UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI NAPOLI «L'ORIENTALE»

ANNALI DI ARCHEOLOGIA E STORIA ANTICA

DIPARTIMENTO DI STUDI DEL MONDO CLASSICO
E DEL MEDITERRANEO ANTICO

Nuova Serie N. 7



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In copertina: Lekythoi dalla necropoli del Serraglio di Kos.

2000 Napoli

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Altezza: h.; ad esempio: ad es.; bibliografia: bibl.; catalogo: cat.; centimetri: cm.; circa: ca.; citato: cit.; colonna/e: col./coll.; confronta o vedi: cfr.; *et alii: et al.*; diametro: diam.; fascicolo: fasc.; figura/e: fig./figg.; frammento/i: fr./frr.; inventario: inv.; larghezza: largh.; lunghezza: lungh.; metri: m.; numero/i: n./nn.; pagina/e: p./pp.; professore/professoressa: prof.; ristampa: rist.; secolo: sec.; seguente/i: s./ss.; serie: S.; sotto voce/i: s.v./s.vv.; supplemento: suppl.; tavola/e: tav./tavv.; tomba: T.; traduzione italiana: trad. it.

Non si abbreviano: *idem, eadem, ibidem;* in corso di stampa; nord, sud, est, ovest; nota/e; non vidi.

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THE BLACK-ON-RED POTTERY FOUND IN COS: FROM POTS TO TRADE OR IMMIGRANTS[1]

Giorgos Bourogiannis

The focus of this article is the foreign pottery found within Geometric contexts in Cos, and its possible influence on local wares. The Serraglio cemetery on Cos has yielded a substantial quantity of imported pottery, mainly of the Black-on-Red (BoR) ware, while some Red Slip (RS) examples also occur. The study of these two imported wares of eastern type, their imitations in Cos and their close parallels from Cyprus and Crete offer valuable information on their impact on Coan pottery during the Geometric period. Further analysis may elucidate the character of contacts between Cos and the eastern Mediterranean and help to trace the place of origin of the carriers, traders, or even settlers, who brought this pottery to Cos.

Consequently pottery may help to tackle the question of the presence of foreigners on this island of the Dodecanese. A discussion of this "foreign" presence will inevitably introduce the complicated issue of the Phoenicians and their role in the Aegean. This role remains quite obscure given the insufficiency of both literary[2] and archaeological evidence. In the case of the Dodecanese in particular, the study of eastern pottery appears quite enlightening in the process of tracing and comprehending the Phoenician presence in the area, as it provides a solid corpus of evidence with no serious chronological lacuna.

The term "Phoenician" reflects certain complexity since "in Aegean archaeology what we frequently mean by Phoenician presence is the appearance of objects thought to derive from the Levantine coast and that we believe were transported to the Aegean by residents of that area"[3]. This perplexity possibly reflects historical truth, as archaeological evidence suggests that "Phoenicia was not a country but a conglomerate of cities or city-states with diverse traditions and interests"[4]. Even the term *Phoenician*, as used both in ancient sources and in modern scholarship, appears to refer to a category of people involved in certain recognisable activities rather than to a single ethnic group[5].

The presence of Phoenician traders in the Dodecanese is explained by the geographical position of the islands, on the gateway to the Aegean. Sailing from the Levant coast or Cyprus to the west, Rhodes would be the first land to provide anchorage. Cos, located slightly further to the north, also provided anchorage to the ships sailing from the east. The coastal location of all the Dodecanesian sites[6] that produced eastern wares, is strongly sug-

[1] I would like to express my deep gratitude to Prof. B. d'Agostino, for offering me the opportunity to publish this article, as well as to Prof. N. Kourou for her expert advice and academic guidance. I would also like to thank Dr. I. Lemos and Prof. D. Ridgway for their guidance, valuable criticism and long discussions on this topic. I am grateful to E. Goring, who gave me the permission to examine some of the unpublished BoR pottery in the Royal Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh, as well as to Dr. O. Bosnakis, Dr. M. Filimonos, Mrs. T. Marketou and Mrs. E. Skerlou of the 22nd Ephorade in the Dodecanese, who offered me a great help and facilitated my work at the Archaeological Museums of Cos and Rhodes. I am also indebted to the 22nd Ephorade and the Scuola Archaeologica Italiana di Atene for providing me access to the photographical archive and permission to reproduce some of the photographs. Last but not least, I am indebted to N. Leriou for her suggestions and for proofreading my manuscript.

[2] Bunnens 1979, pp. 358-366.

[3] Hoffman 1997, p. 15.

[4] Peckham 1998, p. 347.

[5] Aubet 1993, pp. 5-12; Kuhrt 1995, p. 410: «in many ways in the Greek perspective Phoenicians are simply eastern merchants»; Markoe 2000, p. 11: «The dichotomy suggests that the term Phoenician in antiquity was probably broadly applied to any Semitic sea-trader». In the present study the term is used within this more generic content.

[6] Exochi is the only exception, but even this site is relatively close to the sea.

gestive of their function as intermediate sailing-stations. Rhodes in particular would be an ideal secondary place of departure for the Phoenician ships that entered the Aegean as well as those that by-passed the Aegean and sailed southwards to the direction of Crete[7]. The fact that the majority of the material related to Phoenicians was found in the two principal places that "control" the access to the Aegean and the central/western Mediterranean, namely Crete and Rhodes is by no means a coincidence.

The Black-on-Red Ware

Specimens of the BoR Ware (fig. 1a, 2a-c) begin to be found in substantial quantities in Cyprus from Cypro-Geometric (CG) III period, when a systematic production of BoR vases is supposed to have been initiated on the island. This date roughly coincides with the foundation of the Phoenician colony at Kition[8]. Occasional forerunners of the BoR did occur in Cyprus during the CG I and CG II periods; yet those formed a very small percentage of the ceramic corpus and appear to have been imported from the Levant, (although their exact place of origin is not easily identifiable) rather than manufactured in Cyprus[9].

The origin of the BoR Ware is still a subject of debate[10]. The fact that Cyprus seems to be the area where this pottery reached a high-quality fabrication[11], does not necessarily imply that the island was also its place of origin. Actually, the first examples of BoR from the Levant appear to be earlier than those from Cyprus, although the chronological differences between the two areas are not always clear or secure[12]. Birmingham, who dated the initial stages of the BoR as early as the beginning of the 10th and possibly even to the late 11th century BC, suggested that the ware originated from the area of southern Palestine[13]. A Levantine origin for BoR ware is also argued on the basis of its shape-repertory, which is Levantine rather than Cypriot[14]; part of this repertory is, the one-handled ridged-neck juglet[15], a type popular in Cos.

A number of scientific clay analyses of BoR vases from both Cyprus and the Levant indicate a Cypriot origin for the majority of the examined material, which suggests that Cypriot BoR vases were imported into the Levant. Actually, the ware becomes so popular in Cyprus from the 9th century BC onwards, that its occurrence in Phoenicia during the same period should possibly be regarded as the result of importation from Cyprus rather than of a Levantine production[16]. Nevertheless, it should be noticed that these results are not totally reliable, since there was a marked insufficiency of vases from mainland Phoenicia in the sample examined. Moreover they indicate a considerable variation of provenance within Cyprus itself, which might reflect the use of different Cypriot clay sources in the production of this ware[17]. In the case of Cos in particular, which is going to be examined here, BoR vases indicate a close connection with the pottery of Cyprus rather than with that of Phoenicia.

The answer to the origin of the BoR ware may be provided by the "Proto-" or "Local" Black-on-Red (as well as Proto- Red Slip) ware, which is usually found in Early Iron Age contexts in the Near East[18]. This ware differs from the Cypriot BoR in fabric, since the Proto-BoR is very coarse, heavy and contains large inclusions.

It is not clear whether the Proto-BoR has any relation to the genuine (Cypro-Phoenician) BoR. Culican[19] has pointed out that "it has no immediately obvious relation to the Cypro-Phoenician ware traditionally called BoR". Nevertheless there are some indications of analogy between the two wares, concerning the shapes and the decoration[20] that may suggest continuity from the Proto-to the Cypro-Phoenician BoR. It should be emphasised that examples of the Proto-BoR *have* been found in Cyprus and speak for a probable link between the two wares[21]. Thus, although the hypothesis that associates the two wares has not yet been fully substantiated, it is not impossible that the Cypriot potters were stimulated by Proto- BoR pots, to create the Cypro-Phoenician (typical) version of the Ware[22].

Black-on-Red ware found in Cos during the Middle Geometric period

The material[23] upon which the following discussion is based comes from the Serraglio cemetery and the surrounding area. This cemetery was continuously in use from the 10th to the end of the 8th century BC and it is the only published source of BoR vases from Cos[24].

The earliest imported BoR vases in Cos have been found in tombs dating to the beginning of the Middle Geometric (MG) period. Nevertheless, the dating of these burials, which contain eastern imports is not very clear. Morricone dated only one of the tombs that contained eastern imports, namely T 22, to the Early Geometric period and ascribed the others to the Middle Geometric. At some other point of his discussion however, he also refered to T V Pizzoli and T A Sabrie as Early Geometric. Both these tombs seem to belong to the transitional stage between the EG and the MG, in other words, to the very beginning of the MG. Such a chronology coincides with the first appearance of similar eastern (BoR) imports in Crete[25].

The majority of imported vases (and their local imitations) are ridged-neck juglets[26], which is an entirely new shape in Cos. It was first introduced to the island during the Geometric period and became very popular almost immediately. Coan potters reproduced it on a large scale and decorated it with the geometric ornaments, which were current in Cos during that period[27]. These imitative vases, here called ridged-neck lekythoi[28], appeared almost simultaneously[29] to the earliest imported ridged-neck juglets, in the beginning of the MG. Yet their number increased greatly later in the MG and especially in the LG period. The number of examples found demonstrates that for each vase found in Cos, belonging to an eastern ware (BoR or RS), there are five ridged-neck lekythoi with geometric decoration [graf. 1].

These early imports of the ware found in MG contexts in Cos, present common characteristics,

[7] For the Phoenician shipping routes in the Mediterranean see: Aubet 1993, p. 161, fig. 28; Negbi 1992, p. 612, fig. 3.

[8] Karageorghis 1976, p. 95.

[9] Gjerstad 1948, p. 191; Albright 1953, p. 23; De Crée 1991, pp. 97-98.

[10] Brodie and Steel 1996, pp. 263-264.

[11] Coldstream 1998a, p. 258.

[12] Culican 1982, p. 61: "Origins of Cypro-Phoenician Black-on-Red are uncertain, though o growing body of opinion supports, on circumstantial evidence, an origin in Phoenicia".

[13] Birmingham 1963, pp. 32-33, 36-37.

[14] Culican 1982, pp. 60-61; *ibid*. 1991, p. 475: "The shapes of BoR vessels relate predominantly to those of other types of contemporary Phoenician pottery rather than to any other group". The Levantine origin of this Ware is also supported by: Coldstream 1969, p. 2: *idem* 1998a, p. 258; Vandenabeele 1968, pp. 108, 110; Du Plat Taylor 1959, p. 88. Gjerstad 1948, pp. 314-315 and 435-436 had suggested a Syro-Anatolian origin.

[15] The development stages from the round based jug to the ridged-neck juglet and later to the mushroom-lip version are described in: Bikai 1987, pp. 48-50; Chapman 1972, p. 155; Anderson 1990, pp. 41-43; Prausnitz 1972, p. 155.

[16] In Tyre, although the Cypriot variety of BoR is not very popular, when it occurs it is treated as a Cypriot import. This is an important element suggesting that the BoR in its standard (Cypriot) form is a Cypriot product, even if we accept that the initial inspiration originated from the Levant coast. See: Bikai 1978, p. 53, Import 1; also: Chapman 1972, pp. 172-175 and 177-178; De Crée 1991, pp. 97-99. The possibility of a Cypriot origin of the BoR ware is also discussed by Van Beek 1951, pp. 27-28.

[17] Yellin-Perlman 1978, p. 90. For the clay analyses see: Bieber 1978, p. 88; Brodie and Steel 1996, pp. 271-276: «Initial stimulus for the manufacture of the Black-on-red Ware was provided by imported Phoenician pottery, but the Ware as it appears in Cyprus is a Cypriot product»; Matthers et al. 1983, pp. 378-379: «The hypothesis of a single source of the ware is not tenable, there is no need to postulate a common origin for it».

[18] Prausnitz 1972; *idem* 1982, p. 39; Culican 1982, pp. 55 ff; Bikai 1983, pp. 400-402.

[19] Culican 1982, p. 55.

[20] Dark red, brown or black concentric circles, which lack preciseness. Wavy lines, crossed lines and hatched triangles are also used in decoration but they are not as popular: Prausnitz 1972, p. 154. According to Bikai, "the heavy red slip of these pieces as well as their shapes, point to mainland manufacture but there is something about the thin black linear decoration on these particular pieces that points to the later development of Cypriot Black-on-Red." See: Bikai 1983, p. 402.

[21] De Crée 1991, pp. 96-97.

[22] The origin of the Red Slip ware, on the contrary, is more safely associated with Phoenicia. Its earliest production in the Levant dates to the 12th century BC. In Cyprus it was imported in substantial quantity already in the CG II, as demonstrated from the Palaepaphos-Skales material. See: Culican 1982, pp. 64ff; Mazar 1998; Karageorghis 1983, p. 369.

[23] See appendix.

[24] The site was excavated between 1935 and 1943. For the publication of the cemetery's material see Morricone 1982. None of the cemetery's pottery can be dated later than 700 BC, which suggests that the cemetery came to an abrupt end towards that period, possibly as a result of the establishment of a new main settlement at Cos Astypalaia. See: Morricone 1950, pp. 320-323.

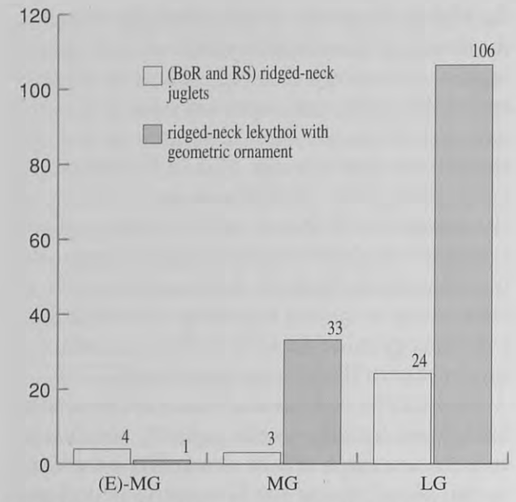
[25] Morricone 1982, p. 30 and pp. 405-407. For Crete see: Coldstream 1984; Coldstream and Catling 1996.

[26] There are also some trefoil-lipped jugs and some carinated cups. The latter, are an Aegean shape, but also present a variety decorated with what appears to be the local imitation of the BoR ware. See also: Coldstream 1998a, p. 256.

[27] Coldstream 1977, p. 68.

[28] I use the term "lekythos" for the Coan vases with geometric decoration, in order to distinguish them from the eastern ridged-neck juglets, either BoR or RS.

[29] Of the two earliest graves in Cos, which produced BoR ridged-neck juglets, only one, T V Pizzoli, contained a single example of ridged-neck lekythos with geometric ornaments (T V Pizzoli, n. 7). Bisi has rightly pointed out that such imitations increase in number later in the MG, in Serraglio T 1 and T 68. See: Bisi 1987, p. 230.



Graf. 1. Ridged-neck juglets, and lekythoi with geometric ornaments.

which indicate a common provenance. All the vases are one-handled ridged-neck juglets, apart from one pear-shaped juglet[30]. The ridged-neck juglets have a globular body with a perfectly rounded outline, while the base is flat and wide. The lip is flaring, (a feature that accompanies ridged-neck juglets throughout the Geometric period), and the neck is short. Decoration consists of concentric circles on the shoulder, and usually four thin, parallel horizontal lines painted on the belly, which mark the maximum diameter of the vessel. The latter are combined with thicker bands on the neck, the ridge and the outer surface of the handle (fig. 1.a).

Contemporary examples from Cyprus[31], display remarkable similarities to the vases found in Cos, with which are identical in fabric, shape and style. Thus there is little doubt that those found in Cos during the MG period are of Cypriot provenance.

One notices that although the newly imported shape was immediately copied in Cos, under the form of ridged-neck lekythoi[32], there was yet no attempt to produce faithful imitations of the BoR ware (fabric and decoration).

A similar process of adapting Cypriot vases to local taste has been identified in Crete[33]. The Cretan parallels, although similar in shape to those from Cos, are considerably different in fabric. Instead of the fine red clay of the Coan examples, the Cretan parallels usually have orange-brown clay, while their surface is polished but not slipped. The main difference of the Cretan variety with the Cypriot and consequently with the Coan BoR vessels is the absence of slip, which is rarely used by Cretan potters[34].

Imported wares found in Cos and their impact on local pottery during the Late Geometric period

Turning to Cos, it is not before the Late Geometric period that close local imitations of the BoR ware first appear. This appearance is associated with an increasing variety in the shape-repertory, since the two-handled ridged-neck juglet, the carinated cups (fig. 1.b-c) and the trefoil-lipped jugs[35] occur for the first time. The one-handled ridge-neck juglet is still the most common shape, while its body presents a wide variety in this period [graf. 2].

During the LG period, the globular body of the ridged-neck juglets, which was the main characteristic of the MG examples, is gradually replaced by the ovoid-globular (fig. 2.a-b) and the ovoid one (fig. 2.c). This element suggests that there was now preference for more elegant forms and vases, which tend to be thinner-proportioned compared to their globular, MG predecessors. At the same time, some potters opt for the replacement of the rounded outlines by sharper and more angular forms. This step is obvious mainly on the shoulder, which became flatter, and gradually resulted in the conical-globular shape. The clumsy appearance of some vases of

[30] Appendix, I/7.

[31] Parallels of the Middle Geometric examples: for each vase two parallels are given, one from Crete and a second one from Cyprus. The numbers given before the parallels refer to appendix - I.

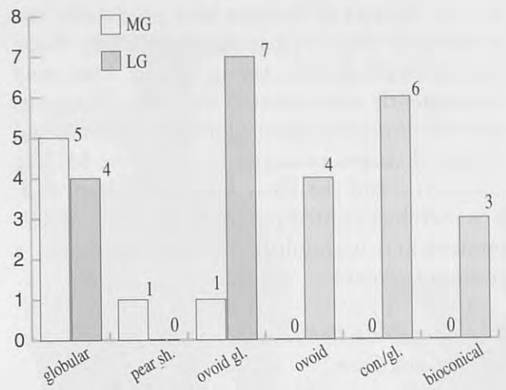
1) Crete: KNC, T 219.56 (RDAC 1984, 131, n. 39); Cyprus: CVA, Gr. Br. 2, British Museum 2, IICc, pl. 16.42; Palaepahos-Skales, 342, T 93.8, pl. 197, BoR II(IV). 2-5) As n. 1; 6) Crete: KNC, T 218.41 (RDAC, 1984, 131, n. 38); Cyprus: SCE IV-2, fig. 25.10, BoR I(III); CVA, Gr. Br. 2, British Museum 2, IICc, pl. 16.24; Palaepaphos-Skales, 342, T 93.11, pl. 197, BoR I(III). 7) Cyprus: CVA, Gr. Br. 2, British Museum 2, IICc, pl. 16.19. The Cretan parallels are again classified as "close local imitations" see: Coldstream 1984, p. 132.

[32] Ridged-neck lekythoi with geometric ornaments have been found in the following graves at the area of Serraglio (Morricone 1982). MG: Serraglio Tombs 1, 8, 27, 28, 68; Pizzoli tombs V, VI; Fadil T I. LG: Serraglio Tombs 14, 17, 19, 20, 23, 24, 43, 54, 64; Pizzoli T VII; Fadil T III.

[33] Coldstream 1984.

[34] Coldstream 1984, p. 132.

[35] These are not examined here because they produced a few examples only, all belonging to similar shape, either globular or ovoid-globular.



Graf. 2. Shape-varieties of the ridged-neck juglets from Cos (globular, pearshaped, ovoid-globular, ovoid, conical-globular, biconical).

this type[36] suggests that the conical-globular body (fig. 3.a) is probably a transitional stage towards the biconical body (fig. 3.b-c).

The latter is the final stage of a development towards more angular forms. The maximum diameter of the body is now extremely emphasised[37]. Cos yielded only three juglets of this variety[38], all three coming from LG contexts. It seems that the biconical juglet did not become as popular as the intermediary stages mentioned above.

It becomes clear therefore that the typology of development of the BoR (and Red Slip) ridged-neck juglet is chiefly based on vases coming from LG contexts, since it is during this period that the main changes occur.

Besides the body, the typological development of the ridged-neck juglets from Cos is also reflected on the alterations occurring on the neck, ridge and lip.

All the MG examples have funnel-shaped mouth and concave neck, while the rim is plain and flaring. During the subsequent phase, two changes occur: a) the ridge shrinks and the entire neck becomes straighter and, sometimes, taller b) the funnel widens near the rim more abruptly than before and often becomes rather flat and horizontal (fig. 3. b-c). This is a stage towards the mushroom lip, which is not actually current on Cos, but it is common among the later examples from Rhodes.

The base also functions as a chronological indicator for BoR juglets. From flat or nearly flat in the BoR I, it changes into disc or ring base, in the BoR II[39]. Flat base is the main type for Coan ridged-neck juglets from Geometric contexts. It becomes narrower in the LG period, obviously as a result of the above mentioned tendency for more elongated forms[40].

As one would expect, the former development stages are not exclusively "Coan" but originate from Cyprus, as the Cypriot parallels[41] of the LG Coan examples demonstrate. It should be emphasised that

[36] Appendix, II/37.

[37] Appendix, II/33.

[38] Appendix, II/32, 33, 39.

[39] At Serraglio there are the following cases; disc foot: Appendix II/24. Ring foot: Appendix II/17.

[40] More than half of the ridge neck juglets found in Cos and dating to this period have narrow flat bases. See Appendix II/ nn. 12-14, 21, 25, 29-33, 36, 38.

[41] Parallels of the Late Geometric vases, trefoil-lipped jugs included (no parallels are given for the carinated cups). Numbers refer to the Appendix II.

8) Crete: KNC, T 292.48 (RDAC 1984, 129, n. 26); Cyprus: SCE IV-2, fig. 38.9, BoR II(IV); Palaepaphos-Skales, 342, T 93.8, pl. 197, BoR II(IV). 9) As n. 8. 10) Crete: KNC, T 61.1 (RDAC 1984, 132, n. 40); Cyprus: Palaepaphos-Skales, 205, T 75.18, pl. 128, BoR II(IV). 11) As n. 10; for Cyprus also: Palaepaphos-Skales, 206, T 75.31, pl. 128, BoR II(IV). 12) Crete: KNC, T 285.45 (RDAC, 1984, 129, n. 20); Cyprus: Palaepaphos-Skales, 206, T 75.41, pl. 128, BoR II(IV). 13) As n. 12; also: Crete: Fortetsa, TFT.669, 63, pl.45; Cyprus: Palaepaphos-Skales, 205, T 75.19, pl. 128, BoR II(IV). 14) As nn. 12 and 13. 15) Crete: KNC, T 292.48, T 292.132 (RDAC, 1984, 129, nn. 26, 27); Cyprus: Palaepaphos-Skales, 206, T 75.41, pl. 128, BoR II(IV). 17) Crete: KNC, T 292.244 (RDAC, 1984, 128-129, n. 18); Fortetsa, T P.1411, 122, pl. 109; Cyprus: Palaepaphos-Skales, 196, T 74.17, pl. 123, BoR II(IV). 18) Crete: There is no close parallel of this type in Crete. The body shape slightly resembles an Early Orientalizing miniature aryballos from Knossos North Cemetery (KNC, T 28.3), although they are completely irrelevant in fabric and ware; Cyprus: No close parallels here either, merely some affinities with: SCE IV-2, fig. 39.1, BoR II(IV); Palaepaphos-Skales, 144, T 62.119, pl. 97, BoR I(III). 19) As n. 18; for Cyprus also: Palaepaphos-Skales, 261, T 81.47, pl. 161, BoR II(IV). 20) Crete: KNC, T 306.19 (RDAC, 1984, 132, n. 41); Cyprus: CVA, Gr. Br. 2, British Museum 2, IICc, pl. 16.29. 21) Crete: KNC, T 283.83, (RDAC 1984, 132, n. 42); Cyprus: Palaepaphos-Skales, 137, T 62.15, pl. 96, BoR II(IV). 24) As n. 21. 25) As n. 21. 26) As n. 20. 27) Crete: KNC, T 219.43 and 219.97 (RDAC, 1984, 123, nn.. 5 and 6); Cyprus: Palaepaphos-Skales, 209, T 75.79, pl. 128, BoR II(IV). 28) As n. 27. 29) Crete: KNC, T 292.97 (RDAC, 1984, 129, n. 25 BoR II(IV); Cyprus: Palaepaphos-Skales, 205, T 75.18, pl. 128, BoR II(IV). 30) As n. 21. 31) Crete: KNC, T 218.6 (RDAC, 1984, 132, n. 44); Cyprus: CVA, Gr. Br. 2, British Museum 2, IICc, pl. 16.29. 32) Crete: KNC, T 218.19 (RDAC, 1984, 132, n. 46); Cyprus: As n. 31. 33) As n. 31. 35-37) As nn. 12, 13. 38) As n. 32. 39) As n. 20. With some exceptions only (the Cretan parallels of nn. 18, 25, 27, 28), the Cretan parallels either are recognised as Cypriot imports (parallels of nn. 8, 9, 12-15, 17, 29, 35) or close Cretan imitations of the Cypriot BoR (parallels of nn. 10, 11, 20, 26, 31-33, 36-39).

in both Cyprus and Cos, this typological development follows the same chronological sequence, which in the case of Cyprus dates from the Cypro-Geometric II to the Cypro-Archaic I period[42]. This fact strongly implies that contacts between the two islands were systematic enough to allow the uninterrupted introduction to Cos of Cypriot pottery elements, at least for some specific shapes.

Although the development of the ridged-neck juglets during the LG period may be clearly outlined, decoration patterns (during the same period) appear more conservative, showing less obvious changes. Basic patterns remain rather unaffected[43]. The main differentiation spotted on some of the LG examples from Cos, is the tendency for a freer use of the various decorative patterns. This element is traced only on vases, which seem to have been made locally, and not on those who are imported from Cyprus. The decline in discipline is expressed in three ways:

a) the parallel horizontal lines do not mark the greatest diameter of the vessel but are situated in a higher position[44];

b) the vase is decorated with large side- circles instead of the smaller concentric ones. This decoration is common on the Cypriot trefoil-lipped jugs but seems rather unsuitable for a small-size vase[45];

c) the concentric circles are situated at the lower part of the body or in vertical row, instead of their normal horizontal arrangement[46] (fig. 3.a). Such decorative innovations are not found on Cypriot BoR ridged-neck juglets, thus their presence on some of the vases from Cos is suggestive of their local manufacture[47].

Besides Cos and Cyprus, a development with analogous features for the ridge-neck juglets has been ascertained in Crete during the LG period. The North Cemetery and the Fortetsa cemetery, both in the area of Knossos have produced close parallels of the Coan material, both in shape and decoration, but *not* in fabric. One may consequently notice that in the area of Knossos, the whole process from globular to ovoid and biconical shapes occurred between the Middle Geometric and the Early Orientalizing period, it is therefore contemporary to the Coan development and it should be thus attributed to a common source[48].

The origin of the BoR (and RS) pottery found in Cos: Cypriot and Coan

So far discussion has focused on the analysis of the Cypriot character of the imported BoR pottery found in Cos during the Geometric period.

Morricone, who was the first to study thoroughly the Coan material, distinguished three types of fabrics for the "Cypriot imports"[49]. The "first group" includes (what appears to be) the actual Cypriot imports. On the other hand the difference between Morricone's second and third groups is not as clear. They both have fabrics that differ from that of the first group but not necessarily from each other's as well[50]. Actually, a more detailed comparison of Morricone's groups 2 and 3 with Cypriot material as well as a close study of the fabric of this pottery[51] indicate that only two distinct categories of Black-on-Red may be distinguished in Cos.

The first one includes the "typical" Cypriot BoR[52] ridged-neck juglets, with the fine reddish or pinkish clay[53] and the red, orange or light pale brown slip, lustrous on the body and opaque on the handle, neck and lip. These features of clay and surface are common for the Coan 1st group *and* their Cypriot parallels; thus they strongly suggest a Cypriot origin for the pots from Cos.

[42] Gjerstad 1960, pp. 114-115.

[43] The main variation in the standard decoration of the BoR juglets the number of groups of concentric circles painted on the shoulder, which in Cos vary from one to three; but these appear in all three periods and therefore they are not as helpful as a chronological criterion for the way decoration develops.

[44] Appendix, II/ 26, 30.

[45] Appendix, II/ 17.

[46] Appendix II/ 20, 21, 25, 26, 31.

[47] Coldstream 1998a, p. 256. The same argument is used for Cypriote-Style pottery from Al Mina. See: Gjerstad 1974, p. 115.

[48] Coldstream 1984, p. 132; Coldstream and Catling 1996, pp. 406-409.

[49] Morricone 1982, pp. 405-408.

[50] Coldstream appears to have rightly questioned the division in three groups of the Coan material made by Morricone. Coldstream considers groups 2 and 3 to be locally made and not imported from Cyprus. His criteria are the darker colour and different quality of the slip, the freer placing of the decoration patterns and the appearance of an Aegean shape, the carinated cup. See: Coldstream 1984, p. 126, notes 29-30; ibid. 1998a, pp. 255-256.

[51] The vases examined are nn. 1-3, 5-8, 10-34, 36, 38-39. See Appendix. Comparison is also based on the examination of BoR vases from Cyprus, in the Royal Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh.

[52] The same vases that Morricone catalogued in the "first group".

[53] Argilla rossa fine e compatta / argilla rosso chiara.



Fig. 1. a) Serraglio T. 1.1; b) Serraglio T. 43.7; c) Serraglio T. 43.6.



Fig. 2. a) Serraglio T. 23.40; b) Serraglio T. 23.38; c) Serraglio T. 64.7.

Decoration on these vases is painted in black or blue-black colour and it is carefully executed (figs. 1.a, 2a-c).

The second category[54] includes the vases of Morricone's second and third groups. In this case, clay differs from that of the Cypriot parallels, and is described as "giallo-rossiccia / rosso-bruna / grigio-rossiccia with mica". The surface is also different and is covered with a thick, creamy slip of dark red or brownish colour. The quality of this slip is inferior to that of the actual Cypriot imports of the first group, and has a cruder and less lustrous finish. In this second category the whole surface is equally "lustrous". Therefore the differentiation of the Cypriot BoR vases (lustrous red slip on the body, opaque on the handle and the lip) does not occur on these examples[55]. The paint of

[54] Appendix, II/ 8-9, 16-29, 31-34, 38-39.

[55] A possible exception is in appendix II/ 29.



Fig. 3. a) Serraglio T. 64.3; b) Serraglio T. 64.4; c) Serraglio T. 64.5.

the decoration patterns has in most cases flaked off, together with the underlying slip (figs 1b-c, 3a).

The characteristics mentioned above (clay, thick, creamy slip; no differentiation in the quality of slip between the body and the handle-lip; paint that completely flakes off together with the underlying slip), may as well point towards a local origin of this second fabric. The clay similarities between Morricone's groups 2-3 and the ridged-neck lekythoi with geometric ornaments, which are local products, add further strength to the above hypothesis. This therefore appears to be the case of a locally produced Coan variety of the Cypriot Black-on-Red, closely imitating its Cypriot prototypes, yet not reaching the same level of results. The total absence of such efforts among the MG specimens [graf. 3] suggests that at the first stages Coan potters preferred to import this pottery rather than to imitate it.

The Coan imitative BoR may also appear in an undecorated version (fig. 3.b-c) that could be classified as Red Slip[56]. This has the characteristic dark reddish or brownish slip, equally lustrous on the whole surface, exactly as the Morricone's groups 2 and 3. Apart from the juglets, this fabric is also applied on trefoil-lipped jugs, which are Cypriot in shape but appear Coan in fabrication.

Besides, although more than one different fabrics have been distinguished for the Cypriot BoR[57], none of these seems to resemble the second Coan category. It is true that no clay analysis has been made, to support the hypothesis of Coan pots closely imitating eastern wares. Nevertheless, evidence quite strongly suggests that in the LG period Coan potters produced for the first time close local imitations of the Cypriot BoR and to a lesser degree of the Red Slip.

It should be pointed out however that, next to those Coan close imitations of eastern wares, Cypriot BoR continued to be imported[58] in the LG period, although the local imitative vases outnumber them, and so did the ridged-neck lekythoi with geometric decoration, which gained great popularity in the LG period.

Thus there are three parallel phenomena in the LG pottery of Cos [graf. 3] as far as the eastern (-inspired) pottery is concerned: Cypriot imports, close locally made imitations, and freer local adaptation of an eastern shape.

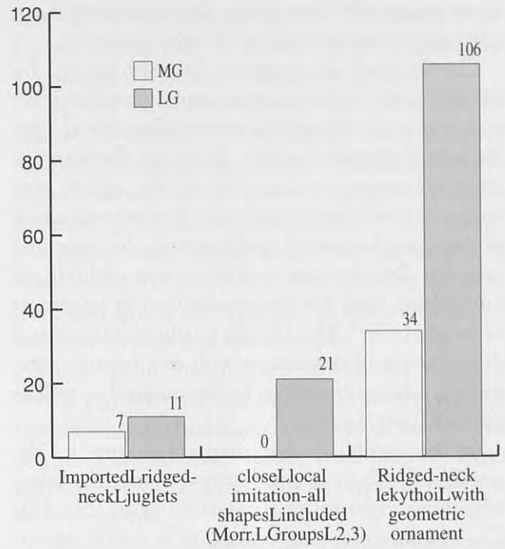
To summarize the above made discussion, foreign pottery found in Cos during the Geometric period presents the following pattern. Ridged-neck juglets belonging to the BoR ware begin to be imported from Cyprus, in the MG period. This new shape inspired a series of Coan copies, dating from the MG to the LG period, which were decorated with geometric ornaments popular in the contamporary local pottery. During the LG period, while BoR pottery continues to be imported from Cyprus, there is an attempt to copy not only the foreign shape, but the ware as well. This attempt resulted in a Coan sub-category of BoR ware, which can also appear in an undecorated version. The latter resembles the Red Slip ware and besides ridged-neck juglets, it also comprised of globular trefoil-lipped jugs.

Therefore, it becomes clear that Cypriot pottery elements and prototypes greatly influenced the Coan pottery during the Geometric period. In the case of Cos, "foreign pottery" equals "Cypriot pottery", and even when Coans adapt eastern shapes, such as the ridged-neck juglets, they still do it based on the prototypes from Cyprus.

[56] Appendix, II/ 27, 32, 33.

[57] Vandenabeele distinguished four different fabrics of Cypriot Black-on-Red. See: Vandenabeele 1968, p. 108; ibid. 1985, p. 632; De Crée 1991, p. 98.

[58] Appendix, II/ 10-15, 30, 35(?), 36, 37(?).



Graf. 3. Eastern wares from Cos and their impact on local pottery.

The theory of unguent factories

The presence of pottery imported to Cos from the eastern Mediterranean demands an explanation. In our case, this explanation aims at the examination of the possible presence of foreigners, associated with the imported pottery, on the island. Such an effort is problematic and presents certain methodological difficulties. This is the result of using archaeological material for the reconstruction of the past and for tracing cultural changes, although archaeologists "are far from agreed about what is involved in doing so"[59].

Scholarship has often questioned the efficiency of the material culture as a means to reconstruct cultural changes and to identify specific (ethnic) groups[60]. According to Jones, "the relationship between ethnicity and material culture appears to be intangible and fleeting, and particularly problematic for the archaeologists". Consequently "it cannot be assumed *a priori* that similarity in material culture reflects the presence of a particular group of people in the past, an index of social interaction or a shared normative framework"[61].

Consequently, when the available evidence is almost exclusively restricted to pottery, as in Cos, then the validity of associating material culture with identifiable peoples[62] is further questioned. If one accepts that differences in ceramic style do not necessarily reflect group identity, then apparently "the borders of territories and groups are not reflected in the distribution of ceramic styles"[63] either.

According to Sherratt, "pots may be telling less about peoples in any genetic or linguistic sense, and more about changing economic strategies and the effects these may have on cultural institutions and political structures"[64]. Graham also argued, that "pottery alone cannot tell us who the people (who used this pottery) were... On the basis of the archaeological evidence alone it will always be difficult to draw a clear picture of mixed communities and so forth"[65]. Moreover, the fact that the existing evidence from Cos comes from burials, while no data from domestic contexts is available, causes

[59] Trigger 1989, p. 371.

[60] Hall 1997, pp. 128-131.

[61] Jones 1997, pp. 124, 126. For the difficulties in associating the material culture with the term of ethnicity see Jones 1997, pp. 106-127. For analysis and interpretation of the archaeological evidence also: Morris 2000, pp. 18-29.

[62] Al Mina is a typical example of how the origin of pottery is insufficient as far as the nationality of those carrying or using it is concerned. See: Morris 1995, p. 127; Braun 1982, pp. 9 ff; also Boardman 1990 p. 183; Graham 1982, p. 93.

[63] Dietler and Herbich, 1994, p. 468.

[64] Sherratt 1998, p. 294.

[65] Graham 1982, pp. 91-92.

additional difficulties against a secure identification of specific (ethnic) groups, that transported the BoR ware[66].

An attempt to interpret the presence of eastern unguent vessels in the area of the Dodecanese has been made by Coldstream. He argued that the eastern unguent vessels found in Rhodes, especially those from Ialysos, are the products of an unguent factory, set up by Phoenicians. These Phoenicians formed a minority group that settled at Ialysos within a Greek majority and were engaged in the production of an unguent or scented oil, sold in containers locally manufactured by Phoenician craftsmen"[67].

Coldstream used the same model to explain the eastern unguent vessels from Cos. The argument functioned in a different way for this island. Since in Cos the oriental shape (Black-on-Red ridged-neck juglets) was immediately "hellenized" and massively produced under Geometric decoration, "it seems improbable that the Phoenicians, at this early date, attempted to set up a local unguent factory within the Greek world"[68]. This suggestion was later revised; according to Coldstream's second theory, an unguent factory *was* set up in Cos by Phoenicians, who were bottling their unguent in containers made by *local* potters, in a style "congenial to their Dodecanesian customers"[69], which explains why Coan potters were so keen in copying the new shape, but they dressed it in geometric ornaments.

According to Coldstream therefore, there is a Phoenician unguent factory staffed with Coan potters in Cos and another Phoenician factory staffed with Phoenician potters in Rhodes. This hypothesis is not necessarily impossible, although there is not adequate evidence to allow its substantiation.

The idea of an unguent factory set up by Phoenicians[70] in Cos appears more plausible if we accept that the Phoenicians were also able to produce their unguent locally. Although there are no chemical analyses to help identify the juglets' content, Cos would be an ideal place for the production of unguents, because it could provide the suspected unguent factory with a wide variety of herbs or ingredients used for the production of unguents or scented oils[71]. The island's fertility famous[72] and the presence of Asklepeios' cult at Cos may echo the abundance of various herbs, medical as well as aromatic, on the island.

Yet the possibility of an unguent factory in Cos, is still difficult to prove. However, since the overwhelming majority of the eastern vases found in Cos are slow-pouring vessels, it is reasonable to associate them with an ongoing unguent trade[73]. Cos did participate in this trade, although it seems that its role was more that of an intermediate station rather than of a secondary point of unguent-production (as it could more likely be the case in Rhodes and Crete).

The carriers of BoR ware found in Cos

The foregoing analysis makes it plausible that the ridged-neck juglets were first brought to Cos by foreign traders. Yet what kind of information can the pottery provide concerning the origin of those traders?

If we accept that the unguent trade that reached Cos was primarily a result of Phoenician initiative, then the ceramic evidence examined above implies

[66] Sherratt 1998, p. 295.

[67] Coldstream 1969: He uses additional elements as corroboration for his claim (many Near Eastern imports excavated from graves and sanctuaries, probable existence of a faience industry, child burials in Phoenician amphorae; *idem* 1982, p. 269).

[68] Coldstream 1969, p. 2.

[69] Coldstream 1977, p. 68; *idem* 1982, p. 268. The same situation appears in Crete, where the eastern unguent vessels have caused series of local imitations, sometimes close to the eastern originals, and others, under the form of freer adaptations of their prototypes. See: Coldstream 1984; *idem* 1998a. On the idea of Phoenician unguent factories see also: Hoffman 1997, pp. 179-185; Markoe 2000, p. 171; Martelli 1988, pp. 105-106; Ridgway 1992, p. 113; Shaw 1989, p. 180; S. Sherratt and A. Sherratt 1993, 365.

[70] There is one more element, which might support the idea of Phoenician unguent factories in the Aegean. In all three parts of the Aegean where eastern unguent vessels have been found, that is Crete, Cos and Rhodes, the local pottery-production has reacted in similar ways: it incorporated and imitated the new vessels. This imitation had the form of either faithful copies or of freer adaptations (both possibilities occur in Cos). It is reasonable to think that these "parallel reactions" did not appear spontaneously but were planned and coordinated by a common source that is those who established the supposed unguent factories.

[71] Apart from olive oil and almond oil, there is also thyme, anise, fennel, bay, sage and marjoram. See: Faure 1987; Theophrastus, Od. III.7-VIII.36.

[72] Call. *Del.* IV, 164. «Λιπαρή τε καὶ εὔβοτος, εἰ νύ τις ἄλλη»

[73] Another interesting element is that these unguent vessels appear in a period when there is a striking lack of slow-pouring vessels in the local pottery repertoire: Coldstream 1968, p. 346. The fact that quite all of them, in whatever place of the Aegean were found, were situated in graves, suggests that they had possibly become part of the local burial ritual by anointing the dead body before cremation.

that the bearers were sailing to the Aegean from Cyprus rather than from Phoenicia proper. This hypothesis is based on the following facts.

The earliest BoR specimens from Cos date to about the middle 9th century BC and are thus roughly contemporary to the foundation of the Phoenician colony at Kition. This chronological equation, which does not look coincidental, strongly suggests that it must have been the arrival of Phoenicians in Cyprus that intensified the unguent trade and gave a new impetus to the relationships between Cyprus and the Aegean.

The Cypriot manufacture of the first unguent vessels imported to Cos indicates that the foreign traders who reached Cos came *from* or *via* Cyprus (Cypro-Phoenicians), rather than directly from mainland Phoenicia and used Cypriot pots for their unguents.

The whole situation would appear therefore as follows: the Phoenicians settled in Cyprus act as pioneers in an unguent trade, which reached the Aegean. To their ventures they have the participation of Cypriot potters, and possibly traders as well. This is hardly surprising as the latter were active commercial partners for the Aegean world during the 11th and 10th centuries, with the Dodecanese being an established market[74].

The Cypriot participation is further supported by another observation. The pottery from Cos which can be associated with eastern prototypes (either actual imports or close local imitations) also includes vases of a clearly Cypriot shape, the globular trefoil-lipped jug. However these jugs[75] are more likely Coan products made under Cypriot prototypes. The fact that the actual Cypriot trefoil-lipped jugs, which would serve as models have not been found in Cos, possibly suggests that these jugs may have been produced by Cypriot potters settled on Cos. This must be the case with the biconical ridged-neck juglets as well. This type of juglets must have had Cypriot prototypes, but no examples of these prototypes have so far been located in Cos. Therefore, the presence of Cypriot potters in Cos, engaged in the production of pots inspired from the Cypriot pottery while the unguent trade was active in the area, may not be absolutely impossible.

More difficult to interpret is the character and extent of the foreign presence in Cos during the same period. This complexity lies on the extreme difficulty to identify the ethnic identity of the carriers of the Cypriot pottery exclusively on the basis of the latter.

If we accept that the unguent trade that reached Cos can be more easily ascribed to Phoenician initiative, then this trade could have been carried out effectively without the aid of a permanent settlement, but only with the aid of a temporary base, which is a typical characteristic of the Phoenician trading activity[76].

If the Phoenicians who reached Cos constructed nothing more than a temporary, commercial base, the question, which arises concerns the possibilities of archaeologically locating this alleged temporary Phoenician base in Cos. In other words, is the archaeological discipline capable of distinguishing between various categories of settlement on foreign lands? Osborne has argued that there should be no confidence "that archaeology distinguishes clearly between the nature of the settlements we have come to call colonies and the nature of those settlements for which scholars cast about for an alternative term"[77].

The main argument against a permanent more systematic Phoenician settlement in Cos is based on the quantity and nature of the archaeological evidence. In other places where Phoenician presence is likely, such as Crete[78] and Pithekoussai[79], there is greater variety of objects, and evidence for more stable and solid establishments on behalf of the Phoenicians, namely writing, burials and cultic activity.

The Coan archaeological material on the other hand consists almost exclusively of ceramic unguent vessels. Additional evidence for a Phoenician presence in the Early Iron Age is restricted to a small number of faience beads and figurines.

[74] Desborough 1972, p. 346; Coldstream 1977, p. 52; Karageorghis 1982, p. 64; Kourou 2000, pp. 1072-1073: «During the first phase (11th and 10th centuries BC) eastern Mediterranean imports (in Crete) are mainly Cypriot... which suggests that even in the 10th century trade mechanisms were still in the hands of Cypriots». Bisi 1987, pp. 228-229; Coldstream 1998b.

[75] Appendix, II/ 27, 28.

[76] Aubet 1993, pp. 90-96; Culican 1991, pp. 485 ff. esp. 485-486.

[77] Osborne 1998, p. 264.

[78] Shaw, 1989; Boardman 1967; Coldstream 1998, p. 259; Kourou 2000.

[79] Ridgway 1992, pp. 113-114; *idem* 1994. Also: d'Agostino 1994; Greco 1994.

It seems therefore that the Phoenician presence in Cos had the form of short-staying commercial visits associated with the unguent trade, without a permanent settlement. Given the geographical position of the island, it seems more plausible that the Phoenicians would stop at Cos during their travels through the Aegean sea, either sailing to the direction of the Greek mainland or to the Asian coast to the north. This island was neither the end of their journey nor a central port of call. Rhodes and Crete were more suitable and attractive for this purpose.

The former analysis has established that we can securely add Cos to the list of diffusion of the Cypriot BoR ware[80]. Nevertheless, the presence on this island of foreigners is more complicated and difficult to prove. Phoenicians and Cypriots must have been visiting the island in a systematic manner during the Geometric period. Some of them, Phoenician unguent makers and Cypriot potters may have even stayed at Cos for short periods, but their presence still seems to have been temporary, since it left no indisputable traces. It should therefore remain hypothetical.

[80] De Crée 1991, pp. 97-102.

APPENDIX

(All numbers refer to the publication of the Serraglio Cemetery, Morricone 1982)

I. MIDDLE GEOMETRIC

1) globular, BoR ridged-neck juglet, T V Pizzoli, n. 1 inv. 940, fig. 653
2) globular, BoR ridged-neck juglet, T V Pizzoli, n. 2, inv. 941, fig. 654
3) depressed-globular BoR ridged-neck juglet, Pizzoli T V, n. 3 inv. 942, fig. 655
4) depressed-globular BoR ridged-neck juglet, Sabrie T A, n. 1, inv. 843, fig, 797
5) globular BoR ridged-neck juglet, T 68, n. 1, inv. 1146, fig. 610
6) globular BoR ridged-neck juglet, T 1, n. 1, inv. 423, fig. 4
7) Pear shaped BoR juglet surmounted by a miniature jug, T 1, n. 2, inv. 427, fig. 5

II. LATE GEOMETRIC

8) globular BoR ridged-neck juglet, T 23, n. 8, inv. 697, fig. 320
9) globular BoR ridged-neck juglet, T 23, n. 9, inv. 673, fig. 321
10) globular BoR ridged-neck juglet, T 23, n. 41, inv. 681, fig. 353
11) ovoid-globular BoR ridged-neck juglet, T 23, n. 42, inv. 663, fig. 354
12) ovoid-globular BoR ridged-neck juglet, T 23, n. 39, inv. 674, fig. 351
13) ovoid-globular BoR ridged-neck juglet, T 23, n. 38, inv. 669, fig. 350
14) ovoid-globular BoR ridged-neck juglet, T 23, n. 40, inv. 664, fig. 352
15) ovoid-globular BoR ridged-neck juglet, Pizzoli T VII, n. 1, inv. 972, fig. 693
16) BoR cup, T 32, n. 2, inv. 1154, fig. 424
17) globular, two-handled ridged-neck juglet, T 43, n. 1, inv. 751, fig. 463
18) BoR trefoil-lipped jug, T 43, n. 3, inv. 736, fig. 465
19) BoR trefoil-lipped jug, T 43, n. 2, inv. 734, fig. 464
20) conical-globular BoR ridged-neck juglet, T 43, n. 4, inv. 735, fig. 466
21) ovoid BoR ridged-neck juglet, T 43, n. 5, inv. 720, fig. 467
22-23) BoR carinated cups, T 43, nn. 6-7, inv. 721, 727, figs. 468-471
24) ovoid BoR ridged-neck juglet, T 54, n. 2, inv. 977, fig. 515
25) ovoid BoR ridged-neck juglet, T 54, n. 3, inv. 978, fig. 516
26) conical-globular BoR ridged-neck juglet, T 54, n. 4, inv. 979, fig. 517
27) Red Slip trefoil-lipped jug, T 64, n. 2, inv. 1011, fig. 567
28) BoR trefoil-lipped jug, T 64, n. 1, inv. 1010, fig. 566

29) ovoid-globular BoR ridged-neck juglet, T 64, n. 6, inv. 1015, fig. 572
30) ovoid BoR ridged-neck juglet, T 64, n. 7, inv. 1016, fig. 573
31) conical-globular BoR ridged-neck juglet, T 64, n. 3, inv. 1012, figs. 568-569
32) biconical Red Slip ridged-neck juglet, T 64, n. 4, inv. 1013, fig. 570
33) biconical Red Slip ridged-neck juglet, T 64, n. 5, inv. 1014, fig. 571
34) BoR carinated cup, T 66, n. 1, inv. 1097
35) ovoid-globular BoR ridged-neck juglet, Fadil T III, n. 19, inv. 916, fig. 740
36) conical-globular BoR ridged-neck juglet, Fadil T III, n. 21, inv. 918, fig. 742
37) conical-globular BoR ridged-neck juglet, Fadil T III, n. 20, inv. 917, fig. 741
38) conical-globular BoR ridged-neck juglet, Fadil T III, n. 3, inv. 902, fig. 721
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GIORGOS BOUROGIANNIS, *The Black-on-Red Pottery found in Cos: from pots to trade or immigrants*

The area of the Dodecanese yielded a rich corpus of archaeological evidence, which can be related to the presence of traders and possibly settlers from eastern Mediterranean. The earlier material comes from Cos, where eastern pottery starts being imported at the very beginning of the Middle Geometric period. This article aims at the re-examination of pottery from eastern Mediterranean found in Cos and its impact on the Coan pottery production. After detailed analysis of the imported material and the local imitations, an attempt is made to trace the origin and the nature of eastern Mediterranean presence in Cos during the Geometric period.

MASSIMO BOTTO, *I rapporti fra le colonie fenicie di Sardegna e la Penisola Iberica attraverso lo studio della documentazione ceramica*

The article investigates trade and cultural interactions between the Phoenician colonies of Sardinia and the Iberian Peninsula from the eighth to the sixth century BC through an examination of their pottery. As regards Sardinia, this study shows that the influence of the extreme West of the Mediterranean is not limited to the importation of freight amphorae, but is also documented by imitations of tableware and domestic pottery. This phenomenon probably reflects the circulation of groups of people within the Phoenician world, and seems to occur prevalently in the seventh century BC, with important anticipations already in the first half of the eighth century BC. In the earliest phase, Sulcis appears to have been especially important, while new colonies such as Bithia, Nora and Tharros later also played a prominent role.

It is more difficult to ascertain the influence of Sardinia on the pottery of the Iberian Peninsula. Nevertheless, in the initial phases, significant contacts are documented between Sant'Imbenia in northwestern Sardinia and Sulcis. In the sixth century, relations with Ibiza, appear especially interesting.

STÉPHANE VERGER, *Un poignard corse à Paestum*

Among the objects attributed to the stipe of the Basilica of Paestum is a dagger handle of a type never attested elsewhere in Italy. In fact, it is a weapon from Iron Age Corse, datable between the eighth and sixth century BC. Since it is impossible to narrow down this chronology, the reasons for its presence in the main urban sanctuary of Poseidonia in the Archaic period remain unclear. However, the object confirms the importance of contacts between Italy and the other Tyrrhenian islands besides Sicily and Sardinia, and the existence of trade between the protohistoric cultures of the Western Mediterranean and the Greek towns of southern Italy and Sicily in the Archaic period.

ANNALISA POLOSA, *Vecchie e nuove ipotesi sui Serdaioi: una messa a punto*

A reexamination of data regarding double relief coins with the inscription ΜΕΡΔ in the Achaean alphabet confirms the hypothesis that they originated in Great Greece in the initial phase of double relief coinage in the Greek cities of southern Italy. The attribution of the series to Sardinia, long maintained on the basis of a combination of archaeological and literary evidence, appears to be no longer tenable. On the other hand, the coins bearing the inscription ΣΑΡΔΩ minted at Tauromenion in the 4th century BC could be attributed to Sardinian mercenaries residing in this Siceliot town.

TERESA CINQUANTAQUATTRO, *Abella, un insediamento della* mesogaia *campana: note di topografia*

The article provides an overview of evidence about ancient Abella, an indigenous settlement located at the edge of the Campanian plain, in the valley of the Clanis river. Through a critical review of the archaeological data, the author outlines the topographical organization of the town from its earliest phase of occupation in the late eighth or early seventh century BC until the Roman period. After a reexamination of evidence from the town's necropolises and territory, the article concentrates on evidence from the town itself, which is still rather scarce in the earliest phases of its history. Archaeological and epigraphic testimonies indicate that the Late Republic - the period of Abella's Romanization - witnessed a major urban transformation involving the creation of a regular street grid of orthogonal streets which is still visible in the plan of the present-day historical center of Avella (AV). The town, which was surrounded by walls, had an extension of about 25 hectares and stood between two vast necropolis areas used continuously from its foundation onward. The Late Republican urban renovation coincided with the monumentalization of some sectors of the necropolis, especially those flanking the roads connecting Abella with the Campanian plain. The town, some parts of which were already uninhabited during the Empire, was definitively abandoned in late antiquity.

FILIPPO COARELLI, *Pompei: il foro, le elezioni, le circoscrizioni elettorali*

The author's analytical reexamination of the Forum of Pompeii reveals structural transformations connected to the foundation of the Sullan colony and the ensuing need to conduct elections according to the Roman system, i.e., using *saepta*. This sheds light on a well-known passage by Cicero (*Sull.* 60-62). The author then proceeds to discuss the electoral districts of the town, which correspond to its *vici*, traditionally identified as the *Salinienses*, *Campanienses, Urbulanenses* and *Forenses*, plus a *vicus* whose name is not known encompassing the first and second regions.

LUCA CERCHIAI, *Il cerchio di Aristodemo*

The article reconsiders Plutarch's mention (*Moralia*, 262 A-B) of a large circular canal dug by Aristodemus in the territory of Cumae as part of land reclaiming works. Since the circle is a geometric paradigm in urban planning, the author believes the shape of this canal to be a significant element in the propaganda of the tyrant, who posed as the refounder of the city.

FRANCESCA FRATTA, VALENTINA MALPEDE, LAURA DEL VERME, *Ultimi dati sulle mura settentrionali di Cuma*

Following on the heels of the publication of the volume *Cuma - Nuove forme d'intervento per lo studio del sito antico*, edited by B. d'Agostino and A. D'Andrea, Napoli 2002, the latest campaign of the Kyme II project, conducted from April 8 to June 28, 2002, sheds light on the building history of the stretch of town wall east of the middle northern gate. The excavation brought to light the whole structure of the ramparts of the first half of the 6th century BC, composed of two orthostat curtains faced with chip banks flanking a central earthwork; and the inner curtain of the time of Aristodemus. The excavation of the entire southern avant-corps revealed that the outer side of the *aule*, which was open at the time of its construction in the last third of the 5th century BC, was closed in the 2nd century BC. Further modifications date from the early Empire. It was also ascertained that the Hellenistic town wall, doubling the earlier one, had an inner curtain. Along with this update on the progress of excavations, the article provides a first overview of newly found material.

JEAN-PIERRE BRUN *et alii*, *Alla ricerca del porto di Cuma - Relazione preliminare sugli scavi del Centre Jean Bérard*

L'exploration archéologique de Cumes a été reprise à l'initiative de la Surintendance archéologique de Naples et Caserte à partir de 1994 dans le cadre d'un programme de travail dénommé *Kyme*. Dans ce cadre le Centre Jean Bérard a été chargé d'un programme de recherche sur les variations de la ligne de côte et la localisation des ports antiques.

En 2000, le Centre Jean Bérard a proposé d'effectuer quelques recherches complémentaires dans la zone sud et d'entamer une opération de grande envergure au nord de l'acropole. C'est en effet dans cette partie que, au cours des campagnes de fouilles 2001 et 2002, les travaux se sont concentrés afin de retrouver les limites de la lagune de Licola et d'éventuelles structures portuaires. Les travaux ont confirmé que la lagune s'étendait jusqu'à une cinquantaine de mètres de la porte et des remparts grecs que fouille l'IUO depuis 1994.

Du fait de l'état d'avancement des fouilles et des difficultés liées au pompage de la nappe phréatique, la situation la mieux connue est celle du Haut-Empire, après la construction de la *via Domitiana* en 95 après J.-C.

À cette époque la lagune de Licola présentait une extension beaucoup plus réduite que lors de l'époque moderne. La voie Domitienne, sortant de la porte septentrionale de la cité, formait un coude vers l'ouest et longeait le bord de la lagune sur 200 mètres, puis amorçait une courbe vers le nord pour suivre, à distance d'un km environ, le rivage actuel. Tout au long du parcours, dans la zone qui a été dégagée, la voie était bordée de mausolées et d'enclos funéraires.

PAOLA LOMBARDI, *Un cratere 'di famiglia' in una tomba cumana*

An unpublished black-glazed krater, nearly 50 cm. tall, from the Stevens Collection, from Cumae (only mentioned in Gabrici's volume on "Cuma"), recently recovered in the reserves of the Archaeological Museum of Naples, bears two greek inscriptions with the owners' names. The inscriptions have various factors of interest: first of all, there is a big chronological gap between them (nearly 50 years); second, the tomb where the krater has been found is an inhumation-grave of a youth from a period relative to the second inscription; third, both the names (Euphronios and Biotos), are well documented in Euboia and, what is more interesting, precisely as the names of members of one family.

On the basis of these elements the following conclusions can be deduced: the krater started to be in use at the beginning of the Vth cent. B.C., as a "good" of Euphronios (as the older inscription says). Being of value, it has been in use for a long time. On the death of a youth in the family, together with goods rather common in a youth's grave (miniature vessels, clay small balls), the krater, surely not yet used by the boy in his life, in "symposion", is put in the grave, as a gift, with the name written on it.

The meaning of the gift of such a dionysiac symbol must be traced, in the diffusion, in fifth-century Campania and Cumae particularly, of dionysiac religion, rich, in escatological elements, and in promises of a blessed after-death life for its "adepti".

FABRIZIO PESANDO, *Un tempio della* Magna Mater *sull'acropoli di Cuma?*

The scanty remains of the so-called Temple B on the acropolis of Cumae have drawn little attention from scholars. Almost a century from its discovery, this monument still remains unpublished, and so far no convincing hypotheses have been put forward as to the identity of the divinity it was dedicated to. In particular, the identification of the building as the temple of Diana/Hecate Trivia mentioned in a well-known passage by Virgil must certainly be rejected: for more than one reason, this temple must have stood outside the city. Certain characteristics of Temple B – notably the chronology of its renóvation, which is coeval with that of the large temple of Apollo; its unusual architectural