

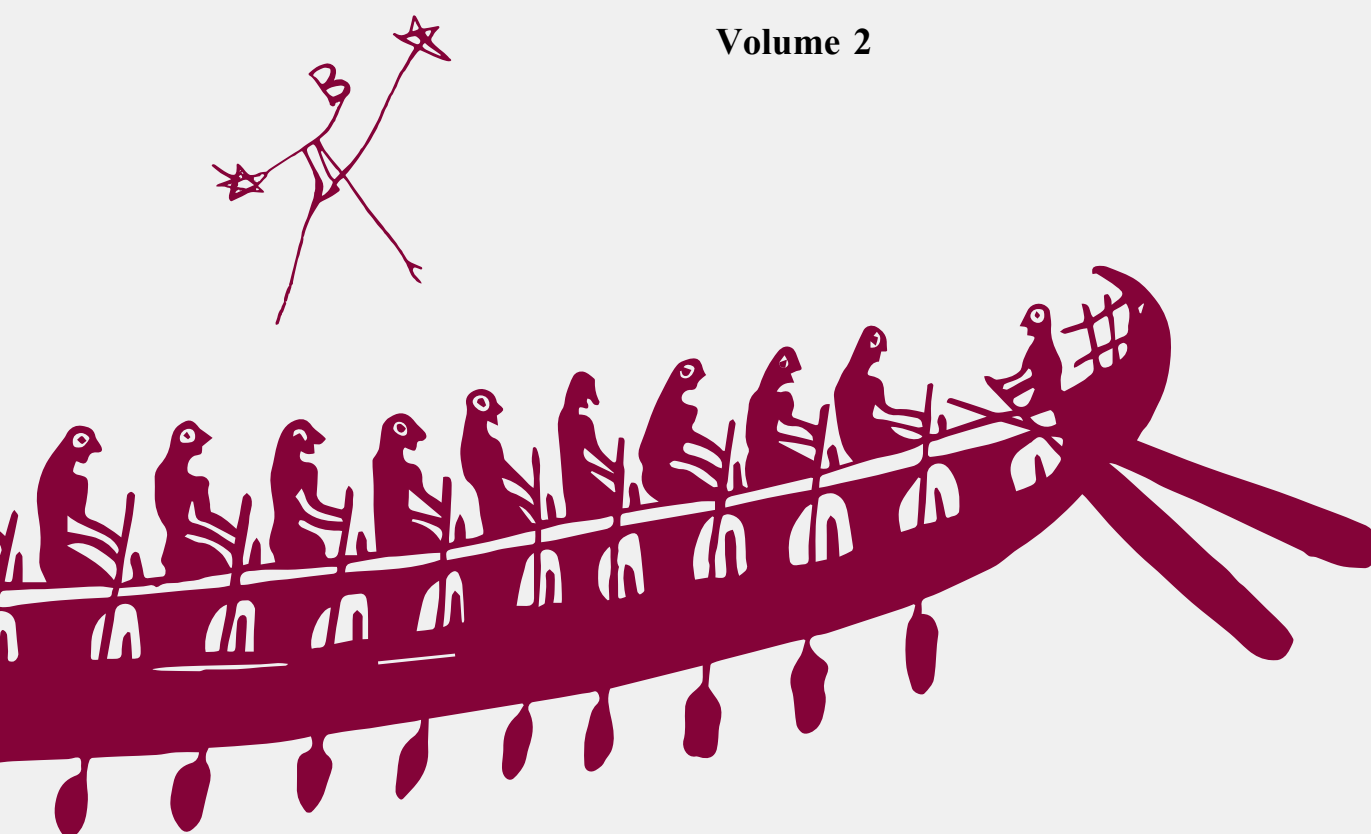
EUBOICA II

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

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DIPARTIMENTO DI ASIA AFRICA E MEDITERRANEO



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ABBREVIATIONS

Above sea-level: above s.l.; Anno Domini: AD; and so forth: etc.; Before Christ: BC; bibliography: bibl.; catalogue: cat.; centimeter/s: cm; century/ies: cent.; chap./chaps.: chapter/chapters; circa/ approximately: ca.; column/s: col./cols.; compare: cf.; *et alii*/and other people: *et al.*; diameter: diam.; dimensions: dim.; Doctor: Dr; especially: esp.; exterior: ext.; fascicule: fasc.; figure/s: fig./figs.; following/s: f./ff.; fragment/s: fr./frs.; for example: e.g.; gram/s: gm; height: h.; in other words: i.e.; interior: int.; inventory: inv.; kilometer/s: km; length: ln.; line/s: l./ll.; maximum: max.; meter/s: m; millimeter/s: mm; mini- mum: min.; namely: viz.; new series/nuova serie etc.: n.s.; number/s: no./nos.; original edition: orig. ed.; plate/s: pl./pls.; preserved: pres.; Professor: Prof.; reprint: repr.; series/serie: s.; sub voce: s.v.; supplement: suppl.; thick: th.; tomb/s: T./TT.; English/Italian translation: Eng./It. tr.; volume/s: vol./vols.; weight: wt.; which means: scil.; width: wd.

Abbreviations of periodicals and works of reference are those recommended for use in the *American Journal of Archaeology* with supplements in the *Année Philologique*.

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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

Albio Cesare Cassio

At the start of an influential article published in 1933, the American classicist Rhys Carpenter expressed his disappointment at never having encountered in any scientific publication what he regarded as utterly obvious, «the authoritative pronouncement that the Greek alphabet was adopted from the Phoenician about the year 700 BC»¹ – a pronouncement he tried to substantiate in the following pages. His conclusions were immediately challenged, most notably by Ullmann², but it was mainly the publication of the text on “Nestor’s cup”³ that stroke the fatal blow to Carpenter’s notion that the borrowing of the Phoenician script did not predate about 700 BC.

On a bird kotyle, in all likelihood imported from Northern Ionia⁴ and datable to 720-710 BC⁵, three lines were inscribed in the local Euboic alphabet before the kotyle was burnt on a pyre along with many other vessels in the same time span. The lines (a quasi-iambic trimeter and two hexameters⁶ are regularly written one after another, which is banal in Homeric papyri but not in early inscriptions; hence Henry Immerwahr⁷ convincingly suggested «that the graffiti on this vase are influenced by eighth-century book script» (Fig. 1). This aptly shows to what extent archaeological research can upend apparently well-founded cultural perspectives: at a chronological level (720-710 BC) when,

according to a respectable scholar, the Greek alphabet had not yet been created, we now have a text not only featuring letter shapes typical of a specific archaic Greek alphabet, but one that in all likelihood implies the habit of writing poetic texts on perishable material, probably papyrus, according to a specific layout.

Carpenter’s notion of a very late borrowing of the Greek alphabet from the Phoenicians has obviously been abandoned, yet the opposite stance – an early borrowing – is not favoured by the majority of scholars: «a date before the 9th century is usually not accepted»⁸. Notable recent exceptions are Ruijgh⁹ (about 1000 BC) and Waal¹⁰ (11th century BC at the latest).

N. Elvira Astoreca is skeptical of any attempt at taking a stance on this issue¹¹, yet she rightly assumes «that there is a long history of reforms in the transmission from N(orth) W(est) S(emitic) into the N(orth) E(ast) M(editerranean) alphabets»¹² and that «the concentration of innovative traits seen in some alphabets clearly suggests that these are at an advanced stage of development, meaning that there must have been a long tradition of writing on perishable materials and that the adoption of alphabetic writing in these areas could be placed much earlier in time»¹³, which had already rightly argued by others¹⁴.

¹ CARPENTER 1933, 8.

² ULLMANN 1934.

³ BUCHNER – RUSSO 1955.

⁴ D’ACUNTO 2020, 842.

⁵ D’ACUNTO 2020, 280.

⁶ CEG I, 252 f., no. 454. Unfortunately, the date “ca. 525-520” given by Hansen is dead wrong. Cf. BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, 146-154.

⁷ IMMERWAHR 1990, 19.

⁸ WAAL 2018, 88.

⁹ RUIJGH 1995, 1998.

¹⁰ WAAL 2018.

¹¹ ELVIRA ASTORECA 2021, 17.

¹² ELVIRA ASTORECA 2021, 130.

¹³ ELVIRA ASTORECA 2021, 137.

¹⁴ E.g. RUIJGH 1995, 38: «Cette date reculée a l’avantage de mieux expliquer les évolutions fort divergentes qui ont produit les différents alphabets épichoriques de l’époque archaïque».

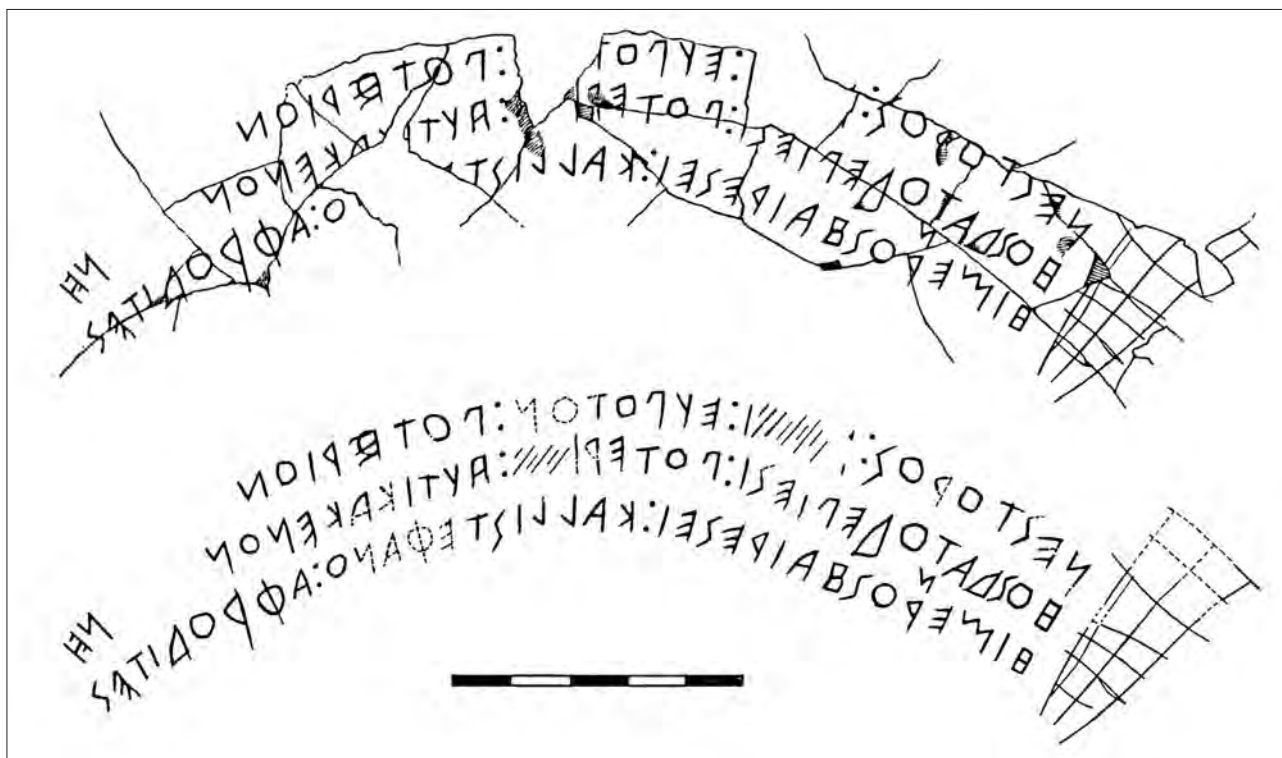


Fig. 1. Pithekoussai, inscription on the “Nestor’s Cup”, ca. 720-710 BC (drawing from BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, pl. 73)

The lack of Greek alphabetic inscriptions before the 8th century BC¹⁵, the so-called *argumentum ex silentio* for a late borrowing of the Greek alphabet, has more and more come to be regarded as questionable, since in many other areas during long “silent periods” significant developments took place. For instance, Waal¹⁶ quotes the case of the Hebrew alphabet, which is commonly believed to have been adopted in the 12th/11th centuries BC, whereas the earliest extant inscriptions do not predate the 9th/8th century BC. Yet the parallels are not confined to the Semitic world: something similar obtains in a Greek-speaking area, i.e. Cyprus, as already briefly noted by Ruijgh¹⁷.

The Cypriot data deserve to be recalled in detail. The much-discussed Palaepaphos-Skales *obelos*, featuring a Cypriot Greek personal name written in the Cypro-Minoan syllabary according to Olivier¹⁸, in all likelihood goes back to 1050-950 BC¹⁹, but after 950 we have almost nothing until 750 BC²⁰. In

practice, inscriptions in the Cypriot syllabary and dialect are completely lacking for more than two centuries; yet we know for certain that the process of adapting the old Cypro-Minoan script to the needs of the local Greek dialect took place precisely during those centuries, «a process of which we know that it happened but for which we have no other direct evidences»²¹. In other words, we can be absolutely certain that a crucial development from A¹ to A³ took place, yet all we have is just A¹ and A³: an expected *A² stage is never attested, although we know that it must perforce have existed. At a general level, decisive developments must have taken place in a number of areas all over the Mediterranean, although no record has come down to us for a number of reasons, especially the use of perishable material like leather, wood or papyrus. Remember that on Cyprus a schoolmaster was called διφθεραλοιφός «smearer of (prepared) animal skins»²².

¹⁵ WAAL 2018, 107.

¹⁶ WAAL 2018, 107.

¹⁷ RUIJGH 1995, 38; 1998, 659.

¹⁸ MORPURGO DAVIES – OLIVIER 2012, 112.

¹⁹ ICS 18g = EGEMMEYER 2010, 879.

²⁰ EGEMMEYER 2010, 10: «950-900 aucune inscription; 900-750 inscription de Paphos, écrite en syllabaire chypre-grec, mais probablement en langue non-grecque; 750-600 une bonne tren-

taine d’inscriptions à Chypre, en Italie (Policoro/Héraclée de Lucanie) et en Grèce (Mendé et Delphes)» etc.

²¹ Cf. Morpurgo Davies, in MORPURGO DAVIES – OLIVIER 2012, 112.

²² HESYCH. δ 1992 διφθεραλοιφός· γραμματοδιδάσκαλος παρὰ Κυπρίους.

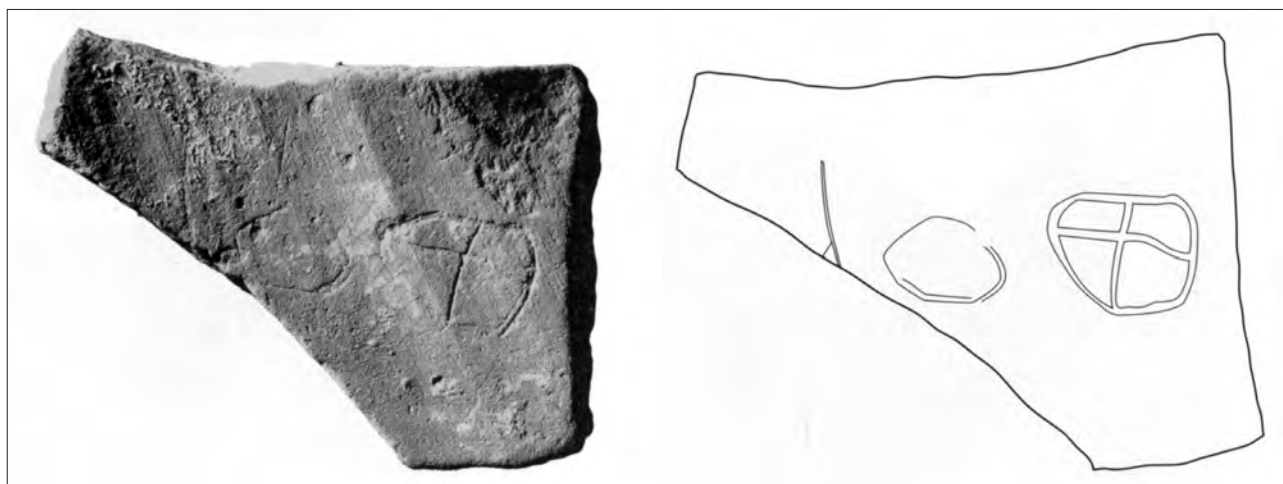


Fig. 2. Eretria, sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros, graffito on a MG amphora (from KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, 75, no. 64)

The Greek inscriptions datable to ca. 750-700 BC are now numerous, whereas very little is securely datable to 800-750 BC. At this chronological level, the discussion revolves around very few artifacts that will be discussed immediately below, namely (a) an inscribed sherd from Lefkandi, (b) an inscribed sherd from Eretria, (c) the text engraved on the Gabii flask, and (d) the new Greek letter engraved on the skyphos from Cumae and first published in this volume (see the contribution of M. D'Acunzio *et al.*, chpt. 4.4.6, catalogue entry no. 48, Pl. 12).

(a) Two Greek letters are scratched on a sherd from the Toumba cemetery at Lefkandi, a fragment of a presumably imported jug, ca. 775 BC, «eine der ältesten griechischen Inschriften überhaupt»²³. The writing direction, and consequently the interpretation of the text, is uncertain:]σα (from right to left), or αμ[(from left to right); note, however, that the latter option is far from improbable: as Bartoněk – Buchner²⁴ say, «die Inschrift von Osteria dell'Osa [zeigt], daß eine von links nach rechts laufend Schrifttrichtung in so früher Zeit auch nicht auszuschließen ist», something that seems to find a confirmation in the left-to-right oriented *nu* on the new Cumae black skyphos discussed below under (d).

(b) An inscribed sherd found in the excavations of the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria is regarded as «la plus ancienne inscription en alphabet grec de notre corpus» by Kenzelmann Pfyffer, Theurillat and Verdán²⁵; in N. Kourou's words²⁶ «the Eretria graffito, dated by context to the first part of the eighth century, represents the earliest surviving inscription on a Greek pot in the Aegean». (Fig. 2).

Kourou²⁷ says that «the reading and meaning of the carelessly scratched letters are uncertain», yet the letters are clearly readable, and the text (conceivably written from right to left) is edited by Kenzelmann Pfyffer, Theurillat and Verdán²⁸ as]θϞ[; the last letter is partially broken, but clearly recognizable as an *iota*. At the end of a long discussion the authors say that «l'interprétation du texte demeure très hasardeuse: nous proposons néanmoins de restituer θεῶν (ou θεοῖς), l'auteur de l'inscription ayant fait l'économie du *epsilon* qui phonétiquement était déjà présent dans le théta». To my mind this does not make sense. Greek personal names built on θοίνη “feast, banquet”, are well attested, e.g. Θοῖνος (7x), Θοινίων (7x) Εὔθοιμος (29x) and many others;]θϞ[might well be what is left of one of them – or just an abbreviation of one of them (e.g. Θοι for Θοῖνος or Θοινίων), a practice admitted by many scholars,

²³ BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, 195. See also RIDGWAY 1996, 94 with note 46, and more recently BOFFA 2021, 166.

²⁴ BARTONĚK – BUCHNER 1995, 195.

²⁵ KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, 75 no. 64.

²⁶ KOUROU 2017, 23.

²⁷ KOUROU 2017, 23.

²⁸ KENZELMANN PFYFFER – THEURILLAT – VERDAN 2005, 75.

often confronted with just two or three alphabetical letters scratched on a vessel (see the numerous συντομογραφημένα ὀνόματα at Methone²⁹). Note that this sherd provides us with one of the oldest instances of a Euboean straight *iota*, on a par with the one inscribed on the Gabii flask (see below); since the original crooked *iota* cannot have been modified overnight, these early instances of a straight *iota* are an additional indication that the earliest type(s) of Greek alphabet must go back in time much further than is usually assumed.

(c) A good deal of bibliography has accumulated³⁰ on an inscription scratched on a one-handled flask of local workmanship found in Tomb 482 of the cemetery of Osteria dell'Osa at ancient Gabii near Rome (ca. 775 BC and in any case not later than 770 BC³¹) (Fig. 3). According to a largely accepted interpretation, the inscription (which clearly runs from left to right) reads *εὐλιν*, conceivably «good at spinning, possibly an attribute of the woman with whom it was buried»³². Although this interpretation has variously been challenged³³, there is little doubt that the letters belong to an archaic Greek alphabet, the straight *iota* pointing clearly to the Euboean one. What is very special about this artifact is that a text written in the Euboean alphabet *ante* 770 BC was scratched on a flask manufactured in Latium. A special feature of the last sign, which has universally been interpreted as a *nu*, is the angle of about 70/73° formed by the link long vertical with the transversal, an angle remarkably more open than the one of most examples of archaic *nu* known to us, and to which I shall return presently.

In this context, mention should also be made of a retrograde *αλ*[--- or *αχ*[--- (with an “archaic” *alpha* tilted sideways), scratched in the first half of the 8th century BC on a biconical ossuary found in Tomb 21 of the Villanovan Benacci-Caprara cemetery, Bologna³⁴.

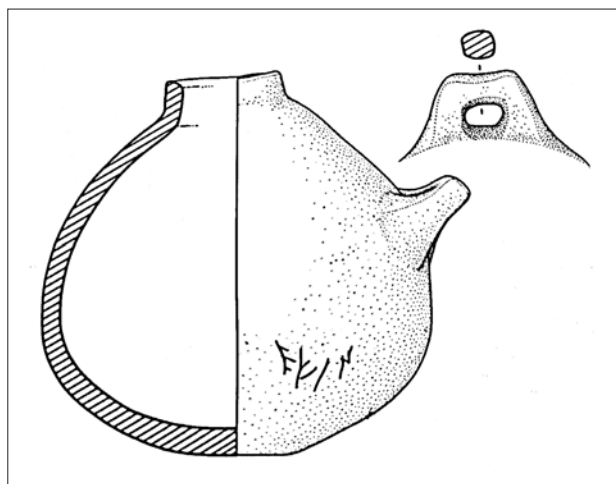


Fig. 3. Necropolis of Osteria dell'Osa (ancient Gabii), inscription on a one-handled flask of local workmanship, before 770 BC (drawing from BIETTI SESTIERI 1992, pl. 20, no. 16)

(d) The Euboean letters found in Central Italy obviously open up the problem of the circulation of Euboean merchants, pottery, and alphabetic writing in that area at a pre-colonial level, a problem to whose understanding the sign, in all likelihood a Greek letter, incised on the black skyphos published in this volume will significantly contribute. The editor, Matteo D'Acunto, has already provided all the detailed information needed, as well as a number of important comments on both the skyphos and the sign engraved on it (see D'Acunto *et al.*, chpt. 4.4.6, nos. 48, Pl. 12); in what follows, I shall repeat some chief points for the sake of the reader's convenience and add some observations of mine.

The black skyphos, produced in Euboea, was found along with two other black skyphoi (D'Acunto *et al.*, chpt. 4.4.4, nos. 45 and 52, Pl. 12) in the context of the pre-Hellenic indigenous village of Cumae; no. 45 should belong to the transition between MG IIb and LG Ia, i.e. 775-750 BC, while nos. 48 and 52 can be dated to LG Ia, i.e. 760-750 BC. Interestingly enough, both nos. 45 and 48 got broken at some point and were restored already in antiquity, presumably in the pre-Hellenic village. The very fact that the broken pieces were not thrown away and the skyphoi were restored is a clear indication that the inhabitants of the village regarded the vessels as something valuable.

²⁹ See Methone *Pierias I*, nos. 3, 5, 9, 12 etc.

³⁰ See BARTONEK – BUCHNER 1995, 204 for items previous to 1995; RIDGWAY 1996, and BOFFA 2021, 166 no. 9.

³¹ BOFFA 2020, 60.

³² JANKO 2017, 149 in the wake of other scholars.

³³ E.g. *εὐοιν* Peruzzi (see RIDGWAY 1996, 97); most recently, ELVIRA ASTORECA 2021, 60 would rather read *εῖν* or *εῖν*.

³⁴ See JANKO 2017, 144, and BOFFA 2020, 61 no. 28.

One of the most intriguing features of no. 48 (simply called “skyphos” in what follows) is the sign inscribed before firing below the right-hand handle attachment: three straight zig-zag strokes traced by a firm hand, the first stroke on the left being remarkably longer than the two others. As D’Acunto says (in this volume), the lines are so straight and the angles drawn with such precision that one might think that the engraver had used a small ruler. An intriguing feature of this sign is a very short stroke bisecting the angle formed by the long left vertical and the transversal, in all likelihood a sort of *pentimento*, as if the potter had at first decided to outline a shape provided with a sharp angle (about 30°), but had soon changed his mind and opted for a much wider one (72/75°) (Fig. 4).

In sum, two very striking features of the sign are (1) its having been incised after the paint had been applied but before firing, and (2) the care employed in drawing the lines as straight as possible (including the short *pentimento* line), and the vertical ones as parallel as possible to each other. Both points are far from negligible, in the sense that the sign must, from the very start, have held a special significance of some kind in connection with either the potter or a customer/patron, clearly interested in having precisely *that* sign engraved with much care as part of the vessel from the start. As is well known, it is often unclear whether one or more signs on an ancient vessel are potter’s marks or alphabetical letters, but in this case, both the care employed in drawing the lines and the similarity to an archaic Greek *nu* written in a left-to-right direction are remarkable, making the identification almost unescapable; besides, there is a specific similarity to the *nu* engraved on the Gabii flask in a significant point of detail, the angle formed by the link long vertical and the transversal (see below).

In comparison with the most archaic shapes of *nu*, the one on the skyphos is more elongated and the vertical strokes decidedly parallel to each other, something that becomes commoner later on³⁵. Various archaic examples of *nu* are well attested



Fig. 4. Cumae, from the area of a Pre-Hellenic hut, inscription on a black skyphos imported from Euboea, ca. 760-750 BC (photo M. D’Acunto)



Fig. 5. Methone, from the so-called Hypogeion, inscription of a *nu* on a Samian amphora, end of the 8th - beginning of the 7th century BC (from *Methone Pierias I*, 362, no. 17)

on vessels found in diverse areas³⁶, but one especially seems to me worthy of mention in relation to the Cuma skyphos, although it is datable many decades later. It is an unmistakable right-to-left oriented *nu* incised before firing on an archaic Samian amphora found at Methone Pierias (end of 8th - beginning of 7th century BC)³⁷ (Fig. 5). As the

³⁶ JOHNSTON 1979, 99-101; PAPPAS 2017, 299.

³⁷ *Methone Pierias I*, no. 17. PAPADOPOULOS 2017, 78 says «I am not absolutely certain whether it is alphabetic or non-alphabetic», but his skepticism seems largely exaggerated to me; a

³⁵ JEFFERY 1990, 79 N 4; IMMERWAHR 1990, chart on p. xxii, N 5, Attica ca. 550 BC.

authors of *Methone Pierias I*³⁸ rightly note, the letter was incised on the amphora “με ιδιαίτερη επιμέλεια” (exactly what can be said about the *nu* on the skyphos), its shape being narrower and more elongated (πιο στενό και επίμηκες) than Jeffery’s N1³⁹, and showing the same care in drawing the verticals as parallel to each other as possible.

Although the Samian amphora was manufactured at a later date than the skyphos, in both cases, the *nu* was incised with care and before firing, automatically lending the letter a special significance, and in both cases, the verticals were traced parallel to each other: this becomes commoner later on⁴⁰, but in this case probably responded to a need of regularity in the engraving of a single, significant letter, before firing.

Obviously enough, a comparison between the *nu* on the Methone amphora on the one hand and those on the Gabii flask and the black skyphos on the other brings about similarities as well as significant differences. There are parallel verticals in all three cases, but the retrograde *nu* on the Methone amphora is very close to Immerwahr’s archaic «vertical high *nu*»⁴¹, the angle formed by the long vertical on the right with the transversal being undeniably sharp (about 30°) - interestingly enough, more or less the same opening of the *pentimento* on the skyphos.

Conversely, in both the left-to-right oriented *nu* on the Gabii flask and the skyphos, the angle formed by the link vertical with the transversal is not far from 80°, to be precise 72/75° (skyphos), 70/73° (Gabii)⁴²: as a matter of fact, on looking at their pictures side by side, the openings of both angles appear almost identical (Fig. 6). Now, although interpreting the Gabii text as εὐλιν has not found favour with all modern scholars (see above), its last letter has universally been regarded as a *nu*: this remarkable affinity in shape should dispel all



Fig. 6. Comparison of the *nu* on the inscriptions from Pre-Hellenic Cumae (left, cf. Fig. 4) and Osteria dell’Osa (right, cf. Fig. 3) (drawings F. Nitti; right redrawn from BIETTI SESTIERI 1992, pl. 20)

residual doubts concerning the alphabetical nature of the sign engraved on the skyphos.

A wide-angle opening of this kind, coupled with the tendency to make the vertical lines parallel to each other, is infrequent in archaic examples of *nu*, but we should not forget that we are at a very high chronological level; all the comparable letter shapes being later than these two. One should allow for a certain amount of variation (which is also common later on, even in one and the same text)⁴³, and possibly the creation of ephemeral “graphic trends”. The *pentimento* on the skyphos is especially intriguing in this respect since the potter seems to have started to draw a well-attested shape (angle at 30/40°) and then opted for a shape with a much wider angle, virtually the same as that of the *nu* on the Gabii flask. Interestingly, in some forms of Phoenician *nūn*, the angle formed by the long vertical with the transversal is very open, e. g., almost 90° in some shapes of the Karatepe bilingual (8th century BC), where different scribes/engravers were at work, each showing a «predilection ... for certain shapes of letters»⁴⁴ (Fig. 7).

striking similarity to an archaic Greek *nu* is unmistakable, and both the authors of *Methone Pierias I* and PAPPAS 2017, 299 interpret the sign as a Greek letter.

³⁸ *Methone Pierias I*, 362-364 (on no. 17).

³⁹ JEFFERY 1990, 79.

⁴⁰ IMMERWAHR 1990, chart on p. xxii, nos. 5, 6, 7 (6th century BC and later).

⁴¹ IMMERWAHR 1990, 151.

⁴² I am grateful to Matteo D’Acunto for accurately calculating the angular opening of the letters in both artifacts.

⁴³ Two random examples: in ισαμενετιννυνα, the text scratched on the Cumae lekythos of ca. 700 BC (CASSIO 1991-1993, picture on p. 203), the first three *nu* remind one of Immerwahr’s type 3, while the last one is decidedly closer to type 6 (IMMERWAHR 1990, chart on p. xxii). In the personal name Αναχσιδῶν on a remarkable 6th century BC Attic bronze plaque (IG I² 393) the little upright of the first *nu* is slanting, while in the second it “is made vertical”, IMMERWAHR 1990, 151.

⁴⁴ ÇAMBEL 1999, 11.

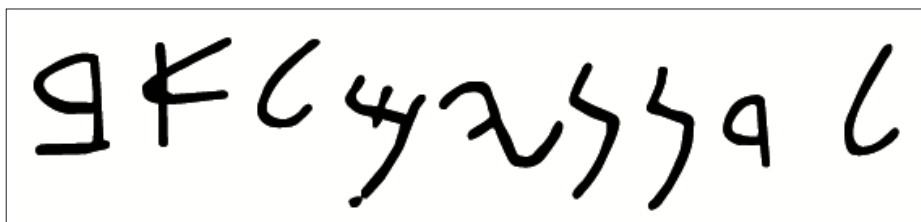


Fig. 7. Karatepe, detail of a bilingual inscription on a stele, 8th century BC (from ÇAMBEL 1999, pl. 9): *ldnnyml'b* («for the Danonites as a father», transl. C.H. Gordon)

A few words by way of conclusion. The *nu* on the skyphos no. 48 from pre-Hellenic Cumae, very similar in shape to the one on the Gabii flask, is a further significant *tessera* added to what we already knew about the circulation of Euboeans, Euboean goods, and the Euboean alphabet in Campania and Latium prior to the “official” colonization - a subject dealt with in much detail by Matteo D’A-cunto in this volume. Incidentally, the *nu* on the skyphos, along with the other letters or letter groups attested for 800- 750 BC, are an important additional indication that by the first half of the 8th century BC, the Euboean alphabet (like most local Greek alphabets) had already reached a stage of full development - the borrowing from the Semitic

script having taken place at an early date, possibly the 10th century BC, if not the 11th century as Waal⁴⁵ would prefer.

As specifically regards the *nu* on the skyphos, we will never know the precise meaning of that isolated letter, but its engraving *before* firing is certainly significant: we are not dealing with something scratched on a ready-made vessel on a specific occasion and on the spur of the moment, but with an alphabetic letter whose existence had, so to speak, been planned from the start by the potter himself, possibly on behalf of one of his customers or friends; a letter bearing a message we cannot reconstruct, but one by which somebody set great store, and one meant to accompany the whole life of the skyphos.

⁴⁵ WAAL 2018.

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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-*

tio to discussions on the origin and development of the Greek alphabet, this article reviews some early inscribed sherds, chiefly the one from Eretria where part of a personal name (Θοῖνος or Εῤθονος) is clearly legible, and especially dwells on the problems posed by the *N* featuring on the skyphos from Cumae and the extreme similarity of its shape to that of the slightly earlier *N* of the Gabii flask (the last letter of εὐλιν). As a matter of fact, the Greek letter on the skyphos provides a remarkably significant addition to what we already knew about the circulation of Euboeans, Euboean goods, and the Euboean alphabet in Campania and Latium in the first half of the 8th century BC.

MASSIMO BOTTO, *Phoenician Trade in the Lower Tyrrhenian Sea between the 9th and 8th Centuries BC: the Case of Cumae*

An examination of Phoenician and “Sardinian-Phoenician” ceramic production finds unearthed in a pre-Hellenic domestic context from Cuma – brought to light since 2018 thanks to excavations directed by Matteo D’Acunto of the University of Naples L’Orientale – has shed new light on the politics and international trade in the Lower Tyrrhenian Sea in the phases contemporary with or immediately preceding the founding of Pithekoussai. Among the most significant aspects, the key role played by Sardinia emerged. Without fossilizing on rigid schematics, which are entirely inappropriate for the historical periods examined here, two areas of different influence can be distinguished on the island. According to widely established lines of research, in fact, it appears that the Nuragic canton systems located in the northern and central-eastern sectors of the island were more projected toward trade with the Villanovan populations of northern Etruria, while those located in southern and western Sardinia maintained relations mainly with the Iberian Peninsula and the central Mediterranean within an established circuit managed by the main Phoenician foundations in which, however, local populations also played a leading role. What emerges from the most recent investigations, and what we hope to have clarified in this paper, is that the two trade flows found a

meeting point in the Lower Tyrrhenian Sea, particularly in Campania, in the stretch of coast between the Gulf of Naples to the north and the mouth of the Picentino to the south.

GIOVANNA GRECO, *Structures and Materials of Archaic Cumae: Research of the Federico II University in the Area of the Forum*

This paper summarizes the results of excavations conducted by the University of Naples “Federico II” on the southern side of the Forum of Cumae, focusing on the chronological span between the early colonial phase and the Archaic period. Of particular interest were the excavations conducted in the so-called Tempio con Portico, where evidence from the last quarter of the 8th century BC to the beginning of the Imperial period, when the temple was built, were brought to light. From this area, which has yielded traces of occupation from the Early Archaic period, come numerous architectural fragments from the late Archaic period, possibly belonging to a pre-existing cult building, as well as a fair amount of residual ceramics (*impasto*, Late Geometric and Protocorinthian pottery). The data collected, along with what has emerged from the most recent investigations conducted in Cumae, make it possible to reconstruct the urban transformations that occurred in this sector of the ancient city.

D. GIAMPAOLA, *New Discoveries from Parthenope (Naples)*

Archaeological evidence on Parthenope has long been limited to the Chiatamone landfill and the via Nicotera necropolis, which attested to its location on the Pizzofalcone promontory. This contribution presents new data from the archaeological investigations for the subway line carried out on the Pizzofalcone site in Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli and in the area of the Greco-Roman harbor in Piazza Municipio. The discoveries deepen the knowledge of the colonial phenomenon in the Gulf of Naples, which is well known from the documentation of Pithekoussai and Cumae.

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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.

