

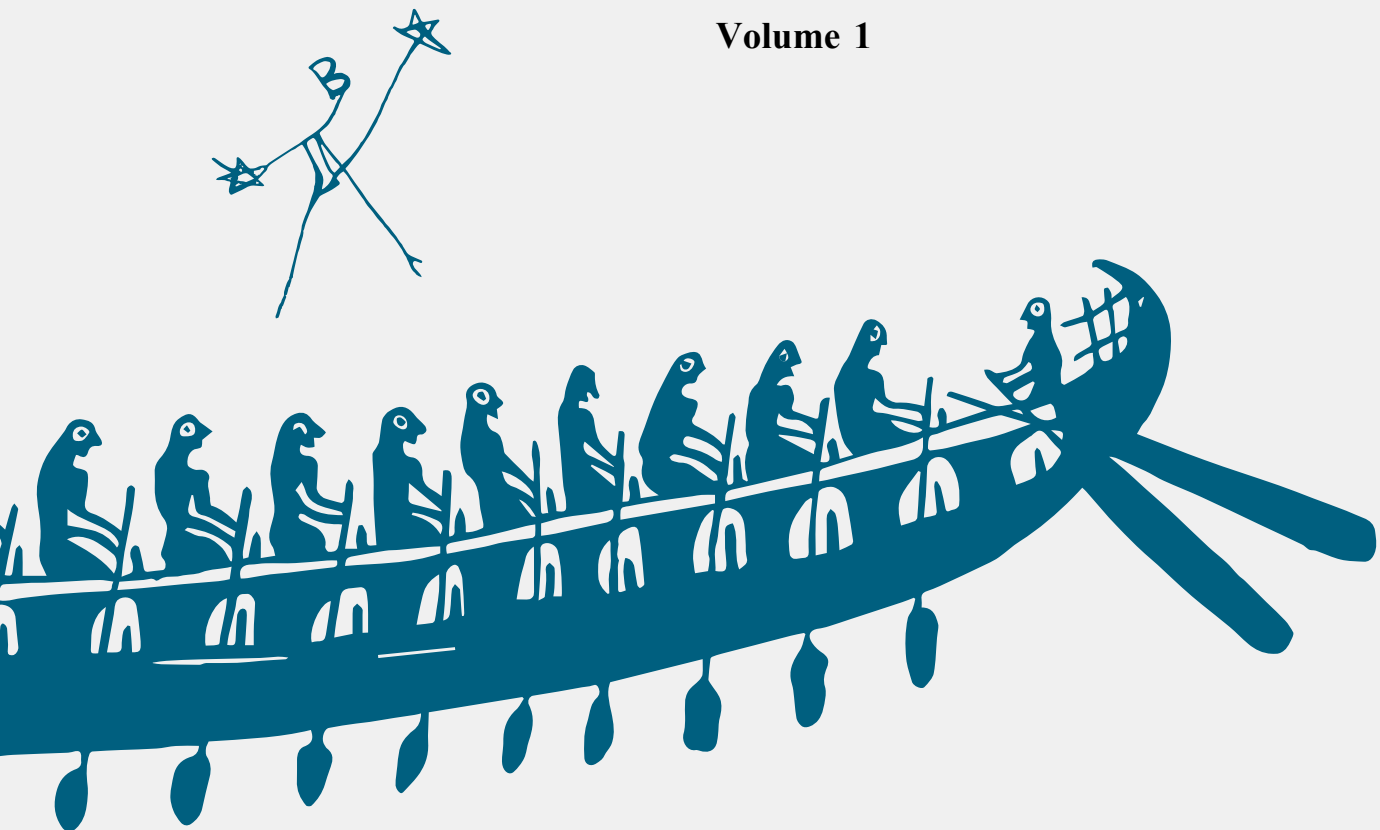
# EUBOICA II

*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



# AION

ANNALI DI ARCHEOLOGIA  
E STORIA ANTICA

Nuova Serie | 27



2020 | Napoli



ANNALI  
DI ARCHEOLOGIA  
E STORIA ANTICA

Nuova Serie 27





UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI NAPOLI «L'ORIENTALE»

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## EUBOICA II

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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.

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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**  
 Intervengono  
**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/Pithecausa**  
**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**



Centro Congressi  
Auditorium "Leonardo Carriero"  
L'Albergo della Regina Isabella  
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 Athenaion 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 Euboean 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 "Euboean" gold**  
 10.20 **Vicky Vlachou** (Université Libre de Bruxelles)  
**Patterns of production and consumption of Euboean-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-Euboean 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)



**Torri in Festa, Torri in Luce**  
7ª edizione



Organizzazione a cura di:  
**Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro** (Soprintendenza ABAP per l'area metropolitana di Napoli)  
**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



## KYMH, KOYMH, CUMAE AND THE EUBOEANS IN THE BAY OF NAPLES\*

Albio Cesare Cassio

The name of the village of East Euboea written Κύμη is now currently pronounced [kimi], but its traditional pronunciation was different, namely [kumi], as attested in various documents spanning more than four centuries, from the 15th to the 19th<sup>1</sup>. The current pronunciation [kimi] must be due to a willingness to bring this place name into line with the standard relationship of written signs with spoken sounds in Modern Greek (like *e.g.* κύμα “wave” pronounced [kima]). Interestingly enough, the inhabitants of Κύμη are still officially Κουμιώτες [kumiɔ:tes] and the adjective is κουμιώτικος [kumiɔ:tikos], *i.e.* the derived forms took shape when the village was still pronounced [kumi].

These diverging pronunciations are often accounted for in a garbled way and by using the wrong terminology and symbols, with the result that the reader is hard put to understand what really happened in the long journey from antiquity to modern times. What follows has the sole ambition to clarify the matter from the viewpoint of the historical development of Greek. It will be seen, however, that the linguistic arguments will also entail some consequences for the history of Greek colonization.

When a school grammar of Ancient Greek lists the letters of the Greek alphabet and the correspond-

ing pronunciations, the one recommended for <υ> (*hypsilon*) is the so-called “French *u*” as *e.g.* *lune* “moon” ([lyn]). Yet we often forget that a book entitled “Greek Grammar” is in fact a grammar of Attic with sparse notes on “variants” found in Homer and Lyric poetry; and only in a very limited number of cases, if ever, the reader is informed that in Ancient Greek the earliest pronunciation of <υ> was [u] (Italian *uva*, English *root*) everywhere, and that [y] was a special development which took place in some dialects (especially East Ionic and Attic), and not in others, from a certain date onwards and not before. Note that the long and short [u] and [y] sounds dealt with in this note are those belonging to the *radical* part of words either inherited from I.-E. (*e.g.* θυγάτηρ) or borrowed by the Greeks from local languages of the Balkans and the Mediterranean in the mists of time (*e.g.* λύρα “lyre”, μυρική “tamarisk”).

In C.D. Buck’s words (1955, §24) «the original u-sound (English *oo* in *food*) was retained in several, perhaps the majority, of the dialects». «Original» and «retained» are the crucial words: the earliest pronunciation of κύμα “wave” and φύσις “nature” were [ku:ma] and [p<sup>h</sup>usis] everywhere, [u:] and [u] being kept, often for a long time, in a number of dialects (Buck 1955, §24 lists Boeotian, Laconian, Arcadian, Cyprian, Thessalian, Lesbian, Cretan, Euboean [= West Ionic])<sup>2</sup>. However in Attic at an

\* I am very grateful to Bruno d’Agostino, the “onlie begetter” of my interest in Euboean Kyme, for inviting me to contribute the following linguistic comments about the original form of its name.

<sup>1</sup> The oldest attestation of a pronunciation [kumi] is found in Ottoman documents going back to the 15th century (BALTA 1989, 328); as E. Balta herself explained in a personal letter to Bruno d’Agostino (July 2017), in the old *siyakat* script (one mainly used for official documents at the time) the name is spelt K, W, M, Y which can only render a pronunciation [kumi] (by contrast, \*[kimi] would have been written \*K, Y, M, Y). For later spoken and / or written forms of [kumi] see below.

<sup>2</sup> Proof of an [u] pronunciation of <υ> in Euboea and its colonies is mainly provided by the use of *koppa* before *hypsilon*, since *koppa* is used only before back vowels, and by <υ> as a grapheme for a very close [o], long or short (LEJEUNE 1972, § 252; BECHTEL 1924, 33; THUMB-SCHERER 1959, 251 § 311.3); both instances are exemplified by ϣυϣυς (= Attic Κύκνος), DUBOIS 1995, 117, Rhégion no. 7).

early stage<sup>3</sup> our words began to be pronounced [ky:ma] and [p<sup>h</sup>ysis] with [y], the notorious “French *u*”, later to become standard in the phonologically Attic *koine*; it was the enormous prestige of Attic literature that created the absurd school dogma of the default pronunciation of <υ> as [y] in Ancient Greek. It was a significant change, since a back vowel [u] became a front rounded vowel [y], later to become the unrounded [i] of Medieval and Modern Greek, hence the current pronunciations [kima] and [fisi<sup>4</sup>].

It should be borne in mind that the chronological order [u] > [y] > [i] is irreversible, and some extremely old [u] pronunciations managed to come down to our day. Hatzidakis tells us<sup>5</sup> that in the Euboea of his time θυγατέρα (“daughter”) was still pronounced *not* [θiyatéra] as in Modern Greek, but [θuyatéra], an archaism, with the same [u] of Indo-european (\**dhugh<sub>2</sub>ter-*, Sanskrit *duhitar-*, Lithuanian *dukra* etc.). A pronunciation [θu-] of θυγάτηρ going back to the mists of time, and different from that of Modern Greek, was still in use in Euboea a hundreds years ago (if not later), and the same archaic pronunciation of <υ> is attested by Hatzidakis *ibid.* for Κύμη [kumi] and Στύρα [stura]<sup>6</sup>. Another very interesting instance of linguistic conservatism in our Euboean Kyme is the name of myrtle (*myrtus communis*), which sounds [mirtjá] (μυρτιά in written form) in Standard Modern Greek, but [murtía] in Kyme (ΠΟΝΤΙΚΗΣ – ΦΙΛΙΠΠΗΣ 2001, 200), which means that not only the original pronunciation of <υ> as [u] has been kept, but also that a well-known innovation ([-ia-] > [-já-])<sup>7</sup> never took place: in fact, a double archaism.

After [u]/[u:] was altered to [y]/[y:], Attic was left without syllabic [u] sounds, either long or short<sup>8</sup>, the loss being partially compensated by the creation of a new long [u:] sound, written <ου>

which resulted from contractions and compensatory lengthenings (e.g. δηλοῦμεν [de:lu:men] < \*-οομεν)<sup>9</sup>. Thanks to the enormous prestige of Attic, the use of <ου> for [u:] soon became widespread and became a convenient way for some dialects (but not for other ones) to write their old [u] sounds, both long and short<sup>10</sup>, in a clearer way from the new Attic/koine viewpoint. After the half of the 4th cent. BC some dialects surrendered to the Attic system to such a degree that they abandoned the <υ> traditionally used for [u] and started to write <ου> instead. This happened almost systematically in Boeotia<sup>11</sup>. To give an example, the Boeotians pronounced “chance” as [tuk<sup>h</sup>a:] from time immemorial, but wrote τύχα, say, in 450 BC and τούχα in 250 BC. Something similar happened elsewhere, e.g. in Laconia from Hellenistic times onward; we find διέλουσαν = διέλυσαν, αἰσχούνα = αἰσχύνη etc. (BOURGUET 1927, 97 ff.).

The crucial point is that to the best my knowledge nothing of this kind happened in Euboea. From the beginning the Euboeans wrote Στύρα and pronounced [stura], precisely as they wrote θυγάτηρ and pronounced [t<sup>h</sup>ugáte:r]. That the Athenians, on their part, wrote Στύρα and pronounced [styra] is obvious, but Euboean/West Ionic was no xerox of Attic. In an article on a problematic Euboean place name Ἀργουρα mentioned in Demosthenes’ *Against Meidias* (§§ 132, 164) Knoepfler (1981, 313) says that in Euboea no epigraphical evidence can be adduced in favour of the ancient pronunciation [u] of <υ>, except for «des graphies comme Στούρα pour Στύρα ou Κούμη pour Κύμη. Or, ces graphies sont modernes, au mieux médiévales: il n’y a pas le moindre indice que la prononciation antique du nom Styra – pour ne rien dire de Kymè, dont l’existence même est douteuse – ait été différente de celle que suggère son orthographe dans les inscriptions eubéennes et non eubéennes».

Now, in Euboea Στύρα was obviously written with <υ> and Στυρ(όθεν) is found dozens of times

<sup>3</sup> THUMB – SCHERER, 1959 § 321 page 291.

<sup>4</sup> Of the modern form φύση.

<sup>5</sup> *Apud* SCHWYZER 1939, 182.

<sup>6</sup> In a personal letter to B. d’Agostino (July 2017) E. Balta stated that her «late professor Stamatis Karatzas, a linguist from Kymi, called his fatherland Koumi». I am very grateful to B. d’Agostino for this interesting piece of information.

<sup>7</sup> It occurred in most areas of the Greek-speaking world from Medieval times onwards, see HOLTON *et al.* 2019, 103 ff.

<sup>8</sup> The only type of [u] kept by Attic was its consonantal version in diphthongs (αυ, ευ), which is a completely different story.

<sup>9</sup> The <ου> grapheme for what had traditionally been written <ο> took some time to become standard, which happened by about 350 BC. (THREATTE 1980, 238 ff.).

<sup>10</sup> In Attic <ου> rendered only [u:], not [u], at the beginning, but other dialects employed it also for short [u], and also [w] in late Hellenistic - late imperial times (THREATTE 1980, 442 ff.).

<sup>11</sup> Thumb – Scherer 1959, 23 § 236, BUCK 1955, 153 § 221; LEJEUNE 1972, 237 § 252.



in Euboean inscriptions, but Knoepfler is clearly reasoning as if [y] were the default pronunciation of <υ> everywhere in Ancient Greece, without considering that <υ> in Euboea could be pronounced differently from <υ> in Attica; this is clear from his regarding “*inscriptions eubéennes et non eubéennes*” as a coherent whole from that viewpoint, as if <υ> were pronounced [y] in both. Obviously enough, one cannot expect a written \*Στούρα or \*Κούμη in ancient Euboean inscriptions since the island never adopted the “Boeotian system”. Knoepfler seems to suspect that a medieval/modern Κούμη [kumi] might be a modification of an ancient Κύμη with [y], but [u] > [y] > [i] is irreversible, and as a consequence \*\* [i] > [y] > [u] impossible; this is why the specialists in Ancient Greek dialects unanimously interpret [u] in modern [kumi] as an archaism<sup>12</sup>.

Ragone’s (2008) linguistic approach fares no better than Knoepfler’s. What we read on page 45, «una sequenza toponomastica Κύμη > Κούμη /-α (donde poi il toponimo moderno *Koumi* > *Kimi*) potrebbe essere in teoria ammessa, pur se con fondate perplessità di ordine fonetico», is a disorienting phrase. The > symbol is used to indicate that a form (a) becomes a form (b), but a Κύμη becoming Κούμη /-α (incidentally, why -α?) and *Koumi* becoming *Kimi* are out of the question: [kimi] is nothing but a modern re-creation on the basis of the pronunciation of the written form in present-day Greek. On the other hand Ragone (2003, 55 note 58) is right in maintaining that the “negationist” theory put forward by BRODERSEN 2001 (Euboean Kyme is an “urban myth” and never existed) can only be upheld if it can be proved that mentions of [kumi] (whatever the alphabet used to express these sounds) do not predate the 19th century. As a matter of fact, we can be certain that a place name pronounced [kumi] (a) is already attested in 15th century Ottoman documents (see note 1), and (b), in any case [kumi] must go back to remote antiquity, previous to the Attic shift of [u] to [y] - which is fatal to Brodersen’s theory.

Let us now look for the least improbable inter-

pretation of this long battle of signs and sounds and its consequences, if any, for the colonization of Italic *Cumae*. The amply attested modern pronunciation [kumi] for the East Euboean village written Κύμη can only be explained as the remnant of the original, and very old indeed, local pronunciation of a place name on the East coast of Euboea, precisely as [stura] was the traditional pronunciation of Στούρα. But this can only mean that some place in the area of modern Κύμη (the old harbour?) must have an extremely long history behind it, of which an indication seems to be provided by the 19 copper ingots datable to the 15th/14th cent. BC, found at the beginning of the last century in the sea, at a very short distance from the modern port<sup>13</sup>.

At the time of the colonization the Euboean name was locally pronounced [ku:me:] and written KYME (Κύμε), the original [u:] being obviously kept in the name of the colony, *Cūmae*. In spite of some linguistic difficulties it is not completely excluded that the name of the Κωμαεῖς, the inhabitants of an ancient deme of Eretria possibly located in northern-central Euboea<sup>14</sup>, was based on that of Κύμη<sup>15</sup>; while it is virtually certain that the *Chimi* / *P(ortus) Chimi* attested from the 13th c. in the south eastern part of the island has nothing to do with Κύμη<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> PASCHALIDIS 2007, 436 ff. and note 21.

<sup>14</sup> «Dans la région centro-septentrionale du territoire» (FACHARD 2012, 68, quoting D. Knoepfler’s opinion).

<sup>15</sup> From a linguistic viewpoint it is the <ω> in Κωμαεῖς that makes it difficult to link this name to that of [ku:me:]; as a matter of fact, a willingness to emphasize the local pronunciation of Κύμη as against the one prevailing in Attica should have yielded \*Κουμαεῖς, not Κωμαεῖς, since by the time of the attestations (4th cent. BC onwards) <ου> for [u:]/[u] was widely used elsewhere (see above). On the other hand, the vowel length of <ω> matches that of [u:] in Κύμη, and ([ɔ:] for [u:] might be regarded as a device for widening the acoustic distance from the Attic pronunciation with [y:]. From the viewpoint of word-formation Κωμαεῖς poses no problem, since it relates to a \*Κώμη-η / Κύμη as Κρητ-αιεῖς does to Κρήτη. Interestingly enough, FACHARD 2012, 69 note 150 informs us that a creek locally called *Kōmaturias pigi* (Fachard’s own transliteration) “the source of Komaturia” flows southwest of the Sotiros fortress (also called Κάστρο Αγίου Γεωργίου) located north of Κύμη. Now, *Kōmaturia* is formally interesting since, as Fachard *ibidem* had already understood, -τουρία- is a medieval suffix (of mixed Greco-Latin origin) akin to that of the very close Βρύλα-τούρι(ον), a name meaning “signal-station for watchmen” at a certain height (cf. Figline Vegliaturo, a village in Calabria ca. 700 metres high); this isolates *Koma* in an area, as it happens, very close to modern Κύμη. This obviously strengthens the suspicion that the Κωμαεῖς were indeed related to ancient Κύμη.

<sup>16</sup> See B. d’Agostino in this volume.

<sup>12</sup> SCHWYZER 1939, 182; LEJEUNE 1972, 237 §252; THUMB – SCHERER 1959, 251 § 311.3 «als Folge davon, daß der Lautwert u für υ in Euböia auch weiterhin beibehalten wurde, heißen die euböische Städte Κύμη und Στούρα sogar heute noch *Kumi*, *Stura*». BECHTEL 1924, 33 on [u]: «die euböischen Städte Κύμη und Στούρα, die noch heute die Namen *Kumi* und *Stura* tragen».

Some final remarks. Strabo 5. 4, 4 calls Cumae in the bay of Naples Χαλκιδέων καὶ Κυμαίων παλαιότατον κτίσμα, adding the following story: the leaders of the colony, Hippocles from Kyme and Megasthenes from Chalkis, make an agreement and reach a compromise: the colony will be regarded as founded by one of the two cities, while its name will be that of the other; as a consequence the city is now called Kyme and the founders are believed to be the Chalcidians<sup>17</sup>.

Since in Strabo there is no explicit mention of an *Euboean* Κύμη, which is found only in Stephanus of Byzantium (p. 392 πέμπτη [scil. Κύμη] τῆς Εὐβοίας), there has been a tendency to regard Euboean Kyme as due to a misinterpretation on Stephanus' part of Strabo's text (Ragone 2008, 47) and to deny the very existence of an Euboean site of that name; as a consequence modern scholarship tends to identify the Κύμη mentioned by Strabo with the much better attested Aeolic Kyme<sup>18</sup> (MELE 2008, RAGONE 2008), and in a more nuanced way D'Acunto (2020: 1298). Ragone's argument is circular, since it is based on an alleged "decontestualizzazione" of a putative Aeolic origin of Strabo's Kyme, an origin of which there is no trace in Strabo's text; in other words, Ragone starts from the premise that Strabo had Aeolic Kyme in mind, which is exactly what he should demonstrate. This carries no conviction whatsoever. As L. Dubois says, «comme les défenseurs de l'origine asiatique d'Hippoclès n'ont que des arguments contournés et peu convaincants, je crois, tout en reconnaissant le caractère laconique de la notice d'Étienne de Byzance, que les deux oecistes devaient être eubéens»<sup>19</sup>.

Pseudo-Scymnus 237 ff., τῆς λεγομένης λίμνης Ἀόρνου πλησίον / Κύμη, πρότερον ἦν Χαλκιδεῖς ἀπόκισαν, / εἴτ' Αἰολεῖς, has become the champion of the "Aeolian party", yet this text is hardly a per-

fect match for Strabo, since in Ps. Scymnus the Chalcidians arrive πρότερον and the Aeolians εἴτα, thus pointing to a secondary arrival of the Aeolians after the new Kyme had been founded, while in Strabo Hippocles from Kyme (Aeolic Kyme according to this theory) is a co-founder along with Megasthenes from Chalkis and makes an agreement with him. Besides, as BÉRARD 1957, 48 rightly emphasized, accepting Pseudo Scymnus' scenario implies that the name of Italic Cumae was imposed not by the colonists who arrived πρότερον, but by the newcomers from Aeolic Kyme who arrived εἴτα, at a subsequent time, which in turn implies that the first colonists either gave the city a different name which was later modified, or that the colony was left anonymous until the arrival of the Aeolians from Aeolic Kyme – both implications sounding absurd.

Besides, the Aeolians are unknown to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who says (*Antiq. Rom.* 7. 3. 1) Κύμην τὴν ἐν Ὀπικοῖς Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν, ἣν Ἐρετριεῖς τε καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς ἔκτισαν, which rules out any Aeolic involvement at an early stage. And lastly, a problem that did not escape Jean Bérard (1957, 49), but seems to have been swept under the carpet by the modern supporters of a στόλος of Aeolic colonists: in the inscriptions of Cumae there is not the slightest trace of the Aeolic dialect, and this in a colony for which the very name of an Aeolic *polis* had allegedly been chosen. To give an example, the famous inscription of Tataie (SCHWYZER 1923, no. 786) reads Ταταίε εἰμι λέξυθος· ἡδὲ δ' ἄν με κλέφσει θυφλὸς ἔσται. This is pure West Ionic: the East Aeolic version would have been Ταταίᾱς ἐμμι λᾱκυθος· ὅς δέ κε με κλέψει τυφλὸς ἔσται. The Ionic and Aeolic dialects are hardly interchangeable. Should we conclude that the Aeolic colonists were unable to write, and left the task to the Euboeans?

<sup>17</sup> Οἱ δὲ τὸν στόλον ἄγοντες, Ἴπποκλῆς ὁ Κυμαῖος καὶ Μεγασθένης ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς, διωμολογήσαντο πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, τῶν μὲν <τὴν> ἀποικίαν εἶναι τῶν δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν· ὅθεν νῦν μὲν προσαγορεύεται Κύμη, κτίσαι δ' αὐτὴν Χαλκιδεῖς δοκοῦσι.

<sup>18</sup> The local Aeolic name was obviously Κύμᾱ, which became Κύμη in the text of late authors writing in the *koine*.

<sup>19</sup> DUBOIS 1995, 35.

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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 15<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> 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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