

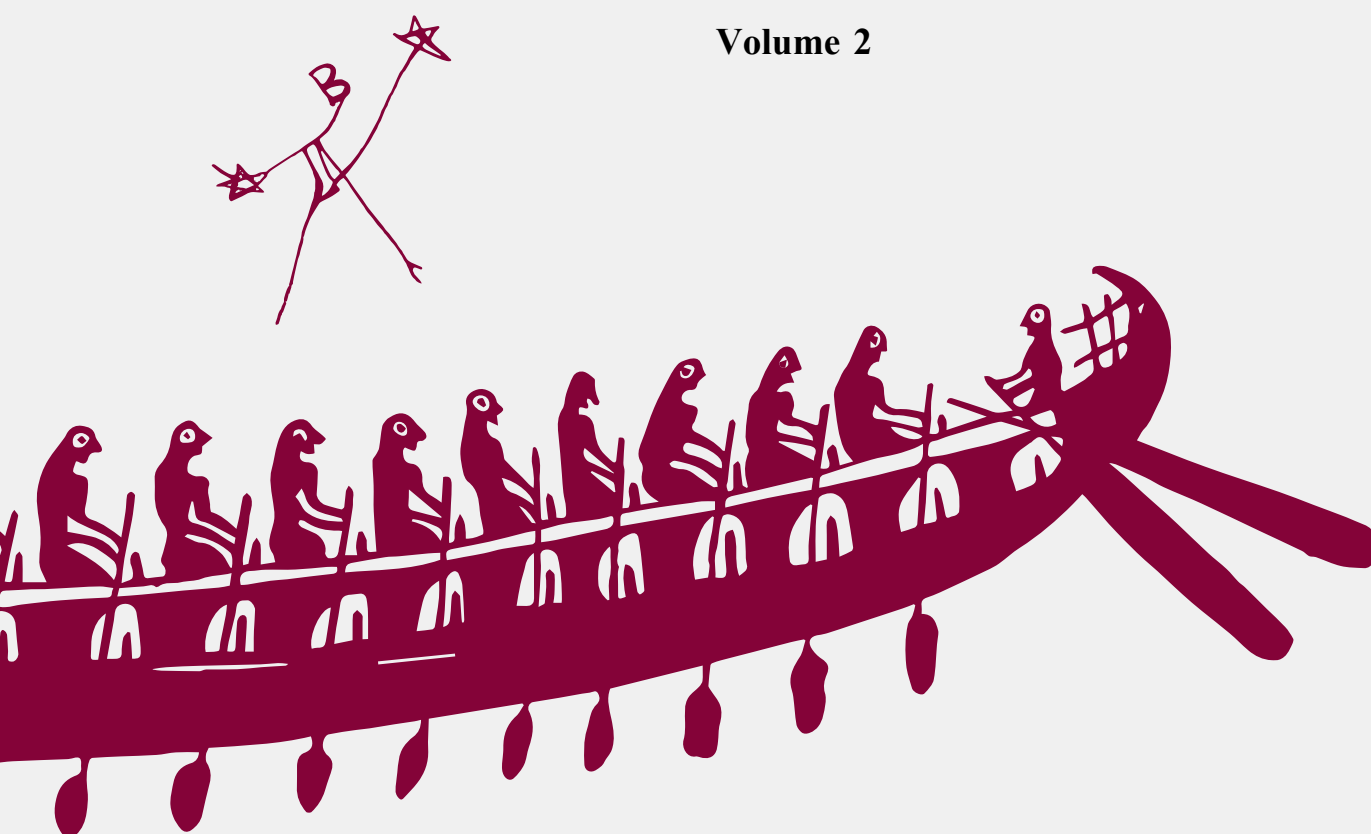
EUBOICA II

Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West

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

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

Volume 2



Napoli 2021

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



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ABBREVIATIONS

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

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

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STRUCTURES AND MATERIALS OF ARCHAIC CUMAE: RESEARCH OF THE FEDERICO II UNIVERSITY IN THE AREA OF THE FORUM

Giovanna Greco

In the last twenty years, the knowledge of the oldest colony in the West has profoundly changed compared to what was known of the site at the time of the edition of *Apoikia* (1994) and the conference *Euboica* in Naples (1998)¹. In the same years the archaeological debate focused on Pithecusae, particularly on the analysis of the two areas of Mazzola and Punta Chiarito brought to light recently.

Cumae remained somehow in the background. An anomalous absence of earlier and more organised evidence was perceived. Coldstream couldn't help but point out that: «remains of the most ancient colonial horizon of Cumae are still to be identified», while Ridgway underlined that: «the most ancient finds of the colonial era in Cumae date to the EPC phase, contemporary with Pithecusa LG II and therefore not earlier than 725; and this must be accepted – at least for the moment – as the date of the foundation of a new Greek polis on the mainland»². As is widely known, in 1994 the Kyme project started thanks to Stefano De Caro³, and in 1995 B. d'Agostino had two different opportunities to lessen the fog of uncertainty obscuring all the Cumaean issues⁴. For the first time it was emphasized how little was known about the early settlement and the notable amount of Early Archaic Greek pottery found in the embankment at the Northern walls was made known to the scholars: materials that helped fill the gap with the Pithecusan documen-

tation and clarify the relationship between Pithecusa and Cumae.

That Cumae had not revealed a chronological level comparable to the phase of LG I was in great and perplexing contrast to what was known at Zancle. If we believe what Thucydides affirms (6.4.5), Zancle was first occupied by pirates from Cumae in Opicia and only later received a canonical foundation by the Chalcidians. At Zancle the materials do in fact document a consolidated horizon of LG I (730 BC), and consequently, Cumae would already have been a political reality and playing a strategic role in the western Mediterranean at the time; it should also be reminded that one of the oecists of Zancle is a Cumaean⁵.

The first fragments published by d'Agostino began to fill this gap, identifying a chronological horizon, in Cumae, between the MG II and LG I.

At the same time, in the Forum, the restoration of the already known Roman monuments was being carried out; a deeper investigation was begun into the levelling and filling actions that had covered pre-existing structures. The result was the finding of a large amount of residual Early Archaic Greek pottery in the levelling or foundation layers of the monuments of the Roman or Samnite age, helping in appreciating the nature of the occupation in the area at the time (Fig. 1).

¹ *Apoikia*; *Euboica*.

² RIDGWAY 1984, 134.

³ DE CARO 2008.

⁴ D'AGOSTINO 1999.

⁵ Cf. most recently MELE 2014, 33-39.

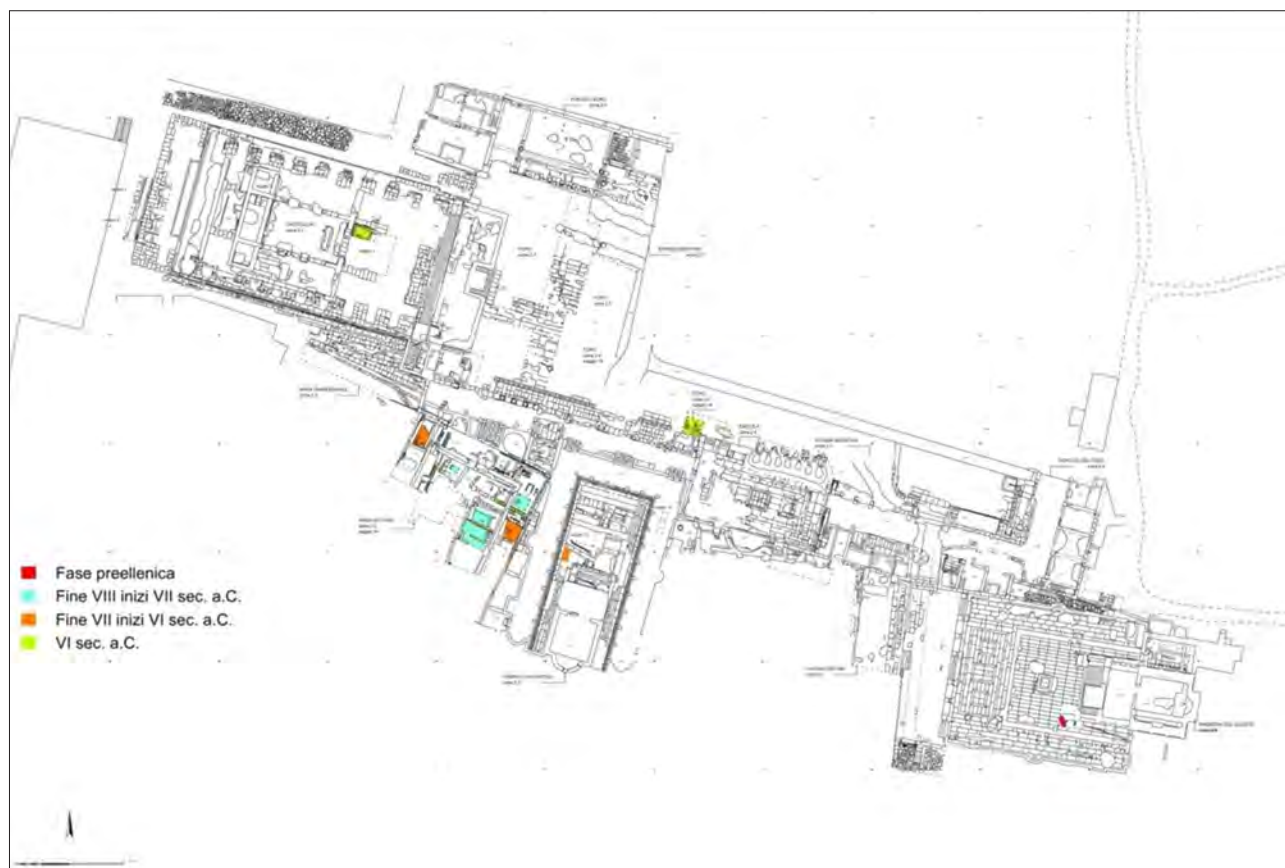


Fig. 1. Cumae. The lower town, Forum area: plan with the Archaic structures

This does not come as a surprise. All the sondages undertaken in the square and along its perimeter produced comparable findings. It is well established that this flat area facing the sea took on an urban connotation only in the Samnite era. Moreover, the many fragments recovered of Late Geometric and Protocorinthian pottery, along with numerous *impasto* vessels, which were not exclusively pre-Hellenic, and the fragments of large containers such as SOS or Corinthian amphorae of type A confirmed what was already suggested by Bruno d'Agostino on the basis of the materials found in the embankment/fill of the walls.

However, it was only in the 2000-2001 that two excavation areas were opened: one in the “Tempio con Portico” of the Early Imperial Age and the other one its west side, where the first material and structures with sealed contexts and related to an occupation phase in 7th century BC⁶ (Figs. 2-3) came to light.

In Sondage 11, located on the northwest side of the courtyard, where no structures were discovered, it is the numerous residual materials that document the early occupation in the Late Archaic period. Here, for the first time in the lower city, a complex stratigraphy is recorded, revealing a succession of building activities in the area, almost without interruption, from the Archaic period to the Early Imperial Age, when the “Tempio con Portico” was built.

In particular, into an artificial layer of levelling and stabilization related to a 5th century BC floor (SU 2258) a considerable amount of materials in a secondary context was recovered, allowing us to hypothesize the function of those same spaces in the Archaic age (Fig. 4).

These consist of numerous fragments of architectural terracottas (nimbate antefixes with inverted palmettes, reed slabs and painted tiles), fragments of tufa and yellow and red wall-plasters prove to the presence of a sacred building of the late Archaic period that was completely razed and levelled on the occasion of that radical intervention which, in

⁶ GRECO 2008, 2012a, 2012b.



Fig. 2. Cumae. Temple with Portico area: sondages 11, 13 and 14

the last decades of the 5th century BC, profoundly transforms the area, redefining the space and changing the orientations of the monuments.

The sondage shows that a monumental organization in this area seems to be dated in the final decades of the 6th century BC, but the residual materials shows a constant presence from the last quarter of the 8th century BC to the Late Archaic period with a significant record of pottery from the 7th and 6th century BC⁷.

For the first time, the data demonstrate the evidence in Cumae of an already organised settlement which extended throughout the area of the city developed during the 7th century BC.

In Sondage 13, near the podium and at a height of 6.50 m MSL, a first floor of dark soil (SU 2364) due to a large residual presence of charcoal, was discovered. It was possible to date this floor to the

7th century BC, thanks to the fragments of proto- and mid-Corinthian pottery in primary deposition; in association with this material, numerous fragments of *impasto*, and Geometric pottery, including Italo-geometric material were found (Fig. 5).

In Sondage 14, to the west of the imperial monument, behind its perimeter wall, the first clear structural evidence of a Early Archaic domestic building was discovered: a paved floor (SU 2391) where two post holes were recognized, a fireplace and a channel for the drainage of water. The material in its sealed context can be reasonably assigned to a horizon in the 7th century BC⁸.

Among the residual materials from levels preceding the construction of the domestic building, older fragments of Greek pottery were found, together with *impasto* pottery (Figs. 6-7). These elements, related to what was found in the

⁷ TOMEO 2007.

⁸ GRECO 2007.

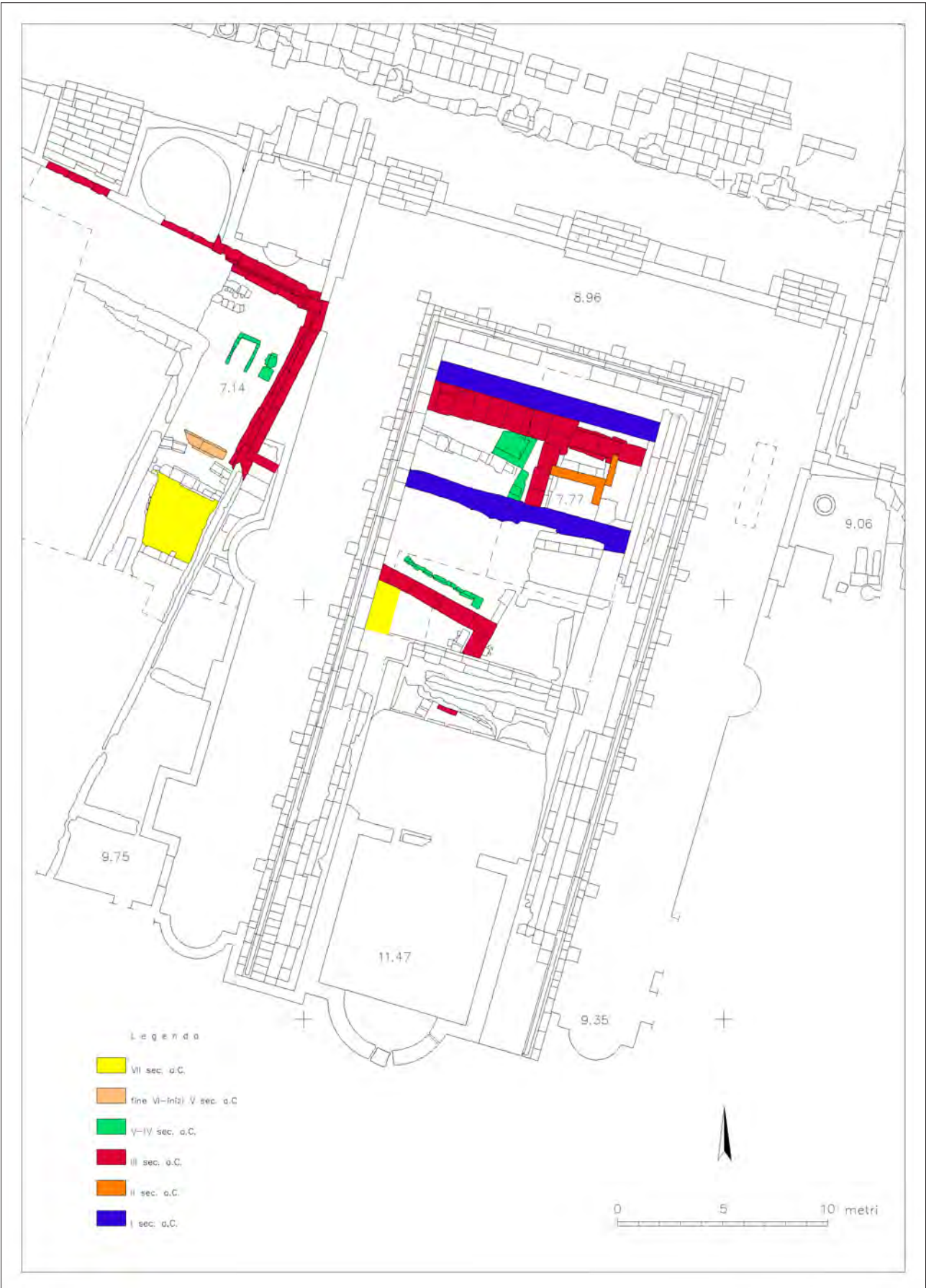


Fig. 3. Temple with Portico area: building phases

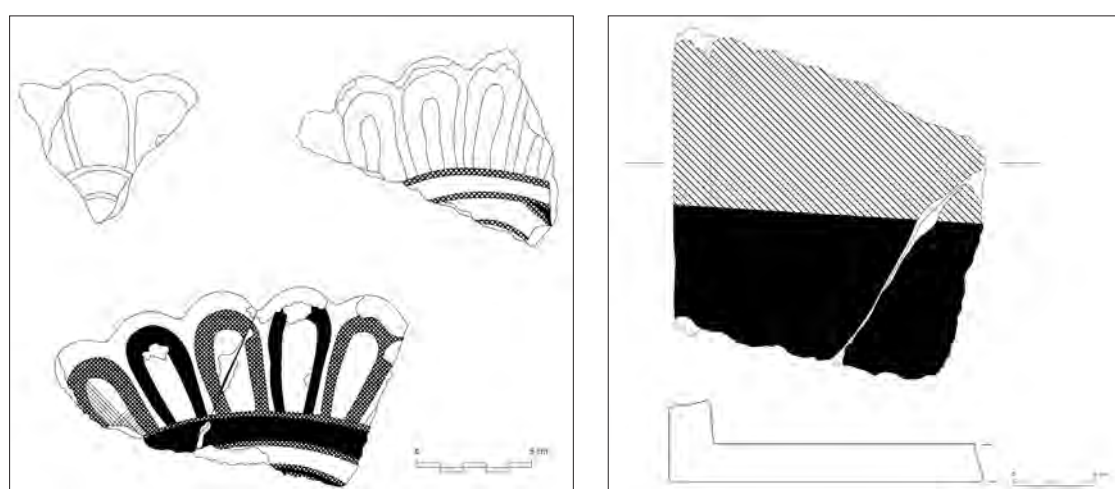
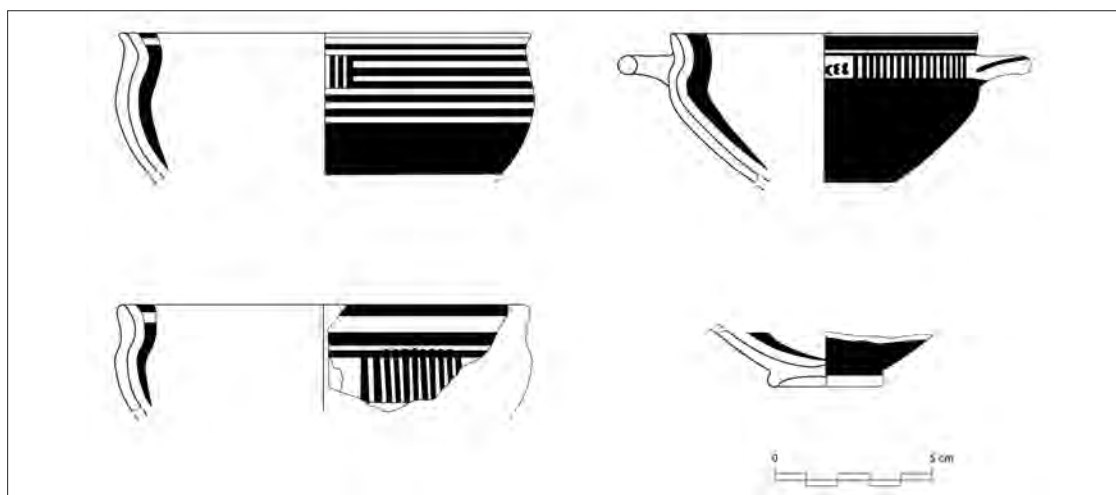


Fig. 4, a-c. Temple with Portico area: materials (SU 2258)

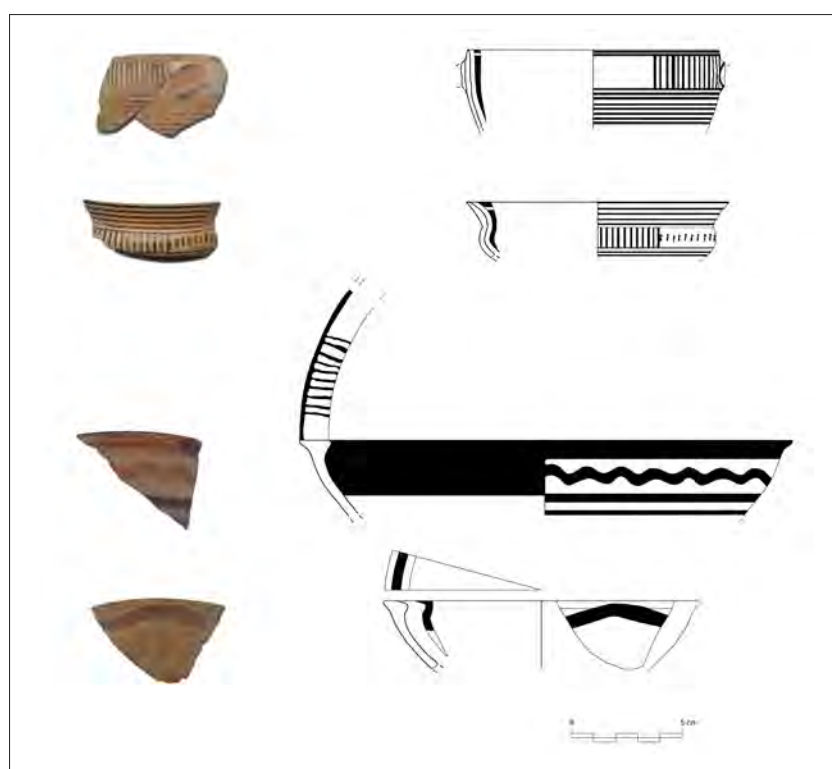


Fig. 5. Temple with Portico area: materials from the levels used in the 7th century BC

sondages inside the imperial monument, for the first time documented how the flat area near the hill was occupied by residential structures whose organization is not yet clear, given the restricted space of the sondages and the confusion created by the overlapping of the building phases.

Even so, the analysis of the materials adds significant data to the debate. In addition to the preponderant quantity of Protocorinthian pottery, both of imported and of local production, and attested in different shapes and qualities, there was always a considerable presence of *impasto* pottery with shapes that exactly reproduce those known from the pre-Hellenic local repertoire, such as the *olla*, the basin and the jug with embossed dots decoration. It is now clear that such shapes no longer belong only to a pre-Hellenic horizon.

The floor plan of this first domestic structure is covered by a level of deposit, inside which numerous fragments of Corinthian pottery with a geometric decoration clearly older than the use of the house were collected (Fig. 8): these are a cup with a Thapsos panel, an Aetos 666 cup, skyphoi, kotylai and a Late Geometric plates dating to the last quarter of the 8th century BC. All these elements suggest an earlier presence in the area by a few decades⁹. Here, the quality and nature of the materials suggest a significant specificity: the discovery of a fragment of a terracotta horse (Fig. 8) with brown bands painted on its neck and the numerous lekanai and fragments of conical belly lekythoi give some clues to understanding the function and articulation of the spaces during the 7th century BC in this area¹⁰.

The materials, both residual and from sealed contexts, perform the same function for the last quarter of the 8th century BC, highlighting the complexities of the structures.

The index type for these levels is the “Thapsos type” skyphos with and without panel (Fig. 9); they are attested both in Corinthian and local production. Indeed, the pottery of the EPC and LG II is well recorded, both imported and produced lo-

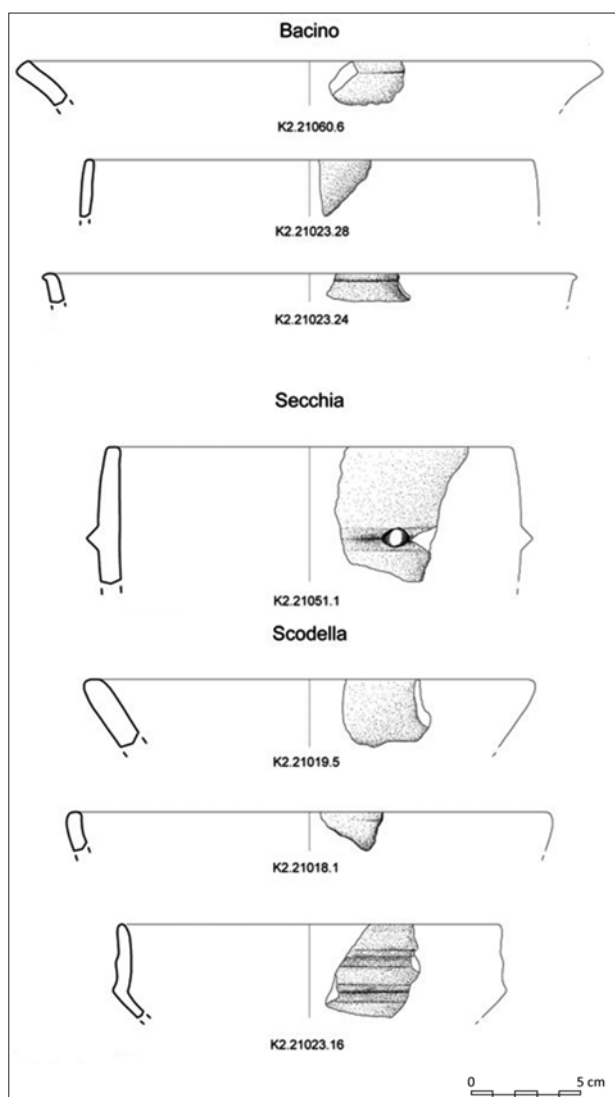


Fig. 6. Temple with Portico area: *impasto* pottery

cally; there are shapes that are not well represented in the necropolis, such as lekanai, cups, kyathoi and the fragments of the skyphoid craters, which become more and more numerous, and until now were attested only at Pithecusa in LG I. The presence of the aryballos is modest but is better documented in the necropolis.

Carried out in the same time, the excavation at the Masseria del Gigante showed an identical stratigraphical complexity with successive layers of levelling and raising of the ground surfaces. These levels gave back residual materials perfectly homogeneous with those discovered in the area of the Temple with a Portico; a fragment of a Thapsos cup with panel and broken meander from the Late Geometric I is one of the oldest elements found, in association with the same classes of ma-

⁹ GRECO 2005.

¹⁰ The first presentation of the context is in *Studi Cumani* 1, 27-48.

terials that were recovered in the area of the Forum¹¹.

The discovery of deposits of tephra led to the identification of protohistoric burials; the pits were filled with tephra (lapilli) in keeping with a peculiar habit of the Iron Age (i.e. labourers working with the Count of Syracuse and which Emilio Stevens called “the dead of the lapilli”¹²). The existence of an even earlier occupation phase is suggested by the discovery, on the interface with the natural bedrock, of a post-hole and chipped obsidian¹³.

The sondage in the Capitolium¹⁴ produced, even in a limited space, significant evidence. There is a floor with an alignment of piles of poles that gave back Early Archaic material related to the first organization of the area: this, as also seen on the western side, was profoundly transformed in the final decades of the 6th century BC with the construction of a structure in tufa blocks whose sacred and public character is well proclaimed by the technique and the wall decoration used. The materials recovered both in sealed and from residual contexts belong to the same ceramic classes recorded on the floor slabs in the Temple with Portico area and the Masseria del Gigante.

Finally, in 2006, after the enlargement of Sondage 14 to better understand the few remnants of an Archaic house, the first Archaic domestic structure of high quality was recovered (Fig. 10)¹⁵.

The existence of a residential building present on the level ground facing the sea was thus structurally proven; subsequently and until 2013-2014, the investigations which continued along this northern side of the Forum, confirmed even more the residential nature of the occupation of the area, dated between the last quarter of the 8th and the first decades of the 6th centuries BC with following phases of renovations and extensions of the oldest structures.

A radical transformation in the use of space took place at the end of the 6th century BC, when the houses were removed to make room for the or-

ganization of a sacred-public space in the urban planning system. There is no trace of violent destruction or traces of fire; the structures were abandoned at exactly the same time and the inhabited area was transferred elsewhere; a series of subsequent layers associated to structures of larger size are documented: these should be referred to a public and sacred function as demonstrated by the building technique, the wall decoration and materials. The most recent materials found in these filling levels, including fragments of transitional *bucchero* and fragments of a B2 Ionic cup, the index type for these phases, are dated to the final decades of the 6th century BC. This part of the level ground is reserved, in the new building and urban planning program, exclusively for sacred-public functions, which will continue, without interruption, up to the construction of the Roman Forum and until Late Antiquity.

This, very succinctly, the account of the chronology and nature of the successive works in the Forum.

The results of the research allow some reflections on topics already discussed in the first meetings which took place in the 1990s and which have been progressively resolved in recent years.

a) The first date of occupation obtained both from the evidence from the Masseria del Gigante and from the considerable amount of the residual materials leads to a reconsideration of the hypotheses so far proposed about the forms and the extent of the pre-Hellenic settlement. Today, the research carried out by the various teams involved in Cumae is demonstrating how it was organized by nuclei over a rather large region¹⁶. The topographical reconstruction of the pre-Hellenic necropolis shows how it extended over an area of about 10 hectares and was organized by nuclei, leaving large areas free. The hypothesis therefore that the pre-Hellenic settlement was organized not only on the terraces of “Monte di Cuma” but also in the level ground below has become ever more convincing¹⁷.

¹¹ CORAGGIO 2007.

¹² MARAGLINO 1906, 10; GRECO 2009.

¹³ CORAGGIO 2007.

¹⁴ PETACCO – RESCIGNO 2007.

¹⁵ GRECO 2008, 2009.

¹⁶ BRUN *et al.* 2008, 355, 382.

¹⁷ CRISCUOLO – PACCIARELLI 2008.

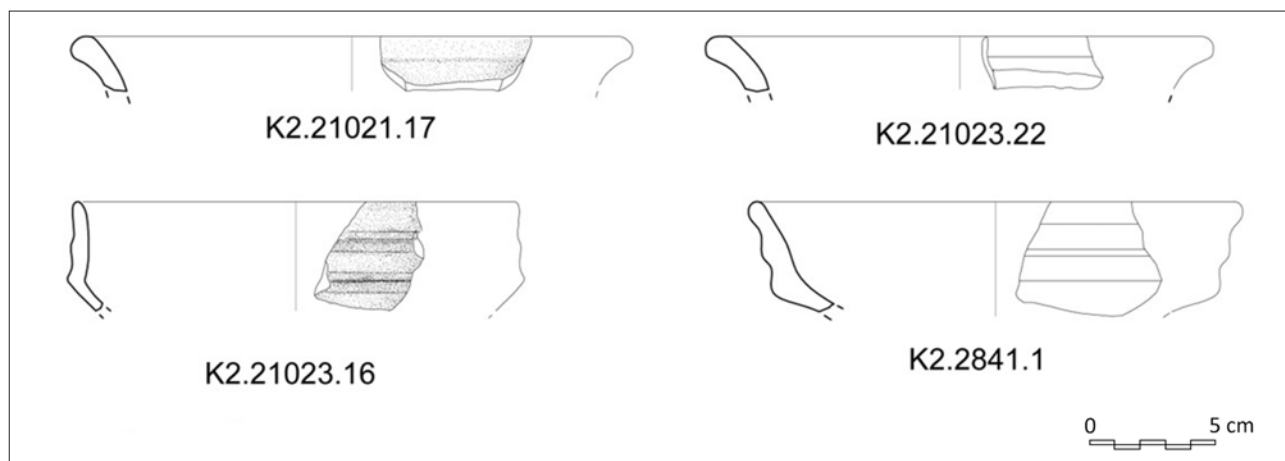


Fig. 7. Temple with Portico area: *impasto* pottery (nos. 1, 3) and coarse ware (nos. 2, 4)



Fig. 8. Temple with Portico area: pottery and a terracotta horse figurine from the second half of the 8th century BC

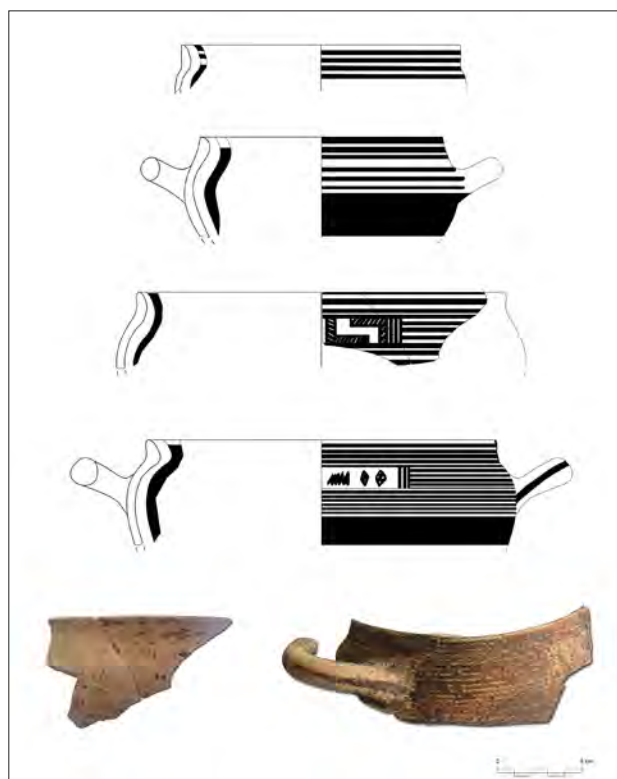


Fig. 9. Temple with Portico area: pottery from the second half of the 8th century BC

The studies carried out by Criscuolo and Nizzo on the revised pre-Hellenic materials also highlighted a prolonged phase of contact between the local community and the immigrants¹⁸.

The theme of the relationship with the indigenous world is present both at Pithecusa and at Cumae; on the island, the evidence of integration between the two communities seems to be abundant and articulated¹⁹.

¹⁸ CRISCUOLO 2007; NIZZO 2007.

¹⁹ D'AGOSTINO 2011; CERCHIAI 2014.

Cumae is also revealing widespread material evidence; the constant presence, in the Early Archaic levels containing Greek pottery, along with unusual of pre-Hellenic repertoire in *impasto* (Fig. 11), is of great significance. The pottery shapes are closely related to cooking and food storage, in particular the olla and the basin. The typological study and quantitative analysis carried out in recent years highlighted the continuity of production of some artefacts, such as the amphorae or jugs with embossed dots decoration,



Fig. 10. Temple with Portico area: the Early Archaic house plan

attested in Pithecusa and which continue throughout the 8th century BC²⁰. What should also be underlined is the coexistence, within the same contexts, of coarse ware, albeit worked on the wheel, that reproduces certain shapes of the pre-Hellenic *impasto*. These different techniques of ceramic production should reflect different methods in the organization of production: hypothetically, one could imagine a production of *impasto* pots as a prerogative of women within the economy of the *oikos* and the wheel-made pieces as the output of a more complex organization created by professional artisans.

On the matter of crafts, it is worth remarking here on the existence in an Archaic house of high-quality fragments of raw amber which are remnants of some technological process, and of a bronze bar: these clearly indicate craft production, especially the amber, which is also usually considered to specify an indigenous craftsman

(Fig. 12). Securing a reliable supply of metal had already been solved by the pre-Hellenic communities, as the extraordinary bronzes comprising the funerary objects demonstrate. We must therefore revisit our way of thinking about the nature of the relationship with the indigenous people and the ways these relationships operated, especially in the early stages of the colonial system. If, as Alfonso Mele stressed, the hypothesis of an Archaic Cumae as an “open city” is not feasible, it is still necessary to question how and when power relations between indigenous populations and immigrants change²¹.

The material evidence underline an indigenous presence, focused on pottery for everyday use and on some aspects of craftsmanship, such as amber and metallurgy, as occurs in Pithecusa. Even though these elements might seem limited, they could nevertheless present situations linked to forms of cohabitation or subalternity or even to “mixed mar-

²⁰ TOMEO 2014.

²¹ GRECO 2009.

riages”. Everything seems to refer to the initial arrival of the Greeks on the coast, but not yet to the stage of an *oecistic* and therefore a political foundation; this situation is very close to that found by Vallet in Megara Hyblaea, before the urban planning took place there, and as is currently coming to light in Leontinoi and Naxos where the significance of the Siculi is widely documented²².

b) When we consider the structural realities highlighted north of the Forum in the research carried by the University “L’Orientale” and Centre Jean Bérard, the densely associated nature of the neighborhood, or rather of the residential districts in the level ground overlooking the coastline, confirms that such an arrangement in housing was consistent in the last quarter of the 8th century BC over a rather extensive area. The materials found in all the sondages also seem to suggest a more ancient level that precedes – in a way we do not fully understand – the residential organization proper. Hellenic pottery appears, although in smaller quantities, in the current state of research between the MG II and the LG I.

Moreover, a set-up like that of Pithecusa and Cumae (two aspects of a single political and economic reality) cannot come into being as the result of a single limited act on one occasion; all the research of these last decades carried out in the Greek cities of Italy and Sicily clearly showed how the process is gradual and takes quite a considerable length of time²³.

The literary tradition records different times and forms of Greek occupation on the coast. Livy’s passage (Liv., 8.22) reported several times, tells how the Chalcidians do not immediately settle on the mainland, but are forced to first settle on the island because of the power of the natives. The entire historical tradition preserves a memory of the gradualness of the process and of the changes in strength and balance with the indigenous peoples, perpetuating that “colonial memory”, which is the most significant cultural achievement of the Greeks in the West.

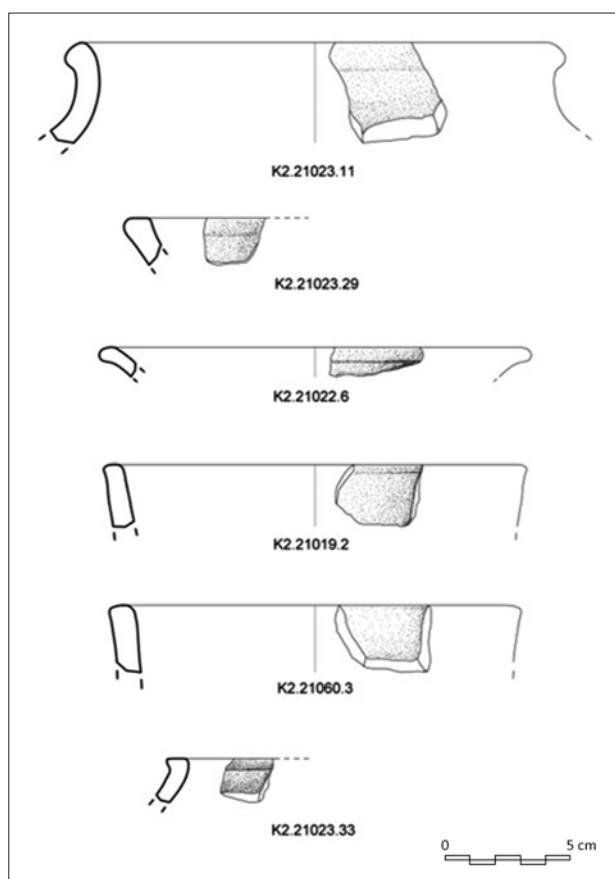


Fig. 11. Temple with Portico area: *impasto* pottery

Reading the material documentation in filigree, it is clear that the Euboeans established first of all a coexistence with the indigenous people in the same area. Relationships were rapidly transformed into political processes with the intervention of force which would transform a level ground used as a necropolis and perhaps partly inhabited by natives into a Greek settlement, and a hilly plateau from an indigenous village into a cult centre for the Greek gods. This process announces itself materially in the initial forms of urbanization that Matteo D’Acunto places in the first decades of the 7th century BC (LG II: 700-690 BC)²⁴.

What is recorded in the explorations in the area of the Forum is precisely this succession of building phases that embodies those of organization and planning; if the Archaic style of housing – a rectangular plan without internal subdivisions and probably with both a porch *in antis* and a further uncovered space in front – is dated in the last quarter of the 8th century BC, its restructuring with the

²² Megara Hybaea 5, 523-26; GRAS – TRÉZINY 2010, 1133-1147.

²³ TRÉZINY 2011.

²⁴ D’ACUNTO 2017.

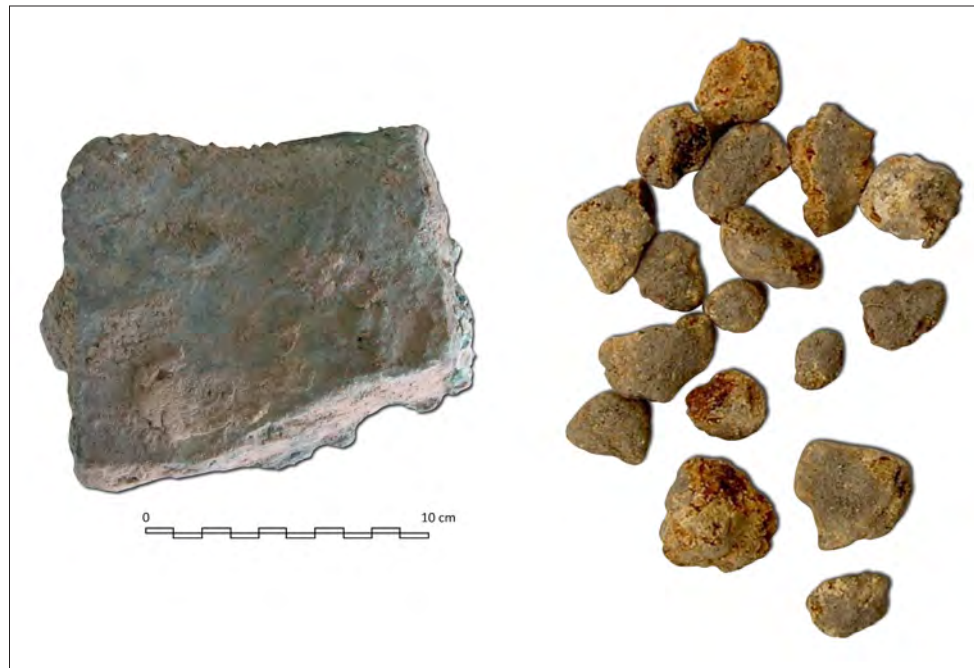


Fig. 12. Temple with Portico area: bronze bar and raw amber

raising of the floors, the subdivision of the covered indoor space, the creation of a bench and a new fireplace all takes place during the first half of the 7th century BC when the whole area is subjected to total reorganization (Fig. 13). The different floors, the storage pits (Fig. 14) and the post-holes indicating sheds identified in several points distant from each other in the Forum, are the best evidence of this process.

c) It is possible to grasp the successive moments of organization of the Greek town thanks to the quantitative relationship between Greek and indigenous materials recorded in some sealed contexts of the inhabited area. Analysis reflects this fluid reality rather clearly and records a slow disappearance of pre-Hellenic pottery as the quantity of Greek one, both imported and produced locally, and which imitates the shape and decorative repertoire of the original models (Fig. 15).

Even in the stratigraphic layers related to the enlargement of the Archaic house, with materials that date to the 7th century BC, a prevalence of coarse ware molded on the wheel recalling the most ancient forms of *impasto* is testified. Later, the quantitative relationship between Indigenous and Greek products is reversed, although the tradi-

tional indigenous pottery continues to be widespread. (Fig. 16).

The pottery of the Archaic residential area preserves numerous elements of the indigenous tradition, even if it is relegated to cooking ware alone; it will only be during the 7th century BC that cooking ware will be characterized by the prevalence of Greek forms; the shapes of *impasto* diminish as the shapes of Italo-Geometric ceramics rise. In the later 7th to early 6th centuries BC, the presence of the first shapes of *bucchero* is also recorded²⁵.

The impression gained is that the artisans make little changes in both technique and range of shapes with respect to the oldest productions; the predominance of wheel-made *olle* and basins in coarse ware suggests a response to the needs of clientele who were desirous of cooking pottery, with the *olla* providing inspiration. Nothing tells us if this class of pottery was actually produced by Greek artisans.

At the same time, however, it is important to underline that there is local production on a massive scale of Greek pottery, alongside imports, from the early stages of the life of the settlement.

²⁵ GRECO 2012a.

During the last quarter of the 8th century BC and later during the 7th century BC, oinochoai, skyphoi, kotylai, kantharoi are made in typical Phlegraean clay which is characterized by small volcanic inclusions. Nor should we overlook the remarks made several times by David Ridgway: observing in Pithecusa from the early to the mid-8th century BC that a considerable local production of Greek pottery was occurring, he argued that the arrival of the Euboeans on the island must have dated back at least a few decades earlier than what is shown by funerary evidence²⁶. At Cumae, the cups in the Thapsos-style and Geometric pottery of LG II (Aetos 666), both of Corinthian and local production, are recovered in the same stratigraphical context.

The old question of the clay used for this production is now to be considered a red herring. The petrographic, chemical-physical and mineralogical investigations have all highlighted the components of the mixtures, characterized by substantial uniformity, with consistent inclusions of quartz, white and brown mica and the presence, among other minerals, of traces of pyroxene, all of which clearly define its volcanic nature and their connection to a geographical area corresponding to that of the Phlegraean Fields.

The question concerning the exact clay supply areas in the territory of Cumae or more generally in the Phlegraean area remains open. The question, first tackled at the beginning of the last century, has still not found full clarification. A broader study of the geological character of the Phlegraean Fields would place source(s) somewhere in the region of the Bay of Naples. The absence, at the current state of research, in Cumae, of archaeological evidence of kilns or wasters or any other elements attributable to production are, again, an evident obstacle to comprehending the methods and range of Cumaean pottery²⁷.

On the other hand, it is highly plausible that it is not cheap or productive to transport the clay to produce pottery from the island, even though the two centers are close. If so, then the fact that the

shape and decorative repertoire reflect the same tendencies is the result of the common roots and common parameters of reference.

d) Given that the early stages in the organization of space indicate that a colonial strategy was still in the making, by the end of the century we find a different and more organized and evolved urban structure that becomes more and more dominant during the 7th century BC. Pithecusa slowly lost its role within the close network of trade in the Mediterranean, and Cumae took control becoming very powerful even compared to the neighboring Italic populations.

What happens on the coast can also be seen, in filigree, reflected in the immediate hinterland, where the mechanisms that undermined the indigenous society on the coast can be better understood. In the area of the Campanian plain which forms the immediate hinterland of Cumae, we can see the birth of stable settlements, characterized by significant continuity owing to socio-economic structuring and a new organization of agricultural exploitation. This occurs during the second half of the 8th century BC, especially in the final decades.

The emblematic cases of Gricignano d'Aversa or of Calatia, as well as for the Valle del Sarno, suggest a fluid interchange existing between the two different communities. In the high-value funerary goods, the constant presence of Greek pottery both from Corinth and from the Phlegraean workshops and the spread of the banquet set for drinking wine speak of communities that are structured on a socio-economic level where the relations between natives and Greeks have become mutually "advantageous" for both populations. This puts pay to the widespread stereotypical imaginings current in the bibliography.

The structuring of the indigenous communities at the end of the 8th century BC, as well as the vast, effective agricultural exploitation of the territory, are now confirmed by archaeological evidence. It does not appear in the slightest unfounded that the force behind this structuring of the hinterland was most likely Cumae as it developed its strategy of forging relationships and expanding into the internal territory. Moreover, this interpretation would

²⁶ RIDGWAY 1984.

²⁷ GRECO *et al.* 2014.



Fig. 13. Temple with Portico area: the residential area plan and its transformations



Fig. 14, a-b. Temple with Portico area: aerial view. Floor with storage pits

explain the story unfolding in the relationship with the local communities in the Early Archaic levels in the city²⁸.

e) The character and morphology of at least one residential unit of the Archaic and Late Archaic

settlement can be defined (Fig. 17), despite the gaps owed in part to the smallness of the excavation and partly from the great restructuring carried out in the final decades of the 6th century BC that covered and destroyed much pre-existing evidence. What remains in the ground, however, is enough to hint at other units of which we can vaguely see the shape and structure.

²⁸ GRECO 2014; CERCHIAI 2014.

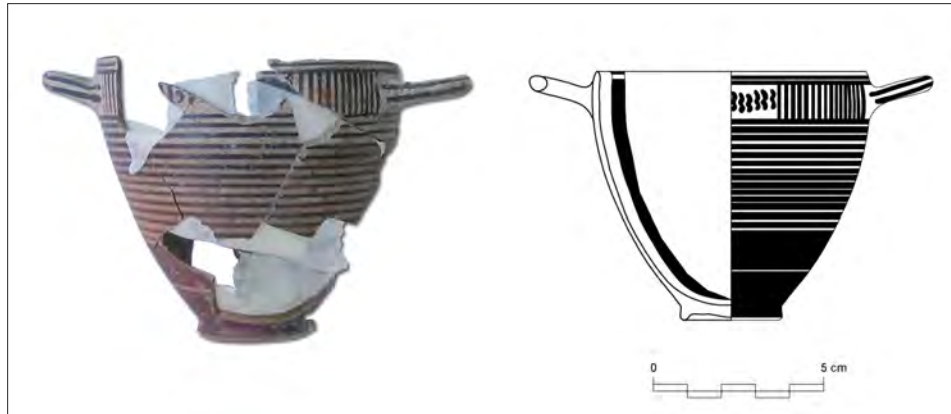


Fig. 15. Temple with Portico area: Greek pottery

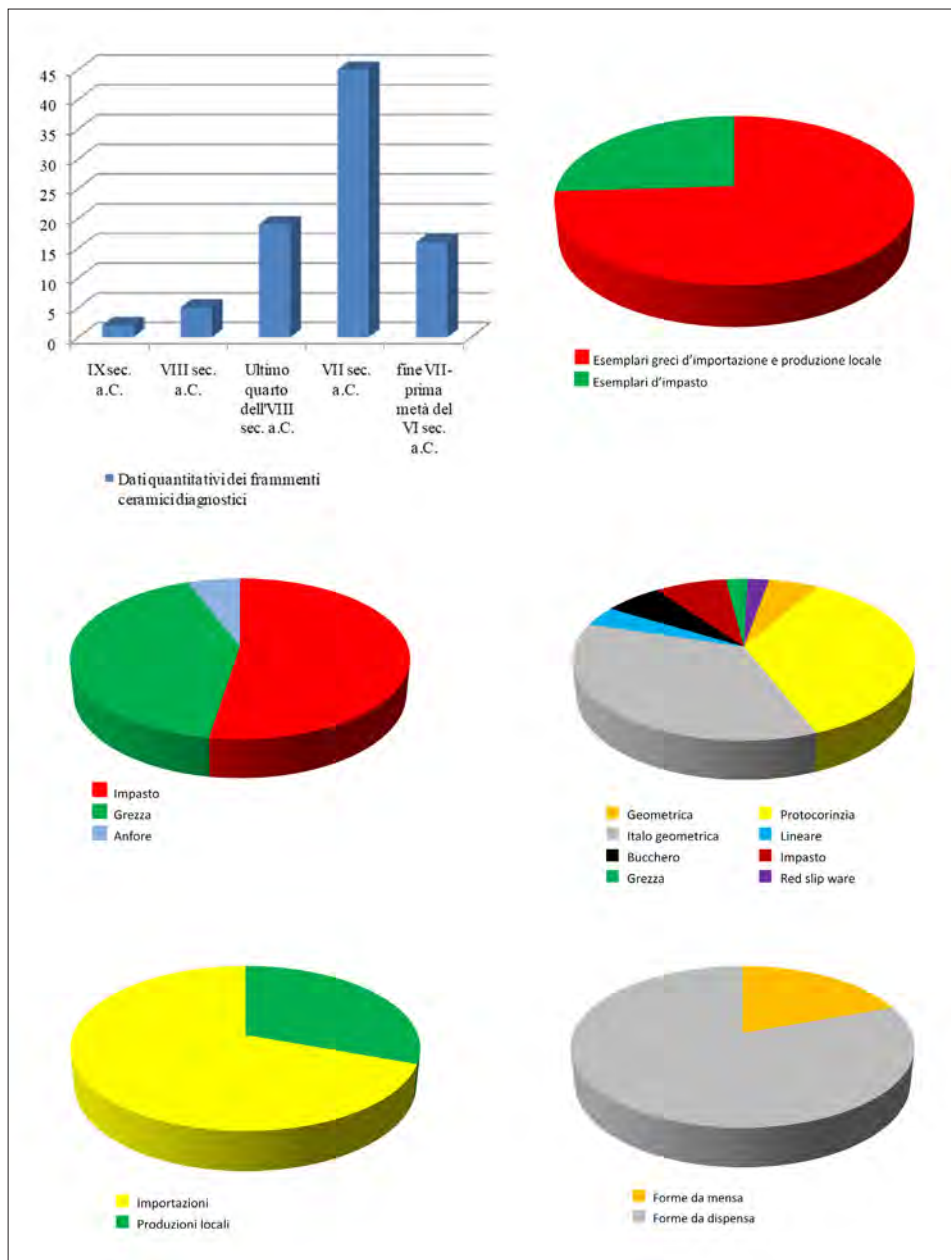


Fig. 16. Temple with Portico area: graphics of Archaic materials from the residential area

Briefly summarizing the already published data, the structure in question has an elongated rectangular plan with a south opening and a tufa-block threshold, between columns in *antis*. It occupies an area that exceeds 30 sq m, without any internal divisions; it is perfectly aligned with the external walking level, identified to the northeast side at 4.50 m circa, where large containers useful for the house's needs were located. The building technique is meticulous; the walls are set on a base of squared blocks of tufa with earth and tufa flake infilling (Fig. 18), set directly on the natural surface, a levelled and regularized pozzolanic soil, with no foundations; above the socle, is a raised compound of smaller tufa blocks, of very regular shape. On this, the superstructure, probably in *pisè* (many fragments of clay with imprinted traces of the *incannucciata*, and on the front part, a thin layer of plaster), the beaten earth floor is compact and smooth with traces of firing; the roof was probably lightweight as no tile fragments have been recovered in the context. The walking surface outside the structure is less carefully engineered than the internal one and above all has no trace of rubefaction. The building technique finds comparisons both on the island of Ischia-Pithecusa, in the houses at Mazzola and Punta Chiarito and in Greece, in Euboea, where the oval building of Viglatouri seems to present an identical masonry technique²⁹.

The use of the structure is defined by the presence of a fireplace inside the room (Fig. 19), off-center on the west side and embedded into the floor, as at Pithecusa in the Mazzola district. Outside the house, the pits for the positioning of large containers and a post-hole suggest a space covered by a simple canopy; however, this external arrangement could also belong to another housing unit further north and whose traces are visible in the soil.

The materials recovered on the internal and external walking surfaces date the life of this unit between the last quarter of the 8th and 7th centuries BC (Figs. 20-22). For the oldest phase, the index type for the dating are the Thapsos type cup with or without panel, of the oldest type with a collar lip, and a deep basin of the more recent type with a lower body with stretched walls (LG II, EPC).

The classes of materials attested in the external walking surfaces are wheel-made coarse ware, Ita-



Fig. 17, a-b. Temple with Portico area: Archaic house



Fig. 18, a-b. Temple with Portico area: building technique

lo-Geometric pottery, imitation red slip ware, large containers and amphorae. The most attested forms in the Geometric and Proto Corinthian pottery are, by far, shapes for the consumption of drinks: skyphoi and kotylai followed by kantharoi and kylikes; the shape of the calyx crater survives in 7 specimens³⁰.

²⁹ Euboica, 64, fig. 5.

³⁰ MERMATI 2012.



Fig. 19. Temple with Portico area: fireplace



Fig. 20. Temple with Portico area: pottery

The ceramic set for eating and drinking is almost exclusively made up of Italo-Geometric pottery, where the *lekane* is the most widely recorded form. Evidence also exists for a dish with a large brimmed lip and a vessel with a continuous profile that reproduces the Phoenician plate in red slip ware, which was imitated and produced on a large scale also by Pithecusan workshops.

Wheelmade and *impasto* wares are the most attested in the use levels of the structure; for coarse ware, the shape of the *olla* (Fig. 23) prevails in the areas of the hearth; storage vessels are attested in a variety of shapes, from ovoid with flared lip to ovoid cylinder, to convex (Fig. 24). The shape of the basin/mortar also exists in several types; fewer *situlae* are known, though cups and bowls are more numerous with only two examples of a pitcher in coarse ware. Overall, there is a sort of “kitchen set” consisting of an *olla* and a basin.

The *impasto* pottery is the most significant evidence for reconstructing the range of cooking utensils. This indigenous tradition is attested until the Early Archaic house: the shapes are those for cooking and storage, with the *olla* the most common shape; then follows the basin, sometimes of great dimensions (in one case the diameter exceeds 50 cm); a bucket with cord decoration with fingerprints finds comparison with material from Poggio-

marino of the 8th century BC; there are also open shapes such as the bowl³¹.

The bronze bar weighing about 2.580 kg is a quite exceptional find: of a roughly trapezoidal shape, it was found in association with numerous iron slag, pebbles and a certain quantity of fragments of raw unworked amber; all these elements suggest that craft activities were pursued within the structure.

This Cumaean evidence, even in its extreme simplicity, is very significant when compared to the situation at Pithecusa, where metallurgical activities and artisan skills have been considered among the main elements introduced by the Greeks into the Tyrrhenian communities³².

What emerges today in Cumae fits into this conceptual frame and once again demonstrates the perfect polarity of the two centers: both are active in metallurgical and ceramic craftsmanship, enjoy identical “artisan know-how” and share a political and economic set-up that has its roots in the role that Euboea has played since the Late Bronze Age in the trafficking of raw materials and in the development of a refined metallurgical handcraft³³.

The most immediate comparison – for building techniques, the association between covered spaces and open spaces, production areas, and the quality and quantity of materials – is obviously Pithecusa, especially in the two contexts of Mazzola and Punta Chiarito. Buildings III and IV of Mazzola have identical structural and technical characteristics; Building III, with a rectangular plan and no internal divisions, in its first phase of construction has roughly the same covered surface as the Early Archaic house of Cumae (about 33.80 square meters) and is also the building that gave back most iron slags allowing it to be identified as a smithy; the classes of certified materials – from tableware (cups, kotylai), to containers for transportation, to kitchenware – find an almost exact correspondence with what was recorded in Cumae³⁴.

f) The first transformation that involved some rebuilding and levelling of the oldest layers, with the overlapping of a successive series of interruptions, is between the mid-7th and early 6th centuries BC.

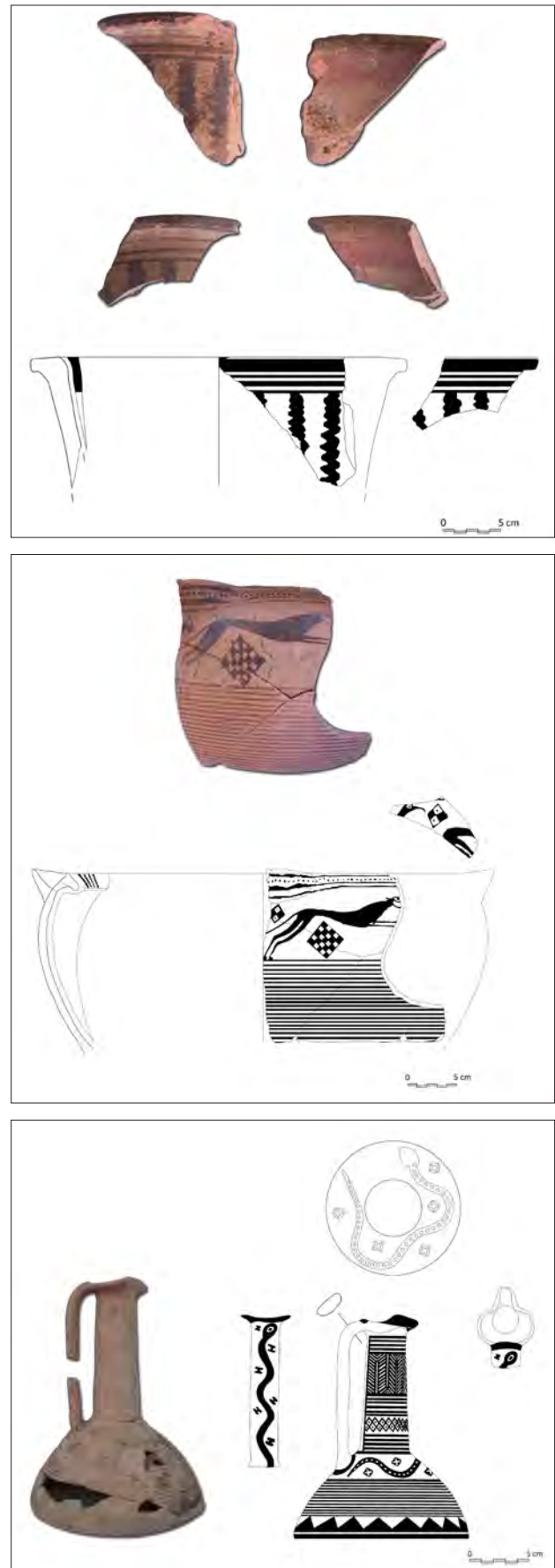


Fig. 21, a-c. Temple with Portico area: pottery from the second half of the 8th century BC

³¹ TOMEO 2014, 109, fig. 7.

³² D'AGOSTINO 1994, 24-26.

³³ SOUERE 1998, 237.

³⁴ MANZI 2005.



Fig. 22. Temple with Portico area: pottery from the second half of the 7th century BC

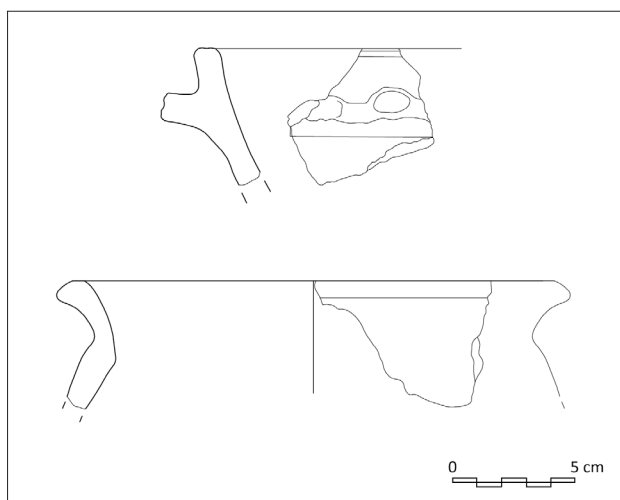


Fig. 23.a-b. Temple with Portico area: *impasto* pottery

Continuity in the use of the space documents that, while respecting the pre-existing orientation (northeast/southwest), there is a restructuring and redefinition of the area (Fig. 25). A new setting is created at a higher level which corresponds perfectly to that of the beaten floor brought to light in previous years (Sondage 14) and which could, therefore, constitute the exterior to this renovated dwelling unit. Some of the old house walls have been reused and raised, others cut out and covered; the construction technique of the new structure differs from the older one: the walls are of parallelepiped blocks of yellow tufa, much larger in size compared to the previous phase and placed horizontally (Fig. 26). Beside the wall that defines the area on the south side is built a kind of pathway made of blocks of tufa; near it, was a fireplace and, on the walking level, an olla was recovered, still *in situ*, which is dated in the final decades of the 7th century BC³⁵.

Another bit of treading, cut by postholes and pits for storage, has been documented on the west side and probably is related to another unit on that side.

A level of deposit of pozzolanic type relates to the demolition and covering of the Early Archaic house. These materials date back between the 7th and the early 6th centuries BC; the *impasto* pottery is always abundant, while the Greek-type wares continue the shapes and types already present in

³⁵ GRECO 2011.



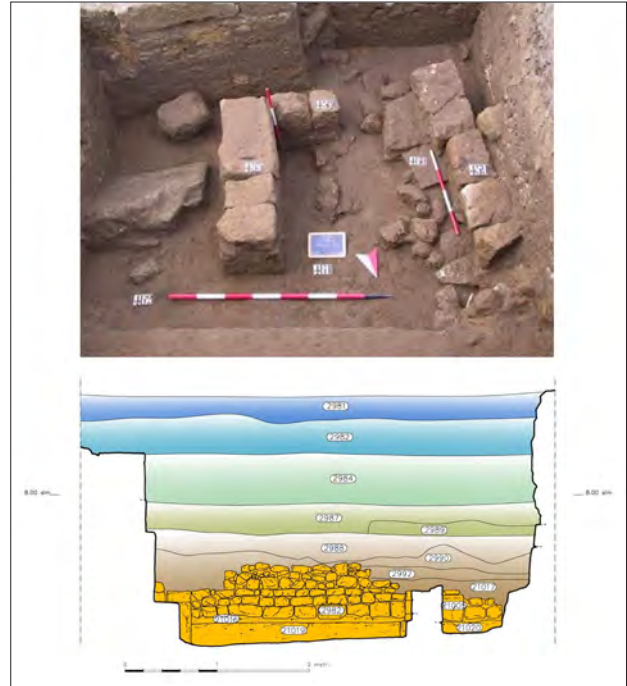
Fig. 24. Temple with Portico area: *impasto* pithos

the underlying levels; most of the material belongs to the 7th century BC: namely the Protocorinthian open-shape vases and others with linear decoration. Two large containers, a medium-sized pithos and a larger one with a diameter of 47 cm, were recovered in the pits excavated for the storage containers. The presence of these two pithoi, although of different shapes, reveals the economic level of the family that is able to possess a considerable amount of foodstuffs.

Another storage pit held, still *in situ*, a rough-made, integral ceramic pot; it is an oval-shaped vessel which has parallels from Pithecusa dating from the late 8th and early 7th centuries BC.

This evidence of an articulated settlement with successive phases of renovation and enlarged buildings, together with what was discovered by the team of researchers from the University “L’Orientale” and Centre Jean Bérard, reveals a level of organization in the Early Archaic residential area of Cumae that is substantially different from what has been described in the bibliography. It is worth reminding here that Gabrici also mentioned «...the lost traces of the houses of the 8th century BC on the acropolis»³⁶. Gabrici wrote this in 1913 and a century later, important research carried out by a splendid enthusiastic team of scholars led to the revelation of a Early Archaic residential area in a neighborhood that quickly and within a few decades would take on an urban form with a clear definition of living spaces.

³⁶ GABRICI 1913, cols. 765-766.



Early urbanization was already underway in the early decades of the 7th century BC. Similar early planning of living spaces is also recorded at Megara or Naxos: here, intensive occupation is not involved, but rather there is occupation of the spaces between housing areas, bounded by an enclosure, and therefore quite distinct from the area to be allocated to the necropolis or sacred ceremonies.

The presence of a coroplastic fragment (a horse's head), with an unusual shape may suggest a different function and articulation of the spaces, one that finds another labile trace in Sondage 18 open at the southern edge of the "Piazza del Foro". This sondage revealed part of a tufa block structure not better defined but still relative to a chronological horizon of the 7th century BC. On the pathway, small and medium-sized vases were recovered and suggest that a more specific role should be assigned to the area within the inhabited zone³⁷.

They are fragments of a much more complex and articulated settlement and they contribute to defining how the spaces were planned and de-



Fig. 27. Temple with Portico area: new monumental building technique

signed on the plain at the foot of Monte di Cumae in the last quarter of the 8th to the beginning of the 6th centuries BC. At this point, a new urban plan destined this space to public functions only (the first phase of the Agora): the new monumental buildings, in fact, present completely different construction techniques, orientations and organization³⁸ (Figs. 27-28).



Fig. 28. Temple with Portico area: different orientations

³⁷ GRECO 2008.

³⁸ GRECO 2011.

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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.

