

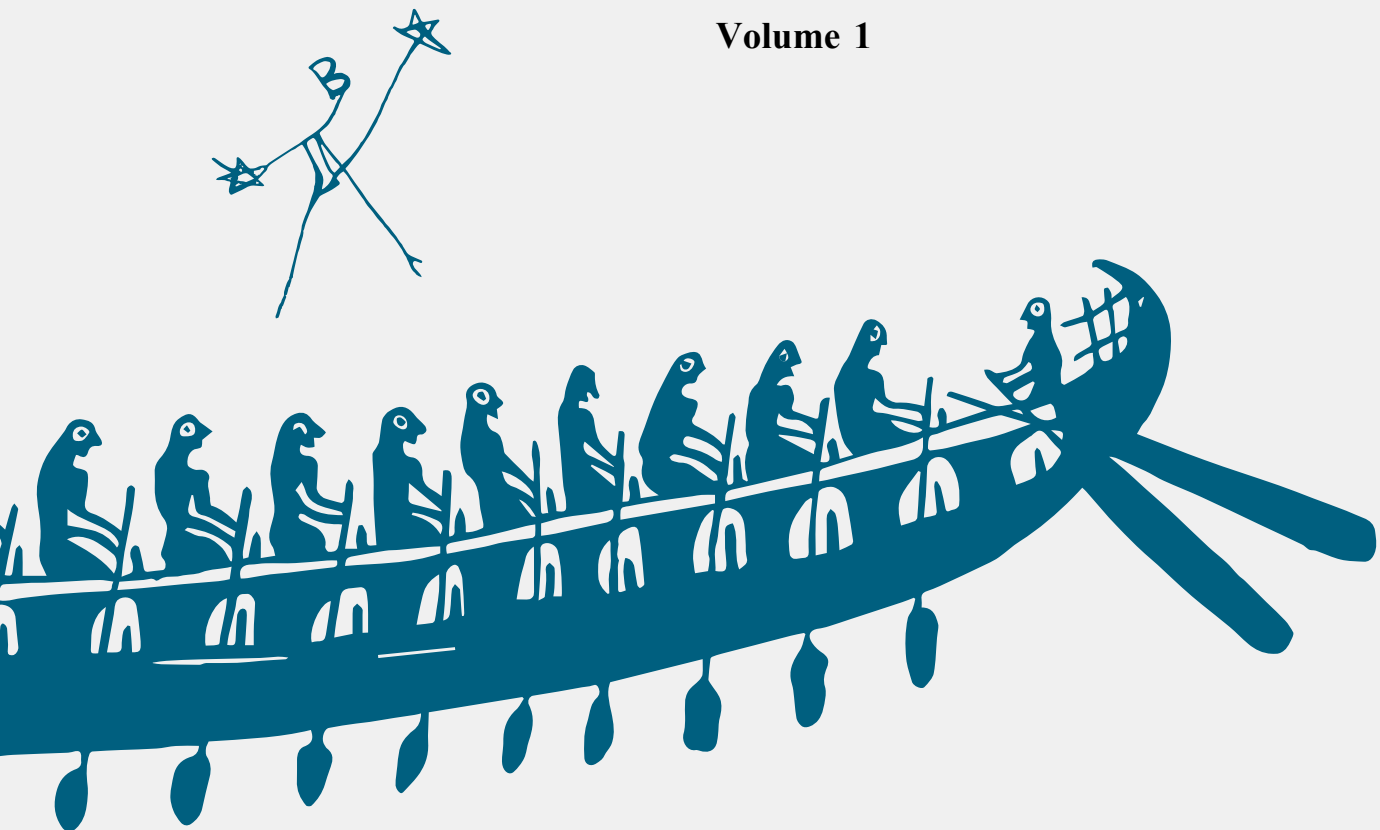
# EUBOICA II

*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

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UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI NAPOLI «L'ORIENTALE»

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## EUBOICA II

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

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Volume 1

2020 Napoli

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Ida Baldassarre, Luca Cerchiali, Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro, Mariassunta Cuzzo,  
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/Pithecosa**  
**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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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)



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



# ONE MORE NODE TO THE THESSALO-EUBOEAN SMALL WORLD: THE EVIDENCE FROM THE SITE OF KEPHALA ON THE ISLAND OF SKIATHOS

Alexandra Alexandridou

The issue of the Euboean presence and mobility in the Northern Aegean and the actual degree of Euboea's involvement in the trading enterprises and the early Greek colonisation has received a particular scholarly interest in the last three decades. Moving away from the simplified equation of pots with people, the application of the network theory revealed the high degree of complexity characterizing interregional interactions<sup>1</sup>.

The archaeological material from the recently excavated site of Kephala in the North Sporades of the Central Aegean will be inserted into this discussion, aiming at adding some new evidence on the connectivity between the Southern and the Northern Aegean (Fig. 1). It should be noted, however, that the ties of Kephala with Euboea, Thessaly and Northern Greece are based on quite fragmentary data, since only small part of both the settlement and its necropolis have been explored.

## ANCIENT *PALAISKIATHOS*

Thus far, Kephala is the only known Early Iron Age site in the Sporades<sup>2</sup>. Lying at the northeast side of the island of Skiathos (Fig. 2), the site has been identified as the *Palaiskiathos* of the sources, the earlier of the two poleis of the island<sup>3</sup>, which

continued to be inhabited until the early Hellenistic era, after the foundation of the polis of Skiathos in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>4</sup>. According to Pseudo-Skymnus from Chios, the island has been settled by Chalcidians<sup>5</sup>. The site of Kephala might have been already known since the 70's<sup>6</sup>, but the first excavation was only conducted in 2012, after three years of systematic survey (2009-2011)<sup>7</sup>.

Kephala is a fortified settlement, occupying a long and rather narrow plateau at the northeast coast of Skiathos, facing the island of Skopelos. The wide Xanemos bay to the west could have offered safe anchorage under good weather conditions. Otherwise, the deep safe bay, a closed lake, a couple of kilometres to the south, must have served as a second harbour. Part of the fortification wall, which has been preserved to a height of 3 m at some points, is well preserved along the south and southeastern sides of the settlement, securing the promontory

103, 110-113; DOULGERI-INTZESILOGLOU 2005.

<sup>4</sup> According to the results of the excavation at the site, activity on Kephala seems to have continued without interruption until the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

<sup>5</sup> *Periegesis*, vv. 578-586.

<sup>6</sup> SAMPSON 1977.

<sup>7</sup> Both the survey and the excavation, which lasted until 2016, was a joint project undertaken by the Department of History, Archaeology and Social Anthropology of the University of Thessaly under the direction of Professor Alexander Mazarakis Ainian and by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia directed by its former director Dr Argyroula Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, assisted by the archaeologist Eleni Chrysopoulou. For the first presentations of the results: MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2010; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012; ALEXANDRIDOU 2012; MAZARAKIS AINIAN – DOULGERI-INTZESILOGLOU 2012; MAZARAKIS AINIAN – DOULGERI-INTZESILOGLOU 2015; CHRYSOPOULOU 2012; CHRYSOPOULOU – DOULGERI-INTZESILOGLOU 2015; MAZARAKIS AINIAN – ALEXANDRIDOU 2015; MAZARAKIS AINIAN – ALEXANDRIDOU 2018; ALEXANDRIDOU forthcoming. For detailed information on the site and the work conducted there: [extras.ha.uth.gr/skiathos/](http://extras.ha.uth.gr/skiathos/).

<sup>1</sup> See in particular: LEMOS 1998; PAPADOPOULOS 1996; PAPADOPOULOS 1997; PAPADOPOULOS 1998; PAPADOPOULOS 2005, 580-588; PAPADOPOULOS 2011, 128; TIVERIOS 2008; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2010; CHARALAMBIDOU 2017; DONNELLAN 2016a; DONNELLAN 2016b; DONNELLAN 2017.

<sup>2</sup> A 9<sup>th</sup>-century oinochoe possibly from a funerary context from the island of Alonnesos is the only other Early Iron Age evidence from these islands: SKAFIDA 2001, 257-259, fig. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Skylax (*Periplus* 58) refers to Skiathos δῖπολις. For the identification of the site: DOULGERI-INTZESILOGLOU 2001, 101-



Fig. 1. Map showing Kephala and its association with neighbouring Early Iron Age sites (from MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012, 75, fig. 1)

from the coast (Fig. 3). The access to the settlement was probably at the southwest<sup>8</sup>. Despite the problems in dating the wall, its construction technique in combination with some ceramic material recovered

from its rubble inner filling point to the early seventh century if not earlier in the second half of the eighth.

On the plateau, inside the fortification wall, the excavation brought to light small part of Kephala's "lower town": three buildings have been explored in close distance from the wall at the southeast part of the settlement (Fig. 4). Building A is a curvilinear

<sup>8</sup> For the similarities of the settlement with a number of early Euboean settlements, including Xeropolis/Lefkandi, Chalcis and Kirinthos, see MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2010, 85-86; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012, 67.





Fig. 2. View of the Kephala promontory and Xanemos bay, from the northwest (photo A. Mazarakis Ainian)

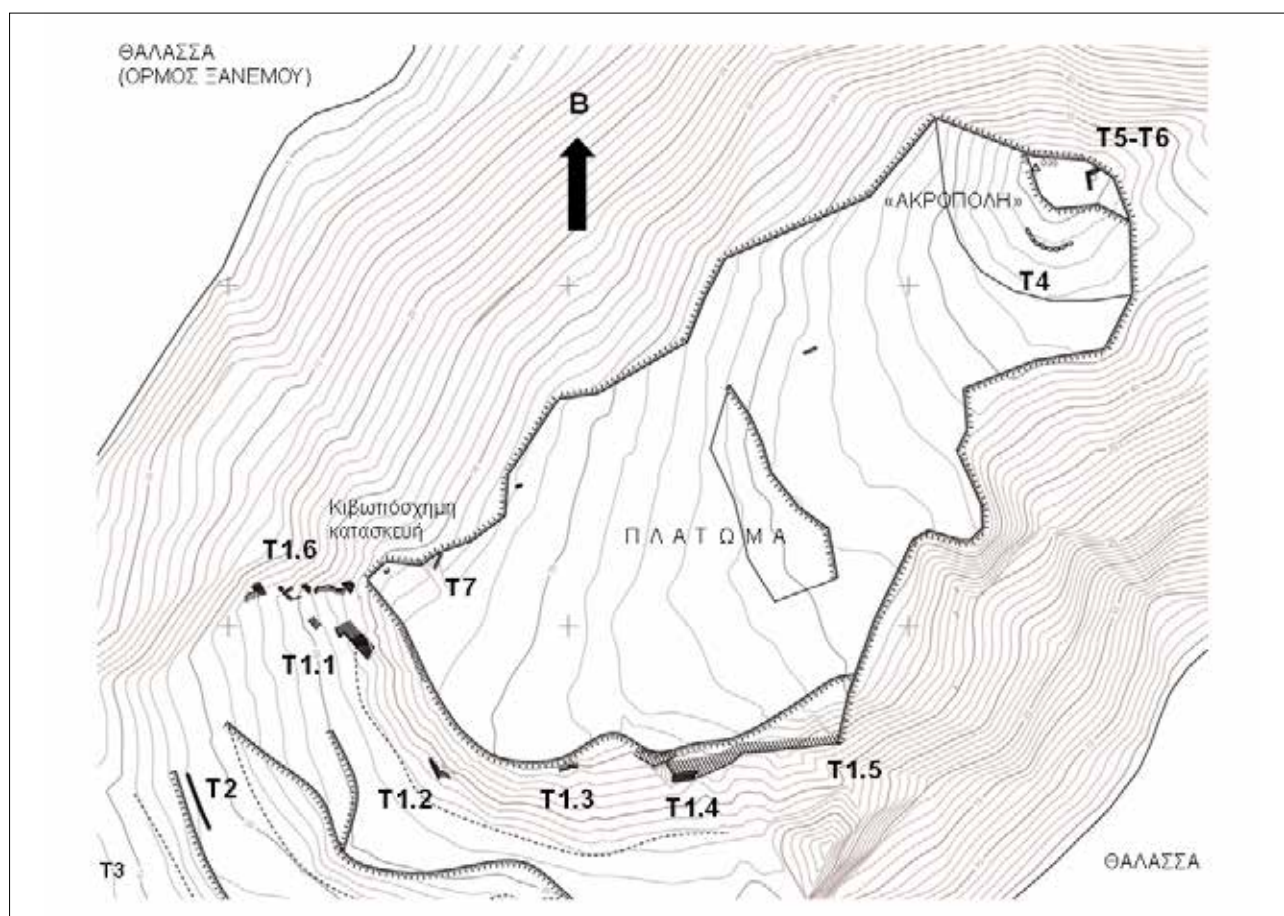


Fig. 3. Topographical plan of the Kephala plateau (drawing V. Tsourtsoulis, 2009-2011)

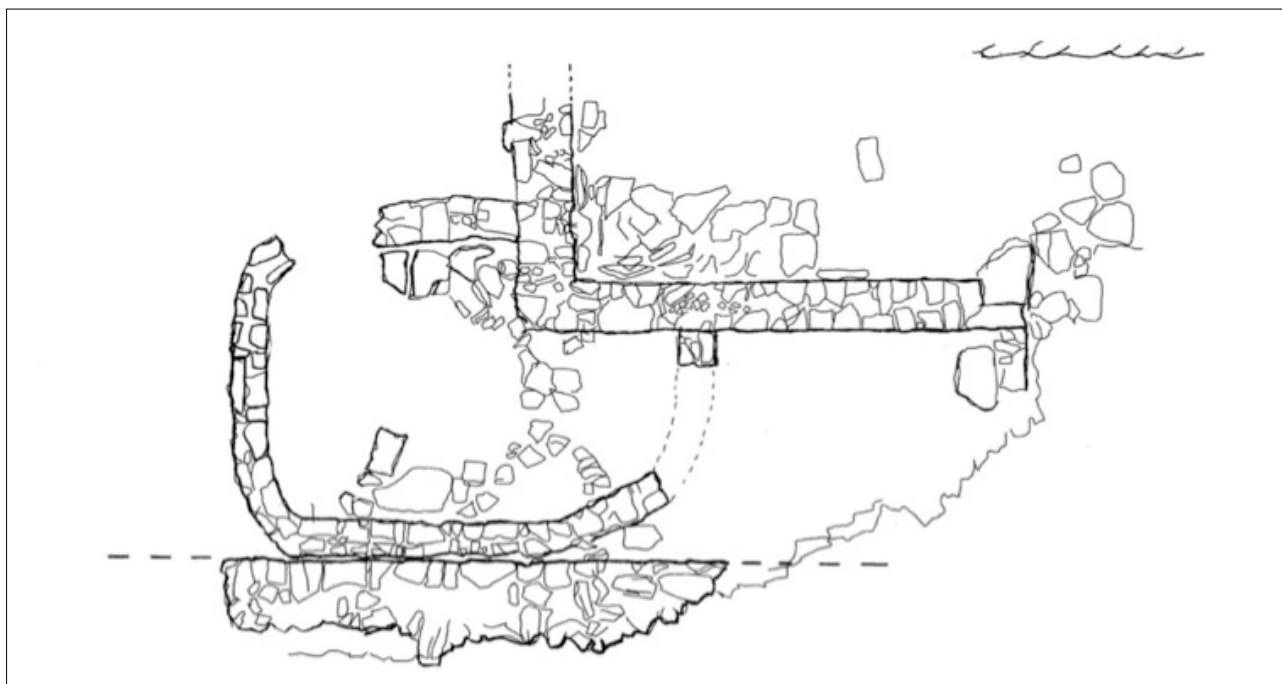


Fig. 4. Plans of Buildings A, B, Γ (drawing A. Mazarakis Ainian and G. Chiotis)

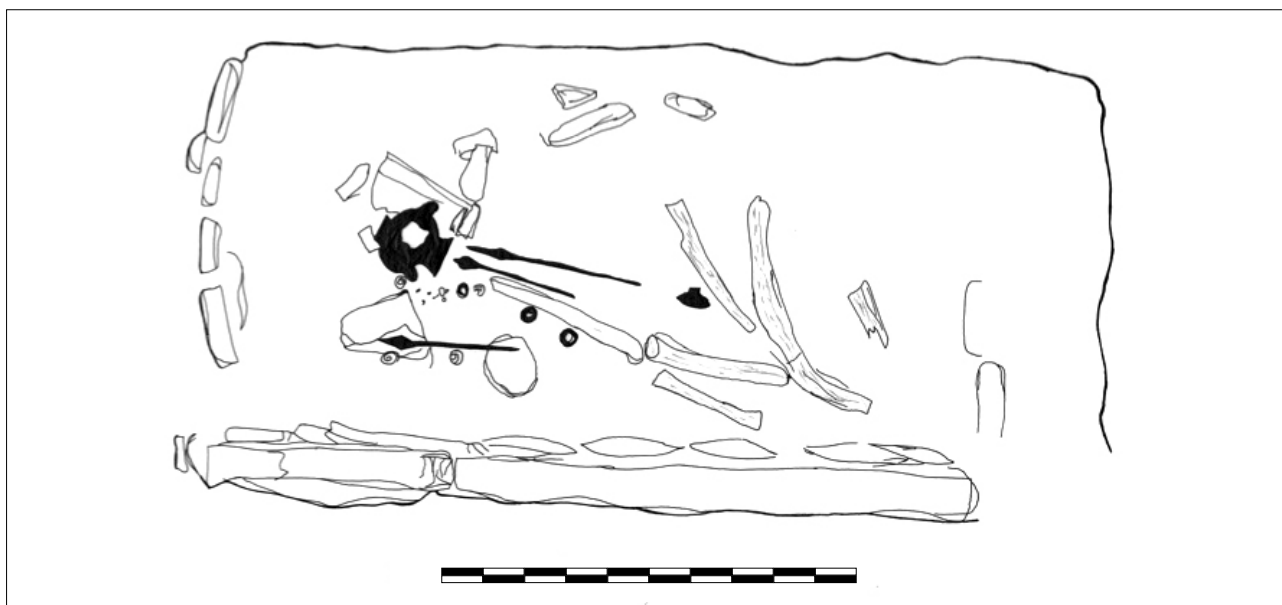


Fig. 5. Plan of Tomb III (drawing A. Mazarakis Ainian)

edifice, probably oval, which dates to the late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> century. Its stone foundation was rather carelessly made, while its upper structure was made of mudbricks, which left intense traces on the discovered stones. The material found inside the structure – numerous textile production implements, and pots destined for food preparation and consumption – points to a house<sup>9</sup>. The rectangular Space Γ, with

two curved corners, is contemporary or slightly later than Building A and may have served as its courtyard. Both structures were destroyed by the much later and larger rectangular Building B, which was in use at least until the 4<sup>th</sup> century, representing the latest period of activity on this part of the promontory.

An extended black layer, containing pottery sherds, mostly of small drinking forms, large quan-

<sup>9</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN – ALEXANDRIDOU 2015; MAZARAKIS AINIAN –

ALEXANDRIDOU 2018, 133-135.



Fig. 6. Plain amphoriskos from Tomb III (photo A. Alexandridou)



Fig. 7. Gold spirals from Tomb III (photo A. Alexandridou)

tities of sea shells, small and medium-sized sea pebbles, as well as charcoal residues, extended below the level of use of Buildings A and B and to their west<sup>10</sup>. The recovered pottery covers a broad chronological period extending from the Protogeometric to the early Late Geometric period and they seem to represent the leftovers of some feasting activity<sup>11</sup>.

A small part of the settlement's necropolis has been detected to a short distance from the coast, southwest of the fortified plateau along the Xanemos bay. Only six inhumations have been excavated so far, extending chronologically from the Early Iron Age to the Classical period<sup>12</sup>. A richly furnished cist grave (III) forms the earliest evidence from the site of Kephala (Fig. 5). The grave contained a clay amphoriskos (Fig. 6), a clay bead or spindle whorl and numerous metal objects, including five bronze rings, two bronze and two iron pins, as well as four gold hair spirals (Fig. 7). According to the anthropological study<sup>13</sup>, the occupants of the grave were two, both aged between 20-30 years old, one of whom a woman. Both the amphoriskos and the metal findings place the grave to the Submycenaean period and the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century BC. They find



Fig. 8. Fragments of a transport amphora of Catling's Group I (photo A. Alexandridou)

close parallels among the finds from the graves explored at Nea Ionia Volos<sup>14</sup>. Slightly later are the earliest vases from the settlement: the fragmentary neck of an Early Protogeometric hydria collected during the survey on the east slope of the promontory of Kephala<sup>15</sup>, as well as part of a transport amphora of Catling's Group I (Fig. 8)<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN – ALEXANDRIDOU 2018, 135, fig. 8.

<sup>11</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN – ALEXANDRIDOU 2015; MAZARAKIS AINIAN – ALEXANDRIDOU 2018, 133-135.

<sup>12</sup> ALEXANDRIDOU forthcoming. A geophysics survey was conducted here in 2019, by Gr. Tsokas of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, in the hope of determining the extent of this necropolis.

<sup>13</sup> Dr Athanasia Papathanasiou studied the human remains from all graves of the Kephala necropolis.

<sup>14</sup> BATZIOU-EUSTATHIOU 1999.

<sup>15</sup> ALEXANDRIDOU 2012, 373, fig. 12. The macroscopic analysis of the fabric does not indicate a Euboean origin for the Kephala hydria.

<sup>16</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN – ALEXANDRIDOU 2018, 136, fig. 10. For the transport amphorae of Group I: CATLING 1998; LEMOS 2002, 57-58; LEMOS 2012, 177-178; GIMATZIDIS 2010, 253-254.



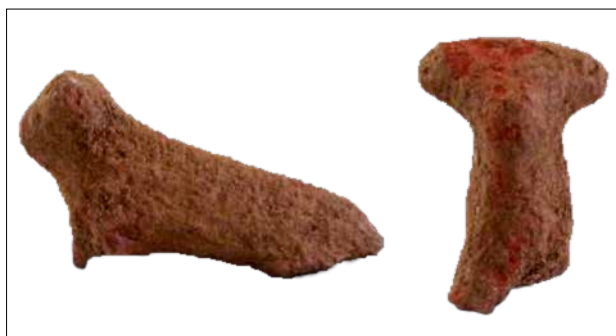


Fig. 9. The clay bull figurine from one of the early graves (photo A. Alexandridou)

Graves IV and V, probably simple pits, are the next chronological points of evidence from the site. Dated to the 9<sup>th</sup> century, they were both found disturbed. The anthropological analysis of the skeletal remains revealed three individuals: two adults, whose gender and age could not be defined, and a child of 6 years old. Parts of bronze pins, two bronze hair spirals, as well as parts of one painted trefoil and another plain oinochoe, a cooking pot, and two skyphoi with pendent semicircles were found in association with the graves. A clay bull figurine of the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> or the early 8<sup>th</sup> century could originate from another disturbed burial, if not part of the furnishing of these two graves (Fig. 9)<sup>17</sup>.

These graves are contemporary with the period of main activity at the site, as indicated by the discovered pottery from the settlement, which chronologically extends from the Late Protoegeometric to the Subprotoegeometric III periods. The extended layer with the numerous sea shells, detected under the excavated buildings, was rich in pottery of this period<sup>18</sup>. The majority of sherds belong to open shapes, including pendent semicircle skyphoi and one-handled cups, as well as fewer large kraters, handmade and wheelmade kantharoi. Large and small closed forms, amphorae and hydriai, oinochoai, amphoriskoi and lekythoi were rather limited<sup>19</sup>. Except for fine decorated pottery, there are examples of transport amphorae of the so-called



Fig. 10. Fragment of a transport amphora of Catling's transitional type (photo A. Alexandridou)



Fig. 11. Fragment of a transport amphora of Catling's transitional type (photo A. Alexandridou)

transitional type (Figs. 10-11)<sup>20</sup>. The earliest amphorae of this type are known from Torone and they belong to the Protoegeometric period, while many of the amphorae from unstratified contexts were placed to the subsequent Subprotoegeometric. Their production seems to have lasted until the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>21</sup>. They cannot be assigned to a sin-

<sup>17</sup> ALEXANDRIDOU forthcoming.

<sup>18</sup> It should be noted though that the chronology of many of the characteristic sherds has been based on typology rather than a well-stratified context.

<sup>19</sup> ALEXANDRIDOU 2012; MAZARAKIS AINIAN – ALEXANDRIDOU 2018, 135-137.

<sup>20</sup> ALEXANDRIDOU 2012, 373, fig. 5; MAZARAKIS AINIAN – ALEXANDRIDOU 2018, 136, fig. 11.

<sup>21</sup> CATLING 1998, 171-177; GIMATZIDIS 2010, 254-258. HEURTLEY – SKEAT 1930-1931, 25, fig. 11.80.

gle production centre, but many examples are known from Thessaly<sup>22</sup>. The amphorae from Kephala, most possibly of a Late Protogeometric date, can be compared with those from Palaia Volos, with which they seem to share the same fabric characteristics<sup>23</sup>.

Moving further into time, a good assemblage of pottery and small clay objects, mostly loomweights and spindle whorls came to light during the exploration of Building A, which can be placed to the late 8<sup>th</sup> century. The majority of the sherds belongs to large and small open shapes, mainly kraters, skyphoi and one-handled cups, combined with pyxides and lekanides. They present a homogeneity in their technological characteristics. Most of them are made of a fabric, fired reddish yellow, relatively fine without inclusions, which can be occasionally of rough texture. The fabric of the rest is pink, too friable with their paint easily flaking<sup>24</sup>. The closest parallels for most of the shapes are found among the published material from Palaia Volos, with some of them, like the open shapes with the inset rim destined to receive a lid, reminiscent of pyxides, being Thessalian shapes, with no parallels from Euboea<sup>25</sup>. A single fragment of a transport amphora of Catling's Group II belongs to the same chronological range (Fig. 12)<sup>26</sup>. Amphorae of this type are mentioned in scholarship as amphorae of the North Aegean<sup>27</sup>, or as "Thermaic", since it has been largely accepted that it derived from several production centres located in the area of the Thermaic Gulf<sup>28</sup>. Their production covered chronologically the entire 8<sup>th</sup>, extending also to the early 7<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>29</sup>. The fragment from Kephala is made of the



Fig. 12. Fragment of a transport amphora of Catling's Group II (photo A. Alexandridou)

typical light brown fabric with the grey core and the high consistency of silvery mica and inclusions of the Thermaic amphorae<sup>30</sup>.

#### KEPHALA AND ITS AEGEAN INTERRELATIONS

According to later literary tradition, the island belongs to the sphere of Euboean colonisation. The question is, however, whether the pottery as the main body of available data, in combination with the architectural remains, could more concretely unveil the character of the site, its settlers and connections with the rest of the Aegean.

On the basis of the excavated material, Kephala seems to have been settled as early as the late 11<sup>th</sup> century with the activity at the site flourishing during the subsequent 10<sup>th</sup> and mostly 9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>31</sup>. It is interesting that the pottery from the earliest graves of the site, as well as from the late 8<sup>th</sup>/

<sup>22</sup> The amphorae of this type are made of various fabrics with different characteristics, with only two examples – one from Lefkandi and the other from Kastanas – from well-dated contexts.

<sup>23</sup> SIPSIE-ESCHBACH 1991, 68, pl. 64.2 (73/95). CATLING 1998, 174.

<sup>24</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN – ALEXANDRIDOU 2015.

<sup>25</sup> SIPSIE-ESCHBACH 1991, 86 and no. 74/29, pl. 19.2. For the shape of the pyxis in the Thessalian production: ARVANITOU-METALINO 1998, 217–218.

<sup>26</sup> ALEXANDRIDOU 2012, 374, fig. 6; MAZARAKIS AINIAN – ALEXANDRIDOU 2018, 136, fig. 12.

<sup>27</sup> PAPADOPOULOS 2005, 576; GIMATZIDIS 2010, 252; GIMATZIDIS 2011b, 101. Various other terms have been applied to these amphorae by Greek scholars: KOTSONAS 2012, 155 with detailed bibliography.

<sup>28</sup> KOTSONAS 2012, 154–155.

<sup>29</sup> Many examples come from Iolkos: SIPSIE-ESCHBACH 1991,

112, pl. 67.11–12 (79/107, 79/107a), 123–124, pl. 34.13–14 (79/209, 79/210), pl. 35.1–5 (79/211–79/215), but they are also attested at Alos: KOTSONAS 2012, 159, note 544. Moreover, they are also known from southeastern Thessaly: GIMATZIDIS, 2011a, 101, 104, 108, fig. 7. For the dating: CATLING 1998, 161–170, 176. See more recently: KOTSONAS 2012, 158, note 522. For the possible production centers: KOTSONAS 2012, 158–159; LEMOS 2012, 179–180.

<sup>30</sup> KOTSONAS 2012, 156.

<sup>31</sup> Although Sampson noted that the earliest activity at the site dates back to the Late Bronze Age (SAMPSON 1977), no sherds of this period have come to light during the survey or the excavation.

early 7<sup>th</sup>-century Building A share the same technical characteristics, despite the chronological distance separating them. The fabric of the majority of the pots points to Thessalian imports as expected, due to its geographic proximity with the region. On the other hand, vases of Euboean origin were absent both in the necropolis and the earliest Building A on the plateau.

Except for the dominance of the Thessalian pottery, the connection and more importantly the cultural unity of Kephala with Thessaly and its eastern coastal part is suggested by the funerary data. The contemporary graves from Nea Ionia of Volos provide the closest parallels. The application of inhumation for all the deceased of the Early Iron Age graves together with the choice of the cist tombs are found in the majority of the burial sites in Thessaly<sup>32</sup>. More strikingly, the same care shown for the floor of the tomb, which has been strewn with pebbles, is well attested among the graves at Palaia Volos<sup>33</sup>. The contemporary graves, excavated at the site of Theotokou in the Magnesians promontory, the closest to the island of Skiathos, are all inhumations in cists, some richly furnished, with one of them containing four skeletons<sup>34</sup>. Both the Submycenaean Grave III and the disturbed graves IV and V of Kephala represent multiple or reused burials, like those known from Krannon and Voulokalyva. It is noteworthy that children are buried together with adults, as in smaller burial grounds, like in Theotokou, but also in large, organized necropoleis, such as Voulokalyva, Nea Ionia, Kastri Rodias and Pharsala<sup>35</sup>. The concentration of metal grave offerings, made of bronze, iron, but of gold too, dominating over pottery, is another common element between the Kephala and the Thessalian graves. Although the application of inhumation in comparably furnished cist graves for adult deceased, is attested in Euboea at that time, the presence of more than one deceased in the same grave and the use of pebbles for the floors of all graves in Kephala are Thessalian rather than Euboean cultural elements. It is noteworthy that the metal findings do not only manifest

the highest social level of the Kephala dead, but they are indicative of the site's contacts with the Central, Western and Northern Greece<sup>36</sup>.

The early burial data from the necropolis strongly link the site with neighbouring Thessaly, for which it must have acted as a "coastal window" to the Central Aegean (Fig. 1). The occupants of the Submycenaean tomb could well have come from the eastern part of Thessaly. Furthermore, the early transport amphorae at the site strengthen Kephala's bonds with Thessaly rather than Euboea. Amphorae of Catling's Group I might have been widely distributed, but they present a particular concentration in central Greece, namely Phocis, Locris and Thessaly. The fabric of the Kephala example brings it close to those found in Palaia Volos. The slightly later transport amphorae of the transitional type from Kephala point to Thessaly too. Kephala is one of the few sites, which revealed a significant concentration of amphorae of this type, combining characteristics of amphorae of Groups I and II. The technological characteristics of the amphora of Group I, but more importantly of those of the transitional type from the site further indicate that at least one of their production centres was operating in Thessaly<sup>37</sup>.

Despite the problems in precisely dating them, vases of Euboean manufacture, including pendent semicircle skyphoi – the hallmark of Euboean Protogeometric pottery<sup>38</sup> – do not seem to appear at Kephala before the late 9<sup>th</sup> or the early 8<sup>th</sup> century. Their presence is stronger in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, while by the last decades of the century, some of the locally produced vases reveal strong Euboean influences; both Euboean Geometric shapes have been translated into the local clay and Euboean styles of decoration have been adopted.

The material of the 9<sup>th</sup> and mostly the 8<sup>th</sup> century

<sup>32</sup> For the burial practices in the Early Iron Age Thessaly: GEORGANAS 2006; KAROUZOU 2017, 352-356.

<sup>33</sup> SIPSIE-ESCHBACH 1991.

<sup>34</sup> WACE-DROOP 1906-1907, 309-327; LEMOS 2002, 175.

<sup>35</sup> KAROUZOU 2017, 357, where the relevant references.

<sup>36</sup> ALEXANDRIDOU forthcoming. The type of the golden hair spirals belongs to the Submycenaean period and it is mostly found in Epirus, Macedonia and Albania. The origin of the type has been assigned either to the Balkan or to the Italian area. The bronze ring with the shield-shaped bezel must have been produced in Central-Western Greece. Nea Ionia of Volos was until now the northernmost site, where rings of this type have been found: BATZIOU-EUSTATHIOU 1999, 122.

<sup>37</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN – ALEXANDRIDOU 2015; ALEXANDRIDOU in press.

<sup>38</sup> For the pendent semicircle skyphoi, see in particular: KEARSLEY 1989; LEMOS 2002, 20-21, 44-45; GIMATZIDIS 2010, 125-147.

reveals an increased connectivity of the site. Except for Euboean pottery, fine-decorated pottery and at least one transport amphora of Type II have come from the North Aegean. Otherwise, the interregional connectivity of the site seems to have been rather limited, since there are no ceramic finds pointing to other Aegean sites. The picture seems to have considerably changed in the Archaic period and particularly in the 6<sup>th</sup> and the subsequent 5<sup>th</sup> century, as reflected on the large corpus of transport amphorae of various origins and much imported fine-decorated pottery from the main production centres of Attica and Corinth<sup>39</sup>.

The pottery from the site and particularly the early transport amphorae reveal that Kephala must have acted as a node of a “small world” network in the Central Aegean. In this type of network, links are mostly shared between nodes found in small distance, while long-distance contact can be also established between small-world networks. These so-called weak ties are thought of particular importance, since they could have contributed to the introduction of new ideas, materials or goods<sup>40</sup>. In this frame, Kephala rises as one of the “small world” networks, surrounding the Euboean Gulf, vividly interacting with Thessaly and Euboea, as well as Central and North Greece. This strong interaction might have contributed to the development of stronger ties among these centres and a sense of common identity<sup>41</sup>. The finds from the site form an additional argument in favour of the close contacts of the Thessalians, at least those located to its eastern part, with the wider Aegean, verifying the view that Thessaly was not excluded from the developments taking place during the Early Iron Age<sup>42</sup>.

The presence of Euboean pottery in combination with the literary account of Pseudo-Skymnus from Chios reveal the links with the island of Euboea and the possible Euboean presence at the site, which should be, however, treated with caution, without being overemphasized. Due to its geographical position, Kephala bridges Central Greece

with the Northern Aegean and it could have served as an additional stepping stone, facilitating Euboean mobility towards the North Aegean and the Thermaic Gulf<sup>43</sup>. The Euboean imports, at least in the material at hand, are limited and cannot sustain the reconstruction of Kephala as a Euboean trading post, leaving aside a colony. It has already become clear that the central role assigned to Euboeans in the trading enterprises during the Early Iron Age does not reflect reality<sup>44</sup>. If indeed carried by Euboeans and not indicative of Thessalian or local trading activities, this imported pottery could signify that the site must have facilitated Euboean mobility towards the North Aegean and the Thermaic Gulf as an additional stepping-stone.

The evidence from Methone, examined under the lenses of the recent network theory<sup>45</sup>, recognizing the composite nature of contacts in time and space<sup>46</sup>, seems to fit well with the case of Kephala too. Even though the volume and the nature of the discovered material differ, with the large number of transport amphorae of various provenances lacking, Kephala seems to have seen the activities of people of different origins.

By the 8<sup>th</sup> century, if not earlier, the settlement of Kephala seems to have developed into an independent small centre. A kiln has not been yet detected, but a number of test pieces or discards, found during the exploration of the buildings on the plateau, serve as positive indications of the existence of a local workshop. On the other hand, iron smithing activity is better evidenced at the site through the numerous slags collected during the survey, but more particularly due to the discovery of two hearth-bottoms in close distance to the entrance of the curvilinear Building A. These finds suggest that there were locally available iron ores and that the inhabitants had the technical knowledge to smelt and smith it. Whether and to what extent the presence of iron at the site attracted the Thessalians and consequently

<sup>39</sup> ALEXANDRIDOU 2012, 369-370; CHRYSOPOULOU – DOULGERI-INTZESILOGLOU 2015.

<sup>40</sup> KNOELL 2013, 280, 287-290.

<sup>41</sup> For the possible links of Kephala in the Early Iron Age, see KNOELL 2013, 383, figs. 7.2 and 7.3.

<sup>42</sup> LEMOS 2002, 205-207; STAMATOPOULOU 2007, 315-316; KNOELL 2013, 280, 287-290.

<sup>43</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2013. For the Euboean presence in the North Aegean, see esp. TIVERIOS 2008; CHARALAMBIDOU 2017.

<sup>44</sup> For this issue: KOTSONAS 2012, 232-233 with detailed bibliography.

<sup>45</sup> KOTSONAS 2012.

<sup>46</sup> COLLAR 2009, 145-150; CONSTANTAKOPOULOU 2007, 20-28; MALKIN – CONSTANTAKOPOULOU – PANAGOPOULOU 2009b; MALKIN 2011; KNAPPETT 2011, 28-30; KNAPPETT 2013.

the Euboeans and had an impact on the development of the trading links of Kephala with Euboea and Northern Aegean cannot be concluded without further research at the site.

Kephala has been already inserted into the frame of the Euboean *koine*<sup>47</sup>, whose exact nature remains debatable with its existence heavily questioned and criticized, and Thessaly being dissociated from it<sup>48</sup>. Whether imported from Thessaly or locally produced, the pottery from the site is indeed indicative of the strong Euboean influence and consequently of the major role that central Euboea played in the dissemination of particular clay vases and decorative styles. Mazarakis Ainian attempted to strengthen the link of the site with the *koine* on the basis of the architectural layout of the fortified site, which presents close similarities with a number of Early

Iron Age Euboean settlements<sup>49</sup>. On the other hand, this *koine* might be indicative of mobile materials, technologies and ideas, but their adoption by the different centers in the northwestern Aegean does not equal that they shared a cultural homogeneity. The different consumption patterns of the adopted clay shapes in the various centres are indicative of this reality<sup>50</sup>. The variability in the treatment of the dead is another step in this direction.

In conclusion, the recently acquired archaeological evidence from Kephala places the site in the interaction sphere of the Euboean Gulf through, however, its neighbouring Thessalian tube. Even when, by the 8<sup>th</sup> century, a Euboean presence at the site seems more possible, Kephala remains linked to Thessaly.

<sup>47</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012, 67; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2013, 85-86; ALEXANDRIDOU 2012, 370; MAZARAKIS AINIAN – ALEXANDRIDOU 2015. For the Euboean *koine*: DESBOROUGH 1972, 343; LEMOS 1998; LEMOS 2002, 212-217. For the term “North West Aegean” *koine* see GIMATZIDIS 2011a, 958.

<sup>48</sup> PAPADOPOULOS 1996, 151-181; PAPADOPOULOS 1997, 191-219; PAPADOPOULOS 1998, 362-369; PAPADOPOULOS 1999, 377-394; PAPADOPOULOS 2005, 580-588; PAPADOPOULOS 2011, 128.

<sup>49</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012, 67; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2013, 85-86.

<sup>50</sup> DONNELLAN 2017 with further references.



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Oropos, constituted a single unit that at some stage must have fragmented: thus was formed the area of the chora of Tanagra, with a now synoecised Tanagra adhering to Chalcis, with the rest coming under Athenian influence.

The second part of the work examines briefly the later explanations of the name Euboea; recurrent in these are mythical persons linked to the Euboean/Boeotian world (*Heracles, the Thespiadai, Glaucus, the Asopos*), that represent different moments of Euboean history. It repropose the mythic events that reflect the Archaic links.

ALEXANDROS MAZARAKIS AINIAN, *Thirty-Five Years of Excavations and Research at Homeric Graia (Oropos)*

The excavations of the Early Iron Age settlement at Skala Oropou in Attica were conducted between 1985-1987, originally as a rescue excavation of the Archaeological Service and, after a halt, continued from 1996 up to 2011 as a systematic excavation under the auspices of the Archaeological Society. The overall character of the site, occupied from the Late Protogeometric period onwards and achieving a floruit during the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, is Euboean rather than Attic or Boeotian. Pre-classical Oropos has been plausibly identified with Homeric Graia (*Iliad* B 498) and it has been argued that its inhabitants participated in the overseas travels and endeavors of the Eretrians, especially towards the West. The aim of this paper is to summarize the progress made both in field work and studies since the first *Euboica* conference in 1996 (published in 1998) and to highlight the main characteristics of the Early Iron Age community living in Oropos. Moreover, the progress of excavations on either side of the Euboean Gulf and the proliferation of related publications, have greatly enriched our knowledge about the history and character of the communities living in the area during the same period and allow the assessment of the data from Oropos within the wider geographical and cultural context.

VICKY VLACHOU, *Pottery Production, Workshop Spaces and the Consumption of Euboean-Type Pottery beyond Euboea. A View from Oropos (Attica) in the 8<sup>th</sup> Century BC*

The participation of Oropos in a shared material culture with the Euboean sites manifests a significant degree of cultural homogeneity on both sides of the Southern Euboean gulf. During a period of a strong Euboean presence in the overseas networks, from Northern Greece to the Western and Eastern Mediterranean, a particular interest has been placed in recent scholarship on population movement and the ways of interaction with the local and other foreign populations. Within this framework, the evidence from Oropos in comparison to its contemporary installation at Pithekoussai, in the Bay of Naples may serve as a basis for discussing short and long distance mobility of craftsmen and their clientele, issues of pottery production and consumption in areas that manifest strong Euboean influence although set up in distinct cultural environments. The local production of pottery and its functionality within the various contexts analysed from Oropos offer a helpful framework for turning typological and stylistic analysis into meaningful approaches of the social and cultural organization at the site.

### North Aegean

ALEXANDRA ALEXANDRIDOU, *One more Node to the Thessalo-Euboean Small World: The Evidence from the Site of Kephala on the Island of Skiathos*

Kephala, situated at the northeast side of the island of Skiathos remains the only known Early Iron Age site of the North Sporades thus far. In its inception, the survey and the subsequent systematic excavation anticipated a promising “stepping stone” of the Euboean mobility towards the North Aegean and the Thermaic Gulf. Nevertheless, the results of the exploration of both the fortified settlement and its necropolis revealed a small center of the wider Thessalian cultural region, vividly interacting with Euboea and the North Aegean too.

On the basis of the archaeological evidence on hand so far, this paper will focus on the complexity of regional interactions in the central Aegean during the Early Iron Age. Kephala is here set as a starting point for re-discussing the issue of the Euboean *koine* and more importantly of the role of the Euboeans in the trading enterprises at the time.

SAMUEL VERDAN, ELON D. HEYMANS, *Men and Metals on the Move: The Case of Euboean Gold*

This paper investigates the Euboean involvement in the circulation of metals, specifically gold, in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC. Rather than focusing on the distribution and consumption of luxury items, their style, and the craftsmen who produced them, we explore the production and circulation of gold as a raw metal, reconstructing its use as a form of money in the context of Euboean trade networks.

At the centre of this reconstruction stands the Late Geometric gold hoard from Eretria. This hoard consists of cut pieces of precious metal – *hackgold* – and has been regarded as possible evidence for the use of money in the Greek world prior to the introduction of coinage. Presenting new archaeological evidence alongside a detailed study of the hoard, we trace the Eretria gold back to its placer sources around the Thermaic gulf. Through their colonial presence in the region – at the Eretrian colony of Methone for instance – the Euboeans maintained a supply of gold, enabling them to benefit from its use in trade networks. In this context, Euboean specialist traders adopted gold for carrying out transactions with a high level of precision, thus pioneering the use of precious metal money in the Greek world. This innovation would serve as an anchor for the later introduction and spread of coinage, leaving a lasting impact on the ancient world. The memory of the Euboeans' role in this process was likely preserved in later times.

ANTONIS KOTSONAS, *Euboeans & Co. in the North Aegean: Ancient Tradition and Modern Historiography of Greek Colonization*

The role of the Euboeans in Aegean and Mediterranean interaction during the Early Iron Age is emphasized increasingly in the historiography of the post-War period. It remains little known, however, that before the rise of Euboea, the role which is widely ascribed to the island was basically given to Crete. My review of early 20<sup>th</sup> century scholarship on pan-Cretism and its downfall is intended as a cautionary tale for current assessments of the role of the Euboeans, and informs my critical analysis of the ancient textual tradition for Euboean and other foundations in the North Aegean. This analysis reveals that the tradition in question is characterized by a) a notable patterning in the spatial distribution of metropoleis and colonies, and b) a lack of any references to Euboean – as opposed to other – *oikists*. By approaching the significance of these two findings in the light of broader discussions of Greek colonization in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, I offer a more nuanced understanding of the ancient tradition for the Euboean and other colonization of the North Aegean, and I address different problems pertinent to the modern historiography of the subject.

### Sardinia and Spain

PAOLO BERNARDINI, MARCO RENDELI, *Sant'Imbenia/Pontecagnano Sulci/Pithekoussai: Four Tales of an Interconnected Mediterranean*

New excavations and research have brought to light more sherds of Euboean and Pitheculan pottery from Sardinia, mainly from Sant'Imbenia (Alghero) and from Sant'Antioco and its territory. Previously such sherds were used to date the contexts

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