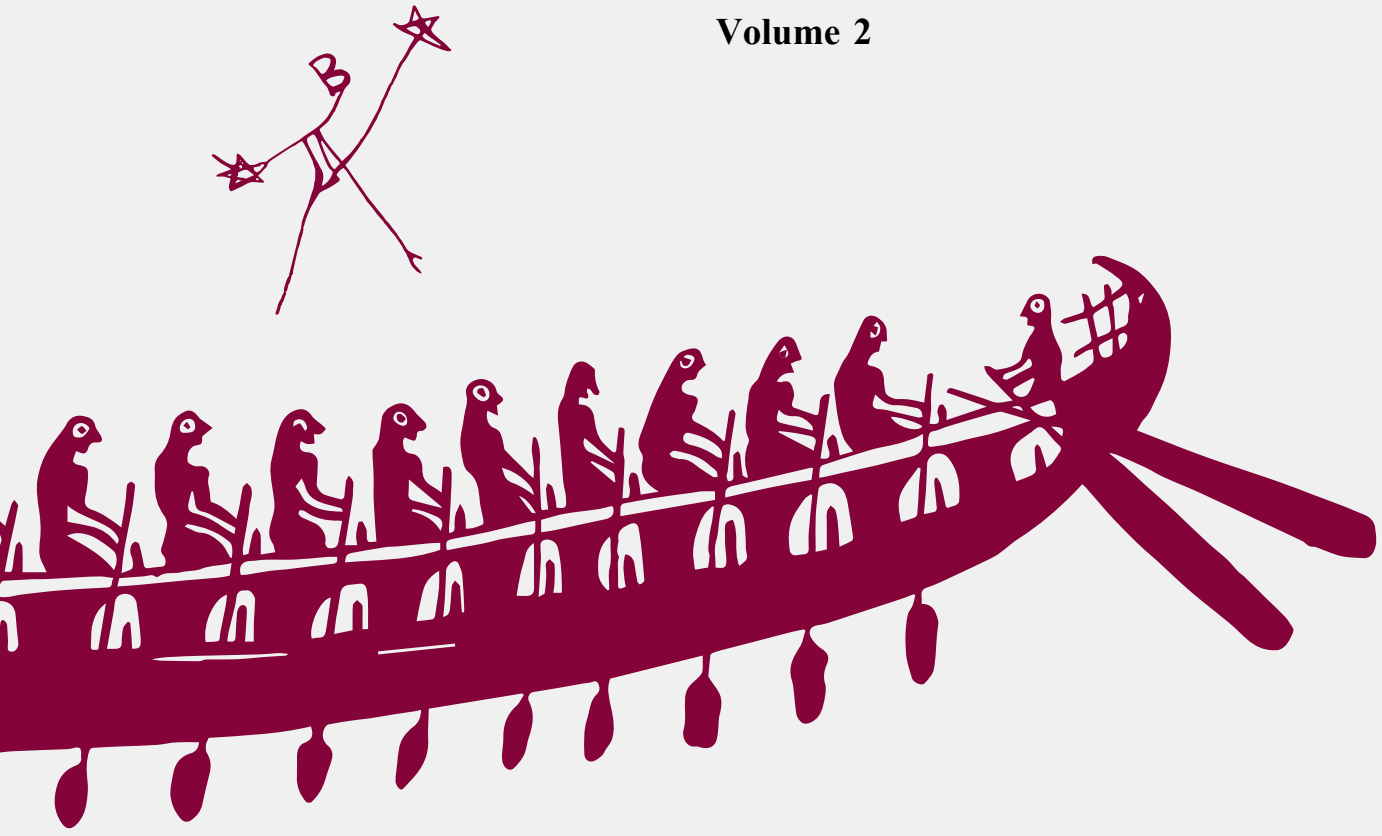
EUBOICA II

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



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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

Cumae and Parthenope

Magna Graecia and Siciliy

Conclusions

CONCLUSIONS

FROM *EUBOICA* TO *EUBOICA II*: CHANGES IN KNOWLEDGE AND SCHOLARLY APPROACHES

Catherine Morgan

Having had the pleasure of attending both *Euboica* conferences in 1996 and 2018, and profiting greatly from them, I welcome this opportunity to reflect on how *Euboica II* illustrates changes in our knowledge and scholarly approaches over the intervening 22 years. Some changes flow from major discoveries. I think, for example, of the large collection of late eighth- and early seventh-century inscriptions from the *hypogeio* at Methone[1] which has breathed new life into discussion of the role of Euboians in the transmission and early use of Greek script. That discussion is ongoing, as is shown by Albio Cassio's examination of a new addition to the evidence for a significantly earlier transmission in Central Italy (around the first quarter of the eighth century). More often, changes in understanding occur incrementally and almost imperceptibly. A landmark conference such as this is an important opportunity to take stock. What follows is a personal perspective on those areas which have most enriched and improved our understanding, on innovations in methodology, and the new questions and approaches which may now follow.

The respective titles of the two sets of conference proceedings, *L'Euboea e la presenza Euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente* versus *Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West,* reveal a significant shift in scholarly direction. In 1996, we operated within an intellectual framework dominated by colonization and by collective "Euboians" as protagonists. Essays in that volume focused on archaeological evidence for settlement on Euboia and the presence of Euboians and/or Euboian or Euboianizing pottery in Macedonia, southern Italy, and Sicily. Discussion of mobility addressed the direction of Euboian voyages, drawing also on cults and the development of epic. The literary record played only a minor role and was rarely subject to historiographical critique. Silence around the historical narrative of colonization as understood often from much later literary sources implies that it was broadly accepted as fact, with no need for further comment[2].

By contrast, *Pithekoussai and Euboia between East and West* cleverly encapsulates the intersection of, and creative tension between, two lines of enquiry. The first concerns the large overarching narrative of Euboian and Phoenician maritime ventures, here presented as an evolving strategy with clearly observable stages of development. In the opening chapter of the first volume, Nota Kourou's systematic review of the distribution of Protogeometric and Subprotogeometric Euboian pottery encapsulates the current state of knowledge and forms a bridge with the previous proceedings. The bare bones would have been familiar to the audience in 1996, but now the picture is conceptually more sophisticated and geographically much more extensive. As Kourou and many other contributors to this volume confirm, ideas that were logical suppositions 20 years ago now provide a secure basis for more directed, analytical, and penetrating questions. Evidence from Iberia and North Africa is fully in the frame (as Massimo Botto demonstrates), and our understanding of Euboia itself is much firmer, with fuller records from more

[1] Bessios – Tzifopoulos – Kotsonas 2022; Tzifopoulos 2013.

[2] Morgan 1998 was an outlier in this volume.

major sites – Lefkandi is discussed by Irene Lemos, Chalkis by Xenia Charalambidou, Eretria and Amarynthos by Samuel Verdan and colleagues, Zarakes by Athina Chatzidimitriou, and Plakari by Jan-Paul Crielaard – not to mention neighbouring Oropos (by Alexander Mazarakis Ainian and Vicky Vlachou) and Skiathos (by Alexandra Alexandridou). This richer picture of Euboia also extends over a longer chronological period, from the Late Bronze Age-Early Iron Age transition (as discussed by Irene Lemos, and by Samuel Verdan and his colleagues) into the Archaic period. A large programme of chemical analysis of pottery from many sites along the arc from Iberia to the Levant affords closer understanding of patterns of export, imitation, and stylistic adaptation of "Euboian" wares. At Eretria itself, ongoing analysis of local clay sources and pottery technologies documents the evolution of a local production tradition from the Bronze Age to the Classical period[3].

Complementing work on Euboian centres is continuing investigation of Pithekoussai, the site at the heart of the "Euboian narrative" back in 1996. Further work on the San Montano necropolis by Teresa Cinquantaquattro reveals ever more clearly the intertangling of Greek, Italic and oriental populations, and is complemented by Valentino Nizzo's study of the ritual codes operative in the cemetery. Particular questions are raised by the burial of a shackled man in Tomb 950. At first sight this burial calls to mind the shackled prisoners buried at Phaleron[4], but this man was neither a victim of violence nor deprived of his place in the community cemetery and the right to receive grave offerings. As Cinquantaquattro emphasizes, the issue is one of symbolism: were the shackles indicative of personal biography, of past or present status within the community? New approaches also transform ostensibly well-known contexts. The discovery by Melania Gigante and colleagues that the burial in T. 168 accompanied by "Nestor's cup" was that of up to three young adults, and not the single youth previously supposed, causes us to reconsider the significance of the text. It gives rise to reappraisal of the excavation context by Teresa Cinquantaquattro and Bruno d'Agostino, while Marek Weçowski sets the cup itself into the larger picture of early text and writing practices now emerging.

The second line of enquiry, present in various ways in most chapters, concerns the nature of interactions – how they developed, what they afforded, and what new responses and strategies emerged from them. How did Euboians and Phoenicians insert themselves into the networks documented in a variety of complementary contexts, from commercial cargos (as that carried in the Archaic Phoenician shipwreck off Xlendi bay, Gozo[5]) to settlements at major trading hubs such as Huelva or Malaga, areas of resource extraction and processing (as those on Sardinia), or settlement and burial contexts in regions widely exposed to international connections (as discussed by Massimo Botto with particular reference to Cumae)? Different aspects of the mechanics of connection are presented in such contexts, with the activities represented standing as proxies for larger organizational chains. Thus the filling and shipping of an amphora is the end of a chain involving not only the cultivators and processors of crops, but storage and transport jar manufacturers, carters, road repairers, shippers, and their agents.

One major change since the 1996 proceedings is the transformation in visualization and mapping technologies illustrated in almost all chapters. We now take these advances for granted to the extent that it seems almost banal to remark on them. Yet our capacity to relate the results of excavations of all kinds and contextualize them in reconstructed ancient landscapes opens many more possibilities to understand and compare settlement development in the longue durée.

Some studies in these proceedings concern sites whose conformation had been considered more or less understood. In their discussion of recent excavations at Pithekoussai, Nadin Burkhardt and Stephan Faust take the opportunity to build a larger, longer-term picture of settlement organization by tying in legacy data and the results of rescue excavations, including evidence for eighth- to sixth-century (probably domestic) architecture. We may now interrogate in closer detail the ques-

[3] Charalambidou *et al.* 2018.

[4] Chryssoulaki 2020, 111-113.

[5] Anastasi *et al.* 2021; Gambin – Sourisseau – Anastasi 2021.

tion of exactly how and when Pithekoussai declined, addressing the form of the later settlement and its place in local and long-distance networks. Fifth-century Pithekoussai is a puzzle – if the growth of Cumae was the major challenge to the community, why did it linger for so long? The answer must lie in a larger regional perspective, and it is also interesting to compare emerging discussion of comparative urban development in other areas, Euboia included. At Cumae, Matteo D'Acunto and his colleagues complement a series of period-specific studies[6] with an account of the Iron Age and immediately pre-colonial settlement which again combines the results of the latest excavations with legacy data. Much work remains to establish the form of the site in the years immediately preceding the arrival of new settlers, and the social inferences that can be drawn from it, but the line of enquiry is securely established.

Transformation in our capacity to contextualise the results of rescue excavation within modern settlement centres is rather greater. Daniela Giampaola's study of early Naples (ancient Parthenope) is such a case, documenting the location of the ancient harbour and of settlement concentrations during the main phases of occupation from the Bronze Age to the fifth century. Studies of Naxos by Maria Costanza Lentini and Zancle by Giovanna Maria Bacci afford potential for comparison. Comparative discussion has a distinguished tradition, with sites such as Oropos long seen as important landmarks. But much more is now possible and on a greater scale, as illustrated by Luca Cerchiai's framing of Pithekoussai alongside *inter alia* Carthage, La Rebandilla, Motya, and Sulky.

With these considerations in mind, I turn to the major themes of the two volumes and some personal responses to them.

Networks, migration, and mobility

Networks in their various forms have come to dominate thought about cross-community relationships. However one approaches them, some nodes which predate colonization clearly afforded greater potential for transformation than others for both human and environmental reasons. A key question is how this potential may be assessed. The environmental data presented in several project reports represent a welcome departure. They contribute significantly to our understanding of long-term settlement development and may enhance appreciation of specific aspects of community life. The wetlands restored around Amarynthos form an appropriate setting the cult of Artemis (as discussed by Samuel Verdan and colleagues), while changes in the coastal environment in the wider area inform discussion of the comparative development of Eretria and the older tell sites of Amarynthos and Lefkandi. Similarly, reconstruction of the ancient coastline at Plakari points to a choice of harbour location which combined long-distance visibility with proximity to arable land and sources of metal ore. So far, attention has focused on coastlines, harbours, and mineral resources. Food economies have received less attention and much work remains to be done in this area, although the data now available from sites like Cumae hold great promise.

Turning to human relationships, the notion of "pre-colonial contact" now seems both teleological and too general to be informative. This is not just a problem of past paradigms: network language and terms like "middle ground" can as easily become hollow[7]. By the ninth century at the latest, we see a world of long-distance interaction. Drill down deeper, and we may begin to assess the circumstances under which it would be worthwhile to establish permanent residence or formal foundations, as opposed to sustaining advantageous relationships in other ways, perhaps using agents to manage seasonal contacts and ensure the flow of material goods. This should be understood as an ongoing process of negotiation, with individual situations liable to change over time. And in the old Greek world, some people chose to engage and pursue opportunities of this kind while others did not.

Papers in these proceedings show progress with many aspects of this problem. At Cumae, for example, Matteo D'Acunto addresses the identifica-

[6] E.g. D'Acunto 2017; D'Acunto – D'Onofrio – Nitti 2021; D'Acunto – Nitti 2023.

[7] Dietler 2022.

tion in the material record of the precise timing and circumstances of new settlement. He identifies a catastrophe, perhaps human induced, which left fully equipped houses and stored crops abruptly abandoned and sometimes burnt. Reoccupation took place against the background of new Euboian settlement at Pithekoussai, and from then on the settlement sequence shows substantial architectural innovation.

Tracing the origin of the individuals who engaged in a cosmopolitan community like Pithekoussai has always been a challenge. Burial contexts constitute the bulk of our evidence for identity, and there is a well-rehearsed difficulty with attaching ethnic labels to objects implicated in them, and thence labelling communities or individuals[8]. The work of Teresa Cinquantaquattro and Valentino Nizzo rests on comparison of burials as social constructs and is complemented by research in physical anthropology by Melania Gigante and colleagues. While no smoking gun, forensic anthropology is removed from material labels and has the potential to speak to the life history of individuals. It is thus integral to achieving thick readings of ritual behaviour.

Yet as Jan-Paul Crielaard emphasizes, the "Euboians" were neither a flat class nor engaged *en masse* with the west or with Macedonia. Some chose to remain apart from migration or to direct their attention elsewhere. In discussion of the long-established community at Plakari, Crielaard suggests that southern Euboia did not play a significant role in Mediterranean networks, and that its connections were largely oriented towards the Sporades and the Cyclades (in Archaic times both Plakari and Zarakes maintained cult links with Delos). Bruno d'Agostino further reminds us that the east coast of Euboia, facing the Sporades, remains poorly understood. Continuing controversies over site identification, notably concerning Kyme (also addressed by Albio Cassio), form part of a broader problem whereby the low visibility of ancient sites on later historical maps of this area has not encouraged archaeological exploration. From the late ninth or early eighth century, established connections between the Sporades and Thessaly expanded to north and south, with Euboian pottery appearing in greater quantity at around the same time as northern Aegean Type II amphorae (as Alexandra Alexandridou demonstrates with primary reference to Kephala on Skiathos). Establishing which Euboian communities were involved in this, when, and to what extent, is a subject for future research.

Implicitly or explicitly, several chapters convey a sense of the one-sidedness of traditional emphasis on a range of motivations for departure from the old world, from land hunger to the search for metals. Migration and overseas settlement had wide-ranging consequences for good or ill. But to understand their complexity, the range of people affected by them, and the circumstances under which individuals or groups might remain disinterested, we should pay closer attention to more local connections of the kind noted above and consider how and when they operated as distinct alternatives, as opposed to affording direct or indirect support for the larger endeavours of others.

Among many issues which merit closer investigation, one concerns the need to trace in their entirety the individuals and communities involved in any sustained relationship, not least to interrogate the shorthand of "indigenous" (a point to which we will return). At Cumae, Giovanna Greco, and Matteo D'Acunto and colleagues, variously show how different groups were drawn to the evolving settlement from the Bronze Age/Iron Age transition onwards, with the new foundation in the eighth century attracting local peoples and Greek and other migrants alike. We now have solid evidence with which to assess the practical costs and investment involved in this – to tease out and quantify the long chains of activity which link *inter alia* the costs of building (and the capital accumulation behind it), food supply, and the range of manufacturing necessary to make a city.

Another area of enquiry might seek to correct the implicit notion that impact is something that happens to "native others". The departure of people from mother communities created gaps in society requiring re-ordering and re-configuration. Hence the changes in patterns of age and gender representation visible in the burial records of Euboian cities from the seventh century on. While we have tended to focus on the opportunities and ben-

[8] Van Dommelen – Rowlands 2012.

efits of colonization, all parties – sender communities included – continued to negotiate change and uncertainty. As a result, Euboian cities, let alone some generalized idea of "Euboia", cannot form a stable reference point. This has wider implications, for example when considering potential exchanges of ideas between the colonial and old worlds about phenomena such as urbanization or political organization. And it is one of many reasons to continue the enquiry beyond the seventh century, and to consider the impact of reliance on particular categories of evidence on our understanding of change. Samuel Verdan is surely right to suggest that the assumed decline in Euboia's trading role reflects over-reliance on pottery. The greater diversity and chronological reach of these proceedings is welcome in this respect.

Personal desiderata for future study include comparative discussion of major events of replanning and their longer-term impacts. The identification of the seventh century as a key stage in state formation at sites like Cumae may be true locally but can we benefit from wider comparison? A longer perspective on other parts of the Greek world shows analogous decisions to relocate (between islands for example) or strengthen central sites. Looking more broadly at processes of choice and what they meant for the shaping not only of sites but of regions may elicit unexpected insights.

Ceramic studies

Since pottery underpins most studies in both volumes, it is worth pausing to comment briefly on the work represented. The strong academic tradition of macroscopic study of fabric and decoration continues to be well represented, often accompanied by petrographic and chemical analyses. I have long been curious to understand the precision with which fabric groups can be localized around the Bay of Naples. Studies by Francesca Mermati and Gloria Olcese, focused on pottery from Pithekoussai and Cumae, document the fabric groups isolated from kiln material in the Santa Restituta artisan quarter at Lacco Ameno and trace local clay sources. Such work will continue to be important not only for understanding regional craft organization, but for those of us working in western Greece interested in the extent and nature of west-east traffic and keen to trace the origin of unidentified wares in our assemblages.

Long-term trajectories of resource use, practice traditions, and craft mobility are central concerns in ceramic studies, but the human aspects of choice and affect are rightly not forgotten in these proceedings. Mariassunta Cuozzo's review of pottery from the Mazzola area at Pithekoussai addresses local producers' responses to imported finewares, while Francesca Mermati raises the question of whether or how it mattered that an ostensibly "Greek" pot in an indigenous Campanian or Etruscan tomb was in fact manufactured on the coast, at Pithekoussai or Cumae. It remains a challenge to understand different perceptions of the origin of particular vessels, and to allow for the potentially different significance of provenance in the old and new worlds. A Pithekoussan consumer may have neither known nor cared whether an imported Thapsos skyphos came from a workshop in Corinth, Achaia, Ambracia, or Ithaca. Thapsos was a recognizable "brand" which tended to travel with Corinthian or Corinthianising fineware and was associated with drinking practices widely shared by local elites[9]. But the distinction matters greatly from the perspective of the production centre concerned, as we seek to build models of western export.

The value of close reading of well contextualised ceramic assemblages in characterizing aspects of urban planning is illustrated in the case of Sardinia by Paolo Bernardini and Marco Rendeli. Considering the organization of the settlement at Sant'Imbenia, they use pottery distributions to identify a market area for local crafts and imports (including products from the surrounding region) and explore the significance of different aspects of assemblages in terms of the social roles of imports. The concentration of imported vessels linked to cross-elite activities points to market centres as nodes in trade networks. Similar observations are made by Massimo Botto with reference to the distribution of gold and copper from Spanish and Sardinian mines, defining the intersection between Atlantic and eastern metal trading circuits.

[9] Gadolou 2017.

These observations lead to two further areas of discussion – the various ways in which artefacts serve as evidence for markets, and the organization of production and associated mobility of craftsmen.

Markets

Considering why ceramics were acquired or manufactured for particular purposes may provide insight into other less visible aspects of local economies. Let us consider two examples. The first concerns trade in oil and wine. Rich evidence has been presented for the manufacture and circulation of transport amphorae in several areas, including the Thermaic Gulf, Sardinia, and Malta. These amphorae were both commodities and delivery mechanisms. Their contents represent an agricultural base, the existence of processing facilities, labour, storage, and local transport. Their production, stockpiling, and delivery had to be co-ordinated with the agricultural cycle, and since their form was maximized to maritime stowage, they should be examined alongside vessels suitable for storage and land journeys as part of longer chains of transport adapted to different environments.

The relationship between amphorae and other transportable containers is in different ways explored by Luca Cerchiai and Antonis Kotsonas, but merits closer attention given the very uneven record of Early Iron Age maritime transport containers across the Mediterranean[10]. As Cerchiai emphasizes, the practice of wine consumption in the west long predates Greek colonization, making the history of local and regional production, and of the container vessels used, subjects of great interest. Classical and Hellenistic-Roman period oil and wine production has received considerable attention, but there is now a realistic prospect of reconstructing all stages of production and shipment in the Early Iron Age and Archaic periods, and thence building a long-term picture of these industries. The link between local and long-distance circuits of distribution also merits close investigation. Jean-Christophe Sourisseau has characterised Pithekoussai as an essentially local market because its production capacity is relatively small[11]. And it is worth noting that genetic analysis of wine varietals may in future help to identify local/regional produce with greater precision. In general, closer dialogue between specialists working on different production and distribution circuits would be beneficial.

The second example concerns the economic support required to sustain activities otherwise identified in the material record. Ritual spaces are a case in point. At late ninth-century Utica, Massimo Botto describes equipment for a large ritual banquet comprising local handmade pottery plus a small but diverse range of Phoenician, Greek, Sardinian, and Tyrrhenian imports. Similar public feasts held at the Phoenician sanctuary at La Rebanadilla, at the mouth of the Guadalhorce river, helped to broker relations between local populations and new arrivals. Here too, feasting sets were selected from, and re-elaborate aspects of, different traditions. In both cases there is a clear link between consumption and the relations necessary to sustain local markets and metals trading. Yet more could be done to explore the logistics of the feasts, the agents involved, and the social capital accrued.

"Indigenous" pottery had its own attractions and advantages. At Cumae, household equipment from the pre- and early colonial settlement now gives a clear picture of the domestic economy encountered by the first colonists, and evidence for the pace and nature of its transformation thereafter. This picture also rests on a fuller understanding of the way in which Cumae related to wider local networks of settlement and pottery supply. Well before the foundation of Pithekoussai, Cumae was a favoured destination for local and long-distance migration. Privileged individuals buried in the town cemetery were linked into Aegean elite networks, and the Euboian vessels imported to the site were standard types found across all Euboian networks. In the settlement, however, quantified analysis of ceramics in newly excavated contexts presented by Giovanna Greco reveals that indigenous traditions only really declined late in the seventh century.

[10] Recent studies include Knapp – Demesticha 2017; Pratt 2021.

[11] Sourisseau 2008, 149-173, esp. 171-173.

The notion that the form of cooking and kitchen vessels directly reflect culturally specific practices of food preparation and consumption has long been discredited. Instead, we see the swift adoption of local cookwares by colonists perhaps because these vessels were already well adapted technologically, their manufacture drawing on local potters' knowledge of the location and preparation of clays resistant to fire. The question of how long indigenous cooking ware lingered may better be framed in terms of the use of local knowledge to refine and improve production, supporting the emergence of larger markets in adaptable shapes made in fabrics that demonstrably worked. The western Mediterranean pattern discussed in these proceedings finds echoes elsewhere, notably in the Black Sea where old assumptions about cookpots as markers of cultural or ethnic identity have been countered in similar terms.

Manufacturing

Production sites feature in several chapters, with accounts of the Mazzola and Santa Restituta quarters at Pithekoussai particularly welcome (the latter predating Euboian settlement). At Santa Restituta, Francesca Mermati suggests that pottery production was organized in family workshops in which all members participated. It remains unclear whether there was a parallel system of household-based production as inferred for the manufacture of *impasto* at Cumae. Artisan status was certainly celebrated at Pithekoussai, noting the inclusion of tools in local burials.

An important point of comparison on Euboia is provided by Vicky Vlachou's study of the organization of workshop facilities and spaces at Oropos. Vlachou's observations about cross-craft connections between pottery production and metalworking during the second half of the eighth and the seventh century, and about similarities in layout between Oropos and Mazzola (a site discussed by Costanza Gialanella and Pier Giovanni Guzzo), raise important questions about when and how patterns of craft organization travelled (and in which direction). Vlachou further considers the impact of colonization at Cumae not only in terms of migrant potters and workshops, but also in the creation of new craft contexts. Observations of this kind are not confined to Euboian settlements. At Francavilla Marittima, Jan Kindberg Jacobsen and Gloria Mittica consider the impact of Euboian potters (in terms of kiln organization, aspects of style, and technological practice) in the production of Oinotrian-Euboian pottery.

These discussions raise larger questions. Interrogating the commonly cited phenomenon of craft mobility, what did it mean socially for a member of a household production unit to leave it behind permanently or temporarily? Much work has focused on patterns of movement, on routes and trade circuits, and on technological transfer. Less attention has been paid to the societal implications of movement on differing geographical scales.

Trade in metals is widely discussed throughout these proceedings, with emphasis on Phoenician and Euboian engagement to east and west alike. Underlining the wider potential of the work presented in these two volumes to contribute to longue durée models, one of the most challenging questions concerns potential continuities from a monetary use of precious metals to the first coinage[12]. Samuel Verdan and Elon Heymans' discussion of Euboian gold working and trading, including rare evidence of gold melting plates from Eretria and Methone, identifies the movement of gold through Euboian maritime connections, with Methone an important hub linking maritime networks to the Macedonian hinterland. Lucia Scatozza Höricht takes up the discussion at Cumae and Pithekoussai, emphasizing the role of cosmopolitan elite consumers. All see Anatolia and the Levant as key areas of origin for processing practices, the use of bullion gold as currency, and a weight standard widely influential in Euboian circles and beyond.

Sanctuaries and cults

I have so far has concentrated on the broadly economic themes central to both volumes. Sanctuaries and religious practice are less prominent, although important discoveries are reported. In Sicily

[12] Explored in detail in Heymans 2021.

and southern Italy these include a possible heroon in the centre of Zancle (discussed by Giovanna Maria Bacci) and the earliest offerings associated with the sanctuary of Apollo on the acropolis of Cumae, which date to the very beginning of the colonial settlement (the site and cult are examined by Alfonso Mele). Notwithstanding the richness of the data presented, chapters in these proceedings point to significant differences in approach to sanctuary sites and religious landscapes in the old Greek world, Sicily and Magna Grecia, and the western Mediterranean. In comparison with recent work in the old Greek world, in southern Italy we see greater concentration on literary evidence and on aspects of cult transmission. With notable exceptions outside the Euboian sphere (e.g. Monte Iato in western Sicily)[13], sanctuaries in the colonial milieux are currently less embedded in larger discussions of local/regional economic and political systems than those in the old Greek world (and increasingly also pre-Roman and Roman central Italy)[14]. In Euboia, the major discoveries at Plakari and Zarakes noted above, and at the Artemision at Amarynthos (described by Samuel Verdan and his colleagues), are fully integrated into larger discussions of ritual landscapes. Excavation at the Artemision has been a catalyst for systematic study of the shrines of the Eretriad, considering how the Eretrians occupied their territory in terms of political and religious institutions, and where and why cult buildings were monumentalized.

Moreover, there is a tendency to interpret activities through the lens of assumed "Greek" practice. Ritual dining and food consumption is a case in point – it features in several chapters, including a fascinating discussion of early cult activity at Sicilian Naxos by Maria Costanza Lentini. On one hand, it is valuable to build a large, cross-Mediterranean picture, but on the other, attention to local practices and interpretations is essential if we are to avoid normative assumptions. Furthermore, rather than assuming an east-west flow of ideas, there is great scope to interrogate mainland Greek data using models developed in the western Mediterranean. My own work in the northwest reveals several instances where current expectations of the physical form of sanctuaries, conceptions of landscape, and the preferred contexts for communal ritual are a poor fit for the evidence. To give but one example, Archaic Butrint recalls La Rebanadilla as much as the sanctuaries of the Kanoni peninsula on Corfu.

Conceptualising Euboians

My final point concerns identity and tradition. Why were Euboians so good to think with? The need of communities to place themselves in an increasingly complex world is manifested differently in different parts of the Greek world. I am struck by the comparative scarcity in much of the west of the local histories so prominent elsewhere from the late fifth century on. Thanks to the work of Rosalind Thomas[15], we know the names of almost 800 local historians, with strong hints that their work was full of the local detail, argument, and contradiction missing in larger syntheses. But they mostly belong to the eastern Aegean, while in the west we find a long, lively tradition of foundation stories and myths of origin expressed in a growing range of literary genres. There are traces of this in Euboia too, as Luisa Breglia shows in her discussion of Archaic mythological and genealogical links with Boiotia. In other parts of the Greek world – notably the fourth- and third-century Adriatic[16] – Euboians entered local traditions very much later than our period and in locations with no earlier material association. They seem to be a safe choice as actors in the new narratives or counter narratives developed in response to changing political circumstances.

Volume II of the 2018 proceedings opens with a paper that marks a striking departure from the first *Euboica* conference. Maurizio Giangulio presents textual sources as cultural artefacts implicated in the construction and reformulation of social memory, embodying different community perspectives, and

[13] Kistler – Mohr 2015; with Öhlinger 2015.

[14] The region is not represented in recent work, such as Häussler – Chiai 2020, or recent conferences exploring concepts of religious landscape, notably: *Reconstructing Greek Sacred Landscapes*, Vandoeuvres, 2-3 February 2023; *Distant Deities, Central Places: Reconsidering the "Extra-urban Sanctuary"*, Swedish Institute at Athens, 6-8 April 2023.

[15] Thomas 2019.

[16] Morgan 2018.

resting on close attention to matters of date, genre, and context. In 1996, my own case for a historiographically sensitive approach to colonial traditions concerning Corcyra was an outlier which some found difficult to accept. Giangiulio's rich, theoretically sophisticated discussion now represents the mainstream. His delineation of a stratification of literary traditions makes sense of problems of transmission and preservation, accommodates the emergence of new approaches (as that of Hecataeus on geography), literary trends or genres, and embraces dissonance as an inevitable aspect of continuing traditions.

Despite these advances, much remains to be done to assimilate literary gains with approaches to the material record. Focusing on the northern Aegean, Antonis Kotsonas reviews the historiography of approaches to the material record of the Euboian colonial world, noting the weaknesses of a range of cognate models from pan-Creticism to Euboiocentricism, and concluding that migrants "became" new communities with identities that they may not have set out with as individuals. Kotsonas' fundamental question is important, but the historiography of our own approaches needs to be balanced by a critical approach to the ancient sources. The answer lies in integrating Kotsonas' approach with that of Giangiulio or Matteo D'Acunto, who discusses Cumae and Pithekoussai in comparison with Megara Hyblaea, Naxos, Syracuse, Zancle and Mylai. Settlement history may rest on correlations between ceramic and textual dates, but there is nonetheless a richer understanding here of *ktisis* as a historical process. It is important to build a comparative picture, to understand variant local traditions, the date and shape of sources, and geopolitics as locally experienced.

In memoriam

I conclude by remembering three pioneering figures in our discipline – Giorgio Buchner, Nicolas Coldstream, and David Ridgway – whose "absent presences" were keenly felt at our gathering in 2018. I continue to marvel at the richness of their legacy and its capacity to sustain new endeavours by new teams. The continuation of Giorgio Buchner's work with the publication of *Pithekoussai II* is an exciting prospect. And I look forward to seeing what the present proceedings and the projects represented in them may inspire in *Euboica III*.

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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.