Apollo *Daphnephoros* at Eretria: *Eretria XXII*, II, 27, no. 477 (diam. cm 4.7), pl. 109.

³⁶ Seals picturing a lion are attested at Pithekoussai, for example in T. 500 (BOARDMAN – BUCHNER 1966, 11, no. 14, fig. 17.14, 18). For parallels from different areas around the Mediterranean, cf.: BOARDMAN 1990, 6 ff., figs. 7-9 from Francavilla Marittima; 16, no. 171, fig. 23, out-of-context; SERRANO *et al.* 2012, figs. 3-4. Cf. BOTTO 2011 and BOTTO 2020, 369 ff., figs. 18-19.

³⁷ *Pithekoussai I*, 583, T. 593.1, pl. 172. On the oinochoe, cf. COLDSTREAM 2008, 173 ff., pl. 36a, with reference to Naxos wares.

³⁸ DUGAS – RHOMAIOS 1934, 71 ff., pls. XXXIV.18, XXX-VI.20, XXXVII.22. I thank B. d’Agostino for pointing out these parallels.

Underneath the tumuli, the earliest burials are fossa graves of infants or children (Fig. 12), with quite significant burial assemblages, as we will see in the case of grave 949.

Cremation 948, according to Buchner’s notes, overlay both CT 947 (Figs. 31-33) and the tumulus of T. 949, and was thus the most recent of these three; it also partly covered CT 978. Furthermore, from a comparison of the two excavation plans it appears that it overlay CT 988 (Fig. 34) – of which only some stones from the base of the tumulus remained, above the “black earth lens”. This tumulus, in its turn, covered three more cremations (CT 989, CT 981 and CT 1002). Underneath tumuli 948 and 988 was fossa grave 1016 (I/B, 1-3 years), which yielded an important Corinthian oinochoe of the Thapsos class and many seals of the Lyre Player Group³⁹ mounted in silver pendants (Fig. 35).

Tumulus 947, ascribable to an adult male, overlay Infant/Child fossa graves 1005 (Figs. 8, 12, 31), 1006 (Fig. 36) and 1008 (Figs. 19, 31)⁴⁰, as well as *enchytrimos* E 1023 (Figs. 37-38). This last burial contained an imported vessel classifiable among “Northern Aegean” or “Thermaic” amphoras. It belongs within Group II in R. Catling’s classification – attested since the early 8th century BC – and has parallels at Methone and Lefkandi⁴¹. At least two more specimens are known from Pithekoussai, from T. 621 at San Montano (Fig. 38) and the Gosetti dump⁴².

Graves of infants and children, the earliest in the cemetery, show great variability in their burial assemblages. Unlike T. 1016, whose grave goods consist only of imported objects (Fig. 35), T. 1005

³⁹ Cf. GIGANTE *et al.*, *infra*, tab 2. For the oinochoe, cf. NEEFT 1981, fig. 1e, fig. 2e.

⁴⁰ T. 1006 and 1008 are ascribable to I/B, Und., respectively 1-5 and 1-3 years.

⁴¹ Cf. CATLING 1998. On “Thermaic” amphorae, cf. *Methone Pierias I*, 416-419, nos. 77-78, with a date between the late 8th and early 7th century BC; KOTSONAS *et al.* 2017, 16-18. A morphologically identical amphora from Lefkandi is datable to the late 8th century BC: LEMOS 2012, fig. 1.

⁴² For parallels from Ischia, cf. *Pithekoussai I*, T. 621, 600-601, pl. 211, fig. CXCIV; classified as of uncertain origin, it falls within type B180 (A1-F1)A1: NIZZO 2007, 143. For the sherd from the Gosetti dump, cf. KOTSONAS 2012, 159-160, note 581, and DI SANDRO 1986, SG 264, 116, pl. 25.

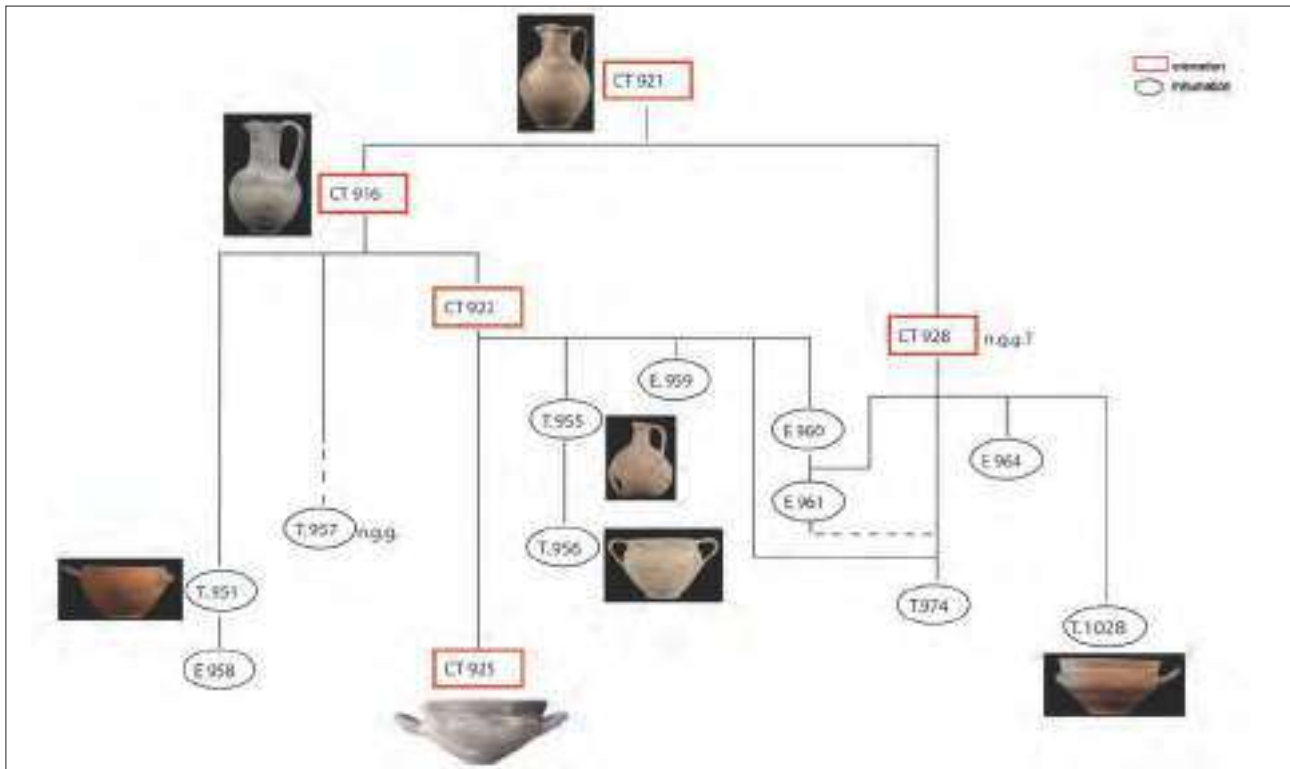


Fig. 24. San Montano, excavations 1965-1967- The cluster of cremation tumuli 921, 925 and inhumation tomb 951



Fig. 25. CT 921: grave goods



Fig. 26. T. 956: grave goods

only yielded *impasto* pottery (Fig. 8), namely, a small amphora and a small cup, associated with “*ad arco rivestito*” bronze fibulae⁴³.

T. 980, which was overlapped by CT 917 and CT 926 (Fig. 15), contained an oinochoe with a globular body and two bronze fibulae, one of the “dragon with a spring and a bifid buckle” type, the other of the “*ad arco rivestito*” type⁴⁴ (Fig. 39). It

can be assumed to be slightly older than T. **1006**, which yielded, along with the oinochoe, a kyathos with facing herons⁴⁵, scarabs and seals set in silver pendants.

⁴³ CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2014, 274, fig. 9.

⁴⁴ For the “dragon fibula with a spring”, cf. Lo SCHIAVO 2010, 759, no.6816, class XLV, type 780; cf. also *Pontecagnano II.1*, 61-62, 112, type 32F1 (phase II B), pl. 20; *Pontecagnano III.1*,

37, type 320 F1, fig. 17. For the “*ad arco rivestito*” fibula, cf. Lo SCHIAVO 2010, 371 ff., class XXIV, type 170.

⁴⁵ NIZZO 2007, B420(AI-C) A3; for the decoration with facing herons, cf. *Pithekoussai I*, Sp/6.1, pl. 250. Cf. COLDSTREAM 2008, 100-102, pl. 19f. G. Buchner does not observe stratigraphic relationships between the two burials, which in the plans appear to overlap at different elevations.



Fig. 27. T. 951: grave goods



Fig. 28. T. 951: bronze spearheads



Fig. 29. T. 951: Lyre Player Group Seal

Tomb **949**, attributed to a child (gender und., ca. 5-6 years⁴⁶), was covered by a large stone tumulus,

⁴⁶ The age, initially estimated to be between 6 and 7 years, was later more accurately determined: cf. GIGANTE – BONDIOLI – SPERDUTI 2012-2013, 66, table 6; GIGANTE *et al.*, *infra*, tab. 2. In

such that initially Buchner thought it was a cremation. The excavation, however, revealed that this tumulus surmounted an inhumation tomb. A similar

his excavation journal, Buchner hypothesized a maximum length of the skeleton of 1.60 m based on the size of the wooden coffin.



Fig. 30. San Montano, excavation 1967. Tumuli 947, 948, 949, 937, 938 (photo by G. Buchner)

case was that of burial 861 and T. 483 (excavations 1952-1961), where a little girl was buried with a rich assemblage including locally made Late Geometric and Early Protocorinthian vases, as well as silver fibulae and ornaments⁴⁷. In the pit of T. 949, the remains of the wooden coffin were still preserved (length cm. 175, width cm. 54). According to a widespread custom in this necropolis, three large stones – placed above the head, pelvis and feet – sealed the lid of the coffin. The pottery assemblage is rich and diverse (Fig. 40). Near the feet of the deceased were a Late Geometric oinochoe with a decoration of metopes on the neck⁴⁸ and an interesting figured kantharos with a

hard-to-decipher decoration. The latter vase has been studied by Catherine Morgan and Bruno d'Agostino⁴⁹. Also near the feet were other vases: a small skyphos with two metopes on the shoulder – in a pattern remindful of skyphoi “with double-parted chevrons”⁵⁰ – which goes with a small lid with a concentric-circle and wolf-tooth decoration along the edge; a single-handled cup, with several parallels in the necropolis⁵¹; a cup with a surface covered by a black slip, imitating an *impasto* type of the fossa-grave culture.

⁴⁷ T. 861 was found under a stone tumulus preserved to a maximum height of 0.70 m (cf. fig. 5). For T. 483, cf. *Pithekoussai I*, 482 ff., pls. 142-144; d'AGOSTINO 2011, 42.

⁴⁸ COLDSTREAM 2008, 98 ff, pl. 19 a-c, especially 19a for the body shape; these are oinochoai dating from the transition from LG to EPC. The metope decoration on the neck recalls a pattern that is widespread in Attic ceramics in the LG Ib.

⁴⁹ Morgan suggests that it was made on Ithaca: MORGAN 2001, 213 ff., figs. 12-13; MORGAN 2006, 220 ff., figs. 2-3. d'Agostino, instead, suggests it may be a Pithekoussan product: d'AGOSTINO 2010, 297 ff.

⁵⁰ B. d'Agostino, in *Prima di Pithecusa*, 19, fig. 14, T. 3286.1; fig. 15, T. 3224.1, 3284.1. At Pontecagnano, the type occurs in contexts of phases II A-B, particularly in this second sub-phase. Cf. B. d'Agostino in *Pontecagnano III.1*, 100.

⁵¹ Cf. *Pithekoussai I*, 367-368, T. 310.2, pl. 118 (LG II); 482 ff., T. 483, pl. 142.6 (LG II); 547 ff., T. 550.3, pl. 164 (LG I). Cf. NIZZO 2007, 148, B330(AL)A.



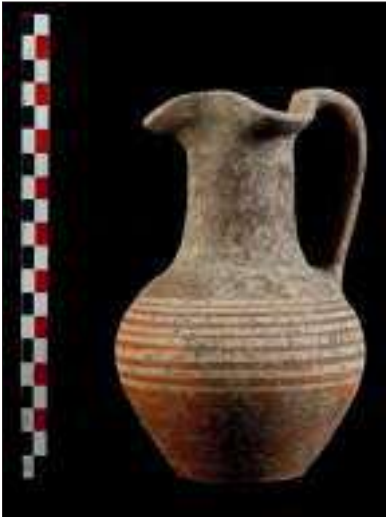


Fig. 34. CT 988: grave goods



Fig. 35. T. 1016: grave goods



Fig. 36. T. 1006: grave goods



Fig. 37. E 1023: transport amphora

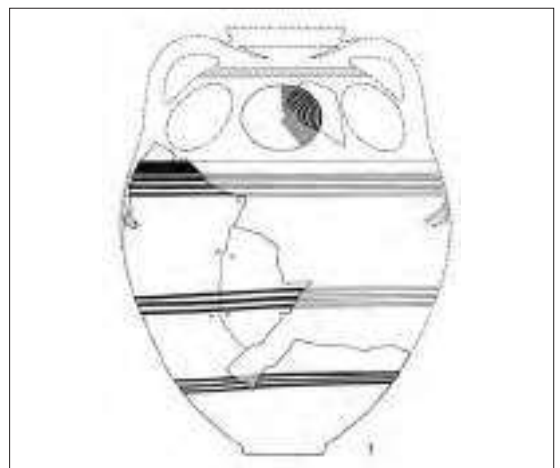


Fig. 38. North Aegean transport amphora (from *Pithekoussai I*, pl. 211, reconstruction)



Fig. 39. T. 980: grave goods



Fig. 40. T. 949: grave goods

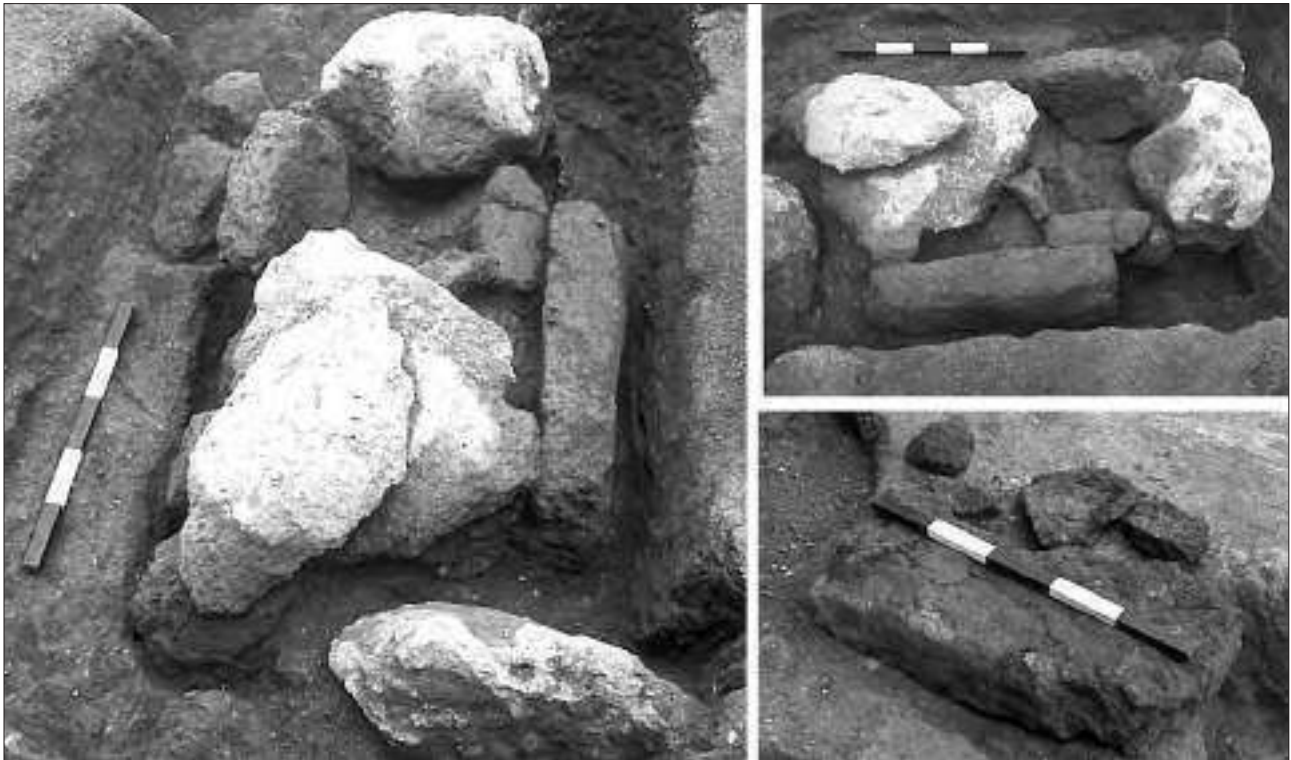


Fig. 41. T. 1011: excavation 1967 (photo by G. Buchner)



Fig. 42. T. 1011: oinochoe

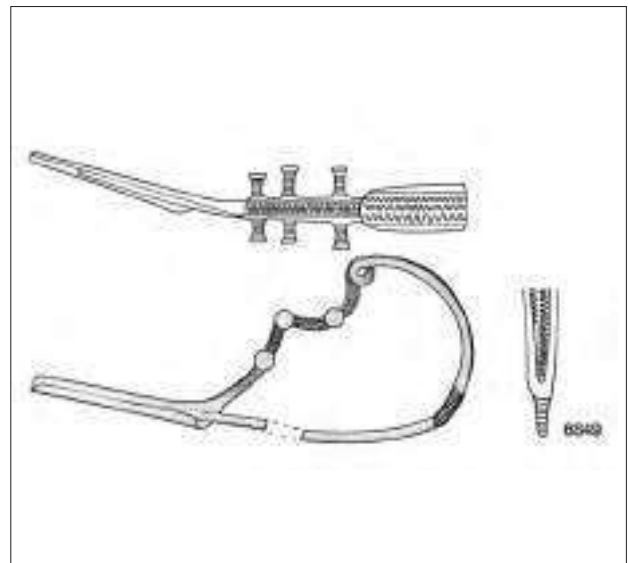


Fig. 43. T. 1011: fibula (from Lo SCHIAVO 2010, pl. 542)

The pottery also included a lekythos of the “Argive monochrome” type with a wheel decoration on the body, and an *impasto* spindle whorl. In Iron Age Villanovan and indigenous necropoleis of Campania, the latter object is usually a gender marker, alluding to the female occupation of spinning⁵². In the breast

⁵² The “AM” type lekythos was found under one of the base stones of the tumulus. The spindle whorl is not mentioned in the excavation journal, but was found to be attributed to this assemblage

area, alongside silver fibulae with serpentine arches (one of the “dragon-with-spring” type)⁵³, were at least 6 silver pendants with Lyre Player Group seals and scarabs, as well as a necklace of amber tubes.

during the reviewing and cataloguing of the materials. For the lekythos, cf. KOUROU 1988 e KOUROU 1994, 43 ff., particularly p. 45 for the impressed and incised motifs; cf. *Eretria XVII*, 52, T. 12.8, pl. 96.5. In the seriation proposed by V. Nizzo, “Argive Monochrome” ware is attested from the late LG I to LG II: Nizzo 2007, 37.

⁵³ LO SCHIAVO 2010, class XLV, type 380.

As regards its date, we should consider that T. 949 cuts into the eastern corner of child inhumation **T. 1011**, which stands out for the preservation of its wooden coffin (100 x 50 cm), above which were mud-bricks (the best preserved one measuring 55 x 32 x 12-13 cm), and whose burial assemblage consisted of a local oinochoe, a scarab, and a “dragon-with-spring” fibula with silver thread decoration (Figs. 41-43)⁵⁴.

THE GRAVE WITH THE SHACKLES, T. 950, AND THE CLUSTER OF CT 937 AND 938

On the east-central edge of the excavation, two cremation tumuli were brought to light (Figs. 4, 12, 30): CT 937, with a well-preserved tumulus and lacking grave goods, abutted CT 938, which belonged to a male adult (20-40 years) and also had a well-preserved tumulus and lacked grave goods. Immediately to the south, another cremation is indicated in the plans, CT 939, whose tumulus was almost completely destroyed⁵⁵.

The stratigraphic relations deducible from the excavation plans are rather significant. CT 937 overlies **T. 968** (Fig. 44), a female or male child who wore a silver *taenia* around her or his head⁵⁶. The tomb yielded a round-mouthed oinochoe decorated with lines on the body and a wavy line on the neck. This vase has a parallel in a Late Geometric type attested at Eretria, related in its turn to cutaway-neck oinochoai, which are Euboean-derived, but were also produced in the West, specifically at Naxos in Sicily⁵⁷. The Eretrian type dates from the last decades of the 8th century BC.

Underneath CT 938 (at a depth of -5.54 m) was one of the most interesting burials in the necropolis, **T. 950**, in a pit whose edges were no longer discernible (Figs. 45-46). This grave's date within LG I-II cannot be narrowed down any further. The only useful chronological clue, inferred from a comparison

of the excavation plans – is the partial encroaching of the feet of the deceased onto the edge of tumulus 926⁵⁸. In the latter burial, between the tumulus and the dark-earth lens, an “Argive Monochrome” lekythos with a trilobed mouth was found, its handle missing, having been broken off in antiquity.

Burial 950 belonged to an adult man, older than 40 years. He was laid in a supine position and wore iron shackles on his ankles (Fig. 47), a feature for which no parallel is known from Great Greek burials in the period under consideration. Shackles have been uncovered, instead, in sanctuaries from the archaic period onward, albeit rarely; in these contexts, they have been interpreted as offerings made in connection with manumission rites⁵⁹.

Since T. 950 yielded little additional evidence, so the overall picture is hard to decipher. Different interpretations of this burial have been proposed. A symbolic significance of the shackles cannot be ruled out. According to G. Buchner, the stones that stopped the lids of wooden coffins had «the purpose of preventing a calamitous return of the dead among the living».⁶⁰ The shackles may have had the same function: that of restraining an individual who was seen in a negative light, or anyway as a threat to the community. If so, however, one wonders why the choice of iron shackles, which both in literary tradition (e.g., *HOM., Od. I, 204: σιδήρεα δέσματα*) and in Etruscan vase painting of the archaic period connote captivity⁶¹.

A different interpretation is therefore preferable, one that also takes the context into account. The shackles could represent a particular condition of the deceased at the time of death, a condition implying the deprivation of liberty. If this is true, then we need to find a plausible explanation for the placing in the grave of two other objects, whereas burials ascribable to individuals in a condition of servitude or slavery always lack grave goods.

⁵⁴ It is Buchner who specifies, in the excavation journal, that T. 1011, although it was excavated earlier, was cut in its north-east corner by T. 949. About the fibula, cf. LO SCHIAVO 2010, class XLV, type 382, 763, no. 6849, pl. 542. The fibula type is attested in the “Tomb of the Warrior” in Tarquinia (730-720 a.C.); cf. BABBI 2018, 340 f., figs. 3a, 4a.

⁵⁵ The anthropological tests attribute the burial to an Und. individual of ca. 20-40 years.

⁵⁶ Cf. *infra*, 78.

⁵⁷ Cf. *Eretria XVII. II*, Hérôon T. 9, 8, 47, pl. 86.1; *Eretria XX*, 97, 127, type CR3, no. 246, pl. 54, 94. For specimens from Naxos, cf. LENTINI 1990; 2015, 243-244, nos. 9-10, fig. 5; COLDSTREAM 2004, 44-45.

⁵⁸ The attribution to tumulus 926 of the stone course covering the lower margin of T. 950 is noted in the excavation journal.

⁵⁹ On the shackles, which have parallels in sanctuaries in Campania (Pontecagnano, Heraion of the Sele) and Great Greece (Policoro, Crotone-Vigna nuova), cf. CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013, 42, note 83, with further literature. For a complete overview of similar contexts, cf. now GUZZO 2020 and 2021.

⁶⁰ BUCHNER 1982, 281; this scholar points out that the same custom is observed in the necropolis of Eretria: *ibidem*, 286. Similar views are expressed by NIZZO 2018, 60 and *infra*, 112.

⁶¹ A shackled captive appears, for example, on the crater of the Painter of Ophelandros, found at Caere: RONCALLI 2013, figs. 1-2.

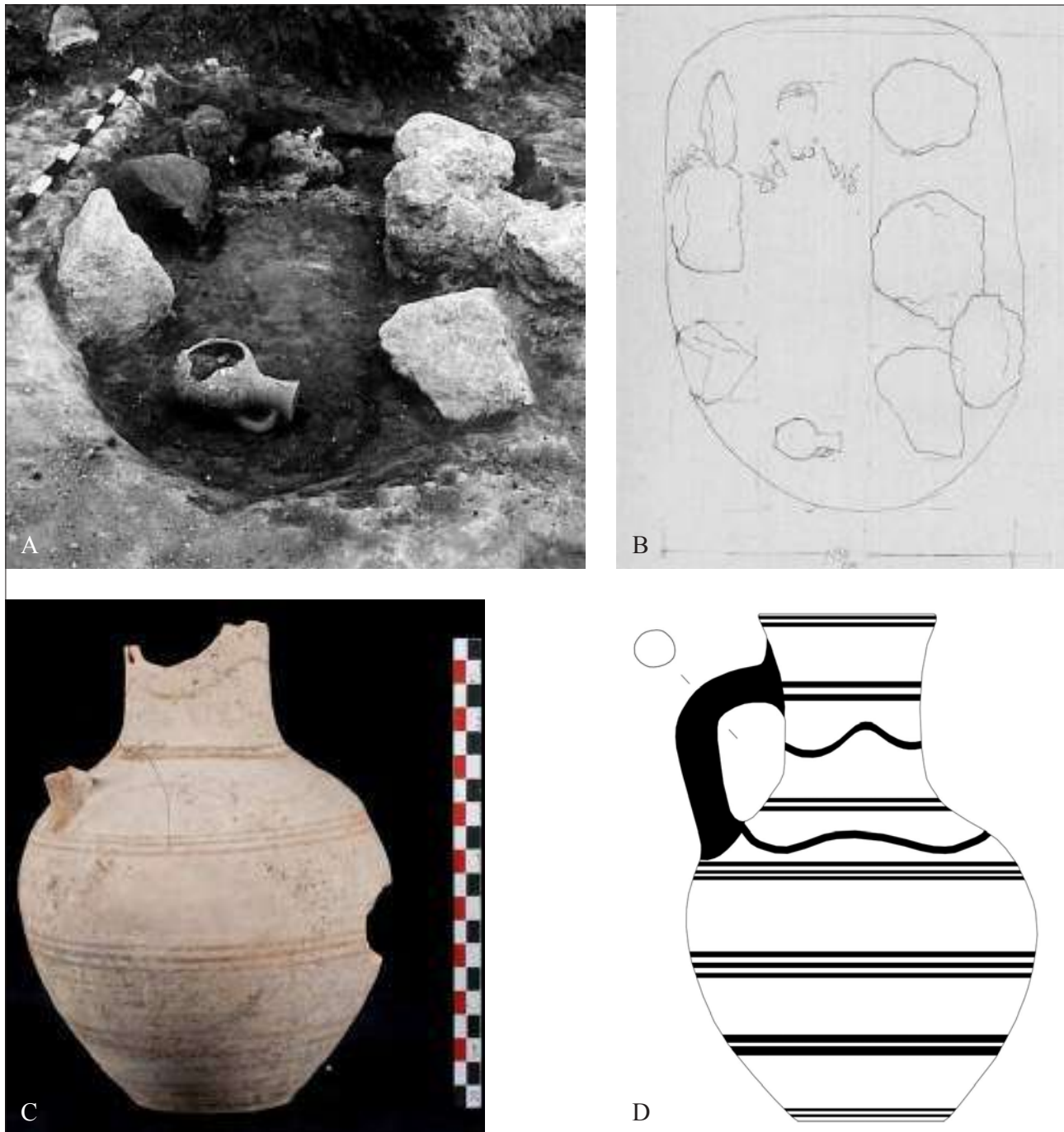


Fig. 44. T. 968: A) Excavation photo by G. Buchner) B). Plan by F. Gehrke; C-D) Oinochoe (photo and drawing)

T. 950 contained a dagger with a long tang adorned with elements made of organic material. It was emphatically laid on the breast of the deceased with the blade pointing downward and, next to it, a scarab (Figs. 48-49).

The dagger⁶², in connection with which G. Buchner refers to the “Caracupa” type in his excavation

journal, finds limited but significant parallels in two Etruscan contexts, “Tomb A” from Casale Marittimo (Pisa) and the “Throne Tomb” from Verucchio, both ascribable to high-ranking individuals⁶³.

⁶² Recent restoration revealed that the blade is single-edged. The overall length is ca 23 cm. The blade appears to be broken, but it is unclear whether this is due to post-depositional causes or not.

⁶³ On Casale Marittimo (necropolis of “Casa Nocera”) cf. A.M. Esposito in *Principi Etruschi*, 235-238, no. 267, fig. at p. 239 (first quarter of 7th century BC.); on Verucchio cf. VON ELES 2022, 142, no. 170, pl. 68 (Tomb 89/1972, so-called “Throne Tomb”, end of 8th-beginning of 7th century BC.).

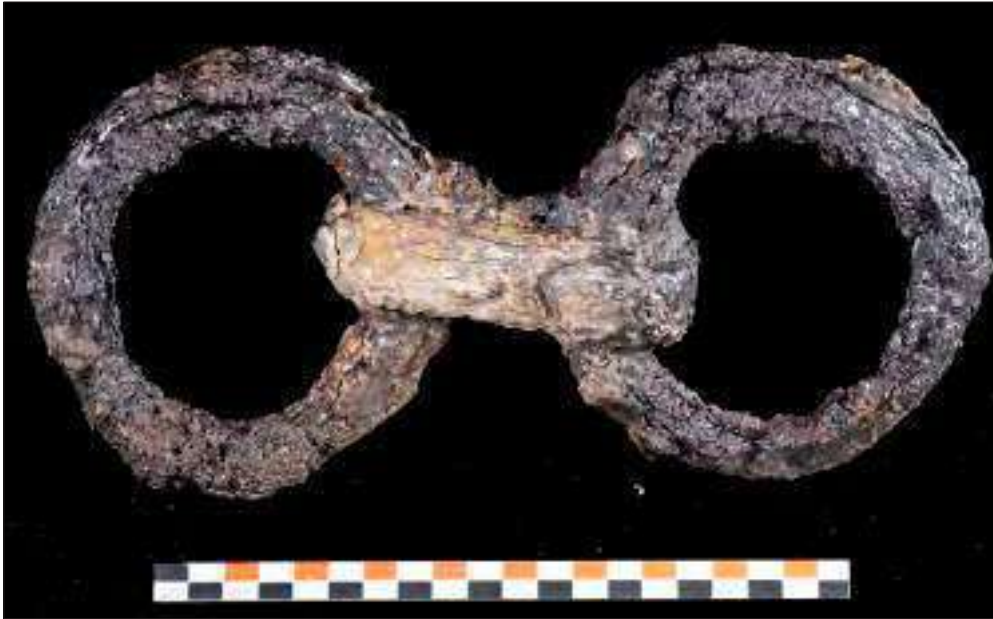


Fig. 47. T. 950: the iron shackles



Fig. 48. T. 950: the iron dagger



Fig. 49. San Montano, T. 950: steatite scarab

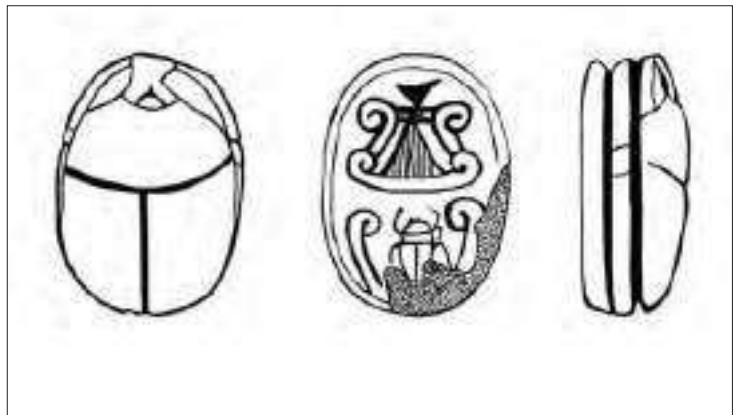


Fig. 50. Scarab from Tyre (from BOSCHLOOS 2014, pl. 3.1)

The deceased in T. 950, who died at a mature or possibly even advanced age, was inhumed. Based on what we know about funerary representation at Pithekoussai, inhumation, when used for an adult, connotes diversity of some sort. In most cases, inhumed adults were buried without grave goods, a

fact which, along with the peripheral location of their graves within the necropolis, has been regarded as denoting low social condition⁶⁶. Thus, in our case the presence of the dagger and the scarab

⁶⁶ BUCHNER 1982, 279; cf. *supra*, note 7.

seal constitutes an especially meaningful sign. We also cannot overlook the fact that the iron used for the shackles (weighing 1.92 kg) had an intrinsic value of its own⁶⁷.

Another possibility to consider is that inhumation for adults might be evidence of a form of “cultural resistance”, made explicit by clinging to the burial rite typical of the deceased’s original ethnic group and/or culture. Such an interpretation has been proposed for burials in a contracted or supine-with-knees-up position, as, for example, in nearby and coeval grave 575 (Fig. 45)⁶⁸.

Thus, an allogenous origin for the deceased of T. 950 cannot be ruled out. This hypothesis is supported by the presence of the dagger and by its particular typology.

Thus, much uncertainty still remains about this exceptional burial. Whatever the meaning of the shackles – symbolical in the first hypothesis, a sign of captivity in the second – something should not be overlooked, namely, that the deceased – like other inhumed adults – was granted formal burial in the necropolis, in an area simultaneously occupied by cremation tumuli. All these elements together, although they convey different messages, do not rule out the possibility that the deceased was a prisoner to whom, however dangerous he may have been, a certain respect was due because of the role he had in his lifetime⁶⁹.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, I would like to point out some themes that may be developed further in the integral publication of the cemetery. For example,

stratigraphic reconstruction of the burials, thanks to the availability of context data, may shed light on the issue of local Late Geometric production, on which remarkable progress has already come from recent research⁷⁰.

The stratigraphy of the necropolis

Let us first consider the stratigraphy and chronology of the earliest use phase of the necropolis, in the light of a comparison of the above-described burial clusters.

Buchner’s theory about how the space within family plots was occupied is still convincing today as an explanation for the main trends⁷¹. It is harder, however, when confronting the actual evidence, to establish synchronic relations between tumuli, fossa tombs and *enchytrismoi* whenever the distribution, position, orientation etc. of tombs do not provide clear clues.

If, for example, we consider the first sample we examined (Fig. 15), we can follow the overlapping of five cremations in the course of LG I (CT 944, 945, 946, 982, 995). They are subsequently joined by tumuli 931 (n.g.g.) and 917. Among the tumuli of LG I, the most recent is CT 944, which yielded two skyphoi of the Thapsos type with panel imported from Corinth, guide fossils which, as is known, occur in the first phases of the life of the colonies of Great Greece and Sicily⁷². The earliest cremations (CT 946, CT 982, and CT 995) lacked grave goods. Among the fossa graves found under the tumuli, T. 973 contained an Aetos 666 imported Corinthian kotyle⁷³. In the area between tumuli 946 and 947 and underneath them was T. 1008, one of the earliest in the cemetery, dating, as has been suggested, from around the mid-8th century BC⁷⁴.

In the adjacent burial ground (Fig. 31), at least four directly superimposed levels can be distinguished in the sequence of cremations (CT 948,

⁶⁷ It is worth remarking that no signs of violent death were observed on the skeletal remains, nor any trace of wear ascribable to prolonged use of the shackles; cf. *infra*, GIGANTE *et al.*, 94.

⁶⁸ The crouching position, while not used by the Iron Age and Orientalizing communities of Campania, occurs in Daunia and the Ionian strip of Basilicata and Calabria. The presence of Proto-Daunian geometric ware in the necropolis of San Montano – e.g., in *enchytrismos* 735 and on Monte Vico (*Pithekoussai I*, SP 11/1, p. 293 and pp. 718-719; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013, 36-37, fig. 6.1; BUCHNER 1969, 95) – has led to the hypothesis that the contracted individuals originated from the Adriatic and possibly Daunia itself, or from the central Ofantine area: cf. CERCHIAI 1997, 667; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2014, 278 ff.

⁶⁹ On this subject, cf. CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2014, 280.

⁷⁰ CUOZZO 2015; MERMATI 2015.

⁷¹ BUCHNER 1975, 69 ff., pl II.

⁷² In *Pithekoussai I*, an imported skyphos of the Thapsos type with panel occurs in tumulus cremation 161 (LG I), in association with a locally produced Aetos 666 kotyle. For the distribution of skyphoi, cf. NIZZO 2007, 155, type B390(AI-C) A1.

⁷³ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1983, 3: it is one of the few known imported Aetos 666 kotylai from the necropolis.

⁷⁴ Cf. *supra*, 58 ff.

CT 988, CT 989, CT 1002) and three burials lack grave goods (CT 981, CT 989, CT 1002). Cremation CT 947 overlay *enchytrismos* E1023 and four fossa graves datable to LG I, namely, TT. 1005, 1006, 1011 and the above-mentioned T. 1008.

Having thus reconstructed the sequence, it still seems difficult to synchronically connect cremation and inhumation burials, and thereby determine the topographical limits of the individual burial plots, which in many cases extended beyond the limits of the excavation. The impression is that there was a gradual expansion of the plots, resulting in broad superimposition areas that blur the limits of the original plots.

If, instead, we look at the graves from a diachronic perspective, it is not always possible to determine whether physical superimposition should be interpreted as a sign of continuity of use by the same kinship group or, on the contrary, of discontinuity. As Buchner ascertained in the case of the cluster of tumuli 944-945-946, layers of earth separated CT 945, CT 917 and CT 931 from earlier cremations whose tumulus appeared to be completely destroyed (for example, CT 982). This detail led Buchner to interpret this as an intentional action, a consequence of a new parceling out of burial plots⁷⁵. This scenario differs sharply from the partial dismantling of the tumulus as a result of clustering that Buchner observed in cases where, on the contrary, the visi-

bility of the earliest burial constituted an explicit sign of the cluster's identity.

Distinct successive levels of cremation burials, created by destroying earlier tumuli, were also found elsewhere in the cemetery. They provide useful clues to relative chronology as well as, possibly, a key to the interpretation of variations in burial customs over time.

Reconstructing relations between burials reveals sequences that are very compressed in time within LG I (750-725 BC), the earliest use phase of the cemetery. It is still moot whether this time range actually coincided with the earliest phase in the life of the Euboean settlement. Some scholars, including Ridgway, have deduced from the earliest Greek-type materials found on Ischia (at Monte Vico as in the necropolis) that Pithekoussai was founded in the second quarter of the 8th century BC, although no graves this early have come to light so far⁷⁶. Although we cannot rule out the possibility that this absence merely reflects the fact that only part of the necropolis was investigated, the question arises whether the failure to identify such earlier graves depends, instead, on funerary visibility and ritual practices.

The incidence of cremations lacking grave goods are especially interesting in this regard. In the burial ground under discussion – one of the most ancient sectors in the San Montano necropolis, according to Buchner – lack of grave goods mainly characterizes many of the earliest cremations, whose tumuli were destroyed and obliterated by subsequent burials.

Burial assemblages in tumulus cremations

Several scholars have remarked the absence of “princely” graves at Pithekoussai – differently than at Cumae. In Tyrrhenian and Campanian communities, such graves bear witness to the adoption of ideological models borrowed from the Greek and Near Eastern world, adapted to celebrate the power

⁷⁵ BUCHNER - RIDGWAY 1983, 3: «Sotto il tumulo 945 si è trovata una seconda lente di terra nera priva di corredo (982) parzialmente sottoposta a quella di 945 e con la superficie divisa dalla base di quest'ultima da uno strato di m 0.10 di terra bruna, senza che vi fosse più alcuna traccia delle pietre del tumulo che in origine doveva ricoprirla. Altre due lenti di terra nera del tutto prive di pietre e senza corredo sono state trovate sotto i tumuli 931 e 917, e diverse si sono riscontrate nelle aree circostanti. Si tratta evidentemente di un altro caso in cui i tumuli delle tombe a cremazione di un appezzamento cimiteriale sono stati oblitterati e lo stesso appezzamento riassegnato a un'altra famiglia».

«Under tumulus 945, a second lens of black earth lacking grave goods (982) was found, partly underlying that of 945 and with its surface separated from the base of the latter by a 0.10 m thick layer of brown earth. No trace remained of the stones of the tumulus that must have originally covered it. Other two lenses of black earth, totally lacking stones and without grave goods, were found under tumuli 931 and 917, and several others were observed in the surrounding areas. This is evidently another case where the tumuli of the cremation tomb of a cemetery plot were obliterated and the said plot was reassigned to another family».

⁷⁶ These early materials consist of skyphoi with distinct lips or protokotylai with an Aetos-666-type syntax from the necropolis and Monte Vico, sporadic: RIDGWAY 1981; 1999, 99 ff., and COLDSTREAM 1995, 260 ff. On the chronologies of the earliest evidence from Pithekoussai, cf. DeVRIES 2003, 146 ff., who however proposes a low chronology for the foundation of Pithekoussai.

of social elites who now entertained far-ranging intercultural relations⁷⁷. Whether their absence at Pithekoussai – which future excavations may belie – is due to fortuitous circumstances or to the specific nature and function of the settlement⁷⁸, it seems worth dwelling on the variability of grave types and burial assemblages.

Cremations, which account for ca. 20% of the total of the examined sample, are usually reserved for adults of either sex aged more than 20 years⁷⁹. On the basis of grave goods, at least six groups can be distinguished (Table 1):

Ceramic grave goods	Cremations	Inhumations
No ceramic grave goods	X	X
Oinochoe	X	X
Oinochoe/kotyle-skyphos	X	X
Oinochoe/kotyle-skyphos + other vase type	X	X
Other vase types	X	X
<i>Impasto</i> vases	X	X

Table 1. Composition of the ceramic grave goods

The number of cremations lacking grave goods seems significant: 31.3 % of cremations alone (6.1% of total burials)⁸⁰. This figure is decidedly different than for the necropolis excavated between 1952 and 1961: here Ridgway reports cremations with no grave goods to be 16.1% of cremations (2.8% of total burials)⁸¹. On the basis of a reexamination of the necropolis and a recounting of grave goods, V. Nizzo estimates cremations lacking grave goods – distributed between LG I and II – to be ca. 9% of total cremations⁸².

This divergence is significant. The fact that the tumuli of most cremations lacking grave

goods were destroyed – presumably to make space for new graves – lends credibility to the hypothesis that a lack of grave goods was a peculiar trait of the earlier burial ritual⁸³. If this is true, there may be important implications for the chronology of the first use level of the necropolis in relation to the initial phase of the Euboean settlement.

Returning to burial assemblages, in general they seem rather sober. The incineration burials containing only a single oinochoe – burnt or not – are a little less than a third of the total. Only a small percentage associated the oinochoe with a kotyle or skyphos (ca. 5.8-6 %). Only very few burials contained a single kotyle or skyphos, or yet another type of vase. Among these is CT 984, of a man aged ca. 20-40 years⁸⁴, which yielded a barrel jar with a depiction of the Moirai.

Cremations whose main grave goods are imported *impasto* vases are isolated and atypical. They include CT 826 and CT 863, in both of which a small amphora is the only complete vase in the assemblage, a fact probably indicative of allogeous origin⁸⁵. As I have remarked above, these two burials, along with the inhumations of adults, bear witness to diversified dynamics of social inclusion resulting from voluntary or forced mobility. At one extreme are inhumations of individuals in a contracted or supine position lacking grave goods, commonly interpreted as reflecting low, servile social status, at the other the deceased of graves 826 and 863, where the use of the cremation rite indicates full integration into the Pithekoussan community, possibly through matrimonial exchanges between social elites.

Burial assemblage composition – the inhumations

Inhumations also display great funerary variability (tab. 1) and burials of infants and children (enchytrismos and fossa tombs) amount to ca. 2/3 of the sample.

Among the graves of young or mature adults (ca. 27-30% of the sample),⁸⁶ most inhumations lack

⁷⁷ Cf. most recently BABBI 2018, with previous literature.

⁷⁸ BUCHNER 1975; the contributions by B. d'Agostino, E. Greco and S. De Caro, in *Apoikia*; MELE 2003, 19 ff.

⁷⁹ As I mentioned above, CT 916 is an exception: cf. *supra*, note 6.

⁸⁰ The cremations for which Buchner specifically mentions the absence of grave goods in the excavation journal are 16 out of a total of 51. To these we could add some other cremations, such as, for example, CT 817, 923 and 928, which have only yielded sporadic sherds and fragments of ornaments.

⁸¹ RIDGWAY 1984, 87-88, tab. on p. 88: LG I-II include a total of 493 burials (87 cremations, 275 inhumations, 131 Enchytrismoi); 14 out of 87 cremations lack grave goods, or 16.1%.

⁸² NIZZO 2007, 31: cremations lacking grave goods are 10 out of 117.

⁸³ As suggested by RIDGWAY 1984, 90.

⁸⁴ GIGANTE – BONDIOLI – SPERDUTI 2012-2013, 62, table 2.

⁸⁵ Cf. *supra*, 54.

⁸⁶ Not all the burials have yielded diagnostic skeletal remains. In these cases, the attribution to age groups is based on consider-

grave goods⁸⁷. In these, the sex of many of the deceased could not be determined, with the exception of four male burials (TT. 849, 950, 975, 993) and two female ones (TT. 841 and 1015)⁸⁸. This group includes the grave with the iron shackles (T. 950) and those with bodies buried in contracted or supine-with-knees-up position (e.g., TT. 842, 895, 975).

A case unto itself is that of a group of burials of young or mature adults which, unlike the above, contained ceramic grave goods. These are concentrated in the southwestern sector of the burial ground, in an area occupied exclusively by fossa graves apparently belonging to the same cluster. Some yielded ornaments and may hence have been of females, namely: T. 755, which also contained an *impasto* double-handled bowl (Fig. 7)⁸⁹; T. 775, whose only vase is an Aetos 666 kotyle (Fig. 51); and T. 779, which contained a Late Geometric oinochoe and a skyphos of the Thapsos type with panel (Fig. 52), as well as bronze fibulae. Not far from these were two graves which Buchner tentatively ascribed to women who had possibly died in childbirth, because they contained *enchytrismoi*: a chytra with a mouth stopped by a stone in T. 763 and an amphora containing an inhumed fetus of perinatal age in T. 805⁹⁰. This group includes T. 776, where the oinochoe was associated with a kantharos with a complex decoration on the shoulder, a single-handled cup and a dragon-type bronze fibula (TG II)⁹¹.

Enchytrismos burials usually lack grave goods with a few exceptions, such as E 743, which yielded a seal and bronze ornaments. The custom

of burying newborns and infants in ceramic vessels, perhaps as a metaphorical reference to the mother's womb, is well attested in Greece and in Euboea, as well as in Magna Graecia and Sicily. In San Montano, mostly local or imported transport amphorae or rough *impasto* vessels (pithoi, chytrai, biconical vases, jugs) are used for this purpose.

An exceptional case is that of E 1000 (Figs. 53-54), located within a funerary plot which also yielded the famous "vase of the Moirai"⁹². The vase is an amphora with a wide concave neck, a rather rare shape in the LG Pithekoussan repertoire. Its use as a funerary container seems to be a direct reference to what has been documented in the motherland, in Eretria, where in the same period similarly-shaped and decorated containers occur in graves⁹³. The mouth of amphora 1000 was closed by an oinochoe base and the vessel was lacking its foot, which had been «broken in ancient times»: a circumstance that might suggest an intentional ritual act of defunctionalization before burial.

Among the fossa tombs of infants or children aged between 1 and 5 years, some lack pottery grave goods, others stand out for the complexity of their burial assemblages and for the ostentation of silver or bronze ornaments (diadems, fibulae, bracelets, beads, and pendants).

Precious metal diadems, found as signs of rank in Infant/Child tombs at Athens and Euboea, and in other regions of the Greek and western world⁹⁴, are already recorded in the necropolis explored between 1952 and 1961, and occur in two burials from the 1965-1967 excavations⁹⁵.

ations made at the time of excavation and on dimensional information deducible from the drawings.

⁸⁷ Between 26 and 30 burials can be ascribed to the "adults lacking grave goods" category.

⁸⁸ Among the tombs without pottery grave goods, some (UND) contained only ornaments ("ad arco rivestito" fibulae, boat fibulae, etc.; hair rings, rings, bracelets) and presumably belonged to women: TT. 813, 884, 905.

⁸⁹ For the anthropological data relative to T. 755 (15-20 years) cf. GIGANTE – BONDIOLI – SPERDUTI 2012-2013, 66, table 6; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013, 37, fig. 6.3.

⁹⁰ For T. 763, cf. CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2014, 272, fig. 13. In the excavation journal, Buchner says that fossa tomb 805 (2.10 x 1.10 m) and the amphora used as an *enchytrismos* belong to the same context and attributes the burial to a "woman with a newborn". The burial was particularly rich in bronzes and ornaments, besides containing an oinochoe and an aryballos.

⁹¹ LO SCHIAVO 2010, 765 ff., class XLVI, type 384 A.

⁹² CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2021, 750 ff. Cf. above, note 26.

⁹³ BLANDIN 2007a, b, 2010 with references to other areas of the Greek world; BLANDIN 2007b, I, 59-60, with reference, for example, to similar use in the necropolis of Mende on the Chalcidic Peninsula; BLANDIN 2007b, II, 62-64, pls. 121-123. On body shape cf. MERMATI 2012, 95-95, type K2: the amphora with a high flared neck and bell-shaped foot (documented by the only specimen from E 1000) is associated with fragments only hypothetically attributable to the type.

⁹⁴ Cf. CRIELAARD 2007, 172-173; BLANDIN 2007b, 97-98. Specimens are also known at Cuma: cf. GABRICI 1913, coll. 270-272, T. LXVII; *ibidem*, coll. 252-253, T. XLVIII, fig. 92.

⁹⁵ *Pithekoussai I*, 627 ff., T. 651.23, tav. CLXXXII, 180; 643 ff., T. 656.19, tav. 186. On the topic cf. GUZZO 2004, 77; NIZZO 2011, 69 ff.; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2021, 757 ff.



Fig. 51. San Montano, T. 775: kotyle "Aetos 666"



Fig. 52. San Montano, T. 779: Skyphos of the Thapsos type with panel



Fig. 53. San Montano, CT 1000 (photo by G. Buchner)



Fig. 54. CT 1000: detail of figured decoration of late-geometric amphora

One specimen comes from T. 968 (Und., 5-10 years, TGII): the young deceased (possibly a female child) wore on her forehead a silver *taenia*, graced with hollow silver spheres with a gilt silver ring in the middle (Fig. 44)⁹⁶. A second silver *taenia*, found pulverized on the head of the young deceased, is documented in T. 1019 (TGII), in which the remains of the wooden coffin were preserved.

Another significant feature among the fossa tombs of infants or children is the recurrence of

hard stone seals (in serpentine or steatite) or scarabs in steatite or faience, often set in silver pendants. They are believed to be apotropaic in function, a means of preventing dangers related to childhood. The seals attested in at least 28 graves – in numbers ranging from 1 to 6-7 – belong to the Lyre Player Group⁹⁷.

As to the pottery, in infants or child burials one observes in some cases a reduction in size of vessels and the occurring of specific shapes, such as the feeding bottle: a single-handled painted fine

⁹⁶ In T. 968 the ornaments also included two earrings, a silver three-spiral ring and, around the neck, silver pendants and hollow globes originally forming a necklace. On the shoulders were "ad arco rivestito" bronze fibulae and a silver leech fibula; as the only vessel, there was a round-mouthed oinochoe.

⁹⁷ In BOARDMAN – BUCHNER 1966, some seals found in the 1965-1967 excavations are published: T. 746, no. 1, 3 (figs. I.1, 2); E 743, no. 19, 13-15; T. 757, no. 32, 18-20. Cf. RIDGWAY 2000.

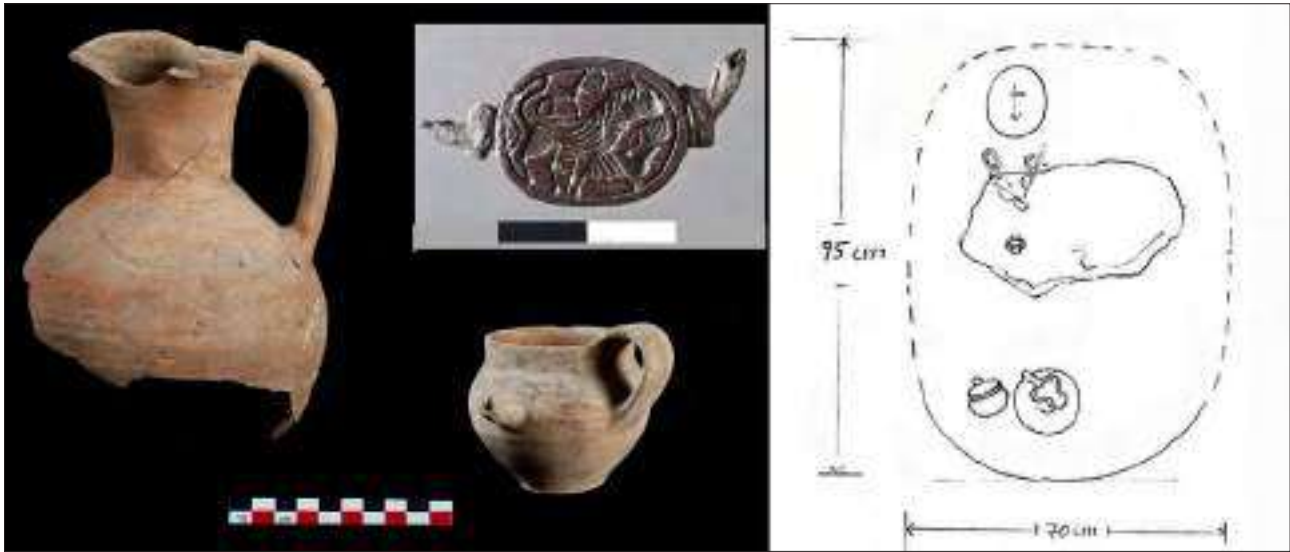


Fig. 55. San Montano, T. 943: plan of tomb and grave goods

ware cup in T. 943 (Fig. 55), an *impasto* mug (“boccale”) in T. 834 (Fig. 10).

The pottery in child burials shows the same variability as in adult inhumations, with a prevalence of burials only containing an oinochoe. However, some child burials are among the most elaborate and interesting contexts in the necropolis.

As we have seen, the discriminatory use of cremation vs. burial identifies in the criterion of age class a structuring element of funerary representation - hence of social architecture - revealing a behavioral model that takes on the character of a shared norm. Within this framework, the tombs of infants/children and adolescents appear to be the recipients of special rites. The diversity of grave goods in their burials reflects the internal articulation of the Pithekoussan community. The young deceased thus reveal themselves to be active subjects in the construction of the social imaginary⁹⁸. Tombs 949, mentioned above, and 951 are cases in point (Figs. 27-29). As regards the latter, attributed to a male or female child aged 5-6 years, what distinguishes it are two bronze spearheads, intentionally cut and stripped of their base, and thereby defunctionalized⁹⁹. No parallels from coeval burials are known. Interestingly, very similar objects occur in very different contexts. For example, in a

hoard discovered in the Crotone area, which contained a group of objects possibly stored for later melting and reuse of their metal¹⁰⁰. Similar spear portions were found in hoards brought to light in west-central Sicily, including some datable within the 8th century BC¹⁰¹. An example of parts of bronze weapons probably used as offerings comes from the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria, where an intentionally broken part of a spear or sword was found near building 2. Interestingly, around this building metalworking shops active during the Geometric period came to light, where bronze, iron and gold were worked¹⁰².

In the light of the fact that weapons never occur in the cemeteries of Pithekoussai, the meaning of the spearheads – which are usually connected to war and connote the warrior function – should be sought elsewhere. The value of the two cusps certainly resides in the intrinsic value of their metal, exhibited as a sign of high social status. Under this regard, Tomb 951 is unparalleled at San Montano, where grave goods such as ornaments of precious metal (gold, silver, or electrum)¹⁰³ are limited to a

⁹⁸ CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2021.

⁹⁹ CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013, 40-41. One of the spearheads also has an intentionally broken tip.

¹⁰⁰ MARINO – PIZZITUTTI 2008, 326 ff., nos. 19-22, fig. 4. The hoard contained artifacts datable from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age.

¹⁰¹ ALBANESE PROCELLI 2003, 12 ff., pls. I-II with previous literature; the Polizzello hoard, for example, is dated within the 8th century BC.

¹⁰² Eretria XXII, II, 24, 215, pl. 103, no. 407 (phase II-III – GR I-II). For metalworking, *ibidem*, 145 ff.

¹⁰³ GUZZO 2004.

few adult female or child burials. Vice versa, the ostentation of metallic objects – vases or ornaments – is remindful of forms of funerary self-representation typical of Etruscan, Campanian-Etruscan and Italic gentilicial elites in the Orientalizing period¹⁰⁴. In this perspective, it is not surprising to find in grave 951 some bronze ornaments – armlets, clasp hooks, biconical pendants – and tools (tweezers). Since these artifacts have parallels in Etruscan and Italic milieus, they contribute to suggesting an allogeous origin for the child, or the group he or she belonged to.

The picture emerging from this preliminary overview of the unpublished necropolis of San Montano essentially confirms the composite character of its material culture and the coexistence of diversified forms of funerary representation as a result of dynamics typical for a highly entangled society. The decidedly inclusive character of Pithekoussai, providing a space for Greeks, Italics and Orientals, at different degrees of the social scale, reflects an open community, one whose importance in the history of the Mediterranean was rooted precisely in the fecundity of its intercultural relations.

¹⁰⁴ On this, I refer the reader to the debate on the meaning of the placing of bundles of spits in tombs, as in princely tombs 926 and 928 at Pontecagnano. Some scholars see these spits as “pre-monetal signs”: D’AGOSTINO 1977, 20.

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EUBOEAN, EASTERN AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLE: A BIOARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF ANCIENT PITHEKOUSAI (8TH-7TH CENTURY BC, ISCHIA ISLAND, CAMPANIA)*

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INTRODUCTION

The most recent contributions of funerary archaeology are based on the interdisciplinary approach, which integrates historical-archaeological evidence with environmental and biological records¹.

Archaeozoology, archaeobotany, and the analysis of human skeletal remains provide a deeper understanding of funerary rituals and facilitate the reconstruction of the biocultural processes and adaptations of past communities².

Where human remains are concerned, skeletons provide information on palaeodemography, palaeopathology, palaeonutrition, mobility, and ancestry both at the individual and population levels³.

* This study, part of more comprehensive research for the reconstruction of Pithekoussai's funerary landscape (GIGANTE *et al.* 2021) mobility and society, was encouraged by synergistic and collaborative work between the "Servizio di Bioarcheologia" of "Museo delle Civiltà" (formerly, "Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico L. Pigorini" at Rome) and the "Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l'Area Metropolitana di Napoli", which granted access to Pithekoussai's skeletal collection. We would like to thank Dr Filippo Maria Gambari, Prof. Matteo D'Acunto, and Prof. Alessia Nava, Dr Carmen Esposito for their help, support, and fruitful discussions around a pile of poorly preserved but still exciting skeletal remains. A special thanks to Prof. Teresa Elena Cinquantaquattro and Prof. Bruno d'Agostino for providing essential information about Pithekoussai's tombs, and for their valuable suggestions on the intricate and still puzzling Pithekoussai's evidence. Abbreviations in use: PTH I (Buchner's excavations, 1952-1961: BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993); PTH II (Buchner's excavations, 1965-1982, unpublished). We would also like to thank Dr Rachele Salerno for her English language review of the manuscript.

¹ PEARSON 1999.

² LARSEN 1997; KATZENBERG – SAUNDERS 2000; WRIGHT – YODER 2003; BUIKSTRA – BECK 2010.

³ SPERDUTI *et al.* 2018.

The analysis of single individuals allows for the assessment of "osteobiographies"⁴, i.e., the life history of the deceased, through the joint and integrated analysis of different moments and aspects of their lives. On the one hand, this operation allows for a better understanding of the complex relationships between the multiple factors and events (e.g., growth, health and stress, reproduction, mobility, senescence) experienced in the course of life; on the other hand, defining individuals' osteobiographies aims to establish identity and social role, as also emerging from the funerary rituals. While it is true that social relationships can affect the biology of individuals, the opposite is equally true. Sex, age, origin, and the health conditions of individuals are not just biological definitions. They are also parameters that can determine status within a community and influence multiple relationships with other social actors⁵.

Nevertheless, reconstructing past social structures, hierarchies, traditions, social identities, or sex/gender relations based on funerary evidence is challenging since tombs only partially reflect the original socio-demographic composition of a given community. More often, skeletal samples from archaeological contexts are the outcome of cultural, biological, and environmental filters that are not always quantifiable⁶.

This paper discusses the results of the gross morphological and osteometric assessment con-

⁴ HOSEK – ROBB 2019.

⁵ BAKER – BOLHOFNER 2014; FAY 2006; MARSTELLER – TORRES-ROUFF – KNUDSON 2011; ROBERTS 2016; KIEFFER 2017.

⁶ PEARSON 1999; D'AGOSTINO 2011; SPERDUTI *et al.* 2018.

ducted so far on human and faunal remains of burials dated from the mid-8th to the 7th century BC at Pithekoussai's necropolis.

By integrating human osteological data with taphonomic observations and the study of faunal remains in the tombs, this paper provides an unprecedented characterisation of the funeral practices of Pithekoussai's community.

MATERIAL

The archaeological setting

The necropolis of Pithekoussai is located in San Montano Valley, adjoining the modern village of Lacco Ameno, in the northwestern corner of Ischia Island, in the Gulf of Naples.

According to historiographical sources, around 775-750 BC, Euboeans from the cities of Chalkida and Eretria, founded Pithekoussai, the oldest Greek settlement in the western Mediterranean⁷.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the local scholar Francesco De Siano first identified Pithekoussai's necropolis⁸. However, modern archaeological excavations did not start until 1952. The first research campaign, led by Giorgio Buchner, took place between 1952 and 1961. Two adjoining areas (A and B), measuring roughly one thousand square meters, were investigated and more than 700 graves were uncovered. Secondary cremations, primary inhumations, and *enchytrismo*i were recovered side by side.

Buchner's excavations continued from 1965 until 1982, thanks to the support of the "Soprintendenza delle Antichità di Napoli". However, archaeological investigations at the site are still incomplete.

In 1993, graves from one to 723 were published as *Pithekoussai I* (hereinafter PTH I). Figure 1 shows a graphic re-elaboration (see Methods) of the graves' spatial distribution according to the three stratigraphic levels recognized in the PTH I area.

In 2012, the "Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l'Area Metropolitana di Na-

poli" created a research group to analyse the unpublished information about the group of tombs investigated between 1965 and 1982 (hereinafter PTH II). This latter group included a batch of about five-hundred tombs, dated from the mid-8th century BC up until the Roman period.

Pithekoussai's graves unveiled remarkable variations in material culture assemblages and funerary customs. On the one hand, Geometric Euboean pottery was largely documented at Pithekoussai, as we would expect in the Euboean settlement. On the other hand, evidence of proto-Corinthian, Levantine, Rhodian and Phoenician artefacts, eastern exotica or *orientalia*, as well as vessels and products from the indigenous world have provided a more intricate picture of Pithekoussai's society⁹.

Furthermore, not only is the necropolis characterised by the co-existence of inhumations and cremations but also by the intentional overlapping of the tombs through time. The second phenomenon, defined as "agglutination" by Buchner¹⁰, generally involves cremation cairns. Concerning the osteological material, the agglutination may have resulted in a significant admixture of the skeletons because of their fragmented state. The use of shared *ustrina*, which appears to have been customary at Pithekoussai, may have also caused the skeletons to become accidentally mixed. Moreover, the absence of the ritual of non-perishable urns for collecting the cremated remains may have induced some degree of stratigraphic contamination, which often occurred in the aforementioned agglutination.

Finally, according to written and iconographic sources, ritual gestures in both cremations and inhumations included the deposition of faunal remains as offerings¹¹.

Pithekoussai's skeletal and dental collection

The morphological assessment was performed on Pithekoussai's cremations and inhumations, which chronologically range from the mid-8th to the 7th century BC. Table 1 reports the suggested

⁹ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993; D'AGOSTINO 2011.

¹⁰ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993.

¹¹ II. IX 465–469; HDT, 2.38, 2.39, 2.40, 2.41, 2.42; O' DAY – VAN NEER – ERVYNCK 2004.

⁷ STR., V, 9; LIV. *Auc.*, VIII.

⁸ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993.

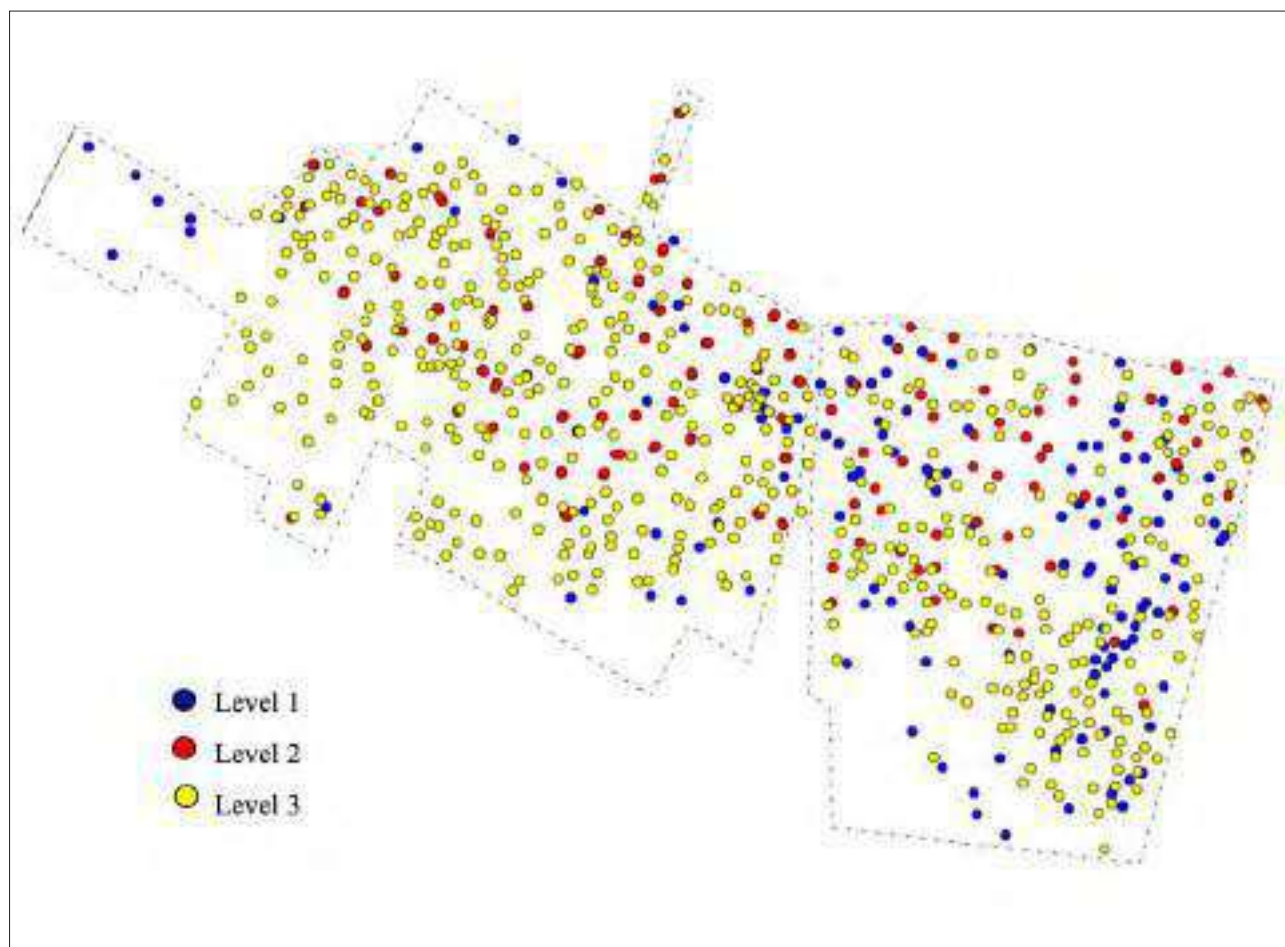


Fig. 1. Spatial distribution of the PTH I tombs by the three stratigraphic levels identified in BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993: *blue dots* = level 1; *red dots* = level 2; *yellow dots* = level 3

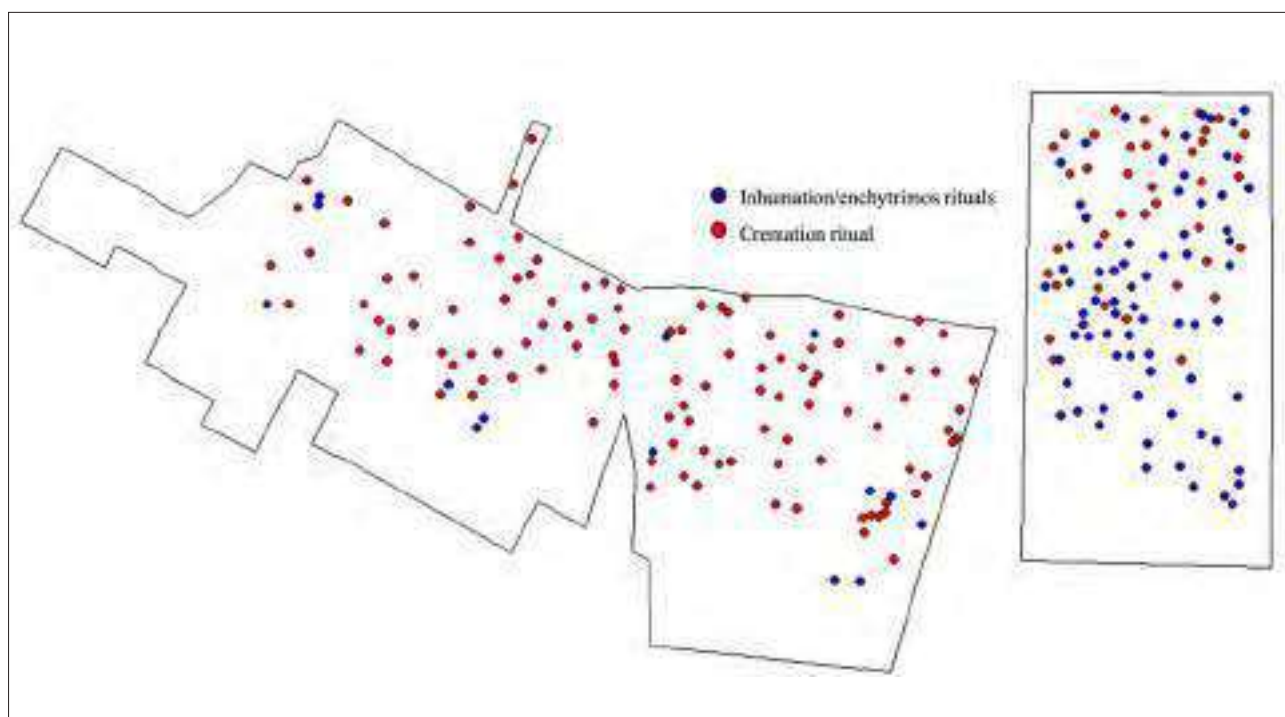


Fig. 2. Spatial distribution of the tombs made available for this research from the PTH I and PTH II: *blue dots* = inhumations and *enchytrismoi*; *red dots* = cremations

date ranges and abbreviations used in this study following Buchner and Ridgway¹².

PERIOD	ABBREVIATIONS	DATES
Late Geometric I	LG I	ca. 750-725 BCE
Late Geometric II	LG II	ca. 725-675 BCE
Middle Proto-Corinthian	MPC	ca. 675-650 BCE

Table 1. Chronology for the early periods of Pithekoussai's necropolis (mid-8th to 7th century BC, BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993)

Topographically, the funerary record here analysed pertains to PTH I (Buchner's excavations, 1952-1961¹³) and PTH II (Buchner's excavations, 1965-1982) (Fig. 2).

In 2015, the "Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l'Area Metropolitana di Napoli" authorised the relocation of Pithekoussai's skeletal collection from the "Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Villa Arbusto" in Lacco Ameno (Ischia Island, Naples) to the "Servizio di Bioarcheologia" of the "Museo delle Civiltà" (Rome). A study aiming to determine the palaeodemographic profiles coupled with the diachronic information on the residential mobility patterns within Pithekoussai's society, through ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr isotope ratio analysis of tooth and bone mineralised tissues is under development¹⁴.

This study analyses 256 tombs: 104 tombs from PTH I (88 cremations, 15 inhumations, 1 *enchytrismos*) and 152 tombs from PTH II (55 cremations, 84 inhumations, 13 *enchytrismo*).

Overall, this study includes 143 cremations, 99 inhumations, and 14 *enchytrismo*.

Massive diagenetic alterations affect the preservation of human remains from inhumations. Secondary volcanic phenomena characterise the geological history of Ischia Island¹⁵. Across Lacco Ameno Bay, where the necropolis is located, fumarolic activities and hot spring waters are attested even today. The warm-to-hot volcanic sediments and the elevated geothermal gradient have created a burial environment unfavourable for skeletal preservation at both macroscopic and biomolecular levels, whereas Ischia's soil is better suited to cremated bone preservation.

Previous studies

In the 1970s and 1990s, R. Munz and M.J. Becker led preliminary osteological investigations on several burials from PTH I¹⁶.

Munz examined 123 inhumations, most of which yielded only fragments of skull, maxilla, and mandibula. The poor state of osteological preservation and the absence of morphological traits of sexual dimorphisms limited sex diagnoses for the individuals. Conversely, age-at-death estimations were performed «(...) according to the teeth growth rates found in an anatomy manual»¹⁷.

Between 1991 and 1992, Becker conducted more extensive research. He analysed skeletal and dental remains from 17 inhumations and 112 cremations, dated from 750 to 675 BC. Two inhumations from the Hellenistic-Roman period were also included in the morphological assessment.

Becker focused not only on the individuals' basic bioanthropological analyses but also on attempting to ascertain the "ethnocultural identities" of the deceased, by combining material culture assemblages with a sort of biodistance analysis, based on non-metric traits of teeth. The sexing of the inhumed individuals was achieved by observing the dimorphic traits of post-cranium elements (e.g., long bone shaft diameters), while age-at-death was estimated through the evaluation of permanent and deciduous teeth development. Concerning cremations, the evaluation of the pyre temperature was performed by identifying the macroscopic alterations in the colour and shapes of the bones after burning.

The present research allowed for the re-individualisation of the skeletons from PTH I which were analysed by Munz and Becker. Gross morphology and osteometric analyses were also extended to the unpublished skeletal series from PTH I and PTH II. Although faunal remains were never discussed in the previous study but will be considered in this study since they represent an integral part of funerary customs.

METHODS

The analysis focused on investigating both taphonomic and biological parameters to (1) identify

¹² BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993.

¹³ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993.

¹⁴ GIGANTE – BONDIOLI – SPERDUTI 2012-2013.

¹⁵ DE VITA *et al.* 2006; D'ANTONIO *et al.* 2013.

¹⁶ MUNZ 1970; BECKER 1995, 1999.

¹⁷ MUNZ 1970.

commingled faunal and human remains; (2) assess the biological composition of the skeletal assemblage for each grave unit; (3) estimate the Index of the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) for each tomb/deposition; and (4) determine the demographic profile of the skeletal population.

The MNI index has been performed estimating: a. the presence of multiple representations of the ipsilateral bone/tooth; b. presence of morphological distinct skeletal and dental elements, i.e., different ages at death in a single burial context¹⁸. Double cremations *sensu stricto*, namely intentional double cremations, have been confirmed through the quantitative relationships in mass and representativeness of the individuals¹⁹.

Different methodologies for the estimate of sex, age-at-death, and other biological parameters have been adopted on the cremated and inhumated individuals.

All statistical analyses, graphic outputs, and graves' spatial distribution rendering were made with the statistical package R (ver. 4.0.2)²⁰.

Inhumations

Inhumed remains were scored into four categories of representativeness/completeness: (1) scarce representation (<25% of the skeleton); (2) low representation (25-50% of the skeleton); (3) good representation (50%-75% of the skeleton); and (4) high representation (>75% of the skeleton).

Age-at-death of non-adult inhumed individuals has been estimated by the dental formation and the eruption of deciduous and permanent dentition²¹; long bone lengths²²; the epiphyseal fusion of skeletal elements²³. The indicators applied for the adult individuals were pattern and grade of tooth-wear²⁴; degenerative changes of the pubic symphysis²⁵; degenerative changes of the auricular surface of the ilium²⁶; degenerative changes of the sternal end

of the IV rib²⁷. Age-at-death determinations are divided into eight age classes: 0-1 year; 1-5 years; 5-10 years; 10-15 years; 15-20 years; 20-40 years; >40 years; "generic adult" (>20 years).

Sex diagnosis for inhumed remains was performed by examining the sexually dimorphic morphological traits of the pelvis, cranium, and mandible²⁸.

Cremations

Fire and high temperatures destroy and modify the size, colour, mass, and shape of skeletal tissues²⁹ thus reducing the effectiveness of the standard morphological and osteometric techniques routinely adopted in the study of unburnt skeletons³⁰. However, in the last few years, a wide range of more specific techniques for investigating cremation practices have been developed³¹.

The analysis of the cremated remains focused on: (1) macroscopic observations of bones modifications (warping, shrinkage, colour and size changes) and fragmentation patterns to estimate any differential effects of fire on various skeletal parts for each individual, as well as intra-individuals³²; (2) weight for each skeletal district (i.e., cranium and mandible; teeth; vertebrae; sternum and ribs; shoulder girdle; arm; hand and foot; pelvis; legs) as an indicator of selective collection of bones from the funeral pyre, and/or as an indicator of taphonomic (or post-depositional) contamination between two or more individuals³³; (3) macroscopic identification of human and non-human bone remains for each funerary burial³⁴; (4) age-at-death and sex assessment, as reported for inhumation series; whenever possible, sex determinations have been performed by the osteometric methods recently described in Cavazzuti *et al.*³⁵.

¹⁸ LAMBACHER *et al.* 2016.

¹⁹ WAHL 2008; SCHMIDT – SYMES 2015.

²⁰ R Core Team (2020). R: A language and environment for statistical computing. R Foundation for Statistical Computing, Vienna, Austria. URL <https://www.R-project.org/>.

²¹ ALQAHTANI – HECTOR – LIVERSIDGE 2010.

²² SCHEUER – BLACK 2000; UBELAKER 2008.

²³ CARDOSO 2008.

²⁴ LOVEJOY *et al.* 1985.

²⁵ KLEPINGER *et al.* 1992.

²⁶ LOVEJOY *et al.* 1985.

²⁷ IŞCAN – LOTH – WRIGHT 1984.

²⁸ ACSÁDI – NEMESKÉRI 1970; BUIKSTRA – UBELAKER 1994; UBELAKER – VOLK 2000.

²⁹ THOMPSON 2015.

³⁰ LEMMERS 2012.

³¹ BOSCHIN *et al.* 2015; ELLINGHAM *et al.* 2015; CAVAZZUTI *et al.* 2019; MARTYN *et al.* 2020.

³² HOLCK 1986.

³³ UBELAKER – RIFE 2008; DUDAY 2009; ADAMS – BYRD 2014; OSTERHOLTZ – BAUSTIAN – MARTIN 2014

³⁴ WHYTE 2001.

³⁵ CAVAZZUTI *et al.* 2019.

RESULTS

Two hundred sixty-seven individuals were identified from 256 tombs in this study. These include 117 individuals from 113 inhumations (102 pit graves and 15 *enchytrismo*) and 150 individuals from 143 cremations. Table 2 illustrates the basic anthropological information of a selected skeletal sub-set.

SKELETONS ID	RITUAL	SEX	AGE-AT-DEATH
755*	INH	UND	18-25 years
771*	CRM	F	>20 years
775	INH	UND	>20 years
779	INH	UND	20-30 years
805*	ENC	UND	perinatal
826*	CRM	UND	>20 years
841	INH	F	20-40 years
842	INH	UND	25-35 years
849	INH	M?	>40 years
863*	CRM	M?	20-40 years
916 A	CRM	F	>20 years
916 B	CRM	UND	1-5 years
917	CRM	M?	20-30 years
921	CRM	F	>40 years
925	CRM	F	16-20 years
926*	CRM	F?	>20 years
930 A	CRM	UND	>20 years
930 B	CRM	UND	16-20 years
931	CRM	F?	20-40 years
938*	CRM	M	20-40 years
939	CRM	UND	20-40 years
944 A*	CRM	F?	20-40 years
944 B*	CRM	M?	20-40 years
945*	CRM	UND	>20 years
946*	CRM	M?	>40 years
947	CRM	M	20-30 years
948	CRM	F?	>20 years
949*	INH	UND	5-6 years
950*	INH	M	>40 years
951*	INH	UND	5-6 years
955	INH	UND	4-6 years
956	INH	UND	1-3 years
957	INH	M	25-30 years
968	INH	UND	6-7 years
972	ENC	UND	perinatal
973	INH	UND	2-3 years
975*	INH	M	35-40 years
977	INH	UND	8-9 years

978	CRM	UND	20-40 years
981	CRM	M?	20-40 years
982	CRM	M?	>20 years
984*	CRM	M	20-40 years
989	CRM	M?	>20 years
993	INH	M	>40 years
995	CRM	UND	20-40 years
1002	CRM	F	>20 years
1006	INH	UND	1-5 years
1008	INH	UND	1-3 years
1011	INH	UND	4-6 years
1015	INH	F	30-40 years
1016*	INH	UND	1-3 years

Table 2. Sex and age-at-death determinations in Pithekoussai's skeletal sub-set. INH, *inhumation in pit grave*; ENC, *enchytrismo*; CRM, *cremation*; F = *female*; M = *male*; UND = *undetermined*; F? = *possible female*; M? = *possible male*. *Anthropological data available in GIGANTE – BONDIOLI – SPERDUTI 2012-2013

Inhumations and cremations do not distribute randomly in the sample analysed (Fig. 3) and inhumations predominate in PTH II. However, this depends on the dispersal of PTH I inhumations through the years and not on real differences in the two sectors of the necropolis.

The ritual treatment of the bodies and diagenetic factors had a strong negative effect on the preservation of bones and teeth from Pithekoussai (see Fig. 4 for an example). Most of the individuals fall in the first class of representativity, namely, poor representation (<25% of the skeleton) across the entire chronology of the site.

Out of the better-preserved skeletons, the inhumated male from Tomb 950 is a case study. The grave was located under the level of Cremations 938 and 937, both dated to LG II. The skeletal and dental assessment allowed us to diagnose the skeleton as a male, aged > 40 years at death. The body of PTH 950 was supine with the upper limbs stretched along the sides. More interestingly, leg irons constricted his feet. As personal items, he had a scarab and an iron tool. The latter was probably a blade, covered by ivory disks and interspersed with amber or wood elements³⁶. The set from Tomb 950 is unusual and unique in Pithekoussai's necropolis, where weapons are completely absent. Figure 5 shows the brown-

³⁶ CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013.

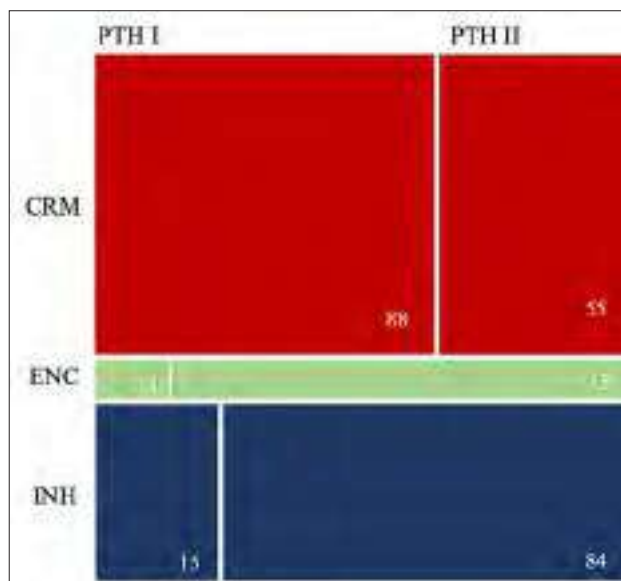


Fig. 3. Box plot of the distribution by rituals in PTH I and PTH II. CRM = cremations; ENC = *enchytrismo*; INH = inhumations in pit graves



Fig. 4. The portion of maxilla and teeth from PTH 949S, PTH II



Fig. 5. Taphonomic alterations (brownish colour) of the cortical bone in tibiae, fibulae and foot bones in PTH 950. Inhumation 950, PTH II (CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013)

ish-reddish chromatic alteration of the periosteum in the anatomical segments that were in contact with iron objects.

The peculiarity of the funerary ritual induced the archaeologists to hypothesise that the individual was perhaps a leading figure in the indigenous community who died as a prisoner³⁷. To investigate instances of interpersonal violence, the anthropological assessment of PTH 950 also focused on identifying traces of *perimortem* traumas. However, the examination yielded no evidence of violent death. The PTH 950 individual shows mild enthesitis in the Achilles tendon area on the left calcaneus only. Due to the different activities involving Achilles tendon disorders, we cannot confidently establish a link between this condition and the application of iron manacles in the later phases of the individual's life.

Regarding skeletal completeness in the cremation series, the burnt remains' weight is not normally distributed (Shapiro-Wilk normality test $W = 0.774$, p -value < 0.01). As shown in Figure 6, the sample distribution deviates from the normality in both the more lightweight and the heavier ones.

Figure 7 illustrates the weight distributions in PTH I and PTH II subsamples. Individuals are highly unrepresented with median weights far from the expectation of ~1250-2000 grams³⁸ (PTH I median = 134.3 grams, PTH II median = 256 grams). Cremation weight significantly differs between the two series PTH I and PTH II. The weight of cremated remains in PTH I is significantly lighter than in PTH II (Wilcoxon rank-sum test with continuity correction $W = 1701$, p -value < 0.01 , one-sided test).

Figure 8 shows the distribution of weights according to the periods in the two excavation sectors. The weights change significantly across time (fig. 8, on the left; Kruskal-Wallis rank-sum test, Kruskal-Wallis chi-squared = 10.355, $df = 3$, p -value < 0.05) with the minimum weights in the LG II period. However, over time PTH II constantly shows heavier cremated remains than PTH I (fig. 8, on the right).

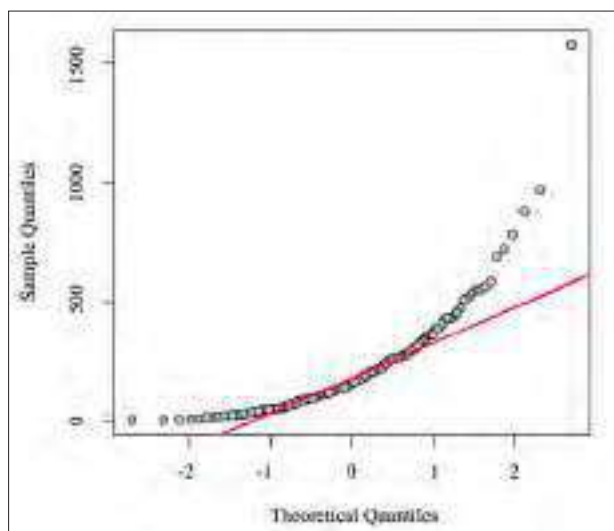


Fig. 6. Normal Q-Q plot (*quantile-quantile plot*) of the weights (in grams) in Pithekoussai's cremation series

Figure 9 (on the left) illustrates the chronological distribution of the MNI in the inhumation series. The percentage of more than one inhumed individual in inhumation tombs is 5.26% between LG I-LG II, and 4.88% in LG II. There is no evidence of double/multiple depositions in LG I and MPC periods. Figure 9 (on the right) illustrates the chronological distribution of the MNI in the cremation series. As for inhumations, double burial in the cremation series is rarely attested. The percentage of double burials is 9.68% in LG I and 3.56% in LG II. No double burials have been identified in the LG I-II and the MPC periods. Some differences can be recognized between the PTH I and PTH II samples. The latter shows a slightly higher frequency of double cremations compared to PTH I.

Enchytrismos 954 (PTH II) represents the only case of double deposition from the LG I-II period. Morphological assessment of the bones showed two different stages of skeletal development, resulting in an MNI of two. PTH 954 A is an individual of 3-4 age-at-death, represented by a single portion of the right hemimandible. Two deciduous teeth and one permanent tooth are still *in situ*: the mandibular first deciduous molar and the mandibular second deciduous molar have fully erupted, whereas the mandibular first permanent molar was in eruption. Conversely, a portion of petrous bone with dimensions compatible with a foetal

³⁷ CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013, and 2014.

³⁸ WARREN – MAPLES 1997; BASS – JANTZ 2004; MAYS 2010.

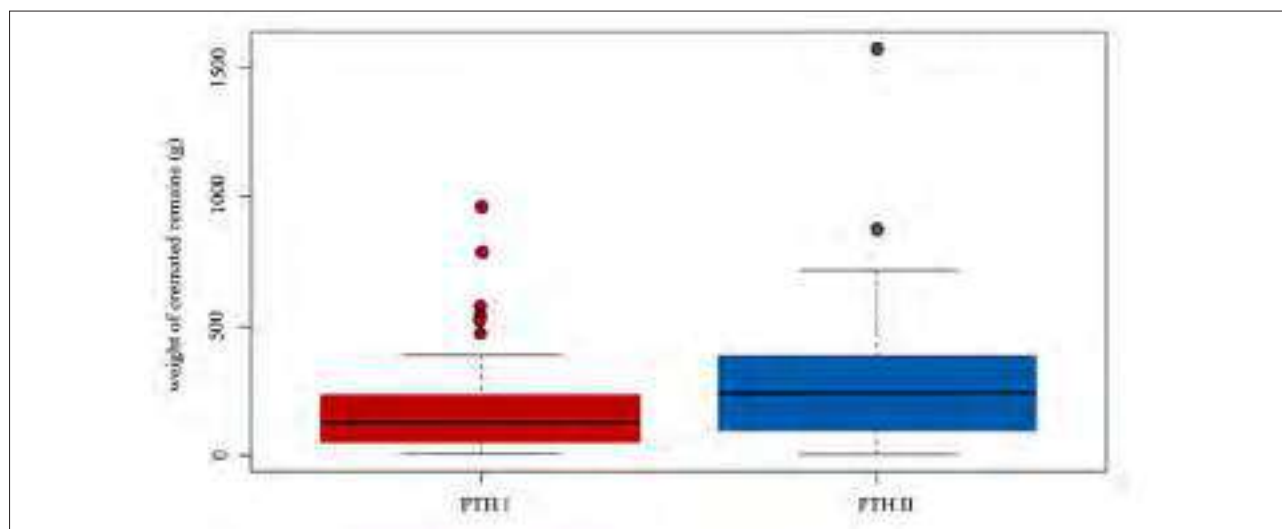


Fig. 7. Boxplot of the distribution of the cremation weights by PTH I and PTH II

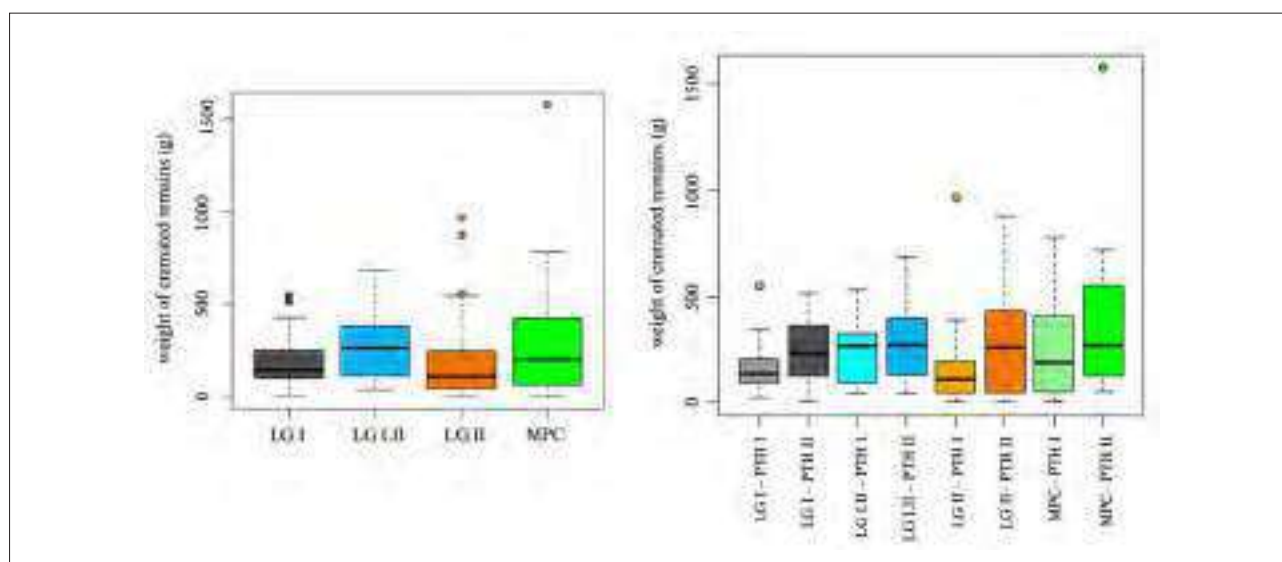


Fig. 8. Distribution of the cremation weights (in grams) by chronology and excavation areas (PTH I and PTH II). On the left: cremation weights by chronology; on the right: cremation weights by PTH I and PTH II and chronology

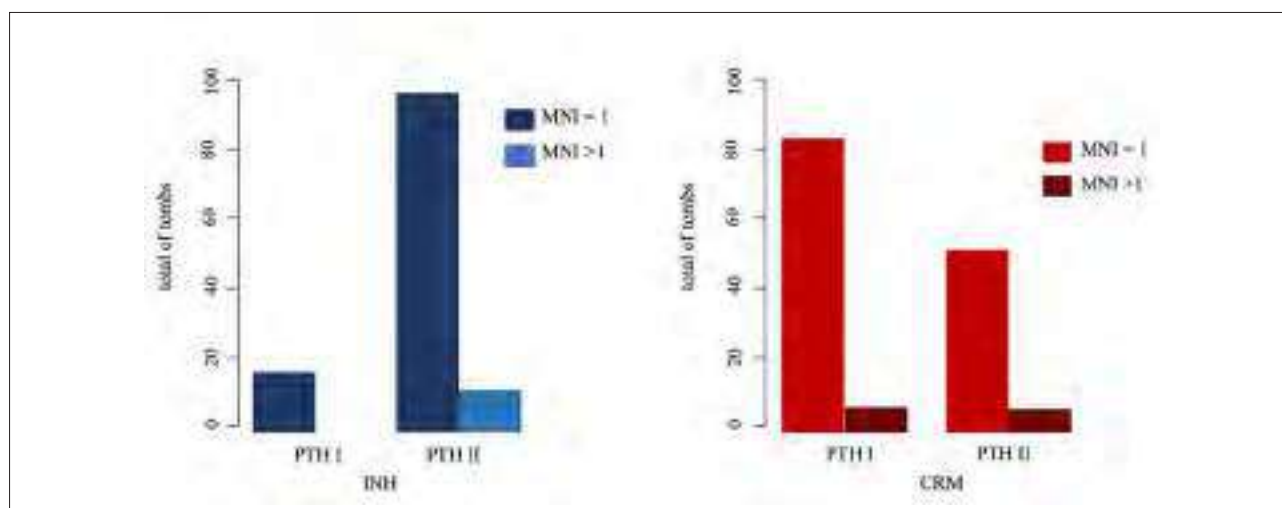


Fig. 9. Distribution of MNI Index (MNI = 1; MNI > 1) in Pithekoussai's inhumation (on the left) and cremation (on the right) series

development stage represents the individual PTH 954 B³⁹.

Cremation 199, dated to LG I, is an example of double burial. Differences in the features of dimorphic traits in the skull and pelvis fragments⁴⁰, as well as different patterns of gracility and robustness in long bones portions, were used as the criterion to identify an adult female (PTH 199 A) and an adult male (PTH 199 B).

Similarly, LG I's Cremation 944 contained the commingled remains of two individuals (PTH 944 A and PTH 944 B). According to Buchner and Ridgway⁴¹, the grave goods assemblage identified Cremation 944 as a female burial. The MNI was determined using the presence of ipsilateral anatomic elements and morphological and dimensional differentiation between skeletal elements. PTH 944 A is an adult female, characterized by female features of the skull and a general gracility of long bone portions⁴². PTH 944 B is an adult male, marked by male features of the skull and high robusticity in the postcranium.

The observation of the different developmental stages of the skeletons has allowed distinguish an adult female (PTH 916 A) and an infant (PTH 916 B) among the commingled cremated remains of burial 916 (LG II, PTH II subsample).

Palaeodemographic profile of Pithekoussai's skeletal sample

The diagnosis of sex was performed on skeletons aged greater than 15 years at death.

The completeness and representativeness of the individuals allowed the sex assessment in 76.6% of the cremated remains and 12.82% of inhumated remains. Overall, the males ($n = 70$) are more frequent than females ($n = 60$) with a sex ratio (M/F) of 1.17.

Figure 10 (upper box) illustrates the sex distribution in PTH I and PTH II. In PTH II, the sex ratio of 1.9 is significantly skewed toward males, while in PTH I subsample, females predominate

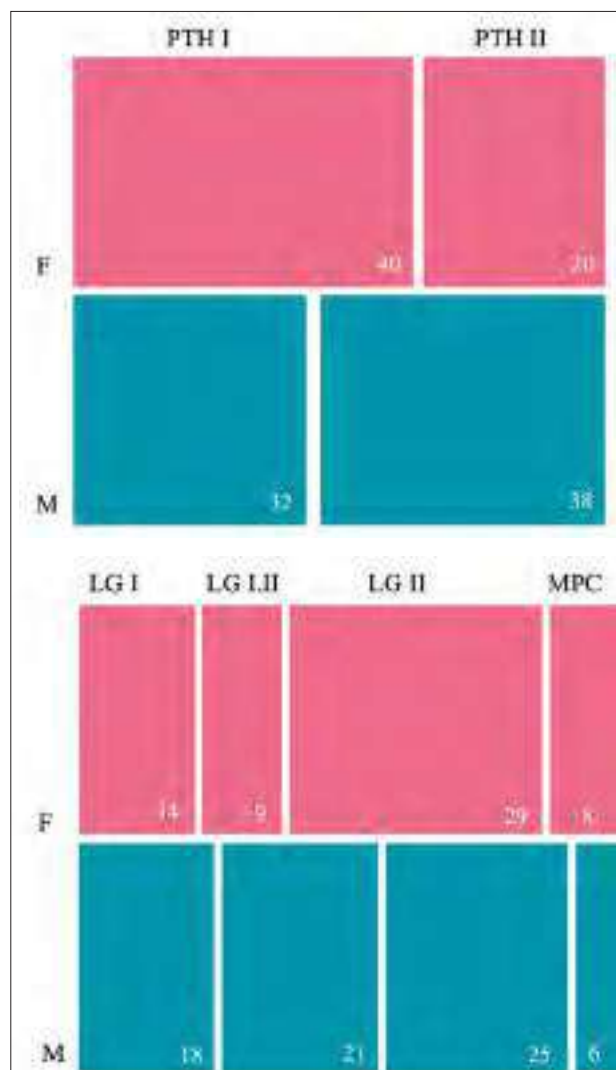


Fig. 10. Distribution of sex Pithekoussai's inhumation and cremation series. On the left: sex by excavation areas (PTH I and PTH II); on the right: sex by chronology. Numbers in the boxes are the row occurrence. F = female; M = male

(Pearson's Chi-squared test with Yates' continuity correction, $\chi^2 = 4.92$, degrees of freedom = 1, $p < 0.05$). The distribution of males and females differs across the periods, and it is skewed in two out of four phases (fig. 10, lower box). In LG I, the sex ratio is 1.3; between LG I and LG II it is 2.5; in LG II it is 0.9; in MPC it is 0.8. However, the differences in sex ratios among periods are statistically not significant (Pearson's Chi-squared test with simulated p-value based on 10000 replicates, $\chi^2 = 5.14$, $p\text{-value} > 0.05$).

Overall, the percentage of individuals aged 1 to 15 years at death is 18.35 %, whereas newborns and early infants in their first year represent 7.11% of the skeletons (Table 3).

³⁹ SCHEUER – BLACK 2000.

⁴⁰ ACSÁDI – NEMESKÉRI 1970; FEREMBACH 1980; BUIKSTRA – ÜBELAKER 1994; HILL 2000; ÜBELAKER – VOLK 2000; BALCI – YAVUZ – CAĞDIR 2005.

⁴¹ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993.

⁴² SYMES *et al.* 2008 ; CAVAZZUTI *et al.* 2019.

AGE CLASS	FEMALE	MALE	UNDETERMINED	TOTAL
0-1	0	0	19	19
1-5	0	0	34	34
5-10	0	0	11	11
10-15	0	0	4	4
15-20	4	2	6	12
20-40	18	21	26	65
> 40	12	19	2	33
> 20	26	28	35	89
TOTAL	60	70	137	267

Table 3. Sex and age classes in Pithekoussai's inhumation and cremation series (mid-8th to 7th century BC)

Following Bocquet & Masset⁴³, the so-called *Juvenile Index* – defined as the ratio between individuals aged 5-15 years at death and the adult sub-sample (age at death = >20 years) – was calculated. Generally, the Index values should range between 0.1 to 0.3, if the sample is an unbiased sample of a natural population⁴⁴. *Juvenile Index* at Pithekoussai is 0.08. When compared with modelled child mortality rates in ancient and modern populations, this value is smaller than the lower end of the expected range. This result indicates a bias in the demographic representativeness of the sample.

Figure 11 and Table 4 describe the age-at-death distribution by chronology. The mortality profile confirms the strong underrepresentation of newborns and infants aged 0-1 year (5% in LG I; 16.18% in LG I-LG II; 3.60% in LG II; 3.57% in MPC). Diachronic differences are also attested in children aged 1-5 years and 5-10 years, respectively 20% and 5% in LG I; 11.76% and 1.47% between LG I-LG II; 9.91% and 5.41% in LG II; 10.71% and 3.57% in MPC. Where adult age classes are concerned, the highest concentration of skeletons falls in the 'generic adult' class (>20 years; 33.3%), followed by the 20-40 years age class (24.34%). Mortality drops to 17.74% in the fourth decades of life (mature adults) in LG I out of 16.12% of skeletons aged 20-40 years.

AGE CLASS	LG I	LG I-II	LG II	MPC	TOTAL
0-1	4	10	4	1	19
1-5	13	7	11	3	34
5-10	3	1	6	1	11
10-15	1	1	2	0	4
15-20	4	2	6	0	12
20-40	10	22	26	7	65
> 40	11	7	12	3	33
> 20	16	13	47	13	89
TOTAL	62	63	114	28	267

Table 4. Age classes in Pithekoussai's inhumation and cremation series (mid-8th to 7th century BC)

Overall, 33.3% of skeletons aged 15-20 years are female.

Figure 12 shows the distribution of females (*on the left*) and males (*on the right*) by chronology. Mortality profiles reveal no significant differences between males and females aged 20-40 years and >40 years in LG I (respectively, 4.83% males and 6.45% females aged 20-40 years; 9.67% males and 8.06% females aged >40 years). Between LG I and LG II, males show the highest mortality rates in the 20-40 years age class (15.15%) and >40 years (9.09%) compared to the females (6.06% in 20-40 years; 1.52% in >40 years). The sex and age-at-death distribution in LG II exhibit no differences in male and female mortality rates, respectively 6.31% in 20-40 years; 5.41% and 4.50% in >40 years. This trend is not confirmed for MPC, whereas the female mortality rate is higher in the 20-40 years age class (10.71%) than males (3.57%).

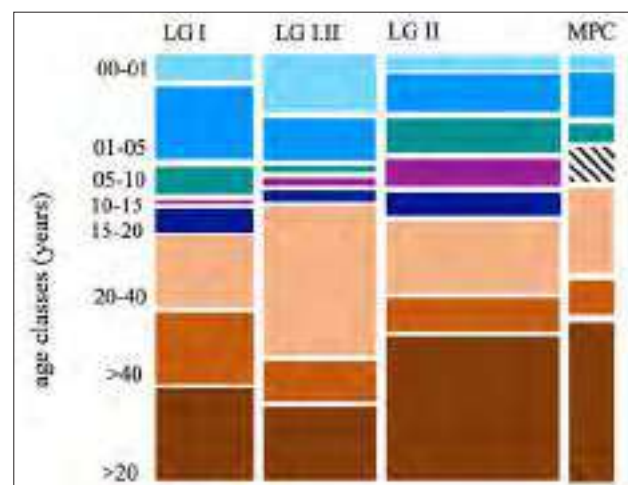


Fig. 11. Distribution of age classes (in years) by chronology in Pithekoussai's inhumation and cremation series

⁴³ BOCQUET-APPEL – MASSET 1982, and 1996.

⁴⁴ BOCQUET-APPEL – MASSET 1982, and 1996.

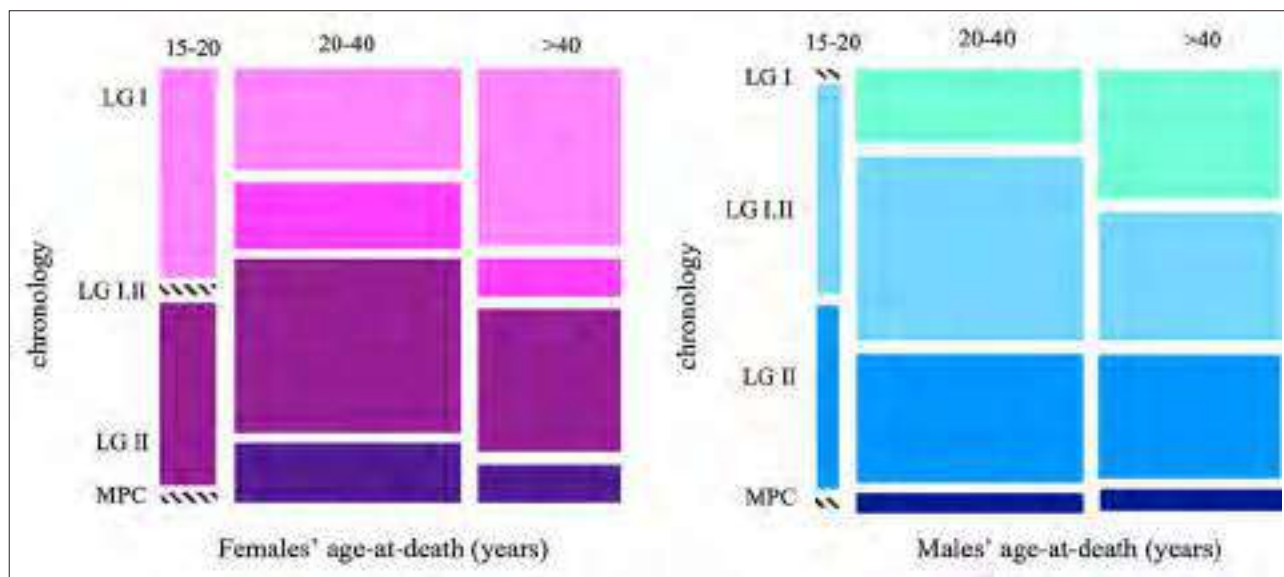


Fig. 12. Distribution of adult females (on the left) and males (on the right) by chronology in Pithekoussai's inhumation and cremation series

Figure 13 highlights the differences in cremated remains' weights by sex and chronology of tombs. Pithekoussai's cremations show average weights between 7.7 and 1574 grams for males and between 14.9 grams and 964.76 grams for females. Although higher cremated remains' weight in males is constant through time, the weight distribution witnesses the very low representation level of the skeletons in both male and female subsamples.

Skeletal and Oral Diseases Observations

Although the poor preservation of the skeletal material did not allow us to systematically record anatomic variants and oral and skeletal diseases, we report here some selected observations. Degenerative diseases included cases of age-related osteoarthritis or spondylosis. Concerning inhumations, axial and appendicular skeletal districts were preserved in 4.67% of individuals (5 out of 107

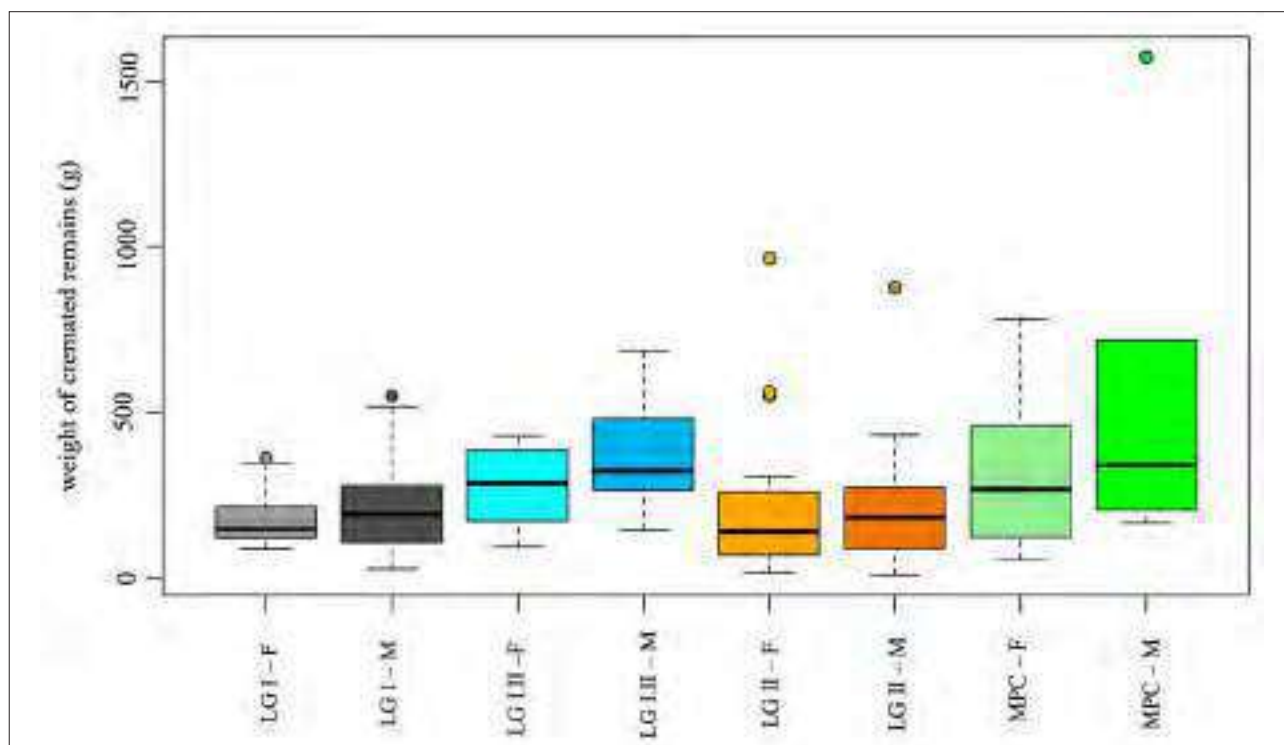


Fig. 13. Distribution of the cremation weights (in grams) by sex and chronology in Pithekoussai's cremation series

individuals), allowing us to observe possible degenerative lesions of the joints, although no individuals were affected by osteoarthritis, spondylosis, or Schmörl's nodes. Better preservation of the postcranial districts in the cremation series allowed us to detect different stages of degenerative lesions on the vertebrae in 47 out of 142 cases (33.09%). Where observable, degenerative lesions are present in 16 out of 53 females (30.18%) and 25 out of 58 males (43.10%).

Teeth, maxillae, and mandibulae were examined for dental caries, periapical lesions, periodontitis, and dental hypoplasia. One adult female out of the 48 examined individuals had caries. The teeth of the subadults were caries-free. Hypoplasia lesions are attested in six cases (two individuals aged 1-5 years; three individuals aged 5-10 years and one individual aged 20-30 years) out of 76 inhumed individuals analysed. Ante Mortem Tooth Loss (AMTL) was attested in 3 adult males out of 48 individuals examined for inhumation series and in three adults (1 female and 2 undetermined) out of 61 observable individuals from the cremation series.

Inside the mortuary practices: the presence of faunal remains

In addition to the human remains, this study identified faunal remains in 52 tombs (20.55%). Due to the high fragmentation, the incomplete state of the skeletons, and the heat-induced bone changes of specimens, it was not possible to establish the taxonomy of the faunal remains at the order or species level for 39.06% of cases. Faunal elements associated with cremations exhibited traces of combustion similar to those observed in the burnt human remains. This evidence is compatible with the simultaneous cremation of humans and animals (Fig. 14). Animal remains in the inhumation subsample are constantly unburnt and present only in a few cases (Inhumations 508; 903; 1006; 1019).

Overall, *Ovis/Capra* and *Sus domesticus* remains are attested respectively in 36.56% and 25% of graves with faunal findings; more sporadically, *Equidae*, *Canis familiaris*, and *Aves* (3.84%) followed by *Bos taurus* (1.92%). Considering only the identified remains, 11.53% of the graves yielded portions of multiple taxa.

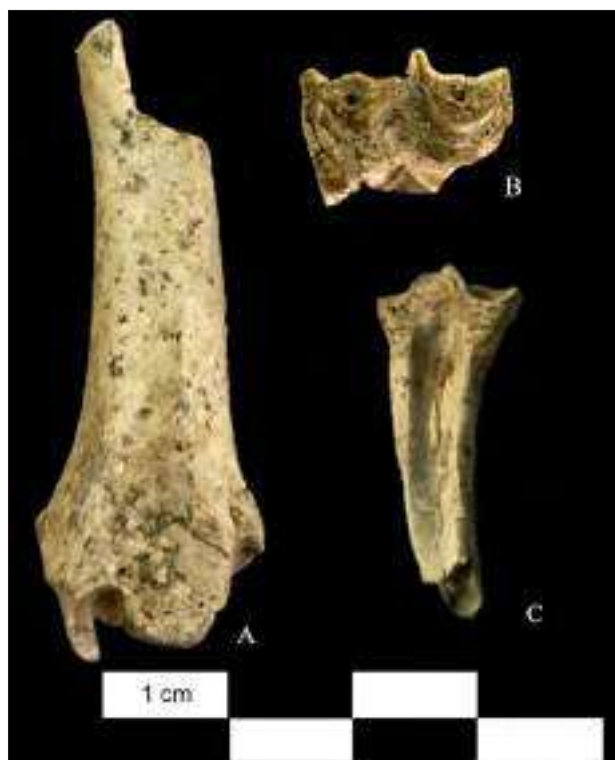


Fig. 14. Faunal specimens from Cremations 199 and 208 (PTH I). On the left and upper on the right (A-B): *Ovis/Capra* remains from Cremation 199; lower on the right (C): Galliformes from Cremation 208

Analysing the presence of faunal material by chronology, the results show no significant differences in LG I and LG II (26.32% in LG I, 27.42% between LG I and LG II, and 29.95% in LG II). Conversely, only 3.57% of tombs in MPC exhibit faunal remains (Pearson's Chi-squared test with simulated p-value based on 10000 replicates, chi-squared = 0.17211, df = NA, p-value > 0.05). This trend is extremely clear in the *Ovis/Capra* and *Sus domesticus* distributions, which exhibit a progressive decrease between LG II and MPC (respectively, 8.77% and 7.02% in LG I, 8.49% and 4.72% in LG II, 3.57% and 0% in MPC) (Pearson's Chi-squared test with simulated p-value based on 10000 replicates, chi-squared = 0.45947, df = NA, p-value > 0.05).

In general, animal offerings were found in both infant and adult graves (Pearson's Chi-squared test with simulated p-value based on 10000 replicates, chi-squared = 7.7699, p-value < 0.05). Where infants are concerned, faunal remains were associated with inhumed individuals aged 1-5 years at death in 5.76% of the graves.

Among burials with the contemporary deposition of animal and human bones, cremations are

predominant (92.3% cremations and 7.7% inhumations).

The distribution of the faunal remains in single cremations revealed differences by sexes. Where observable, female cremations yielded only portions of *Ovis/Capra* and *Sus domesticus*. Conversely, male cremations are characterized not only by *Ovis/Capra* and *Sus domesticus* but also by *Bos taurus* and *Canis familiaris* (11.76%). Among multiple cremations, in 3 cases out of 4, the cremations pertain to a man buried with a woman and portions of Aves, *Ovis/Capra*, and *Sus domesticus*.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study analysed 256 tombs of Pithekoussai's necropolis (PTH I and PTH II). The tombs dated to the early stages of Pithekoussai's settlement, spanning from the mid-8th to 7th centuries BC.

Two alternative forms of funerary ritual are present at Pithekoussai's necropolis, inhumation (in pit graves or amphorae) and the cremation of the deceased bodies. The inhumations are primary burials that often may have become commingled through time. Cremations were certainly subjected to more complex sequences of ritual gestures, which involved the burning of the corpse in shared *ustrina*, the collection and fragmentation of cremated remains, and their final redeposition in secondary burials.

The human skeletal remains are poorly preserved, frequently commingled, fragmentary, and, in the inhumation series, often represented only by a few portions of teeth crowns. The massive physical and chemical degradations of the bone and dental structures resulted from the ritual behaviours (burning process and the subsequent fragmentation of skeletal material), as well as the geology of the burial environment (warm volcanic sediment). According to the excavators, «(...) in parecchi casi gli scheletri sono interamente scomparsi, in molti altri restano soltanto poche tracce e anche in quei casi definiti con l'indicazione "scheletro discretamente conservato", le ossa sono così fragili che asciugandosi si sgretolano⁴⁵». More-

over, as reported by Buchner, the dispersion of the skeletal record might have also occurred due to flooding of the necropolis caused by past tsunamis in the Lacco Ameno Bay⁴⁶.

The results obtained by morphological and osteometric assessment led to the identification of 267 individuals. Specifically, osteological investigation detected 117 individuals from 113 inhumations (102 pit graves and 11 *enchytrismo*) and 150 individuals from 143 cremations.

Overall, both males (35.17%) and females (30.15%), newborns and infants (7.11%), children (18.35%), and adults (74.53%) were represented in the surviving skeletal assemblages, suggesting the inclusive nature of Pithekoussai's cemetery.

However, the poor taphonomic condition of the remains determined the palaeodemographic inconsistency between the exhumed sample and the effective consistency of the burial population at the site. Hence, all remarks on the composition of the skeletal population are purely descriptive and do partially reflect the demographic trends of Pithekoussai's over time only.

The gap between skeletal consistency and funerary evidence emerges in the infant age classes representation. There is a striking difference between the percentage of infants in the skeletal record and the percentage of *enchytrismo* (the ritual designed for perinatal and young children) among graves. The osteological record shows a lower percentage of newborns and infants (aged 0-1 year) (5% in LG I; 16.18% in LG I-LG II; 3.60% in LG II; 3.57% in MPC), whereas the *enchytrismo* are the 18% of graves in LG I; 28% in LG II and 10% in MPC, thus reducing the observed gap between theoretical demographic models and Pithekoussai's profiles. In fact, according to demographic models and historical data, in the pre-antibiotic era, the mortality rate of children reaches values above 30% during the first year of life⁴⁷.

The cross-checking of the age-at-death and sex distributions and the mortuary practices indicates

skeletal remains and even in those cases, whereas the description of the body was "skeleton fairly preserved", the bones were so brittle that they crumpled when dried» BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993.

⁴⁶ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993.

⁴⁷ WEISS 1973.

⁴⁵ « (...) in a number of cases, the skeletons were completely dissolved. In others, it was possible to observe few traces of the

that inhumation is the most common practice regardless of age-at-death.

Conversely, cremation is common among the adult classes. Overall, the results show that the cremation of the bodies is attested in 41.67% of individuals aged 15-20 years, 56.92% of individuals aged 20-40 years, 81.82% of individuals aged >40 years, and 6% of individuals aged >20 years.

However, it is worth noting that double Cremation 916 (LG I, PTH II) yielded osteological remains of an infant aged 1-5 years and an adult female (>20 years), and the single Cremation 140 (MPC, PTH I) that yielded an infant aged 1-5 years. The combustion of infants PTH 916 B and PTH 140 could be an exception to Buchner's assumption of cremation as a ritual restricted to the adults in Pithekoussai's society⁴⁸.

There is a significant difference in the funerary customs between males and females. Inhumation is not equally represented in male and female subsets (21.56% and 7.84% of the inhumed adults, respectively). Nevertheless, the difference between sexes might have resulted from the high number of undetermined individuals by sex among inhumed adults (70.58%). In contrast, cremation is equally represented in the male and female subsets (39.9% and 37.3% of cremated individuals respectively).

Overall, 10 double and multiple burials were recorded corresponding to 3.89% of the tombs. Sixty per cent of double or multiple burials are cremations. The aforementioned Cremation 916 is the only case of double cremation, which yielded remains of an infant and a female adult. In 2 cases out of 3, double inhumations were composed of an infant and a female adult (Inhumation 835, PTH II) or two infants (*Enchytrismos* 954, PTH II).

Remains of a second individual in cremated single graves (for example Cremation 159), probably due to unintentional collections, might suggest that skeletal material from the preceding cremation was disregarded in the *ustrinum* and afterwards collected by a second cremation. This hypothesis suggests the use of a unique place for the cremation ritual outside the burial place. Moreover, it has to be acknowledged that the absence of

non-perishable urns might have played a key role in the post-depositional alteration of bone assemblages. Likewise, due to the characteristics of Pithekoussai's stratigraphy, the intentional (or not) contamination between two or more graves cannot be excluded. Unburnt human bones were found among cremated ones in four tombs.

The quantitative analysis of the cremated remains indicated an average weight considerably lower than the known modern reference sample. This evidence is extremely clear for Cremations 140 (MPC, PTH I) and 155 (LG II, PTH I), which weigh 4 and 5.6 grams, respectively. Among exceptions, Tomb 154 (LG II, PTH I) yielded 964.8 grams of cremated remains. The stratigraphic sequence of the Cairn 154 indicates that the tomb was only partially affected by the overlapping with the Cairn 155. Hence, in this case, the absence of strong post-depositional events might have resulted in better preservation of the remains.

Analysing the cremated remains' weights by excavation areas and chronology, results show significant differences between the two excavation areas and through time, especially in PTH II. The increasing of cremation weights by chronology might be interpreted as a change of funerary customs in the bone collection from the pyre and/or as a result of a lower frequency of the agglutination phenomena, and therefore, a potentially lower dispersion of osteological remains in the later phases of the necropolis.

Figure 15 illustrates the discrepancy between Becker's⁴⁹ weights and the ones of this study in the PTH I subset of tombs. Significant differences are present in 23.68% of the cases. Therefore, it is possible to argue that the generally lighter weights observed in PTH I could have been affected by a later dispersion of skeletal remains and not due to different burial customs in the two Pithekoussai areas.

At Pithekoussai, the necropolis yielded faunal remains supporting the archaeological and historical notions of Late Iron Age funerary practices of food offerings or sacrifices for the deceased, or a remnant of a funerary banquet alongside the pyre⁵⁰.

⁴⁸ BUCHNER 1982; BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993; D'AGOSTINO 2011.

⁴⁹ BECKER 1995, 1999.

⁵⁰ BOND – WORLEY 2006.

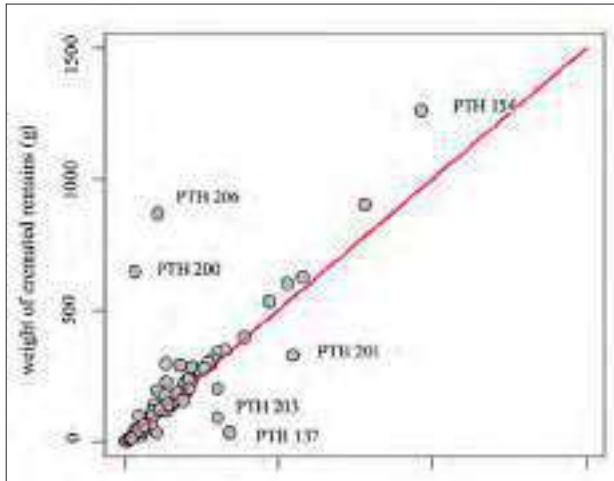


Fig. 15. Comparison between the individual weights (in grams) as reported in Becker's works (1995; 1999) and the individual weights in this study for the same subset of tombs

The integration of data from anthropological and archaeological sources with the findings from the preliminary analysis of the faunal materials allowed a fuller picture of the ritual behaviours in Pithekoussai. Faunal bones (*Equidae* and *Sus domesticus*) were associated with inhumated individuals aged 1-5 years (PTH 508, PTH 903, PTH 1006). According to Buchner and Ridgway, the individual buried in Tomb 508 is a male child.

Concerning cremations, this study recognised a funeral custom regulating the association between the gender of the deceased and animal offerings. Female cremations yielded only portions of *Ovis/Capra* and *Sus domesticus*, while males were accompanied by more species such as *Ovis/Capra* and *Sus domesticus*, *Bos taurus*, and *Canis familiaris*. Aves, *Ovis Capra*, and *Sus domesticus* were found in double (male and female) cremations.

The interdisciplinary study of the commingled skeletal assemblages from Pithekoussai's tombs (mid-8th to 7th centuries BC) highlights the complex articulation of the funerary landscape, where "agglutinations", taphonomic disturbances, and possible bone dispersions strongly affected both cremations and inhumations. The assessment of osteobiographies in several individuals, the analysis of faunal remains, the observations on changes in bone preservation/collection through time, and the redefinition of biological information of double/multiple burials create a firm basis for any new and more complex interpretation of PTH I funerary assemblage as well as for the future edition of the unpublished contexts (PTH II).

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RITUAL LANDSCAPES AND RITUAL CODES IN THE PITHEKOUSAI CEMETERY*

Valentino Nizzo

INTERACTION CONTEXT AND RITUAL LANDSCAPE AT PITHEKOUSAI

If we consider the era of the earliest research on the cemetery at Pithekoussai – 1952-1961 – we are struck by the precocious foresight with which information was collected on aspects that the contemporary digs usually overlooked. This includes, for example, the reconstruction of the depositional and post-depositional dynamics recognizable on the ground within the burials and/or in the free spaces of the cemetery and the careful recording of almost all the “stratigraphic” relationships between each element¹, taking into account both those that had an intentional character and those that were unintentional². As a result, Pithekoussai has, since its discovery, become an obligatory reference point for pre-classical Mediterranean archaeology. It offers an essential palimpsest for the historical and chronological reconstruction of the events that preceded, accompanied and followed the initial stages of Greek colonization in Italy and, consequently, for the understanding of the cultural dynamics triggered by the first stable con-

tacts and the first forms of structured coexistence between Greeks, other eastern visitors and the local population in the Ischian settlement, whatever the interpretation of its “political status”³.

Indeed, Buchner’s discoveries helped Ischia to regain its role as a cultural crossroad, becoming the centre for a series of conferences⁴ which, starting with the discussion regarding the chronological attribution, quickly broadened to the central sociological interpretation of the funerary practices in pre-industrial communities. This anticipated many of the ideas which were developed, at least for the English-speaking world, through post-processualism⁵.

The characteristic interweaving of the deceased person, and the burial objects and funerary rites, and their possible meaning in terms of provenance, ethnicity, gender, age, class and social status, level of inclusion in the community, etc., makes the Pithekoussai cemetery a context of extraordinary relevance for a critical experiment on the interpretative potentialities of the archaeology of death.

* This contribution constitutes the revised and updated summary of what was previously discussed in various articles dedicated to the same issues. See in particular: Nizzo 2013a, 2016a, 2016b, 2018b, with references. I want to thank my friend Christopher Smith for reviewing the translation and for his valuable suggestions.

¹ Although in still generic forms that did not take into account, for example, the difference between positive or negative stratigraphic units, aspects that would have been methodologically investigated only a few decades later: Nizzo 2007, 13-17.

² Where not otherwise specified, any reference to Pithecan contexts and materials implicitly refers to their masterful edition in BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993.

³ The exact interpretation of the political status of the Pithekoussai’s settlement is a problem that, perhaps, we can consider finally overcome thanks to the contribution of postcolonial archaeology and thanks to the broader reflection on the dynamics of connectivity. This question, however, still continues to have its influence on the interpretation of the oldest evidence of the presence of Greeks and Orientals in our Peninsula, as discussed in detail in CeC 2016a, CeC 2016b and *Ibridazione e integrazione* 2014.

⁴ From *Incontro di studi sugli inizi della colonizzazione greca in Occidente*, Naples-Ischia 1968 (published in 1969), to the still relevant *La mort, les morts dans le sociétés anciennes*, Naples-Ischia 1977 (published in 1982): on the meaning and legacy at that time of the dispute within the cultural context see Nizzo 2015, 172-194.

⁵ D’AGOSTINO 1987 [1985].

As Buchner had grasped from the beginning, at Pithekoussai it seems that it is the cemetery that guides the interpreter, showing him in the form of stratigraphic relationships those links – not exclusively related to parental relationships – that must have connected the dead when they were still alive.

The schematic section of an ideal stratigraphic sequence of the cemetery proposed by Buchner in 1975 (Fig. 1) offers, from the first glance, an extremely clear picture of the diachronic development of the burial ground and allows us to grasp what were to be the main ritual alternatives through which the community defined itself beyond death. This depended on coordinates related to the age of the dead⁶ and/or their “ethnic” connotation, the latter reconstructed by archaeologists – not without some difficulty – from the observation of ritual practices⁷ and the composition of the grave goods.

In addition, the nature and intensity of these “relations” and, more or less consequently, that of the connections that must have been existed among the dead when they were still alive, can be deduced from a global analysis of the dynamics through which a physical “contact” between each burial was “sought” or “produced” by the survivors. At the same time, we should not overlook the equally explicit relevance of cases in which the absence of physical relationships is not fortuitous but is the result of intentional and, as such, significant choices, as could happen in the case of individuals inhumed in a relatively short period of time into parallel and close graves.

In fact, in many cases, it is possible to identify a direct link – a real “network” – between the “ritual performance” and the “ritual relationship” which, besides having fundamental significance for the re-

construction of the relative chronological sequences, allows us to interpret the sociological implications – positive as well as negative – underlying the physical connections between the deceased. Moreover, admitting the intentionality of these relationships, we have the rare opportunity to measure the mnemonic correlates that were to guide these choices and that had to force the survivors to move with skill in a dense and heterogeneous plot of mounds, graves and stone signs that are often difficult to recognize on the surface of the cemetery. This is a sort of funerary counterpart to the concept of “interaction contexts” which were deployed some years ago by S. Humphreys for the basic units of the ancient Greek social structure, using terminology borrowed from the social sciences⁸.

However, it was the extraordinary carefulness of the archaeologists that allowed them to discern the presence of a “ritual space” more extensive than the simple burial, whose relevance was correctly perceived, even though the methodologies to detect it were not yet developed in compliance with the stratigraphic techniques we are used to today. The discovery of extensive “*strati di cocci*” (“layers of sherds”)⁹ within the funerary context allowed the archaeologists to speculate about the existence of a dismantling procedure of the pyres, and the intentional dispersion of their remains (Fig. 2). These observations¹⁰ integrated the understanding of the practices connected to cremation. They permitted us to highlight the existence of an important phase of the ceremony, well known from sources such as the Homeric poems, but which could not be verified in what constituted its final outcome: the burnt earth mixed with the grave goods and the remains of the cremated bones and surmounted by a mound of stones.

This situation is even more significant if we take into account the fact that some of the classes of materials found dispersed in the “layers of *cocci*” – such as *kraters* – are not found among those usually

⁶ In the inhumation the age of the dead can be reconstructed thanks to the analysis of the skeletal remains or, in their absence, by the size of the graves.

⁷ The funerary ritual provided that the incineration was reserved in an apparently exclusive way to adults (a circumstance confirmed also by the recent anthropological investigations published in GIGANTE – BONDIOLI – SPERDUTI 2016 which attribute all cremations to subjects over 20 years of age, with significant exceptions like that of graves 168 and 140, referred by M. J. Becker, respectively, to individuals of 12 and 17 years of age) of probable Greek origin and that the inhumation (for the new-borns also inside a ceramic container, the so-called “*enchytrismos*” ritual) was reserved for sub-adults (including Greeks) and for adults of various origins and social backgrounds.

⁸ HUMPHREYS 1979, 386-391; cf. in this regard also AMPOLO 1996, 320 s.

⁹ NIZZO 2007, 200-201, note 16 with references. The “*Strato di cocci* [2]” hereby represented in fig. 2 coincides considerably with the area of grave 168.

¹⁰ Albeit insufficient for a detailed comprehension of the ritual strategies that could be hidden behind attitudes of functional – at least apparently – character.

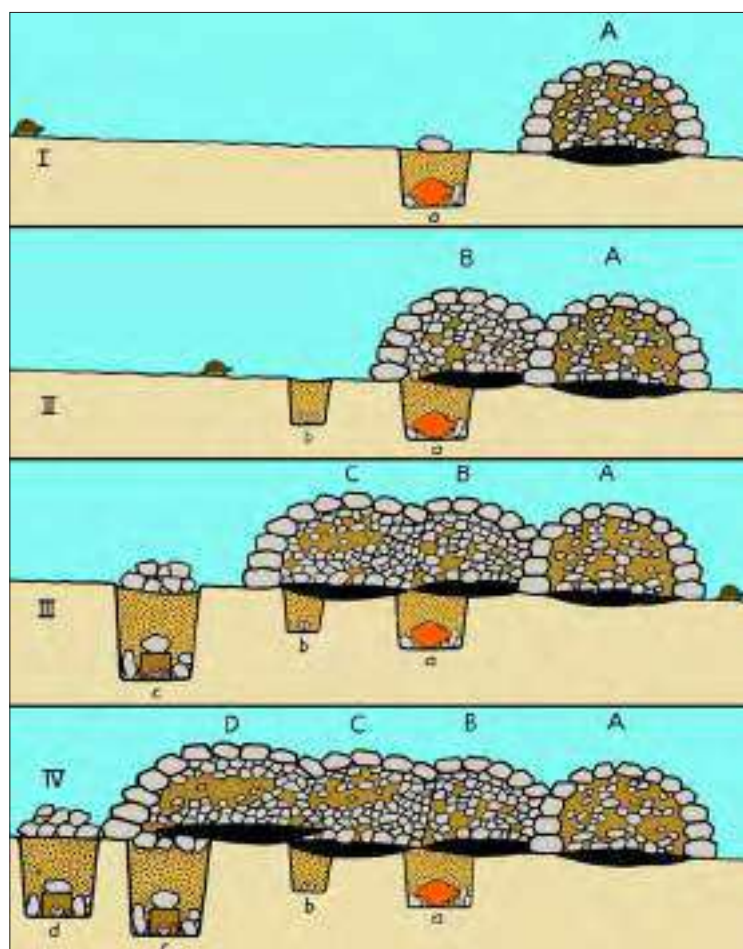


Fig. 1. Pithekoussai cemetery. Schematic section of the development of a family plot. The capital letters indicate the cremations with mounds, the miniscule the inhumations (a) of the newborn (the enchytrismos graves), (b) of adult without grave goods, (c-d) of children with grave goods. From BUCHNER 1975, modified

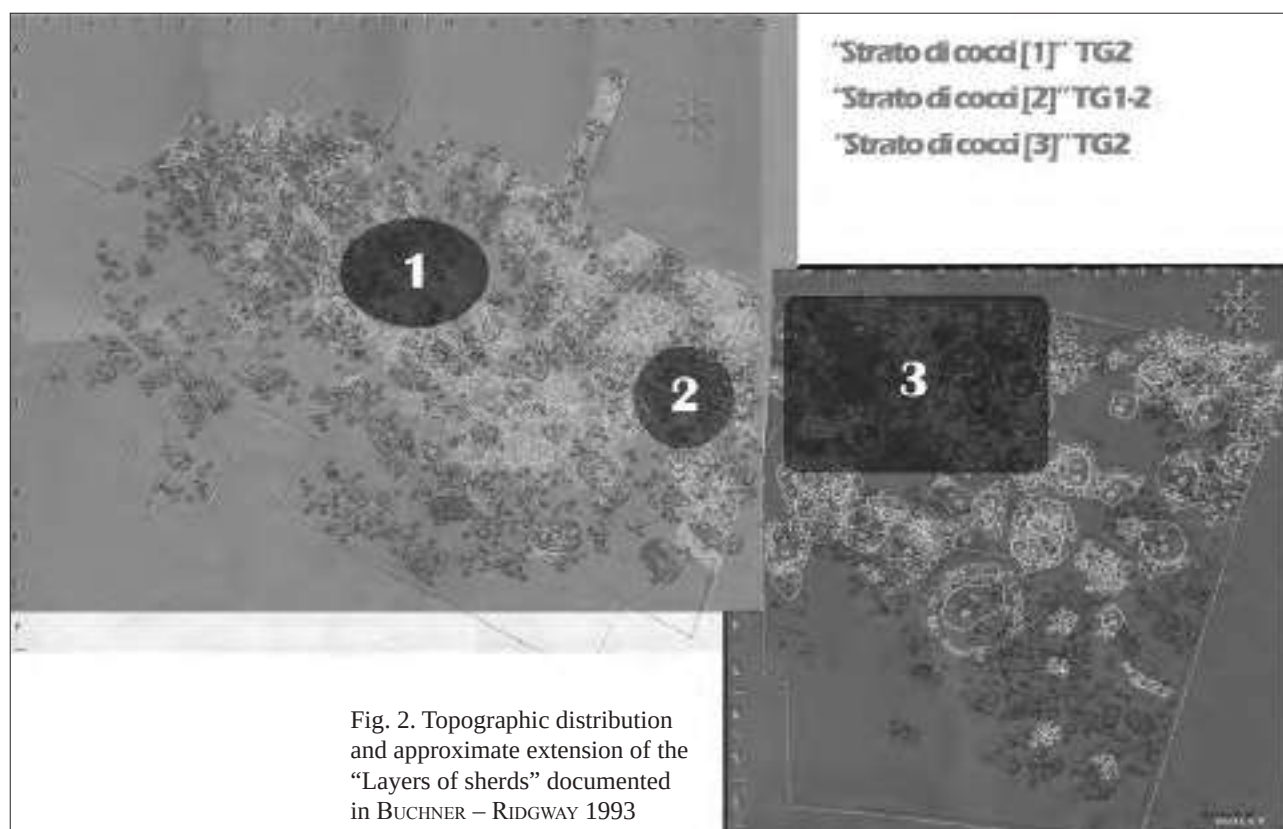


Fig. 2. Topographic distribution and approximate extension of the "Layers of sherds" documented in BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993

collected and deposited with the incinerated remains. For this reason, I have on several occasions used this and other observations to propose an alternative reading of the context of the tomb 168, famous for the so-called “Nestor’s cup”¹¹. This last burial, in fact, was placed in an area that had previously been used for the preparation of one or more funeral pyres, like the one investigated in 1996 in Teos, which has only recently been adequately published, and which Bruno d’Agostino has rightly cited for its contemporaneity and the numerous analogies with the aforementioned Ischian context¹².

IN VINO VERITAS: WINE AND CHILDREN

Among the characteristics which made the Pithekoussai’s cemetery an ideal study context the quality of information collected during excavation and that of its publication, the variety of material culture, the size of the sample¹³ and, above all, its representativeness in biological and sociological terms stand out. This is a very rare factor in the contemporary burial grounds of the Italian peninsula which testifies to this community’s tendency to include in the funerary spaces individuals who are often excluded elsewhere.

¹¹ Detailed discussion in NIZZO 2007, 30-36, where it was proposed for the first time the attribution of the grave goods referred jointly to the tomb 168 to two contexts distinct and distant in time and it was proposed to consider as residues of a former abandoned pyre some other objects such as the four craters. On the question, cf. in addition RIDGWAY 2009 and NIZZO 2016a, 61-65, fig. 5. This reconstruction was recently confirmed in Gigante et alii 2021 on the basis of a careful re-examination of the anthropological remains associated with tomb 168. The cremated remains were attributed to three distinct individuals, all probably adults; methodologically, however, it is not possible to exclude their belonging to multiple ustrines rather than to three distinct burials coinciding with the area of tomb 168.

¹² IREN – ÜNLÜ 2012, 309-334.

¹³ On the basis of the data in the original publication, this corresponds to about 10% of the original extension of the cemetery, a percentage that may appear insignificant in statistical terms (and which is not greatly increased by the portion of the cemetery discussed in GIGANTE – BONDIOLI – SPERDUTI 2016; CINQUANTAUATTRO 2012-2013, 2014), but which acquires its relevance if related to the formation dynamics of the burial ground previously synthesized, which follow logics that suggest a preliminary division of the funerary spaces into lots. In this way the individual family groups were able to respect precise logics in their dislocation within the funerary tissue, forming homogeneous sets in terms of their synchronic and diachronic representativeness, as I have on several occasions highlighted (NIZZO 2007, 25-26 and, lastly, 2013a, 443-446, and 2013b with references).

As Ian Morris pointed out in 1987¹⁴, the most significant indicator in this sense is undoubtedly the degree of demographic representativeness of people who died below the age of puberty. This is the part of the community affected more than any other by mechanisms of funeral discrimination. The factors that can determine these forms of exclusion are connected to the high infant mortality rate that distinguishes in the protoindustrial societies the younger age groups¹⁵ and to the collective perception of their individuality as something still alien to society: individuals, therefore, lacking those characteristics that would have allowed them to be included in the community of the living and, consequently, also in that of the dead¹⁶.

The analysis of the diachronic evolution of the relationship between adults and sub-adults in the 150 years ca. of the oldest phase of life of the cemetery¹⁷ has in fact clearly shown how – except for sporadic exceptions – the proportion (“ratio”) between individuals aged over 13 years and those of inferior age remained constantly equal or superior to 50% of the funerary population, a circumstance that can be considered, albeit with caution, in harmony with the known data for infant mortality rate in pre-industrial agricultural societies¹⁸.

The attention paid to sub-adults seems to reflect a more widespread phenomenon. Morris argued that this was correlated with the mechanisms which accompanied the birth and diffusion of the urban model, including a clearer separation between the space of the living and that reserved to the deceased. At the same time this strengthened the sense of identity which characterized the emergence of a new aristocratic conception, closely linked to territoriality¹⁹, on

¹⁴ MORRIS 1987; cf. also what already specified in this regard in NIZZO 2015, *ad indicem*, s.v. “Morris I.”; 2013a, 446-451; 2016b, 119-125; 2018a, 122-123 and *passim*.

¹⁵ Particularly evident for infants and children under 3-4 years of age, recipients in many cultures of specific taboos and prophylactic mechanisms.

¹⁶ NIZZO 2011; 2015, 251-256; 2018c; 2021a. For an up-to-date look at the archaeology of childhood, particularly careful about the problems of the Greek colonial contexts, see, lastly, BÉRARD 2017, 153-172, with references.

¹⁷ NIZZO 2007, 26-27 with notes on 205-206 and graphs at figs. 4-5.

¹⁸ For classical Athens, mortality within the first year of age is estimated between 30% and 40%: GOLDEN 1990, p. 83.

¹⁹ In the meaning ultimately deepened in an anthropological perspective by M. Godelier (GODELIER 2009), taken up and dis-

the one hand, and on the other to offspring as a form of conservation and transmission of the acquired condition. The increasing funerary representativeness of subadults, however, is not in itself sufficient for an exhaustive discussion of the problem, since their right to burial could also be expressed in differentiated forms, not necessarily discriminatory, giving rise to specialized sepulchral spaces and / or to the ritual practice of their burial in living environments. This circumstance is very well documented, for example, in *Latium vetus* even after the development of the urban model.

The emergence of identity factors related to the sense of belonging and to the inheritance of social status manifested in Pithekoussai cannot be compared to more extreme examples documented in some contemporary contexts of the indigenous world²⁰. But this does not mean that they are less significant, as I have tried to highlight by deepening the ritual role assumed by wine in some children's funerary contexts of the local Late Geometric phase (LG I-II: 740 ca.-680 BC). Here the simulation of a symposium²¹ seems to constitute a functional mechanism for the full inclusion of infants in the adult community, obtained after death through an extreme fiction of life²². The key points of the argument (which we cannot rehearse fully here) rely on the reference to the rites of passage that characterized in Athens some stages of the *Anthesteria*, festivals consecrated to Dionysus during which – in addition to the pleasure of wine – the incipient revival of spring was celebrated and, on the day of the *Choes* (“jugs”), the inclusion of children who had completed three years of age in their relevant *fratria*²³.

This ritual practice sanctioned their definitive entry into society²⁴, after having overcome one of

the most delicate periods of existence. It took place in a broader religious context in which the consecration to the divinity of the new wine jars (during the *Pithoigia*, the first day of the festival) served not only to guarantee their quality but, together with ceremony of the *Choes*, contributed to overcoming that phase of danger and “contamination” between the world of the living and that of the dead that, in many cultures, marks the transition between winter and spring. The seasonal transposition of a broader transition process, as often happens in the semantics of the ritual, was believed to be “addressed” and “solved” through a transitory ritual inversion of the social order, thanks to which it was possible to start a new (and, hopefully, more prosperous and propitious) phase of the entire cycle of nature as well as that of life.

If this hypothesis is correct, for the protagonists of the funeral action – to be identified, very plausibly, with the parents – the fictitious staging of a rite beyond death was to be perceived as a further strengthening of that sense of belonging that could not be exhausted by simply depositing the infant prematurely deceased inside the funeral space. Through a mechanism of “sharing/participation” at the same time ritual and symbolic²⁵, this fiction was intended to perfect an identity otherwise destined to remain uncompleted, so as to guarantee the definitive (albeit late) “inclusion” of the infant among the adults and to allow his parents the ideal transmission – at least in the otherworldly dimension of his existence – of those “prerogatives” that he would have the right to inherit.

THE STRATIGRAPHY OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Some time ago, in summarizing some of the peculiar aspects of the Pithecusan settlement, I used the periphrasis «palinsesto dell'archeologia mediterranea» («palimpsest of Mediterranean archaeology»), an expression which – in my opinion – should give very well the idea of the complexity

cussed in NIZZO 2013a, 422-427 (in particular on page 425); 2016b, 139-142.

²⁰ CUOZZO 2003.

²¹ This attitude is recognizable in a striking way in some tombs of infants or children buried with a cup near the hands in the act, plausibly, to hold it to drink: cf. in particular the graves 651, 654, 656 and 325 discussed in detail in the article cited at the following note, with mention of further symposium attributes – in particular, the precious metal crowns of the tombs 656 and 651 – and their discussion in the wider context of the burial ground.

²² NIZZO 2011, 67-75 with references.

²³ PHILOSTR. *Her.* XII, 2. On the question cf. BURKERT 2010, 437-444 and, in addition to the very detailed and in many respects resolute analysis of SPINETO 2005, 13-123 (in detail 24-35), most recently, DORIA – GIUMAN 2017.

²⁴ DORIA – GIUMAN 2017, 11-12.

²⁵ The same that distinguished in everyday life the dynamics of the rite and those of sacrifice and, through them, cemented the sense of belonging of citizens admitted to the ceremonies and to the consumption/division of meat, as is well summarized, based on an impressive literature, in AMPOLO 1996, 319.

and relevance of this context, at least for its first 5 or 6 decades of life²⁶. This is the period best documented in the portion of cemetery so far excavated and published, in which more than 600 burials are concentrated (Fig. 3). The burial ground, in fact, in addition to having remained substantially intact since the moments of its last frequentation, presents an uninterrupted use that lasted for over 150 years, with modalities that suggest the existence of a forward-looking division of the funerary spaces, assigned to specific “family groups” until their extinction and/or their emigration (Fig. 4). The distribution of the tombs, therefore, reflects the original structure of the “society of the living” with all its contradictions. Indeed, the demographic distribution of the sample suggests that there were no filters in the access to the formal deposition, as also suggested by the higher-than-usual statistical representativeness of people who are usually excluded or at least discriminated against, such as the children previously mentioned or as the people with physical or mental disability or the socially subordinated ones, on which we will return soon.

Thanks to the interweaving of stratigraphic data with the “sociological” ones, the interpreters have the uncommon opportunity to investigate the burial ground also through its complex web of family, “ethnic” and social relationships. The cemetery in the Valle di San Montano can therefore become the privileged terrain for an accurate reconstruction of the diachronic evolution of a “multi-ethnic” community, whose composition seems to reflect the “natural” demographic canons and whose representativeness, at the same time, it is not excessively altered by the action of those ritual filters that usually distort the funerary sample.

This is demonstrated by the inclusion in the cemetery of “deviant/atypical burials” that in other funerary contexts could have been treated in a more discriminatory way. Grave 309B is an inhumation pertaining to an adult man of the advanced LG II period, characterized by grave goods of middle-level and “Greek” origin, but marked by a physical deformity – humpback – that could have limited or altered his social role. An even more

significant example is inhumation 950 (excavations 1965-67)²⁷, relating to an adult man of over 40 years, inserted in the funerary context in a perfectly normal way. The deceased is placed supine with his legs blocked by very evident shackles of iron and, among the other grave goods, a dagger and a scarab placed on his chest²⁸. The shackles have been interpreted as the sign of freedom deprivation but, perhaps, could be understood more simply as a device used for immobilizing the deceased, explainable by relating them to the broader theme of the fear of the returning of the dead²⁹. This superstition is plausibly attested in Pithekoussai by the very common practice of placing large and heavy stones above the burial – intentionally deposited over the skull, the pelvis or the feet of the dead – with the aim of preventing their return to life³⁰.

The projection of family relationships and family legacies in the planimetric organization of the cemetery and in the composition of the grave goods thus encourages a type of reading in which the mutual connections between objects and people seem to be the result of intentional choices, “ethnically” and/or “genetically” addressed, meaning the latter term not only in the purely biological sense but placing it in relation to the broader and problematic Greek concept of *genos*.³¹

What elsewhere we try to reconstruct with the aid of analyses such as, for example, palaeo-genetic and paleo-biological ones³², in the Pithekoussai cemetery can be grasped through the most objective instrument made available by the archaeological investigation for the analytical reconstruction of the time-line and, in our case more or less consequently, also, of the “genetic” sequence: the stratigraphy. This depends, of course, on whether we know how to correctly interpret it.

²⁷ CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013, 53-54.

²⁸ Both objects are anomalous because of the rarity of the weapons in the cemetery and the fact that scarabs are almost exclusively documented in burials related to sub-adult individuals: NIZZO 2011, 69-79 with references.

²⁹ NIZZO 2015, 57-58 e 530-542.

³⁰ NIZZO 2007, 27-208, note 99, and 2015, 540 in general terms about the so-called “stoned burials”. On the topic, most recently, see NIZZO 2021b, 61-68.

³¹ SMITH 2006; NIZZO 2013a, 423-427, with references at note 23.

³² NIZZO 2015, 275-277.

²⁶ From 740 up to 680 BC ca., according to the chronological reconstruction proposed in BARTOLONI – NIZZO 2005 and NIZZO 2007.

		Pithekoussai	Pontecagnano	Osteria dell'Osa	Veio
800			IB	IIB	IC
					IIA
775					
		Piano stanziamenti	IIA	IIIA	IIB
750	Liv. 10				
	Liv. 11				
	Liv. 12				
	Liv. 13	TGI	IIB	IIIB	IIC
	Liv. 14				
725	Liv. 15				
	Liv. 16				
	Liv. 17				
	Liv. 18				
	Liv. 19				
	Liv. 20				
	Liv. 21				
	Liv. 22				
700	Liv. 23	TG 2		IVA1	IIIA
	Liv. 24				
	Liv. 25				
	Liv. 26				
	Liv. 27				
	Liv. 28				
675	Liv. 29	MPC I			
	Liv. 30				
	Liv. 31	MPC II			
	Liv. 32				
650	Liv. 33			IVA2	IIB
	Liv. 34	TPC TR			
	Liv. 35	TPC TR-CA			
	Liv. 36				
	Liv. 37	CA		IVB	IV
600	Liv. 38				
	Liv. 39	CM			
	Liv. 40				

Fig. 3. Chronological table. Parallelism between the Pithecan sequence and those of Pontecagnano (Campania), Osteria dell'Osa (Lazio) and Veio (Etruria). Revised by Nizzo 2007

However, the framework foresaw by Buchner emerged in all its exceptional relevance only in 1993 with the definitive edition of the first portion of excavations, consisting of 723 contexts, 131 of which related to the phases of re-occupation of the cemetery following the first archaism³³. This exhaustive presen-

tation of the excavation data intentionally lacked the accurate statistical analysis that Buchner had not even begun in 1975, since he considered it potentially «monca e insoddisfacente» («incomplete and unsatisfactory»)³⁴ if not integrated with the equally numerous contexts that were dug during the subsequent investigations.

³³ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993.

³⁴ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 11.

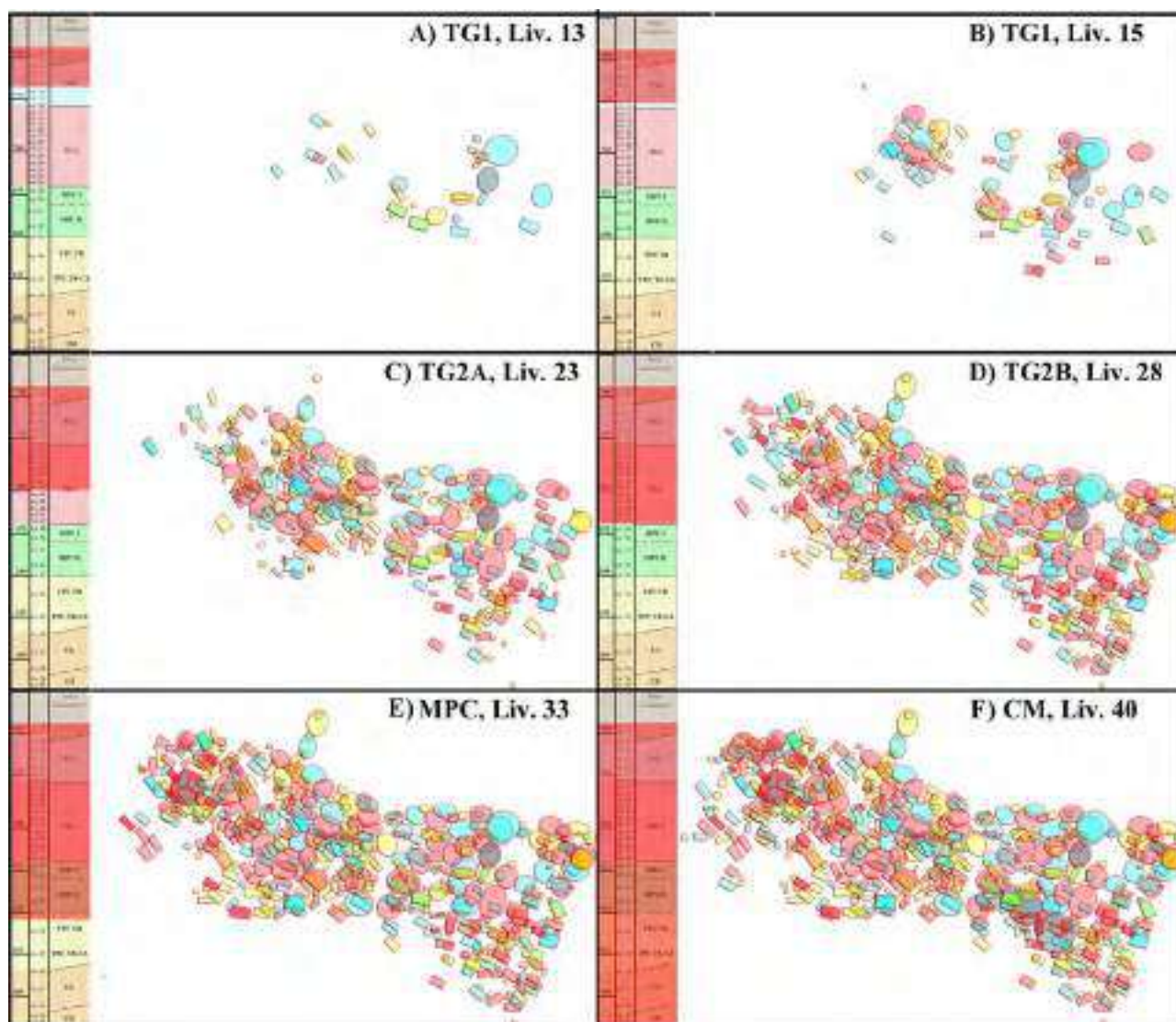


Fig. 4. Pithekoussai: Planimetric development of the cemetery. A. LG I, Liv. 13; B. LG I, Liv. 15; C. LG IIA, Liv. 23; D. LG IIB, Liv. 28; E. MPC, Liv. 33; F. MC, Liv. 40. Elaboration according to Nizzo 2007 and 2016c

Ridgway himself attempted to sketch a synthesis in his unsurpassed monograph of 1984³⁵, wisely combining a traditional quantitative analysis with qualitative evaluations, in such a way as to achieve a reliable reconstruction of the behavior of the funeral sample during the two best represented phases of the cemetery (LG I and LG II). The analysis of the main documented variables allowed him, therefore, to propose some historical interpretations, which, however, were always advanced with great caution:

«More sophisticated sorting techniques might well bring to light repeated (and so perhaps significant) patterns at the level of grave and, more

interestingly still, of family plot. Meanwhile, in the present state of the evidence from the cemetery in the Valle di San Montano, it seems clear enough that any social stratification there may be at Euboean Pithekoussai does not extend to an immediately apparent élite, like those which were developing at this time in Euboea itself and on the Italian mainland. Political and military evolution at home and social change in Campania, Latium vetus and Southern Etruria are both worlds apart from the prosperous middle-class community in the eighth-century commercial and industrial centre on the island of Ischia, where arms and armour are so far conspicuous by their absence»³⁶.

³⁵ RIDGWAY 1984, 85 ff.

³⁶ RIDGWAY 1984, p. 95 [= RIDGWAY 1992, 77].

As Ridgway stated, the absence of a clearly differentiated élite was the most surprising datum of the San Montano cemetery. Apparently contrasting with the documentation offered by the princely tombs of the Euboean motherland or by the indigenous ones of the Campanian, Etruscan or Latium hinterland, distinguished by the often almost frustrated imitation of those Hellenic models which, inevitably, were supposed to have been “exported” through the same Pithekoussai and/or its Cumaeen “emanation”.

A COMMUNITY WITHOUT ÉLITES [?]

At Pithekoussai, therefore, there seemed to be no direct evidence of those aristocratic prototypes of Hellenic origin from which the Italic populations took inspiration, re-encoding through them the local funeral ritual. This gap that could have different explanations, depending on random factors related to the limited extension of the investigation (as Buchner was inclined to explain), or due to ritual conditionings, determined by the desire to transpose in the funerary dimension different and/or partial aspects of those heroic models usually evoked by the presence of rank indicators such as weapons. The articulation of the cemetery in homogeneous family plots and the systematic absence of objects connoting the dead from a military and/or aristocratic point of view suggests that the explanation may also depend on alternative factors, not just linked to the particular social structure of the Pithecusan community but also to the mechanisms of funeral practices. The dead who by age, origin and condition could have been socially characterized as members of the élite, in fact, were generally cremated, with procedures that implied the burning of the corpse with its grave goods in an area usually distinct from that of the burial.

As mentioned earlier, citing the case of the pyre of Teos, this could therefore result in a wide dispersion of the burnt material which, in the case of the ceramic items, could cause the loss of about two thirds of each vessel³⁷.

The same ritual practices could therefore determine a series of more or less involuntary alterations of the primitive arrangement of the grave goods. Even before the deposition, in fact, the original representativeness of the grave goods could be profoundly altered, creating an irreparable break between the archaeologically preserved documentation and its “natural” sociological projection, at least in the simplistic terms assumed by the equation wealth [of the grave goods] = rank [of the dead], typical of the “processual” perspective³⁸.

Further interferences could also be caused by the deliberate intention of the mourners to merge («agglutinare»): using the expression of the editors) the burials, overlapping and mixing mounds, ashes, bones and grave goods.

This circumstance that has been verified on several occasions, sometimes forcing the excavators to review their original interpretation, as I believe has occurred in the aforementioned case of tomb 168 and as recent anthropological analyses have allowed us to verify in the case of cremation 944³⁹.

In the light of factors such as those mentioned, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to make an automatic quantification of the social status of the Pithecusans (especially the incinerated ones, belonging, as we have seen, to the Greek élite). The sociological interpretation of the cemetery must therefore be related to other parameters, which are different from the simple evaluation of the surviving objects recovered in the funeral deposit. This circumstance, naturally, does not allow us to exclude the existence of an unexplored portion of the necropolis reserved for the aristocratic component of the community⁴⁰.

Whatever the case, what has been identified so far, for its ramification of meanings and for the

³⁸ NIZZO 2015, *ad indicem*, s.v. “Archaeology of rank”.

³⁹ The tomb is known for the presence of an impasto amphora with an incised double spiral probably imported from *Latium vetus*: BARTOLONI – NIZZO 2005, 418-419. Recent analysis of the osteological remains (GIGANTE – BONDIOLI – SPERDUTI 2016) have led to the identification of the cremated remains of two adult individuals, a male and a female, plausibly burnt in two distinct moments, being in my opinion highly improbable the case of a simultaneous bisome cremation. Also, in this case – as I have already speculated for t. 168 – it is extremely plausible that the grave goods should be attributed to at least two separate incinerations, one intentionally merged to the other.

⁴⁰ BUCHNER 1975, 73.

³⁷ RIDGWAY 1984, 63; cf. also BUCHNER 1975, 69.

enormous interpretative potentialities that derive from it, allows us to recognize the existence of a profound social diversification of the community even within a widespread «*medietas*»⁴¹. This situation appears in all its evidence in the same spatial organization of the cemetery, as well as in ritual choices. Their analysis makes it possible to assign a subordinate role, if not even “servile”, to some adult individuals, formally buried but subject to a clearly differentiated funeral treatment, recognizable by the poverty or absence of the grave goods and by the crouched deposition of the corpse⁴².

The construction of the social at the dawn of colonization

With the definitive publication of the first part of the cemetery, many investigations focused specifically on these aspects, deepening, through a predominantly “indigenous” perspective, the “funerary interaction” dynamics between the deceased of presumably “local”⁴³ origin and the ones interpreted as “colonists”⁴⁴.

Referring more or less directly to some of the theoretical statements of postprocessual “sociology”, scholars such as d’Agostino or Cerchiai have tried to highlight the elements that most contribute to testifying to this dialectic. They have given particular emphasis to the forms of resistance, naturalization and/or ideological independence that can hide themselves, more or less completely, behind the dynamics of cohabitation, integration and/or subjugation of the Indigenous people. If, on the one hand, inhumations such as the so-called tomb of the “carpenter” (t. 678, belonging to a man of about 21 years) can show forms of integration revealing «the adherence to an ethical model that enhances the representation of work in the funerary space»⁴⁵,

on the other hand, the existence of apparently discriminated individuals, placed in the necropolis in ways similar to a sort of “ghettoization” and often characterized by objects of local origin, leads us to presume contextual forms of enslavement of the indigenous component of the community. This produces a play of mirrors in which the burial seems to provide a metonymic image of society, in which «the notion of subalternity [...] does not seem to presuppose the denial of the “social person” of the dead who retains the right to formal burial in the same cemetery of full members». The deceased is still allowed to preserve his “ritual strategies of representation” (impasto wares, ornaments, tools, crouched deposition of the corpse), so as to stimulate Cerchiai to «wonder if these signs do not structure, in a socially non-competitive dimension, forms of cultural resistance put in place by marginal and subaltern groups towards the ideology of the dominant group»⁴⁶.

The presence of indigenous material, however, is not always directly an “ethnicity” marker, especially in those frequent cases in which it connotes “elitist” contexts, such as the impasto cup from the Nestor’s cup tomb (168) or the enotrian *askos* from the tomb of the Bocchoris’s scarab (325). So it may be legitimate to explain the phenomenon by attributing to the «most important noble groups» a function of «social integrators», «able to metabolizing disparate ethnic and cultural contributions»⁴⁷. This may be particularly evident from the analysis of ornamental objects diffused in the cemetery which reveals a massive attestation of artefacts of local origins and typologies, acquired through non-episodic contacts and, plausibly, also through forms of “matrimonial exchange”, culminating, consequently, in “mixed marriages”⁴⁸.

The results of this “ethnic” and cultural fusion, however, are even more evident not only from the internal analysis of the material culture but, above all, interweaving the latter’s data with that extraordinary source of information offered by the stratigraphic sequence of the cemetery (Fig. 5).

⁴¹ Zevi 1987 to compare with Ridgway 1994 and with Mele 2005.

⁴² See, for example, the particularly significant cases of “groups” A06 and B02 according to the name adopted in Nizzo 2007 and, therein, the paragraph dedicated to the analysis of the tombs “without grave goods”, 31-32.

⁴³ For the presence of specific “signs of ethnic relevance” such as, for example, impasto wares or indigenous fibulae.

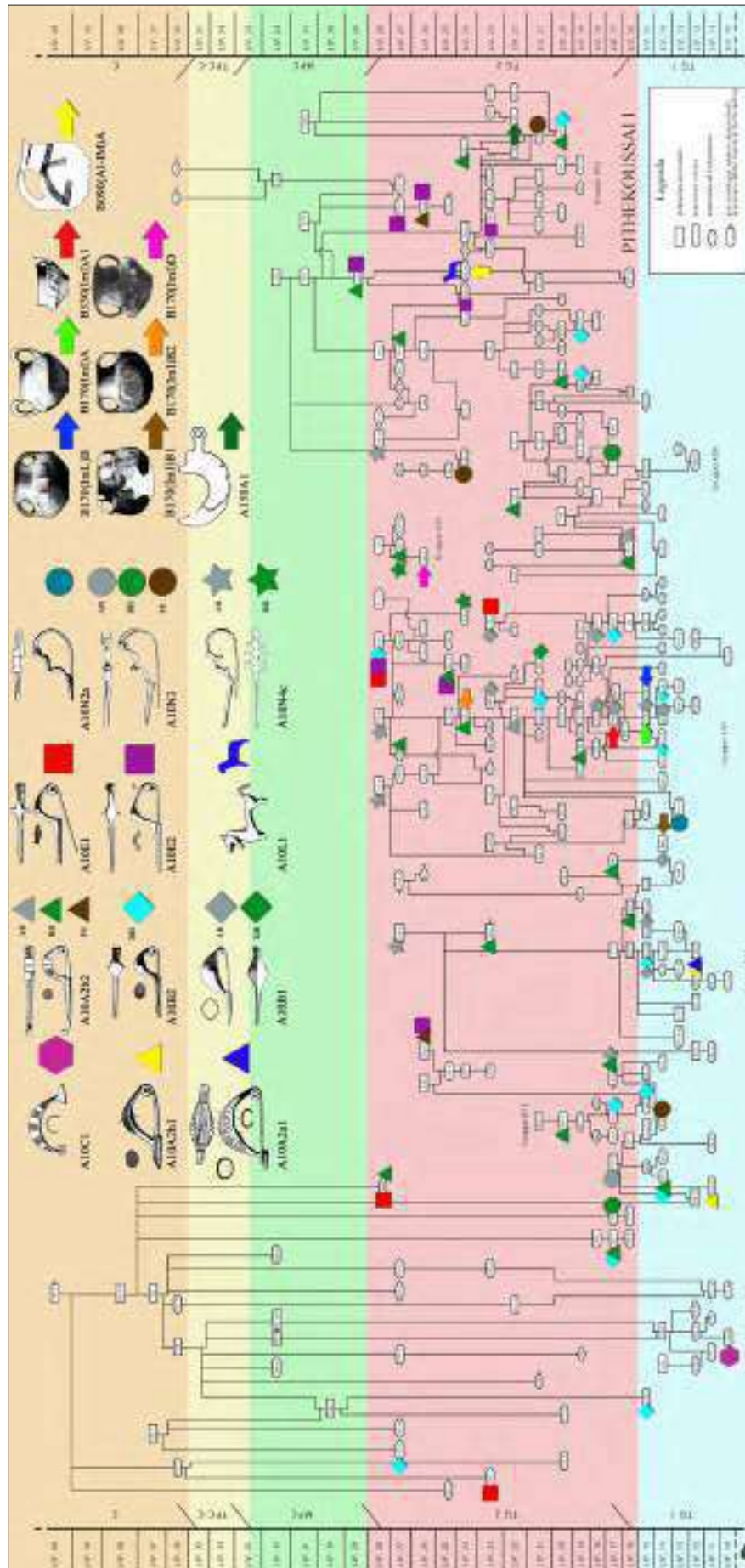
⁴⁴ Bartoloni – Nizzo 2005; Cerchiai 1997; Coldstream 1993, 1994; d’Agostino 1994, 1999a, 1999b, 2006, 2008, 2011; Guzzo 2012; Nizzo 2007; 2010, 91 ff.; 2013a; 2016a; 2016b; Ridgway 2000.

⁴⁵ d’Agostino 1999a, 60; Cerchiai 1997, 659; about the context cf. also Kelley 2012, and Nizzo 2013a, 415-416, note 73.

⁴⁶ Cerchiai 1997, 669.

⁴⁷ d’Agostino 1999a, 60-61.

⁴⁸ Coldstream 1993, 1994; Shepherd 1999; Lo Schiavo 2006; Macnamara 2006; Toms 2006; Nizzo 2007, 28-29; 2010, 91 ff.; Guzzo 2012.



The careful analysis of the Pithecusan network – closely linked to the investigation of the spatial, ritual and typological-associative components mentioned above – makes it possible to retrace the dynamics of these processes with a degree of accuracy very rare compared to the contemporary Mediterranean documentation. In this sense, therefore, I believe that the most important acquisitions derive not only from a better clarification of the dating and/or consistency of each single funerary context, but rather from the degree of depth that can be achieved in *micro*- and *macro*-historical terms starting from the critical reading of the entire sequence, even if limited to the time frame in which it is better documented. The variations found in the demographic composition and/or in the appearance/disappearance of specific categories of objects, as well as in the diachronic variability of their percentage representativeness, in fact, are all pieces of information which can be interpreted in connection with historical⁴⁹ and/or sociological⁵⁰ dynamics. And it is reasonable to suppose – given the cultural heterogeneity of the Pithecusan sample – that these may reflect some of the contemporary events that involved the Mediterranean populations, at least as far as they could be reflected in the local funeral documentation: the «great history» in the «little history»⁵¹.

As already mentioned, in fact, by developing some of the methodological lines inaugurated by Ian Morris⁵², the diachronic analysis of the demographic evolution of the burial ground, limited to its best documented phases (from LG I to the beginning of the MPC), allows us to identify significant alterations of biological and sociological relationships. These are believed to reflect as many changes in the organization of the community.

A significant indication in this last sense could be recognized in the sudden decline in the number of cremations («CT») recorded at levels 19-20 of LG II (Fig. 6a), at a time when, instead, the number of adult and infant inhumations («I Ado/Adu» and

«I Inf/B-IE») continued to grow, resulting in an unusual overcoming of the natural proportion between adults/adolescents and infants («Ratio Inf-B/Ado-Adu»), significantly in favour of the latter, whereas in Pithekoussai, up to the principle of MPC, it tends to remain close to the expected value of 50%, due to the very high infant mortality rate known in pre-industrial agricultural societies (Fig. 6b). If one observes the proportion between the sexes in adults and adolescents, even taking into account the high number of individual with unknown sex («N.ID»), it can also be noted that in coincidence with the aforementioned levels the representativeness of the feminine component is extremely significant, with results that have few comparisons in the other chronological segments (Fig. 6c).

The coincidence of different parameters such as those mentioned, in my opinion, is due to an event that, at the beginning of LG II (around 715-710 BC), had to cause a significant numerical decline in the most dynamic portion of the community: the adult cremated males, those that – according to their ritual and social status – can be identified with the group of Greek origin.

It seems therefore reasonable to link this decrease to the tradition of a migration of the Pithecusans on the Cumaeen seaboard⁵³; a migration that, in its initial phases, had to involve mainly the Greeks able to use weapons. They were only ones who could have contributed to the colonial challenge with the use of force⁵⁴, to achieve those results witnessed, a few years later, by burials like the 104 Artiàco. It is probably right around this period that the conditions for a sudden change in the institutional and organizational structure of the small Pithecusan community had to be created, but too quickly to be reconstructed in detail through the material evidence. The strengthening of the economic and political dialectic with the mainland, the motherland and the Mediterranean must have contributed to increasing the mobility of the most dynamic members of the community, irreversibly altering their own funerary representativeness, in a cemetery that was no longer be its only funeral pole nor, even the main one.

⁴⁹ Such as the Lelantine war, the Assyrian expansion in the Near East, the founding of Cuma, the Corinthian colonization etc.

⁵⁰ Such as the spread of the alphabet, that of the Homeric imagery, the reception of Greek and oriental practice of drinking and eating, the diffusion of artistic, stylistic or technological innovations etc.

⁵¹ As already highlighted in D'AGOSTINO 1987.

⁵² MORRIS 1987, 1992, 1998; in this regard cf. also NIZZO 2015, 257-267; 2016b.

⁵³ LIV. VIII, 22.5-6; GUZZO 2011, 71-111, NIZZO 2016a.

⁵⁴ PHLEGON OF TRALLES (*FGrHist* 257 f 36 X B 53-56); GUZZO 2011, 104, NIZZO 2021c, 191-202 with ref.

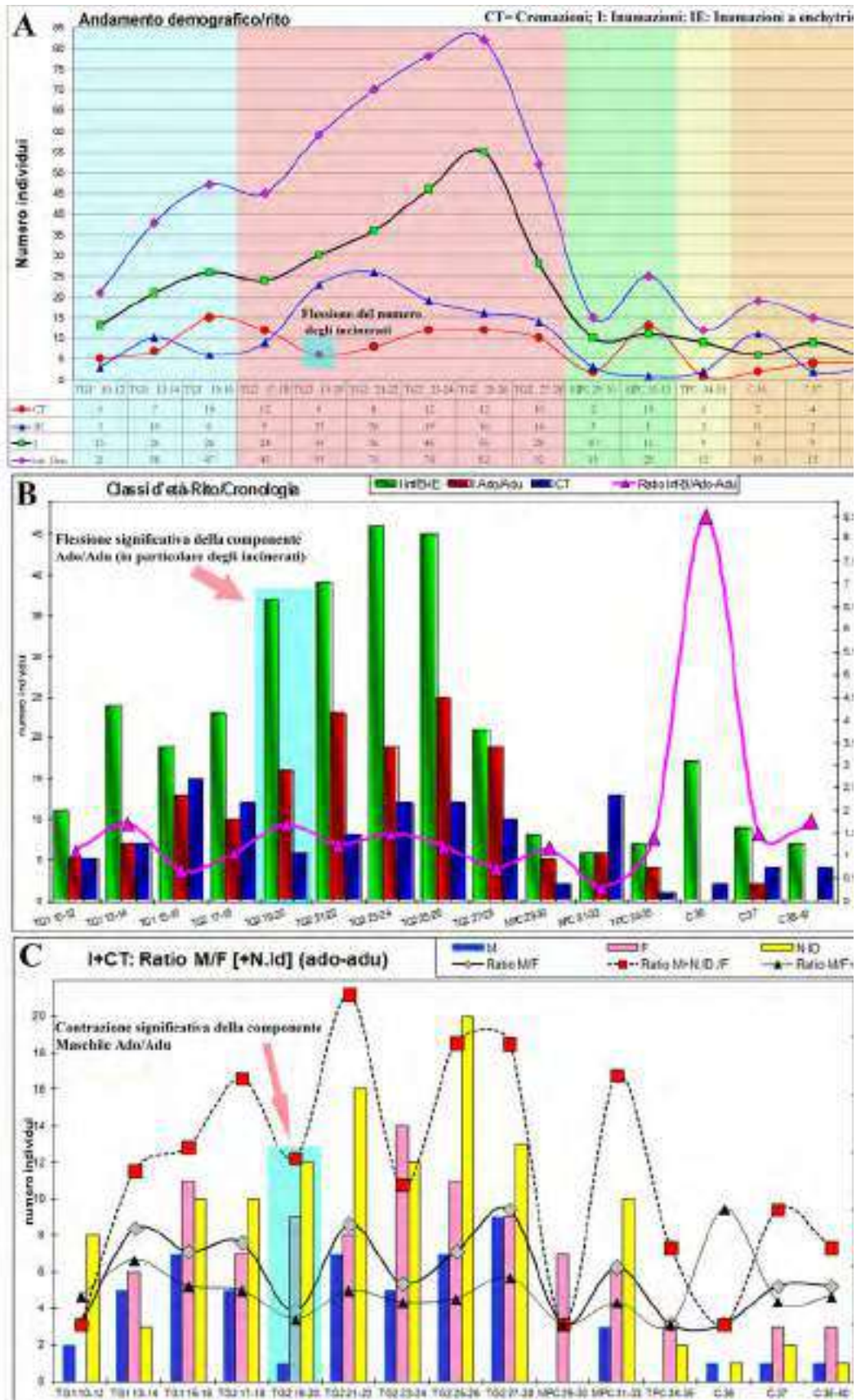


Fig. 6. Pithekoussai cemetery. A. Demographic trend (rite/number of individuals). B. Demographic trends by age-rite classes (CT + I + IE) and proportional ratio (Ratio) Inf + B / Adolescents + Adults. C. Demographic trend of adolescents + adults (CT + I) in relation to sex and proportional ratio (Ratio) M / F [+ N.Id]. Rielaboration from Nizzo 2007

“Princely” tombs such as the 104 Artiàco and the other similar ones of Cuma are punctually integrated into a context in which both Greek and indigenous indicators of excellence converge admirably. This is the result of a skilful blend of aristocratic traditions whose cultural and expressive core remains, in my opinion, the Hellenic one, inclined to reabsorb and recode the local contributions, maintaining and, perhaps, further emphasizing the ritual and symbolic imprinting of the motherland, in a moment in which the identity and ethnic dynamics tended to balance each other between the opposite extremes of contrast and emulation.⁵⁵

The Cumaean documentation, however, due to the characteristics of the context and its complex circumstances of excavation, does not allow us to follow in the same depth those dynamics and processes synthesized so far for Pithekoussai. The demographic evolution of the Pithecusan community, in fact, within the limits previously described, seems to acquire an unexpected consistency, based on the critical weighting of all the variables susceptible to examination for the entire cemetery and not on the observa-

tion of isolated parameters or individual exceptional contexts, albeit intriguing, such as the Artiàco tomb.

The comparison reveals the now complete transition of the Cumaean reality towards the settlement model of the *polis* and the sociological model of the *genos*, conditions which, plausibly, the small Pithecusan community – due to the nature of the island and the historical circumstances – was never able to achieve in “physical” and “institutional” dimensions⁵⁶, but which, evidently, it already conceptually carried *in nuce* and which it saw materialize precisely with the foundation of Cuma. This event represented the full realization of the aims and ambitions that had justified the origin and the implantation of the first *apoikia* in the west.

Addendum (2023/12)

This paper was submitted for publication in the winter 2018/19, without subsequent additions. The only exceptions are some bibliographical updates. I warmly thank the editors for the invitation to the conference and for allowing these small additions.

⁵⁵ NIZZO 2016b.

⁵⁶ NIZZO 2013b.

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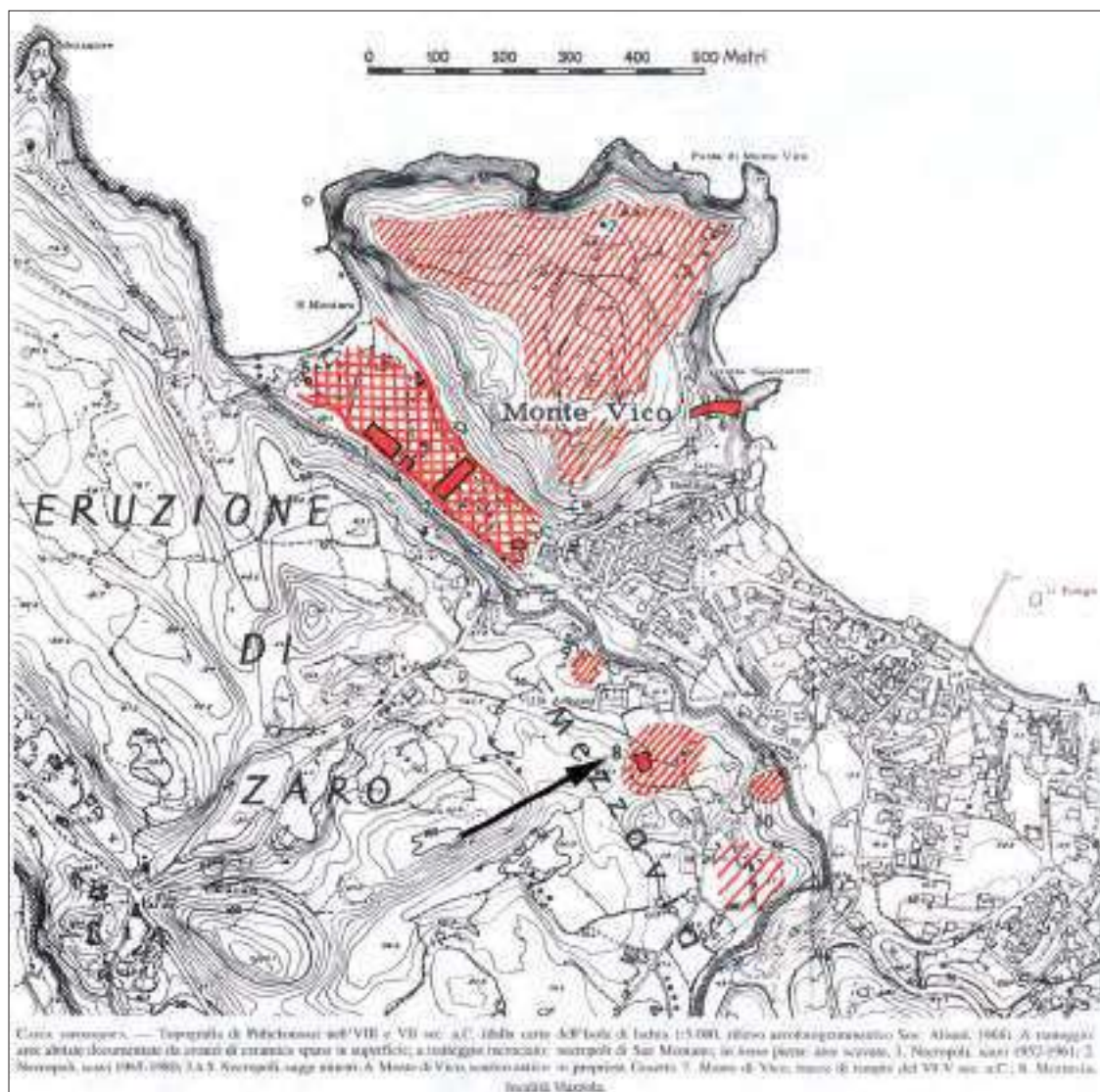
THE MANUFACTURING DISTRICT IN MAZZOLA AND ITS METAL PRODUCTION

Costanza Gialanella, Pier Giovanni Guzzo

In this paper we present the manufacturing district in Mazzola. After a section on the architectural and stratigraphical evidence, taken from J. Klein's excavation diaries, the finds will be examined.

I. ARCHITECTURAL AND STRATIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE

The Mazzola settlement, known in the bibliography as the "metal district", is situated at Lacco Ame-



no, on the western side of the Mezzavia hill, facing the western side of the Monte di Vico acropolis (Fig. 1). It is on a slope and is almost semicircular in shape.

After its discovery in 1969, it remained almost unpublished, except for the three articles by Buchner and the excavator Klein¹. Thanks to the meticulousness of N. Manzi, as part of her “Scuola di Specializzazione” thesis at the University of Naples “Federico II”², a new reading of this settlement was realized.

This work was carried out under a number of difficult circumstances. Many of the methodological approaches used by Klein did not adequately correspond to the current stratigraphical system of excavation: thus it is difficult to make a point-by-point comparison between the stratigraphical information reported in the excavation diaries and in the graphic documentation of the Superintendence, which did not take the stratigraphical sequences into account.

To give some examples, the layers of soil were distinguished by colour and consistency, the floors by their position and relation to each building, and, fortunately, the buildings and walls were marked with Roman numbers and letters respectively, and noted on the plans. Later these could have been modified as the investigations progressed, moving from trials and trenches to larger areas.

In such conditions, the links between the stratigraphy and the ceramics were not easy to work out, even if the latter had been collected separately (as we read in the notebooks) and arranged in “numbered boxes” following the context of origin. However, it is not possible to identify a “box” with a single stratigraphic unit or “lot”, because material coming from a single stratigraphic context can involve several “boxes”. The “lots” are also not entirely reliable: for example, the layers of soil that are not identified as floors are defined simply as “fills”, even though they are actually composed of a sequence of layers, while the postholes were excavated together with the layers in which they had been cut, without any distinction.

We must also consider that the excavated area we know of is in fact only one of four clusters, all datable to the LG I, which were identified thanks to surveys and small sondages carried out in the first campaign in 1969 – and for which there are no documentary records – which is also the case for the last campaign in May/June 1971. All are located on the Mazzola hill at different heights, as the slope was organized in terraces descending towards the sea, as also attested in the Punta Chiarito settlement³.

A recent confirmation of this settlement modality, a distinguishing feature of the Pithecanthrop settlements, comes from the discovery of small segments of dry-stone walls, a terrace wall of tufa blocks, and from pottery. All are located in the park of Villa Arbusto, the site of the Archaeological Museum of Pithecusae, on the site of Mazzola, where a German team has been operating for two years⁴.

We must here remember that before the Greek settlement, the site was occupied by local people, the same who were living on the Castiglione peak, in Casamicciola⁵, and whose presence in Lacco Ameno is also attested by prehistoric material in the Gosetti Dump on Monte di Vico⁶. However, at Mazzola, as in the Gosetti Dump, material from the Iron Age is absent, thereby proving that the Euboeans settled in a place that had not been inhabited by natives.

The Mazzola structures were built with the local trachyte stones; the site, according to the large amount of ceramic material found there, can be set in a chronological framework between the mid-8th and the beginning of the 7th centuries BC. During the first quarter of the 7th century BC, perhaps because of a landslide or an earthquake, the complex was largely abandoned except for a limited area, occupied once more in the first half of the 6th century BC and then abandoned again after a few more decades.

³ For the Greek settlement in Punta Chiarito: see GIALANELLA 1994 and 1996; DE CARO – GIALANELLA 1996; GIALANELLA 2013.

⁴ About the results of these new excavations, see below, N. Burkhardt and S. Faust.

⁵ On the settlement of Castiglione see, most recently, PACCIARELLI 2016, with previous bibliography.

⁶ For the Gosetti Dump, cf. RIDGWAY 1984, 96-97.

¹ BUCHNER 1971a, 63-67; 1971b, 364-369; KLEIN 1972, 34-39.

² MANZI 2005.



Fig. 2. Ischia, Mazzola. Metallurgical District during the excavations

The buildings are located on two sloping terraces, separated by a retaining wall (Fig. 2). Another retaining wall delimits the western edge of this area. This wall, around 2 m high, is made of large, unhewn trachyte rocks; it was facing the slope behind, made up mostly of crumbled rocks, some of which were incorporated in the structures.

N. Manzi, who generously made her work available to us, proposes a chronological definition of the settlement; the phases she identified lasted for just over a generation. As already pointed out, the reconstruction of the contexts of the materials is only partially reliable and therefore greater precision is not feasible.

Building I was built on the upper terrace in its first phase (Fig. 3), dating to LG I; it ends in an apse against which a mound, not a bench as suggested by Mazarakis⁷, is heaped. The walls, as in Buildings VIII and III dated in the same phase, present two quite regular but unplastered facades; the space between the two is filled with soil and small stones. Larger stones had been used for the foundations – all the buildings, as for those in Punta Chiarito, are set directly on the ground and the upper stones decrease in size. Only the south-eastern wall (I,1) has no such double facades, probably because of the presence of wall 1 of the older Building VIII, which was partially demolished and partially rebuilt to the southwest and closing a space between Buildings I and VIII; inside this space, two postholes had been found. In the apsidal area, the banked soil lies on a yellow-brown soil layer from which came the fragments of two kraters – one of which was partially pieced together with a Late-Geometric decorated krater and now exhibited at the National Archaeological Museum of Naples in the Pithecan section, to which we will refer below – as well as a large SOS amphora.

A small olla was buried in the Building's first phase of the floor level: it had a terracotta lid and contained some charcoal and non-human osteological remains. In association with the olla was a krater of local manufacture, an imported SOS amphora and another large container, also imported. Thanks to these discoveries, we were able to identify the apsidal area as a storeroom which supports the interpretation of this structure as a residential building, as no traces of metal manufacturing were found. These aspects, however, do not allow us to hypothesise that, this building could be the residence of an important personality, on the basis of the well-known Euboean comparisons, such as the owner of the near *ergasterion*, Building III⁸.

The size of the house – having only 17.40 sq.m. of inhabitable space, more similar to that of the oval house in Punta Chiarito than to the Euboean buildings – is also in contrast with the interpretation of a rich residential building. More-

over, even if environmental factors played a considerable role – namely the steep slope to which the Pithecan buildings had to adapt – these structures, unlike the Greek ones, are not surrounded by enclosure walls. It does not seem possible, therefore, to attribute to the aforementioned substructure walls of the terraces in Mazzola the same defining purposes as the limits of the *oikoi* that Mazarakis assigns to the Euboean and Oropos *periboloi*⁹.

Concerning the ceramics, in the first phase fine wares are represented by the Late Geometric and Corinthian material, both imported and local, as well as a few fragments of Late Geometric in “white on dark”; in the second phase, this ratio is reversed. During the first phase of the building's life (and the second, about which, see below), there is continuity among the containers for transportation of liquids and food, as well as in the kitchen ware. However, while in the first phase the quantity of finds pertaining to the female sphere is remarkable, in the second, containers for food are completely absent.

Moreover, as stated above, there is no proof of activities linked to metal manufacturing thus confirming that the building was intended for a residential function only. This theory is also supported by the circumstance that the majority of the finds had been recovered in the apsidal area, both in the first and in the second phases, confirming its identification as a storeroom with a mound heaped against the curved wall. Something similar is attested, for example, in the Greek sphere, in “Building Θ” in Oropos or the oval building in Viglatouri, though here it is supposed that both these spaces had a sacral function¹⁰. The hypothesis that explains the second phase of room B (Fig. 4) as a *thalamos* is not conceivable either, because it was occupied by the large containers in the pantry, even if people could have slept on simple matings, or on a wooden loft, as attested in Punta Chiarito at Pithecan. For the western area in room A, the fixed hearth identified there confirms the use of this space for cooking and consuming food. Lastly, we have to remember that this build-

⁷ MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2007.

⁸ KLEIN, 1972, 39; FUSARO 1982, 16; PESANDO 1989, 18 ff.; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1998, 201-203; MELE 2003, 17-18.

⁹ MAZARAKIS AINIAN, 2007, 163.

¹⁰ MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997, 48-63.

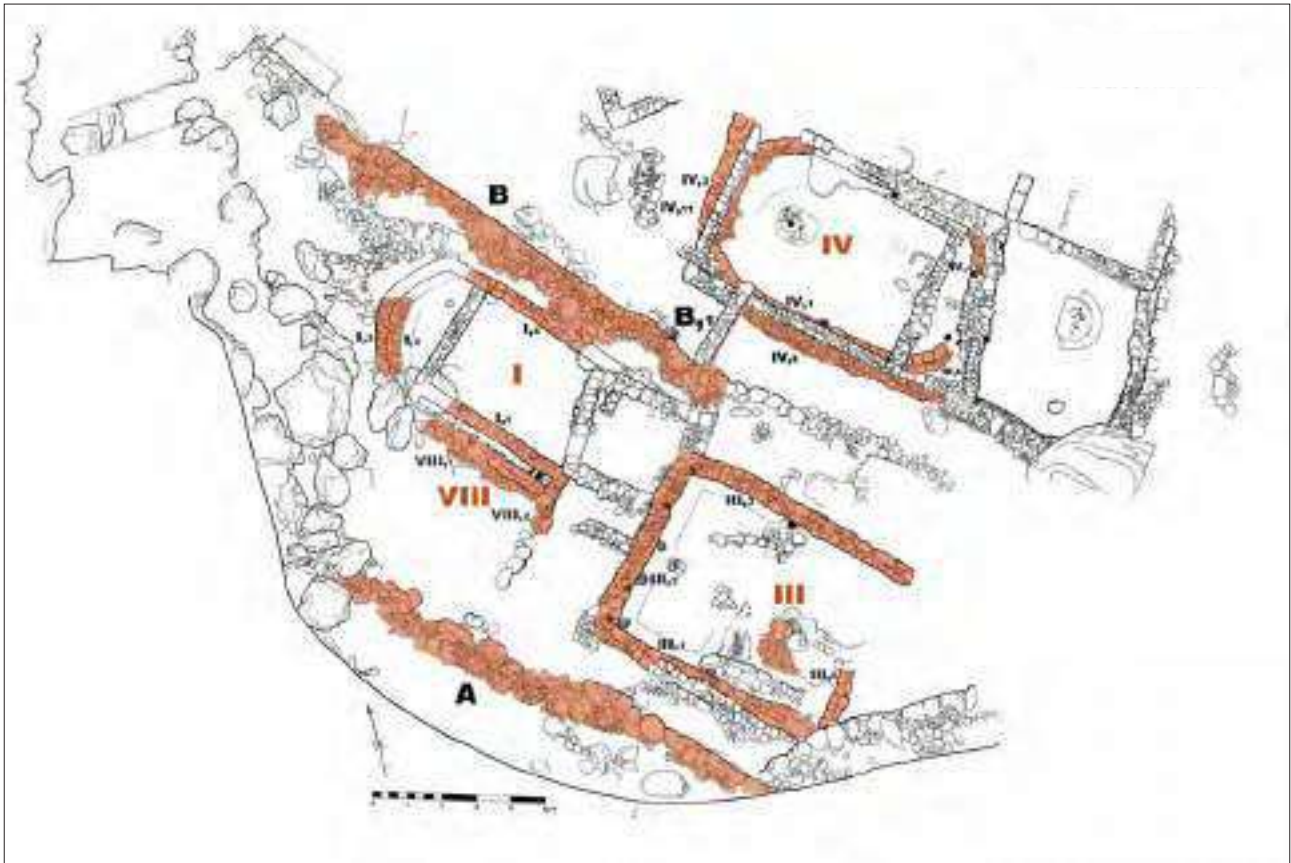


Fig. 3. Metallurgical District, phase 1

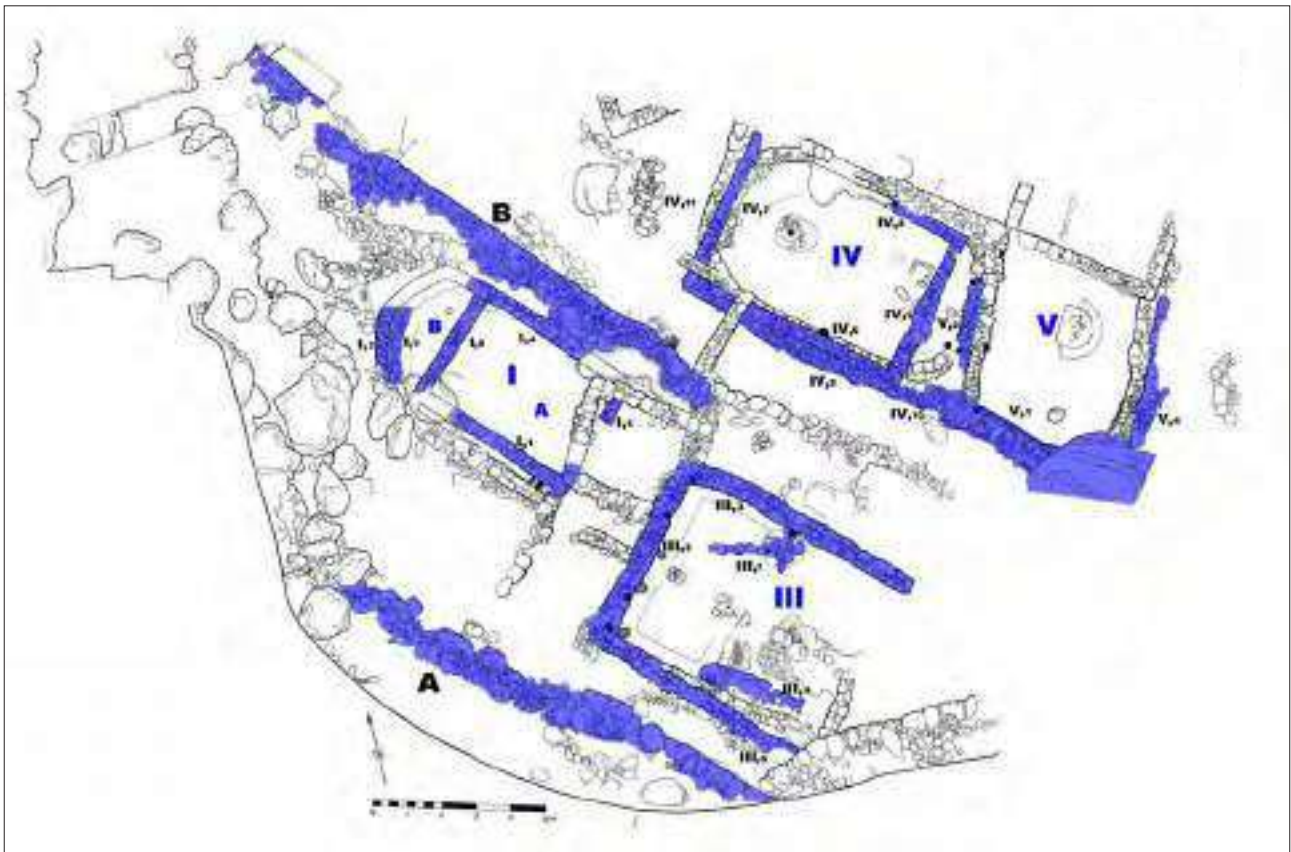


Fig. 4. Metallurgical District, phase 2

ing was completely abandoned between its second and third stages of life, following the collapses that affected all of the northwestern facade of the upper terrace.

Building VIII, perhaps abandoned early because of a landslide, as proved by the presence of two large rocks in the northern area, has only been partially examined; the northern wall, better preserved, has wide and thick foundations that reach down to the level of the Bronze Age, linking with wall VIII, 2. To the south of this wall a compacted earth floor covering the Bronze Age one has been identified. From this layer two local kotylai of the “Aetos 666” type – now exhibited in the Archaeological Museum of Pithecusae – and a local cup with a wavy decoration were recovered. The presence of kotylai “Aetos 666” suggests that the Mazzola inhabited area had been built slightly later than the area with Middle-Geometric skyphoi on the acropolis, thus confirming the above-recorded dating for the installation of the complex.

The other part of the upper terrace was occupied by Building III, the known rectangular structure, identified from the outset as an *ergasterion*: since the beginning it had shown connection with manufacturing, related to iron forging and, probably, bronze melting.

During the first decades of this settlement’s life, all the activities seem to be located inside the internal perimeter of the building, even if, to be precise, in this complex we include a sheltered portion near the southeast, where in its first stage the activities related to iron forging were carried out. This is attested by the remains of the forge fire, numerous iron slags, and splinters and iron fragments that permeated the two subsequent floor levels. In the central area of this structure, near the fireplace (as denoted by a yellow-orange colouring surrounded by a circle of white ash), we can define the contour line thanks to the postholes. The posts held up the roofing on the eastern side, which comprised the canopy mentioned above over an open space. Perhaps, it was further delimited by small low walls, considering some small stones found to the east of the above-mentioned contour line.

In the successive phases, the function of the ceramics found in the building do not change.

They are predominantly for the consumption of food, with some containers for transport and a few ceramics for actual cooking: this underlines that some sectors of the building were intended for preparing and consuming food. On the contrary, the evidence for the metals varies by phase: in the first phase are mostly found manufacturing slags in cap and drip shape related to the forging, while in the second mainly tools are present. The forge, placed in the southeast corner, was a simple hollow structure whose walls were covered with clay: fired clay traces, in fact, have been identified over most of the floor. Later, the main forging fire was moved to the northeast area, while other forges, as already mentioned, were located in the central area. Klein also published three fragments of a furnace for forging, with holes believed to be openings for bellows, perhaps made in perishable materials, which were not recovered. The transfer of the metallurgical activities inside was perhaps motivated by the level of light required, as a dim-light allows the smith to identify more easily the correct temperature necessary to refine the iron bloom.

Lastly, the presence of fragments of lead and silver in the building, as reported by Klein, and of bronze fibulae, could allow us to suppose that it was used for working these metals too.

All the upper terrace was delimited by the above-mentioned retaining wall B, the only one built with below-ground-level foundations, whose construction entailed, especially in the northwest, the removal of the Bronze Age levels.

The lower terrace, in the first phase, is on the contrary occupied only by **Building IV**. It has an oval shape, its inner area (26 sq.m.) and its division into spaces of different functions recall the oval house in Punta Chiarito: the latter certainly is the most convincing comparison for the Mazzola building. It is far from the only example known, the layout being well known during the Late Geometric in Attica, especially in Euboea and in the eastern Greek islands and along the western coasts of Asia Minor¹¹.

¹¹ MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997, 113-114.

Walls IV, 4 and 5 belong to this building; the curve of the wall to the northeast matches the rise of the volcanic terrain. The level of the surface is confirmed by the finding of fragments of a large pithos and a large sandstone block explained at one time by Klein to be a column base, but now interpreted more likely to be a kind of monolithic bench. Unlike Punta Chiarito, the postholes are set inside wall IV, 1, while two other holes are situated opposite each other, inside and outside wall IV,5. These were probably used to support a covering whereby the external holes contained poles onto which tie rods were fixed, to fasten strongly the curved part of the covering, the most fragile. Another posthole was found in the centre of the northwest portion of the building. Midway between the poles in IV,4 and IV,5, two trapezoidal phonolite stones were recovered, identified by Klein as «non local stones to wet sharpen»; on the larger, at the time of excavation, there was an iron knife.

There are not many ceramics related to this phase, in part because the floors were cut into by deep modern farming ditches, to the extent that some sherds found inside the building match others that were retrieved from outside: irrefutable proof that, in the span of this settlement's lifetime, the soil was moved from an area to another, often in the deliberate setting of the floors and also within the same building. In addition to fragments of a plain kantharos, those of an imitation EPC kantharos, of non-local Thapsos skyphoi without panels and of a wavy-line decorated oinochoe, (as well as a spindle-whorl) have lately been identified in storage.

No places for fires or hearths are known inside the building, even if the discovery of milling stones supports the idea that some productive activity was carried out. It seems, in fact, that these activities were carried out outside, along the northern side, where a bank and a furnace were located.

In the second phase of this complex, on the upper terrace (Fig. 4), **Building I** was equipped with two new walls that formed a large rectangular space of 13 sq m (A), and a smaller semi-circular one (B) of 3 sq m in the northwest. There is no trace of a door connecting these two rooms but considering that A's floor is around 15 cm lower than B's, we have to imagine that one or two wooden steps existed. On A's floor, in

the west corner, was located a kind of "container", described as a platform in the shape of a horseshoe, made of coarse clay, with raised edges and fired *in situ*; it was supported by some burned sherds, from which it was possible to almost entirely recompose an SOS amphora. Klein identified the structure as a furnace, but this hypothesis was then rejected because of the absence of fire traces, apart from those from the firing of the container itself. Ridgway¹² later identified it as a cooking pot made of raw clay.

From the same floor came some vases that can be reassembled from fragments, among which it is worth highlighting some examples of local LG II kotylai with birds and SOS amphorae, as well as a local krater, with a decoration in "white-on-dark"¹³. From room B comes the abovementioned local Late Geometric krater with two horses facing each other, each one framed in a square¹⁴. Many times, Mazarakis Ainian has remarked upon the presence of horse-decorated kraters – Coldstream and Ridgway¹⁵ interpret horses as indicative of the Euboean aristocracy – found inside buildings both in the Greek world, in particular in Oropos, and in the colonial world, especially Pithecusae: he associates the kraters with the status of the buildings' owners, identifying them as members of a semi-aristocratic elite that supervised the metal-working activities. But, as Mazarakis himself admits, the Mazzola settlement is peripheral to the principal Pithecusan residential area, and so, as we know too little about it at the moment, we cannot safely compare it with the excavations in Oropos¹⁶. It is thus difficult to provide certain answers to the questions that Mazarakis Ainian himself later asked¹⁷. Other small and insignificant modifications affected Building III in this phase, such as some rocks which had tumbled from the upper slope, perhaps because of an earthquake, on the southern side. The floor is characterized by a compact but discoloured surface, due to the effect of charring, where a

¹² RIDGWAY 1984, 106.

¹³ For Mazzola ceramics in "white-on-dark", see M. Cuozzo, below in this volume.

¹⁴ The first report about the discovery of this krater is in BUCHNER 1971b, 370-371, pl. XCII, 2. Cf. M. Cuozzo, below in this volume. About this krater, which has a simple linear decoration on the reverse, cf. COLDSTREAM 1994, 80, fig. 2; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2006.

¹⁵ COLDSTREAM 1994, 79; RIDGWAY 1984, 113.

¹⁶ MAZARAKIS AINIAN, 2007, 163.

¹⁷ MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2006, 202-205; 2012.

great quantity of charcoal was found. In the northern sector, together with a considerable quantity of burnt traces of objects, several tile fragments with traces of burning were found: these were construed by Klein as forge bases, an interpretation also aided by the presence, on the floor, of a black layer deriving from an accumulation of ash material, the result of combustion. To the northwest of this area, there was a mound composed, as in other buildings, of a layer of yellowish volcanic ash, on which sat an iron knife, while inside the mound were three equidistant postholes, probably used to support a covering over it. Metal objects (bronze fibulae, knife blades and iron nails), processing waste and iron slags were also found on the paved floor. Klein also attributes to a forge some pithoi fragments stuck on the floor, within broad areas of charring.

Regarding the ceramics related to this phase, we must point out some amphorae fragments decorated in the Cesnola Painter style, a dish with rays that finds matches in the necropolis and an EPC kotyle.

Building IV on the lower terrace, on the contrary, was affected during this phase by a profound rearrangement, transforming its oval shape into a rectangular one. A strip of its floor has been found to the west of wall IV,9, on which an iron knife was *in situ*, as well as another fragment of phonolite stone, close to which there was a quadrangular structure, made of mud bricks later strongly burnt, interpreted as a forge fire. The only evidence of a covering is provided by the posthole, in continuity with the first phase, on the southwest side. Bronze and iron fragments, iron slags, as well as a great number of EPC kotylai and kantharoi, both imported and of local imitation, fragments of an SOS amphora and of kitchen ware, together with some chytrai, all come from the floor area.

The majority of the ceramics recovered is made up of aryballoi, lekythoi (and a spindle whorl), suggesting a feminine presence related to weaving and food preparing activities (ceramics for food consumption are present too, as already reported). Given the lack of fireplaces, such preparation must have been done on mobile hearths. In the northwest area, the presence of the previously mentioned sandstone block near the mound, the phonolite anvils and the knife blades to the southeast indicate a working area

related, perhaps, to the final working stage of metal products. In turn, this is separated from another space conceived as a pantry, with its large pithos. The demarcation of these internal spaces was perhaps indicated by the mentioned covering system. With the transformation of its shape from oval to rectangular, the building was equipped with a forge for smelting metals that was now moved from the exterior to the interior, along the northern wall IV,9. The external space remains organized around mound IV,11, close to which spread the above-mentioned dumping area – formed by the final raising of the floor in the third phase of Building IV – where the famous lead weight¹⁸, as well as a hearth, was found.

We do not know the reasons behind the transformation of the shape of the building and the moving of the forge: nevertheless, it seems reasonable to suppose there was a link with Building III that, in this phase, reached the apex of its manufacturing activity.

The northwest wall of **Building V** is abutted against wall IV,10, built in this phase and only partially investigated because it lies at the very edge of the excavation area and, as a consequence, it was ignored in the first printed reports (Fig. 4). At the base of wall V,2 two postholes were identified, conserved in the following phase. In the centre of this space a semicircular fireplace in volcanic ash, very similar to the one in Punta Chiarito, was also found. Near this fireplace, sunken into the floor, was a block of green tufa. This material, also used for the so-called louterion in Punta Chiarito placed on the mound close to the oval house, was also used in one of the walls of Building VI, from the 6th century BC.

However, we must here emphasize that the building was constructed and modified in a period of great transformations (Fig. 5), both structural and organizational, experienced by the “district” around the end of the 8th century BC (phase 3). These modifications affect both the upper and the lower terraces, transforming it into a sort of working “complex”, where the functions of the *ergasterion* increased, and became, along with Building II and Structure VII, the central area in the new arrangement of the space and its productive organization.

¹⁸ BUCHNER 1971b, 367-368; RIDGWAY 1984, 108-109; CANTILENA 2010, 404-407.

Building I was abandoned; its wall I,6 was overlapped by part of **Building II**, the smallest in Mazzola. Among the objects found here are an iron knife and a knife's grip, iron nails and a little bronze stud. Among the ceramics, the famous local LG II fragmentary krater with the right-to-left inscription ...]inos m'epoise must be mentioned¹⁹. This fragment with the inscription was found among the stones that constituted the foundations of wall II,1. Other fragments of the same krater, recomposed and exhibited in the Museum, come from the floor but involve pieces from the external area between Buildings II and III, and from an excavation test of Klein's "on the west terrace".

Compared to the small number of ceramic materials, especially related to EPC and MPC, with Euboean and over-painted ceramics, and the metal objects already mentioned, a great number of slags – especially iron blooms – and numerous scraps linked with metal manufacturing were found in this building; however, it lacks a hearth or furnace. It is therefore possible to assume that this small building was a storeroom, in particular for iron blooms, but perhaps also a workshop where the activity was linked to finishing and assembling the metal objects. It is presumed that this space enjoyed a close relationship with the nearby *ergasterion* which, in the third phase, seems to be equipped with new spaces related to metal production, such as the contiguous Structure VII.

In fact, the *ergasterion* was affected during this phase by another modification, an extension of the retaining wall in wall VII,1 which, with VII,2 and 3, constitutes a new space annexed to the building. The raising of the floor is remarkable, with numerous fragments of common ceramics, bone and metals being found therein. If in the southern area, untouched by any burning activities, the floor is in a yellowish volcanic material that artificially compacted constitutes the floors of the other buildings; the rest of the floor shows traces of burning with fragments of iron, silver, lead, bone, and slags coming from metal manufacturing.

The same situation distinguishes the floor of **Structure VII**, a new outdoor space that lies against

the eastern side of Building III which is recognizable as a courtyard and in which activities of the forging workshop were carried out. However, in its northeast sector a circular group of stones was found (VII, 3) which, because of the presence of much charcoal can be considered to be a fireplace, as also attested to by a great quantity of metal remains found in the area.

To the south, another group of stones forms a small rectangular structure, interpreted by the excavators as dedicated to the collection of water but which, perhaps, is better interpreted for the storage of the water needed for the forging-related activities.

It is worth mentioning the finding of a certain amount of Euboic and local imitation red-painted pottery in the building, along with the usual late-Geometric objects of predominantly local production, and food-related pottery, which fits well with the presence of an open hearth. On the other hand, secure evidence of metalworking is lacking, although there is a strong presence of iron splinters and flakes from hammering related to the activities carried out next to wall III, 3 of the *ergasterion*. The activities in this courtyard are therefore complementary both to Buildings III and II which, with Building VII, were dedicated to metallurgy, but also indicate the carrying out of domestic activities.

Another segment was added to retaining wall B (B1), constructed perhaps to contain the dumped filling material generated in the modifications to Buildings IV and V. The filling was made up of slags, and bronze and iron fragments, as well as ceramic material, all datable to the 7th century BC.

The presence of a layer rich in burning traces can also be found in the new **Building IX**, on the upper terrace, of which only a corner is left, and which was probably destroyed by a landslide, as had happened with Building VII.

Because of a landslide or an earthquake, the entire Mazzola settlement was abandoned for a period of about 70-80 years, starting from around 720 BC. Ridgway had already stressed that, following Strabo (V, 5, 9), earthquakes constituted one of the terrifying events that induced the Euboeans to abandon Ischia²⁰.

Between the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th centuries BC (Fig. 6), **Building IV**, on the

¹⁹ BUCHNER 1971a, 372, pl. XCIII, 2; RIDGWAY 1984, 112, figs. 26, 96; BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, 177 (no. 43), 219 with fig. 43a-b.

²⁰ RIDGWAY 1984, 106.

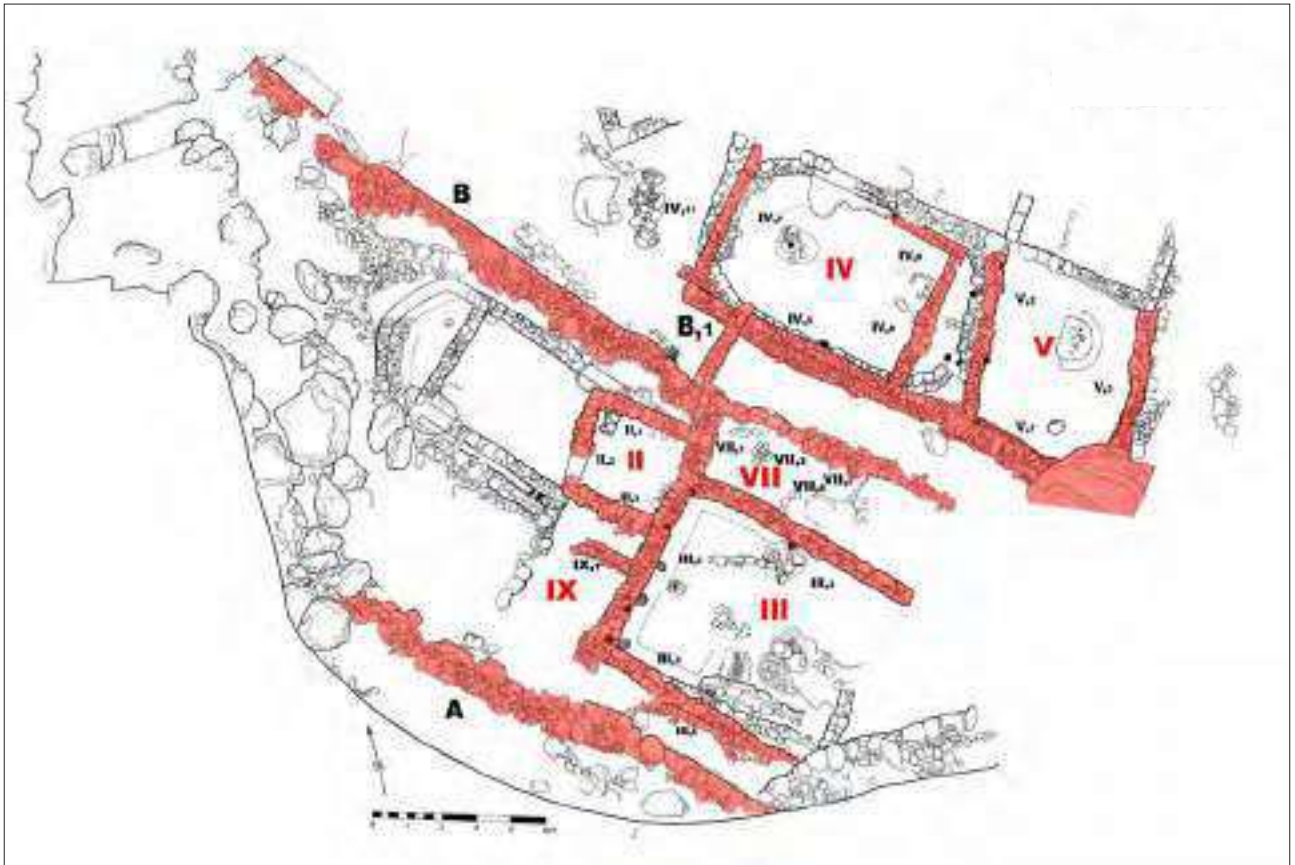


Fig. 5. Metallurgical District, phase 3

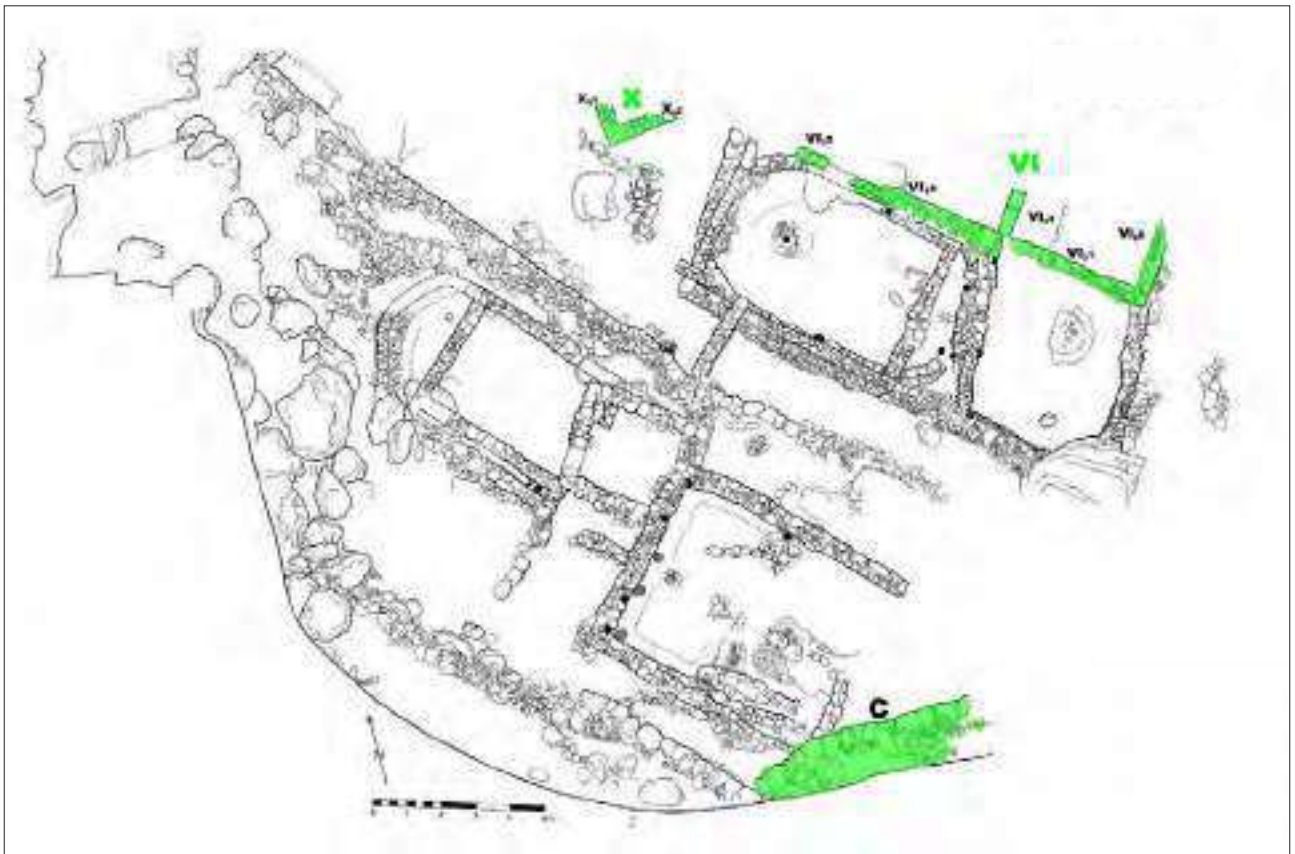


Fig. 6. Metallurgical District, phase 4

lower terrace, was damaged by a ditch being dug for the construction of Building VI. This structure, together with building X, are the only ones to remain active in the last phase of the complex: unfortunately, it is scarcely recorded, given that Klein documented very little about it in his notebooks, perhaps because it was discovered at the end of the last campaign in 1971.

It is possible to suppose that, after the abandonment of the site at the beginning of the 7th century BC due to the fall of rocks from the upper slope, it was easier to start a new occupation at the north-east edge of the area. The whole settlement could have been moved downhill, as the finds in the Park of the Museum seem to testify, though here the excavation is still in its initial stages and therefore it is too early to define the chronology and the plan of the buildings being revealed.

Building VI, from the segment excavated, must have had a rectangular shape and been divided into two parts: the walls are no longer with double facades, but are composed of a single row with small stones even at its base while others that become progressively smaller are placed above. The dividing wall is not made of trachyte stones, but of squared green tufa blocks: this typology of construction had not been recorded in Pithecusa before the 6th century BC. On the paved floor related to wall VI,4, together with some tile fragments, a loom weight and ceramic sherds were found; they can be dated between the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th centuries.

For **Building X**, at present reburied, we can only report that Klein claims that the stones were stuck together by a kind of mortar made of a yellowish, compact volcanic material.

One of the last remarks made by Klein concerned Wall C, at the southern end of the settlement and which, according to him, was an extension of Wall A. This circumstance would suggest that, after the first abandonment of the settlement, there was a need to reinforce the area of the existing structures in order to retain the slope and avoid new landslides.

From this evidence, to which only 3000 of a total of 9000 finds belong, we can deduce a relatively clear picture of the succession of activities carried out in Mazzola.

On the upper terrace, building I, the oldest, is the only one to which we can ascribe with certainty the functions of an *oikos*. The interpretation of Building III as an *ergasterion* had not been previously discussed, but now we can assert that Building III becomes the core part of a coherent production complex, completed with Building II, while in Structure VII activities like cooking and the consumption of food were carried out.

The same relationship involving internal and external spaces seems to be repeated in the lower terrace, where, if our hypothesis is correct, we must imagine a functional subdivision operating between the indoors and the outdoors to permit the execution of production activities. Even if in fact Building IV does not seem to have any provision for firing in its initial phase, with the production activities probably all carried out in outdoor areas (except for work related to the grindstones found inside), it seems obvious that the activities pursued inside each building were connected with those carried out in the adjacent outdoor areas. The oval shape of Building IV changed to rectangular when the forge was moved from an outdoor area to an indoor one, though, at the same time, the outdoor areas continued to be used for production (e.g. in the plot of land to the north of our building, where in an area that can perhaps be interpreted as a courtyard – between B and B1). The floor is raised and a fireplace is installed, made from a level of sherds on which the permanent structure was placed. Once again, therefore, the area can be interpreted as revolving around Building IV, which had an organizational role in the economy of the lower terrace. It is therefore obvious that a relationship between indoor and outdoor areas existed that followed a concept that was anything but accidental.

Costanza Gialanella

II. MOVABLE MATERIALS

Metal and non-ceramic materials from Mazzola are preserved in circa 40 wooden boxes in the storage that the Superintendence obtained from the Ischia Porto Municipality, inside the “Torre Guevara”. Their state of preservation is precarious. In the boxes is the original information written in English on slips of paper, undoubtedly by Klein himself; some other

indications are added in Italian, attributed to Giorgio Buchner²¹ because of the handwriting. We have not been able to proceed with a complete descriptive documentation, with drawings and photographic illustrations of the finds, but have only made a survey and a preliminary identification of the material.

There are too many fragments of over-carbonized flat roofing tiles and we are unable to assess whether they are waste or finished works²².

The walls of the dwellings in the “district” and perhaps also parts of their roofs involved organic materials, judging from the fragments of hardened mud-plaster with cane imprints²³. The floors of these structures consisted of a clayey soil surface: a few fire-blackened fragments have been preserved, but it is not possible to determine whether this was a hearth or a forge²⁴.

Slags from iron smelting, characterized by frequent air bubbles, are abundant and, from what we can gather from the written information recorded during the excavation, were spread throughout the entire excavated area (Fig. 7.1-3). Lead²⁵, silver, and glass²⁶ slags were also present. A small amount of metal powder was found, attesting the production of silver, and a lump of silver was found in tomb 147²⁷. No bronze processing waste has been identified²⁸. In addition to the above-mentioned materials, glasswork and perhaps clay must be added.

Of the final products in lead, only a rectangular piece of sheet from tomb 671 is known²⁹. Object in

bronze such as small fishing hooks³⁰ (fig. 7.4-5), needles and tweezers³¹, a circular earring of wire with open ends³², a quadrangular grater in sheet³³, and nails were recovered (Fig. 7.6-11). A similar fishing hook was part of the grave goods of tomb 433³⁴; tweezers are recorded in T. 530 and in T. 951³⁵. The earring type, needles and grater are not represented in the cemetery.

Numerous fibulae of various classes were recovered (Fig. 8.1-14): one with a serpentine bow and rod-like apophysis; the “navicella” type; with covered bow; others with a simple bow, a serpentine bow with a folding clasp and another with conic knob at the apex³⁶; and the leech type³⁷. Pins associated with fibulae as part of the arch or spring are just as numerous, if not more so. (Fig. 8.13-14). Pins of this type, as well as bows without a pin or foot, were probably intended for recycling. In T. 671³⁸, pins are used as textile fasteners on the shoulders of a female child. This seems to be a unique case.

We cannot be sure if the well-known scrap of a plain “leech fibula” of the Pithecanthrop type and the equally unadorned leech fibula with a long stirrup (unfinished, and unfortunately without context in the San Montano necropolis³⁹) – considered to be part of grave goods – come from a collection of scrap for recycling.

Other elements of personal ornamentation in bronze are recorded: a hemispherical stud with a ring welded on the inside for easy attachment; a wire spiral; a small sheet metal cylinder with open ends⁴⁰; and a tapered bead, longitudinally pierced⁴¹. Studs of a diameter of between 0.7 and 1 cm⁴² are known from the necropolis; while our specimen is larger, with a 2 cm diameter, its function is the same. We may suppose that not only were the garments decorated in this way, but other heavier items too (from footwear to head-

²¹ Dr Nicoletta Manzi (MANZI 2005) presents an accurate investigation into this and attempts to work out the relationships between these indications and the archaeological situation as mentioned in Klein’s excavation journal and the related plans. I thank Dr Nicoletta Manzi for having allowed me to read her thesis.

²² Stored in the boxes labelled: Mazzola metal 4; Mazzola; Cleaning of the deeper level. Interstice between the inner part and the outer part of the south wall of the apsidal house; Mazzola 70-1. The krater fragment with the oldest inscription by an artisan (RIDGWAY 1992, 94 fig. 26, 96) had been considered the proof of potting in Mazzola; but evidence of potting kilns is not known.

²³ Stored in a box labelled: Burned floor pieces. Note iron splinters, charcoal.

²⁴ Stored in a box labelled: Burned floor pieces. Note iron splinters, charcoal.

²⁵ Stored in a box labelled: L. 70-3.

²⁶ Stored in a box labelled: Burned floor pieces. Note iron splinters, charcoal; Mazzola metal D.

²⁷ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 182.

²⁸ The small bronze ingot reported by RIDGWAY 1992, 93 has not been identified, neither among the materials stored in the boxes nor among those exhibited in Villa Arbusto Museum.

²⁹ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 654 n. 1; NIZZO 2007, 117: A510A.

³⁰ Stored in boxes labelled: Mazzola metal D; without indications.

³¹ Stored in boxes labelled: Mazzola metal D; Metal 4.

³² Stored in a box labelled: Mazzola metal D.

³³ Stored in a box labelled: Mazzola metal D.

³⁴ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 447 no. 8.

³⁵ NIZZO 2007, 115: A180; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013, fig. 9.3.

³⁶ Finds stored in a box labelled: Mazzola metal D.

³⁷ Stored in a box labelled: From the surface soil to the north of the enlargement.

³⁸ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 654.

³⁹ LO SCHIAVO 2010, 17-18, fig. 3, nos. 4-5.

⁴⁰ The three finds stored in a box labelled: Mazzola Metal 4.

⁴¹ Stored in a box labelled: Box 70-85.

⁴² NIZZO 2007, 114: A 140.



Fig. 7. 1-3) Slag from iron processing; 4-5) Two bronze fishing hooks; 6-11) Bronze fragment



Fig. 8. 1-14) Fragments of bronze fibulae

gear to curtains). The wire spiral belongs to a class⁴³ for which different functions have been proposed, in some cases thanks to known excavation data. In our case, we can only propose that it was a covering of a cylindrical element. The small cylinder can be compared with others known from the necropolis⁴⁴ and from the votive objects on Timpone della Motta⁴⁵, in Francavilla Marittima, as well as those from the Molino della Badia necropolis in Grammichele⁴⁶. The relationships between Pithecusa and the Oenotrian communities of northern Calabria are already known, thanks to the finding of the askos in tomb 325, the one with the scarab of Bocchoris. It is uncertain if the small copper cylinder is a Mazzola production, or if it was found there because it was intended to be re-worked, as we can assume for the water-bird figurine, originally belonging to a parade fibula.

The bronze tapered bead is a shape (i.e. “*bul-la*”) also recorded in the necropolis⁴⁷, albeit a larger one, associated with women, and therefore probably belonging to a local woman. As far as silver is concerned, in addition to the fibulae, simple rings of various sizes, found in grave goods, could be of local production⁴⁸.

We can deduce that the Mazzola artisans produced ornaments not only for the island inhabitants’ requirements, but also for those of potential customers further afield, including the local mainland communities. Likewise, it can be assumed that a local recasting of objects of different origins was undertaken, aimed at the production of ornaments in keeping only with Pithecusan requirements. The answer to this dilemma is, of course, conditioned by the methodological preparation of those involved in this type of reconstruction. In my opinion, at Mazzola they re-melted every object they could obtain to produce ornaments in the Pithecusan style. However, the local component was not absent, at least in the clothes fashion, as is indicated by the significant amount of fibulae.

In addition to the well-known weight (at 8.79 g) (Fig. 9.1), which is omitted here due to the abundant bibliography on the subject⁴⁹, there is also a crouching bull-shaped applique, a handle with a human protome and the aforementioned waterbird-shaped element of a “*fibula da parata*”⁵⁰ (Fig. 9.2-4).

This last element lends much credence to the hypothesis proposed above that the activities at Mazzola were centred on recycling. We have no evidence of “parade fibulas” in Pithecusa: therefore, it seems that they were not made on the island. They could easily have been brought to the island, perhaps by the wearer, from the Campania mainland where, between Capua and Suessula, the highest concentration of the use of that type of fibula is attested⁵¹.

Regarding iron, whose provenance is known to be from Elba Island, as is indicated by the hematite fragment from the Gosetti Dump⁵², the shapes found in Mazzola are varied (Fig. 10.1-7). We have quadrangular nail shanks⁵³, slab fragments⁵⁴, single-edged knives of various dimensions⁵⁵ (only once with a convex edge⁵⁶), a convex-edged axe⁵⁷ and a sickle⁵⁸.

Two conical elements are to be added to the above objects⁵⁹: the corrosion encrustations make the comprehension of the lower extremities uncertain. However, they were probably originally rectangular and flattened, as in a chisel⁶⁰. The sickle and the convex-edged axe are not included in the grave goods⁶¹, although there are single-edged knives with small nails on the handle, used to fasten their hilt plates, probably made of wood⁶².

⁴⁹ LO SCHIAVO 2010, 9 with prev. bibl. See also *supra* and *infra*.

⁵⁰ BUCHNER – GIALANELLA 1994, 59 fig. 25; LO SCHIAVO 2010, 886, no. 8094: class LVI type 451.2.

⁵¹ GUZZO 2014b, 78.

⁵² RIDGWAY 1992, 91; NAPOLITANO 2018, 241.

⁵³ Stored in boxes labelled: Mazzola Metal D; Mazzola Metal 4.

⁵⁴ Stored in boxes labelled: Mazzola Metal D.

⁵⁵ Stored in boxes labelled: Mazzola Metal D; from the surface soil to the north of the enlargement; 70-F-1012.

⁵⁶ Stored in a box labelled: Mazzola Metal 4.

⁵⁷ Stored in a box labelled: Mazzola Metal 4.

⁵⁸ Stored in a box labelled: From the surface soil to the north of the enlargement.

⁵⁹ Stored in boxes labelled: Mazzola Metal 4; Excavation test in Rizzoli’s property.

⁶⁰ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, tomb 678, 659, pl. 190, 8; NIZZO 2007, 115: A 220 B.

⁶¹ Where only straight-edged axes are recorded: NIZZO 2007, 116: A 290 A.

⁶² NIZZO 2007, 116: A 380B1-2.

⁴³ NIZZO 2007, 109-111: A 70.

⁴⁴ ZANCANI MONTUORO 1974-1976, 40-41 no. 60.

⁴⁵ PAPADOPOULOS 2003, 111-112, nos. 405-412.

⁴⁶ BERNABÒ BREA – MILITELLO – LA PIANA 1969, 225 fig. 14 d, from tomb 5; 231 fig. 18 f, from tomb 6.

⁴⁷ NIZZO 2007, 100: A 30A 5b1.

⁴⁸ GUZZO 2004, 90-92.



Fig. 9. 1) Lead weight enclosed in a bronze ring; 2) Small crouching bull of bronze; 3) Bronze handle with protome; 4) Aquatic bird from Capuan “parade fibula”

From this short review, we can deduce that ironworking was related to working tools such as the scythe, axe, chisels and knives. Various types of fibulae were included in the productions.

Among the non-metallic finds are examples of glass or glass paste, amber⁶³, flint, obsidian, and a fire striker (Fig. 10.8-9). In addition to the glass scraps⁶⁴, we have a whitish flattened shaped bead and blue fragments of others⁶⁵, as well as a second bead of a similar shape in a dark brown colour⁶⁶.

Regarding grey flint, we have a core⁶⁷, from which some tools were supposedly made. There are numerous cores of obsidian, from which blades were made⁶⁸. A fragment of a black elongated stone with a semi-circular cross-section, used for whetting metal blades, survives (fig. 10.13)⁶⁹. Some shaped stones were probably used as working surfaces or as anvils.

To this group of artefacts, all of which can be traced back to production activities on site, should be added some truncated pyramid loom weights with a quadrangular base and a hole through the lower end⁷⁰. We do not know whether they were made in Mazzola, or simply used for weaving carried out in the buildings of the district. It should be noted that the fragment of a krater mentioned

above, with the incomplete reference to the potter, also comes from Mazzola⁷¹: however, it does not appear to be a fragment that was broken during its production. It is therefore still very uncertain whether ceramic production took place at this site.

It must be remembered that there is evidence for this site being frequented before the establishment of the manufacturing complex and the Euboian settlement: a *capeduncula* with a flared rim in a grey-brown impasto; a small jar in a similar impasto with a finger decoration just below its edge; a closed container in a reddish refined clay with a stippled external decoration⁷²; a bifid handle with an upper cylindrical apophysis in a greyish impasto⁷³ all indicate a 2nd millennium presence. A spindle-whorl in a dark grey *impasto* of a flattened truncated conical shape⁷⁴ could be that of a local woman present at the later phase, being of a shape also found in grave goods.

The kantharos in fine black Etruscan bucchero⁷⁵ provides some written evidence about those who inhabited Mazzola. An inscribed alpha⁷⁶ is preserved on it: it has not been recorded in the anthology of Pithecusan inscriptions, probably for chronological reasons, although several from Mazzola have been included⁷⁷.

⁶³ Stored in a box labelled: Mazzola Metal D.

⁶⁴ Stored in a box labelled: L. 70-3.

⁶⁵ Stored in a box without indications.

⁶⁶ Stored in a box labelled: Box 70-82.

⁶⁷ Stored in a box labelled: 70-14 May 1970.

⁶⁸ Stored in boxes labelled: Mazzola Metal 4; Excavation test in Rizzoli's property.

⁶⁹ Stored in a box labelled: 69-59.

⁷⁰ Stored in boxes labelled: Box 70-85; without indications.

⁷¹ RIDGWAY 1992, 96; BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, 177 no. 43.

⁷² Stored in a box labelled: 69-50.

⁷³ Stored in a box labelled: 70-139.

⁷⁴ NIZZO 2007, 172: B 620 (ImL) C 1.

⁷⁵ From the few surviving fragments, we can suppose it is a kantharos of type 3 (RASMUSSEN 1979, 78-80), datable from the third quarter of the 7th to the second quarter of the 6th century BC.

⁷⁶ Stored in a box labelled: 72-174.

⁷⁷ BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, 156 no. 3; 158 no. 8; 165 no. 22; 168 no. 26; 170 nos. 28-29; 175 no. 38; 177 no. 43.

From this brief overview, although complete restoration and documentary research is still to be done, it seems possible nevertheless to confirm the previously proposed interpretation of the manufacturing processes undertaken at Mazzola. The manufacturing activity carried out here was not limited to iron, although this metal, due to the widespread presence of slag, seems to have constituted the bulk of the activity. We also have evidence for the processing of bronze, silver, lead and glass, perhaps even amber. Indeed, the recycling of

bronze objects, whether broken, out of date or out of fashion, must also have represented a considerable amount of work, judging by the quantity of these types of objects. Only ceramics lack convincing evidence, as the craftsman's signature (see above) is not sufficient to settle the question.

Unfortunately, the near impossibility of deciphering the handwritten notes on the provenance of the excavated objects prevents us from knowing whether the manufacture of the different materials took place in one or several buildings.



Fig. 10. 1-7) Iron knife blades; 8) Fragments of amber; 9-12) Stone and ceramic fragments; 13) Obsidian core

The daily life of the manufacturing workforce took place in buildings designed exclusively for residence. To date, it is not possible to effectively answer the questions posed by Mazarakis Ainian a few years ago⁷⁸, even though work and manufacturing activities took place together, as the fragments of bucchero kantharos, the impasto spindle and loom weights show.

What has previously been said has no connection with the long discussion on the presence, or absence, of precious metal production on the island: silver “dust” may have been used to produce ingots of a proto-monetary nature. Recently, the question of the existence of a gold deposit on Pithecusa has re-emerged: the metal in its epithermal state is known to be associated with alum, which was abundantly exploited on the island⁷⁹.

As far as it is known, alum on the island is not mentioned in any of the ancient literary sources⁸⁰: Strabo (5.4.9), for example, who seems well informed, does not mention it. Yet alum was widely used during the ancient ages, mostly in leather tanning and fabric processing⁸¹. The relationship between alum and gold is described in detail by Pipino, based on the 1583 report: in Ischia, in a “bath” (namely a thermal spring) known as auriferous, «the waters show an excretion of gold on their surface, which forms a thin layer, almost a veil, of the finest gold, of more than twenty-four carats»; the same is also reported for silver in a different “bath” for silver⁸². Pipino evaluates these reports as follows: «(it is) certainly difficult to believe in the formation of gold or silver veils on the surfaces of pools of water, but it is not impossible... The presence of thin gold films (flor or float gold) and silver (flor or float silver) has been observed with certainty near the deposits of both metals in differ-

ent parts of the world, as a result of local thickening of the metal contained in colloidal solution or in dispersion»⁸³. From this, the event described by Iasolino in Ischia in the 16th century AD can be considered possible: or rather, “not impossible”. One could deduce that the amount of gold thus recovered would be minimal but of great purity.

The volume of Iasolino included, in folio I, a map of the island of Ischia (Fig. 11), on which is clearly marked the site of an “Auri Fodine” (sic!)⁸⁴, or a “Minera d’Oro” (Gold Mine), depending on the different editions consulted. This is located in the immediate hinterland of Ischia Città, today Ischia Porto, south of the road connecting it to the Campagnano farmhouse, from which the mine takes its name, as explicitly stated by Iasolino⁸⁵.

It has been argued that it is possible to deduce the existence of ancient gold mines in Pithecusa from the aforementioned Strabo passage: but the manuscript tradition also allows for a different reading, whereby we do not read of mines but of goldsmith workshops, or simply of objects made of gold⁸⁶. Present studies on this subject are compromised by their acceptance that the island lacked gold mines: Pipino’s study would apparently refute this quite convincingly.

But the presence or absence of gold with alum at Pithecusa does not necessarily mean that the metal was exploited then: just as we cannot be certain that alum itself was exploited. Iasolinus’ observations on the occasional coexistence of gold in alum-containing waters, together with Strabo’s reading of gold mines, or at least of the workshops where gold was worked, certainly influenced Marcus Cartarus, the geographer of the map included in Iasolinus’ volume. Iasolinus in fact mentions him explicitly: «Nor is this phenomenon so surprising, because Strabo and others write that there are gold mines on that island, and we can clearly see one at the site they call Campagnano»⁸⁷.

⁷⁸ MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2006, 202-205; 2012, 137-140.

⁷⁹ OLCESE 2017, 32-33 recalling PIPINO 2009.

⁸⁰ NENCI 1982: list of sources at 186-187; BORGARD 2005, 161-162.

⁸¹ PICON 2000, at 526-528 it is noted how Phocaea was not mentioned by the known ancient sources as an alum production site, even though there are clear archaeological records of its exploitation during ancient times.

⁸² This report is taken, in PIPINO 2009, 21, from *De rimedi naturali, che sono nell’isola di Pithecusa hoggi detta Ischia libri due di Giulio Iasolino Filosofo e Medico in Napoli, In Napoli appresso Giuseppe Cacchij*, MDLXXXVIII. I thank Mariarosaria Esposito for the precious bibliographical indications.

⁸³ PIPINO 2009, 22, with previous bibliography.

⁸⁴ PIPINO 2009, 22 fig. top right; OLCESE 2017, 32 fig. II. 18. a.

⁸⁵ Cf. PIPINO 2009, 21.

⁸⁶ For the previous bibliography on this subject cf. GUZZO 2004, 100; then PIPINO 2009, 18.

⁸⁷ *Apud* PIPINO 2009, 21.



Fig. 11. Geographical map of Ischia from G. IASOLINO, *De' rimedi naturali*, Naples 1538

Regarding gold in Ischia, unlike its alum⁸⁸, there is no other later documentary information about its exploitation. One can legitimately suspect that Iasolino has “improved”, and to quite a degree, the so-called “thin gold film” fact attested with alum (see above). The activity of working gold on the island is also far from being archaeologically demonstrable, though it is possible that Cumae had workshops that could produce precious ornaments in which characteristics of different cultures were merged⁸⁹. The precious ornaments known on the island are all in silver, except for one of the three bands⁹⁰. The production

of the latter metal shows a situation that seems safer to attribute to Levantine artisans active in the West⁹¹.

One recovered artefact was considered pertinent to gold work. It is the one weighing 8.79 gm., corresponding almost exactly to that of an 8.72 gm. Euboian-Attic stater⁹². This object, a lead flattened cylinder encircled by a kind of bronze ring⁹³, was found in a stratigraphical context which was not sealed, on the surface of waste, dumped against the northwest wall of structure IV of the working district⁹⁴. Such a context lends an uncertain date: to the 6th or to the first quarter of the 7th century BC⁹⁵.

⁸⁸ PICON 2005, at 14 fig. 1 is given a geographical map with the indication of the sites where alum is extracted; Ischia is marked: but the map shows ancient and modern information indiscriminately, without any indication of the different time periods in which the indicated sites were active.

⁸⁹ Cf. GUZZO 2004, 100.

⁹⁰ GUZZO 2004, 92. There are, in addition, an electrum hair tie and rings; a pale gold pendant and a bezel.

⁹¹ GUZZO 2014a, 95-96.

⁹² RIDGWAY 1992, 95; CANTILENA 2010, 404-407.

⁹³ Functional typological comparisons have not been identified yet: one might recall the lead weights, in a flattened or discoidal cylindrical shape, frequent in the Cycladic area during the 2nd millennium. These are usually of bigger dimensions than our weight: but one of 8.7 gm. is recorded from Akrotiri on Santorini: MICHAILEDIOU 2008, 99 fig. II.81, no. 1398.

⁹⁴ KLEIN 1972, 37.

⁹⁵ RIDGWAY 1992, 95.

Likewise, the original use of the weight is uncertain⁹⁶: indeed, the interpretation may be influenced by the chronology attributed to it (but, as far as we know, there are no decisive comparative elements to decide the question). A 7th-century BC date is generally preferred: but leaving aside the apparent connection to a coin for obvious chronological considerations, it remains uncertain whether «the weight was used both to weigh quantities of precious metal – such as that required for the manufacture of the many silver personal ornaments found in 8th-century BC graves – or, perhaps as part of a set, to weigh finished products in order to establish their value»⁹⁷. In the quoted passage we can observe the conviction of local production of precious personal ornaments, but also a chronological impasse – the burials are almost a century older than the highest date attributable to our weight. Certainly, the lack of archaeological evidence to date in Mazzola related to gold and silver work makes a relation between this object and the manufacture of precious ornaments highly unlikely.

There is no evidence of local goldsmithing; no personal ornaments made of precious metal have been recovered in early 7th-century BC tombs⁹⁸. Overall – and whatever its actual chronology is – the assumption that the weight was used only for precious metals is unjustified, even if theoretically possible: other materials need to be weighed. Nor can we sensibly choose between the two hypotheses Ridgway proposed for its utilization⁹⁹.

The archaeological record known to date from the island related to the use of gold does not include final products in this metal. Of course, this is an *argumentum ex silentio*: this situation, however,

could be in contrast with the presence of gold ornaments from the pre-Hellenic tombs in Cumae¹⁰⁰, some of them chronologically precede those with the silver in Pithecusa. The origin of the gold used for the ornaments in Cumae has not been determined: it cannot be clarified whether or not gold possibly related to alum from Pithecusa was used.

The archaeological evidence of ironworking in Pithecusa is, unlike that of gold, completely different in its abundance in the documentation. As far as the ancient literary sources are concerned, only one of the island's toponyms, *Aenaria*, is linked to metal manufacturing, and strictly to bronze working, and only for Latin speakers. The processing slags found in the Mazzola area are abundant¹⁰¹: hematite components have been identified in them, characterising the minerals as coming from Elba¹⁰². A larger range of metallurgical activity, related to bronze and lead¹⁰³, is supported by this evidence. Furthermore, there is also evidence of glass paste working¹⁰⁴. The variety of the metals recorded in the same workshop seems to support the observation of the production of fibulae of a “model” in both in bronze and iron, and perhaps even in silver¹⁰⁵. It could therefore be that all varieties were made in the same workshop: either by the same artisan, skilled in several metals, or by specialists working in one or two of them.

At the moment, therefore, we can only be certain of bronze working at Mazzola, as is amply demonstrated by the fibula scrap¹⁰⁶ together with other more general objects¹⁰⁷, also intended for recycling, of various forms and origins. The abundance of iron slags also indicates that this metal was also processed in Mazzola, both for ingots and for finished objects.

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⁹⁶ LO SCHIAVO 2010, 9, suggests its use for weighing in the alloying process to create the bronze.

⁹⁷ RIDGWAY 1992, 95.

⁹⁸ Except the mounting and the silver pendant of the steatite scarab from tomb 245: DE SALVIA 1993, 776-778 no. 245, with a date to the first quarter of the 7th century.

⁹⁹ FORMIGLI – SCATOZZA HÖRICH 2010, 90 prefer the second.

¹⁰⁰ FORMIGLI – SCATOZZA HÖRICH 2010, 33-74.

¹⁰¹ The processing stage to which they belong has not been clarified.

¹⁰² Cf. already RIDGWAY 1992, 93, 100.

¹⁰³ A galena fragment comes from the working area in Santa Restituta too: OLCESE 2017, 32.

¹⁰⁴ RIDGWAY 1992, 93.

¹⁰⁵ LO SCHIAVO 2006, 260-261.

¹⁰⁶ RIDGWAY 1992, 93, fig. 26 to the top; LO SCHIAVO 2010, 8-9; 17-18. At 18 fig. 3, 5 LO SCHIAVO 2010 records a second fibula with manufacturing defects, but not such as to prevent its use and then its deposition in a tomb: we can deduce an insular manufacture for this example too.

¹⁰⁷ KLEIN 1972, 37; RIDGWAY 1992, 93.

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PITHECUSAN GOLD: ANATOLIAN CONNECTIONS

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The absence of gold ornaments in Pithecusa, both among the finds in the metallurgical district of Mazzola¹ and in the necropolis from which up to now only objects of gilded silver are known, moreover of a modest level of quality, if compared with those of the necropolis of Kyme in Phlegrae-an fields², re-launches the discussion on the meaning attributed to the term *chryseia* or *chrysia* of the well-known passage of the Greek source³.

The word “*chryseia*” seems to refer to the acquisition of the precious metal and to the role of intermediaries played by the Euboean, especially by the Eretrians of Pithecusa. Even the discovery of the well-known goldsmith’s weight, weighing the equivalent of a Euboic stater (gr. 8.79) in the pre-monetal age in the metallurgical workshop of Mazzola, rather than the productive work⁴, which mainly concerned bronze objects, suggests the presence of traders who sold valuable imported raw materials (Fig. 1). Up to now, none of the various types of punches has been found in Pithecusa, known instead from other locations in the Mediterranean, especially the eastern one⁵: although none of the goldsmith’s tools has yet been found, the existence of metallurgical activities on the island is well-attested.



Fig. 1. Goldsmith's Weight from the metallurgical workshop of Mazzola, inv. 238630 (photo E. Formigli)

In the 8th century BC, which coincides with the beginning of the Greek colonization in the West, new types of ornaments and especially techniques, some of them specific to goldsmithing – as granulation, colloidal hard soldering, gilding – are progressively introduced in Italy and testify to the birth of a distinct craftsmanship: the oldest gold finds and goldsmith's activities in Southern Italy are attested in Euboean settlements. In the first last quarter of the 8th century BC, the newly founded colony of Kyme on the bay of Naples seems to arise as the production center of the first ornaments of Early Orientalizing Style (Fig. 2). The grave goods of Cumaeen necropolis suggest the existence of an elite, who had in their service luxury craftsmen and from this craftsmanship developed ateliers of local goldsmiths⁶. Kyme and not Pithecusa

¹ KLEIN 1972. Cf. the contribution by P. Guzzo and C. Gialanella in this volume.

² BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 305, nos. 4, 5, 6, pl. 96; 637, no. 14, pl. 184; 646, no. 19, pl. 75; FORMIGLI – SCATOZZA 2010, 15-17, 75-83; GUZZO 1993, 316; 2014a, 93-96; 2016, 23.

³ STRABO V, 4, 9. This consideration makes the supposed presence of epithermal gold on the island of little significance: cf. OLCESE 2017, 32-37.

⁴ BUCHNER 1975, 80.

⁵ TREISTER 2001, 17-19.

⁶ GUZZO 1993, 304-311; 2004, 97-100; 2014a, 96-99; FORMIGLI – SCATOZZA HÖRICHT 2010, 17-18, 33-74.

– where we note an almost absolute lack of personal ornaments in gold in burials and those in electro are very rare – is the perfect place for the development of luxury craftsmanship. The sudden change is inconceivable without trans-Aegean connections: in the past, it has been assumed that foreign merchants of Aegean origin brought in the raw material and the necessary expertise.

The search for metals has been one of the major factors of mobility and raises the question of the role of Pithecusa in the circulation of gold, above all as a medium of exchange, whose processing is widely attested in the Geometric Euboean environment. Recently S. Verdan focused on the production and circulation of gold as a raw metal reconstructing its use as a form of money in the context of the Euboean trade networks, by underlying the evidence of the Late Geometric gold hoard from Eretria and by going back to its sources around the Thermaic gulf⁷.

If we are asking what has fed the network of Euboean gold in which Pithecusa could have been involved, we couldn't ignore the connections between the Euboeans and the Eastern Aegean. The discovery of a large amount of Euboean PG and LG pottery revealed trans-Aegean contacts among Euboea, Northern Ionia and Aiolis on the western coasts of Anatolia.

What emerges in Pithecusa can be correlated to recent archaeological research, from which greater interconnections between Euboea and the central-western coasts of Anatolia have been highlighted than it had previously appeared, probably due to the role played by Euboeans in the acquisition of the precious metal: the finds of Protogeometric and Geometric Euboean pottery in the eastern Aegean are concentrated in the North/Ionian - South/Aeolian area⁸, close to the Phrygia and Lydia, both regions rich in gold.

The Phrygian kingdom, whose importance in the field of metals is well known, reached the peak of its flourishing under King Midas in the 8th century BC (738-676 BC): according to ancient sources, he had good relations with the Greek environment and



Fig. 2. Gold necklace, from Kyme in Southern Italy. Naples, Archaeological Museum, inv. 126418 (photo E. Formigli)

gave his throne in Delphi⁹. Generally, the beginnings of a Western policy of the Anatolian kingdoms are traced back to Midas¹⁰. An indicator of the Aegean area affected by Greek-Phrygian relations is the provenance of a few fragments of Greek pottery found in Phrygian Tumuli from the early 7th century BC: Corinth, the Eastern Aegean and Euboea¹¹.

As neighbours, Lydia and East Greece always had economic and cultural exchange: Lydians were famous as merchants¹². The fertile Hermus valley was an ideal route, thus is not surprising that the Lydians had economic and cultural contacts with their Greek neighbours, as indicated by archaeological finds from Sardis. A slow increase of imports at Sardis is noticeable from the second half of the 8th century BC onwards. However, the peak was reached in the late 7th century BC and the first half of the 6th century BC under the reign of Alyattes and Kroisos. As stressed by Kerschner, the area of regular economic and cultural contact between Lydians and East Greeks «can define as a narrow belt reaching from Ephesos in the south of the gulf of Pitane in the North, comprising the harbour cities that are situated closest to Sardis (Ephesos, Smyrna and Southern Aiolis, and presu-

⁷ LE RIDER – VERDAN 2002, 193-152; VERDAN 2004, 309-334. See also the contribution by S. Verdan in the first volume of the conference Proceedings.

⁸ IREN 2008, 35, fig. 2; KERSCHNER 2014, 112-114, 119-122.

⁹ HDT. I, 14, 3.

¹⁰ SCATOZZA HÖRICHT 2014a, 176.

¹¹ KERSCHNER 2005, 122-123.

¹² HDT. I, 94, 1.

mably also Kyme)»¹³. Beyond this zone, Lydian and Lydianizing pottery is rare in Greek cities. Among the cities of the North-Ionian and Aeolian areas with the greatest number of imports from Euboea, Smyrna shows the greatest relations with Lydia.

In refining and working gold, Lydians craftsmen were leaders, as testified by the magnificent gold and silver jewellery deposit (Fig. 3) as grave good in the Güre Tumuli (so-called “Lydian Treasure”, or Kroisos’s, 547/6 BC hoard)¹⁴ and by the famous of king Croesus refinery at Sardis¹⁵, which gave an insight into one of the most important metallurgical processes of antiquity and one of that was vital for the development of moneyed economies. The source of the gold is believed to have been principally from the river Pactolus, a tributary of the Hermos, that flowed through the ancient city¹⁶. The gold-bearing river Pactolus transferred the gold and silver flakes of Mount Tmolus (modern Boz Dağ), rich in metal deposits, downstream: it was one of the main gold veins controlled by the Lydians and an essential prerequisite for the traditional wealth of the Anatolian kings one after another in the area, first Phrygians and then Lydians, from the mythical Midas to the historic Gyges.

It has been generally accepted that the concept of coinage as a means of exchange was first introduced in the West by the Lydians sometime in the late 7th - early 6th centuries BC¹⁷. It was assumed that the invention of coinage in the 7th century BC and the use of electrum for the earliest coins may have stimulated efforts to manipulate the natural alloy by increasing its silver content and separating gold and silver: recovering gold and silver from electrum would have been accomplished at Sardis during the first half of the 6th century BC, in simple installations located outside the city walls and close to Pactolus stream¹⁸.



Fig. 3. Gold applique for garments, from Toptepe tumulus. Uşak, Archaeological Museum, inv.1.92.96 (photo Museum)

In recent research, several interconnections have been highlighted between Euboea and Anatolian western coasts. The discovery of a large amount of Euboean PG and LG pottery revealed trans-Aegean contacts among Euboea, Ionia and Aeolis. Particularly, in the LG Period, it seems that there were some connections among the inhabitants of the Southern Aeolis, Northern Ionians and the Euboeans (Fig. 4)¹⁹.

In this area, and mainly at Kyme in Southern Aeolis (Fig. 5), several findings of Euboean pottery are concentrated. According to literary sources, the city was founded in 1050 BC²⁰, a period corresponding to the Protogeometric period (PG). The Aeolian city grants the territory for the foundation of Phocaea²¹ and is the motherland of Smyrna²².

The site of Kyme was the greatest harbour in the Eastern Aegean: the site was located by the mouth of Hermos River, connecting Southern Aeolis and Northern Ionia with the hinterland, including the lands of Phrygian and Lydian kingdoms.

¹³ KERSCHNER 2010, 247-266, fig.3.

¹⁴ ÖZGEN – ÖZTÜRK 1996; ÖZGEN 2010.

¹⁵ RAMAGE – CRADDOCK 2000; CROWFORD GREENWALT 2010, 135-141.

¹⁶ HDT. V, 101, 2.

¹⁷ According to Herodotus (Hdt. I, 94, 1) the first to make use of gold and silver coins were the Lydians, who «used them and were the first merchants (*protoi kapeloi*)»: see RAMAGE – CRADDOCK 2000, 14-25; RAMAGE 2003, 285-290; CRADDOCK – COWELL – GUERRA 2005, 67-77; KROLL 2010, 143-156. They were imitated by the Greeks, who minted electro coins. The oldest deposit of coins in the Greek area, datable between the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century BC, comes from Artemision of Ephesos: KARWIESE 2008, 133-148. On the most recent studies see VAN ALFEN – VARTENBERG 2020.

¹⁸ CRADDOCK – COWELL – GUERRA 2005, 66-77.

¹⁹ IREN 2008, 35, fig. 2; KERSCHNER 2014, 112-114, 119-122.

²⁰ EUS. *Chron.* II, 970.

²¹ NIC. DAM., *FGrHist.* 90 F51; PAUS. VII, 3, 10.

²² *Vita Hom.* 2. About the sources on the history of Kyme, cf. ENGELMANN 1976, 147-200.



Fig. 4. Map of the western central coast of Anatolia: Southern Aiolis and Northern Ionia (after IREN 2003, Beil. A)

According to many sources, Kyme's relations with Lydia are traced back to the time of the Heraclides²³: Prince Ardys (son of King Adyiattes of Sardi), of the Heraclid dynasties, who reigned over Lydia in the 8th century BC, before becoming king of Lydia, would have gone into exile in Kyme. Generally, the tradition led back to Gyges, Mermnads dynasty, the first evidence of a Lydian policy directed towards the Greek cities²⁴.

The relations of aeolian Kyme with Phrygia are evoked by the testimony of Greek sources on the marriage of Midas (738-676 BC) with Hemodike or Demodike, daughter of the king of Kyme Agamemnon: she would have been the "inventrix" of the first coinage²⁵. Emblematic of the figure of Midas in the eyes of the Greeks is the myth according to which everything he touched was transformed into gold²⁶.

²³ NIC. DAM., *FrGrHist* 90, fr. 44-45.

²⁴ RAGONE 2006, 191-193.

²⁵ ARIST. fr. 611, 37 Rose = HERACLID. LEMB., fr. 37 Dilts; POLL. IX, 83. See MELE 2004, 27-32, 30-31; 2016, 240-243.

²⁶ Cf. THIEL 2000; PARISE 2000, 49-59; ERHARDT 2005, 96-101; KERSCHNER 2005, 115-121; RAGONE 2006, 182-203; SCATOTZ-
ZA HÖRICH 2014b, 117-125; MELE 2016, 240-244.



Fig. 5. Aeolian Cyme. Overview of the city settlement. In the foreground, the lower *agora*. In the background, North and South Hills (photo archive of Italian archaeological Expedition)

Demodike is indicated in another source as the sister of the gold-bearing river Pactolus²⁷. The technical wisdom of the Kyme's princess speaks of the use of metal as a medium of exchange: the sources allude to the involvement of Kyme Aiolis in the control of the important river access route to the metals of Phrygia and Lydia and to the intermediary trade of the precious metal, through the collection of transit rights. As pointed out by scholars of Greek history, the change in the figure of Demodike, from Midas' wife to Pattolo's sister, probably marks the passage under the Lydian control of the major Anatolian mining centers already exploited by the Phrygians²⁸.

Literary sources, such as Hesiod²⁹ and archaeological data attest to the use of Kyme's harbour, starting from the 8th century BC. The activity of the Kymaioi as founders of other colonies in Panfilia (Side), in the Troad (Kebrene), and Thrace (Ainos) also dates back to this period³⁰. Their contribution to the foundation of Kyme / Cuma on the coasts of southern Italy is being debated³¹. To Eretria, together with Chalcis, Dionysius of Halicarnassus attributes the foundation of Kyme Opicia³², which according to some traditions³³, it would have taken place with the contribution of inhabitants of the homonymous Kyme, identified by any scholars with the

metropolis of the Southern Aeolian coast, the motherland of Smyrna³⁴ and numerous colonies³⁵.

In general, the Euboean pottery found in Kyme is almost all between the middle and third quarter (or at most the end) of the 8th century BC. These are the decades in which Euboea plays a central role in the political and economic dynamics of the Mediterranean and seems to find in Kyme an important point of reference on Anatolian soil.

The recent discovery on the South hill at Kyme Aiolis (2012-2015) of painted pottery of the LPG, dependent on Attic and Euboean models, was unfortunately recovered in small sondages because of the presence of monumental evidence of the Hellenistic-Roman town. It documents close relations between the two shores of the Aegean as early as the early Iron Age and confirms the results of M. Kerschner's archaeometric analyses, which reported imitations of PSC skyphoi made from the clay of the district of Kyme Aiolis, leading indicators of the transmarine relations of the Euboeans³⁶: among the finds from the deepest layer there is a shoulder/neck fragment of a large amphora or hydria, with a very well-preserved red painted decoration, consisting of groups of at least twelve concentric circles or semicircles, separated by groups of four pendent tongues (Fig. 6)³⁷.

²⁷ PS. PLUT., *Fluv.* 7,1.

²⁸ PARISE 2000, 57; RAGONE 2006, 182-203; MELE 2016, 240-244.

²⁹ *Op.* 631-639.

³⁰ Cf. ENGELMANN 1976, 167-168.

³¹ Cf. A. Cassio and B. D'Agostino in the first volume of this conference Proceedings.

³² DION. HAL. VII, 3, 1.

³³ PS. SCYMN. 236-243; STRABO V, 4, 4.

³⁴ *Vita Hom.* 2.

³⁵ Cf. RAGONE 2010, 37-71; MELE 2010, 77-107; 2014, 69-76.

³⁶ KERSCHNER 2014, 114.

³⁷ CAMERA 2017, 44, fig. 3; 2018a, 68, fig. 21; 2018b, 171, fig. 16; FRASCA 2020, 178-183. The fragment has some parallels at Ephesus ascribed, using neutron activation analysis, both to local production and to Euboean import, where this decorative pattern is well attested.

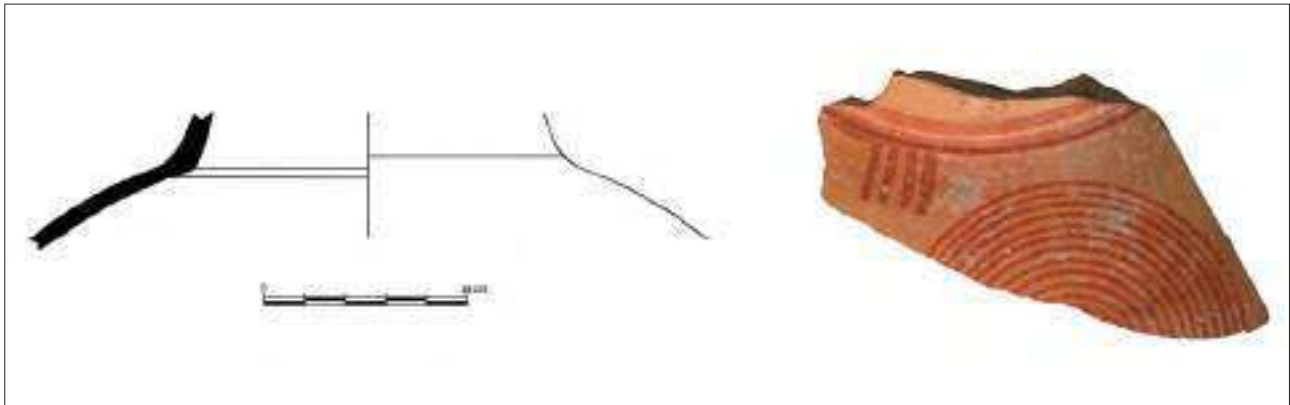


Fig. 6. LPG hydria fragment from Southern Hill (from CAMERA 2017)

Trans-Aegean contacts between Euboea and Aeolian Kyme played an important role until the LG, as evidenced by the large dossier of Euboean-imported LG ceramics also found recently in the residential area on the South hill together with others from North Ionian cities³⁸, as well as some rare LG items found in Turkish excavations north-east of the inhabited area along the course of the ancient Xanthos, which advanced as far as the Hermos valley towards Sardis conveying goods from the sea³⁹.

In the area of the lower *agora* near the harbour, a LG hut was unearthed adjacent to a discharge comprising melt waste and numerous mussels, which were part of the Euboic diet, as in Oropos, as well as in Punta Chiarito. Just east of the outer side of the curvilinear pebble wall, a round fireplace connected with the pebble wall structure was uncovered (Fig. 7). The picture that emerges from these recent excavations carried out in the central area of the city (2006, 2009, 2012) agrees with the old and new excavations on the Southern Hill (1988-1990, 2012, 2015): almost all of the Euboean pottery (Figs. 8, 10, 11) comes from LG layers (LG I and LG II), but a large number of items dating to the end of 8th - beginning of 7th century BC, different for technical features of paint and clay, was imported from workshops of Ionia such as Smyrna, Teos, Claros, Ephesos⁴⁰. These dis-

coveries testify to the relevance assumed by the harbour since the 8th century BC⁴¹.

The limited information we have from the excavations in the necropolis area seems to converge in the same direction (Fig. 9)⁴².

This rich assemblage provides clear evidence that Kyme Aiolis occupied a significant role as a commercial hub, connecting a maritime network first to the Phrygian land and later to the Lydian hinterland. This role is highly relevant to the issue of gold circulation. At least since the middle of the 8th century Kyme has been involved in trades and connections all around the Greek world, including Corinth, Euboea and Ionia. This data completely matches with literary sources, as we can read from the famous passage by Strabo⁴³: «According to some writers, it is said of them that they only began to let the tolls of the harbour three hundred years after the foundation of their city».

From the same western Anatolian coasts, where the finds of Euboean pottery are concentrated, two “bird kotylai” arrived at Pithecusa, travelling in the opposite direction and testifying meaningful connections between Euboea and Eastern Aegean: the famous inscribed Nestor’s cup and a similar fragmentary item from Eretria. They are

³⁸ CAMERA 2017, 49, fig. 12a,b; 2018 a, 175, fig. 25a-c; FRASCA 2020, 178-183.

³⁹ ATILA 2019, 123, fig. 2A; LA MARCA 2020, 194-195.

⁴⁰ COLELLI 2021, 179-182. As stressed by Colelli, the stratigraphy shows that this area was settled between the PG period and the beginning of the archaic age, with the best-known phase between the middle 8th and mid-7th century BC, corresponding

roughly to the lifespan of the poet Hesiod, who testifies the maritime projection of the settlement (Hes., *Op.* 631-639). Hesiod himself goes to Chalcis in Euboea to declaim a hymn in the ceremonies for the death of Amphidamas (*ibidem* 654-657). On the discussed period of Hesiod’s life, see the contribution presented by L. Breglia in the first volume of the conference Proceedings.

⁴¹ COLELLI 2017, 59-74; 2021, 43-63.

⁴² LA MARCA – MANCUSO 2012; LA MARCA 2020.

⁴³ XIII, 3, 6.



Fig. 7. Aeolian Cyme. The Central area of the city (photo archive of Italian archaeological Expedition)



Fig. 8. LG Euboean potsherds from the lower *agora* (from COLELLI 2021)



Fig. 9. LG stemmed krater from the East necropolis (from ATILA 2019)

both “bird kotylay” of standard fabric, which was possible to locate recently in Theos in the northern Ionia, south-west of Smyrna⁴⁴: one with a metric inscription in the Euboean alphabet, the famous “cup of Nestor”, has been found in T. 168 of the first LG (750-650 BC)⁴⁵, the other in the area

of the metallurgical workshop of Mazzola⁴⁶, while a fragmentary counterpart of the first, as is known, was found in Eretria, with a similar metric inscription⁴⁷.

⁴⁴ KADIOĞLU *et al.* 2015.

⁴⁵ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 219 (168, 9), pl. 72, pls. CXXVI-CXXVIII (Nestor’s Cup); BARTONÉK – BUCHNER 1995, 177-178; NIZZO 2007, 33-36.

⁴⁶ KLEIN 1972, 39, fig.7; BUCHNER 1982, 107; BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 219. A second item from the metallurgical district is reported by M. D’Acunto: cf. D’ACUNTO 2020, 281.

⁴⁷ JOHNSTON – ANDREIOMENOU 1989, 217-220; CASSIO 1998.



Fig. 10. LG Euboean pottery from Southern Hill (from FRASCA 2020)



Fig. 11. LG Euboean pottery from Southern Hill (from FRASCA 2020)



Fig. 12. LG bird-kotylai from the lower *agora* (from COLELLI 2021)

They reflect the contemporary knowledge in the Euboean environment of texts of “aedi” from the same area of Anatolian Greece, where Homer’s poetry flourished. The same context of the so far problematic T. 168⁴⁸ refers to the ritual of the necropolis of Teos⁴⁹. Recently on Rhodes, many “bird kotylai” have been found in Ialysos, which have to be imported from North Ionia too, as supported by archaeometric analyses on rhodian pottery of the same group of clay, although it cannot be ruled out that the Ialysian corpus of bird kotylai might include local imitations⁵⁰.

It is important to remark that many bird kotylai have been found in Smyrna, situated on the borders of Northern Ionia and in Southern Aeolis, including Kyme (Fig. 12)⁵¹. The famous inscription in the Euboean alphabet was engraved after firing and refers to Homeric epos⁵². The Aeolis and its nearby areas are famously involved in the birth of the epic, written in the Ionian dialect with

⁴⁸ NIZZO 2007, 33-36.

⁴⁹ IREN – ÜNLÜ 2012, 309-334. Cf. the masterful contribution of B. d’Agostino, in this conference proceedings.

⁵⁰ D’ACUNTO 2017, 467-470; 2020, 287-289, with an extensive analysis.

⁵¹ FRASCA 1998, 275-277, fig. 7 (“bird kotylai”), figs. 9-10, 14-15 (Euboean imported pottery); FRASCA 2020, 178, fig. 2 A-C; COLELLI 2012, 44-53, figs. 28-30; 2021, 147-150, figs. 92-95; SCATOTTA HÖRICH 2017, 335-336, figs. 2a-c, 3.

⁵² *Il.* XI, 632-637.

Aeolic forms⁵³. According to authoritative opinions, the inscriptions of Pithecusa and Eretria could reflect contemporary knowledge of the oral texts or even writings of aedi from the same area of Anatolian Greece⁵⁴. The coast from Lesbos to Samos, together with the islands, is the area where the first Greek poets appeared and worked, including Homer of Smyrna, according to some traditions⁵⁵ of Aeolian origin⁵⁶ and in a later period Anacreon of Teos, whose poetry offers a significant comparison to the inscription of Nestor's cup in the playful mockery of the heroic custom in the confrontation of the joys of the Muses and Aphrodite⁵⁷.

In the same direction traveled Anatolian fibulae of the Phrygian type, with an enlarged arch decorated with three large ribbed nodules of late 8th - beginning 7th century BC attested in the necropolis of Pithecusa (T. 355, LG II)⁵⁸. Greek imitations of the same type have been found in the Artemision of Ephesus and moulds of the same type are also known in ancient Smyrna (Bayracli)⁵⁹.

The intermediary trade of the noble metal could have been the return asset of the Euboean element traffic in this area. It is also possible that the trans-Aegean traffic was intertwined with the migration of peoples, as the ancient tradition suggests.

The memory of the trans-Aegean contacts in this process was likely preserved by ancient writers.

⁵³ LATA CZ 2007, 692-694.

⁵⁴ JOHNSTON – ANDREIOMENOU 1989, 217-220.

⁵⁵ *Vita Hom.* I, 2-3, 13-14.

⁵⁶ On the part of the mother native of Aeolian Kyme: cf. RAGONE 2013, 126-152.

⁵⁷ *Fr. Eleg.* 2 West. See LATA CZ 2007, 681-700; MURRAY 2009, 53-69.

⁵⁸ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 219, 401-404, no. 7, pl. CLIX, T.355 (LG II); LO SCHIAVO 2006, 256, type 87, fig. 4 (1-2); fig. 5 (7-8), Asia Minor ("imports from the East"); GUZZO 2012, 521.

⁵⁹ KLEBINDER GAUSS 2008, 235-236, figs. 198, 199.

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NATURAL RESOURCES AND RAW MATERIALS AT ISCHIA IN ANTIQUITY: SOME DATA AND PRELIMINARY REPORTS FROM AN ONGOING, INTERDISCIPLINARY PROJECT

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1. ISCHIA AND NATURAL RESOURCES: SOME RECENT DATA AND AN ONGOING PROJECT

The new project begun at Ischia, following the investigation of the artisan quarter beneath the church of Santa Restituta of Lacco Ameno¹ (Fig. 1), will focus its studies on the island's natural resources, both environmental and geological, during the period of colonization (but also later periods). These resources have not always been sufficiently considered in archaeological investigations but could yield new and important information. Some themes of the present research include reconstructing the agricultural landscape, the use of the land's resources and modes of production (of wine and ceramics, for example).

Investigations carried out in the artisan quarter beneath the church of Santa Restituta of Lacco Ameno proved the existence of some kilns that were already active in the 8th century BC. Thanks to a supply of local clays², these kilns manufactured Euboean ceramics, which are also attested in other contemporary archaeological sites.

Moreover, the production of amphorae in different time periods called attention to wine production as well, which was a fundamental resource for Ischia and a constant theme in the economy of the island over the course of the centuries³.

Other themes of investigation concern certain metals, gold and iron⁴, for example. These have been excluded by many academics because of the presumption that there were no ore deposits on Ischia⁵; other scholars, meanwhile, have seen ore deposits as one of the potential reasons for the Greek presence on the island⁶.

Already in 2017, we carried out an initial sampling of sands during a survey trip in the area of Campagnano⁷ which allowed us to show for the first time, thanks to laboratory analyses, that there is gold on Ischia; moreover ancient sources led to the Campagnano goldmine⁸. These sources and recent studies, although preliminary, have made it possible to correct the notion that the geological formation of Ischia has made finding gold impossible.

⁴ The investigations began during the publication of OLCESE 2017 on the archaeological area of S. Restituta.

⁵ PAIS 1908, 231; BUCHNER 1969, 97-98; 1970-1971, 66. The hypothesis of D. Ridgway on the presence of minerals is well known: «La formazione geologica di Ischia rende impossibile la presenza nell'isola di minerali d'oro e d'argento... Come l'oro e l'argento, così pure il ferro o gli elementi che formano il bronzo, rame e stagno non sono mai stati disponibili sull'isola di Ischia» (RIDGWAY 1984, 113-116).

⁶ Dunbabin and Boardman held that the Greeks came to the West in order to obtain metals which they needed at home (DUNBABIN 1948, who at 7-8 speaks of copper; BOARDMAN 1964, 177, who refers to zinc and iron). For a review of opinions relating to the search for metals and the Greek Colonization, see TREISTER 1996, chapter 2, 146, in particular the bibliography at notes 697 and 698; for Pithekoussai 164-166.

⁷ The survey in the area of Campagnano was organized in MAY 2017 as part of the *Immensa Aequeora* project; participants included the geologists L. Monti and R. Toccaceli, in addition to collaborators D. M. Surace (who also provided an editorial review of this article and the composition of the tables) and A. Razza (who revised the bibliography). A global project on the natural resources of Ischia is underway with them.

⁸ PIPINO 2009; MONTI 2011.

¹ OLCESE 2010, 2017, with previous bibliography; for the first data on natural resources, see chapter II.5 of OLCESE 2017, whose ancient sources are partly reused here.

² OLCESE 2017.

³ To the investigations carried out in the past on amphorae (DI SANDRO 1986; DURANDO 1989, 1998) and those on Greco-Italic ones (OLCESE 2010), we must now add a new series of data about archaic amphorae (ongoing study).

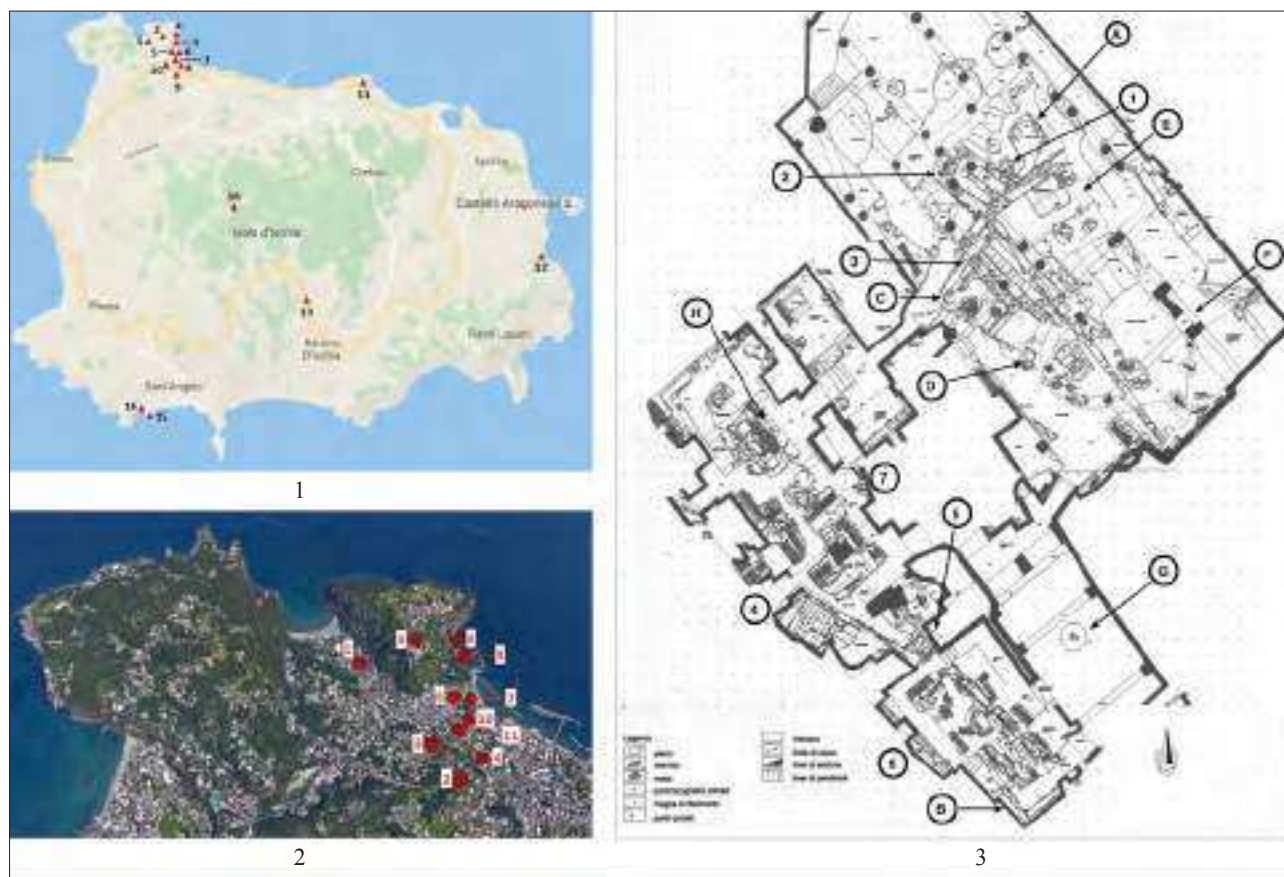


Fig 1. 1.1: Map of Ischia. 1. necropolis of San Montano; 2. Monte Vico; 3. scarico Gosetti; 4. cave of Varule; 5. church of Santa Restituta; 6. Hotel Regina Isabella; 7. Hotel La Reginella; 8. Pastola; 9. Mazzola, Mezzavia; 10. Museum of Villa Arbusto; 11. Casamicciola, Promontory of Castiglione; 12. Cartaromana; 13. Toccanello; 14. Sorgeto; 15. Promontory of Punta Chiarito; 16. Monte Epomeo (map by D.M. Surace in OLCESE 2017, 20). 1.2: Ischia, Lacco Ameno. 1. necropolis of San Montano; 2. Mazzola, Mezzavia; 3. Museum of Villa Arbusto; 4. area of Pastola; 5. Monte Vico, Acropolis; 6. church of Santa Restituta; 7. Hotel Regina Isabella; 8. cave of Varule; 9. scarico Gosetti; 10. Hotel La Reginella; 11. via Messer Onofrio, ex Casa Migliaccio (D.M. Surace in OLCESE 2017, 24). 1.3) Church of Santa Restituta. General plan of the archaeological area: 1-7. the ceramic kilns. A. the clay deposit; B. "Officina degli Eros"; C. workshop 1, "Officina del mortaio"; D. workshop 2; E. dryer; F. "Figulina attica"; G. "Officina sub aqua"; H. "fornace per la calce" (plan by A. Maifreni in OLCESE 2017, 56)

At present, it is not possible to establish in which epoch the mining began, although it is documented that the Campagnano Mine was opened around 1300, possibly after the great eruption of 1301-1302⁹.

Following these developments, it seemed the time was right to organize an interdisciplinary project within the University of Milan. This project is now ongoing and intends to reconsider the environmental and geological situations on the island in relation to production activities, in an at-

tempt to reconstruct the agricultural landscape. It concentrates research above all on viticulture; the project is also studying sources of metals (gold and iron in particular), as well as alum¹⁰. One goal is to succeed in evaluating, on the basis of concrete data, the Greek involvement in the exploitation of raw materials, manufacturing technology, and agriculture. As far as it is possible to tell at this point, the Greeks contributed heavily to archaic ceramic production; this was demonstrated by the study of kilns under the Church of Santa Restituta of Lacco Ameno¹¹.

⁹ See PIPINO 2009. Of a different opinion is the geologist R. Toccaceli who argues, on the other hand, that the mining activity may refer to more ancient times, as he believes that the eruption of the Arso had no interference, either from a morpho-stratigraphic or volcanological point of view, with the deposits (personal communication and SBRANA – TOCCACELI 2006).

¹⁰ The project is being carried out as part of the Di.S.A.A. of the University of Milan, in collaboration with various specialists.

¹¹ OLCESE 2017.

The ongoing debates related to colonization today, although they are interesting, are often theoretical and based on review of published data. They concentrate on the relationship and the role of indigenous peoples with the “colonizers”, in an attempt to ameliorate viewpoints that are considered Hellenocentric. In reality, in order to advance in a constructive manner, there is a need for more archaeological data, for more studies of the landscape, material culture, manufacturing technologies, organic remains and modes of production during the period in question.

There are two paths that will be followed in parallel: the first path is to expand our knowledge of the environmental and geological realities on the island in the past. This can be accomplished with the help of geologists, chemists and agronomists. The second path is to reconsider the situation of Ischia in relation to that of Euboea in light of recent studies¹².

1.1 Euboeans on Ischia

Euboeans most probably landed on the beaches of the modern Lacco Ameno, and found a choice landscape, considering the remarkable environmental and geological advantages of Ischia¹³:

- insularity, the island is hilly, allowing for a complete panorama of the sea;
- abundance of bays and protected coves (two right on Lacco Ameno, at the base of Montevico);
- proximity to the coast, which allowed the inhabitants to open trade relations with the mainland;
- a volcanic nature, which rendered the soil of Ischia exceptionally fertile;
- the presence of clay deposits;
- the presence of mineral deposits.

Even in the 1400s and 1500s, Elisio, a doctor in the Aragonese court of Naples, wrote about Ischia: «...Fertilissima è quest'isola di pascoli, di generoso vino, di miniere d'oro, di allume e di zolfo»¹⁴. He refers to the presence of mines, even of gold, of which there remain accounts in other texts (for example, that of Iasolino in 1588) and in cartography (for ex-

ample, in the map of the Roman engraver Cartaro in 1586, reproduced in subsequent publications)¹⁵. Iron is also abundant on the island (see *infra*), contrary to what has sometimes been claimed until now¹⁶.

Such resources can be counted in addition to the fertility of the land, which was already recorded in ancient sources (*eukarpia*) and preferred for its natural volcanic terrain ideal for viticulture and for the presence of clays, which were used over the course of the centuries and up to the modern era to create ceramics and bricks for construction¹⁷.

Reexamination of the data shows that Pithekoussai was chosen and also inhabited for its natural resources, which are reminiscent of, among others, those of Euboea; the Greek island was recently the subject of multidisciplinary studies similar to those being done on Ischia. The studies conducted on the Greek island shed further light on the production of ceramics and working of metals¹⁸. Contact with the Euboean world seems to have been one factor driving technological innovations on the island. Unfortunately, the scarcity of data about the production situation and the “indigenous” environment on Ischia before the arrival of the Greeks makes it difficult to highlight the effect they brought and, in general, the debate on this matter is deadlocked¹⁹; what is certain is that the Euboeans found on the island everything they could ever need to establish a settlement and organize «un quartier generale euboico», to use Ridgway's expression²⁰.

2. SOME LINES OF STUDY FOR THE PROJECT

On the basis of data so far collected, the project proposes to confront the themes listed below with a multidisciplinary approach to a larger debate concerning the economic and social history of the island, in relation to the situation in the Mediterranean.

¹⁵ For example, in BUCHNER NIOLA 2000.

¹⁶ BAKHUIZEN 1976, 66; GRAHAM 1971, 42-45.

¹⁷ BUCHNER 1994; MONTI 2011; OLCESE 2010, 2017.

¹⁸ KERSCHNER – LEMOS 2014; CHARALAMBIDOU 2017; for relations and contacts between Euboea and Pithekoussai, see for example RIDGWAY 2004, in addition to the numerous contributions in *Euboica*.

¹⁹ For example, see GRECO – LOMBARDO 2010; OSANNA 2014; LOMBARDO 2016. For the question of how the Greek colonization was, HALL 2016.

²⁰ RIDGWAY 1994.

¹² See, for example, the recent contribution by A. Bresson and G. Olcese in the conference *Comparing Greek Colonies* (2018).

¹³ MATTERA 2013.

¹⁴ ELISIO 1519, also reported in IASOLINO 1588.

2.1 The study of the agricultural landscape: vines, vineyards and wine

The project would like to investigate the ancient agricultural landscape, including laboratory investigations, starting from the island's principal resource: vines. As B. d'Agostino emphasized²¹, the Euboean's colonization of Pithekoussai is owed to *phyalie*, the cultivation of vines, which, as well as the vine trade, was the business of *basilees* and was part of the *prexis* trade²². Strabo describes the *eukarpia* of Ischia; the land's fertility aids in cultivation, as Pliny and Statius write in reference to vines²³. In addition to wine, which was the primary agricultural resource, the island has always been rich in products of the land and sea²⁴; even today, wheat is cultivated in the southern parts of the island; dried fruits are abundant, as are walnuts, hazelnuts and almonds²⁵.

Wine has played a role for centuries, into the modern day, in the economy of the island and deserves a closer look; a Greek inscription on a Hellenistic *donarium*, found at Lacco Ameno, contains a dedication to Aristaeus, the agricultural divinity particularly venerated in Euboea²⁶.

The settlement of Punta Chiarito, with multiple phases of inhabitation between the 7th and the 6th centuries BC and excavated by C. Gialanella and S. De Caro, yielded a sort of vessel for pressing grapes, an oval hollow in tufa with a spout, together with amphorae and *pithoi*; nearby was found a series of trenches for planting vines and holes left by the support poles²⁷.

Local production of amphorae for multiple centuries shows that the production of wine and of containers was always part of the reality of production on the island²⁸.

In 1867 G. D'Ascia wrote: «fra le piante, la più utile e la più propagata è la vite – la vite attirò le

prime colonie su questo vulcanico masso.... La vite cominciò qui ad avere origine dagli Euboici: essi condussero questa pianta dall'isola Eubea [...] nella detta isola di Negroponte, che con l'industria e col commercio civilizzava... Quando gli Eritresi approdarono in quest'isola, portarono con esso loro questa preziosa pianta, tenuta come sacra, perché dedicata al loro nume. Trovando quest'isola atta ad una tale coltivazione, perché di vulcanico suolo, tosto ne approfittarono, piantandovi la vite...»²⁹.

In 1822, Ultramontano described the wine as «la principale risorsa dell'isola, che è la produzione più adatta al suo suolo e alla sua esposizione. L'isola di Ischia è propriamente un solo grande vigneto»³⁰.

The wine of Ischia maintained an important position until the end of the 1940s, and life on the island was dominated by the production and trade in wine, as photographic evidence from that period suggests. Even today, the landscape of cultivation is mostly uniform and characterized by vines, whose expanse is aided by the volcanic soil and the climate (Fig. 2.1-2)³¹.

One of the main open questions that our project addresses concerns the impact of Greek colonization on viniculture and wine production in the Gulf of Naples, and on Ischia in particular, in order to determine the eventual importation of vines different from the autochthonous ones and new techniques for cultivation³². Indigenous vines existed in prehistoric Italy. The discovery of remains of wine-making datable to the 9th century BC at Poggiomarino/Longola (Pompeii), excavated by C. Albore Livadie, proved the existence of vine cultivation and wine-making in Campania before the arrival of the Greeks³³.

There are very interesting new avenues of research in the study of viticulture related to the genes of Mediterranean grapevines³⁴.

²¹ D'AGOSTINO 1994, 23 and note 31.

²² On these matters, see MELE 1979, 63 and notes 47 and 50.

²³ STRAB., V, 4, 8; PLIN., *N.H.*, XXXI, 9; STAT., *Silv.*, V, 3, 104-106.

²⁴ MONTI 1991, 49 ff.

²⁵ MONTI 1991, 52.

²⁶ BUCHNER 1949-1950, 1-12.

²⁷ DE CARO – GIALANELLA 1998; BRUN 2004, 162-163.

²⁸ For the archaic amphorae of Pithekoussai, BUCHNER 1981, 268, and 1982, 286; DI SANDRO 1986, 108; DURANDO 1989, 87-88; VAN DER MERSCH 1996, 173-174; SOURISSEAU 2009, 155-156. For the Greco-Italic amphorae, OLCESE 2010.

²⁹ D'ASCIA 1867, chapter IX, 69.

³⁰ HALLER 1822 (2005), 87 ff.

³¹ BUCHNER NIOLA 1965, 105.

³² CIACCI – RENDINI – ZIFFERERO 2012.

³³ CICIRELLI *et al.* 2008; CICIRELLI – ALBORE LIVADIE 2008; BRUN 2009.

³⁴ SCIENZA – FAILLA 2016; Campania is one the few “reservoirs” of European vinicultural variability in which it is possible to find progenitors and ancestors of vines cultivated in faraway places.



Fig. 2. 1. Vineyard from Ischia, loc. Frassitelli (photo by G. Olcese); 2. Grape harvest (PIANCASTELLI 2002, 36); 3. Rock-cut unit from the Bosco della Falanga at the foot of Monte Epomeo (OLCESE 2017, 29, fig. II.14); 4. Rock-cut unit from Monte Corvo upon Forio (photo by G. Olcese)

To this end, molecular (DNA) analyses are planned based on the study of SNP (Single Nucleotide Polymorphism) markers. These analyses will examine autochthonous variety, grapevine accessions, and grape seeds found at archaeological sites on the island and in other contexts around Campania (such as the site of Longola/Poggiomarino, which has already been recorded, and whose dating precedes the arrival of the Greeks). These studies will be done in collaboration with colleagues, the Superintendency and agronomist colleagues from Di.S.A.A. at the University of Milan³⁵. Genetic data will be compared

for the purpose of identifying genealogies and genetic relations between old and new world viticulture. The process of domestication and evolution of the species *Vitis vinifera* is clearly recognizable in the morphology of the grape seeds. For this reason, the grape seeds from the archaeological sites will also be compared morphologically using non-destructive methods (such as image analysis) with a variety of modern seeds. The morphological data will be interpreted in relation to evidence of lineage obtained from genetic analyses.

2.1.1 Rock-Cut Units

The whole central area of the island, dominated by the presence of Monte Epomeo, is characterized by the presence of rock-cut units, great basins

³⁵ DE LORENZIS *et al.* 2019, 127; DE LORENZIS *et al.* in press; A. Scienza, O. Failla and G. De Lorenzis of the Di.S.A.A. of the University of Milan are involved in the ongoing project.

dug into the tufa and into the rock, for the purpose of turning grapes into wine (Fig. 2.3-4). The rural human settlements of Ischia, in which these basins were inserted, are traditionally traced back to recent times³⁶, but some rock-cut units of Ischia, comparable to ancient ones in other centers of the Mediterranean, could actually be older.

As part of the regional mapping of rock-cut units in Tyrrhenian Italy³⁷, a first study of those on Ischia was made. Analyses of residues (using the GC-MS method) were carried out on some production structures on the island. The first results are forthcoming in the proceedings of the 2018 AIAC Congress Cologne – Bonn³⁸.

2.1.2 Amphorae and wine

Studies, including laboratory studies, were carried out on Greco-Italic amphorae to determine their composition (XRF and mineralogical analysis). On the basis of these studies, the important role played by wine production and wine containers on the island was highlighted. The current studies, in collaboration with the Superintendency, are concerned with characterizing the archaic amphorae³⁹. In order to fully understand viticulture on Ischia, it is useful to define the quality of the contents of various classes of vine-bearing amphorae produced at Ischia and sold on maritime trade routes. Some analyses (GC-MS) were then done on the remains of amphorae from Ischia/Gulf of Naples found on some shipwrecks⁴⁰.

2.2 The Clay

The abundance and quality of the clays on Ischia, resting above the green tufa of Monte Epomeo and rich in marine fauna, has been known for a long time. The passage from Pliny – in which he interprets the name of the island, connecting it to *pithoi* – seems to leave no doubt,

although this reading is not agreed upon by all researchers⁴¹.

Capaccio, in the 1600s, reports the discovery of «vasi antichissimi di creta cotta. Ed ai miei tempi si è scoperto uno fra gli altri considerabile non solo per la sua grandezza, ma per essere da una lamina di piombo internamente ricoperto, e gli artefici non hanno saputo giudicare con quale fornace si servissero per cuocerlo attesa la sua grandezza»⁴².

Numerous authors of various periods record much information about the clays. An anonymous author writes⁴³: «le miniere dell'argilla, e della creta sono state inesauste, ed immancabili; mentre da tempo antichissimo, che delle stesse se n'è fatto uso continuo per li vasi, e per li mattoni, non sono mai finite, e dimostrano di non volere giamai terminare».

Some clay deposits used in ancient times are found on the northern slopes of Epomeo, above Casamicciola, as M. Cartaro's 1586 map attests⁴⁴ (Fig. 3.1). A text from 1783 records that clay from Ischia was still being transported to Naples⁴⁵.

Capaccio, in the *Historiae Neapolitanae* of 1607, concerning Pithekoussai, records the presence in Casamicciola of «ardentes fornaces figulorum». The whole area of Casamicciola on Lacco Ameno, in particular the area by the coast, was intended for producing ceramics, and the clay was found at «12-15 piedi di profondità... scavata in lunghe gallerie che vanno a zig-zag sotto terra»⁴⁶; the last kilns were still visible on the beach in the 1930s⁴⁷ (Fig. 3.2).

The investigation focused on the pottery quarter situated beneath the Church of Santa Restituta, at Lacco Ameno on Ischia at the foot of Monte Vico and near the sea. This context, which is of great interest, was accidentally brought to light in the 1950s by the parish priest, Don Pietro Monti. It covers a surface area of over 1500 m² and consist-

³⁶ D'ARBITRIO – ZIVIELLO 1982, 15 (15th century AD).

³⁷ OLCESE – SORANNA, 2013, 307-314; OLCESE – RAZZA – SURACE 2015 (www.immensaequora.org), 2017, and in press.

³⁸ OLCESE – RAZZA – SURACE in press, with a contribution by N. GARNIER, as part of the session "Making wine in the western Mediterranean / Production and trade of amphorae: some new data from Italy", during the 19th International Congress of Classical Archaeology (Cologne-Bonn, 22-26 May 2018).

³⁹ OLCESE 2010, 2017.

⁴⁰ GARNIER – OLCESE in press.

⁴¹ For a different interpretation TORELLI 1994, 122-123.

⁴² The information reported by MONTI 1980, 473 is attributed to Capaccio (1607, chapter XX); D'ALOISIO 1757, lib. I, C.I, f.1.

⁴³ MAZZELLA 2014. Anonymous, author of the text *Ragguglio dell'isola di Ischia*, should be recognized in Vincenzo Onorato, a priest who lived between 1700 and 1800 on Ischia, moreover cited already by MONTI 1980.

⁴⁴ CARTARO 1586; MONTI 2011, 86.

⁴⁵ ANDRIA 1783, 78-80.

⁴⁶ MONTI 1980, 473; CAPACCIO 1607, chapter XV.

⁴⁷ MONTI 1980, 473-475; BUCHNER 1994.

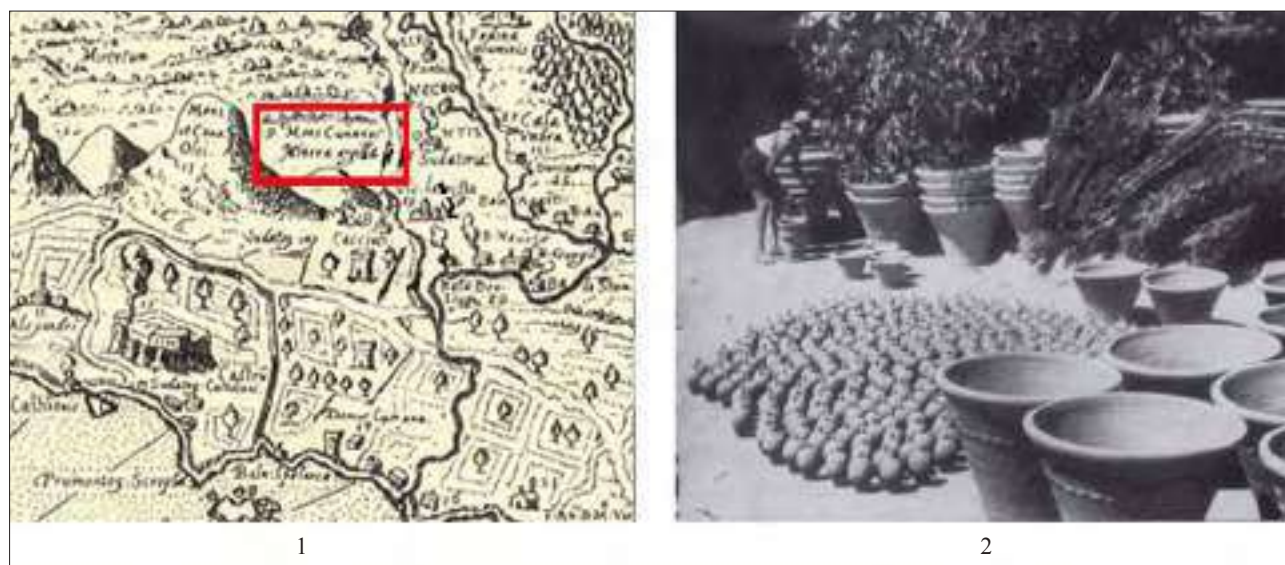


Fig. 3. 1. Clay quarry in the cartography by CARTARO 1586; 2. Ceramic factory of the Mennella Brothers in Ischia (from BUCHNER 1994)

ed of many kilns, seven of which have been identified. These were found along with the crafting area, a dryer for tiles and tools used by ceramists.

Through the use of thermoluminescence and the study of material finds, we have been able to establish an effective chronology for some of the kilns, which are not attributable to the Republican period, as previously thought, but somewhere between the Late Geometric and Hellenistic age⁴⁸. The oldest kiln, the circular one, probably dates back to the first phases of the Greek settlement. The others, rectangular-shaped and variously sized, can be dated to the period between the Archaic and Hellenistic ones.

Currently, these kilns, whose technology changed over time, are the only ones known to exist on the island. For centuries, artisans continued to work in the same area, which was convenient for its location with respect to the sea, well protected and boasted a supply of fresh water.

Ceramics produced during the colonial period, clearly of Euboean derivation, mostly consisted of calcareous table wares. They were produced by method A as defined by M. Picon⁴⁹, a privileged method in the Mediterranean. Meanwhile, the cooking wares reflect a different artisanal tradition, perhaps an indigenous one⁵⁰.

Archaeometric data obtained through chemical and mineralogical analyses of ceramics from different epochs will serve as reference groups, which consist of materials that were definitely produced locally and whose composition is now known. These groups will attest to the continuity of the supply of raw materials. The clay used in the artisan quarter of Lacco Ameno probably comes from the coast and the slopes of Mt. Epomeo near Casamicciola, just a few kilometers away. Here, up to the modern era, clay was dug in tunnels and transported on the backs of mules to the coast.

The situation here is similar to that recently documented in Euboea, thanks to ethnoarchaeological and archaeometric studies. Fine Euboean ceramics were made with clays whose sources were situated 3 km north of Lefkandi in the area of Phylla. Artisans from Chalkis, even in the last century, transported clay from this area with horses and carts to their workshops⁵¹.

2.3 Alum

The island's volcano-tectonic characteristics favored the circulation of thermal, acidic waters that lead to the formation of mineral deposits, which consisted mostly of alunite. These were already identified in the plan of Cartaro in 1586⁵²

⁴⁸ OLCESE 2017.

⁴⁹ PICON 2002; OLCESE – PICON 2002, 2003.

⁵⁰ OLCESE 2017, chapter VIII.

⁵¹ KERSCHNER – LEMOS 2014, 191.

⁵² MONTI 1980, 477-482; 2011, 88; PIPINO 2009; OLCESE 2010.

(Fig. 4.1): «sono anco miniere d'allume in molte parti dell'isola e specialmente vicino il Monte della Guardia»⁵³.

Alum was used in Antiquity in the production of glass, in separating native gold from silver, in the textile industry, in the production of leather, and in medicine as a hemostatic. It was concentrated in few places, and Ischia was one of those (Fig. 4.2). The most extensive and widely-used deposit of fossil alunite was above Casamicciola, in the north part of Epomeo, where brick basins have been found where the mineral might have been ground⁵⁴.

Ischian alum was probably already being used in the remote past, but we have news about their exploitation from the XIII century when it was ordered that the tithes on alum were to go to the bishop of Ischia⁵⁵. Alum mines on Ischia were the property of the King of Naples, who conceded mining privileges (the oldest document in this sense is dated to 1299, while the abandonment of production must have taken place at the end of the 16th century⁵⁶).

The large basins that are still visible in the woods above Casamicciola, which we identified during a survey⁵⁷ (Fig. 4.3), are effectively similar to those found in one of the rare ancient settlements known for alum production, probably dating already to the Roman period, which was uncovered on Lesbos, at Apothika⁵⁸ (Fig. 4.4); such basins in a truncated-cone shape are interpreted on Lesbos as pits for grinding minerals⁵⁹.

Further field studies related to the production of alum on Ischia could not only clarify the means of production of alum but also arrive at a more precise dating of the production sites, if datable finds can be discovered that were not identified during the first survey.

2.4 Metals on Ischia: some data and some open questions

As far as metals are concerned, the questions proposed as part of this project concern iron and gold, for now, are only aimed at reopening some unanswered questions and delivering primary data, which will be very preliminary, from the ongoing research.

Control of metal contributed in Antiquity, as is well established, to the formation of political and social structures. If, as some maintain, there is no evidence that the Greeks moved westwards in search of metals⁶⁰, and the debate about this topic is closed, it is however possible, for example, that in Antiquity the outcroppings of limonite on the sides of the mountains attracted the attention of the Euboeans, who would have discovered, upon investigation, small deposits of iron and perhaps also natural alum, as well as sulphur.

In any case, contact with the Euboean world was probably one of the factors leading to the arrival of innovative technologies, particularly in the field of metallurgy, and the beginning of the exploitation of the deposits⁶¹. The existence of a Chalkidian metal industry in the Archaic Age is a definite, undeniable reality. It was connected to deposits of iron in the central part of Euboea⁶². Ore deposits are attested in southern Euboea⁶³. The presence of workshops for the refinement of metals from Pithekoussai probably reflects archaic Euboea's vocation to metallurgy, as has long been rightly highlighted for a long time⁶⁴.

⁶⁰ For example, TREISTER 1996, 181; DESCOEUDRES 2008, 361; different opinions on the matter were expressed in DUNBABIN 1948, 7-8, and BORDMAN 1964, 177. S.C. Bakhuizen had formulated some hypotheses about emigration from Chalkis, hypothesizing that part of its trade was in iron, possibly basing itself on the exploitation of local mines. The first groups of Chalcidian emigrants to settle near the Bay of Naples consisted of traders in iron products and iron-smiths (BAKHUIZEN 1976, 66).

⁶¹ On Euboean metallurgy and the connection with colonization in the western Mediterranean, BAKHUIZEN 1976; MARKOE 1992; TREISTER 1996, 165-168; SOUEREFF 1998.

⁶² BAKHUIZEN 1975, 19-20; MELE 1982, 9.

⁶³ For the mineralizations with traces of gold on the island, KANELLOPOULOS *et al.* 2017. In the 1970s, understandings were different: in fact, according to Mele (MELE 1979, 67), the Chalkidians bought gold, which was not available in their region, to use as a trade good to obtain iron from Etruria, acting as a middle man in the trade: «i Calcidesi, come si è visto, diffondono in Etruria i loro χρυσεία; oro in Eubea non ce n'è; essi dunque trattano l'oro al fine di procurarsi ferro». The discovery of the treasure of Eretria (a vase containing many gold objects) in a 8th century BC building is very interesting; the discovery has been interpreted as that of a goldsmith's workshop (THEMELIS 1983) and, more recently, a monetary reserve, LE RIDER – VERDAN 2002.

⁶⁴ MELE 1982, 11.

⁵³ IASOLINO 1588, 27. For other sources, OLCESE 2017, 34-36.

⁵⁴ MONTI 2011, 88; OLCESE 2017, 44-46.

⁵⁵ MONTI 1980, 477 ff.; PIPINO 2009. For the most complete study on alum in the ancient times, BORGARD – BRUN – PICON 2005.

⁵⁶ BUCHNER 1994, 36, note 17.

⁵⁷ The survey was done with Dr L. Monti, who is the author of the geological guide of Ischia (MONTI 2011), whom I thank for her support for my research, who picked the locations and accompanied us there.

⁵⁸ ARCHONTIDOU 2005.

⁵⁹ ARCHONTIDOU – BLONDÉ – PICON 2005.

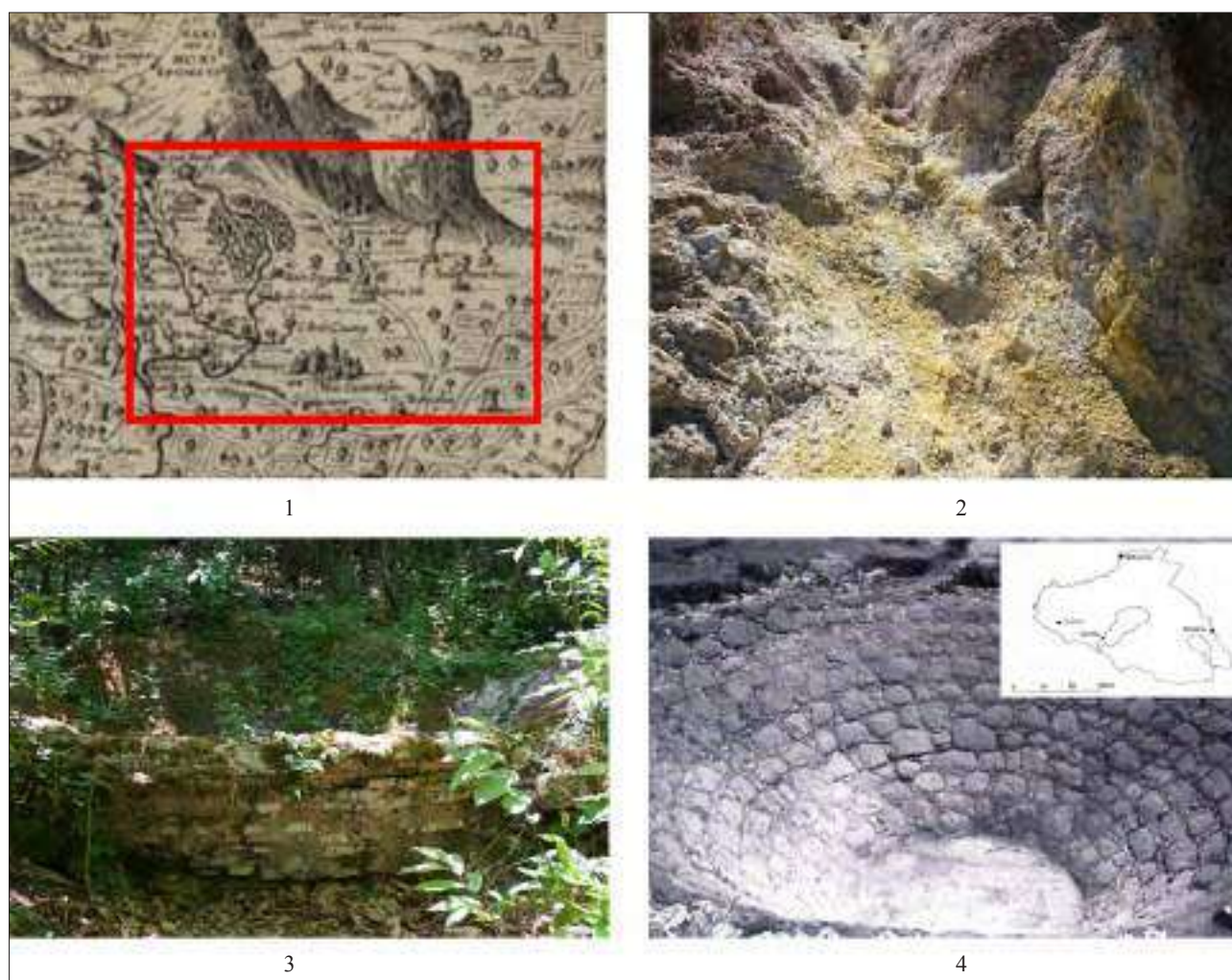


Fig. 4. 1. Sites connected to the alum industry in the cartography by CARTARO 1586; 2. Alum field from Ischia (photo G. Olcese); 3. Tank for processing alunite in the area called “le Caulare”, above Casamicciola (OLCESE 2017, 35, fig. II.26b); 4. Tank from the *atelier* of Apothika, Lesbos (ARCHONTIDOU 2005, figs. 1, 3)

Important data on Ischian metallurgy, although they refer to sporadic finds, concern the Republican and Imperial periods in the area of Cartaromana (see the following paragraph).

2.4.1 Refinement of metals on Ischia: the finds from Lacco Ameno and Aenaria

As far as the refinement of metals on Ischia in Antiquity, there is the well-known research of G. Buchner in the Mazzola/Mezzavia Quarter, dated to between the middle of the 8th century and the 7th century BC, where he hypothesized that bronze and iron were worked⁶⁵. In addition to this work, a fragment of hema-

tite was discovered amongst the finds from the acropolis dumpsite; these were attributed to the island of Elba⁶⁶, although doubts were raised soon after⁶⁷.

In the necropolis of San Montano, on a layer from the middle of the 8th century BC, iron slag and an iron sponge were found⁶⁸. During the excavations of 1965, the acropolis dumpsite yielded some finds related to the production of iron⁶⁹, which included a clay object identified as the mouth of a bellows (*tuyère*), perhaps from an ironworking furnace; it has been found, however, in other contexts

⁶⁵ BUCHNER 1970-1971; 1971; 1975, 80; KLEIN 1972; RIDGWAY 1984, 105-107; BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993; GIARDINO 1995, 122; NIJBOER 1998, 240-244. An iron sponge is documented on a level corresponding to the middle of the 8th century BC in the necropolis of San Montano, RIDGWAY 1984, 105-107.

⁶⁶ BUCHNER 1966, 4-12; letter of Marinelli in BUCHNER 1969, 97-98; BAKHUIZEN 1976, 66, note 83; D. Ridgway also agrees with this attribution, RIDGWAY 1984, 104, 108; RIDGWAY 1992, 99-100; CORRETTI – BENVENUTI 2001, 134-135.

⁶⁷ The question is reviewed in CORRETTI – BENVENUTI 2001, 135 and note 38.

⁶⁸ BUCHNER 1975; RIDGWAY 1994, 108; NIJBOER 1998, 240-244.

⁶⁹ BUCHNER 1969, 97; 1975; RIDGWAY 1984, 104, 108.

and interpreted differently, as *lasana*, which is a support for ceramics in kilns⁷⁰ (Fig. 6.1).

One less well known but still a highly interesting piece of evidence comes from the priest Don Pietro Monti in the 1970s⁷¹, who pointed out archaeological traces and a possible foundry in the northeast part of the island, between Cartaromana and Aragonese Castle, on the rocks of Sant'Anna⁷² (the area probably coincides with the site of *Aenaria*⁷³, which was also indicated in the map of Beloch⁷⁴) (Fig. 5.1). It is an underwater context, dated by materials to the late Republican and the early Imperial periods.

A block of galena, which has recently been subjected to analyses, is of uncertain origin as it does not have features that indicate a particular district, but it is common in the Mediterranean basin⁷⁵; this could confirm Monti's hypothesis regarding the presence of a foundry⁷⁶. It must be remembered, moreover, that the area of these discoveries is not very far from the gold mine of Campagnano, which is shown on the map of Cartaro in 1586.

The priest found and displayed at the Museum below Santa Restituta various finds "from *Aenaria*" in a showcase dedicated solely to this context: tiny hollow cylinders of litharge (Fig. 5.2), tin ingots cylinders, a bar of copper (Fig. 5.4), iron cylinders (Fig. 7.4), a fragment of "silver foam". Some of these items are probably related to the cupellation done to separate the lead from the silver, which was done in two crucibles: into the lower one, according to Pliny⁷⁷, litharge flowed, creating the cylinders found in multiple sites used for silver production⁷⁸. In addition, he showed some *mortaria*, a sort of lead brazier (*foculus*; Fig. 5.5), which until a little while ago rested in the excavations of Santa Restituta and is of uncertain origin (but probably from *Aenaria*, since it was placed in the showcase dedicated to that context). It is a very interesting item because it was

possibly used in metallurgy; other uses, for example heating food, have been proposed on the basis of similar vessels found on various shipwrecks, mostly from the Hellenistic and Roman periods in, for example, Gaul, Israel, and Turkey⁷⁹.

At Lacco Ameno, during the excavations of Santa Restituta and in the surrounding area, Don Pietro Monti found a silver-bearing, microcrystalline galena (diam. approx. cm 40 x 29; weight approx. kg 60; Fig. 5.6), together with the remains of the mouth of a bellows⁸⁰ (Fig. 6.2), some iron slag, the base of a crucible, and hematite minerals⁸¹. Such finds, recorded in the unpublished notes of the priest that I have been able to consider only recently, allow for a hypothesis that, perhaps, we don't know where, there could have been an area on Lacco Ameno dedicated to the metalworking⁸²; it is, however, a hypothesis that requires further study.

2.4.2 Gold on Ischia

Whether or not gold is present on Ischia has been the subject of discussions over time. Strabo's well-known text⁸³ speaks of the χρυσεία of Pithekoussai, goldmines, whose presence nevertheless was doubted in more recent times for geological reasons⁸⁴. It has been proposed, as is well-known, aside from variant readings (including the desire to replace the word χρυσεία with χαλκεῖα or χρυτρεῖα)⁸⁵, that Strabo was not referring to goldmines but «alle officine in cui il metallo veniva trasformato in utensili e ornamenti»⁸⁶.

⁷⁹ POLLINO 1984 (Benat III shipwreck); LOPEZ 1994, 51 and 1996, 59-60 (Barthelemy B shipwreck); GALILI – SHARVIT 1999, fig. 8 (Israele); BELTRAME 2002; PURPURA 2003.

⁸⁰ Together with these finds, Monti, in his unpublished works, also records the presence of another fragment of galena, hematite minerals, iron slag, and the base of a semicircular crucible (cm 5 x 6).

⁸¹ The writings relating to the last period of the priest's life were given to me and Prof. Castagna.

⁸² Don Monti thought that ovens for metals could be found at the foot of Monte Vico not far from the kilns; about the finds, the writings make scant reference to either the area of the so-called *fornace per la calce* (base of a crucible, galena, and bellows mouthpiece) or to the location where the Terme dell'Hotel Regina Isabella were constructed (bellows mouthpiece).

⁸³ STRABO, IV, 4, 9.

⁸⁴ See note 5; for a review of the question, RIDGWAY 1984, 47-49; MUREDDU 1972.

⁸⁵ PAIS 1894, 158, and 1922, 224; the reading χρυτρεῖα is accepted by BÉRARD 1957, 43.

⁸⁶ MUREDDU 1972, 408; BUCHNER 1975, 81.

⁷⁰ PAPADOPOULOS 1992.

⁷¹ MONTI 1980, 157 ff., 168 ff.; RITTMANN – GOTTINI 1980, 253; MONTI 1991, 16-17 and note 9.

⁷² MONTI 1980, 168; BONI – GIALANELLA – KNILL 1998, 160-164.

⁷³ Pais connects the Latin name, *Aenaria* with *Aes*, RIDGWAY 1984, 49.

⁷⁴ BELOCH 1890, 63.

⁷⁵ BONI – GIALANELLA – KNILL 1998, 163.

⁷⁶ MONTI 1980, 168

⁷⁷ PLIN., *N.H.*, XXX, 105-108.

⁷⁸ CONOPHAGOS 1980, BONI – GIALANELLA – KNILL 1998, 160-164.

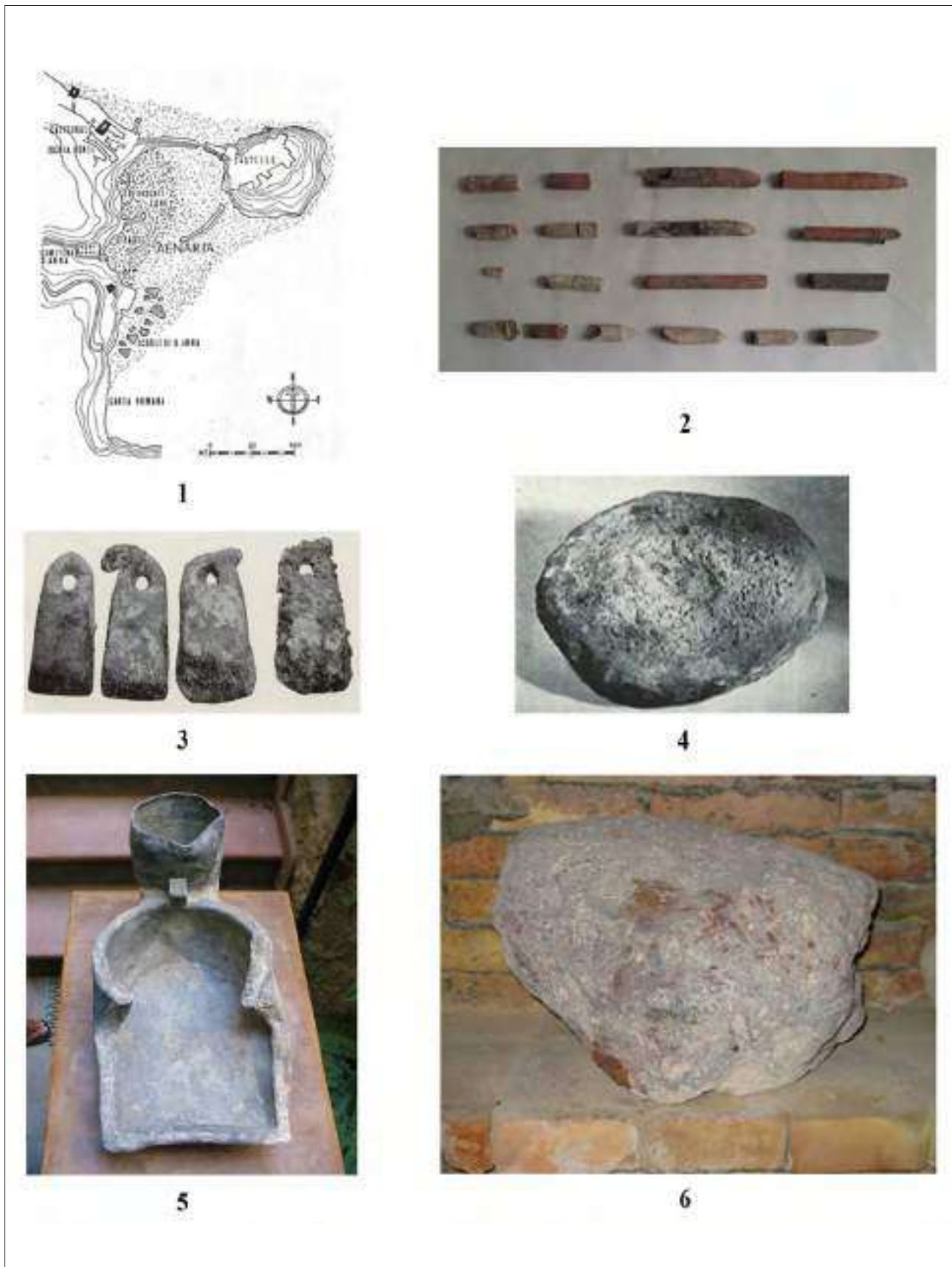


Fig. 5. 1. Map of the area around the Ischia Castle (MONTI 1980, 162, fig. 69); 2. Tiny hollow cylinders of litharge; 3. Tin ingots from Cartaromana (MONTI 1980, 171); 4. Bar of copper from Cartaromana (MONTI 1980, 173); 5. Lead brazier (*foculus*) displayed in Santa Restituta (photo by G. Olcese); 6. Galena found in Santa Restituta (OLCESE 2017, 32, fig. II.18b)

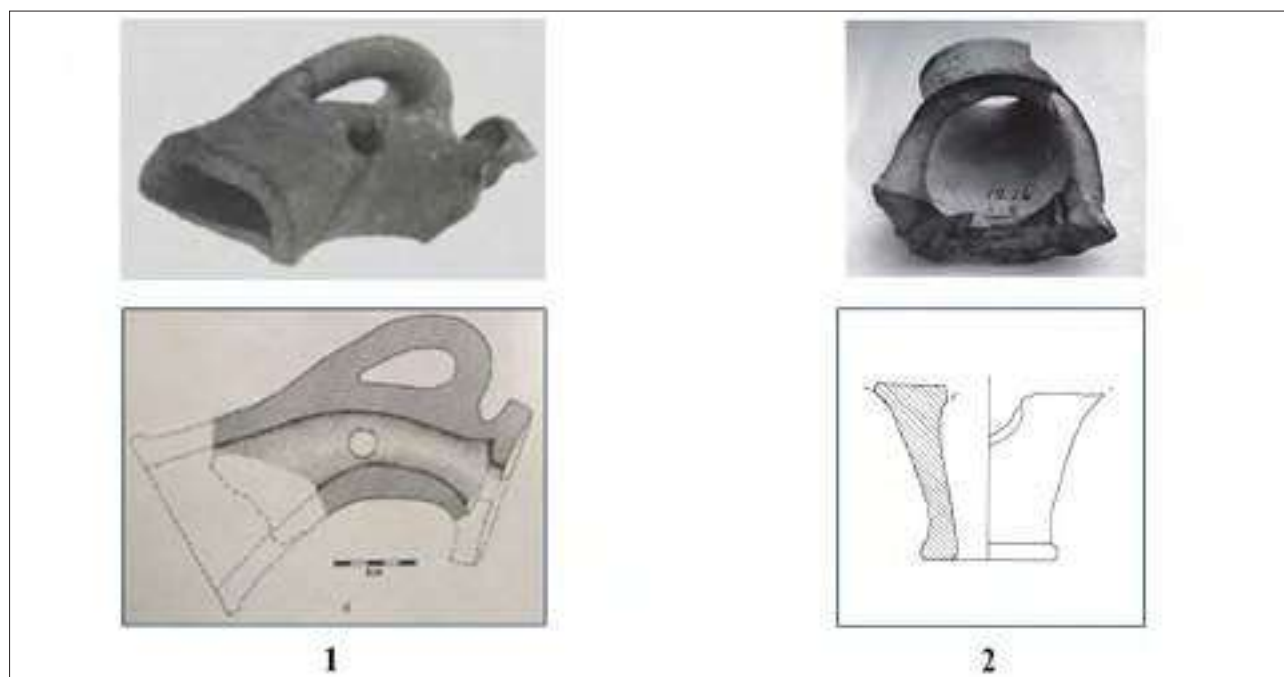


Fig. 6. 1. Archaeological find (*lasana*) identified as the mouth of a bellows for a steel oven found in San Montano (BUCHNER 1969, fig. 26c, e, d); 2. Remains of the mouth of a bellows from the archaeological area of Santa Restituta (OLCESE 2017, 18, fig. I.5; drawing by E. Serafini, scale 1:3)

As has been noted, however, the geographer knew the island well, perhaps from having visited in person, and his inattention would be improbable⁸⁷, given that the reports he usually gives about mines have a basis in reality.

On this matter, it is interesting to consider the reports from Iasolino about the «bagno detto Aurifero o bagno dell'oro nella Valle dell'Ombrasco»⁸⁸ ... «che mostrava una bellissima meraviglia della natura... quando il fonte è pieno... quelle acque mostrano... un sottil velo d'oro finissimo... di più di 24 carati, noi l'abbiamo voluto chiamare bagno aurifero: perché mena seco l'oro siccome si legge fanno molti fiumi; anzi abbiám più volte sperimentato e particolarmente quest'anno, 1583, abbiám fatto vedere a molti signori... che accostando leggermente la pianta della mano sopra la superficie dell'acqua vi si attacca quella tela d'oro... È la miniera di questo bagno... di oro: ma (per quello che io giudico), mescolato con qualche parte di rame, e con alcuni pochi vapori di solfo... né si deve meravigliare niuno di sì fatto bagno, poi-

ché Strabone, e altri scrivo in quella isola essere miniere d'oro, e chiaramente se ne vede una, in quel luogo che dicono Campagnano»⁸⁹. The phenomenon of thin films of gold has been observed with certainty near gold and silver deposits, as a result of its concentration⁹⁰.

Cartaro's 1586 map reports the toponym "*Auri Fodine*" in the area of Monte Vezzi - Campagnano⁹¹. Scipione Mazzella cites in 1661: «...le miniere dell'oro, che furono insieme con quelle dello solfo trovate nel 1465 da Bartolomeo Perdice genovese»⁹².

In 1607, Capaccio affirms the presence of: *Auri fodinae, de quibus fortasse Strabo loquutus est*...⁹³. G. Iasolino, at the end of the 16th century, informs us that the Venetians «allettati sicuramente da grandi speranze... erano venuti a saggiare il territorio di Ischia per cercarvi l'oro. Ma poiché né Iasolino né alcun altro autore fanno menzione dei risultati di queste ricerche, v'è da credere che i Veneziani, traditi nelle loro aspettative abbiano la-

⁸⁷ MUREDDU 1972, 407, note 3.

⁸⁸ Valley and hill are found in the area of Casamicciola, on the slopes of Epomeo, an area in which also *Fodina aluminis* (alum mine) is found; there are also reports of a *Minera Aluminis e calchanti* on the slopes of Epomeo.

⁸⁹ IASOLINO 1689; PIPINO 2009; MONTI 2011.

⁹⁰ PIPINO 2009, 21-22.

⁹¹ CARTARO 1586; MONTI 2011, 92-95.

⁹² MAZZELLA 1661, 19. The news is reported in GIUSTINIANI 1797.

⁹³ CAPACCIO 1607, 186.

sciato l'isola senza troppo rumore per andare altrove ad accumulare tesori...»⁹⁴.

D'Ascia records: «l'Anonimo Oltramontano ha sottoposto a critica tale asserzione, quante volte dai posteri si volesse accettare letteralmente, e non nel senso figurato il dotto racconto, mentre le prime colonie greche non avevano scavate o possedute miniere di oro, ma che metaforicamente, colle parole di Timeo «propter agri feracitatem et auri fussia» s'intendeva dimostrare l'essenza della ricchezza, che la forza produttiva di questa terra vergine dovea produrre; come in effetti produsse ai primi abitatori. Ma vi furono altri scrittori che più dettagliatamente indicarono esservi stata la miniera di polvere aurifera nel sito indicato, e che i Veneziani ne fecero pruova»⁹⁵.

Geo-mineralogical observations concerning Ischia – which described epithermal gold as invisible, composed of submicroscopic particles once the deposits were depleted – drew our attention⁹⁶.

Signs point to the presence of metalwork in antiquity: it has already been said that right on the coast of Cartaromana, not far from Campagnano, beneath the deposit indicated on Cartaro's map, there was a metallurgic workshop established in the late Republican period.

Moreover, geologists who analyzed the waters of multiple sites on Ischia for other reasons, found that only the samples from Campagnano (which is also the site where a goldmine is marked on ancient maps) showed anomalous quantities of silver (the highest anywhere on the island), mercury, and antimony⁹⁷.

Therefore, we decided to continue our research and carry out verification using scientific methods, which are of course the only means of answering the question regarding the possible presence of gold on Ischia with degree of confidence: analyses carried out in the course of our project with SEM on the sand samples in 2017 in the area of Campagnano, which will be described in the following paragraph, constitute a fundamental proof that there was and there is gold on Ischia.

2.4.3 Gold on Ischia: laboratory analyses completed and ongoing

One of the main goals of our project was, therefore, to provide scientific evidence that actually gold is present in Ischia, disproving the diffuse assumption that Ischia is devoid of gold resources.

We sampled sands from the waters drain of Piaggia Romana, just downstream from Campagnano⁹⁸, where a mine is also indicated on the map of Cartaro, between the churches of San Domenico and San Sebastiano, the presence of which is confirmed by Iasolino⁹⁹, and which was lost due to intense urbanization, as well as historical landslides. It is located in the area connected to the great eruption on the island (1301-1302). It is not unlikely that the faults related to the eruption may be linked to the remobilization of old sediments containing heavy minerals, including gold. The sands collected near the beach in proximity of the drain gathering waters from the whole basin actually contained an amazing quantity of gold, well above the level exploitable with ancient techniques. The gold grains were easily detectable by visual survey of the sand grains using mid magnification optical microscopy. Further confirmation of the nature of the gold grains was made by a scanning electron microscope¹⁰⁰.

These data, taken as a whole, should change the understanding of previous ideas about gold on Ischia; it is not possible, however, for now at least, to be certain that gold was continuously available and systematically mined in antiquity. That leaves only the information provided in Strabo, which is known to be variously interpreted. It must, in fact, be also remembered that the archaeological data currently available do not allow us to extract more information; the burial items from the necropolis of San Montano, for example, are almost all lacking in gold jewel-

⁹⁴ The text is reported by HALLER 1822 (2005), 62.

⁹⁵ D'ASCIA 1867, chapter VIII, 65-66.

⁹⁶ PIPINO 2009.

⁹⁷ *Atlante geochimico* 2006, 49-50, 112, 162; see also MORTEANI – NORTHOVER 2013.

⁹⁸ We carried out the sampling in the area crossed by two faults with volcanic rocks, ideal for the discovery of sands that contained gold.

⁹⁹ IASOLINO 1588.

¹⁰⁰ The SEM analyses were carried out by Dr S. Crespi (in collaboration with Dr A. Rizzi) of the Department of Earth Sciences of the University of Milan (BRESSON – OLCESE in press), thanks to the authorization given by Prof. L. Trombino; for the availability of both, I am grateful.

lery¹⁰¹. Moreover, thanks to observations and the studies by P. Guzzo of the first gold working in the Phlegraean area in the archaic period, the presence of goldsmith *ateliers* at Pithekoussai should be excluded¹⁰².

Further studies, including archaeological ones, are necessary on the basis of data so far obtained.

Analyses of water are still ongoing in several places on the island¹⁰³ and analyses of rocks and soil are planned to confirm the eventual presence of gold also on other areas of the island.

2.4.4 Iron

As for gold, also for iron the opinions about its presence on Ischia are numerous and still contradictory¹⁰⁴. For some archaeologists, there is no iron on Ischia¹⁰⁵ and «settlers must have worked imported iron, but the origin of the raw material is unknown as yet»¹⁰⁶.

In reality, there is iron on Ischia – and there are numerous recent historical sources that speak of it, with only a few reproduced below – that exists as minerals inside the rocks, although there are no primary deposits¹⁰⁷.

Iron minerals such as hematite, whose presence has been ascertained on the island, and limonite, could have been useable in ancient ironworking,

¹⁰¹ BUCHNER 1975, 72; GUZZO 2004.

¹⁰² GUZZO 2000 and 2004; SCHEICH 2004, 249; SCATOZZA HÖRICH 2014, who shares the opinions of P. Guzzo.

¹⁰³ The samples were carried out thanks to R. Toccaceli, aided by geologist L. Monti. The water analyses by Prof. M. Bononi and Prof. F. Tateo of the Di.S.A.A. of the University of Milan seem to indicate that gold is indeed measurable in the circulating fluids.

¹⁰⁴ RIDGWAY 1984, 113-116; CORRETTI – BENVENUTI 2001, 135. The hypothesis of Bakhuizen (BAKHUIZEN 1975, 19 and BAKHUIZEN 1976) is well known: that the Chalkidians bought iron on Ischia to work and trade for other more precious products; Mele (MELE 1979) presupposes that the importation of Elban iron to Euboea was a valid economic movement, which could have justified the Euboeans' journey, although with the knowledge that in Euboea itself iron was easily found; see also D'AGOSTINO 1994, 25; moreover d'Agostino in CÉBEILLAC-GERVASONI 1982, 131: «i Calcidesi, gli Euboici di Bakhuizen, portano metallo per il Mediterraneo... andare a portare barre di ferro a Pitecusa è come andare a portare vasi a Samo, dal momento che quegli stanziamenti nascono, come molti di noi danno per scontato in previsione di rapporti con l'Elba...».

¹⁰⁵ BAKHUIZEN 1975, 22; RIDGWAY 1984, 113-116.

¹⁰⁶ BAKHUIZEN 1976, 66.

¹⁰⁷ About the iron, see also MILLOSEVICH 1934; GRAHAM 1971; BAKHUIZEN 1975 and 1976; DELPINO 1988; SPERL 1998; CORRETTI – BENVENUTI 2011.

maybe rather than magnetite¹⁰⁸, which is abundant on the island's beaches¹⁰⁹.

In 1697 Capaccio, describing the island, made reference to the *ferri venae in altissimis rupibus, quae in insulam aditum prohibent*¹¹⁰. And also Iasolino records that: «si vedono in quelle rupi (*along the sea*) li colori delle miniere, e massimamente del ferro, e dell'ocri; è copiosa di arena nera, ferrigna, che tira la calamita...»¹¹¹.

C. Haller in 1822 writes: «ad Ischia... il ferro... le cui particelle, disperse oppure ridotte ad uno stato di ossidazione o di scorificazione più o meno avanzata, entrano nei corpi vulcanici dell'isola. L'infinità di sfumature di rosso e di giallo, che in essi si notano ad ogni piè sospinto, provengono esclusivamente dal ferro... La sabbia nera che si trova allo sbocco dei torrenti e dei piccoli ruscelli dell'isola, contengono una grande quantità di particelle luccicanti, ugualmente attratte da una calamita, e che sono una vera miniera di ferro»¹¹².

D'Ascia, in 1867, writes: «vi sono gl'indizi di ferro e di solfo altri due potenti principi vulcanici. Ed infatti non solo tutto il masso dell'isola si osserva pregno dell'ossido di ferro; ma il lido accosto al mare, e lunghesso le scaturigini ed il corso delle acque nelle valli, è sparso di minutissime particelle di ferro non ossidato, confuse nella rena, le quali sono nere e risplendenti, e vengono attratte dalla calamita e dall'acciaio. Questa rena era copiosa fin dai tempi del Jasolino, il quale non mancò di farne motto nell'opera sua. Queste arene formavano un capo d'industria per un meschino branco di travagliatori, che le raccoglievano lunghe le spiagge di Lacco, Citara, ed i Maronti, e circa 2670 quintali di questa rena depurata, veniva negli ultimi anni esportata alle ferriere della provincia di Salerno. Molti anni sono si piantò nell'isola una fabbrica di ferro di commercio con questa rena, ma perché era diretta con imperizia, l'intrapresa non fu continuata»¹¹³.

¹⁰⁸ SCACCHI 1850, 107-109; MILLOSEVICH 1934, 192-193; PIPINO 2016.

¹⁰⁹ MONTI 2011, 84, fig. 25.

¹¹⁰ CAPACCIO 1607, 186.

¹¹¹ IASOLINO 1588, 38.

¹¹² HALLER 1822 (2005), 61.

¹¹³ D'ASCIA 1867, chapter VIII, 65.

New interdisciplinary studies are also planned on iron in collaboration with V. Serneels.

(Milano, 2019)

ADDENDUM (2023)

The text published here in its original version was delivered in 2019; some additions are therefore now necessary. It should also be noted that in the meantime the articles appearing in press in the bibliography have been published.

In the contribution BRESSON – OLCESE 2022, Bresson, who revisited the whole question during a collaborative project, observes that, although most of the manuscripts have χρυσία (“gold things”) and just one has χρυσεῖα (“gold mines”), the epsilon could have been dropped and this is perfectly plausible, because both words are pronounced the same. He also emphasizes that the meaning “gold workshops” for the word χρυσία has no parallel, and thus is not an acceptable reading, nor is it plausible to read a reference to Ischia as a center for trade in gold produced elsewhere. According to Bresson, either Strabo’s version should be rejected or it is necessary to admit that gold actually was mined at Ischia, as indeed the presence of gold mines on the island in the Medieval period and at the beginning of the modern period makes more plausible. It is very probable, therefore, that gold was present in small quantities, even if this is not enough evidence to reject the text of Strabo or change its meaning (BRESSON – OLCESE 2022, note 2). A new multidisciplinary project entitled “Archaeology and the environment of the “islands of history” of the Tyrrhenian Sea: the case of Ischia. Multidisciplinary research for the reconstruction of Mediterranean resources and networks over the centuries’, as part of the research supported by the École Française de Rome for the period 2022-2026 ([https://www.efrome.it/it/la-ricerca/programmi/dettagli-programmi/isole history](https://www.efrome.it/it/la-ricerca/programmi/dettagli-programmi/isole%20history)), in which several scholars are collaborating, has begun. The main objective of this project is the reconstruction of the island’s resources in antiquity, and of the historical, environmental and economic role of Ischia, through a

series of activities relating to geo-archaeological aspects, the palaeogeography of the coastal marine areas, the agrarian (vine and wine) and volcanic landscape, and the production and trade dynamics over the long term (ceramics and metals) (OLCESE 2022).

As part of the new project, the following text by G. Artioli is reported.

NEW ANALYSES ON THE GOLD-CONTAINING SAND (G. Artioli, University of Padova)

The sands collected near the beach in proximity of the waters drain of Piaggia Romana, just downstream from Campagnano, were re-analysed.

They proved to contain an amazing quantity of gold, well above the level exploitable with ancient techniques (Fig. 7). The gold grains were easily detectable by visual survey of the sand grains using mid magnification optical microscopy. Further confirmation of the nature of the gold grains was made by a scanning electron microscope equipped with energy dispersive spectrometer (SEM-EDS). Chemical analyses carried out at the Department of Geosciences of the University of Padova confirmed the purity of the gold particles (Fig. 8). The nature of the heavy minerals associated with the gold grains (i.e. garnets, pyroxenes, magnetite, etc.), together with the very homogeneous grain distribution, indicates that the analysed sand originates from the re-deposition of very classed and gravitationally processed fractions of earlier igneous and metamorphic layers. Preliminary analysis of several volcanic sediments at different levels of the Campagnano valley do not show minerals compatible with the gold-containing sand sampled near the beach. Therefore the direct concentration of the heavy particles from the local volcanics is unlikely, and the short transport of old sediments, possibly remobilized by the faults connected with the recent eruptions, is suggested. The chemical analyses agree with those previously carried out at the University of Milan. Therefore, it is evident that the presence of light elements (C,O) included in the table of previous analyses (BRESSON – OLCESE 2022, p. 139, fig. 11) is an artifact due to the materials used for the sample holder.

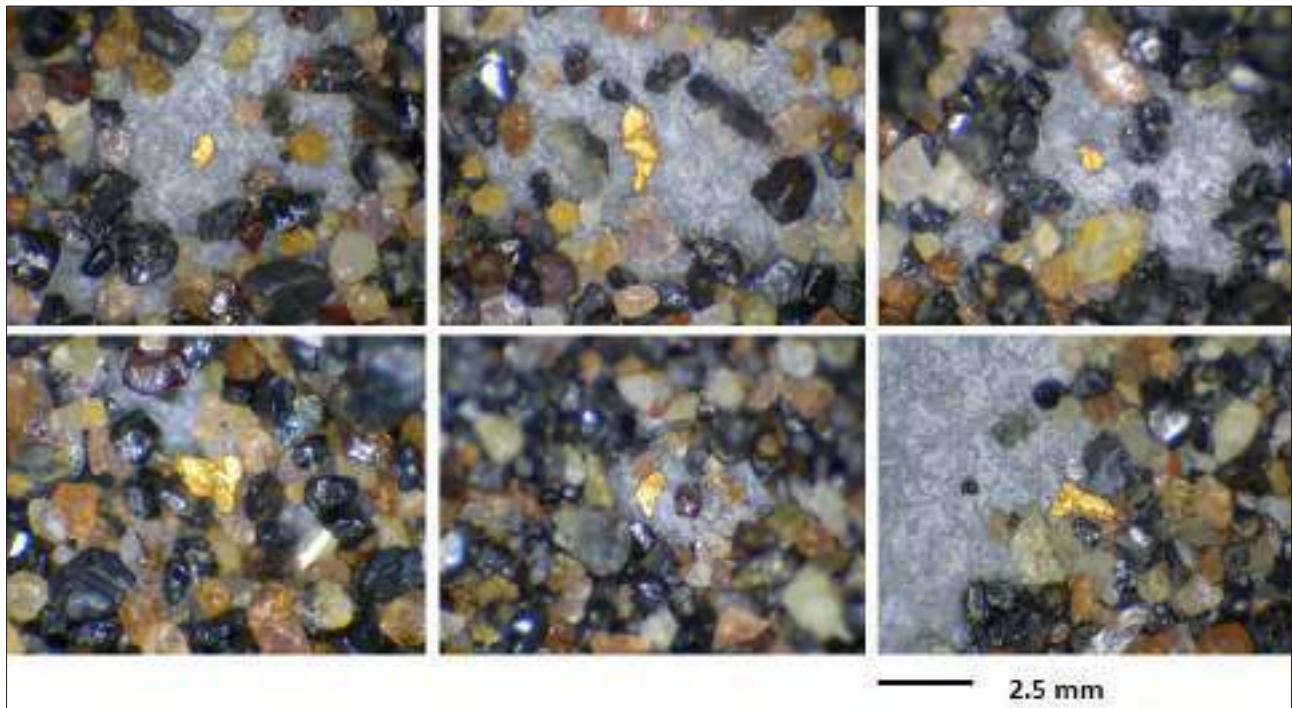


Fig. 7. Optical images by binocular microscope (Nikon SMZ.645) of the gold particles manually isolated from the sampled sand

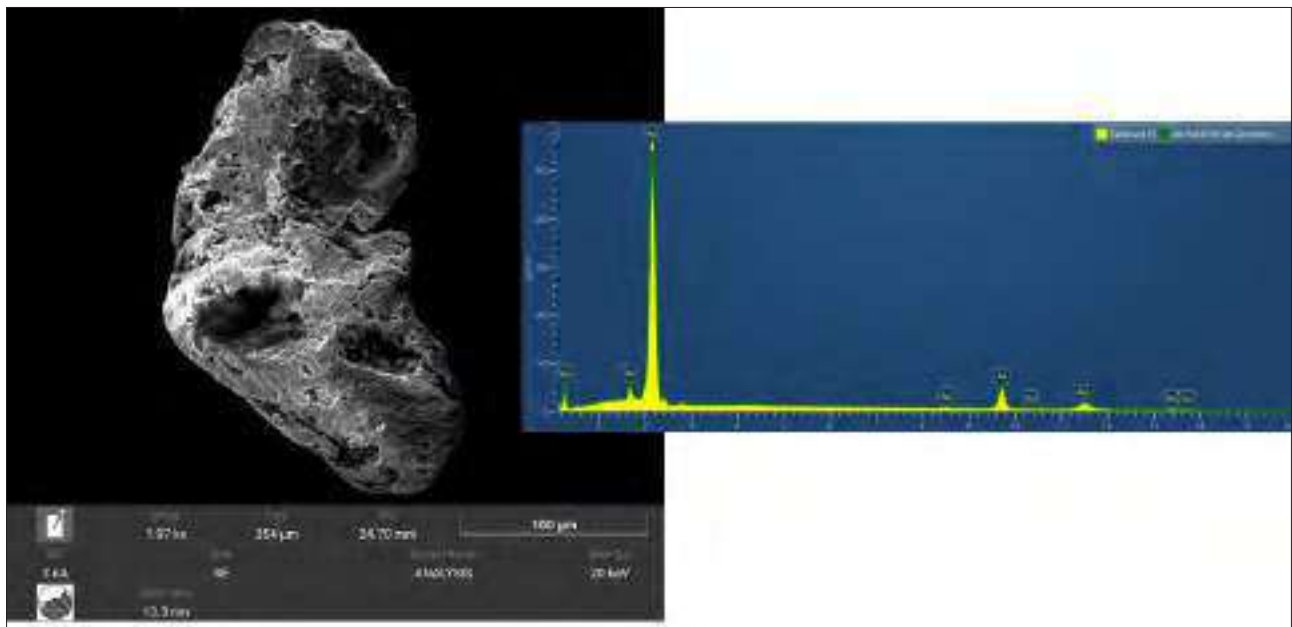


Fig. 8. Secondary electrons image of one of the separated gold grains, with the small-area chemical analysis by energy dispersive spectrometry (TESCAN SOLARIS field emission SEM). The reported EDS graph demonstrates the purity of the particle

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FIRST RESULTS OF THE EXCAVATIONS AT PITHEKOUSSAI FROM 2016-2018 (VILLA ARBUSTO, LACCO AMENO, ISCHIA)*

Nadin Burkhardt, Stephan Faust

It is a well-known fact that in the western Mediterranean, Greek settlements are first attested in ancient Pithekoussai on the island of Ischia. The site was founded before or around the middle of the 8th century BC by Euboeans from Chalkis and Eretria, and, apart from Kyme on the mainland, it is the northernmost Greek settlement on the Italian coast. For this reason, it has long been at the centre of scholarly discussions about the causes, forms, and impact of the so-called Colonization of Western Greece.

A new project, the first phase of which was conducted by the present authors together with a German-Italian team between 2016 and 2019, investigates a public area next to the “Museo Archeologico di Pitheculsae” in the Villa Arbusto in the town of Lacco Ameno¹ (Figs. 1-3). It had once been occupied by a park (including a greenhouse) and tennis courts. Already during the 1990s, when

there were plans to build a congress centre, preliminary excavations at the site soon revealed the upper edges of walls as well as Geometric pottery². The area basically forms a large terrace of about 3.000 sqm, descending toward the north, and in terms of ancient topography, it is a highly promising location for new archaeological research: it is situated just opposite the Monte Vico, which seems to have housed the acropolis of ancient Pithekoussai and, most likely, a sanctuary³, and it overlooks the extensive necropolis in the valley of San Martino, partly explored by Giorgio Buchner⁴ (Fig. 2). Under the Church of S. Restituta, at the foot of Monte Vico, an ancient quarter of workshops was excavated, where pottery was produced over a long period from late Geometric until Roman times⁵. In addition, above (i.e. to the south), there is the “località Mazzola” on the slopes of the Collina Mezzavia⁶. The site, which was excavated around 1970, consists of houses with courtyards, arranged on three terraces. Since metal-working facilities were documented in this “suburban” area, it first seemed plausible to hypothesize that similar workshops also existed in the adjacent area of the terrace. However, no evidence of such specialized activities has been found here so far.

* The project was financed by the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung (2016-2018) and the Bayerische Forschungsförderung (2019). We would like to express our sincere thanks to these institutions, but also to the Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt and the University of Hamburg for financial, administrative, and practical support. Likewise, we would like to thank the “Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l’Area Metropolitana di Napoli” (Dr Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro, Dr Adele Campanelli) and its officials (Dr Costanza Gialanella, Dr Maria Luisa Tardugno) for the permission and cooperation. We are also grateful for the constant support from the “Comune di Lacco Ameno” (Giacomo Pascale and Cecilia Prota) and from the colleagues in Lacco Ameno at the local museum, especially Mariangela Catuogno. We owe the successful excavation also our team: Victoria Alliata, Antonio Bianco, Julian Bauch, Evgenia Dammer, Frank Daubner, Isabelle Dikhoff, Hannes Faust, Eicke Granser, Fabienne Karl, Daniele Marincola, Verena Meyer, Francesco Monaca, Moritz Reinäcker, Daniel Yaminian and Leon Ziemer.

¹ BURKHARDT – FAUST 2016.

² GIALANELLA 1996a, 149; DE CARO – GIALANELLA 1998, 337 fig. 1 (p. 328).

³ MONTI 1968, 62-68; BUCHNER 1975, 61-67; GIALANELLA 1996b, 259 fig. p. 261; OLCESE 2017, 24.

⁴ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993.

⁵ OLCESE 2017.

⁶ BUCHNER 1971-1972, 64-67; 1971, 364-369; KLEIN 1972.

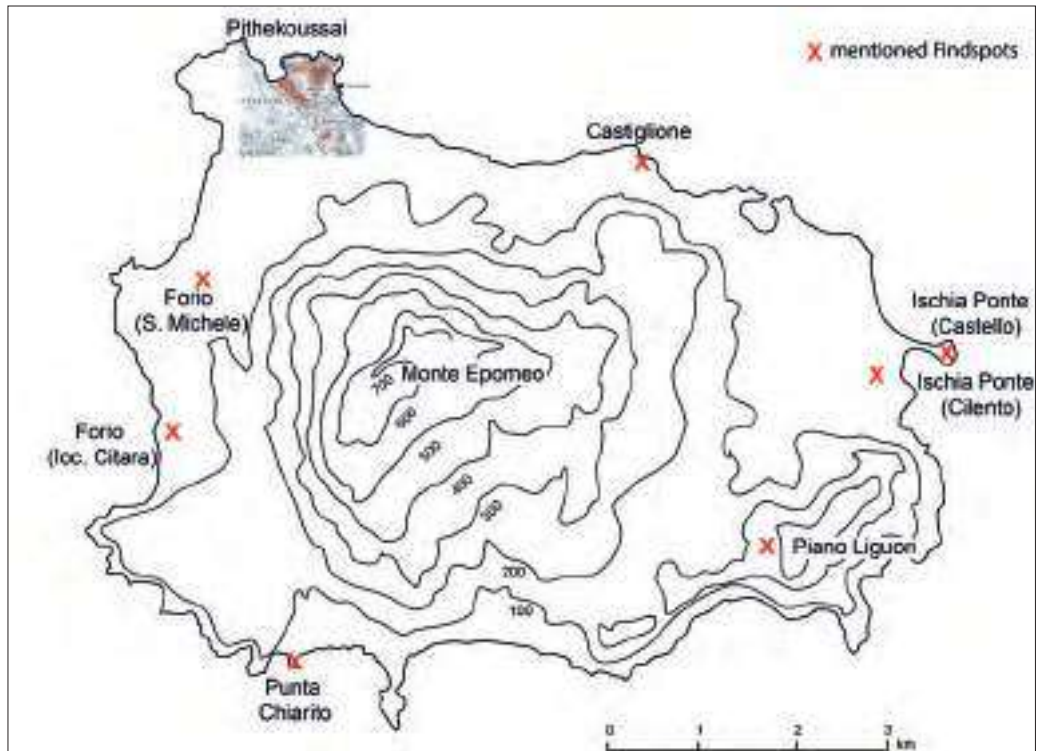


Fig. 1. Map of Ischia indicating the settlements that are mentioned in the text, BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, drawing by E. Granser



Fig. 2. Map of Lacco Ameno/Pithekoussai highlighting relevant archaeological areas, after BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, Beilage 1

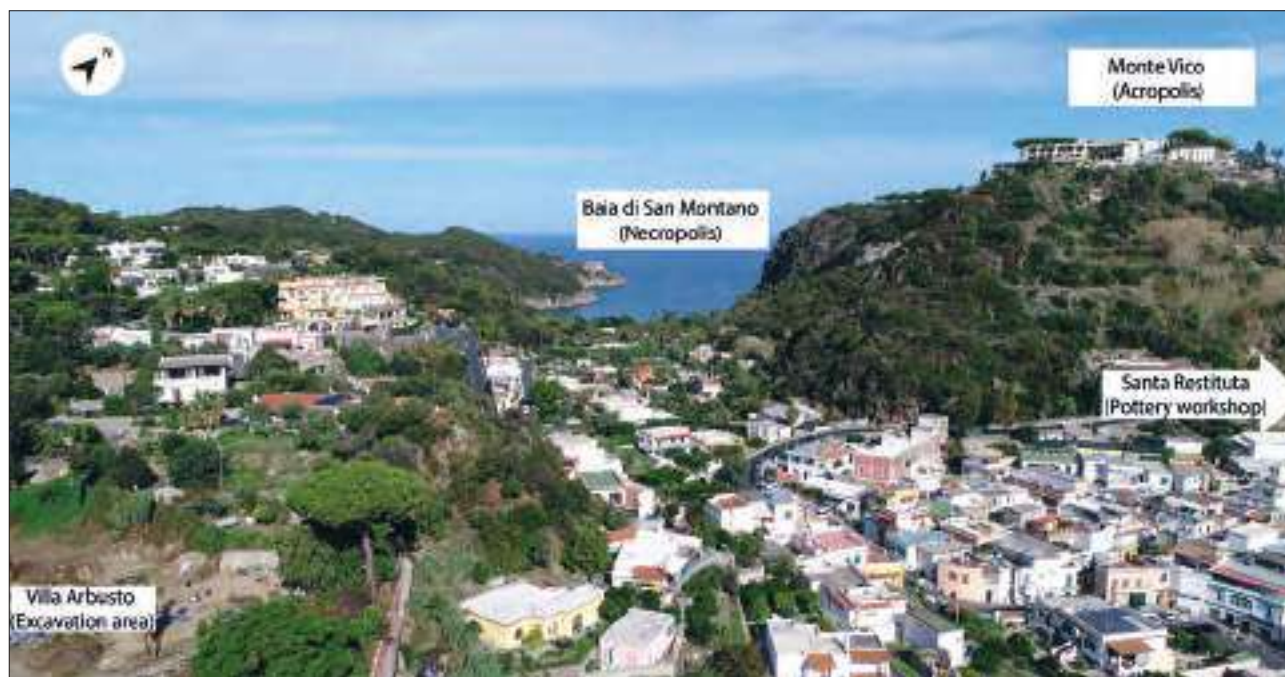


Fig. 3. Panoramic view of Lacco Ameno, from the south, photo by D. Yaminian

Nevertheless, during the recent excavations in a defined part of the Villa Arbusto area, remarkable structures and finds came to light. They can be dated to the centuries from the Late Bronze Age to the end of the 6th century BC/beginning of the 5th century BC and provide us with new information about ancient human presence and activities on the island. The deepest levels contained fragments of indigenous “impasto” pottery going back to the Bronze and Iron Ages. They are similar to pieces found in Castiglione near Casamicciola and in Campania. The later structures and materials allow for conclusions regarding the development of the settlement after the arrival of the Greeks until the end of the Archaic period. The pottery of that time, in particular, featuring both local and imported wares, is important for the reconstruction of the presence, interactions, and contacts of the Greek settlers. *Comparanda* can be found in the other known contexts on the island and also in Kyme.

STRUCTURES

In the course of three brief seasons, seven trenches were opened (VA [=Villa Arbusto] 1 to 7), which are located next to each other in an area of ca. 30 to 20 m (Fig. 4). These first three campaigns

served for the localization of the ancient remains and to prepare a larger excavation project. Therefore, the deeper levels were explored only by test trenches in individual sectors. In addition, two adjoining walls (Walls B and C), the remains of which were discovered above ground, were documented separately. On the whole, four walls, a row of stones and the fill of a terrace were unearthed.

The remains of Wall A emerged ca. 1 m below the modern surface, and a section measuring approximately 20 m crosses the trenches in an almost straight line from the northeast to the southwest (Figs. 5-6). The wall consisted of several courses of boulders of different dimensions, for which local volcanic material was used. On each block, the builders smoothed the part facing east, thus creating a front side. Smaller stones that were found in the surroundings can be attributed to the upper part of the wall, which consisted of a mixture of rubble and clay. This construction technique can generally be compared to the houses and workshops of the nearby *località* Mazzola on the ridge of Mezzavia and to the promontory site of Punta Chiarito projecting from the southwestern shore of Ischia⁷.

⁷ On the site of Mezzavia, see above note 6; on the house at Punta Chiarito, see GIALANELLA 1996a, 150-154; 1996b; DE CARO – GIALANELLA 1998, 2011; and note 57.

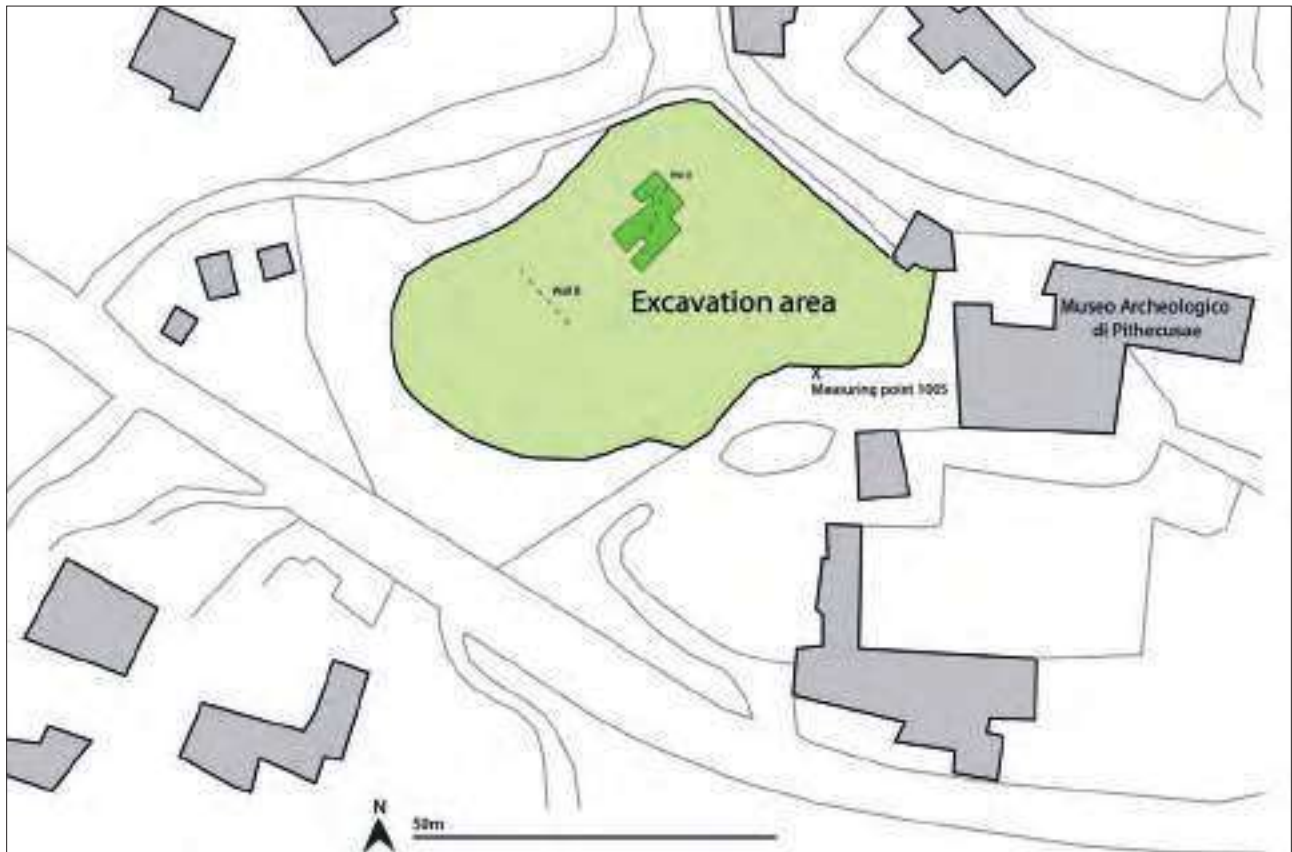


Fig. 4. Map of the excavation area at the Villa Arbusto, by J. Bauch

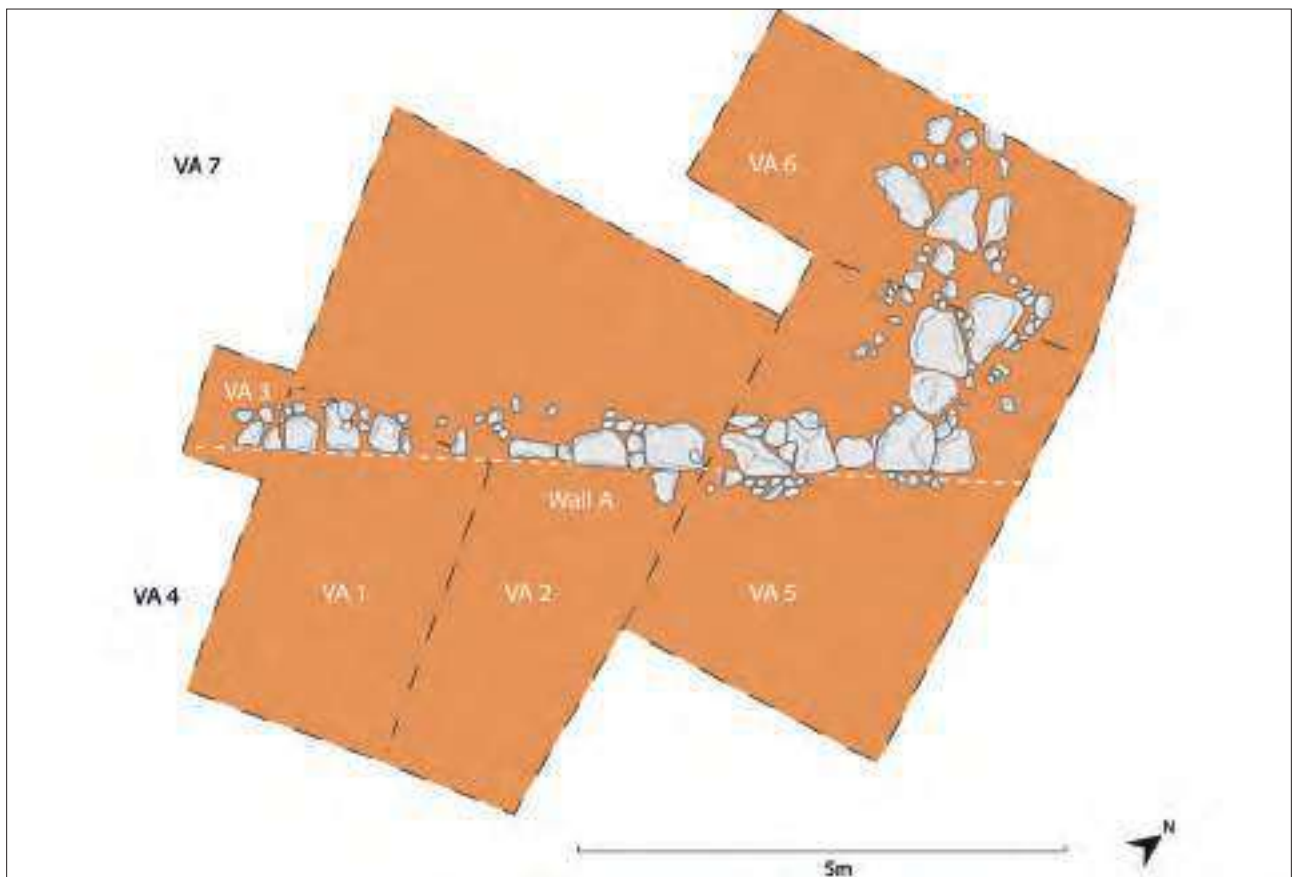


Fig. 5. Plan of Wall A and part of the fill of the terrace structure (by J. Bauch, 2017)



Fig. 6. Aerial view of Wall A and the fill of the terrace structure, (by D. Yaminian and J. Bauch, 2017)

In trench VA 2, a compact mass (*“battuto”*) of small stones and ceramic fragments adjacent to the back, or northern, side of Wall A was found. This structure probably belonged to the reinforced part of an artificial terrace fill which leveled the steep ground. A trial trench, which was dug in the same sector but in front of the wall, demonstrated that there are three layers of stones below the extant top of the wall (Fig. 7). The lower course rests on solid earth.

After the removal of the ruins of a modern greenhouse in the northern part of the excavation area in 2017, two new trenches (VA 5 and VA 6) were laid out at the back of Wall A. Here, a massive fill consisting of stones of different sizes was discovered. The material was used to fill the gaps between the solid rock, the irregular surface of which was also visible. Such beaks of rock emerge on Ischia at different places, and they could be incorporated into artificial terrace constructions. Geologically, they bear witness to the volcanic origins of the Zaro Plateau. It follows that the documented section of Wall A served as a terrace wall, with the façade on the southeast side.

Immediately to the west of this structure, i.e. behind the wall, there was an area (VA 7) that has

been disturbed in modern times by animal husbandry (*“fossa di coniglio”*). Already in 2017, ancient stone blocks relocated at some time, and fragments of a large amphora, which had received a red colour in the potter’s oven, surfaced here.

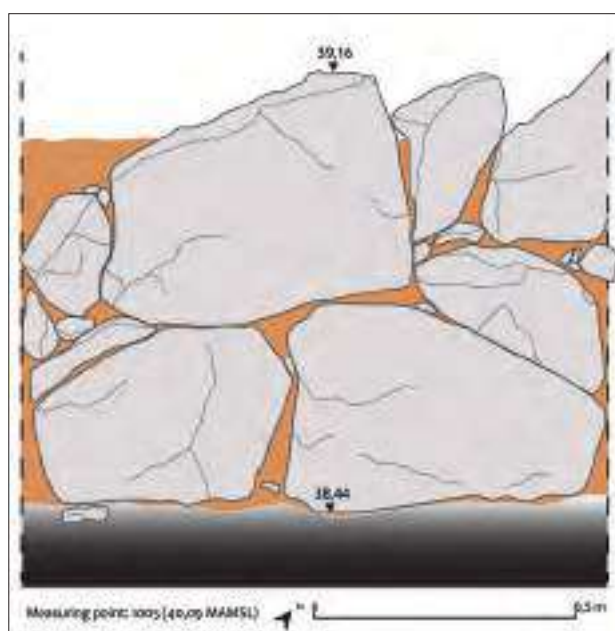


Fig. 7. Drawing of a section of the southwestern façade of Wall A, by D. Marincola



Fig. 8. View of the southern façade of Wall B and the cross section of Wall C, (photo and digitalisation by N. Burkhardt, 2018)

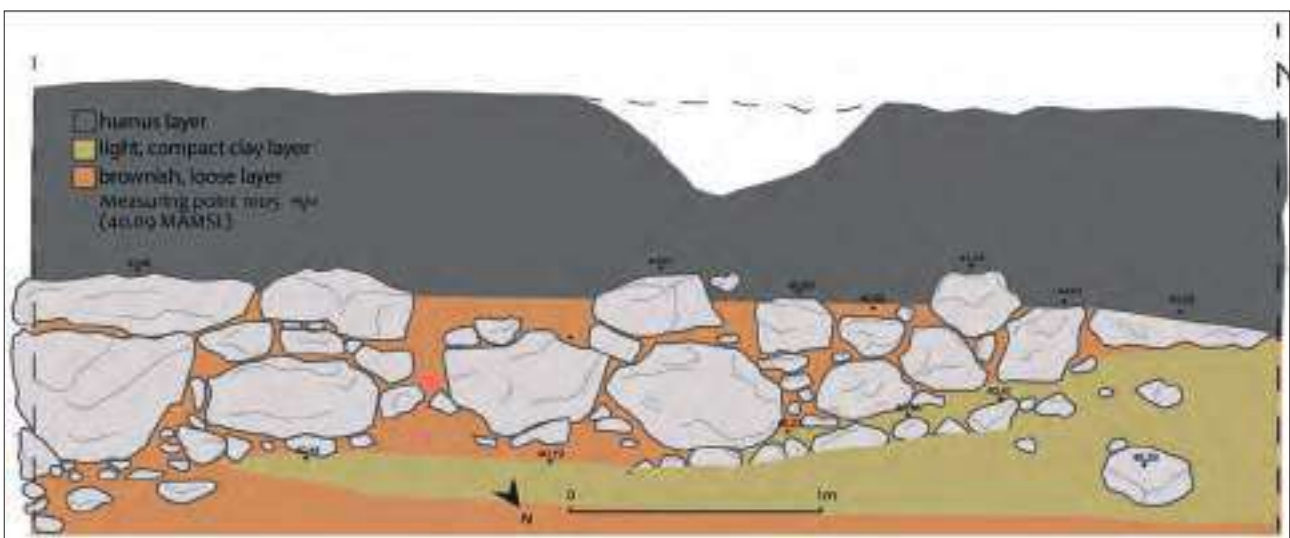


Fig. 9. Drawing of the southern façade of Wall B, by E. Granser and J. Bauch

In 2018, we were able to amplify the trench and document deeper levels. It could be demonstrated that the southern half was still affected by the recent installation of the rabbit hut. In contrast, the remains of another stone structure (Wall D) were extant in the northwestern part of the trench (Fig. 10). This wall also runs from the southwest to the northeast, i.e. parallel to Wall A, and it features the same construction details and the same kind of elaborated façade. Between these two walls, there was a particularly compact stratum of soil to which pebble stones had been added. Considering the small distance to Wall A, it seems questionable if Wall D should be interpreted as a terrace wall, too, or if we are actually dealing with a house or some other building. Toward the end of the 2018 season, large fragments of a massive vessel were found adjacent to the stones that had been dislocated due to modern

intervention. They project from the west profile, where they have to remain *in situ* until further investigations can be carried out. Their arrangement reminds of a deposition or, alternatively, the *enchytrismos* practice, but there were no artifacts or bones to support such interpretations so far.

Walls B and C were discovered in 2017 after the dense vegetation and modern debris in the surroundings of the excavation area had been removed. The still visible section of Wall B, which has been cleaned, is about 5 m long and rises to a height of ca. 0.8 to 1 m above the current ground (Figs. 8-9). It consists of irregularly shaped boulders as well as smaller stones, which received a smooth finish on the outward-facing side. There can be no doubt that the structure functioned as a terrace wall. It is located ca. 20 m to the west of the actual trenches, and it belongs to a higher level of terrain than Wall A.



Fig. 10. View of the excavation trench VA 18 / 7 with Wall D and with the modern installation of a rabbit hutch; view from the north, photo by N. Burkhardt

Moreover, it has a different (east-west) orientation. Large shards of pottery, which were found in the joints and in the immediate vicinity of the wall, can be dated to the Late Geometric period (see below). We may hypothesize that the wall was built around that time. In 2018, further cleanings led to the discovery of the 0.8 m long section of a further terrace wall, called Wall C, which consists of smaller stones. It meets the eastern corner of Wall B at a right angle and must have been built at a slightly later stage. Further fragments from Late Geometric until modern times were found in the loamy soil at the base of Wall C. In the same sector, there is yet another structure, which consists of stone blocks forming a file in front of Wall B. Its function and date (probably later than Wall B) will be investigated in the next phase of our project.

THE FINDS

The stratigraphic analysis of the individual trenches revealed that the chronology of the excavated material ranges from the Apennine Culture of pre-Roman Italy (Bronze Age) through the Late Geometric Period to the late Archaic Period, consisting of indigenous pottery and imported products. In addition to nearly 3800 sherds of pottery, ca. 390 fragments of roof tiles of local production were found.

Pottery

Most of the finds are sherds of wheel-thrown pottery, Impasto and Bucchero. The earliest ones are fragments of Impasto vessels dating from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. These can be attributed to small bowls and cups of a light brown version of Impasto (K 85, K 86, K 87, K 88) and of a black version (K 76), respectively (Figs. 11-12). The exterior is decorated in a characteristic fashion: a wooden or bone awl (*punta dello stecco*) was used to incise or scratch dots and geometric lines into the surface (Fig. 12). Such Impasto vessels were also found on the top of the Monte Vico⁸ near the “Scarico Gosetti”, and in the location Castiglione at Casamicciola. The decoration with lines of small impressed dots, in particular, is known from the Monte Vico, and can be dated to the Middle Bronze Age, i.e. the 14th century BC⁹. The fragment of a bowl with a sharp bend at the shoulder and that of a bright brown Impasto, characterized by a polish, can be compared to a piece from Castiglione, dated to the 15th to 14th century BC¹⁰.

⁸ Cf. the fragments in the “Museo Archeologico di Pithecusae” Inv. 169889 and Inv. 169891; MONTI 1968, 25-26 fig. 5.

⁹ GIALANELLA 2001, 255-256 nos. VI.2.1.2 (“Museo Archeologico di Pithecusae” Inv. 169891); 256 VI.2.1.4 (“Museo Archeologico di Pithecusae” Inv. 169890).

¹⁰ GIALANELLA 1996a, 146; 2001, 254 no. VI.1.2.1 (“Museo Archeologico di Pithecusae” Inv. 233398).

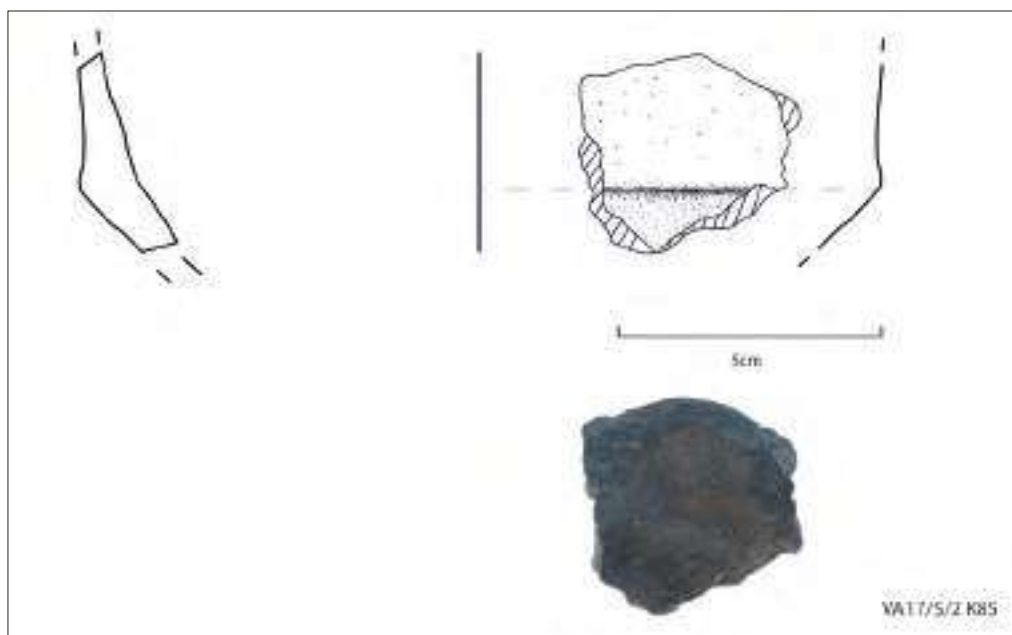


Fig. 11. Impasto fragment, K 85, drawing by A. Bianco, photo by S. Faust, digitalised by E. Granser

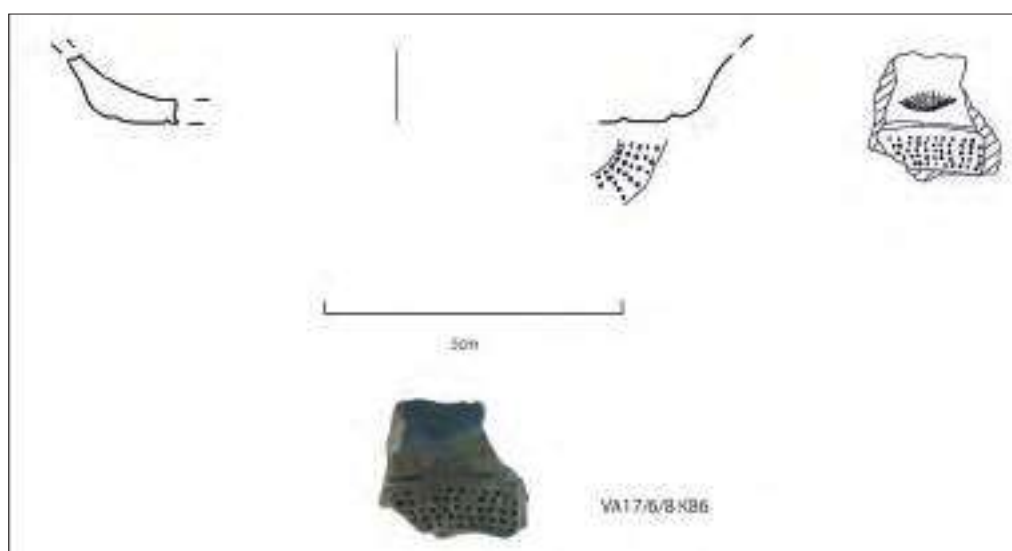


Fig. 12. Impasto fragment, K 86, Drawing by A. Bianco, photo by S. Faust, digitalised by E. Granser

At the Villa Arbusto, the sherds of Impasto were found in the last two strata, in the lowest level of the excavation trench, between the stones of a densely packed fill of an artificial terrace wall (A), mixed with Greek pottery such as cup fragments of the Aetos 666 and Thapsos types.

Before the arrival of the Greeks, prehistoric communities had settled on the island of Ischia (Fig. 1). There is evidence of Neolithic settlements in the “località Cilento” in the northwest of the cemetery of Ischia-Porto, but also at a site near S. Michele, in the “località Citara” in Forio, and at the “Piano Li-

gurio” (Ischia-Porto). Furthermore, there is a pre-historic tomb at “Casa Gingerò” next to the “Museo Archeologico di Pithecusae” (Villa Arbusto)¹¹, and single finds emerged under the church of Santa Res-tituta in Lacco Ameno¹². Traces of Bronze Age settlements have been documented in Casamicciola on

¹¹ RITTMANN – BUCHNER 1948, 35; MONTI 1980, 36-37 fig. 10; GIALANELLA 2001, 243; NOMI – CAZZELLA 2016, 163 (Gaudio Culture), cf. BAILO MODESTI – SALERNO 1994, 11.

¹² BUCHNER 1936-1937; MONTI 1968, 23; NOMI – CAZZELLA 2016, 161-162 fig. 1.

the hill of Castiglione¹³ and in Lacco Ameno on the Monte Vico¹⁴. In scholarship, the existence of two other habitations at Forio and at the Castello in Ischia-Ponte has been mentioned¹⁵. The find spots in Lacco Ameno are complemented by finds from the “località Mazzola”¹⁶ and the valley of San Montano¹⁷ (Fig. 2). According to the interpretation of M. Fugazzola Delpino, the assemblage of Appenine ware from the Bronze Age points to a homogeneous deposit on the brink of the necropolis, as this sector lacks graves and Greek pottery¹⁸. Even though the Impasto sherds from the park of the Villa Arbusto indicate human presence in the excavated area during the Bronze Age, it does not necessarily follow that an actual settlement existed here at the time. Indeed, it seems more likely that these strata indicate the level of the late 8th century BC, when the terrace wall was probably constructed.

Another coarse ware is represented by the fragments of two *olle*, one with an undulating rim (*da prese a linguette*) and a handle that is decorated with finger dots (K 92) and one with only a handle that is decorated with finger dots (K 75) (Figs. 13-14). The first example was found in a stratum mixed with Late Geometric Greek pottery, while the other was found on a deep level to the south of Wall A, below the stratum containing the first stone course of the wall¹⁹. Both were formed without the use of a potter's wheel. The production of such indigenous vessels occurred both in the Bronze Age and the Iron Age. On the island of Ischia, two fragments of *olle* that feature an undulating rim come from the prehistoric village on the hill Castiglione and have been dated to the 14th century BC²⁰. Two *olle* with finger dots on the handle were used for *enchytrismoi* at the end of the 8th century BC in the necropolis of Pithekoussai (modern valley of

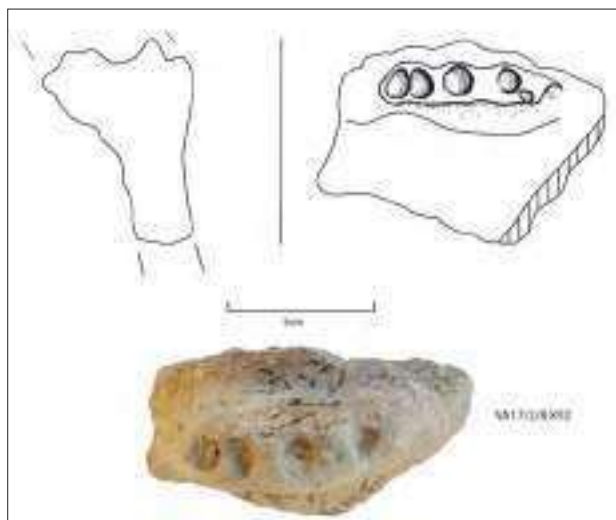


Fig. 13. Coarse ware, K 92, with finger dots decoration, photo by N. Burkhardt, digitalised by E. Granser

San Montano)²¹. Fragments belonging to vessels of the same decoration are attested in the large houses of Punta Chiarito on the southwest coast of Ischia²². Also under Santa Restituta, in the ancient pottery workshop, a fragment of an *olla* with a decorated line of finger dots was found²³. They constitute another Iron Age context. More examples were found in several settlements of Italy, e.g. at Gabii²⁴.

Late Geometric pottery, imported or locally produced, emerged in all our excavation trenches. There is a certain variety of forms, including Thapso cups (with plain and metope panel decoration, as imports and local imitations), cups of the Aetos 666 type, local imitations of late Corinthian kotylai, with figures of birds²⁵, and locally produced oinochoai and craters, the decoration of which shows the influence of the work of the Cesnola Painter. There is a great number of sherds of kantharoi of the Ithaca type, both imported and produced at Pithekoussai.

¹³ The settlement at Castiglione also existed in the Iron Age. BUCHNER 1936-1937, 30 (referring to fragments of Greek imports among indigenous pottery); MONTI 1968, 24 fig. 3; GIALANELLA 2001, 249; PACCIARELLI 2016.

¹⁴ MONTI 1968, 26 fig. 6; NOMI – CAZZELLA 2016, 165.

¹⁵ NOMI – CAZZELLA 2016, 166 pl. 3 nos. 3-4.

¹⁶ NOMI – CAZZELLA 2016, 165; SNOW LUKESH 1991-1992.

¹⁷ NOMI – CAZZELLA 2016, 165; FUGAZZOLA DELPINO 1993, 721-724 (sporadic finds of Appenine pottery).

¹⁸ FUGAZZOLA DELPINO 1993, 721.

¹⁹ K 92 was found in trench VA 17/2 /8 in the deepest level on the southern side of the Wall A. K 75 was found in trench VA 17/6/4, in the fill behind Wall A.

²⁰ RITTMANN – BUCHNER 1948, 36 fig. 7; GIALANELLA 2001, 255-256 nos. VI.1.2.3 (Inv. C2x.102), VI.1.2.4 (Inv. C2x.79).

²¹ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 563 (grave 569): *enchytrismos* in a large Impasto-*olla*, LG I ? (“Museo Archeologico di Pithecusae” Inv. 1682257); 669 (grave 695): *enchytrismos* in an Impasto-*olla*, LG II (735-700 BC) (“Museo Archeologico di Pithecusae” Inv. 168705).

²² DE CARO – GIALANELLA 1998, 340 (without illustration).

²³ OLCESE 2017, 239 no. 45.

²⁴ ZUCHTRIEGEL 2012, no. 25/9: *olla* d’Impasto with plastic decoration (cord), red clay with black inclusions, coarse ware, 9th-7th centuries BC.

²⁵ E.g. K 90 (with birds), LG: BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, pl. 249 S5: stray find in the area of grave T. 168, LG, local imitation of Corinthian ware.

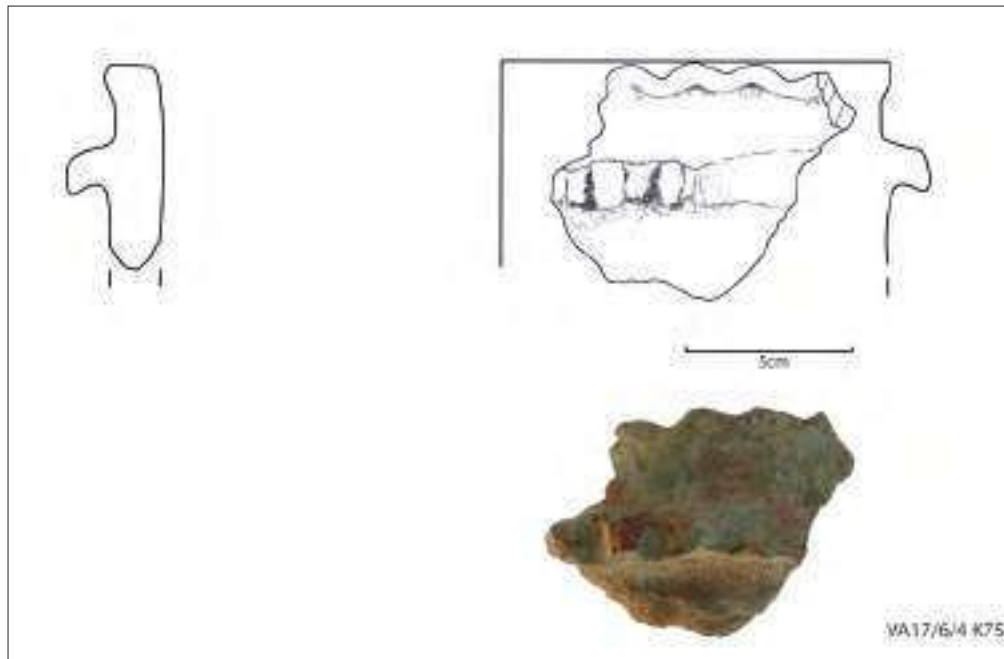


Fig. 14. Coarse ware, K 75, with finger dots decoration, photo by N. Burkhardt, digitalised by E. Granser

Corresponding pieces were documented together with skyphoi of the Thapsos type in the tombs excavated in the valley of San Montano²⁶. The imports included small Corinthian cups and pyxides, also from Corinth (K 62, K 63). The tableware consists of bowls and plates of local clay, and the large storage vessels, were locally produced, too; only a few sherds can be identified as Euboean amphorai (K81, K 82)²⁷.

At present, the material from the excavation area suggests that the pottery of the 8th century BC corresponds to common forms of daily use, which are also known from the contexts of Monte Vico (Scarico Gosetti), Mezzavia and Punta Chiarito. Impasto pottery of the Iron Age was also found at Mezzavia, and on the hill of Castiglione between Ischia Porto and Casamicciola Terme. The later material mostly represents local products like oinochoai, bottles, plates and bowls of the middle Protocorinthian or late Protocorinthian period. Large storage vessels were still in use, e.g. amphorai of the local type B, which are well-known from

the tombs in the San Montano valley but also from domestic contexts, where they are associated with locally produced stamnoi. Among the rare imports of the 7th century BC are the sherds of two Corinthian skyphoi (K 106 and 110).

High-quality pottery is represented by sherds from at least five craters: one fragment from the shoulder of a large crater (K 80; Fig. 15) shows a crouching animal with hooves, probably a gazelle, its head turned back, within a metope panel. Next to it, there was the figure of a horse, of which only the mane is extant. Similar gazelles appear on Late Geometric Attic²⁸ and Euboean²⁹ amphorai. One open work handle of a crater with geometric decor (K 78; Fig. 16) can be compared to one of the sporadic finds of craters from the San Montano valley³⁰. Shoulder fragments of two craters (K 67),

²⁸ Attic amphora, decorated with resting gazelles, ca. 760 BC, in Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Inv. 6080, cf. SCHWEITZER 1969, fig. 21. Image of resting hoofed animal on Attic amphora, ca. 720/710 BC, in London, The British Museum, Inv. GR 1912.0522.1; 1912.0522.1, cf. *CVA GB 25*: London, British Museum (11) pl. 29 (lower left fig.). Animal frieze on an Attic cup made by the Dipylon Workshop, ca. 750 BC, in Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Inv. 6402, cf. SIMON 1981, pl. 6 (lower fig.).

²⁹ Crater of Euboea, from the Sanctuary of Apollo in Eretria, ca. 760 BC, Museum of Eretria Inv. ME 19565.

³⁰ Cf. Museo Archeologico di Pithecusae Inv. 168815: small crater on high foot painted with geometric patterns.

²⁶ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 366 pl. 116 (grave 309A nos. 2-3).

²⁷ Especially for the typology and dating of the pottery we have to thank Mariangela Catuogno.

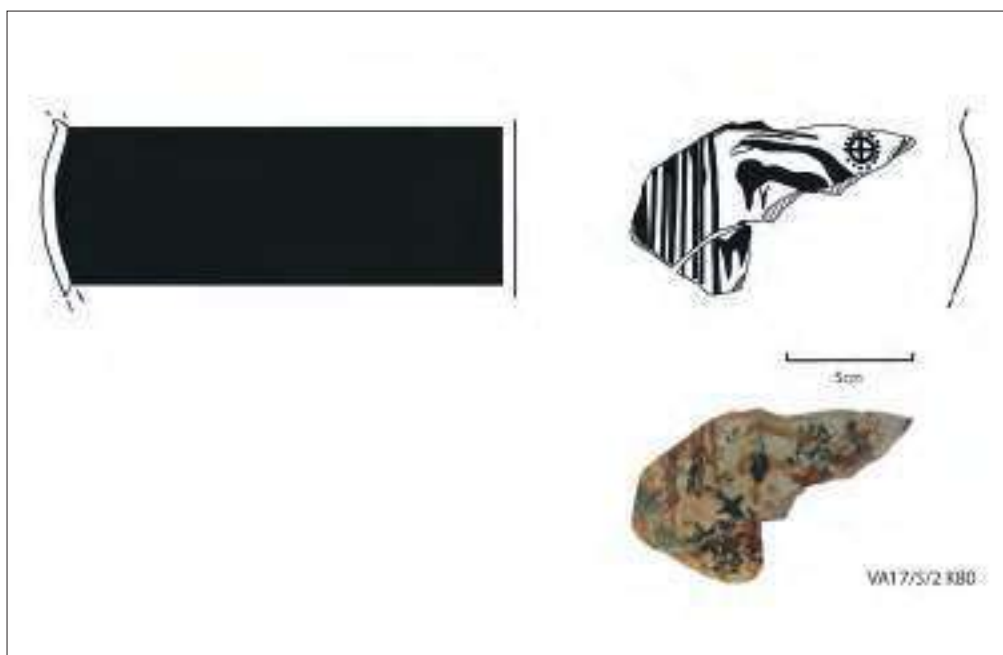


Fig. 15. Part of a Late Geometric crater, K 80, drawing by N. Burkhardt and V. Meyer, photo by S. Faust, digitalised by E. Granser

another fragment of the body (K 64) and a fourth piece (K 78) show the motif of the double axe. Similar craters were found in the tombs in the valley of San Montano and in the apsidal house at Mezzavia.

The pottery of the latest period belongs to the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th centuries BC and mostly consists of locally produced vases, plates and large storage vessels. But there are also a few imported pieces like an Attic cup.

In conclusion, the pottery found during the excavation seasons from 2016 to 2018 bears witness to the period of the greatest commercial expansion of Pithekoussai, and it clearly was a market for imported Greek pottery of high quality. The material helps us to evaluate the role of Pithekoussai in the Mediterranean commercial network from the 8th to the 6th centuries BC and to reconstruct the first phase of the settlement but also its later development in the 6th to 5th centuries BC, a period that has so far been known from individual finds and secondary contexts.

The roof tiles

During the first three excavation seasons, we found 390 fragments of roof tiles, including examples of *imbrices* (*kalypteres*) and *tegulae* (*stroteres*).

The thickness of the extant objects varies: the raised edges of the flat slabs measure between 1.7 and 4.5 cm, while the flat parts measure between 1.2 and 3.8 cm. This discrepancy results from the increase of volume from bottom to top³¹. The thickness of the *imbrices* (1.2 to 2 cm) is more homogeneous. Despite their highly fragmentary state, the tiles highlight certain technical aspects. The Archaic roofs of Pithekoussai were constructed with overlapping roof tiles: Flat rectangular tiles with raised edges served to channel the rainwater off the slopes and were set in vertical rows, with each tile overlapping the one below, while semi-cylindrical *imbrices* covered the joints between the *tegulae*. The *imbrices* were designed with a wider lower edge to embrace the narrower upper end of the tile below. The inside of the *imbrices* was semicircular, while they feature a house-like exterior or, more often, also a half-round form³². In terms of the typology of Archaic roof tiles, there are Corinthian and so-called Lakonian *imbrices* but only so-called Corinthian *tegulae*. For this reason, a reconstruction of the roofs in hybrid style seems plausible³³.

³¹ Cf. WIKANDER 1988, 209 fig. 3 (C 5); RESCIGNO 1998, pl. 15 nos. 22, 23.

³² RESCIGNO 1998, pl. 14 nos. 1-15.

³³ WIKANDER 1988, 214 fig. 6.

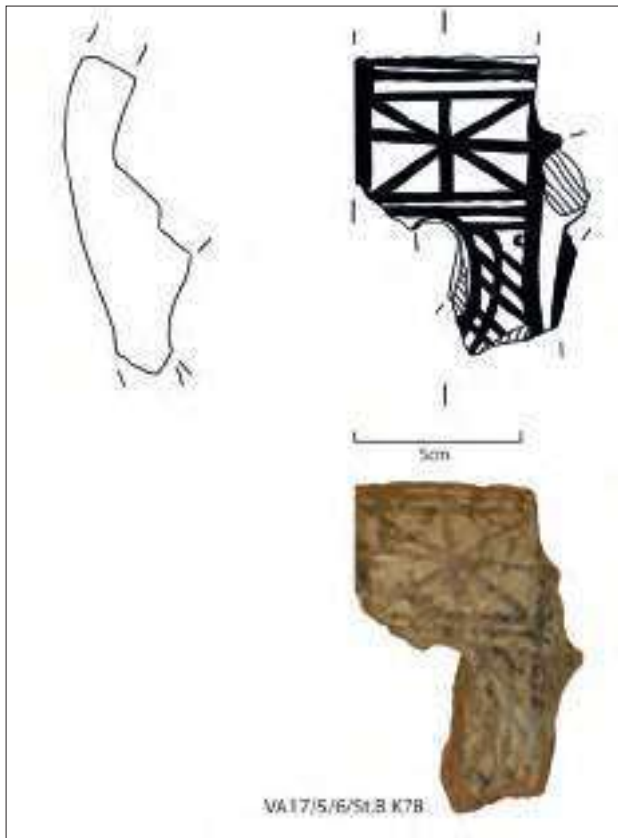


Fig. 16. Handle of a Late Geometric crater, K 78, drawing and photo by N. Burkhardt and V. Meyer, digitalized by E. Granser

This kind of building technique corresponds to the system A formulated by Carlo Rescigno referring to roofs of Campania³⁴. Some of the vertical side ridges of the *tegulae* show bevelling on the inside. Not a single fragment has holes for nails.

Many *imbrices* and *tegulae* have a rough inside and a painted outside with beige or black-brown painting. Some *tegulae* like D 2 and D 8 (Fig. 17) are embellished with black-brown and beige colour areas, set diagonally to the outer edge of the tile. The tiles found in the necropolis carry a similar decoration with black, beige and red colours³⁵. Several examples of such large painted tiles were also found in the workshop pottery production area under Santa Restituta³⁶. In addition, a dark red colour is attested by two fragments from the new excavation at the Villa Arbusto.

The tiles from the Villa Arbusto can be compared to the tiles from Monte Vico and from the excavation at Punta S. Pietro on Ischia. Recurrent decorative elements are contrasting black and white or beige areas, lines or circles. The form of the large flat *tegulae* is also common. The uniformity of the repertoire of forms and decoration demonstrates that in Archaic times the tile production of Pithekoussai reached the same degree of maturity as the production in Campania, evidence of which survives at Kyme, Capua and Velia but also in Rome³⁷. Concerning the first quarter of the 6th century BC, a strong link can be observed between the tiles from Monte Vico (“Scarico Gosetti”) and Rome (the building on the site of the later Regia), reflecting a distinctive set of decorative forms, to which Rome, Campania, and Northern Campania contributed³⁸. Likewise, the figural decoration of the antefix of the early 6th century BC from the “Scarico Gosetti” has a close parallel in Rome, which is why Nancy Winter even maintained that the same craftsman was at work³⁹. According to the same author, the roofs in question again reflected a common style of the first quarter of the 6th century BC, known from Veii, Rome and Velletri⁴⁰. The functions of the early buildings with this kind of decor remain obscure, but we know that at least after the middle of the 6th century BC only civic or religious structures were embellished in this way⁴¹.

The scarab

During the excavation season of 2017, we found a scarab (Sk 1; Fig. 18) in the area directly in front of the exterior (south) side of Wall A. The surrounding earth was full of fragments of tiles and pottery. We interpreted this level along the façade of the wall as a spillage, probably resulting from destruction. The scarab is made of blue glass paste, without glaze, and is 10 millimetres long, 5,5 millimetres wide and 7 millimetres high. It was

³⁴ RESCIGNO 1998, 32 fig. a.

³⁵ RESCIGNO 1998, pls. 14-17; BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 95 pl. 42 no. 84 (Tomb 84): inhumation covered by Archaic tiles, measurements: 70.5 x 49 cm, decoration in red and black; 43, 87, pl. 48 nos. 12, 72 (tombs 12 and 72); Archaic tile with black paint and white concentric circle.

³⁶ OLCESE 2017, 356-357 no. 1/M 118, no. 3/1561, no. 7/1477-239088.

³⁷ WINTER 2009, 389 fig. 5.43 and fig. 5.19 (S. Omobono, Rome, Antiquarium Comunale, Inv. 16007); fig. 5.44 (site of the later Regia, Forum Romanum, Rome, Antiquarium Forense, Inv. R64.145).

³⁸ WINTER 2009, 143-221, esp. 148: Roof 3-4 (Pithekoussai), cf. 556, 579.

³⁹ WINTER 2009, 171; cf. 2006.

⁴⁰ WINTER 2009, 392.

⁴¹ WINTER 2009, 393, cf. 47, 212, 221.



Fig. 17. Fragments of the painted roof tile, D 2 and D 8, photo by N. Burkhardt

produced with a mould, without finishing, and shows no cracks or scratches. The body of the scarab consists of an elliptical head, a pair of wings and schematized legs. The ovoid base of the scarab is engraved with hieroglyphics. In general, the incisions seem to be rather sketchy.

The hieroglyphic depicts an animal, pacing to the right with its head turned backward. Between the head and the tail is a small round depression. A vertical incision extends from the right front paw. On account of the long slim neck and the erect tail, it might be a lion, a panther or perhaps a hybrid creature like the Assyrian serpent dragon⁴².

In the 8th century BC scarabs were used as grave goods but also appear among votive offerings⁴³ in several settlements in the Mediterranean. They probably functioned as magic protective amulets, especially in connection with female fertility⁴⁴. More than fifty scarabs come from the tombs of

Pithekoussai, most of which were found in *enchytrismo*i and in tombs of children, while some were deposited in tombs of women⁴⁵.

The iconography of the base of our scarab remains singular at Pithekoussai, but there are three other scarabs made of blue glass paste. They all have only two or three small and simple hieroglyphics and form part of the inventory of Tomb 592, a female burial⁴⁶. The finds from the grave also include *fibulae*, pearls and other scarabs.

F. De Salvia identified the three blue glass scarabs as eastern products of Phoenicia, Syria or Cyprus (Group IV) and proposed a date in the 8th century BC (Late Geometric I, c. 750-725 BC)⁴⁷: the new scarab is a bit larger than the other three but smaller than the scarabs made of steatite found in the Pithekoussian tombs. The style is also different: the three scarabs from the tombs are characterized by more naturalistic forms.

A close parallel of the new piece was found at Naukratis⁴⁸. Similar scarabs of blue paste appear frequently in the town⁴⁹. Moreover, it is considered a production centre for glaze scarabs, since ca. 600 scarabs made in Naukratis have been documented in the entire Mediterranean. The evidence at the site itself consists of moulds etc.⁵⁰. Our scarab belongs to a type where the design of the beetle's sides is characterized by three grooves forming a triangle without touching, and a fourth, shorter groove that is aligned with the triangle. This type was defined by G. Hölbl and connected to Naukratis⁵¹. The impact of Near Eastern culture is evidenced, for example, by the image of the hybrid serpent dragon on our object⁵².

⁴² The information was generously provided by Günther Hölbl, referring to a similar piece found in Monte San Mauro (now in Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi).

⁴³ SCHWEIZER 2006, 164 on scarabs in Greek cave sanctuaries of female deities; cf. DE SALVIA 1993, 176-177: scarabs as part of jewellery assemblages or as foundation offerings in the sanctuaries of Ephesos (Artemision), Naukratis, Corinth (Perachora), Eleusis, Paros (Delion).

⁴⁴ SCHWEIZER 2006, 166-181. In ancient Egypt, the meanings and functions of scarabs and their hieroglyphics apparently were more specific than in Phoenicia. Here, the scarab bases can show nonsense signs, and they were joined onto sickle-shaped pendants or combined with the symbols of the moon and sun, representing mother deities like Istar, Atargatis, or Tanit.

⁴⁵ SCHWEIZER 2006, 147; cf. BUCHNER 1969, 94; cf. the numbers in DE SALVIA 1993: 52 Scarabs, 28 Lyre Player, 4 Scaraboide. Statistically, it is important to note that in this area of the necropolis most burials were tombs of children.

⁴⁶ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 351 pl. 113.

⁴⁷ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 795 f. no. 592, 11-13, ill. 6, table 1, pl. 177, measurements: 0.73-75 x 0.55-60 x 0.42-44 cm.

⁴⁸ FLINDERS PETRIE 1886, no. 36 F: London, British Museum Inv. EA66452. The reference was generously provided by Eicke Granser. Cf. to the scarabs in the tombs of Pithekoussai: GRANSER 2016, 73.

⁴⁹ FLINDERS PETRIE 1886, 37.

⁵⁰ FLINDERS PETRIE 1886, 36; on Rhodian influence on the production at Naukratis: FLINDERS PETRIE 1886, 36-37.

⁵¹ HÖBL 1986, 208-210 with pl. illustrating type II,1, no. 5.

⁵² The information was generously provided by Günther Hölbl.

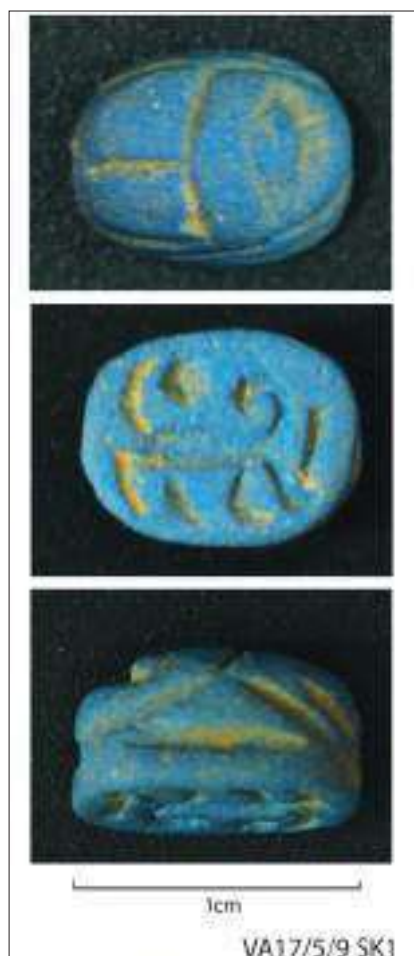


Fig. 18. Scarab of blue glass paste, Sk 1, found at the southern side of Wall A, photo by S. Faust

The new scarab from Ischia can also be connected to a group of scarabs at Taranto⁵³. The latter have the same kind of decoration on the side, but they are made of greyish paste. These objects originate from grave contexts that can be dated to the middle of the 6th century BC because they were associated with Attic pottery⁵⁴. Considering the material from Naukratis, it seems plausible to assume that the new scarab was produced a bit earlier, at the turn from the 7th to the 6th centuries BC.

We have carefully sieved the excavated earth around the find spot of the scarab to make sure that it did not belong to a tomb or *enchytrismos*. Indeed, there were no traces of a tomb structure, a funerary vessel, human bones or ashes. In this context, it should be noted that the children of Pithekoussai

were not buried between the houses – at least not in the few known areas outside the necropolis of San Montano, where several children's tombs were excavated⁵⁵. The earth around the new scarab was filled with fragments of tiles and pottery from the 8th to 6th centuries BC, small rocks and some animal bones. As mentioned above, we interpret this level, which was found along the southern façade of the wall, as a spillage, probably resulting from destruction. So maybe the scarab simply got lost at some point.

At the same level, in front of the wall, the fragments of two *louteria*⁵⁶, one foot and another fragment of Ionian cups, some fragments of painted roof tiles, one sherd of a painted amphora, fragments of imported as well as local plates, bowls and cups, some Bucchero ware and some sherds of coarse ware, cooking pots and large storage containers emerged⁵⁷.

INTERPRETATION OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The building structures

The excavations of the 1990s and the new excavations from 2016 to 2018 revealed wall structures, especially from terraces, and Greek pottery mainly from the 8th to the 6th centuries BC, with only a few fragments that can be dated to the 5th century BC. At the moment, two different interpretations of the site seem possible: either it was a settlement area or a sanctuary. Until now, there is no evidence of metal production such as was documented at the Mezzavia site. As regards metal finds, only two small fragments of bronze and iron emerged. Further traces of production of any kind, or even of workshops, are missing.

At the beginning of the excavation, it seemed possible that Wall A belonged to a large house like the one at Punta Chiarito⁵⁸. This house (Structure A) has an oval floor plan, with walls of partly worked *tufa* stones in dry construction. The interior floor level was lower than the surrounding ground level.

⁵³ HÖLBL 2006, 161.

⁵⁴ See below on the finds from the excavation at Punta Chiarito, see below note 57.

⁵⁵ At Punta Chiarito the material included storage vessels, amphorai, aryballoi, chytrai, jugs and cups, indigenous pottery including Impasto, Bucchero vessels, the fragment of a stove, three bronze pieces, loom weights, lead weights, one *louterion*, two bronze sieves and weapons, cf. DE CARO – GIALANELLA 1998, 262.

⁵⁶ See above, note 57.

⁵³ HÖLBL 1979, 230 nos. 1154–1158. The reference was generously provided by Eicke Granser.

⁵⁴ HÖLBL 1979, 130 (text), 230 (catalogue).

For this reason, the blocks were set against the earth at the foot of the wall, while there was a two-course construction in the upper part. The foundation consisted of just one densely set compact layer of stones. In the Greek settlements at Oropos and Eretria and in other places, Late Geometric houses could have large dimensions and a simple floor plan that often was oval or horseshoe-shaped⁵⁹. In any case, it should be noted that the exact function(s) of the house structure at Punta Chiarito are not so easy to determine as it might appear in the first instance: it could have been a domestic site⁶⁰, a sanctuary, a storage facility, a farmstead⁶¹, a pirate hideout⁶² etc. Multifunctional interpretations seem possible, especially with regard to other Geometric buildings like the apsidal structures in Viglatouri on Euboea⁶³ or in the sanctuary of Apollo in Eretria on Euboea⁶⁴.

As regards Wall A in the Villa Arbusto area, it soon turned out to be a terrace wall. As has been mentioned above, there is a second structure (Wall B), a short section of which came to light in 2018. It has the same orientation as Wall A and should either be interpreted as a second terrace wall or, considering the short distance between these structures, could also be some other building.

The archaeological finds

A domestic context is indicated by archaeological finds like pottery (including coarse ware, cooking ware, amphorai, fine ware), roof tiles and loom weights. Four fragments of stoves point in the same direction (K 6, K 54, K 73): they are local products in the form of ceramic pedestals, which were set over the hearth and carried the cooking pots. On the outside, they featured distinctive incised decoration. The loom weights (W 1 and W2; Fig. 19) would also be in line with a domestic context. However, such objects were also found among the votives of “Scarico Gosetti”, which is considered a deposit of a sanctuary on Monte Vico⁶⁵.



Fig. 19. Loom weights, W 1 and W 2, photo and digitalised by N. Burkhardt

Finds like the fragment of a large crater with figural decoration (K 80), the sherds of other craters (K 64, K 78) and drinking cups of high quality allow for an alternative interpretation of the finds as objects used in a sacred context, even if craters and drinking vessels were also used in the apsidal structure at Mezzavia, which probably served domestic purposes⁶⁶. On the other hand, objects like the scarab, the foot of a vessel with an artificial hole (K 59), the roof tiles with painted decoration and the fragments of the two *loutetria* (basins) can be related to the context of a sanctuary. During the salvage excavation in the northern part of the Villa Arbusto site (see above), fragments of large roof tiles and several large crater fragments of high quality emerged⁶⁷. The decoration of the latter included the meander pattern and the figure of a horseman. Therefore, it seems possible that the terrace structure, with its solid filling, was constructed to support a sanctuary. In any case, the area is located at a prominent site that could be seen from the sea and the western port.

⁵⁹ For a compilation of ground plans, see DE CARO – GIALANELLA 1998, 348 fig. 10.

⁶⁰ DE CARO – GIALANELLA 1998, 346 (on account of kitchen utensils, a stove, and the loom weights).

⁶¹ DE CARO – GIALANELLA 1998, 350-351.

⁶² CANTARELLI – DE FRANCESCO 2001.

⁶³ SAPOUNA SAKELLARAKI 1998.

⁶⁴ BÉRARD 1998.

⁶⁵ MONTI 1968, 59; SCATOZZA HÖRICH 2007, pl. 28c.

⁶⁶ KLEIN 1972, 38-39 fig. 3. Nicoletta Manzi, who studied the material of the Mezzavia excavation in her unpublished dissertation, kindly provided us with important additional information.

⁶⁷ See above note 2. Costanza Gialanella generously let us inspect these fragments in the depot of the Museo Archeologico di Pithecusae. She still intends to publish these fragments together with Nicoletta Manzi in future.

The pottery suggests that the excavated area had been frequented since the Bronze Age and was occupied with building structures from the Late Geometric period (LG II-Pithekoussai, 725/20-680/75 BC). Future investigations and detailed studies of the material will show whether there was a continuous human presence until the 6th century BC or whether an interruption can be demon-

strated for the 7th century BC. A destruction level of the 6th century BC is indicated by a level containing fragmented material. It could be the result of the earthquake of the second half of the century, which also affected other parts of the island. As pottery of the 5th century BC seems to be largely missing, it would seem that the area had been deserted by this time.

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PITHEKOUSSAI. POTTERY FROM THE MAZZOLA AREA*

Mariassunta Cuozzo

The paper deals with one hundred sherds and partly reconstructed vases I selected for the reopening of the room dedicated to Pithekoussai at the National Archaeological Museum of Naples, out of the ca. two thousand specimens I studied in the 1990s.

The excavation of the workshop and residential area yielded a vast Late Geometric repertory of imported and local pottery bearing a figured and/or linear decoration characterized by a marked eclecticism elaborating on Euboic, Attic, and Corinthian elements. This stylistic trend, already attested in the motherland, manifests itself at Pithekoussai in a style displaying a decidedly local color, as the well-known sherd with the potter's signature and the elaborations of the Cesnola style bear out¹.

With few exceptions, the pottery from the excavation is in a fragmentary state. Sherds from the same vase often come from different sectors of the excavation, bearing witness in many cases to the use of pottery mixed with earth to make the floors in different phases and, in other cases, to the absence of an accurate stratigraphic digging method².

I, therefore, selected the materials not by stratigraphic layer but according to typological-chronological criteria.

The typology of the pottery confirms the chronology of the occupation of the quarter and the respective percentages of local and imported series, although only in very few cases can a sherd be ascribed to one or another building in the workshop complex.

After a quick overview of the types distinguishing the main chronological horizons, I dwell here on two specific subjects: a still understudied class for Pithekoussai, namely "white-on-Dark" overpainted ware, and a figured Late Geometric sherd lacking close parallels in coeval Pithekoussan pottery.

LG I is represented by kotylai "Aetos 666",³ including imported Corinthian and Euboic specimens as well as locally manufactured ones. Of the four local specimens of Aetos 666 kotyle, two are almost entirely reconstructed from sherds⁴ (Fig. 1). A Corinthian "heron kotyle"⁵ also dating from LG I is graced with naturalistic herons on either side of four rows of sigmas (Fig. 2). "Thapsos with panel" skyphoi⁶ (Fig. 3) are both Corinthian and local. Other specimens are Euboic imports imitating Corinthian prototypes⁷ of "Thapsos with panel" skyphoi and sherds of oinochoai with running spirals.

* I was assigned to study these materials by S. De Caro, G. Buchner, and C. Gialanella, whom I thank wholeheartedly. I am also grateful to T.E. Cinquantaquattro and M. D'Acunto for having affectionately spurred me to present these materials at this conference. I also thank P. Giulierini, V. Sampaolo, E. Santaniello and G. Vastano for supporting my recent revision of the pottery from Mazzola. These photographs were taken by Eugenio Lupoli.

¹ BUCHNER 1971, 63 ff., fig. 7-8; KLEIN 1972, 39, figg. 5-6; RIDGWAY 1984, 112; D'AGOSTINO 2003, 79-80, 82 ff.

² RIDGWAY 1984, 109-112.

³ Cf. NEEFT 1975, 1981, 1987; DEHL 1984; DE VRIES 2003.

⁴ Specimens only carrying the date of 1969 may belong to the first phase of occupation of the building 1 at Mazzola. RIDGWAY 1984, 109-112

⁵ Corresponding to KLEIN 1972, 39, 7. Cf. NEEFT 1975, 108-109.

⁶ NEEFT 1981, 7-12. MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2006-2007.

⁷ For a discussion of Euboic imitations of LG Protocorinthian pottery and the Pithekoussai finds, cf. COLDSTREAM 1995, 253-257, cat. nos. 53-54, 255, 257, pl. 29a; BOARDMAN 1969, 102 ff.; *Pithekoussai I*, 615, T.632 no.1, pl.178.

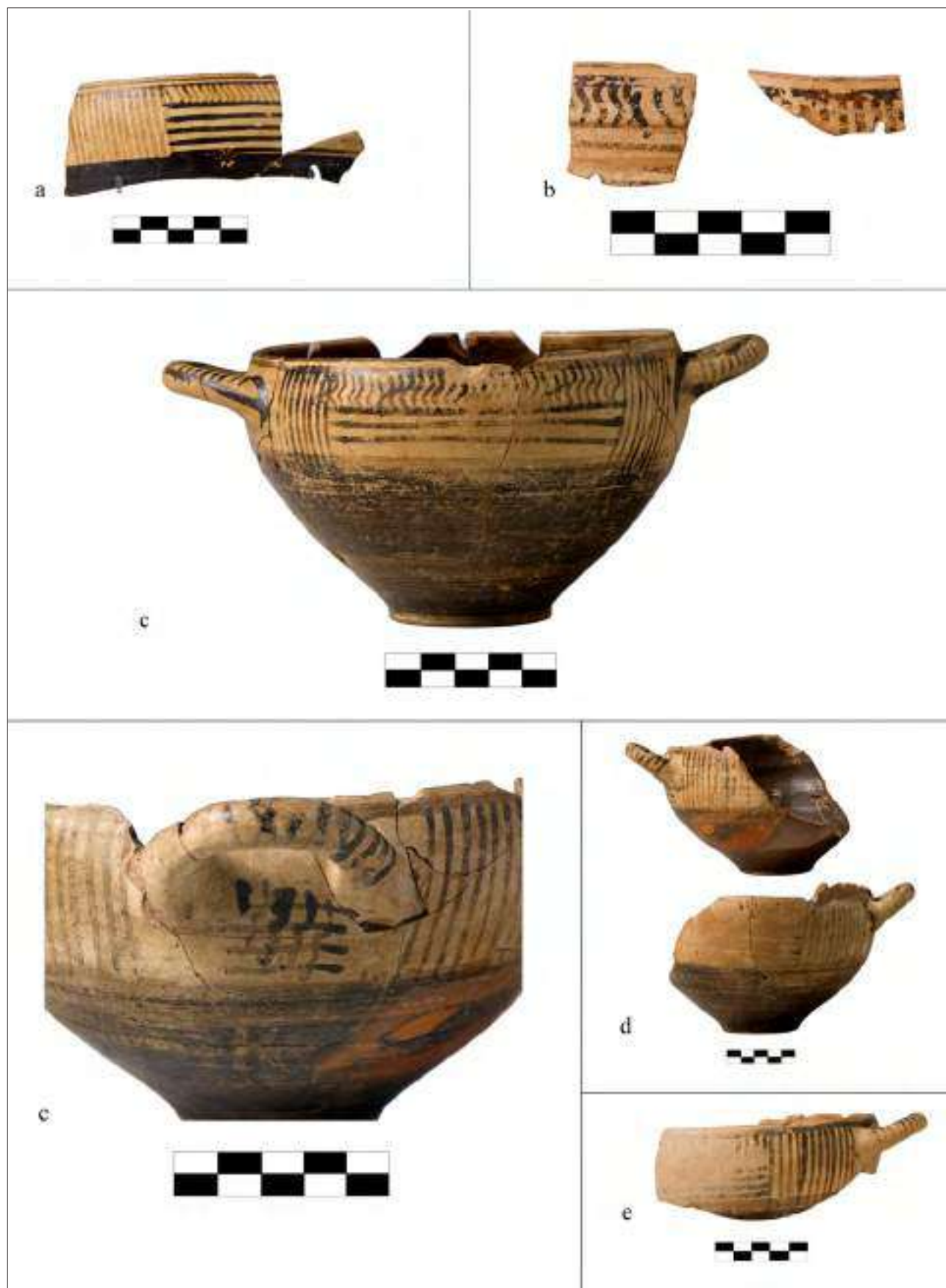


Fig. 1. Kotylai Aetos 666: a-b. Imported specimens (245564; 245587-245588); c-e. Local ones (245572- 245574)



Fig. 2. Corinthian “heron kotyle” (245568)



Fig. 3. “Thapsos with panel” skyphoi: a-b. Corinthian (245565-245568); c. Local (245575); d. Euboic oinochoe (245596)

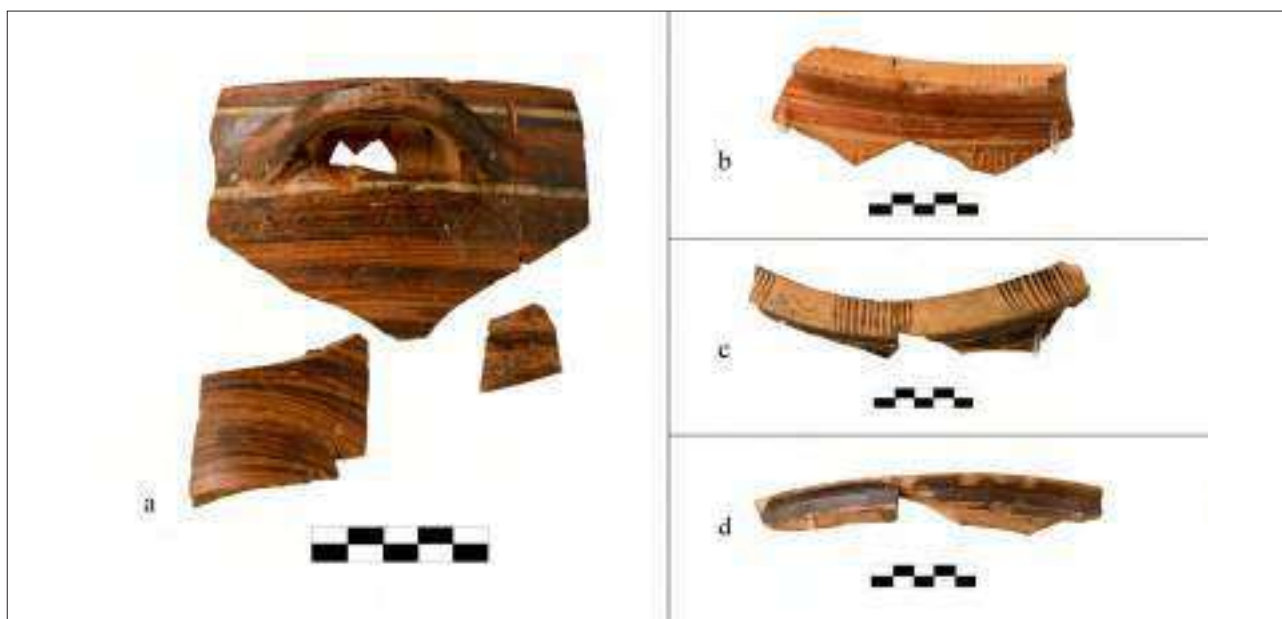


Fig. 4. Euboic imports: a. “Black kotyle”(245604;245605); b-d. Sherds of craters (245600; 245603)

Euboic imports (Fig. 4) include a specimen of “black kotyle”⁸ and sherds of craters of a typically Euboic fabric, brick-red (MU2.5YR 7/8) or light beige (MU5YR 7/4-8/4), datable between LG I and II⁹ (Fig. 4).

This phase has also yielded one of the most important vase specimens among those found in the workshop quarter, specifically from the first floor-level of Building I: a local crater in the “Cesnola style” (Fig. 5)¹⁰, one of the most remarkable known expressions of the coeval Euboic-Cycladic style.

A figured crater, “dinos-shaped” according to Coldstream’s classification, can be ascribed to the same milieu. It is graced with the horse-at-the-manger motif preceded by the double axe. All that remains of the horse is part of the long mane, the jaw and a large lozenge-shaped fill-in motif (Fig. 6).

⁸ BOARDMAN 1969, 107-108; BOARDMAN – PRICE 1980, 66-67, pls. 50-51; BUCHNER 1975, 1982a; COLDSTREAM 1968, 97, 100; 193-194, pl. 41h; 2008, 42; 2010, 93; *Pithekoussai I*, Sp.5/23, 709, pl. 248; COLDSTREAM 1995, 256, 261-263 no. 90, fig. 4, pl. 30d.

⁹ BOARDMAN – PRICE 1980, 58 ff.; COLDSTREAM 1995, 251-252; ANDREIOMENOU 1992, 1998.

¹⁰ CUOZZO 2019b 126. Both COLDSTREAM 1971, 1-15, and BUCHNER 1971, 63 ff., place the workshop of the “Cesnola Painter” to in Euboea. For the characteristics of this style and a discussion of the subject, cf. especially COLDSTREAM 1983, 241-249; COLDSTREAM 1994, 77 ff.; BOARDMAN – PRICE 1980, 74-78; for a proposed location at Naxos and in the Cyclades, cf. KOUROU 1998, 167 ff.; *Eretria XIV*, 47, notes 12-15.

An earlier amphora sherd (Fig. 6) shows a bearded male figure in *silhouette* transfixed by a spear and falling over a fully painted curvilinear element from which a diagonal linear element extends outward, only partly preserved at the edge of the sherd; this was probably the hull of a capsized ship. Coldstream points out a parallel between this sherd and two monumental craters with battle scenes of the attic “Dipylon workshop” (LG Ia) and dates it to 750 BC.¹¹ Among the smaller panels with fill-in elements, one can make out the figure of a bird with its head turned backwards and its body filled in with a reticulate pattern.

The full LGII phase is represented by Corinthian or locally made “Thapsos without panel”¹² skyphoi and by a local kotyle with “soldier birds”¹³ (Fig. 7).

¹¹ The sherd is positioned differently than Coldstream proposed. The new position is confirmed by the direction of the wheel-marks. Cf. COLDSTREAM 2000, 92-93. There are remarkable affinities with the local products; cf. in particular *Pithekoussai I*, S1/1, pl. 231. The similarity with *Eretria XIV*, pl. 20 h.147, is also intriguing. The backward-looking bird in one of the side frames has parallels both in the Euboic area – notably in the position of the neck and/or especially for the reticulate filling of the body – and in other Late Geometric production (Attic, Argive, Boeotian, Rhodian and Cretan): cf. in particular, for Euboea, KOUROUNIOTIS 1903, fig. 1 and ANDREIOMENOU 1977, pl. 49, fig. delta; cf. also BOARDMAN – PRICE 1980, pl. 49 no. 165; COLDSTREAM 1968, pls. 27e, 45c, 54b (backward looking), 54c-d, 61a.

¹² NEEFT 1981, 14-15.

¹³ NEEFT 1975, 110, 112.



Fig. 5. Local crater in the “Cesnola” style



Fig. 6. a. Local sherd of an amphora in the “Dipylon” style (245610); b. Local sherd of a crater in the “Cesnola-style” (245602)

Some local specimens with warrior figures also date from this phase. Coldstream regarded them as derived from the Attic masters of the “sub-Dipylon workshop” and dated them to a late phase of LGII. A group of 12 sherds of a large amphora allowed its decoration to be reconstructed: a row of warriors, each armed with a helmet, greaves, two spears, and a round shield. The details of the shields – which are graced with an *episema* consisting of a sixteen-pointed star surrounded by dots – are overpainted in white¹⁴. A crater sherd preserving the head of a warrior with

a helmet and a long *lophos* dates from the same period (Fig. 8).

Turning to the EPC, among local productions, some refined imitations of Early and Middle Proto-corinthian pottery stand out. They are characterized by a thick cream coating covering the whole surface of the vase to reproduce the distinctive texture of Corinthian clay. For these specimens, G. Buchner proposed an attribution to a workshop established on the island by Corinthian craftsmen, suggesting that the coating was constituted by a layer of diluted clay imported directly from Corinth.

¹⁴ Corresponding to KLEIN 1972, 38, fig. 2 and 39, fig. 7.1. COLDSTREAM 2000, 93, notes 14-15, with further literature;

COLDSTREAM 1968, 55; 2008, 42; BOARDMAN 1952, 7; AHLBERG – CORNELL 1971a; ROMBOS 1988.



Fig. 7. a. Kotyle with “soldier birds” (245576); b. “Thapsos without panel” skyphoi, Corinthian (245567); c-d. Local specimens (245589; 245590).

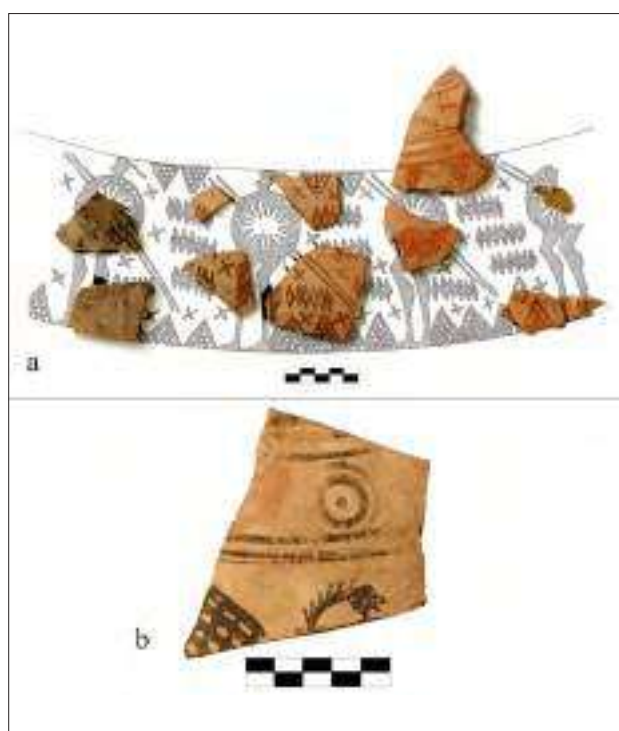


Fig. 8. a-b. Local specimens with warriors (245586; 245609)

This hypothesis was taken up by K. Neeft, who ascribes to the “Pithekoussan workshop” a whole class of Protocorinthian-type aryballoi prevalently occurring at Pithekoussai and Cumae¹⁵. This production, exhibiting a calligraphic style often making it difficult to distinguish local specimens from imported ones, is represented at Mazzola by EPC and MPC kotylai¹⁶ graced by lozenges arranged in a web pattern in the strip between the handles or snake-shaped motifs; less frequently, some other shapes (oinochoe, pixis) with these features also occur. An oinochoe with a row of fishes on the body and a similar surface treatment is datable between the early and middle Protocorinthian. It belongs to the class traditionally designated as “Ischia-Cuma-Tarquinia”¹⁷ and is the

¹⁵ CUOZZO 2015.

¹⁶ NEEFT 1987, 59-65.

¹⁷ DIK 1981, 69 ff.; MARTELLI 1987, 21 ff.; MICOZZI 1994; TANCI – TORTOIOLI 2002; MERMATI 2012. On the Protocorinthian class cf. RIDGWAY 1984, 85, fig. 16, T.1187. Cf. also CUOZZO 2015.

only sherd of this class from a residential area at Pithekoussai (Fig. 9).

Preliminary chemical and petrographic tests on the Pontecagnano inventory and of the pottery imported from the colonies on the Bay of Naples suggest an analytical basis for this autoptic subdivision, and particularly a distinction between the pottery of the “Pithekoussan workshop” and the local Pontecagnano pottery (Fig. 10).¹⁸

Turning to Italo-Geometric ware, it is represented by a plate with a broad hat-rim shaped lip¹⁹, in the style of Phoenician Red-Slip Ware (Fig. 11). It is decorated with running “S” motifs on the lip and rays on the bottom. There are also some large single-handled lekanai – one with evident traces of ancient restoration – with three lugs on the side opposite the handle, graced by a wavy line and a miniature lekane²⁰.

Two red-slip ware specimens – a plate and the upper part of a *Doppelschale* – are also presumably local²¹ (Fig. 12).

Among the imported ware (Fig. 13), a fragment of the base of a conical lekythos stands out. It is graced with the figure of a bird – whose body, wings, and very long legs are preserved – and resembles a type attributed by Coldstream to the “Cretan bird workshop”²². Also noteworthy are the significant number of attic “SOS” amphorae²³, the sherd of a Protocorinthian pithos, a lekythos of “argive monochrome” style and sherds of a Nestor kotyle type. The latter

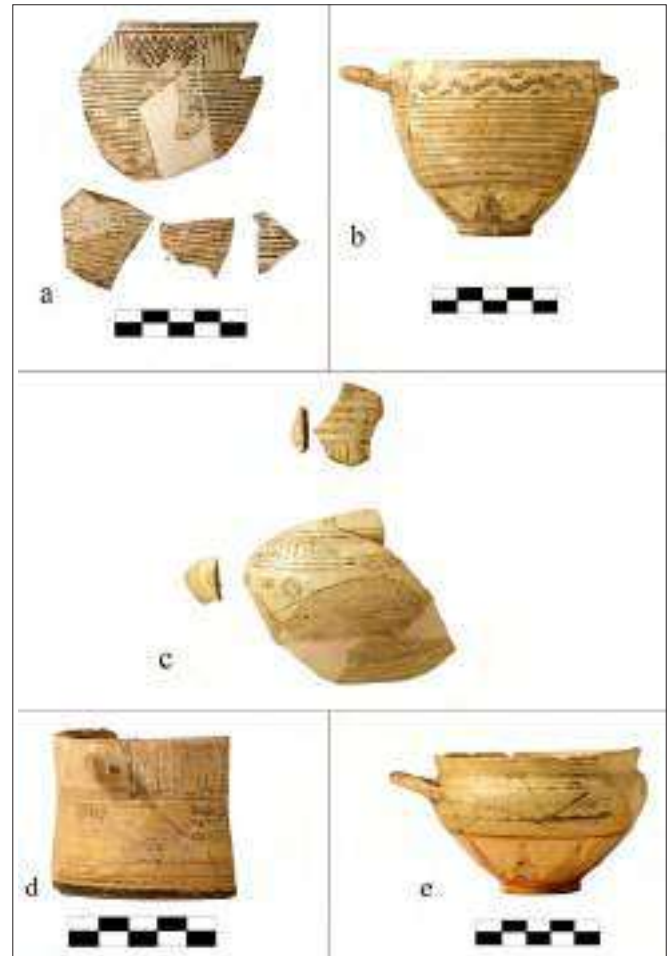


Fig. 9. a-e. “Pithecusan workshop” production (245577-245580)

was long regarded as a Rhodian import, but this provenance has been questioned; it is probably north-Ionian, as M. D’Acunto recently suggested²⁴.

As regards the later phases of the workshop quarter, Middle Protocorinthian II pottery²⁵ occurs until the middle of the century. It includes skyphoi with a reserved band with rays on the base of the body, which date the abandonment of the quarter (Fig. 14).

The partial reoccupation of a new wing of the complex datable to the first half of the 6th century BC is attested by bucchero pottery, particularly a kantharos²⁶ with notches on the carination and a flared foot, datable to the first half of the 6th century BC and an LC crater (Fig. 15) with duels between heroes in the presence of deities²⁷.

¹⁸ The archaeometric tests carried out at Pontecagnano are currently being processed by the CIMA Department of the University of Milan. I deeply thank G. Bagnasco Gianni and S. Bruni for giving me their preliminary results, which are illustrated in the graph: here, in the cluster analysis, there is an evident separation between clays 4-16, which an autoptic examination had already singled out as local; clays 1-2, which are Corinthian; 17-18, attributed to the “Pithekoussan workshop”, and 20, which may be Cumaean.

¹⁹ *Pithekoussai I*, T. 258.5, pl. 9; D’AGOSTINO 1994-1995, 56.

²⁰ D’AGOSTINO 1968, 104 ff.; 1994-1995, 54-56.

²¹ NIEMEYER – SCHUBART 1975, pl. 12, no. 554. STAMPOLIDIS – KARAGEORGHIS 2003, 241. BUCHNER 1982b, 277 ff.; BUCHNER – GIALANELLA 1994; DE CARO – GIALANELLA 1998; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012–2013.

²² COLDSTREAM 1968, 246 ff.; “The Cretan bird workshop” 165 ff., pl. 54, d-e, pls. 37, 38, 39.

²³ JOHNSTON – JONES 1978, 116, no. 7.10 (last quarter of the VIII BC). *Pithekoussai I*, 430, T. 398.1 pl. 208 (LG II). On argive lekythos cf. COURBIN 1966; KOUROU 1987; on corinthian pithos cf. BRANN 1962, 344, F 75, pl. 85; VALLET – VILLARD 1964, 51, pl. 32, 4-5; PELAGATTI 1982, 36, pl. 41 (pl. XXIV), 3, 2, 4. For amphorae or hydriae, cf. *Perachora II*, pl. 127 no. 3429; *Corinth XV.III*, 344-345, pl. 75 cat. nos. 2131, 2133, 2134; *Corinth VII.I*, cat. nos. 134, 172; *Corinth VII.II*, 59, pl. 82; PFAFF 1988, 62, nos. 63, 65, 71, pl. 30.

²⁴ D’ACUNTO 2017, 270; 2020, 289-291, 839-842.

²⁵ PAYNE 1931, pl. 5. *Pithekoussai I*, 710, Sp.5/31-32, pl. 249.

²⁶ CUOZZO – D’ANDREA 1991; ALBORE LIVADIE 1979.

²⁷ PAYNE 1931, 316 ff.; 318 no. 1195, 330, no. 1456, pl. 41.4; no. 1480, 1 pl. 41. 3 (LC I); AMYX 1988, 234-235.

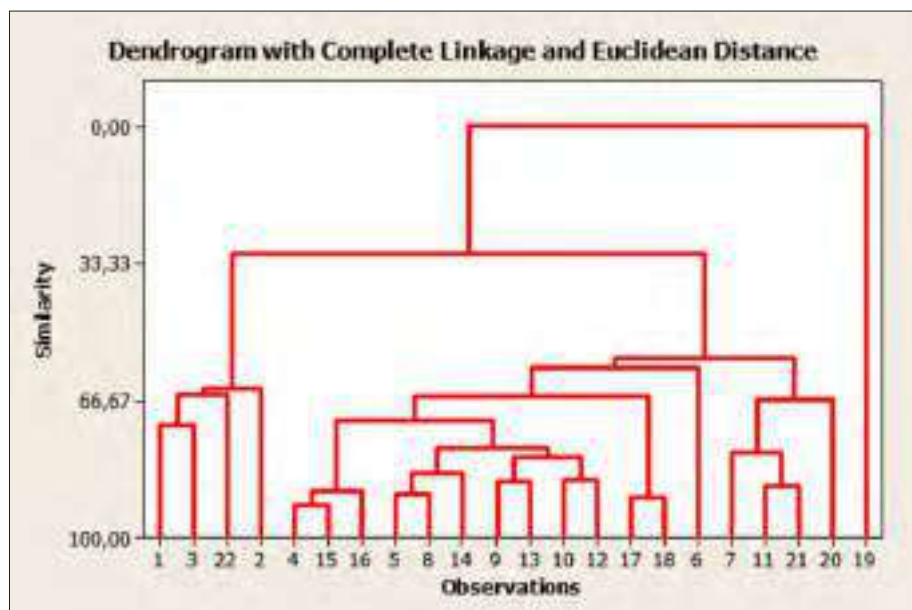


Fig. 10. The preliminary results of chemical and petrographic tests on the Pontecagnano inventory of local and imported wares are illustrated in the graph



Fig. 11. a. Italo-geometric plate (245582); b-d. Lekanoi (245583-5)

“White-on-dark” pottery

The Late Geometric class, distinguished by a decoration of exuberant geometric and figured motifs overpainted in white against a black background, re-interprets and adapts within the local Late Geometric style, a repertory that is widespread in Euboea, known as the “Black-and-White” or “White-on-Dark” style²⁸.

Boardman regards the emergence of the “White-on-Dark” technique as one of the distinctive elements of the Late Geometric Euboic style, inspired by Cretan or Cypriot models. Coldstream rather emphasizes, instead, the influence of Corinthian pottery, which displays overpainted motifs as early as the Middle Geometric period²⁹.

²⁸ ROBERTSON 1948, 34; BOARDMAN 1969, 106-109; BOARDMAN – PRICE 1980, 65 ff.

²⁹ COLDSTREAM 1968, 97, 100, 193-194; 1995, 256-257.



Fig. 12. a-b. “Red-slip ware” (245626; 245627)



Fig. 13. Imported ware: a. Sherd of a Cretan lekythos (245509); b. North-Ionian kotyle (245630); c. Attic amphora (245628); d. Corinthian pithos, (245570); e. “Argive – Monochrome” lekythos (245631)

In Euboea, “white-on-dark” motifs constitute the main decoration of a broad range of cups, kotylai, and skyphoi, and are also found on oinochoai graced with overpainted wavy lines. Furthermore, they are used as accessory motifs in the decoration of large vases such as amphorae or craters³⁰.

At Pithekoussai, too, this pottery class is represented both in the necropolis of S. Montano and at Monte Vico, mainly by cups and wavy-line oinochoai; more rarely, wavy lines occur as accessory decoration on craters and other shapes.

³⁰ BOARDMAN 1952, 7-8, pl. 2, B; BOARDMAN – PRICE 1980, 65-66, pl.52 no. 234; pl. 53; pl. 54 no. 253; ANDREIOMENOU 1975, pl. 66, fig. beta – craters with various overpainted decorations; pl. 67,

fig. alfa, delta (especially wavy lines); pl. 68; ANDREIOMENOU 1977, pl. 46, fig. alfa, beta, gamma; ANDREIOMENOU 1998, 156 (with a summary overview); on Pithekoussai: COLDSTREAM 1995, 256.



Fig. 14. a-b. Middle Protocorinthian skyphos and kotyle (245578; 245581)



Fig. 15. a. Bucchero kantharos (245632); b. LC figured crater (245629)

The discoveries made at Mazzola bear witness to a more complex scenario.

The workshop that produced the overpainted pottery had Euboic tradition as its point of departure, but elaborated on it, coming up with an innovative product, probably on commission. They developed a style employing overpainting to cover the whole surface of large vases with figured motifs and/or dense zoomorphic, ornithomorphic, phytomorphic, or Sub-Geometric decorations. Most of the vases are thick-walled and made of coarse clay ranging in color from pink (MU 7.5YR 8/2-8/4) to greyish³¹.

³¹ On Pithekoussan clays, cf. OLCSE 2017 with the previous bibliography.

The favorite shape for this style at Mazzola is the crater.

A horse figure is so far unparalleled in Pithekoussan vase decoration (Fig. 16). It is profiled in white and unfortunately only partly preserved. It has a vigorous neck, an erect mane rendered by parallel strokes, a very elongated body, and the front legs bent and raised in the act of bounding forward. A half-round element near the hind legs of the horse, which seems to emerge from them, is hard to interpret. Although stylistically dependent on coeval Attic and Euboic pottery, the figure differs from them in the power of its body and movement. Apparent parallels include a fragment with riders from the acropolis of Cumae and, even more, the well-known Pegasus on a dinos of the Ingoro-

nata at Metaponto. The latter has close parallels in Proto-Attic pottery, but Orlandini also traces it to Late Geometric prototypes, first and foremost of the “Cesnola” style, some of whose most significant attestations come indeed from Mazzola³².

The Mazzola horse differs from its parallels in the absence of the rider and the bridle, and in the half-round element replacing the left femur, which could possibly be interpreted as a chariot wheel. The figure may refer to a myth, but not enough is preserved of the scene to assign it to a specific one. Let us not forget, however, that earlier scholars already interpreted in mythological terms the frequent occurrence of the horse motif and the association of the horse and the double axe. Schweitzer regarded the horse as a symbol of Poseidon Hippios and the double axe as a symbol of his two sons, the Molionides³³.

Furthermore, in a very recent publication retracing Gabrici’s 1910 excavation on the acropolis of Cumae, another series of sherds of a “White-on-Dark” crater are mentioned, picturing, according to Cesnola style, a horse at a manger above which a double axe hangs. This specimen can be traced to the same “White-on-Dark” pottery workshop on Pithekoussai³⁴.

Other “White-on-Dark” sherds alternate exuberant sub-geometric motifs with rows of birds, remindful of the Euboic “Bird Style”. The birds have bodies and wings filled in with oblique hatching or wings bent at a corner (Fig. 17) and an entirely painted body; the latter are possible precursors of southern Etrurian rows of herons³⁵.



Fig. 16. “White-on-dark” crater with a horse figure (245592)

As regards the linear decoration, these craters constitute a compendium of the most frequent motifs in the local Late Geometric style (Fig. 18): wavy motifs, panels delimited by vertical lines, triangles and lozenges with double or triple contours filled in with hatching, continuous superimposed rows of zigzags, asterisks and star motifs, cross motifs, and double series of half-circles arranged horizontally around the handles to form a heart-shaped motif.

One can also ascribe to “White-on-Dark” ware a fragment of a stand, presumably for a large vase (Fig. 19). This is a problematic object on several counts, from morphology to decorative syntax and dating.

The most likely hypothesis is that it is a *hypokraterion*, as suggested, among other things, by similarities with another Pithekoussan specimen from the Stips of the Horses in Pastola³⁶. This hypothesis would confirm a date no later than the end of the 8th century and include the sherd in the class of local “White-on-Dark Ware”, as its linear decorative syntax would indeed suggest. On the basis of parallels, one cannot rule out that only the lower part of a stand is preserved and that the thickened upper rim fitted an intermediate element, a *bulla* or another central

³² BUCHNER 1954, 52; BOARDMAN 1952, 18-19, A1, fig. 19; ORLANDINI 1988, 6 ff., fig. 16, pl. II; DENTI 2010.

³³ SCHWEITZER 1971, 54 ff.; COLDSTREAM 1994, 83.

³⁴ NITTI 2019, 114.

³⁵ Very few examples of birds overpainted in white on a black ground from Euboea are currently attested. The head of a long-beaked bird is preserved at the edge of a sherd of a closed shape (a small amphora or an oinochoe) from Eretria; cf. ANDREIOMENOU 1975, 227-228, fig. 68 gamma; in particular, BOARDMAN 1952, fig. 1.3a. On “bird style” Late Geometric pottery class, and particularly on Euboic examples of this class, cf. COLDSTREAM 1968, 72; 189 ff.; COLDSTREAM 1982, 29-30; BOARDMAN – PRICE 1980, 57 ff.; ANDREIOMENOU 1981, 34, figs. 20-23; 1998, 157-159, notes 96-99; KOUROU 1998, 169, note 18. The figured motif of the row of herons or moving birds, not constrained by metopal spaces, often characterized by the peculiar Euboic motif of the raised wing bent at an angle and the body filled in with hatching, is one of the favorite ornamental patterns of local workshops at Pithekoussai. It is attested especially in the decoration of plates and lekythoi. Cf. in particular BUCHNER 1983, 266 figs. 3-4; 269-

270, figs. 7-8; *Pithekoussai I*, T. 623.3, 606, pl. 177. Rows of birds unconstrained by metopal spaces with fully painted bodies, instead, seem to be rarer; cf. *Pithekoussai I*, 512, T. 509.1, pl. 152 (two birds separated by accessory motifs). There are some interesting parallels from Naxos (Sicily): cf. LENTINI 1998, 379, 384 fig. 7, 382, 386 fig. 22.

³⁶ D’AGOSTINO 1994-95, 23, 25-26, notes 32-38, IVA pls. XIV.1, XXIV Pithekoussai (Pastola). MICOZZI 1994, G1, pl. LXXII, *holmos* F33, T. 24 of Narce, last quarter of the VIII century BC; F35, T.10 of Falerii, type B.

element (a torus or echinus), as is the case with similar specimens. The type is widespread in the “White-on-Red” Ware of southern Etruria and the Faliscan area from the end of the 8th century BC onward, for which a Pithecusan mediation has been suggested. Remarkable affinities can be observed in the morphology of the object and, above all, in its composite and irregular ornamental syntax. I believe the stand’s shape and use of bichromy rule out a connection with the more recent production of louterion stands of the “Pithekoussai-Cumae” group³⁷.

As to crater and krateriskos in Fig. 20, it remains doubtful whether the orange-red color of the surface is due to misfiring, a consequence of excessive oxidation, or bears witness to a phase of technical experimentation.

The crater has an exuberant Sub-Geometric-style decoration. Its distinctive feature is a heart-shaped motif constituted by nested curved lines framing the sides of the handles.

The krateriskos exhibits a similar heart-shaped motif framing the preserved handle, as well as a decorated band preserving the body of a bird filled in with hatching, and the long tail, rendered with thin oblique strokes, of a second bird.

The presence of this bird’s tail – which is also filled in with hatching and spans the red and the black parts of the surface of the vase – lends strength to the hypothesis that this coloration is the result of misfiring.

However, from the late 8th century onward, the production of southern Etruscan “White-on-Red” ware got underway and might have been an influence on Pithekoussan potters³⁸.

An unusual figured specimen

Among the vases on display at the National Archaeological Museum in Naples, I regard it as useful also to present here a sherd of a local amphora, stylistically belonging within LG II (Fig. 21).

The sherd depicts an ithyphallic and steatopygic male figure on a carriage drawn by a horse, of which only part of the tail remains. The male figure – presently headless – has a triangular body and a very long neck extending over the above-lying horizon-

tal-band motif. One of his arms is upraised, the other bent with the hand open and the fingers outspread. The carriage is rendered in double contour. Its right side is filled in with horizontal lines and the wheel is quadripartite with dots between the spokes.

Could this be a dancing figure, probably a comastes³⁹? The figure is ithyphallic, with disproportionate and compressed buttocks, evoking – along with the summarily rendered and also compressed legs – the equine hind legs of satyrs.

Be that as it may, it is certainly a dancing figure, as the rhythmic and alternated movement of the arms and legs bears out.

The closest existing parallel is a well-known Late Geometric skyphos sherd from Eretria (Fig. 22) published by A. Andreiomenou⁴⁰, who interpreted the scene as depicting a running male individual and a chariot. The Eretrian sherd has been commented upon by three other scholars. Ahlberg-Cornell⁴¹ agrees that what is depicted is a chariot and also admits the possibility that a horse is also shown; however, she sees in the character’s attitude the Geometric scheme for a jump, probably an acrobatic activity, based on a parallel with the Geometric kantharos Copenhagen 727. Isler-Kerenyi⁴², instead, believes that the character is dancing and that this is the earliest known depiction of a “padded dancer”, a Late Geometric prototype of this well-known 6th-century-BC motif. Finally, J. Boardman⁴³ agrees that the character is dancing but adds a new interpretation of the motif on the left, identifying it as a lyre rather than a chariot.

Under these circumstances, it is hard to put forward a hypothesis. The Pithekoussan ithyphallic dancer evokes the dimension of the komos, which today is not implausible for this chronological horizon, given the contemporaneity of the scene on the exceptional scarab from Monte Vetrano in the Agro Picentino, issuing from a hybrid community whose most significant contexts show composite connections with Pithekoussai and the Greek, Etruscan, Oriental, and Nuragic worlds⁴⁴.

³⁹ Corresponding to KLEIN 1972, 38, 7.1. It is evident from his attitude that he is not part of a mourning scene, despite the four-wheeled rectangular carriage; AHLBERG – CORNELL 1971b.

⁴⁰ ANDREIOMENOU 1981, 84-112, no.129.

⁴¹ AHLBERG – CORNELL 1987, 55-86.

⁴² ISLER-KERENYI 1988, 269-277.

⁴³ BOARDMAN 1990, 367-368.

⁴⁴ CERCHIAI – NAVA 2009, 100-104.

³⁷ RESCIGNO 1993, 42 ff.; 1996.

³⁸ MICOZZI 1994; WILLIAMS 1986.



Fig. 17. a. “White-on-dark” crater with birds (245594); b. Crater with sub-geometric decoration (245598); c. Crater with birds and sub-geometric decoration (245599)



Fig. 18. a-b. “White-on-dark” craters with sub-geometric decoration (245608-245616)



Fig. 19. “White-on-dark” stand: a. From Mazzola (245624); b. From Pastola (after D’AGOSTINO 1994-1995)



Fig. 20. "White-on-red": a. Crater (245623); b. Krateriskos (245625)

L. Cerchiai stresses, on the one hand, the Oriental connections of the images on the scarab – datable between LG I and LG II – on the other, analogies with the Greek iconography of the *komos*, particularly the nudity and gestures of the dancers. However, we cannot overlook a possible reference to the ceremonial system of the *marzeah*, as known from written sources. The importance of this practice in the West and its Pithekoussan connection – both in relation to the reclining symposium and to the ceremonial consumption of meat and wine by the Etruscan aristocracies – has been remarked, with different nuances, by O. Murray and M. Menichetti⁴⁵.

These influences intersect in the multicultural milieu of Pithekoussai, within the horizon dis-

closed by the inscription on Nestor's Cup⁴⁶. The theme has been recently revived by Węcowski on the basis of new evidence⁴⁷.

In conclusion, it is worth mentioning two distinctive figured specimens from Pontecagnano datable within the first half of the 7th century BC⁴⁸ (Fig. 23).

The linear subdivisions of the neck of the oinochoe T. 2129.1 are animated by the intrusion of two legs with shod feet, bent at an angle in a dancing attitude. This is certainly a depiction of a *komos*, a testimony of the presence of a shared imaginary at Pontecagnano, also revealed by the constant inclusion of a wine-drinking kit in the

⁴⁶ MURRAY 1994.

⁴⁷ WĘCOWSKI 2017.

⁴⁸ CUOZZO 2015, 228-232.

⁴⁵ MURRAY 1994; MENICHETTI 2002; CERCHIAI 2014.



Fig. 21. Local amphora with a dancing figure (245607)



Fig. 22. a-b. Sherd from Eretria with a dancing figure (after ANDREIOMENOU 1981; BOARDMAN 1990); c. Kantharos of Copenhagen 727 (after AHLBER-CORNELL 1988); d. Scarab from Monte Vetrano (after CERCHIAI – NAVA 2009)

“basic vase set” of this site. The oinochoe can be ascribed to the “Pithekoussan workshop” distinguished on the basis of the above-illustrated technical and decorative features.

The neck of a second coeval oinochoe (T. 1836.2), presumably from a local Pontecagnano workshop, is graced with a dance of *comastai* inside a panel reserved within the crossing lines. The dancers are in the typical attitude, with the bent hand resting on the buttocks. The motif creatively plays on the rhomb-chain motif by anthropomorphizing it and thus turning it into a figured styleme.

These images express a shared imaginary inaugurated at Pontecagnano in the last quarter of the 8th century BC in the “basic vase set”⁴⁹ found in all the tombs of the Etruscan settlement, regardless of gender, status, or age group. This burial assemblage consists of a set for the social consumption of wine, including an oinochoe and a skyphos, a small locally-made impasto amphora, and a cup or plate. L. Cerchiai has recognized the same set in the indigenous graves of Pithekoussai from LG II onward.

As B. d’Agostino has stressed, we need to reaffirm the principle that an exploration of ancient mentality is an indispensable premise to an iconographic analysis. Not all that happens is represented. An essential condition for depiction is that the event and



Fig. 23. Pontecagnano, figured oinochoai with *comastai*: a. T. 1219; b. T.1836 (after CUOZZO 2015)

⁴⁹ CERCHIAI 2014, 230 - 232.

the gesture acquire a representativity of their own, consistent with the collective imaginary.⁵⁰

Indeed, an interpretation of the oinochoai from Pontecagnano with anthropomorphic motifs cannot ignore this town's sociopolitical and productive context, which in this phase was marked by the construction of a new communal identity. This process is reflected in establishing collective norms and prohibitions that appear to have been followed and respected in all the cemeteries of Pontecagnano. The imposing of collective norms and prohibitions is manifested in the first place by the selection of the new "basic vase set" based on the pouring and drinking service – oinochoe and skyphos – a minimal ecphrasis of the symposium.⁵¹

It should further be stressed that this Protocorinthian- and Italo-Geometric type repertoire can-

not have been exclusively reserved for funerary use. The progress of settlement-area excavations in the main Etruscan centers, at Pithekoussai and Cumae, and today at Pontecagnano as well, with the resuming of investigations in its Archaeological Park – suggests that these wares were used on social occasions, and then re-functionalized in necropolis contexts⁵².

The adoption of the same imaginary centered on the transformations of wine occurs at both Pithekoussai and Pontecagnano as a practice aimed at fostering collective consensus, such as that implied at Pontecagnano by the adoption of the "basic vase set". It is a process in which artifacts play an active role in forging social and cultural relations, materialized and incorporated into the social act of collective wine drinking.

⁵⁰ D'AGOSTINO – CERCHIAI 1999, 68-69.

⁵¹ In this context we should rule out any interpretation of the figured motif on oinochoe 1836.2 as a *chorós* or funerary motif – as the hand resting on the buttocks of the *comastes* and the functional interpretation of such oinochoai in the Pontecagnano "basic vase set" bear out.

⁵² CUZZO 2015.

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*PARERGA AND PARALIPOMENA TO THE STUDY
OF PITHECUSAN-CUMAEAN CERAMIC PRODUCTION
IN THE LIGHT OF NEW RESEARCH. TWENTY YEARS AFTER EUBOICA**

Francesca Mermati

*Non est turpe cum re mutare consilium
Seneca, De Beneficiis, IV, 38, 2*

THE CONTEXT. BETWEEN CAPTAINS,
MERCHANTS AND CRAFTSMEN

For the study of the colonial enterprise in the western Mediterranean of the first half of the 8th century BC, research on pottery production has always been of major importance. Whether we consider the first imports at the new settlements or the first products of the newly established workshops, pottery accompanied ancient settlers from the beginning and more so during their settling-in phase. The material is infinitely prone to fragment but practically indestructible, and it is easily produced anywhere because it can be made with raw materials that are readily available.

In the case of Pithekoussai and Kyme, the artisans could count on an established background, which allowed them to immediately start up successful workshops, achieving a steadily developing production, the precise characteristics of which have already been thoroughly treated and – I hope – exhaustively¹.

* The theoretical focus of this contribution stems from the project *Early Iron Age Greek pottery overseas: the social context of consumption*, which is aimed at sampling the earliest pottery production of Greek type overseas, analysing it with Neutron Activation (NAA). The analyses were conducted by Hans Mommsen in Bonn, Germany, and the results of the analyses are in press (MERMATI in press; on the project see also <https://www.oeaw.ac.at/oeai/forschung/keramikstudien/frueheisenzeitliche-griechische-keramik/>). For my participation in and the sharing of the implications of the results for the study of the Pithecusan-Cumaeian production, I must first of all thank my friend and colleague Stefanos Gimatzidis. For revision of my translation from Italian into English, I am grateful to Marianne Kleibrink who, for years now – thanks to our conversations full of ideas, has stimulated my research and has expanded my perspective on the study of pre-colonial and proto-colonial dynamics. Any error or inaccuracy is due to the author. For the dates attributed to the

However, the topic continues to offer new food for thought, especially thanks to the possibilities that archaeometric analysis offers to the study.

In the earliest Pithecusan-Cumaeian pottery production, the original cultural background is still much in evidence: it shows a strong Euboean influence but is already enriched by other inputs – Boeotian, Attic, Corinthian and from the Cycladic islands. Over time, contact and coexistence with different groups native to the land of arrival and/or newly arrived there lead to an eclectic production that becomes easily recognisable. It immediately gains high popularity that soon crosses regional boundaries. Its success, which is explained by the intrinsic value of the product, but also by its function as complementary to other types of goods or as a symbol of a cultural context of belonging – to be exhibited because a sign of status and preferential contact – leads to its gradual diffusion over an even wider area, which in some cases touches the western extremes of the Mediterranean basin².

The resulting cultural interaction finds fertile ground in the manifold composition of the contingent of the colonial expedition. The Euboean/Chalcidian and Aeolian/Cumaeian partnership recorded by Strabo for the Greek founders reveals the association of different components – even if both are Hellenic – at the root of the venture. The links between Euboea and Aeolian Kyme are moreover well documented: Euboean pottery is among the

pottery, the stylistic dating system for the necropolis at Pithekoussai in BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993 has been used, together with traditional chronology.

¹ MERMATI 2012a.

² On the distribution of the production, MERMATI 2013.

most imported in the Aeolian city³. It is impossible not to remember the move of Hesiod's father from Kyme to Askra in Boeotia, a region that in the Archaic period was closely connected to nearby Euboea. The only sea voyage Hesiod ever undertook was to Chalkis for the well-known poetic competition in honour of Amphidamas⁴. This outlines the existence of a triangle between Aeolian Kyme, Boeotia and Euboea, which is in keeping with ancient sources on the foundation of Kyme in Opicia and with a cultural *koinè* that, as early as the 10th century BC, reflected the convergence of commercial interests and routes between the Ionian-Euboean world and the Aeolian one⁵. We cannot exclude a Boeotian participation in the Euboean colonial enterprises – among which especially are Pithekoussai/Kyme and Zankle – one that, for now, remains hypothetical because of the scarcity of archaeological remains but is very likely⁶. A Boeotian imprint is, moreover, evident in the iconographic repertoire of Euboean Geometric pottery that was brought to Campania and the Phlegraean colonies, as we will see below. Also, the same apparently questionable choice of Hesiod's father to leave lively Asian Kyme for hateful Askra is understandable only in the light of hope for new possibilities. A move similar to the colonising ones – in that period open to all pioneering men chancing their luck⁷. In fact, the father moves βίου κεχρημένος

ἐσθλοῦ, yearning for a comfortable life but also to escape κακὴν πενίην, bad poverty⁸.

This Greek enterprise appears therefore mixed already from the very beginning, both horizontally – in the different origins of the participants, and vertically – in the different status of the settlers. There is no doubt that the leaders of the expeditions were chiefs. If in the preliminary stages of allocation, sailor-merchants had, under the supervision of captain-princes, perhaps been protagonists, it is safe to assume that the decisive move involved the physical participation of people such as Odysseus's ἀρχὸς ναυτῶν οἱ τε πρηκτῆρης ἔασι, which for Kyme take the names of *Hippokles* and *Megasthenes*⁹. The expression is used by Euryalos and directed at Odysseus, who does not want to compete (HOM. *Od.* VIII 162) and is absolutely derogatory. The earnings of these trades are, in fact, defined as κερδέων ἀρπαλέων “rapacious earnings” (HOM. *Od.* VIII 164), by ἄρπη, “a bird of prey and robbery”. It cannot be excluded that the definition also implies pirate raids. The same Phaeacians define themselves a little further on – and proudly – as νηυσὶν ἄριστοι (HOM. *Od.* VIII 247), suggesting a stratified situation with various opportunities for sea-faring, some more honourable than others. Indeed, the Phaeacians are identified *tout court* as a sea people: they are ναυσικλυτοί, glorious seafarers, δολιχῆρετμοι with long oars, φιληρέτμοι, oar lovers; they are said by Nausikaa to be poor shots with the bow and arrow and involved in seafaring (HOM. *Od.* VI 270-272); their city has more than one port (HOM. *Od.* VII 43), and they are among the most expert seafarers (HOM. *Od.* VII 108-109). It is no coincidence that they, even if placed on the fringes of the world, know the position of Euboea, because some of them had reached there and were expert enough to have made the return journey in a single day (HOM. *Od.* VII 321-328). This atmosphere of a “golden age” and “other world” that envelops the island of the

³ FRASCA 1993, 58-59, 67-69; 1998, 276-279; 2000, 395-397; 2005, 574-576. On the NA analysis, KERSCHNER 2006, 115, fig. 34; MOMMSEN – KERSCHNER 2006.

⁴ HES. *Op.* 650-659.

⁵ DEBIASI 2008, 26-27, with rich bibliography, but also MELE 1979, 19-28. The recent assignment of the products of the Bird Bowl Workshops – and therefore of the Nestor's Cup and its Eretrian counterpart – to a north-Ionian production contributes to an enriching of the framework of the connections between Euboea, Ionia and Aeolis. These cups seem to be personal objects of high-ranking personalities or products for the exchange of gifts between aristocrats rather than just goods: KERSCHNER 2014, 109-110, 121-122. On the connections between Aeolian Kyme and Kyme in Opicia, MELE 2008, 97-107; 2014, 47-48, 55-76; see the contribution of Mele in MELE 2019; RAGONE 2008.

⁶ DEBIASI 1990, 12-14; 2008, 60; MELE 2014, 33-38. On the connections between Boeotia and Euboea also BREGLIA PULCI DORIA 1982, especially 54-55; TALAMO 1982, especially 29; ROLLER 1994. See also the paper of Breglia Pulci Doria in this volume.

⁷ WALCOT 1960, 63-64; 1966, 106-109; DEBIASI 2008, 59-60.

⁸ HES. *Op.* 634, 638. On the historicity of biographical data in Hesiod's work and the possible nature of the author as a poetic *persona*, MALKIN 2004, 217-221, with bibliography; ANDOLFI 2016, 124-125.

⁹ For the “captains” and their role in western colonisation in the first half of the 8th century BC, cf. MALKIN 2004, 112-117, but also the fundamental analysis in MELE 1979, 44-45.

Phaeacians culminates with the description of the ships, which do not need a helmsman or a helm but are sailed by the sailors' thoughts and know all routes and lands. They are also very fast and sail unseen, nor fear of becoming damaged or ruined (HOM. *Od.* VIII 555-563)¹⁰. In any case, it should be said that the Phaeacians also practise both crafts and agriculture very well – which on Scherie, given its character as a fabulous land, is not affected by changes of season. The marine activity of the Phaeacians, in which they also excel, however, seems limited to the accompanying home of castaways who accidentally reach their island, which then causes Poseidon's anger towards them (HOM. *Od.* XIII 174, 176, 180-181). They are, therefore, not involved in trade, piracy and war, and they practise a navigation without any negative aspects to it, one that is difficult to define. Their expertise may, therefore, even justify all the more their criticism of the more "material" aspects of sea travel: a people excelling in navigation, who know the island of Euboea and have ships so well-commanded as to seem guided by thought, can afford to criticise a captain of a merchant vessel as being driven by profit. The criticism may be directed at the character of the unknown trader and not necessarily towards his business. The exchange of goods and rich gifts is, in fact, characteristic of hospitality relationships between men of rank, a typical act of the aristocratic ethic that distinguishes a respectable and well-educated man from the businessman who is moved exclusively by profit¹¹.

From this perspective, the reaction of Odysseus is understandable, offended by the words of Euryalos, spoken οὐ κατὰ κόσμον, not only unkindly, but also out of turn, and meant to offend (HOM. *Od.* VIII 179). Odysseus reaffirms his heroic nature by participating in competitions: his success confirms his belonging to the circuit of noblemen for whom valuables are an opportunity for exchange and mutual kindness and not just goods for sale. Another possible explanation is that the contrast lies be-

tween the individual/pirate seafarer who acts for himself and for personal profit and the trade/piracy included within an "estate" framework¹². Euboean seafaring could well have established pirate settlements to control points of passage of particular interest to them, aiming at a real form of thalassocracy. The foundation of Zankle and the garrison on the island of Capri, at the southern entrance of the Gulf of Naples, are part of such developments¹³. They surely will have been fully inserted in those transmarine aristocratic enterprises that united emergent personalities and families across the Mediterranean, far beyond the ethnic limits of their groups. This diversity certainly was repeated in new combinations, created at the place of arrival, with local and non-local populations. In fact, partnerships, alliances and collaborations inevitably arose, which we must not imagine were bound to a mono-ethnic logic but were based on opportunities and possibilities of advantage. These links must certainly have been reciprocal across the different groups involved, while the role of the populations already residing in the territory – whose cultural contribution is now gradually highlighted in new studies – should not be underestimated either in these developments¹⁴.

Also, we must not forget that, even if there is no chronological gap between Pithekoussai and Kyme as was hypothesised until a few decades ago, the conceptual world underpinning the island settlement has a very different context from that of the coastal city. Leaving aside the difficult discussion on the status of Pithekoussai – whether *emporion* or colony, widespread or delimited settlement – its archaeological footprints show us a site still rooted in a landscape frequented by seafarers, more like the father of Hesiod than his brother Perses. In fact,

¹² CHERICI 2006, 324-325.

¹³ AMPOLO 1986, 55-59; 1994, 34-35. On the analogies between the pirate bases at Capri and Zankle; FEDERICO 2016, 242-244. Further, on the passage from an individually run and aristocratic trade to that concerning communal investments – which causes the qualification of these investor-merchants as *kukoí* – and for the vertical articulation of the trade managed by the *Hippobotai* and its consequences on the Cumaeen oligarchic regime, MELE 1979, 60-63. For the relationship between trade and *polis*, cf. MELE 1986, 94-99. For the ideology of seafaring in the epic tradition: CRIELAARD 2010.

¹⁴ KELLEY 2012; MERMATI 2012b; CERCIAI 2014. On the status of the new settlements recently also KOTSONAS 2012, especially 245-249.

¹⁰ According to Malkin, Euryalos' reproach does not concern a derogatory view of trade but highlights a contrast between an aristocracy more linked to sedentary activities and one of a more entrepreneurial character: MALKIN 2004, 113-114; of different opinion CREMA 2011, 44-45.

¹¹ MELE 1986, 67-85; DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2001, 223-231.

these people are involved in a trade that still seems aristocratic, focused not only on perishable materials and products such as slaves and cattle but also and above all, on valuable objects, the prerogative of very demanding elites, particularly interested in metal goods. At this point, the problem of Strabo's χρυσεῖα or χρυσία far from being solved – is perhaps a false one. If, in fact, there is no trace of gold on Pithekoussai except for a few objects from the necropolis, we do have remarkable attestations of craft activities related to the transformation of metal¹⁵. The Euboeans are among the most efficient mediators in metal management systems during the 9th and 8th centuries BC, a primacy that contends with their Levantine competitors in a rivalry/dialogue, the precise shape of which unfortunately still eludes us. Both act as intermediaries in the marketing of raw materials and as craftsmen. Certainly, aristocratic gift-giving often focused on metal objects, played a part in this development and would have immediately sealed many interpersonal relationships between equals or would-be equals. The organisation of the metallurgical quartier of Mazzola closely resembles that of similar ones in areas with strong Euboean influence since the first half of the 8th century BC¹⁶. In addition, in this chronological phase, we have to consider the value of iron. This is evident from Homer himself, who does not hesitate to underline it in the funeral games in honour of Patroklos when an iron disc is offered in a throwing competition¹⁷. Its value is said to be sufficient to satisfy for five years the needs of a landowner with shepherds and ploughmen at his service. We are here certainly in a system closer to the trade-πρῆξις providing in the exchange of luxury products between βασιλῆες where gift-exchange practices are involved. A presence/absence of metals on Pithekoussai is consequently not an argument against the presence of intermediary trade activities and the transformation of raw materials on the island¹⁸.

In this system, artisans will have found not only

a place on the ships of the settlers, but they will have been closely linked to the dominant class, involved in territorial relations and dialogue with the surrounding population. If it is true that the presence of hybrid products at a site testify to the coexistence of different cultural components and that mixed and apparently “strange” products will have been developed for consumers who have no problem using them and even require them, it is also true that the very close link between emergent groups cannot ignore the artisan component, which often operates in direct connection with the customer's needs. This is certainly the case with the olla-hydria from San Marzano sul Sarno T 928, which was fashioned in a Phlegraean workshop and created after an indigenous prototype but with a strongly Hellenising decoration¹⁹.

Things seem to change towards the last decades of the 8th century BC, when the growth of a society is perceivable that is by now well-defined and embedded in the Gulf area, certainly more differentiated but also generally poorer. The leading groups are now established landowners with a monopoly on surplus and in dialogue with neighbouring elites. The condition of ἰσομοιρία, which had perhaps characterised the first colonial moment, had probably also been lost – if it ever existed at Pithekoussai or in the proper colony of Kyme²⁰. Trade is now essentially practised by those who do not possess land and is focused on the exchange of perishable goods. It is, therefore, possible that a wider middle class was created, in which the potters were associated with other artisans earning their lives with difficulty, in what Hesiod calls “good contest”, ἀγαθή Ἔρις, opposed to others who seek sustenance without producing anything, such as the beggar or the *aoidos*²¹. It is a more structured society in which the individual needs to find his own voice and space, where we witness the birth of artisan awareness

¹⁹ On the archaeometric study of the object and observations on its production context, see *infra*.

²⁰ For a discussion on the principle of equity underlying the division of land, in particular in the newly founded colonial contexts: FRISONE 2019, especially 272-275, with rich bibliography. The author rightly points out that a distribution based on “justice” does not necessarily imply the concept of “equality” in the modern sense because it can instead, without problems, mean a proportional equality connected to status.

²¹ Hes. *Op.* 24-26. On the topic MELE 1979, 53-54.

¹⁵ RIDGWAY 1984, 48-49; GUZZO 2011, 79-84; OLCESI 2017, 33-36.

¹⁶ MERMATI 2018, 124.

¹⁷ HOM. *Il.* XXIII 826-835.

¹⁸ The link between metal crafts and the Chalcidian aristocracy was already pointed out by Alfonso Mele several years ago and is currently even more valid after the new discoveries in Euboea and Campania; MELE 1979, 46-49. See also MELE 1982; 2014, 12-13, 19-21.

(like *-inos* and later Aristonothos himself) and where autobiographical notes find a voice²². We should not, for example, forget that the first signatures of craftsmen are in contexts not only far from the aristocratic *poleis* of the motherland but also significantly placed along the routes that led from those to the West²³. Following some scholars, the colonies could be perhaps considered real places of experimentation for what would later become typical aspects of the *polis*, so much so as to be midwives to the birth of similar socio-political structures in Greece²⁴. This also raises the possibility that situations like that of Pithekoussai and Kyme could be the result of wide-ranging trade dynamics carried out by ethnically heterogeneous groups linked by the same economic interests and not necessarily organised by well-defined urban centres. The Euboean-Aeolian composition of the expedition supports this hypothesis: it reflects a *de facto* situation dating back to at least two centuries before the foundation of Pithekoussai, and based on the sharing of routes and management of trade flows. It is no coincidence that from the last quarter of the 8th century BC, the need also arose to more clearly signify the identity of the group, seen too in a practice of differentiating burial in ways that clearly communicate the status of the buried. Hence the choice of the Cumaeon aristocrats (descendants of the ἀρχαῖοι πολῖται?) – significantly contemporary to the Euboean ones – to reconstruct a heroic funeral rite that underlines the membership of the individual to a clan connected to a relevant mythical universe²⁵.

POTTERY CLAYS, WORKSHOPS AND PRODUCTION

One of the more serious problems concerning Pitheculan-Cumaeon pottery production is the lo-

cation of the workshops, which failing renders the attribution of the vessels to one or the other site particularly difficult. Firm contexts for the workshops would help to better define the chronology of the two settlements and their respective connections over time. They would also be useful in order to outline the distribution routes of the products and to better describe the interconnections, first with neighbouring peoples and then with areas further away.

For Pithekoussai, where large deposits of excellent clays are available, attribution is relatively easier. The clays resulted from deposits of sea mud and volcanic ash washed from tufa layers. They are on top of the Green Tufa of Monte Epomeo and covered by deposits of sand and debris from landslides. To access the clays, people needed to dig shafts. The quality of the Ischia clays, the processing of which in more recent times is concentrated in the Casamicciola area, is such that up to the early 1900s, it was used by Neapolitan potters in their urban workshops. At Naples, the use of finished pottery from Ischia has always been quite common²⁶.

On the island, the only ancient ceramic *atelier* known so far was recently identified. Today, it is located underneath the church of Santa Restituta at Lacco Ameno, and it must have been active from the second half of the 8th century BC onwards. Germane to the chronological phase here under review, is a round kiln, partly embedded in virgin soil and also close to the slope of Monte di Vico (Kiln 1). The kiln must have belonged to a workshop in the area of the artisan quartier, which developed later (Fig. 1). Subsequent landslides forced the occupants to gradually move to the areas where now the square and church are. The structure in question is peculiar and difficult to classify. As said, it is circular and has a floor made of stones, found *in situ*. The floor is supported by a cross-shaped structure placed on a central pillar, which in other kilns can constitute the support on its own. The presence of a perforated floor is uncertain because no traces remain.

²² On the fragment of *-inos*, the last ROSAMILIA 2015, 165-166, who associates with it the inscription on the aryballos in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, H. L. Pierce Fund 98.900.

²³ D'AGOSTINO 2003, 76-77.

²⁴ HANSEN 2012, 55-57. Of the same opinion is Malkin, who doubts not only the status of the cities of the motherland at the moment of colonial exploits but also that the *polis* was the necessary starting point for them: MALKIN 1994, but also GRECO 1994, 17-18, and more recently MALKIN 2016.

²⁵ MERMATI 2018, 127-129.

²⁶ On the clays of the island, BUCHNER 1994; more recently OLCESE 2015, 279; 2017, 30-31, 197-198.

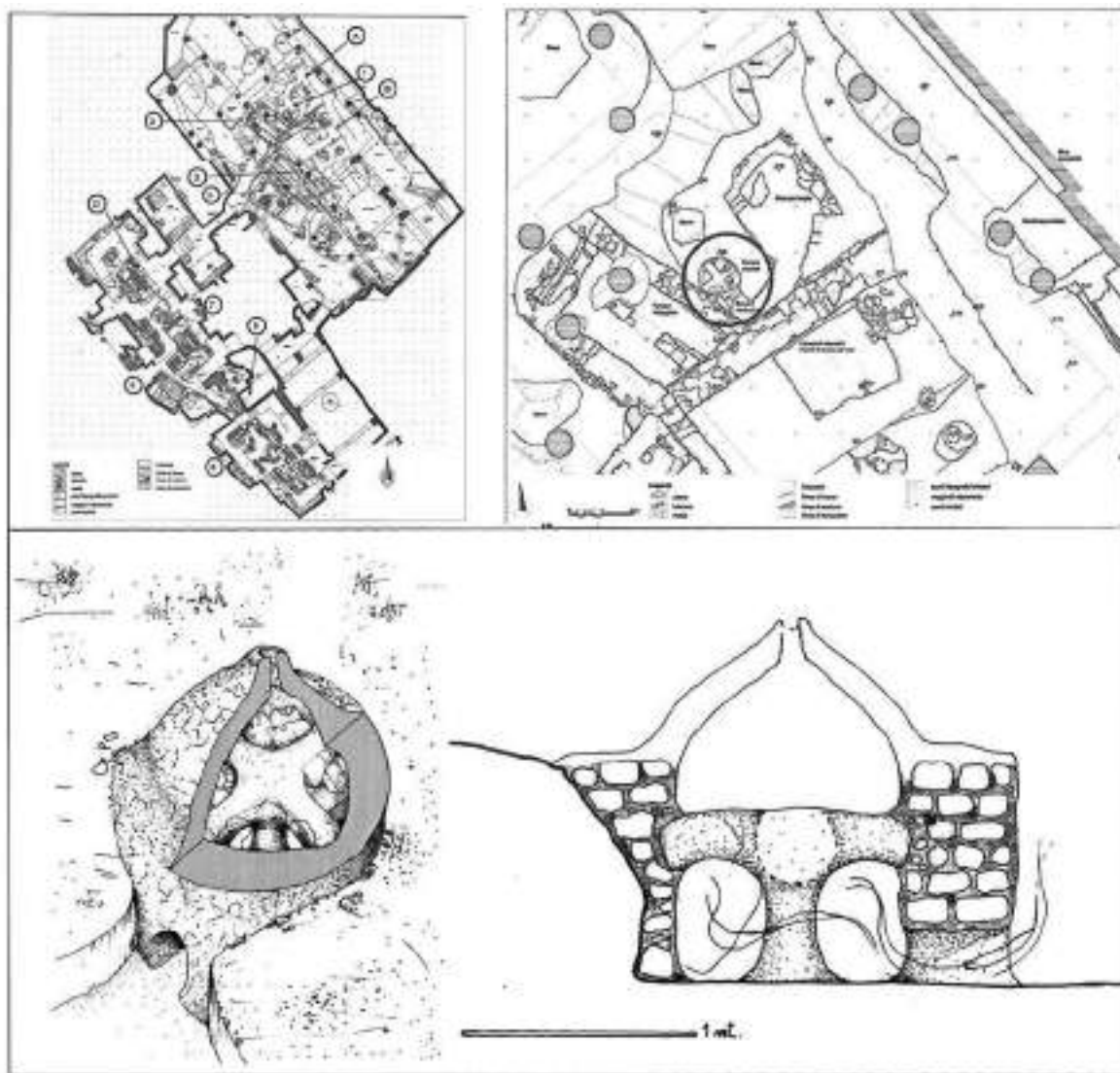


Fig. 1. Ischia, Lacco Ameno. The archaeological area under the church of Santa Restituta, Kiln 1 (after OLCESE 2015, modified by the author)

A round bench runs along the inner perimeter of the combustion chamber at the same level as the cross²⁷. The kiln was apparently built to fire so-called “fine ware” pottery, even if the publisher of

the complex does not exclude its use also for larger containers, perhaps even pithoi²⁸.

No further pottery processing connected areas could be identified that were contemporary with the kiln. This renders it rather uncertain whether the kiln was part of a developed artisans’ district dedicated to the processing of pottery – a *kerameikos* in short. No remains of any structures are present that could have been related to workshops, inside which the manufacturing and decoration of the vessels took place – as opposed to the “out-

²⁷ Because of the presence of the pillar, the kiln may be attributed to Hasaki Ia type. The bench that, according to Olcese, could have served as the base to the roof – now disappeared – suggests a mix with type Ig and could have functioned to place the vessels on in the absence of a perforated floor. The cross element does not seem to find any comparison. However, the kiln must not have functioned well, both because of its small size and because of its structure. For example, from the excavation documentation, one cannot understand how the air could circulate through the stone elements, which, moreover, seem to occupy the space usually used for wood. HASAKI 2002, 147, 158-159, pl. III.4. Pictures of Kiln 1 in OLCESE 2017, 60, fig. 6 a.

²⁸ OLCESE 2017, 57-64 (especially 62-63), 50-51; 2015, 281-284. The possibility of firing large pots in Kiln 1 seems contradicted by its dimensions, which would function for pots of max. 75 cm in height and width because the combustion chamber measures only 90 cm in diam. and 60 cm in height.

side” of the kiln area. Other uncertainties are whether Kiln 1 at Santa Restituta was connected to one or more workshops or none, or whether hypothetical workshops also functioned as houses, or whether such workshops were permanent or seasonal. The production capacity itself is also uncertain, as such would depend not only on the size of the kiln but also on the work rhythm of the potter and the composition of the craftsmen group. Kiln 1 fits with structures of small dimensions; these require more wood than larger kilns to work and obviously have a lower capacity. They are, however, more practical and easier to use. An artisans’ quarter with several smaller kilns may be more efficient than one equipped with very large kilns, and they are preferable if there is any diversification of production²⁹. However, we cannot be at all sure that at Santa Restituta several kilns worked simultaneously during the Geometric and Orientalising periods. For the Geometric period, the model set-up that seems to have been the most widespread is that of a mixed organisation of activity areas, not only for various crafts but also with *oikoi* and small family *necropoleis*³⁰. The artisan units in this phase are often integrated in the centre of inhabited areas and not – as later – at their peripheries. Residential structures, therefore, may have been sited near Kiln I. Shared kiln use with joint heat sources and the coexistence of pottery and metallurgical workshops are, for those reasons, a possibility. Connections between the Mezzavia area and Santa Restituta must, consequently, be considered³¹. The fragment of the crater signed by *-inos* comes from a layer underneath the foundation of

structure II at Mazzola, which constitutes an addition to the adjacent older spaces, where structure I seems to have functioned as a residential building³². Consequently, the possibility of defining the places where production took place – the “production landscape” – and outlining their characteristics is still completely impossible.

What is clear is that the site was not accidentally chosen and that its fortunate position was the reason behind the long prosperity of the pottery workshops. The clay in use seems to have been at least in part from the island, from the Casamicciola coast and from the slopes of Monte Epomeo. The suitability of the place will have also been linked to the availability of water; a few decades ago, there were still cisterns at the site. The supply of abundant water is, in fact, as important for pottery manufacture as that of good clays. The area was also suitable for the supply of sand and other materials needed as inclusions in the fabric; amounts of it were found near Kiln 3 – working between the end of the 4th till perhaps the beginning of the 3rd centuries BC³³. Another advantage of the site is its nearness to the beach, which allowed heavy goods to be stored in large quantities for easy handling. Although there are no traces of warehouses or harbour establishments, these must have been situated near the Lacco Ameno promenade³⁴. A good position can be a useful element in quantifying the extent of the production, which, if widespread and on a large scale, needed an efficient distribution system³⁵. Easy shipment, close to the workshops, is a pointer to a successful production chain, from the creation of the objects to their delivery: the presence of artisans at Casamicciola in modern times confirms the functionality of the model.

It is logical to assume that a functionally and topographically polymorphic site such as Pithekoussai in the 8th and 7th centuries BC must have been equipped with widespread artisan quarters.

²⁹ STISSI 2002, 59-65; HASAKI 2002, 271.

³⁰ In this regard, the *querelle* regarding Athens and Papadopoulos’ hypothesis of placing the first *kerameikos* in the area of the future agora are significant. However, other scholars do not agree with this theory, preferring the hypothesis of mixed-function areas; PAPADOPOULOS 1996; 2003, 271-316 with bibliography; against MONACO 2000, 17-28; 2003; GRECO 2005; LEMOS 2006, 514-516. For a general discussion on so-called “artisan quarters” of the Geometric period – especially for metallurgical and pottery manufacturing – cf. MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012. On the comparison between the situation at Oropos, Eretria and Pithekoussai – for which the author suggests caution in the interpretation of the Mezzavia area – see especially MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012, 137-140. Updates also in the contribution of Vlachou in this volume.

³¹ For this possibility, at sites where traces of structures connected to kilns are difficult to read, cf. STISSI 2002, 49; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012, 148.

³² David Ridgway doubts, however, that the area may have also hosted potters. He placed the pottery workshops in the area of Santa Restituta because of the discoveries by Don Pietro Monti: RIDGWAY 1984, 112, 117.

³³ OLCESE 2015, 290, 305.

³⁴ RIDGWAY 1984, 117. On connections between workshops and shipment, STISSI 2002, 40; on the need to be close to water resource cf. STISSI 2002, 45-47.

³⁵ HASAKI 2002, 275-276.

These were probably organised with the main nucleus at Lacco Ameno and a constellation of scattered settlements. The presence of workshops operating at different levels, from simpler *ateliers* linked to domestic consumption to more complex ones, should also be assumed³⁶. If the workshops produced heterogeneous typologies of objects – as seems to be the case with Kiln 1 – we have to imagine that they were not enormously specialised and mostly focused on a production directed at local consumption. We certainly need to explore the dialogue with Kyme and the further spread of pottery production on a regional scale, as well as trade with indigenous and Etruscan participants. The nature and modality of the exchange also needs to be explored. We still know too little about the workshop to be able to define it, although it seems comparable with contemporary examples.

To understand the status of the potters working in the *ateliers* is another problem. They probably belonged to less marginal social groups than usually thought and were arguably, at least in part, linked to the dominant classes that were their clients³⁷. From Mazzola itself come fragments of craters decorated in the Cesnola Painter Style and bearing the emblem of horse-at-manger, which refers to the ideological and aristocratic world of the *Hippobotai*³⁸. The realisation of such objects requires an evident production challenge, and the fact that they are found at places intended for artisan activity leads to a necessary reappraisal of the rank of the residents³⁹.

³⁶ Hasaki underlines that most of the workshops investigated in Greece function to the needs of a family, even of the extended type, and that this must always be kept in mind when we try to define a so-called “artisan quartier”, which is anyhow very difficult to outline, except in a few cases: HASAKI 2002, 266–267, 272, with bibliography. On the concept of “artisan quartier”, see ESPOSITO – SANIDAS 2012, especially 11–21. The conclusions of Thirion Merle, who sees the Santa Restituta *atelier* as the only place producing Greek pottery in the Geometric period, cannot be followed. The limited possibility of reading the production area at this stage – together with the presence of only a very small kiln – cannot lead to the claim that «le groupe de référence de Santa Restituta, satisfaisant pour les périodes géométrique et archaïque, ne l’est certainement plus guère à la fin du 3^{ème} et au début du 2^{ème} s. av. J.-C.»; see the contribution of Thirion Merle in OLCESE 2017, 197.

³⁷ MELE 1979, 50–51; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012, 148.

³⁸ RIDGWAY 1984, 109–113.

³⁹ The connection between men transforming metals and βασιλῆες has already been highlighted for Eretria, for Koukos in

We do not know whether the Phlegraean potters belonged to any specific ethnic group. If it is logical to think that among the colonial settlers artisans were also present – capable thereby of rendering the enterprise self-sufficient – and to see these as Greek immigrants, the same cannot be said for second-generation potters. Because pottery production is of a composite nature, it is possible to imagine workshops managed by operators from various cultures, perhaps even born from mixed marriages. That at Pithekoussai indigenous artisans and carpenters were at work is evident from burials with tools, marking a status that the Greeks rarely underlined in this chronological phase⁴⁰. However, the presence of not Greek artisans became more evident in the last quarter of the 8th and the beginning of the 7th centuries BC, when Pithecusan society was fully integrated with the pre-existing populations of the area. We should, moreover, imagine family-run workshops in which all members participate in the work chain, each according to their own operating skills. Children born from mixed couples will certainly have absorbed aspects from the different sets of cultural traits and these will have influenced their products⁴¹. Women’s work itself – almost invisible at this stage – will have constituted another cultural contribution⁴².

Chalkidiki, and for Oropos, and has been suggested for Mazzola. It is based on the value of the raw material and the preciousness of the objects, generally managed by *elites*. Family groups that manage metallurgical activities – without necessarily participating in them – have been defined as *semi-aristocrats*; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2006, 200–206, with bibliography.

⁴⁰ IAIA 2006, 197; MERMATI 2012b, 301–303; PORTA 2012, 15.

⁴¹ On the problem of the work of children and youngsters, see LANGDON 2013, especially 176–185, 189–191, and fig. 8.12; 2015. The alphabet inscribed on a loom weight from Athens, dated between the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 7th century BC (LANGDON 2013, fig. 8.12), brings to mind the background to the locally produced lekythos from Kyme, datable to EPC, on which an inscription – made before the pot was fired – reads *Hisa Tin-nuna*. It is accompanied by two interrupted alphabetical series, one Euboean and the other Corinthian – both engraved after firing – which seem to be fairly uncertain and different from the previous hand. It is the object with the oldest Etruscan inscription in Campania, see COLONNA 1995; 2006, 198; 2010, 187. Other experts consider it not Etruscan but Greek, CASSIO 1991–1993. David Ridgway agrees with the Etruscan reading; RIDGWAY 1998, 315. On the lekythos; MERMATI 2012a, no. D81 of the catalogue, with bibliography. On the inscription, especially ZEVİ *et al.* 2008, 122–123.

⁴² The participation of women in family artisan activities – including pottery production – is quite logical in a domestic organisation of work, even more so for the Geometric, Orientalis-

It is more difficult to define the Cumae situation: clay quarries have not been identified and we have no traces of pottery workshops. In the archaeological literature, clay imports from the island have been hypothesised for decades⁴³. The theory is based on the similarity of the Cumae and Pithecan fabrics in autoptic (i.e. seen by the author) examination and on stylistic considerations but is now difficult to maintain. That the production and consumption of pottery in the coastal city – which must have been considerable and gradually increasing with Kyme's own expansion – were dependent on clay supply and/or finished products from the island is not very convincing. The island would not even have acted as a quarry when the focus shifted to the mainland. One needs to consider that the use of clay was not limited to pottery but certainly also needed for architectural elements, e.g. roof tiles, and similar as is attested at Pithekoussai from the end of the 7th century BC onwards, the use of which certainly must have spread to Kyme⁴⁴. If, in rare cases, the need to import island clay is to be envisaged because the local material was absolutely unsuitable, the distance to be covered was around 11 miles by sea, from the promontory of Monte di Procida to the beach at Kyme beach, neither so short nor so easy⁴⁵.

It is, therefore, highly probable – even if so far not demonstrable – that there were local work-

shops with quarries closer to Kyme⁴⁶. A confirmation of two different productions, one on the island and another on the mainland, seems proven by a number of dissimilarities detected in the clays, which, however, some scholars tend to minimise⁴⁷. At this point, it must be emphasised that, although recently our knowledge of manufacture on the island has increased thanks to the discoveries at Santa Restituta, the knotty questions are not at all resolved. In talking about which clay was used, including that in the Santa Restituta workshop, some specific problems must be faced.

Analyses have been carried out on samples from Kiln 1 (including some pottery waste products), as well as on clay accumulated near the kiln, ready for use. Firstly, the samples subjected to chemical (XRF) and mineralogical analyses allow the definition of chemical groups. Of them, group D seems to be the one in which most of the LG samples fall, including some kiln wasters, but to this group also some samples taken from Hellenistic Greek-Italic amphorae belong⁴⁸. Group D has been identified as a local product because wasters are of this clay type and because of the long duration of the use of this raw material. Furthermore, clay found *in situ*, of which a single sample has been analysed, seems to be very close in chemical characteristics⁴⁹. Even given the very high probability that at Pithekoussai, at least the Santa Resti-

ing and Archaic phases. It was not uncommon in Etruria; COLONNA 1993. In Greek contexts, representations of women engaged in ceramic crafts are rare but well-known in the archaeological literature. The oldest is on a Corinthian *pinax* from Penteskouphia, dated between the late 7th and early 6th centuries BC, representing a woman modelling a clay sphere with the help of an old man; VIDALE 2002, 241, fig. 44, no. 12. Another is on a black-figure Boeotian skyphos dating from the early 6th century BC, in a scene of difficult interpretation; VIDALE 2002, 283-285, fig. 71. Finally, the famous female painter working on a kantharos – interpreted as a slave, wife or daughter of the potter – represented on the Attic kalpis by the Leningrad Painter and belonging to the Caputi Collection, datable between 470 and 460 BC; KEHRBERG 1982, 28-32; VENIT 1988; ARRIGONI 2007, 18-20; LAMBRUGO 2009, 115-117.

⁴³ MERMATI 2012a, 43, 237-239, with previous bibliography.

⁴⁴ The house at Punta Chiarito has a tiled roof, belonging to the second phase of occupation, datable between the end of the 7th and the first decades of the 6th century BC; DE CARO – GILANELLA 1998, 341-342, fig. 6.

⁴⁵ STISSI 2002, 45, with bibliography. The same proposed situation at Taranto does not seem supported by sufficiently conclusive data.

⁴⁶ Although the availability of the raw material is not necessarily the first element potters consider in selecting their workshop sites, it is obvious that it is fundamental in their choices. The ease of finding a raw material such as clay has always favoured the positioning of workshops generally, obviously with attention also paid to different aspects such as distribution and proximity to water; MORGAN 1994, 321. The same cases of Corinth and Athens pose many problems; STISSI 2002, 43-45.

⁴⁷ MERMATI 2012a, 237-239, especially note 20, with bibliography. A synthesis also in CUOZZO – D'AGOSTINO – DEL VERME 2006, 25-26, and more recently in CUOZZO 2015, 223. Jones also favoured a distinction between Pithecan and Cumae clays in the first approaches to the problem: JONES 1986, 675-677.

⁴⁸ 33 LG ceramic fragments from Santa Restituta have so far been analysed (XRF). Mineralogical analyses were carried out on 4 of them with a polarised light microscope on thin sections. Of these, 27 were relevant to Group D: OLCESE 2017, 113-114, 185-186, 195-198, 209-210. For the list of samples, 128, note 115.

⁴⁹ OLCESE 2017, 114, especially note 120, 185-186. It should be remembered that for a correct methodological approach, the mere presence of clay near the kiln does not exclude the possibility that it comes from another site. The pertinence of objects made of Group D clay to local production is, in fact, defined as "probable". Also, Thirion Merle shows caution in OLCESE 2017, 195.

tuta workshop produced pottery from clay from Ischia, the author of the results, however, underlines the inadequacy of these data to properly distinguish not only between Pithecan and Cumaean products but also between Pithecan-Cumaean workshops and others in the Bay of Naples, which could have produced objects very similar in chemical and petrographic characteristics⁵⁰.

Although laboratory comparisons are needed to distinguish the two pottery fabrications, the definition “Pithecan-Cumaean production” seems still the more suitable one⁵¹. It derives from the attribution coined with intuition and predictive instinct by Marina Martelli for an aryballos from the Certosa necropolis, reversing the sites for chronological reasons⁵². We have – with regret – to agree with Gloria Olcese saying that «in base all’analisi chimica non è possibile determinare se le officine di Napoli hanno fabbricato la ceramica a vernice nera usando le argille di Ischia: i dati di laboratorio sarebbero in questo caso molto simili essendo stata utilizzata la stessa materia prima»⁵³. The difficulties in reaching an unambiguous and definitive solution to the Pithekoussai-Kyme problem should be all the more evident. Identifying all Phlegraean clay banks and sampling all objects in order to match pastes with quarries is as impossible as discerning between the substantial homogeneity of the clays from the Bay of Naples⁵⁴. This, unfortunately, makes it impossible to distinguish by autoptic analysis between the fabrics of Pithecan-Cumaean pottery because they share the same characteristics and possess a substantial typological homogeneity. Identical objects are, in fact, attested at both sites, which makes a correct placing of the hands of painters or groups of objects im-

possible; they appear all by the same hands and are probably produced by the same workshops⁵⁵.

These uncertainties have led to confusion in the terms employed in the archaeological literature, which is generally caused by the assignation of objects to one location over another, based on find contexts that sometimes seem to be more concentrated at a particular site. However, although the temptation is strong to attribute the production of an object to the site where it is best documented archaeologically, the limitations of so doing are obvious, especially in a situation in constant flux thanks to new research. Furthermore, definitions based on studies published immediately after excavation but yet to be checked and reviewed continue in use. In particular, the suitability of using the label “Pithecan Workshops” should be examined. It was introduced by Kees Neeft to define a series of aryballoi distributed between Pithekoussai and Kyme; he attributed it to two different potters, the so-called Painters X and Y, and less certain to a third, the Potter/Painter Z. However, after a recent review by the author of the present article, the situation appears more complex and involves several more artisans and workshops. A precise location – moreover, at Kyme and not at Pithekoussai – can currently be hypothesised perhaps only for the “Pittore del Serpente a Testa Quadripartita” and for the “Gruppo a Fondo Piatto”. The first is operating between PCA and MPC: his products are, so far, all concentrated on the mainland and were all in the Ste-

⁵⁰ The problem is particularly evident with the later Bay of Naples pottery production; OLCESE 2017, 99 and note 9; 2015, 302-303. For the earlier phase, the focus is obviously on the Phlegraean sites; Olcese does not deny the possibility of a Cumaean production, but the existence of this should be verified and which, in any case, would not solve the difficulties in attributing the products; OLCESE 2017, 117.

⁵¹ A very optimistic approach in this sense is that of OLCESE 2017, 99, 117, and 2015, 300, despite the limitations of the possibilities she herself acknowledges.

⁵² The aryballos is defined as “*cumano-pithecan*”: MARTELLI 1981.

⁵³ OLCESE 2015, 303.

⁵⁴ Today, a great help for Ischia is the geological guide for the island MONTI 2011.

⁵⁵ Recent attribution to Pithekoussai of products – with decoration both figurative and linear – on the basis of a greater «raffinatezza del rivestimento» and of the «apparato decorativo calligrafico» is not acceptable for reasons just explained; CUOZZO 2015, 228, fig. 13. It should also be stressed that the objects presented in support of this hypothesis are all datable between PCA and MPC, that is between the last quarter of the 8th and the first quarter of the 7th centuries BC. At this time, Kyme is firmly ensconced on the coast and appears to have absorbed the vitality of the Phlegraean Greek community. Indeed, after the institutionalised κτίσις of Kyme, Pithekoussai seems to be reduced in importance, until seismic events caused a transfer of population – perhaps partial – from the island to the mainland (STR., V 4, 9). This shift is remembered in Livy and Phlegon of Tralles; LIV. VIII 22, 5-6; PHLEG. TRALL. *FGrHist* 257 F 36 X B 53-6. Certainly, the Pithecan also contributed to the ecistic foundation: the necropolis of San Montano shows, in fact, a clear decrease in the number of burials since the end of the 8th century BC; MELE 2003, 17, 26; 2014, 24-25; GUZZO 2011, 101-111; 2016, 13, 31; NIZZO 2007b, 26-27; GUZZO 2016, 68-69.

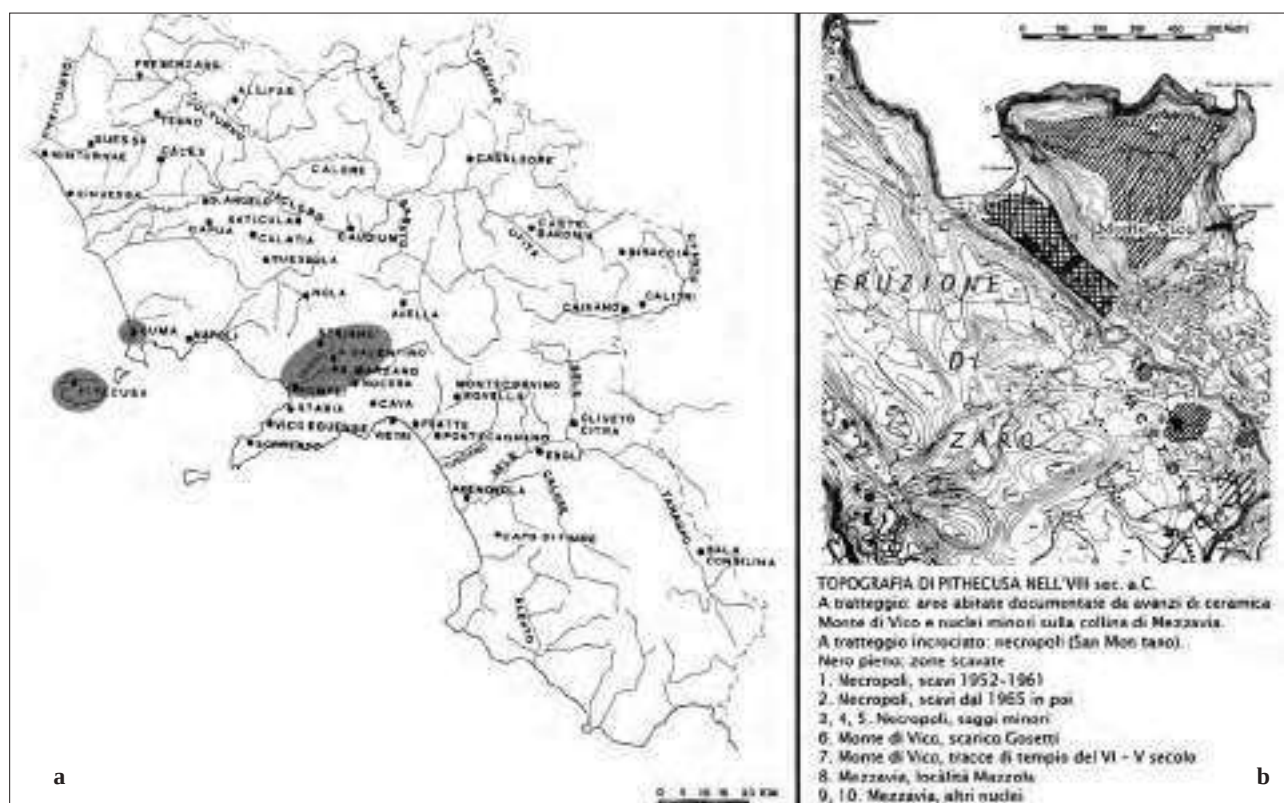


Fig. 2. a. Ancient Campania; b. Topography of Pithekoussai in the 7th century BC (after BUCHNER 1975, pl. I)

vens Collection. The “Gruppo a Fondo Piatto”, corresponding to the Potter/Painter Z identified by Neeft, is likely to also come from a Cumaean workshop since all Phlegraean attestations are from Kyme⁵⁶. To this group may be added the Certosa necropolis aryballos already mentioned. The definition of “Pithecusan Workshops” was recently used – in this case rightly so – to identify the remains found at Santa Restituta and should only be used in that case.

That the debate is still very much alive among scholars is evident, for example, in the emblematic case of the so-called “oinochoai Ischia-Cuma-Tarquiniā”, which will be discussed below. The definition of this class of jugs oscillates between that normally in use – which is preferred here – and numerous variants; among these, “oinochoai cumane”, “Classe cumano-etrusca”, “Gruppo Cuma-Tarquiniā-Pontecagnano”⁵⁷.

⁵⁶ NEEFT 1987, 59-65; MERMATI 2012a, 174-183.

⁵⁷ An analytical study of the *Gruppo Ischia-Cuma-Tarquiniā* in GRECO – MERMATI 2007, with bibliography, and MERMATI 2012a, 148. The question does not seem at all resolvable if older and revised labels continue to be used; most recently CUOZZO 2015, 220. The problem, in this case, arose also from

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As explained, it seems impossible to identify workshops and productions only by decorative styles or/and macroscopic clay characteristics. The Phlegraean pots belong, as mentioned, clearly to a similar production set-up in their technology and repertoire and have been equally distributed at the two sites since at least the last quarter of the 8th century BC. An archaeometric approach supporting an autoptic analysis seems the correct direction. A sampling campaign was carried out on 39 objects – from Pithekoussai, Kyme and the necropoleis of the Valle del Sarno – to be subjected to NAA (Table 1). Such an approach has already rendered excellent results for pottery from similar contexts (Fig. 2). Seven of the 39 samples analysed come from Cuma (pre-Hellenic necropolis and Hellenic necropolis) and 14 from Ischia (metallurgical district of Mazzola and San Montano necropolis). For the examination of early pottery from Pithekoussai, we preferred finds from Mazzola.

the difficulty of both workshop identification and production site.

Sample	Provenance	Inv. n.	Shape/class	Chronology	Supposed Production/ Provenance	Production/ Provenance after NA analyses	Clay Group	Fig.	Concordance with MERMATI in press
Samp1	Kyme, T 29 Osta	129774	<i>Chevron</i> skyphos	780/70-760 a.C.	Attica/Corinth/Euboea/Cyclades	Euboea	X061	Fig. 3a	Kyme 1
Samp2	Kyme, T 3 Osta	128850	<i>Chevron</i> skyphos	780/70-760 a.C.	Attica/Corinth/Euboea/Cyclades	Euboea	X061	Fig. 3b	Kyme 2
Samp3	Kyme, T 29 Osta	129853	Black kotyle	780/70-760 a.C.	Attica/Euboea/Cyclades	Euboea	X061	Fig. 3c	Kyme 3
Samp4	Kyme, necropolis	SN01	Dipylon style oinochos	750 c.a	Attica	Attica	KrPPS	Fig. 9	Kyme 18
Samp5	Kyme, T LII Gabnici	128333	round aryballos with long neck	LG II/EPC	Euboea	?	Single	Fig. 10	Kyme 19
Samp6	Kyme, necropolis	SN02	orientalizing conical lekkythos	EPC	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	X003	Fig. 13a	Kyme 20
Samp7	Kyme, necropolis	SN03	orientalizing ovoid oinochos	EPC	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	X003	Fig. 13b	Kyme 21
Samp8	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245595	LG style open shape	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	?	Single	Fig. 6c	Pithekoussai 4
Samp9	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245587	Aetos 666 kotyle	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Euboea	EuA	Fig. 4a	Pithekoussai 5
Samp10	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245589	Thapsos skyphos	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Campania (Pithekoussai/ Kyme?)	X121	Fig. 5a	Pithekoussai 6
Samp11	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245596	Thapsos closed shape	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	?	Single	Fig. 5b	Pithekoussai 7
Samp12	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245600	Eubocean style crater	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Euboea	EuA	Fig. 6a	Pithekoussai 8
Samp13	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245602	Cesnola Style crater	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	X003	Fig. 6b	Pithekoussai 9
Samp14	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245610	LG amphora	LG I	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	?	Single	Fig. 6d	Pithekoussai 10
Samp15	Pithekoussai, San Montano, T 160	166725	chytra	725-700 a.C.	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	?	Single	Fig. 17c	Pithekoussai 11
Samp16	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	70-89A	LG Attic style amphora	LG II	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	X003	Fig. 6e	Pithekoussai 12
Samp17	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245582	Orientalizing plate	MPC	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	X003	Fig. 13c	Pithekoussai 13
Samp18	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245565	Thapsos skyphos	LG I	Corinth	Northwest Peloponnese (Elis/Achaia)	X067	Fig. 5c	Pithekoussai 14
Samp19	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245575	Thapsos skyphos	LG II	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	X003	Fig. 5d	Pithekoussai 15
Samp20	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245567	Thapsos skyphos	LG I	Corinth	Northwest Peloponnese (Elis/Achaia)	X067	Fig. 5e	Pithekoussai 16
Samp21	Pithekoussai, Mazzola	245572	Aetos 666 kotyle	LG I	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	Pithekoussai/ Kyme	X118	Fig. 4b	Pithekoussai 17

Samp22	San Marzano sul Sarno, T 76	26005	Thapso kantharos	LG II	Corinth	?	?	Single	Figg. 5f-g	Sarno22
Samp23	San Valentino Torio, T 168	237461	Orientalizing oinochoe	EPC	Pithekoussai/Kyme	?	?	Single	Fig. 13d	Sarno23
Samp24	San Marzano sul Sarno, T 928	60524	Cesnola Style jar-hydria	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/Kyme	X113	Single	Fig. 7c	Sarno24
Samp25	San Valentino Torio, T 1366	62013	Orientalizing oinochoe	MPC	Pithekoussai/Kyme	?	?	Single	Fig. 13e	Sarno25
Samp26	San Valentino Torio, T 168	236027	Euboian/Corinthian style crater	LG II/EPC	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/Kyme	X113	Single	Fig. 7a	Sarno26
Samp27	San Valentino Torio, T 818	59903	Jug	675-650 a.C.	?	?	Single	Fig. 17b	Fig. 17b	Sarno27
Samp28	San Valentino Torio, T 818	69901	Orientalizing jug	675-650 a.C.	Pithekoussai/Kyme? Corinth?	Caere or Falerii	X056	Fig. 17a	Fig. 17a	Sarno28
Samp29	San Marzano sul Sarno, T 277	277SN	Corinthian style crater	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/Kyme	X118	Fig. 7b	Fig. 7b	Sarno30
Samp30	San Marzano sul Sarno, T 73	25936	Aetos 666 skyphos	LG I	Corinthian	Pithekoussai/Kyme	X003	Fig. 4c	Fig. 4c	Sarno31
Samp31	San Marzano sul Sarno, T 277	277.2	Orientalizing oinochoe	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/Kyme	X118	Fig. 8b	Fig. 8b	Sarno32
Samp32	San Marzano sul Sarno, T 277	277.1	LG style skyphos	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme?	?	X071	Fig. 8d	Fig. 8d	Sarno33
Samp33	San Marzano sul Sarno, T 70	25894	LG style jug	LG II	Pithekoussai/Kyme?	?	X071	Fig. 8c	Fig. 8c	Sarno34
Samp34	San Marzano sul Sarno, T 65	25835	LG style skyphos	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/Kyme	X003	Fig. 8f	Fig. 8f	Sarno35
Samp35	San Marzano sul Sarno, T 21	25347	Aetos 666 skyphos	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/Kyme	X003	Fig. 4d	Fig. 4d	Sarno36
Samp36	San Marzano sul Sarno, T 70	25893	Aetos 666 skyphos	LG II	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/Kyme	X113	Fig. 4e	Fig. 4e	Sarno37
Samp37	San Marzano sul Sarno, T 69	25885	LG style skyphos	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme?	?	X071	Fig. 8e	Fig. 8e	Sarno38
Samp38	San Valentino Torio, T 178	241510	LG Corinthian style oinochoe	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/Kyme	X003	Fig. 8a	Fig. 8a	Sarno39
Samp39	San Valentino Torio, T 190	241693	feeding cup	LG I	Pithekoussai/Kyme	Pithekoussai/Kyme	X003	Fig. 8g	Fig. 8g	Sarno40

Table 1: List of Samples

First of all, the pottery from Mazzola, an artisan district of residential character, is very fragmented. Broken pottery is not only more readable, but it is also easier to sample for the study. Moreover, the relative proximity of Mazzola to the Santa Restituta pottery workshop should guarantee the presence of locally produced material, and moreover, a provenance from settlement contexts also seems more convincing than any evidence coming from graves because pottery use in settlements is not subject to the typical choices that condition the construction of grave-gift assemblages, where a tendency to prefer items other than everyday ones is evident⁵⁸. Another 18 samples are from the Valle del Sarno (necropolis of San Marzano sul Sarno and San Valentino Torio). Our choice of this burial context is governed by its enormous quantity of Greek pottery – Phlegraean especially – that was arriving there since the first colonial activities, and indeed even before these⁵⁹. Actually, together with Pontecagnano and its territory, the Valle del Sarno must be considered one of the main interlocutors for the Greek coastal area. Our selection is based on synchronic and diachronic criteria; keeping in mind the feasibility of access to the necessary pottery, we selected samples belonging to different classes, as well as various production sources and of different ceramic shapes. Their chronology runs from the second quarter of the 8th century BC – which at Kyme should coincide with the last indigenous phase of the site – until the middle of the 7th century BC⁶⁰. This sampling is in keeping with existing clay databases, offering opportunities for immediate comparison, especially in the attempt to attribute the very first imports to a specific cultural horizon. The definition of these earliest im-

ports is, in fact, essential to understand the substratum from which the two sites arose and to help resolve part of the age-old problem of the actual role played by the Euboeans and/or their products in Mediterranean exchanges during the first half of the 8th century BC.

Based on the results obtained, the two chevrons bowls and the black cup from the Osta necropolis, dating from MG II (between 780 and 760 BC), are of Euboean production⁶¹ (Samp1-3, Fig. 3). They belong to indigenous burials 3 and 29, and must be ascribed to a period just before actual Greek colonial activity⁶². The data confirm the hypothesis elaborated by Bailo Modesti, who attributed the spread of this cup type to Euboean enterprise, which accompanied their metal acquisition activities in the West⁶³. This seems to be demonstrated not only by the presence of these objects on a route leading to such places but also by the location of *emporía* and future colonies at key points on this route⁶⁴. The Cu-

⁶¹ CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2009, 342-344; for the dates of the types from Pontecagnano, KOUROU 2005, 502-504. At Pontecagnano, black cups arrive up to phase IIB and seem to reach period LG Ia. By NAA, the above cups all belong to chemical group X061, defined by Mommsen near – but not exactly overlapping – clay group EuA, located in central Euboea. Clay group X061 is similar in many features. As precise correspondence is lacking, it is difficult to say where exactly the cups come from, but Euboea is certainly the most likely option.

⁶² On the chronology D'AGOSTINO 2008, 174, 189. In a publication from 2004, setting out the fairly uncertain results of a previous sampling-and-analysis campaign of the above material, the difficulties in framing this pottery have already been described. At that time, it was already hoped that the use of NAA technology would be able to obtain better results, especially in view of all that it holds out in terms of defining exchanges, networks, contacts and distribution dynamics in such an elusive historical moment. For interpretative difficulties related to the production and dating of pottery from Pontecagnano, cf. BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 1999, 17-19, 21-22. See also JONES – BUXEDA I GARRIGÓS 2004, 89-94, a contribution in which NAA is desired, and an interpretative difficulty for the skyphoi from Cumae is found to be caused by the uncertainty as to its provenance being from Euboea or a local workshop. A resume on laboratory analyses was carried out in OLCESE 2017, 112-114. For the recent results of NAA regarding Euboean pottery, ceramics from several sites outside Greece and from Pontecagnano: MOMMSEN 2014.

⁶³ BAILO MODESTI 1998, 369-370, 374. For an outline – along with the aforementioned KOUROU 2005 – see *Eretria XX*, 75-82; D'AGOSTINO 2016, 99-100, with bibliography. Moreover, a burnt fragment of a chevrons cup comes from T. 111 of Montevetrano, a cremation burial in a bronze lebes of Euboean production, datable towards the middle of the 8th century BC: CERCHIAI – ROSSI – SANTORIello 2009, 81-82.

⁶⁴ RIDGWAY 2004; DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2008, 150-156, especially regarding Sicily.

⁵⁸ On the subject, NIZZO 2015, 25-27.

⁵⁹ Poggiomarino is another site in Campania – in addition to Pontecagnano – where a fragment of a pendant semicircle cup has been found: D'AGOSTINO 2016, 99. Three examples from Pre-Hellenic Kyme – during excavation campaigns of the University of Naples "L'Orientale" – may be added to this: see M. D'Acunto's contribution in this volume.

⁶⁰ For this last time segment, several samples were taken from T. 818 at San Valentino Torio, dating from between 675 and 650 BC, which is the phase of decline of Pithecusan-Cumaeen pottery production. The Phlegraean pots in this elite woman's burial – one of the richest among the Valle del Sarno tombs – indicate that in this period, people still had a great preference for this kind of ware.



Fig. 3. a. Chevron skyphos from Kyme, T. 29 Osta (Inv. 129774); b. Chevron skyphos from Kyme, T. 3 Osta (Inv. 129850); c. Black cup from Kyme, T. 29 Osta (Inv. 129853)

maean contexts to which the cups belong seem to have been open to external influence and belonged to deceased females⁶⁵. In particular, T. 29 seems to belong to a high-ranking female burial, which confirms the management of hospitality relationships – of which the cups probably are a token – by the indigenous Cumaeian *elite*.

More difficult to gauge is the situation emerging from the sampling of five Aetos 666 cups, two from Pithekoussai (Mazzola, Samp9, Samp21, both datable to LG I) and three from the Valle del Sarno (San Marzano sul Sarno, T. 21, Samp35, LG I; T. 70, Samp36, LG II; T. 73, Samp30, LG I) (Fig. 4). The Aetos 666 cups are among the first products of the Pitheculan-Cumaeian workshops, and arrive in the Valle del Sarno as early as the third quarter of the 8th century BC⁶⁶. The NA results showed that the five samples belong to four different chemical groups, of which three are from

Phlegraean contexts (X003, X113, X118) and one is linked to Euboean production (EuA)⁶⁷. The last had already been attributed to a local workshop on the basis of autoptic analyses. These results are really significant when we recall that Aetos 666 bowls are traditionally seen as Corinthian, so much so as to constitute one of the “type fossils” of the chrono-typological seriation of that production. NAA data confirm my results obtained years ago with the autoptic examination, by which pottery belonging to this class was attributed to local production. The scarcity of Aetos 666 cups that characterises Cumaeian archaeology has in the past been interpreted as an effect of a chronological gap between the start of Pithekoussai and the foundation of Cumae. However, recent excavations are certainly bridging this hiatus by turning up fragments that, at first examination, seem both imported and local⁶⁸.

⁶⁵ T. 29 also contains a *faïence* idol of the goddess Mut and glass beads pertaining to a necklace. On these burials and the difficult identification of the T. 3 deceased, ALBORE LIVADIE 1985, 70-71; NIZZO 2007a, 495-96, note 54, with bibliography; CRISCUOLO – PACCARELLI 2009, 337.

⁶⁶ For the terminology related to the description of these cups and their morphological and typological definition, MERMATI 2012a, 210, especially note 375. For the distribution of the Pitheculan-Cumaeian Aetos 666 cups, MERMATI 2012a, 109-110. The cups from the Valle del Sarno generally have a more distinct lip; D’AGOSTINO 1979, 61.

⁶⁷ Mazzola: Inv. 245572= X118; Inv. 245587= EuA; San Marzano sul Sarno: T. 21, Inv. 25347=X003; T. 70, Inv. 25893=X113; T. 277, Inv. 25936=X003.

⁶⁸ CRISCUOLO – PACCARELLI 2009, 344-345. The new finds in D’AGOSTINO – D’ACUNTO 2008, 513-514, fig. 30; more recently D’ACUNTO 2017, 298-307.

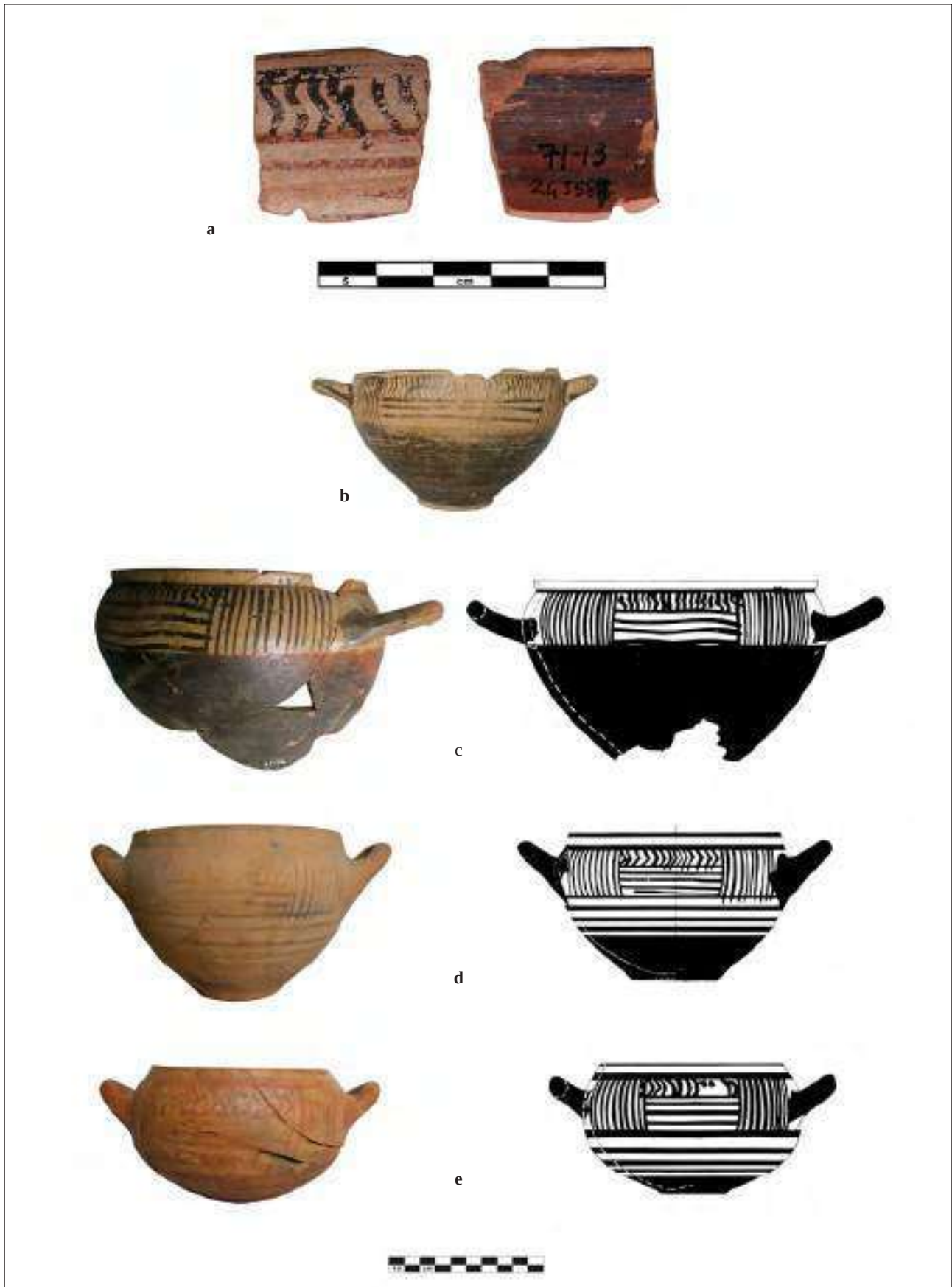


Fig. 4. Pithekoussai, Mazzola: a. Fragment of Aetos 666 cup (Inv. 245587); b. Aetos 666 cup (Inv. 245572). San Marzano sul Sarno: c. Aetos 666 cup from T. 73, drawing after d'AGOSTINO 1979 (Inv. 25936); d. Aetos 666 cup from T. 21, drawing after d'AGOSTINO 1970 (Inv. 25347); e. Aetos 666 cup from T. 70, drawing after d'AGOSTINO 1979 (Inv. 25893)



Fig. 5. Pithekoussai, Mazzola: a. Fragment of Thapsos-type skyphos with panel (Inv. 245589); b. Fragment of Thapsos-type closed shape vessel (Inv. 245596); c. Fragments of Thapsos-type skyphos with panel (Inv. 245565); d. Fragment of Thapsos-type skyphos without panel (Inv. 245575); e. Fragment of Thapsos-type skyphos with panel (Inv. 245567). San Marzano sul Sarno: f. Thapsos-type kantharos from T. 76 (Inv. 26005); g. Details of restoration of the kantharos from T. 76 (Inv. 26005)

Six samples were taken from five skyphoi with and without panels and a kantharos with a meander decoration, related to the Thapsos Class (Pithekoussai, Mazzola, LG I: Samp10-11, Samp18, Samp20; LG II: Samp19; San Marzano sul Sarno: T. 76, Samp22, LG II)⁶⁹ (Fig. 5). The results showed that the samples belong to different groups: one is to be considered Phlegraeian (X003); one probably from Campania (X121); one already located in the northwestern Peloponnese, at Elis or Achaia

⁶⁹ Regarding the skyphoi, we preferred to sample more cups of the panel type than ones without a panel because of the relevance of the former to the LG I period – the oldest production period. This dating seems valid for the Phlegraeian sites, as it could be determined both by associations of objects in the graves and by stratigraphic relationships between burials, which place the panel type in the third quarter of the 8th century BC. The type without a panel, decorated with lines over its upper part and a lower monochrome part, seems to last until the end of the century; MERMATI 2012a, 204-205.

(X067), and two without comparisons⁷⁰. Both vessels ascribed to a northwestern Peloponnesian production had earlier been considered Corinthian, due to the workmanship of the vessel and the clay characteristics. Noteworthy is the fact that especially the Thapsos Class, generally considered easily identifiable by the macroscopic characteristics of its fabrics and by its stylistic peculiarities, is the most difficult one to attribute to the correct production areas. In fact, the fragments taken into consideration show an interesting heterogeneity of clays, coupled with an apparent external homogeneity: out of six samples, three had been considered of local production, but only one really is.

⁷⁰ Mazzola: Inv. 245565=X067; Inv. 245567=X067; Inv. 245575=X003; Inv. 245589=X121; Inv. 245596=single; San Marzano sul Sarno: T. 76, Inv. 26005=single.

As is known, this class is traditionally considered Corinthian, albeit with some uncertainty. A recent classification, however, by Anastasia Gadoiou, comes to the conclusion that the Thapsos pottery style constitutes a cultural *koinè* rather than a shared material culture. Although the place of origin probably was somewhere in Achaia, there are a lot of other places where this kind of pottery was produced. This widely spread production is taken as proof of a desire to share ways of wine drinking, a sign of this being identical pottery shapes in use over a wide area. The selection, in fact, seems to favour skyphoi, kantharoi and craters and is particularly evident in the colonies of Magna Grecia and Sicily⁷¹. This invites us to rethink previous theories on trade routes leading from Greece proper to the south Italian coasts because the new results obtained on the Phlegraean pottery confirm the existence of many production centres operating in different regions, all involved in the exchange process. The role of Corinth should perhaps be more reduced and, in any case, a more prominent role reserved for colonial productions.

A number of Euboean-style objects were also sampled. They are dated to the second half of the 8th century BC, between LG I and II (Pithekoussai, Mazzola, LG I: Samp12-13; San Marzano sul Sarno, LG I: Samp24, Samp29, Samp39) (Figs. 7b-c, 8g). They are traditionally linked to Pithekoussai and its highest chronology and production background⁷². Of these, the crater from Mazzola decorated with geometric motifs, earlier attributed to a local workshop (Samp12, Fig. 6a), is Euboean. To Euboea, we must also attribute the T. 277 crater and

the T. 190 feeding cup from San Marzano⁷³ (Samp29, Samp39, Figs. 7b, 8g). The two vases decorated in the Cesnola Painter Style (one from Mazzola, Samp13, and the T. 928 olla-hydria from San Marzano sul Sarno, Samp24), attributed to Phlegraean workshops, were actually produced in Pitheculan-Cumaean workshops (Figs. 6b, 7c). The clay of the long-neck aryballos from the necropolis of Kyme, Samp5, dated to between LG I and LG II, found no match. Unfortunately, coming from the Stevens collection, the find context of the vessel is unknown (Fig. 10). The pot can be linked to the G1a Pitheculan-Cumaean types, the spherical body and long neck with large disc mouth, which derive from Cretan prototypes. Kees Neeft had already noticed its Euboean-style appearance⁷⁴.

At this point, it is worth adding a discussion on a number of fragments recovered during the “Kyme Project” campaigns. The fragments belong, because of their specific morphological and decorative characteristics, to Euboean-style pottery. Although the sherds have not been subjected to NA analysis, they are particularly useful here because they help rectify the well-known imbalance between Pithekoussai and Kyme in relation to the oldest evidence. Hitherto the coastal city appeared less strongly characterised by a Euboean background, which is such a strong Pitheculan characteristic. A residual fragment of a skyphos should be mentioned – apparently not of local origin and perhaps of Euboean production (Fig. 11a). It comes from the Forum area, from the abandonment layers of the residential and craft building to the west of the Tempio con Portico⁷⁵. The skyphos has lines on the exterior lip and at the upper part of the shoulder, while vertical zigzags/*sigmas* are painted at the point of maximum expansion of the bowl. The interior is monochrome. The profile of

⁷¹ GADOLOU 2011, 1-4, 18, with bibliography; GADOLOU 2017, especially 325-327, 335-339. At this point, we should ask ourselves why and how drinking customs related to the areas of production of the Thapsos Class pottery are more attractive than other contemporary ones. It is perhaps necessary to attribute the widespread interest for this class – which appears to be generalised in the second half of the 8th century BC – to commercial dynamics, itineraries, routes and cargo combinations still not clear to us. On the other hand, an interesting approach has been recently proposed, which advises greater attention to the material and functional characteristics of pottery classes connected to wine consumption. These preferences would have facilitated their diffusion and circulation between the Mediterranean East and West in connection with sympotic practices; GIMATZIDIS 2017.

⁷² Mazzola: Inv. 245600=EuA; Inv. 245602=X003; San Marzano sul Sarno: T. 190, Inv. 241510=X003; T. 277, Inv. 277SN=X118; T. 928, Inv. 237461=X113.

⁷³ On the crater, D'AGOSTINO 1979, 71; on the feeding cup MERMATI 2012a, 116, type R2βI, 216-217, with previous bibliography.

⁷⁴ MERMATI 2012a, 85-86, 169, with the previous bibliography. Because of the decoration with grazing hinds on the shoulder, Benson had already included it in the Corinthian Hirschkuhgruppe, while Neeft – talking about the Doe Group – considered it «a Pitheculan imitation of the tall-necked Euboean variety», meaning by *Euboean* the long-necked aryballos attested in the Euboean-style production of Pithekoussai: NEEFT 1987, 76-77, with previous bibliography.

⁷⁵ US 21153.

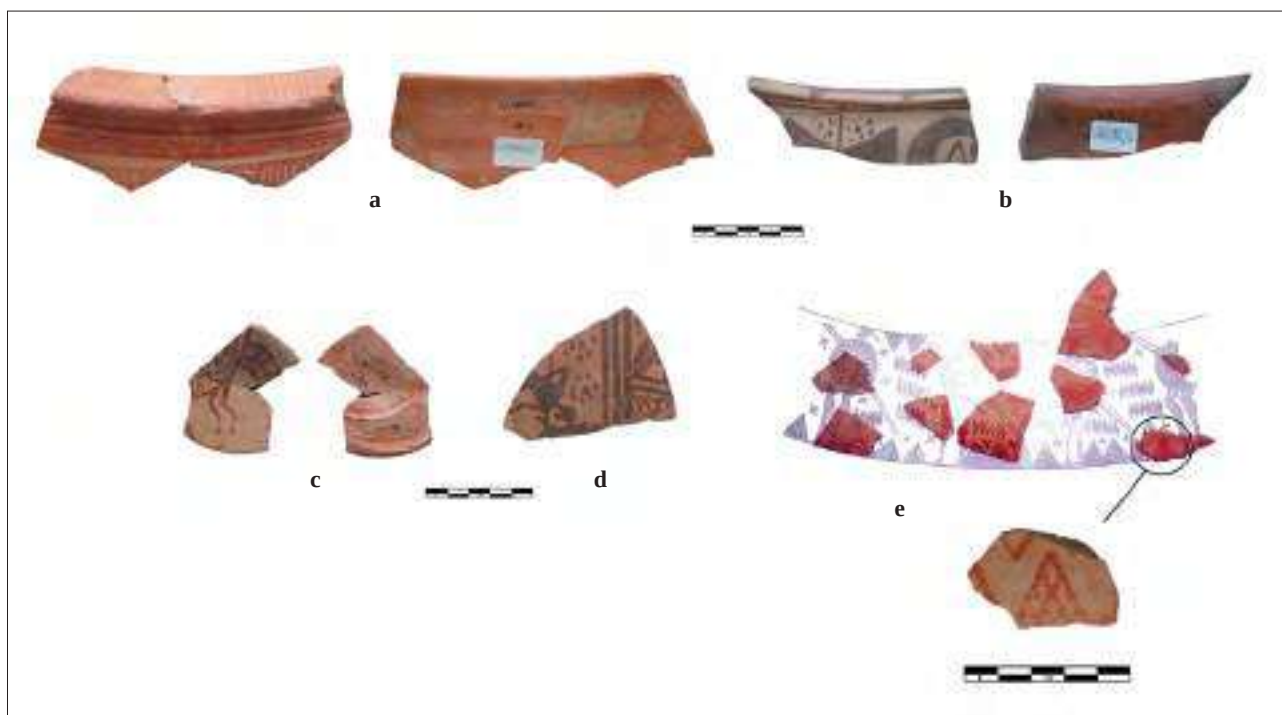


Fig. 6. Pithekoussai, Mazzola: a. Fragment of LG I crater (Inv. 245600); b. Fragment of Cesnola-style crater (Inv. 245602); c. Fragment of LG I open shape vessel (Inv. 245595); d. Fragment of LG I amphora (Inv. 245610); e. Fragments of LG II amphora (Inv. 70-89A)

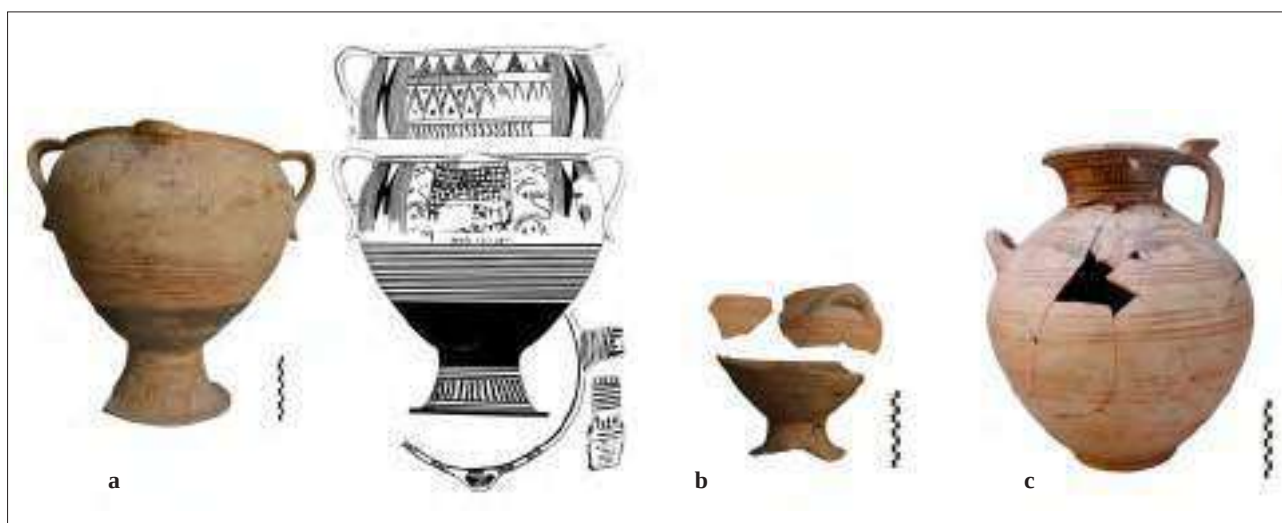


Fig. 7. a. LG II/EPC crater from San Valentino Torio, T. 168, drawing after D'AGOSTINO 1979 (Inv. 236027); b. LG I crater from San Marzano sul Sarno, T. 277 (Inv. 277SN); c. LG I jar-hydria from San Marzano sul Sarno, T. 928 (Inv. 60524)

the bowl – globular and with a high lip – and the characteristics of the decoration place the vessel among the more typical types of Eretrian MG II⁷⁶. These have a profile corresponding to contempo-

⁷⁶ *Eretria XX*, 73-74, pl. 89. An identical skyphos is no. 213, coming from well 10 and dated between GR I-II. The proposed comparisons are, however, all to be placed in MG II; *Eretria XX*, 55, 126, pl. 49, 101.

rary Attic cups and are characterised by variously everted lips, convex bellies and medium sizes. The monochrome paint on the inside and the vertical zigzags of the decoration – which should be read as a variant of chevrons and apparently covered all space between the handles – also point to MG II. From the same context are two fragments of the lip and neck of LG II amphorae (Fig. 11b).

The fragments are from two vases, both large in size, that may be attributed to non-Phlegraeon workshops after an autoptic analysis of the clay⁷⁷. The vessels are evidently connected to the well-known amphora from San Montano T. 1000 with the decoration of a lion or a wolf with a wide-open mouth. Its dependence on Attic and Boeotian prototypes has already been highlighted⁷⁸. The type, the lip of which has many morphological variations, is characteristic of the Euboean repertoire and shares the *tremuli* decoration with crater feet⁷⁹.

The sampled material also includes some Attic pottery or Attic-style pottery. Among these are two fragmentary vases from Mazzola, both attributed to local production and dated between LG I and II (Samp14, Samp16, Figs. 6d-e). Of these, however, only the second, a very fragmentary amphora with warriors, is made of local clay (X003), while the first, with the representation of a pierced warrior, is made with a kind of clay that hitherto has no context. On the other hand, an oinochoe with spherical body and high neck from the necropolis of Kyme was produced in Attica (Samp4, clay group KrPPS). It was in the Stevens Collection and had no provenance (Fig. 9)⁸⁰. Incredibly, it has remained unpublished so far, but it was already considered Attic by this present author after a personal examination. The oinochoe must be included with the typical products of the Dipylon Master's circle, dated to LG Ib. It presents the star at the front of the shoulder that derives from MG II prototypes. At the neck panel, one finds the canonical

motif of the grazing hind with a star. The monochrome body interspersed with lines is typical of the series⁸¹.

The quantity and variety of imports are also evident from the NAA result of an open-shaped vessel – perhaps a plate – from Mazzola, dated LG I, and with an absolutely original bird decoration⁸² (Samp8, Fig. 6c). This, with spread wings and parallel feet rendered in detail, recalls Boeotian or Cretan prototypes⁸³. Although always considered local, it belongs instead to a group of which it is the only sample so far.

The globular oinochoe from San Valentino Torio T. 178 is instead a typical product of the Phlegraeon workshops, showing strong Corinthian inspiration and among the first of type A1 subtype⁸⁴ (Samp38, Fig. 8a). The object belongs to the X003 clay group, used in Pithecusan-Cumaeon production. The same applies to the famous crater from T. 168 of that necropolis. It shows a strong Corinthian-Euboean influence and has been attributed to Pithecusan production since its first publication⁸⁵ (Samp26, Fig. 7a). This is confirmed by NA analysis (chemical group X113). The oinochoe from T. 277⁸⁶, Samp31, and the cup from T. 65⁸⁷ of the San Marzano sul Sarno necropolis, Samp34, are also of Phlegraeon manufacture (Figs. 8b, f). In the past, the latter had been linked to two cups, respectively from tombs 277 and 69 at San Marzano, but these are made from clay used only for vessels found at Sarno Valley (X071). They should be considered “probably from Campania” but have yet to find their proper place⁸⁸ (Samp32,

⁷⁷ The fragments also come from US 21153. They are already published as a single vase and have been interpreted as a crater foot: GRECO 2008, 400, fig. 10.b. Support for an interpretation rather as a rim is the band painted at the inside – immediately below the rim – and the upper face of the lip, which is painted at its edge. Perhaps the fragment from the fortifications of Kyme TTA1, with the same band inside, should also be read as a neck and not as a foot: CUOZZO – B. D'AGOSTINO – L. DEL VERME 2006, 20, 154, no. 1, fig. 45, pl. 2 A, TTA1.

⁷⁸ The vase is used in an *enchytrismos* at a place in the necropolis attributed to emerging groups; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013, 34, 38, 54, fig. 7.1, where the vessel is referred to as a “crater”. Martelli attributes it to a Boeotian workshop; MARTELLI 2008, 16. For the detailed analysis of the amphora, D'AGOSTINO 1999; on type and classification, MERMATI 2012a, 188-189, type K2, no. K03.

⁷⁹ COLDSTREAM 1968a, pl. 41 e, 45 c-d; *Zagora* 2, 204, pl. 135 a (craters); 208-209, pl. 243 a-b (crater), and 217 c-d (amphora); *Eretria XVII*, pl. 121, 1, 2, 7; pl. 122, 2; pl. 193, 2; *Eretria XX*, 103, 131, no. 355, pl. 73.

⁸⁰ Inv. SN01.

⁸¹ COLDSTREAM 1968a, 32, no. 37 (Agora P 15122), 34, pl. 5 b, 7 b-c.

⁸² MERMATI 2012a, pl. VI, no. 46, wrongly interpreted as a crater fragment.

⁸³ On the Cretan production, especially the so-called “Cretan Bird Workshop”; COLDSTREAM 1968a, 246-248, nos. 2, 7, pl. 54 a-c.

⁸⁴ Inv. 241510. For the vessel MERMATI 2012a, 54, cat. A35, with bibliography; for the type 53-54, 137, 140-141.

⁸⁵ Inv. 236027, MERMATI 2012a, 98, 193-194, cat. L08, with bibliography.

⁸⁶ Inv. 277.2=X118; D'AGOSTINO 1979, 69, fig. 40, 1. B. d'Agostino had already considered it the product of a north-Campanian workshop because of the characteristics of the decoration and the macroscopic analysis of the clay. It had seemed Phlegraeon to me after its recent restoration.

⁸⁷ Inv. 25835=X003; D'AGOSTINO 1979, 59-60, fig. 34, defined “ad angoli” (tipo 4).

⁸⁸ The three bowls from tombs 65, 69 and 277 have been characterised by d'Agostino as «accomunate da un'aria di famiglia».



Fig. 8. San Valentino Torio: a. LG I oinochoe from T. 178 (Inv. 241510). San Marzano sul Sarno: b. LG I oinochoe from T. 277 (Inv. 277.2); c. LG II jug from T. 70, drawing after d'AGOSTINO 1979 (Inv. 25894); d. LG I skyphos from T. 277 (Inv. 277.1); e. LG I skyphos from T. 69 (Inv. 25885); f. LG I skyphos from T. 65 (Inv. 25835). San Valentino Torio: g. LG I feeding cup from T. 190 (Inv. 241693)



Fig. 9. Dipylon Master's circle oinochoe from Kyme (SN01)



Fig. 10. LG I-II aryballos from Kyme, T. LII (Inv. 128333)

Samp37, Fig. 8d-e). The same clay was used for a jug found in T. 70 of the latter necropolis. The present author considered the pot as made of Phlegraean clay, but with reservations⁸⁹ (Samp33, Fig 8c).

The samples contained a number of objects dated between EPC and MPC and inspired by contemporary Corinthian pottery. These include some of the most characteristic products attributed to local manufacture, such as a fragment of a lekythos with snake decoration on its shoulder (Samp6) and a fragmentary oinochoe from the Ischia-Cuma-Tarquinia Group (Samp7), both from the Kyme necropolis and currently lacking context, as well as a fragmentary plate with flaring lip from Mazzola (Samp17), dating to the first quarter of the 7th century BC⁹⁰ (Fig. 13a-c). The objects belong to chemical group X003 and are covered with a thick slip, perhaps aimed at imitating Corinthian clay.

The result concerning the Ischia-Cuma-Tarquinia oinochoe is particularly indicative. The pedigree of this type of oinochoai is well known, as well as the influence it exerted on the classification of Italo-Geometric pottery, not only in the Campanian area. While the decorations of this group are eccentric as a result of the various influences in operation in the workshops of Pithekoussai and Kyme, the attempt to order the individual objects in relation to *ateliers* and places of provenance has recently led to unsystematic and far from analytical approaches. These initially try to define further subgroups to trace their origin but subsequently amalgamate them into larger series. In the latter, vessels are grouped after various prototypes, resulting in a “deconstruction” of the entire Class by ascribing it to the most general Pithecusan-Cumaeae production. Such an effort has recently affected the Ischia-Cuma-Tarquinia oinochoai from Pontecagnano, a site which developed its own ver-

sions of these vessels⁹¹. They are attributed to “Pithecusan Workshops” and defined as belonging to «più serie di tipo protocorinzio strettamente interrelate»⁹². Various groups are distinguished and isolated mainly by autoptic examination⁹³. The first of these groups includes oinochoai with linear decoration that are referred to as being produced at Pithekoussai and/or Kyme, but also as related to the Ischia-Cuma-Tarquinia Group as traditionally proposed. This also includes objects with plant-like decoration on the body, linked to the proto-Corinthian Cumae Group and the decoration of which – at least in the proposed examples – seems to deviate significantly from the Pithecusan-Cumaeae iconographic schemes, where they find no exact comparisons⁹⁴.

⁹¹ This attempt is CUOZZO 2015, where, unfortunately, a quantification of objects *in situ*, a typology and a catalogue are lacking and only a summary is given. The work generically refers to «analisi archeometriche» carried out on the specimens presented in the contribution, but their nature is not explained. Nor is the extent of the sampling clarified (CUOZZO 2015, 223, note 16). This concerns grave goods from 1200 graves, within which a selection has been made for obvious reasons. On the other hand, data are provided on relative percentages. Mention of archaeometric analysis can be found in notes 6, 16 and 18, but not the methodological choices nor the logic underlying the work. A results diagram is the graph in CUOZZO 2015, 224, fig. 10; the term “deconstruct” is used in CUOZZO 2015, 225.

⁹² The definition of “Pithecusan Workshop” is explicitly connected in this work with the definition espoused by Neef, mentioned above. However, as we have seen, and as it appears from Cuozzo’s work, the objects are no longer ascribable in any way only to the island production, which means that his attribution to painters must be reviewed in the light of the overall study of the evidence.

⁹³ CUOZZO 2015, 223-225, and especially on the criteria used to define the series, note 16.

⁹⁴ See e.g. the vase from T. 243, 215, fig. 2 (image in the centre), and 222, fig. 9 (bottom right). In particular, the presence of the chequer pattern on the neck of the vase is unique for A6 type oinochoai, to which the object obviously belongs morphologically. It recalls instead the cylindrical body of the vase from Terneuzen, connected with another known from San Montano T. 649 at Pithekoussai, most likely by the same hand. The groups of lines that border the top and bottom of the chequers are also drawn (it seems) freehand and without the help of a multiple brush, which is canonical in the Pithecusan-Cumaeae production. The lack of rays bordering the main frieze at the top and bottom seems to link the vase in fig. 2 to the Cumae Group, although the plant frieze appears closer to those with chains of palmettes and lotus flowers inspired by Corinthian prototypes with similar decorations, on which see *infra*. On these vessels, the main motif may also be on the shoulder. This last feature allows us to conceptually distance the vases decorated with fishes and snakes on the body – which seem to be a creation of the Phlegraean workshops – from those with other decorative motifs

Those from tombs 69 and 277 are similar to chevrons cups, which in this case are freely drawn in their panel: D’AGOSTINO 1979, 59-60, 62-63, fig. 34 (coppe del tipo a chevrons, tipo 1).

⁸⁹ Inv. 25894; D’AGOSTINO 1979, 70, fig. 34.

⁹⁰ On the lekythos cf. MERMATI 2012a, 80, cat. D85; on the oinochoe GRECO – MERMATI 2007, 325, no. 2, 326, fig. 9; MERMATI 2012a, 60, cat. A211; on the plate (Inv. 245582) MERMATI 2012a, 124, cat. U15. The plate with the flaring rim is obviously part of the group inspired by Phoenician models but with Corinthian decoration; MERMATI 2012a, 222-226, with bibliography.

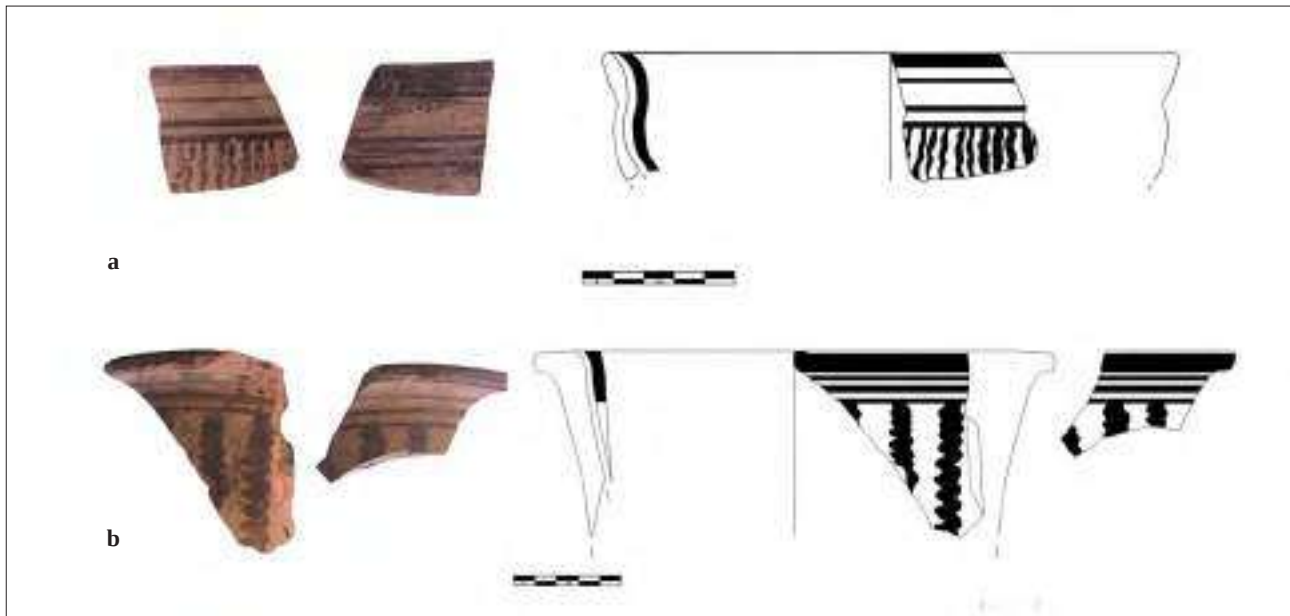


Fig. 11. a. Fragment of MG II skyphos from Kyme, Forum (US 21153); b. Fragments of LG II amphorae from Kyme, Forum (US 21153)

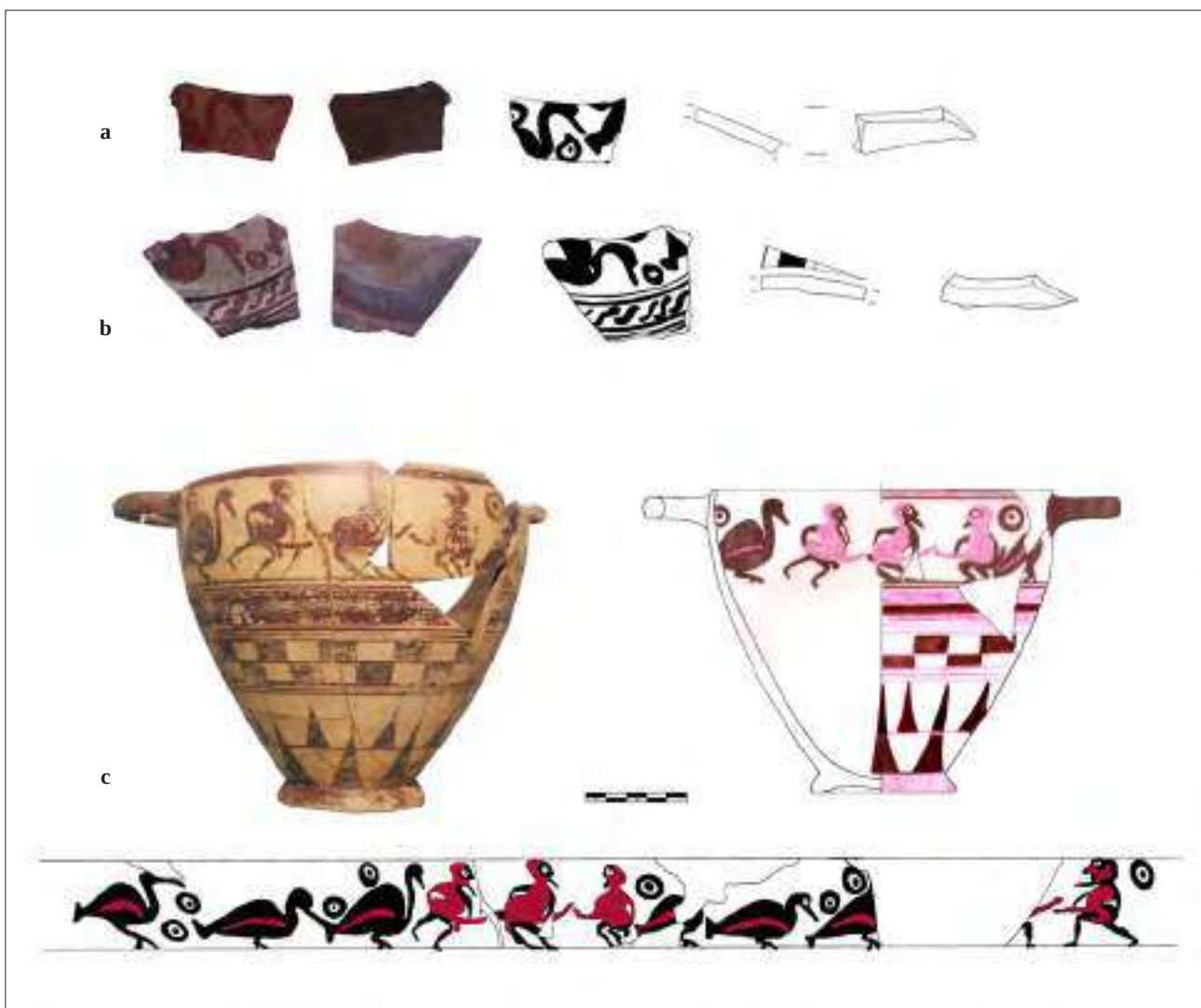


Fig. 12. a-b. Kyme, Forum, fragments of MPC plates (Inv. K21083, K21149); c. Kyme, Acropolis MPC-LPC kotyle (Inv. SN15)



Fig. 13. a. Kyme, fragment of EPC lekythos (Inv. SN02); b. Kyme, fragments of Ischia-Cuma-Tarquinia oinochoe (Inv. SN03); c. Pithekoussai, Mazzola, MPC plate (Inv. 245582); d. San Valentino Torio, EPC oinochoe from T. 168 (Inv. 237461); e. San Valentino Torio, MPC oinochoe from T. 1366 (Inv. 62013)

The stylistic distinction between vessels with large fishes – interpreted as *sparidae* – and vases decorated with tuna fish may perhaps be ascribed to several painters' hands, albeit inspired by the same decorative scheme. In fact, the fish motif may be split up into a number of variations. An

example is the Shipwreck Crater with its fish-shaped representations showing monstrous man-eating fishes – the so-called κήτεα – and small harmless fishes witnessing the scene (Fig. 14a)⁹⁵. Although Giorgio Buchner said that «il pittore del cratere del naufragio pithecusano certamente non ha mai visto di persona uno squalo»⁹⁶, the largest fish in the frieze, which holds a man's head in his mouth is – because of its first, pointed and triangular, dorsal fin – clearly a shark. No other fishes characterised in this way are present on Pithecan-Cumae vases: this absence contradicts the discoverer of Pithekoussai by ascertaining that such an unusual choice must result from direct observation and aimed at representing the most dramatic scene of the whole production. Also, one should not forget that in the female burial T. 488 at San Montano, dated LG I-II, a shark tooth was found (*Prionace glauca*), used as a pendant⁹⁷. Discoveries at Punta Chiarito are compatible with fishing for large pelagic fish by *palangrese* (or *palamito*), suggesting to some scholars the presence of such an installation there⁹⁸. On a crater fragment from the Capitolium at the Kyme Forum, certainly of local LG II production, part of a large fish of κήτος type appears. It was part of a fish frieze bordered (apparently) by plant motifs, perhaps palmette/lotus flowers. These elements demonstrate the ability of Cumaean painters to combine motifs taken from different repertoires⁹⁹. Even the fishes on the Picentino vases, interpreted as *sparidae*, should rather be read as κήτεα. The scene on the well-known, mid-7th century BC plate from T 65 of Acqua Acetosa Laurentina also helps (Fig. 14c). On its exterior, a monstrous fish attacking a boat and swallowing a sailor, whose leg protrudes from its beak, is depicted. In its body shape, fan-shaped tail, gills and beak indicated by a horizontal line, the fish appears very similar to the representations from Pontecagnano (Fig. 14b). The position of the fins also suggests inspiration from the

⁹⁵ BRUNNSÄKER 1962, especially 18.

⁹⁶ BUCHNER 1992, 66.

⁹⁷ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 492, nos. 488-9 (Inv. 167921), pls. CLXV, 145.

⁹⁸ ALECU 2004, 132-134 and note 68, 147 with interpretation as a shark of the fish on the Shipwreck Crater.

⁹⁹ RESCIGNO 2009, 95-96, fig. 6.1; MERMATI 2012a, fr. L 14, 103.

inspired by other groups and models; Cuzzo 2015, 224-225. On the type A6 oinochoai cf. MERMATI 2012a, 144-146; on the vase from Terneuzen and the morphological type A5 to which it belongs cf. GRECO – MERMATI 2007, 317-318, fig. 1 and note 30; MERMATI 2012a, 59, 139, 143. On plant-shaped decoration on oinochoai MERMATI 2012a, 145.

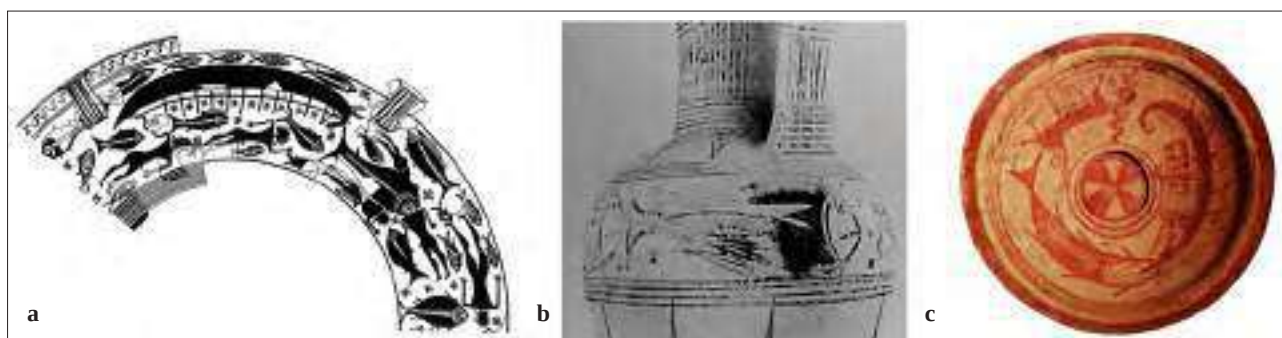


Fig. 14. a. Pithekoussai, San Montano necropolis, Shipwreck Krater (after BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993); b. Pontecagnano, Oinochoe from T. 2497 (after CUOZZO 2015); c. Acqua Acetosa Laurentina, Plate from T. 65 (after MARTELLI 2000)

Phlegraean tuna original, here reinterpreted as a man-eating monster¹⁰⁰. The attribution of the tuna vases to Kyme rather than Pithekoussai does not seem justified by only stylistic and autoptic clay observation¹⁰¹. In fact, from the same clay of group X003 from which the oinochoe Ischia-Cuma-Tarquiniā from Kyme was made, the majority of the products subjected to NA analysis are also made, but they are very different from each other in distribution, chronology, typology and manufacture¹⁰².

In relation to the question of production – but not that of the Ischia-Cuma-Tarquiniā Group to which it does not belong – an oinochoe from T. 6129 of Pontecagnano is remarkable (Fig. 15a)¹⁰³. It belongs to the so-called Fascia/Doppia Raggiata Group, not hitherto attested for Pithekoussai, and

provisionally attributed to Kyme¹⁰⁴. It is interesting, however, that the greatest number of the group occurs at Pontecagnano, where they seem to be the work of a local painter. The silhouetted legs represented at the neck were read as being shod feet, leaping in some dance step, to be attributed to a komast and a symposiac moment, with aristocratic consumption of wine. In the same paper, a connection is stressed between this representation of legs and a chain of highly stylised, regimented figures on the neck of an oinochoe from T. 1836, evidently deriving from the more usual lozenge chains of Corinthian-type regimented birds. The latter vase is of local production and may help in reading the first one because it allows reference to a χορός (Fig. 15b). The outlined figures are linked together in a synchronized movement all in one direction that cannot be associated with komast images. Mostly komasts are represented as single dancers, facing each other in individual or – more rarely – grouped choreographies, without physical contact. Also, a connection between komasts and symposiac activities is – especially because the objects date back to a very ancient phase – not at all obvious. They may also be females and involved in funerary, religious or festive contexts¹⁰⁵. In addition, oinochoai usually do not represent komasts. The

¹⁰⁰ Inv. 293975. MARTELLI 2000, 92, 263, fig. 39; CERCHIAI 2002; COLONNA 2014, 29, fig. 10. According to Cristofani it is a fishing scene; CRISTOFANI 1983, 28, fig. 12. What looks like a leg could also be the rudder of the boat, which was left lying free after it was used to gaff or club the fish. For the shape of the boats in this chronological phase, see CASSON 1971, 43-60; WACHSMANN 2019, 34-36. The term κῆτος is significantly used also by Athenaios and Arcestratos to mean large tuna fishes; ATH. VII 303; ARCHEST. Fr. 34.3. For *cetaceae* in the Greek world and for the use of the term κῆτος that can refer – in addition to whales and sea monsters in general – to large fish, PAPADOPOULOS – RUSCILLO 2002, 201-222. The text also mentions the connection between Euboea and the myth of Pelops's shoulder bone – according to some referring to that of a whale. For sea monsters – the κῆται – in the Greek world, see also SZABO 2008, 34-38. For the exploitation of the whale – κῆτος par excellence – in the ancient Mediterranean, BERNAL-CASOLA *et al.* 2016. For the definition of the fish-shaped representations in the Pithecusan-Cumaean repertoire, I thank Alfredo Carannante, who provided me with useful suggestions.

¹⁰¹ CUOZZO 2015, 225-228.

¹⁰² See the conclusions *infra*.

¹⁰³ CUOZZO 2015, 228-232, figs. 3, 15.

¹⁰⁴ On the group MERMATI 2012a, 149-150.

¹⁰⁵ On komasts the literature is extensive, see above all – in addition to SMITH 2010 – SMITH 2004, 11, 19-20. On the interpretative difficulty of komasts representations – which cannot be associated in a clear and unambiguous way with dramatic action, Dionysian ritual or occasions related to drinking in community, but which can also be linked to Hephaistos, SMITH 2009, 70-71, 75-76; for dances and komasts, the iconography of the latter seems to be fixed in the second half of the 7th century BC, SMITH 2016, 145-157, with bibliography.

vessel type is less related to wine than cups and craters, and at least at Pithekoussai, it may also have contained water¹⁰⁶. The folded arms of the figures seem to allude to a χορός too, the dancers holding onto each other by the arm or by the hand. With dancers in Attic and Argive LG representations, linked to festive occasions dedicated to the coming-of-age of young people, this is one of the typical positions¹⁰⁷ (Fig. 15d). The connection of other representations on Pithecan-Cumaeon vases with Attic and Argive repertoires has already been outlined elsewhere, and is even more significant if we consider the rarity of anthropomorphic images on Phlegraean objects. In particular, the scene painted on the neck of the barrel lekythos from T 984 at San Montano, with a dance scene of maidens, seems to refer to a similar ritual context¹⁰⁸. In the case of the Picentino oinochoe, given the extreme stylisation of the figures, we are unable to interpret the context of the dance: it could be a χορός connected to rites-of-passage of age and/or marriage. For example, the image on an LG crater from the Argive Heraion with a female χορός preceded by a παῖς ἀμφιθαλής, a naked young man who performs an acrobatic jump (Fig. 15c), seems to refer to a similar sacred occasion. The figure shows an identical rendering of the movement of the legs on the vase from T. 6129 of Pontecagnano¹⁰⁹. Another compelling comparison is a scene painted on an Attic LG kantharos from the end of the 8th century BC, now in the National Museum in Athens (NM 14477) and attributed to the Burly Workshop (Fig. 15e). The main frieze

between the handles shows four men dancing, preceded by a *phorminx* player. Among the male figures, who seem to represent various dance movements in slow motion, we see a dancer – naked like his companions – performing a jump while bringing his hands up. An identical jump is performed by a dancer on a skyphos from Eretria (end of 8th century BC), rendered next to a stylised lyre, which probably alludes to a similar ritual occasion exemplified by the musical instrument¹¹⁰. On representations of ritual dances in Phlegraean vase paintings, we must remember the famous oinochoe, kept in the British Museum in London, with a *geranos* representation and perhaps portraying the kidnapping of Ariadne by Theseus. Coldstream attributed the vessel to a painter of Euboean inspiration, perhaps Pithecan¹¹¹.

In Pithecan-Cumaeon production, images connected to a female regenerative divinity, venerated by dance performances, should be mentioned here. First of all, there is the winged figure rendered on the crater fragment signed by *-inos*, to be interpreted as a highly stylised image of the *Potnia Theron*. The same female figure, rendered on the crater Sp 1/5 from San Montano, has been interpreted elsewhere as a blessing figure, human or divine. A *Potnia Theron* is also in evidence on the olla-hydria from the Sarno Valley, on which a tree of life also appears, flanked by goats in the typical schema of the Cesnola Painter Style, which formed also the inspiration for the lekythos decoration from T. 967 of San Montano. That these decorative

¹⁰⁶ MERMATI 2012a, 135. Although it is generally an element of the basic drinking set, consisting of a pouring vessel and cup, its precise function and meaning in the context of the funeral ritual remains uncertain. The different status of this shape compared to that of the cups has recently been underlined after a study of the distribution of imported and local vases in the tombs of the necropolis of San Montano at Ischia; DONNELLAN 2020, 128-132, 137-139.

¹⁰⁷ LANGDON 2008, 143-196; D'ACUNTO 2016. Dancers in a position identical to that on the Pontecagnano oinochoe are, for example, on an Attic amphora in a private collection at Düsseldorf, for which see WEGNER 1968, pl. 5b; D'ACUNTO 2016, 219, fig. 14. For the difficulty of reading the scenes as χοροί in this chronological phase, ROCCO 2015, 68-68, 84-86.

¹⁰⁸ MERMATI 2020, 373-377.

¹⁰⁹ LANGDON 2008, 185-186, fig. 3.27; D'ACUNTO 2016, 230-232, fig. 17. Nothing points to the feet of the legs on the oinochoe as being shod. They seem rather bare.

¹¹⁰ ANDREIOMENOU 1981, pl. 26, 129; BOARDMAN 1990, 367-368.

¹¹¹ COLDSTREAM 1968b, oinochoe Inv. 1849,0518.18; LANGDON 2008, 177-178, fig. 3. 24; D'ACUNTO 2016, 209-210, fig. 2. A connection between the chains of small Corinthian birds, stylised to become lozenges, and the *geranos* – the “crane dance” – was also recently hypothesised by Piero Bartoloni for a motif on an ovoid amphora at Mozia by referring to the Euboean iconographic repertoire influenced by the Corinthian one; BARTOLONI 2020, 128-129. An extreme stylisation of the rows of birds that assume almost anthropomorphic features is already visible on some vases of Pithecan-Cumaeon production (Figs. 16c, e). Similar stylized birds also characterise the group of aryballoi of the Pittore degli Uccelli a Forcella; MERMATI 2012a, 174-175 (Fig. 16d). The decoration on the neck of the oinochoai from tombs 1785 and 2543 (or 2545?, the proposed image seems out of order with the context numbers) of Pontecagnano, work of the same artist of the vase from T 1836, is interpreted as «danzatori o forse anche teorie di scimmie», it seems rather a variation of the lozenges/birds chain motif, without any apparent anthropomorphisation (Figs. 16a-b); CUOZZO 2015, 230, fig. 17.

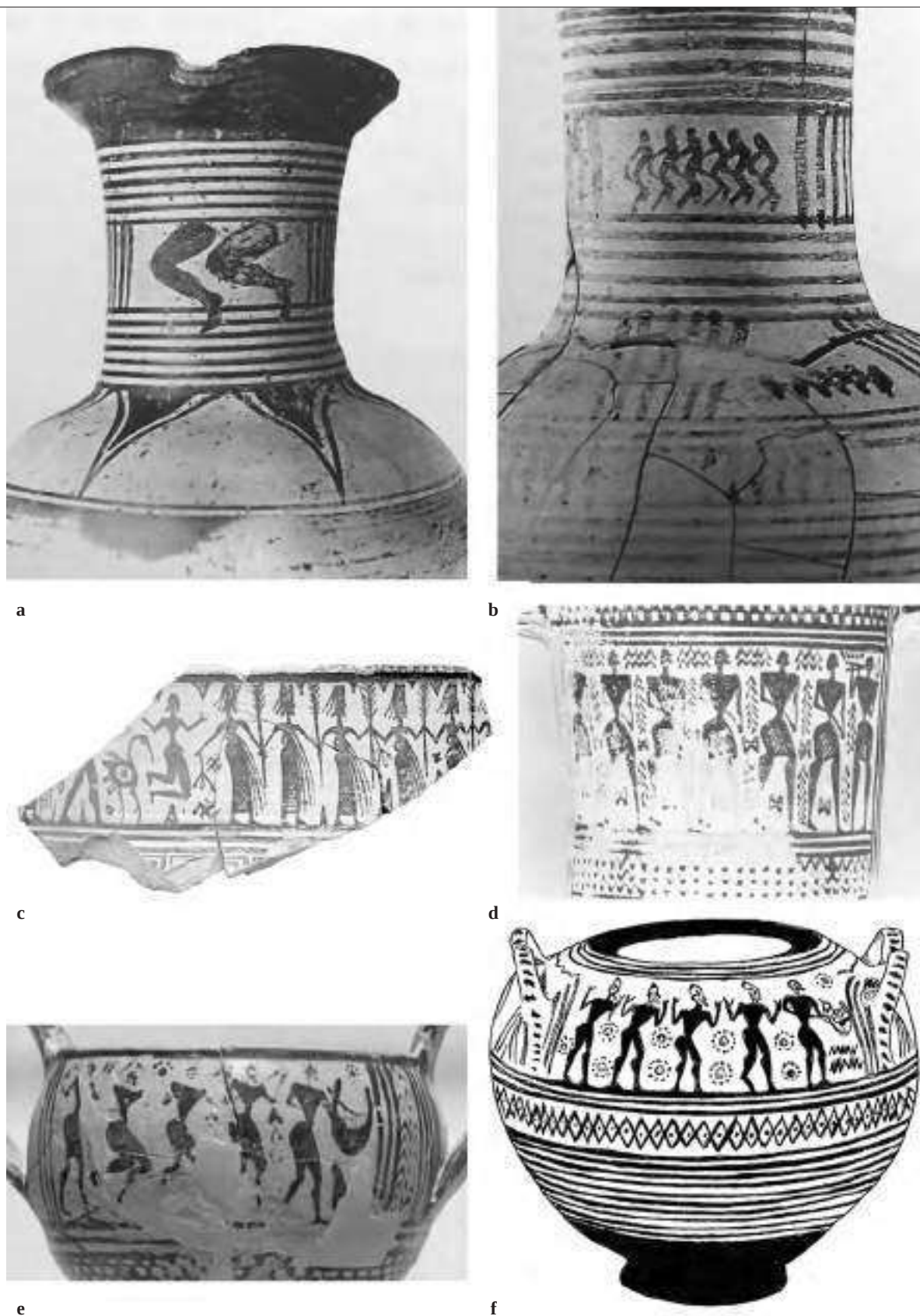


Fig. 15. a. Pontecagnano, Oinochoe from T. 6129 (after Cuozzo 2015); b. Pontecagnano, Oinochoe from T. 1836 (after Cuozzo 2015); c. Argos, Heraion, fragment of LG krater (after LANGDON 2008); d. Düsseldorf, Private Collection, Attic LG amphora (after WEGNER 1968); e. Athens, Burly Workshop, Attic LG kantharos (photo ©Egisto Sani, after <https://www.flickr.com/photos/69716881@N02/34764435483/in/photostream/>); f. Francavilla Marittima Sanctuary, so-called “Pisside Ticinese” (after GRANESE – TOMAY 2008)

patterns are well attested at the end of the 8th century BC also in colonial settings and local production is evident from the so-called Ticino Pyxis, a globular pyxis from the Francavilla Marittima sanctuary (Fig. 15f). On it is painted a complex program that includes a dance of men similar (on the Ticino Pyxis the dancers wear helmets) to that represented on the Burly Workshop vessel. The vase has been attributed to various productions, including Attic and Boeotian. It is currently considered the work of a painter operating *in situ*, perhaps local, who represents the rites linked to the goddess of the sanctuary on the Timpone della Motta, through an absolutely Greek codification of expression¹¹².

A large kotyle from Kyme's acropolis, found fragmented by Gabrici in 1890, stems possibly from a context associated with wine consumption. Although it was not subjected to NA analysis, it belongs to the production under review (Fig. 12c). In the first place because of its fabric characteristics, second by its – autoptically analysed – decoration and thirdly by the recovery from Kyme's Forum (Tempio con Portico) of two plate fragments (Figs. 12a-b). The plates are decorated with birds, perhaps ducks or swans, among small circles and are – like the cup – clearly inspired by contemporary Corinthian models¹¹³. One of the fragments is decorated with a row of small S motifs around the figured band that recur in the identical form on the ring-shaped foot of the cup. The fragments, dated to MPC and probably by the same hand or workshop that produced the kotyle, were already attributed to a local *atelier*. In spite of a recent chronological down-dating and proposal to attribute the cup to Etruscan-Corinthian production, its characteristics appear to me extremely close to the discussed Pithecusan-Cumaeian production of a date no later than the first half of the 7th century BC¹¹⁴. Also, the dimensions of the ob-

ject could be connected with its use, which – given its context at discovery, i.e. near the sanctuaries – is perhaps ritual and not funerary. Dimensions and decoration find comparisons, as said elsewhere, especially with contemporary Corinthian pottery, which at this stage was trying out its first broadly narrative scenes with uneven results¹¹⁵. The main figurative scene between the handles is difficult to interpret: it shows two groups of three bearded figures facing each other and perhaps dancing. Below them – in a secondary position – are three large birds. In this way, groups of birds alternate with groups of anthropomorphic figures. These, with obvious exaggeration of belly and buttocks – and disproportionate *phalli* in erection – show amplification of certain physical details. A number of scholars see this as typical for comic actors (hence the definition of *padded dancers*)¹¹⁶. However, in this period, difficulties in interpretation are more substantial because we are in a phase called by Smith the “pre-dramatic stage”. These figures – which, despite the supposed padding, are mostly naked, also evident in our case – are more often than not komasts connected to the sphere of wine-sharing. For komasts, this is less evident, especially in their early stages¹¹⁷. The presence of birds places the scenes with Orientalising animalistic friezes, in which human figures started to appear performing well-defined actions. The two groups of ithyphallic dancers with their long wild beards are in all probability performing a dance or a movement in a circle, which is marked by the positions of the first and the last figures juxtaposed to close the circle. The scene seems to take place in an intermediate context between a natural/divine

for a generic reference to the «morfologia e particolari della decorazione» of the vase.

¹¹⁵ For a similar kotyle, an example of this problem, see BENSON 1995, 168-169.

¹¹⁶ The phallic element and the sexual references are not canonical to this type of representation; SMITH 2016, 146-147, in which the definition of “padded-dancers” is also rejected, for which note 19. For the terminology, SMITH 2010, 1-3. It must be stressed that the connection between so-called “padded-dancers” and comic actors is by no means certain. This also includes the characteristics of the genitals represented, where the ithyphallic figures would refer to satyrs, while the naked men with genitals of normal size and at rest would be comic actors; CSAPO – MILLER 2007, 113-114, with bibliography.

¹¹⁷ SMITH 2009, 75-76. For the kind of clothes and attributes of komasts that would relate to their role, SMITH 2002, 33-34.

¹¹² On the problem, MERMATI 2020, 377-381, 392-393; on the olla-hydria from the Valle del Sarno GRECO – MERMATI 2006, 206-207; on the Ticino Pyxis, GRANESE – TOMAY 2008, 141-144, with bibliography; on the cult in the sanctuary, KLEIBRINK 1993; 2016, 254-265. On dances in ritual contexts, I thank Marianne Kleibrink for her suggestions.

¹¹³ MERMATI 2012a, 112, 213-214; with bibliography. The fragments are nos. U fr. 34 and U fr. 35, 130.

¹¹⁴ This proposal occurs in CUOZZO 2015, 232, note 27, where, however, the reasons for this hypothesis are not detailed, except

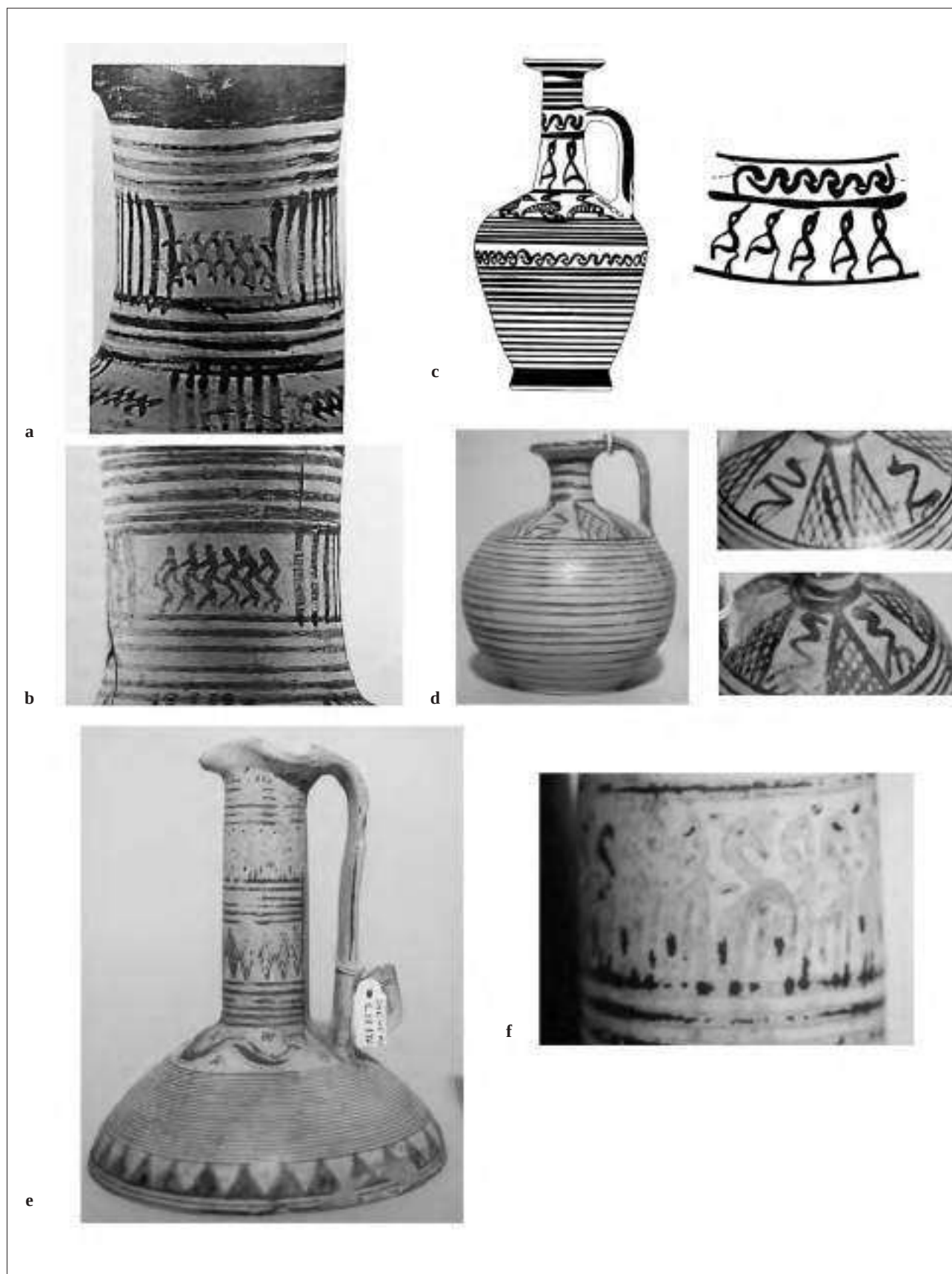


Fig. 16. a. Pontecagnano, Oinochoe from T. 2343 or 2545 (after Cuozzo 2015); b. Pontecagnano, Oinochoe from T. 1836 (after Cuozzo 2015); c. Pithekoussai, San Montano necropolis, LG II lekythos from T. 623 (after BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993); d. Kyme, necropolis, LG II aryballoi by the “Pittore degli Uccelli a Forcella” (Inv. 128325 II, T. XXXII; Inv. 141254); e. Kyme, necropolis, PCA lekythos (Inv. 128176); f. Detail of the neck of the lekythos (Inv. 128176)

and a cultural/human one, between the wild and civilised worlds. In later compositions of this kind, the focus of action is always a large central vessel that must have contained wine: here, however, the only reference to wine is the shape of the cup itself. It is hard to say whether they are Silens or human dancers, and also what kind of dance or activity they are performing¹¹⁸. The organisation of the decoration on the vessel, including the subsidiary elements, is found with other contemporary objects. These are characterised by eclectic morphological and iconographic repertoires drawn from a range of sources from the East to Corinth via Euboea, which renders them unique. The combination of a complex figured band with large chequers, long and complex rays and rosettes with a central dot is found on a jug from T. 818 at San Valentino Torio, dated to the second quarter of the 7th century BC and recently published (Samp28, Fig. 17a). The vessel, subjected to NA analysis, was made from a clay belonging to a well-defined chemical group, placed with certainty in Etruria, near Caere or Falerii (X056). It had, after autoptic analysis, been considered Corinthian. As already pointed out elsewhere, because of its iconography and the motif of the Ischia-Cuma-Tarquiniia fishes, rendered according to the parameters of Pithecusan-Cumaeian production, the vessel must be considered the product of a Phlegraean artisan working *extra moenia*. He belonged probably to the Aristonothos circle, active in Caere. This is because the kotyle and the jug show affinities with the crater of that painter in several peculiarities and the general decorative apparatus. The pitcher from the Sarno Valley attests to a very early reception of an ornamental and formal repertoire that later becomes typical for the western Wild Goat Style and which had spread abroad after the middle of the 7th century BC¹¹⁹.

The two oinochoai from T. 168 (Samp23, EPC) and T.1366 (Samp25, MPC) belong to chemical groups without comparison (Figs. 13d-e). Both had been considered as of Pithecusan-Cumaeian production. The first specimen must be included in the

group of oinochoai with plant-like decoration and is characterised by decorations also used for a number of aryballoi distributed not only at Pithekoussai and Kyme but also at other Campanian sites, including Pontecagnano, *Calatia* and *Suessula*. The aryballoi seemed very alike and were already grouped into the so-called Volute Group. They have very stylised lotus flower decorations inspired by Corinthian and island prototypes. These look similar to decorations of the Cumae Group, which may reveal a similar original repertoire but are not directly dependent on each other. The T. 168 oinochoe finds a precise comparison in an identical vessel from T. 4461 of Pontecagnano and belongs to an isolated chemical group. If indeed some of these specimens are from the same painter's hand – as has been hypothesised elsewhere – their location still needs to be defined¹²⁰. Even the oinochoe from T. 1366, with its strong Corinthian character and place in the “Gruppo della Doppia Raggiera”, belongs to a chemical group of which it is the only sample so far. This vase had already been scrutinised because of a number of ornamental peculiarities¹²¹.

From T. 818, to which the pitcher with the animalistic frieze belongs, another pitcher was also subjected to NA analysis (Samp27, Fig. 17b). It finds later comparisons in Cumaeian and Pithecusan shapes present in residential areas but was manufactured from unrefined clay¹²². The San Val-

¹²⁰ On oinochoai with plant-like decoration, see above. For objects with stylised lotus flower motifs, MERMATI 2012a, 144-145, and related catalogue. Especially the two twin vases correspond to cat. A233 (from San Marzano, T. 168) and A362 (from Pontecagnano, T. 4461). On the first, MERMATI 2012a, 60, pl. X, 19, cat. A233, with bibliography. On the interpretation of the T. 168 oinochoe and connections to Pontecagnano, also D'AGOSTINO 1979, 67-68. On the Volute Group, MERMATI 2012a, 180-181.

¹²¹ MERMATI 2012a, 60, 148-149, especially note 65, cat. A227, with bibliography.

¹²² From the Forum of Kyme, NIGRO 2006, 70, 75, fig. 28, type 20.X.10, equally slipped and with a more defined profile. From Punta Chiarito on Ischia, GIALANELLA 1994, 198, C14-C15, fig. 25. The definition of “ceramica in argilla grezza” is not uniformly used, especially not for the pre-Roman period. It indicates here that pottery is made from coarse-grained fabrics, rich in natural inclusions and with added grit to improve the plasticity of the clay and its resistance to high temperatures. The pottery is made on the turntable and has a smoothed or slipped surface. It must be distinguished from the so-called *impasto*, which is also part of kitchen wares but not made on the wheel. The literature on this subject is extensive and documents different choices in the approach to the study of the materials based on different contexts and chronological periods. The study could proceed on

¹¹⁸ For the place of these first representations in the context – among others – of Dionysiac iconography that in this period is being defined, ISLER-KERÉNYI 2001, 29-33.

¹¹⁹ MERMATI 2015, 251-255, with previous bibliography.

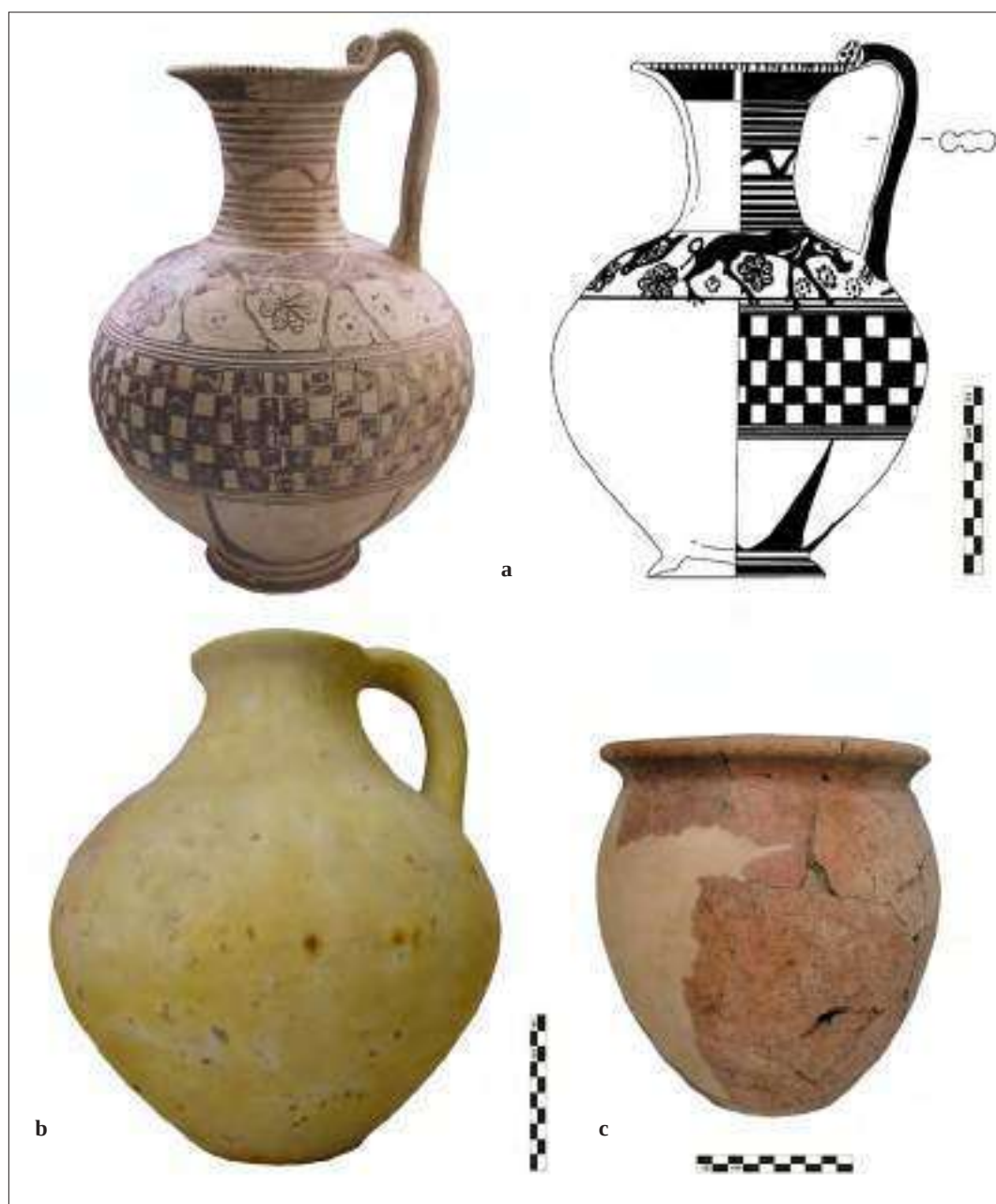


Fig. 17. a. San Valentino Torio, Jug from T. 818 (Inv. 59901); b. San Valentino Torio, Jug from T. 818 (Inv. 59903); c. Pithekoussai, San Montano necropolis, Chytira from T. 160 (Inv. 166725)

entino Torio vase, made on the potter's wheel and slipped, is made of a none-too-refined clay but

morphological or functional observations or by a synthesis of both approaches. The shape we are considering here belongs to what, for example, at Locri is called "pouring pottery" following a classification based on function. At Pontecagnano, pottery studies of the "ceramica in argilla grezza" class provide further distinctions between pots made by hand or with a slow wheel (with smooth surface) and that moulded with the aid of the fast wheel, starting from the mid-7th century BC. For a summary with regard to Cumaeen contexts, NIGRO 2006, 57-68, with previous bibliography. On Locri, BARRA BAGNASCO 1989, 257-246. The typological and classificatory choices relating to this category at Pontecagnano are still unpublished, NIGRO 2006, 57, note 4.

much "cleaner" than the clays used for the production of similar Phlegraeen specimens. The fabric contains a large amount of visible volcanic inclusions, which suggests an origin from Kyme or Pithekoussai. However, the clay of this vessel did not find comparisons. The clay of the *impasto* chytira (belonging to kitchen ware) from T. 160 of the San Montano necropolis is also without comparisons (Samp15, Fig. 17c). The pot belongs to a deceased female of uncertain age. The decision to sample the object was motivated by the tomb's characteristics: it is a cremation, dating from the

last quarter of the 8th century BC and with grave goods that we can undoubtedly call rich. It contained – in addition to eight vases – two silver leech fibulae, two silver and gold braid fasteners, two silver rings and a silver necklace. Among the vases, there is also an *impasto* oinochoe, which, together with the chytra, leads to the possibility that the deceased was familiarly or personally linked to an indigenous context¹²³. The above pottery type is attested for residential contexts, where it occurs frequently and must have been used to cook with. It usually is associated with the indigenous area. The unparalleled chemical result may be explained by an outside origin for the object or production *in situ* but from clay that so far could not be localised. The presence of refined pottery and kitchen ware together in Kiln 1 at Santa Restituta has already been mentioned. Although the kitchen ware is probably residual in the kiln, the workshop arguably produced both¹²⁴. It is possible that for this pottery, the clay was selected from special quarries, yet to be identified. Problems relating to the production sites and the movements of domestic pottery remain therefore still open, but they are obviously subject to different cultural dynamics compared with those that dominate the circulation of finely decorated pottery.

FINAL REMARKS

From the situation outlined above, it is possible to draw several conclusions, albeit preliminary and deriving from an initial reading of the data.

First of all, it must be remarked that neutron activation analysis has indicated a more complex situation than that traced by the XRF examination of material from Santa Restituta. With the latter, it

was possible to isolate the so-called Group D and ascribe to it the local production of the first phases¹²⁵; now several more clay groups are identified that are attributable to Phlegraean production (X003, X113, X118, while group X071 poses difficulties of insertion). The slight differences between the three groups may probably be ascribed to different clay banks supplying the raw material for different workshops¹²⁶. This confirms the heterogeneity of the clay deposits at Ischia that has already been ascertained. The substantial uniformity of the Santa Restituta samples may perhaps be explained by a consistency in the place of supply for the *atelier* examined, which appears to have been active during the second half of the 8th century BC¹²⁷. The group includes objects that, by autoptic examination, were easily identifiable as locally produced. An exception is the cup San Marzano T. 73 (Samp30), of excellent workmanship and defined at the time as Corinthian, predominately because of the characteristics of its clay (Fig. 4c)¹²⁸.

Clay group X003 is distributed over all the examined areas; from its clay pots of very different shapes and types were produced, such as Aetos 666 cups, craters with Cesnola Style decoration, amphorae like the one decorated with warriors of Atticising taste, Thapsos cups of the “without panel” type, oinochoai and lekythoi of proto-Corinthian style, plates with a wide lip and geometric decoration. However, the clay group has also been discovered to be that of cup San Marzano T. 65, which stylistically appears to be not very close to Pithecusan-Cumaeans pots, and which is of a less accurate standard of manufacture (Samp34, Fig. 8f). The above data confirm the presence of a Phlegraean production centre that uses ornamental patterns in the Cesnola style. One of the workshops that produced the famous oinochoai of the Ischia-Cuma-Tarquinia Group must now also definitely be placed at Pithekoussai/Kyme¹²⁹. From

¹²³ On the tomb, BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 200-203, and related tables. On the interpretation of this tomb and others with similar characteristics, MERMATI 2012b, 294, 304, tab. 4 (first part). Also fundamental on the role of the indigenous inhabitants of Pithekoussai are KELLEY 2012 and, more recently, CERCHIAI 2014, 228-234.

¹²⁴ OLCESI 2017, 108-111, 349-351; 2015, 284. The cooking ware fragments were not subjected to chemical analysis; OLCESI 2017, 186. The kitchen ware found in Kiln 1 comes from layers of fills from abandonment, perhaps related to the decommissioning of the structure. The fragments belong to jars similar to the one of the T 160.

¹²⁵ On Group D, see *supra*.

¹²⁶ Olcese supposes a presence on the island of a unique *kerameikos* of Greek tradition (OLCESE 2017, 186), which seems, however, not very likely for the reasons offered above.

¹²⁷ THIRION-MERLE 2017, 195.

¹²⁸ D'AGOSTINO 1979, 61, fig. 34.

¹²⁹ On the style of the Cesnola painter at Pithekoussai, MERMATI 2012 a, 196-198.

clay of the X003 group, the pots span from LG to MPC and, consequently, attest to continuity in the use of the quarries – and perhaps also in workshop activity – for a period not less than 70 years, reaching the first quarter of the 7th century BC. The place where the clay once was collected remains uncertain, but since it was used to produce some of the most typical pots of island manufacture, it may probably be placed on Ischia, suggesting a dynamic of pottery trafficked from the island to the coast, though that does not necessarily lead to the exclusion of a simultaneous production on the coast. The import of raw material from one site to another cannot be excluded but is certainly to be considered the less likely hypothesis and certainly not the only possible course of action. In fact, a multiplicity of mechanisms operating at the same time or in alternating phases, linked to the changing patterns of relationship between the two communities, must be assumed.

The X113 group of samples comes from pots that, after macroscopic examination, also appeared to be of Pithecan make. Several of the best-made and larger-sized vases, remarkable for their decidedly Euboeanising decoration that traditionally has made scholars look for their provenance on that island, belong to it. In fact, the two largest Phlegraean vases from the Sarno Valley belong to this group: the famous crater and the jar-hydria with Cesnola Style decoration from the rich female tombs 168 and 928 of San Marzano (Samp24 and Samp26, Figs. 7a, c). The accreditation of the olla-hydria to a Phlegraean workshop also allows confirmation of the hypothesis that it must have been a commissioned object produced in a Greek atelier using an indigenous form. This was evidently important to the client and her use of the object, which probably required a Greek decoration of strong conceptual value¹³⁰. Interestingly, clay group X113 is not present in any of the 14 Mazzola samples. This may certainly be attributed to random and limited sampling. However, given the consistency of other results related to Mazzola sherds – which document the presence of clay groups X003 and X118 – we cannot reject the suggestion out of hand that this group represents pots

produced by another workshop that maintained different distribution dynamics, perhaps intended mainly for export. Given the high dates for the pieces of this group to be placed between LG I and LG II, it must, in any case, be a manufacturing entity that started its activity during the first phase of the Phlegraean settlement. It seems to remain working till the end of the century when its products still appear to be affixed in a Euboean *substratum* but already open to new Corinthian influences. Nothing forces us to connect clay provenance to *atelier* or potter, but it should be remarked that the fact that an Aetos cup 666 from T. 70 of San Marzano (Samp36, Fig. 4e) belongs to this clay group is significant, especially because it has been described as «molto trascurata», carelessly painted¹³¹. To explain this, two scenarios are possible: the existence of several workshops with different production dynamics and standards but with access to the same quarries or the presence of a single workshop with potters of different technical expertise. In either case, the workshop(s), clearly of Phlegraean tradition, remain to be localised. A final interesting hypothesis, which must be presented cautiously, pending new data, is the possibility that clay X113 was used by a workshop located in the Sarno Valley but managed by Phlegraean potters, perhaps with the help of local labour. In fact, this would explain not only the uncertain source of manufacture of Sarno cup Aetos 666 from San Marzano T 70 but also the very nature of the jar-hydria from T 928.

Clay group X118 contains pots of very different manners of manufacture with very different fabrics and colours, as could be observed by autoptic analysis. Cup Aetos 666 from Mazzola Inv. 245572 seems to precisely copy the decorative schemata of its models (Samp21, Fig. 4b), but the specimens from T. 277 at San Marzano take greater freedom in ornamentation, which is limited to “loose” lines painted over the body, apparently by the same hand (Samp29 and Samp31, Figs. 7b, 8b). This may be true as well for the two vases from the Valle del Sarno, painted perhaps in an *atelier* with a varied range of products. We must not rule out either that, as in the case of clay group X113, the

¹³⁰ GRECO – MERMATI 2006, 181-184, 205-209.

¹³¹ D'AGOSTINO 1979, 61.

same clays might have been exploited by different potters.

Clay group X071, which, by its chemical characteristics, is very close to group X003, includes pots that all come from the Valle del Sarno. It has been attributed, by autoptic examination, to Phlegraean production. The group has not been attested anywhere else. All three pots are decorated in a rather hasty style, characterised by chevrons and lozenge chains suspended in a reserved, plain space. This kind of decoration must be ascribed to a single decorative concept or even to a single hand. If this is true, then the production of these pots must have covered at least 50 years because the available data point to the entire second half of the 8th century BC. The workshop in question, however, is still to be identified and localised. The above vases are stylistically distant from those of Phlegraean workmanship and even the morphological characteristics seem to stem from elsewhere; for example, for T. 70's small jug, no typological comparisons can be found among Pitheculan-Cumaeian wares (Samp33, Fig. 8c), while the bands of colour on the inside of cups from tombs 69 and 277 also seem to draw on a different artistic source (Samp32 and Samp37, Fig. 8d-e).

One of the most significant results among the identified chemical groups that cannot be attributed to Campanian production is, undoubtedly, that pertaining to the samples that could be placed in clay group EuA, which identifies its pots as being produced in central Euboea. At this point, it must be said that – in addition to the two chevron cups and the black cup, which are from a period prior to the arrival of settlers and belong to clay group X061 (Samp1-3, Fig. 3) – of the 14 samples, taken from Mazzola ceramics at Pithekoussai, only two were assigned to Euboean production (Samp9, Samp12). They must – as was to be expected – be placed in the third quarter of the 8th century BC (Figs. 4a, 6a). Both have been identified by scholars as of local production, which contradicts the optimistic conviction of some that clays of this origin are easily recognisable¹³². The difficulty in distinguishing between Phlegraean and mother-

land production has already been highlighted, especially in the case of the similarity and chemical overlap between Pithekoussai and Chalkis. This problem has already affected, as we saw, the correct attribution of the three skyphoi from Cumae¹³³. The data, therefore, confirm that the first Euboean colonies in Italy did not receive large quantities of pottery from the motherland, but rather what travelled, in particular, would seem to be the potters and/or painters themselves. Their style travelled with them, also conveyed by imported masterpieces such as those in Cesnola Style.

A very significant matter is the presence at Cumae of the Dipylon Style oinochoe of the KrPPS chemical group (Samp4, Fig. 9). The limited distribution of Attic vases in the period under consideration is well known, and contrasts with the widespread of their decorative motifs, which also pervade the style of the Pitheculan-Cumaeian workshops¹³⁴. In particular, the objects of the Dipylon Painter and its circle are notoriously made to satisfy local needs and mainly respond to a request linked to the funerary habits of an élite group. In fact, the pots are almost exclusively used as burial *semata* in the case of monumental specimens or as objects of grave-gift assemblages¹³⁵. Small vessels, in particular, moved but a little, while a number of larger vases, with more ambitious decoration, do travel, but certainly not to the West. However, starting with MG, real “Atticising” products are born that are found practically all over the Aegean, so much so that the Coldstream speaks of a real “Attic Middle Geometric *koine*”¹³⁶. The link between Attic pottery in this phase, and a reconstruction of the repertoires of Euboean and Pitheculan workshops operating in the Cesnola Style, suggests a passage to the West mediated by Euboean trade routes and carriers¹³⁷. Considering the high date of the object, however, it cannot be ruled out that the Phlegraean workshops gradually acquired new motifs, borrowing them also from

¹³³ DESCŒUDRES 2006, 6-7.

¹³⁴ DE VRIES 2003, 141. On Attic influence in Pitheculan-Cumaeian production, MERMATI 2012a, 233-234.

¹³⁵ On the Dipylon Group, most recently COULIÉ 2015, with bibliography.

¹³⁶ COLDSTREAM 1968a, 344-357; 1983, 18; 2003, 132-137.

¹³⁷ On the problem SEROGLU 2009 and VLACHOU 2015b, 51, 65-66, with bibliography.

¹³² DESCŒUDRES 2006, 6-7.

imported originals. Also, one cannot exclude the possibility that the arrival at Cumae of this oinochoe happened thanks to the arrival there of an individual and it may therefore be an isolated event that cannot be systematised. In fact, it arrives on the Campanian coast when the already scarce diffusion of Attic pottery seems to decrease still further. Its presence, then, should rather be attributed to the strong phenomenon of individual travellers that characterises the Mediterranean of the third quarter of the 8th century BC, a moment in which the formation of the two Phlegraean sites took place. Their setting up was a great opportunity for open-minded navigators and traders, but also for individuals in search of fortune or a new home. This mobility may have also involved married women travelling over long distances; the practice of exchanging gifts cannot be excluded either¹³⁸. The loss and non-recoverability of the tomb's grave-gift assemblage makes it difficult to read the vase within its context.

Pitheculan-Cumaean workshops, *in primis* on the island, appear to be active and unquestionably market competitive from the moment they are installed. The relative scarcity of imported Euboean pottery is a very evident sign that they were perfectly capable of producing, from the very start, pottery that was absolutely consistent with the settler background. So much so as to be unrecognis-

able as local by modern scholars and, therefore, even more so to the ancient buyer. In fact, the user had no cause to distinguish imported vessels from those produced locally unless this was openly declared by the potter¹³⁹. This adherence to contemporary productions has, from the beginning, led Giorgio Buchner to reject the concept of "local imitation" and to talk rather of Euboean pottery produced at Pithekoussai, while David Ridgway more recently defined the Phlegraean products as authentic examples of their class, «esempi autentici della loro categoria»¹⁴⁰. In addition to the presence of different clays in Phlegraean workshops, one should admit the possible existence of products by colonial potters operating in indigenous contexts, which, based on macroscopic analysis, has already been suggested. In the Campanian indigenous and Etruscan tombs, it must have been perfectly permissible and common to incorporate vessels that were perceived by an Italic individual as Greek *tout court*, regardless of their exact origin. The pots only had to be available on the market, and all came from the Greek coastal sites anyway. This is evident in the richest grave-gift assemblages, in which numerous vases of refined clay appear, often pieces of Phlegraean made and imported from Greece side by side but apparently alike in shape and decoration. It seems more difficult to quantify the value of an imported vessel than that of a local product. In two cases, traces of ancient repairs have been noted. The most obvious one is that on the Thapsos type kantharos in the grave goods of T. 76 from San Marzano and certainly not Phlegraean (Samp22, Figs. 5f-g). This is a type that does not frequently occur in the Greek coastal sites, both among imported and local pots. The vase, which had broken into several fragments, underwent extensive repairs that involved one of its handles and part of the body¹⁴¹. Unfortu-

¹³⁸ The possibility that single Attic vases were part of the personal possessions of individuals on the move – aristocrats, merchants or brides – is explored in SEROGLU 2009, 30. In the context of female mobility, the fibulae from tombs 137/46 and 355 of San Montano, belonging to types 87 and 89 of Lo Schiavo, and assigned to the Greek islands, should be mentioned here. The first is documented as far away as Gordion, in central-western Anatolia. Guzzo considers these fibulae as imports from there, as characterising the origin of the deceased, or as purchases. In the case of a sub-adult burial, the fibulae could be linked to the mother's provenance. Purchase is perhaps less likely: the rarity of the specimens seems rather suggest they are better seen as personal objects or as a result of an episodic exchange. The same considerations apply to the "a doble resorte" fibula from the T. 700, type Lo Schiavo 362. From T 137/46, unpublished, only the fibulae are known, while T. 355 is of a female infant. In both burials, the Greek-type fibulae are accompanied by local types, which complicates interpretation. T. 700 belongs to a sub-adult of uncertain sex, of which only the fibula, moreover from a fill, remains; GUZZO 2012, 511, 515, 518-522; MERMATI 2012b, 294. For the fibulae types, LO SCHIAVO 2010, 232-234, 737. Malkin recently suggested more complex scenarios, i.e. the presence of Greek women in the starting colonial groups and/or their arrival at the moment very soon after, MALKIN 2020.

¹³⁹ On the awareness of the possession of imported or locally produced vases, see DONNELLAN 2020. However, looking at the objects today, one wonders how significant this was for the ancient user, who must often have used identical vases.

¹⁴⁰ BUCHNER 1981, 267; RIDGWAY 2010, 264-265.

¹⁴¹ The repair was carried out by "re-stitching" through adjacent holes. Because of its contemporaneity to the other objects of the burial – dated to the last quarter of the 8th century BC – we cannot accept that this piece was old and thus in keeping; the vase must have been purchased at the time of death or just be-

nately, it is not possible to know if this care was due to its value as an exotic object or to the scarce importance given to the state of preservation of the objects at the time of burial. It must, however, be said that the practice of repair does not seem frequent with objects found in the Valle del Sarno necropolis. Another similar case is found with an Aetos 666 cup from Mazzola, which also has a neat hole in one of the fragments, a clear sign of ancient repair (Samp9, Fig. 4a)¹⁴². The item can be dated to LG I, and an interpretation as a “family object” must be excluded in this case. It stems from a residential context, in which the functionality of the object should be considered necessary for proper use. It is no coincidence that the cup in question is of Euboean production and perhaps considered worthy of it.

The last element worth underlining is the multiplicity of local *ateliers*, whose products were available both at the Phlegraean colonies and at indigenous sites. This is evident, for example, from the grave goods of T. 277 at San Marzano, which contain three vases decorated in the Geometric style,

belonging to two different chemical groups and also to different workshops. As already mentioned, it is quite possible that several ready-made combinations were available to the customer (for example, crater + pouring jar; or pouring jar + drinking cup/*poterion*).

ADDENDUM

We must point out here that during the drafting process of this paper, which took a long time, some results were reviewed by Hans Mommsen. Some previous geochemical groups (X056, X113 and X118) do not exist anymore. Their members were regrouped in other already existing groups, mainly X003. This group and X071 are Phlegraean. Samp12 was more recently attributed to X061 group, probably from Euboea and very close to EuA group. The group X067 was located in northern Peloponnese. Samp1, Samp28 and Samp 30 are singleton, and did not find comparisons. For the update and details, the reader may refer to the contribution MERMATI in press.

fore. Moreover, this kantharos, despite the “stitching”, had evidently lost its functionality after the break, as it could not hold liquid anymore. However, even if it could no longer actually be used at the funeral rite, it was still considered a worthy object, not only to be rescued from the disposal but “worthy” to be part of the grave’s assemblage.

¹⁴² The fragment may be dated LG I, and also, in this case, cannot have been an “*oggetto di famiglia*”/heirloom.

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THE CONTEXT OF “NESTOR’S CUP”: NEW CONSIDERATIONS IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro, Bruno d’Agostino

In the general context of a resuming of studies to address the many research questions that arose from the publication of the San Montano necropolis (excavations 1952-1961 and 1965-1967)¹, we decided to reexamine one of the key contexts of Pithekoussai: the so-called “tomb of Nestor’s Cup” (T. 168). Among the tombs explored on the island, this one is the most emblematic of the extraordinary intermediary role played by Pithekoussai in relations between the Greek and the Western world, because its eponymous vase is our earliest direct source for the Homeric epic.

Collaboration with a team directed by L. Bondioli and M. Gigante, which was assigned the study and reexamination of the entire skeletal sample from the necropolis, has opened up the field to input from physical anthropology and the hard sciences, adding to our knowledge of this exceptional page in the earliest history of the West. With regard to the “tomb of Nestor’s cup”, the analyses conducted on the skeletal remains have provided new data indicating that the tomb’s assemblage did not belong to a single burial, and hence calling into question its interpretation up to now².

The tomb of Nestor’s Cup owes its fame to the discovery inside it of a kotyle from northern Ionia (Asia Minor) – rather than from Rhodes³ – bearing a Greek inscription, one of the earliest known to date.



Fig 1. Pithekoussai’s necropolis, Nestor’s Cup from “context” 168

Traced very accurately in the Euboic alphabet, this metric inscription draws on a *topos* of Greek poetry associating symposiac and erotic practices, and references Homeric epic, specifically Nestor’s famous cup mentioned in the *Iliad* (*Il.*, 11.632-637)⁴ (Fig. 1).

According to G. Buchner, the inscription was executed in Pithekoussai; however, since at least one other similar inscription was found in Eretria⁵, also on an imported bird-kotyle, it is actually difficult to establish whether it was executed in Greece or on the Phlegraean island. From Methone, in Pieria, a Euboic skyphos dated between the late 8th and early 7th century BC bears another symposiac inscription in verse, engraved in the Euboic alphabet⁶.

The identification of the vase of T. 168 as Nestor’s renowned cup is paradoxical, since it is a

¹ *Pithekoussai I*; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013, 2014, *supra* 49 ff., with previous bibliography. The English text of this article was translated from the original Italian by F. Poole (Museo Egizio, Turin).

² Cf. GIGANTE *et al.* 2021; *supra*, 87 ff.

³ D’ACUNTO 2020, 258 ff.; on the typological classification of the Nestor’s Cup cf. *ibidem*, 289 ff.

⁴ On the early metric inscriptions cf. WACHTER 2010, 252 ff.

⁵ JOHNSTON – ANDRIOMENOU 1989, who propose a date to 735-725 BC; BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, B1, 190-192; KOTSONAS 2022, 173 ff., Appendix, 12, ERE 26.

⁶ *Methone Pieriais I*, cat. no. 2, 339-343; KOTSONAS 2022, 174, Appendix, 13, MET 2.

modest clay vessel used to drink wine, whereas the one evoked by Homer was «a beautiful cup... studded with golden nails; on each handle a pair of golden doves was feeded», and it was so big that only Nestor could lift it from the table when it was full. It was used to consume a thick fortifying drink, reserved for heroes.

“Nestor’s Cup” is the object of a vast literature⁷, being a highly significant chronological marker for specific aspects of language, epigraphy, archaeology, history and literature. The dating of the context it comes from and the results of the anthropological tests of the skeletal remains it yielded thus have important implications for the several disciplines involved.

From the beginning, the excavation posed several interpretive problems, since the context had been disturbed many times due to continued use of the burial plot for new tumuli and fossa graves. From the beginning, Buchner did not conceal his doubts about how the burial complex should be interpreted⁸.

The difficulty of the task was undoubtedly compounded by the fact that the investigation was carried out in two separate stages, in October 1954 and then many months later, in June 1955. In the first stage, as we gather from the excavation journal, Buchner designated as T. 168 a large «lens of black earth» («macchia di terra nera») – a definition he usually employed for the layer containing the ashes and bones collected from the funeral pyre along with the grave goods, if any, and placed in a shallow and roughly circular scoop in the ground and then covered with a stone tumulus. In the case of T. 168, the covering tumulus had been completely demolished by subsequent burials. The excavation of the “lens of black earth” revealed three depressions at its bottom. This circumstance, along with the remarkable extension of the lens (3.80 x 2 m), led Buchner, in the first instance, to suppose that the three depressions belonged to three originally distinct cremations, whose contents were jumbled when subsequent burials en-

croached on them. He specified that when he dug the “lens of black earth” it was impossible to distinguish the materials by their disposition, and that even the fragments of Nestor’s cup were scattered across the whole layer⁹. A fragment of Nestor’s kotyle was also found inside *enchytrismos* 443¹⁰.

In June 1955, having resumed the dig, Buchner investigated the relations between T. 168 and the nearby tumuli (Fig. 2). In a layer «of abundant burnt sherds mixed with brown earth» («di frequenti cocci bruciati misti a terra bruna», 4 x 3 m) extending northward between tumuli 166-167 and 180, and southward underneath T. 168, he recovered sherds that joined others from the “lens of black earth”. In particular, near tumuli 166 and 167 he found three sherds of the inscribed cup and one of a crater with a painted inscription (T. 168 no. 1)¹¹.

The 1993 edition specifies that a layer «of abundant burnt sherds mixed with brown earth» (4 x 3 m) extended northwards «under the entire black earthen lens of 168 to below mound 180, and for ca. 3 m from the outer face of the perimeter walls of mounds 166 and 167 towards the east».

This «burnt-sherd layer» («strato di cocci bruciati») yielded numerous vases, including at least a dozen skyphoi of the Thapsos type (Sp 5/1-4) and four of other types (Sp 4/2, 7, 9, 10)¹², thirteen kotylai (Sp 5/1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 13, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27), and two kyathoi (Sp 6/1, 2), as well as two lekythoi (Sp 9/19-20) and three local aryballoi (Sp 10/2, 3, 4)¹³.

We should also consider the possibility that, although subsequent in time – as Buchner’s description in *Pithekoussai I* seems to suggest – the formation of the “sherd layer” and that of the “lens of black earth” could be the results of two distinct actions in the same funeral ceremony, respectively, the dissemination of the products of the pyre and the deposition of the ashes. The whole was then supposedly jumbled by subsequent disturbances.

⁹ BUCHNER – RUSSO 1955, 215 ff.

¹⁰ *Pithekoussai I*, 215.

¹¹ BUCHNER – RUSSO 1955, *postilla* on p. 234: for kotyle fragments it is said that «evidentemente erano stati rimossi e dispersi quando fu distrutta in età antica la copertura del tumulo». More details are given in *Pithekoussai I*, 214.

¹² *Pithekoussai I*, Sp. 4/2, 702.

¹³ *Pithekoussai I*, 214, 713 ff.

⁷ BUCHNER – RUSSO 1955; CASSIO 1994; MURRAY 1994; BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995; WĘCOWSKI 2017 and his contribution in this volume.

⁸ BUCHNER – RUSSO 1955; *Pithekoussai I*, 212 ff.; BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, 146 ff.

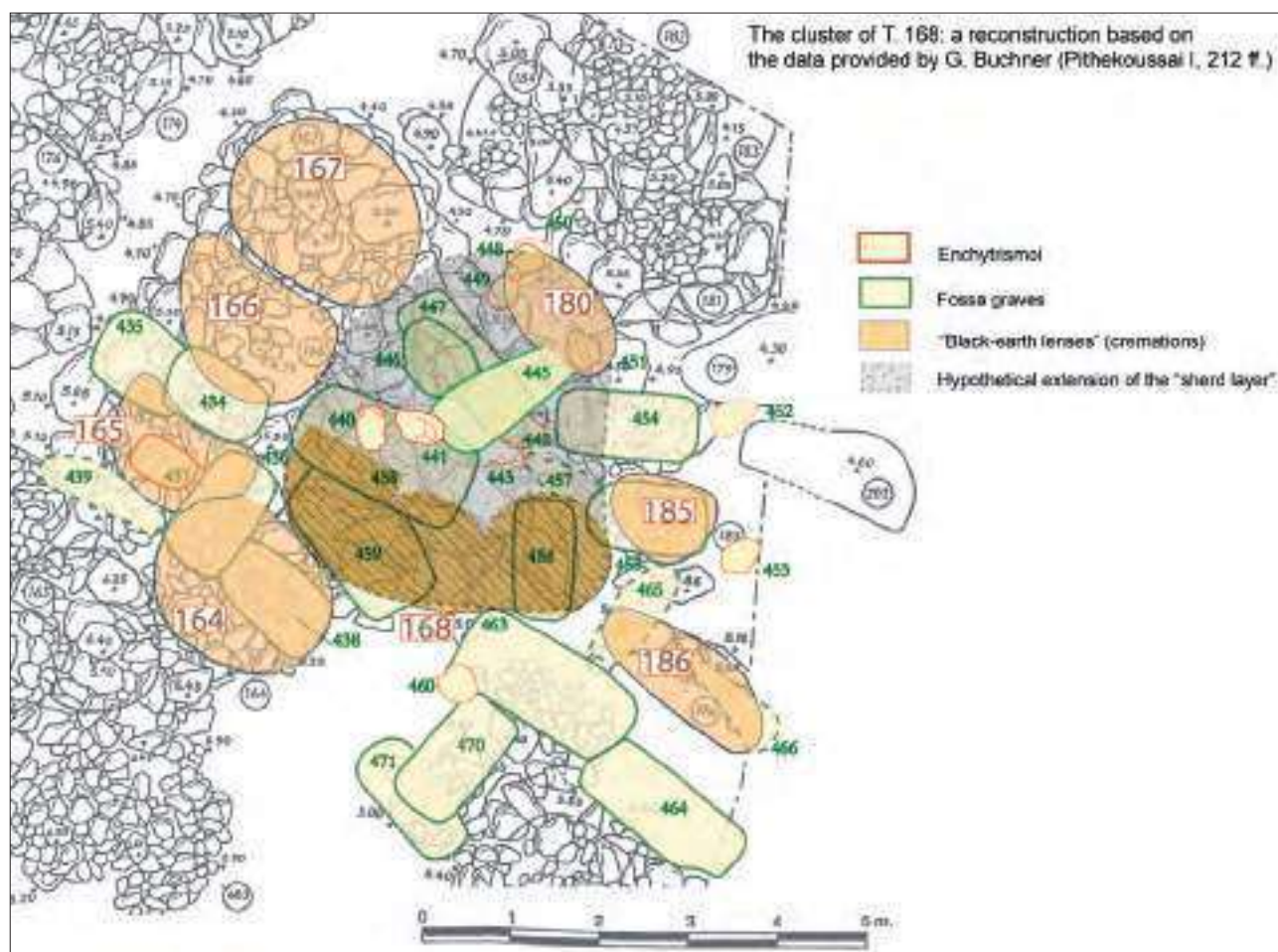


Fig 2. The cluster of the context of Nestor’s Cup (Cremation 168). In orange the “black earth lenses” (cremations) and the three depressions of Cremation 168. In grey, the “sherd layer” under Cremation 168

As a parallel for the “burnt sherd layer” from the same burial ground, G. Buchner mentions the stratigraphic context from which, among many other finds, the “Shipwreck Crater” originates. Based on a comparison with finds made in the Ceramicus in Athens, Buchner believes that this crater was among a group of vases used during the funeral ceremony and then burnt on a pyre, perhaps in a separate fire from that used to cremate the deceased¹⁴. In the necropolis of San Montano, the areas used for cremations have not been identified, and therefore there is no archaeological evidence to prove this hypothesis. An evocative reconstruction has been provided, instead, of funerary rituals during which the vessels used were then ritually broken and burnt on the pyre in

a Late Geometric context at Teos, in northern Ionia¹⁵.

Buchner noted down his hypothesis that the funeral context called T. 168 could actually have comprised three burials in his excavation journal, and included it in his first publication of the inscribed cup, while the excavation was still ongoing¹⁶. In the systematic publication of the necropolis in 1993, having reassessed the evidence, he argued, instead, that the context was a single burial – albeit a heavily disturbed one¹⁷. The decisive argument for this, in his opinion, was that J. Becker’s autoptic examination of the skeletal remains

¹⁴ For the “Shipwreck Crater” context, cf. *Pithekoussai I*, 196 ff. For an interpretation of the “burnt sherd layer”, cf. BUCHNER 1982, 284 ff.

¹⁵ İREN – ÜNLÜ 2012. An area where a pyre had been lit and the finding of a krater and 23 kotylai, in the absence of skeletal remains, testifies to the performance of a ceremony centered on the use of wine. According to the proposed reconstruction, it ended with the ritual breaking of the vessels, which were thrown onto the pyre. It should be noted that the cups used are all “bird kotylai”.

¹⁶ BUCHNER – RUSSO 1955, 234.

¹⁷ *Pithekoussai I*, 212 ff.

had recognized a single cremated individual, a child/youth, aged 12 to 14 years – 10 according to another scholar, T.F. Spence¹⁸.

That this was an exceptional context was evident for a number of reasons: the great number of grave goods; the inscribed kotyle; the presence of four craters, a type of vase which usually does not occur in Pithekoussan burials; and the inscription painted on the stem of the foot of one of these craters, read as *ex theo* and interpreted as a “*sakrale Inschrift*”¹⁹. The attribution of the burial to a youth – an age class for whose exponents the ritual of inhumation was used as a rule at Pithekoussai – was regarded as further adding to its extraordinary character²⁰.

In the studies that followed the publication of T. 168 the issue of its date was foremost, since the dating of Pithekoussan contexts is a cornerstone for the chronology of the transitional phases from the Iron Age to the Orientalizing period in the western Mediterranean.

The publishers of *Pithekoussai I* had proposed a date in the third quarter of the 8th century BC for the inscribed kotyle, and «well within the 8th century BC» for the grave goods as a whole²¹. In 1987, Neeft challenged this dating²² on the basis of the style of the Protocorinthian globular aryballo, which he considered to be later in the typological sequence than those from Tomb 325 – another famous Pithekoussan burial regarded as a chronological landmark because it yielded a scarab with the cartouche of pharaoh Bocchoris (718/717-712 BC). The lower date was believed to be further supported by the date of two local conical lekythoi found in the “sherd layer”, which presumably set a *terminus post quem* for T. 168 late in Late Geometric II, between 720 and 690 BC in the chronology proposed by Coldstream²³.

V. Nizzo subsequently stepped into this debate in the frame of his general reinterpretation of the necropolis and reassessment of stratigraphic relations within individual burial clusters and between

contiguous burial clusters. Stressing the chronological differences between the materials and going back to Buchner’s initial thesis that T. 168 comprised more than one burial, Nizzo has put forward the hypothesis that there were at least two burials. He also argues that the craters did not come from either, but from scattered materials from the funeral pyres²⁴.

Careful review of the available documentation and a re-examination of the excavation journal call for a reconsideration of this intriguing hypothesis, put forward in the 1993 publication of the excavation (Fig. 3). According to this hypothesis, the earlier burial (T. 168A), containing Nestor’s cup, retains its position at the beginning of LG II, while the more recent one (T. 168B) is closer in date to T. 325. The four craters do not belong to either burial assemblage, but come from the “layer of sherds mixed with brown earth” that extended in the vast space between T. 168 and T. 180²⁵. This reconstruction, which has the merit of making interpretive difficulties explicit and attempting a rational explanation for the described aporias, has the limit – recognized by Nizzo himself – of being an *ex post* reconstruction, based on assumptions that can no longer be tested. Nevertheless, the hermeneutic potential of this hypothesis can hardly be denied.

A recent and in-depth study of the skeletal remains, focusing on morphometric and histological parameters, has helped to clarify this complex picture. Sharing the caution expressed by the anthropologists due to the quantitative discrepancy between the sample they tested and the one described by Becker, their results seem however to definitively clear the field of some of the arguments put forward so far. In particular, their investigations rule out that T. 168 may have belonged to a youth²⁶.

¹⁸ *Pithekoussai I*, 212, note 1.

¹⁹ BARTONÉK – BUCHNER 1995, no. 44, 177 f.

²⁰ D’AGOSTINO 2011, 41 ff.

²¹ BUCHNER – RUSSO 1995, 220-222.

²² NEEFT 1987, 372-378.

²³ COLDSTREAM 2008, 330.

²⁴ NIZZO 2007, 33 ff.; 2016, 62 ff.

²⁵ An element supporting this hypothesis would also be the circumstance that some fragments of the craters were certainly found outside the “black earth stain”, underneath Tumuli 180 and 186: *Pithekoussai I*, 214.

²⁶ GIGANTE *et al.* 2021, 15: «however, the medians’ distribution of the three OPD (Osteon Population Density) clusters ... suggest that the cremated remains represent three individuals ranging from a younger (first cluster) to an older one (third cluster). Overall, the OPD values possibly exclude the presence of children in the Tomb 168 bone assemblage (OPD)».

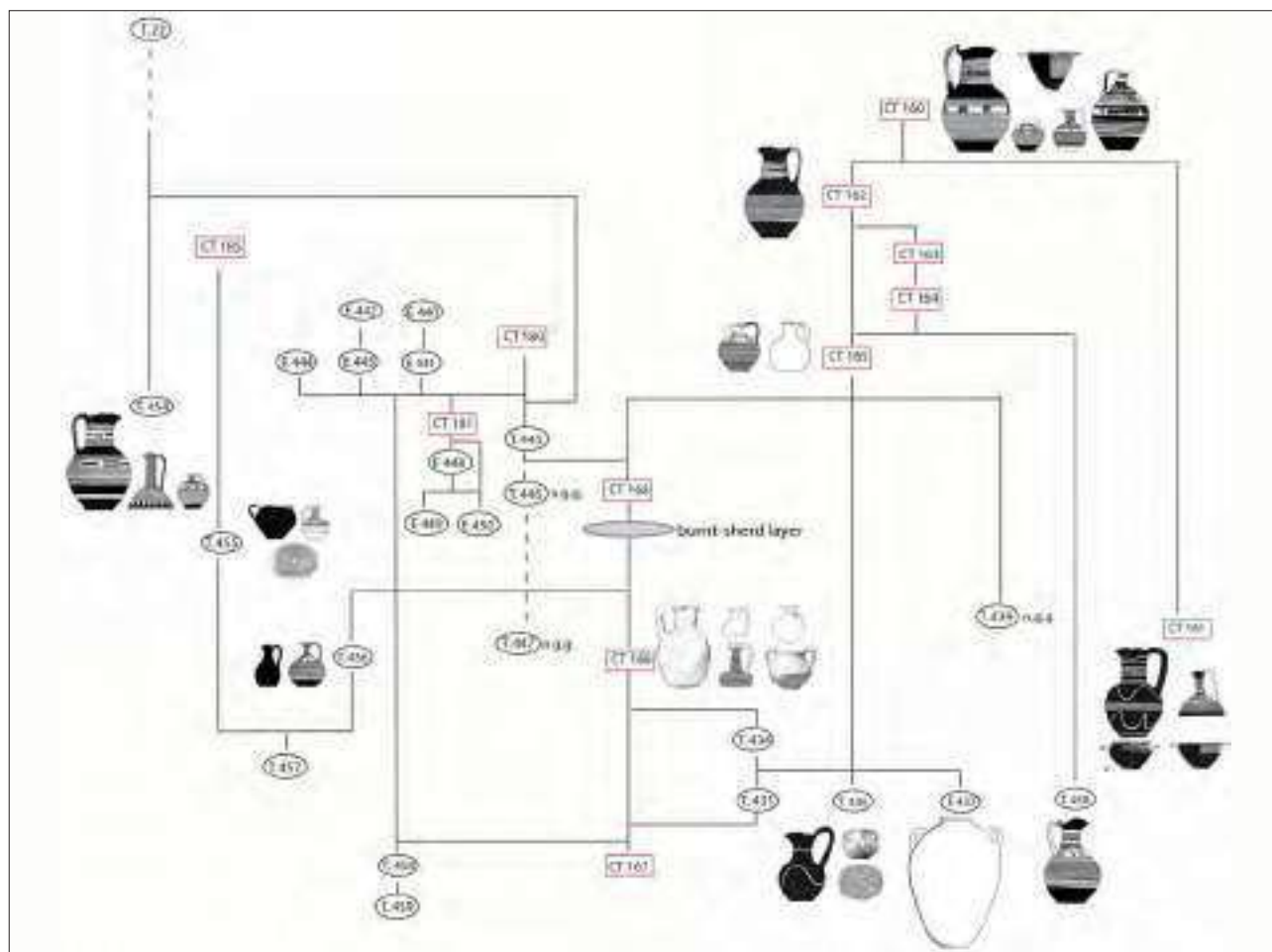


Fig 3. Matrix of the “cremation 168” cluster

The skeletal remains appear to belong, instead, to more than one (three?) young adults – as well as including some animal bones²⁷, probably the remains of funerary offerings.

Although the circumstances of discovery – as is also the case for the pottery and other artefacts – make it impossible to specify the exact provenance of skeletal remains, these results shed significant new light on the question, lending much more credibility to the hypothesis Buchner put forward during the excavation, namely, that the “T. 168” context was actually the result of the shuffling together of more than one burial assemblage.

In our opinion, the available evidence and the intertwining of the activities that occurred in a circumscribed time frame do not allow us to go any further in the interpretation of the data. However, the chronological range in which to place the succession of events - well delimited by the sequence of burials precisely outlined by G. Buchner - remains quite clear. So, although the archaeological context of Nestor’s cup is not that of a single burial – a conclusion warranted by a study of the pottery, and now further supported by anthropological analyses – its dating is not affected, remaining a chronological reference point for the history of the Mediterranean.

²⁷ GIGANTE *et al.* 2021, 14. Remains referable to *Ovis/Capra*, probably of *Ovis aries*, have been identified with certainty, others of *Canis familiaris* with some doubt. Other bones are generically ascribable to the *Aves* class.

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THE “CUP OF NESTOR” IN CONTEXT. THE RISE OF THE GREEK ARISTOCRATIC CULTURE*

Marek Węcowski

*I am Nestor's cup, good to drink from.
Whoever drinks from it, straightaway that man
will be seized by the desire belonging to fairly-crowned Aphrodite.*

When first presented to the scholarly world by Giorgio Buchner¹, the Pithecusan “Cup of Nestor” from the necropolis of San Montano was bewildering to the point of disbelief. Rhys Carpenter tried to date its staggering inscription to a later period and thus dissociate the vessel itself from its handsome text². Although this idea was patently wrong, I would argue that later scholarship unjustifiably stopped being puzzled by this object (and this text), iconic though they are in our scholarly debates. I suggest we ought to try to alienate ourselves, so to say, from this object once again to fully grasp its originality and its true importance.

Let me briefly summarize just one aspect of the discussion revolving around the “Cup of Nestor” and its possible historical implications. And let me emphasise right at the outset that I am not going to delve into the hotly debated issue of its conceivable significance for the history of Greek epic poetry, a debate at least partly focussed on identifying, or not, Nestor from this inscription with the epic character, Homeric or otherwise. Instead, I will concentrate on the interpretive line defined by the pathbreaking studies by Oswyn Murray³. We owe to this scholar not only an overall interpretation of the “Cup of

Nestor” and its inscription in the context of early Greek elite conviviality, or symposion, but also the conclusion that by virtue of combining the pleasures of Aphrodite, that of wine drinking, and the poetic form and conceivable original function of the text itself, this epigram is our first tangible testimony to the Greek notion of *euphrosyne*, or good cheer or joyousness as an ideal to strive for in life. This ideal was particularly appropriate to the social group that may be dubbed, in traditional sociological terms, a “leisure class”. Its main resort was the symposion, i.e. a nocturnal wine party attended by male aristocrats, a drinking occasion strictly separated from feasting that involved more solid food, and a party full of musical and poetic entertainments. In a series of studies dating from even before he tackled the “Cup of Nestor”, Murray asked a fundamental historical question of how to relate, in historical terms, this new elite focused, inter alia, on convivial pleasures with earlier types of social and political elites in the Early Iron Age Aegean⁴.

Nowadays, despite the growing stock of both archaeological evidence for socio-political developments in EIA Aegean and, as we shall see shortly, of freshly excavated objects (and texts) analogous to the “Cup of Nestor”, we venture to ask this crucial question afresh much too rarely. And this point needs to be stressed time and again. If we take, as I think we still should, the “Cup of Nestor” and its expanding kin as powerful symbols of social prestige, they look puzzling indeed as viewed

* I seize this occasion to thank the Organizers of this unforgettable conference for their hospitality in Ischia. This paper would not have been written without the generous support of the research project of Poland's National Science Center (NCN grant no. 2016/21/B/HS3/03096) and without the discussions with my collaborators in this project: Xenia Charalambidou, Katarzyna Kostecka, Cameron Pearson, and Roman Żuchowicz.

¹ BUCHNER – RUSSO 1955.

² CARPENTER 1963.

³ In particular MURRAY 1994.

⁴ From MURRAY 1983 to MURRAY 2009. All these studies now conveniently collected in MURRAY 2018.

against the backdrop of earlier social and cultural developments in the Aegean. Before returning to this issue to conclude my paper, let me now turn for a moment to the aforementioned growing family of similarly inscribed vessels.

What I mean by analogous vases is a group of almost fifty first-person utterances inscribed into wine-drinking paraphernalia, ranging from shortest ownership statements (“I am the vase of X”) to rather long poetic compositions such as the inscription of the “Cup of Nestor” itself⁵. As a group, they represent a substantial part of 8th- and 7th-century inscribed vessels catalogued thus far. What is striking about this collection is the fact that they most probably belonged to domestic contexts, where emphasising one’s ownership would have been superfluous. Moreover, just like the “Cup of Nestor”, some of these items seem to be self-consciously “overvalued” in that their inconspicuous material form sharply contrasts with the proud, even if jocular, utterances they bear. In one case, a rather modest LG monochrome cup from the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria has a pre-firing dipinto in bold letters parading the ownership of the vase⁶. Its future owner must have been proud enough of his prospective possession to pre-order this dipinto in a potter’s shop beforehand. All in all, this must have been a case of some added functional value involved here.

Now, I would not hesitate to link this phenomenon with a well-known rule of “doing things to the right” (*epidexia* or *endexia*) during Archaic and Classical symposia (already attested to in Homer), where various pastimes of the diners circulated in the dining-hall to give equal access to them to all the participants of the social gathering, but also to regulate and even stimulate their competition as all the entertainments involved were organised in a series of contests⁷. Bringing one’s cup inscribed with an ownership formula to a party would secure its possession when it circulated around (sometimes threatening curses against thieves were duly added) but would also add to the jocular atmosphere of the meeting since their inscriptions

would sometimes interact with the expectations of their drinkers in a paradoxical way, as the inscription of the “Cup of Nestor” famously does by invoking the pleasurable powers of Aphrodite where one would in principle expect a threatening curse (i.e., «whoever steals it will get blind»). Importantly, such early inscribed vessels were excavated in Pithecoussai, Kyme, Eretria, and recently, in a most spectacular manner, in Methone Pierias⁸, and possibly in Lefkandi, Al Mina, and Kommos.

Beginning in the second half of the 8th century BC, the sympotic function of such inscriptions – shorter or longer, humorous or serious as they may be – would most certainly require at least some acquaintance with an alphabetic script or perhaps even a rather solid level of functional literacy to make them truly effective. And even if not, the alphabetic script would at least serve some symbolic purpose for the social group enjoying this type of entertainment.

In the category of early inscribed vessels, the “Cup of Nestor” still has just a few direct matches bearing longer poetic, or partly poetic, compositions to compare with, including the now famous “Hakesandros Cup” from Methone⁹. Meanwhile, one less spectacular object deserves our special attention here. It is yet another “bird kotyle”, this time from Eretria and badly damaged (ca. 720-710 BC) so that the inscription can only tentatively be restored¹⁰. What is left, however, is meaningful enough: «I belong to Thymokartès [or to Euthymos – M.W.]. The one who will [drink from this cup,] instantly she will be well...». This time the potential “victim” of the “curse” will be a woman, which is striking indeed. But the most important thing is that it perfectly matches the Pithecusan “Cup of Nestor” as regards the form of the inscription. Once again, the first line of an uncertain metrical status was most probably followed by two hexameters. And it not only yields a similar set of ideas but does it in the very same syntactic structure. There is no escape; we must conclude that two contemporaneous drinking vessels of the same type, one found in the Euboean motherland and the other excavated overseas on Ischia, actually pre-

⁵ In general, see BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995 (cf. BARTONĚK 1998), and recently WĘCOWSKI 2017.

⁶ Cf. KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, no. 1.

⁷ Cf. WĘCOWSKI 2014, *passim*.

⁸ *Methone Pierias I*.

⁹ *Methone Pierias I*, no. 2.

¹⁰ BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, B1 (*LSAG*² 434 [B], pl. 73,4).

sent variations on the same poetic form and possibly on the same set of convivial ideas. If so, spanning the Euboean Mediterranean in the second half of the 8th century BC, when taken together they testify to the rise of a fairly homogeneous custom of culture-oriented drinking that involved circulating wine-cups and poetic performances by the diners, but also some level of their functional literacy.

As to the emergence of highly idiosyncratic wine-drinking habits of utmost social importance in the Aegean, I suggested a possible historical time-frame in my book of the rise of the Greek aristocratic banquet¹¹. Based on a series of distinctive developments in the material culture, they seem to have been well underway by the MG II period. Socially meaningful ways of pleasurable drinking are suggested, *inter alia*, by the appearance of the class of multi-storeyed “trick vases” of multiplied capacity to provide for more alcohol and more fun when their drinkers will be tricked, or pretend to be tricked, into consuming more than they anticipated¹², but also by the growing importance of the kantharos with high strap handles. The latter was obviously very convenient to be passed around from one diner to another, but not so much for drinking itself and this could have been the point because they may have been supposed to test the dexterity and elegance of their drinkers as many later shapes of Greek sympotic pottery did. In less practical terms, I would stress the importance of yet another new phenomenon, namely of the symbolically laden knobs of Attic, and then Euboean, large wine containers and pyxides. In the MG II period, the traditional repertory of handles crowning such vessels was expanded to include not only horse figurines and granary models – and thus alluding to the ideal “social persona” of their owners as possessors of horses and of large storage of grain – but also miniature wine-drinking paraphernalia such as skyphoi, oionochai or hydriai. It was by no means a minor change since, in purely symbolic terms, wine drinking and wine ceremonial in general seem hereby to join in the set of prestigious activities meant for establishing, consolidating, and displaying one’s social status and prestige.

All in all, I think it justified to say that with all these developments at hand, we may postulate the existence, or maybe even the rise of the prestigious, i.e. socially meaningful elite wine party at least foreshadowing, if not identical with, the symposium as defined based on our sources beginning with the testimony of the “Cup of Nestor”. Therefore, at this juncture, returning to our initial historical question, it is worthwhile to briefly consider the historical implications of this development. To put it briefly, redirecting means of social prestige in a commensal context from what earlier must have been based on more or less conspicuous consumption of meat to more or less subtle and ceremonial wine drinking is a major change. It can be analysed by having recourse to the famous anthropological theory of “commensal politics” as formulated by Michael Dietler and Brian Hayden¹³. In a nutshell, to use their famous definitions, the “empowering feasting” is all about the «manipulation of commensal hospitality» ultimately to be translated «into an ability to influence group decisions or actions»¹⁴, whereas the “patron-role feasting” «involves the formalized use of commensal hospitality to symbolically reiterate and legitimize institutionalized relations of asymmetrical social power»¹⁵. The lavish offering of animal meat to one’s guests (or social peers to compete with) would be a main economic tool in both cases. In contrast to them, Dietler’s “diacritical feasting” «involves the use of differentiated cuisine and styles of consumption as a diacritical symbolic device [...]», and in which «the emphasis shifts from an asymmetrical commensal bond between unequal partners to a statement of exclusive and unequal commensal circles [...]». Therein, «[d]iacritical stylistic distinctions [...] may be orchestrated by the use of elaborate food-service vessels and implements or architectonically distinguished settings to serve to “frame” elite consumption as a distinctive practice even when food is not distinctive. Or they may be based upon differences in the complexity of the pattern of preparation and consumption of food and specialized knowledge and taste (i.e. the “cultural capital”

¹¹ WĘCOWSKI 2014.

¹² Cf. SIMANTONI-BOURNIA 2011.

¹³ DIETLER – HAYDEN 2001.

¹⁴ DIETLER – HAYDEN 2001, 75-76.

¹⁵ DIETLER – HAYDEN 2001, 82.

[...] that proper consumption entails»¹⁶. No doubt, as M. Dietler observed himself, there is hardly a more emblematic case of “diacritical feasting” than the Greek symposion. And most probably earlier models of “commensal politics” in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Aegean may generally be identified with “patron-role feasting” or with “empowering feasting” in one way or another.

In my study of the origins of the symposion, I have argued that the “diacritical” aspect of the symposion prominently featured the competencies of the diners themselves¹⁷. Diverse cultural performances or dexterity games, all organised in a series of contests, were at the core of this new social practice. And they had direct socio-political implications at that. I tried to show that such cultural skills and abilities were indeed a prerequisite for one to be included in elite drinking circles and, as such, the symposion served as a forum for the natural selection of Greek aristocracy, sealing the ascendancy of an ambitious and successful individual (and his offspring) if one was admitted by the traditional local elites to their symposia. It is also important to bear in mind that all this involved an important economic factor. Separating wine drinking from eating at symposia resulted, among other things, in lowering the economic threshold for those aspiring to establish their elite status in feasting, since they no longer needed to have access to large herds of cattle to feast in a conspicuous manner while distributing large quantities of meat to their potential supporters or their social peers. Thus, the mechanisms of social advancement were facilitated in the symposion, which focused on wine drinking and was largely based on the “cultural capital” showcased and practiced by the diners. I, for one, would not hesitate to differentiate the new elite excelling in the new “diacritical” lifestyle from older ones and would eagerly call this new one aristocracy proper.

To return to the times of the “Cup of Nestor”, or the period slightly predating it, yet another “diacritical” element of prestigious lifestyle detectable in the MG period in the Aegean seems to be combined with pleasurable wine drinking as well, namely the erotic, or better, aphrodisiac discourse. Before we

find it explicitly stated in the epigram of the “Cup of Nestor” and most probably (implied by the feminine form in the epigram) on the “bird kotyle” from Eretria¹⁸, an erotic scene involving an adult male and an adolescent (or perhaps a woman) and jokingly mirroring consecutive scenes of copulating horses, features on the famous MG I/II “krater of black horses” (ca. 760 BC) from a sumptuous pyre in Eretria recently published by Athanasia Psalti¹⁹. Once again, a distinctive lifestyle, instead of publicising one’s social and especially economic might, comes to the fore in a convivial context, once again reflected in the funerary display.

What the “Cup of Nestor” adds to this cultural complex roughly a generation later is, obviously, poetry and the alphabet. Whereas the former aspect, suggestive of poetic performances of the Pithecan diners, seems rather straightforward and has been wonderfully studied ever since Peter A. Hansen’s seminal study of the issue²⁰, we need to dwell for a moment on the latter. In the current state of our evidence, we cannot help using the “Cup of Nestor” and its kin in our hypotheses regarding the origins and the moment of adoption of the alphabetic script by the Greeks. However, I would argue that what may be called the wave of early convivial inscriptions of the Late Geometric period has no direct relevance to the problem of the invention of the Greek alphabet²¹. Rather, it only bespeaks of a new cultural fashion which let the alphabetic script invade the convivial pastimes of the Euboean elites.

Meanwhile, as such, this phenomenon seems to round off earlier intricate developments by adding one more cultural competence to the repertoire of the social skills required to join in the sophisticated entertainment of their local elites. Of course, I do not suggest that each individual partaking in the ceremonial drinking parties of this period must have been literate – any more than that each and every one of them must have been able to improvise decent convivial poetry. What I mean is that

¹⁸ Both testimonies may ultimately suggest the existence of sympotic hetaerae at an early date. Cf. WĘCOWSKI 2017, 319 with note 28.

¹⁹ Cf. PSALTI 2011.

²⁰ HANSEN 1976.

²¹ For a detailed argument to this effect, see WĘCOWSKI 2017.

¹⁶ DIETLER – HAYDEN 2001, 85–86.

¹⁷ WĘCOWSKI 2014.

both the alphabetic and poetic competencies of a given diner would importantly add to the social graces of this individual in his immediate social circle, thus adding to his social status and prestige. In that, Euboean drinking parties of this period fully deserve to be called “culture-oriented banquets” and I would be tempted to interpret them, already at so early a date, as hubs of the natural selection of early Greek local aristocracies.

To conclude, let me observe that the sheer number and, in particular, the wide geographical distribution of the inscribed convivial vases that provided the starting point for this paper may suggest a supra-local social function of such vessels and of the lifestyle they seem to convey. We witness this phenomenon from Pithecoussai and Kyme in the West to Eretria in the Euboean motherland and further north to the Euboean outpost in Methone. But by the end of the 8th century BC, this cultural complex clearly reached as far as the eastern shores of the Aegean, as an analogous cup from Rhodes, inscribed by its owner, a certain Korax, shows well²². And this process of swift geographical expansion of the custom of inscribing convivial pottery with this type of inscriptions is fully understandable from the perspective I advocate here.

Namely, distinctive elite wine drinking must have been a socially powerful mediating force. It not only served the integration of local aristocracies

in many corners of the Mediterranean, but even more so, it provided a convenient and duly respected tool of mediation and integration for travelling and interacting Greeks across the Mediterranean. Economic transactions, marriages, political alliances, and all other occasions uniting individuals by bonds of ritual friendship, *philia* or *xenia*, must have been sealed at symposia, where a certain level of cultural homogeneity was required to fully realise the potential of this “culture-oriented banquet”. Indeed, one of the inscribed LG vessels in Methone alludes, if I am not mistaken, to the *xenia* ritual²³. As a result, countless interconnected networks were born and consolidated, covering the “small Greek world”, as Irad Malkin calls it²⁴, in its entirety. And one of its main unifying mechanisms, or mobile hubs of this overarching network, were aristocratic symposia, or better, the cultural skills and competencies on which this social practice was based. In this manner, the Pithecusan “Cup of Nestor” and its Eretrian counterpart I mentioned above become our first witnesses to the rise of the Greek aristocratic culture in a broader sense of the term, a culture that indeed can be described as a main integrative force of early Greek civilisation – both in its social and geographical dimension, thus matching and counterbalancing the fundamental (geographic and political) fragmentation of the Hellenic world.

²² *LSAG*² 347, pl. 67,1.

²³ WĘCOWSKI 2017, 319-321 with pl. 1 (p. 328).

²⁴ MALKIN 2011.

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KYME, APOLLO AND THE SIBYL

Alfonso Mele

1. KYMAIAN APOLLO

Among the most significant results obtained with the new excavations in Kyme (Campania), of great importance are those relating to the temple of Apollo on the Acropolis, in particular the two votive bronzes of the Archaic age found in the votive deposit¹, studied by Teresa Cinquantaquattro and Carlo Rescigno², and the votive deposit with the remains of ritual meals and a large number of mouse bones in the *pronaos* of the temple³.

This evidence demonstrates two fundamental points: the upper temple is Apollo's temple and the chronology of the two votive objects (end of the 8th/beginning of the 7th cent. BC) testifies to the antiquity of the cult.

These findings stimulate discussion on some crucial topics: the antiquity of the cult of the Apollo *Archegetes* and its relationship with the *Smintheus* Apollo; the relationship between Trojan and Cumaean Sibyl; the sibylline prophecy and the foundation of the colony; the meaning of the two votive offerings. I will try to consider the relative traditions in the following pages, trying to decode the message hidden by archaeological evidence⁴.

2. APOLLO *ARCHEGETES* IN KYME

The city of Kyme assigns the function of *archegetes* to the god: it is thanks to Apollo that the colonists choose the area⁵ in which to establish the settlement and organize the urban space⁶.

Its worship dates back to the origin of the colony: the temple is built at the top of the acropolis hill, due to Apollo's preference for peaks with wide views (σκοπιά) and for heights (πρώονες ἄκροι)⁷: Virgil mentions the *arces*, *quibus altus Apollo presidet* and his commentator Servius specifies *cum ubique arx Jovi detur; apud Cumas in arce Apollinis templum est*⁸.

An identical model can be found in Naxos⁹, the first foundation of the Chalkidians in Sicily, as well as the first Chalkidian foundation in Campania, Kyme; Naxos was founded by Theokles as was Kyme by a *theòs patròos*¹⁰: the creation of the famous altar gives a leading role to the *archegetes* Apollo¹¹, as does the location of the temple at Kyme; Naxos receives the poleonym from the Naxians of the Cyclades area, to whom the main cult belongs¹², just as in Kyme the poleonym is given by the component coming from the Aeolis of Asia, the area from where the *xoanon* came¹³.

¹ RESCIGNO *et al.* 2016, 7-66.

² CINQUANTAQUATTRO – RESCIGNO 2017, 217 ff.

³ Their latest excavations, not yet edited, have confirmed the ancient evidence, for the identification of the site with the temple of Apollo, as well for its chronology.

⁴ In my opinion the starting points are the works on the Aeolic colonies and world published in MELE *et al.* 2005, the preceding results of my studies on Campanian Kyme that came together in MELE 2014b, 41-140, and the following research in MELE *et al.* 2019.

⁵ HOM., *Hymn. Ap.*, 528-531; CALLIM., *Hymn.*, II, 65-58.

⁶ HOM., *Hymn. Ap.*, 245-288; CALLIM., *Hymn.*, II, 55-59. Cf. DETIENNE 1990, 301 ff.

⁷ HOM., *Hymn. Ap.*, 22 f.; 144 f.

⁸ VERG., *Aen.*, VI, 9, and SERVIUS *ad loc.*

⁹ Cf. THUC. VI, 3, 1, with STRABO, V, 4, 4, 243 (Ephorus).

¹⁰ IG XIV 715 = IN 2.

¹¹ THUC., VI, 3, 1. Cf. EPHOR., F 137.

¹² APPIAN., *Civ.* V, 109.

¹³ AUG., *de civ. Dei*, 11; JUL. OBS., 28; DIO. CASS., XXIV, F 84, 2. Cf. RAGONE 2003, 77 ff.

The identification of Apollo as *archegetes* emerges clearly in authors linked to Campania as Velleius Paterculus et Papinius Statius. According to the former¹⁴, the Chalkidian fleet was led to Kyme by the flight of a dove that preceded it (*columbae antecedentis volatu*). Statius makes the foundation of the colony an accomplished achievement *auguriis magnis*: the poet indicates Apollo as the *duoctor populi longe migrantis*; Eumelus, the *theòs patròos* of the Eumelidai – a *phratry* which went from Cumae to Neapolis – is depicted gazing at the bird on the god's left shoulder because Apollo himself indicated the destination to the colonists by means of a dove (*ipse Dionaea monstravit Apollo columba*)¹⁵. He is echoed by his contemporary Silius Italicus who defines the walls of Naples *Pheretiadum muros*: «walls of the descendants of Pheres», that is of Eumelus and his father Admetus¹⁶. A direct line connects *Eumelus* with the homonymous hero dear to Achilles¹⁷, who in Troy had the best mares raised by Apollo, and therefore excelled for *hipposyne*. According to a similar logic, Hippokles, the historical *oikistes* of the Aeolic group who came to Cumae, was *famous for horses*¹⁸.

In this way, the Chalkidian Kyme in Campania became Aeolian, like a duplicate of the homonymous Asian city. Eumelus is Aeolian by birth: Pheres, his grandfather, is the son of Kretheus¹⁹, son of Aiolos²⁰. Both Admetus and Eumelus are connected to the Aeolian Asia: Admetus founded the Aeolian Magnesia on the Maeander²¹ with a group of Pheraioi consecrated as a tithe to Apollo, who was his *hippoboukolos*²²; Eumelidai founded Aeolian Cumae and Smyrne²³. Apollo served as a *hippoboukolos* Admetus, father of Eumelus, near the river Amphryso in Phytotis²⁴: for Virgil the god is *pastor ab Amphryso*²⁵, and the Cumaeans Sibyl as

an *Amphrysia vates* is linked to him²⁶. Assigning a role of *oikistes* to Eumelus through Apollo *archegetes*, means recognizing a founding role to the local *Eumelidai*: Kyme in Campania is homologous to the one in Aeolis, receiving traditions of the Asian colony, which, according to Ephorus and Pseudo Scymnus, was its motherland²⁷.

The Aeolian origin of Kyme is further confirmed in literary sources: we can remember the tears of Apollo for the Aeolis, whence he had come²⁸, and the role assigned to Eumelus in the testimonies of Virgil, Velleius, Statius and Silius, all connected to Campania: the first and the last moved there and, after death were buried there, while the others were of Campanian origin.

The tradition that made Euboea of Aeolian origin²⁹, takes into consideration the Eretrian temple of Apollo at Tamynae founded by Admetus, father of Eumelus and, meaningfully, transferred the service performed by Apollo as a shepherd of Admetus to Tamynae³⁰. Still, according to this tradition, a part of the colony of Penthilus directed to Aeolis remained in Euboea³¹: Eretria is the “queen” of the Cyclades³²; Andros is placed next to the Chalkidians³³; Naxos in Tunisia³⁴ and Sicily³⁵. The Hyperborean Virgins arrive in Delos³⁶ at the time of the birth of Apollo and Artemis: among them, Achaia, *hypostasis* of Demeter, is destined to be ritually celebrated in the songs of Olenus; the others, *Opi/Oupis* and *Arge/Ekaerge*, both *hypostasis* of Artemis³⁷, in the songs of Kymaean Melanopus, ancestor of Homer and Hesiod, who were connected, through Argive Kleanax, to the *Kleuadai* of Aeolic Kyme³⁸.

Kyme is inserted in a coherent epic-mythical structure: the *apoikia* was founded where Kirke

¹⁴ VELL. PAT., I, 4, 1.

¹⁵ Cf. STAT., *Silvae*, IV, 8, 45-49, with III, 5, 79-80.

¹⁶ II. II, 711-715; 763; XXIII 376; 391; 532; HES. F 54 c. d.

¹⁷ II. XXIV, 332-340; 558-565.

¹⁸ Cf. II II, 763-767; XXIII, 288, with STRABO, V, 4, 4, 243.

¹⁹ HES. F 10,2; F 38; OD. XI, 259.

²⁰ HES., F 10 MW.

²¹ IVM, 17; HERMESIANAX, F 5 Powell = PARTH., *Am. Narr.*, 5, 6.

²² HES., F 54 bc; CALLIM., *Hymn. Ap.*, 49-50; HERMESIANAX *apud* PARTH., *Am. Narr.*, 5, 6; APD., I, 9, 15.

²³ *Vita Hom. Her.*, 2, 19-23.

²⁴ APD., II, 6, 2 (129).

²⁵ CALLIM., *Hymn. Ap.*, 48; VERG., *Geo.*, III, 2; OV., *Met.*, I, 580; 7, 129.

²⁶ VERG., *Aen.*, VI, 398.

²⁷ EPHORUS, F 134 b; STRABO, V, 4, 4, 243.

²⁸ AUG., *de civ. Dei*, III, 11; JUL. OBS., 28; DIO. CASS., XXIV, F 84, 2.

²⁹ STRABO, X, 1, 10,447, PLUT., *QG*, 22, 296 d-e.

³⁰ *Euboika* 427 F 1 = STRABO, X, 1, 10, 447.

³¹ STRABO, X, 1, 8,447.

³² STRABO, X, 1, 10, 417.

³³ PLUT., *Mor.*, 298 Ab.

³⁴ PS. SCYL., 111.

³⁵ HELL., 4 F 82; EPHOR., 70 F 137.

³⁶ *Hom. Hymn. Ap.*, 91 ff.; HDT., IV, 35.

³⁷ CALLIM., *Hymn. Artem.*, 204, 240.

³⁸ Cf. *Vita Hom. Her.*, I, 5-10, with STRABO, XIII.1, 13.

and the *Cimmerii* had been³⁹, between Latins generated by Odysseus and Kirke⁴⁰, and Ausonians generated by Odysseus and Kirke in Latium⁴¹ or by Odysseus and Calypso in Campania⁴². The Greek colonists followed these traditions, drank the wine as the *philoinos* Nestor⁴³, and buried their leaders following the ritual performed by the Achaeans for their heroes, Achilles, Patroclus and Hector⁴⁴. They founded their city and took over the Campanian Plain, borrowing from the *apogonoi* of Agamemnon⁴⁵, Apollo Smintheus guardian of the crops⁴⁶, next to which stood the Sibyl, whose prophecies ensured the salvation of the cities.

The choice of the Chalkidians, moreover, is perfectly consistent with Euboea, daughter of Makareus⁴⁷, and the original Aeolian nature of Euboea⁴⁸; with the foundation by Admetus, father of Eumelus, of the temple of Apollo at Tamynae⁴⁹; with Agamemnon's stop in Eretria, where he founded the local Thesmophoriae⁵⁰ and especially with the settlement in Euboea of part of the Penthius expedition directed to the Aeolis⁵¹, which included Euboea in the context of Aeolian migration.

3. APOLLO SMINTHEUS AS ARCHEGETES

Let us now examine the traditions regarding Aeolian Apollo in the Chalkidian colonies. The Phokaians, at the end of the 7th century BC, moved to Gaul, the land of their *emporion*⁵²; they acquired from Ephesus, a city founded by a Lydian *kapelos*⁵³, the priestess and the *amphidruma* of Artemis Ephesia as

hegemon. The goddess was the protagonist of worship open to the indigenous world, and the Phokaians, starting with the most important Emporion, spread her cult throughout all their foundations⁵⁴. In a similar way, the altar of Apollo, the main Chalkidian cult in Sicily, was erected by the Naxians⁵⁵.

At the same time, the *xoanon* of the god was brought by the Aeolians to Campania where, according to Velleius, Statius, Silius Italicus, Apollo, with a prophetic dove⁵⁶ (and not with a crow, like Apollo Delphic for Cyrene)⁵⁷ led the settlers who left in the wake of the Aeolian Eumelus⁵⁸. The latter was *theòs patròs* of the *Eumelidai*, Cumae-an-Neapolitans, of Thessalian origin⁵⁹ but who went on to find the Aeolian Kyme and Smyrne⁶⁰.

The Aeolians made their own ancient local cults⁶¹, including that of Smintheus Apollo⁶²; according to an Archaic pre-Olympic tradition⁶³, attested by Pherecydes⁶⁴, Theopompus⁶⁵, and Anticlidides⁶⁶, Oenomaus had been king of Lesbos⁶⁷ and father of Mytilene, eponymous of the city⁶⁸. A tragic chariot race took place on the island and the winner, Pelops, became king of Lesbos, whence he brought the golden lamb, which had been at the center of the conflict between Atreus and Thyestes⁶⁹. Smintheus Apollo is also known, in the Troad⁷⁰ as in Mytilene⁷¹, with the *epiklesis* of *Killeus*. In his temple the tomb of the Sibyl was next to one of Killeus, charioteer of Pelops and founder of Killa in the Aeolis⁷²; Pelops killed Myrtilos, the

³⁹ EPHOR., 70 F 134.

⁴⁰ HES., *Theog.*, 1011-1016.

⁴¹ PS. SCYMN. 230; SERV., *ad Aen.* III 171; *Schol. AR* IV 553 Wendel; FEST. s.v. Αὐσονία; *Suid.*, s.v. Αὐσόνιον; EM, s.v.; cf. EUSTATH., DP 78.

⁴² PSEUD. SCYMN. 226-230.

⁴³ 1 M-L; ATHEN., X, 433 bc; XI, 461 d; 487 f.; 781 d.

⁴⁴ CERCIAI 1995, 74-76; CERCIAI 1998, 117-124; CRIELAARD 2016, 43 ff.

⁴⁵ STRABO, XIII, 1, 1,3,582.

⁴⁶ *Schol. Il.* I, 39; EUSTATH. *Il.*, V, I, 55, 34-56, 16.

⁴⁷ HES., F 184 M-W e.

⁴⁸ PLUT., *QG*, 22.

⁴⁹ STRABO, X, 1, 10, 448.

⁵⁰ PLUT., *QG*, 31.

⁵¹ STRABO, X, 1, 7, 447.

⁵² ARISTOT. F 549 R = TROG.-JUSTIN., XLIII, 3, 5-13.

⁵³ *Et.M.*, s.v. Ἐφεσος Δαίτις.

⁵⁴ STRABO, IV, 1, 4, 179; III, 4, 6, 159; 4, 8, 160.

⁵⁵ ARRIAN., BC, V, 12, 109. Cf. HELLAN., 4 F 82; EPHOR., 70 F 137 b.

⁵⁶ STAT., *Silvae*, III, 5, 79-80; IV, 8, 47-49; VELL. PAT., I, 4, 1.

⁵⁷ CALLIM., *Hymn. Ap.*, 65-68.

⁵⁸ STAT., *Silvae*, III, 5, 79-80.

⁵⁹ IG XIV 715 = IN 2.

⁶⁰ *Vita. Hom. Her.*, 2, 19-23.

⁶¹ DEMON 327 F 17.

⁶² STRABO, XII, 2, 5, 518; 1, 62-63, 612-613; AEL. ARIST., *Ars Rhet.*, v.1, 14, 1 subs., 1; STEPH. BYZ., s.v. Ἐκατόνησοι.

⁶³ CASSOLA 1957, 123 f.; cf. F. JACOBY - KOMM. I, 403 *ad Pherec.* 3 F 37.

⁶⁴ PHEREC. 3 F 37 b.

⁶⁵ THEOP. 115 F 350.

⁶⁶ ANTICL. 140 F 8.

⁶⁷ *Schol. EUR. Or.*, 990.

⁶⁸ HEC. 1 F 140.

⁶⁹ ANTICLID. 140 F 8.

⁷⁰ STRABO, 613.

⁷¹ IG XII, 2, 74, l.14.

⁷² THEOP. 115 F 350.

unfaithful charioteer, who after winning the race and before moving to the Peloponnese, had betrayed Oenomaus⁷³.

Smintheus Apollo played a leading role in legitimizing through an oracle the settlement on Mount Ida of the Teucrians from Crete⁷⁴: in Knossos, Smintheus is already documented as an anthroponym in the Mycenaean age⁷⁵. In Lesbos, where his cult is attested⁷⁶, among the Penthilides *archegetai* of the colony who accompanied Archelaos and Gras, a similar leading role is played by the basileus *Smintheus* and the ritual is connected to him⁷⁷. In Lesbos, an oracle ordered the newly arrived colonists to perform a human sacrifice to Poseidon and Amphitrite: the victim had to be thrown into the sea. When they arrived in a place called *Mesogeion*, the Fate chooses as a victim a *παρθένος* who was Smintheus' daughter; Enalos, one of the *hegemones*, οὐκ ἀγεννῆς ὥς ἔοικε νεανίας, in love with the girl, dived in with her and when they reappeared, he said that they were saved by dolphins. According to Athenian Anticlides, they passed to a new divine life at sea: the girl among the Nereids and Enalos taking care of the mares of Poseidon⁷⁸. According to Myrsilos of Methymna, on the other hand, they had a human life and fate in Lesbos⁷⁹.

Anticlides and Myrsilos also report another tradition regarding Enalos: the former recounts that he had once recovered a gold cup when diving, the latter a stone carried by octopuses, later deposited in the temple of Poseidon. All these elements demonstrate transition rituals that began with a symbolic marriage leading to the birth of the colony. Firstly, the arrival in a land of passage, a *mesogeion*, and the intervention of a specific age group, a *parthenos* and a *neanias*; then a ritual passage⁸⁰, a dive followed by resurfacing, with the intervention of amphibian dolphins, connected in this role to the youths.⁸¹ Poseidon, who had be-

come the *kyrios* of the *parthenos*, offers a golden cup to Enalos, a sign of consent to the union, as in the marriage ritual recalled by Pindar⁸². The stone, given when the colony was founded, alludes to the role of guarantor of buildings with solid foundations (*themeliouchos* and *asphaleios*) evoked by the Poseidon *petraios*⁸³.

In the Troad, Apollo as Smintheus indicated, through the *sminthoi*, the site of the new colony, and for this reason, his cult was born. In Lesbos, the life of the colony ritually started with the marriage of the daughter of the god: consequently, Apollo *Smintheus* is worshipped in Chryse-Arisbe⁸⁴ and a prophet of Apollo Smintheus is attested in Methymna⁸⁵, the place of the reappearance of Enalos and his companion.

So, it is not surprising that in Kyme, where the Aeolian Apollo led the settlers, mice appear in Cumaeian coins in the 5th century BC. In the 4th century BC, a colony of mice appears in the Cumaeian temple of the god, and in the Samnitic Capua, there were the Sminthii who are a gens of Etruscan origin⁸⁶.

The cult was very ancient in Aeolis: the Teucrians, as well as the Aeolian settlers referred to it. The word *Sminthos* is documented in Phrygia and Crete, the homeland of the Teucrians, where it is an anthroponym attested in Knossos since the Bronze Age⁸⁷; *sminthoi* were the country mice for the Aeolians and the Trojans, μύες ἀρουραῖοι⁸⁸.

The Apollo Smintheus or Sminthios had a large area of veneration in the Troad⁸⁹, which interested Parion and Tenedo, as well as Chryse, Larisa, Sminthe, Killa, and Gergite, areas that merged first in the city of Hamaxitus, and subsequently, at the end of the 4th century BC, in Alexandria Troas. Apollo Smintheus is mentioned by Homer as the lord of Tenedos, Chryse and Killa: the god, after the offense made by Agamemnon against his priest,

⁷³ PHEREC. F 37 b.

⁷⁴ CALLIN. F 7 W; EUSTATH., II. I, 39, V.1, 56, 26-57, 38.

⁷⁵ KN AM 827 + 7032+6618; V 1583+7747+7887(*si-mi-te-u*).

⁷⁶ IG XII 2, 519; IMT SuedlTroas 556.

⁷⁷ PLUT., *Mor.*, 163 C-D, 984 E; ATHEN., XI, 466 d.

⁷⁸ ANTikleid. 140 F 4.

⁷⁹ MYRSILOS 477 F 14.

⁸⁰ D'AGOSTINO – CERCHIAI 1999, 64 ff., 81 ff.

⁸¹ ARISTOT., *H.A.* IX, 48, 631 b; PLIN., *N.H.*, IX, 24-33; AEL., *N.A.* VI, 15.

⁸² PIND., *O.* VII, 1-11 and *schol.* 1b.

⁸³ CORNUTUS, *De nat. deor.*, 44, 22.

⁸⁴ ST. BYZ., s.v. Χρύση. Cf. TUMPEL 1890, 97 ff.

⁸⁵ IG XII, 2, 19. Cf. XII, 2, 589 e 611 (theophoric name Σμίνθιος).

⁸⁶ RIX Cp 4; Cp 5.

⁸⁷ KN Am 827, 1; V 1583 A.

⁸⁸ AEL., *N.A.* XII, 5; *schol.* LYC., 1303; HESYCH., s.v.; SERV., *Aen.* III, 108.

⁸⁹ STRABO, XIII, 604-605.

sends a plague to the Achaean camp⁹⁰. The episode is the starting point of the so-called Achilleid and dates back to the oldest nucleus of the poem.

The god played a dual role in that area. The first is evidenced by the *aition* of the cult in Chryse⁹¹ and by the later interpretation of his statue as of an Apollo crushing a mouse (μυοκτόνος)⁹²: the god eliminated the mice that devoured the crop, after having sent them as punishment. The second is illustrated by the *aition* of the cult of Hamaxitos: the god made the *sminthos* the instrument of his oracles (*mantikòtaton zoon*)⁹³ and his statue was interpreted as one of the gods who had a (*myopia*) white mouse nest at his foot for good luck; the mice were raised in the temple and sacred to him⁹⁴.

The antiquity of the cult in the Troad is witnessed in the 7th century by Callinus of Ephesus⁹⁵. The poet told the *aition* of the foundation of Hamaxitos and Gergite, on Mount Ida in Troad, by the Teucrians of Cretan origin. They stopped there because the god had ordered the Cretans to find the colony where the earth-born (*gege-neis*) had attacked them and, precisely on Mount Ida, a multitude of local rats (*sminthoi*) devoured all edible parts of their weapons, rendering them useless.

It is through mice that the god manifests his will (διὰ σμίνθων χρήσαντα)⁹⁶: so, the Teucrians recognized the mice as sacred⁹⁷ and endowed with a mantic power, and dedicated a temple to Apollo, calling it Smintheus or Sminthios. The reproduction of a mouse is placed next to the god's tripod in the temple and white mice, as a good omen⁹⁸, are domesticated and fed at public expense: their nest (*pholeos*) is under the altar. Skopas took due account of this in the 4th century, representing the god with one foot resting on a mouse⁹⁹.

If we evaluate the main places of worship and the importance assigned to mice as mantic ani-

mals, Apollo Smintheus was a philo-Trojan god: this data is important for Cumae where a votive deposit of the Campanian age, from the mid-4th century BC, highlighted the conspicuous role of a colony of mice in the religious life of the temple.

The significance of this operation becomes clear in the context of 4th-century relations between the Campanians and Rome after the *dedictio* of Capua in 343 BC, an act sanctioned by a *foedus*¹⁰⁰ and accompanied by *conubia vetusta*¹⁰¹ and citizenship¹⁰².

In the 4th century, the founding traditions of Capua were used, in which Romulus and Remus appear as direct descendants of Aeneas¹⁰³; in Kyme the *equites* received Roman citizenship¹⁰⁴.

When Rome intervened in Campania in 340 BC, the *consul*, a member of the Decii, a family of Italic origin, used the *cognomen Mus*, a Latin translation of *sminthos*¹⁰⁵, revealing all its value. This surname was linked to a city of Trojan origin, such as Rome and to a cult, specific to the Troad, for the protection of harvests. This cult was common to both a colony founded by people coming from the Troad and from the Aeolis, like Cumae and to a city boasting Trojan origins, like Capua¹⁰⁶ where some Sminthii lived¹⁰⁷. Both cities are connected to the Campanian Plain and interested in the protection of wineries and cereals, and in the defence against the onslaught of the *mures agrestes*, enemies of crops as well as vines¹⁰⁸.

The political use of these cultural traditions appears as a constant in the Cumaean sphere. In 208 BC, before the victory of Metaurus, it was an ill omen that the mice gnawed on the gold in the temple of Jupiter, on the lower terrace of the acropolis of Cumae¹⁰⁹. In 130 BC, the *senes* of Cumae opposed the Roman decision to destroy the image of the god which was seen to shed tears as a tribute to

⁹⁰ HOM., *Il.*, I, 36-39.

⁹¹ SCHOL. *Il.* I, 39; EUSTATH. *Il.*, V, I, 55, 34-56, 16.

⁹² APD., 244 F 99 = Cram. AP III, 112, 31; EUSTATH. *Il.*, V.1, 56, 14.

⁹³ AEL., *N.A.* I, 11.

⁹⁴ HERAC. PONT., F 154 W; STRABO, XIII,1,48,604; AEL., *N.A.* XII, 5; HESYCH, s.v. *Smintheus*.

⁹⁵ CALLIN., F 7 W.

⁹⁶ EUSTATH. *Il.* V.1, 56, 6.

⁹⁷ HERAC. PONT., F 154 W.

⁹⁸ PLIN., *N.H.* VIII, 223.

⁹⁹ AEL., *N.A.* XII,5.

¹⁰⁰ LIV., XXXI, 10.

¹⁰¹ LIV., XXIII, 4, 7; 7, 6; XXVI, 33, 3; XXXI, 31, 10-11.

¹⁰² LIV., VIII, 11, 15-16.

¹⁰³ CEPHALON. GERGITH., 45 FF 8-9; D.H., I, 73, 3; cf. ALCIM., 560 F 4; CALLIAS, 564 F 5a.

¹⁰⁴ LIV., VIII, 14, 10.

¹⁰⁵ SERV., *Aen.* III, 108. Cf. HEURGON 1950, 683 ff.=1951, 105-109.

¹⁰⁶ D.H., I, 73, 3.

¹⁰⁷ RIX ch. 4; ch. 5.

¹⁰⁸ STRABO, V, 4, 3, 242.

¹⁰⁹ LIV., XXVII, 23, 2.

its origins, thus showing solidarity to the Aeolian rebels led by Aristonicus and Blossius, the stoic Cumaean philosopher linked to the Gracchi, who took refuge as an exile with Aristonicus¹¹⁰. The *senes* emphasized that Apollo had already demonstrated his favor towards Rome on other occasions: even this last manifestation had, therefore, to be interpreted in the same perspective.

The Sibylline Oracles cited by Phlegon of Tralles are along the same lines: the poem relating to the Ludi Saeculares starts from a period of Rome's difficult relations with the Latins (before 338 BC), foreseeing the overcoming of contrasts¹¹¹, while the oracles connected to the birth of an androgyne in 125 BC, end with the prediction of the victory of Sulla¹¹².

It is not a coincidence, therefore, that the Campanian Velleius recognizes in *Cumae* the *eximia semper in Romanos fides* and the permanence of the *ritus patrii custodia*, despite the introduction of the Oscan culture, even though in a lesser way than in Neapolis¹¹³. Also, Strabo agrees that the advent of the Campanians had not led to solutions of continuity, in terms of traditions and cults¹¹⁴.

This continuity is manifested in the cult of Apollo Smintheus. The cult appears as early as the end of the 5th century in the city's coinage, where the mouse appears as a symbol in three mintages¹¹⁵; between the 8th and the 6th centuries, the epiklesis is present in the Etruscan and Campanian onomastic *corpus*¹¹⁶.

The two occurrences of the Oscan *gentilicium* *Sminthiis* in a family tomb of Capua¹¹⁷ are flanked by nine Etruscan ones: five relating to the *praenomen* *Sminthie*¹¹⁸, three referring to the *gentilicium* *Sminthinei*, one with an adjective of pertinence

(*Sminthians*), attribute of an agricultural Mars¹¹⁹. Among those of ascertained origin, two *praenomina* come from Adria, one from *Volsinii*, three *gentilicia* from Perugia, and the adjective comes from Bolsena.

The area of Perugia and *Volsinii* is, therefore, a privileged one, as known from the documentation, as it is connected through the Valle Umbra with the Po area¹²⁰ and through the Ager Faliscus and Capenas with Capua and Campania¹²¹.

The Oscan testimonies of Capua date back to the second half of the 4th century BC¹²²; the Etruscan attestations are the most numerous and oldest: the reflections of the cult in Etruria anticipate those in the Capua area, which appear as an Etruscan legacy to the Campanian city¹²³.

As Carlo de Simone pointed out¹²⁴, the anthroponym *Sminthie*¹²⁵ in Adria presupposes the transmission of the name at the latest between the 6th and 5th centuries BC before the Celtic invasion of the Po Valley. This evidence can only be the result of a loan from the Greeks as the Italic world called mice *sorices* or *mures*. The Etruscans are responsible for its arrival in Campania.

In Greece, the *mures agrestes* were called μύες ἀρουραῖοι, but σμίνθοι in Aeolian and Trojan areas¹²⁶. The name owed its fame to its connection with the cult of Apollo, and with the Sibyl as his priest. Sminthios was transmitted as an aristocratic anthroponym in the Archaic period to the Etruscan-Campanian sector in contact with Cumae, the colony founded by Khalkidians and Aeolians, where an Apollo of Aeolian-Trojan origin was worshipped with his Sibyl.

The name Sminthios cannot be explained other than by recognizing it as a derivation from this city and a theophoric meaning, particularly indicated in a territory such as *Campania felix* characterized

¹¹⁰ AUG., *de civ. Dei*, III, 11; JUL.OBS., 28; DIO. CASS., XXIV F 84, 2; CIC., *Lae.*, XI, 36-37; PLUT., *Tib.Gra.*, 20.5-7; RAGONE 2003, 77 ff.

¹¹¹ PHLEG. TRALL. 257 F 37. Cf. BREGLIA 1983, 337 ff.; COARELLI 1993, 227 f.

¹¹² PHLEG. TRALL. 257 F 36 X B 53-54.

¹¹³ VELL. PAT., I.4, 2.

¹¹⁴ STRABO, V, 4, 4, 243.

¹¹⁵ RUTTER 1979, 129, nos. 67-69.

¹¹⁶ Cf. DE SIMONE 2019.

¹¹⁷ RIX ch. 4., ch. 5. Cf. BENASSAI 2002, 1-10.

¹¹⁸ ET Ad 6, 1; ET Ad 2, 42; ET Vs 1, 307; ET OB 2, 21; ET OI 2, 10.

¹¹⁹ ET Vs S 14.

¹²⁰ Felsina and Mantua, Perugian foundations: VERG. X, 198-203; SERV., *Aen.* X 198, 201.

¹²¹ VERR. FLACC. *apud* FEST., 464 L; SERV., *Aen.* VII 697. Cf. COLONNA 1992, 36 ff.

¹²² BENASSAI 2002, 9.

¹²³ POLYB., II, 17, 1-3; STRABO, V, 4, 3, 242; PLUT., *Cam.*, 16.

¹²⁴ DE SIMONE 2019.

¹²⁵ AD 6, 1.

¹²⁶ VERG., *Aen.* XII, 5; SERV., *Aen.* III, 108.

by the flourishing of the cereal¹²⁷ and viticulture¹²⁸ activities protected by this Apollo¹²⁹.

Sminthios, on the other hand, is a variant of *Smintheus*¹³⁰, which, as observed by Maass, is not conceivable without the corresponding cult: it is through this mediation that such an anthroponym must have been accepted in the Greek and Italic world.

4. MOUNT IDA'S SIBYL

The Sibyl was νεωκόρος of Apollo Smintheus: she is called *Gergithia*¹³¹ from Gergithe on the Hellespont and was born on the Mount Ida, in an *insula* between rivers that took the name of *Neso*.

The Sibyl boasted as her homeland the red Marpessio (πατρις δέ μοί ἐστιν ἐρυθρή Μάρπησος) and the river Aidoneo. She proclaimed herself the true spokesperson of Apollo and was buried near the Nymphs and Hermes (ἐν τῷ ἄλσει τοῦ Σμινθέως), in the sacred forest at Apollo Smintheus, at Hamaxitos, on the Hellespont, which, like the other two, had been incorporated into Alexandria Troas¹³².

The Kymaean Sibyl has claimed that place as her own in a cultic system shared with the Trojan Sibyl. These names refer to the Teucro, the Cretans who settled on Mount Ida in Troas¹³³: *Amaltheia*¹³⁴ as the goat that fed Zeus on Cretan Ida¹³⁵; *Melan-*

kraira, daughter of Neso and the Cretan Teukros¹³⁶; *Taraxandra*, another name for Cassandra¹³⁷. Varro calls Neso the *erythraea insula* where the Sibyl gives her oracles¹³⁸.

The Kymaean Sibyl received longevity from Apollo¹³⁹, but not the prolongation of youth, so she was reduced to extreme old age purely as a voice and had ended up closed in an urn, placed in the temple of the god¹⁴⁰. This story reaffirms its Trojan origins because it is similar to that of Tithonus, son of Laomedon and brother of Priam, for whom Aurora asked for immortality but had forgotten to ask for youth: he, after aging and being reduced purely to voice, had ended up locked in a room, where, transformed into a cicada, survived inside a wicker cage¹⁴¹.

As Apollo had predicted, the Sibyl died the moment she regained contact with her land, receiving a letter sealed with the clay of the *insula* (Neso) from which she had left¹⁴².

The tradition concerning this Sibyl, as *Gergithia*¹⁴³, must have been well known in Aeolian Kyme if the Aeolians had founded on Mount Ida's Kebren¹⁴⁴, and if the surviving Trojans of Teukros¹⁴⁵ had founded both the Gergithe on Ida and in the territory of Cumae.

5. THE PRIMACY OF HEROPHILE

The name of Herophile, attributed to the Cumaeen Sibyl¹⁴⁶, is not associated with a place, but with a goddess. It is also associated with the Marpessian¹⁴⁷ and Erythraean¹⁴⁸ Sibyls, with the first

¹²⁷ AELIAN., *V.H.*, XII, 5; EUSTATH., *ad Il.* I, 39, V.1, 55, 31-56, 20.

¹²⁸ APOLL. SOPH., *Lex.Hom.*, 143, 9.

¹²⁹ PLIN., *N.H.* III, 60, III, 40-41. Cf. STRABO, V, 4, 3, 242-243.

¹³⁰ STRABO, XIII, 1, 48, 604; AEL., *N.A.* XII, 5; CLEM.ALEX., *Protrep.*, 2, 39, 7; *Schol. Il.* and EUSTATH., *ad Il.* I, 39, V.1, 57, 18-20; STEPH. BYZ., s.v. Σμίνθιον.

¹³¹ PHLEGON 257 F 2; JO.LYD., *de mens.*, 4, 47; STEPH. BYZ., s.v. Γέργις; *Suid.*, s.v. Σίβυλλα.

¹³² We give here all the sequence: Nesò nymph Nereid: HES., *Theog.* 261; Nesò *insula* between rivers: Boetia, HDT., IX, 51, 1; Arcadia, D.H., I, 49, 1, 2, but connected with Aeneas; Nesò *insula* on Ida, seat of Sibyl: VARRO *apud* SERV., *Aen.* VI, 37; VI, 321; D.H., I 55, 4; Nesò mother of Sibyl of Ida: LYC. 1465 e *schol.*; ARRIAN, 156 F 95; EUSTATH., *ad Il.* v.1, 551, 2; nymph of Ida, mother of the Sibyl: PAUS. X, 12, 3 e 6.

¹³³ APD., 3, 139; ST.BYZ., s.v. Τευκροί; PHOT. 186, 137 Bekker; EUSTATH., *ad Il.* V.1., 56, 3.

¹³⁴ VARRO *apud* LACT., *Div. Inst.*, I, 6, 10; TIB., II, 5, 67; JO.LYD., *de mens.*, 4, 47, 32; ISID., *Etym.*, VIII, 8, 4.

¹³⁵ MUS. 2 B 8 D-K; DIOD., V, 70, 3; APD., 1, 5, 7; CALLIM., H I, 46; *Schol. Theoc. Syrinx*, etc.

¹³⁶ ARIST., *Mir.*, 95 a; LYCOPHR., 1464 e *schol.* 1465. Cf. ARRIAN. 156 F 95.

¹³⁷ *Schol. PLAT., Phaedr.*, 244 B; CLEM. ALEX., *Strom.*, I, 21, 132; *Orac.Sibyll.*, P 45, 21, 35; *Suid.* s.v. Φρυγία, Χαλδαία.

¹³⁸ VARRO *apud* D.H., I, 55, 4; SERV., *ad Aen.* VI, 27, 36; 321.

¹³⁹ ARISTOT., *Mir.*, 95 a; PHLEG. TRALL. 257 F 37, 94-95; OV., *Met.*, XIV, 144-145; VERG., *Aen.*, VI 321; MARTIAL., IX, 29, 3.

¹⁴⁰ PETRON., *Sat.* XLVIII.

¹⁴¹ *Hymn. Ven.*, 218, 140. Cf. PARKE 1988, 73 ff.

¹⁴² SERV., *ad Aen.* 321.

¹⁴³ PHLEG. TRALL., 257

¹⁴⁴ EPHOR. 70 F 10; *Vita Hom.Herod.* 20.

¹⁴⁵ HDT., V, 122; VII, 43; CLEARCH., F 19 W = ATHEN., VI.256 b-c; STRABO, XIII, 1, 19, 589.

¹⁴⁶ JO. LYD., *de mens.*, 4, 43, 32; *Orac Sibyll.*, P 45.

¹⁴⁷ PAUS., X, 12, 1-2 e 5.

¹⁴⁸ HERAC. PONT. F 130 W and the above-mentioned sources that depend on it.

two in rivalry between them¹⁴⁹. According to Plutarch, Herophile had been the name of the Delphic Sibyl¹⁵⁰; according to Pausanias it was the name of the Marpessian – then adopted by the Samian, Colophonian, Delian and Delphic Sibyl¹⁵¹. For other authors, her name was Erythraea¹⁵²; behind these differences, as Pausanias says, there was a debate on the primacy between the Trojan Sibyl and Erythraea¹⁵³.

Local authors, such as Apollodorus of Erythrai¹⁵⁴ and, in the age of Alexander the Great, Callisthenes¹⁵⁵ and Heraklides Ponticus¹⁵⁶, upheld the identity of Herophile with the Ionian Sibyl and her absolute primacy. Heraklides, who had been a pupil of Plato and Aristotle and who, with Callisthenes, accompanied and exalted Alexander in the expedition to Asia, was not well disposed towards the Aeolians, because they were arrogant and haughty, and boastfully exalted their poetic and musical skills. For this reason, he rejected Sappho's assertion of the supremacy of Aeolian poetry and, consequently, the primacy of Terpander¹⁵⁷, who at Lesbos was considered to be Orpheus' heir¹⁵⁸.

Heraclides had proclaimed the divine origin of Alexander, who had concluded the Trojan War; *ad maiorem gloriam* of the king of the Macedonians, he elaborated his own history of the Sibyls¹⁵⁹, reducing them to three: Phrygia, Erythraea and Marpessia. He affirmed the primacy of Phrygia, daughter of Lamia. Older than Orpheus, she inspired the poets of Lesbos and strengthened the authority of Athenais, an ancient local prophetess, identifying her with the Herophile, Sibyl of Erythrai, who had given prophecies to the Greeks at the time of Troy. On the contrary, Heraklides dated to the time of Croesus (6th century BC) her Trojan rival,

Marpessia or Gergithia¹⁶⁰. Herophile's profile is given by Pausanias and Erythrai's inscriptions in Hadrian's age, which celebrate her relationship with Apollo, her descent from a Naiad and a shepherd Theodorus, her birth on the local Mount Koriko or Kissota, the prophetic abilities shown from the beginning, her longevity and, finally, the return to her homeland¹⁶¹.

This thesis was not shared by Nicolaus Damascenus: according to him, the Sibyl of Croesus arrives from Ephesus¹⁶², the city of Heraclitus, the first authoritative witness of sibylline prophecy¹⁶³.

A supporter of the Trojan primacy was Pausanias, who considers the arguments of Erythrai as an invention with respect to the pre-existing tradition of Marpessa: the title of Ἐρυθραία related exclusively to Erythrai¹⁶⁴; the status of Ἰδογενής, referred not to Mount Ida but to a wooded area; Bateia was not the name of Nesò's sister and the place of Ida, but the name of the ancient site of Erythrai. He considered the two verses with the names of the red Marpesso and the Aidoneo river in Sibylla's self-presentation to be simply not authentic¹⁶⁵.

Those who do not believe in the origin of Sibyl from Erythrai, pointed out the red color of the earth of Marpessus (*erythrà*), to claim the origin of the *carmina* attributed to the Erythraea Sibyl. In this way an integrated tradition was achieved, whose traces will continue to the Roman age: after the loss of the original collection in the fire of *Capitolium* in 83 BC, the prophetic *corpus* was reconstituted in Rome¹⁶⁶, collecting prophecies *cuiuscumque Sibyllae*¹⁶⁷ and, in particular, from Ilium as well as from Erythrai¹⁶⁸.

Cicero speaks of numerous forgeries: the presence of acrostics was then assumed as a distinctive criterion of authenticity, but not before the *Pagnia* of Aratus in the Hellenistic age (3rd century BC)¹⁶⁹.

¹⁴⁹ HERAC. PONT. F 130 W; PAUS., X, 12, 7.

¹⁵⁰ PLUT., *Mor.*, 401 C.

¹⁵¹ PAUS., X 12, 5.

¹⁵² HERAC. PONT. F 130 W; PAUS., X, 12, 7.

¹⁵³ PAUS., X, 12, 7.

¹⁵⁴ APOLLOD. 462 F1. Cf. PARKE 1988, 130 ff.; SUÁREZ DE LA TORRE 2000, 61 ff.

¹⁵⁵ CALLISTHENES 124 F 14.

¹⁵⁶ HERAC. PONT. F 130-131 W.

¹⁵⁷ SAPPH. F 106 LP; ARISTOT. F 545 R.

¹⁵⁸ TERPANDR. TT 32; 46; 53 B; 60 a Gostoli.

¹⁵⁹ STRABO, XVII 1, 43, 814 = CALLISTHENES 124 F14; PLUT., *Alex.* 33, 1 = CALLISTHENES 124 F 36; PLUT., *Alex.*, 26 = HERACL. PONT. F 140. Cf. AMIOTTI 1984, 77 ff.

¹⁶⁰ HERACL. PONT. FF 130; 131 a.b-c W.

¹⁶¹ IVE nos. 224, 226, 228 Engelmann-Merkelbach.

¹⁶² NIC. DAMASC., 90 F 68.

¹⁶³ HERACL. 22 B 92 DK.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. ENGELMANN – MERKELBACH 1972-1973, 224 ff. (Sibyl of Erythrai daughter of a Naiad and an herdsman Theodorus). Cf. PAUS. X, 12, 7.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. PAUS. X, 12, 7 con 12, 2.

¹⁶⁶ HYPEROCH., 576 F 2; VARRO *apud* LACT., *Div. Inst.*, I, 6.

¹⁶⁷ VARRO *apud* LACT., *Div. Inst.* I, 6, 13; D.H., IV, 62; TAC., *Ann.* VI, 12.

¹⁶⁸ TAC., *Ann.* VI, 12.

¹⁶⁹ CIC., *de div.*, 2, 112; D.H., IV, 62, 6.

The case of the oracles of Phlegon is emblematic: the first two are totally acrostic and the one on the *Ludi Saeculares*¹⁷⁰ is placed under the name of Erythraea. Even the motif of the cave of the Sibyl, incorporated into the Cumaean tradition, is witnessed only for the Erythraea¹⁷¹. The name is well suited to the Aeolic context.

The link with Hera is very clear, the goddess is Ἀργεῖη¹⁷² in Argos, Αἰολήνια and πάντων γενέθλα in Lesbos where she is at the center of a common cult, founded by the Atrides¹⁷³. Hera is worshipped as a poliadic goddess in the Achaean colonies of the West (Sybaris, Croton, Metapontion and Poseidonia) because of her relationship with Agamemnon and with Argos¹⁷⁴.

The sibylline oracle that recalls the foundation of Cumae¹⁷⁵ gives the goddess the greatest importance: it underlines her bond with armed men and, therefore, her nature as the mother of Ares¹⁷⁶ and Hoplosmia, as in Argos and in Achaean Croton¹⁷⁷.

Hera is defined by the Sibyl as *basileis*: this connection with royalty relates her to Argos, where in the *Phoronis Kallithoe/IO*¹⁷⁸ is κλειδοῦχος Ὀλυμπιάδος βασιλείης Ἡρης Ἀργεῖης¹⁷⁹; and in the same way Thessalian Hera Pelasgis, protector of Jason¹⁸⁰, has the attributes of παντογένεθλα and παμβασιλεία.

The name of Herophile appears to be connected to a Sibyl related to the Pelasgic and Aeolian world, without having to resort to a hypothetical Samian influence¹⁸¹.

Even Samian historians such as Aethlius and Menodotus recognized the Argive primacy: the former maintained that the statue had come from Argos with the *oikistes* Procles¹⁸²; the latter claimed

that the *xoanon* of the goddess worshipped in the Tonaia ritual had been stolen by a daughter of Eurystheus from Argos; Pausanias reports that it had been brought from Argos¹⁸³ by the Argonauts¹⁸⁴.

Pausanias identified the Samian Sibyl with the Marpessian and admitted only that she had moved and remained for a long time in Samos¹⁸⁵; but it cannot be assumed that the name Herophile was acquired by the more ancient Trojan and Erythraean Sibyls because of the prestige that the Samian enjoyed.

It was in fact Eratosthenes¹⁸⁶ who rediscovered the memory of the Samian Sibyl in the 3rd century BC, a fact which does not reconcile with the idea of her original prestige. The Samian Sibyl, on the other hand, had the name of Phytò according to Eratosthenes himself¹⁸⁷ or Phe-monoe according to Isidorus¹⁸⁸. This name, however, was considered by the rest of the tradition to be that of the first Pythia, daughter of Apollo and Delphi¹⁸⁹, the discoverer of the hexameter¹⁹⁰.

6. BETWEEN CAMPANIANS AND ROMANS: THE CIMMERIAN SIBYL

This is the only Cumaean Sibyl to be considered here: for the Herophile, neither in the Idaean nor in the Erythraean version, any connection with a *nekyomanteion* is attested; the Trojan Sibyl mentions the river Aidoneus only to specify that her birthplace on Mount Ida is the one where Marpesos is; the river, according to Pausanias, is given this name due to its karstic nature. The information about the river is judged false by the supporters of the Erythraea since they place the birth of their Sibyl in a cave on their mount Koriko¹⁹¹. The same goes for the Trojan Apollo: if the god, Smintheus and Killaos, is even Hekatos¹⁹², this does not im-

¹⁷⁰ 257 F 36 X A-B *contra* F 37. Only verses 25-30 highlight an acrostic: ΔΑΠΙΕΔΟ. Cf. BREGLIA 1983, 333.

¹⁷¹ PAUS., X, 12, 7; IvE 228.

¹⁷² Cf. *Il.* IV, 51-2 with IV,8; V 908; *Theog.* 12; *Phoronis* F 4 Be.

¹⁷³ SAPPH. F 17; ALC. F 129, 2-3.

¹⁷⁴ *Il.*, II, 569-579 (the entire Aigialos, the land of origin of the *oikistai* of the various colonies).

¹⁷⁵ PHLEG. 257 F 36 X B, 50-70.

¹⁷⁶ *Il.* V, 892-896.

¹⁷⁷ LYCOPHR., 856-858 (because of the connection to Achilles); 610-614 (for the link with Diomedes).

¹⁷⁸ HESYCH., s.v. Ἰὼ καλλιθέσσα.

¹⁷⁹ *Phoronis* F 4 Be.

¹⁸⁰ AR., I, 14; IV,382. Cf. *Hymn. Orph.*, XVI,2 e 4.

¹⁸¹ PARKE 1988, 71-79, *contra* VALENZA MELE 1991-1992, 54 ff.

¹⁸² AETHL. 526 F 3.

¹⁸³ MENOD. 541 F 1.

¹⁸⁴ PAUS. VII,4,4.

¹⁸⁵ PAUS., X,12,5.

¹⁸⁶ 241 F 26= 544 F 4.

¹⁸⁷ *Suid.*, s.v. Σιβυλλαι; JO.LYD., *de mens.* 4, 47; *Orac. Sib.*, Sect. P 43.

¹⁸⁸ ISID., *Orig.*, VIII, 4, 1.

¹⁸⁹ PAUS., X, 5, 7; *Schol. Eur. Or.*, 1094; PLIN., *N.H.*, X, 7.

¹⁹⁰ STRABO, IX,419; STOB., *Floril.*, 21,3 6; CLEM.ALEX., *Strom.*, I, 283.

¹⁹¹ PAUS., X, 12, 3-4; 12,7.

¹⁹² STRABO, XIII, 2,5.

ply a relationship with Hekate: related epithets such as ἐκάεργος¹⁹³, ἐκηβόλος, ἐκατηβόλος¹⁹⁴, ἐκατηβελέτης¹⁹⁵, refer to the ἐκηβολία of the arrows that start from afar (ἐκάς, μακρόθεν, πόρρω).

The Kimmerian Sibyl is not connected to Kyme, but to an oppidum (*oppidum Cimmerium*)¹⁹⁶ and to the Avernus; the Sibyl's relationship with the Avernus may be considered as a late innovation of Campanian and Roman origin. The Homeric tradition, which did not include any Sibyl, still remains intact at the end of the 4th century in Ephorus of Aeolian Cumae, who simply indicates an oracle of the dead in Campania among the Cimmerians¹⁹⁷. There is no trace in Lycophron either, who adopts, probably through Timaeus a unitary vision of the coasts of Latium and Campania from Circeo to Avernus¹⁹⁸. According to him, the Sibyl's cave is annexed to the temple of Apollo¹⁹⁹ and clearly distinct from the Avernus where the dead are evoked²⁰⁰. The Cimmerian Sibyl was introduced at the end of the 3rd century BC: this marks a strong Campanian and Roman influence, which shifted the center of gravity of the area from Cumae to Avernus.

This is the same Sibyl that Aeneas consults on his future²⁰¹ in the *Bellum Poenicum* of Campanian Nevius²⁰², a poet who was full of *campana superbia* for his mastery in the use of the Latin language²⁰³. She lives in a *cimmerium oppidum*²⁰⁴, in *cymmerias domos*²⁰⁵, and will support, without replacing, the ancient Cumaean Sibyl in Varro's catalog and in the sources that depend on it²⁰⁶. The Cimmerian Sibyl will then find space only in Calpurnius Piso's *Annales*: the consul is an enemy of

Tiberius Gracchus²⁰⁷ and, therefore, of the Cumaean milieu favorable to his tutor Blossius, who later took refuge with Aristonicus²⁰⁸. This political environment will be accused of complicity with him for the episode of Apollo's tears²⁰⁹.

In the Chronicle of Hyperochus from Kyme, the Cumaean Sibyl is not called Herophile as in "the friend of Hera", but takes the unknown name of Demò, that is Demophile as in "the friend of Demeter"²¹⁰, the mother of Persephone/Kore, who also refers to the Campanian plain and Avernus. The innovation is connected to a Campanian tradition which amplifies the role of Demeter in the Cumaean area: it is documented also through the Campanian Nevius and Piso introducing a Cimmerian Sibyl and the two oracles of the Cumaean Sibyl reported by Phlegon on the *remedia* regarding the birth of an androgyne.

These oracles date back to the age of Sulla, linked to the Sibyl through his cognomen (Sulla from Sibylla)²¹¹: they are connected to the reconstruction of the *Libri Sibyllini*, burned in 83 BC²¹², which, once paid due homage to the Hera Hippias and Hoplosmia, goddess of the Cumaean warriors, and subsequently give ample space to Demeter, Kore and Pluto²¹³.

It is Virgil – Campanian, at least by adoption – who makes Sibyl a priestess of Apollo and Trivia and connects her to the management of the *nekyomanteion*. Velleius, also of Campanian origin, connects the foundation led by Apollo with the Demetriad version of the founders in arms in the nightly search for Kore. Finally, the Neapolitan Statius considers as the homeland deities of the colony both Apollo, who led Eumelus, and the Athenian Demeter and the Dioskouroi, knights and warriors²¹⁴. The goddess is still celebrated by the colonists accompanying her in the nightly search for Kore while the statues of the Dioskouroi are welcomed by the *Eumelidai*, winners of the athletic competitions²¹⁵.

¹⁹³ HESYCH., s.v. ἐκάεργος.

¹⁹⁴ HESYCH., s.v. ἐκατηβόλος καὶ ἐκηβόλος.

¹⁹⁵ EUSTATH., *Suid.*, s.v. ἐκατηβελέτης.

¹⁹⁶ PLIN., *N.H.* 3,51; OGR., 10,1. Cf. *Od.* XI, 14: Κιμμερίων ἀνδρῶν δῆμός τε πόλις τε.

¹⁹⁷ EPHOR. 70 F 134 a.

¹⁹⁸ LYC., 1253-1280; 684-711.

¹⁹⁹ LYC. 1279-1280.

²⁰⁰ LYC. 684-687.

²⁰¹ OGR 10, 1-2.

²⁰² NAEV. F 12 Strzelecki.

²⁰³ GELL., *N.A.*, I,24,2 (epitaph by the poet and comments by Gellius).

²⁰⁴ PLIN., *N.H.* 3,61; OGR., 19,1.

²⁰⁵ SIL. IT., XII, 132.

²⁰⁶ VARRO apud LACT., *Div.Inst.* I,6,9; *Suid.*, s.v. Σιβυλλα; ISID., *Etym.* 8,8,4.

²⁰⁷ CIC., PRO FONT., 39; *Tusc.*, 3,20,48.

²⁰⁸ CIC., *de am.*, XI, 36-37; PLUT., *Tib.Gracch.* 20,5-7.

²⁰⁹ AUG., *de civ.Dei*, III,11; JUL.OBS., 28; DIO.C., XXIV F 84,2.Cf. RAGONE 2003, 77 ff.

²¹⁰ HYPEROCH. 576 F 2 = VARRO apud LACT., *Div.Inst.*, 1,6.9

²¹¹ MACROB., *Sat.* I,17,27.

²¹² Cf. BREGLIA 1983, 305, 308 f.

²¹³ PHLEG.TRALL., 256 F 36 X A 6—29; B 36-43.

²¹⁴ STAT., *Silv.*, IV, 8, 52 f.

²¹⁵ *IGI Napoli* 52.

The cultic context has to be considered with reference to the *archaiologia* of Rome traced by Hyperochus²¹⁶. Rome was founded by Greeks – Athenians, Sicyonians and Thespians – who occupied the Capitoline fortress and called it Valentia²¹⁷. He then expressed the same concept with the Greek name of Rhome which is ῥώμη (strength) when the same fortress occupied by Aeneas and Evander changed its name.

The Trojan origins are preserved by recalling Aeneas' foundation, which is attested by the concurrence of Odysseus at the end of the 5th century BC in Hellanicus and Damastes²¹⁸. The evolution of this tradition considered Aeneas alone as the author of the foundation but referred the eponymy either to a Trojan called Rhome, married to him, as Clinias does²¹⁹, or to a Rhomos, his son²²⁰ or grandson²²¹, or, finally, directly to Romulus who, according to Ennius and Naevius at the end of the 3rd century, became one of his grandsons²²².

At the end of the 4th century Agathocles explicitly declares Aeneas as the founder of Palatine Rome. This is the way through which Aeneas has been associated, as in Hyperochus, with Evander. The latter was mentioned, at the end of the 3rd century in Fabius Pictor's and Cincius Alimentus' *Annales*: according to both authors, followed by the other annalist Gellius, Evander²²³ organized the Capitoline hill as a κώμη βραχεῖα²²⁴ or ἀκρόπολις²²⁵. His association with Aeneas is also found in the *Origo Gentis Romae* and in the Sibylline Oracles, for which the Cimmerian Sibyl, consulted by Aeneas, is indeed Evander's mother²²⁶.

This foundation is considered entirely Greek, clearly because Aeneas and Evander are quite similar, being both Arcadian. The former, the descendant of Dardanus, born in Phenaeus in Arcadia²²⁷,

married Chryse, daughter of Pallas, son of Lycaon²²⁸, and then moved to Asia, where he married Bateia daughter of Teucer²²⁹. The latter is connected to the Arcadian Pallantion, the name of which came from Pallantes, son of Lykaon²³⁰. Similarly, Pallantes, Evander's son, gave his name to the Palatinus.²³¹

The Trojan contribution is reduced because Rome also has to be considered a Greek foundation, due to the concurrence of Athenians, Sicyonians and Thespians. A precedent may be recognized in the early mythical colonization of Athenians and Thespians in Sardinia²³², whose protagonists were the Thespiadai led by Iolaus who had invited Daedalus to the island. Both Daedalus and Thespiadai went from Sardinia to Kyme²³³: the first, according to Sallustius, left the island immediately after his arrival to go to Kyme²³⁴; the others, according to Diodorus²³⁵, went later after experiencing a time of difficulty.

But there is also another issue to consider since Herophile, neither in the Idaean version nor in the Erythraean version, shows any connection with a *nekyomanteion*.

These Greeks are assimilated to the Pelasgians *profecti in exteras regiones* and *multo errore nominati Aborigenes*; they subdue *virium imperio subiectioni impares*, occupying the Palatinus Mons, which they called *Valentiam*: this name comes from the "strength of a leader" (*viribus regentis*) such as Rhomos, the male of Rhome. The *Aborigenes* are the Palatini²³⁶: Arcadian Pelasgians led by Evander²³⁷, settled on the *Pallantion*²³⁸ and whom Cato and Sempronius Tuditanus considered as *Aborigines*²³⁹.

According to Ephorus, the Pelasgians were Arcadians *πλανήται* who lived a *στρατιωτικὸν βίον* and reached (*ἐπάρξαι*) many places²⁴⁰. According

²²⁸ D.H., I, 61, 2.

²²⁹ HES., FF 177, 180 M-W; HELLAN. 4 F 129; DIOD., IV, 74; D.H., I, 61 f; 68 f.; APD., 3, 138 ff.

²³⁰ HES. FF 161, 162 M-W.

²³¹ See the sources collected in LUGLI 1960, 10-16.

²³² APD., II, 199; DIOD., IV, 29; PAUS., IX, 23, 1.

²³³ The bibliography on the subject is effectively set out in BULTRIGHINI – TORELLI 2017, 362 ff.

²³⁴ SALLUST. *apud* SERV., *Aen.* VI, 14.

²³⁵ DIOD., V, 15, 9.

²³⁶ VARRO., LL, V, 53.

²³⁷ TAC., *Ann.*, XI, 14.

²³⁸ D.H., I, 11, 1-13, 2; 42, 3.

²³⁹ D.H., I, 23, 1; 42, 3.

²⁴⁰ EPHOR. 70 F 113; STRABO, V, 2, 4, 221.

²¹⁶ HYPEROCH. 576 F 3.

²¹⁷ SOLIN., I, 1.

²¹⁸ HELLAN. 4 F 84; DAMAST. 5 F 3.

²¹⁹ SERV., *Aen.* 1, 227.

²²⁰ ALKIMOS 560 F 4; D.H., I, 72, 6, 1, 72, 1; 73, 3.

²²¹ D.H., I, 72, 6 (DIONYS. CHALC. 840 F 20).

²²² ENN. and NAEV. *apud* SERV. DAN., *Aen.*, I 273.

²²³ FAB. PICT., 809 F 23; CINC. *Alim.*, 809 F 4; GELL. F 2/3 P.

See also AGATHOCLES CYZIC. 472 F 5.

²²⁴ D.H., I, 31, 3-4.

²²⁵ LYD., *de mens.*, IV, 4.

²²⁶ OGR., V, 1.; *Orac. Sibyll.*, Sect P 39.

²²⁷ SERV., *Aen.* 3, 167.

to Plutarch, the Romans explained Rome's great name (τὸ μέγα τῆς Ῥώμης ὄνομα) by its widespread fame (δόξη διὰ πάντων κεχωρηκός), as due to the Pelasgians, who in their wanderings overpowered many people (ἐπὶ πλεῖστα τῆς οἰκουμένης πλανηθέντας ἀνθρώπων τε πλείστων κρατήσαντας) and named the city where they settled after their military strength (διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ῥώμην)²⁴¹.

It is the same tradition referred to the Athenians by Hyperochus. The difference, however, is only apparent, because, before the arrival of Jon, son of Kreousa daughter of Erechtheus²⁴², the Athenians²⁴³ and Thespians – citizens of the city founded by the Athenian Thespios, son of Erechtheus²⁴⁴, who went from Sardinia²⁴⁵ to Latium – were *Pelasgoi*²⁴⁶. The Sikyonians were also *Pelasgoi Aigialeis*²⁴⁷, who were the inhabitants of *Aigialeia*²⁴⁸, which had changed its name with the arrival of Sikyon, son of Metion. The latter was the son of Erechtheus and brother of Daedalus²⁴⁹.

The myth of the Pelasgian origins of Rome is elaborated once the *Urbs* acquires a great *impe-rium*. Rome then needs to relate to the *archaiologia* of the Greek world, no longer through (its) Trojan origins, but through the Pelasgian tradition.

Rome has become the city of ἐπαρχία²⁵⁰: according to Pseudo-Scymnus, its name, ἐφάμλλον τῇ δυνάμει, is comparable to “a constellation covering the world” (ἄστρον τῆς οἰκουμένης)²⁵¹. This tradition arose between the 2nd and 1st centuries and was consolidated in the age of Sulla and Pompeius: its echo is first found in 133 BC, in a speech by Tiberius Gracchus who defines the Romans as κύριοι τῆς οἰκουμένης²⁵². As for the name of *Valentia*, the first echo is in the works of Athenian grammarian Ateius

Philologus, master of Sallustius²⁵³, brought to Rome as a prisoner at the time of the war against Mithridates, in 86 BC. Hyperochus expresses the trends of the Roman-Cumaean environment near Naevius in the late 3rd century, but even more, those of the 2nd century, related to Blossius (and Apollo's tears), the reconstruction of the Sibylline Books, and the oracles of Phlegon. The relationship with Avernus reappears in Virgil, a pupil of Ateius Philologus himself: the poet attributes to Daedalus the foundation of the temple of Apollo²⁵⁴ and introduces the themes of the quest for the Golden Fleece and the *katabasis*²⁵⁵, deriving them from Orphic-Pythagorean rituals or the cultic practices related to the *rex Nemorensis* at Aricia.

The Kymaean Sibyl is connected to the Avernus as a *Amphrysia vates*²⁵⁶ being related to the Amphrysus river²⁵⁷ in Phthiotis and to Apollo who is the *pastor ab Amphryso* as the *hippoboukolos* of Admetus, father of Eumelos²⁵⁸.

The Sibyl is the daughter of Glaucus, worshipped in Anthedon in Euboea²⁵⁹ as the *hypostasis* of Poseidon: through this genealogy, she can be compared to the Sibyl Maliaca of the Phthiotis, daughter of Poseidon and Lamia²⁶⁰. This identification is confirmed by the name Deiphobe which is attributed to her: “the one who terrifies the enemy”, like her mother Lamia who terrifies children²⁶¹. The Kymaean Sibyl is called to assist Aeneas in the descent into Hades where Anchises will illustrate the imperial destiny of Rome and the hero will learn about the Roman mission of *regere imperio populos, debellare superbos*²⁶². Martianus Capella attributes to her the significant name of Symmachia, “the ally in the war”²⁶³, which can be

²⁴¹ PLUT., *Rom.*, I, 1.

²⁴² HES. F 10 a M-W.

²⁴³ HDT. I, 56, 3.

²⁴⁴ DIOD., IV, 29, 1-4. PAUS., IX, 26, 6. Cf. ARISTOT., *Vesp.*, 700.

²⁴⁵ PAUS., X, 17, 5.

²⁴⁶ PAUS., IX, 26, 6. The Athenian Pelasgians were Boeotian Pelasgians: EPHOR. 70 F 119; D.H., I, 18; STRABO, IX, 2, 3, 401.

²⁴⁷ HDT. VII, 94.

²⁴⁸ HDT., V, 68, 2; VII, 94. Cf. STRABO, VIII, 6, 25, 383; 7, 1, 384; PAUS. I, 5, 3; II, 1, 1; 5, 6; VII, 1, 1; 1, 4; HESYCH. s.v. Αἰγιαλεῖς; STEPH. BYZ., s.v. Αἰγιαλός.

²⁴⁹ PAUS., II, 6, 5. Cf. COPPOLA 1995, 69 ff.

²⁵⁰ HYPEROCH. 576 F 3; PLUT., *Rom.*, I, 1; SOLIN., I, 1; IO. MAL., *Chron.*, 168, 1.

²⁵¹ PS. SCYMN. 234 f.

²⁵² PLUT., *Tib. Gracch.*, 9, 6 = 34 F 3 Malcovati. Cf. *comm. ad loc.*

²⁵³ SUET., *Gramm.*, 10.

²⁵⁴ VERG., *Aen.*, VI, 14 ff.

²⁵⁵ VERG., *Aen.*, VI, 136-148; SERV., *Aen.* VI, 136. Cf. PARATORE 2001, 230 ff.

²⁵⁶ VERG., *Aen.*, VI, 398.

²⁵⁷ STRABO, IX, 5, 8, 433; 5, 14, 435; DIONYS. MYTH., F 2 FHK II 7: STEPH. BYZ., Δημήτριον. Cf. ARG. ORPH., 189.

²⁵⁸ VERG., *Geo.*, III, 2 ed. schol. Cf. CALLIM. *H. ad Ap.*, 48; OV., *Met.*, I, 580; STAT., *Silv.*, I, 4, 105.

²⁵⁹ DETIENNE 1967, 17 ff.

²⁶⁰ EUMEL. F 8 Be.; EURIP. TGF 312a Snell; CHRYSIPP., SVP II, 348, F 216; PLUT., *Mor.*, 398 C; PAUS., X, 12, 1; CLEM. ALEX., *Strom.*, I, 15, 70, 4; LACT., *Div. Inst.*, I, 6, 8; *Suid.* s.v. Σίβυλλα.

²⁶¹ DURIS 76 F 17; DIOD., XX, 41, 2; *schol.* ARISTOPH., *Av.*, 102; *Pax.* 758.

²⁶² VERG., *Aen.*, VI, 853.

²⁶³ MART. CAP., II, 159.

compared to the name of Nicostrata of the Cimmerian Sibyl, mother of Evander²⁶⁴.

The “Cimmerian” version has a clear purpose: to transfer the original prophecy of Aeneas’ future from a Trojan Sibyl to a Campanian one, who directly prophesized to the hero just arrived the struggles he will have to face once he arrives in Latium and then, through the *katabasis*, the future empire²⁶⁵. A new Sibyl was necessary. The Trojan origin of the Sibyl, her names, the relations with Mount Ida and the local Apollo, were added to the original Aeolian-Cumaeian memories, which also involved the Sibyl: all the aspects which the *Sibylline* books conveyed, *fata et remedia*, in the second half of the 6th century BC after the tradition of Aeneas had been revived by Rome²⁶⁶.

7. THE ANTIQUITY OF THE SIBYL

Apollo Smintheus legitimizes the settlement both in Aeolis and Campania; his role is also enhanced by the presence of the Sibyls. Ancient Chronographs tell that the Sibyls lived between the 8th and 7th centuries BC. Samia, present in the ancient *Annales* of the island, is unknown to Heraclides Ponticus (4th century BC); she is mentioned only later by Eratosthenes (3rd century BC) and placed between the XVII (712 BC) and XXVIII (666/5 BC) Olympics²⁶⁷ by Eusebius and Hieronymus. Erythraea, according to Heraclides, is considered subsequent to Phrygia and coeval of Eumelus; like Gergithia²⁶⁸, she is connected to Iphitos and the birth of the Olympics²⁶⁹.

However, the oldest evidence of the Sibyls was given by *epos* and therefore by the Aeolian world. The Aeolian world is the motherland of the *epos*: Homer was born in Aeolian Smyrne²⁷⁰ and Hesiod in Aeolian Kyme²⁷¹. Terpander of Lesbos, according to

Heraclides Ponticus, played the verses of Homer²⁷² and according to Glaucus of Rhegion, he imitated Homer in poetry and Orpheus in music²⁷³. Both Sappho²⁷⁴ and Alcaeus²⁷⁵ are inspired by Homeric culture and in Lesbos there was a local tradition that transformed Priamus into Peramos²⁷⁶. Chios, which was the home of a famous Homeric school²⁷⁷, was a colony that boasted an Aeolian origin through Makar²⁷⁸.

There was a structural affinity between *epos*, *aoidoi* and Sibyls. In Hesiod’s *Theogony* the Muses, who are goddesses, know “the present, the past and the future” (τά τ’έόντα τά τ’έσσόμενα πρό τ’έόντα)²⁷⁹, transmit to the *aoidoi* the same knowledge²⁸⁰ which Apollo grants to Calchantes²⁸¹ and the Muses to Hesiod²⁸².

The responses of the Sibyls are the result of a trance that transfers to her the divine vision of the present, the past and the future: the Kymaeian Sibyl has the knowledge of the past (ὀπισθομαθῶν) and of the place destined for each one (τίν’έφυ πᾶς εἰς τόπον ἐλθεῖν); she knows all the terrible sufferings given by fate (ὅσσα τέρατα καὶ ὅσσα παθήματα δαίμονος Αἴσης) and weaves a plot (ιστός) in order to solve them²⁸³. The *aoidos* fulfills the function of a tribal encyclopedia in an oral society: he sings the past in the present; through the memory of the positive or negative effects of the heroes’ actions, he gives indications for similar situations in the future. In an Archaic society, *aoidoi* and Sibyls are therefore similar but different when solving common problems.

The way in which *aoidoi* and Sibyls express themselves is also common. The Sibyl is a θεσπιωδός²⁸⁴ or rather a χρησμοδός²⁸⁵: she was

²⁷² PLUT., *de mus.*, 1132 C, 1135 C.

²⁷³ PLUT. *de mus.*, 1132 F.

²⁷⁴ SAPPH., FF 16; 17, 3-12; 44.

²⁷⁵ ALC., FF 28; 42; 44; 298 Liberman.

²⁷⁶ SAPPH. F 44, 16 Voigt.

²⁷⁷ HYMN. III, 172. Cf. CASSOLA 1975, 79-104.

²⁷⁸ About Makar, Chios and Aeolic traditions of the island: FEDERICO 2015, 44 ff.

²⁷⁹ HES, *Theog.*, 31 f.

²⁸⁰ IL II, 484-486.

²⁸¹ HOM., IL I, 70-72.

²⁸² HES, *Theog.*, 31 f.

²⁸³ PLEG. 257 F 36 X A 1.

²⁸⁴ NIC. DAM., 90 F 67; DIO. CHRYS., *Orat.* 37, 13, 2 = FAVORIN., *Corinth.*, 12 (Barigazzi 305-306).

²⁸⁵ *Schol. Aristoph.*, Eq., 61 c; D.H. I, 55, 4; NIC. DAM., 90 F 67; PS. JUSTIN., *Cohor. ad gentil.*, 16, D, 6; PHILOSTR., *Imag.*, 10, 1.

²⁶⁴ Cf. *Orac. Sibyll.*, Sect. P 39; OGRV, 1-2; SERV., *Aen.*, VIII, 51.

²⁶⁵ VERG., *Aen.*, VI, 83-97. Cf. TIB., II, 5, 19 ff.

²⁶⁶ SERV., *Aen.* VI, 36; VI, 321 (*fata*); VI, 72 (*fata et remedia*).

²⁶⁷ ERATOST. 241 F 26 a.b. Cf. PARKE 1988, 43 f., 82.

²⁶⁸ PHLEG. TRALL. 257 F2; Georg.Monach., v. 110, 268, l.30.

²⁶⁹ EUMEL. T 3 Bernabé = CYRILL., *Contra Julian.*, 1, 12 (OL. IX 704/3).

²⁷⁰ STESIMB. TAS. 107 F 22; PROCL., 99 Allen; STR. XIV, 1, 37, 646. Cf. Homeric *Vitae*.

²⁷¹ HES., *Op.*, 636.

raised by the Muses of the Helicon²⁸⁶, she sings (ᾄδει μάλα μέγα)²⁸⁷ her prophecies (τὰς μαντείας)²⁸⁸ in epic verses (ἐπικῶς)²⁸⁹ following the meter (διὰ μέτρων, ἐμμέτρως, ἐν μέτρῳ)²⁹⁰, can therefore win poetic competitions²⁹¹ and provide verses to Homer. Like the *aoidoi*, she is accompanied by a stringed instrument; she is even considered the inventor of one of the ancient instruments of the σαμβύκη²⁹², provided with triangular and unequal strings²⁹³ which have to be played not with a pick, but by plucking the strings. This instrument is of oriental origin²⁹⁴ and in Lesbos the ancient sculptor Lesbothemis portrayed the Muse holding this instrument²⁹⁵ and not the cithara²⁹⁶. In the Greek world, it was still in use in the 6th century BC since Neanthes attributed its invention to Ibycus²⁹⁷.

The most ancient prophetesses are anchored to the Trojan and Aeolian world. The prophetic vision that Theoclimenus obtains on the imminent death of the Suitors²⁹⁸ is a *unicum* in the Homeric Odyssey and recalls the vision that Cassandra has of her death and the killing of Agamemnon in Aeschylus²⁹⁹. In an even more explicit way, in the *Cypria*³⁰⁰, Cassandra's unheard prophecies are also attributed to the Sibyls, among whom, therefore, Priam's daughter is included³⁰¹.

Cassandra has prophetic visions about the end of Troy at the moment of Helen's birth, Hecuba's dream, Paris's departure, Helen's arrival³⁰² and their absolute ineffectiveness is analogous to the prophecies of the Trojan Sibyl of Marpeso and

the Ionic Sibyl of Erythrae³⁰³. Cassandra or Tarsandra is inserted between the Sibyls and Lycophron making her a very similar creature: her name, Alexandra, recalls that of Alexandros, her brother, who was the first cause of the conflict, which she foresees. This conflict will eventually be ended by Alexander the Macedonian³⁰⁴.

Focusing on the epic traditions of the Archaic age, two Sibyls are related to each other in two interrelated cycles: the Argonautic and the Trojan. The union of Jason with Hypsipyle in Lemnos is remembered in the *Iliad*³⁰⁵, while in the Odyssey not only is there Kirke³⁰⁶, but there are encounters of the hero with Lestrigonians, Kirke, Sirens, and Planctai are borrowed from the Thessalian cycle³⁰⁷. The Sibyl daughter of Lamia, daughter of Poseidon³⁰⁸ educated by the Muses on the Helicon³⁰⁹ sings in hexameters³¹⁰: she refers to the Argonautic tradition as she wins the poetic competition in the games for the dead Pelias³¹¹. This Sibyl was introduced, in the middle of the 8th century, by Eumelus of the Bacchiads to legitimize the relationship he established between Ephrya, Poseidon, Helios, Medea, the Argonauts, Corinth and the Isthmic Games³¹².

The Sibylline phenomenon is involved in a privileged way with the Aeolian world; Varro proposed an etymology of the name as a combination between the term *siōs* "god" in the Aeolic dialect, and the Aeolic form βυλλα/βολλα for βουλά/βουλή³¹³.

²⁸⁶ PLUT., *Mor.* 398 C.

²⁸⁷ DIO. CHRYS., *Orat.* 37, 13, 2 = FAVORIN., *Corinth.*, 12 (Barigazzi 305-306.).

²⁸⁸ *Schol. Soph.*, *OT*, 1199.

²⁸⁹ *Suid.*, s.v. Ἡροφίλα.

²⁹⁰ PLUT., *Mor.*, 406 A; 566 D.

²⁹¹ ACESANDR., 469 F 7; PLUT., *Mor.*, 675 A-b.

²⁹² SKAMON 476 F 5.; Sem. Del. 396 F 1; *Suid.*, s.v. Σιβύλλα. Most of the documents come from ATHEN., see IV, 175 D, 182 E-F; XIV 633 F 634 A, 635 A, 637 B see *comm.ad loc.* in ATHEN. 2001.

²⁹³ JUB. 275 F 15.

²⁹⁴ ARISTOX. F 97 W; EUPHORION, F 181 Van Groningen; STRABO, X, 3, 17; *Suid.* s.v. Σιβύλλα. Cf. WEST 1992, 75.

²⁹⁵ ATHEN. IV 182F.

²⁹⁶ MYRSIL. METHYMN., 477 F 7.

²⁹⁷ NEANTH. CYZ. 84 F 5.

²⁹⁸ *Od.* XX, 350-357.

²⁹⁹ AESCH., *Ag.*, 1090 ff. Cf. DODDS 1973, 64 ff.

³⁰⁰ *Cypria*, *Arg.* 11 Bernabé. Cf. BACCHYL. F 2 Snell.

³⁰¹ PARKE 1988, 28-29.

³⁰² PIND., *Paean.*, VIII; BACCHYL. F 23 Snell; CIC., *de div.*, II, 112.

³⁰³ Apd. Epit., V, 17; PAUS., X, 12, 2, 5; *Orac. Syb.*, XI, 124

³⁰⁴ LYC., 1464-5. See AMIOTTI 1984, 77 ff.; SUÁREZ DE LA TORRE 2007, 64 f.

³⁰⁵ *Il.* VII, 467-469; XXIII, 745-747.

³⁰⁶ *Od.* VIII, 448; X, 133-574; XII, 31-142.

³⁰⁷ *Od.* XII, 39-72. Cf. WEST 2005, 39-64.

³⁰⁸ PLUT., *Mor.* 398 C; PAUS. X, 12, 6; CLEM. ALEX., *Strom.*, I, 15, 70.

³⁰⁹ PLUT., *Mor.*, 398 C.

³¹⁰ HERAC. PONT. F 130 W; PAUS. X, 12, 3.

³¹¹ PLUT., *Mor.*, 398 C. Cf. ACESANDR., 469 F 7; PLUT., *Mor.*, 675 A-B.

³¹² Cf. EUMEL. F 8 Bernabé. The arguments presented by AMATO 2002, 45-68, to contest the verses cited by Favorinus to Eumelus, are completely insufficient: the verse relating to Briareus, F 2 Bernabé, that Amato considers a pentameter from a metric viewpoint, turns out to be a hexameter not mentioned in its entirety. As for the prophecy in hexameters and the same verse about Briareus, a true condensation of what Eumelus had built to exalt Corinth, while it is not necessary to suppose that Favorinus should still have the complete work of Eumelus available to quote them, intermediate sources would have been enough, such as the *syngraphè* available to Pausanias.

³¹³ LACT., *Div. Inst.*, I, 6, 9; SERV., *Aen.* III, 445; VI, 12.

The ancient tradition features numerous Sibyls, distinguished by origin and name: Varro³¹⁴ had counted ten in the 1st century while Heraclides Ponticus³¹⁵ recalls only three in the 4th century. We have already mentioned the first Sibyl, the daughter of Lamia who was older than Orpheus. She is Phrygian and then Asian, according to Heraclides Ponticus;³¹⁶ Maliacan, then Thessalian, passing through Delphi³¹⁷, according to Plutarch; Libyan according to Varro³¹⁸ and Pausanias³¹⁹.

In Lesbos a Sibyl is related to Makareus according to Alcaeus and Myrsilus³²⁰. Arrianus, on the other hand, maintained that the Idaean Sibyl was the first one, daughter of Nesò and Dardanus (but also Nymph)³²¹ eponymous of an *insula* on Mount Ida³²² connected to Aeneas and because it was located between two rivers, called an isle³²³.

This Sibyl was connected like Gergithia to Apollo Smintheus: she was *neokoros* of his temple at Hamaxitos and Alexandria Troas and in Gergithe was buried in the sacred wood of Smintheus³²⁴. According to Varro, the Erythraean Sibyl gave the Greeks the prophecies about the Trojan War³²⁵, but Pausanias said that it was the Sibyl of Marpeessos under the name of Herophile who made predictions to the Trojans about Helen and Hecuba's dream³²⁶ as Cassandra does, according to another tradition, on Helen³²⁷ and in particular on the dream³²⁸.

So, the Sibylline prophecies were an integral part of the epic heritage of settlers who came to the West.

8. AEOLIAN SETTLEMENTS AND SIBYL

The Sibyl's prophecies were visions from the past, which came to the present and passed on to the future. According to Heraclitus, the Sibyl composed her verses during a momentary trance (μαινομένωι στόματι φθεγγομένη), thanks to the god (διὰ τὸν θεόν). Her prophecies could not have the same grace as the verses of Sappho and had no time constraints as her vision exceeds a thousand years (χιλίων ἐτῶν ἐξικνεῖται τῇ φωνῇ)³²⁹. The Sibyl is long-lived by her nature and her prophecies about the Trojan War relate to both immediate results, such as the returns of the heroes, and to those further in the future, such as the fate of the Trojan dynasty and of the lands that belonged to it: the place to be assigned to the Aeneades; the arrivals of Greek colonists, led by the heirs of the Atrides or Neleus; the future fate of the Trojans. Lycophron's *Alexandra* and much later the books of the *Oracula Sibyllina* were the epilogue.

The nature of the Sibyl's song offered the possibility of intervening in existing traditions. At the end of the 7th century, Alcaeus, as Eumelus did for the traditions of the Bacchiads, guaranteed with the help of the Sibyl the most ancient Lesbian tradition, which attests the divine origin, such as the work of Hephaestus, and the antiquity of the bronze lion, that Makareus, son of Aeolus, reported as the guarantor of the island's safety³³⁰. In a similar way, the second Sibylline oracle mentioned by Phlegon supports the tradition relating to the future foundation of a temple of Hera immediately after the arrival of the colonists in Kyme³³¹.

The traditions regarding the Sibyls were expressions of local interests, both of the Teucrians

³¹⁴ We find it in LACT., *Div. Inst.*, I, 6, 2-3. For bibliography see BULTRIGHINI – TORELLI 2017, 320-323.

³¹⁵ FF 130-131 W.

³¹⁶ HERAC. PONT. F 130 W.

³¹⁷ PLUT., *Mor.*, 398 C; CLEM. ALEX., *Strom.*, 1, 70.

³¹⁸ LACT., *Div. Inst.*, I, 6, 8. Cf. EURIP. F 922 N = *Schol. Pl. Phaedr.*, 244 B.

³¹⁹ PAUS., X, 12, 1.

³²⁰ ALC. F 306 A.

³²¹ ARRIAN., 156 F 95. Cf. HES., *Theog.*, 261.

³²² Cf. VARRO *apud* D.H., I, 55, 4; SERV., *Aen.*, VI 36, 72.

³²³ D.H., I, 49 (Enea a Nesò in Arcadia).

³²⁴ PHLEG. 257 F 2; PAUS., X, 12, 5-6; JO. LYD., *de mens.*, 4, 47; ST. BYZ. s.v. Γέργης; *Suid.* s.v. Χαλδαία.

³²⁵ VARRO *apud* LACT., *Div. Inst.*, I, 6, 9.

³²⁶ PAUS., X, 12, 2 (Elena), 5 (Ecuba's dream).

³²⁷ SERV. ASE., II, 246.

³²⁸ PIND., *Paea*. VIII, A 10 ff.; EUR., *Androm.*, 293 ff.

³²⁹ 22 B 92 DK = 119 Diano-Serra. The last statement, relating to the thousand years, since Plutarch quotes the fragment by contrasting the unpleasantness of the Sibyl's words with the grace of Sappho's, was rejected by Schlaiermacher himself and others in Heraclitus based on the belief that the philosopher was interested in the form but not in the accumulation of events and in the extension of the space covered by the oracles. But limiting the opposition to Sappho's poems to merely formal facts seem clearly reductive: considering their subject matter, not even Apollo's oracles, which neither said nor hid but gave meanings (HERACL. 22 b 93 DK = 120 Diano-Serra), could possess the grace of Sappho's poems.

³³⁰ ALC. F 306 Ea Liberman.

³³¹ PHLEG. TRALL., 257 F 36 X B 53-56.

and the Greek colonists who came after them: the prophecies, inspired by the god, offered the possibility to correct and integrate pre-existing traditions. The Sibyls repudiate Apollo and become the spokesperson of Artemis as the only faithful interpreter of Zeus' will³³²; they disprove Homer³³³, using the investiture received from the Muses to declare the current traditions as lies similar to the truth³³⁴ and they create an *archaiologia* of Corinth like Ephrya and the land of the Heliades. Consequently, Eumelus uses the prophecy of the Sibyl, daughter of Poseidon, to legitimize the dominion of the Bacchiads³³⁵.

The Greek colonists and the local lordships in Asia Minor and the Troas shared the same needs that had to be confirmed by the Sibyls. The Glaukides, *basileis* of the Ionians³³⁶, based their privileges on their descendants from Glaucus and Bellerophon, already present in Lycia at the time of the Trojan War³³⁷. The Scamandrides claimed their origin from Skamandrios son of Hector, and, as Aeneads, were the founders of Arisbe and Scepsi³³⁸. In Aeolis the descendants of Orestes and Agamemnon were legitimized by the conquest of Agamemnon to deny Athens the Sigeum³³⁹. In Ionia, the *basileis* Neleides, descendants of Nestor, were legitimized by the Achaean victory over the Trojans. Songs and prophecies were called upon to confirm all this.

In the Iliad, as referred by Poseidon, and in the Hymn to Aphrodite, as referred by the Goddess³⁴⁰, an oracle ensures the survival of a Trojan dynasty by the survivor Aeneas and his descendants. A similar concern is hidden behind the story of Skamandrios, son of Hector, named by his father³⁴¹ after the Skamander River, while the other Trojans called him Astyanax. In the Epic Cycle, Arctinus attributes the

killing of Astyanax to Ulysses³⁴², the Lesbian Lesche of Pyrrha to the willingness of Neoptolemus³⁴³.

Hellanicus of Mytilene, son and father of a Skamon, author of *Peri Eurematon* where he cited the Sibyl, mentions another version, according to which Askanios and Skamandrios founded a series of localities of the Trojan Aeolis including Gergithe, that, as we have seen, is related to the Trojan Sibyl³⁴⁴. Skamon, a diminutive connected with the name of the Skamander, celebrated the Sibyl as the inventor of musical instruments³⁴⁵. Before him, Sappho, daughter of a Scamandronimus³⁴⁶, called her own daughter Kleis and thus demonstrated her connection with the Kleanattides, descendants of the *oikistes* Argive Kleuas³⁴⁷. The poetess composed an *epithalamion* in which she celebrated the welcome reserved for Andromache, who arrived in Troy as a bride destined for Hector³⁴⁸.

The space of the Athenians, on the other hand, derives from the involvement of the Theseides in the division of the booty: admitted by the Milesian Arctinus³⁴⁹ and denied by Lesches of Mytilene³⁵⁰, it reflects in the myth the contrast between the Athenians and Mytilenians on the possession of the Sigeum³⁵¹.

In all these traditions, a role attributed to the Sibyl by the Aeolians can be read in her connection with the fate of Troy. Ancient authors underline the truthfulness of the Sibyl³⁵²: regarding Makareus in Alcaeus³⁵³; her connection with the Apollo Smintheus; the god's connection with Killeus and Pelops³⁵⁴, attested by Scamandronimus, son of Hellanicus³⁵⁵. We can presume that references to the Aeolian foundations were not missing

³³² CLEM. ALEX., *Strom.*, I, 21, 108.

³³³ APOLLOD. ERYTHR., 422 F 1; DIOD. IV, 66; VARRO *apud* LACT., *Div.Inst.*, 1, 6 (Herophile).

³³⁴ HES., *Theog.*, 23-27.

³³⁵ EUMEL. F 8 Be.

³³⁶ HDT. I, 147.

³³⁷ *Il.* II, 876; VI.129 ff. and so forth.

³³⁸ HELL. 4 F 31; CONON. 26 F1,46; *Schol. Il.* XXIV,7 35; *Schol. EUR., Andr.*, 10 (Dionysius of Chalcis); 224 (ANAXICRATES 307 F 1); STRABO, XIII, 1, 52, 607.

³³⁹ HDT. V, 94, 2; STRABO, XIII, 1, 38.

³⁴⁰ *Il.* XX, 306-308; *Hymn.Ven.*, 196-201.

³⁴¹ *Il.*, VI, 402-403.

³⁴² *Il. Exc.*, arg.20 and F 5 Be.

³⁴³ *Il. parva* F 21 Be.; PAUS. X, 25, 9.

³⁴⁴ HELLAN. 4 F 31; *Schol. EUR., Andr.*, 10.

³⁴⁵ SCAMON. 476 F 5.

³⁴⁶ HDT., II,135,4; *Ael.*, VH XII, 19; *schol. PL. Phaedr.* 235 C; *Suid.*, s.v. Σαπφώ.

³⁴⁷ SAPPH., F 98, b, 1; 132, 2 Voigt.

³⁴⁸ SAPPH. F 44 Voigt.

³⁴⁹ ARCTIN., *Il.Exc.* F 6 Be.

³⁵⁰ LESCH. F 6 Be.

³⁵¹ HDT. V, 94,2; STRABO, XIII, 1, 38 (Mitilaeen Archeanaktas fortified the Sigeion with the stones of Troy).

³⁵² LACT., *Div.Inst.*, I, 6, 9 (Erythraea). Cf. DIOD., IV, 66, 6; SOLIN., 2,18.

³⁵³ ALC. F 306 A Liberman.

³⁵⁴ THEOP. 115 F 350; STRABO, XIII, 1, 64, 613.

³⁵⁵ SCAMON.476 F 5. The name is a diminutive of Scamandronimos or Scamandrios.

in the prophecies of the Sibyls as they were not lacking in the poems of the Trojan cycle: an epigram attributed to Homer cites the foundation of Aeolian Smyrne by the knights of Cumae Phrikonis³⁵⁶; another prophecy is about the foundation of a Cumaean colony in Kebren on the peaks of Mount Ida, where iron would never fail³⁵⁷. In the West, Sibylline traditions on the legitimacy of their settlement could certainly not be missing.

9. THE LYRA PLAYER

The Sibylline oracles in Cumae are attested in the 6th century BC: Aristodemus used *theopropia*³⁵⁸ such as the Peisistratids in Athens³⁵⁹, Kleomenes³⁶⁰ and Dorieus in Sparta³⁶¹.

Tradition has it that the transfer of the Sibylline books to Rome was at the time of Tarquinius Priscus³⁶² or rather of the Superbus³⁶³: perhaps it reflects real events because their acquisition as well as their first use³⁶⁴ refer to a person with a bad reputation such as the Superbus, and their consultation in 504 BC is attributed to a person of great importance such as Valerius Publicola³⁶⁵.

In the Sibylline Books there were not only the *remedia* but also the *fata* of Rome³⁶⁶ which was founded by Aeneas. The tradition of Aeneas' arrival in Latium took place in the 6th century. The departure of Aeneas from Mount Ida towards the West was a long-standing conviction³⁶⁷, but originally his destination was not specified: the Sibyl simply ordered him to sail towards the sunset³⁶⁸. The tradition of the hero's departure from the burning city begins to be

represented only from the end of the 7th century³⁶⁹. The *heroon* of Aeneas in Lavinium is dated at the same chronological level. In the area where Dionysius of Halicarnassus, following Timaeus, places the *heroon* of Aeneas, a burial mound dated back to 680 was discovered. This was covered by a small temple after 338 BC: this tomb, belonging to an indigenous prince, was equipped with new offerings in 580/70 and at least from that date identified as the *heroon*³⁷⁰.

In the first half of the 6th century, Stesichorus brings Aeneas to Campania,³⁷¹ and at the end of the same century, Hecataeus refers Kapua as a foundation of the Trojan Kapys, uncle of Aeneas³⁷².

Colonists brought the Sibylline traditions with them from the very beginning of Kyme. They had come from a city of ancient origins and rich in Homeric traditions, which was born in the Protogeometric period (10th century BC): during the 8th century³⁷³, it became the colonial metropolis of Smyrna³⁷⁴ in Aeolis, Side in Pamphylia³⁷⁵, Kebren in Troas³⁷⁶, and Ainos in Thrace³⁷⁷. Aeolic Kyme entered a relationship with Midas through the king Agamemnon, whose name recalled the Argive right to that land: Kymaeen Agamemnon, just like his namesake, had a daughter Laodike/Damodike, who married Midas³⁷⁸.

In the West, Kymaeans were led by Apollo and Eumelus in a place rich in epic traditions, where Odysseus had met Kirke³⁷⁹, Kalypso³⁸⁰ and Nestor, who symbolized the consumption of wine³⁸¹. The aristocratic *hegemones* of the colony are homologated, in their

³⁵⁶ V.H.H. 14,175-179. The city was later conquered by the Ionians: MIMNERM. F 9 W = 3 G-P.

³⁵⁷ V.H.H., 285-286.

³⁵⁸ D.H., VII, 9, 1.

³⁵⁹ HDT. VII, 6, 3-4.

³⁶⁰ HDT., V, 90,2.

³⁶¹ HDT. V, 43.

³⁶² VARRO *apud* LACT., *Div.Inst.*, I, 6, 10-11; *Orac. Sibyll.*, 26 Kurf.; *Suid. s.v. Σίβυλλα*; ISID., *Or.*, VIII, 8,6.

³⁶³ D.H., IV, 62, 2; PLIN., *N.H.*, XII, 88; GELL., *NA.*, I, 19; SERV., *Aen.* VI, 72; Jo.LYD., *de mens.*, 4, 47 (Superbus) and so forth.

³⁶⁴ FEST. 478 L.

³⁶⁵ PLUT., *Popl.* 21,2 f.

³⁶⁶ SERV., *Aen.*, VI,72.

³⁶⁷ ARCTIN., *Il.exc.*, arg.,9-10; F 1 Bernabé. Cf. LESCH., *Il. parv.*, F 22 Bernabé.

³⁶⁸ D.H., I, 55, 4.

³⁶⁹ Oinochoe in the National Library of France- Paris (Painter of the bearded Sphinx); scarabeus with Aeneas and Anchyses, end of 6th century (Coll. De Luynes); black-figured vase from Vulci with an identical scene, 470/460 BC Cf. CANCIANI 1981,186-188.

³⁷⁰ SOMMELLA, 1971-1972, 47-74; GIULIANI – SOMMELLA 1977, 357-372, more specifically 367-368; DURY – MOYAERS 1981, 121-127; TORELLI 1984, 173 ff., 189 ff.; ZEVI 1979, 247 ff.

³⁷¹ STESICH. F 28 PMG. Cf. MELE 2014a, 38 ff.

³⁷² HEC. F 62.

³⁷³ FRASCA 2017, 75 ff.; COLELLI 2017, 59 ff.

³⁷⁴ EPHOR., 70 F 19; V.H.H., 2; 38 (Smyrne).

³⁷⁵ STRABO, XIV, 4, 2 (Side).

³⁷⁶ EPHOR., 70 F 10; V.H.H.20, 282-287 (Kebren).

³⁷⁷ EPHOR., 70 F 39 (Ainos).

³⁷⁸ MELE 2005, 393 ff.; MELE 2016, 229 ff.

³⁷⁹ HES., *Theog.*, 1011-1016. Cf. *schol. vet. LYC.*, 44: EUSTATH., *Od.* 1379, 20; DP 78; SERV., *Aen.*, VIII, 328; Tz. LYC., 44, 702; *Et.M.*, s.v.

³⁸⁰ C. DIO. 48, 50, 4-51, 5; PHILOSTR., V Ap., 8,10,5-7. Cf. Ps. SCYMN., 228-230; SERV., *Aen.*, III,171; *schol. AR IV*,553 FEST. s.v. *Ausoniam*; ST. BYZ., s.v. Αὐσονίων; *Et.M.* s.v.; EUSTATH., DP 78.

³⁸¹ CERCHIAI 2009, 484 ff.

funerary ritual, to Achilles and Patroklos³⁸²; their conduct was inspired by this epic heritage, which was the essence of their culture and identity, and of which Sibylline prophecy was an integral part. In this context, therefore, the offerings dedicated to Apollo in his temple on the acropolis and in particular the oldest ones, the bronze statuettes of the female lyre player and the warrior³⁸³, must be explained.

Regarding the lyre player, the musical instrument, her nakedness, the early Archaic chronology and the offering to Apollo, are all attributes that underline her superior status. The instrument is of an Oriental type, which brings us back to the origins of Greek music, linked to the Phrygian and Lydian worlds. Phrygian and Lydian instruments, such as the *barbitos*, *pektis* and *sambyke*, can be found in the hands of the Lydian Alcmans³⁸⁴ as well as those of the Aeolian Sappho and Alcaeus³⁸⁵. The *sambyke* was a harp with unequal strings, of very ancient origin³⁸⁶, whose invention was attributed to Sibyl by Skamon of Mytilene³⁸⁷. Lesbodemides, an Archaic sculptor of Lesbos, had placed it in the hands of one of the Muses³⁸⁸, whose task was ἄδειν καὶ κιθαρίζειν τὰς πράξεις τὰς παλαιὰς ἐμμελῶς³⁸⁹.

In the bronze figurine from Kyme, the instrument is a lyre with equal strings, which was held inclined and leaned against the body, and it was played while standing and not sitting like the cithara³⁹⁰. It was a prestigious instrument³⁹¹: according to the Aeolian tradition, the lyre, invented by Orpheus³⁹², ended up in Lesbos together with the poet's head and was delivered by fishermen to Terpander of Antissa and Cepion, his pupil and collaborator³⁹³.

The connection between the Sibyl, poetry and music is original. The Sibyl is *chresmodòs* and

thespioidòs; she sings using the hexameter and takes part in musical contests. In the first Isthmian Games, it was Orpheus³⁹⁴, the *aoidos* of the Argonauts, who won the competition, but in the funerary games for Pelias, the adversary of Jason, the victory had been of the Sibyl³⁹⁵, according to Stesichorus³⁹⁶ and perhaps Ibycus³⁹⁷.

The Sibyl has a semi-divine nature. The Trojan Sibyl, daughter of an immortal nymph and a mortal, presented herself in Delos as Artemis, and in Delphi she was identified as Selene. The Erythraean Sibyl, her rival, is also the daughter of a nymph and a mortal³⁹⁸. She prophesied under the effect of a divine *mania* and under the same effect, Cassandra tore off her sacred vestments³⁹⁹ a few moments before dying. Nakedness can find its ritual explanation within this context.

The presence of the Sibyl in the temple of Apollo Archegetes can be understood through the oracles of the birth of an *androgynè* quoted by Phlegon of Tralles. The *androgynè* is one of those τέρατα καὶ παθήματα δαίμονος Αἴσης from which the Sibyl can free the community⁴⁰⁰. It is a monstrosity, a sign of the lack of harmony with the gods, an ominous omen. According to Hesiod, such monstrosities represent the deterioration of social relations in the Iron Race: children who were born white-haired, being different from their fathers were alterations of the cycle of agriculture and human generations⁴⁰¹.

Sacrifices will then have to be made to the divinities more directly linked to agrarian and human reproduction. In the oracle, the bulk of the interest goes to the deities responsible for agricultural wealth: *Demeter*, *Kore* and *Pluton*⁴⁰². *Demeter* represents the earth as the mother; *Kore*, as the daughter kidnapped by her husband, and the earth, insofar as it receives the seed in its womb; *Pluton*, finally, by determining birth, grants wealth (*ploutos*) through the harvest.

³⁸² CERCHIAI 1995, 74-76; 1998, 117-124; CRIELAARD 1998, 43-52; 2016, 43 ff.

³⁸³ CINQUANTAQUATTRO – RESCIGNO 2017.

³⁸⁴ ALCMAN, F 472 P.

³⁸⁵ SAPPH. FF 156; 176 L-P; ALC., FF 36; 70 L-P. Cf. LANDELS 1999, 47-49; 73-76.

³⁸⁶ COMOTTI 2018, 68.

³⁸⁷ SKAMON, 476 F 5.

³⁸⁸ ATHEN. IV, 182 F; XIV, 635 A-B.

³⁸⁹ MYRSIL. 477 F 7.

³⁹⁰ SACHS 1940, 144-152.

³⁹¹ COMOTTI 2018, 66.

³⁹² TIMOTH., *Pers.*, 791, 221 ff. Page = Test. 46 Gostoli.

³⁹³ TVA IV F 1, 11-22 Powell.; NICOM. GERAS., *Excerpta*, 266 Jan = TERPANDR., *Test.* 53 B Gostoli.

³⁹⁴ FAVORIN. (= DIO CHRYS.), *Corinth.* 12, 305-306 Barigazzi.

³⁹⁵ PLUT., 675 A.

³⁹⁶ STESICH., FF 178-180 P.

³⁹⁷ ATHEN. IV, 172 D.

³⁹⁸ PAUS. X, 12, 7.

³⁹⁹ AESCHYL., *Agam.*, 1265-1274; EUR., *Troad.*, 449-454.

⁴⁰⁰ PHLEG. 257 F 26 X B 1-3.

⁴⁰¹ HES., *Op.* 181-182.

⁴⁰² HES., *Op.* 182-202.

In one of the oracles reported by Phlegon *Persephone* is indicated as Πλουτωνίς (A 24, 26); in the other, Pluton is defined *Aidoneus* (B 31), as the karst river on Mount Ida, linked to the Sibyl.

Through these relationships, Sibyl is connected to the welfare of the Cumaean community: the name of *Demophile* or its diminutive *Demò* is then applied to her.

Hera is evoked immediately afterwards in the oracle according to which: «when the inhabitants of the opposite islands not by deceit but by force will inhabit the land of Kyme, let those benevolent persons erect a statue and a temple to the divine Hera (σεμνῆς βασιληίδος)»⁴⁰³. Hera is the Potnia, the Queen; she has the gift of the *basileis timé*⁴⁰⁴, granted to Phoroneus⁴⁰⁵ and promised to Paris⁴⁰⁶. The Goddess is Argive as she was brought by Aeolian settlers from a colony of Atreides. Argos next to Sparta and Mycenae was the city dearest to the goddess⁴⁰⁷, whose usual epithet is only Ἀργεῖη⁴⁰⁸.

In Argos she was the curotrophic divinity *par excellence*: on the female side, she supervised weddings and transitional rituals, as in the story of the Danaids sung by Bacchylides⁴⁰⁹; on the male side, she attends to the transitional rites for the acquisition of weapons by the young. Her function is proved by the attribute of *Hoplosmia*⁴¹⁰, with which she is venerated both in Argos and in Lacinium⁴¹¹ and by the prize of a bronze shield awarded to the winner of the Argive Heraia⁴¹². Phoroneus had become king of Argos thanks to Hera to whom he had offered the weapons he had first made⁴¹³.

This ritual dimension is very clear also in the sanctuary of Cape Lacinium in the territory of Kroton. Hera *Hoplosmia* is there associated with youths who are significantly compared to the young trees (*phytā*) of the garden (*orchatos*) of

Thetis⁴¹⁴. In the sanctuary, mourning for Achilles' death was practiced prior to the transfer of the hero to Leuke⁴¹⁵ and ritually alludes to the death and rebirth of young initiates.

The Sibyl is also linked to youths: she is named Φυτώ in Samos⁴¹⁶ where Hera is venerated as *Parthenos*⁴¹⁷ in a cult imported from Argos⁴¹⁸. The establishment of Hera's cult in Kyme is thus accorded to an Argive model (πατρίοισι νόμοις) and therefore the rules are to be preserved for the safety of the community⁴¹⁹. The Sibyl's relationship with the goddess can be seen in her name of *Herophile*, the "friend of Hera" who ensures the conservation of the community: this attribute is firmly linked to the Asian Sibyl, both in the Trojan and the Erythraean version. The Sibyl is thus associated with the Archegetes divinity due to the specific skills she embodies in the Aeolian tradition.

At Kyme, the archaeological documentation of her cult is consistent, particularly in the partially explored area of Fondo Valentino, where from the 7th century a temple dedicated to the goddess is documented⁴²⁰. In Campanian and Etruscan areas, cults of Juno similar to that of the Hera of Argos can be found in foundations attributed to Argive Pelasgians who arrived under the guidance of Halesus, the illegitimate son of Agamemnon: Nuceria⁴²¹; Ager Falernus⁴²²; Falerii⁴²³; Veii⁴²⁴; Alsium near Caere, where the Argives disembarked⁴²⁵.

The goddess was worshipped as Juno Lucina, Curitis, Regina: her sphere of competence was comparable with the specificities of Aeolian Hera

⁴¹⁴ Cf. *Il.* XVII, 57, 438 with *Lyc.* 856-859.

⁴¹⁵ Cf. *Lyc.*, 856-651 with *Aithiopsis Arg.* 20-25.

⁴¹⁶ *ERATOST.*, 241 F 26; *Suid.*, s.v. Σιβύλλαι.

⁴¹⁷ In honor of Hera the island was originally named *Parthenis* or *Parthenia* (*ARIST.* F 571 R=589 *Gigon*; *CALLIM.*, *Hymn. Del.* 49; *EUPHORION* SH 431; *AR I*, 188; *II*, 872); *Parthenios* was the river near which the Goddess was born and where, as *Parthenos*, she lived until her marriage with Zeus (*PAUS.* VII, 4, 4); another name of the river was *Imbrasos*, from which the Goddess received the name *Imbrasia* (*CALLIM.* F 101 Pf.).

⁴¹⁸ *AETHL.* 526 F 3; *MENOD.* 541 F 1; *PAUS.*, VII, 4, 4.

⁴¹⁹ *PHLEGON.* 257 F 36 X B 51 e 56.

⁴²⁰ *VALENZA MELE* 1991-1992, 52 ff.; *LA ROCCA et al.* 1995, 51-79.

⁴²¹ *CONON* 26 F 3.

⁴²² *VERG.*, *Aen.*, VII, 724; X, 352; *SERV.*, *Aen.*, VII 730.

⁴²³ *CATO* F 47 P = II, 18 *Chassignet*; *D.H.*, I, 21; *Ov.* F 73 s.; *Amor.*, III, 123, 31.32; *SERV.*, *Aen.*, VII, 695.

⁴²⁴ *SERV.*, *Aen.* VIII, 285.

⁴²⁵ *D.H.* I, I, 20,5; *SIL.IT.*, VIII, 475.

⁴⁰³ *PHLEG.* 257 F 26 X B.

⁴⁰⁴ *Hymn. Orph.*, 16: 2, παμβασιλεια; 4, παντογένηθλε; 7, πάντων γάρ κρατέεις μούνη πάντεσσι τ' ἀνάσσεις.

⁴⁰⁵ *HYG.*, *Fab.* 274.

⁴⁰⁶ *APD.*, *Ep.*, 3,2.

⁴⁰⁷ *Il.* IV, 51s.

⁴⁰⁸ *Il.* IV, 8; V, 908; *HES.*, *Theog.*, 12; *Phoronis* F 4,2.

⁴⁰⁹ *BACCHYL.*, *ep.* XI.

⁴¹⁰ *MIMNERM.* F 22=17 G-P.

⁴¹¹ *Lyc.* 856-858.

⁴¹² *PIND.*, *N.H.* X, 22 and *scholl.*

⁴¹³ *HYG.*, *Fab.* 274.

πάντων γενέθλα, as it included births, war and power. In the same system, the tradition of the *Falisci* as *Chalcidiensium* colonists occurs⁴²⁶.

These are the undeniable signs of the importance of the cult of Hera for the penetration of the Kymaians throughout this area. The colonists rejected the earlier reference to Odysseus, Kirke and Kalypso, who had established a relationship of *xeinie* and *epigamie*⁴²⁷ with Latins and Ausonians; with the strengthening of Kyme in the Campanian plain, the Aeolian-Argive model of the *bia* is imposed: the Pithecoussan model of the insular *emporia* up to Circeum is now obsolete⁴²⁸.

10. THE BRONZE WARRIOR

The dedication of the bronze warrior in the temple of Apollo Archegetes highlights the role of weapons in the foundation of Cumae, also manifested in the mythical and religious traditions relating to the colony.

In the oracle of the foundation, the cult of Hera is related to the passage of the settlers from the “opposite islands” (not only from Pithekoussai) to the continent: an act which involves the exercise of violence, since inspired by the god were the prophecies of the Sibyl for Kyme must have been considered in conformity with reality.

The whole tradition confirms the forms in which the occupation of the Phlegraean plains took place: Gigantomachy as the archetype of all the struggles that took place to obtain its possession⁴²⁹; the armed march performed at night by colonists to the sound of cymbals marks the Kore’s and the harvest’s return⁴³⁰ as for the Graikoi of Tanagra⁴³¹; the audacity with which the settlers from the islands occupied the lands of the continent⁴³²; their *oikistai* Megakles and Hippocles, knights “of great strength”, like the Cumaeans settlers who, according to an oracle attributed to Homer, occupied Smyrna «beaten by the waves»

(ἀλγείτονα ποντοτίνακτον)⁴³³, as well as the beach of Cumae⁴³⁴. They too were equally knights, who rode furious horses (μάργων ἐπιβήτορες ἵππων), fiercer than fire (ὀπλότεροι μαλεροῖο πυρὸς). At the same time, the Argives who occupied the Ager Falernus had to drive out the Aurunci/Auronissoi. They were warlike people, very intimidating because of their stature and the hardness of their gaze: a true counterpart to the giants who inhabited the Campanian plain⁴³⁵.

It was the political and economic relationship with the Orient, with Phrygia first, and Lydia afterwards – marked on one hand by the Phrygian gold and Demodike, daughter of a king Agamemnon, as Laodike-Electra of the Atrid, wife of Midias, king of the Phrygians⁴³⁶, and on the other hand, with the *basileia* as *megiste tyrannis* of Gyges⁴³⁷, the *megale archè* of Kroisos⁴³⁸ – which is now the model for the Orientalizing *truphè* of the Kymaean aristocrats, who for their own wealthy tombs, adopted the heroic rituals performed for Achilles, Patroklos and Hector⁴³⁹.

The presence of the bronze warrior in the acropolis temple in Cumae is well explained in this context. The foundation of Cumae is, according to Velleius, at the same time led by Apollo Archegetes, and a nocturnal and armed occupation following Demeter⁴⁴⁰. According to Statius, it is conceived as a transfer of homeland divinities: *Apollo ductor populi* through *Eumelus*; *Demeter* with his nocturnal rites; the *Dioscuri*, who are linked to the Eumelidai and Neapolis in sports competitions⁴⁴¹. Each of them has the task of protecting the earth and the people who inhabit it⁴⁴²: Apollo, Demeter and the Dioskuroi, deities responsible for the physical and military education of the citizens, are therefore in the DNA of the colony, which thanks to them, as Statius says, *auguriis magnis* were born.

⁴²⁶ TROG. JUSTIN., XX, 1, 12.

⁴²⁷ Cf. MELE 2017, 28 f.

⁴²⁸ HES., *Theog.*, 1011-1016 (μάλα τῆλε μυχῷ νήσων ἱεράων, «in the very far bottom of the divine isles»).

⁴²⁹ TIM. F 98; POLYB., III, 91; 7,1; STRABO, V, 4, 4, 243.

⁴³⁰ EUR., *Elen.*, 1341-1352. More details in MELE 2014a, 54 f.

⁴³¹ For Tanagra (ethnics *Tana-graios* e *Tana-graikos*): PAUS., IX, 20, 2. In the same space: Oropos = Graia: ARISTOT. F 613 = 406 Gigon.

⁴³² LIV., VIII, 22, 5-6.

⁴³³ V.H.H. 14, 175-179.

⁴³⁴ STRABO, V, 4, 4, 243.

⁴³⁵ D.H., I, 21, 3 VI, 32, 3.

⁴³⁶ Cf. MELE 2016, 18 ff.

⁴³⁷ ARCHILOCH. F 19 West.

⁴³⁸ HDT. I, 53; 86; 91.

⁴³⁹ CERCHIAI 1995, 74-76; 1998, 117-124; CRIELAARD 1998, 43-52; 2016, 43 ff.

⁴⁴⁰ VELL. PAT., I, 4, 1, compare with *Hymn. Cer.*, 59-61; *schol. ARISTOPH. Ach.*, 708 a2; 708c; *Et. Magn. s.v. 'Achaia'*. See: MELE 2014a, 54 f.

⁴⁴¹ IGI Napoli, I, 52.

⁴⁴² STAT., IV, 8, 45-54.

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CUMAE IN OPICIA IN THE LIGHT OF THE RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NAPOLI L'ORIENTALE: FROM THE PRE-HELLENIC (LBA-EIA) TO THE EARLIEST PHASE OF THE *APOIKIA* (LG I)*

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1. THE FOUNDATION OF CUMAE *VS.* PITHEKOUSSAI AND THE EARLIEST *APOIKIAI* IN SICILY: OLD DATA AND NEW EVIDENCE

1.1. *Cumae: earliest evidence of the apoikia brought to light up until 1994*

Since 1994 the extensive and systematic excavations which were initiated in Cumae – in the framework of the projects “Kyme I-III” (1994-2006) – and which are still in progress, have greatly improved the historical-archaeological picture of the settlement during the Pre-Hellenic, Greek, Campanian-Samnite and Roman periods.

Before that, our archaeological knowledge of the earliest phases of the Greek *apoikia* of Cumae was mainly based on the excavations which had been conducted in the Greek cemetery north of the city and in the sanctuaries of the acropolis during the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century¹. How-

ever, this picture was incomplete and discontinuous: the methods used to record the data depended on how much attention was paid to the archaeological contexts by each individual excavator, and on the field methodology practiced at the time. What's more, a large number of uncontrolled excavations were conducted right up until the early 20th century. In 1913 a systematic collection of the evidence available up until that point was made by Ettore Gabrici in the volume *Cuma*, and this remained the point of reference regarding the archaeology of the earliest phases of Cumae until the late 20th century².

Just before and after the publication of this volume, important excavations in the two sanctuaries of the acropolis, which occupy respectively the lower terrace and the upper terrace of the hill, brought to light stratigraphies and materials from the earliest occupation of the site. However, for a great length of time most of them had remained unpublished and it was only very recently that a reappraisal and publication of some materials and reports from these old investigations of the acropolis, together with the new excavations conducted there, have demonstrated just how important they might have been in the quest to shed light on the settlement of early Cumae³.

In sum, until the end of the 20th century our knowledge of the beginnings of the Greek *apoikia* mainly relied on its earliest tombs published by Gabri-

* The archaeological excavation at Cumae in the urban Greco-Roman area and the previous Pre-Hellenic settlement, north of the Forum Baths, is being conducted as a concession from the Ministry of Culture to the University of Napoli L'Orientale, under the direction of Matteo D'Acunto. The excavation is conducted on a month-long campaign per year, following the site-school formula, which involves the full participation of many dozens of students in all phases of field activities: from the actual excavation, to the recording and surveying of evidence and the classification of finds. Our most heartfelt thanks go to all the staff of the Phlegrean Fields Archaeological Park, the supervisors of our research activities, especially the Director, Dr Fabio Pagano, the archaeologists, Drs Marialaura Iadanza and Francesca Merlati, and the excavation assistant Cesare Giordano.

In addition, we would like to warmly thank Gina Di Muro and Federica Iannone, for their careful proof-reading of the English text of this paper.

¹ On the history of the archaeological research in Cumae see BURELLI – VALENZA MELE 1989; *Cuma*; ZEVI *et al.* 2008; D'ACUNTO 2017; PAGANO – DEL VILLANO 2022; D'ACUNTO forthcoming,

with references. On the necropolis see especially RESCIGNO – VALENZA MELE 2010.

² GABRICI 1913.

³ On the sanctuary on the upper terrace of the acropolis: RESCIGNO 2012, 2015; RESCIGNO *et al.* 2022, with other references. On the sanctuary on the lower terrace: JANNELLI 1999; NITTI 2019.

ci in 1913, together with a few LG-7th century BC vases from the acropolis which had also been published. The material evidence from these old excavations did not seem to support Strabo's chronological point of view (5.4.4): the geographer labels Cumae in Campania as the *palaiotaton ktisma* among the Greek foundations in Italy and Sicily (his source was, in all likelihood, the universal history of Ephorus from Aeolian Cumae in the 4th century BC⁴). Indeed, in Cumae's Greek period necropolis, the earliest tombs, which had been excavated both by the Count of Syracuse in 1852-1857 and by Emilio Stevens in 1878-1896, do not go back earlier than LG II (720-690 BC): several dozen burials, then brought to light, can be dated to LG II, since their grave-offerings include the clearest chronological marker for this phase, i.e. Early Protocorinthian (EPC) pottery, including both imports from Corinth and "local" imitations in the so-called Pithekoussan-Cumaeian production⁵.

The outcome of this state of evidence was Nicolas Coldstream's discussion in *Greek Geometric Pottery* in 1968. At the time, the British scholar debated the chronological question of the foundation of Cumae with reference to the earliest Greek pottery found on the site. His discussion was based – in line with his eminent predecessor Humfry Payne – on cross-checking the absolute dates transmitted

by the ancient authors for the colonial foundations, and especially by Thucydides for the Sicilian colonies, and Corinthian pottery: Corinthian LG (= LG I in Pithekoussai and Cumae) is referred to 750-720 BC, and the EPC (= LG II in Pithekoussai and Cumae) corresponds to 720-690 BC, according to Coldstream's so-called "orthodox" chronology (which is the chronological system that we adopt in the present paper)⁶. However, his view on Cumae was more cautious than with other Sicilian *apoikiai* referring to the first "wave" of the colonization process. He drew a *status quaestionis*, which is worthy of being reported here: «The earliest colony in Italy is Pithekoussai, followed shortly by Cumae [LIV. 8.22.5-6⁷]. Literary evidence cannot date their foundation precisely, but Strabo implies that Cumae is older than any of the Sicilian colonies [STRAB. 5.4.4]. A *fortiori*, Cumae is older than Zancle; and this inference is independently confirmed by Thucydides who knew that Zancle was settled first by Cumaeian pirates, and subsequently by a regular expedition from Chalcis in partnership with Cumae [THUC. 6.4.5⁸]. If this tradition is correct, the earliest pottery at Cumae has yet to be found; for whereas there is an LG kotyle from Zancle, the oldest published material from Cumae is EPC. It is worth noting that the settlement on the Cumaeian acropolis has never at any point been explored down to the deepest level»⁹. Coldstream was therefore aware that in Cumae material evidence earlier than EPC/LG II might have been added at some time in the future thanks to more systematic research in other areas of the ancient site.

⁴ STRAB. 5.4.4: «Next ... comes Cumae, a city founded in most ancient times by people from Chalcis and Cumae; for it is the oldest of all the Sicilian and the Italiote cities. [ἔστι Κόμη Χαλκιδέων καὶ Κυμαίων παλαιότατον κτίσμα: πασῶν γάρ ἐστι πρεσβυτάτη τῶν τε Σικελικῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰταλιωτίδων.] However, the men who led the expedition, Hippokles of Cumae and Megasthenes of Chalcis, made an agreement with one another that the city should be a colony of Chalcis, and a namesake of Cumae; and, hence, although the city is now called Cumae, it is reputed to have been founded by the Chalcidians alone» (trans. H.L. Jones). On Strabo's sources see recently MELE 2008; 2014, 41-139; M. GIANGIULIO in this volume, with references.

⁵ Published in GABRICI 1913, cols. 214-448, esp. figs. 79 and 148, and pls. 30-32, 35-43, 49-50; cf. the catalogue in ZEVİ *et al.* 2008, 190-196, 211, 213-215, 221-223, 226. The Artiaco burial plot, which is located quite apart from the main core of the necropolis, includes two LG II burials: T. 103bis (the inhumation of a female: PELLEGRINI 1903, cols. 264-278, figs. 43-62; HENCKEN 1958, 270, pl. 69, figs. 34-35, who suggests a date at ca. 730 BC, which is too high) and the well-known T. 104 which should be dated at the end of this phase, i.e. in the early 7th century BC (the secondary cremation of a male: PELLEGRINI 1903, cols. 225-263, figs. 7-42; GUZZO 2000; D'ACUNTO 2017, 311-314, figs. 26.28-34; BABBI 2018, 341-344; 2021, 451-459). On Pithekoussan-Cumaeian production and their imitations of Corinthian LG and Protocorinthian pottery see CUOZZO 2006; MERMATI 2012; and M. CUOZZO in this volume.

⁶ COLDSTREAM 2008 (= 1968), 322-327. On this chronological system cf. more recently KOUROU 2005; D'AGOSTINO 2010-2011, 103-108.

⁷ LIV. 8.22.6: «The Cumaeans trace their origin from Euboean Chalcis. The fleet that had brought them from their homeland made them much respected along the coast where they settled; having first landed on the islands of Aenaria and Pithecusae, they later decided to take their chance on the mainland» (tr. D. Ridgeway).

⁸ THUC. 6.4.5: «Zancle was originally founded by pirates [ληιστῶν] from Cumae, the Chalcidian town in the country of the Opicians; afterwards, however, large numbers came from Chalcis and the rest of Euboea, and divided the land among themselves; the founders [οἰκιστῶν] being Perieres and Krataimenes from Cumae and Chalcis respectively. It first had the name of Zancle given it by the Sicels, because the place is shaped like a sickle, which the Sicels call Zancalon; but upon the original settlers being afterwards expelled by some Samians and other Ionians who landed in Sicily flying from the Medes» (tr. J.M. Dent, modified).

⁹ COLDSTREAM 2008 [= 1968], 326.

1.2. Pithekoussai

Conversely, in Pithekoussai a small group of much earlier vases (most of them sherds), which may be referred to the transition from late MG II (ca. 770-750 BC) to LG I (750-720 BC), had been published in the last decades of the 20th century by G. Buchner, D. Ridgway, J.N. Coldstream and B. d'Agostino. These are a Corinthian skyphos with close chevron decoration and several Euboean/Euboeanizing skyphoi with a close or floating chevron ornament, both of the latest type with tall body, together with a Euboean krater (MG II/LG I): they come from the acropolis of Monte di Vico (from the so-called "Gosetti dump"), from the lower-lying plain (from the so-called "Stipe dei Cavalli", and from the necropolis of San Montano)¹⁰. Since this evidence consists of only a handful of sherds from unstratified contexts, it calls for caution and cannot be translated into a historical interpretation¹¹: we cannot have a precise idea of the Euboean presence at the site, at this highest chronological horizon, until closed stratigraphical contexts are brought to light. The common view is that this earliest evidence, even though scant, is the chronological marker for the establishment of the Eretrians and Chalcidians in Pithekoussai in late MG II (ca. 760-750 BC)¹².

When dealing with the nucleus of Euboean fragments from the acropolis of Monte di Vico, Coldstream remarks: «The first Euboean settlers could be expected to have brought with them some chattels from their homeland, and a deposit on the acropolis is a likely place where they might be found. A few pieces of skyphoi with close chevron decoration [nos. 57-58, 61 of his catalogue], and the krater fragment [no. 2 of his catalogue] with a strict meander, might well go back into MG II; but so also might a local chevron skyphos from the cemetery, retrieved from a subsequently dismantled grave

[BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, no. Sp. 4.4]. It seems then, that this acropolis deposit contains some pottery older than anything in the complete grave groups, but no older than the earliest use of the cemetery»¹³. An unquestionable *terminus ante quem* for the establishment of Pithekoussai are the abundance of graves dated to LG I (750-720 BC) which have been published; some of them may be clearly referred to the first part of LG I, in the light of their grave-offerings and of the relative chronology established by their stratigraphic position in each family plot¹⁴. Parallel archaeological evidence comes from the quarter of Mazzola on the Mezzavia hill: its earliest chronological horizon is illustrated by the LG I pottery, at the beginning of this phase¹⁵, thus showing that the occupation of the quarter and the metal processing activities practiced there had been established by that point in time.

To sum up, these intensive excavations in several areas of the site make it clear that by the beginning of LG I (ca. 750 BC) Pithekoussai had already been settled by a large group of people endowed with complex social organization and with an economy based on commerce, craftsmanship and agriculture¹⁶: the settlement was constituted by a dominant community of Euboeans living abroad (Eretrians and Chalcidians, according to Strabo

¹³ Cf. COLDSTREAM 1995, 266.

¹⁴ On this aspect see BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, which is the detailed publication of the first part of the excavations in the necropolis, and the discussion of its relative chronology in NIZZO 2007a; on the second part of the excavations of the necropolis see the preliminary reports in CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013; 2014; and T.E. CINQUANTAQUATTRO in this volume, with former references.

¹⁵ One of the earliest vases from Mazzola is the amphora sherd showing a male figure in *silhouette* transfixed by a spear, which has been compared by Coldstream to the Dipylon Workshop's style of Attic LG Ia (c. 760-750 BC): COLDSTREAM 2000, 92-93, fig. 1; M. CUOZZO, in this volume, fig. 6 left. The LG I pottery includes several kotylai of the Aetos 666 type, both imported Corinthian and Euboic specimens as well as locally manufactured ones: KLEIN 1972, 38-39, figs. 1 and 7 bottom at the center; M. CUOZZO, in this volume, fig. 1. See also a LG I Corinthian "heron kotyle": KLEIN 1972 39, fig. 7 right part; M. CUOZZO in this volume, fig. 2. Thapsos skyphoi with panel, both Corinthian and local, may be referred to LG I/early LG II: KLEIN 1972, 39 fig. 7 bottom-right; M. CUOZZO in this volume, fig. 3, see esp. the two sherds in the upper part of the figure. See also the Euboean black kotyle and krater of LG I/II: M. CUOZZO, in the present volume, fig. 4.

¹⁶ For an overview on the economy of the settlement see D'ACUNTO forthcoming.

¹⁰ *Gosetti dump*: RIDGWAY 1981, esp. 50-52, and 59 pl. 2; 1992, 87, fig. 21; COLDSTREAM 1995, 252-253, 257, 260-261, 266, nos. 2, 57-58, 61-62, fig. 2, pls. 27a, 29b (MG II/LG I). *Stipe dei Cavalli*: D'AGOSTINO 1994-1995, 44, nos. 1-2. pl. 34. *Cemetery*: RIDGWAY 1981, 48-49, fig. 1; BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 702-703, no. Sp. 4.4, pls. 245, CCIX. Cf. below chpt. 5.2.

¹¹ In this perspective, e.g. RIDGWAY 1981, 52; D'AGOSTINO 1999, 56-57 (= D'AGOSTINO 2010-2011, 224-225).

¹² See e.g. RIDGWAY 1992, 87-88; COLDSTREAM 1995, 266-267, and references below at chpt. 5.2.

5.4.9¹⁷); it also incorporated native/Italic individuals (both females and males) and Levantines, who lived there more or less permanently and were integrated on different levels of the social ladder¹⁸.

1.3. Megara Hyblaea

Before the beginning of Cumae's new excavations in 1994, Strabo's assumption that the Phlegraean city was the Greek *palaioiton ktisma* of Italia and Sikeliá also appeared to be problematic with reference to the earliest archaeological finds from the first Greek colonies in Sicily: the earliest vases found in the Sicilian *apoikiai* up until then were earlier than Cumae's, since they referred to Corinthian LG or to LG I with reference to the Pithekoussan/Cumaean chronology. A list of these earliest vases had been given by Coldstream in 1968¹⁹ and several others were published afterwards.

Megara Hyblaea is the point of reference in the absolute chronology given by Thucydides for the Sicilian colonies: founded 245 years before Gelon's conquest of the city in 483 BC (THUC. 6.4.1-2; cf. HDT. 7.156-157), therefore at 728 BC²⁰. In a tight and linked sequence of events, the Athenian historian (6.3.3) states that Megara Hyblaea was established at the same time (κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον) as Leontinoi and Katane, the two foundations involving the Chalcidian inhabitants of Naxos and their *oikistes* Thoukles. Given that during this period of transition those two foundations were said to have taken place five years after that of Syracuse, the latter must be dated at 733 BC, and hence Naxos one year before that, i.e. at 734 BC. In Payne's and Coldstream's chronological system,

Thucydides' absolute dates for the Sicilian colonies are the point of reference for cross-dating the relative sequence of Geometric-Archaic pottery: in particular, Corinthian production is the main chronological marker of the LG, EPC, MPC and later phases, because of its linear evolution in the decoration and in the morphology of the shapes, and because of its ubiquitous presence in Greek and non-Greek sites all along the Mediterranean. The basic chronological criterion is that of the absence/presence of one of the following phases of Corinthian pottery in each Sicilian colony with reference to their absolute dates given by Thucydides.

In the 1950s and 1960s the foundation date of Megara Hyblaea had been raised by G. Vallet and F. Villard, after the beginning of their extensive excavations in the urban area: they suggested that a more likely date was at ca. 750 BC, since two passages, respectively of Strabo inspired by Ephorus (STRAB. 6.2.2), and of the Pseudo-Scymnus (270-279) would indicate its priority with regard to Syracuse, and since the earliest pottery found until then in Megara was earlier than in Syracuse (with reference to P. Orsi's excavations in the Fusco necropolis)²¹. However, from the 1980s onwards this hermeneutic position was abandoned by G. Vallet himself (but not by F. Villard)²², and a general consensus was again reached among scholars on the general reliability of both Thucydides' dates and Payne's-Coldstream's chronological system²³. This was the result of P. Pelagatti's and G. Voza's subsequent excavations in Syracuse, and also thanks to P. Pelagatti's, and more recently, M.C. Lentini's investigations in Naxos. As we will see below, the earliest pottery from their excavations in both sites may be essentially referred to Corinthian LG (750-720 BC).

I believe that this interpretation should still stand²⁴: in fact, in terms of relative chronology there is a correspondence between the earliest pottery found in Naxos, in Syracuse and in Megara Hyblaea;

¹⁷ STRAB. 5.4.9: «Pithecusae was once settled by Eretrians and also Chalcidians, who, although they had prospered there on account of the fruitfulness of the soil [εὐκαρπία] and on account of the activities of their goldsmiths [χρυσεία], forsook the island because of internal dissension [στάσις]; later on they were also driven out of the island by earthquakes, and by eruptions of fire, sea, and hot waters ...» (trans. H.L. Jones, modified).

¹⁸ For a recent discussion on the composition and the function of the settlement see recently D'ACUNTO 2020a, 1291-1298; D'ACUNTO forthcoming, with references.

¹⁹ COLDSTREAM 2008 (= 1968), 322-327, list at 323.

²⁰ A still useful discussion on the different dates of the Sicilian colonies as reported by the literary sources may be found in VILLARD – VALLET 1952, 291-325. Van Compernelle's scepticism on Thucydides' chronological system has been criticized by many scholars: VAN COMPERNELLE 1960, cf. e.g. VAN DEN BRUWAENE 1961; ROSS HOLLOWAY 1962; GARZETTI 1963.

²¹ VILLARD – VALLET 1952, 309-346.

²² Starting from VALLET 1982; *contra* VILLARD 1982.

²³ For a synthesis of the positions of these scholars see e.g. AMYX 1988, 397-434.

²⁴ A different opinion has been recently expressed by J.-C. Sourisseau, who comes back to the date of 750 BC for the foundation date of Megara Hyblaea: SOURISSEAU 2014; this work draws on an important survey of the earliest phases of Megara Hyblaea, but unfortunately is unpublished (I would like to thank him for giving me the manuscript).

their foundation dates are extremely tight in Thucydides' report and correspond to the second part of the Corinthian LG phase in Payne's-Coldstream's system. Another important aspect regarding the comparisons between these three sites is that in Megara Hyblaea the higher number of finds related to the first chronological horizon of LG does not mean its date of foundation was actually earlier. The higher number is due to the much wider excavations conducted there by the French team as compared to the more limited ones which have been carried out in Syracuse, where the modern city overlies the ancient one, and in Naxos itself (see below).

The following list refers to the finds in Megara from the excavations conducted in the urban area. A single skyphos with chevron decoration has been identified; it is considered a Corinthian import and dated at the end of MG II, but it might in fact be later due to the deep body and decoration²⁵. A small fragment of an Attic/Cycladic circle-amphora of MG I closely resembles another similar specimen found in Syracuse (see below) and may be either an "antique" brought by the colonists or a vase which had been part of pre-colonial exchanges²⁶. However, all the other earliest imports from Corinth (or which had been considered as such, in the case of lost specimens) are LG and refer to the chronological markers of this phase, starting from the kotylai and the Thapsos skyphoi with panel. Among them, the larger number of varieties as compared to the finds from Naxos and Syracuse is easily justified by the much more extensive excavations conducted in Megara Hyblaea. The LG kotylai include specimens of the Aetos 666 type²⁷, with meander²⁸, horizontal zig-zags²⁹, and double-axes³⁰. The same date can be

assigned to a few kantharoi/kyathoi with the Aetos 666 ornament³¹, to another with antithetic birds³² and to two pyxides with antithetic birds³³. In the Thapsos class the earliest skyphoi (when preserved) have a painted lower body and a panel decorated with a row of zig-zags³⁴, three-bar sigmas³⁵, dotted lozenges³⁶ and other decorations³⁷, while in the panel of the kraters-skyphoi there is a row of hatched meander hooks³⁸, chevrons³⁹ or three-bar sigmas⁴⁰. The earliest sherds identified as local include: a few chevron skyphoi with deep body, which should be dated to late MG II or more likely to LG I (cf. below chpt. 5.3)⁴¹; some LG I/early LG II Thapsos skyphoi with panel and the lower body painted⁴²; and LG I/II kotylai⁴³. If we shift to the cemetery of Megara Hyblaea, an early date has been assigned to Tomb A55 because of the shape of the Corinthian amphora (LG?)⁴⁴.

1.4. Naxos

According to Thucydides (6.3), the earliest Greek colony in Sicily was Naxos, founded by the Chalcidians in 734 BC, while Eusebius' date is only slightly earlier, i.e. 741 or 736 BC⁴⁵. Thus, in terms of absolute chronology, if Ephorus'/Strabo's statement on Cumae is compared with Thucydides'

³¹ VILLARD 1982, 183, pl. 63.4; SOURISSEAU 2014, 115, nos. 13 and 15.

³² VILLARD 1982, 183, pl. 63; SOURISSEAU 2014, 116, no. 16.

³³ VILLARD 1982, 183, pl. 63 and 64.7 = fig. 4.7; SOURISSEAU 2014, 118, nos. 18-19.

³⁴ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, pl. 3.2; VILLARD 1982, 184, pl. 64.2; SOURISSEAU 2014, 134-135, nos. 36-37.

³⁵ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, pl. 2.7; SOURISSEAU 2014, 134-135, nos. 38-52.

³⁶ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, pl. 3.4; SOURISSEAU 2014, 140, nos. 62-63.

³⁷ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, pl. 3; SOURISSEAU 2014, 141-148, nos. 64-100.

³⁸ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, pl. 1; SOURISSEAU 2014, 157-158, nos. 127-130.

³⁹ SOURISSEAU 2014, 159, no. 133.

⁴⁰ SOURISSEAU 2014, 159-160, nos. 134-135.

⁴¹ Examined by Lou de Barbarin in her PhD dissertation: DE BARBARIN 2021, pls. A- 1 (the two specimens with close chevrons/sigmas in the upper row, "Coupes du type A1a") and A- 2 (a specimen with floating chevrons, "Coupes du type A2").

⁴² DE BARBARIN 2021, pl. A- 1, "Coupes du type A1b" and "A1c".

⁴³ DE BARBARIN 2021, pl. A- 11 "skyphoi du type A1a", "A1c" and "A2"

⁴⁴ SOURISSEAU 2014, 45, 183-185, Dossier 2, fig. 111.

⁴⁵ For the edition of Eusebius' *Chronicle* I refer to FOTHERINGHAM 1905.

²⁵ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, 17-18, fig. 1, pl. 2.6; VILLARD 1982, 183, pl. 64.1 = fig. 4.1; SOURISSEAU 2014, 108, no. 1.

²⁶ VILLARD 1982, 182, pl. 65.5 = fig. 7.5; SOURISSEAU 2014, 166, no. 145 (cf. 146-147).

²⁷ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, 21, fig. 7; VILLARD 1982, 182, pls. 63.1, 3, 4 = figs. 3.1, 3, 4; SOURISSEAU 2014, 109-110, nos. 3 (now lost); 110-111, nos. 4-7. Cf. for the decoration of the following skyphos: VILLARD 1982, 183, pl. 64.4-5 = fig. 4.4-5; SOURISSEAU 2014, 108, no. 2.

²⁸ VILLARD 1982, 182, pl. 63.9-10 = fig. 3.9-10; SOURISSEAU 2014, 112, nos. 8-9.

²⁹ VILLARD 1982, 182, pl. 63.2 = fig. 3.2; SOURISSEAU 2014, 114, no. 12.

³⁰ VILLARD 1982, 182, pl. 63.7 = fig. 3.7; SOURISSEAU 2014, 113, no. 11.

on Naxos, this would imply that for Cumae's foundation a *terminus ante quem* would be 734 BC (but, of course, it must be emphasized that the two authors/their sources might refer to slightly different chronological systems).

The earliest pottery from the settlement of Naxos, published by P. Pelagatti and M.C. Lentini, include many Thapsos class Corinthian skyphoi, which refer to the first variant with a narrow panel on the shoulder: the oldest specimens should be those whose panels are decorated with a row of hatched meander hooks or of three-bar sigmas⁴⁶; in these skyphoi, whenever that part is preserved, the lower body is fully painted, thus suggesting a date in LG or even in early EPC (given that this variant with three-bar sigmas occurs in Pithekoussai's burials in both phases⁴⁷) (cf. below chpt. 5.7). Another skyphos of uncertain manufacture (Euboean or Euboeanizing?) refers to the type with chevron decoration⁴⁸: its debased version of close chevrons (they would be better defined as tremuli), its deep body and the thin walls of the skyphos suggest a very late date in the series of close chevron skyphoi, i.e. at the end of MG II or more probably in LG I (see discussion below at chpt. 5.3). A handful of Euboean skyphoi from the settlement of Naxos have metopes with bird decoration enclosed by horizontal lines (again, we will come back to this type below). One of these skyphoi belongs to an advanced stage of the evolution of this type, because of the everted rim, the bird drawing and the zig-zag motif filling⁴⁹: LG I and not earlier is a likely date (750-720 BC). Another specimen has a debased version of the bird, an even more open shape, and an everted rim⁵⁰, which suggest a date in LG II (ca. 720-700 BC), which is when Coldstream dates the end of this type of series⁵¹. Several other LG I phase frag-

ments have been found in the most recent excavations in the Naxos settlement and, to my knowledge, are still unpublished: a (Euboean?) skyphos with close chevron decoration (in fact sigmas) of the very late deep-body variant (late MG II/LG I); a kotyle of the Aetos 666 type (of Euboean/Euboeanizing fabric); a Thapsos class skyphos-krater with panel (of Corinthian fabric); several Thapsos class skyphoi with panel decorated with a series of hatched meander hooks and three-bar sigmas (of non-Corinthian fabric)⁵².

In sum, the LG I phase (750-720 BC) in Naxos is becoming clearer thanks to these fragments from stratified contexts. What's more, these finds are coherent with Thucydides' foundation date of 734 BC and its cross-dating with the "orthodox" chronological system of Late Geometric pottery.

1.5. Syracuse

Thucydides (6.3.2) reports that Syracuse was founded by Corinthian colonists under the leadership of the Heracleid Archias a year after Naxos, i.e. at 733 BC (Eusebius' date is again similar, at 736 or 734 BC).

A good deal of archaeological evidence from both the earliest settlement in Ortygia and the Fusco cemetery is available. Consequently, the case of Syracuse is of great interest in comparison with Cumae, where we can compare both funerary and settlement evidence. In the Fusco cemetery the earliest tombs excavated by Paolo Orsi can be attributed to EPC/LG II because of the globular aryballoi and the local kraters⁵³. There is one much earlier vase, an exceptional Attic circle-amphora of MG I (850-800 BC), which was found out of context in this area of the necropolis⁵⁴: we are unable to establish whether it had arrived in Sicily in the pre-colonial phase or if it was an "antique" brought by Corinthian colonists. From another

⁴⁶ PELAGATTI 1982a, 145, fig. 10 (cf. 1964, 162, fig. 41; COLDSTREAM 2004, 41, fig. 1; 2008, 323: LG); PELAGATTI 1982a, pl. XXX/47.1-6; LENTINI 2004b, 36, no. 2; and M.C. LENTINI, in this volume, fig. 8.

⁴⁷ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993: T. 161, 203-204, no. 2, pl. 63 (LG I); T. 309A, 366, no. 2, pl. 116 (LG II). On the Thapsos skyphoi, the questions of their chronological sequences and production places, see NEEFT 1981; BOSANA-KOUROU 1983; KOUROU 1994, 38-43; and recently GADOLOU 2011 and 2017, with former bibliography.

⁴⁸ LENTINI 2004b, 37-38, no. 12.

⁴⁹ LENTINI 1998, 385, fig. 15, Inv. no. 1488, cf. also Inv. no. 2361; COLDSTREAM 2004, 41-43, fig. 2c.

⁵⁰ LENTINI 1998, 385, fig. 15, Inv. no. 2364, cf. also Inv. no. 2363.

⁵¹ COLDSTREAM 2004, 41-43.

⁵² Maria Costanza Lentini examined these fragments in her paper given at the seminar *Les céramiques grecques d'Occident des VIII^e et VII^e s. av. J.-C. Premier atelier préparatoire*, held in Rome at the École française de Rome, 2-3 December 2021.

⁵³ ORSI 1893, e.g.: T. 337, 44-45, fig. 37; T. 466, 73, fig. 78. Cf. COLDSTREAM 2008 (1968), 323.

⁵⁴ ORSI 1893, 83-84, fig. 90; VILLARD – VALLET 1952, 331, fig. 7 (Cycladic production and LG date); COLDSTREAM 1982, 34; STAMPOLIDIS – KOUROU 1996, 712, note 18; KOUROU 2019, 168; 2020, 17, note 72 (Attic and MG I date).

area of the necropolis, in the so-called “Giardino di Spagna”, a sherd of a kotyle of the Aetos 666 type was found, unfortunately also out of context⁵⁵.

As P. Pelagatti has remarked, a good number of sherds from the core of the earliest colonial settlement in the islet of Ortygia, but also from the mainland opposite (from the area of the “Foro Siracusano”) can be dated to Corinthian LG (= LG I in terms of Pithekoussan-Cumae chronology, i.e. ca. 750-720 BC): a globular pyxis and a kyathos with symmetric birds (LG)⁵⁶; Thapsos skyphoi or larger skyphoi-kraters with a panel containing hatched meander hooks (LG) or three-bar sigmas of LG/early EPC (the lower part of the body of almost all the specimens has not been preserved)⁵⁷, and a single skyphos with painted lower body and a tripartite decoration containing three-bar sigmas and a star at each side, which is likely LG⁵⁸; and also a debased imitation of the kotyle of the Aetos 666 type⁵⁹.

Again, with the exception of the single case of the “antique” MG I amphora, the earliest chronological horizon of Syracuse is Corinthian LG. In terms of relative chronology, this is consistent with its foundation date close to that of Naxos and in terms of absolute chronology with its cross-dating based on Thucydides. The apparently short gap between the earliest vases from the settlement (Corinthian LG) and the earliest tombs (EPC, with the possible exception of the kotyle Aetos 666) might reflect the physiological gap between the arrival of the first colonists and their burials, as well as the fact that this arrival had happened in the second part of the Corinthian LG phase.

1.6. Zankle and Mylai

The *apoikiai* of Zankle and Mylai in Sicily are also important with reference to the question of the foundation date of Cumae, established thanks to

cross-dating the literary sources with the earliest archaeological evidence. Thucydides’ statement (6.4.5) that the “first” Zankle (Messina) was founded by “pirates” from Chalcidian Cumae in Opicia implies Cumae’s foundation was prior. Unfortunately, however, the Athenian historian does not report the absolute date of Zankle’s foundation. Nonetheless, in his chronological system, Zankle’s *terminus post quem* must be considered the date of 734 BC for the foundation of Naxos, which he considered to be the earliest Greek colony in Sicily. A *terminus ante quem* for the foundation of Zankle can be found in another branch of the chronographic tradition which was that of Eusebius. As we have seen, Eusebius’ dates for the foundations of the Sicilian colonies differ only by a few years from those given by Thucydides, demonstrating that a direct comparison between the two authors is appropriate (despite the very late date of Eusebius’ work). Zankle, on the other hand, founded the sub-colony of Mylai (Ps.-SCYMNUS 287; cf. STRAB. 6.2.6). The foundation date of Mylai is given by Eusebius at 716 BC (*Chron. Sub Ol.* 16.1; cf. *schol. ad APOLL. RHOD.* 4.965)⁶⁰. Zankle’s foundation date should therefore be between 734 and 716 BC, and this chronological range would be (in Thucydides’ chronological system) a *terminus ante quem* for the foundation of Cumae in Opicia (inhabited at the time by the “pirates” who founded Zankle). Consequently, Zankle must be numbered without doubt among the earliest Greek foundations in Sicily and, again, according to Thucydides, Cumae was earlier, at least with reference to one of these earliest Greek foundations in Sicily. This is supported by the Athenian historian’s explicit statement that the Chalcidian founders of Naxos were Ἑλλήνων δὲ πρῶτοι with reference to the colonization phenomenon in Sicily.

To sum up, Ephorus’/Strabo’s statement that Cumae was the *palaioiton ktisma* of Italia and Sicilia, was not (simply) the result of the author’s “propagandistic” perspective, but it was rooted in earlier and independent colonial “memories”.

In line with the foundation date of Zankle at some time between 734 and 716 BC, one would expect the earliest Greek Geometric pottery found on the site to

⁵⁵ PELAGATTI 1982a, 126-127, 139, pl. VIII/25, figs. 1-2, no. 5 (excavations Cultrera).

⁵⁶ PELAGATTI 1982a, 131, 139, pl. XIV/31, figs. 1-3 (from the Ionic Temple); 135, pl. XXI/38, fig. 3 (from the Athenaion); 1982b, 126, fig. 8.

⁵⁷ PELAGATTI 1982a, 128-130, pl. X/27, no. 1, pl. XII/29, nos. 12, 14 and 15 (from the Ionic Temple), and pl. XIII/30, nos. 1-4 (these are the skyphoi-craters); 1982b, 124-125, figs. 6-7.

⁵⁸ VOZA 1999, 24-25, fig. 19 (from Piazza Duomo).

⁵⁹ PELAGATTI 1982a, 139-140, fig. 7, pl. XXVII/44 fig. 2; 1982b 130, fig. 11.

⁶⁰ Chersonesus must be identified with Mylai, the site which occupied precisely a “peninsula”. Cf. recently FISCHER-HANSEN – NIELSEN – AMPOLO 2004, 216; TIGANO 2011, 138.

be LG I, corresponding to Corinthian LG. This is indeed the case with a small number of sherds found in different spots in modern Messina: the oldest sanctuary located towards the tip of the San Raineri peninsula (the ζάνκλον-“sickle”, cf. THUC. 6.4.5), the inner harbour and other areas of the city⁶¹. We can single out two Corinthian LG kotylai (one specimen with herons and waves, and another perhaps of the Aetos 666 type)⁶², while Corinthian skyphoi with rows of three-bar sigmas on the shoulder and of the Thapsos class with panel may be LG/early EPC⁶³.

On the contrary, the earliest archaeological evidence from Mylai seems to be coherent with Eusebius' foundation date in 716 BC: in this site it is important to highlight that no LG I/Corinthian LG pottery has been found and that the earliest tombs from the cemetery can be referred to the LG II/EPC phase⁶⁴, i.e. 720-690 BC according to the “orthodox” chronological system.

1.7. The foundation dates of the Sicilian colonies vs. Cumae

Summing up these considerations on the earliest finds from the first phase of the *apoikiai* in Sicily, some general observations will now be made regarding the questions surrounding the chronology of the earliest Greek foundations in the West, and in particular of Cumae:

- 1) Payne's-Coldstream's “orthodox” chronological system – based on cross-dating Late Geometric pottery with Thucydides' (and Eusebius' with slight differences) absolute dates of the Sicilian colonies – still maintains its general reliability. Indeed, with very few earlier “antique” exceptions, the earliest Greek pottery found in Naxos, Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea and Zankle is LG in Corinthian terms, which corresponds to LG I in the Pithekoussan-Cumae sequence, and to 750-720 BC

in the “orthodox” absolute chronology based on Thucydides' dates.

On the other hand, it is important to point out that our hermeneutic perspective must go beyond the simple chronological horizon, which is reflected by the first materials found on each site. Our task must be to understand the complexity of the historical processes: the *ktisis* of an *apoikia* may have been in fact characterized by different stages in the “construction” of the *polis* abroad and by waves of arrivals of groups of colonists in the earliest decades of the history of the *apoikia*. We will come back to this perspective with reference to the case of Cumae⁶⁵.

- 2) In terms of absolute chronology, colonial “memories” as reflected in the different branches of the tradition by Thucydides, Eusebius and Ephorus/Strabo, suggest that, at least in the Thucydidean/Eusebian chronological system, Cumae had been established before 734/716 BC.
- 3) In terms of relative chronology with reference to the sequence of Geometric pottery, the earliest sherds and the few closed contexts from Naxos, Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea and Zankle suggest that a chronological horizon of LG I/Corinthian LG (750-720 BC) must have existed in Cumae too. As already perceived by Coldstream in his seminal work of 1968, the gap within this earliest phase might have simply been due to the unsystematic investigations conducted in Cumae up until then.

1.8. Cumae: earliest evidence of the *apoikia* brought to light after 1994

Within this general framework, we can now come back to the case of Cumae, with reference to its earliest archaeological evidence. Coldstream's assumption has been supported by the beginning of the systematic excavations in Cumae in 1994 which are still in progress. They have been focusing on the urban area of the ancient city (Figs. 1-2).

For the first time, Greek Geometric pottery dated at the very end of MG II and LG I was found in the

⁶¹ See G.M. BACCI in this volume; BACCI 2008. Knowledge of the ancient site is strongly limited by the overlying city of Messina and this must be taken into consideration.

⁶² VALLET 1958, pl. 7b top left (= BACCI 2008, 49, 68, 72, no. 1, pl. 1; cf. COLDSTREAM 2008, 323); and G.M. BACCI, in this volume, fig. 2.

⁶³ TIGANO 2017, 48, fig. 2 bottom, second fragment from right [G.M. Bacci]; 57-58, nos. 1, 8.

⁶⁴ TIGANO 2011, 121-161, 162-165, esp.: T. 77, 142, 163, fig. 30; T. 90, 164-165.

⁶⁵ Cf. the conclusions of the present contribution and D'ACUNTO 2017, 2020a.



Fig. 1. Cumae, the archaeological site from the northeast: in the foreground, the northern walls and the middle gate; on the left, the urban area, the Forum baths and the Capitolium; on the right, the acropolis hill; in the background, Procida-Vivara with the channel and Ischia with Pithekoussai close to the right tip (© University of Napoli L'Orientale)

northern defensive walls, during the excavations conducted by the University of Napoli L'Orientale, under the direction of Bruno d'Agostino⁶⁶. These sherds were found in the earth layers which had been dumped in between the inner curtain and the outer curtain of the defensive walls during their reconstruction under Aristodemus' tyranny. A selection and a drawing of the pottery, published by B. d'Agostino and the University L'Orientale team, is reported here (Fig. 3): a skyphos with close chevron decoration (at the turn of MG II and LG I), considered to be an import (from Cyclades?) (no. TTA3)⁶⁷; two Euboeanizing (Pithekoussan?) skyphoi with floating chevron decoration (probably LG I) (nos.

TTA6, 9)⁶⁸; a skyphos with a bird (late MG II or more likely LG I), considered to be an import (again from Cyclades?) (no. TTA4)⁶⁹; a Euboean (?) version of the LG I kotyle with tremuli (no. TTA12)⁷⁰; a handful of LG I kotylai, including the Aetos 666 type, in particular a Corinthian import (nos. TTA43-46)⁷¹; and several skyphoi of the Thapsos type with panel, both Corinthian imports and imitations: in the specimens, wherever this part is preserved, the lower body is painted and the panel is decorated with a row of lozenges (LG I) (nos. TTA27-31)⁷².

⁶⁶ D'AGOSTINO 1999, 51-57 (= D'AGOSTINO 2010-2011, 223-225, figs. 1 and 3-4); *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 20, pls. 2-3.

⁶⁷ D'AGOSTINO 2010-2011, 229, fig. 2; *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 20 note 43, 154, no. TTA3, fig. 45, pl. 2.A.4.

⁶⁸ *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 20 154, no. TTA6 and 9, fig. 45, pl. 2.A.7 and 9.

⁶⁹ D'AGOSTINO 2010-2011, 229, fig. 1.1; *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 20 154, no. TTA4, fig. 45, pl. 2.A.5.

⁷⁰ *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 20, 155, no. TTA12, fig. 45, pl. 2.A.12.

⁷¹ *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 28, 158-159, nos. TTA43-46, fig. 48, pl. 3 (no. TTA44 is classified as a protokotyle).

⁷² *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 28, 157, nos. 27-31, fig. 48, pl. 3.

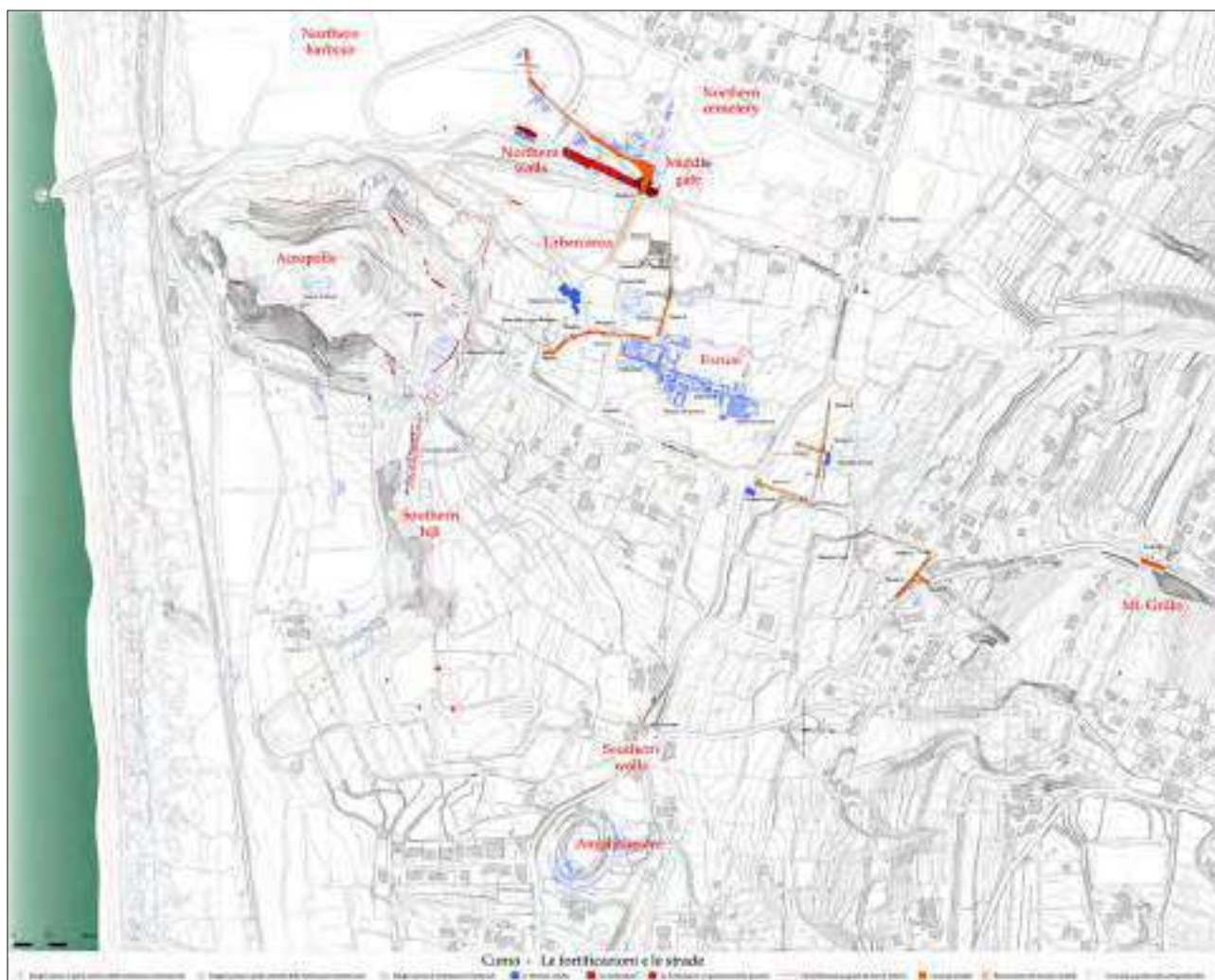


Fig. 2. Topographical plan of Cumae (© University of Napoli L'Orientale)

As Bruno d'Agostino remarked, caution is needed in the interpretation of these fragments, because of their relatively low number and since they were not found in a contemporary context, but in a later layer also containing fragments from the late 8th (some of them reproduced in Fig. 3), 7th and 6th century BC. Conversely, he pointed out that these earlier sherds had been found associated with burnt human bones and burnt vases, which might imply they belonged to cremation burials⁷³. The latter hypothesis found support in the small finds from the same layers, including two Aegyptian/Aegyptianizing scarabs in faïence: often, this category of objects is common among grave-offerings of the Geometric period. As a result, d'Agostino suggested that the time span between the foundation

of Pithekoussai and that of Cumae was shorter than formerly thought. What's more, he hypothesized that the earth layers containing these materials which had been dumped between the two curtains of the late Archaic walls, were the result of the excavation of the moat which had been dug on the occasion of the rebuilding of the walls, probably under Aristodemus' tyranny⁷⁴: it can be speculated therefore that the excavation of the moat might have destroyed the tombs of the earliest colonists of Cumae.

This scenario would imply the presence of burials going back as early as the beginnings of the *apoikia*, in the area later occupied by the defensive

⁷³ *Cumae: le fortificazioni* 2, 10 [B. d'Agostino]; D'AGOSTINO 1999, 55 (= D'AGOSTINO 2010-2011, 224).

⁷⁴ On the building phase of the defensive walls probably made under Aristodemus' tyranny and its moat, see: *Cumae: le fortificazioni* 1, 10-11, 29-44; *Cumae: le fortificazioni* 3, 45-50, 120-127; D'AGOSTINO 2013, 214-215 *et passim*; D'ACUNTO 2020b, 271-306 with references.

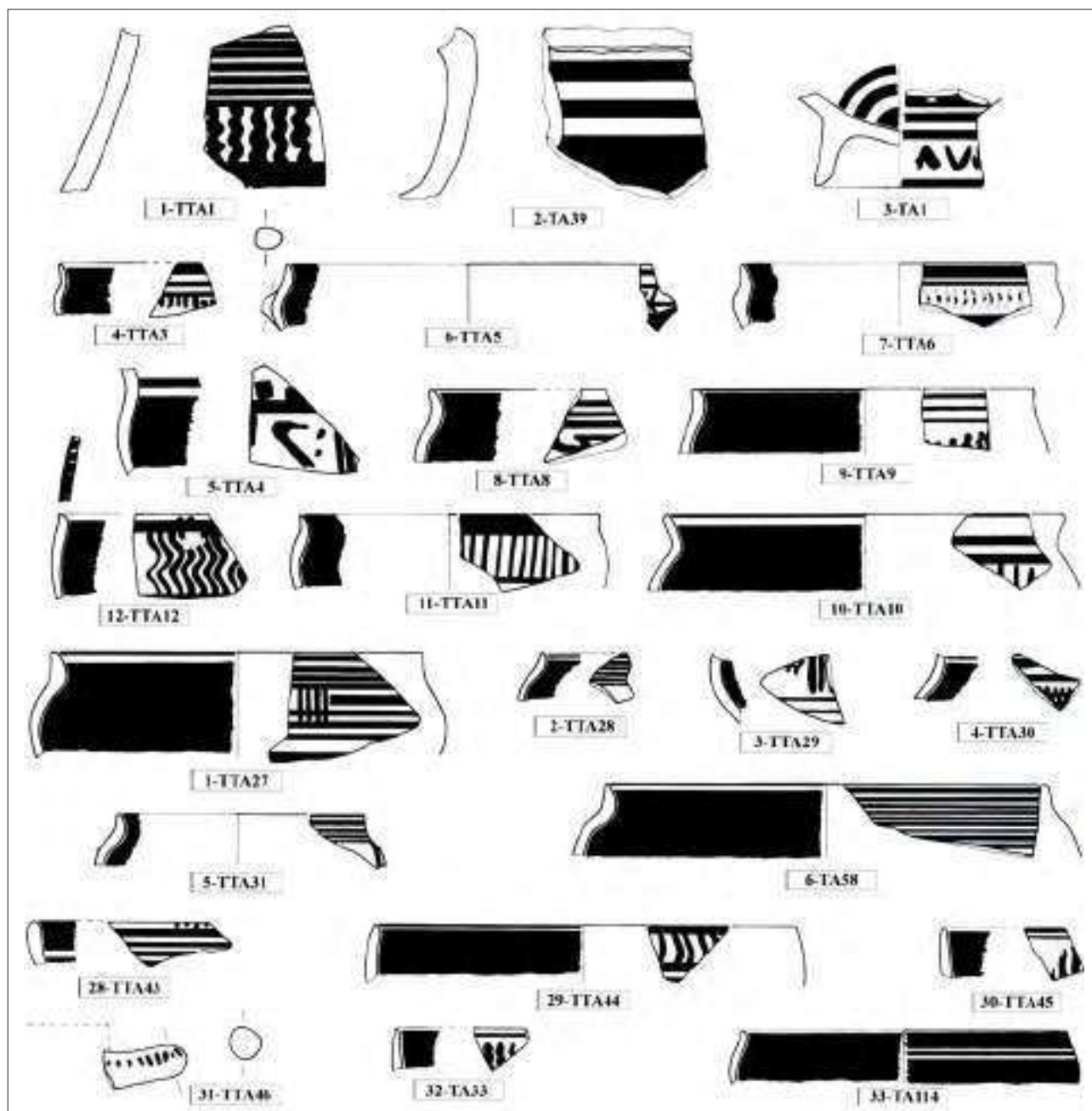


Fig. 3. Late MG II-LG fragments from the northern walls (from *Cuma. Le fortificazioni* 2, pls. 2-3)

walls. The earliest phase of the northern walls of ca. 600 BC⁷⁵ is the proof that the northern limit of the city had started to be established there at that time. However, the presence of earlier tombs could suggest that this area had been identified in some way as the limit of the settlement ever since the earliest phases of the *apoikia*. This hypothesis has found support thanks to the excavations started under my direction in 2007 by the University of Na-

poli L'Orientale in the urban area north of the Forum baths (Fig. 2 “urban area” and see below): in this area, which is close to the northern walls, the settlement had been established since the Late Geometric period, thus suggesting an early division between the urban area and the area outside of the city which was occupied by the cemetery. This limit, corresponding to the line of the northern walls between the urban area south and the cemetery north, would be respected for the entire existence of the city during the Greek, the Campanian-Samnite, and the Roman periods.

⁷⁵ On the earliest phase of the defensive walls, see: *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 3, 42-43, 114-116, figs. 10-11, 61-64.

In the following analysis we will review the earliest phases of the site of Cumae in the light of the recent archaeological excavations. Our focus will be specifically on the results of the systematic excavations we have conducted in the area north of the Forum baths.

The present contribution is divided into the three following sections: the Pre-Hellenic period regarding the Late Bronze Age (LBA – last centuries of the 2nd millennium BC and early 1st millennium BC: chpt. 2); the Pre-Hellenic period referring to the Early Iron Age (EIA, ca. 900-750 BC: chpts. 3-4), when, during its last decades, “pre-colonial” contacts had been established by the Euboeans with the natives; in the last section we will come back to the new evidence brought to light of the earliest phase of the *apoikia*, which refers to LG I (750-720 BC, chpt. 5), thus supporting N. Coldstream’s prevision and B. d’Agostino’s hypothesis.

A general aspect of the present contribution must be clarified in advance. Its analysis will be based on the archaeological evidence. A critical comparison between this archaeological evidence and the different traditions referred to by ancient authors regarding Cumae’s *ktisis* will be postponed to a following contribution which will deal with the subsequent LG II phase (720-690 BC)⁷⁶.

My perspective on the colonization of Cumae is indeed that this must have been a long-lasting process, involving different groups of colonists at different stages of the earliest phases of the *apoikia*, perhaps covering two generations, from the beginning (ca. 750-740 BC) until the early 7th century BC. The latter is a crucial moment, because the colonists give way to town planning, thus giving the settlement a true urban aspect. The complexity and long-lasting process of the colonization of Cumae may be behind the diverse historical versions of its *ktisis*, which have been transmitted by the different ancient authors⁷⁷.

2. NEW EVIDENCE ON THE LATE BRONZE AGE SETTLEMENT IN CUMAE

2.1. State of evidence

Since the archaeological excavations conducted in the second half of the 19th century, it has been clear that the Greek *apoikia* replaced a Pre-Hellenic village on the same site.

Clearly, this place soon attracted the settlement of firstly the indigenous people and then of the Greek colonists, because it was a very “privileged” site⁷⁸. The steep sides of the acropolis hill (the so-called “Monte di Cuma”, up to 80 m above sea level and with a surface area of c. 11.5 ha) made it a naturally defensible position. Its location in the region of the Phlegraean Fields, along the shoreline north of the Misenum Cape and on the east side of the narrow channel between the island of Ischia and the Italic mainland, meant it was very good for controlling the main route for maritime commerce on the west coast of Italy. In antiquity the acropolis hill was a headland jutting out into the sea and controlling two natural stopping points for ships, one along the beach south of the hill, and a good natural harbor in the lagoon north of it. The small plain to the east of the acropolis hill is protected to the east by the north-south ridge known as Monte Grillo (110 m high and ca. 1 km to the east of the acropolis hill), and by marshy areas to the north and south. To the north extended the Campania plain, which was considered in antiquity as one of the most fertile in all of Italy.

The archaeological evidence for the occupation of the acropolis hill in prehistoric and the protohistoric periods was brought to light mostly during the excavations conducted in the late 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries in the two Greek-Roman sanctuaries, occupying respectively the lower terrace and the upper terrace of the hill.

The most consistent and diagnostic group of sherds was found in the sanctuary on the lower terrace (in the so-called “Sanctuary of Apollo”, but dedicated in fact to another deity⁷⁹), particularly in the retaining wall dump built in ca. 500 BC, proba-

⁷⁶ This contribution will be published in a forthcoming volume of *AIONArchStAnt*.

⁷⁷ Cf. formerly D’ACUNTO 2017; D’ACUNTO forthcoming.

⁷⁸ On the geomorphology and the topography of the site see D’ACUNTO forthcoming, with references.

⁷⁹ RESCIGNO 2012; 2015; RESCIGNO *et al.* 2022; cf. D’ACUNTO 2017, 321-324; 2020a, 1302-1303.

bly under the tyrant Aristodemus⁸⁰. This evidence consists simply of sherds which were found dumped in later layers (the single possible exception of a closed archaeological assemblage is the “hut” with traces of metallurgical activity, which was excavated by Gabrici in 1910 in the sanctuary of the lower terrace of the acropolis and might have been either of the Pre-Hellenic phase or of the earliest phase of the *apoikia*⁸¹). Since these finds of prehistoric and protohistoric fragments include vases for domestic use (such as jars for storage) and clay ovens (see the published finds from the lower terrace of the acropolis), scholars agree that the core of the Pre-Hellenic village was installed on the terraces of the well-defended acropolis hill at least from the Final Bronze Age (FBA) to the Early Iron Age (EIA), until the foundation of the Greek *apoikia*⁸².

The low-lying plain east of the acropolis hill was extensively occupied by the Pre-Hellenic settlement necropolis, whose burials have been found in different and relatively distant areas from the Roman Forum south to north of the defensive walls (see below chpt. 3)⁸³. However, some scholars had already suggested that the village might have extended from the acropolis to the foothills in the low-lying plain⁸⁴. As we will see below, the recent investigations have indeed confirmed that some spots of the plain had been occupied by domestic areas in prehistoric and protohistoric times, alongside extensive occupation by the necropolis.

The earliest traces of humans on the site of Cumae consist of a very small number of Early Eneolithic sherds, from both the acropolis (the lower terrace) and the plain (the northern walls)⁸⁵. A few fragments from the same areas refer to the subsequent phases of the Advanced Eneolithic and the late Middle Bronze Age⁸⁶.

During the Late Bronze Age (LBA), the presence of the village on the acropolis hill is illustrated by a good number of sherds found in G. Buchner's excavations on the lower terrace in 1940: they were dumped in the fill of the retaining wall, which was built during the late Archaic reconstruction of the sanctuary, probably as part of Aristodemus' building policy. These fragments were published by L. Jannelli in 1999: if the evidence for the Recent Bronze Age (RBA) remains weak, conversely the fragments of the Final Bronze Age (FBA) are more numerous and well-identified⁸⁷. In addition, a small nucleus of FBA bronze objects is included in the Cumaean collection of the National Archaeological Museum of Naples⁸⁸: a “Cumae type” axe was associated by E. Gabrici with the materials from Stevens' excavations⁸⁹; a small group of fibulae refers to a well-defined typology with variants from the FBA⁹⁰. These bronzes must have been grave-offerings from tombs which were excavated in Cumae in the second half of the 19th century, and certainly on the plain (since Stevens' excavations in the necropolis were addressed there, and not on the acropolis). Hence, during the FBA the settlement pattern of Cumae had already been established on the axis acropolis – low-lying plain, and this pattern will continue into the Early Iron Age (EIA). This archaeological-topographic picture, though still very fragmentary, shows that the native Pre-Hellenic people of Cumae (the “Opicians” in literary sources) had settled on the site no later than the RBA/LBA and that they continued to inhabit it into the EIA.

⁸⁰ All references can be found in JANNELLI 1999; RESCIGNO 2012; GASTALDI 2018; NITTI 2019.

⁸¹ JANNELLI 1999, 73; esp. NITTI 2019, 110-112, 121 no. 19, pls. 3.18, 8.56 and D.

⁸² JANNELLI 1999, 73-75; CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 331; GASTALDI 2018, esp. 177, 189-180; NITTI 2019, 112-113.

⁸³ On the necropolis see below.

⁸⁴ D'AGOSTINO 2011b, 36; GRECO 2008, 388; 2014, 59-60; cf. GASTALDI 2018, 189.

⁸⁵ JANNELLI 1999, 82, fig. 8.4; GASTALDI 2018, 169-170, figs. 5.A.1 and 5.A.3; *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 17, pl. 1.1 [P. Aurino].

⁸⁶ *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 17-18, pls. 1.2-3 [P. Aurino]; and perhaps JANNELLI 1999, 83, nos. 5-6; GASTALDI 2018, 170, fig. 5.A.2.

⁸⁷ JANNELLI 1999, 85-87, figs. 8-9; cf. CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 331; GASTALDI 2018, 177, 179, fig. 9.

⁸⁸ See now GASTALDI 2018, 179-180, figs. 10-11; and JOHANNOWSKY 1975, 99-100, pl. 2; ALBORE LIVADIE 1985, 62-69, pls. 12 and 14; JANNELLI 1999, 87.

⁸⁹ GABRICI 1913, col. 71, no. 42, pl. 28.1.b; ALBORE LIVADIE 1985, 64, no. 9.1, pl. 12; PERONI 1980, 53; CARANCINI 1984, 201, no. 4249 (ca. 11th century BC); GASTALDI 2018, 179, fig. 10.A.4.

⁹⁰ See the survey and the discussion in GASTALDI 2018, 179-180, fig. 10: LO SCHIAVO 2010, no. 5287 = GASTALDI 2018, 179, fig. 10.B.1; LO SCHIAVO 2010, no. 5305 = GASTALDI 2018, 179, fig. 10.B.5; LO SCHIAVO 2010, nos. 5396-5399, 5402 = GASTALDI 2018, 179, figs. 10.B.7-11; cf. also LO SCHIAVO 2010, no. 5409 = GASTALDI 2018, 179-180, fig. 11.2, which might be slightly later, i.e. Early Iron Age IA.

2.2. New archaeological contexts of the LBA from the area north of the Forum baths

We may now shift our attention to the new LBA evidence brought to light by the excavations conducted by the University of Napoli L'Orientale, under my direction, since 2007⁹¹.

Our field research has been focusing on one of the central quarters of the Greek, Campanian-Samnite, and Roman city, between the Forum and the northern walls (Figs. 4-6). During the Roman period, the urbanism in this part of the city is characterized by an irregular network of streets framing a system of *insulae*: smaller east-west streets (*stenopoi*: n, o, p, q) join the main north-south road (*plateia* B) which joins the Capitolium with the northern walls. In particular, our excavations have unearthed large part of an *insula* north of the Forum baths ("Terme del Foro"). This *insula* is included between the *plateia* B east and the *stenopoi* p and q, respectively south and north. We have not yet found the western limit of the *insula*: this limit must have been either north-south street A or (more likely) another street east of it. This layout of streets was established in the late LG II (early 7th century BC) and preserved until the late Roman period⁹².

The excavations in the *insula* have brought to light a palimpsest of the houses with their transformations over many centuries, from LG II to the Roman period. The southern half of the *insula* was occupied since the 1st century BC by a *domus*, characterized by the presence of a peristyle: this plan, for what concerns its general layout, was respected until the 3rd century AD and some of the rooms were also reoccupied in the late Roman period. In the northern half of the *insula*, a house block, organized around a courtyard, was built in the early 2nd century AD, occupied until the 3rd century AD, and in part reoccupied until the late Roman period.



Fig. 4. Plan of the northern part of the city: the Roman Forum, the Greek-Roman urban area, the northern walls and the middle gate (© University of Napoli L'Orientale)

These Roman period houses overly a tight sequence of phases, referring to the occupation of the area for almost the whole history of the site: from the LBA, through the EIA and the earliest phases of the *apoikia*, to the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic life of the *insula*. In several spots of the *insula* we have been able to excavate under the levels of some of the Roman period rooms, where floors had not been preserved. However, these deep trenches have been limited in their extension by the presence of other Roman phase structures, thus making it difficult to have an idea of the layout of the occupation of the area during the earlier phases.

Despite these limitations, which are intrinsic to field research, we have gained a general idea on the main occupation phases of the area. This will be

⁹¹ For an overview and in particular the Geometric-Archaic period see esp. D'AGOSTINO – D'ACUNTO 2008, 494-522 [M. D'Acunto]; D'ACUNTO 2009; 2017, 298-307; 2020b, 255-263; 2020c; 2020d; D'ACUNTO – D'ONOFRIO – NITTI 2021; D'ACUNTO 2022; D'ACUNTO *et al.* 2022. On the LBA-EIA see GASTALDI 2018, 182-189, figs. 14-19. On the Classical and Hellenistic period see GIGLIO 2022. On the Roman period: IAVARONE 2015, 2016. The first excavation of this *insula* was conducted in 2001: D'ONOFRIO 2002.

⁹² D'ACUNTO 2017, 298-307; 2020c; D'ACUNTO *et al.* 2022.



Fig. 5. Aerial photograph of the northern part of the city (R. Catuogno, M. Facchini, M. Giglio, 2018; courtesy of M. Giglio)

presented in the present paper with reference to the periods from the LBA to LG I, while, of course, we are aware that continuing field activity may both enrich and also modify some of our points of view.

Let us start with the beginnings. From a general point of view, for the first time in the history of archaeological research in Cumae, our excavations have brought to light unquestionable evidence of domestic occupation on the plain during the Pre-Hellenic phase. This occupation can be dated both in the LBA and in the EIA.

The existence of LBA dwellings under the *insula* is demonstrated there by a level characterized by several series of cuttings and post-holes: they must have been used for different structures such as wooden huts/fences/platforms which were built in the

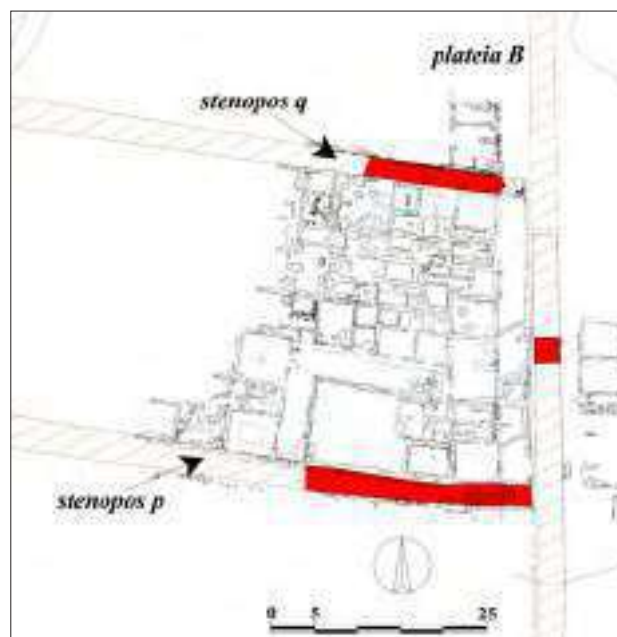


Fig. 6. The northern part of the city: *insula* between *plateia* B and *stenopoi* p and q, excavations University of Napoli L'Orientale, 2001, 2007-2022 (© University of Napoli L'Orientale)

same area but at different times. From a stratigraphical point of view, these post-holes and cuttings had deeply cut into the surface level of the thick tephra layer from the latest large eruption in the Phlegraean Fields. This is the so-called Averno 2 eruption, which has been dated at ca. 1750 BC⁹³, corresponding to the end of the Early Bronze Age (EBA)/early Middle Bronze Age (MBA) in archaeological sequences. Before our excavations, this tephra layer had already been identified through a core drilling located ca. 33 m north/northwest (Fig. 7: drilling C14)⁹⁴. This is a geological *terminus post quem*, therefore, for human occupation (or reoccupation) of the area, i.e. after the end of the EBA/early MBA.

Matteo D'Acunto

The first archaeological evidence of the occupation of the area between the LBA and the EIA comes from the deep excavation conducted inside the peristyle of the large *domus* occupying the southern part of the *insula* (Fig. 7.2). The archaeological trench conducted there since 2017, first under the supervision of Dr S. Napolitano, and then under my supervision since 2019, has brought to light a tight stratigraphic sequence.

⁹³ LIRER – PETROSINO – ALBERICO 2001.

⁹⁴ AMATO – GUASTAFERRO – LUPA 2002, 94-98 (CR14); cf. GASTALDI 2018, 167, fig. 14 (location of the “carotaggio C14”).

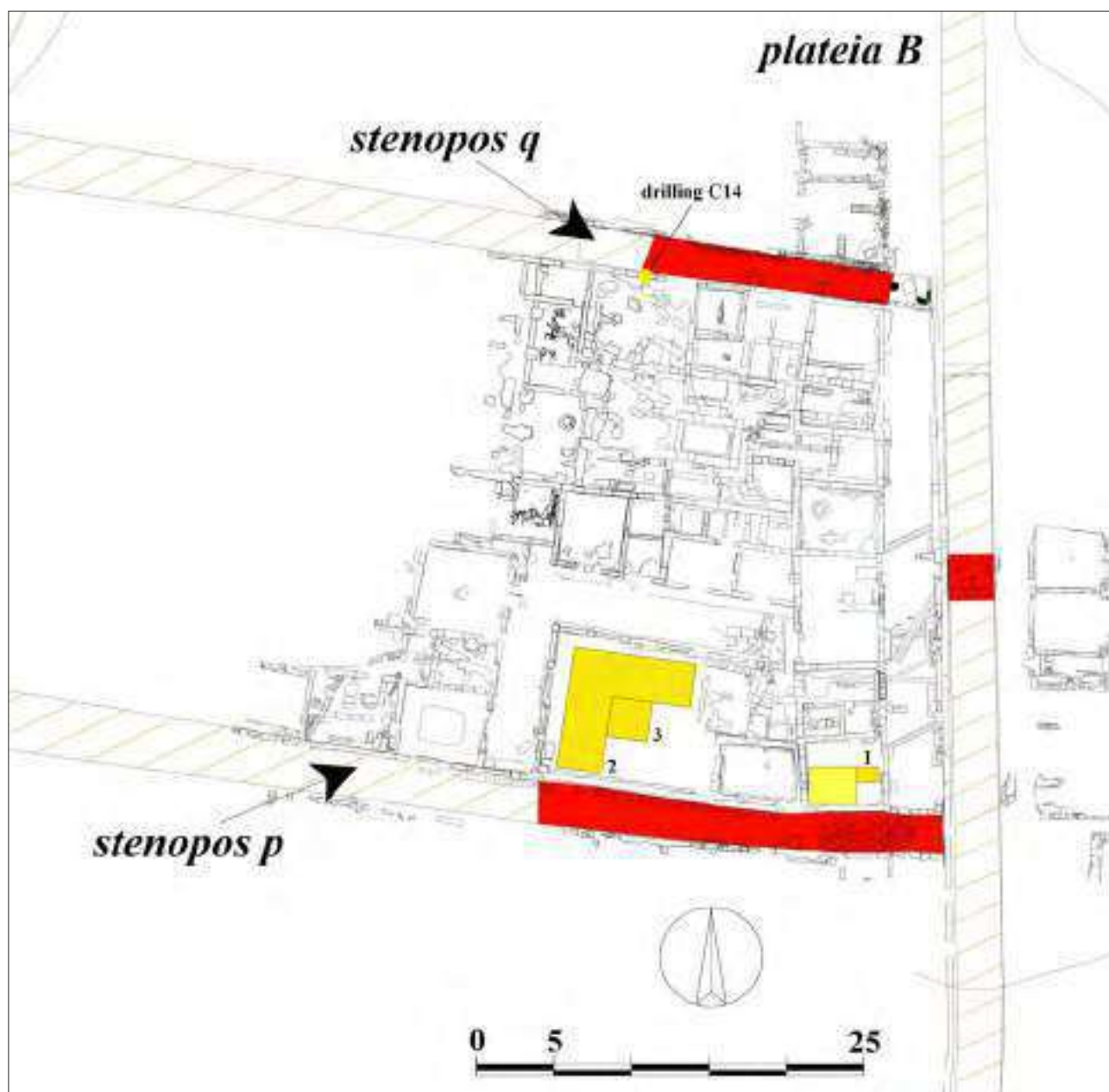


Fig. 7. The deep trenches (in yellow), which have brought to light closed domestic contexts of the LBA, under the *insula* north of the Forum baths – excavations University of Napoli L'Orientale, 2013, 2019, 2021 (© University of Napoli L'Orientale)

This documents domestic occupation which goes back from the early Archaic period to the RBA/FBA⁹⁵.

It was during the 2019 campaign that the earliest evidence was found consisting of many circular or sub-circular post holes which were uncovered along the western and northern sides of the excavation area. The posts had cut through by the volcanic deposits related to the Averno 2 eruption

(1750 BC). In this area, this tephra layer follows an irregular course according to the natural geomorphology of the site, characterized by a double system of slopes that runs from south to north and from west to east (2.32-2.22 m above sea level). The post holes found there reflect the layout of several structures that had succeeded one another over time. However, it remains to be clarified what the exact layouts were (Fig. 8). Despite the apparently haphazard arrangement, a careful analysis of the characteristics of the different holes and of their disposition allows us to recognize some li-

⁹⁵ The stratigraphy later than the early Archaic period has been completely removed by the building activities connected with the creation of a large peristyle (1st century BC) and after that, of a fountain in its center (1st century AD).

kely alignments. Along the western side of the excavation, towards the north, there is a concentration of small circular holes which are conical (10-15 cm in diameter). In particular, it seems possible to identify an alignment of holes oriented northeast-southwest (Fig. 9 in green) which intersects another row of holes oriented southeast-northwest at right angles (Fig. 9 in blue). Next to these two alignments, other holes which are circular or subcircular in shape can be recognized. In particular, immediately south of the alignment of holes placed in a southeast-northwest direction, there is a circular hole with a diameter of approximately 30 cm, at the bottom of which were found a number of tuff fragments (Fig. 9 in red). A similar hole characterized by the presence of tuff fragments at the bottom, was found 1.25 m to the south. Although caution is required, it seems likely that these two circular holes can be interpreted as the postholes for two wooden load-bearing elements of a structure: the presence of tuff fragments must have given the elevations greater stability.

The stratigraphies, which were connected to this occupation, have been almost completely removed by alluvial phenomena and as a consequence of activities during the following occupations of the area⁹⁶. As a result, it is not possible to establish if these alignments belonged to the same phase of occupation. Nevertheless, the function and chronology of this evidence can be established by the significant, albeit scant materials found within the filling of some of the post holes. Among these, there is a large fragment of a bowl (2) found at the bottom of one of the cavities, which can be compared to some RBA specimens⁹⁷. Two fragments, respectively of a strainer (1) and of a large dolium (20), were embedded in the upper part of one of the holes (Fig. 10)⁹⁸. A few fragments of jars and



Fig. 8. Trench under the western part of the peristyle (cf. Fig. 7.2): the tephra layer with series of post-holes from the LBA occupation (photo F. Nitti, 2019; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

cooking stand (4) were also found. At the present state of evidence, a later occupation in the first part of the EIA is suggested by a single fragment from a truncated cone-shaped vase (3), which finds comparisons with some specimens from Poggiomarino⁹⁹.

These discoveries testify to the presence of a domestic type of occupation that seems to begin in a transitional phase between the RBA and the FBA. In this area, the washout of the stratigraphy for the most part of the EIA does not allow us to verify if there is any continuity in the domestic occupation of the area until the evidence from the first half of the 8th century BC, which we will discuss later¹⁰⁰.

Francesco Nitti

⁹⁶ Only a few remains from the levels related to this occupation were recognized in the proximity of some post holes.

⁹⁷ See below Francesca Somma's contribution.

⁹⁸ The discovery of the two fragments in the upper part of the filling of the cut makes two alternative explanations possible. On the one hand, the two ceramic finds could in fact have been placed in the cut later than the lifetime of the structure (their position in the center of the cut and on the surface would not allow the insertion of a wooden pole). On the other hand, since the stratigraphies associated with these structures had been completely washed away, it cannot be excluded that the dolium lip and the strainer fragment were originally used as lateral reinforcements to support a post and that they then slipped into the lower part of the fill as a

result of erosion phenomena in the layers.

⁹⁹ See Francesca Somma's contribution, below.

¹⁰⁰ On the occupation of the area in the first half of the 8th century BC see the following chapter with the contributions of M. D'Acunto and F. Nitti.

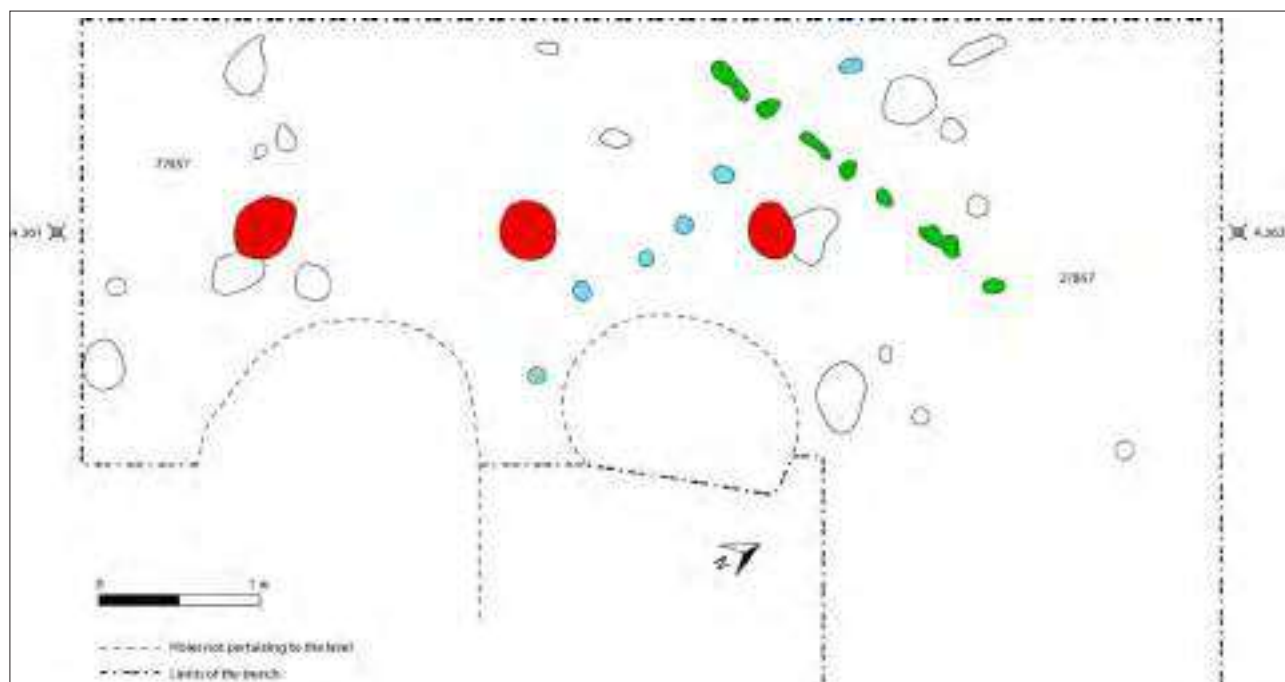


Fig. 9 - Trench under the western part of the peristyle (cf. Fig. 7.2): the tephra layer with series of post-holes from the LBA occupation (drawing F. Nitti, 2019; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)



Fig. 10. Trench under the western part of the peristyle (cf. Fig. 7.2): post-hole from the LBA occupation, on whose surface pottery fragments were embedded, from the north (photo F. Nitti, 2019; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

Another interesting piece of evidence from this phase was brought to light under the Roman period room occupying the southeast corner of the *insula* (Fig. 7.1). In the 2012 and 2013 campaigns it was possible to investigate the entire stratigraphic sequence under the room. The excavation was possible in the southern part of the room, because the *cocciopesto* floor had been compromised by later interventions. This small trench excavation, led under the supervision of Chiara Penzone and Suena Carnevale, brought to light the phases of oc-

cupation ranging from the Hellenistic Age back to the Bronze Age.

The LBA evidence was found in the western sector of the room, where, at an altitude of 2.40 m above sea level, the eruptive deposit of tephra were identified with the above-mentioned Averno 2 (1750 BC approx.) (see Figs. 7.1 in yellow and 11)¹⁰¹. The tephra deposit was not removed by our excavation, but a section was analyzed, thanks to several later deep cuttings that had affected both the surface and the entire eastern sector. It was possible to ascertain that the eruptive deposits had been altered, because other kinds of inclusions were found in some spots within the tephra layer. Hence, presumably the tephra layer is here in a secondary deposition, detached from its original position due to alluvial phenomena. The deposit can be correlated with the evidence that emerged from the drilling (CR14: see map Fig. 7)¹⁰², carried out in 2001, about 33 m north/northwest of the room; in CR14 drilling the same tephra layer was found in primary deposition, but it was deeper, starting from an altitude of -4.10 m above sea level.

¹⁰¹ LIRER – PETROSINO – ALBERICO 2001, 53-73.

¹⁰² AMATO – GUASTAFERRO – LUPA 2002, 94-98.



Fig. 11. Trench under the room occupying the southeastern corner of the *insula*, from the east: in the center, the tephra layer in secondary deposition with cuttings from the LBA occupation; left, the southern wall of the *insula*: the lower line of blocks refers to the end of the LG, the upper line of orthostats refers to the 5th century BC phase (photo M. Giglio, 2013; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

In the northeastern sector of the excavated area, it was possible to investigate some layers above the surface of the eruptive deposit; in this sector a cutting was found which was characterized by straight vertical sides and filled with layers of a different kind (the perimeter is indicated in Fig. 7 in a darker yellow tone). Only the upper layer has been excavated, since groundwater has inhibited continuing deeper. This contained what were clearly domestic materials, including several fragments of cooking stands and a quantity of handmade (so-called “*impasto*”) pottery inside a fine sandy layer. At the base of the deposit an arrangement made of flakes in tufa stone was found which has been interpreted as a drainage floor (Fig. 12). We identified this evidence as part of a dwelling that could extend exclusively to the north, south and east sides; its interpretation as part of a hut is also supported by the fragments of clay plaster which were found over the drainage floor. The pottery sherds, which were found in this archaeological assemblage, consist of only handmade-*impasto* ware. An exception is a wheel-made fragment from a vase of closed shape, which might be temptingly identified as Mycenaean/Italo-Mycenaean ware (38).

Marco Giglio



Fig. 12. Trench under the room occupying the southeastern corner of the *insula*, from the east: drainage floor made of tufa flakes from the LBA occupation; the area is indicated in Fig. 7.1 in dark yellow (photo M. Giglio, 2013; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

2.3. Materials (Pls. 1-2)

The earliest phases of the sector brought to light on the western side of the peristyle (Fig. 7.2) can be dated on the basis of a limited number of diagnostic fragments, found in the fills of the post holes or close by. These suggest apparently uninterrupted occupation ranging from the Late Bronze to the beginning of the Iron Age. However, the scant number of finds imposes caution, and continuation of the research is expected to confirm this hypothesis regarding continuity of occupation of the area in this chronological span.

The strainer (1), of which a relevant portion is preserved, was found embedded in the upper part of one of the holes. It consists of a slightly convex perforated bottom and of truncated cone-shaped walls with horizontal handles. This morphology is comparable to a specimen found in the settlement

of Sorgenti della Nova belonging to the phases of the Final Bronze Age (FBA)¹⁰³.

The fragment of a carinated bowl (2) was found at the bottom of one of the post holes. The shape can be compared to that of Recent Bronze Age (RBA) specimens¹⁰⁴. Although this is the only find from this archaeological context to be related to this phase, it seems to date back to this chronological period.

On the other hand, with reference to the installation of structures on the eruptive level of Averno 2, a truncated cone-shaped vase (3) seems to refer to a more recent horizon. It can be compared to the finds from Poggiomarino of phase 1A-1B of the Early Iron Age (EIA)¹⁰⁵.

As far as the function of this context brought to light in the area of the peristyle is concerned, the finds associated with this first phase of life are clearly of a domestic character. Indicative of the residential function of the area is not only the strainer, but also the presence of fragments of cooking stands, among which is a perforated plate (4).

Very similar problems arise for the archaeological trench dug out below the Roman room in the southeastern corner of the *insula*, whose context is illustrated here by M. Giglio (Fig. 7.1).

The materials associated with the earliest levels of life in the area come from the evidence found at the bottom of a vertical-walled cut made in the tephra deposit for the housing of a drainage surface made of tuff flakes. The deposits excavated here have yielded a considerable amount of large containers: unfortunately, there are no diagnostic elements that would lead to a chronological classification. They refer to a domestic use of the area, which is supported by the presence of fragments of cooking stands and of a perforated plate (6) which shows traces of use by fire. Among the sherds of the large containers found there, 19 fragments stand out: these are characterized by a composition of clay that differs from the type of coarse clay attested for all the large containers and stoves found. These frag-

ments suggest vertical walls, probably from the same individual specimen, in a very compact, reddish-colored mixture, characterized by a light engobe both externally and internally; they include a fragment decorated with a wave or triangular engraved motif (5). At the moment, we are unable to provide a defined chronology and a classification of the production of this large container, because of its peculiar clay and the non-diagnostic character of the preserved parts.

The diagnostic finds from this context are very scarce too. The only diagnostic fragment is the strongly everted lip of a dolium, which is characterized by a light engobe (7). From a morphological point of view, it closely compares to some specimens from Broglio di Trebisacce¹⁰⁶, but they are different from the Cumae fragment because of their smaller size and being wheel-made. The Broglio di Trebisacce specimens include many variations and cover a time span between the FBA and the EIA.

Francesca Somma

In this context and brought to light below the corner room of the *insula*, a single wheel-made fragment in fine ware was found among a large amount of handmade *impasto* pottery (38). This sherd comes from the oblique part of the wall of the shoulder of a closed shape, namely a vase for pouring. Its painted decoration preserves a horizontal straight line, while two other lines are oblique, curvilinear and not concentric. The chronology of the context in the LBA and the decoration drawn free-hand make the hypothesis that the vase is of Mycenaean/Italo-Mycenaean production tempting. Indeed, the decorative motif could be that of a spiral (see the reconstructive drawing by F. Nitti in Pl. 2), which is common in the Mycenaean repertoire¹⁰⁷. An autopsy of the clay did not reveal the presence

¹⁰³ DOMANICO – CARDOSA 1995, 370, fig. 145, 68.

¹⁰⁴ In particular, it is akin to the specimens of family 16 of Damiani's classification (DAMIANI 2010, family 16, 160-163, pls. 24-26).

¹⁰⁵ BARTOLI 2012, for phase 1A: p. 421, fig. 248a, SC3; for phase 1B: p. 322, fig. 114, SC4B.

¹⁰⁶ PERONI 1982, p. 148, pl. 36, 2, specimen from the BF-IE levels and BUFFA 1994, p. 499, pl. 116, 31, form 50 variety B, dated to the Early Iron Age.

¹⁰⁷ See e.g. this motif painted on a LH IIIA sherd from the village of Castiglione in Ischia (BUCHNER 1936-1937, 78-80, fig. 3; BUCHNER – GIALANELLA 1994, 31, fig. 3 left). Our reconstruction in Francesco Nitti's drawing of the decoration on the vase from Cumae was made starting from the spiral painted on an Italo-Mycenaean fragment found in the site of Montagnolo at Ancona (SABBATINI – SILVESTRI – MILAZZO 2008, 246, fig. 7) and on a Mycenaean sherd from Su Murtu, Tharros (SPIGNO 2022, 2, 20, fig. 8; BERNARDINI 1989).

of mica, which is a characteristic element of Phlegraean fabrics: therefore, this vase cannot have been produced in Cumae nor in the Phlegraean islands (Ischia and Procida-Vivara), but it may have been imported from somewhere else, from Greece perhaps or from other areas of Italy.

It is clear that identifying this small-preserved part of a vase with a Mycenaean/Italo-Mycenaean vase calls for caution. Without a doubt, it will be necessary to have further finds and information on the context by extending the excavation area towards the east but the presence of such a vase in this context would certainly not be surprising. It would, in fact, widen the area of dissemination of Mycenaean/Italo-Mycenaean ceramics in Campania, and therefore also include the LBA village of Cumae. In the Proto-Apennine period (MBA) on the Phlegraean islands, the Mycenaean presence was particularly intensive on the island of Vivara, and thanks to the pottery of LH I-III A1 and other kinds of finds is well documented¹⁰⁸. Also significant is the discovery of a handful of fragments of LH III A in the MBA settlement of Castiglione on Ischia¹⁰⁹; another fragment, as yet unpublished, was identified by C. Improta in her post-graduate Master's dissertation among the "Scarico Gosetti" finds from the slopes of the Monte Vico hill. The fine Mycenaean and Italo-Mycenaean ceramics found in the RBA/FBA village of Afragola in the Campania plain¹¹⁰ refer to a more recent date, that of LH IIIB/C. LH IIIB/C ceramics, both imported and Italo-Mycenaean, were also found in RBA/FBA sites in southern Campania: Pontecagnano, Paestum, Battipaglia-Castelluccia, Eboli and the Polla cave¹¹¹. The case of Cumae, regarding chronology, would be consistent with the more recent chronological horizon, namely that of RBA/FBA of Italian prehistory or of LH IIIB/C in Mycenaean periodization: in terms of absolute chronology, this is roughly from the late 14th to the early 11th century BC¹¹².

With all due caution, in such a general framework it would certainly not be surprising that Mycenaean merchants may have stopped in the landing place in the lagoon of Licola and traded with the LBA village of Cumae, many centuries before the Euboeans in the 8th century BC.

Matteo D'Acunto

3. THE PRE-HELLENIC NECROPOLIS

3.1. General picture

The Pre-Hellenic burial ground of Cumae developed on the small plain between the acropolis hill and the Monte Grillo ridge. The topography of the necropolis was recently reconstructed by P. Criscuolo by combining the topographical data available for the burial groups excavated during the 19th and 20th centuries with those from more recent excavations (Fig. 13)¹¹³. Based on this study, the northern limit of the necropolis has been located approximately 150 m north of the northern walls, approximating the area involved in the excavations carried out by Maglione, Menegazzi and Virzì in 1900-1901 (fig. 13.6-7) and probably extending northwards from there to the area of the so-called "Ex Fondo Correale"¹¹⁴.

The eastern limit of the necropolis is believed to roughly correspond to the modern Via Vecchia Licola as suggested by the presence of other Pre-Hellenic burials found during the investigations by the Count of Syracuse and Stevens immediately to the east of the 1900-1901 excavation site (fig. 13.1-2)¹¹⁵. The excavations carried out by the Centre Jean Bérard in 2006 (fig. 13.10) investigated a new group of burials located southwest of the Virzì excavations, at a distance of 50 m northwest of the Middle Gate of the northern walls. These burials can be classified between IA and the early IB phases of the EIA, with the exception of one grave which is dated to the late IB phase and one grave to the II phase¹¹⁶.

¹⁰⁸ MARAZZI – TUSA 1994, 173-294, 303-316; MERKOURI 2005. A synthesis of the Mycenaean presence in Campania is given in D'ACUNTO 2020a, 1288-1289.

¹⁰⁹ MARAZZI – TUSA 2001, 241-250; GIARDINO – MERKOURI 2007, 743, 746, fig. 3A.

¹¹⁰ A preliminary report is LA FORGIA *et al.* 2007, 936-937, fig. 1.

¹¹¹ CAZZELLA – RECCHIA 2018, 15-16; D'ACUNTO 2020a, 1289; BETTELLI – VAGNETTI 2020, 1266-1267, 1273-1279, with references.

¹¹² A synoptic table of synchronisms between Italian and Mycenaean chronologies is given in BETTELLI – VAGNETTI 2020, 1274.

¹¹³ CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 331-333, 349 pl. I.

¹¹⁴ CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 332, 349; GASTALDI 2018, 194.

¹¹⁵ PELOSI 1993, 63, fig. 6; CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 349 pl. I; GASTALDI 2018, 194-195.

¹¹⁶ BRUN *et al.* 2008, 355-380; GASTALDI 2018, 190-193.

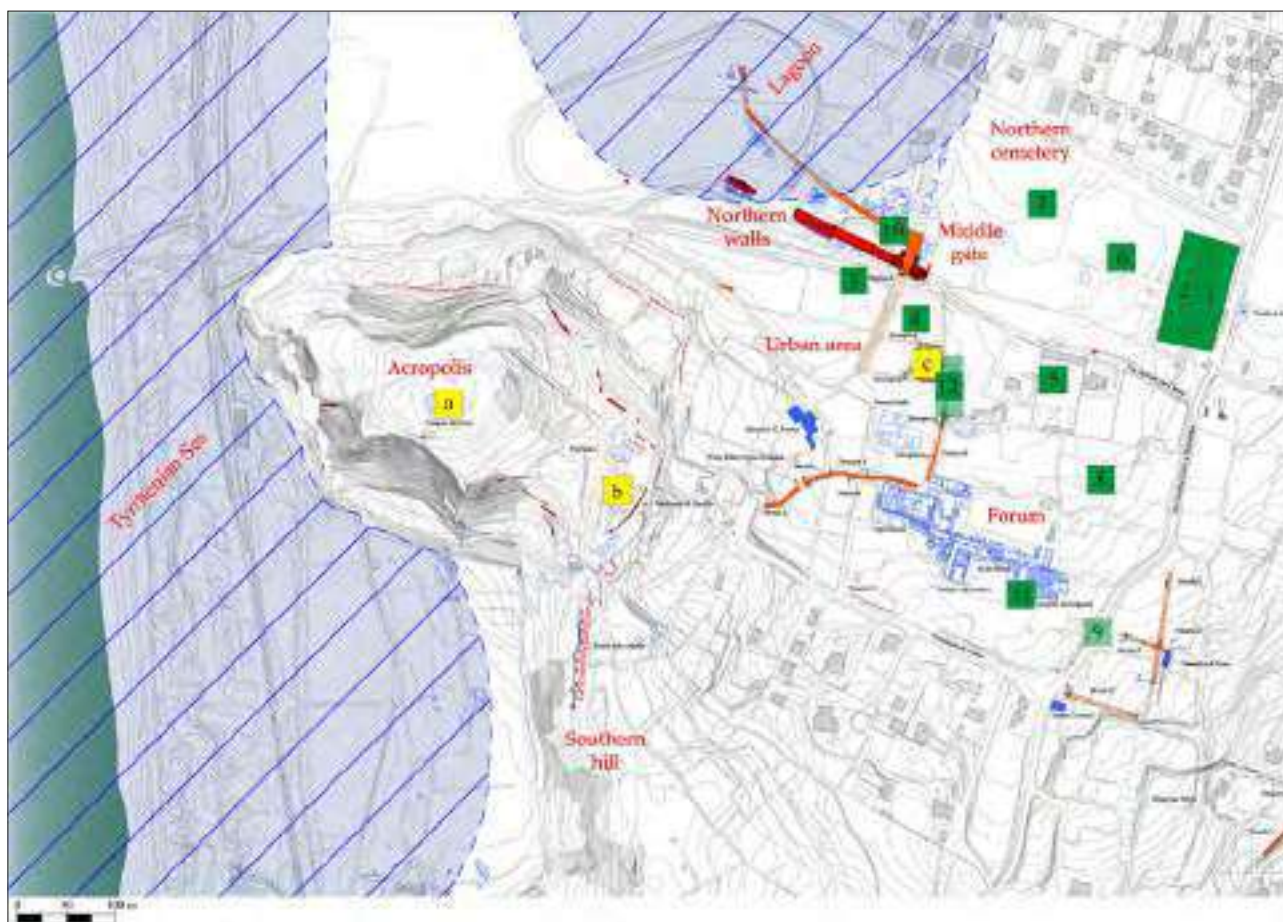


Fig. 13. Locations of the archaeological evidence from the FBA3-EIA Pre-Hellenic settlement of Cumae, with an approximate indication of the limit of the lagoon (drawing M. D'Acunto, C. Improta, C. Merluzzo, F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale; the necropolis updated after CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008; the limits of the lagoon and the coastline drawn after STEFANIUK – MORHANGE 2008).

Tombs (areas in green; disturbed tombs in light green): 1. Conte di Siracusa Excavations (1854-1857); 2-3. Stevens Excavations (1893); 4. Stevens Excavations (1894-1986); 5. Lubrano Excavations (1898); 6. Maglione Excavations (1900-1901); 7. Virzì Excavations (1900-1901); 8. Osta Excavations (1903); 9. Tocco Excavations (1975); 10. Centre Jean Bérard Naples Excavations (2002/2006); 11. University of Napoli Federico II Excavations (2006); 12. University of Napoli L'Orientale Excavations (2009-2016).

Evidence of the village (areas in yellow): a. Vittorio Emanuele III Excavations (1897); b. Gabrici Excavations (1910) and Buchner Excavations (1940); c. University of Napoli L'Orientale Excavations (2019, 2021-2023)

In the area south of the northern walls, Pre-Hellenic burials were identified during Stevens' excavations in the D'Isanto and Capalbo grounds (Fig. 13.3-4). This area was bordering the Provenzano ground to the southeast (Fig. 13.5), from which came other objects from Pre-Hellenic graves¹¹⁷. Further south of the northern walls, the so-called "Osta tombs group"¹¹⁸ (phases I and II of Pre-Hellenic Cumae¹¹⁹) was discovered in 1903 in the Orilia property (Fig. 13.8). The southern boundary of the necropolis was indeed located in the area of

the Roman Forum by means of the results of the University of Napoli Federico II excavations in 2006 (Fig. 13.11). Two Pre-Hellenic burials¹²⁰ were uncovered close to the so-called Tempio del Gigante, one of which may be referred to the final IB-II phases of the EIA¹²¹, in the final decades of the 9th century BC¹²², and the other, whose grave-offerings include a fibula with a serpentine foliate arch decorated with impressed dots, may be dated to phase IIA of the EIA¹²³.

¹¹⁷ CRISCUOLO 2007, 265-267.

¹¹⁸ CRISCUOLO 2007, 266-267; NIZZO 2007a, 487.

¹¹⁹ NIZZO 2007a, 488-501; CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 333-337.

¹²⁰ GRECO 2008, 387-390, pl. I; 2009, 13-17, figs. 1-3; 2014, 59-64, figs. 4-6.

¹²¹ GASTALDI 2018, 195-196.

¹²² GRECO 2009, 13.

¹²³ GASTALDI 2018, 195.

Lastly, *impasto* sherds and a bronze spearhead, ascribable to types known from the Pre-Hellenic burial ground, were found in secondary deposition during excavations by the Soprintendenza Archeologica (Department of Antiquities) under the supervision of G. Tocco¹²⁴ in the area north of the crossroads that leads to the modern access point of the acropolis (Fig. 13.9).

Chiara Improta, Cristiana Merluzzo

3.2. New evidence on the Pre-Hellenic necropolis from the University of Napoli L'Orientale excavations (Pl. 10)

Archaeological evidence of the Pre-Hellenic necropolis, which extends over the plain in front of the acropolis, has also been brought to light in recent excavations conducted by the University of Napoli L'Orientale in the area north of the Forum baths. These funerary findings were unearthed in different spots, which are relatively distant from each other. Of course, one should not forget that only in a few spots of our excavation was it possible to reach the most ancient levels of occupation of the area. Therefore, at present, we are unfortunately unable to clarify the extent of development and the limits of the Pre-Hellenic burial ground in this sector.

There was only one case of uncovering an undisturbed tomb during our excavations, and it was in fact unearthed below the stratigraphy of the Greek colony in *stenopos p*, which bounds the extensively excavated Greek-Roman block to the south. The tomb (SP111144), excavated under the supervision of the writer, was recently published by Patrizia Gastaldi (Figs. 14-17)¹²⁵ and the present contribution will refer to that publication.

This grave may be ascribed to an early chronological horizon of the Pre-Hellenic necropolis, between the end of the FBA and the beginning of the EIA (10th – beginning of the 9th century BC). The burial ritual was secondary cremation, which was uncommon in the Pre-Hellenic cemetery of Cumae¹²⁶: in this necropolis, in fact, what was

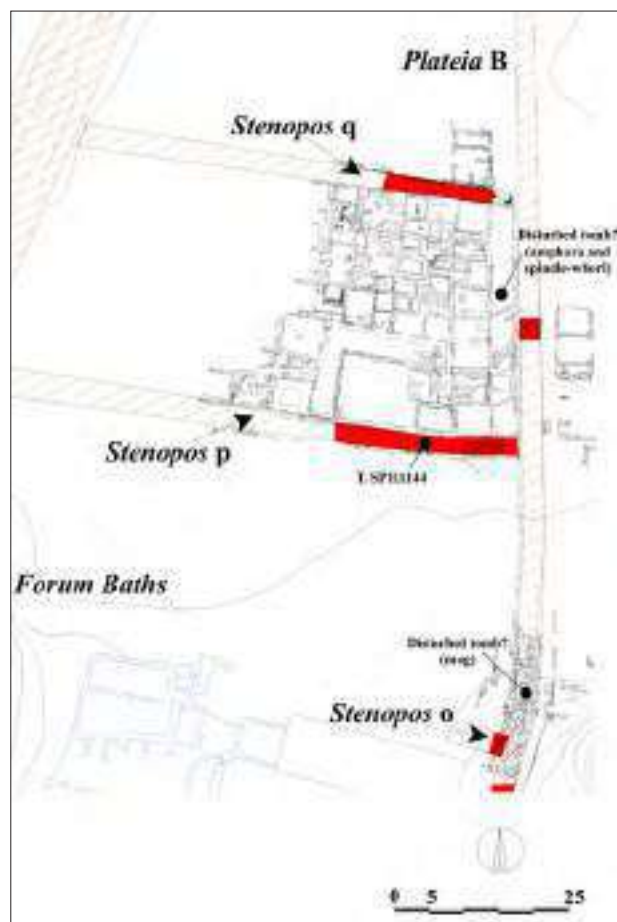


Fig. 14. Area north and east of the Forum baths: evidence from the FBA3-EIA cemetery found in the excavations of the University of Napoli L'Orientale (© University of Napoli L'Orientale)

normally adopted was inhumation, a ritual characteristic of the indigenous groups who populated Campania in the EIA, therefore known as “Fossa-Kultur”. The use of cremation in our case may be due to the ancient chronological horizon of this burial, therefore referring to those human groups adopting this ritual and populating northern Campania during the FBA chronological horizon¹²⁷. The excavation of the burial under *stenopos p* took place at a depth at which the ground water was outcropping. This did not compromise a stratigraphic reading, but it did affect the state of the materials, all retrieved from the water, and this made excavation operations particularly difficult.

¹²⁴ TOCCO 1975, 487.

¹²⁵ GASTALDI 2018, 182-185, figs. 14-18.

¹²⁶ Another known case is the tomb recently excavated in the sector of the cemetery northwest of the middle gate of the northern walls (T. 700716); this grave may also be referred to the end

of the FBA (FBA3): Zevi *et al.* 2008, 104-105 (S. Abellon, P. Munzi); GASTALDI 2018, 181, figs. 13, 15.

¹²⁷ GASTALDI 2018, 177-189.



Fig. 15. Trench in *stenopos* p, from the east (photo M. D'Acunto; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

Tomb SP111144 was covered by a small mound, consisting of roughly hewed large to medium sized tufa blocks (the top was placed +2.46 m above sea level). Underneath the mound was the oval-shaped pit (0.54 m wide and about 1.20 m long, with the bottom at +1.88 m above sea level), bordered by small tuff blocks, in which the grave offerings and the cinerary urn were placed (Fig. 17.1). A thick layer of charcoal was placed immediately above the grave offerings: this was certainly the ash from the pyre, collected and emptied out to close the pit. On the southwestern side of the pit the pyriform jar (Fig. 17.1), closed by a conical cover with a perforated socket (Fig. 17.11), contained the cremated remains of an adult woman¹²⁸, deposited together with a spindle-whorl (Fig. 17.12) and objects of personal adornment, which must have been worn

¹²⁸The anthropological analysis, conducted by Dr Alessandra Sperduti (Museo delle Civiltà, Roma), has identified the remains of a deceased woman of around 40 years old.

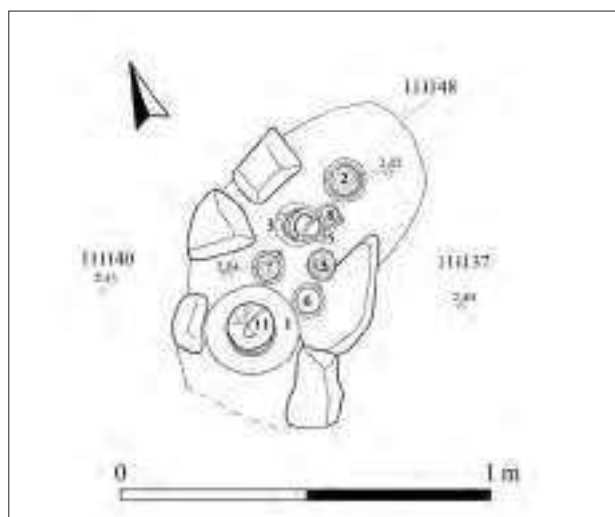


Fig. 16. T. SP111144 (FBA3/beginning of the EIA), plan (drawing M. Barbato; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

by the deceased during the funeral ceremony (the fibula with serpentine arch Fig. 17.13, a ring and a spiral, all made of bronze); to these was added a glass paste bead found in the ash layer of the fire. Among the grave offerings, the vessels in hand-made *impasto* ware occupied the entire inner area of the pit and consisted of three bowls (Fig. 17.6-8), a jug (Fig. 17.4), an amphora closed by a deep cup (Fig. 17.3, 5), a small ovoid jar (Fig. 17.2), a boat-shaped vase with bird protome (Fig. 17.9) and a sort of miniature table, consisting of a circular disc with three wavy feet (with snake protomes?) (Fig. 17.10). According to P. Gastaldi, the cremation ritual, the miniature jar (Fig. 17.2) and the small “table” concur to suggest a date in the FBA3; on the other hand, the positioning of the vessels in the pit seems to reflect the typical layout of the inhumation tombs of the EIA. In absolute terms, therefore, the tomb should be dated between the 10th and the beginning of the 9th century BC¹²⁹.

The difficulties of excavation due to the depth of the discovery, the overlapping of the Greek-Roman period stratigraphy, as well as the outcropping of the ground water, made us realize how difficult it would be to investigate these older phases in this area. However, the uniqueness of the discovery of this tomb should not be misleading since it is logical to assume that an offshoot of the Pre-Hellenic necropolis must have extended to this area.

Mariangela Barbato

¹²⁹GASTALDI 2018, 183-185, figs. 18-19.

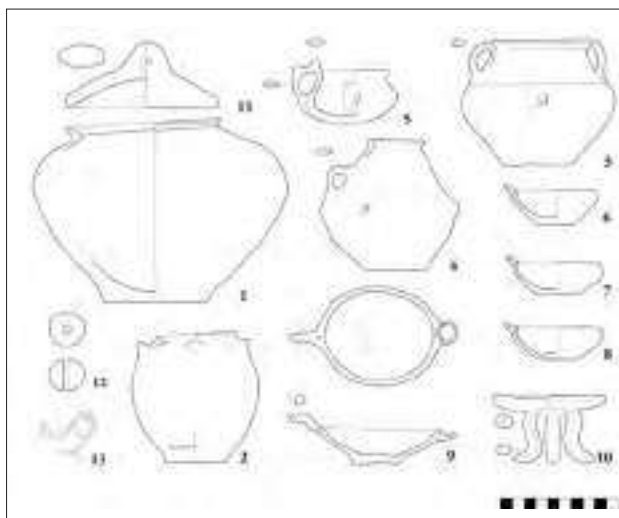


Fig. 17. T. SP111144 (FBA3/beginning of the EIA), grave offerings (drawings M. Barbato; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

During the excavations of the University of Napoli L'Orientale the latter hypothesis is supported by the discovery, not very far away, of some *impasto* finds in secondary deposition: these, thanks to their state of preservation, in good part intact, can probably be identified with grave offerings of Pre-Hellenic tombs which had been disturbed.

The clearest case is represented by a discovery made in the 2009 excavations at a distance of ca. 38 m south/southeast of Tomb SP111144 (Fig. 14). To the east of the Forum baths, and below the Roman-era pavement of *plateia* B, an artificial underground tunnel made by excavators was uncovered by our team. This probably refers to clandestine excavations carried out in the second half of the 19th, or at the beginning of the 20th century. They were probably looking for intact grave goods from the Pre-Hellenic burial ground and it is highly unlikely that they were interested in the fragmentary finds of the overlying Greek-Roman settlement¹³⁰. Inside the tunnel, we found a mug in *impasto* handmade ware, only partly incomplete (39)¹³¹. This mug probably belonged to the grave offerings of a Pre-Hellenic tomb and had either gone unnoticed or had been accidentally left behind by the diggers because of the hazardous conditions inside the excavation tunnel. The mug is roughly biconi-

cal in shape with an everted lip and a single handle (now lost) that would have been attached at the widest part of the body and mid shoulder; its decoration consists of a series of oblique ribs on the shoulder and round bulges on the widest part. It is in part similar to an “*orciolo*”, which in P. Criscuolo’s classification of Cumaean *impasto* pottery, is assigned to the Pre-Hellenic I phase (ca. 9th century BC). However, in this particular type the upper part of the body is higher¹³². Only in part similar due to the shape of the body, is a type of mug in the Cumaean repertoire that has been assigned to the subsequent phase II (ca. first half of the 8th century BC), with the significant difference that in this type the mouth is reduced to a flared rim¹³³. According to the Pontecagnano classification of *impasto* pottery, the mug from Cumae can be compared to a type of pitcher (“*brocca*”) from the initial phase of the EIA (phase IA), but again this type is higher in the upper part of the body¹³⁴. In the Pontecagnano repertoire on the other hand, the mug (“*bicchiera*”) has a more globular shape, and both the upper part of the body and the lip are lower¹³⁵. In sum, this *impasto* mug from Cumae can be assigned to the EIA cemetery, perhaps still in phase I (9th century BC).

The other find was ca. 27 m north/northeast of T. SP111144 (Fig. 14). An amphora (40) and a spindle-whorl (41), both in *impasto*, were found close to each other in a layer from the Greek colony’s earliest chronological horizon. It was discovered in an archaeological trench excavated below the Roman *porticus* of *plateia* B. These two objects’ state of preservation, in part intact, and the fact that they date to the EIA lead to the hypothesis that they were found there in a secondary position and that they could have originally belonged to a disturbed Pre-Hellenic tomb. The hypothesis of their relevance to a tomb is also coherent with the observation that a short distance north/northwest of the spot where they were found is the nucleus of the Pre-Hellenic necropolis excavated by Stevens

¹³⁰ On excavation activities, both supervised and unsupervised, in the Pre-Hellenic necropolis, see GABRICI 2013, cols. 61–212; CRISCUOLO 2007; NIZZO 2008a; CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, esp. 348 Tab. 1; GASTALDI 2018.

¹³¹ Cf. GASTALDI 2018, 190, fn. 112, fig. 22 left.

¹³² CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, p. 336 fig. 1.6, p. 346 no. 6 “*Orciolo biconico con imboccatura larga*”.

¹³³ CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, p. 336 fig. 2.6, p. 346 no. 6 “*Orciolo globulare con orlo svasato*”.

¹³⁴ Pontecagnano III.1, 23, no. 80A2a, fig. 7.

¹³⁵ Pontecagnano III.1, 24, no. 100A, fig. 8.

between 1894 and 1896 in the Capalbo estate (Fig. 13.4). Pia Criscuolo's study carried out a topographical positioning of all the Pre-Hellenic burial nuclei excavated at the time, including those resulting from the 19th century excavations, on the basis of an archive study of the location of the estates at that time (CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 331-333, pl. 1). If we rely on her map (cf. Fig. 13), it can be roughly calculated that the discovery spot of the amphora and of the spindle-whorl is about 20-50 m south/southeast of the Capalbo burial ground. The spot, where the amphora and the spindle-whorl were discovered, was quite nearby and halfway between T. SP111144 and the Capalbo nucleus: this would be consistent with the hypothesis that these are probably the grave offerings from a disturbed grave, originally part of a burial ground (on the other hand, it cannot be completely excluded that the two finds referred, instead, to the Pre-Hellenic residential context brought to light in the area of the peristyle, for which, see below). Amphora 40 has a neck and an angled asymmetrical body; it is decorated with oblique ribs on the shoulder and a series of round bulges on its widest part. The amphora refers to a type considered by P. Criscuolo as exclusive to Cumae's Pre-Hellenic II phase¹³⁶. Two amphorae of different sizes, from two Osta burial ground graves, provide a close comparison in terms of decoration and shape: one in T. 21, dated to the Pre-Hellenic II period or perhaps, because of the type of fibula, to the second part of the Pre-Hellenic I period (phase IB of Pontecagnano)¹³⁷; and another in T. 4, which may be referred to the Pre-Hellenic II period (phase IIA of Pontecagnano)¹³⁸. Spindle-whorl 41 had a polygonal outline, with an oval/biconical section: it can be compared, for example, with those from the

same T. 4 Osta¹³⁹. The hypothesis is, therefore, that if the amphora and the spindle-whorl actually came from the grave-offerings of a disturbed Pre-Hellenic tomb, this may refer to Pre-Hellenic II, in the first half of the 8th century BC (or, alternatively, to the second part of Pre-Hellenic I, in the second half of the 9th century BC).

The discoveries made by the University of Napoli L'Orientale north of the Forum baths raise a crucial problem concerning the topography of the necropolis and of the Pre-Hellenic village of Cumae, in the sector of the plain in front of the acropolis (Fig. 13). On one hand, a strip of the Pre-Hellenic necropolis was clearly located in the eastern and northeastern sector of the area north of the Forum baths, based on the discovery of T. SP111144, on the vases in secondary deposition, and on the positioning of the Capalbo and d'Isanto burial nuclei. On the other hand, an important novelty comes from the discovery during our excavations of a Pre-Hellenic domestic sector with a hut in the area of the peristyle (see below, chpt. 4) and of the corner room in the block: this residential sector is therefore located near burial SP111144 and not very distant from the other evidence of the necropolis, which has just been mentioned. For the first time in the history of the archaeological research at Cumae, this is the clearest archaeological evidence that the Pre-Hellenic village expanded, together with the terraces of the acropolis, to a stretch of the plain in front of the hill. Nevertheless, the hypothesis that an offshoot of the village extended to a portion of the plain had already been advanced previously by several scholars, albeit at the time still in the absence of direct archaeological evidence of residential areas¹⁴⁰. Although still very limited and partial, the first archaeological evidence from our excavations shows that this domestic occupation concerns both the RBA/FBA and the EIA.

The crucial question now is how to explain this alternation between residential spaces and cemetery spaces in the area north of the Forum baths in

¹³⁶ CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 346 no. 9 (cf. also no. 10), fig. 2.9 (cf. also fig. 2.10); CRISCUOLO 2014, 91 with references.

¹³⁷ MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 237, pl. 22, no. 2. For a date in Pre-Hellenic II see CRISCUOLO 2014, 91; for a date for this type of fibula, but in Pontecagnano, in phase IB, see *Pontecagnano III.1*, 15 pl. 2, 31, 72 fig. 15, type 320[A]2 and cf. the former type 320[A]1b1; on this context cf. NIZZO 2007a, 492-493.

¹³⁸ CRISCUOLO 2014, 91, fig. 2.1 (the type is considered as exclusive to Pre-Hellenic II); MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 37-38, 234-235, pl. 17, no. 24. Cf. for the shape, also GABRICI 1913, cols. 85-86, pls. XVII.6, XVIII.2; and CRISCUOLO 2007, 278-280, no. 21 (Civic Museum of Baranello).

¹³⁹ CRISCUOLO 2014, 90, fig. 2, nos. 22-23. Cf. *Pontecagnano III.1*, 30, 71, fig. 14, type 240C2.

¹⁴⁰ D'AGOSTINO 2011b, 36; GRECO 2008, 388; 2014, 59-60; cf. GASTALDI 2018, 189.

chronological horizons which are very close to each other? Two different hypotheses could provide the answer to this question:

- 1) the first hypothesis is that it was not only the area north of the Forum baths, but also other parts of the plain facing the acropolis hill which were characterized by occupation, so to speak, “in spots”: namely, that this small plain at the foot of Monte di Cuma had been occupied in Pre-Hellenic times by a number of small residential nuclei, alternating with others belonging to the necropolis, which were situated very close by and associated with them.
- 2) The second hypothesis is that a strip of land in the sector north of the Forum baths had represented a border, so to speak, between the area of the necropolis, distributed on the eastern and northeastern side of the plain, and that of the inhabited area, which had developed to the west, along and near the slopes of the acropolis.

Of course, the Pre-Hellenic necropolis may have been organized in family plots¹⁴¹. However, the question is whether these funerary nuclei could have actually been interspersed with residential areas, or whether there was a separate strip intended for burials, which was distinct from that intended for the village sector in the plain. And, of course, for both hypotheses, the topographical development of the necropolis areas and of the residential areas may have changed significantly in diachrony: of course many centuries passed in the period from the RBA/FBA to the EIA and to the foundation of the *apoikia*, around 750-740 BC.

At the present state of evidence, both hypotheses 1) and 2) remain open and new data are awaited from further archaeological excavations. However, I personally believe that the evidence currently available clearly points in the direction of hypothesis 2), at least with regard to the chronological horizon documented by the extensive excavations carried out in the necropolis at the end of the Final Bronze Age (FBA3) and the Early Iron Age (Pre-Hellenic I-II) which is roughly between the 10th and the middle of the 8th century BC. Patrizia Gastaldi, in particular, has explored this

convincingly in her comprehensive contribution on Pre-Hellenic Cumae of 2018, and her conclusions are worth quoting: «To the community of the dead the indigenous society therefore assigns a large area in the eastern part of the plain, not far from the southern shore of the lagoon and well integrated into the viability of the district; certainly only with the continuation of the archaeological investigation we will be able to arrive at a precise definition of its extension and correctly assess the structure of this large burial ground that however does not seem very dissimilar from that documented in other proto-urban centers of Campania»¹⁴². In support of this hypothesis – namely of a wide burial belt that develops in the eastern sector of the plain at a significant distance from the slopes of the acropolis – is, in fact, the relative proximity between the different burial nuclei, brought to light to date. This picture is made clear by Pia Criscuolo’s positioning of the burial lots, integrated with the data from the University of Napoli L’Orientale excavations (Fig. 13). The distance between the burial nuclei ranges from a few tens of meters up to 50/100 meters or slightly more. The spotty occupation of these cemetery areas should not be misleading: it must be largely due to the often unsystematic character of the research and the difficulties encountered when trying to reach the protohistoric levels in a pluristratified site such as Cumae.

Another argument suggesting hypothesis 2) is that in the entire history of archaeological research at Cumae, whether supervised or not, there have been no reports of EIA burials in all of the western part of the plain, namely in the part occupying the area closest to the slopes of the acropolis hill: not in the sector west of the Forum and of the Forum baths, nor west of our excavations and of those of the 19th century in the Capalbo and d’Isanto estates. The area of the University of Napoli L’Orientale excavations to the north of the Forum baths, with its alternating evidence of a Pre-Hellenic necropolis and pre-Greek settlement, may reflect, therefore, its position along the margins, between the necropolis belt to the east and that of the village to the west. It is clear that an offshoot of the native village at the foot of Monte di Cuma, if confirmed by further archaeological research, would have benefited from

¹⁴¹ GASTALDI 2018, 189-196.

¹⁴² GASTALDI 2018, 196.

two favorable geomorphological and topographical aspects for the Pre-Hellenic settlement:

- a) first of all, our excavations have shown that the geomorphology of the sector north of the Forum is characterized by a pronounced slope from south to north and by a less pronounced one from southwest to northeast¹⁴³. Therefore, a part of the Pre-Hellenic village located in the area of the plain close to the acropolis, to the east and northeast of the hill, occupies a high geological position with respect to the other neighboring parts of the plain. This would have helped the inhabitants to avoid, at least in part, the effects of heavy flooding, which affected the plain at the foot of the acropolis hill, and which was also thoroughly documented by the archaeological excavations¹⁴⁴.
- b) Second, a sector of the village located at the foot of the acropolis hill, east and northeast of it, heads down towards the lagoon and therefore allows this excellent natural landing area to be in full view and kept under control. Trade was certainly an important economic factor in the Pre-Hellenic settlement (see below) and, consequently, the sheltered harbor in the lagoon would have lent itself to trading and must have been one of the most important area of the settlement.

Matteo D'Acunto

4. NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF THE PRE-HELLENIC VILLAGE ON THE PLAIN FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF NAPOLI L'ORIENTALE EXCAVATIONS.

4.1. *The evidence from the excavation conducted inside the peristyle of the southern domus*

Important evidence relating to the occupation of the area during the Pre-Hellenic period and later colonial phases comes from the excavation conducted between 2018 and 2023 inside the peristyle of the large *domus* occupying the southern part of the *insula* (Figs. 18.1-4; 19). Logistical and safety reasons, given the considerable size of the area, have prevented us from proceeding with an extensive excavation

of the entire peristyle area. Therefore, during 2018¹⁴⁵ and 2019¹⁴⁶, only the western side and part of the southern and northern sides of the peristyle (the limits are indicated in Fig. 18.1) were excavated. During the archaeological campaign of 2021¹⁴⁷, the excavation area was extended to the central part of the peristyle (Fig. 18.2), while during 2022¹⁴⁸ and 2023¹⁴⁹ the southeast corner of the peristyle (Fig. 18.3, 4) was investigated. It should be noted that this area is characterized by a marked natural slope from southwest to northeast. As a result, the correlation between the stratigraphies brought to light during the different archaeological campaigns proved to be difficult in a number of cases. However, correlating the main phases of occupation between one and the other areas was straightforward.

4.1.1. The archaeological campaigns of 2018 and 2019

In 2018 and 2019, the entire western side, and part of the southern and northern sides of the peristyle were investigated (the limits of the excavation are indicated in Fig. 18.1: the eastern edge of this trench is irregular because of two holes from the Roman period which have removed the older stratigraphy). In this area, immediately above the Bronze Age dwelling evidence presented above, a tight sequence of Early Iron Age levels was brought to light over an area of ca. 22 m². These levels took the form of earthen floors, on which hearths were arranged with associated faunal remains, the result of intense food preparation and consumption activities that must have taken place *in situ*. This archaeological evidence, together with the relatively large number of *impasto* pottery fragments found there, was clearly related to domestic activities and reveals the residential nature of the occupation of the area during this phase (see C. Improta and C. Merluzzo, below, chpts.

¹⁴⁵ The excavation was conducted from September 3 to October 5, 2018.

¹⁴⁶ The excavation was conducted from September 2 to October 4, 2019.

¹⁴⁷ The excavation was conducted from September 13 to October 1, 2021.

¹⁴⁸ The excavation was conducted from September 5 to 30, 2022.

¹⁴⁹ The excavation was conducted from September 4 to 29, 2023.

¹⁴³ D'ACUNTO 2020b, 255-263; cf. below.

¹⁴⁴ On this aspect see D'ACUNTO 2020b.

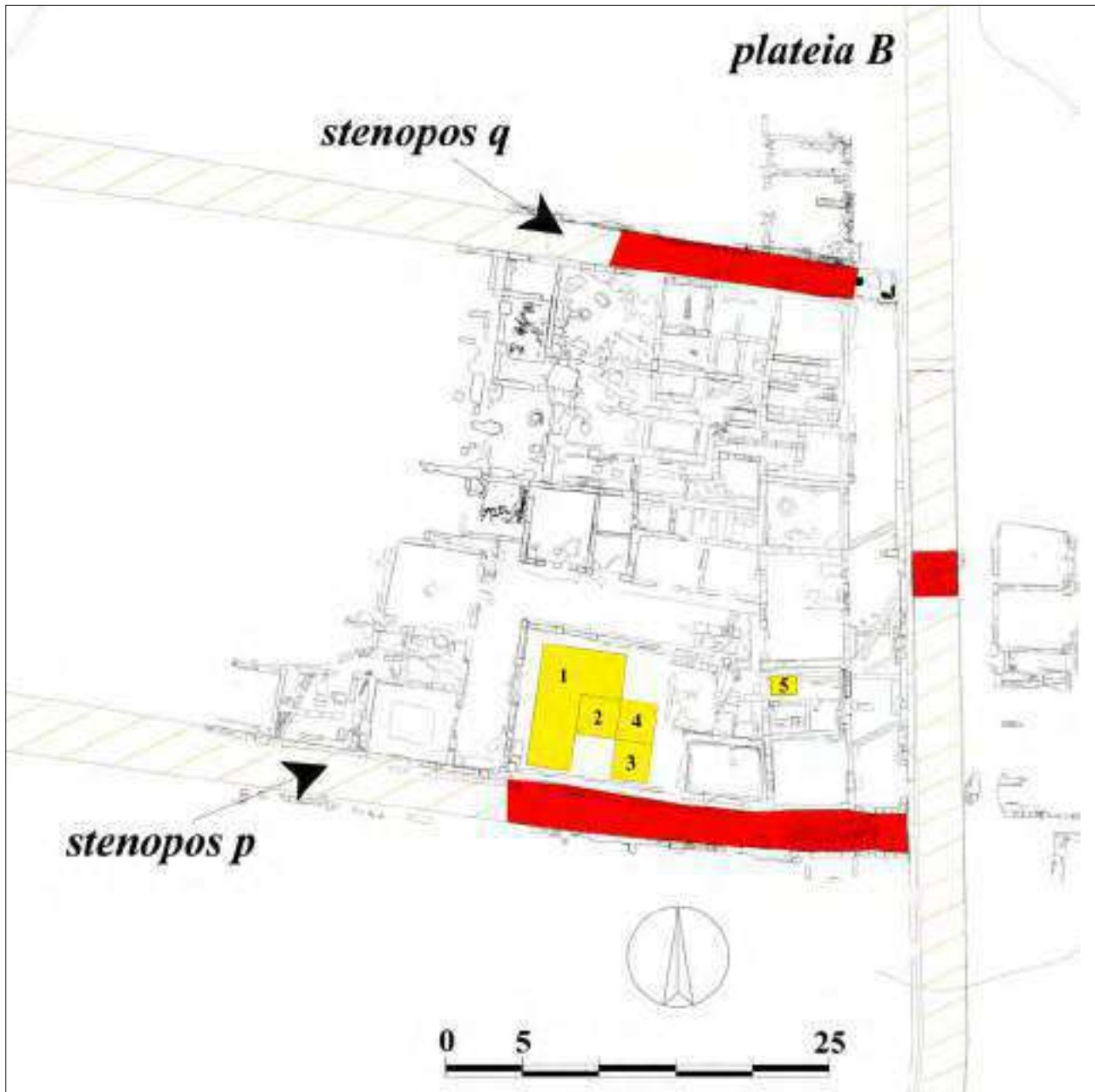


Fig. 18. Excavated areas (in yellow) showing domestic occupation in the late Pre-Hellenic period, brought to light under the *insula* north of the Forum baths – University of Napoli L’Orientale excavations, 2007, 2018-2019, 2021, 2022 and 2023 (© University of Napoli L’Orientale)

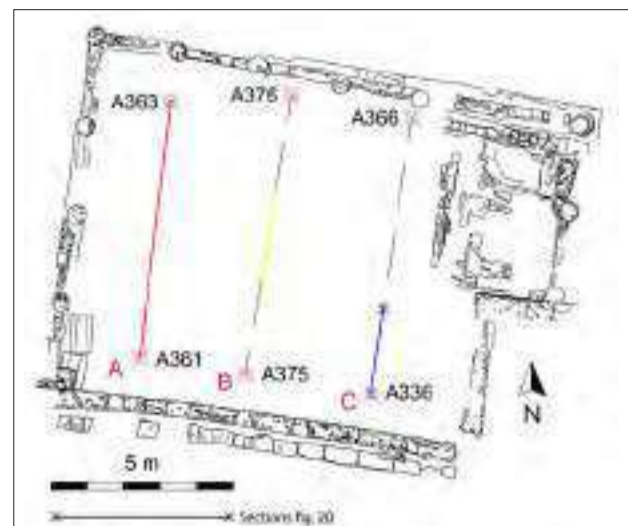


Fig. 19. Plan of the peristyle with south-north sections (trenches Fig. 18.1 [A], 2 [B], and 3 [C]; drawing F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L’Orientale)

4.1.4 and 4.2-3). On the other hand, the few but significant fragments of Greek imported pottery found here demonstrate that these levels occurred in a very short time span, immediately preceding the end of the Pre-Hellenic village of Cumae, just before or around the middle of the 8th century BC (see M. D'Acunto, below, chpt. 4.4).

We will now move on to a detailed description of the archaeological evidence, identifying the different archaeological levels as I, II, III, IV, following the stratigraphic sequence from the oldest to the most recent. It is important to emphasize the fact that ceramic fragments pertaining to the same specimen (as is evident especially for the imported Greek vessels) were sometimes deposited in strata with distinct levels: this is explained by the clearly very close chronology of the rearrangement of the different floors.

Level I

Immediately above the tephra deposit related to the eruption of Averno 2 (Figs. 8-11) lay an alluvial layer consisting of fine coastal sand (US 27873). This layer was in turn covered by a clayey layer (US 27847, Fig. 20.A in pink; Fig. 21), which was clearly recognizable along the entire surface of the area due to its dark brown color and numerous traces of small fragments of charred wood, faunal remains and pottery fragments. Along the eastern side of the excavated area, this level presented two sub-circular firing pits, filled with a thick layer of charred wood fragments and traces of fired clay. In particular, the southernmost firing pit showed clear traces of thin elongated charred wooden elements which protruded from the perimeter of the firing area (Fig. 22). At the bottom of both firing pits were two smaller circular pits filled with irregularly shaped blocks of tufa. These tufa blocks may have had the function of insulating the surface on which the fire was lit from the humidity of the soil. This evidence could be interpreted, albeit cautiously, as firing pits utilized for pyrotechnological activities. In particular, the filling of the southernmost firing pit yielded some underfired fragments as suggested by the consistency of the ceramic body. This finding might suggest that at least this particular firing pit was used for firing ceramics¹⁵⁰.

¹⁵⁰ For the definition of “open firing” or “nonkiln firing” and for ceramic firing techniques related to this type of object see

On the other hand, traces of activities related to food preparation and consumption are attested in the northwestern corner of the excavation area, where two hearths were preserved. This level yielded numerous ceramic fragments of *impasto* pottery associated with very few fragments of imported Greek vessels. Among these is a fragment pertaining to a skyphos with one bird metope (42) which allows us to date the context approximately to 775-750, prob. before or ca. 760 BC.

Level II

Above Level I, in the northwest corner and along the entire northern end of the excavated area, there was another layer which shows clear traces of human activity (US 27837, Fig. 20.A in green). This floor was characterized by the presence of numerous fragments pertaining to pithoi and at least one *dolium*¹⁵¹ scattered over the entire area (Figs. 23-24). In the northwest corner was located a small oval-shaped hearth, near which numerous faunal remains were found. A number of *impasto* pottery fragments and a few sherds of imported Greek pottery come from this level. Of great interest among the latter are two fragments probably belonging to a PSC skyphos (alternatively a black/chevron/bird skyphos) (43). A large fragment of a cooking stand (19) was also found on the surface of this layer.

Level III

Along the western side, the level just described was covered with a dark brown clayey layer (US 27838, Fig. 20.A in light blue; Fig. 25), characterized by the presence of a large circular hearth of approximately 1 m in diameter (Fig. 26). The hearth had been created by a shallow cut in the floor level, on the bottom of which the embers were directly arranged. On the surface of this hearth was a layer of ash and fragments of fired clay. The earth surrounding this hearth was blackened by fire and filled with charred pieces of wood, small fragments of fired clay and faunal remains related to food preparation and food consumption.

CUOMO DI CAPRIO 2007, 502-507; IAIA 2009, 55-57, and SOTGIA 2019, 305-308.

¹⁵¹ We use the terms “*dolium*” (pl. “*dolia*”) to refer to large protohistoric *impasto* storage vessels.

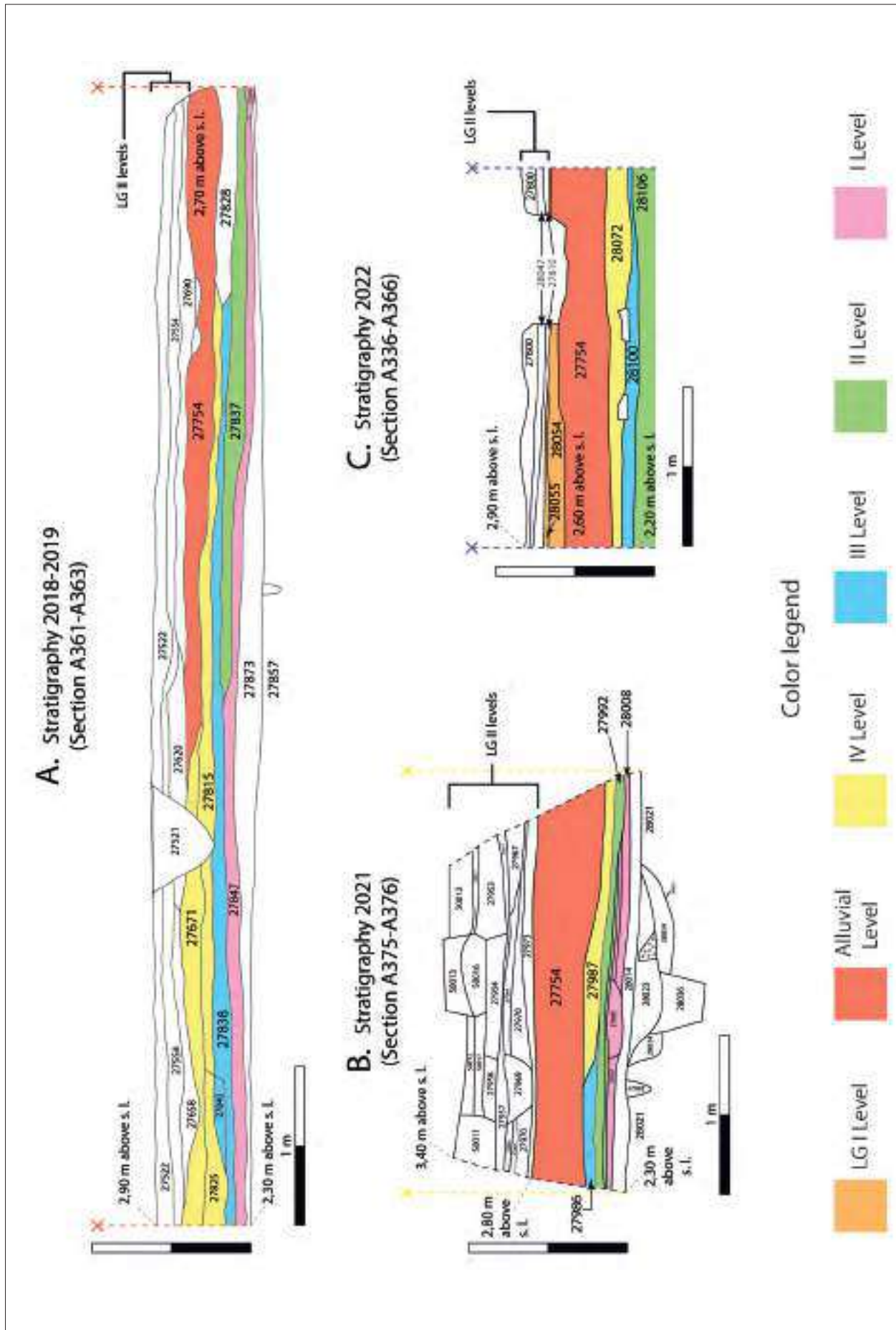


Fig. 20. Peristyle, south-north sections (cf. Fig. 19) –2018-2022 excavations (drawing F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

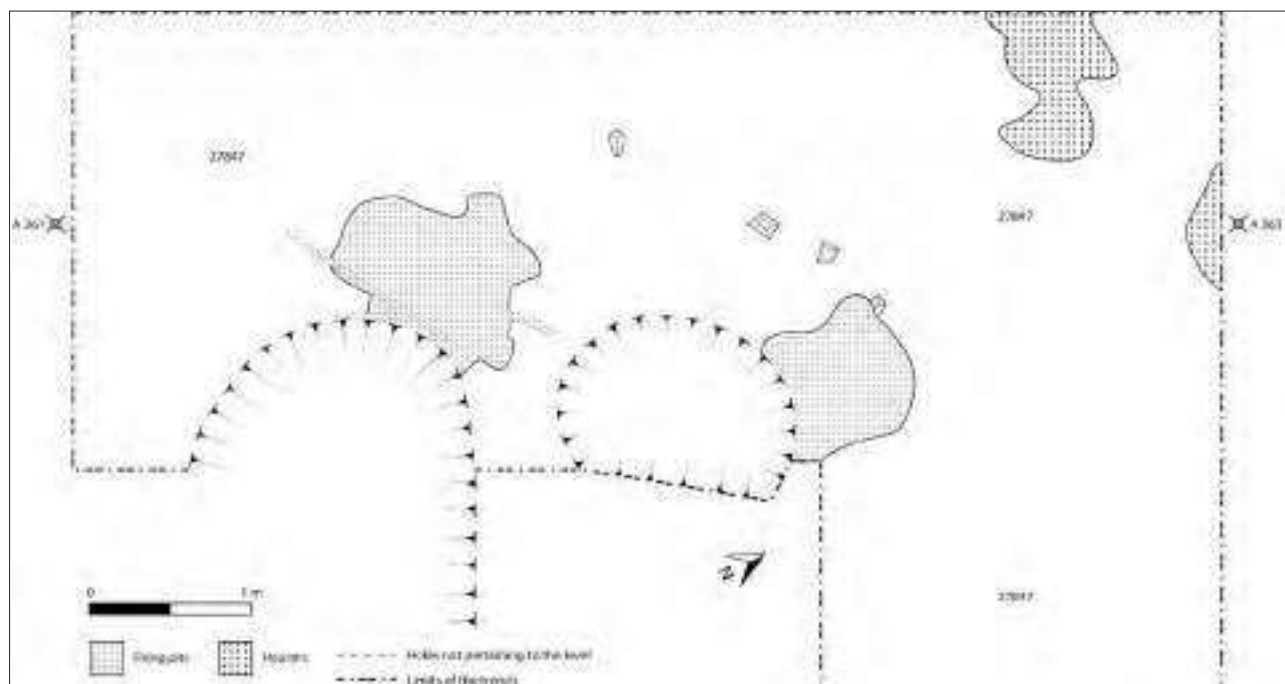


Fig. 21. Level I. Plan of the archaeological evidence (drawing F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)



Fig. 22. Level I. The firing pit with traces of thin and elongated charred wooden elements located in the southwest corner of the excavation area (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

Once again, the materials demonstrate an overwhelming predominance of *impasto* pottery over wheel-made pottery. Among the specimens pertaining to *impasto* pottery, one fragment of a cup (8) and numerous fragments of jars stand out. On the other hand, among the sherds of Greek production what stands out is a fragment pertaining to a Euboean sky-

phos of the chevron type (47). This specimen allows us to date the context still within the second quarter of the 8th century BC. It is also important to note several fragments of Red Slip ware, including a dish (see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue no. 1) and two amphorae (see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue nos. 2 and 4).

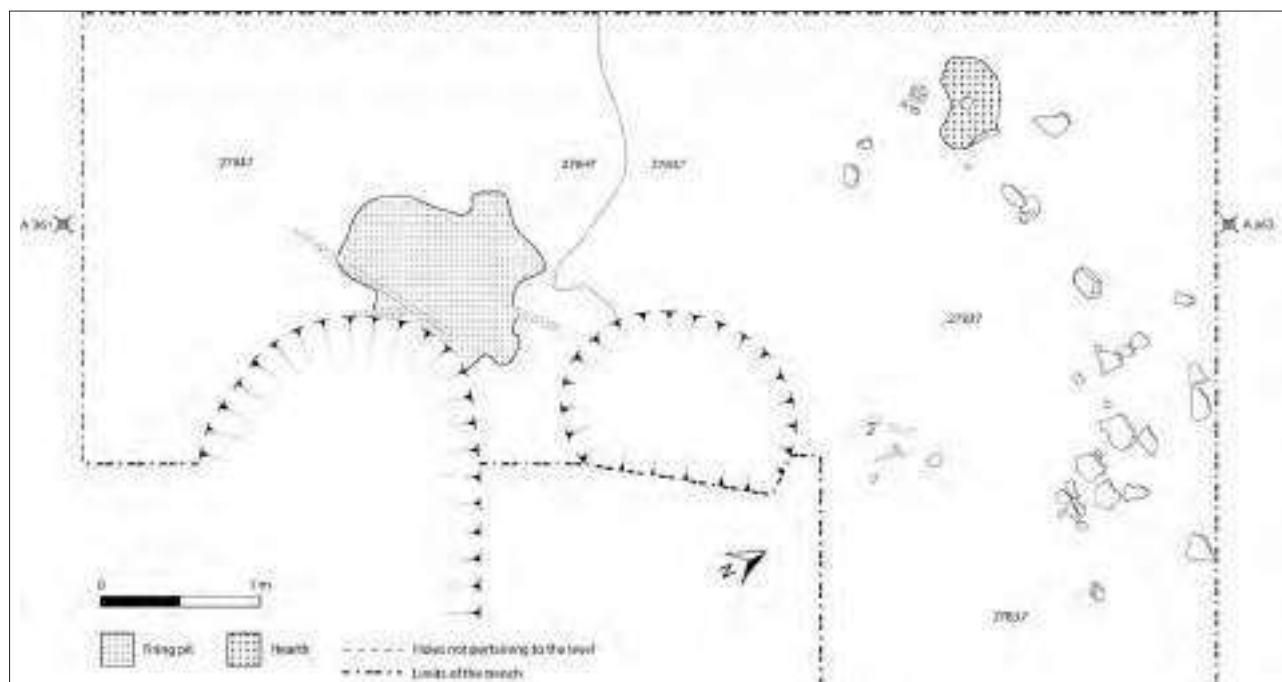


Fig. 23. Level II. Plan of the archaeological evidence (drawing F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)



Fig. 24. Level II. Floor characterized by the presence of numerous fragments of storage vessels scattered over the surface (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

Level IV

The tight stratigraphic sequence described above was covered by a thin alluvial layer (US 27828) that leveled the natural slope of the area. Immediately above this alluvial layer there was a clayey layer (US 27815, Fig. 20.A in yellow) that bore clear evidence of human reoccupation

of the area (Figs. 27-28). This new floor was characterized by the presence of a shallow circular pit, in the center of which was a rough-hewn tufa block. This block was probably used as a support for a wooden pole or as a support surface for carrying out some kind of activity (Fig. 29). Near this pit were three small circular holes, the function of which cannot be precisely defined, but which were probably pertinent to light wooden/reed structures. In the southwest corner of the excavated area there was an irregularly shaped hearth. Surrounding this hearth were traces of fire activity: charcoal, ash and small fragments of burned clay gave the layer a blackish coloration. Another small hearth was located near the tuff block. This layer yielded numerous *impasto* pottery fragments – mainly jars, but also *dolia* and cup (22) – and a few fragments of Greek imported pottery, including some belonging to an oinochoe/hydria/amphora (46). In the southwest corner of the excavated area, directly in contact with the layer just described, was a yellowish-brown clayey layer (US 27671, Fig. 20.A in yellow). This layer yielded a conspicuous number of sherds of *impasto* pottery along with a few sherds of pre-colonial imported Greek pottery: a fragment pertained to the aforementioned one-metope bird skyphos (42, US 27847).

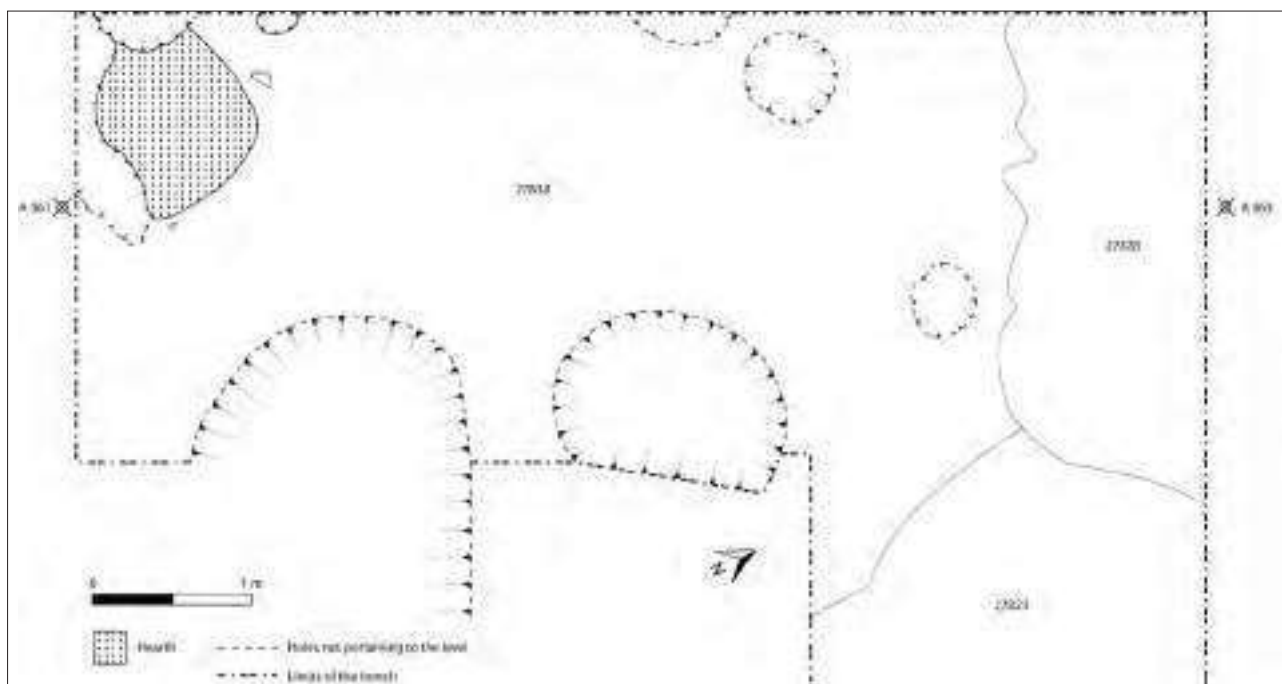


Fig. 25. Level III. Plan of the archaeological evidence (drawing F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

This sequence, which is very tight both stratigraphically and chronologically, is characterized by marked stratigraphic discontinuity: two thick alluvial-type sandy layers (US 27754, Fig. 20.A in red) completely cover Level IV (UUSS 27815-27671) levelling out, with variable thickness, the natural slope that characterizes the area from southwest to northeast. This marked stratigraphic caesura is clearly highlighted for a number of reasons. Firstly, there is a shift from a sequence of layers which clearly show traces of human activity to a stratigraphy indicating natural events. Secondly, the alluvial deposit in the northern part of the trench reaches the considerable thickness of



Fig. 26. Level III. Detail of the circular hearth located in the southwest corner of the excavated area (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

40 cm: therefore, there is no doubt that in this sector the Pre-Hellenic settlement was abandoned around the middle of the 8th century BC. These alluvial events affecting the whole area seemed to have been substantial and prolonged over the course of time. In fact, the pottery fragments found in the two alluvial layers are relatively scant, and testify to the marked difference with respect to the earlier phase. In addition, these fragments belonged to a very wide chronological span as they had been flushed away by successive episodes of flooding, and are clearly in secondary context. Regarding the wheel-made Greek pottery, there are both fragments of Euboean fabric from Middle Geometric II, residues evidently from the previous Pre-Hellenic settlement, and fragments of a Pithekoussan-Cumaeian production from Late Geometric I. The latter must refer to an occupation of the site, which, as we shall see later, can no longer be referred to the Pre-Hellenic indigenous village, but rather to the early colonial horizon. Among the fragments yielded by the alluvial layers, of particular interest is a sherd in Red Slip Ware, belonging to an amphora (see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue no. 5), and perhaps also residual from the occupation of the Pre-Hellenic village, or already related to the early colonial horizon.

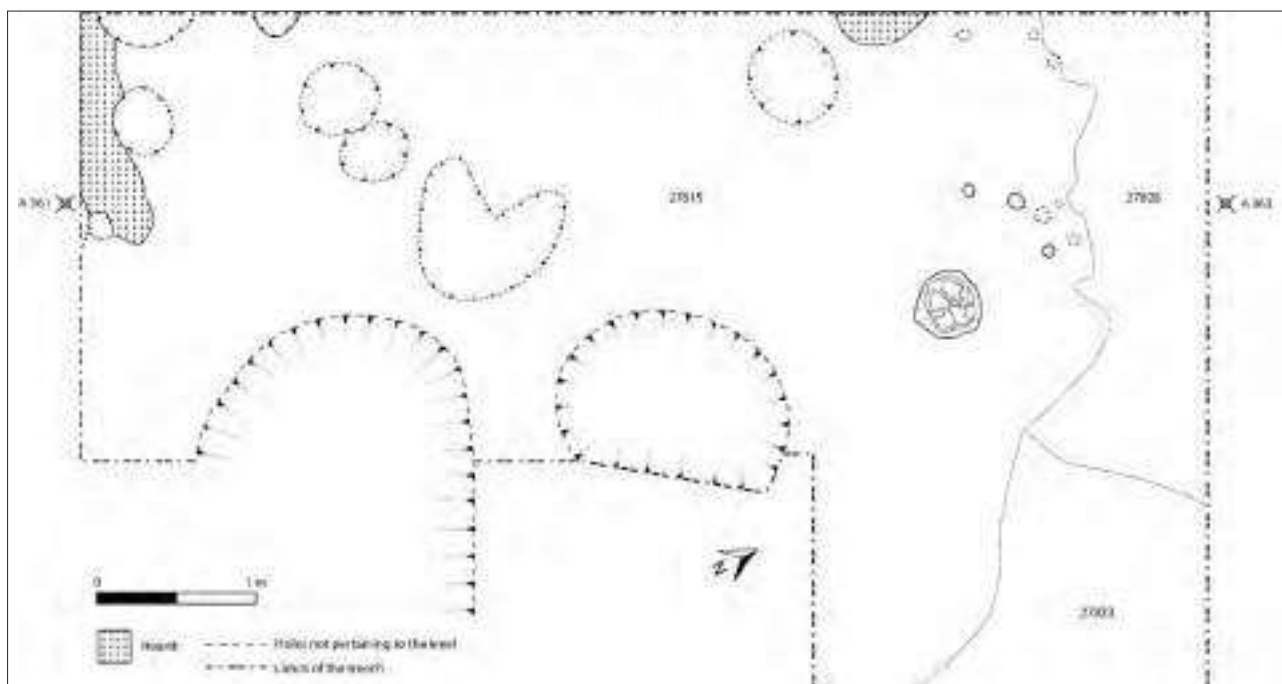


Fig. 27. Level IV. Plan of the archaeological evidence (drawing F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)



Fig. 28. Level IV. Archaeological level which bore traces of human activities (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)



Fig. 29. Level IV. Detail of the tufa block used as a support for a wooden pole or as a support surface for carrying out some activity (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

4.1.2. The archaeological campaign of 2021

The archaeological investigations conducted during the 2021 excavation campaign further contributed to clarifying the dynamics of occupation that occurred in this sector of the settlement of Cumae. The stratigraphic investigations were concentrated in the central part of the peristyle of the large *domus* occupying the southern part of the *insula*: the limits of the excavated area are indicated in Fig. 18.2.

The earliest evidence brought to light refers to the eastward continuation of the tephra deposit connected to the eruption of *Averno 2* intercepted during the 2019 campaign (US 27857). This layer was cut by a single circular posthole, which can certainly be cor-

related with the other alignments illustrated above (Figs. 8-10). A new and very interesting element, which emerged during the research, consists of a large artificial cut made within the tephra deposit. The walls of this cut, which run roughly in a south-west-northeast direction, are regular, vertical and reach a depth of approximately 80 cm. At present, it is impossible to interpret this evidence with certainty, but the hypothesis of the existence of a sort of artificially created terracing can be put forward. It would probably have been made to level off the area and protect the wooden structures positioned immediately next to the steps. It is also worthy of note that some of the alignments of the post holes intercepted during the 2019 excavation campaign are roughly parallel to the artificial cut (Figs. 8-9). The limited extent of evidence, however, dictates that such hypotheses should be considered with caution.

The large artificial cut was filled by two alluvial layers, the earliest of which (US 28021) was an impressive sandy deposit of approximately 30 cm thickness. This alluvial layer was cut by four small circular post holes. In the central part of the excavation area on the other hand, this layer was cut by a firing pit of considerable dimensions (ca. 1.30 x 1 m). This firing pit had an oval-shaped cut characterized by vertical walls and flat base on which lay a thick layer of carbonized wooden fragments (US 28034), some of which were exceptionally preserved due to the soil humidity (Fig. 30). At the bottom, the pit was cut by a hole of circular shape filled with blocks of tufa. Once again, this evidence could suggest that tufa had been used to insulate the fire pit surface from soil humidity.

Neither the surface of the layer in which the pit was cut, nor the filling layers of the firing pit yielded faunal remains. What's more, palaeobotanical analyses conducted on the filling layers have also shown in percentage terms the absolute prevalence of weed seeds (*Poaceae*, *Rubus*) over grain caryopses (*Triticum monococcum*, *Triticum dicoccon*, *Hordeum vulgare*)¹⁵². All this evidence tends to exclude the use of this firing pit for activities related to food



Fig. 30. The artificial cut in the cineritic deposit filled by alluvial layers. In the center, the photo depicts the firing pit cut in the most recent alluvial layer (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

preparation and consumption. Superficially, the firing pit was in turn covered by a sandy layer of alluvial soil (US 28023) which yielded very few ceramic fragments. The absence of sherds associated with this evidence does not allow for its precise dating. However, we can observe how the firing pit had been cut into the alluvial layer that filled the artificial cut in the tephra layer: this suggests that the firing pit is later than the Late Bronze Age evidence of wooden structures, cut in the tephra layer, and that it should, therefore, already be referred to the occupation of the area in the Early Iron Age.

Covering this evidence was a second sandy layer of alluvial nature (US 28014), on which a sub-circular pit with a diameter of approximately 40 cm was intercepted. It was characterized by intense rubefaction of the vertical walls and by numerous filling layers of fired clay. In this case, the pit was surrounded by a dispersal area for the activities associated with the use of this small firing pit which were clearly visible. On the basis of the previous stratigraphic considerations, this evidence also refers to activities related to the frequentation of the area in the Early Iron Age.

Above this evidence lay a series of strata characterized by the presence of hearths and bearing intense traces of human activity. A layer characterized by abundant traces of food preparation and consumption activities spread over the entire surface stands out in particular (US 27992, Fig. 31; Fig. 20.B in green). All these layers (Fig. 20.B, from US 28008 to US 27987) yielded numerous pottery fragments that provide a precise chronolog-

¹⁵² The results of these analyses are part of the study carried out by Mara Soldatini for her Master's dissertation, under the guidance of prof. Matteo Delle Donne (University of Napoli L'Orientale, academic year 2021-2022). I would like to thank Soldatini for making the results of her research available.



Fig. 31. Pre-Hellenic floor characterized by intense traces of food preparation and consumption activities (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

ical framework. Alongside an absolute prevalence of *impasto* pottery, the presence of a few but significant Greek imported vessels is noted: among them are fragments of Euboean imports, pertaining to black skyphoi and a specimen of chevron skyphos (47), which allow us to date the stratigraphies in the second quarter of the 8th century BC. On the basis of a careful reconstruction of these stratigraphies, a large fragment of black skyphos (45) and another large fragment of a black skyphos, which exceptionally bears an inscribed alphabetical sign (48: cf. the discussion by M. D'Acunto and A.C. Cassio, below)¹⁵³, can be attributed to these layers. Among the other pottery fragments, the finding of a red slip ware dish (see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue no. 6) is particularly remarkable. These strata are in continuity and partially correspond to levels II-III brought to light in 2019 in the western part of the peristyle (Figs. 23, 25). These layers are referable to a domestic occupation of the

area in a chronological horizon immediately prior to the end of the indigenous village, when a strong interaction with Euboean merchants is clearly revealed by Greek imported pottery (see M. D'Acunto, below, chpt. 4.4).

These strata were covered by a thick sandy alluvial layer, already intercepted in the 2018 and 2019 excavation campaigns along the north and west sides of the peristyle (US 27754, Fig. 20.B in red). This alluvial layer yielded pottery related to a relatively broad chronological excursus, ranging from the Pre-Hellenic period to LG I. Among the fragments of wheel-made Greek pottery, of particular relevance is a fragment pertaining to the previously mentioned chevrons skyphos (47) from the Pre-Hellenic phase, and two fragments of an LG I kotyle (82), to which we will return later (see F. Nitti, below, chpt. 4.1.3). As regards Red Slip ware, a fragment pertaining to an amphora (see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue no. 7) can also be distinguished. These finds complement the observations made about the alluvial level excavated in preceding campaigns. As previously mentioned, this thick level – which does not reflect one single alluvial event, but rather a succession of alluvial phenomena – marks a distinctive stratigraphic caesura from the previous Pre-Hellenic settlement occupation.

¹⁵³ These two vessels were found during the 2018 excavation campaign on the eastern edge of the excavation area, within layers later investigated in the 2021 excavation campaign. For this reason, the two vessels cannot be directly associated with a precise stratum, but after careful reconstruction of the stratigraphies, it is possible to relate these finds to one of the strata of the Pre-Hellenic domestic context under discussion. Other fragments referring to 45 were also found in the later Level IV, clearly as residual in secondary deposition.

Above this alluvial deposit, which leveled out the natural slope that had constantly characterized the area, were two layers over the entire surface of which there were faunal remains, clearly referable to the activity of animal slaughter and food consumption that took place *in situ* (Fig. 32). Among the pottery sherds from these two layers there are some fragments of vases, which can be partially reassembled, from a set related to the consumption of wine, including a Thapsos-type krater imported from Corinth, several Ithaca-type kantharoi imported from Corinth or of Pithekoussan-Cumaean production, and an oinochoe with white-on-dark decoration, also of Pithekoussan-Cumaean production. These specimens are complemented by fragments of some lekanai, which were used for food consumption. These two strata reflect an intensive reoccupation of the area in LG II: this is a context in primary deposition, which, given the concentration of pottery and faunal finds, may refer to the interior of a dwelling or to an area immediately outside a dwelling. The concentration of faunal finds and wheel-made pottery, and the dating of the latter, closely resemble the portion of an LG II dwelling brought to light below *stenopos p*, which refers to a phase of occupation of the area that predates the creation of the urban layout (cf. Fig. 15: “floor of a house – LG II, 710-700 BC”)¹⁵⁴. Since this evidence is only 10 meters away from that unearthed in 2021, it can be assumed that this is the same archaeological context.

4.1.3. The archaeological campaign of 2022-2023

The Pre-Hellenic stratigraphies described above are certainly to be correlated with the exceptional find unearthed in the southeast corner of the peristyle during the very recent excavation campaigns of 2022 and 2023 (Fig. 18.3, 4). Given their importance, since they further clarify the occupation pattern of the area during the Pre-Hellenic period, we have decided to present the stratigraphy and main evidence of this context here, albeit in a preliminary manner.

Immediately below the alluvial deposit (US 27754, Fig. 20.C in red), which, as we have seen, marks a deep caesura between the early colonial horizon and the stratigraphies of Pre-Hellenic Cumae, there was an earth floor with anthropic activity markers (US 28072, Fig. 20.C in yellow). The surface of this layer was cut by numerous circular or irregularly shaped small holes, most likely used for the housing of small wooden poles referable to light structures (probably small fences). In the western part, the floor was covered with charcoal and small fragments of burned clay, indicating the presence of a hearth nearby (Fig. 33). Given the scarce quantity of pottery sherds found, the nature of the occupation of this area is impossible to define. However, it can be placed around the middle of the 8th century BC. The finding of two lumps of clay, partially vitrified as a result of contact with high temperatures, is worth noting. These findings could well be slags, probably related to ceramic or metallurgical production activities which may have taken place in the surrounding area.

Along the southern edge of the excavation area this floor is interrupted: from the layer below, numerous ceramic artifacts emerged, immediately suggesting the exceptional nature of the archaeological context. In fact, below the earth floor was preserved an abandoned level of a Pre-Hellenic hut, an inner portion of which had been intercepted, most likely relating to an area used for the storage, preparation and cooking of food (US 28100, Fig. 20.C in sky blue; Figs. 34-35). The sudden abandonment of the structure is corroborated by the depositional state of the ceramic finds which were perfectly preserved *in situ*, partly folding in on themselves, and partly onto other vessels in the immediate vicinity. The way the ceramic artifacts were positioned on the surface (ca. 5 m²) in an oblique pattern which continued both southward and eastward beyond the limits of the excavation area, hints at the considerable size of this domestic structure. Thanks to an extension of the excavation area towards the north, conducted in the archaeological campaign of 2023, a larger portion of the hut was brought to light. This structure has an oval/apsidal shape¹⁵⁵, and the inner living floor ap-

¹⁵⁴ This context will be presented by our team in a forthcoming article dealing with the LG II phase.

¹⁵⁵ The limits of the hut brought to light are only partial and refer to its western side. Despite this, it is possible to recognize a



Fig. 32. LG II floor characterized by the presence of faunal remains scattered over the surface (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

pears to be slightly lowered from the outside (Fig. 36). The elevation of the hut must have been supported by a series of wooden posts of considerable size, as evidenced by two large post holes found along the edges of the hut. It is important to highlight the presence of small tuff blocks inside the post holes, which gave greater stability to the wooden posts. It is feasible that two large holes from the Roman period would have removed at least two other post holes placed next to those found, partially compromising our reading of the hut's floor plan. What is of particular significance is that in the inner part of the structure, along the perimeter, there is a concentration of ash, charcoals, and burned clay. It is very likely that such traces are to be correlated with a fire that affected the hut at the time of its abandonment, causing the collapse of the perimeter. A further clue as to whether the hut was burned comes from some ceramic fragments found inside the structure that show clear signs of charring. It is also peculiar that some joining fragments pertaining to the same vessels are burnt while others are not, thus demonstrating that they had already been broken when the fire started. Immediately below the destruction layer of the hut it was possible to investigate its internal floor.

curving perimeter towards the south. Towards the north, part of the hut has been removed from a large pit from the Roman period, while the rest has yet to be investigated.

What is of particular relevance is the discovery of a circular furnace cut into the floor. The interior walls of this firing structure were lined with clay, charred by the fire. Inside the furnace it was possible to identify a thick layer of charcoals and ash, very few faunal remains and some sherds of pottery.

Although analysis of the finds is in an entirely preliminary stage¹⁵⁶, it is possible to identify, among the concentration of fragments found in the southern area of the hut, several cooking stands¹⁵⁷ (Fig. 37), a perforated flat plate, possibly pertaining to a mobile clay oven¹⁵⁸ (Fig. 38), and a large number of jars used for cooking and storing food¹⁵⁹ (Fig. 39). Significantly, the area investigated yielded very few faunal remains.

¹⁵⁶ The finds are the subject of the University of Napoli L'Orientale restoration workshop by C. Merluzzo, and the restorers Pasquale Musella and Ciro Nastri.

¹⁵⁷ The context is being studied by C. Improta and the writer. It is possible to recognize at least four cooking stands, attributable to type 1 of the typology elaborated by MOFFA (2002, 73-75, fig. 53). I would like to thank C. Improta for the comparison related to the cooking stands.

¹⁵⁸ The multiple-hole perforated plate may be ascribable to an oven with overlapping chambers. Such structures are known from protohistoric contexts in Italy and Western and Central Europe (for specimens from Italy, see: MOFFA 2002, 79, note 187; RUFFA 2019; for specimens from Western and Central Europe, see: COULON, FONTAINE, PROUST 2019).

¹⁵⁹ At least thirteen jars and one *dolium* are recognizable.



Fig. 33. Archaeological level which shows traces of human occupation of the area (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)



Fig. 34. Inner portion of a Pre-Hellenic hut, probably allocated for storage, preparation and cooking activities (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

This finding, together with the typology of ceramic artifacts unearthed¹⁶⁰, helps us to establish the function of this sector of the hut, evidently related to the storage of foodstuffs and the cooking of cereals or other types of foods that did not

¹⁶⁰ In addition to local handmade *impasto* pottery, some specimens of pottery of Phoenician tradition also come from this sector of the Pre-Hellenic hut (see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue nos. 9 and 13).

involve the killing of animals *in situ*. Slaughtering and butchering would have taken place very close to this sector of the hut, however, which is corroborated by the numerous faunal remains found in the areas immediately adjacent to it (such as in the levels US 27838, US 27992, mentioned above). Regarding the Greek pottery, apart from some fragments pertaining to black skyphoi, of great interest was the finding of a

In conclusion, and in light of this recent finding, it can be deduced that the archaeological stratigraphies from this area are closely related to each other and that they are all to be related to the presence of a hut of considerable size. Although there is no stratigraphic continuity between the archaeological levels unearthed during successive excavation campaigns¹⁶¹, it is reasonable to correlate the layers located immediately below the alluvial deposit which around the middle of the 8th century BC covered the entire area. Therefore, it can be assumed that:

- 1) The clayey layer found in 2018 along the west side (US 27815, Level IV), characterized by the presence on the surface of hearths and a tufa block, corresponds to the clayey level found in 2022 in the southeast corner (US 28072), containing small post holes and traces of firing activities.
- 2) It can reasonably be assumed that the underlying layers found in 2019 along the west and north side (UUS 27838, 27837: Levels II-III), characterized by clear traces of food consumption activities and fragments of storage vessels scattered across the entire surface, are in phase with the hut utilized for food storage and cooking unearthed in 2022-2023. This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that some fragments related to the mobile oven mentioned before (Fig. 38) were found on the surface of US 27837. In general, all these layers hint at the different activities that must have taken place within the dwelling and in its surroundings, of which different functional areas are recognized.

¹⁶¹ It is important to remember that, for logistical and safety reasons, investigating the entire area extensively has been impossible, and therefore it has been necessary to conduct the excavation over the years through individual trenches adjacent to each other.



Fig. 35. Trench in the southeast corner of the peristyle of the southern *domus*, from the west: the stratigraphy overlying the inner portion of a Pre-Hellenic hut, probably allocated for storage, preparation and cooking activities (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)



Fig. 36. Inner portion of a Pre-Hellenic hut: the floor below the destruction level of the hut, cf. Fig. 35 (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)



Fig. 37. One of the cooking stands from the Pre-Hellenic hut (photo C. Merluzzo; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)



Fig. 38. The multiple-hole perforated plate of the oven with overlapping chambers (?) from the Pre-Hellenic hut (photo C. Merluzzo; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

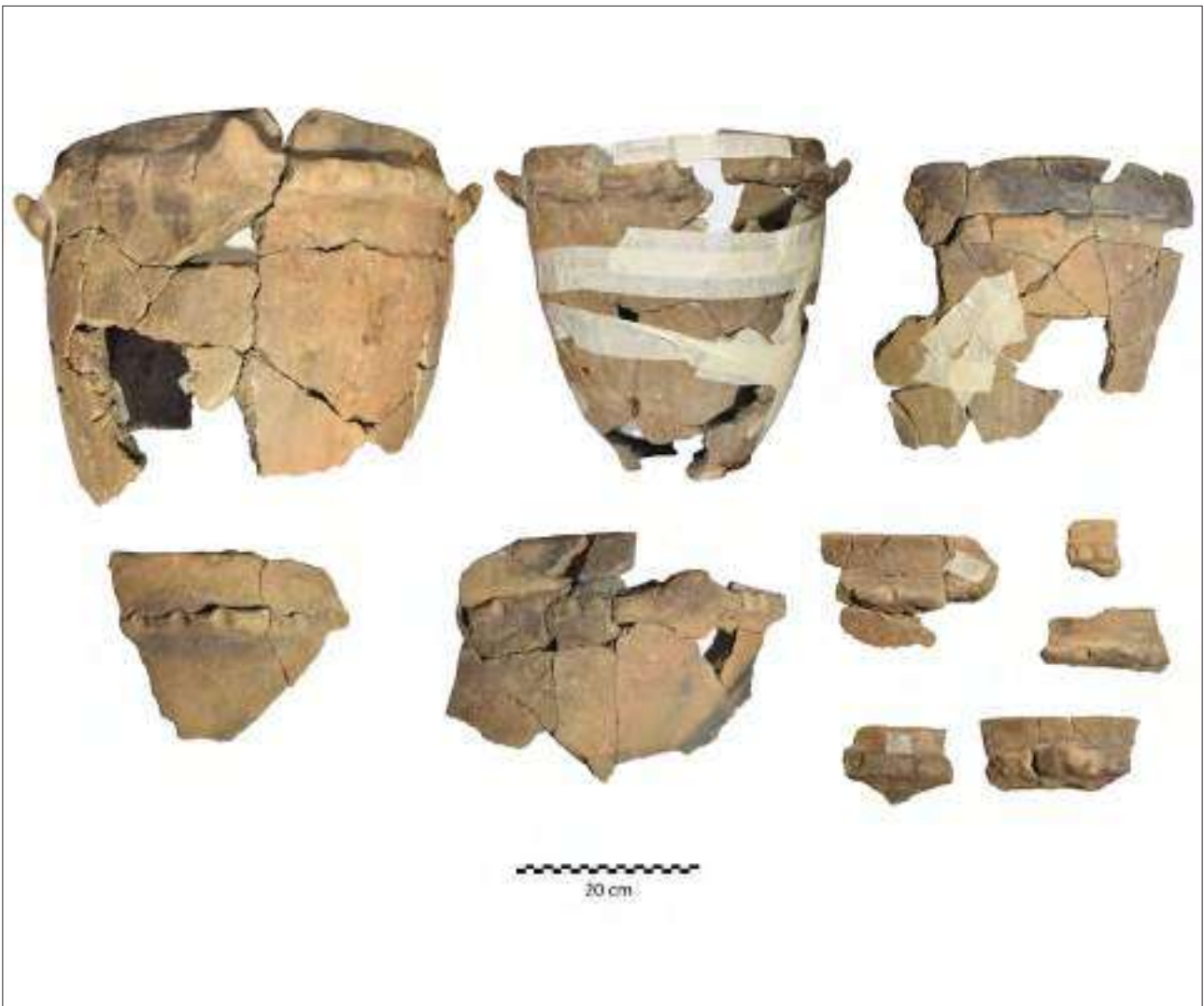


Fig. 39. Jars and *dolium* in restoration from the Pre-Hellenic hut (photo F. Nitti; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

A certain discontinuity in the forms of occupation of the area seems possible in these levels. It is particularly interesting to note that this discontinuity can also be read stratigraphically through a thin alluvial layer (US 27828) which is interposed between level IV and levels III-II along the north side of the excavation area (respectively US 27815 and UUSS 27838-27837). Although cautiously, it seems possible to advance the hypothesis that immediately after the native hut was abandoned with its furnishings *in situ*, the area may have been re-occupied and refunctionalized. The former spaces associated with the hut itself were not reused, but immediately above them stand floors bearing traces of what seems to be temporary occupation. This difference in the occupation patterns of the area is indicated by the presence of small post holes referable to light wooden structures and small hearths.

Francesco Nitti

4.1.4. The handmade *impasto* pottery from the deep trench below the peristyle of the southern *domus* (Pls. 3-7)

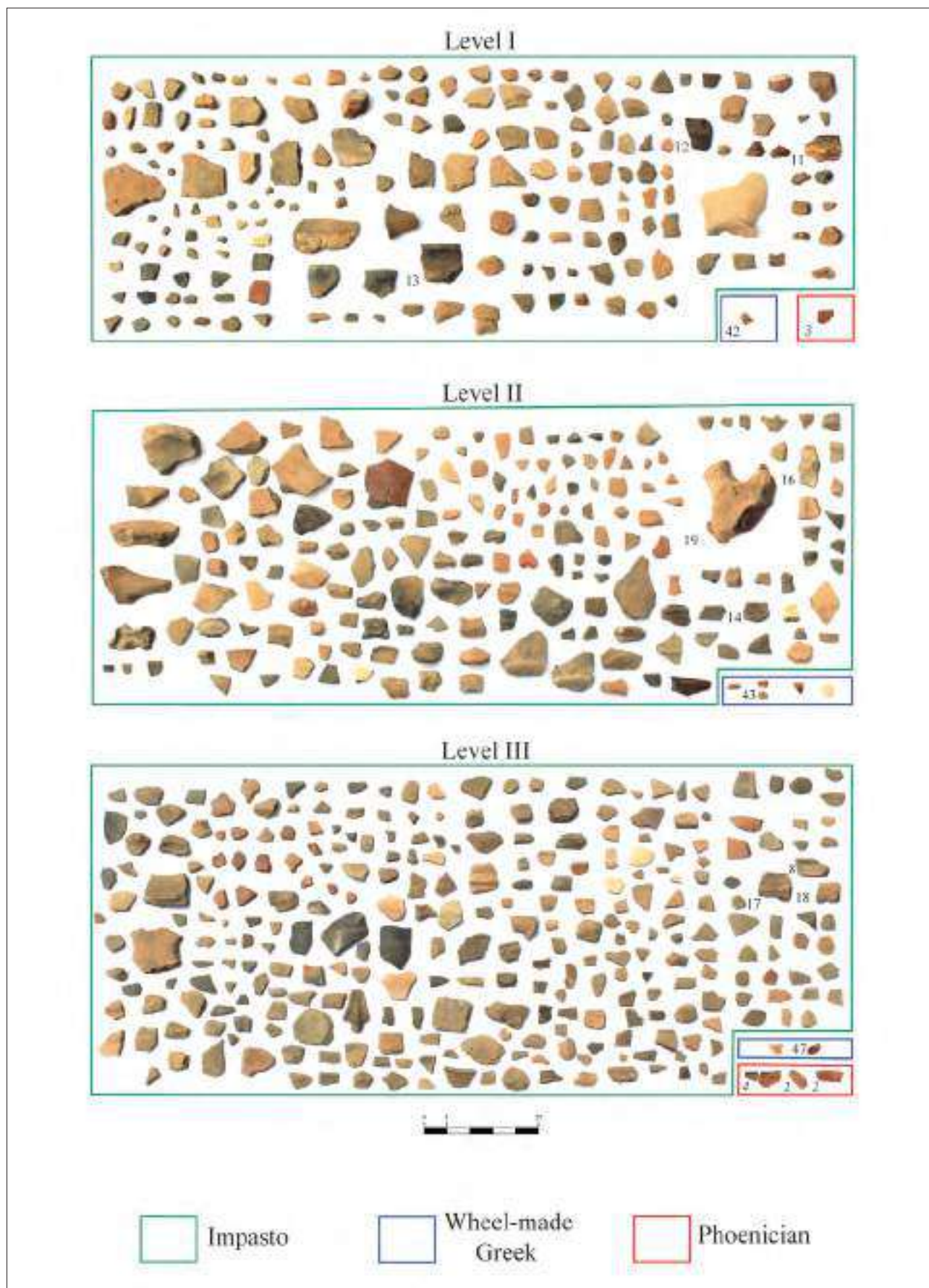
The EIA pottery assemblage brought to light in the deep trench below the peristyle of the southern *domus* includes many sherds of handmade *impasto* ware of indigenous tradition. Many of these fragments are associated with Levels I-III and with Level IV, discovered in the 2018 and 2019 excavation campaigns and described above by F. Nitti (Figs. 18.1, 20.A). The following discussion will consider the handmade *impasto* pottery from these levels, focusing separately on the analysis of materials from Levels I-III and those from Level IV, in view of the stratigraphical and functional discontinuity identified.

Starting from an examination of Levels I-III, a general overview of the proportions of categories of pottery attested allows us to assess that the quantity of indigenous pottery in the context is actually overwhelming (Figs. 40-42): the assemblage includes 2181 potsherds, of which there are 2153 of handmade *impasto* ware, compared with only 22 wheel-made Greek fragments and 6 Phoenician ones. The sample thus consists of 98.7% handmade *impasto* sherds, compared with 1.0% of wheel-made Greek fragments and with 0.3% of Phoenician ones. However, we should be looking at the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) to

know the assemblage's actual composition. In view of this, considering the number of lips to calculate the MNI, the assemblage includes 122 specimens of handmade *impasto* pottery, compared with 2 specimens of wheel-made Greek pottery and 2 specimens of Phoenician pottery. Therefore, 96.8% of the sample consists of handmade *impasto* ware vessels, while 1.6% is of wheel-made Greek vessels and 1.6% of Phoenician ones. Alternatively, we can look at all the diagnostic elements characteristic of each pot to calculate the MNI, to avoid underestimating the proportion of a category the specimens of which are not attested by lips. By applying this criterion, the sample turns out to consist of 126 specimens of handmade *impasto* pottery, 15 specimens of wheel-made Greek pottery and 5 specimens of Phoenician pottery¹⁶². Ultimately, the handmade *impasto* ware vessels account for 86.3% of the total sample, while 10.3% is composed of wheel-made Greek vessels and 3.4% by Phoenician vessels (Fig. 43). Because of the absolute predominance of handmade *impasto* pottery, Levels I-III can definitely be referred to the Pre-Hellenic horizon, predating the *apoikia*. The domestic character of this context can be deduced from the stratigraphic features and also from the presence of storage *dolia*, cooking stands and many jars of indigenous tradition.

Turning to the analysis of Level IV, there is a large number of diagnostic fragments of handmade *impasto* pottery together with some wheel-made Greek sherds. The fragments of wheel-made Greek pottery from this level in some cases refer to specimens whose sherds were also found in the lower Levels I-III: black skyphos 45, likely associated with Levels II-III, and the one-metope bird skyphos 42, which is from Level I (see F. Nitti, above, chpt. 4.1.1). Therefore, pottery found in Level IV appears to include several residual wheel-made Greek potsherds. In view of this, the proportions of indigenous *impasto* pottery compared to wheel-made Greek pottery attested in this level may not be representative of the actual assemblage composition. As a consequence, we have decided not to present the percentages for Level IV.

¹⁶² For the criteria used for the quantification of MNI see: ORTON – HUGHES 2013, 203-210.



Figs. 40-42. Selection of finds from Levels I-III from the deep trench below the western side and part of the southern and northern sides of the peristyle, cf. Fig. 18.1 (photographs and graphic reworking C. Improta, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

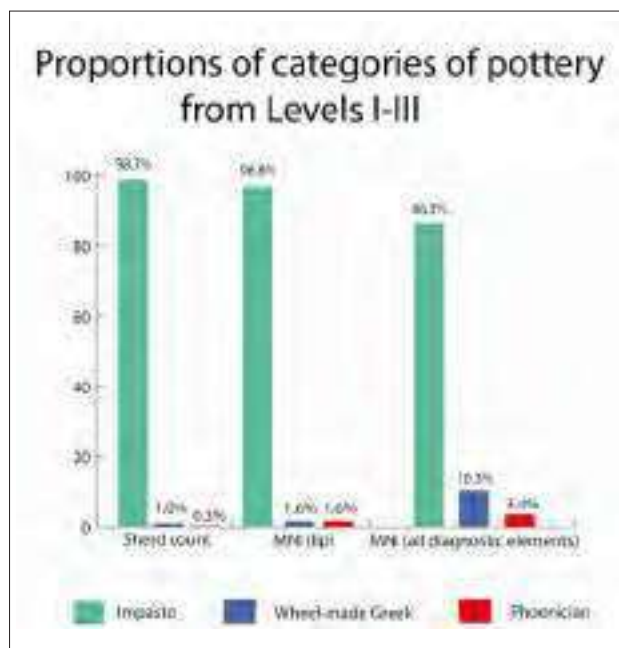


Fig. 43. Proportions of categories of pottery from Levels I-III from the deep trench below the western side and part of the southern and northern sides of the peristyle, cf. Fig. 18.1 (graphic processing C. Improta, 2023; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

Moving on to the analysis of handmade *impasto* ware, both assemblages include typical Early Iron Age pots: bowls, amphorae, one-handled cups, and jars with applied plastic cordon. It has been possible to compare the vases found in these levels with types and specimens from Pre-Hellenic Cumae, Castiglione in Ischia and other Campania contexts of the EIA.

In particular, the handmade *impasto* pottery from Levels I-III includes the one-handled cup, **8**: this was found in Level III, where also a chevron skyphos (**47**), a Phoenician dish (see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue no. 1) and two Phoenician amphorae (see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue nos. 2 and 4) were discovered. **8** is comparable with a specimen from Pre-Hellenic Cumae preserved in the National Pre-historic Ethnographic Museum "Luigi Pigorini" in Rome¹⁶³. According to V. Nizzo, this one-handled cup matches a type to which two other one-handled cups from Cumae are referable¹⁶⁴: a specimen

attested in T. 4 Osta¹⁶⁵, that can be dated to phase II of Pre-Hellenic Cumae according to P. Criscuolo¹⁶⁶, and a specimen in T. 16 Osta. This type may be compared with the 20g type of the Osteria dell'Osa burial ground¹⁶⁷, chronologically framed in phase IIB of Latium culture. What's more, **8** is also comparable with a specimen from an EIA San Marzano grave (Sarno Valley)¹⁶⁸.

In addition to specimens which may be compared with those of the EIA burial ground of Pre-Hellenic Cumae, pots similar to types from the EIA settlement of Longola (Poggiomarino) and to types from the EIA burial ground in ancient Capua are also attested in Levels I-III. **9** is associated with Levels I-II, where respectively, the above-mentioned fragment of a one-metope bird skyphos (**42**), a Phoenician cup (see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue no. 3), and a PSC (?) skyphos (**43**) were also found. Comparing them to the Poggiomarino types, **9** matches the ANF1 and the ANF2 with a collared lip, a short vertical neck, a flattened shoulder and a vertical ribbon handle set at the rim and the shoulder. The ANF1 type is chronologically framed in phase 2A-2B while the ANF2 type in phase 2B of Longola (Poggiomarino)¹⁶⁹. In addition, **9** is also comparable with a specimen from the EIA settlement of Castiglione d'Ischia¹⁷⁰ and matches type 11 of phase II of Pre-Hellenic Cumae according to EIA pottery classification by P. Criscuolo¹⁷¹. **10**, on the other hand, is associated with Level III and is comparable with a specimen of the one-handled cup from grave no. 20 of ancient Capua's Cappuccini-Ex Polveriera burial ground, chronologically framed in local phase IB2¹⁷².

As pointed out above, the domestic use of Levels I-III is supported by the significant number of coarse jars (approximately one third of the sample with almost 40 specimens out of a total of 126), cooking stands and large storage *dolia* found there.

¹⁶⁵ For the reconstruction of the T.4 Osta grave goods, see: NIZZO 2007, 487 note 26, 492 note 34.

¹⁶⁶ CRISCUOLO 2014, 89.

¹⁶⁷ NIZZO 2008a, 250 note 179.

¹⁶⁸ D'AGOSTINO 1970, fig. 17, T. 28.

¹⁶⁹ BARTOLI 2012, 140.

¹⁷⁰ PACCIARELLI 2011, 52, fig. 7, no. 3.

¹⁷¹ CRISCUOLO 2008, 336, fig. 2.11, 346.

¹⁷² MELANDRI 2011, 234, pl. 52.29.

¹⁶³ NIZZO 2008a, pl. 14.106, 244. The one-handled cup was part of a pottery assemblage from Cumae that P. Orsi bought from G. De Criscio for the Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico "Luigi Pigorini" at the beginning of 1901: NIZZO 2008a, 165-170.

¹⁶⁴ NIZZO 2008a, 250.

The jars have cylinder-conical, truncated-ovoid, barrel-shaped bodies and plastic cordon on the shoulder, which is impressed or decorated with oblique notches, and sometimes with a grip. This shape is very common in different phases of the EIA and it is therefore difficult to ascribe our fragments to a specific span of time or phase. However, the association with wheel-made Greek specimens allows us to establish their chronology. In particular, **11-13**, **14-16** and **17-18** were found respectively in Level I, Level II, and Level III: the date of these levels can be referred to ca. 775-750 BC thanks to the Greek pottery found there, i.e. the one-metope bird-skyphos (**42**, Level I), the PSC (?) skyphos (**43**, Level II) and the chevron skyphos (**47**, Level III), together with a Phoenician dish (Level III, see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue no. 1), two Phoenician amphorae (Level III, see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue nos. 2 and 4) and a Phoenician cup (Level I, see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue nos. 3) (see M. D'Acunto below, chpt. 4.4). The jars from Level I are comparable with some specimens chronologically framed in the FBA-EIA of Naples¹⁷³ and of Broglio di Trebisacce¹⁷⁴, while those from Level II and from Level III in most cases match groups of jars discovered in the Bronze and Iron Age levels of Naples and are attested over a wide time span, namely from MBA to EIA¹⁷⁵. However, from Level II, specimen **14** matches type SE4A of the EIA settlement levels of Longola (Poggiomarino)¹⁷⁶ and specimen **16** type 275 of the Torre del Mordillo settlement, chronologically framed in an advanced stage of the local FBA¹⁷⁷.

A perforated plate (**19**) is associated to Level II, together with the PSC (?) skyphos (**43**). A close comparison for **19** is a perforated plate of an hourglass-shaped cooking stand found in the EIA sett-

lement of Castiglione d'Ischia¹⁷⁸. The presence of a cooking stand in the EIA assemblage of Levels I-III further supports the domestic character of the context. In the same perspective, it is important to point out that a fragment of a probably large *dolium* was also found in the trench below the peristyle (**20**). The shape of this specimen matches that of a large *dolium* with an inverted lip and rounded rim from Castiglione d'Ischia, which was attributed by M. Pacciarelli to the initial stages of the EIA¹⁷⁹. However, the stratigraphic position in which our *dolium* was found should be mentioned here: it was recovered in close connection with a strainer, that we have referred to the Final Bronze Age (**1**)¹⁸⁰, and with a bowl (**21**) which could be comparable with type 1 specimens of the Damiani family 6 classification of the Recent Bronze Age, chronologically framed in RBA2¹⁸¹. These specimens could therefore testify to an occupation between the RBA and an early stage of the EIA (see F. Nitti, above, chpt. 4.1).

Turning to the analysis of Level IV, its associated layers clearly contain some residual potsherds from the lowest levels, as is made clear by several wheel-made Greek fragments (see above). The *impasto* pottery associated with this level is also significant and is worth discussing in this chapter regarding the native pottery from the Pre-Hellenic domestic area below the peristyle. In particular, the shape and decoration of an one-handed cup (**22**) is comparable with those of a T. 32 Osta vessel, chronologically framed in phase I of Pre-Hellenic Cumae¹⁸². These one-handed cups have a short, slightly everted lip with a straight rim, a slightly slanted shoulder and a carinated body. The decoration is incised at the shoulder immediately below the collar; it consists of a series of inverted triangles filled with vertical lines in the **22** specimen¹⁸³ and of a series of inverted triangles filled with

¹⁷³ **11** matches the cylinder-conical body specimens of group 14.3, attested in FBA-EIA levels of the Duomo Station in Naples (GIAMPAOLA – BARTOLI – BOENZI 2018, 219-220, fig. 15.13).

¹⁷⁴ **12** and **13** are comparable respectively with types 68b and 44, attested in the FBA-EIA levels from Broglio di Trebisacce.

¹⁷⁵ **15** from Level II is comparable with a specimen in the 15.7 group, attested in the RBA-EIA levels of Naples, while **17** and **18** from Level III respectively with specimens in group 19.1 and 16.5 (GIAMPAOLA – BARTOLI – BOENZI 2018: group 15.7, 220, fig. 16.4; group 19.1, 220-221, fig. 16.11; group 16.5, 220, fig. 11.13).

¹⁷⁶ BARTOLI 2001, type SE4A, 308, fig. 98.

¹⁷⁷ ARANCIO – BUFFA – DAMIANI – TRUCCO 2001, type 275, 78, fig. 41.18; BUFFA 2001, 262-263.

¹⁷⁸ The hourglass cooker from Castiglione d'Ischia is currently exhibited at the Archaeological Museum of Pithecusae (inv. no. 239054). For the analysis of this type of cooking stand, see: BUCHNER 1936-1937, 84-86; DELPINO 1969, 313, fig. 1, no. 1; SHEFFER 1981, 28-29, type 1A, fig. 2; MOFFA 2002, 75, type 1D, fig. 53.

¹⁷⁹ PACCIARELLI 2011, 53, fig. 8.3.

¹⁸⁰ See above F. Somma, chpt. 2.3.

¹⁸¹ DAMIANI 2010, 140, pl. 10.

¹⁸² MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 236, Grab 32, pl. 20.A, no. 6; ALBORE-LIVADIE 1985, 70.

¹⁸³ Decoration may be compared with the decorative pattern A140b from Pontecagnano: Pontecagnano III.1, 81, 88 fig. 21.A140b.

obliquely crossed lines in the T. 32 Osta specimen. The shape of 22 may be compared with that of a specimen from a Pre-Hellenic burial (SP700675), excavated north of the northern wall by the Centre Jean Bérard. This grave may be referred to phase I of Pre-Hellenic Cumae¹⁸⁴. In our Level IV, this specimen is associated with a fragment of oinochoe/amphora/hydria (46), with residual fragments of a black skyphos (45) and of a one-metope bird skyphos (42). 22 could also be a residual specimen, because of the chronology of the above-mentioned one-handled cups from Pre-Hellenic Cumae. In this level were also found a collared lip bowl (23), whose shape is very close to type SLD17 of Longola (Poggiomariano), referred to local phase 2B¹⁸⁵, as well as five jars (24-28). The jars are comparable with types attested from the RBA to the EIA in Naples (26, 27)¹⁸⁶ and from the MBA to the EIA in Broglio di Trebisacce (28)¹⁸⁷, associated with specimen 25 which, on the other hand, matches a specimen from the EIA burial ground of ancient Capua¹⁸⁸. To sum up, it is interesting to point out that the *impasto* pottery from Level IV, alongside some possible earlier and perhaps residual sherds, includes fragments whose parallels seem to suggest a date in the late phase of the EIA, and therefore at the end of Pre-Hellenic Cumae.

Chiara Improta

4.2. The evidence from the small excavation conducted inside the entrance to the southern domus

In another deep trench located a short distance to the east, late Pre-Hellenic layers were intercepted, apparently referring to a residential area and similar to those uncovered below the peristyle (Fig. 18.5). This trench was carried out in 2007¹⁸⁹ for a small area (1.40 x 1.50 m) below the floor level of the narrow east-west entrance to the peristyle of the southern domus¹⁹⁰. The western limit of the trench is located approximately 9-10m east/northeast of the eastern/northeastern limit of the excavations

conducted below the peristyle. The close proximity of the two excavation contexts and the pottery found there confirm the similarities between the lower levels uncovered in this small trench and the Pre-Hellenic layers identified below the peristyle.

In particular, a sequence of three layers was revealed in the lower part of this small trench (Fig. 44)¹⁹¹.

Above the deepest layers (SL 27083, 27084 and 27085), which could not be thoroughly investigated because of the groundwater outcrop, a deposit (DP 27082) with a sequence of soil layers characterized by intense traces of anthropic activities was revealed. The oldest is US 27082, a predominantly brown sandy layer, followed by US 27081, also a yellow-brown sandy layer, and US 27080, different from the previous layers due to its grey color and silty consistency, and the presence of sparse carbonaceous frustules and clay patches. On top of these three anthropic layers (UUSS 27082, 27081, 27080) is alluvial deposit US 27079, almost entirely devoid of any pottery and characterized by a compact grey clay layer, full of organic residues and malacological finds. This layer coincides with the one revealed in the excavations conducted inside the peristyle (US 27754).

The pottery associated with the three anthropic layers, 27082, 27081 and 27080 consists of a very high proportion of handmade *impasto* sherds, combined with a limited, but still considerable, number of wheel-made fragments related to Greek imported vessels, in particular Euboean¹⁹². Among them, what is notable is the fragment of a PSC skyphos lip (49) from layer US 27081 (see M. D'Acunto, below, chpt. 4.4.2). The few other fragments of Greek imports relate to cups and other open vessels: chevron and/or black skyphoi come from all three layers 27082, 27081, 27080. In line with the above-mentioned evidence, it is feasible that we are dealing with a very similar situation to the one brought to light under the peristyle: the absolute predominance of handmade *impasto* ware reveals the indigenous horizon to which this domestic occupation refers, while the few imported Greek vessels reveal the frequency of pre-colonial contacts with Euboean merchants, shortly before or around the mid-8th century.

¹⁸⁴ BRUN – MUNZI 2008, 106.1.

¹⁸⁵ BARTOLI 2012, 140.

¹⁸⁶ GIAMPAOLA – BARTOLI – BOENZI 2018, group 15.3, 220 (26), fig. 15.16; specimen 15.7, 220, fig. 16.4 (27).

¹⁸⁷ BUFFA 1994, 521-522, pl. 84.30.

¹⁸⁸ MELANDRI 2011, Fornaci-Proprietà ignota, T. 384, 99, pl. 8.10.

¹⁸⁹ The excavation campaign was carried out from September 3 to October 18, 2007.

¹⁹⁰ The trench was coordinated by Dr Francesca Romana Cappa.

¹⁹¹ D'AGOSTINO – D'ACUNTO 2008, 511-520, spec. fig. 29 "Età del Ferro"; D'ACUNTO 2009, 81-85, fig. 15.

¹⁹² D'AGOSTINO – D'ACUNTO 2008, 519; cf. D'ACUNTO 2009, 84.

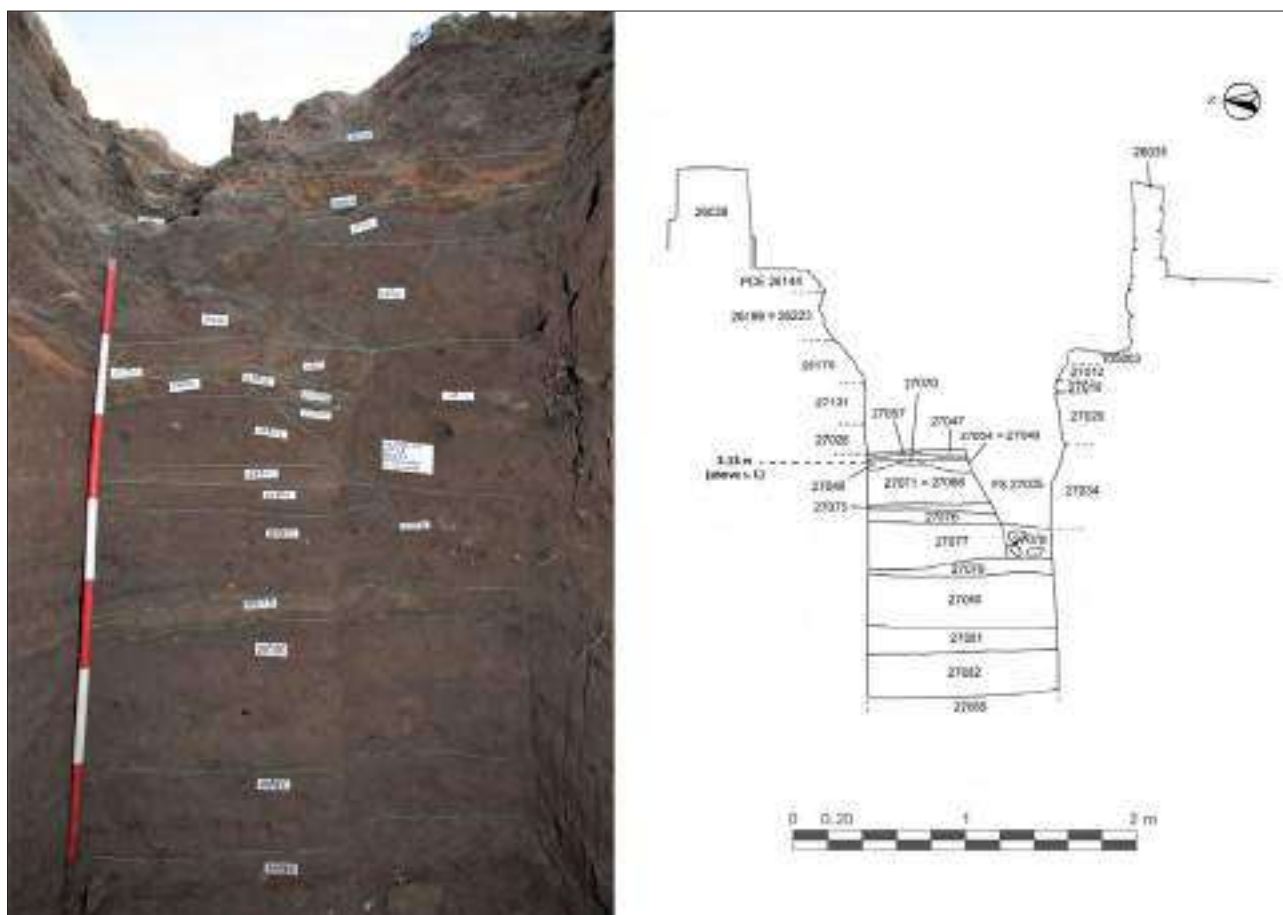


Fig. 44. Photo and drawing of the eastern section in the deep trench below the floor level of the narrow east-west entrance to the peristyle of the southern *domus* (photo R. Giordano, 2007; drawing C. Merluzzo, 2023; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

Looking more closely at quantification, the proportion of fragments pertaining to handmade *impasto* pottery is considerably high, albeit from a very limited area of investigation (1.40 x 1.50 m). The pottery assemblage from 27082 and 27081 consists of a total of 277 sherds of handmade *impasto* ware and 10 sherds of wheel-made Greek pottery. Considering the analysis of the diagnostic fragments from 27082 and 27081¹⁹³, the estimated minimum number of handmade *impasto* pottery individuals (MNI) is 21, compared to an MNI of 3 as regards the wheel-made Greek pottery. In particular, a single lip fragment of wheel-made Greek pottery (49) pertaining to a PSC skyphos comes from 27081. It is difficult to recognize an MNI of handmade *impasto* pottery higher than 21 because of how broken the sherds are and the absence of diagnostic elements that would allow us to identify other specimens. On the other hand, it has been

possible to recognize several specimens of wheel-made Greek pottery based on the characteristics of the single non-diagnostic fragments, resulting in the identification of a minimum number of 3 (UUSS 27081 and 27082). In line with this analysis, it is evident that there is a substantial quantity of wheel-made Greek fragments and therefore this represents a source of information regarding the relationship between the Greek merchants and the indigenous community.

It is worth considering US 27080 separately, because of some differences suggested by its stratigraphic features (see above) and the composition of the ceramic materials found (see below). The number of wheel-made fragments from 27080 is 10, but a handle (51) is perhaps from the same PSC skyphos as 49 and 50, which were found in the lower levels (UUSS 27081 and 27082): in that case, 51 could be residual from the lower level. The other nine wheel-made fragments from 27080 all, or almost all, refer to different individual specimens

¹⁹³ For the criteria applied see: ORTON – HUGHES 2013, 203-210.

(MNI 6). These mostly consist of skyphoi (a total of 6 fragments), some of them clearly Euboean imports, and two perhaps of the chevron type (or with other decoration). In addition to fragments pertaining to skyphoi, the sample also includes two sherds of open shapes referable to dishes/lekanai/cups. Inspection of the clay does not suggest a Pithekoussan/Phlegraeon production for most of these vases from 27080, since no mica or very little mica is visible, and clearly the number of Euboean imports is overwhelming. Conversely, the possibility of a Pithekoussan/Phlegraeon production remains open for the two above-mentioned fragments from cups/lekanai/dishes: the clay in the smallest fragment of what is probably a lekane/cup is rich in silver mica with blackish (volcanic?) inclusions, and coated by a light brown engobe; the clay in the other fragment, probably from a dish or a lekane, is pinkish grey, shows little silver mica and blackish inclusions, and has a whitish engobe on the inner surface. US 27080 has another difference compared to 27082-27081, i.e. the slightly lower percentage of *impasto* fragments: its total is 55 sherds, including 10 diagnostics. Thus, in 27080 *impasto* is still dominant, but in a lower percentage, as compared to wheel-made pottery, and the composition of the wheel-made pottery in this layer seems to be partly different from that in 27082-27081. We suggest that US 27080 corresponds to Level IV of the peristyle, since this is also covered by the alluvial layer.

As in the stratigraphy from the peristyle, a marked break from the indigenous settlement's levels is indicated by the overlying alluvial level (US 27079), which is topped by layers already traceable to the early colonial horizon (cf. below, chpt. 5). The very few sherds from the alluvial deposit (US 27079) only refer to wheel-made Greek pottery: two fragments of a closed shape, one probably from a krater and the foot of a skyphos are all of highly micaceous clay, whose aspect is strongly reminiscent of Pithekoussan/Phlegraeon fabric.

With all due caution, these differences in the composition of the materials from 27082-27081 and 27080 on one hand, and from the latter and 27079 on the other hand, must reflect the changes in the historical background characterizing the late pre-colonial phase and the transition to the colonial horizon (see M. D'Acunto, below, chpt. 4.7).

4.3. Handmade *impasto* ware from the entrance to the southern domus (Pls. 8-9)

Despite their fragmentary state, among the *impasto* sherds found in these layers (UUSS 27082, 27081, 27080) there are some diagnostic fragments¹⁹⁴. It has been possible to analyze and compare them with the ceramic materials from the Pre-Hellenic levels of the peristyle¹⁹⁵. As already remarked for the peristyle, the largest part of the handmade *impasto* sample refers to shapes related to domestic use, which often have parallels with ceramic materials from residential contexts.

Numerous fragments can be attributed to bowls comparable with the types published by C. Bartoli for the EIA settlement of Longola (Poggiomarino). Two examples are representative. Bowl **31**, with everted lip and protruding oblique engrossed rim, has a precise comparison with the SLD2 type¹⁹⁶, dated to phases 1B and 2A from Longola (Poggiomarino). Bowl fragment **35**, although small in size, has a profile, with inverted lip and rounded rim, similar to the SLD 15 type¹⁹⁷, referring to phase 1A from Longola (Poggiomarino). Even for bowl **32**, the closest comparison is with S8 type, variant A¹⁹⁸, from phase 1B at Longola (Poggiomarino), which C. Bartoli¹⁹⁹ compares to a bowl found in T. 25 Osta of Pre-Hellenic Cumae²⁰⁰. Another small fragment, probably related to a one-handled cup or a bowl (**33**), has a carinated profile similar to the TC2 type²⁰¹, and could be framed in phase 2B from Longola (Poggiomarino). In addition to bowls, a large part of the sample from layers UUSS 27080-27082 consists of wall fragments pertaining to *dolia* and bowls, often with plastic cordon, and are sometimes diagnostic. This is the case of lip **34** with a finger-impressed applied cordon.

The following specimens are close to the repertoire of Cumae already known from the Pre-Hellenic necropolis: amphora fragment **29**, decorated with a motif characterized by three concentric

¹⁹⁴ For imported wheel-made Greek pottery, see below M. D'Acunto, chpt. 4.4.

¹⁹⁵ See above C. Improta.

¹⁹⁶ BARTOLI 2012, 424, fig. 251, SLD12.

¹⁹⁷ BARTOLI 2012, 420, fig. 247, SLD15.

¹⁹⁸ BARTOLI 2012, 422, fig. 249, S8 A.

¹⁹⁹ BARTOLI 2012, 138.

²⁰⁰ MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, Grab 25, taf. 21.C, no. 3.

²⁰¹ BARTOLI 2012, 426, fig. 253, TC2.

semicircular grooves, is very similar to a specimen from the National Prehistoric Ethnographic Museum “Luigi Pigorini” in Rome²⁰²; the fragments of ribbon handles 36 and 37, refer to open shapes, probably cups. One-handle cup 30²⁰³ can be compared to a specimen belonging to the group of cups with high body and rounded profile published by V. Nizzo among the materials of the “Luigi Pigorini” Museum in Rome²⁰⁴ and to a specimen published by P. Criscuolo among the materials from the Pre-Hellenic necropolis of Cumae preserved in the Civic Museum of Baranello²⁰⁵.

Cristiana Merluzzo

4.4. Greek pottery from the domestic contexts of the Pre-Hellenic period

4.4.1. A general picture

Many pottery fragments, belonging to Geometric period Greek vases, were found in the domestic areas of the Pre-Hellenic period brought to light in the excavations described above, which were conducted below the peristyle and the entrance to the southern *domus*. These Greek ceramic fragments refer to a number of vessels that, in absolute terms, is quite high: in an overall count, they must refer to no less than 30 vases which were brought to light in an area of ca. 40 m² ²⁰⁶. On the other hand, in relative terms, this is a very low MNI, as compared to the indigenous handmade *impasto* pottery. In order to have an idea of the overwhelmingly high ratio of *impasto* native pottery compared to the very small quantity of Greek Geometric pottery, we can look at the percentage calculations carried out by C. Improtà (see above, chpt. 4.1.4): these refer to the ceramics brought to light in the Pre-Hellenic domestic context below the peristyle in the 2018 and 2019 excavation campaigns (as synthesized in Fig. 43).

This makes it possible to reconstruct, in its essential features, the historical background of the

context, brought to light in the excavations conducted below the peristyle and the entrance to the southern *domus*. This context unquestionably refers to the Pre-Hellenic village, relating to the phase prior to the establishment of the *apoikia*, but characterized by the intense presence of Greek merchants, as well as, perhaps, Phoenician-Sardinian merchants (cf. below, the contribution by M. Botto in this volume). The date of the context can be established, not only on the grounds of the *impasto* pottery of indigenous production, but above all on account of Greek imports: the context must be assigned to 775-750 BC, i.e. immediately before the end of the native settlement, which was followed by the *apoikia*. This chronology emerges from an examination of the diagnostic finds, which follows in this chapter.

Only the diagnostic fragments, consisting almost exclusively of skyphoi, will be analyzed in detail in this paper. Nonetheless, the Greek fine pottery from these Pre-Hellenic domestic levels shows a wide range of the forms represented. It consists of:

- mostly skyphoi, some clearly imports, probably from Euboea;
- several specimens related to medium-sized closed forms, clearly for pouring, including the handle of a Geometric oinochoe;
- no less than one small closed form, probably a lekythos;
- two kraters.

These domestic levels also yielded a few walls of transport amphorae, including one probably of Attic SOS type and another of perhaps western Phoenician type.

A good number of these Greek Geometric fragments refer therefore to drinking vessels, that is to skyphoi. Given the context, we may speculate that the dominance among Greek imports of the skyphos reflects a particular appreciation by the indigenous community of this vessel shape in tableware. Of course, an additional value in the eyes of the native community was undoubtedly the high quality of the imported Greek wheel-made pottery with geometric decoration. The dominant proportion in this context of skyphoi – a shape that in the Greek world is prominently associated with the consumption of wine – suggests that it was precisely the ceremonial consumption of wine that was an important factor

²⁰² NIZZO 2008a, 225, pl. 10, no. 67.

²⁰³ D'ACUNTO 2009, 85, fig. 24.

²⁰⁴ NIZZO 2008a, 238, pl. 13, no. 96.

²⁰⁵ CRISCUOLO 2007, 284, fig. 8, no. 34.

²⁰⁶ The extension of the excavated area in the Pre-Hellenic domestic levels below the peristyle is 38 m², while that below the entrance to the southern *domus* is 2.1 m².

in the sharing and bonding process which contributed to the establishment of relations between the native community and the Greek merchants. As for the identification of these merchants, albeit with the necessary caution, the absolute dominance in this context of Euboean imports suggests that the protagonists in the establishment of such pre-colonial relations were indeed Euboeans.

A further aspect which must be emphasized in relation to the archaeological context is the high degree of fragmentation of these ceramic finds, which can only be partly reassembled in a few cases. This confirms the domestic (not funerary) interpretation of the context, as well as the washout phenomena to which it was exposed after its abandonment.

4.4.2. Pendant semicircle skyphoi (Pl. 11)

The first pendant semicircle (PSC) skyphos (**49**) was found in stratigraphic association with one of the Pre-Hellenic levels (US 27081), which were uncovered in the small excavation carried out in 2007 below the entrance to the southern *domus* (Figs. 18.5 and 44). A small fragment of the lip and of the upper part of the body is preserved. On the lower part of the right-hand side, a series of vertical traces on the surface and a slight prominence near the gap show that the handle must have started there. The fragment is small in size (h. 1.6 cm, w. at the lip 3 cm) and the characteristic pendant semicircle decoration is not preserved, as it belonged to the missing part of the vessel. However, there can be no doubt regarding its identification as a PSC skyphos, as it has a specific feature of the class: the peculiar concave lip, together with a marked indentation coming from the upper part of the body, divided by a sharp ridge²⁰⁷.

In our specimen from pre-Hellenic Cumae (**49**) the markedly curved lip relates to Kearsley's Types 5-6 (in Eretria, more likely to Type 6 alone)²⁰⁸.

There is one peculiar feature that brings the Cumae fragment particularly close to Type 5: namely the marked detachment between the shoulder and the receding lip junction²⁰⁹. However, in our fragment from Cumae the vertical shape of the lip with the rim aligned with the shoulder (not recessed, as is often the case in Type 5) brings our fragment closer to those classified by Kearsley as Type 6²¹⁰.

With regard to our skyphos from Cumae, I consider it likely that two other fragments, recovered during the same excavation in 2007, also belong to this skyphos. These are the fragments respectively of a bottom (**50**) and of a handle (**51**), both clearly from a skyphos. Compared to the layer (US 27081) where fragment **49** was found, the **50** bottom was found in association with the lower layer (US 27082) and the **51** handle with the upper one (US 27080). This stratigraphic dissociation between the three fragments does not contradict the hypothesis that they belong to the same vessel. As a matter of fact, in the same stratigraphic context brought to light below the peristyle, fragments of the same ceramic specimen were found in association with different Pre-Hellenic levels (cf. above): this must be the result of some form of residuality in these Pre-Hellenic stratigraphies, due to the living events resulting from intensive occupation over time. The hypothesis that these three fragments belong to the same PSC skyphos is supported by the perfect identity in their fabric. In all three, the clay is compact and has a smooth surface, it is light brown on the surface and pink in the inner section with a few black and white non-micaceous inclusions. Their sizes are also exactly the same: in particular, the reconstructed diameter of the base is ca. 6 cm, while that of the lip is ca. 12 cm. Their size and ratio are perfectly consistent with the current range of Type 6 PSC skyphoi²¹¹. Being relatively small,

²⁰⁷ Cf. KEARSLEY 1989, 99, 101 (with reference to Types 5 and 6).

²⁰⁸ According to the well-known classification of KEARSLEY 1989; see before DESCOEUDRES – KEARSLEY 1983, 41-52; on the chronology see later, KEARSLEY 1995, 67-69; cf. POPHAM – LEMOS 1992. On the PSC skyphoi see recently KERSCHNER – LEMOS 2014; MAZARAKIS AINIAN – LEMOS – VLACHOU 2020; on Eretria, see VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 81-82, with former references.

²⁰⁹ This characteristic is found, for example, on a Type 5 skyphos from Kalamaria - Thessaloniki (KEARSLEY 1989, 99, fig. 39a, pl. 8b).

²¹⁰ Cf. KEARSLEY 1989, 101-104, figs. 40d (from Veii, cemetery of Quattro Fontanili; cf. BOITANI 2005, 320, pl. 1.2), 41a (from Kaldeh in Syria). To these, some fragments from Al Mina should be added for comparison; they were attributed by Kearsley to Type 6, albeit without the indication of the foot which is missing: KEARSLEY 1989, 101-104, fig. 41f-g. Cf. also the fragment from the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria: VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT 2014, 79, no. Eret20, fig. 12.

²¹¹ Cf. KEARSLEY 1989, 101-104; and, e.g., the examples from Pontecagnano: BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, 27-31.

this is in line with what is typical of Kearsley's Type 6, whose height ranges between 6 and 7 cm: in the case of the Cumae skyphos **49-51**, C. Merluzzo estimates a height of ca. 6.8 cm in her reconstructive drawing²¹². Consequently, our specimen can also be referred to Type 6, due to the presence of a flat base, if indeed the fragments belong to the same vessel. The presence of a thin disc detected at the margins of the flat base, which is well preserved in fragment **50**, should be noted. In Type 6, the lower end of the body on a thin raised disc is less common than a simple flat base. This variant, however, is well documented in Kearsley's Type 6 classification²¹³: see, for example, as a comparison with our skyphos from Cumae, a specimen from Kaldeh in Syria²¹⁴. This detail reflects, in terms of a relative sequence, a link with the earlier type, through the transformation of the distinct Type 5 foot into a flat Type 6 base, but in which a thin disc stands out in these specimens. It could, therefore, be an indication of "antiquity" for the specimen from Cumae, within the series of Type 6 skyphoi.

From our excavation, a second PSC skyphos could probably be identified thanks to two fragments, of the lip and of the foot respectively (**43**). They, too, were found in association with one of the Pre-Hellenic domestic levels, in this case in the 2019 excavation below the peristyle (see F. Nitti, above, chpt. 4.1.1), namely in Level II (US 27837). The theory that the two fragments might belong to the same vessel is suggested by the close similarity of the clay and paint. The clay is compact, internally orange-pink in color, with large black and small white non-micaceous inclusions; externally it is a beige color and has a smooth surface. The paint is reddish-brown on the outer surface, while on the inside it is dark brown. Again, the characteristic decoration with the pendant semicircles on the body has not been preserved. However, for **43**, both the shape of the foot and the lip, as well as the decoration of the latter, lead to preference of the hypothesis of identification with a PSC skyphos, over the other possible hypotheses (that of a black skyphos, a chevron skyphos or even a skyphos

with bird/s). As a matter of fact, the characteristic distinct thin disc base is normally lacking in both black skyphoi and chevron and bird/s skyphoi in Euboean productions; this thin disc base is found, however, in **43**, as well as in the former specimen in fragment **50**. As for the lip of **43**, it has the characteristic concave, upright shape of Kearsley's Type 6, but with a less pronounced curvature than that of **49**. Among the specimens assigned to Type 6, although less frequently, parallels are found for such a less pronounced curvature of the lip: for example, in a skyphos from Veii²¹⁵, in one from Pontecagnano²¹⁶ and especially in a lip fragment from Eretria²¹⁷. This less curved profile of the lip might also be a hint of "antiquity", at least in terms of relative sequence, as is attested, for example, in Eretria in relation to Type 5 with small foot²¹⁸. In skyphos **43**, one more detail should be highlighted. As is usual in PSC skyphoi, the high lip is painted on the outside while on the inside it has a reserved thin band below the rim. Less common in this class, by contrast, is the reserved thin band below the rim on the outside, which occurs in our specimen **43**. The latter appears, for example, in the form of a reserved thin band on the above-mentioned skyphos from Veii of Type 6²¹⁹ and on one from Pontecagnano similar to Type 5 thanks to the presence of a low foot²²⁰. Another interesting detail is represented by the size of **43**, which we can reconstruct on the basis of the two fragments: the diameter of the mouth is ca. 14 cm, while that of the bottom is 8 cm: this shows that this skyphos was 1/4 or 1/5 larger than **49-51**. This is another aspect that would show an affinity with the earlier Type 5 (whose average height is ca. 8 cm)²²¹.

As for the production place of the two skyphoi **49-51** and **43**, although we are aware of the limita-

²¹² KEARSLEY 1983, 48; KEARSLEY 1989, 101.

²¹³ KEARSLEY 1989, 101.

²¹⁴ KEARSLEY 1989, 101, fig. 41a.

²¹⁵ KEARSLEY 1989, no. 229, 67-68, 101, fig. 40d; BOITANI 2005, 320, pl. 1.2.

²¹⁶ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, 27-28, no. 2, T. 7129.2, fig. 1, pl. 1.2.

²¹⁷ KEARSLEY 1989, no. 73, 29, 103, fig. 41b.

²¹⁸ VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 81-82, 118, no. 15, SK4a, pls. 6, 89 (context of MG II - early LG I); VERDAN 2013, 9, no. 44, pl. 62.

²¹⁹ KEARSLEY 1989, no. 229, 67-68, 101, fig. 40d; BOITANI 2005, 320, pl. 1.2.

²²⁰ BAILO MODESTI – D'AGOSTINO 2001, 29-30, no. 3.1, T. 7739.1, fig. 1.

²²¹ Cf. KEARSLEY 1989, 99.

tions resulting from a mere macroscopic analysis, they both have all the characteristics of Euboean imports: the color, compactness, inclusions and the non-micaceous (at least to the naked eye) composition of the clay, together with the type of paint²²².

In sum, the two skyphoi **49-51** and **43** are most likely Euboean imports and can be referred to the PSC class, the former without doubt, the latter very probably. Both should be assigned to Type 6 of Kearsley's classification, due to their peculiar flat bottoms. However, both share aspects with Type 5 and, therefore, possible clues of "antiquity" within the relative sequence of Type 6: in both cases, the distinct thin disc bottom; in **49-51** the marked distinction between the upper body and the recessed lip junction; in **43** the reserved thin band at the top of the outside of the lip and the larger size of the skyphos.

With regard to the chronology of our fragments, it is important to recall the significant contribution in this field that came from Bruno d'Agostino's study of the PSC skyphoi found in the closed tomb contexts of Pontecagnano and the subsequent remarks made by Nota Kourou on them²²³. These confirmed the partial chronological overlap in the production of Kearsley's Type 5 (which must have started earlier anyway) with that of her Type 6²²⁴. These contexts, together with a reassessment of the stratigraphies of Al Mina, allow N. Kourou to make the following important conclusions concerning Kearsley's Type 6: «It is apparent, therefore, that according to the Pontecagnano graves, PSC skyphoi of type 6 first appear during MG II, but their production continues in LG Ia, i.e. they should be dated to the period 770-750 BC, as suggested by the Al Mina material, too»²²⁵. In the archaeological contexts of Italy, as is well-known, the only two types to have been found are Type 5

(in a much smaller number) and Type 6 (predominant), which, in general, is a relatively small number of occurrences.

In terms of absolute chronology, recent discoveries²²⁶ and the re-examination of earlier finds support the thesis already argued by M. Popham and I. Lemos in 1992²²⁷: namely that, in well-dated Italian contexts, the deposition of PSC skyphoi is not witnessed beyond the chronological boundary of the mid-8th century BC²²⁸. From a general historical perspective – given that they are absent from the contexts unearthed at Pithekoussai²²⁹ – in Italy PSC skyphoi always refer to a pre-colonial horizon. Although this is an *argumentum ex silentio*, as things stand, the traditional thesis remains valid: namely, PSC skyphoi are the fossil-guide of the pre-colonial phase.

This assumption is also confirmed by the domestic contexts of Cumae, which are illustrated here. No PSC skyphoi are associated with our stratigraphies of LG I and II (cf. below, chpt. 5). In other words, considering the present state of evidence, PSC skyphoi do not recur in stratigraphic contexts relating to the occupation phases of Cumae that refer to the later historical horizon: this new historical horizon is represented by the Greek *apoikia*, which replaced the native village around the middle of the 8th century BC (see below).

All in all, we can date the two Euboean PSC skyphoi **49-51** and **43** (in the latter case the identification remains likely), between MG IIb and LG Ia, to 775-750 BC. Small clues could suggest an early dating of both within this chronological span: namely, the presence in both of them of the thin disc shape of the base; two details in the lip can be added to this, namely the sharp ridge between the

²²² On the properties of clays in Euboean productions see DESCEUDRES 2006-2007, 6, note 33; VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 23-25, with former references; and recently the volume on archaeometric analyses on the PSC skyphoi: KERSCHNER – LEMOS 2014.

²²³ D'AGOSTINO 2001, 17; D'AGOSTINO 2014b, 183; KOUROU 1999, 220-221; KOUROU 2005, 500-501, pl. 1.

²²⁴ BAULO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, respectively: T. 7739.1, 29-30, no. 3.1, fig. 1; T. 7739.2, 30, no. 3.2, fig. 1; for their classification cf.: D'AGOSTINO 2001, 17; KOUROU 2005, 501; D'AGOSTINO 2014b, 183.

²²⁵ KOUROU 2005, 501, cf. pl. 1.

²²⁶ A recent specimen was found in Lavinium in Latium (EBANISTA 2018). Its shape is peculiar for the high everted lip (cf. the chevron skyphoi, chpt. 4.4.3), and its clay is micaceous, thus leaving open the possibility of an imitation/variation produced in Italy (by a travelling craftsman?).

²²⁷ POPHAM – LEMOS 1992.

²²⁸ Cf., spec. KOUROU 2005, 501, pl. 1, and, in particular, the chronology of the PSC skyphoi from Veii and Cerveteri; for their contexts see the recent works of BOITANI 2005, 319-320 and RIZZO 2005, 334-339, with references.

²²⁹ We must emphasize the lack of PSC skyphoi from the large number of the earliest graves in the necropolis (BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993) and in particular from the Gosetti dump: its materials flowed from the acropolis of Monte di Vico and Euboean imports of the Geometric period have been published by Nicolas Coldstream (1995).

lip and the body in **49** and the reserved thin band on the outside of the rim in **43**.

To these examples we may now add another PSC skyphos of Kearsley's type 6 from the 2023 excavation campaign (on which, see F. Nitti in the catalogue: **44**): this is likely a Euboean import and is characterized by the same thin disc base and the same small size as **49-51**. The context where its fragments were found is also relevant: they were partly recovered from the internal hut floor and partly from the upper layer. Moreover, some fragments had been clearly burnt by the fire that affected the hut, while others are unburnt (see above F. Nitti, chpt. 4.1.3).

4.4.3. Chevron skyphos (Pl. 12)

The incomplete vessel **47** belongs to the class of chevron skyphoi: fragments of the lip, of the shoulder and of the upper part of the belly including part of one handle are preserved. Fragments of **47** were brought to light in the trenches conducted below the western (Level III) and the central parts of the peristyle in 2019 and in 2021, as well as in the area of the hut during the 2023 excavation: they were found both in primary deposition, in association with the domestic Pre-Hellenic stratigraphy, as well as clearly in secondary deposition, in the alluvial level that had covered it (see F. Nitti, above, chpt. 4.1.1-3).

In this skyphos, the lip is high, everted and tapering towards the rim. The body is globular, with rounded shoulder and rounded upper part of the belly. Concerning its decoration, the band with closed chevrons, framed at the sides by groups of vertical dashes and joined at the top and bottom to a horizontal line, refers to the decorative scheme d/e (the latter with the addition of a star motif on the sides) of the classification by J.-P. Descoeudres and R. Kearsley²³⁰. In our skyphos, the rather irregular rendering of the chevrons is a characteristic that often distinguishes Euboean skyphoi from the usually more precise Attic ones.

Compared to the chronological setting of the chevron skyphoi from Pontecagnano as established by N. Kourou²³¹, the skyphos from Cumae

47 is quite close, thanks to the everted (but higher) lip and the rounded-profile body, to the specimen assigned at the beginning of the sequence and dated to MG IIB²³². By contrast, the Pontecagnano skyphoi referred to LG Ia (760-750 BC) have an upright lip which is high, as in our case, while the lower part of the belly has a straight profile²³³. In Italy, a close comparison for the specimen from Cumae is the skyphos from T. FF16-17 of Veii, thanks to the high everted lip, the rounded shape of the body, the decoration with a band in which the chevrons are framed by groups of lateral dashes, and the lip which is also characterized by the presence of three horizontal lines²³⁴. The skyphos from Veii has been identified as Euboean using archaeometric analysis with the Mössbauer technique and has been assigned to MG II, also according to the context relating to local phase IIA²³⁵.

In the West, another close comparison for the profile of our specimen from Cumae **47**, especially because of the everted high lip, is the incomplete chevron skyphos, found in the stratigraphic context of the so-called "Capanna dei Ripostigli" at Sant'Imbenia; the irregular rendering of the high chevrons is also similar, but we do not know whether these were also framed by groups of vertical dashes; the sole difference is the presence of only two lines on the lip²³⁶.

Moving on to Eretria, a high, tilted lip is found on chevron skyphoi dated to MG II (whose lower limit in the Eretrian sequences is 750 BC): one from a tomb in the burial core of Eratonymou²³⁷ and another from one of the wells of the Apollo Daphnephoros sanctuary²³⁸.

²³² BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, T. 6504.1, no. 11.1, 35-36, fig. 6, pl. 3.1 (context of the beginning of phase IIA). Also cf., for a short and everted lip, but with a straighter lower part of the belly, the other specimen assigned to MG II: BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, T. 6528/9.1, no. 12.1, 36, fig. 6, pl. 3.2 (context of the IIA phase).

²³³ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001: T. 7738.1, no. 8.1, 33, fig. 5, pl. 2.3 (early IIA phase); T. 7121.1, no. 15.1, 37-38, fig. 7, pl. 3.4 (phase IIA).

²³⁴ BOITANI 2005, 320-321, pl. 1.6 (the other skyphos pl. 1.7 shows a more vertical profile).

²³⁵ Cf. BOITANI 2005, 320-321, pl. 2, with references.

²³⁶ RIDGWAY 1997; BERNARDINI – RENDELI 2020, 329, fig. 11a.

²³⁷ BLANDIN 2007, T. 1 Eratonymou: vol. 1, 32, no.1; vol. 2, pl. 48.4.

²³⁸ VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, no. 10, 76, 118, pls. 6, 100 (but the body profile is different from that of our specimen).

²³⁰ DESCOEUDRES – KEARSLEY 1983, 23, fig. 17, this classification is resumed by VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 77.

²³¹ KOUROU 2005, 502, pl. 2; cf. KOUROU 1999.

Specimen **47** from Cumae clearly refers to the “classical” variant of the chevron skyphos, due to the relatively low globular shape of the body and the drawing of *tout court* chevrons: however, it does not belong with the “late” variant of the chevron skyphos, which we will be dealing with below in chpt. 5.3. Where it does fit is with the chronological horizon of the Pre-Hellenic native village, where it was found in association with a domestic level. The above-mentioned comparisons and the sequence reconstructed for Pontecagnano allow it to be dated between MG IIB and LG Ia, i.e. 775-750 BC. With all due caution, in this chronological range the marked inclination of the lip would point to MG IIB, whereas such a high lip is found in the skyphoi of LG Ia, but with a vertical orientation.

As for its production, thanks to macroscopic inspection, **47** appears to be perfectly consistent with the hypothesis of Euboean fabric. The clay is fairly compact and irregularly fractured. On the outside it is light brown in color and has a smooth surface, while on the inside it is pink/brick red; it has quite thick small to medium-sized black inclusions, small calcareous white inclusions and very few violet ones; no mica is visible to the naked eye.

The chronological and historical framework suggested for chevron skyphos **47** is confirmed by the two well-known specimens of the same “classical” variant from the Pre-Hellenic tombs of Cumae, 3 and 29 Osta respectively.

The skyphos from T. 3 Osta²³⁹ is characterized by a broad, low globular body with a taut lower profile and a low, slightly everted lip: in terms of relative sequence, it is closest to the Pontecagnano specimens assigned by Kourou to MG IIB²⁴⁰ and should therefore be assigned to this phase or, at the latest, to the transition with the later high-lip version of LG Ia: i.e. 775-760/750 BC²⁴¹. This is also consistent with its decoration, which features chevrons straddling the shoulder and the upper part of the

body, drawn rather roughly and framed by groups of dashes; the band stops well before the handle.

Conversely, the skyphos from T. 29 Osta²⁴² looks slightly later, both in terms of morphology and decoration: therefore, in my opinion, it might be dated to LG Ia, around 760-750 BC. In fact, the specimen from T. 29 is somewhat deeper, has quite a high vertical lip, and the body has a straight profile²⁴³. The chevrons are roughly drawn with smears at the top and bottom; they occupy the shoulder, are bordered on the sides by groups of dashes and the decoration extends to the joint of the handles.

Recent archaeometric analysis with the NAA technique has demonstrated that the two chevron skyphoi from Tombs 3 and 29 Osta are of Euboean fabric²⁴⁴.

4.4.4. Black skyphoi (Pl. 12)

The excavation conducted in the Pre-Hellenic domestic levels below the peristyle brought to light among the diagnostic finds two black skyphoi (**45** and **48**); another fragment of the same ceramic type (**52**) was found in the later alluvial level (US 27697 = 27728, 27754) covering Level IV and is likely to be residual from the lower domestic occupation of the Pre-Hellenic period.

Before dealing with the date and production of our three specimens, it must be made clear why specimen **48** should be identified as a black skyphos. In this fragment, the side section of the vessel is preserved, along with the handle, the corresponding upper part of the belly and shoulder, and the lip connection. The outer surface is entirely painted, with the exception of the inside of the handle and the corresponding part of the body, whose reserved area has an irregular shape. Such decoration is obviously peculiar to black skyphoi, but, based on what is preserved in our fragment, the hypothesis of a chevron skyphos should not be ruled out: indeed, in non-Attic products, chevron skyphoi can have an almost entirely painted lip, as well as an

²³⁹ GABRICI 1913, col. 93, pl. 18.9; MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 234, pl. 16.A3; ALBORE LIVADIE 1985, 70-71, no. 10.1; CRISCUOLO – PACCARELLI 2008, 342-344, pl. 3.3.

²⁴⁰ KOUROU 2005, 502, pl. 2.

²⁴¹ For the shape, cf. the skyphos from T. 779 of Grotta Gramiccia at Veii: however, this has been identified as Corinthian: BOITANI 2005, 321, pl. 3.1.

²⁴² GABRICI 1913, col. 111, pl. 18.7; MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 234, pl. 16.B1; NIZZO 2007b, 495-496, figs. 10-11; ALBORE LIVADIE 1985, 71-72, no. 11.1; CRISCUOLO – PACCARELLI 2008, 342-344.

²⁴³ Cf., e.g., the skyphos from T. 7110 of Pontecagnano, which refers to a context of the local phase IIA: BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, no. 18.1, 39, fig. 8, pl. 3.5.

²⁴⁴ See F. Merlati, in this volume.

extended painted area on the sides of the handle²⁴⁵. However, it is the body of **48** that is crucial for its identification with a black skyphos: its deep shape with a vertical rounded profile is exclusive to black skyphoi (see below for comparisons and a chronological framework). This morphology is neither seen in the “classic” chevron skyphoi (cf. above, chpt. 4.4.3), which have a shallower, more tapered body, nor in the PSC skyphoi of Types 5-6, which have a more tapered lower profile.

In general, a diagnostic feature for the identification of the production of black skyphoi is their base: in the Attic prototypes of MG a low disc foot is predominant²⁴⁶; however, this is always lacking in Euboean products, where the base is flat, and sometimes profiled²⁴⁷. Unfortunately, in all three of our specimens, **45**, **48** and **52**, the lower part of the body is not preserved. Another feature that can be regarded as generally distinctive of Attic as opposed to Euboean products is the decoration of the lip. Attic black skyphoi sometimes have richer decoration on the lip: in addition to the reserved band sometimes with groups of dashes on the inside below the rim, the lip may also have one or two reserved bands on the outside²⁴⁸ or more elaborate decoration, e.g. a row of dots between lines and reserved bands²⁴⁹. In our specimens, the whole lip is preserved only in **45**: it is fully painted both inside and outside and this is an indication in favor of Euboean production, as opposed to Attic. In **48**, only the lower part of the lip is preserved and it is entirely painted both on the outside and the inside.

Regarding fabric, with all the intrinsic limitations of macroscopic analysis, I waver between the hypothesis of Euboean or Attic production for **45**. Open to both solutions may be the color and composition of the clay, in which mica is not visible to the naked eye: it is reddish-orange, fairly compact, with the presence of many small to medium-sized

white inclusions (the latter are found, incidentally, in Euboean fabrics), a few small black, and rare reddish inclusions (the latter, of violet tone, are common in Attic productions). The paint is black on the outside and fairly shiny, while on the inside it is blackish-brown: also from this point of view, at autopsy, there is compatibility with both productions, but the very homogeneous and accurate rendering of the paint reveals an affinity with Attic productions. Another aspect of the accuracy with which skyphos **45** was made is revealing: the whole of the body below the handle and the entire handle, even in the inner part are fully glazed; by contrast, black skyphoi of Euboean production often have these two parts unpainted. In summary, the clay and the paint, together with the decoration that is applied homogeneously over the entire preserved surface of the vessel, mean that the question as to the place of production of **45** must remain open: could this place be Euboea or Athens or other parts of Attica, for example, eastern Attica, a region where interactions with Euboea were strong? Only archaeometric analysis will be able to clarify the provenance of this black skyphos.

48 has light brown, fairly compact clay with a few black and white inclusions; no mica is visible to the naked eye: these features are consistent with the hypothesis of Euboean production. In this fragment, the application of the blackish-brown paint, in which broad brush strokes can be recognized at irregular intervals, is clearly reminiscent of Euboean fabrics and consequently this black skyphos must be of Euboean production. **52** has pinkish clay and blackish paint with the same regular treatment as **45**, but it is duller than the latter vessel: it could be of Euboean manufacture too, but in such a small fragment which is not diagnostic, it is cautious to leave the assessment open.

Now, let us turn to their morphology and, therefore, chronology. All three specimens, **45**, **48** and **52** refer to black skyphoi with a globular body, common in both Attic and Euboean productions in MG II and LG I²⁵⁰. While the lower part of the body is missing, a slight morphological difference

²⁴⁵ Cf., e.g., two skyphoi from Pontecagnano: BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, TT. 7738.1 and 6528/9.1, nos. 8.1 and 12.1, 33, 36, figs. 5-6, pls. 2.3, 3.2.

²⁴⁶ Cf. e.g. the skyphos from Kerameikos T. 89 (KÜBLER 1954, 263, pl. 100); in general, on low-foot skyphoi see PAPADOPOULOS – SMITHSON 2017, 796-201.

²⁴⁷ Cf. KOUROU 2005, 502-504.

²⁴⁸ Cf. KÜBLER 1954, TT. 89 and 73 Kerameikos, 260, 263, pl. 100.

²⁴⁹ PAPADOPOULOS – SMITHSON 2017, 228, 796-797, T23-7, figs. 2.136 and 6.29 (MG II).

²⁵⁰ See KOUROU 2005, 502-504; VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 75; PAPADOPOULOS – SMITHSON 2017, 796-801, with references.

can be recognized between **45**, on the one hand, and on the other, **48** and **52**; this difference may have slight chronological implications. **45** possesses a feature that is still characteristic of the skyphoi of MG II, as compared to those of LG Ia (in terms of the Attic sequence): namely, the body is still quite shallow²⁵¹, as can be seen from the profile before the lacuna. See, in this sense, in the Attic production, a black skyphos from T. 89 of the Kerameikos and one (with a lower body however) from T. 23 of the Agora²⁵², both of MG II. Nonetheless, in **45**, the everted shape of the lip is a later trait, which is characteristic of LG Ia²⁵³. Among the black skyphoi from Pontecagnano, the closest comparison to **45** regarding shape is a specimen from T. 4697. It is fully glazed like ours and due to its shape, and also on the basis of the tomb context related to the local Phase IIA, it has been assigned by N. Kourou to the transition between MG IIb and LG Ia. In Euboean production, other fully glazed black skyphoi can be recalled as partial comparisons for the shape of **45**: one from Eretria, well dated to MG II/early LG I and referred in local skyphoi to Type SK3, of medium size like ours (which had a diameter of ca. 14.8 cm)²⁵⁴; and one from Ialysos (Rhodes), from a tomb dated to late MG II²⁵⁵.

From the preserved fragment of the upper body of the other two black skyphoi, **48** and **52**, it can be deduced that the belly profile in both cases was deeper than that of **45**. This is characteristic of LG Ia black skyphoi²⁵⁶. This date is also consistent with the everted profile that the lip of **48** must have had, as can be discerned from the small preserved lower part in the upper section of the fragment (whereas this part is missing in **52**). Due to the rounded and deep profile of the body and the everted lip, **48** is similar to the following black skyphoi from Pontecagnano; these are found in tombs from

the later local phase IIB and assigned by N. Kourou to the Attic LG Ia period (760-750 BC): in particular, one from T. 3179²⁵⁷ and the other from T. 3111 (no. 2)²⁵⁸. From the latter tomb at Pontecagnano comes a second black skyphos (no. 1), which differs from **48** because of the tauter profile of the belly²⁵⁹, but which shows a detail which is similar to the skyphos from Cumae: namely, a thin articulation at the lip attachment, on the outside. The same detail is also seen in the black skyphos from the Pre-Hellenic tomb of Cumae, Osta 29; this tomb also contains the aforementioned chevron skyphos, dated to LG Ia (see above, chpt. 4.4.3). The shape of the lip is similar on the black skyphos (no. 1) from T. 3111 Pontecagnano and on that from T. 29 Osta²⁶⁰. The general shape of the body is also similar, but specimen T. 29 has only a slightly more rounded belly. In the latter, the paint has turned a distinctly lighter, orange/dark pink color (clearly the result of unsuccessful firing). As in the above-mentioned specimens from Pontecagnano of TT. 3179 and 3111, the black skyphos from T. 29 Osta has a reserved area on the outside below the handle and, on the inside, a thin band below the rim, to which a narrow area near the bottom is added. It is important to mention that the black skyphos from T. 29 Osta is in fact of Euboean production, as confirmed by the recent NAA analysis²⁶¹.

To sum up, we can draw the following conclusions about the black skyphoi found in association with the Pre-Hellenic domestic levels below the peristyle. In terms of morphology, **45** can be assigned to the transition between MG IIb and LG Ia, i.e. 775-750 BC, while **48** and **52** should be referred to LG Ia, i.e. 760-750 BC. **48** has all the features, both in terms of clay and decoration, to be of Euboean production. Likewise, specimen **52** could also be Euboean. As for **45**, the fully painted lip is a characteristic of Euboean black skyphoi;

²⁵¹ See in this sense KOUROU 2005, 502-504, pl. 3; PAPADOPOULOS – SMITHSON 2017, 796-801.

²⁵² PAPADOPOULOS – SMITHSON 2017, 228, 796-797, T23-7, figs. 2.136 and 6.29 (MG II).

²⁵³ See KOUROU 2005, 502-504, pl. 3.

²⁵⁴ VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 75, 118, no. 12, pls. 6, 100.

²⁵⁵ D'ACUNTO 2020e, no. T. L/390Ts.3, 248-253, 368-369, pls. XII, 6.

²⁵⁶ Cf. KOUROU 2005, 502-504, pl. 3.

²⁵⁷ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, T. 3179.1, no. 25.1, 50, fig. 11.

²⁵⁸ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, T. 3111.2, no. 27.2, 51, fig. 12; cf. KOUROU 2005, 503-504.

²⁵⁹ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, T. 3111.1, no. 27.1, 51, fig. 12; cf. KOUROU 2005, 503-504, pl. 3.

²⁶⁰ GABRICI 1913, col. 111, fig. 52; MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 234, pl. 16.B5; NIZZO 2007b, 495-498, figs. 10-11; ALBORE LIVADIE 1985, 71-72, no. 11.2; CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 342-344.

²⁶¹ See F. Merlati, in the present volume.

however, in this skyphos the homogeneity and quality of the glaze are reminiscent of Attic production: as a result, the question of whether it is Euboean or Attic production remains open.

4.4.5. Ancient repairs on black skyphoi

We can now concentrate on two details which demonstrate how these black skyphoi must have been given special attention and held in very high regard by the group that used them, in the context of the Pre-Hellenic indigenous village of Cumae: namely, the ancient restorations made on both **45** and **48**, and the inscribed sign, which must be alphabetic, on **48**.

That black skyphos **45** was restored in antiquity is supported on the preserved fragments by the presence on the vessel, at its widest point and distant from the handles, of a pair of horizontally aligned through-holes on each side of a vertical fracture (at a spot where the modern break clearly corresponds to the ancient one). On the same vessel, another through-hole from this ancient restoration is preserved further down, on the belly, before the gap: the hole is located in a position clearly to the right of the two previous ones and at some distance from the handle (in this case the ancient fracture must have run more or less horizontally and the other through-hole must have been located further down). The holes have a diameter of around 2.5 mm. In skyphos fragment **48**, likewise, a through hole from the ancient restoration is preserved at the bottom right of the right-hand handle socket. In this case, the hole is larger, and has a diameter of around 4 mm. The other “twin” hole must have been on the right/bottom right, following the break line (the present break line, perhaps corresponding to the ancient one, runs in an oblique direction). We must, of course, reconstruct in both skyphoi **45** and **48** the presence of pairs of through-holes, which were arranged on each side of the ancient fracture lines: each pair must have been joined either by a metal clip or, otherwise, by a joint of vegetable material/rope: there is no trace inside the holes as to which solution was adopted.

Obviously, we are unable to establish when and where the breakage and later repair occurred on the timeline of the two vessels. However, given the context of their discovery in association with the domestic levels of the Pre-Hellenic village, the

two black skyphoi would have most probably been intact at the time when they were exchanged by Euboean merchants with the “Opician” inhabitants. In that case, the breakage and subsequent repair of the two vessels which had been produced in Euboea and transported by Euboean merchants, must have taken place in the Pre-Hellenic village of Cumae. This would further illustrate how the two skyphoi must have been treated with special regard by the natives because, despite the breakage, they were kept and reassembled through restoration. This shows that the two vases must have been highly prized, because of their quality and the fact they had been made on a potter’s wheel and had painted decorations. At the same time, the repairs might also demonstrate the symbolic value these vases had taken on in their new, indigenous context. The “biography” of the two skyphoi, result of the exchange between Greeks and natives, must have given them not only material value but also symbolic value in the eyes of their new indigenous users²⁶². Therefore, not only were the ancient restorations technical interventions aimed at making the vase functional once more, but they could also have assumed the function of bearing witness to the “biography” of the distinctive object and thus of the added symbolic value assigned to them by the group of new indigenous users of the vessel²⁶³.

At the same time, both the context of their discovery, in association with the domestic levels of the Pre-Hellenic village, and the ancient restorations, show that such fine vessels, after having been exchanged with Euboean merchants, must have been utilized by the indigenous people. It is reasonable to deduce that they must have been used in everyday life and/or on special occasions, prob-

²⁶² On the symbolic value of “objects with biography” there is a rich bibliography, regarding many historical and cultural contexts. On the Greek EIA, see recently: WHITLEY 2002; WHITLEY 2013; D’ACUNTO 2020e, spec. 356, 441-448, 818-820, with bibliography on different societies and periods.

²⁶³ Cf. e.g. the ancient repairs on Euboean black skyphoi from graves on Rhodes (Ialysos: D’ACUNTO 2020e, no. T. L/390Ts.3, 248-253, 368-369, pls. XII, 6; Exochi: JOHANSEN 1958, T. M, no. 3, 46, 49, fig. 106). If we shift our focus to an indigenous setting involving Phoenician and Greek merchants, such as in our context, cf. the case of La Rebanadilla: a Phoenician jug and a Euboean chevron skyphos (BOTTO 2020, 358-359, fig. 7 left, center, and fig. 6b).

ably for wine consumption (if such was their function also in the native village). Thus, after their “real” use, these fine Greek-imported vessels were subsequently included as grave-offerings of special symbolic value in the burials of the native elite: this is also the case in female burials, as is certainly the case for T. 29 Osta, which can be identified as such by the composition of the grave-goods²⁶⁴. In effect, from vases connected in some way to the everyday consumption of wine, probably a male prerogative, such skyphoi went on to become a distinctive attribute of the elite group to which they belonged, also due to their “biography”.

4.4.6. The letter N written on the black skyphos and aspects related to the Greek alphabet

Black skyphos **48** has a small sign engraved below the handle, more precisely immediately to the lower left of the right-hand handle attachment. In the present volume, Albio Cesare Cassio deals with this one-letter inscription in another paper, which is addressed to the general question of the emergence of the Greek alphabet and to its earliest occurrences in Italy. Here, I will limit my comments to a presentation of this new epigraphic document and to some related remarks²⁶⁵.

The sign on Cumae’s black skyphos **48** consists of three oblique strokes that join each other respectively at the upper and lower extremities; the angles between the strokes are slightly acute; the first and the third strokes are almost parallel. Near the vertices, the engraving is fairly deep, sharp and in a regular straight line. The left-hand stroke, after a very short gap in the engraving caused only by a crack in the paint, extends for a long stretch to the lower left in a less deep incision. This line continues fairly straight in relation to the stroke near the vertex. The right-hand stroke also has a short engraved extension to the left beyond the lower vertex. In the latter case, it is evident that this extension of the stroke beyond the vertex is an error. The same interpretation may perhaps be suggested

by the crack in the paint and the slight engraving below the middle stroke and roughly aligned with it. The case of the left-hand stroke is different, because its extension below the left vertex is long and therefore seems to reveal the intention to make a longer stroke than the others (although one cannot exclude the hypothesis that the shallower extension to the left reveals a slip of the hand, which may have extended the stroke by mistake too far to the left). Another engraving, which in this case is very short but deep, is found in the corner between the left and the middle strokes; this engraving goes more towards the left: in this case, the most likely hypothesis is that of an earlier failed “attempt” (see A.C. Cassio below: a “*pentimento*”) to make the left-hand stroke that was abandoned as a result of an “afterthought” (but, of course, even in this case its intentional character cannot be ruled out); it should also be noted that in correspondence with this corner, the clay, together with the paint, is slightly chipped. In both cases the angles are acute but very open: the one formed by the first and the second strokes corresponds to ca. 72/75°, while the one formed by the second and the third strokes to ca. 73/79°. All in all, albeit with the aforementioned uncertainties, the most likely hypothesis is that of a sign consisting of three lines in a zig-zag pattern: they connect at the two vertices in two angles slightly less than 90° and of which the left stroke is longer.

There is no doubt that this sign was engraved prior to the firing of the vessel: this is revealed, in particular, by the evidence that the outer edges of the engraving jut out slightly from the surface of the vessel (the engraving had clearly raised the clay at the sides) and that these edges are fired (they do not have the crumbly texture of the inner section of the vessel). On the other hand, it is clear that the engraving was made when the paint had already been applied to the surface: this is especially evident in the right-hand stroke, the edges of which have retained the paint, while the bottom has not; in the case of the left-hand stroke, the paint has been partly preserved along the edges and on the bottom. The stages of this process are logical after all, since applying the paint after making the engraving would have covered up the inscription. In short, the inscription on black sky-

²⁶⁴ GABRICI 1913, cols. 109-111, fig. 52, pl. 18.7; MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 234, pl. 16.B; NIZZO 2007b, 495-496, figs. 10-11; ALBORE LIVADIE 1985, 71-72, no. 11.1; CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 342-344.

²⁶⁵ I would like to thank A.C. Cassio for his paper and for the precious remarks and stimulating discussions.

phos **48** was made by engraving the vessel after it was painted and before it was fired.

As for the identification of this sign, I believe it is in all likelihood an alphabetical sign. The reader should also refer to the important remarks in this sense made by A.C. Cassio, the first of which regards a technical aspect. The three zig-zag strokes are drawn so straight and at such precise angles that it could be deduced that the engraver had used a small ruler: as a result, it can be concluded that an attempt at engraving with such accuracy was driven by a desire to reproduce a specific letter of the alphabet and not a generic mark.

Given its very early date, one could also think of a *nun* from the Phoenician alphabet; however, such a hypothesis has to be ruled out due to the left-to-right slant of the writing. It must, therefore, be Greek and Euboean: i.e. a three-stroke *nu* written in the Greek alphabet with a left-to-right slant²⁶⁶. Consistent with this hypothesis is, in fact, the oblique direction of the right-hand and middle strokes, as well as the left-hand stroke that is longer than the others (if its extension to the lower left is to be interpreted as such): both are characteristics of *nu* in early Archaic and Archaic Greek inscriptions, and particularly of the red alphabets, such as the one used in Euboea and in the Euboean colonial world²⁶⁷. In particular, the oblique and almost right-angle orientation of the second and the third strokes on Cumae's skyphos **48** is so common and peculiar in early Archaic and Archaic Greek inscriptions²⁶⁸ that the identification of the sign written on our vase as the letter *nu* must be considered as virtually assured²⁶⁹. For *nu*, on the oth-

er hand, the roughly 45° direction of the left stroke is quite uncommon, as this stroke is usually vertical or only slightly oblique. The short dash engraved inside the left vertex was probably caused by a preceding attempt to engrave the first stroke of the *nu* more vertically; the second attempt, on the other hand, was done more obliquely and more spaced-out. The short line must have been an earlier "attempt"-*pentimento*, but actually continuing it would have given the fairly acute angle that is common in Archaic *nu*. My impression is that the engraver had second thoughts, which led him to choose a less acute angle.

Another less frequent aspect is, clearly, the left-to-right slant that our alphabetical signs have, in a period like the 8th century BC in which right-to-left (or boustrophedon) inscriptions were predominant²⁷⁰. However, for both aspects – the oblique orientation of the first stroke and the left-to-right slant – comparison can be made with the *nu* included in an inscription, which had been made before firing, on a spindle-whorl from the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria of LG²⁷¹. An almost identical *nu* occurs in the left-to-right inscription from Osteria dell'Osa (cf. F. Nitti's drawings: see Fig. 6 in A.C. Cassio's contribution in this volume): this parallel is remarkable both because of its very early date and its taking place in central Italy (we will come back to this below). The first stroke of the *nu* is very tilted and longer than the other two strokes in several inscriptions from the Euboean world, which are dated between the second half of the 8th and the beginning of the 7th century BC; the difference can be observed in the right-to-left slant of the writing²⁷².

²⁶⁶ As an alternative, one could speculate that the short engraved dash in the corner between the left and the middle strokes is not a first "attempt", but identifies an overturned *chi* (cf. BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, nos. 41-42, 176; KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, no. 28, 67). However, this assumption is not supported by the fact that this central dash is very short, and by the presence of the right-hand stroke.

²⁶⁷ Cf. JEFFERY 1990, 79-89, 433-434, 453-456, pls. 5-6, 47-49; GUARDUCCI 1987, 14-80; BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, esp. 184; KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005.

²⁶⁸ From this point of view, see, e.g. in JEFFERY 1990, and GUARDUCCI 1987, 14-80, and in the Euboean world in KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, and BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995.

²⁶⁹ The alternative hypothesis would be that ours is, instead, a sign of a non-alphabetical nature, something that occurs quite frequently in the form of a single isolated sign on a good number

of vases from the 8th century BC, for example, from the Euboean world (cf., e.g., Eretria: KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, 54-55). As has been remarked by some scholars, in several cases in which a single sign occurs on a Greek vase of the early Archaic period, the letters often cannot be unambiguously distinguished from non-alphabetical signs, which are widely attested on Greek ceramics of the period (WHITLEY 2021, 277-278; KOTSONAS 2022, 170). Non-alphabetic signs may have different (and for us undefined) meanings: from a magic/religious symbol, to a mark that identified the owner or potter, or even other possible functions.

²⁷⁰ For a general picture see JEFFERY 1990; GUARDUCCI 1987, 14-80; cf. LAZZARINI 2005, 478.

²⁷¹ KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, 75-76, no. 65.

²⁷² Cf., e.g., the following well-known cases: the inscription on a North-Ionian bird kotyle from Eretria (BARTONĚK – BUCHNER

Interesting comparisons for our *nu*, both because of the shape and the isolation of this specific letter, may be found among the rich *corpus* of late 8th-early 7th century BC inscriptions from the so-called “Hypogeion” in the Eretrian colony of Methone²⁷³. Many of these inscriptions are written on drinking vessels of Euboean production and on imported amphorae from other regions of the Aegean. We can single out the following comparisons: in particular, on a Samian amphora a single *nu* written right-to-left after firing, the first stroke of which is oblique²⁷⁴; on another Samian amphora a single right-to-left *nu*, which had been inscribed before firing, such as in our case²⁷⁵; the two-letter inscription NE written right-to-left after firing on an amphora of unknown production²⁷⁶; the same two letters in a (longer?) inscription written left-to-right on the neck of a local beaked pitcher²⁷⁷; and for the form of the *nu* in longer inscriptions, indicating ownership, the inscription written left-to-right after the firing of an Antekydes on a Lesbian amphora²⁷⁸.

The meaning of the alphabetical sign *nu* on skyphos 48 from Cumae is not made explicit by this single letter. The hypothesis that the *nu* refers to the first letter of the vessel’s contents seems unlikely, because as this is a drinking vessel, it must have been intended for wine consumption. The first letter indicating the name of the vase seems equally unlikely, because in Greek no vessel shapes related to drinking have *nu* as the first letter of their name.

The first theory is that this letter does not actually refer to a proper name. It could be connected somehow to letters on a set of drinking vessels, e.g. in a set of vases, which may have been used by drinkers while consuming wine, or during games. Perhaps it was a letter among other letters of the

alphabet, or a numeral among other numerals on other vessels?

Another possibility is that this letter is in fact the first letter of a proper name. In the first instance, the potter’s name would come to mind, because the letter would have been inscribed by him before firing. This abbreviated potter’s “signature” would imply an expression of “pride” or a trademark on his product. However, at least from what is preserved, the relatively common quality and type of vessel, a black skyphos, would not seem to support the hypothesis of the potter’s trademark. Nevertheless, the potter might well have introduced the first letter of his name to add extra interest and value to the vessel.

On the other hand, a tempting hypothesis would be that our *nu* refers to the first letter of the proper name of the first Euboean owner of the vase which the potter engraved to customize it for him. In line with this hypothesis, we might refer to the discussion which has arisen from the publication of Methone’s inscriptions; most of them relate, more or less clearly, to the consumption of wine among elite members (in connection with the rise of the aristocratic banquet and later *symposion*²⁷⁹). Starting from Methone’s *corpus*, but also generally in early Archaic Greece, it has been remarked that ownership inscriptions on drinking vessels tend to be written on or near the lip, or close to the handle²⁸⁰. This is because the visual display of the owner’s name afforded by the inscription, played a key role in the wine consumption ceremonial, and in the interplay between participants which would have given way to the exchange of their drinking vessels²⁸¹. As a consequence, the physical relationship between the inscription and the handle of the vessel, and the close association between them, demonstrates individual ownership, and mirrors the owner’s membership in wine consumption cir-

1995, no. B1, 190-192), the potter’s signature on the krater from Mazzola at Pithekoussai (BARTONÉK – BUCHNER 1995, no. 43, 177), and the lekythos of Tataie from Cumae (BARTONÉK – BUCHNER 1995, no. C1, 199-199).

²⁷³ BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, and, in particular, TZIFOPOULOS 2012; STRAUSS CLAY – MALKIN – TZIFOPOULOS 2017.

²⁷⁴ BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 364-365, no. 18.

²⁷⁵ BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 362-364, no. 17.

²⁷⁶ BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 358-359, no. 15.

²⁷⁷ BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 357, no. 14.

²⁷⁸ BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 345-347, no. 4.

²⁷⁹ BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, and on this aspect see esp. TZIFOPOULOS 2012; WĘCOWSKI 2014, 2017, and also his contribution in this volume.

²⁸⁰ PAPPAS 2017, esp. 292, 295.

²⁸¹ For the *corpus* of Methone, this interpretation, which connects the inscription with wine consumption interplay, has also been extended to some post-firing inscriptions written on the neck or near the handle of some transport amphorae, including some of the above-mentioned cases, but of course cautiously when only one or two letters occur (PAPPAS 2017, 295-301).

cles. In this case we can imagine that a customer would have told the potter what he wanted to be written on the vase. Actually, if the message is «I am writing *nu* because the vase is mine», there is a big difference between, on one hand, simply scratching the letter on a fired vase on a specific occasion²⁸² and, on the other, the client requesting the potter to write the first letter of his name on a vessel which is yet to be produced; that is, to accept a commission before the vase even exists. We must underline that inscribing before or after firing are different acts, and that the former has far greater implications.

Hence, different meanings for the letter *nu* on our vase are possible: a letter connected somehow with wine consumption, or the first letter of the potter's name, or of the Euboean customer who commissioned the work to the potter. Whatever it is, and we cannot know for sure, for the owner of skyphos **48**, this letter, a distinctive sign, must have had a special meaning which assumed a specific function within the ceremonial mechanisms of drinking, given that the two-handled skyphoi circulated on the occasions of wine consumption among elite members²⁸³. Certainly, therefore, this sign must have given the vessel a particular symbolic value in the eyes of the owner, first in the Greek context in Euboea, and then in the native village at Cumae in Opicia.

Whatever its meaning, having written the letter *nu* on skyphos **48** demonstrates that the Euboean potter had at least a basic knowledge of the alphabet.

This new epigraphic evidence is of special interest, if we consider the high dating of our black skyphos, as established by its morphology and context: this alphabetical sign was inscribed, at the same time as the vase was made, in ca. 760-750 BC, and the domestic context of Pre-Hellenic Cumae where it was uncovered, does not extend beyond the mid-8th century BC. As a consequence, our *nu* can be considered among the oldest evidence of the use of Greek alphabetic writing which has been found to date. A.C. Cassio's analysis of

the earliest inscriptions found in Euboea in his paper in this volume should be referred to. With respect to a handful of inscriptions from the first half of the 8th century BC – five from the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria²⁸⁴ and one from Lefkandi²⁸⁵ – he argues that the introduction of the Greek alphabet would have been earlier, possibly even much earlier, than their date.

The Greek inscription on **48** offers us a small but significant piece of evidence from the indigenous point of view as well: shortly before the middle of the 8th century BC, some indigenous communities in Italy were aware of the existence of writing through “pre-colonial” exchanges with the Euboeans and Phoenicians, even though these communities did not yet use writing themselves. According to the testimony of our black skyphos, this would have been before the foundation of the *apoikia* of Cumae and probably even before the foundation of Pithekoussai (see M. D'Acunto, below, chpt. 4.7).

In this respect, the new inscribed document from Pre-Hellenic Cumae also offers a glimpse into the much debated inscription engraved after firing on the Latium-produced *impasto* flask of T. 482 from Osteria dell'Osa²⁸⁶. Thanks to this small but significant piece of evidence from Cumae, the inscription from Osteria dell'Osa is, in a sense, no longer as isolated in time and space as it might have appeared previously: neither from a chronological point of view (also in the light of the MG II inscribed fragments from Eretria and Lefkandi) nor due to the fact that it was found in an indigenous context, in this case in a community in ancient Latium (Gabii, near Rome). For Osteria dell'Osa, the most credited thesis is that of an inscription in Greek²⁸⁷ as opposed to the two other proposals of Archaic Latin and Phoenician²⁸⁸: there

²⁸⁴ KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, 52, 66, 69, 75-77, nos. 25, 26, 36, 64, 66 (this is in the Semitic alphabet).

²⁸⁵ *Lefkandi I*, 90, no. 102 (L. Jeffery); BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, 195, no. B 8.

²⁸⁶ BIETTI SESTIERI – DE SANTIS – LA REGINA 1991, 83-88; BIETTI SESTIERI 1992, 273, 522, 687, figs. 2k.2.8, 3a.270; RIDGWAY 1996, 92-97; BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, no. D 1, 204-205, with bibliography.

²⁸⁷ Cf. BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, no. D 1, 204-205.

²⁸⁸ For the hypothesis of identification with a Latin inscription see COLONNA 2005, 481-483, fig. 4: *ni lue* (reading from right to left); cf. LANE FOX 2008, 136-137. Some letters, and the left-to-right slant, stand in the way of the hypothesis of a Phoeni-

²⁸² Such as for BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 354-355, no. 11.

²⁸³ WĘCOWSKI 2014, 85-124; 2017.

is no doubt that the inscription is alphabetical, as can be seen from the first and last letters, which can certainly be identified as an E and an N. The most accepted reading is εὔλιν(ος): “good at spinning”, perhaps referring to an attribute of the woman buried in the tomb²⁸⁹. However, the *interpretatio graeca* of εὔλιν is not universally accepted. If it is in Greek, since the iota is straight not crooked, the script is Euboean (see below A.C. Cassio)²⁹⁰. The comparison between the form of the *nu* in the inscription from Osteria dell’Osa and the one engraved on our skyphos from Cumae is striking: their similarity is given by the orientation of the first and the second strokes, the angle between which is less acute than the “canonical” *nu*, as well as by the angle between the second and the third strokes. Both inscriptions may reflect a rare ancient Euboean variant of the *nu* (see again, below, A.C. Cassio). It can also be said that in the *nu* of the Osteria dell’Osa inscription there is an “undue” continuation of the left vertical line. Another important point of comparison is the left-to-right slant of the inscription from Osteria dell’Osa, as well as the left-to-right slant of the letter on skyphos **48**. Regarding its chronology, A.M. Bietti Sestieri has recently restated that the excavation context of T. 482 in Osteria dell’Osa, to which the inscribed vase refers, is reliable from a stratigraphical point of view: the tomb is dated to the Latium IIB2 phase, therefore around 775/770 BC, or even before then (of course, with all due caution regarding the *ad annum* precision of such chronology)²⁹¹. Consequently, the inscribed vases from Osteria dell’Osa and **48** from Pre-Hellenic Cumae are also very close from a chronological point of view, as the Cumae specimen is dated to 760-750 BC.

Clearly, the difference between **48** from Cumae and the case of Osteria dell’Osa lies in the place of production of the vase and where the in-

scription was written, in first case in Euboea, and in the second in Latium. In the second quarter of the 8th century BC, both the Italic communities of Osteria dell’Osa/Gabii and Pre-Hellenic Cumae were at the very least aware of the existence of the medium of writing, even if they did not use the alphabet themselves²⁹²: this knowledge probably came from the exchanges and forms of mobility enacted by the Euboeans (together with the Phoenicians) in central-southern Italy in the pre-colonial period.

4.4.7. One-metope bird skyphoi (Pl. 13)

Two specimens which were brought to light in our domestic context of Pre-Hellenic Cumae under the peristyle, **42** and **53**, can be referred to this class which is peculiar to Euboean and Euboean-related products²⁹³.

A single fragment of the belly is preserved in **53**, which was found in the later Level IV (US 27815: see F. Nitti above, chpt. 4.1.1). The lower part is painted, while from the decoration on the upper reserved band, a vertical dash is preserved on the left, as well as part of a decorative motif bottom-right: the latter should probably be identified as a lozenge with a central dot. One-metope bird skyphoi commonly have this background filling in the metope containing the bird²⁹⁴. As a result, such an attribution can also be proposed for our fragment: in this case, the preserved dash should be assumed to form the frame to the left of the metope. In one-metope bird skyphoi, the background fillers are normally placed in the upper part of the metope, above the bird’s body, but there are also cases in which these fillers are placed in the lower half, below the bird’s body²⁹⁵, as is the case here. Of course, given its state of preservation, the hypothesis of identification of

cian inscription (e.g. JANKO 2015, 15; and LAZZARINI 2005, who also rejects the hypothesis of a Latin inscription).

²⁸⁹ BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, no. D 1, 204-205; JANKO 2015, 14-16 (which, however, cannot be followed for what concerns the chronology of inscriptions and contexts).

²⁹⁰ JANKO 2015, 15; cf. JEFFERY 1990, 79, fig. 27; KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005; BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, 184.

²⁹¹ BIETTI SESTIERI 2005; cf. BARTOLONI – NIZZO 2005, 411, note 21.

²⁹² Several scholars have referred to the tradition, reported by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.84.5), according to which Romulus and Remus were sent, when they were children, to Gabii to learn Greek letters. Of course, this tradition must be considered with all due caution and not *sic et simpliciter*: cf. RIDGWAY 1996, 96-97; AMPOLO 1997, 211-217; JANKO 2015, 15, note 111.

²⁹³ On one-metope bird skyphoi see esp. COLDSTREAM 1982, 24-27, pls. 1-2; COLDSTREAM 2004, 41-43, figs. a-b, 2; KOUROU 2005, 504.

²⁹⁴ Cf. COLDSTREAM 1982, pls. 1a, b, d.

²⁹⁵ Cf. a specimen from Chalcis: ANDREIOMENOU 1984, spec. fig. 25; COLDSTREAM 2004, 42-43, fig. 2d.

fragment **53** with a one-metope bird skyphos must remain speculative.

The case of **42** is different, since its preserved fragments ensure its identification with a skyphos of this class. Two joint fragments give us part of the lip and shoulder, up to the top of the belly, as can be seen from the visibly curved and recessed lower portion (the latter is an important detail for the reconstruction of the vessel's profile). On the outside, the decoration is painted with a blackish, sometimes dark to light brown paint: such different color gradients of the paint are also seen in different parts of the bird, and create an unpleasant final effect. As for a third fragment, relating to the upper part of the belly, it has no contact surfaces with the other two; there is no doubt, however, that it belongs to the same vase, due to the above-mentioned characteristics of the paint which are identical, the misfired clay (see below), and the fact that the fragment has two bird's legs painted on it. F. Nitti (see Pl. 13) has succeeded in skillfully drawing the profile of the vase and in reconstructing its outer decoration. The latter has three lines on the lip, an upper one below the rim, a second immediately below, while the third is irregularly spaced, and runs along the lower portion of the lip. This makes the decoration seem poorly executed, which is also made clear by the fact that all three lines on the lip are unevenly spaced: the second line has one section that is too narrow, and another is smudged at the bottom. These irregularities also characterize the rendering of the bird whose neck folds unnaturally, and the overall effect is especially unpleasant because the paint used for the upper outline of the head above the eye is very faint. While the birds in Euboean one-metope bird skyphoi often display a non-standardized style and a sometimes sketchy rendering, our vessel represents a particularly unsuccessful outcome.

In our skyphos the bird is facing to the left. The head is placed immediately below the upper line; it has an almond-shaped reserved eye and a long beak. The neck, thicker at the bottom, forms a pronounced bend at 2/3 of its length. The upper part of the body has a continuous curve from its back to its chest: the preserved part is entirely painted, but, as the central and lower portions are missing, we are unable to ascertain whether the body was fully

painted or whether it was hatched and outlined with a thicker line. On the third fragment there are two oblique dashes running parallel, as mentioned, which can certainly be identified with the bird's legs. On its front leg, the painted line folds upwards at a right angle, as can be seen from a small preserved portion of the paint before the break: the leg could have been folded at the hock, as often happens in many cases of birds in this class²⁹⁶, or this fold could refer to the leg's connection with the lower part of breast (in which case the fold at the hock would not have been present and the legs would have been rendered with two simple parallel dashes)²⁹⁷. Above the back of the bird, on the right, a dot rosette is introduced as a background filling, consisting of six irregularly spaced dots arranged around a central, off-centre dot. To the left of the bird at breast height, there was a second rosette made of dots, two of which are preserved. The bird's legs are joined to the painted lower band, with no indication of feet. Neither the right nor the left dashes of the metope, which must have enclosed the bird, are preserved. On the inside, the skyphos is fully glazed with irregular blackish paint, which turns in spots to a light brownish/brown color.

For the bird in **42**, similarities with the bird depicted on one or another specimen of the class of one-bird metope skyphoi can be found, but my personal opinion is that there are no striking comparisons. This is not due to the uniqueness of our skyphos compared to other Euboean specimens, but rather to the fact that the birds in this class vary considerably in both general appearance and proportions, as well as in the rendering of details. I do not think, therefore, that the rendering of the bird can give us specific information about the chronology of our vase. It is different because of the filler consisting of a dotted rosette, which occurs twice within the metope in **42** and takes up the motif of Attic origin from MG II; more specifically, we come across the dotted rosette on two of the three Attic oinochoai, recalled by Coldstream as a prototype for the decorative scheme with a bird in the metope between horizontal lines (these oinochoai

²⁹⁶ Cf. e.g. COLDSTREAM 1982, pl. 1a, c, g, h.

²⁹⁷ Cf. e.g. COLDSTREAM 1982, pl. 1b.

are dated by him one/two decades before the beginning of LG Ia or at the transition with this phase)²⁹⁸. As for one-metope bird skyphoi, the dotted rosette also appears on the specimen from T. 174 Selciatello Sopra from Tarquinia; this skyphos has the same arrangement with horizontal lines at the sides and a bird of slender proportions of Attic origin, the latter being quite similar to ours. The specimen from Tarquinia is placed by Coldstream at the beginning of the series of Euboean one-metope bird skyphoi, as is another bird skyphos from the Quattro Fontanili necropolis in Veii²⁹⁹. In sum, the dotted rosette filler on **42** seems to reflect a proximity to the Attic prototype of the bird scheme in the central metope (on the oinochoai) and thus provides a clue to dating our specimen to the early phase of one-metope bird skyphoi production.

The hypothesis of a high date for one-metope bird skyphos **42** from Cumae is also supported by its morphology: this is characterized by a low body, with quite a high lip, only slightly tilted and well detached from the shoulder. The closest comparisons for this shape are two one-metope bird skyphoi from T. 3211 of Pontecagnano: these refer to a context of local Phase IIa (780/770-750 BC) and are assigned by Kourou to the transition between MG II and LG Ia (in Attic terms); more precisely, according to the Greek scholar, the low body and the vertical lip fit better with MG II³⁰⁰. One difference, in comparison with these two specimens from Pontecagnano, is the sharp detachment of the lip from the shoulder in **42**: the latter feature is found on the bird skyphos, also with a high vertical lip, from the layer between the two floors in the “Capanna dei Ripostigli” at Sant’Imbenia³⁰¹. In the latter context, the association of the bird skyphos with the PSC skyphos of Kearsley’s Type 5 and the chevron skyphos, mentioned above (chpt. 4.4.3), offers a date which is still in MG II.

From another perspective, the stratigraphy confirms the high chronology of **42**. The fragments of this skyphos were found in different layers in the

excavation below the peristyle. In particular, one of these fragments, namely the lower one with the bird’s legs, was found in association with the earliest floor, which yielded Greek Geometric pottery (Level I, US 27847: cf. F. Nitti above, chpt. 4.1.1)³⁰². Therefore, in terms of relative chronology, our skyphos refers to the earliest horizon of the Euboean presence at the Pre-Hellenic settlement of Cumae: this means, of course, the earliest horizon related to the evidence provided by our excavation. However, in terms of relative sequence, our skyphos stands in the earliest phase of the pre-colonial horizon of Geometric pottery discussed in this chapter.

These observations lead us to date one-metope bird skyphos **42** from Cumae still most probably to MG IIb or, at the latest, to the transition to LG Ia (based on the phases of Attic pottery). In terms of absolute chronology, we can therefore assume its dating to 780/770-760 BC, or at the latest shortly after 760 BC (of course, based on the “orthodox” chronology of Geometric pottery).

As for the place of production, **53** does not seem to be an exception to the other Geometric vases from this context: its clay – compact, light brown, with white inclusions and vacuoles – has no mica visible to the naked eye. While caution is required due to the relatively small size of the sherd, the hypothesis of Euboean manufacture is likely, mainly because the fragment may well belong to the peculiar Euboean production of one-metope bird skyphoi.

On the contrary, the case of bird skyphos **42** is peculiar. What is striking, in comparison with the other Geometric vessels examined in this chapter, is the consistent presence of fine-grained silver mica, which is clearly visible to the naked eye, along with large black volcanic inclusions. On the external decorated part, the firing of the vessel produced acceptable results and made the decoration quite clear: in this case the clay is orange in color. Conversely, both in the section and on the inside, our skyphos reveals evident firing defects, the clay

²⁹⁸ COLDSTREAM 1982, 26-27, figs. 2b (from well K in the Agora) and figs. 2c (from T. 26 of Odos Kriezi).

²⁹⁹ COLDSTREAM 2004, 42, figs. 2b, a.

³⁰⁰ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, no. 10.1-2, 34-35, fig. 6, pl. 2.7; KOUROU 2005, 504.

³⁰¹ BERNARDINI – RENDELI 2020, 329, fig. 11b.

³⁰² The other two fragments were found in the later stratigraphies, and clearly in a secondary deposition context (UUS 27554 and 27671).

having taken on a grey to dark grey coloring. This misfiring clearly manifests itself in the hollows that have made the surface uneven, especially on the inside of the vessel, but also to a lesser degree on the outside. In short, the aforementioned defects of the paint for the outer (as well as inner) decoration, added to the misfiring, are clear evidence that this vase was the result of defective manufacturing.

On the other hand, our specimen belongs to a class of drinking vessels, that of the Euboean one-metope bird skyphoi, thought to be “ambitious” and prized among the Italic communities who established early relations with merchants from Euboea.

These considerations have led us to the conclusion that **42** cannot have been imported from Euboea. The conclusion is confirmed further by the highly micaceous character of the clay and the large black volcanic inclusions: these features do not match the common Euboean fabrics circulating within the Geometric period. On the other hand, against the hypothesis of production in other regions of the Aegean, where micaceous pottery is found (such as the Cyclades), our defective vessel coincides with a class, that of one-metope bird skyphoi, which is characteristic of Euboean pottery. As a matter of fact, the macroscopic clay features of our skyphos are consistent with the volcanic characteristics of the Phlegraean Fields region, on which the micaceous nature and the large black inclusions must depend. Consequently, the likeliest hypothesis is that skyphos **42** was produced in the Phlegraean region.

If this is in fact the case, the question is whether our vase could have been manufactured at Pithekoussai. Referring to the current state of knowledge, this hypothesis is unlikely because of a concurrence of observations. The most important among them is chronology: the oldest ceramics from Pithekoussai do not date that far back in time, in terms of relative sequence, and the intense Euboean frequentation of Pre-Hellenic Cumae, documented by our excavation, predates the foundation of Pithekoussai (see below, chpt. 4.6); in addition, as previously stated, our skyphos seems to be dated to an early phase of this pre-colonial presence on the site. Another point concerns the macroscopic inspection of the clay: with all due caution, the

deep orange clay of our skyphos, in the parts which are not misfired, is not reminiscent of the usual color of Pithekoussan clays (which often have a pale powder pink hue).

If Pithekoussai were excluded, this one-metope bird skyphos (**42**) must have been produced in Pre-Hellenic Cumae, and therefore probably by an itinerant/immigrant Euboean craftsman who would have had to be well acquainted with Euboean production in the motherland. Our Euboean potter would fit into those forms of craftsman mobility that go hand in hand with the intensity of pre-colonial exchanges woven by Euboeans, as well as Phoenicians, with the indigenous communities of Italy. In Pre-Hellenic Cumae this would have happened not at the end of this short pre-colonial experience, but at an early stage, as suggested by both the stratigraphic context and the classification of skyphos **42**. Another aspect which must be emphasized arises from the evidence exposed by our excavation: despite its production defects, this skyphos had evidently been used in an indigenous context within the settlement.

The on-site production of a vase by an itinerant Euboean craftsman would be a small, but intriguing clue, suggesting permanence, for limited periods of time at least, of some Euboeans in the “Opician” settlement of Cumae (we will return to this shortly, see chpt. 4.6). Confining ourselves to this specific issue, of course, the hypothesis of our skyphos being locally produced needs confirmation (or refutation) with the support of archaeometric analyses. At the same time, this unique find awaits further possible confirmation from ongoing excavations.

Nevertheless, such a hypothesis would be perfectly consistent with other evidence from other settlements in southern Italy, in the chronological horizon immediately prior to colonial foundations. This evidence documents a pattern of craftsman mobility, notably of potters, associated with Euboean trade enterprises in the pre-colonial phase. Among the different evidence available regarding this phenomenon, the case that we can now consider as most well-known is that of the indigenous village of Francavilla Marittima (Calabria), before the foundation of the Achaean *apoikia* of Sybaris: recent archaeological excavations have brought to light a good amount of “Oinotrian-Euboean” pot-

tery, which must have been produced before 720 BC, at least in the early stages, by itinerant/immigrant Euboean potters³⁰³. In Campania, this is reflected by archaeological finds in Pontecagnano from the same chronological horizon as our context, before the foundation of Pithekoussai and Cumae: the clearest case is a skyphos with pendant semicircles painted freehand, and later transformed into a black skyphos, which mirrors the production defects in our example³⁰⁴.

4.4.8. Tableware/transport/storage closed shapes (Pl. 13)

The discussion of diagnostics among the Greek fragments from our Pre-Hellenic context will be complete after we consider one particular vase consisting of three joining fragments of the oblique-profiled shoulder of a medium/large closed form: **46**. These fragments were found on Level IV (US 27815), but another two from Level II (US 27838), which do not join up with the other three, refer to the same vessel. In the three joining fragments, the attachment of a vertical handle is preserved in the upper part. The vessel was made on a potter's wheel and is of fine compact clay, characterized by an outer wash and large black and white inclusions, a few grey ones, along with vacuoles. A wide horizontal painted band runs across the upper part of the shoulder and another surrounds the handle attachment. The fine clay of the vessel does not suggest that this is *sic et simpliciter* a transport amphora. On the other hand, the small part which is preserved does not allow its identification: given its medium/large size, shape, and decoration, a reasonable hypothesis is that it was an oinochoe/hydria; with reference to this shape, slightly more recent colonial productions are known, considered to be of Euboean-Cycladic influence³⁰⁵. An alternative might be that of a hy-

dria-amphora³⁰⁶. Its place of production remains uncertain: the context and macroscopic aspects of the clay might be consistent with the most immediate hypothesis which is that of Euboean production. The hypothesis that it is an oinochoe-hydria would suggest a large tableware vessel; that of a hydria-amphora would imply identification with a medium-sized transport/storage container.

What's more, our domestic context in the peristyle area, below the deep alluvial layer, has yielded some fragments of transport amphorae. Among them we must point out the finding of two amphorae wall fragments from another lower alluvial level which, on the northern side of the trench, is the interface between Levels III and IV (US 27828, cf. chpt. 4.1.1): one of them might perhaps refer to a western-Phoenician amphora; the other, due to its clay and paint on the outside, is to be ascribed to an Attic amphora of the SOS type. Based on the chronology of our context, the latter would refer to the earliest stages of SOS production, at mid-8th century BC or just before³⁰⁷.

4.4.9. General remarks on the Greek pottery from the Pre-Hellenic village

As a conclusion to this section, some summary remarks can be made on the Greek Geometric pottery found in association with the stratified domestic levels of the Pre-Hellenic village; these levels were unearthed by the University of Napoli L'Orientale team a short distance away in the more extensive excavation below the peristyle and in the small trench below the entrance to the southern *domus*:

- 1) these Geometric vessels were found in conditions of high fragmentation. This must be due to the residential (non-burial) nature of the discovered contexts, as well as to the fact that these domestic contexts underwent transformation and abandonment/destruction: these phenomena must have been brought about by the transition from one

³⁰³ I simply refer here to the contribution by Jan Kindberg Jacobsen and Gloria Mittica, in the present volume, with the relevant bibliography.

³⁰⁴ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, 31, no. 5, T. 4697.1, fig. 3, pl. 2.4. Such a case is no longer isolated, as demonstrated by a similar fragment from Sant'Imbenia which was published recently (BERNARDINI – RENDELI 2020, 327, no. 1, fig. 3a).

³⁰⁵ At Naxos in Sicily: LENTINI 1990, 72, 76, 79, fig. 18 (oinochoai of the cut-away neck type); LENTINI 1992, 22, fig. 57 (hydria); LENTINI 1998, 378-380, figs. 2-3; cf. *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 29, nota 102 [M. Cuzzo].

³⁰⁶ Cf e.g. at Methone, productions of the Thermaic gulf: BE-SIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 391, no. 43.

³⁰⁷ On the date for the beginning of the production of SOS Attic amphorae cf. JOHNSTON – JONES 1978, 140 («The SOS storage amphora began to be produced in the Athenian potters' quarters probably late in the LG Ia period»); PRAIT 2015, 221 (mid-8th century BC).

dwelling floor to the next and, ultimately, by the abandonment/destruction of this sector of the indigenous village, to be placed around 750 BC (see below, chpt. 4.7). However, the joining sherds related to the ceramics found demonstrate how such Greek Geometric vessels were originally in primary deposition: they were associated with the living levels of the Pre-Hellenic hut which was unearthened. Any lacunae must be due, on the one hand, to the limited extent of our excavation and other sherds from the same vessels may simply lie a short distance away in areas untouched by our excavation. On the other hand, the fragmentary state in which they have come down to us may have been due to the washouts produced by alluvial phenomena, which affected the area after the abandonment of the indigenous hut and with respect to surfaces that must have remained in part exposed.

- 2) Ten diagnostic vessels have been selected and discussed in this chapter. However, the MNI of Greek Geometric pottery associated with these Pre-Hellenic domestic levels is significantly higher: this can be calculated at no less than 30 vessels which included a wider range of forms: two craters, several oinochoai and most likely a lekythos, together with a few transport amphorae (see chpts. 4.4.1-8). The ten diagnostic vessels examined here, consist mostly of fine skyphoi, probably intended for the consumption of wine (9 out of 10): the latter may have acted, thanks to the dynamics of ceremonies, as the glue needed to strengthen relations between Euboean merchants and natives. The natives, in turn, as a result of exchanges, must have acquired these vessels and added them to their own collections, clearly ascribing intrinsic symbolic value to them (see the ancient restorations in black skyphoi **45** and **48**, and the alphabetic sign inscribed on the latter). The other diagnostic fragment refers to a piece of fine tableware/a commercial ceramic vessel (oinochoe/hydria/amphora **46**). Also of note is the presence of fragments of a few transport ampho-

rae, including one of the Attic SOS type and another perhaps of the western Phoenician type (see below, Massimo Botto's contribution in this volume). The presence of the latter reveals how the interactions at the site could have been in diversified forms: these did not necessarily have to be related exclusively to the exchange of fine pottery by Greeks with natives.

- 3) The skyphoi include several of the most prized types in central and western Mediterranean pre-colonial trade, featuring the Euboeans (along with the Phoenicians) as the main actors: two one-metope bird skyphoi (**42** and **53?**), three PSC skyphoi (**44**, **49-51?** and **43?**), three black skyphoi (**45**, **48** and **52**) and a chevron skyphos (**47**).
- 4) The date of these skyphoi covers a relatively short time span. This ranges, in terms of relative chronology, from MG IIB to LG Ia, as referred to the phases of Attic Geometric pottery. If we transpose these relative chronologies into absolute dates, according to Coldstream's "orthodox" chronology, we are given a chronological span from 780-760 (MG IIB) to 760-750 BC (LG Ia). More precisely, philological analysis of the skyphoi allows us to establish how they cover both phases. We can still probably refer both the chevron skyphos **47** and the one-metope bird skyphos **42** to MG IIB, as well as perhaps the two PSC skyphoi **49-51?** and **43**. Conversely, the two black skyphoi **48** and **52** should be referred to the LG Ia stage, whereas black skyphos **45** as well as the PSC skyphos **44** can be considered as transitional between MG IIB and LG Ia. For the probable one-metope bird skyphos **53**, on the other hand, due to the small size of the fragment, clarification is not yet possible. This is, therefore, a nucleus of materials that are distributed, in terms of absolute chronology, in the second quarter of the 8th century BC.
- 5) Expanding the discussion beyond our context, it is important to point out how the same chronological span can be assigned to the three Greek imports found in the Pre-Hel-

lenic graves of Cumae. The chevron skyphos from T. 3 Osta is to be placed in MG IIb or, at the latest, at the transition with the later phase. By contrast, the chevron skyphos and the black skyphos from T. 29 Osta are, due to their shape and decoration, to be placed in LG Ia. Consequently, there is full chronological alignment between the Greek pottery found in the burials of the Pre-Hellenic village and that associated with its domestic contexts, in both cases with reference to the final horizon of the life of the village.

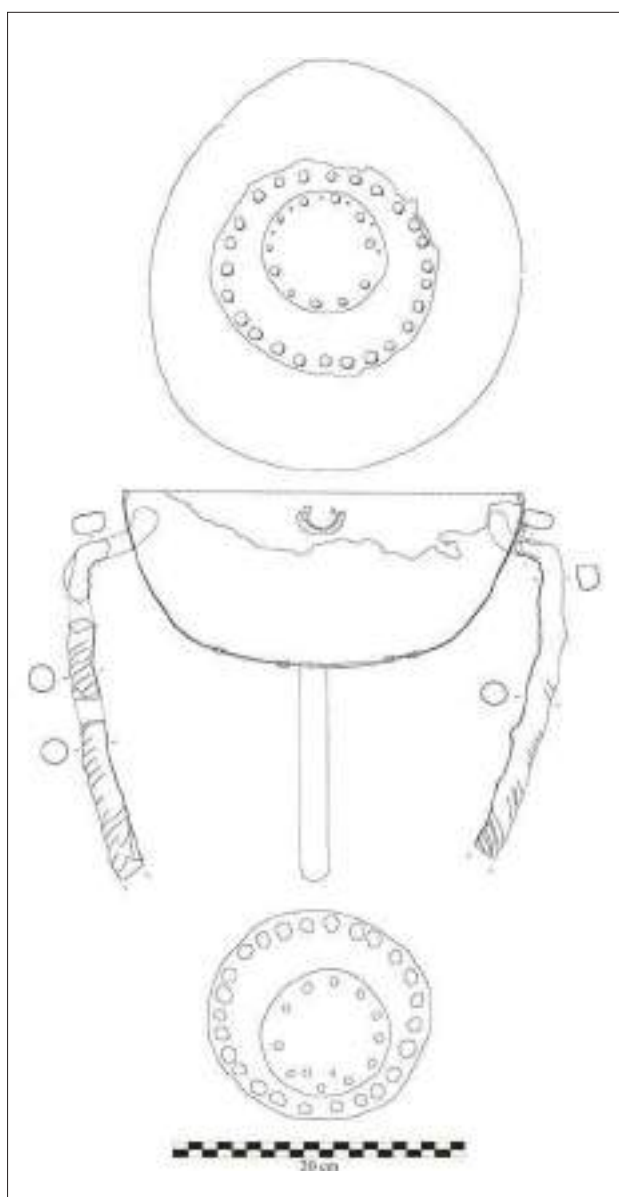
- 6) The latter is a key point for the reconstruction of the historical mechanisms marking the transition from the Pre-Hellenic village to the foundation of the Greek *apoikia* (cf. below, chpt. 4.7). In this regard, it is important to point out that none of the Greek vessels associated with our indigenous hut and its related domestic context go down to the later phase: that is, none of these sherds refers to the phase corresponding to the LG phase of Corinthian pottery (750-720 BC) or to LG I in Pithekoussai's chronology (750-720 BC) or to the LG I phase of Eretrian pottery (750-735 BC). The characteristic markers of these latter phases are indeed missing from our Pre-Hellenic residential context: the kotylai of the Aetos 666 type, the skyphoi of the Thapsos type with panel etc., including also the skyphoi with debased chevrons, to which we shall return later (chpt. 5.3). Since Greek Geometric pottery is found up to the most recent dwelling level of our context related to the indigenous village, from a stratigraphical point of view, the village ceases to exist (at least in the sector of our excavation) by the end of Attic LG Ia, therefore by 750 BC. Whatever the cause of the abandonment of the indigenous village, its life, at least in the specifics of our context, comes to an abrupt end at this date. This caesura is clearly marked by the stratigraphy, namely by the massive alluvial layer covering the most recent domestic floor (but cf. remarks in chpt. 4.7). In order to fully assess the extent of this caesura, it should be recalled, on the one hand, that this alluvial lev-

el interrupts the period of successive occupations that in this sector dates back to the Late Bronze Age. On the other, the massive alluvial level, which is deposited above, marks a sharp break from the tight sequence of earlier life levels.

- 7) One last important point deserves our attention. Among the diagnostics, the Geometric skyphoi associated with this Pre-Hellenic residential context are made with a non-micaceous clay, certainly not local/Phlegrean. In terms of clay composition, vessel morphology, and decoration, they possess all the features needed to allow us to identify them as imports from Euboea, as did the three skyphoi from tombs 3 and 29 Osta, analyzed with the NAA. The Euboeans, therefore, must have been the main protagonists of this intensive presence in the Pre-Hellenic village of Cumae which lasted about a quarter of a century, until its end around 750 BC. The only exception is the one-metope bird skyphos (42), whose micaceous clay and production defects support the hypothesis that it was an on-site creation by an itinerant craftsman, presumably also Euboean.
- 8) The evidence is complemented by the "Phoenician" fragments which were found associated with the same indigenous hut. These are – as shown in M. Botto's contribution in the present volume – probably Phoenician-Sardinian related productions. They complete a picture that, albeit still limited, allows us to reflect in the next chapter on the mechanisms of interaction that the indigenous village enacts with these foreign merchants in the second quarter of the 8th century BC.

4.5. *The relationships between the local elite and the foreign merchants: the case of the female Tomb 4 Osta*

Our comprehension of the mechanisms of interaction between the Euboeans, Phoenicians and the "Opician" village is further enhanced by the imports from the graves of the Pre-Hellenic village.



Figs. 45-46. Napoli, National Archaeological Museum: from Pre-Hellenic Cumae, T. 4 Osta, tripod made with iron legs and a bronze Cyproit lebes (photo M. D'Acunto, drawing P. Criscuolo, from CRISCUOLO 2014)

Besides the evidence of the above-mentioned Euboean skyphoi from Tombs 3 and 29 Osta, it is useful to introduce a digression at this point regarding a peculiar metal object, since it implies a high-level relationship between the donor and the recipient. This is the tripod-lebes from Tomb 4 Osta, consisting of twisted rod feet in iron, and a bronze basin with a compressed hemispherical body (Figs. 45-46; cf. M. Botto's contribution in this volume, Fig. 8 with all grave goods)³⁰⁸. This is one of the prominent female tombs in Cumae's Pre-Hellenic II phase. The tripod-basin must actually have been utilized: two restoration patches, also made of bronze, had been nailed onto the bottom of the basin on two separate occasions, clearly to repair some damage caused. This damage must have been provoked by the intense heat of the fire and the flames while food was being cooked inside it. Another repair patch in bronze sheet is located near the attachment of one of the feet. The bronze basin, therefore, must have been used for cooking: as is well-known, the cooking of meat, along with the consumption of wine, was another ceremonial of particular significance in both Aegean and indigenous settings.

Pia Criscuolo has identified the bronze basin from Cumae as a likely import from the Aegean and recalled some comparisons in indigenous Italian contexts of an association between the bronze basin and the iron feet nailed to it, as in our case: these is one specimen from S. Maria d'Anglona, and one from Mostradalfio in Bisignano, Sybaritis, in EIA contexts; the comparison regarding the shape of the bronze basin is only partial for both specimens, while the iron feet are completely different, due to their shape and less elaborate appearance³⁰⁹.

Turning to the bronze part of the tripod from T. 4 Osta, namely the basin, it finds close comparisons regarding shape with many specimens in the series of Cypriot *Kalottenschalen*: see the similarity of the peculiar thickened rim, which slopes slightly inward

³⁰⁸ MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, pl. 17.B32; CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 341, fig. 6; CRISCUOLO 2014, 93-94, figs. 2.33, 4; cf. L. Cerchiai in the present volume.

³⁰⁹ CRISCUOLO 2014, 94: cf. esp. FREY 1991, 22, pl. 12.4, T. 102 (S. Maria d'Anglona, from a context which is roughly contemporary to Cumae's T. 4 Osta); LUPPINO *et al.* 2004, fig. 1.B1 (Mostradalfio at Bisignano, in Sybaritis: sporadic from the necropolis, but EIA); for the belly cf. a bronze basin, sporadic from Torre Mordillo (CRISCUOLO 2014, 94).

and is rounded at the top, as well as the profile of the bronze basin which is wide, with a compressed, barely curved bottom and oblique, rounded side walls³¹⁰. In the Cypriot *Kalottenschalen*, the rim diameter measures up to 25 cm, with a height of up to 12 cm³¹¹. The specimen from Cumae has been reconstructed by Criscuolo with slightly larger dimensions than these: it has a 27.5 cm rim diameter, and a body height of 12 cm³¹². However, these measurements were obtained hypothetically by the Italian scholar from the preserved fragments of a vessel that has come down to us in a very fragmentary state, with lacunas: only three adjoining rim fragments and bottom fragments of the basin are preserved, while for two feet two fragments were preserved at the attachment, for the third foot eight small fragments were preserved³¹³. A larger specimen (diam. 30.9, h. 13.8), fitted with a handle, is, however, documented at Kourion-Kaloriziki³¹⁴. The hypothesis of our basin being of Cypriot production (i.e., the body alone) seems to me, therefore, to be plausible.

By contrast, it is reasonable to assume that the iron feet were added later, and that they were nailed to the basin: given the lack of comparisons in Cyprus, such an addition may have been made either in Greece (in Euboea?) or in Italy; the latter hypothesis would be supported by the comparison with the specimens from S. Maria d'Anglona and Mostradalfio in Bisignano, mentioned earlier.

Important remarks can also be made about the dating of the bronze basin from T. 4 Osta. The production of Cypriot *Kalottenschalen* is spread over a broad time span, ranging from Late Cypriot IIA, through Cypro-Geometric, to the Cypro-Achaic period: the chronological span is, therefore, roughly from 1400 to 500 BC. However, the *floruit* of the

Kalottenschalen is in the Late Bronze Age period, with more limited production in the Cypro-Geometric and the Cypro-Achaic period³¹⁵. It should also be pointed out that the above-mentioned comparisons regarding the shape of the specimen from Cumae, all refer to Late Bronze Age Cypriot items, from Enkomi especially, and from Kition (see above). Furthermore, it is the Late Bronze Age specimens that have a larger rim diameter (normally between 16 and 21 cm, with specimens as large as 24 cm), compared to those of the later phases (with a diameter normally between 10 and 17 cm, with very few slightly larger specimens). A similar argument can be made in reference to the height of the basin: many Late Bronze Age specimens have a basin height of around 10 cm or slightly higher, while for the later periods there are very few specimens whose height approaches 10 cm³¹⁶. A different case is that of the large specimen already mentioned from T. 39 of Kourion-Kaloriziki, which is from a Cypro-Geometric I context (ca. 1050-950 BC)³¹⁷. In sum, there are good reasons to believe that Cumae's bronze basin was manufactured in Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age (1400-1050 BC) or in Cypro-Geometric I (1050-950 BC): it would therefore be several centuries older than the context of T. 4 Osta, which can be dated to the second quarter of the 8th century BC.

If our theory is in fact correct, this would be an "object with biography" and the result of prior high-level exchanges in the Aegean, before eventually ending up in the hands of a female member of the indigenous elite of Pre-Hellenic Cumae. We would be faced with a provenance and dating akin to those hypothesized by B. d'Agostino for the Late Bronze Age Cypriot ring-handled cauldron, laid down in T. 1 of the Nuovo Mattatoio cemetery in Capua (in any case older than our context, being dated roughly around the mid-9th century BC)³¹⁸. The presence of such a peculiar metal vessel among the grave-offerings of an indigenous tomb in Pre-Hellenic Cumae is likely to be ascribed to a high-level exchange of gifts with the indigenous elite by the Euboean/Phoenician/Cypriot components (on which see below) who frequented the village. The basin must have been seen

³¹⁰ Cf. MATTHÄUS 1985, esp.: no. 57, p. 75, pl. 3, from Enkomi, T. 11 of Late Cypriot IIB (diam. 19.5-22.7 cm); no. 63, p. 76, pl. 4, from Enkomi, T. 14 (diam. 19.5-21 cm); no. 79, p. 77, pl. 5, from Enkomi, T. 18, of Late Cypriot IIC (diam. 21-22 cm); no. 86, p. 78, from Enkomi, T. 19A, of Late Cypriot IIB (diam. 20-21 cm); no. 188, p. 82, pl. 10, from Enkomi, T. 9 of Late Cypriot IIC (diam. 23.4 cm). For the rim shape cf. MATTHÄUS 1985, 72, fig. 5f/a/e. For this shape in LBA Cypriot production cf., earlier, CATLING 1964, 147-148, fig. 17.1 (Enkomi, T. 6), pl. 26e (Lapithos, Kastros, T. 420).

³¹¹ MATTHÄUS 1985, 72, 99-104, figs. 8-11.

³¹² These measurements are taken from her drawing published in CRISCUOLO 2014, 95, fig. 4 (in the present volume Fig. 46).

³¹³ CRISCUOLO 2014, 95, note 57.

³¹⁴ MATTHÄUS 1985, no. 305, p. 107, pl. 17.

³¹⁵ MATTHÄUS 1985, 91-99.

³¹⁶ MATTHÄUS 1985, 99-104, figs. 8-11.

³¹⁷ MATTHÄUS 1985, 91, 98, fig. 7.

³¹⁸ D'AGOSTINO 2011a, 73; RAFANELLI 2013, 26, 46, 54-55.

as an object of value and worth, by both the Aegean and indigenous sides: an *agalma*-“object with biography”. And its “biography” was also made evident by the ancient repairs carried out on it.

In T. 4 Osta, such “external” relationships of the native elite are also made manifest through other grave-offerings: a hemispherical bronze cup with a slightly thickened rim, which can be ascribed to the same *Kalottenschalen* type, but smaller in size (diam. 14 cm), and which is probably also of Cypriot manufacture³¹⁹; and, as part of someone’s personal belongings, a pair of Nuragic buttons, hinting at relations with Sardinia, to which we will return shortly³²⁰.

4.6. *The native village and its interactions with Euboeans and others at the end of the Pre-Hellenic period*

In a summary view, I believe that the archaeological and contextual picture suggests a pattern of peaceful relationships (at least on a general level) established in this phase between the Euboean visitors to the Pre-Hellenic village of Cumae and the native population. Pointing to this is the continuity of Cumae’s necropolis from Pre-Hellenic I to Pre-Hellenic II, and up to Phase IIa, that is, until the mid-8th century BC: this continuity is shown both in the topography, with the continuation of the earlier burial areas, and in the funerary customs, through the persistent use of inhumation³²¹. In short, no hiatus is detectable in Cumae’s Pre-Hellenic necropolis during the second quarter of the 8th century BC, a time when Euboeans were intensively visiting the village. Conversely, at this time the composition of grave goods reveals the expansion of external relations established by the native population, through a significant presence of imported objects (pottery, metals, faïence and other objects) from Euboea, Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean, as well as from other regions of Italy, such as Sardinia and Etruria³²².

The close relationships established during the second quarter of the 8th century BC between the indigenous village and the Euboeans fit fully – even more evident thanks to recent data – into the pattern of the so-called “pre-colonial phase”. This must have been characterized by the establishment of close relations, based on peaceful mechanisms of reciprocity and exchange between the indigenous population of Pre-Hellenic Cumae and the Euboeans.

In a wider perspective, these mechanisms of the pre-colonial phase in Italy have been recently contextualized by Bruno d’Agostino in the more general framework of similar dynamics also affecting Sardinia, Spain and the northern coast of Africa: the mobile components mainly of Phoenicians and Euboeans (in a different way from region to region), but also of Sardinians and Villanovans, in true joint ventures, play a decisive role in these dynamics giving rise over time to forms of exchange and more or less extended permanence abroad, somehow in agreement with the indigenous populations of these regions³²³. For the Italian peninsula, the Euboean enterprises and interests in local populations are summarized by B. d’Agostino as follows: «As to the Greeks who moved westward, principally from Euboea, I believe that [...] they [...] had an interest in metal resources, especially those of Etruria; however, the marginal utility deriving from contacts and trade with local populations was of equal importance to them»³²⁴. The latter aspect must have been decisive in our particular case: the establishment of close relations between the Euboeans and the Pre-Hellenic village of Cumae were of great importance. In fact, it does not seem that in this context the mere supply of metals could have been the driving factor behind the establishment of pre-colonial relations.

Against this general background, the best-known archaeological cases in Sardinia (Sant’Imbenia), Spain (Malaga-La Rebanadilla, Huelva and Cadiz) and Africa (Utica) show how from the late 9th to 8th centuries BC the establishment of close relations between foreign components and indigenous populations is associated with more or less protracted forms

³¹⁹ MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, pl. 17.B33; CRISCUOLO 2014, 93-94, fig. 2.28; cf. another specimen from T. 4 Stevens in Cumae: CRISCUOLO 2014, 93. On this type: MATTHÄUS 1985, 71-104, pls. 1-16; and cf. also D’ACUNTO 2020e, 343-347, with bibliography.

³²⁰ CRISCUOLO 2012; 2014, 96, figs. 2.30-31 and figs. 5-6.

³²¹ CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008; GASTALDI 2018.

³²² CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008; CRISCUOLO 2012; 2014.

³²³ D’AGOSTINO 2014a; on Sardinia, Spain and the coast of Africa see recently: BERNARDINI – RENDELI 2020; BOTTO 2020; KOUROU 2020, with updated bibliography.

³²⁴ D’AGOSTINO 2014a, 401.

of on-site co-habitation by mainly Phoenician groups, but also by their foreign partners in joint ventures. In the pre-colonial phase in Italy, a similar situation, with Euboeans as protagonists, is postulated for the indigenous village of Francavilla Marittima in Calabria: this occurred before this settlement came to be included in the orbit of the newly founded Achaean *apoikia* of Sybaris (ca. 720 BC)³²⁵.

Is it possible to assume there were early forms of co-habitation by small Euboean groups in or near the village of Pre-Hellenic Cumae during the second quarter of the 8th century BC? To date the archaeological records are still limited and inconclusive. However, in my opinion, an archaeological picture is beginning to emerge that allows us to hypothesize early forms of residency between 775 and 750 BC by some Euboean merchants and craftsmen in Pre-Hellenic Cumae. This Euboean presence is likely to be envisioned as seasonal in character and more or less limited over time. A first clue, pointing in this direction, comes from the fairly high number of ceramic imports from Euboea, which have been brought to light in the native hut presented in this contribution: this testifies that there was a close system of relationships between the Euboean groups and the elite of the local village. Of course, in assessing the high impact factor of Euboean pottery, one must also consider the topographical position of the hut in the plain that yielded these sherds: this is located ca. 125 m from what must have been the southeastern boundary of the lagoon in the EIA (a boundary that lay just north of the line of the later Greek-Roman walls)³²⁶. It was, therefore, a sector of the lowland village gravitating towards the protected harbor in the lagoon, which was frequented by Euboean merchants; the indigenous groups who resided there were in charge of the harbor activities and were open to trade and interaction with the merchants who visited it.

A second, more specific clue in support of the hypothesis of early forms of Euboean co-habitation at the site is represented by bird skyphos 42 from our excavation: probably made on site by an

itinerant Euboean potter, it reflected a situation similar to that documented at Francavilla Marittima and perhaps at Pontecagnano (see above, chpt. 4.4.7): in short, a Euboean potter was probably working in Cumae at the end of the Pre-Hellenic period; he would have worked with local clay and made a product that in terms of morphology and decoration was Euboean, but which seems to have been intended for local use, if we are to judge from the context of its discovery (and the fact that it is also misfired). This implies some form of permanence of the Euboean potter and his activity on site, but it is impossible to establish whether this lasted for a long or short period of time. At present, this is a single piece of evidence, pending possible enrichment and clarification by further finds.

There is also a third small, albeit inconclusive, piece of evidence, which seems to me to point to some form of habitation on site by the Euboeans: it is the discovery in our Cumae native hut of the monochrome skyphos bearing the letter N of the Greek alphabet (48). This vessel, yet again, suggests close relations between influential members of the two groups. In this perspective, it suffices to recall how Phoenician inscriptions at Sant'Imbenia (Sardinia) and at the site of La Rebanadilla in Malaga (Spain) have been seen, amongst others, as items of proof of Phoenician habitation at the two sites³²⁷.

The proportion of Euboean pottery from the late Pre-Hellenic levels in the part of the hut which has been excavated, leaves no doubt that during this period the Euboeans were the main protagonists of relationships with the native people.

However, the discovery in the same levels of a good number of Phoenician-related sherds suggests that Phoenician-Sardinian merchants were also playing a pivotal role in this system of interaction with the local villagers. Massimo Botto, in a contribution which follows in this volume, will examine this archaeological evidence and will address the question of its interpretation.

From the point of view of the Greek ceramics of MG II-LG Ia, it is useful to compare from a general

³²⁵ See Jan Kindberg Jacobsen's and Gloria Mittica's contribution in the present volume.

³²⁶ The lagoon boundary is reconstructed in STEFANIUK – MORHANGE 2008, fig. 6 (X-VII sec. a.C.); cf. GASTALDI 2018, 163–168, fig. 2.

³²⁷ For Sant'Imbenia: BERNARDINI – D'ORIANO – SPANU 1997, esp. 48, 52–53; for La Rebanadilla in Malaga: BOTTO 2020, 355–361, fig. 8, with former bibliography.

point of view the findings from Cumae's Pre-Hellenic contexts with contemporary ones found in other sites in Italy, Sardinia, Spain and Africa. The PSC, chevron, black and one-metope bird skyphoi, most of them of Euboean production, closely recall those found in the Campania region settlements (together with the most prolific site of Pontecagnano³²⁸, there is Capua³²⁹) and in other Italian sites (esp. in southern Etruria, Veii and Cerveteri³³⁰), which are connected to the Euboean "pre-colonial" enterprises. The same MG II-LG Ia types of PSC, chevron, black and one-metope bird skyphoi, again most of them to be ascribed to Euboean production, are found in sites in Sardinia (cf. esp. Sant'Imbenia³³¹), Africa (Utica³³²) and Spain (esp. at Huelva³³³ and at Malaga-La Rebanadilla³³⁴): these sites are in the Phoenician orbit, but Euboeans as well as Sardinians and Villanovans must have been involved in joint ventures³³⁵. Worth noting is that the assemblage of Greek vessels in our Cumae context also includes black skyphoi, a type which is less common outside Euboea³³⁶. Thus, the association of these specific MG II-LG Ia pottery types in Pre-Hellenic Cumae illustrates how the native village was included in a wider central and western Mediterranean circuit; partners in this network were Phoenicians and Euboeans, with a leading role, respectively, in Sardinia-Africa-Spain, and in

Italy, and with a major role also played by the Sardinian and the native Italian communities. Searching for metal resources and metal processing were undoubtedly the main purpose of these joint ventures (such as was certainly the case for Spain, Sardinia and Etruria), but no less important was the utility deriving from contacts and trade which must have played a major role (such as in Campania).

In sum, the integration of different foreign groups, present at the site of Cumae and establishing close relations with the indigenous "Opician" village, would seem to reflect those "pre-colonial" dynamics characterized by joint ventures and also by co-habitation: in the specific case of Pre-Hellenic Cumae (and of Italy in general, excluding Sardinia) Euboeans must have played a greater role, as compared to Phoenicians/Sardinians.

With respect to this scenario, one last crucial question remains to be addressed which is whether the Euboean foundation of Pithekoussai also came into play in this system of exchanges involving the native village and the Euboeans and Phoenician/Sardinian groups.

In my opinion, a combination of archaeological factors means that the answer to this must be no, because this system of exchanges pivoting around the indigenous village of Cumae in the second quarter of the 8th century BC, was prior to Pithekoussai ("*prima di Pithecosa*"³³⁷); it would already have been fully assimilated to the dynamics of the so-called pre-colonial phase (with all the limitations associated with such a conventional definition).

Firstly, this is demonstrated by chronological observations, namely by the relative chronology of the Geometric ceramics found in the two contexts. As a matter of fact, in our context of Pre-Hellenic Cumae there are diagnostic types, which are on the contrary missing from the oldest pottery found in Pithekoussai (in the Gosetti dump, the necropolis, the "Stipe dei Cavalli", and in Mazzola): these are the PSC skyphoi, the chevron skyphoi of the MG II "classical" version, the black skyphoi, and the ancient variant of the one-metope bird skyphoi.

Moreover, the imported Greek pottery in the Pre-Hellenic village of Cumae can be ascribed to

³²⁸ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, and esp. D'AGOSTINO 2001; KOUROU 1999, 2005; D'AGOSTINO 2014b (PSC, chevron, black and one-metope bird skyphoi, together with other types).

³²⁹ MELANDRI 2011, esp. pls. 2-XL, 4-IV, 6-VIII, 2, 61; JOHANNOWSKY 1983, pls. VIII (T. 800), XIV (T. 248); JOHANNOWSKY und., 82, 85, 89 (chevron, black and one-metope skyphoi); the possibility remains open that the PSC skyphos said to be from Bojano might actually be from Capua (NASO 2014, no. Boja 1, 173-176, fig. 7). See also the finding of a PSC skyphos in Poggiomarino in the Sarno Valley (CICIRELLI – ALBORE LIVADIE 2012, 125 no. 1, 416, fig. 241.1).

³³⁰ BOITANI 2005; RIZZO 2005; D'AGOSTINO 2010-2011, 231-235 with references (PSC, chevron and one-metope bird skyphoi).

³³¹ RIDGWAY 1997, 50-51; BERNARDINI – RENDELI 2020, 329, figs. 10-11a-b (a PSC skyphos of Type 5, a chevron skyphos similar to our 47 and a one-metope bird specimen were found in the layer between the two floors in the "Capanna dei Ripostigli").

³³² BEN JERBANIA – REDISSI 2014, 182-190, figs. 4.1-3a-b and fig. 6 (a PSC and a chevron skyphos, together with a meander skyphos).

³³³ BOTTO 2020, 363-368, figs. 13-15, with references (PSC skyphoi and dishes, one-metope bird skyphos, together with meander skyphoi/kantharoi).

³³⁴ BOTTO 2020, 355-362, fig. 6, with references (a chevron skyphos, together with a meander skyphos).

³³⁵ D'AGOSTINO 2014a; BOTTO 2020.

³³⁶ Cf. D'AGOSTINO 2010-2011, 233.

³³⁷ Cf. the title of the volume BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, with reference to the publication of the vases from the pre-colonial period in the necropolis of Pontecagnano.

productions of Euboea, not of Pithekoussai: we have not identified any possible Pithekoussan sherd here (except, perhaps, from US 27080, immediately below the alluvial layer in the small excavation at the entrance to the southern domus; cf. chpt. 4.7). As we will see, this picture changes completely during the first colonial phase of Cumae, in LG I (750-720 BC): at that time, the Greek pottery found is either Pithekoussan production or imported Corinthian production (see below; chpt. 5.1-2).

Pithekoussai, therefore, had not yet been founded when Pre-Hellenic Cumae established this network of “pre-colonial” relations, in the second quarter of the 8th century BC, with the Euboeans and other Phoenician/Sardinian groups. Otherwise, and more likely, Pithekoussai must have been founded only shortly before the end of the indigenous village in Cumae (that is, around 750 BC)³³⁸ and hence shortly before the time when this system of external relations established by the native village came to an end. In short, these “pre-colonial” dynamics affecting Pre-Hellenic Cumae precede, both in terms of chronology and of function, the first Greek settlement in the West, Pithekoussai: the latter, despite the fact that aspects of the previous experience survive in it (e.g. the integration of Phoenician and indigenous elements), is a quantum leap. This quantum leap is represented by the takeover of the territory and by the foundation of the settlement abroad, where the Euboean community would live permanently.

Clearly, the in-depth knowledge of the Phlegraean region, acquired through the intensive pre-colonial presence of the Euboeans of Pre-Hellenic Cumae, must have not only helped, but also stimulated the Euboeans to establish their first two colonial foundations, in the West, Pithekoussai and Cumae. The strong appeal represented by the two sites’ potential in terms of trade, and the added incentive of a fertile agricultural plain in the case of Cumae, must have prompted the Euboeans to rethink the power dynamics in their relationship and the forms of interaction with the indigenous populations, through the new mechanism of colonial foundation, which was by now “Hellenocentric”.

³³⁸ On the earliest fragments from Pithekoussai see above chpt. 1.2.

4.7. The end of the native village of Pre-Hellenic Cumae: archaeological aspects and historical issues

Even before our recent excavations, two macroscopic aspects of the archaeological evidence had already made it clear that the breaking point was between the end of the native settlement and the subsequent foundation of the *apoikia*:

- 1) the end of the Pre-Hellenic necropolis, which had been characterized by the distinctive inhumation ritual of the Fossa Tomb culture and by grave-offerings consisting of handmade *impasto* vessels;
- 2) the discontinuity in topography that can be recognized on the same site between the Pre-Hellenic phase and the colonial phase.

In assessing these two macroscopic phenomena, it must be taken into consideration that, while there is a lack of context information for many of the burials excavated in the 19th century, we have more than sufficient general knowledge of the Pre-Hellenic necropolis³³⁹. Therefore, no doubt, there is evident topographical discontinuity between the Pre-Hellenic occupation of a large portion of the plain by the necropolis, and the occupation of its urban area by the Greek, Campanian and Roman city. More precisely, even in the earliest phase of the *apoikia*, the delimitation on the plain of an urban perimeter and an external area intended for burials is a clear phenomenon, at least from LG II (ca. 720-690 BC)³⁴⁰. However, as we will see below, the first traces of such a division are seen as early as the LG I phase (750-720 BC) (chpt. 5).

As for Monte di Cuma, which became the acropolis of the Greek, Campanian and Roman city, the first evidence of the sanctuaries of the *apoikia* dates back to LG (750-690 BC): this evidence consists of bronze statuettes (from the sanctuary on the upper terrace), figured pottery and iron weapons (from the sanctuary on the lower terrace), which can be safely identified as signs of the first cultic activities³⁴¹. As a result, also with refe-

³³⁹ See above chpt. 3.

³⁴⁰ Cf. below and previously D’ACUNTO 2017, 298-317; 2020, 1298-1303. For a general overview see ZEVİ *et al.* 2008, *passim*. On the necropolis see RESCIGNO – VALENZA MELE 2010.

³⁴¹ RESCIGNO *et al.* 2022; NITTI 2019, with relevant bibliography.

rence to the acropolis, the present-day archaeological evidence suggests a marked caesura from the Pre-Hellenic to the colonial phase, through the transition from the indigenous village to the identity sanctuaries of the *polis*³⁴².

At this point, the question must be asked as to when this caesura occurred, namely when the life of the indigenous settlement as a whole came to an end (not of its inhabitants, who may well have survived its end). The answer could come, primarily, from an analysis of the most recent Pre-Hellenic burials with their grave-offerings, but also from the stratigraphic evidence associated with the abandonment of the hut presented in this paper.

A key contribution from this point of view is the chronological assessment of Pre-Hellenic Cumae presented by Pia Criscuolo and Marco Pacciarelli at the 2008 Taranto conference dedicated to the site³⁴³. The two scholars presented a distinction of Pre-Hellenic Cumae in two phases, the most recent of which, II, «should mostly correspond to the beginning of the recent Early Iron Age phase, i.e. Pontecagnano IIA [...] From this perspective, it is important to establish the chronology of the end of the indigenous settlement of Cumae. There are fairly precise indications in this regard. While there are many types that can be correlated with the beginning of Phase 2 of the Early Iron Age and, in particular, with the Pontecagnano IIA and Capua IIA Phases, possible points of connection with Pontecagnano IIB and Capua IIB are currently rather scarce. This would seem to indicate a rapid depletion of the Pre-Hellenic community that occurred around the transition between the Pontecagnano IIA and IIB Phases, or at most right at the beginning of the latter. This perspective is also confirmed regarding Greek-type ceramics...»³⁴⁴.

In her recent contribution on Pre-Hellenic Cumae, P. Gastaldi basically supports Criscuolo and Pacciarelli's interpretation, pointing out that the

end of the Pre-Hellenic necropolis of Cumae should be placed at the transition between Phase IIA and at the latest, early IIB (of Pontecagnano); this break can only be interpreted as evidence of the abrupt deconstruction of the indigenous settlement. To emphasize this discontinuity, Gastaldi rightly insists on two points. The first is represented by the fact that this discontinuity marks the end of an indigenous settlement system that in Cumae goes back to the Late Bronze Age and continues into the Early Iron Age. The second point is the difference represented by the case of Pre-Hellenic Cumae, as compared to other "Proto-Etruscan" and Fossa Tomb culture settlements of EIA Campania: «...unlike the other indigenous centers in Campania, which, in the PF2B Phase, bring to fruition those dynamics that had been developed in the previous phase, Cumae seems to exhaust its vital charge around the middle years of the 8th century»³⁴⁵.

The hypothesis of an interruption of the Pre-Hellenic village, circa mid-8th century BC, finds parallel confirmation in the Greek pottery found in association with Tombs 3 and 29 Osta³⁴⁶ and with the late Pre-Hellenic dwelling context unearthed by the University L'Orientale to the north of the Forum baths. As stated, the Greek imported pottery found there includes PSC, monochrome, chevron and one-metope bird skyphoi, which can be dated in the relative sequences of Greek pottery to MG IIB (780-760 BC) and Attic LG Ia (760-750 BC), and which finds comparisons mainly in the imported specimens of the same types unearthed in the Pontecagnano tombs of Phase IIA³⁴⁷.

Consequently, the archaeological evidence from the village, brought to light in the plain, agrees with that of the necropolis in demonstrating the deconstruction of the Pre-Hellenic settlement approximately mid-8th century BC.

Through their stratigraphies, the archaeological contexts that mark the end of the Pre-Hellenic oc-

³⁴² Cf. D'ACUNTO 2017, 298-317; 2020, 1298-1303.

³⁴³ CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008. This paper represents the outcome of Criscuolo's PhD thesis, which classified all the grave-offerings from the indigenous necropolis, but, unfortunately, her dissertation has remained unpublished (CRISCUOLO 2004: *non vidi*).

³⁴⁴ Translated from CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, respectively pages 334 and 344. *Contra* NIZZO 2008b, 562-566, but cf. PACCIARELLI 2008, 567-568.

³⁴⁵ GASTALDI 2018, 189-198, quoted and translated from page 198.

³⁴⁶ Cf. CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 344.

³⁴⁷ For this phase, precisely on the basis of synchronisms with Greek pottery, B. d'Agostino has recently reaffirmed the absolute chronology to 780/770-750 BC (D'AGOSTINO 2016).

cupation help us to raise the question of how the indigenous settlement was abandoned, and also to address the issues of the possible historical causes.

First of all, at least one context was clearly abandoned at the end of the Pre-Hellenic period; there was neither immediate reoccupation nor any resumption of life and activities in the same structure following its abandonment. This is the case of the indigenous hut and adjoining areas brought to light by our team north of the Forum baths, below the peristyle (see F. Nitti above, chpt. 4.1). Fragments belonging to several vessels were found on the Pre-Hellenic floor levels below the western part of the peristyle; these vessels had been clearly abandoned *in situ* (Figs. 18.1): to mention but one example, monochrome skyphos **45**, was recomposed from several fragments recovered from findpoints which were a short distance apart on the adjoining areas of the hut of the hut. In addition, part of PSC skyphos **44** was lying on the hut floor, where it was found in the most recent excavation campaign.

Above all, another sector of this domestic context shows how the hut must have been abruptly abandoned: this is the area clearly intended for warehouse-storage functions, which was brought to light below the southeastern portion of the peristyle in the 2022 and 2023 excavation campaigns (US 28100, Figs. 18.3, 33-35). In this southeastern sector, on the floor of the oval/absidal Pre-Hellenic hut, the following objects were uncovered: several cooking stands, storage and food cooking vessels, all of which were of different sizes and shapes. These have been found broken into pieces in the same findspot and in close proximity (see chpt. 4.1). Only restoration, which is currently in progress (Figs. 37-39), will make it possible for us to identify the precise number of cooking stands and pots, and their composition; at the same time, palaeobotanical analyses³⁴⁸ will allow us to define the contents of the pots, which would seem to have been intended for storage (during excavation we were able to observe that some of these pots contained vegetable matter). What is clear, however, is that this must have been the inner sector of the hut: a sector intended as a warehouse and for

storage of foodstuffs which must have been associated with the fire area brought to light a short distance away under the western portion of the peristyle (see above F. Nitti, chpt. 4.1.3). It is important to point out that this specific sector of a warehouse within the hut, characterized by the concentration of cooking stands and vessels *in situ*, yielded a very small number of faunal remains; on the contrary, these were concentrated in the western sector below the peristyle and this revealed different functional areas within this residential unit.

This deposition context shows that, no doubt, some cogent reasons must have induced the hut occupants to abandon these pots and cooking stands *in situ*. Not only were they subsequently unable to go back to living in the hut, but they did not have the opportunity to recover the pots or other objects either. This is made even clearer if we consider that the cooking stands included some rather large specimens which must have been of some value (see esp. Fig. 38) especially as they were complex creations from a technical point view. In short, the picture we can reconstruct based on the evidence, is one of abrupt abandonment and a definitive end to the Pre-Hellenic hut's life.

The question subsequently arises as to whether the abandonment of this indigenous hut may have been provoked by natural disasters. In particular, the question is whether major alluvial events³⁴⁹ (since there is no stratigraphic evidence of possible volcanic activity at this stage) could have been responsible for the abandonment and destruction of the hut. From a superficial stratigraphic analysis, such an interpretation of the sequence of events could find support in the observation that the Pre-Hellenic hut is covered by a very deep alluvial level (between 30 and 50 cm) which is almost completely lacking in materials (Fig. 35). However, there is one piece of stratigraphic evidence which is extremely important and which leads us to exclude the hypothesis of a cause-and-effect relationship between the alluvial level by which the indigenous hut was covered and its state of abandonment with the *in situ* materials. This stratigraphic evidence is represented by the fact

³⁴⁸ In progress and conducted by Prof. Matteo Delle Donne and Mara Soldatini.

³⁴⁹ On the evidence and problems relating to flood events at Cumae and water regimentation systems in Archaic times see D'ACUNTO 2020b.

that the pots and cooking stands, crushed *in situ* in the hut's warehouse-storage sector, were covered in part, in the northern area, by an earthen floor, which in turn was covered by the alluvial level: its compact surface implies a walking floor and allows us to identify anthropic activity (Figs. 33 and 35: "floor with post holes")³⁵⁰. There is evidence of aligned post holes of small diameter on this surface. This leads to the hypothesis of the presence on this floor of a basic framework not pertaining to the hut: the most likely hypothesis is that of a small enclosure/shelter allowing the exploitation of an open-air area.

The same stratigraphy has also been brought to light below the western side of the peristyle (chpt. 4.1.1) and we shall remind you here what the corresponding levels in this area are: the floor with *in situ* cooking stands, storage and cooking vessels (US 28100) corresponds to Levels II-III (UUSS 27837-27838) on the western part of the peristyle; the upper floor characterized by the presence of small post holes (US 28072), which is just below the deep alluvial level, corresponds to Level IV on the western part of the peristyle (US 27815). It is important to point out that below the western part of the peristyle the tight stratigraphic sequence of Levels I-III is broken by a thin alluvial layer (US 27828): this covers Level III and evens out the natural slope of the area. The thin alluvial layer is covered by Level IV and thus shows clear discontinuity between Level III and Level IV. Therefore, this evidence supports the hypothesis of the abrupt abandonment and interruption of life in the area before Level IV.

In sum, between the level of the indigenous hut with the *in situ* vessels and furnishings underneath and the thick alluvial level above it, there is clear stratigraphic evidence of an intermediate anthropic phase: this points to a presence/occupation of the area, marking a distinction with the previous hut, because it is characterized by the installation of simple structures and overlays what is a much thinner alluvial layer which overlies the hut floor. There is an important stratigraphic clue that confirms the temporary nature of this intermediate anthropic phase: this clue is represented by the fact that this floor covered the level of the cooking-stands and pots from the previous hut only in the northern part, and also the

fact that we found a tall cylindrical-shaped pot still standing under the southern side of the excavation area. In the southern part, however, the finds from the indigenous hut were positioned at a higher level than the intermediate floor (see F. Nitti above and Fig. 33). The provisional nature of this occupation, which overlaps the indigenous hut, is also confirmed by the fact that this intermediate level has yielded very few materials, which are unfortunately non-diagnostic from a chronological point of view. As a result, this prevents precise dating of this occupation. The few materials from this intermediate floor include both handmade *impasto* and wheel-made Greek ceramics: the latter consists of a few fragments that can be identified as possible Euboean imports and some micaceous fragments which, on the contrary, could be of Phlegraeian manufacture. It is important to point out that the *impasto* fragments from the intermediate level include, without doubt, some residual ones from the lower native hut floor: this is demonstrated by the fact that some of these *impasto* fragments are adjoining with others which were found on the native hut floor. As a result, their residual character prevents us from using them as evidence regarding the nature of the occupation during this intermediate phase.

This intermediate floor must also correspond to the most recent level (US 27080) brought to light below the alluvial layer, in the small excavation conducted in 2007 (see above, C. Merluzzo, chpt. 4.2-3, Fig. 44). US 27080 yielded both a few sherds that we identify as being of Euboean fabric, and a few micaceous sherds which might perhaps be of Phlegraeian manufacture.

In the different deep excavations carried out by the University of Napoli L'Orientale in the area to the north of the Forum baths, the deep alluvial level lies above this intermediate level. The alluvial layer must be interpreted, due to its considerable thickness, as the result of repeated alluvial phenomena in an area that must have been abandoned for some time. In short, the flood level is the effect of the abandonment of the area, not the cause that produced it. It marks, in this area, a sharp stratigraphic break between the Pre-Hellenic period (below) and the colonial horizon (above).

However, our stratigraphy may suggest a slightly different and more complex historical sequence.

³⁵⁰ See in detail F. Nitti above, chpt. 4.1.1.

One hypothesis is particularly tempting. The first “colonial” horizon or some sort of Greek intervention in the native village might be represented by the intermediate floor with those simple structures (Level IV, UUSS 28072, 27080). It covers the floor of the indigenous hut and its adjoining areas (Levels II-III, US 28100), and is, in turn, covered by the deep alluvial level. This assumption would find support in the sharp stratigraphic caesura that the intermediate floor marks, with respect to the abandonment of the indigenous hut. The few materials associated with this intermediate floor could indicate the framework of a transitional phase and we must ask ourselves whether this transitional phase might have seen Pithekoussai as a protagonist, together with Euboeans from the motherland, around the middle of the 8th century. We also wonder if this transitional phase might have been characterized by some sort of submission/integration of the indigenous population (see the *impasto* pottery found there). The alternative would be to interpret this intermediate level as a sporadic reoccupation by the indigenous inhabitants, who could still have been in control of the area, at a stage when relations with Pithekoussai had already been established. The limited extent of our excavation area and the small number of associated finds induces the utmost caution, pending more information from further field research: it is too early to make any definitive statements one way or the other.

Nevertheless, at the present state of knowledge, all the layers which have been brought to light in the different trenches and which refer to this intermediate level just below the deep alluvial level, show two aspects from the point of view of their associated pottery: 1) some of the fragments found there are clearly residual from the lower levels, since they are adjoining with some others from the domestic Pre-Hellenic lower levels; 2) not one fragment from the intermediate level can be referred to the subsequent LG I phase, because no diagnostic types from this phase have been identified among them (such as the kotylai of the Aetos 666 type, the Thapsos skyphoi with panel etc.). Albeit an *argumentum ex silentio*, this is a clue that the intermediate level refers to a short occupation in the mid-8th century BC.

What we can hypothesize, as of now, is that in this phase, which should be placed at the mid-8th century BC, a close relationship must have already

been established (or rather, strengthened) between the Greek group (Pithekoussans/Euboeans) and the indigenous people.

At this point, it would be useful to broaden our analysis by recalling the comparison with the stratigraphy sealing the Pre-Hellenic necropolis uncovered by the Centre Jean Bérard about fifty meters northwest of the Middle Gate. This context is also characterized by strong stratigraphic discontinuity between the Pre-Hellenic phase and the levels that can be traced back to the earliest phases of the *apoikia*. As a matter of fact, in this sector, the Pre-Hellenic tombs were sealed by a thick layer of silt of approximately 1 m, which was completely lacking in materials; above this were the first traces of later occupation of the area, dating between the last quarter of the 8th and the first half of the 7th century BC, consisting of pits, post holes and canals³⁵¹. This sector of the Pre-Hellenic necropolis was close to the southern limit of the lagoon: therefore, this muddy layer sealing the Pre-Hellenic necropolis must be the result of phenomena related to the configuration of the lagoon and its banks. The deep silty layers, therefore, brought to light respectively in the excavations to the north of the Forum baths and to the north of the Middle Gate, are the result of a series of natural events: in the first case, flood waters which would have flowed down to this part of the site due to its sloping profile, and in the second case, to causes related to the lagoon banks and their changing configuration. However, what they have in common is that they bear witness to a strong stratigraphic break between the pre-colonial and colonial levels, and this is due to the fact that the areas were very evidently abandoned during this time lapse: the flooding had not been contained and thus occupied the now deserted areas (regardless of the intensity or frequency of alluvial events during this period).

All in all, the LG I phase is the result of anthropic reoccupation of areas which do not show any continuity with the previous human installations. Whether or not the intermediate level is the first evidence of a “colonial” horizon and/or of a

³⁵¹ BRUN *et al.* 2000, 145; BATS – BRUN – MUNZI 2008, 529; cf. GASTALDI 2018, 194.

single action by the Pithekoussans/Euboeans against the natives, LG I Cumae must be seen as a new reality and the result of a new historical phenomenon: this is undoubtedly related to the horizon of the *apoikia*.

Coming back to our Pre-Hellenic hut which was left with its furnishings *in situ*, as we have stated above, the archaeological context of deposition and stratigraphy do not suggest that it was natural events that led to its abandonment. Other compelling reasons seem to have prompted its abrupt abandonment and, in some way, “discouraged” its reoccupation. This scenario suggests that historical factors, namely as the result of interactions between groups of people, were the real cause of the abandonment and non-reoccupation of the indigenous hut.

Since this discontinuity characterizes, at a general level, the entire site of Cumae at the end of the Pre-Hellenic period, we can assume that this sharp break could have been caused by the dynamics related to the phenomenon of Greek colonization in the Gulf of Naples, with the foundation first of Pithekoussai and then of Cumae. The deconstruction of Cumae's Pre-Hellenic settlement must be due to those historical mechanisms in which Greek groups, mainly Euboeans, played a leading role in the creation of stable and entirely new settlements, as compared to previous pre-colonial dynamics.

With respect to the indigenous community already present at the site of Cumae, the Euboean settlers must have shifted the balance in power relationships, utilizing the new “colonial” model, which had already been put in place at Pithekoussai³⁵². Therefore, it is difficult to elude the hypothesis that this new “colonial” model must indeed underlie the sharp caesura that in the site of Cumae occurs around the middle of the 8th century BC. Compared to the earlier “pre-colonial” model, which must have been based on a system of relations created by Euboean merchants and craftsmen with those already inhabiting the indigenous village, the quantum leap from the Greek perspective must be reflected in acquiring control of the territory and in tipping the balance in favor of the Greek colonial settlement vis-à-vis the indigenous

people: we can assume that this must have occurred in Cumae around the mid-8th century BC or shortly after, at a time immediately following the foundation of Pithekoussai.

Of course, tipping the balance and taking control of the territory by the “colonial” groups would not necessarily have resulted in the disappearance or generalized expulsion of the natives, but rather in their reintegration, in a more or less subordinate position, within the *apoikia*. This integration could well have come about, as recent studies by archaeologists have reconstructed, in a similar way to Pithekoussai. What these studies did in fact reveal about Pithekoussai, with reference to the presence of natives in this Greek colonial community, is that there was an intertwining based on the mechanism of mixed marriages (*epigamiai*) for females, and for males, on their involvement in production activities³⁵³.

One last key question is potentially the most tricky and delicate. Could this shift have happened in a consensual manner, so to speak, between the Greek newcomers and the natives, or was the use of violence resorted to? And at what stage in a colonial process of this type would violence have been employed?

It is impossible to answer this with any degree of confidence based on archaeological evidence, and we are, in general, skeptical of approaches that seek archaeological proof of conquests that would have occurred through violence.

In our archaeological context, admittedly, the possibility of recognizing the use of violence remains open for the extensive fire, which affected the hut and must have been related to its abandonment, as the stratigraphy suggests. As a matter of fact, during the 2022 campaign, an extensive burnt layer was brought to light in the storage sector of the indigenous hut and in the southwestern area (see F. Nitti above, chpt. 4.1.3); in the southwest corner, in the vicinity of a number of cooking stands, and partially underneath them, a large area with consistent traces of fire was found in a partially disrupted state: ash, charcoal, and fragments of burned clay were

³⁵² D'ACUNTO 2017; 2020; forthcoming.

³⁵³ CERCHIAI 1997; D'AGOSTINO 2010-2011, 225-228; GUZZO 2012; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013; CERCHIAI 2014; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2014; D'ACUNTO 2020, 1291-1298, and forthcoming; L. Cerchiai, in this volume.

found scattered toward the northwest. The 2023 campaign induced us to exclude the possibility that these traces referred to an actual hearth: in the inner part of the oval/apsidal structure of the hut, along the perimeter, there was a concentration of ash, charcoals, and burned clay. It is very likely that such traces are to be correlated with an extensive fire that affected the hut at the time of its abandonment, causing the collapse of the perimeter. This interpretation is also supported by what is visible on the surfaces of several vessels from the southwestern part of the storage area on the hut floor: some adjoining fragments from the same vessel are charred while others are not, thus showing that the fire started when they had already been broken; the same phenomenon is seen on fragments of vessels found in other areas of the hut, such as PSC skyphos 44.

The stratigraphy is a key aspect in order to reconstruct the progressive events which occurred within a short timeframe, from the second quarter to around the middle of the 8th century BC, in the area of the Pre-Hellenic hut. The floor of the hut with *in situ* cooking stands, storage and cooking vessels (US 28100) is covered along its perimeter by a fire layer consisting of a concentration of ash, charcoals, and burned clay: the fire had destroyed the hut or, at the very least, it was partly to blame for its destruction. This fire layer was covered in the central and northern part of the hut by the “intermediate” walking floor, which was characterized by the presence of a series of small post holes (US 28072): this floor had been laid after the destruction of the hut and reflects a sporadic occupation of the area with simple structures. The intermediate floor is covered by a deep alluvial level, which indicates abandonment of the area for a certain period of time. Consequently, this stratigraphy demonstrates the following chain of events: 1) the life of the hut with the vessels and cooking stands in the storage area (second quarter of the 8th century BC); 2) the destruction of the hut involving an extensive fire (ca. mid-8th century BC); 3) the sporadic reoccupation of the area with simple structures built on the intermediate walking floor; 4) the abandonment of the area, which was covered by the flood layer.

It is possible that the damage to the hut, which was caused by the fire, is the result of intentional violent destruction. However, it is clear that other

possible causes may have led to this extensive fire in the dwelling. The question remains open.

No definitive answer can be found in literary sources either. As the present paper concentrates, primarily, on an archaeological perspective of reading historical phenomena, we will postpone a reflection on the foundation traditions of Cumae to a follow-up paper, in order to make a critical comparison with the currently available archaeological records. We can, however, underline how both dynamics, whether a peaceful, consensual transition or a violent takeover, are found in *ktisis* traditions. In the first case, in the Sibylline oracle of foundation reported by Phlegon of Tralles (*FGrH* 257 F36XB, 53-6), the first step towards the colonization of Cumae would have been taken by groups from Pithekoussai and characterized by the use of trickery (*dolos*): this would suggest a possible peaceful cohabitation with the natives, at an early stage. As for the use of violence (*bia*), this is referred, in the same oracle, to a later stage in the process of the foundation of Cumae by the Pithekoussans: some form of violence against the native inhabitants is clearly implied here. From a similar viewpoint, the Cumaeans, who went on to establish the “first” Zankle on the Straits of Messina, are labeled by Thucydides (6.4.5) as “pirates” (*leistai*).

Nevertheless, I believe that it is the overall framework showing a sharp caesura between the Pre-Hellenic and the colonial phases (see the remarks on the topography of the Pre-Hellenic settlement and on the end of its necropolis, in the first part of this chapter) that suggests the hypothesis that the Greek groups used violent force, at least in the initial stages, against the indigenous population. Archaeology, at the current state of knowledge, suggests that this can be placed around the mid-8th century BC or shortly afterwards (ca. 750-740 BC). In our specific context, reasons of force majeure brought about by conflicts between different groups could explain the sudden abandonment of the hut with its furnishings *in situ* and its fire destruction. In short, the present state of archaeological evidence would suggest that this was a critical time of conflict connected to an early stage in Cumae’s colonial process at the mid-8th century point or just after that.

But can we say that it was the groups from Euboea that were responsible for all of this tur-

moil? Or was it more likely to have been the Euboeans who had settled in Pithekoussai a few years before? Or could it possibly have been a combination of the two?

These questions introduce us to the last chapter dealing with the archaeological picture of Cumae in LG I (750-720 BC). Once again, we will focus on the evidence which has been brought to light since 2007 in the excavations carried out north of the Forum baths by the University of Napoli L'Orientale.

Matteo D'Acunto

5. THE FIRST PHASE OF THE *APOIKIA* (LG I: 750-720 BC)

5.1. *LG I* contexts

During the excavations conducted in the *insula* located north of the Forum baths, the presence of ceramic finds referable to LG I has constantly been documented in secondary contexts in stratigraphies of the later periods (see M. D'Acunto, below, chpt. 5.2). However, several trenches have also revealed contexts in primary position referable to this chronological horizon.

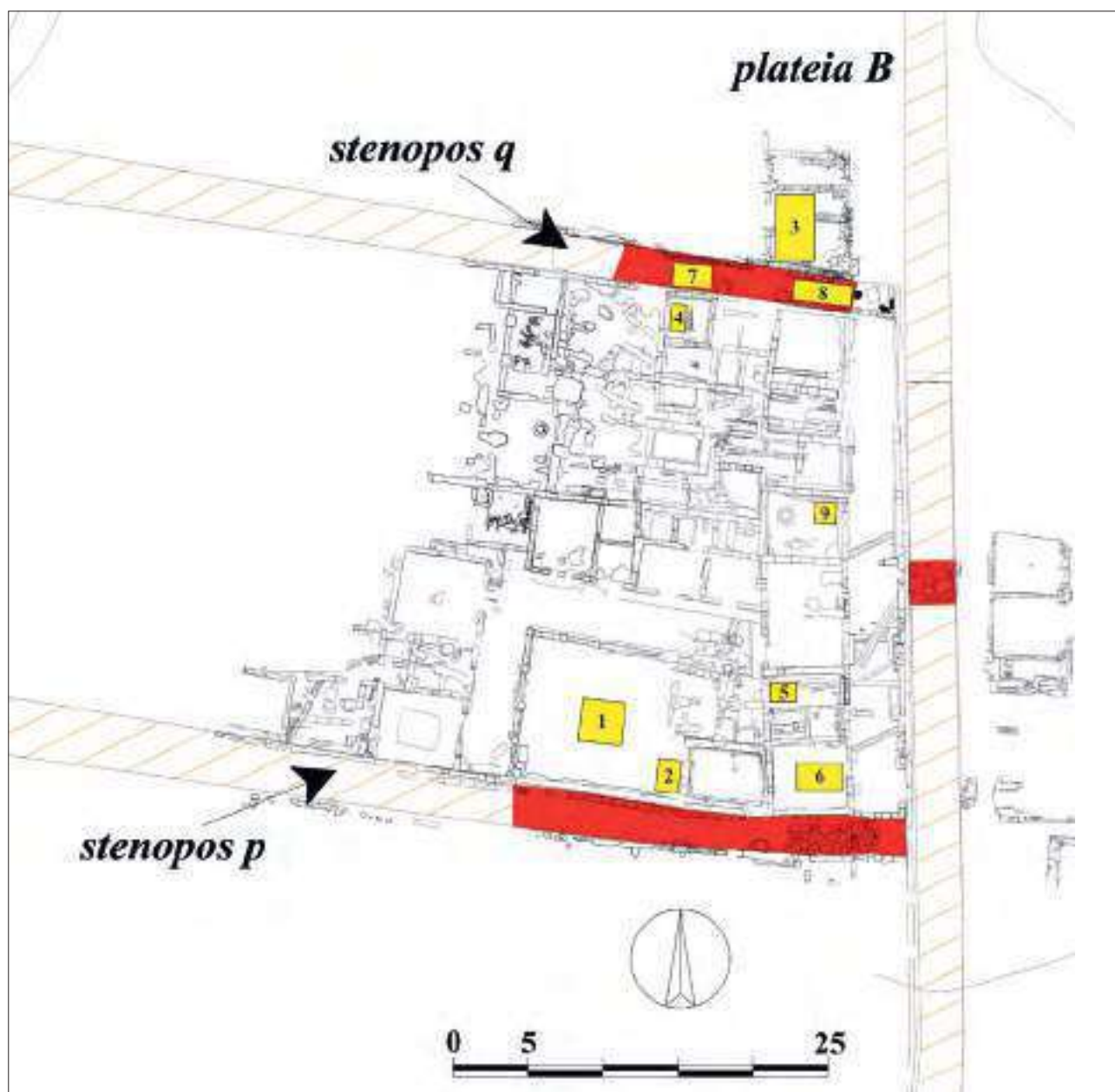


Fig. 47. Excavated areas where domestic evidence of LG I was brought to light (in yellow) in primary and secondary deposition – University of Napoli L'Orientale excavations, 2007, 2008, 2013, 2017, 2021, 2022 (© University of Napoli L'Orientale)

The stratigraphic excavation conducted in the central area of the peristyle of the *domus* occupying the southern part of the *insula* (Fig. 47.1) revealed traces of occupation of the area during LG I. This early evidence emerged directly on the surface of the alluvial deposit (US 27754, Fig. 20 in red), which obliterated the entire area around the middle of the 8th century BC (see F. Nitti above, chpt. 4.1). A hearth, characterized by a first filling layer consisting of charred wood and a thin layer of ash on the surface, had been created within the alluvial sand layer. Next to the hearth, a few fragments pertaining to a hemispherical kotyle were found, which can be identified as being of Pithekoussan fabric on the basis of the clay and its peculiar coating (82). The specimen, of which part of the body, rim and one handle are preserved, has a distinctive squiggle decoration in the panel between the handles. This decorative motif would have framed a central metope. The handle has the typical decoration of LG I kotylai with vertical bars. In the Phlegraean area, the main comparisons for this specimen come from a fragment of Euboean fabric found in the earth layers dumped in between the two curtains of late Archaic walls of Cumae³⁵⁴, and from a kotyle of Pithekoussan fabric from Tomb 990 of the San Montano necropolis at Pithekoussai³⁵⁵. In the Pithekoussan specimen the squiggles frame an aquatic bird located in the center of the panel³⁵⁶, and it is plausible to assume a similar decoration for our kotyle as well. More in general, the type echoes a series of LG I Corinthian kotylai characterized by a distinctive squiggle motif, which is sometimes made with zig-zags³⁵⁷.

Further evidence referable to the same chronological phase was unearthed in the adjacent area located at the southeast corner of the peristyle (Fig.

47.2). Immediately above the alluvial deposit, an earthen floor was preserved (US 28055-28054, Fig. 20.C, in orange) characterized by the presence of a hearth (Fig. 48). This consisted of an elongated pit, about 20 cm deep, internally lined with a thick layer of clay. This clay lining, completely scorched by the flames of the fire, must have been very good at insulating the embers from the humidity of the soil. Preserved at the base of the hearth was a layer of charred wood and ash (clearly visible in the section depicted in Fig. 35), on which were lying two tuff blocks, completely burned and blackened by prolonged exposure to fire (Fig. 49). These blocks were probably used as supports during firing activities. All around the hearth, traces of food preparation and eating activities were preserved: in addition to numerous charcoals, that conferred a blackish coloration to the layer, numerous faunal remains were



Fig. 48. LG I floor with a hearth (in the center of the right side of the photo) unearthed in the southeast corner of the peristyle of the southern *domus*, cf. Fig. 47.2 (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)



Fig. 49. LG I hearth unearthed in the southeast corner of the peristyle of the southern *domus*, cf. Fig. 47.2 (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

³⁵⁴ *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 20, pl. 2A.12.

³⁵⁵ The specimen, some fragments of which are preserved, is still unpublished and is part of a group of sporadic finds pertaining to tomb 990.

³⁵⁶ A similar decoration is present on a hemispherical kotyle of local fabric from the sanctuary of the upper terrace of the acropolis of Cumae (PAGANO – DEL VILLANO 2022, 160, no. 3.17). In this specimen, however, the squiggles are floating within the panel.

³⁵⁷ Cf. HEURTLEY – ROBERTSON 1948, pl. II, 15; WEINBERG 1943, 36, pl. 16.107.

found. Among the various ceramic finds, worthy of note are an imported Corinthian kotyle of the Aetos 666 type (**83**; Pl. 18) and a fragment pertaining to the bottom of a lekane decorated with linear and geometric motifs, which, based on the clay can be identified as being of Pithekoussan fabric (**84**; Pl. 21).

This evidence, located immediately above the surface of the alluvial deposit, testifies to a stable occupation of the area from LG I onward. Although we have not yet traced the limits of an actual structure, the presence of hearths, associated with faunal remains and vessels related to the consumption of food (probably the lekane) and wine (probably the kotyle), shows that the area was used for domestic purposes. Remarkably, these LG I contexts reveal strong continuity in the forms of occupation in the following LG II phase as well. These stratigraphic layers located immediately above were similarly characterized by hearths and clear evidence of food preparation and consumption that occurred *in situ*.

Francesco Nitti

Recent investigations in the area north of *stenopos* q (fig. 47.3)³⁵⁸ confirm the situation described above: during the 2022 excavation campaign³⁵⁹, a tight sequence of layers with artifacts in evident primary position was unearthed, testifying to an intense occupation of the area in the Late Geometric I period (750-720 BC).

Our excavations revealed a layer with anthropic activity markers, in which two fireplaces of different size and shape were documented. The first fireplace was located in the southeastern area of the trench: it was a large elliptical hearth, whose southern boundary was defined by an arrangement of small-sized irregularly-shaped tufa blocks. It measured approximately 100x60 cm and contained a 7-8 cm thick layer of whitish ash, accumulated above a thin layer of charcoal (Fig. 50). Unfortunately, the hearth only yielded a modest amount of archaeological finds: besides some faunal remains, it contained sherds of *impasto* pottery, among which



Fig. 50. LG I hearth unearthed in the area north of *stenopos* q, cf. Fig. 47.3 (photo M. D'Onofrio, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)



Fig. 51. Refractory surface of an LG I hearth unearthed in the area north of *stenopos* q, cf. Fig. 47.3 (photo M. D'Onofrio, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

two adjoining fragments of a carinated bowl (**87**; Pl. 21) stand out³⁶⁰. They came from the thin layer of charcoal lying at the base of the hearth, which also yielded a fragment of a skyphos of Pithekoussan fabric (**86**; Pl. 16). It is probably a floating chevron skyphos, which can be dated around or shortly after the middle of the 8th century BC. The ash layer that sealed the hearth yielded instead a fragment of a lekane (**88**; Pl. 21), probably of Pithekoussan fabric. This fragment stands out for its unusual decoration, for which no comparisons seem to be known: the usual “wave” motif, generally attested on the upper part of the body³⁶¹, is here replaced by a painted

³⁵⁸ This area has been investigated since 2015, under the supervision of Dr Sara Napolitano (2015-2016), Marco Tartari (2017-2018) and the author (2019-2022).

³⁵⁹ The excavation campaign was conducted from September 5 to 30, 2022.

³⁶⁰ For the analysis of these peculiar fragments and the discussion about their identification, see catalogue record no. 87, written by Dr Chiara Impronta.

³⁶¹ Cf. Mariassunta Cuozzo's contribution on the lekanai found in the earth layers dumped between the two curtains of the late Archaic walls in *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 32-33.

band, whose upper part is composed of a series of irregularly painted triangles.

The second fireplace, located about one meter north of the first, had a very peculiar structure, and there is no comparison to be found in the hearths the University of Napoli L'Orientale has already excavated in the domestic contexts of Cumae. This particular fireplace consisted of an irregularly-shaped raw clay surface, which appeared strongly rubefied due to the exposure to high temperatures (Fig. 51). It measured approximately 30x40 cm and it was sealed by a mound of whitish-grey ash, approximately 10 cm high. Under the refractory surface, a layer of charcoal was unearthed.

Unfortunately, a very small number of pottery sherds came from the ash heap and the refractory surface, and none of them is particularly diagnostic. However, the layers associated with these two hearths have yielded some significant finds. They include a fragment of an LG I squiggle kotyle (89; Pl. 18), whose clay suggests a Pithekoussan fabric, and a fragment of an imported Corinthian kantharos (90; Pl. 21), which can also be dated to LG I. Among the finds from this context, an LG I kotyle (91; Pl. 18), reassembled from 21 fragments, stands out. It is a refined Pithekoussan imitation of a Corinthian prototype, coated in the yellowish-cream slip typical of the so-called Pithekoussan Workshops³⁶². A large part of the body of the kotyle is preserved, including the attachment of one of the rod handles, which must have been decorated with a double horizontal continuous line. The space between the handles was decorated with a panel framed by groups of vertical lines, interrupted by an hourglass motif. Unfortunately, the panel is not preserved, so it is impossible to determine with certainty what kind of decoration filled it. Nevertheless, the traces preserved on one of the fragments allow us to hypothesize the presence of a geometric motif, flanked by one or two birds³⁶³. Below the level of the handles, the upper part of the body is decorated with parallel horizontal lines, while the lower part is fully painted, except for a thin reserved band. The ring-shaped foot is fully painted, while the bottom is decorated

with concentric circles. The presence of a high number of fragments belonging to the same vessel in the same area leaves no doubt as to its original primary position. The replacement of the characteristic vertical bars with two horizontal lines on the handle, as well as the rather taut profile of the body, which still retains the characteristic hemispherical shape of the Corinthian LG kotyle, suggest a dating to an advanced/final stage of LG I. Its chronology, along with that of the pottery sherds previously mentioned, allows us to date the excavated context to a period between 750-720 BC, corresponding to Late Geometric I of the Pithekoussan-Cumae sequence.

It is therefore clear that the context investigated testifies to an intense occupation of the area since the third quarter of the 8th century BC, allowing the very early colonial horizon of Cuma to be framed in this phase. As in the peristyle area, the few but significant diagnostic sherds of wheel-made pottery almost all pertain to drinking vessels (the previously mentioned kotylai, skyphos and kantharos), except for the lekane, which is the main vessel related to food consumption. The sherds of coarse/handmade ware are also consistent with a domestic use of the area, as proved by the presence of fragments of *ollae* and cups. The occurrence of Phlegraean/Pithekoussan pottery suggests that the Euboean component of Pithekoussai played a leading role in this early phase of the *apoikia* of Cumae. At the same time, its association with some handmade *impasto* vases, such as the carinated bowl which has already been mentioned, hints at some form of presence/integration/submission of the indigenous population.

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5.2. Pithekoussai's and Cumae's earliest ceramics

In other deep trenches of small size, some LG I contexts in primary deposition and of a domestic character were also uncovered (Figs. 47.4-9). We will refer to these later.

In general, a constant feature of all the deep trenches, which we conducted at several points of the *insula* north of the Forum baths, was the discovery of a relatively good number of ceramic fragments, which may be identified as LG I (750-720). They were mainly found in secondary deposition in later stratigraphies of LG II (720-690 BC): both in the artificial fill level on which the dwell-

³⁶² NEEFT 1987, 59-65, notes 176-177.

³⁶³ Possible comparisons for the decoration of the kotyle panel include COLDSTREAM 1968, pl. 19.1, and the kotyle from tomb 33 of Villasmundo in Sicily.

ings were installed before the urban layout (late 8th c. BC), and in the subsequent artificial dump level on which the urban layout was created (ca. 700-690 BC). These LG I fragments must refer to the same period of residential occupation of the area, related to the first phase of the *apoikia*, as documented by the aforementioned contexts in primary deposition.

As a matter of fact, two reasons suggest that these LG I fragments, albeit found in secondary deposits, *do not* relate to the horizon of the pre-existing Pre-Hellenic indigenous village:

- 1) their finding context in stratigraphies later than the alluvial level, which, as we have said, clearly demarcates the end of the indigenous village in this area;
- 2) their types and productions (Pithekoussan and Corinthian), which are not represented in the habitation levels of the Pre-Hellenic village.

In sum, they must be evidence of the first phase of the *apoikia* in this sector of the site. More specifically, judging by the other closed contexts brought to light, these finds must refer to housing in the area from the earliest colonial horizon.

In this section we will present a selection of finds from this phase, organized by type and starting with the oldest, which can be ascribed to the transition between MG II and LG I. They consist of both Corinthian imports and Pithekoussan (or Pithekoussan-Cumaean) products. In addition to the fragments from our excavations, comparisons with others of the same types found in other contexts from Cumae, and from Pithekoussai, as well as the early Sicilian colonies, will be recalled. This allows us to return to the question of the foundation date of Cumae, as compared with that of Pithekoussai and of the earliest *apoikiai* of Sicily, an issue we introduced in the first chapter of this contribution.

From this point of view, it is essential to briefly come back to the relative (and absolute) date of the foundation of Pithekoussai, since our earliest Cumae fragments, later than the Pre-Hellenic phase, roughly align with that date. The common view is well-known³⁶⁴. Pithekoussai's earliest tombs, which have been published so far, date

from the beginning of LG I. However, a sporadic chevron skyphos of local production from the necropolis³⁶⁵ has been temptingly referred to an earlier disturbed tomb dating back to the end of MG II. This date roughly aligns with the late MG II/early LG I finds from the Gosetti dump, as established firstly by D. Ridgway and later pointed out by N. Coldstream³⁶⁶: a Corinthian skyphos with close chevron decoration³⁶⁷ and several Euboean skyphoi with close chevron ornament³⁶⁸, together with the small fragment of a Euboean krater preserving part of a carefully drawn hatched meander³⁶⁹. Among the earliest fragments from the so-called "Stipe dei Cavalli" (loc. Pastola), the same date is ascribed by B. d'Agostino to a skyphos decorated with close chevrons, perhaps of local production (see its micaceous clay)³⁷⁰; this assemblage includes another with floating chevrons³⁷¹ as well as LG I fragments of Aetos 666 kotylai and Thapsos skyphoi with panel³⁷². Therefore, recently, d'Agostino once again defended the traditional theory of a foundation date of Pithekoussai in late MG II (in terms of Corinthian-Pithekoussan chronology) or LG Ia (in terms of Attic chronology), i.e. based on "orthodox" chronology at ca. 760-750 BC³⁷³. I share his view and disagree with the recent proposals made by some scholars to raise or lower this foundation date.

Against the suggestion of an earlier foundation date for Pithekoussai³⁷⁴, we can still rely on an *argumentum ex silentio*: PSC and "classical" chevron skyphoi as well as other "pre-colonial" potte-

³⁶⁵ RIDGWAY 1981, 48-49, fig. 1; BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 702-703, no. Sp. 4/4, pls. CCIX, 245.

³⁶⁶ RIDGWAY 1981; COLDSTREAM 1995, 252-253, 257, 260-261, 266.

³⁶⁷ RIDGWAY 1981, 50, fr. 1, pl. 2; 1992, 87-88, fig. 21.

³⁶⁸ Esp. COLDSTREAM 1995, 257, 260-261, 266, nos. 57, 58 and 61, fig. 2, pl. 29 (= RIDGWAY 1981, 51, nos. 2, 3, 5, pl. 2).

³⁶⁹ COLDSTREAM 1995, 252, 266, no. 2, pl. 27. The attribution to a local fabric for the chevron skyphos from the cemetery is thanks to G. Buchner and D. Ridgway, who may be considered as the best connoisseurs of Pithekoussan pottery production. The attribution to Corinthian fabric for the skyphos from the Gosetti dump and to Euboean production for those of the Gosetti dump, together with the krater, is based on D. Ridgway's and N. Coldstream's authoritative opinion.

³⁷⁰ D'AGOSTINO 1994-1995, 44, no. 1, pl. 34.

³⁷¹ D'AGOSTINO 1994-1995, 44, no. 2, pl. 34.

³⁷² D'AGOSTINO 1994-1995, 44-45, 48, nos. 4, 5, 17-19, pls. 34-35.

³⁷³ D'AGOSTINO 2006, 339-342 (= 2010-2011, 233-235).

³⁷⁴ Cf. RIDGWAY 2000; 2004, 29.

³⁶⁴ RIDGWAY 1981; 1992, 86-88; COLDSTREAM 1995, 266; D'AGOSTINO 1999, 56-57 (= 2010-2011, 224-225); D'AGOSTINO 2006, 339-342 (= 2010-2011, 233-235); D'ACUNTO, forthcoming.

ry types are missing from Pithekoussan contexts (of course, as with all *argumenta ex silentio*, this picture may be modified by future discoveries, but this is the current evidence)³⁷⁵.

On the other hand, a proposal of a “low” chronology for the foundation date of Pithekoussai has been suggested by K. DeVries³⁷⁶. His paper follows the evolution in Corinthian Geometric pottery from the late MG II protokotyle to the “classical” LG kotyle of the Aetos 666 type: through progressive steps, this evolution involves the shape (from the lower body to the hemispherical, and from the nicked rim kotyle to the kotyle without nick), the decoration of the handle (from the painted solid black to the barred – or less often dotted/banded) and of the panel between the handles (leading to the classical system of the Aetos 666 type consisting of a row of chevrons under the lip, overlying a group of horizontal lines and framed by side-bars). His step-by-step chronological reconstruction is based on the analysis of important closed Corinthian assemblages. According to DeVries’ proposal, the “classical” Aetos 666 kotyle would have been introduced in the advanced LG period. Thus, Pithekoussai’s earliest tombs associated with this vessel type would suggest a “low” foundation date for the site. According to him, Pithekoussai would have been established just before the earliest Greek colonies in Sicily.

From our point of view, on one hand, DeVries’ study is useful with reference to the evolution from the protokotyle to the “classical” kotyle, and with reference to the internal analysis of the closed Corinth contexts from MG II to LG. These contexts are of great importance, also in respect of Pithekoussai and Cumae. On the other hand, we may refer to Bruno d’Agostino’s arguments against DeVries’ chronological conclusions. According to the Italian scholar, «in general, one can agree with DeVries’ model, but this evolution has occurred in a very short period of time, and not in the linear manner assumed by him»³⁷⁷. However, «a careful reading of DeVries’ exemplification seems to confirm Coldstream’s scheme, which places the protokotyle in the decade 760-750... as in

Well 1950-1953, and assigns the classical Aetos 666 to the third quarter of the 8th century. The foundation of Cumae is also to be placed in the third quarter of the 8th century, which, however, represents a new qualitative leap compared to Pithekoussai, as the beginning of Greek colonisation in Greece. Pithekoussai therefore did not exist until 760 BC ...»³⁷⁸. To Bruno d’Agostino’s arguments we may also add that some of the earliest Pithekoussan burials may be assigned to the beginning of LG I, in the light of vessel shapes other than the kotyle, as is shown e.g. by the oinochoai³⁷⁹.

With the Pithekoussan picture in the background, we may now focus on Cumae’s late MG II-LG I fragments, which in our excavations are found in stratigraphies overlying the alluvial level.

5.3. Close chevron skyphoi (Pl. 14)

The close chevron skyphoi of the late type match the above-mentioned examples from Pithekoussai. In Cumae too, they refer to both Corinthian imports and imitations.

Two of these, (54 and 55) are no doubt Corinthian products, due to the clay and the paint used. This is an important aspect, because Corinthian MG II and LG pottery shows a more coherent sequence than their imitations/transformations in Euboean and Pithekoussan pottery³⁸⁰. Regarding this Corinthian late type of chevron skyphos (as compared to the above mentioned “classical” type, on which cf. above chpt. 4.4.3), the essential classification had already been established by Coldstream in 1968³⁸¹. This type is in line with the Attic (and Euboean) chevron skyphoi, but on the verge of MG II the body has deepened and the lip is offset. This is the immediate predecessor of the LG skyphos of the Thapsos class. Unfortunately, in 54 and 55 the decorations on the lower and lateral parts of the panel and the handles are not preserved. A closed context (a well) in Corinth contains a good number of fragments of Corinthian chevron skyphoi

³⁷⁵ D’AGOSTINO 2006, 339-340 (= 2010-2011, 233-235); cf. above, chpt. 4.6.

³⁷⁶ DEVRIES 2003, 145-154.

³⁷⁷ Translated from D’AGOSTINO 2006, 341 (= 2010-2011, 235).

³⁷⁸ Translated from D’AGOSTINO 2006, 341-342 (= 2010-2011, 235).

³⁷⁹ I refer to F. Nitti’s PhD research, which is in progress: it deals with the unpublished part of Pithekoussai’s cemetery.

³⁸⁰ Cf. e.g. D’AGOSTINO 1999, 56 (= 2010-2011, 224).

³⁸¹ COLDSTREAM 2008, 96-97, pls. 17h, 18d. Cf. WEINBERG 1943, 27, no. 75, fig. 7, pl. 12; ANDERSON – BENTON 1953, 271 ff., 275, no. 622, fig. 8; HEURTLEY – ROBERTSON 1948, 10-11, pls. 2.9-10; ANDERSON 1958-1959, 142, no. 60, pl. 22; RIDGWAY 1981, 48-50, fig. 2, fr. 1; DEVRIES 2003, 153, figs. 8.14-15.

of this late type; they are associated with the classical Corinthian prokotypai of the end of MG II and with another of the same shape but decorated with a bird, which is contemporary with Attic LG Ia (760-750 BC)³⁸². However, if we compare the decoration of both the published Corinthian chevron skyphoi from Corinth and other sites³⁸³ and the single one from Pithekoussai³⁸⁴ with the decoration of our two specimens from Cumae, in the latter, the chevrons have been debased: in **55** the chevrons have degenerated into sort of sigmas, while those of **54** are drawn in an even more roughly and two of them do not join the upper line. This might be an indication of a low date³⁸⁵ for Cumae's two fragments **54** and **55** in the Corinthian series: since the type is by itself late MG II, i.e. ca. 760-750 BC, our two examples from Cumae might be ca. 750 (or even slightly later).

The two adjoining fragments of **54** were found in the layers underlying the floor of an early 7th century house in the northern part of the *insula* (Fig. 47.4)³⁸⁶. They were associated with the fragment of the early LG I skyphos, whose panel is decorated with a St. Andrew's cross (**80**).

Among the skyphoi with close chevron decoration, three examples from our excavation may be identified as non-Corinthian. I suggest a Pithekoussan production for two of them, namely **56** and **58**, due to their micaceous clay (the alternative would be Cumaean production). The third example, **57**, is also made of a mica-rich clay, in this case fine gold. However, in my opinion, macroscopic analysis makes "local" (Pithekoussan or Cumaean) production unlikely, as is shown by the grainy composition of the clay with grey inclusions, as well as by the thick and polished engobe. Cycladic production could be a reasonable alternative hypothesis. **56** and **58** recall the two above-mentioned local skyphoi from Pithekoussai due to their shape and the quite irregular drawing of the chevrons: the sporadic one

from the necropolis³⁸⁷ and the one from the "Stipe dei Cavalli"³⁸⁸. On **58** the decoration preserves the framing of the side-bars on the right and the oblique lines of the chevrons left, seen in its complete form on the sporadic specimen from the Pithekoussan necropolis. The same framing occurs in another (Pithekoussan) example from San Marzano in the Sarno Valley³⁸⁹, however the chevrons are badly-drawn and in part floating (the handles of the skyphos from the Pithekoussan cemetery are decorated by a band; those on the example from San Marzano show a row of bars, such as in the kotyle Aetos 666 type). The skyphos from San Marzano is clearly a late product in the series of close chevron skyphoi and it may be dated in early LG I, also because of the context³⁹⁰. From a chronological point of view, it is interesting to recall here the evolution of the chevron skyphos in Eretrian pottery, as established by A. Kenzelmann Pfyffer, S. Verdan and C. L  derrey through the analysis of the closed assemblages of the wells in Eretria. According to the authors, the skyphos decorated with a close (non-floating) chevron system, which appears in MG II, continues during LG I and disappears by the end of this period (in their proposal of Eretrian chronology, LG I corresponds to Attic LG Ib, namely to 750-735 BC)³⁹¹. One last remark on the decoration of **56**: to the left of the chevrons a gap is left, such as in a Corinthian example from Aetos³⁹². In sum, the two skyphoi **56** and **58** can most probably be identified with Pithekoussan productions of close chevron skyphos of the late type; they may be referred to late MG II or early LG I, i.e. ca. 760-740 in "orthodox" chronology.

Quite different seems to be the case of **57**. The two non-joining fragments must be referred to the same vessel based on their close similarities in clay and paint. The chevrons are irregularly drawn and some of them do not join the upper line. I have some doubts regarding the association of the decoration between the first and the second fragment. On the

³⁸² DEVRIES 2003, 148-149, 153, figs. 8.8, 14-15 (Well 1950-3).

³⁸³ See the two previous footnotes.

³⁸⁴ RIDGWAY 1981, 50, fr. 1, pl. 2; 1992, 87, fig. 21.1.

³⁸⁵ Cf. e.g. N. Coldstream's opinion about a Euboean chevron skyphos from the Gosetti dump in Pithekoussai: COLDSTREAM 1995, 261, «... for them [i.e. Euboean chevron skyphoi nos. 57, 58 and 61] especially, a late MG II date (in Euboean terms) is possible, unless the careless chevrons on 57 imply an imitation at several removes and a consequent time lag».

³⁸⁶ D'ACUNTO 2017, 303, fig. 26.9, no. 3, and fig. 26.12.

³⁸⁷ RIDGWAY 1981, 48-49, fig. 1; BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 702-703, no. Sp. 4/4, pls. CCIX, 245.

³⁸⁸ D'AGOSTINO 1996, 44, no. 1, pl. 34.

³⁸⁹ D'AGOSTINO 1999, 57 (= 2010-2011, 225, fig. 5).

³⁹⁰ D'AGOSTINO 1999, 57 (= 2010-2011, 225, fig. 5).

³⁹¹ VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – L  DERREY 2008, 76-78, with discussion and references to the catalogue nos.

³⁹² ANDERSON – BENTON 1953, 278, no. 651, fig. 7.

latter, the vertical lines should be identified with the side-bars framing the right side of the chevron panel; but, if this is the case, the horizontal lines below them would be unusual. Nevertheless, according to the reconstruction of the profile proposed in our drawing, the deep body, together with the tall vertical lip, the three reserved lines in the inner part of the lip, and the irregular chevrons, all suggest a late date in the series of close chevron skyphos: LG I (750-720 BC), probably still early due to the close chevron decoration. 57 was found in secondary deposition in a later level of the late 8th century BC under the entrance to the southern *domus* (Fig. 47.5).

To complete this picture of Cumae, an example of the same late type with close and quite irregularly drawn chevrons was found in the rampart of the late Archaic phase of the northern walls. I agree with B. d'Agostino's proposal of a chronology of this skyphos at the transition from MG II to LG I. The identification of its (very micaceous) fabric remains problematic³⁹³.

With reference to this late type of close chevron skyphos, it is useful to compare the evidence from Pithekoussai and Cumae with that of the other earliest Greek *apoikiai* of Sicily and Magna Graecia. As far as I know, *stricto sensu*, places where this late type of chevron skyphoi have been found, both for Corinthian imports and for local productions, are limited to Pithekoussai and Cumae. This distribution may have chronological implications: the production of this late type of close chevron skyphos may have stopped approximately after the foundation of Pithekoussai and Cumae and before the foundation of the other Italian *apoikiai*, thus reflecting the priority of the former two over the other earliest Greek foundations in the West.

To a certain extent, there is only one exception: Megara Hyblaea. In this site, a fragment which has already been mentioned was considered to be a Corinthian import of the chevron skyphos/protokotyle and dated at the end of MG II (see above, chpt. 1.3). Unfortunately, the vase is now lost and as a result we cannot verify its fabric and decoration. However, if we rely on the old, poor-quality photography and drawing, this identification remains controversial, due to the very low and irregular chevrons (if they

are such) and to the deep rounded body; the low vertical bars on the rim would be another unusual feature for a late MG II date³⁹⁴. In addition, among the huge number of LG fragments brought to light during the French excavations in Megara Hyblaea, two non-Corinthian chevron skyphoi can be identified³⁹⁵: the panel contains an impoverished version of the chevrons and is framed by side-bars; the profile has lost its separate lip to give way to a continuous silhouette with an indented rim, which is peculiar to Thapsos class skyphoi (a clearly LG I and later, LG II feature). These fragments may illustrate how, outside of Corinthian production, this very late and "updated" version of the close chevron skyphos may have come close to the foundation date of Megara Hyblaea, i.e. probably ca. 728 BC (if we follow the foundation date reported by Thucydides).

5.4. Tremuli skyphoi (Pl. 15)

The three fragmentary skyphoi **59-61** are clearly imported from Corinth and are decorated with a shoulder panel which is framed on all sides by horizontal lines. The panel consists of close tremuli, which are quite irregularly drawn, some of which do not join the upper line.

In my opinion, in Corinthian production these tremuli skyphoi can be singled out as a sort of "transitional/intermediary" type between the late close chevron skyphos and the Thapsos skyphos with panel. However, other scholars prefer to classify them among the Thapsos class³⁹⁶. Their distinction from the "classical" skyphos of the Thapsos class is not only given by the lack of side bars in the panel, but also by the difference in the profile of the lip and the shoulder. These "tremuli" skyphoi **59-61** still preserve the erect, separate and quite high lip of late close chevron skyphoi; on the contrary, the *stricto sensu* Thapsos skyphoi usually show a more continuous profile from the lip to the shoulder, and a shorter lip³⁹⁷. Furthermore, among the

³⁹⁴ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, 17-18, fig. 1, pl. 2.6; VILLARD 1982, 183, pl. 64.1 = fig. 4.1; SOURISSEAU 2014, 108, no. 1. Cf. KOUROU 1994, 33: «... some controversial fragments of proto-kotylai from Megara Hyblaea...».

³⁹⁵ DE BARBARIN 2021, 128, 130, A1a, pl. A-1.

³⁹⁶ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, 28, pl. 8.2, fig. 12; cf. NEEFT 1981, 21, 71, no. 11; SOURISSEAU 2014, 138, no. 53; DE BARBARIN 2021, 128-133.

³⁹⁷ See e.g. NEEFT 1981, figg. 1-4, 7, 9, 11.

³⁹³ D'AGOSTINO 1999, 57, note 11 (= 2010-2011, 225, figs. 1.2, 3b).

Cumae examples, **59** still preserves a section of the lower part of the body: this shows a quite low belly, which is still related to MG II skyphoi.

In Corinthian skyphoi this decoration with a series of close tremuli was not so common: one example is known from Aetos (Ithaca), but in that specimen the panel is framed by side bars³⁹⁸. A Corinthian skyphos related to this type was found in Megara Hyblaea: the panel is not framed by side bars, but it is short and consists of only a few sigmas, thus suggesting that a late version of this type must have been produced until close to the foundation date of Megara³⁹⁹.

The same chronological indication is given by an oinochoe, which has been classified among the Thapsos class; this was found in Corinth, in the lower level of a closed deposit, which spans from the end of LG to the beginning of the EPC period: on its neck there is a series of tremuli which is fully framed by horizontal lines⁴⁰⁰. To complete this picture, an early case outside of Corinthian production warrants a mention: a Euboean/Cycladic skyphos from Veii from ca. the mid-8th century BC has a decoration on the panel between the handles with a series of close tremuli which are flanked by vertical lines⁴⁰¹.

Consequently, these features – both the decoration and the shape – all concur to suggest the date of skyphoi **59-61** from Cumae: they may be referred to an LG date in the Corinthian series, probably in the first part, namely ca. 750-730 BC.

5.5. Floating chevron skyphoi (Pl. 16)

Two examples, probably produced in Pithekoussai, can be referred to this type: **62** and **63**. In both cases the chevrons have been debased into rounded and irregular four-bar sigmas: the latter are drawn higher and closer to the upper and lower lines in **62**, while more irregularly floating in the panel in **63**. Both the debased version of the chevrons as sigmas and their floating in the panel are departures from MG II chevrons, as a consequence of an ornament which in Euboea and in its western foundations continues well into the LG I (750-720 BC) period (and

in Eretria even into LG II, i.e. 735-700 BC, perhaps in the early part)⁴⁰². For both examples from our excavation in Cumae, the deep rounded body and the quite high and only slightly everted lip are consistent with an LG I date (750-720 BC). A detail confirms this “high” date for **63**: its handles are painted solid black, which still reflects the MG II tradition of the chevron skyphoi and the Corinthian protokotyle⁴⁰³.

Parallels with the shape and the decoration of **62** and **63** are found among some floating chevron skyphoi from Methone, which have been identified as local productions⁴⁰⁴: their barred handles suggest an LG I date too; if the foundation date of this Eretrian colony at 733/732 BC (PLUT. *Mor.* 293 a-b) is reliable⁴⁰⁵, then a chronology of these vases in the second part of LG I could be suggested. The high and tight chevrons/sigmas of **62** match those of one specimen from Methone⁴⁰⁶. On the other hand, the chevrons/sigmas of **63**, which are shorter and floating more freely in the field, may be compared with a skyphos considered as Pithekoussan-Cumaeian from the rampart of Cumae's late Archaic walls; its profile is also similar⁴⁰⁷. Another skyphos of the same type may be **86**, although in this case the decoration in the panel has not been preserved; the latter vessel, which seems to have been produced in Pithekoussai, was found in association with the LG I domestic context, in the northern sector of our excavation (see M. D'Onofrio, above, chpt. 5.1, Fig. 47.3). Macroscopic inspection of the clay suggests a Pithekoussan fabric for **62** and **63** too: to our knowledge, they both correspond to the macroscopic features of Pithekoussan clays, due to the color, inclusions and the dense silver mica; the very pale brown slip of **62** is common on Pithekoussan vases (a less likely alternative for **63** would be a Cycladic production, because of its micaceous clay).

³⁹⁸ ANDERSON – BENTON 1953, 276, no. 628, pl. 41.

³⁹⁹ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, 28, pl. 8.2, fig. 12. Local imitations were also found on the site: DE BARBARIN 2021, 128-129, 132-141, pl. A-1 – “Coupes du type A1b”.

⁴⁰⁰ DeVRIES 2003, 152, fig. 8.13.

⁴⁰¹ RIDGWAY 1967, pl. 58k.

⁴⁰² Cf. COLDSTREAM 1995, 260-261; *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 20; VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 76-78, with references. On the degeneration of the chevrons in LG Corinthian pottery cf. already COLDSTREAM 2008, 99.

⁴⁰³ COLDSTREAM 2008, 95-98; DE VRIES 2003.

⁴⁰⁴ BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 105-106, nos. 87-89 (with the proposal for a later date, in LG Iib).

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. Y. Tzifopoulos, in BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 19-20; and JANKO 2015, 1.

⁴⁰⁶ BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 106, no. 88.

⁴⁰⁷ *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 20, 154, no. TTA9, fig. 45, pl. 2.A.

One remarkable aspect is that **63** was found in a primary deposition context, namely in the trench that we conducted under the floor of the room of the Roman period occupying the southeast corner of the *insula* (Fig. 47.6). The adjoining fragments of this skyphos were found in the area around a hearth, which was made of stones arranged to make a roughly rectangular platform (Fig. 52). This hearth was associated with a beaten earth floor. Due to the limited extension of the trench and to the presence of several holes from the Roman period, we were unable to establish whether this floor referred to the covered part of a house (I consider this hypothesis more likely, in the light of the structure of the hearth) or to an associated courtyard. What is evident is that it definitely referred to a domestic context, thus dating to LG I. This is further evidence of permanent domestic occupation of this area during this earliest phase of the *apoikia* (750-720 BC).

5.6. *Kotylai* (Pls. 17-18)

Our excavations in Cumae north of the Forum baths have brought to light a few dozen fragments, which can be more or less safely identified as *kotylai* of the so-called Aetos 666 type (otherwise called as the chevron *kotyle*), the best-known chronological marker for the LG Corinthian/LG I Pithekoussan phase (750-720 BC)⁴⁰⁸. We present here a selection of these fragments, including three Corinthian imports and several Pithekoussan imitations.

We have already mentioned the important case of the Corinthian fragment of the lip (**83**), from a primary deposition context: it was directly associated with a hearth which cuts the surface of the deep alluvial level. As the latter marks a clear *caesura* with the former Pre-Hellenic stratigraphies, this hearth reflects the new domestic occupation of the area associated with the earliest horizon of the *apoikia*. Since, the Corinthian series is more reliable in the production of *kotylai* than their Euboean or Pithekoussan imitations, the chronological implications given by the association between *kotylai* Aetos 666 and the earliest colonial horizon in Cumae is evident, also with reference to the contemporary contexts of Pithekoussai containing this chronological marker of LG I.



Fig. 52. Trench conducted under the room occupying the southeastern corner of the *insula*: floor with a hearth made of a rectangular platform of blocks (in the center), where LG I skyphos **63** was found, cf. Fig. 47.6 (photo from east, M. D'Acunto, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

This is coherent with the observation that all the fragments of *kotylai* in our excavation were found in stratigraphies overlying the alluvial level, both in primary and in secondary deposition. Another Corinthian import is fragment **65**, whose barred handle and rounded belly profile suggest its identification with a LG *kotyle*. Identification with this type, in the case of the Corinthian fragment of the upper part of the body in **64**, is less safe however. Its decoration, with a row of chevrons framed by horizontal and vertical lines is, of course, typical of Aetos 666 *kotylai*. However, the two lines overlying the chevrons seem to be quite unusual for this type⁴⁰⁹. Since the rim is missing in fragment **64** and its profile is receding in the upper part, an alternative hypothesis could be that it referred to a *kantharos* (end of MG II/LG)⁴¹⁰.

To complete the picture in Cumae, a fragment of a Corinthian *kotyle* of the Aetos 666 type was found in the rampart of the late Archaic northern walls⁴¹¹.

A fragment of the same vessel type with the preserved part of the handle and the belly (**69**) can be attributed to Euboean fabric from an inspection of the clay: this corresponds to the macroscopic aspects of Euboean production, starting

⁴⁰⁹ We find two similar lines in a chevron *kotyle* (along with a nicked rim) from Corinth: DeVRIES 2003, 148, 150, fig. 8.10.

⁴¹⁰ Cf. e.g. ANDERSON – BENTON 1953, 280, 288, nos. 716-717, fig. 9, pl. 45.

⁴¹¹ *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 159, no. 45, pl. 3.30.

⁴⁰⁸ COLDSTREAM 2008, 101-102, pl. 19j; 1995, 261-263; DeVRIES 2003, 145-154, with references.

from its non-micaceous aspect, color and white inclusions⁴¹².

A good number of fragments from our excavation refers to Phlegraean imitations of the kotyle Aetos 666 type (**66-68** and **70** are reported here as a sample). They can also be dated to LG I. Even for the smallest fragments, their identification with this type is suggested by the combination of a barred handle with the profile of the body (which was more or less hemispherical). I ascribe these imitations to Pithekoussan manufacture, based on the color and grainy aspect of the clay, its volcanic inclusions including dense silver mica, and on the preserved pale brown slip. In the case of **67**, the presence of a very short nicked rim reflects a trait which is common among the imitations made in Euboea of the Aetos 666 kotyle type (as a residual feature from the earlier Corinthian protokotyle)⁴¹³. What is remarkable is that the best preserved Pithekoussan fragment of this type (**66**) was found in a primary deposition context under the earliest level of *stenopos* q (Fig. 47.7): it was associated to a level of domestic character; krater **81** was found in a layer related to the same domestic use of this spot (this is LG I too: see below).

These Pithekoussan kotylai of Aetos 666 type from our excavations in the urban area correspond to the imitations of this type, which were found in B. d'Agostino's trenches conducted in the rampart of the northern walls⁴¹⁴. They must refer to the same chronological horizon as Cumae's occupation, and therefore from the earliest phase of the *apoikia* (according to our proposal of periodization). These kotylai correspond to the much larger number of specimens that have been brought to light in the different contexts of Pithekoussai, where these kotylai of the Aetos 666 type were produced as imitations of the Corinthian and Euboean prototypes.

The LG I (750-720 BC) kotylai also include Pithekoussan example **89**, which was found in a

primary deposition context discussed above (see M. D'Onofrio, chpt. 5.1). It refers to a "local" variant, which has transformed the canonical chevrons under the rim into a series of tremuli: another example was found in the rampart of the northern walls⁴¹⁵ and others come from LG I graves in Pithekoussai⁴¹⁶. The fragment from Cumae's rampart preserves a short nicked rim, which reflects a residual trait from the Corinthian protokotyle.

82 (see F. Nitti above, chpt. 5.1) also refers to Pithekoussan fabric. This kotyle may be associated with the same variant with tremuli under the rim, but it preserves a vertical line on the central side of the band, thus suggesting that it framed a central metope. This feature (cf. below) and its straight lower profile suggests the date for **82** is in the second part of LG I.

The previously discussed kotyle **91** (see M. D'Onofrio, chpt. 5.1) was found in the same primary deposition context as **89**. Macroscopic analysis suggests yet again a Pithekoussan fabric for **91**. It reflects a decoration system which was introduced in the Corinthian kotyle near the end of LG (750-720 BC): side metopes of double axes and herons facing each other in the center⁴¹⁷. Unfortunately, in Cumae's kotyle only a small part of the central metope is preserved: two short bars, respectively horizontal and vertical, hint at a geometric/linear motif. This system of the upper band consisting of lateral double-axes and a central metope as well as the quite straight profile of the kotyle suggests that it refers to advanced/late LG I⁴¹⁸.

5.7. *Thapsos class and skyphoi with panel decorated by a chain of lozenges* (Pls. 19-20)

Several dozen, probably no less than one hundred individual specimens of Thapsos class skyphoi, were identified among the finds from our excavations of LG I and LG II domestic contexts north of the Forum baths. Most of them can easily be attributed to Corinthian fabric because of their peculiar clay and paint. However, Pithekoussan

⁴¹² On the Euboean imitations of the kotylai of Aetos 666 type, see recently VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 28, 87-88; D'ACUNTO 2020e, 243-244, with references. A fragment from the Gosetti dump in Pithekoussai has been ascribed by Coldstream to Euboean fabric (COLDSTREAM 1995, 261-263, no. 88, fig. 4, pl. 30).

⁴¹³ On this aspect cf. references in the former note.

⁴¹⁴ D'AGOSTINO 1999, 55-56, pl. 1c-e (= 2010-2011, 221, figs. 1.3 and 5); *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 158-159, nos. TTA44 (here "protokotyle") and 46, fig. 48, pl. 3.29 and 30.

⁴¹⁵ *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 155 no. TTA12, fig. 45, pl. 2A.

⁴¹⁶ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 372, T. 320, no. 1, pls. CLV, 119; 388, T. 331, no. 1, pl. 127.

⁴¹⁷ COLDSTREAM 2008, 101, pl. 19l.

⁴¹⁸ A fragment of a "local" kotyle from the upper sanctuary of the acropolis may be ascribed to the same date, in the light of the presence of an individual heron enclosed by floating sigmas (PAGANO – DEL VILLANO 2022, 160, no. 3.17).

(or Pithekoussan/Cumaeian) imitations are also included in a good number. According to C. Neeft's classification, they are of both the panel type of LG I (750-720 BC) and early LG II (720-710 BC), and the plain type of LG II (720-690 BC), from the earliest variants, until the latest ones which are characterized by being of a smaller size or having a taller body⁴¹⁹. Here, we present a sample of individual specimens referring to the earliest panel type, starting with the Corinthian imports.

Among our fragments the commonest panel ornament consists of a close row of three-bar sigmas (**71**, **73-75**). In one of these examples, **73**, the belly is in part preserved: this is painted solid black. However, for the three others the alternative of horizontal lines down to the base remains open: in particular, cf. the three preserved lines below the panel in **71**. They all have a painted interior except for a reserved thin band under the rim. The row of three-bar sigmas is a common ornament of this class of skyphoi and refers to a group of continuous motifs, which are dated by Neeft early in the evolution of the decoration of the Thapsos panel⁴²⁰. In particular, this decoration in the panel is common among the Corinthian Thapsos skyphoi from the earliest Greek foundations in Italy. Another fragment with the same ornament was found in the University of Napoli Federico II excavations directed by G. Greco under the Roman Forum⁴²¹. Of great importance for the closed assemblages are the burial contexts of Pithekoussai where this Thapsos variant was found: T. 161 is a good LG I context, since a Corinthian example with the belly painted solid black is associated with a local kotyle of the Aetos 666 type (LG I)⁴²²; however, T. 309A is a context of the first part of LG II and contains a Corinthian example where the body is deeper and the panel has been reduced in length (thus, clearly different from the case of **73** and **74**)⁴²³. Other examples imported from Corinth

can be numbered among the earliest materials from Sicilian Naxos⁴²⁴, Syracuse⁴²⁵, Megara Hyblaea⁴²⁶ and Leontinoi⁴²⁷ (cf. above chpt. 1.3-5). To sum up, we share Neeft's assumption that this variant with three-bar sigmas in the panel can be assigned to Corinthian LG until the early EPC for the latest version, i.e. ca. 750-710 BC. Among our examples, **73** and **74** may be fully LG, while **71**, because of its small size⁴²⁸, could be advanced-late in the series.

The find context of **71** is remarkable as it was discovered in a trench under *stenopos* q (Fig. 47.8). The fragment refers to a stratigraphy also containing LG II sherds and underlying the earliest level of *stenopos* q (whose date can now be assigned to late LG II, namely to the early 7th century BC). This stratigraphy was in some way associated with an enigmatic east to west curvilinear structure, which was brought to light for a length of ca. 2.50 m and was probably preserved only at the level of its foundations (10/20 cm height) (Fig. 53). This was made of small irregular tufa blocks fused in what seemed to be tufa powder (from the working of the blocks?). Due to the limited extent of the trench, our excavation was unable to clarify either the plan or the full extension of this structure, or even its function. A tempting hypothesis would be that this was part of an apsidal or ovoidal house/building, such as the well-known structures of the Geometric period uncovered in several sites within the Euboean world, both in the motherland and in the West: e.g. in the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros and in other areas of Eretria⁴²⁹, in Viglatouri⁴³⁰, in Oropos⁴³¹ and at the metallurgical quarter of Mazzola in Pithekoussai⁴³². Unfortunately, this hypothesis cannot be verified, because the surrounding later structures prevent us from extending the excavation area.

rials in Pastola, at Pithekoussai: D'AGOSTINO 1996, 45, no. 4, pl. 34.

⁴²⁴ PELAGATTI 1982a, 144, fig. 10, pls. 47.1-4, 57 fig. 6; cf. COLDSTREAM 2004, 41, fig. 1.

⁴²⁵ PELAGATTI 1982a, pl. 27.1, 29.12 e 15, 30 fig. 1.4

⁴²⁶ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, 19, pl. 2, no. 7 and fig. 2; SOURIS-SEAU 2014, 135-137. This variant is also found in a non-colonial context: e.g. in Avola (PELAGATTI 1982a, pl. 23, fig. 2).

⁴²⁷ PELAGATTI 1982a, pl. 60.2.

⁴²⁸ Cf. on this aspect NEEFT 1981, 27-28.

⁴²⁹ MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997; *Érétie, guide*, 22-23, 92-95, 226-233; VERDAN 2013.

⁴³⁰ SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKIS 1998.

⁴³¹ MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2020.

⁴³² RIDGWAY 1992, 91-96; and P.G. Guzzo and C. Gialanella in the present volume.

⁴¹⁹ NEEFT 1981. On the Thapsos class see esp. COLDSTREAM 2008, 102-104; BOSANA-KOUROU 1983; DEHL 1984, map 2; KOUROU 1994, 38-43; GADLOU 2011, 2017, with references.

⁴²⁰ NEEFT 1981, 20-27, fig. 6.6: «sigma skyphoi with the interior painted except for a reserved line, and with one line on the handles: 740-715 BC» (27).

⁴²¹ GRECO 2008, 398, pl. 5c: LG I.

⁴²² BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 203-204, T. 161, no. 2, pl. 63.

⁴²³ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 366, T. 309A, no. 2, pls. CLIV, 116. A local example of the same type is from the earliest group of mate-



Fig. 53. LG I/II curvilinear structure under *stenopos* q, cf. Fig. 47.8 (photo from east, M. D'Acunto, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

The structure must be dated in the LG I/II period, because of the associated ceramics and because of its *terminus ante quem* represented by the overlying earliest phase of *stenopos* q. It is interesting to note that just a few meters north/northwest is where the evidence described above was found of a stable occupation of the area since LG I (see M. D'Onofrio, chpt. 5.1). What's more, a few meters west, again under *stenopos* q (Fig. 47.7), layers of LG II have shown that metalworking involving of iron and bronze took place there⁴³³.

Turning to the Thapsos skyphoi brought to light in our excavations, the small Corinthian fragment, **76**, preserves a small part of the panel containing a

bold horizontal zig-zag line. This decoration is less common on Thapsos skyphoi with panel. It is classified by Neeft among the continuous motifs, which should refer to the Corinthian LG phase (therefore LG I in Pithekoussai and Cumae). Parallels occur in examples found in Delphi, Aetos and in the West in Pithekoussai and Megara Hyblaea⁴³⁴.

Corinthian fragment **77** refers to the grouping of the Thapsos skyphoi whose panel is decorated with a loose motif: according to Neeft, this grouping is, in part, later than that containing a continuous motif, and should be dated at ca. 730-690 BC⁴³⁵. In our example, the motif consists of a row of sort of reversed S's⁴³⁶. This variant occurs among the Thapsos skyphoi found by the University of Napoli Federico II in the Forum area⁴³⁷, and among the finds in two of the earliest Greek foundations in the West, i.e., Syracuse⁴³⁸ and Megara Hyblaea⁴³⁹. Our example **77** is large in size and has a thick wall, as well as closely spaced reversed S's, which still resembles mature Thapsos skyphoi, and should therefore not be too late: ca. late LG I/early LG II (roughly 730-700 BC).

Among the Phlegraean imitations of the Thapsos skyphoi with panel, we should focus on an early example of the class: **72**. The panel was decorated with hatched meander hooks while its belly was painted solid black. Of course, the meander still reflects the common Middle Geometric ornament; this endures in the Corinthian LG skyphoi of this class, albeit in the simplified form of meander hooks⁴⁴⁰. Among the Thapsos skyphoi, Neeft has convincingly demonstrated that the panel with meander hooks refers to an early variant of the above-mentioned grouping, which is characterized by continuous motifs and he suggests a date of 750-740 BC for those examples whose interior is painted solid black with a reserved band and lines under the rim. On the other hand, he suggests a

⁴³³ On this metallurgical evidence, general information is given in D'ACUNTO 2017, 301. However, subsequently our excavation showed that the date of the *stenopos* must be raised to late LG II (early 7th century BC) and that, thus, metallurgical activity in the area refers to before then, therefore to the LG period.

⁴³⁴ NEEFT 1981, fig. 6.12; SOURISSEAU 2014, 138-139; cf. a sporadic skyphos of local production from the necropolis of Pithekoussai. This does not refer however to the Thapsos class (BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 703, no. Sp 4/5, pl. 245).

⁴³⁵ NEEFT 1981, 27.

⁴³⁶ NEEFT 1981, fig. 6.20.

⁴³⁷ GRECO 2008, pl. 5d.

⁴³⁸ PELAGATTI 1982a, pl. 25.3.

⁴³⁹ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, 21; SOURISSEAU 2014, 143-145.

⁴⁴⁰ COLDSTREAM 2008, 102-103.

date of 740-730 BC for those specimens with a reserved line under the rim⁴⁴¹. **72** shows traits of the latter group. However, the tall and vertical lip of **72**, which is quite unusual among the Thapsos skyphoi, is reminiscent of skyphoi of other classes which are transitional from late MG II to LG I (cf. above, the close chevron and tremuli skyphoi, chpt. 5.3-4). This unusual morphological detail may be explained, perhaps, by the fact that our specimen must be identified as an imitation which was not as close to the Corinthian prototype: as a matter of fact, the color, composition and inclusions of micaceous clay collocate it safely among Pithekoussan production.

Although no other Thapsos skyphos with hatched meander hooks has yet been found in Cumae, a Corinthian specimen with meander hooks, albeit with lines down to the base, was found in a well-dated context of LG I in the necropolis of Pithekoussai⁴⁴²: the grave-offerings of T. 212 also consist of a Corinthian kotyle and a kantharos with an Aetos 666 decoration system, an imported lekythos (from Euboea?), a local skyphos with a panel decorated with a lozenge chain (cf. below) and a few other objects. Another similar Thapsos skyphos with panel containing meander hooks, but produced in Pithekoussai like our example, is a sporadic find from the necropolis⁴⁴³.

In order to assess the early date of this Thapsos variant with hatched meander hooks, it is significant that among the earliest Greek *apoikiai* of Sicily these skyphoi of Corinthian production were discovered only in the earliest foundation of Naxos⁴⁴⁴. However, several bigger individual specimens of the same class, i.e. the skyphos-crater, were found in Syracuse⁴⁴⁵, Megara Hyblaea⁴⁴⁶, and Leontinoi⁴⁴⁷. Our example **72** – with its reconstructed diameter at the rim of ca. 14 cm – must be identified with a skyphos (the alternative would be a kantharos).

To sum up, **72** must be identified as an early Pithekoussan imitation of a Thapsos skyphos due to its decoration and shape and therefore assigned to the early-middle phases of LG I, i.e. ca. 750-730 BC.

78, **79** and **85** refer to a skyphos type which must have been produced in large numbers in Pithekoussai during LG I. This type is related to the Thapsos class, but I prefer to classify it rather as a local variation of a Thapsos prototype. Between the handles, its panel is decorated with a horizontal chain of small joined lozenges and is framed by two groups of numerous side-bars. In this case the side-bars of the panel are not surrounded by horizontal lines, thus marking a difference compared to the Thapsos skyphos type. The shape is also quite different from the Thapsos skyphoi, because of a low body still recalling MG II skyphoi and of a higher vertical lip. Despite these differences, the chain of lozenges decoration reflects that of the Thapsos skyphoi, which may or may not have a dot inside each lozenge⁴⁴⁸.

A macroscopic analysis of our three items, **78**, **79** and **85** from Cumae, suggests that they had been produced in Pithekoussai, in the light of their micaceous clay and whitish slip.

The LG I date of this “local” skyphos type is suggested by its low body and its more or less high lip as well as by the panel decoration and the barred handles, at least where these are preserved, i.e. in **85**. This chronology in LG I is confirmed by a closed assemblage of Pithekoussai’s necropolis which is the above-mentioned T. 212 containing a fragment of such a skyphos, whose lozenges have an inner dot⁴⁴⁹. Another example⁴⁵⁰ was found in the Punta Chiarito house and is referred by C. Gialanella to the earliest occupation of this site during LG I (together with a Thapsos skyphos with panel and a hemispherical kotyle⁴⁵¹): this skyphos is characterized by simple lozenges and barred handles, as in **85**. The presence of several individual specimens of this skyphos type with lozenges is recorded in the Gosetti dump⁴⁵². Consequently,

⁴⁴¹ NEEFT 1981, 22-27, fig. 6.5.

⁴⁴² BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 273, no. 2, pl. 92.

⁴⁴³ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 702, no. Sp. 4.3, pl. 245.

⁴⁴⁴ PELAGATTI 1982a, 143, 145, pl. 47.5-6. Cf. NEEFT 1981, 22-27. Skyphoi of this variant have been found at Avola, Narce and Villasmundo (PELAGATTI 1982a, 145, pls. 22, 61).

⁴⁴⁵ PELAGATTI 1982a, 130-131, pls. 30.1-3; AMARA 2022, 69.

⁴⁴⁶ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, 16, pl. 1; VILLARD 1982, 182, pl. 62.4; SOURISSEAU 2014, 157-158.

⁴⁴⁷ PELAGATTI 1982a, pl. 60.1.

⁴⁴⁸ NEEFT 1981, 21, fig. 6.13-14.

⁴⁴⁹ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 273, no. 6, pl. 92.

⁴⁵⁰ GIALANELLA 1994, 183, no. A8, fig. 29.3.

⁴⁵¹ GIALANELLA 1994, 182, nos. A2, A3, fig. 29.3.

⁴⁵² Cf. GIALANELLA 1994, 183, no. A8. A skyphos of the same type, whose lozenges have a dot inside (BAILO MODESTI – GA-

during LG I, potters from Euboea and Pithekoussai must have been responsible for the creation and production of a large quantity of this skyphos type decorated with a chain of lozenges. Among our fragments, a difference can be noted between **78** and **79-85**. The former, unlike the latter, has a thin section revealing that it is a fine drinking vessel.

It is also remarkable that **85**, which must be LG I, was found in association with a later domestic context of the first decades of the 7th century BC (Fig. 47.9): this illustrates a convincing case for the preservation of an older vase, which must have been considered a prized vessel in the household⁴⁵³. In Cumae, two more fragments of the same type were identified among the earliest Greek sherds, which had been dumped in the rampart of the late Archaic northern walls⁴⁵⁴.

5.8. Euboean imports? (Pl. 20)

80 is a small fragment of a skyphos which was characterized by a low body. The decoration painted around the widest part of the vessel consists of a metope containing a St. Andrew's cross, which is drawn quite irregularly and framed by side bars. The St. Andrew's cross is a quite common motif of early LG Euboean (or Euboean-related) pottery. On a skyphos from Pontecagnano this motif occupies the metope framed by side bars⁴⁵⁵, as in our fragment. This example from Pontecagnano refers to a skyphos type produced in Euboea, whose decoration is characterized by a single metope with side bars enclosed at the sides by horizontal lines⁴⁵⁶. On the other hand, the clay in the Pontecagnano skyphos is characterized by quite dense fine-grained silver mica: this is unusual for common Euboean

fabric, with the exception of pottery from southern Euboea. Nevertheless, our fragment **80** might well not refer to this decoration system, because there is a larger number of side-bars which are more spaced out from each other. An alternative comparison is represented by a skyphos with a metope system, once again of Euboean production, from a tomb in Ialysos (Rhodes) of ca. 750-735 BC⁴⁵⁷, but in this case the metope has a variant: a dot in each of the four quadrants is added to the St. Andrew's cross. A similar date may be suggested for our Cumae skyphos, because of the low body and the metope decoration. Like the Pontecagnano specimen, **80** is characterized by micaceous clay, in this case with fine-grained silver mica. Was the Cumae skyphos a Euboean product from a different fabric than usual (perhaps southern Euboean)? Cycladic production would also be a reasonable alternative due to the large amount of mica present. It could even be of Pithekoussan manufacture, although its clay does look more compact than any Pithekoussan clays I am aware of. All things considered, the question of its production remains open, also due to the fact that only a small part of the vessel is preserved. What is of particular interest is the findspot of this skyphos as it came from the same layer as one of the fragments of the Corinthian chevron skyphos, **54** (Fig. 47.4). This layer, to be interpreted probably as the result of dumping refuse, underlies the floor of a house built in the earliest decades of the 7th century BC (cf. above, chpt. 5.3).

81, the last fragment of our discussion, is also peculiar, firstly because it refers to a krater: this vessel shape is less common among our finds from domestic contexts. In this example, only a small quantity of fine-grained silver mica is visible from macroscopic analysis; the clay is quite compact, smooth on the surface and characterized by small-sized white inclusions. The hypothesis that **81** is a Euboean product is also made possible by the morphology and the decoration of the krater (the alternative would be a Pithekoussan production imitating Euboean Atticizing prototypes). Part of the lip where the spout begins, as well as part of the rather low neck, and also a section of the upper part of the body are preserved.

STALDI 2001, 19, 40, no. 19.2, T. 3264.2, fig. 9, pl. 4.2), was found in a burial at Pontecagnano of the local IIB Phase (750-730 BC); this date is coherent with the skyphos' low shape but with tall lip, such as in the vases found in Pithekoussai and Cumae; B. d'Agostino ascribed the skyphos from Pontecagnano to Euboean fabric (only a little mica can be seen at macroscopic analysis).

⁴⁵³ D'AGOSTINO – D'ACUNTO 2008, 507, fig. 22 and color fig.; D'ACUNTO 2017, 304, fig. 26.13d.

⁴⁵⁴ *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 157, nos. TTA29 and TTA30, pl. 3.3-4.

⁴⁵⁵ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, 19, 43, no. 23.1, T. 6500.1, fig. 9, pl. 3.8.

⁴⁵⁶ As this type is common in the production of Chalkis, it was labeled as "Chalkis" type (ANDREIOMENOU 1984, 51-53, 65-67, nos. 41-49, fig. 13), but it was also produced in Eretria: cf. VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 79, 124, no. 167, pl. 41 (LG I); KOUROU 2010, 356.

⁴⁵⁷ D'ACUNTO 2020e, 241-242, 695, T. LI/393, no. 2, pls. XIII, 6, with references to other examples and related bibliography.

This was clearly a fine vessel, as is shown by what is preserved of the elaborate decoration: a group of bars on the rim, a group of tremuli on the neck, and on the upper part of the body a hatched meander surrounded by a single line, as well as what is probably a reserved lozenge made of multiple lines. The meander is of course derivative from Attic MG II. As already mentioned, in the Gosetti dump there was a fragment of a krater with a carefully drawn meander of Euboean fabric which in Coldstream's opinion might well go back to MG II⁴⁵⁸. However, in Euboean production the meander continues to appear on kraters throughout LG, e.g. in Eretria⁴⁵⁹. We have other renderings of hatched meanders on three Euboean (?) and local kraters from the LG II (disturbed) context of the so-called "Tomb 168" of Pithekoussai⁴⁶⁰. In these cases, the drawn decoration which goes around the whole circumference of the vessels and most part of their surfaces is a late stylistic trait. On the contrary, on our fragment **81** from Cumae, the solid paint to the side of the meander and the lozenge reveals a dark-background style which is still in the MG II tradition. The careful and elaborate hatched meander with a surrounding line is also reminiscent of early elaborate solutions of the meander. However, in our vessel there are two aspects hinting at its downdating to LG I. First, the group of carefully drawn tremuli on the neck recalls e.g. the decoration on the lip of Thapsos skyphoi-kraters of Corinthian LG⁴⁶¹. In addition, the low triangular profile of the lip-neck together with the slightly rounded vertical shoulder is similar to the morphology which has been ascribed in Eretrian production to local LG I (ca. 750-735)⁴⁶². For all these reasons, a similar date seems to be likely for our Euboean (or Pithekoussan) krater **81**.

5.9. General picture and issues of Cumae's LG I (750-720 BC)

Considering the finds from our excavations north of the Forum baths, a general picture of the

ratios of the different pottery productions may be drawn from macroscopic analysis of the fragments, which are referred to LG I by their find context and/or typology. The pottery whose production we ascribe to Pithekoussai appears to be predominant, consisting in part of imitations/variations of Corinthian types, such as is common during the first phase of LG in Euboea itself: the creamy slip on Pithekoussan products recalls Corinthian clay. However, a good number of fragments can definitely be identified as Corinthian imports and clearly refer to the most prized types of drinking vessel: namely the kotylai as well as the late chevron and Thapsos skyphoi with panel. On the other hand, the proportion of ceramics imported from Euboea is clearly and distinctly a minority. This picture leads us to the following conclusions on the composition of material culture during LG I, at least with reference to our settlement area and of course within the limits given by macroscopic analysis of ceramics.

Firstly, the break between the native Pre-Hellenic domestic occupation and that of LG I is not only given by the clear stratigraphic discontinuity described above, but also by the composition of material culture, from the point of view of Greek pottery. In the Pre-Hellenic context, ceramics directly imported are almost exclusively from Euboea, while Corinthian and Pithekoussan pottery was lacking at the time. On the contrary, during LG I, macroscopic analysis suggests that in Cumae Pithekoussan pottery is predominant; this is accompanied by a good number of Corinthian imports and very few, which we may more or less safely refer to as being of Euboean fabric.

The same fabrics, roughly in the same proportions, are found in the many LG I contexts of Pithekoussai, as seen especially in the necropolis, but also in Mazzola and in the Gosetti dump. From the point of view of pottery found in their contexts, therefore, Pithekoussai and Cumae start to resemble each other during LG I, and continue to do so during LG II.

Is it now safe to say that this LG I evidence fills the wide gap that had been recognized by scholars between the foundation of Pithekoussai and Cumae (cf. above, chpt. 1.1)? From a chronological point of view, I maintain, at this stage, that the answer must be affirmative.

⁴⁵⁸ COLDSTREAM 1995, 252-253, 266-267, no. 2, pl. 27.

⁴⁵⁹ VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 91-95.

⁴⁶⁰ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 216-218, nos. 1-3, pls. 67-69, CXXIX.

⁴⁶¹ Cf. e.g. NEEFT 1981, 15, fig. 1c; PELAGATTI 1982a, pl. 60.1 (from Leontinoi).

⁴⁶² VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 92, KR4 type, pl. 93.

In this contribution we have described some of Cumae's closed domestic contexts of LG I and Geometric pottery, which is still early LG I and parallels the earliest classes found in Pithekoussai. These findings suggest that the *apoikia* of Cumae, namely a permanent establishment of the Greek group on the site, must have taken place close to the foundation of Pithekoussai: probably at ca. 750-740 BC, and therefore only slightly later than the Euboean foundation on the island opposite.

Conversely, from the point of view of the consistency of the contexts and materials of LG I, the evidence from Pithekoussai remains to date far greater than that of Cumae. This is made clear by a simple comparison between our limited contexts and finds in Cumae, and those in Pithekoussai: namely from the acropolis settlement area (Gosetti dump), from the metallurgical area (Mazzola), and from the necropolis where a great number of burials can be referred to the earliest phase of the settlement. Does this different consistency of contexts and finds depend on the history of research and on the different levels of knowledge we possess surrounding the earliest phases of the two earliest Greek foundations? Or does it reflect a substantial real difference regarding the actual size and structure of the two settlements? It is currently impossible to decide which hypothesis is more likely but of course we hope to have further information from next year's excavations.

Nevertheless, the comparison in the evidence brought to light for the "colonial" necropoleis in both sites is significant: on one hand, there are many dozens of burials in the San Montano necropolis, while on the other there is only scant evidence suggested in Cumae, which is the earliest Greek Geometric pottery recovered in the rampart of the northern walls, together with burnt human bones from cremations and scarabs (cf. above, chpt. 1.8). As we have seen above, B. d'Agostino has suggested that the process of digging out the moat around the walls must have destroyed the burials from the earliest phase of the *apoikia*. Some scholars have rejected this hypothesis based on the evidence that a sector of the Pre-Hellenic necropolis was located nearby, northwest of the middle gate of the walls. What's more, they point out that a few burials from the Pre-Hellenic necropolis were secondary cremations;

therefore, in their opinion, why should B. d'Agostino's finds not be referred to the Pre-Hellenic necropolis rather than to the earliest *apoikia* cemetery? In my opinion, the answer to this criticism comes from the evidence of the Greek pottery found in the rampart of the walls. Not even one of these Geometric fragments from the walls may be referred to the classes that we find both in our Pre-Hellenic domestic context and in the Pre-Hellenic necropolis. On the contrary, this Greek pottery from the wall ramparts refers to late chevron skyphoi, hemispherical kotylai, Thapsos class etc. all found in Pithekoussai and in our post-Prehellenic domestic contexts (cf. above, chpt. 5.2-8). Consequently, albeit with all due caution suggested by their secondary deposition, the evidence of these cremations from the northern walls as well as LG I and LG II pottery, would be better referred to the presence of burials in the area, which in turn must be referred to the earliest phase of the Greek *apoikia*. This burial evidence to the north would match our domestic evidence not far south, thus dating the Greek establishment of Cumae at the beginning of the second half of the 8th century BC.

From current archaeological evidence (and according to some literary sources), it is clear that the Euboean foundations and the earliest phases of Pithekoussai and of Cumae must have been intertwined. But what can be said about the balance between the two sites? At least from the point of view of production and material culture as suggested by the pottery, Pithekoussai may well have played a greater and more dominant role compared to its "twin", Cumae.

We may ask ourselves if it is possible that Pithekoussai was significantly involved in the foundation of Cumae's *apoikia*. This hypothesis is more than likely, mainly because of the close geographic proximity of the two Euboean foundations. Another question we may ask is if Pithekoussai was dominant compared to Cumae during LG I and whether the LG I phase should actually be labelled as a sort of "Pithekoussan" phase of Cumae? This hypothesis is extremely tempting, because at the present state of knowledge, the consistency of the settlement of Pithekoussai compared to Cumae during LG I is overwhelming. Unfortunately, the current state of archaeological evidence in Cumae during LG I is still too meagre and, as a result, con-

siderable caution is called for. Nevertheless, during LG II, there is far more evidence available in Cumae and the balance between the two sites may well have changed rather suddenly and rapidly in favor of Cumae. Waves of new colonists may well have arrived directly from Euboea at different stages during LG I and LG II and could have potentially shifted the balance as a result.

On the other hand, if we come back to Coldstream's chronological question and prevision in 1968 (cf. chpt. 1.1), with reference to the earliest Sicilian *apoikiai*, our evidence from LG I now supports the perspective of ancient authors regarding Cumae as a priority compared to them. The *apoikia* of Cumae may have been established by Euboeans/Pithekoussans in ca. 750/740 BC. It must have been followed slightly later by Euboean Naxos (734 BC), Corinthian Syracuse (733 BC) and the others, according to Thucydides' chronological framework.

Last but not least, one final question must be addressed. As we have said, a good number of *impasto* pottery fragments occurs in the domestic contexts of Cumae of LG I. And as we have mentioned more than once, our contexts are still very few and far between, and as a consequence, inconclusive. However, at the present state of knowledge, we would like to suggest a picture perhaps close to the one we have reconstructed in Pithekoussai⁴⁶³. During LG I, native individuals must have been integrated into the settlement of Cumae at different social levels: namely into a Greek community that had taken control of the territory, formerly occupied by the indigenous village of Pre-Hellenic Cumae. In my opinion, there is no doubt that we are now dealing with a community of basically Greek character, of an *apoikia*; and there is no doubt in my mind that the situation during LG I, from this point of view, marks a clear break from the pre-colonial contacts established by the Euboeans with the local village. However, this new Greek community of Cumae – after the clearly abrupt and potentially violent *caesura* enacted around the middle of the 8th century – must have introduced the natives at different levels of the social ladder, starting with introducing females into

their households, and perhaps involving males in manual and agricultural activities.

5.10. *The colonization process of Cumae: a glimpse into the LG II phase (720-690 BC)*

Our paper presented at the conference in Ischia in 2018 also included a survey of the LG II phase (720-690 BC). This phase of Cumae, starting with the evidence brought to light in the urban area by the University of Napoli L'Orientale, will be analyzed in a forthcoming contribution. This will give us the opportunity to draw a picture of the diachronic and complex phenomenon of the Greek colonization of Cumae. From our perspective, this colonization process must have been characterized by different stages and probably by the arrival of different groups of colonists in successive waves throughout the first two generations of the *apoikia*⁴⁶⁴.

Since the town plan (at least north of the Forum baths), and therefore the transformation of the settlement into a true “urban” center, was established only at the end of LG II (early 7th century BC), the latter may be considered as a crucial turning point in the colonization process: this must have been the point of arrival of a complex colonial phenomenon begun two generations before, but also a point of departure, because this urban layout would be respected and maintained for most part of the history of the Greek, Campanian and Roman city.

As in the present contribution, our analysis for LG II will be predominantly based on the evidence brought to light by the field archaeology carried out over recent decades. What's more, the next contribution will undoubtedly be an excellent opportunity for us to come back to the different traditions referred to by ancient authors regarding the foundation of the *apoikia* of Cumae. This will raise another crucial question: will the different literary traditions on the colonization of Cumae be capable of reflecting the complexity and the intricacy of the many stages of a phenomenon, which may well have been characterized by a multitude of phases and by diverse protagonists hailing from Pithekoussai, Chalcis, Eretria and Cumae⁴⁶⁵ whether in Aeolia or in Euboea?

Matteo D'Acunto

⁴⁶³ CERCHIAI 1997; D'AGOSTINO 2010-2011, 225-228; GUZZO 2012; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013; CERCHIAI 2014; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2014; D'ACUNTO 2020, 1291-1298; D'ACUNTO, forthcoming; L. Cerchiai, in this volume.

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. D'ACUNTO 2017; forthcoming.

⁴⁶⁵ Cf. CASSIO 2020; D'AGOSTINO 2020.

Catalogue of pottery (Pls. 1-21)

LBA pottery (Pls. 1-2)

1. Strainer. Pl. 1

Inv. no. 21.M451-1.433 (PP27852/2). Frg. of perforated bottom and wall. H. max. 10.9; Ø 18 cm. Clay: brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/2), compact and medium-fine grained, with small white, even glassy inclusions. Brownish gray-brown surface (Munsell 5YR5/1-2). It shows visible traces of splinting both externally and internally. Slightly convex perforated bottom; truncated cone-shaped walls with horizontal handles.

Bibliography: PAGANO – DEL VILLANO 2022, 76, no. 1.27 [F. Somma].

Similar to DOMANICO – CARDOSA 1995, 370, fig. 145, 68.

2. Bowl. Pl. 1

Inv. no. 21.M451-1.462 (PP27928/1). Frg. of lip and wall. H. max. 7; Ø 21 cm. Clay: brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/2), compact and medium-fine grained, with small white, even glassy, inclusions. Surface color varies from gray-reddish gray (Munsell 5YR 5/1-2) to pink (Munsell 7.5YR 7/4). Surface polite externally and internally. Lip oblique internally; convex wall; carinated body.

Bibliography: PAGANO – DEL VILLANO 2022, 76, no. 1.26 [F. Somma].

Cf. DAMIANI 2010, family 16 (160-163, pls. 24-26).

3. Truncated cone-shaped vase. Pl. 1

Inv. no. PP27933/1. Frg. of lip and wall. H. max. 8.25; Ø 38 cm. Clay: no uniform color, ranging from pink to light gray (Munsell 5YR 8/4-10YR 7/1), medium compact, coarse-grained, with many small to medium-sized dark-colored, even glassy inclusions, also visible on surface. Gray outer surface (Munsell 7.5YR 5/1). Flat lip; plastic cordon under the rim; vertical truncated cone-shaped body.

Cf. BARTOLI 2012, EIA, for Phase 1A: 421, fig. 248a, SC3; for Phase 1B: 322, fig. 114, SC4B.

4. Cooking stand. Pl. 1

Inv. no. IN27926/1. Frg. of perforated plate. Th. max. 3; l. max. 12 cm. Clay: no uniform color, ranging from pink to gray (Munsell 5YR 8/4-10YR 7/2), not very compact, coarse-grained, with many large dark and glassy inclusions, also visible on the surface. Surface light gray/pink (Munsell 7.5YR 7/1-7/4) with visible traces of splinting. Slightly convex stove diaphragm, characterized by central hole and three recognizable arms.

5. Open shape. Pl. 2

Inv. no. PP27329/8. Frg. of decorated wall from an open unidentified shape. Th. max. 1.2; h. max. 4 cm. Clay: pinkish gray (Munsell 7.5YR 6/2), compact, with small white inclusions and small to medium sized black and red inclusions. Surface characterized by the presence of a pinkish white engobe (Munsell 7.5YR 8/2) both internally and externally. Vertical wall. The fragment shows traces of decoration with a wave or triangular engraved motif.

6. Perforated plate. Pl. 2

Inv. no. IN27329/2. Frg. of perforated plate. Th. max. 3; h. max. 9.2 cm. Clay: pink (Munsell 5YR 8/4), coarse, not very compact, with many large dark inclusions, also vitreous. Rough surface on one side, on the other side it has a kind of light gray engobe (Munsell 10 YR 7/2). The plate is characterized by a bulge at the four recognizable holes and traces of fire use on this side.

7. *Dolium*. Pl. 2

Inv. no. PP27321/1. Frg. of lip. H. max. 9.7; Ø 82 cm. Clay: uneven surface color, ranging from pink to light gray (Munsell 5YR 8/4-10YR 7/1), coarse, with many dark, even glassy, medium to large inclusions also visible on the surface, which externally has a light gray engobe (Munsell 10 YR 7/2) and traces of splinting on both sides. *Dolium* lip with distinct funnel-shaped neck; everted and thinned lip.

Cf. PERONI 1982, table 36, 2, 148; BUFFA 1994, table 116, 31, 499, form 50 variety B.

EIA *impasto* pottery (Pls. 3-10)

8. One-handed cup, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 3

Inv. no. PP27838/3. Frg. of lip and shoulder. H. max. 3.5; Ø 14.8 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from dark gray (Munsell 10YR 4/1) to reddish brown (Munsell 5YR 5/3), compact and fine grained, with many small and medium beige inclusions, with a homogeneous distribution, and lesser little bright inclusions. The inner and outer surfaces show uneven color, ranging from yellowish brown (Munsell 10YR 5/4) to light brownish gray (Munsell 10YR 6/2) with many small white inclusions visible on them. Both surfaces show homogeneous splinting. Slightly everted lip; rounded rim; slanted shoulder.

Cf. an one-handed cup from Cumae (NIZZO 2008, 244, no. 106, pl. 14, fig. 21) and an one-handed cup from San Marzano (Sarno Valley) (D'AGOSTINO 1970, fig. 17, T. 28).

Chronology: EIA.

9. Amphora, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 3

Inv. no. PP25351/1-3. Frg. of lip and neck and two contiguous frgs. of shoulder and body, one of which has a ribbon handle's junction at the shoulder. H. max. 4.4; Ø 7 cm. Clay: brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3), moderately compact and fine grained, with many small black inclusions, with a homogeneous distribution, lesser little white and big black inclusions. The outer surface is dark grayish brown (Munsell 10YR 4/2) and shows few traces of splinting and is heavily abraded. The inner surface is dark grayish brown (Munsell 10 YR 4/2) and shows no traces of splinting. Collared lip; rounded rim; flattened shoulder; flat body. Grooved decoration: one slight vertical groove at the shoulder.

Cf. for the shape, amphora from Longola (Poggiomarino) (BARTOLI 2012, 426, type ANF1, fig. 253a; 427, type ANF2, fig. 254), type 11 of Pre-Hellenic Cumae (CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 336, fig. 2.11, 346) and an amphora from Castiglione d'Ischia settlement (PACCIARELLI 2011, 52, fig. 7, no. 3).

Chronology: EIA.

10. One-handled cup, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 3

Inv. no. PP27838/8. Frg. of lip and carinated body. H. max. 3; Ø 7.8 cm. Clay: dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1), compact and fine grained, with many small beige and bright inclusions, with a homogeneous distribution. The inner and outer surfaces show uneven color, ranging from dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3), with many small beige and bright inclusions visible on them. Both surfaces show few traces of splinting and are heavily abraded. Colored lip; inside slanted rim; carinated body.

Cf. one-handled cup from ancient Capua (MELANDRI 2011, Cappuccini-Ex Polveriera, T. 20, 234, pl. 52.29). Chronology: EIA.

11. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 3

Inv. no. PP27847/4. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 5 cm; Ø 16.6 cm. Clay: black (Munsell 10YR 2/1), compact and fine grained, with many small white inclusions, many medium and big gray and beige inclusions, with a homogeneous distribution, and lesser little bright inclusions. The outer surface shows uneven color, ranging from black (Munsell 10YR 2/1) to yellowish brown (Munsell 10YR 5/4) to brown (Munsell 5YR 5/3), with a few bright little inclusions visible on it, with traces of homogeneous splinting. The inner surface has uneven color, ranging from yellowish brown (Munsell 10YR 5/4) to gray (Munsell 5YR 5/1), shows no traces of splinting and is heavily abraded. Vertical lip; rounded rim; cylinder-conical body. Plastic decoration: applied cordon with a grip on the shoulder.

Cf. for the shape, GIAMPAOLA – BARTOLI – BOENZI 2018, group 14.3, 219-220, fig. 15.13.

Chronology: EIA.

12. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 3

Inv. no. PP27847/46. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 6.8; Ø 17.4 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from gray (Munsell 10YR 5/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3), poorly compact and brittle with many medium beige inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and lesser bright inclusions. The inner and outer surfaces show uneven color, ranging from gray (Munsell 10YR 5/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3). Both surfaces show traces of splinting and are poorly abraded. Inverted lip; inside slanted rim; barrel-shaped body. Plastic decoration: applied cordon with notch on the shoulder.

Cf. for the shape, BUFFA 1994, type 68b, 467, pl. 90.2. Chronology: EIA.

13. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 4

Inv. no. PP27855/1. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 7.7; Ø 30 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3) and medium-fine grained with many small beige and black inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and lesser medium and big black and beige inclusions. The inner surface is dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) with many small beige and bright inclusions visible on them and show homogeneous splinting. The outer surface shows uneven col-

or, ranging from dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3) with many little and medium black and bright inclusions visible on it and shows few traces of splinting. Everted lip; rounded protruding rim; truncated-ovoid body. Plastic decoration: finger-impressed applied cordon on the shoulder. Cf. for the shape, BUFFA 1994, type 44, 482, pl. 103.10. Chronology: EIA.

14. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 4

Inv. no. PP27837/12. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 4; Ø 24.8 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from gray (Munsell 5YR 5/1) to yellowish brown (Munsell 10YR 5/4), moderately compact and fine grained, with many small and medium bright and beige inclusions, with a homogeneous distribution, and lesser big black and bright inclusions. The outer surface is gray (Munsell 5YR 5/1) and shows traces of splinting. The inner surface is yellowish brown (Munsell 10YR 5/4) and shows homogeneous splinting. Slightly inverted lip; rounded rim; barrel-shaped body. Plastic decoration: finger-impressed applied cordon on the shoulder.

Cf. BARTOLI 2012, type SE4A, 308, fig. 98.

Chronology: EIA.

15. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 4

Inv. no. PP27837/33. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 6; Ø 30 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3) and medium-fine grained with many small beige and black inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and lesser medium and big black and beige inclusions. The inner surface is dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) with many small beige inclusions visible on them and show homogeneous splinting. The outer surface is dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) with many little and medium black and bright inclusions visible on it and shows few traces of splinting. Slightly inverted lip; inside slanted rim; barrel-shaped body. Plastic decoration: applied cordon with slightly notches on the shoulder.

Cf. GIAMPAOLA – BARTOLI – BOENZI 2018, specimen 15.7, 220, fig. 16.4.

Chronology: EIA.

16. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 4

Inv. no. PP27837/54. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 8; Ø 25 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from gray (Munsell 7.5YR 5/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/2), poorly compact and medium-fine grained with many small beige and bright inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and lesser medium beige inclusions. The inner and outer surfaces show uneven color, ranging from brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3) to grayish brown (Munsell 10YR 5/2) with many small bright, black and beige inclusions visible on them. Both surfaces show few traces of splinting. Slightly inverted lip; inside slanted rim; truncated-ovoid body. Plastic decoration: applied cordon on the shoulder.

Cf. ARANCIO – BUFFA – DAMIANI – TRUCCO 2001, type 275, 78, fig. 41.18.

Chronology: EIA.

17. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 4

Inv. no. PP27838/9. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 7; Ø 26.4 cm. Clay: black (Munsell 10YR 2/1), moderately compact and fine grained with many small white inclusions, many small and medium gray and beige inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and lesser small bright inclusions. The outer surface is yellowish brown (Munsell 10YR 5/4) with many small bright inclusions and many medium and small black and beige inclusions visible on it and show homogeneous traces of splinting. The inner surface shows uneven color, ranging from yellowish brown (Munsell 10YR 5/4) to very dark gray (Munsell 5YR 3/1) with many small and medium black and beige inclusions, many little bright inclusions and lesser big bright inclusions visible on it and show homogeneous traces of splinting. Vertical lip; rounded protruding oblique rim; barrel-shaped body. Plastic decoration: applied cordon with diagonal notches at the shoulder.

Cf. for the shape, GIAMPAOLA – BARTOLI – BOENZI 2018, group 19.1, 220-221, fig. 16.11.

Chronology: EIA.

18. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 4

Inv. no. PP27838/10. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon; H. max. 5.2; Ø 15 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3) to grayish brown (Munsell 10YR 5/2), compact and medium-fine grained with many small beige inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and lesser medium black and bright inclusions. The inner and outer surfaces show uneven color, ranging from brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3) to grayish brown (Munsell 10YR 5/2) with many small bright and black inclusions and lesser medium black inclusions visible on them. Both surfaces are abraded. Slightly inverted lip; flatted rim; barrel-shaped body. Plastic decoration: finger-impressed applied cordon on the shoulder.

Cf. GIAMPAOLA – BARTOLI – BOENZI 2018, group 16.5, 220, fig. 11.13.

Chronology: EIA.

19. Cooking stand. Pl. 5

Inv. no. IN27837/1. Frg. of perforated plate with arms in a cross-like position. Th. max. 6; l. max. 15.5; th. max. arms 5; w. max. arms 5; l. max. arms 5 cm. Clay: pink (Munsell 5YR 7/4), moderately compact and fine grained, with many small and medium white, gray, black, beige and brown inclusions. Upper and lower surfaces show uneven color, ranging from very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 8/3) to pink (Munsell 5YR 7/4) with many vacuoles visible on them. Hourglass-shaped cooking stand's perforated plate with four round-section arms in a cross-like position.

Cf. perforated plate of a hourglass-shaped cooking stand from Castiglione d'Ischia settlement (BUCHNER 1936-1937, 84-86; DELPINO 1969, 313, fig. 1, no. 1; SHEFFER 1981, 28-29, type IA, fig. 2; MOFFA 2002, 75, type 1D, fig. 53).

Chronology: EIA.

20. *Dolium*. Pl. 5

Inv. no. PP27860/1. Frg. of lip; H. max. 10.4; inner Ø 50 cm. Clay: reddish brown (Munsell 5YR 5/3), poorly compact and brittle, with many medium and big black, white, gray, beige and brown inclusions and many vacuoles. The inner and outer surfaces are reddish brown (Munsell 5YR 5/3) with same inclusions of the core visible on them. Both surfaces show few traces of splinting. Inverted lip; rounded enlarged rim. Cf. a *dolium* from Castiglione d'Ischia (PACCIARELLI 2011, 54, fig. 8, no. 3).

Chronology: FBA-EIA.

21. Bowl, *impasto*. Pl. 5

Inv. no. PP27862/1-PP27838/62-PP27847/5. Three contiguous frgs. of lip and shoulder. H. max. 4.2; Ø 18 cm. Clay: dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1), compact and fine grained, with many small beige and bright inclusions, with a homogeneous distribution. The inner and outer surfaces show uneven color, ranging from dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3), with many small beige and bright inclusions visible on them. Both surfaces show few traces of splinting.

Inverted lip; inside slanted rim; rounded shoulder.

Cf. DAMIANI 2010, family 6, type 1, 140, pl. 10.

Chronology: RBA2.

22. One-handled cup, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 6

Inv. no. PP27754/1-PP27815/2. Frg. of lip and contiguous frg. of body. H. max. 3.4; Ø 11 cm. Clay: dark gray (Munsell 10YR 4/1), compact and fine grained, with many small white inclusions, with a homogeneous distribution, and lesser small black inclusions. The inner and outer surfaces are pale brown (Munsell 10YR 6/3) and show homogeneous splinting. Everted lip; straight rim; slightly slanted shoulder; carinated body. Incised decoration: thin horizontal line immediately under the lip and, under this line in close connection with it, series of two continuous inverted triangles filled by vertical lines.

Cf. two one-handled cups from Cumae, respectively, in TT. Osta 32 (MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 236, Grab 32, pl. 20.A, no. 6) and SP700675 (BRUN – MUNZI 2008, 106.1).

Chronology: EIA.

23. Bowl, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 6

Inv. no. PP27671/10. Frg. of lip and shoulder. H. max. 3; Ø 21 cm. Clay: reddish brown (Munsell 2.5YR 4/3), compact and fine grained, with many small white and black inclusions, with a homogeneous distribution. The inner and outer surfaces are very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 7/4). Both surfaces show homogeneous splinting. Collared lip; rounded rim; rounded flattened shoulder.

Cf. for the shape, bowl from Longola (Poggiomarino) (BARTOLI 2012, 426, type SLD17, fig. 253.b).

Chronology: EIA.

24. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 6

Inv. no. PP27815/36. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 5.8; Ø 24 cm. Clay: gray (Munsell

10YR 5/1), compact and medium-fine grained, with many small white inclusions, with a homogeneous distribution, and lesser large white inclusions. The inner and outer surfaces are pale brown (Munsell 10YR 6/3). Both surfaces show homogeneous splinting. Vertical lip; flatted rim; cylinder-conical body. Plastic decoration: finger-impressed applied cordon with grip on the shoulder.

Cf. for the shape, GIAMPAOLA – BARTOLI – BOENZI 2018, group 17.1, 220-221, fig. 16.9.

Chronology: EIA.

25. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 6

Inv. no. PP27671/1-PP27815/1. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 4.8; Ø 22 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from gray (Munsell 10YR 5/1) to reddish gray (Munsell 10R 5/1), compact and medium-fine grained with many small white inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and lesser medium black inclusions. The inner and outer surfaces are black (Munsell 10YR 2/1) with many small bright inclusions and lesser medium black inclusions visible on them. Both surfaces show homogeneous splinting. Slightly inverted lip; flatted rim; barrel-shaped body. Plastic decoration: applied cordon at the shoulder.

Cf. for the shape, MELANDRI 2011, Fornaci-prop. ignota, T. 384, 99, pl. 8, no. 10.

Chronology: EIA.

26. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 7

Inv. no. PP27671/8. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 3.6; Ø 18 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/2) and medium-fine grained with many small white inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and lesser medium black and bright inclusions. The outer surface is black (Munsell 10YR 7/2) and shows homogeneous splinting. The inner surface shows uneven color, ranging from dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/2) with many medium beige inclusions visible on it and few traces of splinting. Inverted lip; inside slanted rim; barrel-shaped body. Plastic decoration: finger-impressed applied cordon on the shoulder.

Cf. for the shape, GIAMPAOLA – BARTOLI – BOENZI 2018, group 15.3, 220, fig. 15, no. 16.

Chronology: EIA.

27. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 7

Inv. no. PP27815/3. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 4.3; Ø 16 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from gray (Munsell 10YR 5/1) to dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1), poorly compact and medium-fine grained with many small white inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and lesser medium black inclusions. The inner and outer surfaces are black (Munsell 10YR 2/1) with many small bright inclusions and lesser medium black inclusions visible on them. Both surfaces show traces of splinting and are heavily abraded. Slightly inverted

lip; rounded rim; truncated-ovoid body. Plastic decoration: finger-impressed applied cordon on the shoulder.

Cf. for the shape, BUFFA 1994, type 64a, 521-522, pl. 84, no. 30.

Chronology: EIA.

28. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 7

Inv. no. PP27815/42. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 4.4; Ø 21.8 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from gray (Munsell 10YR 5/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/2), compact and medium-fine grained with many small white inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and lesser medium black inclusions. The inner and outer show uneven color, ranging from gray (Munsell 10YR 5/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/2). Both surfaces show traces of homogeneous splinting. Slightly inverted lip; flatted rim; barrel-shaped body. Plastic decoration: applied cordon on the shoulder.

Cf. GIAMPAOLA – BARTOLI – BOENZI 2018, specimen 15.7, 220, fig. 16, no. 4.

Chronology: EIA.

29. Amphora, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 8

Inv. no. PP27082/1. Frg. of wall. H. max. 3.9 cm. Clay: gray (Munsell 7.5YR 5/1), compact and fine grained, with numerous small and circular dark inclusions, with an homogeneous distribution and many small white and bright inclusions. The inner reddish brown surface (Munsell 5 YR 4/4) is slightly abraded. Body's wall. Grooved decoration: three concentric semicircular grooves.

Cf. the decoration motif in the local repertoire (Nizzo 2008, 225, pl. 10, no. 67).

Chronology: EIA.

30. One handled cup, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 8

Inv. no. PP27082/2-PP27082/3. Two contiguous lip fragments and a fragment related to the same specimen. H. max. 4.3; Ø 18 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from gray (Munsell 7.5YR 5/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/4), compact and fine grained, with numerous small light inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and many small bright inclusions. The surfaces show uneven color, ranging from gray (Munsell 7.5YR 5/1) to the brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/4). Traces of homogeneous splinting are visible on the inner and outer surface. Straight lip; oblique engrossed rim; truncated conical collar; rounded profile. Incised decoration: under the collar, probably single motifs of intersecting lines, incised with a three-pointed comb, partially preserved.

Cf. one handled cups in the local repertoire of Cumae (Nizzo 2008b, 238, pl. 13, no. 96; CRISCUOLO 2007, 284, fig. 8, no. 34).

Chronology: EIA.

31. Bowl, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 8

Inv. no. PP27082/4. Frg. of lip. H. max. 2.4; Ø 15 cm. Clay: light gray (Munsell 7.5YR 7/1), compact and medium-fine grained, with numerous small and medi-

um dark inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and many small brown and bright inclusions. The surfaces show traces of splinting. Everted lip; protruding oblique engrossed rim. Incised decoration: three parallel incised lines on the lip.

Cf. for the shape, a bowl from Longola (Poggiomarino) (BARTOLI 2012, 424, fig. 251, type SLD 2).

Chronology: EIA.

32. Bowl, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 8

Inv. no. PP27082/14. Frg. of lip. H. max. 2.7; Ø 21.6 cm. Clay: dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1), compact and medium-fine grained, with numerous small dark and white inclusions with a homogeneous distribution. Brown outer surface (Munsell 7.5YR 4/3). Visible traces of splinting, internally and externally. Inverted lip; straight rim.

Cf. bowl from Longola (Poggiomarino) (BARTOLI 2012, 422, fig. 249, type S8 variety A).

Chronology: EIA.

33. One-handed cup/bowl? *Impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 8

Inv. no. PP27081/1. Frg. of wall. H. max. 2.4 cm. Clay: light gray (Munsell 10YR 7/1), compact and fine grained, with numerous small dark and brown inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and many small bright inclusions. The surfaces show uneven color, ranging from black (Munsell 10YR 2/1) to gray (Munsell 7.5YR 5/1). The outer surface is polished, while the inner surface is slightly abraded. Carinated wall.

Cf. a one-handed cup/bowl? from Longola (Poggiomarino) (BARTOLI 2012, 426, fig. 253, type TC2).

Chronology: EIA.

34. Bowl, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 9

Inv. no. PP27081/4. Frg. of lip. H. max. 4.4; Ø 21.4 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) to light gray (Munsell 7.5YR 7/1), compact and medium grained, with numerous small and medium dark and bright inclusions with a homogeneous distribution; and many small and medium light inclusions. The surfaces show uneven color, ranging from dark gray (Munsell 7.5 YR 4/1) to light gray (Munsell 7.5YR 7/1). No surface treatments are visible. Everted lip; flattened rim; truncated cone-shaped wall. Decoration: finger-impressed applied cordon.

Chronology: EIA

35. Bowl, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 9

Inv. no. PP27080/1. Frg. of lip. H. max. 2.8 cm. Clay: dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1), compact and fine grained, with some small light inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and many small black and bright inclusions. The dark gray surfaces (Munsell 7.5 YR 4/1) are polished. Inverted lip; rounded rim.

Cf. a bowl from Longola (Poggiomarino) (BARTOLI 2012, 420, fig. 247, type SLD15).

Chronology: EIA.

36. Open vessel? *Impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 9

Inv. no. PP27080/3. Two contiguous handle fragments. H. max. 6 cm. Clay: gray (Munsell 7.5YR 5/1),

compact and fine grained, with numerous small light and black inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and many bright inclusions and vacuoles. The surfaces show uneven color, ranging from black (Munsell 10YR 2/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 4/2-5/2). The outer surface is polished, while the inner surface is slightly abraded. A two-part ribbon handle, probably pertinent to an open vessel.

Chronology: EIA.

37. Open vessel? *Impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 9

Inv. no. PP27080/4. Two contiguous handle fragments. H. max. 6.1 cm; Clay: gray (Munsell 7.5YR 5/1), compact and fine grained, with numerous small light, black and vitreous inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and many vacuoles. The dark gray surfaces (Munsell 7.5YR 3/1) show traces of polishing on the outer side. Ribbon handle, probably pertinent to an open vessel.

Chronology: EIA.

38. Closed shape. Mycenaean/Italo-Mycenaean? Pl. 2

Inv. no. M27321/1. Frg. shoulder. H. max. 2 cm. Clay: very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 8/2); hard, smooth surface, with regular breaks; many small black inclusions and lesser white inclusions; no mica is seen. Stretched, oblique profile. Dark/light brown paint: straight line and two drawn freehand, non-converging curvilinear lines, perhaps part of a spiral.

Unpublished. See discussion in the text.

39. Mug, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 10

Fragmentary and incomplete: missing part of the body, of the lip and the handle. H. max. 11; Ø 15 cm. Clay: brown (Munsell 7.5YR 4/2). Roughly biconical body; concave neck; everted lip; one handle attached to the widest diameter of the body and the middle of the shoulder. Decoration in relief: series of oblique ribs on the shoulder and small round bulges on the widest diameter of the body.

In the local repertoire cf. esp. the mug type CRISCUOLO – PACCARELLI 2008, p. 336 fig. 1.6, p. 346 no. 6 (Pre-Hellenic I). In the repertoire of Pontecagnano cf. the jug *Pontecagnano III.1*, 23, no. 80A2a, fig. 7 (Phase 1A).

Chronology: EIA, perhaps phase I (9th century BC).

40. Amphora, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 10

Fragmentary and incomplete: missing parts of the body, of the neck and one handle. H. 13.5; Ø 21.5 cm. Clay: brown (Munsell 7.5YR 4/2). Roughly biconical and asymmetrical body; concave neck; everted lip; ribbon handles attached to the upper part of the shoulder and to the lip. Decoration in relief: series of oblique ribs on the shoulder and small round bulges on the widest diameter of the body.

For the type in the local repertoire see CRISCUOLO – PACCARELLI 2008, 346, fig. 2.9; CRISCUOLO 2014, 91. Cf. two amphoras from Cumae, respectively, in TT. Osta 21 (MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 237, pl. 22, no. 2) and Osta 4 (CRISCUOLO 2014, 91, fig. 2.1; MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 37-38, 234-235, pl. 17, no. 24).

Chronology: EIA, probably phase II (first half of the 8th century BC).

41. Spindle-whorl, *impasto*. Pl. 10

Fragmentary and incomplete: half missing. L. max. 3; h. max. 2 cm. Clay: gray (Munsell 7.5YR 5/1). Polygonal shape; oval/biconical section.

Cf. two spindle-whorls in T. Osta 4 (CRISCUOLO 2014, 90, fig. 2, nos. 22-23).

Chronology: EIA, cf. 40.

MG II – LG I pottery (Pls. 11-21)**42. One-metope bird skyphos. Local production? Pl. 13**

Inv. no. MG27554/1-MG27671/1-MG27847/1. Three frgs., two of them joint: lip, shoulder and belly. Joint frgs. h. 3 and w. lip 5; max. h. pr. ca. 5.2; Ø. lip rec. ca. 10 cm. Unsuccessful firing and painting. Clay: outer red (Munsell 2.5YR 5/8), inner misfired reddish gray (2.5YR 5/1); consistent presence of fine-grained silver mica, thick black volcanic and a few white inclusions. Shallow, with high vertical lip slightly out-turned, globular body. Irregular paint, brownish/blackish: on the lip three irregular lines, on the upper part of the body bird turned left, with long beak, reserved eye, curved neck, rounded upper part of the body, two oblique legs, two filling rosettes made of dots in the upper zone; lower body and inside varnished.

Unpublished.

Cf. for the shape two skyphoi from Pontecagnano: BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, T. 3211.1-2, nos. 10.1-2, 34-35, fig. 6, pl. 2.7; and a frg. from Sant'Imbenia: BERNARDINI – RENDELI 2020, 329, fig. 11b. Cf. for the rosettes with dots and in part the bird the skyphos from T. 174 Selciatello Sopra in Tarquinia: COLDSTREAM 1982, 26, pl. 1c.

Chronology: 775-750, prob. before or ca. 760 BC.

43. PSC? Skyphos. Euboean. Pl. 11

Inv. no. MG27837/1. Two frgs.: lip and base, respectively h. 1.3 and 1; Ø rec. lip ca. 14; base ca. 8 cm. Clay: surface light red/reddish yellow (Munsell 2.5YR 6/8 and 5YR 6/8), hard, smooth; inner red (Munsell 10R 5/6 and 10R 5/8), many small black and few white and brown inclusions. Slightly concave lip; tiny disc base, oblique stretched profile of the lower body. Light brown paint outside, brown/blackish inside: outside, painted the lower part of the body and the lip with a reserved line under the rim; inside painted except for a reserved line under the rim.

Unpublished.

Likely PSC skyphos of Type 6 Kearsley (the alternative would be a black/chevrons/bird skyphos). Cf. for the profile of the lip a PSC skyphos from Eretria (KEARSLEY 1989, no. 73, 29, 103, fig. 41b), also for the reserved line under the rim outside another from Veii (KEARSLEY 1989, no. 229, 67-68, 101, fig. 40d).

Chronology: 775-750 BC.

44. PSC Skyphos. Euboean. Pl. 11

Inv. no. MG28100/1-MG28100/2-MG28106/1-MG28202/1-MG28202/2. Five frgs.: lip, shoulder, upper part of the body and base, h. rec. ca. 5.3; Ø rec.

lip 11; base 6.8 cm. Clay: reddish yellow (Munsell 5YR 7/6), hard, with few white inclusions and vacuoles. Short vertical concave lip, neatly detached from the body, whose upper part has a rounded profile. Tiny defined disc base in some parts with a more rounded profile, barely concave. Outside and inside reddish black paint (Munsell 2.5YR 2.5/1), dull. On the outer surface: painted lip and reserved band on the upper part of the body decorated with five pendant semicircles. Inside the innermost semicircle is a smudged dot, slightly off-center to the left. The decoration appears quite inaccurate and partially evanished. Lower part of the vase fully varnished. Inner surface painted, except for a reserved line just below the rim. Due to post-depositional causes, some fragments of the lip show different coloration both externally and in fracture, while, very peculiar is the different coloration of the bottom of the vase. The sudden change in color, from reddish black to yellowish red (Munsell 5YR 5/8), is possibly to be attributed to an inaccurate firing process of the vessel. The clay, too, in correspondence with the parts that are painted yellowish red appears darker than the reddish yellow clay that distinguishes the rest of the vase.

Unpublished.

PSC skyphos of Type 6 Kearsley. The specimen can be included in a series of PSC skyphoi that have a short and rather vertical lip: cf. a PSC skyphos from Eretria (VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, no. 80, pl. 22), from Iolkos (SIPSIE – ESCHBACH 1991, no. 4, pl. 43), and from Knossos (CATLING – COLDSTREAM 1996, no. 48, fig. 119). Compared to these specimens, ours PSC skyphos has a slightly enlarged lip and a more rounded shoulder. Peculiar, as in the specimens from Eretria and Knossos, is the presence of the tiny disc base: for this feature see M. D'Acunto in this contribution (chpt. 4.4.2).

Chronology: 775-750 BC.

45. Black skyphos. Euboean/Attic. Pl. 12

Inv. no. 21.M451-1.44 (MG27767/1-MG27671/2-MG27620/1-MG27815/1). Many joint frgs.: lip, shoulder, upper part of the belly, one handle. H. pr. 5.2; w. pr. 8; Ø rec. ca. 14.8 cm. Clay: light red (Munsell 10R 6/8-7/8), quite hard, with many white small and medium-size inclusions, few small black and very few reddish ones. Quite shallow and large body with everted rim and rounded shoulder and upper part of the belly; at the maximum width rod horizontal handle, slightly oblique. Outside reddish black (Munsell 5R 2.5/1) and inside from reddish black (Munsell 5R 2.5/1) to dark reddish gray (Munsell 5R 3/1) paint: homogeneously and fully painted, including the rim, the inner handle and the correspondent part of the body.

Bibliography: PAGANO – DEL VILLANO 2022, 77, no. 1.29 [M. D'ACUNTO].

Cf.: esp. a black skyphos from Pontecagnano (BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, no. 5.3, 31, fig. 3; cf. KOUROU 2005, 501: transitional from MG IIB to LG Ia).

Chronology: 775-750 BC.

46. Oinochoe/hydria/amphora. Euboean? Pl. 13

Inv. no. MG27815/1-MG27837/1. Three joining frags: shoulder with the junction of the handle. H. pr. 11; w. pr. 10 cm. Clay: fine, very hard with regular break; outside reddish yellow with surface wash (Munsell 5YR 6/6), inside light red (Munsell 2.5YR 6/6), with quite many small black and white, and few grayish inclusions, vacuoles. Very oblique and rounded shoulder. Brown paint: band on the upper part of the shoulder and around the lower junction of the handle. Unpublished.

47. Chevron skyphos. Euboean. Pl. 12

Inv. no. MG27979/1-MG27986/1-MG27992/1. Frags. joint: lip and upper part of the body. H. pr. 4.6; Ø rec. 13 cm. Clay: light reddish brown (Munsell 5YR 6/4), hard, outside smooth; inner red/reddish yellow (Munsell 2.5YR 5/8, and inside surface 5YR 6/6), with few white and black inclusions, vacuoles. High outset lip, rounded body. Outside brown, inside brown/reddish and in some areas shiny paint: outside, three horizontal lines on the lip, on the shoulder and upper part of the belly row of close chevrons, quite irregularly drawn, framed by two horizontal lines and sided by a group of vertical lines, upper part of the belly painted; inside varnished except for a reserved line under the rim. Another fragment of the belly (MG 27838/1) refers to this individual; it is not reproduced in Pl. 12. Unpublished.

Cf.: chevron skyphos from Veii (BOITANI 2005, 320-321, pl. 1.6) and a fragmentary one from Sant'Imbenia (BERNARDINI – RENDELI 2020, 329, fig. 11a). Chronology: 775-760/750 BC.

48. Black skyphos. Euboean. Pl. 12

Inv. no. 21.M451-1.44 (MG27767/2). Frg.: one handle with the upper part of the body and a small part of the lip. H. pr. 5.2 cm. Clay: reddish yellow (Munsell 5YR 7/6), quite hard with few white and black inclusions. Deep and rounded body, everted lip, rod horizontal, oblique handle at the lower part of the shoulder. Outside from reddish black (Munsell 10R 2.5/1) to red (Munsell 10R 5/8) quite irregularly varnished and inside red (Munsell 10R 5/8) paint: outside fully painted except for the inner handle and an irregular area of the body under the handle; inside fully painted. At the right junction of the handle small drill hole for an ancient repair. Just down left of the right junction of the handle, pre-firing small graffito consisting of a single three-strokes horizontal zig-zag with the left stroke longer, but with a break in the middle: certainly an alphabetic sign, i.e. N.

Bibliography: PAGANO – DEL VILLANO 2022, 77, no. 1.28 [M. D'ACUNTO].

Cf.: for the profile two black skyphoi from Pontecagnano (BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, T. 3179.1, no. 25.1, 50, fig. 11; T. 3111.2, no. 27.2, 51, fig. 12; cf. KOUROU 2005, 503-504: LG Ia). For a N written from left to right cf. a LG pre-firing inscription on a spindle-whorl from Eretria: KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, 75-76, no. 65; on the inscription see discussion in the text. Chronology: 760-750 BC.

49. PSC skyphos. Euboean. Pl. 11

Inv. no. MG27081/1. Frg. lip and upper part of the body near the handle. H. pr. 1.6 cm; Ø rec. lip ca. 12 cm. Clay: hard; outside smooth, reddish yellow (Munsell 5YR 6/6); inside reddish yellow (Munsell 5YR 7/6); few small black and white inclusions, vacuoles. Concave lip, neatly detached from the body, whose upper part has a rounded profile. Outside brown, inside brown/reddish paint: on the outer surface painted lip and reserved band on the upper part of the body; inner painted, except for a reserved line under the rim. Bibliography: mentioned in D'ACUNTO 2017, 301.

Type 6 Kearsley (see discussion and cf. below nos. 50 and 51). Cf. e.g. a PSC from Veii: KEARSLEY 1989, no. 229, 67-68, 101, fig. 40d.

It is likely that the base 50 and the handle 51 refer to the same vase (see discussion).

Chronology: 775-750 BC.

50. PSC skyphos. Euboean. Pl. 11

Inv. no. MG27082/1 (bottom). Frg. bottom and lower part of the body. H. 1.4; Ø rec. bottom ca. 6 cm. Clay: hard; outside smooth, reddish yellow (Munsell 5YR 6/6), inner reddish yellow (Munsell 5YR 7/6); few small black and white inclusions, vacuoles. Tiny disc base. Outside brown, inside blackish shiny paint: outside of the body and inside painted, reserved base. Unpublished.

For the tiny disc base in Type 6 cf. the PSC skyphos from Kaldeh: KEARSLEY 1989, no. 99, 39, 101, fig. 41a.

It is likely that this fragment was part of the same vase as 49 and 51 (see discussion).

51. PSC? skyphos. Euboean. Pl. 11

Inv. no. MG27080/1. Frg. handle. Ø 0.9 cm. Clay: outside pink-light reddish brown (Munsell 5YR 7/4 and 5YR 6/4); inner light red (Munsell 10R 6/6); hard; few small black and white inclusions, vacuoles. Rod horizontal handle, slightly oblique. Brown paint, in part shiny: outside painted, inner reserved. Unpublished.

This fragment may be part of the same skyphos as 49 and 50.

52. Black skyphos. Euboean? Pl. 12

Inv. no. MG27697/1. Frg.: shoulder and upper part of the belly. H. pr. 4.2 cm. Clay: reddish yellow/pink (outside Munsell 5YR 7/6, inner 5YR 7/4), with black and white small inclusions. Deep and rounded body. Blackish paint: fully varnished outside and inside. Unpublished.

Chronology: 760-750 BC.

53. Prob. one-metope bird skyphos. Euboean? Pl. 13

Inv. no. MG27815/2. Frg. belly. H. pr. 2.5; w. pr. 2.8 cm. Clay: hard; smooth surface; pinkish gray (Munsell 5YR 6/2), with few white inclusions, vacuoles. Brown paint: reserved upper zone with vertical line left and a lozenge with inner dot right down; varnished lower body and inside. Unpublished.

Chronology: 775-750 BC.

54. Chevron skyphos. Corinthian. Pl. 14

Inv. no. 21.M451-1.45 (MG27303/1-MG27317/1). Two frags. joint: lip and shoulder. H. pr. 3.5; w. pr. 5.7; Ø lip rec. 13 cm. Clay: very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 7/3), fairly compact and smooth on the outer surface, with few black and white inclusions, and rare vacuoles. Upright, slightly oblique lip; rounded shoulder. Painted decoration with blackish-brown paint and shiny areas. On the outside, on the lip and the upper part of the shoulder three horizontal lines; on the shoulder band decorated with a series of close, irregularly drawn chevrons between horizontal lines; inside painted, with the exception of a thin reserved band below the rim.

Bibliography: D'ACUNTO 2017, 302-303, fig. 26.13a; PAGANO – DEL VILLANO 2022, 77, no. 1.30 (M. D'ACUNTO). For the dating of this late variant of the chevron skyphos in Corinth see COLDSTREAM 2008, 101, 103, pl. 18d (late MG II). For two comparisons among the earliest finds from Pithekoussai see RIDGWAY 1981, 50, 59, fr. 1 (Corinthian, from the acropolis of Monte di Vico); BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, no. Sp. 4/4, pls. 245, CCIX (local imitation, sporadic from the necropolis). For a parallel among the Greek Geometric sherds from Cumae, likely from the earliest colonial phase, see *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, no. 4-TTA3, 20, 154, fig. 45, pl. 2A (B. d'Agostino).

Chronology: late MG II – 760-750 BC.

55. Chevron skyphos. Corinthian. Pl. 14

Inv. no. MG27609/1. Frg. lip and shoulder. H. pr. 3.1; w. pr. 3.8; Ø lip rec. 16.6 cm. Clay: pale yellow clay (Munsell 5Y 8/3), fairly compact and smooth on the outer surface, with small black and few white inclusions, and vacuoles. Low upright, slightly oblique lip; rounded body. Painted decoration with lustrous blackish paint outside and brown inside: on the outside, on the lip two horizontal lines; on the shoulder band decorated with a series of close, irregularly drawn chevrons between horizontal lines; inside painted.

Unpublished.

Cf. no. 54.

Chronology: late MG II – ca. 760-750 BC.

56. Chevron skyphos. Pithekoussan. Pl. 14

Inv. no. MG27810/1. Frg. lip and shoulder. H. pr. 3; w. pr. 3; Ø lip rec. 14.8 cm. Clay: reddish yellow (Munsell 7.5YR 7/6) with very pale brown slip (Munsell 10YR 8/3), grainy and smooth on the outer surface, with small-size and few whitish and blackish inclusions, few vacuoles; few mica. Low upright, slightly oblique lip; rounded body. Painted decoration with brown/light brown paint: on the outside, on the lip three horizontal lines; on the shoulder, band decorated with a series of close, irregularly drawn chevrons between horizontal lines, and left a blank area; inside painted, with the exception of a thin reserved band below the rim.

Unpublished.

A Pithekoussan (or Cumaean) fabric is suggested by the silver mica and the slip (the alternative would be a Cycladic fabric).

Chronology: late MG II/early LG I – ca. 760-740 BC.

57. Chevron skyphos. Likely imported; Cycladic? Pl. 14

Inv. no. TG27077/1. Frg. lip and upper part of the body; and a second frg. of the body. First frg. h. pr. 3.9; second frg. h. pr. 3; h. rec. of both frags. 5.8 cm. Clay: pink (Munsell 7.5YR 7/4), grainy with small grainy inclusions and lesser white inclusions, dense fine gold mica; polished and thick engobe, light reddish yellow (Munsell 7.5YR 7/6). Tall upright, slightly oblique lip; rounded deep body. Painted decoration with brown/light brown paint: on the outside, first frg., on the lip four horizontal lines; on the shoulder low band decorated with a series of close, irregularly drawn chevrons between horizontal lines; second frg., vertical dashes (?) and below a series of horizontal lines; inside painted, with the exception of three thin reserved bands on the lip.

Bibliography: D'AGOSTINO – D'ACUNTO 2008, 514, fig. 31; D'ACUNTO 2009, 82, fig. 20; D'ACUNTO 2017, 302-303, fig. 26.13b.

The similarity of the clay and the creamy slip makes likely that the second fragment belongs to the same vessel as the first one, although the two fragments do not join (the alternative would be two different drinking vessels of the same fabric).

Cf. RIDGWAY 1981, 51, 59, fr. 2 (not Corinthian, from the acropolis of Monte di Vico); BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, no. Sp. 4/4, pls. 245, CCIX (Pithekoussan production, sporadic from the necropolis).

Chronology: LG I (750-720 BC), probably early.

58. Chevron skyphos. Pithekoussan. Pl. 14

Inv. no. MG26545/1. Frg. lip and upper part of the body. H. pr. 2.3; w. pr. lip 3.5 cm. Clay: very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 7/4-8/4), quite compact, with few black and white inclusions, few vacuoles, dense silver mica. Upright, slightly everted lip; rounded body. Painted decoration with light brown/orange paint: on the outside, on the lip two/three horizontal lines; on the shoulder and the upper part of the body band decorated with a series of chevrons framed on the right by vertical bars; inside painted, except for a low reserved band below the rim.

Unpublished.

Chronology: late MG II/early LG I – ca. 760-740 BC.

59. Tremuli skyphos. Corinthian. Pl. 15

Inv. no. TG111098/1. Two joint and five non-joining frags.: two lip and body, five body. Larger frg. h. pres. 4.5, w. pr. 6 cm; other frg. h. pres. 2.5, w. lip pres. 4.5; Ø lip rec. 14 cm. Clay: pale yellow (Munsell 5Y 8/2), compact and smooth on the outer surface, with blackish and few white and brown inclusions, few vacuoles. Upright, slightly oblique lip; rounded body. Painted decoration with black paint, lustrous inside: on the outside, on the lip four horizontal lines; on the shoulder, band decorated with a series of tremuli, irregularly drawn, framed by horizontal lines and enclosed by horizontal lines, among them some floating in the upper part and going beyond the lower line; lower part of the body painted; inside painted, with the exception of a thin reserved band below the rim.

On the tremuli skyphoi cf. one from from Aetos (ANDERSON – BENTON 1953, 276, no. 628, pl. 41), and discussion in the text.

Unpublished.

Chronology: LG I, probably early – ca. 750-730 BC.

60. Tremuli skyphos. Corinthian. Pl. 15

Inv. no. TG41432/1. Frg. lip and shoulder. H. pres. 3.3, w. pr. lip 3.5; Ø lip rec. 14 cm. Clay: pale yellow (Munsell 5Y 8/3), compact and smooth on the outer surface, with blackish and white inclusions. Upright, slightly oblique lip; rounded shoulder. Painted decoration with black paint: on the outside, on the lip four horizontal lines; on the shoulder, band decorated with a series of tremuli, irregularly drawn, enclosed by horizontal lines, among them some floating in the upper part; inside painted, with the exception of a thin reserved band below the rim.

Cf. no. 59.

Unpublished.

Chronology: LG I, probably early – ca. 750-730 BC.

61. Tremuli skyphos. Corinthian. Pl. 15

Inv. no. TG40974/1. Frg. lip and body, five body. H. pres. 4.4, w. pr. lip 3; Ø lip rec. 12.6 cm. Clay: pale yellow (Munsell 5Y 8/2), compact and smooth on the outer surface, with blackish and few white and brown inclusions, few vacuoles. Upright, slightly oblique lip; rounded body. Painted decoration with black paint, lustrous inside: on the outside, on the lip four horizontal lines; on the shoulder, band decorated with a series of tremuli, irregularly drawn, framed by horizontal lines and enclosed by horizontal lines, among them some floating in the upper part; lower part of the body painted; inside painted, with the exception of a thin reserved band below the rim.

Cf. no. 59.

Unpublished.

Chronology: LG I, probably early – ca. 750-730 BC.

62. Floating chevron skyphos. Pithekoussan. Pl. 16

Inv. no. TG111098/2. Several joint frgs. of the lip and body, other frgs. body. Larger frg.: h. pres. 5.5, w. pres. max. 7.5 cm; Ø lip rec. 14 cm. Clay: pink (Munsell 5YR 7/4), grainy, with very pale brown slip, with many small and few middle-big-size black inclusions and few small-size white and gray inclusions, vacuoles, plenty of silver mica. Upright, slightly oblique lip; rounded body, carinated at the top. Painted decoration with brown paint: on the outside, on the lip three horizontal lines; on the upper part of the body, broad band decorated with a series of floating tremuli; lower part of the body painted; inside painted, with the exception of a thin reserved band below the rim.

Cf. some specimens from Methone, identified as local productions: BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 105-106, 163, nos. 87-89, and especially no. 88 for the chevrons.

Unpublished.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

63. Floating chevron skyphos. Probably Pithekoussan (the alternative would be Cycladic). Pl. 16

Inv. no. 21.M451-1.52. Joint frgs. lip, body and a handle. H. pres. 8; Ø lip rec. 14 cm. Clay: outer surface

reddish yellow (Munsell 7.5YR 7/6), inner section pink (Munsell 7.5YR 7/4), grainy and loosely compacted internally, smooth externally, with sparse black and white inclusions, dense fine-grained silver mica. High vertical lip; deep body with rounded profile; slightly oblique horizontal ribbon-like handle set at the base of the shoulder. Painted decoration in brown paint: on the outside, on the lip two horizontal lines; on the shoulder a wide band framed at the sides by vertical lines and decorated by a series of floating tremuli, enclosed by horizontal lines, lower part of the body painted; inside painted, except for a thin band reserved below the rim; outer handle solid painted.

Bibliography: D'ACUNTO 2017, 302, 305, fig. 26.13g; PAGANO – DEL VILLANO 2022, 79, no. 1.35 (M. D'Acunto, there ascribed to LG II).

Cf. a skyphos from the rampart of Cumae's late Archaic walls, considered as Pithekoussan-Cumean (*Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, no. TTA9, 20, 154, fig. 45, pl. 2.A) and no. 62.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

64. Kotyle, Aetos 666 type/kantharos. Corinthian. Pl. 17

Inv. no. TG40857/1. Frg. body. H. pr. 4.8; w. pr. 5.2 cm. Clay: pale yellow (Munsell 5Y 8/3), compact and smooth on the outer surface, with small black and few white inclusions, and vacuoles. Rounded body. Painted decoration with blackish paint: on the outside, two horizontal lines and below group of vertical lines framing right a series of irregularly drawn small chevrons overhanging a group of horizontal lines; inside painted.

Unpublished.

Cf. for the kotyle DEVRIES 2003, 148, fig. 8.10 (for the two lines overhanging the chevrons in the kotyle).

The alternative to a kotyle of the Aetos 666 type, would be its identification with a kantharos or with a protokotyle: cf. discussion in the text.

Chronology: LG I (750-720 BC; or late MG II, 760-750 BC).

65. Kotyle, Aetos 666 type. Corinthian. Pl. 17

Inv. no. TG27077/2. Handle and frg. body. H. pres. 2.8; w. pres. 6.8 cm. Clay: pale yellow (Munsell 5Y 8/2-8/3), compact and smooth on the outer surface, with blackish and few white inclusions, few vacuoles. Rounded body; slightly oblique horizontal ribbon-like handle set at the max. width. Painted decoration with blackish paint: on the outside, lower part under the handle painted; inside painted; series of vertical dashes on the handle.

Bibliography: D'AGOSTINO – D'ACUNTO 2008, 513, fig. 30 (above); D'ACUNTO 2009, 82, fig. 16; D'ACUNTO 2017, 301, fig. 26.13c.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

66. Kotyle, Aetos 666 type. Pithekoussan. Pl. 17

Inv. no. 21.M451-1.48 (TG112239/1). Two joint frgs. body and handle. H. pres. 7; w. pres. 10; Ø lip rec. 16 cm. Clay: reddish yellow (Munsell 7.5YR 7/6) with gray spots on the surface, pale brown slip (Munsell 2.5Y 8/2); few small and middle-size white and black inclusions, dense silver mica. Rounded hemispherical body; oblique horizontal ribbon-like handle set at the upper part of the

body. Decoration painted with brown-reddish paint, somewhere fading: outside, on the upper part of the body reserved broad band enclosed by a horizontal line on the rim, decorated at the side of the handle by a series of vertical lines slightly oblique and reserved under the handle; lower part of the body fully painted; series of vertical dashes on the outside of the handle; inside fully painted with the exception of a thin reserved band under the rim. Bibliography: D'ACUNTO *et al.* 2022, 78, no. 1.31 (M. D'ACUNTO).

Cf. from the necropolis of Pithekoussai: BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 204, T. 161, no. 3, pl. 63; 470, T. 469, no. 2, pl. 138.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

67. Kotyle, Aetos 666 type. Pithekoussan. Pl. 17

Inv. no. TG27077/3. Frg. lip, body and handle. H. pres. 3; max. w. pres. 3 cm. Clay: light reddish brown (Munsell 2.5YR 7/4), quite grainy, with black and white inclusions, dense silver mica; very pale brown slip (Munsell 10YR 8/3). Short nicked rim, slightly rounded upper part of the body, oblique horizontal ribbon-like handle set at the upper part of the body. Decoration painted with brown-reddish paint: outside, two lines on the rim and below it; at the side of the handle group of vertical lines; on the outer part of the handle series of vertical dashes; inside painted with the exception of a thin reserved band under the rim.

Bibliography: D'AGOSTINO – D'ACUNTO 2008, 513, fig. 30 (in the middle); D'ACUNTO 2009, 82, fig. 17.

Cf. from the necropolis of Pithekoussai: e.g. BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 493, T. 490, no. 2, pl. 145.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

68. Kotyle, Aetos 666 type. Pithekoussan. Pl. 17

Inv. no. TG112216/1. Frg. body and handle. H. pres. 2; max. w. pres. 5.8 cm. Clay: pink (Munsell 5YR 7/4), quite grainy, with very pale brown slip (Munsell 10YR 8/2), with black and white inclusions, dense silver mica. Rounded body, oblique horizontal ribbon-like handle. Decoration painted with brown paint outside, reddish inside: outside, vertical line at the side of the handle and horizontal below it; on the outer part of the handle series of vertical dashes; inside painted.

Bibliography: unpublished.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

69. Kotyle, Aetos 666 type. Probably Euboean. Pl. 17

Inv. no. TG110321/1. Frg. body and handle. H. pres. 2.3; max. w. pres. 3.7 cm. Clay: light red (Munsell 2.5YR 7/6), compact, with pink surface (Munsell 7.5YR 8/3-8/4), with small and middle-size white inclusions, and vacuoles. Slightly curved body, oblique horizontal ribbon-like handle. Decoration painted with brown paint outside and inside light brown: on the outer part of the handle series of vertical bars and at the side of it oblique bars; inside painted.

Bibliography: unpublished.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

70. Kotyle, Aetos 666 type. Pithekoussan. Pl. 17

Inv. no. TG27954/1. Three frags.: two of the two handles with part of the body, and the third preserving part

of the body. Bigger frg: h. pres. 2.8; max. w. pres. 7 cm. Clay: pink (Munsell 5YR 7/4), quite grainy, with very pale brown slip (Munsell 10YR 8/2), with black inclusions, quite dense silver mica. Slightly curved body, oblique horizontal ribbon-like handle. Decoration painted with blackish paint outside and brown shiny paint inside: outside, series of vertical bars on the handle and vertical lines at its side; inside painted.

Bibliography: unpublished.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

71. Skyphos, Thapsos type with panel. Corinthian. Pl. 19

Inv. no. 21.M451-1.49. Frg. lip and body. H. pres. 3.8; w. pres. 7.8; Ø ca. 12 cm. Clay: pale yellow (Munsell 5Y 8/3-8/4), quite compact and smooth on the outer surface, with small black, white and gray inclusions, and few vacuoles. Low vertical lip with inner curved profile; rounded shoulder. Painted decoration with black paint: outside, on the lip and on the shoulder series of horizontal lines, and on the shoulder panel with a closed series of three-bars sigmas framed at the sides by a group of four vertical lines; inside painted, except for a reserved thin band below the rim.

Bibliography: D'ACUNTO 2017, 301-302, fig. 26.13e; D'ACUNTO *et al.* 2022, 78, no. 1.32 (M. D'ACUNTO).

Cf. NEEFT 1981, 20-22, 26-27, fig. 6.26.

Chronology: LG I/early LG II – 750-710 BC.

72. Prob. skyphos, Thapsos class – panel type. Pithekoussan. Pl. 19

Inv. no. TG28115/1. Frg. lip and body. H. pres. 4.9; w. pres. 5; Ø ca. 14 cm. Clay: pink (Munsell 5YR 7/4), quite grainy, with very pale brown slip (Munsell 10YR 8/2); small-size black and white inclusions, and vacuoles, dense and fine silver mica. High slightly everted lip; rounded body. Decoration with light brown/orange paint: outside, on the lip, on the shoulder and on the upper part of the belly series of horizontal lines; on the shoulder and the upper part of the belly, panel framed by two vertical bars and containing a hatched meander hooks decoration; lower part of the body below the panel solid painted; inside painted, except for a reserved thin band below the rim.

Bibliography: unpublished.

Although the high lip is quite unusual for a skyphos of the Thapsos class, this identification is made likely by the decoration (the alternative would be a kantharos of the same class, cf. NEEFT 1981, 17). The preserved part of the corner of the hatched meander joins the frame of the panel, thus implying a meander hooks system.

Cf. the Corinthian examples found in Sicilian Naxos and Narce (PELAGATTI 1982a, pls. 47.5-6, 61); in general, NEEFT 1981, 21, 26-27, fig. 6.5.

Chronology: early/middle LG I – ca. 750-730 BC.

73. Skyphos, Thapsos type with panel. Corinthian. Pl. 19

Inv. no. TG41452/1. Frg. lip and body. H. pres. 5.2; w. pres. 5.3; Ø lip ca. 16 cm. Clay: pale yellow (Munsell 5Y 8/3), quite compact and smooth surface, with few small black and white inclusions, and many vacuoles. Low vertical lip with inner curved profile; rounded

body. Painted decoration with blackish paint: outside, on the lip and on the shoulder series of horizontal lines, and on the shoulder panel with a closed series of three-bars sigmas framed at the sides by a group of three vertical lines; lower part of the body painted; inside painted, except for a reserved thin band below the rim. Unpublished.

Cf. 71.

Chronology: LG I/early LG II – 750-710 BC.

74. Skyphos, Thapsos type with panel. Corinthian. Pl. 19
Inv. no. TG112090/6. Frg. lip and body. H. pres. 2.7; w. max. pres. 3.1; Ø lip ca. 14 cm. Clay: pale yellow (Munsell 5Y 8/3), compact and smooth surface, with small black, gray and white inclusions, and vacuoles. Low vertical lip with inner curved profile; slightly curved shoulder. Painted decoration with black paint outside, brown fading inside: outside, on the lip and on the body series of horizontal lines, and on the shoulder panel with a closed series of three-bars sigmas; inside painted, except for a reserved thin band below the rim. Unpublished.

Cf. 71.

Chronology: LG I/early LG II – 750-710 BC.

75. Skyphos, Thapsos type with panel. Corinthian. Pl. 19
Inv. no. TG27185/1. Frg. lip and shoulder. H. pres. 2.3; w. max. pres. 2 cm. Clay: pale yellow (Munsell 5Y 8/3), compact and smooth surface, with small black and white inclusions. Low oblique lip, slightly curved shoulder. Painted decoration with black lustrous paint: outside, on the lip series of four horizontal lines, and on the shoulder panel with a closed series of three-bars sigmas, enclosed above by a horizontal line; inside painted, except for a reserved thin band below the rim. Unpublished.

Unpublished.

Cf. 71.

Chronology: LG I/early LG II – 750-710 BC.

76. Skyphos, Thapsos type with panel. Corinthian. Pl. 19
Inv. no. TG112090/1. Frg. lip and shoulder. H. pres. 1.9; w. max. pres. 2 cm. Clay: pale yellow (Munsell 5Y 8/2), compact and smooth surface, with small black and white, and few reddish inclusions, and vacuoles. Curved shoulder. Painted decoration with black paint: outside, on the lip series of horizontal lines, and on the shoulder panel with a floating horizontal zig-zag thick line; inside painted. Unpublished.

Unpublished.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

77. Skyphos, Thapsos type with panel. Corinthian. Pl. 19
Inv. no. TG112090/2. Frg. lip and body. H. pres. 3.7; w. max. pres. 3.5; Ø lip ca. 13 cm. Clay: pale yellow (Munsell 5Y 8/2), compact and smooth surface, with small black and few white inclusions. Low oblique lip, slightly curved shoulder. Painted decoration with blackish paint: outside, on the lip and on the upper part of the shoulder series of horizontal lines, and on the shoulder panel with a floating series of reversed S; inside painted, except for a reserved thin band below the rim. Unpublished.

Cf. NEEFT 1981, 11, fig. 1b; GRECO 2008, pl. 5d (Cumae, Forum).

Chronology: late LG I/early LG II – 730-700 BC.

78. Skyphos, type with panel containing a chain of lozenges. Pithekoussan. Pl. 20

Inv. no. TG27071/1. Three frgs. body. Larger frg. h. pres. 2.5; w. pres. 3 cm. Clay: light reddish brown (Munsell 2.5YR 7/4), with black, white and red inclusions, dense silver mica; very pale brown slip (Munsell 10YR 8/3-8/4). Thin wall; everted lip, rounded body. Painted decoration with brown/orange paint: outside, on the lip series of horizontal lines, on the body at the maximum width wide panel containing a chain of small floating lozenges, framed at the sides by groups of vertical lines; inside painted.

Bibliography: D'AGOSTINO – D'ACUNTO 2008, 513-514, fig. 30 (below); D'ACUNTO 2009, 82, fig. 19.

Cf. GIALANELLA 1994, 183, 200, no. A8, fig. 29.3 (Pithekoussai, Punta Chiarito); BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 273, T. 212, no. 6, pl. 92 (Pithekoussai, cemetery); *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 24, 157, no. TTA30, pl. 3.4.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

79. Skyphos, type with panel containing a chain of lozenges. Pithekoussan. Pl. 20

Inv. no. TG40854/1-TG40857/2. Two frgs. lip and body, probably from the same vessel. Larger frg. (US 40854) h. pres. 3.9; w. pres. lip 8 cm; smaller frg. (US 40857) h. pres. 3.2; w. pres. lip 5.3; Ø ca. 14 cm. Clay: pink clay (Munsell 5YR 7/4), quite grainy, with a very pale brown slip (Munsell 10YR 8/2), with small and middle-size black inclusions and small-size white ones, silver mica. Low slightly oblique lip, rounded body. Painted decoration with brown/light brown paint: outside, on the lip series of irregularly drawn horizontal lines; on the shoulder and at the maximum width broad panel containing a horizontal chain of small floating lozenges, framed at the sides by groups of vertical lines and below and above by groups of horizontal lines; inside painted, with the exception of two reserved thin bands below the rim. Unpublished.

The slight differences in the decoration of the lip on the two frgs. may depend on the two different sides. The two frgs. show similarities in the clay, paint and decoration, and were found in two different layers but from the same context: thus, they probably refer to the same vessel.

Cf. no. 78.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

80. Skyphos. Euboean/Cycladic? Pl. 20

Inv. no. TG27317/1. Frg. body. H. pres. 2.2; w. pres. 3.8 cm. Clay: reddish yellow/pinkish gray (Munsell 5YR 7/6 – 7/2), quite compact, with pale brown slip (Munsell 2.5Y 8/2); small-size black and few white inclusions, quite dense fine-grained silver mica. Low rounded body. Painted decoration with brown/reddish paint: outside, at a maximum width a metope containing a St. Andrew's cross irregularly drawn framed at

the side by a group of vertical bars and above by a series of horizontal lines, two of them preserved.

Unpublished.

Cf.: see discussion in the text.

Chronology: LG I, probably early – ca. 750-730 BC.

81. Krater. Euboean? (or Pithekoussan). Pl. 20

Inv. no. TG112234/1. Frg. lip and shoulder. H. pres. 3.7; w. pres. lip 4.2; Ø ca. 26 cm. Clay: quite compact, with light gray core (Munsell 10YR 7/1) and very pale brown smooth surface (Munsell 10YR 8/3), with small-size white and few medium-size grey inclusions; few fine-grained silver mica. Vertical lip, broader at the rim with curved inner profile; on the right the beginning of the spout is preserved; rounded shoulder. Decoration painted with brown paint: on the rim group of bars; outside, on the lip series of tremuli enclosed above and below by a line; on the shoulder is preserved on the left the corner of a hatched meander surrounded by a single line, and on the right a reserved motif made of oblique lines, probably part of a multiple-lines lozenge.

Unpublished.

Cf. discussion in the text.

Chronology: LG I, probably early – 750-730 BC.

82. Kotyle. Pithekoussan. Pl. 18

Inv. no. TG27754/1. Two fragments of lip, handle and wall. Max. h. pr. 6.5; Ø rec. lip 12.5 cm. Clay: light red (Munsell 2.5YR 7/6), hard, with many small particles of black grit, few small particles of white grit and with plenty of silver mica. Hemispherical body with slight contraction at the rim, rod horizontal handle, slightly oblique. Outside and inside orange paint: outside, one line immediately below the rim, at the sides of the handles series of squiggles framing a decorative pattern enclosed in vertical lines, lower part of the body fully painted, barred handle; inside: fully painted except for a reserved line below the rim.

Cf. *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 20, pl. 2A.12.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

83. Kotyle, Aetos 666 type. Corinthian. Pl. 18

Inv. no. TG28055/1. Two joining fragments of lip. Max. h. pr. 4.2 cm. Clay: yellow (Munsell 10YR 8/6); hard, smooth. Hemispherical body with slight contraction at the rim. Outside brown/blackish shiny paint almost vanished, inside orange/brownish shiny paint: outside, six vertical lines framing a panel with a series of small chevrons followed by seven horizontal lines, lower part of the body fully painted; inside: fully painted except for a reserved line below the rim.

Cf. BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, Sp5/3, 705, pl. 246.3, CCX.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

84. Lekane/dish. Pithekoussan. Pl. 21

Inv. no. TG28055/2. One fragment of foot. Ø 6 (foot); max. h. pr. 1.6 cm. Clay: reddish brown (Munsell 2.5YR 5/3), hard, with many small particles of black grit, few small particles of white grit and with plenty of silver mica. Disk foot. Outside and inside dark reddish brown paint: outside, band with a series of chevrons or

sigmas (only the lower part of the motif is preserved) followed by three lines, two concentric lines on the lower part of the foot; inside, fully painted with two overpainted white lines.

Chronology: 750-720 BC (by the context).

85. Skyphos, type with panel containing a chain of lozenges. Pithekoussan. Pl. 20

Two joining frgs. lip, body and handle, two frgs. body. Larger frg. h. pres. 5.3, w. pres. body 7 cm. Light reddish brown clay (Munsell 2.5YR 7/4), with black and white inclusions, silver mica; very pale brown slip (Munsell 10YR 8/3). Tall oblique lip, rounded belly, oblique horizontal ribbon-like handle set on the lower part of the shoulder. Painted decoration with brown/light brown paint: outside, on the lip series of five horizontal lines; on the shoulder and at the max. width broad panel containing a horizontal motif, to be identified with a chain of small floating lozenges (part of two lozenges are preserved on one frg.), framed at the right side by a group of twelve vertical lines and below by a group of four horizontal lines; lower part of the body probably painted; inside painted, with the exception of two reserved thin bands below the rim.

Bibliography: D'AGOSTINO – D'ACUNTO 2008, 507, fig. 22 and color fig, D'ACUNTO 2017, 304, fig. 26.13d.

Cf. no. 78.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

86. Floating chevron skyphos (?). Pithekoussan. Pl. 16

Inv. no. TG41497/1. Frg. lip, shoulder and body. H. max. pr. 2.7; Ø rec. lip 12 cm. Clay: reddish brown (Munsell 2.5YR 5/3), with plenty of silver mica and few black inclusions. Tall lip, almost vertical, slightly sloping outwards; pronounced shoulder. Beige coating. Brown paint outside, iridescent light brown inside. Outside, three horizontal lines on the lip; on the shoulder and on the upper part of the body, a group of six vertical lines, probably framing a panel with a row of floating chevrons. Inside, fully painted.

Unpublished.

Cf., for the morphology of the lip, 62, and D'AGOSTINO 1982, pl. 10, fig. 2; for the shoulder, OLCESE 2017, cat. 310 no. 43.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

87. Carinated bowl, *impasto*. Pl. 21

Inv. no. PP41497/1-2. Two contiguous frgs. of lip and carinated body. H. max. 4.1; Ø 22 cm. Clay: gray (Munsell 5YR 5/1), compact and medium – fine grained with many small white inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and many small bright inclusions. The inner and outer surfaces show uneven color, ranging from brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3) to dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) with many small white and bright inclusions. Both surfaces show homogeneous splinting and some traces of likely use of the wheel. Vertical lip; rounded rim; carinated body.

Cf. D'AMBROSIO 2009, 70, type VI 20 b; MELANDRI 2011, 270, type 6C3, pl. 2-XXII.

Chronology: 750-720 BC.

88. Lekane. Pithekoussan. Pl. 21

Inv. no. TG41495/1. Frg. lip and body. H. max. pr. 2.3; Ø rec. lip 16 cm. Clay: reddish brown (Munsell 2.5YR 4/3), dark reddish gray inside (Munsell 2.5YR 4/1), with plenty of silver mica and few white inclusions. Inward-leaning rim. Reddish-brown paint. On the lip, two groups of vertical lines. Under the rim, a thick horizontal line. On the body, a painted band ending in full triangles, whose vertices overlap the line painted under the rim.

Unpublished.

Chronology: 750-720 BC.

89. Kotyle. Pithekoussan. Pl. 18

Inv. no. TG41484/1. Frg. rim and body. H. max. pr. 2.4; Ø rec. rim 13 cm. Clay: light reddish brown (Munsell 2.5YR 6/4), with plenty of silver mica. Beige coating. Brown paint outside, almost completely evanid; light brown paint, slightly iridescent, inside. Hemispherical body, with slight contraction at the rim. Under the rim, a thin horizontal line surmounting a panel with a row of squiggles, framed by two groups of vertical lines. Fully painted inside, except for a reserved line under the rim. Unpublished.

Cf. BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 372, T. 320, no. 1, pls. CLV, 119; 388, T. 331, no. 1, pls. 127; *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 155 no. TTA12, fig. 45, pl. 2A.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

90. Kantharos. Corinthian. Pl. 21

Inv. no. TG41504/1. Frg. shoulder with the junction of the handle. H. max. pr. 1.3 cm. Clay: pale brown (Munsell 2.5Y 8/4). Brown paint. Outside, lower part of the body fully painted; on the ribbon handle, painted band above a reserved band. Fully painted inside. Unpublished.

Cf. BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 230, T. 177, pl. 78.

Chronology: 750-720 BC (by the context).

91. Kotyle. Pithekoussan. Pl. 18

21 joint frgs. Inv. no. TG41461/1-TG41484/1-10-TG41504/1-8-TG41510/1-2. H. max. pr. 10.7; Ø rec. rim 15; Ø bottom 5 cm. Clay: light reddish brown (Munsell 2.5YR 6/4). Brown paint. Hemispherical body, with slight contraction at the rim. Under the rim, thin horizontal line surmounting a panel framed by two groups of vertical lines, interrupted by an hour-glass motif. Rod horizontal handles, decorated with a double horizontal continuous line. Below the level of the handles, large area with parallel horizontal lines. Lower part of the body fully painted, except for a thin reserved line. Ring-shaped foot fully painted; bottom decorated with concentric circles. Fully painted inside, except for two reserved lines under the rim. Unpublished.

Cf. COLDSTREAM 2008, 101, pl. 19.l; Villasmundo, necropolis, tomb no. 33.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

Credits*Text*

Matteo D'Acunto: p. 305-319, 324-325, 329-332, 354-386, 389-403

Mariangela Barbato: p. 327-328

Martina D'Onofrio: p. 388-389

Marco Giglio: p. 322-323

Chiara Improta: p. 325-327, 347-351

Cristiana Merluzzo: p. 325-327, 351-354

Francesco Nitti: p. 319-321, 332-347, 386-388

Francesca Somma: p. 323-324

Catalogue

Matteo D'Acunto: nos. **38-81**

Martina D'Onofrio: nos. **86-91**

Chiara Improta: nos. **8-28, 87**

Cristiana Merluzzo: nos. **29-37**

Francesco Nitti: nos. **82-85**

Francesca Somma: nos. **1-7**

Drawings

Mariangela Barbato: nos. **54, 59, 62-65, 67, 71, 85, 80**

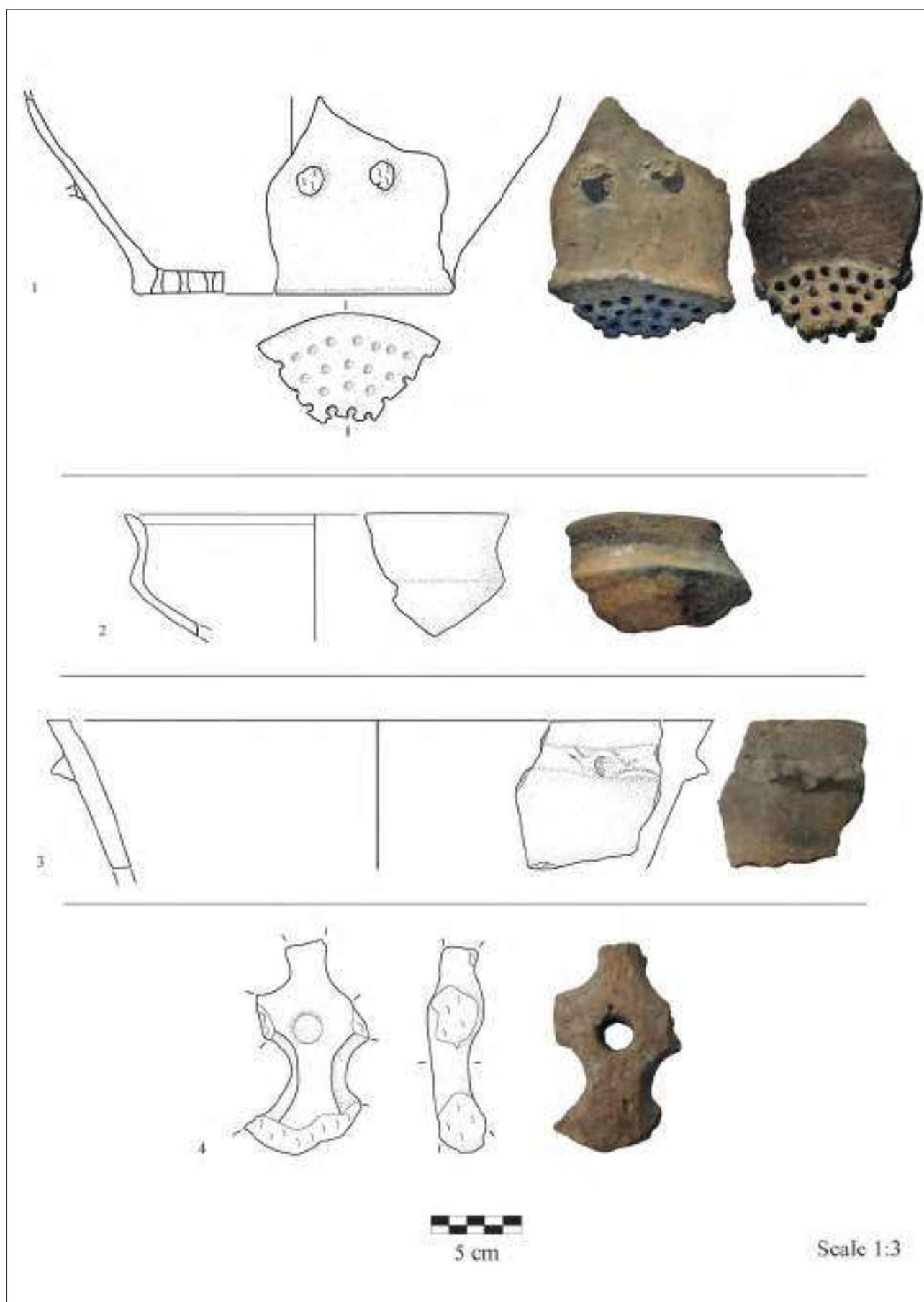
Chiara Improta: nos. **8-28, 46, 87**

Cristiana Merluzzo: nos. **29-37, 49-51, 47, 55-56, 58, 61, 68-69, 72-74, 76-79, 90-91**

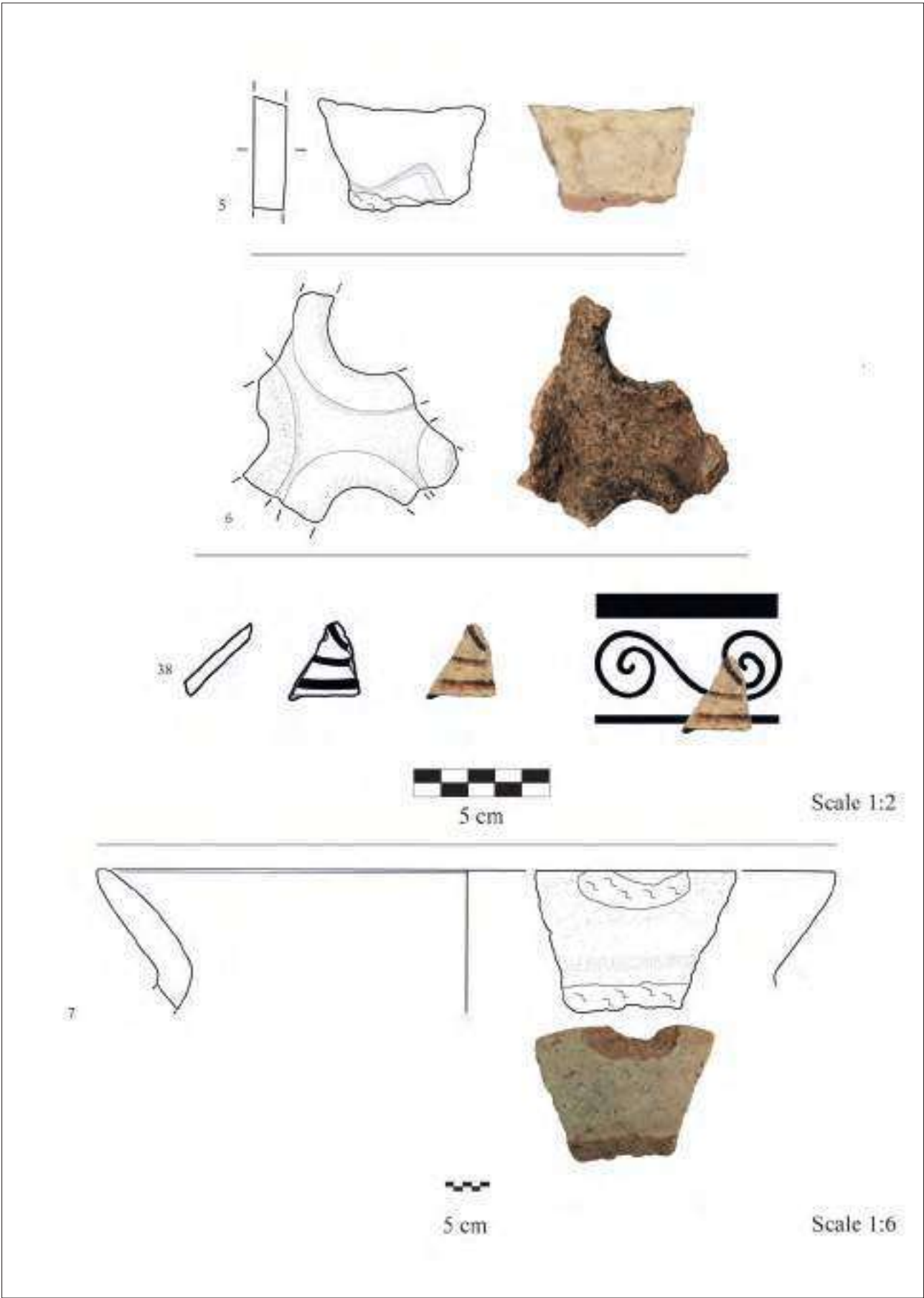
Francesco Nitti: nos. **42-45, 47-48, 52-53, 60, 66, 70, 81-84, 86, 88-89**

Nadia Sergio: nos. **57, 65, 75**

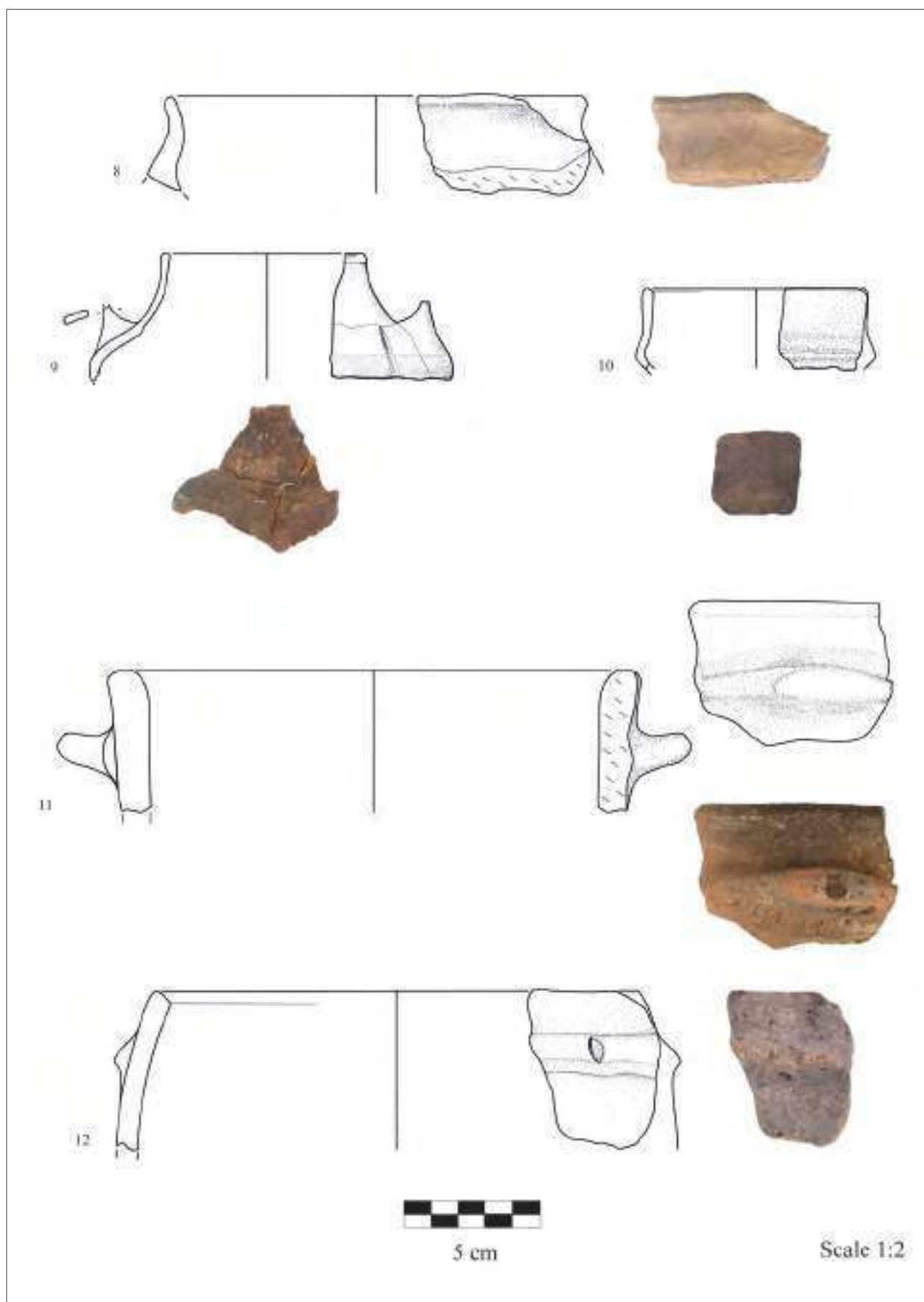
Francesca Somma: nos. **1-7**



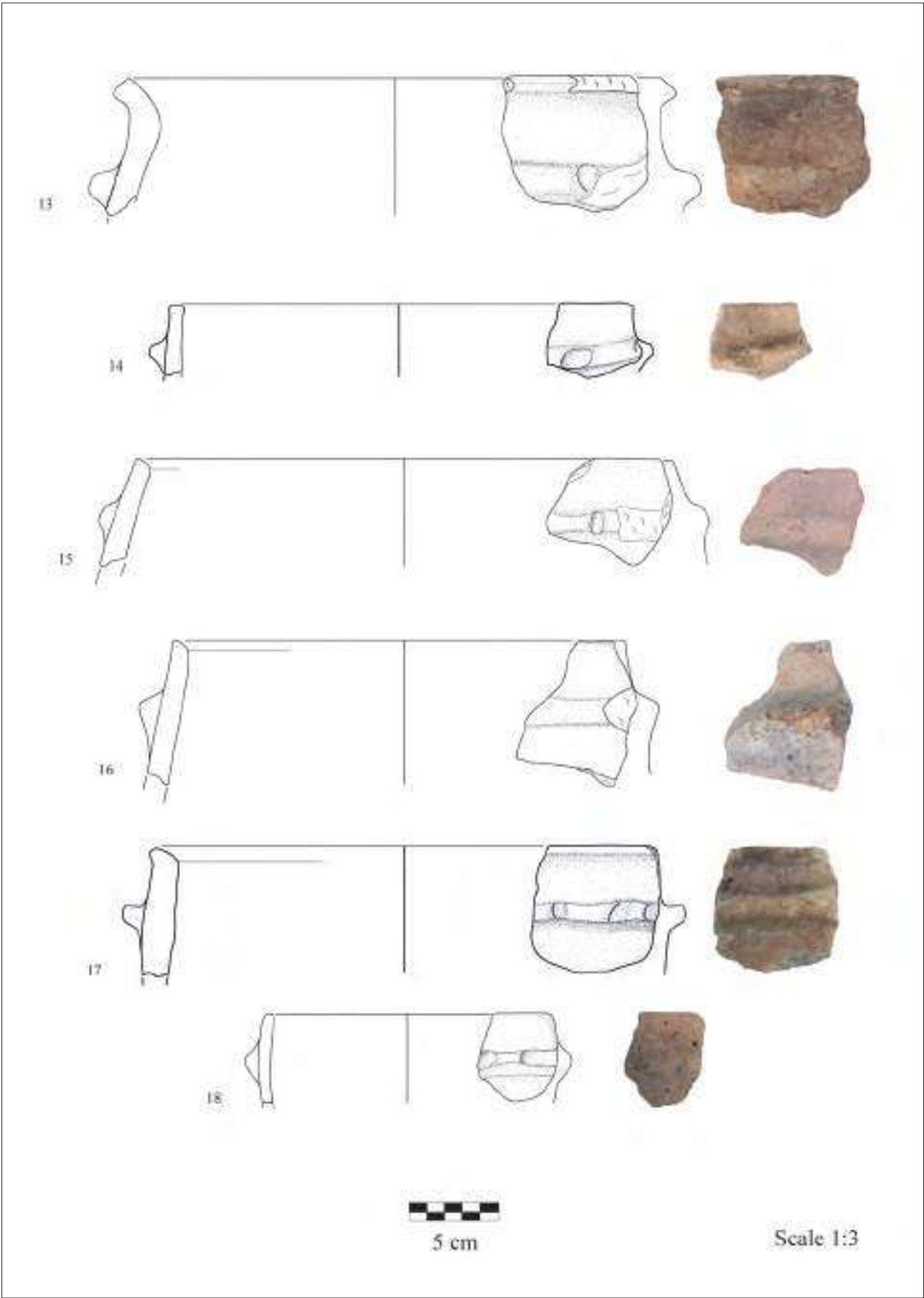
Pl. 1. LBA pottery from the deep trench below the peristyle of the southern *domus*



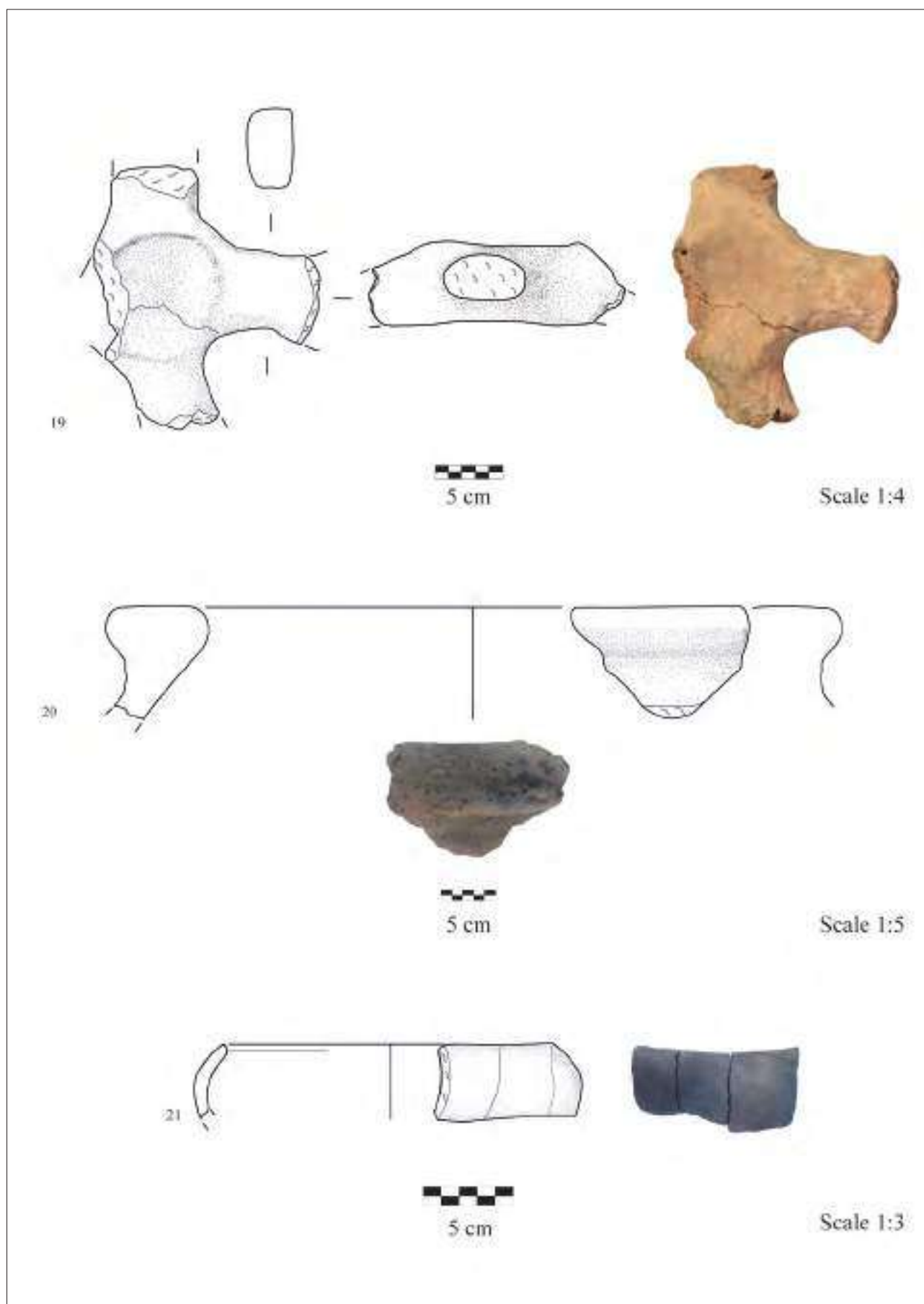
Pl. 2. LBA pottery from the trench below the Roman room in the southeastern corner of the *insula*



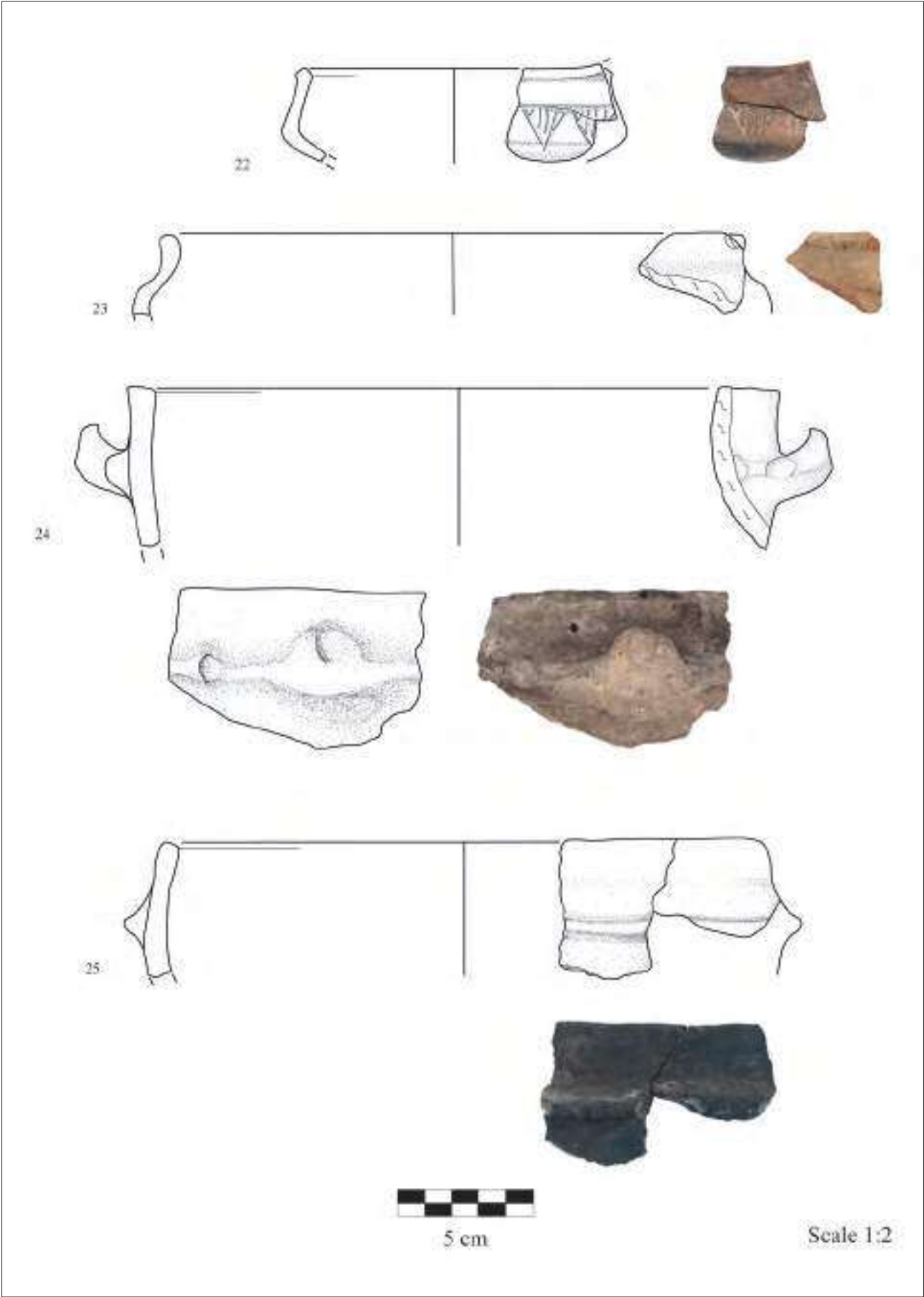
Pl. 3. EIA *impasto* pottery from Levels I-III below the western sector of the peristyle



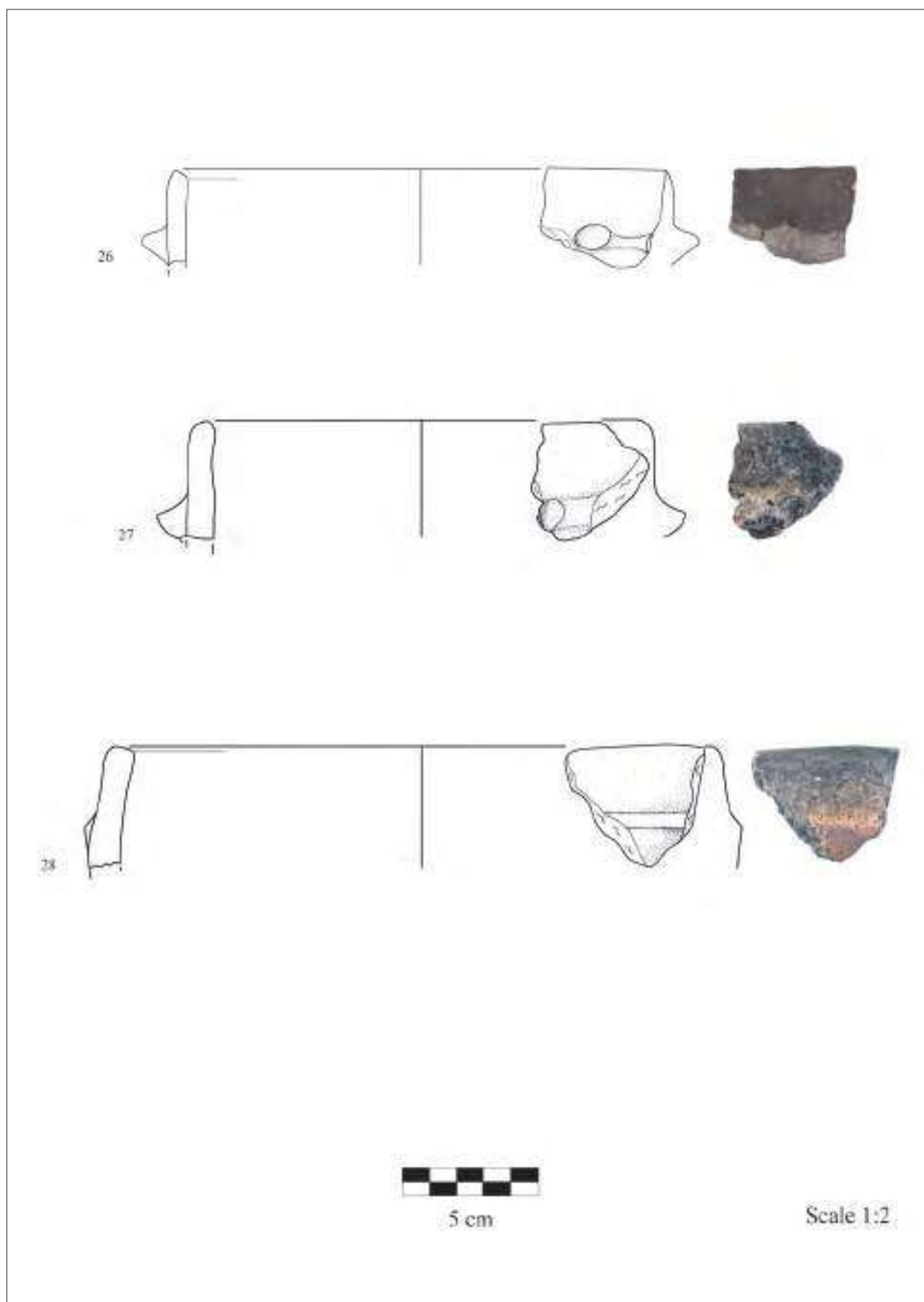
Pl. 4. EIA *impasto* pottery from Levels I-III below the western sector of the peristyle



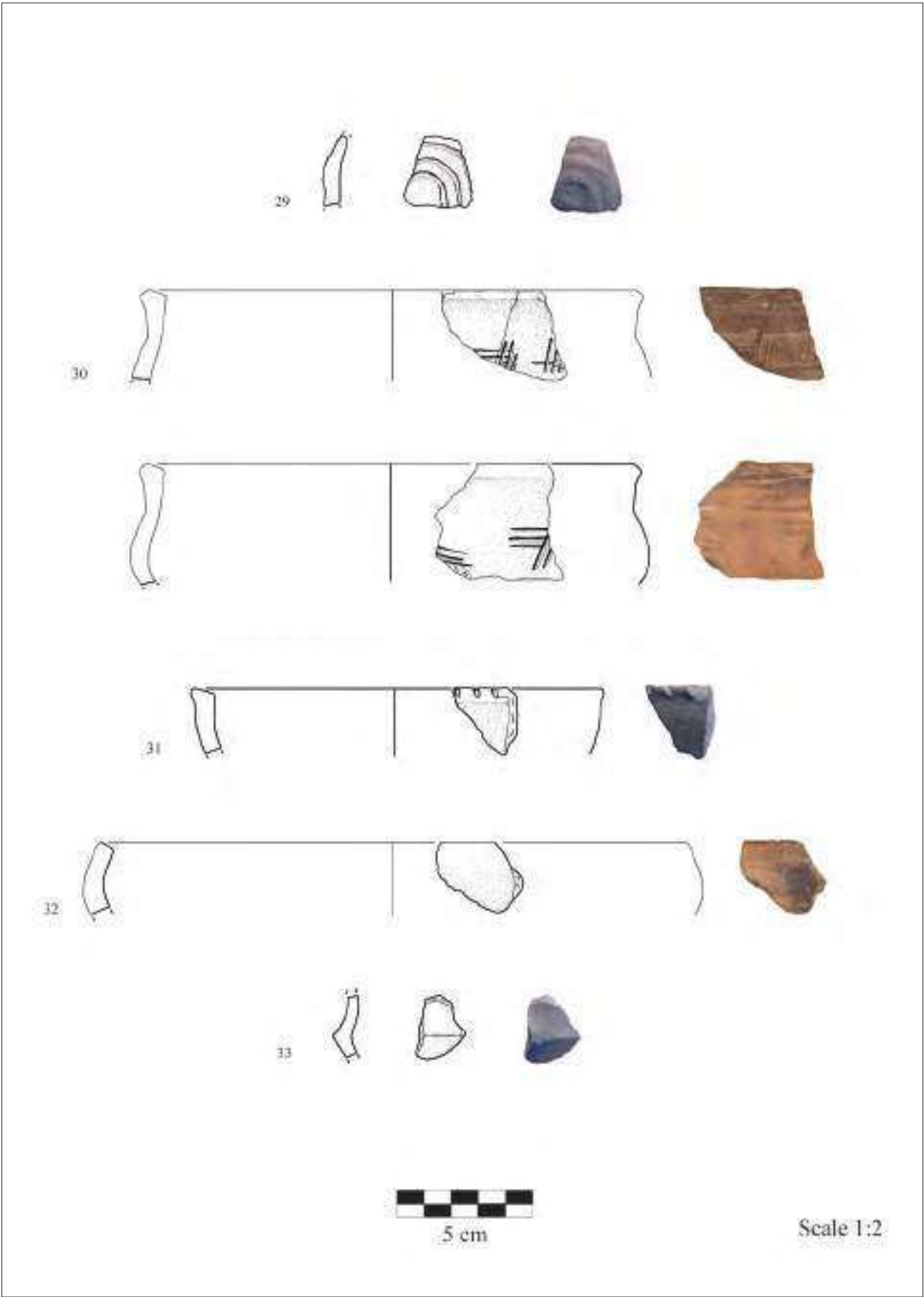
Pl. 5. EIA (19), FBA-EIA (20) and RBA (21) *impasto* finds from the deep trench below the western sector of the peristyle



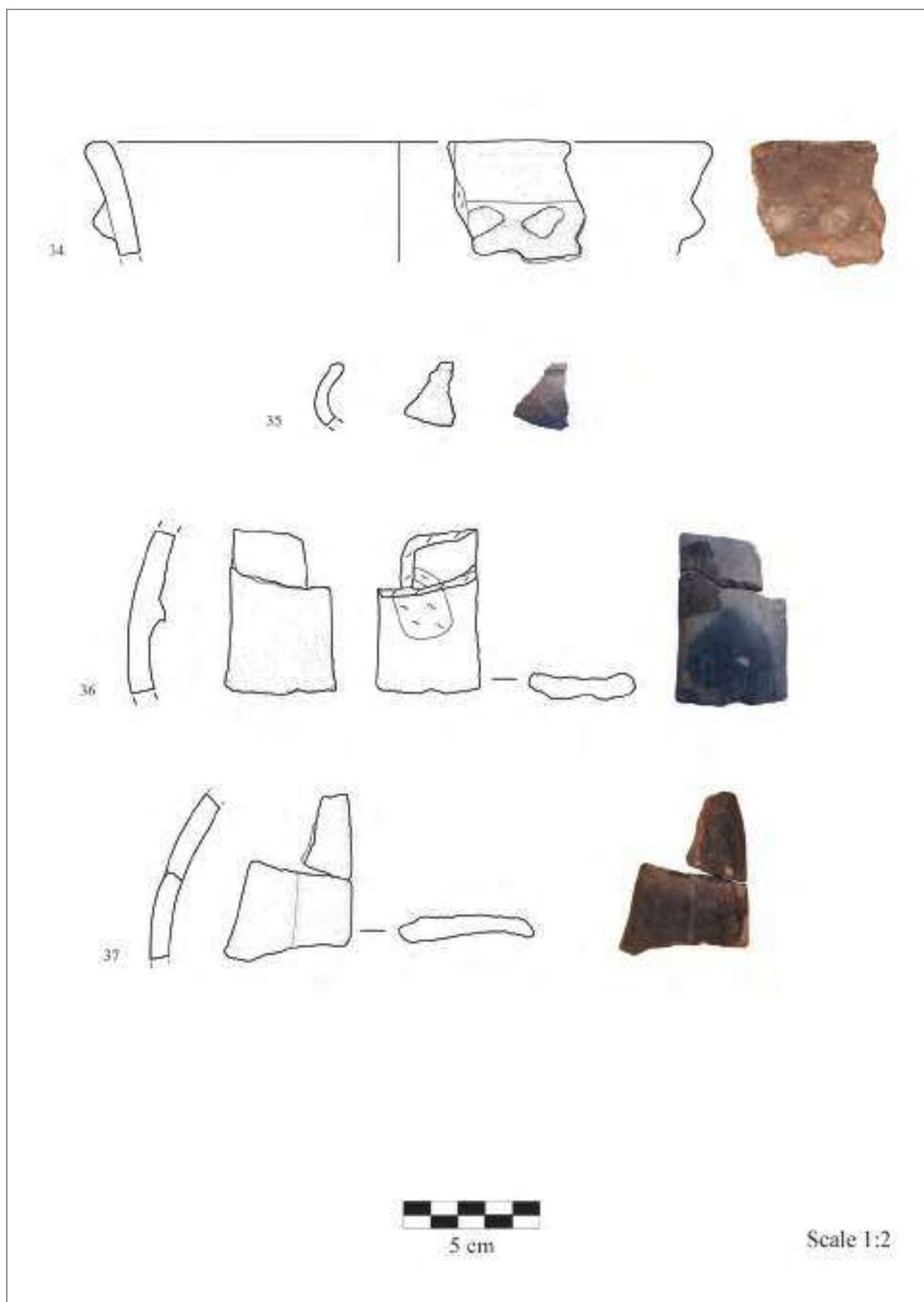
Pl. 6. EIA *impasto* pottery from Level IV below the western sector of the peristyle



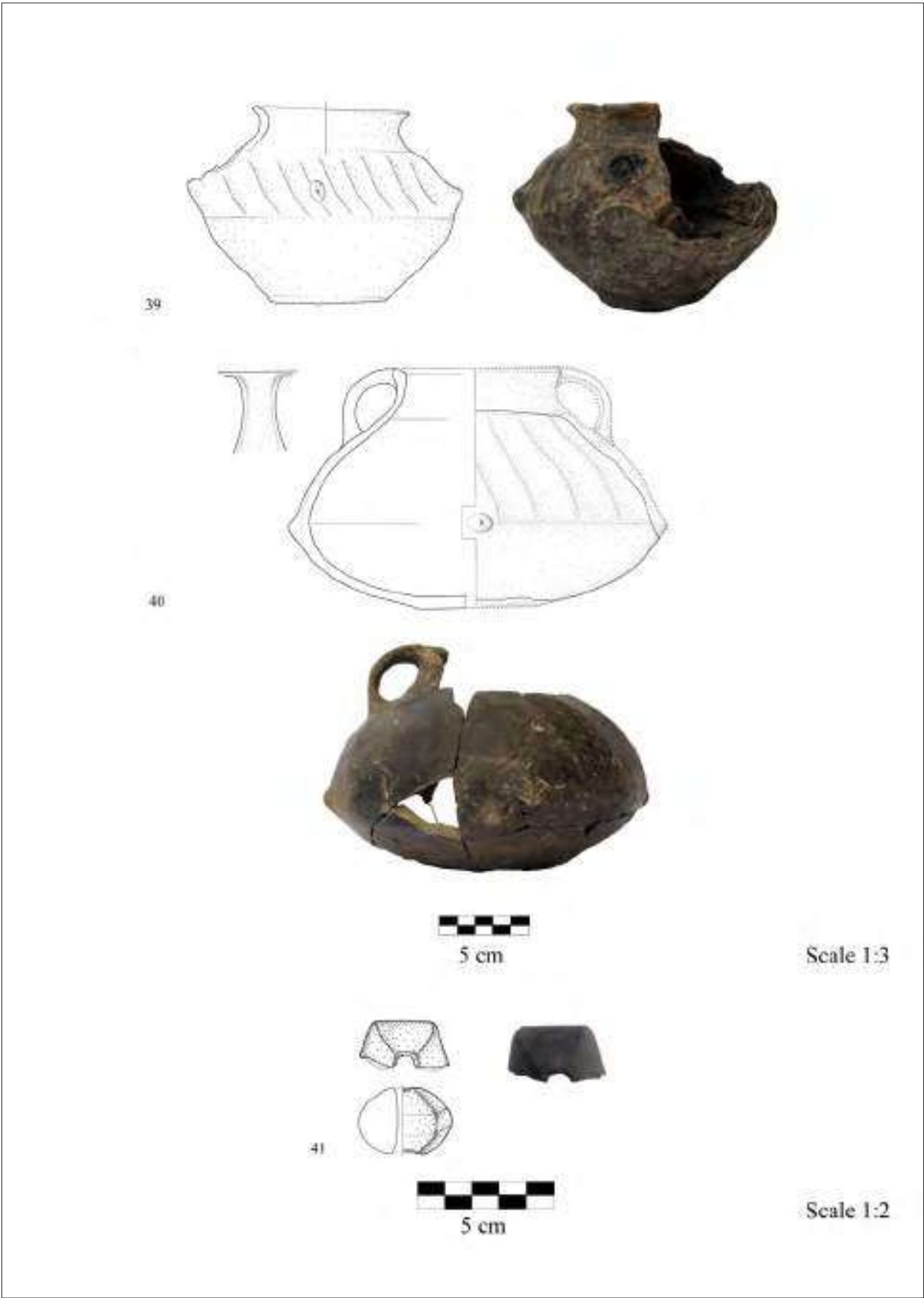
Pl. 7. EIA *impasto* pottery from Level IV below the western sector of the peristyle



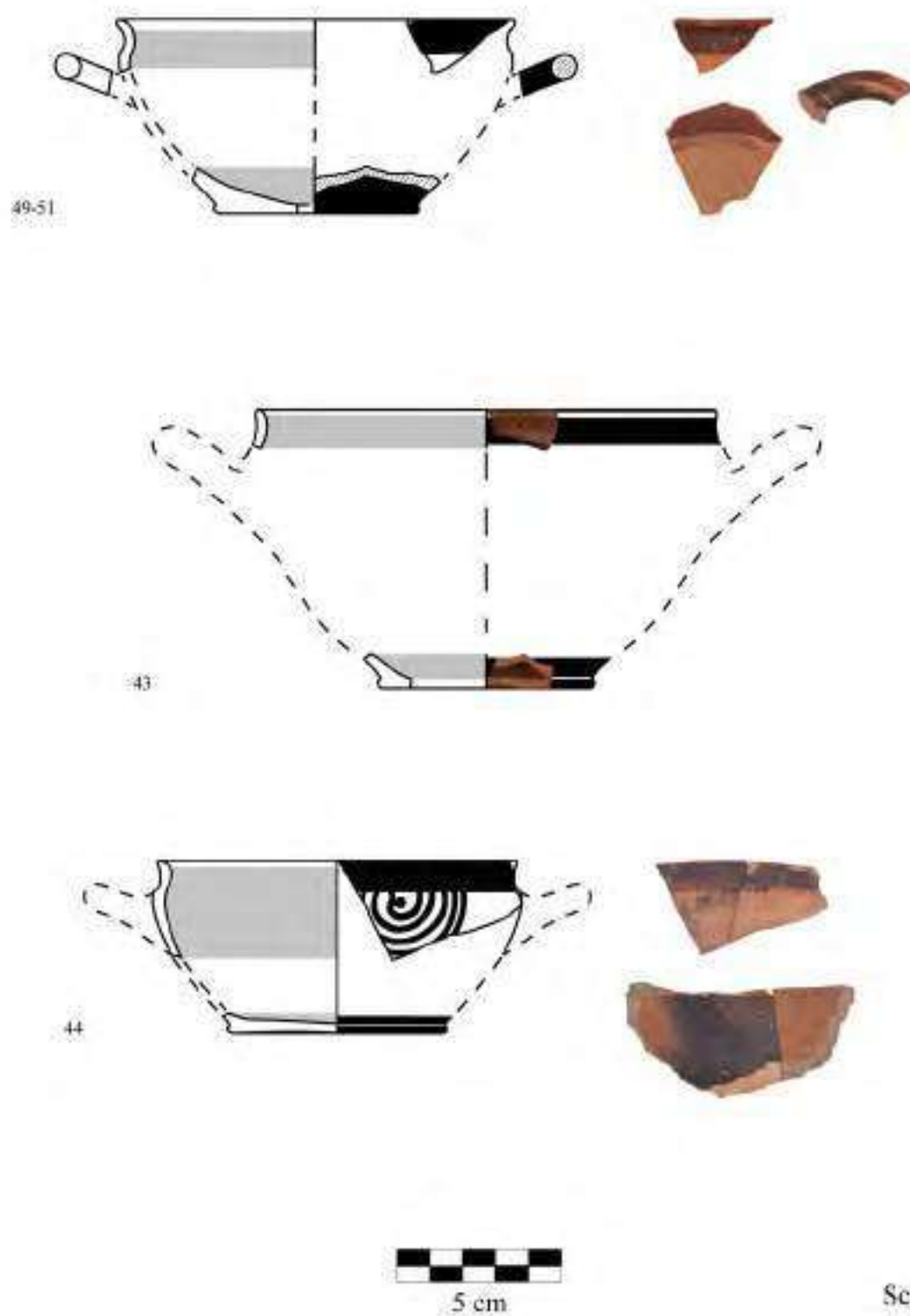
Pl. 8. EIA *impasto* pottery from the excavation conducted below the entrance to the southern *domus*



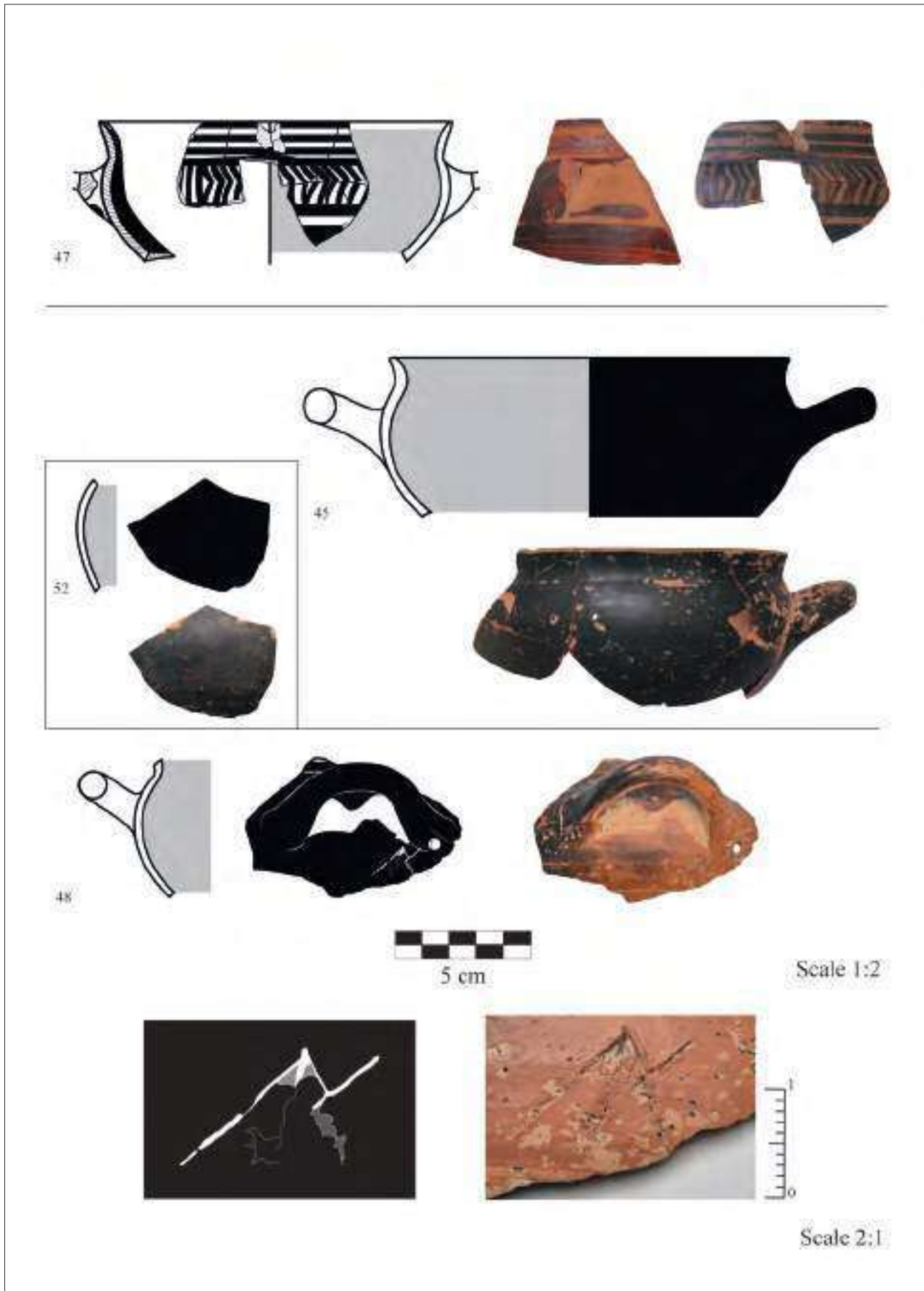
Pl. 9. EIA impasto pottery from the excavation conducted below the entrance to the southern *domus*



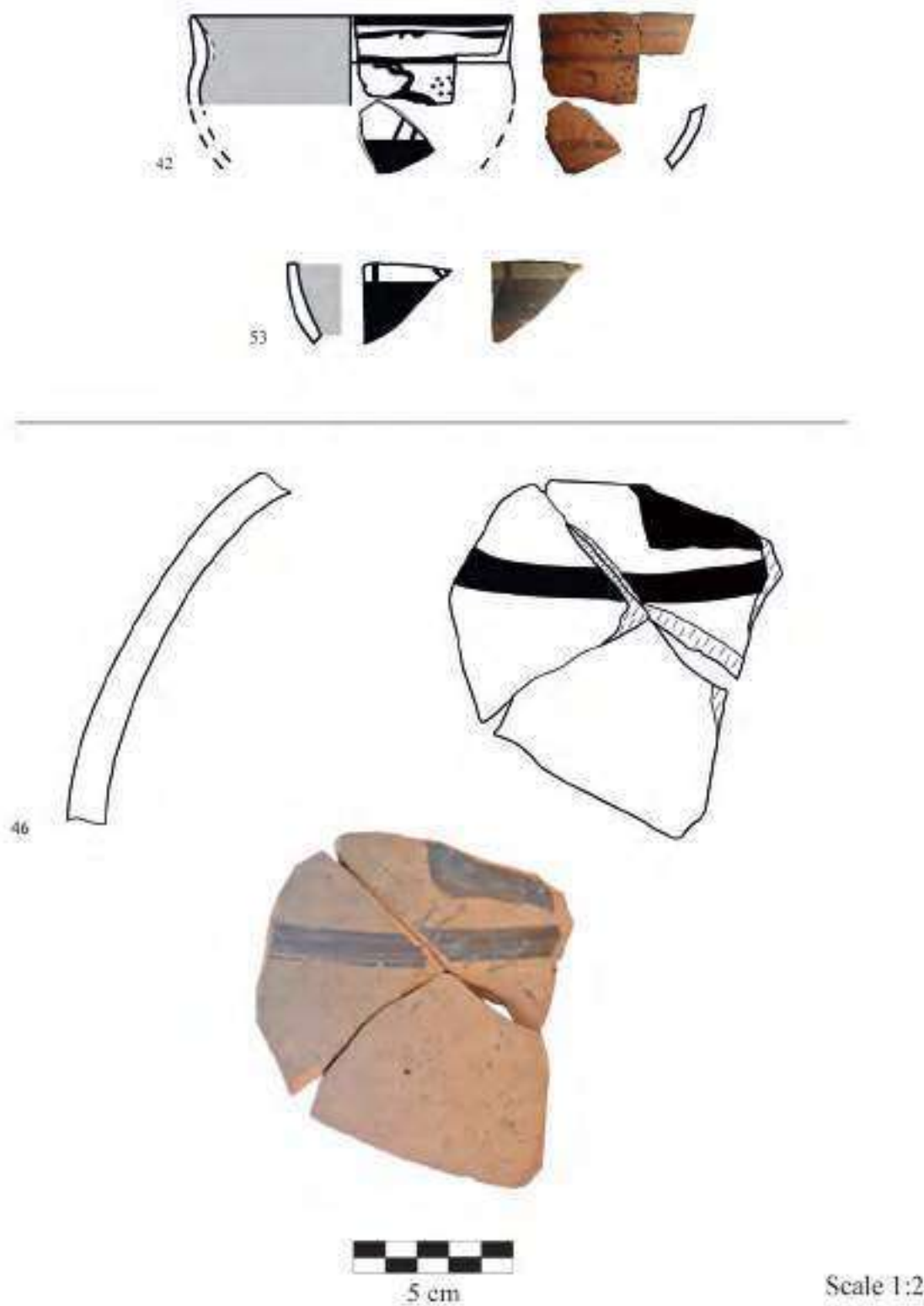
Pl. 10. EIA *impasto* pottery found in secondary deposition



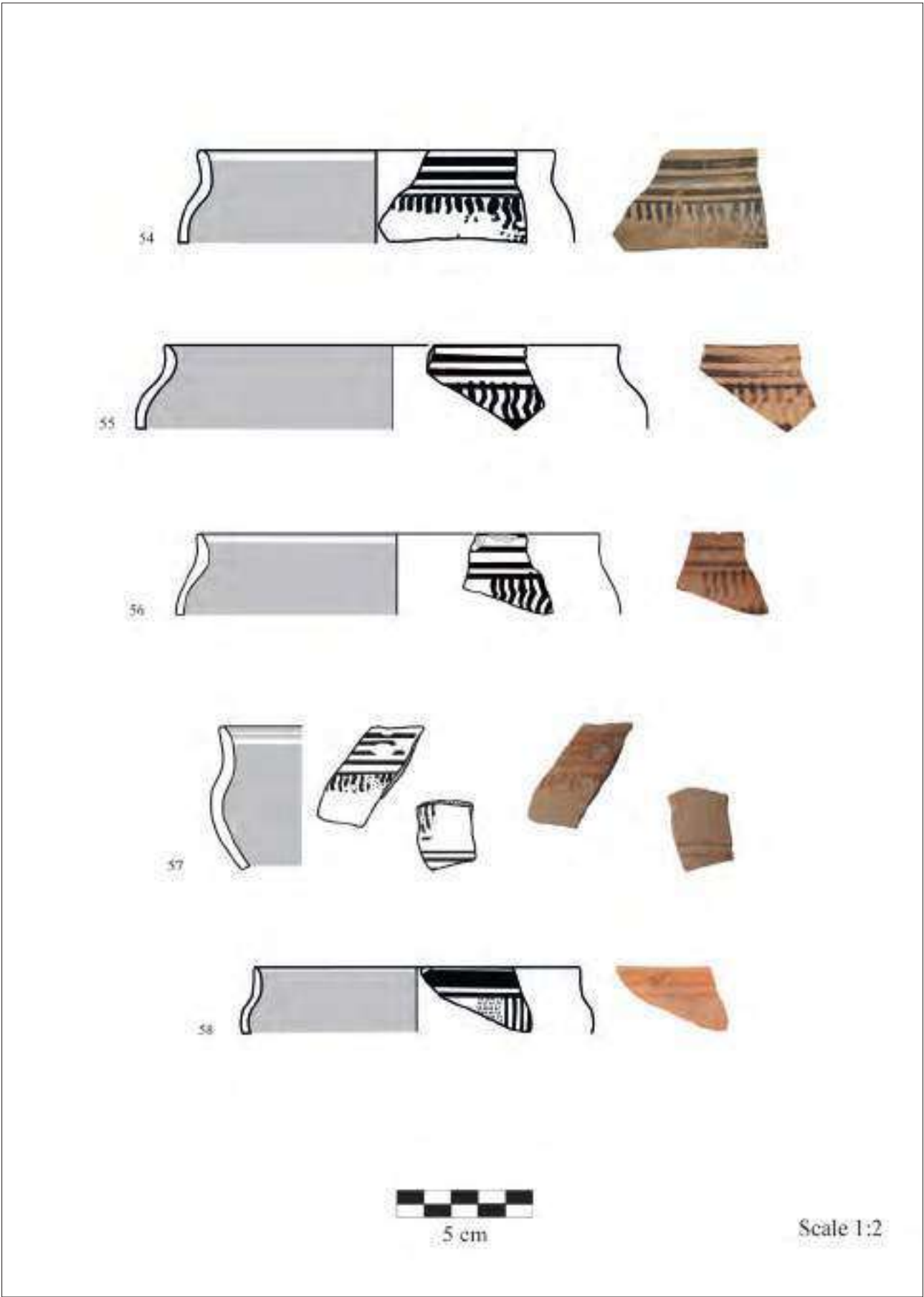
Pl. 11. PSC skyphoi, MG IIB-LG Ia (photo 44 below: inner bottom)



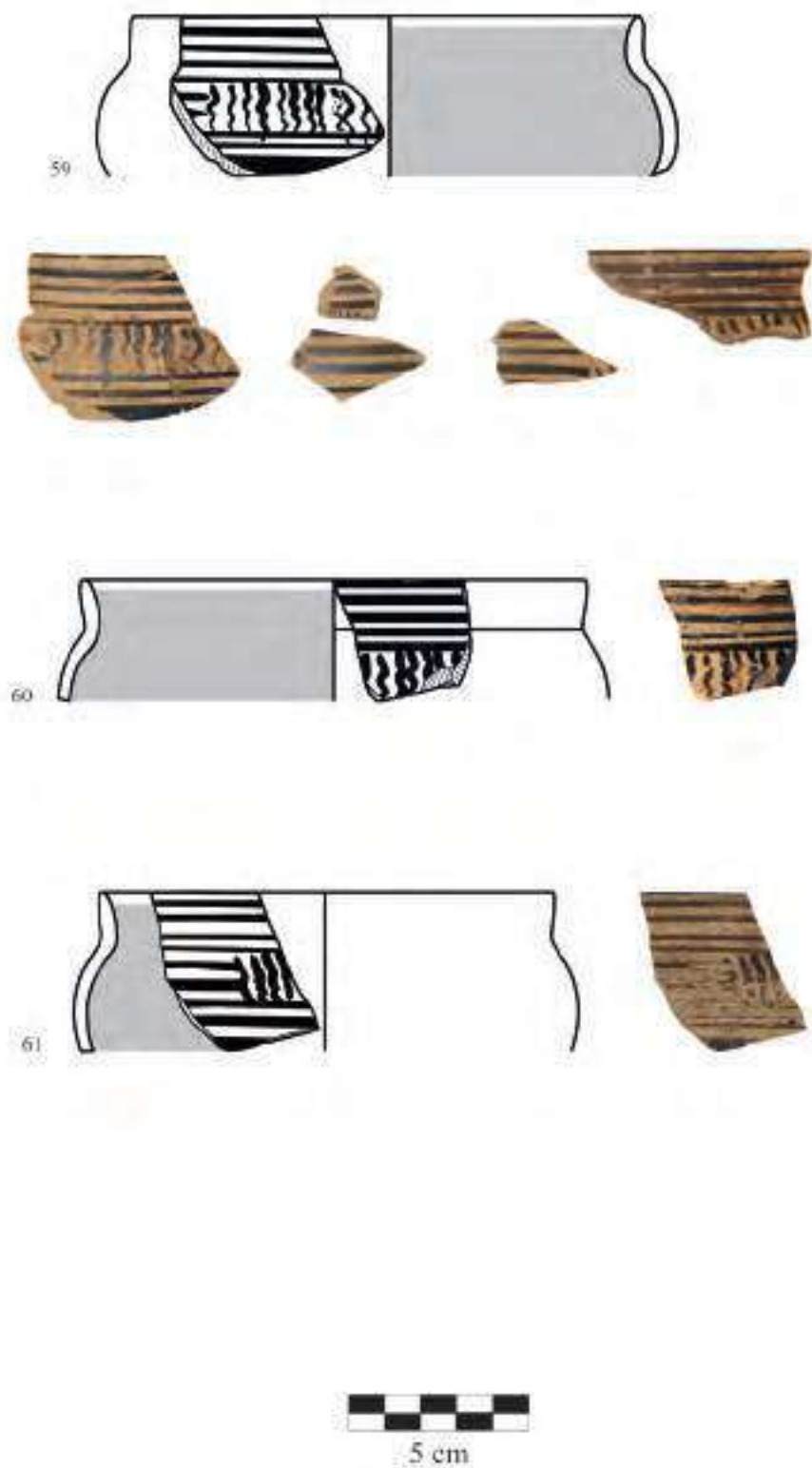
Pl. 12. Chevron (47) and black skyphoi (45, 48, 52), MG IIb-LG Ia



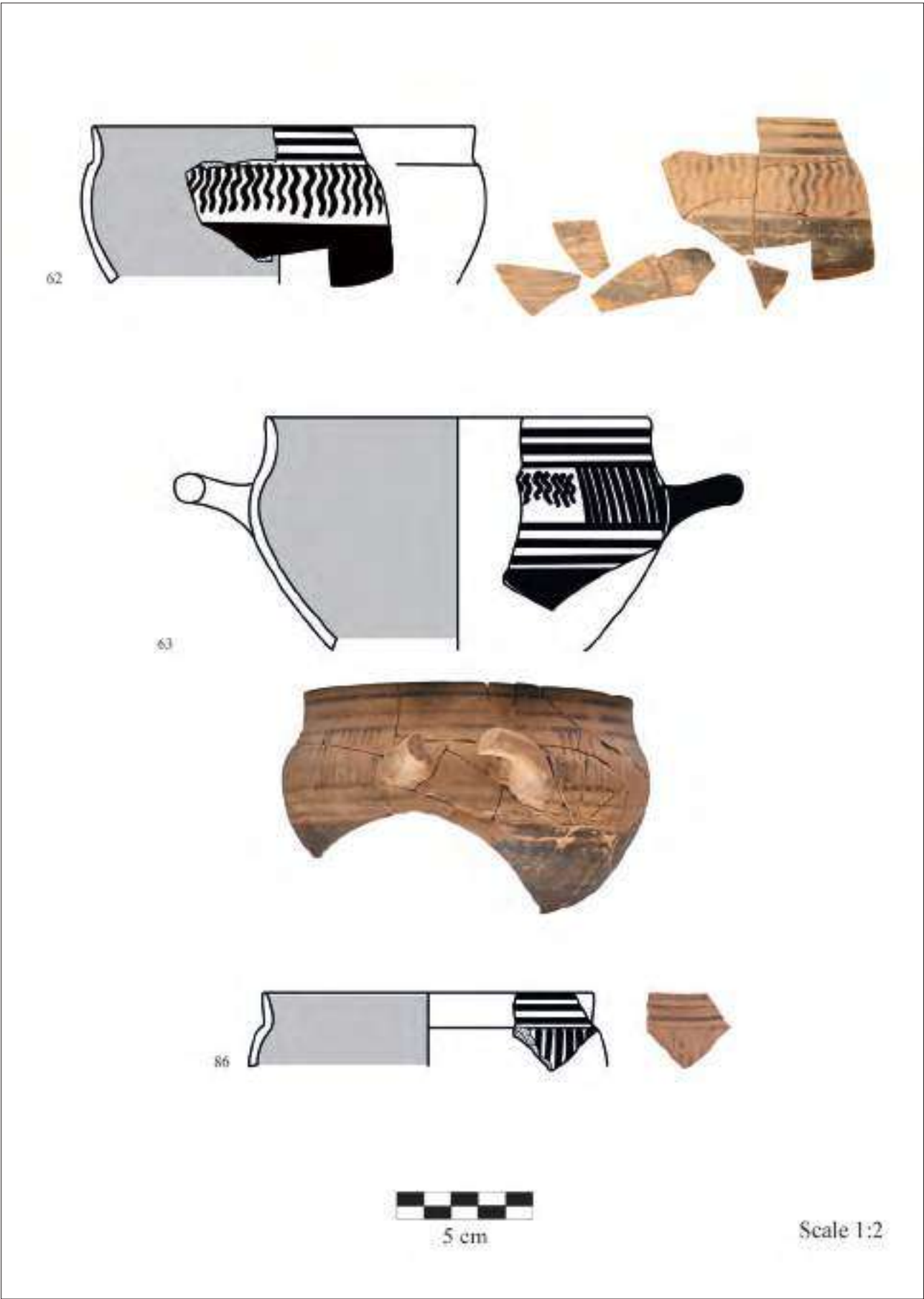
Pl. 13. One-metope bird skyphoi (42, 53) and a closed shape (46), MG IIb-LG Ia



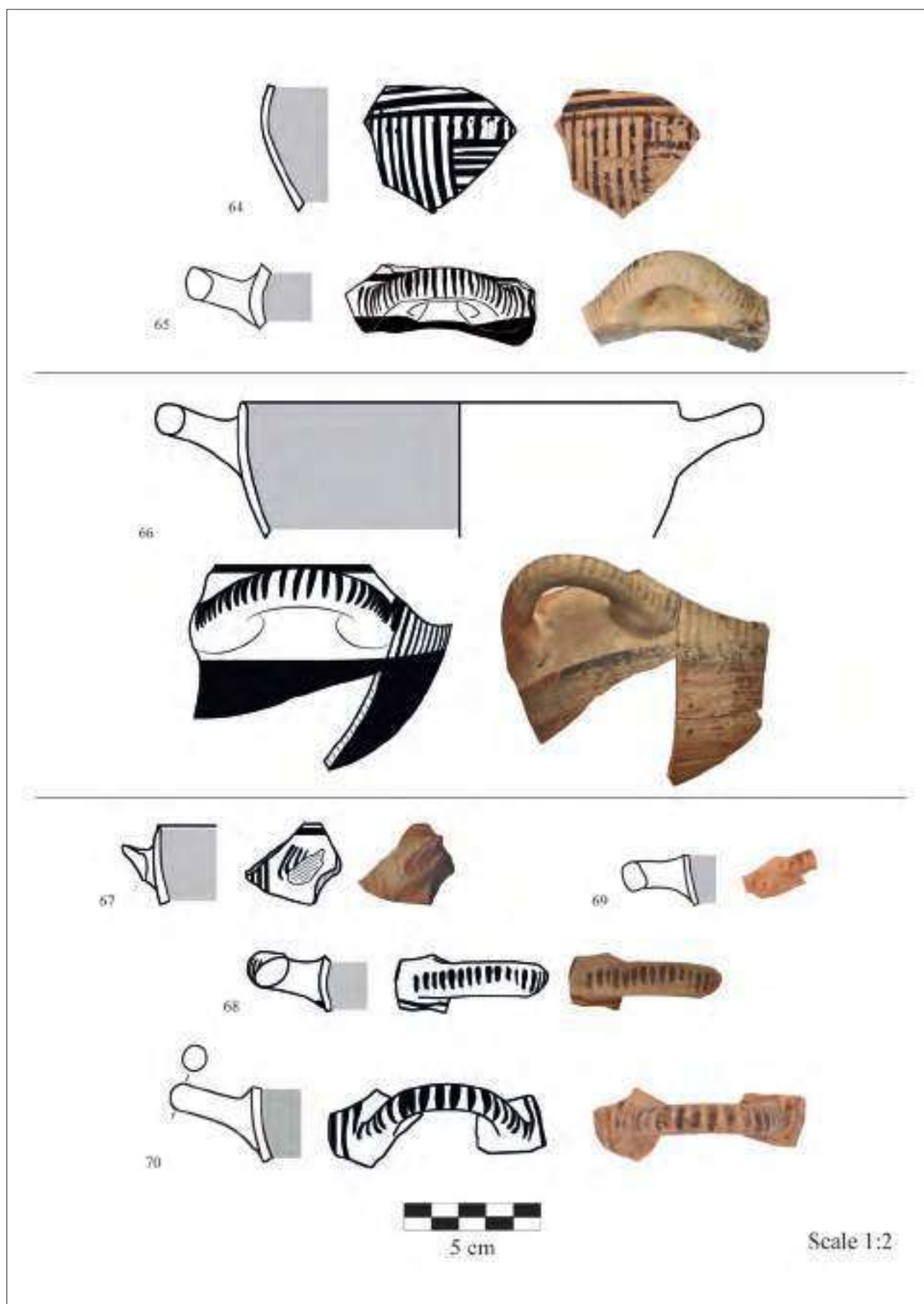
Pl. 14. Close chevron skyphoi, LG I



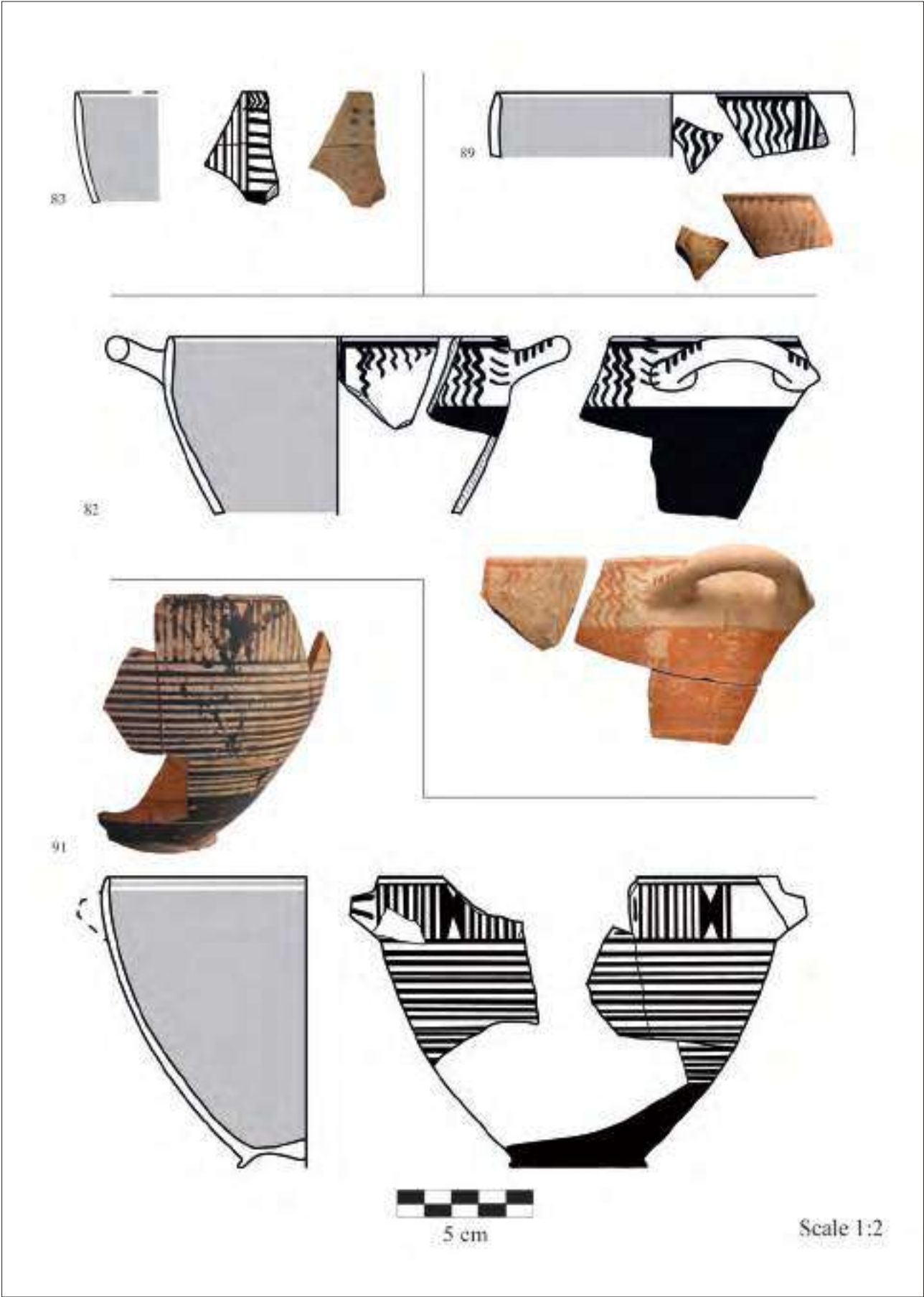
Pl. 15. Tremuli skyphoi, LG I



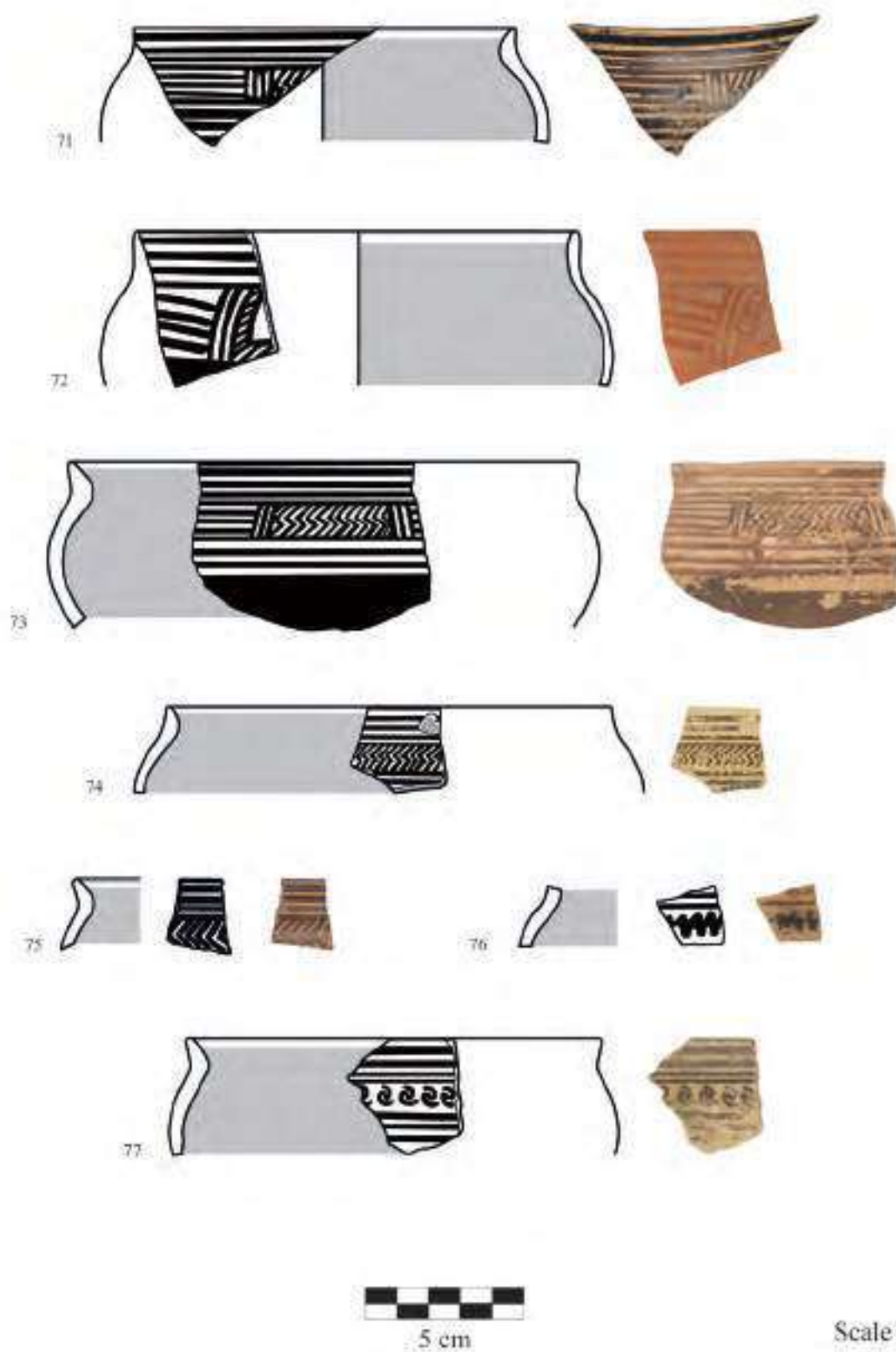
Pl. 16. Floating chevron skyphoi, LG I



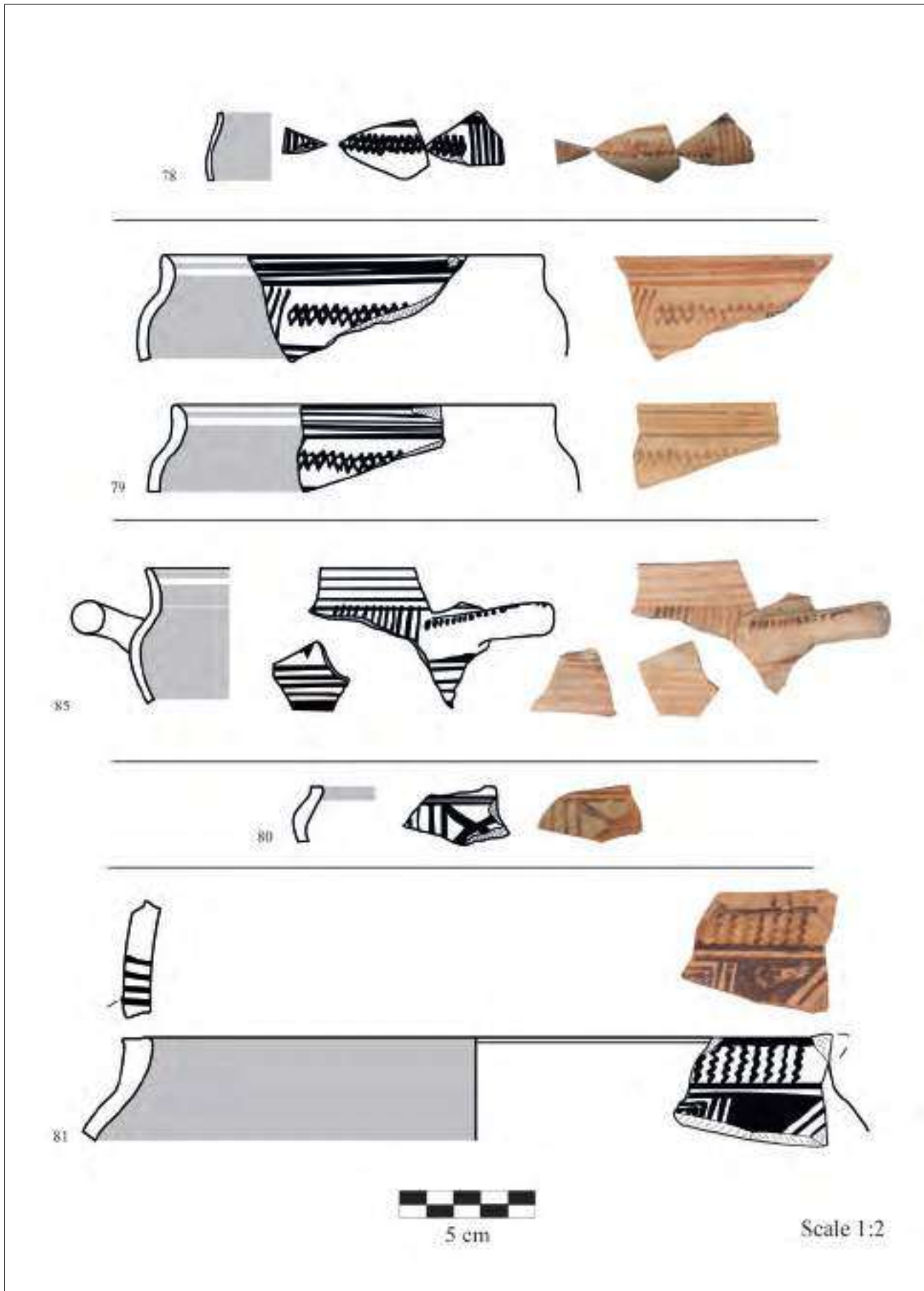
Pl. 17. Kotylai, LG I



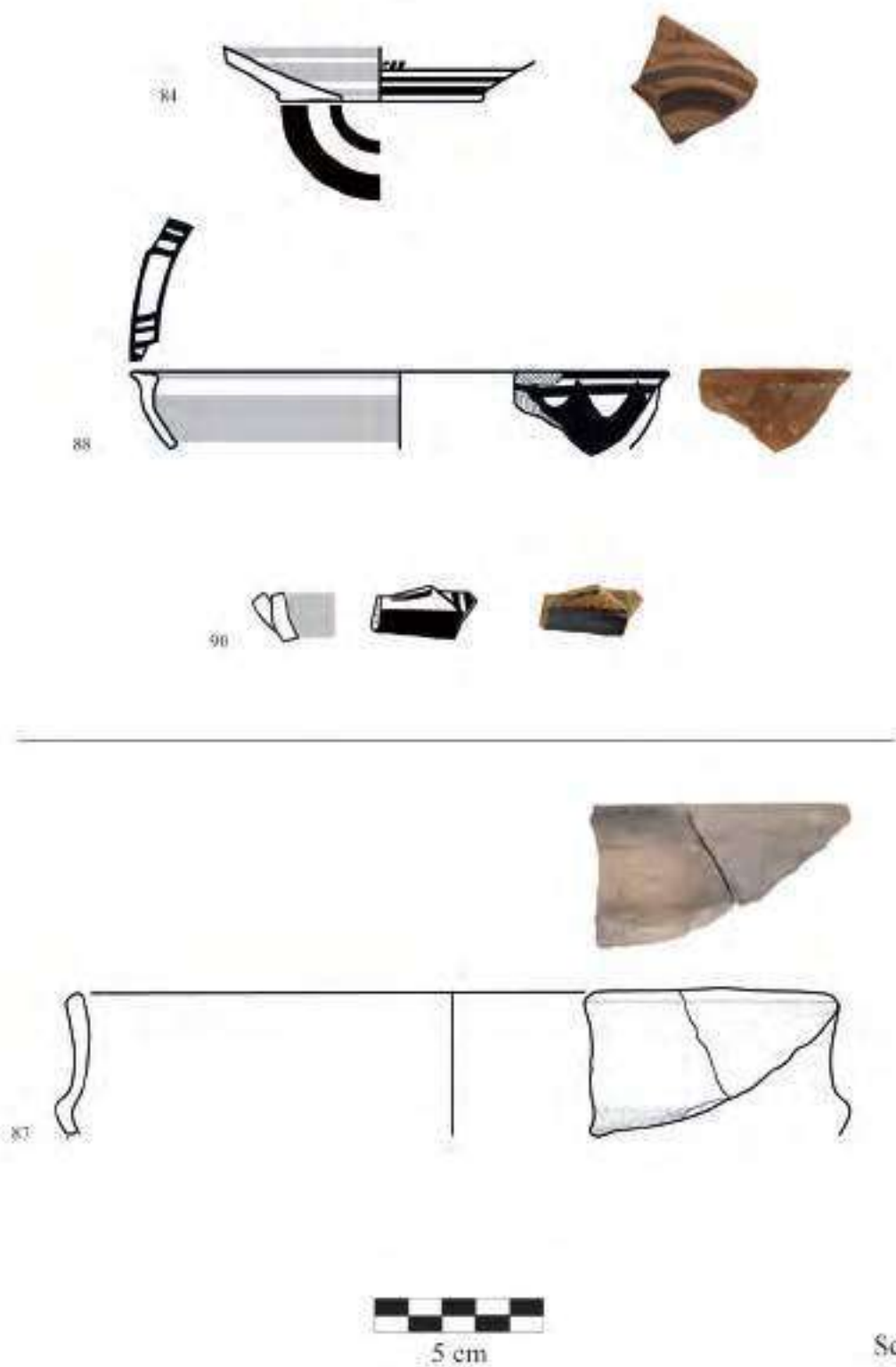
Pl. 18. Kotylai, LG I



Pl. 19. Thapsos class skyphoi, LG I



Pl. 20. Skyphoi with panel decorated by a chain of lozenges (78, 79, 85) and Euboean imports? (80, 81), LG I



Pl. 21. Sherds from the LG I contexts

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EARLIER AND EARLIER: THE RISE OF THE GREEK ALPHABET AND A GREEK LETTER ON AN EUBOEAN SKYPHOS FOUND IN PRE-HELLENIC CUMAE, CA. 760-750 BC

Albio Cesare Cassio

At the start of an influential article published in 1933, the American classicist Rhys Carpenter expressed his disappointment at never having encountered in any scientific publication what he regarded as utterly obvious, «the authoritative pronouncement that the Greek alphabet was adopted from the Phoenician about the year 700 BC»¹ – a pronouncement he tried to substantiate in the following pages. His conclusions were immediately challenged, most notably by Ullmann², but it was mainly the publication of the text on “Nestor’s cup”³ that stroke the fatal blow to Carpenter’s notion that the borrowing of the Phoenician script did not predate about 700 BC.

On a bird kotyle, in all likelihood imported from Northern Ionia⁴ and datable to 720-710 BC⁵, three lines were inscribed in the local Euboic alphabet before the kotyle was burnt on a pyre along with many other vessels in the same time span. The lines (a quasi-iambic trimeter and two hexameters⁶ are regularly written one after another, which is banal in Homeric papyri but not in early inscriptions; hence Henry Immerwahr⁷ convincingly suggested «that the graffiti on this vase are influenced by eighth-century book script» (Fig. 1). This aptly shows to what extent archaeological research can upend apparently well-founded cultural perspectives: at a chronological level (720-710 BC) when,

according to a respectable scholar, the Greek alphabet had not yet been created, we now have a text not only featuring letter shapes typical of a specific archaic Greek alphabet, but one that in all likelihood implies the habit of writing poetic texts on perishable material, probably papyrus, according to a specific layout.

Carpenter’s notion of a very late borrowing of the Greek alphabet from the Phoenicians has obviously been abandoned, yet the opposite stance – an early borrowing – is not favoured by the majority of scholars: «a date before the 9th century is usually not accepted»⁸. Notable recent exceptions are Ruijgh⁹ (about 1000 BC) and Waal¹⁰ (11th century BC at the latest).

N. Elvira Astoreca is skeptical of any attempt at taking a stance on this issue¹¹, yet she rightly assumes «that there is a long history of reforms in the transmission from N(orth) W(est) S(emitic) into the N(orth) E(ast) M(editerranean) alphabets»¹² and that «the concentration of innovative traits seen in some alphabets clearly suggests that these are at an advanced stage of development, meaning that there must have been a long tradition of writing on perishable materials and that the adoption of alphabetic writing in these areas could be placed much earlier in time»¹³, which had already rightly argued by others¹⁴.

¹ CARPENTER 1933, 8.

² ULLMANN 1934.

³ BUCHNER – RUSSO 1955.

⁴ D’ACUNTO 2020, 842.

⁵ D’ACUNTO 2020, 280.

⁶ CEG I, 252 f., no. 454. Unfortunately, the date “ca. 525-520” given by Hansen is dead wrong. Cf. BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, 146-154.

⁷ IMMERWAHR 1990, 19.

⁸ WAAL 2018, 88.

⁹ RUIJGH 1995, 1998.

¹⁰ WAAL 2018.

¹¹ ELVIRA ASTORECA 2021, 17.

¹² ELVIRA ASTORECA 2021, 130.

¹³ ELVIRA ASTORECA 2021, 137.

¹⁴ E.g. RUIJGH 1995, 38: «Cette date reculée a l’avantage de mieux expliquer les évolutions fort divergentes qui ont produit les différents alphabets épichoriques de l’époque archaïque».

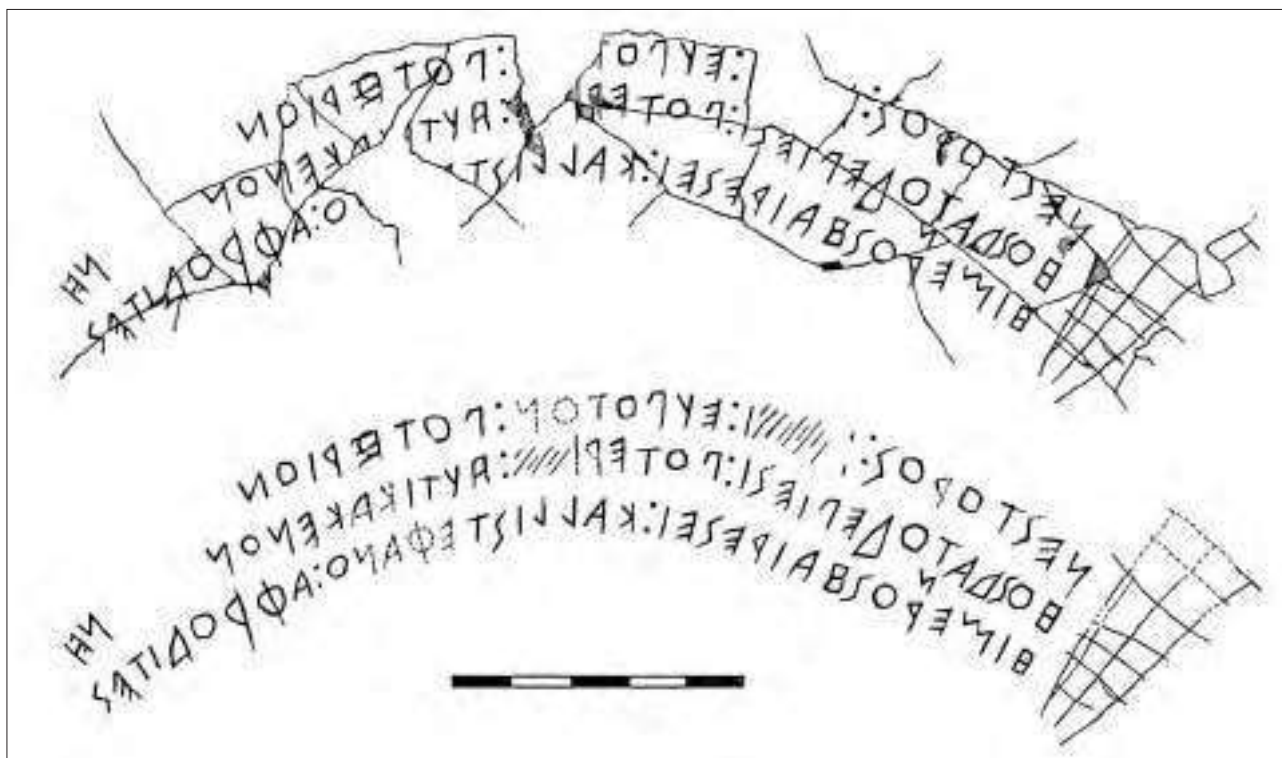


Fig. 1. Pithekoussai, inscription on the “Nestor’s Cup”, ca. 720-710 BC (drawing from BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, pl. 73)

The lack of Greek alphabetic inscriptions before the 8th century BC¹⁵, the so-called *argumentum ex silentio* for a late borrowing of the Greek alphabet, has more and more come to be regarded as questionable, since in many other areas during long “silent periods” significant developments took place. For instance, Waal¹⁶ quotes the case of the Hebrew alphabet, which is commonly believed to have been adopted in the 12th/11th centuries BC, whereas the earliest extant inscriptions do not predate the 9th/8th century BC. Yet the parallels are not confined to the Semitic world: something similar obtains in a Greek-speaking area, i.e. Cyprus, as already briefly noted by Ruijgh¹⁷.

The Cypriot data deserve to be recalled in detail. The much-discussed Palaepaphos-Skales *obelos*, featuring a Cypriot Greek personal name written in the Cypro-Minoan syllabary according to Olivier¹⁸, in all likelihood goes back to 1050-950 BC¹⁹, but after 950 we have almost nothing until 750 BC²⁰. In

practice, inscriptions in the Cypriot syllabary and dialect are completely lacking for more than two centuries; yet we know for certain that the process of adapting the old Cypro-Minoan script to the needs of the local Greek dialect took place precisely during those centuries, «a process of which we know that it happened but for which we have no other direct evidence»²¹. In other words, we can be absolutely certain that a crucial development from A¹ to A³ took place, yet all we have is just A¹ and A³: an expected *A² stage is never attested, although we know that it must perforce have existed. At a general level, decisive developments must have taken place in a number of areas all over the Mediterranean, although no record has come down to us for a number of reasons, especially the use of perishable material like leather, wood or papyrus. Remember that on Cyprus a schoolmaster was called διφθεραλοιφός «smearer of (prepared) animal skins»²².

¹⁵ WAAL 2018, 107.

¹⁶ WAAL 2018, 107.

¹⁷ RUIJGH 1995, 38; 1998, 659.

¹⁸ MORPURGO DAVIES – OLIVIER 2012, 112.

¹⁹ ICS 18g = EGETMEYER 2010, 879.

²⁰ EGETMEYER 2010, 10: «950-900 aucune inscription; 900-750 inscription de Paphos, écrite en syllabaire chypro-grec, mais probablement en langue non-grecque; 750-600 une bonne tren-

taine d’inscriptions à Chypre, en Italie (Policoro/Héraclée de Lucanie) et en Grèce (Mendé et Delphes)» etc.

²¹ Cf. Morpurgo Davies, in MORPURGO DAVIES – OLIVIER 2012, 112.

²² HESYCH. δ 1992 διφθεραλοιφός· γραμματοδιδάσκαλος παρὰ Κυπρίους.

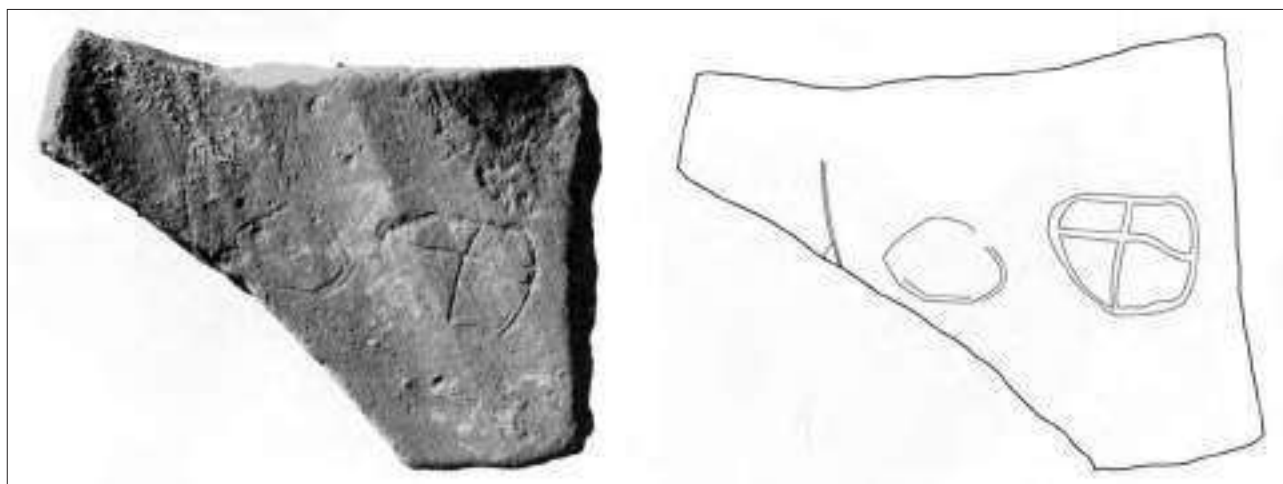


Fig. 2. Eretria, sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros, graffito on a MG amphora (from KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, 75, no. 64)

The Greek inscriptions datable to ca. 750-700 BC are now numerous, whereas very little is securely datable to 800-750 BC. At this chronological level, the discussion revolves around very few artifacts that will be discussed immediately below, namely (a) an inscribed sherd from Lefkandi, (b) an inscribed sherd from Eretria, (c) the text engraved on the Gabii flask, and (d) the new Greek letter engraved on the skyphos from Cumae and first published in this volume (see the contribution of M. D'Acunzio *et al.*, chpt. 4.4.6, catalogue entry no. 48, Pl. 12).

(a) Two Greek letters are scratched on a sherd from the Toumba cemetery at Lefkandi, a fragment of a presumably imported jug, ca. 775 BC, «eine der ältesten griechischen Inschriften überhaupt»²³. The writing direction, and consequently the interpretation of the text, is uncertain:]σα (from right to left), or αμ[(from left to right); note, however, that the latter option is far from improbable: as Bartoněk – Buchner²⁴ say, «die Inschrift von Osteria dell'Osa [zeigt], daß eine von links nach rechts laufend Schriftrichtung in so früher Zeit auch nicht auszuschließen ist», something that seems to find a confirmation in the left-to-right oriented *nu* on the new Cumae black skyphos discussed below under (d).

(b) An inscribed sherd found in the excavations of the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria is regarded as «la plus ancienne inscription en alphabet grec de notre corpus» by Kenzelmann Pfyffer, Theurillat and Verdand²⁵; in N. Kourou's words²⁶ «the Eretria graffito, dated by context to the first part of the eighth century, represents the earliest surviving inscription on a Greek pot in the Aegean». (Fig. 2).

Kourou²⁷ says that «the reading and meaning of the carelessly scratched letters are uncertain», yet the letters are clearly readable, and the text (conceivably written from right to left) is edited by Kenzelmann Pfyffer, Theurillat and Verdand²⁸ as]θου[; the last letter is partially broken, but clearly recognizable as an *iota*. At the end of a long discussion the authors say that «l'interprétation du texte demeure très hasardeuse: nous proposons néanmoins de restituer θεῶν (ou θεοῖς), l'auteur de l'inscription ayant fait l'économie du *epsilon* qui phonétiquement était déjà présent dans le théta». To my mind this does not make sense. Greek personal names built on θοίνη “feast, banquet”, are well attested, e.g. Θοῖνος (7x), Θοινίων (7x) Εὔθοινος (29x) and many others;]θου[might well be what is left of one of them – or just an abbreviation of one of them (e.g. Θοι for Θοῖνος or Θοινίων), a practice admitted by many scholars,

²³ BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, 195. See also RIDGWAY 1996, 94 with note 46, and more recently BOFFA 2021, 166.

²⁴ BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, 195.

²⁵ KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, 75 no. 64.

²⁶ KOUROU 2017, 23.

²⁷ KOUROU 2017, 23.

²⁸ KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, 75.

often confronted with just two or three alphabetical letters scratched on a vessel (see the numerous συντομογραφημένα ὀνόματα at Methone²⁹). Note that this sherd provides us with one of the oldest instances of a Euboean straight *iota*, on a par with the one inscribed on the Gabii flask (see below); since the original crooked *iota* cannot have been modified overnight, these early instances of a straight *iota* are an additional indication that the earliest type(s) of Greek alphabet must go back in time much further than is usually assumed.

(c) A good deal of bibliography has accumulated³⁰ on an inscription scratched on a one-handled flask of local workmanship found in Tomb 482 of the cemetery of Osteria dell'Osa at ancient Gabii near Rome (ca. 775 BC and in any case not later than 770 BC³¹) (Fig. 3). According to a largely accepted interpretation, the inscription (which clearly runs from left to right) reads *εὐλιν*, conceivably «good at spinning, possibly an attribute of the woman with whom it was buried»³². Although this interpretation has variously been challenged³³, there is little doubt that the letters belong to an archaic Greek alphabet, the straight *iota* pointing clearly to the Euboean one. What is very special about this artifact is that a text written in the Euboean alphabet *ante* 770 BC was scratched on a flask manufactured in Latium. A special feature of the last sign, which has universally been interpreted as a *nu*, is the angle of about 70/73° formed by the link long vertical with the transversal, an angle remarkably more open than the one of most examples of archaic *nu* known to us, and to which I shall return presently.

In this context, mention should also be made of a retrograde *αλ*[--- or *αχ*[--- (with an “archaic” *alpha* tilted sideways), scratched in the first half of the 8th century BC on a biconical ossuary found in Tomb 21 of the Villanovan Benacci-Caprara cemetery, Bologna³⁴.

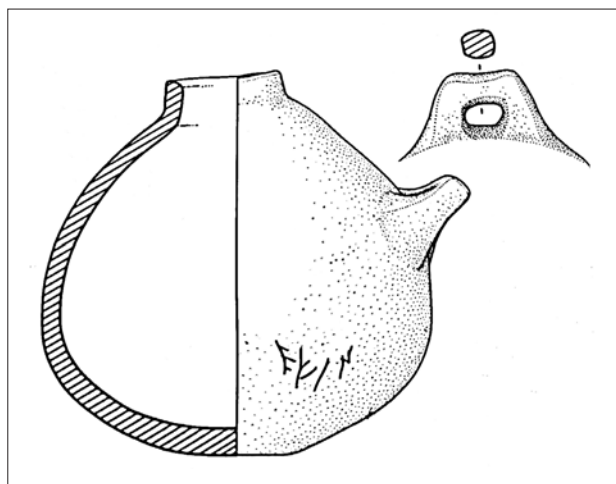


Fig. 3. Necropolis of Osteria dell'Osa (ancient Gabii), inscription on a one-handled flask of local workmanship, before 770 BC (drawing from BIETTI SESTIERI 1992, pl. 20, no. 16)

(d) The Euboean letters found in Central Italy obviously open up the problem of the circulation of Euboean merchants, pottery, and alphabetic writing in that area at a pre-colonial level, a problem to whose understanding the sign, in all likelihood a Greek letter, incised on the black skyphos published in this volume will significantly contribute. The editor, Matteo D'Acunto, has already provided all the detailed information needed, as well as a number of important comments on both the skyphos and the sign engraved on it (see D'Acunto *et al.*, chpt. 4.4.6, nos. 48, Pl. 12); in what follows, I shall repeat some chief points for the sake of the reader's convenience and add some observations of mine.

The black skyphos, produced in Euboea, was found along with two other black skyphoi (D'Acunto *et al.*, chpt. 4.4.4, nos. 45 and 52, Pl. 12) in the context of the pre-Hellenic indigenous village of Cumae; no. 45 should belong to the transition between MG IIb and LG Ia, i.e. 775-750 BC, while nos. 48 and 52 can be dated to LG Ia, i.e. 760-750 BC. Interestingly enough, both nos. 45 and 48 got broken at some point and were restored already in antiquity, presumably in the pre-Hellenic village. The very fact that the broken pieces were not thrown away and the skyphoi were restored is a clear indication that the inhabitants of the village regarded the vessels as something valuable.

²⁹ See Methone *Pierias I*, nos. 3, 5, 9, 12 etc.

³⁰ See BARTONEK – BUCHNER 1995, 204 for items previous to 1995; RIDGWAY 1996, and BOFFA 2021, 166 no. 9.

³¹ BOFFA 2020, 60.

³² JANKO 2017, 149 in the wake of other scholars.

³³ E.g. *εὐοιν* Peruzzi (see RIDGWAY 1996, 97); most recently, ELVIRA ASTORECA 2021, 60 would rather read *εῖν* or *εἰν*.

³⁴ See JANKO 2017, 144, and BOFFA 2020, 61 no. 28.

One of the most intriguing features of no. 48 (simply called “skyphos” in what follows) is the sign inscribed before firing below the right-hand handle attachment: three straight zig-zag strokes traced by a firm hand, the first stroke on the left being remarkably longer than the two others. As D’Acunto says (in this volume), the lines are so straight and the angles drawn with such precision that one might think that the engraver had used a small ruler. An intriguing feature of this sign is a very short stroke bisecting the angle formed by the long left vertical and the transversal, in all likelihood a sort of *pentimento*, as if the potter had at first decided to outline a shape provided with a sharp angle (about 30°), but had soon changed his mind and opted for a much wider one (72/75°) (Fig. 4).

In sum, two very striking features of the sign are (1) its having been incised after the paint had been applied but before firing, and (2) the care employed in drawing the lines as straight as possible (including the short *pentimento* line), and the vertical ones as parallel as possible to each other. Both points are far from negligible, in the sense that the sign must, from the very start, have held a special significance of some kind in connection with either the potter or a customer/patron, clearly interested in having precisely *that* sign engraved with much care as part of the vessel from the start. As is well known, it is often unclear whether one or more signs on an ancient vessel are potter’s marks or alphabetical letters, but in this case, both the care employed in drawing the lines and the similarity to an archaic Greek *nu* written in a left-to-right direction are remarkable, making the identification almost unescapable; besides, there is a specific similarity to the *nu* engraved on the Gabii flask in a significant point of detail, the angle formed by the link long vertical and the transversal (see below).

In comparison with the most archaic shapes of *nu*, the one on the skyphos is more elongated and the vertical strokes decidedly parallel to each other, something that becomes commoner later on³⁵. Various archaic examples of *nu* are well attested



Fig. 4. Cumae, from the area of a Pre-Hellenic hut, inscription on a black skyphos imported from Euboea, ca. 760-750 BC (photo M. D’Acunto)



Fig. 5. Methone, from the so-called Hypogeion, inscription of a *nu* on a Samian amphora, end of the 8th - beginning of the 7th century BC (from *Methone Pierias I*, 362, no. 17)

on vessels found in diverse areas³⁶, but one especially seems to me worthy of mention in relation to the Cuma skyphos, although it is datable many decades later. It is an unmistakable right-to-left oriented *nu* incised before firing on an archaic Samian amphora found at Methone Pierias (end of 8th - beginning of 7th century BC)³⁷ (Fig. 5). As the

³⁶ JOHNSTON 1979, 99-101; PAPPAS 2017, 299.

³⁷ *Methone Pierias I*, no. 17. PAPADOPOULOS 2017, 78 says «I am not absolutely certain whether it is alphabetic or non-alphabetic», but his skepticism seems largely exaggerated to me; a

³⁵ JEFFERY 1990, 79 N 4; IMMERWAHR 1990, chart on p. xxii, N 5, Attica ca. 550 BC.

authors of *Methone Pierias I*³⁸ rightly note, the letter was incised on the amphora “με ιδιαίτερη επιμέλεια” (exactly what can be said about the *nu* on the skyphos), its shape being narrower and more elongated (πιο στενό και επίμηκες) than Jeffery’s N1³⁹, and showing the same care in drawing the verticals as parallel to each other as possible.

Although the Samian amphora was manufactured at a later date than the skyphos, in both cases, the *nu* was incised with care and before firing, automatically lending the letter a special significance, and in both cases, the verticals were traced parallel to each other: this becomes commoner later on⁴⁰, but in this case probably responded to a need of regularity in the engraving of a single, significant letter, before firing.

Obviously enough, a comparison between the *nu* on the Methone amphora on the one hand and those on the Gabii flask and the black skyphos on the other brings about similarities as well as significant differences. There are parallel verticals in all three cases, but the retrograde *nu* on the Methone amphora is very close to Immerwahr’s archaic «vertical high *nu*»⁴¹, the angle formed by the long vertical on the right with the transversal being undeniably sharp (about 30°) - interestingly enough, more or less the same opening of the *pentimento* on the skyphos.

Conversely, in both the left-to-right oriented *nu* on the Gabii flask and the skyphos, the angle formed by the link vertical with the transversal is not far from 80°, to be precise 72/75° (skyphos), 70/73° (Gabii)⁴²: as a matter of fact, on looking at their pictures side by side, the openings of both angles appear almost identical (Fig. 6). Now, although interpreting the Gabii text as εὐλιν has not found favour with all modern scholars (see above), its last letter has universally been regarded as a *nu*: this remarkable affinity in shape should dispel all

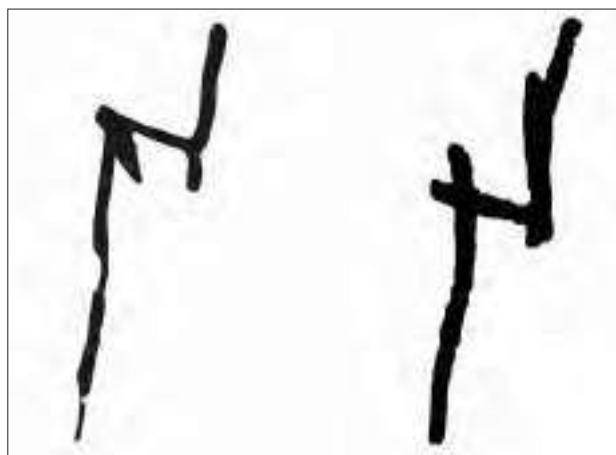


Fig. 6. Comparison of the *nu* on the inscriptions from Pre-Hellenic Cumae (left, cf. Fig. 4) and Osteria dell’Osa (right, cf. Fig. 3) (drawings F. Nitti; right redrawn from BIETTI SESTIERI 1992, pl. 20)

residual doubts concerning the alphabetical nature of the sign engraved on the skyphos.

A wide-angle opening of this kind, coupled with the tendency to make the vertical lines parallel to each other, is infrequent in archaic examples of *nu*, but we should not forget that we are at a very high chronological level; all the comparable letter shapes being later than these two. One should allow for a certain amount of variation (which is also common later on, even in one and the same text)⁴³, and possibly the creation of ephemeral “graphic trends”. The *pentimento* on the skyphos is especially intriguing in this respect since the potter seems to have started to draw a well-attested shape (angle at 30/40°) and then opted for a shape with a much wider angle, virtually the same as that of the *nu* on the Gabii flask. Interestingly, in some forms of Phoenician *nūn*, the angle formed by the long vertical with the transversal is very open, *e. g.*, almost 90° in some shapes of the Karatepe bilingual (8th century BC), where different scribes/engravers were at work, each showing a «predilection ... for certain shapes of letters»⁴⁴ (Fig. 7).

striking similarity to an archaic Greek *nu* is unmistakable, and both the authors of *Methone Pierias I* and PAPPAS 2017, 299 interpret the sign as a Greek letter.

³⁸ *Methone Pierias I*, 362-364 (on no. 17).

³⁹ JEFFERY 1990, 79.

⁴⁰ IMMERWAHR 1990, chart on p. xxii, nos. 5, 6, 7 (6th century BC and later).

⁴¹ IMMERWAHR 1990, 151.

⁴² I am grateful to Matteo D’Acunto for accurately calculating the angular opening of the letters in both artifacts.

⁴³ Two random examples: in ισαμενετινννα, the text scratched on the Cumae lekythos of ca. 700 BC (CASSIO 1991-1993, picture on p. 203), the first three *nu* remind one of Immerwahr’s type 3, while the last one is decidedly closer to type 6 (IMMERWAHR 1990, chart on p. xxii). In the personal name Αναχσιδῶν on a remarkable 6th century BC Attic bronze plaque (IG I² 393) the little upright of the first *nu* is slanting, while in the second it “is made vertical”, IMMERWAHR 1990, 151.

⁴⁴ ÇAMBEL 1999, 11.

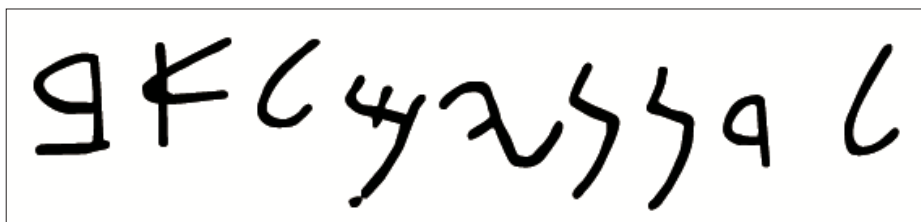


Fig. 7. Karatepe, detail of a bilingual inscription on a stele, 8th century BC (from ÇAMBEL 1999, pl. 9): *Idnnyml'b* («for the Danonites as a father», transl. C.H. Gordon)

A few words by way of conclusion. The *nu* on the skyphos no. 48 from pre-Hellenic Cumae, very similar in shape to the one on the Gabii flask, is a further significant *tessera* added to what we already knew about the circulation of Euboeans, Euboean goods, and the Euboean alphabet in Campania and Latium prior to the “official” colonization - a subject dealt with in much detail by Matteo D’Acunto in this volume. Incidentally, the *nu* on the skyphos, along with the other letters or letter groups attested for 800- 750 BC, are an important additional indication that by the first half of the 8th century BC, the Euboean alphabet (like most local Greek alphabets) had already reached a stage of full development - the borrowing from the Semitic

script having taken place at an early date, possibly the 10th century BC, if not the 11th century as Waal⁴⁵ would prefer.

As specifically regards the *nu* on the skyphos, we will never know the precise meaning of that isolated letter, but its engraving *before* firing is certainly significant: we are not dealing with something scratched on a ready-made vessel on a specific occasion and on the spur of the moment, but with an alphabetic letter whose existence had, so to speak, been planned from the start by the potter himself, possibly on behalf of one of his customers or friends; a letter bearing a message we cannot reconstruct, but one by which somebody set great store, and one meant to accompany the whole life of the skyphos.

⁴⁵ WAAL 2018.

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PHOENICIAN TRADE IN THE LOWER TYRRHENIAN SEA BETWEEN THE 9TH AND 8TH CENTURIES BC: THE CASE OF CUMAE*

Massimo Botto

1. PHOENICIAN AND “SARDINIAN-PHOENICIAN” POTTERY

1.1. *The Context of Discovery*

The ceramics examined come from a pre-Hellenic domestic context brought to light as of 2018-2022 thanks to excavations directed by Matteo D’Acunto of the University of Naples L’Orientale within the peristyle of the large domus occupying the southern sector of the settlement¹ (see Fig. 18.1-3 in the contribution of M. D’Acunto *et al.* in the present volume).

The archaeological stratigraphies investigated in this area demonstrate the existence of a tight sequence of living levels (Levels I-IV) connected to the use of an indigenous hut, where only some functional areas have been identified, but not its limits at present. In this paper, the various Phoenician and “Sardinian-Phoenician” ceramic artefacts will be briefly framed within their contexts of discovery (see Fig. 20 in the contribution of M. D’Acunto *et al.* in the present volume).

The archaeological investigations carried out between 2018 and 2021 in the western and central portion of the peristyle allowed, for the first time, to extensively investigate the stratigraphies related to

the crucial passage that led from the indigenous occupation of the area to the structuring of the Greek colony of Cumae². This passage is clearly legible from an archaeological point of view thanks to the presence of an imposing alluvial deposit, which completely obliterates the pre-Hellenic stratigraphies, signalling a prolonged abandonment of the area. It is, in fact, only immediately above this alluvial layer that the first substantial traces of Greek occupation of the area are found, in an initial phase that was not yet strongly structured. The ceramic artefacts found within the alluvial deposit demonstrate that the caesura between these two phases must be placed around the middle of the 8th century BC, as evidenced by the coexistence of Euboean imported fragments dating to the end of MG II and others, also of Phlegraean production, from LG I.

Beneath this evidence lay a tight sequence of living levels (Levels I-IV) that were strongly anthropised and constantly characterised by large hearths associated with numerous faunal remains, the result of the intense food preparation and consumption activities that must have taken place *in situ*, and *impasto* forms of domestic use. These stratigraphies can be dated, thanks to the presence of a few but significant finds of Euboean imports (including black skyphoi, chevrons and PSC skyphoi), to the third quarter/mid 8th century BC. Together with these materials, we also recognise finds cat. nos. **1-8**.

A deep excavation trench conducted in 2022 in the southeastern corner of the peristyle³ further

* For the fruitful exchange of information and suggestions, I would like to express my thanks to M. D’Acunto, I. Ben Jerbania, J. Bonetto, L. Cerchiai, B. d’Agostino, F. González de Canales, M. Guirguis, A. Mazzariol, F. Merlati, F.J. Núñez, C. Pellegrino, C. Perra and M. Torres Ortiz. Special thanks go to F. Nitti, who was instrumental in the drafting of the paragraph on the context of the discovery of the ceramics. I would also like to extend my heartfelt thanks to C. Improta and C. Merluzzo for the catalogue and the illustrative apparatus. This research work is a product of the PRIN 2017 Project: “People of the Middle Sea. Innovation and integration in ancient Mediterranean (1600- 500 BC)” [B.2. Innovative metallurgy], funded by the Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research.

¹ Cf. the contribution of M. D’Acunto *et al.* in this volume.

² In the following discussion (§ 1.2), this area of the hut will be referred to as the “first context” for convenience.

³ In the following discussion (§ 1.2), this area of the hut will be referred to as the “second context” for convenience.

helped to clarify the nature of the indigenous occupation of this area. Immediately below the alluvial deposit, a very compact clayey layer was recognisable, characterised on its entire surface by a series of small circular or sub-circular post holes, probably made in order to house small wooden posts. The peculiarity of this layer also lay in the presence on the surface of fragments of large containers that emerged from the layer immediately below. This evidence of the post holes, which can be interpreted as a layer of temporary frequentation of the area, the nature of which is still unclear, certainly marks a strong discontinuity with respect to the older stratigraphies, which were, in fact, obliterated by this layer of temporary frequentation. Overall, this layer did not yield much ceramic material, and therefore, it is important to highlight the presence of the fragments cat. nos. **12-13** from the point of view of their incidence.

Beneath this layer, it was possible to recover a considerable quantity of mainly large ceramic containers arranged *in situ* over the entire surface of a living levels, certainly referable to the interior portion of an indigenous dwelling. The nature of the finds, partly scattered on the floor and partly collapsed on themselves, allows us to hypothesise the presence of an area used for storing foodstuffs in this spot. Alongside ollae and pithoi in *impasto*, numerous cooking stands of different types were recovered, as well as an element pertaining to a large mobile oven. Fragments cat. nos. **9-11** also come from this layer. This evidence can be dated thanks to the correlation with the stratigraphic sequence uncovered in the adjoining tests conducted in previous years to the third quarter/mid 8th century BC.

1.2. Typological and functional characterisation

The “first context” ceramics refer to a large closed shape, of which at least two specimens can be distinguished, and to three plates, differing in manufacture and type. In fact, as will be seen below, two of the three plates (**1**; **8**) must be considered from a functional point of view as drinking vessels. However, we have preferred to maintain this terminology for the catalogue in order to be uniform with the classification proposed by P.M. Bikai for Tyre pottery, which is still an essential point of reference for Phoenician studies⁴.

The closed shape could be either a table amphora or an *olla*, since it cannot be determined whether it was fitted with handles. Of the first specimen, a fragment of the rim (**2**) and three fragments referable to different parts of the body remain. There are also two almost identical fragments in fabric and thickness, pertaining to the belly of the vessel (**5-6**); a third thinner fragment, but of the same type of fabric, pertaining to the bottom (**7**). Of the other specimen, there remain two matching fragments (**4**) pertaining to the neck and rim attachment, which differ from the previous ones due to a very thick engobe with obvious traces of horizontal splinting.

The proposal made here is that the two vessels should be considered as hybrid productions⁵, created in Sardinia through the encounter between Phoenician potters and local counterparts. In fact, the shape fits into the Nuragic tradition repertoire of *vasi a collo*⁶, while the fast pottery wheelwork and red slipped surface are a carryover from the Levantine component⁷. In this regard, it is interesting to note that *vasi a collo* are among the ceramic types of Nuragic tradition that best document the “Sardinian-Phoenician” commercial arrangement that took place between the central Mediterranean and the Atlantic coasts of the Iberian Peninsula from the earliest stages of Phoenician expansion in the West⁸. Used for the transport and storage of food and metal goods, they are among the most attested shapes in the investigations conducted at Huelva⁹ and Utica¹⁰: there

⁵ For an overview of the use of the term “hybrid” in archaeological literature, see STOCKHAMMER 2013 (with further references).

⁶ CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2000, 436-441, pls 256-262. As argued by the authors for this shape «il termine di vasi a collo (...) sembra più appropriato che *olla a collo*, perché all'interno di questa categoria possono essere incluse sia vere e proprie olle a collo distinto, sia frammenti con solo collo per i quali non è possibile specificare la forma complessiva del corpo» (*ibidem*, 436). Among the few fully reconstructible specimens with handles is one that is chronologically close to the contexts examined here, from the village of Su Cungiau ‘e Funtà, in the Oristanese region: SEBIS 2007, 70, fig. 21, 4; PAGLIETTI 2016, 310, fig. 3, A4.

⁷ Cf. e.g. ROPPA – HAYNE – MADRIGALI 2013, 133-135; DE ROSA 2017, 203-211; PERRA 2019, 171-192; ROPPA 2019. On these issues, with particular reference to *Sulky* cf. GUIRGUIS 2019b, 113-114.

⁸ On “Sardinian-Phoenician” trade see *infra* text.

⁹ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2004, 100-105, pl. XXI; FUNDONI 2009, 15; PAGLIETTI 2016, 310; GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2017, 31-32, pls. XIII-XIV; FUNDONI 2021, 71, 143-153, with a distinction between *vasi a collo* and *olle a colletto* following the classification of CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2000.

¹⁰ BEN JERBANIA – REDISSI 2014, 188, fig. 6, 10-11; BEN JERBANIA 2017, 188-190, fig. 9, 18-22; 2020, 36-37, 39, figg. 6, 15; 11,7; BEN JERBANIA forthcoming, fig. 11, 32-33.

⁴ BIKAI 1978. In this regard, see the considerations of GIARDINO 2017, 65, note 65.

are a conspicuous number of specimens of varying sizes and types, of which the neck, mouth and rim of the vessel have been preserved. As with Cumae, in fact, the recoveries come from habitations. However, unlike ours, which, as already pointed out, are hybrid productions made on the fast lathe, the Huelva and Utica vessels fit fully into the Nuragic vascular tradition, since they are handmade.

Considering these aspects, a significant comparison with the Cumaean sherds is represented by the well-known amphora specimen with a cinerary function from the *tophet* of *Sulky*, on the island of Sant'Antioco (Fig. 1), although in this case, the external contributions concern not only the manufacture but also the decoration of the vase, which reworks motifs derived from the vascular repertoire of Greek geometric. It should also be taken into consideration that the hitherto accepted dating of the *Sulky* cinerary to about the middle of the 8th century BC, must probably be raised again in light of ongoing investigations¹¹.

In recent years, in fact, the chronology of *Sulky*'s early colonial settlement, to which the *tophet* also refers, was revised, starting with the analysis of new excavations ("*Vano IIE*" and "*Vano IIF*"), thanks to calibrated radiocarbon dating of five samples from stratified contexts¹². This allowed us to confirm a full structuring of the centre of *Sulky* as early as the second quarter of the 8th century BC allowing us to assume its first foundation was in the late 9th/early 8th century BC¹³. A chronological uplift of a few decades is consequently also proposable for the unfortunately very fragmentary quick-turned *vasi a collo* from the *Sulky* settlement, initially framed in a period roughly between the late 8th and the first quarter/first half of the 7th century BC¹⁴.

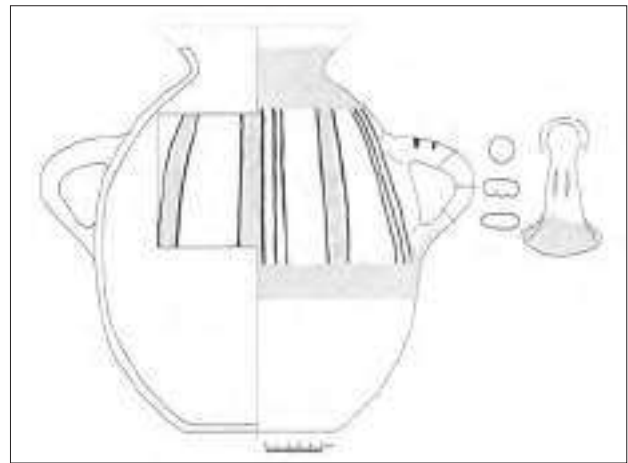


Fig. 1. *Sulky*: fast-turned amphora-cinerary with metopal style decoration from *tophet* (from BARTOLONI 1985)

A date to the second quarter/mid-8th century BC has also been authoritatively proposed for the two large wall fragments with "reverse elbow" handles¹⁵, probably belonging to *vasi a collo*, found sporadically in the funerary area of San Giorgio di Portoscuso – located on the dune system facing the island of San Pietro and a short distance from the island of Sant'Antioco – from which some incineration tombs dating to this period come¹⁶.

Fragment 2 is characterised by a rim with a squared profile. Interesting comparisons are discernible among the hand-moulded *vasi a collo* from Utica¹⁷, but especially in the "Sardinian-Phoenician" vascular repertoire of the Archaic phase from the documentation collected in the excavations at Hut 1 of Nuraghe Piscu of Suelli (Cagliari)¹⁸. A close comparison is discernible finally with the rim of a cinerary amphora from the *tophet* of Tharros (Fig. 2), at first dated to the early 7th century BC¹⁹, but later lowered by Piero Bartoloni between the last quarter of the 7th and the middle of the following century²⁰.

¹¹ BARTOLONI 1985, 174-179, figs. 5 and 12; 1988, 165-166, fig. 1, A; IALONGO 2017, 96 (*Phase 2b*, 800/775-730/725 cal. BC); BARTOLONI 2020, 34-35, pl. XXIX, fig. 29; PERRA forthcoming.

¹² GUIRGUIS 2022, 106-113, figs. 19-20, three samples came from "*Vano IIF*", one from "*Vano IIE*" and one from *tophet*.

¹³ GUIRGUIS – UNALI 2016, 90-92; GUIRGUIS 2019b; 2022, 113-115.

¹⁴ For specimens from the settlement see, e.g., BARTOLONI 1990, 50, 65 CRON F 202, fig. 9, 202 (late 8th-first quarter 7th cent. BC); POMPIANU 2010a, 28-30, note 17, fig. 4 ("*Vano IIE*", US 3178, late 8th-first half 7th century BC).

¹⁵ Literal traslation from the Italian *ansa a gomito rovescio*: a peculiar type of handle appearing in the Final Bronze Age and evolving through the Early Iron Age.

¹⁶ BERNARDINI 2000, 36, fig. 3, 3.

¹⁷ BEN JERBANIA – REDISSI 2014, 188, fig. 6, 10.

¹⁸ IALONGO 2011, VAC_INCLEST_I.10.B.

¹⁹ ACQUARO 1978, 68, fig. 12, 3; 1999, 16-17, fig. 1, 11.

²⁰ BARTOLONI 2005, 944-945.

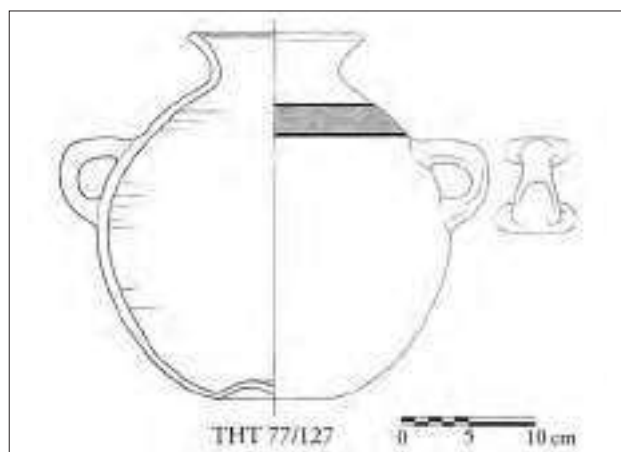


Fig. 2. Tharros: fast-turned amphora-cinerary from *tophet* (from ACQUARO 1978)

The specimen from Tharros is, moreover, not isolated at this chronological level in the “Sardinian-Phoenician” pottery production scenario. Recent studies have, in fact, shown how it is possible to follow the lines of development of the shape from the earliest Nuragic productions to later outcomes pertinent to the hybrid productions that matured in the colonial sphere, as in the case of *Sulky* examined above, or in indigenous contexts where contacts with the oriental element were closer, according to what emerged from the investigations at the already mentioned Hut 1 of the Nuraghe Piscu of Suelli²¹. In this regard, it has been pointed out that «vessels belonging to this shape, occurring in Nuragic contexts, may present a red slipped surface»²², according to a practice also found in other ceramic shapes²³, confirming processes of strong osmosis between Phoenician potters and local counterparts since the first contacts initiated as early as the late 9th/early 8th century BC²⁴.

²¹ IALONGO 2011, VAC_INCLEST_I.10.A; 2017, 96, fig. 3, 8-11, 13; PERRA 2019, 220-221, 289; PERRA forthcoming.

²² IALONGO 2017, 96, fig. 3, 9.

²³ BOTTO 2013a; ROPPA – HAYNE – MADRIGALI 2013, 122-128; DE ROSA 2017, 194-202; PERRA 2019, 382-385; IBBA – SALIS – STILIGTZ 2020, 1729-1730; SALIS 2021, 140-142, note 14; GUIRGUIS 2013, 99-100, fig. 10, A-B.

²⁴ For these chronological phases, the two key contexts are represented by the emporion of Sant’Imbenia in northwestern Sardinia (cf. RENDELI 2018; OGGIANO – PEDRAZZI 2019) and the colonial settlement of *Sulky* (cf. GUIRGUIS – UNALI 2016; GUIRGUIS 2019b). For the latter settlement see the recent acquisitions of two askoid jugs found in “Vano IIF”: one with a dark red engobed surface and the other completely covered with polished red paint: GUIRGUIS 2022, 99-100, fig. 10, UUSS 3102 and 3214.

Based on the forms of integration between the Phoenicians and local communities, therefore, regional ceramic productions came to be defined which, although in the wake of a common evolutionary line, present their own peculiarities²⁵. For example, in the Sulcis district (SW Sardinia), it has been possible to reconstruct – thanks to the investigations conducted by Carla Perra at the “Sardinian-Phoenician” fortress attached to Nuraghe Sirai – an amphora production defined by the scholar as “Nuraghe Sirai-type”²⁶ which in the final phases of the 7th century BC continued the local tradition of neck amphorae, which in turn were derived from the *vasi a collo* of the Final Bronze Age/Early Iron Age (Fig. 3).

Confirming what has been stated above on the regional differentiations of “Sardinian-Phoenician” vase repertoires which underwent strong acceleration during the 7th century BC, raises the date of a cinerary amphora recently found in Tomb T54 of the western Phoenician necropolis of Nora (Fig. 4), – dateable on a stratigraphic basis between the middle and the third quarter of the 7th century BC – which is faithful to the Nuragic prototypes regarding the morphology of the neck and the “reverse elbow” handles with enlarged lower attachment set on the maximum expansion of the globular body²⁷, but which differs from them on the bottom with distinct foot and wave section and in the fast lathe manufacturing process²⁸. In this regard, it is interesting to point out that this is not the only specimen present at Nora since a wall fragment with “reverse elbow” handle perfectly superimposable on the cinerary vessel of T54 comes from the same sector of the necropolis²⁹. In contrast, from the settlement

²⁵ For the shape discussed here, see the considerations of BARTOLONI 1985, 179; FORCI 2003.

²⁶ PERRA 2019, 220-221, 289-290; 2020, 1400-1402, fig. 6, 3-4; PERRA forthcoming.

²⁷ CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2000, 436-437, pl. 254, 3-5, 730 V. c. 2.

²⁸ BONETTO *et al.* 2022: 246-247, fig. 3, bottom. The vase found in a fragmentary state, but perfectly reconstructible, has two handles, as can be clearly seen from fig. 1f, elaborated by Alessandro Mazzariol, who is conducting the study of materials from the western Phoenician necropolis. To Jacopo Bonetto, director of the excavations, and Alessandro Mazzariol go my heartfelt thanks for the fruitful exchange of ideas on the ongoing investigations and for the generosity with which they made unpublished documentation available to me.

²⁹ BONETTO *et al.* 2022: 243-245 (US 1408_RN4). The perfect correspondence between the two finds was confirmed to me by Alessandro Mazzariol.



Fig. 3. Nuraghe Sirai: fast-turned amphora of the “Nuraghe Sirai-type” from room γ6 (NS19.G6.296/224/301) (courtesy of C. Perra)

come several handles of this type attributed to pots, which in some cases, could refer to *vasi a collo*³⁰.

Finally, it is worth mentioning a domestic amphora specimen that can be included in this evolutionary line, discovered in the settlement of Villasimius, in the southeastern coastal sector of the island, in a context datable to the middle decades of the 6th century BC (570-540 BC)³¹.

Starting from these data, it is evident how the ceramic workshops of the “Sardinian-Phoenician” settlements in the southern part of the island were particularly active in the elaboration of hybrid productions in which the contaminations between the Nuragic and Phoenician traditions are strong as far as the morphology and manufacture of the vessels are concerned³².

Regarding the three plates identified, the first fragment to be analysed concerns a portion of indistinct wall and base (8), made of finely purified

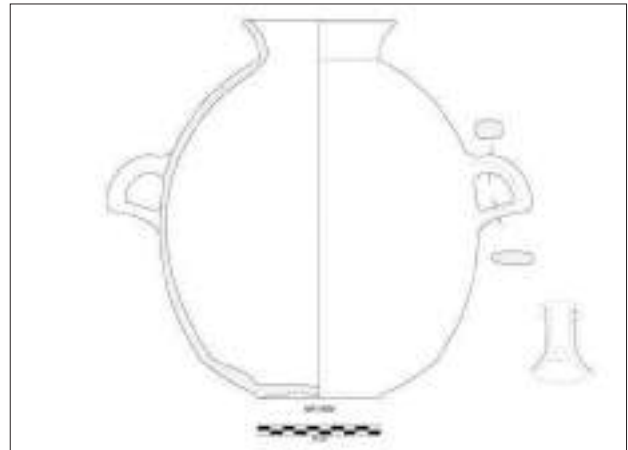


Fig. 4. Nora: fast-turned amphora from tomb T54 of the western Phoenician necropolis (courtesy of A. Mazzariol)

clay that has undergone an excellent firing and engobe with a bright red interior and a reddish-yellow exterior. The indistinct base is to be related to plates corresponding to Bikai types 8 and 9, which differ from each other only in the absence (type 8) or presence (type 9) of a bichrome decoration. In Tyre, type 9 finds its greatest diffusion in a phase immediately preceding type 8, which reaches its peak of attestations in Stratum IV³³, which chronologically overlaps and partly precedes the Cumaean context³⁴. Confirmation of this comes from the necropolis of al-Bass, where plates of the above-mentioned types are well documented in Period IV (c. 775-730 BC). By way of illustration only, we mention the two intact specimens with “red and black” decoration covering urns TT115-116³⁵. Bikai types 8-9 are attested in the earliest contexts of Phoenician irradiation in the West. Without any claim to completeness, the specimens unearthed in Huelva³⁶, Cadiz³⁷ and La Rebanadil-

³³ BIKAI 1978, 23-24, pls. X, 4, 7 (Strata II-III), XVI, 18-38 (Stratum IV), XVIII, 3 (Strata V-VII); XIX, 9-12 (Strata VII-I-IX); NÚÑEZ 2017, 13, Group 2, fig. 3; 2018a, 126.

³⁴ BOTTO 2005, 597-599; NÚÑEZ 2017, 25; 2018a, 165-174.

³⁵ AUBET – NÚÑEZ – TRELISÓ 2014, 100, fig. 2.41. For the type cf. NÚÑEZ 2014, 321-324, fig. 3.95.

³⁶ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2004, 10-13, pl. II (Calle Méndez Núñez, 7-13/Plaza de las Monjas, 12); GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2017, 7-8, pl. I (Calle Concepción 3).

³⁷ TORRES ORTIZ *et al.* 2014, 53-56, fig. 3, and TORRES ORTIZ *et al.* 2020, 383-383, fig. 8 a (Teatro Cómico, Período II); RUIZ MATA – PÉREZ – GÓMEZ FERNÁNDEZ 2014, 97, fig. 11 (Calle Ancha no. 29), where reference is made to more than thirty specimens from the oldest life strata of Castillo de Doña Blanca and three from tumulus 1 in Las Cumbres.

³⁰ CAMPANELLA 2009, 302, in part. cat. no. 63.

³¹ GUIRGUIS 2019a, 91-94, fig. 35.

³² For Nora, see BOTTO 2009b; for *Sulky*, see BOTTO 2013a and GUIRGUIS 2019b; for the fortress of Nuraghe Sirai, see PERRA 2019, 382-385. Moreover, the phenomenon is discernible at different times and with different intensity in other parts of the island as well: e.g., see for the Oristanese the considerations of ROPPA 2012.

la³⁸ are worth mentioning for the Iberian Peninsula, while in the central Mediterranean they are found in Utica³⁹, Carthage⁴⁰ and *Sulky*⁴¹.

The second fragment (1) refers to the decorated base of a plate of the type with a short everted rim, which characterises early autonomous colonial productions from the Iberian Peninsula to the central Mediterranean⁴². Focusing on this area, to which the Cumaean fragment should probably be referred, as we shall see more fully below, the earliest attestations come from Carthage⁴³ and *Sulky*⁴⁴. Colonial ateliers are distinguished from those of the mother country by productions of excellent quality in *Red Slip* and *Bichrome Ware*. Concerning the decoration, with an evanid concentric band and presumed radial pattern, of which only one ray, painted on the bottom (Munsell 10R 6/8, “light red”) of the carefully smoothed basin is preserved, no point comparisons could be identified⁴⁵. In this

regard, however, it is considered useful to draw attention back to the documentation collected at Nora, unfortunately from secondary contexts⁴⁶. Among the plates with short everted rim are attested specimens without surface treatment or in *Red Slip* and *Bichrome Ware*. In the wide selection of backgrounds we distinguish plate decorations with concentric circles of dark paint (10 YR 3/1, “very dark gray”) overpainted on smoothed, polished, or red painted surfaces (2.5 YR 6/8, “light red”) ⁴⁷, which find timely comparisons at La Fonteta⁴⁸.

From this centre also come fragments of plate walls that show on the inside a peculiar “net” decoration painted red on a smoothed surface⁴⁹. On the lower part, this resembles that of the Cumaean plate. The La Fonteta sherds are part of a conspicuous group of ceramics attributed thanks to archaeometric analysis to workshops in the central Mediterranean⁵⁰.

The rim fragment listed in the catalogue as number (3) due to its manufacture with thin walls and engobe on both the inner and outer surface, the slope and the straight profile of the walls could be part of the *Fine Ware* production that has been the subject of a recent in-depth examination concerning technological and typological aspects⁵¹. This is an early oriental luxury production exported to the West, where it was most likely also imitated locally, as suggested for part of the numerous FWP6 type plates found in Calle Méndez Núñez, 7-13/Plaza de las Monjas, 12 in Huelva⁵². Because of

³⁸ SÁNCHEZ *et al.* 2011, 195.

³⁹ BEN JERBANIA 2020, 35, fig. 6, 1 (Sondage 1); 38, fig. 11, 3-4 (Sondage 2, Phase 1); LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2020, 59, fig. 7, 9 (Puits 20017). Local hand-moulded imitations are also attested in Utica, (BEN JERBANIA 2020, 37, fig. 7, 1, Sondage 1) both with red engobe and without surface treatment (LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2016, 81, fig. 11, 6, puits 20017).

⁴⁰ VEGAS 1999, 140-141, fig. 29 (Bikai, type 9); 141-142, fig. 30 (Bikai, type 8); for recent excavations in Rue Astarté, on the south-eastern slopes of Byrsa Hill cf. MARAOUI TELMINI – SCHÖN 2020, 76-77, 82, figs. 5-6, cat. nn. 10, 11, 13, 14, 22 (BIKAI, type 9).

⁴¹ POMPIANU – UNALI 2016, fig. 6, 6-7 (“Vano IIE”, US 3206); GUIRGUIS – UNALI 2016, 88, fig. 6, f-g (“Vano IIH”, US 3873); POMPIANU 2020, 173, fig. 6, 2, with surface treatment in Red Slip (Settore IV, US 3893); GUIRGUIS 2022, 114-115 (“Vano IIH”, UUSS 3867, 3873).

⁴² GIARDINO 2017, 107-109, type 1.2.1, pls. IV-X; NÚÑEZ 2017.

⁴³ For a review of the Bir Massouda documentation see NÚÑEZ 2017, 26-27, fig. 7, IV (with further references); for a fragment considered to be imported from the excavations in Rue Astarté 2 see MARAOUI TELMINI – SCHÖN 2020, 89-90, fig. 8, cat. 46. The type was previously examined by VEGAS 1999, 135-136, Form I.1, Teller mit schmalem ausladenden Rand, fig. 24 and PESERICO 2007, 272-275, fig. 108, Teller vom Typ P1 (Red Slip); 301-302, fig. 129 (Bichrome Ware).

⁴⁴ BERNARDINI 1990, 88, figs. 7-8; 2000, 37-55, figs. 8, 14-15, “Settore III”; POMPIANU 2010c, fig. 10, 1-4 and RS281, “Vano IIE”, US 3219; POMPIANU – UNALI 2016, fig. 6, 1-5, “Vano IIE”, US 3206”; GUIRGUIS – UNALI 2016, 89, fig. 6, C, “Vano IIH”, US 3846; BARTOLONI 2018, 10, in part. nn. 10-20, “Settore BAL”; GUIRGUIS 2019, 115, fig. 11.2, “Vano IIH”, UUSS 3882, 3873, 3867; POMPIANU 2020, 182, fig. 14, 3-4, “Settore IV”; GUIRGUIS 2022, 114-115, fig. 22, “Vano IIH”, UUSS 3555, 3567, 3571.

⁴⁵ For the painted ceramic production of Motya and for comparisons in the Phoenician colonial sphere see SPAGNOLI 2019.

⁴⁶ FINOCCHI 2003, 43, pl. 55, 4, type I; BOTTO 2009a, 99-103, cat. nn. 1-37; MADRIGALI 2021, 85-86, pl. XXXVII, 1-4.

⁴⁷ BOTTO 2009a, 102-103, cat. nn. 13-22; MADRIGALI 2021, 85, pl. XXXVII, 1.

⁴⁸ GONZÁLEZ PRATS 2014, 679, fig. 90 cat. nn. 12307 (Fonteta III) e 21146 (Fonteta IV); 2016, 323.

⁴⁹ GONZÁLEZ PRATS 2014, 679, fig. 89, cat. n. 39835 (Fonteta I?-II); 2016, 323.

⁵⁰ GONZÁLEZ PRATS 2011, 212-230, MC1 (Carthage), 231-235, MC2 (*Sulky*); SEVA ROMÁN *et al.* 2011, 254-255 (*Grupo 3. Área del Mediterráneo central*).

⁵¹ GIACOSA 2016.

⁵² GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2004, 39-42, 44 and 181, where it is stated that 103 sherds belong to the FW1 type from Huelva, similar to the FWP6 type from Tyre, although it is probable that the majority of the other 162 incomplete borders may belong to this type. Only one specimen, on the other hand, was recognised in the context investigated only 40 m away from the first one, in Calle Concepción 3, partly chronologically overlapping with the Cumaean context: GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2017, 10-11, table III.1.

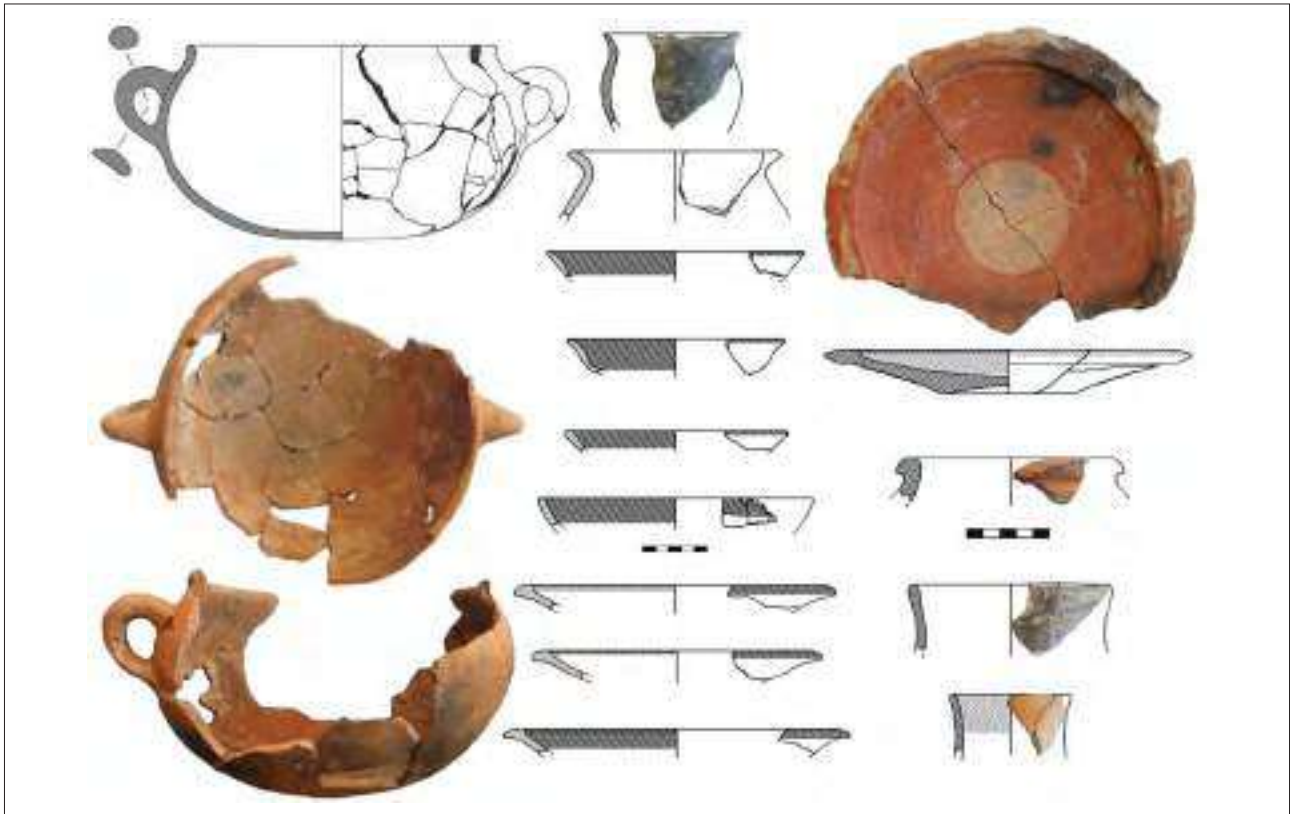


Fig. 5. *Sulky*: Selection of ceramic materials from SU 32019 in “Vano IIE” (from GUIRGUIS 2023)

the type of workmanship and surface treatment, our fragment can be placed in the Bikai FWP2 type from Tiro⁵³. Referring to the aforementioned study for the numerous attestations of FWP2 scattered among the Syro-Palestinian area, Cyprus, the central-western Mediterranean, and the Iberian Peninsula⁵⁴, we point out below some significant contexts useful for the present discussion, such as that of the well (UE 20017) in Utica, which can be framed in the last quarter of the 9th century BC, from where specimens are indicated as belonging to the Bikai FWP2 type come⁵⁵. In the *emporion*, of Sant’Imbenia, Sardinia, fragments which are still unpublished, have been recognised from a context contemporary with that of Cumae⁵⁶, while at least two specimens of FWP2 come from the *Sulky* settlement, and more precisely from stratig-

raphies between approximately the second and third quarters of the 8th century BC in correspondence with “Vano IIE”⁵⁷. Also from *Sulky*, *Fine Ware* cups have recently been identified in the oldest life strata at “Vano IIE”⁵⁸.

The last two contexts are the ones that returned materials most similar to the Cumaeen pottery examined here. For example, as mentioned above, from the life strata below “Vano IIE”⁵⁹ (Fig. 5) come turned-*vasi a collo*, plates – both Bikai 9 type and with a short everted rim – and *Fine Ware*⁶⁰, while the excavations in “Vano IIE” have unearthed a considerable amount of *Red Slip* and *Fine Ware* pottery (Fig. 6) that archaeometric analysis largely traces back to local production⁶¹.

⁵³ BIKAI 1978, 26-28, pl. XIA, 4-10, 12-16 (FWP2, Strata II-III).

⁵⁴ GIACOSA 2016, 26-27, FWB4 and pl. I.

⁵⁵ LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2020, 59, fig. 7, 11-12, 18.

⁵⁶ Personal communication from Francisco Núñez, who is studying the context. For a cup in FW from a context of the second half of the 8th century BC, cf. OGGIANO 2000, 243, fig. 6, 3.

⁵⁷ POMPIANU 2010c, 11 and 13, fig. 12, 1-2 (UUS 3202, 3208 and 3206).

⁵⁸ GUIRGUIS 2022, 114-115, fig. 22.

⁵⁹ GUIRGUIS 2022, 100-102, figs. 11-12.

⁶⁰ See above respectively notes 41 and 57.

⁶¹ FABRIZI *et al.* 2019; FABRIZI *et al.* 2020.

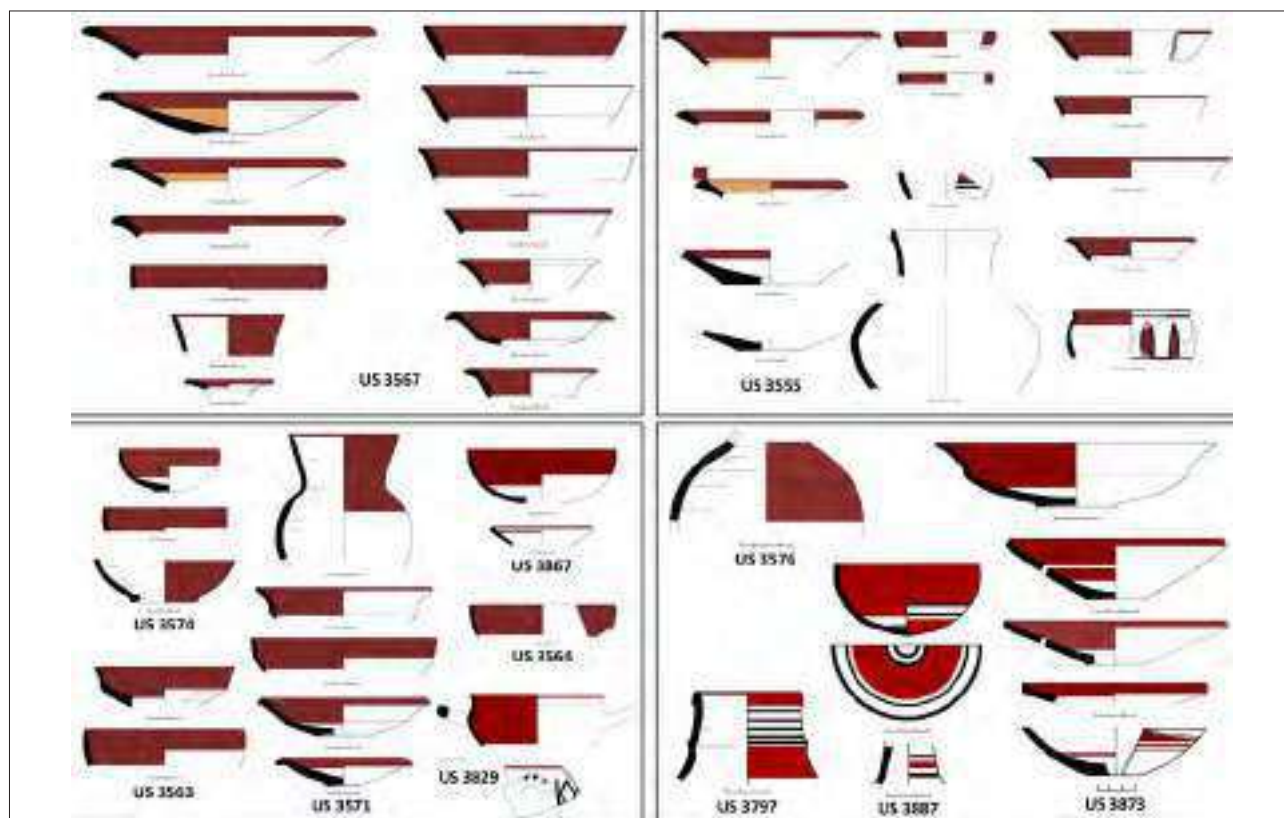


Fig. 6. *Sulky*: Selection of ceramic materials from SSUU 3567, 3555, 3563, 3564, 3571, 3574, 3576, 3797, 3829, 3867, 3873, 3887 in “Vano IHH” (from GUIRGUIS 2023)

The ceramic set analysed above thus constitutes a banquet set in which the *vasi a collo* would have had the same function normally attributed in the Phoenician world to the crater or table amphora⁶², that is for mixing wine which is later poured into the *Red Slip* cup (8) and the *Fine Ware* cup (3). Although placed in the typology of “plates” by P.M. Bikai, the two vessels are actually for the consumption of liquids⁶³. As has recently been noted for *Fine Ware* productions, these are cups whose origin derives from the Eastern custom of drinking from lowered bowl shapes⁶⁴. Only no. 1 can be considered functional for solid food consumption⁶⁵. It should be noted that this type of plate enjoyed widespread success in Pithekoussai, where it was imported in considerable quantities and soon imitated⁶⁶.

⁶² For funerary contexts, cf. NÚÑEZ 2018c, 11-12, fig. 1, a-b; 2021.

⁶³ NÚÑEZ 2018c, 11-12, fig. 3, b and d.

⁶⁴ GIACOSA 2016, 33-36; NÚÑEZ 2018a, 132-133.

⁶⁵ NÚÑEZ 2018c, 12, fig. 3, f-g.

⁶⁶ BUCHNER 1982, fig. 6a-b; D’AGOSTINO 1994-1995; DOCTER – NIEMEYER 1994, 111, note 62-63; DOCTER 2000, 139-140, fig. 7, a-b; D’AGOSTINO 2017, 408-409.

Moving on to the “second context”, identified as a storage room due to the prevalence of vessels for preserving, preparing and cooking food, it was possible to identify among the “Phoenician” imported materials an *olla* with an oblique, everted rim, of uniform thickness and squared top (9). This shape has comparisons in the Sardinian Iron I repertory⁶⁷ and in parallel productions developed in contexts of strong cultural interaction between the Phoenicians and local communities. In this regard, in addition to Sant’Imbenia⁶⁸, one of the best documented cases for the historical phases that interest the present discussion is once again represented by the settlement of *Sulky*⁶⁹, where a specimen

⁶⁷ IALONGO 2011, OLLE_OROVA_10A; 2017, 95-97, fig. 1.21-25, in comparison with productions elaborated at *Sulky* in Phase 2A (850-800/775 cal. BC); PERRA 2019, 198-203, for insular comparisons with ceramics found in excavations at the fortress of Nuraghe Sirai.

⁶⁸ CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2000, 482-483, pls. 294, 1-3 and 295, 2 (806. Ol. 41).

⁶⁹ BARTOLONI 1990, 43, fig. 4, 145, 148; for the “Vano IIE” of Cronicario cf.: POMPIANU 2010a, 32-33, fig. 6, 20-21 (with further references); POMPIANU 2010c, 10, fig. 10, 9; POMPIANU – UNALI 2016, fig. 7, 8-12. Cf. also IALONGO 2017, 95-97, fig. 1.16-20, Phase 2A (850-800/775 cal. BC).

morphologically similar to ours has recently been published⁷⁰. The two vessels differ, however, in their manufacture and surface treatment, as the former is slow-turned with a careful splinting of the engobed surfaces, while the Cumaean specimen is fast-turned and has the rough, untreated surfaces typical of fire pottery. From a functional point of view, therefore, the specimen listed in the catalogue as (9) could be considered as a cooking pot. Unfortunately, the loss of its underside makes it impossible to ascertain whether the pot had direct and prolonged contact with fire. In this regard, it must be emphasised that similar specimens found at Nora⁷¹ and in the excavations at the “Sardinian-Phoenician” fortress attached to Nuraghe Sirai⁷² have been included among the “fire vessels” in terms of type of *impasto* and working technique. Like the *vaso a collo*, the *olla*/cooking pot (9) is among the ceramics that attest to the “Sardinian-Phoenician” understanding in the central-western Mediterranean and the Atlantic. Recently, Michele Guirguis⁷³ has emphasised the similarities between the *olle* produced in Sulky and a specimen included among the “Sardinian-Nuragic” imports from the earliest phases of Carthage, brought to light in excavations conducted on the southeastern slope of the Hill of Byrsa, in a sector so-called “Astarté 2”⁷⁴.

To this report can be added others from the recent excavations in Utica, as in the case, for example, of the *olla* with flared rim found in the metallurgical quarter to which we will return later, in association with materials dated by its editor to a chronological span between the last quarter of the 9th and the middle/third quarter of the 8th century BC⁷⁵. Lastly, investigations carried out in Calle Concepción 3, in the historical centre of Huelva, yield two *olle* that are particularly similar to the finds analysed above⁷⁶.

The association of (9) with another *vaso a collo* (10) is interesting from a functional point of view and for the cultural field of reference. Referable to a large closed form with a rounded shoulder are the two matching fragments indicated in the catalogue as number (11). These have the same *impasto* and surface treatment as several other minute sherds, most likely related to the belly of the vessel, the shape of which, unfortunately, cannot be determined. This could be a table amphora of the type with a flared rim, globular body and handles with a circular section set near the maximum expansion of the belly, documented in 8th-century horizons at Carthage⁷⁷, Sulky⁷⁸, Sant’Imbenia⁷⁹, Motya⁸⁰ and probably Nora⁸¹, for which close affinities have recently been found with productions from the necropolis of al-Bass at Tyre⁸². In our case, however, the characteristic metopal decoration with triglyphs is not documented⁸³. In this regard, it is interesting to note that *Plain Ware* specimens come from Phoenicia, as in the case of the amphora found in Tomb 2 of the necropolis of Tell el-Rachidyeh, which can be dated to the 8th century BC⁸⁴ and which could be related to the Cumaean fragments.

From the same area – but from an upper layer, according to Matteo D’Acunto’s interpretation⁸⁵, related to a phase of the settlement subsequent to the abandonment of the indigenous hut, in which the Euboean presence is more evident – come the rim of a dish (12) and the bottom of a basin-mortar (13). The former belongs to the type of Phoenician “colonial” dishes of the short everted rim type, discussed above with reference to specimen (1). The differences lie in the surface treatment, as (12) appears to have untreated surfaces, and in the shape of the rim, which is cut obliquely and pointed outwards. This is certainly an anomalous profile, rarely documented among the productions of the East and West. In this regard, it is

⁷⁷ For a recent review see ORSINGER 2015.

⁷⁸ BARTOLONI 1988, 165, 174, fig. 2 G; 1990, 50, fig. 9, 131-132; GUIRGUIS 2022, 98, fig. 8 D (“Vano II F”, US 3181).

⁷⁹ OGGIANO 2000, 245, note 40, fig. 9, 1, where a possible import from Carthage is suggested.

⁸⁰ SPAGNOLI 2019, 24, 50-53, fig. 3, 7, pls. 2, 1-2, 34, 7, 1; ORSINGER 2016, 286, 302, pl. III, 2.

⁸¹ BOTTO 2009a, 224-226, cat. nn. 1-8.

⁸² NÚÑEZ 2021, 169-172.

⁸³ SPAGNOLI 2019, 52.

⁸⁴ ORSINGER 2016, 286, note 33, pl. III, 4.

⁸⁵ Cf. the scholar’s contribution in the present volume.

⁷⁰ GUIRGUIS 2022, 96-97, fig. 7 (“Vano IIF”).

⁷¹ BOTTO 2009b, 358-359, 363-365, cat. nn. 1-9, 11-14.

⁷² PERRA 2019, 198-203, i.e. exx. fig. 158, 4-5.

⁷³ GUIRGUIS 2022, 97.

⁷⁴ MARAOUI TELMINI – SCHÖN 2020, 74-75, fig. 5, 4.

⁷⁵ BEN JERBANIA 2020, 37, fig. 6, 18 = BEN JERBANIA forthcoming, cat. 31, fig. 11, 31.

⁷⁶ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2017, pl. XIII, 8-9 = FUNDONI 2021, 153, cat. 3.6-7.

interesting to observe how the most pertinent comparison with (12), coming from Stratum III of Tyre⁸⁶, whose dating is placed in the second half of the 8th century BC, confirms D'Acunto's assessments of a chronological *décalage* and a functional change of this layer compared to the layers below.

Turning to (13), this is the flat bottom of a mortar-basin of the so-called "Phoenician-Cypriot" type⁸⁷. In domestic contexts such as that of Cumae, this type of vessel must have been intended mainly for grinding cereals⁸⁸. However, biochemical analyses recently conducted in the Phoenician and Punic settlement of Pani Loriga, in southwestern Sardinia, have revealed a multifunctional use of the mortar-basin, used for the preparation of different kinds of food, judging by the presence of traces of white wine and animal fat in the samples investigated⁸⁹. The form made its appearance in the Syro-Palestinian area in the last two decades of the 8th century BC⁹⁰. It is precisely because of its functional aspects that the basin-mortar is one of the earliest forms to spread in the Phoenician settlements of the central Mediterranean, even in the tripod variant, as repeatedly emphasised for southwestern Sardinia and in particular for the settlement of *Sulky*⁹¹.

2. THE HISTORICAL-ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT, THE ROUTES AND THE GOODS TRADED

The historical-archaeological framework that has emerged in recent years regarding the Mediterranean trade of the Early Iron Age supports the thesis argued here that the Phoenician and Sardinian-Phoenician ceramic materials found at Cumae in the University of Naples L'Orientale excavations are part of a "colonial" trade circuit that had its main points of reference in the central-Mediterranean settlements of the Gulf of Tunis and south western Sardinia. In-

deed, if the birth of an *emporion* seems to have been documented in Utica as early as the last quarter of the 9th century BC⁹², recent studies have shown how Carthage⁹³ and *Sulky*⁹⁴ achieved a leading role in international trade by the first half of the following century. The growth of these settlements is largely due to the opening around the middle of the 9th century BC of the long-distance route linking Tyre with the far western Mediterranean and the rich metal districts of Atlantic Andalusia (Fig. 7)⁹⁵. In Phoenicia, this period coincides with the reign of Ittobaal I (887-856 BC), characterised by an energetic expansionist policy recorded in historical sources with the foundation of two colonies: *Botrys*, in northern Lebanon, and *Auza*, in North Africa⁹⁶.

This wide-ranging strategic vision, which would bring considerable and lasting political and economic benefits to the powerful metropolis of southern Phoenicia, was accompanied by the ability of Phoenician merchants and entrepreneurs to forge trade alliances with partners deemed to be particularly enterprising, such as the Cypriots or the Greeks of Euboea⁹⁷. Recently, the picture has been enriched by new protagonists, as the discoveries of the last two decades have highlighted the contribution of indigenous components in Phoenician expansionism in the West. Of fundamental importance for understanding the presence in Cumae of the ceramics analysed above is the early understanding reached by the Phoenicians with some of the most dynamic communities settled along the coasts of Sardinia which led to a rapid development of Sardinian-Phoenician trade in the central-western Mediterranean and the Atlantic⁹⁸.

⁹² LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2016; BEN JERBANIA 2020; LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2020, 65.

⁹³ MARAOUI TELMINI – SCHÖN 2020, 91-94, 98-100 (with further references).

⁹⁴ Cf. above note 12-13.

⁹⁵ On the routes travelled, see MEDAS 2020, figs. 3 and 5.

⁹⁶ AUBET 2008; BONDÌ 2012; BERNARDINI 2016; BOTTO 2016a; NÚÑEZ 2018b. On the hypothesis of identifying *Auza* with Aziris in Cyrenaica see BOARDMAN 2010.

⁹⁷ For the Cypriot-Phoenician trade agreement with a focus on southern Italy and Sardinia, see e.g. BOTTO 2008, 124-128; 2011; BERNARDINI – BOTTO 2015; BOTTO 2017, 581-583, 591-598. For joint initiatives between Phoenicians and Euboeans see BERNARDINI – RENDELI 2020; BOTTO 2020b; DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2020; KOUROU 2020.

⁹⁸ Cf. e.g. BERNARDINI 2016; BOTTO 2016b, 2020a, 2021; FUNDONI 2021. At present, the *emporion* of Huelva represents the

⁸⁶ BIKAI 1978, pl. X, 9.

⁸⁷ LEHMANN 1996, 389-394, forme 159-167, pls. 25-27, 107; BELLELLI – BOTTO 2002 (with further references).

⁸⁸ For Phoenicia cf. in particular SAPIN 1998, 110-112 (with further references). For both Eastern and Western contexts cf. BELLELLI – BOTTO 2002, 296-300 and CAMPANELLA 2008, 79, 138, 140-141.

⁸⁹ BOTTO *et al.* 2021, 285.

⁹⁰ BELLELLI – BOTTO 2002, 278.

⁹¹ BERNARDINI 2000, 39, fig. 6; BELLELLI – BOTTO 2002, 280; UNALI 2013, 8-10, fig. 15, 171-172, 210; BARTOLONI 2018, 13-14.

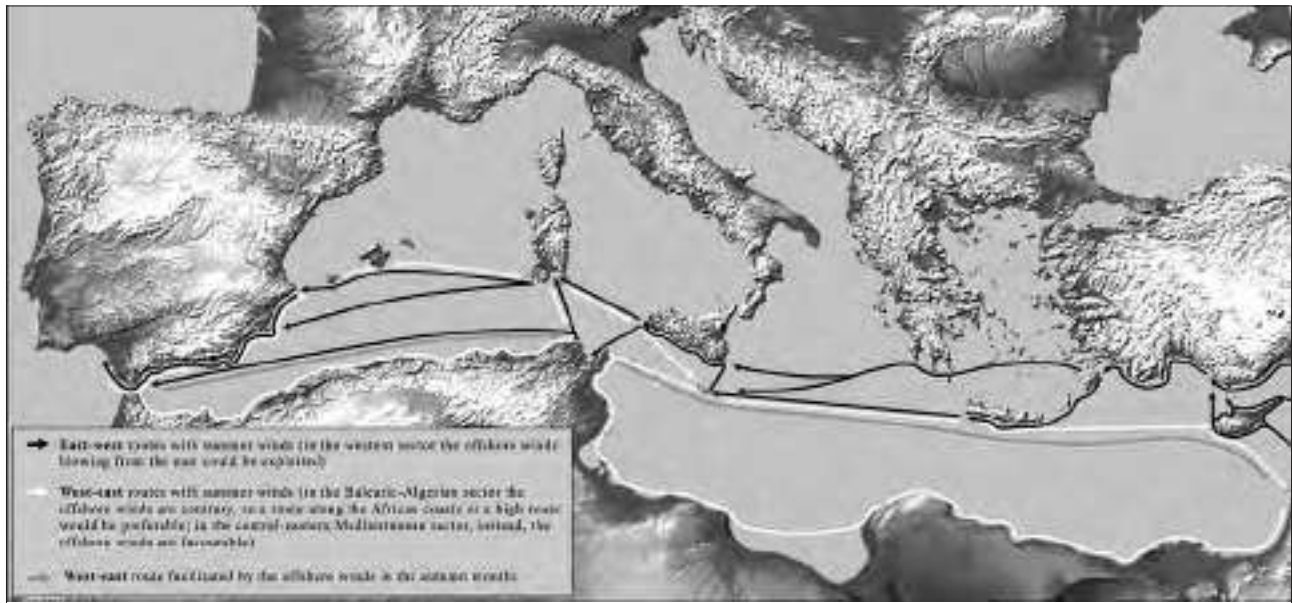


Fig. 7. The main routes from Phoenicia to the West (from MEDAS 2020)

In this broad spectrum of relations, the contacts between southern Sardinia and the coasts of Campania were particularly intense, since the latter could be easily and directly reached thanks to the nautical experience gained by the Nuragic ships, which were able to exploit the consolidated network of relations with Lipari⁹⁹ and the route opened by the Mycenaeans, which led from Vivara, in the Gulf of Naples, to the Nuraghe Antigori, positioned to guard the extreme western sector of the wide Gulf of Cagliari¹⁰⁰. The importance of this coastal sector of the island both as a stopover on international routes and as a gateway to the mineral resources of the interior is confirmed by Antigori's proximity to the promontory of Nora, which was destined to play a fundamental role in the process of Phoenician expansion into the West from the last decades of the 9th century BC onwards¹⁰¹.

These considerations allow us to evaluate the arrival of Nuragic bronzes in Campania from a more articulated perspective. In fact, alongside the thesis which is widely consolidated in the world of studies, of a redistribution of Nuragic artefacts in the Campania area from the coastal settlements of

Etruria¹⁰², it has long been hypothesised that there was a route managed by the Phoenicians independently¹⁰³, or in partnership with the Sardinians, as seems to emerge from the most recent discoveries¹⁰⁴. Particularly striking among the latter are those of Monte Vetrano¹⁰⁵ and Monte Prama¹⁰⁶, which also make it possible to hypothesise a privileged relationship between the Picentino and Sinis-Oristanese communities.

In fact, a bronze fibula with a simple arch from the end of the 9th/beginning of the 8th century BC was found in Monte Prama and its place of production could be the Salerno area¹⁰⁷. As Fulvia Lo Schiavo points out, the presence of a fibula produced in southern Italy in the Oristanese area poses no problems after the discovery of Calabrian-type specimens in the S'Adde 'e S'Ulumu-Usini hoard in northwestern Sardinia and in the Nuraghe Antigori.

extreme limit of "Sardinian-Phoenician" trade in the Atlantic: cf. BOTTO 2022.

⁹⁹ CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2012, 152.

¹⁰⁰ FUNDONI 2021, 96 (with further references).

¹⁰¹ BOTTO 2007, 114-115; 2008, 131-132; BONETTO – MARNELLO – ZARA 2021, 211-212; BOTTO 2021, 271-277.

¹⁰² The entire issue is taken up by MILLETTI 2012, 246-249. See also Fulvia Lo Schiavo's considerations in PACCARELLI – LO SCHIAVO 2017, 717 and GRAS 2021, 187.

¹⁰³ Cf. e.g. D'AGOSTINO 2006, 202; GASTALDI 2006, 117.

¹⁰⁴ BOTTO 2007, 81-90; 2011, 169; USAI – ZUCCA 2011, 349; BOTTO 2012, 54-55; MINOJA 2014a, 365; BERNARDINI 2016, 18-19; D'AGOSTINO 2017, 406.

¹⁰⁵ CERCHIAI *et al.* 2012-2013 (with further references).

¹⁰⁶ On the site, which has yielded a necropolis with individual tombs of various types and an extraordinary sculptural complex of statues depicting figures of archers, shield bearers, and warriors, cf. BEDINI *et al.* 2012; MINOJA – USAI 2014; *Riti della morte e del culto* 2016.

¹⁰⁷ LO SCHIAVO 2014.

For the latter, a provenance from Torre Galli has recently been proposed, but we cannot exclude a possible intermediation by Pontecagnano¹⁰⁸. In fact, the Villanovan settlement of Picentino must have played a decisive role in the diffusion on the Mediterranean circuits not only of objects, but also of technologies and people from the regions bordering Campania, as Luca Cerchiali has clearly emphasised in a recent contribution, and as will be discussed in more detail below¹⁰⁹. It should also be emphasised that the analysis of a group of unpublished fibulae makes it possible to increase the number of specimens produced in the Picentino area but found in Sardinia. This is thanks to the attribution of a fibula unearthed in the temple of Sa Carcaredda at Villagrande Strisaili to the so-called “Sala Consili-na-type”. From the same locality, moreover, in the excavations conducted in the temple of S’Arcu ‘e is Forros, numerous fibulae produced in Southern Italy were found, among which a four-spiral “Torre Mordillo-type” specimen stands out¹¹⁰. These new finds have led the editors to consider the possibility of distinct routes between Sardinia and the Lower Tyrrhenian in addition to those that connected the island with northern Etruria¹¹¹.

Going back to Monte Prama, although the fibula was found out of context, there are reasonable grounds to believe that it came from a tomb¹¹². Rather than an object of exchange, the fibula would therefore testify to phenomena of human mobility that through the practice of exogamous marriages would have strengthened the ties between the elites of the Sardinian communities of Oristanese and the Villanovan communities of Picentino¹¹³. In this context of relations between emerging groups in the communities to which they belonged, women would have assumed the fundamental role of “intermediary”¹¹⁴. In our opinion, the extremely rich

grave goods in tomb 74 of the necropolis of Boscariello, near the settlement of Monte Vetrano and belonging to a female deposition from the third quarter of the 8th century BC, must be interpreted in this light¹¹⁵. The objects deposited in the tomb, in fact, in addition to qualifying the status of the deceased, attest to the personal role as mediator in the complex scenario of relationships woven by the Monte Vetrano community. In the dense network of contacts ranging from the coasts of the Levant to Greece and from Etruria to Central Europe, relations with Sardinia also stand out clearly, thanks to the presence of a Nuragic *navicella* of the first fusiform hull group of Anna Depalmas¹¹⁶, to which two specimens from the Sinis-Oristanese area also belong¹¹⁷.

The data examined assume particular relevance considering that the sanctuary area of Monte Prama is strategically positioned to control one of the island’s most powerful Nuragic “cantons”: specifically the one that connected the Sinis peninsula with the mining district of Montiferru¹¹⁸. The political and economic settlement of reference in the region is represented by the complex of the Nuraghe S’Urachi (San Vero Milis)¹¹⁹, in which the early introduction of the fast wheel and *Red Slip* ceramics was documented. Moreover, at S’Urachi and the nearby village of Su Cungiau ‘e Funtà (Nuraxinieddu)¹²⁰ completely innovative shapes were produced, such as the Sardinian-Levantine amphorae (also known in scientific literature as “Sant’Imbenia-type” amphorae) destined for the export of fine wine produced in the area and shipped to the *emporía* of Tharros and *Othoca*¹²¹.

In the light of these considerations and others that will be set out below, I believe it is appropriate to review the rich documentation of Sardinian

¹⁰⁸ PACCIARELLI – LO SCHIAVO 2017, 719.

¹⁰⁹ CERCHIALI 2017.

¹¹⁰ SALIS – MINOJA 2015, 153-155, pls. II, 4-5, III, 3 and IV.

¹¹¹ SALIS – MINOJA 2015, 156-158.

¹¹² LO SCHIAVO 2014, 348.

¹¹³ In addition to LO SCHIAVO 2014, 348, see the observations of GRAS 2021, 188, who cites Mario Torelli – «gli usi dell’abbigliamento [...] non si esportano senza le persone» (TORELLI 1981, 60) – emphasises how new discoveries make it possible to hypothesise «una presenza non marginale di donne etrusche emigrate (o trasportate) in Sardegna».

¹¹⁴ See Luca Cerchiali’s contribution in this volume.

¹¹⁵ CERCHIALI – NAVA 2009; CERCHIALI *et al.* 2012-2013; IANNELLI – SCALA 2015, 366-368, 498-500, cat. nn. 620-636.

¹¹⁶ DEPALMAS 2005, 48. On the Monte Vetrano *navicella* see the contribution of Carlo Tronchetti in CERCHIALI *et al.* 2012-2013 and USAI – ZUCCA 2011, 349-350.

¹¹⁷ USAI – ZUCCA 2011, 349.

¹¹⁸ ZUCCA 2014, 82.

¹¹⁹ ROPPA – HAYNE – MADRIGALI 2013, 116-117; STIGLITZ 2016; VAN DOMMELEN 2022.

¹²⁰ SEBIS 2007; ROPPA 2012; ROPPA – HAYNE – MADRIGALI 2013, 122-128; ROPPA 2019.

¹²¹ ZUCCA 2014, 91.

bronzes found in Pontecagnano¹²², which may have reached the settlement following different routes from those envisaged in the past¹²³. In this regard, it will be useful to recall the recovery in tomb 683 of the Pagliarone necropolis, dated to the local phase IB¹²⁴, of an attachment with engraved concentric circles and a bronze ring socket which, due to its technical characteristics, could be the work of a Nuragic atelier with privileged relations with Cyprus and the Levantine area¹²⁵. The attachment is probably related to a cauldron, which has unfortunately been lost. This is a type of bronze for ceremonial use, used for cooking meat and/or mixing wine, which are among the luxury goods traded by Phoenician merchants, also well documented in Campania, as in the cases reported below of Cumae and Capua¹²⁶.

Moving on to consider the Phlegrean coastline, early contacts between Cumae and Sardinia are documented by a number of Nuragic bronzes found in the grave goods of the pre-Hellenic necropolis. One of the oldest contexts is that of the Osta 36 tomb from the second quarter of the 8th century BC, where a flat-section ring decorated with four applied spirals comes and which finds comparisons only in insular contexts¹²⁷. The varied grave goods include some artefacts that can be traced back to Near Eastern and Egyptian production, the export of which to the West was largely due to the enterprise of Phoenician merchants: these are the scarab in white steatite with green-blue enamel¹²⁸ and the necklace composed of numerous glass paste beads, among which seven large ones of the triangular type¹²⁹. The tomb also yields a discoidal gold-leaf pendant¹³⁰ which, in our opinion, represents one of the earliest and most significant examples of the ability of the Peninsular ateliers to elaborate auton-

omously and in an entirely original manner alloge-neic artefacts and iconographies. The pendant, in fact, presents a decoration, with a central embossed ashlar and engraved linear motifs, which we believe may be a free interpretation of the star motif of near-eastern derivation¹³¹.

The presence of *aegyptiaca* in Campania between the 9th and 8th centuries BC has been analysed by Fulvio De Salvia in repeated studies¹³² and subsequently deepened for Capua by Gianluca Melandri¹³³, who emphasises how the number of *orientalia* in the Campania settlement grows exponentially from the second quarter of the 8th century BC onwards¹³⁴. A similar situation is also found in the coastal settlement of Cumae, probably one of the main settlements of redistribution of this type of product towards the interior area of the region¹³⁵.

The progressive intensification of trade in Cumae around the middle of the century is confirmed both by the recent excavations in the settlement and by the re-examination of the pre-Hellenic necropolis grave goods, as in the case of the Osta 4 tomb¹³⁶ (Fig. 8), from which two Nuragic *bottoni* come: the first of the type with a moulded discoidal appendage, the second with an ornithomorphic figure¹³⁷, for which an intermediary from Tarquinia has been proposed. The tomb also yielded a tripod basin and a bronze bowl that can be traced back to Cypro-Phoenician trade. For the tripod we refer to the detailed analysis carried out here by Matteo D'Acunto. At the same time, we intend to focus on the "Domed-cup", since this type spread early in Campania, presumably thanks to contacts with Calabria¹³⁸, where the oldest attestations come from grave goods from the late 10th-early 9th century BC from the Torre Galli necropolis, according to the chronology proposed by Marco Pacciarelli, which raises the traditional dates by about 50 years¹³⁹.

¹²² GASTALDI 1994; LO SCHIAVO 1994; MILETTI 2012, pl. CIV. For the ring of the Sant'Antonio 6 tomb in Sala Consilina cf. PACCIARELLI – LO SCHIAVO 2017, 714.

¹²³ Cf. GRAS 2021, 188.

¹²⁴ GASTALDI 1998, 88-89, note 13, pl. 100, 13.

¹²⁵ BOTTO 2011, 169, fig. 16; MILETTI 2012, 131, pl. LXXXV, 3.

¹²⁶ BOTTO 2023b.

¹²⁷ CRISCUOLO 2012, 574-575, fig. 3; MILETTI 2012, 152-153, pl. XC.1.

¹²⁸ GABRICI 1913, col. 114, fig. 54; DE SALVIA 2006, 35, cat. I.17.

¹²⁹ GABRICI 1913, col. 115.

¹³⁰ GABRICI 1913, col. 114, fig. 55; on typology cf. MARTELLI 1991, 1058-1059.

¹³¹ BOTTO 1996.

¹³² Cf. e.g. DE SALVIA 2006; DE SALVIA 2008.

¹³³ MELANDRI 2010; 2011, 414-425.

¹³⁴ MELANDRI – SIRANO 2016, 213. Cf. also PELLEGRINO 2021, 273-275.

¹³⁵ BOTTO 2011, 166-168; MELANDRI – SIRANO 2016, 218.

¹³⁶ CRISCUOLO 2014.

¹³⁷ CRISCUOLO 2012, fig. 1, d-e; 2014, 96, figs. 2, 30-31 and 5-6; MILETTI 2012, 97-98, pls. XLVI.1 and L.5.

¹³⁸ MERCURI 2004; SCIACCA 2010; BERNARDINI – BOTTO 2010, 60-66; BOTTO 2011, 159-162; BERNARDINI – BOTTO 2015, 330-335.

¹³⁹ PACCIARELLI 1999; PACCIARELLI – LO SCHIAVO 2017, 719-

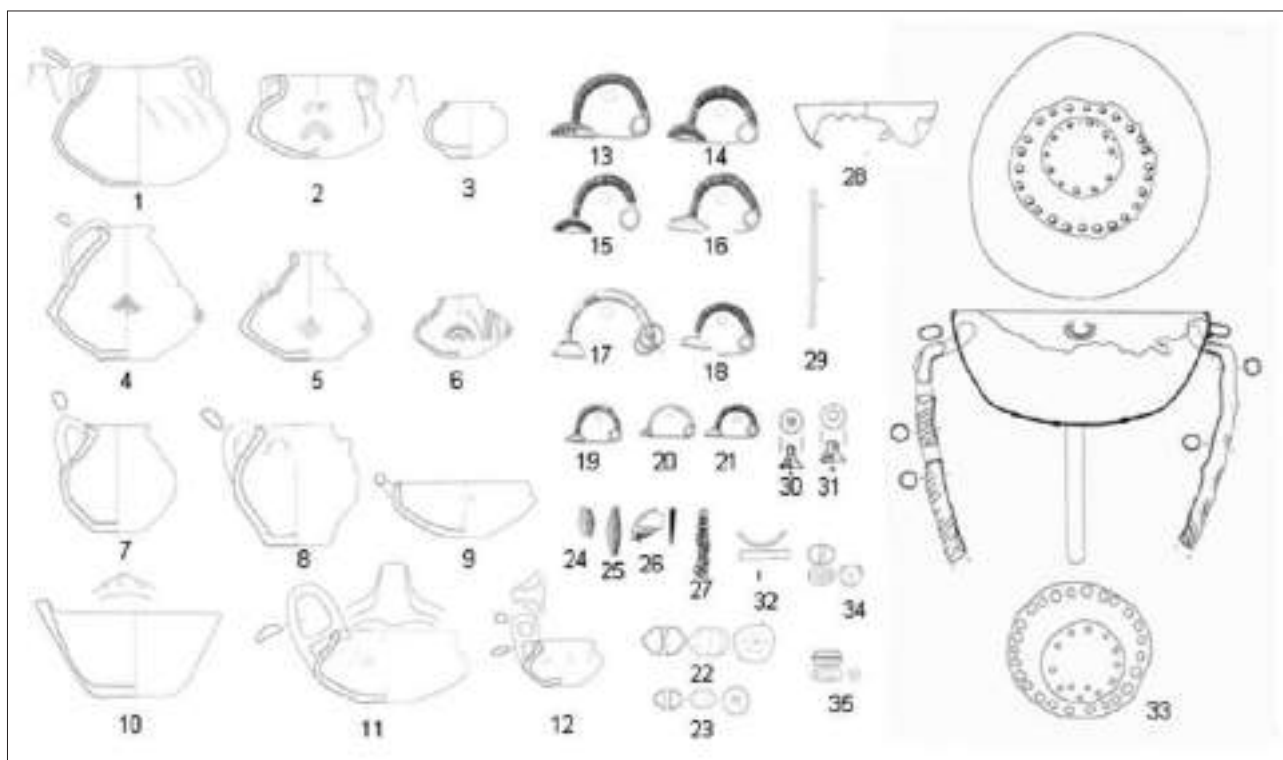


Fig. 8. Pre-Hellenic Cumae: the grave goods from the Osta 4 tomb from the mid 8th century BC (from CRISCUOLO 2014)

Notable among the latter is the cup from tomb 150, which is larger than the norm (diameter 22 cm) and has a morphological detail that distinguishes Cypriot production from near-eastern production: a thickened rim with a flattened top¹⁴⁰.

The important role played by Cyprus in the dissemination of this type of cup in the West is confirmed by the analysis of the specimens from the Late Bronze Age hoard of Kaleburnu¹⁴¹, on the Karpas peninsula, which has made it possible to highlight the affinities but also the peculiarities of the island's production compared to the coeval specimens from Ugarit, Megiddo and the hoard of Tell Jatt¹⁴². A Cypriot provenance can also be assumed for the cup with a thickened rim from the Osta 4 tomb, previously referred to¹⁴³. According to

Maria Pia Criscuolo, moreover, «un esemplare quasi gemello è attestato nel corredo della t. Stevens 4, associato con un rasoio a bitagliante tipo Suessula e con un fodero di spada tipo Veio o Narce»¹⁴⁴.

For Capua, on the other hand, we must point out the specimen from tomb 200 in Fornaci, from the third quarter of the 8th century BC¹⁴⁵. This is a context of exceptional interest, from which other artefacts attributable to Cypriot-Phoenician trade come, as in the case of the blue *faïence* scarab of probable Levantine manufacture, the statuette of a Horo-falcon attributed to an Egyptian workshop of the Libyan Period (9th-8th century BC) and the silver discoidal pendant with a solar disc surmounted by a lunar crescent¹⁴⁶. At Capua, the precociousness of contacts with the Levant and Cyprus is confirmed by the cauldron with vertical ring handles from the Nuovo Mattatoio tumulus tomb 1/2005, which is dated between the first quarter and the middle of the 9th century BC¹⁴⁷. As with the

720. For southern Italy the traditional chronological framework based on the chronology of imported Greek pottery and synchronism with the colonial foundations (mainly Cumae and Syracuse) is reaffirmed by D'AGOSTINO 2005. For the correlations between the chronological series of Pontecagnano and Torre Galli see D'AGOSTINO – GASTALDI 1988, 110-115.

¹⁴⁰ PACCARELLI 1999, 59-60; BERNARDINI – BOTTO 2010, 60-65, fig. 28, 1; CRISCUOLO 2014, 93-94; BERNARDINI – BOTTO 2015, 332-333; PACCARELLI – LO SCHIAVO 2017, 709, fig. 3, 3.

¹⁴¹ BARTELHEIM *et al.* 2008, fig. 9.

¹⁴² ARTZY 2006; HALL 2021 (with further references).

¹⁴³ CRISCUOLO 2014, 93-94, fig. 2, 28.

¹⁴⁴ CRISCUOLO 2014, 93.

¹⁴⁵ D'AGOSTINO 2011, 42; MELANDRI 2011, 318, type 88B (FASE IIC).

¹⁴⁶ BOTTO 2011, 165-166, 170 (with further references).

¹⁴⁷ Cf. respectively MELANDRI – SIRANO 2016, 211-213, fig. 2 and D'AGOSTINO 2017, 406-407.

tripod from Tomb Osta 4 in Cumae, Cypriot comparisons for the Capua cauldron have been recognised in contexts of Final Bronze and Geometric I Cyprus (1050-950 BC), which are therefore to be considered older than those found on the Italian peninsula¹⁴⁸. The presence of such distinctive metal vessels among the funerary offerings of indigenous tombs from Cumae and Capua should most likely be attributed to an “exchange of gifts” between local elites and merchants trading in the region. The basin must have been considered by all the protagonists as a valuable artefact: an *agalma*, or “object with a biography”¹⁴⁹.

Focusing attention on Cumae, when comparing the data from the pre-Hellenic necropolis with those of habitation, it is evident how the indigenous populations active in the second quarter of the 8th century BC were part of trade flows from both the East and West. This situation is similar to that analysed for the Picentino settlements, which once again highlights the important role of cultural and commercial intermediation played by the communities in Campania, given the centrality of the stretch of coastline between the mouth of the Picentino and the Gulf of Naples on the metal supply routes to northern Etruria and Sardinia¹⁵⁰. In fact, there is good reason to believe that among the main products exported by Phoenician and Sardinian merchants to the local communities were not only sumptuary goods and fine wines, but also metals, in particular tin, lead and silver.

Reconstructing the provenance of metals used for artefacts produced in antiquity is a complex problem, since objects could undergo successive restorations in their lifetime using metals of different origins¹⁵¹. In spite of this, a consolidated line of research has long highlighted the close relations that developed in the Final Bronze and Early Iron Age between the Iberian Peninsula and Sardinia in the field of metallurgy and metalworking¹⁵². In this flow of relations, the Nuragic communities played

a leading role in the acquisition and probably in the redistribution of Atlantic tin among the populations of the Tyrrhenian peninsula¹⁵³. At the same time, large quantities of lead were produced on the island¹⁵⁴ and shipped to Spain, Italy and even Cyprus, as evidenced by recent findings at Pyla- Kokkinokremos¹⁵⁵.

In this regard, of exceptional interest is the report of the partial recovery of the ship’s equipment and cargo of a vessel from the Early Iron Age that had sunk near the beach of Dom’e S’Orcu, on the central western coast of the island¹⁵⁶. Among the materials recovered are copper, tin and lead ingots, lead plaques with motifs clearly related to Nuragic craftsmanship and comparable to similar specimens from Santa Vittoria di Serri, a fragment of a bronze axe and a handle of an *olla* of indigenous production. It has been observed that this is exclusively island material, suggesting transport managed independently by local communities¹⁵⁷. This finding must be related to the results of lead isotope analyses conducted on 18 metal artefacts unearthed in the *emporion* of Sant’Imbenia in contexts dating from the late 9th/early 8th century BC. Most of the lead used come from the mining areas of south western Sardinia (Sulcis, Iglesiente, Arburese), although for some of the samples, the possibility of imports from extra-insular mining districts has not been excluded, especially from the Catalan Coastal Range and from Sierra Alhamilla, highlighting, in this case, the possible relationship between Sant’Imbenia and the multi-ethnic settlement of La Fonteta¹⁵⁸. Such considerations are not surprising, since the settlement at the mouth of the río Segura became one of the main ports of call on the “route of the islands” between the late 8th and 7th centuries BC, linking Atlantic Andalusia and the central Mediterranean via the colony of Sa Caleta, in Ibiza, and skirting the western coast of

¹⁴⁸ Cf. respectively D’AGOSTINO 2017, 407, note 43 and Matteo D’Acunto in the present volume.

¹⁴⁹ See the considerations of Matteo D’Acunto in this volume.

¹⁵⁰ ACCONCIA – MILLETTI 2015, 241-242; CORRETTI 2017; BALASSONE *et al.* 2018.

¹⁵¹ BALASSONE – BONI – DI MAIO 2011, 184.

¹⁵² FUNDONI 2021 (with further references).

¹⁵³ VALERA – VALERA – MAZZELLA 2005; SABATINI – LO SCHIAVO 2020; FUNDONI 2021, 101, 104-106, 110, and lastly the contributions collected by PERRA – LO SCHIAVO 2023.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. e.g. FADDA 2013, 203; ARDU – GARAU 2018, 279 (with further references).

¹⁵⁵ FUNDONI 2021, 110 (with further references); KASSIANIDOU 2021, 118.

¹⁵⁶ ARDU – GARAU 2018.

¹⁵⁷ TOCCO 2009.

¹⁵⁸ CLEMENZA *et al.* 2021.

Sardinia until reaching *Sulky*, the true gateway to Atlantic trade in the Lower Tyrrhenian Sea¹⁵⁹.

Southern Sardinia thus became a privileged bridge between the Iberian Peninsula and Campania¹⁶⁰, as confirmed by the analyses carried out on an ibis and a lead monkey from the late 8th century BC recovered during investigations in the Fontanelle and Porte di Ferro necropolis at Monte Vetrano. Isotopic characterisation revealed that the artefacts would have been made from metal originating either from deposits in southern Spain (Alpujarride, Alcudia-Los Pedroches, Linares-La Carolina) or southern Sardinia (Sarrabus, Sulcis-Iglesiente, Medio-Campidano)¹⁶¹. Analyses conducted on 11 slags with high lead content found in Poggiomarino, in the Sarno Valley, also refer to the same metal districts¹⁶².

A final consideration concerns the materials found in Calle Méndez Núñez, 7-13/Plaza de las Monjas, 12, in Huelva, among which is a large container probably produced in Sardinia, which was repaired in ancient times with a lead clamp probably already on the island¹⁶³, in the same way as the *vaso a collo* found in Pyla-Kokkinokremos in a much older context, however, dating from the first half of the 12th century BC¹⁶⁴.

Contacts between southern Spain and Sardinia are also confirmed for the silver trade: thanks to recent analyses carried out on silver artefacts from the Artiaco Tomb 104 in Cuma (late 8th-early 7th century BC), it has emerged that the native silver came from the districts of Huelva and Sierra Alahmilla, while the silver lead came from south western Sardinia¹⁶⁵. To conclude, we consider it useful to point out as a significant example of the complex trade network set up by the Phoenicians during the 8th century BC the situation that emerged from the study of the Tomb of the Warrior of Tarquinia, which can probably be dated between

730-720 BC¹⁶⁶. Analyses conducted on a silver *kantharos* and *kyathos* from the sumptuous assemblage revealed that the metal came from the Iberian Peninsula¹⁶⁷. Also from this context comes a silver *patera*¹⁶⁸ which must be considered, in our opinion, as the work of craftsmen from Phoenicia active in the Middle Tyrrhenian area. Both the raw material and the skilled labour would therefore have been handled by agents from Tyre, able to satisfy the “lifestyle” of the most prestigious families of the Etruscan city.

With regard to the economic counterparts that the Campania elites were able to offer the Phoenician and Euboean merchants, iron from the island of Elba may have played a role of some significance, although for the periods under discussion here, one must lament a complete lack of data¹⁶⁹. Much more solid in this regard is the thesis of the early diffusion in Campania of technologies for the reduction and working of iron from indigenous centres in Calabria and Basilicata such as Torre Galli and Incoronata, as will be seen in more detail below.

A very important aspect of trade must have concerned food resources. In fact, it is much more likely that from the villages along the fertile valleys of the Sarno and Picentino rivers, sailors of various ethnic groups were able to embark on their ships large quantities of cereals¹⁷⁰ necessary to meet the needs of the new colonial settlements that were undergoing a strong demographic expansion, as in the case of Utica and Carthage¹⁷¹, ready to welcome different ethnic groups.

This line of research is very promising considering the recent findings of ceramics produced in peninsular Italy at Huelva, La Rebanadilla and Utica, which could be indicative of human mobility phenomena due to the transmission of technologies, especially in agriculture and metallurgy¹⁷².

The importance of the mining districts of the Huelva hinterland for Phoenician trade has been

¹⁵⁹ GUIRGUIS 2010, 182-184; BOTTO 2023c.

¹⁶⁰ BABBI 2021, 458, nota 104.

¹⁶¹ BALASSONE – BONI – DI MAIO 2011, 186; BABBI 2021, 458, note 104.

¹⁶² CICIRELLI – ALBORE LIVADIE 2012, 37-39, fig. 32.

¹⁶³ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2011, 244 fig. 9; GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – LLOMPART 2023, 35.

¹⁶⁴ KANTA 2021, pp. 70-72, figs. 6.17a-b.

¹⁶⁵ For a concise but up-to-date examination of the tomb and its grave goods, see BABBI 2021, 451-459.

¹⁶⁶ BABBI – PELTZ 2013; NASO 2015, 739.

¹⁶⁷ BABBI – PELTZ 2013, 246-247, Kat. 4-5, pls. 5-6.

¹⁶⁸ BABBI – PELTZ 2013, 247-252, Kat. 6, pls. 7-8.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. above note 150.

¹⁷⁰ See the considerations of CICIRELLI – ALBORE LIVADIE 2008, 480 for the settlement of Poggiomarino.

¹⁷¹ Cf. e.g. BECHTOLD – DOCTER 2010; DE ROSA – GARAU – RENDELI 2018.

¹⁷² Cf. under text.

known for some time and has been the subject of specific investigations to which we refer for further details¹⁷³. In Utica, research carried out in the northern sector of the promontory, in the area between the Roman forum and the current coastline, has involved several areas: among these, a metallurgical quarter has been partially excavated, from which *tuyères*, the remains of clay ovens, numerous iron slags and, to a considerably lesser extent, bronze slags in association with ceramics of various origins, have been found in a thick blackish layer. This has allowed us to date the context, as already observed, between the last quarter of the 9th and the middle/third quarter of the 8th century BC¹⁷⁴.

Regarding attributions, it is possible to state that the majority of the ceramics were worked locally: modelled by hand, they reproduce shapes from both the Libyan and Phoenician repertoires. This data further supports the thesis that the *emporion* was politically controlled by the Libyan communities active in the area¹⁷⁵. Among imports, on the other hand, Phoenician ceramics ranked first, followed by Sardinian ceramics and, in much smaller percentages, Greek ceramics. This situation is very similar to that of deposit (UE 20017), formed in the last quarter of the 9th century BC with the remains of a collective banquet, probably ritual, thrown into a well¹⁷⁶. These data speak in favour of a multicultural and multi-ethnic environment, where the Tyrian component played a fundamental role, catalysing the interests of the local populations and many of the protagonists of international trade¹⁷⁷.

If, on the one hand, the Utica data confirm the participation of Euboean merchants in the enterprises of the Tyrian fleet in the West¹⁷⁸, on the other, they highlight the massive presence of Sardinian elements. In this regard, the considerable quantity of *vasi a collo* and “Sardinian-Levantine” amphorae destined not only for the transport of wine, but probably also metals, is striking¹⁷⁹. It has therefore

been proposed that part of the large quantity of iron worked in Utica may have come from Sardinia and was destined for the eastern market¹⁸⁰, in the same way as was suggested for later phases of the iron-working activities that took place in Carthage¹⁸¹. These considerations have been taken up in a recent study¹⁸², where it is argued that iron imported from the West was used by the rulers of Tyre to pay tribute and support the increasingly pressing demands of the Assyrian army. The rather suggestive hypothesis of a massive import of iron from Sardinia will have to be confirmed by archaeometallurgical analyses. Moreover, it could well justify the high percentages of Sardinian ceramics found in Utica.

Iron mining and working in Sardinia, sporadically attested in the Bronze Age, intensified with the arrival of the Phoenicians¹⁸³. In this regard, three areas are mentioned from which iron could have been exported to Utica. The first refers to the Tharros peninsula, which was one of the possible outlets to the sea for the ore extracted in Montiferu¹⁸⁴. The discovery of an “industrial-metallurgical quarter” in the Punic settlement of Tharros, where iron, lead and bronze artefacts were produced, is an important starting point for extending investigations in the area and verifying possible exploitation of iron ore even in earlier phases¹⁸⁵. Moreover, a wide range of iron weapons comes from both the Capo San Marco necropolis and the San Giovanni di Sinis necropolis from contexts dating between the late 7th and early 6th century BC¹⁸⁶.

The second area was the island of Sant’Antio, since the colony of *Sulky* must have represented the collector of ore extracted in the area of Antas¹⁸⁷. Recent excavations carried out in the settlement have brought to light a manufacturing area dated to the 8th and 7th centuries BC, in which preliminary refining of the metal was followed by

¹⁷³ For an up-to-date summary of the documentation, see the studies collected by BOTTO 2018a.

¹⁷⁴ BEN JERBANIA – REDISSI 2014, 188-191, fig. 5; BEN JERBANIA 2020, 33-38, figs. 1-7; BEN JERBANIA forthcoming.

¹⁷⁵ BEN JERBANIA 2017, 193-195, note 98.

¹⁷⁶ LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2016; LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2020.

¹⁷⁷ BEN JERBANIA 2023; BEN JERBANIA forthcoming.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. above note 97.

¹⁷⁹ BOTTO 2015, 180.

¹⁸⁰ BEN JERBANIA forthcoming.

¹⁸¹ KAUFMAN *et al.* 2016, 36.

¹⁸² RAMON – SANMARTÍ 2020, 20-22.

¹⁸³ MILLETTI – LO SCHIAVO 2020.

¹⁸⁴ INGO *et al.* 1997, 44; ZUCCA 2014, 82.

¹⁸⁵ INGO *et al.* 1997.

¹⁸⁶ This is not the place to examine in detail the articulate documentation that is the subject of a thorough and exhaustive examination, to which we refer for the necessary in-depth analysis: FARISELLI 2013, 52-64.

¹⁸⁷ BARTOLONI 2009, 17.

the on-site manufacture of small iron tools¹⁸⁸. For the earliest phases, this data can be related to the discovery of the tip and corresponding iron heel of a lance in Tomb 3 in the burial ground of San Giorgio di Portoscuso¹⁸⁹, while for the late 7th century phases, it can be related to the numerous fragments of ovens and *tuyères*, as well as to the iron smelting slag and nodules of iron oxides found in the excavations at the “Sardinian-Phoenician” fortress attached to Nuraghe Sirai¹⁹⁰.

The third area refers to the promontory of Nora, which is the closest point in Sardinia to Utica, being only 130 nautical miles away¹⁹¹. A survey carried out in the hinterland of the colony led to the identification of abandoned iron mines (Perdu Carta, Punta Sebrera, Posta de Trobea, Monte Barone), the location of which near nuraghi could indicate their exploitation from the Bronze Age onwards¹⁹². The investigations conducted by Stefano Finocchi have revealed two other elements of interest: the first concerns the presence of the toponym *S’acqua e ferru*; the second refers to the fact that the minerals in their raw state extracted in the mines located between Monte Santo and Monte Barone, only 5 km north-west of Nora, could be easily transported to the city’s ancient port, located in the present-day Peschiera, and to the neighbouring industrial districts active at least since Punic times, exploiting the course of the numerous streams that characterised the area. In this regard, it should be emphasised that numerous reports of tools and iron slag dating from between Phoenician and Roman times come from the settlement and the Punic necropolis¹⁹³.

Moreover, considering the proximity between the settlement of Bitia and the westernmost mines in the territory of Nora, such as Punta Sebrera, Posta de Trobea and Perda Sterri, the hypothesis for-

mulated in the past of local extraction of iron used to forge the numerous offensive weapons (spear-heads, javelin points and heels and daggers) found in some of the most significant tomb contexts of the necropolis in use from the last quarter of the 7th to most of the 6th century BC, is still valid¹⁹⁴.

To this documentation must be added the recent find in the Phoenician necropolis of Nora of a *stiletto* of Nuragic tradition composed of a bronze head and iron-clad blade recovered in the T37 incineration tomb and dated to the end of the 7th century BC (NR 1605)¹⁹⁵.

Finally, it should be noted that through the valley of the Riu Gutturu Mannu, from Nora it was possible to reach quite easily the mine of San Leone, in the territory of Capoterra, which was undoubtedly one of the largest iron deposits on the island¹⁹⁶ and not far from the aforementioned Nuraghe Antigori, which has yielded in this metal possibly a knife or dagger blade¹⁹⁷.

Investigations have shown how the promontory of Nora, in the centuries following the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial system, replaced Antigori as a meeting and trading place between merchants from the eastern Mediterranean and local communities¹⁹⁸. Evidence of the earliest Phoenician frequentation of the promontory is offered by two inscriptions, the most famous of which, the “Stele of Nora” (CIS 144), remains problematic to this day in terms of both chronology and interpretation of the text¹⁹⁹. With regard to dating, various proposals have been made that cover the chronological span between c. 850 and 740 BC²⁰⁰.

Based on the analysis of the shape of the signs, a date at the end of the 9th century BC currently prevails, which would bring the stele closer to the other inscription found on the site (CIS 145), considered to be older due to the presence of word divider signs²⁰¹. Regarding the interpretation of the

¹⁸⁸ POMPIANU 2010b; GUIRGUIS 2022, 99, note 26 (with further references).

¹⁸⁹ BERNARDINI 2000, 33, pl. I, 4.

¹⁹⁰ PERRA 2014, 123-124.

¹⁹¹ BONETTO – MARINELLO – ZARA 2021, 211-212.

¹⁹² FINOCCHI 2002, 164-165, fig. 5; 2003, 32, fig. 7.

¹⁹³ Without any claim to completeness see e.g. FINOCCHI – DESSENA – TIRABASSI 2012, 308 (“Alto luogo di Tanit”, within the 6th century BC); BONETTO *et al.* 2020, 192-194 (excavations University of Padua, Phoenician and Western Punic necropolis, tt. 22 and 26, 6th-5th century BC); NERVI 2003 and ALBANESE 2013, 169-170 (Area C, Roman period).

¹⁹⁴ BOTTO 1996b, 144.

¹⁹⁵ BONETTO *et al.* 2022, 252.

¹⁹⁶ FINOCCHI 2002, 165-166; 2003, 32.

¹⁹⁷ MILLETTI – LO SCHIAVO 2020, 78.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. above note 101.

¹⁹⁹ The bibliography on the subject is extensive: see e.g. AMADASI GUZZO – GUZZO 1986; AMADASI GUZZO 1995; RÖLLIG 1995.

²⁰⁰ The different chronological evaluations are reported by GARBATI 2014.

²⁰¹ AMADASI GUZZO 2019.

text, various hypotheses have been put forward, but the one we share refers to the erection of a temple – located on a “cape” – dedicated to *Pumay*²⁰².

This deity, known especially in Cyprus, would allow the erection of the stele to be linked to the earliest Cypriot-Phoenician frequentations of the central Mediterranean. Among these, the one highlighted by Marco Pacciarelli at Torre Galli stands out for its importance, thanks to the revision of the materials of the necropolis investigated in the early 20th century by Paolo Orsi²⁰³. In this regard, it is interesting to note how the early Aegean-Levantine influences and imports found in the earliest burials of the necropolis are accompanied by the spread of a large sampling of iron artefacts. In this regard, the scholar states that: «iron already exceeds 10% of the metal findings in the first phase of the use of the necropolis (Torre Galli 1A, late 10th century BC), at which time the full range of artefacts made with the new metal already appears complete: swords, spearheads and daggers in male tombs; rings in the female ones; fibulae and knives in grave goods of both genders. The typology of the artefacts, which belong to series that are well known in the coeval bronze repertoire, confirms their local production»²⁰⁴. At Torre Galli, the new metal characterised the tombs of the chiefs but was above all concentrated among the socially emerging groups. It is therefore not surprising to also find in Torre Galli the same correlation between iron metallurgy, social elites and control of maritime trade routes previously identified also in neighbouring Castellace²⁰⁵. A similar situation in many ways was found by Francesco Quondam for the settlement of Incoronata, in Basilicata²⁰⁶.

It is a widespread opinion among specialists that these centres played a fundamental role in the transmission of ironworking in central and southern Italy²⁰⁷. In this process, Pontecagnano played an important intermediary function highlighted by the significant diffusion of iron technology in the local

Phases 2 and 3, the result of long-lasting and strategic contacts with both Calabria²⁰⁸ and the Oenotrian area²⁰⁹.

At this point it is appropriate to take up a concept recently developed by Bruno d'Agostino, who states that «the character of Campania as a crossroads of culture emerges with special clarity in the course of the 8th century BC»²¹⁰. Supporting these considerations are the ceramics from peninsular Italy found in Utica and La Rebanadilla, some of which may have been introduced to international markets from the ports of Campania.

Starting with the materials from the Utica pit (UE 20017), the most significant piece of information in this regard concerns the skyphoi with a decorative motif of triangular fields²¹¹, which could refer to Oenotrian production in matt-painted ceramics²¹². From this point of view, the most accredited centre of provenance for the Utica skyphoi is Francavilla Marittima, where production of Greek ceramics with concentric circles very similar to that of Pontecagnano is attested, so much so that Bruno d'Agostino hypothesised the circulation within the same trade circuits of itinerant potters from Euboea²¹³.

²⁰⁸ Cf. GASTALDI 1998, 163, to whom we owe the identification of two “Calabrian warriors” buried at the height of the 9th century BC in the Picentino and Pagliarone necropolises (tombs 180 and 889). The burials are distinguished by the use of inhumation instead of the Villanovan type of cremation common in the early phase of the settlement and by weapon attributes, in particular swords, in one case associated with bronze shin guards of the type attested in the Calabrian necropolis of Torre Galli: CINQUANTAQUATTRO – PELLEGRINO – LO CASCIO, forthcoming. See also the observations of CERCIAI 2013, 140-141; PACCIARELLI – LO SCHIAVO 2017, 708-709, 719; D'AGOSTINO 2017, 406.

²⁰⁹ CERCIAI 2013, 140-141, where provenance from the Oenotrian area is proposed for women whose ashes were respectively collected in a “*piumata*” ceramic amphora and “*a tenda*” jug (tombs 174 and 166); D'AGOSTINO 2017, 406 «large jars from the Oenotrian area». The picture is to be supplemented with a burial in which a matt-painted “Oenotrian-iaepigian” biconical ceramic olla from the Early Geometric area (tomb 2508) is used as a cinerary vessel: CINQUANTAQUATTRO – PELLEGRINO – LO CASCIO, forthcoming.

²¹⁰ D'AGOSTINO 2017, 407. On this subject, with particular attention to the situations of Monte Vetrano and Pontecagnano, cf. PELLEGRINO 2021, 256, with previous bibl. and CINQUANTAQUATTRO – PELLEGRINO – LO CASCIO, forthcoming; for Sala Consilina, cf. Lo Cascio's considerations in CINQUANTAQUATTRO – PELLEGRINO – LO CASCIO, forthcoming.

²¹¹ LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2016, 76-77, fig. 7, 1-2; 2020, 60, figs. 9,5, 34a, 1-2.

²¹² Cf. e.g. YNTEMA 1990 and FERRANTI 2009.

²¹³ In favour of the stable presence of Euboean Greek ceramists in Francavilla Marittima are Jan Kindberg Jacobsen and Gloria Mittica: see their contribution in this volume.

²⁰² Cf. GARBATI 2014; BOTTO 2021, 271-277.

²⁰³ PACCIARELLI 1999, *passim*; BOTTO 2008, 129-130; 2011, 157-162; PACCIARELLI – LO SCHIAVO 2017, 709; PEDRAZZI 2023

²⁰⁴ PACCIARELLI – QUONDAM 2020, 34.

²⁰⁵ PACCIARELLI – LO SCHIAVO 2017, 705 (with further references); PACCIARELLI – QUONDAM 2020, 35.

²⁰⁶ PACCIARELLI – QUONDAM 2020, 35.

²⁰⁷ PACCIARELLI – QUONDAM 2020.

This datum is of surprising interest when compared to another exceptional attribution, which refers to a fragment of so-called “*Tenda*” class pottery from the settlement of La Rebanadilla, in the Bay of Malaga, from a ritual context dated to around the same period as that of Utica²¹⁴. According to a recent interpretation proposed by the archaeologists who excavated the site, in the first construction phase of the site (Phase III), the Phoenicians would have built a large sanctuary bordered by a *temenos* at the end of the 9th century BC. In the northern part, the wall’s foundation trench meets a ditch, interpreted as a well. The filling in and the closure of the well were the result of a single ritual action dated to the end of the site’s Phase IV (second half of the 9th century BC). The material from inside the well comprises mostly local tradition pottery plus Phoenician *Fine Ware* and *Red Slip* in association with Sardinian pottery and a MG II “hatched meanders hooks” type skyphos as identified by J.N. Coldstream (Fig. 9).

This group of pottery suggests a foundation ritual with the consumption of food and drink, where the malacofauna has been preserved. Furthermore, the well contained elements that attest to the process of metal smelting, processing, and producing finished articles such as fish hooks and a bronze fibula “*de doble resorte*”. An outstanding discovery is a stone mould used for producing jewels in precious metals. These are important elements connected to the metallurgical activities that took place here before the building of the sanctuary (Phase IV), when the strategic position of the island at the mouth of the Guadalhorce meant that it was visited sporadically by the Phoenicians, which allowed them to have both a secure harbour before sailing across the Straits of Gibraltar and a privileged area of contact with the local populations of the hinterland. Whilst awaiting a systematic study of the Phoenician material from La Rebanadilla, we can underline the similarities with production from Tyre: the amphorae are likely to be types 9 and 12, whilst the plates are Bikai types 7, 8/9, 10, 11 and 13. Lastly the *Fine Ware* is similar to types 1 and 3 from Huelva PM/MN, confirming the close relationship between these two sites²¹⁵.

As mentioned above, the materials pertaining to the ritual closure of the well also include a fragment of “*Tenda*” class pottery, the recognition of which is thanks to Carmine Pellegrino to whom I am indebted for the following considerations. Regarding the form, the most probable hypothesis is that of a jug, although it cannot be ruled out that the fragment refers to another closed form with a conical neck, such as an amphora or *olla*²¹⁶. As far as decoration is concerned, the scheme, with the “*tenda*” on the shoulder, marginalised at the top by three horizontal lines, is common to all the forms mentioned above. Judging from the preserved part, the “*tenda*” appears to be of the “elegant” or “evolved” type, characteristic respectively of the Middle and Late Geometric period in Francesca Ferranti’s classification²¹⁷ (Fig. 10).

As for chronology, it may be useful to recall the documentation from Pontecagnano, where this pottery fits into a sequence linked to imported Greek ceramics. An updated census of “*Tenda*” class pottery has brought the total number of finds to 35: 22 specimens are of the “elegant” type and come from tombs that can be placed in the final stages of Phase IB and especially in Phase IIA, characterised by the presence of Greek ceramics from MG II and dated to the second quarter of the 8th century BC. If the proposed attributions for our fragment were correct, there would be a conflict with the context of its discovery, which the editors place at the end of the 9th century BC.

This type of pottery, characteristic of the Oenotrian world, is widespread in Basilicata and the neighbouring areas of Apulia, Calabria (Sibaritide) and southern Campania²¹⁸. In the latter, the attestations are concentrated in sites of Villanovan facies: at Sala Consilina, in the Vallo di Diano, in an inland area adjacent to the area of Oenotrian tradition, identified as one of the production settlements; at Pontecagnano, with the numerous specimens mentioned above, probably imported from different Oenotrian settlements. The mediation of the Picentine settlement for the arrival in Utica and La Rebanadilla of the ceramics analysed above cannot therefore be ruled out.

²¹⁴ On the two contexts cf. the considerations of BOTTO 2018b, 22-23.

²¹⁵ SÁNCHEZ *et al.* 2011, 194-197; SÁNCHEZ *et al.* 2018.

²¹⁶ YNTEMA 1990, figs. 91, 95-96; KILIAN 1970, Beil. 11.

²¹⁷ FERRANTI 2009, 45-46, 50-57, figs. 3, and 6 respectively SS17 and SS18.

²¹⁸ FERRANTI 2009, 63-66, fig. 10.B-C.



Fig. 9. La Rebanadilla: materials from the well of Phase IV, the fragment of “Tenda” class pottery can be distinguished at the top left (from SÁNCHEZ *et al.* 2018, redrawn by L. Attisani, ISPC-CNR)

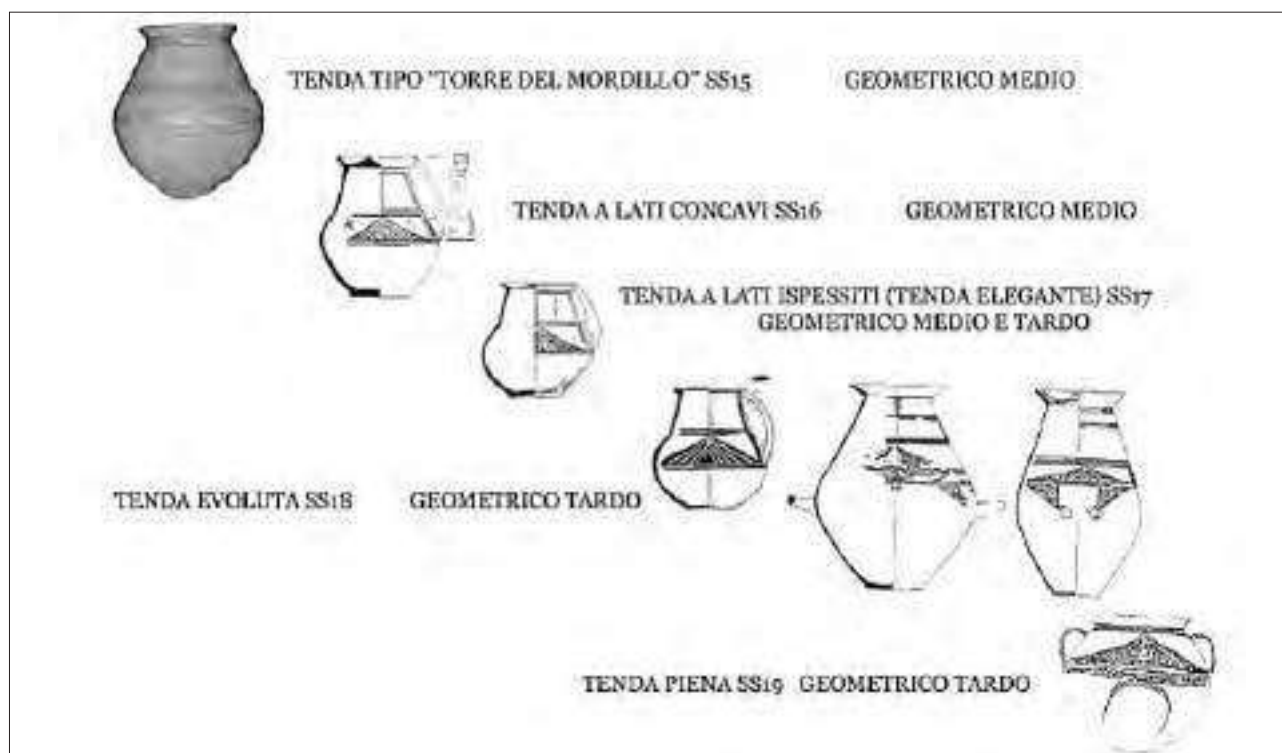


Fig. 10: Summary diagram of the chronological-typological evolution of the “Tenda-style” (from FERRANTI 2009)

A different circuit referring to southern Etruria and the Tiber area is instead conceivable for the other “Tyrrhenian” ceramics found in Utica and the two specimens from Huelva. Starting with the materials from the Utica well (UE 20017)²¹⁹, it should be noted that in the absence of archaeometric analyses and an autopsy examination of the individual fragments, the following considerations are merely working hypotheses.

On the basis of the drawings shown in figure 10 of the above-mentioned study, it does not seem possible to deepen the analysis for fragments nos. 4-5, which are too small, and for no. 1, which is poorly characterised. Fragment no. 2 is certainly the most significant: it corresponds to a flat bowl cup with a characteristic flared rim that finds its most similar comparisons in Tarquinia, starting from Phase IB, but especially in Phases IC and IIB²²⁰.

Fragment no. 3 should probably be read with a single handle, as the comparisons reported by the editors also suggest: it should therefore be a cup of the bifid handle type, like the specimen from Survey I, 3 of the Tunisian-French excavations²²¹. The closest comparisons in decoration refer once again to Tarquinia²²², although there is no lack of attestations in *Latium Vetus*, as in the case of the Osteria dell’Osa²²³. Turning to the imports from Huelva²²⁴, the so-called “kantharos” is close to the type of drawer cups, in particular to productions from the central-southern Tyrrhenian. Comparisons concern, for example, Veio-Quattro Fontanili (Local Phase II), Osteria dell’Osa and Esquilino (Latium Phase III), as well as Pontecagnano (Local Phase II)²²⁵.

The production area of these ceramics would seem to concern southern Etruria (Veio, Tarquinia)

and the Latium banks of the Tiber (Osteria dell’Osa) and to be chronologically framed within the first half/second quarter of the 8th century BC. This is an extremely dynamic sector of Tyrrhenian peninsular Italy whose communities entertained early and long-lasting trade with Phoenician and Greek merchants thanks to whom men, artefacts and goods were introduced to international markets²²⁶.

3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The ceramics examined above allow us to reconstruct a coherent picture of contacts between local elites and Phoenician merchants facilitated by convivial practices involving the consumption of food and wine²²⁷. Biochemical analyses recently conducted on the ceramic objects found in four burials dating back to the Early Iron Age in the indigenous necropolis of Cumae have shown that the local populations used a fermented beverage similar to wine in their funerary rituals²²⁸. Further confirmation in this regard is provided by the archaeobotanical study of the fill sediments of some of the tombs investigated, which made it possible to determine the presence of *Vitis vinifera* sp. seeds²²⁹. On the arrival of Euboean and Phoenician merchants in the Gulf of Naples, therefore, the local communities were already in possession of vine cultivation technology and wine-making processes²³⁰. However, the imported wine must have been of higher quality than the local product «probabilmente perché la tecnologia in possesso della comunità indigena non era tale da permetterle la conservazione e la limitazione del processo di acetificazione»²³¹. Techniques to inhibit the acetification process of wine, on the other hand, were well known to the Phoenicians from the earliest stages of irradiation in the West since the product exported

²¹⁹ LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2016, 79-80, fig. 10.

²²⁰ HENCKEN 1968, 57, fig. 46.k (Fase IB); figg. 77.a, 79.b, 83.f, 109.db (Fase IC); figg. 150.h, 182.d, 170.l, 191.j (Fase II B). For generic comparisons to Phase II, *ibid.*, figs. 229.b, 239.d, 234.d, 240.d, 273.b, 299.d.

²²¹ MONCHAMBERT *et al.* 2013, 48-49, fig. 44, 20, a-b.

²²² Cf. e.g. HENCKEN 1968, fig. 188.e for a Phase IIB cup.

²²³ BIETTI SESTIERI 1992, 226-227, scheme IIb, pl. VI.

²²⁴ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2004, 98-99, pls. XX, 6-7, LIX, 10-11.

²²⁵ Veio: *Quattro Fontanili* 1967, fig. 8, BB 8-9 and fig. 24 EE 8-9; *Quattro Fontanili* 1970, fig. 30 CC 5-6A; *Quattro Fontanili* 1975, fig. 6, E 16 Q, E 15 Q, E 15. Osteria dell’Osa: BIETTI SESTIERI 1992, pl. 21, type 20 d. Esquilino: GJERSTAD 1956, 222, fig. 199, 1 (tomb LXXI). Pontecagnano: D’AGOSTINO – GASTALDI 1988, pl. 12, type 12 D1-2.

²²⁶ BOTTO 2008, 141-148. BERNARDINI 2016, 18

²²⁷ The phenomenon has recently been examined by the author with a focus on the early relations between the Phoenicians and Sardinian communities: BOTTO 2019; 2023a.

²²⁸ DEL MASTRO *et al.* 2021.

²²⁹ DEL MASTRO *et al.* 2021, 184.

²³⁰ For Cumae, cf. in particular BRUN 2011, 67, 103-107. On the issues concerning the introduction of viticulture on the Italian Peninsula and its major islands, Sicily and Sardinia, cf. the contributions collected by DI NOCERA – GUIDI – ZIFFERERO 2016 and more recently by ACCONCIA – PIERGROSSI 2021.

²³¹ DEL MASTRO *et al.* 2021, 186.

from the shores of the Near East all the way across the Strait of Gibraltar would have easily deteriorated if it had not previously been treated with resins²³².

Another aspect emerges from the examined context: the wine exported by the Phoenicians to Cumae was produced in Sardinia and, more precisely, in the territory controlled by *Sulky*²³³. This would, therefore, be one of the earliest pieces of evidence of the spread of Sardinian wine outside the island, to be correlated with the significant presence of Sardinian-Levantine amphorae/ Sant’Imbenia-type in southern Spain (Huelva, La Rebanadilla, Cadiz) and Utica. Although no transport amphorae of this type come from the hut currently investigated in the excavations directed by Matteo D’Acunto, the Sardinian vector is confirmed by the *vasi a collo* and the *olle a colletto* examined above. These finds constitute an important antecedent to the relations between *Sulky* and Pithekoussai in the second half of the 8th century BC, which can put the origin of Ischian transport amphorae into perspective. Rather than being inspired by central-Mediterranean Phoenician productions²³⁴, these amphorae would appear to be based on the Sardinian-Levantine amphorae of the Sant’Imbenia-type, whose shape, in our opinion, is strongly influenced by the *vasi a collo*, which are characterized by having a flat bottom in the same way as the oldest Pithekoussai amphorae²³⁵.

The Cumae context is thus further evidence of the commercial understanding reached by the Phoenicians with the Sardinians, which was at its most visible in the central-western Mediterranean and along the Atlantic coast of the Iberian Peninsula between the late 9th and the first half of the 7th century BC. “Sardinian-Phoenician” trade, which had its strong point in the exchange of foodstuffs and metals, represented only one aspect of Mediterranean trade, since both Phoenicians and Sardinians also sailed the seas independently and found other forms of collaboration. Without resorting to rigid frameworks, which would be wholly inappropriate for the historical periods examined here, two areas of dif-

ferent influence can be distinguished in Sardinia. According to widely established lines of research, in fact, it appears that the Nuragic canton systems located in the northern and central-eastern sectors of the island were more projected toward trade with the Villanovan populations of northern Etruria²³⁶, while those located in southern and western Sardinia maintained relations mainly with the Iberian Peninsula and the central Mediterranean within an established circuit managed by the main Phoenician foundations in which, however, local populations also played a leading role²³⁷. What emerges from the most recent investigations, and what we hope to have clarified in the preceding pages, is that the two trade flows found a meeting point in the Lower Tyrrhenian Sea, particularly in Campania, in the stretch of coast between the Gulf of Naples to the north and the mouth of the Picentino to the south.

Catalogue of pottery (Pls. 1-2)

1. Plate. Pl. 1

Inv. no. FEN27838/1. Frg. bottom and lower part of the body. H. max. 1.6; Ø rec. ca. 8 cm. Clay: fine-grained compact, “gray” core (Munsell 10YR 5/1) with very small white inclusions; outside/inside: “reddish yellow” to “light brown” (Munsell 5YR 6/6-7.5 YR 6/3). In the interior wall, carefully smoothed, concentric evanid band with presumed radial pattern, of which only one ray is preserved, “light red” (Munsell 10R 6/8).

Cf. plate with short everted rim: GIARDINO 2017, 107-109, type 1.2.1, pls. IV-X; NÚÑEZ 2017.

2. *Vaso a collo*. Pl. 1

Inv. no. FEN27838/1. Frg. lip and upper part of the neck; H. max. 2; Ø rec. ca. 14 cm. Clay: compact medium-fine-grained, “gray” core (Munsell 5YR 5/1) with small to medium-sized white and vitreous inclusions; outside/inside: “light reddish brown” to “light red” (Munsell 2.5YR 6/4-6/8). Slip: outside/inside “red” (Munsell 10R 4/8).

Cf. ACQUARO 1978, 68, fig. 12, 3; BARTOLONI 1985, 173-179, fig. 5; CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2000, 436-441, pls. 254-262; IALONGO 2017, 99, fig. 3, 7-13.

3. Plate Pl. 1

Inv. no. FEN27847/1. Frg. lip and upper part of the body. H. max. 2; Ø rec. ca. 18 cm. Clay: compact, fine-grained, “gray” core (Munsell 5YR 5/1) with very small white and vitreous inclusions; outside/inside: “light reddish brown” to “light red” (Munsell 2.5YR

²³² The topic is discussed at length by BOTTO 2004-2005; 2013b; 2016a; 2016b.

²³³ BOTTO 2021, 263-270 (with further references).

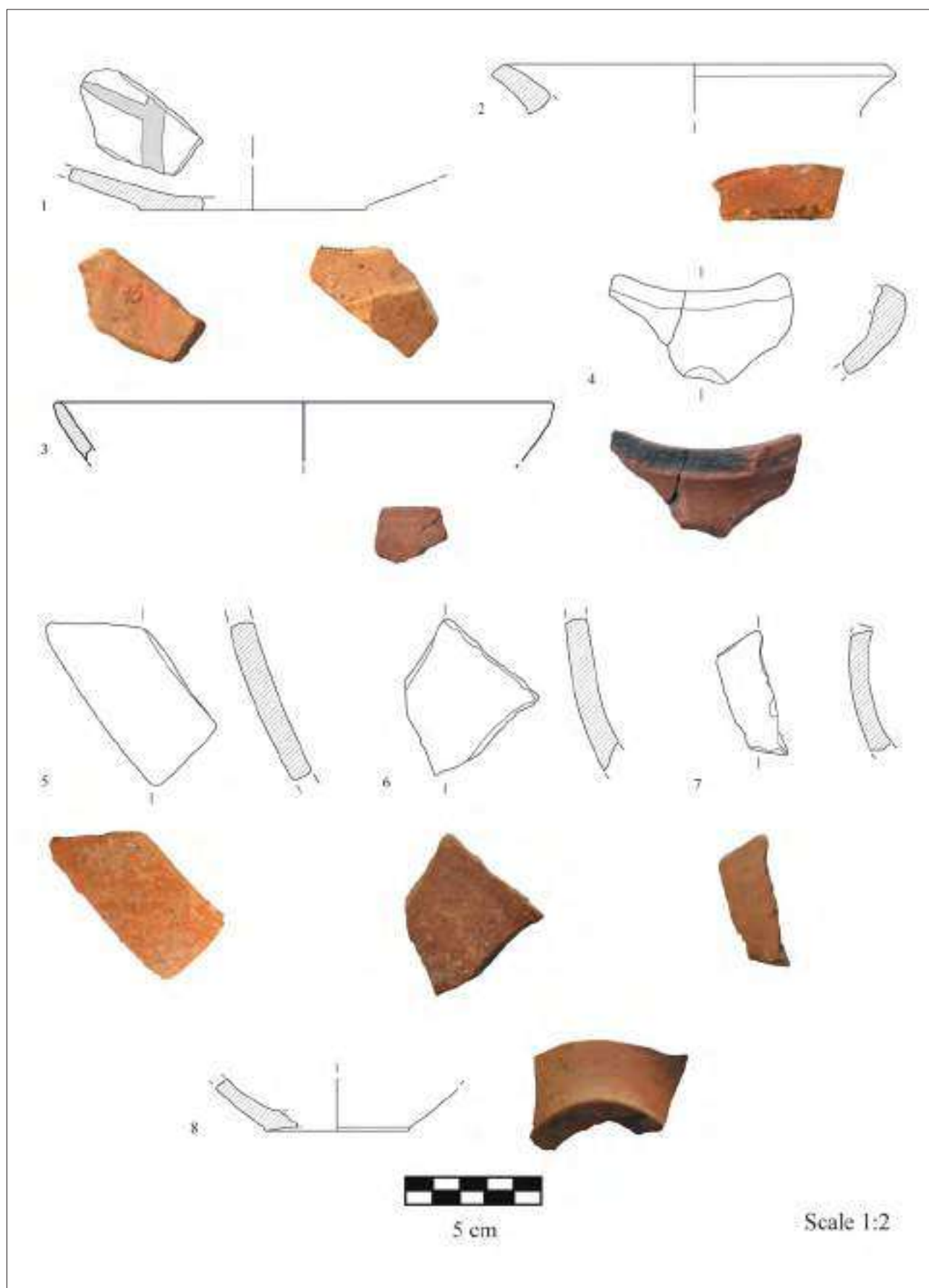
²³⁴ Reference is made to types T-3.1.1.1. and T-3.1.1.2. in RAMON TORRES 1995, 180-182.

²³⁵ BOTTO 2015, 177-178.

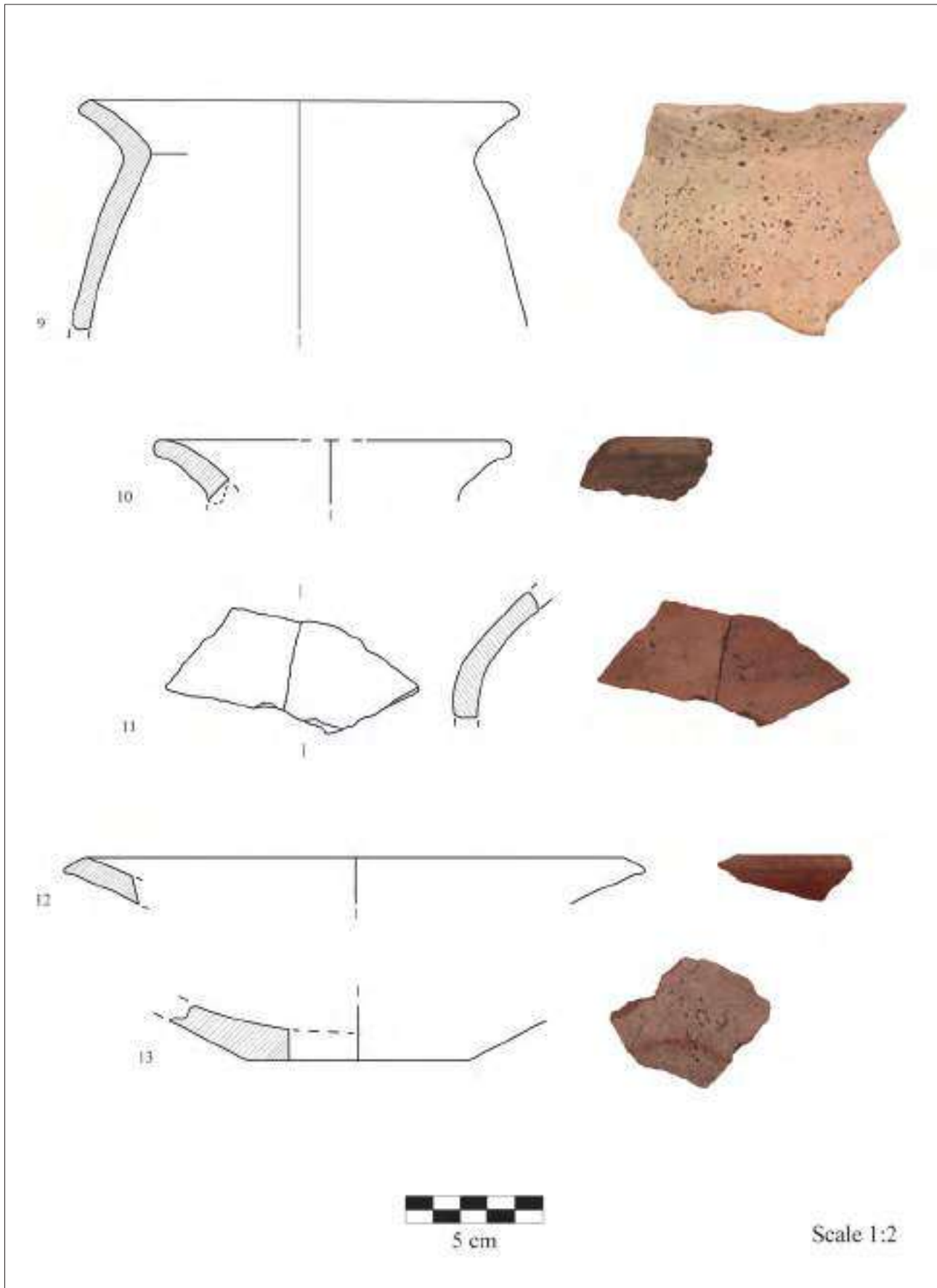
²³⁶ Cf. most recently DI GENNARO *et al.* 2023 (with further references).

²³⁷ BEN JERBANIA 2017 (Utica); BOTTO 2020a (Iberian Peninsula).

- 6/4-6/8). Slip: outside “red” (Munsell 2.5YR 4/8); inside “red” (Munsell 10R 4/8).
Cf.: BIKAI 1978, 26-28, pl. XIA, 4-10. 12-16 (FWP2, Strata II-III); GIACOSA 2016, 26-27, FWB4.
- 4. Vaso a collo.** Pl. 1
Inv. no. FEN27838/2-3. Three joint frgs.: neck and shulder. H. max. 3,5 cm; Ø rec. ca. 14 cm. Clay: compact, medium to fine-grained, “gray” core (Munsell 5YR 5/1) with small to medium-sized white and vitreous inclusions; outside/inside: “light reddish brown” to “light red” (Munsell 2.5YR 6/4-6/8). Slip: outside “red” (Munsell 2.5YR 4/8); inside “red” (Munsell 10R 4/8). Clear traces of horizontal splinting.
Cf. BARTOLONI 1985, 173-179, fig. 5; CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2000, 436-441, pls. 254-262; IALONGO 2017, 99, fig. 3, 7-13.
- 5. Vaso a collo.** Probably the same individual described in cat. no. 2. Pl. 1
Inv. no. FEN27728/1. Frg. body. L. max 5.8; w. max. 3.2; th. 0.8 cm. Clay: compact medium-fine-grained, “gray” core (Munsell 5YR 5/1) with small to medium-sized white and vitreous inclusions; outside/inside: “light reddish brown” to “light red” (Munsell 2.5YR 6/4-6/8). Slip: outside/inside “red” (Munsell 10R 4/8).
Cf. BARTOLONI 1985, 173-179, fig. 5; CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2000, 436-441, pls. 254-262; IALONGO 2017, 99, fig. 3, 7-13.
- 6. Vaso a collo.** Probably the same individual described in cat. no. 2. Pl. 1
Inv. no. FEN27979/1. Frg. body. L. max. 5.7; w. max. 4.9; th. 0.9 cm. Clay: compact medium-fine-grained, “gray” core (Munsell 5YR 5/1) with small to medium-sized white and vitreous inclusions; outside/inside: “light reddish brown” to “light red” (Munsell 2.5YR 6/4-6/8). Slip: outside/inside “red” (Munsell 10R 4/8).
Cf. ACQUARO 1978, 68, fig. 12, 3; BARTOLONI 1985, 173-179, fig. 5; CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2000, 436-441, pls. 254-262; IALONGO 2017, 99, fig. 3, 7-13.
- 7. Vaso a collo.** Probably the same individual described in cat. no. 2. Pl. 1
Inv. no. FEN27977/1. Frg. body. L. max. 4.5; w. max. 1.7; th. 0.7 cm. Clay: compact medium-fine-grained, “gray” core (Munsell 5YR 5/1) with small to medium-sized white and vitreous inclusions; outside/inside: “light reddish brown” to “light red” (Munsell 2.5YR 6/4-6/8). Slip: outside/inside “red” (Munsell 10R 4/8).
Cf. ACQUARO 1978, 68, fig. 12, 3; BARTOLONI 1985, 173-179, fig. 5; CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2000, 436-441, pls. 254-262; IALONGO 2017, 99, fig. 3, 7-13.
- 8. Plate.** Pl. 1
Inv. no. FEN27992/1. Frg. bottom and lower part of the body. H. max. 1.9; Ø rec. ca. 5.2; th. body 0.6 cm. Clay: compact fine-grained, “light red” core (Munsell 10R 6/6) with small white and vitreous inclusions; outside: “reddish yellow” to “yellowish red” (Munsell 5.5 YR 7/6 - 2.5 YR 5/6); inside: “red” (Munsell 5/8).
Cf. BIKAI 1978, 23-24, pls. X, 4, 7 (Strata II-III), XVI, 18-38 (Stratum IV), XVIII, 3 (Strata V-VII); XIX, 9-12 (Strata VIII-IX); NÚÑEZ 2017, 13, Group 2, fig. 3; NÚÑEZ 2018a, 126.
- 9. Olla a colletto.** Pl. 2
Inv. no. FEN28100/10. Frg. lip, neck, shulder and upper part of the body. H. max. 8,3; Ø rec. ca. 15 cm. Clay: compact fine-grained, “light greyish brown” core (Munsell 5YR 8/3) with medium to large black and brown inclusions and numerous vacuoles; outside/inside: “reddish yellow” (Munsell 7.5YR 8/6) with numerous brown, black, grey and reddish inclusions of medium and large size clearly visible. Slip: outside/inside “pinkish white” (7.5YR 8/2).
Cf. CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2000, 482-483, pls. 294, 1-3 and 295, 2 (806. Ol. 41); IALONGO 2017, 95-97, fig. 1.21-25; PERRA 2019, 198-203; GUIRGUIS 2022, 97, fig. 7F.
- 10. Vaso a collo.** Pl. 2
Inv. no. FEN28100/3. Frg. lip and neck. H. max 2.3; Ø rec. ca. 14 cm. Clay: compact, fine-grained, “dull orange” core (Munsell 2.5 YR 6/4) with very small white and vitreous inclusions; outside/inside: “dull orange” (Munsell 2.5 YR 6/4) to “dull reddish brown” (Munsell 2.5 YR 5/3).
Cf. BARTOLONI 1985, 173-179, fig. 5; CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2000, 436-441, pls. 254-262; IALONGO 2017, 99, fig. 3, 7-13.
- 11. Table amphora.** Pl. 2
Inv. no. FEN28100/9. Two joint frgs.: shulder and body. H. max 4.6 cm. Clay: compact, fine-grained, “orange” core (Munsell 5 YR 6/6) with small to medium-sized brown and red, small vitreous inclusions; outside/inside: “orange” (Munsell 5 YR 6/6) to “dull orange” (Munsell 5 YR 6/4).
Cf. BARTOLONI 1988, 165, 174, fig. 2 G; BARTOLONI 1990, 50, fig. 9, 131-132; OGGIANO 2000, 245, note 40, fig. 9, 1; ORSINGER 2015; 2016, 286, 302, pl. III, 2; SPAGNOLI 2019, 24, 50-53, fig. 3, 7, pls. 2, 1-2, 34, 7, 1.
- 12. Plate.** Pl. 2
Inv. no. FEN28072/1. Frg. lip and upper part of the body. H. max 1.7 cm; Ø rec. ca. 19.6 cm. Clay: compact, fine-grained, “reddish yellow” core (Munsell 5 YR 7/6) with very small black, brown and vitreous inclusions; numerous small vacuoles are also visible; outside/inside: “reddish yellow” (Munsell 5 YR 7/6).
Cf.: plate with short everted rim: BIKAI 1978, pl. X, 9 (Stratum III); GIARDINO 2017, 107-109, type 1.2.1, pls. IV-X; NÚÑEZ 2017.
- 13. Basin/mortar.** Pl. 2
Inv. no. FEN28072/2. Frg. bottom and lower part of the body. H. max 2; Ø rec. ca. 8 cm. Clay: compact, fine-grained, “pinkish grey” (Munsell 5 YR 7/2) to “pink” (Munsell 5 YR 7/4) core with very small black, brown, white and vitreous inclusions; outside/inside: “pink” (Munsell 5 YR 7/4). Slip: outside “pink” (7.5 YR 8/4).
Cf.: LEHMANN 1996, 389-394, forme 159-167, pls. 25-27, 107; SAPIN 1998, 110-112; BELLELLI – BOTTO 2002; CAMPANELLA 2008, 79, 138, 140-141.



Pl. 1. Pre-Hellenic Cumae: Phoenician and “Sardinian-Phoenician” pottery from the residential area (excavations of the University of Napoli L’Orientale, 2018-2022)



Pl. 2. Pre-Hellenic Cumae: Phoenician and "Sardinian-Phoenician" pottery from the residential area (excavations of the University of Napoli L'Orientale, 2018-2022)

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STRUCTURES AND MATERIALS OF ARCHAIC CUMAE: RESEARCH OF THE FEDERICO II UNIVERSITY IN THE AREA OF THE FORUM

Giovanna Greco

In the last twenty years, the knowledge of the oldest colony in the West has profoundly changed compared to what was known of the site at the time of the edition of *Apoikia* (1994) and the conference *Euboica* in Naples (1998)¹. In the same years the archaeological debate focused on Pithecusae, particularly on the analysis of the two areas of Mazzola and Punta Chiarito brought to light recently.

Cumae remained somehow in the background. An anomalous absence of earlier and more organised evidence was perceived. Coldstream couldn't help but point out that: «remains of the most ancient colonial horizon of Cumae are still to be identified», while Ridgway underlined that: «the most ancient finds of the colonial era in Cumae date to the EPC phase, contemporary with Pithecusa LG II and therefore not earlier than 725; and this must be accepted – at least for the moment – as the date of the foundation of a new Greek polis on the mainland»². As is widely known, in 1994 the Kyme project started thanks to Stefano De Caro³, and in 1995 B. d'Agostino had two different opportunities to lessen the fog of uncertainty obscuring all the Cumaean issues⁴. For the first time it was emphasized how little was known about the early settlement and the notable amount of Early Archaic Greek pottery found in the embankment at the Northern walls was made known to the scholars: materials that helped fill the gap with the Pithecusan documen-

tation and clarify the relationship between Pithecusa and Cumae.

That Cumae had not revealed a chronological level comparable to the phase of LG I was in great and perplexing contrast to what was known at Zancle. If we believe what Thucydides affirms (6.4.5), Zancle was first occupied by pirates from Cumae in Opicia and only later received a canonical foundation by the Chalcidians. At Zancle the materials do in fact document a consolidated horizon of LG I (730 BC), and consequently, Cumae would already have been a political reality and playing a strategic role in the western Mediterranean at the time; it should also be reminded that one of the oecists of Zancle is a Cumaean⁵.

The first fragments published by d'Agostino began to fill this gap, identifying a chronological horizon, in Cumae, between the MG II and LG I.

At the same time, in the Forum, the restoration of the already known Roman monuments was being carried out; a deeper investigation was begun into the levelling and filling actions that had covered pre-existing structures. The result was the finding of a large amount of residual Early Archaic Greek pottery in the levelling or foundation layers of the monuments of the Roman or Samnite age, helping in appreciating the nature of the occupation in the area at the time (Fig. 1).

¹ *Apoikia; Euboica*.

² RIDGWAY 1984, 134.

³ DE CARO 2008.

⁴ D'AGOSTINO 1999.

⁵ Cf. most recently MELE 2014, 33-39.

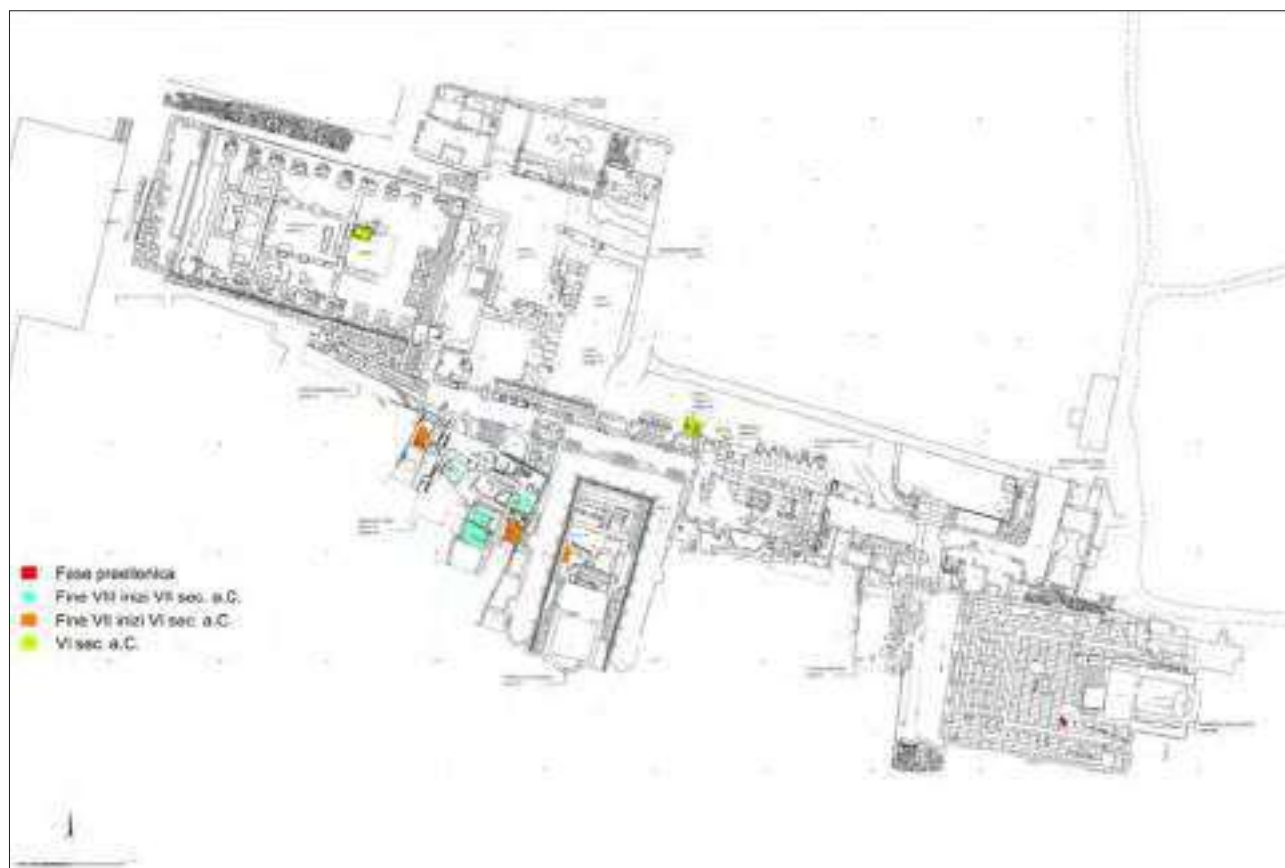


Fig. 1. Cumae. The lower town, Forum area: plan with the Archaic structures

This does not come as a surprise. All the sondages undertaken in the square and along its perimeter produced comparable findings. It is well established that this flat area facing the sea took on an urban connotation only in the Samnite era. Moreover, the many fragments recovered of Late Geometric and Protocorinthian pottery, along with numerous *impasto* vessels, which were not exclusively pre-Hellenic, and the fragments of large containers such as SOS or Corinthian amphorae of type A confirmed what was already suggested by Bruno d'Agostino on the basis of the materials found in the embankment/fill of the walls.

However, it was only in the 2000-2001 that two excavation areas were opened: one in the “Tempio con Portico” of the Early Imperial Age and the other one its west side, where the first material and structures with sealed contexts and related to an occupation phase in 7th century BC⁶ (Figs. 2-3) came to light.

In Sondage 11, located on the northwest side of the courtyard, where no structures were discovered, it is the numerous residual materials that document the early occupation in the Late Archaic period. Here, for the first time in the lower city, a complex stratigraphy is recorded, revealing a succession of building activities in the area, almost without interruption, from the Archaic period to the Early Imperial Age, when the “Tempio con Portico” was built.

In particular, into an artificial layer of levelling and stabilization related to a 5th century BC floor (SU 2258) a considerable amount of materials in a secondary context was recovered, allowing us to hypothesize the function of those same spaces in the Archaic age (Fig. 4).

These consist of numerous fragments of architectural terracottas (nimbate antefixes with inverted palmettes, reed slabs and painted tiles), fragments of tufa and yellow and red wall-plasters prove to the presence of a sacred building of the late Archaic period that was completely razed and levelled on the occasion of that radical intervention which, in

⁶ GRECO 2008, 2012a, 2012b.



Fig. 2. Cumae. Temple with Portico area: sondages 11, 13 and 14

the last decades of the 5th century BC, profoundly transforms the area, redefining the space and changing the orientations of the monuments.

The sondage shows that a monumental organization in this area seems to be dated in the final decades of the 6th century BC, but the residual materials shows a constant presence from the last quarter of the 8th century BC to the Late Archaic period with a significant record of pottery from the 7th and 6th century BC⁷.

For the first time, the data demonstrate the evidence in Cumae of an already organised settlement which extended throughout the area of the city developed during the 7th century BC.

In Sondage 13, near the podium and at a height of 6.50 m MSL, a first floor of dark soil (SU 2364) due to a large residual presence of charcoal, was discovered. It was possible to date this floor to the

7th century BC, thanks to the fragments of proto- and mid-Corinthian pottery in primary deposition; in association with this material, numerous fragments of *impasto*, and Geometric pottery, including Italo-geometric material were found (Fig. 5).

In Sondage 14, to the west of the imperial monument, behind its perimeter wall, the first clear structural evidence of a Early Archaic domestic building was discovered: a paved floor (SU 2391) where two post holes were recognized, a fireplace and a channel for the drainage of water. The material in its sealed context can be reasonably assigned to a horizon in the 7th century BC⁸.

Among the residual materials from levels preceding the construction of the domestic building, older fragments of Greek pottery were found, together with *impasto* pottery (Figs. 6-7). These elements, related to what was found in the

⁷ TOMEO 2007.

⁸ GRECO 2007.

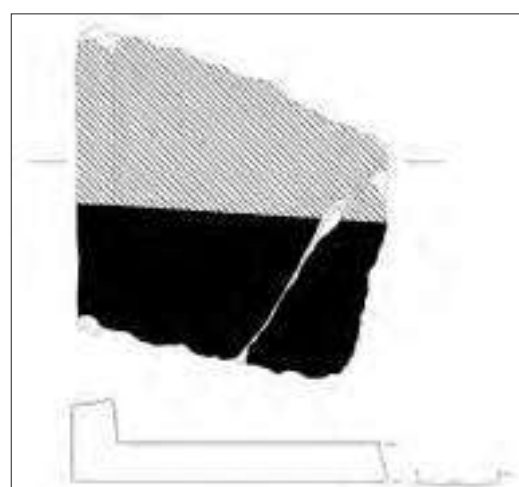
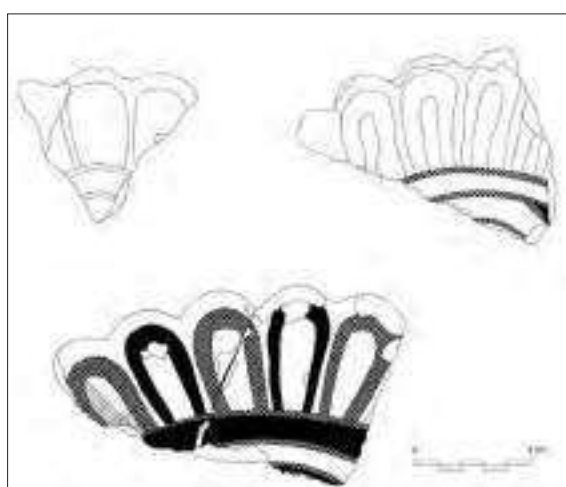
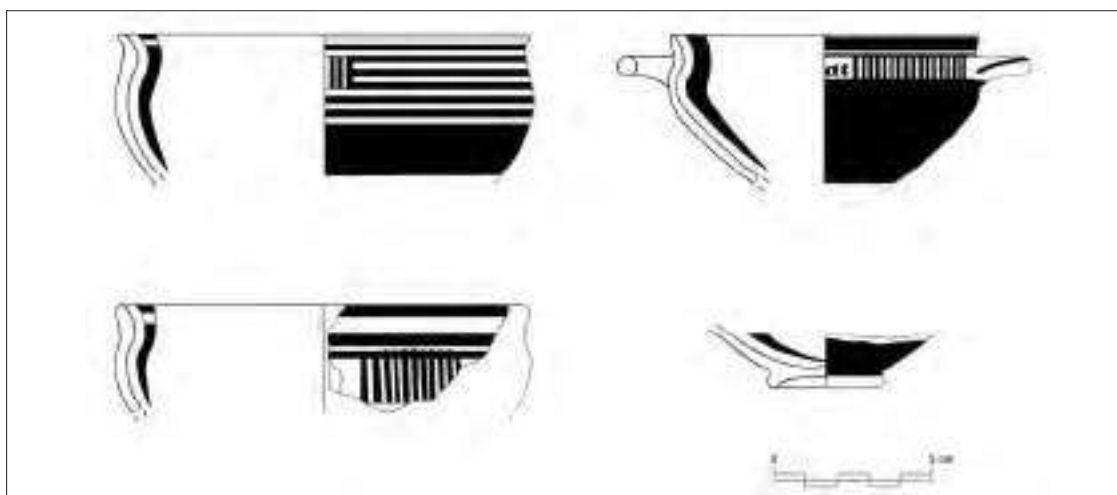


Fig. 4, a-c. Temple with Portico area: materials (SU 2258)

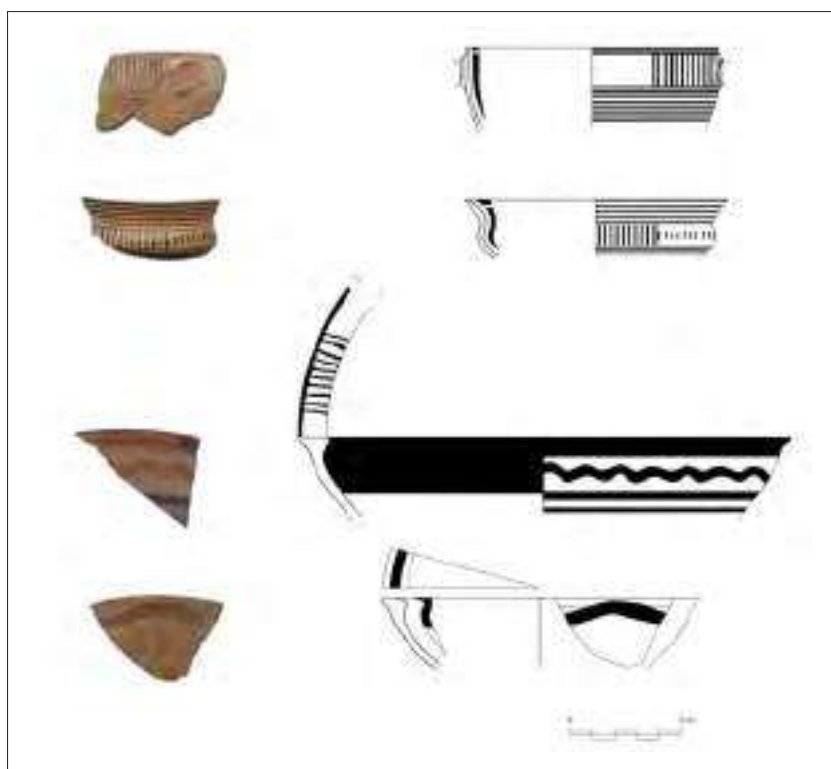


Fig. 5. Temple with Portico area: materials from the levels used in the 7th century BC

sondages inside the imperial monument, for the first time documented how the flat area near the hill was occupied by residential structures whose organization is not yet clear, given the restricted space of the sondages and the confusion created by the overlapping of the building phases.

Even so, the analysis of the materials adds significant data to the debate. In addition to the preponderant quantity of Protocorinthian pottery, both of imported and of local production, and attested in different shapes and qualities, there was always a considerable presence of *impasto* pottery with shapes that exactly reproduce those known from the pre-Hellenic local repertoire, such as the *olla*, the basin and the jug with embossed dots decoration. It is now clear that such shapes no longer belong only to a pre-Hellenic horizon.

The floor plan of this first domestic structure is covered by a level of deposit, inside which numerous fragments of Corinthian pottery with a geometric decoration clearly older than the use of the house were collected (Fig. 8): these are a cup with a Thapsos panel, an Aetos 666 cup, skyphoi, kotylai and a Late Geometric plates dating to the last quarter of the 8th century BC. All these elements suggest an earlier presence in the area by a few decades⁹. Here, the quality and nature of the materials suggest a significant specificity: the discovery of a fragment of a terracotta horse (Fig. 8) with brown bands painted on its neck and the numerous lekanai and fragments of conical belly lekythoi give some clues to understanding the function and articulation of the spaces during the 7th century BC in this area¹⁰.

The materials, both residual and from sealed contexts, perform the same function for the last quarter of the 8th century BC, highlighting the complexities of the structures.

The index type for these levels is the “Thapsos type” skyphos with and without panel (Fig. 9); they are attested both in Corinthian and local production. Indeed, the pottery of the EPC and LG II is well recorded, both imported and produced lo-

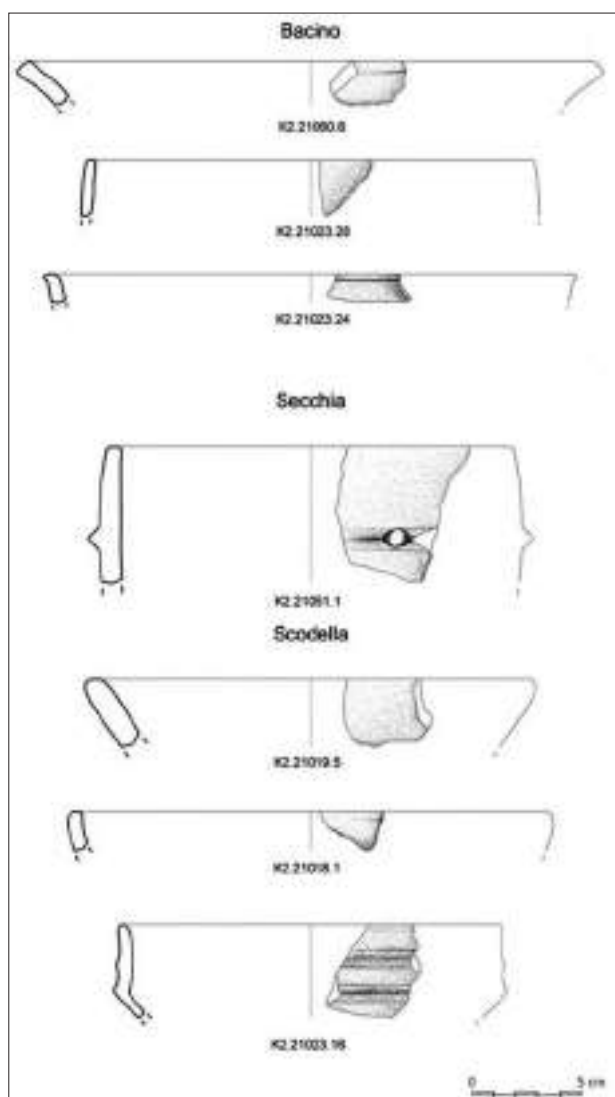


Fig. 6. Temple with Portico area: *impasto* pottery

cally; there are shapes that are not well represented in the necropolis, such as lekanai, cups, kyathoi and the fragments of the skyphoid craters, which become more and more numerous, and until now were attested only at Pithecusa in LG I. The presence of the aryballos is modest but is better documented in the necropolis.

Carried out in the same time, the excavation at the Masseria del Gigante showed an identical stratigraphical complexity with successive layers of levelling and raising of the ground surfaces. These levels gave back residual materials perfectly homogeneous with those discovered in the area of the Temple with a Portico; a fragment of a Thapsos cup with panel and broken meander from the Late Geometric I is one of the oldest elements found, in association with the same classes of ma-

⁹ GRECO 2005.

¹⁰ The first presentation of the context is in *Studi Cumani* 1, 27-48.

terials that were recovered in the area of the Forum¹¹.

The discovery of deposits of tephra led to the identification of protohistoric burials; the pits were filled with tephra (lapilli) in keeping with a peculiar habit of the Iron Age (i.e. labourers working with the Count of Syracuse and which Emilio Stevens called “the dead of the lapilli”¹²). The existence of an even earlier occupation phase is suggested by the discovery, on the interface with the natural bedrock, of a post-hole and chipped obsidian¹³.

The sondage in the Capitolium¹⁴ produced, even in a limited space, significant evidence. There is a floor with an alignment of piles of poles that gave back Early Archaic material related to the first organization of the area: this, as also seen on the western side, was profoundly transformed in the final decades of the 6th century BC with the construction of a structure in tufa blocks whose sacred and public character is well proclaimed by the technique and the wall decoration used. The materials recovered both in sealed and from residual contexts belong to the same ceramic classes recorded on the floor slabs in the Temple with Portico area and the Masseria del Gigante.

Finally, in 2006, after the enlargement of Sondage 14 to better understand the few remnants of an Archaic house, the first Archaic domestic structure of high quality was recovered (Fig. 10)¹⁵.

The existence of a residential building present on the level ground facing the sea was thus structurally proven; subsequently and until 2013-2014, the investigations which continued along this northern side of the Forum, confirmed even more the residential nature of the occupation of the area, dated between the last quarter of the 8th and the first decades of the 6th centuries BC with following phases of renovations and extensions of the oldest structures.

A radical transformation in the use of space took place at the end of the 6th century BC, when the houses were removed to make room for the or-

ganization of a sacred-public space in the urban planning system. There is no trace of violent destruction or traces of fire; the structures were abandoned at exactly the same time and the inhabited area was transferred elsewhere; a series of subsequent layers associated to structures of larger size are documented: these should be referred to a public and sacred function as demonstrated by the building technique, the wall decoration and materials. The most recent materials found in these filling levels, including fragments of transitional *bucchero* and fragments of a B2 Ionic cup, the index type for these phases, are dated to the final decades of the 6th century BC. This part of the level ground is reserved, in the new building and urban planning program, exclusively for sacred-public functions, which will continue, without interruption, up to the construction of the Roman Forum and until Late Antiquity.

This, very succinctly, the account of the chronology and nature of the successive works in the Forum.

The results of the research allow some reflections on topics already discussed in the first meetings which took place in the 1990s and which have been progressively resolved in recent years.

a) The first date of occupation obtained both from the evidence from the Masseria del Gigante and from the considerable amount of the residual materials leads to a reconsideration of the hypotheses so far proposed about the forms and the extent of the pre-Hellenic settlement. Today, the research carried out by the various teams involved in Cumae is demonstrating how it was organized by nuclei over a rather large region¹⁶. The topographical reconstruction of the pre-Hellenic necropolis shows how it extended over an area of about 10 hectares and was organized by nuclei, leaving large areas free. The hypothesis therefore that the pre-Hellenic settlement was organized not only on the terraces of “Monte di Cuma” but also in the level ground below has become ever more convincing¹⁷.

¹¹ CORAGGIO 2007.

¹² MARAGLINO 1906, 10; GRECO 2009.

¹³ CORAGGIO 2007.

¹⁴ PETACCO – RESCIGNO 2007.

¹⁵ GRECO 2008, 2009.

¹⁶ BRUN *et al.* 2008, 355, 382.

¹⁷ CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008.

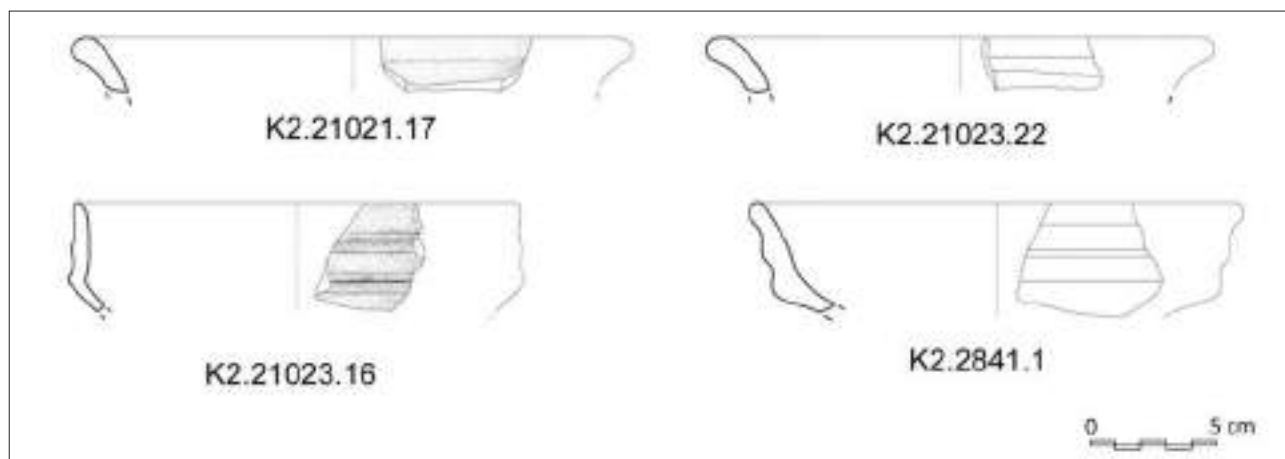


Fig. 7. Temple with Portico area: *impasto* pottery (nos. 1, 3) and coarse ware (nos. 2, 4)



Fig. 8. Temple with Portico area: pottery and a terracotta horse figurine from the second half of the 8th century BC

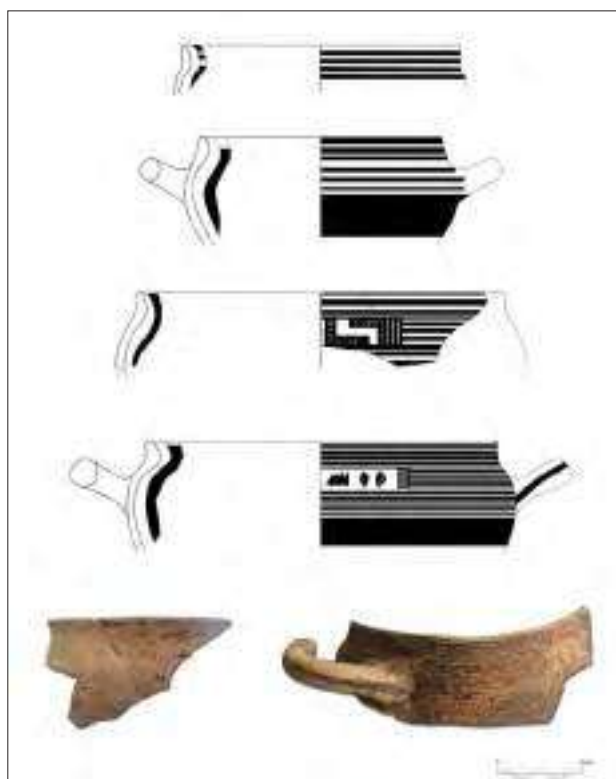


Fig. 9. Temple with Portico area: pottery from the second half of the 8th century BC

The studies carried out by Criscuolo and Nizzo on the revised pre-Hellenic materials also highlighted a prolonged phase of contact between the local community and the immigrants¹⁸.

The theme of the relationship with the indigenous world is present both at Pithecusa and at Cumae; on the island, the evidence of integration between the two communities seems to be abundant and articulated¹⁹.

¹⁸ CRISCUOLO 2007; NIZZO 2007.

¹⁹ D'AGOSTINO 2011; CERCHIAI 2014.

Cumae is also revealing widespread material evidence; the constant presence, in the Early Archaic levels containing Greek pottery, along with unusual of pre-Hellenic repertoire in *impasto* (Fig. 11), is of great significance. The pottery shapes are closely related to cooking and food storage, in particular the olla and the basin. The typological study and quantitative analysis carried out in recent years highlighted the continuity of production of some artefacts, such as the amphorae or jugs with embossed dots decoration,



Fig. 10. Temple with Portico area: the Early Archaic house plan

attested in Pithecusa and which continue throughout the 8th century BC²⁰. What should also be underlined is the coexistence, within the same contexts, of coarse ware, albeit worked on the wheel, that reproduces certain shapes of the pre-Hellenic *impasto*. These different techniques of ceramic production should reflect different methods in the organization of production: hypothetically, one could imagine a production of *impasto* pots as a prerogative of women within the economy of the *oikos* and the wheel-made pieces as the output of a more complex organization created by professional artisans.

On the matter of crafts, it is worth remarking here on the existence in an Archaic house of high-quality fragments of raw amber which are remnants of some technological process, and of a bronze bar: these clearly indicate craft production, especially the amber, which is also usually considered to specify an indigenous craftsman

(Fig. 12). Securing a reliable supply of metal had already been solved by the pre-Hellenic communities, as the extraordinary bronzes comprising the funerary objects demonstrate. We must therefore revisit our way of thinking about the nature of the relationship with the indigenous people and the ways these relationships operated, especially in the early stages of the colonial system. If, as Alfonso Mele stressed, the hypothesis of an Archaic Cumae as an “open city” is not feasible, it is still necessary to question how and when power relations between indigenous populations and immigrants change²¹.

The material evidence underline an indigenous presence, focused on pottery for everyday use and on some aspects of craftsmanship, such as amber and metallurgy, as occurs in Pithecusa. Even though these elements might seem limited, they could nevertheless present situations linked to forms of cohabitation or subalternity or even to “mixed mar-

²⁰ TOMEO 2014.

²¹ GRECO 2009.

riages”. Everything seems to refer to the initial arrival of the Greeks on the coast, but not yet to the stage of an *oecistic* and therefore a political foundation; this situation is very close to that found by Vallet in Megara Hyblaea, before the urban planning took place there, and as is currently coming to light in Leontinoi and Naxos where the significance of the Siculi is widely documented²².

b) When we consider the structural realities highlighted north of the Forum in the research carried by the University “L’Orientale” and Centre Jean Bérard, the densely associated nature of the neighborhood, or rather of the residential districts in the level ground overlooking the coastline, confirms that such an arrangement in housing was consistent in the last quarter of the 8th century BC over a rather extensive area. The materials found in all the sondages also seem to suggest a more ancient level that precedes – in a way we do not fully understand – the residential organization proper. Hellenic pottery appears, although in smaller quantities, in the current state of research between the MG II and the LG I.

Moreover, a set-up like that of Pithecusa and Cumae (two aspects of a single political and economic reality) cannot come into being as the result of a single limited act on one occasion; all the research of these last decades carried out in the Greek cities of Italy and Sicily clearly showed how the process is gradual and takes quite a considerable length of time²³.

The literary tradition records different times and forms of Greek occupation on the coast. Livy’s passage (Liv., 8.22) reported several times, tells how the Chalcidians do not immediately settle on the mainland, but are forced to first settle on the island because of the power of the natives. The entire historical tradition preserves a memory of the gradualness of the process and of the changes in strength and balance with the indigenous peoples, perpetuating that “colonial memory”, which is the most significant cultural achievement of the Greeks in the West.

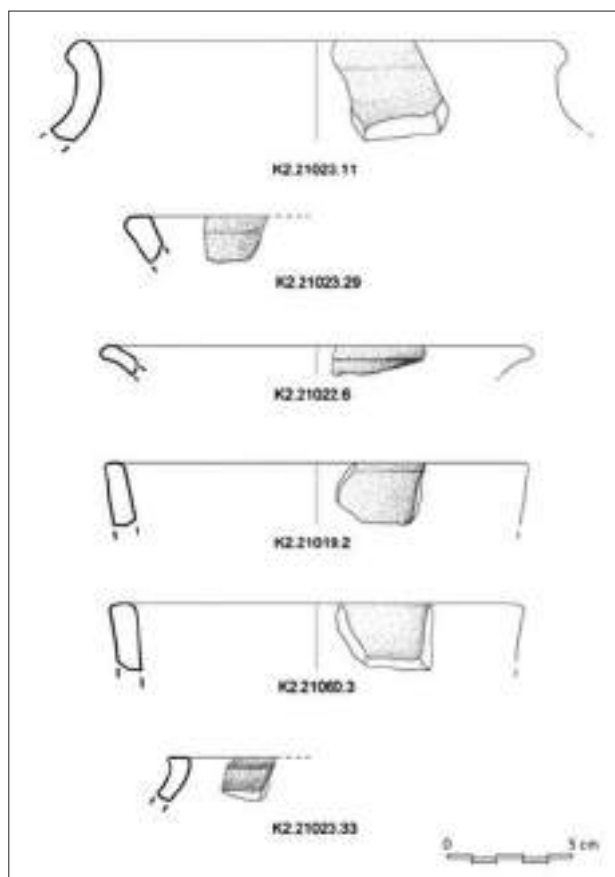


Fig. 11. Temple with Portico area: *impasto* pottery

Reading the material documentation in filigree, it is clear that the Euboeans established first of all a coexistence with the indigenous people in the same area. Relationships were rapidly transformed into political processes with the intervention of force which would transform a level ground used as a necropolis and perhaps partly inhabited by natives into a Greek settlement, and a hilly plateau from an indigenous village into a cult centre for the Greek gods. This process announces itself materially in the initial forms of urbanization that Matteo D’Acunto places in the first decades of the 7th century BC (LG II: 700-690 BC)²⁴.

What is recorded in the explorations in the area of the Forum is precisely this succession of building phases that embodies those of organization and planning; if the Archaic style of housing – a rectangular plan without internal subdivisions and probably with both a porch *in antis* and a further uncovered space in front – is dated in the last quarter of the 8th century BC, its restructuring with the

²² Megara Hybaea 5, 523-26; GRAS – TRÉZINY 2010, 1133-1147.

²³ TRÉZINY 2011.

²⁴ D’ACUNTO 2017.

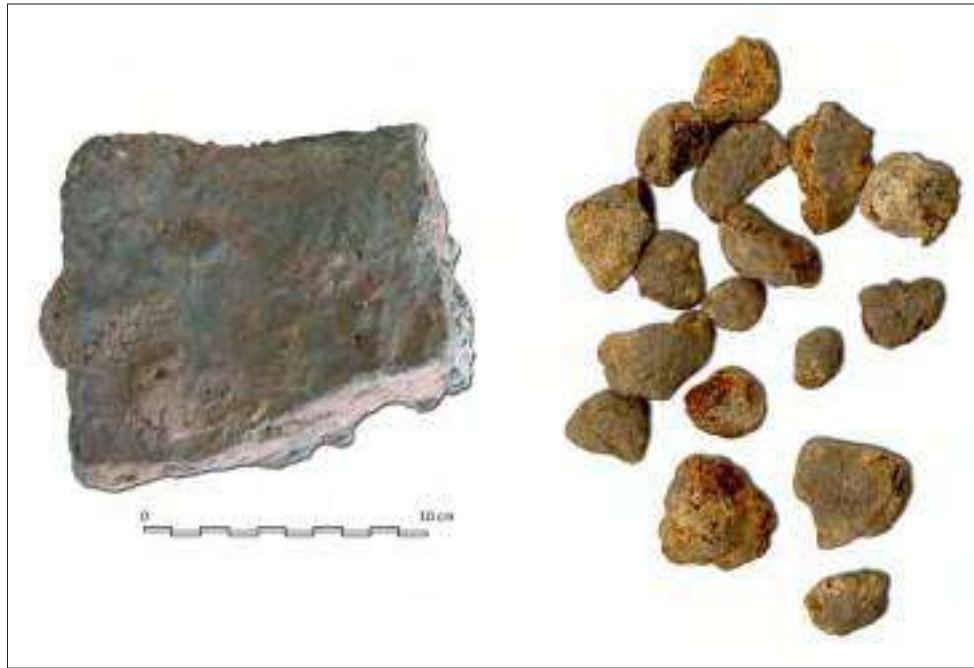


Fig. 12. Temple with Portico area: bronze bar and raw amber

raising of the floors, the subdivision of the covered indoor space, the creation of a bench and a new fireplace all takes place during the first half of the 7th century BC when the whole area is subjected to total reorganization (Fig. 13). The different floors, the storage pits (Fig. 14) and the post-holes indicating sheds identified in several points distant from each other in the Forum, are the best evidence of this process.

c) It is possible to grasp the successive moments of organization of the Greek town thanks to the quantitative relationship between Greek and indigenous materials recorded in some sealed contexts of the inhabited area. Analysis reflects this fluid reality rather clearly and records a slow disappearance of pre-Hellenic pottery as the quantity of Greek one, both imported and produced locally, and which imitates the shape and decorative repertoire of the original models (Fig. 15).

Even in the stratigraphic layers related to the enlargement of the Archaic house, with materials that date to the 7th century BC, a prevalence of coarse ware molded on the wheel recalling the most ancient forms of *impasto* is testified. Later, the quantitative relationship between Indigenous and Greek products is reversed, although the tradi-

tional indigenous pottery continues to be widespread. (Fig. 16).

The pottery of the Archaic residential area preserves numerous elements of the indigenous tradition, even if it is relegated to cooking ware alone; it will only be during the 7th century BC that cooking ware will be characterized by the prevalence of Greek forms; the shapes of *impasto* diminish as the shapes of Italo-Geometric ceramics rise. In the later 7th to early 6th centuries BC, the presence of the first shapes of *bucchero* is also recorded²⁵.

The impression gained is that the artisans make little changes in both technique and range of shapes with respect to the oldest productions; the predominance of wheel-made *olle* and basins in coarse ware suggests a response to the needs of clientele who were desirous of cooking pottery, with the *olla* providing inspiration. Nothing tells us if this class of pottery was actually produced by Greek artisans.

At the same time, however, it is important to underline that there is local production on a massive scale of Greek pottery, alongside imports, from the early stages of the life of the settlement.

²⁵ GRECO 2012a.

During the last quarter of the 8th century BC and later during the 7th century BC, oinochoai, skyphoi, kotylai, kantharoi are made in typical Phlegraean clay which is characterized by small volcanic inclusions. Nor should we overlook the remarks made several times by David Ridgway: observing in Pithecusa from the early to the mid-8th century BC that a considerable local production of Greek pottery was occurring, he argued that the arrival of the Euboeans on the island must have dated back at least a few decades earlier than what is shown by funerary evidence²⁶. At Cumae, the cups in the Thapsos-style and Geometric pottery of LG II (Aetos 666), both of Corinthian and local production, are recovered in the same stratigraphical context.

The old question of the clay used for this production is now to be considered a red herring. The petrographic, chemical-physical and mineralogical investigations have all highlighted the components of the mixtures, characterized by substantial uniformity, with consistent inclusions of quartz, white and brown mica and the presence, among other minerals, of traces of pyroxene, all of which clearly define its volcanic nature and their connection to a geographical area corresponding to that of the Phlegraean Fields.

The question concerning the exact clay supply areas in the territory of Cumae or more generally in the Phlegraean area remains open. The question, first tackled at the beginning of the last century, has still not found full clarification. A broader study of the geological character of the Phlegraean Fields would place source(s) somewhere in the region of the Bay of Naples. The absence, at the current state of research, in Cumae, of archaeological evidence of kilns or wasters or any other elements attributable to production are, again, an evident obstacle to comprehending the methods and range of Cumaean pottery²⁷.

On the other hand, it is highly plausible that it is not cheap or productive to transport the clay to produce pottery from the island, even though the two centers are close. If so, then the fact that the

shape and decorative repertoire reflect the same tendencies is the result of the common roots and common parameters of reference.

d) Given that the early stages in the organization of space indicate that a colonial strategy was still in the making, by the end of the century we find a different and more organized and evolved urban structure that becomes more and more dominant during the 7th century BC. Pithecusa slowly lost its role within the close network of trade in the Mediterranean, and Cumae took control becoming very powerful even compared to the neighboring Italic populations.

What happens on the coast can also be seen, in filigree, reflected in the immediate hinterland, where the mechanisms that undermined the indigenous society on the coast can be better understood. In the area of the Campanian plain which forms the immediate hinterland of Cumae, we can see the birth of stable settlements, characterized by significant continuity owing to socio-economic structuring and a new organization of agricultural exploitation. This occurs during the second half of the 8th century BC, especially in the final decades.

The emblematic cases of Gricignano d'Aversa or of Calatia, as well as for the Valle del Sarno, suggest a fluid interchange existing between the two different communities. In the high-value funerary goods, the constant presence of Greek pottery both from Corinth and from the Phlegraean workshops and the spread of the banquet set for drinking wine speak of communities that are structured on a socio-economic level where the relations between natives and Greeks have become mutually "advantageous" for both populations. This puts pay to the widespread stereotypical imaginings current in the bibliography.

The structuring of the indigenous communities at the end of the 8th century BC, as well as the vast, effective agricultural exploitation of the territory, are now confirmed by archaeological evidence. It does not appear in the slightest unfounded that the force behind this structuring of the hinterland was most likely Cumae as it developed its strategy of forging relationships and expanding into the internal territory. Moreover, this interpretation would

²⁶ RIDGWAY 1984.

²⁷ GRECO *et al.* 2014.

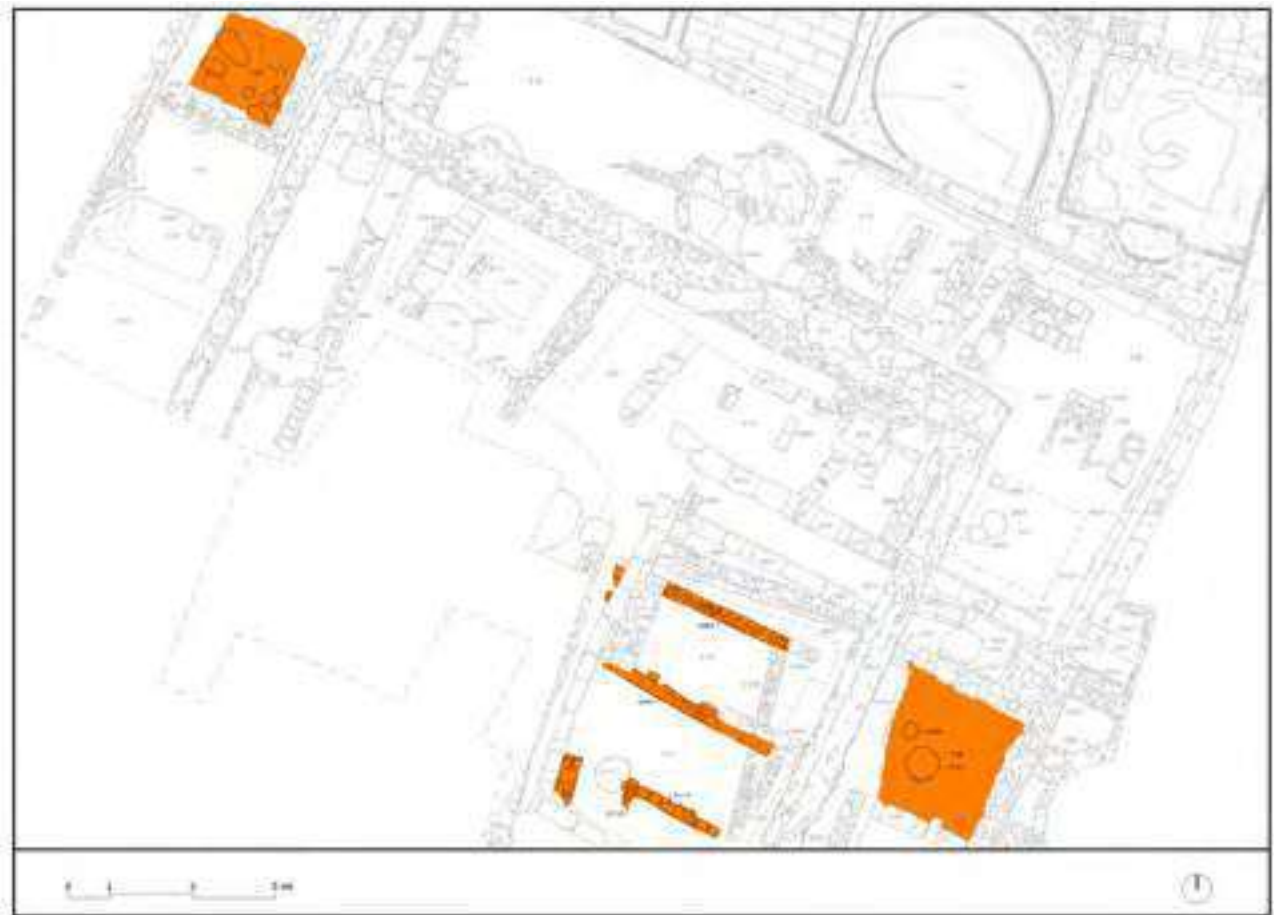


Fig. 13. Temple with Portico area: the residential area plan and its transformations



Fig. 14, a-b. Temple with Portico area: aerial view. Floor with storage pits

explain the story unfolding in the relationship with the local communities in the Early Archaic levels in the city²⁸.

e) The character and morphology of at least one residential unit of the Archaic and Late Archaic

settlement can be defined (Fig. 17), despite the gaps owed in part to the smallness of the excavation and partly from the great restructuring carried out in the final decades of the 6th century BC that covered and destroyed much pre-existing evidence. What remains in the ground, however, is enough to hint at other units of which we can vaguely see the shape and structure.

²⁸ GRECO 2014; CERCHIAI 2014.



Fig. 15. Temple with Portico area: Greek pottery

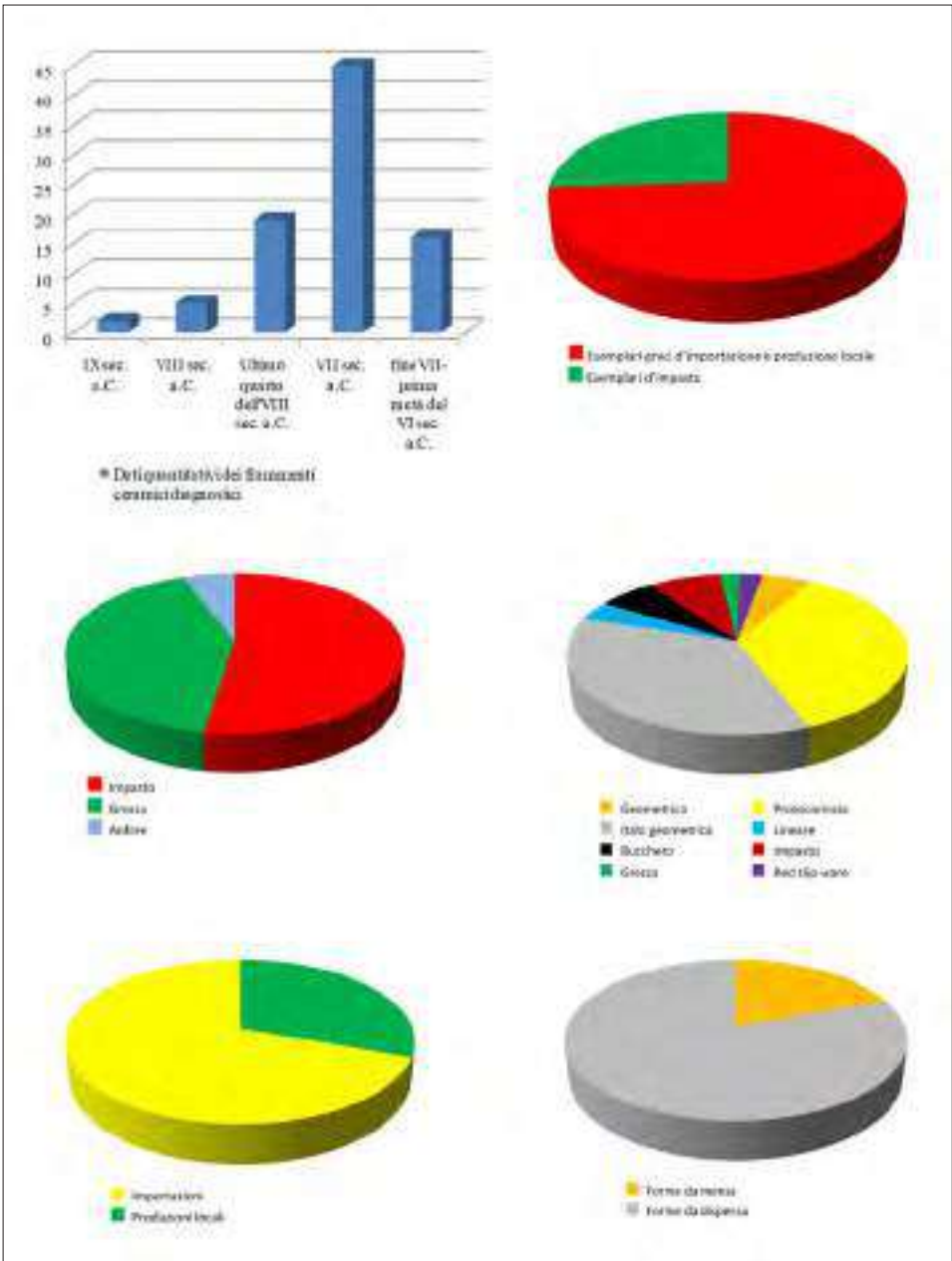


Fig. 16. Temple with Portico area: graphics of Archaic materials from the residential area

Briefly summarizing the already published data, the structure in question has an elongated rectangular plan with a south opening and a tufa-block threshold, between columns in *antis*. It occupies an area that exceeds 30 sq m, without any internal divisions; it is perfectly aligned with the external walking level, identified to the northeast side at 4.50 m circa, where large containers useful for the house's needs were located. The building technique is meticulous; the walls are set on a base of squared blocks of tufa with earth and tufa flake infilling (Fig. 18), set directly on the natural surface, a levelled and regularized pozzolan soil, with no foundations; above the socle, is a raised compound of smaller tufa blocks, of very regular shape. On this, the superstructure, probably in *pisè* (many fragments of clay with imprinted traces of the *incannucciata*, and on the front part, a thin layer of plaster), the beaten earth floor is compact and smooth with traces of firing; the roof was probably lightweight as no tile fragments have been recovered in the context. The walking surface outside the structure is less carefully engineered than the internal one and above all has no trace of rubefaction. The building technique finds comparisons both on the island of Ischia-Pithecura, in the houses at Mazzola and Punta Chiarito and in Greece, in Euboea, where the oval building of Viglatouri seems to present an identical masonry technique²⁹.

The use of the structure is defined by the presence of a fireplace inside the room (Fig. 19), off-center on the west side and embedded into the floor, as at Pithecura in the Mazzola district. Outside the house, the pits for the positioning of large containers and a post-hole suggest a space covered by a simple canopy; however, this external arrangement could also belong to another housing unit further north and whose traces are visible in the soil.

The materials recovered on the internal and external walking surfaces date the life of this unit between the last quarter of the 8th and 7th centuries BC (Figs. 20-22). For the oldest phase, the index type for the dating are the Thapsos type cup with or without panel, of the oldest type with a collar lip, and a deep basin of the more recent type with a lower body with stretched walls (LG II, EPC).

The classes of materials attested in the external walking surfaces are wheel-made coarse ware, Ita-



Fig. 17, a-b. Temple with Portico area: Archaic house



Fig. 18, a-b. Temple with Portico area: building technique

lo-Geometric pottery, imitation red slip ware, large containers and amphorae. The most attested forms in the Geometric and Proto Corinthian pottery are, by far, shapes for the consumption of drinks: skyphoi and kotylai followed by kantharoi and kylikes; the shape of the calyx crater survives in 7 specimens³⁰.

²⁹ Euboica, 64, fig. 5.

³⁰ MERMATI 2012.



Fig. 19. Temple with Portico area: fireplace



Fig. 20. Temple with Portico area: pottery

The ceramic set for eating and drinking is almost exclusively made up of Italo-Geometric pottery, where the *lekane* is the most widely recorded form. Evidence also exists for a dish with a large brimmed lip and a vessel with a continuous profile that reproduces the Phoenician plate in red slip ware, which was imitated and produced on a large scale also by Pithecusan workshops.

Wheelmade and *impasto* wares are the most attested in the use levels of the structure; for coarse ware, the shape of the *olla* (Fig. 23) prevails in the areas of the hearth; storage vessels are attested in a variety of shapes, from ovoid with flared lip to ovoid cylinder, to convex (Fig. 24). The shape of the basin/mortar also exists in several types; fewer *situlae* are known, though cups and bowls are more numerous with only two examples of a pitcher in coarse ware. Overall, there is a sort of “kitchen set” consisting of an *olla* and a basin.

The *impasto* pottery is the most significant evidence for reconstructing the range of cooking utensils. This indigenous tradition is attested until the Early Archaic house: the shapes are those for cooking and storage, with the *olla* the most common shape; then follows the basin, sometimes of great dimensions (in one case the diameter exceeds 50 cm); a bucket with cord decoration with fingerprints finds comparison with material from Poggio-

marino of the 8th century BC; there are also open shapes such as the bowl³¹.

The bronze bar weighing about 2.580 kg is a quite exceptional find: of a roughly trapezoidal shape, it was found in association with numerous iron slag, pebbles and a certain quantity of fragments of raw unworked amber; all these elements suggest that craft activities were pursued within the structure.

This Cumaean evidence, even in its extreme simplicity, is very significant when compared to the situation at Pithecusa, where metallurgical activities and artisan skills have been considered among the main elements introduced by the Greeks into the Tyrrhenian communities³².

What emerges today in Cumae fits into this conceptual frame and once again demonstrates the perfect polarity of the two centers: both are active in metallurgical and ceramic craftsmanship, enjoy identical “artisan know-how” and share a political and economic set-up that has its roots in the role that Euboea has played since the Late Bronze Age in the trafficking of raw materials and in the development of a refined metallurgical handcraft³³.

The most immediate comparison – for building techniques, the association between covered spaces and open spaces, production areas, and the quality and quantity of materials – is obviously Pithecusa, especially in the two contexts of Mazzola and Punta Chiarito. Buildings III and IV of Mazzola have identical structural and technical characteristics; Building III, with a rectangular plan and no internal divisions, in its first phase of construction has roughly the same covered surface as the Early Archaic house of Cumae (about 33.80 square meters) and is also the building that gave back most iron slags allowing it to be identified as a smithy; the classes of certified materials – from tableware (cups, kotylai), to containers for transportation, to kitchenware – find an almost exact correspondence with what was recorded in Cumae³⁴.

f) The first transformation that involved some rebuilding and levelling of the oldest layers, with the overlapping of a successive series of interruptions, is between the mid-7th and early 6th centuries BC.



Fig. 21, a-c. Temple with Portico area: pottery from the second half of the 8th century BC

³¹ TOMEIO 2014, 109, fig. 7.

³² D'AGOSTINO 1994, 24-26.

³³ SOUEREFF 1998, 237.

³⁴ MANZI 2005.



Fig. 22. Temple with Portico area: pottery from the second half of the 7th century BC

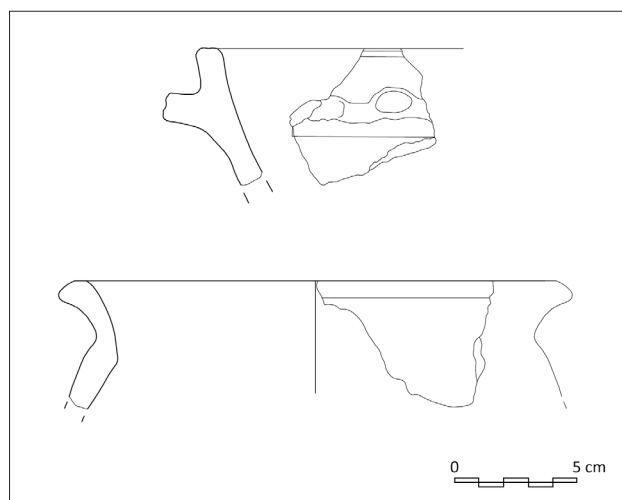


Fig. 23.a-b. Temple with Portico area: *impasto* pottery

Continuity in the use of the space documents that, while respecting the pre-existing orientation (northeast/southwest), there is a restructuring and redefinition of the area (Fig. 25). A new setting is created at a higher level which corresponds perfectly to that of the beaten floor brought to light in previous years (Sondage 14) and which could, therefore, constitute the exterior to this renovated dwelling unit. Some of the old house walls have been reused and raised, others cut out and covered; the construction technique of the new structure differs from the older one: the walls are of parallelepiped blocks of yellow tufa, much larger in size compared to the previous phase and placed horizontally (Fig. 26). Beside the wall that defines the area on the south side is built a kind of pathway made of blocks of tufa; near it, was a fireplace and, on the walking level, an olla was recovered, still *in situ*, which is dated in the final decades of the 7th century BC³⁵.

Another bit of treading, cut by postholes and pits for storage, has been documented on the west side and probably is related to another unit on that side.

A level of deposit of pozzolanic type relates to the demolition and covering of the Early Archaic house. These materials date back between the 7th and the early 6th centuries BC; the *impasto* pottery is always abundant, while the Greek-type wares continue the shapes and types already present in

³⁵ GRECO 2011.



Fig. 24. Temple with Portico area: *impasto* pithos

the underlying levels; most of the material belongs to the 7th century BC: namely the Protocorinthian open-shape vases and others with linear decoration. Two large containers, a medium-sized pithos and a larger one with a diameter of 47 cm, were recovered in the pits excavated for the storage containers. The presence of these two pithoi, although of different shapes, reveals the economic level of the family that is able to possess a considerable amount of foodstuffs.

Another storage pit held, still *in situ*, a rough-made, integral ceramic pot; it is an oval-shaped vessel which has parallels from Pithecusa dating from the late 8th and early 7th centuries BC.

This evidence of an articulated settlement with successive phases of renovation and enlarged buildings, together with what was discovered by the team of researchers from the University “L’Orientale” and Centre Jean Bérard, reveals a level of organization in the Early Archaic residential area of Cumae that is substantially different from what has been described in the bibliography. It is worth reminding here that Gabrici also mentioned «...the lost traces of the houses of the 8th century BC on the acropolis»³⁶. Gabrici wrote this in 1913 and a century later, important research carried out by a splendid enthusiastic team of scholars led to the revelation of a Early Archaic residential area in a neighborhood that quickly and within a few decades would take on an urban form with a clear definition of living spaces.

³⁶ GABRICI 1913, cols. 765-766.



Fig. 25. Temple with Portico area: stratigraphy



Fig. 26. Temple with Portico area: interventions in the late 6th century BC and Archaic wall

Early urbanization was already underway in the early decades of the 7th century BC. Similar early planning of living spaces is also recorded at Megara or Naxos: here, intensive occupation is not involved, but rather there is occupation of the spaces between housing areas, bounded by an enclosure, and therefore quite distinct from the area to be allocated to the necropolis or sacred ceremonies.

The presence of a coroplastic fragment (a horse's head), with an unusual shape may suggest a different function and articulation of the spaces, one that finds another labile trace in Sondage 18 open at the southern edge of the "Piazza del Foro". This sondage revealed part of a tufa block structure not better defined but still relative to a chronological horizon of the 7th century BC. On the pathway, small and medium-sized vases were recovered and suggest that a more specific role should be assigned to the area within the inhabited zone³⁷.

They are fragments of a much more complex and articulated settlement and they contribute to defining how the spaces were planned and de-



Fig. 27. Temple with Portico area: new monumental building technique

signed on the plain at the foot of Monte di Cumae in the last quarter of the 8th to the beginning of the 6th centuries BC. At this point, a new urban plan destined this space to public functions only (the first phase of the Agora): the new monumental buildings, in fact, present completely different construction techniques, orientations and organization³⁸ (Figs. 27-28).



Fig. 28. Temple with Portico area: different orientations

³⁷ GRECO 2008.

³⁸ GRECO 2011.

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NEW DISCOVERIES FROM PARTHENOPE (NAPLES)*

Daniela Giampaola

THE HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL FRAMEWORK

The contribution aims to present the new data on the site of Parthenope at Pizzofalcone that have emerged from the archaeological investigations for the city's underground line. These discoveries deepen the knowledge surrounding the colonial phenomenon in the Gulf of Naples, adding to the documentation from Pithekoussai and Cumae.

The theme of the origin of Parthenope and its evolution up to the foundation of Neapolis will be focused on, also involving the historical tradition on the two centres, which have recently been subjected to a systematic review.

The archaeological records cannot shed any new light on the tradition of the Rhodian foundation of Parthenope testified to by Strabo (XIV 2.10, p. 654) and Stephanus Byzantinus (s.v. Parthenope), but it may be interesting to point out that they date the beginning of the settlement to a very ancient chronological horizon such as that evoked by historical sources for Rhodian Parthenope (prior to the foundation of the Olympic Games)¹.

In the historical sources on Parthenope and Neapolis Alfonso Mele recognises two different orientations: that of the Neapolitan view (LYCOPHRON, *Alex.* 733-737; LUTATIUS, *Histor.* Fr. 7 Peter; LIV. VIII 22, 5,7; 23, 10; 25, 9; 26), which emphasises the relationship of Neapolis with Pithekoussai and

especially Parthenope, and the other, from a Cumaean perspective (PSEUDO SCYMNUS, vv. 572-6; STRABO, V 4, 7 C 246; VELLEIUS, I 4, 1-2), which enhances the relationship between Neapolis and Cumae, obscuring the role of Parthenope². The sources suggest the sequence of Parthenope and Neapolis, but do not indicate the date of foundation.

Particularly deserving of attention is the fragment of the historian Lutatius (probably Lutatius Daphnides), according to whom Parthenope was initially founded by *Cumani incolae a parentibus digressi*, subsequently destroyed by the Cumaeans for fear of being abandoned, and finally restored under the name of Neapolis in accordance with an oracle after a plague which struck the Cumaean territory. This source has given rise to various hypotheses about the factual reality of the destruction of Parthenope and its chronology³. According to Bruno d'Agostino, the events reported by Lutatius relate to the crisis between Cumae and Parthenope at the time of the tyrant Aristodemos⁴.

² MELE 2009; 2014, 144-171; 2015, 20-24.

³ Scholars have tried to match the source with archaeological data and, above all, with those of the necropolis of Pizzofalcone: NAPOLI 1952, 275-285, and 1997², 23-24, confirm the destruction of Parthenope around 530 BC, attributing it to the Etruscans as part of the struggles with Cumae. According to DE CARO 1974 and 1985, 99-102, the final dating of the necropolis is placed around the middle of the 6th century BC, but it cannot be considered proof of the destruction mentioned by Lutatius; PUGLIESE CARRATELLI 1952, 249, and CASSOLA 1985, 48-50, 55 suggest that the source does not imply a total destruction of Parthenope: the first author links it to a decay of the settlement; the other, to a conflict which opposed Cumae and Parthenope between 485 and 474 BC, which was followed by the founding of Neapolis; MELE 1985b, 91 agrees that the destruction of Parthenope does not necessarily imply its demise; MELE 2014, 144-147, associates Lutatius' passage with an anti-Cumaean tradition, rather than with the concrete destruction of Parthenope.

⁴ D'AGOSTINO 1985. The relevance of *stasis* has also been emphasized by RAVIOLA 1995, 153-164, who places it at the end of

* The article recalls the theme developed in a lecture held at the 58th Congress on Magna Graecia (Taranto, 27-30 September 2018). Cf. GIAMPAOLA forthcoming. For a recent historical and archaeological synthesis on Parthenope and Neapolis cf. GIAMPAOLA – GRECO 2022.

¹ CASSOLA 1985, 41-45; MELE 2014, 147-149.



Fig. 1. Campania and the Gulf of Naples (© Centre Jean Bérard Naples; P. Munzi-Santoriello)

Emanuele Greco argues that the foundation of Neapolis caused the split of the *chora* of Cumae, as it had been defined since the time of the Euboean *apoikia*⁵.

Alfonso Mele, on the other hand, places the origin of this tradition at the end of the 5th century, at the time when Neapolis and Cumae developed an opposing policy towards the Campanians, which led to a disagreement like that between Cumae and Parthenope about a century earlier⁶.

Parthenope is located in the Gulf of Naples – *Kymaios Kolpos* or *Krater* in literary sources – and controls the sea passage through the Mouths of Capri and the Procida Channel⁷ (Fig. 1). The settlement is included in the network of ports of the *paralia* of Cumae such as the *epineion* of Puteoli (STRABO, V, 4, 6) and the *limenes* of Misenum (DION. HAL., VII, 3, 2)⁸, which were also connected

by the coastal route of the *via Heraclea*⁹. It is uncertain whether this passage continued towards Parthenope, while upstream of the modern city of Pozzuoli, a road connecting Neapolis to Puteoli from the end of the 7th century BC testifies to an early connection between Cumae and the other ports in the Gulf¹⁰. The only archaic evidence referable to the *epineion* of Puteoli are sherds of an Italo-Geometric oinochoe (late 7th Century BC) and an Ionian cup (mid-6th century BC) found at Rione Terra where the ancient settlement can be located¹¹; no evidence of this phase is known for Misenum.

This is a meager and later evidence than that of Parthenope, for which the otherwise extensive archaeological record calls into question or, at least, circumscribes in time, its role as a mere *epineion*.¹²

extended as far as Miseno, Pozzuoli, Parthenope, Herakleion; cf. also MELE 2009, 196-197; 2014, 92-96, 170-171.

⁹ GRAS 1985b, 15-17.

¹⁰ DE CARO – GIALANELLA 2002, 9.

¹¹ DE FRANCISCIS 1971; DE CARO – GIALANELLA 2002, 9, 11; ZEVİ 1993, 9-13.

¹² MELE 2009, 196-197; 2014, 92-96; GIANGIULIO 2021, 70-71 assumes an indigenous presence at the time of the Cumaean foundation of Parthenope. He also doubts that Parthenope was simply a naval *epineion* and not a more substantial settlement.

Aristodemos' tyranny, proposing a date around 480 BC for the founding of Neapolis.

⁵ GRECO 1985, 188-189; 2021.

⁶ MELE 2009, 194-195; 2014, 147, 166-168.

⁷ MELE 2014, 81-89, 231-232.

⁸ GRAS 1985b, 14, 17-19 emphasizes Cumae's geographic marginality with respect to the Gulf of Naples, while at the same time enhancing its wide sphere of influence over the *paralia*,



Fig. 2. Parthenope and Neapolis with the ancient coastline (Calcagno Architetti Associati)

At the same time, the context of Parthenope cannot be examined separately from that of Neapolis: the two sites form a unitary system from a

historical, topographical, and archaeological point of view.

Parthenope and Neapolis occupy two adjacent hills and are connected by a flat area located on the slopes of the Vomero - S. Martino hill ridge, which circumscribes a marine inlet, in which, at today's Piazza Municipio, the Greco-Roman port has been identified (Fig. 2).

For the evaluation of Parthenope's status, the results of the excavation at Piazza Santa Maria degli Angeli assume significant relevance, on which see the detailed presentation below.



Fig. 4. Parthenope (Calcagno Architetti Associati)

a few materials of the EIA2 have been found, the question of an indigenous settlement at Parthenope prior to the Euboean presence in the Gulf is still open.

The original morphology of Pizzofalcone (about 15 hectares) was characterized by high tuffaceous slopes, now visible only in the residual spaces of the modern city (Fig. 4). Opposite Pizzofalcone is the islet traditionally identified with Megaris, occupied since the 12th century by Castel dell'Ovo¹⁶. A profound transformation of the an-

cient landscape is due to the “Risanamento” project of the late 19th century: it carried out the advancement of the shoreline by means of an artificial filling between via Chiatamone and via S. Lucia, which changed the relationship of the Pizzofalcone hill with the sea¹⁷. Inland, a paleoalveum di-

¹⁶ Megaris, PLIN. *HN* III, 82; *Megalia*, STAT., *Silv.* II 2, 80; Parthenope, PTOL., *Geog.* III I, 69: cf. CASSOLA 1985, 45, MELE

2014, 156. Recent archaeological and geomorphological data testify that the submerged area surrounding the islet of Castel dell'Ovo is occupied by artificial *piscinae*, pertaining to the late Republican maritime villa (perhaps that of L. Licinius Lucullus reported by literary sources) located at Pizzofalcone. Investigations have so far revealed no traces of more ancient remains on the islet: cf. PAPPONE *et al.* 2019; IAVARONE 2020.

¹⁷ ALISIO 2003.

vided Pizzofalcone from the Mortelle hill, where at via Nicotera a necropolis was found in 1949; this natural gorge, taken up by today's via Chiaia, was used from at least the Augustan Age by the *via per cryptam* directed to Puteoli¹⁸.

Neapolis occupies a nearby wider plateau (ca. 70 hectares), surrounded by gorges in which the cemeteries are located; the urban plateau sloped toward the coastline where the natural harbor inlet opened to the west, while, on the opposite side, a sandy shoreline reached the depression of the Sebetus river, at the eastern limit of its *chora*¹⁹. The urban planning *per strigas*, still in the late archaic pattern²⁰, and the city walls were adapted to the natural orography of the plateau.

The dating of the city's foundation has been placed traditionally around 470 BC, after the naval battle of Cumae in 474²¹.

Archaeological investigations carried out in the late 1990s on the urban plateau, however, documented numerous residual ceramics datable from the mid/second half to the last decades of the 6th century BC in various areas (S. Aniello a Caponapoli, S. Domenico Maggiore, S. Marcellino). To these materials can be added the finds of a portion of city wall in orthostats, investigated at the eastern limit of the settlement in vico Soprammuro, datable on the pottery sherds in the *emplekton*, around the first decades of the 5th century BC²².

¹⁸ JOHANNOWSKY 1985; 1953, 121-22, suggests that the *via per cryptam* traces a pre-existing route between Neapolis and Parthenope and to the Phlegrean area, evidenced by the discoveries of tombs dated from the 5th to 3rd centuries BC.

¹⁹ On the urban planning cf. NAPOLI 1967; 1997²; GRECO 1985a, 1985b; GIAMPAOLA 1995; GRECO 2005; LONGO – TAURO 2016; MERTENS 2016; GIAMPAOLA 2017b.

²⁰ GRECO 1985b, 207.

²¹ On the chronology around 470 BC cf. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI 1952, 249-253; NAPOLI 1997², 25; MELE 1985a, 104. Due to the lack of historical data, an "archaeological" date of the foundation has been proposed, based on the few grave goods from the second quarter of the 5th century BC from the necropolis of Castel Capuano (CASSOLA 1985, 55; BORRIELLO *et al.* 1985; PONTRANDOLFO 1985) and on the oldest Neapolitan coin series, known from a single sample with the head of the siren *Parthenope* (CANTILENA 1985, 352 - 354). For a later date of the coin around 450 BC cf. RUTTER 1979, no.1, 142.

²² GIAMPAOLA – D'AGOSTINO 2005, 51-59, 72-80, fig.12 (D. Giampaola). *Contra* D'ONOFRIO 2017 who, while admitting that the city wall is not a binding element for the birth of the *polis*, disagrees with the dating of the fortification of vico Soprammuro, whose materials would only indicate a terminus *post quem* within the mid-5th century BC. This reasoning does not seem decisive since the most

These archaeological data led to tracing the process of founding the city to the last third of the 6th century BC and, according to Bruno d'Agostino, to the *stasis* culminating in Aristodemos' seizure of power at Cumae in 504 BC²³.

The hypothesis of a higher chronology for the urban foundation has renewed the discussion of the dynamics of the development of Neapolis²⁴.

Another important event in the city's history is the *epoikia* of the Athenians, Pythecusan, and Chalcidans (STRABO, V, 4, 7 C 246), at the time of the Athenian navarch Diotimus' expedition between the middle and third quarter of the 5th century²⁵: some scholars suggest that the poleonym of Neapolis is to be related to this event²⁶.

The examination of old and new archaeological data allows us for a more in-depth examination of the passage from Parthenope to Neapolis.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DOSSIER ON PARTHENOPE UP TO THE EXCAVATIONS FOR THE SUBWAY LINE

Archaeological evidence on Parthenope was for a long time limited to the Chiatamone dump and the necropolis of via Nicotera, which attested to its location on the Pizzofalcone promontory. Due to the scarcity of materials and the fortuitous circumstances of the findings, the archaeological framework has remained uncertain about both in terms of the chronology and function of the settlement.

problematic marker recovered in the *emplekton* is an "Etruscan-Archaic" bowl, pertaining to a type (A3) which, according to FALCONE – NAPOLITANO 2010, 38-39 (not known to D'Onofrio 2017) dates between the late 6th/early 5th century BC and «470/60 a.C. e non oltre». In our case, such chronological range can be further reasonably narrowed down if we consider that the bowl is associated in the *emplekton* with other sherds dating within the first quarter of the 5th century.

²³ GIAMPAOLA – D'AGOSTINO 2005, 59-63 (B. d'Agostino).

²⁴ MELE 2009, 183, 185, 192, 197-199; 2014, 174-176; D'ONOFRIO 2017; CERCHIAI 2010 and 2020; GRECO 2021; GIANGIULIO 2021 40, 70-71 distinguishes between a poleogenetic process that begins in the late archaic age, consolidating over time and an institutional "foundation" that takes shape around the mid-5th century, at the time of the *epoikia*.

²⁵ On the chronology of Diotimus' expedition cf. e.g. CASSOLA 1986, 63-65; MELE 2007, 251-266; 2009, 198-199; 2014, 180-187.

²⁶ MELE 2009, 195, 198; D'ONOFRIO 2017, 35; GRECO 2021 agrees with the hypothesis, posing the problem of the city's name before the *epoikia*. D'ONOFRIO 2017, 35-41 suggests that "una definizione/riformulazione sostanziale" of the urban planning occurred at the time of apoikia; along the same interpretive pathway GIANGIULIO 2021, 71.

The history of the archaeological discovery of Parthenope begins with the urban regeneration of the S. Lucia quarter, when on the eastern slope of the Pizzofalcone promontory (Pallonetto a S. Lucia) a ceramic dump was recovered; it was initially judged to be prehistoric and later correctly dated by Giorgio Buchner and Stefano De Caro²⁷. Around the 2000s this context was subjected to a more up-to-date study²⁸. The oldest materials date from the late 8th to mid-7th century BC.: an *impasto* kotyle with impressed circles, Italo-Geometric vessels produced at Pithekoussai or Cumae, and a small Phoenician jug. The dump also contains sherds extending from the late 7th to the 6th century: *impasto*, bucchero²⁹, and Italo-Geometric vessels, a Corinthian kotyle, Ionian cups, and pottery with linear decoration. The most recent marker is black-glaze pottery from the early 5th century (Acrocup and B kylikes). It has thus been assumed that the beginning of Parthenope dates to the late 8th to early 7th century BC and that its final phase, or at any rate its downsizing, lies in the first decades of the 5th century, with a possible break linked to the founding of Neapolis.

The Parthenope necropolis was accidentally discovered in Via Nicotera 10 on the Mortelle hill: only parts of the grave goods were recovered without distinction of the burials, whose chronology Stefano De Caro fixed in a range from the mid-7th to the first half of the 6th century BC³⁰.

The finds are Corinthian pottery from the MPC until to MC/LC horizon, Etruscan-Corinthian vessels, and colonial Greek types of Pithekoussan-Cumaeian workshop. Ionian A2 and B1 cups and Ionian-bucchero are also documented, while indigenous pottery is absent.

The necropolis is used again in the 4th-3rd century BC, as documented by red-figure, black-glaze and plain pottery; this is the period when Parthenope has become the Palaepolis mentioned by Livy (VIII, 22, 5,7), at the time of the *bellum neapolitanum* at the beginning of the Second Samnite War³¹.

This source alludes to a development of the Neapolitan community that finds full confirmation in the archaeological data: Palaepolis (the “Old town”) is flanked at a short distance by Neapolis (the “New town”), inhabited by the same people, and both constitute a single *civitas*³².

THE EXCAVATION OF THE SUBWAY LINE

The excavations for the subway in Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli and Piazza Municipio appear significant because of their locations: the Pizzofalcone hill in the former case and the area of the ancient port in the other, which lies at an almost equal distance between Parthenope and Neapolis.

Pizzofalcone - Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli

At Santa Maria degli Angeli the investigation focused on the northern edge of the Pizzofalcone hill, which in the viceregal age was involved in the extensive urban rearrangements connected with the extension of the city walls³³. The archaeological excavation led to the discovery of a nucleus of finds from the second half of the 8th to the first decades of the 5th century BC³⁴. Their original stratigraphy was not preserved, as the area was utilised in the Roman and Medieval ages, and then transformed in the 16th century through the regularization of the hillside with extensive filling.

An intact stratigraphic setting was intercepted only at the Prehistoric layers: a sequence of Phlaegrean pyroclastic eruptions alternating with paleosols subjected to agricultural activities, dated between the Late Neolithic and Eneolithic periods, was discovered³⁵.

³² MELE 2009, 192-193; 2014, 160-162, 201-203.

³³ GRAVAGNUOLO – GRAVAGNUOLO 1990.

³⁴ Preliminary news on the excavation of the Chiaia station in SAMPALO 2010, 1334-1337; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012, 865-867. The archaeological dig covered an area of ca. 2440 sq. m., from elevation 34.50 to elevation 27.40 asl. Archaeological assistance was provided by Giuliana Boenzi (coordinator) and Riccardo Laurenza. The preliminary catalogue of the finds was carried out by Mariangela Barbato, Ada De Crescenzo, Riccardo Laurenza, and Elda Scoppetta. The graphic documentation is due to Entasis Studio di Architettura of Michele Varchetta and Alessandra Calvi. To all of them goes my thanks.

³⁵ GIAMPAOLA – BOENZI 2013, 39-40; GIAMPAOLA – BARTOLI – BOENZI 2018, 209-214.

²⁷ DALL’OSSO 1906; BUCHNER 1950, 106-107; NAPOLI 1997², 38, note 71; DE CARO 1974, 62-63.

²⁸ GIAMPAOLA – D’AGOSTINO 2005, 51, 63-72, figs. 10-11 (D. Giampaola).

²⁹ On the bucchero pottery at Chiatamone cf. NAPOLITANO 2011, 32, 44, pls. I, 2.2.1, II, 3.2.2.

³⁰ DE CARO 1974; 1985, 99-102.

³¹ DE CARO 1985, 100; *Napoli antica* 1985, 282.

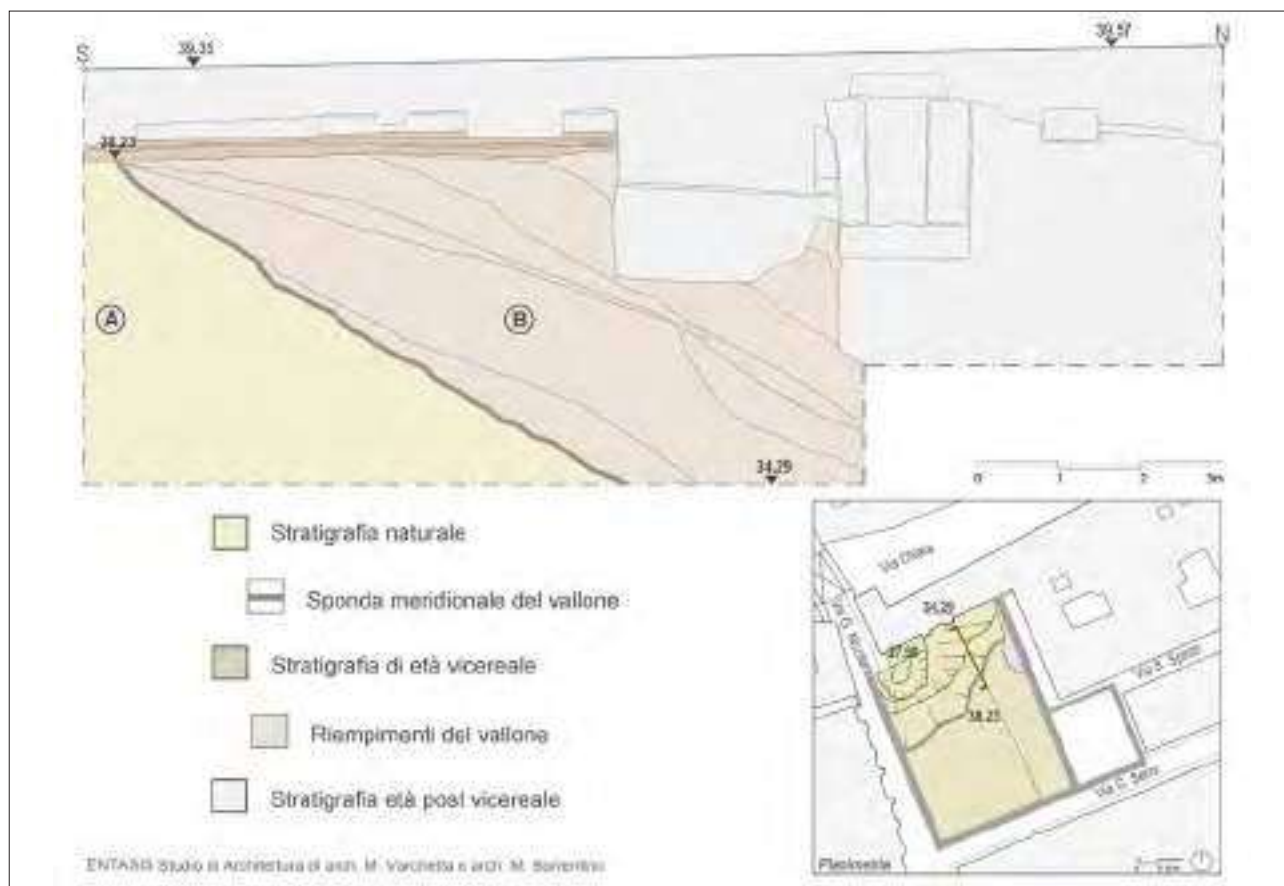


Fig. 5. Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli: the Chiaia paleoalveum (Entasis Studio di Architettura)

At the northern end of the excavation area the southern bank of the Chiaia paleoalveum was identified, formed by the sequence of eruptions and paleosols. The ancient riverbed was filled by artificial dumps and natural collapses and layers of the 13th-14th centuries and the late 15th-mid 16th century date its final obliteration (Figs. 5-6).



Fig. 6. Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli: the paleoalveum under archaeological investigation

The materials discussed below are therefore residual: they come only in a small part from the preserved stratigraphies, but mostly from the artificial filling of the paleoalveum³⁶. These are finds with a high index of fragmentation, perhaps coming from previous landfills.

Of note is the lack of protohistoric *impasto* pottery and in particular of the FBA and the EIA; only a few sherds date to the EIA2³⁷.

Of course, it is not possible to reconstruct the contexts: the materials can come from the same place where they were recovered or from different, nearby spaces. Thus, for example, at via Egiziaca of Pizzofalcone, very near Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli, a preventive archaeology intervention brought to light a structure made of tufa blocks datable to the mid/second half of the 6th century

³⁶ As evidence of the extensive rearrangement of the area, it should be noted that the residual artifacts were mainly recovered from negative Stratigraphic Units: in addition to the paleoalveum, a Late-Antique ditch, Imperial age burials, Late-Republican pits.

³⁷ Cf. *infra*, 532.



Fig. 7. Piazza Municipio: the Hellenistic harbor basin (digital terrain model, M. R. Ruello)

BC: associated with it were Italo Geometric lekanoi, Ionian cups and painted tiles³⁸.

The harbor – Piazza Municipio

At Piazza Municipio the excavation of the subway station (lines 1 and 6) brought to light the western part of an inlet that extended eastward toward today's Piazza G. Bovio, to just beyond the area of the church of S. Maria di Porto Salvo³⁹.

³⁸ The investigation was partial due to the impossibility of deepening the trench, as is usual in Urban Archaeology. Scientific assistance and documentation were provided by Apoklia Society.

³⁹ On the topography and morphology of the harbor cf. mostly GIAMPAOLA *et al.* 2005, 47 - 62; GIAMPAOLA – CARSANA 2005; CARSANA *et al.* 2009; GIAMPAOLA 2017b; DI DONATO *et al.* 2018; VACCHI *et al.* 2019; GIAMPAOLA 2020; GIAMPAOLA – CARSANA 2021.

A portion of the basin (about 4 hectares) used as a port in Greek and Roman times has been identified between Piazza Municipio and via Medina. It is mainly from the Hellenistic age that it is possible to delineate the morphology of that part of the bay, although it can be assumed that its conformation was not substantially different at least in the Archaic period (Fig. 7).

The basin was protected from the winds and the sea by the promontory of Castel Nuovo, prolonged by a shallow submerged spur, which further on emerged again forming an islet about 2.60 m above sea level at the time.

The earliest structures documented by the excavations date to the Hellenistic period: a ramp, probably for hauling or mooring small boats, and hillside terracing systems.



Fig. 8. Piazza Municipio: the dredging of the Hellenistic harbor basin

Around the first half of the 3rd century and up to the second half of the 2nd century BC, the seabed of the harbor basin, except for a small portion located at its mouth⁴⁰, undergoes a massive dredging action, documented by a series of furrows produced by the excavation tools, which overlap and intersect one another⁴¹ (Figs. 8, 26).

The archaeological finds - Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli/Piazza Municipio

Archaeological evidence from S. Maria degli Angeli will be illustrated, from the oldest finds from the second half of the 8th and 7th centuries to those from the 6th and 5th centuries BC. The oldest documentation will be supported by residual evidence of the same periods discovered in the dredged bottoms of the harbor. The presentation will be organized by classes of materials⁴².

Finally, the dredge-spared bottom (6th-5th centuries BC) found at the mouth of the harbor will be discussed.

*Impasto pottery*⁴³ (Fig. 9)

Among the few *impasto* sherds found at S. Maria degli Angeli (Fig. 9.1-3), the most recognizable one relates to a bowl attributable to EIA2, while an oinochoe with a globular body and shoulder decorated with incised angles is dated to the last quarter of the 8th century⁴⁴ (Fig. 9.4). From Piazza Municipio comes a large carinated bowl, belonging to a type attested at Pithekoussai and at Cumae (Fig. 9.5). This type is documented at Piazza Municipio also in coarse pottery⁴⁵ (Fig. 9.6). A carinated bowl with lozenge-decorated bottom from S. Maria degli Angeli (Fig. 9.7) dates to the beginning of the 6th century: it is certainly an import from an indigenous center on the Campanian plain⁴⁶.

⁴⁰ Cf. *infra*, 548-552.

⁴¹ Dredging covers almost the entire area investigated (3750 sq. m.).

⁴² The study of materials was undertaken by a research group consisting of Mariangela Barbato, Bruno d'Agostino, Giuliana Boenzi, Luca Cerchiai, Matteo D'Acunto, Daniela Giampaola, Andrea Martelli, Carmine Pellegrino, Elda Scoppetta, Amelia Tubelli. Drawings of materials were made by Mariangela Barbato and Post Scriptum of Marina Pierobon, Giuseppina Stelo. To all of them go my thanks.

⁴³ Except for the prehistoric/protostoric ceramic evidence for which see GIAMPAOLA – BARTOLI – BOENZI 2018.

⁴⁴ The type is documented in numerous Campanian sites: e.g., *Calatia* 1996, 32, 1, pl. 7 (T. 295); Capua: JOHANNOWSKY 1983, 152, 5, pl. XLVII (T. 282).

⁴⁵ Cf. *Pithekoussai I*, 370, pl. CLV (T. 315,3); 376, pl. CLVI (T. 323,5); 658, pl. CLXXXVI (T. 678, 2); 672, pl. CLXXXVIII (T. 698, 1); the type continues in the first half of the 7th century: *Pithekoussai I*, 529, pl. 159 (T. 530, 3); for Cumae, cf. NIGRO 2006a, 76, pl. 16, 2-5.

⁴⁶ Cf. e.g., *Calatia* 1996, 69, pl. 19, 66, 77 (T. 296).

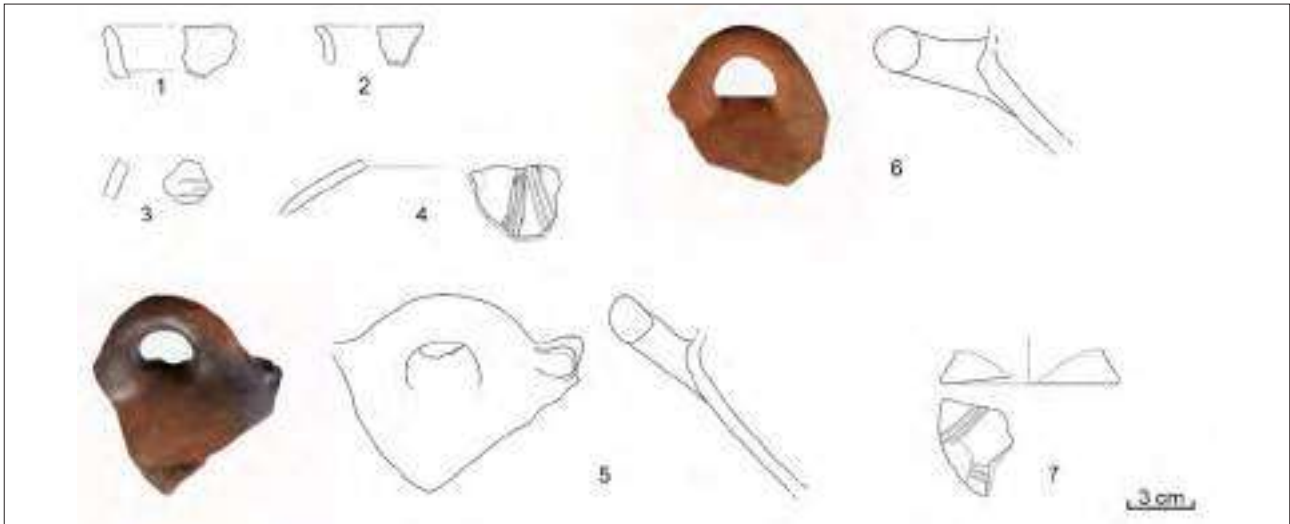


Fig. 9. Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli/Piazza Municipio: *impasto* pottery

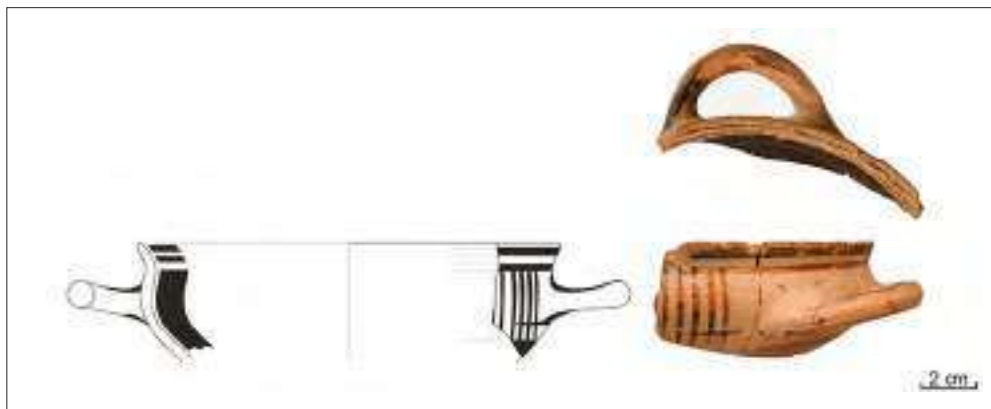


Fig. 10. Piazza Municipio: Euboean skyphos

LG pottery (Figs. 10-11)

The oldest Greek pottery found at S. Maria degli Angeli and piazza Municipio can be framed within a chronological horizon between LG I-LG II.

From the dredged bottoms of the ancient harbor comes a fragment of Euboean skyphos, datable between the third and fourth quarter of the 8th century BC, which can be added to the samples from Pithekoussai and Cumae⁴⁷ (Fig. 10).

⁴⁷ The attribution to a Euboean workshop was suggested to me by Matteo D'Acunto and Samuel Verdan, both by the colour and characteristics of clay devoid of mica and by the presence of a creamy white slip applied with a brush. I thank them both for their generous availability.

The skyphos, of good quality, has a short, flared lip with brown parallel lines on both faces and a basin with an open and rounded profile; the handles, slightly oblique, are bordered by two horizontal brown lines; the lower one extends to intersect the vertical bars bordering the central panel, whose decoration is not preserved. The interior of the vessel below the lip is painted, as is, probably, the outer wall below the panel. The sample can be relat-

ed to skyphoi from Eretria of early LG II type (735-700 BC): *Eretria XX*, nos. 312 (for profile)- 313 (for profile and decoration), 330, pl. 64; *Eretria XXII*, no. 270, 17, pl. 91. A Euboean skyphos from Ialysos, dated by Matteo D'Acunto to the turn of LG I and LG II, in terms of the Eretrian chronology, has both the same linear decoration of the lip (inner and outer) and handles margined by lines that overlap the vertical bars of the panel: D'ACUNTO 2020b, 242-243, 733, pls. XXXI, LVI, fig. 15, (T. CII/387Ts. 2). For Euboean imports from Pithekoussai: COLDSTREAM 1995; for Cumae: e.g. D'ACUNTO, 2022, 57, 76-77, catalogue I.28- I.29.

⁴⁸ KOUROU 2005, 502-504 pl. 3; D'AGOSTINO 2016, 99-100 note 15; BERNARDINI – RENDELI 2020, 327, fig. 3a-b; for examples from Sybaris cf. LUBERTO 2020, 118, pl. II F (LG Ib).

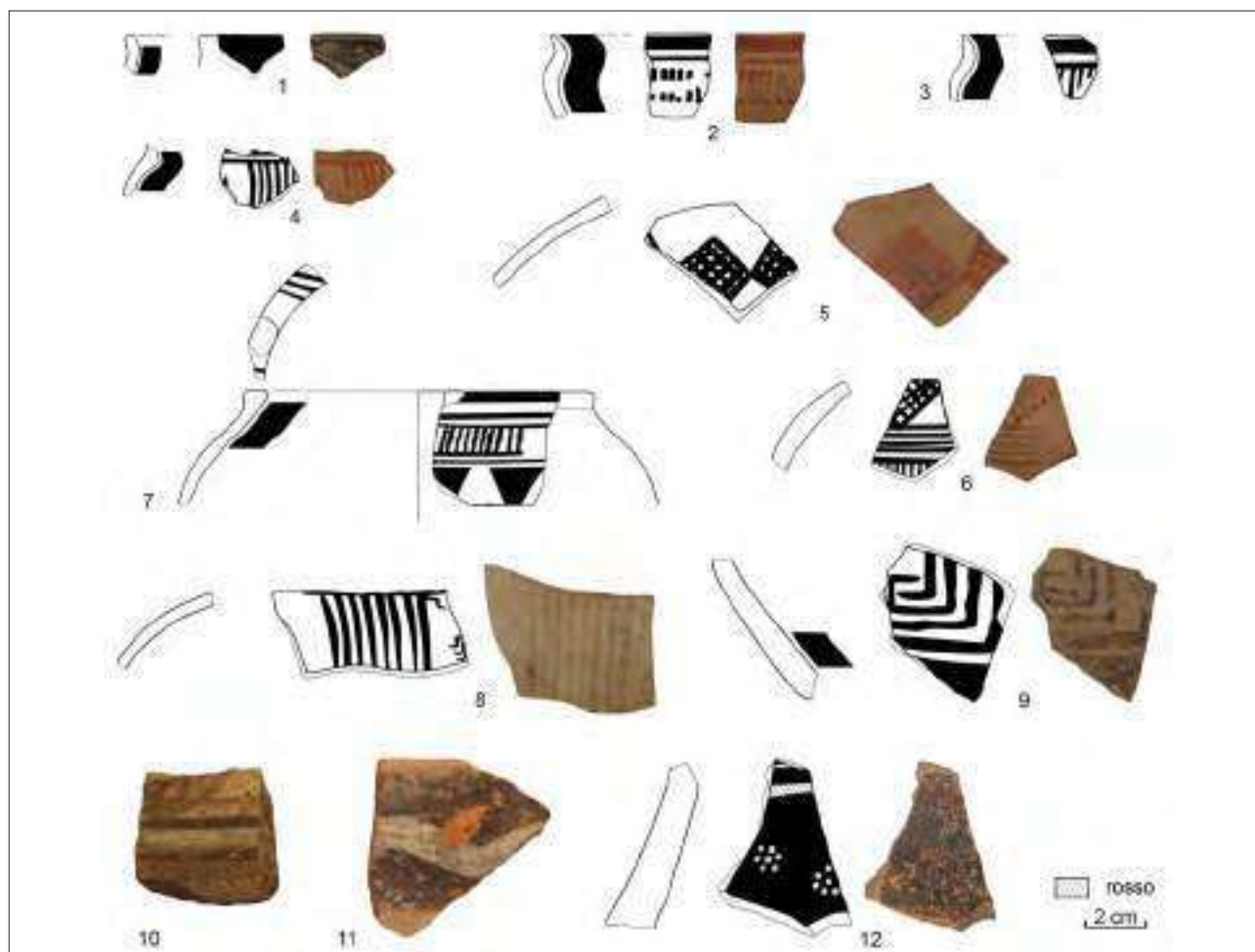


Fig. 11. Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli/Piazza Municipio: LG pottery

One sample can be attributed to the hanging chevrons/sigmas type⁴⁹ (Fig. 11.2); of the second sample (Fig. 11.3), only part of the vertical lines that bordered the panel is preserved; the panel of the third is defined by vertical lines and retains only the beginning of the inner decorative pattern, most likely to be identified with a chain of lozenges or zigzags⁵⁰ (Fig. 11.4).

⁴⁹ The chevrons are placed in a wide panel below a horizontal line. The sherd appears comparable to a Cumaean sample from *Cumae*: cf. D'AGOSTINO 2006, nos. TTA 6, 20, 154, fig.45, pl. 2, A, 7. For the skyphoi with hanging chevrons cf. e.g., D'AGOSTINO 1999, 19; 2016, 100; the decorative pattern occurs on Euboean skyphoi from Pithekoussai: cf. COLDSTREAM 1995, nos. 64, 66, 257-258, fig. 2, pl. 29, b, d (LG I).

⁵⁰ Only the rounded shoulder and lip attachment of the skyphos are preserved. The decorative pattern is present at Pithekoussai in LG I contexts: GIALANELLA 1994, 183, A8, fig. 29, 3; *Pithekoussai I*, 273, pl. 92 (T. 212, 6), 703, pl. 245; MERMATI 2012, Type M4ß, 205-206, catalogue M48, M49, M50, (LG II). For Cumae cf. D'ACUNTO 2009, 82, fig. 19; 2017, 304 (LG I?); CUOZZO 2006b, nos. TTA 29, TTA 30, 24, 157, pl. 3, 3-4 ("Thapsos" cups with panel). Chains of lozenges and zigzags are also attested in LG II skyphoi from other different sites of the Campania: MERMATI 2012, catalogue M52, M53, M78-80.

Several LG II finds of Pithekoussan-Cumaeen workshop can be traced at S. Maria degli Angeli, such as a reticulated lozenge oinochoe⁵¹ (Fig. 11.5) and a conical lekythos with pendulous reticulated rays⁵² (Fig. 11.6). A fragment of a pyxis or krateriskos can be added, with a distinct lip and flat rim; on the rim, groups of dashes are margined by a line; on the body, groups of wavy vertical lines overlap with pendulous triangles (Fig. 11.7). Finally, two sherds, pertaining to unidentified workshops, should be noted: the shoulder of an oinochoe with a metopal frame bordered by vertical lines and fielded by oblique zigzags or fishbones⁵³ and the body of a crater with a meander motif (Fig. 11.8-9) for which a date between the late 8th to mid 7th century BC can be proposed.

⁵¹ Cf. MERMATI 2012, catalogue A fr. 18 e 19.

⁵² Cf. MERMATI 2012, 156-157, catalogue D58, pls. XVII, and *Pithekoussai I*, 265, pls. 90, CXXXVI (T. 208, 3).

⁵³ Cf. e.g., MERMATI 2012, Types A1-A2, 53-57, 137-138, 140-141, catalogue A 23, A 37, A 42, A 49, A 92, A 102, A 104, A116.

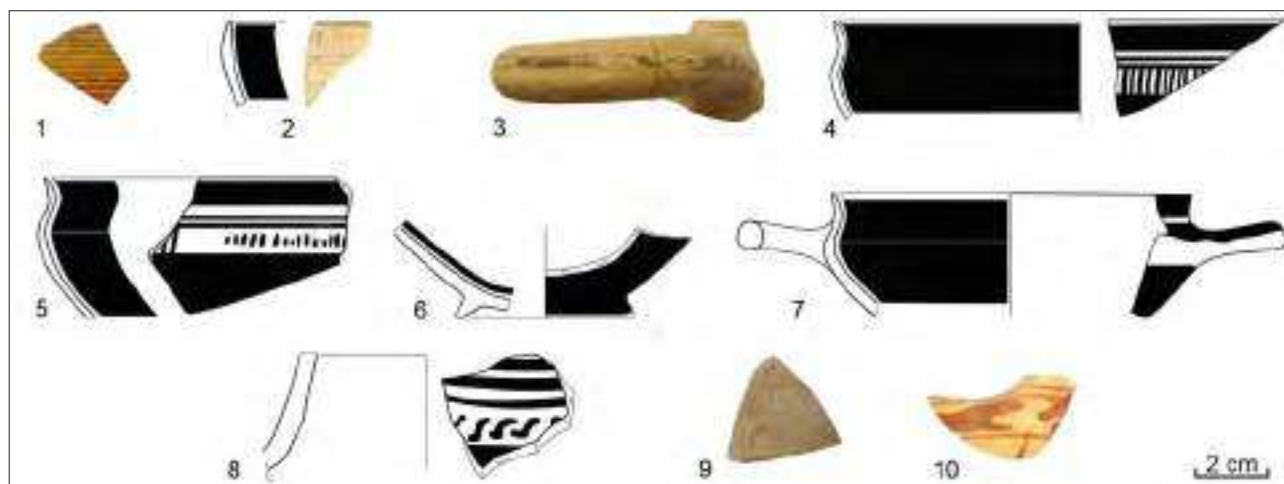


Fig. 12. Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli: Protocorinthian pottery

Belonging to the production of “White-on-Dark Style” are some sherds of craters and table vessels with wavy line decoration⁵⁴ (Fig. 11.10-11). Attributing an oinochoe neck fragment with linear motifs and dot-rosettes (Fig. 11.12) to this class is problematic. Because of the poorly purified clay and blackish paint, it can be likened to “White-on-Dark class”, but the decorative apparatus corresponds more probably to the LPC oinochoai of the Cumaean “Gruppo delle Rosette”⁵⁵.

Phoenician pottery

Although it comes from the Chiatamone dump and not from the one in Santa Maria degli Angeli, it may be useful to remember a small Phoenician jug datable to the late 8th to mid-7th century BC⁵⁶: the fragment may provide a little evidence of Parthenope’s inclusion in the same network of traffics and mobility from the eastern Mediterranean documented at Pithekoussai and Cumae.

Protocorinthian pottery (Fig. 12)

At Santa Maria degli Angeli, imported or locally produced Protocorinthian pottery, is attested

by a rather small number of finds consisting mainly of drinking vessels. To the EPC/ beginning MPC date a few tall kotylai, one of which, of imitation, preserves the panel fielded by hanging sigmas⁵⁷ (Fig. 12. 1-2). To the MPC and LPC belong skyphoi with sigmas⁵⁸ or with a reserved band⁵⁹ (Fig. 12.4-7).

Vessels of MPC tradition, such as an imported oinochoe with inverted S in the lower half of the neck⁶⁰ and sherds of kotylai with running dogs, can be dated to the second half of the 7th century⁶¹ (Fig. 12.8-10).

⁵⁷ The sample fig. 12.2 has thin lines on the body; the hanging sigma pattern probably fills the entire panel up to the vertical bars. On the typological evolution of the tall kotyle cf. *Perachora II*, 51 ff.; cf. also D’AGOSTINO 1968, Type 8, 92, fig. 12; RIZZO 2015, 86-94. The shape is well attested at Pithekoussai (NIZZO 2007, B410 (AI-C) B1a, LG2, B410 (AI-C) C1, MPC) and Cumae (e.g., GRECO 2009, 24, fig. 17a-b, last quarter 8th-beginning 7th century). Sample fig. 12.3 belongs to an imported, probably MPC, kotyle, of which only the handle and lip attachment are preserved.

⁵⁸ The skyphoi have a concave painted lip and shallow body; the panel, bordered by two horizontal lines and side bars, has vertical dashes in one sample: see e.g., *Perachora II*, 75-76, 79 no. 690, pl.29 (half of the 7th century). Painted lips and vertical dashes are present on MPC skyphoi from Pithekoussai: for the first pattern, NIZZO 2007, 154, B 390 (AL), D7; for the other: NIZZO 2007, 156 (AI C) D2. At Pontecagnano the sigma skyphos type can be dated between the second quarter and the end of the 7th century: D’AGOSTINO 1968, Type 11 a, 97, fig. 14. Sigma skyphoi assigned to the MPC are documented in the Archaic and Late Archaic *emplekta* of the Cumaean wall: CUOZZO 2006b, no. TT.40, 28, fig. 48.

⁵⁹ D’AGOSTINO 1968, Type 12, 97, fig. 15 from the first quarter of the 7th century BC; for the reserved band and shallow basin cf. a local skyphos from Pithekoussai: *Pithekoussai I*, 359, pl. 115,3, (T. 303 MPC- LPC), NIZZO 2007, B390 (AL) C2 (MPC).

⁶⁰ Cf. CVA *Tarquinius III, Italy* 55, 14, pl. 8, 6,8-9; *Pithekoussai I*, 175, pl. 52, 1 (T. 144 of the MPC).

⁶¹ Cf. NC, 279, 191,1, fig. 9c; CVA *Gela II, Italy* 53, 17, pl. 27, 5-6.

⁵⁴ Cf. COLDSTREAM 1995, nos. 13-18, 253 - 254, 256, pl. 27, d; cf. also CUOZZO 2006a, nos. TTA 14-15, 21-22, 155-156, fig. 46, pl. 2B, 1, 2; D’ACUNTO 2017, 305, fig. 13 f; cf. also M. Cuozzo in this volume.

⁵⁵ Cf. MERMATI 2012, Type A6 β, 62, 65, 150, pls. XIV, XXXIV.6, catalogue A 295-297, A 299-301.

⁵⁶ Cf. GIAMPAOLA - D’AGOSTINO 2005, 51, 70, fig. 10 no. 21. Not taken into consideration were some fragments of possible Phoenician production from the harbor, on which more in-depth study is needed.

Italo-Geometric pottery (Fig. 13)

The repertoire of Italo-Geometric class is documented mainly from the first decades of the 7th century BC, although some fragments may date from the years immediately preceding. Most of the materials come from Santa Maria degli Angeli, one even from the Piazza Municipio basin. Bottles, lekanai, plates and cups are especially attested, following a morphological repertoire simultaneously widespread at Pithekoussai and Cumae and, more widely, in Tyrrhenian Italy. The bottles belong mainly to the type with circular mouth, cylindrical body, and flat bottom; the decorative patterns consist of rows of horizontal lines framing bands on the body and wavy lines often on the shoulder and lip (Fig. 13.1-9). The finds date from the first quarter of the 7th century, probably with a few samples that may extend to the middle of the century⁶². Similar types also come from the Chiata-mone dump and the Pizzofalcone necropolis⁶³. Also widely documented are the lekanai⁶⁴ (Fig. 13.10-17). A sample from Piazza Municipio can still be dated to the end of the 8th century BC (Fig. 13.10): it has a painted knob and is probably one-handed; its decoration consists of a narrow wave at the top of the basin and groups of strokes margined by two concentric lines on the rim⁶⁵. Some sherds from Santa Maria degli Angeli may also belong to the earliest types, because of the depth of the body, the narrow wave line on the lip, and the line group pattern on the rim⁶⁶ (Fig. 13. 11). However, a larger quantity is represented by types that continue throughout the 7th century BC, with a shallower body and a broad wave pattern; the rim may be decorated by groups of lines, a wave line, oblique bands, or be entirely painted⁶⁷

⁶² D'AGOSTINO 1968, Types 22- 23, 103-104, fig. 8. For local samples of the LG II/PCA from Pithekoussai and Cumae cf. MERMATI 2012, Type C1, 72-73, 151-152, pl. XXVI, catalogue C01 - C16; CUOZZO 2006b, 31, pl. 5, 8-12.

⁶³ Cf. *supra*, 529; on the samples from the necropolis cf. MERMATI 2012, 73, catalogue C17-C18.

⁶⁴ D'AGOSTINO 1968, Types 24-26, 104-105, fig. 19; CUOZZO 2006b, 32-33; MERMATI 2012, 120-123, 220-221.

⁶⁵ Cf e.g., single-handed lekanai with a socket between two knobs from the T. 328 of Pithekoussai: *Pithekoussai I*, 385, 3, pls. 124-125; MERMATI 2012, 121, pl. XXIX, catalogue T10-T11. For the painted knob, opposite to the handle cf. MERMATI 2012, catalogue T22-T 23.

⁶⁶ Cf. e.g. CUOZZO 2006b, no. TTA 112, 165, pl. 7, 6.

⁶⁷ Cf. e.g., CUOZZO 2006b, 33, pls. 7-8.

(Fig. 13.12-17). It is worthy of note, partly because of the nature of the finds, that there are no two-handled type. While they are not very common at Pithekoussai and Cumae, they are well documented in inner Campania⁶⁸.

There are also numerous cups similar to those documented at Pithekoussai and Cumae⁶⁹.

As for the dishes with a brimmed lip, series datable up to the middle of the 7th century can be identified (Fig. 13. 18-23): the lip is decorated inside and out with concentric lines or broader bands delimiting groups of vertical or wavy lines and festoon motifs⁷⁰.

A ring foot decorated on the outer face with helical bands probably belongs to a dish: a pattern characteristic of late-orientalising Cumaean production and documented also at Pontecagnano⁷¹ (Fig. 13. 24).

Corinthian pottery (Fig. 14)

Corinthian pottery is documented in greater quantity than Protocorinthian, with a repertoire extending from the EC to the entire LC. In addition to still prevalent drinking vessels, there are shapes pertaining to the sphere of perfume and cosmetics, such as aryballoi, alabastra and pyxides; also interesting is the presence of cothones, whose use may be related to the convivial sphere. Among the wine vases, two sherds of conical oinochoai in black polychrome style date to the EC⁷² (Fig. 14.1-2); to the MC belong two figured craters: one with a winged figure, the other with a boar hunting scene (Fig. 14.3-4). An MC dating can also be proposed for an oinochoe (with polychrome tongues on the shoulder⁷³) (Fig. 14.5).

⁶⁸ MERMATI 2012, 121, 221, pl. XXIX, catalogue T17; CUOZZO 2006b, nos. TTA 130 - 132, 32 - 33, pls. 8, 12, 15-16; BERRIOLA 2003, 120-121, 158, 165, pls. 136, 146 (middle - to last quarter of the 7th century).

⁶⁹ CUOZZO 2006b 31; MERMATI 2012, 117 - 120, 217-220, pl. XXVIII.

⁷⁰ CUOZZO 2006b, 32, 164, nos TTA102- TTA103, pl. 6, 13, 17; MUNZI 2007, 120-121, figs. 8 e 10. Cfr. also, MERMATI 2012, 123-126, 222-226, pl. XXX, especially for the Type U1a, which is well documented at Pithekoussai.

⁷¹ CUOZZO 2006b, 135, 142, 164, nos. TA6, TA93, TTA 107, pl. 6, 16, 18-19; MUNZI 2007, fig. 10. For Pontecagnano cf. CUOZZO - D'ANDREA 1991, Types 30A e 31A1, 79, fig. 11 (first quarter of the 6th century).

⁷² Cf. NC, no. 758, 299, fig. 153, Nizzo 2007, 129, B120 (AI-C) A2; CVA *Gela I, Italy* 52, 15-16, pl. 21.

⁷³ Cf. NC, nos. 1130 ff., 315, and, e.g., CVA *Heidelberg I, Germany* 10, 28-29, pl. 15, 1-2.

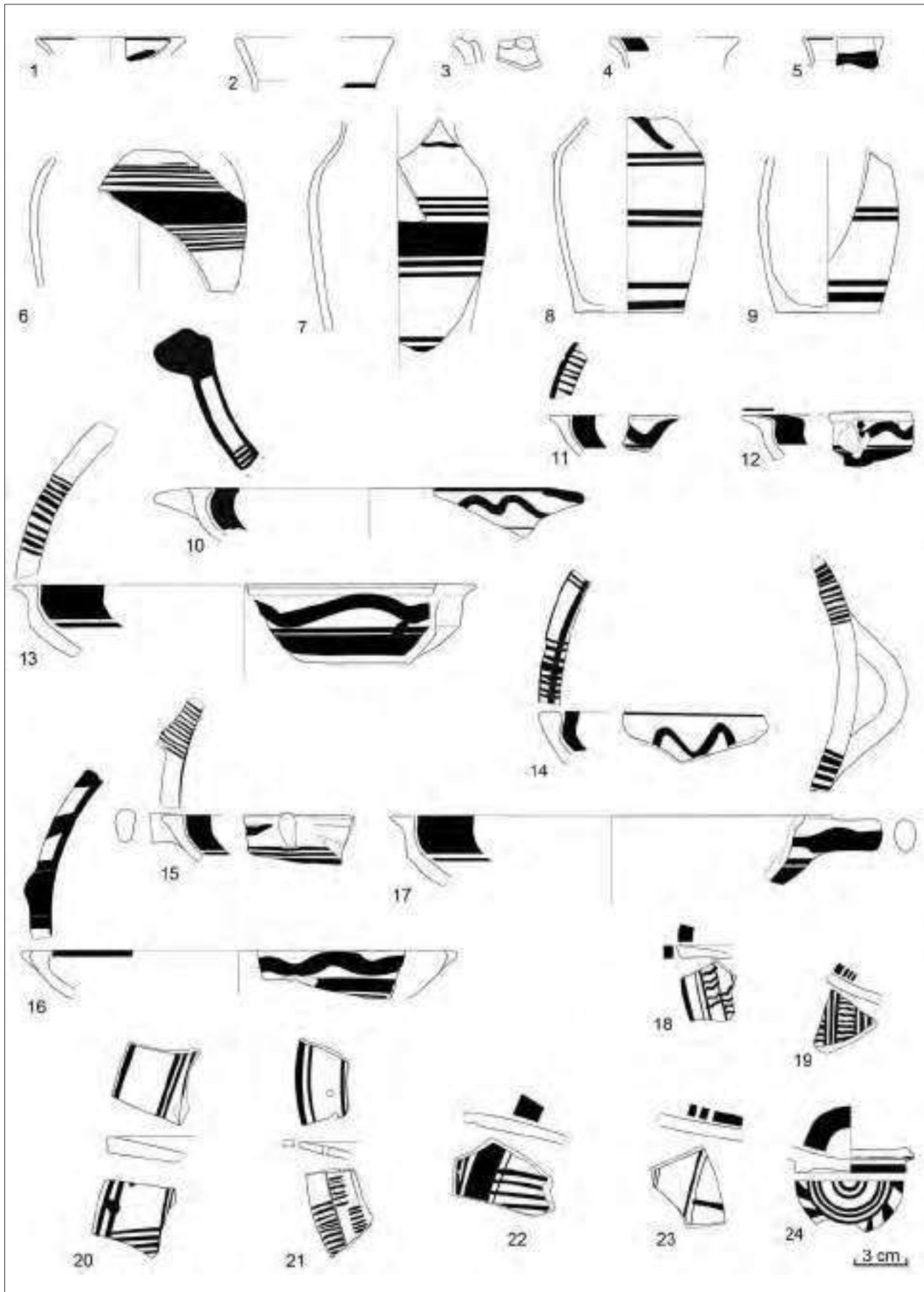


Fig. 13. Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli/Piazza Municipio: Italo-Geometric pottery

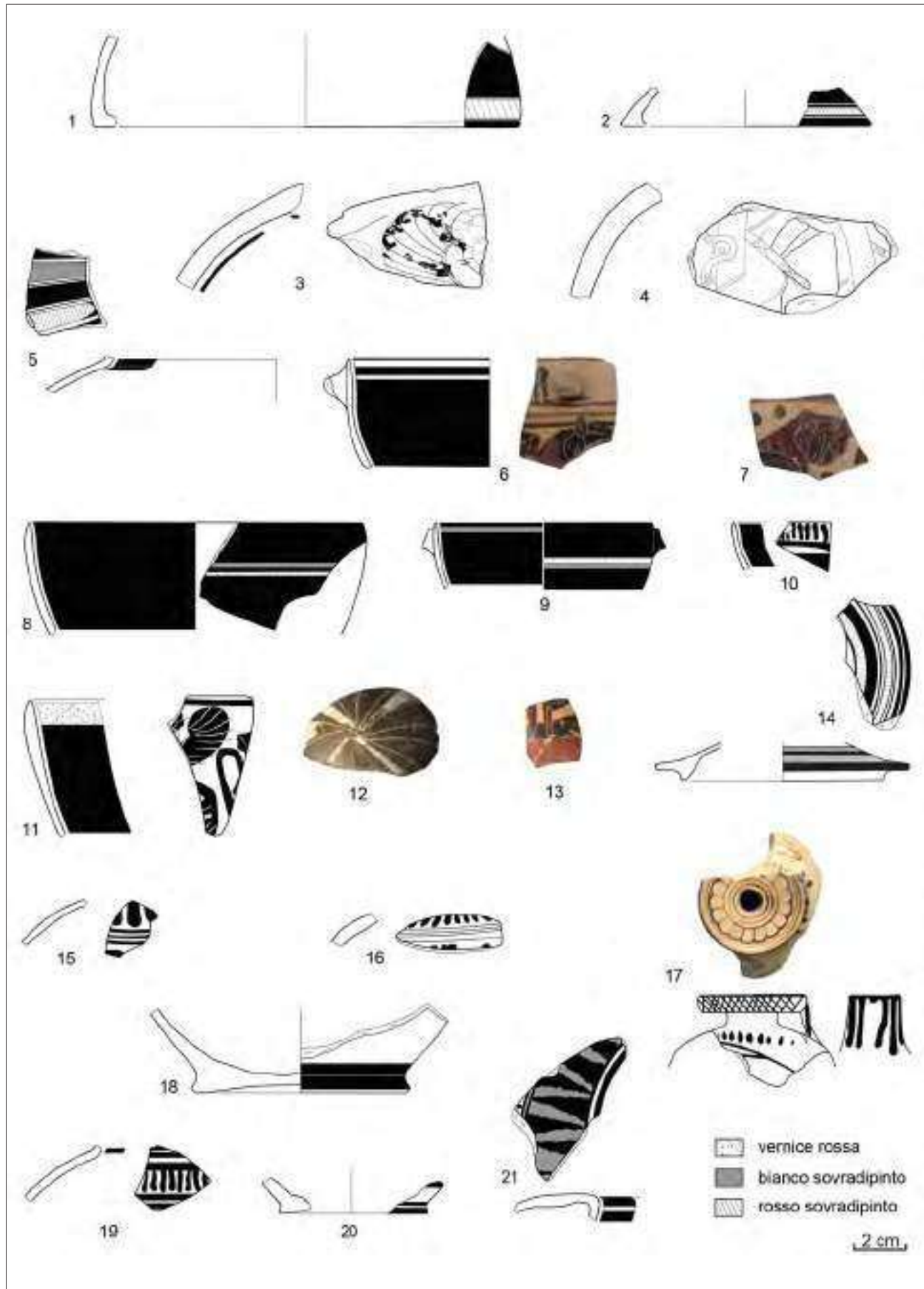


Fig. 14. Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli: Corinthian pottery



Fig. 15. Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli: Etruscan-Corinthian pottery

Among the drinking vessels dating to the MC are kotylai with waving vertical lines under the rim, an animalistic frieze, and rays at the bottom⁷⁴ (Fig. 14.6-7); the same dating can also be applied to the black kotylai, which can continue also into the LC⁷⁵ (Fig. 14.8-9); to the LC belong the small kotylai with vertical or wavy lines under the rim⁷⁶ and a figured kotyle with a sphinx⁷⁷ (Fig. 14.10-11).

As for the vases for cosmetics, a “football” aryballos, an alabastron with a bird and the lid of a pyxis with linear decoration are dated to the EC⁷⁸ (Fig. 14.12-14). There are also sherds of aryballoi probably of Payne’s B1 form (Fig. 14.15-16) and of the quatrefoil type, one of which, with mouth decorated with an outline rosette and rim with a reticulated line pattern, can be dated to the MC⁷⁹ (Fig. 14.17). Dating to the LC are some fragments of pyxis with linear decoration⁸⁰ and a flat-bottomed aryballos⁸¹ (Fig. 14.18-20). Belonging to the LCII is a white-style cothon⁸² (Fig. 14.21).

Etruscan-Corinthian pottery (Fig. 15)

Finally, mention should be made of Etruscan-Corinthian pottery, including two fragments of pyxis imported from Vulci⁸³ (Fig. 15.1) and numerous perfume pots with linear decoration, especially alabastra (Fig. 15.2-3), which increase the *corpus* from both Pithekoussai, Cumae, and the Pizzofalcone necropolis⁸⁴.

Bucchero pottery (Fig. 16)

As at Pithekoussai, Cumae, and the Chiatamone dump itself, the class is well attested at Santa Maria degli Angeli with imported samples from the late second half of the 7th century and a Campanian repertoire throughout the 6th century⁸⁵. The shapes refer to the sphere of the wine consumption, with amphorae, jugs and, especially, oinochoai, kantharoi and cups. Among the oldest imported samples are a few fragments of amphorae with ribbon handles, in one case decorated with incised lines⁸⁶ (Fig. 16.1-2); equally imported are a jug (Fig. 16.3) and, perhaps, a kylix, both decorated with incised lines (Fig. 16.4). The most important marker of the regional workshops of the early 6th century is the kantharos type with grooves on the lip, carination in some cases decorated with diamond notches, and trumpet-shaped foot (Fig. 16.5-8). Small stemmed bowls are also numerous (Fig. 16.9-10).

⁷⁴ Cf. NC, no. 966, 309, fig. 150; Nizzo 2007, B410 (AI-C) D5.

⁷⁵ Cf. NC, no. 973, 309-310, fig. 151; Nizzo 2007, B410 (AI-C) D2.

⁷⁶ Cf. NC, no. 1517, 334 - 335, fig. 181 B.

⁷⁷ Cf. NC, no. 1338, 323, pl. 37,4 and, e.g., CVA Mainz I, Germany 15, 46 - 47, pl. 20.

⁷⁸ On “football” aryballos cf. NC, no. 638, 291, fig. 126; CVA Gela I, Italy 52, 17-18, pl. 24, 1-3; on the alabastron type cf. NC, nos. 291ff., 282; CVA Gela II, Italy 53, 3-4, pls. 1-3; on the pixis lid cf. NC, no. 665, 292, fig. 129; CVA Gela I, Italy 52, 16, pl. 22, 2-3.

⁷⁹ Cf. CVA Gela I, Italy 52, 23-24, pl. 38, 1-5; CVA Heidelberg I, Germany 10, 25, pl. 12, 1-2; for the EC prototype: NC, nos. 485-485 A, 147-148, 287, fig. 54.

⁸⁰ Cf. NC, 322-323; CVA Heidelberg I, Germany 10, 32, pl. 17, 10, 12; CVA Oxford II, Great Britain 9, 65-66, pl. 2, 35.

⁸¹ Cf. NC, nos. 1264-1282, 321.

⁸² Cf. NC, no. 1519, 335, fig. 183; cf. also CVA Louvre I, France 1, 30, pl. 27, 18, CVA Karlsruhe I, Germany 7, 53, pl. 42, 13.

⁸³ SZILÁGYI 1998, 399 ff., pls. CLXIII-CLXV.

⁸⁴ BELLELLI 2001, 38; FRÈRE 2007.

⁸⁵ On the Bucchero pottery in the Gulf of Naples cf. NAPOLITANO 2011.

⁸⁶ On the amphora type cf. RASMUSSEN 1979, Type 1a-1b, 69-71, pls. 1-2; a sample from Cumae in DEL VERME 2006, no. TA, 150, 40-41, pl. 11,1; on the jug type cf. RASMUSSEN 1979, Type 1a-1b, 89-90, pl. 23; MINOJA 2000, subgroup A1, no. 30, 56-57, pls. V, XVIII.; ALBORE LIVADIE 1979, Type 9B, fig. 21; on the kylix type cf. RASMUSSEN 1979, Type Ic, 118, , pl. 37.

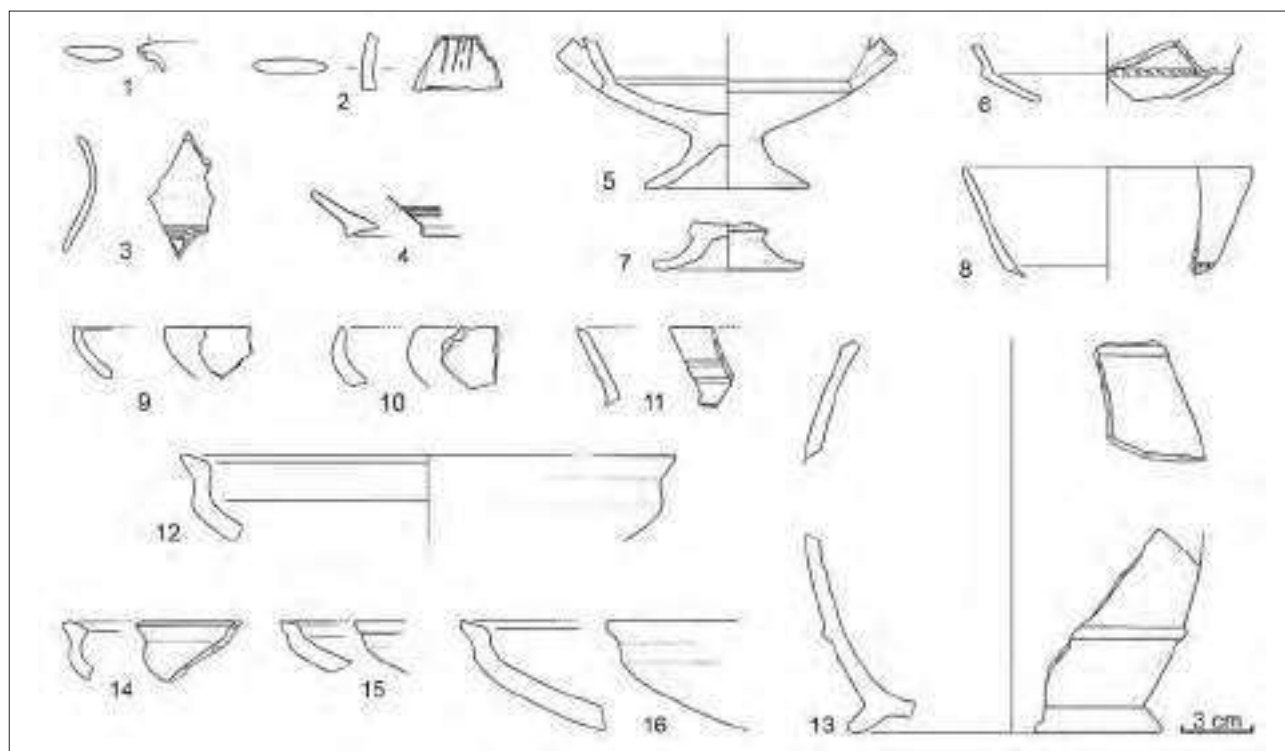


Fig. 16. Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli: bucchero pottery

A fragment of a chalice with a low foot dates from the middle to the last quarter of the century (Fig. 16.11), while at the end of the same century dates, e.g., an oinochoe with an ovoid body decorated with plastic moldings⁸⁷ (Fig. 16.13). Present in large numbers are the carinated bowls that are distributed throughout the 6th century BC⁸⁸ (Fig. 16.12, 14-16).

Ionian cups (Fig. 17)

Ionian cups are present, albeit with different percentages, throughout the entire production span⁸⁹. Of note, first of all, is an A1 cup (Fig. 17.1) datable between the second half of the 7th and early 6th century BC⁹⁰.

⁸⁷ On the kantharos type cf. CUOZZO – D'ANDREA 1991, Type 19A1, 70, fig. 6; on the small stemmed bowl: cf. CUOZZO – D'ANDREA 1991, Type 23A, 73-74, fig. 6; on the chalice type cf. CUOZZO – D'ANDREA 1991, Type 21B, 71, fig. 8; on the oinochoe type cf. RASMUSSEN 1979, Type 8a, 87, pls. 18-19; ALBORE LIVADIE 1979, Type 10E, 97, fig. 25. A; similar type is attested at Pontecagnano: CUOZZO – D'ANDREA 1991, Type 13E, 66-67, fig. 5.

⁸⁸ Cf. CUOZZO – D'ANDREA 1991, Type 22A-22B; ALBORE LIVADIE 1979, Type 18A, 18B, figs. 23-24.

⁸⁹ The Vallet-Villard classification was employed in the study. Of significance are the comparisons with materials from the archaic *emplekta* of the Cumae walls: TUBELLI 2006.

⁹⁰ The cup belongs to the variety with red and white fillets overpainted on the lip: cf. PIERRO 1984, 21-29, pls. I - II, XIV - XVI; BOLDRINI 1994, 147-148, pl. 4.

Samples of A2⁹¹ (Fig. 17.2-4), B1 - with and without overpainted lines⁹² (Fig. 17.5-8), and B3 cups⁹³ (Fig. 17.9) are also attested, but it is the B2 type which is prevalent⁹⁴. In the Neapolitan case, due to the context and the state of preservation of the evidence, it is difficult to identify its chrono-typological evolution.

As at Cumae, there is both the type with a distinct lip and rounded body (Fig. 17.10) which is considered to predate the last quarter of the century and the more common type from this period, characterized by a marked fold between lip and body⁹⁵ (Fig. 17.11-13).

Eastern-Greek type pottery (Fig. 18)

Thanks to technical and morphological characteristics one group of finds can be referred to the

⁹¹ On the sample fig. 17.2 cf. TUBELLI 2006, no. TA 123, 45, 145, pl. 12, 2; BOLDRINI 1994, 151-152, pls. 4-5; The sample fig. 17.3, probably belonging to type A2, is decorated with red and white overpainted fillets: cf. BOLDRINI 1994, nos. 274-275, 149, 155, pl. 6.

⁹² Cf. BOLDRINI 1994, 158-161, pl. 8; TUBELLI 2006, nos. TA 19, TA 152, 46, 136, 147, pl. 12, 6-7.

⁹³ The sample fig. 17.9 is near Type V/2 from Gravisca (560-530 BC): BOLDRINI 1994, 172-173, pls. 15-17; PIERRO 1984, 66-67, pl. XII. On Ionian B3 cups from Cumae cf. TUBELLI 2006, 50, pl. 12, 23.

⁹⁴ PIERRO 1984, 52-57, pls. IX-X, XXIII-XXIV; BOLDRINI 1994, 162-170, pls. 9-11.

⁹⁵ Cf. TUBELLI 2006, 48-49, pl. 12, 9-21 and 25-27.

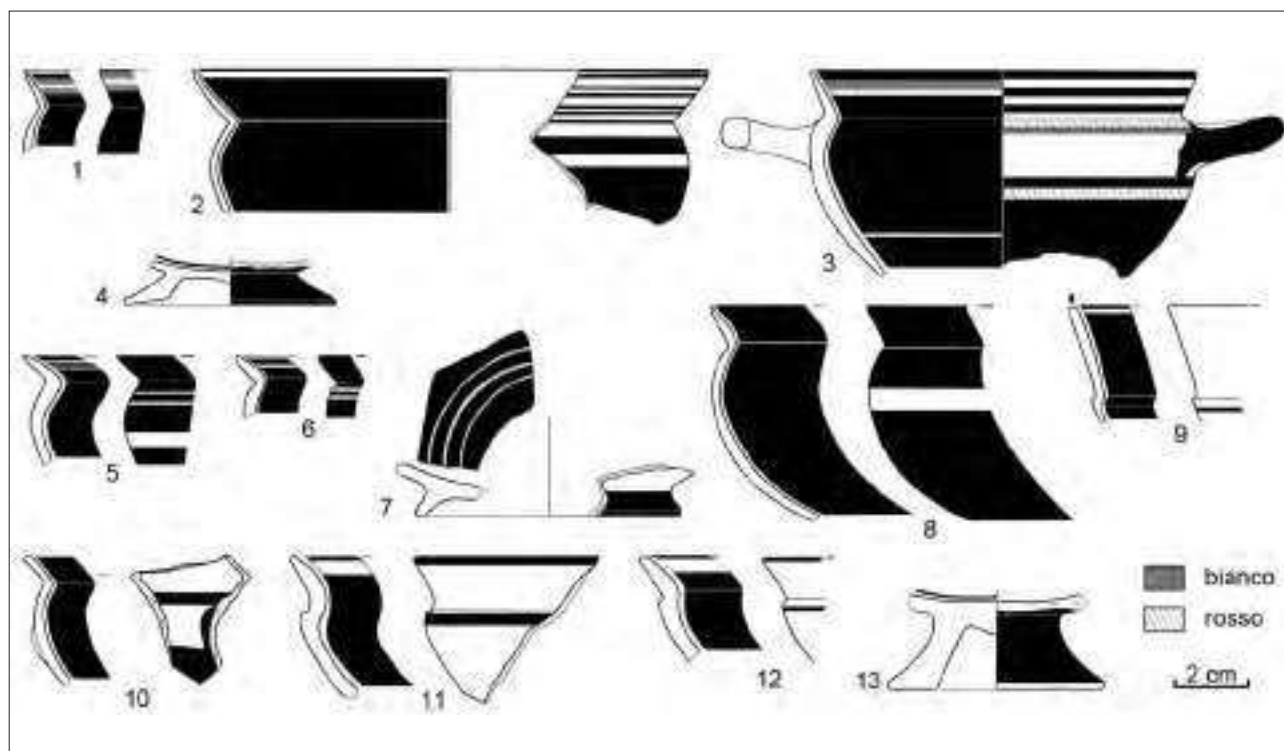


Fig. 17. Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli: Ionian cups

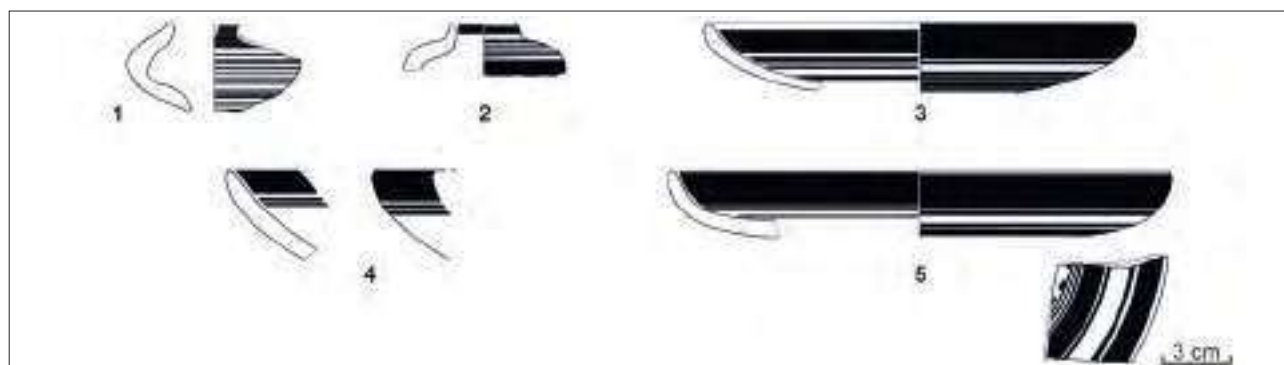


Fig. 18. Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli: Eastern-Greek type pottery

eastern-Greek type repertoire⁹⁶. The most indicative markers are the lydia, with or without grooves on the body⁹⁷ (Fig. 18.1-2), and the dishes with black and red linear pattern⁹⁸ (Fig. 18.3-5).

Most of this evidence can be dated between the first and second half of the 6th century BC.

⁹⁶ The still preliminary study and the lack of archaeometric analysis do not allow us to deepen the areas of production.

⁹⁷ On the two types cf. e.g., PIERRO 1984: 79 - 84, pl. XXXI (second quarter - end of the 6th century), 71-77, pls. XXIX - XXX (about mid-6th century).

⁹⁸ The sherds pertain to calotte-shape dishes with indistinct lip and high stemmed foot: cf. e.g., BOLDRINI 1994, nos. 163-177, 94-100, pl. 1; TUBELLI 2006, no. TTA 214, 53, pl. 13, A, 9.

Coarse ware (Fig. 19)

Even though it is a long-lived class which, in the absence of dating contexts, does not allow for precise chronologies, it is appropriate to include local/areal coarse ware, both because of its large quantity and because of its affinity to the Pithekoussan and Cumaean repertoire⁹⁹. There are numerous kitchen shapes, including, foremost, the olla with collar, enlarged lip, and body often with sockets, frequent in the Phlegraean area from the late 7th through the 6th century (Fig. 19.1-6).

⁹⁹ Cf. NIGRO 2006a; BASILE 2016-2017.

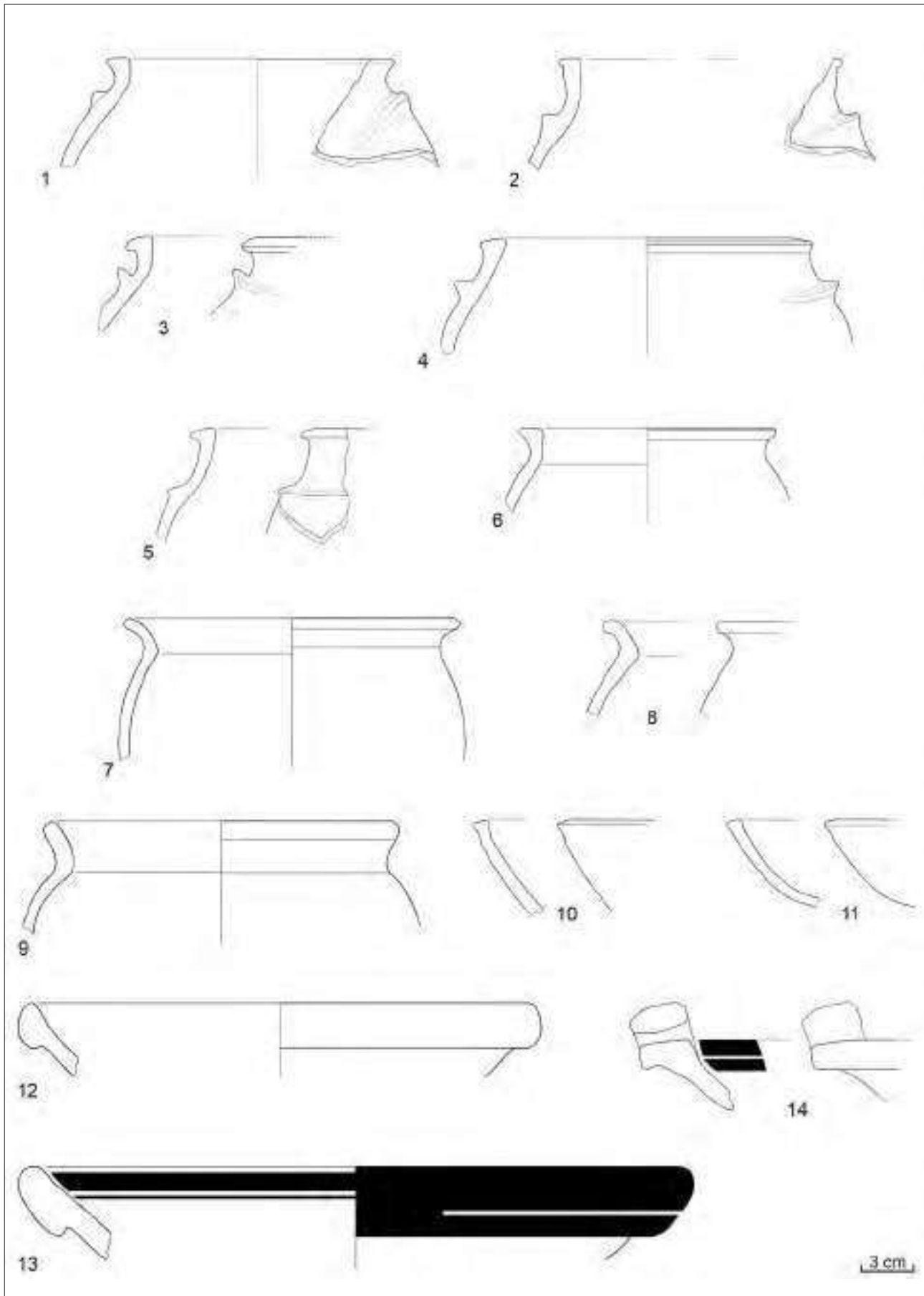


Fig. 19. Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli: coarse ware

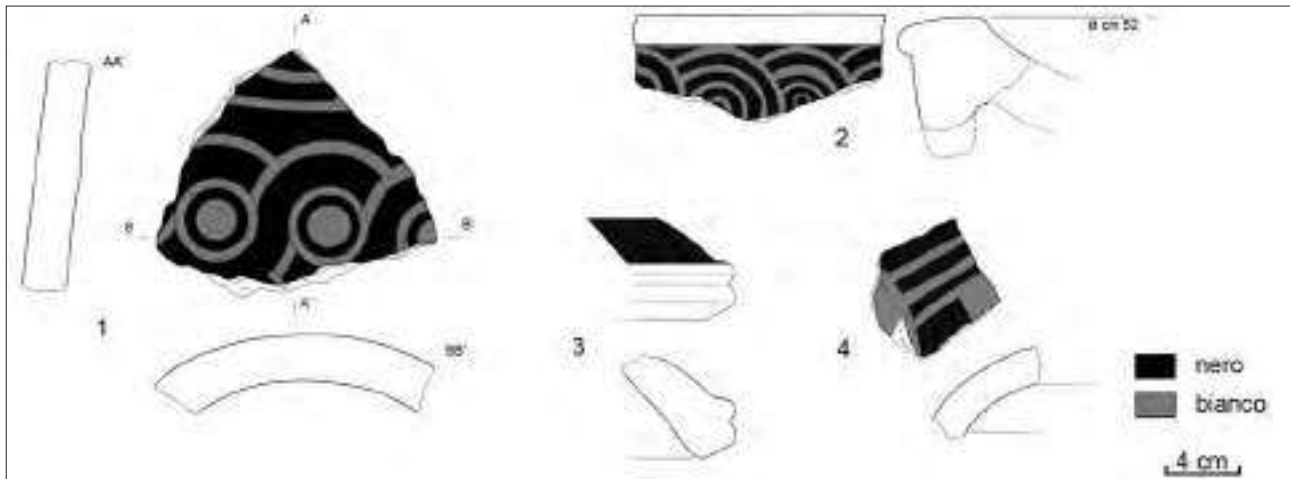


Fig. 20. Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli: louteria

Less well documented is the ovoid type with flared lip and rounded rim, widespread from as early as the second half of the 8th century to the middle of the 6th century¹⁰⁰ (Fig. 19.7-9). Ollae are associated with lidded bowls, present from the mid-7th century to Late-Archaic period¹⁰¹ (Fig. 19.10-11). Mortars are also numerous and well documented in Campania from the second half of the 7th and throughout the 6th century. Many samples have an orange or brown banded decoration on the lip and inner surface, which constitutes a peculiarity of the archaic Cumaean workshop¹⁰² (Fig. 19.12-13). Equally comparable to Cumaean types is the brimmed basin with surmounting handles and lip decorated with bands¹⁰³ (Fig. 19.14).

Louteria (Fig. 20)

The polychrome louteria also show close comparisons with the Pithekoussan and Cumaean types and, particularly, in terms of morphology and decorative motifs, with the “Florence-Cumae” series

dating from around the mid-6th century BC¹⁰⁴ (Fig. 20.1-4).

Depurated, partially painted and linearly decorated pottery (Fig. 21).

As for the depurated pottery, the available sampling allowed only four shapes to be recognized with certainty: amphora, olpe, cup, and small cup. Better attested are the partially painted or linearly decorated classes. This is a grouping whose decorative apparatus integrates the Italo-Geometric tradition with the Eastern-Greek repertoire¹⁰⁵.

Among the closed vessels, the most common shape is the olpe with a continuous profile, often with the upper body painted by dipping¹⁰⁶ (Fig. 21.1-4); some ring foot with linear decoration belong to oinochoai or ollae (Fig. 21.5-6). Among the open shapes the single-handled footless bowl occurs¹⁰⁷ (Fig. 21.7-10).

In addition to these widespread shapes is a series peculiar to the Gulf of Naples, well known, e.g., at Cumae: cups, both carinated or with rounded bowl and indistinct or enlarged lip, and dishes with continuous profile, decorated with bands and groups of lines¹⁰⁸ (Fig. 22.11-14). The carinated bowl imitates the bucchero shape¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁰ BASILE 2016-2017, 142, 145-146, fig. 2, 6 and 3, 7-13; NIGRO 2006a, 70, pl. 14, 6 - 14; for the earliest attestations (last quarter 8th-mid 7th century BC) of the flared lip shape from the necropolis of S. Montano and in the area of Cumae Forum cf. BASILE 2016-2017, 139, 145, fig. 1. For the more recent samples from Punta Chiarito and Cumae cf. BASILE 2016-2017, 141, 145, figs. 2, 3; NIGRO 2006a, 70-73, pl. 14, 15-22.

¹⁰¹ NIGRO 2006a, 78, pl. 17, 4, 7-9, 11 - 14. At Punta Chiarito lidded bowls with curved body are found in the paleosol of the late 7th-early 6th century: GIALANELLA 1994, nos. B69-70, 191, fig. 17; the shape is also attested in the northern periurban sanctuary of Cumae: cf. BASILE 2016-2017, 146, note 43.

¹⁰² Cf. NIGRO 2006a, 76, pl. 16, 6-13; MUNZI 2007, 123-124, fig. 13; BASILE 2016-2017, 148-151, fig. 6.

¹⁰³ Cf. MUNZI 2007, 124, fig. 14; BASILE 2016-2017, 147-148, fig. 5.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. RESCIGNO 1993, 1996.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. e.g., CUOZZO 2006c.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. CUOZZO – D’ANDREA 1991, Type 40 A2, 85, fig. 8.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. CUOZZO – D’ANDREA 1991, Type 38 A1, 84, fig. 8; CUOZZO 2006c, nos. TTA 262, 264, 90, pl. 21, 7-8; MUNZI 2007, 127, fig. 15.

¹⁰⁸ CUOZZO 2006c 90-91, pl. 21; for the dishes cf. also MUNZI 2007, 123, fig. 12b.

¹⁰⁹ PELLEGRINO – ROSSI 2011, 80, 91, figs. 63B 2, 66B 2.

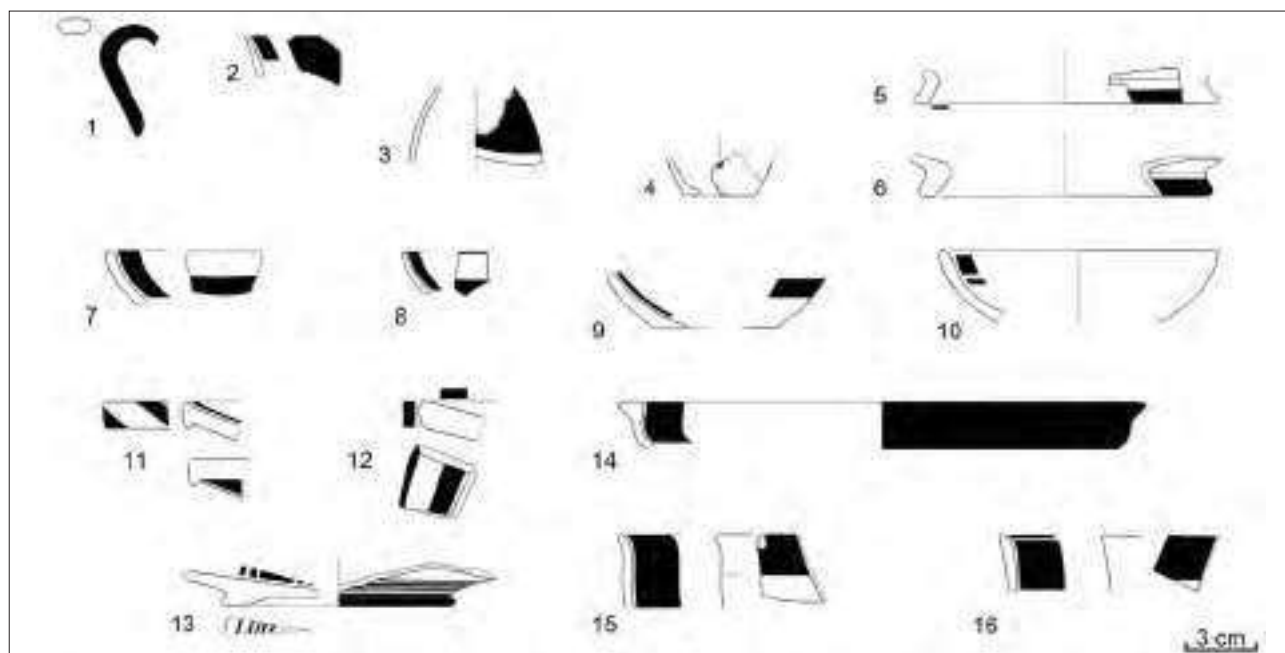


Fig. 21. Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli: fine pottery decorated with lines and bands

Documented by several fragments is also the Panionion-type skyphos (Fig. 21.15-16), found at Cumae and in numerous late Archaic contexts in southern Italy¹¹⁰.

Attic black and red-figure pottery (Fig. 22)

The class is documented mainly by very fragmentary black-figure samples.

Few closed shapes can be framed in the second half of the 6th century¹¹¹ (Fig. 22.1-3). More numerous are the open vases. Sherds are dated to the mid-6th century horizon and are likely to pertain to “Siana cups”: one with ivy wreath¹¹² and another decorated with palmettes and lotus blossoms¹¹³ (Fig. 22.4-5). Two wall sherds in which the head and legs of a horse are preserved, may belong to the “Siana cups”¹¹⁴ (Fig. 22.6). More numerous kylikes can be attributed to the “Little Master group”: lip and band cups, Droop¹¹⁵ (Fig. 22.7-8)

and Kassel cups¹¹⁶ (Fig. 22.9). To these is added a “Gorgoneion skyphos” fragment¹¹⁷ (Fig. 22.10).

It is worth noting that such an association documents a similar circulation to that of Cumae¹¹⁸.

The presence of Attic red-figure pottery is much lower. A very lacunose kylix is dated to the middle decades of the 5th century: the frame of the medallion is decorated with a meander interrupted by square fields with oblique crosses and dots¹¹⁹ (Fig. 22.11). A sherd, probably of a krater, with thyrsus and rosettes overpainted in white¹²⁰ is dated to the end of the 5th century BC (Fig. 22.12); whereas a skyphos with a cloaked figure attributable to the “Fat Boy group”¹²¹ dates to the early 4th century (Fig. 22.13).

Black-glaze pottery (Fig. 23)

In the earliest phase, a good percentage of Attic imports are associated with the production of Magna Graecia and probably local workshops. There

¹¹⁰ Cf. e.g., MUNZI 2007, 127, fig. 15.

¹¹¹ Two wall sherds are preserved, one with the legs of a warrior, the other with part of the body of a sea animal (or sea monster). A handle, with palmette at the lower attachment, perhaps of hydria, is slightly later.

¹¹² Cf. e.g., CVA Bochum I, Germany 79, 60 - 61, pl. 50, 1-4; CVA Amsterdam II, Netherlands 8, 11-12, pls. 71-72, 1-2.

¹¹³ Cf. e.g., CVA Enserune II, France 37, 28, pl. 1, 6.

¹¹⁴ Cf. e.g., a sample assigned to the Taras Painter: BRIJDER 1983, 252, 170, pl. 33, d-f.

¹¹⁵ Two sherds are given as examples: fig. 22. 7 has a chain of polychrome buds: see, e.g., CVA München X, Germany 56, 62,

pl. 41, 1-4; CVA Louvre IX, France 14, 85-86, pl. 93, 6-9; the other, fig. 22.8, a chain of buds on lines and a zig zag band: CVA München X, Germany 56, 62, pl. 41, 5-7.

¹¹⁶ Cf. e.g., CVA Leipzig II, GDR 2, 32, pl. 30, 6; the same decorative pattern recurs also on the Droop cup: cf., e.g., CVA München X, Germany 56, 63, pl. 42, 2, 66, pl. 43, 2-3.

¹¹⁷ Cf. e.g., CVA Kiel I, Germany 55, 47 - 48, pl. 20, 1-4.

¹¹⁸ D'ACUNTO 2009, 499-504.

¹¹⁹ The decorative pattern is common until the transition between the 5th and 4th centuries.

¹²⁰ Cf. e.g., CVA Sarajevo IV, Yugoslavia, 50, pl. 47, 1-4.

¹²¹ Cf. e.g., CVA Enserune II, France 37, 65, pl. 36, 3-6.



Fig. 22. Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli: Attic black and red-figure pottery

are mainly open shapes: kylixes C with plain rims and, even more, with concave lips¹²² (Fig. 23.1-3), stemmed dishes both of convex and large (Fig. 23.4-6) and convex and small type¹²³ (Fig. 23.7-8),

¹²² *Agora XII*, 91-92, fig. 4, pls. 19-20; the type ranges between the last quarter of the sixth and the first quarter of the 5th century BC and rarely goes beyond that dating; NIGRO 2006b, 94, 97-98, pl. 22 B, 5-10, publishes numerous samples from the *emplekton* of the Late Archaic walls of Cumae (500-490 BC), which can be compared with those from Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli. At Naples, the type occurs, e.g., in a burial around 480/470 BC from the necropolis of Castel Capuano, (BORRIELLO *et al.* 1985, 233, pl. XXXII, 39, 1, T. 1/12/ 1915), and in the *emplekton* of the wall in vico Sopramuro: GIAMPAOLA – D'AGOSTINO 2005, no. 34, 74, fig. 12.

¹²³ For the large type cf. *Agora XII*, pp. 139-140, tav. 35, fig. 9; the fragments fig. 23.4-6 are comparable with finds from the *emplekton* of the Late Archaic walls of Cumae: NIGRO 2006b, 95-96, pl. 23, 13-15; also, the samples of small type fig. 23.7-8 (for which cf. *Agora XII*, nos. 966-969, 979, 304-305, fig. 9, pl. 35, around 525-500 BC) find a close match with Campanian contexts: e.g., from Cumae (NIGRO 2006b, 95-96, pl. 23, 17-18) and necropolis of Fratte (DONNARUMMA – TOMAY 1990, 237, fig. 401, 5, T. 42 - 2.7.1963, around 500 BC., 241, fig. 405, 6, T. 19 - 15.5. 1969 of the late 6th-early 5th).

cup-skyphoi¹²⁴ (Fig. 23.9), skyphoi¹²⁵ (Fig. 23.10). For the most part such finds can be placed in the last quarter of the 6th- first decades of the 5th century BC: their typological repertoire is analogous to that of the black-glaze pottery from the late Archaic *emplekton* of the northern fortifications of Cumae. Fewer finds date after the first quarter of the 5th century: among them, e.g., a stemless cup foot¹²⁶ (Fig. 23.11) and a bowl fragment with out-turned rim¹²⁷ (Fig. 23.12).

¹²⁴ *Agora XII*, nos. 573, 576-577, 579, 276, pl. 25 (around 480 BC).

¹²⁵ There are few walls and foot fragments of Corinthian type and A, Attic type skyphoi. The sample fig. 23.10 belongs to a canted handles skyphos: *Agora XII*, nos. 332-333, 83-84, 258, fig. 4, pl. 15; NIGRO 2006b, 94, pl. 22A, 2-3.

¹²⁶ Cf. *Agora XII*, nos. 483, 499 (mid-to-late 5th century), 269-270, pl. 22, fig. 5.

¹²⁷ Cf. *Agora XII*, no. 779 (430 BC), 291, fig. 8.

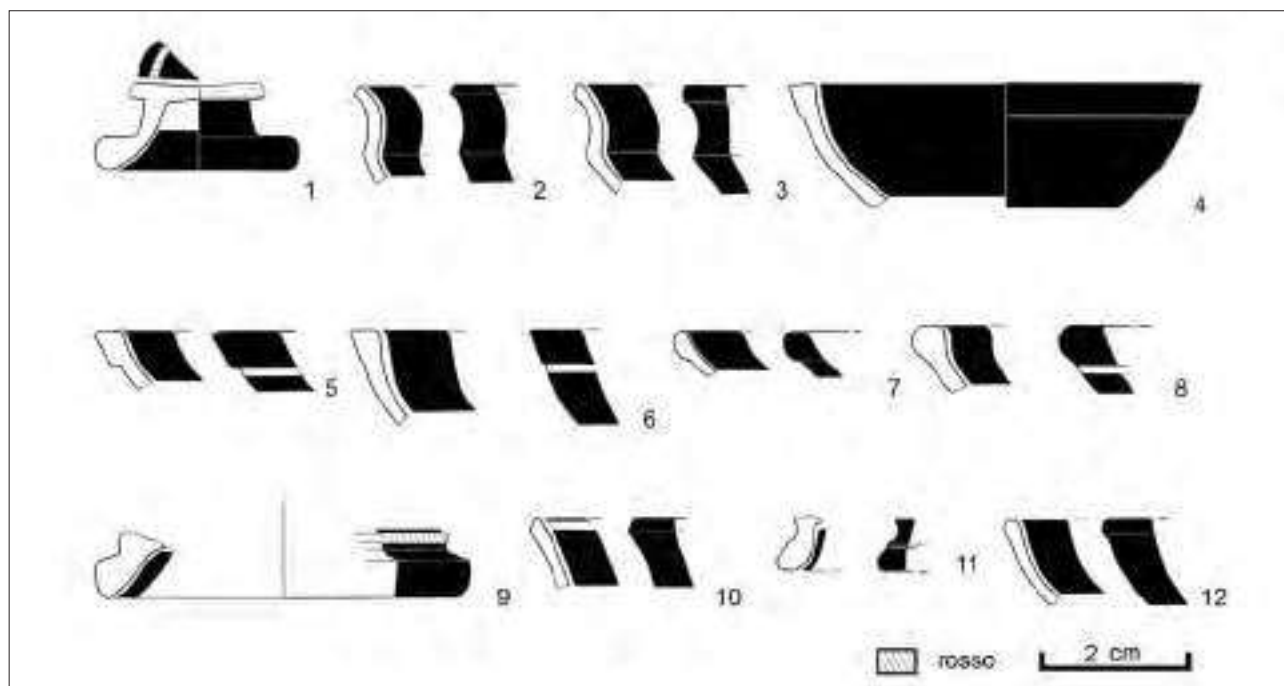


Fig. 23. Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli: black-glaze pottery

Mention should also be made of bowls pertaining to the Etruscan-Archaic Campanian black-painted production, commonly dated from the late 6th to the mid-5th century BC, already documented from Neapolitan contexts¹²⁸.

Transport amphorae (Fig. 24)

While deserving specific analysis, as usual there is only scant diagnostic evidence available for the transport amphorae. Few samples of “SOS” amphorae are attested: an echinus rim from the Johnston’s “Middle group” can be attributed to the Attic workshop, while a flared echinus rim from the “Late group” belongs to an unidentified workshop¹²⁹ (Fig. 24.1-2). Rim and ring foot fragments of “à la brosse” amphorae are more numerous and are datable between the mid 6th and early 5th century BC¹³⁰ (Fig. 24.3-5). A few samples of Samian,

Chiote, and Laconian amphorae are also documented.

The quantitatively largest component is the “Corinthian A type” and the “Western-Greek” amphorae¹³¹. Attributable to the “Corinthian A type” are sherds datable by their morphology from the mid to late 6th/early 5th-century BC¹³² (Fig. 24. 6-7, 9-10, 12). Regarding the “Western-Greek” amphorae, samples of Sourisseau 1β and 1α form are in smaller quantities¹³³ (Fig. 24. 8, 11, 13). More numerous sherds belong to Sourisseau 2 form, which has been attributed to unidentified workshops in

¹²⁸ FALCONE – NAPOLITANO 2010, 33-40 publish a typological classification of the class that provides a useful basis for further investigation of its chronological sequence. For the Neapolitan samples cf. e.g. D’AGOSTINO – GIAMPAOLA 2005, nos. 37, 44-49, 75, 77-79, fig. 12; cf. also *supra*, 528.

¹²⁹ JOHNSTON – JONES 1978; c.f. e.g., RIZZO 1990, no. I 2, 43, figs. 26, 360, no. IV 1, 61, figs. 70-71, 362, no. VI 1, 68, figs. 92, 363.

¹³⁰ The sherds belong to Type “A-GREAtt2B”: PY – SOURISSEAU 1993, 36; for the sherd fig. 24.3 cf. a sample from the *emplekton* of the late archaic walls of Cumae: SAVELLI 2006, no. 328, 189, pl. 24, B 7; for the sherds fig. 24.4-5 cf.: SAVELLI 2006, no. 330, 189, pl. 24, B 9.

¹³¹ Cf. GASSNER 2003, 173-219; SAVELLI 2006, 2009. The most complete synthesis can be found in SOURISSEAU 2009; more recently see GASSNER 2015.

¹³² They are comparable with Types 4 - 5 - 6 of the typology elaborated for the necropolis of Rificolaro at Camarina: SOURISSEAU 2006, 138-141, fig. 5-7; 2009, 188-189, figs. 6, 13-14. For the samples from the city wall of Cumae cf. SAVELLI 2006, 110-111, pl. 25, 1-13.

¹³³ SOURISSEAU 2009, 184-85, 188-89, figs. 6, 8-14. In her preliminary study of the amphorae from S. Maria degli Angeli Elda Scoppetta recognized, on an autoptic basis, a Sybarite or, in some cases more generically Calabrian production. For the Sourisseau 1α amphorae from Cumae cf. SAVELLI 2009, 119-120, pl. 26, 1-21; for the samples from Pithekoussai: SAVELLI 2009, 108. On the chronology of Calabrian productions cf. SAVELLI 2009, 124. A sample of such production was recognized in the excavation of the Duomo station in the context of the late 6th century BC: GASSNER – SCOPPETTA 2014, no. 1, 113, 119, fig. 1.

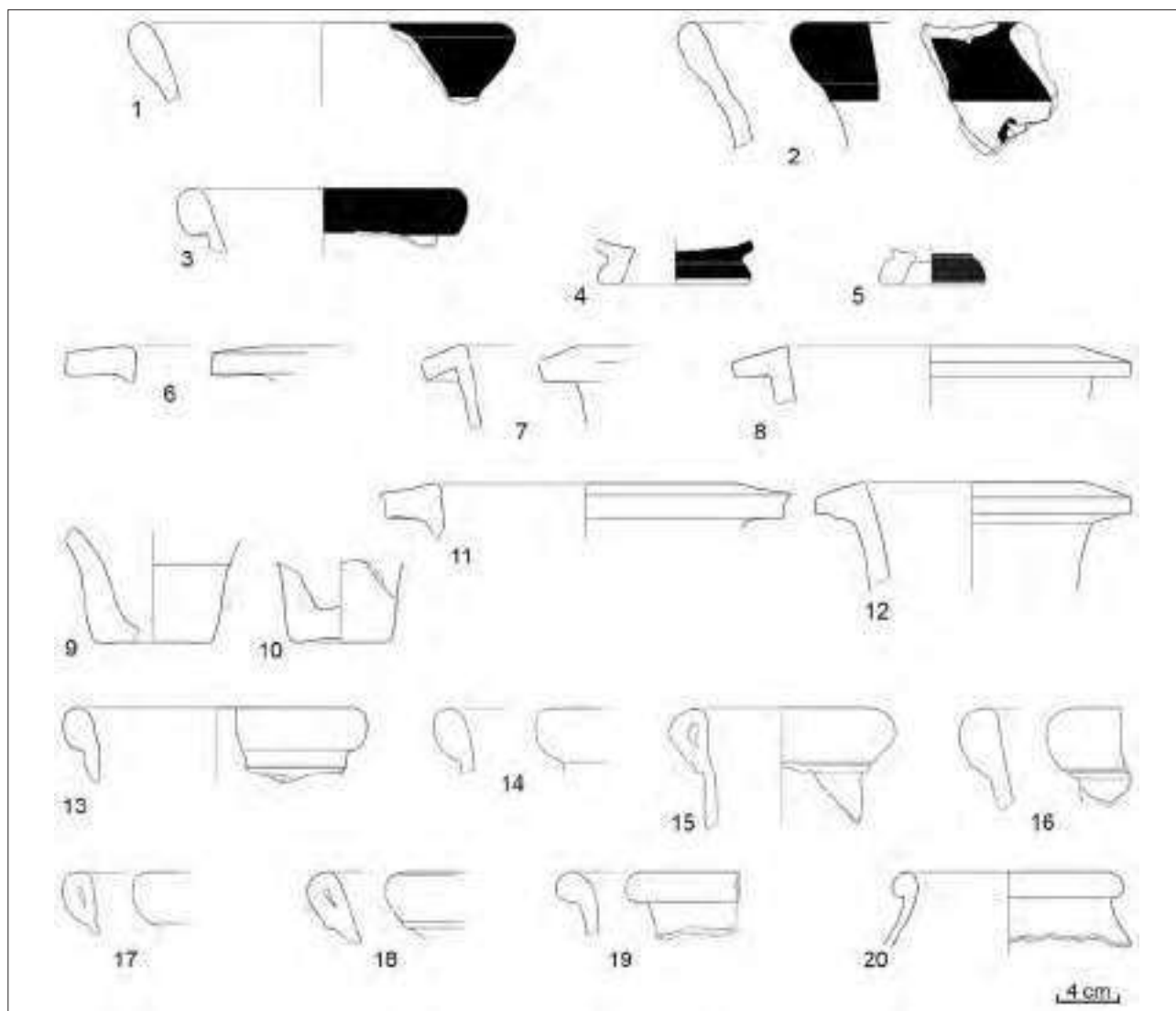


Fig. 24. Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli: transport amphorae

Calabria¹³⁴ (Fig. 24. 14-18). The poor state of preservation does not make it easy to distinguish in some samples the form 2, dated up to the first quarter of the 5th century BC, and the form 3, between the first quarter and mid-5th century BC¹³⁵.

No sample of Sourisseau 2 amphora from the “Bay of Naples workshop” is attested, unlike the Neapolitan context of Piazza Nicola Amore¹³⁶.

More generally, the Sourisseau 1a and Sourisseau 2 forms are present in the Western Mediterranean: the former, from the first quarter, the latter,

from the second half of the 6th century BC. Both productions have a wide distribution throughout the century; however, it should be considered that their chrono-typological framing varies according to the different areas of production¹³⁷.

Finally, some fragments of lip can be attributed to the large grouping of the “Western-Phoinician ogive-shaped amphorae” that traditionally includes the Pithekoussan amphora of type A-B, Etruscan and Etruscan-Campanian types¹³⁸ (Fig. 24.19-20).

¹³⁷ Cf. SAVELLI 2009; SOURISSEAU 2009.

¹³⁸ On Pithekoussan productions: SOURISSEAU 2009, 149-173; for relations between Pithekoussan and Etruscan and Campanian production: BELLELLI 2018; for the distribution of Etruscan and Campanian Etruscan-type amphorae in Campania: ALBORE LIVADIE 1985, 129-133 and appendix 3; for Etruscan amphorae: PY 1985, 73-94; GRAS 1985a, 325-366; for the evidence from Cumae: SAVELLI 2006, 122-126, 199-202, pl. 27. The conservation of

¹³⁴ This attribution is proposed by Elda Scoppetta in the study mentioned above.

¹³⁵ For the Sourisseau 2-3 forms cf. SOURISSEAU 2009, 189-191, fig. 6.

¹³⁶ GASSNER – SCOPPETTA 2014, nos.5, 9, 115-117, 120-121, fig.1. This datum adds to the attribution of samples from Velia to the Gulf of Naples: GASSNER 2015, 348, fig. 2.

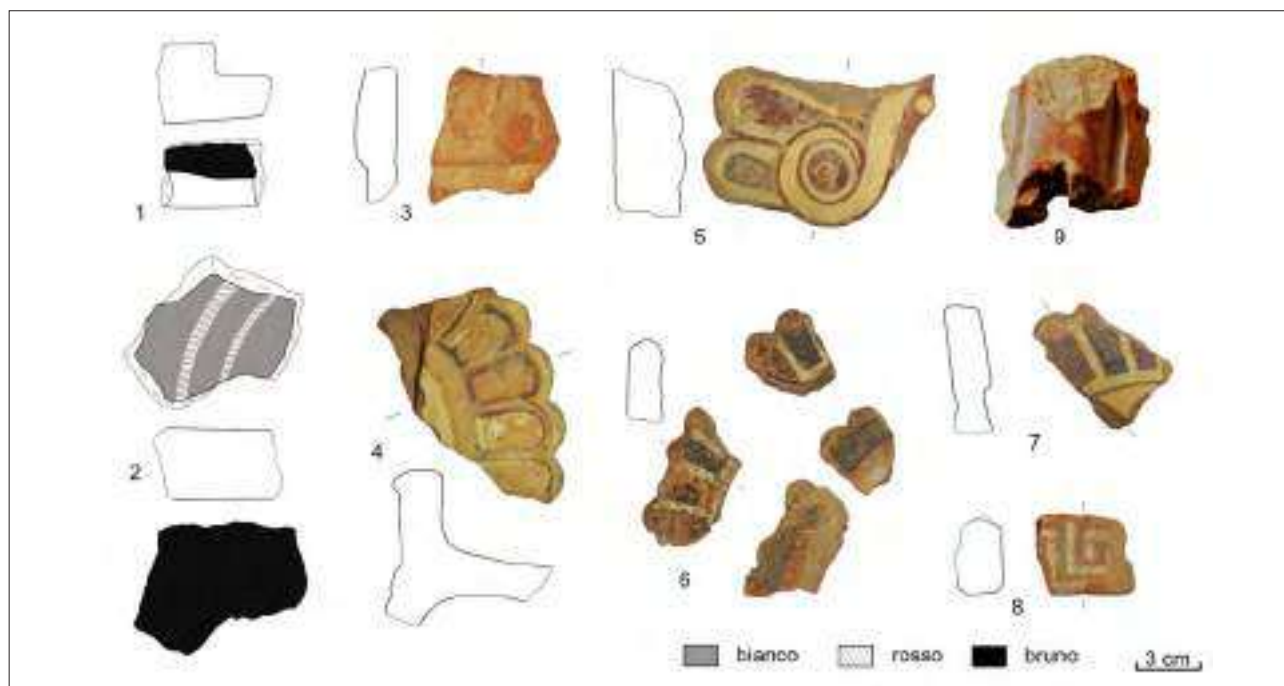


Fig. 25. Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli: architectural terracottas

In conclusion the repertoire of transport amphorae from Santa Maria degli Angeli is distributed from the late 7th to the first quarter of the 5th century BC, with a predominance of samples from the 6th century BC.

Architectural terracottas (Fig. 25)

Of note is a group of late archaic architectural terracottas that allows us to hypothesize the presence of cultic spaces on Pizzofalcone hill. Although the finds have a high fragmentation index, one can recognize cover and plain tiles, eaves tiles (Fig. 25.1-2), shell antefixes with palmettes¹³⁹ and revetment plaques (Fig. 25.3-9). A set such as this can be easily included in the “Campanian roofs-system”, with numerous comparisons from both Pithekoussai and Cumae and regional Etruscan centers¹⁴⁰.

Piazza Municipio: the undredged seabeds

After comparing the 8th- and 7th-century BC materials from S. Maria degli Angeli and the har-

bor, it seems useful to present a selection of finds recovered from the undredged seabed at the mouth of the basin near the promontory of Castel Nuovo¹⁴¹ (Fig. 26).

This context begins in the Late Archaic period and is stratigraphically included between the dredged levels of the Hellenistic period and those of BMA directly deposited on the “Neapolitan Yellow Tufa” bench. Due perhaps to the strong erosion that occurred in the outer part of the harbor, marine sedimentation is missing for a period of about eight hundred years¹⁴². The recovered materials, except for a few almost intact ones, show a medium to high fragmentation index. They are indicative of the life of the port basin and the adjacent dry land, from which they may have come due to natural or anthropogenic events. In this sense, the discovery of cover and plain tiles proba-

the fragments from S. Maria degli Angeli and the lack of archaeometric analysis makes it difficult to distinguish the specific productions. The samples in fig. 24.19-20 (type Py 3A-B, between the mid and late 6th century BC), are close to Etruscan samples from Cumae: cf. e.g., SAVELLI 2006, no. TTA 431, 199, pl.27, 2.

¹³⁹ RESCIGNO 1998, series C 2100, C 2200, 62-84.

¹⁴⁰ RESCIGNO 1998.

¹⁴¹ Cf. GIAMPAOLA 2017a. Scientific assistance for the excavation was provided by Vittoria Carsana (coordinator) and Mariella Gentile; the graphic documentation was carried out by Calcagno Architetti Associati and Politecnico di Milano, Dipartimento ABC, He.Su.Tech lab; the catalogue of the material was made by Annarita Russo; the drawings are by Valentina Miceli and Annarita Russo. To all of them goes my thanks.

¹⁴² Cf. VACCHI *et al.* 2019. The geomorphological study of the port basin is carried out by the team composed of the Department of Earth Sciences, Environment and Resources - University of Naples “Federico II”, Vesuvius Observatory, Aix-Marseille University.

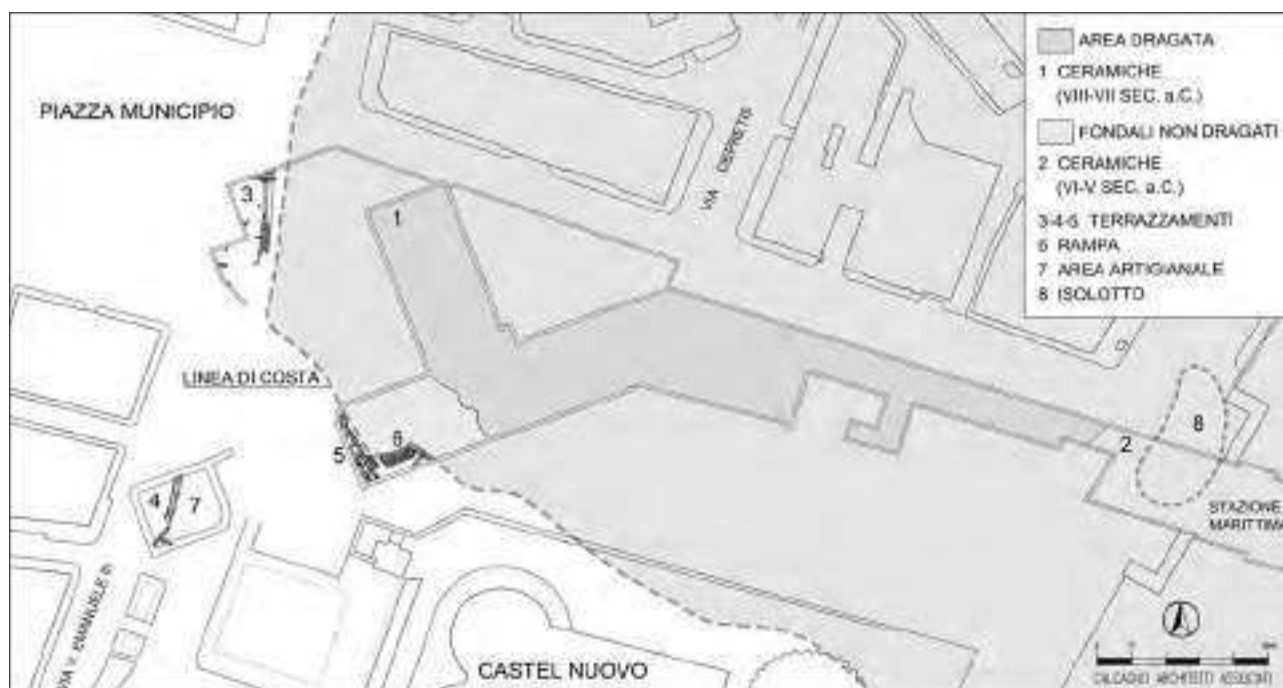


Fig. 26. Piazza Municipio: the Hellenistic harbor basin, the dredged and the undredged seabeds

bly indicates the presence of buildings on the Castel Nuovo promontory near the port entrance.

Although there are residual or more recent intrusions, the archaeological excavation has identified a stratigraphic sequence of the seabed from the Late Archaic age¹⁴³. On this occasion, the overlying datable beds from the second half of the 5th to around the middle of the 4th century BC, prior to the Hellenistic dredging action, are excluded.

The deepest sand layers (2961=2570D) (Fig. 27) contain small fragments of “Eastern-Greek¹⁴⁴ amphorae”, “à la brosse”, Sourisseau 1α form¹⁴⁵. Among the fine pottery, an Ionian B2 cup¹⁴⁶, two

partially painted olpettes¹⁴⁷ and a skyphos with linear decoration¹⁴⁸ were found; as for the common pottery, a locally produced kylix is attested, which can be compared with a Cumaean type¹⁴⁹.

These data lead to a chronology around the last quarter of the 6th to the first decades of the 5th century BC¹⁵⁰.

A second seafloor level (2958= 2570 B= 2570 C) (Fig. 28) is developed on these sediments, in which Sourisseau 1α amphorae¹⁵¹ and one of probably Eastern Greek origin¹⁵² were found.

¹⁴⁷ The type is widely popular up to the first quarter of the 5th century BC: cf., *supra*, 543.

¹⁴⁸ The sample fig.27.6 may be compared with exemplars dated between the last quarter of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century BC: cf. e.g., PANVINI 2001, 46-47, pls. V, 30, VI, 31-32.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. NIGRO 2006a, no. TTA 110, 86, 143, pl. 19,3-4. The shape is found in other Neapolitan contexts from the late 6th and first quarter of the 5th century BC: SCOPPETTA 2010, 120, tav. LXXI.

¹⁵⁰ In more recent layers, not considered here, residual sherds datable from the middle to the second half of the 6th century BC were also found, such as e.g. a lydion and an Ionian B1 cup.

¹⁵¹ Due perhaps to marine action, in this layer other Sourisseau 1α and “à la brosse” fragments, belonging to the exemplars of the underlying levels, were also found.

¹⁵² For the shape of the lip and neck the sample in fig. 28.2 is similar to an amphora from the Late Archaic *emplekton* of Cumae, possibly of Greek-Oriental production: SAVELLI 2006, no. TTA 384, 195, pl. 25, 28.

¹⁴³ The different phases of station construction forced the stratigraphic layers to be investigated at two different times, in 2015 and 2016. In 2015, due to the outcropping of the water table, the strata were excavated by levels to which letters were assigned. Equivalences were made between the deposits identified in the two different interventions, integrating the excavation data with those derived from the chronological framing of the finds.

¹⁴⁴ The fragment fig. 27.1 probably belongs to an amphora from Clazomenai. Numerous samples come from the *emplekton* of the Late Archaic fortification of Cumae: SAVELLI 2006, 113.

¹⁴⁵ Cf., *supra*, 546 for the samples from Santa Maria degli Angeli.

¹⁴⁶ The sample, because of its distinct fold between lip and bowl, can be dated from the last quarter of the 6th century BC: cf. *supra*, 540.

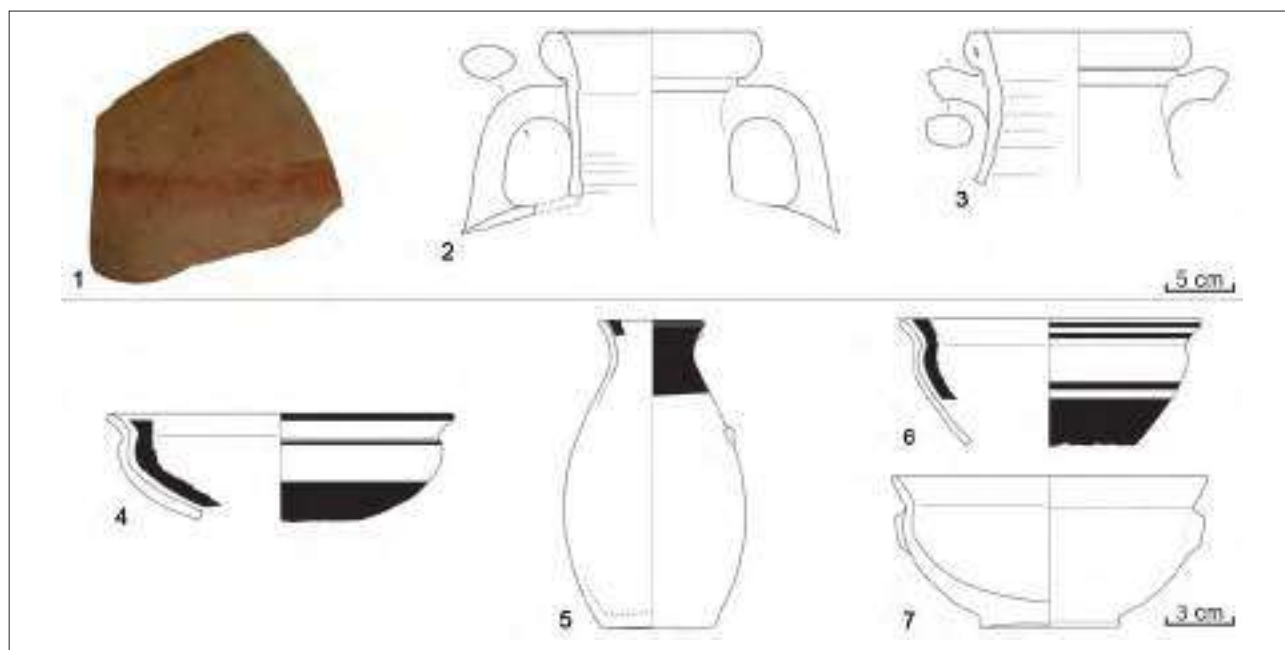


Fig. 27. Piazza Municipio: the undredged seabeds, pottery from layers 2961-2170D

From the same layers come two later fragments of amphorae, whose small size makes it difficult the classification: one perhaps of Sourisseau 3 form or the early variants of 4 form (Fig. 28.3), the other of Sourisseau 4 (Randform 4 – 5 – 7 Gassner, MGSII Vandermesch)¹⁵³ (Fig. 28.4). Ionian cups (B2 and intermediate between B2 and B3) are still present among the fine potteries. A few sherds of closed shapes with linear and vegetal patterns probably belong to Eastern-Greek workshops between the second half and the end of the 6th century BC¹⁵⁴ (Fig. 29.1-3). These materials are joined by a cup-skyphos, a bowl with linear decoration¹⁵⁵, and an Attic

type lamp¹⁵⁶. Black-glaze pottery is documented by a saltcellar with echinus wall¹⁵⁷, and a jug fragment with round mouth¹⁵⁸. A skyphos sherd dated between the late 5th and full 4th centuries BC¹⁵⁹ can be considered an intrusion from the upper seabed. Common pottery is present, in coarse and in plain depurated types: ollae and basins, but most of all, the above-mentioned kylikes and two-handled cups¹⁶⁰.

Pontecagnano (RUSSO 2017-2018, 89, pl. IX B). The bowl fig. 28.6, without handles, can be compared with a single-handled Cumaean find, from which it differs in the painted band on the outer lower part of the body: CUOZZO 2006c, no. TTA 261, 179, pl. 21,6.

¹⁵⁶ The sample fig. 28.7, with disc and shoulder decorated with black painted concentric bands, is close to lamps *Agora* IV, Type 21D (from the first quarter to end of 5th century BC), nos. 179-182, 50-51, pls. 6, 35, Type 22 A (500-460 BC), 22A variants (second quarter of the 5th century BC), nos. 193-195, 206, 52-53, 55, pls. 7, 35-36.

¹⁵⁷ The type has a great typological variety: cf. *Agora* XII, 132-137, fig. 9. The sample fig. 28. 8 can be compared with *Agora* XII, no. 939 (500 - 480), 302, fig. 9; GOVI 1999, 134-135, 145-146, T. 2, (second quarter of the 5th century BC), pl. XVII; DONNARUMMA – TOMAY 1990, 259, T. 15/1963 (460-450 BC), fig. 439, 3.

¹⁵⁸ The shape fig. 28. 9 resembles the banded round-mouth or black variants oinochoai: cf. *Agora* XII, no. 157 (525 BC), 247, pl. 9; cf. also jugs from Lipari, dated between late VI and mid V: e.g., *Meligunis Lipàra* II, 155, T. 430, pl. XLVII, 1, 129, T. 361 bis, pl. XLVII, 8, 152-153, T. 424, pl. LVI, 4 e.

¹⁵⁹ MOREL 1981 series 4311; for typological evolution from the late 5th to the 4th century BC cf. PONTRANDOLFO 2000, 127, tl.1; at Naples (S. Aniello a Caponapoli) cf. e.g., D'ONOFRIO – D'AGOSTINO 1987, no. E13, 154, fig. 26.

¹⁶⁰ The two-handled cup will become the best-documented shape in the upper layers. This recurs both at Cumae in the Late Archaic wall *emplekton* (NIGRO 2006a, 86-87, pl. 19, 5) and at

¹⁵³ The fragment in fig. 28.3, of indeterminate production, presents a slender lip with straight inner wall and a underlying ridge. It can be dated from the central years of the 5th century BC: cf. e.g., samples from Velia: GASSNER 2003, nos. Ic20, IIa 200, 307, 323, pl. 11, 24. For the sample fig. 28. 4 cf. generally SOURISSEAU 2009, 191-193, note 164- 165, fig. 6; DI SANDRO 1986, 59- 68, pl. 12; VANDERMESCH 1994, 65-69; GASSNER 2003, 181- 182, fig. 91. The chronology of the Sourisseau 4 form ranges from just before the mid-5th to the second half of the 4th century BC. The illustrated fragment, likely of Poseidonia, is close to BECHTOLD 2018, 2, 6, figs. 3. 1a-b (second third 5th century BC), 5, 1.a-b (late 5th-early 4th century BC); GASSNER *et al.* 2014, n. 134 (mid-4th century BC) 243, fig. 27.

¹⁵⁴ Thanks to Matteo D'Acunto for the fruitful discussion regarding these finds, for which he suggests Ionian or North Ionian workshops.

¹⁵⁵ The cup-skyphos fig. 28.5 is related to black-glaze Attic types between the late 6th and first quarter of the 5th century BC: *Agora* XII, nos. 569, 572, 109-110, 276, fig. 6, pl. 25; it is commonly attested in southern Italian contexts such as Cumae (MUNZI 2007, 127, fig. 15), Poseidonia (CITERA 2011-2012, 110-111, pl. XIII a-c),

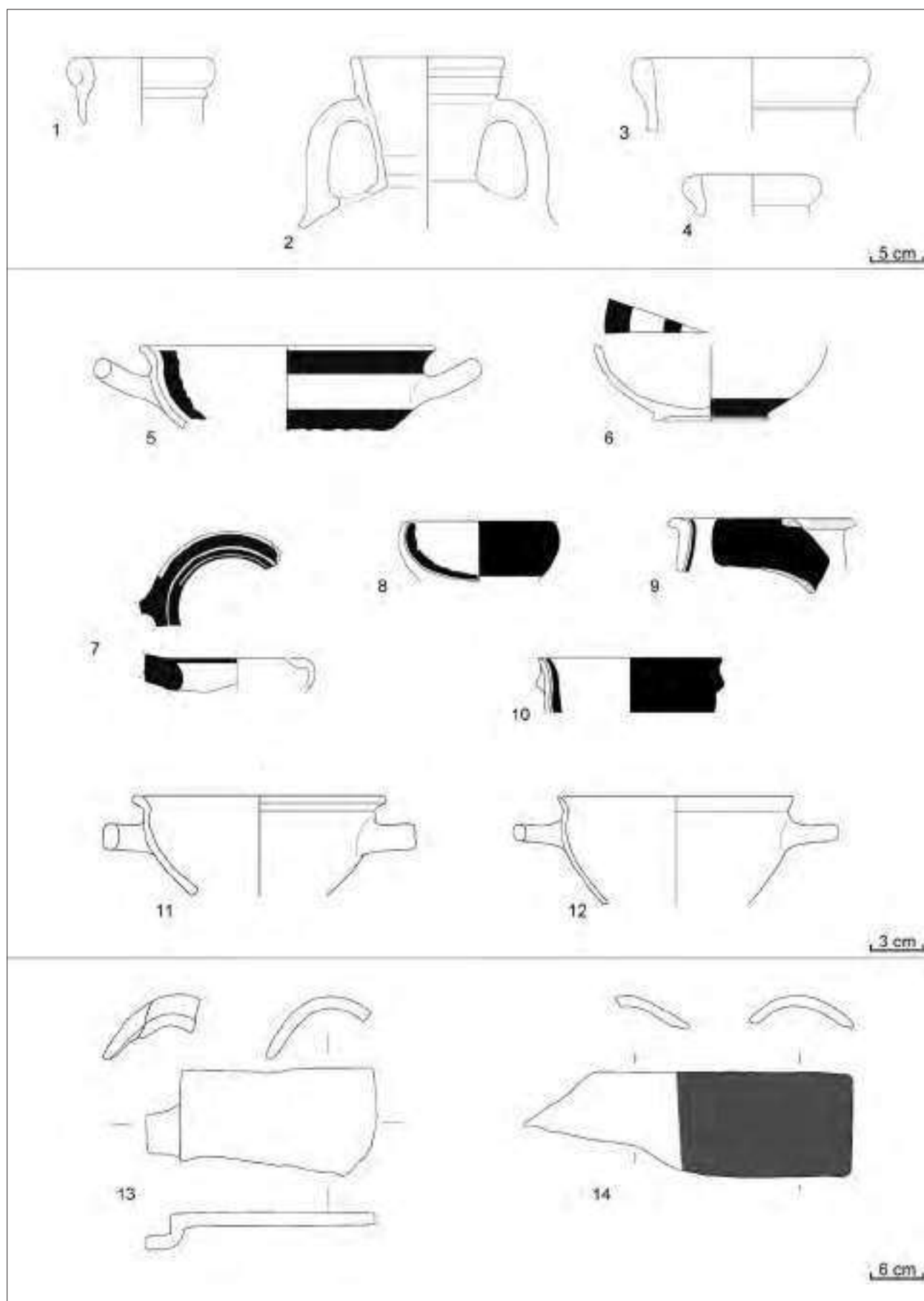


Fig. 28. Piazza Municipio: the undredged seabeds, pottery from layers 2570B-2570C-2958



Fig. 29. Piazza Municipio: the undredged seabeds, Eastern-Greek pottery from layers 2570B-2570C-2958

Many of these materials still fit into the late archaic horizon: a chronology of the seabeds development up until around the second quarter of the 5th century BC is suggested by black-glaze pottery and, albeit cautiously, by some of the amphorae types.

Despite the difficulties of the excavation, the stratigraphic sequence offers significant evidence. The archaeological records seem to indicate that the port is used in the Late Archaic period until the Hellenistic age. The inlet of Piazza Municipio will also be the site of the harbor in the Roman age, but that is another story.

FINAL REMARKS

At the end of the analytical presentation of the archaeological data, it is useful to make a synthesis.

- The archaeological records found in Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli and Piazza Municipio, although partly residual, testify to the prolonged life of the settlement.
- The earliest frequentation dating back to the second half of the 8th century BC privileges the “preferred site” of the Pizzofalcone promontory and may be connected to the control of the landing area at Piazza Municipio.

- At Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli the archaeological evidence presents a long caesura after the late Neolithic and Eneolithic phases. The installation of Parthenope marks a solution of continuity with respect to the indigenous settlement of the FBA-EIA, lacking completely residual materials from these periods, while only a few fragments of *impasto* can be attributed to the EIA2¹⁶¹. This hypothesis needs further confirmation because of the impossibility of specifying the broad chronological span between the FBA and EIA derived from the contexts of the S. Pasquale and Arco Mirelli stations, located in the Chiaia shoreline immediately west of the Pizzofalcone promontory.
- The oldest Greek pottery, associated with fewer indigenous and Phoenician finds, allows us to date the beginning of Parthenope in a chronological horizon rather close to the earliest phases of Pithekoussai and Cumae¹⁶². The surviving evidence does not however allow us to determine the nature, whether permanent or seasonal nor the extent of the first occupation of Parthenope. The comparison with Pithekoussai and Cu-

Naples from the Duomo station, dated throughout the 5th century BC: SCOPPETTA 2010, 120-121, pl. LXXII.

¹⁶¹ Cf. *supra*, 532.

¹⁶² D’AGOSTINO – D’ACUNTO 2008; D’ACUNTO 2009, 2017, 2020a; GRECO 2008, 2009.

mae will be crucial, also involving the matter of their chronological and functional relationships¹⁶³. The first Greek presence at Pizzofalcone may have marked, with Pithekoussai and Cumae, a node in the network of control of the Gulf area which was consolidated with the Cumaean *apoikia*: in this perspective, the function of *epineion* attributed by historical tradition to Parthenope can be recovered¹⁶⁴.

- The earliest archaeological records of Santa Maria degli Angeli and the harbor basin are similar to those from Pithekoussai and Cumae: LG Pithekoussan-Cumaean pottery, an Euboean import, white-on-dark style samples, a small amount of Protocorinthian vases and Italo-Geometric productions but also *impasto* pottery and coarse ware.
- The archaeological records increase during the 7th century BC, especially from the end of the century and during the 6th century BC. and reveals a qualitative change that differentiates Parthenope from the other ports of the Cumaean *paralia*.

The material culture continues to show strong affinities with that of Pithekoussai and, mainly, Cumae. What is indicative is the comparison with finds from both the *emplekton* of the city wall and the periurban area of the *polis* investigated by the University L'Orientale and the Centre J. Bérard.

At S. Maria degli Angeli there are *impasto* vessels from the centers of the Campanian plain; bucchero pottery is imported in the late 7th century BC from Etruria and during the 6th century BC from the Etruscan Campania. Corinthian and Etruscan-Corinthian pottery, productions of the eastern-Greek tradition, numerous Attic black-figure vessels, and, from the last quarter of the century, black-glaze wares are also attested. There is

significant evidence of common (coarse and depurated) pottery associated with partially painted or linearly decorated productions.

The transport amphorae are remarkable: they begin to appear at the end of the 7th century BC and increased consistently throughout the following century, with a prevalence of Corinthian and Western-Greek productions. The materials demonstrate an active role of Parthenope in the archaic network in Campania which connects Greek, Etruscan, and indigenous communities, having as its main pole the *polis* of Cumae¹⁶⁵.

A significant marker is represented by the distribution of archaic architectural terracottas pertaining to the “Campanian roof-system”, at least partially related to sacred buildings: they were found not only in Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli, but also in the harbor seabed of Piazza Municipio and in the shoreline explored in the area of the Duomo subway station, immediately outside the walls of Neapolis¹⁶⁶.

According to the data from Santa Maria degli Angeli, the entire 6th century BC up until the first decades of the 5th century BC is to be regarded as a phase of consistent and uninterrupted development.

The picture offered by these new discoveries enhances that of the Pizzofalcone necropolis, documenting how the settlement continues beyond the end of the archaic tombs discovered in Via Nicotera: their interruption can be attributed to the fortuitousness of discovery and not to the destruction of Parthenope.

- After the first decades of the 5th century BC, the documentation from Santa Maria degli Angeli declines, restarting at the time of Palaepolis, between the 4th and 2nd century BC. In the port of Neapolis and the coastal area facing the urban plateau, there is substantial continuity between the late Archaic, classic,

¹⁶³ Cf. e.g., D'AGOSTINO 1994; GRECO 1999; D'AGOSTINO 2008; MELE 2014, 5-39; CERCHIAI forthcoming and the papers on the same subject in this volume.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. *supra*, 524; BONNIER 2008 deepens the meaning of the notion of *epineion* with respect to that of *limen*: the term denotes a port away from the “central place” on which it depends, constituting a political extension of its coastal territory.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. CERCHIAI 2013, 55-86.

¹⁶⁶ From Piazza Santa Maria degli Angeli there are cover and plain tiles, eaves tiles, antefixes, revetment plaques (cf. *supra*, 548); from the harbour cover and plain tiles; from the Duomo station cover and plain tiles, eaves tiles, antefixes and *kalypteres hegemonas*, some with painted decoration.

and even later phases. Beneath Piazza Municipio the levels of the last quarter of the 6th-early 5th century BC are covered by layers dated from the second quarter to the Hellenistic age, when the port was redesigned and the seabed was dredged. On the shoreline at the Duomo station, the sequence begins with beach deposits from the last quarter of the 6th century BC, on which layers from the first quarter of the 5th century BC up to the Hellenistic age are superimposed¹⁶⁷. The archaeological records includes, among the others finds, pieces of evidence (bucchero, Corinthian pottery, an architectural terracotta with a polychrome double guilloche¹⁶⁸) that could demonstrate the first frequentation around the mid/second half of the 6th century BC.

- The plateau where Neapolis was founded is frequented from the mid/second half to the end of the 6th century BC. The older settle-

ment of Parthenope, in full expansion, extended its control over the nearby plateau, which must have represented an important reserve for development.

- The wall found in vico Soprammuro dates back to the first decades of the 5th century BC. It documents a significant urban strengthening and suggests that the foundation of Neapolis had already occurred at an earlier date. At the same time, it was accompanied by the decrease of Pizzofalcone for which there were fewer archaeological records.
- It was through the settlement consolidation of Parthenope that the conditions for the birth of the “New Polis” were produced. This long poleogenetic process culminated at the end of the 6th century BC, following the escalation of the *stasis* within the Cumaeen factions for the control of Parthenope and its territory, as historical sources testify¹⁶⁹.

¹⁶⁷ SCOPPETTA 2010.

¹⁶⁸ RESCIGNO 1998, nos.13, 64-65, 202, 250, pls. IV, XVII-XVIII.

¹⁶⁹ Cfr. *supra*, 523-524.

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OINOTRIAN-EUBOEAN POTTERY FROM TIMPONE DELLA MOTTA – FRANCAVILLA MARITTIMA (CS)

Jan Kindberg Jacobsen, Gloria Mittica

INTRODUCTION

Cultural contact between Greeks and the indigenous people of the Ionian coast of Italy was not instigated by the foundation of Sybaris around 720 BC but rather predated this by as much as half a century. Since 2007, research conducted by the Groningen Institute of Archaeology (GIA) and the Danish Institute in Rome has shown that the archaeological circumstances in the Sibaritide during the 8th and 7th centuries BC are far more complex than has previously been thought. Particularly on Timpone della Motta, new archaeological evidence encourages a reinterpretation of the social and cultural environment at the site emphasizing direct contact between the indigenous community and Greek newcomers. Greek Euboean pottery, imports as well as locally produced highly euboeanizing vessels, are featured in the archaeological material excavated on the site of Timpone della Motta from the first half of the 8th century BC. The local euboeanizing ware has been labelled Oinotrian-Euboean, and the aim of this article is to present the current state of research on the topic while highlighting its cardinal characteristics and assessing its implications for our understanding of the specific character of the cultural and social processes of the “Hellenization”¹ at the settlement of Timpone della Motta.

¹ Understood as the process by which indigenous people became partly Greek. Different theories have been proposed. Some argue for a “soft” model, while others favour a “harder” variant, see HANDBERG – JACOBSEN 2011; JACOBSEN – HANDBERG 2010, 687.

THE SETTLEMENT OF TIMPONE DELLA MOTTA

Timpone della Motta is situated 12 km to the west of the Greek *apoikia* of Sybaris in Northern Calabria, near modern-day Francavilla Marittima (Fig. 1). Activity on the site spans from the Late Middle Bronze Age until the 5th century BC when it was seemingly abandoned, with the main period of activity covering the 8th-6th centuries BC. During this period, the acropolis was furnished with multiple large structures, and several plateaux around the hilltop have provided evidence of habitation, as have the lower slopes of Timpone hill². To the east lies the Macchiabate necropolis, within which the inhabitants buried their deceased in large tumuli as well as individual burials.

Excavations have been conducted in the area since the 1960s. These have brought to light the complex nature of the interactions between the indigenous population and the Greeks during the centuries from the arrival of the latter until the culture of the population had, judging from the archaeological material, become very much Greek, although retaining some indigenous traits as, for instance, a continued use of the indigenous tumuli³.

² For a new survey on the archaeological areas on and around Timpone della Motta cf. JACOBSEN *et al.* (2018) 2019.

³ SAXKJÆR – JACOBSEN 2014, 279. For a summary of the earlier history of the excavations, see JACOBSEN – HANDBERG 2010, 11-18. On current excavations cf., MITTICA 2019b, 65-73 (Timpone della Motta); MITTICA – JACOBSEN 2019, 79-85 (Area Rovitti); JACOBSEN – MITTICA 2019, 87-95 (Area Aita); GUGGISBERG – IMBACH – SPICHTIG 2018 (Macchiabate necropolis); BROCATO – ALTOMARE 2018 (Plateau II).



Fig. 1. Map of the Sibaritide with the indication of the site Timpone della Motta – Francavilla Marittima, CS

The site thus becomes a natural locus for the study of the cultural encounter between the indigenous population, traditionally referred to as the Oinotrians, and the Greeks who traded with and settled large parts of the South Italian peninsula from the 8th century BC onwards. A very interesting facet of this encounter is constituted by the class of pottery referred to as Oinotrian-Euboean. This specific ware and its interpretative and inferential potential have only in recent years been fully acknowledged. Furthermore, recent excavations have brought to light much larger quantities than had hitherto been accessible, thereby enhancing the analytical possibilities.

OINOTRIAN-EUBOEAN POTTERY

The Oinotrian-Euboean pottery, which was produced between the second quarter of the 8th and the beginning of the 7th century BC⁴, has been defined as «[...] locally produced pottery that in shape and style closely resembles Euboean pot-

tery»⁵ The Oinotrian component of the nomenclature is thus a strictly geographical indication intended to situate the production and as such does not imply an indigenous stylistic influence on the pottery itself⁶.

Oinotrian-Euboean pottery differs from the indigenous matt-painted and *impasto* productions by several key characteristics regarding both manufacturing technique, shapes, and style. It is thrown on the fast wheel, and its potters did not employ the coiling technique that characterizes indigenous production⁷. Although the clay used in both productions has been proven to come from the same source, a deposit situated south of the Raganello river some 3 kilometres from the site, a comparison of the fabrics reveals that the productions differ with regard to the treatment of the clay⁸. The clay used for the Oinotrian-Euboean vessels is more compact. This can be caused by the firing and/or depuration process(es), either way empha-

⁴ JACOBSEN – HANDBERG – MITTICA 2008-2009, 89.

⁵ JACOBSEN 2013, 2.

⁶ JACOBSEN – HANDBERG – MITTICA 2008-2009, 89-90.

⁷ JACOBSEN 2007; MITTICA 2007; MITTICA – JACOBSEN 2024, in press.

⁸ ANDALORO *et al.* 2010, 2011.

sizing the distinctness of the *chaînes opératoires*⁹. Furthermore, the application of a shiny glaze for both interior and exterior decoration and finish clearly sets it apart from the indigenous wares¹⁰.

The morphological repertoire develops over time. In the earliest phases, two shapes, the Greek skyphos and the indigenous *scodella*, are predominant. They are, however, in the second half of the 8th century BC, joined by an extended range of shapes comprising kraters, oinochoai, amphorae, bi-conical jars and *ollae*¹¹. In contrast to the indigenous shapes, the Greek ones, particularly the skyphoi are hastily developed synchronously with those of the Greek mainland¹².

The decoration of the vessels is heavily indebted to the Euboean geometric style with ornaments such as wavy and parallel lines, chevrons, cross-hatched lozenges, circumscribed swastikas, hourglass motifs, circles of dots, and regular concentric circles. These were later accompanied by stylized depictions of water birds and horses. One example is particularly illustrative; a stand, probably from a krater, found during excavations on the acropolis (Fig. 2a-b). This piece is decorated with a frieze reproducing the “horse at the manger” motif and stylistic “tree of life”¹³. This particular scheme finds very close parallels in the Cesnola-inspired workshops of Pithekoussai but especially among the material excavated in the Apollon *Daphnéphoros* sanctuary at Eretria on Euboea¹⁴. This again stresses the close-knit connection between the pottery produced at Timpone della Motta and the regular Euboean production.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE OINOTRIAN-EUBOEAN POTTERY

Excavations conducted in the so-called Area Rovitti on the lower south-west slope of the acropolis during the years 2009-2010 and again in 2019 uncovered structures which proved to be of great im-

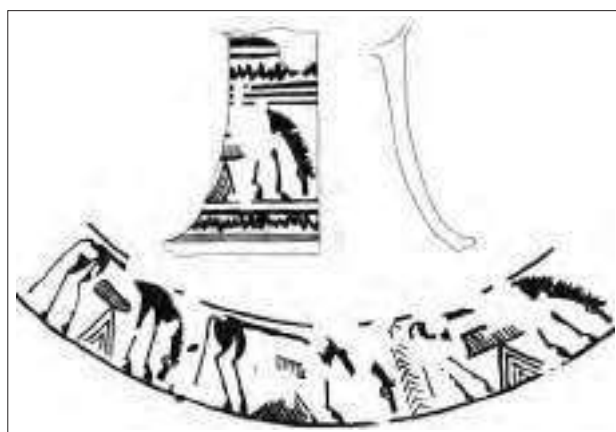


Fig. 2a-b. Stand from krater decorated in Cesnola style from the acropolis of Timpone della Motta

portance to the understanding of the production of Oinotrian-Euboean pottery as well as the spatial organization of the iron age settlement¹⁵. The excavations, which were instigated by the discovery of remains of pottery kilns suggesting a possible *kerameikos*-area, uncovered several structures. Structure A, a wattle and daub hut dating to the first half of the 8th century BC, contained a large assemblage of Oinotrian-Euboean pottery as well as utility vessels and fine and impasto ware of indigenous manufacture. What is more, several of the Oinotrian-Euboean vessels were defective or, in other ways, of a tentative or unfinished character. For instance, the excavations brought to light a skyphos upon which a painter had made several attempts at applying concentric circles with a multiple brush (Fig. 3a-b).

⁹ JACOBSEN – SAXKJÆR – MITTICA 2017, 176.

¹⁰ JACOBSEN – MITTICA – HANDBERG 2008-2009, 216.

¹¹ JACOBSEN – HANDBERG 2010, 692; JACOBSEN 2013, 3.

¹² MITTICA 2007; MITTICA 2010; SAXKJÆR – JACOBSEN – MITTICA 2017, 101.

¹³ MITTICA 2007, 126-129, no. cat. 146; JACOBSEN – HANDBERG – MITTICA 2008-2009, 94, fig. 4E.

¹⁴ *Eretria XIV*, pl. 71, H93-H98; MITTICA – JACOBSEN 2024, in press.

¹⁵ MITTICA 2010; JACOBSEN – HANDBERG 2010.

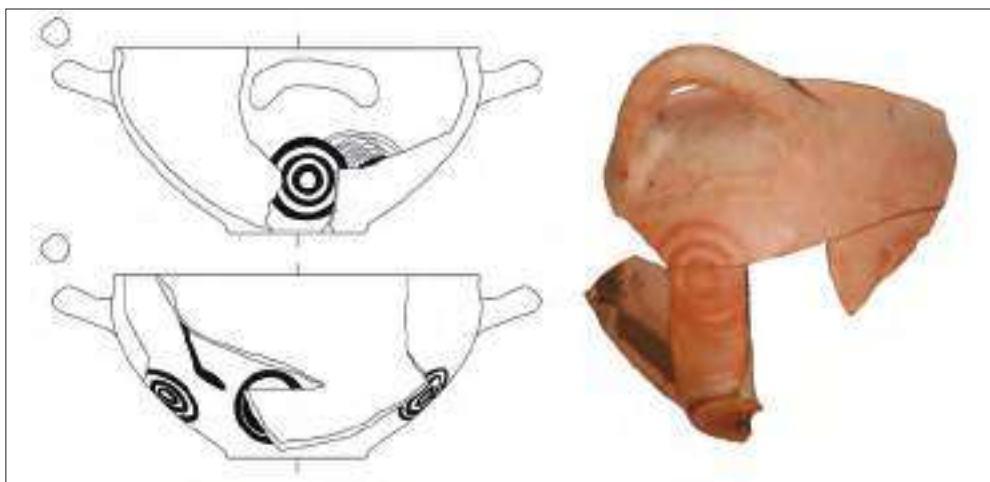


Fig. 3a-b. Oinotrian-Euboean skyphos with attempted concentric circles from Area Rovitti of Timpone della Motta

This vessel may best be characterized as a painter's unsuccessful attempt at applying a new type of decoration to the skyphos-shape¹⁶. Several fragments from large jars, the interiors of which were covered with finely depurated, unburnt clay, may serve as another example. These jars were identified as containers for the fine clay used for slip (Fig. 4). Consequently, these findings, along with the discovered kilns, suggest that the function of the hut should be understood in relation to the manufacture of pottery.

However, the occurrence of weaving utensils, cooking vessels, and indigenous pottery, along with the mentioned pieces, points towards a domestic interpretation. A reasonable assumption is, then, that structure A could have served as a potters' dwelling¹⁷. Structure A was partly covered by a subsequent hut labelled structure B and datable to the late 8th and early 7th century BC. Structure B retained its mudbrick walls and a well-preserved stone wall of the dimensions 4.00 x 0.40 x 0.40 m. Inside the structure, a pavement of stone pebbles is preserved. The material associated with Structure B covers a large range of pottery classes such as local and Iapygian matt-painted pottery, impasto vessels, Corinthian Late Geometric, and Early Proto-Corinthian pottery, as well as Oinotrian-Euboean vessels.¹⁸

The Area Rovitti is set apart from the rest of the site by its unusually high concentration of Oinotrian-Euboean pottery. This made up 20% of the assemblage, a figure remarkably higher than anywhere else on and around the Timpone della Motta.

In the sanctuary on the acropolis, for comparison, the Oinotrian-Euboean pottery constituted a considerably lower percentage of the material corpus. Here, however, the shapes were predominantly larger, with decorated kraters constituting a substantial part of the material. What is more, these were mainly discovered in the contexts of the successive buildings Vb and Vc (Fig. 5).

Recent excavations on the acropolis might indicate that an additional Iron Age building with a material composition similar to that of building Vc is located in the central part of the acropolis below an archaic structure. The Danish Institute in Rome has conducted excavations in the so-called MS3 area since 2017. A large quantity of burned and heavily fragmented animal bones was found on and around a stone structure, suggesting that animal sacrifices and possibly ritual dining had been taking place in the area during the 6th century BC¹⁹. The conglomerate bedrock slopes towards the south and in consequence, the MS3 structure had been erected directly on the conglomerate in the northern part, whereas in the southern part, the area had been filled up with levelling material prior to the construction of the structure.

¹⁶ JACOBSEN – SAXKJÆR – MITTICA 2017, 170. Similar pieces are known from the Potters' Quarter in Corinth.

¹⁷ JACOBSEN – HANDBERG 2010, 700; SAXKJÆR – JACOBSEN – MITTICA 2017, 100.

¹⁸ For a more detailed description of structure B, see JACOBSEN 2013, 6.

¹⁹ PERRONE 2019, 75-78.



Fig. 4. Fragments from open vessels with a layer of unfired, finely depurated clay on the interior

In the northern-eastern part of MS3, a double row of postholes cut out in the bedrock came to light. These probably pertain to an east-west orientated building from the Iron Age. Stratigraphy belonging to the 8th century BC was not encountered during the excavation, indicating that the area had been cleaned intensively prior to the construction of the 6th-century structure.

In the southern area of MS3, the conglomerate was not reached. However, a disturbance created by illegal excavations during the 1970s on the south-western corner gives some indication of the stratigraphy below the structure. The disturbed area was identified during the excavations in 2017, but its vertical extent is still to be determined. The fill of the disturbed area, however, contains a conspicuous amount of impasto fragments datable to the Recent Bronze Age as well as a few Italo-Mycenaean fragments and a possibly Mycenaean fragment. In the same area, numerous fragments datable to the 8th century BC have come to light, along with a number of Iron Age weaving implements. The pottery includes matt-painted ceramics as well as a quantity of Oinotrian-Euboean and impasto fragments (Fig. 6). At this point, it is not possible to establish the specific context to which the Bronze Age and Iron Age material belongs. However, the material is in a good state of preservation, and several fragments can be joined together, indicating that the settlement context might be located below the 6th-century BC MS3 structure²⁰.



Fig. 5a-b. Fragments from kraters, *ollae* and biconical vessels with Euboean-inspired decoration from the acropolis of Timpone della Motta

²⁰ JACOBSEN *et al.* (2018) 2019.



Fig. 6. Matt-painted and Oinotrian-Euboean pottery from the MS3 Area

NEW EVIDENCE FROM AREA AITA

A new settlement area was identified in 2017 on the lower southern slope of Timpone della Motta, some 100 meters east of Area Rovitti. This area, which has been named Area Aita after the land-owners, is located directly below plateau 1 (Fig. 7). After an initial survey in 2017, archaeological excavations were conducted in the area in 2018 and 2019. Currently, three excavations trenches denominated AAI, AAII, and AAIII are under investigation.

The research is at a preliminary state, but a series of observations can already now be made with regard to the Iron Age remains. All three trenches contain a detailed stratigraphic sequence, which covers the timespan from the beginning of the 8th to the end of the same century. This gives some indication that the whole of Area Aita – c. 4000 m³ – was settled during the Iron Age. AAI contains the remains of a large, possibly open-air, hearth, while wall structures are visible in trench AAII.

AAIII contains a thick Iron Age stratigraphy, but a structural interpretation so far remains inconclusive given the limited dimensions of the trench (Fig. 8a-b).

The Iron Age material assemblage from the three trenches is in an excellent state of preservation and reflects a composition comparable to that of Area Rovitti, although, in the case of Area Aita, there is – at least so far – no indication, neither directly nor indirectly, of pottery production during the Iron Age. As in Area Rovitti, the pottery consists of indigenous matt-painted and impasto wares together with Oinotrian-Euboean pottery as well as imported Euboean MG skyphoi and minor finds such as weaving equipment and a few smaller bronze objects. The Oinotrian-Euboean pottery constitutes around 3% of the total pottery assemblage, a figure notably lower than that observed in the Rovitti area. Skyphoi and *scodelle* are the most commonly occurring shapes in the Aita area, but larger shapes such as amphorae and kraters are also attested.



Fig. 7. Aerial photo of Area Aita, lower south slope of Timpone della Motta



Fig. 8a. Oinotrian-Euboean pottery from trench AaII



Fig. 8b. Euboean skyphoi from trench AaII



Fig. 9. Rounded vessel with concentric circles from Area Aita

A hitherto unattested vessel shape came to light during the 2018 excavation. The vessel in question has a notably rounded shape and an outward-turning rim, and the body is decorated with concentric circles (Fig. 9). The vessel shows a generic similarity with one-handled *orciolo* cups known from Iron Age graves in Latium, which are also decorated with concentric circles²¹. In addition, both the *orciolo* cups and the cups from Area Aita have horizontal lines on the upper part of the interior wall, while the rest is kept plain. A comparable shape is known from 7th-century BC deposits on the acropolis of the Timpone della Motta. The specimens of this shape are labelled lidded globular *pyxides*²² (Fig. 10). Corresponding lid fragments have so far not come to light in the Area Aita excavation, but it might nevertheless be suggested that this Iron Age vessel could be considered a forerunner of the globular *pyxis* of the archaic period.

The Macchiabate necropolis presents us with a picture not much different from that conveyed by the material from the upper plateau. Of the 89 excavated 9th-8th century BC traditional tumulus burials, only two contained Oinotrian-Euboean pottery (CR1 and T36)²³, whereas it appeared in four of the 17 individual burials recently excavated by the University of Basel²⁴. When Oinotrian-Euboean vessels do appear in graves, they often seem to have substituted an indigenous shape – e.g. a skyphos for an *attintoio* – in the regular

burial assemblage, of which the primary constituents were, in most cases, a container and a cup²⁵.

In a slightly wider scope, Oinotrian-Euboean pottery has also been attested at various indigenous sites around the Sibaritide, albeit in more scarce quantities. For example, a few fragments of skyphoi come from the areas of Amendolara and Incoronata, and excavations at Broglio di Trebisacce have also yielded some fragments belonging to what should most likely be identified as skyphoi and larger vessels decorated with concentric circles. Torre Mordillo and Roggio Gravina have similarly produced cups, in both cases from funerary contexts where they, as was also the case at Timpone della Motta, substituted indigenous shapes²⁶.

This brief survey situates the main source at Timpone della Motta, making it, at the present time, the most likely centre of production²⁷.

IMPLICATIONS: RELATIONS, FUNCTION AND MEANING

The presence of Greek or Greek-inspired pottery does not naturally equal the permanent presence of Greeks. However, the distinct characteristics of the Oinotrian-Euboean pottery, the local production of the class and the fact that the techno-

²¹ E.g. LA ROCCA 1975, 86, figs. 1-3.

²² For the globular *pyxis* cf., SAXKJÆR 2019, 121-124.

²³ ZANCANI MONTUORO 1977-1979, 27-29, pl. XVIa; 1980-1982, 100-101, pl. LXI–LXII, fig. 36.

²⁴ GUGGISBERG – COLOMBI – SPICHTIG 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015. Subsequent publications on the Basel excavations do not provide specific classifications on pottery vessels due to ongoing conservation work.

²⁵ SAXKJÆR – JACOBSEN 2014, 266. In comparison, Corinthian pottery seems to have occupied another position. This, as has previously been argued, might stem from the fact that LG Corinthian pottery was exchanged through indigenous networks together with Iapygian pottery. If exchanged among elites, this could have imbued the Corinthian pottery with special meaning, which translated to the grave sphere, see JACOBSEN 2013.

²⁶ JACOBSEN – HANDBERG 2010, 707-708 with references; see also, JACOBSEN – MITTICA – HANDBERG 2009 214-215 with references.

²⁷ JACOBSEN – HANDBERG 2010, 708.



Fig. 10. Bag-shaped pyxis, 7th century BC from the acropolis of Timpone della Motta

logical advances it represents - e.g. the use of the fast wheel - were not adopted to include the indigenous pottery, all point towards a production carried out by the culturally discrete group, namely Euboean Greeks. These people manufactured pottery in the Area Rovitti for an extended period, indicating that they permanently settled alongside the indigenous people.

In terms of the distribution of their manufactured pottery, the remarkable discrepancies between the concentrations in different areas permit further inquiries into matters of social organization and consumption. Although only some habitation areas have been excavated, the Euboean habitation at Area Rovitti unmistakably exhibits the largest concentration of Oinotrian-Euboean pottery, while partially excavated indigenous houses on plateaux I-III only contained a few vessels²⁸. This allows for two conclusions to be made. That the inhabitants of the Timpone della Motta appear to have been organized in geographically separated clusters of which ethnicity seems to have been a defining characteristic, and that the *primary* consumers of the Oinotrian-Euboean pottery were the Euboeans themselves. It has previously been argued that the

prevalence of the skyphos was perhaps caused by a need for wine-drinking equipment to which no suitable counterpart could be found among the ceramic repertoire of the indigenous population²⁹.

However, as has been hinted, the indigenous people were not entirely unimpressed by the foreign pottery. The *scodella* figures prominently in the material and forms an interesting example of Greek receptiveness towards local trends and preferences. The phenomenon may also demonstrate commissioning on the part of indigenous inhabitants of known shapes in the “foreign” style, an assumption corroborated by the recent discovery at the Macchiabate necropolis of a unique *olla* of Oinotrian-Euboean fabric³⁰. This interest would, in turn, mean that the Oinotrian-Euboean vessels held some sort of meaning or embodied a kind of value to at least some of the indigenous people.

This hypothesis is further strengthened if we turn to evaluate the consumption of Oinotrian-Euboean vessels on the Acropolis. Here, as mentioned, the preference for large, decorated shapes, especially kraters, is striking, particularly in relation to building Vb and Vc, which arguably served as an elite residence³¹. It is, therefore, very likely that these shapes occupied a special position in the rites that took place there while at the same time probably signifying a heightened social status of the owner. At other sites such as, for instance, Pithekoussai, the krater shape has also been linked to elite activity.

To the kraters from the acropolis of the Timpone della Motta has been added an additional example from the Macchiabate necropolis³², and several specimens from the international art market should perhaps also be considered a part of the series³³.

Thus, all the vessels with known findspots were exhumed from ritualized contexts. If we dwell, for a moment, on the necropolis, the matter might be further illuminated. There, the Oinotrian-Euboean vessels substituted indigenous vessels that would otherwise have been included in the funerary assemblage. But it does not necessarily follow that

²⁹ JACOBSEN – HANDBERG 2010, 710.

³⁰ GUGGISBERG 2014, 158-163, fig. 5.

³¹ SAXKJÆR – JACOBSEN – MITTICA 2017, 94-96.

³² GUGGISBERG – COLOMBI – SPICHTIG 2015, 105-107, pl. 18, no. 2.

³³ JACOBSEN – SAXKJÆR – MITTICA 2017, 178-182.

²⁸ JACOBSEN – SAXKJÆR – MITTICA 2017, 173.

their presence did not constitute a specific and different meaning, perhaps one tied to the consumption of wine. This has been debated back and forth – also with reference to the kraters on the acropolis, and while it is indeed a scenario with parallels from elsewhere in Italy, the evidence is not substantial enough to confirm the hypothesis³⁴.

We have recently argued that if the mentioned distinction between grouped burials in tumuli and individual burials reflects a corresponding social division, then the relatively higher concentration of Oinotrian-Euboean pottery in the latter might indicate an elite with closer ties to the Euboean residents³⁵. However, the members of the indigenous elite were apparently particular about the use of the Oinotrian-Euboean pottery, and we are certainly not at this point witnessing a senseless or passive adoption and/or acceptance of all things new. The material rather conveys the image of a selective process in which the indigenous people incorporated certain vessels into their rites, possibly altering the latter in the process while imbuing the chosen products with both meaning and social potential.

CONCLUSIONS

The Oinotrian-Euboean pottery from the Timpone della Motta provides us with an excellent ex-

ample of a cultural encounter as well as its possible outcomes and allows for inquiries into themes such as social and cultural integration between groups of separate ethnicities.

The highly euboeanizing vessels produced by settled Euboeans at the Timpone della Motta mark the beginning of a long process of cultural exchange which culminated in the 7th-6th centuries BC when the archaeological material was dominated by Greek and Greek-style pottery³⁶. However, this process was certainly not as linear and straightforward as the traditional view of Greek-indigenous relations would have it. Instead, the material presents to us an enclave of Greeks living very close to or among the indigenous people, interacting with these and manufacturing a class of pottery clearly distinguishable from that of the latter by means of the employed techniques, morphological repertoire, and decoration.

However, some vessels were specifically inspired by local shapes and traditions. These incidents, among other things, speak of cultural interaction, and the presence of Oinotrian-Euboean pottery in indigenous ritualized contexts suggests that this had indeed acquired a certain meaning to the local elite who was arguably the primary consumers apart from the Euboeans themselves, thus forming a common bond between the two groupings, a phenomenon which might be regarded as a cross-cultural elitist koine³⁷.

³⁴ JACOBSEN – SAXKJÆR – MITTICA 2017, 184.

³⁵ JACOBSEN – SAXKJÆR – MITTICA 2017, 177.

³⁶ JACOBSEN – HANDBERG 2010, 35.

³⁷ JACOBSEN – SAXKJÆR – MITTICA 2017.

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NAXOS BETWEEN THE EIGHTH AND SEVENTH CENTURIES BC REVISITED*

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The origins of Naxos date back to the early colonial enterprise that reached Sicily from Euboea following the route through the Strait of Messina that led to the Tyrrhenian Sea. It was the first Greek colony in Sicily, founded in 734 BC by settlers from Chalcis in Euboea and Naxos in the Cyclades¹. Its primacy and the special status of its altar of Apollo Archegetes continued to be recognised by the Sicilian Greeks (THUC. 6.3.1)². It lies on the east coast of the island, south of Messina, at the natural landing-point for ships sailing west to Sicily.

The city had a short life: in 403 BC, it was utterly destroyed by Dionysius of Syracuse (DIOD. SIC. 14.15.2). Thanks to its destruction, though, Naxos preserves the layout of its development over the three preceding centuries.

The extensive and in-depth excavations at the crossroads of *plateia* A and *stenopos* 11 have produced a wealth of new data on urban systems and their dynamics, from the early colonial settlement through the Archaic city plan – only at the begin-

ning of 6th century BC arranged *per strigas* – to the Classical orthogonal city³. At the northern edge of the city, the unique complex of late Archaic shipsheds (*neoria*)⁴ was discovered immediately to the north of the most likely location of the *agora* (Fig. 1)⁵. This find is crucial to defining the layout of the ancient city of Naxos. It finally provides the location of the public hub, outlining the spatial and functional relationships between the harbour and the city plan. Of the features of the city's ancient landscape, the bay must have played a central role and gave clues to locating the site of the famous altar of Apollo Archegetes, which has never been found. The topographical work carried out since 2012 has resulted in the first georeferenced plan of the city (Fig. 1)⁶. This work has now evolved into a three-way collaborative fieldwork project between the Archaeological Park of Naxos and the Finnish Institutes at Athens and in Rome.

The early colonial settlement seems to have occupied the eastern area of the Schisò peninsula, in close contact with the bay and the harbour. Archaeological investigations undertaken in the area from 1998 have continued almost without interruption until 2013. They were carried out over an area of about 2,000 m², uncovering *plateia* A – the widest (9.46-9.52 m) east-west road axis of the fifth-century city – between intersections 10 and 11 (Fig. 2).

* I sincerely thank the organizers, Professors Matteo D'Acun-
to and Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro for inviting me to participate in
this stimulating conference. I express my great esteem for Profes-
sor Bruno d'Agostino, who has taught me a lot in our conversa-
tions. I want to thank Professor David Blackman for his com-
ments and suggestions. I extend special thanks to Professor Jari
Pakkanen for the georeferenced plan of ancient Naxos and his
pivotal work at the site. Finally, I thank arch. Vera Greco, current
director of the Archaeological Park of Naxos, for her support and
friendship. I am grateful to Dr Maria Grazia Vanaria for her help
in supervising the excavation, to Giusy Pelleriti for the photo-
graphs and arch. Giovanna Buda for the plan in fig. 3.

¹ HELLANICUS, *FGH* 4 F 82; THUC. 6.3.1.

² On the altar and its importance for the Greek Sicilian cities,
see MALKIN 2011, 97-118, and more recently MURRAY 2014, 457-
459, 468-473.

³ LENTINI 2012, 310; LENTINI – PAKKANEN – SARRIS 2015.

⁴ BLACKMAN – LENTINI 2003; LENTINI – BLACKMAN – PAK-
KANEN 2008; LENTINI – BLACKMAN – PAKKANEN 2013; PAKKANEN
2018, 133-136, figs. 6.11a (orthomosaic of the complex), 6.11b
(reconstruction of the northwest part of the complex).

⁵ LENTINI – PAKKANEN 2012, 157-158, fig. 3; LENTINI – PAKKA-
NEN – SARRIS 2015, 3-4, figs. 6, 8.

⁶ PAKKANEN 2013, 56, fig. 4.2.

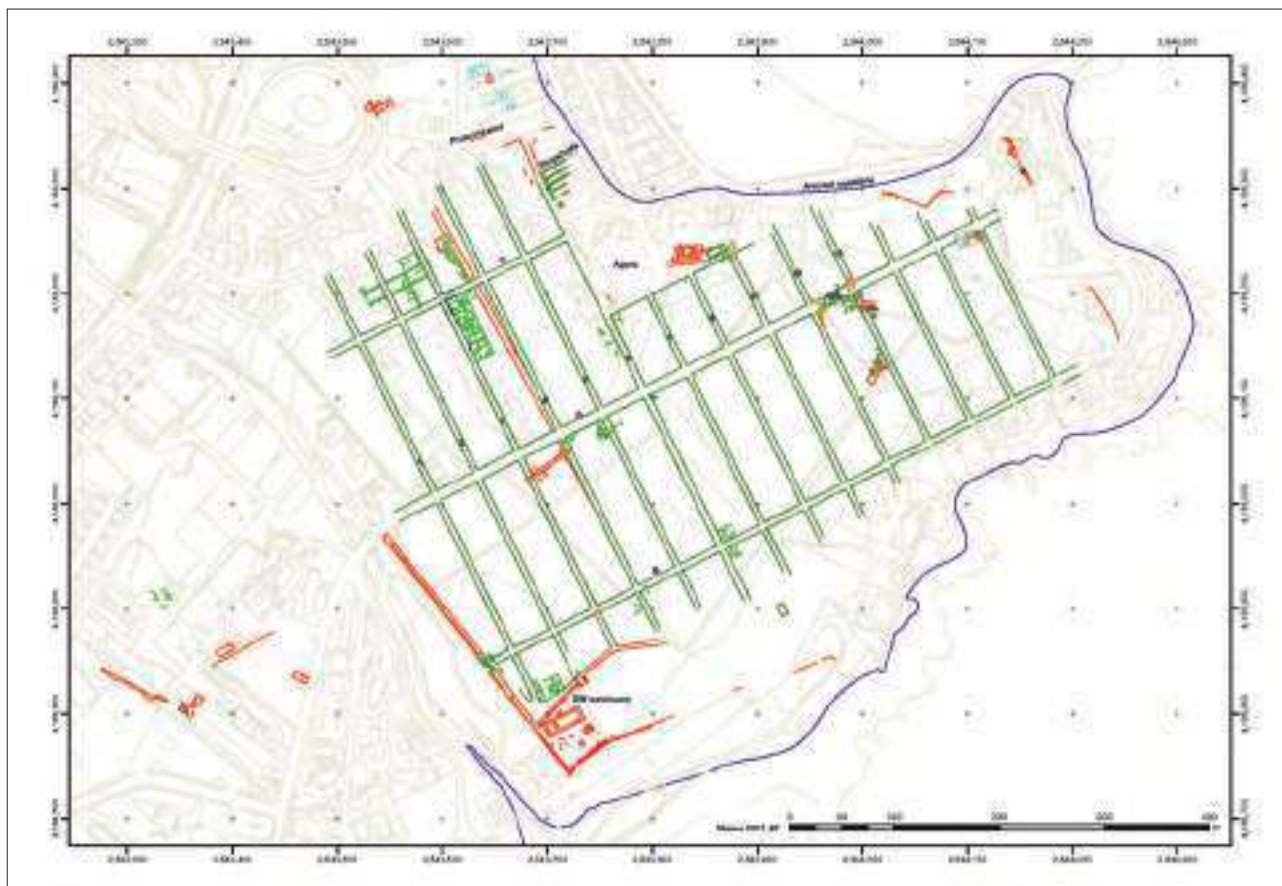


Fig. 1. Naxos: the geo-referenced plan of the city (by J. Pakkanen, 2017)

Extended portions of the *stenopoi* and housing blocks A10 and C10 were also excavated⁷. In-depth excavations have been carried out at different points of the outlined area: in *plateia* A, in the southeast corner of housing block C10, and especially near the southern flank of the crossroad 11, where a landfill was found in direct relationship with the remains of a 5th-6th century AD building. These excavations have produced many data on the early settlement and on the growth of the city (Fig. 2)⁸.

The focus of the present paper is on the data related to the arrangement of the early settlement and the following development of the city. The review of the data from the area of the Buildings “g”, “d”, and “f” is key to achieving this aim. These buildings are discontinuous from the nearby group of buildings (11 altogether) dating from the eighth to seventh centuries BC that lay to the west in *plateia* A and in the immediately adjacent areas (excavations 1998-2001). With the same east-west

orientation, they line up in a row, separated by narrow open-air passages.⁹ The tightly aggregated arrangement, although not clustered, would seem to delineate a landscape in many ways similar to that of the late Geometric urban centres located in the Cycladic archipelago, with particular reference to Zagora, but also to Hypsele¹⁰. The construction features would have greatly contributed to this appearance: the walls of the houses are carefully built with small stones and have flat roofs, at least to judge from what has been discovered so far. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that House 5 is rectangular in plan with two rooms, the larger of which preserves, on its short side, a Π-shaped bench, which was widespread in Cycladic architecture¹¹.

⁹ LENTINI 2009, 23-25, figs. 25-27.

¹⁰ In general, on the LG Cycladic urban system, cf. most recently MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012, 126-128.

¹¹ MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997, 134-137, 293 (Zagora – Complex H19); LENTINI 2012, 314, pl. 40.2 (House 5).

⁷ LENTINI 2009, 10-19.

⁸ LENTINI 2012, 311-12, pls. 36-37.



Fig. 2. View from the southeast of the crossroads of *plateia* A and *stenopos* 11: on the left is the in-depth excavation area (excavations 2003-2006)

HUTS “g”, “d” (Fig. 3)

The buildings “g”, “d”, and “f” seem in contrast with the cityscape outlined above. Close to each other, the structures were discovered at the base of the huge Byzantine landfill that seriously disturbed the stratigraphy of the area but also allowed deep excavation over a large area (Fig. 4). The data collected make the area of central importance for the understanding of the settlement dynamics and formation of the city of Naxos.

Because of their layout and stratigraphical unity, the three buildings had once been considered coeval and to have belonged to a single complex¹², rather than being attributable to two distinct phases, even if chronologically close, of the first settlement of the colony. For this later reading, the results of the survey conducted in 2013 proved decisive. They defined the dimensions (ca. 10.30 x 2.50 m) and plan of Building “f”, which is more likely to have been rectangular (Fig. 3). The lack of the north wall, together with the precarious conservation of the north

end of the western wall (Fig. 5), makes the previously suggested apsidal plan now uncertain¹³. The building technique of its walls, moreover, differs from that of Buildings “g” and “d”, showing rather that it has close affinities with that of the group of 8th-7th centuries BC buildings discovered below *Plateia* A¹⁴. Finally, one must add that there is no *impasto* ware mixed with the pottery so far collected inside the building. All the evidence would show that the two curvilinear Buildings “g” and “d” are earlier than Building “f” and are to be recognized as remains of huts (Fig. 6). In harmony with this identification are the elongated, oval-shaped plan and the post holes in the wall of Hut “g” (Fig. 7), which are in accordance with a system that was established in Sicily in the late Bronze Age (Ausonio II) and that is well documented in the early Iron Age village of Metapiccola at Lentini, and in the settlement of Morgantina-Cittadella.¹⁵

¹³ LENTINI 2015, 241.

¹⁴ LENTINI 2009, fig. 27 (House 5).

¹⁵ LEIGHTON 1993, fig. 39, in general, ALBANESE PROCELLI 2003, 50-55.

¹² LENTINI 2012, 2016.

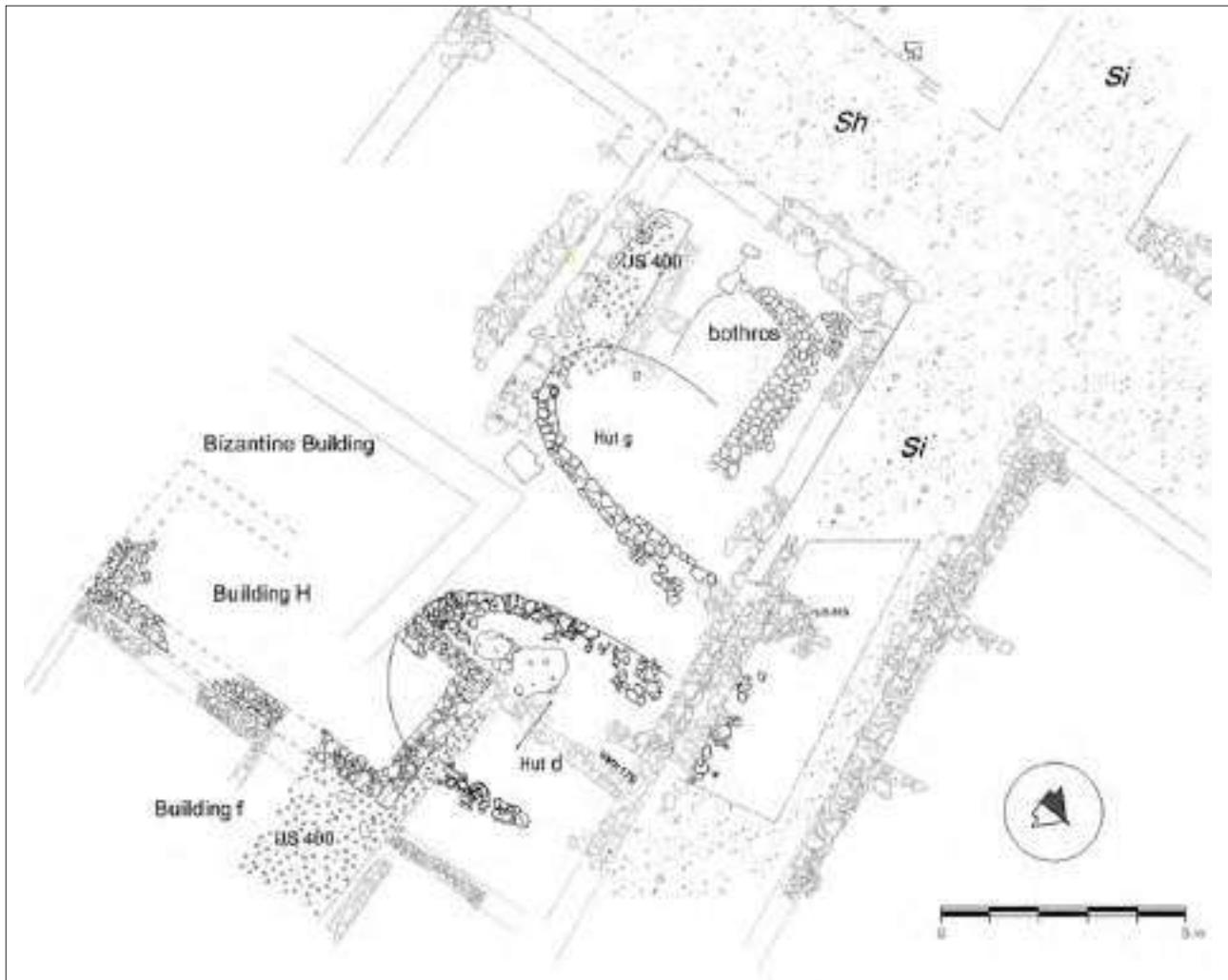


Fig. 3. Plan of the deep trench



Fig. 4. View from the north of the deep trench in the area of a huge landfill connected to the remains of a Byzantine building



Fig. 5. Remains of the northern sector of Building “f”



Fig. 6. View from the north of the Huts “g” and “d”

The contexts of both buildings show the association of Late Geometric Greek pottery (clearly prevalent) with *impasto* pots belonging to the Finocchito Culture. In this regard, a fragment of a Thapsos Class skyphos with a panel found inside Hut “d” together with fragments of an *impasto* olla with triangular handles (Fig. 8),¹⁶ and a four-han-

dled bowl of the Finocchito Culture (Phase II A) provide the most convincing evidence (Figs. 9-10)¹⁷.

phos with panel with faded three-barred sigmas, dimensions: preserved h. 7 cm; reconstructed mouth diam. 12/13 cm; *impasto* amphora dimensions: 8.6 x 7.4 x 1.6 cm (thickness).

¹⁷ Dimensions: 16.5 cm (h.), 21 cm (diam. of rim), 8 cm (diam. of base); cf. FRASCA 1981, 37 no. 324, 69 fig.7, pl. XVIII (T. LVII that belongs to the Phase IIB) and 69: 700-665 BC). On the Finocchito Culture, see also BERNABÒ BREA 1972, 157-159. On the Monte Finocchito settlement, see more recently FRASCA 2016, 77-86.

¹⁶ FRASCA 1981, 35, no. 287, 69 pl. XVI (T. LII that belongs to the Phase IIA dating from 735-700 BC). Thapsos Class sky-



Fig. 7. Detail of the Hut “g” with a post-hole in the wall, and view of a stretch of the pebbled floor overlaid on the one of gravel (top right), and of the *bothros*

The situation recalls that in Hut “g” where fragments of smoky strips pithoi belonging to the same cultural horizon have been collected¹⁸.

The evidence (huts and their material contents) makes clear the presence in the Schisò peninsula of an indigenous coastal community, in our case the Sikels, with whom the settlers on their arrival met and interacted; we do not know how harmoniously. The absence of traces of violent destruction inside the huts could indicate a peaceful occupation and a cohabitation. The phenomenon is comparable with the most recent data from Cumae, where traces of the presence of indigenous people were identified in the earliest levels of the colony¹⁹. Polyaeus (V.5) records an early cohabitation between colonists and Sikels in Leontinoi²⁰. The parallel is plausible in view of the origin of the settlers as colonists of Naxos (THUC. 6.3.3). Nor should we forget that the documentation from the rock Necropolis of Co-colonazzo di Mola, above Taormina, in the near hinterland of Naxos points in the same direction:

¹⁸ LENTINI 2009, 36-37, figs. 45-47 (fragments of pithos and situla associated with LG IIB and EPC vessels).

¹⁹ D’ACUNTO 2009, 83; 2017, 295, 306-307; D’AGOSTINO 2011, 44-45.

²⁰ LEIGHTON 1993, 181. On the problem of early cohabitation between Sikels and Chalkidians at Leontinoi, see in general FRASCA 2009, 41-44.

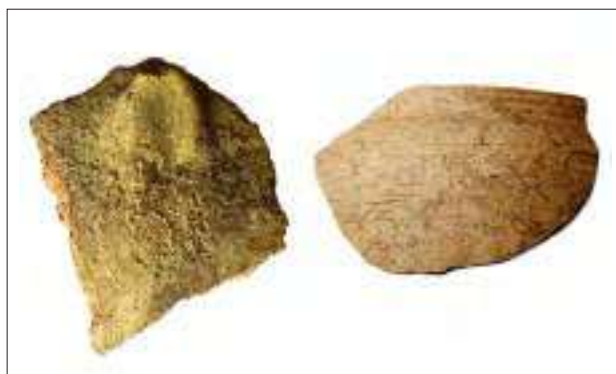


Fig. 8. Fragments of a Corinthian LG II skyphos, Thapsos class with panel, and of an *impasto olla* with triangular handles from the Hut “d”

here, some burial goods show Late Greek Geometric vases associated with local *impasto* pots²¹.

BUILDING “f” (Fig. 3)

Data from a 2013 trench resulted in a new and unexpected interpretation of Buildings “f” and H with its adjoining area (pebble floor), outlining their possible non-domestic use.

²¹ ORSI 1919. See specially Tombs VI (with Euboean oenochoe: PELAGATTI 1982, 157, fig. 17), X (LG kotyle Aetos 666: PELAGATTI 1982, 118, fig. 1), XI (Euboean belly-handled amphoriskos: BLAKELWAY 1932-1933, 188, fig. 12a, no. 46; LENTINI 2003, 317, no. 345).



Fig. 9. The four-handled bowl from the Hut “d” in its find-spot

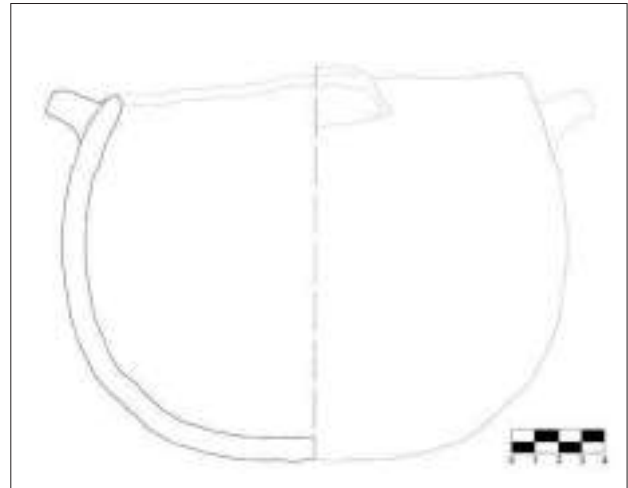


Fig. 10. Drawing of the four-handled bowl of Fig. 9

In the survey, the southeast and southwest corners, respectively belonging to Buildings H and “f”, were discovered (Fig. 11). It was found that Building H measures 9.70 m long, while the hypothetical length of Building “f” may have been 10.30 m, which is the distance of the building’s south wall from the Street Si (Fig. 3). Unexpectedly, its south wall (Wall 545) extends westward, suggesting the continuation of the building in this direction and therefore a link with wall 179 that runs further west (Figs. 3, 11)²².

Building “f” was built in the late 8th century BC not far to the east of the two huts. They must have already been abandoned or destroyed: wall 179, which crosses Hut “d” and runs parallel to Building “f”, shows that at least this hut no longer existed (Figs. 3, 6).

It is difficult to reconstruct the early layout of the area to the west of the building. Remains of a gravel floor found outside along the western side of the building could be related to an open-air area: a courtyard bounded by wall 179, which shows an opening (later closed) towards the space surrounding the *bothros* (Figs. 3, 6). Moreover, a narrow strip of the same gravel floor was uncovered further west below the pebbled floor near the *bothros* (Fig. 7): it is very likely that it, as well as the adjoining area, belonged to the early enclosure.



Fig. 11. View of the 2013 trench: top right, the southeast corner of Building H with the remains of a bench against the side wall; lower left, the southwest corner of Building “f”



Fig. 12. View from the north of Building H overlying the pebbled floor

²² The wall (Wall 532) that is superimposed on the southern side of Building “f” testifies to its rebuilding before the construction of Building H (Fig. 11).



Fig. 13. View of the eastern wall of Building H and of the western wall of Building “f” (2013 trench)



Fig. 14. Crossing of the Streets Si and Sh from the west

The remains of a hearth (?) also belong to this enclosure: it lies very close to the wall 179, east of the *bothros* and is flanked by a stone slab, on which a layer of ash was found (Figs. 3, 12)

In 700 BC, a thick-pebbled floor was laid over the building and its adjoining area (Fig. 12). Later, between the first and second quarters of the 7th century BC, Building H was built above the same pebbled floor.

The bones (mostly cattle)²³, found mixed with fragments of vases (mainly fine tableware), above the gravel floor, may shed light on the use of the open-air space. The evidence could be interpreted as a context for ritual performance that involved communal consumption of meals and drink²⁴. In the early Iron Age and after, throughout the 7th

century BC, this practice was central in Greece in the sanctuaries and also in domestic elite dwellings, which served for communal drinking as in Eretria (Building Ed 150)²⁵ or in Oropos (Buildings Θ and ΣΤ)²⁶. Unfortunately, Building “f” was investigated over an area that was too small to see if it had a comparable function. Some elements, however, may indicate its non-domestic, or not exclusively domestic, use. It is rectangular in plan with a possible west entrance on the long side and consists of three rooms (Figs. 3, 5), as ascertained by the excavation in 2013 (Figs. 11, 13). It is over 10 m in length with a detected width of 2.50 m (Fig. 3). The length, as well as the number of the rooms, are greater than any other coeval building discovered so far in Naxos. The hypothesis that it may have been a dwelling of a member of the elite of the colony is attractive but still not sufficiently supported by the excavation data. Nevertheless, the closeness to the intersection of the Streets Si and Sh (Fig. 14) is indicative of a special function of Building “f” and its adjoining area. Furthermore, its north-south orientation is crucial: unlike the buildings discov-

²³ The archaeozoological analysis was conducted by G. De Venuto and A. Pizzarelli both on site and at the University’s Archaeology Laboratory of Foggia and the Archaeozoology Laboratory of the University of Salento. The results were presented at the International Conference of Archaeozoology held in Lecce from 11th to 14th November 2015 (De Venuto *et al.* forthcoming). The sample, mostly coming from the levels of Street Si, consists of 2411 remains, of which 872 (36.2%) were attributable to a taxon animal, 1539 (63.8%) were not identified because they consisted of diaphyseal and epiphyseal splinters or fragments of ribs and vertebrae. Of the 872 identified bone elements, most (86.8%) were found to belong to mammals, 8.6% to fish, molluscs and sea crabs, 4.5% to land turtles, the remaining 0.1% (equal to a fragment) to an indeterminate bird. Among the remains of domestic mammals, the ox prevails, followed by sheep and goats; the remains of other animals, such as horses and dogs, are scarce. The presence of deer is of particular interest; the remains of other wild animals are negligible.

²⁴ MORGAN 1999, 319-320 (Isthmia, ritual meals in open-air space), more recently MORGAN 2017, 202-203 (Isthmia).

²⁵ VERDAN 2013, 182,186; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2016, 22, fig. 2.4.

²⁶ MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012, 133, figs. 4-5. On the development in the 7th century BC of the Building Θ compound into a “Heroon” and of the Building ΣΤ into a domestic shrine devoted to the nymph Halia and the Telchines, see also CHARALAMBIDOU 2017, 140-143, fig. 14.20 (Heroon) On the relationship between sacred, civic and domestic space during the LG period, see especially MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012, 131-133.



Fig. 15. Neck of an Attic (?) LG IIB amphora from Building "f"



Fig. 16. Fragments of an EPC kotyle with herons, of a Corinthian LG II oinochoe handle, and of a Euboean LG II oinochoe-lekythos from the early level of Street Si

ered below *plateia* A, Building "f" is set perpendicular to Street Si. The composition of the pottery found inside the building looks well suited to its use as a dining room. There is an absence of *impasto* vases and a predominance of fine tableware²⁷. The Protoattic (?) amphora neck is representative (Fig. 15)²⁸. Both material composition and chronology date to about 700 BC and match those from the gravel floor and the first level of Street Si. The EPC fragments of a kotyle with wirebirds and an oinochoe handle together with a Euboean LG IIB oinochoe-lekythos with horses from the first street-level show this well (Fig. 16)²⁹. The synchronism is significant: the urban layout is older than we had believed.

All the data from this complex, be it sacred or civil, bounded by Street Si and Sh³⁰, show that it is coeval with the early city plan and that it would have served as a place for communal meals and

drinks. These ritual activities are well reflected on Street Si: the fill found between the first and second road levels consists of a large amount of unburned animal bones and carbon fragments mixed with an impressive quantity of fine tableware fragments dating back to the first to the second quarter of the 7th century BC, with a significant presence of craters, including one with a rare picture of *anodos* that would fit well with ancestor worship³¹.

PEBBLED FLOOR AND BUILDING H (*HESTIATORION*) (Fig. 3)

Around the beginning of the 7th century BC, the complex underwent a thorough transformation: a thick and extensive trodden floor made of pebbles and earth levels resurfaced the area and obliterated Building "f". It can be traced over an area of 15.20 x 9.10 m, though its overall dimensions are unknown, as is its shape (Fig. 17)³². Some small enclosures found at Megara Hyblaea may offer a convincing comparison, such as that of Block 3 west of the agora with circular paving in use throughout the seventh century BC, or the one with the *bothros*, east of the large portico that closes the *agora*³³.

²⁷ LENTINI 2012, 313, footnote 19, pl. 38.3.

²⁸ LENTINI 2012, pl. 39 with petrographic analyses by I.K. Whitbread (WHITBREAD 2012, 315, pl. 40.1).

²⁹ EPC Kotyle dimensions: 2.9 x 2 cm; Corinthian LG IIB handle of oinochoe dimensions: 3.00 x 2.6 x 0.8 cm; LG II Euboean oinochoe-lekythos: max h. 9.2 cm; 0.3 cm thickness cf. LENTINI 2017a, 394, fig. 2.

³⁰ Street Si is 3.50/3.90 m wide x 16 m (ascertained length); Street Sh is 3.80 m wide x 7.20 m (ascertained length). Excavations in 2004 picked up their intersection (cf. LENTINI 2009, 19-23, figs. 16-21). Both streets are wider than those so far discovered, that with the exception of Street Sd which is 5 m wide, are m 3 or narrower. On the city's Archaic polycentric system and its street network, see PELAGATTI 1981, fig. 3 (plan).

³¹ LENTINI 2017b, figs. 29.1, 3, 7-8.

³² LENTINI 2012, 311.

³³ DE POLIGNAC 1999, 216; GRAS – TRÉZINY – BROISE 2005, 521, fig. 467.



Fig. 17. View from the east of Building H and of the overall enclosure with *bothros*

Building H was later built above the pebbled floor, which had maintained the same arguably ritual function as the previous gravel floor: a larger amount of animal bones was found above it. The ritual activities are corroborated by the *bothros* (Figs. 7, 17), which is located at the northwest corner of the area and which is considered one of the facilities associated with ritual activities, usually regarded as being connected with chthonian or ancestral cults³⁴. The animal bones recovered inside it, together with a small amount of ash, are mostly unburnt, as are almost all of the animal bones from this space. However, it should be emphasized that the *bothros* is large and unusual in shape³⁵: it consists of a pit of 1.10 m depth with two walled sides together, forming an apse 3 m long. A narrow and irregular slab paving runs around the mouth, providing a walkway (Figs. 3, 7). The pottery collected in the *bothros* testifies that the use of the area as a place of ritual banquets was maintained from the

end of the 8th century until the beginning of the 6th century BC³⁶.

It is important to notice that the tableware consists of craters, vessels for drinking and pouring, dishes, table amphorae and hydriai. With this, a notable amount of transport amphorae is associated³⁷. In contrast, cooking pots are not so copiously represented. This composition is constant and characterizes the pottery collected both on the pebbled floor and inside the *bothros*, as well as at the street levels (Street Si).

Building H is even more decisive for assigning a ceremonial use to the area. Rectangular in plan, it is 9.70 m long by 2.40 m wide, with an entrance on the long western side (Fig. 3). It is superim-

³⁴ MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997, 281.

³⁵ The building technique is comparable to that of *Bothros* of *Aeolus* in Lipari (BERNABÒ BREA – CAVALIER – VILLARD 1998, 41-44, fig. 9), as well as that of the few wells found in Naxos (PELAGATTI 1993, 284).

³⁶ On the pottery from the *bothros*, see LENTINI 2009, 30-32, figs. 36-42. The layout of the area during the 6th century BC is uncertain because of the destruction created by the Byzantine robber trench. It would seem, however, that it was occupied by a building (9 x 6.50 m). An early 5th century BC *gorgoneion* of the master tile would belong to its roof (LENTINI 2009, 27-29, fig. 33). A regular housing block of the city grid plan (Block A11) occupied this area in the 5th century BC.

³⁷ The Corinthian A amphorae are the most frequent, followed by those Attic SOS and Euboean. Red Lesbian, as well as Chian amphorae, are attested. Among the fine pottery, the presence of miniature vessels is noteworthy, while there are no fragments of statuettes or coroplastic artefacts.

posed on the pebble floor and partially on wall 179. Its eastern wall runs close to Building “f” without ever overlying it (Fig. 13). It had mud-brick walls on a stone socle; the roof was flat (no tiles were found). The unusual block of flysch in the northeastern corner gives greater visibility to the building, enhancing both its monumental aspect and perhaps fulfilling some practical purpose related to ritual performances (Fig. 12).

It was built early in the second quarter of the 7th century BC, probably in combination with the reorganization of the area, whose effects are visible in the aforementioned filling layer of Street Si.

Although the building was only partially excavated, the finding of a bench along its southern side reinforces the hypothesis that it may have been a dining room for communal banquets (Fig. 11). Supporting this use are the plan and size of the building and the composition of the materials found inside, which are made up of animal bones, and drinking and eating vessels. It would be a non-square dining room with an entrance on a long side according to the classification done by B. Bergquist³⁸. It is interesting to observe that its dimensions are very close to those of the rooms of the *heroon* of Megara Hyblaea that B. Bergquist proposed to be a banqueting hall³⁹.

Remains of ritual meals are documented in Naxos in the southwest Sanctuary by the late 7th century BC *thysiai*, which have been related to a gentilial cult (Fig. 1)⁴⁰. The present evidence is, however, even more imposing from the sheer volume of bone and ceramic remains, which could suggest more frequent and/or more crowded feasts. The data are still too incomplete to develop the interpretation further: the extent of the open-air space and the entrance are not known. It

should be added that this enclosure could be related to the nearby Tempietto C of the seventh century BC that lies to the south⁴¹. Nor should it be overlooked that the *agora* is not much farther north (Fig. 1).

The evidence from the area in question portrays the complexity of the city’s development with its unexpected dynamics.

The remains of the two huts would attest to the presence and/or participation of Sikel populations at the time of the colony’s installation but also to the somewhat precarious and temporary nature of the early settlement, not unlike what was ascertained in Megara Hyblaea, where natives were absent⁴².

The record from Street Si shows that the city road network, and therefore the urban layout, dates back, at least in this area, to the end of the 8th century BC or soon afterwards.

The apparent discontinuity in size and style between the buildings discovered so far is the result of their different functions: the group of buildings found below Plateia A had a mainly domestic use; in contrast, the coeval building “f” and the adjoining open-air space had a public or collective use, providing a place for communal banquets. Building H shows how the practice continued throughout the 7th century BC. Dimensions and features allow this last to be identified as a banqueting hall (*hestiatorion*). Undoubtedly, the position of the public precinct or enclosure cannot be accidental: the choice may have depended on preserving the memory of an area of the early settlement deemed crucial. The hypothesis is attractive but not demonstrable. However, in Naxos, we may affirm that inside the city at a crossroads, a space with a public function linked to feasting has re-emerged, even if only partially.

³⁸ BERGQUIST 1990, 39-44, table 3, fig. 2 (broad-room shape).

³⁹ BERGQUIST 1992a, 141-142. F. de Polignac (DE POLIGNAC 1999, 224) argues that the identification is perfectly compatible with a heroic cult such as that of the Builder Gods like the *Prodomeis* (“founders”) of Megara Nisaia. Because of its size, corresponding to that of the original plot, H. Tréziny recognizes the building as a materialization of the *oikopedon*, a sort of memorial of the foundation (TRÉZINY 1999, and also GRAS – TRÉZINY – BROISE 2005, 419, fig. 406).

⁴⁰ BERGQUIST 1992b, 45-46. On the sanctuary in general, see PELAGATTI 1964, 153-154, figs. 4, 9, 15, 21 (*thysiai*); 1972, 215, fig. 2 (the plan of the sanctuary); ROMEO 1989, 7, pl. I (*Oikos A*); LENTINI 2000, 156-159 (*thysiai* with weapons); LENTINI – PAKKANEN 2019, fig. 9 (3D reconstruction of Temple B).

⁴¹ PELAGATTI 1977, 46-48, fig. 4 (plan); ROMEO 1989, 8 no.3, pl. II.1. In 2015 the GPR survey easily detected the unexcavated half of Temple C underneath the Classical houses (Block A 10). J. Pakkanen and his team recorded the temple stone by stone, producing highly precise 3D-line drawing with the help of total stations. Then they produced a three-dimensional textured model of the area of the temple (PAKKANEN *et al.* 2019, 419-423, figs. 2-4).

⁴² GRAS – TRÉZINY – BROISE 2005, 523-524.

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ZANCLE: LATEST FINDINGS ON THE URBAN SETTLEMENT AND SANCTUARIES

Giovanna Maria Bacci

I would like to thank the organisers of the Conference for inviting me to talk about Zancle, two decades after the congress held at the Centre Jean Bérard in Naples (*Euboica. L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*), where I was a contributor too¹.

To begin with, I would like to mention two very recent new initiatives concerning archaeology in Messina. Firstly, the exhibition *Da Zancle a Messina 2016. Nuovi dati di archeologia urbana*, curated by the Soprintendenza Regionale di Messina², to whose catalogue I will make frequent references. Secondly, in June 2017, the new Museo Interdisciplinare Regionale di Messina finally opened. This museum includes a section dedicated to an archaeological collection from the historical period, with exhibits chosen from materials from the urban excavations carried out by the Soprintendenza³.

Around the third quarter of the 8th century BC, colonists from Cumae and Chalcis established a settlement on a flood plain inland from the San Raineri peninsula, between the coastline to the east and the foothills of the Peloritani mountains to the

west, an area of land that was apparently uninhabited⁴.

In the colonial and early Archaic period, the city settlement seemed to be spread over quite a large area, which, like other Sicilian colonies, was probably organized on different street plans in its various sectors. Towards the south the settlement was bounded by the alluvial fan formed by the Camaro and Zaera rivers⁵; the northern boundary, long believed to be the Portalegni river, which in ancient times flowed into the port⁶, is now considered to coincide with a smaller stream located a little further to the north⁷.

In recent years, significant findings relating to the layout of the town and the orientation of the streets during the colonial and Archaic-Classical period have emerged in a building site located on the other side of the Portalegni river, in an area that was peripheral to the ancient port⁸ and in the south zone of the town⁹.

¹ BACCI 1998, 387-392.

² Exhibition held on 5 February - 31 March 2016 at Villa Pace, property of the Università di Messina, curated by the Director of UO 5 Gabriella Tigano: *Da Zancle a Messina 2016*. The exhibition was put on for the second time in 2017 at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Reggio Calabria.

³ The Museum is an exceptional gallery of historic art, revealing the story of the city before the 1908 earthquake. The archaeological section, curated by the author, includes materials from the old collections of the City Museum up to the first excavations in the urban area carried out in the 20th century. My particular thanks go to the Director Caterina Di Giacomo and the Director of the renovation work, architect Gianfranco Anastasio.

⁴ The soil under Messina contains the remains of villages of huts and tombs belonging to the Messina-Ricadi Culture from the Early-Middle Bronze Age. Traces of settlements from the Late-Final Bronze Age and from the Early Iron Age, or Ausonian Culture, have been found on the slopes of hills behind the city and on the crest of Cape Pelorus (Mounts Ciccica and Tidora).

⁵ This probably corresponds to today's Via Santa Cecilia or perhaps to Viale Europa, further to the south.

⁶ From VALLET 1958, 109 ff., pl. I, who created the first annotated archaeological map of Messina.

⁷ A now enclosed watercourse (corresponding to the present day Via Sant'Agostino), which flows into the Portalegni near the mouth of the river: this hypothesis was first presented in BACCI in press.

⁸ Excavations 2005-2006 around block 315, cf. LENTINI 2010, 359-413.

⁹ Excavations 1914 in the area of Via Mariano Riccio. For recent discoveries and problems generally relating to the city layout of Zancle-Messana, see TIGANO 2017; further significant updated information in TIGANO 2018, where a new layout of the polis is suggested.



Fig. 1. Map of the city of Zancle-Messana showing the position of the colonial era sanctuaries

So, from the very first decades of its foundation, the *polis* seems to have had some essential features already planned in, such as the extent of the settlement, the position of the docks, and the predominant orientation of streets along northwest-southeast, northeast-southwest axes (eventually extended to the entire town with the regular layout of late 6th-5th centuries BC).

In this context, the creation of the sanctuaries was a conscious act by a young community: they became a significant feature of the townscape. In Zancle, we find two cult areas datable to the colonial period, which provide extremely interesting information regarding the religious organisation of the earliest settlement in the area of the Strait of Messina¹⁰ (Fig. 1).

The oldest sanctuary, from the last years of the 8th century, is located towards the tip of the San Raineri peninsula, in the area of the 16th-century San Salvatore fort¹¹. It is evident that only a part of the deposit has been recovered and that the actual extent and layout of the sanctuary are still unknown. Some of the older materials, comprising Late Geometric Corinthian sherds and early Proto-Corinthian aryballoi, have been known to archaeologists for some time¹².

¹¹ ORSI 1929, 38-46; VALLET 1958, 114; lastly BACCI 2008. The history of the discovery of the site is well known: materials datable between the final decades of the 8th century and the late 6th-early 5th centuries BC were found by chance in 1926 when the Navy Command was digging a well and were collected in the Messina Museum. Later, other late Archaic sherds were discovered during excavations to build the foundations of the *Madonnina del Porto* monument on the headland of the peninsula.

¹² VALLET 1958, 140-141; COLDSTREAM 1977, 237; DEHL 1984, 280; NEEFT 1987, *passim*.

¹⁰ My particular thanks go to my friend Rocco Burgio, architect in the UO 5 of the Soprintendenza, for the map showing the position of the two sanctuaries.

The renewed research into the complex carried out in recent years by studying the materials held in the Museum of Messina has brought to light a fragment of a Late Geometric oinochoe, a Euboean import¹³. A fragment of Late Geometric Corinthian kotyle (Fig. 2), probably an Aetos 666-type, was found in 1970 during dredging carried out close to the “Banchina Egeo” docks, in the area of the isthmus, well inside the sickle-shaped curve of the peninsula and much further south than the votive deposit. Although it is difficult to imagine that the sanctuary extended to that point, the find is a confirmation that colonists frequented the curving arc of the peninsula from the earliest years and probably indicates that boats were moored here.

A low sandy finger of land, the sickle-shaped peninsula is the identifying feature of the city of Messina¹⁴. This naturally formed harbour, offering ships shelter from the dangerous currents of the Strait, was undoubtedly a determining factor in the foundation of Zancle. The unusual form of the site thus took on a value that was both strategic and symbolic; it was seen as a suitable place to set up a cult area, which became a site of great importance for the first colonists in the Strait, mirroring models that were found both in Greece and in the colonial world¹⁵. Like other religious sites located on peninsulas and promontories, the sanctuary was separated from the town by a wide swathe of the isthmus, which was apparently not urbanised¹⁶. As regards the divinity to whom the sanctuary was dedicated, we can only put forward theories: in my opinion, it was probably a female figure (the greater part of the votive offerings recovered consist of



Fig. 2. Fragment of Late Geometric kotyle from the San Raineri peninsula

containers for perfumes and toiletries, mainly aryballoi but also conical lekythoi, pyxides, alabaster, etc.), who was prominent in the Euboean pantheon and was linked to ports and navigation, but also designated as protector of the city – thus a figure with multifaceted powers. In a paper focussing on the San Raineri complex, we support the attribution of the sanctuary to Hera, considering the important and influential role played by this divinity in guiding the Euboean colonisation, something recognized by several scholars¹⁷. On further reflection, we should not forget other female and male divine figures, such as Apollo and Artemis, who were well known in the Strait area; in any case, no divinity in the Greek pantheon is ever very far from the marine and aquatic elements. The cult of Poseidon, a god that is largely extraneous to the *polis*, seems to be localised specifically around Cape Pelorus¹⁸.

However, the sanctuary discovered in 2007 in the block Z area, in the Colapesce building site, has a direct relationship with the town, which goes beyond the ideal and symbolic¹⁹. The site chosen is located in the centre of the settlement, between the flood plain and the isthmus of the peninsula, is close to the port, and was inhabited from the earliest stages of the founding of the *polis* up to the late Hellenistic period²⁰ (Figs. 3-4).

¹³ BACCI 2008, 56-57, pl. X no. 66. More than half of the material was of Corinthian fabric, with some East Greek imports, including some pieces in bucchero and others in *faience*. Archaeometric analysis has revealed the existence of imitation Proto-Corinthian and East Greek artefacts produced in the Strait area.

¹⁴ In ancient times, the peninsula stood much higher above sea level, but over the years it has sunk as a result of tectonic movements, the last recorded after the 1908 earthquake. During the medieval and modern eras, the profile and elevation of the promontory were modified by the construction of monumental buildings and industrial installations. Today the rise in groundwater levels has made it difficult to examine the sanctuary area in depth.

¹⁵ Further development of this subject in BACCI 2008, 40, with bibliography.

¹⁶ Cf. SCIBONA 1992, 32-33.

¹⁷ Cf. BACCI 2008, 42-43.

¹⁸ Cf. SPIGO 2005, 354.

¹⁹ See BACCI *et al.* 2010; 2010-2011; 2012; BACCI 2018a.

²⁰ Here, in the colonial and Archaic periods, the highest density of building in the city was located. See SCIBONA 1986, SCIBONA 1992; reference also in BACCI 2002, 26-28; 2009, 135-136; BACCI 2022.



Fig. 3. General view of the Colapesce excavation site

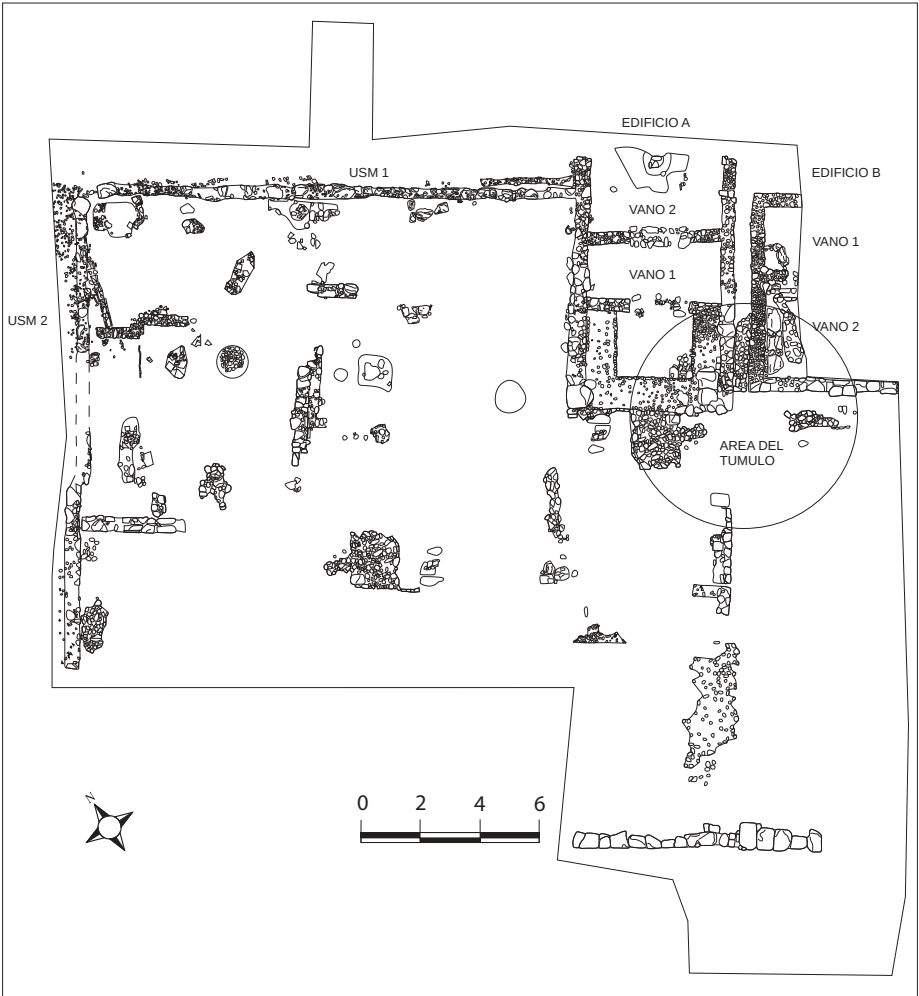


Fig. 4. Planimetry of the Colapesce site



Fig. 5. Area of the *oikoi* and the tumulus still under excavation

Here was discovered a large ritual site consisting of a sort of large, regularly shaped tumulus of stones mixed with earth (diameter around 8 m, height at some 2 m). Roughly circular, it was fashioned of a piece by being deposited in a deep pit dug in the dunes along the then shoreline (Fig. 5), opening towards the east and southeast in the direction of the coast. The pit had already been used: the tumulus material itself lies above successive layers of clay, burned baked clay and soil mixed with carbonized wood, containing remains of ceramic artefacts (Fig. 6). The materials found both in the layers at the base of the pit and mixed in with the stone-fill above are datable to the beginning of the early 7th century BC; the presence of some older fragments, such as skyphoi of the Thapsos Class, etc., can be attributed to human activity in the area before the digging of the pit. Layers that are quite rich in pottery fragments and animal bones, datable to the beginning of the last decades of the 7th century BC, run up to the tumulus on its outer side towards the east/southeast (Fig. 7). During the second half of the 7th century BC, the tumulus was sealed over with a thick layer of burnt baked clay and, towards the southeast, of soil mixed with ashes and charcoal with metalworking scraps (Fig. 8). Immediately above this, two *oikoi* were built, datable to around the third and last



Fig. 6. The layers at the base of the pit and under the tumulus

quarter of the 7th century BC: up to the present time these are the only religious buildings found in Messina that present some features of high Archaic architecture²¹ (Fig. 9).

²¹ The perimeter walls were built of rough-hewn stones, which, especially in the smaller building, recall polygonal masonry; the floors were of beaten clay and tiny pebbles, with probably mud-brick walls and thatched roofs. No trace was found of tiles or architectural terracottas. Alternatively, these could have been open-air structures. Building A has three rooms (wd. 6 m, ln. 9.50 m conserved) and is missing its northeast short side that corresponds to the entrance area; it has been cut through by a late



Fig. 7. The deposits towards the south/southeast of the tumulus



Fig. 8. Layers of burnt baked clay and ash above the tumulus, under excavation

The complex, which is still under study, is not easy to interpret, given the obstacles integral to the

Hellenistic dump. At least three successive levels of habitation are conserved: in the first room there is a beaten earth hearth that has been rebuilt several times; the third room (4.74 x 3.30 m) contains a sort of bench, II-shaped in plan (built against the side walls and the back wall; wd. of side sections 1.10 m, h. 0.45 m approximately) constructed of rough-hewn stone, filled with gravel, with the side arms slightly sloping lengthwise. Building B (wd. 5.25 m, measurable ln. 7 m) has two rooms, of which remains the longer side to the west, slightly deviating in orientation in respect to Building A, and cut through lengthways by a modern building.

excavation, which have made it impossible to systematically examine either the tumulus or the area in its entirety²².

To arrive at a general assessment, it is important to analyse the materials found not only at the bottom of the pit or mixed in with the stones and

²² The excavation was carried out mainly with private funding and with limited financing from the Sicilian regional government. In addition, a rise in the groundwater levels made it difficult to explore the deeper levels at the base of the tumulus.



Fig. 9. *Oikoi* A and B

earth but also in the external layers to the east and southeast of the tumulus. Predominant among these artefacts is the whole range of containers used for drinking, pouring, and making libations in fine, plain, and coarse wares, and also of pots and utensils for cooking, preparing, presenting, and consuming foodstuffs²³. In the 7th century levels, the fine ceramics of local fabric – examples of pottery produced in the Strait area or colonial fabrics, and which are abundantly present – are inspired by models of Euboean-Cycladic origin or from Proto-Corinthian imitations. Commonly found materials characteristic of the site are plates with a wide horizontal rim and decoration in Late Geometric or in Orientalizing style, which are inspired by shapes of Phoenician origin²⁴. Only limited amounts of imported ceramics are found, with the exception of Corinthian-made artefacts²⁵. There is a notable presence of

high-quality imports from the Aegean-Cyclades area, such as the splendid Late Geometric Euboean krater featuring a galloping horse, in the early Orientalizing style, and several Phoenician plates of the *red slip ware* type, which were found at the base of the tumulus, and which remind us of the settlers' close contact with the Eastern and Phoenician-Punic worlds during the earliest stages of the Euboean colonisation.

Animal bones are abundantly present in all the contexts associated with the tumulus. Samples analysed reveal the presence of cattle, sheep and goats, and wild boar, full grown, as well as young or very young. These bones are rarely burnt, though they show signs of butchering and skinning. Bivalve and gastropod (murex) molluscs are found throughout the site, both as remains of meals and as fossils²⁶.

In the layers of ash and burned baked clay corresponding to the closing/obliteration of the tumulus, many metalworking remains were found²⁷.

²³ The most frequently found pottery types are cups, kotylai and different kinds of plates and lekanai, oinochoai and hydriai; more rarely amphorae, kraters, dinoi and phialai; plain and coarse ware vessels include cooking pots, jars, large containers such as bowls, mortars, pithoi and cooking devices such as a typical portable stove, and griddle pans. Lastly, we find many transport amphorae in the 7th century levels, predominantly Corinthian, Attic, Punic, Etruscan and Chian.

²⁴ In particular, BACCI 2002, 31-37; also 2018b, with bibliography.

²⁵ Artefacts produced in the Eastern Greek area appear no earlier than the second-third quarter of the 7th century BC: in particular bird bowls and various types of Ionian cups, while there is limited presence of Chian pottery, grey East Greek

bucchero and Etruscan bucchero. Athenian black-figure vases appear towards the mid- and third quarter of the 6th century BC.

²⁶ Samples were taken from both the pit's lowest levels and east/southeast of the tumulus. Bones of dogs, animals often associated with foundation deposits and purification rituals were also found.

²⁷ Both scraps of fused metals or partly fused objects, in iron, copper and bronze. This is the oldest evidence of a foundry in Messina. In INGOGLIA 2003, 85, debris from an ironworking shop datable to the first half of the 5th century BC.

The following materials were found:

- in the levels at the base of the tumulus, Strati-graphic Units (henceforth SU) 217, 193²⁸: Late Geometric krater with birds depicted inside the metope panel, of local fabric (Fig. 10); Phoenician *red slip ware* plate (Fig. 11); fragments of large coarse ware griddles (Fig. 12).
- mixed in with the stones of the tumulus (SU 138)²⁹: lekane with Ω -shaped handles (Fig. 13) and a plate with a wide horizontal rim and Late Geometric style decoration of local fabric (Fig. 14); chytra (Fig. 15).
- in the levels to the east/southeast of the tumulus (SUs 201, 210, 211, 137, 138)³⁰: baby feeder with Geometric decoration (Fig. 16) of local fabric; imports from the Aegean area, a phiale mesomphalos with creamy slip and decorated in rows (Fig. 17), fragments of a large krater with a horse and a bird depicted inside the metope panel, made of orange-red terracotta, featuring a thick lip with spout, flat handles and high pedestal foot (Fig. 18).
- from other contexts around the tumulus (SU 134): fragments of two small oinochoai (Figs. 19-20) of local fabric with Orientalizing style decoration; fragment of a Euboean-style chalice-cup (Fig. 21).

The artefacts described above lead us to rule out the hypotheses either of an emporion-type sanctuary located along a major trade route (as, for example, the sanctuary of Piazza San Francesco in Catania, between the 7th and 6th centuries BC³¹) or of a cult dedicated to a female divinity of the kind commonly found in Sicily and Southern Italy from the 7th-6th centuries BC³². Some evidence for the latter determination, though by no means definitive, can be found in the scarcity of containers for perfumes and toiletries and the minimal presence of female statuettes, which only appear, and in

very limited numbers, no earlier than the end of the 6th and the beginning of 5th centuries BC.

It is our opinion that the site presents a sanctuary specific to the town, connected to the cult of its hero founders and with commemorative ceremonies, as recorded in the well-known fragment of the work of Callimachus dedicated to the foundation of Zancle, in which the *oikistai* were called upon to take part (*Aet.* II, fr. 43 Pfeiffer)³³.

These ceremonies, probably conducted annually, included the ritual killing of animals, as Callimachus expressly records. These were not burnt in offering to the divinity but rather eaten during ritual banquets probably held close by. The traces of these activities are particularly evident in the levels found to the east and southeast of the tumulus, where layers consisting of soil mixed with ash, rich in pottery fragments and food residues (which can be interpreted as dumps for the remains of the sacrificial animals and the banquets), alternate with layers of gravel, burnt baked clay, and raw clay, which separate and/or ritually seal them (cf. Fig. 7)³⁴.

Beginning from the late 7th century, it seems that we can identify the centre of this cult in building A³⁵, a possible *heroon*, and more specifically in the rear room (*adyton*?), where we find, directly over the tumulus, the so-called II-bench.

³³ From ANTONELLI 1996, 318-319: Apollo had declared that neither Perieres of Cumae nor Crataemenes of Chalcis could claim the merit of the foundation of the city, therefore «... from that moment on this land did not call its *oikistai* by name, but during the sacrifices the city magistrates addressed him as follows: Whoever built our city let him come joyfully to our banquet. But it is possible that two or even more may come: no small amount of blood of sacrificial victims has been spilt». In this regard, see in particular MALKIN 1987, 198-199, 257. According to VALLET 1958, 63 note 1, followed by other scholars, the omission of names from the invocation is due to the fact that at the beginning of the 5th century, the population of Messana had changed, firstly with the arrival of the Samians and later with the addition of the Messenian colonists called in by Anaxilas: therefore the importance of the Chalcidian founders was diminished for these new inhabitants: this theory is not universally accepted, however.

³⁴ Important commentary on the formation and management of deposits in religious sites can be found in PARISI 2017, with bibliography, in particular 544-559. From this viewpoint, the deposits described above can be defined as deposit-stratum.

³⁵ It is impossible to form any hypothesis about the two-room structure *oikos* B, of which little more than the west side remains and which is, without doubt, an important building for the economy of the sanctuary. Constructed with very precise, almost polygonal masonry, with floors of compacted minute gravel, it is perhaps a little more recent than Building A, from which it deviates slightly in orientation of its axes.

²⁸ Cf. G.M. BACCI, in *Da Zancle a Messina 2016*, data-sets nos. 8-9, 11, 14, 58-60.

²⁹ Cf. G.M. BACCI, in *Da Zancle a Messina 2016*, data-sets nos. 12, 17, 59-61.

³⁰ Cf. G.M. BACCI, in *Da Zancle a Messina 2016*, data-sets nos. 10, 15, 16, 58-61.

³¹ Cf. PAUTASSO 2010, in particular 113-114.

³² There is an extensive bibliography on this subject: see the catalogue recently published in PARISI 2017, 41-465.

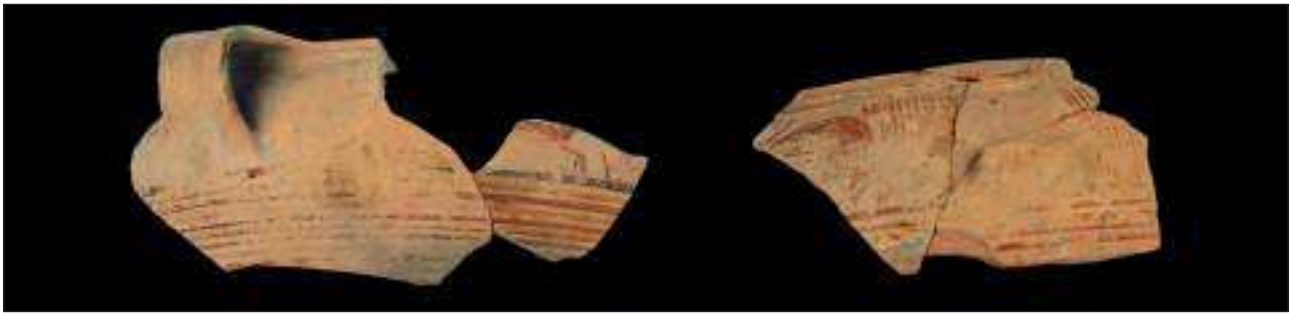


Fig. 10. Late Geometric krater of local fabric



Fig. 11. Red slip ware plate, Phoenician import



Fig. 14. Plate of local fabric



Fig. 12. Fragment of the large griddle



Fig. 15. Coarse ware chytra



Fig. 13. Lekane with Ω-shaped handles of local fabric



Fig. 16. Baby feeder of local fabric



Fig. 17. Phiale *mesomphalos*, Aegean import

This structure can be interpreted either as an internal altar for offerings or libations, perhaps using a rounded hollow visible in the east side section (Fig. 22), or also as a seat, or *kline*, for meetings and/or ritual banquets, to which we can imagine that, ideally, the founders would be invited on the occasion of city festivities³⁶.

In this context, there is no discernible time lapse between the successive stages: the digging of the primary pit, the lighting of a fire³⁷, later extinguished with a layer of now burnt and baked clay, the depositing of pottery (often with traces of organic material), then covering all under the tumulus of stones. These steps seem to be part of a ritual of foundation and/or consecration, perhaps of a sanctuary dedicated to the *oikistai* or also, as we have suggested in the past, to the actual foundation of the *polis*³⁸.

³⁶ The interior of the two buildings was completely emptied out during the 6th century BC. However, minute traces of objects have been found, perhaps providing clues to the activities that took place there. These include fragments of blades and iron tools, several spindle whorls, fine, plain and coarse ware sherds, as well as large containers like pithoi, basins, transport amphorae, etc.

³⁷ Testing has identified ash from the wood of trees commonly found in the local area, such as oak (*quercus caducifolia*), tree heather (*erica arborea*), and arbutus (*arbutus unedo*), all woods suitable for lighting large, slow-burning fires.

³⁸ On this subject, see previous comments in BACCI *et al.* 2010; 2010-2011; 2012; BACCI 2018a. For foundation and obliteration deposits, cf. PARISI 2017, 549-549: the strata found at the base of the pit at the Colapesce building site and the pottery offerings could be a foundation deposit, in its turn sealed over with a layer of clay and by the rubble of the tumulus (SU 138), as a monumental covering deposit.

The massive pile of stones was partially visible from the seaward side, gradually covering the south and southeast by the accumulation of the abovementioned deposits. Above the deepest level of stones on the external border of the tumulus, the large Euboean krater was found, in scattered sherds, a testimony to the desire to offer up an object of great value originating from the colonists' homeland. Further, above a layer of burned baked clay, was a phiale of Aegean import, recording the libation that had taken place³⁹.

The ritual was enacted at a very precise time, around the beginning of the 7th century, probably with the rise of the second generation of colonists, when the process of founding the city could be considered to have been completed. They could then begin to hold commemorative ceremonies, which almost certainly took place annually, and to inaugurate the hero cult⁴⁰.

The construction of the two *oikoi* between the third and last quarters of the 7th century BC required a further operation to close off the tumulus complex using a thick layer of burnt and baked clay⁴¹ along with ashes rich in remains of metalworking. Its semi-circular perimeter mirrors that of the mound below; the sealing layer also partly covers the deposits accumulated towards the south and southeast.

The entire complex involving the pit, tumulus, the layer of burnt baked clay and ash also recalls some of the features of the cult of the dead and eminent ancestors as practised in the Aegean area during the Geometric period⁴². In these cases, such rituals involved burial grounds: could it be possi-

³⁹ The deposit contains other fragmentary remains still under study, some of which could probably be interpreted not only as evidence of the ritual carried out, but also as votive offerings.

⁴⁰ See CONTURSI 2017, 789: in the complex context of the cult of heroes, the *oikistai*'s cult is one of the cases where death is the "immortalising event". See too *infra* note 42.

⁴¹ On the surface some little hollows can be observed, dubiously interpreted for the receiving of libations.

⁴² Setting up pyres and hearths close to the tombs, construction of circular platforms and tumuli, as well as the eating of ritual meals and the presentation of offerings: cf. in particular LAMBRINOUDAKIS 1988, 235 ff., regarding the sites in Grotta and Mitropolis Square on the island of Naxos. For a wide range of examples covering continental Greece and the islands, see ANTONACCIO 1993, MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1999 and 2004. For a critical reconsideration of problems relating to the "tomb cult", see CONTURSI 2017, with bibliography.



Fig. 18. Krater with horse, Euboean import



Fig. 19. Fragments of an oinochoe of local fabric



Fig. 20. Fragments of an oinochoe of local fabric

ble that our complex also conceals one or more tombs? As we know, the cult of the hero is not necessarily linked to the existence of a tomb. Their recovery, though, would effect a change of perspective in regard to theories previously put forward: the definitive answer will be found only with renewed excavation of adequate means.

While a study of the site is still ongoing, it would perhaps be better to temporarily suspend any definitive attempt at interpreting the complex.

At the present stage, we can point out the close stratigraphical, and probably ideological, the sequence between the digging of the pit/fire/depositing of offerings/covering over with stones, depositing of offerings external to the tumulus, and the subsequent closing of the tumulus/construction of the *oikoi* taking place between the third and fourth quarters of the 7th century BC, that is to say between the ritual (of foundation-inauguration?) and the cult (heroic?) inside the building.



Fig. 21. Fragment of a Euboean style chalice-cup

Two incomplete rooms, constructed in rough-hewn stones, which about the rear room of building A, towards the south, are datable to a more recent period. The building of the two *oikoi* marks the beginning of the monumentalization of the sanctuary area, of which scant traces remain⁴³. This is in part due to building works from more recent periods and is probably also an indication of the partial change of the older cult system and of the management of votive deposits still difficult to assess⁴⁴.

As so far described, the east sector of the excavation site is separated from the rest by a kind of path or street running north-south, composed of layers of fine gravel. The central zone of the site has traces of very incomplete walls and deep Archaic strata, while in the west sector, we find the remains of Late Archaic and Classical rooms, perhaps work or service rooms⁴⁵. In general, in the late 6th-5th-centuries levels, we find Athenian black-glazed and black-figure pottery, mainly kylikes and fragments of large containers, including a fragment of a black-figure amphora probably attributable to the manner of Antimenes Painter⁴⁶. There is also a limited number of high-quality terracotta figures, among which is a late Archaic an-

tefix depicting a satyr in relief, probably coming from one of the rooms in the west sector⁴⁷. These materials provide proof that the area maintained its importance throughout the 6th and 5th centuries BC. A dump containing a variety of materials datable to the 6th, 5th and 4th centuries BC revealed a fragment of a large black-glazed vase, probably a krater, of local fabric with the inscription *iero/u* (*ἱερό/υ*) written in uncertain, lightly scratched characters (Fig. 23)⁴⁸. The reading of the last letter, which is separated from the preceding letters by a long, oblique line, perhaps unintentional, is uncertain, but I believe that the religious reference is evident and seems to allude to the votive dedication of the pot itself. The lack of a rough breathing mark (H) before the *iota* could confirm the attribution to a non-Archaic period.

Remains become rarer during the 4th century BC, while in the Hellenistic period, the area is simply an empty space bounded by stone walls to the west and north.

The orientation of building A is consistent not only with the constructions from more recent phases of the sanctuary but also, in general terms, with the city street plan of the late Archaic-Classical period. The existence of a probable cult of the founders located in the heart of the Archaic town, close to the port, justifies our hypothesis of an Archaic *agorà* in the near vicinity, whose existence is also indicated by the presence of the empty spaces observed in the past close to block Z⁴⁹.

The area of Pelorus and the world of Poseidon are closely linked to a remarkable epigraph with a dedication to Orion, datable to the early Imperial period, found in a secondary context on the boundary of the Hellenistic necropolis and the Roman town, in the south zone of the city⁵⁰. The reading and interpretation of the text, proposed

⁴³ In particular, a foundation of limestone blocks several metres long, along the southern boundary of the site, which could be interpreted as a *temenos* wall: cf. BACCI *et al.* 2010, 932.

⁴⁴ The new phase seems to include the digging of circular pits containing materials still under examination.

⁴⁵ BACCI *et al.* 2012, 361-362.

⁴⁶ Refer to data-sets nos. 19-22, 25-26, curated by the author in *Da Zancle a Messina 2016*, 61-63. See also BACCI 2020a, 731-737 with other materials.

⁴⁷ See data-sets nos. 23-24, 27 curated by the author in *Da Zancle a Messina 2016*, 62-63. The antefix can be compared with analogous examples commonly found in Medma and in Messina itself: cf. also BACCI 2017, 43-54; 2020b.

⁴⁸ Wall of large black-glazed open pot. Clay is reddish at the core and pale grey towards the inside. The glaze is of poor quality, barely lustrous, and diluted on the inside. H. 4 cm; ln. 8 cm; wd. 1 cm.

⁴⁹ See SCIBONA 1986, 450.

⁵⁰ Found near block 84, Via Geraci, on the corner of Via Cesare Battisti. Exegesis and a preliminary publication in OLLÀ 2018, 173-176.



Fig. 22. The II bench with a round hollow and top of the tumulus

with all the caution this case requires (in actual fact, the hero is not directly named), appears to be well-founded.

Orion the hunter, son of Poseidon, *pelorios* (prodigious, immense) hero, associated with the figures of guardian spirits of passes and gorges, is, according to myth, the creator of the port of Zancle and of Cape Pelorus, where he built a sanctuary for his father. It is remarkable to find, in such a late historical period, a reference to one of the most ancient myths of the area of the Strait and to their Euboean-Boeotian cultural roots. However, there is no evidence for a cult of Orion in Messina, while there is confirmation, up to the Imperial period, for the cult of Poseidon located at the *temenos* on Cape Pelorus as recorded by Diodorus Siculus (IV, 85,5), whose position has still not been identified. At the present time, the most convincing theory seems to be that of a dedication by



Fig. 23. Fragment with the scratched inscription

an eastern community, which is suggested by the Ionic forms identified in the language.

It will take time to comprehend all the possible implications of this discovery: so much still lies in the subsoil of Messina, waiting to be revealed.

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CONCLUSIONS

FROM *EUBOICA* TO *EUBOICA II*: CHANGES IN KNOWLEDGE AND SCHOLARLY APPROACHES

Catherine Morgan

Having had the pleasure of attending both *Euboica* conferences in 1996 and 2018, and profiting greatly from them, I welcome this opportunity to reflect on how *Euboica II* illustrates changes in our knowledge and scholarly approaches over the intervening 22 years. Some changes flow from major discoveries. I think, for example, of the large collection of late eighth- and early seventh-century inscriptions from the *hypogeio* at Methone¹ which has breathed new life into discussion of the role of Euboians in the transmission and early use of Greek script. That discussion is ongoing, as is shown by Albio Cassio's examination of a new addition to the evidence for a significantly earlier transmission in Central Italy (around the first quarter of the eighth century). More often, changes in understanding occur incrementally and almost imperceptibly. A landmark conference such as this is an important opportunity to take stock. What follows is a personal perspective on those areas which have most enriched and improved our understanding, on innovations in methodology, and the new questions and approaches which may now follow.

The respective titles of the two sets of conference proceedings, *L'Euboea e la presenza Euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente* versus *Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West*, reveal a significant shift in scholarly direction. In 1996, we operated within an intellectual framework dominated by colonization and by collective "Euboians" as protagonists. Essays in that volume focused on archaeological evidence for settlement on Euboea and the presence of Euboians and/or Euboian or

Euboianizing pottery in Macedonia, southern Italy, and Sicily. Discussion of mobility addressed the direction of Euboian voyages, drawing also on cults and the development of epic. The literary record played only a minor role and was rarely subject to historiographical critique. Silence around the historical narrative of colonization as understood often from much later literary sources implies that it was broadly accepted as fact, with no need for further comment².

By contrast, *Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West* cleverly encapsulates the intersection of, and creative tension between, two lines of enquiry. The first concerns the large overarching narrative of Euboian and Phoenician maritime ventures, here presented as an evolving strategy with clearly observable stages of development. In the opening chapter of the first volume, Nota Kourou's systematic review of the distribution of Protogeometric and Subprotogeometric Euboian pottery encapsulates the current state of knowledge and forms a bridge with the previous proceedings. The bare bones would have been familiar to the audience in 1996, but now the picture is conceptually more sophisticated and geographically much more extensive. As Kourou and many other contributors to this volume confirm, ideas that were logical suppositions 20 years ago now provide a secure basis for more directed, analytical, and penetrating questions. Evidence from Iberia and North Africa is fully in the frame (as Massimo Botto demonstrates), and our understanding of Euboea itself is much firmer, with fuller records from more

¹ BESSIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2022; TZIFOPOULOS 2013.

² MORGAN 1998 was an outlier in this volume.

major sites – Lefkandi is discussed by Irene Lemos, Chalkis by Xenia Charalambidou, Eretria and Amarynthos by Samuel Verdan and colleagues, Zarakes by Athina Chatzidimitriou, and Plakari by Jan-Paul Crielaard – not to mention neighbouring Oropos (by Alexander Mazarakis Ainian and Vicky Vlachou) and Skiathos (by Alexandra Alexandridou). This richer picture of Euboia also extends over a longer chronological period, from the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age transition (as discussed by Irene Lemos, and by Samuel Verdan and his colleagues) into the Archaic period. A large programme of chemical analysis of pottery from many sites along the arc from Iberia to the Levant affords closer understanding of patterns of export, imitation, and stylistic adaptation of “Euboian” wares. At Eretria itself, ongoing analysis of local clay sources and pottery technologies documents the evolution of a local production tradition from the Bronze Age to the Classical period³.

Complementing work on Euboian centres is continuing investigation of Pithekoussai, the site at the heart of the “Euboian narrative” back in 1996. Further work on the San Montano necropolis by Teresa Cinquantaquattro reveals ever more clearly the intertangling of Greek, Italic and oriental populations, and is complemented by Valentino Nizzo’s study of the ritual codes operative in the cemetery. Particular questions are raised by the burial of a shackled man in Tomb 950. At first sight this burial calls to mind the shackled prisoners buried at Phaleron⁴, but this man was neither a victim of violence nor deprived of his place in the community cemetery and the right to receive grave offerings. As Cinquantaquattro emphasizes, the issue is one of symbolism: were the shackles indicative of personal biography, of past or present status within the community? New approaches also transform ostensibly well-known contexts. The discovery by Melania Gigante and colleagues that the burial in T. 168 accompanied by “Nestor’s cup” was that of up to three young adults, and not the single youth previously supposed, causes us to reconsider the significance of the text. It gives rise to reappraisal of the excavation context by Teresa

Cinquantaquattro and Bruno d’Agostino, while Marek Wećowski sets the cup itself into the larger picture of early text and writing practices now emerging.

The second line of enquiry, present in various ways in most chapters, concerns the nature of interactions – how they developed, what they afforded, and what new responses and strategies emerged from them. How did Euboians and Phoenicians insert themselves into the networks documented in a variety of complementary contexts, from commercial cargos (as that carried in the Archaic Phoenician shipwreck off Xlendi bay, Gozo⁵) to settlements at major trading hubs such as Huelva or Malaga, areas of resource extraction and processing (as those on Sardinia), or settlement and burial contexts in regions widely exposed to international connections (as discussed by Massimo Botto with particular reference to Cumae)? Different aspects of the mechanics of connection are presented in such contexts, with the activities represented standing as proxies for larger organizational chains. Thus the filling and shipping of an amphora is the end of a chain involving not only the cultivators and processors of crops, but storage and transport jar manufacturers, carters, road repairers, shippers, and their agents.

One major change since the 1996 proceedings is the transformation in visualization and mapping technologies illustrated in almost all chapters. We now take these advances for granted to the extent that it seems almost banal to remark on them. Yet our capacity to relate the results of excavations of all kinds and contextualize them in reconstructed ancient landscapes opens many more possibilities to understand and compare settlement development in the *longue durée*.

Some studies in these proceedings concern sites whose conformation had been considered more or less understood. In their discussion of recent excavations at Pithekoussai, Nadin Burkhardt and Stephan Faust take the opportunity to build a larger, longer-term picture of settlement organization by tying in legacy data and the results of rescue excavations, including evidence for eighth- to sixth-century (probably domestic) architecture. We may now interrogate in closer detail the ques-

³ CHARALAMBIDOU *et al.* 2018.

⁴ CHRYSOULAKI 2020, 111–113.

⁵ ANASTASI *et al.* 2021; GAMBIN – SOURISSEAU – ANASTASI 2021.

tion of exactly how and when Pithekoussai declined, addressing the form of the later settlement and its place in local and long-distance networks. Fifth-century Pithekoussai is a puzzle – if the growth of Cumae was the major challenge to the community, why did it linger for so long? The answer must lie in a larger regional perspective, and it is also interesting to compare emerging discussion of comparative urban development in other areas, Euboea included. At Cumae, Matteo D’Acunto and his colleagues complement a series of period-specific studies⁶ with an account of the Iron Age and immediately pre-colonial settlement which again combines the results of the latest excavations with legacy data. Much work remains to establish the form of the site in the years immediately preceding the arrival of new settlers, and the social inferences that can be drawn from it, but the line of enquiry is securely established.

Transformation in our capacity to contextualise the results of rescue excavation within modern settlement centres is rather greater. Daniela Giampaola’s study of early Naples (ancient Parthenope) is such a case, documenting the location of the ancient harbour and of settlement concentrations during the main phases of occupation from the Bronze Age to the fifth century. Studies of Naxos by Maria Costanza Lentini and Zancle by Giovanna Maria Bacci afford potential for comparison. Comparative discussion has a distinguished tradition, with sites such as Oropos long seen as important landmarks. But much more is now possible and on a greater scale, as illustrated by Luca Cerchiai’s framing of Pithekoussai alongside *inter alia* Carthage, La Rebandilla, Motya, and Sulky.

With these considerations in mind, I turn to the major themes of the two volumes and some personal responses to them.

NETWORKS, MIGRATION, AND MOBILITY

Networks in their various forms have come to dominate thought about cross-community relationships. However one approaches them, some

nodes which predate colonization clearly afforded greater potential for transformation than others for both human and environmental reasons. A key question is how this potential may be assessed. The environmental data presented in several project reports represent a welcome departure. They contribute significantly to our understanding of long-term settlement development and may enhance appreciation of specific aspects of community life. The wetlands restored around Amarynthos form an appropriate setting the cult of Artemis (as discussed by Samuel Verdan and colleagues), while changes in the coastal environment in the wider area inform discussion of the comparative development of Eretria and the older tell sites of Amarynthos and Lefkandi. Similarly, reconstruction of the ancient coastline at Plakari points to a choice of harbour location which combined long-distance visibility with proximity to arable land and sources of metal ore. So far, attention has focused on coastlines, harbours, and mineral resources. Food economies have received less attention and much work remains to be done in this area, although the data now available from sites like Cumae hold great promise.

Turning to human relationships, the notion of “pre-colonial contact” now seems both teleological and too general to be informative. This is not just a problem of past paradigms: network language and terms like “middle ground” can as easily become hollow⁷. By the ninth century at the latest, we see a world of long-distance interaction. Drill down deeper, and we may begin to assess the circumstances under which it would be worthwhile to establish permanent residence or formal foundations, as opposed to sustaining advantageous relationships in other ways, perhaps using agents to manage seasonal contacts and ensure the flow of material goods. This should be understood as an ongoing process of negotiation, with individual situations liable to change over time. And in the old Greek world, some people chose to engage and pursue opportunities of this kind while others did not.

Papers in these proceedings show progress with many aspects of this problem. At Cumae, for example, Matteo D’Acunto addresses the identifica-

⁶ E.g. D’ACUNTO 2017; D’ACUNTO – D’ONOFRIO – NITTI 2021; D’ACUNTO – NITTI 2023.

⁷ DIETLER 2022.

tion in the material record of the precise timing and circumstances of new settlement. He identifies a catastrophe, perhaps human induced, which left fully equipped houses and stored crops abruptly abandoned and sometimes burnt. Reoccupation took place against the background of new Euboian settlement at Pithekoussai, and from then on the settlement sequence shows substantial architectural innovation.

Tracing the origin of the individuals who engaged in a cosmopolitan community like Pithekoussai has always been a challenge. Burial contexts constitute the bulk of our evidence for identity, and there is a well-rehearsed difficulty with attaching ethnic labels to objects implicated in them, and thence labelling communities or individuals⁸. The work of Teresa Cinquantaquattro and Valentino Nizzo rests on comparison of burials as social constructs and is complemented by research in physical anthropology by Melania Gigante and colleagues. While no smoking gun, forensic anthropology is removed from material labels and has the potential to speak to the life history of individuals. It is thus integral to achieving thick readings of ritual behaviour.

Yet as Jan-Paul Crielaard emphasizes, the “Euboians” were neither a flat class nor engaged *en masse* with the west or with Macedonia. Some chose to remain apart from migration or to direct their attention elsewhere. In discussion of the long-established community at Plakari, Crielaard suggests that southern Euboea did not play a significant role in Mediterranean networks, and that its connections were largely oriented towards the Sporades and the Cyclades (in Archaic times both Plakari and Zarakes maintained cult links with Delos). Bruno d’Agostino further reminds us that the east coast of Euboea, facing the Sporades, remains poorly understood. Continuing controversies over site identification, notably concerning Kyme (also addressed by Albio Cassio), form part of a broader problem whereby the low visibility of ancient sites on later historical maps of this area has not encouraged archaeological exploration. From the late ninth or early eighth century, established connections between the Sporades and Thessaly expanded

to north and south, with Euboian pottery appearing in greater quantity at around the same time as northern Aegean Type II amphorae (as Alexandra Alexandridou demonstrates with primary reference to Kephala on Skiathos). Establishing which Euboian communities were involved in this, when, and to what extent, is a subject for future research.

Implicitly or explicitly, several chapters convey a sense of the one-sidedness of traditional emphasis on a range of motivations for departure from the old world, from land hunger to the search for metals. Migration and overseas settlement had wide-ranging consequences for good or ill. But to understand their complexity, the range of people affected by them, and the circumstances under which individuals or groups might remain disinterested, we should pay closer attention to more local connections of the kind noted above and consider how and when they operated as distinct alternatives, as opposed to affording direct or indirect support for the larger endeavours of others.

Among many issues which merit closer investigation, one concerns the need to trace in their entirety the individuals and communities involved in any sustained relationship, not least to interrogate the shorthand of “indigenous” (a point to which we will return). At Cumae, Giovanna Greco, and Matteo D’Acunto and colleagues, variously show how different groups were drawn to the evolving settlement from the Bronze Age/Iron Age transition onwards, with the new foundation in the eighth century attracting local peoples and Greek and other migrants alike. We now have solid evidence with which to assess the practical costs and investment involved in this – to tease out and quantify the long chains of activity which link *inter alia* the costs of building (and the capital accumulation behind it), food supply, and the range of manufacturing necessary to make a city.

Another area of enquiry might seek to correct the implicit notion that impact is something that happens to “native others”. The departure of people from mother communities created gaps in society requiring re-ordering and re-configuration. Hence the changes in patterns of age and gender representation visible in the burial records of Euboian cities from the seventh century on. While we have tended to focus on the opportunities and ben-

⁸ VAN DOMMELEN – ROWLANDS 2012.

efits of colonization, all parties – sender communities included – continued to negotiate change and uncertainty. As a result, Euboian cities, let alone some generalized idea of “Euboia”, cannot form a stable reference point. This has wider implications, for example when considering potential exchanges of ideas between the colonial and old worlds about phenomena such as urbanization or political organization. And it is one of many reasons to continue the enquiry beyond the seventh century, and to consider the impact of reliance on particular categories of evidence on our understanding of change. Samuel Verdan is surely right to suggest that the assumed decline in Euboia’s trading role reflects over-reliance on pottery. The greater diversity and chronological reach of these proceedings is welcome in this respect.

Personal desiderata for future study include comparative discussion of major events of replanning and their longer-term impacts. The identification of the seventh century as a key stage in state formation at sites like Cumae may be true locally but can we benefit from wider comparison? A longer perspective on other parts of the Greek world shows analogous decisions to relocate (between islands for example) or strengthen central sites. Looking more broadly at processes of choice and what they meant for the shaping not only of sites but of regions may elicit unexpected insights.

CERAMIC STUDIES

Since pottery underpins most studies in both volumes, it is worth pausing to comment briefly on the work represented. The strong academic tradition of macroscopic study of fabric and decoration continues to be well represented, often accompanied by petrographic and chemical analyses. I have long been curious to understand the precision with which fabric groups can be localized around the Bay of Naples. Studies by Francesca Mermati and Gloria Olcese, focused on pottery from Pithekoussai and Cumae, document the fabric groups isolated from kiln material in the Santa Restituta artisan quarter at Lacco Ameno and trace local clay sources. Such work will continue to be important not only for understanding regional craft organization,

but for those of us working in western Greece interested in the extent and nature of west-east traffic and keen to trace the origin of unidentified wares in our assemblages.

Long-term trajectories of resource use, practice traditions, and craft mobility are central concerns in ceramic studies, but the human aspects of choice and affect are rightly not forgotten in these proceedings. Mariassunta Cuozzo’s review of pottery from the Mazzola area at Pithekoussai addresses local producers’ responses to imported finewares, while Francesca Mermati raises the question of whether or how it mattered that an ostensibly “Greek” pot in an indigenous Campanian or Etruscan tomb was in fact manufactured on the coast, at Pithekoussai or Cumae. It remains a challenge to understand different perceptions of the origin of particular vessels, and to allow for the potentially different significance of provenance in the old and new worlds. A Pithekoussan consumer may have neither known nor cared whether an imported Thapsos skyphos came from a workshop in Corinth, Achaia, Ambracia, or Ithaca. Thapsos was a recognizable “brand” which tended to travel with Corinthian or Corinthianising fineware and was associated with drinking practices widely shared by local elites⁹. But the distinction matters greatly from the perspective of the production centre concerned, as we seek to build models of western export.

The value of close reading of well contextualised ceramic assemblages in characterizing aspects of urban planning is illustrated in the case of Sardinia by Paolo Bernardini and Marco Rendeli. Considering the organization of the settlement at Sant’Imbenia, they use pottery distributions to identify a market area for local crafts and imports (including products from the surrounding region) and explore the significance of different aspects of assemblages in terms of the social roles of imports. The concentration of imported vessels linked to cross-elite activities points to market centres as nodes in trade networks. Similar observations are made by Massimo Botto with reference to the distribution of gold and copper from Spanish and Sardinian mines, defining the intersection between Atlantic and eastern metal trading circuits.

⁹ GADOLU 2017.

These observations lead to two further areas of discussion – the various ways in which artefacts serve as evidence for markets, and the organization of production and associated mobility of craftsmen.

MARKETS

Considering why ceramics were acquired or manufactured for particular purposes may provide insight into other less visible aspects of local economies. Let us consider two examples. The first concerns trade in oil and wine. Rich evidence has been presented for the manufacture and circulation of transport amphorae in several areas, including the Thermaic Gulf, Sardinia, and Malta. These amphorae were both commodities and delivery mechanisms. Their contents represent an agricultural base, the existence of processing facilities, labour, storage, and local transport. Their production, stockpiling, and delivery had to be co-ordinated with the agricultural cycle, and since their form was maximized to maritime stowage, they should be examined alongside vessels suitable for storage and land journeys as part of longer chains of transport adapted to different environments.

The relationship between amphorae and other transportable containers is in different ways explored by Luca Cerchiali and Antonis Kotsonas, but merits closer attention given the very uneven record of Early Iron Age maritime transport containers across the Mediterranean¹⁰. As Cerchiali emphasizes, the practice of wine consumption in the west long predates Greek colonization, making the history of local and regional production, and of the container vessels used, subjects of great interest. Classical and Hellenistic-Roman period oil and wine production has received considerable attention, but there is now a realistic prospect of reconstructing all stages of production and shipment in the Early Iron Age and Archaic periods, and thence building a long-term picture of these industries. The link between local and long-distance circuits of distribution also merits close investigation. Jean-Christo-

phe Sourisseau has characterised Pithekoussai as an essentially local market because its production capacity is relatively small¹¹. And it is worth noting that genetic analysis of wine varieties may in future help to identify local/regional produce with greater precision. In general, closer dialogue between specialists working on different production and distribution circuits would be beneficial.

The second example concerns the economic support required to sustain activities otherwise identified in the material record. Ritual spaces are a case in point. At late ninth-century Utica, Massimo Botto describes equipment for a large ritual banquet comprising local handmade pottery plus a small but diverse range of Phoenician, Greek, Sardinian, and Tyrrhenian imports. Similar public feasts held at the Phoenician sanctuary at La Rebanadilla, at the mouth of the Guadalhorce river, helped to broker relations between local populations and new arrivals. Here too, feasting sets were selected from, and re-elaborate aspects of, different traditions. In both cases there is a clear link between consumption and the relations necessary to sustain local markets and metals trading. Yet more could be done to explore the logistics of the feasts, the agents involved, and the social capital accrued.

“Indigenous” pottery had its own attractions and advantages. At Cumae, household equipment from the pre- and early colonial settlement now gives a clear picture of the domestic economy encountered by the first colonists, and evidence for the pace and nature of its transformation thereafter. This picture also rests on a fuller understanding of the way in which Cumae related to wider local networks of settlement and pottery supply. Well before the foundation of Pithekoussai, Cumae was a favoured destination for local and long-distance migration. Privileged individuals buried in the town cemetery were linked into Aegean elite networks, and the Euboian vessels imported to the site were standard types found across all Euboian networks. In the settlement, however, quantified analysis of ceramics in newly excavated contexts presented by Giovanna Greco reveals that indigenous traditions only really declined late in the seventh century.

¹⁰ Recent studies include KNAPP – DEMESTICHA 2017; PRATT 2021.

¹¹ SOURISSEAU 2008, 149-173, esp. 171-173.

The notion that the form of cooking and kitchen vessels directly reflect culturally specific practices of food preparation and consumption has long been discredited. Instead, we see the swift adoption of local cookwares by colonists perhaps because these vessels were already well adapted technologically, their manufacture drawing on local potters' knowledge of the location and preparation of clays resistant to fire. The question of how long indigenous cooking ware lingered may better be framed in terms of the use of local knowledge to refine and improve production, supporting the emergence of larger markets in adaptable shapes made in fabrics that demonstrably worked. The western Mediterranean pattern discussed in these proceedings finds echoes elsewhere, notably in the Black Sea where old assumptions about cookpots as markers of cultural or ethnic identity have been countered in similar terms.

MANUFACTURING

Production sites feature in several chapters, with accounts of the Mazzola and Santa Restituta quarters at Pithekoussai particularly welcome (the latter predating Euboian settlement). At Santa Restituta, Francesca Merlati suggests that pottery production was organized in family workshops in which all members participated. It remains unclear whether there was a parallel system of household-based production as inferred for the manufacture of *impasto* at Cumae. Artisan status was certainly celebrated at Pithekoussai, noting the inclusion of tools in local burials.

An important point of comparison on Euboea is provided by Vicky Vlachou's study of the organization of workshop facilities and spaces at Oropos. Vlachou's observations about cross-craft connections between pottery production and metalworking during the second half of the eighth and the seventh century, and about similarities in layout between Oropos and Mazzola (a site discussed by Costanza Gialanella and Pier Giovanni Guzzo), raise important questions about when and how patterns of craft organization travelled (and in which direction). Vlachou further considers the impact of colonization at Cumae not only in terms of migrant

potters and workshops, but also in the creation of new craft contexts. Observations of this kind are not confined to Euboian settlements. At Francavilla Marittima, Jan Kindberg Jacobsen and Gloria Mittica consider the impact of Euboian potters (in terms of kiln organization, aspects of style, and technological practice) in the production of Oinoan-Euboian pottery.

These discussions raise larger questions. Interrogating the commonly cited phenomenon of craft mobility, what did it mean socially for a member of a household production unit to leave it behind permanently or temporarily? Much work has focused on patterns of movement, on routes and trade circuits, and on technological transfer. Less attention has been paid to the societal implications of movement on differing geographical scales.

Trade in metals is widely discussed throughout these proceedings, with emphasis on Phoenician and Euboian engagement to east and west alike. Underlining the wider potential of the work presented in these two volumes to contribute to *longue durée* models, one of the most challenging questions concerns potential continuities from a monetary use of precious metals to the first coinage¹². Samuel Verdan and Elon Heymans' discussion of Euboian gold working and trading, including rare evidence of gold melting plates from Eretria and Methone, identifies the movement of gold through Euboian maritime connections, with Methone an important hub linking maritime networks to the Macedonian hinterland. Lucia Scatozza Höricht takes up the discussion at Cumae and Pithekoussai, emphasizing the role of cosmopolitan elite consumers. All see Anatolia and the Levant as key areas of origin for processing practices, the use of bullion gold as currency, and a weight standard widely influential in Euboian circles and beyond.

SANCTUARIES AND CULTS

I have so far has concentrated on the broadly economic themes central to both volumes. Sanctuaries and religious practice are less prominent, although important discoveries are reported. In Sicily

¹² Explored in detail in HEYMANS 2021.

and southern Italy these include a possible heroon in the centre of Zancle (discussed by Giovanna Maria Bacci) and the earliest offerings associated with the sanctuary of Apollo on the acropolis of Cumae, which date to the very beginning of the colonial settlement (the site and cult are examined by Alfonso Mele). Notwithstanding the richness of the data presented, chapters in these proceedings point to significant differences in approach to sanctuary sites and religious landscapes in the old Greek world, Sicily and Magna Grecia, and the western Mediterranean. In comparison with recent work in the old Greek world, in southern Italy we see greater concentration on literary evidence and on aspects of cult transmission. With notable exceptions outside the Euboian sphere (e.g. Monte Iato in western Sicily)¹³, sanctuaries in the colonial milieu are currently less embedded in larger discussions of local/regional economic and political systems than those in the old Greek world (and increasingly also pre-Roman and Roman central Italy)¹⁴. In Euboea, the major discoveries at Plakari and Zarakes noted above, and at the Artemision at Amarynthos (described by Samuel Verdan and his colleagues), are fully integrated into larger discussions of ritual landscapes. Excavation at the Artemision has been a catalyst for systematic study of the shrines of the Eretriad, considering how the Eretrians occupied their territory in terms of political and religious institutions, and where and why cult buildings were monumentalized.

Moreover, there is a tendency to interpret activities through the lens of assumed “Greek” practice. Ritual dining and food consumption is a case in point – it features in several chapters, including a fascinating discussion of early cult activity at Sicilian Naxos by Maria Costanza Lentini. On one hand, it is valuable to build a large, cross-Mediterranean picture, but on the other, attention to local practices and interpretations is essential if we are to avoid normative assumptions. Furthermore, rather than

assuming an east-west flow of ideas, there is great scope to interrogate mainland Greek data using models developed in the western Mediterranean. My own work in the northwest reveals several instances where current expectations of the physical form of sanctuaries, conceptions of landscape, and the preferred contexts for communal ritual are a poor fit for the evidence. To give but one example, Archaic Butrint recalls La Rebanadilla as much as the sanctuaries of the Kanoni peninsula on Corfu.

CONCEPTUALISING EUBOIANS

My final point concerns identity and tradition. Why were Euboians so good to think with? The need of communities to place themselves in an increasingly complex world is manifested differently in different parts of the Greek world. I am struck by the comparative scarcity in much of the west of the local histories so prominent elsewhere from the late fifth century on. Thanks to the work of Rosalind Thomas¹⁵, we know the names of almost 800 local historians, with strong hints that their work was full of the local detail, argument, and contradiction missing in larger syntheses. But they mostly belong to the eastern Aegean, while in the west we find a long, lively tradition of foundation stories and myths of origin expressed in a growing range of literary genres. There are traces of this in Euboea too, as Luisa Breglia shows in her discussion of Archaic mythological and genealogical links with Boiotia. In other parts of the Greek world – notably the fourth- and third-century Adriatic¹⁶ – Euboians entered local traditions very much later than our period and in locations with no earlier material association. They seem to be a safe choice as actors in the new narratives or counter narratives developed in response to changing political circumstances.

Volume II of the 2018 proceedings opens with a paper that marks a striking departure from the first *Euboica* conference. Maurizio Giangulio presents textual sources as cultural artefacts implicated in the construction and reformulation of social memory, embodying different community perspectives, and

¹³ KISTLER – MOHR 2015; with ÖHLINGER 2015.

¹⁴ The region is not represented in recent work, such as HÄUSLER – CHIAI 2020, or recent conferences exploring concepts of religious landscape, notably: *Reconstructing Greek Sacred Landscapes*, Vandoeuvres, 2-3 February 2023; *Distant Deities, Central Places: Reconsidering the “Extra-urban Sanctuary”*, Swedish Institute at Athens, 6-8 April 2023.

¹⁵ THOMAS 2019.

¹⁶ MORGAN 2018.

resting on close attention to matters of date, genre, and context. In 1996, my own case for a historiographically sensitive approach to colonial traditions concerning Corcyra was an outlier which some found difficult to accept. Giangiulio's rich, theoretically sophisticated discussion now represents the mainstream. His delineation of a stratification of literary traditions makes sense of problems of transmission and preservation, accommodates the emergence of new approaches (as that of Hecataeus on geography), literary trends or genres, and embraces dissonance as an inevitable aspect of continuing traditions.

Despite these advances, much remains to be done to assimilate literary gains with approaches to the material record. Focusing on the northern Aegean, Antonis Kotsonas reviews the historiography of approaches to the material record of the Euboian colonial world, noting the weaknesses of a range of cognate models from pan-Creticism to Euboiocentrism, and concluding that migrants "became" new communities with identities that they may not have set out with as individuals. Kotsonas' fundamental question is important, but the historiography of our own approaches needs to be balanced by a critical approach to the ancient sources. The answer lies in integrating Kotsonas'

approach with that of Giangiulio or Matteo D'Acunto, who discusses Cumae and Pithekoussai in comparison with Megara Hyblaea, Naxos, Syracuse, Zancle and Mylai. Settlement history may rest on correlations between ceramic and textual dates, but there is nonetheless a richer understanding here of *ktisis* as a historical process. It is important to build a comparative picture, to understand variant local traditions, the date and shape of sources, and geopolitics as locally experienced.

In memoriam

I conclude by remembering three pioneering figures in our discipline – Giorgio Buchner, Nicolas Coldstream, and David Ridgway – whose "absent presences" were keenly felt at our gathering in 2018. I continue to marvel at the richness of their legacy and its capacity to sustain new endeavours by new teams. The continuation of Giorgio Buchner's work with the publication of *Pithekoussai II* is an exciting prospect. And I look forward to seeing what the present proceedings and the projects represented in them may inspire in *Euboica III*.

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ABSTRACTS

Colonial Memories and Models

MAURIZIO GIANGIULIO, *Euboean Colonial Memories. Mediterranean Mobility, Literary Traditions and Social Memory*

This paper makes a contribution towards the understanding of the nature and origins of the ancient tradition of the Euboean colonization movement in the Mediterranean, with special reference to the western foundations. An overview of the – mainly literary – evidence helps focus on the problem of whether shared historical memories of the colonial origins existed in Euboea and/or in the colonial worlds of Euboean origin. The question is also posed whether local traditions were in place and to what extent they were affected by adaptation and distortion processes, with reference to the role allegedly played by Chalcis and Eretria. One cannot avoid briefly investigating also the issue of “Chalcidian” colonial identity both in the West and in the Aegean in the light of the underlying problem of the *genos Chalkidikon*. How ancient was fifth-century Chalcidian identity in Sicily, and to what extent did it echo an original colonial identity of the cities founded by Euboean colonists? Any modern assessment of literary tradition about the Mediterranean mobility of the Euboeans in the 8th and 7th centuries largely depends on the answers to such questions.

LUCA CERCHIAI, *Interpretative Models of Euboean Colonization and Impacts on the Indigenous World*

Through a synthesis of research already published, this account outlines the development, the “vocations” and the crisis experienced by Pithekoussai within the structure of relations, mobility and exchanges occurring in the area of the central-western Mediterranean from at least the first half of the 9th century BC.

The first section is dedicated to investigating the network of relations linking Campania to Sicily, Sardinia, the Iberian Peninsula and to North Africa. The second more closely enquires into the foundation of Pithekoussai, around the middle of the 8th century BC, placing the event within the broader dynamic of similar colonial foundation processes,

which at that same time are taking place in the western Mediterranean under Phoenician impetus and with the consent of local communities.

Pithekoussai

TERESA E. CINQUANTAQUATTRO, *Pithekoussai, Necropolis of San Montano (Excavations 1965-1967). Stratigraphy, Funerary Representation and Intercultural Dynamics*

The article illustrates the funerary sector investigated by G. Buchner between 1965 and 1967, examining the formation of the funerary texture, the forms of funerary representation and the composition of the burial ground from the point of view of intercultural dynamics for the Late Geometric period. The main funerary clusters are presented, analysing their succession in time and deepening the topic of the relative chronology in connection with the identification of the first phase of use of the funerary area. Particular attention is devoted to burials, among which some children's graves stand out for the complexity of their grave goods, and to an unusual grave of an adult male buried with iron shackles on his ankles.

MELANIA GIGANTE, ALESSANDRA SPERDUTI, IVANA FIORE, FRANCESCA ALHAIQUE, LUCA BONDIOLI, *Euboean, Eastern and Indigenous People: A Bioarchaeological Investigation of Ancient Pithekoussai (8th-7th Century BC, Ischia Island, Campania)*

This paper presents the results of the bioarchaeological investigation of skeletal and dental remains from Pithekoussai's necropolis on Ischia Island in the Gulf of Naples (Campania).

This study analyses 256 tombs (104 tombs from *Pithekoussai I*, Buchner's excavations 1952-1962; 152 tombs from *Pithekoussai II*, Buchner's excavations 1965-1982), including 143 cremations, 99 inhumations, and 14 *enchytrismoι*. The tombs date from the mid-8th to the 7th century BC.

The use of multiple techniques in the analysis of both cremated and inhumed remains has facilitated the determination of diachronic changes in ritual behaviour as well as in demographic struc-

tures at the site. Despite the lack of completeness and the poor representativeness of the skeletons, the individualisation of the bone assemblages has allowed to identify commingled faunal and human remains (in 20.3% of the tombs) and to estimate the Index of Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) for each grave unit.

The number of individuals identified is 267 out of 256 tombs. The overall demographic profile shows low child mortality representation (new-borns and infants aged 0-1 year represent 7.11% of the skeletons; young children aged 1-5 years, 12.7%), indicating a strong bias in the demographic composition of these age cohorts. Adult age classes (20-40 years; >40 y; >20 years) exhibit diachronic differences in males to females ratios, namely 1.3 in Late Geometric I (LG I, 750-725 BC); 2.5 between Late Geometric I and II (LG I-LG II, 725-700 BC); 0.9 in Late Geometric II (LG II, 725-675 BC); 0.8 in Middle Protocorinthian (MPC 675-650 BC).

Osteological evidence has led to a reconsideration of several funerary contexts, integrating the taphonomic observations of the graves with the biological life history of the deceased. Except for two cases (double Cremation 916, LG I, and single Cremation 140, MPC), this study confirms the exclusion of children from cremation customs.

VALENTINO NIZZO, *Ritual Landscapes and Ritual Codes in the Pithekoussai Cemetery*

The cemetery of Pithekoussai, in its early phases, was in use for about 150 years. The excavated portion of the burial ground contains more than 600 graves, the majority of which belongs to a period concentrated between 740 and 680 BC. Thanks to Giorgio Buchner's excavations we have significant information about the funerary practices.

Among the most interesting aspects that emerged from a systematic analysis of the stratigraphy was the reinterpretation of the diachronic and demographic evolution of the necropolis. This has provided extremely important data, both about the structure of the funerary groups and the way the ritual landscape was laid out. The analysis here reveals that the community did not discriminate based

on categories of age, gender, or social status in the formal disposal of the dead, and possibly also not on the ethnic origin of the deceased. Instead the evidence suggests a degree of integration and cultural hybridization, a point that is particularly interesting considering the historical context.

Thanks to the interweaving of stratigraphic data with "sociological" ones, the interpreters have the uncommon opportunity to investigate the burial ground also through its complex web of family, "ethnic" and social relationships. The cemetery in the Valle di San Montano can therefore become the privileged terrain for an accurate reconstruction of the diachronic evolution of a "multi-ethnic" community, whose composition seems to reflect the "natural" demographic canons and whose representativeness, at the same time, it is not excessively altered by the action of those ritual filters that usually distort the funerary sample.

In the present paper, we will briefly limit ourselves to analysing the main characteristics of the funeral sample, focusing attention on some components of the ritual landscape and on the possible interpretation of their codes.

COSTANZA GIALANELLA, PIER GIOVANNI GUZZO, *The Manufacturing District in Mazzola and its Metal Production*

This contribution resumes the notes written by J. Klein during the excavation conducted in 1969 in the locality of Mazzola on the hill of Mezzavia (municipality of Lacco Ameno, Naples). The structures identified, of which the stratigraphic succession is highlighted, are dated between the middle of the 8th century BC and the beginning of the following century. The site is terraced and was probably abandoned due to landslides and earthquakes. In addition to pottery, evidence has been found of metal smelting, manufacture and repair of bronze fibulae. Iron, lead, silver and glass smelting scraps are abundant, but there is no bronze. Among the best-known finds, the known weight of 8.79 gm and some bronze figurines are discussed. No evidence for the production of gold objects has been identified, nor is the presence of gold deposits on the island verified. On Ischia there is only

one mention from the post-antique period of epithelial gold in association with the presence of alum, which could not be used to produce objects. Consequently, the only certain metal production documented in Pithecusa is that of bronze fibulae.

LUCIA A. SCATOZZA HÖRICH, *Pithecan Gold: Anatolian Connections*

The absence of gold ornaments in Pithecusa, both among the finds in the metallurgical district of Mazzola and the necropolis, from which only objects of gilded silver are known at present, if compared with those of the necropolis of Kyme in Phlegraean fields, re-launches the discussion on the meaning attributed to the term *chryseia* or *chrysia* in the well-known passage of the Greek source. In the ancient world, the search for metals was a major factor in mobility and raised the question of the role of Pithecusa in the gold trade, which involved the relationship between Euboea and the eastern Aegean. What emerges in Pithecusa can be related to the recent archaeological research, which reveals important interconnections between Euboea and the site of Kyme Aiolis on the coast of central-western Anatolia, perhaps as early as the LPG period.

GLORIA OLCESE (with a contribution by GILBERTO ARTIOLI), *Natural Resources and Raw Materials at Ischia in Antiquity: Some Data and Preliminary Reports from an Ongoing, Interdisciplinary Project*

This paper illustrates the new project begun at Ischia, following the study and publication of the artisan quarter excavated beneath the church of Santa Restituta (Lacco Ameno). The research will focus on the island's natural resources, both environmental and geological, available during the period of colonization, but also later. These resources have not always been sufficiently considered in archaeological investigations. Drawing on literary sources and employing specific scientific analyses for the identification of mineral and clay deposits, the project will reconstruct the agricultural landscape, the use of the land's resources, and the techniques of wine and ceramic production, of which the island has yielded important archaeological evidence.

NADIN BURKHARDT, STEPHAN FAUST, *First Results of the Excavations at Pithekoussai from 2016-2018 (Villa Arbusto, Lacco Ameno, Ischia)*

Being the first Greek settlement in the Western Mediterranean, Pithekoussai (modern Ischia) has long been at the centre of scholarly discussions about the early phase of the so-called Colonization of Western Greece. New archaeological evidence of this historical process is provided by a recent project that investigates an area next to the "Museo Archeologico di Pitheculae" in the Villa Arbusto at Lacco Ameno. Here, several terrace walls, which consisted of several layers of boulders with finished surfaces on the front, were found. While the dating of archaeological material from the surrounding trenches (including indigenous as well as imported pottery, roof tiles and a scarab) ranges from the Apennine Culture of pre-Roman Italy to the late Archaic Period, the stratigraphy suggests that the site was occupied by the building structures since the Late Geometric Period. They might have belonged to a domestic context or even a sanctuary.

MARIASSUNTA CUOZZO, *Pithekoussai. Pottery from the Mazzola Area*

Here I present about 100 sherds and partly reconstructed vases from the Mazzola area I selected for the reopening of the room dedicated to Pitheculae at the National Archaeological Museum of Naples. After a quick overview of the types distinguishing the main chronological horizons, I dwell here on two specific subjects: a still understudied class for Pithekoussai, namely, "white-on-black" overpainted ware and a figured Late Geometric sherd lacking close parallels in coeval Pithecan pottery.

FRANCESCA MERMATI, *Parerga and Paralipomena to the Study of Pithecan-Cumaeen Ceramic Production in the Light of New Research. Twenty Years after Euboica*

For the study of colonial enterprise in the western Mediterranean in the first half of the 8th century

BC research on pottery production has always been of major importance. In the case of Pithekoussai and Kyme, the artisans could count on an already established state of affairs, which allowed them to immediately start up successful workshops, and achieve a steadily developing production. In the earliest phase, the original cultural background is still much in evidence: it shows a strong Euboean influence but is already enriched by other inputs – Boeotian, Attic, Corinthian and from the Cycladic islands. Over time, contact and coexistence with different groups native to the land and/or newly arrived there lead to an eclectic production that becomes easily recognisable. Archaeometric analyses (NA) carried out on materials dating from the mid-first quarter of the 8th century BC until the middle of the 7th century – distributed between Pithekoussai, Kyme and the necropolises of the Valle del Sarno – now clarifies the origin of some of the most ancient pottery imports in the Phlegraean area, and so reveals and defines the complexity of the Pithe-cusan-Cumaeen pottery production and the manner of its consumption and diffusion.

TERESA E. CINQUANTAQUATTRO, BRUNO D'AGOSTINO, *The Context of "Nestor's Cup": New Considerations in the Light of Recent Anthropological Studies*

The so-called "tomb of Nestor's Cup" (T. 168) is one of the most representative contexts of the extraordinary intermediary role played by Pithekoussai between the Greek motherland and the Western world thanks to its eponymous vase which is the oldest direct source of the Homeric epic. The study and re-examination of the skeletal specimen by a team of anthropologists led by L. Bondioli and M. Gigante have provided new data indicating that the tomb assemblage did not in fact belong to one single burial and this calls into question its interpretation until now. The article re-examines the dynamics of the formation of the archaeological records, focusing on the "layer of burnt fragments" identified below the tumuli and interpreted as the result of a ritual action to which it is highly probable that a large part of the vases present in "context 168" can be attributed.

MAREK WĘCOWSKI, *The "Cup of Nestor" in Context. The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Culture*

The goal of this paper is to show that the Pithe-cusan "Cup of Nestor", as well as similar LG vessels adorned with convivial inscriptions and spanning the Mediterranean from Rhodes to Ischia, become our first witnesses to the rise of the Greek aristocratic culture. One of its main unifying mechanisms, or mobile hubs of this overarching network, were aristocratic symposia, or better, the cultural skills and competencies on which this social practice was based, featuring the alphabetic competences of their participants. This culture of the LG Greek "travelling elites" can be described as a main integrative force of early Greek civilisation – both in its social and its geographical dimension, thus matching and counterbalancing the fundamental (geographic and political) fragmentation of the Hellenic world.

Cumae and Parthenope

ALFONSO MELE, *Kyme, Apollo and the Sybil*

Starting from recent archaeological investigations, which have led to a reassessment of the attribution of the upper temple of the acropolis, this article discusses the cult of Apollo Archegetes at Cumae, and his role in the foundation of the colony. The tradition of the cult of Aeolian Apollo in the Chalcidian colonies is examined, and the characteristics of the god worshipped with the epiclesis of *Smintheus* in different parts of the Greek world are discussed. As the latest research shows, the god is also present in Cumae with this connotation; the presence of the Sibyl is linked to his domain, which also includes the mantic sphere. This paper traces the various traditions on the Sibyls in Greece, in the Aegean area and in the West, focusing on the Cumaeen Sibyl, documented in the literary tradition since the Archaic age. The discovery on the acropolis temple of two bronze figurines, the first of which represents a lyre player identified with the Sibyl, and the second with a warrior, gives us the opportunity to reconsider the tradition of Apollo and his connections with the other cults of the early Cumaeen pantheon.

MATTEO D'ACUNTO, MARIANGELA BARBATO, MARTINA D'ONOFRIO, MARCO GIGLIO, CHIARA IMPROTA, CRISTIANA MERLUZZO, FRANCESCO NITTI, FRANCESCA SOMMA, *Cumae in Opicia in the Light of the Recent Archaeological Excavations by the University of Napoli L'Orientale: from the Pre-Hellenic (LBA-EIA) to the earliest phase of the apoikia (LG I)*

This paper reassesses the Pre-Hellenic and early colonial phases of Cumae, based on the new evidence brought to light in the archaeological excavations carried out since 2007 by the University of Napoli L'Orientale. These excavations were conducted on the plain, in the area north of the Roman Forum baths.

Deep trenches drilled beneath an *insula* of the Greek and Roman period have revealed evidence of the indigenous phase of the site. This shows that in the Pre-Hellenic period, in the plain in front of the acropolis, in addition to the development of a large burial ground, there are documented offshoots of the indigenous village that occupied the acropolis, both in the Late Bronze Age and at the end of the Pre-Hellenic phase. In the latter period, very recent excavations have uncovered an indigenous hut with an oval/apsidal plan. This dwelling preserved *in situ*, among other findings, a concentration of jars and cooking stands in the storage sector. In this hut and its adjoining areas, Geometric ceramics, mostly Euboean imports, were found: skyphoi of the pendant semicircle, black, chevron and one-metope bird types (corresponding to MG IIb and LG Ia of the Attic Geometric phases), along with the entirely predominant indigenous *impasto* pottery. This Geometric pottery allows us to collocate the life of the hut in the second quarter of the 8th century BC: this is, according to the evidence brought to light, a period when the indigenous village opened up to a tight network of exchanges with Euboean and Phoenician merchants who visited the site before the colonial foundation. The abandonment of the indigenous hut, which is associated with a fire, is roughly contemporary with the end of the burial ground of Pre-Hellenic Cumae, to be dated around the mid-8th century BC (at the transition between Phases IIa and IIb of the Early Iron Age chronology in Campania). The deconstruction of the indigenous settlement system

seems to reflect those historical dynamics, leading to the foundation of the *apoikia* of Cumae by Euboean colonists.

The excavations conducted in depth by the University of Napoli L'Orientale in the block north of the Forum baths also provide evidence of the later first phase of Greek *apoikia*, starting from 750-740 BC. The frequentation of this area for residential purposes refers to this chronological horizon. Primary evidence of the occupation of this sector (dwelling floors with hearths) and ceramics of both Corinthian imports and Corinthian imitations produced in Pithekoussai, along with a few Euboean imports, refer to the period between 750 and 720 BC (LG I): these ceramics consist of skyphoi with a decoration of debased chevrons, tremuli, a chain of lozenges, of the Thapsos type with panel, together with kotylai of the Aetos 666 type etc. The foundation of Cumae's *apoikia* should be dated, also on the basis of this new evidence, shortly after that of Pithekoussai (the latter must have been founded around 760-750 BC). Indeed, Pithekoussai may well have played an important role in the foundation of Cumae: in line with the indication that comes from some ancient authors (Livy and Phlegon of Tralles), this is also suggested by the archaeological picture, which finds exact matches in that of Pithekoussai's contexts. In turn, this new evidence suggests that Cumae's *apoikia* must have predated, albeit by very little, the first Greek foundations in Sicily: this reconstruction is supported by the information provided by ancient authors such as Thucydides and Strabo.

ALBIO CESARE CASSIO, *Earlier and Earlier: The Rise of the Greek Alphabet and a Greek Letter on an Euboean Skyphos Found in Pre-Hellenic Cumae, ca. 760-750 BC*

The Greek letter *nu* (N) inscribed before firing on a black skyphos from Cumae (ca. 760-750 BC) first published in this volume (D'ACUNTO *et al.*, 363-367, Pl. 12, no. 48) is a welcome addition to the sparse number of Greek letters found on Greek vases that can securely be attributed to the first half of the 8th century BC. After a short *excursus* on the irrelevance of the so-called *argumentum ex silen-*

tio to discussions on the origin and development of the Greek alphabet, this article reviews some early inscribed sherds, chiefly the one from Eretria where part of a personal name (Θοῖνος or Εὔθοιμος) is clearly legible, and especially dwells on the problems posed by the *N* featuring on the skyphos from Cumae and the extreme similarity of its shape to that of the slightly earlier *N* of the Gabii flask (the last letter of εὐλίμ). As a matter of fact, the Greek letter on the skyphos provides a remarkably significant addition to what we already knew about the circulation of Euboeans, Euboean goods, and the Euboean alphabet in Campania and Latium in the first half of the 8th century BC.

MASSIMO BOTTO, *Phoenician Trade in the Lower Tyrrhenian Sea between the 9th and 8th Centuries BC: the Case of Cumae*

An examination of Phoenician and “Sardinian-Phoenician” ceramic production finds unearthed in a pre-Hellenic domestic context from Cuma – brought to light since 2018 thanks to excavations directed by Matteo D’Acunto of the University of Naples L’Orientale – has shed new light on the politics and international trade in the Lower Tyrrhenian Sea in the phases contemporary with or immediately preceding the founding of Pithekoussai. Among the most significant aspects, the key role played by Sardinia emerged. Without fossilizing on rigid schematics, which are entirely inappropriate for the historical periods examined here, two areas of different influence can be distinguished on the island. According to widely established lines of research, in fact, it appears that the Nuragic canton systems located in the northern and central-eastern sectors of the island were more projected toward trade with the Villanovan populations of northern Etruria, while those located in southern and western Sardinia maintained relations mainly with the Iberian Peninsula and the central Mediterranean within an established circuit managed by the main Phoenician foundations in which, however, local populations also played a leading role. What emerges from the most recent investigations, and what we hope to have clarified in this paper, is that the two trade flows found a

meeting point in the Lower Tyrrhenian Sea, particularly in Campania, in the stretch of coast between the Gulf of Naples to the north and the mouth of the Picentino to the south.

GIOVANNA GRECO, *Structures and Materials of Archaic Cumae: Research of the Federico II University in the Area of the Forum*

This paper summarizes the results of excavations conducted by the University of Naples “Federico II” on the southern side of the Forum of Cumae, focusing on the chronological span between the early colonial phase and the Archaic period. Of particular interest were the excavations conducted in the so-called Tempio con Portico, where evidence from the last quarter of the 8th century BC to the beginning of the Imperial period, when the temple was built, were brought to light. From this area, which has yielded traces of occupation from the Early Archaic period, come numerous architectural fragments from the late Archaic period, possibly belonging to a pre-existing cult building, as well as a fair amount of residual ceramics (*impasto*, Late Geometric and Protocorinthian pottery). The data collected, along with what has emerged from the most recent investigations conducted in Cumae, make it possible to reconstruct the urban transformations that occurred in this sector of the ancient city.

D. GIAMPAOLA, *New Discoveries from Parthenope (Naples)*

Archaeological evidence on Parthenope has long been limited to the Chiatamone landfill and the via Nicotera necropolis, which attested to its location on the Pizzofalcone promontory. This contribution presents new data from the archaeological investigations for the subway line carried out on the Pizzofalcone site in Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli and in the area of the Greco-Roman harbor in Piazza Municipio. The discoveries deepen the knowledge of the colonial phenomenon in the Gulf of Naples, which is well known from the documentation of Pithekoussai and Cumae.

The origin of Parthenope and its evolution up to the foundation of Neapolis will be discussed, as the two sites constitute a unitary system from a historical, topographical, and archaeological point of view. This settlement unit was already occupied in the Late Neolithic/Eneolithic, then increased in the MBA and LBA until the transition between the FBA and the EIA. The archaeological documentation of S. Maria degli Angeli will be illustrated, from the oldest finds from the second half of the 8th and 7th centuries BC to those from the 6th and 5th centuries BC, and will be supported by materials from the same periods found in the harbor. The aim of this work is to compare the data recovered in different areas of the settlement unit of Parthenope and Neapolis: evidence that integrates and enhances the framework of historical tradition and previous archaeological documentation.

Magna Graecia and Sicily

JAN KINDBERG JACOBSEN, GLORIA MITTICA, *Oino-
trian-Euboean Pottery from Timpone della Motta
– Francavilla Marittima (CS)*

The current contribution focuses on the evidence for the Euboean presence and on indigenous-Greek interactions at the site of Timpone della Motta, close to present-day Francavilla Marittima in northern Calabria. Since 2007, research conducted by the Groningen Institute of Archaeology and the Danish Institute in Rome has emphasized that the indigenous settlement came into contact with the Greek world two generations prior to the establishment of the Greek colonial city of Sybaris. Production of Oino-
trian-Euboean pottery was first identified among the material excavated on the acropolis of Timpone della Motta and in the nearby Macchiabate necropolis. Subsequent fieldwork individuated a pottery production area with a high percentage of Oino-
trian-Euboean pottery as well as kiln traces and objects related to pottery production, such as misfired pottery, containers for depurated clay and experimental test pieces. Most recently, a set-

tlement area was discovered in 2017, which reflects a clear Greek material presence in the nature of Oino-
trian-Euboean and imported Euboean pottery.

MARIA COSTANZA LENTINI, *Naxos between the
Eighth and Seventh Centuries BC Revisited*

Reconsideration of the data from the deep excavation carried out in Naxos between 2011-2013 in the area of a huge Byzantine landfill outlines the initial phases of the city in all its complexity. The succession of phases between the end of the 8th century BC and the beginning of the second quarter of the 7th century BC is very compressed and not always easy to read. The intersection of Streets Si and Sh is crucial for a revision. The chronology of the earlier level of Street Si, dating back to 700 BC, shows the beginning of the urbanization process in Naxos. The southeastern corner of the intersection is occupied by an enclosure with a *bothros* and a pebble floor which, also dating back to 700 BC, was used throughout the 7th century BC for ritual-sacrificial feasting activities, judging from both the pottery (mainly tableware) and the remarkable quantity of animal bones collected. An elongated rectangular building (Building H) was built on the pebbled floor between the first and second quarters of the 7th century BC. It may be identified with a dining room. It is very likely that a similar function, although not so precisely, also belonged to the late 8th century BC Building “f”, rectangular in plan, which Building H clearly replaces. The thick pebble floor overlies Building “f” as well as the curvilinear Buildings “g” and “d”. The identification of the latter pair as huts, together with the pottery found in them, reveals the presence in the Schisò Peninsula of an indigenous coastal community, in our case the Sikel, with which the settlers on their arrival had come into contact and interacted with. Finally, it is interesting to note that it is not by chance that this area becomes after 700 BC a space of ritual use, perhaps linked to the cult of heroes or ancestors in view of the presence of the large *bothros*.

GIOVANNA MARIA BACCI, *Zancle: Latest Findings on the Urban Settlement and Sanctuaries*

The first intention of this paper is to provide updated information on the boundaries, the extent and the layout of the settlement of Zancle-Messina during the colonial, Archaic-Classical period.

It will then deal with two sacred sites dating back to the colonial period, which have great importance for our knowledge of the religious structure of the oldest settlement in the area of the Strait of Messina. The sanctuary located at the end of the San Raineri peninsula is well known for its votive deposits datable from the late 8th century to the late 6th century BC and is dedicated to an important divinity in the Euboean pantheon, probably a female figure, linked to the sea and the protection of the harbour.

The other sacred site, which was discovered in recent years in the building site of Palazzo Colapesce and which is still under study, is located in the heart of the Archaic settlement, behind the isth-

mus of the peninsula. This site includes a stage of construction of religious edifices, consisting of two *oikoi* datable to the last decades of the 7th century BC, these in turn built over a large tumulus of stones that seals off strata of ash and burnt baked clay datable to the beginning of the 7th century BC.

The paper will also consider the complex stratigraphy of the levels and of the votive deposits found in the sacred area and will examine some of the more significant finds from the Archaic period: locally made pottery and several artefacts imported from the Euboean-Cycladic area that are especially interesting. There will be a discussion of the theory that the sanctuary is linked to the cult of the hero founders of Zancle and to commemorative ceremonies, recorded in a fragment of Callimachus' *Aetia* dedicated to the foundation of Zancle, in which the *oikistai* were called on to take part.

Lastly, the paper will deal with the recent discovery of a Roman imperial age epigraph dedicated to Orion, a hero of Euboean-Boeotian origin linked to Cape Pelorus and the Strait of Messina.

Finito di stampare nel mese di marzo 2024
presso l'Industria Grafica Letizia, Capaccio (SA)
per conto di UniorPress

AION

Nuova Serie | 28



ISSN 1127-7130

The intent of the *Euboica II* conference, *Pithekoussai e l'Eubea tra Oriente e Occidente*, held in Lacco Ameno (Ischia, Naples) from 14 to 17 May 2018, was to discuss the themes of colonization, how colonial realities became rooted in different areas of the Mediterranean, the specific traits of Euboean colonization, and forms of contact and relationship between the Greek element and local communities. These Proceedings are divided in two volumes, arranged geographically. They feature a dialogue between historians and archaeologists, with an emphasis on the new important contributions made over the last twenty years by field archaeology in Euboea and in colonial and Mediterranean contexts.

