

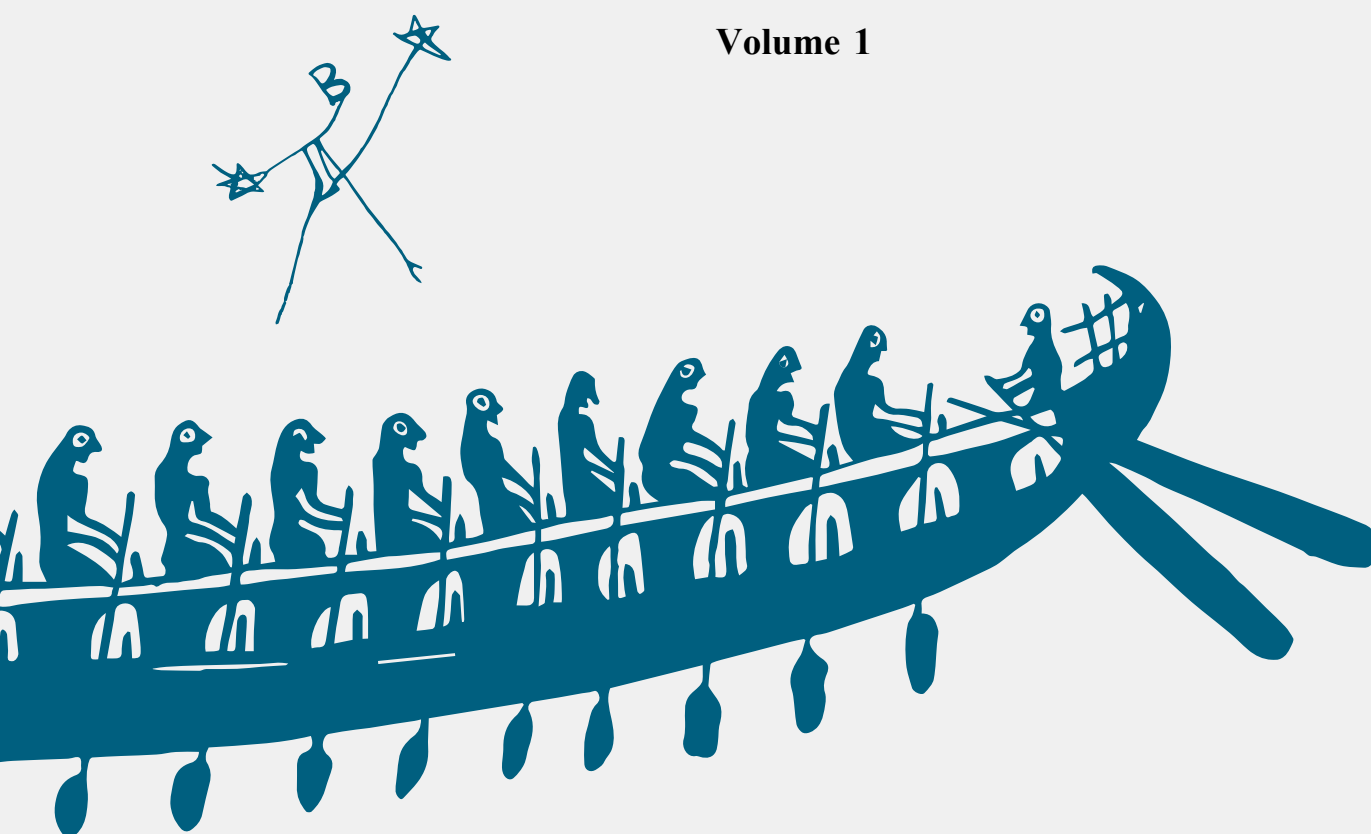
EUBOICA II

Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West

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

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro and Matteo D'Acunto (eds.)

Volume 1



Napoli 2020

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI NAPOLI «L'ORIENTALE»
DIPARTIMENTO DI ASIA AFRICA E MEDITERRANEO



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E STORIA ANTICA

Nuova Serie | 27



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DI ARCHEOLOGIA
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Bruno d'Agostino, Patrizia Gastaldi, Fausto Longo, Carmine Pellegrino

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; minimum: 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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PREFACE

EUBOICA, AGAIN

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro, Matteo D'Acunto

A little more than twenty years since the international conference *Euboica. L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente* (Naples, 13-16 November 1996) – whose proceedings, edited by Bruno d'Agostino and Michel Bats, were published in 1998 – the great amount of new data that had enriched our knowledge of southern Italy, the western Mediterranean and Greece over the last few years called for a return to the theme of Euboean colonization. A direct thread, in motivations and content, ran from the 1996 conference to the one held in Lacco Ameno (Ischia, Naples) from 14 to 17 May 2018, which was entitled *Pithekoussai e l'Eubea tra Oriente e Occidente*. The intent was, again, 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, as per the conference program. 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. This new archaeological evidence contributes to, and modifies our interpretations of, the historical phenomena in which Euboea played a prominent role in the Early Iron Age (tenth-eighth century BC), both in the motherland and in the several geographical districts touched by Euboean trade and colonization. These are the phenomena that led to the colonization of southern Italy and northern Greece, and thus from

the eighth century BC onward put an indelible mark on the history of the West.

The individual contributions are introduced by an important essay by Nota Kourou, a reflection on the theme of Mediterranean connectivity seen from the Euboean perspective and analyzed (over a time range spanning from the tenth to the eighth century BC) through the distribution of Euboean pottery in the Aegean, the Levant and the West.

The first volume begins with Irene Lemos' important assessment of Euboea at its transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. The contributions in the first part of the volume provide an up-to-date overview of the new archaeological and interpretive results of investigations at Lefkandi, Chalcis, the sanctuary of Artemis at Amarynthos, Karystos, and Kyme, and in eastern Euboea. The subsequent contributions regard the sector of Boeotia facing Euboea and falling within its orbit of influence, as borne out by mythical traditions and by the crucially important excavations of Oropos led by Alexandros Mazarakis Ainian. We are then led on into the northern Aegean and northern Greece, which were also destinations for Euboean trade and colonial migration. The book is concluded with a look at the western Mediterranean, and specifically at Sardinia and Spain. Here, the Phoenician and Euboean elements interacted with the local communities, forging relations based on mobility and reciprocity.

The second volume gathers contributions on Euboean presence in the Tyrrhenian (Pithekoussai, Cumae, Neapolis), the canal of Sicily (Zankle and Naxos) and areas that the Euboeans had an early interest in (Francavilla Marittima in Calabria).

These contributions, focusing on archaeological and interpretive novelties from each site, are preceded by two important reflections, by Maurizio Giangiulio and Luca Cerchiai, respectively. The former deals with the “social memory” of Greek colonization, the latter with new interpretive models for the dynamics guiding relations between the Greeks and local communities, based on a comparison between different milieus and on new evidence. Alongside the presentation of archaeological novelties from Pithekoussai and Cumae in several contributions in this volume, there are two reflections by Marek Wecowski and Alfonso Mele, respectively on social behavior in connection with the appearance of the symposium, starting from the famous inscription on Nestor's Cup, and on the mythical-historical tradition of Cumae from the story of the Sybil onward.

The conference was accompanied by an exhibition entitled *Pithekoussai... work in progress*, displaying a sample of grave goods from the still unpublished part of the necropolis of Pithekoussai, i.e., from the 1965-1967 excavations. In this exhibition, Giorgio Buchner was honored with a display of his letters and documents bearing witness to his dense correspondence with some of the foremost archaeologists of his time, and to his international standing as a scholar.

The conference provided an opportunity to strengthen the ties between the Soprintendenza and the university, compare different study traditions, and keep open the dialogue on the theme of intercultural connectivity and relations. This theme, far from being outdated, today stands as the true benchmark by which the progress of the peoples of the shores of the Mediterranean is and will be measured.

The conference was promoted by the Università degli Studi di Napoli “L'Orientale” and the Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l'area metropolitana di Napoli (Ministero della Cultura), with the crucial support of the town administration of Lacco Ameno d'Ischia. Heartfelt thanks go to the mayor, Giacomo Pascale, and the councilor for culture at the time, Cecilia Prota, who

enthusiastically agreed to and supported this venture, in the awareness that knowledge and research must provide the foundation for promotion of cultural heritage.

We thank all who brought their greetings to the conference and took part in it: Prof. Elda Morlicchio, Rector of the Università degli Studi di Napoli “L'Orientale”, and Prof. Michele Bernardini, Director of Dipartimento Asia Africa e Mediterraneo; Dr. Caterina Bon Valsassina, Director General of Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio of the Italian Ministry of Culture; Prof. Emanuele Papi, Director of the Italian Archaeological School of Athens; Prof. Claude Pouzadoux, director of the Centre J. Bérard; Prof. Oswyn Murray; Prof. Emanuele Greco, former director of the Italian Archaeological School of Athens; and Dr. Paolo Giulierini, director of the Naples National Archaeological Museum.

Especially heartfelt thanks go to all the speakers at the conference and authors of the essays in these two volumes. Through their valuable contributions, together they have achieved the collective endeavor of *Euboica II*, between the motherland, the East and the West. We are especially grateful to Bruno d'Agostino, who, from the height of his scholarly authority, accepted the onerous task of introducing the conference and authored a fundamental essay in the first volume. Our thanks also go to Carmine Ampolo and Catherine Morgan for exemplarily drawing the conclusions of the conference and of these two volumes. We are also keen to thank the session chairs who managed the dense days of the conference: Michel Bats, Anna Maria D'Onofrio, Maurizio Giangiulio, Irene Lemos, Oswyn Murray, Fabrizio Pesando, Karl Reber, Claude Pouzadoux, and Fausto Zevi.

We thank Drs. Costanza Gialanella and Maria-luisa Tardugno, the Soprintendenza officials who succeeded one another in the task of safeguarding the archaeological heritage of Ischia, for organizing the exhibition, as well as Mss. Teresa Calise and Teresa Iacono (Soprintendenza ABAP per l'area metropolitana di Napoli). We would also like to thank Dr. Federico Poole (Museo Egizio di Torino) for his consultation on the scarabs; Dr. Luigia Melillo and Ms. Marina Vecchi of the Restoration Laboratory of the National Archaeological Museum of Naples for their restoration of the materials; and the

firm Corsale & Amitrano Restauro e Architettura. For the exhibition imagery, we thank the Òrkestra. Media & Web Agency; for the welcome service, the Platypus Tour Agency and especially Emanuele Mattera; and for operative support, Mr. Giulio Lauro of the Marina di Sant'Anna.

Finally, our heartfelt thanks go to a group of PhD and MA graduates in archaeology and archaeology students of the Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale" for contributing decisively to the organization and management of the conference: Mariangela Barbato, Martina D'Onofrio, Chiara

Improta, Cristiana Merluzzo, Sara Napolitano, Francesco Nitti, Francesca Somma, and Marco Tartari.

With some emotion, we leave it to some photographs of the first and second conference of *Euboica* to conclude this brief introduction. A common research thread ran through these two conferences, which were held in a similar climate of dialogue, sharing and friendship among today's "Euboeans", along the sea routes of yesterday's Euboeans from the East to the West.



Participants in the conference *Euboica. L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*, Naples, 13-16 November 1996: from left to right, David Ridgway, Nicholas Coldstream, Michel Bats, Patrizia Gastaldi, Angeliki Andreiomenou, Bruno d'Agostino, Sandrine Huber, Irene Lemos, and Béatrice Blandin

Pithekoussai e l'Eubea tra Oriente e Occidente

Lacco Ameno, Ischia (NA)
14-17 maggio 2018



14 maggio

SALUTI

- 15.30 **Giacomo Pascale** (Sindaco del Comune di Lacco Ameno)
Caterina Bon Valsassina (Direttore Generale Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio - Mibact)
Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro (Soprintendente ABAP per l'Area Metropolitana di Napoli)
Elda Morlicchio (rettrice dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
Michele Bernardini (Direttore del DAAM, Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
Emanuele Pappi (Direttore della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene)
Corrado Matera (Assessore con delega al Turismo, Regione Campania)
Rosanna Romano (Direttore Generale per le Politiche culturali e il Turismo, Regione Campania)
Prospettive di valorizzazione del patrimonio archeologico
 Interverranno
Cecilia Protà (Assessore alla Cultura del Comune di Lacco Ameno)
Paolo Giulierini (Direttore del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli)
Nadia Murolo (Dirigente per la valorizzazione e promozione dei Beni Culturali, Regione Campania)

CONFERENZA INAUGURALE

- 16.30 **Nota Kourou** (University of Athens)
Euboian pottery in a Mediterranean perspective

INTRODUZIONE AL CONVEGNO

- 17.10 **Bruno d'Agostino** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
Le problematiche archeologiche
 17.30 **Alfonso Mele** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II")
Le problematiche storiche
VISITA AL MUSEO

15 maggio

SEZIONE A. L'Eubea tra madrepatria e colonie: aspetti storici e modelli interpretativi

- 10.00 **Maurizio Giangliullo** (Università degli Studi di Trento)
Memorie coloniali euboiche: appunti sulle tradizioni letterarie della mobilità mediterranea di VIII - VII secolo
 10.20 **Luisa Breglia** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II")
Relazioni tra Eubea e Beozia in età arcaica
 10.40 **Luca Cerchiai** (Università degli Studi di Salerno)
Modelli interpretativi sulla colonizzazione euboica e impatti sul mondo indigeno

SEZIONE B. Pithekoussai

- 11.00 **Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro** (Soprintendenza ABAP per l'Area Metropolitana di Napoli)
Pithekoussai: rappresentazione funeraria e dinamiche interculturali nella necropoli di San Montano (scavi 1965-67)
Pausa caffè
 11.40 **Melania Gigante** (Università degli Studi di Bologna), **Wolfgang Müller** (Goethe University Frankfurt), **Alessandra Sperduti**, **Luca Bondioli** (Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico "Luigi Pigorini", Roma)
Euboici, orientali, indigeni: paleodemografia e mobilità dal campione odonto-scheletrico umano delle sepolture dell'antica Pithekoussai (VIII - VI sec.)
 12.00 **Costanza Gialanella** (Soprintendenza ABAP per l'Area Metropolitana di Napoli), **Pietro Giovanni Guzzo** (Accademia dei Lincei)
Il quartiere metallurgico di Mazzola a Pithecusa: ritrovamenti e produzioni
 12.30 **Mariassunta Cuzzo** (Università degli Studi del Molise)
Produzioni ceramiche dall'area di Mazzola
 12.50 **Nadin Burkhardt** (Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt), **Stephan Faust** (University College of Cork)
I primi risultati dello scavo nell'area di villa Arbusto/Pithecusa
DISCUSSIONE
Pausa pranzo
 15.00 **Valentino Nizzo** (Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Roma)
Paesaggi, forme e codici del rito nella necropoli di Pithekoussai
 15.20 **Marek Wecowski** (University of Warsaw)
The "Cup of Nestor" in context: the rise of the Greek aristocratic culture

SEZIONE C. Cuma e Parthenope

- 15.40 **Matteo D'Acunto** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
Le prime fasi di Cuma alla luce delle ricerche recenti
 16.00 **Giovanna Greco** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II")
Strutture e materiali dalla Cuma arcaica: le ricerche della "Federico II" nell'area del Foro
Pausa caffè
 16.40 **Michel Bats**, **Priscilla Munzi** (Centre Jean Bérard, Napoli)
Vaisselle et ustensiles de cuisine à Cumes à l'époque archaïque: analyse et confrontations
 17.00 **Daniela Giampaola** (Soprintendenza ABAP per il Comune di Napoli)
Napoli antica dall'Età del Bronzo Finale a Parthenope: i dati delle nuove indagini
DISCUSSIONE

16 maggio

SEZIONE D. La Sicilia e il Mediterraneo occidentale

- 10.00 **Giovanna Maria Bacci** (Soprintendenza BB.C.C.A.A. di Messina)
Zancle: aggiornamenti sull'insediamento urbano e sui luoghi di culto
 10.20 **Maria Costanza Lentini** (Polo Regionale dei Siti Culturali di Catania)
Naxos di Sicilia tra l'VIII e il VII secolo a.C.: rapporti e connessioni esterne
 10.40 **Jean-Christophe Sourisseau** (Aix-Marseille Université), **Timmy Gambin** (University of Malta)
Premiers éléments sur la cargaison de l'épave de Xlendi (Gozo, Malte)
 11.00 **Massimo Botto** (CNR, Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico)
Fenici e Greci nella Penisola Iberica tra IX e VII sec. a.C.
Pausa caffè
 11.40 **Marco Rendell**, **Paolo Bernardini** (Università degli Studi di Sassari)
La Sardegna



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Piazza Santa Restituta, 80076 Lacco Ameno - Ischia (NA)

SEZIONE E. L'Eubea: la madrepatria

- 12.00 **Irene Lemos** (University of Oxford)
Why Euboea? From the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age
 12.20 **Xenia Charalambidou** (University of Warsaw)
Rethinking Early Iron Age and Protoarchaic Chalkis: towards an appraisal of the archaeological evidence
 12.40 **Sandrine Huber** (Université de Lorraine)
The Athenaeon on the acropolis of Eretria
DISCUSSIONE
Pausa pranzo
 15.00 **Jan Paul Crielaard** (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)
Recent research at Karystos-Plakari: cult, connectivity and networks in the 10th to 7th centuries BC
 15.20 **Karl Reber**, **Thierry Theurillat** (Université de Lausanne - École suisse d'archéologie en Grèce)
Finding Artemis: the Artemision at Amarnthos (Euboea)
 15.40 **Athena Chatzidimitriou** (Historical Archive of Antiquities, Ministry of Culture and Sports)
Zarakas: a cult site in south Karystia, on the island of Euboea
 16.00 **Alexandros Mazarakis Ainián** (University of Thessaly, Volos)
Thirty years of excavations and research at Homeric Graia (Oropos)
 16.20 **Antonis Kotsonas** (University of Cincinnati)
Containers, commodities and Euboian colonization in the Theraic Gulf
DISCUSSIONE

17 Maggio

SEZIONE F. Le produzioni

- 10.00 **Samuel Verdan** (Université de Lausanne - École suisse d'archéologie en Grèce)
Men and metals on the move: the case of "Euboian" gold
 10.20 **Vicky Vlachou** (Université Libre de Bruxelles)
Patterns of production and consumption of Euboian-type pottery outside Euboea: a view from Oropos and Pithekoussai in the 8th century BC
 10.40 **Alexandra Alexandridou** (Open University of Cyprus)
One more node to the Thessalo-Euboian small world: the evidence from Kephala of Skiathos
Pausa caffè
 11.20 **Gloria Olcese** ("La Sapienza" Università di Roma)
Il kerameikos sotto la Chiesa di Santa Restituta di Lacco Ameno: nuovi dati e prospettive della ricerca archeologica e archeometrica a Ischia
 11.40 **Franca Merlati** (Parco Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei)
Ceramica euboica e di tipo euboico tra Pithekoussai e Kyme: status questionis e nuovi spunti di riflessione
DISCUSSIONE

CONCLUSIONI

- 12.30 **Carmine Ampolo** (Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa)
Catherine Morgan (All Souls College, Oxford)



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Matteo D'Acunto (Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
Cecilia Protà (Comune di Lacco Ameno, Ischia)



The participants in the *Euboica II* conference



The greetings to the *Euboica II* conference: from left to right, Matteo D'Acunto, Paolo Giulierini (Director of the Naples National Archaeological Museum), Michele Bernardini (Director of the Dipartimento Asia Africa e Mediterraneo of the Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"), Elda Morlicchio (Rector of the Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"), Giacomo Pascale (Mayor of Lacco Ameno d'Ischia), Teresa Cinquantaquattro, Cecilia Prota (Councilor for culture of Lacco Ameno d'Ischia)



The organizers of the *Euboica II* conference, Teresa Cinquantaquattro and M. D'Acunto, with the Mayor of Lacco Ameno d'Ischia, Giacomo Pascale (right), and the Councilor for culture, Cecilia Prota (second, left)



The discussion after a session of the *Euboica II* conference



Discussion on pottery in the Archaeological Museum of Pithecusae (Lacco Ameno d'Ischia) after the *Euboica II* conference: from left to right, Maria Cecilia Parra, Bruno d'Agostino, Irene Lemos, Nota Kourou, Carmine Ampolo, Matteo D'Acunto, Teresa Cinquantaquattro, and Catherine Morgan



Discussion on pottery in the Archaeological Museum of Pithecusae (Lacco Ameno d'Ischia) after the *Euboica II* conference: from left to right, Catherine Morgan, Ida Baldassarre, Michel Bats, Alexandros Mazarakis Ainian, and Bruno d'Agostino



From left to right, Irene Lemos, Teresa Cinquantaquattro, Bruno d'Agostino, Matteo D'Acunto, Nota Kourou, and Samuel Verdan



Trip to Cumae after the *Euboica II* conference: from left to right, Thierry Theurillat, Sandrine Huber, Matteo D'Acunto, Samuel Verdan, Karl Reber, and Francesco Nitti

FORGOTTEN CITIES IN EASTERN EUBOEA

Bruno d'Agostino

The only evidence for the existence of a Kyme in Euboea is the testimony of Stephanus of Byzantium¹. For this reason, its existence has been persistently questioned by most contemporary scholars². The sceptics' arguments have been reviewed by G. Ragone in 2008³. They can be summarized as follows. Of the seven cities by this name listed by Stephanus, only two are well attested, namely, Aeolian Kyme and the Kyme in Opicia. Stephanus' placing of a Kyme in Euboea was allegedly due to his misunderstanding of Strabo's account of the foundation of Kyme in Campania (V.4.4 = C243) and runs afoul of the following objections: 1. the modern toponym Koumi/Kumi cannot be traced to an original Kyme⁴; 2. the modern toponym Koumi/Kumi is not attested in any maps earlier than the late eighteenth century; 3. indeed, it cannot derive from the toponym Chimi, which occurs in maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, because the latter is always situated, not where the present-day Kyme lies, but «at the south extremity of the island, between the promontories Caphareus and Gerestus»⁵; 4. it cannot be related to the demotic

Komaeis documented in inscriptions⁶, although this location must indeed have been in the Eretriad and most likely precisely on the promontory of Kyme⁷; 5. the poleonym does not occur in the rich epigraphic evidence that allows us to reconstruct in detail much of the organization of the *chora* of Eretria; 6. no archaeological finds from the site of the modern town are known.

As A.C. Cassio shows in the following essay, the linguistic argument does not hold up to careful scrutiny, which, on the contrary, reveals evidence in favor of a continuity of the ancient poleonym with the modern one of Kumi. We thus need to verify whether this linguistic continuity is confirmed by a reassessment of the documentary sources, the historical maps, and the archaeological evidence.

1. THE DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

The earliest testimony of the existence of the modern settlement of Kumi is unfortunately handed down in a corrupted form. In recounting the sack of Negroponte (Chalkis) in 1470, Stefano Magno, a Venetian "historian" of the sixteenth century, mentions that the Ottoman army proceeded immediately thereafter to conquer a place called Vumi («*el luogo dei Vumi*»). Koder, who does not distinguish

¹ Cf. most recently the edition by BILLERBECK 2006-2015, 'Kyme' s.v.

² With the almost isolated exception of BÉRARD 1957, 48 f. For a review of studies, cf. REBER 2009; the historical reality of Kyme in Euboea is also viewed with skepticism by Swiss scholars working in Euboea, including D. Knöpfler and FACHARD 2012, 67 f., notes 127, 149, as well as BRODERSEN 2001, KNOELL 2013, 188 note 16, and others. A suspension of judgment of sorts is expressed by SACKETT *et al.* 1966 73 ff. (77): «The identification of ancient Kyme remains unsettled».

³ RAGONE 2003; RAGONE 2008, RAGONE 2013; MELE 2014, 63 ff.

⁴ On this subject, I refer the reader to A.C. Cassio's essay in this volume.

⁵ In support of this observation, RAGONE 2008, 45 f. note 18 cites

the maps published by KODER 1973, 30-31 figs. 1-5, who does not distinguish between Kyme and Chimi.

⁶ RAGONE 2008, 44 note 14. The history of the issue is outlined by FACHARD 2012, 68 note 145. The name of the demos is mentioned in the inscription IG XII.9, 249, variously dated between the fourth and the third century BC (FACHARD 2012, 64 note 97, fig. 241).

⁷ Cf., most recently, KNÖPFLER – ACKERMANN 2012, fig. 13.

the tradition relative to Kumi from that relative to Chimi, believes that the passage could be emended by referring it to Chimi⁸.

The correction “Kumi”, however, would be more acceptable, as this form is attested in the very same years in a census carried out immediately after the fall of Negroponte and the inclusion of the island among the possessions of the Sublime Porta. The toponym Kumi is attested in two registers recording two versions – one short, the other extensive – of this census, which is accurately dated to AD 1474 by its Hegira date. These registers were published by E. Balta in 1989, in an edition accompanied by a vast interpretive apparatus⁹. The census records 125 settlements (towns and villages) grouped in 9 districts (*nahiye*): an important detail, because it allows us to form an idea of the approximate location of a toponym even when its exact position is not known. For each settlement, the census indicates: the number of houses (hearths) and widows, the name of the inhabitants, their income in grain and vineyards, and the taxes they pay. Along with the names of the settlements, those of holdings (*mezra'a*) are also indicated, and usually attributed to one or another district.

E. Balta interprets this evidence by comparing it with the registers of two later censuses (1506, 1521-1522), with the register of the first census carried out by the Greek state in 1837, and with the publications of the Commissions of Toponyms of Greece directed by N. Politis. This massive documentation gives a rough idea of local development (or desertification) processes, both in demographic and economic terms. It also makes it possible to identify settlements that changed their name over time. For each, the original name is indicated along with the subsequent one, as well as the current one,

if different from the previous two.

Of the nine districts, the one the area we are interested in here was part of the *nahiye* of Monodri (Monodrion). In both the registers of 1474, the settlements of this district include the “village of Kumi”¹⁰, which is reported to comprise 29 hearths and 3 widows. An interesting picture is provided of the village’s animal husbandry and agriculture, with particular emphasis on wine growing.

From the scarce data available, it appears that the district of Monodri was especially stable over time. However, the census of 1474 indicates that, at the time when Euboea came under the authority of the Sublime Porta, the village of Kumi was reduced to a few families. If we accept the suggested reading of the passage in Stefano Magno, we could suppose that the depopulation of the village was a consequence of the ravages wrought by the Ottoman army in 1470¹¹.

It is hard to determine at what time the village attained (or recovered?) the size of a small city. It is likely that its takeoff began in the course of the eighteenth century¹², when it regained the visibility in maps it had lacked during the previous centuries. The recovery of the district’s economy in this period is confirmed by the testimony of Leake¹³, who tells us that, at the time of his visit in 1805, the Kastrolá and Kumi area yielded the largest quantity of wine produced in Euboea. This wine was shipped to Smirne and the Black Sea, along a route favoring the northeastern shores of the Aegean.

The microhistory of Kyme thus helps us to understand the reasons for the omission of this settlement in early maps, an omission that – as we will see – lasted until Stuart’s periplus in 1754.

2. HISTORICAL MAPS

Doubts concerning the existence of a Kyme in Euboea (Fig. 1) have been fueled by the belated appearance of the toponym in early geographical

⁸ KODER 1973, 107.

⁹ BALTA 1989. They bear the date of 10 March 1474. Their language is old Turkish, written in the *siyakat* alphabet. Balta provides a photographic reproduction, a transcription in modern Turkish, and a French translation. That the pronunciation was Kumi is documented, among other things, by an email sent to me by E. Balta of July 2017: «In the registers I read the following letters. I give you the transcription K U M I (the letter U is not a vowel in the Ottoman script). It is the letter vav. There is no doubt about the spelling. I have to say that my late professor Stamatis Karatzas, a linguist from Kymi, called his fatherland Koumi. The village of Kumi/Kymi appears in the next Ottoman registers of the Islands with the same form Koumi». On this subject, see A.C. Cassio’s essay in the present volume.

¹⁰ BALTA 1989, 328.

¹¹ This hypothesis is shared by PONTIKIS 2001b.

¹² According to local tradition, the village’s revival began indeed during the eighteenth century, cf. WHEELER 2007, 91; PONTIKIS 2001b.

¹³ LEAKE 1835, 253-254.

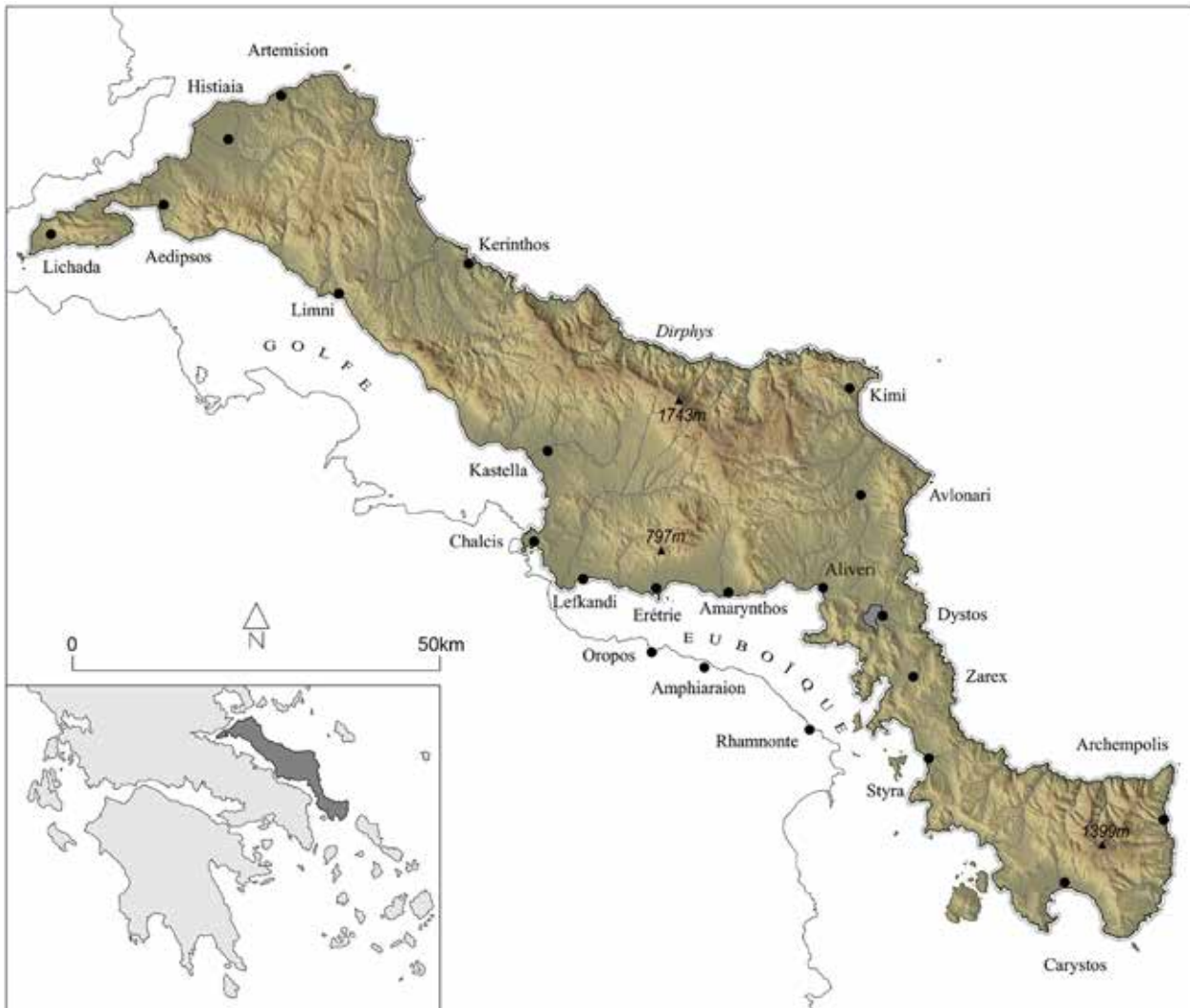


Fig. 1. The Euboea (©ESAG, Th. Theurillat, by courtesy of the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece)

maps. We know, however, that the drawing up of maps is a complex process. They rely to a certain extent on traditional knowledge, selecting information differently depending on whether they are political or historical maps. Knowledge of places, as well as their relevance in the general picture at the time when the map is drawn up, weigh heavily in this process.

I need to specify that in the present section I do not merely intend to record the presence/absence in maps of the poleonym Kyme and its derivations; I also intend to ascertain how well known the island was, starting from the plotting of its geographical conformation. What I would like to show is how the eastern versant of the island remained practically invisible for a long period. Indeed, in some maps the coast of this side of the island is represented as a

straight line. The only feature on this side that makes an early appearance is the *koila Euboias*, a horrid and inhospitable presence, regularly featured in ancient sources¹⁴, which cautioned against navigating from north to south and vice versa, and seemed *de facto* to require anyone who wished to depart from the island to follow the route which – down to this day – leads from the Gulf of Kyme to Skyros and the Chalkidiki.

¹⁴ Cf. 'Euboea' s.v., in *RE*, which cites HDT. VIII.13, STR. X.445, and LIV. XXXI.47, among others. GEORGANTZOGLOU undated. In the sources, there sometimes seems to be a confusion between the dangers of the *koila* along the eastern coast and those posed by the effects of changing sea levels on the Euripus (the *palirroia tou Euripou*, STR. IX.2.8 = C403; cf. X.1.2 = C445). However, Herodotus' account of the battle of the Artemision (HDT. VIII.13) implies that the *koila* were on the east coast, south of the Chersonesos.

As regards Euboea, the family tree (*Stammbaum*) of its maps has been drawn by Koder 1973, to whom we owe a thorough examination of the historical maps of Euboea¹⁵. The first map of the island at a relatively large scale is the one published in 1420 by Cristoforo Buondelmonti (Fig. 2.1)¹⁶, where the contours of Euboea are quite correct, in spite of a few inaccuracies. A more reliable map was published by Bartolomeo delli Sonetti in 1485¹⁷, after the island's conquest by the Ottoman army. The new situation restored a role to the Aegean coast of the island, a natural object of Constantinople's interest.

In 1540, Nikolaos Sophianos published a great map of Greece. This map was copied and plagiarized for some forty years, before reaching a standardized final form in 1578¹⁸. It was drawn up in the wake of Ptolemy's *Geography*¹⁹, compared to which it makes some innovative choices²⁰. Besides Ptolemy, Tolia includes among its sources Pausanias, Virgil, Livy, Eustace, and Stephanus of Byzantium. The last of these authors is also, as we have seen, the only ancient writer to mention a Kyme in Euboea. Significantly, however, there is no trace of this settlement in Sophianos' map, in other maps of Euboea published in Italy in the wake of Buondelmonti's, or in the lists of Byzantine toponyms studied by Diller²¹.

¹⁵ KODER 1973, 28 ff., "*Die frühe Kartographie*", which traces to Buondelmonti the maps published in Italy until the late eighteenth century. Cf. also TOLIAS 2006; BLACKLER 2017.

¹⁶ KODER 1973, fig. 2; BLACKLER 2017, 656 fig. 2.

¹⁷ BLACKLER 2017, 656 f. fig. 3. For a more adequate assessment of the map of the Isolaro, cf. the copy available at archive.org/details/isolaro00bart.

¹⁸ This is the date given in Ortelius' historical atlas: TOLIAS 2006, 150 ff. In Sophianos' map, «all the geographical material recorded... refers to antiquity», a feature that is responsible for this map being the main source for Ortelius' *Parergon*, published in 1579.

¹⁹ In the years 1406-1409, Jacopo Angeli da Scarperia was the first to translate into Latin the text of Ptolemy's *Geography*. He dedicated the translation to popes Gregory XII and Alexander V. In 1477, the first edition of Ptolemy including maps was published at Bologna by D. de Lapis.

²⁰ TOLIAS 2006 fig. 14, from SOPHIANOS 1552. The map is enriched by a list of the 276 ancient toponyms represented in it alongside their modern equivalents and their variants. The table, called *Nomina antiqua et recentia*, is published in GERBEL 1545; TOLIAS 2006, fig. 4 reproduces its incipit. Cf. also TOLIAS 2009.

²¹ DILLER 1970.

A significant innovation came about in the milieu of court geographers in late-eighteenth-century Great Britain²². Among these – as far as maps of Greece are concerned – the names that stand out are those of William Faden, the geographer of George III, and Aaron Arrowsmith, who collaborated with Faden and later became Hydrographer, first of the Prince of Wales and then of the King.

Still in the map published by Faden in his 1785 atlas, the place of present-day Kyme is marked with the toponym Leros²³. This name – as we gather from the writings of J. Russegger – designated the Kastro of A. Georghios²⁴, which stood above the convent of the Holy Savior.

The innovation can be found in the map published by Faden a few years later, in 1791. As its legend explicitly states, it is based on a map by L.S. de la Rochette, but «for the country round Athens, or Ancient Attica, the passes of Thermopyles and of the valley of Tempe with the surrounding parts, and for the isles of Zante and Negroponte, use has been made of the papers of Mr. Stuart»²⁵. It is known that J. Stuart, besides producing the renowned publication of the monuments of Athens, also had a keen interest in Euboea, such as to induce him, in 1754, to draw up "*einen herrlichen Periplus*" of the western coast of the island. I have reason to believe that this was, instead, the eastern coast, since by *communis opinio* this was the less well-known part of the island²⁶. The derivation of the 1791 map from a map by Stuart is given for granted by Fachard, who refers to the two maps as if they were one and the same²⁷.

It is to Stuart that we owe the innovative designation of the bay north of Cape Ochthonia (Cherson-

²² A title sported by individuals whose task it was to find and draw up maps; cf. SPONBERG 2005, 33.

²³ The toponym already occurs in D'Anville's map of 1756 and resurfaces in Arrowsmith's of 1801-1804. It is likely that it was derived from the toponym Loreo, recorded in the earlier maps.

²⁴ RUSSEGGER, *Reisen*; cf. KODER 1973, 106 f. On the Kastro of A. Georghios, see below note 36.

²⁵ On the sources of the map by la Rochette-Faden, cf. KRUSE 1825, 103 ff. (123-124).

²⁶ KRUSE 1825, 105 note 50. If this were not the case, the following observation would not make any sense: «*Dieser ist um so schätzbarer, da sonst kein einziger der ältern und neueren Reisenden diese Küste besucht hat*».

²⁷ FACHARD 2012, 66 specifies that he consulted Stuart's map in the library of the Corpus Christi College in Oxford.



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Fig. 2

1. Map by Buondelmonti (1420)
2. Map by la Rochette (1791)
3. Map by Arrowsmith (1804)

sos) as the “Bay of Kumi” (Fig. 2.2). This designation returns in Arrowsmith’s map (1801-1804), where the name of the bay appears alongside that of the poleonym Kumi, which marks the modern town (Fig. 2.3). After de La Rochette’s map, the poleonym Kumi appears in all subsequent maps. For example, it is clearly indicated in the fine map published by Marzolla in 1846, which represents the «Kingdom of Greece and the Republic of the Ionian Islands»²⁸. The poleonym marks the site of the modern settlement and is accompanied by the indication – in smaller type – of a watercourse called *f*.

²⁸ This map was made to reflect the current situation. Thus, it does not include no longer existing ancient features, but provides dense and very interesting information about the institutional, demographic, and economic situation.

Kumi. This may be identical with the stream called *Komatourias pigi*, on which more below²⁹.

In our quest for ancient Kyme, I think we need to distinguish the occurrence of the designation Kumi/Koumi from that of the toponym Chimi, which is possibly already recognizable in a document dating from the year 1278³⁰. Koder gives the identification of this designation with *Kyme* for granted³¹. However, as Ragone observes, the toponym Chimi is always placed «at the south end of the island, be-

²⁹ See below note 40.

³⁰ The document of 1278 is cited by RAGONE 2008, 44 note 15 (*scholium de lo Chimo*).

³¹ KODER – HILD 1976, 196. For attestations of the toponym Chimi, see Koder’s valuable prospectus of the names of settlements and villages mentioned in *portolani* and earlier maps, KODER 1973, 30-31.



Fig. 3. The bay of Kyme

tween the promontories of Capharaeus and Geraestus»³². In my opinion, the occurrence in several maps of both Kumi, in the location of the present-day town of Kyme, and Chimi/Kimi or P(ortus) Kimi³³, placed as usual at the south end of the south-east coast of the island, proves that there is no relationship between these two designations.

As we have seen, the poleonym Kumi is left out of maps until the late eighteenth century.

The omission, however, is a consequence both of scarce interest in the east coast of Euboea at a time when the island was strongly gravitating towards the west, and of the extreme shrinking of the settlement as a consequence of the Ottoman conquest of the island.

³² In support of this observation, RAGONE 2008, 45 f. note 18 cites precisely the maps published by KODER 1973, figs. 1-5, pages 30-31, 61, 107. Chimi's position could correspond to that of the ancient site of Archampolis: KELLER 1984; PANAYOTOPOULOU 1995. In sixteenth and seventeenth century maps, Chimi is a settlement and also an anchorage, and lies near a site called Thumi (?!).

³³ Cf. BRUÉ 1826; LAPIE 1828; MARZOLLA 1846.

3. THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE³⁴

The territory of Kyme³⁵ looks onto the vast bay (Fig. 3) extending from cape Kyme to the north to cape Ochthonia (Chersonesos) to the south. Cape Kyme is dominated by a rocky height bordered to the east by cliffs descending precipitously to the Aegean and thus accessible only from the west. It was guarded by an imposing fortification, which in the course of time was known by different names: Kavo, Charakopyrgos, Kastaro, and now Kastro of A. Georgihs (F140)³⁶. Regarded as Mycenaean by Papa-

³⁴ The following text draws on FACHARD 2012. On the archaeological evidence from the territory of Kyme, cf. now LEMOS 2020, 799-800.

³⁵ The area under consideration includes much of the foothill and coastal area of districts IV and V or the Eretriad: cf. KNÖPFLER 2013, 54 fig. 1.

³⁶ SACKETT *et al.* 1966, 76 no. 83; SKOURA 2003, 75 no. 79; FACHARD 2012, 198 no. 140: Kavos. A small church dedicated to St. George still stands outside the enclosure. I think this must be the "venezianische Festigungsanlage" mentioned by KODER 1973, 106 f., 153. On this subject, M. Pontikis' impassioned article is very useful (PONTIKIS 2001b). Two more fortifications guarded the cape, cf. SKOURA 2003, 75 f. no. 80 (*Ochyro Chilis*), as well as the no longer extant tower of *Moni Sotiros*, SKOURA 2003, 76 no. 81.

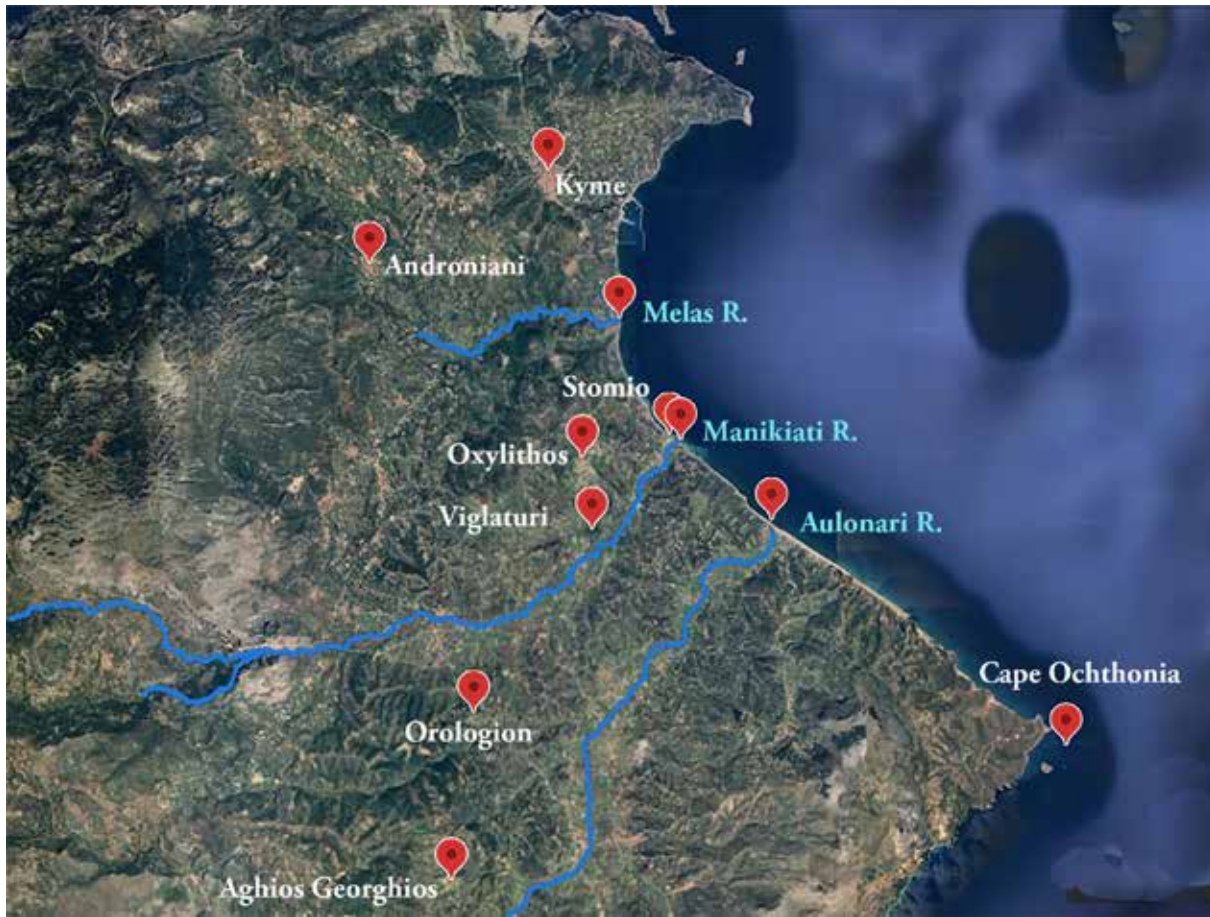


Fig. 4. The bay of Kyme with the archaeological sites (Google Earth image modified by P. Gastaldi)

vasilieiou³⁷, according to Sackett 1966 it could be «a fourth-century stronghold like Philagra and Kastri», a hypothesis that Fachard does not rule out. It dominated the bay and the inland plateau of Missokambos. At the foot of the castrum, on the slopes of Mount Dirphys (300 m asl), lies the ancient monastery of Sotira, «à l'emplacement d'un site antique qui resterait à découvrir»³⁸. The location offers «a view along the Euboean coast, north and south, and reaching as far as Skyros, the Sporades and Mt. Athos»³⁹. Southwest of the fortress runs a stream called *Komatourias pigi*, which Fachard connects to the name of the demos *Komaieis*, in the area of Kyme⁴⁰.

The area is accessed by a transversal route that «constitutes one of the easiest land routes through

Euboea to the Aegean». This is Fachard's route IV, which, according to this scholar, «may date back to the Mycenaean period»⁴¹. It departs from the vast coastal valley of Aliveri and runs alongside the Euripus. After passing the gorge of Lophiskos, south of Avlonari (La Valona or Valona), the route proceeds northeastwards, through a «fertile rolling hill country to the series of thickly populated coastal valleys near Kyme». This route was preferred to the other, more difficult one, that goes directly from Ertria to Oxyolithos.

In the medieval and modern periods, the access to the valley was protected by the most elaborate system of ramparts and towers of the whole island⁴²,

³⁷ PAPAVALSILEIOU 1910, 32.

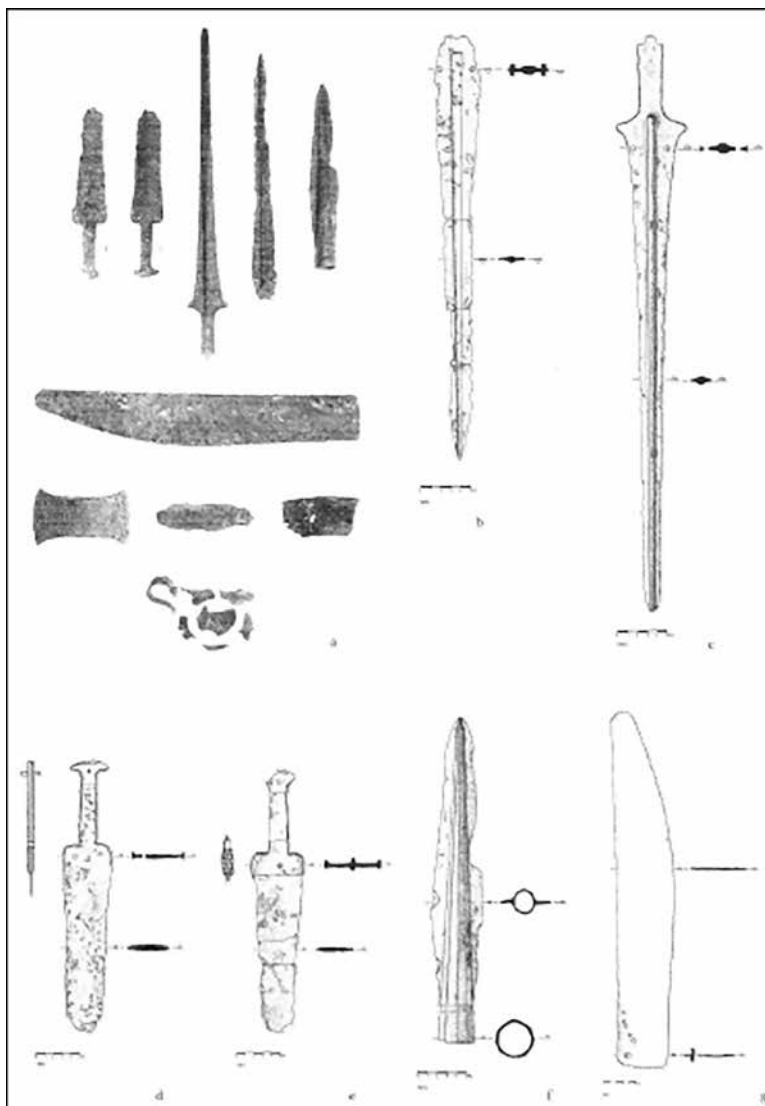
³⁸ FACHARD 2012, 66 note 171. Cf. KODER 1973, 153; SKOURA 2003, 76 no. 81.

³⁹ SACKETT *et al.* 1966, 76 ff. no. 83 (the citation is drawn from note 126).

⁴⁰ FACHARD 2012, 69 note 150.

⁴¹ FACHARD 2012, 105 ff., note 54: the fourth itinerary is the one «de Porthmos à l'Égée par Tamynai». The localization of Tamynai, however, is moot: cf. KOUROU 2011.

⁴² SACKETT *et al.* 1966, 68 ff., note 103, who, along with the mention of this defensive system, in a few lines provides the most effective description of the natural environment and the significance of this area: KODER 1973, 95 ff. (especially 98); SKOURA 2003.



1



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Fig. 5
1. The Androniani "Hoard"
(from PASCHALIDIS 2007)
2. Kyme. Oxhide ingot
(from SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1984)

bearing witness to constant fear of incursions of pirates coming from Skyros, the Sporades, and, in general, the northern Aegean area. This was a district boasting good grazing grounds and, above all, vineyards⁴³. For this reason, it was considered to be the «most fertile region of Euboea and one of the most bountiful of all of Greece»⁴⁴. Almost all the finds made in the Kymaeen territory are fortuitous and rather remote in time. While some significant evidence has come to light, all these materials are now dispersed or forgotten. A short overview should thus be useful. Specifically, I will review ar-

⁴³ LEAKE 1835, 253-54.

⁴⁴ This picture emerges from the available data for the Middle Ages and is fleshed out by Deprat's description (DEPRAT 1904) and one by the Information Service of the British Navy (1945).

chaeological finds from the Mycenaean to the Geometric period.

The area under consideration can be divided into three strips, marked by the presence of three watercourses (Fig. 4). From north to south, one encounters: the Melas (Skoteiné), which runs through the territory of Kyme; the Manikiati, which runs immediately south of Oxyolithos (F119)⁴⁵ and is flanked by the sites where most of the Mycenaean tombs stood; and the Avlonari, at the center of a settlement system revolving around the Paleokastro of Avlonari (F108).

⁴⁵ FACHARD 2012, 324-325, no. 119. According to SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1998, 62 the river Manikias, or Manikiati, corresponds to the ancient Acheloos.

A single discovery was made in the area north of the Melas river, but an exceptional one. In 1940, at Androniani (F143), a village along the upper course of the Melas, the ephor of Thebes, Threpsiades, found a not-better-described “chamber tomb”⁴⁶ containing an exceptional assemblage of bronzes⁴⁷ (Fig. 5.1). It included two long swords⁴⁸, two short swords, a spearhead, a saw, a double axe, a razor, a dagger, and a phiale. The assemblage has a close parallel in a LHIIIA1 tomb at Archanes. The exceptional assemblage from Androniani dates from LH II or LH IIIA1 (ca. 1450-1350 BC), and thus belongs within a time range that is not too far removed from that of another exceptional find, that of nineteen copper ingots⁴⁹ (Fig. 5.2) fished out of the sea in the port of Kumi at the beginning of the last century. As I. Lemos writes, «The finds at Androniani and Kyme... suggest that the whole of Euboea was involved in long distance exchanges in the Mycenaean period, and not only the coast along the Gulf»⁵⁰. I will be returning to this subject below.

At the mouth of the Melas (Platana F134), the «sea penetrates slightly, forming a sort of small lagoon»⁵¹. This lagoon may have housed an anchorage, according to a pattern that is well documented at the turn of the first millennium. Indeed, Schachermeyer and other scholars interpreted it as a Mycenaean anchorage. Their hypothesis is not shared by Fachard, because the lagoon is not sheltered from the winds⁵². The only attestation of Mycenaean

presence in the area is a bronze dagger found slightly further to the north, at Enoria (F136)⁵³.

The finds relative to the Mycenaean period are concentrated around the mouth of the Manikiati, downstream from Paleokastro-Viglatouri (F119) (Fig. 6). The latter was the most important protohistoric center in the area and is the only one that has been the object of regular excavation campaigns. It lies on «a high hill that emerges like an islet above the alluvial plain» (Fachard) and dominates the course of the river from the left, before a large bend that leads to the river’s mouth. The hill slopes down gently southwestward, towards the church of Haghia Triada, whereas towards the river it descends in terraces, on one of which the excavation was carried out. Earlier surveys by British archaeologists had already revealed significant traces of activity from the Early to the Middle and Recent Bronze, encouraging the conclusion that this must have been the «site of the principal settlement in this valley and in the surrounding area»⁵⁴.

The site of Viglatouri (Fig. 7) is known to us thanks to a comprehensive overview of the results of the excavation campaigns of 1994 and 1997 presented by E. Sapouna-Sakellarakis at the *Euboica* conference held in 1996 and published in 1998⁵⁵. While this overview focuses on the Geometric period, it includes a plan, organized by phases, which also allows earlier horizons to be detected. Notably, there are extensive traces of a Middle Bronze Age settlement already including at least one imposing quadrangular building, located north of the temenos of the Geometric period.

There are even more substantial traces of a Mycenaean settlement. Parallel and close to the east wall of the temenos runs a powerful perimeter wall, which encloses a building which Sapouna-Sakellarakis identifies as a megaron belonging to «a highly important Mycenaean sanctuary». It is likely that a Psi-shaped figurine, whose exact provenance is

⁴⁶ PASCHALIDIS 2005; PASCHALIDIS 2007. In the lack of accurate information about the excavation context, Paschalidis prefers to define the assemblage, which is composed exclusively of bronzes, as “a hoard”.

⁴⁷ SACKETT *et al.* 1966, 75 no. 80; SAMPSON 1981, 50 no. 18; FACHARD 2012, 329 no. 140.

⁴⁸ Ascribable to type A and the cruciform type C in the typology of KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1993. Type A occurs from MH II to LH II, type C from LH II to LH IIIA2.

⁴⁹ See below, note 82. They belong to Buchholz’s type Ib. On the find circumstances, see SVORONOS 1906, 168 note 1, who mentions that in the register of the Archaeological Museum of Athens (where they are listed as no. 13051) they are recorded as coming from the port of Chalkis; the attribution to the Kyme, however, has been confirmed by SACKETT *et al.* 1966, no. 82, 75-76 note 125. For a bibliography and contextualization of these ingots, see PASCHALIDIS 2007, 436 ff. note 21 (with an appendix by Andreopoulou-Mangou), who dates them to the «late 15th or early 14th c. BC». See also FACHARD 2012, 328 note 358; KNOELL 2013, 188.

⁵⁰ Cf. I. Lemos, note 12, in the present volume.

⁵¹ SAMPSON 1981, note 20; FACHARD 2012, 327-328, no. 134.

⁵² FACHARD 2012, 328 note 357, however, does not rule out that this was the coastal outlet of the settlement of Potamia F135 investigated by Sampson; however this site has not yielded anything

earlier than the fourth century BC. Cf., most recently, CHATZIDIMITRIOU 2001.

⁵³ FACHARD 2012, 328, no. 136.

⁵⁴ SACKETT *et al.* 1966, 73 no. 75 fig. 13 (before the excavation): the ancient structure reported by Sackett on the hill of Palaiokastro investigated in September 1994, turned out to be «a small fort dating from Roman times». FACHARD 2012, 324-325, no. 119; SAMPSON 1981, 48, 53 no. 11.

⁵⁵ SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1998; SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 2001.

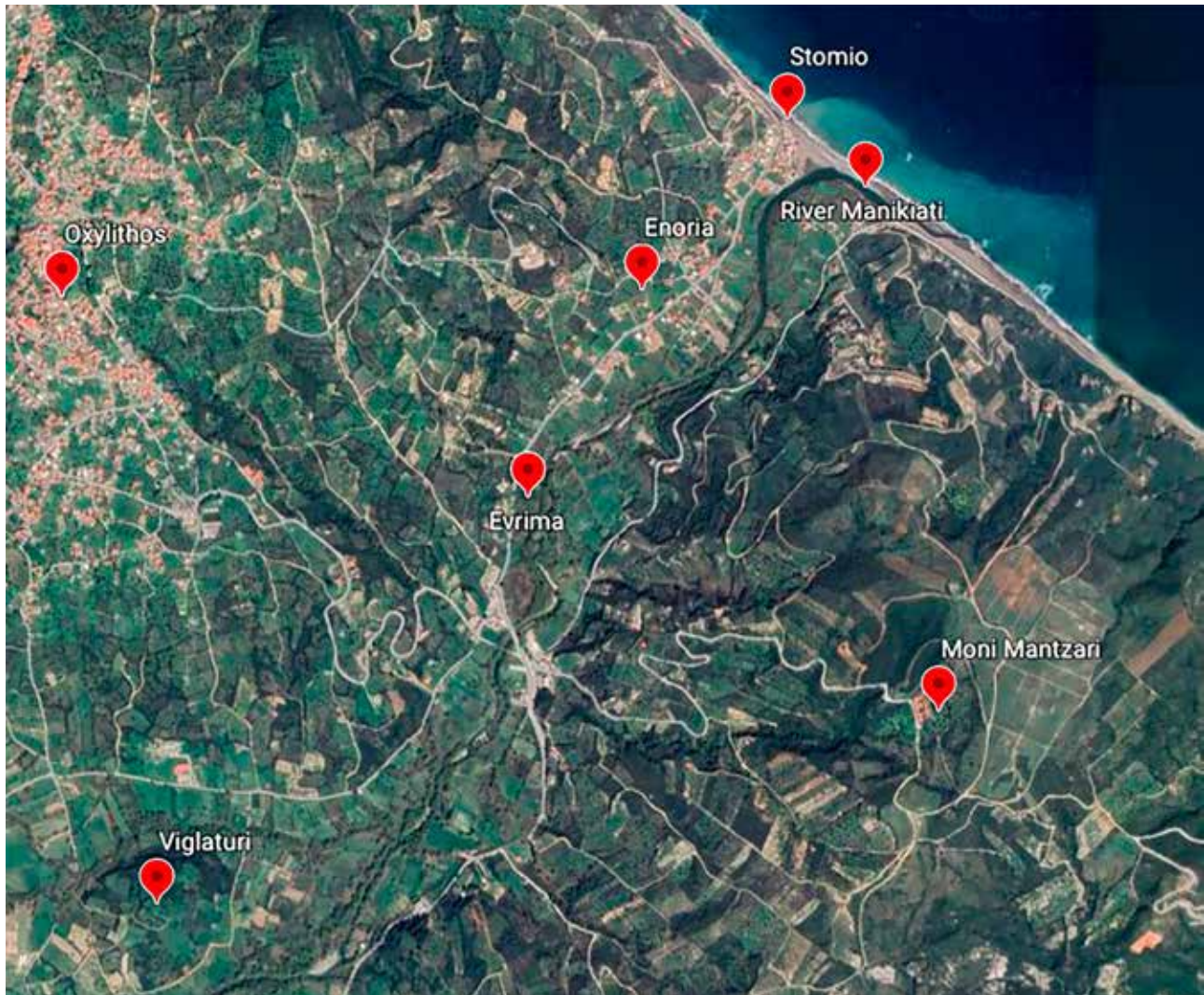


Fig. 6. Viglaturi-Paleokastro and the Manikiati valley (Google Earth image modified by P. Gastaldi)

not indicated, comes from this building. Additionally, metalworking scraps were found near it⁵⁶. Walls relative to other Mycenaean structures were recorded in the “central area”. They seem to point to the existence of a structured settlement in this period. However, we do not know if these remains are relative to one or more phases. What is certain is only that the settlement was active in phase IIIC, as can be evinced from the presence of kylikes «with ribbed stems» from this period, and from the above-mentioned figurine. One tomb is ascribed to the SubMycenaean period⁵⁷.

⁵⁶ SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1998, 61 ss, 70, 85, where the discovery is reported, «near the Mycenaean sanctuary», of «waste» derived from «metal working». The “Psi-shaped” figurine is shown in fig. 32.1.

⁵⁷ On the kylikes, cf. EDER 2006, 122; EDER 2015, 122 s., note

According to Sapouna-Sakellaraki, the walls of the Middle Geometric phase, to which the oval building belongs, overlie earlier vestiges, ascribable to «Protogeometric buildings in *insulae*»⁵⁸. Four tombs found outside the temenos are also ascribed to this period⁵⁹.

The existence of an earlier Geometric phase is proved by the remains of an apsidal building⁶⁰, for which the oval building of the Middle Geometric II (800-760 BC) constitutes a *terminus ante quem*.

The oval building, the most important monu-

48 for the type’s lingering on until the Early Iron Age. Tomb 1 is in fig. 30.21.

⁵⁸ SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1998, 85.

⁵⁹ SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1998, fig. 30.16, 22, 23 at east of the *temenos*, fig. 30.24 at west of it. Cf. MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2007-2008, 373.

⁶⁰ SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1998, fig. 30.12.



Fig. 7. The hill of Viglaturi-Paleokastro and the archaeological excavations 1994-1996 (Google Earth image modified by P. Gastaldi)

ment in the part of the settlement brought to light, is oriented north-south, like the earlier Mycenaean building. It measured 4.90 x 9 m and was divided in two sectors, one of which had a stone-slab floor. It overlays a round structure (“paved circle”) which sealed, in its turn, a group of four stone cists. The cists and circles yielded animal bones, loom weights, iron tools (especially knives), and pottery, with a prevalence of wine vases (craters, oinochoai, cups) dated to MG II.

As I mentioned, the oval building lies within a temenos also encompassing a vast area extending north of it. In this portion, too, one finds a large paved circle⁶¹ containing the same assemblage of objects found in similar structures, and an *eschara*⁶², at the base of which was a bronze cup.

The paved circles resemble buildings that are well known in the Cyclades and in other localities in Greece, and are usually interpreted as venues for ancestral cults. Recent finds relative to Late Helladic phase IIIC at Lefkandi show that paved circles appear as early as the twelfth century BC. The opin-

ion that this type of structure was ceremonial in character has found authoritative support⁶³. It is confirmed by the assortment of objects found in the cists, circles, and *escharai*. As Sapouna-Sakellaraki observes, «the large number and nature of the artefacts concentrated in the northern part – kraters, skyphoi, metal objects and beads» bears witness to the importance of the complex and its character as a place of memory⁶⁴.

The size of this complex and its long life are evidence that the settlement must have played a significant role in the political and economic context of the region. Since it lays 3 km inland, it lacked immediate access to the sea. However, it is likely that it used an anchorage in the mouth of the river. At this very location, at Paralia-Stomio (F121), the discovery of a chamber tomb of LH II-III A, and possibly of a whole cemetery, is reported⁶⁵.

Further Mycenaean monumental tombs were found on either side of the mouth of the Manikiati,

⁶¹ SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1998, fig. 30.3.

⁶² SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1998, fig. 30.18.

⁶³ Cf. LEMOS 2020, 792; I. Lemos, in the present volume; KOUROU 2015, 96.

⁶⁴ SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1998, 86.

⁶⁵ SACKETT *et al.* 1966, 74 no. 78; FACHARD, 2012, 326, no. 121.

at Moni Mantzari (F117) and Evrima (F122)⁶⁶. It is likely that they were part of as many cemeteries. The vases among their grave-goods date them to LH IIIA2-LH IIIB.

In logistic terms, the site of Viglaturi lays in a strategic position. It controlled the road connecting Kyme with Aulonari and the south of the island. Furthermore, it was the terminal of an inland route connecting the bay of Kyme with Amarynthos and the bay of Eretria⁶⁷; the antiquity of this route is suggested by the fact that near it, in the small town of Orologion (F113), two Mycenaean tholos tombs datable to LH IIIC came to light in the 1970s⁶⁸.

As regards traces of Mycenaean presence, which are so significant around the mouth of the Manikiatitis, they appear to be lacking in the group of settlements gathered around Avlonari, although they have yielded much evidence of activity in the earlier phases of the Bronze Age. The only exception is the site of Aghios Georghios (F111)⁶⁹. Here, the scarce available information seems to point to the existence of a Mycenaean cemetery, which included a chamber tomb datable to the twelfth century BC and hence coeval with the two *tholoi* at Orologion. The tomb, whose assemblage of bronzes and pottery is preserved, has been in course of publication for years⁷⁰.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The above overview of the archaeological evidence bears witness to the remarkable dynamism of this stretch of the east coast of Euboea during the long time range from the Recent Bronze Age to the Geometric period. A line of continuity is suggested by the results of the recent excavations in Lefkandi: as I. Lemos says, «Euboea's role in maritime connectivity goes back to the Late Bronze Age and exchanges were never really interrupted in the transition to the EIA even if they operated in a different

scale and mode»⁷¹. Although, in the present state of our knowledge, the most abundant evidence is undoubtedly that relative to the Mycenaean period, during the first centuries of the first millennium there existed at least two important settlements, Kerinthos and Oichalia-Viglaturi, reflecting long-run settlement choices⁷².

Kerinthos is featured in the Catalogue of Ships, which today is credited as a reliable source⁷³. We know from Theognis (891-894) that the city was destroyed by one of the Cypselides. The poet bemoans its end and that of the *oinopedon* of Lelantos. Unless this is a *topos*, the association is meant to indicate the strong connection between the two versants of the island.

Located near the mouth of the Boudoros river, Kerinthos is a preferred site, showing traces of activity from the Early Helladic until the Hellenistic period (Fig. 8.1-2). The less represented period used to be the Mycenaean one⁷⁴, but it is documented by the recent publication of a few sherds from a surface collection⁷⁵. Significant finds of Protogeometric and Geometric pottery, already reported by Sackett, have been recently confirmed by Mazarakis Ainian, who points out that the layout of the site is similar to Lefkandi's (Fig. 9.1), as recent geomorphological tests have shown⁷⁶. It extended over two hills, that of Kastri and that of the Pr. Elias, parallel to the coast, between which penetrated «a coastal embayment (Fig. 9.2) that would provide excellent natural shelter in the otherwise inhospitable Aegean coast, with the Kerinthos acropolis strategically positioned to watch over ancient port facilities inside it» (Fig. 9.3). Sampson's trial excavations have confirmed the significance of the settlement in the Early Iron Age. The scanty available evidence suggests that Kerinthos was a major settlement in the Early Iron Age and an important port of call on the

⁶⁶ HANKEY 1952; SACKETT *et al.* 1966, 73 s., nos. 76, 77, 78; FACHARD 2012, 324, 326, nos. 117, 122.

⁶⁷ FACHARD 2012, itinerary III, 121 ff.

⁶⁸ FACHARD 2012, 323 no. 113.

⁶⁹ FACHARD 2012, 323 no. 111.

⁷⁰ PASCHALIDIS 2007, 436 note 23, announcing the imminent publication of a report by D. Kokkevi-Fotiou in the acts of the Chalkis conference of 2004, which have never been published.

⁷¹ I. Lemos, in the present volume.

⁷² For the localization of Oichalia, see below, notes 78-80.

⁷³ HOM. *Il.* II. 536-539. On the Catalogue, see most recently EDER 2003. A.R. I. 71-85, home of Canthus, one of the Argonauts.

⁷⁴ SACKETT *et al.* 1966, 43 f.; NIKOLOPOULOS 2003, 353 ff. mentions the discovery of fragments of LH IIIB along with bronze fusion scraps on the hill of Peleki (Kastri).

⁷⁵ The fragments, published by SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1996, include a Psi-shaped figurine and a sherd of a kylix foot of LH IIIC, similar to those found at Viglaturi.

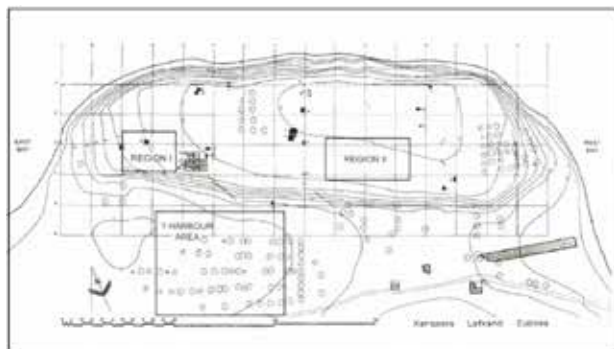
⁷⁶ MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012, 55. On the geomorphology of Lefkandi, cf. LEMOS 2007, 129 fig. 1; LEMOS 2011-2012, 22 f.



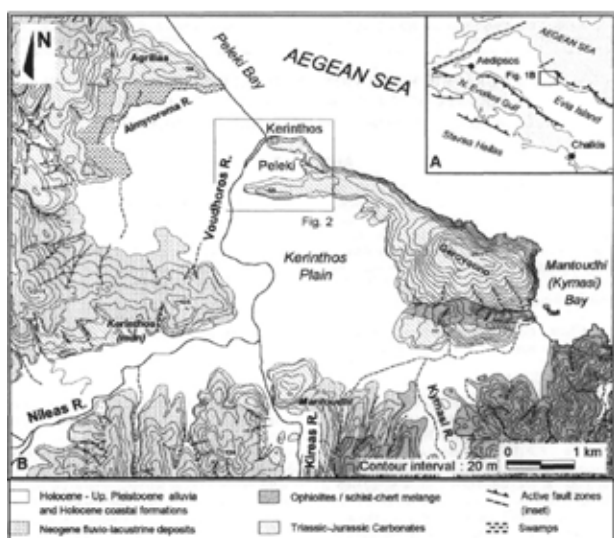
Fig. 8.1. Kerinthos (Google Earth image modified by P. Gastaldi)



Fig. 8.2. Kerinthos – The hill of Kastro from the east (from Google Earth)



1



2



3

Fig. 9

1. Map of Lefkandi (from LEMOS 2007)
2. Kerinthos - Geological map (from MAROUKIAN *et al.* 2001)
3. Kerinthos - The hill of Kastri from the south

trade route leading on to the Sporades and the northern Aegean⁷⁷.

As to Oichalia, as Fachard acutely observes, «l'origine du toponyme et son passé mythique suggèrent une occupation à l'âge du Bronze»⁷⁸. Strabo and Pausanias mention the cities by the same name vying with one another for identification with the one destroyed by Herakles⁷⁹. Strabo, however, does not seem to have any doubts regarding the identification of the latter with the Euboean Oichalia,

⁷⁷ PERNIER 1916-1920; SAMPSON 1975; McALLISTER 1976; SAMPSON 1979 specifically mentions the occurrence of PSC skyphoi. On the geomorphology, cf. MAROUKIAN *et al.* 2001. SACKETT *et al.* 1966, 43 already observes that «a small enclosed plain... formed by the two hills... looks as if it were once a bay».

⁷⁸ FACHARD 2012, 66 f. For the sources, see PHILIPPSON, 'Euboeia' s.v., in *RE*. The antiquity of Oichalia in Euboea was still known to Pliny, who mentions its past as an independent city, later reduced to a village following the invasion of the Ellopes and then fallen under the rule of Eretria.

⁷⁹ STR. IX.5.17; PAUS. IV.2.3. On the subject, cf. TALAMO 1975.

where, he says, the remains of the city destroyed by the hero were to be seen (STR. X.1.10). Further evidence for the historical reality of Oichalia and its approximate location is brought by the existence of a demos documented in inscriptions⁸⁰. D. Knöpfler has the merit of having narrowed down the location of the city by convincingly correcting the text of Pausanias, who relates Hecataeus' indication that it stood opposite Skyros⁸¹.

The identification of Oichalia with Viglaturi, authoritatively argued for by Knöpfler and Fachard,

⁸⁰ Cf. FACHARD 2012, 66 f. The demos, which lies in district V, is mentioned in the catalogues IG XII 9, 241 and 245. On «Oichalia kome tes Eretrikes», cf. STR. X.1.10; PLIN. *NH* IV.64.

⁸¹ KNÖPFLER 1997, 386 f., on PAUS. IV.2.3: «en Skio moira tes Eretrikes». In the light of his exceptionally thorough knowledge of the administrative geography of the territory of Eretria, this scholar hypothesizes the existence of a *phyle Iphitis* having its religious center in Oichalia, cf. KNÖPFLER – ACKERMANN 2012, 948, with further literature.

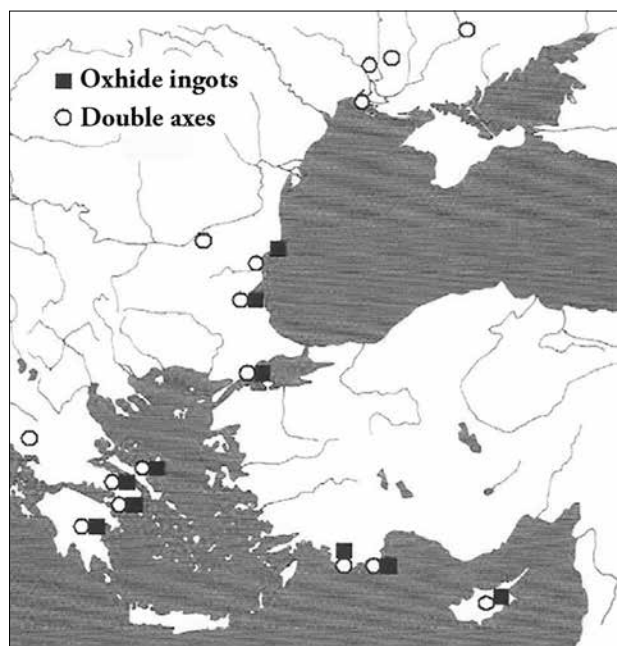


Fig. 10. Distribution map of selected oxhide ingots and double axes from Cyprus, to the Aegean and Black Sea (from PASCHALIDIS 2007)

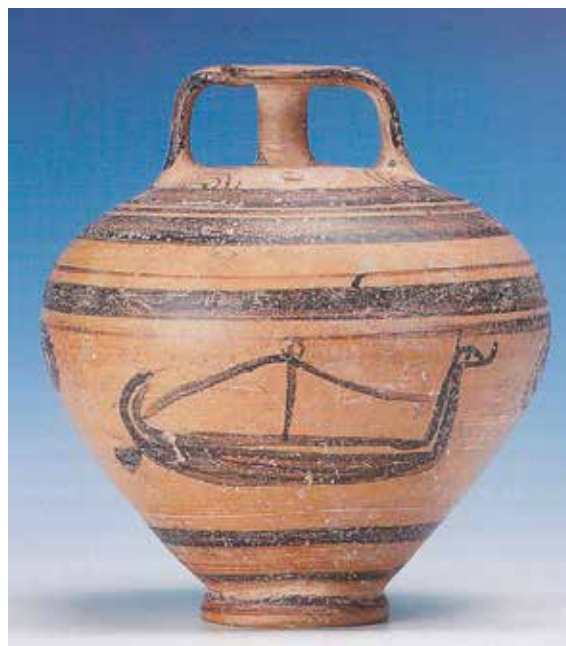


Fig. 11. Skyros – LH IIIC stirrup jar from Basales (from SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1997)

allows us to retrieve the archaeological dimension of this settlement, whose roots go back to the mid Bronze Age. Due to its position, however, Viglatouri lacks direct access to the sea.

If what we are looking for is a settlement with a clear maritime vocation, suitable for relations with Skyros and the northern Aegean, our choice cannot but fall on Kyme. This is proved by the above-mentioned nineteen copper ingots found at the beginning of the last century in the sea, 13-14 m from the port's wharf. They are datable to the fifteenth or fourteenth century BC⁸² and have been identified as being Cypriot in origin, like those from the Uluburun shipwreck. As Paschalidis observes, the Kyme find is the northernmost of its kind made in the Aegean. As such, it marks the site as a major stopover on a route going through the Dardanelles to the Marmara Sea and the Pontus (Fig. 10).

An essential port of call along this route was the island of Skyros (Fig. 11)⁸³. In a brief but effective overview, I. Lemos emphasizes Skyros' close ties

with Lefkandi in the Geometric period. Her point of departure is a study of pottery samples tested in a laboratory in Oxford. These have turned out to be largely made of clay from deposits in Phylla, in the Lelantine plain. It is the same clay used at Lefkandi, Chalkis, Eretria, Oropos, and Aeolian Kyme⁸⁴.

What Lefkandi and Skyros have in common in the Geometric period is the wealth of their burial assemblages, which include artifacts of metal and gold (Figs. 12.1-2), and faience or glass beads. Among the luxury objects from the Near East, six gold discs with a studded decoration stand out⁸⁵. They come from a very rich tomb found «on the eastern side of the hill Themis» by Papadimitriou, and have parallels in the Heroon in Lefkandi and among other gold artifacts in the Goulondris collection. Luxury and a frequency of imports from the Orient are a distinctive feature, inducing Lemos to

⁸² See above note 49, where I have dutifully mentioned the doubts about the find-spot.

⁸³ On the stirrup jar from Skyros (Basales), with a boat on the main side and an octopus on the back side, cf. SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1997, 35 fig. 24; VERDAN 2006, 97 note 2: LH IIIC.

⁸⁴ LEMOS – HATCHER 1986; SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 2002; LEMOS 2002, 168 ff.; KERSCHNER – LEMOS 2014, 191 f.

⁸⁵ The gold diadem fig. 11 comes from Chorapha T.96/2, cf. SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 2001-2002, 182 fig. 38; SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 2002, 139 fig. 13b; on the type, cf. SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1997. The gold disc Fig. 10.2 is of unknown provenance, cf. SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 2001-2002, 165 photo 5; it is similar to the discs found in the rich tomb on the Themis hill by Papadimitriou in 1936, cf. LEMOS 2002, 169-170; on the type, cf. MARANGOU 1975.



1



2

Fig. 12

1. Lefkandi – Toumba T. 63. Gold pendant (from *Zeit der Helden*)

2. Skyros. Gold disc (from SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1997)

conclude that «Skyros was one of the earliest Euboean outposts; if the links go back in time they were reinforced during the PG period when Euboeans were establishing contacts with the northern and perhaps the north-eastern Aegean on their way to Chalkidike and the west coast of Asia Minor»⁸⁶.

In the first two centuries of the first millennium BC, Lefkandi appears to reflect a relation system involving the dominant cities on the east coast of the island. These cities probably also included Kyme, if it is possible to prove that the poleonym has ancient roots and can in no way be traced to a modern “restoration”⁸⁷.

In this period, Lefkandi’s bond with the Near East was so strong as to prompt even a cautious scholar like N. Coldstream to suppose that there was «a personal link between the élites of Lefkandi

and Tyre – a link which enabled the Euboeans to enjoy the general revival of prosperity during and after the reigns of Hiram I of Tyre and Solomon of Israel, both of whom would have been the contemporaries of the basileus for whom the huge Toumba building was intended»⁸⁸.

This system seems to enter a crisis in the last decades of the ninth century BC. Around 825, during the Middle Geometric period, the cemeteries of Lefkandi known to us fell out of use. Life at the site went on until the end of the eighth century, but it was another world. Viglatouri seems to have declined by the end of the Middle Geometric period. These events thus appear to occur in a quick succession that marks the end of an epoch. Lefkandi, Viglatouri-Oichalia, and possibly Kyme itself paled away, condemning their names to oblivion. The geopolitical balance of Euboea, which is influenced by the significant permeability of Cyprus and the towns of Phoenicia and northern Syria, received a mortal blow.

⁸⁶ LEMOS 2002, 203-204.

⁸⁷ RAGONE 2003, 55 note 58 admits that it is possible to subscribe to the “negationist” thesis whose main upholder is BRODERSEN 2001 only «if attestations of the Euboean toponym Koumi before the nineteenth century are truly lacking». Proof of the antiquity of the poleonym is provided in A.C. Cassio’s essay, in the present volume.

⁸⁸ COLDSTREAM 1998, 356 f.



Fig. 13. The Jordan Valley and Negev Highlands (from KOUROU – MAZAR 2019)

As A. Mazar and N. Kourou have acutely observed⁸⁹, this observation becomes extremely relevant in the light of what we have recently learned about the “metal route” leading to southern Jordan. In Arabah, west of the Negev desert, the exploration

of the copper mines of Faynan and Timna has revealed that they were used between the late eleventh and mid-ninth century BC. Comparative analyses of the mineral from these mines and that of the earliest bronze tripod cauldrons from Olympia have established that the copper the latter are made of comes precisely from these mines. From this mine district, along various routes, one could reach the coast at Gaza and Askalon, or go on along the Jordan river valley and the Dead Sea to the large cities of the Phoenician coast (Fig. 13). The exploitation of these mines came to a halt around the middle of the ninth century. Around the same time, important settlements controlling the ancient routes were destroyed, such as that of Tel Rehov. It is likely that this destruction was the work of Hazael, king of Damascus, and that it occurred around 840-830 BC.

This date coincides with the just mentioned crisis of the earlier Euboean “system”. What we are looking at is not a lack of evidence for relations, but rather a dramatic shift. The system linked to Lefkandi and – in my opinion – to the major sea towns of eastern Euboea declined, and the gap it left was rapidly filled by new actors. In the Near East, Attic Geometric pottery replaces Euboean pottery. In Attica, we observe a blooming of new coastal settlements and an increase in the exploitation of the silver mines of Laurion. Cypriot imports, so far dominant, drop dramatically, while Near Eastern ones increase. But this evolution is described much more effectively by Mazar and Kourou’s above-cited essay. Euboea’s interest in the lands of the near West, already perceivable in the late ninth century BC, became prevalent, spawning operations in which Chalkis and Eretria played a preeminent role⁹⁰. If – as I believe – Cassio’s acute observations have hit the mark, a participation of the Kyme in Euboea to the foundation of the Kyme in Opicia may be reconsidered⁹¹; it might be a sign of the former’s attempt to play a role in the new scheme of things; if so, this attempt was unsuccessful and unable to steer the course of events.

(transl. by Federico Poole)

⁹⁰ D’AGOSTINO 2017; KOUROU 2019.

⁹¹ D’AGOSTINO 2008, 190 and D’AGOSTINO 2011, 45 note 57, concerning the identification of the Aeolian Kyme as one of the two cities that founded Kyme in Opicia.

⁸⁹ MAZAR – KOUROU 2019.

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The continuation of worship in Classical times is documented by a bronze weight bearing the inscription *Apollonos Delio*. The various dedicatory finds show that the sanctuary was in use from LG to late classical times during which period it flourished.

The location of the Zarakes sanctuary at a small distance from its harbor facilitated its communication with contemporary coastal sites of Euboea and also with the settlement of Zagora on the island of Andros. In any case, the pottery of the 8th century BC testifies contacts with Eretria, Lefkandi, Chalcis and other sites whose inhabitants probably visited the Zarakes sanctuary as pilgrims.

BRUNO D'AGOSTINO, *Forgotten Cities in Eastern Euboea*

The only evidence for the existence of a Kyme in Euboea is the testimony of Stephanus of Byzantium and has been persistently questioned by most contemporary scholars. I believe that the problem deserves to be reconsidered in the frame of the particular role of Euboea, point of balance in the changing system of relations between Greece, Near East and West.

In the first two centuries of the first millennium BC, Lefkandi appears to reflect a relation system involving the dominant cities on the east coast of the island. In this period, Lefkandi's bond with the Near East was so strong as to prompt even a cautious scholar like N. Coldstream to suppose that there was «a personal link between the élites of Lefkandi and Tyre».

This system seems to enter a crisis in the last decades of the ninth century BC. Around 825, during the Middle Geometric period, the cemeteries of Lefkandi known to us fell out of use. Life at the site went on until the end of the eighth century, but it was another world. Viglatouri seems to have declined by the end of the Middle Geometric period. These events thus appear to occur in a quick succession that marks the end of an epoch. Lefkandi, Viglatouri-Oichalia, and possibly Kyme itself paled away, condemning their names to oblivion.

ALBIO CESARE CASSIO, *Κύμη, Κούμη, Cumae and the Euboeans in the Bay of Naples*

From the 15th to the 19th century many written documents attest to a pronunciation [kumi], often rendered in Roman characters as *Kumi*, of the village Κύμη in East Euboea; this traditional pronunciation is indirectly substantiated by the modern official adjective κουμιώτικος [kumiótikos]. This article aims at showing that this 'uncanonical' pronunciation is not due to later manipulations, but is a relic of an extremely ancient Euboean état de langue, and a relic that can only be explained if we admit that some place in the area of modern Κύμη (the old harbour?) has an extremely long history behind it. This remarkably strengthens the opinion that when Strabo refers to Cumae in the bay of Naples as Χαλκιδέων καὶ Κυμαίων παλαιότατον κτίσμα he has Euboean Κύμη, not Aeolic Κύμη, in mind; and an exclusively Euboean colonization helps to explain why in early and late inscriptions of Cumae there is not the slightest trace of the Aeolic dialect.

Boeotia

LUISA BREGLIA, *Mythic Traditions of Euboea and Boeotia in the Archaic Age*

This contribution follows the "explanations" of the name Euboea that are found starting from the Hesiodic tradition and up to the authors Ephorus and Eustathius. The first part concentrates principally on the Hesiodic tradition, to demonstrate, on the basis of an already well-known text, a close relationship between Euboea and all the Eastern coastal areas of Boeotia, and the presence of Euboean and Boeotian elements in the West (*Cumae, Graikoi/Graeci*). Population pressures and movements can explain the need to emigrate, to the East or to the West. One of the traditions under examination reflects a very old time period and shows that even after the end of the Mycenaean Age the entire area of south-east Boeotia, inclusive of the area of

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