

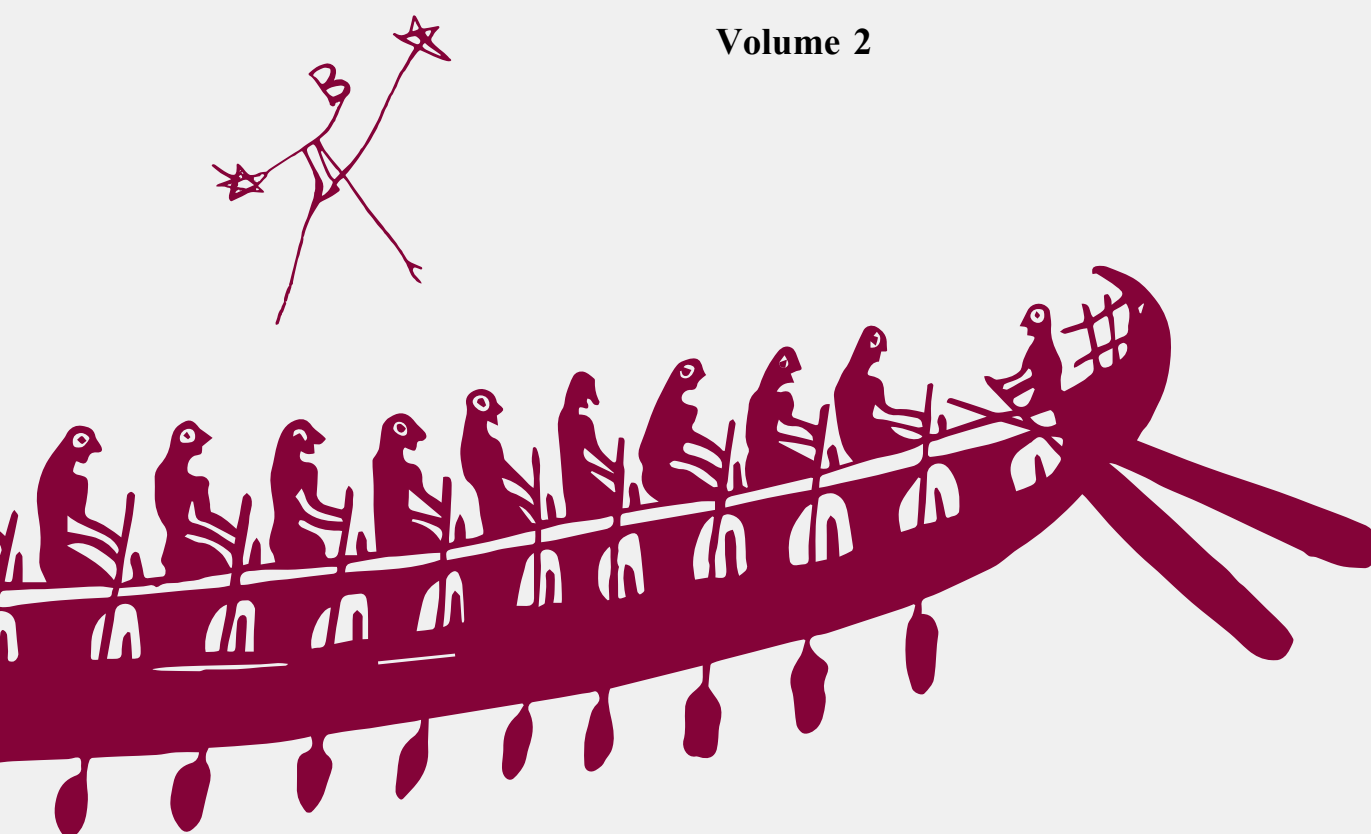
EUBOICA II

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*.

CONTENTS

TERESA E. CINQUANTAQUATTRO, MATTEO D'ACUNTO, <i>Preface to Volume II</i>	p.	ix
--	----	----

Colonial Memories and Models

MAURIZIO GIANGIULIO, <i>Euboean Colonial Memories. Mediterranean Mobility, Literary Traditions and Social Memory</i>	»	19
LUCA CERCHIAI, <i>Interpretative Models of Euboean Colonization and Impacts on the Indigenous World</i>	»	29

Pithekoussai

TERESA E. CINQUANTAQUATTRO, <i>Pithekoussai, Necropolis of San Montano (Excavations 1965-1967). Stratigraphy, Funerary Representation and Intercultural Dynamics</i>	»	49
MELANIA GIGANTE, ALESSANDRA SPERDUTI, IVANA FIORE, FRANCESCA ALHAIQUE, LUCA BONDIOLI, <i>Euboean, Eastern and Indigenous People: A Bioarchaeological Investigation of Ancient Pithekoussai (8th-7th Century BC, Ischia Island, Campania)</i>	»	87
VALENTINO NIZZO, <i>Ritual Landscapes and Ritual Codes in the Pithekoussai Cemetery</i>	»	107
COSTANZA GIALANELLA, PIER GIOVANNI GUZZO, <i>The Manufacturing District in Mazzola and its Metal Production</i>	»	125
LUCIA A. SCATOZZA HÖRICH, <i>Pithecusan Gold: Anatolian Connections</i>	»	147
GLORIA OLCESE (with a contribution by GILBERTO ARTIOLI), <i>Natural Resources and Raw Materials at Ischia in Antiquity: Some Data and Preliminary Reports from an Ongoing, Interdisciplinary Project</i>	»	161
NADIN BURKHARDT, STEPHAN FAUST, <i>First Results of the Excavations at Pithekoussai from 2016-2018 (Villa Arbusto, Lacco Ameno, Ischia)</i>	»	183
MARIASSUNTA CUOZZO, <i>Pithekoussai. Pottery from the Mazzola Area</i>	»	201
FRANCESCA MERMATI, <i>Parerga and Paralipomena to the Study of Pithecusan-Cumaeian Ceramic Production in the Light of New Research. Twenty Years after Euboica</i>	»	221
TERESA E. CINQUANTAQUATTRO, BRUNO D'AGOSTINO, <i>The Context of "Nestor's Cup": New Considerations in the Light of Recent Anthropological Studies</i>	»	267
MAREK WĘCOWSKI, <i>The "Cup of Nestor" in Context. The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Culture</i>	»	275

Cumae and Parthenope

ALFONSO MELE, <i>Kyme, Apollo and the Sybil</i>	»	281
MATTEO D'ACUNTO, MARIANGELA BARBATO, MARTINA D'ONOFRIO, MARCO GIGLIO, CHIARA IMPROTA, CRISTIANA MERLUZZO, FRANCESCO NITTI, FRANCESCA SOMMA, <i>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)</i>	»	305
ALBIO CESARE CASSIO, <i>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</i>	»	451
MASSIMO BOTTO, <i>Phoenician Trade in the Lower Tyrrhenian Sea between the 9th and 8th Centuries BC: the Case of Cumae</i>	»	461
GIOVANNA GRECO, <i>Structures and Materials of Archaic Cumae: Research of the Federico II University in the Area of the Forum</i>	»	501
DANIELA GIAMPAOLA, <i>New Discoveries from Parthenope (Naples)</i>	»	523

Magna Graecia and Sicily

JAN KINDBERG JACOBSEN, GLORIA MITTICA, <i>Oinotrian-Euboean Pottery from Timpone della Motta – Francavilla Marittima (CS)</i>	»	563
MARIA COSTANZA LENTINI, <i>Naxos between the Eighth and Seventh Centuries BC Revisited</i>	»	575
GIOVANNA MARIA BACCI, <i>Zancle: Latest Findings on the Urban Settlement and Sanctuaries</i>	»	589

Conclusions

CATHERINE MORGAN, <i>Conclusions. From Euboica to Euboica II: Changes in Knowledge and Scholarly Approaches</i>	»	605
<i>Abstracts</i>	»	617

PHOENICIAN TRADE IN THE LOWER TYRRHENIAN SEA BETWEEN THE 9TH AND 8TH CENTURIES BC: THE CASE OF CUMAE*

Massimo Botto

1. PHOENICIAN AND “SARDINIAN-PHOENICIAN” POTTERY

1.1. *The Context of Discovery*

The ceramics examined come from a pre-Hellenic domestic context brought to light as of 2018-2022 thanks to excavations directed by Matteo D’Acunto of the University of Naples L’Orientale within the peristyle of the large domus occupying the southern sector of the settlement¹ (see Fig. 18.1-3 in the contribution of M. D’Acunto *et al.* in the present volume).

The archaeological stratigraphies investigated in this area demonstrate the existence of a tight sequence of living levels (Levels I-IV) connected to the use of an indigenous hut, where only some functional areas have been identified, but not its limits at present. In this paper, the various Phoenician and “Sardinian-Phoenician” ceramic artefacts will be briefly framed within their contexts of discovery (see Fig. 20 in the contribution of M. D’Acunto *et al.* in the present volume).

The archaeological investigations carried out between 2018 and 2021 in the western and central portion of the peristyle allowed, for the first time, to extensively investigate the stratigraphies related to

the crucial passage that led from the indigenous occupation of the area to the structuring of the Greek colony of Cumae². This passage is clearly legible from an archaeological point of view thanks to the presence of an imposing alluvial deposit, which completely obliterates the pre-Hellenic stratigraphies, signalling a prolonged abandonment of the area. It is, in fact, only immediately above this alluvial layer that the first substantial traces of Greek occupation of the area are found, in an initial phase that was not yet strongly structured. The ceramic artefacts found within the alluvial deposit demonstrate that the caesura between these two phases must be placed around the middle of the 8th century BC, as evidenced by the coexistence of Euboean imported fragments dating to the end of MG II and others, also of Phlegraeon production, from LG I.

Beneath this evidence lay a tight sequence of living levels (Levels I-IV) that were strongly anthropised and constantly characterised by large hearths associated with numerous faunal remains, the result of the intense food preparation and consumption activities that must have taken place *in situ*, and *impasto* forms of domestic use. These stratigraphies can be dated, thanks to the presence of a few but significant finds of Euboean imports (including black skyphoi, chevrons and PSC skyphoi), to the third quarter/mid 8th century BC. Together with these materials, we also recognise finds cat. nos. 1-8.

A deep excavation trench conducted in 2022 in the southeastern corner of the peristyle³ further

* For the fruitful exchange of information and suggestions, I would like to express my thanks to M. D’Acunto, I. Ben Jerbania, J. Bonetto, L. Cerchiai, B. d’Agostino, F. González de Canales, M. Guirguis, A. Mazzariol, F. Merlati, F.J. Núñez, C. Pellegrino, C. Perra and M. Torres Ortiz. Special thanks go to F. Nitti, who was instrumental in the drafting of the paragraph on the context of the discovery of the ceramics. I would also like to extend my heartfelt thanks to C. Improta and C. Merluzzo for the catalogue and the illustrative apparatus. This research work is a product of the PRIN 2017 Project: “People of the Middle Sea. Innovation and integration in ancient Mediterranean (1600- 500 BC)” [B.2. Innovative metallurgy], funded by the Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research.

¹ Cf. the contribution of M. D’Acunto *et al.* in this volume.

² In the following discussion (§ 1.2), this area of the hut will be referred to as the “first context” for convenience.

³ In the following discussion (§ 1.2), this area of the hut will be referred to as the “second context” for convenience.

helped to clarify the nature of the indigenous occupation of this area. Immediately below the alluvial deposit, a very compact clayey layer was recognisable, characterised on its entire surface by a series of small circular or sub-circular post holes, probably made in order to house small wooden posts. The peculiarity of this layer also lay in the presence on the surface of fragments of large containers that emerged from the layer immediately below. This evidence of the post holes, which can be interpreted as a layer of temporary frequentation of the area, the nature of which is still unclear, certainly marks a strong discontinuity with respect to the older stratigraphies, which were, in fact, obliterated by this layer of temporary frequentation. Overall, this layer did not yield much ceramic material, and therefore, it is important to highlight the presence of the fragments cat. nos. **12-13** from the point of view of their incidence.

Beneath this layer, it was possible to recover a considerable quantity of mainly large ceramic containers arranged *in situ* over the entire surface of a living levels, certainly referable to the interior portion of an indigenous dwelling. The nature of the finds, partly scattered on the floor and partly collapsed on themselves, allows us to hypothesise the presence of an area used for storing foodstuffs in this spot. Alongside ollae and pithoi in *impasto*, numerous cooking stands of different types were recovered, as well as an element pertaining to a large mobile oven. Fragments cat. nos. **9-11** also come from this layer. This evidence can be dated thanks to the correlation with the stratigraphic sequence uncovered in the adjoining tests conducted in previous years to the third quarter/mid 8th century BC.

1.2. Typological and functional characterisation

The “first context” ceramics refer to a large closed shape, of which at least two specimens can be distinguished, and to three plates, differing in manufacture and type. In fact, as will be seen below, two of the three plates (**1**; **8**) must be considered from a functional point of view as drinking vessels. However, we have preferred to maintain this terminology for the catalogue in order to be uniform with the classification proposed by P.M. Bikai for Tyre pottery, which is still an essential point of reference for Phoenician studies⁴.

The closed shape could be either a table amphora or an *olla*, since it cannot be determined whether it was fitted with handles. Of the first specimen, a fragment of the rim (**2**) and three fragments referable to different parts of the body remain. There are also two almost identical fragments in fabric and thickness, pertaining to the belly of the vessel (**5-6**); a third thinner fragment, but of the same type of fabric, pertaining to the bottom (**7**). Of the other specimen, there remain two matching fragments (**4**) pertaining to the neck and rim attachment, which differ from the previous ones due to a very thick engobe with obvious traces of horizontal splinting.

The proposal made here is that the two vessels should be considered as hybrid productions⁵, created in Sardinia through the encounter between Phoenician potters and local counterparts. In fact, the shape fits into the Nuragic tradition repertoire of *vasi a collo*⁶, while the fast pottery wheelwork and red slipped surface are a carryover from the Levantine component⁷. In this regard, it is interesting to note that *vasi a collo* are among the ceramic types of Nuragic tradition that best document the “Sardinian-Phoenician” commercial arrangement that took place between the central Mediterranean and the Atlantic coasts of the Iberian Peninsula from the earliest stages of Phoenician expansion in the West⁸. Used for the transport and storage of food and metal goods, they are among the most attested shapes in the investigations conducted at Huelva⁹ and Utica¹⁰: there

⁵ For an overview of the use of the term “hybrid” in archaeological literature, see STOCKHAMMER 2013 (with further references).

⁶ CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2000, 436-441, pls 256-262. As argued by the authors for this shape «il termine di vasi a collo (...) sembra più appropriato che olla a collo, perché all'interno di questa categoria possono essere incluse sia vere e proprie olle a collo distinto, sia frammenti con solo collo per i quali non è possibile specificare la forma complessiva del corpo» (*ibidem*, 436). Among the few fully reconstructible specimens with handles is one that is chronologically close to the contexts examined here, from the village of Su Cungiau ‘e Funtà, in the Oristanese region: SEBIS 2007, 70, fig. 21, 4; PAGLIETTI 2016, 310, fig. 3, A4.

⁷ Cf. e.g. ROPPA – HAYNE – MADRIGALI 2013, 133-135; DE ROSA 2017, 203-211; PERRA 2019, 171-192; ROPPA 2019. On these issues, with particular reference to *Sulky* cf. GUIRGUIS 2019b, 113-114.

⁸ On “Sardinian-Phoenician” trade see *infra* text.

⁹ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2004, 100-105, pl. XXI; FUNDONI 2009, 15; PAGLIETTI 2016, 310; GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2017, 31-32, pls. XIII-XIV; FUNDONI 2021, 71, 143-153, with a distinction between *vasi a collo* and *olle a colletto* following the classification of CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2000.

¹⁰ BEN JERBANIA – REDISSI 2014, 188, fig. 6, 10-11; BEN JERBANIA 2017, 188-190, fig. 9, 18-22; 2020, 36-37, 39, figg. 6, 15; 11,7; BEN JERBANIA forthcoming, fig. 11, 32-33.

⁴ BIKAI 1978. In this regard, see the considerations of GIARDINO 2017, 65, note 65.

are a conspicuous number of specimens of varying sizes and types, of which the neck, mouth and rim of the vessel have been preserved. As with Cumae, in fact, the recoveries come from habitations. However, unlike ours, which, as already pointed out, are hybrid productions made on the fast lathe, the Huelva and Utica vessels fit fully into the Nuragic vascular tradition, since they are handmade.

Considering these aspects, a significant comparison with the Cumaean sherds is represented by the well-known amphora specimen with a cinerary function from the *tophet* of *Sulky*, on the island of Sant'Antioco (Fig. 1), although in this case, the external contributions concern not only the manufacture but also the decoration of the vase, which reworks motifs derived from the vascular repertoire of Greek geometric. It should also be taken into consideration that the hitherto accepted dating of the *Sulky* cinerary to about the middle of the 8th century BC, must probably be raised again in light of ongoing investigations¹¹.

In recent years, in fact, the chronology of *Sulky*'s early colonial settlement, to which the *tophet* also refers, was revised, starting with the analysis of new excavations ("*Vano IHH*") and others conducted in the past ("*Vano IIE*" and "*Vano IIF*"), thanks to calibrated radiocarbon dating of five samples from stratified contexts¹². This allowed us to confirm a full structuring of the centre of *Sulky* as early as the second quarter of the 8th century BC allowing us to assume its first foundation was in the late 9th/early 8th century BC¹³. A chronological uplift of a few decades is consequently also proposable for the unfortunately very fragmentary quick-turned *vasi a collo* from the *Sulky* settlement, initially framed in a period roughly between the late 8th and the first quarter/first half of the 7th century BC¹⁴.

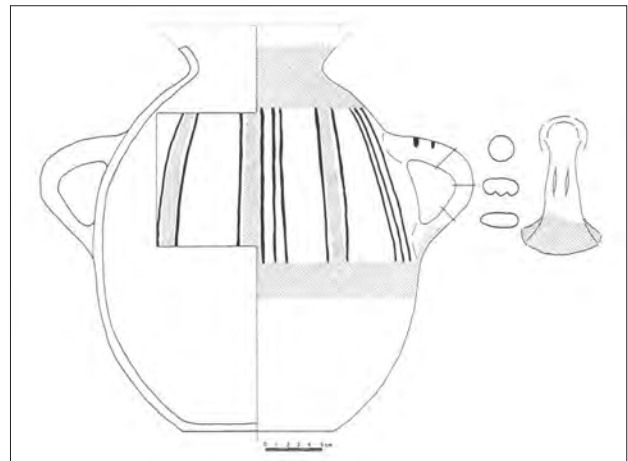


Fig. 1. *Sulky*: fast-turned amphora-cinerary with metopal style decoration from *tophet* (from BARTOLONI 1985)

A date to the second quarter/mid-8th century BC has also been authoritatively proposed for the two large wall fragments with "reverse elbow" handles¹⁵, probably belonging to *vasi a collo*, found sporadically in the funerary area of San Giorgio di Portoscuso – located on the dune system facing the island of San Pietro and a short distance from the island of Sant'Antioco – from which some incineration tombs dating to this period come¹⁶.

Fragment 2 is characterised by a rim with a squared profile. Interesting comparisons are discernible among the hand-moulded *vasi a collo* from Utica¹⁷, but especially in the "Sardinian-Phoenician" vascular repertoire of the Archaic phase from the documentation collected in the excavations at Hut 1 of Nuraghe Piscu of Suelli (Cagliari)¹⁸. A close comparison is discernible finally with the rim of a cinerary amphora from the *tophet* of Tharros (Fig. 2), at first dated to the early 7th century BC¹⁹, but later lowered by Piero Bartoloni between the last quarter of the 7th and the middle of the following century²⁰.

¹¹ BARTOLONI 1985, 174-179, figs. 5 and 12; 1988, 165-166, fig. 1, A; IALONGO 2017, 96 (*Phase 2b*, 800/775-730/725 cal. BC); BARTOLONI 2020, 34-35, pl. XXIX, fig. 29; PERRA forthcoming.

¹² GUIRGUIS 2022, 106-113, figs. 19-20, three samples came from "*Vano IIF*", one from "*Vano IIE*" and one from *tophet*.

¹³ GUIRGUIS – UNALI 2016, 90-92; GUIRGUIS 2019b; 2022, 113-115.

¹⁴ For specimens from the settlement see, e.g., BARTOLONI 1990, 50, 65 CRON F 202, fig. 9, 202 (late 8th-first quarter 7th cent. BC); POMPIANU 2010a, 28-30, note 17, fig. 4 ("*Vano IIE*", US 3178, late 8th-first half 7th century BC).

¹⁵ Literal traslation from the Italian *ansa a gomito rovescio*: a peculiar type of handle appearing in the Final Bronze Age and evolving through the Early Iron Age.

¹⁶ BERNARDINI 2000, 36, fig. 3, 3.

¹⁷ BEN JERBANIA – REDISSI 2014, 188, fig. 6, 10.

¹⁸ IALONGO 2011, VAC_INCLEST_I.10.B.

¹⁹ ACQUARO 1978, 68, fig. 12, 3; 1999, 16-17, fig. 1, 11.

²⁰ BARTOLONI 2005, 944-945.

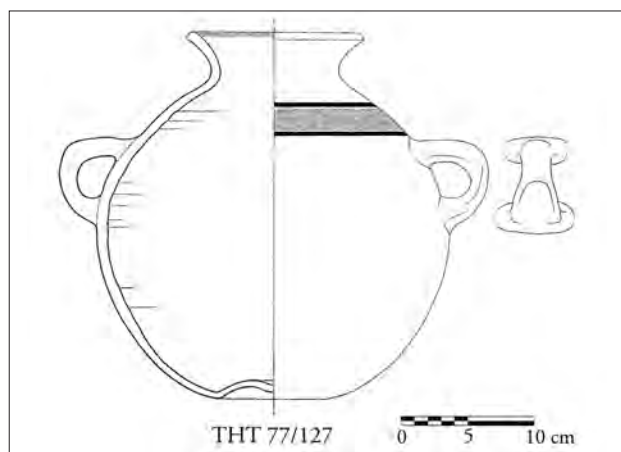


Fig. 2. Tharros: fast-turned amphora-cinerary from *tophet* (from ACQUARO 1978)

The specimen from Tharros is, moreover, not isolated at this chronological level in the “Sardinian-Phoenician” pottery production scenario. Recent studies have, in fact, shown how it is possible to follow the lines of development of the shape from the earliest Nuragic productions to later outcomes pertinent to the hybrid productions that matured in the colonial sphere, as in the case of *Sulky* examined above, or in indigenous contexts where contacts with the oriental element were closer, according to what emerged from the investigations at the already mentioned Hut 1 of the Nuraghe Piscu of Suelli²¹. In this regard, it has been pointed out that «vessels belonging to this shape, occurring in Nuragic contexts, may present a red slipped surface»²², according to a practice also found in other ceramic shapes²³, confirming processes of strong osmosis between Phoenician potters and local counterparts since the first contacts initiated as early as the late 9th/early 8th century BC²⁴.

²¹ IALONGO 2011, VAC INCLEST_I.10.A; 2017, 96, fig. 3, 8-11, 13; PERRA 2019, 220-221, 289; PERRA forthcoming.

²² IALONGO 2017, 96, fig. 3, 9.

²³ BOTTO 2013a; ROPPA – HAYNE – MADRIGALI 2013, 122-128; DE ROSA 2017, 194-202; PERRA 2019, 382-385; IBBA – SALIS – STILIGTZ 2020, 1729-1730; SALIS 2021, 140-142, note 14; GUIRGUIS 2013, 99-100, fig. 10, A-B.

²⁴ For these chronological phases, the two key contexts are represented by the emporion of Sant’Imbenia in northwestern Sardinia (cf. RENDELI 2018; OGGIANO – PEDRAZZI 2019) and the colonial settlement of *Sulky* (cf. GUIRGUIS – UNALI 2016; GUIRGUIS 2019b). For the latter settlement see the recent acquisitions of two askoid jugs found in “Vano IIF”: one with a dark red engobed surface and the other completely covered with polished red paint: GUIRGUIS 2022, 99-100, fig. 10, UUSS 3102 and 3214.

Based on the forms of integration between the Phoenicians and local communities, therefore, regional ceramic productions came to be defined which, although in the wake of a common evolutionary line, present their own peculiarities²⁵. For example, in the Sulcis district (SW Sardinia), it has been possible to reconstruct – thanks to the investigations conducted by Carla Perra at the “Sardinian-Phoenician” fortress attached to Nuraghe Sirai – an amphora production defined by the scholar as “Nuraghe Sirai-type”²⁶ which in the final phases of the 7th century BC continued the local tradition of neck amphorae, which in turn were derived from the *vasi a collo* of the Final Bronze Age/Early Iron Age (Fig. 3).

Confirming what has been stated above on the regional differentiations of “Sardinian-Phoenician” vase repertoires which underwent strong acceleration during the 7th century BC, raises the date of a cinerary amphora recently found in Tomb T54 of the western Phoenician necropolis of Nora (Fig. 4), – dateable on a stratigraphic basis between the middle and the third quarter of the 7th century BC – which is faithful to the Nuragic prototypes regarding the morphology of the neck and the “reverse elbow” handles with enlarged lower attachment set on the maximum expansion of the globular body²⁷, but which differs from them on the bottom with distinct foot and wave section and in the fast lathe manufacturing process²⁸. In this regard, it is interesting to point out that this is not the only specimen present at Nora since a wall fragment with “reverse elbow” handle perfectly superimposable on the cinerary vessel of T54 comes from the same sector of the necropolis²⁹. In contrast, from the settlement

²⁵ For the shape discussed here, see the considerations of BARTOLONI 1985, 179; FORCI 2003.

²⁶ PERRA 2019, 220-221, 289-290; 2020, 1400-1402, fig. 6, 3-4; PERRA forthcoming.

²⁷ CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2000, 436-437, pl. 254, 3-5, 730 V. c. 2.

²⁸ BONETTO *et al.* 2022: 246-247, fig. 3, bottom. The vase found in a fragmentary state, but perfectly reconstructible, has two handles, as can be clearly seen from fig. 1f, elaborated by Alessandro Mazzariol, who is conducting the study of materials from the western Phoenician necropolis. To Jacopo Bonetto, director of the excavations, and Alessandro Mazzariol go my heartfelt thanks for the fruitful exchange of ideas on the ongoing investigations and for the generosity with which they made unpublished documentation available to me.

²⁹ BONETTO *et al.* 2022: 243-245 (US 1408_RN4). The perfect correspondence between the two finds was confirmed to me by Alessandro Mazzariol.



Fig. 3. Nuraghe Sirai: fast-turned amphora of the “Nuraghe Sirai-type” from room γ6 (NS19.G6.296/224/301) (courtesy of C. Perra)

come several handles of this type attributed to pots, which in some cases, could refer to *vasi a collo*³⁰.

Finally, it is worth mentioning a domestic amphora specimen that can be included in this evolutionary line, discovered in the settlement of Villasimius, in the southeastern coastal sector of the island, in a context datable to the middle decades of the 6th century BC (570-540 BC)³¹.

Starting from these data, it is evident how the ceramic workshops of the “Sardinian-Phoenician” settlements in the southern part of the island were particularly active in the elaboration of hybrid productions in which the contaminations between the Nuragic and Phoenician traditions are strong as far as the morphology and manufacture of the vessels are concerned³².

Regarding the three plates identified, the first fragment to be analysed concerns a portion of indistinct wall and base (8), made of finely purified

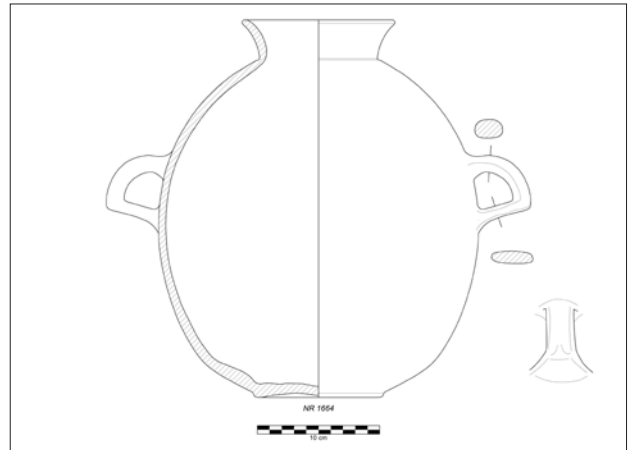


Fig. 4. Nora: fast-turned amphora from tomb T54 of the western Phoenician necropolis (courtesy of A. Mazzariol)

clay that has undergone an excellent firing and engobe with a bright red interior and a reddish-yellow exterior. The indistinct base is to be related to plates corresponding to Bikai types 8 and 9, which differ from each other only in the absence (type 8) or presence (type 9) of a bichrome decoration. In Tyre, type 9 finds its greatest diffusion in a phase immediately preceding type 8, which reaches its peak of attestations in Stratum IV³³, which chronologically overlaps and partly precedes the Cumae-an context³⁴. Confirmation of this comes from the necropolis of al-Bass, where plates of the above-mentioned types are well documented in Period IV (c. 775-730 BC). By way of illustration only, we mention the two intact specimens with “red and black” decoration covering urns TT115-116³⁵. Bikai types 8-9 are attested in the earliest contexts of Phoenician irradiation in the West. Without any claim to completeness, the specimens unearthed in Huelva³⁶, Cadiz³⁷ and La Rebanadil-

³³ BIKAI 1978, 23-24, pls. X, 4, 7 (Strata II-III), XVI, 18-38 (Stratum IV), XVIII, 3 (Strata V-VII); XIX, 9-12 (Strata VII-I-IX); NÚÑEZ 2017, 13, Group 2, fig. 3; 2018a, 126.

³⁴ BOTTO 2005, 597-599; NÚÑEZ 2017, 25; 2018a, 165-174.

³⁵ AUBET – NÚÑEZ – TRELLISÓ 2014, 100, fig. 2.41. For the type cf. NÚÑEZ 2014, 321-324, fig. 3.95.

³⁶ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2004, 10-13, pl. II (Calle Méndez Núñez, 7-13/Plaza de las Monjas, 12); GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2017, 7-8, pl. I (Calle Concepción 3).

³⁷ TORRES ORTIZ *et al.* 2014, 53-56, fig. 3, and TORRES ORTIZ *et al.* 2020, 383-383, fig. 8 a (Teatro Cómico, Período II); RUIZ MATA – PÉREZ – GÓMEZ FERNÁNDEZ 2014, 97, fig. 11 (Calle Ancha no. 29), where reference is made to more than thirty specimens from the oldest life strata of Castillo de Doña Blanca and three from tumulus 1 in Las Cumbres.

³⁰ CAMPANELLA 2009, 302, in part. cat. no. 63.

³¹ GUIRGUIS 2019a, 91-94, fig. 35.

³² For Nora, see BOTTO 2009b; for *Sulky*, see BOTTO 2013a and GUIRGUIS 2019b; for the fortress of Nuraghe Sirai, see PERRA 2019, 382-385. Moreover, the phenomenon is discernible at different times and with different intensity in other parts of the island as well: e.g., see for the Oristanese the considerations of ROPPA 2012.

la³⁸ are worth mentioning for the Iberian Peninsula, while in the central Mediterranean they are found in Utica³⁹, Carthage⁴⁰ and *Sulky*⁴¹.

The second fragment (1) refers to the decorated base of a plate of the type with a short everted rim, which characterises early autonomous colonial productions from the Iberian Peninsula to the central Mediterranean⁴². Focusing on this area, to which the Cumaean fragment should probably be referred, as we shall see more fully below, the earliest attestations come from Carthage⁴³ and *Sulky*⁴⁴. Colonial ateliers are distinguished from those of the mother country by productions of excellent quality in *Red Slip* and *Bichrome Ware*. Concerning the decoration, with an evanid concentric band and presumed radial pattern, of which only one ray, painted on the bottom (Munsell 10R 6/8, “light red”) of the carefully smoothed basin is preserved, no point comparisons could be identified⁴⁵. In this

regard, however, it is considered useful to draw attention back to the documentation collected at Nora, unfortunately from secondary contexts⁴⁶. Among the plates with short everted rim are attested specimens without surface treatment or in *Red Slip* and *Bichrome Ware*. In the wide selection of backgrounds we distinguish plate decorations with concentric circles of dark paint (10 YR 3/1, “very dark gray”) overpainted on smoothed, polished, or red painted surfaces (2.5 YR 6/8, “light red”) ⁴⁷, which find timely comparisons at La Fonteta⁴⁸.

From this centre also come fragments of plate walls that show on the inside a peculiar “net” decoration painted red on a smoothed surface⁴⁹. On the lower part, this resembles that of the Cumaean plate. The La Fonteta sherds are part of a conspicuous group of ceramics attributed thanks to archaeometric analysis to workshops in the central Mediterranean⁵⁰.

The rim fragment listed in the catalogue as number (3) due to its manufacture with thin walls and engobe on both the inner and outer surface, the slope and the straight profile of the walls could be part of the *Fine Ware* production that has been the subject of a recent in-depth examination concerning technological and typological aspects⁵¹. This is an early oriental luxury production exported to the West, where it was most likely also imitated locally, as suggested for part of the numerous FWP6 type plates found in Calle Méndez Núñez, 7-13/Plaza de las Monjas, 12 in Huelva⁵². Because of

³⁸ SÁNCHEZ *et al.* 2011, 195.

³⁹ BEN JERBANIA 2020, 35, fig. 6, 1 (Sondage 1); 38, fig. 11, 3-4 (Sondage 2, Phase 1); LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2020, 59, fig. 7, 9 (Puits 20017). Local hand-moulded imitations are also attested in Utica, (BEN JERBANIA 2020, 37, fig. 7, 1, Sondage 1) both with red engobe and without surface treatment (LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2016, 81, fig. 11, 6, puits 20017).

⁴⁰ VEGAS 1999, 140-141, fig. 29 (Bikai, type 9); 141-142, fig. 30 (Bikai, type 8); for recent excavations in Rue Astarté, on the south-eastern slopes of Byrsa Hill cf. MARAOUI TELMINI – SCHÖN 2020, 76-77, 82, figs. 5-6, cat. nn. 10, 11, 13, 14, 22 (BIKAI, type 9).

⁴¹ POMPIANU – UNALI 2016, fig. 6, 6-7 (“*Vano* IIE”, US 3206); GUIRGUIS – UNALI 2016, 88, fig. 6, f-g (“*Vano* IIH”, US 3873); POMPIANU 2020, 173, fig. 6, 2, with surface treatment in *Red Slip* (Settore IV, US 3893); GUIRGUIS 2022, 114-115 (“*Vano* IIH”, UUSS 3867, 3873).

⁴² GIARDINO 2017, 107-109, type 1.2.1, pls. IV-X; NÚÑEZ 2017.

⁴³ For a review of the Bir Massouda documentation see NÚÑEZ 2017, 26-27, fig. 7, IV (with further references); for a fragment considered to be imported from the excavations in Rue Astarté 2 see MARAOUI TELMINI – SCHÖN 2020, 89-90, fig. 8, cat. 46. The type was previously examined by VEGAS 1999, 135-136, Form I.1, Teller mit schmalem ausladenden Rand, fig. 24 and PESERICO 2007, 272-275, fig. 108, Teller vom Typ P1 (*Red Slip*); 301-302, fig. 129 (*Bichrome Ware*).

⁴⁴ BERNARDINI 1990, 88, figs. 7-8; 2000, 37-55, figs. 8, 14-15, “*Settore* III”; POMPIANU 2010c, fig. 10, 1-4 and RS281, “*Vano* IIE”, US 3219; POMPIANU – UNALI 2016, fig. 6, 1-5, “*Vano* IIE, US 3206”; GUIRGUIS – UNALI 2016, 89, fig. 6, C, “*Vano* IIH”, US 3846; BARTOLONI 2018, 10, in part. nn. 10-20, “*Settore* BAL”; GUIRGUIS 2019, 115, fig. 11.2, “*Vano* IIH”, UUSS 3882, 3873, 3867; POMPIANU 2020, 182, fig. 14, 3-4, “*Settore* IV”; GUIRGUIS 2022, 114-115, fig. 22, “*Vano* IIH”, UUSS 3555, 3567, 3571.

⁴⁵ For the painted ceramic production of Motya and for comparisons in the Phoenician colonial sphere see SPAGNOLI 2019.

⁴⁶ FINOCCHI 2003, 43, pl. 55, 4, type I; BOTTO 2009a, 99-103, cat. nn. 1-37; MADRIGALI 2021, 85-86, pl. XXXVII, 1-4.

⁴⁷ BOTTO 2009a, 102-103, cat. nn. 13-22; MADRIGALI 2021, 85, pl. XXXVII, 1.

⁴⁸ GONZÁLEZ PRATS 2014, 679, fig. 90 cat. nn. 12307 (Fonteta III) e 21146 (Fonteta IV); 2016, 323.

⁴⁹ GONZÁLEZ PRATS 2014, 679, fig. 89, cat. n. 39835 (Fonteta I?-II); 2016, 323.

⁵⁰ GONZÁLEZ PRATS 2011, 212-230, MC1 (Carthage), 231-235, MC2 (*Sulky*); SEVA ROMÁN *et al.* 2011, 254-255 (*Grupo 3. Área del Mediterráneo central*).

⁵¹ GIACOSA 2016.

⁵² GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2004, 39-42, 44 and 181, where it is stated that 103 sherds belong to the FW1 type from Huelva, similar to the FWP6 type from Tyre, although it is probable that the majority of the other 162 incomplete borders may belong to this type. Only one specimen, on the other hand, was recognised in the context investigated only 40 m away from the first one, in Calle Concepción 3, partly chronologically overlapping with the Cumaean context: GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2017, 10-11, table III.1.

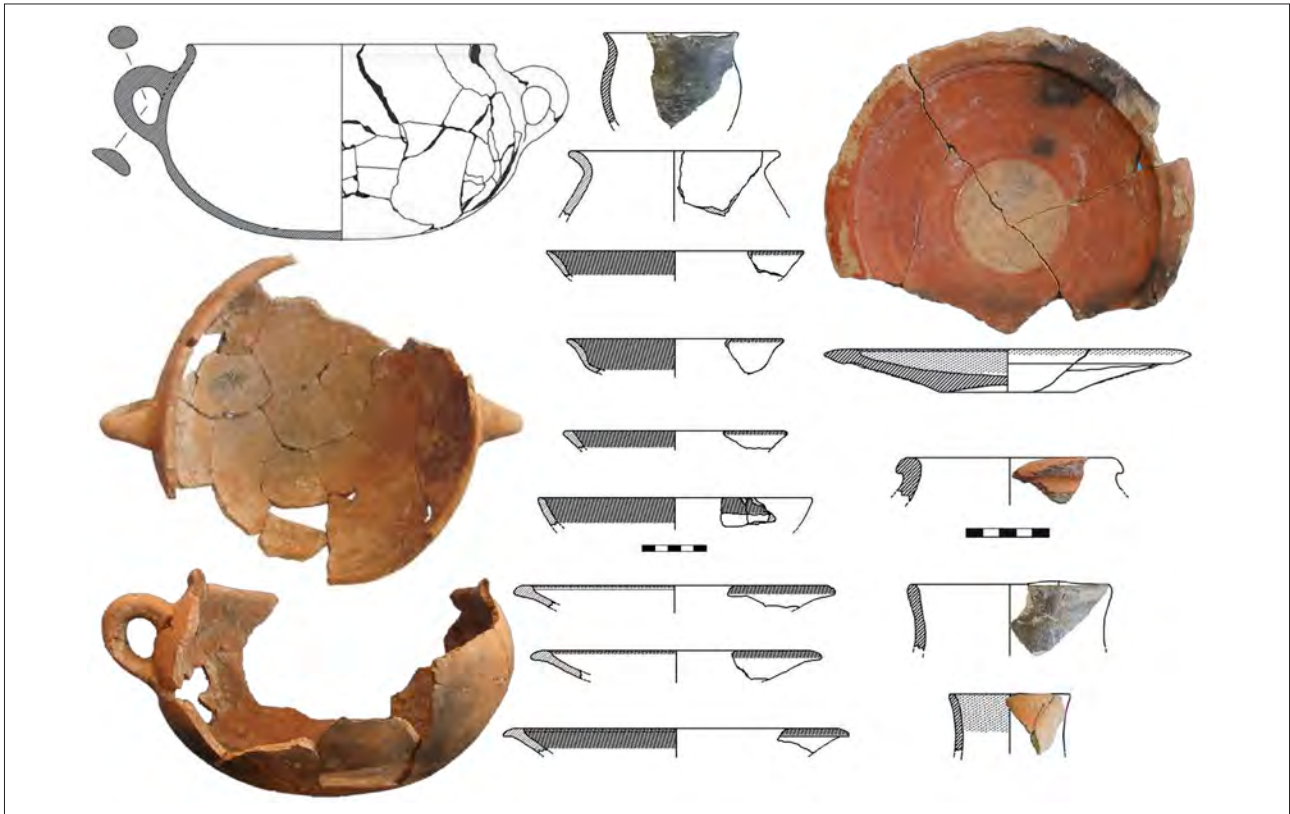


Fig. 5. *Sulky*: Selection of ceramic materials from SU 32019 in “Vano IIE” (from GUIRGUIS 2023)

the type of workmanship and surface treatment, our fragment can be placed in the Bikai FWP2 type from Tiro⁵³. Referring to the aforementioned study for the numerous attestations of FWP2 scattered among the Syro-Palestinian area, Cyprus, the central-western Mediterranean, and the Iberian Peninsula⁵⁴, we point out below some significant contexts useful for the present discussion, such as that of the well (UE 20017) in Utica, which can be framed in the last quarter of the 9th century BC, from where specimens are indicated as belonging to the Bikai FWP2 type come⁵⁵. In the *emporion*, of Sant’Imbenia, Sardinia, fragments which are still unpublished, have been recognised from a context contemporary with that of Cumae⁵⁶, while at least two specimens of FWP2 come from the *Sulky* settlement, and more precisely from stratig-

raphies between approximately the second and third quarters of the 8th century BC in correspondence with “Vano IIE”⁵⁷. Also from *Sulky*, *Fine Ware* cups have recently been identified in the oldest life strata at “Vano IIE”⁵⁸.

The last two contexts are the ones that returned materials most similar to the Cumaean pottery examined here. For example, as mentioned above, from the life strata below “Vano IIE”⁵⁹ (Fig. 5) come turned-*vasi a collo*, plates – both Bikai 9 type and with a short everted rim – and *Fine Ware*⁶⁰, while the excavations in “Vano IIE” have unearthed a considerable amount of *Red Slip* and *Fine Ware* pottery (Fig. 6) that archaeometric analysis largely traces back to local production⁶¹.

⁵³ BIKAI 1978, 26-28, pl. XIA, 4-10, 12-16 (FWP2, Strata II-III).

⁵⁴ GIACOSA 2016, 26-27, FWB4 and pl. I.

⁵⁵ LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2020, 59, fig. 7, 11-12, 18.

⁵⁶ Personal communication from Francisco Núñez, who is studying the context. For a cup in FW from a context of the second half of the 8th century BC, cf. OGGIANO 2000, 243, fig. 6, 3.

⁵⁷ POMPIANU 2010c, 11 and 13, fig. 12, 1-2 (UUS 3202, 3208 and 3206).

⁵⁸ GUIRGUIS 2022, 114-115, fig. 22.

⁵⁹ GUIRGUIS 2022, 100-102, figs. 11-12.

⁶⁰ See above respectively notes 41 and 57.

⁶¹ FABRIZI *et al.* 2019; FABRIZI *et al.* 2020.

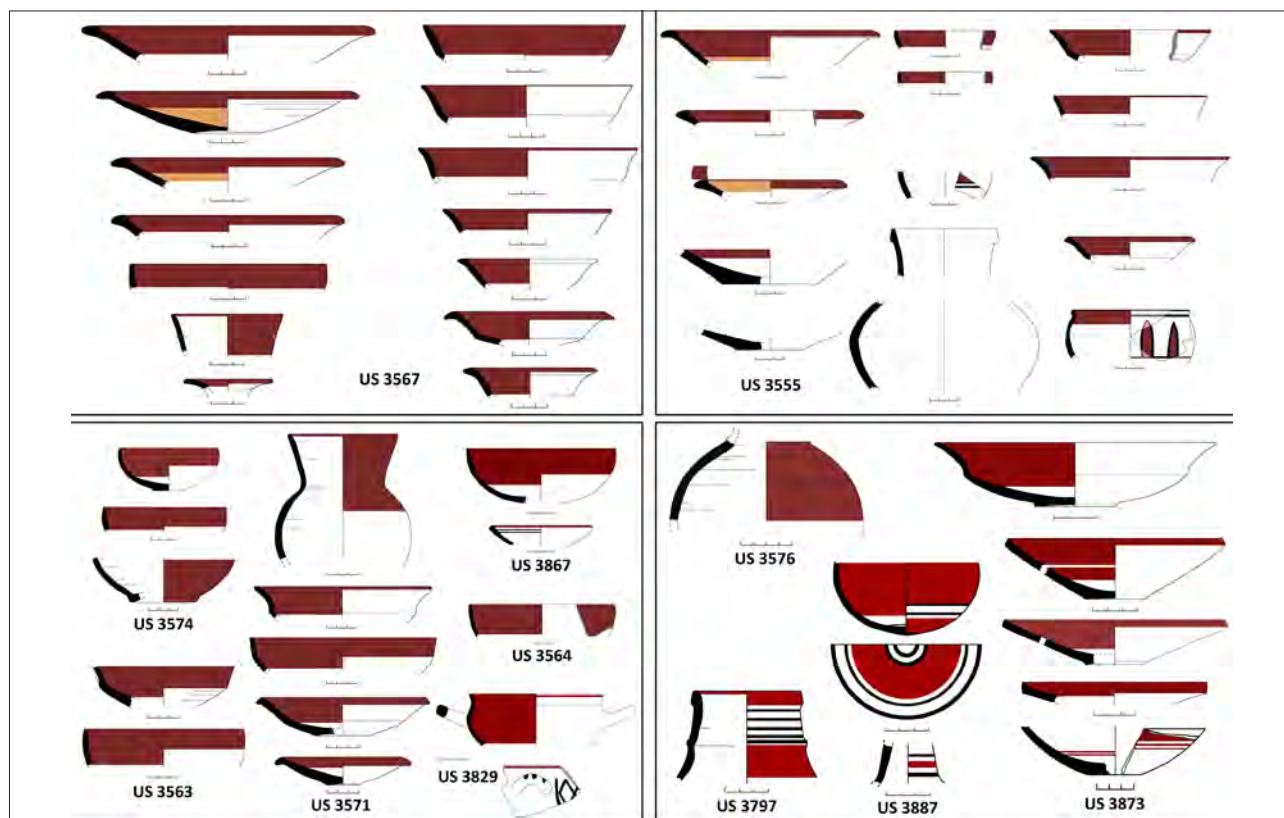


Fig. 6. *Sulky*: Selection of ceramic materials from SSUU 3567, 3555, 3563, 3564, 3571, 3574, 3576, 3797, 3829, 3867, 3873, 3887 in “Vano IHH” (from GUIRGUIS 2023)

The ceramic set analysed above thus constitutes a banquet set in which the *vasi a collo* would have had the same function normally attributed in the Phoenician world to the crater or table amphora⁶², that is for mixing wine which is later poured into the *Red Slip* cup (8) and the *Fine Ware* cup (3). Although placed in the typology of “plates” by P.M. Bikai, the two vessels are actually for the consumption of liquids⁶³. As has recently been noted for *Fine Ware* productions, these are cups whose origin derives from the Eastern custom of drinking from lowered bowl shapes⁶⁴. Only no. 1 can be considered functional for solid food consumption⁶⁵. It should be noted that this type of plate enjoyed widespread success in Pithekoussai, where it was imported in considerable quantities and soon imitated⁶⁶.

⁶² For funerary contexts, cf. NÚÑEZ 2018c, 11-12, fig. 1, a-b; 2021.

⁶³ NÚÑEZ 2018c, 11-12, fig. 3, b and d.

⁶⁴ GIACOSA 2016, 33-36; NÚÑEZ 2018a, 132-133.

⁶⁵ NÚÑEZ 2018c, 12, fig. 3, f-g.

⁶⁶ BUCHNER 1982, fig. 6a-b; D’AGOSTINO 1994-1995; DOCTER – NIEMEYER 1994, 111, note 62-63; DOCTER 2000, 139-140, fig. 7, a-b; D’AGOSTINO 2017, 408-409.

Moving on to the “second context”, identified as a storage room due to the prevalence of vessels for preserving, preparing and cooking food, it was possible to identify among the “Phoenician” imported materials an *olla* with an oblique, everted rim, of uniform thickness and squared top (9). This shape has comparisons in the Sardinian Iron I repertory⁶⁷ and in parallel productions developed in contexts of strong cultural interaction between the Phoenicians and local communities. In this regard, in addition to Sant’Imbenia⁶⁸, one of the best documented cases for the historical phases that interest the present discussion is once again represented by the settlement of *Sulky*⁶⁹, where a specimen

⁶⁷ IALONGO 2011, OLLE_OROVA_10A; 2017, 95-97, fig. 1.21-25, in comparison with productions elaborated at *Sulky* in Phase 2A (850-800/775 cal. BC); PERRA 2019, 198-203, for insular comparisons with ceramics found in excavations at the fortress of Nuraghe Sirai.

⁶⁸ CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2000, 482-483, pls. 294, 1-3 and 295, 2 (806. Ol. 41).

⁶⁹ BARTOLONI 1990, 43, fig. 4, 145, 148; for the “Vano IIE” of Cronisario cf.: POMPIANU 2010a, 32-33, fig. 6, 20-21 (with further references); POMPIANU 2010c, 10, fig. 10, 9; POMPIANU – UNALI 2016, fig. 7, 8-12. Cf. also IALONGO 2017, 95-97, fig. 1.16-20, Phase 2A (850-800/775 cal. BC).

morphologically similar to ours has recently been published⁷⁰. The two vessels differ, however, in their manufacture and surface treatment, as the former is slow-turned with a careful splinting of the engobed surfaces, while the Cumaean specimen is fast-turned and has the rough, untreated surfaces typical of fire pottery. From a functional point of view, therefore, the specimen listed in the catalogue as (9) could be considered as a cooking pot. Unfortunately, the loss of its underside makes it impossible to ascertain whether the pot had direct and prolonged contact with fire. In this regard, it must be emphasised that similar specimens found at Nora⁷¹ and in the excavations at the “Sardinian-Phoenician” fortress attached to Nuraghe Sirai⁷² have been included among the “fire vessels” in terms of type of *impasto* and working technique. Like the *vaso a collo*, the *olla*/cooking pot (9) is among the ceramics that attest to the “Sardinian-Phoenician” understanding in the central-western Mediterranean and the Atlantic. Recently, Michele Guirguis⁷³ has emphasised the similarities between the *olle* produced in *Sulky* and a specimen included among the “Sardinian-Nuragic” imports from the earliest phases of Carthage, brought to light in excavations conducted on the southeastern slope of the Hill of Byrsa, in a sector so-called “Astarté 2”⁷⁴.

To this report can be added others from the recent excavations in Utica, as in the case, for example, of the *olla* with flared rim found in the metallurgical quarter to which we will return later, in association with materials dated by its editor to a chronological span between the last quarter of the 9th and the middle/third quarter of the 8th century BC⁷⁵. Lastly, investigations carried out in Calle Concepción 3, in the historical centre of Huelva, yield two *olle* that are particularly similar to the finds analysed above⁷⁶.

The association of (9) with another *vaso a collo* (10) is interesting from a functional point of view and for the cultural field of reference. Referable to a large closed form with a rounded shoulder are the two matching fragments indicated in the catalogue as number (11). These have the same *impasto* and surface treatment as several other minute sherds, most likely related to the belly of the vessel, the shape of which, unfortunately, cannot be determined. This could be a table amphora of the type with a flared rim, globular body and handles with a circular section set near the maximum expansion of the belly, documented in 8th-century horizons at Carthage⁷⁷, *Sulky*⁷⁸, Sant’Imbenia⁷⁹, Motya⁸⁰ and probably Nora⁸¹, for which close affinities have recently been found with productions from the necropolis of al-Bass at Tyre⁸². In our case, however, the characteristic metopal decoration with triglyphs is not documented⁸³. In this regard, it is interesting to note that *Plain Ware* specimens come from Phoenicia, as in the case of the amphora found in Tomb 2 of the necropolis of Tell el-Rachidyeh, which can be dated to the 8th century BC⁸⁴ and which could be related to the Cumaean fragments.

From the same area – but from an upper layer, according to Matteo D’Acunto’s interpretation⁸⁵, related to a phase of the settlement subsequent to the abandonment of the indigenous hut, in which the Euboean presence is more evident – come the rim of a dish (12) and the bottom of a basin-mortar (13). The former belongs to the type of Phoenician “colonial” dishes of the short everted rim type, discussed above with reference to specimen (1). The differences lie in the surface treatment, as (12) appears to have untreated surfaces, and in the shape of the rim, which is cut obliquely and pointed outwards. This is certainly an anomalous profile, rarely documented among the productions of the East and West. In this regard, it is

⁷⁷ For a recent review see ORSINGER 2015.

⁷⁸ BARTOLONI 1988, 165, 174, fig. 2 G; 1990, 50, fig. 9, 131-132; GUIRGUIS 2022, 98, fig. 8 D (“Vano II F”, US 3181).

⁷⁹ OGGIANO 2000, 245, note 40, fig. 9, 1, where a possible import from Carthage is suggested.

⁸⁰ SPAGNOLI 2019, 24, 50-53, fig. 3, 7, pls. 2, 1-2, 34, 7, 1; ORSINGER 2016, 286, 302, pl. III, 2.

⁸¹ BOTTO 2009a, 224-226, cat. nn. 1-8.

⁸² NÚÑEZ 2021, 169-172.

⁸³ SPAGNOLI 2019, 52.

⁸⁴ ORSINGER 2016, 286, note 33, pl. III, 4.

⁸⁵ Cf. the scholar’s contribution in the present volume.

⁷⁰ GUIRGUIS 2022, 96-97, fig. 7 (“Vano IIF”).

⁷¹ BOTTO 2009b, 358-359, 363-365, cat. nn. 1-9, 11-14.

⁷² PERRA 2019, 198-203, i.e. *exx.* fig. 158, 4-5.

⁷³ GUIRGUIS 2022, 97.

⁷⁴ MARAOUI TELMINI – SCHÖN 2020, 74-75, fig. 5, 4.

⁷⁵ BEN JERBANIA 2020, 37, fig. 6, 18 = BEN JERBANIA forthcoming, cat. 31, fig. 11, 31.

⁷⁶ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES *et al.* 2017, pl. XIII, 8-9 = FUNDONI 2021, 153, cat. 3.6-7.

interesting to observe how the most pertinent comparison with (12), coming from Stratum III of Tyre⁸⁶, whose dating is placed in the second half of the 8th century BC, confirms D'Acunto's assessments of a chronological *décalage* and a functional change of this layer compared to the layers below.

Turning to (13), this is the flat bottom of a mortar-basin of the so-called "Phoenician-Cypriot" type⁸⁷. In domestic contexts such as that of Cumae, this type of vessel must have been intended mainly for grinding cereals⁸⁸. However, biochemical analyses recently conducted in the Phoenician and Punic settlement of Pani Loriga, in southwestern Sardinia, have revealed a multifunctional use of the mortar-basin, used for the preparation of different kinds of food, judging by the presence of traces of white wine and animal fat in the samples investigated⁸⁹. The form made its appearance in the Syro-Palestinian area in the last two decades of the 8th century BC⁹⁰. It is precisely because of its functional aspects that the basin-mortar is one of the earliest forms to spread in the Phoenician settlements of the central Mediterranean, even in the tripod variant, as repeatedly emphasised for southwestern Sardinia and in particular for the settlement of *Sulky*⁹¹.

2. THE HISTORICAL-ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT, THE ROUTES AND THE GOODS TRADED

The historical-archaeological framework that has emerged in recent years regarding the Mediterranean trade of the Early Iron Age supports the thesis argued here that the Phoenician and Sardinian-Phoenician ceramic materials found at Cumae in the University of Naples L'Orientale excavations are part of a "colonial" trade circuit that had its main points of reference in the central-Mediterranean settlements of the Gulf of Tunis and south western Sardinia. In-

deed, if the birth of an *emporion* seems to have been documented in Utica as early as the last quarter of the 9th century BC⁹², recent studies have shown how Carthage⁹³ and *Sulky*⁹⁴ achieved a leading role in international trade by the first half of the following century. The growth of these settlements is largely due to the opening around the middle of the 9th century BC of the long-distance route linking Tyre with the far western Mediterranean and the rich metal districts of Atlantic Andalusia (Fig. 7)⁹⁵. In Phoenicia, this period coincides with the reign of Ittobaal I (887-856 BC), characterised by an energetic expansionist policy recorded in historical sources with the foundation of two colonies: *Botrys*, in northern Lebanon, and *Auza*, in North Africa⁹⁶.

This wide-ranging strategic vision, which would bring considerable and lasting political and economic benefits to the powerful metropolis of southern Phoenicia, was accompanied by the ability of Phoenician merchants and entrepreneurs to forge trade alliances with partners deemed to be particularly enterprising, such as the Cypriots or the Greeks of Euboea⁹⁷. Recently, the picture has been enriched by new protagonists, as the discoveries of the last two decades have highlighted the contribution of indigenous components in Phoenician expansionism in the West. Of fundamental importance for understanding the presence in Cumae of the ceramics analysed above is the early understanding reached by the Phoenicians with some of the most dynamic communities settled along the coasts of Sardinia which led to a rapid development of Sardinian-Phoenician trade in the central-western Mediterranean and the Atlantic⁹⁸.

⁹² LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2016; BEN JERBANIA 2020; LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2020, 65.

⁹³ MARAOUI TELMINI – SCHÖN 2020, 91-94, 98-100 (with further references).

⁹⁴ Cf. above note 12-13.

⁹⁵ On the routes travelled, see MEDAS 2020, figs. 3 and 5.

⁹⁶ AUBET 2008; BONDI 2012; BERNARDINI 2016; BOTTO 2016a; NÚÑEZ 2018b. On the hypothesis of identifying *Auza* with Aziris in Cyrenaica see BOARDMAN 2010.

⁹⁷ For the Cypriot-Phoenician trade agreement with a focus on southern Italy and Sardinia, see e.g. BOTTO 2008, 124-128; 2011; BERNARDINI – BOTTO 2015; BOTTO 2017, 581-583, 591-598. For joint initiatives between Phoenicians and Euboeans see BERNARDINI – RENDELI 2020; BOTTO 2020b; DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2020; KOUROU 2020.

⁹⁸ Cf. e.g. BERNARDINI 2016; BOTTO 2016b, 2020a, 2021; FUNDONI 2021. At present, the *emporion* of Huelva represents the

⁸⁶ BIKAI 1978, pl. X, 9.

⁸⁷ LEHMANN 1996, 389-394, forme 159-167, pls. 25-27, 107; BELLELLI – BOTTO 2002 (with further references).

⁸⁸ For Phoenicia cf. in particular SAPIN 1998, 110-112 (with further references). For both Eastern and Western contexts cf. BELLELLI – BOTTO 2002, 296-300 and CAMPANELLA 2008, 79, 138, 140-141.

⁸⁹ BOTTO *et al.* 2021, 285.

⁹⁰ BELLELLI – BOTTO 2002, 278.

⁹¹ BERNARDINI 2000, 39, fig. 6; BELLELLI – BOTTO 2002, 280; UNALI 2013, 8-10, fig. 15, 171-172, 210; BARTOLONI 2018, 13-14.

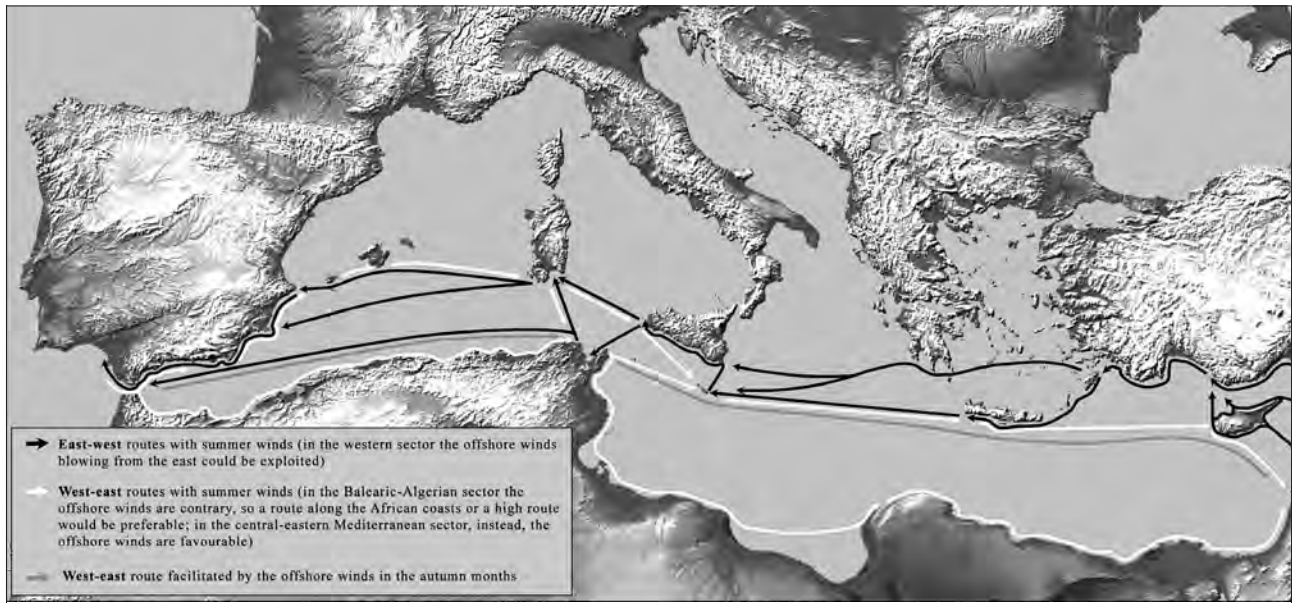


Fig. 7. The main routes from Phoenicia to the West (from MEDAS 2020)

In this broad spectrum of relations, the contacts between southern Sardinia and the coasts of Campania were particularly intense, since the latter could be easily and directly reached thanks to the nautical experience gained by the Nuragic ships, which were able to exploit the consolidated network of relations with Lipari⁹⁹ and the route opened by the Mycenaeans, which led from Vivara, in the Gulf of Naples, to the Nuraghe Antigori, positioned to guard the extreme western sector of the wide Gulf of Cagliari¹⁰⁰. The importance of this coastal sector of the island both as a stopover on international routes and as a gateway to the mineral resources of the interior is confirmed by Antigori's proximity to the promontory of Nora, which was destined to play a fundamental role in the process of Phoenician expansion into the West from the last decades of the 9th century BC onwards¹⁰¹.

These considerations allow us to evaluate the arrival of Nuragic bronzes in Campania from a more articulated perspective. In fact, alongside the thesis which is widely consolidated in the world of studies, of a redistribution of Nuragic artefacts in the Campania area from the coastal settlements of

Etruria¹⁰², it has long been hypothesised that there was a route managed by the Phoenicians independently¹⁰³, or in partnership with the Sardinians, as seems to emerge from the most recent discoveries¹⁰⁴. Particularly striking among the latter are those of Monte Vetrano¹⁰⁵ and Monte Prama¹⁰⁶, which also make it possible to hypothesise a privileged relationship between the Picentino and Sinis-Oristanese communities.

In fact, a bronze fibula with a simple arch from the end of the 9th/beginning of the 8th century BC was found in Monte Prama and its place of production could be the Salerno area¹⁰⁷. As Fulvia Lo Schiavo points out, the presence of a fibula produced in southern Italy in the Oristanese area poses no problems after the discovery of Calabrian-type specimens in the S'Adde 'e S'Ulu-mu-Usini hoard in northwestern Sardinia and in the Nuraghe Antigori.

extreme limit of "Sardinian-Phoenician" trade in the Atlantic: cf. BOTTO 2022.

⁹⁹ CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2012, 152.

¹⁰⁰ FUNDONI 2021, 96 (with further references).

¹⁰¹ BOTTO 2007, 114-115; 2008, 131-132; BONETTO – MARNELLO – ZARA 2021, 211-212; BOTTO 2021, 271-277.

¹⁰² The entire issue is taken up by MILLETTI 2012, 246-249. See also Fulvia Lo Schiavo's considerations in PACCARELLI – LO SCHIAVO 2017, 717 and GRAS 2021, 187.

¹⁰³ Cf. e.g. D'AGOSTINO 2006, 202; GASTALDI 2006, 117.

¹⁰⁴ BOTTO 2007, 81-90; 2011, 169; USAI – ZUCCA 2011, 349; BOTTO 2012, 54-55; MINOJA 2014a, 365; BERNARDINI 2016, 18-19; D'AGOSTINO 2017, 406.

¹⁰⁵ CERCHIAI *et al.* 2012-2013 (with further references).

¹⁰⁶ On the site, which has yielded a necropolis with individual tombs of various types and an extraordinary sculptural complex of statues depicting figures of archers, shield bearers, and warriors, cf. BEDINI *et al.* 2012; MINOJA – USAI 2014; *Riti della morte e del culto* 2016.

¹⁰⁷ LO SCHIAVO 2014.

For the latter, a provenance from Torre Galli has recently been proposed, but we cannot exclude a possible intermediation by Pontecagnano¹⁰⁸. In fact, the Villanovan settlement of Picentino must have played a decisive role in the diffusion on the Mediterranean circuits not only of objects, but also of technologies and people from the regions bordering Campania, as Luca Cerchiai has clearly emphasised in a recent contribution, and as will be discussed in more detail below¹⁰⁹. It should also be emphasised that the analysis of a group of unpublished fibulae makes it possible to increase the number of specimens produced in the Picentino area but found in Sardinia. This is thanks to the attribution of a fibula unearthed in the temple of Sa Carcaredda at Villagrande Strisaili to the so-called “Sala Consili-na-type”. From the same locality, moreover, in the excavations conducted in the temple of S’Arcu ‘e is Forros, numerous fibulae produced in Southern Italy were found, among which a four-spiral “Torre Mordillo-type” specimen stands out¹¹⁰. These new finds have led the editors to consider the possibility of distinct routes between Sardinia and the Lower Tyrrhenian in addition to those that connected the island with northern Etruria¹¹¹.

Going back to Monte Prama, although the fibula was found out of context, there are reasonable grounds to believe that it came from a tomb¹¹². Rather than an object of exchange, the fibula would therefore testify to phenomena of human mobility that through the practice of exogamous marriages would have strengthened the ties between the elites of the Sardinian communities of Oristanese and the Villanovan communities of Picentino¹¹³. In this context of relations between emerging groups in the communities to which they belonged, women would have assumed the fundamental role of “intermediary”¹¹⁴. In our opinion, the extremely rich

grave goods in tomb 74 of the necropolis of Boscariello, near the settlement of Monte Vetrano and belonging to a female deposition from the third quarter of the 8th century BC, must be interpreted in this light¹¹⁵. The objects deposited in the tomb, in fact, in addition to qualifying the status of the deceased, attest to the personal role as mediator in the complex scenario of relationships woven by the Monte Vetrano community. In the dense network of contacts ranging from the coasts of the Levant to Greece and from Etruria to Central Europe, relations with Sardinia also stand out clearly, thanks to the presence of a Nuragic *navicella* of the first fusiform hull group of Anna Depalmas¹¹⁶, to which two specimens from the Sinis-Oristanese area also belong¹¹⁷.

The data examined assume particular relevance considering that the sanctuary area of Monte Prama is strategically positioned to control one of the island’s most powerful Nuragic “cantons”: specifically the one that connected the Sinis peninsula with the mining district of Montiferru¹¹⁸. The political and economic settlement of reference in the region is represented by the complex of the Nuraghe S’Urachi (San Vero Milis)¹¹⁹, in which the early introduction of the fast wheel and *Red Slip* ceramics was documented. Moreover, at S’Urachi and the nearby village of Su Cungiau ‘e Funtà (Nuraxinieddu)¹²⁰ completely innovative shapes were produced, such as the Sardinian-Levantine amphorae (also known in scientific literature as “Sant’Imbenia-type” amphorae) destined for the export of fine wine produced in the area and shipped to the *emporía* of Tharros and *Othoca*¹²¹.

In the light of these considerations and others that will be set out below, I believe it is appropriate to review the rich documentation of Sardinian

¹⁰⁸ PACCIARELLI – LO SCHIAVO 2017, 719.

¹⁰⁹ CERCHIAI 2017.

¹¹⁰ SALIS – MINOJA 2015, 153-155, pls. II, 4-5, III, 3 and IV.

¹¹¹ SALIS – MINOJA 2015, 156-158.

¹¹² LO SCHIAVO 2014, 348.

¹¹³ In addition to LO SCHIAVO 2014, 348, see the observations of GRAS 2021, 188, who cites Mario Torelli – «gli usi dell’abbigliamento [...] non si esportano senza le persone» (TORELLI 1981, 60) – emphasises how new discoveries make it possible to hypothesise «una presenza non marginale di donne etrusche emigrate (o trasportate) in Sardegna».

¹¹⁴ See Luca Cerchiai’s contribution in this volume.

¹¹⁵ CERCHIAI – NAVA 2009; CERCHIAI *et al.* 2012-2013; IANNELLI – SCALA 2015, 366-368, 498-500, cat. nn. 620-636.

¹¹⁶ DEPALMAS 2005, 48. On the Monte Vetrano *navicella* see the contribution of Carlo Tronchetti in CERCHIAI *et al.* 2012-2013 and USAI – ZUCCA 2011, 349-350.

¹¹⁷ USAI – ZUCCA 2011, 349.

¹¹⁸ ZUCCA 2014, 82.

¹¹⁹ ROPPA – HAYNE – MADRIGALI 2013, 116-117; STIGLITZ 2016; VAN DOMMELEN 2022.

¹²⁰ SEBIS 2007; ROPPA 2012; ROPPA – HAYNE – MADRIGALI 2013, 122-128; ROPPA 2019.

¹²¹ ZUCCA 2014, 91.

bronzes found in Pontecagnano¹²², which may have reached the settlement following different routes from those envisaged in the past¹²³. In this regard, it will be useful to recall the recovery in tomb 683 of the Pagliarone necropolis, dated to the local phase IB¹²⁴, of an attachment with engraved concentric circles and a bronze ring socket which, due to its technical characteristics, could be the work of a Nuragic atelier with privileged relations with Cyprus and the Levantine area¹²⁵. The attachment is probably related to a cauldron, which has unfortunately been lost. This is a type of bronze for ceremonial use, used for cooking meat and/or mixing wine, which are among the luxury goods traded by Phoenician merchants, also well documented in Campania, as in the cases reported below of Cumae and Capua¹²⁶.

Moving on to consider the Phlegrean coastline, early contacts between Cumae and Sardinia are documented by a number of Nuragic bronzes found in the grave goods of the pre-Hellenic necropolis. One of the oldest contexts is that of the Osta 36 tomb from the second quarter of the 8th century BC, where a flat-section ring decorated with four applied spirals comes and which finds comparisons only in insular contexts¹²⁷. The varied grave goods include some artefacts that can be traced back to Near Eastern and Egyptian production, the export of which to the West was largely due to the enterprise of Phoenician merchants: these are the scarab in white steatite with green-blue enamel¹²⁸ and the necklace composed of numerous glass paste beads, among which seven large ones of the triangular type¹²⁹. The tomb also yields a discoidal gold-leaf pendant¹³⁰ which, in our opinion, represents one of the earliest and most significant examples of the ability of the Peninsular ateliers to elaborate auton-

omously and in an entirely original manner alloge-neic artefacts and iconographies. The pendant, in fact, presents a decoration, with a central embossed ashlar and engraved linear motifs, which we believe may be a free interpretation of the star motif of near-eastern derivation¹³¹.

The presence of *aegyptiaca* in Campania between the 9th and 8th centuries BC has been analysed by Fulvio De Salvia in repeated studies¹³² and subsequently deepened for Capua by Gianluca Melandri¹³³, who emphasises how the number of *orientalia* in the Campania settlement grows exponentially from the second quarter of the 8th century BC onwards¹³⁴. A similar situation is also found in the coastal settlement of Cumae, probably one of the main settlements of redistribution of this type of product towards the interior area of the region¹³⁵.

The progressive intensification of trade in Cumae around the middle of the century is confirmed both by the recent excavations in the settlement and by the re-examination of the pre-Hellenic necropolis grave goods, as in the case of the Osta 4 tomb¹³⁶ (Fig. 8), from which two Nuragic *bottoni* come: the first of the type with a moulded discoidal appendage, the second with an ornithomorphic figure¹³⁷, for which an intermediary from Tarquinia has been proposed. The tomb also yielded a tripod basin and a bronze bowl that can be traced back to Cypro-Phoenician trade. For the tripod we refer to the detailed analysis carried out here by Matteo D'Acunto. At the same time, we intend to focus on the "Domed-cup", since this type spread early in Campania, presumably thanks to contacts with Calabria¹³⁸, where the oldest attestations come from grave goods from the late 10th-early 9th century BC from the Torre Galli necropolis, according to the chronology proposed by Marco Pacciarelli, which raises the traditional dates by about 50 years¹³⁹.

¹²² GASTALDI 1994; LO SCHIAVO 1994; MILETTI 2012, pl. CIV. For the ring of the Sant'Antonio 6 tomb in Sala Consilina cf. PACCIARELLI – LO SCHIAVO 2017, 714.

¹²³ Cf. GRAS 2021, 188.

¹²⁴ GASTALDI 1998, 88-89, note 13, pl. 100, 13.

¹²⁵ BOTTO 2011, 169, fig. 16; MILETTI 2012, 131, pl. LXXXV, 3.

¹²⁶ BOTTO 2023b.

¹²⁷ CRISCUOLO 2012, 574-575, fig. 3; MILETTI 2012, 152-153, pl. XC.1.

¹²⁸ GABRICI 1913, col. 114, fig. 54; DE SALVIA 2006, 35, cat. I.17.

¹²⁹ GABRICI 1913, col. 115.

¹³⁰ GABRICI 1913, col. 114, fig. 55; on typology cf. MARTELLI 1991, 1058-1059.

¹³¹ BOTTO 1996.

¹³² Cf. e.g. DE SALVIA 2006; DE SALVIA 2008.

¹³³ MELANDRI 2010; 2011, 414-425.

¹³⁴ MELANDRI – SIRANO 2016, 213. Cf. also PELLEGRINO 2021, 273-275.

¹³⁵ BOTTO 2011, 166-168; MELANDRI – SIRANO 2016, 218.

¹³⁶ CRISCUOLO 2014.

¹³⁷ CRISCUOLO 2012, fig. 1, d-e; 2014, 96, figs. 2, 30-31 and 5-6; MILETTI 2012, 97-98, pls. XLVI.1 and L.5.

¹³⁸ MERCURI 2004; SCIACCA 2010; BERNARDINI – BOTTO 2010, 60-66; BOTTO 2011, 159-162; BERNARDINI – BOTTO 2015, 330-335.

¹³⁹ PACCIARELLI 1999; PACCIARELLI – LO SCHIAVO 2017, 719-

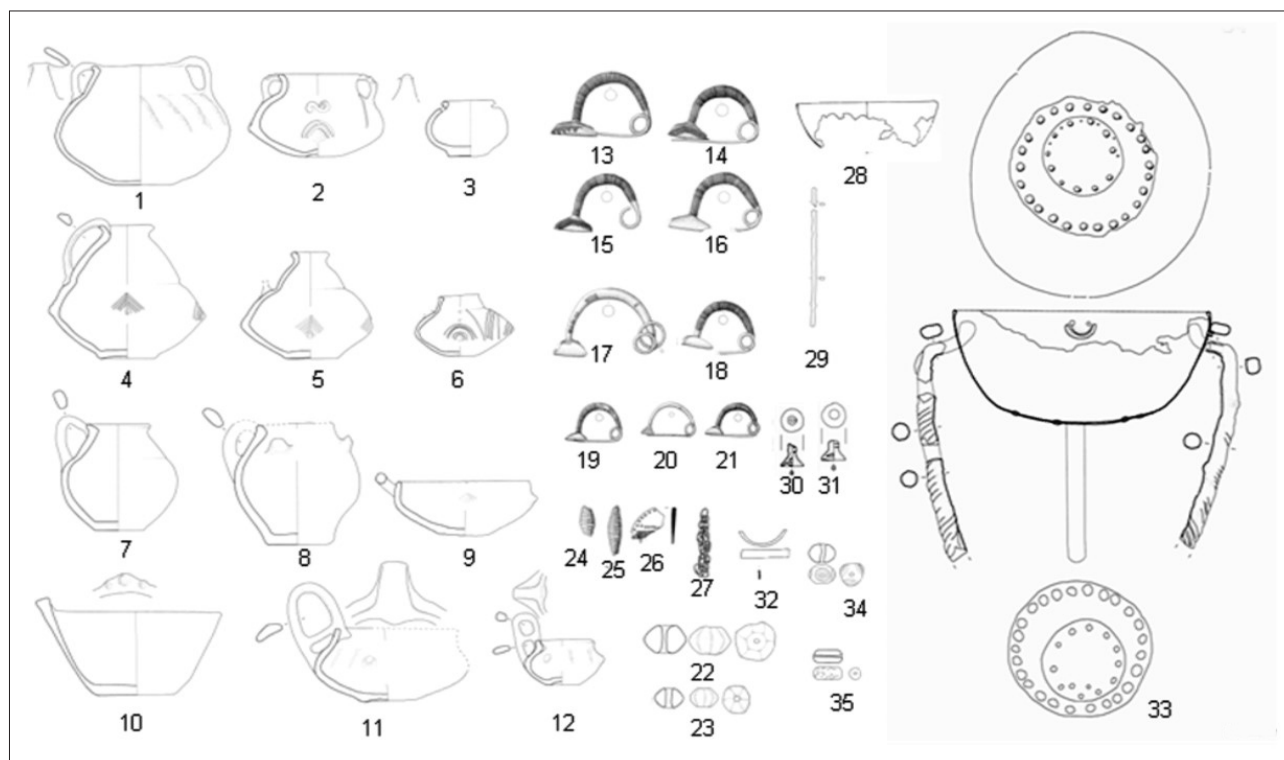


Fig. 8. Pre-Hellenic Cumae: the grave goods from the Osta 4 tomb from the mid 8th century BC (from CRISCUOLO 2014)

Notable among the latter is the cup from tomb 150, which is larger than the norm (diameter 22 cm) and has a morphological detail that distinguishes Cypriot production from near-eastern production: a thickened rim with a flattened top¹⁴⁰.

The important role played by Cyprus in the dissemination of this type of cup in the West is confirmed by the analysis of the specimens from the Late Bronze Age hoard of Kaleburnu¹⁴¹, on the Karpas peninsula, which has made it possible to highlight the affinities but also the peculiarities of the island's production compared to the coeval specimens from Ugarit, Megiddo and the hoard of Tell Jatt¹⁴². A Cypriot provenance can also be assumed for the cup with a thickened rim from the Osta 4 tomb, previously referred to¹⁴³. According to

Maria Pia Criscuolo, moreover, «un esemplare quasi gemello è attestato nel corredo della t. Stevens 4, associato con un rasoio a bitagliante tipo Suessula e con un fodero di spada tipo Veio o Narce»¹⁴⁴.

For Capua, on the other hand, we must point out the specimen from tomb 200 in Fornaci, from the third quarter of the 8th century BC¹⁴⁵. This is a context of exceptional interest, from which other artefacts attributable to Cypriot-Phoenician trade come, as in the case of the blue *faïence* scarab of probable Levantine manufacture, the statuette of a Horo-falcon attributed to an Egyptian workshop of the Libyan Period (9th-8th century BC) and the silver discoidal pendant with a solar disc surmounted by a lunar crescent¹⁴⁶. At Capua, the precociousness of contacts with the Levant and Cyprus is confirmed by the cauldron with vertical ring handles from the Nuovo Mattatoio tumulus tomb 1/2005, which is dated between the first quarter and the middle of the 9th century BC¹⁴⁷. As with the

720. For southern Italy the traditional chronological framework based on the chronology of imported Greek pottery and synchronism with the colonial foundations (mainly Cumae and Syracuse) is reaffirmed by D'AGOSTINO 2005. For the correlations between the chronological series of Pontecagnano and Torre Galli see D'AGOSTINO – GASTALDI 1988, 110-115.

¹⁴⁰ PACCIARELLI 1999, 59-60; BERNARDINI – BOTTO 2010, 60-65, fig. 28, 1; CRISCUOLO 2014, 93-94; BERNARDINI – BOTTO 2015, 332-333; PACCIARELLI – LO SCHIAVO 2017, 709, fig. 3, 3.

¹⁴¹ BARTELHEIM *et al.* 2008, fig. 9.

¹⁴² ARTZY 2006; HALL 2021 (with further references).

¹⁴³ CRISCUOLO 2014, 93-94, fig. 2, 28.

¹⁴⁴ CRISCUOLO 2014, 93.

¹⁴⁵ D'AGOSTINO 2011, 42; MELANDRI 2011, 318, type 88B (FASE IIC).

¹⁴⁶ BOTTO 2011, 165-166, 170 (with further references).

¹⁴⁷ Cf. respectively MELANDRI – SIRANO 2016, 211-213, fig. 2 and D'AGOSTINO 2017, 406-407.

tripod from Tomb Osta 4 in Cumae, Cypriot comparisons for the Capua cauldron have been recognised in contexts of Final Bronze and Geometric I Cyprus (1050-950 BC), which are therefore to be considered older than those found on the Italian peninsula¹⁴⁸. The presence of such distinctive metal vessels among the funerary offerings of indigenous tombs from Cumae and Capua should most likely be attributed to an “exchange of gifts” between local elites and merchants trading in the region. The basin must have been considered by all the protagonists as a valuable artefact: an *agalma*, or “object with a biography”¹⁴⁹.

Focusing attention on Cumae, when comparing the data from the pre-Hellenic necropolis with those of habitation, it is evident how the indigenous populations active in the second quarter of the 8th century BC were part of trade flows from both the East and West. This situation is similar to that analysed for the Picentino settlements, which once again highlights the important role of cultural and commercial intermediation played by the communities in Campania, given the centrality of the stretch of coastline between the mouth of the Picentino and the Gulf of Naples on the metal supply routes to northern Etruria and Sardinia¹⁵⁰. In fact, there is good reason to believe that among the main products exported by Phoenician and Sardinian merchants to the local communities were not only sumptuary goods and fine wines, but also metals, in particular tin, lead and silver.

Reconstructing the provenance of metals used for artefacts produced in antiquity is a complex problem, since objects could undergo successive restorations in their lifetime using metals of different origins¹⁵¹. In spite of this, a consolidated line of research has long highlighted the close relations that developed in the Final Bronze and Early Iron Age between the Iberian Peninsula and Sardinia in the field of metallurgy and metalworking¹⁵². In this flow of relations, the Nuragic communities played

a leading role in the acquisition and probably in the redistribution of Atlantic tin among the populations of the Tyrrhenian peninsula¹⁵³. At the same time, large quantities of lead were produced on the island¹⁵⁴ and shipped to Spain, Italy and even Cyprus, as evidenced by recent findings at Pyla- *Kokkinokremos*¹⁵⁵.

In this regard, of exceptional interest is the report of the partial recovery of the ship’s equipment and cargo of a vessel from the Early Iron Age that had sunk near the beach of Dom’e S’Orcu, on the central western coast of the island¹⁵⁶. Among the materials recovered are copper, tin and lead ingots, lead plaques with motifs clearly related to Nuragic craftsmanship and comparable to similar specimens from Santa Vittoria di Serri, a fragment of a bronze axe and a handle of an *olla* of indigenous production. It has been observed that this is exclusively island material, suggesting transport managed independently by local communities¹⁵⁷. This finding must be related to the results of lead isotope analyses conducted on 18 metal artefacts unearthed in the *emporion* of Sant’Imbenia in contexts dating from the late 9th/early 8th century BC. Most of the lead used come from the mining areas of south western Sardinia (Sulcis, Iglesiente, Arburese), although for some of the samples, the possibility of imports from extra-insular mining districts has not been excluded, especially from the Catalan Coastal Range and from Sierra Alhamilla, highlighting, in this case, the possible relationship between Sant’Imbenia and the multi-ethnic settlement of La Fonteta¹⁵⁸. Such considerations are not surprising, since the settlement at the mouth of the río Segura became one of the main ports of call on the “route of the islands” between the late 8th and 7th centuries BC, linking Atlantic Andalusia and the central Mediterranean via the colony of Sa Caleta, in Ibiza, and skirting the western coast of

¹⁴⁸ Cf. respectively D’AGOSTINO 2017, 407, note 43 and Matteo D’Acunto in the present volume.

¹⁴⁹ See the considerations of Matteo D’Acunto in this volume.

¹⁵⁰ ACCONCIA – MILLETTI 2015, 241-242; CORRETTI 2017; BALASSONE *et al.* 2018.

¹⁵¹ BALASSONE – BONI – DI MAIO 2011, 184.

¹⁵² FUNDONI 2021 (with further references).

¹⁵³ VALERA – VALERA – MAZZELLA 2005; SABATINI – LO SCHIAVO 2020; FUNDONI 2021, 101, 104-106, 110, and lastly the contributions collected by PERRA – LO SCHIAVO 2023.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. e.g. FADDA 2013, 203; ARDU – GARAU 2018, 279 (with further references).

¹⁵⁵ FUNDONI 2021, 110 (with further references); KASSIANIDOU 2021, 118.

¹⁵⁶ ARDU – GARAU 2018.

¹⁵⁷ TOCCO 2009.

¹⁵⁸ CLEMENZA *et al.* 2021.

Sardinia until reaching *Sulky*, the true gateway to Atlantic trade in the Lower Tyrrhenian Sea¹⁵⁹.

Southern Sardinia thus became a privileged bridge between the Iberian Peninsula and Campania¹⁶⁰, as confirmed by the analyses carried out on an ibis and a lead monkey from the late 8th century BC recovered during investigations in the Fontanelle and Porte di Ferro necropolis at Monte Vetrano. Isotopic characterisation revealed that the artefacts would have been made from metal originating either from deposits in southern Spain (Alpujarride, Alcudia-Los Pedroches, Linares-La Carolina) or southern Sardinia (Sarrabus, Sulcis-Iglesiente, Medio-Campidano)¹⁶¹. Analyses conducted on 11 slags with high lead content found in Poggiomarino, in the Sarno Valley, also refer to the same metal districts¹⁶².

A final consideration concerns the materials found in Calle Méndez Núñez, 7-13/Plaza de las Monjas, 12, in Huelva, among which is a large container probably produced in Sardinia, which was repaired in ancient times with a lead clamp probably already on the island¹⁶³, in the same way as the *vaso a collo* found in Pyla-Kokkinokremos in a much older context, however, dating from the first half of the 12th century BC¹⁶⁴.

Contacts between southern Spain and Sardinia are also confirmed for the silver trade: thanks to recent analyses carried out on silver artefacts from the Artiaco Tomb 104 in Cuma (late 8th-early 7th century BC), it has emerged that the native silver came from the districts of Huelva and Sierra Alahmilla, while the silver lead came from south western Sardinia¹⁶⁵. To conclude, we consider it useful to point out as a significant example of the complex trade network set up by the Phoenicians during the 8th century BC the situation that emerged from the study of the Tomb of the Warrior of Tarquinia, which can probably be dated between

730-720 BC¹⁶⁶. Analyses conducted on a silver *kantharos* and *kyathos* from the sumptuous assemblage revealed that the metal came from the Iberian Peninsula¹⁶⁷. Also from this context comes a silver *patera*¹⁶⁸ which must be considered, in our opinion, as the work of craftsmen from Phoenicia active in the Middle Tyrrhenian area. Both the raw material and the skilled labour would therefore have been handled by agents from Tyre, able to satisfy the “lifestyle” of the most prestigious families of the Etruscan city.

With regard to the economic counterparts that the Campania elites were able to offer the Phoenician and Euboean merchants, iron from the island of Elba may have played a role of some significance, although for the periods under discussion here, one must lament a complete lack of data¹⁶⁹. Much more solid in this regard is the thesis of the early diffusion in Campania of technologies for the reduction and working of iron from indigenous centres in Calabria and Basilicata such as Torre Galli and Incoronata, as will be seen in more detail below.

A very important aspect of trade must have concerned food resources. In fact, it is much more likely that from the villages along the fertile valleys of the Sarno and Picentino rivers, sailors of various ethnic groups were able to embark on their ships large quantities of cereals¹⁷⁰ necessary to meet the needs of the new colonial settlements that were undergoing a strong demographic expansion, as in the case of Utica and Carthage¹⁷¹, ready to welcome different ethnic groups.

This line of research is very promising considering the recent findings of ceramics produced in peninsular Italy at Huelva, La Rebanadilla and Utica, which could be indicative of human mobility phenomena due to the transmission of technologies, especially in agriculture and metallurgy¹⁷².

The importance of the mining districts of the Huelva hinterland for Phoenician trade has been

¹⁵⁹ GUIRGUIS 2010, 182-184; BOTTO 2023c.

¹⁶⁰ BABBI 2021, 458, nota 104.

¹⁶¹ BALASSONE – BONI – DI MAIO 2011, 186; BABBI 2021, 458, note 104.

¹⁶² CICIRELLI – ALBORE LIVADIE 2012, 37-39, fig. 32.

¹⁶³ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2011, 244 fig. 9; GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – LLOMPART 2023, 35.

¹⁶⁴ KANTA 2021, pp. 70-72, figs. 6.17a-b.

¹⁶⁵ For a concise but up-to-date examination of the tomb and its grave goods, see BABBI 2021, 451-459.

¹⁶⁶ BABBI – PELTZ 2013; NASO 2015, 739.

¹⁶⁷ BABBI – PELTZ 2013, 246-247, Kat. 4-5, pls. 5-6.

¹⁶⁸ BABBI – PELTZ 2013, 247-252, Kat. 6, pls. 7-8.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. above note 150.

¹⁷⁰ See the considerations of CICIRELLI – ALBORE LIVADIE 2008, 480 for the settlement of Poggiomarino.

¹⁷¹ Cf. e.g. BECHTOLD – DOCTER 2010; DE ROSA – GARAU – RENDELI 2018.

¹⁷² Cf. under text.

known for some time and has been the subject of specific investigations to which we refer for further details¹⁷³. In Utica, research carried out in the northern sector of the promontory, in the area between the Roman forum and the current coastline, has involved several areas: among these, a metallurgical quarter has been partially excavated, from which *tuyères*, the remains of clay ovens, numerous iron slags and, to a considerably lesser extent, bronze slags in association with ceramics of various origins, have been found in a thick blackish layer. This has allowed us to date the context, as already observed, between the last quarter of the 9th and the middle/third quarter of the 8th century BC¹⁷⁴.

Regarding attributions, it is possible to state that the majority of the ceramics were worked locally: modelled by hand, they reproduce shapes from both the Libyan and Phoenician repertoires. This data further supports the thesis that the *emporion* was politically controlled by the Libyan communities active in the area¹⁷⁵. Among imports, on the other hand, Phoenician ceramics ranked first, followed by Sardinian ceramics and, in much smaller percentages, Greek ceramics. This situation is very similar to that of deposit (UE 20017), formed in the last quarter of the 9th century BC with the remains of a collective banquet, probably ritual, thrown into a well¹⁷⁶. These data speak in favour of a multicultural and multi-ethnic environment, where the Tyrian component played a fundamental role, catalysing the interests of the local populations and many of the protagonists of international trade¹⁷⁷.

If, on the one hand, the Utica data confirm the participation of Euboean merchants in the enterprises of the Tyrian fleet in the West¹⁷⁸, on the other, they highlight the massive presence of Sardinian elements. In this regard, the considerable quantity of *vasi a collo* and “Sardinian-Levantine” amphorae destined not only for the transport of wine, but probably also metals, is striking¹⁷⁹. It has therefore

been proposed that part of the large quantity of iron worked in Utica may have come from Sardinia and was destined for the eastern market¹⁸⁰, in the same way as was suggested for later phases of the iron-working activities that took place in Carthage¹⁸¹. These considerations have been taken up in a recent study¹⁸², where it is argued that iron imported from the West was used by the rulers of Tyre to pay tribute and support the increasingly pressing demands of the Assyrian army. The rather suggestive hypothesis of a massive import of iron from Sardinia will have to be confirmed by archaeometallurgical analyses. Moreover, it could well justify the high percentages of Sardinian ceramics found in Utica.

Iron mining and working in Sardinia, sporadically attested in the Bronze Age, intensified with the arrival of the Phoenicians¹⁸³. In this regard, three areas are mentioned from which iron could have been exported to Utica. The first refers to the Tharros peninsula, which was one of the possible outlets to the sea for the ore extracted in Montiferu¹⁸⁴. The discovery of an “industrial-metallurgical quarter” in the Punic settlement of Tharros, where iron, lead and bronze artefacts were produced, is an important starting point for extending investigations in the area and verifying possible exploitation of iron ore even in earlier phases¹⁸⁵. Moreover, a wide range of iron weapons comes from both the Capo San Marco necropolis and the San Giovanni di Sinis necropolis from contexts dating between the late 7th and early 6th century BC¹⁸⁶.

The second area was the island of Sant’Antio-co, since the colony of *Sulky* must have represented the collector of ore extracted in the area of Antas¹⁸⁷. Recent excavations carried out in the settlement have brought to light a manufacturing area dated to the 8th and 7th centuries BC, in which preliminary refining of the metal was followed by

¹⁷³ For an up-to-date summary of the documentation, see the studies collected by BOTTO 2018a.

¹⁷⁴ BEN JERBANIA – REDISSI 2014, 188-191, fig. 5; BEN JERBANIA 2020, 33-38, figs. 1-7; BEN JERBANIA forthcoming.

¹⁷⁵ BEN JERBANIA 2017, 193-195, note 98.

¹⁷⁶ LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2016; LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2020.

¹⁷⁷ BEN JERBANIA 2023; BEN JERBANIA forthcoming.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. above note 97.

¹⁷⁹ BOTTO 2015, 180.

¹⁸⁰ BEN JERBANIA forthcoming.

¹⁸¹ KAUFMAN *et al.* 2016, 36.

¹⁸² RAMON – SANMARTÍ 2020, 20-22.

¹⁸³ MILLETTI – LO SCHIAVO 2020.

¹⁸⁴ INGO *et al.* 1997, 44; ZUCCA 2014, 82.

¹⁸⁵ INGO *et al.* 1997.

¹⁸⁶ This is not the place to examine in detail the articulate documentation that is the subject of a thorough and exhaustive examination, to which we refer for the necessary in-depth analysis: FARISELLI 2013, 52-64.

¹⁸⁷ BARTOLONI 2009, 17.

the on-site manufacture of small iron tools¹⁸⁸. For the earliest phases, this data can be related to the discovery of the tip and corresponding iron heel of a lance in Tomb 3 in the burial ground of San Giorgio di Portoscuso¹⁸⁹, while for the late 7th century phases, it can be related to the numerous fragments of ovens and *tuyères*, as well as to the iron smelting slag and nodules of iron oxides found in the excavations at the “Sardinian-Phoenician” fortress attached to Nuraghe Sirai¹⁹⁰.

The third area refers to the promontory of Nora, which is the closest point in Sardinia to Utica, being only 130 nautical miles away¹⁹¹. A survey carried out in the hinterland of the colony led to the identification of abandoned iron mines (Perdu Carta, Punta Sebrera, Posta de Trobea, Monte Barone), the location of which near nuraghi could indicate their exploitation from the Bronze Age onwards¹⁹². The investigations conducted by Stefano Finocchi have revealed two other elements of interest: the first concerns the presence of the toponym *S'acqua e ferru*; the second refers to the fact that the minerals in their raw state extracted in the mines located between Monte Santo and Monte Barone, only 5 km north-west of Nora, could be easily transported to the city's ancient port, located in the present-day Peschiera, and to the neighbouring industrial districts active at least since Punic times, exploiting the course of the numerous streams that characterised the area. In this regard, it should be emphasised that numerous reports of tools and iron slag dating from between Phoenician and Roman times come from the settlement and the Punic necropolis¹⁹³.

Moreover, considering the proximity between the settlement of Bitia and the westernmost mines in the territory of Nora, such as Punta Sebrera, Posta de Trobea and Perda Sterri, the hypothesis for-

mulated in the past of local extraction of iron used to forge the numerous offensive weapons (spear-heads, javelin points and heels and daggers) found in some of the most significant tomb contexts of the necropolis in use from the last quarter of the 7th to most of the 6th century BC, is still valid¹⁹⁴.

To this documentation must be added the recent find in the Phoenician necropolis of Nora of a *stiletto* of Nuragic tradition composed of a bronze head and iron-clad blade recovered in the T37 incineration tomb and dated to the end of the 7th century BC (NR 1605)¹⁹⁵.

Finally, it should be noted that through the valley of the Riu Gutturu Mannu, from Nora it was possible to reach quite easily the mine of San Leone, in the territory of Capoterra, which was undoubtedly one of the largest iron deposits on the island¹⁹⁶ and not far from the aforementioned Nuraghe Antigori, which has yielded in this metal possibly a knife or dagger blade¹⁹⁷.

Investigations have shown how the promontory of Nora, in the centuries following the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial system, replaced Antigori as a meeting and trading place between merchants from the eastern Mediterranean and local communities¹⁹⁸. Evidence of the earliest Phoenician frequentation of the promontory is offered by two inscriptions, the most famous of which, the “Stele of Nora” (CIS 144), remains problematic to this day in terms of both chronology and interpretation of the text¹⁹⁹. With regard to dating, various proposals have been made that cover the chronological span between c. 850 and 740 BC²⁰⁰.

Based on the analysis of the shape of the signs, a date at the end of the 9th century BC currently prevails, which would bring the stele closer to the other inscription found on the site (CIS 145), considered to be older due to the presence of word divider signs²⁰¹. Regarding the interpretation of the

¹⁸⁸ POMPIANU 2010b; GUIRGUIS 2022, 99, note 26 (with further references).

¹⁸⁹ BERNARDINI 2000, 33, pl. I, 4.

¹⁹⁰ PERRA 2014, 123-124.

¹⁹¹ BONETTO – MARINELLO – ZARA 2021, 211-212.

¹⁹² FINOCCHI 2002, 164-165, fig. 5; 2003, 32, fig. 7.

¹⁹³ Without any claim to completeness see e.g. FINOCCHI – DESSENA – TIRABASSI 2012, 308 (“Alto luogo di Tanit”, within the 6th century BC); BONETTO *et al.* 2020, 192-194 (excavations University of Padua, Phoenician and Western Punic necropolis, tt. 22 and 26, 6th-5th century BC); NERVI 2003 and ALBANESE 2013, 169-170 (Area C, Roman period).

¹⁹⁴ BOTTO 1996b, 144.

¹⁹⁵ BONETTO *et al.* 2022, 252.

¹⁹⁶ FINOCCHI 2002, 165-166; 2003, 32.

¹⁹⁷ MILLETTI – LO SCHIAVO 2020, 78.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. above note 101.

¹⁹⁹ The bibliography on the subject is extensive: see e.g. AMADASI GUZZO – GUZZO 1986; AMADASI GUZZO 1995; RÖLLIG 1995.

²⁰⁰ The different chronological evaluations are reported by GARBATI 2014.

²⁰¹ AMADASI GUZZO 2019.

text, various hypotheses have been put forward, but the one we share refers to the erection of a temple – located on a “cape” – dedicated to *Pumay*²⁰².

This deity, known especially in Cyprus, would allow the erection of the stele to be linked to the earliest Cypriot-Phoenician frequentations of the central Mediterranean. Among these, the one highlighted by Marco Pacciarelli at Torre Galli stands out for its importance, thanks to the revision of the materials of the necropolis investigated in the early 20th century by Paolo Orsi²⁰³. In this regard, it is interesting to note how the early Aegean-Levantine influences and imports found in the earliest burials of the necropolis are accompanied by the spread of a large sampling of iron artefacts. In this regard, the scholar states that: «iron already exceeds 10% of the metal findings in the first phase of the use of the necropolis (Torre Galli 1A, late 10th century BC), at which time the full range of artefacts made with the new metal already appears complete: swords, spearheads and daggers in male tombs; rings in the female ones; fibulae and knives in grave goods of both genders. The typology of the artefacts, which belong to series that are well known in the coeval bronze repertoire, confirms their local production»²⁰⁴. At Torre Galli, the new metal characterised the tombs of the chiefs but was above all concentrated among the socially emerging groups. It is therefore not surprising to also find in Torre Galli the same correlation between iron metallurgy, social elites and control of maritime trade routes previously identified also in neighbouring Castellace²⁰⁵. A similar situation in many ways was found by Francesco Quondam for the settlement of Incoronata, in Basilicata²⁰⁶.

It is a widespread opinion among specialists that these centres played a fundamental role in the transmission of ironworking in central and southern Italy²⁰⁷. In this process, Pontecagnano played an important intermediary function highlighted by the significant diffusion of iron technology in the local

Phases 2 and 3, the result of long-lasting and strategic contacts with both Calabria²⁰⁸ and the Oenotrian area²⁰⁹.

At this point it is appropriate to take up a concept recently developed by Bruno d'Agostino, who states that «the character of Campania as a crossroads of culture emerges with special clarity in the course of the 8th century BC»²¹⁰. Supporting these considerations are the ceramics from peninsular Italy found in Utica and La Rebanadilla, some of which may have been introduced to international markets from the ports of Campania.

Starting with the materials from the Utica pit (UE 20017), the most significant piece of information in this regard concerns the skyphoi with a decorative motif of triangular fields²¹¹, which could refer to Oenotrian production in matt-painted ceramics²¹². From this point of view, the most accredited centre of provenance for the Utica skyphoi is Francavilla Marittima, where production of Greek ceramics with concentric circles very similar to that of Pontecagnano is attested, so much so that Bruno d'Agostino hypothesised the circulation within the same trade circuits of itinerant potters from Euboea²¹³.

²⁰⁸ Cf. GASTALDI 1998, 163, to whom we owe the identification of two “Calabrian warriors” buried at the height of the 9th century BC in the Picentino and Pagliarone necropolises (tombs 180 and 889). The burials are distinguished by the use of inhumation instead of the Villanovan type of cremation common in the early phase of the settlement and by weapon attributes, in particular swords, in one case associated with bronze shin guards of the type attested in the Calabrian necropolis of Torre Galli: CINQUANTAQUATTRO – PELLEGRINO – LO CASCIO, forthcoming. See also the observations of CERCIAI 2013, 140-141; PACCIARELLI – LO SCHIAVO 2017, 708-709, 719; D'AGOSTINO 2017, 406.

²⁰⁹ CERCIAI 2013, 140-141, where provenance from the Oenotrian area is proposed for women whose ashes were respectively collected in a “*piumata*” ceramic amphora and “*a tenda*” jug (tombs 174 and 166); D'AGOSTINO 2017, 406 «large jars from the Oenotrian area». The picture is to be supplemented with a burial in which a matt-painted “Oenotrian-iaepigian” biconical ceramic olla from the Early Geometric area (tomb 2508) is used as a cinerary vessel: CINQUANTAQUATTRO – PELLEGRINO – LO CASCIO, forthcoming.

²¹⁰ D'AGOSTINO 2017, 407. On this subject, with particular attention to the situations of Monte Vetrano and Pontecagnano, cf. PELLEGRINO 2021, 256, with previous bibl. and CINQUANTAQUATTRO – PELLEGRINO – LO CASCIO, forthcoming; for Sala Consilina, cf. Lo Cascio's considerations in CINQUANTAQUATTRO – PELLEGRINO – LO CASCIO, forthcoming.

²¹¹ LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2016, 76-77, fig. 7, 1-2; 2020, 60, figs. 9,5, 34a, 1-2.

²¹² Cf. e.g. YNTEMA 1990 and FERRANTI 2009.

²¹³ In favour of the stable presence of Euboean Greek ceramists in Francavilla Marittima are Jan Kindberg Jacobsen and Gloria Mittica: see their contribution in this volume.

²⁰² Cf. GARBATI 2014; BOTTO 2021, 271-277.

²⁰³ PACCIARELLI 1999, *passim*; BOTTO 2008, 129-130; 2011, 157-162; PACCIARELLI – LO SCHIAVO 2017, 709; PEDRAZZI 2023

²⁰⁴ PACCIARELLI – QUONDAM 2020, 34.

²⁰⁵ PACCIARELLI – LO SCHIAVO 2017, 705 (with further references); PACCIARELLI – QUONDAM 2020, 35.

²⁰⁶ PACCIARELLI – QUONDAM 2020, 35.

²⁰⁷ PACCIARELLI – QUONDAM 2020.

This datum is of surprising interest when compared to another exceptional attribution, which refers to a fragment of so-called “*Tenda*” class pottery from the settlement of La Rebanadilla, in the Bay of Malaga, from a ritual context dated to around the same period as that of Utica²¹⁴. According to a recent interpretation proposed by the archaeologists who excavated the site, in the first construction phase of the site (Phase III), the Phoenicians would have built a large sanctuary bordered by a *temenos* at the end of the 9th century BC. In the northern part, the wall’s foundation trench meets a ditch, interpreted as a well. The filling in and the closure of the well were the result of a single ritual action dated to the end of the site’s Phase IV (second half of the 9th century BC). The material from inside the well comprises mostly local tradition pottery plus Phoenician *Fine Ware* and *Red Slip* in association with Sardinian pottery and a MG II “hatched meanders hooks” type skyphos as identified by J.N. Coldstream (Fig. 9).

This group of pottery suggests a foundation ritual with the consumption of food and drink, where the malacofauna has been preserved. Furthermore, the well contained elements that attest to the process of metal smelting, processing, and producing finished articles such as fish hooks and a bronze fibula “*de doble resorte*”. An outstanding discovery is a stone mould used for producing jewels in precious metals. These are important elements connected to the metallurgical activities that took place here before the building of the sanctuary (Phase IV), when the strategic position of the island at the mouth of the Guadalhorce meant that it was visited sporadically by the Phoenicians, which allowed them to have both a secure harbour before sailing across the Straits of Gibraltar and a privileged area of contact with the local populations of the hinterland. Whilst awaiting a systematic study of the Phoenician material from La Rebanadilla, we can underline the similarities with production from Tyre: the amphorae are likely to be types 9 and 12, whilst the plates are Bikai types 7, 8/9, 10, 11 and 13. Lastly the *Fine Ware* is similar to types 1 and 3 from Huelva PM/MN, confirming the close relationship between these two sites²¹⁵.

As mentioned above, the materials pertaining to the ritual closure of the well also include a fragment of “*Tenda*” class pottery, the recognition of which is thanks to Carmine Pellegrino to whom I am indebted for the following considerations. Regarding the form, the most probable hypothesis is that of a jug, although it cannot be ruled out that the fragment refers to another closed form with a conical neck, such as an amphora or *olla*²¹⁶. As far as decoration is concerned, the scheme, with the “*tenda*” on the shoulder, marginalised at the top by three horizontal lines, is common to all the forms mentioned above. Judging from the preserved part, the “*tenda*” appears to be of the “elegant” or “evolved” type, characteristic respectively of the Middle and Late Geometric period in Francesca Ferranti’s classification²¹⁷ (Fig. 10).

As for chronology, it may be useful to recall the documentation from Pontecagnano, where this pottery fits into a sequence linked to imported Greek ceramics. An updated census of “*Tenda*” class pottery has brought the total number of finds to 35: 22 specimens are of the “elegant” type and come from tombs that can be placed in the final stages of Phase IB and especially in Phase IIA, characterised by the presence of Greek ceramics from MG II and dated to the second quarter of the 8th century BC. If the proposed attributions for our fragment were correct, there would be a conflict with the context of its discovery, which the editors place at the end of the 9th century BC.

This type of pottery, characteristic of the Oenotrian world, is widespread in Basilicata and the neighbouring areas of Apulia, Calabria (Sibaritide) and southern Campania²¹⁸. In the latter, the attestations are concentrated in sites of Villanovan facies: at Sala Consilina, in the Vallo di Diano, in an inland area adjacent to the area of Oenotrian tradition, identified as one of the production settlements; at Pontecagnano, with the numerous specimens mentioned above, probably imported from different Oenotrian settlements. The mediation of the Picentine settlement for the arrival in Utica and La Rebanadilla of the ceramics analysed above cannot therefore be ruled out.

²¹⁴ On the two contexts cf. the considerations of BOTTO 2018b, 22-23.

²¹⁵ SÁNCHEZ *et al.* 2011, 194-197; SÁNCHEZ *et al.* 2018.

²¹⁶ YNTEMA 1990, figs. 91, 95-96; KILIAN 1970, Beil. 11.

²¹⁷ FERRANTI 2009, 45-46, 50-57, figs. 3, and 6 respectively SS17 and SS18.

²¹⁸ FERRANTI 2009, 63-66, fig. 10.B-C.



Fig. 9. La Rebanadilla: materials from the well of Phase IV, the fragment of “Tenda” class pottery can be distinguished at the top left (from SÁNCHEZ *et al.* 2018, redrawn by L. Attisani, ISPC-CNR)

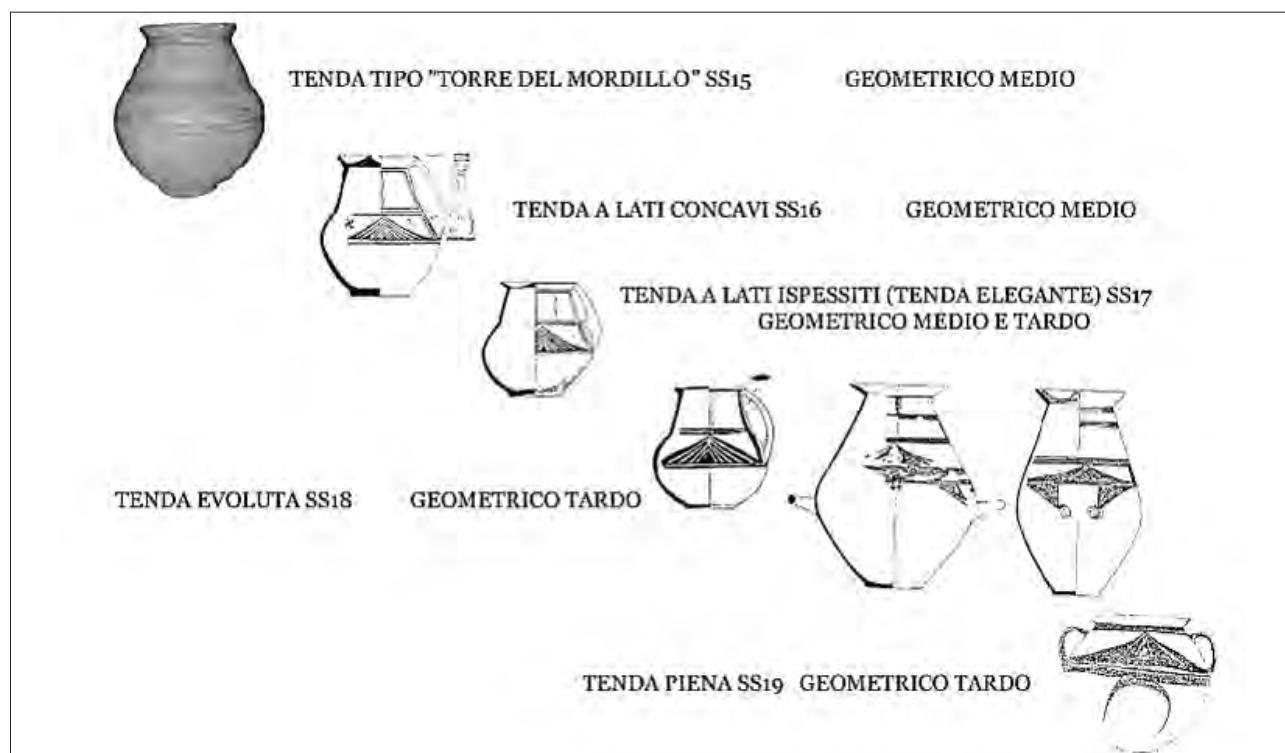


Fig. 10: Summary diagram of the chronological-typological evolution of the “Tenda-style” (from FERRANTI 2009)

A different circuit referring to southern Etruria and the Tiber area is instead conceivable for the other “Tyrrhenian” ceramics found in Utica and the two specimens from Huelva. Starting with the materials from the Utica well (UE 20017)²¹⁹, it should be noted that in the absence of archaeometric analyses and an autopsy examination of the individual fragments, the following considerations are merely working hypotheses.

On the basis of the drawings shown in figure 10 of the above-mentioned study, it does not seem possible to deepen the analysis for fragments nos. 4-5, which are too small, and for no. 1, which is poorly characterised. Fragment no. 2 is certainly the most significant: it corresponds to a flat bowl cup with a characteristic flared rim that finds its most similar comparisons in Tarquinia, starting from Phase IB, but especially in Phases IC and IIB²²⁰.

Fragment no. 3 should probably be read with a single handle, as the comparisons reported by the editors also suggest: it should therefore be a cup of the bifid handle type, like the specimen from Survey I, 3 of the Tunisian-French excavations²²¹. The closest comparisons in decoration refer once again to Tarquinia²²², although there is no lack of attestations in *Latium Vetus*, as in the case of the Osteria dell’Osa²²³. Turning to the imports from Huelva²²⁴, the so-called “kantharos” is close to the type of drawer cups, in particular to productions from the central-southern Tyrrhenian. Comparisons concern, for example, Veio-Quattro Fontanili (Local Phase II), Osteria dell’Osa and Esquilino (Latium Phase III), as well as Pontecagnano (Local Phase II)²²⁵.

The production area of these ceramics would seem to concern southern Etruria (Veio, Tarquinia)

and the Latium banks of the Tiber (Osteria dell’Osa) and to be chronologically framed within the first half/second quarter of the 8th century BC. This is an extremely dynamic sector of Tyrrhenian peninsular Italy whose communities entertained early and long-lasting trade with Phoenician and Greek merchants thanks to whom men, artefacts and goods were introduced to international markets²²⁶.

3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The ceramics examined above allow us to reconstruct a coherent picture of contacts between local elites and Phoenician merchants facilitated by convivial practices involving the consumption of food and wine²²⁷. Biochemical analyses recently conducted on the ceramic objects found in four burials dating back to the Early Iron Age in the indigenous necropolis of Cumae have shown that the local populations used a fermented beverage similar to wine in their funerary rituals²²⁸. Further confirmation in this regard is provided by the archaeobotanical study of the fill sediments of some of the tombs investigated, which made it possible to determine the presence of *Vitis vinifera* sp. seeds²²⁹. On the arrival of Euboean and Phoenician merchants in the Gulf of Naples, therefore, the local communities were already in possession of vine cultivation technology and wine-making processes²³⁰. However, the imported wine must have been of higher quality than the local product «probabilmente perché la tecnologia in possesso della comunità indigena non era tale da permetterne la conservazione e la limitazione del processo di acetificazione»²³¹. Techniques to inhibit the acetification process of wine, on the other hand, were well known to the Phoenicians from the earliest stages of irradiation in the West since the product exported

²¹⁹ LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2016, 79-80, fig. 10.

²²⁰ HENCKEN 1968, 57, fig. 46.k (Fase IB); figg. 77.a, 79.b, 83.f, 109.db (Fase IC); figg. 150.h, 182.d, 170.l, 191.j (Fase II B). For generic comparisons to Phase II, *ibid.*, figs. 229.b, 239.d, 234.d, 240.d, 273.b, 299.d.

²²¹ MONCHAMBERT *et al.* 2013, 48-49, fig. 44, 20, a-b.

²²² Cf. e.g. HENCKEN 1968, fig. 188.e for a Phase IIB cup.

²²³ BIETTI SESTIERI 1992, 226-227, scheme IIb, pl. VI.

²²⁴ GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2004, 98-99, pls. XX, 6-7, LIX, 10-11.

²²⁵ Veio: *Quattro Fontanili* 1967, fig. 8, BB 8-9 and fig. 24 EE 8-9; *Quattro Fontanili* 1970, fig. 30 CC 5-6A; *Quattro Fontanili* 1975, fig. 6, E 16 Q, E 15 Q, E 15. Osteria dell’Osa: BIETTI SESTIERI 1992, pl. 21, type 20 d. Esquilino: GJERSTAD 1956, 222, fig. 199, 1 (tomb LXXI). Pontecagnano: D’AGOSTINO – GASTALDI 1988, pl. 12, type 12 D1-2.

²²⁶ BOTTO 2008, 141-148. BERNARDINI 2016, 18

²²⁷ The phenomenon has recently been examined by the author with a focus on the early relations between the Phoenicians and Sardinian communities: BOTTO 2019; 2023a.

²²⁸ DEL MASTRO *et al.* 2021.

²²⁹ DEL MASTRO *et al.* 2021, 184.

²³⁰ For Cumae, cf. in particular BRUN 2011, 67, 103-107. On the issues concerning the introduction of viticulture on the Italian Peninsula and its major islands, Sicily and Sardinia, cf. the contributions collected by DI NOCERA – GUIDI – ZIFFERERO 2016 and more recently by ACCONCIA – PIERGROSSI 2021.

²³¹ DEL MASTRO *et al.* 2021, 186.

from the shores of the Near East all the way across the Strait of Gibraltar would have easily deteriorated if it had not previously been treated with resins²³².

Another aspect emerges from the examined context: the wine exported by the Phoenicians to Cumae was produced in Sardinia and, more precisely, in the territory controlled by *Sulky*²³³. This would, therefore, be one of the earliest pieces of evidence of the spread of Sardinian wine outside the island, to be correlated with the significant presence of Sardinian-Levantine amphorae/ Sant'Imbenia-type in southern Spain (Huelva, La Rebanadilla, Cadiz) and Utica. Although no transport amphorae of this type come from the hut currently investigated in the excavations directed by Matteo D'Acunto, the Sardinian vector is confirmed by the *vasi a collo* and the *olle a colletto* examined above. These finds constitute an important antecedent to the relations between *Sulky* and Pithekoussai in the second half of the 8th century BC, which can put the origin of Ischian transport amphorae into perspective. Rather than being inspired by central-Mediterranean Phoenician productions²³⁴, these amphorae would appear to be based on the Sardinian-Levantine amphorae of the Sant'Imbenia-type, whose shape, in our opinion, is strongly influenced by the *vasi a collo*, which are characterized by having a flat bottom in the same way as the oldest Pithekoussai amphorae²³⁵.

The Cumae context is thus further evidence of the commercial understanding reached by the Phoenicians with the Sardinians, which was at its most visible in the central-western Mediterranean and along the Atlantic coast of the Iberian Peninsula between the late 9th and the first half of the 7th century BC. "Sardinian-Phoenician" trade, which had its strong point in the exchange of foodstuffs and metals, represented only one aspect of Mediterranean trade, since both Phoenicians and Sardinians also sailed the seas independently and found other forms of collaboration. Without resorting to rigid frameworks, which would be wholly inappropriate for the historical periods examined here, two areas of dif-

ferent influence can be distinguished in Sardinia. 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 Etruria²³⁶, 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 role²³⁷. What emerges from the most recent investigations, and what we hope to have clarified in the preceding pages, 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.

Catalogue of pottery (Pls. 1-2)

1. Plate Pl. 1

Inv. no. FEN27838/1. Frg. bottom and lower part of the body. H. max. 1.6; Ø rec. ca. 8 cm. Clay: fine-grained compact, "gray" core (Munsell 10YR 5/1) with very small white inclusions; outside/inside: "reddish yellow" to "light brown" (Munsell 5YR 6/6-7.5 YR 6/3). In the interior wall, carefully smoothed, concentric evanid band with presumed radial pattern, of which only one ray is preserved, "light red" (Munsell 10R 6/8).

Cf. plate with short everted rim: GIARDINO 2017, 107-109, type 1.2.1, pls. IV-X; NÚÑEZ 2017.

2. *Vaso a collo*. Pl. 1

Inv. no. FEN27838/1. Frg. lip and upper part of the neck; H. max. 2; Ø rec. ca. 14 cm. Clay: compact medium-fine-grained, "gray" core (Munsell 5YR 5/1) with small to medium-sized white and vitreous inclusions; outside/inside: "light reddish brown" to "light red" (Munsell 2.5YR 6/4-6/8). Slip: outside/inside "red" (Munsell 10R 4/8).

Cf. ACQUARO 1978, 68, fig. 12, 3; BARTOLONI 1985, 173-179, fig. 5; CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2000, 436-441, pls. 254-262; IALONGO 2017, 99, fig. 3, 7-13.

3. Plate Pl. 1

Inv. no. FEN27847/1. Frg. lip and upper part of the body. H. max. 2; Ø rec. ca. 18 cm. Clay: compact, fine-grained, "gray" core (Munsell 5YR 5/1) with very small white and vitreous inclusions; outside/inside: "light reddish brown" to "light red" (Munsell 2.5YR

²³² The topic is discussed at length by BOTTO 2004-2005; 2013b; 2016a; 2016b.

²³³ BOTTO 2021, 263-270 (with further references).

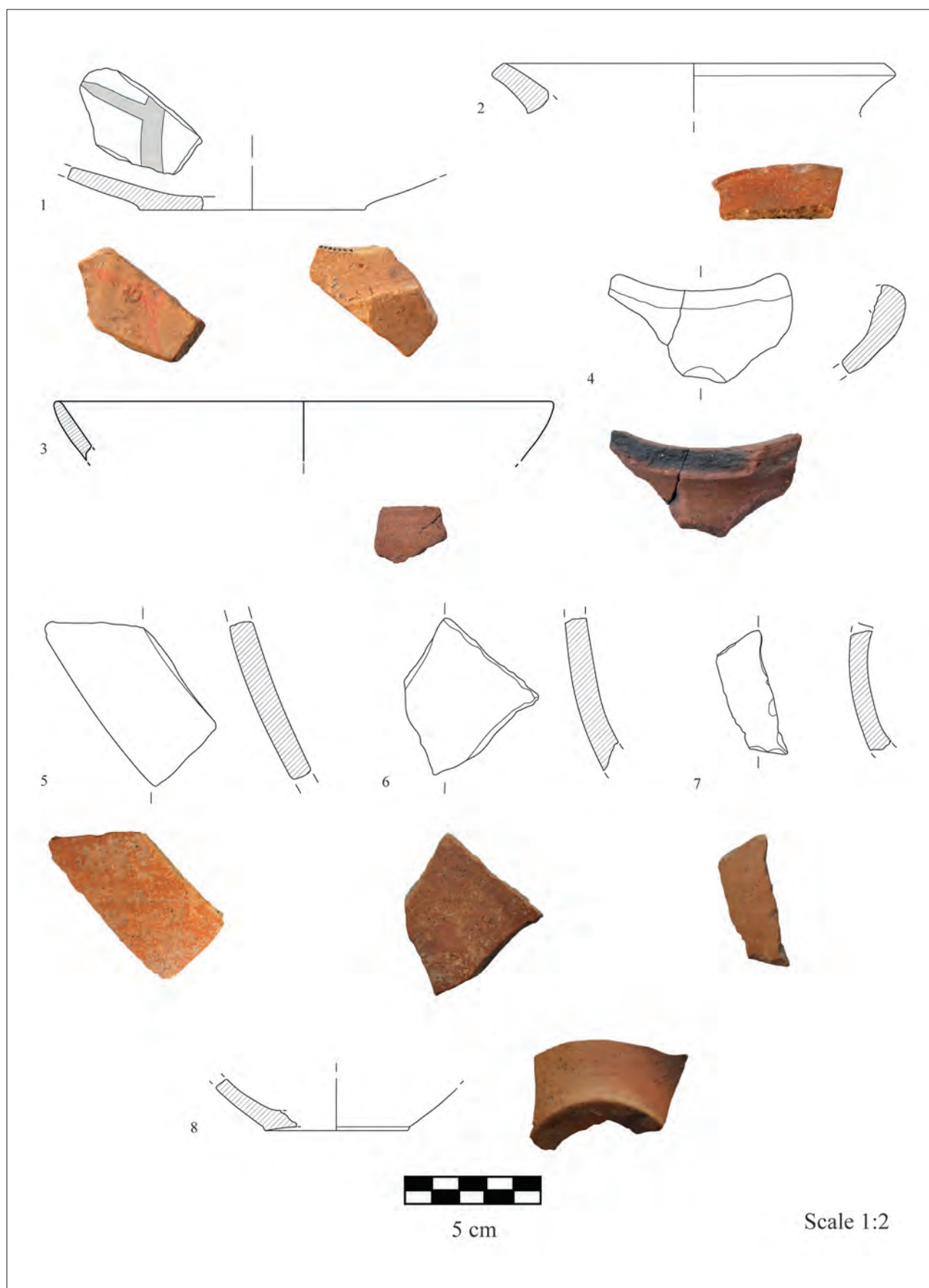
²³⁴ Reference is made to types T-3.1.1.1. and T-3.1.1.2. in RAMON TORRES 1995, 180-182.

²³⁵ BOTTO 2015, 177-178.

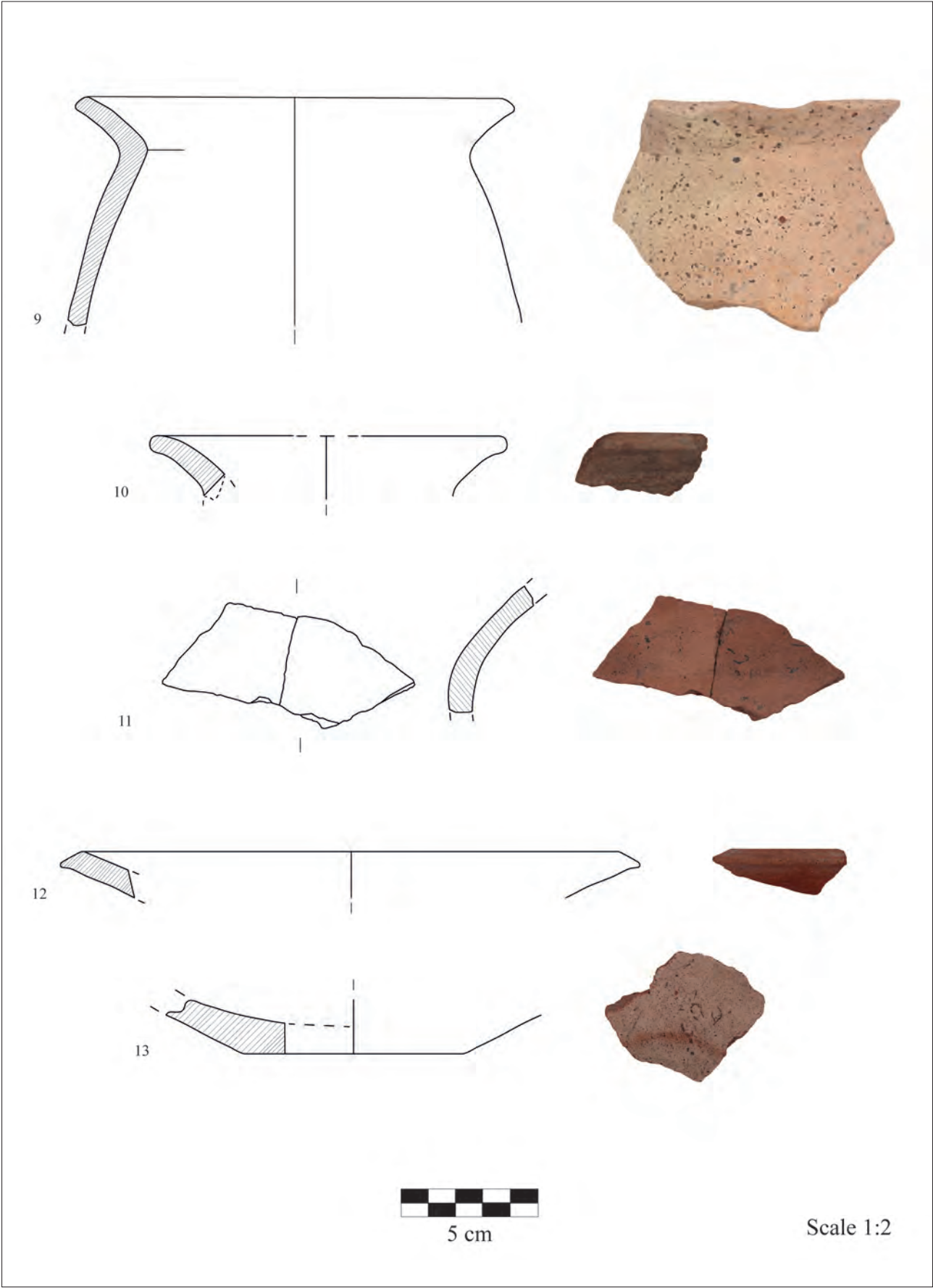
²³⁶ Cf. most recently DI GENNARO *et al.* 2023 (with further references).

²³⁷ BEN JERBANIA 2017 (Utica); BOTTO 2020a (Iberian Peninsula).

- 6/4-6/8). Slip: outside "red" (Munsell 2.5YR 4/8); inside "red" (Munsell 10R 4/8).
Cf.: BIKAI 1978, 26-28, pl. XIA, 4-10. 12-16 (FWP2, Strata II-III); GIACOSA 2016, 26-27, FWB4.
- 4. Vaso a collo.** Pl. 1
Inv. no. FEN27838/2-3. Three joint frgs.: neck and shulder. H. max. 3,5 cm; Ø rec. ca. 14 cm. Clay: compact, medium to fine-grained, "gray" core (Munsell 5YR 5/1) with small to medium-sized white and vitreous inclusions; outside/inside: "light reddish brown" to "light red" (Munsell 2.5YR 6/4-6/8). Slip: outside "red" (Munsell 2.5YR 4/8); inside "red" (Munsell 10R 4/8). Clear traces of horizontal splinting.
Cf. BARTOLONI 1985, 173-179, fig. 5; CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2000, 436-441, pls. 254-262; IALONGO 2017, 99, fig. 3, 7-13.
- 5. Vaso a collo.** Probably the same individual described in cat. no. 2. Pl. 1
Inv. no. FEN27728/1. Frg. body. L. max 5.8; w. max. 3.2; th. 0.8 cm. Clay: compact medium-fine-grained, "gray" core (Munsell 5YR 5/1) with small to medium-sized white and vitreous inclusions; outside/inside: "light reddish brown" to "light red" (Munsell 2.5YR 6/4-6/8). Slip: outside/inside "red" (Munsell 10R 4/8).
Cf. BARTOLONI 1985, 173-179, fig. 5; CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2000, 436-441, pls. 254-262; IALONGO 2017, 99, fig. 3, 7-13.
- 6. Vaso a collo.** Probably the same individual described in cat. no. 2. Pl. 1
Inv. no. FEN27979/1. Frg. body. L. max. 5.7; w. max. 4.9; th. 0.9 cm. Clay: compact medium-fine-grained, "gray" core (Munsell 5YR 5/1) with small to medium-sized white and vitreous inclusions; outside/inside: "light reddish brown" to "light red" (Munsell 2.5YR 6/4-6/8). Slip: outside/inside "red" (Munsell 10R 4/8).
Cf. ACQUARO 1978, 68, fig. 12, 3; BARTOLONI 1985, 173-179, fig. 5; CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2000, 436-441, pls. 254-262; IALONGO 2017, 99, fig. 3, 7-13.
- 7. Vaso a collo.** Probably the same individual described in cat. no. 2. Pl. 1
Inv. no. FEN27977/1. Frg. body. L. max. 4.5; w. max. 1.7; th. 0.7 cm. Clay: compact medium-fine-grained, "gray" core (Munsell 5YR 5/1) with small to medium-sized white and vitreous inclusions; outside/inside: "light reddish brown" to "light red" (Munsell 2.5YR 6/4-6/8). Slip: outside/inside "red" (Munsell 10R 4/8).
Cf. ACQUARO 1978, 68, fig. 12, 3; BARTOLONI 1985, 173-179, fig. 5; CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2000, 436-441, pls. 254-262; IALONGO 2017, 99, fig. 3, 7-13.
- 8. Plate.** Pl. 1
Inv. no. FEN27992/1. Frg. bottom and lower part of the body. H. max. 1.9; Ø rec. ca. 5.2; th. body 0.6 cm. Clay: compact fine-grained, "light red" core (Munsell 10R 6/6) with small white and vitreous inclusions; outside: "reddish yellow" to "yellowish red" (Munsell 5.5 YR 7/6 - 2.5 YR 5/6); inside: "red" (Munsell 5/8).
Cf. BIKAI 1978, 23-24, pls. X, 4, 7 (Strata II-III), XVI, 18-38 (Stratum IV), XVIII, 3 (Strata V-VII); XIX, 9-12 (Strata VIII-IX); NÚÑEZ 2017, 13, Group 2, fig. 3; NÚÑEZ 2018a, 126.
- 9. Olla a colletto.** Pl. 2
Inv. no. FEN28100/10. Frg. lip, neck, shulder and upper part of the body. H. max. 8,3; Ø rec. ca. 15 cm. Clay: compact fine-grained, "light greyish brown" core (Munsell 5YR 8/3) with medium to large black and brown inclusions and numerous vacuoles; outside/inside: "reddish yellow" (Munsell 7.5YR 8/6) with numerous brown, black, grey and reddish inclusions of medium and large size clearly visible. Slip: outside/inside "pinkish white" (7.5YR 8/2).
Cf. CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2000, 482-483, pls. 294, 1-3 and 295, 2 (806. Ol. 41); IALONGO 2017, 95-97, fig. 1.21-25; PERRA 2019, 198-203; GUIRGUIS 2022, 97, fig. 7F.
- 10. Vaso a collo.** Pl. 2
Inv. no. FEN28100/3. Frg. lip and neck. H. max 2.3; Ø rec. ca. 14 cm. Clay: compact, fine-grained, "dull orange" core (Munsell 2.5 YR 6/4) with very small white and vitreous inclusions; outside/inside: "dull orange" (Munsell 2.5 YR 6/4) to "dull reddish brown" (Munsell 2.5 YR 5/3).
Cf. BARTOLONI 1985, 173-179, fig. 5; CAMPUS – LEONELLI 2000, 436-441, pls. 254-262; IALONGO 2017, 99, fig. 3, 7-13.
- 11. Table amphora.** Pl. 2
Inv. no. FEN28100/9. Two joint frgs.: shulder and body. H. max 4.6 cm. Clay: compact, fine-grained, "orange" core (Munsell 5 YR 6/6) with small to medium-sized brown and red, small vitreous inclusions; outside/inside: "orange" (Munsell 5 YR 6/6) to "dull orange" (Munsell 5 YR 6/4).
Cf. BARTOLONI 1988, 165, 174, fig. 2 G; BARTOLONI 1990, 50, fig. 9, 131-132; OGGIANO 2000, 245, note 40, fig. 9, 1; ORSINGER 2015; 2016, 286, 302, pl. III, 2; SPAGNOLI 2019, 24, 50-53, fig. 3, 7, pls. 2, 1-2, 34, 7, 1.
- 12. Plate.** Pl. 2
Inv. no. FEN28072/1. Frg. lip and upper part of the body. H. max 1.7 cm; Ø rec. ca. 19.6 cm. Clay: compact, fine-grained, "reddish yellow" core (Munsell 5 YR 7/6) with very small black, brown and vitreous inclusions; numerous small vacuoles are also visible; outside/inside: "reddish yellow" (Munsell 5 YR 7/6).
Cf.: plate with short everted rim: BIKAI 1978, pl. X, 9 (Stratum III); GIARDINO 2017, 107-109, type 1.2.1, pls. IV-X; NÚÑEZ 2017.
- 13. Basin/mortar.** Pl. 2
Inv. no. FEN28072/2. Frg. bottom and lower part of the body. H. max 2; Ø rec. ca. 8 cm. Clay: compact, fine-grained, "pinkish grey" (Munsell 5 YR 7/2) to "pink" (Munsell 5 YR 7/4) core with very small black, brown, white and vitreous inclusions; outside/inside: "pink" (Munsell 5 YR 7/4). Slip: outside "pink" (7.5 YR 8/4).
Cf.: LEHMANN 1996, 389-394, forme 159-167, pls. 25-27, 107; SAPIN 1998, 110-112; BELLELLI – BOTTO 2002; CAMPANELLA 2008, 79, 138, 140-141.



Pl. 1. Pre-Hellenic Cumae: Phoenician and “Sardinian-Phoenician” pottery from the residential area (excavations of the University of Napoli L’Orientale, 2018-2022)



Pl. 2. Pre-Hellenic Cumae: Phoenician and “Sardinian-Phoenician” pottery from the residential area (excavations of the University of Napoli L’Orientale, 2018-2022)

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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.

