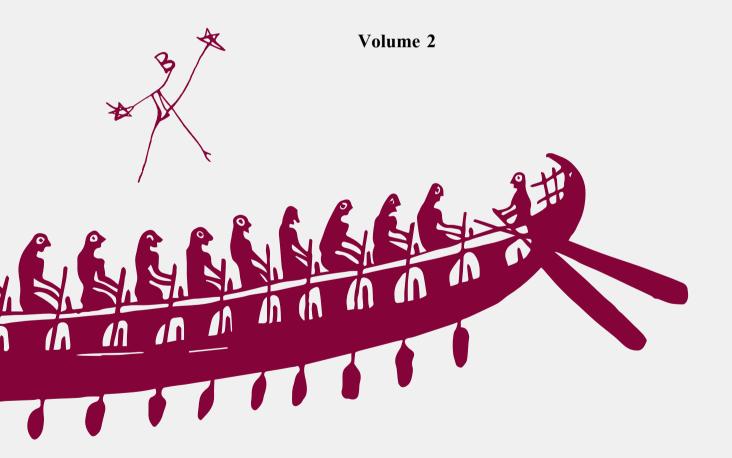
EUBOICA II

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





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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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ZANCLE: LATEST FINDINGS ON THE URBAN SETTLEMENT AND SANCTUARIES

Giovanna Maria Bacci

I would like to thank the organisers of the Conference for inviting me to talk about Zancle, two decades after the congress held at the Centre Jean Bérard in Naples (*Euboica*. *L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*), where I was a contributor too¹.

To begin with, I would like to mention two very recent new initiatives concerning archaeology in Messina. Firstly, the exhibition *Da Zancle a Messina 2016. Nuovi dati di archeologia urbana*, curated by the Soprintendenza Regionale of Messina², to whose catalogue I will make frequent references. Secondly, in June 2017, the new Museo Interdisciplinare Regionale di Messina finally opened. This museum includes a section dedicated to an archaeological collection from the historical period, with exhibits chosen from materials from the urban excavations carried out by the Soprintendenza³.

Around the third quarter of the 8th century BC, colonists from Cumae and Chalcis established a settlement on a flood plain inland from the San Raineri peninsula, between the coastline to the east and the foothills of the Peloritani mountains to the

west, an area of land that was apparently uninhabited⁴.

In the colonial and early Archaic period, the city settlement seemed to be spread over quite a large area, which, like other Sicilian colonies, was probably organized on different street plans in its various sectors. Towards the south the settlement was bounded by the alluvial fan formed by the Camaro and Zaera rivers⁵; the northern boundary, long believed to be the Portalegni river, which in ancient times flowed into the port⁶, is now considered to coincide with a smaller stream located a little further to the north⁷.

In recent years, significant findings relating to the layout of the town and the orientation of the streets during the colonial and Archaic-Classical period have emerged in a building site located on the other side of the Portalegni river, in an area that was peripheral to the ancient port⁸ and in the south zone of the town⁹.

¹ BACCI 1998, 387-392.

² Exhibition held on 5 February - 31 March 2016 at Villa Pace, property of the Università di Messina, curated by the Director of UO 5 Gabriella Tigano: *Da Zancle a Messina 2016*. The exhibition was put on for the second time in 2017 at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Reggio Calabria.

³ The Museum is an exceptional gallery of historic art, revealing the story of the city before the 1908 earthquake. The archaeological section, curated by the author, includes materials from the old collections of the City Museum up to the first excavations in the urban area carried out in the 20th century. My particular thanks go to the Director Caterina Di Giacomo and the Director of the renovation work, architect Gianfranco Anastasio.

⁴ The soil under Messina contains the remains of villages of huts and tombs belonging to the Messina-Ricadi Culture from the Early-Middle Bronze Age. Traces of settlements from the Late-Final Bronze Age and from the Early Iron Age, or Ausonian Culture, have been found on the slopes of hills behind the city and on the crest of Cape Pelorus (Mounts Ciccia and Tidora).

⁵ This probably corresponds to today's Via Santa Cecilia or perhaps to Viale Europa, further to the south.

⁶ From Vallet 1958, 109 ff., pl. I, who created the first annotated archaeological map of Messina.

⁷A now enclosed watercourse (corresponding to the present day Via Sant'Agostino), which flows into the Portalegni near the mouth of the river: this hypothesis was first presented in BACCI in press.

 $^{^8}$ Excavations 2005-2006 around block 315, cf. Lentini 2010, 359-413.

⁹ Excavations 1914 in the area of Via Mariano Riccio. For recent discoveries and problems generally relating to the city layout of Zancle-Messana, see Tigano 2017; further significant updated information in Tigano 2018, where a new layout of the *polis* is suggested.

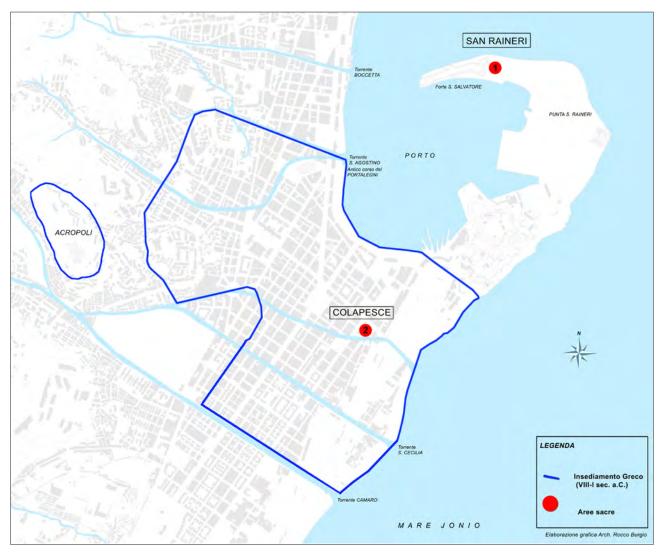


Fig. 1. Map of the city of Zancle-Messana showing the position of the colonial era sanctuaries

So, from the very first decades of its foundation, the *polis* seems to have had some essential features already planned in, such as the extent of the settlement, the position of the docks, and the predominant orientation of streets along northwest-southeast, northeast-southwest axes (eventually extended to the entire town with the regular layout of late 6th-5th centuries BC).

In this context, the creation of the sanctuaries was a conscious act by a young community: they became a significant feature of the townscape. In Zancle, we find two cult areas datable to the colonial period, which provide extremely interesting information regarding the religious organisation of the earliest settlement in the area of the Strait of Messina¹⁰ (Fig. 1).

The oldest sanctuary, from the last years of the 8th century, is located towards the tip of the San Raineri peninsula, in the area of the 16th-century San Salvatore fort¹¹. It is evident that only a part of the deposit has been recovered and that the actual extent and layout of the sanctuary are still unknown. Some of the older materials, comprising Late Geometric Corinthian sherds and early Proto-Corinthian aryballoi, have been known to archaeologists for some time¹².

¹⁰ My particular thanks go to my friend Rocco Burgio, architect in the UO 5 of the Soprintendenza, for the map showing the position of the two sanctuaries.

¹¹ ORSI 1929, 38-46; VALLET 1958, 114; lastly BACCI 2008. The history of the discovery of the site is well known: materials datable between the final decades of the 8th century and the late 6th-early 5th centuries BC were found by chance in 1926 when the Navy Command was digging a well and were collected in the Messina Museum. Later, other late Archaic sherds were discovered during excavations to build the foundations of the Madonnina del Porto monument on the headland of the peninsula.

¹² Vallet 1958, 140-141; Coldstream 1977, 237; Dehl 1984, 280; Neeft 1987, passim.

The renewed research into the complex carried out in recent years by studying the materials held in the Museum of Messina has brought to light a fragment of a Late Geometric oinochoe, a Euboean import¹³. A fragment of Late Geometric Corinthian kotyle (Fig. 2), probably an Aetos 666type, was found in 1970 during dredging carried out close to the "Banchina Egeo" docks, in the area of the isthmus, well inside the sickle-shaped curve of the peninsula and much further south than the votive deposit. Although it is difficult to imagine that the sanctuary extended to that point, the find is a confirmation that colonists frequented the curving arc of the peninsula from the earliest years and probably indicates that boats were moored here.

A low sandy finger of land, the sickle-shaped peninsula is the identifying feature of the city of Messina¹⁴. This naturally formed harbour, offering ships shelter from the dangerous currents of the Strait, was undoubtedly a determining factor in the foundation of Zancle. The unusual form of the site thus took on a value that was both strategic and symbolic; it was seen as a suitable place to set up a cult area, which became a site of great importance for the first colonists in the Strait, mirroring models that were found both in Greece and in the colonial world¹⁵. Like other religious sites located on peninsulas and promontories, the sanctuary was separated from the town by a wide swathe of the isthmus, which was apparently not urbanised¹⁶. As regards the divinity to whom the sanctuary was dedicated, we can only put forward theories: in my opinion, it was probably a female figure (the greater part of the votive offerings recovered consist of



Fig. 2. Fragment of Late Geometric kotyle from the San Raineri peninsula

containers for perfumes and toiletries, mainly aryballoi but also conical lekythoi, pyxides, alabaster, etc.), who was prominent in the Euboean pantheon and was linked to ports and navigation, but also designated as protector of the city – thus a figure with multifaceted powers. In a paper focusing on the San Raineri complex, we support the attribution of the sanctuary to Hera, considering the important and influential role played by this divinity in guiding the Euboean colonisation, something recognized by several scholars¹⁷. On further reflection, we should not forget other female and male divine figures, such as Apollo and Artemis, who were well known in the Strait area; in any case, no divinity in the Greek pantheon is ever very far from the marine and aquatic elements. The cult of Poseidon, a god that is largely extraneous to the polis, seems to be localised specifically around Cape Pelorus¹⁸.

However, the sanctuary discovered in 2007 in the block Z area, in the Colapesce building site, has a direct relationship with the town, which goes beyond the ideal and symbolic¹⁹. The site chosen is located in the centre of the settlement, between the flood plain and the isthmus of the peninsula, is close to the port, and was inhabited from the earliest stages of the founding of the *polis* up to the late Hellenistic period²⁰ (Figs. 3-4).

¹³ BACCI 2008, 56-57, pl. X no. 66. More than half of the material was of Corinthian fabric, with some East Greek imports, including some pieces in bucchero and others in *faience*. Archaeometric analysis has revealed the existence of imitation Proto-Corinthian and East Greek artefacts produced in the Strait area.

¹⁴ In ancient times, the peninsula stood much higher above sea level, but over the years it has sunk as a result of tectonic movements, the last recorded after the 1908 earthquake. During the medieval and modern eras, the profile and elevation of the promontory were modified by the construction of monumental buildings and industrial installations. Today the rise in groundwater levels has made it difficult to examine the sanctuary area in depth.

¹⁵ Further development of this subject in BACCI 2008, 40, with bibliography.

¹⁶ Cf. Scibona 1992, 32-33.

¹⁷ Cf. Bacci 2008, 42-43.

¹⁸ Cf. Spigo 2005, 354.

¹⁹ See Bacci et al. 2010; 2010-2011; 2012; Bacci 2018a.

²⁰ Here, in the colonial and Archaic periods, the highest density of building in the city was located. See Scibona 1986, Scibona 1992; reference also in Bacci 2002, 26-28; 2009, 135-136; Bacci 2022.



Fig. 3. General view of the Colapesce excavation site

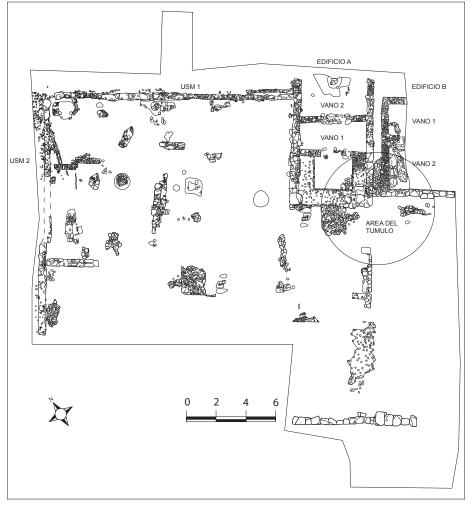


Fig. 4. Planimetry of the Colapesce site



Fig. 5. Area of the oikoi and the tumulus still under excavation

Here was discovered a large ritual site consisting of a sort of large, regularly shaped tumulus of stones mixed with earth (diameter around 8 m, height at some 2 m). Roughly circular, it was fashioned of a piece by being deposited in a deep pit dug in the dunes along the then shoreline (Fig. 5), opening towards the east and southeast in the direction of the coast. The pit had already been used: the tumulus material itself lies above successive layers of clay, burned baked clay and soil mixed with carbonized wood, containing remains of ceramic artefacts (Fig. 6). The materials found both in the layers at the base of the pit and mixed in with the stone-fill above are datable to the beginning of the early 7th century BC; the presence of some older fragments, such as skyphoi of the Thapsos Class, etc., can be attributed to human activity in the area before the digging of the pit. Layers that are quite rich in pottery fragments and animal bones, datable to the beginning of the last decades of the 7th century BC, run up to the tumulus on its outer side towards the east/southeast (Fig. 7). During the second half of the 7th century BC, the tumulus was sealed over with a thick layer of burnt baked clay and, towards the southeast, of soil mixed with ashes and charcoal with metalworking scraps (Fig. 8). Immediately above this, two oikoi were built, datable to around the third and last



Fig. 6. The layers at the base of the pit and under the tumulus

quarter of the 7th century BC: up to the present time these are the only religious buildings found in Messina that present some features of high Archaic architecture²¹ (Fig. 9).

²¹ The perimeter walls were built of rough-hewn stones, which, especially in the smaller building, recall polygonal masonry; the floors were of beaten clay and tiny pebbles, with probably mudbrick walls and thatched roofs. No trace was found of tiles or architectural terracottas. Alternatively, these could have been open-air structures. Building A has three rooms (wd. 6 m, ln. 9.50 m conserved) and is missing its northeast short side that corresponds to the entrance area; it has been cut through by a late



Fig. 7. The deposits towards the south/southeast of the tumulus



Fig. 8. Layers of burnt baked clay and ash above the tumulus, under excavation

The complex, which is still under study, is not easy to interpret, given the obstacles integral to the

Hellenistic dump. At least three successive levels of habitation are conserved: in the first room there is a beaten earth hearth that has been rebuilt several times; the third room (4.74 x 3.30 m) contains a sort of bench, Π -shaped in plan (built against the side walls and the back wall; wd. of side sections 1.10 m, h. 0.45 m approximately) constructed of rough-hewn stone, filled with gravel, with the side arms slightly sloping lengthwise. Building B (wd. 5.25 m, measurable ln. 7 m) has two rooms, of which remains the longer side to the west, slightly deviating in orientation in respect to Building A, and cut through lengthways by a modern building.

excavation, which have made it impossible to systematically examine either the tumulus or the area in its entirety²².

To arrive at a general assessment, it is important to analyse the materials found not only at the bottom of the pit or mixed in with the stones and

²² The excavation was carried out mainly with private funding and with limited financing from the Sicilian regional government. In addition, a rise in the groundwater levels made it difficult to explore the deeper levels at the base of the tumulus.



Fig. 9. Oikoi A and B

earth but also in the external layers to the east and southeast of the tumulus. Predominant among these artefacts is the whole range of containers used for drinking, pouring, and making libations in fine, plain, and coarse wares, and also of pots and utensils for cooking, preparing, presenting, and consuming foodstuffs²³. In the 7th century levels, the fine ceramics of local fabric – examples of pottery produced in the Strait area or colonial fabrics, and which are abundantly present are inspired by models of Euboean-Cycladic origin or from Proto-Corinthian imitations. Commonly found materials characteristic of the site are plates with a wide horizontal rim and decoration in Late Geometric or in Orientalizing style, which are inspired by shapes of Phoenician origin²⁴. Only limited amounts of imported ceramics are found, with the exception of Corinthian-made artefacts²⁵. There is a notable presence of high-quality imports from the Aegean-Cyclades area, such as the splendid Late Geometric Euboean krater featuring a galloping horse, in the early Orientalizing style, and several Phoenician plates of the *red slip ware* type, which were found at the base of the tumulus, and which remind us of the settlers' close contact with the Eastern and Phoenician-Punic worlds during the earliest stages of the Euboean colonisation.

Animal bones are abundantly present in all the contexts associated with the tumulus. Samples analysed reveal the presence of cattle, sheep and goats, and wild boar, full grown, as well as young or very young. These bones are rarely burnt, though they show signs of butchering and skinning. Bivalve and gastropod (murex) molluses are found throughout the site, both as remains of meals and as fossils²⁶.

In the layers of ash and burned baked clay corresponding to the closing/obliteration of the tumulus, many metalworking remains were found²⁷.

²³ The most frequently found pottery types are cups, kotylai and different kinds of plates and lekanai, oinochoai and hydriai; more rarely amphorae, kraters, dinoi and phialai; plain and coarse ware vessels include cooking pots, jars, large containers such as bowls, mortars, pithoi and cooking devices such as a typical portable stove, and griddle pans. Lastly, we find many transport amphorae in the 7th century levels, predominantly Corinthian, Attic, Punic, Etruscan and Chian.

²⁴ In particular, BACCI 2002, 31-37; also 2018b, with bibliography.

²⁵ Artefacts produced in the Eastern Greek area appear no earlier than the second-third quarter of the 7th century BC: in particular bird bowls and various types of Ionian cups, while there is limited presence of Chian pottery, grey East Greek

bucchero and Etruscan bucchero. Athenian black-figure vases appear towards the mid- and third quarter of the 6^{th} century BC.

²⁶ Samples were taken from both the pit's lowest levels and east/southeast of the tumulus. Bones of dogs, animals often associated with foundation deposits and purification rituals were also found.

 $^{^{27}}$ Both scraps of fused metals or partly fused objects, in iron, copper and bronze. This is the oldest evidence of a foundry in Messina. In Ingoglia 2003, 85, debris from an ironworking shop datable to the first half of the $5^{\rm th}$ century BC.

The following materials were found:

- in the levels at the base of the tumulus, Stratigraphic Units (henceforth SU) 217, 193²⁸: Late Geometric krater with birds depicted inside the metope panel, of local fabric (Fig. 10); Phoenician *red slip ware* plate (Fig. 11); fragments of large coarse ware griddles (Fig. 12).
- mixed in with the stones of the tumulus (SU 138)²⁹: lekane with Ω-shaped handles (Fig. 13) and a plate with a wide horizontal rim and Late Geometric style decoration of local fabric (Fig. 14); chytra (Fig. 15).
- in the levels to the east/southeast of the tumulus (SUs 201, 210, 211, 137, 138)³⁰: baby feeder with Geometric decoration (Fig. 16) of local fabric; imports from the Aegean area, a phiale mesomphalos with creamy slip and decorated in rows (Fig. 17), fragments of a large krater with a horse and a bird depicted inside the metope panel, made of orange-red terracotta, featuring a thick lip with spout, flat handles and high pedestal foot (Fig. 18).
- from other contexts around the tumulus (SU 134): fragments of two small oinochoai (Figs.19-20) of local fabric with Orientalizing style decoration; fragment of a Euboean-style chalice-cup (Fig. 21).

The artefacts described above lead us to rule out the hypotheses either of an emporion-type sanctuary located along a major trade route (as, for example, the sanctuary of Piazza San Francesco in Catania, between the 7th and 6th centuries BC³¹) or of a cult dedicated to a female divinity of the kind commonly found in Sicily and Southern Italy from the 7th-6th centuries BC³². Some evidence for the latter determination, though by no means definitive, can be found in the scarcity of containers for perfumes and toiletries and the minimal presence of female statuettes, which only appear, and in

very limited numbers, no earlier than the end of the 6^{th} and the beginning of 5^{th} centuries BC.

It is our opinion that the site presents a sanctuary specific to the town, connected to the cult of its hero founders and with commemorative ceremonies, as recorded in the well-known fragment of the work of Callimachus dedicated to the foundation of Zancle, in which the *oikistai* were called upon to take part (*Aet.* II, fr. 43 Pfeiffer)³³.

These ceremonies, probably conducted annually, included the ritual killing of animals, as Callimachus expressly records. These were not burnt in offering to the divinity but rather eaten during ritual banquets probably held close by. The traces of these activities are particularly evident in the levels found to the east and southeast of the tumulus, where layers consisting of soil mixed with ash, rich in pottery fragments and food residues (which can be interpreted as dumps for the remains of the sacrificial animals and the banquets), alternate with layers of gravel, burnt baked clay, and raw clay, which separate and/or ritually seal them (cf. Fig. 7)³⁴.

Beginning from the late 7^{th} century, it seems that we can identify the centre of this cult in building A^{35} , a possible *heroon*, and more specifically in the rear room (*adyton*?), where we find, directly over the tumulus, the so-called Π -bench.

²⁸ Cf. G.M. BACCI, in *Da Zancle a Messina 2016*, data-sets nos. 8-9, 11, 14, 58-60.

²⁹ Cf. G.M. BACCI, in *Da Zancle a Messina 2016*, data-sets nos. 12, 17, 59-61.

³⁰ Cf. G.M. Bacci, in *Da Zancle a Messina 2016*, data-sets nos. 10, 15, 16, 58-61.

³¹ Cf. Pautasso 2010, in particular 113-114.

³² There is an extensive bibliography on this subject: see the catalogue recently published in Parisi 2017, 41-465.

³³ From Antonelli 1996, 318-319: Apollo had declared that neither Perieres of Cumae nor Crataemenes of Chalcis could claim the merit of the foundation of the city, therefore «... from that moment on this land did not call its oikistai by name, but during the sacrifices the city magistrates addressed him as follows: Whoever built our city let him come joyfully to our banquet. But it is possible that two or even more may come: no small amount of blood of sacrificial victims has been spilt». In this regard, see in particular Malkin 1987, 198-199, 257. According to Vallet 1958, 63 note 1, followed by other scholars, the omission of names from the invocation is due to the fact that at the beginning of the 5th century, the population of Messana had changed, firstly with the arrival of the Samians and later with the addition of the Messenian colonists called in by Anaxilas: therefore the importance of the Chalcidian founders was diminished for these new inhabitants: this theory is not universally accepted, however.

³⁴ Important commentary on the formation and management of deposits in religious sites can be found in Parisi 2017, with bibliography, in particular 544-559. From this viewpoint, the deposits described above can be defined as deposit-stratum.

³⁵ It is impossible to form any hypothesis about the two-room structure *oikos* B, of which little more than the west side remains and which is, without doubt, an important building for the economy of the sanctuary. Constructed with very precise, almost polygonal masonry, with floors of compacted minute gravel, it is perhaps a little more recent than Building A, from which it deviates slightly in orientation of its axes.



Fig. 10. Late Geometric krater of local fabric



Fig. 11. Red slip ware plate, Phoenician import



Fig. 12. Fragment of the large griddle



Fig. 13. Lekane with Ω -shaped handles of local fabric



Fig. 14. Plate of local fabric



Fig. 15. Coarse ware chytra



Fig. 16. Baby feeder of local fabric



Fig. 17. Phiale mesomphalos, Aegean import

This structure can be interpreted either as an internal altar for offerings or libations, perhaps using a rounded hollow visible in the east side section (Fig. 22), or also as a seat, or *kline*, for meetings and/or ritual banquets, to which we can imagine that, ideally, the founders would be invited on the occasion of city festivities³⁶.

In this context, there is no discernible time lapse between the successive stages: the digging of the primary pit, the lighting of a fire³⁷, later extinguished with a layer of now burnt and baked clay, the depositing of pottery (often with traces of organic material), then covering all under the tumulus of stones. These steps seem to be part of a ritual of foundation and/or consecration, perhaps of a sanctuary dedicated to the *oikistai* or also, as we have suggested in the past, to the actual foundation of the *polis*³⁸.

The massive pile of stones was partially visible from the seaward side, gradually covering the south and southeast by the accumulation of the abovementioned deposits. Above the deepest level of stones on the external border of the tumulus, the large Euboean krater was found, in scattered sherds, a testimony to the desire to offer up an object of great value originating from the colonists' homeland. Further, above a layer of burned baked clay, was a phiale of Aegean import, recording the libation that had taken place³⁹.

The ritual was enacted at a very precise time, around the beginning of the 7th century, probably with the rise of the second generation of colonists, when the process of founding the city could be considered to have been completed. They could then begin to hold commemorative ceremonies, which almost certainly took place annually, and to inaugurate the hero cult⁴⁰.

The construction of the two *oikoi* between the third and last quarters of the 7th century BC required a further operation to close off the tumulus complex using a thick layer of burnt and baked clay⁴¹ along with ashes rich in remains of metalworking. Its semi-circular perimeter mirrors that of the mound below; the sealing layer also partly covers the deposits accumulated towards the south and southeast.

The entire complex involving the pit, tumulus, the layer of burnt baked clay and ash also recalls some of the features of the cult of the dead and eminent ancestors as practised in the Aegean area during the Geometric period⁴². In these cases, such rituals involved burial grounds: could it be possi-

³⁶ The interior of the two buildings was completely emptied out during the 6th century BC. However, minute traces of objects have been found, perhaps providing clues to the activities that took place there. These include fragments of blades and iron tools, several spindle whorls, fine, plain and coarse ware sherds, as well as large containers like pithoi, basins, transport amphorae, etc.

³⁷ Testing has identified ash from the wood of trees commonly found in the local area, such as oak (*quercus caducifolia*), tree heather (*erica arborea*), and arbutus (*arbutus unedo*), all woods suitable for lighting large, slow-burning fires.

³⁸ On this subject, see previous comments in Baccı *et al.* 2010; 2010-2011; 2012; Baccı 2018a. For foundation and obliteration deposits, cf. Parisi 2017, 549-549: the strata found at the base of the pit at the Colapesce building site and the pottery offerings could be a foundation deposit, in its turn sealed over with a layer of clay and by the rubble of the tumulus (SU 138), as a monumental covering deposit.

³⁹ The deposit contains other fragmentary remains still under study, some of which could probably be interpreted not only as evidence of the ritual carried out, but also as votive offerings.

⁴⁰ See CONTURSI 2017, 789: in the complex context of the cult of heroes, the *oikistai*'s cult is one of the cases where death is the "immortalising event". See too *infra* note 42.

⁴¹ On the surface some little hollows can be observed, dubiously interpreted for the receiving of libations.

⁴² Setting up pyres and hearths close to the tombs, construction of circular platforms and tumuli, as well as the eating of ritual meals and the presentation of offerings: cf. in particular Lambrinoudakis 1988, 235 ff., regarding the sites in Grotta and Mitropolis Square on the island of Naxos. For a wide range of examples covering continental Greece and the islands, see Antonaccio 1993, Mazarakis Ainian 1999 and 2004. For a critical reconsideration of problems relating to the "tomb cult", see Contursi 2017, with bibliography.

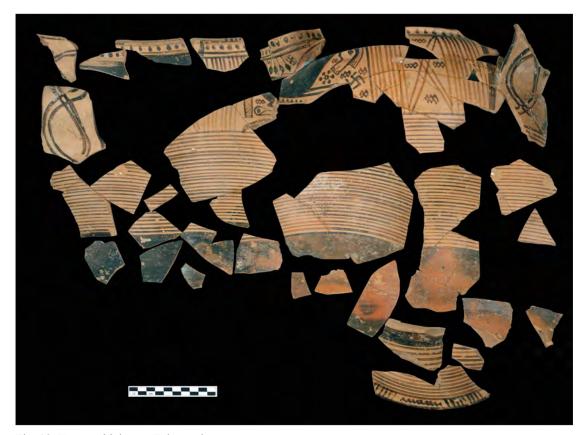


Fig. 18. Krater with horse, Euboean import



Fig. 19. Fragments of an oinochoe of local fabric



Fig. 20. Fragments of an oinochoe of local fabric

ble that our complex also conceals one or more tombs? As we know, the cult of the hero is not necessarily linked to the existence of a tomb. Their recovery, though, would effect a change of perspective in regard to theories previously put forward: the definitive answer will be found only with renewed excavation of adequate means.

While a study of the site is still ongoing, it would perhaps be better to temporarily suspend any definitive attempt at interpreting the complex.

At the present stage, we can point out the close stratigraphical, and probably ideological, the sequence between the digging of the pit/fire/depositing of offerings/covering over with stones, depositing of offerings external to the tumulus, and the subsequent closing of the tumulus/construction of the *oikoi* taking place between the third and fourth quarters of the 7th century BC, that is to say between the ritual (of foundation-inauguration?) and the cult (heroic?) inside the building.



Fig. 21. Fragment of a Euboean style chalice-cup

Two incomplete rooms, constructed in roughhewn stones, which abut the rear room of building A, towards the south, are datable to a more recent period. The building of the two *oikoi* marks the beginning of the monumentalization of the sanctuary area, of which scant traces remain⁴³. This is in part due to building works from more recent periods and is probably also an indication of the partial change of the older cult system and of the management of votive deposits still difficult to assess⁴⁴.

As so far described, the east sector of the excavation site is separated from the rest by a kind of path or street running north-south, composed of layers of fine gravel. The central zone of the site has traces of very incomplete walls and deep Archaic strata, while in the west sector, we find the remains of Late Archaic and Classical rooms, perhaps work or service rooms⁴⁵. In general, in the late 6th-5th-centuries levels, we find Athenian black-glazed and black-figure pottery, mainly kylikes and fragments of large containers, including a fragment of a black-figure amphora probably attributable to the manner of Antimenes Painter⁴⁶. There is also a limited number of high-quality terracotta figures, among which is a late Archaic an-

tefix depicting a satyr in relief, probably coming from one of the rooms in the west sector⁴⁷. These materials provide proof that the area maintained its importance throughout the 6th and 5th centuries BC. A dump containing a variety of materials datable to the 6th, 5th and 4th centuries BC revealed a fragment of a large black-glazed vase, probably a krater, of local fabric with the inscription iero/u $(i\varepsilon\rho\sigma/\tilde{v})$ written in uncertain, lightly scratched characters (Fig. 23)⁴⁸. The reading of the last letter, which is separated from the preceding letters by a long, oblique line, perhaps unintentional, is uncertain, but I believe that the religious reference is evident and seems to allude to the votive dedication of the pot itself. The lack of a rough breathing mark (H) before the iota could confirm the attribution to a non-Archaic period.

Remains become rarer during the 4th century BC, while in the Hellenistic period, the area is simply an empty space bounded by stone walls to the west and north.

The orientation of building A is consistent not only with the constructions from more recent phases of the sanctuary but also, in general terms, with the city street plan of the late Archaic-Classical period. The existence of a probable cult of the founders located in the heart of the Archaic town, close to the port, justifies our hypothesis of an Archaic $agor\grave{a}$ in the near vicinity, whose existence is also indicated by the presence of the empty spaces observed in the past close to block Z^{49} .

The area of Pelorus and the world of Poseidon are closely linked to a remarkable epigraph with a dedication to Orion, datable to the early Imperial period, found in a secondary context on the boundary of the Hellenistic necropolis and the Roman town, in the south zone of the city⁵⁰. The reading and interpretation of the text, proposed

⁴³ In particular, a foundation of limestone blocks several metres long, along the southern boundary of the site, which could be interpreted as a *temenos* wall: cf. BACCI *et al.* 2010, 932.

⁴⁴ The new phase seems to include the digging of circular pits containing materials still under examination.

⁴⁵ BACCI *et al.* 2012, 361-362.

⁴⁶ Refer to data-sets nos. 19-22, 25-26, curated by the author in *Da Zancle a Messina 2016*, 61-63. See also BACCI 2020a, 731-737 with other materials.

⁴⁷ See data-sets nos. 23-24, 27 curated by the author in *Da Zancle a Messina 2016*, 62-63. The antefix can be compared with analogous examples commonly found in Medma and in Messina itself: cf. also BACCI 2017, 43-54; 2020b.

⁴⁸ Wall of large black-glazed open pot. Clay is reddish at the core and pale grey towards the inside. The glaze is of poor quality, barely lustrous, and diluted on the inside. H. 4 cm; ln. 8 cm; wd. 1 cm.

⁴⁹ See Scibona 1986, 450.

⁵⁰ Found near block 84, Via Geraci, on the corner of Via Cesare Battisti. Exegesis and a preliminary publication in OLLA 2018, 173-176.



Fig. 22. The Π bench with a round hollow and top of the tumulus

with all the caution this case requires (in actual fact, the hero is not directly named), appears to be well-founded.

Orion the hunter, son of Poseidon, pelorios (prodigious, immense) hero, associated with the figures of guardian spirits of passes and gorges, is, according to myth, the creator of the port of Zancle and of Cape Pelorus, where he built a sanctuary for his father. It is remarkable to find, in such a late historical period, a reference to one of the most ancient myths of the area of the Strait and to their Euboean-Boeotian cultural roots. However, there is no evidence for a cult of Orion in Messina, while there is confirmation, up to the Imperial period, for the cult of Poseidon located at the temenos on Cape Pelorus as recorded by Diodorus Siculus (IV, 85,5), whose position has still not been identified. At the present time, the most convincing theory seems to be that of a dedication by



Fig. 23. Fragment with the scratched inscription

an eastern community, which is suggested by the Ionic forms identified in the language.

It will take time to comprehend all the possible implications of this discovery: so much still lies in the subsoil of Messina, waiting to be revealed.

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626 Abstracts

GIOVANNA MARIA BACCI, Zancle: Latest Findings on the Urban Settlement and Sanctuaries

The first intention of this paper is to provide updated information on the boundaries, the extent and the layout of the settlement of Zancle-Messana during the colonial, Archaic-Classical period.

It will then deal with two sacred sites dating back to the colonial period, which have great importance for our knowledge of the religious structure of the oldest settlement in the area of the Strait of Messina. The sanctuary located at the end of the San Raineri peninsula is well known for its votive deposits datable from the late 8th century to the late 6th century BC and is dedicated to an important divinity in the Euboean pantheon, probably a female figure, linked to the sea and the protection of the harbour.

The other sacred site, which was discovered in recent years in the building site of Palazzo Colapesce and which is still under study, is located in the heart of the Archaic settlement, behind the isthmus of the peninsula. This site includes a stage of construction of religious edifices, consisting of two *oikoi* datable to the last decades of the 7th century BC, these in turn built over a large tumulus of stones that seals off strata of ash and burnt baked clay datable to the beginning of the 7th century BC.

The paper will also consider the complex stratigraphy of the levels and of the votive deposits found in the sacred area and will examine some of the more significant finds from the Archaic period: locally made pottery and several artefacts imported from the Euboean-Cycladic area that are especially interesting. There will be a discussion of the theory that the sanctuary is linked to the cult of the hero founders of Zancle and to commemorative ceremonies, recorded in a fragment of Callimachus' *Aetia* dedicated to the foundation of Zancle, in which the *oikistai* were called on to take part.

Lastly, the paper will deal with the recent discovery of a Roman imperial age epigraph dedicated to Orion, a hero of Euboean-Boeotian origin linked to Cape Pelorus and the Strait of Messina.

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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.

