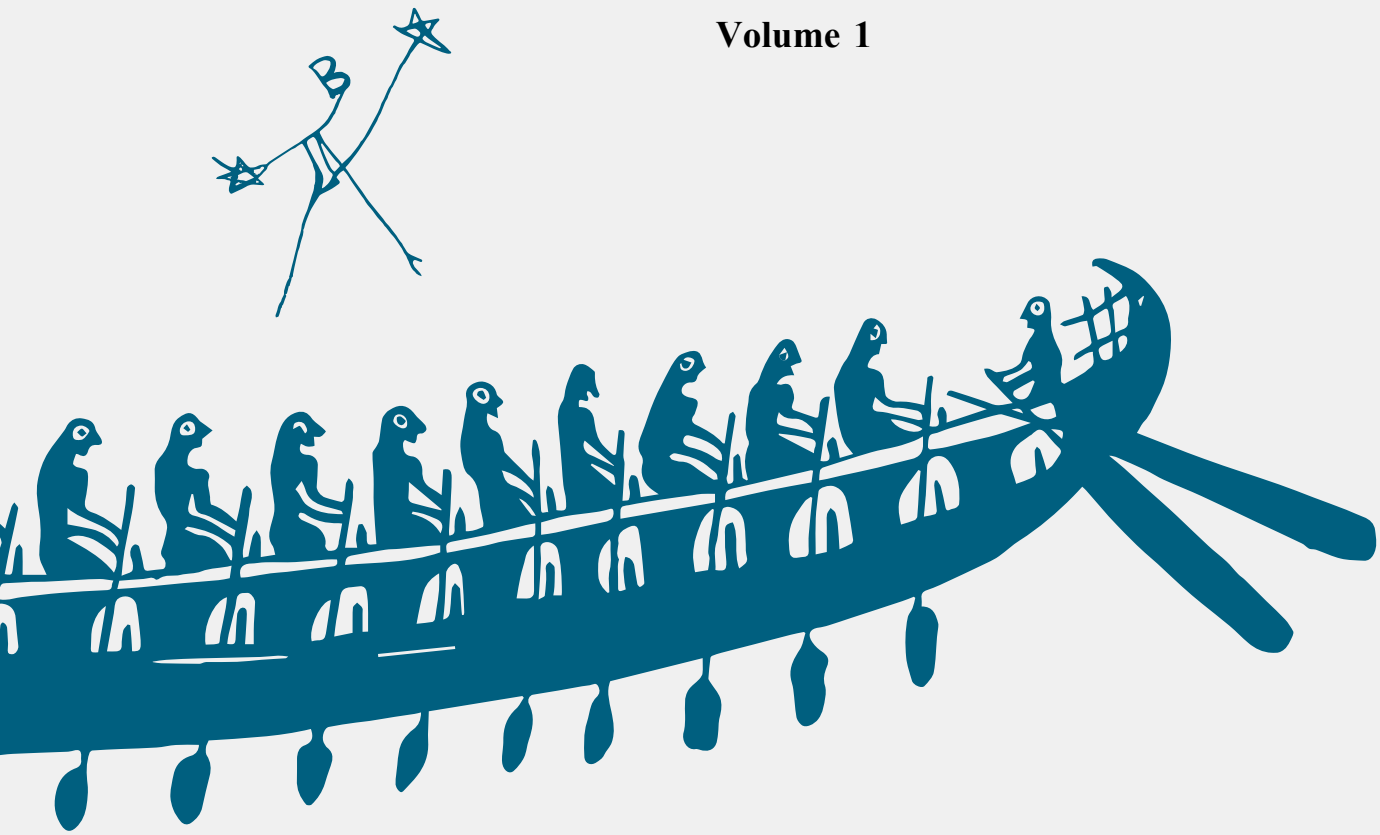
EUBOICA II

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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(rielaborazione grafica M. Cibelli)

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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North Aegean

Sardinia and Spain

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 Marialuisa 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

Convegno Internazionale

Centro Congressi
Auditorium "Leonardo Carriero"
L'Albergo della Regina Isabella
Piazza Santa Restituta, 80076 Lacco Ameno - Ischia (NA)

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 Papi (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 Prota (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)
Euboean 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 alto 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 Cuozzo** (Università degli Studi del Molise)
Produzioni ceramiche dall'area di Mazzola
12.50 **Nadin Burkhardt** (Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt), **Stephan Faust** (University College of Cork)
I primi risultati dello scavo nell'area di villa Arbusto/Pithecusa
DISCUSSIONE
Pausa pranzo
15.00 **Valentino Nizzo** (Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Roma)
Paesaggi, forme e codici del rito nella necropoli di Pithekoussai
15.20 **Marek Wecowski** (University of Warsaw)
The "Cup of Nestor" in context: the rise of the Greek aristocratic culture

SEZIONE C. Cuma e Parthenope

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

16 maggio

SEZIONE D. La Sicilia e il Mediterraneo occidentale

10.00 **Giovanna Maria Bacci** (Soprintendenza BB.CC.AA. 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 Rendeli, Paolo Bernardini** (Università degli Studi di Sassari)
La Sardegna

SEZIONE E. L'Eubea: la madrepatria

12.00 **Irene Lemos** (University of Oxford)
Why Euboea? From the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age
12.20 **Xenia Charalambidou** (University of Warsaw)
Rethinking Early Iron Age and Protoarchaic Chalkis: towards an appraisal of the archaeological evidence
12.40 **Sandrine Huber** (Université de Lorraine)
The Athenaion on the acropolis of Eretria
DISCUSSIONE
Pausa pranzo
15.00 **Jan Paul Crielaard** (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)
Recent research at Karystos-Plakari: cult, connectivity and networks in the 10th to 7th centuries BC
15.20 **Karl Reber, Thierry Theurillat** (Université de Lausanne - École suisse d'archéologie en Grèce)
Finding Artemis: the Artemision at Amarynthos (Euboea)
15.40 **Athena Chatzidimitriou** (Historical Archive of Antiquities, Ministry of Culture and Sports)
Zarakes: a cult site in south Karystia, on the island of Euboea
16.00 **Alexandros Mazarakis Ainian** (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 Thermaic 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 **Francesca Mermati** (Parco Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei)
Ceramica euboica e di tipo euboico tra Pithekoussai e Kyme: status quaestionis e nuovi spunti di riflessione
DISCUSSIONE

CONCLUSIONI

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

Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio area metropolitana di Napoli
Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"
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Matteo D'Acunto (Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
Cecilia Prota (Comune di Lacco Ameno, Ischia)

grafica M. D'Acunto SABAP na-met

Program of the conference *Pithekoussai e l'Eubea tra Oriente e Occidente* (*Euboica II*), Lacco Ameno (Ischia, Naples), 14-17 May 2018

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

EUBOEAN POTTERY IN A MEDITERRANEAN PERSPECTIVE*

Nota Kourou

The amount of PG and SPG Euboean pottery, found together with Phoenician and Cypriot wares all over the Mediterranean, signposts the vigorous practice of sailing and transportation in which Euboea was deeply involved during the Early Iron Age. This process, that triggered the spread of population abroad, the transmission of ideas and cultural interaction all around the *mare nostrum*, is currently at the heart of many a modern analysis of Mediterranean history[1]. In such enquiries, the emphasis is on concepts of connectivity and the role played by these pioneers in forging interconnections, as appreciated through further ideas for new theoretical models and avenues[2]. Trade routes and maritime networks, commercial exchanges and operating mechanisms resulting in economic development all also underpin the preferred modern approaches of ancient historians in explaining forms of social structure, religious links or forms of identity[3]. From an archaeological point of view, the most complicated issue related to early Mediterranean history is that of absolute chronology. Following several attempts to define absolute dates by applying ^{14}C methods, the well-established conventional chronology has been undergoing a severe critique in the last decades[4]. But neither in the Near East nor in the West has a consensus yet been reached that accommodates properly the input of relative chronology and manages to keep the pottery sequence still alive[5].

The expansion of Euboean pottery into the Mediterranean was a long process that lasted almost three centuries, with social and cultural implications that can be traced today inside as well as outside of Euboea[6]. The process is deployed in three consecutive stages, each with its own distinctive characteristics. In the first, marked by the spread of

* Acknowledgements: I would like to thank the organizers of the Ischia conference, Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro and Matteo D'Acunto, for their invitation and generous hospitality during the conference; but also for their request to take up the much-discussed issue of connectivity and contact in the Early Iron Age Mediterranean, which gave me the opportunity to approach it holistically, and from a Euboean point of view, bringing in recent discoveries and advancements.

[1] Cf. Horden – Purcell 2000; Morris – Manning 2005; Manning 2018; Donnellan – Nizzo – Burgers 2016.

[2] The concept of connectivity especially by sea introduced by Horden – Purcell in 2000 has changed immensely our perception of the Early Iron Age, but cf. recently Etienne 2016, who questions the significance of connectivity and goes back to the multi-dimensional, long-term perspective of F. Braudel (1949). For networks, cf. Malkin 2011; Malkin – Constantakopoulou – Panagopoulou 2009; Sindbaek 2015.

[3] For trade routes, cf. Cline 1994; Sauvage 2012 and Horden – Purcell 2000. For the role of economy, cf. Morris – Manning 2005; Scheidel – Morris – Saller 2007.

[4] For the chronological debate in the Levant, cf. Mazar 2005 and Mazar 2011; Fantalkin 2001; Fantalkin – Finkelstein – Piasetzky 2011; Toffolo *et al.* 2013; Gilboa – Sharon 2003; Gilboa – Sharon – Boaretto 2008. For the West, cf. the Rome conference in 2003 (Bartoloni – Delpino 2005) or the large chronological section in Donnellan – Nizzo – Burgers 2016. For most recent approaches, cf. Núñez Calvo 2008 and Núñez Calvo 2016, who presents a critical discussion of Iron Age chronology, focusing on the Levant and emphasizing the importance of relative chronology and pottery sequences. For some recent ^{14}C dates achieved from a well at Utica which contained bones and pottery including Greek material, cf. Lopez Castro *et al.* 2016, but they remain rather inconclusive for the pottery dates. Cf. also, Nijboer 2016, 48, who continues the critical discussion of conventional absolute chronology and provides an update on the Early Iron Age debate concerning absolute dating in the Mediterranean. A recent evaluation of ^{14}C dates in relation with the earliest Greek pottery found in the Iberian peninsula published lately is most important (cf. Garcia Alfonso 2016).

[5] For such an attempt, cf. e.g. Núñez Calvo 2008 and Núñez Calvo 2016.

[6] For another recent discussion of this phenomenon mainly from a central and western Mediterranean perspective, cf. d'Agostino 2017.

PG and SPG I-II/IIIa Euboean vases, the direction of the networks transferring them was from Euboea to Cyprus and the Near East. No other Greek vases beyond Euboean are attested outside the Aegean during this stage. An impressive exception to this Euboean orientated pattern comes from Tel es Safi, a Philistine site in the southern Levant[7], where a SM/EPG sherd from a Greek vase has been found and identified by INAA as Argive[8].

In the second stage, a sequel to the first in the Eastern Mediterranean, the phenomenon acquires a new character, this time though directed also to the West. Now, Euboean SPG III pottery, frequently accompanied first by Attic MG II vases and later, though to a lesser extent, Corinthian wares, turn up at several coastal places in the central and Western Mediterranean. This stage which corresponds broadly with the first part of the 8th century according to conventional chronology, represents the pre-colonization period in Central Mediterranean or the period *prima di Pithecusa*, as it has been called[9]. The third stage displays yet other characteristics and ones of a more urban character. Represented by LG Euboean ceramics, spread both East and West, and including the western Euboean styles developed in Greek settlements in the West, this remains beyond the scope of this paper, which focuses on the first two stages. These represent aspects of what is essentially one and the same phenomenon that laid the foundations for the later economic, social and cultural developments.

Lefkandi and Euboea in the PG and SPG periods

The few systematic excavations at Euboea nonetheless offer ample evidence for the Early Iron Age, further supplemented by the results of rescue excavations[10]. The richest and most significant site for this period is, on present evidence, Lefkandi. A major settlement in the Bronze Age, it reached its climax in the LH IIIC[11] and remained a thriving community into the PG and down into the LG periods[12]. The best testimony of the wealth and power of the settlement already in PG times is provided by the Heroon. This remarkable apsidal building covers a twin interment in an exceptional burial, distinct from any other in the cemetery; beyond any doubt it is that of an important person, buried with his horses and his female companion and escorted by a number of valuable offerings imported from the Eastern Mediterranean[13]. He must have been a distinguished person with international links: his wealthy family could bury his ashes in a Cypriot bronze crater, while the gold jewelry in the grave of his female companion finds no parallel within the burial grounds of his or any other contemporary community. The Cypriot bronze crater, whether an heirloom or a new acquisition, implies contact with Cyprus[14], while the gold jewelry entails access to the Near East. These objects are astonishing imports in this period indicating that Euboeans had foreign contacts known otherwise only in Crete for the PG period.

The radical socio-political changes that succeeded the end of the LBA in the Eastern Mediterranean had greatly affected maritime trade, resulting in a significant decrease of long-distance voyages

[7] The site is identified with the Canaanite and Biblical Gath and considered as the principal Philistine polity during the early Israelite monarchy. The prosperity of the site during the Iron I/IIA stops abruptly in the late 9th century BC, when the site was destroyed by Hazael of Aram Damascus.

[8] Maeir – Fantalkin – Zuckerman 2009, 62, fig. 3. It is a small fragment from the rim of a deep bowl decorated with a wavy band of a type that was popular in the Argolid in LH IIIC, SM and EPG. This Argive sherd dated to the SM/EPG period (ca. 1050 BC), represents the earliest Greek import in the area after the Mycenaean period. It is reasonably assumed that it most probably reached the Levantine coast through Cypriot middlemen, who were among the few that travelled long-distances at the time.

[9] As defined some years ago by B. d'Agostino, in Bailo Modesti – Gastaldi 2000.

[10] For a recent survey cf. Charalambidou 2017.

[11] Cf. I. Lemos in this volume.

[12] For the cemeteries cf. Popham – Sackett – Themelis 1980; Catling – Lemos 1990; Popham – Lemos 1996. For the Heroon, cf. Coulton – Catling 1993.

[13] Cf. Popham – Touloupa – Sackett 1982a, 172-173; Coulton – Catling 1993, pls. 15-21.

[14] The crater belongs to a distinctive class of metal vases that were in circulation mainly in Cyprus from the LC IIIA2 to the CC I (i.e. 1375 - 950 BC, according to conventional dating). In the Aegean beyond the Lefkandi crater, there is also a vase of this class found in an 11th century tomb in Crete (cf. Kourou 2016). Some of these vases including the Lefkandi crater have been claimed as heirlooms at the time of their entombment (cf. H.W. Catling, in Coulton – Catling 1993, 86).

and possibly in some regions in an intermission altogether. A new pattern of travel and trading networks started gradually to develop in the 11th century BC, which in the Aegean corresponds with the SM period. That was the last stage in the gradual decline of the LBA culture: only a few imports of mainly Cypriot objects are known then from the Aegean[15]. Near Eastern objects do not appear again in the Central Aegean before the PG period – the earliest known come from Lefkandi itself. A Syro-Palestinian juglet from an EPG tomb and some faience objects from another represent the first sporadic imports at the site[16]. Foreign objects continued to be rare in the MPG period: beyond some seals in faience, there is only a necklace of faience and glass beads[17]. These uncommon offerings restricted to only few graves indicate a society that had but a limited contact with the Eastern Mediterranean, one benefiting only very few people. The Heroon burial remains exceptional and its lavish imports can be explained only by the significance and standing of the deceased.

The small number of imports demonstrates a pattern of limited contact that makes it hard to believe that Euboean ships were traveling and bartering objects from Cyprus or the Levant during a period when long-distance travels had dropped away in volume. Who then were the carriers of these imports: Cypriots or Levantines? The few Levantine imports in the EPG and MPG tombs at Lefkandi mark the first renewed Near Eastern adventures in the Aegean, but a degree of Cypriot involvement in their transfer is highly possible[18]. The frequency of Cypriot pottery found on the Levantine coast suggests that there was a reasonably powerful alliance between Phoenicians and Cypriots and hence shared and common trade networks could be expected. It was possibly through such a network that the few imports arrived at Lefkandi in EPG-MPG times.

It is in the LPG period (950-900 BC) that an impressive intensification of imports is attested in the cemeteries of Lefkandi, hand in hand with what could be called social competition or demonstration of wealth and status[19]. Some of the Lefkandiot graves contained a large variety of foreign objects in faience or metal[20], while others had simply one or two isolated imports. Not only luxury objects and trinkets, but also functional objects, like tripods, wheeled stands or bowls are now present. This distribution argues not merely for a ranked society, but further for a large and competitive elite with access to imports. The LPG period at Lefkandi displays for the first time regular contacts with the eastern Mediterranean, within which Cyprus is markedly represented[21].

Imports continue at the same pace in the SPG I-II periods (900-850 BC). Their distribution in the cemetery is not in accord with the practice of casual exchange. On the contrary, the pattern implies a kind of economic interaction, probably a commodity-driven expedition of Cypriots and Near Easterners sailing across to the Euboean Gulf. A most important tomb of this period at Lefkandi is tomb T79 specified by the excavators as «the tomb of a warrior-trader»[22]. It is a cremation burial with a Cypriot bronze cauldron as its ash-urn and a considerable number of Levantine and Cypriot objects among the offerings. The 16 stone balance weights in haematite of Cypriot or Levantine origin deserve special attention as they imply a direct interest of the deceased person in trade[23]. The abundance of imports at Lefkandi at this period suggests that the site was not simply a port of call in the Euboean Gulf, but a destination *per se* inside a trading network, whose starting point was somewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean.

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[15] Cf. Kourou 1998; Kourou 2012a, 217-219; Kourou 2016.

[16] Cf. Popham – Sackett – Themelis 1980, pl. 270b (Syro-Palestinian jug from tomb S46) and pl. 207b (faience objects from tomb S16).

[17] Cf. Popham – Sackett – Themelis 1980, pl. 235b (two faience seals from grave T12) and pl. 233a (thirty-six faience and glass beads from a necklace in tomb P. 25).

[18] Cf. e.g. the strong similarity between the Syro-Palestinian juglet from tomb S46 and an almost identical vase from a CG I grave at Kition in Cyprus that implies common routes and carriers (cf. Kourou 2009, 365, fig. 4).

[19] For a list of Cypriot imports at LPG and SPG I-II Lefkandi, cf. Kourou 1990-1991, 243-246; Kourou 2008; Kourou 2012a, 217-219.

[20] As e.g. the grave T39 (cf. Popham – Touloupa – Sackett 1982b, pl. 20).

[21] Cf. e.g. the Bichrome II vase in burial P 22 (Popham – Sackett – Themelis 1980, pl. 270a) or the fragmentary wheeled bronze stand from T 39 (Popham – Lemos 1996, pl. 147).

[22] Popham – Lemos 1996; Nijboer 2008 identifies the tomb as belonging to a Phoenician erroneously dating it to LPG, cf. Kourou 2008, 315 and Kourou 2012a, 219, note 26.

[23] For the balance weights, cf. Kroll 2008.

The spread of Euboean pottery inside the Aegean

The circulation and spread of Euboean PG and SPG pottery in the Aegean and its impact on several other workshops has led Irene Lemos to identify a shared form of culture, which she calls the *Euboean koine*[24]. This involves Euboea and its neighboring mainland areas, such as Boeotia and Thessaly, but also coastal sites in the northern Aegean[25]. On the back of the Euboean koine, which is expressed basically in ceramic terms, a flow of ideas and forms of interaction inside this area are postulated, as well as the possibility of some kind of loose Euboean control over the routes related to these areas. The origin of this koine is traced back into LH IIIC middle and its timespan reaches down to the end of the SPG period (ca. 1150-750 BC). Cultural links between different areas are argued to have been strengthened through common cult practices at some central places, such as Kalapodi[26]. The theory of the Euboean koine has not been without its critics[27] or attempts at reassessment[28], but the wide expansion of Euboean pottery inside the Aegean has remained beyond doubt.

Recognizing Lefkandi as a primal settlement and port in the Euboean gulf, the theory of this koine can explain well the distribution of Euboean pottery and its impact in some areas in the Aegean. Euboean vases excavated at several major sites in southern Aegean, such as Naxos in the Cyclades[29] or Knossos in Crete[30], indicate a southern bias in a maritime network, in which Euboean pottery was rather deeply involved. Euboean ceramic imports and their impact on other styles are also widely attested in Thessaly and coastal Macedonia[31]. Smaller islands in the northern Aegean, like Skyros or Skiathos, are considered to have acted as Euboean outposts for sailing northwards[32]. All these operated inside broader maritime networks in which the Euboean gulf must have constituted a vital region, as it was also frequented by foreigners in the LPG period.

Euboean pottery in Cyprus and the Near East: the first stage (LPG- SPG I/II)

Evidently it was those early and preliminary contacts in the Euboean gulf that resulted in the first exchanges between locals and foreigners and in the transfer of some isolated Euboean vases to the Eastern Mediterranean in the LPG period[33]. In Cyprus, an LPG skyphos (Fig. 1) and a cup (Fig. 2) excavated in a tomb at Amathous[34], along with two other LPG Euboean vases in Cyprus Museum but without an exact provenance[35], offer the earliest evidence for a limited presence of Euboean pottery, the first from Greece since the Mycenaean period. Shortly afterwards, during the 9th century BC, the number of SPG Euboean vases on Cyprus rises rapidly. The trademark of Euboean ceramic presence is now the PSC skyphos (Fig. 3), which is found not only at Amathous, but in many other places: Kition, Salamis, Kouklia, Kazaphani, Soloi, and Palekythro[36]. Inevitably this characteristic vase type had some impact on local ceramic production, though rather fleeting and short-lived[37].

[24] Lemos 1998 and Lemos 2002, 212-214. Before her, Desborough 1952, 127 detecting stylistic similarities of the Protogeometric pottery of Thessaly, Skyros and the northern Cyclades with Euboean ceramics had claimed a Thessalo-Cycladic ceramic koine closely associated with Euboea.

[25] Cf. Snodgrass 1994.

[26] Cf. I. Lemos in this volume.

[27] Papadopoulos 1996; Papadopoulos 1997; Papadopoulos 2011.

[28] For a recent attempt to reassess the concept of a Euboean koine «by studying the consumption of Euboean koine pottery», cf. Donnellan 2017.

[29] Reber 2011.

[30] Coldstream 1990.

[31] Cf. Snodgrass 1971, 72-75; 1994; Kourou 2012b, 165-171. Cf. also, Gimatzidis 2010 on Euboean and Euboeanizing styles at the settlement of Anchialos-Sindos in the Thermaic gulf. For trade between the Iberian peninsula and the Thermaic gulf during the 7th century, cf. Tiverios 2017.

[32] Cf. Lemos 2001; Mazarakis Ainian 2012.

[33] Cf. Kourou 1990-1991 and Kourou 1998.

[34] Coldstream 1987, pl. 10; Coldstream 2008, 172 fig. 3a and b.

[35] Gjerstadt 1977, pl. I.3, pl. 4.

[36] For a list, cf. Wriedt Sørensen 1988 and Crielaard 1999.

[37] Cf. Catling 1973 for some PSC skyphoi produced by Cypriot potters during the CG III period at Amathous.

Fig. 1. LPG Euboean skyphos from Amathous, Cyprus (from COLDSTREAM 2008, 172 fig. 3a)

Fig. 2. LPG Euboean cup from Amathous, Cyprus (from COLDSTREAM 2008, 172 fig. 3b)

Fig. 3. PSC Euboean skyphos from Amathous, tomb 334/67 (courtesy of the Cyprus Museum)

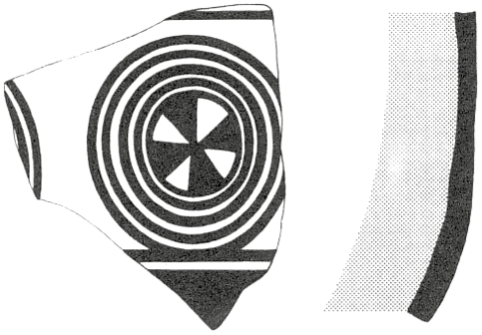


Fig. 4. LPG skyphos sherd from Tyre (from NITSCHE 1986-1987, 15 fig. 2.1)

A similar pattern of Greek imports is attested in the Near East (Map), where again after a gap in the presence of Aegean wares following the LBA, Euboean LPG pottery appears in several sites[38]. The Euboean imports appear in the Near East in the LPG period, as in Cyprus. They are found in a number of places. Three of them are coastal sites. Tyre produced an amphora and a skyphos (Fig. 4) with full circles from stratum XI, which contained local EIA IIA pottery, and a number of other Euboean LPG sherds from unstratified contexts[39]. Tell Dor yielded a LPG cup fragment (Fig. 5) with a zigzag line on the rim[40]. The cup which represents the earliest

Fig. 5. Sherd of a Euboean LPG cup from Tell Dor, Area D2, L17712, Reg. No. 176886 (courtesy of the Tell Dor Excavations)

[38] For a full list with references, cf. LUKE 2003. Also, WALDBAUM 1994 for a more detailed treatment of finds from southern Levant. For Euboean vases in the Near East, cf. DESCŒUDRES 2006-2007.

[39] Cf. COLDSTREAM – BIKAI 1988; NITSCHE 1986-1987.

[40] Cf. STERN 2000, pl. IX.4; GILBOA – SHARON 2003, 22, fig. 11.19; SHARON – GILBOA 2013, 430 and 452. I am most grateful to Ayelet Gilboa and Ilan Sharon for kindly providing a photo of the sherd Fig. 5 from Tell Dor.

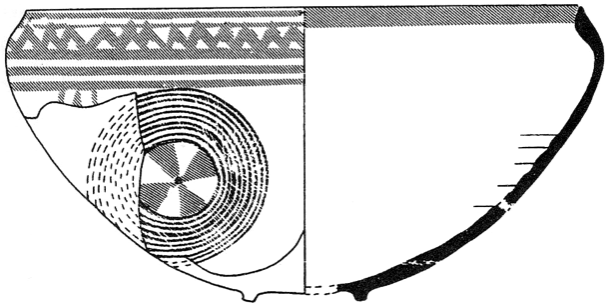


Fig. 6. LPG Euboean cauldron or lebes from Tel Hadar (from COLDSTREAM 1998, 358 fig. 1)

Greek import at the site, was found in an Iron 1-2 horizon according to local stratigraphy and together with a large number of CG IB-II vases. Ras el Bassit, south of the Orontes river, identified with the ancient Posideium (Ποσιδήιον) mentioned by Herodotus (III, 91), has produced sherds from four Euboean LPG amphorae[41]. Further inland, Tel Hadar gave up a fragment from a strange open shape, a lebes or cauldron (Fig. 6), dated to the MPG/LPG (ca. 950 BC)[42], while Tel Rehov also in the Jordan valley sprang a large surprise: it produced five sherds of which one is MPG/LPG and the rest LPG; a number of SPG skyphoi were also found in the same site[43].

For the three coastal sites (Tyre, Dor and Bassit), the reasons for the presence of Euboean pottery is similar to that of those seen on Cyprus. They were large ports involved in maritime networks (most of the time commonly with Cypriots); by the LPG period they were trading in the Aegean and in the Euboean gulf, as indicated by the sudden increase of imports at Lefkandi. Evidently the time of regular contact with the Aegean both for Cyprus as well as for the Near East was the LPG period. Any earlier imports probably had arrived via Cypriot middlemen.

LPG Euboean vases in the coastal sites can be seen simply as the result of maritime trade networks held in common by Phoenicians and Cypriots alike, in which the Euboeans were also involved. But the presence of Euboean LPG pottery at the other two inland sites in the Jordan valley (Tel Hadar and Tell Rehov) is more difficult to account for. Perhaps, the cauldron at Tel Hadar can be explained as a one-off gift, but the presence of the five Euboean vases at Tel Rehov must have been related to some sort of regular exchange and trade network. The site is located at an important crossways, where trade networks linking coastal sites with the hinterland met. According to recent analyses, the copper used for Greek tripod cauldrons of late 10th century date from Olympia came from the Faynan mines in the Arabah Valley[44]. Tel Rehov, situated on a junction that linked the Arabah valley with the coast, was evidently a major center for middlemen, who forwarded their commodities to the coast. How far Euboeans were engaged in these early transactions carried out by Phoenicians is not easy to say, but the number of Euboean sherds found in these areas implies their involvement.

The 10th century was a crucial period for Phoenicia, as it was the time that the ruler of Tyre, Hiram I (980-947 BC), a leader contemporary with the Lefkandiot 'hero' buried in the Heroon, succeeded in uniting the coastal cities of Phoenicia under his control in a kind of commercial, although not yet political, union. During his reign, Tyre grew from a satellite of Sidon into the most important of Phoenician cities. At the same time, Hiram maintained an alliance with Israel, originally with King David and later with King Solomon as mentioned in the Bible[45], through which he got access to the major trade routes to Egypt, Arabia and Mesopotamia. According to the Bible (I, Kings 6), the two kings, Hiram and Solomon, jointly opened another trade route over the Red Sea, connecting the Levantine coast with a port in Arabia on the Indian Ocean. This new port, called *Ophir*, in turn opened the way to India and Ethiopia alike and gave access to spices, wood or gold, ivories, monkeys and peacocks, which

41 Cf. COURBIN 1993.

42 COLDSTREAM 1998, 357-359.

43 Cf. MAZAR – KOUROU 2019.

44 KIDERLEN *et al.* 2016.

45 Cf. also, STERN 1990, 279: «When David, in 1000 BC., united the Israelite Monarchy and routed the Philistines in the south, he seems to have acquired firm control over the northern coast of Palestine from the Phoenicians and to have held it for a brief time. But David, and Solomon without doubt after him, withdrew from substantial areas on the coast and relinquished them in exchange for economic and trade cooperation when they recognized the Phoenician's superiority in all phases of their material culture, especially in shipping and trade. In their time, the border was fixed on the summit of the Carmel, where a temple held in common by the Phoenicians and the Israelites and dedicated to Baal, was established».

boosted the Levantine economies. The historical accuracy of the relations between Solomon and Hiram might be drawn into question, but there is little doubt that Hiram was able not simply to organize the economic and commercial policy of the Phoenicians, but also to control a large trading empire with a number of maritime networks in the Mediterranean as well.

In those exploits the Cypriots were very useful, guiding the Phoenicians in their new Mediterranean networks. They had a good knowledge of maritime routes already, from Mycenaean times, and they continued to attempt occasional long-distance travels, even after the end of the LBA. Most probably those early regular voyages into the Aegean were operated inside networks held by Phoenicians and Cypriots together. It is not accidental that Near Eastern objects in the Aegean are always found together with Cypriot[46]. The frequency of imported objects at LPG and SPG I-II Lefkandi does not accord with the practice of casual exchange; it rather implies a commodity-driven expedition of Cypriots and Near Easterners. Similarly, the Euboean vases found at the same period in Cyprus and Near East simply indicate the places visited by traders, Phoenicians or Cypriots and their partners, at this time of early ventures in the Aegean.

The second stage of Euboean ceramic expansion (SPG III /MG I-II)

The situation changes spectacularly both in Euboea and in the Eastern Mediterranean during the period of the Euboean SPG III styles, which coincide with Attic MG I and II (850-760 BC). Lefkandi was still a thriving settlement, receiving imports in some quantity, though much fewer than before and mostly confined to small Near Eastern trinkets and beads in faience or glass[47]. This is a different pattern of imports at Lefkandi, one characterized by an almost complete absence of Cypriot objects[48]. But in the Eastern Mediterranean the social context changes: Cypro-Phoenician links become more formal with the foundation of a Phoenician colony at Kition, marked by the construction of impressive temples. Cypro-Phoenician vases appear on Rhodes, Kos and also in Crete at some numbers. Evidently there is a change in the trade networks and exchange mechanisms: the sudden decline in Cypriot imports in the Aegean coincides with an increase of Euboean exports in Cyprus and the Levant[49].

Fig. 7. PSC Euboean plate from Tell Rachidieh, tomb 2, near Tyre (from Coldstream 2008,175 fig. 9)

The trademark of Euboean ceramic dissemination at this stage is the PSC skyphos, which abounds in the Aegean, Cyprus and the Levant, and though less frequently the PSC plate (Fig. 7). Their wide distribution indicates a new role undertaken by Euboeans in the maritime networks and a further expansion of their participation in them[50]. Local imitations of PSC skyphoi, recently identified by INAA at some major Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor[51], clearly mirror the impact of that widely distributed Euboean pot type on regional ceramics.

The exchange pattern between Euboea and the Eastern Mediterranean is now different: Euboean ceramics are not any more the only Greek vases exported into the Levant. Now Attic vases gradually start to join the Greek pottery found in the Eastern

[46] Cf. Kourou 2008, 217-219.

[47] Cf. Kourou 2012a, 219, note 27.

[48] Two bronze bowls from graves T33 and T74, usually categorized as of Cypriot type, have technical details that can hardly support the theory of Cypriot origin, cf. H.W. Catling, in Popham – Sackett – Themelis 1980, 249-250.

[49] Cf. Kearsley 1989; Luke 2003 for the Levant, and Wriedt Sørensen 1988 and Crielaard 1999 for Cyprus.

[50] It must be noted that the PSC skyphos is also current at some Cycladic workshops, but scientific analysis of material from the Levant gives priority to Euboea, cf. Lemos – Hatcher 1989; A. Vacek, in Kerschner – Lemos 2014, 141.

[51] Cf. M. Kerschner, in Kerschner – Lemos 2014, 109-127.

Mediterranean[52]. By MG II (800-760 BC), they are found in some numbers in Cyprus and the Levant. In Cyprus, Attic MG vases occur mainly at sites on the south coast (Amathous and Kition)[53]. The regular manifestation of Attic MG vases in CG III tombs is usually confined to a single skyphos or crater, evidently representing an abbreviated version of the Attic dinner set[54]. There is also an exceptional find from Salamis "Royal Tomb 1" with twenty Attic MG II skyphoi, two Euboean PSC skyphoi and eight PSC plates[55], but it forms a unique instance among contemporary Greek finds in eastern Mediterranean[56].

In the Levant, Attic MG vases are found together with Euboean pottery, as in Cyprus. They occur at coastal sites, like Tyre or Sidon[57]. Al Mina higher up on the North Syrian coast is involved in the exchange system a little later in the 8th century and forms a distinct case of basically Euboean character[58]. Attic MG pottery occurs more southerly, on the Levantine coast (Tyre and Sidon): it was evidently carried there by Phoenicians who traded in the Euboean gulf. The vases also occur at some inland places in the southern Levant, like Megiddo, Samaria or Tel Rehov[59], evidently carried there by middlemen. This distribution pattern implies some form of organized traffic and trade ventures starting from coastal Phoenician sites and reaching the Euboean gulf via Cyprus.

A new factor in maritime networks frequenting the Euboean gulf

The absence of Cypriot imports at Lefkandi during the period of Euboean SPG III and Attic MG styles coincides with a substantial increase of Near Eastern imports in Attica. Until then Levantine imports were almost non-existent and the few foreign objects from PG and EG Attic contexts were Cypriot, mostly bronze bowls[60]. But from the MG I period onwards Attica starts gradually to get its share of Near Eastern imports[61]. An Orientalizing wave of influence, attested in techniques and styles of Attic goldwork towards the end of MG II, is thought to have been triggered by foreign artisans settling in Attica and to be the immediate consequence of Levantine imports[62]. The increase of *orientalia* in Attica indicates a new pattern in the Euboean gulf traffic and trade.

The maritime networks, that had been established in Hiram's time and reached Lefkandi, were now intensifying in the quest for metals and other materials further west. The rich iron-ores of Euboea possibly had played a major role until this point, but now in the 9th and 8th centuries the quest for metals was more pressing. Silver, as a traditional medium of exchange in the Near East already from the Bronze Age[63], was a most desirable commodity in the Levant, where there were no local sources. It is at this point that possibly the Lavrion mines, located on the eastern coast of Attica and easily accessible to anyone sailing in the Euboean gulf, come into play. They had been in operation in the Mycenaean period, and possibly earlier[64], producing silver, and other metals, until LH IIIC1 (ca. 1200-1150 BC). Then their working is lost sight of for some time, but reappears in the 9th century. Fragments of litharge, excavated in an EG building with benches and basins that served as a silver workshop, attest to the

[52] For a detailed list cf. Kourou 1990-1991, 256-258; Kourou 2019b.

[53] Cf. Wriedt Sørensen 1988.

[54] Cf. Coldstream 1995.

[55] Dikaios 1963.

[56] Cf. Kourou 2019a.

[57] For Tyre, cf. Coldstream – Bikai 1988; a few Attic sherds from Sidon are not yet published, but they have been presented by S. Gimatzidis at the Beirut conference in October 2017.

[58] For the character of the Al Mina settlement and its distinct Euboean aspect, cf. Boardman 1990, 186; Kearsley 1995; Boardman 2002b; Descœudres 2002.

[59] Cf. Luke 2003; Mazar – Kourou 2019. For a more recent and not yet published find at Abel Beth Macah, cf. Yahalom-Mack – Panitz-Cohen – Mullins 2018.

[60] Cf. e.g. Blegen 1952, 287-288 fig. 4, 293.

[61] For Near Eastern finds in MG I Attic graves, cf. Kourou 2012a, 220 (Areiopagus Rich Lady tomb, Kerameikos tomb 42).

[62] Cf. Coldstream 1977, 123-126; Kourou 2012a, 220.

[63] Cf. Aruz 2014, 116; Peyronel 2010 (on "the silver question").

[64] Cf. Stos-Gale – Gale 1982, 467 referring to the exploitation of the mines «at least as early as the Middle Helladic period».

likely full exploitation of the mines in the 9th century BC[65]. New settlements with rich cemeteries that appear in the MG period on the coast of Attica attest to a new prosperity related to the mines[66]. It is in this framework that Attic pottery is involved for the first time in the maritime networks that also spread Euboean pottery in Eastern Mediterranean. That represented a major shift in the exchange pattern, which resulted in the adoption of a new maritime network strategy in the Mediterranean[67]. Euboean pottery still bulked large in the exchange system, but from the late 9th century Attic vases joined the cargoes in these ventures to East and West.

New Networks and the Euboean shift to the West

The 9th century is the time that the Phoenicians, having acquired a powerful trading system, and possibly pressured by Assyrian military campaigns, intensified their westward sailings into the Mediterranean[68]. The quest for metals seems to have remained the main incentive, but establishing new settlements and staging posts was another motive. Some Phoenician settlements, such as Utica and perhaps Carthage on the North African coast or Huelva in southern Iberia, were by the late 9th century already up and running. Crossing the Mediterranean was not an unfamiliar venture anymore and as new markets, maritime networks and trade mechanisms were opening up, partnerships were required even more than before to cope with the polyethnic trading community in the Mediterranean.

Trading routes in antiquity were largely based on keeping the coast in sight[69], unless there were complexities. For instance, sailing along the North African shoreline was rather problematic because of a strong west-to-east current that run from the Straits of Gibraltar to Port Said. Hence other routes, such as that via the Aegean and then sailing along the northern European shoreline, were preferred[70]. Lefkandi was somehow on the way and a regular destination, as is implied by the Euboean pottery found along with Cypriot and Phoenician wares all around the central and Western Mediterranean. The Lavrion mines on the Euboean gulf might have been an incentive that brought Levantines to Attica in the MG period, although on current evidence Lavrion silver is not attested in the Levant earlier than the 7th century[71]. The poor evidence for the amount of silver being extracted at the time makes it difficult to accept that the Phoenicians travelled there for silver *per se*; rather they possibly visited the site on their way to the Central Mediterranean, which also explains the sporadic character of the earliest Attic MG finds on the coasts of Sicily[72]. Attic MG pottery, mainly represented by skyphoi, remained infrequent in the Central and Western Mediterranean. Their rarity rules out the likelihood of direct Athenian participation in those travels. Most probably they were transferred on Phoenician boats. On the contrary, though, the large amount of Euboean vases (almost only represented by the PSC skyphos) implies some sort of Euboean participation at least by seamen, if not by boats.

Iberia

For illustrating this second stage of the spread of Euboean ceramics in the Mediterranean, the finds at a number of Phoenician sites on the south coast of the Iberian peninsula are of great importance. The area represents the westernmost limits reached now by Euboean pottery for the first time: known in ancient Greek mythology as "the Pillars of Herakles",

[65] Cf. Bingen 1967.

[66] An Orientalizing wave of influence, attested in the techniques and styles of Attic goldwork in the MG II/LG I periods, is thought to have been triggered by foreign artisans settled in Attica, cf. Coldstream 1977, 123-126; Kourou 2012a, 220.

[67] Cf. Kourou 2019b.

[68] Cf. Sherratt 2010; Sherratt – Sherratt 1993. For an updated review of Phoenicia and Assyrians, cf. Males 2017.

[69] Cf. Horden – Purcell 2000, 124-127 with map 9.

[70] For Phoenicians in the Mediterranean, cf. Ioannou 2017.

[71] Cf. Eshel *et al.* 2019, 5.

[72] These Levantine visits to Attica explain some sporadic Attic finds in the Central Mediterranean, such as the MG I amphora found at the cemetery of Fusco in Syracuse dating more than a century earlier than the foundation of the colony (cf. Stampolidis – Kourou 1996, 712, no. 18) or another slightly later (i.e. MG I/II) amphora found at Gela and dating again a century earlier than the first Greek settlement at the site, cf. De Miro 1983, 75 fig. 25. These finds are now better understood as having been transferred by Phoenicians, travelling to their western emporia via the Euboean gulf and Attica.

Fig. 8. PSC skyphoi and plate fragments from Huelva, Mendez-Nuñez square (from Gonzalez de Canales – Serrano – Llompart 2004, pl. 1)

it indirectly symbolized the extreme edge of the world[73].

Most of the Greek pottery from this area comes from the site of Huelva (Roman *Onoba*) on the Atlantic coast near the auriferous Rio Tinto river[74]. Forty Euboean sherds have been published so far from Huelva, which is a large number for a Phoenician site in the "far west" of the Mediterranean. They were found at several distinct locales dispersed across the Phoenician settlement: two skyphoi sherds were found at Palos Street[75], where also an Attic MG II vase was found[76]. Two other skyphoi rims, one oenochoe and one black cup were excavated at Conception Street[77], while a one-bird skyphos of MG II/LG Ia date has been retrieved at a site in Puerto Street[78]. There also exists a large number of sherds from Mendez-Nuñez Square[79], which is located by the coastline. Of the thirty-three Greek fragments retrieved in this square in 1998, seventeen belong to Euboean SPG II and III styles: fifteen plates and two skyphoi (cf. Fig. 8). There are also some Attic, or possibly Atticizing, skyphoi in MG II styles.

[73] Strabo, *Geography*, III, 2, 11 quotes a lost passage of Pindar, where he asserts that the Pillars of Gades (meaning the Pillars of Hercules) are the farthermost limits reached by Heracles, cf. also Dominguez 2017, who in analyzing ancient sources along with the archaeological data argues for an early Euboean exploration of the area.

[74] For a recent evaluation of the site, cf. Gonzalez de Canales 2018.

[75] Dominguez – Sanchez 2001, 10 and 12; d'Agostino 2009, fig. 12.2.

[76] The Attic sherd was originally identified as from a crater and later from a pyxis, which seems the more likely, if we trust the profile drawing. Cf. Del Amo 1976, 40-42, fig. 9.9; Shefton 1982, 342 note 11, pl. 30a (crater); Cabrera Bonet 1988-1989, 44 and 87, fig. 1.1 (pyxis); Dominguez 2017, 220. For a similar Attic pyxis, cf. the Fauvel vase in the Louvre, A 514 (Coulié, 2013, 44, fig. 10); Dominguez 2017, 220.

[77] Dominguez 2017, 219.

[78] Fernández 1984, 34-36; Cabrera Bonet 1988-1989, 44-45; Dominguez 2017, 233, fig. 3. For black cups, cf. Kourou 2005, 502-504.

[79] Gonzalez de Canales – Serrano – Llompart 2004, 82-85; Gonzalez de Canales – Serrano – Llompart 2006, 13-29; d'Agostino 2009, 181, fig.11.

More Greek pottery comes from other sites beyond Huelva: at Malaga, where during the extension of the airport a new Phoenician site, La Rebanadilla, was located. This is a settlement established at the end of the 9th century BC. Here two Atticizing MG II Euboean cups[80] and a chevron skyphos[81] were found. From the site of el Carambolo, near Seville[82], there is a Greek Geometric sherd from the lip of an Atticizing MG II skyphos, and finally from a later LG context at the Phoenician site of La Fonteta, near modern Alicante, comes a possibly Euboean sherd and two from Thapsos cups[83].

The PSC plates and skyphoi belong to SPG II-III styles (Kearsley's types 5 and 6) and some of them belong to the late 9th century, as does perhaps the black-glazed cup from Conception Street. But the Atticizing and Attic skyphoi are in the MG II style; a bird skyphos is of LG Ia date and to the same period belong also the two Thapsos class vases. All in all, the Greek pottery from the south of Iberia covers a period broadly datable from the end of the 9th till the mid-8th centuries.

In every one of these Iberian sites Greek vases were found not simply among indigenous Tartessian wares, but jointly with Phoenician, Cypriot and Sardinian pottery, which implies mixed networks and apparently peaceful contact between all these areas. M. Botto, exploring evidence of commercial relations between Sardinia and Iberia during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, came to the conclusion that Sardinian sailors were operating a trade-route prior to and then alongside the Phoenicians in the Western Mediterranean[84]. In these early trade networks, evidently partnerships existed, as well as rivalries. Regarding the Euboean pottery, however, the question is whether it arrived at the coasts of Iberia on Euboean boats[85]. Most of the settlements, which yielded Euboean pottery, are Phoenician or there the mass of the material is Phoenician. Further for long-distance journeys, a knowledge of the routes and lands was necessary. It was only the Phoenicians, having by the end of the 9th century BC learnt from the Cypriots, who could travel in this manner in the Mediterranean, sometimes via the Aegean and Lefkandi, and so making new partnerships for their long journeys. Euboeans may have joined the Cypro-Phoenician networks, crewing alongside varied persons of diverse origin[86], probably as individuals out for their own ends.

With a few exceptions, such as the two oenochoae from Huelva (one from Conception Street and the other from Mendez-Nuñez Square) or the Attic pyxis from Palos Street, all the other Euboean vases found in Iberia are drinking cups. In those early ventures, there was a wide range of mechanisms that kept the networks and exchanges working: these ranged from ritualized gift exchange to the negotiated transactions of simple barter or trade. In this framework, cups could have been of interest to the locals for their symbolic value as illustrative of the Greek dinner set and an extravagant lifestyle. Recently apropos the plates with PSC, Sandrine Huber suggested that perhaps they also had a symbolic significance, because they are extremely rare in Euboea itself, but occur frequently overseas, in the Eastern Mediterranean and here at Huelva[87].

North Africa

Euboean pottery of this period (SPG III/MG II) is equally well represented at the two major Phoenician sites in North Africa, Utica and Carthage. Utica is considered one of the first Phoenician settlements in the Western Mediterranean. According to the literary tradition (Pliny XVI 40, 216), it antedates Carthage by almost three centuries, but this is not corroborated by the archaeological finds. For a long time the only Greek fragment known from Utica was a LG Euboean skyphos[88], but recent excavations have brought to light a number of Greek sherds found in the same context with Phoenician, Tartessian and Sardinian pottery[89]. The earliest horizon of

[80] Sanchez *et al.* 2012, 75; Botto 2015, 194, fig. 30; Botto 2018, 23-24 figs. 8-9; Dominguez 2017, 234, fig. 4.

[81] Botto 2015, 196, fig. 32; Dominguez 2017, 234, fig. 5

[82] Dominguez 2017, p. 223; Fernández – Rodriguez 2007, 204-205.

[83] Dominguez 2017, 224, fig. 4.

[84] Cf. Botto 2015; Botto 2016; Botto 2018.

[85] Dominguez 2017.

[86] Cf. Rendeli 2018, 200.

[87] Huber 2017, 47; Lopez Castro 2018, 86.

[88] Still unpublished, cf. Kourou 2002, 99; Jerbania – Redissi 2014, 179.

[89] Cf. Kourou 2002, 98, note 21 (with references) and recently,

the excavated site has yielded a good number of Greek sherds: a fragment from a PSC Euboean skyphos of Kearsley type 5, or perhaps 6 as it is too small a sherd to allow of exact definition (Fig. 9)[90], an Atticizing MG II skyphos fragment, a chevron skyphos and a black-glazed cup, which give a time frame for the earliest Greek imports from the final years of the MG I throughout the MG II period[91]. The Euboean element is very strong at the site, but the variety of Greek vases at Utica makes it clear that, as in the case of Huelva, they possibly arrived not on a Euboean, but rather on a Phoenician boat[92]. A few later MG II/LG I sherds from the slightly disturbed upper layers of the site, found along with several LG fragments of Euboean and western Euboean (possibly Pithecusan) fabrics, suggest mixed networks in which the Euboean element was gradually being strengthened.

The discovery of a number of iron slags and tuyeres, in the same early horizon that the Greek pottery was found[93], implies the existence of metallurgical activities at the site: this may constitute the main reason that the travelers put in here. The large number of slags confirm production *in situ*, thus linking the site directly with the *quest for metals* that dominated the ideology of early expeditions in the Mediterranean. Jerbania and Redissi attribute the metallurgical activities at Utica to the Phoenicians and their Euboean partners. The tuyere types find their best parallels at several other early Phoenician or later western Greek sites, such as Sardinia or Toscanos and Pithekoussai, implying contact and interaction among them. A strong Sardinian connection is also implied by the slags and the fragments of Sant'Imbenia amphorae, which together with the ascoid mugs embody the Sardinian wine trade in the Western Mediterranean[94].

At Carthage, the earliest Euboean pottery is limited to a recently published PSC skyphos from the Byrsa hill, which has been claimed as Attic[95]. But

Fig. 9. PSC skyphos fragment from Utica (courtesy of Imed Ben Jerbania, Institut National du Patrimoine, Tunis)

the fabric description of the vase[96] and in particular the presence of a thick slip points rather to Euboea or eastern Attica and the area of Oropos[97], which was the *peraia* of Eretria. Some other early Euboean vases from Carthage[98] are slightly later in date: a bird skyphos and a chevron skyphos allegedly from the Junon cemetery date to the MG II/LG Ia[99]. As a whole the earliest Greek pottery from Carthage still remains directly or indirectly related to Euboea. In later contexts only a few possibly Attic sherds have been excavated at the layers below the *decumanus maximus*[100], while more than fifty Euboean sherds of an LG date have been excavated at the site[101]. The finds from the Tophet deposit ("Chapel Cintas")[102], which stylistically are still in LG Ia, demonstrate a more complicated connection with Euboean and Greek styles. Originally recognized as western Euboean pottery from Pithekoussai[103],

Jerbania – Redissi 2014; Lopez Castro *et al.* 2016.

[90] I am most grateful to Dr Imed Ben Jerbania for kindly providing a photo of the sherd Fig. 9 from Utica.

[91] Jerbania – Redissi 2014, p. 184, fig. 4.

[92] Cf. Jerbania – Redissi 2014, 187.

[93] Jerbania – Redissi 2014, 188-189, fig. 5.

[94] Cf. Rendeli 2012; De Rosa – Garau – Rendeli 2018.

[95] Maraoui Telmini 2014, 73, fig. 1.

[96] Maraoui Telmini 2014, 75: «fine clay, hard fired containing very small specks of silver mica, core Munsell reddish yellow (5YR6/6); … the outer surface is slipped, Munsell pink (7.5 YR 8/4) and the painted circles, barely visible, had originally been colored brown».

[97] Mazarakis Ainian – Vlachou 2014, 98, 102-103, fig. 8.

[98] For the early Greek pottery from Carthage, cf. Kourou 2002, 92, note 21 (with references); d'Agostino 2009, figs. 8-9.

[99] Kourou 2002, 114, fig. 6 (with references). The chevron skyphos is a vase type well known from a number of pre-colonial sites in Central Mediterranean, such as Veii, Capua, Cuma, Calatia, Pontecagnano, Pithekoussai, Scoglio del Tonno, Otranto, Villasmundo and Sant'Imbenia in Sardinia. They are frequently found together with Euboean PSC skyphoi and together they form a specific pattern of Euboean "presence" in the area, representing the earliest Greek exports in the Central Mediterranean after the Mycenaean period.

[100] Cf. R. Docter, in Docter *et al.* 2008, 404.

[101] Cf. R. Docter *et al.* 2008, 405 and 409.

[102] Gras – Rouillard – Teixidor 1995, 273; Kourou 2002, 95 and 114, fig. 7.

[103] Niemeyer – Docter 1993.

the Chapel Cintas vases were identified later as local products created after Greek styles [104]. A strong metalworking element at the site [105] indicates a similar character in this early phase with Utica and Huelva, which are also closely related to the search for metals and their technology.

Euboean pottery from Carthage first appears in two successive horizons. The earliest, marked by the PSC skyphos, belongs to the SPG III/MG I-II phase and is contemporary with the vases from Utica and Huelva. The second with the Junon chevron skyphos, the bird skyphos, belongs to the MG II/LG Ia stylistic phase. Neither is in full accord with a date in the late 9th century traditionally attributed to the foundation of Carthage. Recent radiocarbon dates from the earliest levels of Carthage have produced a date in the late 9th century, but these results are not entirely conclusive, in spite of some flexibility used in the approach [106].

What is important, however, is that most of the Greek fragments from both sites (Utica and Carthage) that date to MG II/LG Ia are Euboean, while Corinthian pottery appears later in LG Ib. At this point, it is useful to remember that in the gulf of Tunis where a number of settlements later had Greek names, most of them are directly related to Euboea: Euboia, Naxikai Nesoi, Ippou Akra, Psegas, Pithekoussai, discussed in detail by Michel Gras and John Boardman [107]. They are explained as colonies or emporia associated with Euboea or linked with Pithekoussai. Evidently their origin is directly related to the early networks in which Euboeans were involved.

Sardinia

To the same early horizon belong also the few Euboean sherds from Sardinia [108]. A PSC skyphos from Sant'Imbenia (Fig. 10), which is Kearsley's type 5, is one of the earliest of its kind in the Central and Western Mediterranean [109]. To them should be added a handle from a SPG III Euboean pitcher from the Phoenician settlement at Sant'Antioco, Sulcis [110] and a fragment from an Attic or Atticizing MG II meander skyphos from Tratalias in the area

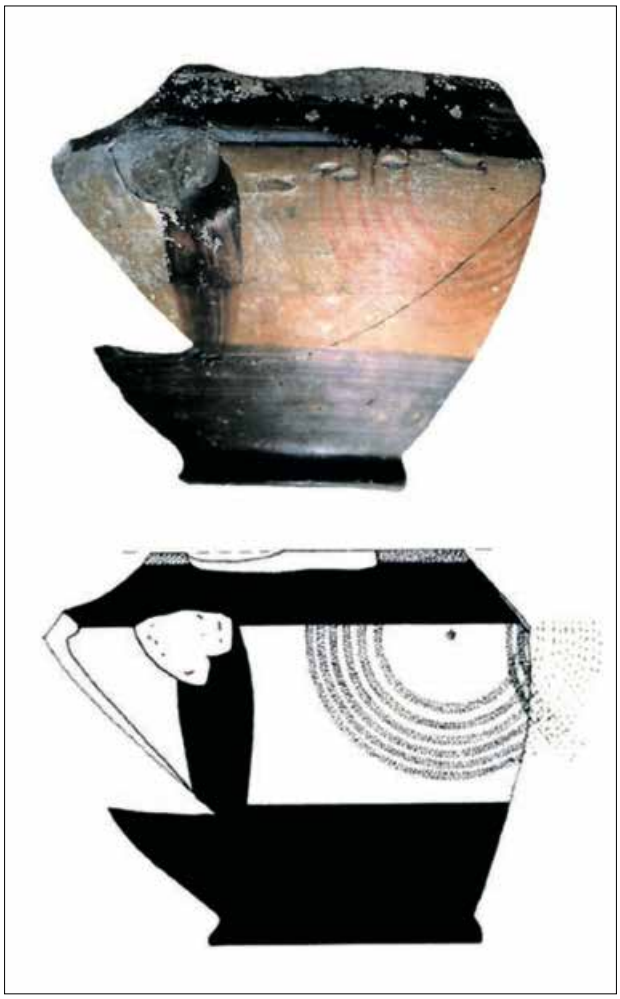


Fig. 10. PSC skyphos fragment from Sant'Imbenia, Sardegna (from Botto 2018, 115 fig. 16)

[104] Briese 1998; Kourou 2002, 96.

[105] Cf. Kaufman *et al.* 2016; Docter 2017.

[106] Cf. Docter *et al.* 2008, 417. Following another line, Núñez Calvo tried to approach the foundation date from a Phoenician and Levantine perspective (Núñez Calvo 2014), but it seems we are still some way away from a definite answer.

[107] Gras 1990; Boardman 2006.

[108] Cf. Ridgway 1997; Ridgway 1998; Rendeli 2005; Rendeli 2012; Rendeli 2018; Oggiano 2000, 252, fig. 2, and 255, figs. 1-2.

[109] Cf. Ridgway 1994-1995, 81, figs. 5-6; Ridgway 1997, 50-52; Oggiano 2000, 252, fig. 3.2; Bernardini 2006, 228, fig. 10; Bernardini 2016, 19, note 76 (with references), and 21, fig. 16.

[110] Bernardini 2016, 7-9, note 30 fig. 5.

of Sulcis[111]. These, along with a Euboean chevron skyphos and a LG Ia bird skyphos from Sant'Imbenia[112], give the setting of the earliest Euboean and Greek ceramic presence in Sardinia, namely from the late 9th to the middle of the 8th centuries BC.

These isolated Euboean fragments may imply either sporadic Euboean visits to Sardinia in the pre-colonization period or Phoenician carriers, who were very active in the area at the time. The PSC skyphos from Sant'Imbenia was found together with two Phoenician red-slipped vases that belong to phase II of the so-called *capanna dei ripostigli*[113]. The first phase of this site, dated to the 9th century, corresponds to the time that Phoenician visits to Sardinia were being consolidated and a number of Phoenician settlements were installed. In the second phase of the site, dated by Euboean pottery from late 9th to mid 8th centuries, the island has been fully incorporated into the trading circuit of the period.

Sardinia was a necessary port of call, a *scala costiera,* for every sea lane in the Central Mediterranean as early as the Bronze Age, as is implied by the Mycenaean pottery found on the island[114]. The long tradition in metal processing, with the extraction of silver and copper, was another – and perhaps the main reason – for the Phoenician early visits there, in which Cypriots were also involved[115]. There is an impressive example of this association from the heavily Phoenicianized Nuragic village of Sant'Imbenia, where «the workshops with hoards for metal items are concentrated in a space of no more than 50 square metres»[116]. Two hoards of copper bun ingots, weighing over 130 kilos, were discovered in this area, neatly packed into large jars along with bronze axes and the hilt of a sword[117]. The entire setting implies storage for some sort of organized trade at a site dedicated to metal processing. It is also a site for trade meetings, where interaction between locals and foreigners (Tartessians, Phoenicians, Cypriots and possibly some Euboeans) took place[118].

Pontecagnano and other sites in Central Italy

Euboean ceramic expansion in the Mediterranean during its second stage is best represented at Pontecagnano in Campania at Central Italy. The ancient settlement of Pontecagnano, then *Picentia* by the mouth of river Picentino and lying today about 2 km from the sea, was established by a group of people coming from southern Etruria and belonging to the Villanovan culture. The excavations have identified two phases of the settlement: the first, phase IA (900-850 BC) has no imports, but the second, phase IB (850-780 BC) yielded Greek vases well correlated to the local chronological sequence. PSC skyphoi, MG II skyphoi, chevron or Atticizing and mostly Euboean, black cups, as well as one-bird metope cups of LG Ia date were all retrieved from 60 local tombs[119]. The earliest is a PSC skyphos of Kearsley type 5 (Fig. 11)[120], which should be dated at the MG I/II transition (ca. 800 BC), but it was found together with another PSC skyphos of type 6, which falls later in MG II. The same pattern of an association of earlier and later types of Euboean vases found together occurs in some more tombs[121]. The time span of these arrivals can be set in MG II-LG Ia, i.e. the entire first part of the 8th century BC. The strong Euboean element in the area has left its trace on the indigenous ceramic production, including imitations of PSC skyphoi or black cups[122].

[111] Bernardini 2016, 7, note 30, fig. 7

[112] Ridgway 1994-1995, 81, fig. 6; Oggiano 2000, 255, figs 1-2.

[113] Oggiano 2000, 238. For the site, cf. M. Rendeli in this volume.

[114] Cf. Bernardini 2006, 216 .

[115] For Cypriot finds, cf. e.g. Rendeli 2018, 199 (Sant'Imbenia); Acquaro 1982, 51, pl. 26.2 (Tharros).

[116] Rendeli 2018, 193.

[117] Rendeli 2018, 195, fig. 5.

[118] Cf. Rendeli 2005; Rendeli 2018, 191.

[119] d'Agostino – Gastaldi 1988; B. d'Agostino, in Bailo Modesti – Gastaldi 2000; Kourou 2005; d'Agostino 2014.

[120] Cf. Bailo Modesti – Gastaldi 2000, 30, fig. 3, pl. 1.6 (no. 7392.1).

[121] Cf. a variety of PSC skyphoi and a chevron skyphos from tomb 7129 (Bailo Modesti – Gastaldi 2000, fig. 1, 7129.1-4); and the MG II chevron skyphos 7738.1 found together with two LG Ia vases (Bailo Modesti – Gastaldi 2000, fig. 5).

[122] Cf. d'Agostino 2014, 185. For an unsuccessful attempt to imitate a PSC skyphos that resulted in a completely black cup, cf. Bailo Modesti – Gastaldi 2000, pl. 2.4.

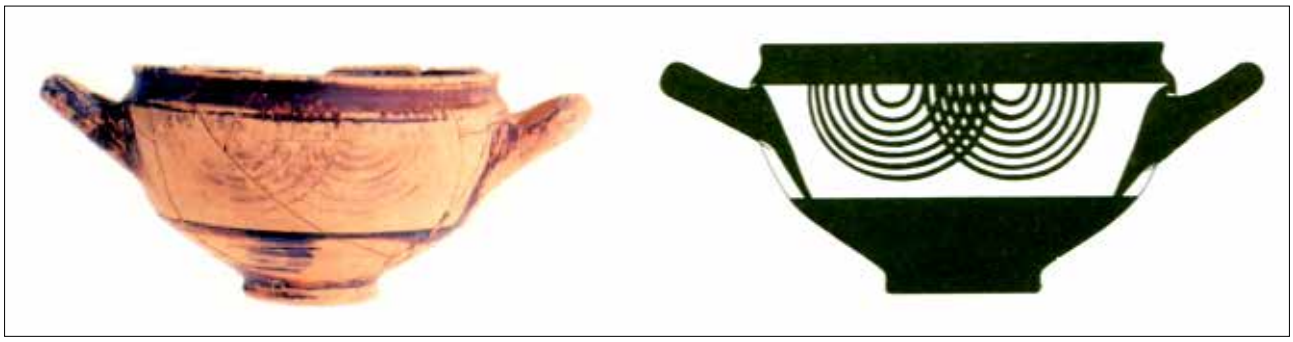


Fig. 11. PSC skyphos from Pontecagnano, T. 7392 (from Bailo Modesti – Gastaldi 2000, fig. 3, pl. 1.6)

Fig. 12. PSC skyphos from Veii, QF gr. 68 (Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia Inv. 68 AABγ; from Naso 2014, 176 fig. 9)

Fig. 13. PSC skyphos from Caere, gr. 21.38 (Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia inv. 132829; from Naso 2014, 175 fig. 8)

Similar material from Central Italy, though in smaller numbers, comes from a few more sites: from the Quattro Fontanili cemetery of Veii in Latium (Fig. 12)[123], one from Caere (Fig. 13)[124], one from Capua and possibly one from Rome, S. Omobono[125]. They represent early arrivals of Euboean pottery in that area, which there too triggered some local production, as a piece from Bojano or Capua shows[126].

These early Euboean vases represent the best evidence for pre-colonization travels and visits within the Tyrrhenian orbit. They come mainly from the coastal site of Pontecagnano, easily reached by the ships of the early entrepreneurs. The sporadic finds at sites inland were likely forwarded by middlemen. The earliest Greek vases that arrive in the Tyrrhenian orbit are the Euboean vases from Pontecagnano and then those from Latium. Pithekoussai and Cumae start rather later, towards MG II/LG Ia, at which time Greek imports continue to arrive at Pontecagnano. The quantity of Euboean pottery dating to the early 8th century BC from Pontecagnano argues that Euboean ships were sailing in the Tyrrhenian sea during the *prima di Pithecusa* phase as prospectors who thus got to know the areas where later colonies were established. Strangely enough, any early Euboean ceramic presence in Sicily antedating the colonization is very limited: there is only one PSC skyphos from Villasmundo, near Megara Hyblaia[127]. Seemingly it was carried there in a Phoenician ship, as were also the earlier Attic amphorae from Syracuse (MG I) and Gela (MG I/II)[128].

[123] Cf. Ridgway – Dickinson 1973; Descœudres – Kearsley 1983; Boitani 2005, 319-320, figs 1-4; Naso 2014, 171-172.

[124] Rizzo 2005, 364, pl. 1; Naso 2014, 175-176 fig. 8.

[125] Cf. La Rocca 1974-1975; Naso 2014.

[126] Cf. Naso 2014, 174.

[127] Voza 1999, 63, fig. 51; Albanese Procelli 2005, 519-520.

[128] For Phoenician emporia in Sicily, cf. Spatafora 2018.

Euboean pottery in a Mediterranean perspective - an update

The above, if concise, survey of the distribution of Euboean PG and SPG pottery in the Mediterranean from late 10th to mid 8th centuries indicates the extent to which Euboeans were involved in the mobility and long-distance voyages during the Early Iron Age. In that long passage of traveling, exchange and interaction there were turns and shifts, depending on current social and political conditions. When it all started there was no collective identity nor ethnic labels in Greece or in the Levant; any individual or small groups of people might seize an initiative and work to their advantage. Following the commercial unity among the coastal cities of the Levant that Hiram achieved in the mid 10th century, the Levantines started major expeditions in the Mediterranean that were a continuation of the long-distance travels carried out occasionally by Cypriots after the end of the LBA. The first journeys to Euboea were in all probability made in partnership with Cypriots, who not only frequented the Levantine coast in the 10th century, but they also had a good knowledge of the routes and lands.

The archaeological record cannot shed full light on the incentives for these early visits to the Aegean. The quest for metals is an easy explanation, as Euboea was rich in iron ores [129]. The search for other materials in the Aegean, such as grain or timber, or perhaps horses for which Euboea was famous, has been also suggested [130]. A recent silver analysis by the lead isotope technique of three Phoenician silver hoards in Israel (from Dor, Akko and Ein Hofez) found in 10th and 9th centuries contexts has traced their origin to the Western Mediterranean (Sant'Imbenia and Huelva) [131]. This important research thus confirms scientifically that Phoenician overseas expeditions to the Western Mediterranean for raw materials and silver had started in the 10th century. Euboea being on the way might have served as one of the stepping stones for renewal of provisions *en route* to the West. Whatever the case, by the late 10th century Euboeans were already involved in the maritime networks operating in the Aegean. To what extent and in which way we cannot say, but the copper from Faynan may have been a major driving factor for the participation of both regions in the procurement networks. At this time there was no formalized trade in the Aegean and the mechanisms of exchange remain obscure. For enabling such in the Early Iron Age between peoples of different cultures in the Mediterranean, a range of mechanisms from ritualized gift exchange to the negotiated transactions of simple barter or trade have been claimed. But the small numbers of Euboean PG vases in the Eastern Mediterranean and their distribution pattern in major Phoenician ports (Tyre) or Cypriot nodal points (Amathous) together imply that business was most probably done in the Euboean gulf and the goods brought back by Phoenician and/or Cypriot sailors.

This pattern of contact changes in the early 9th century during the period of SPG I-II Euboean styles (and Attic EG at the same time), as is indicated by Near Eastern imports found *en masse* in certain Lefkandiot graves. Evidently now contact between the two regions had become regular and based on some sort of economic interaction, perhaps a commodity-driven one. The Near Eastern or Cypriot weights found in the rich "warrior trader tomb" at Lefkandi [132] offer evidence that the site had stopped being simply a port of call and had turned into a trading destination, operating inside a Near Eastern network. It is exactly at this time that Euboean PSC skyphoi in SPG I-II styles start to become abundant in the Eastern Mediterranean. Euboeans might now be following the Phoenicians back to the Levant, as the economic circuit between the Aegean and the Near East, that had started in the LPG period, had by the early 9th century become complete.

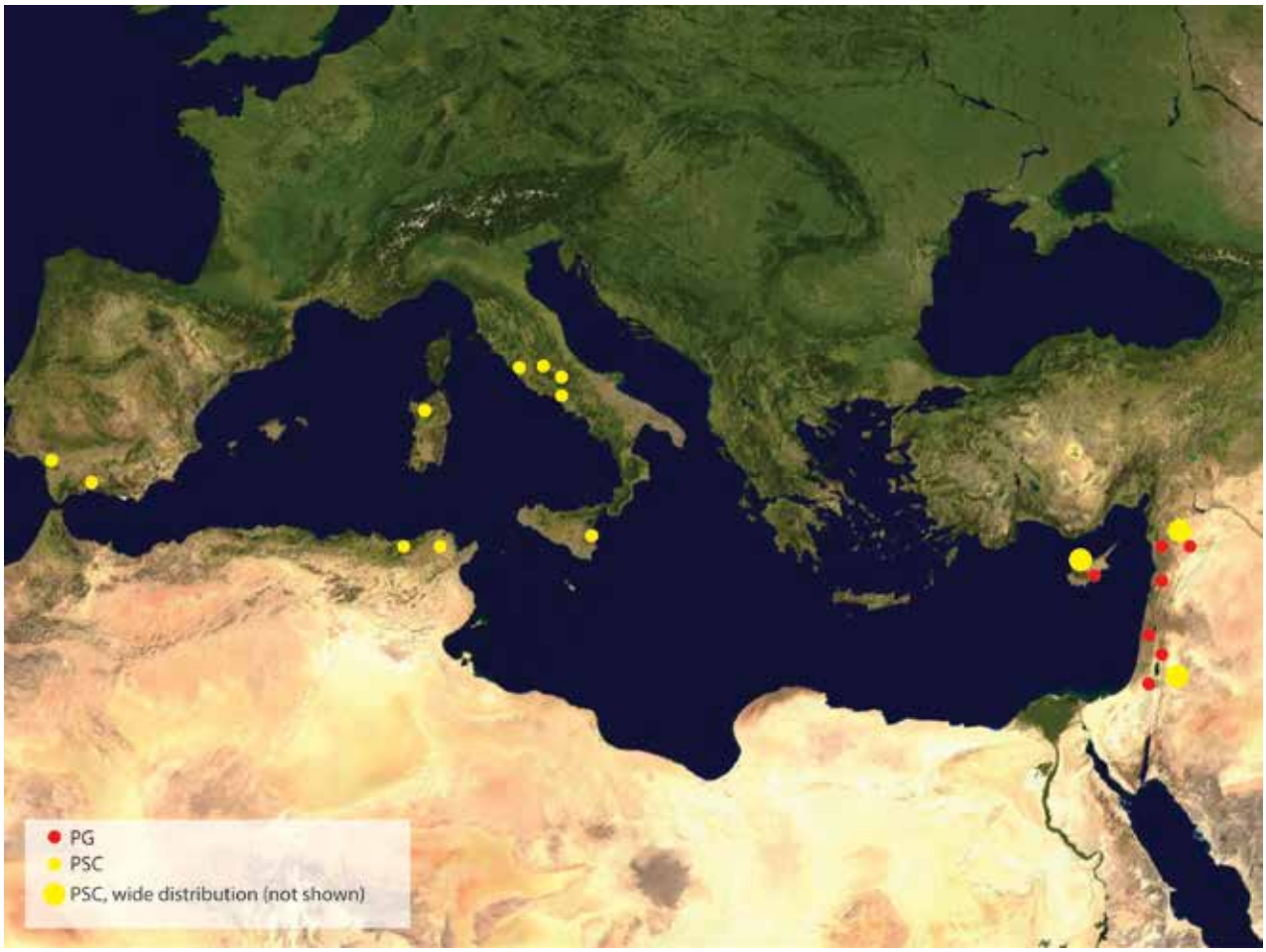
By the late 9th century, the Phoenician economy was thriving: overseas trade was its major driving force and a significant factor of change in the Mediterranean. Euboean participation in eastern networks acquires a distinctive character, sometimes reaching even to the point of settling people in a

[129] Cf. Bakhuizen 1976. Iron ores in Euboea were mentioned by Strabo, *Geography*, X, 1, 9.

[130] For a comprehensive discussion of all these possibilities, cf. Descœudres 2008, p. 290-382.

[131] Eshel *et al.* 2019. I am most grateful to Ami Mazar for bringing this article to my attention as soon as it appeared.

[132] Cf. above note 22.



Distribution map of PG and SPG Euboean vases in the Mediterranean prepared by the author with the kind assistance of Vicky Vlachou

Levantine port, as it is assumed in the case of Al Mina[133]. The growth of Euboean involvement in eastern networks eventually resulted in a radical shift in their network policy. Now along with voyages to the east, Euboeans start to join Phoenician networks directed into the Western Mediterranean. This radical shift that took place at the very end of the 9th century was closely related to rapid changes that took place in Attica. Athenian elites seem to have grown more prosperous and able to get their hands on Levantine imports, as indicated first by the finds in Athenian MG cemeteries, and then by the few Attic vases found in Eastern or Western Mediterranean contexts. It is in these new network patterns, operating both to east and west, that Attic pottery gets involved for the first time.

The second part of the 8th century, which is the period of Greek colonization in the Central Mediterranean, is also the time that the polis state system is established in the Aegean; but for the first part of the century there is no archaeological evidence whatsoever that market-based formalized trade was operating on a systemic scale in Attica or Euboea. Written evidence for state trade exists for the Phoenicians only[134]; that described by Homer is a simple exchange of small of objects, the *athyrmata*. The carriers of Euboean pottery in precolonial Central and Western Mediterranean were individuals, motivated by personal aims and hopes of prosperity. Seemingly, they started travelling on Phoenician ships in crews of mixed origin, but eventually and soon after joining the westward networks, Euboean

[133] For the Al Mina debate, cf. Kearsley 1999; Boardman 1990; Boardman 1999; Boardman 2002a; Boardman 2002b; Descœudres 2002; Niemeyer 2014. Cf. also M. Kerschner – A. Vacek, in Kerschner – Lemos 2014.

[134] Cf. d'Agostino 2017.

ships made it to the West. Some of these early travelers might eventually have acted as prospectors, identifying places suitable for settlement.

Lefkandi still remained an important settlement in the early 8th century BC, as were also Chalkis and Viglatouri, but the rising urban center in Euboea was Eretria. The newly established settlement grew rapidly; in the MG II period the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros was established [135] and Eretria soon became a major port of call in the Euboean gulf, as witnessed by a number of Near Eastern imports [136]. An MG I/II skyphos fragment with an Aramaic inscription found in an MG II context indicates the presence of resident foreigners at the site [137], while a stone weight in hematite, implies commercial activities [138]. A gold hoard found in the northern part of the settlement in a LG context, and originally explained as a goldsmith's stock in trade [139], has been revisited recently and identified as of monetary nature [140]. The Eretrian elite – with their contact with foreigners, an interest in trade, and a taste for new trends, values and ventures – reached the point by the LG period of replacing the traditional barter economy by a more complicated means of exchange, involving the likes of gold or silver. Seemingly by that time the Euboeans had achieved sufficient economic growth and a wide enough knowledge of people of different background that led to a process of social differentiation, innovations and technological developments.

In scrutinizing the dissemination of Euboean PG and SPG pottery in the Mediterranean, the absence of an independent strategy or of a model of expansion until MG II/LG Ia is striking. Their participation was until then but occasional, which explains why Euboean pottery existed in the wider context of international relations of pre-colonial times alongside Phoenician and Cypriot pottery. Autonomy and change in local dynamics and cultural development come into being gradually in the third stage of the Euboean ceramic expansion, which is the period that the first Greek colonies appear. By that time multicultural interaction at home or abroad, between natives and visiting traders or artisans, had been largely achieved and to mutual advantage, though it is hard to pinpoint this in the archeological record [141].

Abbreviations

CG	Cypro Geometric
EIA	Early Iron Age
EPG	Early Protogeometric
LBA	Late Bronze Age
LG	Late Geometric
LH	Late Helladic
LPG	Late Protogeometric
MG	Middle Geometric
MPG	Middle Protogeometric
EG	Early Geometric
PG	Protogeoemtric
PSC	Pendent Semicircle
SM	Submycenean
SPG	Sub Protogemetric

[135] Verdan 2013.
[136] Cf. Huber 1998.
[137] Theurillat 2007, 341, fig. 2.
[138] Cf. Kaltsas *et al.* 2010, 109, no. 49.
[139] Themelis 1983.
[140] Le Rider – Verdan 2002.
[141] For the symbolism of the Greek dinner set and its ideological dimensions regarding a classified society, cf. Coldstream 1995; Gimatzidis 2012; Gimatzidis 2017; Kourou 2019b.

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Euboea and the Mediterranean

NOTA KOUROU, *Euboean Pottery in a Mediterranean Perspective*

The aim of this paper is to reconsider the issue of connectivity and contact in the Early Iron Age Mediterranean from a Euboean point of view and in the light of recent discoveries. Following a concise survey of the first two successive stages of the expansion of Euboean ceramics in the Mediterranean an attempt is being made to explore the incentives of these early ventures, patterns of contact, forms of interaction, the character of the expansion and the possible forms of exchange implied by the finds.

Euboea

IRENE S. LEMOS, *The Transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age in Euboea and the Euboean Gulf*

Recent discoveries have enriched our knowledge of the Early Iron Age of Euboea. Results of the most important of them are presented in the present proceedings of the second Euboica conference. The archaeology of the Late Bronze Age of the island, however, is less known apart from a few exceptions. In this paper, I first outline the archaeological record of some of the known Late Bronze Age sites, while in the second part, I present a preliminary account of the Late Bronze Age discoveries on Xeropolis at Lefkandi. In particular during the most recent excavations, a large building located to the east area of the tell was discovered revealing that Xeropolis was continuously occupied during the last stages of the Late Helladic IIIC and into the Early Iron Age. Some comparisons are also offered with other sites along the Euboean Gulf that display similar continuity of occupation from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age.

XENIA CHARALAMBIDOU, *Chalcidian Deposits and their Role in Reconstructing Production and Consumption Practices and the Function of Space in Early Iron Age and Archaic Chalcis: Some first Thoughts*

The wells and deposits of ancient Chalcis which included Early Iron Age and Archaic material are the focus of this paper. These deposits, especially when studied in relation to other archaeological contexts from the town, such as the burial sites of proto-historic Chalcis, can increase our knowledge of the function of space in the ancient town. The ceramic assemblages from the Chalcis deposits also yield information on aspects of EIA and Archaic Chalcidian pottery consumption and, in the case of the Machairas plot deposit especially, offer valuable insights into ancient workshop activity and craftsmanship of these periods.

SAMUEL VERDAN, THIERRY THEURILLAT, TOBIAS KRAPF, DANIELA GREGER, KARL REBER, *The Early Phases in the Artemision at Amarynthos in Euboea, Greece*

Recent fieldwork conducted by the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece, in collaboration with the Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea, has uncovered a monumental complex on the western edge of a coastal promontory (Paleoekklisies) located near Amarynthos on the island of Euboea, Greece. Stone inscriptions and stamped terracotta tiles retrieved *in situ* provide conclusive evidence for the identification of this site with the sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia, the most prominent shrine in the territory of the ancient city of Eretria, already attested by epigraphic and literary sources. In light of the ongoing excavations, the site appears to have been continuously occupied from the Bronze Age to the Late Antiquity. In its heyday in the Hellenistic period, the sanctuary was organized around a vast courtyard

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