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In copertina: il mare e il nome di Aristonothos  
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*Questa rivista vuole celebrare il mare Mediterraneo e contribuire a sviluppare temi, studi e immaginario che il cratere firmato dal greco Aristonothos ancora oggi evoca. Deposto nella tomba di un etrusco, racconta di storie e relazioni fra culture diverse che si svolgono in questo mare e sulle terre che unisce*

## SOMMARIO

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Editoriale<br><i>Giovanna Bagnasco Gianni</i>   | 7   |
| La memoria dei luoghi: l'abitato di Sorgenti della Nova in<br>epoca etrusca. Il caso studio del settore XII<br><i>Veronica Gallo</i>                          | 9   |
| An Etruscan (Tarquinian) Perspective on <i>Euboica II</i> .<br><i>Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West</i><br><i>Giovanna Bagnasco Gianni</i>        | 51  |
| Animali esotici e dove trovarli: connessioni alto<br>orientalizzanti da un eccezionale set ceramico di Tarquinia<br><i>Orlando Cerasuolo, Marcello Antonj</i> | 91  |
| The Altar and the Tumulus:<br>Ritual and Visuality at Grotta Porcina<br><i>Antonio Paolo Pernigotti</i>   | 157 |
| Élite Families and <i>gentes</i> in the Biedano Region.<br>The 7 <sup>th</sup> to the 2 <sup>nd</sup> Centuries BC<br><i>Hampus Olsson</i>                    | 177 |
| An Unpublished Etruscan Inscription on a Cinerary Urn<br>in the Field Museum<br><i>Theresa Huntsman, Rex Wallace</i>  | 229 |
| Gli Etruschi al cinema<br><i>Matilde Cantilena</i>  | 239 |
| Il <i>saxo silice</i> di Livio I, 24<br><i>Giovanna Rocca</i>   | 259 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Encore Alalia, la Corse et Marseille<br><i>Michel Gras</i>   | 271 |
| Le <i>epodai</i> con <i>Ephesia Grammata</i> :<br>alcune proposte di rilettura<br><i>Alessia Arcangeli</i> | 301 |
| Topografia ed economia nelle 'Stele attiche' (IG I <sup>3</sup> 421-430)<br><i>Giovanni Marginesu</i>      | 321 |

AN ETRUSCAN (TARQUINIAN) PERSPECTIVE ON  
*EUBOICA II. PITHEKOUSAI AND EUBOEA BETWEEN EAST AND WEST*

Una prospettiva etrusca (tarquiniese) su  
*Euboica II. Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West*

*Giovanna Bagnasco Gianni*


RIASSUNTO: L'articolo riconsidera la 'questione euboica', così come presentata nei due volumi di *Euboica II*, da un punto di vista etrusco, ponendo Tarquinia al centro di reti di lunga durata che collegano Eubea, Pitecusa, Cuma, Fenici e comunità tirreniche. Officine, santuari e iscrizioni mostrano le élites tarquiniensi non come destinatarie passive ma come coproduttrici di una koinè mediterranea, fornendo nel tempo evidenze chiave su vie, cronologie e modalità di questi contatti.

PAROLE CHIAVE: Tarquinia; Eubea; Pitecusa e Cuma; *Koiné* tirrenica; Interazioni tra Etruschi, Greci e Fenici


ABSTRACT: The article reconsiders the 'Euboean question', as presented in the two volumes of *Euboica II*, from an Etruscan viewpoint, placing Tarquinia at the centre of long-term networks linking Euboea, Pithekoussai, Cumae, Phoenicians and Tyrrhenian communities. Workshops, sanctuaries and inscriptions show Tarquinian elites not as passive recipients but as co-producers of a Mediterranean koiné, providing, over time, key evidence for routes, chronologies and modalities of these contacts.

KEYWORDS: Tarquinia; Euboea; Pithekoussai and Cumae; Tyrrhenian *koiné*; Etruscan-Greek-Phoenician interactions

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As an Etruscologist working at Tarquinia, my question is about how the two imposing volumes of the Proceedings of the Conference held at Lacco Ameno (14-17 May 2018)<sup>1</sup>, update current answers to what links Euboea to Villanovan/Etruscan elites before and after the ‘colonies’ appear.

While the second volume, *Euboica II.2*, is focused on the Italian Peninsula and Sicily, a few northward threads in the first volume, *Euboica II.1*, strengthen an Etruscan reading. This means that *Euboica II.1* can be used for the first half of the 8th-century “Tyrrhenian intake”, and *Euboica II.2* for the Campanian mechanisms that produced the symbolic and cultural “scripts” Etruscan elites selected and naturalised.

### **1. *Euboica II.1***

Edited by Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro and Matteo D’Acunto, *Euboica II.1* effectively brings together a wide range of papers on Euboea and its networks from the tenth to the eighth centuries BC.

Major themes include the distribution of Euboean pottery across the Mediterranean, socio-economic developments in Euboea during the Early Iron Age, the archaeology of sanctuaries and settlements on Euboea, and the island’s involvement in early colonial ventures. An underlying thread is the connectivity and trade networks that linked Euboea to surrounding regions, a topic repeatedly highlighted through archaeological case studies and supported by numerous references to ancient sources and prior research.

Although the book ranges from landscape and cult on Euboea to Euboean presences in the North Aegean, Sardinia and Iberia, it is consistently concerned with how Euboean mobility materialised, and how those mobilities intersected – and often intertwined – with

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<sup>1</sup> Organised 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 support of the Comune di Lacco Ameno d’Ischia.

Tyrrhenian societies, notably Villanovan and early Etruscan communities.

The editors' preface "Euboica, again" (pp. i-iii) contextualizes the return to "Euboica" after two decades, stresses field-driven recalibrations of dates and models that directly impact Western chronologies. The editors frame the two volumes geographically, place particular emphasis on the last two decades' excavations and archaeometric work, which have sharpened chronological control and provenance for Euboic-style wares in the West, and underscore a renewed scholarly focus on Euboea's intermediating position between the eastern and western Mediterranean.

*1.1.* Each chapter then provides analysis of a specific aspect – from local Euboic sites and myths to broader Mediterranean interactions – with extensive references to prior research.

Read through an Etruscan lens, *Euboica II.1* is especially valuable for preparing the following volume focused on the Western Mediterranean. After the methodological preface the contents open with Nota Kourou's programmatic essay on connectivity; a block of chapters on Euboea (Lefkandi, Chalkis, Amarynthos, Karystos/Zarakes/Eastern Euboea); a Boeotian section (mythic traditions; Oropos/Graia; production and consumption of "Euboic-type" pottery at Oropos); then North Aegean studies (Skiathos; "Euboic gold"; historiographies of colonization), and finally two western Mediterranean essays on Sardinia–Campania–Sicily–Pithekoussai and on Iberia.

### *1.1.1. Euboea and the Mediterranean*

Mapping how distribution shifts from the East to the central and western Mediterranean and setting the stage for Euboic–Tyrrhenian contact, Nota Kourou<sup>2</sup> proposes a three-stage model (p. 9) for Euboic expansion from Late Protogeometric through Middle Geometric to Late Geometric. Of special interest is the second stage (SPG III/MG II), in which the "trademark" Euboic pendent semicircle (PSC)

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<sup>2</sup> "Euboic Pottery in a Mediterranean Perspective", pp. 9-35.

*skyphos* (Fig. 1) and related forms begin to appear in the Tyrrhenian. Kourou substantiates early arrivals in Central Italy with a string of well-anchored finds: PSC *skyphoi* from Pontecagnano (Campania), Veii (QF T. 68), Caere (T. 21.38), and indications from Capua and Rome (S. Omobono); a *corpus* that, taken together, attests to pre-colonial sailing and prospecting in the Tyrrhenian before the foundation of Pithekoussai. A useful visual reminder of how standardized this ceramic “language” was as it moved into Villanovan/Etruscan contexts is reproduced in the volume (Fig. 2). Kourou highlights Pontecagnano as the most eloquent Central Italian node: phase IB (ca. 850-780 BC) tombs yield PSC types (Kearsley 5-6), chevron cups, Atticizing *skyphoi*, black cups, and one-bird metope cups of early LG date. The settlement is explicitly Villanovan, founded by a group from southern Etruria; on Kourou’s reading, Euboean arrivals coincide with, and likely stimulate, local imitations that we can trace in workshop practice.

In other words, the earliest “Greek” ceramics in Campania are not a Greek colony’s table service, but the material residue of cross-Tyrrhenian reconnaissance, gift-exchange, and trial commerce with Villanovan/Etruscan communities. The chapter argues persuasively that this “prima di Pithecusa” phase put the Tyrrhenian on Euboean mental maps well before formal settlement.

Kourou also follows Euboean signatures into North Africa (Utica/Carthage) and Sardinia (Sant’Imbenia; Sulcis), where PSC and chevron *skyphoi* interdigitate with Phoenician red-slipped wares and Levantine finewares. Their timelines matter for Etruscan studies: they foreground a pattern of mixed crews, shared routes and polyethnic emporia that fits the earliest “Euboean” finds in southern Etruria/Campania. This means that Euboeans are not sailing alone into Central Italy, and technological/metallic aims (silver, copper) run parallel with the circulation of pottery.

### 1.1.2. Euboea

Irene S. Lemos’s chapter on the LBA–EIA transition secures the long stratigraphic arc, including the new geoarchaeology and the neutron activation analyses that tied “Euboean clay types” to the central island

and to exported forms (the PSC included). Lemos addresses the transition from the Late Bronze Age (LBA) to the Early Iron Age (EIA) in Euboea and the surrounding Gulf. This period, marked by the collapse of Bronze Age palatial systems and the emergence of nascent Iron Age communities, is crucial for understanding the later expansion of Euboeans overseas, including the new geoarchaeology and the neutron activation analyses that tied “Euboean clay types” to the central island and to exported forms (PSC). Lemos synthesises evidence from sites like Lefkandi on Euboea, noting how the island maintained continuity in certain cultural practices while also undergoing significant social changes. She highlights that by the Protogeometric period, Euboea had two major centers – Chalkis and Eretria – that with Amarynthos formed a single system by the eleventh–tenth centuries. A system capable of fielding both the population and the technical cultures that would meet Villanovan/Etruscan groups in the eighth century.

Xenia Charalambidou<sup>3</sup> reconstructs Early Iron Age and Archaic well-deposits from Chalkis – assemblages that include fine pottery and workshop discards (misfired SOS amphorae; kiln-damaged plates and bowls; vitrified sherds; clay-smear fragments). One deposit shows a coherent spectrum of products (transport amphorae, jugs with cut-away neck, *skyphoi/kotylai*, kraters/*louteria*, plates). She reads these as evidence for Chalcidian production units situated near the Agios Stefanos harbor, in the right topography for export.

This micro-scale view of production complements the macro-scale view of distribution given by Kourou, illustrating how production and consumption practices within Euboea enabled the island’s external commerce.

For Etruscan studies, the point is two-fold: Chalcidian producers are making the very shapes that saturate Villanovan/early Etruscan tombs; and SOS transport amphorae emerge from this workshop ecology contemporaneously with western consumption.

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<sup>3</sup> “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”, pp. 55-71.

The multi-authored study (Verdan *et Alii*)<sup>4</sup> reports the early phases of the Artemision at Amarynthos: mudbrick-on-rubble walls, an EA gate-building, and, crucially, a late 6th century BC votive deposit with Attic black-figure vases, miniature *hydriai*, bronze items and terracotta figurines. Amarynthos stands as an interesting example of continuity of practices (processions, assemblies, standardized drinking sets) that Euboeans carried with them. Those practices are an interesting reference to explore vis-à-vis what is archaeologically legible in Villanovan and early Etruscan funerary and cult assemblages. This study also stresses the landscape dimension – the marshy *eschatia* and the road that fronted the sanctuary – again a useful analogue when we ask where and how western sanctuaries and funerary fields structured exchange, for example in the case of the early phases of the emporic sanctuary of Gravisca on the coast of Tarquinia.

Jan Paul Crielaard<sup>5</sup> presents the site of Plakari near Karystos as an important precursor to Euboean overseas colonies. Although the Karystians likely did not participate in the Euboean overseas colonization movement, evidence from Karystos–Plakari reframes how that movement is understood. The site’s early phases suggest a “pre-colonization at home”, in which new Aegean communities formed before expansion abroad. This challenges standard motives – overpopulation, land hunger, and the quest for metals – since cultivable land and local metals still existed in the Aegean. It also implies that polis-style community building, anchored in cult, began domestically and was later carried overseas rather than invented by colonists. The 8th–7th-century record further highlights contrasts within Euboea: southern Euboea, including Karystos–Plakari, appears less integrated into Mediterranean networks than central hubs like Eretria. Consequently, Malkin’s “Small Greek World” of interconnectivity did not embrace all communities equally.

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<sup>4</sup> SAMUEL VERDAN, THIERRY THEURILLAT, TOBIAS KRAPF, DANIELA GREGER AND KARL REBER, “The Early Phases in the Artemision at Amarynthos in Euboea, Greece”, pp. 73-116.

<sup>5</sup> “Karystos-Plakari: A ‘Pre-Colonial’ Foundation in Southern Euboea”, pp. 119-133.

Connectivity was selective and uneven: some places and actors were far more adept at forging and exploiting external ties, while others operated within narrower networks.

Athina Chatzidimitriou<sup>6</sup> investigates a multi-phase sanctuary at Zarakes (south Euboea), active from the Late Geometric through the late Classical period. This case study adds a regional perspective within Euboea, focusing on Karystia (the Karystos area) which is somewhat peripheral to the main centers of Chalkis/Eretria. The author documents the finds from Zarakes, interpreting the site as a local cult center possibly dedicated to a hero or deity specific to the Karystia area. In the Classical phase, black-glazed *skyphoi* marked IE and, crucially, a bronze weight reading ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ΔΗΛΙΟ identify the cult as Delian Apollo (p. 17). Finds are dominated by LG drinking shapes (*skyphoi* with concentric circles, kantharoi with high X-handles) and krater fragments with Z-hook motifs; several pieces carry graffiti. Chatzidimitriou likely references similar secondary sanctuaries in Euboea or adjacent regions to contextualize Zarakes. While this chapter is more locally focused, this micro-study balances the volume's emphasis on external trade with an exploration of Euboea's inland religious networks, indirectly showing how an island-wide web of cult sites might relate to community organization and identity, which in turn could influence participation in external exchange (through rituals, festivals, etc., that engage with other regions).

Bruno d'Agostino's contribution<sup>7</sup> shifts attention to the eastern coast of Euboea facing the Aegean Sea and revisits a number of lesser-known ancient Euboean settlements (Recent Bronze Age–Geometric). Arguing for long-running maritime connectivity that changes in scale rather than ceasing, he highlights a network anchored by Kerinthos – set by the Boudoros river and a sheltered embayment – and by the inland node Oichalia-Viglaturi, which controlled routes linking Kyme, Amarynthos, and Eretria. Archaeologically, the chapter reviews any known remains (walls, pottery finds, etc.) from these eastern locales,

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<sup>6</sup> “Zarakes: A Cult Site in South Karystia, on The Island of Euboea”, pp. 135-158.

<sup>7</sup> “Forgotten Cities in Eastern Euboea”, pp. 159-179.

comparing them with the better-known sites on the western side of Euboea. Near Avlonari, Agios Georghios provides the area's only clear Mycenaean cemetery. Kerinthos emerges as a major Early Iron Age port of call toward the Sporades/northern Aegean, with topography and layout recalling Lefkandi (see aerials/geology on pp. 171–172). Kyme shows the strongest seaborne role: oxhide ingots of likely Cypriot copper (15th–14th c. BC) found off its harbor mark the northernmost Aegean stop on a route toward the Dardanelles, Marmara, and Pontus (distribution map p. 173). Rich links with Skyros and the Levant culminate at Lefkandi, before a rapid crisis ca. 825 BC: cemeteries lapse, Viglaturi wanes, and Attic networks supplant Euboean ones.

This timing aligns with the end of the Faynan–Timna copper “metal route” and regional upheavals under Hazael (map p. 175); Euboeans pivot west, with Chalkis and Eretria leading, and a possible (contested) Euboean Kyme role in founding Cumae is reconsidered.

Terming them “forgotten” suggests these sites were significant in antiquity but overshadowed in modern research by Lefkandi, Eretria, etc. By referencing literary and epigraphic clues, d’Agostino underscores that even these Euboean sites participated in wider Greek world affairs. His chapter serves to resurrect the importance of these peripheral Euboean centers, suggesting they too were nodes in networks – perhaps with the North Aegean, Thessaly, or the Sporades islands, which lie off Euboea’s eastern shore. This segues into the notion that Euboea’s expansion westward (to Italy) was mirrored by an eastward engagement in the Aegean, a theme that becomes even more explicit in the second volume.

Albio Cesare Cassio<sup>8</sup> provides the philological and historical scaffolding for Euboean presence in Campania, in the Bay of Naples in the *longue durée*. This paper is crucial for the Etruscan reader: it clarifies the naming and literary traditions around Kyme/Cumae and the positions of Pithekoussai, Cumae and Neapolis vis-à-vis Etruscan dynamics in Campania. The path that begins with reconnaissance and funerary deposits at Pontecagnano culminates, in Cassio’s account, in

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<sup>8</sup> “Κύμη, Κούμη, Cumae and the Euboeans in The Bay of Naples”, pp. 181–185.

durable Euboean settlement and institutional life, against which the Etruscans of Campania are both trading partners and geopolitical competitors.

### 1.1.3. Boeotia

Luisa Breglia's chapter<sup>9</sup> delves into the ancient myths that link Euboea with its neighbor Boeotia and beyond. She examines how Archaic-period sources portrayed the relationship between these regions – for example, shared heroes or foundational legends. She underscores that such myths could encode memories of migrations or interactions in the Early Iron Age. For example, a myth of a Boeotian hero settling in Euboea might reflect actual movements of people. The chapter likely cites modern analyses of myth and memory, referencing works (Nagy, Malkin) on how foundation myths are constructed. By situating Euboean and Boeotian mythic traditions side by side, Breglia highlights the cultural context in which Euboea launched its historical colonizing ventures – a context where stories and identity were used to justify or explain real-world expansion.

Focusing on the site of Oropos (in Attica) discussed by Mazarakis Ainian<sup>10</sup>, Vicky Vlachou<sup>11</sup> zooms in on ceramic evidence to understand the exchange and local imitation of Euboean pottery. She tracks an exceptionally telling set of “Euboean-type” wares produced and used at Skala Oropou: quirky *kotylai* series, Thapsos-class *skyphoi*, and Corinthian-derived small containers repainted in a “Bichrome” idiom often credited to Euboean potters. Her plates (Figs. 3-4) make clear that some of the most “western-looking” Euboean-type repertoires are, in fact, being developed at Oropos – the Eretrian *peraia* (see Kourou, p. 20) – at the same time they are being consumed at Pithekoussai and Cumae: Oropos workshops look like better models

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<sup>9</sup> “Mythic Traditions of Euboea and Boeotia in the Archaic Age”, pp. 187-209.

<sup>10</sup> “Thirty-Five Years of Excavations and Research at Homeric Graia (Oropos)”, pp. 211-230.

<sup>11</sup> “Pottery Production, Workshop Spaces and the Consumption of Euboean-Type Pottery Beyond Euboea. A View from Oropos (Attica) in the 8th Century BC”, pp. 231-261.

for the kinds of objects that Villanovan/Etruscan elites appropriate, imitate and re-contextualize. By analyzing clay fabric and style (often through archaeometric study), Vlachou distinguishes which pots are true imports and which are “Euboeanizing” products of Oropos or nearby regions. Her findings indicate a vibrant demand for Euboean pottery in Oropos, reflecting the settlement’s role as a border trading hub and its cultural alignment with Euboea during the 8th century.

#### *1.1.4. North Aegean*

Alexandra Alexandridou’s chapter<sup>12</sup> presents the island of Skiathos (off the coast of Thessaly) as a crucial yet understudied piece in the network puzzle. She labels the communication sphere between Thessaly and Euboea as a “small world” – suggesting a tight-knit network of communities across the Thermaic Gulf and Northern Sporades. At Kephala on Skiathos, recent archaeological investigations yielded pottery of Euboean style and possibly metal objects or weapons comparable to those in Euboea or Thessaly. Alexandridou argues that Skiathos, lying on the maritime route from Euboea northwards, functioned as another node in the chain of exchange and communication. Through this case study, the volume highlights that network analysis (identifying nodes and links) is a powerful approach to understanding ancient trade: even minor sites like Skiathos can play key intermediary roles.

A prominent theme is the search for metals and resources as a driver of expansion, an idea scrutinized especially by Samuel Verdan and Elon D. Heymans<sup>13</sup>, who argue that while Euboeans likely ventured abroad in part for metals like copper and iron, the reality was a complex web of interactions and not a single-minded quest.

Antonis Kotsonas<sup>14</sup> takes stock of how scholarship has moved from celebrating Euboean primacy to testing it against broader colonial and mobility frames. For Etruscan exchange studies, this is a salutary

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<sup>12</sup> “One More Node to the Thessalo-Euboean Small World: The Evidence from the Site of Kephala on the Island of Skiathos”, pp. 263-275.

<sup>13</sup> “Men and Metals on the Move: The Case of Euboean Gold”, pp. 279-299.

<sup>14</sup> “Euboeans & Co. in the North Aegean: Ancient Tradition and Modern Historiography of Greek Colonization”, pp. 301-324.

warning: to see PSC *skyphoi* everywhere is not to assume “Euboians everywhere.” Kourou and Bernardini – Rendeli do not make that mistake: they repeatedly emphasize Phoenician–Euboian collaboration and mixed crews. Kotsonas’s historiographic reset overcomes blanket ethnonyms and prioritises specific workshop signatures, local imitations, and context. This matches evidence from Tarquinia (‘monumental complex’ and necropolis), which I have explored through the “Tarquinia-Pontecagnano bird style” lens, with new data from chemical analysis<sup>15</sup>. Vases from different contexts share a mixture of details in decoration, which suggest a complex narrative of productive outbreaks adhering to well-known stylistic circuits (Eubean and Corinthian) circulating in the Mediterranean when the Greek expansion is at its apex. They show a complex dynamic of relationships taking place at Tarquinia from the second quarter of the 8th century BC (Fig. 5), in which the choice of a particular element in the geometric decorative fabric could perhaps correspond to a recognizable visual code, competing different “Greek” spheres and consistent with co-presence and collaboration<sup>16</sup>.

The fact that this code occurs at the same time in Pontecagnano, despite differences in ceramic composition, clarifies how widely it was shared. Imported materials were found in significant contexts of the ‘monumental complex’ highlighting rituals and ceremonial practices, potentially historically relevant for understanding the dynamics of contact between local and non-local elements.

#### *1.1.5. Sardinia and Spain*

Paolo Bernardini and Marco Rendeli’s essay<sup>17</sup> is the volume’s most explicit cross-Tyrrhenian narrative. For Sardinia (Sant’Imbenia), the authors expand the inventory of early Greek sherds (PSC, chevron and “bird cups”), placing them stratigraphically within the “capanna dei ripostigli,” a metallurgical and storage complex where Phoenician and Cypriot wares accompany the Greek imports: the Cypriot closed

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<sup>15</sup> BAGNASCO GIANNI *et Alii* 2018.

<sup>16</sup> CORDANO 1997; 2008; BAGNASCO GIANNI 2008.

<sup>17</sup> “Sant’Imbenia/Pontecagnano Sulci/Pithekoussai: Four Tales of an Interconnected Mediterranean”, pp. 325-344.

shape, PSC cup, chevron cup, and bird cup (Fig. 6) give a rare, comparative look at the mixed ceramic ensembles appearing in mid-eighth-century western sites that feed into Campanian networks and Tarquinia (§1.2.3.). The Sant’Imbenia section dovetails with Kourou’s emphasis on metals as engines of mobility (copper ingots, hoarding practices), and they lead naturally to Pontecagnano, where the same “language” of Euboean shapes meets Villanovan funerary practice. Bernardini and Rendeli’s stitching of Sardinia–Campania–Sicily (via Sulci) to Pithekoussai confirms that the earliest “Euboean” pottery circulates through places already primed by Nuragic/Phoenician/Cypriot exchange. That context clarifies why Villanovan elites in Campania and southern Etruria selectively adopt Euboean cups, not as passive consumers of “Greek” style, but as participants in a multipolar Tyrrhenian repertoire shared with – and negotiated against – Phoenician partners.

Massimo Botto<sup>18</sup> argues that the earliest Phoenician presence in Iberia was the western arm of a wider, metal-driven network that persisted after the Late Bronze Age collapse via “warrior-traders” and robust indigenous seamanship – above all Nuragic Sardinians – working alongside Tyrians and Euboeans. From early Aegean–Levant partnerships around Faynan copper to a mixed Levantine/Greek/Sardinian assemblage at Utica, these collaborations then crystallized on Spain’s south and Atlantic coasts. In the Bay of Málaga, a Phoenician sanctuary-market (La Rebanadilla) yielded a ritual well with MG II Euboean *skyphoi*, Sardo-Phoenician wine amphorae (some inscribed), and metallurgical tools: evidence for wine-feasting diplomacy and craft exchange. Huelva emerges as the Atlantic emporium: Nuragic cookware and “Sant’Imbenia” amphorae, Euboean PSC plates and Attic MG II cups, Near-Eastern weight standards, and a Lyre-Player scaraboid linking the emporium to Pithekoussai<sup>19</sup>. Botto sees a planned Tyrian project – temples as emporia and the foundations of Gadir/Castillo de Doña Blanca – while Euboeans traded directly but

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<sup>18</sup> “Phoenicians and Greeks in the Iberian Peninsula between the 9th and the 8th Centuries BC”, pp. 347-383.

<sup>19</sup> Site map on p. 360; ship model and Greek sherd at nearby El Carambolo on pp. 369–370.

largely along Phoenician routes; notably, Greek ceramics in Andalucía cluster in sacred precincts.

**1.2.** All contributors add needed granularity to the how and why of the Euboean–Etruscan contact and relevance to the Etruscan question. For scholars charting the earliest Greek–Etruscan interactions, the first and last clusters are the most fertile. The chapters by Kourou, Charalambidou, Vlachou, Bernardini – Rendeli, and Cassio collectively lay a persuasive trail from the potter’s quarter at Chalkis and production hubs at Oropos (which looks West), and the “Western Mediterranean”. Sardinia, Pontecagnano, Pithekoussai, and the early urban world of Cumae are linked along Phoenician-Euboean corridors that were, from the start, also Villanovan/Etruscan corridors where Villanovan/Etruscan groups and Euboeans met, traded, and imitated each other.

*1.2.1. “pre-colonial Tyrrhenian” as an all-round category*

Kourou’s synthesis anchors an MG-phase trickle of Euboean wares into Villanovan/Etruscan areas, Pontecagnano, Veii, Caere, Capua, and Rome (Sant’Omobono). Reinforced by Bernardini and Rendeli’s contribution (Sant’Imbenia), they support a model of sustained contact prior to formal settlement at Pithekoussai/Cumae. This argues for tighter, context-specific joint readings of Villanovan tombs with “Euboean-type” vessels across Latium Vetus and southern Etruria, with particular attention to the above mentioned situation of Tarquinia.

*1.2.2. Production behind the exports: Chalkis and Oropos as laboratories*

Two chapters give the production-side texture that a study of cross-Tyrrhenian exchange needs.

Charalambidou and Vlachou together let us reconstruct the *chaîne opératoire* of exportable wares (PSC *skyphoi*, one-bird cups, cut-away-neck jugs, SOS amphorae). When those same shapes turn up at the sites that are quoted in the different contributions (Pontecagnano, Veii, Caere and S. Omobono, to which we must add Tarquinia) we can now triangulate more confidently between Euboean workshop habits,

Tyrrhenian consumption practices, and local imitations in Villanovan/Etruscan settings.

### *1.2.3. “Mixed crews and shared networks” are the default*

The book’s western papers (Kourou; Bernardini and Rendeli; Botto) repeatedly show Euboean finds inside Levantine and Cypriot ceramic horizons in Sardinia and North Africa; Iberia displays similar patterns. That same entanglement arguably applies to Central Italy: for Etruscan studies, this means the interpretive baseline should be oriented on co-presence and collaboration. In this panorama Tarquinia stands for its striking evidence of continuity of contact with the Aegean and trends of involvement in categories of artefacts and skills overcoming the limits of pottery circuits. This is the case of a few discoveries from the ‘monumental complex’ and of two small jars of impasto pottery belonging to the early phases of the Orientalising period.

A scarab tied to workshops gravitating around the Orontes and to Aegean centers reframe distribution and, crucially, reception networks in Tarquinia. The ‘monumental complex’ documents early connectivity from the early 8th century BC showing concrete signs of “mixed” vectors of exchange: notably a fragment of a sub-cylindrical Cypriot pithos (original, late 10th–early 9th c BC, or Levantine imitation), plausibly mediated via Cyprus and dated no later than the early 8th century (Fig. 7). In the same circuits arrive exotica – including a piece attributed to Tell Taynat (Fig. 8) – akin to patterns in ancient Campania, possibly explaining the Bocchoris situla and a serpentine scarab (late 8th c BC). The latter likely reflects an eclectic Etruscan master (late 8<sup>th</sup>-early 7th cent. BC), comparable to higher-quality faience scarabs of Gorton XXIII/XXIII A, including one Tarquinian example with a man restraining a standing lion<sup>20</sup>. This aligns with the early spread of Geometric pottery in Tarquinia (“Bird style”, blending Euboean and Corinthian traits) mirroring Greek westward expansion<sup>21</sup> (Fig. 5).

The necropolis yielded two jars decorated with inscriptions, including a Phoenician *yod*, and motifs influenced by Oriental style

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<sup>20</sup> BAGNASCO GIANNI *et Alii* 2016; BAGNASCO GIANNI 2024.

<sup>21</sup> CORDANO 1997.

and exotic fauna that are typical of the Kushite world, which appears to be under attack in this period (Assyrian turmoil ca. 671 BC). Since it is difficult to figure out a direct connection, these motifs were probably transmitted through the same routes<sup>22</sup>.

Tarquinius emerges as an early contact hub that stabilises exchanges within civic structures, later using Cypriot syllabary to write Greek (6th cent. BC).

*1.3.* Going back to the opening question of this paper, *Euboica II.1* gives the right shapes in the right graves at the right time, the workshops and sanctuaries that produced and framed them, and a clear methodological language for reading Tyrrhenian contexts not as passive recipients of Greek goods, but as equal nodes in a polyethnic maritime system. Besides Kourou's PSC *skyphoi* distribution map in Central Italy, mid-chapter images of PSC/chevron/bird cups and Cypriot sherds of Sant'Imbenia (Sardinia) (pp. 328–340), document mixed Phoenician–Greek contexts that feed into Campania. Images of Cesnola-style krater fragments and Thapsos-class *skyphoi* of the Oropos workshop illustrate how “western” tastes are being developed in East-Greek contexts (Fig. 3-4).

*1.4.* What remains provisional in *Euboica II.1* is the remit of *Euboica II.2*; consequently, the Etruscan-facing picture here is partial and ceramic-heavy, yet it is a book Etruscan archaeologists will keep reaching for. As a matter of fact it offers a good pre-colonial ceramic dossier for Tyrrhenian Central Italy, with clear images and site-by-site references even if limited to Pontecagnano, Veii, Caere, Capua, S. Omobono; the best available synthesis of how and when Euboean wares move, and with whom; granular insight into the eastern workshop culture that produced the forms later buried in Etruscan tombs; and a demonstration – through the archaeology of sanctuaries – that mobility was as much social and ritual as it was commercial.

However, absolute chronology remains a live issue: Kourou and others note the persistent radiocarbon/typological tensions for the

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<sup>22</sup> BAGNASCO GIANNI 2010, pp. 120-121; CERASUOLO – ANTONJ, in this volume.

tenth–eighth centuries. For Etruscan sequences, the imported-ware horizons still require close cross-checking with local funerary seriation and stratigraphic seriation in sites as the ‘monumental complex’ of Tarquinia. The book’s strengths (distribution maps; workshop archaeology; sanctuaries) could be complemented by more residue/contents analyses (what was drunk?), metallurgical provenance directly tied to Tyrrhenian sites.

## **2. *Euhoica II.2***

Edited by Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro, Matteo D’Acunto, and Federica Iannone, this volume assembles the “Italian theatre” of the 2018 Lacco Ameno conference – Pithekoussai (Ischia), Cumae, Parthenope/Naples – together with comparanda from Magna Graecia and Sicily.

The editorial promise, by Teresa Cinquantaquattro and Matteo D’Acunto, frames the volume as a synoptic update – incorporating post-2018 discoveries – of Euboean activity in Italy, from reconnaissance and mixed emporia to formal *apoikia*, and of the multi-ethnic ecosystems in which Greeks, Phoenicians and indigenous communities (including Villanovan/Etruscan groups in Campania and southern Etruria) negotiated new social and economic forms. This important status report integrates stratigraphic re-reads, laboratory studies (petrography, bioarcheology), and focused essays that collectively turn the pre-colonial and earliest colonial Tyrrhenian from a silhouette into a textured field, without missing a very heartfelt obituary for the premature and unexpected loss of Marco Rendeli.

Extending its geographic and thematic reach, the volume treats specialized themes (e.g., metal trade, historiography of colonization). A recurring thread is the interdisciplinary analysis of trade networks, showing Euboeans and their material culture as connectors across regions. Tangible exchanges (pottery, metals, other goods) and intangible ones (ideas, motifs, narratives) are handled together. The book is organized into three broad regional sections: “Pithekoussai” “Cumae and Parthenope”, and “Magna Graecia and Sicily”.

For Villanovan/early Etruscan studies, the volume is pivotal because it renders mechanisms – maritime corridors, workshop ecologies, funerary and ritual sequences (standardized action-patterns), and very early alphabetic practice – empirically tractable in Campania, the hinge through which central-Tyrrhenian communities engaged with Euboeans and Phoenicians. It is here that “Euboea in Italy” is unpacked with fresh stratigraphy, new analyses (including bioarcheology), and case studies that make the pre-colonial and early colonial Tyrrhenian story workable on the ground.

Structurally, a short preface and two framing essays (Giangiulio; Cerchiai) lead into a concentrated block on Pithekoussai (necropolis, bioarcheology, workshops, resource base, the “Nestor’s Cup” dossier), then to Cumae and Parthenope (early layers, alphabet, Phoenician trade, Archaic urbanism), before turning to Magna Graecia and Sicily. Catherine Morgan’s conclusions re-center method and future agendas.

The table of contents itself usefully maps themes to authors, an aid when teaching or building a reading list keyed to Etruscan *comparanda*.

## ***2.1. Thematic arcs most consequential for Etruscan exchanges***

Four thematic arcs encompass contributions that appear most consequential for Etruscan exchanges. However, all authors’ arguments shift (or sharpen) our picture of Greek–Etruscan entanglements.

### *2.1.1. Colonial memories and models*

Maurizio Giangiulio<sup>23</sup> re-reads literary and archaeological dossiers to show how mobility, memory, and material flows were narrativised, especially around Cumae. He traces how Archaic social memory framed Cumae’s primacy vis-à-vis Zancle/Rhegion and how “insular” narratives (foregrounding Pithekoussai) and “Cumaeo-centric” traditions coexisted and at times eclipsed one another. For Etruscan studies, the payoff is twofold: Cumae appears as an early Tyrrhenian

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<sup>23</sup> “Euboean Colonial Memories”, pp. 19-28.

“naval” and colonial protagonist in memories likely 7th-century in origin (p. 239); and those memories align with an Odyssean Tyrrhenian landscape including *Ausones* and the anti-Etruscan coalition at Aricia, framing Euboean penetration of Campania in relation (and sometimes opposition) to Etruscan power. The political geography recalled by Greek authors broadly matches the archaeological rephasing of an early, non-trivial Campanian stage before the well-known Archaic florescence.

Luca Cerchiali<sup>24</sup> offers a methodological keystone for re-plotting the Greek–Etruscan contact map. Beginning with routes and ship capabilities, he moves through the pre-*apoikia* diaspora of Phoenician entrepreneurs, Nuragic broker hubs (Sant’Imbenia), and Tyrrhenian corridors. His core claim is intensified mobility in the later 9th c. BC: through Phoenician networks in which Euboeans also travel, Sardinia redistributes toward the Tyrrhenian and onward to Iberia. Campanian sites (Pontecagnano, Capua) register eastern exotica before the Euboean ceramic horizon fully blooms, suggesting that Villanovan/Etruscan groups already consumed within internationalized fields predisposed to Euboean objects and banqueting codes. Nota Kourou’s dossier in *Euboica II.1* anchors pre-colonial Euboean presences in central Italy, with local imitation already underway: the “northward” Etruscan flank of the Campanian story here pursued.

For an Etruscan audience this reframes the earliest “Greek” materials in southern Etruria/Campania: they enter already internationalized consumption fields (Villanovan elites handling Levantine bronzes and wine paraphernalia), which predispose selective uptake of Euboean forms and sympotic protocols. Cerchiali’s focus on wine as a signal good (containers, pouring/serving shapes, and convivial choreography) provides a concrete mechanism for how wine related packages travel and are re-keyed in Etruscan funerary display. Wine thus becomes the bellwether: Sardinian amphorae and askoid kits prefigure later Greek (and Pithekoussan) protocols; the “banquet under the pergola” (Assurbanipal relief) and the Monte

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<sup>24</sup> “Interpretative Models of Euboean Colonization and Impacts on the Indigenous World”, pp. 29-48.

Vetrano scarab (Fig. 9) exemplify the hybrid ritualization of drinking that Etruscan elites will adopt and re-key.

This ‘syncretistic’ western-style banquet is grounded in an early familiarity with wine – attested from the Late Bronze Age in Etruria, in the wider Italic world, and in Sardinia – and is nourished by Greek, Levantine, and Semitic influences

Tracking where and how drinking sets move – and are locally re-worked – yields a tractable mechanism: Villanovan cemeteries in Latium Vetus, southern Etruria, and Campania begin to feature “Greek-looking” shapes (craters, *kyathoi*) already in the late 9th/early 8th c., which become the grammar for selective elite display. In Tarquinia, as F. Delpino noted, tomb contexts still datable to the last decades of the 9th century BC (Phase IB/IC) show early introduction of crater-shaped vessels inspired by Greek forms, plausibly tied to a Greek mode of wine consumption.

### *2.1.2. Pithekoussai*

This section is the empirical core of the volume, letting us watch mobility crystallize into social practice. Revisiting the San Montano necropolis (1965–67 area), artisanal “districts,” and the “Nestor’s Cup” context, it is the engine for excavation updates, laboratory studies, and contextual essays.

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro<sup>25</sup> publishes a dense tranche of the cemetery (≈300 graves; 87% LG I–II/MPC) with careful plan-level stratigraphy (Fig. 10). Overlapping cremation tumuli show intentional parcel re-assignment: clusters such as CT 944–945–946 display vertical memory and re-use. Such patterning ties specific ceramic imports and indigenous items to family-level interactions, not merely site-level distributions. Two signals matter for Greek–Etruscan exchange: “allogeneous” women and Latial/Etruscan impasto in cremations; and infant/child inhumations with prestige goods. The occurrence of Latial-Etruscan impasto amphoriskoi as the sole complete vessel in high-status cremations (e.g., CT 826, CT 863), together with silver ornaments, supports matrimonial exchange and

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<sup>25</sup> “Pithekoussai, Necropolis of San Montano (Excavations 1965–1967)”, pp. 49–85.

social inclusion of non-Euboean women in the Pithekoussan elite. The set of two intentionally cut bronze spearheads, an oriental scarab pendant, and an “Argive monochrome” lekythos (T. 951, child 5–6) exemplifies a Near-Eastern amuletic idiom blended with metallic value display, close to Etruscan/Villanovan funerary self-representation.

The bioarcheological study (*Gigante et Alii*)<sup>26</sup> confirms inclusivity (infants to older adults; mixed cremation/inhumation) but nuances practice: most cremations are adults; inhumations dominate for sub-adults, with telling exceptions (e.g., double cremation 916 of an adult female and infant). A gendered asymmetry in animal offerings mirrors selective uptake of eastern banquet codes: narrower species sets with female cremations (*Ovis/Capra*, *Sus*), broader spectra with male cremations (including cattle and dog). Combining cremation weights and taphonomy, the team warns against naïve good-counts; this advice is essential when comparing Pithekoussai to Etruscan cemeteries where weapons and heavy bronzes survive more completely.

Valentino Nizzo<sup>27</sup> interprets the cemetery as a deliberately organized social landscape, linking plot-level stratigraphy to broader ‘interaction contexts.’ The arrangement of lots and instances of re-use may signal kinship ties and social standing. Spatially distinct clusters of crouched adult inhumations with modest grave assemblages have been read – following G. Buchner – as indicating individuals at the margins of the community, possibly of subordinate or servile status. Cuozzo (2009) notes, however, that these individuals, though atypical, were nonetheless interred among the ‘citizens’ of a cosmopolitan community.

Diachronic graphing detects a late LG I/early LG II downturn in adult male cremations – plausibly tied to export of Pithekoussan Greeks toward Cumae’s urban project – just as indigenous adoption of banqueting repertoires accelerates. For Etruscan archaeology, this

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<sup>26</sup> MELANIA GIGANTE, ALESSANDRA SPERDUTI, IVANA FIORE, FRANCESCA ALHAIQUE, LUCA BONDIOLI, “Euboean, Eastern and Indigenous People: A Bioarchaeological Investigation of Ancient Pithekoussai”, pp. 87-105.

<sup>27</sup> “Pithekoussai, Necropolis of San Montano (Excavations 1965–1967)”, pp. 107-124.

models how elite assemblage logic moves: not merely via traded pots, but through mobile persons, marriage, and workshop migration; exactly what stratigraphies at Tarquinia's 'monumental complex' increasingly show<sup>28</sup>.

Costanza Gialanella and Piergiovanni Guzzo's portrait of the manufacturing district of the Mazzola quarter<sup>29</sup> reveals Pithekoussai's *technai* export: integrated domestic/industrial spaces with forging, firing, and storerooms (LG I-early 7th cent.) (Fig. 11). Iron/bronze operations and ceramic production interlock with the wine/transport package attested in the necropolis. Together with ceramic chapters, this recasts Pithekoussai as producer/mediator rather than mere consumer, a hub organizing and re-packaging technologies and goods that pass into Villanovan/Etruscan systems (e.g., ironworking in northern Etruria; calibrated adoption of Greek forms manufactured to local tastes). For early Etruscan iron and the calibrated appropriation of Greek forms, Mazzola is now a primary *comparandum*.

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro's and Bruno d'Agostino's 'Nestor's Cup'<sup>30</sup> and Marek Węcowski's related study<sup>31</sup> reframe the dossier beyond the famous graffito: this is about symposion and literacy at a western frontier. Revising the cremation known for the cup, contra the long-standing "child's tomb" view, as the remains of a sacrifice (Fig. 12) and embedding it in a broader aristocratic culture strengthens the case that poetic performance, sympotic practice, and alphabetic writing converge early in Campania: repertoires that Etruscan elites quickly emulate (and indigenise) in necropoleis from Caere to Tarquinia. On the Etruscan side, this meets recent Carmine Ampolo's re-exam of the earliest phases of the Medea tradition (especially Corinthian ties in Eumelus' Korinthiaka). Named *Metaia*, she appears by the third quarter of the 7th c. BC on the bucchero olpe from Tomb

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<sup>28</sup> BAGNASCO GIANNI 2022.

<sup>29</sup> "The Manufacturing District in Mazzola and its Metal Production", pp. 125-146.

<sup>30</sup> "The Context of 'Nestor's Cup': New Considerations in the Light of Recent Anthropological Studies", pp. 267-273.

<sup>31</sup> "The 'Cup of Nestor' in Context. The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Culture", pp. 275-280.

2 at San Paolo, Cerveteri, facing a man rising from a cauldron (Pelias? Jason?). Given multiple early variants (as Hecataeus already noted for epic stories), such ambiguity is expected. Ampolo proposes that the Cerveteri scene may echo an early version of Eumelus: an 8th/7th-century layer consistent with the vessel's date and with Corinth's Bacchiad era and diaspora. Without attributing the image directly to the poet, he argues for plausible concordance. Anchoring the epithet to these supports yields a terminus ante quem for its spread – likely via oral channels – much as with the Nestor's Cup; by contrast, Medea's tale reached Caere via imagery<sup>32</sup>. A comparable thread at Tarquinia shows early Greek contacts: an early inscription from the 'monumental complex' points to Etruscan borrowing of Heracles' epithet *kallinikos*, known from Eumelus and Archilochus (first half of the 7th c. BC). In late-Classical mirrors (late 4<sup>th</sup>-early 3rd cent. BC), Eumelus (*Umaele*) appears as an inspired singer opposite a figure prophesying through writing, underscoring his role in transmitting early epic and in Etruscan developments of prophetic traditions<sup>33</sup>.

Gloria Olcese (with Gilberto Artioli)<sup>34</sup>, Nadin Burkhardt and Stephan Faust<sup>35</sup>, Mariassunta Cuozzo<sup>36</sup> and Francesca Mermati<sup>37</sup> add petrographic and production-chain evidence (raw materials, kiln wasters, ceramic flow between Pithekoussai and Cumae) and field updates that explain the "Pithekoussan" signature in early Cumaean and Italic contexts. Their work shows that shapes so appreciated in Villanovan/Etruscan graves were both imported and locally made in the Bay of Naples. Cuozzo and Mermati document a Pithekoussan–Cumaean production continuum (Aetos-666 *kotylai*, LG *oinochoai*,

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<sup>32</sup> AMPOLO 2018.

<sup>33</sup> BAGNASCO GIANNI 2023.

<sup>34</sup> "Natural Resources and Raw Materials at Ischia in Antiquity", pp. 161-182.

<sup>35</sup> "First Results of the Excavations at Pithekoussai from 2016–2018 (Villa Arbusto, Lacco Ameno, Ischia)", pp. 183-200.

<sup>36</sup> "Pottery from the Mazzola Area", pp. 201-220.

<sup>37</sup> "Parerga and Paralipomena to the Study of Pithecusan-Cumaean Ceramic Production in the Light of New Research. Twenty Years after Euboica", pp. 221-265.

“Argive monochrome” lekythoi, etc.), i.e. the very repertoire anchoring early “Greek” sets in Campanian and southern Etruscan burials. By LG I–II, Bay-of-Naples workshops are provisioning Italic elites; not all “Euboean-looking” pots in Etruria sailed from the Aegean. Cuomo presents the graph of analyses concerning the Orientalizing productions of Pontecagnano and the possible imports from Pithekoussai and Cumae; these were conducted by the University of Milan, together with those relating to Tarquinia.

Though less central to Tyrrhenian exchanges, Lucia A. Scatozza Hörich’s paper<sup>38</sup> underscores ancient eastern precious-metal ties nested within the same circuits that move wine sets and the memory of the migration of peoples, as the ancient tradition suggests. For Etruscan elites gold is another cultural asset traveling with the same crews and ceremonies.

### 2.1.3. Cumae and Parthenope

This section adds stratified urban evidence (foreshore to acropolis), an epigraphic turn (alphabet origins), and a Phoenician trade lens along the lower Tyrrhenian. Alfonso Mele<sup>39</sup> anchors Archaic Cumae’s ideological capital through a myth-cult frame (Kyme, Apollo, the Sibyl), the backdrop against which Campanian Etruscan communities position themselves.

A stratigraphically rich, multi-authored essay on Cumae (pre-Hellenic to earliest *apoikia*, LG I)1 is the engine of the “Cumaean hinge”. Recent work on the acropolis/foothills (Fig. 13) reveals an “earlier Cumae” (MG II/LG I) beneath the familiar LG II reclamation and urban setting: domestic floors, hearths, and the ceramic package expected in a Pithekoussan orbit – Aetos-666 *kotylai*, Thapsos-type *skyphoi*, debased chevrons, *tremuli* – some imported from Corinth, some made in Pithekoussai. D’Acunto *et Alii* argue for a short lag between Pithekoussai’s foundation (ca. 760–750 BC) and the *apoikia* of Cumae; materially entangled, the Campanian Greek city likely predates (if only just) the first Sicilian foundations. This dovetails with Nizzo’s signal from Pithekoussai: by the later 8th c. formal colonial

<sup>38</sup> “Pithecusan Gold: Anatolian Connections”, pp. 147-159.

<sup>39</sup> “Kyme, Apollo and the Sibyl”, pp. 281-303.

planning gathers pace, the cemetery contracts, and Cumae takes over as institutional center.

Overall, the dossier supports prolonged interaction and gradual stabilization rather than a neatly staged foundation narrative. Because no trustworthy *ktisis* dates survive for Pithekoussai and Cumae, absolute dating must rest on archaeological sequences, whose resolution typically spans decades. Colonization should be understood as a process “perhaps covering two generations, from the beginning (ca. 750-740 BC) until the early 7th century BC” (p. 316), not a single founding “event”.

For Etruscans, the timeline is crucial: it synchronises the appearance of Campanian Greek display repertoires together with alphabetic writing with the phase when southern Etruscan and Latial contexts begin to show patterned adoption. Albio Cesare Cassio’s epigraphic micro-case<sup>40</sup> bolsters the view that Euboean epigraphic practice – perhaps especially Eretrian – appears in Campania before full civic life at Cumae. He publishes a Greek letter *nu* incised before firing on a Cumaean black skyphos from a pre-Hellenic domestic context and argues that it corroborates a fully developed Euboean alphabet by the first half of the 8th century, pushing the “borrowing” back into the 10th (or even 11th) century BC against the argumentum ex silentio (p. 452). For central Italy, Cassio draws a line to Gabii’s Osteria dell’Osa flask: the Cumaean letter both dates and contextualizes how Latial/Etruscan communities encountered letters, through routine, pre-colonial exchange spaces. For Etruscan literacy origins, this is a cornerstone: alphabetic practice is present in their Tyrrhenian neighborhood just as the Pithekoussai–Cumae system coheres.

Massimo Botto’s longue durée Phoenician lens<sup>41</sup> corrects tidy “Greek–Etruscan” binaries. Publishing Phoenician and “Sardinian-Phoenician” ceramics from pre-Hellenic domestic contexts in Cumae

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<sup>40</sup> “Earlier and Earlier: The Rise of the Greek Alphabet and a Greek Letter on an Euboean Skyphos Found in Pre-Hellenic Cumae, ca. 760–750 BC”, pp. 451-459.

<sup>41</sup> “Phoenician Trade in the Lower Tyrrhenian Sea between the 9th and 8th Centuries BC: the Case of Cumae”, pp. 461-500.

(2018–22 excavations) and embedding them in twin Sardinian circuits (north/central-east to northern Etruria; south/west to Iberia and the central Mediterranean), he shows both flows meeting in Campania between the Gulf of Naples and the Agro Picentino. The implications are blunt: early Tyrrhenian wine, metals (tin, lead, silver), and prestige bronzes move through a polyethnic matrix. Botto centers Phoenicians as co-architects of the Tyrrhenian system – Huelva, Utica, Sulky, Sant’Imbenia connecting into Campania – arguing that the earliest ceremonial wine consumption in the West is a Phoenician-mediated package to which Euboeans adapt.

Villanovan/Etruscan elites are inside that system from the start. The plates of Phoenician pottery from Cumae (with fabric descriptions) make this strikingly concrete.

For Etruscan studies this is crucial: the “Greek–Etruscan” wine-consumption dossier is always already Phoenician–Euboean–indigenous. That perspective helps decode “eastern” bronzes and ritual props in early Etruscan burials and explains mixed Levantine–Euboean ceramic horizons in coastal Lazio and southern Etruria.

In this network Campanian indigenous communities – Cumae *pre-*apoikia** among them – act as brokers.

Giovanna Greco on Archaic Cumae’s structures and Daniela Giampaola on Parthenope provide the urban skeleton on which those social exchanges hung (harbors, forum areas, roads) and identify contexts where Pithekoussan productions, Euboean-style wares, and Italic *impasti* fold into civic life; again a matrix in which Campanian Etruscans operated as neighbors, competitors and clients.

Giovanna Greco’s excavation summary<sup>42</sup> of the Tempio con Portico sector (residual impasto, LG and Protocorinthian fragments, late-Archaic architectural debris) situates Cumae’s civic bones. For the Etruscan sector the import is contextual: this is the urban scaffold – institutional pace, harbor-to-forum connections – upon which Campanian Greek models interacted with Campanian Etruscan polities.

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<sup>42</sup> “Structures and Materials of Archaic Cumae: research in the Forum area”, pp. 501-522.

Daniela Giampaola's report<sup>43</sup> on Parthenope's early layers contribute to the geography of Greek civic presence along the bay. The Parthenope/Cumae axis helps explain the densification of exchange channels that Etruscan elites in Campania/Lazio navigated.

#### 2.1.4. *Magna Graecia and Sicily*

This section tests Euboean signatures at Francavilla Marittima, Naxos, and Zancle, situating Campanian developments in a wider central-western Mediterranean.

Kindberg Jacobsen and Gloria Mittica<sup>44</sup> at Timpone della Motta (Francavilla Marittima) show "Oinotrian–Euboean" assemblages with Aetos-666 *kotylai* and hybrid shapes. This offers a southern mirror to Villanovan/Etruscan adoption: local elites absorb Euboean grammar while retaining indigenous form/function logics. For Etruscan comparisons, it demonstrates that "Greekness" in vessel form is routinely negotiated, not simply copied. It is worth noting that the 'monumental complex' of Tarquinia yielded a fragment of a closed shape, probably local, imitating an Oinotrian motif "a tenda"<sup>45</sup>.

Maria Costanza Lentini<sup>46</sup> revisits Naxos between the 8th–7th c. and Giovanna Maria Bacci<sup>47</sup> updates Zancle's urban/sanctuary evidence; both underscore that western Euboean traits embedded in local civic and sacred architectures outside Campania. Their relevance here is comparative: the way sanctuaries organize processions, drinking, and communal identities at Naxos/Zancle is the same social "technology" that travels west. For Etruscan exchange models, these case studies demonstrate the portability of the Pithekoussai/Cumae pattern: workshops and rites travel but always land in negotiated local frameworks.

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<sup>43</sup> "New Discoveries from Parthenope (Naples)", pp. 523-561.

<sup>44</sup> "Oinotrian–Euboean Pottery from Timpone della Motta (Francavilla Marittima)", pp. 563-574.

<sup>45</sup> C 306/4 US 481 (730-700 BC); BAGNASCO GIANNI 2001, pp. 351-352.

<sup>46</sup> "Naxos between the Eighth and Seventh Centuries BC Revisited", pp. 575-588.

<sup>47</sup> "Zancle: latest findings on the urban settlement and sanctuaries", pp. 589-604.

### *2.1.5. Conclusions*

Catherine Morgan's concluding essay<sup>48</sup> knits the threads and underlines three cautions: chronology remains tight; funerary taphonomy can distort the evidentiary field; and the "west" is polyphonic, not a pipeline. Her prescription – distribution maps, workshop archaeology, mortuary micro-contexts, and epigraphy – is the method the volume exemplifies and precisely what it now enables.

### *2.2. What this volume "changes" about Etruscan "exchange" history*

This volume resets the baseline: away from "Greek things in Etruscan graves" toward a Campanian production–ritual–alphabetic complex in which Villanovan/Etruscan elites were co-authors from the outset. For work on 9th-7th-century Etruscan material culture, religion, and the rise of literacy, it is now the required point of departure: the pre-colonial Tyrrhenian was a Phoenician-Euboian-indigenous arena in which Pithekoussai organised technologies and rites (wine, writing, workshops); family-plot micro-stratigraphy at San Montano and new Cumaean urban layers show how those models moved into Italic societies via marriage, production and ritual; Etruscan elites plugged into this koine around the LG II Cumaean hinge, although Tarquinia appears markedly precocious, with attestations of the phenomenon already before LG II.

*Euboica II.2* does not merely "add" West Greek material to a shelf already heavy with Campanian archaeology. Read with an Etruscan focus, it offers a method and a set of securely dated, socially legible contexts that explain how Euboian, Phoenician, and indigenous agencies became the Tyrrhenian koine:

#### *2.2.1. The "pre-colonial" Tyrrhenian is empirically dense*

Pre-*apoikia* Campania is no longer a foggy prelude "prima di Pithecusa", but a structured, legible social field: plot-level necropolis stratigraphy (Cinquantaquattro), patterned faunal offerings and

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<sup>48</sup> "Conclusions. From Euboica to Euboica II: changes in knowledge and approaches", pp. 605-615.

demographics (*Gigante et Alii*), and Mazzola's workshop terraces (Gialanella & Guzzo) show how cultural "scripts" become social through kin plots, marriage ties, labor neighborhoods, and ritual codes. That dense matrix is the medium in which Etruscan communities (Pontecagnano, Capua, southern Etruria) encountered, copied, and transformed Euboean practice.

In short, Pithekoussai comes into view at human scale (kin plots, gendered offerings, workshop terraces) evidence that travels directly into how we read southern Etruscan cemeteries and early coastal emporia.

### 2.2.2. *Social mechanics are visible at plot scale*

Nizzo and Cinquantaquattro demonstrate that marriage patterns, the exclusion of servile individuals, and the reuse of grave plots can now be read directly. For Etruscan archaeology – where "Greek influence" is often inferred from object lists – this is a methodological upgrade: we can test whether "Greek" items in Etruscan tombs track gender, age, kinship, or status in patterned ways comparable to Pithekoussai.

### 2.2.3. *The Cumaean hinge retimes adoption*

D'Acunto *et al.* link an LG II "urbanization" at Cumae to contraction at Pithekoussai; workshops and elites shift from island to mainland. That timeline clarifies why Campanian Etruscan power soon confronts a polis with harbors, writing, and long-distance partners, and why southern Etruscan communities intensify selective emulation precisely at this horizon. The same horizon maps onto increasingly standardized "Greek" sets in Italic burials. For southern Etruria, this invites tighter tests for contemporaneous shifts in imports, local imitations, sanctuaries, and the earliest epigraphic traces.

Cumae's earliest phases are stratigraphically resolved, with a ceramic repertoire traceable to Pithekoussai workshops and separable from Corinthian imports; the very disaggregation needed for Etruscan assemblages, especially when monitoring effective agencies (cf. Etruscan writing §2.2.6.).

2.2.4. *Workshops and sanctuaries are the social glue*

Mazzola's *technai* provide a production grammar for the forms saturating Italic graves; the forum-side sequences at Cumae (Greco) and Parthenope's early urban fabric (Giampaola) furnish the civic stages that organize exchange. In Etruria, evidence points to the same pairing: workshop neighborhoods adjacent to sanctuaries that regularize feasting, procession, and display, as it happens at the 'monumental complex' of Tarquinia.

2.2.5. *"Greek vs. Etruscan" is a false binary; the West is Phoenician–Euboean–indigenous*

Botto's Cumae study and Cerchiai's west-wide synthesis compel us to abandon siloed narratives. Botto demonstrates this through fabrics, forms, and routes; Cerchiai supplies a Mediterranean-wide framework. For the Etruscan dossier, we should expect mixed Levantine–Euboean ceramic horizons and intertwined metal/wine economies in early central Italy, not sequential, isolated "influences" (cf. Tarquinia's jars). The earliest wine kits and ceremonials arrive via multi-handed chains; Euboians are not lone culture-bearers, and "Etruscan adoption of Greek sympotic forms" is better seen as selection from a polyethnic repertoire. Botto's Phoenician case effectively closes the door on "Greek-only" models for Tyrrhenian wine/metal economies.

2.2.6. *Writing arrives early, locally, and mundanely*

Cassio's *ny* on a pre-Hellenic Cumaean *skyphos* (inscribed before firing) anchors Euboean alphabetic practice in Campania by 760–750 BC and, relationally, de-isolates Osteria dell'Osa. From an Etruscan vantage, this pulls first literacy exposure into ordinary domestic and convivial contexts, not just exotic grave one-offs. Cassio's LGI graffito, the Aetos-666 and "Argive monochrome" lekythoi in child graves, and Pithekoussan/Cumaean production evidence together make it increasingly likely that southern Etruria's alphabetic engagement and shape imitation responded to a Greco-Italic koine centered on Campania, not merely to sporadic

Aegean imports. In brief, Cassio's Cumaean nu normalizes early alphabetic practice in Campania.

Overall, the Pithekoussan/Cumaean synergy turns out to be the right background for a reappraisal of the theory of a multiple contribution to the formation of the Etruscan alphabet (Fig. 14), which takes advantage of the Eubean and the Corinthian ones during the LG II<sup>49</sup>. This is embedded in previous evidence from Cumae LG I assemblages (D'Acunto *et Alii*): Aetos-666 *kotylai*, Thapsos-type *skyphoi*, local Corinthian-type imitations; dating of Pithekoussai (760-750) and near-contemporary Cumae.

### **2.3. Research to-do in the direction of Etruria**

As a proceedings volume, treatments can be uneven, and not all datasets are exhaustively illustrated. For example a more systematic treatment of imitation (Villanovan/Etruscan “Euboeanizing” productions) in the direction of a symbolic and cultural “scripts” needs to be exploited in the dynamics of a more integrated undertaking in research between Campania and Etruria.

The petrographic/chemical fingerprinting essential to separate Euboean imports from Pithekoussan/Cumaean fabric – and from bona fide Etruscan “Euboeanizing” wares – remains work-in-progress. The Pithekoussai–Cumae production continuum (and Mazzola) invites more chemical analysis that could tell us whether Euboean-looking shapes in southern Etruria are imports, Campanian makes, or true Etruscan “Euboeanizing” products. The volume points the way (Olcese/Artioli and Mermati) but also shows how much is left to prove analytically, matching current research carried out at Tarquinia in this field<sup>50</sup>.

The bioarcheological caution about cremation weights and cemetery “agglutinations” warns against over-indexing on grave goods. Because taphonomic processes shape what survives in graves, the authors repeatedly caution that simple item counts can mislead when comparing San Montano with bronze-rich Etruscan cemeteries.

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<sup>49</sup> BAGNASCO GIANNI 1996, pp. 441-442; PERNIGOTTI 2025.

<sup>50</sup> BAGNASCO GIANNI *et Alii* 2018; see M. Cuzzo's contribution (§2.1.2).

Any ritual-code analysis should correct for depositional bias. Leveraging Nizzo's studies and plot-level data from San Montano, assess whether the gendered offerings and kin-plot patterning documented at Pithekoussai have counterparts in Late Geometric–Early Orientalizing Etruscan cemeteries.

Botto's case for a Phoenician-scaffolded Tyrrhenian economy is compelling; this encourages querying Phoenician/Euboian co-presence in early central Tyrrhenian deposits rather than defaulting to "Greek imports". This is suggested by the above-mentioned cases of the fragment of a sub-cylindrical Cypriot pithos found at the 'monumental complex' of Tarquinia, together with the exotica. The Iberian and Sardinian *comparanda* depicted in *Euboica II.1* (and invoked here) could be imported into Etruscan debates more systematically.

D'Acunto's Cumae reclamation and synchronism checks around the LG II are a persuasive hinge. Testing synchronous changes in imported assemblages, appearance of writing, and sanctuary reconfigurations in Southern Etruria would refine contact modes and transformation processes.

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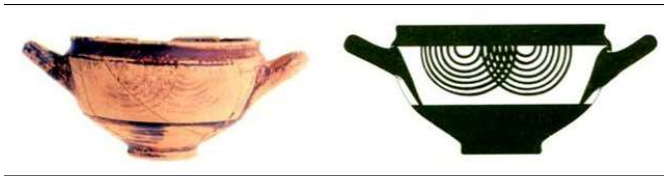
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*Fig. 1. Distribution map of PG and SPG Euboean vases in the Mediterranean (after Euboica II.1, p. 25)*



Pontecagnano, T. 7392



Veii, QF T. 68



Caere, T. 21.38

*Fig. 2. A compact visual anchor for the pre-colonial dossier: PSC skyphoi in Central Italy (after Euboica II.1, p. 23, figg. 11-13)*



Fig. 3. Skala Oropou, Central Quarter, pit XVI, fragment of a Euboean krater of the Cesnola style (after *Euboica II.1*, p. 245, fig. 12b)

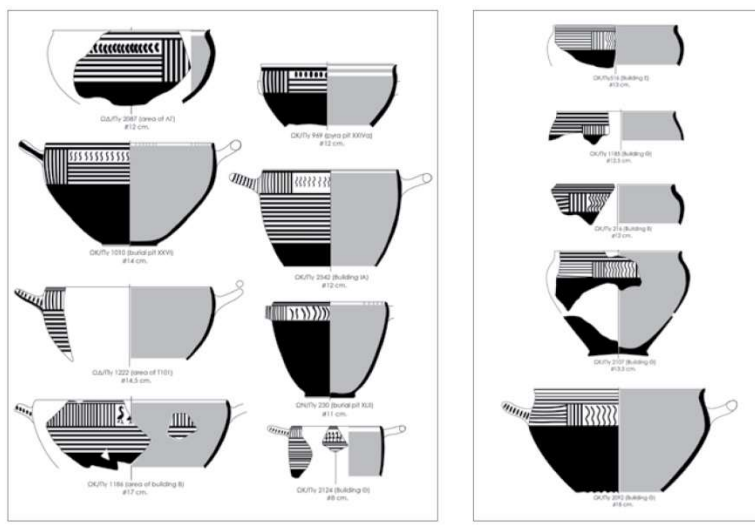


Fig. 4. Skala Oropou, from the settlement, selection of kotylai and Thapsos-class skyphoi (after *Euboica II.1*, p. 247, figg. 16-17)

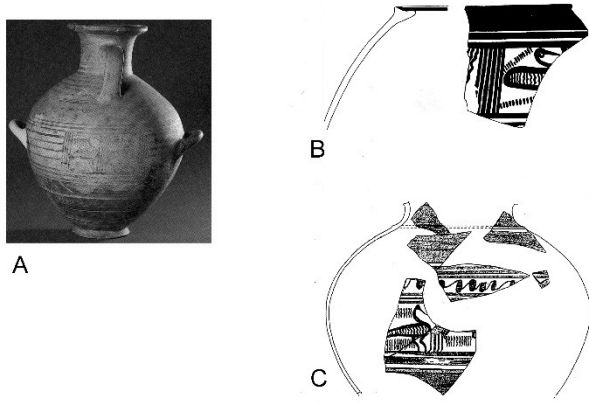


Fig. 5. The Pontecagnano-Tarquinia 'Bird style' of the first half of the 8th c. BC: A. Florence, Archaeological Museum. Tarquinia, Poggio Selciatello Sopra, tomb 160, hydria; B. Pontecagnano Faiano, National Museum of the Agro Picentino, tomb 7780, pyxides; C. Tarquinia, 'monumental complex', geometric olla (after BAGNASCO GIANNI *et Alii* 2018, fig. 6)



Fig. 6. Sant'Imbenia: PSC, Chevrons, bird cups and Cypriot sherd documenting mixed Phoenician contexts (after *Euboica II.1*, p. 329, figg. 9-11)

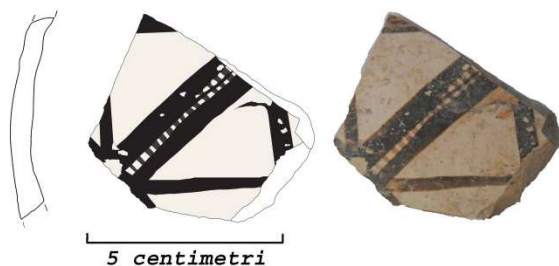


Fig. 7. Tarquinia, 'monumental complex', fragment C805/228, documenting the early circulation of Levantine or Levantine inspired productions, beginning of the 8th c. BC (after BAGNASCO GIANNI *et Alii* 2016, fig. 2)



Fig. 8. Tarquinia, 'monumental complex', Egyptian blue scarab C2248/1), 3:1 scale reproduction; on the right, images acquired using stereoscopic microscopy, with a high-resolution digital camera (after BAGNASCO GIANNI 2024, fig. 2)



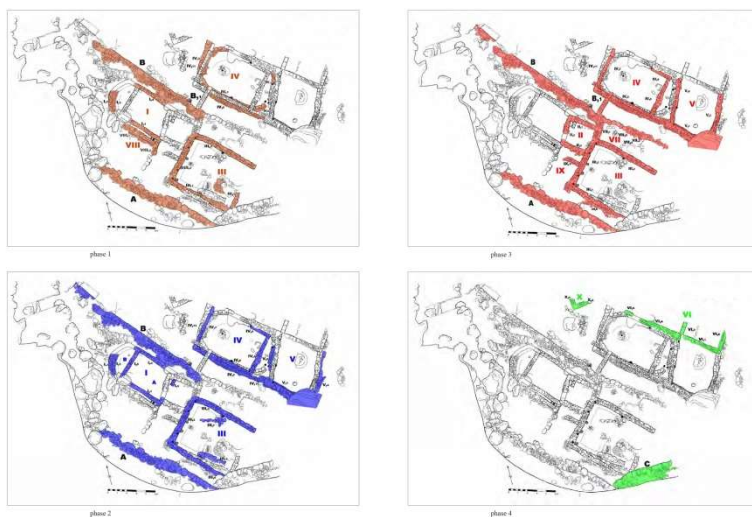


Fig. 11. Pithekoussai, Mazzola, metallurgical district, phases 1-4 (after *Euboica II.2*, pp. 129, 134)

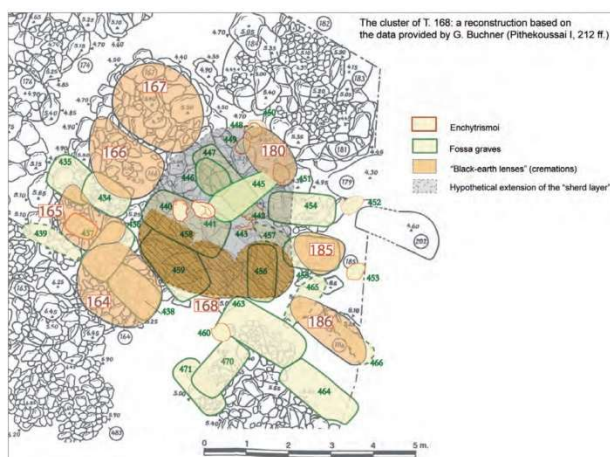


Fig. 12. Pithekoussai, The cluster of the context of Nestor's Cup, Cremation 168 (after *Euboica II.2*, p. 269, fig. 2)

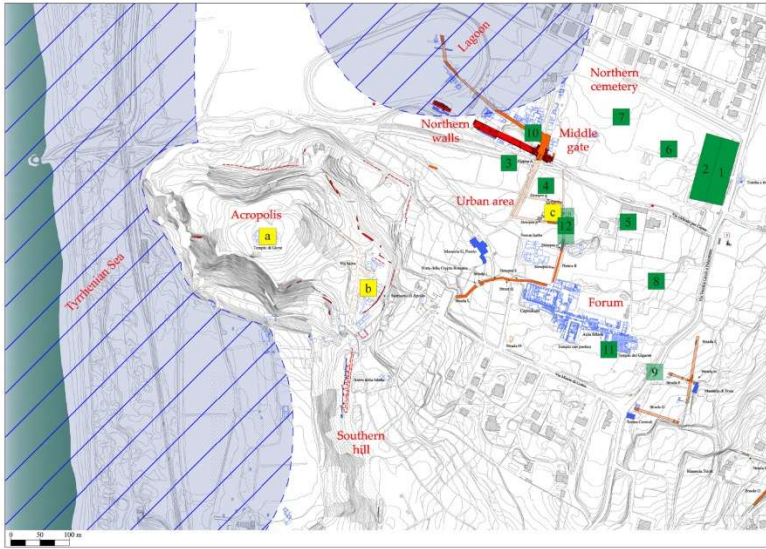


Fig. 13. Cumae, Locations of the archaeological evidence from the FBA3-EIA Pre-Hellenic settlement of Cumae (after Euboica II.2, p. 326, fig. 13)



Fig. 14. Tarquinia, unknown provenance and place of preservation, the so called protocorinthian “Jucker kotyle” (after BAGNASCO GIANNI 2010, fig. 4)