

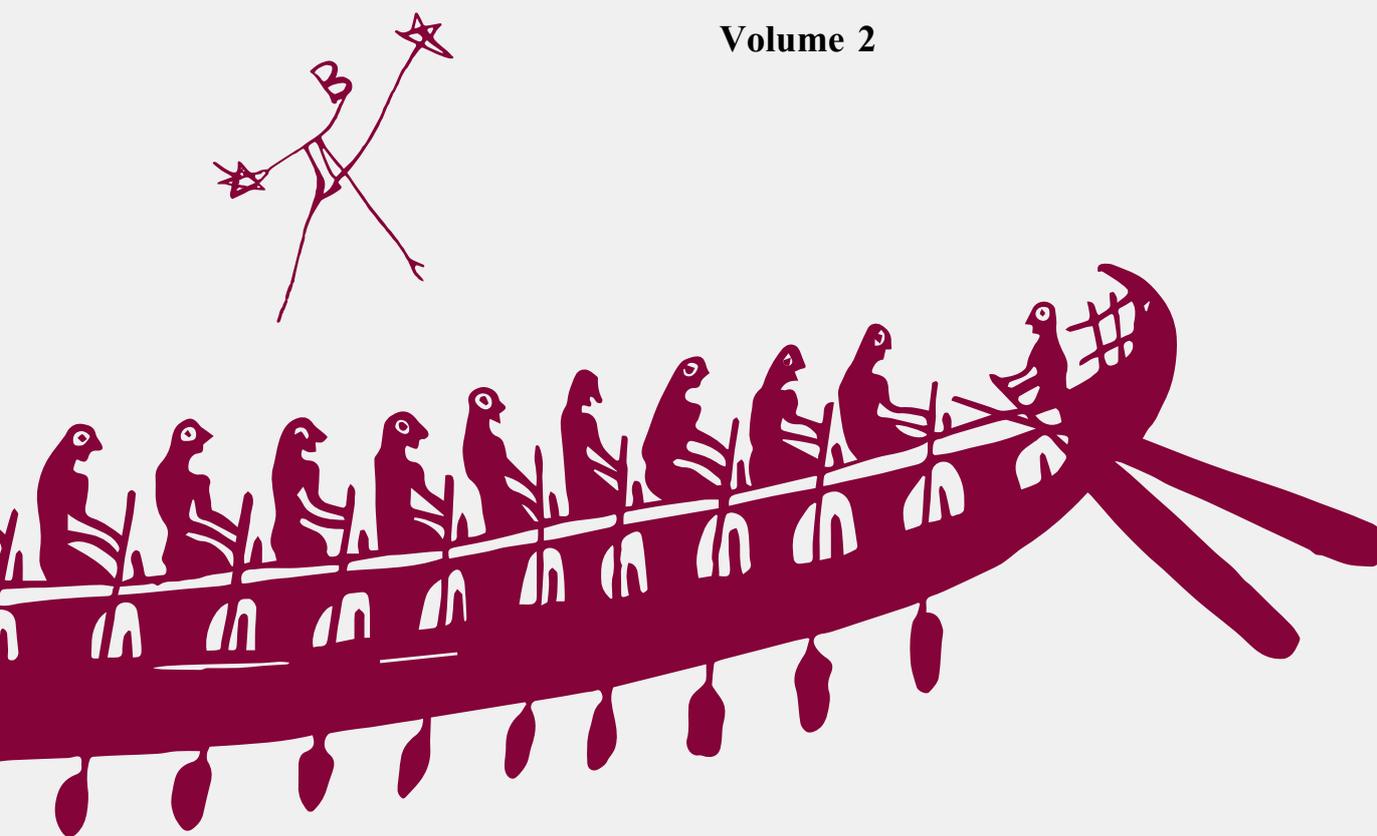
EUBOICA II

Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West

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

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

Volume 2



Napoli 2021

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



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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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CUMAE IN OPICIA IN THE LIGHT OF THE RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NAPOLI L'ORIENTALE: FROM THE PRE-HELLENIC (LBA-EIA) TO THE EARLIEST PHASE OF THE *APOIKIA* (LG I)*

Matteo D'Acunto, Mariangela Barbato, Martina D'Onofrio, Marco Giglio,
Chiara Improta, Cristiana Merluzzo, Francesco Nitti, Francesca Somma

1. THE FOUNDATION OF CUMAE *VS.* PITHEKOUSAI AND THE EARLIEST *APOIKIAI* IN SICILY: OLD DATA AND NEW EVIDENCE

1.1. *Cumae: earliest evidence of the apoikia brought to light up until 1994*

Since 1994 the extensive and systematic excavations which were initiated in Cumae – in the framework of the projects “Kyme I-III” (1994-2006) – and which are still in progress, have greatly improved the historical-archaeological picture of the settlement during the Pre-Hellenic, Greek, Campanian-Samnite and Roman periods.

Before that, our archaeological knowledge of the earliest phases of the Greek *apoikia* of Cumae was mainly based on the excavations which had been conducted in the Greek cemetery north of the city and in the sanctuaries of the acropolis during the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century¹. How-

ever, this picture was incomplete and discontinuous: the methods used to record the data depended on how much attention was paid to the archaeological contexts by each individual excavator, and on the field methodology practiced at the time. What's more, a large number of uncontrolled excavations were conducted right up until the early 20th century. In 1913 a systematic collection of the evidence available up until that point was made by Ettore Gabrici in the volume *Cuma*, and this remained the point of reference regarding the archaeology of the earliest phases of Cumae until the late 20th century².

Just before and after the publication of this volume, important excavations in the two sanctuaries of the acropolis, which occupy respectively the lower terrace and the upper terrace of the hill, brought to light stratigraphies and materials from the earliest occupation of the site. However, for a great length of time most of them had remained unpublished and it was only very recently that a reappraisal and publication of some materials and reports from these old investigations of the acropolis, together with the new excavations conducted there, have demonstrated just how important they might have been in the quest to shed light on the settlement of early Cumae³.

In sum, until the end of the 20th century our knowledge of the beginnings of the Greek *apoikia* mainly relied on its earliest tombs published by Gabri-

* The archaeological excavation at Cumae in the urban Greco-Roman area and the previous Pre-Hellenic settlement, north of the Forum Baths, is being conducted as a concession from the Ministry of Culture to the University of Napoli L'Orientale, under the direction of Matteo D'Acunto. The excavation is conducted on a month-long campaign per year, following the site-school formula, which involves the full participation of many dozens of students in all phases of field activities: from the actual excavation, to the recording and surveying of evidence and the classification of finds. Our most heartfelt thanks go to all the staff of the Phlegrean Fields Archaeological Park, the supervisors of our research activities, especially the Director, Dr Fabio Pagano, the archaeologists, Drs Marialaura Iadanza and Francesca Merlati, and the excavation assistant Cesare Giordano.

In addition, we would like to warmly thank Gina Di Muro and Federica Iannone, for their careful proof-reading of the English text of this paper.

¹ On the history of the archaeological research in Cumae see BURELLI – VALENZA MELE 1989; *Cuma*; ZEVI *et al.* 2008; D'ACUNTO 2017; PAGANO – DEL VILLANO 2022; D'ACUNTO forthcoming,

with references. On the necropolis see especially RESCIGNO – VALENZA MELE 2010.

² GABRICI 1913.

³ On the sanctuary on the upper terrace of the acropolis: RESCIGNO 2012, 2015; RESCIGNO *et al.* 2022, with other references. On the sanctuary on the lower terrace: JANNELLI 1999; NITTI 2019.

ci in 1913, together with a few LG-7th century BC vases from the acropolis which had also been published. The material evidence from these old excavations did not seem to support Strabo's chronological point of view (5.4.4): the geographer labels Cumae in Campania as the *palaiotaton ktisma* among the Greek foundations in Italy and Sicily (his source was, in all likelihood, the universal history of Ephorus from Aeolian Cumae in the 4th century BC⁴). Indeed, in Cumae's Greek period necropolis, the earliest tombs, which had been excavated both by the Count of Syracuse in 1852-1857 and by Emilio Stevens in 1878-1896, do not go back earlier than LG II (720-690 BC): several dozen burials, then brought to light, can be dated to LG II, since their grave-offerings include the clearest chronological marker for this phase, i.e. Early Protocorinthian (EPC) pottery, including both imports from Corinth and "local" imitations in the so-called Pithekoussan-Cumaean production⁵.

The outcome of this state of evidence was Nicolas Coldstream's discussion in *Greek Geometric Pottery* in 1968. At the time, the British scholar debated the chronological question of the foundation of Cumae with reference to the earliest Greek pottery found on the site. His discussion was based – in line with his eminent predecessor Humfry Payne – on cross-checking the absolute dates transmitted

by the ancient authors for the colonial foundations, and especially by Thucydides for the Sicilian colonies, and Corinthian pottery: Corinthian LG (= LG I in Pithekoussai and Cumae) is referred to 750-720 BC, and the EPC (= LG II in Pithekoussai and Cumae) corresponds to 720-690 BC, according to Coldstream's so-called "orthodox" chronology (which is the chronological system that we adopt in the present paper)⁶. However, his view on Cumae was more cautious than with other Sicilian *apoikiai* referring to the first "wave" of the colonization process. He drew a *status quaestionis*, which is worthy of being reported here: «The earliest colony in Italy is Pithekoussai, followed shortly by Cumae [LIV. 8.22.5-6⁷]. Literary evidence cannot date their foundation precisely, but Strabo implies that Cumae is older than any of the Sicilian colonies [STRAB. 5.4.4]. *A fortiori*, Cumae is older than Zancle; and this inference is independently confirmed by Thucydides who knew that Zancle was settled first by Cumaean pirates, and subsequently by a regular expedition from Chalcis in partnership with Cumae [THUC. 6.4.5⁸]. If this tradition is correct, the earliest pottery at Cumae has yet to be found; for whereas there is an LG kotyle from Zancle, the oldest published material from Cumae is EPC. It is worth noting that the settlement on the Cumaean acropolis has never at any point been explored down to the deepest level»⁹. Coldstream was therefore aware that in Cumae material evidence earlier than EPC/LG II might have been added at some time in the future thanks to more systematic research in other areas of the ancient site.

⁴ STRAB. 5.4.4: «Next ... comes Cumae, a city founded in most ancient times by people from Chalcis and Cumae; for it is the oldest of all the Sicilian and the Italiote cities. [ἔστι Κόμη Χαλκιδέων καὶ Κυμαίων παλαιότατον κτίσμα: πασῶν γὰρ ἐστὶ πρεσβυτάτη τῶν τε Σικελικῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰταλιωτίδων.] However, the men who led the expedition, Hippokles of Cumae and Megasthenes of Chalcis, made an agreement with one another that the city should be a colony of Chalcis, and a namesake of Cumae; and, hence, although the city is now called Cumae, it is reputed to have been founded by the Chalcidians alone» (trans. H.L. Jones). On Strabo's sources see recently MELE 2008; 2014, 41-139; M. GIANGIULIO in this volume, with references.

⁵ Published in GABRICI 1913, cols. 214-448, esp. figs. 79 and 148, and pls. 30-32, 35-43, 49-50; cf. the catalogue in ZEVİ *et al.* 2008, 190-196, 211, 213-215, 221-223, 226. The Artiaco burial plot, which is located quite apart from the main core of the necropolis, includes two LG II burials: T. 103bis (the inhumation of a female: PELLEGRINI 1903, cols. 264-278, figs. 43-62; HENCKEN 1958, 270, pl. 69, figs. 34-35, who suggests a date at ca. 730 BC, which is too high) and the well-known T. 104 which should be dated at the end of this phase, i.e. in the early 7th century BC (the secondary cremation of a male: PELLEGRINI 1903, cols. 225-263, figs. 7-42; GUZZO 2000; D'ACUNTO 2017, 311-314, figs. 26.28-34; BABBI 2018, 341-344; 2021, 451-459). On Pithekoussan-Cumaean production and their imitations of Corinthian LG and Protocorinthian pottery see CUOZZO 2006; MERMATI 2012; and M. CUOZZO in this volume.

⁶ COLDSTREAM 2008 (= 1968), 322-327. On this chronological system cf. more recently KOUROU 2005; D'AGOSTINO 2010-2011, 103-108.

⁷ LIV. 8.22.6: «The Cumaeans trace their origin from Euboean Chalcis. The fleet that had brought them from their homeland made them much respected along the coast where they settled; having first landed on the islands of Aenaria and Pithecusae, they later decided to take their chance on the mainland» (tr. D. Ridgeway).

⁸ THUC. 6.4.5: «Zancle was originally founded by pirates [λιηστῶν] from Cumae, the Chalcidian town in the country of the Opicians; afterwards, however, large numbers came from Chalcis and the rest of Euboea, and divided the land among themselves; the founders [οἰκιστῶν] being Perieres and Krataimenes from Cumae and Chalcis respectively. It first had the name of Zancle given it by the Sicels, because the place is shaped like a sickle, which the Sicels call Zancleon; but upon the original settlers being afterwards expelled by some Samians and other Ionians who landed in Sicily flying from the Medes» (tr. J.M. Dent, modified).

⁹ COLDSTREAM 2008 [= 1968], 326.

1.2. Pithekoussai

Conversely, in Pithekoussai a small group of much earlier vases (most of them sherds), which may be referred to the transition from late MG II (ca. 770-750 BC) to LG I (750-720 BC), had been published in the last decades of the 20th century by G. Buchner, D. Ridgway, J.N. Coldstream and B. d'Agostino. These are a Corinthian skyphos with close chevron decoration and several Euboean/Euboeanizing skyphoi with a close or floating chevron ornament, both of the latest type with tall body, together with a Euboean krater (MG II/LG I): they come from the acropolis of Monte di Vico (from the so-called "Gosetti dump"), from the lower-lying plain (from the so-called "Stipe dei Cavalli", and from the necropolis of San Montano)¹⁰. Since this evidence consists of only a handful of sherds from unstratified contexts, it calls for caution and cannot be translated into a historical interpretation¹¹: we cannot have a precise idea of the Euboean presence at the site, at this highest chronological horizon, until closed stratigraphical contexts are brought to light. The common view is that this earliest evidence, even though scant, is the chronological marker for the establishment of the Eretrians and Chalcidians in Pithekoussai in late MG II (ca. 760-750 BC)¹².

When dealing with the nucleus of Euboean fragments from the acropolis of Monte di Vico, Coldstream remarks: «The first Euboean settlers could be expected to have brought with them some chattels from their homeland, and a deposit on the acropolis is a likely place where they might be found. A few pieces of skyphoi with close chevron decoration [nos. 57-58, 61 of his catalogue], and the krater fragment [no. 2 of his catalogue] with a strict meander, might well go back into MG II; but so also might a local chevron skyphos from the cemetery, retrieved from a subsequently dismantled grave

[BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, no. Sp. 4.4]. It seems then, that this acropolis deposit contains some pottery older than anything in the complete grave groups, but no older than the earliest use of the cemetery»¹³. An unquestionable *terminus ante quem* for the establishment of Pithekoussai are the abundance of graves dated to LG I (750-720 BC) which have been published; some of them may be clearly referred to the first part of LG I, in the light of their grave-offerings and of the relative chronology established by their stratigraphic position in each family plot¹⁴. Parallel archaeological evidence comes from the quarter of Mazzola on the Mezzavia hill: its earliest chronological horizon is illustrated by the LG I pottery, at the beginning of this phase¹⁵, thus showing that the occupation of the quarter and the metal processing activities practiced there had been established by that point in time.

To sum up, these intensive excavations in several areas of the site make it clear that by the beginning of LG I (ca. 750 BC) Pithekoussai had already been settled by a large group of people endowed with complex social organization and with an economy based on commerce, craftsmanship and agriculture¹⁶: the settlement was constituted by a dominant community of Euboeans living abroad (Eretrians and Chalcidians, according to Strabo

¹³ Cf. COLDSTREAM 1995, 266.

¹⁴ On this aspect see BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, which is the detailed publication of the first part of the excavations in the necropolis, and the discussion of its relative chronology in NIZZO 2007a; on the second part of the excavations of the necropolis see the preliminary reports in CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013; 2014; and T.E. CINQUANTAQUATTRO in this volume, with former references.

¹⁵ One of the earliest vases from Mazzola is the amphora sherd showing a male figure in *silhouette* transfixed by a spear, which has been compared by Coldstream to the Dipylon Workshop's style of Attic LG Ia (c. 760-750 BC): COLDSTREAM 2000, 92-93, fig. 1; M. CUOZZO, in this volume, fig. 6 left. The LG I pottery includes several kotylai of the Aetos 666 type, both imported Corinthian and Euboic specimens as well as locally manufactured ones: KLEIN 1972, 38-39, figs. 1 and 7 bottom at the center; M. CUOZZO, in this volume, fig. 1. See also a LG I Corinthian "heron kotyle": KLEIN 1972 39, fig. 7 right part; M. CUOZZO in this volume, fig. 2. Thapsos skyphoi with panel, both Corinthian and local, may be referred to LG I/early LG II: KLEIN 1972, 39 fig. 7 bottom-right; M. CUOZZO in this volume, fig. 3, see esp. the two sherds in the upper part of the figure. See also the Euboean black kotyle and krater of LG I/II: M. CUOZZO, in the present volume, fig. 4.

¹⁶ For an overview on the economy of the settlement see D'ACUNTO forthcoming.

¹⁰ *Gosetti dump*: RIDGWAY 1981, esp. 50-52, and 59 pl. 2; 1992, 87, fig. 21; COLDSTREAM 1995, 252-253, 257, 260-261, 266, nos. 2, 57-58, 61-62, fig. 2, pls. 27a, 29b (MG II/LG I). *Stipe dei Cavalli*: D'AGOSTINO 1994-1995, 44, nos. 1-2. pl. 34. *Cemetery*: RIDGWAY 1981, 48-49, fig. 1; BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 702-703, no. Sp. 4.4, pls. 245, CCIX. Cf. below chpt. 5.2.

¹¹ In this perspective, e.g. RIDGWAY 1981, 52; D'AGOSTINO 1999, 56-57 (= D'AGOSTINO 2010-2011, 224-225).

¹² See e.g. RIDGWAY 1992, 87-88; COLDSTREAM 1995, 266-267, and references below at chpt. 5.2.

5.4.9¹⁷); it also incorporated native/Italic individuals (both females and males) and Levantines, who lived there more or less permanently and were integrated on different levels of the social ladder¹⁸.

1.3. Megara Hyblaea

Before the beginning of Cumae's new excavations in 1994, Strabo's assumption that the Phlegraean city was the Greek *palaiotaton ktisma* of Italia and Sikelia also appeared to be problematic with reference to the earliest archaeological finds from the first Greek colonies in Sicily: the earliest vases found in the Sicilian *apoikiai* up until then were earlier than Cumae's, since they referred to Corinthian LG or to LG I with reference to the Pithekoussan/Cumaean chronology. A list of these earliest vases had been given by Coldstream in 1968¹⁹ and several others were published afterwards.

Megara Hyblaea is the point of reference in the absolute chronology given by Thucydides for the Sicilian colonies: founded 245 years before Gelon's conquest of the city in 483 BC (THUC. 6.4.1-2; cf. HDT. 7.156-157), therefore at 728 BC²⁰. In a tight and linked sequence of events, the Athenian historian (6.3.3) states that Megara Hyblaea was established at the same time (κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον) as Leontinoi and Katane, the two foundations involving the Chalcidian inhabitants of Naxos and their *oikistes* Thoukles. Given that during this period of transition those two foundations were said to have taken place five years after that of Syracuse, the latter must be dated at 733 BC, and hence Naxos one year before that, i.e. at 734 BC. In Payne's and Coldstream's chronological system,

Thucydides' absolute dates for the Sicilian colonies are the point of reference for cross-dating the relative sequence of Geometric-Archaic pottery: in particular, Corinthian production is the main chronological marker of the LG, EPC, MPC and later phases, because of its linear evolution in the decoration and in the morphology of the shapes, and because of its ubiquitous presence in Greek and non-Greek sites all along the Mediterranean. The basic chronological criterion is that of the absence/presence of one of the following phases of Corinthian pottery in each Sicilian colony with reference to their absolute dates given by Thucydides.

In the 1950s and 1960s the foundation date of Megara Hyblaea had been raised by G. Vallet and F. Villard, after the beginning of their extensive excavations in the urban area: they suggested that a more likely date was at ca. 750 BC, since two passages, respectively of Strabo inspired by Ephorus (STRAB. 6.2.2), and of the Pseudo-Scymnus (270-279) would indicate its priority with regard to Syracuse, and since the earliest pottery found until then in Megara was earlier than in Syracuse (with reference to P. Orsi's excavations in the Fusco necropolis)²¹. However, from the 1980s onwards this hermeneutic position was abandoned by G. Vallet himself (but not by F. Villard)²², and a general consensus was again reached among scholars on the general reliability of both Thucydides' dates and Payne's-Coldstream's chronological system²³. This was the result of P. Pelagatti's and G. Voza's subsequent excavations in Syracuse, and also thanks to P. Pelagatti's, and more recently, M.C. Lentini's investigations in Naxos. As we will see below, the earliest pottery from their excavations in both sites may be essentially referred to Corinthian LG (750-720 BC).

I believe that this interpretation should still stand²⁴: in fact, in terms of relative chronology there is a correspondence between the earliest pottery found in Naxos, in Syracuse and in Megara Hyblaea;

¹⁷ STRAB. 5.4.9: «Pithecusae was once settled by Eretrians and also Chalcidians, who, although they had prospered there on account of the fruitfulness of the soil [εὐκαρπία] and on account of the activities of their goldsmiths [χρυσεῖα], forsook the island because of internal dissension [στάσις]; later on they were also driven out of the island by earthquakes, and by eruptions of fire, sea, and hot waters ...» (trans. H.L. Jones, modified).

¹⁸ For a recent discussion on the composition and the function of the settlement see recently D'ACUNTO 2020a, 1291-1298; D'ACUNTO forthcoming, with references.

¹⁹ COLDSTREAM 2008 (= 1968), 322-327, list at 323.

²⁰ A still useful discussion on the different dates of the Sicilian colonies as reported by the literary sources may be found in VILLARD – VALLET 1952, 291-325. Van Compernelle's scepticism on Thucydides' chronological system has been criticized by many scholars: VAN COMPERNOLLE 1960, cf. e.g. VAN DEN BRUWAENE 1961; ROSS HOLLOWAY 1962; GARZETTI 1963.

²¹ VILLARD – VALLET 1952, 309-346.

²² Starting from VALLET 1982; *contra* VILLARD 1982.

²³ For a synthesis of the positions of these scholars see e.g. AMYX 1988, 397-434.

²⁴ A different opinion has been recently expressed by J.-C. Sourisseau, who comes back to the date of 750 BC for the foundation date of Megara Hyblaea: SOURISSEAU 2014; this work draws on an important survey of the earliest phases of Megara Hyblaea, but unfortunately is unpublished (I would like to thank him for giving me the manuscript).

their foundation dates are extremely tight in Thucydides' report and correspond to the second part of the Corinthian LG phase in Payne's-Coldstream's system. Another important aspect regarding the comparisons between these three sites is that in Megara Hyblaea the higher number of finds related to the first chronological horizon of LG does not mean its date of foundation was actually earlier. The higher number is due to the much wider excavations conducted there by the French team as compared to the more limited ones which have been carried out in Syracuse, where the modern city overlies the ancient one, and in Naxos itself (see below).

The following list refers to the finds in Megara from the excavations conducted in the urban area. A single skyphos with chevron decoration has been identified; it is considered a Corinthian import and dated at the end of MG II, but it might in fact be later due to the deep body and decoration²⁵. A small fragment of an Attic/Cycladic circle-amphora of MG I closely resembles another similar specimen found in Syracuse (see below) and may be either an "antique" brought by the colonists or a vase which had been part of pre-colonial exchanges²⁶. However, all the other earliest imports from Corinth (or which had been considered as such, in the case of lost specimens) are LG and refer to the chronological markers of this phase, starting from the kotylai and the Thapsos skyphoi with panel. Among them, the larger number of varieties as compared to the finds from Naxos and Syracuse is easily justified by the much more extensive excavations conducted in Megara Hyblaea. The LG kotylai include specimens of the Aetos 666 type²⁷, with meander²⁸, horizontal zig-zags²⁹, and double-axes³⁰. The same date can be

assigned to a few kantharoi/kyathoi with the Aetos 666 ornament³¹, to another with antithetic birds³² and to two pyxides with antithetic birds³³. In the Thapsos class the earliest skyphoi (when preserved) have a painted lower body and a panel decorated with a row of zig-zags³⁴, three-bar sigmas³⁵, dotted lozenges³⁶ and other decorations³⁷, while in the panel of the kraters-skyphoi there is a row of hatched meander hooks³⁸, chevrons³⁹ or three-bar sigmas⁴⁰. The earliest sherds identified as local include: a few chevron skyphoi with deep body, which should be dated to late MG II or more likely to LG I (cf. below chpt. 5.3)⁴¹; some LG I/early LG II Thapsos skyphoi with panel and the lower body painted⁴²; and LG I/II kotylai⁴³. If we shift to the cemetery of Megara Hyblaea, an early date has been assigned to Tomb A55 because of the shape of the Corinthian amphora (LG?)⁴⁴.

1.4. Naxos

According to Thucydides (6.3), the earliest Greek colony in Sicily was Naxos, founded by the Chalcidians in 734 BC, while Eusebius' date is only slightly earlier, i.e. 741 or 736 BC⁴⁵. Thus, in terms of absolute chronology, if Ephorus'/Strabo's statement on Cumae is compared with Thucydides'

³¹ VILLARD 1982, 183, pl. 63.4; SOURISSEAU 2014, 115, nos. 13 and 15.

³² VILLARD 1982, 183, pl. 63; SOURISSEAU 2014, 116, no. 16.

³³ VILLARD 1982, 183, pl. 63 and 64.7 = fig. 4.7; SOURISSEAU 2014, 118, nos. 18-19.

³⁴ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, pl. 3.2; VILLARD 1982, 184, pl. 64.2; SOURISSEAU 2014, 134-135, nos. 36-37.

³⁵ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, pl. 2.7; SOURISSEAU 2014, 134-135, nos. 38-52.

³⁶ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, pl. 3.4; SOURISSEAU 2014, 140, nos. 62-63.

³⁷ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, pl. 3; SOURISSEAU 2014, 141-148, nos. 64-100.

³⁸ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, pl. 1; SOURISSEAU 2014, 157-158, nos. 127-130.

³⁹ SOURISSEAU 2014, 159, no. 133.

⁴⁰ SOURISSEAU 2014, 159-160, nos. 134-135.

⁴¹ Examined by Lou de Barbarin in her PhD dissertation: DE BARBARIN 2021, pls. A-1 (the two specimens with close chevrons/sigmas in the upper row, "Coupes du type A1a") and A-2 (a specimen with floating chevrons, "Coupes du type A2").

⁴² DE BARBARIN 2021, pl. A-1, "Coupes du type A1b" and "A1c".

⁴³ DE BARBARIN 2021, pl. A-11 "skyphoi du type A1a", "A1c" and "A2"

⁴⁴ SOURISSEAU 2014, 45, 183-185, Dossier 2, fig. 111.

⁴⁵ For the edition of Eusebius' *Chronicle* I refer to FOTHERINGHAM 1905.

²⁵ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, 17-18, fig. 1, pl. 2.6; VILLARD 1982, 183, pl. 64.1 = fig. 4.1; SOURISSEAU 2014, 108, no. 1.

²⁶ VILLARD 1982, 182, pl. 65.5 = fig. 7.5; SOURISSEAU 2014, 166, no. 145 (cf. 146-147).

²⁷ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, 21, fig. 7; VILLARD 1982, 182, pls. 63.1, 3, 4 = figs. 3.1, 3, 4; SOURISSEAU 2014, 109-110, nos. 3 (now lost); 110-111, nos. 4-7. Cf. for the decoration of the following skyphos: VILLARD 1982, 183, pl. 64.4-5 = fig. 4.4-5; SOURISSEAU 2014, 108, no. 2.

²⁸ VILLARD 1982, 182, pl. 63.9-10 = fig. 3.9-10; SOURISSEAU 2014, 112, nos. 8-9.

²⁹ VILLARD 1982, 182, pl. 63.2 = fig. 3.2; SOURISSEAU 2014, 114, no. 12.

³⁰ VILLARD 1982, 182, pl. 63.7 = fig. 3.7; SOURISSEAU 2014, 113, no. 11.

on Naxos, this would imply that for Cumae's foundation a *terminus ante quem* would be 734 BC (but, of course, it must be emphasized that the two authors/their sources might refer to slightly different chronological systems).

The earliest pottery from the settlement of Naxos, published by P. Pelagatti and M.C. Lentini, include many Thapsos class Corinthian skyphoi, which refer to the first variant with a narrow panel on the shoulder: the oldest specimens should be those whose panels are decorated with a row of hatched meander hooks or of three-bar sigmas⁴⁶; in these skyphoi, whenever that part is preserved, the lower body is fully painted, thus suggesting a date in LG or even in early EPC (given that this variant with three-bar sigmas occurs in Pithekoussai's burials in both phases⁴⁷) (cf. below chpt. 5.7). Another skyphos of uncertain manufacture (Euboean or Euboeanizing?) refers to the type with chevron decoration⁴⁸: its debased version of close chevrons (they would be better defined as tremuli), its deep body and the thin walls of the skyphos suggest a very late date in the series of close chevron skyphoi, i.e. at the end of MG II or more probably in LG I (see discussion below at chpt. 5.3). A handful of Euboean skyphoi from the settlement of Naxos have metopes with bird decoration enclosed by horizontal lines (again, we will come back to this type below). One of these skyphoi belongs to an advanced stage of the evolution of this type, because of the everted rim, the bird drawing and the zig-zag motif filling⁴⁹: LG I and not earlier is a likely date (750-720 BC). Another specimen has a debased version of the bird, an even more open shape, and an everted rim⁵⁰, which suggest a date in LG II (ca. 720-700 BC), which is when Coldstream dates the end of this type of series⁵¹. Several other LG I phase frag-

ments have been found in the most recent excavations in the Naxos settlement and, to my knowledge, are still unpublished: a (Euboean?) skyphos with close chevron decoration (in fact sigmas) of the very late deep-body variant (late MG II/LG I); a kotyle of the Aetos 666 type (of Euboean/Euboeanizing fabric); a Thapsos class skyphos-krater with panel (of Corinthian fabric); several Thapsos class skyphoi with panel decorated with a series of hatched meander hooks and three-bar sigmas (of non-Corinthian fabric)⁵².

In sum, the LG I phase (750-720 BC) in Naxos is becoming clearer thanks to these fragments from stratified contexts. What's more, these finds are coherent with Thucydides' foundation date of 734 BC and its cross-dating with the "orthodox" chronological system of Late Geometric pottery.

1.5. Syracuse

Thucydides (6.3.2) reports that Syracuse was founded by Corinthian colonists under the leadership of the Heracleid Archias a year after Naxos, i.e. at 733 BC (Eusebius' date is again similar, at 736 or 734 BC).

A good deal of archaeological evidence from both the earliest settlement in Ortygia and the Fusco cemetery is available. Consequently, the case of Syracuse is of great interest in comparison with Cumae, where we can compare both funerary and settlement evidence. In the Fusco cemetery the earliest tombs excavated by Paolo Orsi can be attributed to EPC/LG II because of the globular aryballois and the local kraters⁵³. There is one much earlier vase, an exceptional Attic circle-amphora of MG I (850-800 BC), which was found out of context in this area of the necropolis⁵⁴: we are unable to establish whether it had arrived in Sicily in the pre-colonial phase or if it was an "antique" brought by Corinthian colonists. From another

⁴⁶ PELAGATTI 1982a, 145, fig. 10 (cf. 1964, 162, fig. 41; COLDSTREAM 2004, 41, fig. 1; 2008, 323: LG); PELAGATTI 1982a, pl. XXX/47.1-6; LENTINI 2004b, 36, no. 2; and M.C. LENTINI, in this volume, fig. 8.

⁴⁷ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993: T. 161, 203-204, no. 2, pl. 63 (LG I); T. 309A, 366, no. 2, pl. 116 (LG II). On the Thapsos skyphoi, the questions of their chronological sequences and production places, see NEEFT 1981; BOSANA-KOUROU 1983; KOUROU 1994, 38-43; and recently GADLOU 2011 and 2017, with former bibliography.

⁴⁸ LENTINI 2004b, 37-38, no. 12.

⁴⁹ LENTINI 1998, 385, fig. 15, Inv. no. 1488, cf. also Inv. no. 2361; COLDSTREAM 2004, 41-43, fig. 2c.

⁵⁰ LENTINI 1998, 385, fig. 15, Inv. no. 2364, cf. also Inv. no. 2363.

⁵¹ COLDSTREAM 2004, 41-43.

⁵² Maria Costanza Lentini examined these fragments in her paper given at the seminar *Les céramiques grecques d'Occident des VIII^e et VII^e s. av. J.-C. Premier atelier préparatoire*, held in Rome at the École française de Rome, 2-3 December 2021.

⁵³ ORSI 1893, e.g.: T. 337, 44-45, fig. 37; T. 466, 73, fig. 78. Cf. COLDSTREAM 2008 (1968), 323.

⁵⁴ ORSI 1893, 83-84, fig. 90; VILLARD – VALLET 1952, 331, fig. 7 (Cycladic production and LG date); COLDSTREAM 1982, 34; STAMPOLIDIS – KOUROU 1996, 712, note 18; KOUROU 2019, 168; 2020, 17, note 72 (Attic and MG I date).

area of the necropolis, in the so-called “Giardino di Spagna”, a sherd of a kotyle of the Aetos 666 type was found, unfortunately also out of context⁵⁵.

As P. Pelagatti has remarked, a good number of sherds from the core of the earliest colonial settlement in the islet of Ortygia, but also from the mainland opposite (from the area of the “Foro Siracusano”) can be dated to Corinthian LG (= LG I in terms of Pithekoussan-Cumaean chronology, i.e. ca. 750-720 BC): a globular pyxis and a kyathos with symmetric birds (LG)⁵⁶; Thapsos skyphoi or larger skyphoi-kraters with a panel containing hatched meander hooks (LG) or three-bar sigmas of LG/early EPC (the lower part of the body of almost all the specimens has not been preserved)⁵⁷, and a single skyphos with painted lower body and a tripartite decoration containing three-bar sigmas and a star at each side, which is likely LG⁵⁸; and also a debased imitation of the kotyle of the Aetos 666 type⁵⁹.

Again, with the exception of the single case of the “antique” MG I amphora, the earliest chronological horizon of Syracuse is Corinthian LG. In terms of relative chronology, this is consistent with its foundation date close to that of Naxos and in terms of absolute chronology with its cross-dating based on Thucydides. The apparently short gap between the earliest vases from the settlement (Corinthian LG) and the earliest tombs (EPC, with the possible exception of the kotyle Aetos 666) might reflect the physiological gap between the arrival of the first colonists and their burials, as well as the fact that this arrival had happened in the second part of the Corinthian LG phase.

1.6. Zankle and Mylai

The *apoikiai* of Zankle and Mylai in Sicily are also important with reference to the question of the foundation date of Cumae, established thanks to

⁵⁵ PELAGATTI 1982a, 126-127, 139, pl. VIII/25, figs. 1-2, no. 5 (excavations Cultrera).

⁵⁶ PELAGATTI 1982a, 131, 139, pl. XIV/31, figs. 1-3 (from the Ionic Temple); 135, pl. XXI/38, fig. 3 (from the Athenaion); 1982b, 126, fig. 8.

⁵⁷ PELAGATTI 1982a, 128-130, pl. X/27, no. 1, pl. XII/29, nos. 12, 14 and 15 (from the Ionic Temple), and pl. XIII/30, nos. 1-4 (these are the skyphoi-craters); 1982b, 124-125, figs. 6-7.

⁵⁸ VOZA 1999, 24-25, fig. 19 (from Piazza Duomo).

⁵⁹ PELAGATTI 1982a, 139-140, fig. 7, pl. XXVII/44 fig. 2; 1982b 130, fig. 11.

cross-dating the literary sources with the earliest archaeological evidence. Thucydides' statement (6.4.5) that the “first” Zankle (Messina) was founded by “pirates” from Chalcidian Cumae in Opicia implies Cumae's foundation was prior. Unfortunately, however, the Athenian historian does not report the absolute date of Zankle's foundation. Nonetheless, in his chronological system, Zankle's *terminus post quem* must be considered the date of 734 BC for the foundation of Naxos, which he considered to be the earliest Greek colony in Sicily. A *terminus ante quem* for the foundation of Zankle can be found in another branch of the chronographic tradition which was that of Eusebius. As we have seen, Eusebius' dates for the foundations of the Sicilian colonies differ only by a few years from those given by Thucydides, demonstrating that a direct comparison between the two authors is appropriate (despite the very late date of Eusebius' work). Zankle, on the other hand, founded the sub-colony of Mylai (Ps.-SCYMNUS 287; cf. STRAB. 6.2.6). The foundation date of Mylai is given by Eusebius at 716 BC (*Chron. Sub Ol.* 16.1; cf. *schol. ad APOLL. RHOD.* 4.965)⁶⁰. Zankle's foundation date should therefore be between 734 and 716 BC, and this chronological range would be (in Thucydides' chronological system) a *terminus ante quem* for the foundation of Cumae in Opicia (inhabited at the time by the “pirates” who founded Zankle). Consequently, Zankle must be numbered without doubt among the earliest Greek foundations in Sicily and, again, according to Thucydides, Cumae was earlier, at least with reference to one of these earliest Greek foundations in Sicily. This is supported by the Athenian historian's explicit statement that the Chalcidian founders of Naxos were Ἑλλήνων δὲ πρῶτοι with reference to the colonization phenomenon in Sicily.

To sum up, Ephorus'/Strabo's statement that Cumae was the *palaiotaton ktisma* of Italia and Sicilia, was not (simply) the result of the author's “propagandistic” perspective, but it was rooted in earlier and independent colonial “memories”.

In line with the foundation date of Zankle at some time between 734 and 716 BC, one would expect the earliest Greek Geometric pottery found on the site to

⁶⁰ Chersonesus must be identified with Mylai, the site which occupied precisely a “peninsula”. Cf. recently FISCHER-HANSEN – NIELSEN – AMPOLO 2004, 216; TIGANO 2011, 138.

be LG I, corresponding to Corinthian LG. This is indeed the case with a small number of sherds found in different spots in modern Messina: the oldest sanctuary located towards the tip of the San Raineri peninsula (the ζάνκλον-“sickle”, cf. THUC. 6.4.5), the inner harbour and other areas of the city⁶¹. We can single out two Corinthian LG kotylai (one specimen with herons and waves, and another perhaps of the Aetos 666 type)⁶², while Corinthian skyphoi with rows of three-bar sigmas on the shoulder and of the Thapsos class with panel may be LG/early EPC⁶³.

On the contrary, the earliest archaeological evidence from Mylai seems to be coherent with Eusebius' foundation date in 716 BC: in this site it is important to highlight that no LG I/Corinthian LG pottery has been found and that the earliest tombs from the cemetery can be referred to the LG II/EPC phase⁶⁴, i.e. 720-690 BC according to the “orthodox” chronological system.

1.7. The foundation dates of the Sicilian colonies vs. Cumae

Summing up these considerations on the earliest finds from the first phase of the *apoikiai* in Sicily, some general observations will now be made regarding the questions surrounding the chronology of the earliest Greek foundations in the West, and in particular of Cumae:

- 1) Payne's-Coldstream's “orthodox” chronological system – based on cross-dating Late Geometric pottery with Thucydides' (and Eusebius' with slight differences) absolute dates of the Sicilian colonies – still maintains its general reliability. Indeed, with very few earlier “antique” exceptions, the earliest Greek pottery found in Naxos, Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea and Zankle is LG in Corinthian terms, which corresponds to LG I in the Pithekoussan-Cumae sequence, and to 750-720 BC

in the “orthodox” absolute chronology based on Thucydides' dates.

On the other hand, it is important to point out that our hermeneutic perspective must go beyond the simple chronological horizon, which is reflected by the first materials found on each site. Our task must be to understand the complexity of the historical processes: the *ktisis* of an *apoikia* may have been in fact characterized by different stages in the “construction” of the *polis* abroad and by waves of arrivals of groups of colonists in the earliest decades of the history of the *apoikia*. We will come back to this perspective with reference to the case of Cumae⁶⁵.

- 2) In terms of absolute chronology, colonial “memories” as reflected in the different branches of the tradition by Thucydides, Eusebius and Ephorus/Strabo, suggest that, at least in the Thucydidean/Eusebian chronological system, Cumae had been established before 734/716 BC.
- 3) In terms of relative chronology with reference to the sequence of Geometric pottery, the earliest sherds and the few closed contexts from Naxos, Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea and Zankle suggest that a chronological horizon of LG I/Corinthian LG (750-720 BC) must have existed in Cumae too. As already perceived by Coldstream in his seminal work of 1968, the gap within this earliest phase might have simply been due to the unsystematic investigations conducted in Cumae up until then.

1.8. Cumae: earliest evidence of the *apoikia* brought to light after 1994

Within this general framework, we can now come back to the case of Cumae, with reference to its earliest archaeological evidence. Coldstream's assumption has been supported by the beginning of the systematic excavations in Cumae in 1994 which are still in progress. They have been focusing on the urban area of the ancient city (Figs. 1-2).

For the first time, Greek Geometric pottery dated at the very end of MG II and LG I was found in the

⁶¹ See G.M. BACCI in this volume; BACCI 2008. Knowledge of the ancient site is strongly limited by the overlying city of Messina and this must be taken into consideration.

⁶² VALLET 1958, pl. 7b top left (= BACCI 2008, 49, 68, 72, no. 1, pl. 1; cf. COLDSTREAM 2008, 323); and G.M. BACCI, in this volume, fig. 2.

⁶³ TIGANO 2017, 48, fig. 2 bottom, second fragment from right [G.M. Bacci]; 57-58, nos. 1, 8.

⁶⁴ TIGANO 2011, 121-161, 162-165, esp.: T. 77, 142, 163, fig. 30; T. 90, 164-165.

⁶⁵ Cf. the conclusions of the present contribution and D'ACUNTO 2017, 2020a.



Fig. 1. Cumae, the archaeological site from the northeast: in the foreground, the northern walls and the middle gate; on the left, the urban area, the Forum baths and the Capitolium; on the right, the acropolis hill; in the background, Procida-Vivara with the channel and Ischia with Pithekoussai close to the right tip (© University of Napoli L'Orientale)

northern defensive walls, during the excavations conducted by the University of Napoli L'Orientale, under the direction of Bruno d'Agostino⁶⁶. These sherds were found in the earth layers which had been dumped in between the inner curtain and the outer curtain of the defensive walls during their reconstruction under Aristodemus' tyranny. A selection and a drawing of the pottery, published by B. d'Agostino and the University L'Orientale team, is reported here (Fig. 3): a skyphos with close chevron decoration (at the turn of MG II and LG I), considered to be an import (from Cyclades?) (no. TTA3)⁶⁷; two Euboeanizing (Pithekoussan?) skyphoi with floating chevron decoration (probably LG I) (nos.

TTA6, 9)⁶⁸; a skyphos with a bird (late MG II or more likely LG I), considered to be an import (again from Cyclades?) (no. TTA4)⁶⁹; a Euboean (?) version of the LG I kotyle with tremuli (no. TTA12)⁷⁰; a handful of LG I kotylai, including the Aetos 666 type, in particular a Corinthian import (nos. TTA43-46)⁷¹; and several skyphoi of the Thapsos type with panel, both Corinthian imports and imitations: in the specimens, wherever this part is preserved, the lower body is painted and the panel is decorated with a row of lozenges (LG I) (nos. TTA27-31)⁷².

⁶⁶ D'AGOSTINO 1999, 51-57 (= D'AGOSTINO 2010-2011, 223-225, figs. 1 and 3-4); *Cumae: le fortificazioni* 2, 20, pls. 2-3.

⁶⁷ D'AGOSTINO 2010-2011, 229, fig. 2; *Cumae: le fortificazioni* 2, 20 note 43, 154, no. TTA3, fig. 45, pl. 2.A.4.

⁶⁸ *Cumae: le fortificazioni* 2, 20 154, no. TTA6 and 9, fig. 45, pl. 2.A.7 and 9.

⁶⁹ D'AGOSTINO 2010-2011, 229, fig. 1.1; *Cumae: le fortificazioni* 2, 20 154, no. TTA4, fig. 45, pl. 2.A.5.

⁷⁰ *Cumae: le fortificazioni* 2, 20, 155, no. TTA12, fig. 45, pl. 2.A.12.

⁷¹ *Cumae: le fortificazioni* 2, 28, 158-159, nos. TTA43-46, fig. 48, pl. 3 (no. TTA44 is classified as a protokotyle).

⁷² *Cumae: le fortificazioni* 2, 28, 157, nos. 27-31, fig. 48, pl. 3.

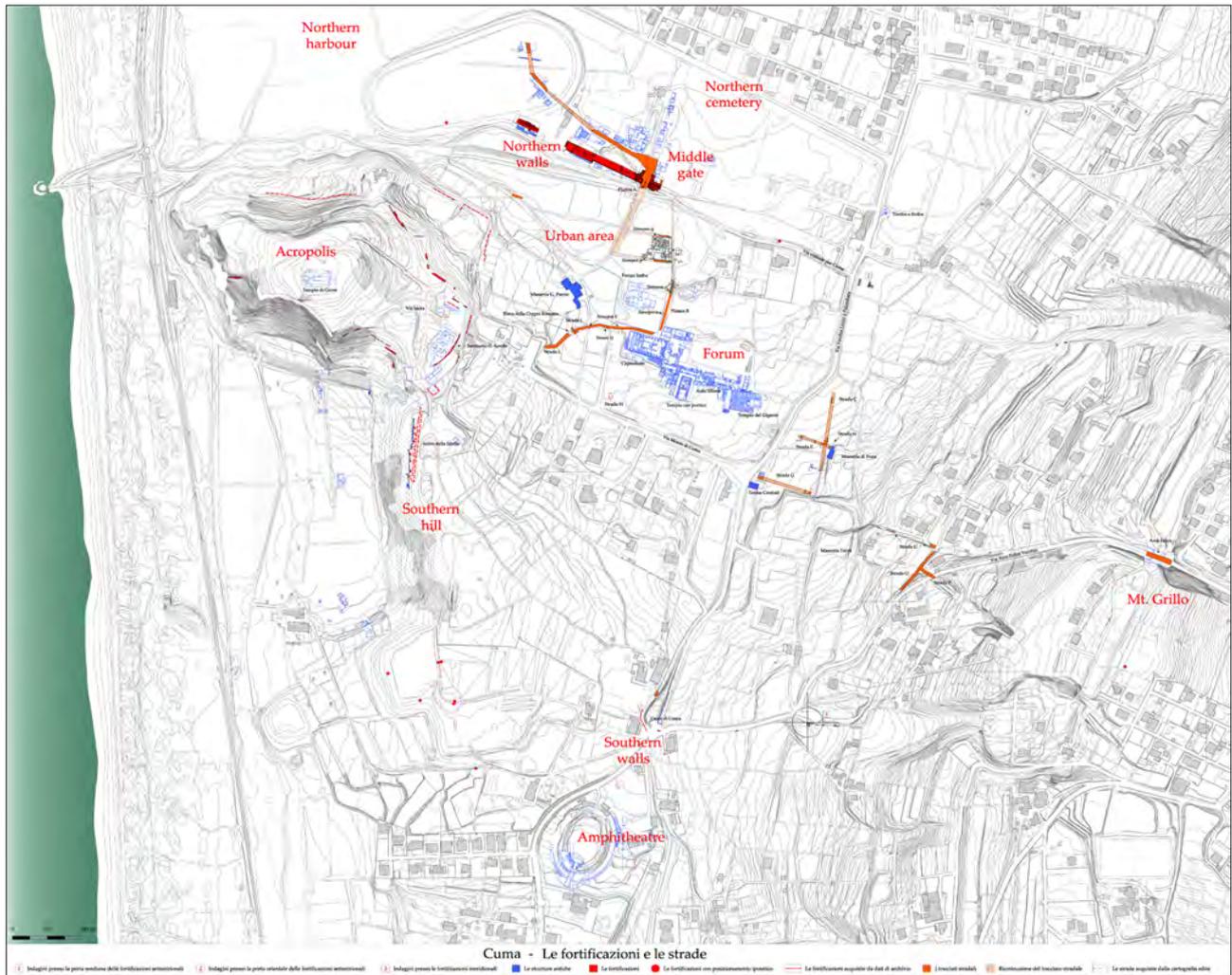


Fig. 2. Topographical plan of Cumae (© University of Napoli L'Orientale)

As Bruno d'Agostino remarked, caution is needed in the interpretation of these fragments, because of their relatively low number and since they were not found in a contemporary context, but in a later layer also containing fragments from the late 8th (some of them reproduced in Fig. 3), 7th and 6th century BC. Conversely, he pointed out that these earlier sherds had been found associated with burnt human bones and burnt vases, which might imply they belonged to cremation burials⁷³. The latter hypothesis found support in the small finds from the same layers, including two Aegyptian/Aegyptianizing scarabs in faïence: often, this category of objects is common among grave-offerings of the Geometric period. As a result, d'Agostino suggested that the time span between the foundation

⁷³ *Cumae: le fortificazioni* 2, 10 [B. d'Agostino]; D'AGOSTINO 1999, 55 (= D'AGOSTINO 2010-2011, 224).

of Pithekoussai and that of Cumae was shorter than formerly thought. What's more, he hypothesized that the earth layers containing these materials which had been dumped between the two curtains of the late Archaic walls, were the result of the excavation of the moat which had been dug on the occasion of the rebuilding of the walls, probably under Aristodemus' tyranny⁷⁴: it can be speculated therefore that the excavation of the moat might have destroyed the tombs of the earliest colonists of Cumae.

This scenario would imply the presence of burials going back as early as the beginnings of the *apoikia*, in the area later occupied by the defensive

⁷⁴ On the building phase of the defensive walls probably made under Aristodemus' tyranny and its moat, see: *Cumae: le fortificazioni* 1, 10-11, 29-44; *Cumae: le fortificazioni* 3, 45-50, 120-127; D'AGOSTINO 2013, 214-215 *et passim*; D'ACUNTO 2020b, 271-306 with references.

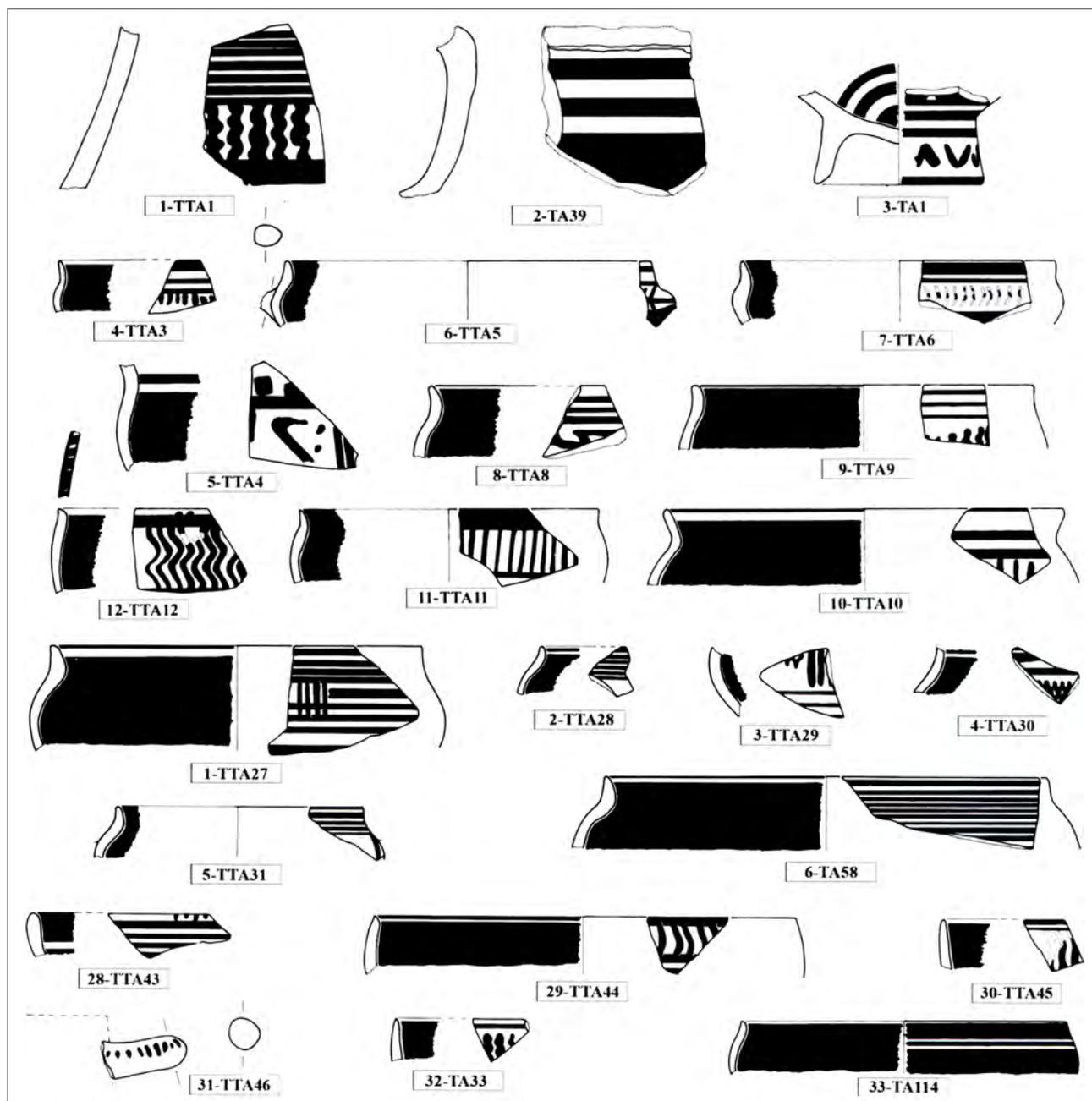


Fig. 3. Late MG II-LG fragments from the northern walls (from *Cuma. Le fortificazioni 2*, pls. 2-3)

walls. The earliest phase of the northern walls of ca. 600 BC⁷⁵ is the proof that the northern limit of the city had started to be established there at that time. However, the presence of earlier tombs could suggest that this area had been identified in some way as the limit of the settlement ever since the earliest phases of the *apoikia*. This hypothesis has found support thanks to the excavations started under my direction in 2007 by the University of Na-

poli L'Orientale in the urban area north of the Forum baths (Fig. 2 "urban area" and see below): in this area, which is close to the northern walls, the settlement had been established since the Late Geometric period, thus suggesting an early division between the urban area and the area outside of the city which was occupied by the cemetery. This limit, corresponding to the line of the northern walls between the urban area south and the cemetery north, would be respected for the entire existence of the city during the Greek, the Campanian-Samnite, and the Roman periods.

⁷⁵ On the earliest phase of the defensive walls, see: *Cuma: le fortificazioni 3*, 42-43, 114-116, figs. 10-11, 61-64.

In the following analysis we will review the earliest phases of the site of Cumae in the light of the recent archaeological excavations. Our focus will be specifically on the results of the systematic excavations we have conducted in the area north of the Forum baths.

The present contribution is divided into the three following sections: the Pre-Hellenic period regarding the Late Bronze Age (LBA – last centuries of the 2nd millennium BC and early 1st millennium BC: chpt. 2); the Pre-Hellenic period referring to the Early Iron Age (EIA, ca. 900-750 BC: chpts. 3-4), when, during its last decades, “pre-colonial” contacts had been established by the Euboeans with the natives; in the last section we will come back to the new evidence brought to light of the earliest phase of the *apoikia*, which refers to LG I (750-720 BC, chpt. 5), thus supporting N. Coldstream’s prevision and B. d’Agostino’s hypothesis.

A general aspect of the present contribution must be clarified in advance. Its analysis will be based on the archaeological evidence. A critical comparison between this archaeological evidence and the different traditions referred to by ancient authors regarding Cumae’s *ktisis* will be postponed to a following contribution which will deal with the subsequent LG II phase (720-690 BC)⁷⁶.

My perspective on the colonization of Cumae is indeed that this must have been a long-lasting process, involving different groups of colonists at different stages of the earliest phases of the *apoikia*, perhaps covering two generations, from the beginning (ca. 750-740 BC) until the early 7th century BC. The latter is a crucial moment, because the colonists give way to town planning, thus giving the settlement a true urban aspect. The complexity and long-lasting process of the colonization of Cumae may be behind the diverse historical versions of its *ktisis*, which have been transmitted by the different ancient authors⁷⁷.

2. NEW EVIDENCE ON THE LATE BRONZE AGE SETTLEMENT IN CUMAE

2.1. State of evidence

Since the archaeological excavations conducted in the second half of the 19th century, it has been clear that the Greek *apoikia* replaced a Pre-Hellenic village on the same site.

Clearly, this place soon attracted the settlement of firstly the indigenous people and then of the Greek colonists, because it was a very “privileged” site⁷⁸. The steep sides of the acropolis hill (the so-called “Monte di Cuma”, up to 80 m above sea level and with a surface area of c. 11.5 ha) made it a naturally defensible position. Its location in the region of the Phlegraean Fields, along the shoreline north of the Misenum Cape and on the east side of the narrow channel between the island of Ischia and the Italic mainland, meant it was very good for controlling the main route for maritime commerce on the west coast of Italy. In antiquity the acropolis hill was a headland jutting out into the sea and controlling two natural stopping points for ships, one along the beach south of the hill, and a good natural harbor in the lagoon north of it. The small plain to the east of the acropolis hill is protected to the east by the north-south ridge known as Monte Grillo (110 m high and ca. 1 km to the east of the acropolis hill), and by marshy areas to the north and south. To the north extended the Campania plain, which was considered in antiquity as one of the most fertile in all of Italy.

The archaeological evidence for the occupation of the acropolis hill in prehistoric and the protohistoric periods was brought to light mostly during the excavations conducted in the late 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries in the two Greek-Roman sanctuaries, occupying respectively the lower terrace and the upper terrace of the hill.

The most consistent and diagnostic group of sherds was found in the sanctuary on the lower terrace (in the so-called “Sanctuary of Apollo”, but dedicated in fact to another deity⁷⁹), particularly in the retaining wall dump built in ca. 500 BC, proba-

⁷⁶ This contribution will be published in a forthcoming volume of *AIONArchStAnt*.

⁷⁷ Cf. formerly D’ACUNTO 2017; D’ACUNTO forthcoming.

⁷⁸ On the geomorphology and the topography of the site see D’ACUNTO forthcoming, with references.

⁷⁹ RESCIGNO 2012; 2015; RESCIGNO *et al.* 2022; cf. D’ACUNTO 2017, 321-324; 2020a, 1302-1303.

bly under the tyrant Aristodemus⁸⁰. This evidence consists simply of sherds which were found dumped in later layers (the single possible exception of a closed archaeological assemblage is the “hut” with traces of metallurgical activity, which was excavated by Gabrici in 1910 in the sanctuary of the lower terrace of the acropolis and might have been either of the Pre-Hellenic phase or of the earliest phase of the *apoikia*⁸¹). Since these finds of prehistoric and protohistoric fragments include vases for domestic use (such as jars for storage) and clay ovens (see the published finds from the lower terrace of the acropolis), scholars agree that the core of the Pre-Hellenic village was installed on the terraces of the well-defended acropolis hill at least from the Final Bronze Age (FBA) to the Early Iron Age (EIA), until the foundation of the Greek *apoikia*⁸².

The low-lying plain east of the acropolis hill was extensively occupied by the Pre-Hellenic settlement necropolis, whose burials have been found in different and relatively distant areas from the Roman Forum south to north of the defensive walls (see below chpt. 3)⁸³. However, some scholars had already suggested that the village might have extended from the acropolis to the foothills in the low-lying plain⁸⁴. As we will see below, the recent investigations have indeed confirmed that some spots of the plain had been occupied by domestic areas in prehistoric and protohistoric times, alongside extensive occupation by the necropolis.

The earliest traces of humans on the site of Cumae consist of a very small number of Early Eneolithic sherds, from both the acropolis (the lower terrace) and the plain (the northern walls)⁸⁵. A few fragments from the same areas refer to the subsequent phases of the Advanced Eneolithic and the late Middle Bronze Age⁸⁶.

During the Late Bronze Age (LBA), the presence of the village on the acropolis hill is illustrated by a good number of sherds found in G. Buchner’s excavations on the lower terrace in 1940: they were dumped in the fill of the retaining wall, which was built during the late Archaic reconstruction of the sanctuary, probably as part of Aristodemus’ building policy. These fragments were published by L. Jannelli in 1999: if the evidence for the Recent Bronze Age (RBA) remains weak, conversely the fragments of the Final Bronze Age (FBA) are more numerous and well-identified⁸⁷. In addition, a small nucleus of FBA bronze objects is included in the Cumaean collection of the National Archaeological Museum of Naples⁸⁸: a “Cumae type” axe was associated by E. Gabrici with the materials from Stevens’ excavations⁸⁹; a small group of fibulae refers to a well-defined typology with variants from the FBA⁹⁰. These bronzes must have been grave-offerings from tombs which were excavated in Cumae in the second half of the 19th century, and certainly on the plain (since Stevens’ excavations in the necropolis were addressed there, and not on the acropolis). Hence, during the FBA the settlement pattern of Cumae had already been established on the axis acropolis – low-lying plain, and this pattern will continue into the Early Iron Age (EIA). This archaeological-topographic picture, though still very fragmentary, shows that the native Pre-Hellenic people of Cumae (the “Opicians” in literary sources) had settled on the site no later than the RBA/LBA and that they continued to inhabit it into the EIA.

⁸⁰ All references can be found in JANNELLI 1999; RESCIGNO 2012; GASTALDI 2018; NITTI 2019.

⁸¹ JANNELLI 1999, 73; esp. NITTI 2019, 110-112, 121 no. 19, pls. 3.18, 8.56 and D.

⁸² JANNELLI 1999, 73-75; CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 331; GASTALDI 2018, esp. 177, 189-180; NITTI 2019, 112-113.

⁸³ On the necropolis see below.

⁸⁴ D’AGOSTINO 2011b, 36; GRECO 2008, 388; 2014, 59-60; cf. GASTALDI 2018, 189.

⁸⁵ JANNELLI 1999, 82, fig. 8.4; GASTALDI 2018, 169-170, figs. 5.A.1 and 5.A.3; *Cuma: le fortificazioni 2*, 17, pl. 1.1 [P. Aurino].

⁸⁶ *Cuma: le fortificazioni 2*, 17-18, pls. 1.2-3 [P. Aurino]; and perhaps JANNELLI 1999, 83, nos. 5-6; GASTALDI 2018, 170, fig. 5.A.2.

⁸⁷ JANNELLI 1999, 85-87, figs. 8-9; cf. CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 331; GASTALDI 2018, 177, 179, fig. 9.

⁸⁸ See now GASTALDI 2018, 179-180, figs. 10-11; and JOHANNOWSKY 1975, 99-100, pl. 2; ALBORE LIVADIE 1985, 62-69, pls. 12 and 14; JANNELLI 1999, 87.

⁸⁹ GABRICI 1913, col. 71, no. 42, pl. 28.1.b; ALBORE LIVADIE 1985, 64, no. 9.1, pl. 12; PERONI 1980, 53; CARANCINI 1984, 201, no. 4249 (ca. 11th century BC); GASTALDI 2018, 179, fig. 10.A.4.

⁹⁰ See the survey and the discussion in GASTALDI 2018, 179-180, fig. 10: LO SCHIAVO 2010, no. 5287 = GASTALDI 2018, 179, fig. 10.B.1; LO SCHIAVO 2010, no. 5305 = GASTALDI 2018, 179, fig. 10.B.5; LO SCHIAVO 2010, nos. 5396-5399, 5402 = GASTALDI 2018, 179, figs. 10.B.7-11; cf. also LO SCHIAVO 2010, no. 5409 = GASTALDI 2018, 179-180, fig. 11.2, which might be slightly later, i.e. Early Iron Age IA.

2.2. New archaeological contexts of the LBA from the area north of the Forum baths

We may now shift our attention to the new LBA evidence brought to light by the excavations conducted by the University of Napoli L'Orientale, under my direction, since 2007⁹¹.

Our field research has been focusing on one of the central quarters of the Greek, Campanian-Samnite, and Roman city, between the Forum and the northern walls (Figs. 4-6). During the Roman period, the urbanism in this part of the city is characterized by an irregular network of streets framing a system of *insulae*: smaller east-west streets (*stenopoi*: n, o, p, q) join the main north-south road (*plateia* B) which joins the Capitolium with the northern walls. In particular, our excavations have unearthed large part of an *insula* north of the Forum baths ("Terme del Foro"). This *insula* is included between the *plateia* B east and the *stenopoi* p and q, respectively south and north. We have not yet found the western limit of the *insula*: this limit must have been either north-south street A or (more likely) another street east of it. This layout of streets was established in the late LG II (early 7th century BC) and preserved until the late Roman period⁹².

The excavations in the *insula* have brought to light a palimpsest of the houses with their transformations over many centuries, from LG II to the Roman period. The southern half of the *insula* was occupied since the 1st century BC by a *domus*, characterized by the presence of a peristyle: this plan, for what concerns its general layout, was respected until the 3rd century AD and some of the rooms were also reoccupied in the late Roman period. In the northern half of the *insula*, a house block, organized around a courtyard, was built in the early 2nd century AD, occupied until the 3rd century AD, and in part reoccupied until the late Roman period.

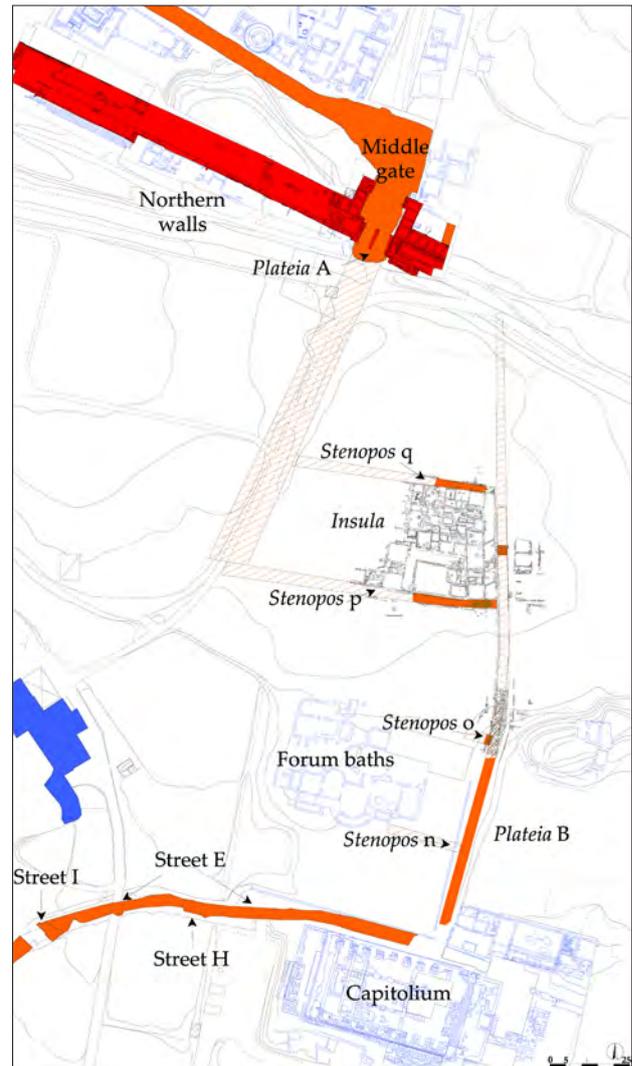


Fig. 4. Plan of the northern part of the city: the Roman Forum, the Greek-Roman urban area, the northern walls and the middle gate (© University of Napoli L'Orientale)

These Roman period houses overly a tight sequence of phases, referring to the occupation of the area for almost the whole history of the site: from the LBA, through the EIA and the earliest phases of the *apoikia*, to the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic life of the *insula*. In several spots of the *insula* we have been able to excavate under the levels of some of the Roman period rooms, where floors had not been preserved. However, these deep trenches have been limited in their extension by the presence of other Roman phase structures, thus making it difficult to have an idea of the layout of the occupation of the area during the earlier phases.

Despite these limitations, which are intrinsic to field research, we have gained a general idea on the main occupation phases of the area. This will be

⁹¹ For an overview and in particular the Geometric-Archaic period see esp. D'AGOSTINO – D'ACUNTO 2008, 494-522 [M. D'Acunto]; D'ACUNTO 2009; 2017, 298-307; 2020b, 255-263; 2020c; 2020d; D'ACUNTO – D'ONOFRIO – NITTI 2021; D'ACUNTO 2022; D'ACUNTO *et al.* 2022. On the LBA-EIA see GASTALDI 2018, 182-189, figs. 14-19. On the Classical and Hellenistic period see GIGLIO 2022. On the Roman period: IAVARONE 2015, 2016. The first excavation of this *insula* was conducted in 2001: D'ONOFRIO 2002.

⁹² D'ACUNTO 2017, 298-307; 2020c; D'ACUNTO *et al.* 2022.



Fig. 5. Aerial photograph of the northern part of the city (R. Catuogno, M. Facchini, M. Giglio, 2018; courtesy of M. Giglio)

presented in the present paper with reference to the periods from the LBA to LG I, while, of course, we are aware that continuing field activity may both enrich and also modify some of our points of view.

Let us start with the beginnings. From a general point of view, for the first time in the history of archaeological research in Cumae, our excavations have brought to light unquestionable evidence of domestic occupation on the plain during the Pre-Hellenic phase. This occupation can be dated both in the LBA and in the EIA.

The existence of LBA dwellings under the *insula* is demonstrated there by a level characterized by several series of cuttings and post-holes: they must have been used for different structures such as wooden huts/fences/platforms which were built in the

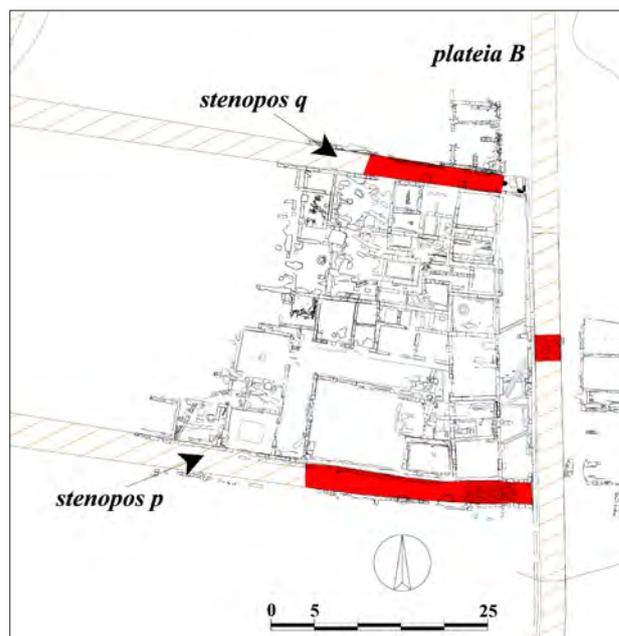


Fig. 6. The northern part of the city: *insula* between *plateia B* and *stenopoi p* and *q*, excavations University of Napoli L'Orientale, 2001, 2007-2022 (© University of Napoli L'Orientale)

same area but at different times. From a stratigraphical point of view, these post-holes and cuttings had deeply cut into the surface level of the thick tephra layer from the latest large eruption in the Phlegraean Fields. This is the so-called Averno 2 eruption, which has been dated at ca. 1750 BC⁹³, corresponding to the end of the Early Bronze Age (EBA)/early Middle Bronze Age (MBA) in archaeological sequences. Before our excavations, this tephra layer had already been identified through a core drilling located ca. 33 m north/northwest (Fig. 7: drilling C14)⁹⁴. This is a geological *terminus post quem*, therefore, for human occupation (or reoccupation) of the area, i.e. after the end of the EBA/early MBA.

Matteo D'Acunto

The first archaeological evidence of the occupation of the area between the LBA and the EIA comes from the deep excavation conducted inside the peristyle of the large *domus* occupying the southern part of the *insula* (Fig. 7.2). The archaeological trench conducted there since 2017, first under the supervision of Dr S. Napolitano, and then under my supervision since 2019, has brought to light a tight stratigraphic sequence.

⁹³ LIRER – PETROSINO – ALBERICO 2001.

⁹⁴ AMATO – GUASTAFERRO – LUPIA 2002, 94-98 (CR14); cf. GASTALDI 2018, 167, fig. 14 (location of the “carotaggio C14”).

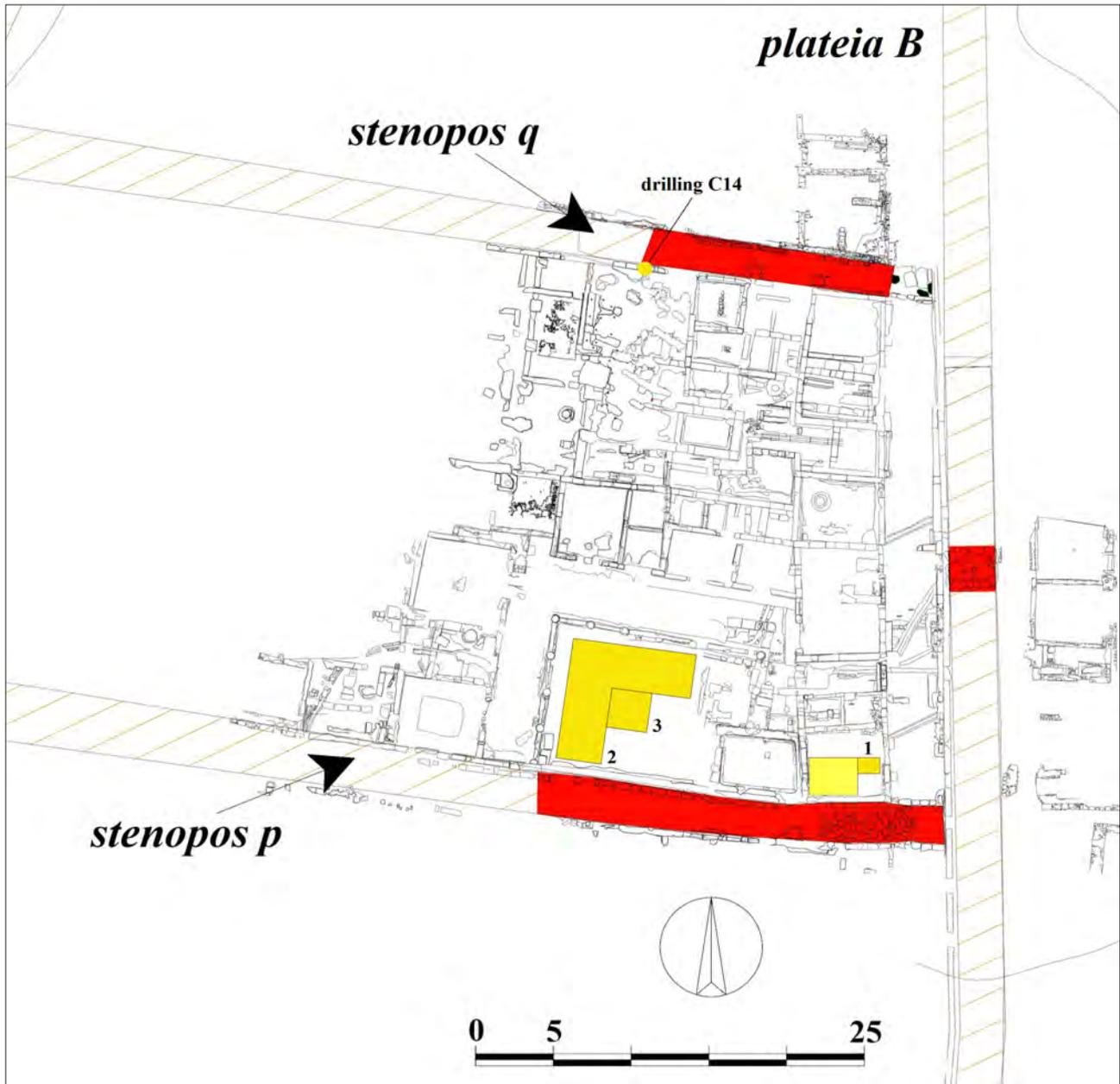


Fig. 7. The deep trenches (in yellow), which have brought to light closed domestic contexts of the LBA, under the *insula* north of the Forum baths – excavations University of Napoli L'Orientale, 2013, 2019, 2021 (© University of Napoli L'Orientale)

This documents domestic occupation which goes back from the early Archaic period to the RBA/FBA⁹⁵.

It was during the 2019 campaign that the earliest evidence was found consisting of many circular or sub-circular post holes which were uncovered along the western and northern sides of the excavation area. The posts had cut through by the volcanic deposits related to the Averno 2 eruption

⁹⁵ The stratigraphy later than the early Archaic period has been completely removed by the building activities connected with the creation of a large peristyle (1st century BC) and after that, of a fountain in its center (1st century AD).

(1750 BC). In this area, this tephra layer follows an irregular course according to the natural geomorphology of the site, characterized by a double system of slopes that runs from south to north and from west to east (2.32-2.22 m above sea level). The post holes found there reflect the layout of several structures that had succeeded one another over time. However, it remains to be clarified what the exact layouts were (Fig. 8). Despite the apparently haphazard arrangement, a careful analysis of the characteristics of the different holes and of their disposition allows us to recognize some li-

kely alignments. Along the western side of the excavation, towards the north, there is a concentration of small circular holes which are conical (10-15 cm in diameter). In particular, it seems possible to identify an alignment of holes oriented northeast-southwest (Fig. 9 in green) which intersects another row of holes oriented southeast-northwest at right angles (Fig. 9 in blue). Next to these two alignments, other holes which are circular or subcircular in shape can be recognized. In particular, immediately south of the alignment of holes placed in a southeast-northwest direction, there is a circular hole with a diameter of approximately 30 cm, at the bottom of which were found a number of tuff fragments (Fig. 9 in red). A similar hole characterized by the presence of tuff fragments at the bottom, was found 1.25 m to the south. Although caution is required, it seems likely that these two circular holes can be interpreted as the postholes for two wooden load-bearing elements of a structure: the presence of tuff fragments must have given the elevations greater stability.

The stratigraphies, which were connected to this occupation, have been almost completely removed by alluvial phenomena and as a consequence of activities during the following occupations of the area⁹⁶. As a result, it is not possible to establish if these alignments belonged to the same phase of occupation. Nevertheless, the function and chronology of this evidence can be established by the significant, albeit scant materials found within the filling of some of the post holes. Among these, there is a large fragment of a bowl (2) found at the bottom of one of the cavities, which can be compared to some RBA specimens⁹⁷. Two fragments, respectively of a strainer (1) and of a large dolium (20), were embedded in the upper part of one of the holes (Fig. 10)⁹⁸. A few fragments of jars and



Fig. 8. Trench under the western part of the peristyle (cf. Fig. 7.2): the tephra layer with series of post-holes from the LBA occupation (photo F. Nitti, 2019; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

cooking stand (4) were also found. At the present state of evidence, a later occupation in the first part of the EIA is suggested by a single fragment from a truncated cone-shaped vase (3), which finds comparisons with some specimens from Poggiomarino⁹⁹.

These discoveries testify to the presence of a domestic type of occupation that seems to begin in a transitional phase between the RBA and the FBA. In this area, the washout of the stratigraphy for the most part of the EIA does not allow us to verify if there is any continuity in the domestic occupation of the area until the evidence from the first half of the 8th century BC, which we will discuss later¹⁰⁰.

Francesco Nitti

⁹⁶ Only a few remains from the levels related to this occupation were recognized in the proximity of some post holes.

⁹⁷ See below Francesca Somma's contribution.

⁹⁸ The discovery of the two fragments in the upper part of the filling of the cut makes two alternative explanations possible. On the one hand, the two ceramic finds could in fact have been placed in the cut later than the lifetime of the structure (their position in the center of the cut and on the surface would not allow the insertion of a wooden pole). On the other hand, since the stratigraphies associated with these structures had been completely washed away, it cannot be excluded that the dolium lip and the strainer fragment were originally used as lateral reinforcements to support a post and that they then slipped into the lower part of the fill as a

result of erosion phenomena in the layers.

⁹⁹ See Francesca Somma's contribution, below.

¹⁰⁰ On the occupation of the area in the first half of the 8th century BC see the following chapter with the contributions of M. D'Acunto and F. Nitti.

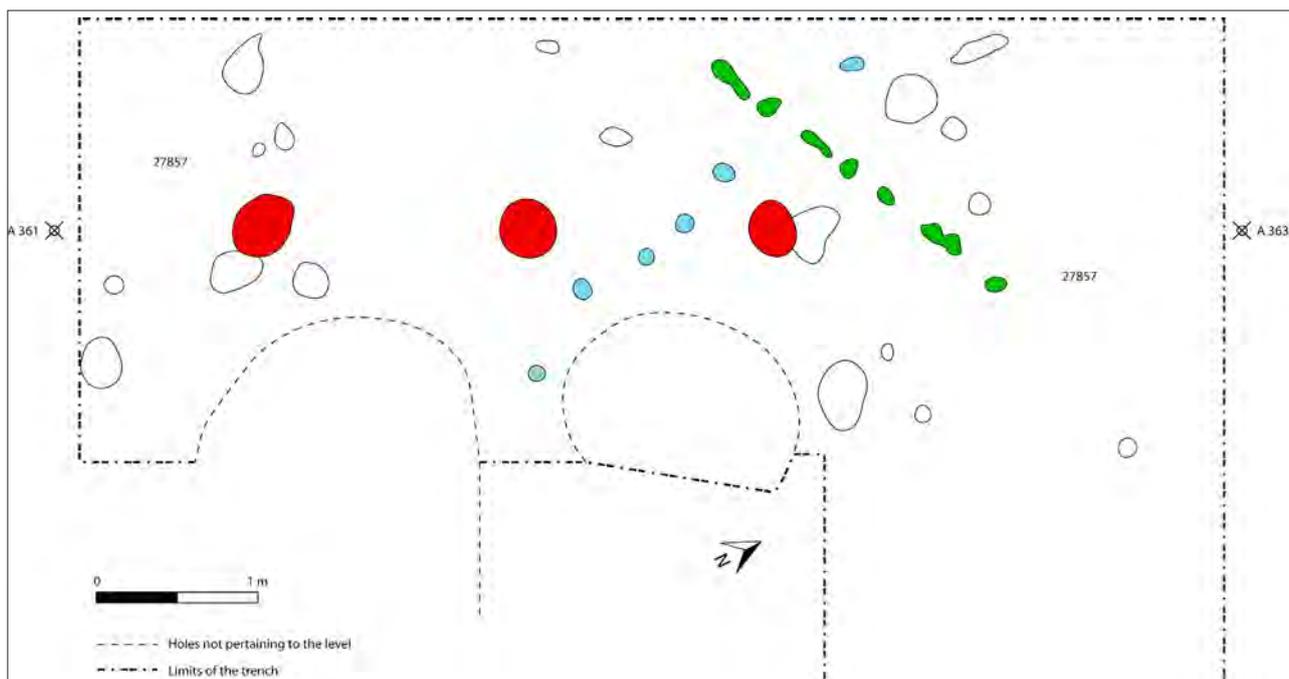


Fig. 9 - Trench under the western part of the peristyle (cf. Fig. 7.2): the tephra layer with series of post-holes from the LBA occupation (drawing F. Nitti, 2019; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)



Fig. 10. Trench under the western part of the peristyle (cf. Fig. 7.2): post-hole from the LBA occupation, on whose surface pottery fragments were embedded, from the north (photo F. Nitti, 2019; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

Another interesting piece of evidence from this phase was brought to light under the Roman period room occupying the southeast corner of the *insula* (Fig. 7.1). In the 2012 and 2013 campaigns it was possible to investigate the entire stratigraphic sequence under the room. The excavation was possible in the southern part of the room, because the *cocciopesto* floor had been compromised by later interventions. This small trench excavation, led under the supervision of Chiara Penzone and Suena Carnevale, brought to light the phases of oc-

cupation ranging from the Hellenistic Age back to the Bronze Age.

The LBA evidence was found in the western sector of the room, where, at an altitude of 2.40 m above sea level, the eruptive deposit of tephra were identified with the above-mentioned Averno 2 (1750 BC approx.) (see Figs. 7.1 in yellow and 11)¹⁰¹. The tephra deposit was not removed by our excavation, but a section was analyzed, thanks to several later deep cuttings that had affected both the surface and the entire eastern sector. It was possible to ascertain that the eruptive deposits had been altered, because other kinds of inclusions were found in some spots within the tephra layer. Hence, presumably the tephra layer is here in a secondary deposition, detached from its original position due to alluvial phenomena. The deposit can be correlated with the evidence that emerged from the drilling (CR14: see map Fig. 7)¹⁰², carried out in 2001, about 33 m north/northwest of the room; in CR14 drilling the same tephra layer was found in primary deposition, but it was deeper, starting from an altitude of -4.10 m above sea level.

¹⁰¹ LIRER – PETROSINO – ALBERICO 2001, 53-73.

¹⁰² AMATO – GUASTAFERRO – LUPIA 2002, 94-98.



Fig. 11. Trench under the room occupying the southeastern corner of the *insula*, from the east: in the center, the tephra layer in secondary deposition with cuttings from the LBA occupation; left, the southern wall of the *insula*: the lower line of blocks refers to the end of the LG, the upper line of orthostats refers to the 5th century BC phase (photo M. Giglio, 2013; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

In the northeastern sector of the excavated area, it was possible to investigate some layers above the surface of the eruptive deposit; in this sector a cutting was found which was characterized by straight vertical sides and filled with layers of a different kind (the perimeter is indicated in Fig. 7 in a darker yellow tone). Only the upper layer has been excavated, since groundwater has inhibited continuing deeper. This contained what were clearly domestic materials, including several fragments of cooking stands and a quantity of handmade (so-called “*impasto*”) pottery inside a fine sandy layer. At the base of the deposit an arrangement made of flakes in tufa stone was found which has been interpreted as a drainage floor (Fig. 12). We identified this evidence as part of a dwelling that could extend exclusively to the north, south and east sides; its interpretation as part of a hut is also supported by the fragments of clay plaster which were found over the drainage floor. The pottery sherds, which were found in this archaeological assemblage, consist of only handmade-*impasto* ware. An exception is a wheel-made fragment from a vase of closed shape, which might be temptingly identified as Mycenaean/Italo-Mycenaean ware (38).

Marco Giglio



Fig. 12. Trench under the room occupying the southeastern corner of the *insula*, from the east: drainage floor made of tufa flakes from the LBA occupation; the area is indicated in Fig. 7.1 in dark yellow (photo M. Giglio, 2013; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

2.3. Materials (Pls. 1-2)

The earliest phases of the sector brought to light on the western side of the peristyle (Fig. 7.2) can be dated on the basis of a limited number of diagnostic fragments, found in the fills of the post holes or close by. These suggest apparently uninterrupted occupation ranging from the Late Bronze to the beginning of the Iron Age. However, the scant number of finds imposes caution, and continuation of the research is expected to confirm this hypothesis regarding continuity of occupation of the area in this chronological span.

The strainer (1), of which a relevant portion is preserved, was found embedded in the upper part of one of the holes. It consists of a slightly convex perforated bottom and of truncated cone-shaped walls with horizontal handles. This morphology is comparable to a specimen found in the settlement

of Sorgenti della Nova belonging to the phases of the Final Bronze Age (FBA)¹⁰³.

The fragment of a carinated bowl (2) was found at the bottom of one of the post holes. The shape can be compared to that of Recent Bronze Age (RBA) specimens¹⁰⁴. Although this is the only find from this archaeological context to be related to this phase, it seems to date back to this chronological period.

On the other hand, with reference to the installation of structures on the eruptive level of Averno 2, a truncated cone-shaped vase (3) seems to refer to a more recent horizon. It can be compared to the finds from Poggiomarino of phase 1A-1B of the Early Iron Age (EIA)¹⁰⁵.

As far as the function of this context brought to light in the area of the peristyle is concerned, the finds associated with this first phase of life are clearly of a domestic character. Indicative of the residential function of the area is not only the strainer, but also the presence of fragments of cooking stands, among which is a perforated plate (4).

Very similar problems arise for the archaeological trench dug out below the Roman room in the southeastern corner of the *insula*, whose context is illustrated here by M. Giglio (Fig. 7.1).

The materials associated with the earliest levels of life in the area come from the evidence found at the bottom of a vertical-walled cut made in the tephra deposit for the housing of a drainage surface made of tuff flakes. The deposits excavated here have yielded a considerable amount of large containers: unfortunately, there are no diagnostic elements that would lead to a chronological classification. They refer to a domestic use of the area, which is supported by the presence of fragments of cooking stands and of a perforated plate (6) which shows traces of use by fire. Among the sherds of the large containers found there, 19 fragments stand out: these are characterized by a composition of clay that differs from the type of coarse clay attested for all the large containers and stoves found. These frag-

ments suggest vertical walls, probably from the same individual specimen, in a very compact, reddish-colored mixture, characterized by a light engobe both externally and internally; they include a fragment decorated with a wave or triangular engraved motif (5). At the moment, we are unable to provide a defined chronology and a classification of the production of this large container, because of its peculiar clay and the non-diagnostic character of the preserved parts.

The diagnostic finds from this context are very scarce too. The only diagnostic fragment is the strongly everted lip of a dolium, which is characterized by a light engobe (7). From a morphological point of view, it closely compares to some specimens from Broglio di Trebisacce¹⁰⁶, but they are different from the Cumae fragment because of their smaller size and being wheel-made. The Broglio di Trebisacce specimens include many variations and cover a time span between the FBA and the EIA.

Francesca Somma

In this context and brought to light below the corner room of the *insula*, a single wheel-made fragment in fine ware was found among a large amount of handmade *impasto* pottery (38). This sherd comes from the oblique part of the wall of the shoulder of a closed shape, namely a vase for pouring. Its painted decoration preserves a horizontal straight line, while two other lines are oblique, curvilinear and not concentric. The chronology of the context in the LBA and the decoration drawn free-hand make the hypothesis that the vase is of Mycenaean/Italo-Mycenaean production tempting. Indeed, the decorative motif could be that of a spiral (see the reconstructive drawing by F. Nitti in Pl. 2), which is common in the Mycenaean repertoire¹⁰⁷. An autopsy of the clay did not reveal the presence

¹⁰³ DOMANICO – CARDOSA 1995, 370, fig. 145, 68.

¹⁰⁴ In particular, it is akin to the specimens of family 16 of Damiani's classification (DAMIANI 2010, family 16, 160-163, pls. 24-26).

¹⁰⁵ BARTOLI 2012, for phase 1A: p. 421, fig. 248a, SC3; for phase 1B: p. 322, fig. 114, SC4B.

¹⁰⁶ PERONI 1982, p. 148, pl. 36, 2, specimen from the BF-IE levels and BUFFA 1994, p. 499, pl. 116, 31, form 50 variety B, dated to the Early Iron Age.

¹⁰⁷ See e.g. this motif painted on a LH IIIA sherd from the village of Castiglione in Ischia (BUCHNER 1936-1937, 78-80, fig. 3; BUCHNER – GIALANELLA 1994, 31, fig. 3 left). Our reconstruction in Francesco Nitti's drawing of the decoration on the vase from Cumae was made starting from the spiral painted on an Italo-Mycenaean fragment found in the site of Montagnolo at Ancona (SABBATINI – SILVESTRI – MILAZZO 2008, 246, fig. 7) and on a Mycenaean sherd from Su Murtu, Thartos (SPIGNO 2022, 2, 20, fig. 8; BERNARDINI 1989).

of mica, which is a characteristic element of Phlegraean fabrics: therefore, this vase cannot have been produced in Cumae nor in the Phlegraean islands (Ischia and Procida-Vivara), but it may have been imported from somewhere else, from Greece perhaps or from other areas of Italy.

It is clear that identifying this small-preserved part of a vase with a Mycenaean/Italo-Mycenaean vase calls for caution. Without a doubt, it will be necessary to have further finds and information on the context by extending the excavation area towards the east but the presence of such a vase in this context would certainly not be surprising. It would, in fact, widen the area of dissemination of Mycenaean/Italo-Mycenaean ceramics in Campania, and therefore also include the LBA village of Cumae. In the Proto-Apennine period (MBA) on the Phlegraean islands, the Mycenaean presence was particularly intensive on the island of Vivara, and thanks to the pottery of LH I-III A1 and other kinds of finds is well documented¹⁰⁸. Also significant is the discovery of a handful of fragments of LH IIIA in the MBA settlement of Castiglione on Ischia¹⁰⁹; another fragment, as yet unpublished, was identified by C. Improta in her post-graduate Master's dissertation among the "Scarico Gosetti" finds from the slopes of the Monte Vico hill. The fine Mycenaean and Italo-Mycenaean ceramics found in the RBA/FBA village of Afragola in the Campania plain¹¹⁰ refer to a more recent date, that of LH IIIB/C. LH IIIB/C ceramics, both imported and Italo-Mycenaean, were also found in RBA/FBA sites in southern Campania: Pontecagnano, Paestum, Battipaglia-Castelluccia, Eboli and the Polla cave¹¹¹. The case of Cumae, regarding chronology, would be consistent with the more recent chronological horizon, namely that of RBA/FBA of Italian prehistory or of LH IIIB/C in Mycenaean periodization: in terms of absolute chronology, this is roughly from the late 14th to the early 11th century BC¹¹².

¹⁰⁸ MARAZZI – TUSA 1994, 173-294, 303-316; MERKOURI 2005. A synthesis of the Mycenaean presence in Campania is given in D'ACUNTO 2020a, 1288-1289.

¹⁰⁹ MARAZZI – TUSA 2001, 241-250; GIARDINO – MERKOURI 2007, 743, 746, fig. 3A.

¹¹⁰ A preliminary report is LA FORGIA *et al.* 2007, 936-937, fig. 1.

¹¹¹ CAZZELLA – RECCHIA 2018, 15-16; D'ACUNTO 2020a, 1289; BETTELLI – VAGNETTI 2020, 1266-1267, 1273-1279, with references.

¹¹² A synoptic table of synchronisms between Italian and Mycenaean chronologies is given in BETTELLI – VAGNETTI 2020, 1274.

With all due caution, in such a general framework it would certainly not be surprising that Mycenaean merchants may have stopped in the landing place in the lagoon of Licola and traded with the LBA village of Cumae, many centuries before the Euboeans in the 8th century BC.

Matteo D'Acunto

3. THE PRE-HELLENIC NECROPOLIS

3.1. General picture

The Pre-Hellenic burial ground of Cumae developed on the small plain between the acropolis hill and the Monte Grillo ridge. The topography of the necropolis was recently reconstructed by P. Criscuolo by combining the topographical data available for the burial groups excavated during the 19th and 20th centuries with those from more recent excavations (Fig. 13)¹¹³. Based on this study, the northern limit of the necropolis has been located approximately 150 m north of the northern walls, approximating the area involved in the excavations carried out by Maglione, Menegazzi and Virzi in 1900-1901 (fig. 13.6-7) and probably extending northwards from there to the area of the so-called "Ex Fondo Correale"¹¹⁴.

The eastern limit of the necropolis is believed to roughly correspond to the modern Via Vecchia Licola as suggested by the presence of other Pre-Hellenic burials found during the investigations by the Count of Syracuse and Stevens immediately to the east of the 1900-1901 excavation site (fig. 13.1-2)¹¹⁵. The excavations carried out by the Centre Jean Bérard in 2006 (fig. 13.10) investigated a new group of burials located southwest of the Virzi excavations, at a distance of 50 m northwest of the Middle Gate of the northern walls. These burials can be classified between IA and the early IB phases of the EIA, with the exception of one grave which is dated to the late IB phase and one grave to the II phase¹¹⁶.

¹¹³ CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 331-333, 349 pl. I.

¹¹⁴ CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 332, 349; GASTALDI 2018, 194.

¹¹⁵ PELOSI 1993, 63, fig. 6; CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 349 pl. I; GASTALDI 2018, 194-195.

¹¹⁶ BRUN *et al.* 2008, 355-380; GASTALDI 2018, 190-193.

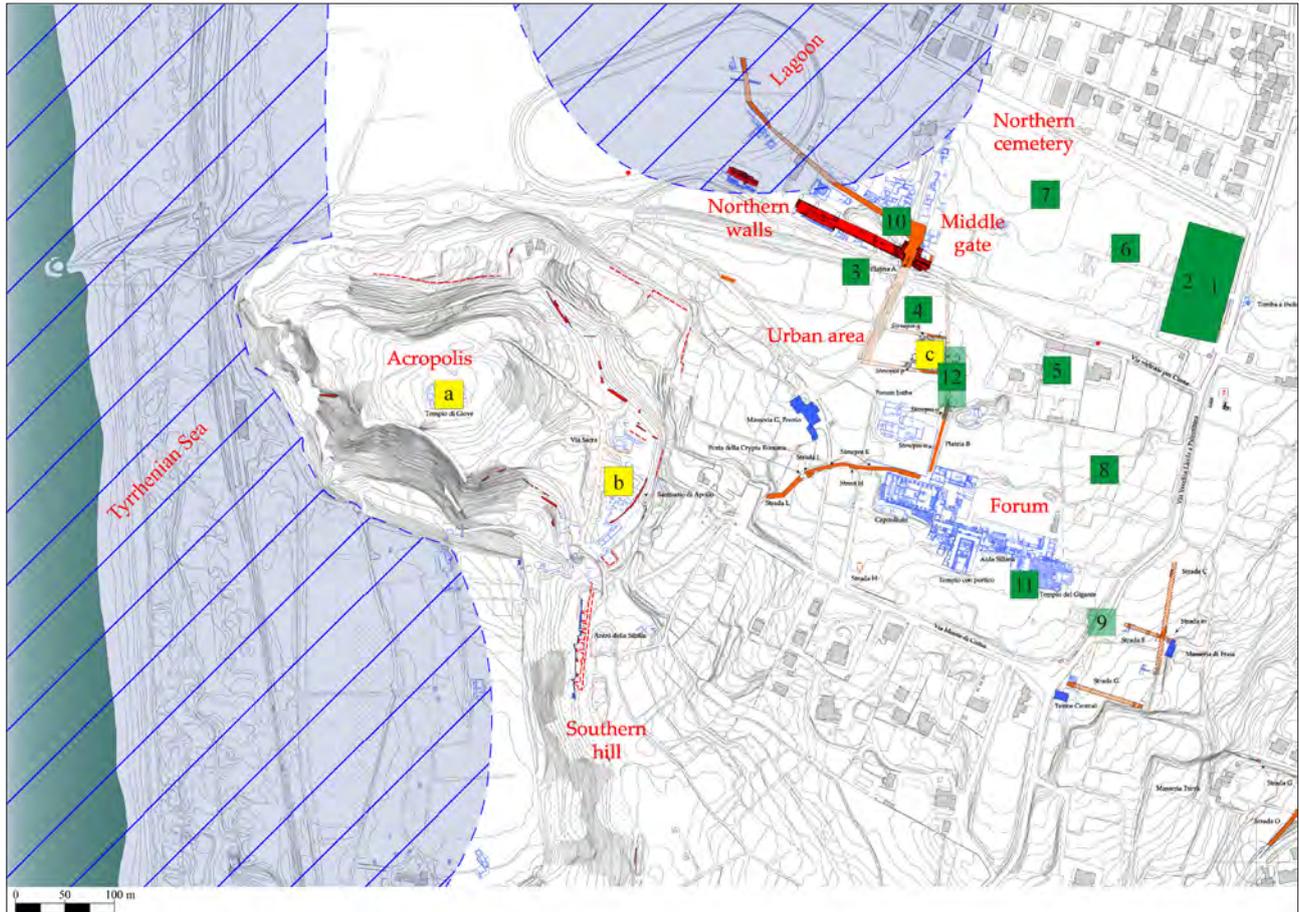


Fig. 13. Locations of the archaeological evidence from the FBA3-EIA Pre-Hellenic settlement of Cumae, with an approximate indication of the limit of the lagoon (drawing M. D'Acunto, C. Improta, C. Merluzzo, F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale; the necropolis updated after CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008; the limits of the lagoon and the coastline drawn after STEFANIUK – MORHANGE 2008).

Tombs (areas in green; disturbed tombs in light green): 1. Conte di Siracusa Excavations (1854-1857); 2-3. Stevens Excavations (1893); 4. Stevens Excavations (1894-1986); 5. Lubrano Excavations (1898); 6. Maglione Excavations (1900-1901); 7. Virzi Excavations (1900-1901); 8. Osta Excavations (1903); 9. Tocco Excavations (1975); 10. Centre Jean Bérard Naples Excavations (2002/2006); 11. University of Napoli Federico II Excavations (2006); 12. University of Napoli L'Orientale Excavations (2009-2016).

Evidence of the village (areas in yellow): a. Vittorio Emanuele III Excavations (1897); b. Gabrici Excavations (1910) and Buchner Excavations (1940); c. University of Napoli L'Orientale Excavations (2019, 2021-2023)

In the area south of the northern walls, Pre-Hellenic burials were identified during Stevens' excavations in the D'Isanto and Capalbo grounds (Fig. 13.3-4). This area was bordering the Provenzano ground to the southeast Fig. 13.5), from which came other objects from Pre-Hellenic graves¹¹⁷. Further south of the northern walls, the so-called "Osta tombs group"¹¹⁸ (phases I and II of Pre-Hellenic Cumae¹¹⁹) was discovered in 1903 in the Orilia property (Fig. 13.8). The southern boundary of the necropolis was indeed located in the area of

the Roman Forum by means of the results of the University of Napoli Federico II excavations in 2006 (Fig. 13.11). Two Pre-Hellenic burials¹²⁰ were uncovered close to the so-called Tempio del Gigante, one of which may be referred to the final IB-II phases of the EIA¹²¹, in the final decades of the 9th century BC¹²², and the other, whose grave-offerings include a fibula with a serpentine foliate arch decorated with impressed dots, may be dated to phase IIA of the EIA¹²³.

¹¹⁷ CRISCUOLO 2007, 265-267.

¹¹⁸ CRISCUOLO 2007, 266-267; NIZZO 2007a, 487.

¹¹⁹ NIZZO 2007a, 488-501; CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 333-337.

¹²⁰ GRECO 2008, 387-390, pl. I; 2009, 13-17, figs. 1-3; 2014, 59-64, figs. 4-6.

¹²¹ GASTALDI 2018, 195-196.

¹²² GRECO 2009, 13.

¹²³ GASTALDI 2018, 195.

Lastly, *impasto* sherds and a bronze spearhead, ascribable to types known from the Pre-Hellenic burial ground, were found in secondary deposition during excavations by the Soprintendenza Archeologica (Department of Antiquities) under the supervision of G. Tocco¹²⁴ in the area north of the crossroads that leads to the modern access point of the acropolis (Fig. 13.9).

Chiara Improta, Cristiana Merluzzo

3.2. New evidence on the Pre-Hellenic necropolis from the University of Napoli L'Orientale excavations (Pl. 10)

Archaeological evidence of the Pre-Hellenic necropolis, which extends over the plain in front of the acropolis, has also been brought to light in recent excavations conducted by the University of Napoli L'Orientale in the area north of the Forum baths. These funerary findings were unearthed in different spots, which are relatively distant from each other. Of course, one should not forget that only in a few spots of our excavation was it possible to reach the most ancient levels of occupation of the area. Therefore, at present, we are unfortunately unable to clarify the extent of development and the limits of the Pre-Hellenic burial ground in this sector.

There was only one case of uncovering an undisturbed tomb during our excavations, and it was in fact unearthed below the stratigraphy of the Greek colony in *stenopos p*, which bounds the extensively excavated Greek-Roman block to the south. The tomb (SP111144), excavated under the supervision of the writer, was recently published by Patrizia Gastaldi (Figs. 14-17)¹²⁵ and the present contribution will refer to that publication.

This grave may be ascribed to an early chronological horizon of the Pre-Hellenic necropolis, between the end of the FBA and the beginning of the EIA (10th – beginning of the 9th century BC). The burial ritual was secondary cremation, which was uncommon in the Pre-Hellenic cemetery of Cumae¹²⁶: in this necropolis, in fact, what was

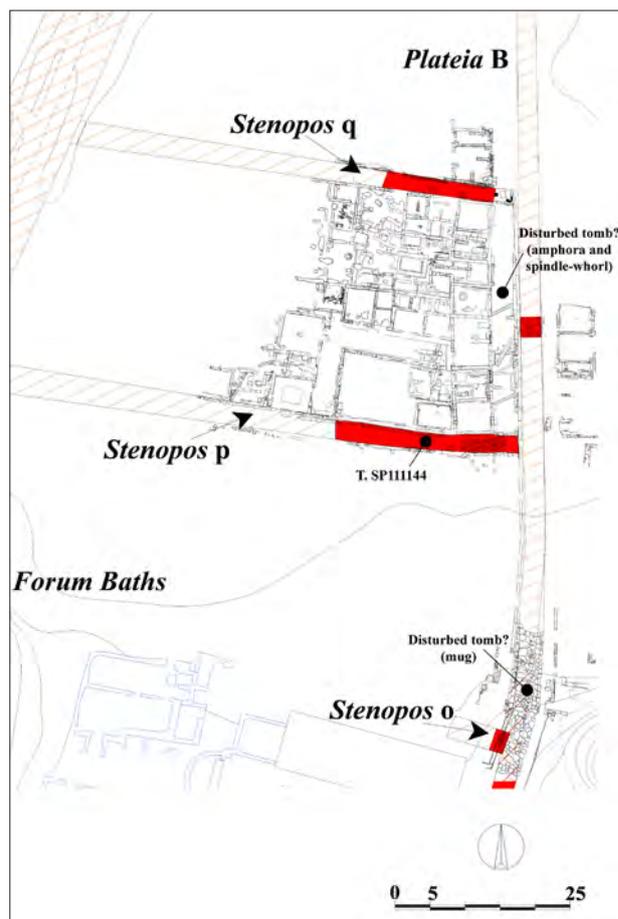


Fig. 14. Area north and east of the Forum baths: evidence from the FBA3-EIA cemetery found in the excavations of the University of Napoli L'Orientale (© University of Napoli L'Orientale)

normally adopted was inhumation, a ritual characteristic of the indigenous groups who populated Campania in the EIA, therefore known as “Fossa-Kultur”. The use of cremation in our case may be due to the ancient chronological horizon of this burial, therefore referring to those human groups adopting this ritual and populating northern Campania during the FBA chronological horizon¹²⁷. The excavation of the burial under *stenopos p* took place at a depth at which the ground water was outcropping. This did not compromise a stratigraphic reading, but it did affect the state of the materials, all retrieved from the water, and this made excavation operations particularly difficult.

¹²⁴ TOCCO 1975, 487.

¹²⁵ GASTALDI 2018, 182-185, figs. 14-18.

¹²⁶ Another known case is the tomb recently excavated in the sector of the cemetery northwest of the middle gate of the northern walls (T. 700716); this grave may also be referred to the end

of the FBA (FBA3): Zevi *et al.* 2008, 104-105 (S. Abellon, P. Munzi); GASTALDI 2018, 181, figs. 13, 15.

¹²⁷ GASTALDI 2018, 177-189.



Fig. 15. Trench in *stenopos p*, from the east (photo M. D'Acunto; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

Tomb SP111144 was covered by a small mound, consisting of roughly hewed large to medium sized tufa blocks (the top was placed +2.46 m above sea level). Underneath the mound was the oval-shaped pit (0.54 m wide and about 1.20 m long, with the bottom at +1.88 m above sea level), bordered by small tuff blocks, in which the grave offerings and the cinerary urn were placed (Fig. 17.1). A thick layer of charcoal was placed immediately above the grave offerings: this was certainly the ash from the pyre, collected and emptied out to close the pit. On the southwestern side of the pit the pyriform jar (Fig. 17.1), closed by a conical cover with a perforated socket (Fig. 17.11), contained the cremated remains of an adult woman¹²⁸, deposited together with a spindle-whorl (Fig. 17.12) and objects of personal adornment, which must have been worn

¹²⁸The anthropological analysis, conducted by Dr Alessandra Sperduti (Museo delle Civiltà, Roma), has identified the remains of a deceased woman of around 40 years old.

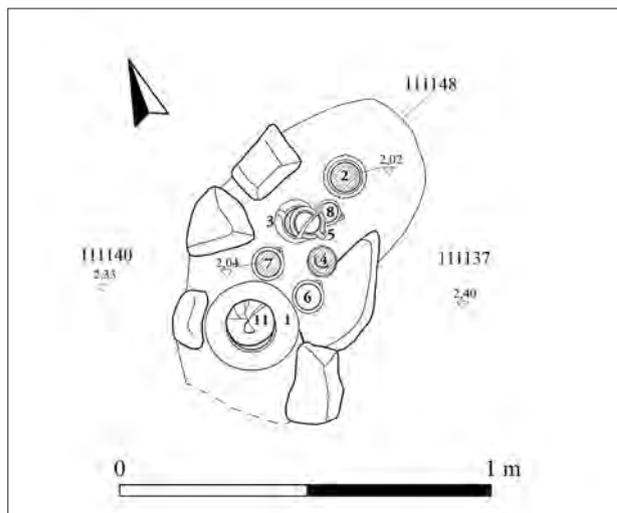


Fig. 16. T. SP111144 (FBA3/beginning of the EIA), plan (drawing M. Barbato; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

by the deceased during the funeral ceremony (the fibula with serpentine arch Fig. 17.13, a ring and a spiral, all made of bronze); to these was added a glass paste bead found in the ash layer of the fire. Among the grave offerings, the vessels in handmade *impasto* ware occupied the entire inner area of the pit and consisted of three bowls (Fig. 17.6-8), a jug (Fig. 17.4), an amphora closed by a deep cup (Fig. 17.3, 5), a small ovoid jar (Fig. 17.2), a boat-shaped vase with bird protome (Fig. 17.9) and a sort of miniature table, consisting of a circular disc with three wavy feet (with snake protomes?) (Fig. 17.10). According to P. Gastaldi, the cremation ritual, the miniature jar (Fig. 17.2) and the small “table” concur to suggest a date in the FBA3; on the other hand, the positioning of the vessels in the pit seems to reflect the typical layout of the inhumation tombs of the EIA. In absolute terms, therefore, the tomb should be dated between the 10th and the beginning of the 9th century BC¹²⁹.

The difficulties of excavation due to the depth of the discovery, the overlapping of the Greek-Roman period stratigraphy, as well as the outcropping of the ground water, made us realize how difficult it would be to investigate these older phases in this area. However, the uniqueness of the discovery of this tomb should not be misleading since it is logical to assume that an offshoot of the Pre-Hellenic necropolis must have extended to this area.

Mariangela Barbato

¹²⁹GASTALDI 2018, 183-185, figs. 18-19.

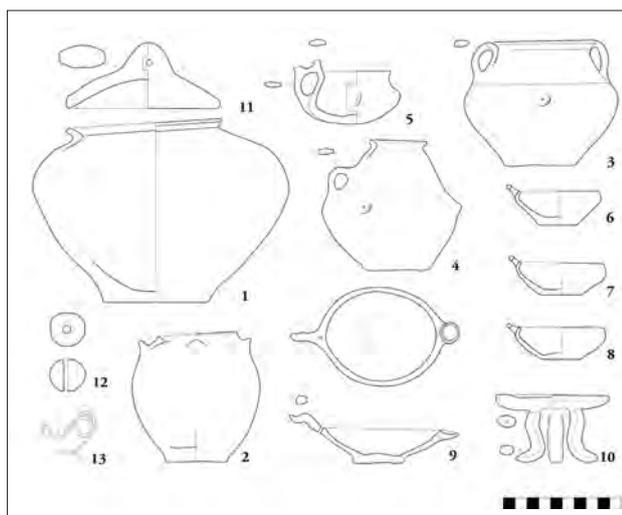


Fig. 17. T. SP111144 (FBA3/beginning of the EIA), grave offerings (drawings M. Barbato; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

During the excavations of the University of Napoli L'Orientale the latter hypothesis is supported by the discovery, not very far away, of some *impasto* finds in secondary deposition: these, thanks to their state of preservation, in good part intact, can probably be identified with grave offerings of Pre-Hellenic tombs which had been disturbed.

The clearest case is represented by a discovery made in the 2009 excavations at a distance of ca. 38 m south/southeast of Tomb SP111144 (Fig. 14). To the east of the Forum baths, and below the Roman-era pavement of *plateia* B, an artificial underground tunnel made by excavators was uncovered by our team. This probably refers to clandestine excavations carried out in the second half of the 19th, or at the beginning of the 20th century. They were probably looking for intact grave goods from the Pre-Hellenic burial ground and it is highly unlikely that they were interested in the fragmentary finds of the overlying Greek-Roman settlement¹³⁰. Inside the tunnel, we found a mug in *impasto* handmade ware, only partly incomplete (39)¹³¹. This mug probably belonged to the grave offerings of a Pre-Hellenic tomb and had either gone unnoticed or had been accidentally left behind by the diggers because of the hazardous conditions inside the excavation tunnel. The mug is roughly biconi-

cal in shape with an everted lip and a single handle (now lost) that would have been attached at the widest part of the body and mid shoulder; its decoration consists of a series of oblique ribs on the shoulder and round bulges on the widest part. It is in part similar to an “*orciolo*”, which in P. Criscuolo’s classification of Cumaean *impasto* pottery, is assigned to the Pre-Hellenic I phase (ca. 9th century BC). However, in this particular type the upper part of the body is higher¹³². Only in part similar due to the shape of the body, is a type of mug in the Cumaean repertoire that has been assigned to the subsequent phase II (ca. first half of the 8th century BC), with the significant difference that in this type the mouth is reduced to a flared rim¹³³. According to the Pontecagnano classification of *impasto* pottery, the mug from Cumae can be compared to a type of pitcher (“*brocca*”) from the initial phase of the EIA (phase IA), but again this type is higher in the upper part of the body¹³⁴. In the Pontecagnano repertoire on the other hand, the mug (“*bicchiere*”) has a more globular shape, and both the upper part of the body and the lip are lower¹³⁵. In sum, this *impasto* mug from Cumae can be assigned to the EIA cemetery, perhaps still in phase I (9th century BC).

The other find was ca. 27 m north/northeast of T. SP111144 (Fig. 14). An amphora (40) and a spindle-whorl (41), both in *impasto*, were found close to each other in a layer from the Greek colony’s earliest chronological horizon. It was discovered in an archaeological trench excavated below the Roman *porticus* of *plateia* B. These two objects’ state of preservation, in part intact, and the fact that they date to the EIA lead to the hypothesis that they were found there in a secondary position and that they could have originally belonged to a disturbed Pre-Hellenic tomb. The hypothesis of their relevance to a tomb is also coherent with the observation that a short distance north/northwest of the spot where they were found is the nucleus of the Pre-Hellenic necropolis excavated by Stevens

¹³⁰ On excavation activities, both supervised and unsupervised, in the Pre-Hellenic necropolis, see GABRICI 2013, cols. 61-212; CRISCUOLO 2007; NIZZO 2008a; CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, esp. 348 Tab. 1; GASTALDI 2018.

¹³¹ Cf. GASTALDI 2018, 190, fn. 112, fig. 22 left.

¹³² CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, p. 336 fig. 1.6, p. 346 no. 6 “*Orciolo biconico con imboccatura larga*”.

¹³³ CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, p. 336 fig. 2.6, p. 346 no. 6 “*Orciolo globulare con orlo svasato*”.

¹³⁴ Pontecagnano III.1, 23, no. 80A2a, fig. 7.

¹³⁵ Pontecagnano III.1, 24, no. 100A, fig. 8.

between 1894 and 1896 in the Capalbo estate (Fig. 13.4). Pia Criscuolo's study carried out a topographical positioning of all the Pre-Hellenic burial nuclei excavated at the time, including those resulting from the 19th century excavations, on the basis of an archive study of the location of the estates at that time (CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 331-333, pl. 1). If we rely on her map (cf. Fig. 13), it can be roughly calculated that the discovery spot of the amphora and of the spindle-whorl is about 20-50 m south/southeast of the Capalbo burial ground. The spot, where the amphora and the spindle-whorl were discovered, was quite nearby and halfway between T. SP111144 and the Capalbo nucleus: this would be consistent with the hypothesis that these are probably the grave offerings from a disturbed grave, originally part of a burial ground (on the other hand, it cannot be completely excluded that the two finds referred, instead, to the Pre-Hellenic residential context brought to light in the area of the peristyle, for which, see below). Amphora 40 has a neck and an angled asymmetrical body; it is decorated with oblique ribs on the shoulder and a series of round bulges on its widest part. The amphora refers to a type considered by P. Criscuolo as exclusive to Cumae's Pre-Hellenic II phase¹³⁶. Two amphorae of different sizes, from two Osta burial ground graves, provide a close comparison in terms of decoration and shape: one in T. 21, dated to the Pre-Hellenic II period or perhaps, because of the type of fibula, to the second part of the Pre-Hellenic I period (phase IB of Pontecagnano)¹³⁷; and another in T. 4, which may be referred to the Pre-Hellenic II period (phase IIA of Pontecagnano)¹³⁸. Spindle-whorl 41 had a polygonal outline, with an oval/biconical section: it can be compared, for example, with those from the

same T. 4 Osta¹³⁹. The hypothesis is, therefore, that if the amphora and the spindle-whorl actually came from the grave-offerings of a disturbed Pre-Hellenic tomb, this may refer to Pre-Hellenic II, in the first half of the 8th century BC (or, alternatively, to the second part of Pre-Hellenic I, in the second half of the 9th century BC).

The discoveries made by the University of Napoli L'Orientale north of the Forum baths raise a crucial problem concerning the topography of the necropolis and of the Pre-Hellenic village of Cumae, in the sector of the plain in front of the acropolis (Fig. 13). On one hand, a strip of the Pre-Hellenic necropolis was clearly located in the eastern and northeastern sector of the area north of the Forum baths, based on the discovery of T. SP111144, on the vases in secondary deposition, and on the positioning of the Capalbo and d'Isanto burial nuclei. On the other hand, an important novelty comes from the discovery during our excavations of a Pre-Hellenic domestic sector with a hut in the area of the peristyle (see below, chpt. 4) and of the corner room in the block: this residential sector is therefore located near burial SP111144 and not very distant from the other evidence of the necropolis, which has just been mentioned. For the first time in the history of the archaeological research at Cumae, this is the clearest archaeological evidence that the Pre-Hellenic village expanded, together with the terraces of the acropolis, to a stretch of the plain in front of the hill. Nevertheless, the hypothesis that an offshoot of the village extended to a portion of the plain had already been advanced previously by several scholars, albeit at the time still in the absence of direct archaeological evidence of residential areas¹⁴⁰. Although still very limited and partial, the first archaeological evidence from our excavations shows that this domestic occupation concerns both the RBA/FBA and the EIA.

The crucial question now is how to explain this alternation between residential spaces and cemetery spaces in the area north of the Forum baths in

¹³⁶ CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 346 no. 9 (cf. also no. 10), fig. 2.9 (cf. also fig. 2.10); CRISCUOLO 2014, 91 with references.

¹³⁷ MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 237, pl. 22, no. 2. For a date in Pre-Hellenic II see CRISCUOLO 2014, 91; for a date for this type of fibula, but in Pontecagnano, in phase IB, see *Pontecagnano III.1*, 15 pl. 2, 31, 72 fig. 15, type 320[A]2 and cf. the former type 320[A]1b1; on this context cf. NIZZO 2007a, 492-493.

¹³⁸ CRISCUOLO 2014, 91, fig. 2.1 (the type is considered as exclusive to Pre-Hellenic II); MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 37-38, 234-235, pl. 17, no. 24. Cf. for the shape, also GABRICI 1913, cols. 85-86, pls. XVII.6, XVIII.2; and CRISCUOLO 2007, 278-280, no. 21 (Civic Museum of Baranello).

¹³⁹ CRISCUOLO 2014, 90, fig. 2, nos. 22-23. Cf. *Pontecagnano III.1*, 30, 71, fig. 14, type 240C2.

¹⁴⁰ D'AGOSTINO 2011b, 36; GRECO 2008, 388; 2014, 59-60; cf. GASTALDI 2018, 189.

chronological horizons which are very close to each other? Two different hypotheses could provide the answer to this question:

- 1) the first hypothesis is that it was not only the area north of the Forum baths, but also other parts of the plain facing the acropolis hill which were characterized by occupation, so to speak, “in spots”: namely, that this small plain at the foot of Monte di Cuma had been occupied in Pre-Hellenic times by a number of small residential nuclei, alternating with others belonging to the necropolis, which were situated very close by and associated with them.
- 2) The second hypothesis is that a strip of land in the sector north of the Forum baths had represented a border, so to speak, between the area of the necropolis, distributed on the eastern and northeastern side of the plain, and that of the inhabited area, which had developed to the west, along and near the slopes of the acropolis.

Of course, the Pre-Hellenic necropolis may have been organized in family plots¹⁴¹. However, the question is whether these funerary nuclei could have actually been interspersed with residential areas, or whether there was a separate strip intended for burials, which was distinct from that intended for the village sector in the plain. And, of course, for both hypotheses, the topographical development of the necropolis areas and of the residential areas may have changed significantly in diachrony: of course many centuries passed in the period from the RBA/FBA to the EIA and to the foundation of the *apoikia*, around 750-740 BC.

At the present state of evidence, both hypotheses 1) and 2) remain open and new data are awaited from further archaeological excavations. However, I personally believe that the evidence currently available clearly points in the direction of hypothesis 2), at least with regard to the chronological horizon documented by the extensive excavations carried out in the necropolis at the end of the Final Bronze Age (FBA3) and the Early Iron Age (Pre-Hellenic I-II) which is roughly between the 10th and the middle of the 8th century BC. Patrizia Gastaldi, in particular, has explored this

convincingly in her comprehensive contribution on Pre-Hellenic Cumae of 2018, and her conclusions are worth quoting: «To the community of the dead the indigenous society therefore assigns a large area in the eastern part of the plain, not far from the southern shore of the lagoon and well integrated into the viability of the district; certainly only with the continuation of the archaeological investigation we will be able to arrive at a precise definition of its extension and correctly assess the structure of this large burial ground that however does not seem very dissimilar from that documented in other proto-urban centers of Campania»¹⁴². In support of this hypothesis – namely of a wide burial belt that develops in the eastern sector of the plain at a significant distance from the slopes of the acropolis – is, in fact, the relative proximity between the different burial nuclei, brought to light to date. This picture is made clear by Pia Criscuolo’s positioning of the burial lots, integrated with the data from the University of Napoli L’Orientale excavations (Fig. 13). The distance between the burial nuclei ranges from a few tens of meters up to 50/100 meters or slightly more. The spotty occupation of these cemetery areas should not be misleading: it must be largely due to the often unsystematic character of the research and the difficulties encountered when trying to reach the protohistoric levels in a pluristratified site such as Cumae.

Another argument suggesting hypothesis 2) is that in the entire history of archaeological research at Cumae, whether supervised or not, there have been no reports of EIA burials in all of the western part of the plain, namely in the part occupying the area closest to the slopes of the acropolis hill: not in the sector west of the Forum and of the Forum baths, nor west of our excavations and of those of the 19th century in the Capalbo and d’Isanto estates. The area of the University of Napoli L’Orientale excavations to the north of the Forum baths, with its alternating evidence of a Pre-Hellenic necropolis and pre-Greek settlement, may reflect, therefore, its position along the margins, between the necropolis belt to the east and that of the village to the west. It is clear that an offshoot of the native village at the foot of Monte di Cuma, if confirmed by further archaeological research, would have benefited from

¹⁴¹ GASTALDI 2018, 189-196.

¹⁴² GASTALDI 2018, 196.

two favorable geomorphological and topographical aspects for the Pre-Hellenic settlement:

- a) first of all, our excavations have shown that the geomorphology of the sector north of the Forum is characterized by a pronounced slope from south to north and by a less pronounced one from southwest to northeast¹⁴³. Therefore, a part of the Pre-Hellenic village located in the area of the plain close to the acropolis, to the east and northeast of the hill, occupies a high geological position with respect to the other neighboring parts of the plain. This would have helped the inhabitants to avoid, at least in part, the effects of heavy flooding, which affected the plain at the foot of the acropolis hill, and which was also thoroughly documented by the archaeological excavations¹⁴⁴.
- b) Second, a sector of the village located at the foot of the acropolis hill, east and northeast of it, heads down towards the lagoon and therefore allows this excellent natural landing area to be in full view and kept under control. Trade was certainly an important economic factor in the Pre-Hellenic settlement (see below) and, consequently, the sheltered harbor in the lagoon would have lent itself to trading and must have been one of the most important areas of the settlement.

Matteo D'Acunto

4. NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF THE PRE-HELLENIC VILLAGE ON THE PLAIN FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF NAPOLI L'ORIENTALE EXCAVATIONS.

4.1. *The evidence from the excavation conducted inside the peristyle of the southern domus*

Important evidence relating to the occupation of the area during the Pre-Hellenic period and later colonial phases comes from the excavation conducted between 2018 and 2023 inside the peristyle of the large *domus* occupying the southern part of the *insula* (Figs. 18.1-4; 19). Logistical and safety reasons, given the considerable size of the area, have prevented us from proceeding with an extensive excavation

of the entire peristyle area. Therefore, during 2018¹⁴⁵ and 2019¹⁴⁶, only the western side and part of the southern and northern sides of the peristyle (the limits are indicated in Fig. 18.1) were excavated. During the archaeological campaign of 2021¹⁴⁷, the excavation area was extended to the central part of the peristyle (Fig. 18.2), while during 2022¹⁴⁸ and 2023¹⁴⁹ the southeast corner of the peristyle (Fig. 18.3, 4) was investigated. It should be noted that this area is characterized by a marked natural slope from southwest to northeast. As a result, the correlation between the stratigraphies brought to light during the different archaeological campaigns proved to be difficult in a number of cases. However, correlating the main phases of occupation between one and the other areas was straightforward.

4.1.1. The archaeological campaigns of 2018 and 2019

In 2018 and 2019, the entire western side, and part of the southern and northern sides of the peristyle were investigated (the limits of the excavation are indicated in Fig. 18.1: the eastern edge of this trench is irregular because of two holes from the Roman period which have removed the older stratigraphy). In this area, immediately above the Bronze Age dwelling evidence presented above, a tight sequence of Early Iron Age levels was brought to light over an area of ca. 22 m². These levels took the form of earthen floors, on which hearths were arranged with associated faunal remains, the result of intense food preparation and consumption activities that must have taken place *in situ*. This archaeological evidence, together with the relatively large number of *impasto* pottery fragments found there, was clearly related to domestic activities and reveals the residential nature of the occupation of the area during this phase (see C. Improta and C. Merluzzo, below, chpts.

¹⁴⁵ The excavation was conducted from September 3 to October 5, 2018.

¹⁴⁶ The excavation was conducted from September 2 to October 4, 2019.

¹⁴⁷ The excavation was conducted from September 13 to October 1, 2021.

¹⁴⁸ The excavation was conducted from September 5 to 30, 2022.

¹⁴⁹ The excavation was conducted from September 4 to 29, 2023.

¹⁴³ D'ACUNTO 2020b, 255-263; cf. below.

¹⁴⁴ On this aspect see D'ACUNTO 2020b.

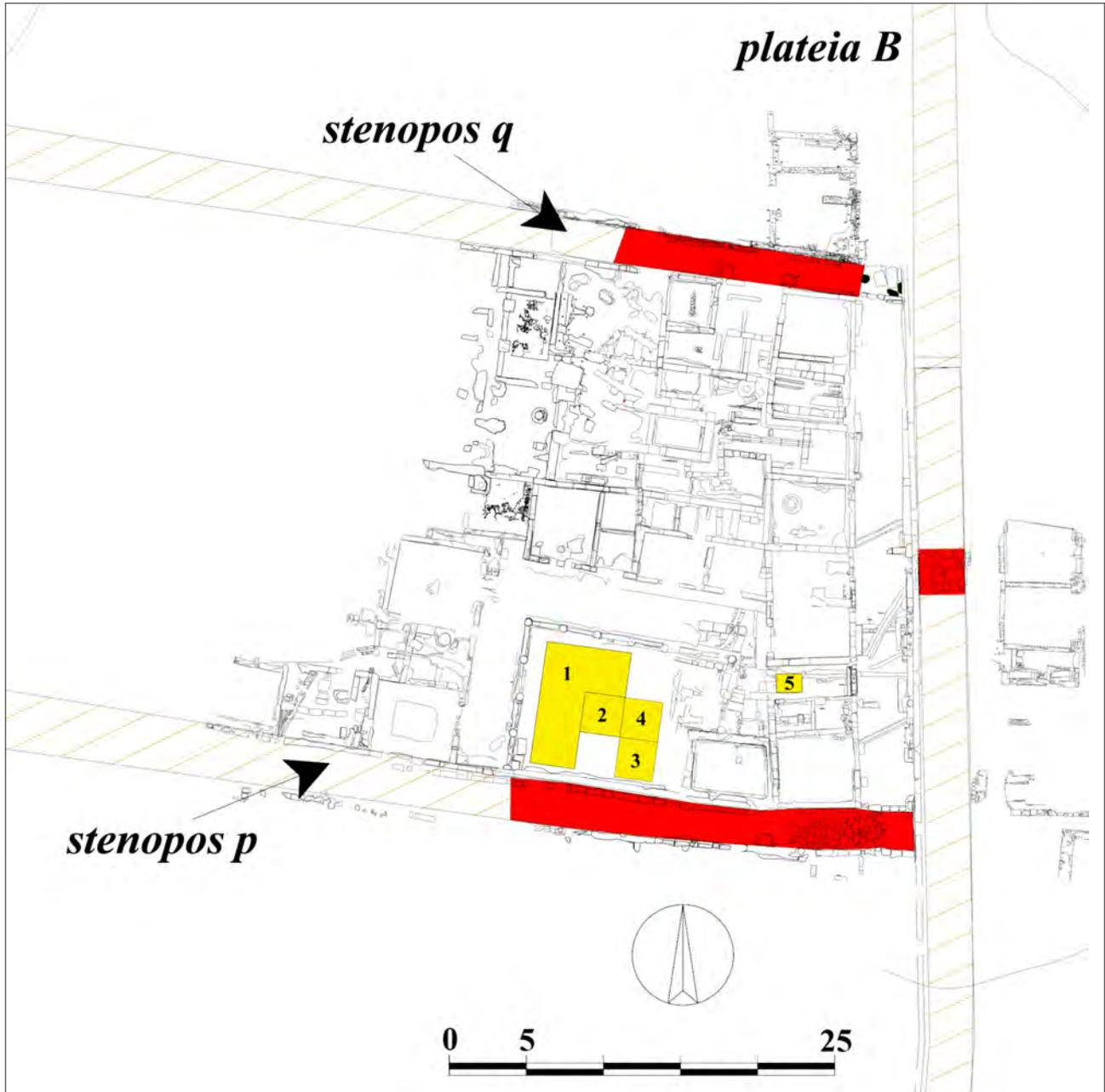


Fig. 18. Excavated areas (in yellow) showing domestic occupation in the late Pre-Hellenic period, brought to light under the *insula* north of the Forum baths – University of Napoli L’Orientale excavations, 2007, 2018-2019, 2021, 2022 and 2023 (© University of Napoli L’Orientale)

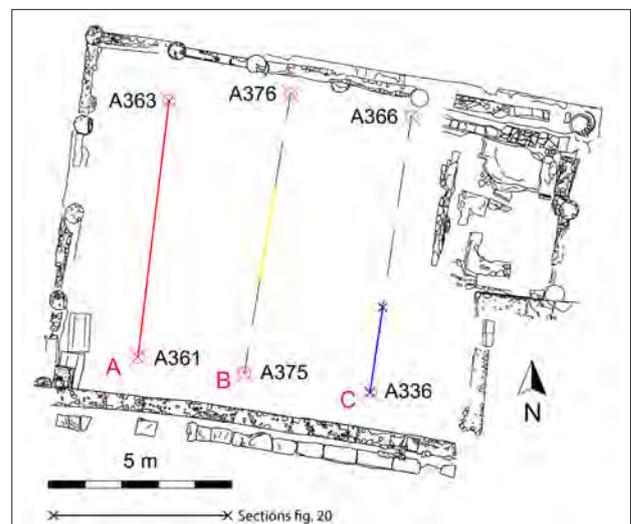


Fig. 19. Plan of the peristyle with south-north sections (trenches Fig. 18.1 [A], 2 [B], and 3 [C]; drawing F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L’Orientale)

4.1.4 and 4.2-3). On the other hand, the few but significant fragments of Greek imported pottery found here demonstrate that these levels occurred in a very short time span, immediately preceding the end of the Pre-Hellenic village of Cumae, just before or around the middle of the 8th century BC (see M. D'Acunto, below, chpt. 4.4).

We will now move on to a detailed description of the archaeological evidence, identifying the different archaeological levels as I, II, III, IV, following the stratigraphic sequence from the oldest to the most recent. It is important to emphasize the fact that ceramic fragments pertaining to the same specimen (as is evident especially for the imported Greek vessels) were sometimes deposited in strata with distinct levels: this is explained by the clearly very close chronology of the rearrangement of the different floors.

Level I

Immediately above the tephra deposit related to the eruption of Averno 2 (Figs. 8-11) lay an alluvial layer consisting of fine coastal sand (US 27873). This layer was in turn covered by a clayey layer (US 27847, Fig. 20.A in pink; Fig. 21), which was clearly recognizable along the entire surface of the area due to its dark brown color and numerous traces of small fragments of charred wood, faunal remains and pottery fragments. Along the eastern side of the excavated area, this level presented two sub-circular firing pits, filled with a thick layer of charred wood fragments and traces of fired clay. In particular, the southernmost firing pit showed clear traces of thin elongated charred wooden elements which protruded from the perimeter of the firing area (Fig. 22). At the bottom of both firing pits were two smaller circular pits filled with irregularly shaped blocks of tufa. These tufa blocks may have had the function of insulating the surface on which the fire was lit from the humidity of the soil. This evidence could be interpreted, albeit cautiously, as firing pits utilized for pyrotechnological activities. In particular, the filling of the southernmost firing pit yielded some underfired fragments as suggested by the consistency of the ceramic body. This finding might suggest that at least this particular firing pit was used for firing ceramics¹⁵⁰.

¹⁵⁰ For the definition of “open firing” or “nonkiln firing” and for ceramic firing techniques related to this type of object see

On the other hand, traces of activities related to food preparation and consumption are attested in the northwestern corner of the excavation area, where two hearths were preserved. This level yielded numerous ceramic fragments of *impasto* pottery associated with very few fragments of imported Greek vessels. Among these is a fragment pertaining to a skyphos with one bird metope (42) which allows us to date the context approximately to 775-750, prob. before or ca. 760 BC.

Level II

Above Level I, in the northwest corner and along the entire northern end of the excavated area, there was another layer which shows clear traces of human activity (US 27837, Fig. 20.A in green). This floor was characterized by the presence of numerous fragments pertaining to pithoi and at least one *dolium*¹⁵¹ scattered over the entire area (Figs. 23-24). In the northwest corner was located a small oval-shaped hearth, near which numerous faunal remains were found. A number of *impasto* pottery fragments and a few sherds of imported Greek pottery come from this level. Of great interest among the latter are two fragments probably belonging to a PSC skyphos (alternatively a black/chevron/bird skyphos) (43). A large fragment of a cooking stand (19) was also found on the surface of this layer.

Level III

Along the western side, the level just described was covered with a dark brown clayey layer (US 27838, Fig. 20.A in light blue; Fig. 25), characterized by the presence of a large circular hearth of approximately 1 m in diameter (Fig. 26). The hearth had been created by a shallow cut in the floor level, on the bottom of which the embers were directly arranged. On the surface of this hearth was a layer of ash and fragments of fired clay. The earth surrounding this hearth was blackened by fire and filled with charred pieces of wood, small fragments of fired clay and faunal remains related to food preparation and food consumption.

CUOMO DI CAPRIO 2007, 502-507; IAIA 2009, 55-57, and SOTGIA 2019, 305-308.

¹⁵¹ We use the terms “*dolium*” (pl. “*dolia*”) to refer to large protohistoric *impasto* storage vessels.

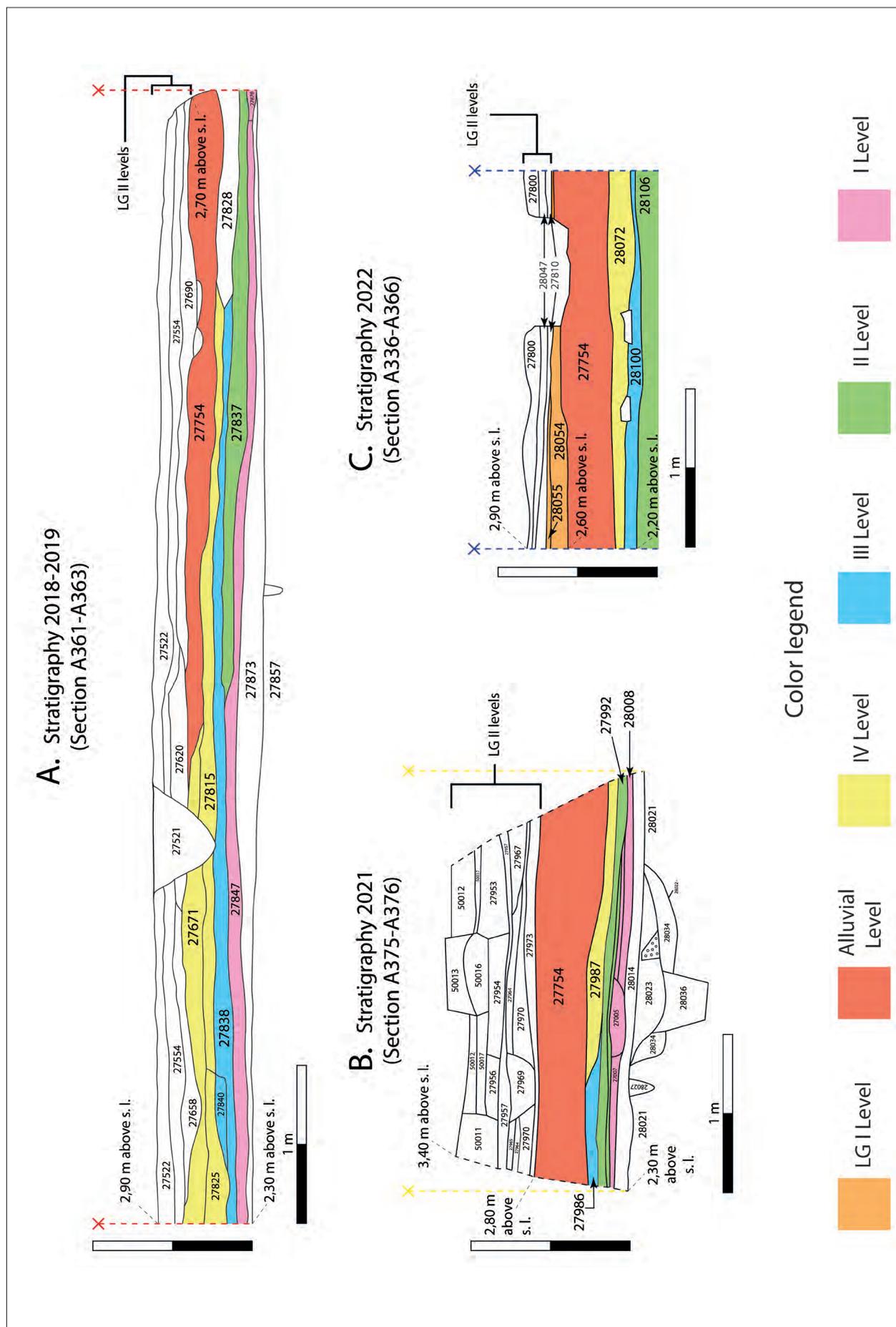


Fig. 20. Peristyle, south-north sections (cf. Fig. 19) –2018–2022 excavations (drawing F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

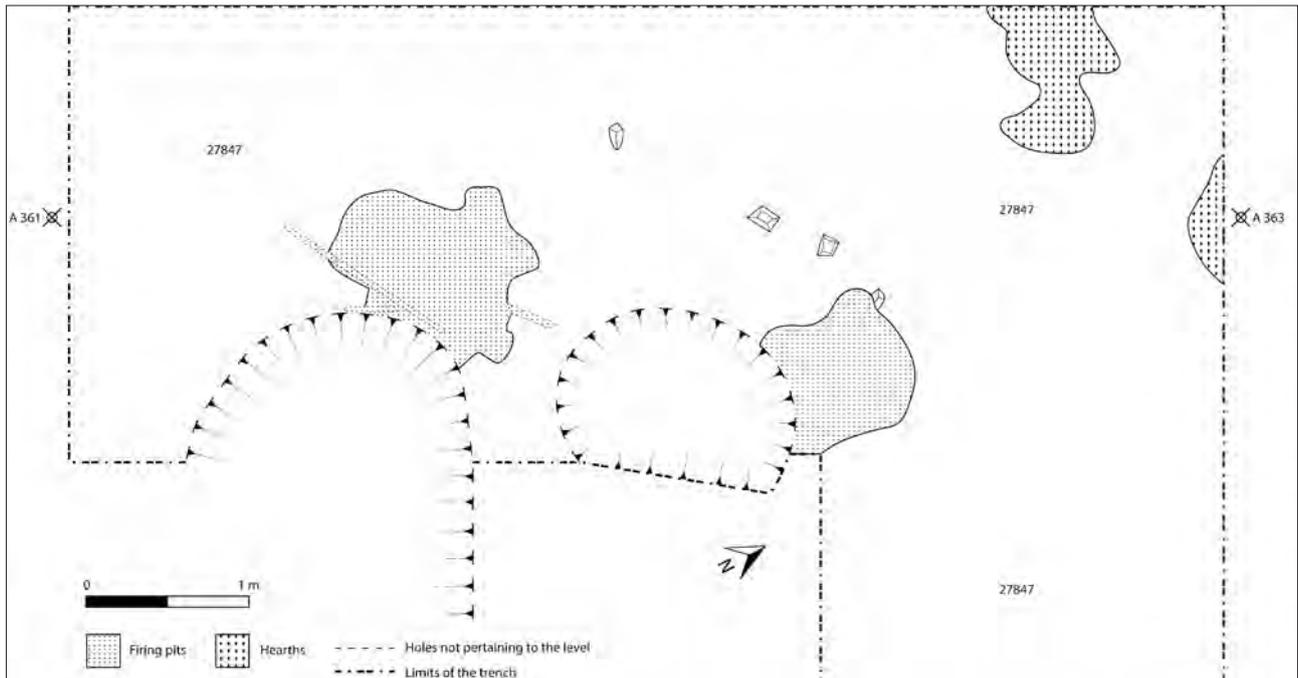


Fig. 21. Level I. Plan of the archaeological evidence (drawing F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)



Fig. 22. Level I. The firing pit with traces of thin and elongated charred wooden elements located in the southwest corner of the excavation area (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

Once again, the materials demonstrate an overwhelming predominance of *impasto* pottery over wheel-made pottery. Among the specimens pertaining to *impasto* pottery, one fragment of a cup (8) and numerous fragments of jars stand out. On the other hand, among the sherds of Greek production what stands out is a fragment pertaining to a Euboean sky-

phos of the chevron type (47). This specimen allows us to date the context still within the second quarter of the 8th century BC. It is also important to note several fragments of Red Slip ware, including a dish (see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue no. 1) and two amphorae (see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue nos. 2 and 4).

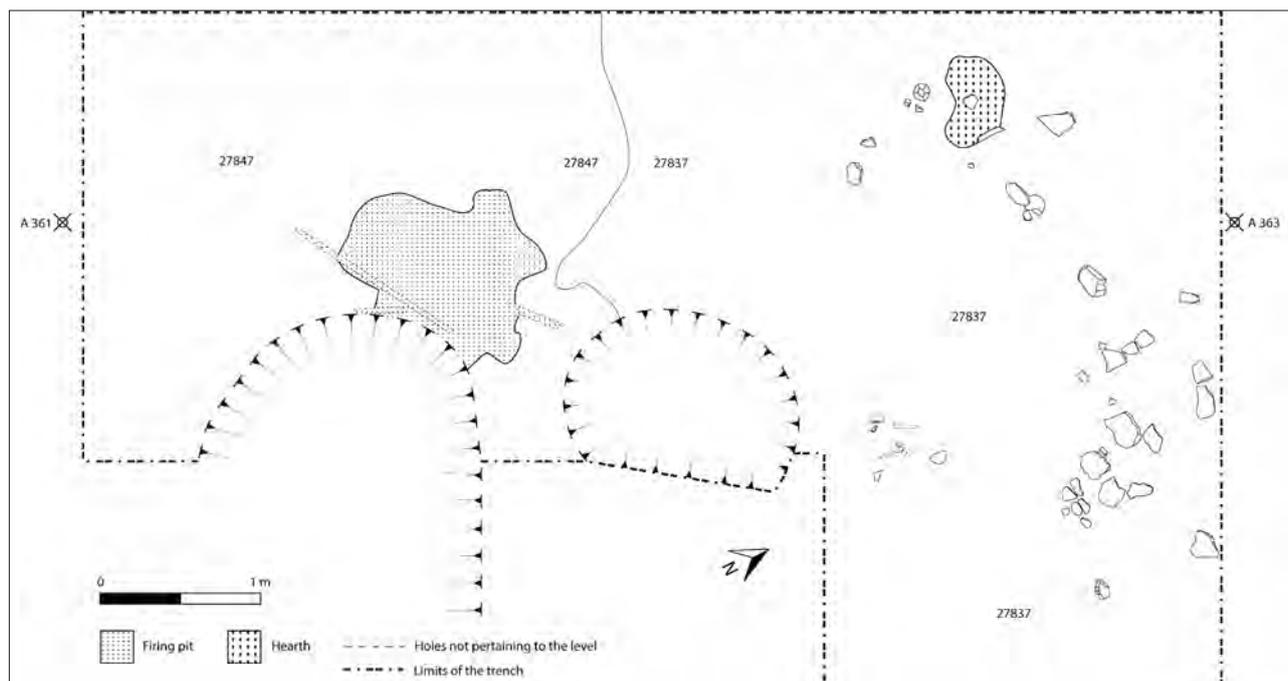


Fig. 23. Level II. Plan of the archaeological evidence (drawing F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)



Fig. 24. Level II. Floor characterized by the presence of numerous fragments of storage vessels scattered over the surface (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

Level IV

The tight stratigraphic sequence described above was covered by a thin alluvial layer (US 27828) that leveled the natural slope of the area. Immediately above this alluvial layer there was a clayey layer (US 27815, Fig. 20.A in yellow) that bore clear evidence of human reoccupation

of the area (Figs. 27-28). This new floor was characterized by the presence of a shallow circular pit, in the center of which was a rough-hewn tufa block. This block was probably used as a support for a wooden pole or as a support surface for carrying out some kind of activity (Fig. 29). Near this pit were three small circular holes, the function of which cannot be precisely defined, but which were probably pertinent to light wooden/reed structures. In the southwest corner of the excavated area there was an irregularly shaped hearth. Surrounding this hearth were traces of fire activity: charcoal, ash and small fragments of burned clay gave the layer a blackish coloration. Another small hearth was located near the tuff block. This layer yielded numerous *impasto* pottery fragments – mainly jars, but also *dolia* and cup (22) – and a few fragments of Greek imported pottery, including some belonging to an oinochoe/hydria/amphora (46). In the southwest corner of the excavated area, directly in contact with the layer just described, was a yellowish-brown clayey layer (US 27671, Fig. 20.A in yellow). This layer yielded a conspicuous number of sherds of *impasto* pottery along with a few sherds of pre-colonial imported Greek pottery: a fragment pertained to the aforementioned one-metope bird skyphos (42, US 27847).

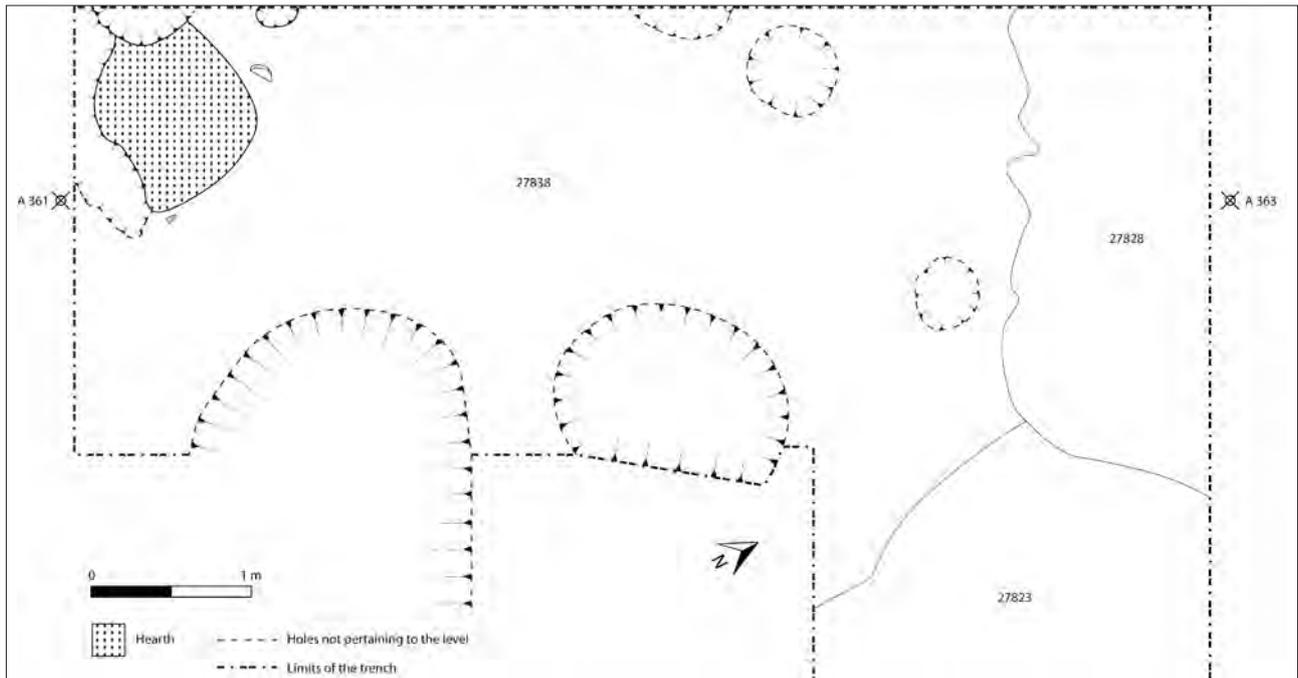


Fig. 25. Level III. Plan of the archaeological evidence (drawing F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

This sequence, which is very tight both stratigraphically and chronologically, is characterized by marked stratigraphic discontinuity: two thick alluvial-type sandy layers (US 27754, Fig. 20.A in red) completely cover Level IV (UUSS 27815-27671) levelling out, with variable thickness, the natural slope that characterizes the area from southwest to northeast. This marked stratigraphic caesura is clearly highlighted for a number of reasons. Firstly, there is a shift from a sequence of layers which clearly show traces of human activity to a stratigraphy indicating natural events. Secondly, the alluvial deposit in the northern part of the trench reaches the considerable thickness of



Fig. 26. Level III. Detail of the circular hearth located in the southwest corner of the excavated area (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

40 cm: therefore, there is no doubt that in this sector the Pre-Hellenic settlement was abandoned around the middle of the 8th century BC. These alluvial events affecting the whole area seemed to have been substantial and prolonged over the course of time. In fact, the pottery fragments found in the two alluvial layers are relatively scant, and testify to the marked difference with respect to the earlier phase. In addition, these fragments belonged to a very wide chronological span as they had been flushed away by successive episodes of flooding, and are clearly in secondary context. Regarding the wheel-made Greek pottery, there are both fragments of Euboean fabric from Middle Geometric II, residues evidently from the previous Pre-Hellenic settlement, and fragments of a Pithekoussan-Cumaean production from Late Geometric I. The latter must refer to an occupation of the site, which, as we shall see later, can no longer be referred to the Pre-Hellenic indigenous village, but rather to the early colonial horizon. Among the fragments yielded by the alluvial layers, of particular interest is a sherd in Red Slip Ware, belonging to an amphora (see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue no. 5), and perhaps also residual from the occupation of the Pre-Hellenic village, or already related to the early colonial horizon.

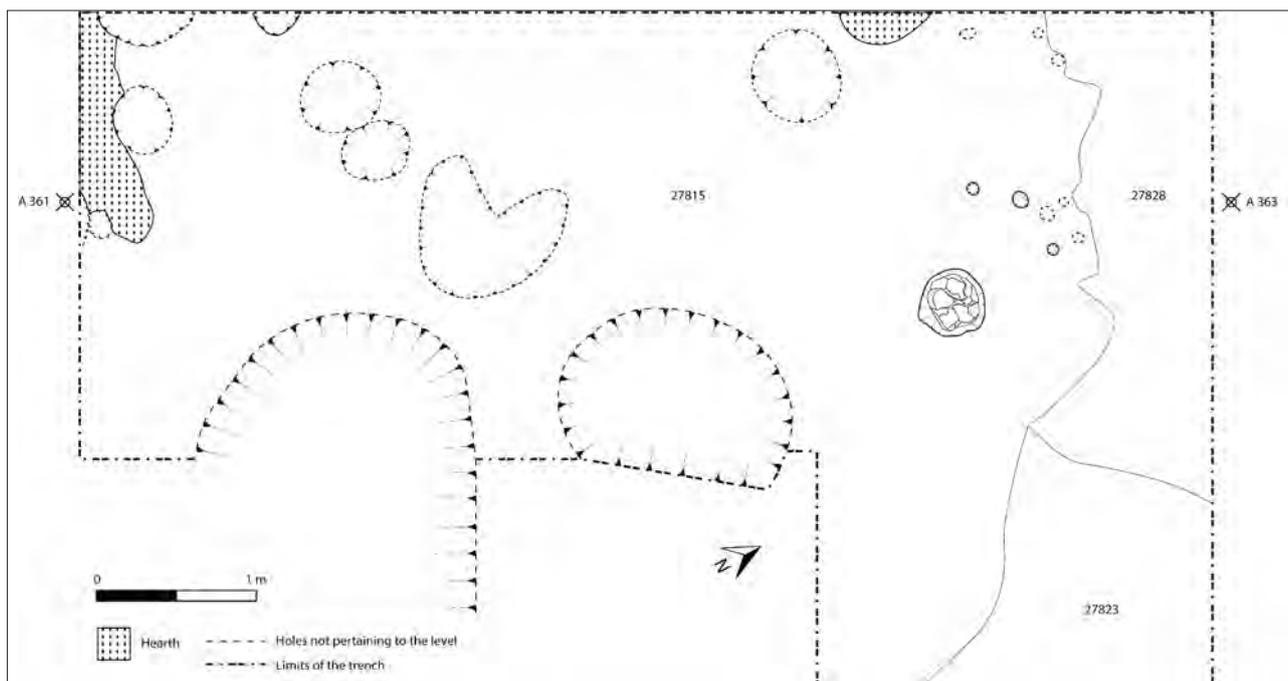


Fig. 27. Level IV. Plan of the archaeological evidence (drawing F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)



Fig. 28. Level IV. Archaeological level which bore traces of human activities (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)



Fig. 29. Level IV. Detail of the tufa block used as a support for a wooden pole or as a support surface for carrying out some activity (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

4.1.2. The archaeological campaign of 2021

The archaeological investigations conducted during the 2021 excavation campaign further contributed to clarifying the dynamics of occupation that occurred in this sector of the settlement of Cumae. The stratigraphic investigations were concentrated in the central part of the peristyle of the large *domus* occupying the southern part of the *insula*: the limits of the excavated area are indicated in Fig. 18.2.

The earliest evidence brought to light refers to the eastward continuation of the tephra deposit connected to the eruption of Averno 2 intercepted during the 2019 campaign (US 27857). This layer was cut by a single circular posthole, which can certainly be cor-

related with the other alignments illustrated above (Figs. 8-10). A new and very interesting element, which emerged during the research, consists of a large artificial cut made within the tephra deposit. The walls of this cut, which run roughly in a southwest-northeast direction, are regular, vertical and reach a depth of approximately 80 cm. At present, it is impossible to interpret this evidence with certainty, but the hypothesis of the existence of a sort of artificially created terracing can be put forward. It would probably have been made to level off the area and protect the wooden structures positioned immediately next to the steps. It is also worthy of note that some of the alignments of the post holes intercepted during the 2019 excavation campaign are roughly parallel to the artificial cut (Figs. 8-9). The limited extent of evidence, however, dictates that such hypotheses should be considered with caution.

The large artificial cut was filled by two alluvial layers, the earliest of which (US 28021) was an impressive sandy deposit of approximately 30 cm thickness. This alluvial layer was cut by four small circular post holes. In the central part of the excavation area on the other hand, this layer was cut by a firing pit of considerable dimensions (ca. 1.30 x 1 m). This firing pit had an oval-shaped cut characterized by vertical walls and flat base on which lay a thick layer of carbonized wooden fragments (US 28034), some of which were exceptionally preserved due to the soil humidity (Fig. 30). At the bottom, the pit was cut by a hole of circular shape filled with blocks of tufa. Once again, this evidence could suggest that tufa had been used to insulate the fire pit surface from soil humidity.

Neither the surface of the layer in which the pit was cut, nor the filling layers of the firing pit yielded faunal remains. What's more, palaeobotanical analyses conducted on the filling layers have also shown in percentage terms the absolute prevalence of weed seeds (*Poaceae*, *Rubus*) over grain caryopses (*Triticum monococcum*, *Triticum dicoccum*, *Hordeum vulgare*)¹⁵². All this evidence tends to exclude the use of this firing pit for activities related to food



Fig. 30. The artificial cut in the cineritic deposit filled by alluvial layers. In the center, the photo depicts the firing pit cut in the most recent alluvial layer (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

preparation and consumption. Superficially, the firing pit was in turn covered by a sandy layer of alluvial soil (US 28023) which yielded very few ceramic fragments. The absence of sherds associated with this evidence does not allow for its precise dating. However, we can observe how the firing pit had been cut into the alluvial layer that filled the artificial cut in the tephra layer: this suggests that the firing pit is later than the Late Bronze Age evidence of wooden structures, cut in the tephra layer, and that it should, therefore, already be referred to the occupation of the area in the Early Iron Age.

Covering this evidence was a second sandy layer of alluvial nature (US 28014), on which a sub-circular pit with a diameter of approximately 40 cm was intercepted. It was characterized by intense rubefaction of the vertical walls and by numerous filling layers of fired clay. In this case, the pit was surrounded by a dispersal area for the activities associated with the use of this small firing pit which were clearly visible. On the basis of the previous stratigraphic considerations, this evidence also refers to activities related to the frequentation of the area in the Early Iron Age.

Above this evidence lay a series of strata characterized by the presence of hearths and bearing intense traces of human activity. A layer characterized by abundant traces of food preparation and consumption activities spread over the entire surface stands out in particular (US 27992, Fig. 31; Fig. 20.B in green). All these layers (Fig. 20.B, from US 28008 to US 27987) yielded numerous pottery fragments that provide a precise chronolog-

¹⁵² The results of these analyses are part of the study carried out by Mara Soldatini for her Master's dissertation, under the guidance of prof. Matteo Delle Donne (University of Napoli L'Orientale, academic year 2021-2022). I would like to thank Soldatini for making the results of her research available.



Fig. 31. Pre-Hellenic floor characterized by intense traces of food preparation and consumption activities (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

ical framework. Alongside an absolute prevalence of *impasto* pottery, the presence of a few but significant Greek imported vessels is noted: among them are fragments of Euboean imports, pertaining to black skyphoi and a specimen of chevron skyphos (47), which allow us to date the stratigraphies in the second quarter of the 8th century BC. On the basis of a careful reconstruction of these stratigraphies, a large fragment of black skyphos (45) and another large fragment of a black skyphos, which exceptionally bears an inscribed alphabetical sign (48: cf. the discussion by M. D'Acunto and A.C. Cassio, below)¹⁵³, can be attributed to these layers. Among the other pottery fragments, the finding of a red slip ware dish (see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue no. 6) is particularly remarkable. These strata are in continuity and partially correspond to levels II-III brought to light in 2019 in the western part of the peristyle (Figs. 23, 25). These layers are referable to a domestic occupation of the

area in a chronological horizon immediately prior to the end of the indigenous village, when a strong interaction with Euboean merchants is clearly revealed by Greek imported pottery (see M. D'Acunto, below, chpt. 4.4).

These strata were covered by a thick sandy alluvial layer, already intercepted in the 2018 and 2019 excavation campaigns along the north and west sides of the peristyle (US 27754, Fig. 20.B in red). This alluvial layer yielded pottery related to a relatively broad chronological excursus, ranging from the Pre-Hellenic period to LG I. Among the fragments of wheel-made Greek pottery, of particular relevance is a fragment pertaining to the previously mentioned chevrons skyphos (47) from the Pre-Hellenic phase, and two fragments of an LG I kotyle (82), to which we will return later (see F. Nitti, below, chpt. 4.1.3). As regards Red Slip ware, a fragment pertaining to an amphora (see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue no. 7) can also be distinguished. These finds complement the observations made about the alluvial level excavated in preceding campaigns. As previously mentioned, this thick level – which does not reflect one single alluvial event, but rather a succession of alluvial phenomena – marks a distinctive stratigraphic caesura from the previous Pre-Hellenic settlement occupation.

¹⁵³ These two vessels were found during the 2018 excavation campaign on the eastern edge of the excavation area, within layers later investigated in the 2021 excavation campaign. For this reason, the two vessels cannot be directly associated with a precise stratum, but after careful reconstruction of the stratigraphies, it is possible to relate these finds to one of the strata of the Pre-Hellenic domestic context under discussion. Other fragments referring to 45 were also found in the later Level IV, clearly as residual in secondary deposition.

Above this alluvial deposit, which leveled out the natural slope that had constantly characterized the area, were two layers over the entire surface of which there were faunal remains, clearly referable to the activity of animal slaughter and food consumption that took place *in situ* (Fig. 32). Among the pottery sherds from these two layers there are some fragments of vases, which can be partially reassembled, from a set related to the consumption of wine, including a Thapsos-type krater imported from Corinth, several Ithaca-type kantharoi imported from Corinth or of Pithekoussan-Cumaean production, and an oinochoe with white-on-dark decoration, also of Pithekoussan-Cumaean production. These specimens are complemented by fragments of some lekanai, which were used for food consumption. These two strata reflect an intensive reoccupation of the area in LG II: this is a context in primary deposition, which, given the concentration of pottery and faunal finds, may refer to the interior of a dwelling or to an area immediately outside a dwelling. The concentration of faunal finds and wheel-made pottery, and the dating of the latter, closely resemble the portion of an LG II dwelling brought to light below *stenopos p*, which refers to a phase of occupation of the area that predates the creation of the urban layout (cf. Fig. 15: “floor of a house – LG II, 710-700 BC”)¹⁵⁴. Since this evidence is only 10 meters away from that unearthed in 2021, it can be assumed that this is the same archaeological context.

4.1.3. The archaeological campaign of 2022-2023

The Pre-Hellenic stratigraphies described above are certainly to be correlated with the exceptional find unearthed in the southeast corner of the peristyle during the very recent excavation campaigns of 2022 and 2023 (Fig. 18.3, 4). Given their importance, since they further clarify the occupation pattern of the area during the Pre-Hellenic period, we have decided to present the stratigraphy and main evidence of this context here, albeit in a preliminary manner.

Immediately below the alluvial deposit (US 27754, Fig. 20.C in red), which, as we have seen, marks a deep caesura between the early colonial horizon and the stratigraphies of Pre-Hellenic Cumae, there was an earth floor with anthropic activity markers (US 28072, Fig. 20.C in yellow). The surface of this layer was cut by numerous circular or irregularly shaped small holes, most likely used for the housing of small wooden poles referable to light structures (probably small fences). In the western part, the floor was covered with charcoal and small fragments of burned clay, indicating the presence of a hearth nearby (Fig. 33). Given the scarce quantity of pottery sherds found, the nature of the occupation of this area is impossible to define. However, it can be placed around the middle of the 8th century BC. The finding of two lumps of clay, partially vitrified as a result of contact with high temperatures, is worth noting. These findings could well be slags, probably related to ceramic or metallurgical production activities which may have taken place in the surrounding area.

Along the southern edge of the excavation area this floor is interrupted: from the layer below, numerous ceramic artifacts emerged, immediately suggesting the exceptional nature of the archaeological context. In fact, below the earth floor was preserved an abandoned level of a Pre-Hellenic hut, an inner portion of which had been intercepted, most likely relating to an area used for the storage, preparation and cooking of food (US 28100, Fig. 20.C in sky blue; Figs. 34-35). The sudden abandonment of the structure is corroborated by the depositional state of the ceramic finds which were perfectly preserved *in situ*, partly folding in on themselves, and partly onto other vessels in the immediate vicinity. The way the ceramic artifacts were positioned on the surface (ca. 5 m²) in an oblique pattern which continued both southward and eastward beyond the limits of the excavation area, hints at the considerable size of this domestic structure. Thanks to an extension of the excavation area towards the north, conducted in the archaeological campaign of 2023, a larger portion of the hut was brought to light. This structure has an oval/apsidal shape¹⁵⁵, and the inner living floor ap-

¹⁵⁴ This context will be presented by our team in a forthcoming article dealing with the LG II phase.

¹⁵⁵ The limits of the hut brought to light are only partial and refer to its western side. Despite this, it is possible to recognize a



Fig. 32. LG II floor characterized by the presence of faunal remains scattered over the surface (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

pears to be slightly lowered from the outside (Fig. 36). The elevation of the hut must have been supported by a series of wooden posts of considerable size, as evidenced by two large post holes found along the edges of the hut. It is important to highlight the presence of small tuff blocks inside the post holes, which gave greater stability to the wooden posts. It is feasible that two large holes from the Roman period would have removed at least two other post holes placed next to those found, partially compromising our reading of the hut's floor plan. What is of particular significance is that in the inner part of the structure, along the perimeter, there is a concentration of ash, charcoals, and burned clay. It is very likely that such traces are to be correlated with a fire that affected the hut at the time of its abandonment, causing the collapse of the perimeter. A further clue as to whether the hut was burned comes from some ceramic fragments found inside the structure that show clear signs of charring. It is also peculiar that some joining fragments pertaining to the same vessels are burnt while others are not, thus demonstrating that they had already been broken when the fire started. Immediately below the destruction layer of the hut it was possible to investigate its internal floor.

curving perimeter towards the south. Towards the north, part of the hut has been removed from a large pit from the Roman period, while the rest has yet to be investigated.

What is of particular relevance is the discovery of a circular furnace cut into the floor. The interior walls of this firing structure were lined with clay, charred by the fire. Inside the furnace it was possible to identify a thick layer of charcoals and ash, very few faunal remains and some sherds of pottery.

Although analysis of the finds is in an entirely preliminary stage¹⁵⁶, it is possible to identify, among the concentration of fragments found in the southern area of the hut, several cooking stands¹⁵⁷ (Fig. 37), a perforated flat plate, possibly pertaining to a mobile clay oven¹⁵⁸ (Fig. 38), and a large number of jars used for cooking and storing food¹⁵⁹ (Fig. 39). Significantly, the area investigated yielded very few faunal remains.

¹⁵⁶ The finds are the subject of the University of Napoli L'Orientale restoration workshop by C. Merluzzo, and the restorers Pasquale Musella and Ciro Nasti.

¹⁵⁷ The context is being studied by C. Improta and the writer. It is possible to recognize at least four cooking stands, attributable to type 1 of the typology elaborated by MOFFA (2002, 73-75, fig. 53). I would like to thank C. Improta for the comparison related to the cooking stands.

¹⁵⁸ The multiple-hole perforated plate may be ascribable to an oven with overlapping chambers. Such structures are known from protohistoric contexts in Italy and Western and Central Europe (for specimens from Italy, see: MOFFA 2002, 79, note 187; RUFFA 2019; for specimens from Western and Central Europe, see: COULON, FONTAINE, PROUST 2019).

¹⁵⁹ At least thirteen jars and one *dolium* are recognizable.



Fig. 33. Archaeological level which shows traces of human occupation of the area (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)



Fig. 34. Inner portion of a Pre-Hellenic hut, probably allocated for storage, preparation and cooking activities (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

This finding, together with the typology of ceramic artifacts unearthed¹⁶⁰, helps us to establish the function of this sector of the hut, evidently related to the storage of foodstuffs and the cooking of cereals or other types of foods that did not

¹⁶⁰ In addition to local handmade *impasto* pottery, some specimens of pottery of Phoenician tradition also come from this sector of the Pre-Hellenic hut (see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue nos. 9 and 13).

involve the killing of animals *in situ*. Slaughtering and butchering would have taken place very close to this sector of the hut, however, which is corroborated by the numerous faunal remains found in the areas immediately adjacent to it (such as in the levels US 27838, US 27992, mentioned above). Regarding the Greek pottery, apart from some fragments pertaining to black skyphoi, of great interest was the finding of a

PSC skyphos of type 6 Kearsley (44), partly recovered from the internal hut floor and partly from the upper layer. This finding confirms the precise dating of the context to the second quarter of the 8th century BC.

In conclusion, and in light of this recent finding, it can be deduced that the archaeological stratigraphies from this area are closely related to each other and that they are all to be related to the presence of a hut of considerable size. Although there is no stratigraphic continuity between the archaeological levels unearthed during successive excavation campaigns¹⁶¹, it is reasonable to correlate the layers located immediately below the alluvial deposit which around the middle of the 8th century BC covered the entire area. Therefore, it can be assumed that:

- 1) The clayey layer found in 2018 along the west side (US 27815, Level IV), characterized by the presence on the surface of hearths and a tufa block, corresponds to the clayey level found in 2022 in the southeast corner (US 28072), containing small post holes and traces of firing activities.
- 2) It can reasonably be assumed that the underlying layers found in 2019 along the west and north side (UUSS 27838, 27837: Levels II-III), characterized by clear traces of food consumption activities and fragments of storage vessels scattered across the entire surface, are in phase with the hut utilized for food storage and cooking unearthed in 2022-2023. This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that some fragments related to the mobile oven mentioned before (Fig. 38) were found on the surface of US 27837. In general, all these layers hint at the different activities that must have taken place within the dwelling and in its surroundings, of which different functional areas are recognized.

¹⁶¹ It is important to remember that, for logistical and safety reasons, investigating the entire area extensively has been impossible, and therefore it has been necessary to conduct the excavation over the years through individual trenches adjacent to each other.



Fig. 35. Trench in the southeast corner of the peristyle of the southern *domus*, from the west: the stratigraphy overlying the inner portion of a Pre-Hellenic hut, probably allocated for storage, preparation and cooking activities (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)



Fig. 36. Inner portion of a Pre-Hellenic hut: the floor below the destruction level of the hut, cf. Fig. 35 (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)



Fig. 37. One of the cooking stands from the Pre-Hellenic hut (photo C. Merluzzo; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)



Fig. 38. The multiple-hole perforated plate of the oven with overlapping chambers (?) from the Pre-Hellenic hut (photo C. Merluzzo; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)



Fig. 39. Jars and *dolium* in restoration from the Pre-Hellenic hut (photo F. Nitti; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

A certain discontinuity in the forms of occupation of the area seems possible in these levels. It is particularly interesting to note that this discontinuity can also be read stratigraphically through a thin alluvial layer (US 27828) which is interposed between level IV and levels III-II along the north side of the excavation area (respectively US 27815 and UUSS 27838-27837). Although cautiously, it seems possible to advance the hypothesis that immediately after the native hut was abandoned with its furnishings *in situ*, the area may have been re-occupied and refunctionalized. The former spaces associated with the hut itself were not reused, but immediately above them stand floors bearing traces of what seems to be temporary occupation. This difference in the occupation patterns of the area is indicated by the presence of small post holes referable to light wooden structures and small hearths.

Francesco Nitti

4.1.4. The handmade *impasto* pottery from the deep trench below the peristyle of the southern *domus* (Pls. 3-7)

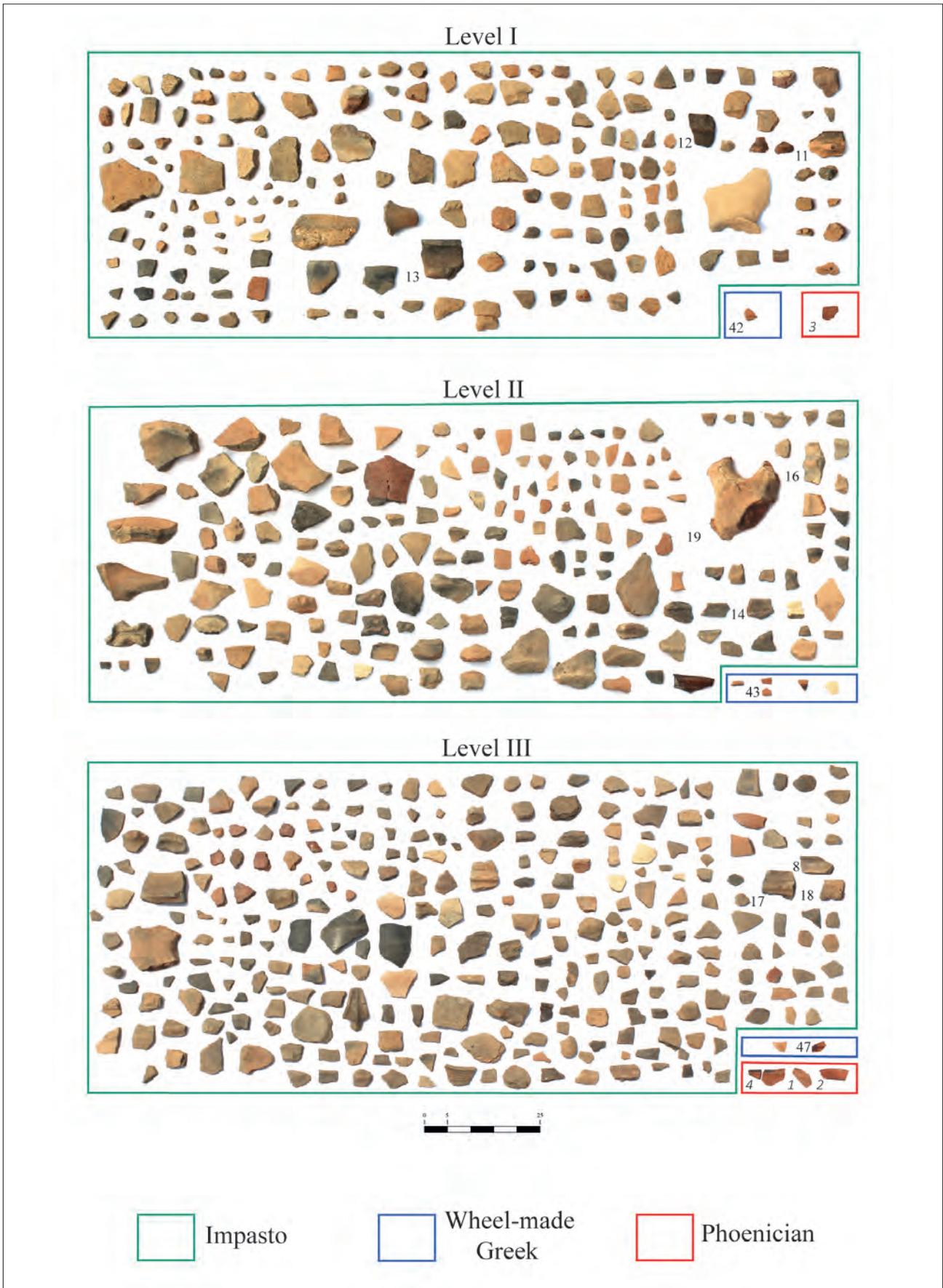
The EIA pottery assemblage brought to light in the deep trench below the peristyle of the southern *domus* includes many sherds of handmade *impasto* ware of indigenous tradition. Many of these fragments are associated with Levels I-III and with Level IV, discovered in the 2018 and 2019 excavation campaigns and described above by F. Nitti (Figs. 18.1, 20.A). The following discussion will consider the handmade *impasto* pottery from these levels, focusing separately on the analysis of materials from Levels I-III and those from Level IV, in view of the stratigraphical and functional discontinuity identified.

Starting from an examination of Levels I-III, a general overview of the proportions of categories of pottery attested allows us to assess that the quantity of indigenous pottery in the context is actually overwhelming (Figs. 40-42): the assemblage includes 2181 potsherds, of which there are 2153 of handmade *impasto* ware, compared with only 22 wheel-made Greek fragments and 6 Phoenician ones. The sample thus consists of 98.7% handmade *impasto* sherds, compared with 1.0% of wheel-made Greek fragments and with 0.3% of Phoenician ones. However, we should be looking at the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) to

know the assemblage's actual composition. In view of this, considering the number of lips to calculate the MNI, the assemblage includes 122 specimens of handmade *impasto* pottery, compared with 2 specimens of wheel-made Greek pottery and 2 specimens of Phoenician pottery. Therefore, 96.8% of the sample consists of handmade *impasto* ware vessels, while 1.6% is of wheel-made Greek vessels and 1.6% of Phoenician ones. Alternatively, we can look at all the diagnostic elements characteristic of each pot to calculate the MNI, to avoid underestimating the proportion of a category the specimens of which are not attested by lips. By applying this criterion, the sample turns out to consist of 126 specimens of handmade *impasto* pottery, 15 specimens of wheel-made Greek pottery and 5 specimens of Phoenician pottery¹⁶². Ultimately, the handmade *impasto* ware vessels account for 86.3% of the total sample, while 10.3% is composed of wheel-made Greek vessels and 3.4% by Phoenician vessels (Fig. 43). Because of the absolute predominance of handmade *impasto* pottery, Levels I-III can definitely be referred to the Pre-Hellenic horizon, predating the *apoikia*. The domestic character of this context can be deduced from the stratigraphic features and also from the presence of storage *dolia*, cooking stands and many jars of indigenous tradition.

Turning to the analysis of Level IV, there is a large number of diagnostic fragments of handmade *impasto* pottery together with some wheel-made Greek sherds. The fragments of wheel-made Greek pottery from this level in some cases refer to specimens whose sherds were also found in the lower Levels I-III: black skyphos **45**, likely associated with Levels II-III, and the one-metope bird skyphos **42**, which is from Level I (see F. Nitti, above, chpt. 4.1.1). Therefore, pottery found in Level IV appears to include several residual wheel-made Greek potsherds. In view of this, the proportions of indigenous *impasto* pottery compared to wheel-made Greek pottery attested in this level may not be representative of the actual assemblage composition. As a consequence, we have decided not to present the percentages for Level IV.

¹⁶² For the criteria used for the quantification of MNI see: ORTON – HUGHES 2013, 203-210.



Figs. 40-42. Selection of finds from Levels I-III from the deep trench below the western side and part of the southern and northern sides of the peristyle, cf. Fig. 18.1 (photographs and graphic reworking C. Improta, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

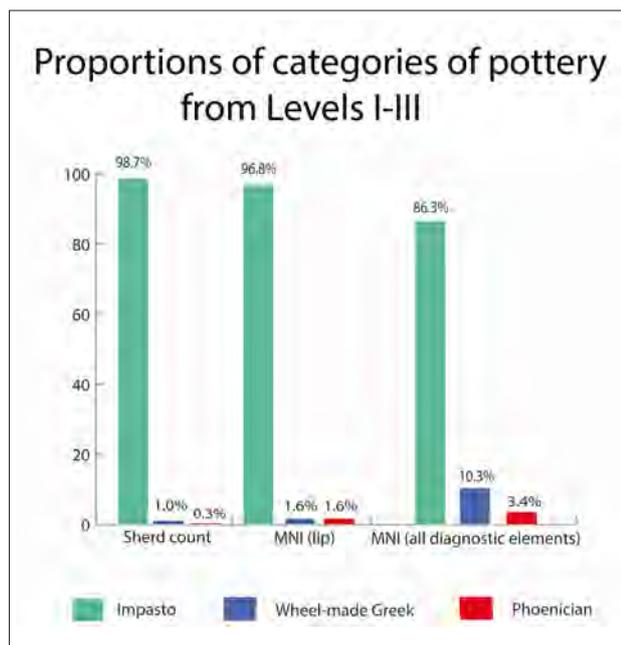


Fig. 43. Proportions of categories of pottery from Levels I-III from the deep trench below the western side and part of the southern and northern sides of the peristyle, cf. Fig. 18.1 (graphic processing C. Improta, 2023; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

Moving on to the analysis of handmade *impasto* ware, both assemblages include typical Early Iron Age pots: bowls, amphorae, one-handled cups, and jars with applied plastic cordon. It has been possible to compare the vases found in these levels with types and specimens from Pre-Hellenic Cumae, Castiglione in Ischia and other Campania contexts of the EIA.

In particular, the handmade *impasto* pottery from Levels I-III includes the one-handled cup, **8**: this was found in Level III, where also a chevron skyphos (**47**), a Phoenician dish (see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue no. 1) and two Phoenician amphorae (see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue nos. 2 and 4) were discovered. **8** is comparable with a specimen from Pre-Hellenic Cumae preserved in the National Pre-historic Ethnographic Museum "Luigi Pigorini" in Rome¹⁶³. According to V. Nizzo, this one-handled cup matches a type to which two other one-handled cups from Cumae are referable¹⁶⁴: a specimen

attested in T. 4 Osta¹⁶⁵, that can be dated to phase II of Pre-Hellenic Cumae according to P. Criscuolo¹⁶⁶, and a specimen in T. 16 Osta. This type may be compared with the 20g type of the Osteria dell'Osa burial ground¹⁶⁷, chronologically framed in phase IIB of Latium culture. What's more, **8** is also comparable with a specimen from an EIA San Marzano grave (Sarno Valley)¹⁶⁸.

In addition to specimens which may be compared with those of the EIA burial ground of Pre-Hellenic Cumae, pots similar to types from the EIA settlement of Longola (Poggiomarino) and to types from the EIA burial ground in ancient Capua are also attested in Levels I-III. **9** is associated with Levels I-II, where respectively, the above-mentioned fragment of a one-metope bird skyphos (**42**), a Phoenician cup (see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue no. 3), and a PSC (?) skyphos (**43**) were also found. Comparing them to the Poggiomarino types, **9** matches the ANF1 and the ANF2 with a collared lip, a short vertical neck, a flattened shoulder and a vertical ribbon handle set at the rim and the shoulder. The ANF1 type is chronologically framed in phase 2A-2B while the ANF2 type in phase 2B of Longola (Poggiomarino)¹⁶⁹. In addition, **9** is also comparable with a specimen from the EIA settlement of Castiglione d'Ischia¹⁷⁰ and matches type 11 of phase II of Pre-Hellenic Cumae according to EIA pottery classification by P. Criscuolo¹⁷¹. **10**, on the other hand, is associated with Level III and is comparable with a specimen of the one-handled cup from grave no. 20 of ancient Capua's Cappuccini-Ex Polveriera burial ground, chronologically framed in local phase IB2¹⁷².

As pointed out above, the domestic use of Levels I-III is supported by the significant number of coarse jars (approximately one third of the sample with almost 40 specimens out of a total of 126), cooking stands and large storage *dolia* found there.

¹⁶⁵ For the reconstruction of the T.4 Osta grave goods, see: NIZZO 2007, 487 note 26, 492 note 34.

¹⁶⁶ CRISCUOLO 2014, 89.

¹⁶⁷ NIZZO 2008a, 250 note 179.

¹⁶⁸ D'AGOSTINO 1970, fig. 17, T. 28.

¹⁶⁹ BARTOLI 2012, 140.

¹⁷⁰ PACCIARELLI 2011, 52, fig. 7, no. 3.

¹⁷¹ CRISCUOLO 2008, 336, fig. 2.11, 346.

¹⁷² MELANDRI 2011, 234, pl. 52.29.

¹⁶³ NIZZO 2008a, pl. 14.106, 244. The one-handled cup was part of a pottery assemblage from Cumae that P. Orsi bought from G. De Criscio for the Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico "Luigi Pigorini" at the beginning of 1901: NIZZO 2008a, 165-170.

¹⁶⁴ NIZZO 2008a, 250.

The jars have cylinder-conical, truncated-ovoid, barrel-shaped bodies and plastic cordon on the shoulder, which is impressed or decorated with oblique notches, and sometimes with a grip. This shape is very common in different phases of the EIA and it is therefore difficult to ascribe our fragments to a specific span of time or phase. However, the association with wheel-made Greek specimens allows us to establish their chronology. In particular, **11-13**, **14-16** and **17-18** were found respectively in Level I, Level II, and Level III: the date of these levels can be referred to ca. 775-750 BC thanks to the Greek pottery found there, i.e. the one-metope bird-skyphos (**42**, Level I), the PSC (?) skyphos (**43**, Level II) and the chevron skyphos (**47**, Level III), together with a Phoenician dish (Level III, see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue no. 1), two Phoenician amphorae (Level III, see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue nos. 2 and 4) and a Phoenician cup (Level I, see M. Botto's contribution in this volume, catalogue nos. 3) (see M. D'Acunto below, chpt. 4.4). The jars from Level I are comparable with some specimens chronologically framed in the FBA-EIA of Naples¹⁷³ and of Broglio di Trebisacce¹⁷⁴, while those from Level II and from Level III in most cases match groups of jars discovered in the Bronze and Iron Age levels of Naples and are attested over a wide time span, namely from MBA to EIA¹⁷⁵. However, from Level II, specimen **14** matches type SE4A of the EIA settlement levels of Longola (Poggiomarino)¹⁷⁶ and specimen **16** type 275 of the Torre del Mordillo settlement, chronologically framed in an advanced stage of the local FBA¹⁷⁷.

A perforated plate (**19**) is associated to Level II, together with the PSC (?) skyphos (**43**). A close comparison for **19** is a perforated plate of an hourglass-shaped cooking stand found in the EIA sett-

lement of Castiglione d'Ischia¹⁷⁸. The presence of a cooking stand in the EIA assemblage of Levels I-III further supports the domestic character of the context. In the same perspective, it is important to point out that a fragment of a probably large *dolium* was also found in the trench below the peristyle (**20**). The shape of this specimen matches that of a large *dolium* with an inverted lip and rounded rim from Castiglione d'Ischia, which was attributed by M. Pacciarelli to the initial stages of the EIA¹⁷⁹. However, the stratigraphic position in which our *dolium* was found should be mentioned here: it was recovered in close connection with a strainer, that we have referred to the Final Bronze Age (**1**)¹⁸⁰, and with a bowl (**21**) which could be comparable with type 1 specimens of the Damiani family 6 classification of the Recent Bronze Age, chronologically framed in RBA2¹⁸¹. These specimens could therefore testify to an occupation between the RBA and an early stage of the EIA (see F. Nitti, above, chpt. 4.1).

Turning to the analysis of Level IV, its associated layers clearly contain some residual potsherds from the lowest levels, as is made clear by several wheel-made Greek fragments (see above). The *impasto* pottery associated with this level is also significant and is worth discussing in this chapter regarding the native pottery from the Pre-Hellenic domestic area below the peristyle. In particular, the shape and decoration of an one-handed cup (**22**) is comparable with those of a T. 32 Osta vessel, chronologically framed in phase I of Pre-Hellenic Cumae¹⁸². These one-handed cups have a short, slightly everted lip with a straight rim, a slightly slanted shoulder and a carinated body. The decoration is incised at the shoulder immediately below the collar; it consists of a series of inverted triangles filled with vertical lines in the **22** specimen¹⁸³ and of a series of inverted triangles filled with

¹⁷³ **11** matches the cylinder-conical body specimens of group 14.3, attested in FBA-EIA levels of the Duomo Station in Naples (GIAMPAOLA – BARTOLI – BOENZI 2018, 219-220, fig. 15.13).

¹⁷⁴ **12** and **13** are comparable respectively with types 68b and 44, attested in the FBA-EIA levels from Broglio di Trebisacce.

¹⁷⁵ **15** from Level II is comparable with a specimen in the 15.7 group, attested in the RBA-EIA levels of Naples, while **17** and **18** from Level III respectively with specimens in group 19.1 and 16.5 (GIAMPAOLA – BARTOLI – BOENZI 2018: group 15.7, 220, fig. 16.4; group 19.1, 220-221, fig. 16.11; group 16.5, 220, fig. 11.13).

¹⁷⁶ BARTOLI 2001, type SE4A, 308, fig. 98.

¹⁷⁷ ARANCIO – BUFFA – DAMIANI – TRUCCO 2001, type 275, 78, fig. 41.18; BUFFA 2001, 262-263.

¹⁷⁸ The hourglass cooker from Castiglione d'Ischia is currently exhibited at the Archaeological Museum of Pithecusae (inv. no. 239054). For the analysis of this type of cooking stand, see: BUCHNER 1936-1937, 84-86; DELPINO 1969, 313, fig. 1, no. 1; SHEFFER 1981, 28-29, type 1A, fig. 2; MOFFA 2002, 75, type 1D, fig. 53.

¹⁷⁹ PACCIARELLI 2011, 53, fig. 8.3.

¹⁸⁰ See above F. Somma, chpt. 2.3.

¹⁸¹ DAMIANI 2010, 140, pl. 10.

¹⁸² MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 236, Grab 32, pl. 20.A, no. 6; ALBORE-LIVADIE 1985, 70.

¹⁸³ Decoration may be compared with the decorative pattern A140b from Pontecagnano: Pontecagnano III.1, 81, 88 fig. 21.A140b.

obliquely crossed lines in the T. 32 Osta specimen. The shape of **22** may be compared with that of a specimen from a Pre-Hellenic burial (SP700675), excavated north of the northern wall by the Centre Jean Bérard. This grave may be referred to phase I of Pre-Hellenic Cumae¹⁸⁴. In our Level IV, this specimen is associated with a fragment of oinochoe/amphora/hydria (**46**), with residual fragments of a black skyphos (**45**) and of a one-metope bird skyphos (**42**). **22** could also be a residual specimen, because of the chronology of the above-mentioned one-handled cups from Pre-Hellenic Cumae. In this level were also found a collared lip bowl (**23**), whose shape is very close to type SLD17 of Longola (Poggiomariano), referred to local phase 2B¹⁸⁵, as well as five jars (**24-28**). The jars are comparable with types attested from the RBA to the EIA in Naples (**26, 27**)¹⁸⁶ and from the MBA to the EIA in Broglio di Trebisacce (**28**)¹⁸⁷, associated with specimen **25** which, on the other hand, matches a specimen from the EIA burial ground of ancient Capua¹⁸⁸. To sum up, it is interesting to point out that the *impasto* pottery from Level IV, alongside some possible earlier and perhaps residual sherds, includes fragments whose parallels seem to suggest a date in the late phase of the EIA, and therefore at the end of Pre-Hellenic Cumae.

Chiara Improta

4.2. The evidence from the small excavation conducted inside the entrance to the southern domus

In another deep trench located a short distance to the east, late Pre-Hellenic layers were intercepted, apparently referring to a residential area and similar to those uncovered below the peristyle (Fig. 18.5). This trench was carried out in 2007¹⁸⁹ for a small area (1.40 x 1.50 m) below the floor level of the narrow east-west entrance to the peristyle of the southern *domus*¹⁹⁰. The western limit of the trench is located approximately 9-10m east/northeast of the eastern/northeastern limit of the excavations

conducted below the peristyle. The close proximity of the two excavation contexts and the pottery found there confirm the similarities between the lower levels uncovered in this small trench and the Pre-Hellenic layers identified below the peristyle.

In particular, a sequence of three layers was revealed in the lower part of this small trench (Fig. 44)¹⁹¹.

Above the deepest layers (SL 27083, 27084 and 27085), which could not be thoroughly investigated because of the groundwater outcrop, a deposit (DP 27082) with a sequence of soil layers characterized by intense traces of anthropic activities was revealed. The oldest is US 27082, a predominantly brown sandy layer, followed by US 27081, also a yellow-brown sandy layer, and US 27080, different from the previous layers due to its grey color and silty consistency, and the presence of sparse carbonaceous frustules and clay patches. On top of these three anthropic layers (UUSS 27082, 27081, 27080) is alluvial deposit US 27079, almost entirely devoid of any pottery and characterized by a compact grey clay layer, full of organic residues and malacological finds. This layer coincides with the one revealed in the excavations conducted inside the peristyle (US 27754).

The pottery associated with the three anthropic layers, 27082, 27081 and 27080 consists of a very high proportion of handmade *impasto* sherds, combined with a limited, but still considerable, number of wheel-made fragments related to Greek imported vessels, in particular Euboean¹⁹². Among them, what is notable is the fragment of a PSC skyphos lip (**49**) from layer US 27081 (see M. D'Acunto, below, chpt. 4.4.2). The few other fragments of Greek imports relate to cups and other open vessels: chevron and/or black skyphoi come from all three layers 27082, 27081, 27080. In line with the above-mentioned evidence, it is feasible that we are dealing with a very similar situation to the one brought to light under the peristyle: the absolute predominance of handmade *impasto* ware reveals the indigenous horizon to which this domestic occupation refers, while the few imported Greek vessels reveal the frequency of pre-colonial contacts with Euboean merchants, shortly before or around the mid-8th century.

¹⁸⁴ BRUN – MUNZI 2008, 106.1.

¹⁸⁵ BARTOLI 2012, 140.

¹⁸⁶ GIAMPAOLA – BARTOLI – BOENZI 2018, group 15.3, 220 (**26**), fig. 15.16; specimen 15.7, 220, fig. 16.4 (**27**).

¹⁸⁷ BUFFA 1994, 521-522, pl. 84.30.

¹⁸⁸ MELANDRI 2011, Fornaci-Proprietà ignota, T. 384, 99, pl. 8.10.

¹⁸⁹ The excavation campaign was carried out from September 3 to October 18, 2007.

¹⁹⁰ The trench was coordinated by Dr Francesca Romana Cappa.

¹⁹¹ D'AGOSTINO – D'ACUNTO 2008, 511-520, spec. fig. 29 "Età del Ferro"; D'ACUNTO 2009, 81-85, fig. 15.

¹⁹² D'AGOSTINO – D'ACUNTO 2008, 519; cf. D'ACUNTO 2009, 84.

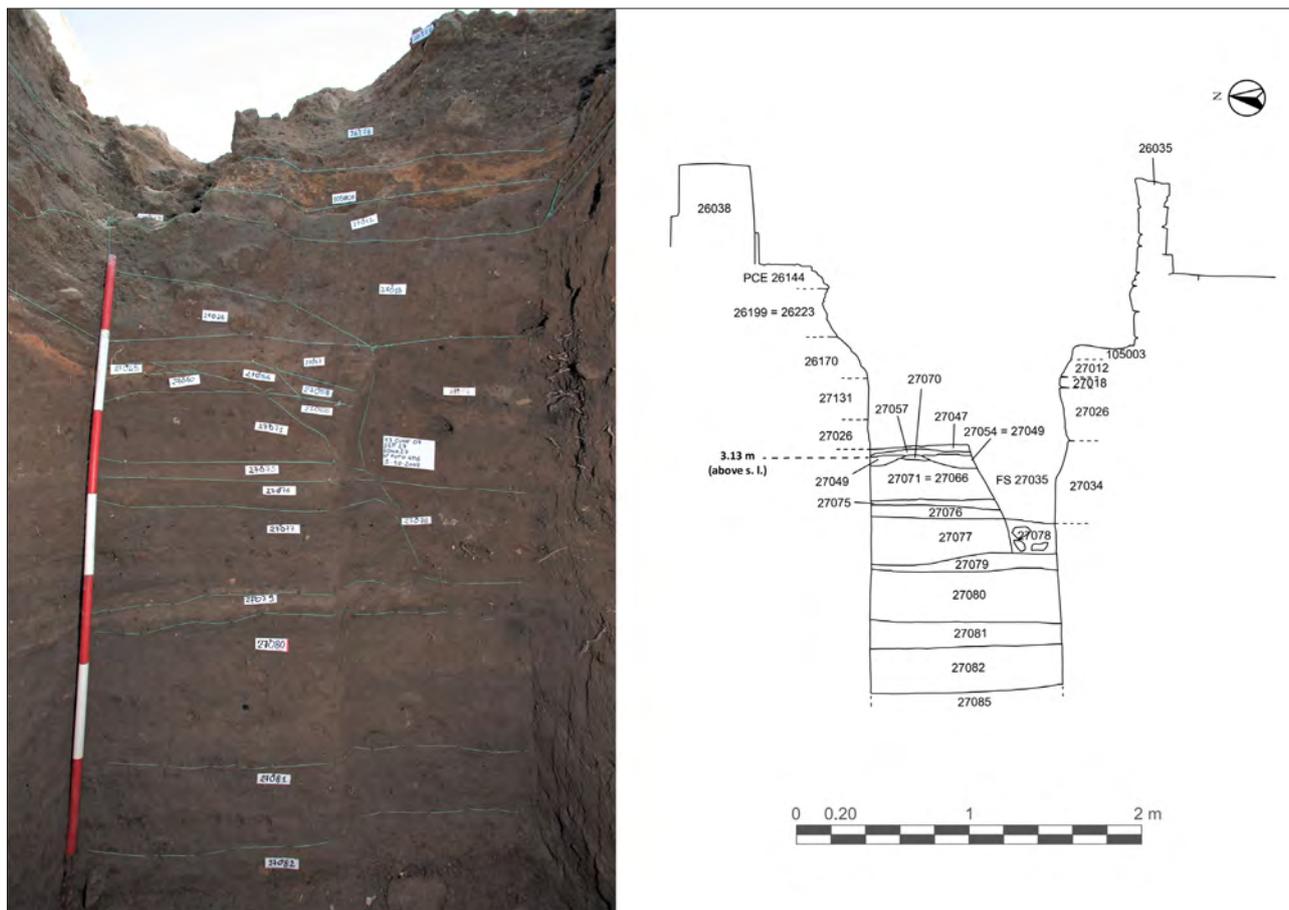


Fig. 44. Photo and drawing of the eastern section in the deep trench below the floor level of the narrow east-west entrance to the peristyle of the southern *domus* (photo R. Giordano, 2007; drawing C. Merluzzo, 2023; © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

Looking more closely at quantification, the proportion of fragments pertaining to handmade *impasto* pottery is considerably high, albeit from a very limited area of investigation (1.40 x 1.50 m). The pottery assemblage from 27082 and 27081 consists of a total of 277 sherds of handmade *impasto* ware and 10 sherds of wheel-made Greek pottery. Considering the analysis of the diagnostic fragments from 27082 and 27081¹⁹³, the estimated minimum number of handmade *impasto* pottery individuals (MNI) is 21, compared to an MNI of 3 as regards the wheel-made Greek pottery. In particular, a single lip fragment of wheel-made Greek pottery (49) pertaining to a PSC skyphos comes from 27081. It is difficult to recognize an MNI of handmade *impasto* pottery higher than 21 because of how broken the sherds are and the absence of diagnostic elements that would allow us to identify other specimens. On the other hand, it has been

possible to recognize several specimens of wheel-made Greek pottery based on the characteristics of the single non-diagnostic fragments, resulting in the identification of a minimum number of 3 (UUSS 27081 and 27082). In line with this analysis, it is evident that there is a substantial quantity of wheel-made Greek fragments and therefore this represents a source of information regarding the relationship between the Greek merchants and the indigenous community.

It is worth considering US 27080 separately, because of some differences suggested by its stratigraphic features (see above) and the composition of the ceramic materials found (see below). The number of wheel-made fragments from 27080 is 10, but a handle (51) is perhaps from the same PSC skyphos as 49 and 50, which were found in the lower levels (UUSS 27081 and 27082): in that case, 51 could be residual from the lower level. The other nine wheel-made fragments from 27080 all, or almost all, refer to different individual specimens

¹⁹³ For the criteria applied see: ORTON – HUGHES 2013, 203-210.

(MNI 6). These mostly consist of skyphoi (a total of 6 fragments), some of them clearly Euboean imports, and two perhaps of the chevron type (or with other decoration). In addition to fragments pertaining to skyphoi, the sample also includes two sherds of open shapes referable to dishes/lekanai/cups. Inspection of the clay does not suggest a Pithekoussan/Phlegraean production for most of these vases from 27080, since no mica or very little mica is visible, and clearly the number of Euboean imports is overwhelming. Conversely, the possibility of a Pithekoussan/Phlegraean production remains open for the two above-mentioned fragments from cups/lekanai/dishes: the clay in the smallest fragment of what is probably a lekane/cup is rich in silver mica with blackish (volcanic?) inclusions, and coated by a light brown engobe; the clay in the other fragment, probably from a dish or a lekane, is pinkish grey, shows little silver mica and blackish inclusions, and has a whitish engobe on the inner surface. US 27080 has another difference compared to 27082-27081, i.e. the slightly lower percentage of *impasto* fragments: its total is 55 sherds, including 10 diagnostics. Thus, in 27080 *impasto* is still dominant, but in a lower percentage, as compared to wheel-made pottery, and the composition of the wheel-made pottery in this layer seems to be partly different from that in 27082-27081. We suggest that US 27080 corresponds to Level IV of the peristyle, since this is also covered by the alluvial layer.

As in the stratigraphy from the peristyle, a marked break from the indigenous settlement's levels is indicated by the overlying alluvial level (US 27079), which is topped by layers already traceable to the early colonial horizon (cf. below, chpt. 5). The very few sherds from the alluvial deposit (US 27079) only refer to wheel-made Greek pottery: two fragments of a closed shape, one probably from a krater and the foot of a skyphos are all of highly micaceous clay, whose aspect is strongly reminiscent of Pithekoussan/Phlegraean fabric.

With all due caution, these differences in the composition of the materials from 27082-27081 and 27080 on one hand, and from the latter and 27079 on the other hand, must reflect the changes in the historical background characterizing the late pre-colonial phase and the transition to the colonial horizon (see M. D'Acunto, below, chpt. 4.7).

4.3. Handmade *impasto* ware from the entrance to the southern domus (Pls. 8-9)

Despite their fragmentary state, among the *impasto* sherds found in these layers (UUSS 27082, 27081, 27080) there are some diagnostic fragments¹⁹⁴. It has been possible to analyze and compare them with the ceramic materials from the Pre-Hellenic levels of the peristyle¹⁹⁵. As already remarked for the peristyle, the largest part of the handmade *impasto* sample refers to shapes related to domestic use, which often have parallels with ceramic materials from residential contexts.

Numerous fragments can be attributed to bowls comparable with the types published by C. Bartoli for the EIA settlement of Longola (Poggiomarino). Two examples are representative. Bowl **31**, with everted lip and protruding oblique engrossed rim, has a precise comparison with the SLD2 type¹⁹⁶, dated to phases 1B and 2A from Longola (Poggiomarino). Bowl fragment **35**, although small in size, has a profile, with inverted lip and rounded rim, similar to the SLD 15 type¹⁹⁷, referring to phase 1A from Longola (Poggiomarino). Even for bowl **32**, the closest comparison is with S8 type, variant A¹⁹⁸, from phase 1B at Longola (Poggiomarino), which C. Bartoli¹⁹⁹ compares to a bowl found in T. 25 Osta of Pre-Hellenic Cumae²⁰⁰. Another small fragment, probably related to a one-handled cup or a bowl (**33**), has a carinated profile similar to the TC2 type²⁰¹, and could be framed in phase 2B from Longola (Poggiomarino). In addition to bowls, a large part of the sample from layers UUSS 27080-27082 consists of wall fragments pertaining to *dolia* and bowls, often with plastic cordon, and are sometimes diagnostic. This is the case of lip **34** with a finger-impressed applied cordon.

The following specimens are close to the repertoire of Cumae already known from the Pre-Hellenic necropolis: amphora fragment **29**, decorated with a motif characterized by three concentric

¹⁹⁴ For imported wheel-made Greek pottery, see below M. D'Acunto, chpt. 4.4.

¹⁹⁵ See above C. Improta.

¹⁹⁶ BARTOLI 2012, 424, fig. 251, SLD12.

¹⁹⁷ BARTOLI 2012, 420, fig. 247, SLD15.

¹⁹⁸ BARTOLI 2012, 422, fig. 249, S8 A.

¹⁹⁹ BARTOLI 2012, 138.

²⁰⁰ MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, Grab 25, taf. 21.C, no. 3.

²⁰¹ BARTOLI 2012, 426, fig. 253, TC2.

semicircular grooves, is very similar to a specimen from the National Prehistoric Ethnographic Museum “Luigi Pigorini” in Rome²⁰²; the fragments of ribbon handles **36** and **37**, refer to open shapes, probably cups. One-handle cup **30**²⁰³ can be compared to a specimen belonging to the group of cups with high body and rounded profile published by V. Nizzo among the materials of the “Luigi Pigorini” Museum in Rome²⁰⁴ and to a specimen published by P. Criscuolo among the materials from the Pre-Hellenic necropolis of Cumae preserved in the Civic Museum of Baranello²⁰⁵.

Cristiana Merluzzo

4.4. Greek pottery from the domestic contexts of the Pre-Hellenic period

4.4.1. A general picture

Many pottery fragments, belonging to Geometric period Greek vases, were found in the domestic areas of the Pre-Hellenic period brought to light in the excavations described above, which were conducted below the peristyle and the entrance to the southern *domus*. These Greek ceramic fragments refer to a number of vessels that, in absolute terms, is quite high: in an overall count, they must refer to no less than 30 vases which were brought to light in an area of ca. 40 m² ²⁰⁶. On the other hand, in relative terms, this is a very low MNI, as compared to the indigenous handmade *impasto* pottery. In order to have an idea of the overwhelmingly high ratio of *impasto* native pottery compared to the very small quantity of Greek Geometric pottery, we can look at the percentage calculations carried out by C. Improta (see above, chpt. 4.1.4): these refer to the ceramics brought to light in the Pre-Hellenic domestic context below the peristyle in the 2018 and 2019 excavation campaigns (as synthesized in Fig. 43).

This makes it possible to reconstruct, in its essential features, the historical background of the

context, brought to light in the excavations conducted below the peristyle and the entrance to the southern *domus*. This context unquestionably refers to the Pre-Hellenic village, relating to the phase prior to the establishment of the *apoikia*, but characterized by the intense presence of Greek merchants, as well as, perhaps, Phoenician-Sardinian merchants (cf. below, the contribution by M. Botto in this volume). The date of the context can be established, not only on the grounds of the *impasto* pottery of indigenous production, but above all on account of Greek imports: the context must be assigned to 775-750 BC, i.e. immediately before the end of the native settlement, which was followed by the *apoikia*. This chronology emerges from an examination of the diagnostic finds, which follows in this chapter.

Only the diagnostic fragments, consisting almost exclusively of skyphoi, will be analyzed in detail in this paper. Nonetheless, the Greek fine pottery from these Pre-Hellenic domestic levels shows a wide range of the forms represented. It consists of:

- mostly skyphoi, some clearly imports, probably from Euboea;
- several specimens related to medium-sized closed forms, clearly for pouring, including the handle of a Geometric oinochoe;
- no less than one small closed form, probably a lekythos;
- two kraters.

These domestic levels also yielded a few walls of transport amphorae, including one probably of Attic SOS type and another of perhaps western Phoenician type.

A good number of these Greek Geometric fragments refer therefore to drinking vessels, that is to skyphoi. Given the context, we may speculate that the dominance among Greek imports of the skyphos reflects a particular appreciation by the indigenous community of this vessel shape in tableware. Of course, an additional value in the eyes of the native community was undoubtedly the high quality of the imported Greek wheel-made pottery with geometric decoration. The dominant proportion in this context of skyphoi – a shape that in the Greek world is prominently associated with the consumption of wine – suggests that it was precisely the ceremonial consumption of wine that was an important factor

²⁰² NIZZO 2008a, 225, pl. 10, no. 67.

²⁰³ D'ACUNTO 2009, 85, fig. 24.

²⁰⁴ NIZZO 2008a, 238, pl. 13, no. 96.

²⁰⁵ CRISCUOLO 2007, 284, fig. 8, no. 34.

²⁰⁶ The extension of the excavated area in the Pre-Hellenic domestic levels below the peristyle is 38 m², while that below the entrance to the southern *domus* is 2.1 m².

in the sharing and bonding process which contributed to the establishment of relations between the native community and the Greek merchants. As for the identification of these merchants, albeit with the necessary caution, the absolute dominance in this context of Euboean imports suggests that the protagonists in the establishment of such pre-colonial relations were indeed Euboeans.

A further aspect which must be emphasized in relation to the archaeological context is the high degree of fragmentation of these ceramic finds, which can only be partly reassembled in a few cases. This confirms the domestic (not funerary) interpretation of the context, as well as the washout phenomena to which it was exposed after its abandonment.

4.4.2. Pendant semicircle skyphoi (Pl. 11)

The first pendant semicircle (PSC) skyphos (**49**) was found in stratigraphic association with one of the Pre-Hellenic levels (US 27081), which were uncovered in the small excavation carried out in 2007 below the entrance to the southern *domus* (Figs. 18.5 and 44). A small fragment of the lip and of the upper part of the body is preserved. On the lower part of the right-hand side, a series of vertical traces on the surface and a slight prominence near the gap show that the handle must have started there. The fragment is small in size (h. 1.6 cm, w. at the lip 3 cm) and the characteristic pendant semicircle decoration is not preserved, as it belonged to the missing part of the vessel. However, there can be no doubt regarding its identification as a PSC skyphos, as it has a specific feature of the class: the peculiar concave lip, together with a marked indentation coming from the upper part of the body, divided by a sharp ridge²⁰⁷.

In our specimen from pre-Hellenic Cumae (**49**) the markedly curved lip relates to Kearsley's Types 5-6 (in Eretria, more likely to Type 6 alone)²⁰⁸.

²⁰⁷ Cf. KEARSLEY 1989, 99, 101 (with reference to Types 5 and 6).

²⁰⁸ According to the well-known classification of KEARSLEY 1989; see before DESCOEUDRES – KEARSLEY 1983, 41-52; on the chronology see later, KEARSLEY 1995, 67-69; cf. POPHAM – LEMOS 1992. On the PSC skyphoi see recently KERSCHNER – LEMOS 2014; MAZARAKIS AINIAN – LEMOS – VLACHOU 2020; on Eretria, see VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 81-82, with former references.

There is one peculiar feature that brings the Cumae fragment particularly close to Type 5: namely the marked detachment between the shoulder and the receding lip junction²⁰⁹. However, in our fragment from Cumae the vertical shape of the lip with the rim aligned with the shoulder (not recessed, as is often the case in Type 5) brings our fragment closer to those classified by Kearsley as Type 6²¹⁰.

With regard to our skyphos from Cumae, I consider it likely that two other fragments, recovered during the same excavation in 2007, also belong to this skyphos. These are the fragments respectively of a bottom (**50**) and of a handle (**51**), both clearly from a skyphos. Compared to the layer (US 27081) where fragment **49** was found, the **50** bottom was found in association with the lower layer (US 27082) and the **51** handle with the upper one (US 27080). This stratigraphic dissociation between the three fragments does not contradict the hypothesis that they belong to the same vessel. As a matter of fact, in the same stratigraphic context brought to light below the peristyle, fragments of the same ceramic specimen were found in association with different Pre-Hellenic levels (cf. above): this must be the result of some form of residuality in these Pre-Hellenic stratigraphies, due to the living events resulting from intensive occupation over time. The hypothesis that these three fragments belong to the same PSC skyphos is supported by the perfect identity in their fabric. In all three, the clay is compact and has a smooth surface, it is light brown on the surface and pink in the inner section with a few black and white non-micaceous inclusions. Their sizes are also exactly the same: in particular, the reconstructed diameter of the base is ca. 6 cm, while that of the lip is ca. 12 cm. Their size and ratio are perfectly consistent with the current range of Type 6 PSC skyphoi²¹¹. Being relatively small,

²⁰⁹ This characteristic is found, for example, on a Type 5 skyphos from Kalamaria - Thessaloniki (KEARSLEY 1989, 99, fig. 39a, pl. 8b).

²¹⁰ Cf. KEARSLEY 1989, 101-104, figs. 40d (from Veii, cemetery of Quattro Fontanili; cf. BOITANI 2005, 320, pl. 1.2), 41a (from Kaldeh in Syria). To these, some fragments from Al Mina should be added for comparison; they were attributed by Kearsley to Type 6, albeit without the indication of the foot which is missing: KEARSLEY 1989, 101-104, fig. 41f-g. Cf. also the fragment from the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria: VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT 2014, 79, no. Eret20, fig. 12.

²¹¹ Cf. KEARSLEY 1989, 101-104; and, e.g., the examples from Pontecagnano: BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, 27-31.

this is in line with what is typical of Kearsley's Type 6, whose height ranges between 6 and 7 cm: in the case of the Cumae skyphos **49-51**, C. Merluzzo estimates a height of ca. 6.8 cm in her reconstructive drawing²¹². Consequently, our specimen can also be referred to Type 6, due to the presence of a flat base, if indeed the fragments belong to the same vessel. The presence of a thin disc detected at the margins of the flat base, which is well preserved in fragment **50**, should be noted. In Type 6, the lower end of the body on a thin raised disc is less common than a simple flat base. This variant, however, is well documented in Kearsley's Type 6 classification²¹³: see, for example, as a comparison with our skyphos from Cumae, a specimen from Kaldeh in Syria²¹⁴. This detail reflects, in terms of a relative sequence, a link with the earlier type, through the transformation of the distinct Type 5 foot into a flat Type 6 base, but in which a thin disc stands out in these specimens. It could, therefore, be an indication of "antiquity" for the specimen from Cumae, within the series of Type 6 skyphoi.

From our excavation, a second PSC skyphos could probably be identified thanks to two fragments, of the lip and of the foot respectively (**43**). They, too, were found in association with one of the Pre-Hellenic domestic levels, in this case in the 2019 excavation below the peristyle (see F. Nitti, above, chpt. 4.1.1), namely in Level II (US 27837). The theory that the two fragments might belong to the same vessel is suggested by the close similarity of the clay and paint. The clay is compact, internally orange-pink in color, with large black and small white non-micaceous inclusions; externally it is a beige color and has a smooth surface. The paint is reddish-brown on the outer surface, while on the inside it is dark brown. Again, the characteristic decoration with the pendant semicircles on the body has not been preserved. However, for **43**, both the shape of the foot and the lip, as well as the decoration of the latter, lead to preference of the hypothesis of identification with a PSC skyphos, over the other possible hypotheses (that of a black skyphos, a chevron skyphos or even a skyphos

with bird/s). As a matter of fact, the characteristic distinct thin disc base is normally lacking in both black skyphoi and chevron and bird/s skyphoi in Euboean productions; this thin disc base is found, however, in **43**, as well as in the former specimen in fragment **50**. As for the lip of **43**, it has the characteristic concave, upright shape of Kearsley's Type 6, but with a less pronounced curvature than that of **49**. Among the specimens assigned to Type 6, although less frequently, parallels are found for such a less pronounced curvature of the lip: for example, in a skyphos from Vei²¹⁵, in one from Pontecagnano²¹⁶ and especially in a lip fragment from Eretria²¹⁷. This less curved profile of the lip might also be a hint of "antiquity", at least in terms of relative sequence, as is attested, for example, in Eretria in relation to Type 5 with small foot²¹⁸. In skyphos **43**, one more detail should be highlighted. As is usual in PSC skyphoi, the high lip is painted on the outside while on the inside it has a reserved thin band below the rim. Less common in this class, by contrast, is the reserved thin band below the rim on the outside, which occurs in our specimen **43**. The latter appears, for example, in the form of a reserved thin band on the above-mentioned skyphos from Vei of Type 6²¹⁹ and on one from Pontecagnano similar to Type 5 thanks to the presence of a low foot²²⁰. Another interesting detail is represented by the size of **43**, which we can reconstruct on the basis of the two fragments: the diameter of the mouth is ca. 14 cm, while that of the bottom is 8 cm: this shows that this skyphos was 1/4 or 1/5 larger than **49-51**. This is another aspect that would show an affinity with the earlier Type 5 (whose average height is ca. 8 cm)²²¹.

As for the production place of the two skyphoi **49-51** and **43**, although we are aware of the limita-

²¹² KEARSLEY 1983, 48; KEARSLEY 1989, 101.

²¹³ KEARSLEY 1989, 101.

²¹⁴ KEARSLEY 1989, 101, fig. 41a.

²¹⁵ KEARSLEY 1989, no. 229, 67-68, 101, fig. 40d; BOITANI 2005, 320, pl. 1.2.

²¹⁶ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, 27-28, no. 2, T. 7129.2, fig. 1, pl. 1.2.

²¹⁷ KEARSLEY 1989, no. 73, 29, 103, fig. 41b.

²¹⁸ VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 81-82, 118, no. 15, SK4a, pls. 6, 89 (context of MG II - early LG I); VERDAN 2013, 9, no. 44, pl. 62.

²¹⁹ KEARSLEY 1989, no. 229, 67-68, 101, fig. 40d; BOITANI 2005, 320, pl. 1.2.

²²⁰ BAILO MODESTI – D'AGOSTINO 2001, 29-30, no. 3.1, T. 7739.1, fig. 1.

²²¹ Cf. KEARSLEY 1989, 99.

tions resulting from a mere macroscopic analysis, they both have all the characteristics of Euboean imports: the color, compactness, inclusions and the non-micaceous (at least to the naked eye) composition of the clay, together with the type of paint²²².

In sum, the two skyphoi **49-51** and **43** are most likely Euboean imports and can be referred to the PSC class, the former without doubt, the latter very probably. Both should be assigned to Type 6 of Kearsley's classification, due to their peculiar flat bottoms. However, both share aspects with Type 5 and, therefore, possible clues of "antiquity" within the relative sequence of Type 6: in both cases, the distinct thin disc bottom; in **49-51** the marked distinction between the upper body and the recessed lip junction; in **43** the reserved thin band at the top of the outside of the lip and the larger size of the skyphos.

With regard to the chronology of our fragments, it is important to recall the significant contribution in this field that came from Bruno d'Agostino's study of the PSC skyphoi found in the closed tomb contexts of Pontecagnano and the subsequent remarks made by Nota Kourou on them²²³. These confirmed the partial chronological overlap in the production of Kearsley's Type 5 (which must have started earlier anyway) with that of her Type 6²²⁴. These contexts, together with a reassessment of the stratigraphies of Al Mina, allow N. Kourou to make the following important conclusions concerning Kearsley's Type 6: «It is apparent, therefore, that according to the Pontecagnano graves, PSC skyphoi of type 6 first appear during MG II, but their production continues in LG Ia, i.e. they should be dated to the period 770-750 BC, as suggested by the Al Mina material, too»²²⁵. In the archaeological contexts of Italy, as is well-known, the only two types to have been found are Type 5

(in a much smaller number) and Type 6 (predominant), which, in general, is a relatively small number of occurrences.

In terms of absolute chronology, recent discoveries²²⁶ and the re-examination of earlier finds support the thesis already argued by M. Popham and I. Lemos in 1992²²⁷: namely that, in well-dated Italian contexts, the deposition of PSC skyphoi is not witnessed beyond the chronological boundary of the mid-8th century BC²²⁸. From a general historical perspective – given that they are absent from the contexts unearthed at Pithekoussai²²⁹ – in Italy PSC skyphoi always refer to a pre-colonial horizon. Although this is an *argumentum ex silentio*, as things stand, the traditional thesis remains valid: namely, PSC skyphoi are the fossil-guide of the pre-colonial phase.

This assumption is also confirmed by the domestic contexts of Cumae, which are illustrated here. No PSC skyphoi are associated with our stratigraphies of LG I and II (cf. below, chpt. 5). In other words, considering the present state of evidence, PSC skyphoi do not recur in stratigraphic contexts relating to the occupation phases of Cumae that refer to the later historical horizon: this new historical horizon is represented by the Greek *apoikia*, which replaced the native village around the middle of the 8th century BC (see below).

All in all, we can date the two Euboean PSC skyphoi **49-51** and **43** (in the latter case the identification remains likely), between MG IIb and LG Ia, to 775-750 BC. Small clues could suggest an early dating of both within this chronological span: namely, the presence in both of them of the thin disc shape of the base; two details in the lip can be added to this, namely the sharp ridge between the

²²² On the properties of clays in Euboean productions see DESCEUDRES 2006-2007, 6, note 33; VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 23-25, with former references; and recently the volume on archaeometric analyses on the PSC skyphoi: KERSCHNER – LEMOS 2014.

²²³ D'AGOSTINO 2001, 17; D'AGOSTINO 2014b, 183; KOUROU 1999, 220-221; KOUROU 2005, 500-501, pl. 1.

²²⁴ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, respectively: T. 7739.1, 29-30, no. 3.1, fig. 1; T. 7739.2, 30, no. 3.2, fig. 1; for their classification cf.: D'AGOSTINO 2001, 17; KOUROU 2005, 501; D'AGOSTINO 2014b, 183.

²²⁵ KOUROU 2005, 501, cf. pl. 1.

²²⁶ A recent specimen was found in Lavinium in Latium (EBANISTA 2018). Its shape is peculiar for the high everted lip (cf. the chevron skyphoi, chpt. 4.4.3), and its clay is micaceous, thus leaving open the possibility of an imitation/variation produced in Italy (by a travelling craftsman?).

²²⁷ POPHAM – LEMOS 1992.

²²⁸ Cf., spec. KOUROU 2005, 501, pl. 1, and, in particular, the chronology of the PSC skyphoi from Veii and Cerveteri; for their contexts see the recent works of BOITANI 2005, 319-320 and RIZZO 2005, 334-339, with references.

²²⁹ We must emphasize the lack of PSC skyphoi from the large number of the earliest graves in the necropolis (BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993) and in particular from the Gosetti dump: its materials flowed from the acropolis of Monte di Vico and Euboean imports of the Geometric period have been published by Nicolas Coldstream (1995).

lip and the body in **49** and the reserved thin band on the outside of the rim in **43**.

To these examples we may now add another PSC skyphos of Kearsley's type 6 from the 2023 excavation campaign (on which, see F. Nitti in the catalogue: **44**): this is likely a Euboean import and is characterized by the same thin disc base and the same small size as **49-51**. The context where its fragments were found is also relevant: they were partly recovered from the internal hut floor and partly from the upper layer. Moreover, some fragments had been clearly burnt by the fire that affected the hut, while others are unburnt (see above F. Nitti, chpt. 4.1.3).

4.4.3. Chevron skyphos (Pl. 12)

The incomplete vessel **47** belongs to the class of chevron skyphoi: fragments of the lip, of the shoulder and of the upper part of the belly including part of one handle are preserved. Fragments of **47** were brought to light in the trenches conducted below the western (Level III) and the central parts of the peristyle in 2019 and in 2021, as well as in the area of the hut during the 2023 excavation: they were found both in primary deposition, in association with the domestic Pre-Hellenic stratigraphy, as well as clearly in secondary deposition, in the alluvial level that had covered it (see F. Nitti, above, chpt. 4.1.1-3).

In this skyphos, the lip is high, everted and tapering towards the rim. The body is globular, with rounded shoulder and rounded upper part of the belly. Concerning its decoration, the band with closed chevrons, framed at the sides by groups of vertical dashes and joined at the top and bottom to a horizontal line, refers to the decorative scheme d/e (the latter with the addition of a star motif on the sides) of the classification by J.-P. Descoedres and R. Kearsley²³⁰. In our skyphos, the rather irregular rendering of the chevrons is a characteristic that often distinguishes Euboean skyphoi from the usually more precise Attic ones.

Compared to the chronological setting of the chevron skyphoi from Pontecagnano as established by N. Kourou²³¹, the skyphos from Cumae

47 is quite close, thanks to the everted (but higher) lip and the rounded-profile body, to the specimen assigned at the beginning of the sequence and dated to MG IIB²³². By contrast, the Pontecagnano skyphoi referred to LG Ia (760-750 BC) have an upright lip which is high, as in our case, while the lower part of the belly has a straight profile²³³. In Italy, a close comparison for the specimen from Cumae is the skyphos from T. FF16-17 of Veii, thanks to the high everted lip, the rounded shape of the body, the decoration with a band in which the chevrons are framed by groups of lateral dashes, and the lip which is also characterized by the presence of three horizontal lines²³⁴. The skyphos from Veii has been identified as Euboean using archaeometric analysis with the Mössbauer technique and has been assigned to MG II, also according to the context relating to local phase IIA²³⁵.

In the West, another close comparison for the profile of our specimen from Cumae **47**, especially because of the everted high lip, is the incomplete chevron skyphos, found in the stratigraphic context of the so-called "Capanna dei Ripostigli" at Sant'Imbenia; the irregular rendering of the high chevrons is also similar, but we do not know whether these were also framed by groups of vertical dashes; the sole difference is the presence of only two lines on the lip²³⁶.

Moving on to Eretria, a high, tilted lip is found on chevron skyphoi dated to MG II (whose lower limit in the Eretrian sequences is 750 BC): one from a tomb in the burial core of Eratonymou²³⁷ and another from one of the wells of the Apollo Daphnephoros sanctuary²³⁸.

²³² BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, T. 6504.1, no. 11.1, 35-36, fig. 6, pl. 3.1 (context of the beginning of phase IIA). Also cf., for a short and everted lip, but with a straighter lower part of the belly, the other specimen assigned to MG II: BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, T. 6528/9.1, no. 12.1, 36, fig. 6, pl. 3.2 (context of the IIA phase).

²³³ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001: T. 7738.1, no. 8.1, 33, fig. 5, pl. 2.3 (early IIA phase); T. 7121.1, no. 15.1, 37-38, fig. 7, pl. 3.4 (phase IIA).

²³⁴ BOITANI 2005, 320-321, pl. 1.6 (the other skyphos pl. 1.7 shows a more vertical profile).

²³⁵ Cf. BOITANI 2005, 320-321, pl. 2, with references.

²³⁶ RIDGWAY 1997; BERNARDINI – RENDELI 2020, 329, fig. 11a.

²³⁷ BLANDIN 2007, T. 1 Eratonymou: vol. 1, 32, no.1; vol. 2, pl. 48.4.

²³⁸ VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, no. 10, 76, 118, pls. 6, 100 (but the body profile is different from that of our specimen).

²³⁰ DESCOUDRES – KEARSLEY 1983, 23, fig. 17, this classification is resumed by VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 77.

²³¹ KOUROU 2005, 502, pl. 2; cf. KOUROU 1999.

Specimen **47** from Cumae clearly refers to the “classical” variant of the chevron skyphos, due to the relatively low globular shape of the body and the drawing of *tout court* chevrons: however, it does not belong with the “late” variant of the chevron skyphos, which we will be dealing with below in chpt. 5.3. Where it does fit is with the chronological horizon of the Pre-Hellenic native village, where it was found in association with a domestic level. The above-mentioned comparisons and the sequence reconstructed for Pontecagnano allow it to be dated between MG IIB and LG Ia, i.e. 775-750 BC. With all due caution, in this chronological range the marked inclination of the lip would point to MG IIB, whereas such a high lip is found in the skyphoi of LG Ia, but with a vertical orientation.

As for its production, thanks to macroscopic inspection, **47** appears to be perfectly consistent with the hypothesis of Euboean fabric. The clay is fairly compact and irregularly fractured. On the outside it is light brown in color and has a smooth surface, while on the inside it is pink/brick red; it has quite thick small to medium-sized black inclusions, small calcareous white inclusions and very few violet ones; no mica is visible to the naked eye.

The chronological and historical framework suggested for chevron skyphos **47** is confirmed by the two well-known specimens of the same “classical” variant from the Pre-Hellenic tombs of Cumae, 3 and 29 Osta respectively.

The skyphos from T. 3 Osta²³⁹ is characterized by a broad, low globular body with a taut lower profile and a low, slightly everted lip: in terms of relative sequence, it is closest to the Pontecagnano specimens assigned by Kourou to MG IIB²⁴⁰ and should therefore be assigned to this phase or, at the latest, to the transition with the later high-lip version of LG Ia: i.e. 775-760/750 BC²⁴¹. This is also consistent with its decoration, which features chevrons straddling the shoulder and the upper part of the

body, drawn rather roughly and framed by groups of dashes; the band stops well before the handle.

Conversely, the skyphos from T. 29 Osta²⁴² looks slightly later, both in terms of morphology and decoration: therefore, in my opinion, it might be dated to LG Ia, around 760-750 BC. In fact, the specimen from T. 29 is somewhat deeper, has quite a high vertical lip, and the body has a straight profile²⁴³. The chevrons are roughly drawn with smears at the top and bottom; they occupy the shoulder, are bordered on the sides by groups of dashes and the decoration extends to the joint of the handles.

Recent archaeometric analysis with the NAA technique has demonstrated that the two chevron skyphoi from Tombs 3 and 29 Osta are of Euboean fabric²⁴⁴.

4.4.4. Black skyphoi (Pl. 12)

The excavation conducted in the Pre-Hellenic domestic levels below the peristyle brought to light among the diagnostic finds two black skyphoi (**45** and **48**); another fragment of the same ceramic type (**52**) was found in the later alluvial level (US 27697 = 27728, 27754) covering Level IV and is likely to be residual from the lower domestic occupation of the Pre-Hellenic period.

Before dealing with the date and production of our three specimens, it must be made clear why specimen **48** should be identified as a black skyphos. In this fragment, the side section of the vessel is preserved, along with the handle, the corresponding upper part of the belly and shoulder, and the lip connection. The outer surface is entirely painted, with the exception of the inside of the handle and the corresponding part of the body, whose reserved area has an irregular shape. Such decoration is obviously peculiar to black skyphoi, but, based on what is preserved in our fragment, the hypothesis of a chevron skyphos should not be ruled out: indeed, in non-Attic products, chevron skyphoi can have an almost entirely painted lip, as well as an

²³⁹ GABRICI 1913, col. 93, pl. 18.9; MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 234, pl. 16.A3; ALBORE LIVADIE 1985, 70-71, no. 10.1; CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 342-344, pl. 3.3.

²⁴⁰ KOUROU 2005, 502, pl. 2.

²⁴¹ For the shape, cf. the skyphos from T. 779 of Grotta Gramiccia at Veii: however, this has been identified as Corinthian: BOITANI 2005, 321, pl. 3.1.

²⁴² GABRICI 1913, col. 111, pl. 18.7; MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 234, pl. 16.B1; NIZZO 2007b, 495-496, figs. 10-11; ALBORE LIVADIE 1985, 71-72, no. 11.1; CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 342-344.

²⁴³ Cf., e.g., the skyphos from T. 7110 of Pontecagnano, which refers to a context of the local phase IIA: BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, no. 18.1, 39, fig. 8, pl. 3.5.

²⁴⁴ See F. Mermati, in this volume.

extended painted area on the sides of the handle²⁴⁵. However, it is the body of **48** that is crucial for its identification with a black skyphos: its deep shape with a vertical rounded profile is exclusive to black skyphoi (see below for comparisons and a chronological framework). This morphology is neither seen in the “classic” chevron skyphoi (cf. above, chpt. 4.4.3), which have a shallower, more tapered body, nor in the PSC skyphoi of Types 5-6, which have a more tapered lower profile.

In general, a diagnostic feature for the identification of the production of black skyphoi is their base: in the Attic prototypes of MG a low disc foot is predominant²⁴⁶; however, this is always lacking in Euboean products, where the base is flat, and sometimes profiled²⁴⁷. Unfortunately, in all three of our specimens, **45**, **48** and **52**, the lower part of the body is not preserved. Another feature that can be regarded as generally distinctive of Attic as opposed to Euboean products is the decoration of the lip. Attic black skyphoi sometimes have richer decoration on the lip: in addition to the reserved band sometimes with groups of dashes on the inside below the rim, the lip may also have one or two reserved bands on the outside²⁴⁸ or more elaborate decoration, e.g. a row of dots between lines and reserved bands²⁴⁹. In our specimens, the whole lip is preserved only in **45**: it is fully painted both inside and outside and this is an indication in favor of Euboean production, as opposed to Attic. In **48**, only the lower part of the lip is preserved and it is entirely painted both on the outside and the inside.

Regarding fabric, with all the intrinsic limitations of macroscopic analysis, I waver between the hypothesis of Euboean or Attic production for **45**. Open to both solutions may be the color and composition of the clay, in which mica is not visible to the naked eye: it is reddish-orange, fairly compact, with the presence of many small to medium-sized

white inclusions (the latter are found, incidentally, in Euboean fabrics), a few small black, and rare reddish inclusions (the latter, of violet tone, are common in Attic productions). The paint is black on the outside and fairly shiny, while on the inside it is blackish-brown: also from this point of view, at autopsy, there is compatibility with both productions, but the very homogeneous and accurate rendering of the paint reveals an affinity with Attic productions. Another aspect of the accuracy with which skyphos **45** was made is revealing: the whole of the body below the handle and the entire handle, even in the inner part are fully glazed; by contrast, black skyphoi of Euboean production often have these two parts unpainted. In summary, the clay and the paint, together with the decoration that is applied homogeneously over the entire preserved surface of the vessel, mean that the question as to the place of production of **45** must remain open: could this place be Euboea or Athens or other parts of Attica, for example, eastern Attica, a region where interactions with Euboea were strong? Only archaeometric analysis will be able to clarify the provenance of this black skyphos.

48 has light brown, fairly compact clay with a few black and white inclusions; no mica is visible to the naked eye: these features are consistent with the hypothesis of Euboean production. In this fragment, the application of the blackish-brown paint, in which broad brush strokes can be recognized at irregular intervals, is clearly reminiscent of Euboean fabrics and consequently this black skyphos must be of Euboean production. **52** has pinkish clay and blackish paint with the same regular treatment as **45**, but it is duller than the latter vessel: it could be of Euboean manufacture too, but in such a small fragment which is not diagnostic, it is cautious to leave the assessment open.

Now, let us turn to their morphology and, therefore, chronology. All three specimens, **45**, **48** and **52** refer to black skyphoi with a globular body, common in both Attic and Euboean productions in MG II and LG I²⁵⁰. While the lower part of the body is missing, a slight morphological difference

²⁴⁵ Cf., e.g., two skyphoi from Pontecagnano: BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, TT. 7738.1 and 6528/9.1, nos. 8.1 and 12.1, 33, 36, figs. 5-6, pls. 2.3, 3.2.

²⁴⁶ Cf. e.g. the skyphos from Kerameikos T. 89 (KÜBLER 1954, 263, pl. 100); in general, on low-foot skyphoi see PAPADOPOULOS – SMITHSON 2017, 796-201.

²⁴⁷ Cf. KOUROU 2005, 502-504.

²⁴⁸ Cf. KÜBLER 1954, TT. 89 and 73 Kerameikos, 260, 263, pl. 100.

²⁴⁹ PAPADOPOULOS – SMITHSON 2017, 228, 796-797, T23-7, figs. 2.136 and 6.29 (MG II).

²⁵⁰ See KOUROU 2005, 502-504; VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 75; PAPADOPOULOS – SMITHSON 2017, 796-801, with references.

can be recognized between **45**, on the one hand, and on the other, **48** and **52**; this difference may have slight chronological implications. **45** possesses a feature that is still characteristic of the skyphoi of MG II, as compared to those of LG Ia (in terms of the Attic sequence): namely, the body is still quite shallow²⁵¹, as can be seen from the profile before the lacuna. See, in this sense, in the Attic production, a black skyphos from T. 89 of the Kerameikos and one (with a lower body however) from T. 23 of the Agora²⁵², both of MG II. Nonetheless, in **45**, the everted shape of the lip is a later trait, which is characteristic of LG Ia²⁵³. Among the black skyphoi from Pontecagnano, the closest comparison to **45** regarding shape is a specimen from T. 4697. It is fully glazed like ours and due to its shape, and also on the basis of the tomb context related to the local Phase IIA, it has been assigned by N. Kourou to the transition between MG IIb and LG Ia. In Euboean production, other fully glazed black skyphoi can be recalled as partial comparisons for the shape of **45**: one from Eretria, well dated to MG II/early LG I and referred in local skyphoi to Type SK3, of medium size like ours (which had a diameter of ca. 14.8 cm)²⁵⁴; and one from Ialysos (Rhodes), from a tomb dated to late MG II²⁵⁵.

From the preserved fragment of the upper body of the other two black skyphoi, **48** and **52**, it can be deduced that the belly profile in both cases was deeper than that of **45**. This is characteristic of LG Ia black skyphoi²⁵⁶. This date is also consistent with the everted profile that the lip of **48** must have had, as can be discerned from the small preserved lower part in the upper section of the fragment (whereas this part is missing in **52**). Due to the rounded and deep profile of the body and the everted lip, **48** is similar to the following black skyphoi from Pontecagnano; these are found in tombs from

the later local phase IIB and assigned by N. Kourou to the Attic LG Ia period (760-750 BC): in particular, one from T. 3179²⁵⁷ and the other from T. 3111 (no. 2)²⁵⁸. From the latter tomb at Pontecagnano comes a second black skyphos (no. 1), which differs from **48** because of the tauter profile of the belly²⁵⁹, but which shows a detail which is similar to the skyphos from Cumae: namely, a thin articulation at the lip attachment, on the outside. The same detail is also seen in the black skyphos from the Pre-Hellenic tomb of Cumae, Osta 29; this tomb also contains the aforementioned chevron skyphos, dated to LG Ia (see above, chpt. 4.4.3). The shape of the lip is similar on the black skyphos (no. 1) from T. 3111 Pontecagnano and on that from T. 29 Osta²⁶⁰. The general shape of the body is also similar, but specimen T. 29 has only a slightly more rounded belly. In the latter, the paint has turned a distinctly lighter, orange/dark pink color (clearly the result of unsuccessful firing). As in the above-mentioned specimens from Pontecagnano of TT. 3179 and 3111, the black skyphos from T. 29 Osta has a reserved area on the outside below the handle and, on the inside, a thin band below the rim, to which a narrow area near the bottom is added. It is important to mention that the black skyphos from T. 29 Osta is in fact of Euboean production, as confirmed by the recent NAA analysis²⁶¹.

To sum up, we can draw the following conclusions about the black skyphoi found in association with the Pre-Hellenic domestic levels below the peristyle. In terms of morphology, **45** can be assigned to the transition between MG IIb and LG Ia, i.e. 775-750 BC, while **48** and **52** should be referred to LG Ia, i.e. 760-750 BC. **48** has all the features, both in terms of clay and decoration, to be of Euboean production. Likewise, specimen **52** could also be Euboean. As for **45**, the fully painted lip is a characteristic of Euboean black skyphoi;

²⁵¹ See in this sense KOUROU 2005, 502-504, pl. 3; PAPADOPOULOS – SMITHSON 2017, 796-801.

²⁵² PAPADOPOULOS – SMITHSON 2017, 228, 796-797, T23-7, figs. 2.136 and 6.29 (MG II).

²⁵³ See KOUROU 2005, 502-504, pl. 3.

²⁵⁴ VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 75, 118, no. 12, pls. 6, 100.

²⁵⁵ D'ACUNTO 2020e, no. T. L/390Ts.3, 248-253, 368-369, pls. XII, 6.

²⁵⁶ Cf. KOUROU 2005, 502-504, pl. 3.

²⁵⁷ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, T. 3179.1, no. 25.1, 50, fig. 11.

²⁵⁸ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, T. 3111.2, no. 27.2, 51, fig. 12; cf. KOUROU 2005, 503-504.

²⁵⁹ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, T. 3111.1, no. 27.1, 51, fig. 12; cf. KOUROU 2005, 503-504, pl. 3.

²⁶⁰ GABRICI 1913, col. 111, fig. 52; MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 234, pl. 16.B5; NIZZO 2007b, 495-498, figs. 10-11; ALBORE LIVADIE 1985, 71-72, no. 11.2; CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 342-344.

²⁶¹ See F. Merlati, in the present volume.

however, in this skyphos the homogeneity and quality of the glaze are reminiscent of Attic production: as a result, the question of whether it is Euboean or Attic production remains open.

4.4.5. Ancient repairs on black skyphoi

We can now concentrate on two details which demonstrate how these black skyphoi must have been given special attention and held in very high regard by the group that used them, in the context of the Pre-Hellenic indigenous village of Cumae: namely, the ancient restorations made on both **45** and **48**, and the inscribed sign, which must be alphabetic, on **48**.

That black skyphos **45** was restored in antiquity is supported on the preserved fragments by the presence on the vessel, at its widest point and distant from the handles, of a pair of horizontally aligned through-holes on each side of a vertical fracture (at a spot where the modern break clearly corresponds to the ancient one). On the same vessel, another through-hole from this ancient restoration is preserved further down, on the belly, before the gap: the hole is located in a position clearly to the right of the two previous ones and at some distance from the handle (in this case the ancient fracture must have run more or less horizontally and the other through-hole must have been located further down). The holes have a diameter of around 2.5 mm. In skyphos fragment **48**, likewise, a through hole from the ancient restoration is preserved at the bottom right of the right-hand handle socket. In this case, the hole is larger, and has a diameter of around 4 mm. The other “twin” hole must have been on the right/bottom right, following the break line (the present break line, perhaps corresponding to the ancient one, runs in an oblique direction). We must, of course, reconstruct in both skyphoi **45** and **48** the presence of pairs of through-holes, which were arranged on each side of the ancient fracture lines: each pair must have been joined either by a metal clip or, otherwise, by a joint of vegetable material/rope: there is no trace inside the holes as to which solution was adopted.

Obviously, we are unable to establish when and where the breakage and later repair occurred on the timeline of the two vessels. However, given the context of their discovery in association with the domestic levels of the Pre-Hellenic village, the

two black skyphoi would have most probably been intact at the time when they were exchanged by Euboean merchants with the “Opician” inhabitants. In that case, the breakage and subsequent repair of the two vessels which had been produced in Euboea and transported by Euboean merchants, must have taken place in the Pre-Hellenic village of Cumae. This would further illustrate how the two skyphoi must have been treated with special regard by the natives because, despite the breakage, they were kept and reassembled through restoration. This shows that the two vases must have been highly prized, because of their quality and the fact they had been made on a potter’s wheel and had painted decorations. At the same time, the repairs might also demonstrate the symbolic value these vases had taken on in their new, indigenous context. The “biography” of the two skyphoi, result of the exchange between Greeks and natives, must have given them not only material value but also symbolic value in the eyes of their new indigenous users²⁶². Therefore, not only were the ancient restorations technical interventions aimed at making the vase functional once more, but they could also have assumed the function of bearing witness to the “biography” of the distinctive object and thus of the added symbolic value assigned to them by the group of new indigenous users of the vessel²⁶³.

At the same time, both the context of their discovery, in association with the domestic levels of the Pre-Hellenic village, and the ancient restorations, show that such fine vessels, after having been exchanged with Euboean merchants, must have been utilized by the indigenous people. It is reasonable to deduce that they must have been used in everyday life and/or on special occasions, prob-

²⁶² On the symbolic value of “objects with biography” there is a rich bibliography, regarding many historical and cultural contexts. On the Greek EIA, see recently: WHITLEY 2002; WHITLEY 2013; D’ACUNTO 2020e, spec. 356, 441-448, 818-820, with bibliography on different societies and periods.

²⁶³ Cf. e.g. the ancient repairs on Euboean black skyphoi from graves on Rhodes (Ialysos: D’ACUNTO 2020e, no. T. L/390Ts.3, 248-253, 368-369, pls. XII, 6; Exochi: JOHANSEN 1958, T. M, no. 3, 46, 49, fig. 106). If we shift our focus to an indigenous setting involving Phoenician and Greek merchants, such as in our context, cf. the case of La Rebanadilla: a Phoenician jug and a Euboean chevron skyphos (BOTTO 2020, 358-359, fig. 7 left, center, and fig. 6b).

ably for wine consumption (if such was their function also in the native village). Thus, after their “real” use, these fine Greek-imported vessels were subsequently included as grave-offerings of special symbolic value in the burials of the native elite: this is also the case in female burials, as is certainly the case for T. 29 Osta, which can be identified as such by the composition of the grave-goods²⁶⁴. In effect, from vases connected in some way to the everyday consumption of wine, probably a male prerogative, such skyphoi went on to become a distinctive attribute of the elite group to which they belonged, also due to their “biography”.

4.4.6. The letter N written on the black skyphos and aspects related to the Greek alphabet

Black skyphos **48** has a small sign engraved below the handle, more precisely immediately to the lower left of the right-hand handle attachment. In the present volume, Albio Cesare Cassio deals with this one-letter inscription in another paper, which is addressed to the general question of the emergence of the Greek alphabet and to its earliest occurrences in Italy. Here, I will limit my comments to a presentation of this new epigraphic document and to some related remarks²⁶⁵.

The sign on Cumae’s black skyphos **48** consists of three oblique strokes that join each other respectively at the upper and lower extremities; the angles between the strokes are slightly acute; the first and the third strokes are almost parallel. Near the vertices, the engraving is fairly deep, sharp and in a regular straight line. The left-hand stroke, after a very short gap in the engraving caused only by a crack in the paint, extends for a long stretch to the lower left in a less deep incision. This line continues fairly straight in relation to the stroke near the vertex. The right-hand stroke also has a short engraved extension to the left beyond the lower vertex. In the latter case, it is evident that this extension of the stroke beyond the vertex is an error. The same interpretation may perhaps be suggested

by the crack in the paint and the slight engraving below the middle stroke and roughly aligned with it. The case of the left-hand stroke is different, because its extension below the left vertex is long and therefore seems to reveal the intention to make a longer stroke than the others (although one cannot exclude the hypothesis that the shallower extension to the left reveals a slip of the hand, which may have extended the stroke by mistake too far to the left). Another engraving, which in this case is very short but deep, is found in the corner between the left and the middle strokes; this engraving goes more towards the left: in this case, the most likely hypothesis is that of an earlier failed “attempt” (see A.C. Cassio below: a “*pentimento*”) to make the left-hand stroke that was abandoned as a result of an “afterthought” (but, of course, even in this case its intentional character cannot be ruled out); it should also be noted that in correspondence with this corner, the clay, together with the paint, is slightly chipped. In both cases the angles are acute but very open: the one formed by the first and the second strokes corresponds to ca. $72/75^\circ$, while the one formed by the second and the third strokes to ca. $73/79^\circ$. All in all, albeit with the aforementioned uncertainties, the most likely hypothesis is that of a sign consisting of three lines in a zig-zag pattern: they connect at the two vertices in two angles slightly less than 90° and of which the left stroke is longer.

There is no doubt that this sign was engraved prior to the firing of the vessel: this is revealed, in particular, by the evidence that the outer edges of the engraving jut out slightly from the surface of the vessel (the engraving had clearly raised the clay at the sides) and that these edges are fired (they do not have the crumbly texture of the inner section of the vessel). On the other hand, it is clear that the engraving was made when the paint had already been applied to the surface: this is especially evident in the right-hand stroke, the edges of which have retained the paint, while the bottom has not; in the case of the left-hand stroke, the paint has been partly preserved along the edges and on the bottom. The stages of this process are logical after all, since applying the paint after making the engraving would have covered up the inscription. In short, the inscription on black sky-

²⁶⁴ GABRICI 1913, cols. 109-111, fig. 52, pl. 18.7; MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 234, pl. 16.B; NIZZO 2007b, 495-496, figs. 10-11; ALBORE LIVADIE 1985, 71-72, no. 11.1; CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 342-344.

²⁶⁵ I would like to thank A.C. Cassio for his paper and for the precious remarks and stimulating discussions.

phos 48 was made by engraving the vessel after it was painted and before it was fired.

As for the identification of this sign, I believe it is in all likelihood an alphabetical sign. The reader should also refer to the important remarks in this sense made by A.C. Cassio, the first of which regards a technical aspect. The three zig-zag strokes are drawn so straight and at such precise angles that it could be deduced that the engraver had used a small ruler: as a result, it can be concluded that an attempt at engraving with such accuracy was driven by a desire to reproduce a specific letter of the alphabet and not a generic mark.

Given its very early date, one could also think of a *nun* from the Phoenician alphabet; however, such a hypothesis has to be ruled out due to the left-to-right slant of the writing. It must, therefore, be Greek and Euboean: i.e. a three-stroke *nu* written in the Greek alphabet with a left-to-right slant²⁶⁶. Consistent with this hypothesis is, in fact, the oblique direction of the right-hand and middle strokes, as well as the left-hand stroke that is longer than the others (if its extension to the lower left is to be interpreted as such): both are characteristics of *nu* in early Archaic and Archaic Greek inscriptions, and particularly of the red alphabets, such as the one used in Euboea and in the Euboean colonial world²⁶⁷. In particular, the oblique and almost right-angle orientation of the second and the third strokes on Cumae's skyphos 48 is so common and peculiar in early Archaic and Archaic Greek inscriptions²⁶⁸ that the identification of the sign written on our vase as the letter *nu* must be considered as virtually assured²⁶⁹. For *nu*, on the oth-

er hand, the roughly 45° direction of the left stroke is quite uncommon, as this stroke is usually vertical or only slightly oblique. The short dash engraved inside the left vertex was probably caused by a preceding attempt to engrave the first stroke of the *nu* more vertically; the second attempt, on the other hand, was done more obliquely and more spaced-out. The short line must have been an earlier "attempt"-*pentimento*, but actually continuing it would have given the fairly acute angle that is common in Archaic *nu*. My impression is that the engraver had second thoughts, which led him to choose a less acute angle.

Another less frequent aspect is, clearly, the left-to-right slant that our alphabetical signs have, in a period like the 8th century BC in which right-to-left (or boustrophedon) inscriptions were predominant²⁷⁰. However, for both aspects – the oblique orientation of the first stroke and the left-to-right slant – comparison can be made with the *nu* included in an inscription, which had been made before firing, on a spindle-whorl from the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria of LG²⁷¹. An almost identical *nu* occurs in the left-to-right inscription from Osteria dell'Osa (cf. F. Nitti's drawings: see Fig. 6 in A.C. Cassio's contribution in this volume): this parallel is remarkable both because of its very early date and its taking place in central Italy (we will come back to this below). The first stroke of the *nu* is very tilted and longer than the other two strokes in several inscriptions from the Euboean world, which are dated between the second half of the 8th and the beginning of the 7th century BC; the difference can be observed in the right-to-left slant of the writing²⁷².

²⁶⁶ As an alternative, one could speculate that the short engraved dash in the corner between the left and the middle strokes is not a first "attempt", but identifies an overturned *chi* (cf. BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, nos. 41-42, 176; KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, no. 28, 67). However, this assumption is not supported by the fact that this central dash is very short, and by the presence of the right-hand stroke.

²⁶⁷ Cf. JEFFERY 1990, 79-89, 433-434, 453-456, pls. 5-6, 47-49; GUARDUCCI 1987, 14-80; BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, esp. 184; KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005.

²⁶⁸ From this point of view, see, e.g. in JEFFERY 1990, and GUARDUCCI 1987, 14-80, and in the Euboean world in KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, and BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995.

²⁶⁹ The alternative hypothesis would be that ours is, instead, a sign of a non-alphabetical nature, something that occurs quite frequently in the form of a single isolated sign on a good number

of vases from the 8th century BC, for example, from the Euboean world (cf., e.g., Eretria: KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, 54-55). As has been remarked by some scholars, in several cases in which a single sign occurs on a Greek vase of the early Archaic period, the letters often cannot be unambiguously distinguished from non-alphabetical signs, which are widely attested on Greek ceramics of the period (WHITLEY 2021, 277-278; KOTSONAS 2022, 170). Non-alphabetic signs may have different (and for us undefined) meanings: from a magic/religious symbol, to a mark that identified the owner or potter, or even other possible functions.

²⁷⁰ For a general picture see JEFFERY 1990; GUARDUCCI 1987, 14-80; cf. LAZZARINI 2005, 478.

²⁷¹ KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, 75-76, no. 65.

²⁷² Cf., e.g., the following well-known cases: the inscription on a North-Ionian bird kotyle from Eretria (BARTONĚK – BUCHNER

Interesting comparisons for our *nu*, both because of the shape and the isolation of this specific letter, may be found among the rich *corpus* of late 8th-early 7th century BC inscriptions from the so-called “Hypogeion” in the Eretrian colony of Methone²⁷³. Many of these inscriptions are written on drinking vessels of Euboean production and on imported amphorae from other regions of the Aegean. We can single out the following comparisons: in particular, on a Samian amphora a single *nu* written right-to-left after firing, the first stroke of which is oblique²⁷⁴; on another Samian amphora a single right-to-left *nu*, which had been inscribed before firing, such as in our case²⁷⁵; the two-letter inscription NE written right-to-left after firing on an amphora of unknown production²⁷⁶; the same two letters in a (longer?) inscription written left-to-right on the neck of a local beaked pitcher²⁷⁷; and for the form of the *nu* in longer inscriptions, indicating ownership, the inscription written left-to-right after the firing of an Antekydes on a Lesbian amphora²⁷⁸.

The meaning of the alphabetical sign *nu* on skyphos 48 from Cumae is not made explicit by this single letter. The hypothesis that the *nu* refers to the first letter of the vessel’s contents seems unlikely, because as this is a drinking vessel, it must have been intended for wine consumption. The first letter indicating the name of the vase seems equally unlikely, because in Greek no vessel shapes related to drinking have *nu* as the first letter of their name.

The first theory is that this letter does not actually refer to a proper name. It could be connected somehow to letters on a set of drinking vessels, e.g. in a set of vases, which may have been used by drinkers while consuming wine, or during games. Perhaps it was a letter among other letters of the

alphabet, or a numeral among other numerals on other vessels?

Another possibility is that this letter is in fact the first letter of a proper name. In the first instance, the potter’s name would come to mind, because the letter would have been inscribed by him before firing. This abbreviated potter’s “signature” would imply an expression of “pride” or a trademark on his product. However, at least from what is preserved, the relatively common quality and type of vessel, a black skyphos, would not seem to support the hypothesis of the potter’s trademark. Nevertheless, the potter might well have introduced the first letter of his name to add extra interest and value to the vessel.

On the other hand, a tempting hypothesis would be that our *nu* refers to the first letter of the proper name of the first Euboean owner of the vase which the potter engraved to customize it for him. In line with this hypothesis, we might refer to the discussion which has arisen from the publication of Methone’s inscriptions; most of them relate, more or less clearly, to the consumption of wine among elite members (in connection with the rise of the aristocratic banquet and later *symposion*²⁷⁹). Starting from Methone’s *corpus*, but also generally in early Archaic Greece, it has been remarked that ownership inscriptions on drinking vessels tend to be written on or near the lip, or close to the handle²⁸⁰. This is because the visual display of the owner’s name afforded by the inscription, played a key role in the wine consumption ceremonial, and in the interplay between participants which would have given way to the exchange of their drinking vessels²⁸¹. As a consequence, the physical relationship between the inscription and the handle of the vessel, and the close association between them, demonstrates individual ownership, and mirrors the owner’s membership in wine consumption cir-

1995, no. B1, 190-192), the potter’s signature on the krater from Mazzola at Pithekoussai (BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, no. 43, 177), and the lekythos of Tataie from Cumae (BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, no. C1, 199-199).

²⁷³ BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, and, in particular, TZIFOPOULOS 2012; STRAUSS CLAY – MALKIN – TZIFOPOULOS 2017.

²⁷⁴ BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 364-365, no. 18.

²⁷⁵ BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 362-364, no. 17.

²⁷⁶ BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 358-359, no. 15.

²⁷⁷ BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 357, no. 14.

²⁷⁸ BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 345-347, no. 4.

²⁷⁹ BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, and on this aspect see esp. TZIFOPOULOS 2012; WĘCOWSKI 2014, 2017, and also his contribution in this volume.

²⁸⁰ PAPPAS 2017, esp. 292, 295.

²⁸¹ For the *corpus* of Methone, this interpretation, which connects the inscription with wine consumption interplay, has also been extended to some post-firing inscriptions written on the neck or near the handle of some transport amphorae, including some of the above-mentioned cases, but of course cautiously when only one or two letters occur (PAPPAS 2017, 295-301).

cles. In this case we can imagine that a customer would have told the potter what he wanted to be written on the vase. Actually, if the message is «I am writing *nu* because the vase is mine», there is a big difference between, on one hand, simply scratching the letter on a fired vase on a specific occasion²⁸² and, on the other, the client requesting the potter to write the first letter of his name on a vessel which is yet to be produced; that is, to accept a commission before the vase even exists. We must underline that inscribing before or after firing are different acts, and that the former has far greater implications.

Hence, different meanings for the letter *nu* on our vase are possible: a letter connected somehow with wine consumption, or the first letter of the potter's name, or of the Euboean customer who commissioned the work to the potter. Whatever it is, and we cannot know for sure, for the owner of skyphos **48**, this letter, a distinctive sign, must have had a special meaning which assumed a specific function within the ceremonial mechanisms of drinking, given that the two-handled skyphoi circulated on the occasions of wine consumption among elite members²⁸³. Certainly, therefore, this sign must have given the vessel a particular symbolic value in the eyes of the owner, first in the Greek context in Euboea, and then in the native village at Cumae in Opicia.

Whatever its meaning, having written the letter *nu* on skyphos **48** demonstrates that the Euboean potter had at least a basic knowledge of the alphabet.

This new epigraphic evidence is of special interest, if we consider the high dating of our black skyphos, as established by its morphology and context: this alphabetical sign was inscribed, at the same time as the vase was made, in ca. 760-750 BC, and the domestic context of Pre-Hellenic Cumae where it was uncovered, does not extend beyond the mid-8th century BC. As a consequence, our *nu* can be considered among the oldest evidence of the use of Greek alphabetic writing which has been found to date. A.C. Cassio's analysis of

the earliest inscriptions found in Euboea in his paper in this volume should be referred to. With respect to a handful of inscriptions from the first half of the 8th century BC – five from the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria²⁸⁴ and one from Lefkandi²⁸⁵ – he argues that the introduction of the Greek alphabet would have been earlier, possibly even much earlier, than their date.

The Greek inscription on **48** offers us a small but significant piece of evidence from the indigenous point of view as well: shortly before the middle of the 8th century BC, some indigenous communities in Italy were aware of the existence of writing through “pre-colonial” exchanges with the Euboeans and Phoenicians, even though these communities did not yet use writing themselves. According to the testimony of our black skyphos, this would have been before the foundation of the *apoikia* of Cumae and probably even before the foundation of Pithekoussai (see M. D'Acunto, below, chpt. 4.7).

In this respect, the new inscribed document from Pre-Hellenic Cumae also offers a glimpse into the much debated inscription engraved after firing on the Latium-produced *impasto* flask of T. 482 from Osteria dell'Osa²⁸⁶. Thanks to this small but significant piece of evidence from Cumae, the inscription from Osteria dell'Osa is, in a sense, no longer as isolated in time and space as it might have appeared previously: neither from a chronological point of view (also in the light of the MG II inscribed fragments from Eretria and Lefkandi) nor due to the fact that it was found in an indigenous context, in this case in a community in ancient Latium (Gabii, near Rome). For Osteria dell'Osa, the most credited thesis is that of an inscription in Greek²⁸⁷ as opposed to the two other proposals of Archaic Latin and Phoenician²⁸⁸: there

²⁸⁴ KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, 52, 66, 69, 75-77, nos. 25, 26, 36, 64, 66 (this is in the Semitic alphabet).

²⁸⁵ *Lefkandi I*, 90, no. 102 (L. Jeffery); BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, 195, no. B 8.

²⁸⁶ BIETTI SESTIERI – DE SANTIS – LA REGINA 1991, 83-88; BIETTI SESTIERI 1992, 273, 522, 687, figs. 2k.2.8, 3a.270; RIDGWAY 1996, 92-97; BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, no. D 1, 204-205, with bibliography.

²⁸⁷ Cf. BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, no. D 1, 204-205.

²⁸⁸ For the hypothesis of identification with a Latin inscription see COLONNA 2005, 481-483, fig. 4: *ni lue* (reading from right to left); cf. LANE FOX 2008, 136-137. Some letters, and the left-to-right slant, stand in the way of the hypothesis of a Phoeni-

²⁸² Such as for BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 354-355, no. 11.

²⁸³ WĘCOWSKI 2014, 85-124; 2017.

is no doubt that the inscription is alphabetical, as can be seen from the first and last letters, which can certainly be identified as an E and an N. The most accepted reading is εὔλιν(ος): “good at spinning”, perhaps referring to an attribute of the woman buried in the tomb²⁸⁹. However, the *interpretatio graeca* of εὔλιν is not universally accepted. If it is in Greek, since the iota is straight not crooked, the script is Euboean (see below A.C. Cassio)²⁹⁰. The comparison between the form of the *nu* in the inscription from Osteria dell’Osa and the one engraved on our skyphos from Cumae is striking: their similarity is given by the orientation of the first and the second strokes, the angle between which is less acute than the “canonical” *nu*, as well as by the angle between the second and the third strokes. Both inscriptions may reflect a rare ancient Euboean variant of the *nu* (see again, below, A.C. Cassio). It can also be said that in the *nu* of the Osteria dell’Osa inscription there is an “undue” continuation of the left vertical line. Another important point of comparison is the left-to-right slant of the inscription from Osteria dell’Osa, as well as the left-to-right slant of the letter on skyphos **48**. Regarding its chronology, A.M. Bietti Sestieri has recently restated that the excavation context of T. 482 in Osteria dell’Osa, to which the inscribed vase refers, is reliable from a stratigraphical point of view: the tomb is dated to the Latium IIB2 phase, therefore around 775/770 BC, or even before then (of course, with all due caution regarding the *ad annum* precision of such chronology)²⁹¹. Consequently, the inscribed vases from Osteria dell’Osa and **48** from Pre-Hellenic Cumae are also very close from a chronological point of view, as the Cumae specimen is dated to 760-750 BC.

Clearly, the difference between **48** from Cumae and the case of Osteria dell’Osa lies in the place of production of the vase and where the in-

scription was written, in first case in Euboea, and in the second in Latium. In the second quarter of the 8th century BC, both the Italic communities of Osteria dell’Osa/Gabii and Pre-Hellenic Cumae were at the very least aware of the existence of the medium of writing, even if they did not use the alphabet themselves²⁹²: this knowledge probably came from the exchanges and forms of mobility enacted by the Euboeans (together with the Phoenicians) in central-southern Italy in the pre-colonial period.

4.4.7. One-metope bird skyphoi (Pl. 13)

Two specimens which were brought to light in our domestic context of Pre-Hellenic Cumae under the peristyle, **42** and **53**, can be referred to this class which is peculiar to Euboean and Euboean-related products²⁹³.

A single fragment of the belly is preserved in **53**, which was found in the later Level IV (US 27815: see F. Nitti above, chpt. 4.1.1). The lower part is painted, while from the decoration on the upper reserved band, a vertical dash is preserved on the left, as well as part of a decorative motif bottom-right: the latter should probably be identified as a lozenge with a central dot. One-metope bird skyphoi commonly have this background filling in the metope containing the bird²⁹⁴. As a result, such an attribution can also be proposed for our fragment: in this case, the preserved dash should be assumed to form the frame to the left of the metope. In one-metope bird skyphoi, the background fillers are normally placed in the upper part of the metope, above the bird’s body, but there are also cases in which these fillers are placed in the lower half, below the bird’s body²⁹⁵, as is the case here. Of course, given its state of preservation, the hypothesis of identification of

cian inscription (e.g. JANKO 2015, 15; and LAZZARINI 2005, who also rejects the hypothesis of a Latin inscription).

²⁸⁹ BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, no. D 1, 204-205; JANKO 2015, 14-16 (which, however, cannot be followed for what concerns the chronology of inscriptions and contexts).

²⁹⁰ JANKO 2015, 15; cf. JEFFERY 1990, 79, fig. 27; KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005; BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, 184.

²⁹¹ BIETTI SESTIERI 2005; cf. BARTOLONI – NIZZO 2005, 411, note 21.

²⁹² Several scholars have referred to the tradition, reported by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.84.5), according to which Romulus and Remus were sent, when they were children, to Gabii to learn Greek letters. Of course, this tradition must be considered with all due caution and not *sic et simpliciter*: cf. RIDGWAY 1996, 96-97; AMPOLO 1997, 211-217; JANKO 2015, 15, note 111.

²⁹³ On one-metope bird skyphoi see esp. COLDSTREAM 1982, 24-27, pls. 1-2; COLDSTREAM 2004, 41-43, figs. a-b, 2; KOUROU 2005, 504.

²⁹⁴ Cf. COLDSTREAM 1982, pls. 1a, b, d.

²⁹⁵ Cf. a specimen from Chalcis: ANDREIOMENOU 1984, spec. fig. 25; COLDSTREAM 2004, 42-43, fig. 2d.

fragment **53** with a one-metope bird skyphos must remain speculative.

The case of **42** is different, since its preserved fragments ensure its identification with a skyphos of this class. Two joint fragments give us part of the lip and shoulder, up to the top of the belly, as can be seen from the visibly curved and recessed lower portion (the latter is an important detail for the reconstruction of the vessel's profile). On the outside, the decoration is painted with a blackish, sometimes dark to light brown paint: such different color gradients of the paint are also seen in different parts of the bird, and create an unpleasant final effect. As for a third fragment, relating to the upper part of the belly, it has no contact surfaces with the other two; there is no doubt, however, that it belongs to the same vase, due to the above-mentioned characteristics of the paint which are identical, the misfired clay (see below), and the fact that the fragment has two bird's legs painted on it. F. Nitti (see Pl. 13) has succeeded in skillfully drawing the profile of the vase and in reconstructing its outer decoration. The latter has three lines on the lip, an upper one below the rim, a second immediately below, while the third is irregularly spaced, and runs along the lower portion of the lip. This makes the decoration seem poorly executed, which is also made clear by the fact that all three lines on the lip are unevenly spaced: the second line has one section that is too narrow, and another is smudged at the bottom. These irregularities also characterize the rendering of the bird whose neck folds unnaturally, and the overall effect is especially unpleasant because the paint used for the upper outline of the head above the eye is very faint. While the birds in Euboean one-metope bird skyphoi often display a non-standardized style and a sometimes sketchy rendering, our vessel represents a particularly unsuccessful outcome.

In our skyphos the bird is facing to the left. The head is placed immediately below the upper line; it has an almond-shaped reserved eye and a long beak. The neck, thicker at the bottom, forms a pronounced bend at 2/3 of its length. The upper part of the body has a continuous curve from its back to its chest: the preserved part is entirely painted, but, as the central and lower portions are missing, we are unable to ascertain whether the body was fully

painted or whether it was hatched and outlined with a thicker line. On the third fragment there are two oblique dashes running parallel, as mentioned, which can certainly be identified with the bird's legs. On its front leg, the painted line folds upwards at a right angle, as can be seen from a small preserved portion of the paint before the break: the leg could have been folded at the hock, as often happens in many cases of birds in this class²⁹⁶, or this fold could refer to the leg's connection with the lower part of breast (in which case the fold at the hock would not have been present and the legs would have been rendered with two simple parallel dashes)²⁹⁷. Above the back of the bird, on the right, a dot rosette is introduced as a background filling, consisting of six irregularly spaced dots arranged around a central, off-centre dot. To the left of the bird at breast height, there was a second rosette made of dots, two of which are preserved. The bird's legs are joined to the painted lower band, with no indication of feet. Neither the right nor the left dashes of the metope, which must have enclosed the bird, are preserved. On the inside, the skyphos is fully glazed with irregular blackish paint, which turns in spots to a light brownish/brown color.

For the bird in **42**, similarities with the bird depicted on one or another specimen of the class of one-bird metope skyphoi can be found, but my personal opinion is that there are no striking comparisons. This is not due to the uniqueness of our skyphos compared to other Euboean specimens, but rather to the fact that the birds in this class vary considerably in both general appearance and proportions, as well as in the rendering of details. I do not think, therefore, that the rendering of the bird can give us specific information about the chronology of our vase. It is different because of the filler consisting of a dotted rosette, which occurs twice within the metope in **42** and takes up the motif of Attic origin from MG II; more specifically, we come across the dotted rosette on two of the three Attic oinochoai, recalled by Coldstream as a prototype for the decorative scheme with a bird in the metope between horizontal lines (these oinochoai

²⁹⁶ Cf. e.g. COLDSTREAM 1982, pl. 1a, c, g, h.

²⁹⁷ Cf. e.g. COLDSTREAM 1982, pl. 1b.

are dated by him one/two decades before the beginning of LG Ia or at the transition with this phase)²⁹⁸. As for one-metope bird skyphoi, the dotted rosette also appears on the specimen from T. 174 Selciatello Sopra from Tarquinia; this skyphos has the same arrangement with horizontal lines at the sides and a bird of slender proportions of Attic origin, the latter being quite similar to ours. The specimen from Tarquinia is placed by Coldstream at the beginning of the series of Euboean one-metope bird skyphoi, as is another bird skyphos from the Quattro Fontanili necropolis in Veii²⁹⁹. In sum, the dotted rosette filler on **42** seems to reflect a proximity to the Attic prototype of the bird scheme in the central metope (on the oinochoai) and thus provides a clue to dating our specimen to the early phase of one-metope bird skyphoi production.

The hypothesis of a high date for one-metope bird skyphos **42** from Cumae is also supported by its morphology: this is characterized by a low body, with quite a high lip, only slightly tilted and well detached from the shoulder. The closest comparisons for this shape are two one-metope bird skyphoi from T. 3211 of Pontecagnano: these refer to a context of local Phase IIa (780/770-750 BC) and are assigned by Kourou to the transition between MG II and LG Ia (in Attic terms); more precisely, according to the Greek scholar, the low body and the vertical lip fit better with MG II³⁰⁰. One difference, in comparison with these two specimens from Pontecagnano, is the sharp detachment of the lip from the shoulder in **42**: the latter feature is found on the bird skyphos, also with a high vertical lip, from the layer between the two floors in the “Capanna dei Ripostigli” at Sant’Imbenia³⁰¹. In the latter context, the association of the bird skyphos with the PSC skyphos of Kearsley’s Type 5 and the chevron skyphos, mentioned above (chpt. 4.4.3), offers a date which is still in MG II.

From another perspective, the stratigraphy confirms the high chronology of **42**. The fragments of this skyphos were found in different layers in the

excavation below the peristyle. In particular, one of these fragments, namely the lower one with the bird’s legs, was found in association with the earliest floor, which yielded Greek Geometric pottery (Level I, US 27847: cf. F. Nitti above, chpt. 4.1.1)³⁰². Therefore, in terms of relative chronology, our skyphos refers to the earliest horizon of the Euboean presence at the Pre-Hellenic settlement of Cumae: this means, of course, the earliest horizon related to the evidence provided by our excavation. However, in terms of relative sequence, our skyphos stands in the earliest phase of the pre-colonial horizon of Geometric pottery discussed in this chapter.

These observations lead us to date one-metope bird skyphos **42** from Cumae still most probably to MG IIb or, at the latest, to the transition to LG Ia (based on the phases of Attic pottery). In terms of absolute chronology, we can therefore assume its dating to 780/770-760 BC, or at the latest shortly after 760 BC (of course, based on the “orthodox” chronology of Geometric pottery).

As for the place of production, **53** does not seem to be an exception to the other Geometric vases from this context: its clay – compact, light brown, with white inclusions and vacuoles – has no mica visible to the naked eye. While caution is required due to the relatively small size of the sherd, the hypothesis of Euboean manufacture is likely, mainly because the fragment may well belong to the peculiar Euboean production of one-metope bird skyphoi.

On the contrary, the case of bird skyphos **42** is peculiar. What is striking, in comparison with the other Geometric vessels examined in this chapter, is the consistent presence of fine-grained silver mica, which is clearly visible to the naked eye, along with large black volcanic inclusions. On the external decorated part, the firing of the vessel produced acceptable results and made the decoration quite clear: in this case the clay is orange in color. Conversely, both in the section and on the inside, our skyphos reveals evident firing defects, the clay

²⁹⁸ COLDSTREAM 1982, 26-27, figs. 2b (from well K in the Agora) and figs. 2c (from T. 26 of Odos Kriezi).

²⁹⁹ COLDSTREAM 2004, 42, figs. 2b, a.

³⁰⁰ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, no. 10.1-2, 34-35, fig. 6, pl. 2.7; KOUROU 2005, 504.

³⁰¹ BERNARDINI – RENDELI 2020, 329, fig. 11b.

³⁰² The other two fragments were found in the later stratigraphies, and clearly in a secondary deposition context (UUS 27554 and 27671).

having taken on a grey to dark grey coloring. This misfiring clearly manifests itself in the hollows that have made the surface uneven, especially on the inside of the vessel, but also to a lesser degree on the outside. In short, the aforementioned defects of the paint for the outer (as well as inner) decoration, added to the misfiring, are clear evidence that this vase was the result of defective manufacturing.

On the other hand, our specimen belongs to a class of drinking vessels, that of the Euboean one-metope bird skyphoi, thought to be “ambitious” and prized among the Italic communities who established early relations with merchants from Euboea.

These considerations have led us to the conclusion that **42** cannot have been imported from Euboea. The conclusion is confirmed further by the highly micaceous character of the clay and the large black volcanic inclusions: these features do not match the common Euboean fabrics circulating within the Geometric period. On the other hand, against the hypothesis of production in other regions of the Aegean, where micaceous pottery is found (such as the Cyclades), our defective vessel coincides with a class, that of one-metope bird skyphoi, which is characteristic of Euboean pottery. As a matter of fact, the macroscopic clay features of our skyphos are consistent with the volcanic characteristics of the Phlegraean Fields region, on which the micaceous nature and the large black inclusions must depend. Consequently, the likeliest hypothesis is that skyphos **42** was produced in the Phlegraean region.

If this is in fact the case, the question is whether our vase could have been manufactured at Pithekoussai. Referring to the current state of knowledge, this hypothesis is unlikely because of a concurrence of observations. The most important among them is chronology: the oldest ceramics from Pithekoussai do not date that far back in time, in terms of relative sequence, and the intense Euboean frequentation of Pre-Hellenic Cumae, documented by our excavation, predates the foundation of Pithekoussai (see below, chpt. 4.6); in addition, as previously stated, our skyphos seems to be dated to an early phase of this pre-colonial presence on the site. Another point concerns the macroscopic inspection of the clay: with all due caution, the

deep orange clay of our skyphos, in the parts which are not misfired, is not reminiscent of the usual color of Pithekoussan clays (which often have a pale powder pink hue).

If Pithekoussai were excluded, this one-metope bird skyphos (**42**) must have been produced in Pre-Hellenic Cumae, and therefore probably by an itinerant/immigrant Euboean craftsman who would have had to be well acquainted with Euboean production in the motherland. Our Euboean potter would fit into those forms of craftsman mobility that go hand in hand with the intensity of pre-colonial exchanges woven by Euboeans, as well as Phoenicians, with the indigenous communities of Italy. In Pre-Hellenic Cumae this would have happened not at the end of this short pre-colonial experience, but at an early stage, as suggested by both the stratigraphic context and the classification of skyphos **42**. Another aspect which must be emphasized arises from the evidence exposed by our excavation: despite its production defects, this skyphos had evidently been used in an indigenous context within the settlement.

The on-site production of a vase by an itinerant Euboean craftsman would be a small, but intriguing clue, suggesting permanence, for limited periods of time at least, of some Euboeans in the “Opician” settlement of Cumae (we will return to this shortly, see chpt. 4.6). Confining ourselves to this specific issue, of course, the hypothesis of our skyphos being locally produced needs confirmation (or refutation) with the support of archaeometric analyses. At the same time, this unique find awaits further possible confirmation from ongoing excavations.

Nevertheless, such a hypothesis would be perfectly consistent with other evidence from other settlements in southern Italy, in the chronological horizon immediately prior to colonial foundations. This evidence documents a pattern of craftsman mobility, notably of potters, associated with Euboean trade enterprises in the pre-colonial phase. Among the different evidence available regarding this phenomenon, the case that we can now consider as most well-known is that of the indigenous village of Francavilla Marittima (Calabria), before the foundation of the Achaean *apoikia* of Sybaris: recent archaeological excavations have brought to light a good amount of “Oinotrian-Euboean” pot-

tery, which must have been produced before 720 BC, at least in the early stages, by itinerant/immigrant Euboean potters³⁰³. In Campania, this is reflected by archaeological finds in Pontecagnano from the same chronological horizon as our context, before the foundation of Pithekoussai and Cumae: the clearest case is a skyphos with pendant semicircles painted freehand, and later transformed into a black skyphos, which mirrors the production defects in our example³⁰⁴.

4.4.8. Tableware/transport/storage closed shapes (Pl. 13)

The discussion of diagnostics among the Greek fragments from our Pre-Hellenic context will be complete after we consider one particular vase consisting of three joining fragments of the oblique-profiled shoulder of a medium/large closed form: **46**. These fragments were found on Level IV (US 27815), but another two from Level II (US 27838), which do not join up with the other three, refer to the same vessel. In the three joining fragments, the attachment of a vertical handle is preserved in the upper part. The vessel was made on a potter's wheel and is of fine compact clay, characterized by an outer wash and large black and white inclusions, a few grey ones, along with vacuoles. A wide horizontal painted band runs across the upper part of the shoulder and another surrounds the handle attachment. The fine clay of the vessel does not suggest that this is *sic et simpliciter* a transport amphora. On the other hand, the small part which is preserved does not allow its identification: given its medium/large size, shape, and decoration, a reasonable hypothesis is that it was an oinochoe/hydria; with reference to this shape, slightly more recent colonial productions are known, considered to be of Euboean-Cycladic influence³⁰⁵. An alternative might be that of a hy-

dria-amphora³⁰⁶. Its place of production remains uncertain: the context and macroscopic aspects of the clay might be consistent with the most immediate hypothesis which is that of Euboean production. The hypothesis that it is an oinochoe-hydria would suggest a large tableware vessel; that of a hydria-amphora would imply identification with a medium-sized transport/storage container.

What's more, our domestic context in the peristyle area, below the deep alluvial layer, has yielded some fragments of transport amphorae. Among them we must point out the finding of two amphorae wall fragments from another lower alluvial level which, on the northern side of the trench, is the interface between Levels III and IV (US 27828, cf. chpt. 4.1.1): one of them might perhaps refer to a western-Phoenician amphora; the other, due to its clay and paint on the outside, is to be ascribed to an Attic amphora of the SOS type. Based on the chronology of our context, the latter would refer to the earliest stages of SOS production, at mid-8th century BC or just before³⁰⁷.

4.4.9. General remarks on the Greek pottery from the Pre-Hellenic village

As a conclusion to this section, some summary remarks can be made on the Greek Geometric pottery found in association with the stratified domestic levels of the Pre-Hellenic village; these levels were unearthed by the University of Napoli L'Orientale team a short distance away in the more extensive excavation below the peristyle and in the small trench below the entrance to the southern *domus*:

- 1) these Geometric vessels were found in conditions of high fragmentation. This must be due to the residential (non-burial) nature of the discovered contexts, as well as to the fact that these domestic contexts underwent transformation and abandonment/destruction: these phenomena must have been brought about by the transition from one

³⁰³ I simply refer here to the contribution by Jan Kindberg Jacobsen and Gloria Mittica, in the present volume, with the relevant bibliography.

³⁰⁴ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, 31, no. 5, T. 4697.1, fig. 3, pl. 2.4. Such a case is no longer isolated, as demonstrated by a similar fragment from Sant'Imbenia which was published recently (BERNARDINI – RENDELI 2020, 327, no. 1, fig. 3a).

³⁰⁵ At Naxos in Sicily: LENTINI 1990, 72, 76, 79, fig. 18 (oinochoai of the cut-away neck type); LENTINI 1992, 22, fig. 57 (hydria); LENTINI 1998, 378-380, figs. 2-3; cf. *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 29, nota 102 [M. Cuzzo].

³⁰⁶ Cf e.g. at Methone, productions of the Thermaic gulf: BE-SIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 391, no. 43.

³⁰⁷ On the date for the beginning of the production of SOS Attic amphorae cf. JOHNSTON – JONES 1978, 140 («The SOS storage amphora began to be produced in the Athenian potters' quarters probably late in the LG Ia period»); PRAIT 2015, 221 (mid-8th century BC).

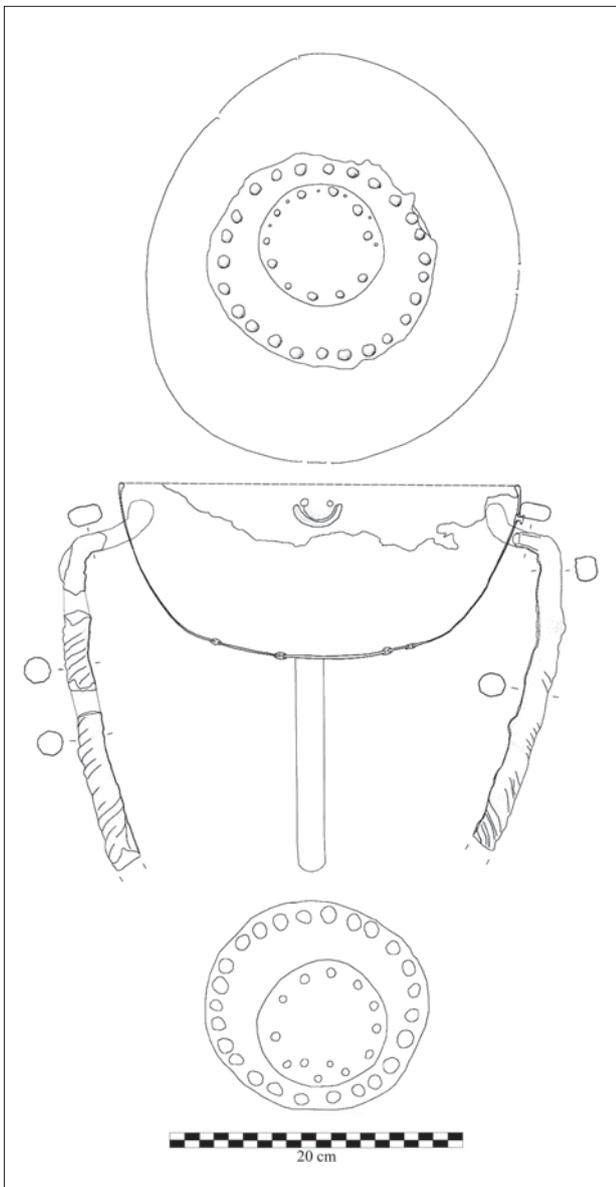
dwelling floor to the next and, ultimately, by the abandonment/destruction of this sector of the indigenous village, to be placed around 750 BC (see below, chpt. 4.7). However, the joining sherds related to the ceramics found demonstrate how such Greek Geometric vessels were originally in primary deposition: they were associated with the living levels of the Pre-Hellenic hut which was unearthened. Any lacunae must be due, on the one hand, to the limited extent of our excavation and other sherds from the same vessels may simply lie a short distance away in areas untouched by our excavation. On the other hand, the fragmentary state in which they have come down to us may have been due to the washouts produced by alluvial phenomena, which affected the area after the abandonment of the indigenous hut and with respect to surfaces that must have remained in part exposed.

- 2) Ten diagnostic vessels have been selected and discussed in this chapter. However, the MNI of Greek Geometric pottery associated with these Pre-Hellenic domestic levels is significantly higher: this can be calculated at no less than 30 vessels which included a wider range of forms: two craters, several oinochoai and most likely a lekythos, together with a few transport amphorae (see chpts. 4.4.1-8). The ten diagnostic vessels examined here, consist mostly of fine skyphoi, probably intended for the consumption of wine (9 out of 10): the latter may have acted, thanks to the dynamics of ceremonies, as the glue needed to strengthen relations between Euboean merchants and natives. The natives, in turn, as a result of exchanges, must have acquired these vessels and added them to their own collections, clearly ascribing intrinsic symbolic value to them (see the ancient restorations in black skyphoi **45** and **48**, and the alphabetic sign inscribed on the latter). The other diagnostic fragment refers to a piece of fine tableware/a commercial ceramic vessel (oinochoe/hydria/amphora **46**). Also of note is the presence of fragments of a few transport ampho-

rae, including one of the Attic SOS type and another perhaps of the western Phoenician type (see below, Massimo Botto's contribution in this volume). The presence of the latter reveals how the interactions at the site could have been in diversified forms: these did not necessarily have to be related exclusively to the exchange of fine pottery by Greeks with natives.

- 3) The skyphoi include several of the most prized types in central and western Mediterranean pre-colonial trade, featuring the Euboeans (along with the Phoenicians) as the main actors: two one-metope bird skyphoi (**42** and **53?**), three PSC skyphoi (**44**, **49-51?** and **43?**), three black skyphoi (**45**, **48** and **52**) and a chevron skyphos (**47**).
- 4) The date of these skyphoi covers a relatively short time span. This ranges, in terms of relative chronology, from MG IIB to LG Ia, as referred to the phases of Attic Geometric pottery. If we transpose these relative chronologies into absolute dates, according to Coldstream's "orthodox" chronology, we are given a chronological span from 780-760 (MG IIB) to 760-750 BC (LG Ia). More precisely, philological analysis of the skyphoi allows us to establish how they cover both phases. We can still probably refer both the chevron skyphos **47** and the one-metope bird skyphos **42** to MG IIB, as well as perhaps the two PSC skyphoi **49-51?** and **43**. Conversely, the two black skyphoi **48** and **52** should be referred to the LG Ia stage, whereas black skyphos **45** as well as the PSC skyphos **44** can be considered as transitional between MG IIB and LG Ia. For the probable one-metope bird skyphos **53**, on the other hand, due to the small size of the fragment, clarification is not yet possible. This is, therefore, a nucleus of materials that are distributed, in terms of absolute chronology, in the second quarter of the 8th century BC.
- 5) Expanding the discussion beyond our context, it is important to point out how the same chronological span can be assigned to the three Greek imports found in the Pre-Hel-

- lenic graves of Cumae. The chevron skyphos from T. 3 Osta is to be placed in MG IIb or, at the latest, at the transition with the later phase. By contrast, the chevron skyphos and the black skyphos from T. 29 Osta are, due to their shape and decoration, to be placed in LG Ia. Consequently, there is full chronological alignment between the Greek pottery found in the burials of the Pre-Hellenic village and that associated with its domestic contexts, in both cases with reference to the final horizon of the life of the village.
- 6) The latter is a key point for the reconstruction of the historical mechanisms marking the transition from the Pre-Hellenic village to the foundation of the Greek *apoikia* (cf. below, chpt. 4.7). In this regard, it is important to point out that none of the Greek vessels associated with our indigenous hut and its related domestic context go down to the later phase: that is, none of these sherds refers to the phase corresponding to the LG phase of Corinthian pottery (750-720 BC) or to LG I in Pithekoussai's chronology (750-720 BC) or to the LG I phase of Eretrian pottery (750-735 BC). The characteristic markers of these latter phases are indeed missing from our Pre-Hellenic residential context: the kotylai of the Aetos 666 type, the skyphoi of the Thapsos type with panel etc., including also the skyphoi with debased chevrons, to which we shall return later (chpt. 5.3). Since Greek Geometric pottery is found up to the most recent dwelling level of our context related to the indigenous village, from a stratigraphical point of view, the village ceases to exist (at least in the sector of our excavation) by the end of Attic LG Ia, therefore by 750 BC. Whatever the cause of the abandonment of the indigenous village, its life, at least in the specifics of our context, comes to an abrupt end at this date. This caesura is clearly marked by the stratigraphy, namely by the massive alluvial layer covering the most recent domestic floor (but cf. remarks in chpt. 4.7). In order to fully assess the extent of this caesura, it should be recalled, on the one hand, that this alluvial level interrupts the period of successive occupations that in this sector dates back to the Late Bronze Age. On the other, the massive alluvial level, which is deposited above, marks a sharp break from the tight sequence of earlier life levels.
- 7) One last important point deserves our attention. Among the diagnostics, the Geometric skyphoi associated with this Pre-Hellenic residential context are made with a non-micaeous clay, certainly not local/Phlegrean. In terms of clay composition, vessel morphology, and decoration, they possess all the features needed to allow us to identify them as imports from Euboea, as did the three skyphoi from tombs 3 and 29 Osta, analyzed with the NAA. The Euboeans, therefore, must have been the main protagonists of this intensive presence in the Pre-Hellenic village of Cumae which lasted about a quarter of a century, until its end around 750 BC. The only exception is the one-metope bird skyphos (42), whose micaeous clay and production defects support the hypothesis that it was an on-site creation by an itinerant craftsman, presumably also Euboean.
- 8) The evidence is complemented by the "Phoenician" fragments which were found associated with the same indigenous hut. These are – as shown in M. Botto's contribution in the present volume – probably Phoenician-Sardinian related productions. They complete a picture that, albeit still limited, allows us to reflect in the next chapter on the mechanisms of interaction that the indigenous village enacts with these foreign merchants in the second quarter of the 8th century BC.
- 4.5. *The relationships between the local elite and the foreign merchants: the case of the female Tomb 4 Osta*
- Our comprehension of the mechanisms of interaction between the Euboeans, Phoenicians and the "Opician" village is further enhanced by the imports from the graves of the Pre-Hellenic village.



Figs. 45-46. Napoli, National Archaeological Museum: from Pre-Hellenic Cumae, T. 4 Osta, tripod made with iron legs and a bronze Cyprriot lebes (photo M. D'Acunto, drawing P. Criscuolo, from CRISCUOLO 2014)

Besides the evidence of the above-mentioned Euboean skyphoi from Tombs 3 and 29 Osta, it is useful to introduce a digression at this point regarding a peculiar metal object, since it implies a high-level relationship between the donor and the recipient. This is the tripod-lebes from Tomb 4 Osta, consisting of twisted rod feet in iron, and a bronze basin with a compressed hemispherical body (Figs. 45-46; cf. M. Botto's contribution in this volume, Fig. 8 with all grave goods)³⁰⁸. This is one of the prominent female tombs in Cumae's Pre-Hellenic II phase. The tripod-basin must actually have been utilized: two restoration patches, also made of bronze, had been nailed onto the bottom of the basin on two separate occasions, clearly to repair some damage caused. This damage must have been provoked by the intense heat of the fire and the flames while food was being cooked inside it. Another repair patch in bronze sheet is located near the attachment of one of the feet. The bronze basin, therefore, must have been used for cooking: as is well-known, the cooking of meat, along with the consumption of wine, was another ceremonial of particular significance in both Aegean and indigenous settings.

Pia Criscuolo has identified the bronze basin from Cumae as a likely import from the Aegean and recalled some comparisons in indigenous Italian contexts of an association between the bronze basin and the iron feet nailed to it, as in our case: these is one specimen from S. Maria d'Anglona, and one from Mostradalfio in Bisignano, Sybaritis, in EIA contexts; the comparison regarding the shape of the bronze basin is only partial for both specimens, while the iron feet are completely different, due to their shape and less elaborate appearance³⁰⁹.

Turning to the bronze part of the tripod from T. 4 Osta, namely the basin, it finds close comparisons regarding shape with many specimens in the series of Cypriot *Kalottenschalen*: see the similarity of the peculiar thickened rim, which slopes slightly inward

³⁰⁸ MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, pl. 17.B32; CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 341, fig. 6; CRISCUOLO 2014, 93-94, figs. 2.33, 4; cf. L. Cerchiai in the present volume.

³⁰⁹ CRISCUOLO 2014, 94: cf. esp. FREY 1991, 22, pl. 12.4, T. 102 (S. Maria d'Anglona, from a context which is roughly contemporary to Cumae's T. 4 Osta); LUPPINO *et al.* 2004, fig. 1.B1 (Mostradalfio at Bisignano, in Sybaritis: sporadic from the necropolis, but EIA); for the belly cf. a bronze basin, sporadic from Torre Mordillo (CRISCUOLO 2014, 94).

and is rounded at the top, as well as the profile of the bronze basin which is wide, with a compressed, barely curved bottom and oblique, rounded side walls³¹⁰. In the Cypriot *Kalottenschalen*, the rim diameter measures up to 25 cm, with a height of up to 12 cm³¹¹. The specimen from Cumae has been reconstructed by Criscuolo with slightly larger dimensions than these: it has a 27.5 cm rim diameter, and a body height of 12 cm³¹². However, these measurements were obtained hypothetically by the Italian scholar from the preserved fragments of a vessel that has come down to us in a very fragmentary state, with lacunas: only three adjoining rim fragments and bottom fragments of the basin are preserved, while for two feet two fragments were preserved at the attachment, for the third foot eight small fragments were preserved³¹³. A larger specimen (diam. 30.9, h. 13.8), fitted with a handle, is, however, documented at Kourion-Kaloriziki³¹⁴. The hypothesis of our basin being of Cypriot production (i.e., the body alone) seems to me, therefore, to be plausible.

By contrast, it is reasonable to assume that the iron feet were added later, and that they were nailed to the basin: given the lack of comparisons in Cyprus, such an addition may have been made either in Greece (in Euboea?) or in Italy; the latter hypothesis would be supported by the comparison with the specimens from S. Maria d'Anglona and Mostradalfio in Bisignano, mentioned earlier.

Important remarks can also be made about the dating of the bronze basin from T. 4 Osta. The production of Cypriot *Kalottenschalen* is spread over a broad time span, ranging from Late Cypriot IIA, through Cypro-Geometric, to the Cypro-Achaic period: the chronological span is, therefore, roughly from 1400 to 500 BC. However, the *floruit* of the

Kalottenschalen is in the Late Bronze Age period, with more limited production in the Cypro-Geometric and the Cypro-Achaic period³¹⁵. It should also be pointed out that the above-mentioned comparisons regarding the shape of the specimen from Cumae, all refer to Late Bronze Age Cypriot items, from Enkomi especially, and from Kition (see above). Furthermore, it is the Late Bronze Age specimens that have a larger rim diameter (normally between 16 and 21 cm, with specimens as large as 24 cm), compared to those of the later phases (with a diameter normally between 10 and 17 cm, with very few slightly larger specimens). A similar argument can be made in reference to the height of the basin: many Late Bronze Age specimens have a basin height of around 10 cm or slightly higher, while for the later periods there are very few specimens whose height approaches 10 cm³¹⁶. A different case is that of the large specimen already mentioned from T. 39 of Kourion-Kaloriziki, which is from a Cypro-Geometric I context (ca. 1050-950 BC)³¹⁷. In sum, there are good reasons to believe that Cumae's bronze basin was manufactured in Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age (1400-1050 BC) or in Cypro-Geometric I (1050-950 BC): it would therefore be several centuries older than the context of T. 4 Osta, which can be dated to the second quarter of the 8th century BC.

If our theory is in fact correct, this would be an "object with biography" and the result of prior high-level exchanges in the Aegean, before eventually ending up in the hands of a female member of the indigenous elite of Pre-Hellenic Cumae. We would be faced with a provenance and dating akin to those hypothesized by B. d'Agostino for the Late Bronze Age Cypriot ring-handled cauldron, laid down in T. 1 of the Nuovo Mattatoio cemetery in Capua (in any case older than our context, being dated roughly around the mid-9th century BC)³¹⁸. The presence of such a peculiar metal vessel among the grave-offerings of an indigenous tomb in Pre-Hellenic Cumae is likely to be ascribed to a high-level exchange of gifts with the indigenous elite by the Euboean/Phoenician/Cypriot components (on which see below) who frequented the village. The basin must have been seen

³¹⁰ Cf. MATTHÄUS 1985, esp.: no. 57, p. 75, pl. 3, from Enkomi, T. 11 of Late Cypriot IIB (diam. 19.5-22.7 cm); no. 63, p. 76, pl. 4, from Enkomi, T. 14 (diam. 19.5-21 cm); no. 79, p. 77, pl. 5, from Enkomi, T. 18, of Late Cypriot IIC (diam. 21-22 cm); no. 86, p. 78, from Enkomi, T. 19A, of Late Cypriot IIB (diam. 20-21 cm); no. 188, p. 82, pl. 10, from Enkomi, T. 9 of Late Cypriot IIC (diam. 23.4 cm). For the rim shape cf. MATTHÄUS 1985, 72, fig. 5f/a/e. For this shape in LBA Cypriot production cf., earlier, CATLING 1964, 147-148, fig. 17.1 (Enkomi, T. 6), pl. 26e (Lapithos, Kastros, T. 420).

³¹¹ MATTHÄUS 1985, 72, 99-104, figs. 8-11.

³¹² These measurements are taken from her drawing published in CRISCUOLO 2014, 95, fig. 4 (in the present volume Fig. 46).

³¹³ CRISCUOLO 2014, 95, note 57.

³¹⁴ MATTHÄUS 1985, no. 305, p. 107, pl. 17.

³¹⁵ MATTHÄUS 1985, 91-99.

³¹⁶ MATTHÄUS 1985, 99-104, figs. 8-11.

³¹⁷ MATTHÄUS 1985, 91, 98, fig. 7.

³¹⁸ D'AGOSTINO 2011a, 73; RAFANELLI 2013, 26, 46, 54-55.

as an object of value and worth, by both the Aegean and indigenous sides: an *agalma*-“object with biography”. And its “biography” was also made evident by the ancient repairs carried out on it.

In T. 4 Osta, such “external” relationships of the native elite are also made manifest through other grave-offerings: a hemispherical bronze cup with a slightly thickened rim, which can be ascribed to the same *Kalottenschalen* type, but smaller in size (diam. 14 cm), and which is probably also of Cypriot manufacture³¹⁹; and, as part of someone’s personal belongings, a pair of Nuragic buttons, hinting at relations with Sardinia, to which we will return shortly³²⁰.

4.6. *The native village and its interactions with Euboeans and others at the end of the Pre-Hellenic period*

In a summary view, I believe that the archaeological and contextual picture suggests a pattern of peaceful relationships (at least on a general level) established in this phase between the Euboean visitors to the Pre-Hellenic village of Cumae and the native population. Pointing to this is the continuity of Cumae’s necropolis from Pre-Hellenic I to Pre-Hellenic II, and up to Phase IIa, that is, until the mid-8th century BC: this continuity is shown both in the topography, with the continuation of the earlier burial areas, and in the funerary customs, through the persistent use of inhumation³²¹. In short, no hiatus is detectable in Cumae’s Pre-Hellenic necropolis during the second quarter of the 8th century BC, a time when Euboeans were intensively visiting the village. Conversely, at this time the composition of grave goods reveals the expansion of external relations established by the native population, through a significant presence of imported objects (pottery, metals, faïence and other objects) from Euboea, Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean, as well as from other regions of Italy, such as Sardinia and Etruria³²².

³¹⁹ MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, pl. 17.B33; CRISCUOLO 2014, 93-94, fig. 2.28; cf. another specimen from T. 4 Stevens in Cumae: CRISCUOLO 2014, 93. On this type: MATTHÄUS 1985, 71-104, pls. 1-16; and cf. also D’ACUNTO 2020e, 343-347, with bibliography.

³²⁰ CRISCUOLO 2012; 2014, 96, figs. 2.30-31 and figs. 5-6.

³²¹ CRISCUOLO – PACCARELLI 2008; GASTALDI 2018.

³²² CRISCUOLO – PACCARELLI 2008; CRISCUOLO 2012; 2014.

The close relationships established during the second quarter of the 8th century BC between the indigenous village and the Euboeans fit fully – even more evident thanks to recent data – into the pattern of the so-called “pre-colonial phase”. This must have been characterized by the establishment of close relations, based on peaceful mechanisms of reciprocity and exchange between the indigenous population of Pre-Hellenic Cumae and the Euboeans.

In a wider perspective, these mechanisms of the pre-colonial phase in Italy have been recently contextualized by Bruno d’Agostino in the more general framework of similar dynamics also affecting Sardinia, Spain and the northern coast of Africa: the mobile components mainly of Phoenicians and Euboeans (in a different way from region to region), but also of Sardinians and Villanovans, in true joint ventures, play a decisive role in these dynamics giving rise over time to forms of exchange and more or less extended permanence abroad, somehow in agreement with the indigenous populations of these regions³²³. For the Italian peninsula, the Euboean enterprises and interests in local populations are summarized by B. d’Agostino as follows: «As to the Greeks who moved westward, principally from Euboea, I believe that [...] they [...] had an interest in metal resources, especially those of Etruria; however, the marginal utility deriving from contacts and trade with local populations was of equal importance to them»³²⁴. The latter aspect must have been decisive in our particular case: the establishment of close relations between the Euboeans and the Pre-Hellenic village of Cumae were of great importance. In fact, it does not seem that in this context the mere supply of metals could have been the driving factor behind the establishment of pre-colonial relations.

Against this general background, the best-known archaeological cases in Sardinia (Sant’Imbenia), Spain (Malaga-La Rebanadilla, Huelva and Cadiz) and Africa (Utica) show how from the late 9th to 8th centuries BC the establishment of close relations between foreign components and indigenous populations is associated with more or less protracted forms

³²³ D’AGOSTINO 2014a; on Sardinia, Spain and the coast of Africa see recently: BERNARDINI – RENDELI 2020; BOTTO 2020; KOUROU 2020, with updated bibliography.

³²⁴ D’AGOSTINO 2014a, 401.

of on-site co-habitation by mainly Phoenician groups, but also by their foreign partners in joint ventures. In the pre-colonial phase in Italy, a similar situation, with Euboeans as protagonists, is postulated for the indigenous village of Francavilla Marittima in Calabria: this occurred before this settlement came to be included in the orbit of the newly founded Achaean *apoikia* of Sybaris (ca. 720 BC)³²⁵.

Is it possible to assume there were early forms of co-habitation by small Euboean groups in or near the village of Pre-Hellenic Cumae during the second quarter of the 8th century BC? To date the archaeological records are still limited and inconclusive. However, in my opinion, an archaeological picture is beginning to emerge that allows us to hypothesize early forms of residency between 775 and 750 BC by some Euboean merchants and craftsmen in Pre-Hellenic Cumae. This Euboean presence is likely to be envisioned as seasonal in character and more or less limited over time. A first clue, pointing in this direction, comes from the fairly high number of ceramic imports from Euboea, which have been brought to light in the native hut presented in this contribution: this testifies that there was a close system of relationships between the Euboean groups and the elite of the local village. Of course, in assessing the high impact factor of Euboean pottery, one must also consider the topographical position of the hut in the plain that yielded these sherds: this is located ca. 125 m from what must have been the southeastern boundary of the lagoon in the EIA (a boundary that lay just north of the line of the later Greek-Roman walls)³²⁶. It was, therefore, a sector of the lowland village gravitating towards the protected harbor in the lagoon, which was frequented by Euboean merchants; the indigenous groups who resided there were in charge of the harbor activities and were open to trade and interaction with the merchants who visited it.

A second, more specific clue in support of the hypothesis of early forms of Euboean co-habitation at the site is represented by bird skyphos 42 from our excavation: probably made on site by an

itinerant Euboean potter, it reflected a situation similar to that documented at Francavilla Marittima and perhaps at Pontecagnano (see above, chpt. 4.4.7): in short, a Euboean potter was probably working in Cumae at the end of the Pre-Hellenic period; he would have worked with local clay and made a product that in terms of morphology and decoration was Euboean, but which seems to have been intended for local use, if we are to judge from the context of its discovery (and the fact that it is also misfired). This implies some form of permanence of the Euboean potter and his activity on site, but it is impossible to establish whether this lasted for a long or short period of time. At present, this is a single piece of evidence, pending possible enrichment and clarification by further finds.

There is also a third small, albeit inconclusive, piece of evidence, which seems to me to point to some form of habitation on site by the Euboeans: it is the discovery in our Cumae native hut of the monochrome skyphos bearing the letter N of the Greek alphabet (48). This vessel, yet again, suggests close relations between influential members of the two groups. In this perspective, it suffices to recall how Phoenician inscriptions at Sant'Imbenia (Sardinia) and at the site of La Rebanadilla in Malaga (Spain) have been seen, amongst others, as items of proof of Phoenician habitation at the two sites³²⁷.

The proportion of Euboean pottery from the late Pre-Hellenic levels in the part of the hut which has been excavated, leaves no doubt that during this period the Euboeans were the main protagonists of relationships with the native people.

However, the discovery in the same levels of a good number of Phoenician-related sherds suggests that Phoenician-Sardinian merchants were also playing a pivotal role in this system of interaction with the local villagers. Massimo Botto, in a contribution which follows in this volume, will examine this archaeological evidence and will address the question of its interpretation.

From the point of view of the Greek ceramics of MG II-LG Ia, it is useful to compare from a general

³²⁵ See Jan Kindberg Jacobsen's and Gloria Mittica's contribution in the present volume.

³²⁶ The lagoon boundary is reconstructed in STEFANIUK – MORHANGE 2008, fig. 6 (X-VII sec. a.C.); cf. GASTALDI 2018, 163-168, fig. 2.

³²⁷ For Sant'Imbenia: BERNARDINI – D'ORIANO – SPANU 1997, esp. 48, 52-53; for La Rebanadilla in Malaga: BOTTO 2020, 355-361, fig. 8, with former bibliography.

point of view the findings from Cumae's Pre-Hellenic contexts with contemporary ones found in other sites in Italy, Sardinia, Spain and Africa. The PSC, chevron, black and one-metope bird skyphoi, most of them of Euboean production, closely recall those found in the Campania region settlements (together with the most prolific site of Pontecagnano³²⁸, there is Capua³²⁹) and in other Italian sites (esp. in southern Etruria, Veii and Cerveteri³³⁰), which are connected to the Euboean "pre-colonial" enterprises. The same MG II-LG Ia types of PSC, chevron, black and one-metope bird skyphoi, again most of them to be ascribed to Euboean production, are found in sites in Sardinia (cf. esp. Sant'Imbenia³³¹), Africa (Utica³³²) and Spain (esp. at Huelva³³³ and at Malaga-La Rebanadilla³³⁴): these sites are in the Phoenician orbit, but Euboeans as well as Sardinians and Villanovans must have been involved in joint ventures³³⁵. Worth noting is that the assemblage of Greek vessels in our Cumae context also includes black skyphoi, a type which is less common outside Euboea³³⁶. Thus, the association of these specific MG II-LG Ia pottery types in Pre-Hellenic Cumae illustrates how the native village was included in a wider central and western Mediterranean circuit; partners in this network were Phoenicians and Euboeans, with a leading role, respectively, in Sardinia-Africa-Spain, and in

Italy, and with a major role also played by the Sardinian and the native Italian communities. Searching for metal resources and metal processing were undoubtedly the main purpose of these joint ventures (such as was certainly the case for Spain, Sardinia and Etruria), but no less important was the utility deriving from contacts and trade which must have played a major role (such as in Campania).

In sum, the integration of different foreign groups, present at the site of Cumae and establishing close relations with the indigenous "Opician" village, would seem to reflect those "pre-colonial" dynamics characterized by joint ventures and also by co-habitation: in the specific case of Pre-Hellenic Cumae (and of Italy in general, excluding Sardinia) Euboeans must have played a greater role, as compared to Phoenicians/Sardinians.

With respect to this scenario, one last crucial question remains to be addressed which is whether the Euboean foundation of Pithekoussai also came into play in this system of exchanges involving the native village and the Euboeans and Phoenician/Sardinian groups.

In my opinion, a combination of archaeological factors means that the answer to this must be no, because this system of exchanges pivoting around the indigenous village of Cumae in the second quarter of the 8th century BC, was prior to Pithekoussai ("*prima di Pithecusa*"³³⁷); it would already have been fully assimilated to the dynamics of the so-called pre-colonial phase (with all the limitations associated with such a conventional definition).

Firstly, this is demonstrated by chronological observations, namely by the relative chronology of the Geometric ceramics found in the two contexts. As a matter of fact, in our context of Pre-Hellenic Cumae there are diagnostic types, which are on the contrary missing from the oldest pottery found in Pithekoussai (in the Gosetti dump, the necropolis, the "Stipe dei Cavalli", and in Mazzola): these are the PSC skyphoi, the chevron skyphoi of the MG II "classical" version, the black skyphoi, and the ancient variant of the one-metope bird skyphoi.

Moreover, the imported Greek pottery in the Pre-Hellenic village of Cumae can be ascribed to

³²⁸ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, and esp. D'AGOSTINO 2001; KOUROU 1999, 2005; D'AGOSTINO 2014b (PSC, chevron, black and one-metope bird skyphoi, together with other types).

³²⁹ MELANDRI 2011, esp. pls. 2-XL, 4-IV, 6-VIII, 2, 61; JOHANNOWSKY 1983, pls. VIII (T. 800), XIV (T. 248); JOHANNOWSKY und., 82, 85, 89 (chevron, black and one-metope skyphoi); the possibility remains open that the PSC skyphos said to be from Bojano might actually be from Capua (NASO 2014, no. Boja 1, 173-176, fig. 7). See also the finding of a PSC skyphos in Poggiomarino in the Sarno Valley (CICIRELLI – ALBORE LIVADIE 2012, 125 no. 1, 416, fig. 241.1).

³³⁰ BOITANI 2005; RIZZO 2005; D'AGOSTINO 2010-2011, 231-235 with references (PSC, chevron and one-metope bird skyphoi).

³³¹ RIDGWAY 1997, 50-51; BERNARDINI – RENDELI 2020, 329, figs. 10-11a-b (a PSC skyphos of Type 5, a chevron skyphos similar to our 47 and a one-metope bird specimen were found in the layer between the two floors in the "Capanna dei Ripostigli").

³³² BEN JERBANIA – REDISSI 2014, 182-190, figs. 4.1-3a-b and fig. 6 (a PSC and a chevron skyphos, together with a meander skyphos).

³³³ BOTTO 2020, 363-368, figs. 13-15, with references (PSC skyphoi and dishes, one-metope bird skyphos, together with meander skyphoi/kantharoi).

³³⁴ BOTTO 2020, 355-362, fig. 6, with references (a chevron skyphos, together with a meander skyphos).

³³⁵ D'AGOSTINO 2014a; BOTTO 2020.

³³⁶ Cf. D'AGOSTINO 2010-2011, 233.

³³⁷ Cf. the title of the volume BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, with reference to the publication of the vases from the pre-colonial period in the necropolis of Pontecagnano.

productions of Euboea, not of Pithekoussai: we have not identified any possible Pithekoussan sherd here (except, perhaps, from US 27080, immediately below the alluvial layer in the small excavation at the entrance to the southern domus; cf. chpt. 4.7). As we will see, this picture changes completely during the first colonial phase of Cumae, in LG I (750-720 BC): at that time, the Greek pottery found is either Pithekoussan production or imported Corinthian production (see below; chpt. 5.1-2).

Pithekoussai, therefore, had not yet been founded when Pre-Hellenic Cumae established this network of “pre-colonial” relations, in the second quarter of the 8th century BC, with the Euboeans and other Phoenician/Sardinian groups. Otherwise, and more likely, Pithekoussai must have been founded only shortly before the end of the indigenous village in Cumae (that is, around 750 BC)³³⁸ and hence shortly before the time when this system of external relations established by the native village came to an end. In short, these “pre-colonial” dynamics affecting Pre-Hellenic Cumae precede, both in terms of chronology and of function, the first Greek settlement in the West, Pithekoussai: the latter, despite the fact that aspects of the previous experience survive in it (e.g. the integration of Phoenician and indigenous elements), is a quantum leap. This quantum leap is represented by the takeover of the territory and by the foundation of the settlement abroad, where the Euboean community would live permanently.

Clearly, the in-depth knowledge of the Phlegraean region, acquired through the intensive pre-colonial presence of the Euboeans of Pre-Hellenic Cumae, must have not only helped, but also stimulated the Euboeans to establish their first two colonial foundations, in the West, Pithekoussai and Cumae. The strong appeal represented by the two sites’ potential in terms of trade, and the added incentive of a fertile agricultural plain in the case of Cumae, must have prompted the Euboeans to rethink the power dynamics in their relationship and the forms of interaction with the indigenous populations, through the new mechanism of colonial foundation, which was by now “Hellenocentric”.

³³⁸ On the earliest fragments from Pithekoussai see above chpt. 1.2.

4.7. The end of the native village of Pre-Hellenic Cumae: archaeological aspects and historical issues

Even before our recent excavations, two macroscopic aspects of the archaeological evidence had already made it clear that the breaking point was between the end of the native settlement and the subsequent foundation of the *apoikia*:

- 1) the end of the Pre-Hellenic necropolis, which had been characterized by the distinctive inhumation ritual of the Fossa Tomb culture and by grave-offerings consisting of handmade *impasto* vessels;
- 2) the discontinuity in topography that can be recognized on the same site between the Pre-Hellenic phase and the colonial phase.

In assessing these two macroscopic phenomena, it must be taken into consideration that, while there is a lack of context information for many of the burials excavated in the 19th century, we have more than sufficient general knowledge of the Pre-Hellenic necropolis³³⁹. Therefore, no doubt, there is evident topographical discontinuity between the Pre-Hellenic occupation of a large portion of the plain by the necropolis, and the occupation of its urban area by the Greek, Campanian and Roman city. More precisely, even in the earliest phase of the *apoikia*, the delimitation on the plain of an urban perimeter and an external area intended for burials is a clear phenomenon, at least from LG II (ca. 720-690 BC)³⁴⁰. However, as we will see below, the first traces of such a division are seen as early as the LG I phase (750-720 BC) (chpt. 5).

As for Monte di Cuma, which became the acropolis of the Greek, Campanian and Roman city, the first evidence of the sanctuaries of the *apoikia* dates back to LG (750-690 BC): this evidence consists of bronze statuettes (from the sanctuary on the upper terrace), figured pottery and iron weapons (from the sanctuary on the lower terrace), which can be safely identified as signs of the first cultic activities³⁴¹. As a result, also with refe-

³³⁹ See above chpt. 3.

³⁴⁰ Cf. below and previously D’ACUNTO 2017, 298-317; 2020, 1298-1303. For a general overview see ZEVÌ *et al.* 2008, *passim*. On the necropolis see RESCIGNO – VALENZA MELE 2010.

³⁴¹ RESCIGNO *et al.* 2022; NITTI 2019, with relevant bibliography.

rence to the acropolis, the present-day archaeological evidence suggests a marked caesura from the Pre-Hellenic to the colonial phase, through the transition from the indigenous village to the identity sanctuaries of the *polis*³⁴².

At this point, the question must be asked as to when this caesura occurred, namely when the life of the indigenous settlement as a whole came to an end (not of its inhabitants, who may well have survived its end). The answer could come, primarily, from an analysis of the most recent Pre-Hellenic burials with their grave-offerings, but also from the stratigraphic evidence associated with the abandonment of the hut presented in this paper.

A key contribution from this point of view is the chronological assessment of Pre-Hellenic Cumae presented by Pia Criscuolo and Marco Pacciarelli at the 2008 Taranto conference dedicated to the site³⁴³. The two scholars presented a distinction of Pre-Hellenic Cumae in two phases, the most recent of which, II, «should mostly correspond to the beginning of the recent Early Iron Age phase, i.e. Pontecagnano IIA [...] From this perspective, it is important to establish the chronology of the end of the indigenous settlement of Cumae. There are fairly precise indications in this regard. While there are many types that can be correlated with the beginning of Phase 2 of the Early Iron Age and, in particular, with the Pontecagnano IIA and Capua IIA Phases, possible points of connection with Pontecagnano IIB and Capua IIB are currently rather scarce. This would seem to indicate a rapid depletion of the Pre-Hellenic community that occurred around the transition between the Pontecagnano IIA and IIB Phases, or at most right at the beginning of the latter. This perspective is also confirmed regarding Greek-type ceramics...»³⁴⁴.

In her recent contribution on Pre-Hellenic Cumae, P. Gastaldi basically supports Criscuolo and Pacciarelli's interpretation, pointing out that the

end of the Pre-Hellenic necropolis of Cumae should be placed at the transition between Phase IIA and at the latest, early IIB (of Pontecagnano); this break can only be interpreted as evidence of the abrupt deconstruction of the indigenous settlement. To emphasize this discontinuity, Gastaldi rightly insists on two points. The first is represented by the fact that this discontinuity marks the end of an indigenous settlement system that in Cumae goes back to the Late Bronze Age and continues into the Early Iron Age. The second point is the difference represented by the case of Pre-Hellenic Cumae, as compared to other "Proto-Etruscan" and Fossa Tomb culture settlements of EIA Campania: «...unlike the other indigenous centers in Campania, which, in the PF2B Phase, bring to fruition those dynamics that had been developed in the previous phase, Cumae seems to exhaust its vital charge around the middle years of the 8th century»³⁴⁵.

The hypothesis of an interruption of the Pre-Hellenic village, circa mid-8th century BC, finds parallel confirmation in the Greek pottery found in association with Tombs 3 and 29 Osta³⁴⁶ and with the late Pre-Hellenic dwelling context unearthed by the University L'Orientale to the north of the Forum baths. As stated, the Greek imported pottery found there includes PSC, monochrome, chevron and one-metope bird skyphoi, which can be dated in the relative sequences of Greek pottery to MG IIB (780-760 BC) and Attic LG Ia (760-750 BC), and which finds comparisons mainly in the imported specimens of the same types unearthed in the Pontecagnano tombs of Phase IIA³⁴⁷.

Consequently, the archaeological evidence from the village, brought to light in the plain, agrees with that of the necropolis in demonstrating the deconstruction of the Pre-Hellenic settlement approximately mid-8th century BC.

Through their stratigraphies, the archaeological contexts that mark the end of the Pre-Hellenic oc-

³⁴² Cf. D'ACUNTO 2017, 298-317; 2020, 1298-1303.

³⁴³ CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008. This paper represents the outcome of Criscuolo's PhD thesis, which classified all the grave-offerings from the indigenous necropolis, but, unfortunately, her dissertation has remained unpublished (CRISCUOLO 2004: *non vidi*).

³⁴⁴ Translated from CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, respectively pages 334 and 344. *Contra* NIZZO 2008b, 562-566, but cf. PACCIARELLI 2008, 567-568.

³⁴⁵ GASTALDI 2018, 189-198, quoted and translated from page 198.

³⁴⁶ Cf. CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 344.

³⁴⁷ For this phase, precisely on the basis of synchronisms with Greek pottery, B. d'Agostino has recently reaffirmed the absolute chronology to 780/770-750 BC (D'AGOSTINO 2016).

cupation help us to raise the question of how the indigenous settlement was abandoned, and also to address the issues of the possible historical causes.

First of all, at least one context was clearly abandoned at the end of the Pre-Hellenic period; there was neither immediate reoccupation nor any resumption of life and activities in the same structure following its abandonment. This is the case of the indigenous hut and adjoining areas brought to light by our team north of the Forum baths, below the peristyle (see F. Nitti above, chpt. 4.1). Fragments belonging to several vessels were found on the Pre-Hellenic floor levels below the western part of the peristyle; these vessels had been clearly abandoned *in situ* (Figs. 18.1): to mention but one example, monochrome skyphos **45**, was recomposed from several fragments recovered from findpoints which were a short distance apart on the adjoining areas of the hut of the hut. In addition, part of PSC skyphos **44** was lying on the hut floor, where it was found in the most recent excavation campaign.

Above all, another sector of this domestic context shows how the hut must have been abruptly abandoned: this is the area clearly intended for warehouse-storage functions, which was brought to light below the southeastern portion of the peristyle in the 2022 and 2023 excavation campaigns (US 28100, Figs. 18.3, 33-35). In this southeastern sector, on the floor of the oval/absidal Pre-Hellenic hut, the following objects were uncovered: several cooking stands, storage and food cooking vessels, all of which were of different sizes and shapes. These have been found broken into pieces in the same findspot and in close proximity (see chpt. 4.1). Only restoration, which is currently in progress (Figs. 37-39), will make it possible for us to identify the precise number of cooking stands and pots, and their composition; at the same time, palaeobotanical analyses³⁴⁸ will allow us to define the contents of the pots, which would seem to have been intended for storage (during excavation we were able to observe that some of these pots contained vegetable matter). What is clear, however, is that this must have been the inner sector of the hut: a sector intended as a warehouse and for

storage of foodstuffs which must have been associated with the fire area brought to light a short distance away under the western portion of the peristyle (see above F. Nitti, chpt. 4.1.3). It is important to point out that this specific sector of a warehouse within the hut, characterized by the concentration of cooking stands and vessels *in situ*, yielded a very small number of faunal remains; on the contrary, these were concentrated in the western sector below the peristyle and this revealed different functional areas within this residential unit.

This deposition context shows that, no doubt, some cogent reasons must have induced the hut occupants to abandon these pots and cooking stands *in situ*. Not only were they subsequently unable to go back to living in the hut, but they did not have the opportunity to recover the pots or other objects either. This is made even clearer if we consider that the cooking stands included some rather large specimens which must have been of some value (see esp. Fig. 38) especially as they were complex creations from a technical point view. In short, the picture we can reconstruct based on the evidence, is one of abrupt abandonment and a definitive end to the Pre-Hellenic hut's life.

The question subsequently arises as to whether the abandonment of this indigenous hut may have been provoked by natural disasters. In particular, the question is whether major alluvial events³⁴⁹ (since there is no stratigraphic evidence of possible volcanic activity at this stage) could have been responsible for the abandonment and destruction of the hut. From a superficial stratigraphic analysis, such an interpretation of the sequence of events could find support in the observation that the Pre-Hellenic hut is covered by a very deep alluvial level (between 30 and 50 cm) which is almost completely lacking in materials (Fig. 35). However, there is one piece of stratigraphic evidence which is extremely important and which leads us to exclude the hypothesis of a cause-and-effect relationship between the alluvial level by which the indigenous hut was covered and its state of abandonment with the *in situ* materials. This stratigraphic evidence is represented by the fact

³⁴⁸ In progress and conducted by Prof. Matteo Delle Donne and Mara Soldatini.

³⁴⁹ On the evidence and problems relating to flood events at Cumae and water regimentation systems in Archaic times see D'ACUNTO 2020b.

that the pots and cooking stands, crushed *in situ* in the hut's warehouse-storage sector, were covered in part, in the northern area, by an earthen floor, which in turn was covered by the alluvial level: its compact surface implies a walking floor and allows us to identify anthropic activity (Figs. 33 and 35: "floor with post holes")³⁵⁰. There is evidence of aligned post holes of small diameter on this surface. This leads to the hypothesis of the presence on this floor of a basic framework not pertaining to the hut: the most likely hypothesis is that of a small enclosure/shelter allowing the exploitation of an open-air area.

The same stratigraphy has also been brought to light below the western side of the peristyle (chpt. 4.1.1) and we shall remind you here what the corresponding levels in this area are: the floor with *in situ* cooking stands, storage and cooking vessels (US 28100) corresponds to Levels II-III (UUSS 27837-27838) on the western part of the peristyle; the upper floor characterized by the presence of small post holes (US 28072), which is just below the deep alluvial level, corresponds to Level IV on the western part of the peristyle (US 27815). It is important to point out that below the western part of the peristyle the tight stratigraphic sequence of Levels I-III is broken by a thin alluvial layer (US 27828): this covers Level III and evens out the natural slope of the area. The thin alluvial layer is covered by Level IV and thus shows clear discontinuity between Level III and Level IV. Therefore, this evidence supports the hypothesis of the abrupt abandonment and interruption of life in the area before Level IV.

In sum, between the level of the indigenous hut with the *in situ* vessels and furnishings underneath and the thick alluvial level above it, there is clear stratigraphic evidence of an intermediate anthropic phase: this points to a presence/occupation of the area, marking a distinction with the previous hut, because it is characterized by the installation of simple structures and overlays what is a much thinner alluvial layer which overlies the hut floor. There is an important stratigraphic clue that confirms the temporary nature of this intermediate anthropic phase: this clue is represented by the fact that this floor covered the level of the cooking-stands and pots from the previous hut only in the northern part, and also the

fact that we found a tall cylindrical-shaped pot still standing under the southern side of the excavation area. In the southern part, however, the finds from the indigenous hut were positioned at a higher level than the intermediate floor (see F. Nitti above and Fig. 33). The provisional nature of this occupation, which overlaps the indigenous hut, is also confirmed by the fact that this intermediate level has yielded very few materials, which are unfortunately non-diagnostic from a chronological point of view. As a result, this prevents precise dating of this occupation. The few materials from this intermediate floor include both handmade *impasto* and wheel-made Greek ceramics: the latter consists of a few fragments that can be identified as possible Euboean imports and some micaceous fragments which, on the contrary, could be of Phlegraeian manufacture. It is important to point out that the *impasto* fragments from the intermediate level include, without doubt, some residual ones from the lower native hut floor: this is demonstrated by the fact that some of these *impasto* fragments are adjoining with others which were found on the native hut floor. As a result, their residual character prevents us from using them as evidence regarding the nature of the occupation during this intermediate phase.

This intermediate floor must also correspond to the most recent level (US 27080) brought to light below the alluvial layer, in the small excavation conducted in 2007 (see above, C. Merluzzo, chpt. 4.2-3, Fig. 44). US 27080 yielded both a few sherds that we identify as being of Euboean fabric, and a few micaceous sherds which might perhaps be of Phlegraeian manufacture.

In the different deep excavations carried out by the University of Napoli L'Orientale in the area to the north of the Forum baths, the deep alluvial level lies above this intermediate level. The alluvial layer must be interpreted, due to its considerable thickness, as the result of repeated alluvial phenomena in an area that must have been abandoned for some time. In short, the flood level is the effect of the abandonment of the area, not the cause that produced it. It marks, in this area, a sharp stratigraphic break between the Pre-Hellenic period (below) and the colonial horizon (above).

However, our stratigraphy may suggest a slightly different and more complex historical sequence.

³⁵⁰ See in detail F. Nitti above, chpt. 4.1.1.

One hypothesis is particularly tempting. The first “colonial” horizon or some sort of Greek intervention in the native village might be represented by the intermediate floor with those simple structures (Level IV, UUSS 28072, 27080). It covers the floor of the indigenous hut and its adjoining areas (Levels II-III, US 28100), and is, in turn, covered by the deep alluvial level. This assumption would find support in the sharp stratigraphic caesura that the intermediate floor marks, with respect to the abandonment of the indigenous hut. The few materials associated with this intermediate floor could indicate the framework of a transitional phase and we must ask ourselves whether this transitional phase might have seen Pithekoussai as a protagonist, together with Euboians from the motherland, around the middle of the 8th century. We also wonder if this transitional phase might have been characterized by some sort of submission/integration of the indigenous population (see the *impasto* pottery found there). The alternative would be to interpret this intermediate level as a sporadic reoccupation by the indigenous inhabitants, who could still have been in control of the area, at a stage when relations with Pithekoussai had already been established. The limited extent of our excavation area and the small number of associated finds induces the utmost caution, pending more information from further field research: it is too early to make any definitive statements one way or the other.

Nevertheless, at the present state of knowledge, all the layers which have been brought to light in the different trenches and which refer to this intermediate level just below the deep alluvial level, show two aspects from the point of view of their associated pottery: 1) some of the fragments found there are clearly residual from the lower levels, since they are adjoining with some others from the domestic Pre-Hellenic lower levels; 2) not one fragment from the intermediate level can be referred to the subsequent LG I phase, because no diagnostic types from this phase have been identified among them (such as the kotylai of the Aetos 666 type, the Thapsos skyphoi with panel etc.). Albeit an *argumentum ex silentio*, this is a clue that the intermediate level refers to a short occupation in the mid-8th century BC.

What we can hypothesize, as of now, is that in this phase, which should be placed at the mid-8th century BC, a close relationship must have already

been established (or rather, strengthened) between the Greek group (Pithekoussans/Euboians) and the indigenous people.

At this point, it would be useful to broaden our analysis by recalling the comparison with the stratigraphy sealing the Pre-Hellenic necropolis uncovered by the Centre Jean Bérard about fifty meters northwest of the Middle Gate. This context is also characterized by strong stratigraphic discontinuity between the Pre-Hellenic phase and the levels that can be traced back to the earliest phases of the *apoikia*. As a matter of fact, in this sector, the Pre-Hellenic tombs were sealed by a thick layer of silt of approximately 1 m, which was completely lacking in materials; above this were the first traces of later occupation of the area, dating between the last quarter of the 8th and the first half of the 7th century BC, consisting of pits, post holes and canals³⁵¹. This sector of the Pre-Hellenic necropolis was close to the southern limit of the lagoon: therefore, this muddy layer sealing the Pre-Hellenic necropolis must be the result of phenomena related to the configuration of the lagoon and its banks. The deep silty layers, therefore, brought to light respectively in the excavations to the north of the Forum baths and to the north of the Middle Gate, are the result of a series of natural events: in the first case, flood waters which would have flowed down to this part of the site due to its sloping profile, and in the second case, to causes related to the lagoon banks and their changing configuration. However, what they have in common is that they bear witness to a strong stratigraphic break between the pre-colonial and colonial levels, and this is due to the fact that the areas were very evidently abandoned during this time lapse: the flooding had not been contained and thus occupied the now deserted areas (regardless of the intensity or frequency of alluvial events during this period).

All in all, the LG I phase is the result of anthropic reoccupation of areas which do not show any continuity with the previous human installations. Whether or not the intermediate level is the first evidence of a “colonial” horizon and/or of a

³⁵¹ BRUN *et al.* 2000, 145; BATS – BRUN – MUNZI 2008, 529; cf. GASTALDI 2018, 194.

single action by the Pithekoussans/Euboeans against the natives, LG I Cumae must be seen as a new reality and the result of a new historical phenomenon: this is undoubtedly related to the horizon of the *apoikia*.

Coming back to our Pre-Hellenic hut which was left with its furnishings *in situ*, as we have stated above, the archaeological context of deposition and stratigraphy do not suggest that it was natural events that led to its abandonment. Other compelling reasons seem to have prompted its abrupt abandonment and, in some way, “discouraged” its reoccupation. This scenario suggests that historical factors, namely as the result of interactions between groups of people, were the real cause of the abandonment and non-reoccupation of the indigenous hut.

Since this discontinuity characterizes, at a general level, the entire site of Cumae at the end of the Pre-Hellenic period, we can assume that this sharp break could have been caused by the dynamics related to the phenomenon of Greek colonization in the Gulf of Naples, with the foundation first of Pithekoussai and then of Cumae. The deconstruction of Cumae’s Pre-Hellenic settlement must be due to those historical mechanisms in which Greek groups, mainly Euboeans, played a leading role in the creation of stable and entirely new settlements, as compared to previous pre-colonial dynamics.

With respect to the indigenous community already present at the site of Cumae, the Euboean settlers must have shifted the balance in power relationships, utilizing the new “colonial” model, which had already been put in place at Pithekoussai³⁵². Therefore, it is difficult to elude the hypothesis that this new “colonial” model must indeed underlie the sharp caesura that in the site of Cumae occurs around the middle of the 8th century BC. Compared to the earlier “pre-colonial” model, which must have been based on a system of relations created by Euboean merchants and craftsmen with those already inhabiting the indigenous village, the quantum leap from the Greek perspective must be reflected in acquiring control of the territory and in tipping the balance in favor of the Greek colonial settlement vis-à-vis the indigenous

people: we can assume that this must have occurred in Cumae around the mid-8th century BC or shortly after, at a time immediately following the foundation of Pithekoussai.

Of course, tipping the balance and taking control of the territory by the “colonial” groups would not necessarily have resulted in the disappearance or generalized expulsion of the natives, but rather in their reintegration, in a more or less subordinate position, within the *apoikia*. This integration could well have come about, as recent studies by archaeologists have reconstructed, in a similar way to Pithekoussai. What these studies did in fact reveal about Pithekoussai, with reference to the presence of natives in this Greek colonial community, is that there was an intertwining based on the mechanism of mixed marriages (*epigamiai*) for females, and for males, on their involvement in production activities³⁵³.

One last key question is potentially the most tricky and delicate. Could this shift have happened in a consensual manner, so to speak, between the Greek newcomers and the natives, or was the use of violence resorted to? And at what stage in a colonial process of this type would violence have been employed?

It is impossible to answer this with any degree of confidence based on archaeological evidence, and we are, in general, skeptical of approaches that seek archaeological proof of conquests that would have occurred through violence.

In our archaeological context, admittedly, the possibility of recognizing the use of violence remains open for the extensive fire, which affected the hut and must have been related to its abandonment, as the stratigraphy suggests. As a matter of fact, during the 2022 campaign, an extensive burnt layer was brought to light in the storage sector of the indigenous hut and in the southwestern area (see F. Nitti above, chpt. 4.1.3); in the southwest corner, in the vicinity of a number of cooking stands, and partially underneath them, a large area with consistent traces of fire was found in a partially disrupted state: ash, charcoal, and fragments of burned clay were

³⁵²D’ACUNTO 2017; 2020; forthcoming.

³⁵³CERCHIAI 1997; D’AGOSTINO 2010-2011, 225-228; GUZZO 2012; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013; CERCHIAI 2014; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2014; D’ACUNTO 2020, 1291-1298, and forthcoming; L. Cerchiai, in this volume.

found scattered toward the northwest. The 2023 campaign induced us to exclude the possibility that these traces referred to an actual hearth: in the inner part of the oval/apsidal structure of the hut, along the perimeter, there was a concentration of ash, charcoals, and burned clay. It is very likely that such traces are to be correlated with an extensive fire that affected the hut at the time of its abandonment, causing the collapse of the perimeter. This interpretation is also supported by what is visible on the surfaces of several vessels from the southwestern part of the storage area on the hut floor: some adjoining fragments from the same vessel are charred while others are not, thus showing that the fire started when they had already been broken; the same phenomenon is seen on fragments of vessels found in other areas of the hut, such as PSC skyphos 44.

The stratigraphy is a key aspect in order to reconstruct the progressive events which occurred within a short timeframe, from the second quarter to around the middle of the 8th century BC, in the area of the Pre-Hellenic hut. The floor of the hut with *in situ* cooking stands, storage and cooking vessels (US 28100) is covered along its perimeter by a fire layer consisting of a concentration of ash, charcoals, and burned clay: the fire had destroyed the hut or, at the very least, it was partly to blame for its destruction. This fire layer was covered in the central and northern part of the hut by the “intermediate” walking floor, which was characterized by the presence of a series of small post holes (US 28072): this floor had been laid after the destruction of the hut and reflects a sporadic occupation of the area with simple structures. The intermediate floor is covered by a deep alluvial level, which indicates abandonment of the area for a certain period of time. Consequently, this stratigraphy demonstrates the following chain of events: 1) the life of the hut with the vessels and cooking stands in the storage area (second quarter of the 8th century BC); 2) the destruction of the hut involving an extensive fire (ca. mid-8th century BC); 3) the sporadic reoccupation of the area with simple structures built on the intermediate walking floor; 4) the abandonment of the area, which was covered by the flood layer.

It is possible that the damage to the hut, which was caused by the fire, is the result of intentional violent destruction. However, it is clear that other

possible causes may have led to this extensive fire in the dwelling. The question remains open.

No definitive answer can be found in literary sources either. As the present paper concentrates, primarily, on an archaeological perspective of reading historical phenomena, we will postpone a reflection on the foundation traditions of Cumae to a follow-up paper, in order to make a critical comparison with the currently available archaeological records. We can, however, underline how both dynamics, whether a peaceful, consensual transition or a violent takeover, are found in *ktisis* traditions. In the first case, in the Sibylline oracle of foundation reported by Phlegon of Tralles (*FGrH* 257 F36XB, 53-6), the first step towards the colonization of Cumae would have been taken by groups from Pithekoussai and characterized by the use of trickery (*dolos*): this would suggest a possible peaceful cohabitation with the natives, at an early stage. As for the use of violence (*bia*), this is referred, in the same oracle, to a later stage in the process of the foundation of Cumae by the Pithekoussans: some form of violence against the native inhabitants is clearly implied here. From a similar viewpoint, the Cumaeans, who went on to establish the “first” Zankle on the Straits of Messina, are labeled by Thucydides (6.4.5) as “pirates” (*leistai*).

Nevertheless, I believe that it is the overall framework showing a sharp caesura between the Pre-Hellenic and the colonial phases (see the remarks on the topography of the Pre-Hellenic settlement and on the end of its necropolis, in the first part of this chapter) that suggests the hypothesis that the Greek groups used violent force, at least in the initial stages, against the indigenous population. Archaeology, at the current state of knowledge, suggests that this can be placed around the mid-8th century BC or shortly afterwards (ca. 750-740 BC). In our specific context, reasons of force majeure brought about by conflicts between different groups could explain the sudden abandonment of the hut with its furnishings *in situ* and its fire destruction. In short, the present state of archaeological evidence would suggest that this was a critical time of conflict connected to an early stage in Cumae’s colonial process at the mid-8th century point or just after that.

But can we say that it was the groups from Euboea that were responsible for all of this tur-

moil? Or was it more likely to have been the Euboeans who had settled in Pithekoussai a few years before? Or could it possibly have been a combination of the two?

These questions introduce us to the last chapter dealing with the archaeological picture of Cumae in LG I (750-720 BC). Once again, we will focus on the evidence which has been brought to light since 2007 in the excavations carried out north of the Forum baths by the University of Napoli L'Orientale.

Matteo D'Acunto

5. THE FIRST PHASE OF THE *APOIKIA* (LG I: 750-720 BC)

5.1. *LG I contexts*

During the excavations conducted in the *insula* located north of the Forum baths, the presence of ceramic finds referable to LG I has constantly been documented in secondary contexts in stratigraphies of the later periods (see M. D'Acunto, below, chpt. 5.2). However, several trenches have also revealed contexts in primary position referable to this chronological horizon.

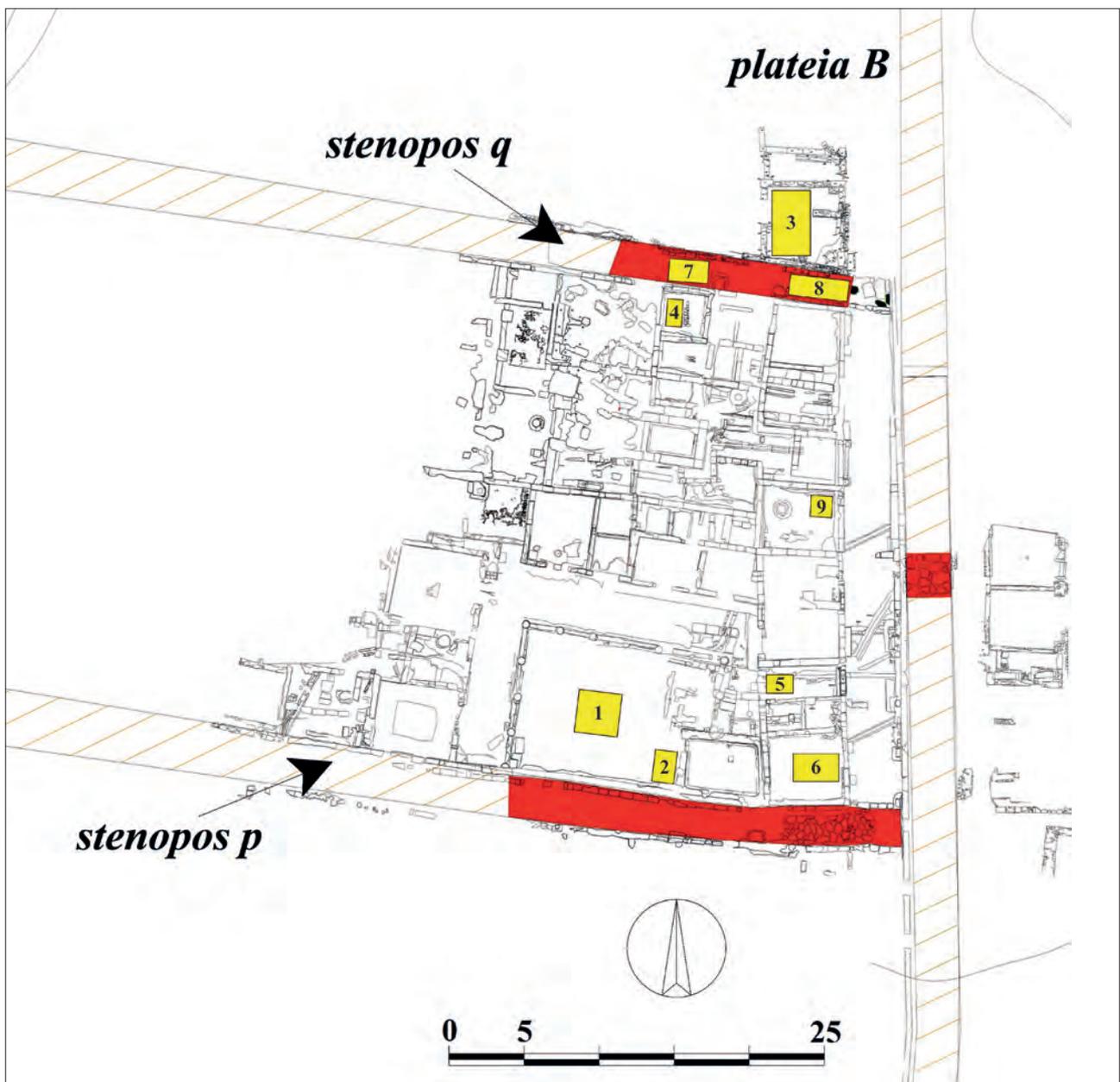


Fig. 47. Excavated areas where domestic evidence of LG I was brought to light (in yellow) in primary and secondary deposition – University of Napoli L'Orientale excavations, 2007, 2008, 2013, 2017, 2021, 2022 (© University of Napoli L'Orientale)

The stratigraphic excavation conducted in the central area of the peristyle of the *domus* occupying the southern part of the *insula* (Fig. 47.1) revealed traces of occupation of the area during LG I. This early evidence emerged directly on the surface of the alluvial deposit (US 27754, Fig. 20 in red), which obliterated the entire area around the middle of the 8th century BC (see F. Nitti above, chpt. 4.1). A hearth, characterized by a first filling layer consisting of charred wood and a thin layer of ash on the surface, had been created within the alluvial sand layer. Next to the hearth, a few fragments pertaining to a hemispherical kotyle were found, which can be identified as being of Pithekoussan fabric on the basis of the clay and its peculiar coating (82). The specimen, of which part of the body, rim and one handle are preserved, has a distinctive squiggle decoration in the panel between the handles. This decorative motif would have framed a central metope. The handle has the typical decoration of LG I kotylai with vertical bars. In the Phlegraean area, the main comparisons for this specimen come from a fragment of Euboean fabric found in the earth layers dumped in between the two curtains of late Archaic walls of Cumae³⁵⁴, and from a kotyle of Pithekoussan fabric from Tomb 990 of the San Montano necropolis at Pithekoussai³⁵⁵. In the Pithekoussan specimen the squiggles frame an aquatic bird located in the center of the panel³⁵⁶, and it is plausible to assume a similar decoration for our kotyle as well. More in general, the type echoes a series of LG I Corinthian kotylai characterized by a distinctive squiggle motif, which is sometimes made with zig-zags³⁵⁷.

Further evidence referable to the same chronological phase was unearthed in the adjacent area located at the southeast corner of the peristyle (Fig.

47.2). Immediately above the alluvial deposit, an earthen floor was preserved (US 28055-28054, Fig. 20.C, in orange) characterized by the presence of a hearth (Fig. 48). This consisted of an elongated pit, about 20 cm deep, internally lined with a thick layer of clay. This clay lining, completely scorched by the flames of the fire, must have been very good at insulating the embers from the humidity of the soil. Preserved at the base of the hearth was a layer of charred wood and ash (clearly visible in the section depicted in Fig. 35), on which were lying two tuff blocks, completely burned and blackened by prolonged exposure to fire (Fig. 49). These blocks were probably used as supports during firing activities. All around the hearth, traces of food preparation and eating activities were preserved: in addition to numerous charcoals, that conferred a blackish coloration to the layer, numerous faunal remains were



Fig. 48. LG I floor with a hearth (in the center of the right side of the photo) unearthed in the southeast corner of the peristyle of the southern *domus*, cf. Fig. 47.2 (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)



Fig. 49. LG I hearth unearthed in the southeast corner of the peristyle of the southern *domus*, cf. Fig. 47.2 (photo F. Nitti, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

³⁵⁴ *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 20, pl. 2A.12.

³⁵⁵ The specimen, some fragments of which are preserved, is still unpublished and is part of a group of sporadic finds pertaining to tomb 990.

³⁵⁶ A similar decoration is present on a hemispherical kotyle of local fabric from the sanctuary of the upper terrace of the acropolis of Cumae (PAGANO – DEL VILLANO 2022, 160, no. 3.17). In this specimen, however, the squiggles are floating within the panel.

³⁵⁷ Cf. HEURTLEY – ROBERTSON 1948, pl. II, 15; WEINBERG 1943, 36, pl. 16.107.

found. Among the various ceramic finds, worthy of note are an imported Corinthian kotyle of the Aetos 666 type (83; Pl. 18) and a fragment pertaining to the bottom of a lekane decorated with linear and geometric motifs, which, based on the clay can be identified as being of Pithekoussan fabric (84; Pl. 21).

This evidence, located immediately above the surface of the alluvial deposit, testifies to a stable occupation of the area from LG I onward. Although we have not yet traced the limits of an actual structure, the presence of hearths, associated with faunal remains and vessels related to the consumption of food (probably the lekane) and wine (probably the kotyle), shows that the area was used for domestic purposes. Remarkably, these LG I contexts reveal strong continuity in the forms of occupation in the following LG II phase as well. These stratigraphic layers located immediately above were similarly characterized by hearths and clear evidence of food preparation and consumption that occurred *in situ*.

Francesco Nitti

Recent investigations in the area north of *steno-**pos* q (fig. 47.3)³⁵⁸ confirm the situation described above: during the 2022 excavation campaign³⁵⁹, a tight sequence of layers with artifacts in evident primary position was unearthed, testifying to an intense occupation of the area in the Late Geometric I period (750-720 BC).

Our excavations revealed a layer with anthropic activity markers, in which two fireplaces of different size and shape were documented. The first fireplace was located in the southeastern area of the trench: it was a large elliptical hearth, whose southern boundary was defined by an arrangement of small-sized irregularly-shaped tufa blocks. It measured approximately 100x60 cm and contained a 7-8 cm thick layer of whitish ash, accumulated above a thin layer of charcoal (Fig. 50). Unfortunately, the hearth only yielded a modest amount of archaeological finds: besides some faunal remains, it contained sherds of *impasto* pottery, among which



Fig. 50. LG I hearth unearthed in the area north of *steno-**pos* q, cf. Fig. 47.3 (photo M. D'Onofrio, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)



Fig. 51. Refractory surface of an LG I hearth unearthed in the area north of *steno-**pos* q, cf. Fig. 47.3 (photo M. D'Onofrio, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

two adjoining fragments of a carinated bowl (87; Pl. 21) stand out³⁶⁰. They came from the thin layer of charcoal lying at the base of the hearth, which also yielded a fragment of a skyphos of Pithekoussan fabric (86; Pl. 16). It is probably a floating chevron skyphos, which can be dated around or shortly after the middle of the 8th century BC. The ash layer that sealed the hearth yielded instead a fragment of a lekane (88; Pl. 21), probably of Pithekoussan fabric. This fragment stands out for its unusual decoration, for which no comparisons seem to be known: the usual “wave” motif, generally attested on the upper part of the body³⁶¹, is here replaced by a painted

³⁵⁸ This area has been investigated since 2015, under the supervision of Dr Sara Napolitano (2015-2016), Marco Tartari (2017-2018) and the author (2019-2022).

³⁵⁹ The excavation campaign was conducted from September 5 to 30, 2022.

³⁶⁰ For the analysis of these peculiar fragments and the discussion about their identification, see catalogue record no. 87, written by Dr Chiara Improta.

³⁶¹ Cf. Mariassunta Cuozzo's contribution on the lekanai found in the earth layers dumped between the two curtains of the late Archaic walls in *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 32-33.

band, whose upper part is composed of a series of irregularly painted triangles.

The second fireplace, located about one meter north of the first, had a very peculiar structure, and there is no comparison to be found in the hearths the University of Napoli L'Orientale has already excavated in the domestic contexts of Cumae. This particular fireplace consisted of an irregularly-shaped raw clay surface, which appeared strongly rubefied due to the exposure to high temperatures (Fig. 51). It measured approximately 30x40 cm and it was sealed by a mound of whitish-grey ash, approximately 10 cm high. Under the refractory surface, a layer of charcoal was unearthed.

Unfortunately, a very small number of pottery sherds came from the ash heap and the refractory surface, and none of them is particularly diagnostic. However, the layers associated with these two hearths have yielded some significant finds. They include a fragment of an LG I squiggle kotyle (89; Pl. 18), whose clay suggests a Pithekoussan fabric, and a fragment of an imported Corinthian kantharos (90; Pl. 21), which can also be dated to LG I. Among the finds from this context, an LG I kotyle (91; Pl. 18), reassembled from 21 fragments, stands out. It is a refined Pithekoussan imitation of a Corinthian prototype, coated in the yellowish-cream slip typical of the so-called Pithekoussan Workshops³⁶². A large part of the body of the kotyle is preserved, including the attachment of one of the rod handles, which must have been decorated with a double horizontal continuous line. The space between the handles was decorated with a panel framed by groups of vertical lines, interrupted by an hourglass motif. Unfortunately, the panel is not preserved, so it is impossible to determine with certainty what kind of decoration filled it. Nevertheless, the traces preserved on one of the fragments allow us to hypothesize the presence of a geometric motif, flanked by one or two birds³⁶³. Below the level of the handles, the upper part of the body is decorated with parallel horizontal lines, while the lower part is fully painted, except for a thin reserved band. The ring-shaped foot is fully painted, while the bottom is decorated

with concentric circles. The presence of a high number of fragments belonging to the same vessel in the same area leaves no doubt as to its original primary position. The replacement of the characteristic vertical bars with two horizontal lines on the handle, as well as the rather taut profile of the body, which still retains the characteristic hemispherical shape of the Corinthian LG kotyle, suggest a dating to an advanced/final stage of LG I. Its chronology, along with that of the pottery sherds previously mentioned, allows us to date the excavated context to a period between 750-720 BC, corresponding to Late Geometric I of the Pithekoussan-Cumaean sequence.

It is therefore clear that the context investigated testifies to an intense occupation of the area since the third quarter of the 8th century BC, allowing the very early colonial horizon of Cuma to be framed in this phase. As in the peristyle area, the few but significant diagnostic sherds of wheel-made pottery almost all pertain to drinking vessels (the previously mentioned kotylai, skyphos and kantharos), except for the lekane, which is the main vessel related to food consumption. The sherds of coarse/handmade ware are also consistent with a domestic use of the area, as proved by the presence of fragments of *ollae* and cups. The occurrence of Phlegraean/Pithekoussan pottery suggests that the Euboean component of Pithekoussai played a leading role in this early phase of the *apoikia* of Cumae. At the same time, its association with some handmade *impasto* vases, such as the carinated bowl which has already been mentioned, hints at some form of presence/integration/submission of the indigenous population.

Martina D'Onofrio

5.2. Pithekoussai's and Cumae's earliest ceramics

In other deep trenches of small size, some LG I contexts in primary deposition and of a domestic character were also uncovered (Figs. 47.4-9). We will refer to these later.

In general, a constant feature of all the deep trenches, which we conducted at several points of the *insula* north of the Forum baths, was the discovery of a relatively good number of ceramic fragments, which may be identified as LG I (750-720). They were mainly found in secondary deposition in later stratigraphies of LG II (720-690 BC): both in the artificial fill level on which the dwell-

³⁶² NEEFT 1987, 59-65, notes 176-177.

³⁶³ Possible comparisons for the decoration of the kotyle panel include COLDSTREAM 1968, pl. 19.1, and the kotyle from tomb 33 of Villasmundo in Sicily.

ings were installed before the urban layout (late 8th c. BC), and in the subsequent artificial dump level on which the urban layout was created (ca. 700-690 BC). These LG I fragments must refer to the same period of residential occupation of the area, related to the first phase of the *apoikia*, as documented by the aforementioned contexts in primary deposition.

As a matter of fact, two reasons suggest that these LG I fragments, albeit found in secondary deposits, *do not* relate to the horizon of the pre-existing Pre-Hellenic indigenous village:

- 1) their finding context in stratigraphies later than the alluvial level, which, as we have said, clearly demarcates the end of the indigenous village in this area;
- 2) their types and productions (Pithekoussan and Corinthian), which are not represented in the habitation levels of the Pre-Hellenic village.

In sum, they must be evidence of the first phase of the *apoikia* in this sector of the site. More specifically, judging by the other closed contexts brought to light, these finds must refer to housing in the area from the earliest colonial horizon.

In this section we will present a selection of finds from this phase, organized by type and starting with the oldest, which can be ascribed to the transition between MG II and LG I. They consist of both Corinthian imports and Pithekoussan (or Pithekoussan-Cumaean) products. In addition to the fragments from our excavations, comparisons with others of the same types found in other contexts from Cumae, and from Pithekoussai, as well as the early Sicilian colonies, will be recalled. This allows us to return to the question of the foundation date of Cumae, as compared with that of Pithekoussai and of the earliest *apoikiai* of Sicily, an issue we introduced in the first chapter of this contribution.

From this point of view, it is essential to briefly come back to the relative (and absolute) date of the foundation of Pithekoussai, since our earliest Cumae fragments, later than the Pre-Hellenic phase, roughly align with that date. The common view is well-known³⁶⁴. Pithekoussai's earliest tombs, which have been published so far, date

from the beginning of LG I. However, a sporadic chevron skyphos of local production from the necropolis³⁶⁵ has been temptingly referred to an earlier disturbed tomb dating back to the end of MG II. This date roughly aligns with the late MG II/early LG I finds from the Gosetti dump, as established firstly by D. Ridgway and later pointed out by N. Coldstream³⁶⁶: a Corinthian skyphos with close chevron decoration³⁶⁷ and several Euboean skyphoi with close chevron ornament³⁶⁸, together with the small fragment of a Euboean krater preserving part of a carefully drawn hatched meander³⁶⁹. Among the earliest fragments from the so-called "Stipe dei Cavalli" (loc. Pastola), the same date is ascribed by B. d'Agostino to a skyphos decorated with close chevrons, perhaps of local production (see its micaceous clay)³⁷⁰; this assemblage includes another with floating chevrons³⁷¹ as well as LG I fragments of Aetos 666 kotylai and Thapsos skyphoi with panel³⁷². Therefore, recently, d'Agostino once again defended the traditional theory of a foundation date of Pithekoussai in late MG II (in terms of Corinthian-Pithekoussan chronology) or LG Ia (in terms of Attic chronology), i.e. based on "orthodox" chronology at ca. 760-750 BC³⁷³. I share his view and disagree with the recent proposals made by some scholars to raise or lower this foundation date.

Against the suggestion of an earlier foundation date for Pithekoussai³⁷⁴, we can still rely on an *argumentum ex silentio*: PSC and "classical" chevron skyphoi as well as other "pre-colonial" potte-

³⁶⁵ RIDGWAY 1981, 48-49, fig. 1; BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 702-703, no. Sp. 4/4, pls. CCIX, 245.

³⁶⁶ RIDGWAY 1981; COLDSTREAM 1995, 252-253, 257, 260-261, 266.

³⁶⁷ RIDGWAY 1981, 50, fr. 1, pl. 2; 1992, 87-88, fig. 21.

³⁶⁸ Esp. COLDSTREAM 1995, 257, 260-261, 266, nos. 57, 58 and 61, fig. 2, pl. 29 (= RIDGWAY 1981, 51, nos. 2, 3, 5, pl. 2).

³⁶⁹ COLDSTREAM 1995, 252, 266, no. 2, pl. 27. The attribution to a local fabric for the chevron skyphos from the cemetery is thanks to G. Buchner and D. Ridgway, who may be considered as the best connoisseurs of Pithekoussan pottery production. The attribution to Corinthian fabric for the skyphos from the Gosetti dump and to Euboean production for those of the Gosetti dump, together with the krater, is based on D. Ridgway's and N. Coldstream's authoritative opinion.

³⁷⁰ D'AGOSTINO 1994-1995, 44, no. 1, pl. 34.

³⁷¹ D'AGOSTINO 1994-1995, 44, no. 2, pl. 34.

³⁷² D'AGOSTINO 1994-1995, 44-45, 48, nos. 4, 5, 17-19, pls. 34-35.

³⁷³ D'AGOSTINO 2006, 339-342 (= 2010-2011, 233-235).

³⁷⁴ Cf. RIDGWAY 2000; 2004, 29.

³⁶⁴ RIDGWAY 1981; 1992, 86-88; COLDSTREAM 1995, 266; D'AGOSTINO 1999, 56-57 (= 2010-2011, 224-225); D'AGOSTINO 2006, 339-342 (= 2010-2011, 233-235); D'ACUNTO, forthcoming.

ry types are missing from Pithekoussan contexts (of course, as with all *argumenta ex silentio*, this picture may be modified by future discoveries, but this is the current evidence)³⁷⁵.

On the other hand, a proposal of a “low” chronology for the foundation date of Pithekoussai has been suggested by K. DeVries³⁷⁶. His paper follows the evolution in Corinthian Geometric pottery from the late MG II protokotyle to the “classical” LG kotyle of the Aetos 666 type: through progressive steps, this evolution involves the shape (from the lower body to the hemispherical, and from the nicked rim kotyle to the kotyle without nick), the decoration of the handle (from the painted solid black to the barred – or less often dotted/banded) and of the panel between the handles (leading to the classical system of the Aetos 666 type consisting of a row of chevrons under the lip, overlying a group of horizontal lines and framed by side-bars). His step-by-step chronological reconstruction is based on the analysis of important closed Corinthian assemblages. According to DeVries’ proposal, the “classical” Aetos 666 kotyle would have been introduced in the advanced LG period. Thus, Pithekoussai’s earliest tombs associated with this vessel type would suggest a “low” foundation date for the site. According to him, Pithekoussai would have been established just before the earliest Greek colonies in Sicily.

From our point of view, on one hand, DeVries’ study is useful with reference to the evolution from the protokotyle to the “classical” kotyle, and with reference to the internal analysis of the closed Corinth contexts from MG II to LG. These contexts are of great importance, also in respect of Pithekoussai and Cumae. On the other hand, we may refer to Bruno d’Agostino’s arguments against DeVries’ chronological conclusions. According to the Italian scholar, «in general, one can agree with DeVries’ model, but this evolution has occurred in a very short period of time, and not in the linear manner assumed by him»³⁷⁷. However, «a careful reading of De Vries’ exemplification seems to confirm Coldstream’s scheme, which places the protokotyle in the decade 760-750... as in

Well 1950-1953, and assigns the classical Aetos 666 to the third quarter of the 8th century. The foundation of Cumae is also to be placed in the third quarter of the 8th century, which, however, represents a new qualitative leap compared to Pithekoussai, as the beginning of Greek colonisation in Greece. Pithekoussai therefore did not exist until 760 BC ...»³⁷⁸. To Bruno d’Agostino’s arguments we may also add that some of the earliest Pithekoussan burials may be assigned to the beginning of LG I, in the light of vessel shapes other than the kotyle, as is shown e.g. by the oinochoai³⁷⁹.

With the Pithekoussan picture in the background, we may now focus on Cumae’s late MG II-LG I fragments, which in our excavations are found in stratigraphies overlying the alluvial level.

5.3. Close chevron skyphoi (Pl. 14)

The close chevron skyphoi of the late type match the above-mentioned examples from Pithekoussai. In Cumae too, they refer to both Corinthian imports and imitations.

Two of these, (**54** and **55**) are no doubt Corinthian products, due to the clay and the paint used. This is an important aspect, because Corinthian MG II and LG pottery shows a more coherent sequence than their imitations/transformations in Euboean and Pithekoussan pottery³⁸⁰. Regarding this Corinthian late type of chevron skyphos (as compared to the above mentioned “classical” type, on which cf. above chpt. 4.4.3), the essential classification had already been established by Coldstream in 1968³⁸¹. This type is in line with the Attic (and Euboean) chevron skyphoi, but on the verge of MG II the body has deepened and the lip is offset. This is the immediate predecessor of the LG skyphos of the Thapsos class. Unfortunately, in **54** and **55** the decorations on the lower and lateral parts of the panel and the handles are not preserved. A closed context (a well) in Corinth contains a good number of fragments of Corinthian chevron skyphoi

³⁷⁸ Translated from D’AGOSTINO 2006, 341-342 (= 2010-2011, 235).

³⁷⁹ I refer to F. Nitti’s PhD research, which is in progress: it deals with the unpublished part of Pithekoussai’s cemetery.

³⁸⁰ Cf. e.g. D’AGOSTINO 1999, 56 (= 2010-2011, 224).

³⁸¹ COLDSTREAM 2008, 96-97, pls. 17h, 18d. Cf. WEINBERG 1943, 27, no. 75, fig. 7, pl. 12; ANDERSON – BENTON 1953, 271 ff., 275, no. 622, fig. 8; HEURTLEY – ROBERTSON 1948, 10-11, pls. 2.9-10; ANDERSON 1958-1959, 142, no. 60, pl. 22; RIDGWAY 1981, 48-50, fig. 2, fr. 1; DEVRIES 2003, 153, figs. 8.14-15.

³⁷⁵ D’AGOSTINO 2006, 339-340 (= 2010-2011, 233-235); cf. above, chpt. 4.6.

³⁷⁶ DEVRIES 2003, 145-154.

³⁷⁷ Translated from D’AGOSTINO 2006, 341 (= 2010-2011, 235).

of this late type; they are associated with the classical Corinthian prokotyloi of the end of MG II and with another of the same shape but decorated with a bird, which is contemporary with Attic LG Ia (760-750 BC)³⁸². However, if we compare the decoration of both the published Corinthian chevron skyphoi from Corinth and other sites³⁸³ and the single one from Pithekoussai³⁸⁴ with the decoration of our two specimens from Cumae, in the latter, the chevrons have been debased: in **55** the chevrons have degenerated into sort of sigmas, while those of **54** are drawn in an even more roughly and two of them do not join the upper line. This might be an indication of a low date³⁸⁵ for Cumae's two fragments **54** and **55** in the Corinthian series: since the type is by itself late MG II, i.e. ca. 760-750 BC, our two examples from Cumae might be ca. 750 (or even slightly later).

The two adjoining fragments of **54** were found in the layers underlying the floor of an early 7th century house in the northern part of the *insula* (Fig. 47.4)³⁸⁶. They were associated with the fragment of the early LG I skyphos, whose panel is decorated with a St. Andrew's cross (**80**).

Among the skyphoi with close chevron decoration, three examples from our excavation may be identified as non-Corinthian. I suggest a Pithekoussan production for two of them, namely **56** and **58**, due to their micaceous clay (the alternative would be Cumaean production). The third example, **57**, is also made of a mica-rich clay, in this case fine gold. However, in my opinion, macroscopic analysis makes "local" (Pithekoussan or Cumaean) production unlikely, as is shown by the grainy composition of the clay with grey inclusions, as well as by the thick and polished engobe. Cycladic production could be a reasonable alternative hypothesis. **56** and **58** recall the two above-mentioned local skyphoi from Pithekoussai due to their shape and the quite irregular drawing of the chevrons: the sporadic one

from the necropolis³⁸⁷ and the one from the "Stipe dei Cavalli"³⁸⁸. On **58** the decoration preserves the framing of the side-bars on the right and the oblique lines of the chevrons left, seen in its complete form on the sporadic specimen from the Pithekoussan necropolis. The same framing occurs in another (Pithekoussan) example from San Marzano in the Sarno Valley³⁸⁹, however the chevrons are badly-drawn and in part floating (the handles of the skyphos from the Pithekoussan cemetery are decorated by a band; those on the example from San Marzano show a row of bars, such as in the kotyle Aetos 666 type). The skyphos from San Marzano is clearly a late product in the series of close chevron skyphoi and it may be dated in early LG I, also because of the context³⁹⁰. From a chronological point of view, it is interesting to recall here the evolution of the chevron skyphos in Eretrian pottery, as established by A. Kenzelmann Pfyffer, S. Verdán and C. Léderrey through the analysis of the closed assemblages of the wells in Eretria. According to the authors, the skyphos decorated with a close (non-floating) chevron system, which appears in MG II, continues during LG I and disappears by the end of this period (in their proposal of Eretrian chronology, LG I corresponds to Attic LG Ib, namely to 750-735 BC)³⁹¹. One last remark on the decoration of **56**: to the left of the chevrons a gap is left, such as in a Corinthian example from Aetos³⁹². In sum, the two skyphoi **56** and **58** can most probably be identified with Pithekoussan productions of close chevron skyphos of the late type; they may be referred to late MG II or early LG I, i.e. ca. 760-740 in "orthodox" chronology.

Quite different seems to be the case of **57**. The two non-joining fragments must be referred to the same vessel based on their close similarities in clay and paint. The chevrons are irregularly drawn and some of them do not join the upper line. I have some doubts regarding the association of the decoration between the first and the second fragment. On the

³⁸² DEVRIES 2003, 148-149, 153, figs. 8.8, 14-15 (Well 1950-3).

³⁸³ See the two previous footnotes.

³⁸⁴ RIDGWAY 1981, 50, fr. 1, pl. 2; 1992, 87, fig. 21.1.

³⁸⁵ Cf. e.g. N. Coldstream's opinion about a Euboean chevron skyphos from the Gosetti dump in Pithekoussai: COLDSTREAM 1995, 261, «... for them [i.e. Euboean chevron skyphoi nos. 57, 58 and 61] especially, a late MG II date (in Euboean terms) is possible, unless the careless chevrons on 57 imply an imitation at several removes and a consequent time lag».

³⁸⁶ D'ACUNTO 2017, 303, fig. 26.9, no. 3, and fig. 26.12.

³⁸⁷ RIDGWAY 1981, 48-49, fig. 1; BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 702-703, no. Sp. 4/4, pls. CCIX, 245.

³⁸⁸ D'AGOSTINO 1996, 44, no. 1, pl. 34.

³⁸⁹ D'AGOSTINO 1999, 57 (= 2010-2011, 225, fig. 5).

³⁹⁰ D'AGOSTINO 1999, 57 (= 2010-2011, 225, fig. 5).

³⁹¹ VERDÁN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 76-78, with discussion and references to the catalogue nos.

³⁹² ANDERSON – BENTON 1953, 278, no. 651, fig. 7.

latter, the vertical lines should be identified with the side-bars framing the right side of the chevron panel; but, if this is the case, the horizontal lines below them would be unusual. Nevertheless, according to the reconstruction of the profile proposed in our drawing, the deep body, together with the tall vertical lip, the three reserved lines in the inner part of the lip, and the irregular chevrons, all suggest a late date in the series of close chevron skyphos: LG I (750-720 BC), probably still early due to the close chevron decoration. **57** was found in secondary deposition in a later level of the late 8th century BC under the entrance to the southern *domus* (Fig. 47.5).

To complete this picture of Cumae, an example of the same late type with close and quite irregularly drawn chevrons was found in the rampart of the late Archaic phase of the northern walls. I agree with B. d'Agostino's proposal of a chronology of this skyphos at the transition from MG II to LG I. The identification of its (very micaceous) fabric remains problematic³⁹³.

With reference to this late type of close chevron skyphos, it is useful to compare the evidence from Pithekoussai and Cumae with that of the other earliest Greek *apoikiai* of Sicily and Magna Graecia. As far as I know, *stricto sensu*, places where this late type of chevron skyphoi have been found, both for Corinthian imports and for local productions, are limited to Pithekoussai and Cumae. This distribution may have chronological implications: the production of this late type of close chevron skyphos may have stopped approximately after the foundation of Pithekoussai and Cumae and before the foundation of the other Italian *apoikiai*, thus reflecting the priority of the former two over the other earliest Greek foundations in the West.

To a certain extent, there is only one exception: Megara Hyblaea. In this site, a fragment which has already been mentioned was considered to be a Corinthian import of the chevron skyphos/protokotyle and dated at the end of MG II (see above, chpt. 1.3). Unfortunately, the vase is now lost and as a result we cannot verify its fabric and decoration. However, if we rely on the old, poor-quality photography and drawing, this identification remains controversial, due to the very low and irregular chevrons (if they

are such) and to the deep rounded body; the low vertical bars on the rim would be another unusual feature for a late MG II date³⁹⁴. In addition, among the huge number of LG fragments brought to light during the French excavations in Megara Hyblaea, two non-Corinthian chevron skyphoi can be identified³⁹⁵: the panel contains an impoverished version of the chevrons and is framed by side-bars; the profile has lost its separate lip to give way to a continuous silhouette with an indented rim, which is peculiar to Thapsos class skyphoi (a clearly LG I and later, LG II feature). These fragments may illustrate how, outside of Corinthian production, this very late and "updated" version of the close chevron skyphos may have come close to the foundation date of Megara Hyblaea, i.e. probably ca. 728 BC (if we follow the foundation date reported by Thucydides).

5.4. *Tremuli skyphoi* (Pl. 15)

The three fragmentary skyphoi **59-61** are clearly imported from Corinth and are decorated with a shoulder panel which is framed on all sides by horizontal lines. The panel consists of close tremuli, which are quite irregularly drawn, some of which do not join the upper line.

In my opinion, in Corinthian production these tremuli skyphoi can be singled out as a sort of "transitional/intermediary" type between the late close chevron skyphos and the Thapsos skyphos with panel. However, other scholars prefer to classify them among the Thapsos class³⁹⁶. Their distinction from the "classical" skyphos of the Thapsos class is not only given by the lack of side bars in the panel, but also by the difference in the profile of the lip and the shoulder. These "tremuli" skyphoi **59-61** still preserve the erect, separate and quite high lip of late close chevron skyphoi; on the contrary, the *stricto sensu* Thapsos skyphoi usually show a more continuous profile from the lip to the shoulder, and a shorter lip³⁹⁷. Furthermore, among the

³⁹⁴ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, 17-18, fig. 1, pl. 2.6; VILLARD 1982, 183, pl. 64.1 = fig. 4.1; SOURISSEAU 2014, 108, no. 1. Cf. KOUROU 1994, 33: «... some controversial fragments of proto-kotylai from Megara Hyblaea...».

³⁹⁵ DE BARBARIN 2021, 128, 130, A1a, pl. A-1.

³⁹⁶ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, 28, pl. 8.2, fig. 12; cf. NEEFT 1981, 21, 71, no. 11; SOURISSEAU 2014, 138, no. 53; DE BARBARIN 2021, 128-133.

³⁹⁷ See e.g. NEEFT 1981, figg. 1-4, 7, 9, 11.

³⁹³ D'AGOSTINO 1999, 57, note 11 (= 2010-2011, 225, figs. 1.2, 3b).

Cumae examples, **59** still preserves a section of the lower part of the body: this shows a quite low belly, which is still related to MG II skyphoi.

In Corinthian skyphoi this decoration with a series of close tremuli was not so common: one example is known from Aetos (Ithaca), but in that specimen the panel is framed by side bars³⁹⁸. A Corinthian skyphos related to this type was found in Megara Hyblaea: the panel is not framed by side bars, but it is short and consists of only a few sigmas, thus suggesting that a late version of this type must have been produced until close to the foundation date of Megara³⁹⁹.

The same chronological indication is given by an oinochoe, which has been classified among the Thapsos class; this was found in Corinth, in the lower level of a closed deposit, which spans from the end of LG to the beginning of the EPC period: on its neck there is a series of tremuli which is fully framed by horizontal lines⁴⁰⁰. To complete this picture, an early case outside of Corinthian production warrants a mention: a Euboean/Cycladic skyphos from Veii from ca. the mid-8th century BC has a decoration on the panel between the handles with a series of close tremuli which are flanked by vertical lines⁴⁰¹.

Consequently, these features – both the decoration and the shape – all concur to suggest the date of skyphoi **59-61** from Cumae: they may be referred to an LG date in the Corinthian series, probably in the first part, namely ca. 750-730 BC.

5.5. Floating chevron skyphoi (Pl. 16)

Two examples, probably produced in Pithekoussai, can be referred to this type: **62** and **63**. In both cases the chevrons have been debased into rounded and irregular four-bar sigmas: the latter are drawn higher and closer to the upper and lower lines in **62**, while more irregularly floating in the panel in **63**. Both the debased version of the chevrons as sigmas and their floating in the panel are departures from MG II chevrons, as a consequence of an ornament which in Euboea and in its western foundations continues well into the LG I (750-720 BC) period (and

in Eretria even into LG II, i.e. 735-700 BC, perhaps in the early part)⁴⁰². For both examples from our excavation in Cumae, the deep rounded body and the quite high and only slightly everted lip are consistent with an LG I date (750-720 BC). A detail confirms this “high” date for **63**: its handles are painted solid black, which still reflects the MG II tradition of the chevron skyphoi and the Corinthian protokotyle⁴⁰³.

Parallels with the shape and the decoration of **62** and **63** are found among some floating chevron skyphoi from Methone, which have been identified as local productions⁴⁰⁴: their barred handles suggest an LG I date too; if the foundation date of this Eretrian colony at 733/732 BC (PLUT. *Mor.* 293 a-b) is reliable⁴⁰⁵, then a chronology of these vases in the second part of LG I could be suggested. The high and tight chevrons/sigmas of **62** match those of one specimen from Methone⁴⁰⁶. On the other hand, the chevrons/sigmas of **63**, which are shorter and floating more freely in the field, may be compared with a skyphos considered as Pithekoussan-Cumaean from the rampart of Cumae's late Archaic walls; its profile is also similar⁴⁰⁷. Another skyphos of the same type may be **86**, although in this case the decoration in the panel has not been preserved; the latter vessel, which seems to have been produced in Pithekoussai, was found in association with the LG I domestic context, in the northern sector of our excavation (see M. D'Onofrio, above, chpt. 5.1, Fig. 47.3). Macroscopic inspection of the clay suggests a Pithekoussan fabric for **62** and **63** too: to our knowledge, they both correspond to the macroscopic features of Pithekoussan clays, due to the color, inclusions and the dense silver mica; the very pale brown slip of **62** is common on Pithekoussan vases (a less likely alternative for **63** would be a Cycladic production, because of its micaceous clay).

³⁹⁸ ANDERSON – BENTON 1953, 276, no. 628, pl. 41.

³⁹⁹ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, 28, pl. 8.2, fig. 12. Local imitations were also found on the site: DE BARBARIN 2021, 128-129, 132-141, pl. A-1 – “Coupes du type A1b”.

⁴⁰⁰ DE VRIES 2003, 152, fig. 8.13.

⁴⁰¹ RIDGWAY 1967, pl. 58k.

⁴⁰² Cf. COLDSTREAM 1995, 260-261; *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 20; VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 76-78, with references. On the degeneration of the chevrons in LG Corinthian pottery cf. already COLDSTREAM 2008, 99.

⁴⁰³ COLDSTREAM 2008, 95-98; DE VRIES 2003.

⁴⁰⁴ BESIOS – TZIFPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 105-106, nos. 87-89 (with the proposal for a later date, in LG Iib).

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. Y. Tzifopoulos, in BESIOS – TZIFPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 19-20; and JANKO 2015, 1.

⁴⁰⁶ BESIOS – TZIFPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 106, no. 88.

⁴⁰⁷ *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 20, 154, no. TTA9, fig. 45, pl. 2.A.

One remarkable aspect is that **63** was found in a primary deposition context, namely in the trench that we conducted under the floor of the room of the Roman period occupying the southeast corner of the *insula* (Fig. 47.6). The adjoining fragments of this skyphos were found in the area around a hearth, which was made of stones arranged to make a roughly rectangular platform (Fig. 52). This hearth was associated with a beaten earth floor. Due to the limited extension of the trench and to the presence of several holes from the Roman period, we were unable to establish whether this floor referred to the covered part of a house (I consider this hypothesis more likely, in the light of the structure of the hearth) or to an associated courtyard. What is evident is that it definitely referred to a domestic context, thus dating to LG I. This is further evidence of permanent domestic occupation of this area during this earliest phase of the *apoikia* (750-720 BC).

5.6. *Kotylai* (Pls. 17-18)

Our excavations in Cumae north of the Forum baths have brought to light a few dozen fragments, which can be more or less safely identified as *kotylai* of the so-called Aetos 666 type (otherwise called as the chevron *kotyle*), the best-known chronological marker for the LG Corinthian/LG I Pithekoussan phase (750-720 BC)⁴⁰⁸. We present here a selection of these fragments, including three Corinthian imports and several Pithekoussan imitations.

We have already mentioned the important case of the Corinthian fragment of the lip (**83**), from a primary deposition context: it was directly associated with a hearth which cuts the surface of the deep alluvial level. As the latter marks a clear *caesura* with the former Pre-Hellenic stratigraphies, this hearth reflects the new domestic occupation of the area associated with the earliest horizon of the *apoikia*. Since, the Corinthian series is more reliable in the production of *kotylai* than their Euboean or Pithekoussan imitations, the chronological implications given by the association between *kotylai* Aetos 666 and the earliest colonial horizon in Cumae is evident, also with reference to the contemporary contexts of Pithekoussai containing this chronological marker of LG I.



Fig. 52. Trench conducted under the room occupying the southeastern corner of the *insula*: floor with a hearth made of a rectangular platform of blocks (in the center), where LG I skyphos **63** was found, cf. Fig. 47.6 (photo from east, M. D'Acunto, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

This is coherent with the observation that all the fragments of *kotylai* in our excavation were found in stratigraphies overlying the alluvial level, both in primary and in secondary deposition. Another Corinthian import is fragment **65**, whose barred handle and rounded belly profile suggest its identification with a LG *kotyle*. Identification with this type, in the case of the Corinthian fragment of the upper part of the body in **64**, is less safe however. Its decoration, with a row of chevrons framed by horizontal and vertical lines is, of course, typical of Aetos 666 *kotylai*. However, the two lines overlying the chevrons seem to be quite unusual for this type⁴⁰⁹. Since the rim is missing in fragment **64** and its profile is receding in the upper part, an alternative hypothesis could be that it referred to a *kantharos* (end of MG II/LG)⁴¹⁰.

To complete the picture in Cumae, a fragment of a Corinthian *kotyle* of the Aetos 666 type was found in the rampart of the late Archaic northern walls⁴¹¹.

A fragment of the same vessel type with the preserved part of the handle and the belly (**69**) can be attributed to Euboean fabric from an inspection of the clay: this corresponds to the macroscopic aspects of Euboean production, starting

⁴⁰⁹ We find two similar lines in a chevron *kotyle* (along with a nicked rim) from Corinth: DeVRIES 2003, 148, 150, fig. 8.10.

⁴¹⁰ Cf. e.g. ANDERSON – BENTON 1953, 280, 288, nos. 716-717, fig. 9, pl. 45.

⁴¹¹ *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 159, no. 45, pl. 3.30.

⁴⁰⁸ COLDSTREAM 2008, 101-102, pl. 19j; 1995, 261-263; DeVRIES 2003, 145-154, with references.

from its non-micaceous aspect, color and white inclusions⁴¹².

A good number of fragments from our excavation refers to Phlegraean imitations of the kotyle Aetos 666 type (**66-68** and **70** are reported here as a sample). They can also be dated to LG I. Even for the smallest fragments, their identification with this type is suggested by the combination of a barred handle with the profile of the body (which was more or less hemispherical). I ascribe these imitations to Pithekoussan manufacture, based on the color and grainy aspect of the clay, its volcanic inclusions including dense silver mica, and on the preserved pale brown slip. In the case of **67**, the presence of a very short nicked rim reflects a trait which is common among the imitations made in Euboea of the Aetos 666 kotyle type (as a residual feature from the earlier Corinthian protokotyle)⁴¹³. What is remarkable is that the best preserved Pithekoussan fragment of this type (**66**) was found in a primary deposition context under the earliest level of *stenopos* q (Fig. 47.7): it was associated to a level of domestic character; krater **81** was found in a layer related to the same domestic use of this spot (this is LG I too: see below).

These Pithekoussan kotylai of Aetos 666 type from our excavations in the urban area correspond to the imitations of this type, which were found in B. d'Agostino's trenches conducted in the rampart of the northern walls⁴¹⁴. They must refer to the same chronological horizon as Cumae's occupation, and therefore from the earliest phase of the *apoikia* (according to our proposal of periodization). These kotylai correspond to the much larger number of specimens that have been brought to light in the different contexts of Pithekoussai, where these kotylai of the Aetos 666 type were produced as imitations of the Corinthian and Euboean prototypes.

The LG I (750-720 BC) kotylai also include Pithekoussan example **89**, which was found in a

primary deposition context discussed above (see M. D'Onofrio, chpt. 5.1). It refers to a "local" variant, which has transformed the canonical chevrons under the rim into a series of tremuli: another example was found in the rampart of the northern walls⁴¹⁵ and others come from LG I graves in Pithekoussai⁴¹⁶. The fragment from Cumae's rampart preserves a short nicked rim, which reflects a residual trait from the Corinthian protokotyle.

82 (see F. Nitti above, chpt. 5.1) also refers to Pithekoussan fabric. This kotyle may be associated with the same variant with tremuli under the rim, but it preserves a vertical line on the central side of the band, thus suggesting that it framed a central metope. This feature (cf. below) and its straight lower profile suggests the date for **82** is in the second part of LG I.

The previously discussed kotyle **91** (see M. D'Onofrio, chpt. 5.1) was found in the same primary deposition context as **89**. Macroscopic analysis suggests yet again a Pithekoussan fabric for **91**. It reflects a decoration system which was introduced in the Corinthian kotyle near the end of LG (750-720 BC): side metopes of double axes and herons facing each other in the center⁴¹⁷. Unfortunately, in Cumae's kotyle only a small part of the central metope is preserved: two short bars, respectively horizontal and vertical, hint at a geometric/linear motif. This system of the upper band consisting of lateral double-axes and a central metope as well as the quite straight profile of the kotyle suggests that it refers to advanced/late LG I⁴¹⁸.

5.7. *Thapsos class and skyphoi with panel decorated by a chain of lozenges* (Pls. 19-20)

Several dozen, probably no less than one hundred individual specimens of Thapsos class skyphoi, were identified among the finds from our excavations of LG I and LG II domestic contexts north of the Forum baths. Most of them can easily be attributed to Corinthian fabric because of their peculiar clay and paint. However, Pithekoussan

⁴¹² On the Euboean imitations of the kotylai of Aetos 666 type, see recently VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 28, 87-88; D'ACUNTO 2020e, 243-244, with references. A fragment from the Gosetti dump in Pithekoussai has been ascribed by Coldstream to Euboean fabric (COLDSTREAM 1995, 261-263, no. 88, fig. 4, pl. 30).

⁴¹³ On this aspect cf. references in the former note.

⁴¹⁴ D'AGOSTINO 1999, 55-56, pl. 1c-e (= 2010-2011, 221, figs. 1.3 and 5); *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 158-159, nos. TTA44 (here "protokotyle") and 46, fig. 48, pl. 3.29 and 30.

⁴¹⁵ *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 155 no. TTA12, fig. 45, pl. 2A.

⁴¹⁶ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 372, T. 320, no. 1, pls. CLV, 119; 388, T. 331, no. 1, pl. 127.

⁴¹⁷ COLDSTREAM 2008, 101, pl. 191.

⁴¹⁸ A fragment of a "local" kotyle from the upper sanctuary of the acropolis may be ascribed to the same date, in the light of the presence of an individual heron enclosed by floating sigmas (PAGANO – DEL VILLANO 2022, 160, no. 3.17).

(or Pithekoussan/Cumaean) imitations are also included in a good number. According to C. Neeft's classification, they are of both the panel type of LG I (750-720 BC) and early LG II (720-710 BC), and the plain type of LG II (720-690 BC), from the earliest variants, until the latest ones which are characterized by being of a smaller size or having a taller body⁴¹⁹. Here, we present a sample of individual specimens referring to the earliest panel type, starting with the Corinthian imports.

Among our fragments the commonest panel ornament consists of a close row of three-bar sigmas (**71**, **73-75**). In one of these examples, **73**, the belly is in part preserved: this is painted solid black. However, for the three others the alternative of horizontal lines down to the base remains open: in particular, cf. the three preserved lines below the panel in **71**. They all have a painted interior except for a reserved thin band under the rim. The row of three-bar sigmas is a common ornament of this class of skyphoi and refers to a group of continuous motifs, which are dated by Neeft early in the evolution of the decoration of the Thapsos panel⁴²⁰. In particular, this decoration in the panel is common among the Corinthian Thapsos skyphoi from the earliest Greek foundations in Italy. Another fragment with the same ornament was found in the University of Napoli Federico II excavations directed by G. Greco under the Roman Forum⁴²¹. Of great importance for the closed assemblages are the burial contexts of Pithekoussai where this Thapsos variant was found: T. 161 is a good LG I context, since a Corinthian example with the belly painted solid black is associated with a local kotyle of the Aetos 666 type (LG I)⁴²²; however, T. 309A is a context of the first part of LG II and contains a Corinthian example where the body is deeper and the panel has been reduced in length (thus, clearly different from the case of **73** and **74**)⁴²³. Other examples imported from Corinth

can be numbered among the earliest materials from Sicilian Naxos⁴²⁴, Syracuse⁴²⁵, Megara Hyblaea⁴²⁶ and Leontinoi⁴²⁷ (cf. above chpt. 1.3-5). To sum up, we share Neeft's assumption that this variant with three-bar sigmas in the panel can be assigned to Corinthian LG until the early EPC for the latest version, i.e. ca. 750-710 BC. Among our examples, **73** and **74** may be fully LG, while **71**, because of its small size⁴²⁸, could be advanced-late in the series.

The find context of **71** is remarkable as it was discovered in a trench under *stenopos* q (Fig. 47.8). The fragment refers to a stratigraphy also containing LG II sherds and underlying the earliest level of *stenopos* q (whose date can now be assigned to late LG II, namely to the early 7th century BC). This stratigraphy was in some way associated with an enigmatic east to west curvilinear structure, which was brought to light for a length of ca. 2.50 m and was probably preserved only at the level of its foundations (10/20 cm height) (Fig. 53). This was made of small irregular tufa blocks fused in what seemed to be tufa powder (from the working of the blocks?). Due to the limited extent of the trench, our excavation was unable to clarify either the plan or the full extension of this structure, or even its function. A tempting hypothesis would be that this was part of an apsidal or ovoidal house/building, such as the well-known structures of the Geometric period uncovered in several sites within the Euboean world, both in the motherland and in the West: e.g. in the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros and in other areas of Eretria⁴²⁹, in Viglatouri⁴³⁰, in Oropos⁴³¹ and at the metallurgical quarter of Mazzola in Pithekoussai⁴³². Unfortunately, this hypothesis cannot be verified, because the surrounding later structures prevent us from extending the excavation area.

rials in Pastola, at Pithekoussai: D'AGOSTINO 1996, 45, no. 4, pl. 34.

⁴²⁴ PELAGATTI 1982a, 144, fig. 10, pls. 47.1-4, 57 fig. 6; cf. COLDSTREAM 2004, 41, fig. 1.

⁴²⁵ PELAGATTI 1982a, pl. 27.1, 29.12 e 15, 30 fig. 1.4

⁴²⁶ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, 19, pl. 2, no. 7 and fig. 2; SOURIS-SEAU 2014, 135-137. This variant is also found in a non-colonial context: e.g. in Avola (PELAGATTI 1982a, pl. 23, fig. 2).

⁴²⁷ PELAGATTI 1982a, pl. 60.2.

⁴²⁸ Cf. on this aspect NEEFT 1981, 27-28.

⁴²⁹ MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997; *Érétie, guide*, 22-23, 92-95, 226-233; VERDAN 2013.

⁴³⁰ SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKIS 1998.

⁴³¹ MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2020.

⁴³² RIDGWAY 1992, 91-96; and P.G. Guzzo and C. Gialanella in the present volume.

⁴¹⁹ NEEFT 1981. On the Thapsos class see esp. COLDSTREAM 2008, 102-104; BOSANA-KOUROU 1983; DEHL 1984, map 2; KOUROU 1994, 38-43; GADLOU 2011, 2017, with references.

⁴²⁰ NEEFT 1981, 20-27, fig. 6.6: «sigma skyphoi with the interior painted except for a reserved line, and with one line on the handles: 740-715 BC» (27).

⁴²¹ GRECO 2008, 398, pl. 5c: LG I.

⁴²² BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 203-204, T. 161, no. 2, pl. 63.

⁴²³ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 366, T. 309A, no. 2, pls. CLIV, 116. A local example of the same type is from the earliest group of mate-



Fig. 53. LG I/II curvilinear structure under *stenopos* q, cf. Fig. 47.8 (photo from east, M. D'Acunto, © University of Napoli L'Orientale)

The structure must be dated in the LG I/II period, because of the associated ceramics and because of its *terminus ante quem* represented by the overlying earliest phase of *stenopos* q. It is interesting to note that just a few meters north/northwest is where the evidence described above was found of a stable occupation of the area since LG I (see M. D'Onofrio, chpt. 5.1). What's more, a few meters west, again under *stenopos* q (Fig. 47.7), layers of LG II have shown that metalworking involving of iron and bronze took place there⁴³³.

Turning to the Thapsos skyphoi brought to light in our excavations, the small Corinthian fragment, **76**, preserves a small part of the panel containing a

⁴³³ On this metallurgical evidence, general information is given in D'ACUNTO 2017, 301. However, subsequently our excavation showed that the date of the *stenopos* must be raised to late LG II (early 7th century BC) and that, thus, metallurgical activity in the area refers to before then, therefore to the LG period.

bold horizontal zig-zag line. This decoration is less common on Thapsos skyphoi with panel. It is classified by Neeft among the continuous motifs, which should refer to the Corinthian LG phase (therefore LG I in Pithekoussai and Cumae). Parallels occur in examples found in Delphi, Aetos and in the West in Pithekoussai and Megara Hyblaea⁴³⁴.

Corinthian fragment **77** refers to the grouping of the Thapsos skyphoi whose panel is decorated with a loose motif: according to Neeft, this grouping is, in part, later than that containing a continuous motif, and should be dated at ca. 730-690 BC⁴³⁵. In our example, the motif consists of a row of sort of reversed S's⁴³⁶. This variant occurs among the Thapsos skyphoi found by the University of Napoli Federico II in the Forum area⁴³⁷, and among the finds in two of the earliest Greek foundations in the West, i.e., Syracuse⁴³⁸ and Megara Hyblaea⁴³⁹. Our example **77** is large in size and has a thick wall, as well as closely spaced reversed S's, which still resembles mature Thapsos skyphoi, and should therefore not be too late: ca. late LG I/early LG II (roughly 730-700 BC).

Among the Phlegraean imitations of the Thapsos skyphoi with panel, we should focus on an early example of the class: **72**. The panel was decorated with hatched meander hooks while its belly was painted solid black. Of course, the meander still reflects the common Middle Geometric ornament; this endures in the Corinthian LG skyphoi of this class, albeit in the simplified form of meander hooks⁴⁴⁰. Among the Thapsos skyphoi, Neeft has convincingly demonstrated that the panel with meander hooks refers to an early variant of the above-mentioned grouping, which is characterized by continuous motifs and he suggests a date of 750-740 BC for those examples whose interior is painted solid black with a reserved band and lines under the rim. On the other hand, he suggests a

⁴³⁴ NEEFT 1981, fig. 6.12; SOURISSEAU 2014, 138-139; cf. a sporadic skyphos of local production from the necropolis of Pithekoussai. This does not refer however to the Thapsos class (BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 703, no. Sp 4/5, pl. 245).

⁴³⁵ NEEFT 1981, 27.

⁴³⁶ NEEFT 1981, fig. 6.20.

⁴³⁷ GRECO 2008, pl. 5d.

⁴³⁸ PELAGATTI 1982a, pl. 25.3.

⁴³⁹ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, 21; SOURISSEAU 2014, 143-145.

⁴⁴⁰ COLDSTREAM 2008, 102-103.

date of 740-730 BC for those specimens with a reserved line under the rim⁴⁴¹. **72** shows traits of the latter group. However, the tall and vertical lip of **72**, which is quite unusual among the Thapsos skyphoi, is reminiscent of skyphoi of other classes which are transitional from late MG II to LG I (cf. above, the close chevron and tremuli skyphoi, chpt. 5.3-4). This unusual morphological detail may be explained, perhaps, by the fact that our specimen must be identified as an imitation which was not as close to the Corinthian prototype: as a matter of fact, the color, composition and inclusions of micaceous clay collocate it safely among Pithekoussan production.

Although no other Thapsos skyphos with hatched meander hooks has yet been found in Cumae, a Corinthian specimen with meander hooks, albeit with lines down to the base, was found in a well-dated context of LG I in the necropolis of Pithekoussai⁴⁴²: the grave-offerings of T. 212 also consist of a Corinthian kotyle and a kantharos with an Aetos 666 decoration system, an imported lekythos (from Euboea?), a local skyphos with a panel decorated with a lozenge chain (cf. below) and a few other objects. Another similar Thapsos skyphos with panel containing meander hooks, but produced in Pithekoussai like our example, is a sporadic find from the necropolis⁴⁴³.

In order to assess the early date of this Thapsos variant with hatched meander hooks, it is significant that among the earliest Greek *apoikiai* of Sicily these skyphoi of Corinthian production were discovered only in the earliest foundation of Naxos⁴⁴⁴. However, several bigger individual specimens of the same class, i.e. the skyphos-crater, were found in Syracuse⁴⁴⁵, Megara Hyblaea⁴⁴⁶, and Leontinoi⁴⁴⁷. Our example **72** – with its reconstructed diameter at the rim of ca. 14 cm – must be identified with a skyphos (the alternative would be a kantharos).

To sum up, **72** must be identified as an early Pithekoussan imitation of a Thapsos skyphos due to its decoration and shape and therefore assigned to the early-middle phases of LG I, i.e. ca. 750-730 BC.

78, **79** and **85** refer to a skyphos type which must have been produced in large numbers in Pithekoussai during LG I. This type is related to the Thapsos class, but I prefer to classify it rather as a local variation of a Thapsos prototype. Between the handles, its panel is decorated with a horizontal chain of small joined lozenges and is framed by two groups of numerous side-bars. In this case the side-bars of the panel are not surrounded by horizontal lines, thus marking a difference compared to the Thapsos skyphos type. The shape is also quite different from the Thapsos skyphoi, because of a low body still recalling MG II skyphoi and of a higher vertical lip. Despite these differences, the chain of lozenges decoration reflects that of the Thapsos skyphoi, which may or may not have a dot inside each lozenge⁴⁴⁸.

A macroscopic analysis of our three items, **78**, **79** and **85** from Cumae, suggests that they had been produced in Pithekoussai, in the light of their micaceous clay and whitish slip.

The LG I date of this “local” skyphos type is suggested by its low body and its more or less high lip as well as by the panel decoration and the barred handles, at least where these are preserved, i.e. in **85**. This chronology in LG I is confirmed by a closed assemblage of Pithekoussai’s necropolis which is the above-mentioned T. 212 containing a fragment of such a skyphos, whose lozenges have an inner dot⁴⁴⁹. Another example⁴⁵⁰ was found in the Punta Chiarito house and is referred by C. Gialanella to the earliest occupation of this site during LG I (together with a Thapsos skyphos with panel and a hemispherical kotyle⁴⁵¹): this skyphos is characterized by simple lozenges and barred handles, as in **85**. The presence of several individual specimens of this skyphos type with lozenges is recorded in the Gosetti dump⁴⁵². Consequently,

⁴⁴¹ NEEFT 1981, 22-27, fig. 6.5.

⁴⁴² BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 273, no. 2, pl. 92.

⁴⁴³ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 702, no. Sp 4.3, pl. 245.

⁴⁴⁴ PELAGATTI 1982a, 143, 145, pl. 47.5-6. Cf. NEEFT 1981, 22-27. Skyphoi of this variant have been found at Avola, Narce and Villasmundo (PELAGATTI 1982a, 145, pls. 22, 61).

⁴⁴⁵ PELAGATTI 1982a, 130-131, pls. 30.1-3; AMARA 2022, 69.

⁴⁴⁶ VALLET – VILLARD 1964, 16, pl. 1; VILLARD 1982, 182, pl. 62.4; SOURISSEAU 2014, 157-158.

⁴⁴⁷ PELAGATTI 1982a, pl. 60.1.

⁴⁴⁸ NEEFT 1981, 21, fig. 6.13-14.

⁴⁴⁹ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 273, no. 6, pl. 92.

⁴⁵⁰ GIALANELLA 1994, 183, no. A8, fig. 29.3.

⁴⁵¹ GIALANELLA 1994, 182, nos. A2, A3, fig. 29.3.

⁴⁵² Cf. GIALANELLA 1994, 183, no. A8. A skyphos of the same type, whose lozenges have a dot inside (BAILO MODESTI – GA-

during LG I, potters from Euboea and Pithekoussai must have been responsible for the creation and production of a large quantity of this skyphos type decorated with a chain of lozenges. Among our fragments, a difference can be noted between **78** and **79-85**. The former, unlike the latter, has a thin section revealing that it is a fine drinking vessel.

It is also remarkable that **85**, which must be LG I, was found in association with a later domestic context of the first decades of the 7th century BC (Fig. 47.9): this illustrates a convincing case for the preservation of an older vase, which must have been considered a prized vessel in the household⁴⁵³. In Cumae, two more fragments of the same type were identified among the earliest Greek sherds, which had been dumped in the rampart of the late Archaic northern walls⁴⁵⁴.

5.8. Euboean imports? (Pl. 20)

80 is a small fragment of a skyphos which was characterized by a low body. The decoration painted around the widest part of the vessel consists of a metope containing a St. Andrew's cross, which is drawn quite irregularly and framed by side bars. The St. Andrew's cross is a quite common motif of early LG Euboean (or Euboean-related) pottery. On a skyphos from Pontecagnano this motif occupies the metope framed by side bars⁴⁵⁵, as in our fragment. This example from Pontecagnano refers to a skyphos type produced in Euboea, whose decoration is characterized by a single metope with side bars enclosed at the sides by horizontal lines⁴⁵⁶. On the other hand, the clay in the Pontecagnano skyphos is characterized by quite dense fine-grained silver mica: this is unusual for common Euboean

fabric, with the exception of pottery from southern Euboea. Nevertheless, our fragment **80** might well not refer to this decoration system, because there is a larger number of side-bars which are more spaced out from each other. An alternative comparison is represented by a skyphos with a metope system, once again of Euboean production, from a tomb in Ialysos (Rhodes) of ca. 750-735 BC⁴⁵⁷, but in this case the metope has a variant: a dot in each of the four quadrants is added to the St. Andrew's cross. A similar date may be suggested for our Cumae skyphos, because of the low body and the metope decoration. Like the Pontecagnano specimen, **80** is characterized by micaceous clay, in this case with fine-grained silver mica. Was the Cumae skyphos a Euboean product from a different fabric than usual (perhaps southern Euboean)? Cycladic production would also be a reasonable alternative due to the large amount of mica present. It could even be of Pithekoussan manufacture, although its clay does look more compact than any Pithekoussan clays I am aware of. All things considered, the question of its production remains open, also due to the fact that only a small part of the vessel is preserved. What is of particular interest is the findspot of this skyphos as it came from the same layer as one of the fragments of the Corinthian chevron skyphos, **54** (Fig. 47.4). This layer, to be interpreted probably as the result of dumping refuse, underlies the floor of a house built in the earliest decades of the 7th century BC (cf. above, chpt. 5.3).

81, the last fragment of our discussion, is also peculiar, firstly because it refers to a krater: this vessel shape is less common among our finds from domestic contexts. In this example, only a small quantity of fine-grained silver mica is visible from macroscopic analysis; the clay is quite compact, smooth on the surface and characterized by small-sized white inclusions. The hypothesis that **81** is a Euboean product is also made possible by the morphology and the decoration of the krater (the alternative would be a Pithekoussan production imitating Euboean Atticizing prototypes). Part of the lip where the spout begins, as well as part of the rather low neck, and also a section of the upper part of the body are preserved.

STALDI 2001, 19, 40, no. 19.2, T. 3264.2, fig. 9, pl. 4.2), was found in a burial at Pontecagnano of the local IIB Phase (750-730 BC); this date is coherent with the skyphos' low shape but with tall lip, such as in the vases found in Pithekoussai and Cumae; B. d'Agostino ascribed the skyphos from Pontecagnano to Euboean fabric (only a little mica can be seen at macroscopic analysis).

⁴⁵³ D'AGOSTINO – D'ACUNTO 2008, 507, fig. 22 and color fig.; D'ACUNTO 2017, 304, fig. 26.13d.

⁴⁵⁴ *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 157, nos. TTA29 and TTA30, pl. 3.3-4.

⁴⁵⁵ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, 19, 43, no. 23.1, T. 6500.1, fig. 9, pl. 3.8.

⁴⁵⁶ As this type is common in the production of Chalkis, it was labeled as "Chalkis" type (ANDREIOMENOU 1984, 51-53, 65-67, nos. 41-49, fig. 13), but it was also produced in Eretria: cf. VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 79, 124, no. 167, pl. 41 (LG I); KOUROU 2010, 356.

⁴⁵⁷ D'ACUNTO 2020e, 241-242, 695, T. LI/393, no. 2, pls. XIII, 6, with references to other examples and related bibliography.

This was clearly a fine vessel, as is shown by what is preserved of the elaborate decoration: a group of bars on the rim, a group of tremuli on the neck, and on the upper part of the body a hatched meander surrounded by a single line, as well as what is probably a reserved lozenge made of multiple lines. The meander is of course derivative from Attic MG II. As already mentioned, in the Gosetti dump there was a fragment of a krater with a carefully drawn meander of Euboean fabric which in Coldstream's opinion might well go back to MG II⁴⁵⁸. However, in Euboean production the meander continues to appear on kraters throughout LG, e.g. in Eretria⁴⁵⁹. We have other renderings of hatched meanders on three Euboean (?) and local kraters from the LG II (disturbed) context of the so-called "Tomb 168" of Pithekoussai⁴⁶⁰. In these cases, the drawn decoration which goes around the whole circumference of the vessels and most part of their surfaces is a late stylistic trait. On the contrary, on our fragment **81** from Cumae, the solid paint to the side of the meander and the lozenge reveals a dark-background style which is still in the MG II tradition. The careful and elaborate hatched meander with a surrounding line is also reminiscent of early elaborate solutions of the meander. However, in our vessel there are two aspects hinting at its downdating to LG I. First, the group of carefully drawn tremuli on the neck recalls e.g. the decoration on the lip of Thapsos skyphoi-kraters of Corinthian LG⁴⁶¹. In addition, the low triangular profile of the lip-neck together with the slightly rounded vertical shoulder is similar to the morphology which has been ascribed in Eretrian production to local LG I (ca. 750-735)⁴⁶². For all these reasons, a similar date seems to be likely for our Euboean (or Pithekoussan) krater **81**.

5.9. General picture and issues of Cumae's LG I (750-720 BC)

Considering the finds from our excavations north of the Forum baths, a general picture of the

ratios of the different pottery productions may be drawn from macroscopic analysis of the fragments, which are referred to LG I by their find context and/or typology. The pottery whose production we ascribe to Pithekoussai appears to be predominant, consisting in part of imitations/variations of Corinthian types, such as is common during the first phase of LG in Euboea itself: the creamy slip on Pithekoussan products recalls Corinthian clay. However, a good number of fragments can definitely be identified as Corinthian imports and clearly refer to the most prized types of drinking vessel: namely the kotylai as well as the late chevron and Thapsos skyphoi with panel. On the other hand, the proportion of ceramics imported from Euboea is clearly and distinctly a minority. This picture leads us to the following conclusions on the composition of material culture during LG I, at least with reference to our settlement area and of course within the limits given by macroscopic analysis of ceramics.

Firstly, the break between the native Pre-Hellenic domestic occupation and that of LG I is not only given by the clear stratigraphic discontinuity described above, but also by the composition of material culture, from the point of view of Greek pottery. In the Pre-Hellenic context, ceramics directly imported are almost exclusively from Euboea, while Corinthian and Pithekoussan pottery was lacking at the time. On the contrary, during LG I, macroscopic analysis suggests that in Cumae Pithekoussan pottery is predominant; this is accompanied by a good number of Corinthian imports and very few, which we may more or less safely refer to as being of Euboean fabric.

The same fabrics, roughly in the same proportions, are found in the many LG I contexts of Pithekoussai, as seen especially in the necropolis, but also in Mazzola and in the Gosetti dump. From the point of view of pottery found in their contexts, therefore, Pithekoussai and Cumae start to resemble each other during LG I, and continue to do so during LG II.

Is it now safe to say that this LG I evidence fills the wide gap that had been recognized by scholars between the foundation of Pithekoussai and Cumae (cf. above, chpt. 1.1)? From a chronological point of view, I maintain, at this stage, that the answer must be affirmative.

⁴⁵⁸ COLDSTREAM 1995, 252-253, 266-267, no. 2, pl. 27.

⁴⁵⁹ VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 91-95.

⁴⁶⁰ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 216-218, nos. 1-3, pls. 67-69, CXXIX.

⁴⁶¹ Cf. e.g. NEEFT 1981, 15, fig. 1c; PELAGATTI 1982a, pl. 60.1 (from Leontinoi).

⁴⁶² VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 92, KR4 type, pl. 93.

In this contribution we have described some of Cumae's closed domestic contexts of LG I and Geometric pottery, which is still early LG I and parallels the earliest classes found in Pithekoussai. These findings suggest that the *apoikia* of Cumae, namely a permanent establishment of the Greek group on the site, must have taken place close to the foundation of Pithekoussai: probably at ca. 750-740 BC, and therefore only slightly later than the Euboean foundation on the island opposite.

Conversely, from the point of view of the consistency of the contexts and materials of LG I, the evidence from Pithekoussai remains to date far greater than that of Cumae. This is made clear by a simple comparison between our limited contexts and finds in Cumae, and those in Pithekoussai: namely from the acropolis settlement area (Gosetti dump), from the metallurgical area (Mazzola), and from the necropolis where a great number of burials can be referred to the earliest phase of the settlement. Does this different consistency of contexts and finds depend on the history of research and on the different levels of knowledge we possess surrounding the earliest phases of the two earliest Greek foundations? Or does it reflect a substantial real difference regarding the actual size and structure of the two settlements? It is currently impossible to decide which hypothesis is more likely but of course we hope to have further information from next year's excavations.

Nevertheless, the comparison in the evidence brought to light for the "colonial" necropoleis in both sites is significant: on one hand, there are many dozens of burials in the San Montano necropolis, while on the other there is only scant evidence suggested in Cumae, which is the earliest Greek Geometric pottery recovered in the rampart of the northern walls, together with burnt human bones from cremations and scarabs (cf. above, chpt. 1.8). As we have seen above, B. d'Agostino has suggested that the process of digging out the moat around the walls must have destroyed the burials from the earliest phase of the *apoikia*. Some scholars have rejected this hypothesis based on the evidence that a sector of the Pre-Hellenic necropolis was located nearby, northwest of the middle gate of the walls. What's more, they point out that a few burials from the Pre-Hellenic necropolis were secondary cremations;

therefore, in their opinion, why should B. d'Agostino's finds not be referred to the Pre-Hellenic necropolis rather than to the earliest *apoikia* cemetery? In my opinion, the answer to this criticism comes from the evidence of the Greek pottery found in the rampart of the walls. Not even one of these Geometric fragments from the walls may be referred to the classes that we find both in our Pre-Hellenic domestic context and in the Pre-Hellenic necropolis. On the contrary, this Greek pottery from the wall ramparts refers to late chevron skyphoi, hemispherical kotylai, Thapsos class etc. all found in Pithekoussai and in our post-Prehellenic domestic contexts (cf. above, chpt. 5.2-8). Consequently, albeit with all due caution suggested by their secondary deposition, the evidence of these cremations from the northern walls as well as LG I and LG II pottery, would be better referred to the presence of burials in the area, which in turn must be referred to the earliest phase of the Greek *apoikia*. This burial evidence to the north would match our domestic evidence not far south, thus dating the Greek establishment of Cumae at the beginning of the second half of the 8th century BC.

From current archaeological evidence (and according to some literary sources), it is clear that the Euboean foundations and the earliest phases of Pithekoussai and of Cumae must have been intertwined. But what can be said about the balance between the two sites? At least from the point of view of production and material culture as suggested by the pottery, Pithekoussai may well have played a greater and more dominant role compared to its "twin", Cumae.

We may ask ourselves if it is possible that Pithekoussai was significantly involved in the foundation of Cumae's *apoikia*. This hypothesis is more than likely, mainly because of the close geographic proximity of the two Euboean foundations. Another question we may ask is if Pithekoussai was dominant compared to Cumae during LG I and whether the LG I phase should actually be labelled as a sort of "Pithekoussan" phase of Cumae? This hypothesis is extremely tempting, because at the present state of knowledge, the consistency of the settlement of Pithekoussai compared to Cumae during LG I is overwhelming. Unfortunately, the current state of archaeological evidence in Cumae during LG I is still too meagre and, as a result, con-

siderable caution is called for. Nevertheless, during LG II, there is far more evidence available in Cumae and the balance between the two sites may well have changed rather suddenly and rapidly in favor of Cumae. Waves of new colonists may well have arrived directly from Euboea at different stages during LG I and LG II and could have potentially shifted the balance as a result.

On the other hand, if we come back to Coldstream's chronological question and prevision in 1968 (cf. chpt. 1.1), with reference to the earliest Sicilian *apoikiai*, our evidence from LG I now supports the perspective of ancient authors regarding Cumae as a priority compared to them. The *apoikia* of Cumae may have been established by Euboeans/Pithekoussans in ca. 750/740 BC. It must have been followed slightly later by Euboean Naxos (734 BC), Corinthian Syracuse (733 BC) and the others, according to Thucydides' chronological framework.

Last but not least, one final question must be addressed. As we have said, a good number of *impasto* pottery fragments occurs in the domestic contexts of Cumae of LG I. And as we have mentioned more than once, our contexts are still very few and far between, and as a consequence, inconclusive. However, at the present state of knowledge, we would like to suggest a picture perhaps close to the one we have reconstructed in Pithekoussai⁴⁶³. During LG I, native individuals must have been integrated into the settlement of Cumae at different social levels: namely into a Greek community that had taken control of the territory, formerly occupied by the indigenous village of Pre-Hellenic Cumae. In my opinion, there is no doubt that we are now dealing with a community of basically Greek character, of an *apoikia*; and there is no doubt in my mind that the situation during LG I, from this point of view, marks a clear break from the pre-colonial contacts established by the Euboeans with the local village. However, this new Greek community of Cumae – after the clearly abrupt and potentially violent *caesura* enacted around the middle of the 8th century – must have introduced the natives at different levels of the social ladder, starting with introducing females into

their households, and perhaps involving males in manual and agricultural activities.

5.10. *The colonization process of Cumae: a glimpse into the LG II phase (720-690 BC)*

Our paper presented at the conference in Ischia in 2018 also included a survey of the LG II phase (720-690 BC). This phase of Cumae, starting with the evidence brought to light in the urban area by the University of Napoli L'Orientale, will be analyzed in a forthcoming contribution. This will give us the opportunity to draw a picture of the diachronic and complex phenomenon of the Greek colonization of Cumae. From our perspective, this colonization process must have been characterized by different stages and probably by the arrival of different groups of colonists in successive waves throughout the first two generations of the *apoikia*⁴⁶⁴.

Since the town plan (at least north of the Forum baths), and therefore the transformation of the settlement into a true “urban” center, was established only at the end of LG II (early 7th century BC), the latter may be considered as a crucial turning point in the colonization process: this must have been the point of arrival of a complex colonial phenomenon begun two generations before, but also a point of departure, because this urban layout would be respected and maintained for most part of the history of the Greek, Campanian and Roman city.

As in the present contribution, our analysis for LG II will be predominantly based on the evidence brought to light by the field archaeology carried out over recent decades. What's more, the next contribution will undoubtedly be an excellent opportunity for us to come back to the different traditions referred to by ancient authors regarding the foundation of the *apoikia* of Cumae. This will raise another crucial question: will the different literary traditions on the colonization of Cumae be capable of reflecting the complexity and the intricacy of the many stages of a phenomenon, which may well have been characterized by a multitude of phases and by diverse protagonists hailing from Pithekoussai, Chalcis, Eretria and Cumae⁴⁶⁵ whether in Aeolia or in Euboea?

Matteo D'Acunto

⁴⁶³ CERCHIAI 1997; D'AGOSTINO 2010-2011, 225-228; GUZZO 2012; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013; CERCHIAI 2014; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2014; D'ACUNTO 2020, 1291-1298; D'ACUNTO, forthcoming; L. Cerchiai, in this volume.

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. D'ACUNTO 2017; forthcoming.

⁴⁶⁵ Cf. CASSIO 2020; D'AGOSTINO 2020.

Catalogue of pottery (Pls. 1-21)

LBA pottery (Pls. 1-2)

1. Strainer. Pl. 1

Inv. no. 21.M451-1.433 (PP27852/2). Frg. of perforated bottom and wall. H. max. 10.9; Ø 18 cm. Clay: brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/2), compact and medium-fine grained, with small white, even glassy inclusions. Brownish gray-brown surface (Munsell 5YR5/1-2). It shows visible traces of splinting both externally and internally. Slightly convex perforated bottom; truncated cone-shaped walls with horizontal handles.

Bibliography: PAGANO – DEL VILLANO 2022, 76, no. 1.27 [F. Somma].

Similar to DOMANICO – CARDOSA 1995, 370, fig. 145, 68.

2. Bowl. Pl. 1

Inv. no. 21.M451-1.462 (PP27928/1). Frg. of lip and wall. H. max. 7; Ø 21 cm. Clay: brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/2), compact and medium-fine grained, with small white, even glassy, inclusions. Surface color varies from gray-reddish gray (Munsell 5YR 5/1-2) to pink (Munsell 7.5YR 7/4). Surface polite externally and internally. Lip oblique internally; convex wall; carinated body.

Bibliography: PAGANO – DEL VILLANO 2022, 76, no. 1.26 [F. Somma].

Cf. DAMIANI 2010, family 16 (160-163, pls. 24-26).

3. Truncated cone-shaped vase. Pl. 1

Inv. no. PP27933/1. Frg. of lip and wall. H. max. 8.25; Ø 38 cm. Clay: no uniform color, ranging from pink to light gray (Munsell 5YR 8/4-10YR 7/1), medium compact, coarse-grained, with many small to medium-sized dark-colored, even glassy inclusions, also visible on surface. Gray outer surface (Munsell 7.5YR 5/1). Flat lip; plastic cordon under the rim; vertical truncated cone-shaped body.

Cf. BARTOLI 2012, EIA, for Phase 1A: 421, fig. 248a, SC3; for Phase 1B: 322, fig. 114, SC4B.

4. Cooking stand. Pl. 1

Inv. no. IN27926/1. Frg. of perforated plate. Th. max. 3; l. max. 12 cm. Clay: no uniform color, ranging from pink to gray (Munsell 5YR 8/4-10YR 7/2), not very compact, coarse-grained, with many large dark and glassy inclusions, also visible on the surface. Surface light gray/pink (Munsell 7.5YR 7/1-7/4) with visible traces of splinting. Slightly convex stove diaphragm, characterized by central hole and three recognizable arms.

5. Open shape. Pl. 2

Inv. no. PP27329/8. Frg. of decorated wall from an open unidentified shape. Th. max. 1.2; h. max. 4 cm. Clay: pinkish gray (Munsell 7.5YR 6/2), compact, with small white inclusions and small to medium sized black and red inclusions. Surface characterized by the presence of a pinkish white engobe (Munsell 7.5YR 8/2) both internally and externally. Vertical wall. The fragment shows traces of decoration with a wave or triangular engraved motif.

6. Perforated plate. Pl. 2

Inv. no. IN27329/2. Frg. of perforated plate. Th. max. 3; h. max. 9.2 cm. Clay: pink (Munsell 5YR 8/4), coarse, not very compact, with many large dark inclusions, also vitreous. Rough surface on one side, on the other side it has a kind of light gray engobe (Munsell 10 YR 7/2). The plate is characterized by a bulge at the four recognizable holes and traces of fire use on this side.

7. *Dolium*. Pl. 2

Inv. no. PP27321/1. Frg. of lip. H. max. 9.7; Ø 82 cm. Clay: uneven surface color, ranging from pink to light gray (Munsell 5YR 8/4-10YR 7/1), coarse, with many dark, even glassy, medium to large inclusions also visible on the surface, which externally has a light gray engobe (Munsell 10 YR 7/2) and traces of splinting on both sides. *Dolium* lip with distinct funnel-shaped neck; everted and thinned lip.

Cf. PERONI 1982, table 36, 2, 148; BUFFA 1994, table 116, 31, 499, form 50 variety B.

EIA *impasto* pottery (Pls. 3-10)

8. One-handed cup, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 3

Inv. no. PP27838/3. Frg. of lip and shoulder. H. max. 3.5; Ø 14.8 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from dark gray (Munsell 10YR 4/1) to reddish brown (Munsell 5YR 5/3), compact and fine grained, with many small and medium beige inclusions, with a homogeneous distribution, and lesser little bright inclusions. The inner and outer surfaces show uneven color, ranging from yellowish brown (Munsell 10YR 5/4) to light brownish gray (Munsell 10YR 6/2) with many small white inclusions visible on them. Both surfaces show homogeneous splinting. Slightly everted lip; rounded rim; slanted shoulder.

Cf. an one-handed cup from Cumae (NIZZO 2008, 244, no. 106, pl. 14, fig. 21) and an one-handed cup from San Marzano (Sarno Valley) (D'AGOSTINO 1970, fig. 17, T. 28).

Chronology: EIA.

9. Amphora, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 3

Inv. no. PP25351/1-3. Frg. of lip and neck and two contiguous frgs. of shoulder and body, one of which has a ribbon handle's junction at the shoulder. H. max. 4.4; Ø 7 cm. Clay: brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3), moderately compact and fine grained, with many small black inclusions, with a homogeneous distribution, lesser little white and big black inclusions. The outer surface is dark grayish brown (Munsell 10YR 4/2) and shows few traces of splinting and is heavily abraded. The inner surface is dark grayish brown (Munsell 10 YR 4/2) and shows no traces of splinting. Collared lip; rounded rim; flattened shoulder; flat body. Grooved decoration: one slight vertical groove at the shoulder.

Cf. for the shape, amphora from Longola (Poggiomarino) (BARTOLI 2012, 426, type ANF1, fig. 253a; 427, type ANF2, fig. 254), type 11 of Pre-Hellenic Cumae (CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 336, fig. 2.11, 346) and an amphora from Castiglione d'Ischia settlement (PACCIARELLI 2011, 52, fig. 7, no. 3).

Chronology: EIA.

10. One-handled cup, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 3

Inv. no. PP27838/8. Frg. of lip and carinated body. H. max. 3; Ø 7.8 cm. Clay: dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1), compact and fine grained, with many small beige and bright inclusions, with a homogeneous distribution. The inner and outer surfaces show uneven color, ranging from dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3), with many small beige and bright inclusions visible on them. Both surfaces show few traces of splinting and are heavily abraded. Colored lip; inside slanted rim; carinated body.

Cf. one-handled cup from ancient Capua (MELANDRI 2011, Cappuccini-Ex Polveriera, T. 20, 234, pl. 52.29). Chronology: EIA.

11. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 3

Inv. no. PP27847/4. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 5 cm; Ø 16.6 cm. Clay: black (Munsell 10YR 2/1), compact and fine grained, with many small white inclusions, many medium and big gray and beige inclusions, with a homogeneous distribution, and lesser little bright inclusions. The outer surface shows uneven color, ranging from black (Munsell 10YR 2/1) to yellowish brown (Munsell 10YR 5/4) to brown (Munsell 5YR 5/3), with a few bright little inclusions visible on it, with traces of homogeneous splinting. The inner surface has uneven color, ranging from yellowish brown (Munsell 10YR 5/4) to gray (Munsell 5YR 5/1), shows no traces of splinting and is heavily abraded. Vertical lip; rounded rim; cylinder-conical body. Plastic decoration: applied cordon with a grip on the shoulder.

Cf. for the shape, GIAMPAOLA – BARTOLI – BOENZI 2018, group 14.3, 219-220, fig. 15.13.

Chronology: EIA.

12. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 3

Inv. no. PP27847/46. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 6.8; Ø 17.4 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from gray (Munsell 10YR 5/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3), poorly compact and brittle with many medium beige inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and lesser bright inclusions. The inner and outer surfaces show uneven color, ranging from gray (Munsell 10YR 5/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3). Both surfaces show traces of splinting and are poorly abraded. Inverted lip; inside slanted rim; barrel-shaped body. Plastic decoration: applied cordon with notch on the shoulder.

Cf. for the shape, BUFFA 1994, type 68b, 467, pl. 90.2. Chronology: EIA.

13. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 4

Inv. no. PP27855/1. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 7.7; Ø 30 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3) and medium-fine grained with many small beige and black inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and lesser medium and big black and beige inclusions. The inner surface is dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) with many small beige and bright inclusions visible on them and show homogeneous splinting. The outer surface shows uneven col-

or, ranging from dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3) with many little and medium black and bright inclusions visible on it and shows few traces of splinting. Everted lip; rounded protruding rim; truncated-ovoid body. Plastic decoration: finger-impressed applied cordon on the shoulder. Cf. for the shape, BUFFA 1994, type 44, 482, pl. 103.10. Chronology: EIA.

14. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 4

Inv. no. PP27837/12. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 4; Ø 24.8 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from gray (Munsell 5YR 5/1) to yellowish brown (Munsell 10YR 5/4), moderately compact and fine grained, with many small and medium bright and beige inclusions, with a homogeneous distribution, and lesser big black and bright inclusions. The outer surface is gray (Munsell 5YR 5/1) and shows traces of splinting. The inner surface is yellowish brown (Munsell 10YR 5/4) and shows homogeneous splinting. Slightly inverted lip; rounded rim; barrel-shaped body. Plastic decoration: finger-impressed applied cordon on the shoulder.

Cf. BARTOLI 2012, type SE4A, 308, fig. 98.

Chronology: EIA.

15. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 4

Inv. no. PP27837/33. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 6; Ø 30 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3) and medium-fine grained with many small beige and black inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and lesser medium and big black and beige inclusions. The inner surface is dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) with many small beige inclusions visible on them and show homogeneous splinting. The outer surface is dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) with many little and medium black and bright inclusions visible on it and shows few traces of splinting. Slightly inverted lip; inside slanted rim; barrel-shaped body. Plastic decoration: applied cordon with slightly notches on the shoulder.

Cf. GIAMPAOLA – BARTOLI – BOENZI 2018, specimen 15.7, 220, fig. 16.4.

Chronology: EIA.

16. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 4

Inv. no. PP27837/54. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 8; Ø 25 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from gray (Munsell 7.5YR 5/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/2), poorly compact and medium-fine grained with many small beige and bright inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and lesser medium beige inclusions. The inner and outer surfaces show uneven color, ranging from brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3) to grayish brown (Munsell 10YR 5/2) with many small bright, black and beige inclusions visible on them. Both surfaces show few traces of splinting. Slightly inverted lip; inside slanted rim; truncated-ovoid body. Plastic decoration: applied cordon on the shoulder.

Cf. ARANCIO – BUFFA – DAMIANI – TRUCCO 2001, type 275, 78, fig. 41.18.

Chronology: EIA.

17. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 4

Inv. no. PP27838/9. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 7; Ø 26.4 cm. Clay: black (Munsell 10YR 2/1), moderately compact and fine grained with many small white inclusions, many small and medium gray and beige inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and lesser small bright inclusions. The outer surface is yellowish brown (Munsell 10YR 5/4) with many small bright inclusions and many medium and small black and beige inclusions visible on it and show homogeneous traces of splinting. The inner surface shows uneven color, ranging from yellowish brown (Munsell 10YR 5/4) to very dark gray (Munsell 5YR 3/1) with many small and medium black and beige inclusions, many little bright inclusions and lesser big bright inclusions visible on it and show homogeneous traces of splinting. Vertical lip; rounded protruding oblique rim; barrel-shaped body. Plastic decoration: applied cordon with diagonal notches at the shoulder.

Cf. for the shape, GIAMPAOLA – BARTOLI – BOENZI 2018, group 19.1, 220-221, fig. 16.11.

Chronology: EIA.

18. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 4

Inv. no. PP27838/10. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon; H. max. 5.2; Ø 15 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3) to grayish brown (Munsell 10YR 5/2), compact and medium-fine grained with many small beige inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and lesser medium black and bright inclusions. The inner and outer surfaces show uneven color, ranging from brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3) to grayish brown (Munsell 10YR 5/2) with many small bright and black inclusions and lesser medium black inclusions visible on them. Both surfaces are abraded. Slightly inverted lip; flatted rim; barrel-shaped body. Plastic decoration: finger-impressed applied cordon on the shoulder.

Cf. GIAMPAOLA – BARTOLI – BOENZI 2018, group 16.5, 220, fig. 11.13.

Chronology: EIA.

19. Cooking stand. Pl. 5

Inv. no. IN27837/1. Frg. of perforated plate with arms in a cross-like position. Th. max. 6; l. max. 15.5; th. max. arms 5; w. max. arms 5; l. max. arms 5 cm. Clay: pink (Munsell 5YR 7/4), moderately compact and fine grained, with many small and medium white, gray, black, beige and brown inclusions. Upper and lower surfaces show uneven color, ranging from very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 8/3) to pink (Munsell 5YR 7/4) with many vacuoles visible on them. Hourglass-shaped cooking stand's perforated plate with four round-section arms in a cross-like position.

Cf. perforated plate of a hourglass-shaped cooking stand from Castiglione d'Ischia settlement (BUCHNER 1936-1937, 84-86; DELPINO 1969, 313, fig. 1, no. 1; SHEFFER 1981, 28-29, type IA, fig. 2; MOFFA 2002, 75, type 1D, fig. 53).

Chronology: EIA.

20. *Dolium*. Pl. 5

Inv. no. PP27860/1. Frg. of lip; H. max. 10.4; inner Ø 50 cm. Clay: reddish brown (Munsell 5YR 5/3), poorly compact and brittle, with many medium and big black, white, gray, beige and brown inclusions and many vacuoles. The inner and outer surfaces are reddish brown (Munsell 5YR 5/3) with same inclusions of the core visible on them. Both surfaces show few traces of splinting. Inverted lip; rounded enlarged rim. Cf. a *dolium* from Castiglione d'Ischia (PACCIARELLI 2011, 54, fig. 8, no. 3).

Chronology: FBA-EIA.

21. Bowl, *impasto*. Pl. 5

Inv. no. PP27862/1-PP27838/62-PP27847/5. Three contiguous frgs. of lip and shoulder. H. max. 4.2; Ø 18 cm. Clay: dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1), compact and fine grained, with many small beige and bright inclusions, with a homogeneous distribution. The inner and outer surfaces show uneven color, ranging from dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3), with many small beige and bright inclusions visible on them. Both surfaces show few traces of splinting.

Inverted lip; inside slanted rim; rounded shoulder.

Cf. DAMIANI 2010, family 6, type 1, 140, pl. 10.

Chronology: RBA2.

22. One-handed cup, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 6

Inv. no. PP27754/1-PP27815/2. Frg. of lip and contiguous frg. of body. H. max. 3.4; Ø 11 cm. Clay: dark gray (Munsell 10YR 4/1), compact and fine grained, with many small white inclusions, with a homogeneous distribution, and lesser small black inclusions. The inner and outer surfaces are pale brown (Munsell 10YR 6/3) and show homogeneous splinting. Everted lip; straight rim; slightly slanted shoulder; carinated body. Incised decoration: thin horizontal line immediately under the lip and, under this line in close connection with it, series of two continuous inverted triangles filled by vertical lines.

Cf. two one-handed cups from Cumae, respectively, in TT. Osta 32 (MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 236, Grab 32, pl. 20.A, no. 6) and SP700675 (BRUN – MUNZI 2008, 106.1).

Chronology: EIA.

23. Bowl, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 6

Inv. no. PP27671/10. Frg. of lip and shoulder. H. max. 3; Ø 21 cm. Clay: reddish brown (Munsell 2.5YR 4/3), compact and fine grained, with many small white and black inclusions, with a homogeneous distribution. The inner and outer surfaces are very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 7/4). Both surfaces show homogeneous splinting. Collared lip; rounded rim; rounded flattened shoulder.

Cf. for the shape, bowl from Longola (Poggiomarino) (BARTOLI 2012, 426, type SLD17, fig. 253.b).

Chronology: EIA.

24. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 6

Inv. no. PP27815/36. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 5.8; Ø 24 cm. Clay: gray (Munsell

10YR 5/1), compact and medium-fine grained, with many small white inclusions, with a homogeneous distribution, and lesser large white inclusions. The inner and outer surfaces are pale brown (Munsell 10YR 6/3). Both surfaces show homogeneous splinting. Vertical lip; flatted rim; cylinder-conical body. Plastic decoration: finger-impressed applied cordon with grip on the shoulder.

Cf. for the shape, GIAMPAOLA – BARTOLI – BOENZI 2018, group 17.1, 220-221, fig. 16.9.

Chronology: EIA.

25. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 6

Inv. no. PP27671/1-PP27815/1. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 4.8; Ø 22 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from gray (Munsell 10YR 5/1) to reddish gray (Munsell 10R 5/1), compact and medium-fine grained with many small white inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and lesser medium black inclusions. The inner and outer surfaces are black (Munsell 10YR 2/1) with many small bright inclusions and lesser medium black inclusions visible on them. Both surfaces show homogeneous splinting. Slightly inverted lip; flatted rim; barrel-shaped body. Plastic decoration: applied cordon at the shoulder.

Cf. for the shape, MELANDRI 2011, Fornaci-prop. ignota, T. 384, 99, pl. 8, no. 10.

Chronology: EIA.

26. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 7

Inv. no. PP27671/8. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 3.6; Ø 18 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/2) and medium-fine grained with many small white inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and lesser medium black and bright inclusions. The outer surface is black (Munsell 10YR 7/2) and shows homogeneous splinting. The inner surface shows uneven color, ranging from dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/2) with many medium beige inclusions visible on it and few traces of splinting. inverted lip; inside slanted rim; barrel-shaped body. Plastic decoration: finger-impressed applied cordon on the shoulder.

Cf. for the shape, GIAMPAOLA – BARTOLI – BOENZI 2018, group 15.3, 220, fig. 15, no. 16.

Chronology: EIA.

27. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 7

Inv. no. PP27815/3. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 4.3; Ø 16 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from gray (Munsell 10YR 5/1) to dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1), poorly compact and medium-fine grained with many small white inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and lesser medium black inclusions. The inner and outer surfaces are black (Munsell 10YR 2/1) with many small bright inclusions and lesser medium black inclusions visible on them. Both surfaces show traces of splinting and are heavily abraded. Slightly inverted

lip; rounded rim; truncated-ovoid body. Plastic decoration: finger-impressed applied cordon on the shoulder.

Cf. for the shape, BUFFA 1994, type 64a, 521-522, pl. 84, no. 30.

Chronology: EIA.

28. Jar, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 7

Inv. no. PP27815/42. Frg. of lip and body with applied cordon. H. max. 4.4; Ø 21.8 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from gray (Munsell 10YR 5/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/2), compact and medium-fine grained with many small white inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and lesser medium black inclusions. The inner and outer show uneven color, ranging from gray (Munsell 10YR 5/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/2). Both surfaces show traces of homogeneous splinting. Slightly inverted lip; flatted rim; barrel-shaped body. Plastic decoration: applied cordon on the shoulder.

Cf. GIAMPAOLA – BARTOLI – BOENZI 2018, specimen 15.7, 220, fig. 16, no. 4.

Chronology: EIA.

29. Amphora, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 8

Inv. no. PP27082/1. Frg. of wall. H. max. 3.9 cm. Clay: gray (Munsell 7.5YR 5/1), compact and fine grained, with numerous small and circular dark inclusions, with an homogeneous distribution and many small white and bright inclusions. The inner reddish brown surface (Munsell 5 YR 4/4) is slightly abraded. Body's wall. Grooved decoration: three concentric semicircular grooves.

Cf. the decoration motif in the local repertoire (NIZZO 2008, 225, pl. 10, no. 67).

Chronology: EIA.

30. One handled cup, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 8

Inv. no. PP27082/2-PP27082/3. Two contiguous lip fragments and a fragment related to the same specimen. H. max. 4.3; Ø 18 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from gray (Munsell 7.5YR 5/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/4), compact and fine grained, with numerous small light inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and many small bright inclusions. The surfaces show uneven color, ranging from gray (Munsell 7.5YR 5/1) to the brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/4). Traces of homogenous splinting are visible on the inner and outer surface. Straight lip; oblique engrossed rim; truncated conical collar; rounded profile. Incised decoration: under the collar, probably single motifs of intersecting lines, incised with a three-pointed comb, partially preserved.

Cf. one handled cups in the local repertoire of Cumae (NIZZO 2008b, 238, pl. 13, no. 96; CRISCUOLO 2007, 284, fig. 8, no. 34).

Chronology: EIA.

31. Bowl, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 8

Inv. no. PP27082/4. Frg. of lip. H. max. 2.4; Ø 15 cm. Clay: light gray (Munsell 7.5YR 7/1), compact and medium-fine grained, with numerous small and medi-

- um dark inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and many small brown and bright inclusions. The surfaces show traces of splinting. Everted lip; protruding oblique engrossed rim. Incised decoration: three parallel incised lines on the lip.
Cf. for the shape, a bowl from Longola (Poggiomarino) (BARTOLI 2012, 424, fig. 251, type SLD 2).
Chronology: EIA.
- 32. Bowl, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 8**
Inv. no. PP27082/14. Frg. of lip. H. max. 2.7; Ø 21.6 cm. Clay: dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1), compact and medium-fine grained, with numerous small dark and white inclusions with a homogeneous distribution. Brown outer surface (Munsell 7.5YR 4/3). Visible traces of splinting, internally and externally. Inverted lip; straight rim.
Cf. bowl from Longola (Poggiomarino) (BARTOLI 2012, 422, fig. 249, type S8 variety A).
Chronology: EIA.
- 33. One-handed cup/bowl? *Impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 8**
Inv. no. PP27081/1. Frg. of wall. H. max. 2.4 cm. Clay: light gray (Munsell 10YR 7/1), compact and fine grained, with numerous small dark and brown inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and many small bright inclusions. The surfaces show uneven color, ranging from black (Munsell 10YR 2/1) to gray (Munsell 7.5YR 5/1). The outer surface is polished, while the inner surface is slightly abraded. Carinated wall.
Cf. a one-handed cup/bowl? from Longola (Poggiomarino) (BARTOLI 2012, 426, fig. 253, type TC2).
Chronology: EIA.
- 34. Bowl, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 9**
Inv. no. PP27081/4. Frg. of lip. H. max. 4.4; Ø 21.4 cm. Clay: uneven color, ranging from dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) to light gray (Munsell 7.5YR 7/1), compact and medium grained, with numerous small and medium dark and bright inclusions with a homogeneous distribution; and many small and medium light inclusions. The surfaces show uneven color, ranging from dark gray (Munsell 7.5 YR 4/1) to light gray (Munsell 7.5YR 7/1). No surface treatments are visible. Everted lip; flattened rim; truncated cone-shaped wall. Decoration: finger-impressed applied cordon.
Chronology: EIA
- 35. Bowl, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 9**
Inv. no. PP27080/1. Frg. of lip. H. max. 2.8 cm. Clay: dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1), compact and fine grained, with some small light inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and many small black and bright inclusions. The dark gray surfaces (Munsell 7.5 YR 4/1) are polished. Inverted lip; rounded rim.
Cf. a bowl from Longola (Poggiomarino) (BARTOLI 2012, 420, fig. 247, type SLD15).
Chronology: EIA.
- 36. Open vessel? *Impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 9**
Inv. no. PP27080/3. Two contiguous handle fragments. H. max. 6 cm. Clay: gray (Munsell 7.5YR 5/1), compact and fine grained, with numerous small light and black inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and many bright inclusions and vacuoles. The surfaces show uneven color, ranging from black (Munsell 10YR 2/1) to brown (Munsell 7.5YR 4/2-5/2). The outer surface is polished, while the inner surface is slightly abraded. A two-part ribbon handle, probably pertinent to an open vessel.
Chronology: EIA.
- 37. Open vessel? *Impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 9**
Inv. no. PP27080/4. Two contiguous handle fragments. H. max. 6.1 cm; Clay: gray (Munsell 7.5YR 5/1), compact and fine grained, with numerous small light, black and vitreous inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and many vacuoles. The dark gray surfaces (Munsell 7.5YR 3/1) show traces of polishing on the outer side. Ribbon handle, probably pertinent to an open vessel.
Chronology: EIA.
- 38. Closed shape. Mycenaean/Italo-Mycenaean? Pl. 2**
Inv. no. M27321/1. Frg. shoulder. H. max. 2 cm. Clay: very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 8/2); hard, smooth surface, with regular breaks; many small black inclusions and lesser white inclusions; no mica is seen. Stretched, oblique profile. Dark/light brown paint: straight line and two drawn freehand, non-converging curvilinear lines, perhaps part of a spiral.
Unpublished. See discussion in the text.
- 39. Mug, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 10**
Fragmentary and incomplete: missing part of the body, of the lip and the handle. H. max. 11; Ø 15 cm. Clay: brown (Munsell 7.5YR 4/2). Roughly biconical body; concave neck; everted lip; one handle attached to the widest diameter of the body and the middle of the shoulder. Decoration in relief: series of oblique ribs on the shoulder and small round bulges on the widest diameter of the body.
In the local repertoire cf. esp. the mug type CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, p. 336 fig. 1.6, p. 346 no. 6 (Pre-Hellenic I). In the repertoire of Pontecagnano cf. the jug *Pontecagnano III.1*, 23, no. 80A2a, fig. 7 (Phase 1A).
Chronology: EIA, perhaps phase I (9th century BC).
- 40. Amphora, *impasto*. Pre-Hellenic. Pl. 10**
Fragmentary and incomplete: missing parts of the body, of the neck and one handle. H. 13.5; Ø 21.5 cm. Clay: brown (Munsell 7.5YR 4/2). Roughly biconical and asymmetrical body; concave neck; everted lip; ribbon handles attached to the upper part of the shoulder and to the lip. Decoration in relief: series of oblique ribs on the shoulder and small round bulges on the widest diameter of the body.
For the type in the local repertoire see CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008, 346, fig. 2.9; CRISCUOLO 2014, 91. Cf. two amphoras from Cumae, respectively, in TT. Osta 21 (MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 237, pl. 22, no. 2) and Osta 4 (CRISCUOLO 2014, 91, fig. 2.1; MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 37-38, 234-235, pl. 17, no. 24).
Chronology: EIA, probably phase II (first half of the 8th century BC).

41. Spindle-whorl, *impasto*. Pl. 10

Fragmentary and incomplete: half missing. L. max. 3; h. max. 2 cm. Clay: gray (Munsell 7.5YR 5/1). Polygonal shape; oval/biconical section.

Cf. two spindle-whorls in T. Osta 4 (CRISCUOLO 2014, 90, fig. 2, nos. 22-23).

Chronology: EIA, cf. 40.

MG II – LG I pottery (Pls. 11-21)**42. One-metope bird skyphos. Local production? Pl. 13**

Inv. no. MG27554/1-MG27671/1-MG27847/1. Three frags., two of them joint: lip, shoulder and belly. Joint frags. h. 3 and w. lip 5; max. h. pr. ca. 5.2; Ø. lip rec. ca. 10 cm. Unsuccessful firing and painting. Clay: outer red (Munsell 2.5YR 5/8), inner misfired reddish gray (2.5YR 5/1); consistent presence of fine-grained silver mica, thick black volcanic and a few white inclusions. Shallow, with high vertical lip slightly out-turned, globular body. Irregular paint, brownish/blackish: on the lip three irregular lines, on the upper part of the body bird turned left, with long beak, reserved eye, curved neck, rounded upper part of the body, two oblique legs, two filling rosettes made of dots in the upper zone; lower body and inside varnished.

Unpublished.

Cf. for the shape two skyphoi from Pontecagnano:

BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, T. 3211.1-2, nos. 10.1-2, 34-35, fig. 6, pl. 2.7; and a fig. from Sant'Imbenia: BERNARDINI – RENDELI 2020, 329, fig. 11b. Cf. for the rosettes with dots and in part the bird the skyphos from T. 174 Selciatello Sopra in Tarquinia: COLDSTREAM 1982, 26, pl. 1c.

Chronology: 775-750, prob. before or ca. 760 BC.

43. PSC? Skyphos. Euboean. Pl. 11

Inv. no. MG27837/1. Two frags.: lip and base, respectively h. 1.3 and 1; Ø rec. lip ca. 14; base ca. 8 cm. Clay: surface light red/reddish yellow (Munsell 2.5YR 6/8 and 5YR 6/8), hard, smooth; inner red (Munsell 10R 5/6 and 10R 5/8), many small black and few white and brown inclusions. Slightly concave lip; tiny disc base, oblique stretched profile of the lower body. Light brown paint outside, brown/blackish inside: outside, painted the lower part of the body and the lip with a reserved line under the rim; inside painted except for a reserved line under the rim.

Unpublished.

Likely PSC skyphos of Type 6 Kearsley (the alternative would be a black/chevrons/bird skyphos). Cf. for the profile of the lip a PSC skyphos from Eretria (KEARSLEY 1989, no. 73, 29, 103, fig. 41b), also for the reserved line under the rim outside another from Veii (KEARSLEY 1989, no. 229, 67-68, 101, fig. 40d).

Chronology: 775-750 BC.

44. PSC Skyphos. Euboean. Pl. 11

Inv. no. MG28100/1-MG28100/2-MG28106/1-MG28202/1-MG28202/2. Five frags.: lip, shoulder, upper part of the body and base, h. rec. ca. 5.3; Ø rec.

lip 11; base 6.8 cm. Clay: reddish yellow (Munsell 5YR 7/6), hard, with few white inclusions and vacuoles. Short vertical concave lip, neatly detached from the body, whose upper part has a rounded profile. Tiny defined disc base in some parts with a more rounded profile, barely concave. Outside and inside reddish black paint (Munsell 2.5YR 2.5/1), dull. On the outer surface: painted lip and reserved band on the upper part of the body decorated with five pendant semicircles. Inside the innermost semicircle is a smudged dot, slightly off-center to the left. The decoration appears quite inaccurate and partially evanished. Lower part of the vase fully varnished. Inner surface painted, except for a reserved line just below the rim. Due to post-depositional causes, some fragments of the lip show different coloration both externally and in fracture, while, very peculiar is the different coloration of the bottom of the vase. The sudden change in color, from reddish black to yellowish red (Munsell 5YR 5/8), is possibly to be attributed to an inaccurate firing process of the vessel. The clay, too, in correspondence with the parts that are painted yellowish red appears darker than the reddish yellow clay that distinguishes the rest of the vase.

Unpublished.

PSC skyphos of Type 6 Kearsley. The specimen can be included in a series of PSC skyphoi that have a short and rather vertical lip: cf. a PSC skyphos from Eretria (VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, no. 80, pl. 22), from Iolkos (SIPSIE – ESCHBACH 1991, no. 4, pl. 43), and from Knossos (CATLING – COLDSTREAM 1996, no. 48, fig. 119). Compared to these specimens, ours PSC skyphos has a slightly enlarged lip and a more rounded shoulder. Peculiar, as in the specimens from Eretria and Knossos, is the presence of the tiny disc base: for this feature see M. D'Acunto in this contribution (chpt. 4.4.2).

Chronology: 775-750 BC.

45. Black skyphos. Euboean/Attic. Pl. 12

Inv. no. 21.M451-1.44 (MG27767/1-MG27671/2-MG27620/1-MG27815/1). Many joint frags.: lip, shoulder, upper part of the belly, one handle. H. pr. 5.2; w. pr. 8; Ø rec. ca. 14.8 cm. Clay: light red (Munsell 10R 6/8-7/8), quite hard, with many white small and medium-size inclusions, few small black and very few reddish ones. Quite shallow and large body with everted rim and rounded shoulder and upper part of the belly; at the maximum width rod horizontal handle, slightly oblique. Outside reddish black (Munsell 5R 2.5/1) and inside from reddish black (Munsell 5R 2.5/1) to dark reddish gray (Munsell 5R 3/1) paint: homogeneously and fully painted, including the rim, the inner handle and the correspondent part of the body.

Bibliography: PAGANO – DEL VILLANO 2022, 77, no. 1.29 [M. D'ACUNTO].

Cf.: esp. a black skyphos from Pontecagnano (BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, no. 5.3, 31, fig. 3; cf. KOUROU 2005, 501: transitional from MG IIB to LG Ia).

Chronology: 775-750 BC.

46. Oinochoe/hydria/amphora. Euboean? Pl. 13

Inv. no. MG27815/1-MG27837/1. Three joining frags: shoulder with the junction of the handle. H. pr. 11; w. pr. 10 cm. Clay: fine, very hard with regular break; outside reddish yellow with surface wash (Munsell 5YR 6/6), inside light red (Munsell 2.5YR 6/6), with quite many small black and white, and few grayish inclusions, vacuoles. Very oblique and rounded shoulder. Brown paint: band on the upper part of the shoulder and around the lower junction of the handle. Unpublished.

47. Chevron skyphos. Euboean. Pl. 12

Inv. no. MG27979/1-MG27986/1-MG27992/1. Frags. joint: lip and upper part of the body. H. pr. 4.6; Ø rec. 13 cm. Clay: light reddish brown (Munsell 5YR 6/4), hard, outside smooth; inner red/reddish yellow (Munsell 2.5YR 5/8, and inside surface 5YR 6/6), with few white and black inclusions, vacuoles. High outset lip, rounded body. Outside brown, inside brown/reddish and in some areas shiny paint: outside, three horizontal lines on the lip, on the shoulder and upper part of the belly row of close chevrons, quite irregularly drawn, framed by two horizontal lines and sided by a group of vertical lines, upper part of the belly painted; inside varnished except for a reserved line under the rim. Another fragment of the belly (MG 27838/1) refers to this individual; it is not reproduced in Pl. 12. Unpublished.

Cf.: chevron skyphos from Veii (BOITANI 2005, 320-321, pl. 1.6) and a fragmentary one from Sant'Imbenia (BERNARDINI – RENDELI 2020, 329, fig. 11a). Chronology: 775-760/750 BC.

48. Black skyphos. Euboean. Pl. 12

Inv. no. 21.M451-1.44 (MG27767/2). Frg.: one handle with the upper part of the body and a small part of the lip. H. pr. 5.2 cm. Clay: reddish yellow (Munsell 5YR 7/6), quite hard with few white and black inclusions. Deep and rounded body, everted lip, rod horizontal, oblique handle at the lower part of the shoulder. Outside from reddish black (Munsell 10R 2.5/1) to red (Munsell 10R 5/8) quite irregularly varnished and inside red (Munsell 10R 5/8) paint: outside fully painted except for the inner handle and an irregular area of the body under the handle; inside fully painted. At the right junction of the handle small drill hole for an ancient repair. Just down left of the right junction of the handle, pre-firing small graffito consisting of a single three-strokes horizontal zig-zag with the left stroke longer, but with a break in the middle: certainly an alphabetic sign, i.e. N.

Bibliography: PAGANO – DEL VILLANO 2022, 77, no. 1.28 [M. D'ACUNTO].

Cf.: for the profile two black skyphoi from Pontecagnano (BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 2001, T. 3179.1, no. 25.1, 50, fig. 11; T. 3111.2, no. 27.2, 51, fig. 12; cf. KOUROU 2005, 503-504: LG Ia). For a N written from left to right cf. a LG pre-firing inscription on a spindle-whorl from Eretria: KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, 75-76, no. 65; on the inscription see discussion in the text. Chronology: 760-750 BC.

49. PSC skyphos. Euboean. Pl. 11

Inv. no. MG27081/1. Frg. lip and upper part of the body near the handle. H. pr. 1.6 cm; Ø rec. lip ca. 12 cm. Clay: hard; outside smooth, reddish yellow (Munsell 5YR 6/6); inside reddish yellow (Munsell 5YR 7/6); few small black and white inclusions, vacuoles. Concave lip, neatly detached from the body, whose upper part has a rounded profile. Outside brown, inside brown/reddish paint: on the outer surface painted lip and reserved band on the upper part of the body; inner painted, except for a reserved line under the rim. Bibliography: mentioned in D'ACUNTO 2017, 301.

Type 6 Kearsley (see discussion and cf. below nos. **50** and **51**). Cf. e.g. a PSC from from Veii: KEARSLEY 1989, no. 229, 67-68, 101, fig. 40d.

It is likely that the base **50** and the handle **51** refer to the same vase (see discussion).

Chronology: 775-750 BC.

50. PSC skyphos. Euboean. Pl. 11

Inv. no. MG27082/1 (bottom). Frg. bottom and lower part of the body. H. 1.4; Ø rec. bottom ca. 6 cm. Clay: hard; outside smooth, reddish yellow (Munsell 5YR 6/6), inner reddish yellow (Munsell 5YR 7/6); few small black and white inclusions, vacuoles. Tiny disc base. Outside brown, inside blackish shiny paint: outside of the body and inside painted, reserved base. Unpublished.

For the tiny disc base in Type 6 cf. the PSC skyphos from Kaldeh: KEARSLEY 1989, no. 99, 39, 101, fig. 41a.

It is likely that this fragment was part of the same vase as **49** and **51** (see discussion).

51. PSC? skyphos. Euboean. Pl. 11

Inv. no. MG27080/1. Frg. handle. Ø 0.9 cm. Clay: outside pink-light reddish brown (Munsell 5YR 7/4 and 5YR 6/4); inner light red (Munsell 10R 6/6); hard; few small black and white inclusions, vacuoles. Rod horizontal handle, slightly oblique. Brown paint, in part shiny: outside painted, inner reserved. Unpublished.

This fragment may be part of the same skyphos as **49** and **50**.

52. Black skyphos. Euboean? Pl. 12

Inv. no. MG27697/1. Frg.: shoulder and upper part of the belly. H. pr. 4.2 cm. Clay: reddish yellow/pink (outside Munsell 5YR 7/6, inner 5YR 7/4), with black and white small inclusions. Deep and rounded body. Blackish paint: fully varnished outside and inside. Unpublished.

Chronology: 760-750 BC.

53. Prob. one-metope bird skyphos. Euboean? Pl. 13

Inv. no. MG27815/2. Frg. belly. H. pr. 2.5; w. pr. 2.8 cm. Clay: hard; smooth surface; pinkish gray (Munsell 5YR 6/2), with few white inclusions, vacuoles. Brown paint: reserved upper zone with vertical line left and a lozenge with inner dot right down; varnished lower body and inside. Unpublished.

Chronology: 775-750 BC.

- 54.** Chevron skyphos. Corinthian. Pl. 14
Inv. no. 21.M451-1.45 (MG27303/1-MG27317/1). Two frags. joint: lip and shoulder. H. pr. 3.5; w. pr. 5.7; Ø lip rec. 13 cm. Clay: very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 7/3), fairly compact and smooth on the outer surface, with few black and white inclusions, and rare vacuoles. Upright, slightly oblique lip; rounded shoulder. Painted decoration with blackish-brown paint and shiny areas. On the outside, on the lip and the upper part of the shoulder three horizontal lines; on the shoulder band decorated with a series of close, irregularly drawn chevrons between horizontal lines; inside painted, with the exception of a thin reserved band below the rim.
Bibliography: D'ACUNTO 2017, 302-303, fig. 26.13a; PAGANO – DEL VILLANO 2022, 77, no. 1.30 (M. D'ACUNTO). For the dating of this late variant of the chevron skyphos in Corinth see COLDSTREAM 2008, 101, 103, pl. 18d (late MG II). For two comparisons among the earliest finds from Pithekoussai see RIDGWAY 1981, 50, 59, fr. 1 (Corinthian, from the acropolis of Monte di Vico); BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, no. Sp. 4/4, pls. 245, CCIX (local imitation, sporadic from the necropolis). For a parallel among the Greek Geometric sherds from Cumae, likely from the earliest colonial phase, see *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, no. 4-TTA3, 20, 154, fig. 45, pl. 2A (B. d'Agostino).
Chronology: late MG II – 760-750 BC.
- 55.** Chevron skyphos. Corinthian. Pl. 14
Inv. no. MG27609/1. Frg. lip and shoulder. H. pr. 3.1; w. pr. 3.8; Ø lip rec. 16.6 cm. Clay: pale yellow clay (Munsell 5Y 8/3), fairly compact and smooth on the outer surface, with small black and few white inclusions, and vacuoles. Low upright, slightly oblique lip; rounded body. Painted decoration with lustrous blackish paint outside and brown inside: on the outside, on the lip two horizontal lines; on the shoulder band decorated with a series of close, irregularly drawn chevrons between horizontal lines; inside painted.
Unpublished.
Cf. no. 54.
Chronology: late MG II – ca. 760-750 BC.
- 56.** Chevron skyphos. Pithekoussan. Pl. 14
Inv. no. MG27810/1. Frg. lip and shoulder. H. pr. 3; w. pr. 3; Ø lip rec. 14.8 cm. Clay: reddish yellow (Munsell 7.5YR 7/6) with very pale brown slip (Munsell 10YR 8/3), grainy and smooth on the outer surface, with small-size and few whitish and blackish inclusions, few vacuoles; few mica. Low upright, slightly oblique lip; rounded body. Painted decoration with brown/light brown paint: on the outside, on the lip three horizontal lines; on the shoulder, band decorated with a series of close, irregularly drawn chevrons between horizontal lines, and left a blank area; inside painted, with the exception of a thin reserved band below the rim.
Unpublished.
A Pithekoussan (or Cumaean) fabric is suggested by the silver mica and the slip (the alternative would be a Cycladic fabric).
Chronology: late MG II/early LG I – ca. 760-740 BC.
- 57.** Chevron skyphos. Likely imported; Cycladic? Pl. 14
Inv. no. TG27077/1. Frg. lip and upper part of the body; and a second frg. of the body. First frg. h. pr. 3.9; second frg. h. pr. 3; h. rec. of both frags. 5.8 cm. Clay: pink (Munsell 7.5YR 7/4), grainy with small grainy inclusions and lesser white inclusions, dense fine gold mica; polished and thick engobe, light reddish yellow (Munsell 7.5YR 7/6). Tall upright, slightly oblique lip; rounded deep body. Painted decoration with brown/light brown paint: on the outside, first frg., on the lip four horizontal lines; on the shoulder low band decorated with a series of close, irregularly drawn chevrons between horizontal lines; second frg., vertical dashes (?) and below a series of horizontal lines; inside painted, with the exception of three thin reserved bands on the lip.
Bibliography: D'AGOSTINO – D'ACUNTO 2008, 514, fig. 31; D'ACUNTO 2009, 82, fig. 20; D'ACUNTO 2017, 302-303, fig. 26.13b.
The similarity of the clay and the creamy slip makes likely that the second fragment belongs to the same vessel as the first one, although the two fragments do not join (the alternative would be two different drinking vessels of the same fabric).
Cf. RIDGWAY 1981, 51, 59, fr. 2 (not Corinthian, from the acropolis of Monte di Vico); BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, no. Sp. 4/4, pls. 245, CCIX (Pithekoussan production, sporadic from the necropolis).
Chronology: LG I (750-720 BC), probably early.
- 58.** Chevron skyphos. Pithekoussan. Pl. 14
Inv. no. MG26545/1. Frg. lip and upper part of the body. H. pr. 2.3; w. pr. lip 3.5 cm. Clay: very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 7/4-8/4), quite compact, with few black and white inclusions, few vacuoles, dense silver mica. Upright, slightly everted lip; rounded body. Painted decoration with light brown/orange paint: on the outside, on the lip two/three horizontal lines; on the shoulder and the upper part of the body band decorated with a series of chevrons framed on the right by vertical bars; inside painted, except for a low reserved band below the rim.
Unpublished.
Chronology: late MG II/early LG I – ca. 760-740 BC.
- 59.** Tremuli skyphos. Corinthian. Pl. 15
Inv. no. TG111098/1. Two joint and five non-joining frags.: two lip and body, five body. Larger frg. h. pres. 4.5, w. pr. 6 cm; other frg. h. pres. 2.5, w. lip pres. 4.5; Ø lip rec. 14 cm. Clay: pale yellow (Munsell 5Y 8/2), compact and smooth on the outer surface, with blackish and few white and brown inclusions, few vacuoles. Upright, slightly oblique lip; rounded body. Painted decoration with black paint, lustrous inside: on the outside, on the lip four horizontal lines; on the shoulder, band decorated with a series of tremuli, irregularly drawn, framed by horizontal lines and enclosed by horizontal lines, among them some floating in the upper part and going beyond the lower line; lower part of the body painted; inside painted, with the exception of a thin reserved band below the rim.

On the tremuli skyphoi cf. one from from Aetos (ANDERSON – BENTON 1953, 276, no. 628, pl. 41), and discussion in the text.

Unpublished.

Chronology: LG I, probably early – ca. 750-730 BC.

60. Tremuli skyphos. Corinthian. Pl. 15

Inv. no. TG41432/1. Frg. lip and shoulder. H. pres. 3.3, w. pr. lip 3.5; Ø lip rec. 14 cm. Clay: pale yellow (Munsell 5Y 8/3), compact and smooth on the outer surface, with blackish and white inclusions. Upright, slightly oblique lip; rounded shoulder. Painted decoration with black paint: on the outside, on the lip four horizontal lines; on the shoulder, band decorated with a series of tremuli, irregularly drawn, enclosed by horizontal lines, among them some floating in the upper part; inside painted, with the exception of a thin reserved band below the rim.

Cf. no. 59.

Unpublished.

Chronology: LG I, probably early – ca. 750-730 BC.

61. Tremuli skyphos. Corinthian. Pl. 15

Inv. no. TG40974/1. Frg. lip and body, five body. H. pres. 4.4, w. pr. lip 3; Ø lip rec. 12.6 cm. Clay: pale yellow (Munsell 5Y 8/2), compact and smooth on the outer surface, with blackish and few white and brown inclusions, few vacuoles. Upright, slightly oblique lip; rounded body. Painted decoration with black paint, lustrous inside: on the outside, on the lip four horizontal lines; on the shoulder, band decorated with a series of tremuli, irregularly drawn, framed by horizontal lines and enclosed by horizontal lines, among them some floating in the upper part; lower part of the body painted; inside painted, with the exception of a thin reserved band below the rim.

Cf. no. 59.

Unpublished.

Chronology: LG I, probably early – ca. 750-730 BC.

62. Floating chevron skyphos. Pithekoussan. Pl. 16

Inv. no. TG111098/2. Several joint frgs. of the lip and body, other frgs. body. Larger frg.: h. pres. 5.5, w. pres. max. 7.5 cm; Ø lip rec. 14 cm. Clay: pink (Munsell 5YR 7/4), grainy, with very pale brown slip, with many small and few middle-big-size black inclusions and few small-size white and gray inclusions, vacuoles, plenty of silver mica. Upright, slightly oblique lip; rounded body, carinated at the top. Painted decoration with brown paint: on the outside, on the lip three horizontal lines; on the upper part of the body, broad band decorated with a series of floating tremuli; lower part of the body painted; inside painted, with the exception of a thin reserved band below the rim.

Cf. some specimens from Methone, identified as local productions: BESIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012, 105-106, 163, nos. 87-89, and especially no. 88 for the chevrons.

Unpublished.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

63. Floating chevron skyphos. Probably Pithekoussan (the alternative would be Cycladic). Pl. 16

Inv. no. 21.M451-1.52. Joint frgs. lip, body and a handle. H. pres. 8; Ø lip rec. 14 cm. Clay: outer surface

reddish yellow (Munsell 7.5YR 7/6), inner section pink (Munsell 7.5YR 7/4), grainy and loosely compacted internally, smooth externally, with sparse black and white inclusions, dense fine-grained silver mica. High vertical lip; deep body with rounded profile; slightly oblique horizontal ribbon-like handle set at the base of the shoulder. Painted decoration in brown paint: on the outside, on the lip two horizontal lines; on the shoulder a wide band framed at the sides by vertical lines and decorated by a series of floating tremuli, enclosed by horizontal lines, lower part of the body painted; inside painted, except for a thin band reserved below the rim; outer handle solid painted.

Bibliography: D'ACUNTO 2017, 302, 305, fig. 26.13g; PAGANO – DEL VILLANO 2022, 79, no. 1.35 (M. D'Acunto, there ascribed to LG II).

Cf. a skyphos from the rampart of Cumae's late Archaic walls, considered as Pithekoussan-Cumean (*Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, no. TTA9, 20, 154, fig. 45, pl. 2.A) and no. 62.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

64. Kotyle, Aetos 666 type/kantharos. Corinthian. Pl. 17

Inv. no. TG40857/1. Frg. body. H. pr. 4.8; w. pr. 5.2 cm. Clay: pale yellow (Munsell 5Y 8/3), compact and smooth on the outer surface, with small black and few white inclusions, and vacuoles. Rounded body. Painted decoration with blackish paint: on the outside, two horizontal lines and below group of vertical lines framing right a series of irregularly drawn small chevrons overhanging a group of horizontal lines; inside painted.

Unpublished.

Cf. for the kotyle DEVRIES 2003, 148, fig. 8.10 (for the two lines overhanging the chevrons in the kotyle).

The alternative to a kotyle of the Aetos 666 type, would be its identification with a kantharos or with a protokotyle: cf. discussion in the text.

Chronology: LG I (750-720 BC; or late MG II, 760-750 BC).

65. Kotyle, Aetos 666 type. Corinthian. Pl. 17

Inv. no. TG27077/2. Handle and frg. body. H. pres. 2.8; w. pres. 6.8 cm. Clay: pale yellow (Munsell 5Y 8/2-8/3), compact and smooth on the outer surface, with blackish and few white inclusions, few vacuoles. Rounded body; slightly oblique horizontal ribbon-like handle set at the max. width. Painted decoration with blackish paint: on the outside, lower part under the handle painted; inside painted; series of vertical dashes on the handle.

Bibliography: D'AGOSTINO – D'ACUNTO 2008, 513, fig. 30 (above); D'ACUNTO 2009, 82, fig. 16; D'ACUNTO 2017, 301, fig. 26.13c.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

66. Kotyle, Aetos 666 type. Pithekoussan. Pl. 17

Inv. no. 21.M451-1.48 (TG112239/1). Two joint frgs. body and handle. H. pres. 7; w. pres. 10; Ø lip rec. 16 cm. Clay: reddish yellow (Munsell 7.5YR 7/6) with gray spots on the surface, pale brown slip (Munsell 2.5Y 8/2); few small and middle-size white and black inclusions, dense silver mica. Rounded hemispherical body; oblique horizontal ribbon-like handle set at the upper part of the

body. Decoration painted with brown-reddish paint, somewhere fading: outside, on the upper part of the body reserved broad band enclosed by a horizontal line on the rim, decorated at the side of the handle by a series of vertical lines slightly oblique and reserved under the handle; lower part of the body fully painted; series of vertical dashes on the outside of the handle; inside fully painted with the exception of a thin reserved band under the rim. Bibliography: D'ACUNTO *et al.* 2022, 78, no. 1.31 (M. D'ACUNTO).

Cf. from the necropolis of Pithekoussai: BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 204, T. 161, no. 3, pl. 63; 470, T. 469, no. 2, pl. 138.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

67. Kotyle, Aetos 666 type. Pithekoussan. Pl. 17

Inv. no. TG27077/3. Frg. lip, body and handle. H. pres. 3; max. w. pres. 3 cm. Clay: light reddish brown (Munsell 2.5YR 7/4), quite grainy, with black and white inclusions, dense silver mica; very pale brown slip (Munsell 10YR 8/3). Short nicked rim, slightly rounded upper part of the body, oblique horizontal ribbon-like handle set at the upper part of the body. Decoration painted with brown-reddish paint: outside, two lines on the rim and below it; at the side of the handle group of vertical lines; on the outer part of the handle series of vertical dashes; inside painted with the exception of a thin reserved band under the rim.

Bibliography: D'AGOSTINO – D'ACUNTO 2008, 513, fig. 30 (in the middle); D'ACUNTO 2009, 82, fig. 17.

Cf. from the necropolis of Pithekoussai: e.g. BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 493, T. 490, no. 2, pl. 145.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

68. Kotyle, Aetos 666 type. Pithekoussan. Pl. 17

Inv. no. TG112216/1. Frg. body and handle. H. pres. 2; max. w. pres. 5.8 cm. Clay: pink (Munsell 5YR 7/4), quite grainy, with very pale brown slip (Munsell 10YR 8/2), with black and white inclusions, dense silver mica. Rounded body, oblique horizontal ribbon-like handle. Decoration painted with brown paint outside, reddish inside: outside, vertical line at the side of the handle and horizontal below it; on the outer part of the handle series of vertical dashes; inside painted.

Bibliography: unpublished.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

69. Kotyle, Aetos 666 type. Probably Euboean. Pl. 17

Inv. no. TG110321/1. Frg. body and handle. H. pres. 2.3; max. w. pres. 3.7 cm. Clay: light red (Munsell 2.5YR 7/6), compact, with pink surface (Munsell 7.5YR 8/3-8/4), with small and middle-size white inclusions, and vacuoles. Slightly curved body, oblique horizontal ribbon-like handle. Decoration painted with brown paint outside and inside light brown: on the outer part of the handle series of vertical bars and at the side of it oblique bars; inside painted.

Bibliography: unpublished.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

70. Kotyle, Aetos 666 type. Pithekoussan. Pl. 17

Inv. no. TG27954/1. Three frags.: two of the two handles with part of the body, and the third preserving part

of the body. Bigger fig: h. pres. 2.8; max. w. pres. 7 cm. Clay: pink (Munsell 5YR 7/4), quite grainy, with very pale brown slip (Munsell 10YR 8/2), with black inclusions, quite dense silver mica. Slightly curved body, oblique horizontal ribbon-like handle. Decoration painted with blackish paint outside and brown shiny paint inside: outside, series of vertical bars on the handle and vertical lines at its side; inside painted.

Bibliography: unpublished.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

71. Skyphos, Thapsos type with panel. Corinthian. Pl. 19

Inv. no. 21.M451-1.49. Frg. lip and body. H. pres. 3.8; w. pres. 7.8; Ø ca. 12 cm. Clay: pale yellow (Munsell 5Y 8/3-8/4), quite compact and smooth on the outer surface, with small black, white and gray inclusions, and few vacuoles. Low vertical lip with inner curved profile; rounded shoulder. Painted decoration with black paint: outside, on the lip and on the shoulder series of horizontal lines, and on the shoulder panel with a closed series of three-bars sigmas framed at the sides by a group of four vertical lines; inside painted, except for a reserved thin band below the rim.

Bibliography: D'ACUNTO 2017, 301-302, fig. 26.13e; D'ACUNTO *et al.* 2022, 78, no. 1.32 (M. D'ACUNTO).

Cf. NEEFT 1981, 20-22, 26-27, fig. 6.26.

Chronology: LG I/early LG II – 750-710 BC.

72. Prob. skyphos, Thapsos class – panel type. Pithekoussan. Pl. 19

Inv. no. TG28115/1. Frg. lip and body. H. pres. 4.9; w. pres. 5; Ø ca. 14 cm. Clay: pink (Munsell 5YR 7/4), quite grainy, with very pale brown slip (Munsell 10YR 8/2); small-size black and white inclusions, and vacuoles, dense and fine silver mica. High slightly everted lip; rounded body. Decoration with light brown/orange paint: outside, on the lip, on the shoulder and on the upper part of the belly series of horizontal lines; on the shoulder and the upper part of the belly, panel framed by two vertical bars and containing a hatched meander hooks decoration; lower part of the body below the panel solid painted; inside painted, except for a reserved thin band below the rim.

Bibliography: unpublished.

Although the high lip is quite unusual for a skyphos of the Thapsos class, this identification is made likely by the decoration (the alternative would be a kantharos of the same class, cf. NEEFT 1981, 17). The preserved part of the corner of the hatched meander joins the frame of the panel, thus implying a meander hooks system.

Cf. the Corinthian examples found in Sicilian Naxos and Narce (PELAGATTI 1982a, pls. 47.5-6, 61); in general, NEEFT 1981, 21, 26-27, fig. 6.5.

Chronology: early/middle LG I – ca. 750-730 BC.

73. Skyphos, Thapsos type with panel. Corinthian. Pl. 19

Inv. no. TG41452/1. Frg. lip and body. H. pres. 5.2; w. pres. 5.3; Ø lip ca. 16 cm. Clay: pale yellow (Munsell 5Y 8/3), quite compact and smooth surface, with few small black and white inclusions, and many vacuoles. Low vertical lip with inner curved profile; rounded

body. Painted decoration with blackish paint: outside, on the lip and on the shoulder series of horizontal lines, and on the shoulder panel with a closed series of three-bars sigmas framed at the sides by a group of three vertical lines; lower part of the body painted; inside painted, except for a reserved thin band below the rim. Unpublished.

Cf. 71.

Chronology: LG I/early LG II – 750-710 BC.

74. Skyphos, Thapsos type with panel. Corinthian. Pl. 19 Inv. no. TG112090/6. Frg. lip and body. H. pres. 2.7; w. max. pres. 3.1; Ø lip ca. 14 cm. Clay: pale yellow (Munsell 5Y 8/3), compact and smooth surface, with small black, gray and white inclusions, and vacuoles. Low vertical lip with inner curved profile; slightly curved shoulder. Painted decoration with black paint outside, brown fading inside: outside, on the lip and on the body series of horizontal lines, and on the shoulder panel with a closed series of three-bars sigmas; inside painted, except for a reserved thin band below the rim. Unpublished.

Cf. 71.

Chronology: LG I/early LG II – 750-710 BC.

75. Skyphos, Thapsos type with panel. Corinthian. Pl. 19 Inv. no. TG27185/1. Frg. lip and shoulder. H. pres. 2.3; w. max. pres. 2 cm. Clay: pale yellow (Munsell 5Y 8/3), compact and smooth surface, with small black and white inclusions. Low oblique lip, slightly curved shoulder. Painted decoration with black lustrous paint: outside, on the lip series of four horizontal lines, and on the shoulder panel with a closed series of three-bars sigmas, enclosed above by a horizontal line; inside painted, except for a reserved thin band below the rim.

Unpublished.

Cf. 71.

Chronology: LG I/early LG II – 750-710 BC.

76. Skyphos, Thapsos type with panel. Corinthian. Pl. 19 Inv. no. TG112090/1. Frg. lip and shoulder. H. pres. 1.9; w. max. pres. 2 cm. Clay: pale yellow (Munsell 5Y 8/2), compact and smooth surface, with small black and white, and few reddish inclusions, and vacuoles. Curved shoulder. Painted decoration with black paint: outside, on the lip series of horizontal lines, and on the shoulder panel with a floating horizontal zig-zag thick line; inside painted.

Unpublished.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

77. Skyphos, Thapsos type with panel. Corinthian. Pl. 19 Inv. no. TG112090/2. Frg. lip and body. H. pres. 3.7; w. max. pres. 3.5; Ø lip ca. 13 cm. Clay: pale yellow (Munsell 5Y 8/2), compact and smooth surface, with small black and few white inclusions. Low oblique lip, slightly curved shoulder. Painted decoration with blackish paint: outside, on the lip and on the upper part of the shoulder series of horizontal lines, and on the shoulder panel with a floating series of reversed S; inside painted, except for a reserved thin band below the rim. Unpublished.

Cf. NEEFT 1981, 11, fig. 1b; GRECO 2008, pl. 5d (Cuma, Forum).

Chronology: late LG I/early LG II – 730-700 BC.

78. Skyphos, type with panel containing a chain of lozenges. Pithekoussan. Pl. 20

Inv. no. TG27071/1. Three frgs. body. Larger frg. h. pres. 2.5; w. pres. 3 cm. Clay: light reddish brown (Munsell 2.5YR 7/4), with black, white and red inclusions, dense silver mica; very pale brown slip (Munsell 10YR 8/3-8/4). Thin wall; everted lip, rounded body. Painted decoration with brown/orange paint: outside, on the lip series of horizontal lines, on the body at the maximum width wide panel containing a chain of small floating lozenges, framed at the sides by groups of vertical lines; inside painted.

Bibliography: D'AGOSTINO – D'ACUNTO 2008, 513-514, fig. 30 (below); D'ACUNTO 2009, 82, fig. 19.

Cf. GIALANELLA 1994, 183, 200, no. A8, fig. 29.3 (Pithekoussai, Punta Chiarito); BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 273, T. 212, no. 6, pl. 92 (Pithekoussai, cemetery); *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 24, 157, no. TTA30, pl. 3.4.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

79. Skyphos, type with panel containing a chain of lozenges. Pithekoussan. Pl. 20

Inv. no. TG40854/1-TG40857/2. Two frgs. lip and body, probably from the same vessel. Larger frg. (US 40854) h. pres. 3.9; w. pres. lip 8 cm; smaller frg. (US 40857) h. pres. 3.2; w. pres. lip 5.3; Ø ca. 14 cm. Clay: pink clay (Munsell 5YR 7/4), quite grainy, with a very pale brown slip (Munsell 10YR 8/2), with small and middle-size black inclusions and small-size white ones, silver mica. Low slightly oblique lip, rounded body. Painted decoration with brown/light brown paint: outside, on the lip series of irregularly drawn horizontal lines; on the shoulder and at the maximum width broad panel containing a horizontal chain of small floating lozenges, framed at the sides by groups of vertical lines and below and above by groups of horizontal lines; inside painted, with the exception of two reserved thin bands below the rim.

Unpublished.

The slight differences in the decoration of the lip on the two frgs. may depend on the two different sides. The two frgs. show similarities in the clay, paint and decoration, and were found in two different layers but from the same context: thus, they probably refer to the same vessel.

Cf. no. 78.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

80. Skyphos. Euboean/Cycladic? Pl. 20

Inv. no. TG27317/1. Frg. body. H. pres. 2.2; w. pres. 3.8 cm. Clay: reddish yellow/pinkish gray (Munsell 5YR 7/6 – 7/2), quite compact, with pale brown slip (Munsell 2.5Y 8/2); small-size black and few white inclusions, quite dense fine-grained silver mica. Low rounded body. Painted decoration with brown/reddish paint: outside, at a maximum width a metope containing a St. Andrew's cross irregularly drawn framed at

the side by a group of vertical bars and above by a series of horizontal lines, two of them preserved.

Unpublished.

Cf.: see discussion in the text.

Chronology: LG I, probably early – ca. 750-730 BC.

- 81.** Krater. Euboean? (or Pithekoussan). Pl. 20
Inv. no. TG112234/1. Frg. lip and shoulder. H. pres. 3.7; w. pres. lip 4.2; Ø ca. 26 cm. Clay: quite compact, with light gray core (Munsell 10YR 7/1) and very pale brown smooth surface (Munsell 10YR 8/3), with small-size white and few medium-size grey inclusions; few fine-grained silver mica. Vertical lip, broader at the rim with curved inner profile; on the right the beginning of the spout is preserved; rounded shoulder. Decoration painted with brown paint: on the rim group of bars; outside, on the lip series of tremuli enclosed above and below by a line; on the shoulder is preserved on the left the corner of a hatched meander surrounded by a single line, and on the right a reserved motif made of oblique lines, probably part of a multiple-lines lozenge.

Unpublished.

Cf. discussion in the text.

Chronology: LG I, probably early – 750-730 BC.

- 82.** Kotyle. Pithekoussan. Pl. 18
Inv. no. TG27754/1. Two fragments of lip, handle and wall. Max. h. pr. 6.5; Ø rec. lip 12.5 cm. Clay: light red (Munsell 2.5YR 7/6), hard, with many small particles of black grit, few small particles of white grit and with plenty of silver mica. Hemispherical body with slight contraction at the rim, rod horizontal handle, slightly oblique. Outside and inside orange paint: outside, one line immediately below the rim, at the sides of the handles series of squiggles framing a decorative pattern enclosed in vertical lines, low part of the body fully painted, barred handle; inside: fully painted except for a reserved line below the rim.

Cf. *Cuma: le fortificazioni* 2, 20, pl. 2A.12.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

- 83.** Kotyle, Aetos 666 type. Corinthian. Pl. 18
Inv. no. TG28055/1. Two joining fragments of lip. Max. h. pr. 4.2 cm. Clay: yellow (Munsell 10YR 8/6); hard, smooth. Hemispherical body with slight contraction at the rim. Outside brown/blackish shiny paint almost vanished, inside orange/brownish shiny paint: outside, six vertical lines framing a panel with a series of small chevrons followed by seven horizontal lines, lower part of the body fully painted; inside: fully painted except for a reserved line below the rim.

Cf. BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, Sp5/3, 705, pl. 246.3, CCX.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

- 84.** Lekane/dish. Pithekoussan. Pl. 21
Inv. no. TG28055/2. One fragment of foot. Ø 6 (foot); max. h. pr. 1.6 cm. Clay: reddish brown (Munsell 2.5YR 5/3), hard, with many small particles of black grit, few small particles of white grit and with plenty of silver mica. Disk foot. Outside and inside dark reddish brown paint: outside, band with a series of chevrons or

sigmas (only the lower part of the motif is preserved) followed by three lines, two concentric lines on the lower part of the foot; inside, fully painted with two overpainted white lines.

Chronology: 750-720 BC (by the context).

- 85.** Skyphos, type with panel containing a chain of lozenges. Pithekoussan. Pl. 20
Two joining frgs. lip, body and handle, two frgs. body. Larger frg. h. pres. 5.3, w. pres. body 7 cm. Light reddish brown clay (Munsell 2.5YR 7/4), with black and white inclusions, silver mica; very pale brown slip (Munsell 10YR 8/3). Tall oblique lip, rounded belly, oblique horizontal ribbon-like handle set on the lower part of the shoulder. Painted decoration with brown/light brown paint: outside, on the lip series of five horizontal lines; on the shoulder and at the max. width broad panel containing a horizontal motif, to be identified with a chain of small floating lozenges (part of two lozenges are preserved on one frg.), framed at the right side by a group of twelve vertical lines and below by a group of four horizontal lines; lower part of the body probably painted; inside painted, with the exception of two reserved thin bands below the rim.

Bibliography: D'AGOSTINO – D'ACUNTO 2008, 507, fig. 22 and color fig, D'ACUNTO 2017, 304, fig. 26.13d.

Cf. no. 78.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

- 86.** Floating chevron skyphos (?). Pithekoussan. Pl. 16
Inv. no. TG41497/1. Frg. lip, shoulder and body. H. max. pr. 2.7; Ø rec. lip 12 cm. Clay: reddish brown (Munsell 2.5YR 5/3), with plenty of silver mica and few black inclusions. Tall lip, almost vertical, slightly sloping outwards; pronounced shoulder. Beige coating. Brown paint outside, iridescent light brown inside. Outside, three horizontal lines on the lip; on the shoulder and on the upper part of the body, a group of six vertical lines, probably framing a panel with a row of floating chevrons. Inside, fully painted.

Unpublished.

Cf., for the morphology of the lip, 62, and D'AGOSTINO 1982, pl. 10, fig. 2; for the shoulder, OLCESE 2017, cat. 310 no. 43.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

- 87.** Carinated bowl, *impasto*. Pl. 21
Inv. no. PP41497/1-2. Two contiguous frgs. of lip and carinated body. H. max. 4,1; Ø 22 cm. Clay: gray (Munsell 5YR 5/1), compact and medium – fine grained with many small white inclusions with a homogeneous distribution and many small bright inclusions. The inner and outer surfaces show uneven color, ranging from brown (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3) to dark gray (Munsell 7.5YR 4/1) with many small white and bright inclusions. Both surfaces show homogeneous splinting and some traces of likely use of the wheel. Vertical lip; rounded rim; carinated body.

Cf. D'AMBROSIO 2009, 70, type VI 20 b; MELANDRI 2011, 270, type 6C3, pl. 2-XXII.

Chronology: 750-720 BC.

88. Lekane. Pithekoussan. Pl. 21

Inv. no. TG41495/1. Frg. lip and body. H. max. pr. 2.3; Ø rec. lip 16 cm. Clay: reddish brown (Munsell 2.5YR 4/3), dark reddish gray inside (Munsell 2.5YR 4/1), with plenty of silver mica and few white inclusions. Inward-leaning rim. Reddish-brown paint. On the lip, two groups of vertical lines. Under the rim, a thick horizontal line. On the body, a painted band ending in full triangles, whose vertices overlap the line painted under the rim.

Unpublished.

Chronology: 750-720 BC.

89. Kotyle. Pithekoussan. Pl. 18

Inv. no. TG41484/1. Frg. rim and body. H. max. pr. 2.4; Ø rec. rim 13 cm. Clay: light reddish brown (Munsell 2.5YR 6/4), with plenty of silver mica. Beige coating. Brown paint outside, almost completely evanid; light brown paint, slightly iridescent, inside. Hemispherical body, with slight contraction at the rim. Under the rim, a thin horizontal line surmounting a panel with a row of squiggles, framed by two groups of vertical lines. Fully painted inside, except for a reserved line under the rim. Unpublished.

Cf. BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 372, T. 320, no. 1, pls. CLV, 119; 388, T. 331, no. 1, pls. 127; *Cuma: le fortificazioni 2*, 155 no. TTA12, fig. 45, pl. 2A.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

90. Kantharos. Corinthian. Pl. 21

Inv. no. TG41504/1. Frg. shoulder with the junction of the handle. H. max. pr. 1.3 cm. Clay: pale brown (Munsell 2.5Y 8/4). Brown paint. Outside, lower part of the body fully painted; on the ribbon handle, painted band above a reserved band. Fully painted inside. Unpublished.

Cf. BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 230, T. 177, pl. 78.

Chronology: 750-720 BC (by the context).

91. Kotyle. Pithekoussan. Pl. 18

21 joint frgs. Inv. no. TG41461/1-TG41484/1-10-TG41504/1-8-TG41510/1-2. H. max. pr. 10.7; Ø rec. rim 15; Ø bottom 5 cm. Clay: light reddish brown (Munsell 2.5YR 6/4). Brown paint. Hemispherical body, with slight contraction at the rim. Under the rim, thin horizontal line surmounting a panel framed by two groups of vertical lines, interrupted by an hour-glass motif. Rod horizontal handles, decorated with a double horizontal continuous line. Below the level of the handles, large area with parallel horizontal lines. Lower part of the body fully painted, except for a thin reserved line. Ring-shaped foot fully painted; bottom decorated with concentric circles. Fully painted inside, except for two reserved lines under the rim. Unpublished.

Cf. COLDSTREAM 2008, 101, pl. 19.1; Villasmundo, necropolis, tomb no. 33.

Chronology: LG I – 750-720 BC.

Credits*Text*

Matteo D'Acunto: p. 305-319, 324-325, 329-332, 354-386, 389-403

Mariangela Barbato: p. 327-328

Martina D'Onofrio: p. 388-389

Marco Giglio: p. 322-323

Chiara Improta: p. 325-327, 347-351

Cristiana Merluzzo: p. 325-327, 351-354

Francesco Nitti: p. 319-321, 332-347, 386-388

Francesca Somma: p. 323-324

Catalogue

Matteo D'Acunto: nos. **38-81**

Martina D'Onofrio: nos. **86-91**

Chiara Improta: nos. **8-28, 87**

Cristiana Merluzzo: nos. **29-37**

Francesco Nitti: nos. **82-85**

Francesca Somma: nos. **1-7**

Drawings

Mariangela Barbato: nos. **54, 59, 62-65, 67, 71, 85, 80**

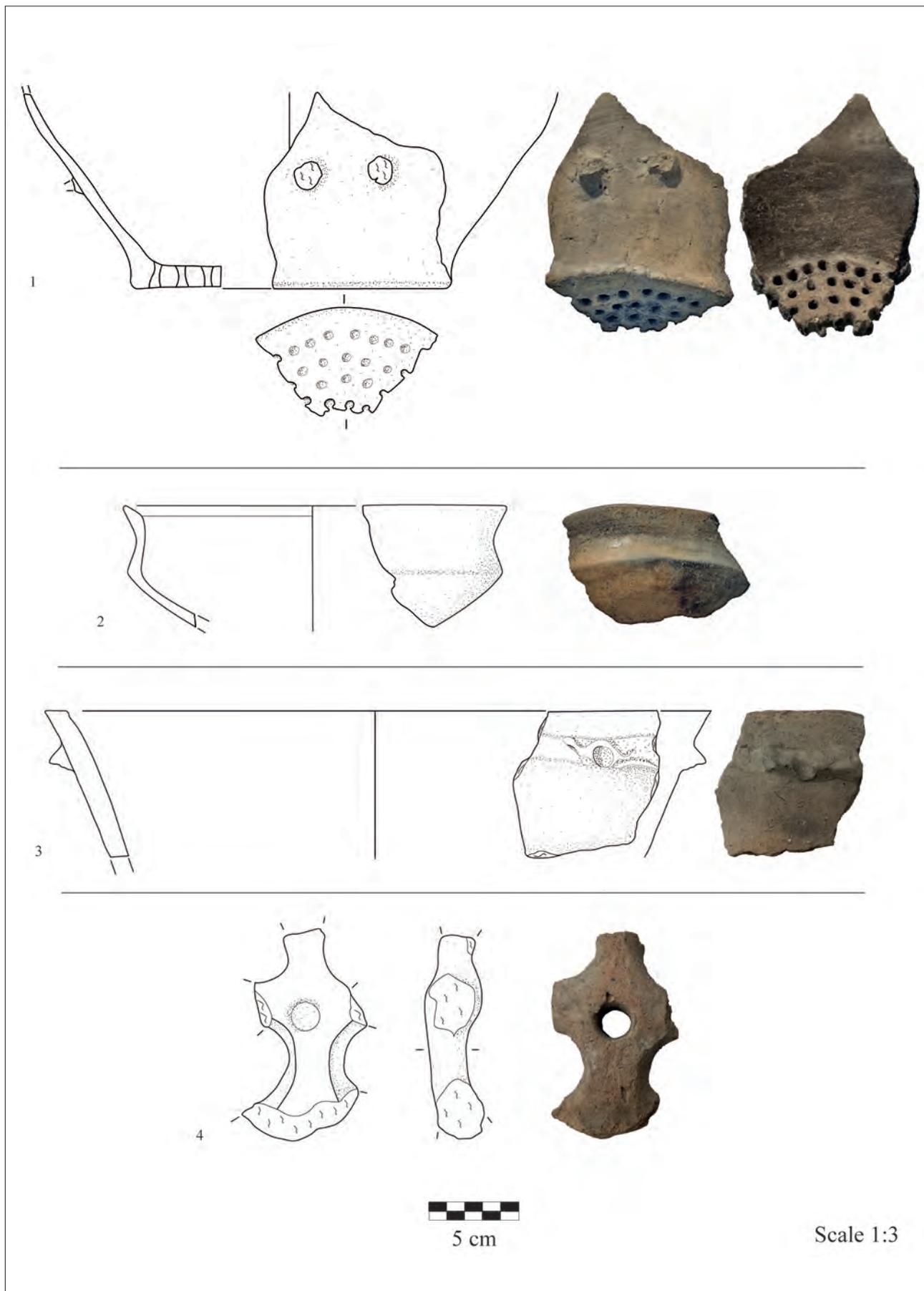
Chiara Improta: nos. **8-28, 46, 87**

Cristiana Merluzzo: nos. **29-37, 49-51, 47, 55-56, 58, 61, 68-69, 72-74, 76-79, 90-91**

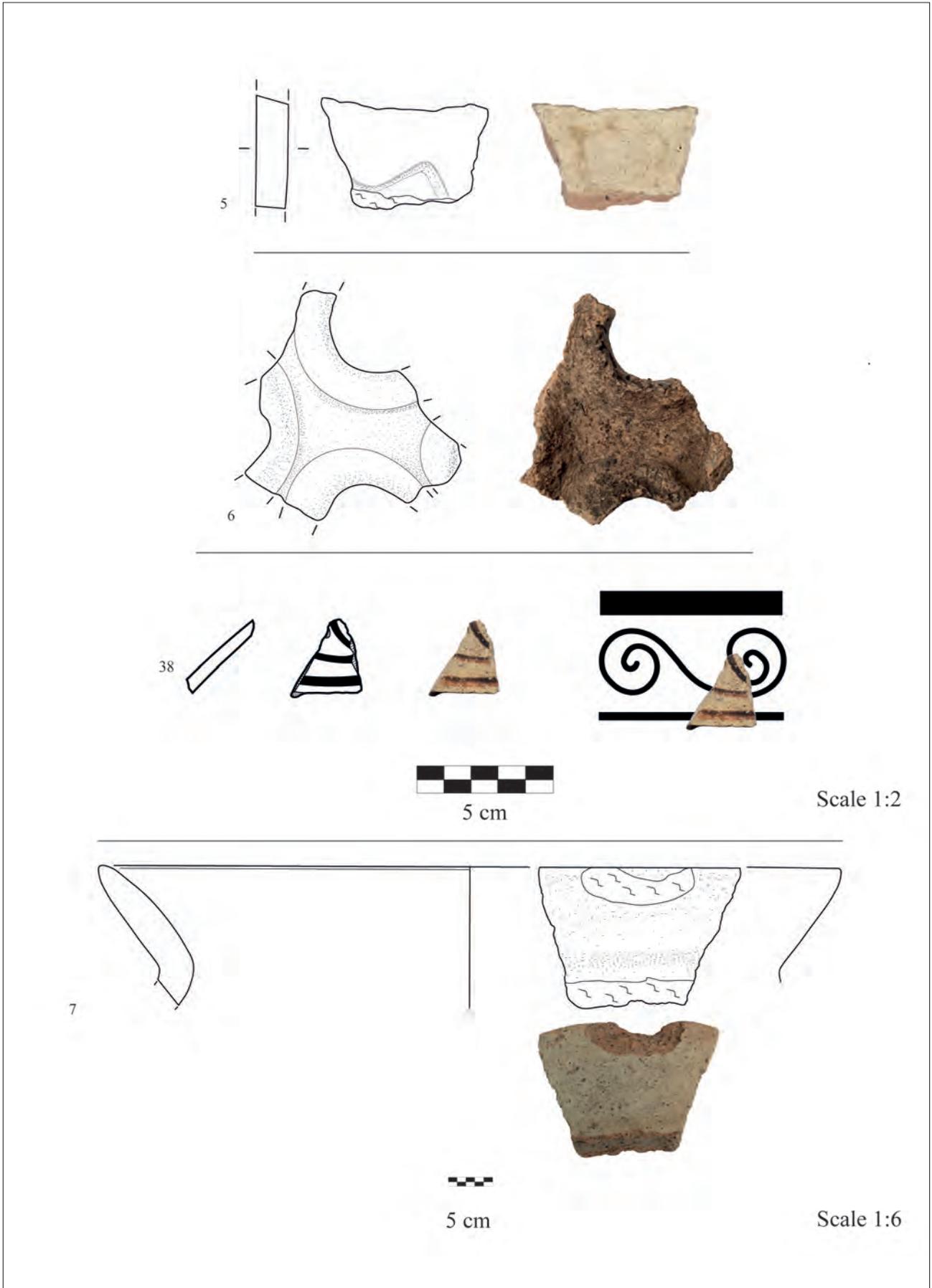
Francesco Nitti: nos. **42-45, 47-48, 52-53, 60, 66, 70, 81-84, 86, 88-89**

Nadia Sergio: nos. **57, 65, 75**

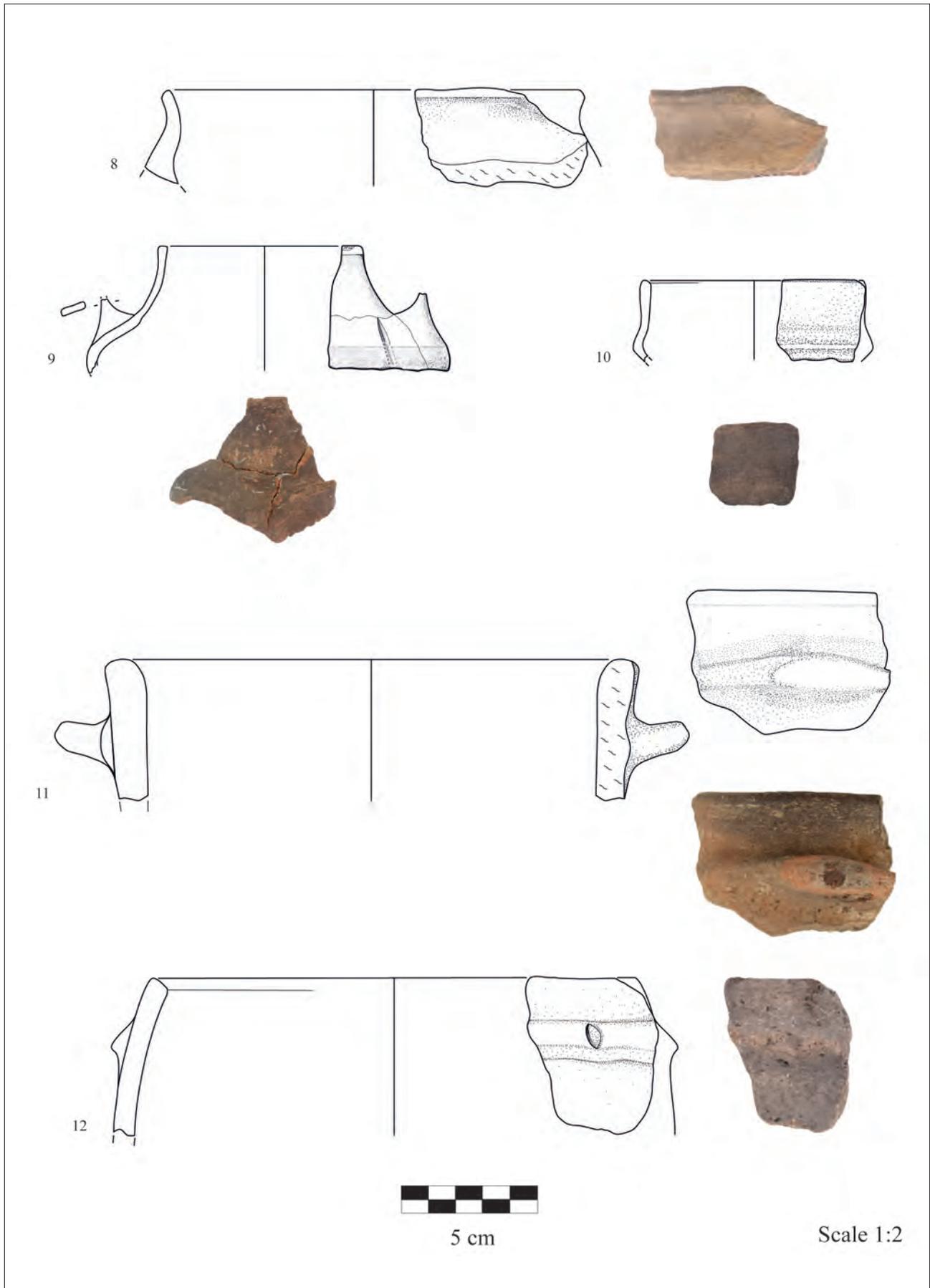
Francesca Somma: nos. **1-7**



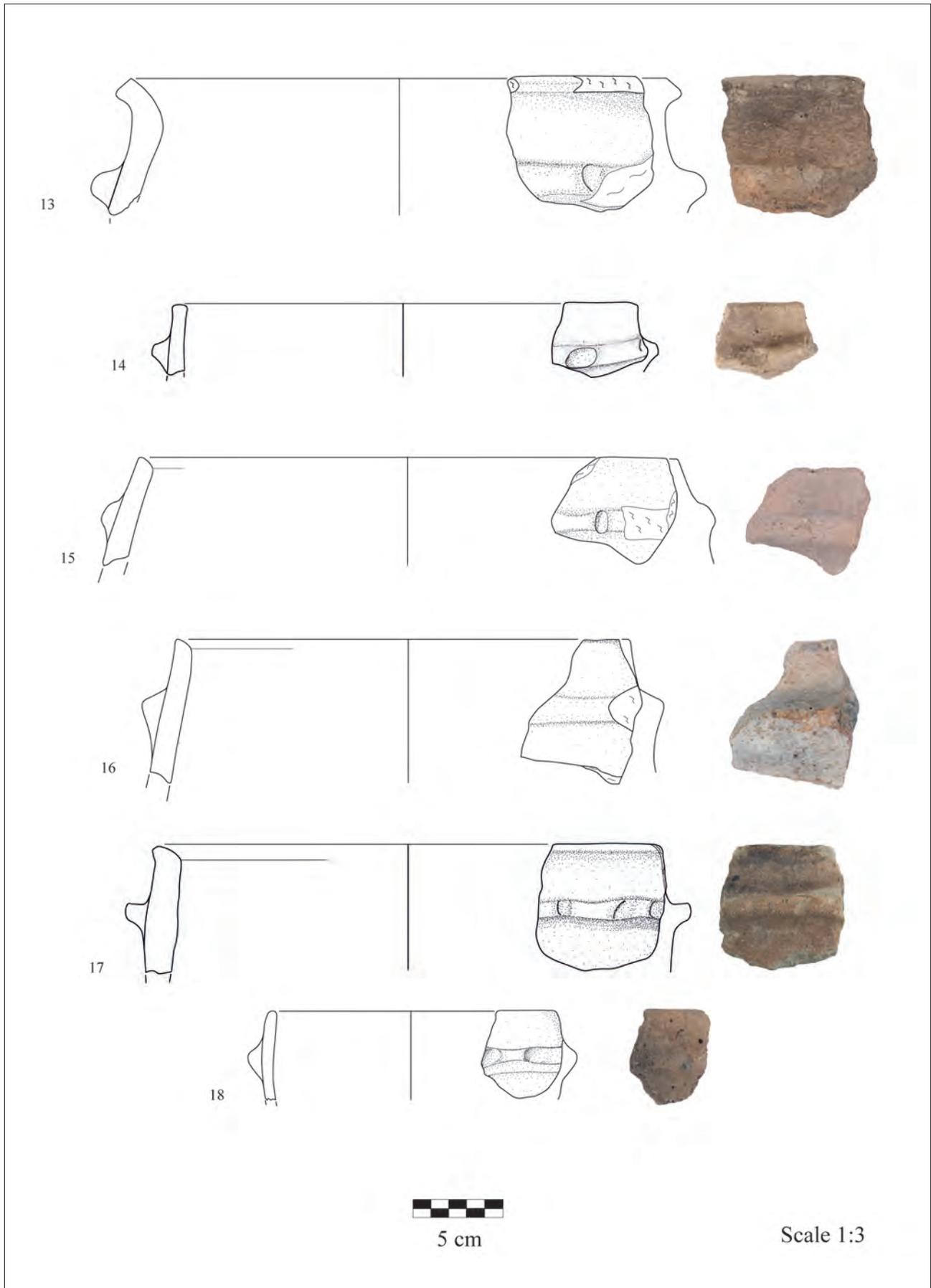
Pl. 1. LBA pottery from the deep trench below the peristyle of the southern *domus*



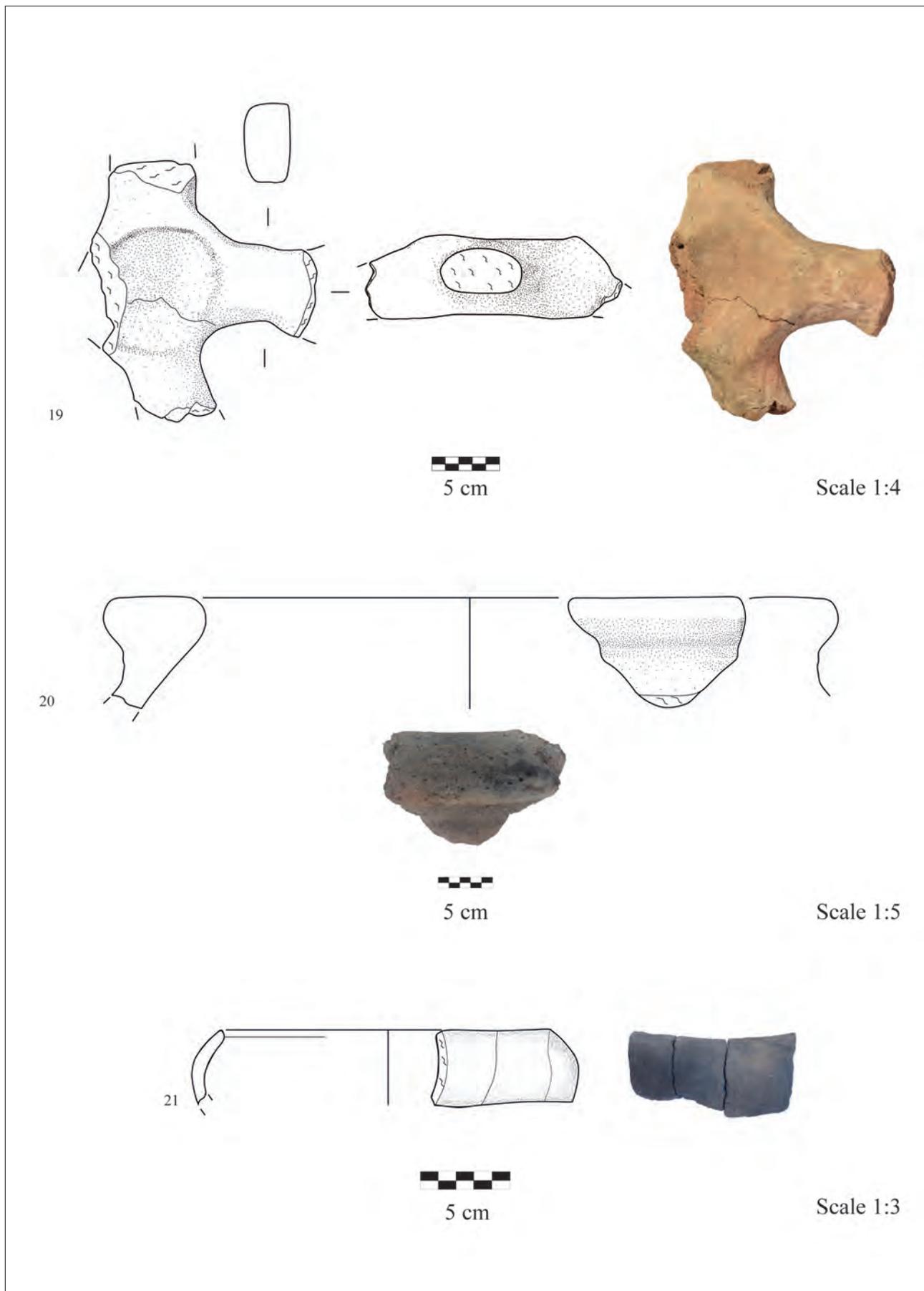
Pl. 2. LBA pottery from the trench below the Roman room in the southeastern corner of the *insula*



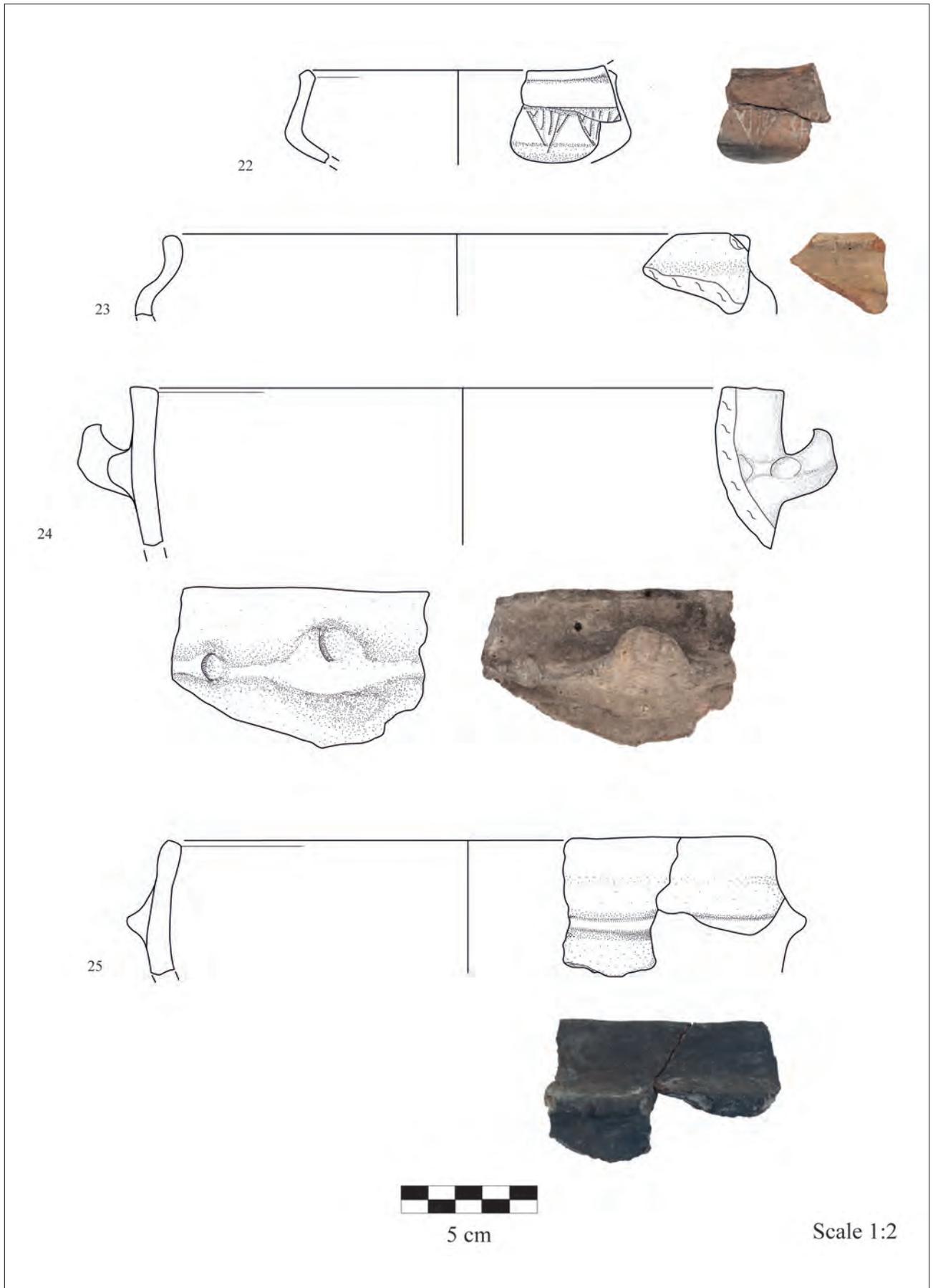
Pl. 3. EIA *impasto* pottery from Levels I-III below the western sector of the peristyle



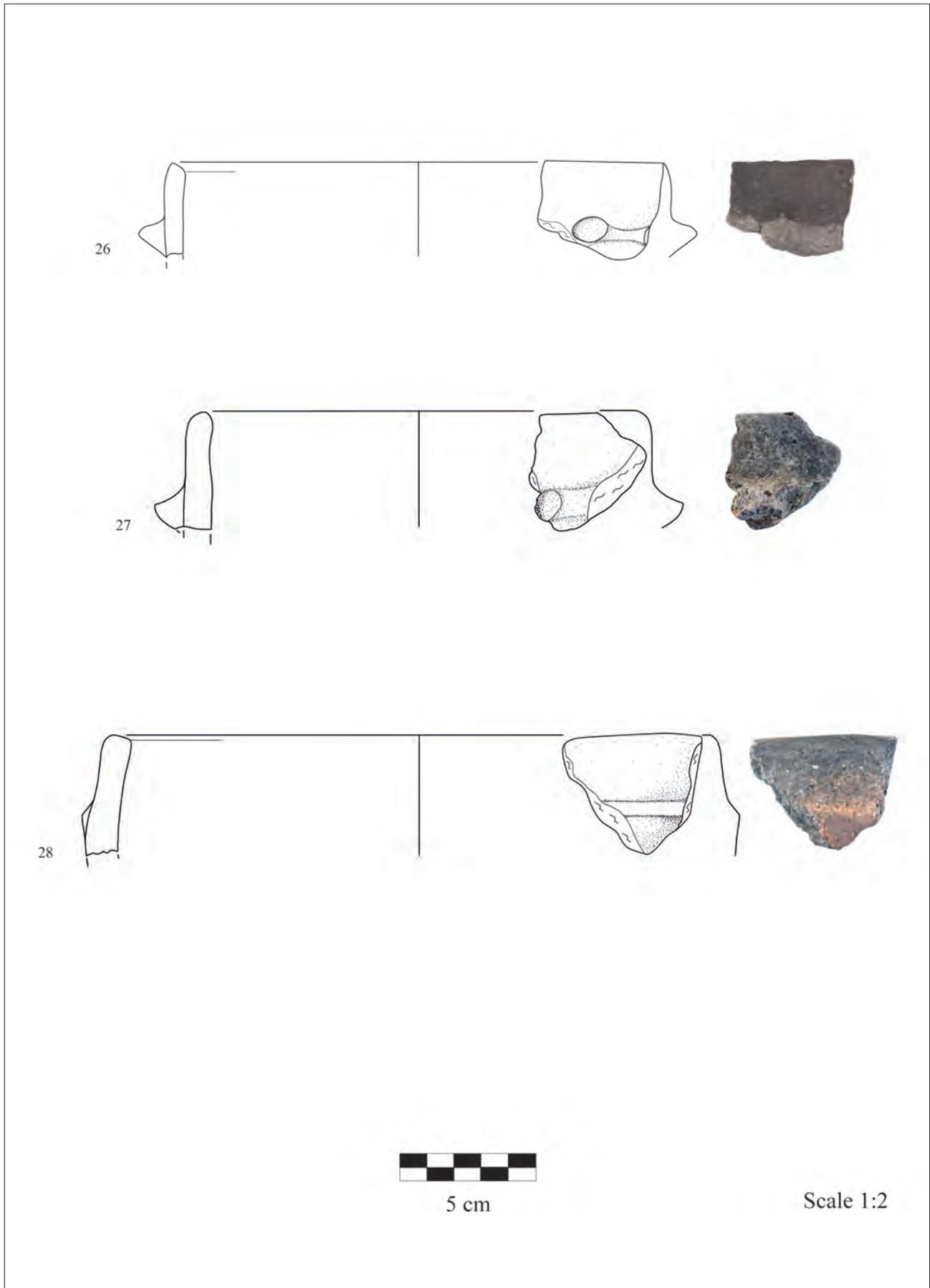
Pl. 4. EIA *impasto* pottery from Levels I-III below the western sector of the peristyle



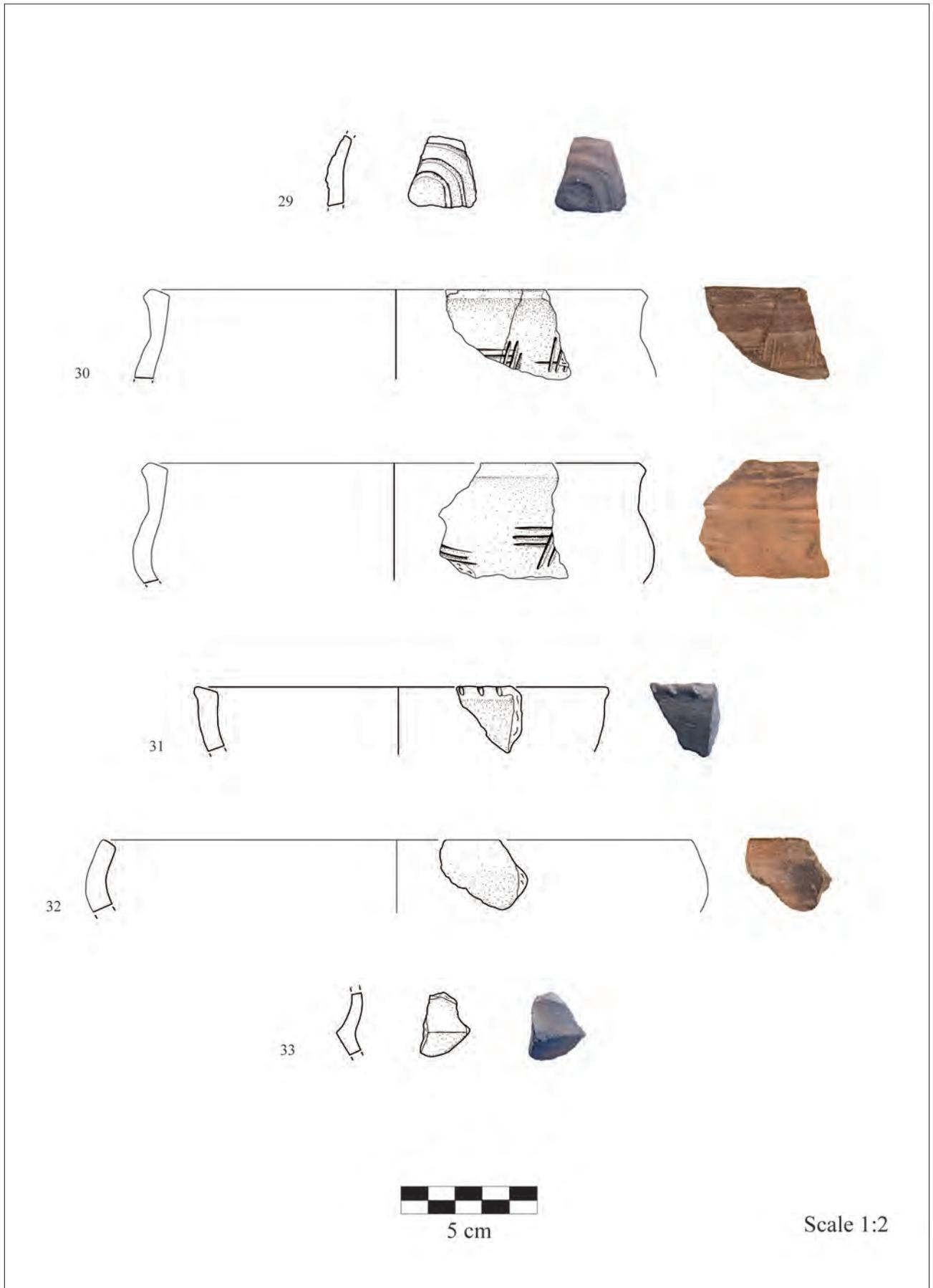
Pl. 5. EIA (19), FBA-EIA (20) and RBA (21) *impasto* finds from the deep trench below the western sector of the peristyle



Pl. 6. EIA *impasto* pottery from Level IV below the western sector of the peristyle



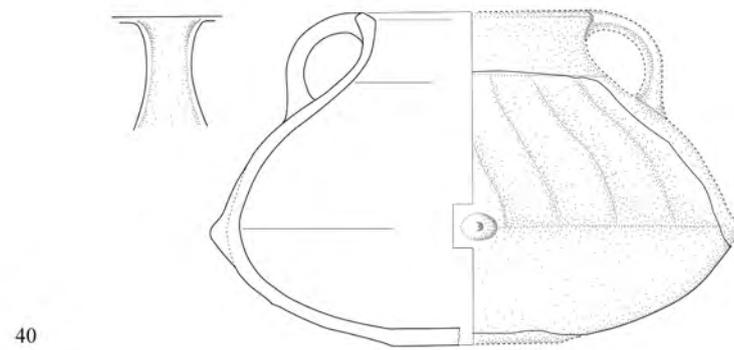
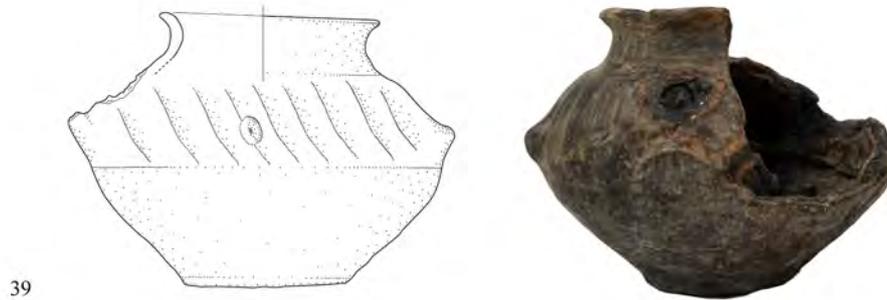
Pl. 7. EIA *impasto* pottery from Level IV below the western sector of the peristyle



Pl. 8. EIA *impasto* pottery from the excavation conducted below the entrance to the southern *domus*

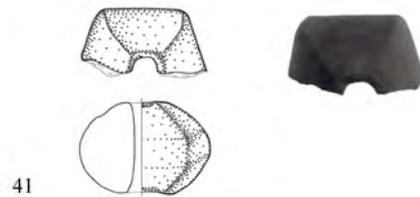


Pl. 9. EIA impasto pottery from the excavation conducted below the entrance to the southern *domus*



5 cm

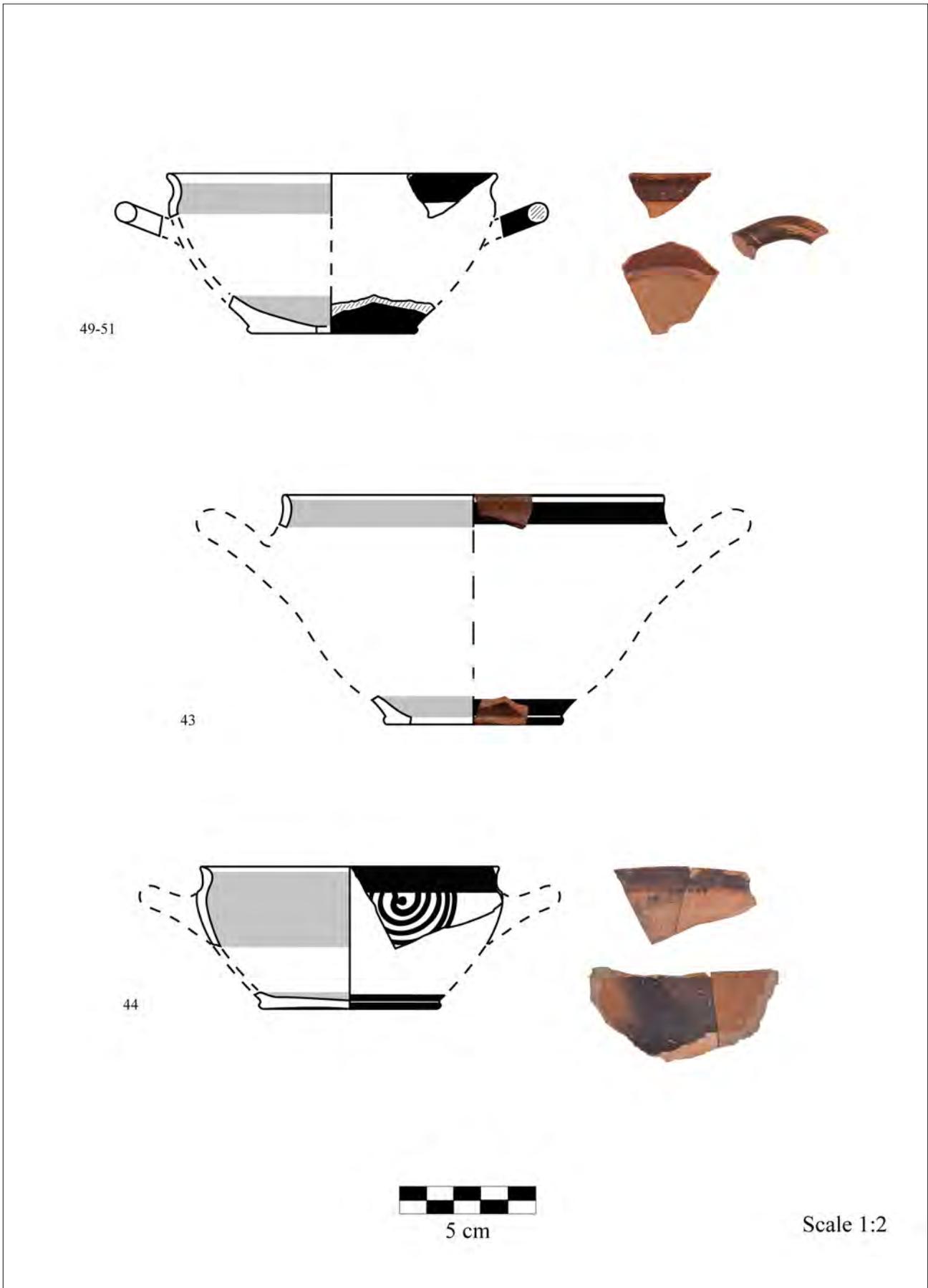
Scale 1:3



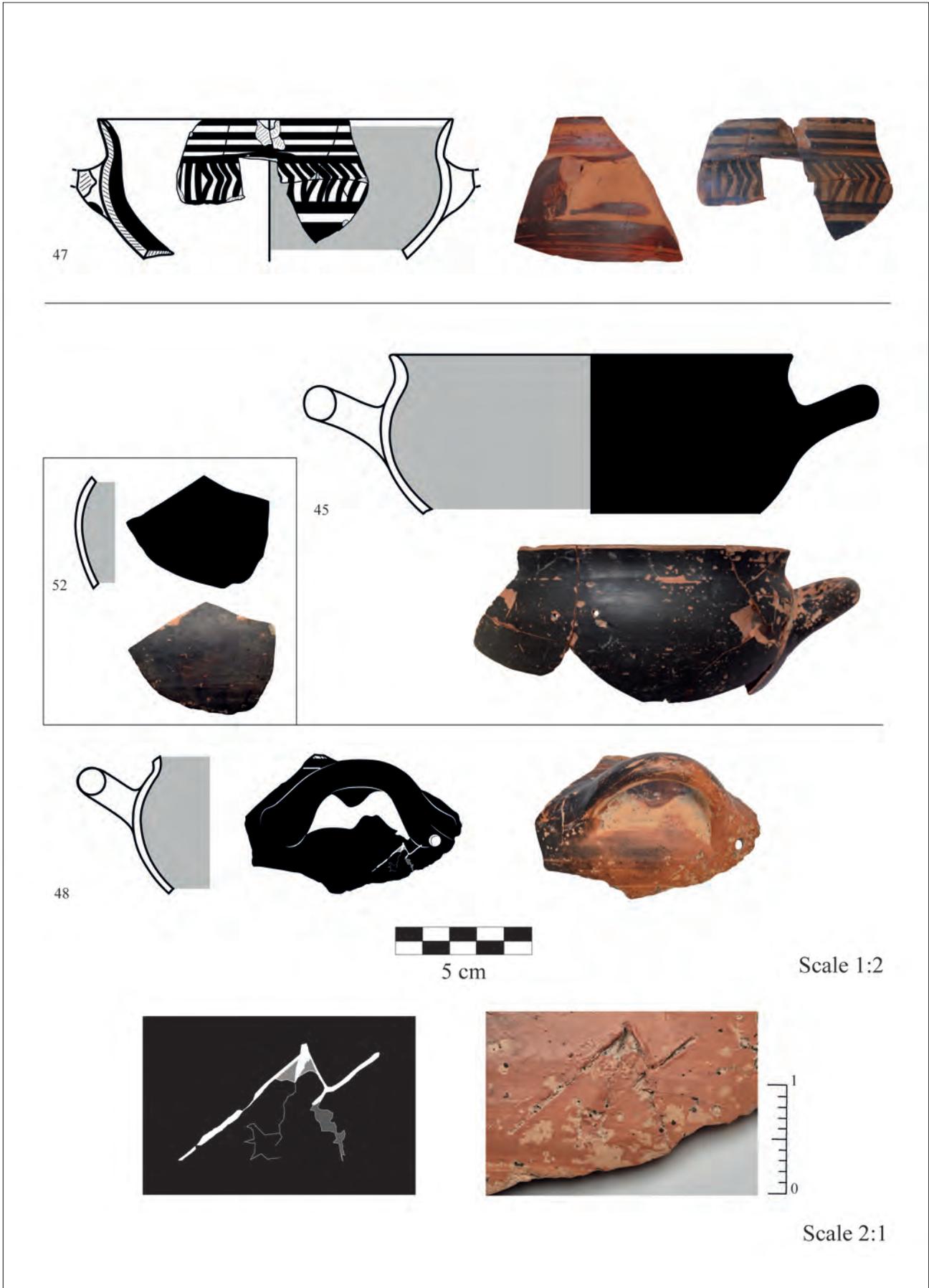
5 cm

Scale 1:2

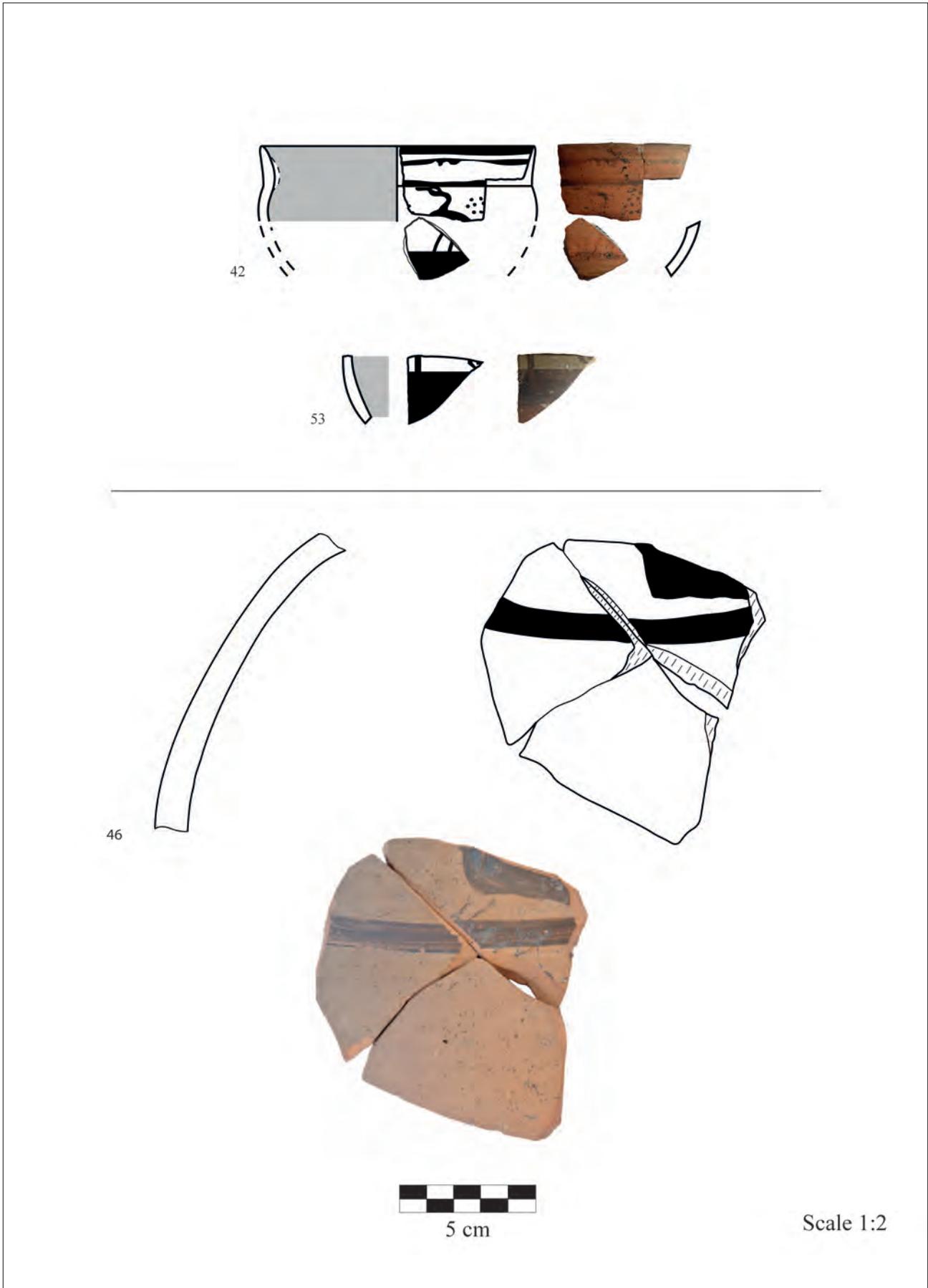
Pl. 10. EIA *impasto* pottery found in secondary deposition



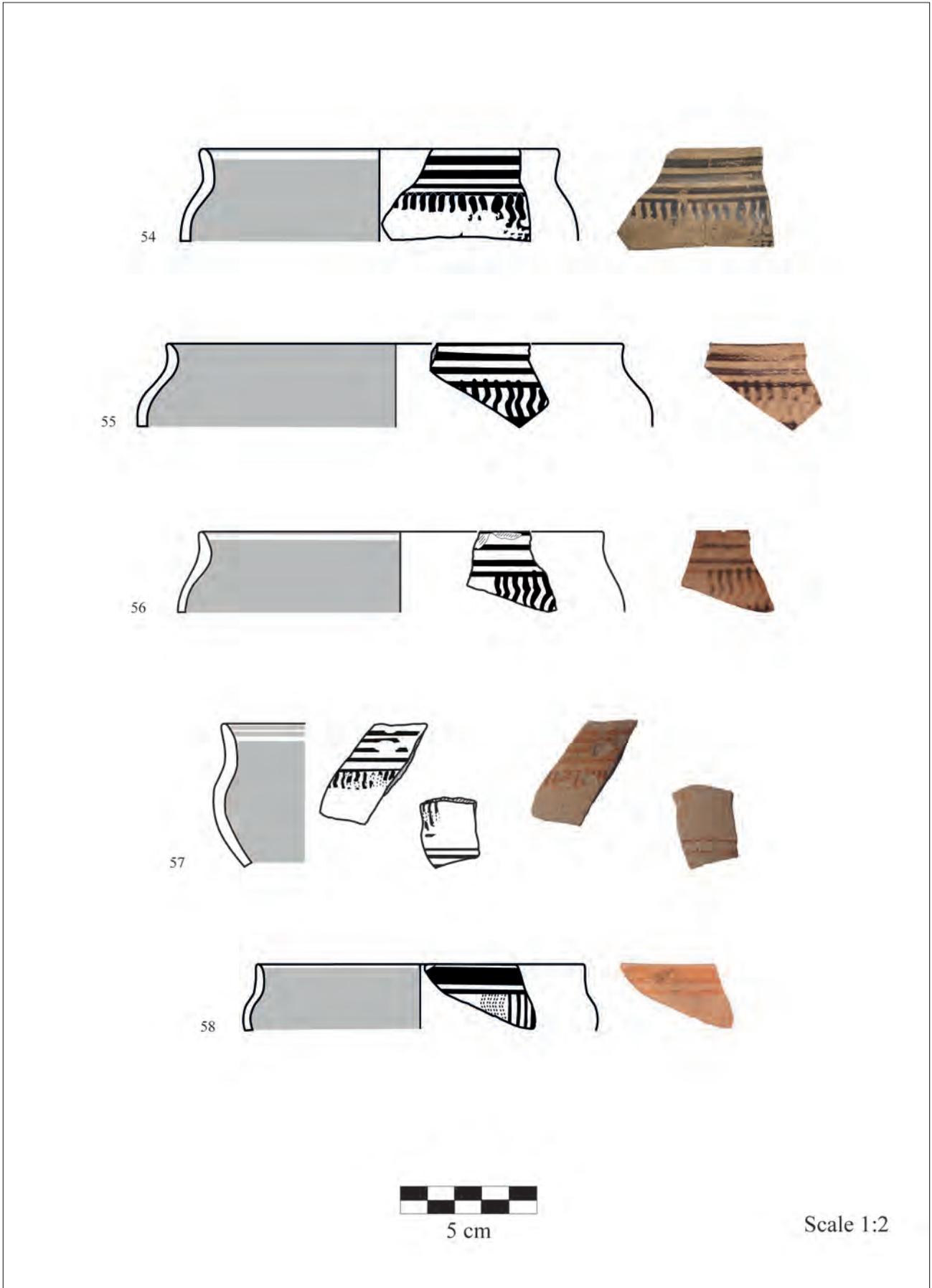
Pl. 11. PSC skyphoi, MG IIb-LG Ia (photo 44 below: inner bottom)



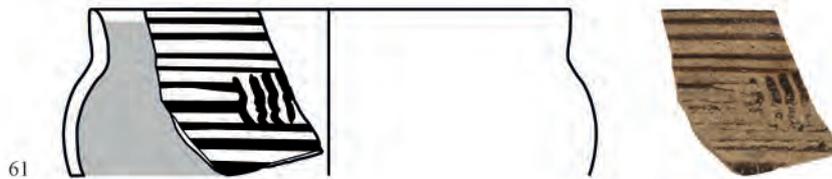
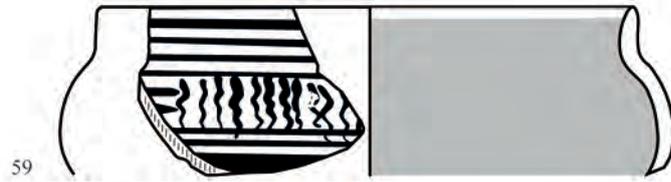
Pl. 12. Chevron (47) and black skyphoi (45, 48, 52), MG IIb-LG Ia



Pl. 13. One-metope bird skyphoi (42, 53) and a closed shape (46), MG IIb-LG Ia



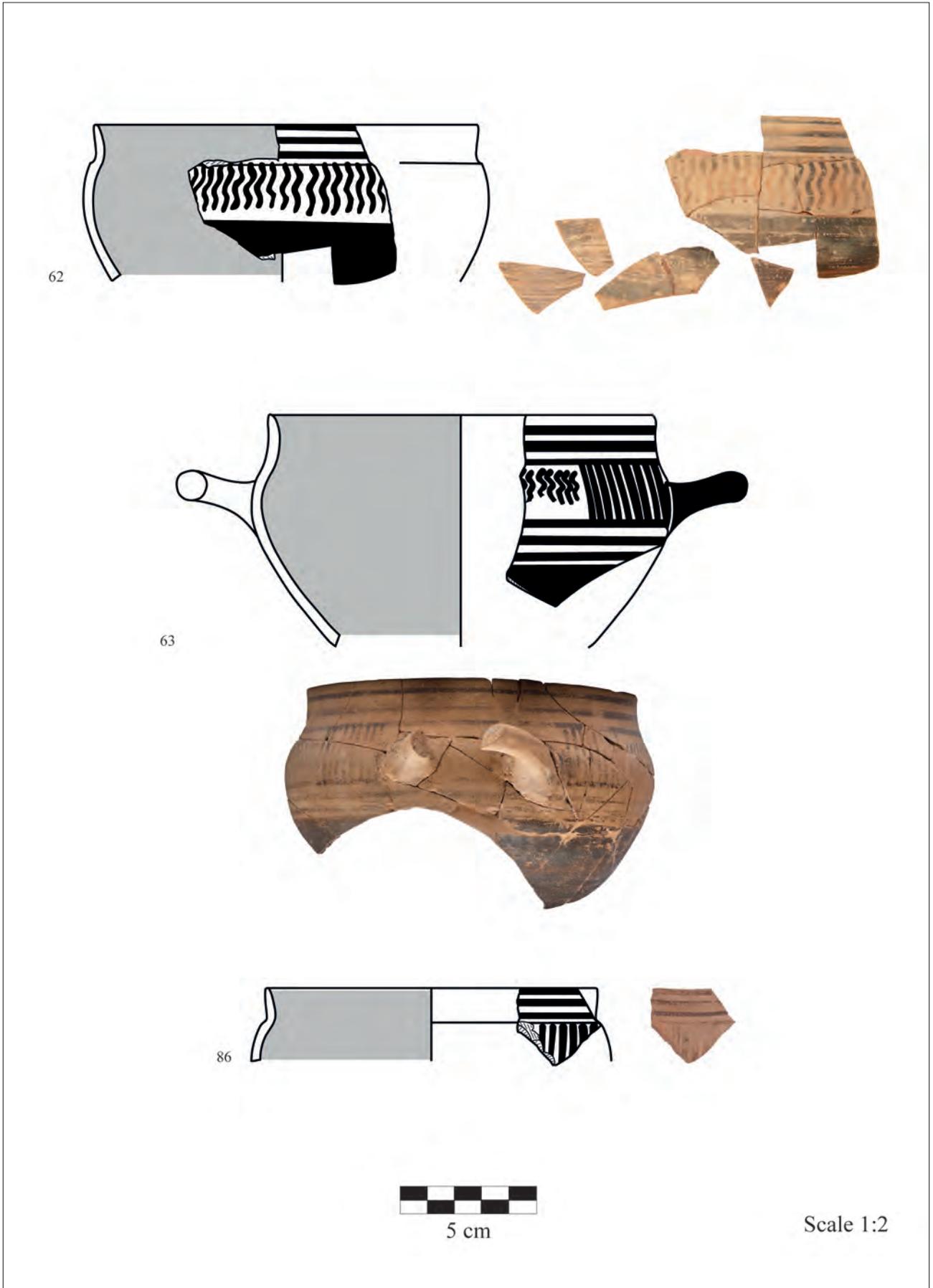
Pl. 14. Close chevron skyphoi, LG I



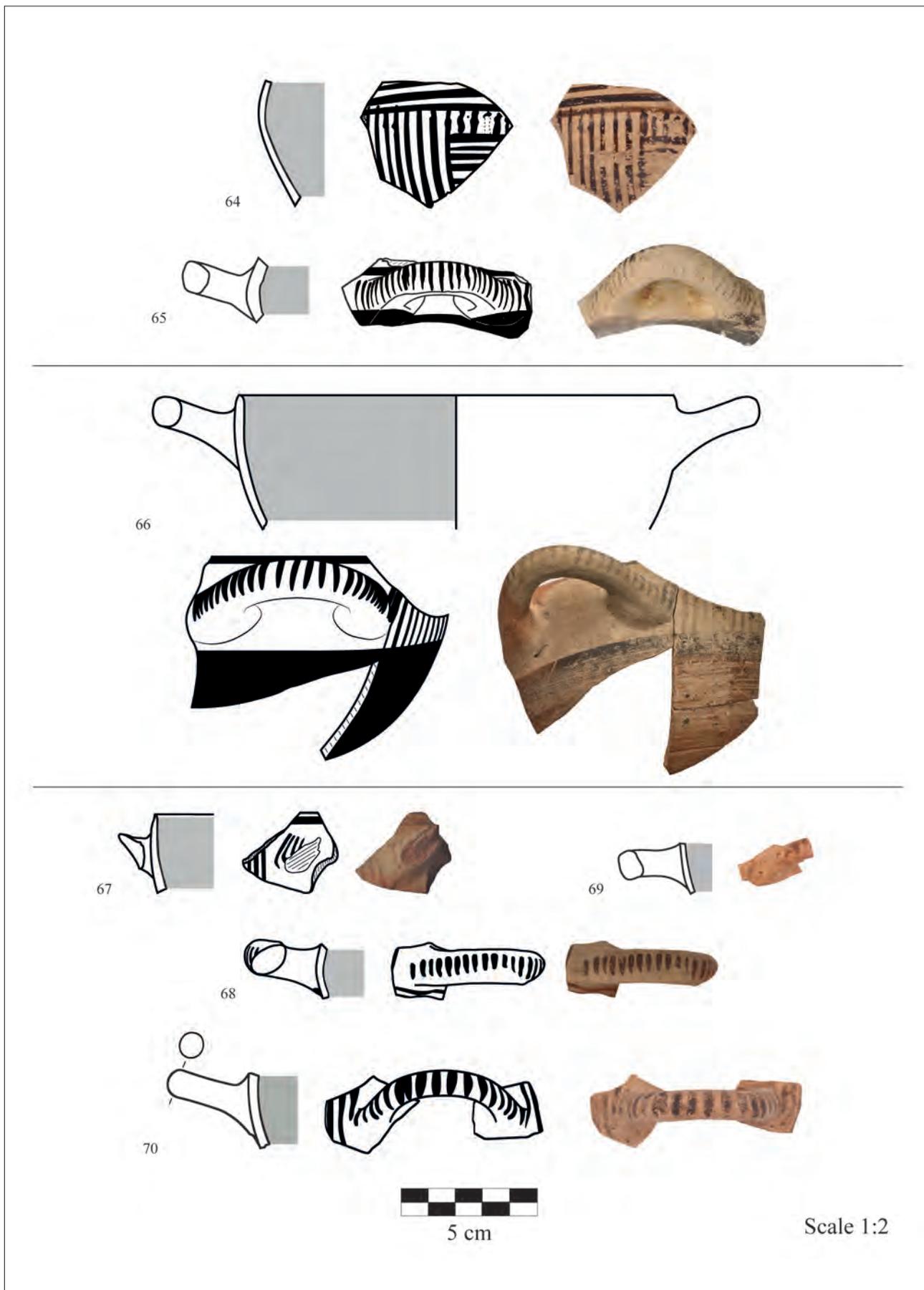
5 cm

Scale 1:2

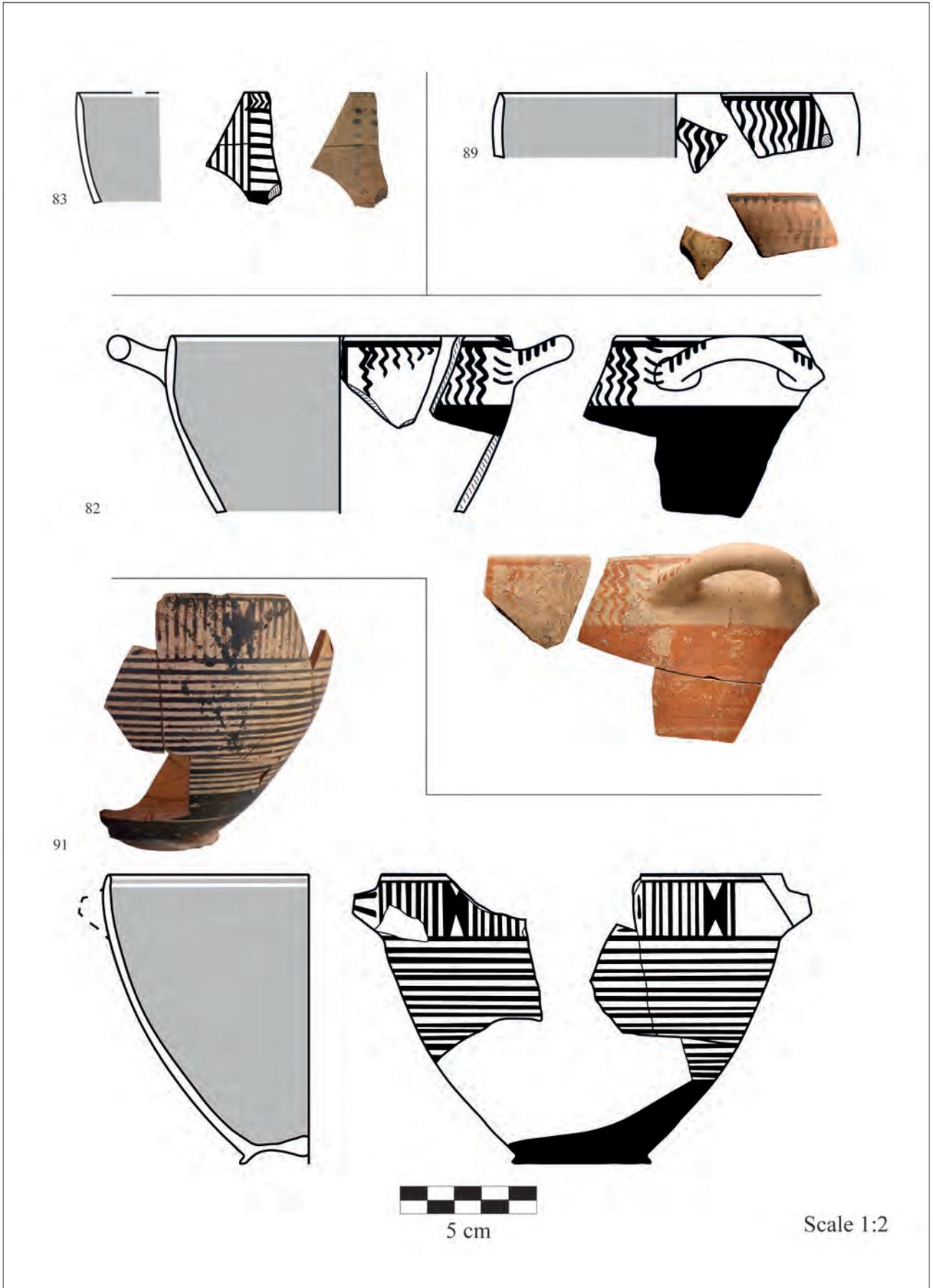
Pl. 15. Tremuli skyphoi, LG I



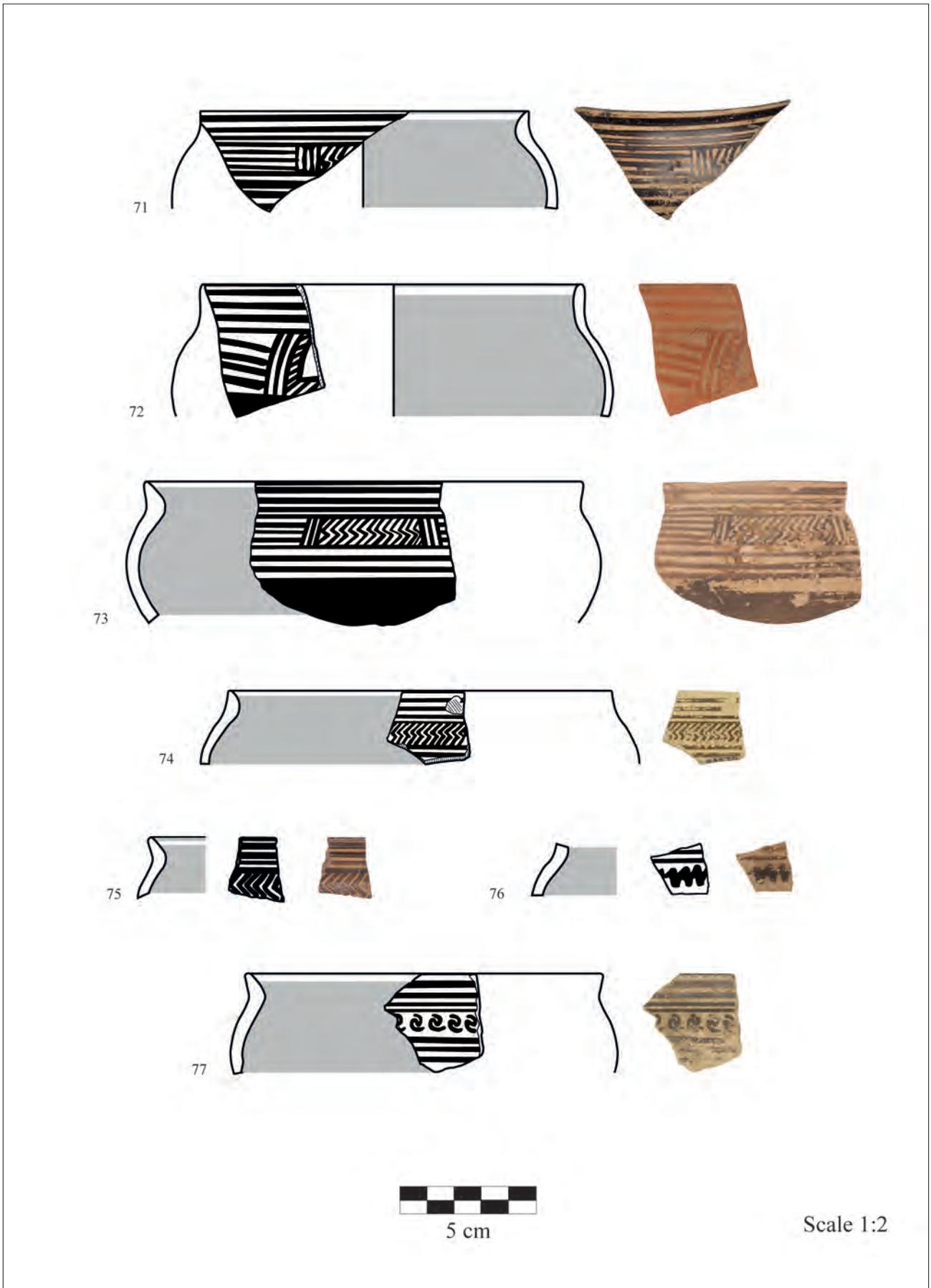
Pl. 16. Floating chevron skyphoi, LG I



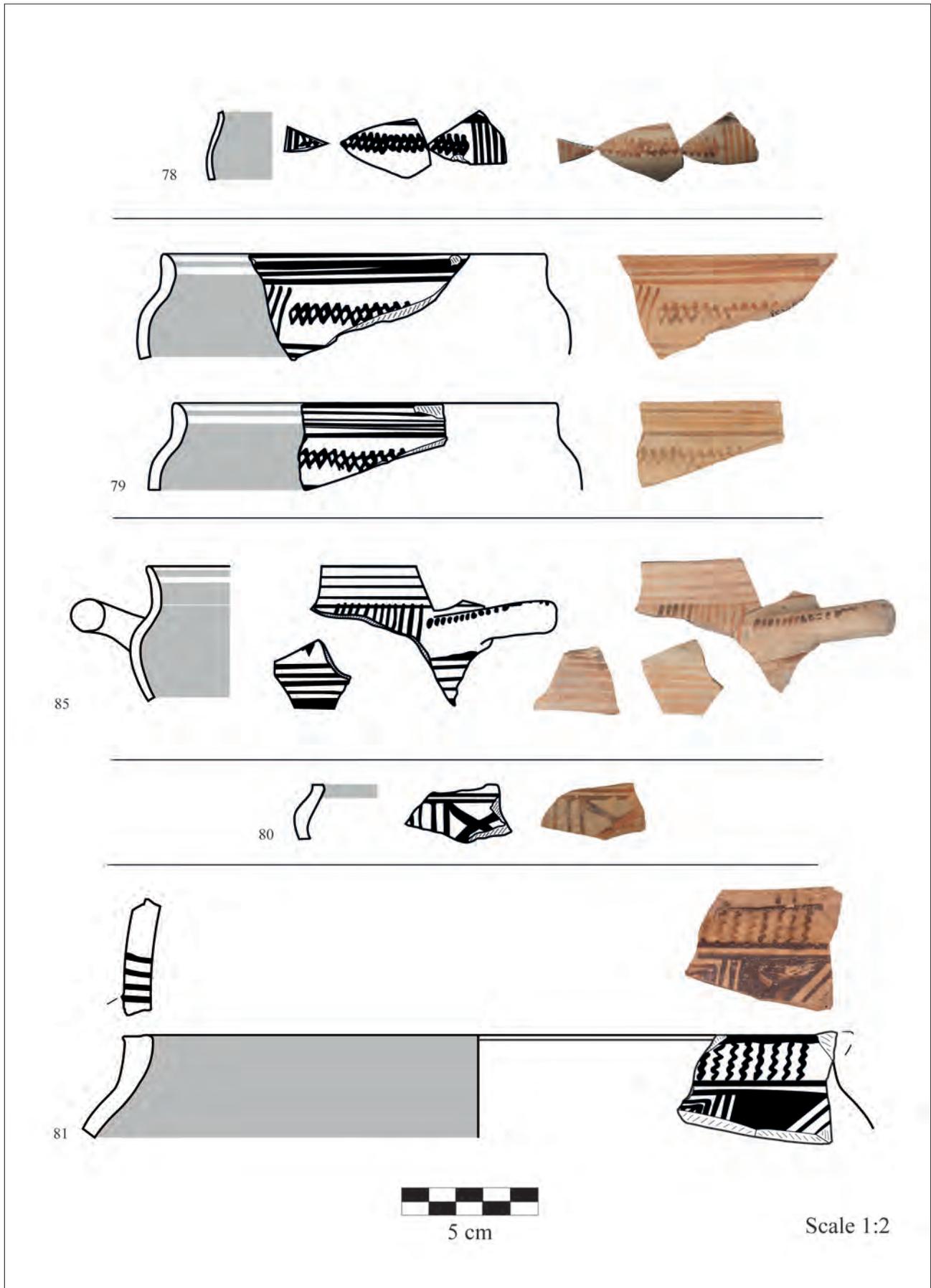
Pl. 17. Kotylai, LG I



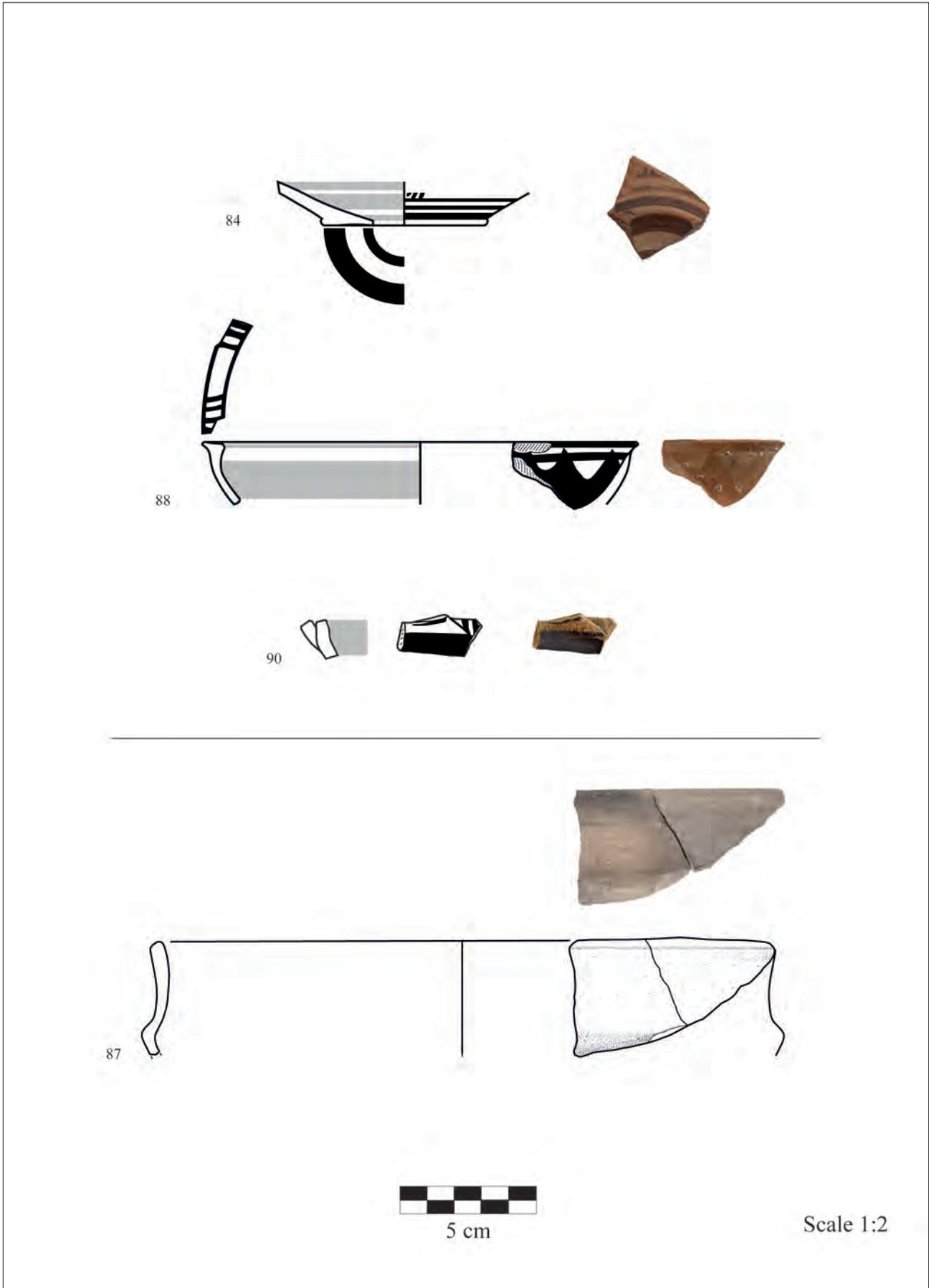
Pl. 18. Kotylai, LG I



Pl. 19. Thapsos class skyphoi, LG I



Pl. 20. Skyphoi with panel decorated by a chain of lozenges (78, 79, 85) and Euboean imports? (80, 81), LG I



Pl. 21. Sherds from the LG I contexts

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MATTEO D'ACUNTO, MARIANGELA BARBATO, MARTINA D'ONOFRIO, MARCO GIGLIO, CHIARA IMPROTA, CRISTIANA MERLUZZO, FRANCESCO NITTI, FRANCESCA SOMMA, *Cumae in Opicia in the Light of the Recent Archaeological Excavations by the University of Napoli L'Orientale: from the Pre-Hellenic (LBA-EIA) to the earliest phase of the apoikia (LG I)*

This paper reassesses the Pre-Hellenic and early colonial phases of Cumae, based on the new evidence brought to light in the archaeological excavations carried out since 2007 by the University of Napoli L'Orientale. These excavations were conducted on the plain, in the area north of the Roman Forum baths.

Deep trenches drilled beneath an *insula* of the Greek and Roman period have revealed evidence of the indigenous phase of the site. This shows that in the Pre-Hellenic period, in the plain in front of the acropolis, in addition to the development of a large burial ground, there are documented offshoots of the indigenous village that occupied the acropolis, both in the Late Bronze Age and at the end of the Pre-Hellenic phase. In the latter period, very recent excavations have uncovered an indigenous hut with an oval/apsidal plan. This dwelling preserved *in situ*, among other findings, a concentration of jars and cooking stands in the storage sector. In this hut and its adjoining areas, Geometric ceramics, mostly Euboean imports, were found: skyphoi of the pendant semicircle, black, chevron and one-metope bird types (corresponding to MG IIb and LG Ia of the Attic Geometric phases), along with the entirely predominant indigenous *impasto* pottery. This Geometric pottery allows us to collocate the life of the hut in the second quarter of the 8th century BC: this is, according to the evidence brought to light, a period when the indigenous village opened up to a tight network of exchanges with Euboean and Phoenician merchants who visited the site before the colonial foundation. The abandonment of the indigenous hut, which is associated with a fire, is roughly contemporary with the end of the burial ground of Pre-Hellenic Cumae, to be dated around the mid-8th century BC (at the transition between Phases IIa and IIb of the Early Iron Age chronology in Campania). The deconstruction of the indigenous settlement system

seems to reflect those historical dynamics, leading to the foundation of the *apoikia* of Cumae by Euboean colonists.

The excavations conducted in depth by the University of Napoli L'Orientale in the block north of the Forum baths also provide evidence of the later first phase of Greek *apoikia*, starting from 750-740 BC. The frequentation of this area for residential purposes refers to this chronological horizon. Primary evidence of the occupation of this sector (dwelling floors with hearths) and ceramics of both Corinthian imports and Corinthian imitations produced in Pithekoussai, along with a few Euboean imports, refer to the period between 750 and 720 BC (LG I): these ceramics consist of skyphoi with a decoration of debased chevrons, tremuli, a chain of lozenges, of the Thapsos type with panel, together with kotylai of the Aetos 666 type etc. The foundation of Cumae's *apoikia* should be dated, also on the basis of this new evidence, shortly after that of Pithekoussai (the latter must have been founded around 760-750 BC). Indeed, Pithekoussai may well have played an important role in the foundation of Cumae: in line with the indication that comes from some ancient authors (Livy and Phlegon of Tralles), this is also suggested by the archaeological picture, which finds exact matches in that of Pithekoussai's contexts. In turn, this new evidence suggests that Cumae's *apoikia* must have predated, albeit by very little, the first Greek foundations in Sicily: this reconstruction is supported by the information provided by ancient authors such as Thucydides and Strabo.

ALBIO CESARE CASSIO, *Earlier and Earlier: The Rise of the Greek Alphabet and a Greek Letter on an Euboean Skyphos Found in Pre-Hellenic Cumae, ca. 760-750 BC*

The Greek letter *nu* (*N*) inscribed before firing on a black skyphos from Cumae (ca. 760-750 BC) first published in this volume (D'ACUNTO *et al.*, 363-367, Pl. 12, no. 48) is a welcome addition to the sparse number of Greek letters found on Greek vases that can securely be attributed to the first half of the 8th century BC. After a short *excursus* on the irrelevance of the so-called *argumentum ex silen-*

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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.

