

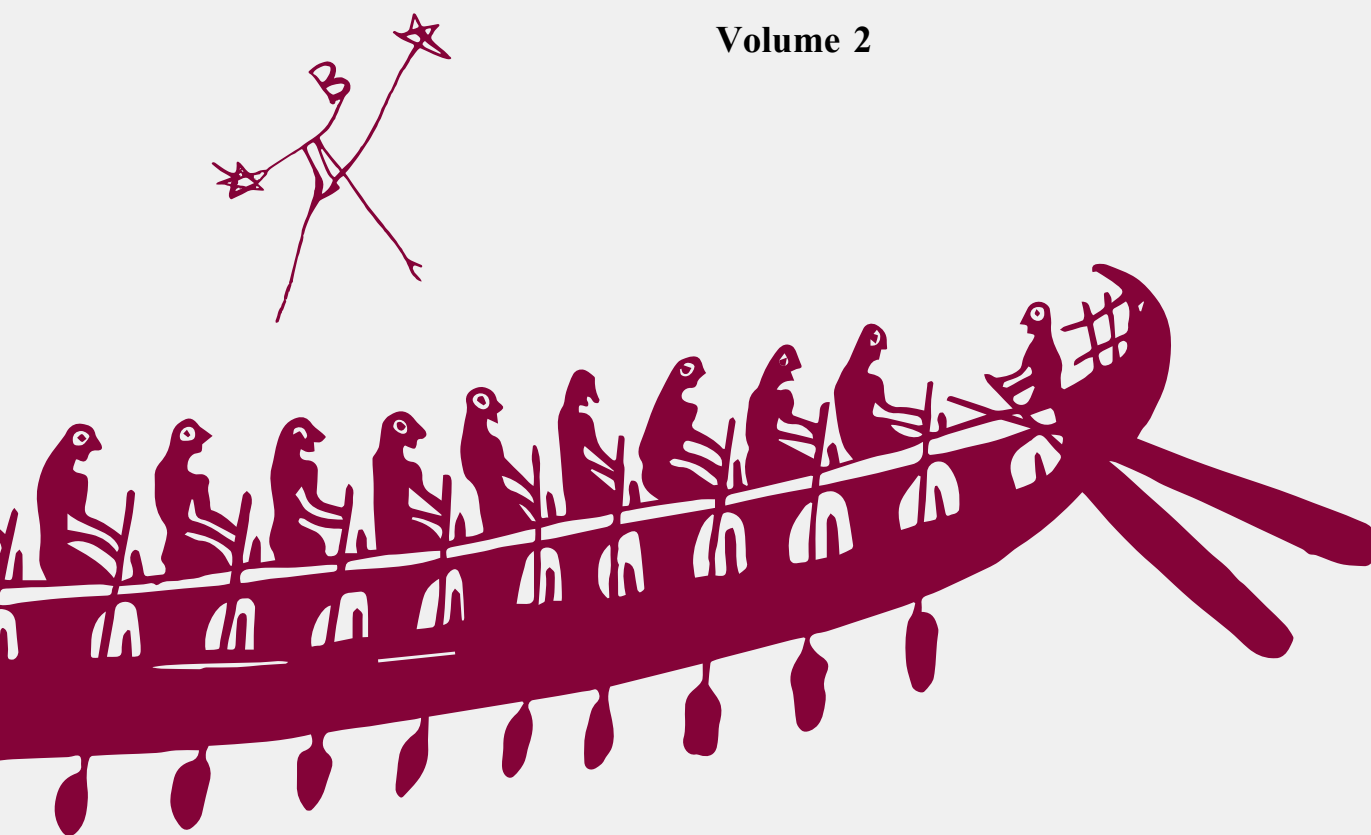
EUBOICA II

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



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DIPARTIMENTO DI ASIA AFRICA E MEDITERRANEO



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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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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

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.

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

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)

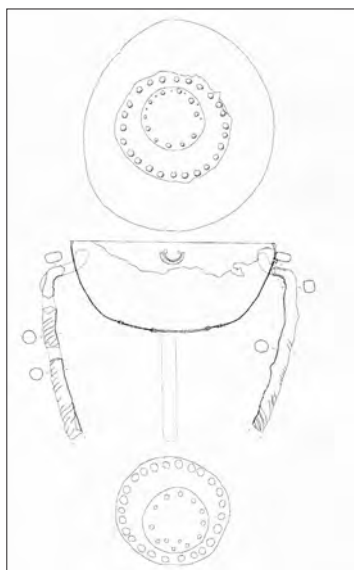


Fig. 3. Cumae, tomb 4 Osta: bronze tripod-lebes (after CRISCUOLO 2011)



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 *klpn* 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 (tomb 168, 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.

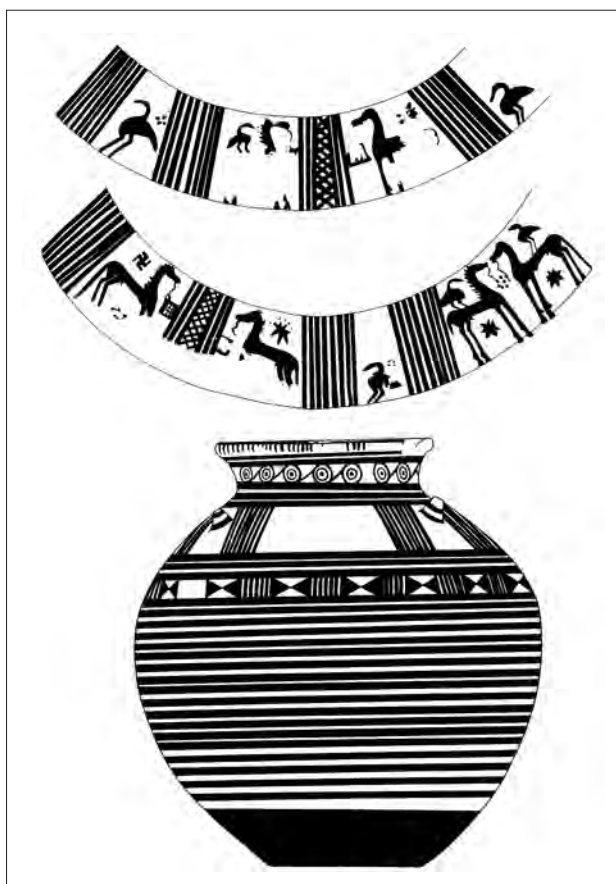


Fig. 9. Pontecagnano, tomb 3892: italo-geometric olla (after BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 1999)

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)

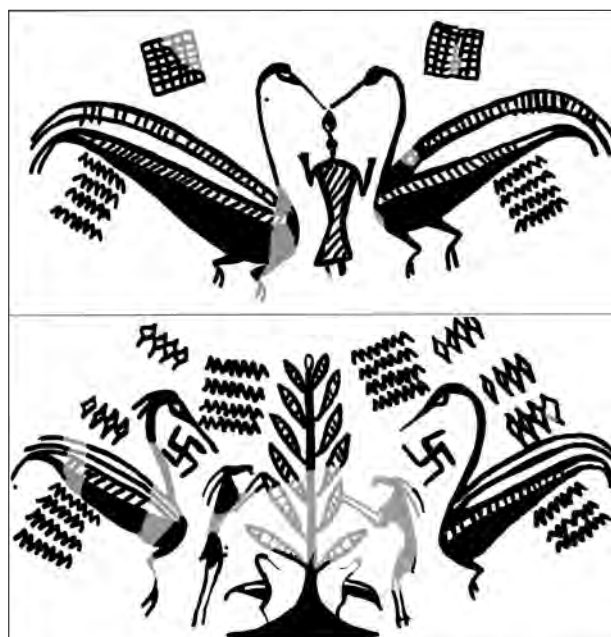


Fig. 11. S. Marzano sul Sarno, tomb 928: italo-geometric olla, figured scenes (after GRECO – MERMATI 2006)

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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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-

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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.

