

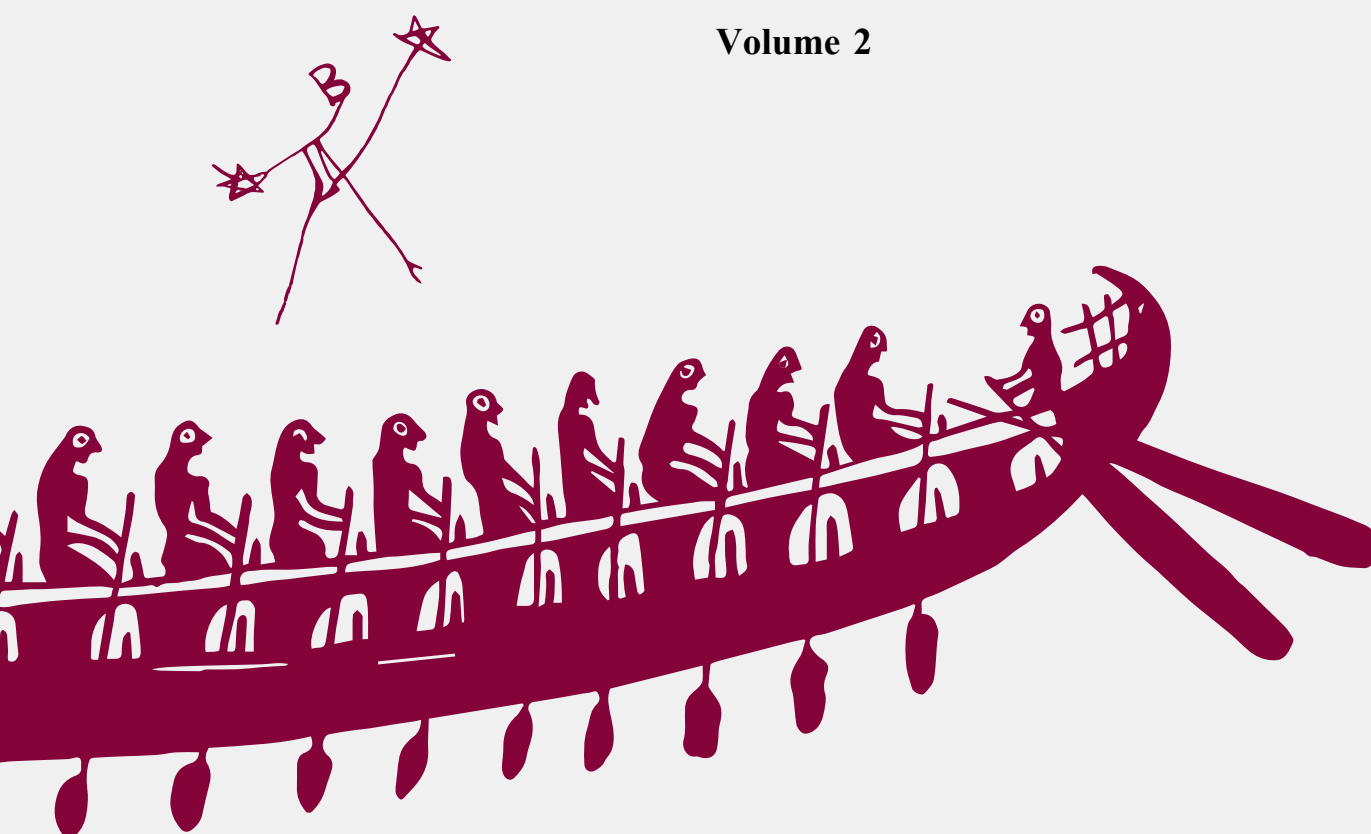
EUBOICA II

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

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DI ARCHEOLOGIA
E STORIA ANTICA

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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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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 'Ρήγιον Χαλκιδέων, οὓς κατὰ χρησμόν δεκατευθέντας τῷ 'Απόλλωνι δι' ἀφορίαν ὕστερον ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀποικῆσαι δεῦρὸ φασι παραλαβόντας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν οἰκοθεν· ὥς δ' 'Αντίοχος φησι, Ζαγκλαῖοι μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς Χαλκιδέας, καὶ οἰκιστὴν 'Αντίμνηστον 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 Cumaean 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 Cumaeans, 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.

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.

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).

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 Magnesium. 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 Eumelidai: 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 *phratros* 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 Ἀόρνου 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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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-

Finito di stampare nel mese di marzo 2024
presso l'Industria Grafica Letizia, Capaccio (SA)
per conto di UniorPress

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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.

