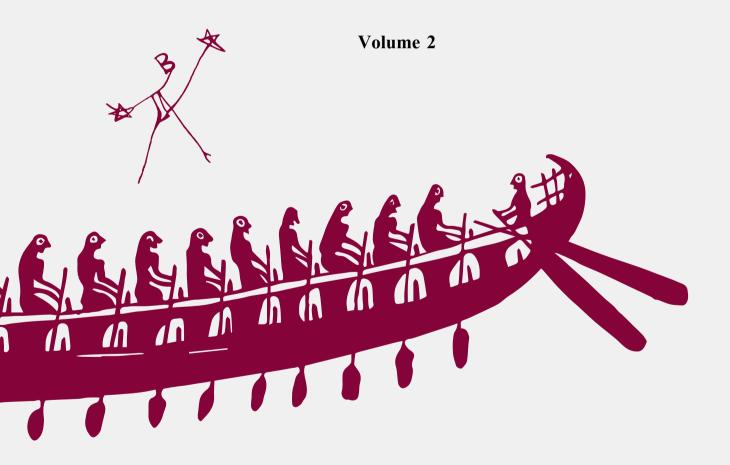
# **EUBOICA II**

# 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



Napoli 2021

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





### ANNALI DI ARCHEOLOGIA E STORIA ANTICA

Nuova Serie 28



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Volume 2



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, trovato nell'area di S. Restituta a Pithekoussai, Ischia (rielaborazione grafica M. Cibelli)

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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*.

#### CONTENTS

TERESA E. CINQUANTAQUATTRO, MATTEO D'ACUNTO, Preface to Volume II	p.	ix
Colonial Memories and Models		
MAURIZIO GIANGIULIO, Euboean Colonial Memories. Mediterranean Mobility, Literary Traditions and Social Memory	»	19
LUCA CERCHIAI, Interpretative Models of Euboean Colonization and Impacts on the Indigenous World	»	29
Pithekoussai		
TERESA E. CINQUANTAQUATTRO, Pithekoussai, Necropolis of San Montano (Excavations 1965-1967). Stratigraphy, Funerary Representation and Intercultural Dynamics	»	49
MELANIA GIGANTE, ALESSANDRA SPERDUTI, IVANA FIORE, FRANCESCA ALHAIQUE, LUCA BONDIOLI, Euboean, Eastern and Indigenous People: A Bioarchaeologi- cal Investigation of Ancient Pithekoussai (8 <sup>th</sup> -7 <sup>th</sup> Century BC, Ischia Island, Campania)	»	87
VALENTINO NIZZO, Ritual Landscapes and Ritual Codes in the Pithekoussai Cemetery	>>	107
Costanza Gialanella, Pier Giovanni Guzzo, The Manufacturing District in Mazzola and its Metal Production	»	125
LUCIA A. SCATOZZA HÖRICHT, Pithecusan Gold: Anatolian Connections	»	147
GLORIA OLCESE (with a contribution by GILBERTO ARTIOLI), Natural Resources and Raw Materials at Ischia in Antiquity: Some Data and Preliminary Reports from an Ongoing, Interdisciplinary Project	»	161
Nadin Burkhardt, Stephan Faust, First Results of the Excavations at Pithe- koussai from 2016-2018 (Villa Arbusto, Lacco Ameno, Ischia)	»	183
MARIASSUNTA CUOZZO, Pithekoussai. Pottery from the Mazzola Area	»	201
FRANCESCA MERMATI, Parerga and Paralipomena to the Study of Pithecusan-Cumaean Ceramic Production in the Light of New Research. Twenty Years after Euboica	»	221
TERESA E. CINQUANTAQUATTRO, BRUNO D'AGOSTINO, The Context of "Nestor's Cup": New Considerations in the Light of Recent Anthropological Studies	»	267
MAREK WĘCOWSKI, The "Cup of Nestor" in Context. The Rise of the Greek Aris- tocratic Culture	»	275

#### **Cumae and Parthenope**

ALFONSO MELE, Kyme, Apollo and the Sybil	>>	281
MATTEO D'ACUNTO, MARIANGELA BARBATO, MARTINA D'ONOFRIO, MARCO GIGLIO, CHIARA IMPROTA, CRISTIANA MERLUZZO, FRANCESCO NITTI, FRANCESCA SOMMA, Cumae in Opicia in the Light of the Recent Archaeological Excavations by the University of Napoli L'Orientale: from the Pre-Hellenic (LBA-EIA) to the earli- est phase of the apoikia (LG I)	»	305
Albio Cesare Cassio, Earlier and Earlier: The Rise of the Greek Alphabet and a Greek Letter on an Euboean Skyphos Found in Pre-Hellenic Cumae, ca. 760-750 BC	»	451
MASSIMO BOTTO, Phoenician Trade in the Lower Tyrrhenian Sea between the $9^{th}$ and $8^{th}$ Centuries BC: the Case of Cumae	»»	461
GIOVANNA GRECO, Structures and Materials of Archaic Cumae: Research of the Federico II University in the Area of the Forum	»	501
DANIELA GIAMPAOLA, New Discoveries from Parthenope (Naples)	*	523
Magna Graecia and Siciliy		
JAN KINDBERG JACOBSEN, GLORIA MITTICA, Oinotrian-Euboean Pottery from Tim- pone della Motta – Francavilla Marittima (CS)	»	563
Maria Costanza Lentini, <i>Naxos between the Eighth and Seventh Centuries BC</i> Revisited	»	575
GIOVANNA MARIA BACCI, Zancle: Latest Findings on the Urban Settlement and Sanctuaries	»	589
Conclusions		
CATHERINE MORGAN, Conclusions. From Euboica to Euboica II: Changes in Knowledge and Scholarly Approaches	»	605
Abstracts	»>	617

#### PITHECUSAN GOLD: ANATOLIAN CONNECTIONS

Lucia A. Scatozza Höricht

The absence of gold ornaments in Pithecusa, both among the finds in the metallurgical district of Mazzola<sup>1</sup> and in the necropolis from which up to now only objects of gilded silver are known, moreover of a modest level of quality, if compared with those of the necropolis of Kyme in Phlegraean fields<sup>2</sup>, re-launches the discussion on the meaning attributed to the term *chryseia* or *chrysia* of the well-known passage of the Greek source<sup>3</sup>.

The word "chryseia" seems to refer to the acquisition of the precious metal and to the role of intermediaries played by the Euboean, especially by the Eretrians of Pithecusa. Even the discovery of the well-known goldsmith's weight, weighing the equivalent of a Euboic stater (gr. 8.79) in the pre-monetal age in the metallurgical workshop of Mazzola, rather than the productive work<sup>4</sup>, which mainly concerned bronze objects, suggests the presence of traders who sold valuable imported raw materials (Fig. 1). Up to now, none of the various types of punches has been found in Pithecusa, known instead from other locations in the Mediterranean, especially the eastern one5: although none of the goldsmith's tools has yet been found, the existence of metallurgical activities on the island is well-attested.

<sup>5</sup> Treister 2001, 17-19.



Fig. 1. Goldsmith's Weight from the metallurgical workshop of Mazzola, inv. 238630 (photo E. Formigli)

In the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, which coincides with the beginning of the Greek colonization in the West, new types of ornaments and especially techniques, some of them specific to goldsmithing - as granulation, colloidal hard soldering, gilding - are progressively introduced in Italy and testify to the birth of a distinct craftsmanship: the oldest gold finds and goldsmith's activities in Southern Italy are attested in Euboean settlements. In the first last quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, the newly founded colony of Kyme on the bay of Naples seems to arise as the production center of the first ornaments of Early Orientalizing Style (Fig. 2). The grave goods of Cumaean necropolis suggest the existence of an elite, who had in their service luxury craftsmen and from this craftsmanship developed ateliers of local goldsmiths<sup>6</sup>. Kyme and not Pithecusa

 $<sup>^1\ {\</sup>rm KLEIN}$  1972. Cf. the contribution by P. Guzzo and C. Gialanella in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Buchner – Ridgway 1993, 305, nos. 4, 5, 6, pl. 96; 637, no. 14, pl.184; 646, no. 19, pl.75; Formigli – Scatozza 2010, 15-17, 75-83; Guzzo 1993, 316; 2014a, 93-96; 2016, 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> STRABO V, 4, 9. This consideration makes the supposed presence of epithermal gold on the island of little significance: cf. OLCESE 2017, 32-37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> BUCHNER 1975, 80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Guzzo 1993, 304-311; 2004, 97-100; 2014a, 96-99; Formi-GLI – Scatozza Höricht 2010, 17-18, 33-74.

- where we note an almost absolute lack of personal ornaments in gold in burials and those in electro are very rare – is the perfect place for the development of luxury craftsmanship. The sudden change is inconceivable without trans-Aegean connections: in the past, it has been assumed that foreign merchants of Aegean origin brought in the raw material and the necessary expertise.

The search for metals has been one of the major factors of mobility and raises the question of the role of Pithecusa in the circulation of gold, above all as a medium of exchange, whose processing is widely attested in the Geometric Euboean environment. Recently S. Verdan focused on the production and circulation of gold as a row metal reconstructing its use as a form of money in the context of the Euboean trade networks, by underlying the evidence of the Late Geometric gold hoard from Eretria and by going back to its sources around the Thermaic gulf <sup>7</sup>.

If we are asking what has fed the network of Euboean gold in which Pithecusa could have been involved, we couldn't ignore the connections between the Euboeans and the Eastern Aegean. The discovery of a large amount of Euboean PG and LG pottery revealed trans-Aegean contacts among Euboea, Northern Ionia and Aiolis on the western coasts of Anatolia.

What emerges in Pithecusa can be correlated to recent archaeological research, from which greater interconnections between Euboea and the central-western coasts of Anatolia have been highlighted than it had previously appeared, probably due to the role played by Euboeans in the acquisition of the precious metal: the finds of Protogeometric and Geometric Euboean pottery in the eastern Aegean are concentrated in the North/Ionian - South/Aeolian area<sup>8</sup>, close to the Phrygia and Lydia, both regions rich in gold.

The Phrygian kingdom, whose importance in the field of metals is well known, reached the peak of its flourishing under King Midas in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC (738-676 BC): according to ancient sources, he had good relations with the Greek environment and



Fig. 2. Gold necklace, from Kyme in Southern Italy. Naples, Archaeological Museum, inv. 126418 (photo E. Formigli)

gave his throne in Delphi<sup>9</sup>. Generally, the beginnings of a Western policy of the Anatolian kingdoms are traced back to Midas<sup>10</sup>. An indicator of the Aegean area affected by Greek-Phrygian relations is the provenance of a few fragments of Greek pottery found in Phrygian Tumuli from the early 7<sup>th</sup> century BC: Corinth, the Eastern Aegean and Euboea<sup>11</sup>.

As neighbours, Lydia and East Greece always had economic and cultural exchange: Lydians were famous as merchants<sup>12</sup>. The fertile Hermus valley was an ideal route, thus is not surprising that the Lydians had economic and cultural contacts with their Greek neighbours, as indicated by archaeological finds from Sardis. A slow increase of imports at Sardis is noticeable from the second half of the 8th century BC onwards. However, the peak was reached in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century BC and the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC under the reign of Alyattes and Kroisos. As stressed by Kerschner, the area of regular economic and cultural contact between Lydians and East Greeks «can define as a narrow belt reaching from Ephesos in the south of the gulf of Pitane in the North, comprising the harbour cities that are situated closest to Sardis (Ephesos, Smyrna and Southern Aiolis, and presu-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> LE RIDER – VERDAN 2002, 193-152; VERDAN 2004, 309-334. See also the contribution by S. Verdan in the first volume of the conference Proceedings.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> IREN 2008, 35, fig. 2; KERSCHNER 2014, 112-114, 119-122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Hdt. I, 14, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Scatozza Höricht 2014a, 176.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Kerschner 2005, 122-123.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Hdt. I, 94, 1.

mably also Kyme)»<sup>13</sup>. Beyond this zone, Lydian and Lydianizing pottery is rare in Greek cities. Among the cities of the North-Ionian and Aeolian areas with the greatest number of imports from Euboea, Smyrna shows the greatest relations with Lydia.

In refining and working gold, Lydians craftsmen were leaders, as testified by the magnificent gold and silver jewellery deposit (Fig. 3) as grave good in the Güre Tumuli (so-called "Lydian Treasure", or Kroisos's, 547/6 BC hoard)<sup>14</sup> and by the famous of king Croesus refinery at Sardis<sup>15</sup>, which gave an insight into one of the most important metallurgical processes of antiquity and one of that was vital for the development of moneyed economies. The source of the gold is believed to have been principally from the river Pactolus, a tributary of the Hermos, that flowed through the ancient city<sup>16</sup>. The gold-bearing river Pactolus transferred the gold and silver flakes of Mount Tmolus (modern Boz Dağ), rich in metal deposits, downstream: it was one of the main gold veins controlled by the Lydians and an essential prerequisite for the traditional wealth of the Anatolian kings one after another in the area, first Phrygians and then Lydians, from the mythical Midas to the historic Gyges.

It has been generally accepted that the concept of coinage as a means of exchange was first introduced in the West by the Lydians sometime in the late 7<sup>th</sup> - early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC<sup>17</sup>. It was assumed that the invention of coinage in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC and the use of electrum for the earliest coins may have stimulated efforts to manipulate the natural alloy by increasing its silver content and separating gold and silver: recovering gold and silver from electrum would have been accomplished at Sardis during the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, in simple installations located outside the city walls and close to Pactolus stream<sup>18</sup>.

Fig. 3. Gold applique for garments, from Toptepe tumulus. Uşak, Archaeological Museum, inv.1.92.96 (photo Museum)

In recent research, several interconnections have been highlighted between Euboea and Anatolian western coasts. The discovery of a large amount of Euboean PG and LG pottery revealed trans-Aegean contacts among Euboea, Ionia and Aeolis. Particularly, in the LG Period, it seems that there were some connections among the inhabitants of the Southern Aeolis, Northern Ionians and the Euboeans (Fig. 4)<sup>19</sup>.

In this area, and mainly at Kyme in Southern Aeolis (Fig. 5), several findings of Euboean pottery are concentrated. According to literary sources, the city was founded in 1050 BC<sup>20</sup>, a period corresponding to the Protogeometric period (PG). The Aeolian city grants the territory for the foundation of Phocaea<sup>21</sup> and is the motherland of Smyrna<sup>22</sup>.

The site of Kyme was the greatest harbour in the Eastern Aegean: the site was located by the mouth of Hermos River, connecting Southern Aiolis and Northern Ionia with the hinterland, including the lands of Phrygian and Lydian kingdoms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Kerschner 2010, 247-266, fig.3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Özgen – Öztürk 1996; Özgen 2010.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> RAMAGE – CRADDOCK 2000; CROWFORD GREENWALT 2010, 135-141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Hdt. V, 101, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> According to Herodotus (HDT. I, 94, 1) the first to make use of gold and silver coins were the Lydians, who «used them and were the first merchants (*protoi kapeloi*)»: see RAMAGE – CRADDOCK 2000, 14-25; RAMAGE 2003, 285-290; CRADDOCK – COWELL – GUERRA 2005, 67-77; KROLL 2010, 143-156. They were imitated by the Greeks, who minted electro coins. The oldest deposit of coins in the Greek area, datable between the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, comes from Artemision of Ephesos: KARWIESE 2008, 133-148. On the most recent studies see VAN ALFEN – VARTENBERG 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Craddock – Cowell – Guerra 2005, 66-77.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> IREN 2008, 35, fig. 2; KERSCHNER 2014, 112-114, 119-122.
<sup>20</sup> EUS. *Chron.* II, 970.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> NIC. DAM., FGrHist. 90 F51; PAUS. VII, 3, 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> *Vita Hom.* 2. About the sources on the history of Kyme, cf. ENGELMANN 1976, 147-200.



Fig. 4. Map of the western central coast of Anatolia: Southern Aiolis and Northern Ionia (after IREN 2003, Beil. A)

According to many sources, Kyme's relations with Lydia are traced back to the time of the Heraclides<sup>23</sup>: Prince Ardys (son of King Adyiattes of Sardi), of the Heraclid dynasties, who reigned over Lydia in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, before becoming king of Lydia, would have gone into exile in Kyme. Generally, the tradition led back to Gyges, Mermnads dynasty, the first evidence of a Lydian policy directed towards the Greek cities<sup>24</sup>. The relations of aeolian Kyme with Phrygia are evoked by the testimony of Greek sources on the marriage of Midas (738-676 BC) with Hemodike or Demodike, daughter of the king of Kyme Agamemnon: she would have been the "inventrix" of the first coinage<sup>25</sup>. Emblematic of the figure of Midas in the eyes of the Greeks is the myth according to which everything he touched was transformed into gold<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> NIC. DAM., *FrGrHist* 90, fr. 44-45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> RAGONE 2006, 191-193.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Arist. fr. 611, 37 Rose = Heraclid. Lemb., fr. 37 Dilts; Poll. IX, 83. See Mele 2004, 27-32, 30-31; 2016, 240-243.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Cf. Thiel 2000; Parise 2000, 49-59; Erhardt 2005, 96-101; Kerschner 2005,115-121; Ragone 2006, 182-203; Scatozza Höricht 2014b, 117-125; Mele 2016, 240-244.



Fig. 5. Aeolian Cyme. Overview of the city settlement. In the foreground, the lower *agora*. In the background, North and South Hills (photo archive of Italian archaeological Expedition)

Demodike is indicated in another source as the sister of the gold-bearing river Pactolus<sup>27</sup>. The technical wisdom of the Kyme's princess speaks of the use of metal as a medium of exchange: the sources allude to the involvement of Kyme Aiolis in the control of the important river access route to the metals of Phrygia and Lydia and to the intermediary trade of the precious metal, through the collection of transit rights. As pointed out by scholars of Greek history, the change in the figure of Demodike, from Midas' wife to Pattolo's sister, probably marks the passage under the Lydian control of the major Anatolian mining centers already exploited by the Phrygians<sup>28</sup>.

Literary sources, such as Hesiod<sup>29</sup> and archaeological data attest to the use of Kyme's harbour, starting from the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC. The activity of the Kymaioi as founders of other colonies in Panfilia (Side), in the Troad (Kebrene), and Thrace (Ainos) also dates back to this period<sup>30</sup>. Their contribution to the foundation of Kyme / Cuma on the coasts of southern Italy is being debated<sup>31</sup>. To Eretria, together with Chalcis, Dionysius of Halicarnassus attributes the foundation of Kyme Opicia<sup>32</sup>, which according to some traditions<sup>33</sup>, it would have taken place with the contribution of inhabitants of the homonymous Kyme, identified by any scholars with the metropolis of the Southern Aeolian coast, the motherland of Smyrna<sup>34</sup> and numerous colonies<sup>35</sup>.

In general, the Euboean pottery found in Kyme is almost all between the middle and third quarter (or at most the end) of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC. These are the decades in which Euboea plays a central role in the political and economic dynamics of the Mediterranean and seems to find in Kyme an important point of reference on Anatolian soil.

The recent discovery on the South hill at Kyme Aiolis (2012-2015) of painted pottery of the LPG, dependent on Attic and Euboean models, was unfortunately recovered in small sondages because of the presence of monumental evidence of the Hellenistic-Roman town. It documents close relations between the two shores of the Aegean as early as the early Iron Age and confirms the results of M. Kerschner's archaeometric analyses, which reported imitations of PSC skyphoi made from the clay of the district of Kyme Aiolis, leading indicators of the transmarine relations of the Euboeans<sup>36</sup>: among the finds from the deepest layer there is a shoulder/neck fragment of a large amphora or hydria, with a very well-preserved red painted decoration, consisting of groups of at least twelve concentric circles or semicircles, separated by groups of four pendent tongues (Fig. 6)<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Ps. PLUT., *Fluv.* 7,1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Parise 2000, 57; Ragone 2006, 182-203; Mele 2016, 240-244.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Op. 631-639.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Cf. Engelmann 1976, 167-168.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Cf. A. Cassio and B. D'Agostino in the first volume of this conference Proceedings.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> DION. HAL. VII, 3, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Ps. Scymn. 236-243; Strabo V, 4, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> *Vita Hom.* 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Cf. RAGONE 2010, 37-71; MELE 2010, 77-107; 2014, 69-76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Kerschner 2014, 114.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> CAMERA 2017, 44, fig. 3; 2018a, 68, fig. 21; 2018b, 171, fig. 16; FRASCA 2020, 178-183. The fragment has some parallels at Ephesus ascribed, using neutron activation analysis, both to local production and to Euboean import, where this decorative pattern is well attested.

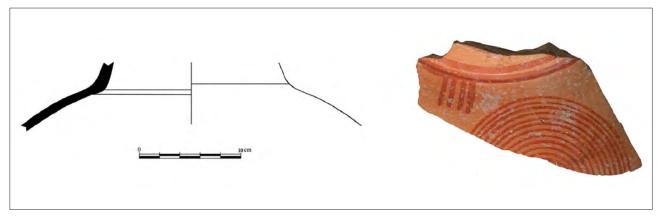


Fig. 6. LPG hydria fragment from Southern Hill (from CAMERA 2017)

Trans-Aegean contacts between Euboea and Aeolian Kyme played an important role until the LG, as evidenced by the large dossier of Euboean-imported LG ceramics also found recently in the residential area on the South hill together with others from North Ionian cities<sup>38</sup>, as well as some rare LG items found in Turkish excavations north-east of the inhabited area along the course of the ancient Xanthos, which advanced as far as the Hermos valley towards Sardis conveying goods from the sea<sup>39</sup>.

In the area of the lower *agora* near the harbour, a LG hut was unearthed adjacent to a discharge comprising melt waste and numerous mussels, which were part of the Euboic diet, as in Oropos, as well as in Punta Chiarito. Just east of the outer side of the curvilinear pebble wall, a round fireplace connected with the pebble wall structure was uncovered (Fig. 7). The picture that emerges from these recent excavations carried out in the central area of the city (2006, 2009, 2012) agrees with the old and new excavations on the Southern Hill (1988-1990, 2012, 2015): almost all of the Euboean pottery (Figs. 8, 10, 11) comes from LG layers (LG I and LG II), but a large number of items dating to the end of 8<sup>th</sup> - beginning of 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, different for technical features of paint and clay, was imported from workshops of Ionia such as Smyrna, Teos, Claros, Ephesos<sup>40</sup>. These discoveries testify to the relevance assumed by the harbour since the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>41</sup>.

The limited information we have from the excavations in the necropolis area seems to converge in the same direction (Fig. 9)<sup>42</sup>.

This rich assemblage provides clear evidence that Kyme Aiolis occupied a significant role as a commercial hub, connecting a maritime network first to the Phrygian land and later to the Lydian hinterland. This role is highly relevant to the issue of gold circulation. At least since the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century Kyme has been involved in trades and connections all around the Greek world, including Corinth, Euboea and Ionia. This data completely matches with literary sources, as we can read from the famous passage by Strabo<sup>43</sup>: «According to some writers, it is said of them that they only began to let the tolls of the harbour three hundred years after the foundation of their city».

From the same western Anatolian coasts, where the finds of Euboean pottery are concentrated, two "bird kotylai" arrived at Pithecusa, travelling in the opposite direction and testifying meaningful connections between Euboea and Eastern Aegean: the famous inscribed Nestor's cup and a similar fragmentary item from Eretria. They are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> CAMERA 2017, 49, fig. 12a,b; 2018 a, 175, fig. 25a-c; FRAsca 2020, 178-183.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Atila 2019, 123, fig. 2A; La Marca 2020, 194-195.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> COLELLI 2021, 179-182. As stressed by Colelli, the stratigraphy shows that this area was settled between the PG period and the beginning of the archaic age, with the best-known phase between the middle 8<sup>th</sup> and mid-7<sup>th</sup> century BC, corresponding

roughly to the lifespan of the poet Hesiod, who testifies the maritime projection of the settlement (HES., *Op.* 631-639). Hesiod himself goes to Chalcis in Euboea to declaim a hymn in the ceremonies for the death of Amphidamas (*ibidem* 654-657).On the discussed period of Hesiod's life, see the contribution presented by L. Breglia in the first volume of the conference Proceedings.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Colelli 2017, 59-74; 2021, 43-63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> LA MARCA – MANCUSO 2012; LA MARCA 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> XIII, 3, 6.



Fig. 7. Aeolian Cyme. The Central area of the city (photo archive of Italian archaeological Expedition)



Fig. 8. LG Euboean potsherds from the lower *agora* (from COLELLI 2021)

both "bird kotylay" of standard fabric, which was possible to locate recently in Theos in the northern Ionia, south-west of Smyrna<sup>44</sup>: one with a metric inscription in the Euboean alphabet, the famous "cup of Nestor", has been found in T. 168 of the first LG (750-650 BC)<sup>45</sup>, the other in the area



Fig. 9. LG stemmed krater from the East necropolis (from ATILA 2019)  $% \left( {{{\rm{T}}_{{\rm{T}}}}_{{\rm{T}}}} \right)$ 

of the metallurgical workshop of Mazzola<sup>46</sup>, while a fragmentary counterpart of the first, as is known, was found in Eretria, with a similar metric inscription<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Kadioğlu *et al.* 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 219 (168, 9), pl. 72, pls. CXXVI-CXXVIII (Nestor's Cup); BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, 177-178; NIZZO 2007, 33-36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> KLEIN 1972, 39, fig.7; BUCHNER 1982, 107; BUCHNER – RID-GWAY 1993, 219. A second item from the metallurgical district is reported by M. D'Acunto: cf. D'Acunto 2020, 281.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Johnston – Andreiomenou 1989, 217-220; Cassio 1998.



Fig. 10. LG Euboean pottery from Southern Hill (from FRASCA 2020)

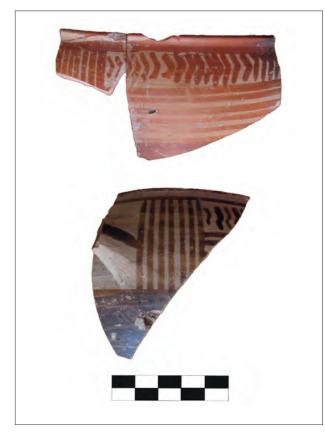


Fig. 11. LG Euboean pottery from Southern Hill (from FRASCA 2020)



Fig. 12. LG bird-kotylai from the lower *agora* (from COLELLI 2021)

They reflect the contemporary knowledge in the Euboean environment of texts of "aedi" from the same area of Anatolian Greece, where Homer's poetry flourished. The same context of the so far problematic T. 168<sup>48</sup> refers to the ritual of the necropolis of Teos<sup>49</sup>. Recently on Rhodes, many "bird kotylai" have been found in Ialysos, which have to be imported from North Ionia too, as supported by archaeometric analyses on rhodian pottery of the same group of clay, although it cannot be ruled out that the Ialysian corpus of bird kotylai might include local imitations<sup>50</sup>.

It is important to remark that many bird kotylai have been found in Smyrna, situated on the borders of Northern Ionia and in Southern Aeolis, including Kyme (Fig. 12)<sup>51</sup>. The famous inscription in the Euboean alphabet was engraved after firing and refers to Homeric epos<sup>52</sup>. The Aeolis and its nearby areas are famously involved in the birth of the epic, written in the Ionian dialect with

<sup>52</sup> *Il*. XI, 632-637.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Nizzo 2007, 33-36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> IREN – ÜNLÜ 2012, 309-334. Cf. the masterful contribution of B. d'Agostino, in this conference proceedings.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> D'ACUNTO 2017, 467-470; 2020, 287-289, with an extensive analysis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> FRASCA 1998, 275-277, fig. 7 ("bird kotylai"), figs. 9-10, 14-15 (Euboean imported pottery); FRASCA 2020, 178, fig.2 A-C; COLELLI 2012, 44-53, figs. 28-30; 2021,147-150, figs. 92-95; SCATOZZA HÖRICHT 2017, 335-336, figs. 2a-c, 3.

Aeolic forms<sup>53</sup>. According to authoritative opinions, the inscriptions of Pithecusa and Eretria could reflect contemporary knowledge of the oral texts or even writings of aedi from the same area of Anatolian Greece<sup>54</sup>. The coast from Lesbos to Samos, together with the islands, is the area where the first Greek poets appeared and worked, including Homer of Smyrna, according to some traditions<sup>55</sup> of Aeolian origin<sup>56</sup> and in a later period Anacreon of Teos, whose poetry offers a significant comparison to the inscription of Nestor's cup in the playful mockery of the heroic custom in the confrontation of the joys of the Muses and Aphrodite<sup>57</sup>. In the same direction traveled Anatolian fibulae of the Phrygian type, with an enlarged arch decorated with three large ribbed nodules of late 8<sup>th</sup> beginning 7<sup>th</sup> century BC attested in the necropolis of Pithecusa (T. 355, LG II)<sup>58</sup>. Greek imitations of the same type have been found in the Artemision of Ephesus and moulds of the same type are also known in ancient Smyrna (Bayracli)<sup>59</sup>.

The intermediary trade of the noble metal could have been the return asset of the Euboean element traffic in this area. It is also possible that the trans-Aegean traffic was intertwined with the migration of peoples, as the ancient tradition suggests.

The memory of the trans-Aegean contacts in this process was likely preserved by ancient writers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Latacz 2007, 692-694.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> JOHNSTON – ANDREIOMENOU 1989, 217-220.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Vita Hom. I, 2-3, 13-14.

 $<sup>^{56}</sup>$  On the part of the mother native of Aeolian Kyme: cf. RAGONE 2013, 126-152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> *Fr. Eleg.* 2 West. See LATACZ 2007, 681-700; MURRAY 2009, 53-69.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 219, 401-404, no. 7, pl. CLIX,
T.355 (LG II); Lo SCHIAVO 2006, 256, type 87, fig. 4 (1-2); fig. 5
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<sup>59</sup> KLEBINDER GAUSS 2008, 235-236, figs. 198, 199.

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one mention from the post-antique period of epithermal gold in association with the presence of alum, which could not be used to produce objects. Consequently, the only certain metal production documented in Pithecusa is that of bronze fibulae.

# LUCIA A. SCATOZZA HÖRICHT, *Pithecusan Gold: Anatolian Connections*

The absence of gold ornaments in Pithecusa, both among the finds in the metallurgical district of Mazzola and the necropolis, from which only objects of gilded silver are known at present, if compared with those of the necropolis of Kyme in Phlegraean fields, re-launches the discussion on the meaning attributed to the term chryseia or chrysia in the well-known passage of the Greek source. In the ancient world, the search for metals was a major factor in mobility and raised the question of the role of Pithecusa in the gold trade, which involved the relationship between Euboea and the eastern Aegean. What emerges in Pithecusa can be related to the recent archaeological research, which reveals important interconnections between Euboea and the site of Kyme Aiolis on the coast of central-western Anatolia, perhaps as early as the LPG period.

#### GLORIA OLCESE (with a contribution by GILBERTO ARTIOLI), Natural Resources and Raw Materials at Ischia in Antiquity: Some Data and Preliminary Reports from an Ongoing, Interdisciplinary Project

This paper illustrates the new project begun at Ischia, following the study and publication of the artisan quarter excavated beneath the church of Santa Restituta (Lacco Ameno). The research will focus on the island's natural resources, both environmental and geological, available during the period of colonization, but also later. These resources have not always been sufficiently considered in archaeological investigations. Drawing on literary sources and employing specific scientific analyses for the identification of mineral and clay deposits, the project will reconstruct the agricultural landscape, the use of the land's resources, and the techniques of wine and ceramic production, of which the island has yielded important archaeological evidence. NADIN BURKHARDT, STEPHAN FAUST, First Results of the Excavations at Pithekoussai from 2016-2018 (Villa Arbusto, Lacco Ameno, Ischia)

Being the first Greek settlement in the Western Mediterranean, Pithekoussai (modern Ischia) has long been at the centre of scholarly discussions about the early phase of the so-called Colonization of Western Greece. New archaeological evidence of this historical process is provided by a recent project that investigates an area next to the "Museo Archeologico di Pithecusae" in the Villa Arbusto at Lacco Ameno. Here, several terrace walls, which consisted of several layers of boulders with finished surfaces on the front, were found. While the dating of archaeological material from the surrounding trenches (including indigenous as well as imported pottery, roof tiles and a scarab) ranges from the Apennine Culture of pre-Roman Italy to the late Archaic Period, the stratigraphy suggests that the site was occupied by the building structures since the Late Geometric Period. They might have belonged to a domestic context or even a sanctuary.

## MARIASSUNTA CUOZZO, Pithekoussai. Pottery from the Mazzola Area

Here I present about 100 sherds and partly reconstructed vases from the Mazzola area I selected for the reopening of the room dedicated to Pithecusae at the National Archaeological Museum of Naples. After a quick overview of the types distinguishing the main chronological horizons, I dwell here on two specific subjects: a still understudied class for Pithekoussai, namely, "white-on-black" overpainted ware and a figured Late Geometric sherd lacking close parallels in coeval Pithecusan pottery.

#### FRANCESCA MERMATI, Parerga and Paralipomena to the Study of Pithecusan-Cumaean Ceramic Production in the Light of New Research. Twenty Years after Euboica

For the study of colonial enterprise in the western Mediterranean in the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century

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

per conto di UniorPress





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.

