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EDITED BY IRENE S. LEMOS  
AND ANTONIS KOTSONAS



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Image: Fragments of a krater with the depiction of warriors shaking hands found in the Eastern Lower Town of Tiryns (first half of 12th century BCE). Courtesy of Alkestis Kotsouli and Joseph Maran, Tiryns project. Photography: Maria Kostoula/Tiryns project

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## CHAPTER 5.9

# The Bay of Naples

*Matteo D'Acunto*

### Introduction and Topography

For the ancient Greeks, Campania in a broad sense meant the Bay of Naples, from Cape Misenum to the Sorrentine peninsula. It took its name from its shape, something like a krater (Strabo 5.4.8). Campania stretches inland to incorporate the volcanic region of the Phlegrean Fields (Campi Flegrei), and the territory from the rivers Volturnus and Clanis at the northwest, an area renowned in antiquity for its fertility, to Mount Vesuvius and the valley of the river Sarno on the east, right up to the ridges of the Apennines. The Bay of Naples includes the volcanic islands of Ischia and Procida with Vivara, north beyond Cape Misenum, as well as the island of Capri just off the Sorrentine peninsula at the south. Pithekoussai was established on Ischia, whilst Cumae (Greek Kyme), Dikaiarcheia (Pozzuoli), and Parthenope/Neapolis (Naples) were founded on the coastline. One of the main purposes of the foundation of Cumae – probably the most important one – was to control the northern areas up to the river Clanis for agriculture. The Etruscan center of Capua dominated the Campanian plain close to the Volturnus. South of the Sorrentine peninsula, the main Etruscan settlement of Pontecagnano held the Picentino plain up to the river Sele (Strabo 5.4.3–13; Polybius 3.91; Pliny, *Natural History*, 3.60–65; cf. Frederiksen 1984: pp. 1–30; Mele 2014: pp. VII–XIII).

According to an early tradition, Lake Avernus, close to Cumae, was the location for the gates of Hades, also an oracle where one might consult the souls of the dead, whilst nearby flowed the infernal river Styx and the swamp of the Acheron stretched (Pseudo-Scymnus, *Periplous* or *Periegesis* 236–243; Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70 F 134 = Strabo 5.4.5; cf. *Odyssey* 9). The volcanic

character of the Phlegrean Fields was a perfect context for them. But the nature of these locations also implies that Cumae was seen as being at the boundary of the known world, where for the Greeks the entrance of Hades was set. This thinking reflected the limits of their geographical knowledge during the earliest phase of the colonization in the West (Zevi et al. 2008: pp. 32–33; Mele 2009: pp. 112–117; D'Acunto 2017).

## **Mycenaeans in the Bay of Naples**

Between the 17th and the 12th centuries (Late Helladic, LH I–LH IIIC) Campania was part of the widespread phenomenon that was the Aegean-Mycenaean presence and trade network in the central Mediterranean. In the West, this complex network linked for the most part the Mycenaean states of the Argolid and the Messenia with the Bronze Age (BA) indigenous settlements on the coasts and islands of southern Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia. Together with the Aeolian Islands, the Phlegrean archipelago became an important point of call for the Mycenaean trades in the central Mediterranean: the region is the northernmost and earliest landfall for the Mycenaeans in the Tyrrhenian Sea (Marazzi and Tusa 1994, 2001: pp. 239–322).

On the Bay of Naples, the most significant evidence comes from the Proto-Apennine (Middle Bronze Age, MBA) site on the islet of Vivara: formerly a peninsula, it was linked with Procida by an isthmus and so provided excellent harbors (Marazzi and Tusa 1994, 2001: pp. 261–322; Giardino and Merkouri 2007). Its strategic position at the entrance of the gulf of Naples and its naturally well-defended character, thanks to the precipitous faces of the hill-side (up to 120 m above the sea level), made it an ideal site for controlling the sea routes along this part of the Tyrrhenian Sea. In the systematic excavations on Vivara, a great deal of LH I–LH IIIA1 pottery was found in the several settlements of the island: the earliest finds come from the Proto-Apennine 1 settlement of Punta Mezzogiorno on its southeastern point and from Punta Capitello on the northern side, followed by an even greater quantity from the Proto-Apennine 2 settlement of Punta d'Alaca on its western tip opposite Ischia. The second phase sees the acme of the settlement of Vivara, involved as it was in a trans-Mediterranean network system, and surely with the close participation of people from the Aegean. The evidence for them consists of Mycenaean imported pottery, together with fine wares still in the Middle Helladic (MH) tradition, i.e. the Peloponnesian matt-painted, burnished and Minyan styles, as well as big transport jars in coarser fabrics. LH I–LH IIIA1 pottery found on Vivara mostly comes from the north-eastern

Peloponnese and Aegina, and also from the southwestern Peloponnese; ceramic links to those Aegean islands then under Minoan influence such as Kythera and Keos are also noticeable (Marazzi and Tusa 1994: pp. 173–294, 303–316; Merkouri 2005). Many clay tokens, found on the floors of houses and storerooms, are probably part of a system of recording/computing goods inspired by the Mycenaeans (Marazzi and Tusa 1994: pp. 123–170). Metallurgical activities to do with copper/bronze working are illustrated by some finds at Punta Mezzogiorno (a crucible and slag) and more significantly by evidence especially from Punta d’Alaca (melting debris and slag, an oven, stone instruments for cleaning and sharpening the copper products, as well as a mold for a sword). These finds support the claim that interest in metals was one of the main reasons for the close relationships established by the Aegeans with the locals. As copper was not actually available in Campania, it had first to have been imported (probably as ingots) from Tuscany or Sardinia to Vivara, where it was refined and alloyed with the tin for making bronze objects, which were finally traded on (Giardino, Guidi, and Trojsi 2011). Among the metal objects recovered are also Mycenaean imports or Mycenaean-related items: a bronze arrowhead from Punta Mezzogiorno, a sword which was cut down to make a dagger, and a gold disc from Punta d’Alaca (Marazzi and Tusa 2001: pp. 300–301; Giardino and Merkouri 2007: pp. 740 fig. 2B.2, 742–744). This picture suggests that not only were close commercial relationships established with Mycenaean traders, but also that a few Mycenaeans might have come to live, more or less permanently, in Vivara. During LH IIIA1, Mycenaean pottery ceases to be found and the island seems to lose importance.

Similar evidence exists from other sites on the Bay of Naples. A few Mycenaean pot fragments from the seaside hill of Castiglione on Ischia are LH IIIA (Marazzi and Tusa 2001: pp. 241–250; Giardino and Merkouri 2007: pp. 743, 746, fig. 3A). Fine Mycenaean and Italo-Mycenaean LH IIIB/C pottery was retrieved from the Recent Bronze Age (RBA)/Final Bronze Age (FBA) settlement of Afragola on the Campanian plain. LH IIIB/C pottery both imported and of Italo-Mycenaean types, has been found also at coastal and inland sites of the RBA/FBA close to the gulf of Naples, i.e. Pontecagnano, Eboli, Paestum and the grotto of Polla. The decline of the Mycenaean interest and contacts with the gulf of Naples follows the fall of the Mainland palaces and collapse of the complex economic and trade system they upheld. It is impossible to know if a memory of Mycenaean maritime routes to Campania was kept alive into the Early Iron Age (EIA). The presently available archaeological evidence, however, suggests a long hiatus, of more than three centuries.

## The Pre-colonial Phase and the Campanian Background

A new arrangement of contacts with Campania – along a route taking in Sicily, southern Italy, Latium, and southern Etruria – was established by Greeks starting from the end of the 9th century, in the form first of pre-colonial exchanges. From the mid-8th century, the earliest proper settlements in the West were founded at Pithekoussai and Cumae (Ridgway 1992; Kourou 2005; d'Agostino 2006, 2009, 2010–2011: pp. 223–235; Mele 2014; D'Acunto 2017; Osanna and Verger 2018). During this period, ancient Campania was settled by the indigenous Fossa Tomb-people (the Opicians/Ausonians, according to the literary sources), who practiced inhumation burial, and by the proto-Etruscan sites of Capua and Pontecagnano, which mainly practiced cremation. Capua and Pontecagnano stand out from the other Campanian centers because of this burial rite and their extensive proto-urban spread, which parallel those of the Villanovan sites in Etruria, thus suggesting that they may owe their origin to an influx of people from that region (Cerchiai 1995: pp. 9–68; d'Agostino 2010–2011: pp. 3, 76–79, 2011: pp. 69–73; Rafanelli 2013; Osanna and Verger 2018). During the 9th century, Capua and Pontecagnano show a system of trade with neighboring and overseas communities (Calabria, Sicily, Sardinia, eastern Mediterranean). This is proclaimed by imports found in several burials: e.g. in Capua, the imposing tumulus Tomb I Nuovo Mattatoio (900–850 BC) contained a cauldron probably imported from Cyprus and possibly an antique, as it finds parallels with Cypriot Late Bronze Age (LBA) examples (d'Agostino 2011: p. 73; Rafanelli 2013: pp. 26, 46, 54–55).

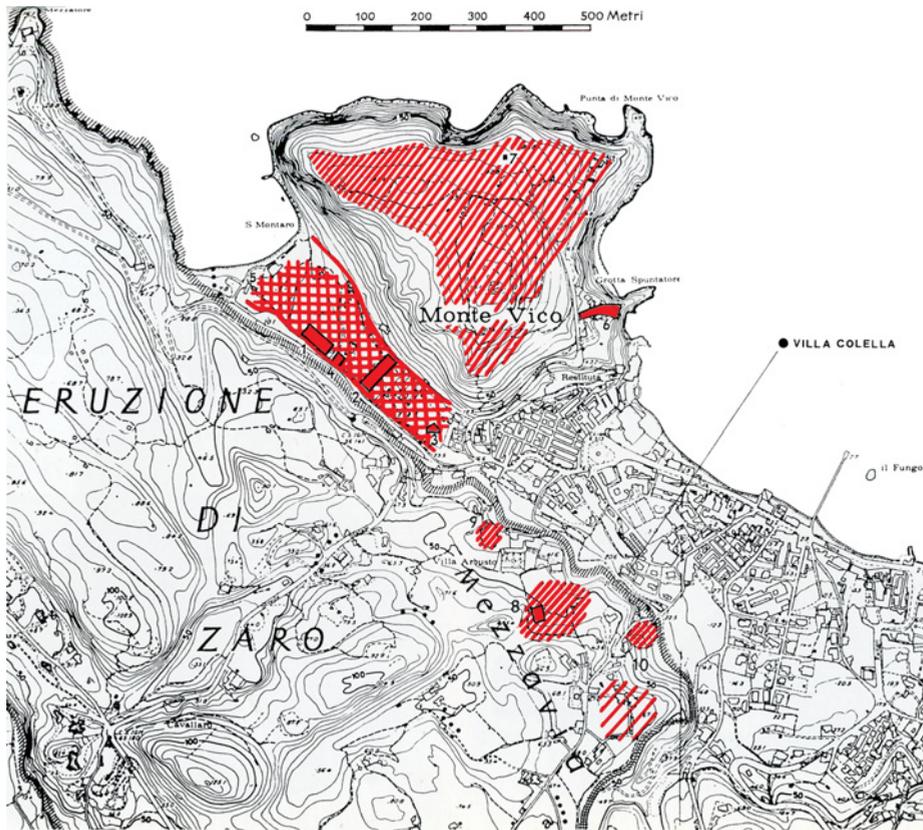
During the second quarter of the 8th century, Greek Geometric vases together with Near Eastern imports in bronze and faience occur mostly in the proto-Etruscan sites of Pontecagnano and Capua, but also in the Fossa Tomb culture sites such as pre-Hellenic Cumae (Cerchiai 1995: pp. 9–18, 26–36; d'Agostino 2010–2011: pp. 27–61, 2011: pp. 73–77; Rafanelli 2013; Osanna and Verger 2018). Their presence implies immediate or once-removed contacts with traders, mainly Euboeans, who were plying this part of the Tyrrhenian Sea. In Pontecagnano, in the pre-colonial horizon, Greek pottery is essentially Euboean (as Neutron Activation Analyses confirm) or Euboean-related (d'Agostino 2001, 2014; Kourou 2005). These vases have to do with the symposium. Among the open vases the skyphoi decorated with pendent semicircles stand out: they belong to the last two types of Kearsley's classification (Kearsley 1989: pp. 99–104), which were not manufactured later than 750 BC.

The Greeks also established similar links with sites of the Fossa Tomb culture. In pre-Hellenic Cumae, two chevron skyphoi and a black cup have been found in rich female tombs (T. 3 and 29) together with faience and glass imports from the eastern Mediterranean. They all indicate that the Euboeans established friendly relationships with the local community during the second quarter of the 8th century, just preceding the foundation of the Greek colony. A recently published bronze spearhead from pre-Hellenic cemetery of Cumae is close to the one found in the “prince’s” Tomb 6 in the West Gate necropolis in Eretria, which is now identified as an Italic origin: a tempting possibility is that the latter came from Cumae or any other Campanian site as a gift by a native chieftain or as a spoil (Bettelli 2011). Pre-Hellenic Cumae was a powerful settlement, prominent amongst the other Fossa Culture sites: the village occupied a strategic and well-defended acropolis; the necropolis on the plain was extensive with conspicuous burials of elite warriors and rich females (Gabrici 1913: pp. 61–211; Cerchiai 1995: pp. 12–18; Criscuolo and Pacciarelli 2009).

## Pithekoussai

Just before or around 750 BC, Euboeans from Chalcis and Eretria founded Pithekoussai on the northwestern corner of Ischia (Frederiksen 1984: pp. 54–84; Ridgway 1992; d’Agostino 2006: pp. 217–232; Lane Fox 2008: pp. 138–161; Mele 2014: pp. 5–39). The permanent character of the Euboean presence in Pithekoussai marks a new era of colonization in Magna Graecia and Sicily. The center of the site (Figure 5.9.1) was the low hill (116 m above the sea level) of Monte di Vico: a headland projecting into the sea, and naturally defended by precipitous cliffs on three sides, it was endowed with two sheltered landings – the San Montano Bay to the west and the Lacco Ameno shore-line to the east. Behind the acropolis the small valley of San Montano housed the necropolis. Workshops for metal production have been located in the slopes of the Mezzavia hill, opposite the acropolis.

Strabo (5.4.9) mentions that Pithekoussai was founded by Eretrians and Chalcidians and became prosperous because of the fertility of the soil (*eukarpia*) and by its gold workshops (*chryseia*). Strabo also reports that the island was abandoned as a consequence of strife (*stasis*) and because of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. A vigorous debate divides those scholars who believe that Pithekoussai may be considered as a true colony and those, including myself, who see it as an Euboean pre-colonial site created just before the earliest proper *apoikia* of Cumae (d’Agostino 1994; Mele 2014: pp. 5–39).



**Figure 5.9.1** Pithekoussai (Ischia: Lacco Ameno), map of the site (hatched: settlement areas, shown by surface pottery; cross-hatched: necropolis of San Montano; fully painted: excavated areas): 1. Necropolis, excavations 1952–1961; 2. Necropolis, excavations 1965–1980; 3–5. Necropolis, lesser excavations; 6. Gosetti dump from the acropolis; 7. Evidence for a temple, 6th–5th century (?); 8. Mezzavia, Mazzola; Villa Colella: Pastola. Source: © Department of Antiquities, Metropolitan Area of Naples. Reproduced with permission of the Department of Antiquities, Metropolitan Area of Naples.

The archaeological and epigraphic evidences suggest that the Euboean community of Pithekoussai included a few Phoenicians/Aramaecans. Indeed, dishes in Red Slip ware, both imported from Phoenicia and local imitations, have been found, thus showing the adoption of a foreign vase shape for food consumption. A few Phoenician or Aramaic inscriptions appear on Syro-Palestinian vases or on Greek ones, as for example on a Greek amphora, which has Aramaic inscriptions referring both to its primary use as a container and to its secondary use as the tomb of an infant (*enchytrismos*) (Ridgway 1992: pp. 111–118, fig. 29).

The origin of the place name Pithekoussai – with its apparent reference to *pithekoi*/monkeys – appears to make no sense for the island of Ischia. Its derivation was debated among ancient authors (Xenagoras, *FGrHist* 240, F 28B; Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 691–693; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XIV, 82–90; Pliny, *Natural History*, 3.12.82) and is still today by modern scholars. Pithekoussai in Campania shares its name with another one such, founded on the Tunisian coast together with other Greek-Euboean *emporía* (*Euboiá* and the *Naxikai* islands: Pseudo-Scylax, *Periplus* or *Periegesis* 111; for other Pithekoussai on the coast of Africa cf. Diodorus, *Library*, XX.58). This place name accordingly belongs to the time-span of the Greek/Euboean pre-colonial/colonial activities along the Mediterranean coasts. This image fits with the finds of Greek Geometric pottery at Carthage: it is Euboean or Euboean-related of local production, alongside Pithekoussan amphorae starting from c. 750 BC (Kourou 2002: pp. 92–102; Niemeyer, Docter, and Schmidt 2007: pp. 453–460, 469–475, 640–641; Sourisseau 2011: pp. 161–165).

Did monkeys really exist on the island of Ischia in antiquity? Although some scholars have indeed suggested this hypothesis, it is rather unlikely, unless Phoenicians introduced the monkeys from Africa or from the Syro-Palestinian region. Otherwise, according to a recent theory, the place name Pithekoussai might reflect a Greek prejudice: just as monkeys inhabited far-away lands and were half animal and half human, so too were the indigenous peoples in the eyes of the Greek settlers and colonists (Cerchiai 1996).

Our archaeological understanding of Pithekoussai is mainly owed to the excavations of the necropolis at San Montano (Ridgway 1992: pp. 45–82; Buchner and Ridgway 1993; Cerchiai 1999; Nizzo 2007; Cinquantaquattro 2012–2013). Most of the tombs date from the earliest phase of the occupation of Pithekoussai, from c. 750 until 690 BC (Late Geometric, LG I-II). The clusters of burials argue that the organization of the funerary space was by family groups. Five burial rituals may be identified: (1) inhumations in trench holes with burial offerings, usually for children and adolescents; (2) inhumations in amphorae (*enchytrismoí*) with or without burial offerings, for new-born infants (whose high number reflects the high infant mortality rate); (3) secondary cremations under stone tumuli with burial offerings, the usual ritual for adults; (4) secondary cremations under stone tumuli without offerings; and (5) adult inhumations in pits without burial offerings or with very few objects. The inhumed adults (5) are probably individuals of lower social status than those cremated: this is shown also by the contracted and side position of the body in some burials, distinguishing them from the usual supine position of the other inhumations. Therefore the rituals 1–3 reflect an organization of the Pithekoussan society into age classes, and 5 (and possibly 4) reflect a hierarchy within the society.

Of the published tombs, only two contain weapons, but neither can be identified as warrior burials. One of them is the unusual Tomb 950, which contained the inhumation of an adult male, whose legs were shackled by iron fetters and on whose body was laid a dagger of Italian type (a scarab was also included): he had to be a prisoner, possibly an Italian chieftain, who died in chains in Pithekoussai, but its skeleton does not show any sign of ritual killing (Cinquantaquattro 2012–2013). The lack of warrior burials in the cemetery might be due to the limited extension of the excavated area (c. 5% of the necropolis). Or it could be, and more probably is so, due to the character of the Pithekoussan society, which did not include a proper warrior class. In this, it was unlike those who held power in the Euboean cities of Chalcis and Eretria and in their *apoikia* of Cumae.

These burials seemingly belong to people of relatively high social level, excluding “warrior” elites. They emphasized external relationships through the inclusion in the tomb of imports from Greece and the eastern Mediterranean. These imports were the result of trade mostly in the hands of the Euboeans, who had joined the Phoenicians on the seaways and in searching out raw materials, mainly metals (d’Agostino 2009). A relatively small number of Euboean imports occur; most of the Euboean-related pottery was produced in Pithekoussai itself (Coldstream 1995; Cuzzo, d’Agostino, and Del Verme 2006: pp. 12–33; Mermati 2012). The imported pottery was for the most part Corinthian, which was also locally imitated. This includes in its shape-range the Aetos 666 (750–720 BC) and Early Protocorinthian (PC) kotylai (720–690 BC), the Thapsos skyphoi (750–690 BC), and jugs. These vases found in the tombs constitute the wine set, thus showing the adoption of the symposium as a social practice by the first Western Greeks. Among the burial offerings, perfume vases predominate, all used in the burial ritual. In their variety, they include: PC globular aryballois, “spaghetti style” examples imported from Rhodes and “mushroom” Phoenician juglets (720–690 BC); and in a LG I tomb a flask, whose neck has a plastic head, a rare import from North Syria (Ridgway 1992: pp. 60–62, fig. 12; Buchner and Ridgway 1993: Tomb 215.4). The infant tombs in particular yielded a great deal of Phoenician or Egyptian scarabs (among them that from LG II Tomb 325 bearing the cartouche of the Egyptian pharaoh Bokchoris, c. 718–713 BC) and serpentine seals of the so-called “Lyre Player Group,” imported from North Syria or Cilicia: they were probably meant as amulets with a magic-religious value (Ridgway 1992: pp. 65–67; Buchner and Ridgway 1993: pp. 761–811).

The renowned burial offering of “Nestor’s cup” (Figure 5.9.2) comes from the outstanding Tomb 168, from one of the richest family clusters of the cemetery (Buchner and Ridgway 1993: pp. 212–223). This burial held a rich set of Greek and Greek-style vases, made up mostly of perfume containers



**Figure 5.9.2** North Ionian bird kotyle, the “Nestor’s cup.” Lacco Ameno (Ischia), Archaeological Museum of Ancient Pithekoussai, inventory no. 166788, from the cemetery of San Montano, Tomb 168, height 10.3 cm. Source: © Department of Antiquities, Metropolitan Area of Naples. Reproduced with permission of the Department of Antiquities, Metropolitan Area of Naples.

and of vases for the consumption of wine, together with two vases in hand-made ware and a silver fibula of the type worn by men. The symposium set includes also four kraters, one of them bearing an inscription painted before firing: “from god.” The deposition of these kraters among the burial offerings is exceptional for the necropolis of Pithekoussai, where this shape has been found, otherwise they were found only outside the tombs, acting probably as a grave-marker. The grave is a secondary cremation under a tumulus. The former identification of an adolescent burial is currently under revision by anthropologists.

The most significant vase of the tomb is “Nestor’s cup”: a “bird kotyle” probably imported from North Ionia, which has one of the earliest extensive Greek inscriptions (Buchner and Ridgway 1993: Tomb 168.9, 219, pp. 743–759, pls CXXVI–CXXVIII, 72–73; Bartoněk and Buchner 1995: pp. 146–154, fig. 1a). This is incised after firing. It is in verse and reflects aspects of Homeric poetry in the Euboean alphabet (and, therefore, by a Euboean). As in a sort of word-game, indulged in at a symposium, the inscription establishes an ironic juxtaposition between the clay cup itself, which stimulates the erotic pleasures of “beautiful-crowned” Aphrodite, and the Homeric “good-drinking” cup of Nestor, which was metallic and richly decorated (*Iliad* 11.624–644). Accordingly, this inscription has been taken to prove the circulation of Homeric epic, in oral or in written forms, at the time of the burial,

c. 720–710 BC. The sympotic pottery from the tomb further shows that this deceased belonged to a family group who held symposia as a way of aristocratic distinction, involving both the consumption of wine and the recital of epic verse (Wecowski 2014: pp. 127–141). Inscriptions like this provide evidence for the possible role of Euboean poets in the diffusion of the Homeric epic (Johnston and Andriomenou 1989; Cassio 1994; Bartoněk and Buchner 1995: pp. 190–192).

Images on LG ceramics from Pithekoussai show scenes, possibly inspired by the epics or representing everyday life: an imported amphora shows Ajax carrying over his shoulder the body of Achilles (an episode of the *Epic Cycle*), and a local krater depicts a shipwreck scene (Ridgway 1992: pp. 57–60, fig. 10; Buchner and Ridgway 1993: p. 695, pls 231, CCIV–V). Several LG local kraters from the acropolis and from the Mezzavia hill have a panel which represents the horse at the manger, thus recalling the symbols employed by the Euboean leaders in their motherland, the *hippeis* of Eretria and the *hippobotai* of Chalcis (Ridgway 1992: pp. 88, 97–98, fig. 27; d'Agostino and Giglio 2012: pp. 332–341; Simon and Verdan 2014).

Transport amphorae were reused for infant *enchytrismois*. Such vessels were imported from Phoenicia and different parts of Greece, while a good number of local vases were also used for this practice. Morphologically, Pithekoussan amphorae belong to the group of eastern-style amphorae seen in the central Mediterranean, whose production started under Phoenician influence (in Sardinia, not later than the first half of the 8th century). They were associated with the production and export of local wines. In Pithekoussai, local amphorae of the earliest type (type A), documented from the LG I period onwards, were exported to Sicily, Etruria, and Carthage, but in relatively low numbers. These vessels suggest that an available surplus of a good local wine was exported to the Greek, Phoenician, and Etruscan markets down to the second half of the 7th century, when type B amphorae replaced type A. The distribution, however, of the latter was limited to Campania. It is, perhaps, this wine production and its export which Strabo is referring to when he mentions the fertility of the island (Sourisseau 2011: pp. 149–173; Mele 2014: pp. 8–39).

The presence in female tombs of fibulae and ornaments of local/Campanian and of other Italian types reflects the adoption of the indigenous and Italian dresses by the women living in Pithekoussai: this generalized phenomenon can be explained by assuming intermarriage between the incoming Euboean males with females of the local peoples, as well as with those from other areas of Italy (Coldstream 1993; Guzzo 2012). The inscription on a LG II *oinochoe* from Tomb 1148, which marks it as a possession of a girl with the Etruscan name of *Ame*, shows that these Italian females were integrated

and could also reach a distinguished social position, as indicated in this case by the use of writing (Bartoněk and Buchner 1995: pp. 163–164, fig. 20).

As for local/Italian males, probably at a lower social level, a case can be made for the individual buried in the so-called “carpenter’s tomb”: this LG II inhumation of an adult male (c. 21 years old) contained a rich set of iron tools, as well as two bronze fibulae, and some clay vessels. This funerary behavior addresses manual labor with respect, and recalls the customs of indigenous communities in southern Italy (Buchner and Ridgway 1993: Tombs 678, 657–660; Cerchiai 1999: pp. 658–670; d’Agostino 2010–2011: pp. 225–228).

The only evidence of the settlement on the acropolis is some LG I-II pottery and an unstratified dump on its eastern slopes (“scarico Gosetti”), containing Greek sherds from the end of Middle Geometric (MG) II, c. 770–750 BC (Ridgway 1992: pp. 86–88, fig. 21). The finds at Pastola, situated in the foothills of Mezzavia, combine two secondary cremation burials, several sherds of 770–700 BC, and a sacred deposit of around 610/580 BC, perhaps representing the cult of a goddess, possibly Hera, combined with a hero cult (d’Agostino 1994–1995).

The metallurgical quarter on the Mezzavia hill, operating from the third quarter of the 8th to the first quarter of the 7th century (Ridgway 1992: pp. 91–96), includes a house and three structures which were used as workshops for processing iron, bronze, and probably precious metals. A scrap of an iron fibula shows that fibulae of the Campanian/Italian types were fashioned here. A lead weight, closely matching the value of the Euboean-Attic stater, was probably used for dealing with precious metals and so it might recall Strabo’s gold workshops. Iron and copper were bought from Elba and Tuscany through Etruscan trade. Tin, as well as gold and silver, arrived from afar, in Euboean and/or Phoenician hands. In the foundations of one of these buildings, a local LG krater, depicting probably a siren, carried the painted signature of a potter (... *inos mepoiese*), which is until now the earliest known on Greek pottery (Bartoněk and Buchner 1995: p. 177, fig. 43a–b; d’Agostino 2010–2011: pp. 277–284, fig. 1). The archaeological picture of Pithekoussai shows the dynamic character of this Euboean society in the West, which was more or less open to non-Greeks, both Phoenicians and Italians (Cinquantaquattro 2012–2013). Craftsmen could achieve adequate levels of prosperity and be acknowledged for their skills, as the potter’s desire to sign his work demonstrates (d’Agostino 2010–2011: pp. 277–284).

A few sites scattered around Ischia show the occupation of the *chora*. On the headland of Punta Chiarito, on the southern coast, excavations brought to light a small cluster of oval houses erected in the third quarter of the 8th century and destroyed by volcanic activities at the beginning of the 7th. This

site was reoccupied from the end of the 7th century to c. 550 BC. A well-preserved house gives a clear and close picture of the life of a Greek family in the 6th century: male activities were farming, fishing, hunting, and home maintenance, as well as the symposium (De Caro and Gialanella 1998).

## Cumae

Cumae was founded north of the gulf of Naples, in the Phlegrean Fields, opposite Pithekoussai (Zevi et al. 2008; D'Acunto 2017). Like Pithekoussai, it is a sought-after location thanks to its strategic and naturally defended position: its acropolis (up to 80 m above the sea level) is a rocky spur, which in the past stuck out as a headland into the sea, and provided two natural landings: one on the beach along the southern side of the acropolis, the other one, much safer, inside a lagoon north of the hill (Figure 5.9.3). The Greek colony was established by Chalcis in Euboea and the homonymous Kyme: it was considered as the earliest such colony in Italy and Sicily (Strabo 5.4.4). The second group of colonists probably came from the Aeolian Kyme in Asia Minor rather than from the obscure Kyme in Euboea (as is stated by Pseudo-Scymnus, *Periplus* or *Periegesis* 236–240; cf. Mele 2009; Ragone 2009). The *oikistai* were Hippokles from Kyme and Megasthenes from Chalcis. However, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Roman Antiquities*, 7.3.1), both Chalcidians and Eretrians founded Campanian Cumae. Other sources (Livy, *History of Rome*, 8.22, 5–6; Phlegon from Tralles, *FGrHist* II 257 F 36 x) report that Pithekoussai was involved too. Therefore, the Chalcidians and Eretrians mentioned as the founders of Cumae might be, at least in part, those already living in Pithekoussai with the possible addition of other groups coming from Euboea. According to the oracle reported by Phlegon from Tralles (*FGrHist* II 257 F 36 x), the foundation took place in two sequential phases, the difference in whose character exemplifies the dissimilar approaches the Greeks had toward the indigenous groups: the first turned on a trick (*dolos*), the second involved violence (*bia*).

From the archaeological point of view, a foundation date for Cumae around the middle of the 8th century is suggested by a good deal of pottery fragments found in the more recent excavations: they go back to as early as the end of MG II and LG I (Cuozzo, d'Agostino, and Del Verme 2006: pp. 20–28; D'Acunto and d'Agostino 2009: pp. 494–520; d'Agostino 2010–2011: pp. 223–230; D'Acunto, Giglio, and Iavarone forthcoming). The pottery from the LG levels of Cumae closely matches that from Pithekoussai both in the imports and in the local productions, mostly Euboean and Corinthian related (so-called Pithekoussan-Cumaeian products:



Figure 5.9.3 Topographical plan of Cumae. Source: Courtesy of the author (University of Naples L'Orientale).

Cuozzo, d'Agostino, and Del Verme 2006: pp. 20–33; Mermati 2012). In the light of recent archaeological researches, Pithekoussai and Cumae appear more closely linked than ever. The foundation of Pithekoussai has to be slightly earlier than that of Cumae, but it is the latter that is better considered as the earliest Greek colony in the West, as Pithekoussai probably was not a proper *apoikia* (d'Agostino 1994).

The act of violence implied by the *ktisis* of Cumae, as stated by Phlegon's oracle, is clear in the archaeological record: the acropolis, previously occupied by the indigenous village, became the seat of the Greek gods; the plain, where the EIA indigenous cemeteries had spread, was taken over by the urban areas. The first monumental phase of the *agora*, occupying much the same area as the later Roman Forum, dates as early as the last decades of the 6th century (Greco 2009). LG II–AR houses were uncovered on the southern side of the Forum and in the quarter south of the northern walls. The system of streets (*plateia* and *stenopoi*) in this quarter shows that different orientations existed within it: this town planning goes back to the early 7th century. Close to the northern limit of the city lies a metal workshop of iron and bronze, which dates from the LG to the late 6th centuries: it was probably part of a larger quarter. It demonstrates an interest and specialization in the same metals as does Pithekoussai, but was in operation for a longer period (D'Acunto, Giglio, and Iavarone forthcoming). The defensive walls, delineating the city limits, show several phases of rebuilding, the earliest one taking place at c. 600 BC (d'Agostino and Giglio 2012). The fill in the northern walls that were rebuilt during the tyranny of Aristodemos (c. 504–485 BC) included pottery fragments of the end of MG II and of LG I, as well as scarabs and burned bones, probably debris from destroyed tombs of the earliest colonists (Cuozzo, d'Agostino, and Del Verme 2006: pp. 20–28; d'Agostino 2010–2011: pp. 223–230).

The necropolis of the Greek period is located north of the city. A restricted group of six tombs of the colony's elite date to around the end of the 8th century (Gabrici 1913: tombs 1, 2, 11, 43, 56, 59; Cerchiai 1995: pp. 74–77; Zevi et al. 2008: pp. 183–189). In these six tombs, the ashes of the dead, collected from the pyre, were wrapped in a linen cloth and placed in a bronze cauldron or in a silver vase, which was then placed in a bronze cauldron. This cauldron was then inserted into a block hollowed out to take the vase, and a stone covered the whole grave. The burial goods did not include pottery, but silver and electrum fibulae, silver vases, and other silver or golden ornaments were all buried in the cinerary urn. Tomb 1 Fondo Maiorano alone differs, in that three spearheads were buried outside the tomb. These six tombs recall both the Homeric heroes' funerals (*Iliad* 23–24) and the burial customs of Euboean *hippeis* and *hippobotai* in their motherland, as they have close parallels with those buried in West Gate

necropolis in Eretria. Three of these tombs were equipped with a shield of the Etruscan type, used as the lid of the cauldron: their presence shows that the colonists had interactions with the Italian elites.

Another elite tomb (104 Fondo Artiaco) displays yet stronger elements of influence from the ideology of the Italian chieftains (d'Agostino 1977: pp. 51–61; Cerchiai 1995: pp. 77–81). This tomb was divided into two main spaces: the outer enclosure (a sort of “*temenos*”) and the inner stone receptacle, which was made of stone slabs (a sort of “*thalamos*”). The offerings, which were buried in the “*temenos*,” reveal the relationship between the dead man and his social group and the gods; they stress the ritualized consumption of meat and wine, make reference to his role as a warrior, and his possession of horses. The “*temenos*” included an amazing set of objects: among them two bronze cauldrons, iron spits, horse bits, knives and weapons together with an Attic SOS amphora. On the other hand, the “*thalamos*” contained his exclusive personal objects, his *keimelia*. There were two bronze cauldrons, one inside the other. A bronze shield of the Etruscan type covered the exterior cauldron. The cauldron found inside it, was covered by a purple linen cloth and held a silver hemispherical urn containing the ashes of the dead. A rich assemblage of jewels and a set of silver vases were also recovered – some found in the silver urn with the ashes, but most outside the exterior cauldron: they include silver or electrum fibulae of Etruscan types, decorated in filigree and granulation techniques, silver or electrum local fibulae, a gold band with embossed decoration and gold pendants. A set of silver vases for the consumption of wine, some perhaps imported from the Near East, was also offered: a palmette oinochoe, a kotyle, a *Zungenphiale*, and two other phialai (bowls). In this tomb, the burial ritual of the secondary cremation in the cauldron is the only aspect that refers to the Euboean burial customs. Otherwise, the burial offerings reveal different models that could be associated with the “princes” of both the Near East and the Italian communities.

The seven graves described above stand out from the other LG II–Archaic (AR) tombs of the northern cemetery, both in their burial ritual and for their offerings (Gabrici 1913; Zevi et al. 2008: pp. 183–246; Rescigno and Valenza Mele 2010). Some of the latter were secondary cremations where burned bones were buried in a coffin; others were secondary cremations where ashes and offerings were put directly on the ground and probably covered by a tumulus, thus recalling the burial ritual in Pithekoussai. Most of the tombs though were inhumations in a pit, lined by stone slabs. They contained mainly personal ornaments, as well as PC, Corinthian, and Pithekoussan-Cumaeian vases. Among the objects from the necropolis, several items are prominent: a Cycladic-related oinochoe (c. 680–660 BC), a bronze-cast protome of a griffin from a cauldron (Gabrici 1913: pls 32–33, 76; Zevi et al. 2008:

pp. 224–225, 239) together with many *orientalia*, such as faience scarabs and vases of Phoenician or Egyptian production. The handmade “impasto” vases and spindle whorls, which were found in few tombs, suggest the relationships that were established by the Greek colonists with the Italian communities and the incorporation into the Greek colony of indigenous individuals, mostly females through mixed marriages. An inscription “of Tataie” is written on a PC aryballos from the necropolis: this woman’s name is not Greek; it shows the presence of an Italian girl in the Greek colony (Jeffery 1990: pp. 238–240, no. 3, pls 47; Bartoněk and Buchner 1995: pp. 199–200, fig. C1).

An interconnected set of sanctuaries was established by the colonists at crucial points, to demarcate the conquered territory. On the acropolis two main sanctuaries existed in Greek and Roman times: according to a recent hypothesis, supported by the new excavations, the sanctuary on the top of the hill, conventionally called the “temple of Jupiter,” was actually dedicated to Apollo; the other one, on a lower terrace overlooking the city (formerly identified with Apollo’s sanctuary), could have been dedicated to Zeus (Rescigno 2012). Velleius Paterculus (*Compendium of Roman History* 1.4.1) reports a tradition that the establishment of Apollo’s cult took place at the foundation of the colony (cf. the cult of Apollo Archegetes, in Naxos of Sicily: Thucydides 6.3.1). Further claims suggest that he was the Delian Apollo rather than the Delphic one (Breglia 2009: pp. 238–248; Mele 2009: pp. 89–94). Apollo in Cumae had an oracular character through the prophecies that he inspired in the Sibyl, whose existence is reported from the time of Tarquinius Priscus or Tarquinius Superbus in the 6th century (Parke 1988: pp. 71–99). In the area of the Archaic (AR) “temple of Jupiter” portable finds, such as bronze statuettes, indicate that the establishment of the sanctuary goes back as early as the first phase of the colony.

In the sanctuary on the lower terrace of the acropolis, the existence of two early sacred buildings is suggested by the recovery of fragments of architectural terracottas of two distinct roofs, dating from the end of the 7th and early 6th centuries. There are also finds dating from the beginning of the Greek colony (Zevi et al. 2008: pp. 170–171). During the earlier excavations indigenous “impasto” pottery of domestic character, dating to the RBA/FBA and EIA, was found in the fill of a terrace wall built c. 500 BC. Even though these finds had been incorporated into a later context, they nonetheless suggest that the pre-Hellenic village occupied this terrace (together with the top of the acropolis) before the arrival of the Greeks, who then established one of their main sanctuaries there (Jannelli 1999). It has been recently suggested that the cult of this sanctuary was addressed to Zeus of the thunderbolt (Keraunios) (Rescigno 2012: pp. 13–34), who had a decisive role in the Phlegrean gigantomachy (e.g. Timaeus, *FGrHist* 566 F 89). Through this

mythical tale in its local setting, the Greek colonists symbolically expressed their superiority over the Italian people (Mele 2014: pp. 116–123; D’Acunto 2015: pp. 184–193).

The cult of Hera was also traditionally associated with the foundation of the colony (Phlegon from Tralles, *FGrHist* II 257 F 36 x). Her sanctuary probably occupied the southern spur of the acropolis ridge, overlooking the plain to the south and the islands of the bay (Zevi et al. 2008: pp. 180–182). It was a perfect location for the goddess Hera, who was linked to the Euboean colonization: she was the “protector” for those sailing on the seas and for the relationships between the colonists and the “others” (Breglia 2009: pp. 238–239, 256–262). Hera’s cult in Cumae seems also to be linked with an oracle, as a small, inscribed bronze disk, probably a *sors*, from Carafa D’Andria’s private collection (Guarducci 1967: pp. 229–230).

The power and wealth of Cumae were mainly founded on agriculture as well as on its maritime enterprises, both commercial and piratical. Indeed, according to Thucydides (6.4.5), pirates from Chalcidian Cumae were the founders in Sicily of the first Zanklae, which controlled the Messina strait. Soon after its foundation Cumae established control of the sea in the Bay of Naples. During the 7th–6th centuries, Pithekoussai was under the direct control of Cumae, which also established other strongholds in the bay: on the Misenum Cape, on the hill of Rione Terra in Pozzuoli and in Naples, where the settlement of Parthenope (later Palaepolis) was established on the hill of Pizzofalcone (Frederiksen 1984: pp. 85–116; d’Agostino and Giampaola 2005; Mele 2014: pp. 141–171). Our knowledge of Parthenope is based on earlier excavations at the necropolis of Pizzofalcone, on a dump at Chiattamone, which goes back to the 7th century, and on recent excavations of a deposit in Santa Maria degli Angeli. LG pottery from the last context suggests that this settlement was established a few decades after the foundation of Cumae. Parthenope, a local siren, is associated with the islet of Megaris opposite Pizzofalcone (other sirens dwelt on the islets close to the Athenaion cape at the Punta della Campanella, at the tip of the Sorrentine peninsula): they recall the traditions of Odysseus’ travels (*Odyssey* 12.39–54, 12.153–200). In the topography of the Greek colonies, these hybrid mythical figures were placed on capes or islands, landmarks in colonial territories and sea routes (Lane Fox 2008: pp. 175–185; Mele 2014: pp. 151–160).

## The Campanian Communities and the Greek Foundations

The foundation of Pithekoussai and Cumae had a strong impact on the economic, commercial, and ideological system of the emerging proto-Etruscan

and Fossa Tomb culture settlements in EIA Campania (Cerchiai 1995: pp. 69–98; Rafanelli 2013; Osanna and Verger 2018). In the third quarter of the 8th century, two graves near Pontecagnano (Monte Vetrano) may illustrate the complex system of contacts, involving the local community. Tomb 74 held a Nuragic ship imported from Sardinia, a situla of the *Kurd* type possibly imported from Vetulonia, a great bronze cauldron holding a jar of local type but bearing a typical Euboean-related decoration, as well as a beautiful bronze bull-bowl imported from North Syria (Cerchiai et al. 2012–2013: pp. 91–95, fig. 4.6; Rafanelli 2013: pp. 28, 118–133). Tomb 111 was a female secondary cremation in a cauldron, with several burial offerings, among them two bronze fibulae of 750–725 BC and a skyphos with floating chevrons, perhaps a “local” product. The burial ritual and the cauldron, matching the example from Tomb 10 of the West Gate in Eretria, makes this tomb the earliest in Italy to show a burial rite of Homeric/Euboean type (Cerchiai et al. 2012–2013: pp. 76–91, fig. 2.3).

The beginning of the Orientalizing period (725–580 BC) marks a clear change in the material culture of Campanian communities. The Campanian settlements on their fertile plains probably traded their rich agricultural productions with the Greek communities, and increasingly imported luxury objects and sophisticated manufacturing techniques from Greece and Near East. These exchanges are illustrated by the presence of several vases, produced in Pithekoussai or in Cumae, in the tombs of the San Marzano valley (Cerchiai 1995: pp. 97–98, tav. XIII.2; Rafanelli 2013: pp. 31–33, 79). Corinthian products, alongside imitations made in Pithekoussai and Cumae, dominate the record of Greek pottery. As shown mostly in Pontecagnano, the emergence of individuals of “princely” status paved the way for the creation of a hybrid culture, combining Near Eastern and Greek models with Campanian/Etruscan ones. This phenomenon may be exemplified by the “princely” tombs 926 and 928 of Pontecagnano (675–650 BC), whose burial ritual recalls both the Homeric funerary models and the Euboean customs (probably introduced via Cumae): the ashes of the cremated body were wrapped in precious textiles and buried in one or more bronze containers. The tomb is divided into a “*thalamos*” and a “*temenos*,” just like examples from Cumae and Etruria. The first part held the cauldron and the basins containing the ashes as well as the personal luxury objects of the “prince” (in Tomb 928 there was also a gold and silver set for the consumption of wine, imported from the Near East). The objects buried in the “*temenos*” proclaim his status, his relationships with the community, and the gods: the weapons, the *keimelia* (cauldrons, basins, tripods, etc.) and the tools for conducting the sacrifice and tending the hearth (axes, knives, firedogs, pliers), thus pointing out the role of the *oikos*. Objects related to horses and the chariot

(in Tomb 928) stand as *status symbols* (d'Agostino 1977; Cerchiai 1995: pp. 87–89, pls XI; Rafanelli 2013: pp. 40–43).

## Conclusions

Broadly speaking, the Mycenaean and Greek experiences in the Bay of Naples are characterized by complex processes of interactions with the Italian communities, which were often equal, not subordinate, partners: they exchanged goods (such as metals and agricultural resources), ideological aspects (as the symposium) and technologies (e.g. in metallurgical and ceramic activities). The archaeological records of Pithekoussai and Cumae suggest that Greek communities were enriched not only by the close relationships and influences of the Italian communities, but also by the incorporation of Italian individuals, mostly females, who could occupy comparatively, distinguished social positions within the Greek communities.

The Euboean communities of Cumae and Pithekoussai passed on a fundamental heritage to the Italian peoples: the alphabet. With its more than 40 inscriptions – most of them going back as early as the second half of the 8th to the beginning of the 7th century, Pithekoussai appears to be one of the most productive sites in early Greece for literacy (Bartoněk and Buchner 1995). The earliest inscriptions from Cumae are nearly as early (Zevi et al. 2008: pp. 120–129; Lazzarini 2009). These communities adopted the “Western” or “red” alphabet of their motherland Euboea (Guarducci 1967: pp. 215–235; Jeffery 1990: pp. 235–248). The existence of numerous early inscriptions at Pithekoussai and Cumae, together with the rich *corpus* from Eretria and from other Euboean sites and colonies, suggest that the Euboeans had a basic role in the diffusion and, possibly, also in the birth of the Greek alphabet. The importance of Cumae and its close relationships with the communities of Campania as well as with those of Southern Etruria and Latium made feasible the early development of both the Etruscan and the Latin alphabets (Zevi et al. 2008: pp. 120–129; Lazzarini 2009).

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