

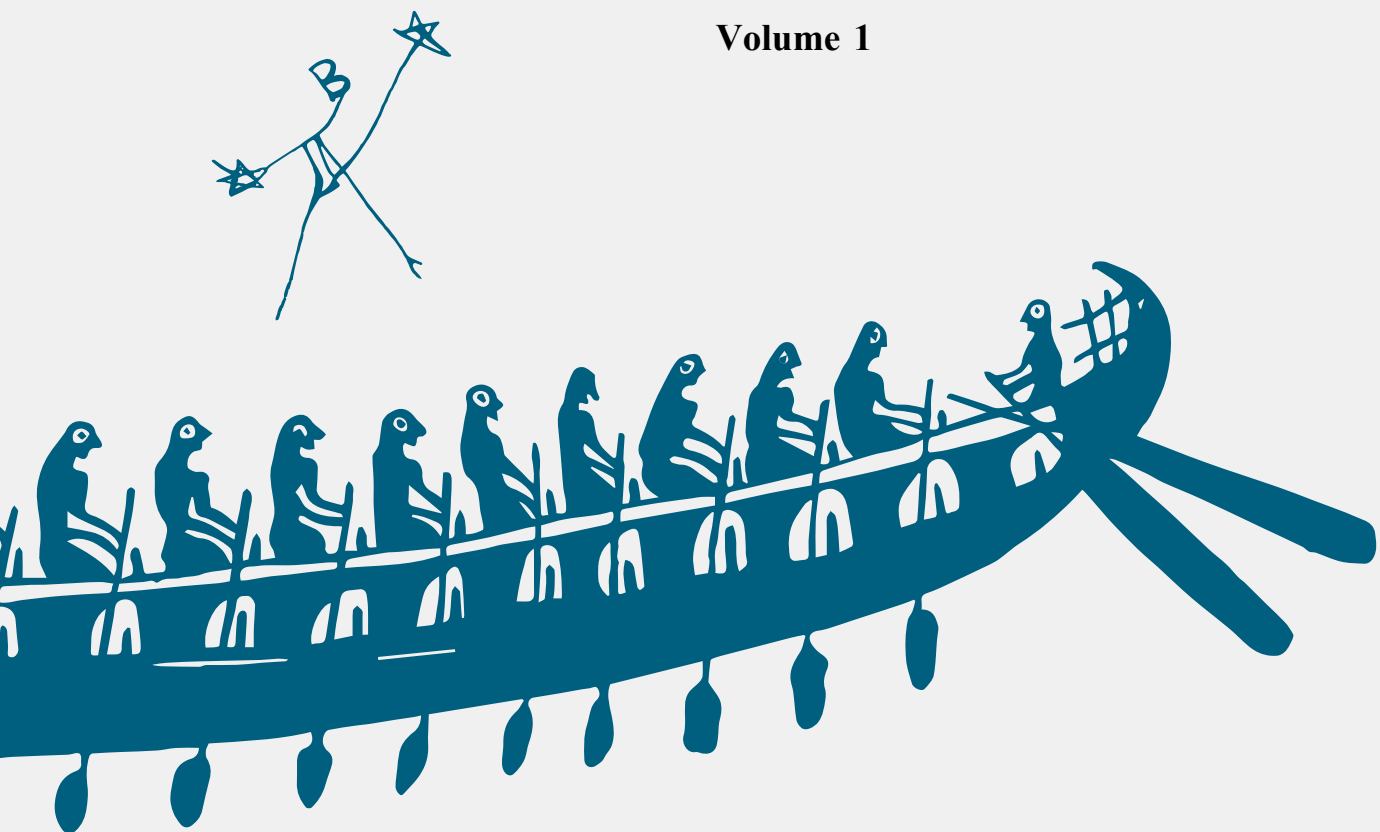
EUBOICA II

Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West

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

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

Volume 1



Napoli 2020

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



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E STORIA ANTICA

Nuova Serie | 27



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

ABBREVIATIONS

Above sea-level: above s.l.; Anno Domini: AD; and so forth: etc.; Before Christ: BC; bibliography: bibl.; catalogue: cat.; centimeter/s: cm; century/ies: cent.; chap./chaps.: chapter/chapters; circa/approximately: ca.; column/s: col./cols.; compare: cf.; *et alii*/and other people: *et al.*; diameter: diam.; dimensions: dim.; Doctor: Dr; especially: esp.; exterior: ext.; fascicule: fasc.; figure/s: fig./figs.; following/s: f./ff.; fragment/s: fr./frs.; for example: e.g.; gram/s: gm; height: h.; in other words: i.e.; interior: int.; inventory: inv.; kilometer/s: km; length: ln.; line/s: l./ll.; maximum: max.; meter/s: m; millimeter/s: mm; minimum: min.; namely: viz.; new series/nuova serie etc.: n.s.; number/s: no./nos.; original edition: orig. ed.; plate/s: pl./pls.; preserved: pres.; Professor: Prof.; reprint: repr.; series/serie: s.; sub voce: s.v.; supplement: suppl.; thick: th.; tomb/s: T./TT.; English/Italian translation: Eng./It. tr.; volume/s: vol./vols.; weight: wt.; which means: scil.; width: wd.

Abbreviations of periodicals and works of reference are those recommended for use in the *American Journal of Archaeology* with supplements in the *Année Philologique*.

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PREFACE

EUBOICA, AGAIN

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro, Matteo D'Acunto

A little more than twenty years since the international conference *Euboica. L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente* (Naples, 13-16 November 1996) – whose proceedings, edited by Bruno d'Agostino and Michel Bats, were published in 1998 – the great amount of new data that had enriched our knowledge of southern Italy, the western Mediterranean and Greece over the last few years called for a return to the theme of Euboean colonization. A direct thread, in motivations and content, ran from the 1996 conference to the one held in Lacco Ameno (Ischia, Naples) from 14 to 17 May 2018, which was entitled *Pithekoussai e l'Eubea tra Oriente e Occidente*. The intent was, again, to discuss the themes of colonization, how colonial realities became rooted in different areas of the Mediterranean, the specific traits of Euboean colonization, and forms of contact and relationship between the Greek element and local communities.

These Proceedings are divided in two volumes, arranged geographically, as per the conference program. They feature a dialogue between historians and archaeologists, with an emphasis on the new important contributions made over the last twenty years by field archaeology in Euboea and in colonial and Mediterranean contexts. This new archaeological evidence contributes to, and modifies our interpretations of, the historical phenomena in which Euboea played a prominent role in the Early Iron Age (tenth-eighth century BC), both in the motherland and in the several geographical districts touched by Euboean trade and colonization. These are the phenomena that led to the colonization of southern Italy and northern Greece, and thus from

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Pithekoussai e l'Eubea tra Oriente e Occidente

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



14 maggio

SALUTI

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

CONFERENZA INAUGURALE

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

INTRODUZIONE AL CONVEGNO

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

15 maggio

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

- 10.00 **Maurizio Giangiulio** (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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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 Athenaeon on the acropolis of Eretria
DISCUSSIONE
Pausa pranzo
 15.00 **Jan Paul Crielaard** (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)
Recent research at Karystos-Plakari: cult, connectivity and networks in the 10th to 7th centuries BC
 15.20 **Karl Reber**, **Thierry Theurillat** (Université de Lausanne - École suisse d'archéologie en Grèce)
Finding Artemis: the Artemision at Amarnthos (Euboea)
 15.40 **Athena Chatzidimitriou** (Historical Archive of Antiquities, Ministry of Culture and Sports)
Zarakas: a cult site in south Karystia, on the island of Euboea
 16.00 **Alexandros Mazarakis Ainián** (University of Thessaly, Volos)
Thirty years of excavations and research at Homeric Graia (Oropos)
 16.20 **Antonis Kotsonas** (University of Cincinnati)
Containers, commodities and 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

SANT'IMBENIA/PONTECAGNANO SULCI/PITHEKOUSSAI: FOUR TALES OF AN INTERCONNECTED MEDITERRANEAN

Paolo Bernardini, Marco Rendeli

It was quite difficult to assemble this paper. Before and after the conference we wrote many times and at last we met at Cagliari. We have talked for many hours, made programs, created perspectives for months, nay years. We have spoken about the paper, about the problems and the development of this work: we agreed both on the framework and on all the pottery presented. We left expecting to meet again in few weeks' time. Some days later arrived a devastating phone call beyond belief, of his death. Paolo was a superb writer, a poet, leaving the reader with the feeling he was speaking of living people: this paper is not the result of a collaborative work written together but it reflects our ideas on pottery, Sardinia and the west Mediterranean area. For this reason, as seems right to me, this work appears under both our names.

«The previous statements [on eastern Mediterranean] become relevant regarding the central and the western areas of the Mediterranean. The reason is simple. There the transition between the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age is closely linked to the first appearance of Oriental cultural elements, the so called Orientalia. Hence, foreign materials, especially of Phoenician and Aegean origin, have been used to date that moment and most of the successive stages. The relevance of those foreign materials depends, in large part, on their nature, the context of their recovering and how the information provided by them has been handled. [...] On the one hand, until recent times, the chronological information provided by Phoenician imports was rather limited. This situation was caused by poor knowledge and understanding of Phoenician sequence in

the metropolis and its potential as a chronological guideline... Instead, dates obtained directly or indirectly by the presence of Aegean imports, have traditionally experienced a wide usage, giving way to a so called "Mediterranean" or "Conventional Absolute Chronology". This common procedure has not always considered that the Aegean chronological framework is based on a particular historical interpretation of the Palestine archaeology evidence, as already indicated. Indigenous evidence has traditionally played a rather secondary and limited role in this regard»¹.

With these words F. Núñez offers an overview on the relationships which characterize the state of play of ceramic studies as concerns the Levantine, Greek or Aegean merchants interacting with local communities; he underlines the subordinate role played by these latter indigenous groups (Fig. 1). In these last few years we have observed a general rise in the dates assigned to individual sherds of pottery, generally considered out of context, and supported by scientific measures not always properly understood². Other projects, in contrast, have moved towards the construction of much more solid foundations, based on contexts and stratigraphic sequences, attempting to define the nature and peculiar characters of local societies and of the merchants: it is a broad-based analysis which has most relevance where cemeteries and tombs are difficult to find³.

¹ NÚÑEZ 2016, 77.

² On the "light" attention given to the 14C analysis, see NÚÑEZ 2014, 5-8; NÚÑEZ 2015, 27-30.

³ This is one of the main problems in Sardinian archaeology today: we have to approach it, taking into account the previous phases, the "tombe dei giganti", the attention given by Phoenicians in creating different types of cemeteries, the apparent disin-



Fig. 1. Map of the Mediterranean area

Building “identities” or, lesser invasively, a local identikit require us to pursue definitions of new forms of contact, exchange and the sharing of cultural and technological paths, ones free of any model built on the modern age colonialism⁴.

Since the first meeting of *Euboica* in 1996⁵, Sardinia has maintained down to today an independent position, in which two major western sites – Sant’Antioco and Sant’Imbenia – stand out for the quality and quantity of Euboean pottery, both imported from the motherland and her colonial centres⁶. During the first conference the findings of the first season of excavations at Sant’Imbenia were presented by D. Ridgway in the wider framework of the Euboean presence in the eastern and western part of the Mediterranean area with a particular attention to the search for metals⁷.

terest of local Sardinian societies to transform a tomb into a monument with evident formal markers (in a word: formal burials). On monumentalizing Iron Age burials, see RENDELI 2014.

⁴ We will not listen to the “sirens” claims of identity which in chorus with insularity form an explosive mix: rather and in other contributions we have tried to identify local specific entities that existed in other parts of the Mediterranean area. These illustrate situations where merchants and other people shared technology and knowledge, without any implications of dependence on the part of the receivers: we are also analysing their internal local transformations, comparing them with what happened in other local communities experiencing the same kind of contacts and exchange. On the overcoming of the “dead hand” of colonial archaeology, see AUBET 2001, 97-193; AUBET 2008; AUBET 2016.

⁵ *Euboica*.

⁶ BERNARDINI 1988; BERNARDINI 2008; BERNARDINI 2016; RIDGWAY 1997; RIDGWAY 1998; RIDGWAY 1999; RIDGWAY 2002; RIDGWAY 2006; RENDELI 2005; RENDELI 2012.

⁷ RIDGWAY 1998, 316-320. To D. Ridgway and S. Bafico, our

Those campaigns brought to light both impressive remains organized around an older nuraghe and a certain number of pottery sherds, Levantine and Greek, and local and imported amphorae which proclaimed a new story for the western part of the Mediterranean and for central and southern Italy⁸.

Before their discovery there had existed the sherds found at Sant’Antioco, analysed by P. Bernardini who, in a pioneering paper on the relation between Pithekoussai and Sulci⁹, proposed a direct relation between these two sites: this interpretation today grows ever more and more valid with the excavations and surveys carried on the Sulci area¹⁰. This increasingly subtle reading has created a model of relations between these two sites: the new discoveries from Sant’Imbenia perfectly fitted into that framework, widening both it and the net of contacts to embrace the new relations with Pontecagnano, about which Paolo and I spoke frequently.

Since the end of the last century, new excavations have brought new pottery and data to bear on the theme of the Euboean pottery in Sardinia: a short listing of them is useful to appreciate their quantities and to bestow more directly an appreciation of the nature of the pottery.

grateful and sincere memory.

⁸ RIDGWAY 1997; OGGIANO 1997; OGGIANO 2000; DOCTER – NIEMEYER 1994; DOCTER *et al.* 1997; DOCTER 2000; DOCTER 2005-2006. On the new studies on technology of pottery and on the protocol created at Sant’Imbenia, see DE ROSA 2017; DE ROSA *et al.* 2017; DE ROSA – GARAU – RENDELI 2018; RENDELI 2018.

⁹ BERNARDINI 1981-1982, 13-30.

¹⁰ FINOCCHI 2005; FINOCCHI 2007; DESSENA 2015.



Fig. 2. Greek pottery at Sant'Imbenia (drawing L. Sanna, M.A. Demurtas)

SANT'IMBENIA (Fig. 2):

End of 9th-first half of 8th centuries BC

1. A28 US 222 (Fig. 3a). Two joining sherds of a pendant semicircles cup, not so well painted and repainted on black. A very good comparison can be made with a cup from Pontecagnano¹¹, clearly re-painted (Fig. 3b).

2. A29 US 1399 (Figs. 4a-b). Rim of cup with a metope on the shoulder; inside the metope an oblique line. 3.6 x 3.2, thickness 0.4. 5 YR 6/8 clay; 7/4 ext. unpainted; 3/1 ext. painted lines; 4/1 int. paint. Shape and profile similar to a “one bird” cup from Pontecagnano¹².

3. 2008 US 1 (Figs. 5a-b). Body sherd of a cup; four vertical lines to define a metope and inside it part of bird; lower ext. part painted. 3.7 x 3.8, thickness 0.28 higher part, 0.4 lower part. 5 YR 6/8 clay; 2,5/1 paint of bird and int. surface; 4/6 ext. vertical lines and lower part of the body. “One bird” cup, phase II A of Pontecagnano, even if it is quite diffi-



Fig. 3. a) PSC cup repainted, A28, US 222 (photo M. Rendeli); b) PSC cup repainted from Pontecagnano (from BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 1999, pl. 2.4)



Fig. 4. Bird cup, A29, US 1399 (a: photo M. Rendeli; b: drawing F.J. Núñez)

¹¹ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 1999, T. 4697.1, 31, fig. 3, pl. 2.4; Phase IIA, beginning (780-770 BC).

¹² BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 1999, T. 3211.2, 35, fig. 6, pl. 2.7. Phase IIA (780/770-750 BC)



Fig. 5. Bird cup, 2008, US 11
(a: photo M. Rendeli; b: drawing F.J. Núñez)



Fig. 6. Bird cup, A49 US 679 (photo M. Rendeli)

cult to determine a comparison¹³.

4. A48 US 679 (Fig. 6). Body sherd of a cup; four vertical lines define a metope, inside traces of legs of a bird. 3.3 x 1.9, thickness 0.3. 2,5 YR 6/6 clay and unpainted ext. surface, 3/1 ext. and int. painting. "One bird" cup, one very similar at Pontecagnano¹⁴.

¹³ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 1999, 13 ff.

¹⁴ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 1999, T. 3211.1 and 2, 34 f., fig. 6, pl. 2.7; Phase II A (780/770-750 BC).



Fig. 7. Cup with metope and lozenge, A28, US 233
(photo M. Rendeli)



Fig. 8. Dish, possibly PSC, A29 US 1372:
a) ext. surface; b) int. surface (photos M. Rendeli)

5. A28 US 223 (Fig. 7). Small sherd of shoulder-part of rim of a cup; band above, from it two vertical lines and beside part of a lozenge. 1.7 x 0.8, thickness 0.3. 7,5 YR 7/6 clay and unpainted surfaces, 3/1 ext. decoration and int. painting. "One bird cup" similar to one from Pontecagnano¹⁵.

6. A29 US 1372 (Figs. 8a-b). Body sherd of possible dish, possibly a PSC dish; ext. surface black

¹⁵ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 1999, T. 3211.1, 35, fig. 6, pl. 2.7, Phase II A (780/770-750 BC).



Fig. 9. Cypro-Achaic I closed shape, A29 US 1372 (photo M. Rendeli)

painted. 2.7 x 3.1, thickness 0.3-0.4. 2,5 YR 6/4 clay, 2,5/1 upper part of ext. painting, 4/4 lower part, 5 YR 6/3 int. surface unpainted. PSC dishes were found in western Mediterranean at Huelva¹⁶.

To this group we can add:

7. A29 US 1372 (Fig. 9). Body sherd of a “Cypro-Achaic I” closed shape. On the ext. surface five concentric lines. The external one seems to be thicker than the others. 4.2 x 2.8, thickness 0.65. 10 YR 8/3 clay, 8/2 unpainted surfaces; 3/1 paint¹⁷.

These seven sherds augment the presence of early Greek pottery at Sant'Imbenia and together with those discovered in the 1980s form now a defined group: it begins with the PSC skyphos of type 5 Kearsley (Figs. 10a-b) and the chevrons cup and continues with the “one bird” cup (Figs. 11a-b, 11c), in the layer between the two floors in the “capanna dei ripostigli”, A 23¹⁸. They are found with some Levantine pottery, a “fine ware” cup, a cooking pot and a shallow bowl, recognized and analysed by I. Oggiano¹⁹: to them we can now add also the sherd of Cypro-Achaic close shape found between the Piazza and the Piazzetta (A 30 and 29). Although they seem to be found in secondary depositions, they are important because they testify to the earli-



Fig. 10. PSC cup from A23 (a: photo M. Rendeli; b: drawing F.J. Núñez)

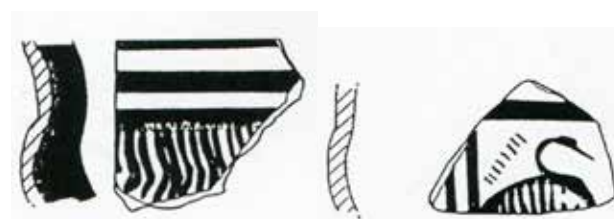


Fig. 11. a-b) Chevron cup from A23; c) bird cup from A23 (from OGGIANO 2000, 255, fig. 6.1-2)

¹⁶ CANALES – SERRANO – LLOMPART 2004, 87-92, XIX, LVII, LVIII.

¹⁷ GJERSTAD 1948, 65.

¹⁸ KEARSLEY 1989, 99-101 for the type 5; RIDGWAY 1997; RIDGWAY 1999, 100-103, note 22; RENDELI 2005.

¹⁹ OGGIANO 2000, 244-249.

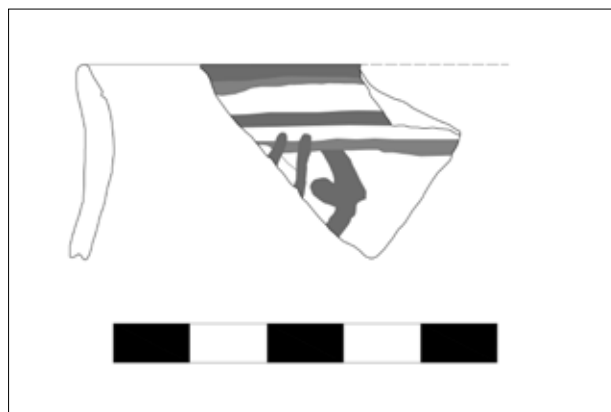


Fig. 12. a-b) Cup with metope and asterisk, A6 US 51 (a: photo M. Rendeli; b: drawing F.J. Núñez)



Fig. 13. Three sherds of an oinochoe, A28 US 120 (photo M. Rendeli, drawing E. Sartini)



Fig. 14. Three sherds of a closed shape, A28 US 120 (photo M. Rendeli, drawing E. Sartini)

est evidence expressed at this local community for the history of relations between east and west Mediterranean areas at the very end of the 9th and the first half of the 8th centuries BC.

Middle to end of 8th century BC

8. A6 US 51 (Figs. 12a-b). Sherd of rim of a cup. On the ext. surface three horizontal lines on the rim, part of two vertical lines on the shoulder to define a metope; beside it there is a motive in form of asterisk. 2.6 x 2.5, thickness 0.3. 5 YR 6/8 clay, 7,5 YR 8/4 unpainted surfaces, 5 YR 6/6 red lines, 3/2 darker part and int. surface. Similar cups were found at Pontecagnano²⁰.

9. A24 US 120.1 (Fig. 13). Three joining sherds of a neck of a jug. Three horizontal lines in the lower part, part of a possible wave line in upper area. 5.3 x 3.9, thickness 0.4. 5 YR 7/6 clay and unpainted surfaces, 5/6 upper dark wave line, 5/8 lighter horizontal lines, 2,5 YR 5/8 internal surface painted.

10. A24 US 120.2 (Fig. 14). Three joining sherds

of a neck of a jug. Two horizontal lines and a large above band painted. 3.8 x 3.5, thickness 0.3-0.4. 5 YR 7/6 clay and internal surface, 2,5 YR 5/8 lines and painted band.

11. A47 US 557 (Figs. 15a-e). Seven sherds of body of jug, dark horizontal lines. 2.9 x 2.3; 1.8 x 1.2; 2.5 x 1.9; 2.5 x 2.0; 2.7 x 2.3; 2.0 x 2.8; 1.9 x 1.4, thickness 0.3-0.4. 7,5 YR 6/6 clay, 8/6 unpainted ext. and int. surface, 3/2 painted lines. This type is colonial, at Cumae, with a distribution at Pithekoussai, Pontecagnano, Tarquinia²¹.

12 A30 US 1, US 51; A31 cleaning (Figs. 16a-g). A selection of sherds of one or more jugs. Ribbon vertical handle made by three joining pieces: starting from the rim horizontal line, a metope of vertical lines followed by horizontal ones; cylindric neck and shoulder: concentric circles painted on the shoulder; on the body: horizontal lines, metopes made by lines “*a tremolo*”, other horizontal lines; or horizontal lines, waved thick line, other horizontal

²⁰ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 1999, T. 3264.1, 40, fig. 9, pl. 4.1, cup with single meander, Phase IIB (750-730 BC).

²¹ MERMATI 2012, type A1α, 53-54, 135 ff., pl. XIII. These sherds recall another Pitheculusan jug found in the first season of excavation at Sant’Imbenia and published by S. Bafico, in BERNARDINI – D’ORIANO – SPANU 1997, 234, no. 34.



Fig. 15. a) Sherds of an oinochoe, A47 US 557; b) oinochoe from S. Bafico's excavations; c) the neck of the oinochoe (photos M. Rendeli); d) drawing of the oinochoe (F.J. Núñez); e) oinochoe from Pithekoussai (from MERMATI 2012, pl. XIII, type A1α)

lines. Handle: 1. 2.8 x 3.4, thickness of rim 0.6, of handle 0.9; 2. 2.8 x 4.0, 3. 2.7 x 4.9; neck and shoulder: 3.9 x 2.8, thickness neck 0.9; shoulder 0.5; 2.4 x 1.3; 3.0 x 1.9; 1.6 x 1.3; body with metopes "*a tremolo*": 4.0 x 3.2, thickness 0.5; 3.9 x 2.8; 2.7 x 3.8; 2.6 x 1.3; body with waving thick line: 4.2 x 3.4; thickness 0.6; 3.0 x 4.6. 5 YR 7/6 clay and unpainted

surfaces, 6/8 painting, 5/8 metopes "*a tremolo*"; 2,5 YR 5/8 concentric circles. Similar jug from Pontecagnano²² and from Cumae²³.

13. E2 US 1392 (Figs. 17a-b). Rim and shoulder

²² BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 1999, T. 7765.2, 73, fig. 24, pl. 6.1, Phase II B (750-730 BC).

²³ MERMATI 2012, 55 and 135 ff., pl. XIII: Oinochoe type A1α.



Fig. 16. Sherds of one or more oinochoai: a) neck and shoulder; b) sherd of shoulder; c) decoration of the body; d) decoration of the body; e) part of a handle; f) other part of a handle (photos M. Rendeli); g) oinochoe from Pontecagnano (from BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 1999, fig. 23, T. 7765.2)

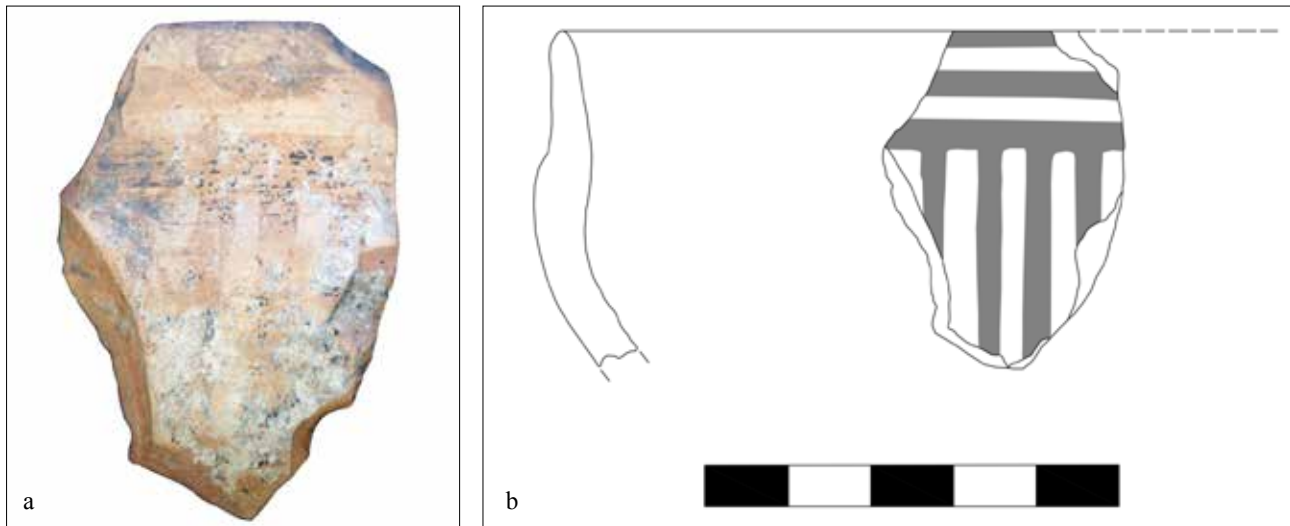


Fig. 17. Cup with metope E2 US 1392 (a: photo M. Rendeli; b: drawing F.J. Núñez)

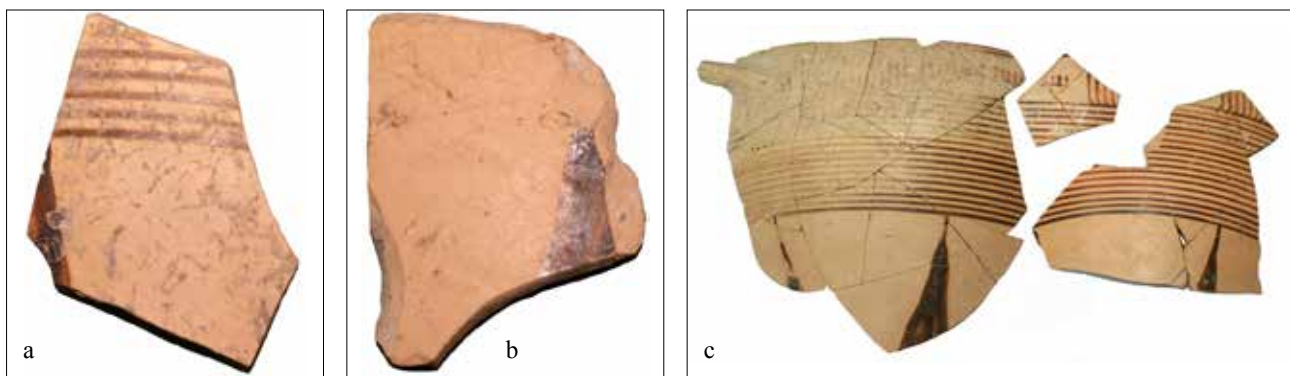


Fig. 18. a) Sherd of body of a MPC kotyle, A28 US 223; b) sherd of body of a MPC kotyle, A30 US 51 (photos M. Rendeli); c) sherd of a MPC kotyle from S. Bafico's excavations (from S. BAFICO, in BERNARDINI – D'ORIANO – SPANU 1997, 234, no. 36)

of a cup; thin lines on the ext. surface of the rim; metopes made by vertical lines; 2.8 x 4.2, thickness 0.5; 5 YR 7/6 clay; 7,5 YR 8/3 unpainted ext. surface; 6/3 ext. paintings; 6/8 to 4/6 internal covering.

Mid 7th century BC

14. A28 US 223 (Fig. 18a). Body sherd of kotyle; ray leaf on the lower part of the ext. surface, 7 horizontal thin lines above it. 2.6 x 2.8, thickness 0.25. 2,5 YR 8/3 clay, 8/2 unpainted surfaces; 10 YR 3/2 ray leaf; 5/3 horizontal lines and internal surface²⁴.

15. A30 US 51 (Fig. 18b). Body sherd of a kotyle; part of a ray leaf painted. 1.7 x 2.2, thickness

0.25; 2,5 Y 3/1 clay; 4/2 int. and ext. painting²⁵.

16. A30 US 51 Pilone C (Fig. 19). Body sherd of a possible SOS amphora. Ext. surface painted with a brush. 4.7 x 3.5, thickness 0.7. 5 YR 5/6 clay; 2/1 – 4/3 ext. brushed paint.

End of 7th -first half of 6th cent. BC

17. 2008 US 1 (Fig. 20). Body sherd of Ionic cup. Ext. horizontal dark lines. Int. painted. 2.6 x 3.6, thickness 0.3 upper, 0.5 lower part. 5 YR 7/6 clay; 4/2 painting.

18. 2008 US 1 (Fig. 21). Body sherd of an Etrusco-Corinthian close shape. On the ext. surface traces of horizontal large bands. 4.0 x 3.2, thickness 0.6-0.7. 7,5 YR 7/6 clay; 4/1 painting; 4/4 lighter bands.

19. 2008 US 1 (Fig. 22). Body sherd of an Etrus-

²⁴ This sherd is similar to or part of another kotyle found in the first season of excavations (Fig. 18c): cfr. S. BAFICO, in BERNARDINI – D'ORIANO – SPANU 1997, 234, no. 36. Both can be compared with BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, T. 196, no. 2, 256, pl. CXXXV (Middle Protocorinthian).

²⁵ See note 24.



Fig. 19. Sherd of a SOS amphora, A30 US 51 (photo M. Rendeli)



Fig. 20. Sherd of body of an Ionic cup, 2008 US 1 (photo M. Rendeli)

co-Corinthian plate. On the ext. surface part of a rosette without graffito; on the int. one horizontal band. 2.5 x 2.3, thickness 0.8; 5YR 6/8 clay, 7/8 unpainted external surface, 5/8 painting. Possible Painter “Senza Graffito”²⁶.

SULCIS IGLESIENTE

We can add some new items to the dossier of Sant’Antioco and the Sulcis-Iglesiente territory.

Sant’Antioco

20. (Fig. 23). Two sherds of a cup with a metope filled with a false meander come from the excavations carried out in the Cronicario and were published by P. Bartoloni and M. Guirguis²⁷. Other sherds found in the excavations of the Cronicario and of M. Sirai are studied by F. Mermati.

Tratalias

21. (Fig. 24a). Sherd of cup coming from the slopes around the area of nuraghe Tratalias: it shows a decoration with a metope with a meander inside and an asterisk on the other side, near the attack of

the handle. Clay 10 YR 7/4; int. painting 5 Y 5/1; 4/1; ext. painting 7.5 YR 4/4²⁸. The author proposes a comparison with a skyphos from La Rebanadilla: a much more appropriate relation can be seen with a skyphos from the necropolis of Pontecagnano (Fig. 24b)²⁹.

Nuraghe Sirai

22. Body sherd imitating a Corinthian skyphos of Cumae-Pithecusan production; 3.86 x 1.91; h. 1.88, thickness of the handle 0.65³⁰.

23 Body sherd imitating a Corinthian kotyle of Cumae-Pithecusan production; 2.88 x 2.78; h. 2.64; thickness 0.28³¹.

Both sherds of the skyphoi from the Cronicario and nuraghe Tratalias fit well into the framework created by P. Bernardini after 1988 and reconsidered by D. Ridgway and M. Rendeli some years lat-

²⁶ SANTOCCHINI GERG 2010, 77-78, fig. 1; SANTOCCHINI GERG 2014, 164, no. 737, pl. XXIX (580-570 BC).

²⁷ BARTOLONI 2008; GUIRGUIS 2012, 59-64, fig. 17; BERNARDINI 2016, 8, note 30, fig. 6. Missing a drawing of the sherds, the shape is not definable, nor its attribution to a specific phase: looking at the photos published, the reconstruction of the shape seems to permit an attribution to the LG I, starting from mid 8th century BC: this date pertains just for the Greek imported vases. Recently P. Bartoloni returned to a very high date of the Cronicario sherds without adding any new references: BARTOLONI 2018, 9-10.

²⁸ DESSENA 2015, 147-150, clay and paintings, 150; BERNARDINI 2016, 8, note 30, fig 7.

²⁹ The comparison made by F. Dessena (2015, 149-50) with a MG II skyphos from La Rebanadilla seems to me wrong: see SÁNCHEZ *et al.* 2012, 75, fig. 12. In my opinion the sherd shares the shape and the decoration with a skyphos in BAULO MODESTI – GASTALDI 1999, T. 3264.1, 40, fig. 9, pl. 4.1, “coppa a meandro singolo”, Phase IIB (750-730 BC).

³⁰ SANTOCCHINI GERG 2019, 346-348 and 359, fig. 241, no. 6; with reference to MERMATI 2012, 107, no. 59, PCA-PCM (690-650 BC).

³¹ SANTOCCHINI GERG 2019, 346-348 and 360, fig. 241, no. 7, PCA-PCM (720-650 BC).



Fig. 21. Sherd of body of an Etrusco-Corinthian closed shape, 2008 US 1 (photo M. Rendeli)



Fig. 22. Sherd of body of an Etrusco-Corinthian plate of the "Pittore senza graffito", 2008 US 1 (photo M. Rendeli)



Fig. 23. Meander cup from the Cronicario of Sulcis (from BERNARDINI 2016, fig. 6)



Fig. 24. a) Meander cup from Nuraghe Tratalias (from BERNARDINI 2016, fig. 7); b) meander cup from Pontecagnano (from BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 1999, 40, fig. 9, pl. 4.1, T. 3264.1)

er concerning Euboean pottery in Sardinia. A cup with a false meander within a metope is a new and important entry among Greek importations in the Sulcis area. The shape, as much as can be observed in the photo, and the decoration bring us to the "meander" and "false meander" cups which are attested in the western Mediterranean area not earlier than LG I.

The graphic and photographic documentation presented by F. Dessena and, later, by P. Bernardini for the sherd found at Nuraghe Tratalias illustrates the spread of Greek pottery into the local societies of the hinterland; they are exotica in their fine clay fabric, thin sections, and neat painting on the surfaces³². A much more exact tie exists with a cup found in the necropolis of Pontecagnano dated during the phase IIB (750-730 BC).

The two cups can be connected with the earliest phase of foreign presence allowed in the Sulcis area

by the local societies, in the decades around the middle 8th century BC: these vases cannot be dated earlier than this, as recent literature argues for Sardinia and other areas of the western Mediterranean world³³.

The two sherds from Nuraghe Sirai seem to be a little later than those from Sant'Antioco and Tratalias and are clearly connected with the Cumae-an-Pithecusan sequence.

They have to be read and interpreted also in the light of an important series of imitations of Greek pottery – cups, a nice painted table amphora – from the second half of the 8th to a consistent part of the 7th centuries BC.

³² See *supra* notes 27 and 28. Add also the sequence created by N. KOUROU (2005, pl. IV) where this meander skyphos is in LG Ib.

³³ This is the position taken by BERNARDINI 1988; in a later paper, BERNARDINI 2016, 8 f. argues that this date can be confirmed even if the placing of the two vases in a horizon of MG II is asserted. Similar products and shapes can be found at Motya of the date LG I and II: NIGRO – SPAGNOLI 2017, 87-89. The dates for Utica and Huelva, since 2004, seem to me a bit too high: see NÚÑEZ 2015.



Fig. 25 a) Three joining sherds of a closed shape (krater) from US 1069, Casa del mercante greco, Sulcis; b) sherd of a closed shape (krater) from US 1069, Casa del mercante greco, Sulcis (photos P. Bernardini); c) Pithekoussai, “Cratere del naufragio” (from BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, fig. 231)

Sant’Antioco

24. (Figs. 25a-b) In the second half of the 8th century P. Bernardini has proposed to assign four sherds of a vase (a closed shape, possibly a krater) which were found in the “Casa del mercante greco” at Sant’Antioco during the excavation carried out by him before his attachment to the Università di Sassari. Three of them join and show a big fish with its body decorated with oblique lines of grey paint; above are the traces of one arm of a man who is trying to survive, swimming in the sea. The fourth sherd seems to show part of another big fish that seems to be drawn vertically³⁴.

These new sherds represent an extraordinary and unexpected discovery for the whole western Mediterranean area: if our analysis is accepted they could have been part of a large closed vase, a krater, the first one found in Sardinia, North Africa, Sicily and Spain of the LG I-II phases. It is exceptional because it opens a new chapter of the relation between southern Sardinia and northern Campania on the theme of the “dangers of the sea” and the drinking of wine in the Greek manner during the second half of the 8th century BC³⁵.

The shipwreck on the “Cratere del Naufragio” from Pithekoussai (Fig. 25c), found in a cremation area near TT. 196 and 198 in the San Montano necropolis, is the prototype for the reconstruction of this vase: it may strengthen an already strong rela-

tion between these sites, as proposed by P. Bernardini many years ago. In my opinion this is the best gift that Paolo could offer to the Ischia conference: it closes some 40 years of studies and research into the interconnections, routes and circuits operating in the Mediterranean area.

FINAL REMARKS

The analysis of the Euboean and other Greek pottery from Sardinia can be organized at different levels of interpretation that have to be related to sequences and stratifications.

The *first level* is related to the local context. This confirms the framework built by D. Ridgway, S. Bafico, I. Oggiano, R. D’Oriano and M. Rendeli for Sant’Imbenia³⁶ and by P. Bernardini and P. Bartoloni for Sulcis³⁷. Looking at the Greek sequence, there is a strong chronological difference between the context found at Sant’Imbenia and that of Sulcis: the first sequence is very articulated with a considerable presence of pottery from the Euboean motherland and displays robust connections with the sequence built initially for the necropoleis of Pontecagnano³⁸, later by the colonial pottery of Pithekoussai and Cumae. The second site shows ex-

³⁴ The comparison with the “Cratere del naufragio” is direct: BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 695 and 196-197, pls. CCIV, CCV, 231, LG II.

³⁵ D’AGOSTINO 1995; D’AGOSTINO 1999a; D’AGOSTINO – CERCHIAI 1999; CERCHIAI 2002; CERCHIAI 2006; HURWIT 2011.

³⁶ RIDGWAY 1997; RIDGWAY 1998; RIDGWAY 1999; RIDGWAY 2002; RIDGWAY 2004; BAFICO 1986; BAFICO 1997; BAFICO 1998; BAFICO – D’ORIANO – LO SCHIAVO 1995; OGGIANO 1997; OGGIANO 2000; BERNARDINI – D’ORIANO 2001; BERNARDINI 2008; RENDELI 2018.

³⁷ BERNARDINI 1981-1982; BERNARDINI 1988; BERNARDINI 1997; BERNARDINI 2006; BERNARDINI 2010; BERNARDINI 2016; BERNARDINI – D’ORIANO 2001; BARTOLONI 1988; BARTOLONI 2008; BARTOLONI 2018.

³⁸ D’AGOSTINO 1994; D’AGOSTINO 1999b; D’AGOSTINO 1999c; BAIOLO MODESTI – GASTALDI 1999; D’AGOSTINO 2014.

amples and types dating, at least, fifty years later with a very clear and direct connection with the pottery of Pithekoussai and Cumae, starting from the meander cups which cannot be dated earlier than the decades around the middle 8th century BC³⁹.

The later developments at Sant'Imbenia show imports from Corinth together with a sherd of a possible SOS Athenian amphora, followed by some sherds of Ionian cups and Etrusco-Corinthian pottery which testify to the close of the market square as a centre for trade and exchange: the abandonment of the site could be related to the Carthaginian creation of a maritime empire which, after the second half of the 6th century BC, changed the relations and perhaps interrupted the mercantile circulation within this area. The Sulcis pieces are much more consistent and conspicuous even if, at the moment, they do not reach the quantity of Greek and Etruscan pottery found at Nora or Tharros⁴⁰.

The two sites of south and north Sardinia are thus seen to be completely different in nature: Sulcis is a Phoenician colony, whose development prompts wide discussion about the nature of the colony within the local society and its development has been recently described by important contributions⁴¹. Sant'Imbenia represents the critical development of a local community which has changed its organization, political structure and economy in and from participating within regional and interregional trade: it experimented in collective monumentality, creating new spaces dedicated to trade and exchange both inside and outside the community. Both of them are still flourishing, with major and minor changes, during the 6th century BC.

There cannot be any competition between them because Sant'Imbenia is a local site representing a local organized community which trades with merchants, hosts people, shares technologies; Sulcis was created as a Levantine (Tyrian?) commercial *enoikismos* with different nature and aims, being part of one or more local organizations which con-

trolled the immediate neighbourhood.

A *second level* can be signified by the effort used to create and organize the physical setting: in a pioneering and experimental move, the local communities decided to build a market place at Sant'Imbenia, a monumental meeting point (a market square) both for the local trade and for merchants and craftsmen coming from the eastern Mediterranean area⁴².

New monumental plan for collective use, new sequences in the stratification, new connections between layers and structures, new sherds, new studies on metals and pottery all demonstrate the innovative participation of the site both in a long-distance trade and in the creation of local, regional and inter-regional circuits⁴³. This development is also the result of a political choice made by the people settled in the Nurra between the end of the 9th to middle 6th centuries BC: the economic vitality of the local community, the transformations generated in the local society, the collective effort to build a coherent system inside a political framework lead us propose a hypothesis on the nature of this organization.

We believe that what occurred there can be seen as steps towards a "state organization"⁴⁴. Far removed from the experimental organizations going on in the Tyrrhenian coastal area (where the state was a complementary part of something emerging as a "city"⁴⁵), we can yet observe in this part of the island an early collective decision made by many villages whereby a central role was given to the trade area of the market square. What then was the nature of this system and organization: can we argue that we are close to the emergence of a state?⁴⁶ There is no conflict between the two experiences

³⁹ BERNARDINI 1988; BERNARDINI 2016; BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993; MERMATI 2012.

⁴⁰ SANTOCCHINI GERG 2014; RENDELI 2018; new discoveries at Nuraghe Sirai in SANTOCCHINI GERG 2019, 344-346, with a good number of bucchero and some sherds of Etrusco-Corinthian ware.

⁴¹ BERNARDINI 2006; BERNARDINI 2016; BARTOLONI 2008; BARTOLONI 2018; GUIRGUIS 2012; GUIRGUIS – UNALI 2016.

⁴² GARAU – RENDELI 2012; DEPALMAS – RENDELI 2012; RENDELI 2018.

⁴³ DE ROSA *et alii* 2017; DE ROSA – GARAU – RENDELI 2018; RENDELI 2018.

⁴⁴ RENDELI 2018.

⁴⁵ DI GENNARO – RENDELI 2019; on later phases, RENDELI 2017.

⁴⁶ An important methodological framework is in AUBET 2013, 7-113, in particular 41-78 for post-colonial interpretation. A revolutionary change of the relation between archaeological data and models is set out in FRANGIPANE 2017, 3-12: the scholar overturns the perspective of interpreting data (bottom-up analysis), without forcing them into a model and emphasizes the nature and elements of each analysed culture within its system, time and organization. On "difficulties" of approaching anthropological models in the reconstruction of Near East history (top-down analysis), see LIVE-RANI 1998, 3-14.

which were developing along the two shores of the Tyrrhenian sea: our studies are concentrated on the nature and on the organization of a local political system which does not have a city at its centre, as well on the nature of the people arriving from the sea⁴⁷. The answer could also have critical consequences for divining the character of Iron Age Sardinia and could help understand the relation between these communities and the Levantine presence in the region.

The *third level* can be summarized as “the worlds of Sant’Imbenia”: the new discoveries have widened the scope of its links, not only apropos imports but also, since the contribution of I. Oggiano and R. Docter⁴⁸, on exports of products mainly carried in amphorae. The work and analysis made by B. De Rosa has created a watershed change in the study of pottery in Sardinia, by offering new techniques which help the analysis and the interpretation of the production sequence⁴⁹: recognizing local from imported wares, and different products among the local wares on the bases of technological and morphological evidence has allowed the organization of a clear framework in which the pottery can be assigned a place in a technological, morphological, and also in spatial and chronological sequences. The imported Greek pottery may play a role but cannot define the sequence: these ceramics remain important mostly for understanding the worlds with which Sant’Imbenia had contacts and exchanges.

The discovery of a sherd of Cypro-Archaic pottery, of some new sherds of a PSC cup, badly realized and then repainted with black, of perhaps a dish, of some “one bird” cups have enlarged the picture: they are widening the direct relations enjoyed with the eastern Mediterranean in a phase earlier than the planting of the Phoenician and Greek colonies in the western Mediterranean. A new world is opening up, one where local communities hosted people arriving from their motherlands both for

trade and to find a new life far off: Sant’Imbenia shared these experiences with a few other areas in Campania (Pontecagnano⁵⁰), Latium and Etruria (Lavinium, Veii, Cerveteri⁵¹), North Africa (Utica⁵²) and southern Spain (Huelva and La Rebanadilla⁵³). As with all of them, Sant’Imbenia displays the presence of ancient Greek painted pottery, mostly Euboean; with some of them there is the added evidence of Levantine imports and simultaneous exports of amphorae of the Sant’Imbenia type, askoid jugs and “vasi a collo” which suggest a Sardinian drinking set for consuming fermented liquids, presumably wine⁵⁴.

It also testifies to the importance of the ceremonial wine-drinking among people, presumably of the same social level, which characterizes the encounters and the first relations between the host community and the hosted merchants and craftsmen⁵⁵. The Sant’Imbenia amphorae have been found at Utica, Huelva and La Rebanadilla in a phase preceding the creation of North African and Southern Iberian Phoenician colonies: when, ca. fifty years later, the colonies have had taken the place of the direct contact with the motherlands, the imports changed and dwindled, with the colonial pottery became ascendant⁵⁶. The middle of the 8th century BC represented the turning point both in the central and western Mediterranean areas: all the sites we have mentioned are now under the political and economic control of the local communities which are ready to share in “adventures”, the creation of trade-circuits sharing technologies, knowledge and solutions. Without the strong presence of local societies anything could have happened.

The phase in which Euboean pottery appeared in

⁴⁷ RENDELI 2018.

⁴⁸ DOCTER *et alii* 1997; DOCTER 1999; DOCTER 2000; DOCTER 2005-2006; OGGIANO 1997; OGGIANO 2000.

⁴⁹ The new techniques are strongly connected with older methods, those of the “Cantinone” at “La Sapienza” Università di Roma and of the “Camerone” at the British School of Rome, but also with the pottery analysis made in the 1950s and 1960s by many North European Schools at Rome (Swedish, Norwegian, Danish and Dutch). On the protocol developed at Sant’Imbenia, see DE ROSA 2017; DE ROSA – RENDELI 2016.

⁵⁰ BAILO MODESTI – GASTALDI 1999; D’AGOSTINO 2014; KOUROU 2005; KOUROU 2010.

⁵¹ Lavinium: EBANISTA 2018; Veii: RIDGWAY 1968; DESCOEUDRES – KEARSLEY 1983, 9-53; TOMS 1998; Caere: RIZZO 2005, 333-378, with discussion on types and date at 337-339.

⁵² MONCHAMBERT – BEN JERBANIA 2013, LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2014; LÓPEZ CASTRO *et al.* 2016.

⁵³ Huelva: CANALES *et al.* 2004; BOTTO 2018b; NÚÑEZ 2018; Rebanadilla: SÁNCHEZ *et al.* 2012; SÁNCHEZ SÁNCHEZ-MORENO *et al.* 2018. On Greek pottery in Southern Spain, see DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2013; GARCÍA ALFONSO 2016.

⁵⁴ FUNDONI 2009; FUNDONI 2011 for export of Nuragic pottery into Southern Spain; BOTTO 2013.

⁵⁵ MURRAY 1994; BREGLIA 2005; RENDELI 2005; RENDELI 2012; RENDELI 2018.

⁵⁶ AUBET 2001, 97-193; AUBET 2008; AUBET 2016, 254-264.

many sites of the western Mediterranean area is important because it saw the direct and immediate contact between merchants and people who were coming from abroad and the local societies. This means that the local societies of North Africa, Spain, Sicily, the Italian peninsula, Sardinia and, later, Corsica and southern France were ready and willing to share in contacts and exchanges, to be part of

trade-circuits or networks: the physical range of this mobility would have become broad indeed, as new entities entered the ring. The aggregating “cities” of the Tyrrhenian area, the political organizations of North Africa, Sicily, Southern Spain and Sardinia were undergoing rigorous social and economic transformations: to these local societies and their transformations we dedicate this work.

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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 8th and 7th 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 20th 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 Pithecan pottery from Sardinia, mainly from Sant'Imbenia (Alghero) and from Sant'Antioco and its territory. Previously such sherds were used to date the contexts

from which they came; today their interpretation forms part of a wider analysis which starts with the stratigraphic sequences and goes on with the role of Euboean, Pitheculan, Corinthian and Ionic presence in Sardinia from the end of the 9th to the middle of the 6th centuries BC.

MASSIMO BOTTO, *Phoenicians and Greeks in the Iberian Peninsula between the 9th and the 8th Centuries BC*

Commercial agreement between the Phoenicians and Euboeans started in the Aegean and the Near East from the 11th century onwards. It was consolidated in the central Mediterranean as early as the 9th century as confirmed by the recent investigations at Utica and by the study of the oldest Greek pottery found in Sardinia. Regarding the Iberian peninsula, the discoveries made in the historic centre of Huelva, the ancient Onoba, have forced a revision of the times and circumstances of the Greek and Phoenician presence in the Atlantic, extending

the first contacts with the local population to the 9th century BC. The chronology of the end of the 9th – early 8th centuries BC has been confirmed by the foundation of *Gadir*, in the Bay of Cadiz, and the coastal settlement of La Rebanadilla, near Malaga, where ships from the eastern Mediterranean restocked before the difficult passage through of the Straits of Gibraltar. In these contexts indigenous and Phoenician materials predominate, accompanied in lesser numbers by Greek, Cypriot, Sardinian and sometimes Tyrrhenian Italian pottery. Investigations have shown both the strategic role that Sardinia played in the connections between the eastern Mediterranean and the Iberian Peninsula and the active participation they played in the commercial traffic organised by Tyre and directed towards the rich metal deposits of the Huelva region. Although largely within the orbit of the powerful Phoenician city, trade with Spain was characterised by the varied nature of the imported materials from the main production centres of the Levantine coast, from Greece, Cyprus and other areas of the central Mediterranean.

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